Panorama Internacional sobre el Papel de las Encuestas Electorales
Retos y Perspectivas

Javier Márquez Peña / Buendía & Laredo

Estados Unidos

What's the Matter With Polling?

CLIFF ZUKIN | JUNE 20, 2015

- Over the past two years, election polling has had some spectacular disasters […] **Election polling is in near crisis, and we pollsters know**.

- **So what's the solution for election polling? There isn't one. Our old paradigm has broken down, and we haven't figured out how to replace it**. Political polling has gotten less accurate as a result, and it's not going to be fixed in time for 2016.

- In short, **polls and pollsters are going to be less reliable**. We may not even know when we're off base.

Principales preocupaciones

What's the Matter With Polling?

CLIFF ZUKIN | JUNE 20, 2015

Two trends are driving the increasing unreliability of election and other polling in the United States:

- the decline in people willing to answer surveys […]

- To top it off, a perennial election polling problem, how to identify "likely voters," has become even thornier.
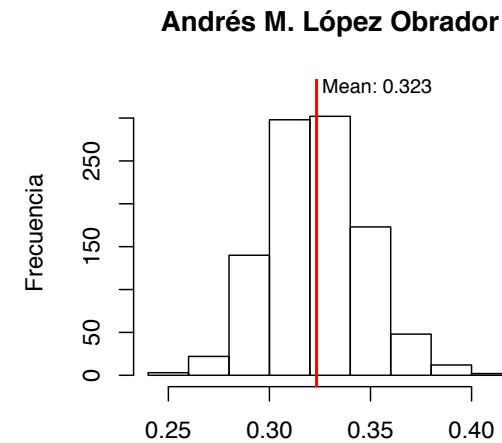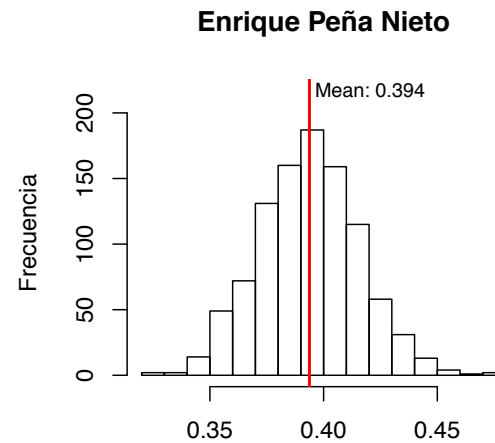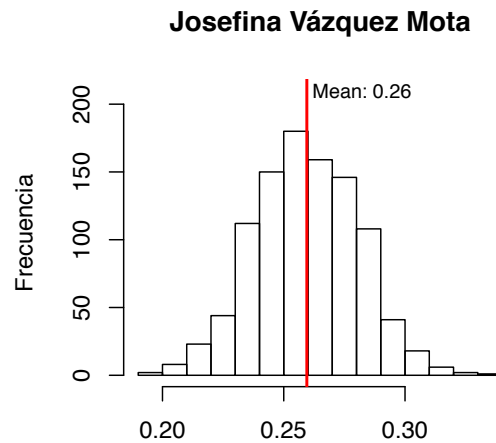
1. Tasa de respuesta

Polling Is Getting Harder, But It's A Vital Check On Power

NATE SILVER | JUN 3, 2015

- The problem is simple but daunting. The foundation of opinion research has historically been the ability to **draw a random sample of the population. That's become much harder to do**, at least in the United States. Response rates to telephone surveys have been declining for years and are often in the single digits, even for the highest-quality polls.
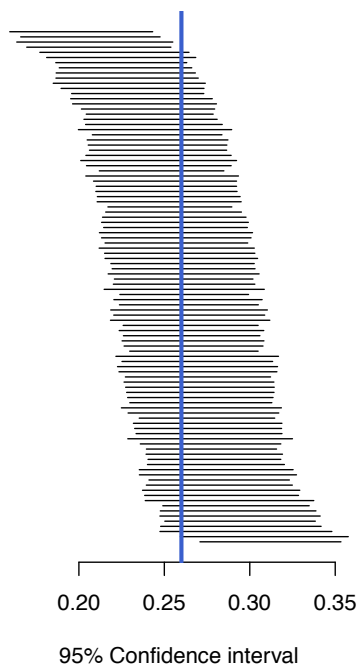
1. Tasa de respuesta

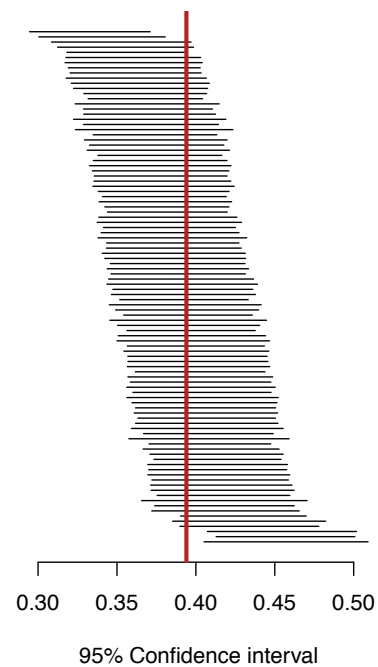Experimento de Monte Carlo: 100 secciones electorales, 10 entrevistas en cada sección

1. Tasa de respuesta

Experimento de Monte Carlo: 100 secciones electorales, 10 entrevistas en cada sección
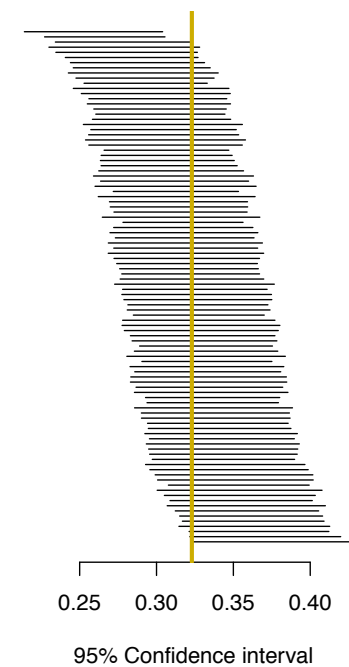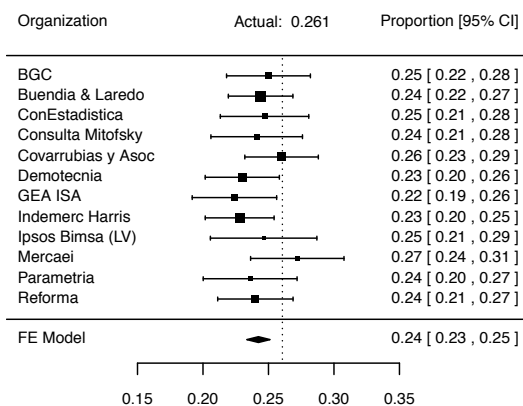
1. Tasa de respuesta

Meta-análisis - Efectos fijos

Josefina Vázquez M.

Organization	Actual: 0.261	Proportion [95% CI]
BGC		0.25 [0.22 , 0.28]
Buendia & Laredo		0.24 [0.22 , 0.27]
ConEstadistica		0.25 [0.21 , 0.28]
Consulta Mitofsky		0.24 [0.21 , 0.28]
Covarrubias y Asoc		0.26 [0.23 , 0.29]
Demotecnia		0.23 [0.20 , 0.26]
GEA ISA		0.22 [0.19 , 0.26]
Indemerc Harris		0.23 [0.20 , 0.25]
Ipsos Bimsa (LV)		0.25 [0.21 , 0.29]
Mercaei		0.27 [0.24 , 0.31]
Parametria		0.24 [0.20 , 0.27]
Reforma		0.24 [0.21 , 0.27]
FE Model		0.24 [0.23 , 0.25]

0.15 0.20 0.25 0.30 0.35

Enrique Peña N.

Organization	Actual: 0.392	Proportion [95% CI]
BGC		0.44 [0.41 , 0.47]
Buendia & Laredo		0.45 [0.42 , 0.48]
ConEstadistica		0.44 [0.41 , 0.48]
Consulta Mitofsky		0.44 [0.41 , 0.48]
Covarrubias y Asoc		0.41 [0.38 , 0.44]
Demotecnia		0.40 [0.37 , 0.43]
GEA ISA		0.47 [0.43 , 0.50]
Indemerc Harris		0.47 [0.44 , 0.50]
Ipsos Bimsa (LV)		0.44 [0.40 , 0.48]
Mercaei		0.38 [0.35 , 0.42]
Parametria		0.44 [0.40 , 0.48]
Reforma		0.41 [0.38 , 0.44]
FE Model		0.43 [0.42 , 0.44]

0.30 0.35 0.40 0.45 0.50 0.55

Andrés M. López O.

Organization	Actual: 0.324	Proportion [95% CI]
BGC		0.28 [0.25 , 0.31]
Buendia & Laredo		0.28 [0.25 , 0.31]
ConEstadistica		0.27 [0.23 , 0.30]
Consulta Mitofsky		0.29 [0.26 , 0.33]
Covarrubias y Asoc		0.30 [0.27 , 0.33]
Demotecnia		0.33 [0.30 , 0.36]
GEA ISA		0.28 [0.25 , 0.32]
Indemerc Harris		0.27 [0.24 , 0.30]
Ipsos Bimsa (LV)		0.29 [0.25 , 0.34]
Mercaei		0.31 [0.27 , 0.35]
Parametria		0.29 [0.25 , 0.33]
Reforma		0.31 [0.28 , 0.34]
FE Model		0.29 [0.28 , 0.30]

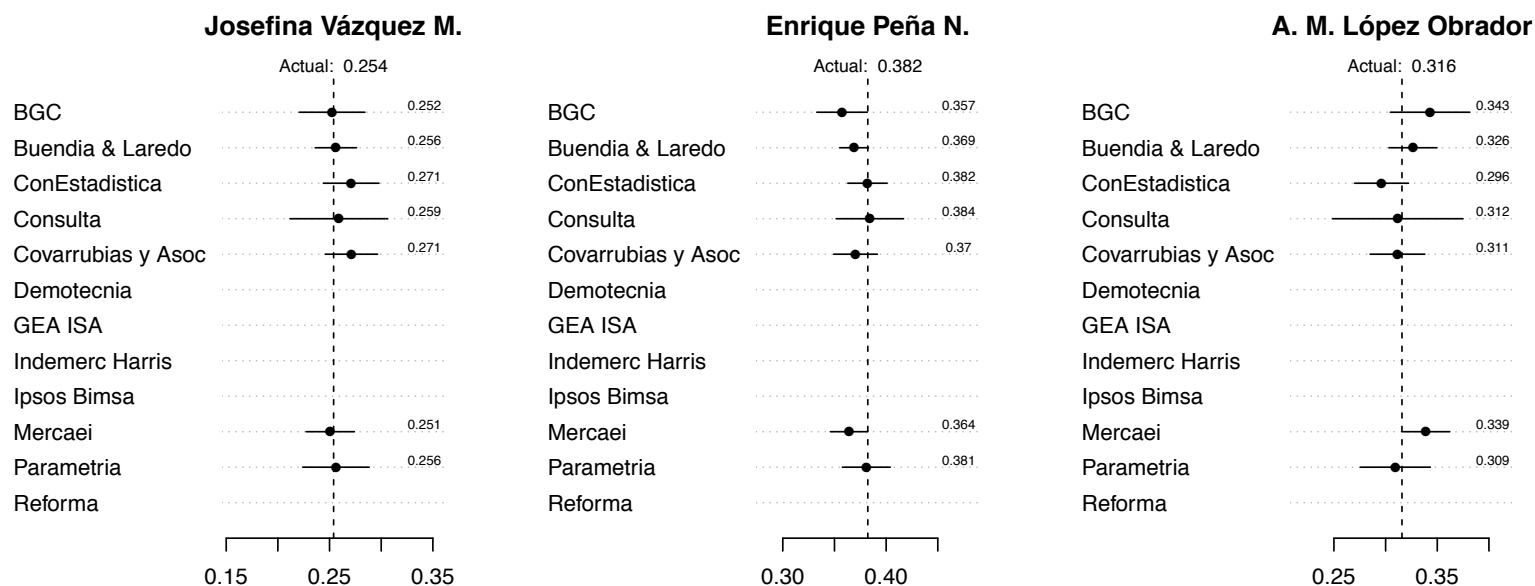0.20 0.25 0.30 0.35 0.40

1. Tasa de respuesta

Modern polling needs innovation, not traditionalism

ANDREW GELMAN AND DAVID ROTHSCHILD | AUGUST 4, 2014

- Traditional probability polling still reports a margin of error that is based on the assumption of 100 percent response rates for a random and representative sample of the population.

1. Tasa de respuesta

Estimación de Preferencias Electorales basadas en secciones en muestra por empresa encuestadora


Josefina Vázquez M.
Actual: 0.254

BGC	0.252
Buendia & Laredo	0.256
ConEstadistica	0.271
Consulta	0.259
Covarrubias y Asoc	0.271
Demotecnia	
GEA ISA	
Indemerc Harris	
Ipsos Bimsa	
Mercaei	0.251
Parametria	0.256
Reforma	

0.15   0.25   0.35

Enrique Peña N.
Actual: 0.382

BGC	0.357
Buendia & Laredo	0.369
ConEstadistica	0.382
Consulta	0.384
Covarrubias y Asoc	0.37
Demotecnia	
GEA ISA	
Indemerc Harris	
Ipsos Bimsa	
Mercaei	0.364
Parametria	0.381
Reforma	

0.30   0.40

A. M. López Obrador
Actual: 0.316

BGC	0.343
Buendia & Laredo	0.326
ConEstadistica	0.296
Consulta	0.312
Covarrubias y Asoc	0.311
Demotecnia	
GEA ISA	
Indemerc Harris	
Ipsos Bimsa	
Mercaei	0.339
Parametria	0.309
Reforma	

0.25   0.35

1. Tasa de respuesta

Here's why you should worry about the polls for the 2016 U.S. elections

ANDREW GELMAN | AUGUST 31, 2015

- **In real life there are no probability samples of humans**. With survey response rates below 10 percent, there is no way to know the probability of an individual being included in the sample. You can know the probability that the survey organization will try to reach a person [...]. But **it's impossible to know the probability that this person will actually be included in the sample**, as this depends on the probability that the person is reached, multiplied by the probability that he or she agrees to respond, given that he or she is reached. And neither of these two probabilities is ever known.

1. Tasa de respuesta

Tasa de respuesta
Tasa de cooperación
Tasa de rechazo
Tasa de contacto
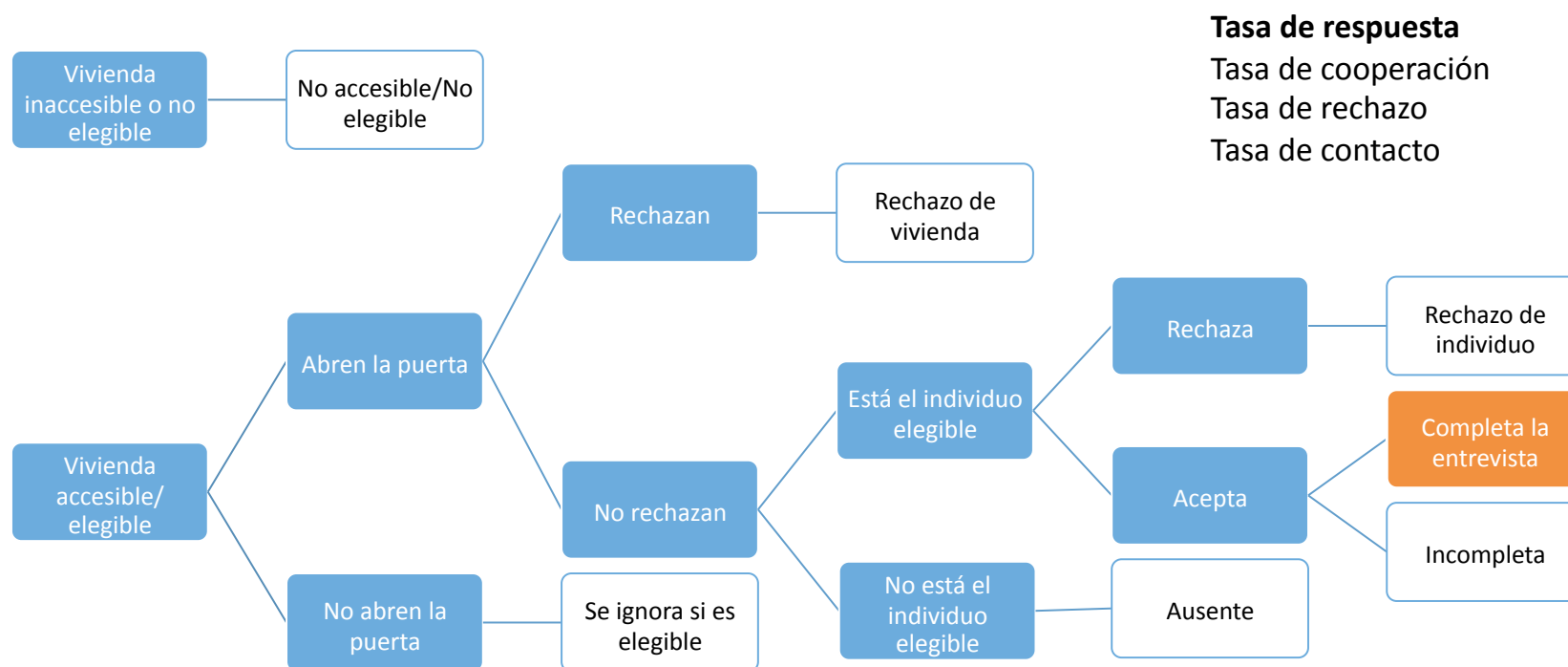
1. Tasa de respuesta

Assessing the Representativeness of Public Opinion Surveys

PEW RESEARCH CENTER | MAY 15, 2012

Surveys Face Growing Difficulty Reaching, Persuading Potential Respondents

	1997 %	2000 %	2003 %	2006 %	2009 %	2012 %
Contact rate (percent of households in which an adult was reached)	90	77	79	73	72	62
Cooperation rate (percent of households contacted that yielded an interview)	43	40	34	31	21	14
Response rate (percent of households sampled that yielded an interview)	36	28	25	21	15	9

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2012 Methodology Study. Rates computed according to American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) standard definitions for CON2, COOP3 and RR3. Rates are typical for surveys conducted in each year.

1. Tasa de respuesta

Encuesta Preelectoral Buendía & Laredo

JUN, 2015

Tasa de Respuesta	**37%**
Tasa de contacto	57.4%
Tasa de cooperación	64%
Tasa de rechazo	20.5%

1. Tasa de respuesta

What's the Matter With Polling?

CLIFF ZUKIN | JUNE 20, 2015

- This decline is worrisome for some reasons. First, of course, is representativeness. Strangely, for **some reason that no one really understands**, well-done probability samples seem to have retained their representative character despite the meager response rate.

- Even so, Robert M. Groves, the provost of Georgetown and a former director of the Census Bureau, cautions, "The risk of failures of surveys to reflect the facts increases with falling response rates. **The risk is not always realized, but with the very low response rates now common, we should expect more failed predictions based on surveys**."

1. Tasa de respuesta

Is The Polling Industry In Stasis Or In Crisis?

NATE SILVER AUG 25, 2014

- How can a poll come close to the outcome when so few people respond to it? One way is through **extremely heavy demographic weighting**.

- Furthermore, demographic weighting is an insufficient remedy for the failure to include cellphone-only voters, who differ from landline respondents in ways that go beyond easily identified demographic categories.

1. Tasa de respuesta

Forecasting elections with non-representative polls

WANG, ROTHSCHILD, GOEL, GELMAN (2014)
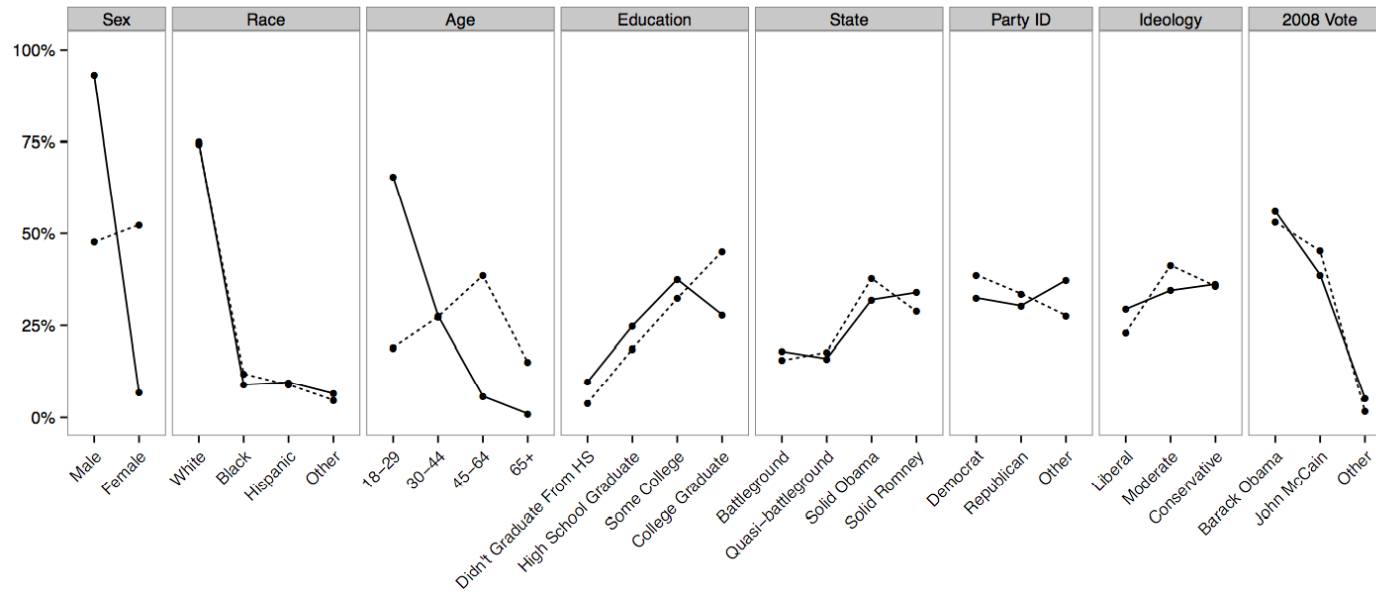
1. Tasa de respuesta

Resultados de Post-estratificación con Modelo Jerárquico-Bayesiano

POST-ESTRATIFICACION: ESTADO, SEXO, EDAD, ESCOLARIDAD, EMPLEO. **DATOS: ENCUESTA B&L, ENOE 2015**

	Encuesta	MRP	Diferencia
PAN	24.72%	24.20%	0.52%
PRI	28.81%	29.26%	-0.45%
PRD	11.72%	13.45%	-1.73%
PVEM	9.22%	8.67%	0.56%
MORENA	8.80%	9.47%	-0.67%
Otros	16.73%	14.96%	1.77%

1. Tasa de respuesta

Resultados de Post-estratificación con Modelo Jerárquico-Bayesiano

Two-party Obama support,
adjusting for demographics (light line)
or demographics and partisanship (dark line)
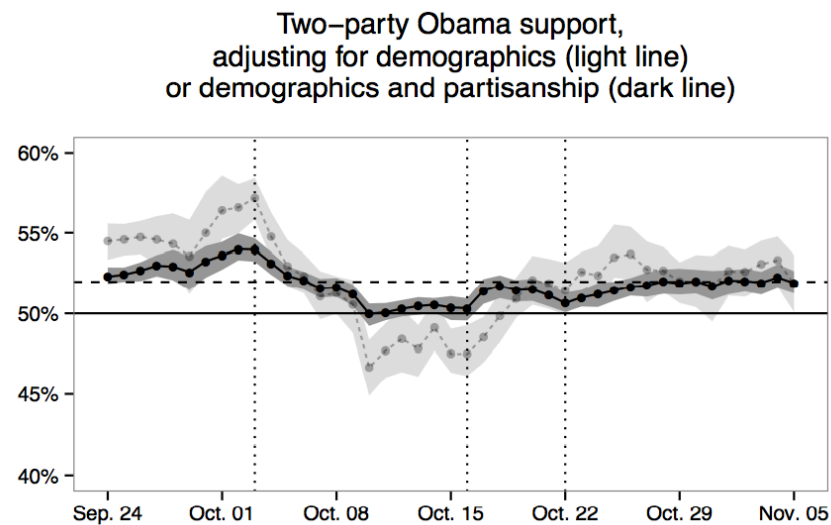
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Resultados de Post-estratificación con Modelo Jerárquico-Bayesiano

1. Tasa de respuesta
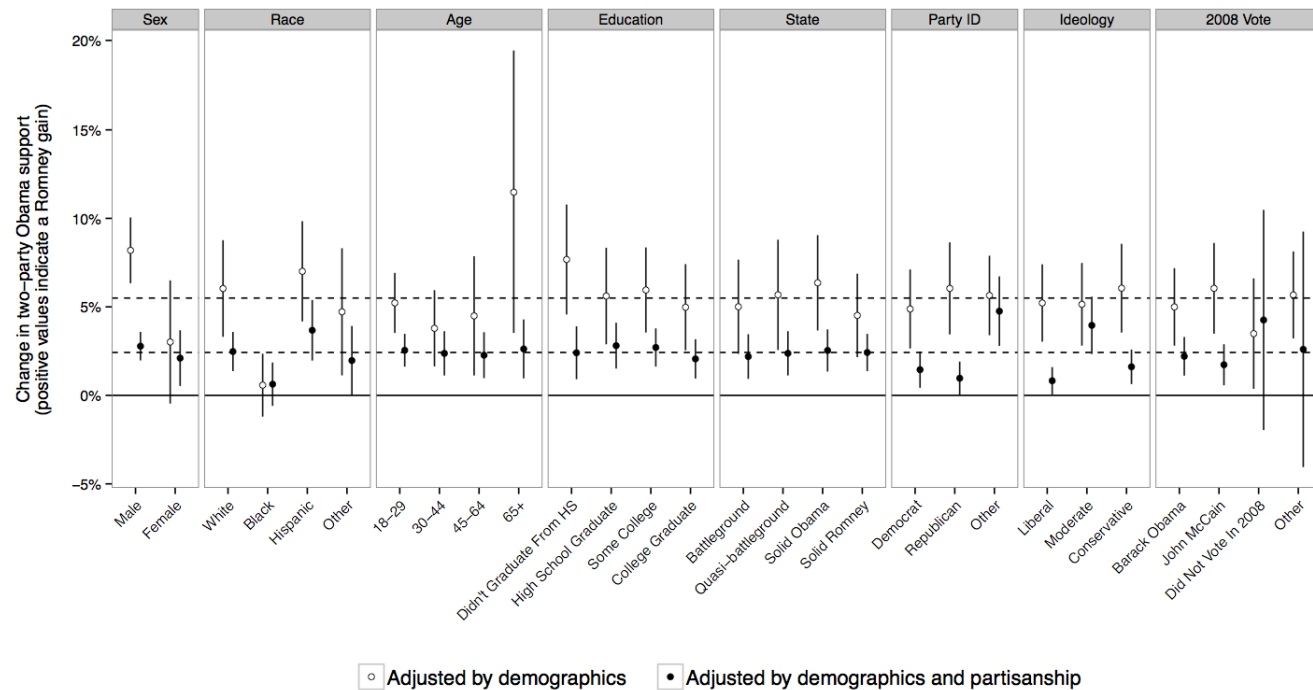
Forecasting elections with non-representative polls

WANG, ROTHSCHILD, GOEL, GELMAN (2014)

• **Demographic adjustment alone is inadequate** to correct selection bias due to partisanship

• Because of their cross-sectional design, it is difficult to correct for attitudinal selection bias in these surveys without assuming that attitudinal variables do not fluctuate over time.

• Is some **respondents change their party identification and vote intention simultaneously**, then using current party ID to weight a cross sectional survey to a past party ID benchmark is both inaccurate and arbitrary.

• Overall, panel designs appear to provide the best method for controlling for selection bias on attitudinal variables
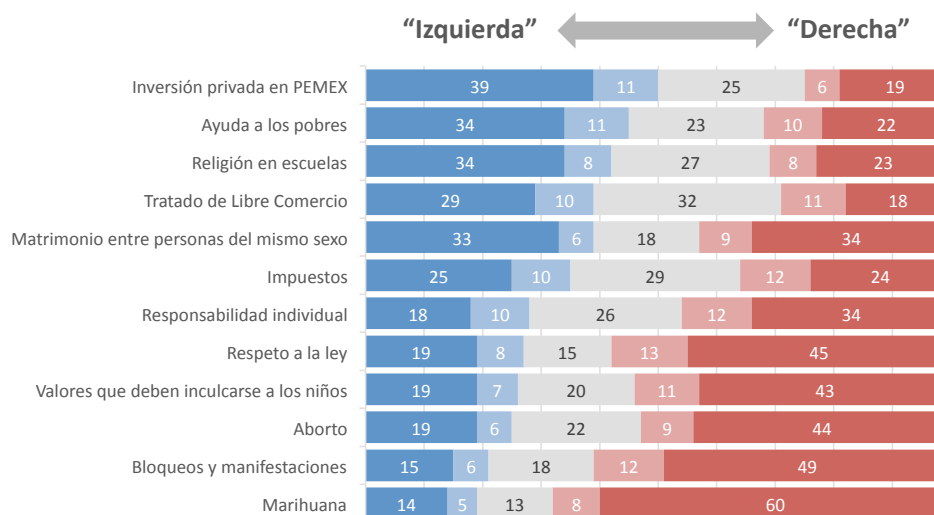
In panels, post-estratification on baseline attitudes avoids endogeneity problems associated with cross-sectional party ID weighting, even if these attitudes are not stable over the campaign.

1. Tasa de respuesta

b&l

Temas e ideología | Encuesta Nacional Trimestral
Febrero 2015

Ahora le voy a leer una serie de frases. En una escala del 1 al 5, donde 1 significa que usted está de acuerdo con la primera frase y 5 significa que usted está de acuerdo con la segunda frase, ¿dónde se ubicaría usted...?

"Izquierda" ⟷ "Derecha"

Inversión privada en PEMEX	39	11	25	6	19
Ayuda a los pobres	34	11	23	10	22
Religión en escuelas	34	8	27	8	23
Tratado de Libre Comercio	29	10	32	11	18
Matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo	33	6	18	9	34
Impuestos	25	10	29	12	24
Responsabilidad individual	18	10	26	12	34
Respeto a la ley	19	8	15	13	45
Valores que deben inculcarse a los niños	19	7	20	11	43
Aborto	19	6	22	9	44
Bloqueos y manifestaciones	15	6	18	12	49
Marihuana	14	5	13	8	60

Base total: 1,200 entrevistas efectivas. **Periodo de referencia**: del 13 al 17 de febrero de 2015.

3

b&l | buendía&laredo

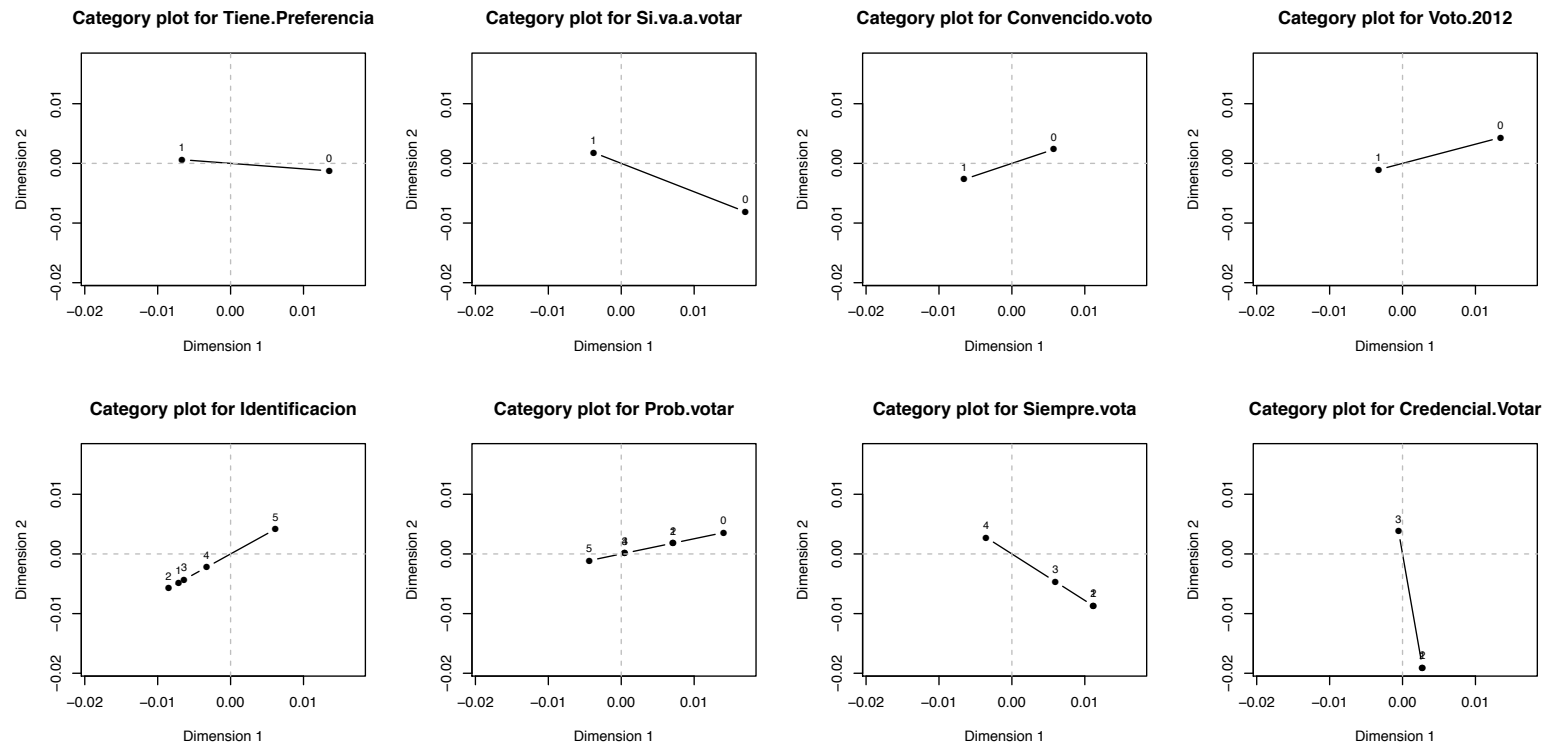# 1. Tasa de respuesta
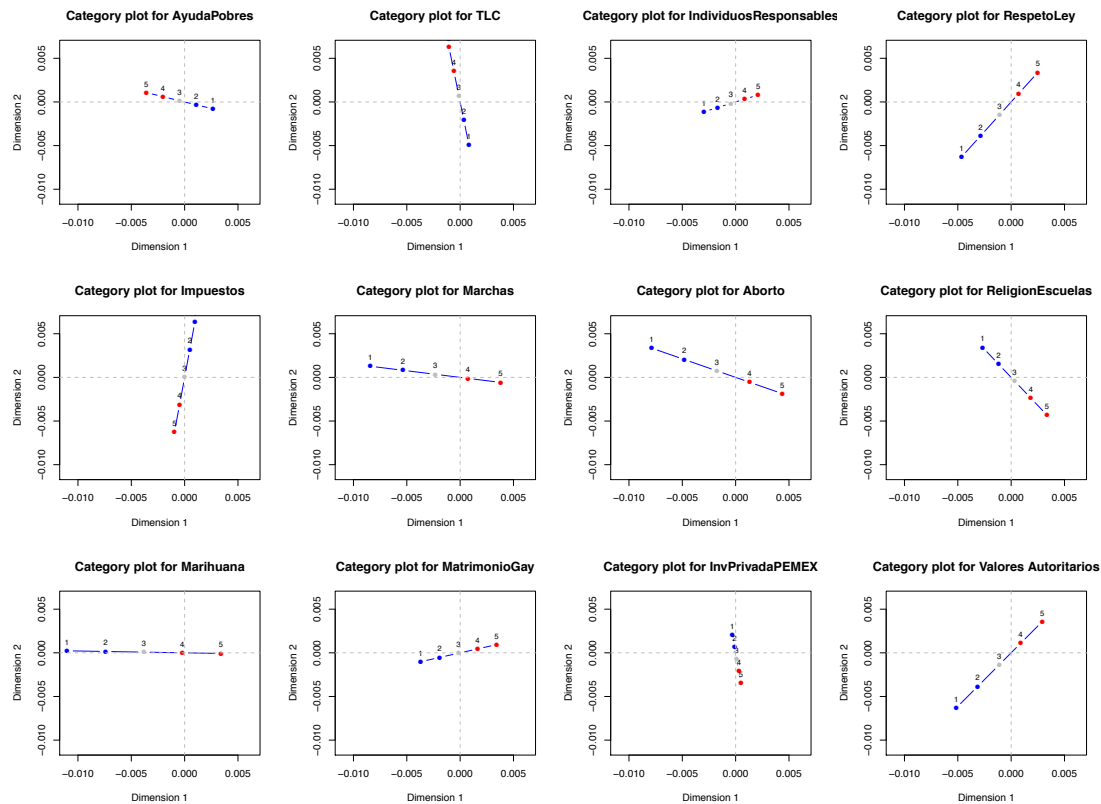
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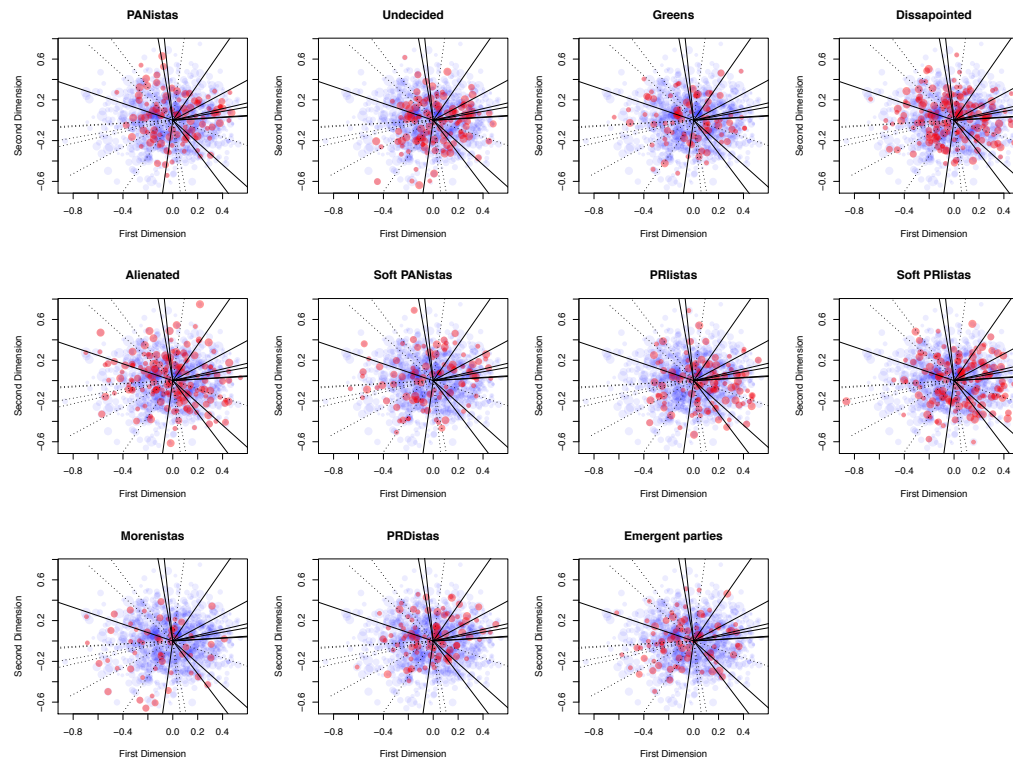
2. Votantes probables
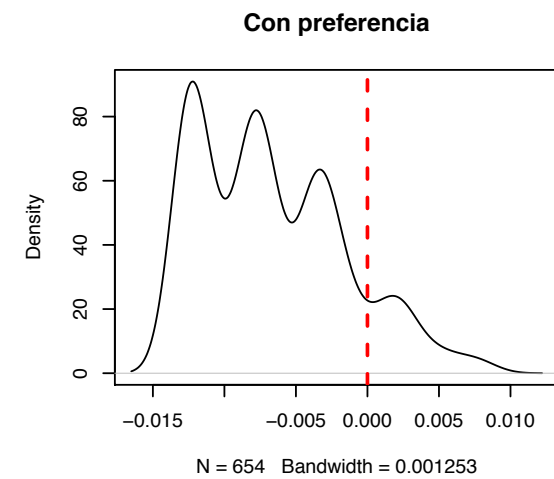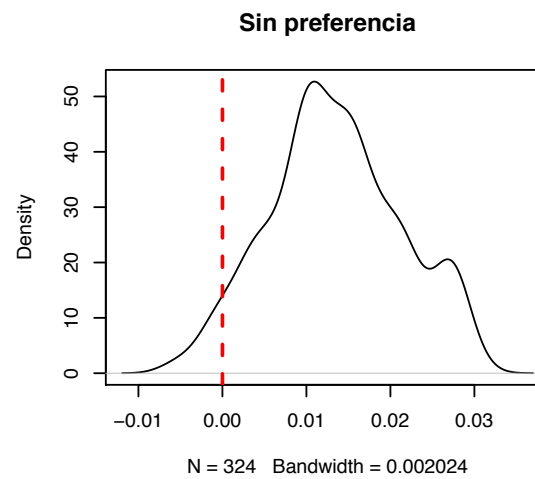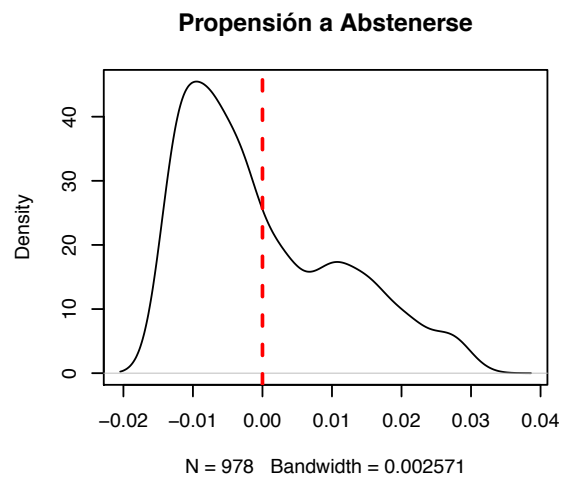
What's the Matter With Polling?

CLIFF ZUKIN | JUNE 20, 2015

- The other big problem with election polling, though not a new one, is that survey respondents overstate their likelihood of voting. It is not uncommon for 60 percent to report that they definitely plan to vote in an election in which only 40 percent will actually turn out. Pollsters have to guess, in effect, who will actually vote, and organizations construct "likely voter" scales.

- This has become a bigger problem lately. Scott Keeter, a former colleague of mine who is now the director of survey research at Pew, told me that "as coverage has shrunk and nonresponse has grown, forecasting who will turn out has become more difficult, especially in sub-presidential elections. So accuracy in polling slowly shifts from science to art."
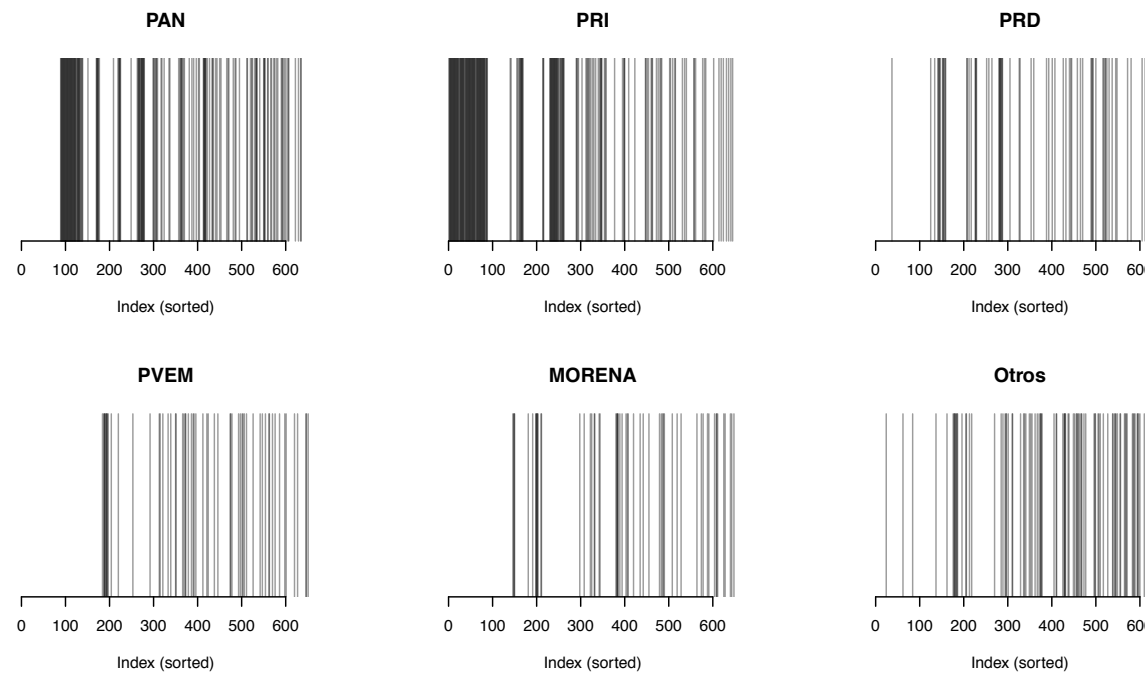
2. Votantes probables

Category plot for Tiene.Preferencia

Category plot for Si.va.a.votar

Category plot for Convencido.voto

Category plot for Voto.2012

Category plot for Identificacion

Category plot for Prob.votar

Category plot for Siempre.vota

Category plot for Credencial.Votar
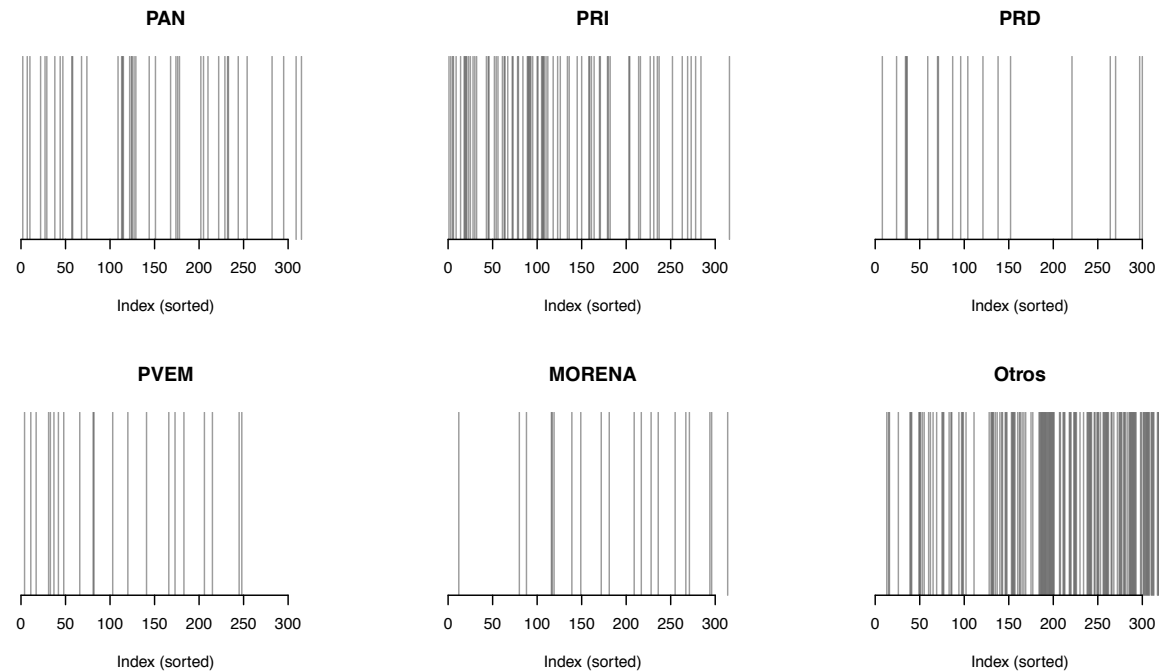
2. Votantes probables

2. Votantes probables

Propensión a votar entre entrevistados que SI declararon intención de voto

2. Votantes probables

Propensión a votar entre entrevistados que NO declararon intención de voto

2. Votantes probables

- Estimación ponderada por propensión a votar

	Encuesta	VP	Diferencia
PAN	24.72%	25.24%	-0.52%
PRI	28.81%	31.43%	-2.62%
PRD	11.72%	11.7%	0.02%
PVEM	9.22%	8.74%	0.48%
MORENA	8.80%	8.48%	0.32%
Otros	16.73%	14.40%	2.33%

Implicaciones

Is The Polling Industry In Stasis Or In Crisis?

NATE SILVER AUG 25, 2014

- Likewise, it's essential for polling firms to continue publishing pre-election surveys. While horse-race polls represent a small fraction of all surveys, they provide for relatively rare "natural experiments" by allowing survey research techniques to be tested against objective real-world outcomes.