Polling Bias or Corrupted Count? Accepted Improbabilities and Neglected Correlations in 2004 US Presidential Exit Poll Data

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American Statistical Association, Philadelphia Chapter Fall Meeting, October 14, 2005

Two Questions to Consider Today

- How much confidence do we have in the official count – and the explanations about the exit poll discrepancy?
- 2. How much doubt must be raised about the count and the explanations about the exit poll discrepancy before we demand answers?

John Roberts on voting rights during his confirmation hearings

The right to vote [and have that vote counted as cast] ... is preservative of all other rights

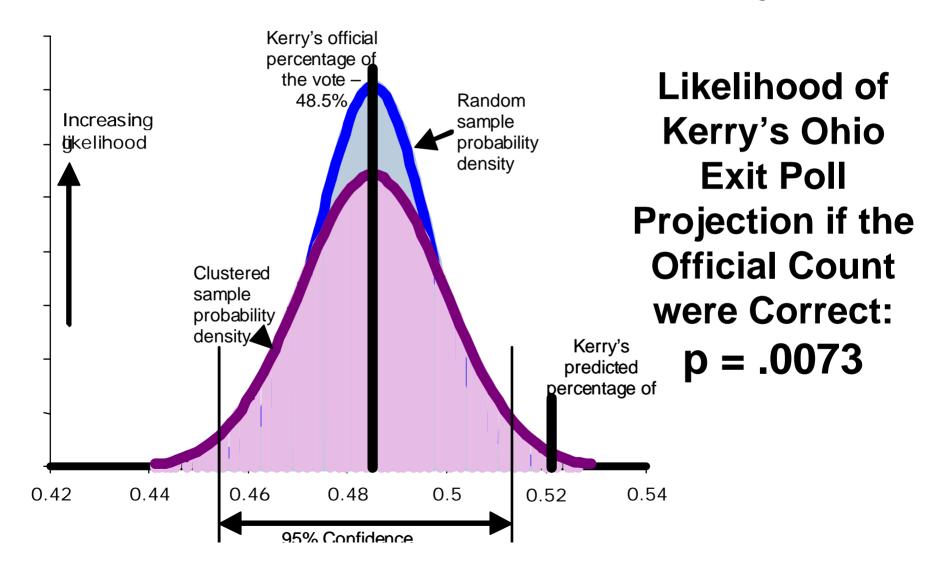
The Voting Rights Act was extremely valuable in securing not just the right to vote but all other rights derivative of that.

Election Night Nov 2, 2004: Exit Poll vs. Official Percentages in Battleground States

	Bush	Kerry	Exit Poll	Bush	Kerry	Official	Official vs.
	exit poll	exit poll	differential	official	official	differential	Exit Poll
Colorado	49.9%	48.1%	Bush 1.8	52.0%	46.8%	Bush 5.2	Bush 3.4
Florida	49.8%	49.7%	Bush 0.1	52.1%	47.1%	Bush 5.0	Bush 4.9
Iowa	48.4%	49.7%	Kerry 1.3	50.1%	49.2%	Bush 0.9	Bush 2.2
Michigan	46.5%	51.5%	Kerry 5.0	47.8%	51.2%	Kerry 3.4	Bush 1.6
Minnesota	44.5%	53.5%	Kerry 9.0	47.6%	51.1%	Kerry 3.5	Bush 5.5
Nevada	47.9%	49.2%	Kerry 1.3	50.5%	47.9%	Bush 2.6	Bush 3.9
New Hampshire	44.1%	54.9%	Kerry 10.8	49.0%	50.3%	Kerry 1.3	Bush 9.5
New Mexico	47.5%	50.1%	Kerry 2.6	50.0%	48.9%	Bush 1.1	Bush 3.7
Ohio	47.9%	52.1%	Kerry 4.2	51.0%	48.5%	Bush 2.5	Bush 6.7
Pennsylvania	45.4%	54.1%	Kerry 8.7	48.6%	50.8%	Kerry 2.2	Bush 6.5
Wisconsin	48.8%	49.2%	Kerry 0.4	49.4%	49.8%	Kerry 0.4	No dif

Probability that 10 out of 10 states would favor the President: 1 out of 1,024

Election Night Nov 2, 2004: Official Vote Count in Ohio and the Exit Poll Projection



About the Nov 2, 2004 Exit Poll

- Conducted by Mr. Mitofsky for the National Election Pool, a consortium of the major US media corporations and associations: CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, Fox & AP.
- At a representative precincts across each state, every nth voter exiting the polling place is asked to fill out a confidential questionnaire. The interval is chosen so that approximately 100 interviews will be spread evenly over the course of the day.

Vote <u>Suppression</u>/ Manipulation

- Vote Spoilage: 2-3% of Ballots lost nationally, overwhelmingly concentrated in poor, black voting districts
- Disenfranchised Felons: 800,000 in Florida (7% of VAP) not eligible to vote (1/3 of African American males)
- Faux-Felon lists: 82,389 voters wrongly purged
- Democratic Absentee ballots rejected (signature)
- GOP registration groups discard Democratic forms
- Ohio registrations rejected if not on precise paperweight
- Long lines 11 hours at Oberlin U.; 7 hours in black precincts of Columbus

Vote Suppression Success

US ranks #139 out of 172 nations in the world in Federal election turnout: 48.3% vs. Europe 80%+

- Registration obstacles
- Negative campaigns
- Limited Choice (Republicants)
- Limited Effect (Congressional Gerrymandering, Electoral Vote)
- No time off of work
- Long Lines

Election Turnout around the World (Average from 1945-1998)

Country	%vap	Country	%vap
1 Italy	92.5	135 Cent African Rep	50.3
4 Iceland	89.5	136 Antigua&Barbuda	50.2
6 Indonesia	88.3	137 Burma/Myanmar	50.0
8 New Zealand	86.2	138 Switzerland*	49.3
12 Austria	85.1	139 USA**	48.3

^{*} Switzerland: Women not permitted to vote until 1971
** Ranking based on turnout, not ballots counted (percentage of votes counted is lower)

Source IDEA, Sweden:

Vote <u>Manipulation</u> by Campaign Managers / Chief Election Officers

Florida 2000 (Katherine Harris)

- Faux-Felon lists
- Differential treatment of absentee ballots
- Impossibly tight recount deadlines
- Disregard law to acknowledge voter Intent
- Disregard law to conduct machine recount (1/4 of the state ballots)
- Miami manual count obstructed

Ohio 2004 (Ken Blackwell)

- Arbitrary guidelines
- Unequal distribution of voting machines
- Diversion of HAVA funding to observers, who were there to challenge voting qualifications.
- Failure to conduct recount
- Obstruction of judicial review
- Attempt to disbar attorneys that challenged the process

Ohio Vote Fraud

- Secret Count in Warren County due to "FBI terrorist alert," an alert denied by the FBI
- 25% spoilage in black precincts of Republican Montgomery Co.
- Systematic vote switching in Cuyahoga Co.
 (Cleveland): Ballots with candidate position "rotation" tabulated at wrong precincts – Big net Dem loss
- Appalachian precincts with 90%+ turnout rates and more far votes cast than recorded voters
- Ghosts in the Machines voters tried to vote for Kerry, Bush's name came up

Ohio Vote Fraud (cont.): Non-Recount throughout the state

Throughout the state: The requirements for the selection of a random recount sample were clearly laid out in Directive 2004-58. Instead of following these guidelines, staff members were instructed to purposefully select certain precincts that would easily balance during a hand recount.

- Hocking County's Cheat Sheet so workers would know what the numbers should add up to. TRIAD presence – to "the machines in anticipation of the recount.
- Clermont Co.'s Optical-Scan Scam stickers covering up Kerry ovals (when no stickers were used at the polls)

From a Hocking Co. affidavit:

One week before the recount, a Triad rep came 'to check out [our] tabulator' ... He said that the stored information was gone [but that] he could put a patch on it ... Our computer is 14 years old and always worked in the past....

[He] then asked me which precinct we were going to count. I told him... He went back into the tabulation room. Shortly after that he stated that the computer was ready for the recount ... He said not to turn the computer off until after the recount. He advised [us] on how to post a 'cheat sheet' on the wall so that only [we] would know about it ... so the count would come out perfect and we wouldn't have to do a full hand recount of the county.

Electronic Voting: An Invitation for Mass Scale Electoral Fraud

- No confirmation at all that votes are counted as cast. It's as though you're asking a Man Behind a Curtain to faithfully record your vote.
- Easy to Manipulate (e.g., Easter eggs)
- Qualities of the e-voting companies
 - NOT impartial (Diebold chair a major Bush supporter)
 - Criminal convictions and civil suit settlements
 - conflict-of-interest (e.g., Sen Hagel (R-Neb))
 - No transparancy in operations (all proprietary)

Electronic Voting Machines Compared to Las Vegas Slot Machines

	Las Vegas Slot Machines	Electronic Voting Machines
Software	State has access to all software. Illegal to use software that is not on file.	Software is a trade secret.
Spot- checking	Board inspectors show up unannounced at casinos to compare computer chips to those on file. If a discrepancy, the machine is shut down and investigated.	No checks are required. election officials have no chip to compare to the one found in the machine.
Standards	Meticulous standards (e.g., machine must work when subjected to a 20,000-volt shock) constantly updated.	Two-years old standards with gaping security holes
Back- ground Scrutiny	Manufacturers subjected to background checks. Employees are investigated for criminal records.	Citizens have no way of knowing, for example, if e-voting programmers have been convicted of fraud.
Equipment Certification		By for-profit companies chosen and paid by the manufacturers. No public information on how the testing is done.
In the event of disputes	Casino must contact the Gaming Board, which has investigators on call around the clock. Investigators can open up machines to inspect internal mechanisms, and records of recent gambling outcomes.	In most cases a voter's only recourse is to call a board of elections number that may or may not work to lodge a complaint that may or may not be investigated.

Snohomish County's Parallel Systems and Divergent Results

Absentee Ballots cast on paper/optical scan (2/3 of vote) Election Day on electronic voting machines (1/3 of vote)

Gregoire wins on paper; Rossi wins big on electronic voting machines, bigger yet in precincts with problems and machines with maintenance

Voting Technology, Condition	•	Gubernatorial Dino Rossi		Gubernatorial Christine Gregoire	Winner/ Margin
Paper / optical scan	95,228	49.5%	97,044	50.5%	Gregoire 1.0%
Electronic voting machines	50,400	54.5% (+5.0%)	42,145	45.5% (-5.0%)	Rossi 9.0%
Polling places with Election					
Day problems	21,847	56.1% (+6.6%)	17,100	43.9% (-6.6%)	Rossi 13.2%
Precincts with CPU changes	4,237	58.1% (+8.6%)	3,050	41.9% (-8.6%)	Rossi 16.2%
Malfunctioning DREs	155	60.5% (+12%)	101	39.5% (-12%)	Rossi 21.0%

Lehto & Hoffman (2005)

Precinct Level Disparity (PLD)

The difference between how people said they voted in confidential questionnaires as they walked out of the voting booth, and the way those votes were officially recorded.

E/M calls this term, WPE (Within Precinct Error) or more specifically IM WPE, the only measure they report that does not exclude outliers precincts with the larger deviations.

Official vs Exit Poll Survey Results

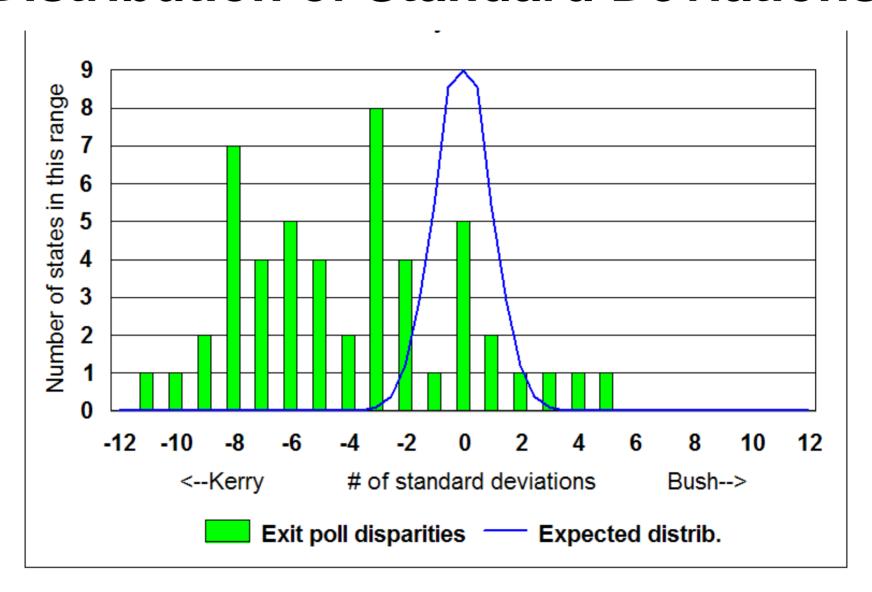
Official Result: Bush defeated Kerry by 3,000,000 votes nationally (2.5%) and a slim majority in the Electoral College.

Exit poll data based on 114,559 sampled voters at 1,460 precincts across the nation indicated that Kerry defeated Bush by 7,000,000 votes nationally (4.6%) and a decisive majority in the Electoral College. (see handout: *The Election Outcome Based on Exit Poll Reported Voting*)

Election outcome changes if the count matched how Voters said they cast they their ballots

Total USA	50.7%	48.3%	2.5	-7.1	47.2%	51.8%	4.6	174	55	309
Virginia	53.7%	45.5%	8.2	-7.9	49.7%	49.4%	0.3		13	
** Ohio	50.8%	48.7%	2.1	-10.9	45.4%	54.2%	-8.8			**20
No. Carolina	56.0%	43.6%	12.4	-11.3	50.4%	49.2%	1.1		15	
**New Mexico	49.8%	49.0%	0.8	-7.8	45.9%	52.9%	-7.0			** 5
** Nevada	50.5%	47.9%	2.6	-10.1	45.4%	52.9%	-7.5			** 5
Missouri	53.3%	46.1%	7.2	-5.8	50.4%	49.0%	1.4		11	
* lowa	49.9%	49.2%	0.7	-3.0	48.4%	50.7%	-2.3		*7	
** Florida	52.1%	47.1%	5.0	-7.6	48.3%	50.9%	-2.6			**27
* Colorado	51.7%	47.0%	4.7	-6.1	48.6%	50.1%	-1.4		*9	
STATE	Bush Official Vote	Kerry Official Vote	Official Margin	(5) PLD	Exit Poll Bush	Exit Poll Kerry	Exit Poll Margin		Too Close	EP EV Kerry

Distribution of Standard Deviations



Only Two Possible Sources of PLD:

Non-Response Bias or Count Corruption

Edison/Mitofksy reject count corruption out of hand – despite acknowledging that, "it is difficult to pinpoint precisely the reasons that, in general, Kerry voters were more likely to participate in the exit polls than Bush voters." (p.4)

E/M suggests that the discrepancy is due to their interviewers. They report that PLD is higher...

- when interviewers are more than 25 feet away from the polling place
- among with younger interviewers
- among interviewers with advanced degrees
- among interviewers in large precincts

Interviewer Effects? Location

Distance	mean WPE	median WPE	mean Abs(WPE)	N
Inside	-5.3	-4.2	11.8	416
Right outside the entrance	-6.4	-7.5	13.4	207
10 to 25 feet away	-5.6	-4.2	14.0	220
25 to 50 feet away	-7.6	-7.3	14.8	150
50 to 100 feet away	-9.6	-10.3	17.7	97
More than 100 feet away	-12.3	-12.1	16.7	37

Interviewer Effects? Interviewer Age

Interviewer Age	mean WPE	median WPE	mean Abs(WPE)	N
24 and under	-7.4	-8.6	15.0	430
25-34	-8.2	-7.2	13.4	182
35-44	-4.0	-3.9	13.4	167
45-54	-6.3	-4.7	12.5	191
55-64	-7.0	-5.8	12.6	143
65 and over	-3.7	-5.4	12.9	68

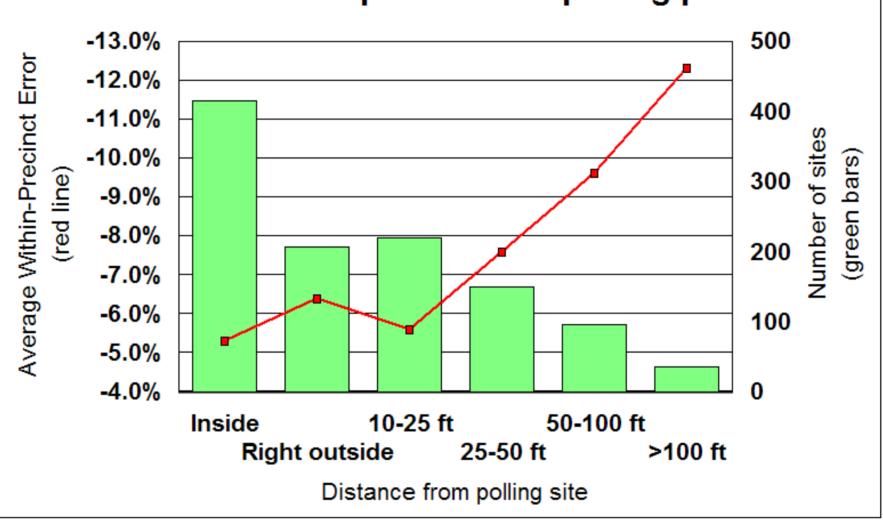
Interviewer Effects? Education

Interviewer Education	mean WPE	median WPE	mean Abs(WPE)	N
High school or less	-3.9	-4.6	14.7	177
One to three years of college	-7.3	-7.0	14.0	526
Four year college degree	-6.3	-6.3	12.8	222
Some graduate credits	-5.4	-5.9	11.9	71
Advanced degree such as MA,				
MBA or PhD	-7.9	-5.2	13.1	123

The completion rates tend to be slightly higher in precincts with more educated interviewers:

Interviewer Education	Completion Rate	Refusal Rate	Miss Rate
High school or less	0.52	0.36	0.11
One to three years of college	0.53	0.37	0.11
Four year college degree	0.55	0.34	0.11
Some graduate credits	0.57	0.34	0.10
Advanced degree such as MA, MBA or PhD	0.60	0.32	0.08





Interviewer Effects? Interviewer Age

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Interviewer Effects?

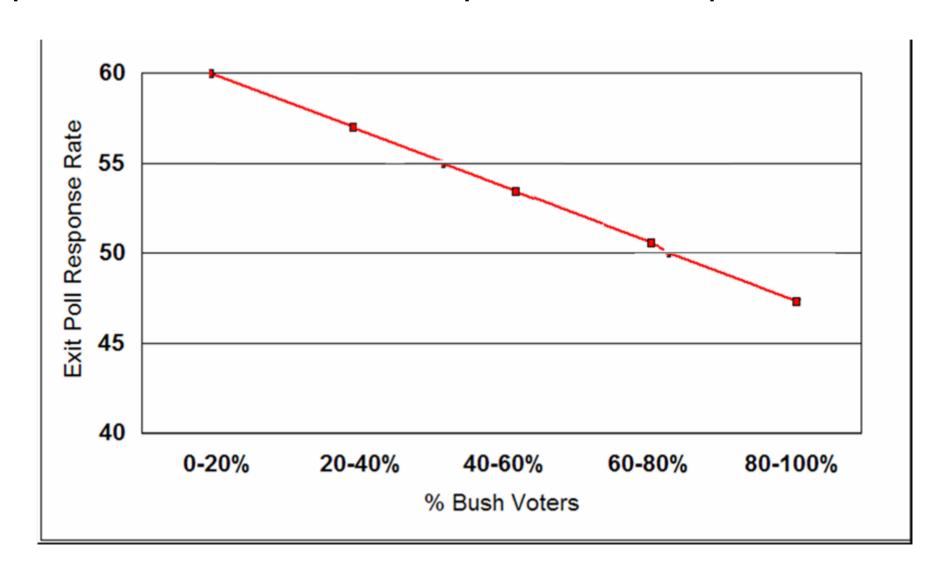
- Under the best scenario, Interviewer Effects only explain a small part of overall PLD
- Interviewer groups with lowest mean PLD may <u>not</u> be the most accurate
- Alternative explanations (e.g., distance from polling place may be attributable to corruption)
- Non-theory-based partitioning or fishing is guaranteed to produce false findings
- No data presented to permit verification of even the modest potential claims

Biased Polls or Corrupted Count?

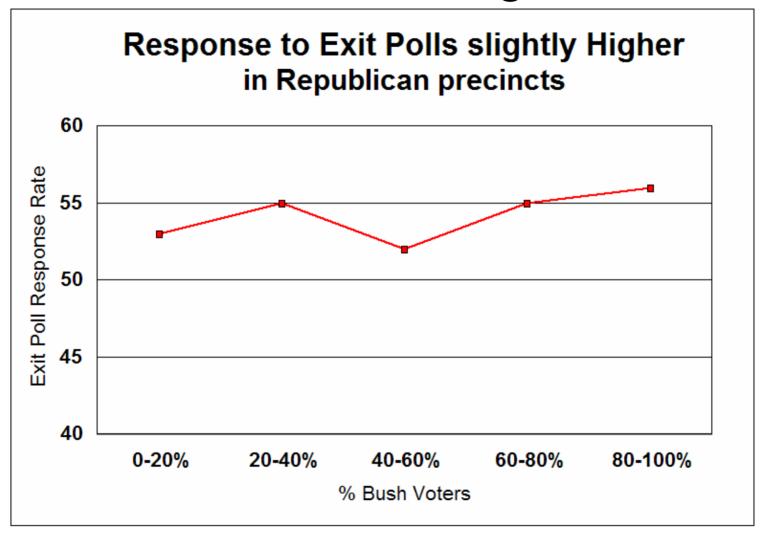
Precinct level analysis

State level analysis

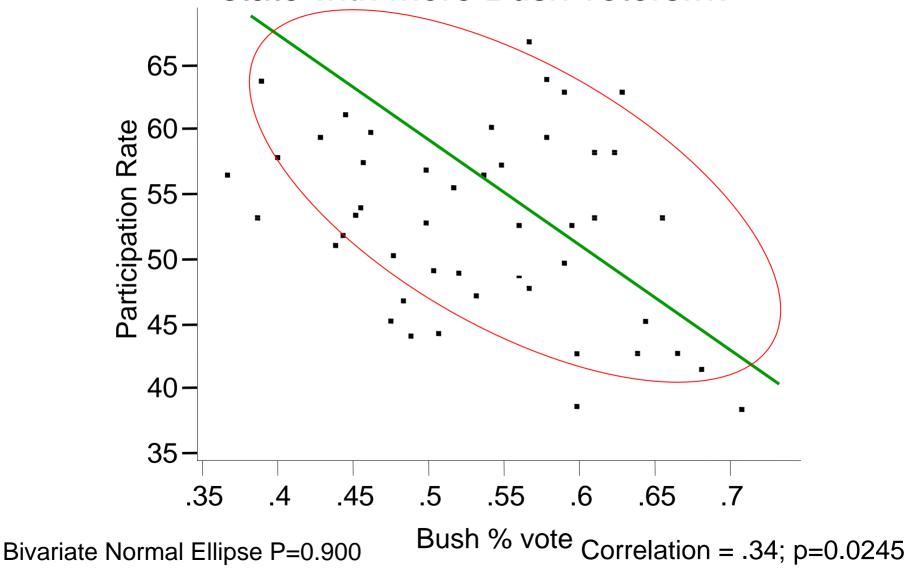
If Bush voters were less likely to participate in the polls, this is the relationship we would expect to see:



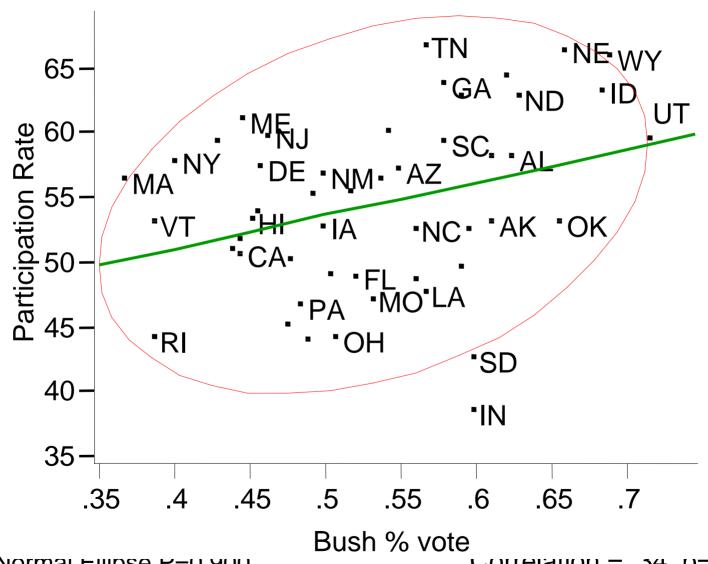
But this is what E/M's figures tell us:



If Bush voters were less likely to participate in the polls, we would expect to see **lower** participation in state with more Bush voters:...



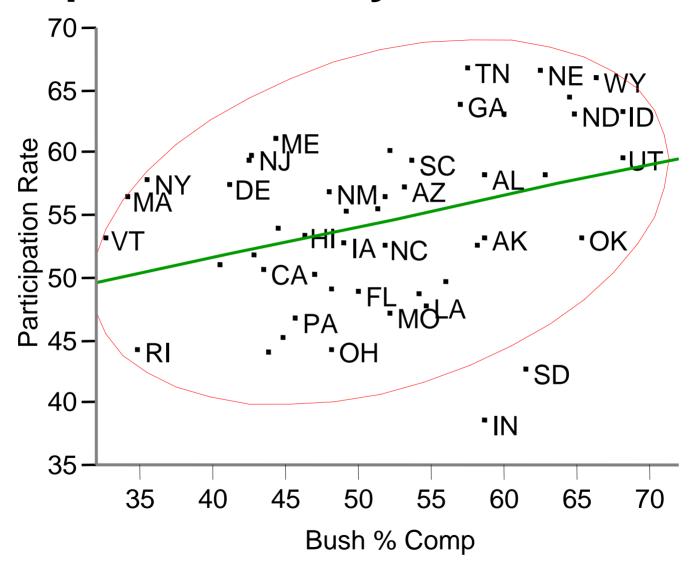
Actual Participation Rate by Bush % of State Vote



Bivariate Normai ⊑iiipse ⊬=u.9uu

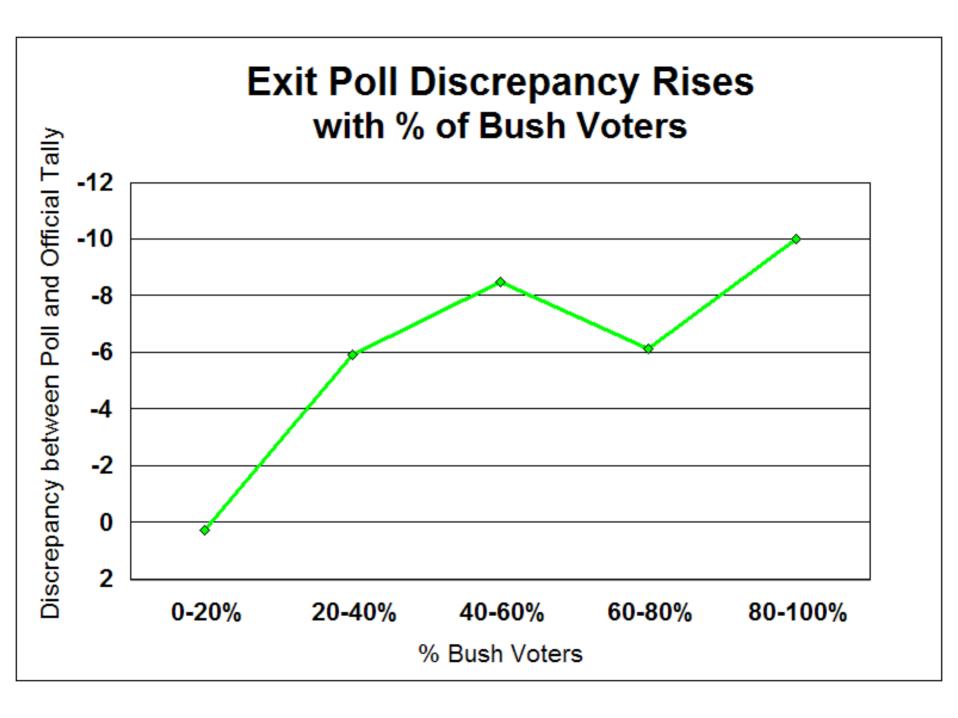
Correlation = .54, p=0.0245

Participation Rate by Bush % Exit Poll



Bivariate Normal Ellipse P=0.900

Correlation = .34; p=0.0167



Is PLD different for Swing States? (Edison/Mitofsky Report)

12. Swing states:

The WPE was greater in the more competitive "swing" states. For this analysis, the following were considered swing states: Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Swing state	mean WPE	median WPE	mean Abs(WPE)	N
Precinct not in a swing state	-6.1	-5.1	13.1	776
Precinct in a swing state	-7.9	-8.6	14.8	474

Swing state	Completion Rate	Refusal Rate	Miss Rate
Precinct not in a swing state	0.56	0.34	0.10
Precinct in a swing state	0.50	0.38	0.11

This indicates that voters in the swing states (who were exposed to more paid advertising and media coverage than voters in non-swing states) were less likely to respond to the exit poll: but among those who did, more likely to be Kerry voters.

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Is PLD different for Swing States? State-level PLD Analysis

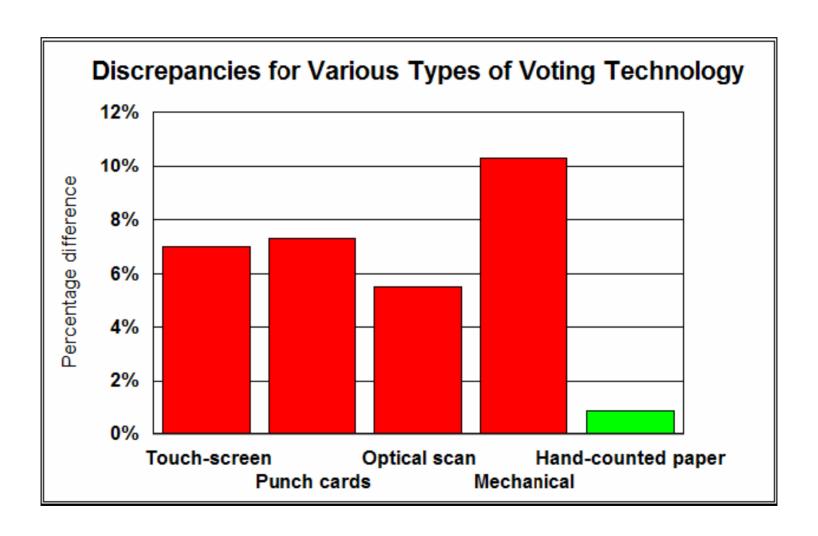
		Mean	Median
	#	PLD	PLD
Non- Swing States	39	5.4	4.7
Swing States	11	8.0	7.8

t-test: p=.04

Among the Swing States:

	Mean Median		
	#	PLD	PLD
Non- Critical Swing States	8	7.6	7.6
Critical Battleground States			
(Florida, Ohio, Pennylvania)	3	9.1	8.8

Machine vs. Paper



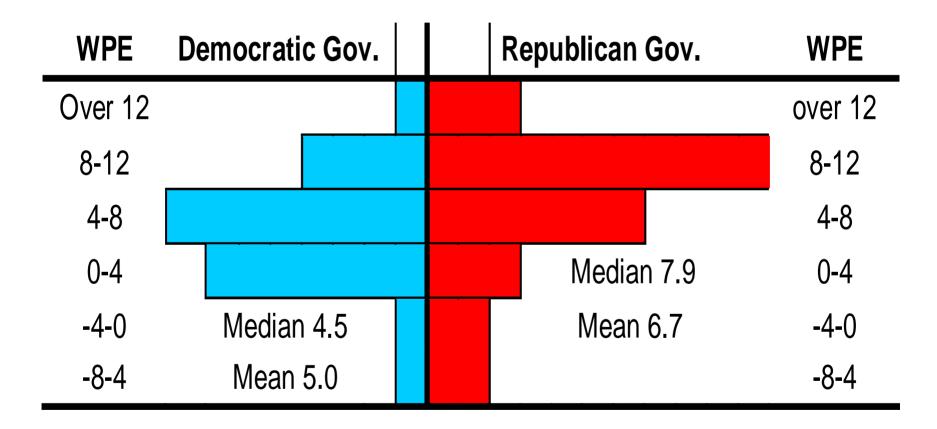
E/M Dismissal of Paper Correlation

	Type of equipment used	Still lower than machines			An absurd data partition		
Size Of Place		mean WPE	median WPE	mean Abs(WPE)	N		
	Paper Ballot	-6.0	-11.5	15.7	5		
Urban Areas	Mechanical Voting Machine	-12.7	-12.5	16.8	92		
(> 50,000)	Touch Screen	-7.5	-7.6	14.8	272		
(* 55,555)	Punch Cards	-9.3	-10.0	15.2	108		
	Optical Scan	-7.2	-5.8	12.3	350		
	Paper Ballot	-1.6	-0.6	10.5	35		
Rural/Small Town Areas (< 50,000)	Mechanical Voting Machine	-3.2	-5.4	14.7	26		
	Touch Screen	-6.0	-4.8	14.8	88		
	Punch Cards	-0.8	-1.7	12.0	50		
	Optical Scan	-4.4	-5.0	13.2	223		

Rural Area Comparison

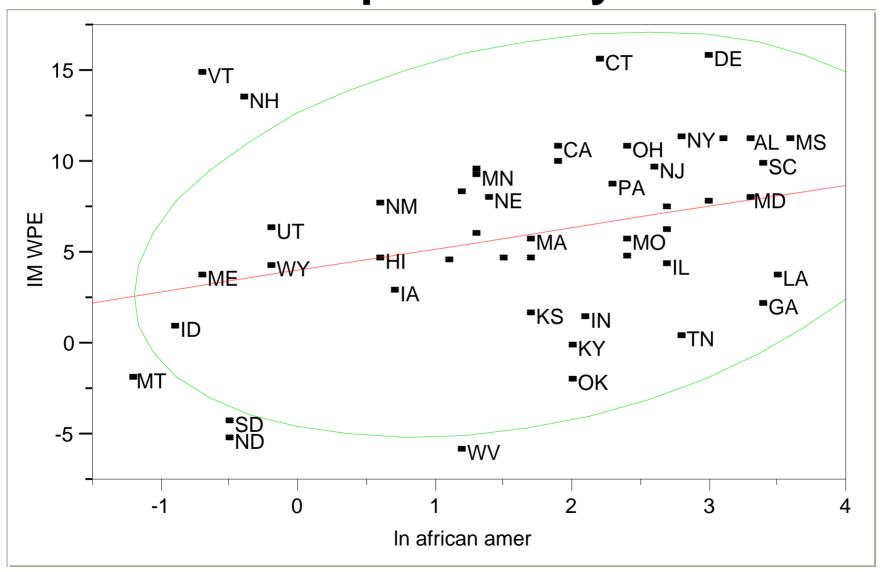
Voting Technology	Mean PLD	Z
Paper Ballot	-1.6	35
Machine average	-4.4	1117

Histogram WPE and Gubernatorial Control



t-test: p=.04

African American Percentage of State Population by PLD



Election Administration Problems by State (per million voters)

MSNBC election		MSNBC election		MSNBC election
day calls /million	State Name	day calls /million	State Name	day calls /million
143	Maryland	248	South Carolina	606
82	Massachusetts	125	South Dakota	33
131	Michigan	267	Tennessee	128
59	Minnesota	68	Texas	127
137	Mississippi	52	Utah	53
121	Missouri	108	Vermont	73
82	Montana	72	Virginia	155
270	Nebraska	58	Washington	117
465	Nevada	215	West Virginia	90
537	New Hampshire	82	Wisconsin	152
Georgia 146		281	Wyoming	22
45	New Mexico	106		
51	New York	302	average	150
88	North Carolina	106		
96	North Dakota	27	Correlation	
116	Ohio	195	with PLD	**0.28
51	Oklahoma	92		
63	Oregon	56		**p < .01
	143 82 131 59 137 121 82 270 465 537 146 45 51 88 96 116 51	day calls /millionState Name143Maryland82Massachusetts131Michigan59Minnesota137Mississippi121Missouri82Montana270Nebraska465New Hampshire146New Jersey45New Mexico51New York88North Carolina96North Dakota116Ohio51Oklahoma	day calls /million State Name day calls /million 143 Maryland 248 82 Massachusetts 125 131 Michigan 267 59 Minnesota 68 137 Mississippi 52 121 Missouri 108 82 Montana 72 270 Nebraska 58 465 Nevada 215 537 New Hampshire 82 146 New Jersey 281 45 New Mexico 106 51 New York 302 88 North Carolina 106 96 North Dakota 27 116 Ohio 195 51 Oklahoma 92	day calls /million State Name day calls /million State Name 143 Maryland 248 South Carolina 82 Massachusetts 125 South Dakota 131 Michigan 267 Tennessee 59 Minnesota 68 Texas 137 Mississippi 52 Utah 121 Missouri 108 Vermont 82 Montana 72 Virginia 270 Nebraska 58 Washington 465 Nevada 215 West Virginia 537 New Hampshire 82 Wisconsin 146 New Jersey 281 Wyoming 45 New Mexico 106 West Virginia 51 New York 302 average 88 North Carolina 106 Ohio Torrelation 96 North Dakota 27 Correlation 116 Ohio 195 with PLD 51 <t< td=""></t<>

Presidential vote in 2004 based on 2000 Presidential vote Election Night Data

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN 2000	T	BUSH	KERRY	NADER
TOTAL	2004	2000	2004	2004
Did Not Vote (17%)	41%	n/a	57%	2%
Gore (39%)	8%	n/a	91%	1%
Bush (41%)	90%	n/a	10%	0%
Other (4%)	17%	n/a	64%	14%

Source: CNN Screen Shot November 2, 2004 (13,047 Respondents)

Presidential Vote in 2004 based on 2000 Presidential Vote November 3 "Corrected" Data

http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/US/P/00/epolls.0.html

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN 2000	4	BUSH	KERRY	NADER
TOTAL	2004	2000	2004	2004
Did Not Vote (17%)	45%	n/a	54%	1%
Gore (37%)	10%	n/a	90%	0%
Bush (43%)	91%	n/a	9%	0%
Other (3%)	21%	n/a	71%	3%

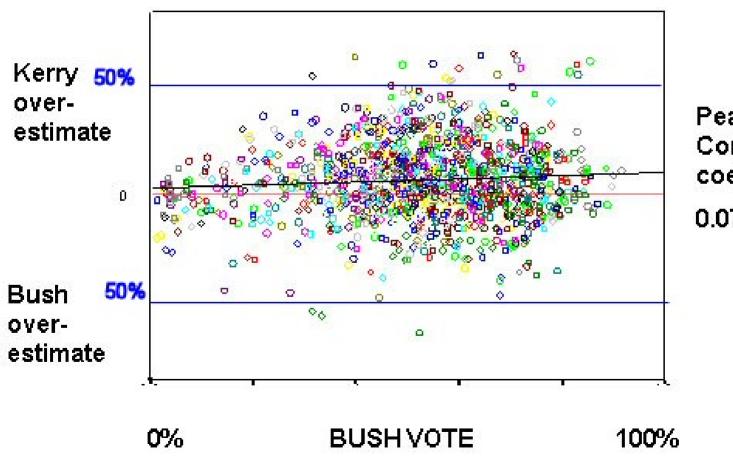
Source: CNN Screen Shot Election night November 3, 2004 (13,660 Respondents)

Expected Presidential Votes Based on Changes from the 2000 Election

	_	Bush	Gore/Kerry		Other		Total
	2000 official results	50,500,000	48% 51,000,000	48%	4,000,000	4%	105,500,000
	2004 official results	62,000,000	51% 59,000,000	48%	1,000,000	1%	122,500,000
	New Voters (17% of 2004	electorate did	not vote in 2000)				21,000,000
					Repeat V	oters:	101,500,000
(0)	96% of 2000 electorate	48,500,000	49,000,000		4,000,000	2%	
(1)	Bush 2000 Redistributed	43,500,000	90% 5,000,000	10%			48,500,000
(2)	Gore Redistributed	4,000,000	8% 45,500,000	91%	500,000	1%	49,000,000
(3)	3rd party redistributed	500,000	17% 2,500,000	64%	500,000	19%	3,500,000
(4)	New Voters distributed	8,500,000	41% 12,000,000	57%	500,000	2%	21,000,000
	Expected Total	57,000,000	63,500,000		1,500,000		122,100,000
	Discrepancy	(5,000,000)	4,500,000		500,000		0

^{*} All vote counts and projections are rounded to the nearest 500,000. Rows do not always total exactly due to rounding.

WPE by Bush Percentage in Precinct



Pearson's Correlation coefficient:

0.075, p<.01

Two Questions to Consider Today

- 1. How much confidence do we have in the official count – and the explanations about the exit poll discrepancy?
- 2. How much doubt must be raised about the count and the explanations about the exit poll discrepancy before we demand answers?

"Time to Set the Record Straight"

The 2004 exit polls were generally believed to have indicated a victory for John Kerry. Nothing could have been further from the truth. This was compounded by the conspiracy theorists after the election who mistakenly claimed the exit polls validated their claim. There was no evidence in the exit polls to substantiate these claims. On election day the misinformation about the exit polls was spread by inexperienced people trying to make sense of complex statistical data. After the election the academics who yelled election fraud were no better. It is time to set the record straight.

> Warren Mitofsky abstract for his presentation today