

NEWSLETTER

Fourth Quarter

2004

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UPCOMING ANNUAL CONFERENCE:
SEPTEMBER 15-17, 2005
CANNES, FRANCE

Ukrainian Presidential Elections 2004: Exit Polls and Public Repercussions

By Volodymyr Paniotto
Director of Kiev International Institute of Sociology,
Professor of Kiev-Mohyla University

The first and the second rounds of presidential elections in Ukraine took place on the 31st of October and the 21st of November. These elections are endowed with exceptional importance by the fact that the country's strategic development direction is brought into question. The question is whether there will be more effective European integration, more rapid economic growth rates and higher democratic values, or whether there will be a closer union with Russia and a still more authoritative regime. There had been registered a total of 26 candidates, yet only two of them turned out to be truly viable candidates. The opposition candidate V. Yushchenko, former prime minister and head of National Bank, represents the first direction, the pro-government one. Today's Prime Minister V. Yanukovych, represented the second direction, being a successor of the already 10 years in power President L. Kuchma. In the course of the election campaigns, the opposition accused the ruling power of involving entire authority resources in the campaign of the prime minister Yanukovych: doubling the pensions in the month before the election days, continuous usage of mass media, outdoor advertising, etc. At the same time, the opposition was granted limited access to mass media and some media were closed down. Besides, the opposition accused the authorities of an attempt to poison presidential contender V. Yushchenko.

Upon the initiative of the "Democratic Initiatives" Fund, the four sociological companies – KIIS, Razumkov Centre, SOCIS, Social Monitoring Centre – combined their efforts to create a consortium in order to hold an exit-poll. This task was financially supported by 8 embassies and 4 funds. During the previous elections, exit-polls were held 4 times and the distinction from official results amounted to no more than 1.5% - 2%.

Starting six months before the actual voting, my company Kiev International Institute of Sociology

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Letter from the President

I have just returned from the WAPOR seminar in Pamplona, where (at the close of a year with multiple elections worldwide) we discussed the relationship of researcher and media. Elections in 2004 were especially difficult challenges for public opinion researchers, with conflicts surrounding voting in many places: a disputed vote in Venezuela (now being examined by a WAPOR committee), a second runoff vote in Ukraine now scheduled for December 26, the March Spanish elections taking place in the immediate aftermath of a terrorist attack in Madrid, and of course the election most familiar to me — the intensely polarized U.S. presidential race.

The American elections were more intense this year both for the public and for public opinion pollsters. The election was being held in the midst of a war that divided the electorate nearly evenly. In general, attitudes were more hardened than typically, and the country more polarized. In 2004, 70% of American voters saw major differences between the two political parties, a number that had been growing steadily since CBS News and The New York Times began asking this question in 1980. Back then, just 49% saw major differences between the Republican and Democratic parties.

Voters were also more attentive and more committed than usual: Two-thirds of voters said they were paying “a lot” of attention to the campaign – more than in all but one election in the past quarter century. Only the election of

“One of WAPOR’s obligations is to support its members and others who engage in serious public opinion research from government and other politically motivated intrusion.”

1992, conducted in the midst of a recession, with the intriguing on-again, off-again third party candidacy of billionaire Ross Perot, attracted as much attention from potential voters as did this year’s race. This year, 73% of voters thought who won was “very important” to their family. And half the voters admitted they would be “scared” if one or the other candidate won – with 28% saying they would be scared if the President were re-elected, and 24% saying the same thing about a possible John Kerry presidency.

In this situation, it probably should not have come as a surprise that polling came under especially intense criticism in the United States this year. Obviously, pollsters are used to criticism from candidates who don’t like the results, but that criticism was particularly vitriolic in the United States this year – with one state’s Republican Party holding a press conference to call for the firing of one newspaper’s polling director and a Republican pollster describing another pollster’s results as “a mess.” On the other side, the advocacy group Moveon.org, which supported the Democratic presidential candidate, took out a full page advertisement in The New York Times attacking the Gallup Poll, including a personal attack on the beliefs of one of the members of the Gallup family – who did not even have a direct relationship with the poll itself. By the end of the campaign, and afterwards, legitimate pollsters were willing to attack other legitimate pollsters – something unseen in other years.

One of WAPOR’s obligations is to support its members and others who engage in serious public opinion research from government and other politically motivated intrusion. But I also hope that members can support one another, since public bickering among us can only lead to a weakening of organizational strength and the integrity of the profession, setting in motion even more outside criticism and political attack.

Despite some of my worries and those others expressed in looking at the relationship of journalists and polling in Pamplona, the seminar was (in WAPOR tradition) a very happy conference. We enjoyed a reception at the City

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*WAPOR President
Kathleen Frankovic*

ISSC Initiative on Ethnic Conflict

by Nick Moon, ISSC Liaison

As you may know, WAPOR is a member of the International Social Science Council, a subsidiary organisation of UNESCO. WAPOR and ISSC have worked together on projects in the past, and WAPOR member Marita Carballo is a member of the ISSC Executive Committee and has recently been elected Vice-President of the ISSC.

The ISSC is launching a new initiative on the important policy of ethnic conflict and its resolution. As an umbrella body for the social sciences, the ISSC sees it has an important role to play in sponsoring such an initiative.

www.unesco.org/ngo/issc/

One of the key social themes of the later part of the 20th Century and the first years of the 21st Century, has been continuing international and intrastate violence, with ethnic rivalry often a typical cause of this. A sad example of this is the extent in which the term ethnic cleansing had passed into every day parlance. There has been a considerable body of social research into the causes of ethnical conflict but there has been very little crossover of this research into the political domain, with many key decision makers largely unaware of the research. This is why the ISSC intends to launch a new initiative designed to summarise the current state of research into the area of ethnic conflict and its resolution, and to bring it to the attention of a wider public, including policy makers. The main aims of the research are:

- To take stock of existing research on ethnic conflict
- To identify the principle gaps in the current research
- To encourage further research in these areas
- To ensure that these research findings are readily available within the public policy sector at the level of both the National Government and International bodies.

As a first step the ISSC has appointed a committee to explore ways in which this initiative could be taken forward, under the leadership of John Cokely of University College Dublin. The hope is that member organisations such as WAPOR will contribute to this initiative either through making existing research information available or by encouraging new research in this area.

The research is very much at its initial stages so far and WAPOR has been invited to comment on how it might best be taken forward. Any WAPOR members with clear experience or ideas in this area are encouraged to contact either John Cokely at University College Dublin (john.cokely@ucd.ie) or WAPOR itself.

Elections

The ballots for the annual election were counted in November and the results, as announced by Brian Gosschalk, were as follows. The new Vice-President/President-Elect is Michael Traugott of the University of Michigan. Tom Smith of NORC was re-elected Standards Committee Chair. The terms for these two offices begin on January 1, 2005. Thank you to everyone who voted in the election.

WAPORnet

As a member of WAPOR, you have access to the listserv, which you can use to keep in touch with other WAPOR members. This is a feature of your membership that we urge you to take advantage of. You may have information on upcoming events or on current happenings in public opinion research that you would like to share with the other members. Send your message to wapor@unl.edu to reach all of the current members of WAPOR.

Elections, News Media and Public Opinion: A Report from Pamplona

By Wayne Wanta
University of Missouri, USA

While politicians, journalists and pollsters all have different goals, interactions between the three do not need to be adversarial, according to panelists at the plenary session for the WAPOR regional convention held November 25-26 in Pamplona, Spain.

The conference, the third regional conference held in Pamplona, was devoted to “Elections, News Media and Public Opinion.” It was hosted by the Department of Public Communication at the University of Navarra.

The plenary session, titled “Politicians, Journalists and Pollsters: A Love-Hate Relationship,” included representatives of each of the three groups: Pilar del Castillo, a member of the European Parliament and former minister of education; Kathy Frankovic, pollster for CBS and president of WAPOR; Carlos Malo de Molina, president of Sigma-Dos; and Francisco G. Basterra, executive director of CNN+.

Several papers presented at the conference examined the unusual nature of recent elections in countries such as the Netherlands, Spain and the United States.

Arne Modig reported on research conducted during elections for the European Parliament in Sweden. Voter turnout was abnormally low by Swedish standards – under 50 percent. Modig suggested that Swedish voters did not see the European Parliament election as important as national elections in Sweden, thus leading to extremely low turnout.

Willem E. Saris discussed the “Most Unusual Election in the Netherlands,” in which a candidate who was murdered before the election nonetheless received strong support from voters, leading Saris to ask: “How can you vote for a party with no leader?”

Several papers discussed the Spanish elections and how media coverage of a terrorist attack in Madrid influenced the election outcome. Maria Jose Canel reported findings of a study examining how the bombing, which happened just days before the national election, was framed. Raquel Rodriguez found that the top three issues on the voters’ personal agenda perfectly matched the top three issues on the voters’ overall issue agenda. In other words, the issues that voters believed were the most important issues facing Spain today were identical to the issues that voters believed were the most personally relevant.

Attending the conference were 47 participants from 14 countries, including 25 new WAPOR members. Included among the participants were former WAPOR Presidents Hans L. Zetterberg of Sweden and Maxwell E. McCombs of the U.S., current WAPOR President Kathy Frankovic of the U.S. and future WAPOR President Esteban Lopez-Escobar of Spain.

(KIIS), as well as some other companies, began testing whether the people were prepared to give truthful answers about who they were going to vote for. KIIS held the surveys using the split-half method – one half of the respondents were questioned by face-to-face method and the other by secret ballot (respondents were asked the question “Who are you going to vote for at the upcoming elections?” and wrote down their answer upon a separate sheet and dropped the sheet in a paper box). The closer to the voting date, the more strain and administrative pressure was exerted and the more the voters were intimidated, so, consequently, the difference grew steadily between the openly made and anonymous answers. In the 15 days before the first round of the elections, this difference amounted to 3-4%.

Reasoning from these results, KIIS and Razumkov Centre (CNR) made the decision to hold the exit-poll by means of secret ballot survey, while SOCIS and “Social Monitoring” (CSM) insisted upon holding the exit poll by means of interviewing. Finally, each company performed exit-polls along its own guidelines – ordinary interviews or secret ballots. The sampling of every company included 370 polling stations, 12,500 respondents, totaling about 1500 voting places and 50,000 respondents. The united data were assumed to be representative for each of the 26 Ukrainian oblasts.

Following the first round, two contenders out of 26 came through to the second round, as had been predicted. The following table contains the exit-poll data of the four companies and the data of the Central Election Board (CEB) presented in the last row:

Company name	V.Yushchenko, (%)	V.Yanukovych, (%)	V.Yushchenko, diff. from CEB	V.Yanukovych, diff. from CEB
KIIS, secret ballot	44,8	38,1	4,9	-1,2
CNR, secret ballot	45,1	37	5,2	-2,3
CSM, interview	41,1	41,2	1,2	1,9
SOCIS, interview	42	40,1	2,1	0,8
Official results	39,9	39,3	0	0

The elections were falsified on a large scale, according to the opposition, OSCE and other international observers. We find that to be the reason for the CSM and SOCIS data, obtained by means of interviewing, being closer to the official data than the results of KIIS and CNR that were obtained by the secret ballot method, which provides more sincere answers and higher respondent rates (RR KIIS 79%, RR CNR 77%, RR SOCIS 74%, RR CSM 72%).

Before the second round of the elections the SOCIS and CSN companies moved away and held their own exit-polls by means of face-to-face interviewing, while my company (KIIS) and CNR (technically supported by “Democratic Initiatives” Fund) held the National Exit-poll 2004 using the secret ballot method. The sampling included 750 voting places, at which about 28,000 respondents were surveyed, RR lying at 79%. The exit-poll was prepared and performed with the help of expert consultants and observers from Russia (A.Andreenkova from CESSI, A. Grazhdankin and E. Duke from Levada-center) and Poland (Maciej Kochanowicz and Ryszard Pieńkowski from PBS). On the basis of our exit-poll in the second election round the following data was produced:

Company name	V.Yushchenko, (%)	V.Yanukovych (%)	Difference
KIIS and CNR, secret ballot, unweighted data	53,7	43,3	10,4
KIIS and CNR, secret ballot, weighted data	53,0	44,0	9
Official results	46,6	49,5	-2,9

According to the data of our exit-poll, that were announced right after the voting stations were closed, the opposition contender Yushchenko won (by 10.4%). When turnout data were published at the CEB website, they turned out to be exceptionally high (for instance, in Donetsk region, where Yanukovych had held the governor’s chair, almost 97% of the electors voted, which is regarded by the opposition and the observers to be a sign of data distortion). Weighting the data according to the given turnout reduces the gap to 9%. As far as I know, the results of the exit-

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National Representative Report-Hong Kong, China

Dr. Robert Ting-Yiu Chung

WAPOR National Representative--Hong Kong, China

Science knows no boundary – national, ethnical or cultural. I will, therefore, not restrict myself to discussing events in Hong Kong, but rather, in the interest of the international community, I would like to describe what I know of the “Bigger China Region”. I use “bigger” rather than “greater” because I think every country is great, and every region is great. The region comprises four sub-regions, namely, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and Mainland China, listed in order of geographical distance from my home base to their administration centers.

Hong Kong and Macau are now the two and only two places in the world under the umbrella of “one country, two systems”. Both cities have a long history of colonial rule, but are allowed to maintain their unique traditions and ways of life under the sovereignty of China. Taiwan, on the other hand, rejects the concept, and is speeding through its own highway of democracy, with occasional skids and swerves. Mainland China is now a big engine rolling on the fast track of economic development, while sowing the seeds of social transformation.

Hong Kong according to most analysts is a free society without democracy but governed by the rule of law. Hong Kong’s mini-constitution “the Basic Law” guarantees universal suffrage for the selection of its top leaders “in accordance with the principle of gradual and orderly progress”, but what that means has been a subject for fierce debates.

Since the introduction of direct election to the legislature of Hong Kong in 1991, opinion polling has flourished. There is practically no legal restriction on the publication of polls, including pre-election and exit polls. However, like in the United States, exit poll predictions are only published after the close of poll, as a matter of self-discipline rather than by legislation.

*WAPOR Regional
Conference in
Hong Kong in
December 2005*



A price has to be paid, however, for this freedom. In the absence of a professional code of conduct, and a professional body to regulate the publication of polls, a large number of sub-standard and partisan polls have appeared, sometimes drowning the proper ones. A few months ago, before and during the Legislative Council election, many partisan pre-election and exit polls appeared, and were used openly for election engineering purposes. Professional rolling polls, on the other hand, were criticized by some partisan commentators as favouring the stronger candidates, because they were released too frequently! Fortunately, the academia in Hong Kong still provides a driving force for clean and scientific polling, which in a way compensates for the deficiency of the local media.

Macau is a neighbour of Hong Kong, but the two cities are different in many ways. With its smaller population, less vigorous economy, and different colonial history, Macau is often perceived as a Portuguese enclave turned Chinese township. Due to layers and layers of close-knit social networks, open dissent is rare in Macau. Neutral media and independent polling are yet to be developed. Under Macau legislation, the publication of polls is banned 15 days before any Legislative Assembly election, and exit pollsters are not allowed to ask any question on candidate choice within 100m of any polling station. Such restrictions, however, did not arouse any opposition, because no media bothers to conduct such polls anyway. As an academic researcher from Hong Kong, I have conducted more polls in Macau than their local researchers.

Of the four sub-regions, Taiwan is definitely the most advanced in terms of democratic development. Major elections occur almost every year. This year, there was a presidential election held on March 20, and a Legislative Yuan election on December 11. According to the local scholars, opinion polling in Taiwan first began in the 1950s, but it was only after the lifting of martial law in 1987 that modern polling rapidly developed. However, it should be noted that there were many elections even under martial law. According to records, there were 85 elections at different levels between 1950 and 1987, meaning an average of more than 3 elections per year. Most of these elections, however, were controlled by a single party, and did not generate much attention.

Around and after the lifting of martial law, opposition political forces began to consolidate, and the media made use of this opportunity to set up polling centers to monitor public opinion, especially before major elections. Up to this date, Taiwan's print media like United Daily News and China Times, and electronic media like TVBS, still dominate the polling industry. Academic institutions like National Chengchi University and Academia Sinica, though more respectable, are much less active. For example, when TVBS introduced the first territory-wide exit poll to Taiwan in March this year, many academics remained skeptical.



The main problem facing opinion pollsters in Taiwan is credibility. Taiwan society is highly polarized, which leaves very little ground for neutral pollsters. All major news media are perceived as partisan, so are many academics. Like Hong Kong, a professional code of practice has not yet emerged, but unlike Hong Kong, the public do not trust pre-election polls. People actually welcome the banning of polls 10 days before presidential elections, while allowing all kinds of television and print advertisements to fly around.

What about Mainland China across the strait? Many local scholars said mid-1980s was a watershed for the development of opinion studies in Mainland China. In 1986, Renmin University established the first ever public opinion research institute in Mainland China, while the first non-government research firm, the Social Survey Institute of China, was also established in the same year, just a few months later. However, a survey of the studies completed by these institutes reveals that they are mainly social surveys related to selected topics or policies, rather than free polling as we know it in open societies. This is not to say that such works are not important, but there still seems to be a long way before free opinion polling finds its way into Mainland China. According to some market researchers working in the Mainland, all questionnaire surveys have to be approved by the state administration before moving to the fieldwork stage.

It thus appears that professional pollsters and international organizations like WAPOR will have a lot to do, and much to gain, in this part of the world, which houses more than one-fifth of the world's population. Over the last decade or so, this region has seen very rapid economic development and political transformation. If opinion polling is a science which requires constant input of insight and evidence, this region may well contain many hidden treasures waiting to be uncovered by the most serious scientists

(Note: A WAPOR Regional Conference is scheduled to be held in Hong Kong in **December 2005**. Welcome to this part of the world!)

WAPOR
58th Annual Conference
**"Search for a New World Order—
the Role of Public Opinion"**
Cannes, France
September 15-17, 2005

CALL FOR PAPERS

There are great events on the horizon. In the late summer of next year, researchers will be gathering in Cannes, the famous seaside resort on the French Cote d'Azur, for the 58th annual WAPOR conference. The site is ideal for the conference and participants will find the hotel we have chosen, the Novotel Cannes Montfleury.

The 2005 conference will have a central theme: "Search for a New World Order—the Role of Public Opinion." We feel it is time to take a closer look at the fundamental question of what role survey research has to play in a rapidly changing world. For example:

- ◆ How can survey research scientifically track the growing tensions between the Western and Islamic worlds and, in so doing, contribute to a better understanding of the underlying reasons for the divisions between these two parts of the world and also, to a certain extent, within the Western world as well?
- ◆ How is the international community of survey researchers effected by the emergence of new economic and political powerhouses, particularly in Asia?
- ◆ In view of the ever greater complexity of international relations, how can survey researchers today continue to fulfil their obligations as chroniclers for future historians, as so forcefully described by Paul F. Lazarsfeld in 1950? In other words, how can we best shoulder the responsibility entailed in being the only scholarly discipline capable of reliably documenting and relaying the popular mood directly—i.e. without interpretation by the media or other analysts—to future historians?

It goes without saying that the WAPOR annual conference in Cannes will, as always, provide a broad forum for all survey research issues. We are looking forward to receiving a wide variety of interesting papers pertaining to the entire spectrum of methodological research and applied survey research from around the world. Please send your proposals for papers and panel sessions, along with a brief abstract of about one or two pages, **by April 1, 2005 at the latest** to:

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Conducting an Exit Poll in Mexico: Getting Experience from the Veracruz Gubernatorial Election

Rene Bautista, *University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Survey Research and Methodology*
Mario Callegaro, *University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Survey Research and Methodology*
Francisco Abundis, *Parametría*

I. Introduction

On September 5th, 2004 the gubernatorial election was held in the state of Veracruz, Mexico. Parametría SA de CV, an independent Mexican public opinion firm, specializing in policy polling and focus groups, conducted an exit poll. Francisco Abundis (Parametría) was in charge of the polling. René Bautista (UNL-Gallup Research Center) and Mario Callegaro (UNL-Gallup Research Center) were invited as external consultants for this project.

II. Context

Before September 5th of this year, the outcome of the most challenging gubernatorial election in the history of Veracruz—a southern state in Mexico—was at the epicenter of numerous speculations among politicians as well as pollsters in Mexico. Several weeks in advance, polling firms were trying to estimate as accurately as possible the Veracruz political preferences. Now, following the election, we know that it was a difficult assignment; the winner barely obtained 1% over his nearest contender.

The tripartite election held in Veracruz garnered the attention of almost all of the Mexican political elite. The reason is quite simple; Veracruz rerepresents approximately 7% of the national voters' registry in Mexico, turning Veracruz into one of the most important sources of votes in the country. The size matters because this proportion could make the difference in the next Presidential election, which will be held in 2006.

Prior to the Veracruz gubernatorial voting, all national political parties' efforts were notoriously centered in this election. As a consequence, a great deal of pressure came over pollsters: accurate projections were required. However, the pollster's task was truly complex. It had to estimate proportions for two alliances which were formed by three parties each one, and for one party running alone.

Three political forces ran in this one-day-election. One alliance was called "Alianza Fidelidad por Veracruz" (Fidelity by Veracruz) which was formed by Partido Revolucionario Institucional (the ruling party), Partido Verde Ecologista de México, and Partido Revolucionario Veracruzano (a local party). Another alliance was called "Alianza Unidos por Veracruz" (United for Veracruz), which was formed by Partido de la Revolución Democrática, Partido Convergencia, and Partido del Trabajo. The third participant was Partido Acción Nacional (PAN).

Throughout August, from nine nationally recognized pollsters, six of them anticipated the victory of "Alianza Fidelidad por Veracruz", two anticipated the victory of "Partido Acción Nacional" and one said it would be a tie election [Table 1]. There was no consensus reached on pre electoral polls.

III. Exit Poll Methodology

a) Sampling

One of the most important steps for any exit poll project is taking the sample. For this project, the "Electoral sections list" provided by the Instituto Federal Electoral was considered a useful sample frame. Electoral sections are clusters formed by groups of registered voters older than 18 years.

Among 4,700 clusters, 100 were taken as a sample. It was done making use of probability-proportionate-to-size sampling technique. And, as long as variance can be a problem in the distribution, electoral sections were sorted by the number of voters in every cluster. During voting day, within each of the sampled clusters, it was followed a systematic skip with a random start in order to conduct an interview every n_{th} voter.

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(Veracruz continued from page 9)

b) Data collection method

A mix mode data collection method was used. Outside of each of the sampled voting place, an interviewer was administering questionnaires face to face. The reason for the choice of a face to face interview is due to the low educational level (reading skills) of the population in the state of Veracruz. The interviewer directly asked respondents general questions such as: age, governor approval, highest grade in school, self perception of social stratum, and political campaign awareness. However, after this first section, the interviewees were given a simulated paper and pencil ballot to be marked anonymously, folded and placed it in a box carried on the shoulder of the interviewer.

A data center settled in Mexico City was prepared to receive the telephone calls from the field team. Interviews were calling -through a free toll number- to report questionnaire by questionnaire, including ballots. Given that voting places were open from 8.00 hrs to 18:00 hrs, there were three waves of data transmissions. The first was around 10:30hrs, the second, 13:30 hrs and the last one about 17:00hrs. Coders in the data center received telephone calls and the information was captured by mean of *ad hoc* computer software.

c) Weighting

An adjustment process was required due to the urban composition in Veracruz, as well as the variance among clusters. In fact, the real distribution of the electoral sections is as follows, urban 50%, rural 41% and mixed 9%. Because the rural telephone network has less coverage than the urban network, transmissions of rural information were delayed in the first and second wave (it took longer for an interviewer in a rural area to reach a phone), implying an under representation of the rural sector. On the other hand, the variance among clusters was remarkable, while the bigger electoral section in the sample had 3,080 voters; the smaller one had 154. During the exit poll, information from different sampled clusters was not received at the same time, consequently, these imparities needed to be adjusted.

It was necessary to build a combined weight to solve this problem. During Election Day, it was seen that the combined weight satisfactorily adjusted up to the second wave. For the third wave the difference between the adjusted proportions and the unadjusted proportions was minimal. For the third wave it was not necessary to use the weight, because the distribution urban-rural was stabilized, the transmission from every cluster was completely done and the size of n dramatically decreased the margin of error (n=3,067) [Figure 2].

The final official count outcome was Partido Accion Nacional 35%, Alianza Fidelidad por Veracruz 36%, Alianza Unidos por Veracruz 29%. The official results were known the day following the election. Even though the estimation was challenging to say the least, it can be said that the exit poll estimation was quite accurate. Parametria was able to call the results at 18:30 hrs of the Election Day, and correctly announced the winner. Proportions were in the margin of error, 35%, 38%, and 27%, respectively.

IV. Conclusion

The election in Veracruz was very close in this instance. Pre election polls identified numerous scenarios, and the political elite were requiring accurate responses. The state of Veracruz is one of the most important sources of votes in Mexico; it has been regarded as one of the cut off points for the Presidential elections. In consequence considerable pressure came over pollsters.

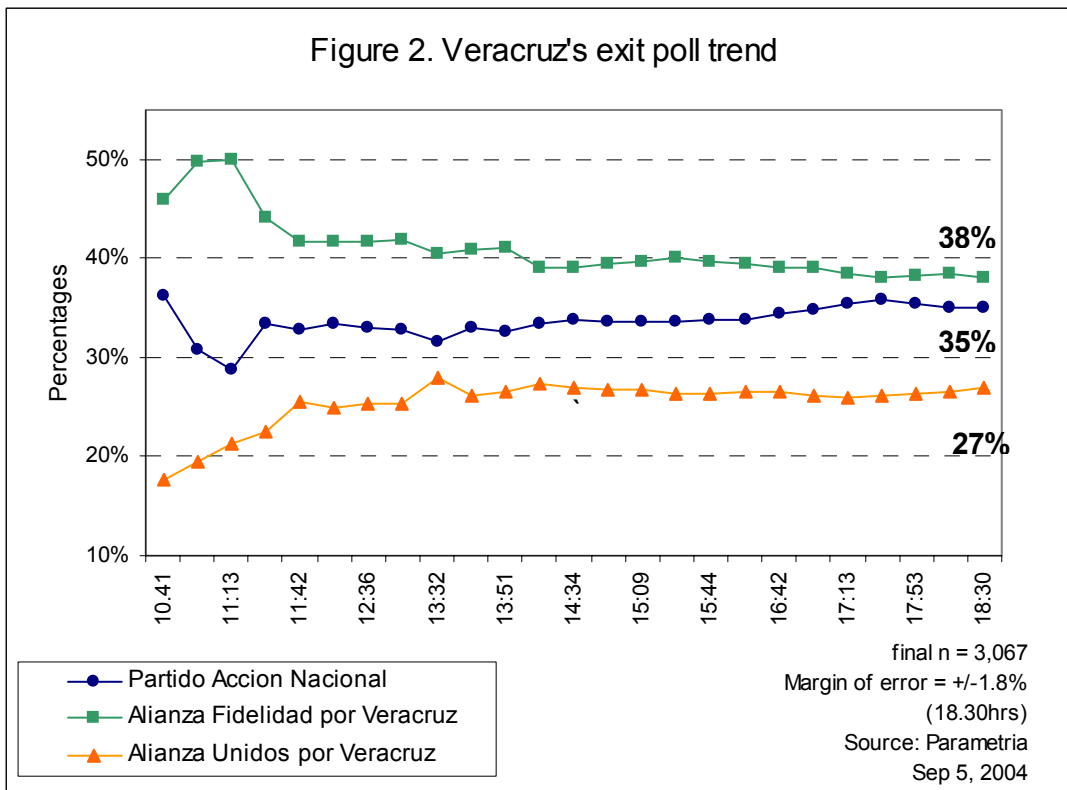
Therefore, Parametria's methodological design had to be well performed. Mix mode data collection was necessary in order to collect background data (interviewer administered) and the actual vote (self administered) at the same time.

The weighting process was implemented just when needed, especially in the earlier stages of the Election Day. It permitted the ability to adjust the trend throughout the exit poll estimation; however, at the very end, the size of n, as well as homogeneous transmission distribution, allowed to take the proportions without adjustments.

(See attached tables/figures on page 11)

Table 1. Veracruz pre election polls, August 2004

Polling firms	Partido Accional Nacional	Alianza Fidelidad por Veracruz	Alianza Unidos por Veracruz
Arcop	40%	36%	24%
Berumen	33%	41%	26%
El Universal (Newspaper)	32%	37%	31%
GEA-ISA	30%	50%	20%
Ipsos-Bimsa	36%	36%	28%
Milenio (Newspaper)	33%	37%	30%
Parametría	35%	40%	25%
Reforma (Newspaper)	33%	39%	28%
TVAzteca (TV Network)	40%	35%	25%
<i>Final official count</i>	35%	36%	29%



(Ukraine continued from page 5)

polls held by CSM and SOCIS by means of interviews, also register the fact that Yushchenko won, although by 3.5% (Yushchenko – 49.4%, Yanukovych – 45.9%). Conversely, the official results claim the victory of representative of the power – Yanukovych.

In the course of voting and afterwards, numerous violations of voting procedure were reported.

After the CEB published the results of 99% of the processed ballots, Yushchenko and his staff delivered a vote of non-confidence in the CEB and appealed to the people to go out to mass protests against election fraud. The rally on the main square of Kyiv drew 200,000-300,000 people, tents were set up on the main street of Kyiv where people gathered for 24 hours a day, their numbers reducing during the night hours and increasing again during the daytime. Today as I am writing this article, rallies and demonstrations have already lasted for 10 days, and people do not go away notwithstanding 4-6 degrees of frost. On the 4th day of demonstrations the CEB announced the final results of the elections and proclaimed V. Yanukovych the President of Ukraine.

At the end of the first week of political protests (Saturday, 27th of November), a special session of the Parliament (Verkhovna Rada) was held, at which a resolution of non-confidence to CEB was passed. It was acknowledged that the elections were held with violations of the law, and a proposition was made to hold a third round of elections. These decisions are recommendations by nature, as the Supreme Court has to solve the elections issue. Neither the still-in-power President Kuchma, nor prime minister Yanukovych who was announced to be the new president, agrees with the Parliament recommendations and waits for the verdict of the Supreme Court. No one knows where the current political confrontation will end, whereas politicians draw analogies with Georgia and Yugoslavia. Within the circumstances that make sociological research a tool of public supervision over elections, sociologists obtain very high responsibility.

Calendar

September 15-17, 2005

Cannes, France

58th Annual Conference

(President's Letter continued from page 2)

Hall (where we took turns from the balcony overlooking the city square imagining we were leading Pamplona's famous week-long celebration surrounding the running with the bulls) and a serenade from a band of "students" during our Thanksgiving night banquet.

The fundamental strength of WAPOR is its members, who come from six continents. During the two years of my presidency, I have been privileged to attend WAPOR conferences and seminars in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia. I hope WAPOR finds ways of meeting in South America and Australia in the next two years.

We are a growing organization, but we need to continue to expand our membership – which is why one of the last Council decisions of my term was to initiate a three-tier membership structure, in order to make WAPOR membership and its benefits more affordable in many places in the world. I hope that next year, we can extend WAPOR's reach – not just to more locations where some of us can communicate and work together, for a short time, but to more and more people who need the information and community WAPOR provides.

This is my final President's letter. It has been an honor to serve WAPOR those past two years, and I look forward with great confidence to our incoming president, Esteban Lopez-Escobar's leadership of WAPOR in the next two years. I hope that his two-year term is as interesting and gratifying as mine has been. Please join me in wishing him the best, and in working with him to make WAPOR an even better and more effective organization.

***Please let us know your upcoming events.
Deadline for 1st quarter newsletter events or
article submission is February 28, 2005.***

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