

**Instituto Federal Electoral**

México D.F. - Noviembre 2012

***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales  
La Perspectiva Internacional***



# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales***

## ***La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***“Cuando fallan las encuestas”***
- ***“Regulación, relevancia y fallos”***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales***

## ***La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***¿Cuándo fallan las encuestas ?”***
  - ***Siempre ... pero por cuanto***
  - ***Lo increíble / imposible sería que acierten***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales***

## ***La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Regulación (?)***
  - ***Nassim Nicholas Taleb, los Cisnes Negros, y lo que se aprende del desorden***
- ***Relevancia (?)***
  - ***Sí, son parte del sistema***
- ***y Fallos (?)***
  - ***¿Quién falla? ¿Papel de los medios?***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Algunos casos señeros***
  - ***USA 1936 – El error del Literary Digest***
  - ***USA 1982 – “Efecto Bradley”***
  - ***Nicaragua 1990 – El Güegüense ?***
  - ***R. Unido 1992 – “Last Minute Swing”***
  - ***España 2004 – Impacto de Atocha***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Algunos casos señeros***
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  - ***España 2004 – Impacto de Atocha***
  - ***México 2012 - ... ?***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Algunas Indagaciones***
  - ***USA 1936 – Muchas conclusiones antes de P. Squire 1988 (Gallup 1937)***
  - ***Nicaragua 1990 – La comisión Bollinger (Pre-electoral !)***
  - ***R. Unido 1992 – Report to M. R. S.***
  - ***México: IFE / AMAI - kudos***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Lo que se dice y lo que no***
  - ***USA 1936 – Muestra Lit Digest no muy distinta de Gallup y Roper, tasa de respuestas sí.***
  - ***Nicaragua 1990 – La comisión B como factor causante y el “cover-up”***
  - ***R. Unido 1992 – La defensa del método (negocio) de cuotas***



# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Los “pequeños estudios”***
  - ***USA 1936 – Gallup 1937 – Squire 1988 – tres preguntas***
  - ***Nicaragua 1990 – El experimento de los Lápices***
  - ***R. Unido 1992 – Panel call-backs de ICM***
  - ***México 2012 – el sondeo de SIMO***

# ***Foro - Las Encuestas Electorales***

## ***La Perspectiva Internacional***

- ***Casos de muestreo, respuestas “PC”, “Swings”, Güegüenses, e intentos de influir ?***
- ***Comportamientos sociales: Bradley, Bandwagon, Espiral del Silencio, Herding, etc***
- ***Indagaciones y lo que no indagan***
- ***Pequeñas investigaciones***
- ***Robustez de las muestras probabilísticas***
- ***Regulaciones y prohibiciones contraproducentes (regular al mensajero)***

# USA - 1936

## WHY THE 1936 LITERARY DIGEST POLL FAILED

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PEVERILL SQUIRE

**Abstract** The *Literary Digest* poll of 1936 holds a place in the history of survey research. Despite its importance, little empirical research has been conducted to determine v

# USA - 1936

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Peverill Squire

**Table 1.** 1936 Presidential Vote by Car and Telephone Ownership  
(in Percent)

Presidential Vote	Car & Phone	Car, No Phone	Phone, No Car	Neither
Roosevelt	55	68	69	79
Landon	45	30	30	19
Other	1	2	0	2
Total <i>N</i>	946	447	236	657

SOURCE: American Institute of Public Opinion, 28 May 1937.

# USA - 1936

victory.

This suggests that *the response rate was an important source of error*. Evidence supporting this claim is presented in Table 3. Among those who responded—correcting for those who remembered changing their mind before the election—a slight majority favored Landon. While the Gallup survey numbers do not reach the same level of sup-

**Table 2.** Presidential Vote by Receiving *Literary Digest* Straw Vote Ballot or Not (in Percent)

Presidential Vote	Received Poll	Not Receive Poll	Do Not Know
Roosevelt	55	71	73
Landon	44	27	25
Other	1	1	3
Total <i>N</i>	780	1339	149

SOURCE: American Institute of Public Opinion, 28 May 1937.

# USA - 1936

## The 1936 *Literary Digest* Poll

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**Table 3.** Presidential Vote by Returning or Not Returning Straw Vote Ballot (in Percent)

Presidential Vote	Did Return	Did Not Return	Do Not Know
Roosevelt	48	69	56
Landon	51	30	40
Other	1	1	4
Total <i>N</i>	493	288	48

SOURCE: American Institute of Public Opinion, 28 May 1937.

port for the Republican reported in the *Literary Digest* poll, they are in

# ***USA - 1936***

- ***El marco muestral no explicaba el error***
- ***Ni tampoco la muestra real en sí***
- ***Pero sí la tasa diferencial de respuesta***
- ***Las tres preguntas de Gallup '37 se analizan en 1988***
- ***Impacta el mercado, auge de Gallup, Roper***

# USA – 1982 -

## *Bradley effect*

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The **Bradley effect**, less commonly called the **Wilder effect**,<sup>[1][2]</sup> is a theory proposed to explain observed discrepancies between voter [opinion polls](#) and election outcomes in some [United States](#) government elections where a [white](#) candidate and a [non-white](#) candidate run against each other.<sup>[3][4][5]</sup> The theory proposes that some voters will tell pollsters they are undecided or likely to vote for a black candidate, while on election day they vote for the white candidate. It was named after [Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley](#), an [African-American](#) who lost the [1982 California governor's race](#) despite being ahead in voter polls going into the elections.<sup>[6]</sup>

The Bradley effect theory posits that the inaccurate polls were skewed by the phenomenon of [social desirability bias](#).<sup>[7][8]</sup> Specifically, some white voters give inaccurate polling responses for fear that, by stating their true preference, they will open themselves to criticism of racial motivation. Members of the public may feel under pressure to provide an answer that is deemed to be more publicly acceptable, or '[politically correct](#)'. The reluctance to give accurate polling answers has sometimes extended to post-election [exit polls](#) as well. The race of the pollster conducting the interview may factor in to voters' answers.

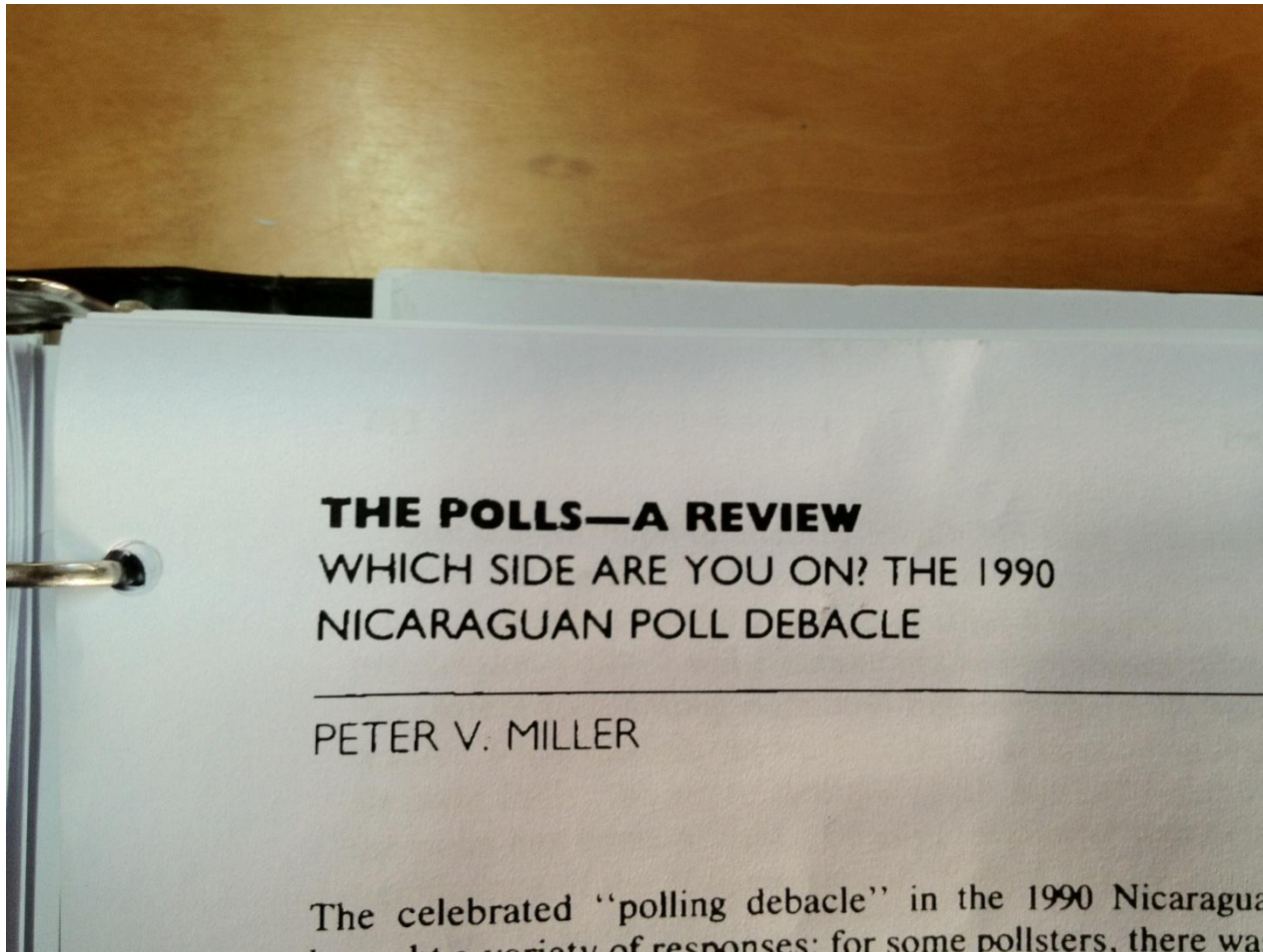


# USA – 1982 -

## *Bradley effect*

- *Los competidores de Bradley (Los Angeles) , Dinkins (NYC) y Wilder (Virginia) arguyen que las expectativas deprimieron la afluencia de sus seguidores.*
- *Comparable o contrario a México 2012 ?*
- *En Argentina 1983 intención de voto favorable a Alfonsín 52-40, expectativas contrarias 50-25.*
- *Necesario según factor explicativo: expectativa + valoración*

# ***NICARAGUA - 1990***



# NICARAGUA - 1990

**Table 1.** Published Nicaraguan Preelection Polls, March, 1989, through February, 1990

Date	Sponsor <sup>a</sup>	Direction <sup>a</sup>	Field Work <sup>a</sup>	Population Sampled	N	Lead	Percentage Deviation from Final Vote <sup>b</sup>
3/28-4/6/89	Morales Foundation	Unknown	Unknown	Selected Municipalities	2,800	UNO	-6
5/13-5/14/89	UCA	Itztani	Itztani	Selected cities	1,500	FSLN	-29
6/27-7/6/89	<i>La Prensa</i> <i>El Nuevo Herald</i> <i>La Nacion</i>	Borge Y Asoc.	Borge Y Asoc.	Selected Munic.	1,220	UNO	+6
7/29-7/30/89	INOP	Itztani	Itztani	28 Munic.	1,500	FSLN	-14
8/8-8/11/89	Morales Foundation	Unknown	Unknown	4 cities	1,150	FSLN	-24
9/27-10/2/89	CARIN	Itztani	Itztani	17 Munic.	1,157	FSLN	-11
10/2-10/7/89	UCA	ECO	ECO	31 Munic.	4,114	FSLN	-16
10/12-10/21/89	Various U.S. & Central Am. clients	CID-Gallup	CID-Gallup	28 Munic.	956	UNO	-3
10/22-10/27/89	Univision	Bendixen-Schroth Consultaria 21	Logos	23 Munic.	1,129	FSLN (virtual tie)	-8

from poq.oxfordjournals.org by guest on February 11, 2011

# NICARAGUA - 1990

Table I. (Continued)

Date	Sponsor <sup>a</sup>	Direction <sup>a</sup>	Field Work <sup>a</sup>	Population Sampled	N	Lead	Percentage Deviation from Final Vote <sup>b</sup>
10/23-10/30/89	(IPCE NED) <i>La Prensa</i> <i>El Nuevo Herald</i> <i>La Nacion</i>	Borge Y Asoc.	Borge Y Asoc.	55 Munic.	1,284	UNO	+6
11/13-11/19/89	UCA	ECO	ECO	National	3,681	FSLN	-18
11/7-11/15/89	Unknown	DOXA	DOXA	14 Munic.	800	UNO	-5
11/25-12/3/89	Hemisphere Initiatives	Greenberg-Lake	Itztani	National	971	FSLN	-16
11/28-12/5/89	Unknown	DOXA	DOXA	Unknown	1,200	UNO	-3
12/89	UCA	ECO	ECO	National	4,431	FSLN	-25
12/9-12/16/89	NORAD CINZONTLE	Unknown	Unknown	Women only	1,000	FSLN	-21
12/15-12/20/89	NED	VIA CIVICA	VIA CIVICA	36 Munic.	2,825	UNO	+7
12/18-1/15/90	IPCE (NED) <i>La Prensa</i>	Borge Y Asoc.	Borge Y Asoc.	National	1,200	UNO	-3
1/90	UNO Campaign Hemisphere Initiatives	Greenberg-Lake	Itztani	National	901	FSLN	-23

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# NICARAGUA - 1990

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1/15-1/19/90	UCA	ECO	ECO	National	4,545	FSLN	-20
1/10-1/17/90	Unknown	DOXA	DOXA	Unknown	1,080	UNO	-6
1/25-1/31/90	Unknown	DOXA	DOXA	Unknown	1,200	UNO	-15
1/21-1/25/90	NED	VIA CIVICA	VIA CIVICA	36 Munic.	2,825	UNO	+3
1/23-1/28/90	Univision	Bendixen-Schroth Consultaria 21	Logos	National	1,000	FSLN	-16
1/24-2/7/90	Unknown	Mora y Araujo, Noguera y Asociados	Mora y Araujo, Noguera y Asociados	National	1,118	UNO	-1
2/90	IPCE (NED) <i>La Prensa</i> UNO Campaign	Borge Y Asoc.	Borge Y Asoc.	Unknown	8,000		-1
2/90	UCA	ECO	ECO	National	2,357	FSLN	-22
2/11-2/15/90	Washington Post & ABC News	Belden & Russonello	Itztani	National	925	FSLN	-15
2/11-2/13/90	IPCE (NED) <i>La Prensa</i> UNO Campaign	Borge Y Asoc.	Borge Y Asoc.	Managua only	1,260	UNO	-5

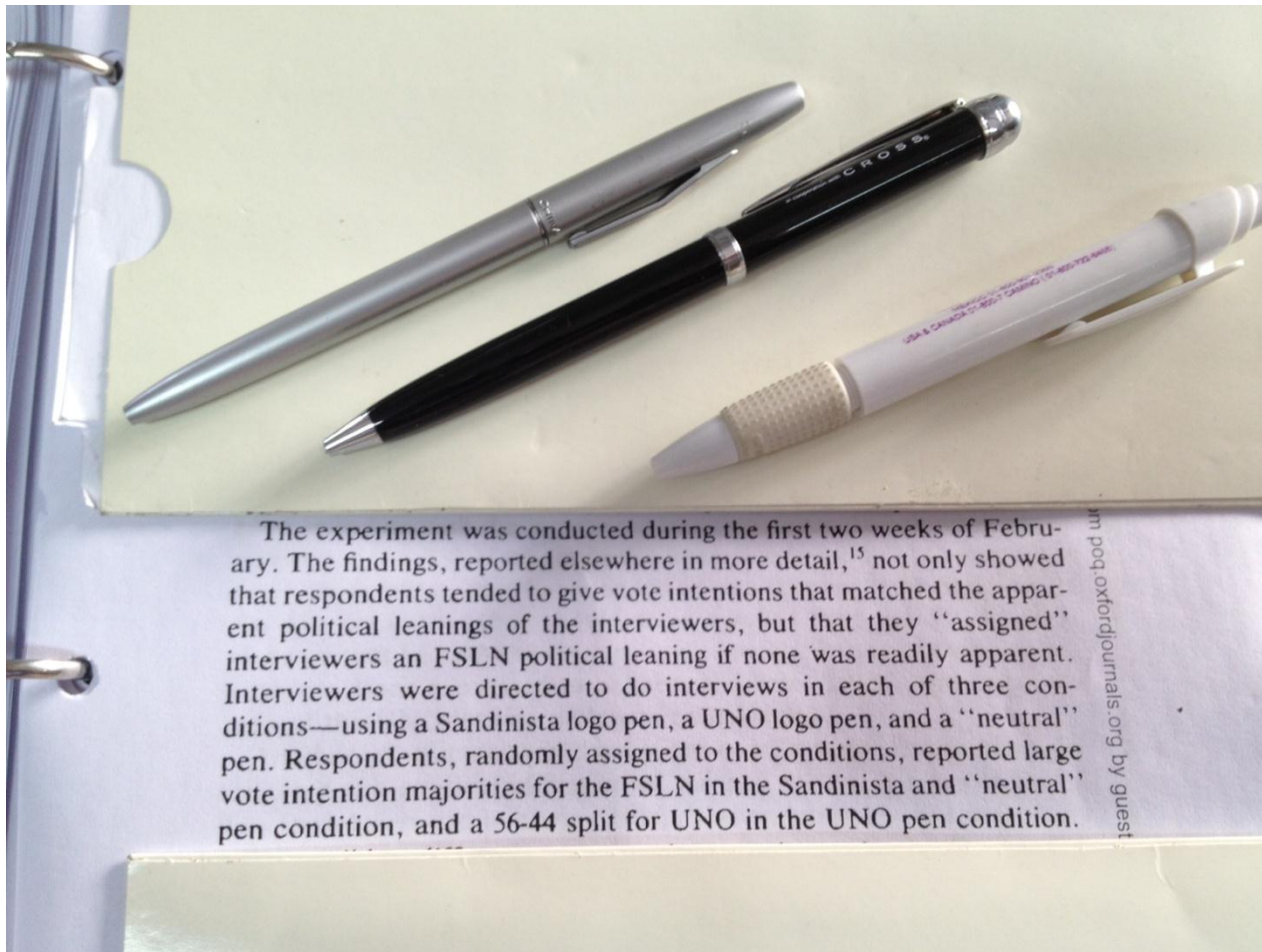
SOURCE: Data compiled by the Commission on Nicaraguan Preelection Polls.

<sup>a</sup> Identity of sponsors, directing research firms, and fieldwork agencies is discussed in the text. NED stands for National Endowment for Democracy, a U.S. agency that gave funds to Nicaraguan opposition groups, e.g., VIA CIVICA.

<sup>b</sup> Deviation is calculated after allocating the "undecided" respondents equally to UNO and FSLN.

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# NICARAGUA - 1990



The experiment was conducted during the first two weeks of February. The findings, reported elsewhere in more detail,<sup>15</sup> not only showed that respondents tended to give vote intentions that matched the apparent political leanings of the interviewers, but that they "assigned" interviewers an FSLN political leaning if none was readily apparent. Interviewers were directed to do interviews in each of three conditions—using a Sandinista logo pen, a UNO logo pen, and a "neutral" pen. Respondents, randomly assigned to the conditions, reported large vote intention majorities for the FSLN in the Sandinista and "neutral" pen condition, and a 56-44 split for UNO in the UNO pen condition.

# ***NICARAGUA - 1990***

- ***El experimento de los Lápices***
  - ***Colores Sandinistas***
  - ***Y Colores Neutros***
    - ***= gran ventaja Sandinista***
  - ***Colores de la UNO***
    - ***= VBCh 56 – DOS 44***
    - ***Resultado real 55-40***

# NICARAGUA - 1990

ences among polls were hampered by  
nizations to share information with  
difficulties in monitoring far-flung fi

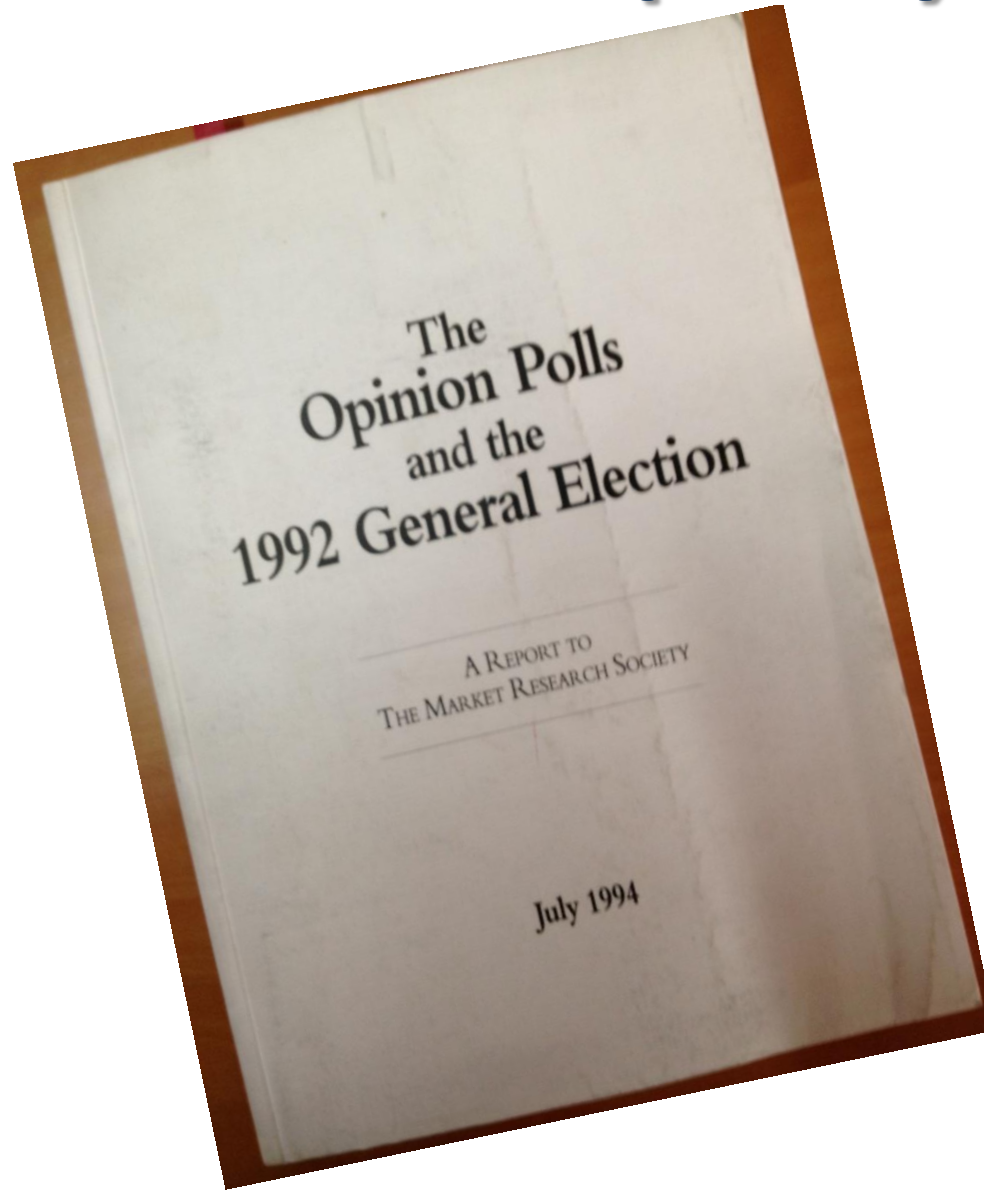
PETER V. MILLER is Associate Professor of  
Director of the Institute for Modern Comm  
review would not have been possible witho  
vided by the Commission on Nicaraguan  
thank William Bollinger, who coordinated  
responsible for collecting the information o  
for additional information on Itztani and  
International Foundation for Electoral Syst  
to Janice Ballou for information on Borge  
the careful scrutiny of Nancy Belden, Kat



# **NICARAGUA - 1990**

- ***“Debacle” de quién ?***
- ***Hubo “Cover-up” ?***
- ***Comisión causó (sin buscarlo) efecto que deseaba evitar?***
- ***Por qué no se atendió tema lápices antes?***
- ***“Güegüense” extrapolable a PC ?***

# ***REINO UNIDO (U.K.) - 1992***



# REINO UNIDO (U.K.) - 1992

This survey offers the only direct opportunity to examine how those who were interviewed in one of the final polls actually voted, and found clear evidence of a late swing. Of course, there is some risk of inaccuracy in the reported vote, but this should be minimised by the short period between the election and the date of the recall interviews.

33. Table 7 shows the effect of adjusting ICM's eve-of-poll survey successively for each of the three factors. The last line of the table consequently shows what the result would have been if the changes revealed by the recall could have been predicted in advance.

Table 7: ICM's eve-of-poll survey as corrected in the light of recall survey data

		Con	Lab	Ave error (all parties)	Con lead
Original data	%	38	38	2.3	0
<b>Adjustments for:</b>					
Turnout	%	39	39	2.0	0
Switchers	%	40	39	1.8	+1
Late deciders	%	40	38	1.7	+2

Source: ICM

# REINO UNIDO (U.K.) - 1992

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## 4. DID THE VOTERS REALLY CHANGE THEIR MINDS?

29. We have reached these conclusions with regard to 'late swing':

(i) There were signs of a swing in the week preceding the final survey; indeed, this was noted by commentators at the time. It should perhaps have warned all concerned to exercise more caution than they did.

(ii) After the final interviews there was a further swing to the Tories. It seems likely that this was the cause of a significant part of the final error. The scale of this swing was certainly not sufficient to offer the pollsters an excuse for their failure, and most of the discrepancy remains to be explained. Nevertheless, late swing is part of the story. Since it could happen again in the future, pollsters and the media need to bear the possibility in mind and if necessary allow for it in the interpretation of their findings.

(iii) Despite some appearances to the contrary, the British electorate was more than usually volatile in 1992.

30. What we call late swing can be classified into three distinct components:

(a) **Turnout.** Not all those who had said that they would vote and expressed a preference for a party actually went to vote on the day, and some of those who said that they would not vote did so after all. The Conservatives benefitted from the differential effect of these decisions. (Although this 'differential turnout' would normally be distinguished from 'swing' by psephologists, its effect on the polls is the same and is in essence another facet of the same problem - respondents not doing what they had honestly told the pollsters that they believed they would do.)

(b) **Switchers.** Some people who had said they would vote for a particular party decided on the final day to vote differently. All parties lost some voters and gained others but the Conservatives made a net gain; the largest group were people who had said they intended to vote Liberal Democrat but finally switched to the Conservatives.

(c) **Late deciders.** Some people made up their minds to vote and decided which party to support on the very last day. The Conservatives gained more of these last-minute votes than the other parties.

• **Late Swing**

• **Turnout**

• **Switchers**

• **Late deciders**

# REINO UNIDO (U.K.) - 1992



• *Late Swing*

• *Pre anunciado*

• *Se repitió en '97 ?  
(pero no cambió  
el resultado)*

# REINO DE ESPAÑA - 2004

## EL PAIS

VIERNES 12 DE MARZO DE 2004  
Año XXXI, Número 9.781

DIARIO INDEPENDIENTE DE LA MAÑANA  
www.elpais.es

EDICIÓN MADRID  
Precio: 1 euro

### Infierno terrorista en Madrid: 192 muertos y 1.400 heridos

Interior investiga la pista de Al Qaeda sin descartar a ETA



Decenas de heridos permanecen junto a las vías instantes después de abandonar el tren que sufrió el atentado en las proximidades de la estación de Atocha. / PABLO TORRES QUERREDO

Diez explosiones en cuatro trenes de cercanías siembran el terror ● La policía encuentra detonadores y una cinta con versos del Corán en Alcalá ● El Rey expresa su "repulsa e indignación" ● Rajoy y Zapatero piden la unidad de los demócratas ● Los partidos suspenden la campaña electoral y se suman a las manifestaciones convocadas hoy en toda España

Cuatro atentados terroristas sincronizados, en los que estallaron 10 de los 13 artefactos explosivos colocados, causaron ayer sus muertos en los trenes de cercanías de Madrid. Al menos 190 personas fallecieron y más de 1.400 resultaron heridas en el mayor ataque terrorista en la historia de España y uno de los más sangrientos de Europa. Las bombas estallaron pasadas las 7.30 en la estación de

Atocha y en sus cercanías, en la de Santa Eugenia y en el aparcadero del Puco del Tío Ramoncito cuando decenas de miles de ciudadanos se dirigían a su trabajo. El Ministerio del Interior informó de que su principal línea de investigación es ETA, pero no descartó la pista de Al Qaeda tras el hallazgo en Alcalá de una cinta con versos del Corán y detonadores en una furgoneta robada.

EDITORIAL

II-M

LA FECHA de ayer quedará marcada en rojo en la memoria de españoles y europeos: los casi dos centenares de muertos y más de un millar de heridos provocados por los atentados de Madrid suponen la mayor matanza terrorista en España, y la catástrofe de mayor alcance registrada en la capital desde la Guerra Civil. Este país acaba de experimentar un terremoto de unas dimensiones y de una crueldad hasta ahora desconocidas. La eventualidad de que sea obra de Al Qaeda y de que tenga relación con el papel jugado por el Gobierno de Aznar en la guerra de Irak renoblará una novedad que no puede dejar de sembrar una profunda inquietud. Pasa a la página 10

- *Se menciona mucho el Caso España / Atocha*
- *Pero no parece un tema de encuestas, sino de lo que sucedió*
- *Y de las versiones que culpaban a Al-Qaeda o a ETA*
- *Y el rol de celulares y mensajes de texto (viral)*

# ***REINO DE ESPAÑA - 2004***



# ***La Perspectiva Internacional***

## ***Sí – Puede servir de marco inicial en México***

- ***Casos de muestreo, respuestas “PC”, “Swings”, Güegüenses, e intentos de influir ?***
- ***Comportamientos sociales: Bradley, Bandwagon, Espiral del Silencio, Herding, etc***
- ***Indagaciones y lo que no indagan***
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***Muchas Gracias***