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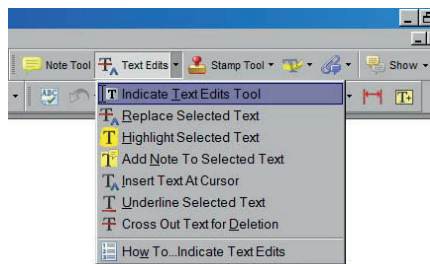
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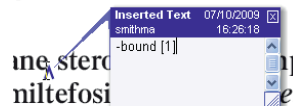


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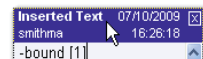
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**COMPARING THE ACCURACY OF RDD TELEPHONE
SURVEYS AND INTERNET SURVEYS CONDUCTED
WITH PROBABILITY AND NON-PROBABILITY
5 SAMPLES**

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Abstract This study assessed the accuracy of telephone and Internet
15 surveys of probability samples and Internet surveys of non-probability
samples of American adults by comparing aggregate survey results
against benchmarks. The probability sample surveys were consistently
more accurate than the non-probability sample surveys, even after
20 post-stratification with demographics. The non-probability sample survey
measurements were much more variable in their accuracy, both across
measures within a single survey and across surveys with a single measure.
Post-stratification improved the overall accuracy of some of the non-
probability sample surveys but decreased the overall accuracy of others.

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25 Higher completion and response rates of the surveys were associated with less accuracy. Accuracy did not appear to change from 2004/2005 to 2009 for any of the methods, and these conclusions are reinforced by data collected in 2008 as well. These results are consistent with the conclusion that non-probability samples yield data that are neither as accurate as nor more accurate than data obtained from probability samples.

30 Since the 1940s, the gold standard for survey research has been to conduct primarily face-to-face interviews with a random sample of American adults. Surveys such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) and National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) have involved interviews with tens of thousands of randomly
35 selected Americans with high response rates. As a result, such surveys are among America's most trusted sources of information about its population.

Outside of government, face-to-face interviewing of probability samples is unusual in survey research today, though it is still done regularly (e.g., by the American National Election Studies and the General Social Survey and in
40 developing nations). In the 1970s, random digit dialing (RDD) telephone surveys became very popular. And in recent years, Internet surveys have been conducted at increasing rates.

An accumulating body of evidence suggests that this latter shift may have some advantages. In a number of experiments, participants have been randomly
45 assigned to complete a questionnaire either on a computer or via oral administration by an interviewer (e.g., Chang and Krosnick 2010; Link and Mokdad 2004, 2005; Rogers et al. 2005), or the same people have completed a questionnaire in both modes (e.g., Cooley et al. 2000; Ghanem et al. 2005; Metzger et al. 2000; see also Chatt et al. 2003). In general, these studies have found that computer
50 data collection yielded higher concurrent validity, less survey satisficing, less random measurement error, and more reports of socially undesirable attitudes and behaviors than did data collected by interviewers (cf. Bender et al. 2007). Thus, computer administration appears to offer significant measurement advantages.

55 Many Internet surveys are being done these days with probability samples of the population of interest (e.g., Carbone 2005; Kapteyn, Smith, and van Soest 2007; Lerner et al. 2003; Malhotra and Kuo 2008; Moskalenko and McCauley 2009; Skitka and Bauman 2008). But most commercial companies that collect survey data in the United States via the Internet do not interview probability
60 samples drawn from the population of interest with known probabilities of selection. Instead, most of these companies offer non-probability samples of people who were not systematically selected from a population using conventional sampling methods. For some such surveys, banner ads were placed on websites inviting
65 people to sign up to do surveys regularly. In other instances, e-mail invitations were sent to large numbers of people whose e-mail addresses were sold by commercial vendors or maintained by online organizations because of past purchases

of goods or services from them. Some of the people who read these invitations then signed up to join an Internet survey “panel” and were later invited to complete questionnaires. For any given survey, a potential respondent’s probability of selection from the panel has usually been known, but his or her probability of selection from the general population of interest has not been known.

In theory, non-probability samples may sometimes yield results that are just as accurate as probability samples. If the factors that determine a population member’s presence or absence in the sample are all uncorrelated with the variables of interest in a study, or if they can be fully accounted for by making adjustments before or after data collection (with methods such as quotas, stratified random sampling from the panel, matching [Diamond and Sekhon 2005; Vavreck and Rivers 2008], post-stratification weighting [see, e.g., Dever, Rafferty, and Valliant 2008; see also Battaglia et al. 2009; Gelman 2007; Kish 1992], or propensity score weighting [Lee 2006; Lee and Valliant 2009; Schonlau et al. 2009; Taylor et al. 2001; Terhanian et al. 2001]), then the observed distributions of those variables in a non-probability sample should be identical to the distributions in the population. However, if these conditions do not hold, then survey results from non-probability samples may not be comparable to those that would be obtained from probability samples.

To date, numerous studies have compared probability samples interviewed via telephone to non-probability samples interviewed via the Internet. No studies have uncovered consistently equivalent findings across the two types of surveys, and many have found significant differences in the distributions of answers to demographic and substantive questions (e.g., Baker, Zahns, and Popa 2004; Berrens et al. 2003; Bethell et al. 2004; Braunsberger, Wybenga, and Gates 2007; Chang and Krosnick 2002, 2009; Crete and Stephenson 2008; Elmore-Yalch, Busby, and Britton 2008; Klein, Thomas, and Sutter 2007; Loosveldt and Sonck 2008; Niemi, Portney, and King 2008; Roster et al. 2004; van Ryzin 2008; Schillewaert and Meulemeester 2005; Schonlau et al. 2004; Sparrow 2006; Spijkerman et al. 2009; Taylor, Krane, and Thomas 2005).

In comparisons with RDD telephone surveys and face-to-face probability sample surveys, a few studies have found non-probability sample Internet surveys to yield less accurate measurements in terms of voter registration (Niemi et al. 2008; cf. Berrens et al. 2003), turnout (Chang and Krosnick 2009; Malhotra and Krosnick 2007; Sanders et al. 2007), candidate choice (Malhotra and Krosnick 2007; cf. Sanders et al. 2007), health (Bethell et al. 2004), and demographics (Chang and Krosnick 2009; Crete and Stephenson 2008; Malhotra and Krosnick 2007).¹

1. Braunsberger et al. (2007) reported the opposite finding: greater accuracy in a non-probability sample Internet survey than in a telephone survey documenting health insurance. However, they did not state whether the telephone survey involved pure random digit dialing; they said it involved “a random sampling procedure” from a list “purchased from a major provider of such lists” (p. 761). And Braunsberger et al. (2007) did not describe the source of their validation data in detail.

105 To supplement that literature, the present article assesses the accuracy of measurements on a variety of topics collected during 2004 and 2005 in an RDD telephone survey of American adults, an Internet survey of a national probability sample, and Internet surveys from seven non-probability samples. Accuracy was assessed by comparing the surveys' estimates to benchmarks from official
110 government records or high-quality federal surveys with high response rates.

Three categories of variables were examined: primary demographics, secondary demographics, and non-demographics. Primary demographics are those that were used by some of the survey firms to create weights or to define strata used in the process of selecting people to invite to complete the Internet surveys.
115 Thus, explicit steps were taken by the survey firms to enhance the accuracy of these specific measures in the Internet surveys. Secondary demographics were not used to compute weights or to define sampling strata, so no procedures were implemented explicitly to assure their accuracy. Non-demographics included (1) factual matters on which we could obtain accurate benchmarks from official
120 government records; and (2) behaviors that were measured in federal surveys with high response rates.

Estimates from each survey were first compared to benchmarks when no post-stratification weights were applied to the data. Next, post-stratification weights were applied, which allowed assessment of the extent to which these
125 weights altered conclusions about the relative accuracy of the probability and non-probability samples' data. We also explored whether any of the non-probability sample surveys was consistently more accurate than the others.

To permit comparison of the variability of accuracy within and across the three types of surveys, the surveys commissioned for this article were compared
130 with additional RDD telephone surveys and probability sample Internet surveys commissioned by other organizations at about the same time as the surveys commissioned for this study. We explored whether higher response rates were associated with greater accuracy. Surveys commissioned for this article were compared with surveys conducted in 2009 by some of the same firms, to assess
135 whether accuracy has improved or declined over time. We also analyzed data collected in 2008 by the Advertising Research Foundation (ARF), using a similar design to that employed with our commissioned studies.

Data

SURVEYS COMMISSIONED IN 2004/2005

140 Nine well-established survey data collection firms each administered the same questionnaire to a sample of American adults in 2004 or 2005. Identical written instructions given to all firms asked them to provide "1,000 completed surveys with a census-representative sample of American adults 18 years and older, residing in the 50 United States."

145 The telephone survey involved conventional RDD methods to recruit and
interview a probability sample. The probability sample Internet survey was con-
ducted with members of a panel (of about 40,000 American adults) that was
recruited via RDD methods. Individuals who wished to join the panel but
did not have computers or Internet access at home were given them at no cost.
150 A subset of the panel was selected via stratified random sampling to be invited
to complete this survey.

For six of the seven non-probability sample Internet surveys, invited indi-
viduals were selected via stratified random sampling from panels of millions
of volunteers who were not probability samples of any population. The remain-
155 ing company used “river” sampling, whereby pop-up invitations appeared on
the computer screens of users of a popular Internet service provider. In three of
the seven non-probability sample surveys, quotas were used to restrict the
participating sample so that it would match the population in terms of some
demographics. For all of the non-probability sample surveys, potential
160 participants were not invited to complete the questionnaire if they had com-
pleted more than a certain number of surveys already that month or if they
had recently completed a survey on the same topic. A summary of the data
collection methods appears in table 1.

2004 ARCHIVAL SURVEYS

165 To select six additional RDD telephone surveys, the iPoll database (maintained
by the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut) was searched to identify
all such surveys of national samples of American adults in that archive con-
ducted during June, July, and early August of 2004 (the period when most
of the commissioned surveys were in the field). Surveys that asked respondents
170 to report the number of telephone lines and the number of adults in the house-
hold were eligible for selection, so that weights to correct for unequal proba-
bility of selection could be calculated. Of the seven eligible surveys, six were
randomly selected.² These surveys were in the field for an average of 3.8 days
(Range: 3–8), and all had a lower AAPOR RR3 than the commissioned tele-
175 phone survey.

The firm that conducted the commissioned probability sample Internet sur-
vey provided a list of all surveys they conducted of the general American adult
public during the same period in 2004. From that list of seven surveys, six sur-
veys were randomly selected, and demographic data for those surveys were
180 obtained. These surveys were in the field for an average of 12.7 days (Range:
8–23), and their cumulative response rates were similar to that of the commis-
sioned survey.

2. Three of these six surveys were conducted by the same firm that conducted the commissioned RDD survey, and the other three were conducted by another firm.

Table 1. Sample Description Information for Nine Commissioned Surveys

Survey	Invitations	Responses	Response/ Completion Rate	Field Dates	Unequal Probability of Invitation?	Quota Used?	Incentives Offered
Probability Samples							
Telephone	2,513	966	35.6% ¹	June–November 2004 ²	N	N	\$10 (For nonresponses)
Internet	1,533	1,175	15.3% ³	June–July 2004	Y	N	Points; free Internet access; sweepstakes
Non-Probability Samples							
1	11,530	1,841	16%	June 2004	Y	N	Points; sweepstakes
2	3,249	1,101	34%	February 2005	Y	N	Sweepstakes
3	50,000	1,223	2%	June 2004	Y	Y	Sweepstakes
4	9,921	1,103	11%	June 2004	Y	N	Sweepstakes
5	14,000	1,086	8%	August 2004	Y	N	None
6	Unknown	1,112	Unknown	June 2004	N	Y	Internet bill credit; frequent flier miles
7	2,123	1,075	51%	July 2004	Y	Y	\$1

¹ AAPOR RR3.² 81 percent of telephone respondents were interviewed within the first 30 days, and 95 percent were interviewed within the first 90 days.³ AAPOR CRR1.

2008 ADVERTISING RESEARCH FOUNDATION SURVEYS

185 In 2008, the Advertising Research Foundation (ARF) conducted a study
dubbed “Foundations of Quality” (FoQ), in which 17 firms each conducted
a non-probability sample Internet survey using the same questionnaire between
May and October of 2008 (total N = about 100,000 respondents). Analysis
results have been reported on some public websites, and we analyzed those
190 data to generate statistics comparable to those generated with our commissioned
surveys.³

2009 SURVEYS

Surveys conducted in 2009 were obtained from three of the firms that provided
data for the commissioned surveys, and these surveys were compared to
the same firms’ 2004/2005 commissioned data. The 2009 probability and
195 non-probability sample Internet surveys were commissioned for other purposes,
and the 2009 RDD survey was selected randomly from among a set of surveys
that the RDD firm did for other clients during 2009. These were the only three
firms from which data collected in 2009 were available for analysis.

Measures

200 SURVEYS COMMISSIONED IN 2004/2005

Identical questions measuring primary demographics, secondary demographics,
and non-demographics were asked in the same long questionnaire that was ad-
ministered by each survey firm (see appendix 1 for questions and response
options).⁴ Primary demographics included sex, age, race/ethnicity, education,
205 and region of residence. Secondary demographics included marital status, total
number of people living in the household, employment status, number of bed-
rooms in the home, number of vehicles owned, homeownership, and household
income.⁵ Non-demographics included frequency of smoking cigarettes, con-
sumption of at least 12 drinks of alcohol during their lifetimes, the average num-
210 ber of drinks of alcohol consumed on days when people drank, ratings of quality
of health, and possession of a U.S. passport and a driver’s license.

3. <http://blog.joelrubinson.net/2009/09/how-do-online-and-rdd-phone-research-compare-latest-findings/>; http://regbaker.typepad.com/regs_blog/2009/07/finally-the-real-issue.html.
4. Other questions were also asked, but trustworthy benchmarks could not be obtained for any of those variables, so they were not used to assess survey accuracy (for an explanation, see the online supplement).
5. One of the non-probability sample Internet survey firms used income to stratify its panel when selecting respondents to invite for the survey commissioned from it. Because the other eight surveys did not use income for stratification, and this firm was no more accurate in terms of its income distribution than the other surveys, we treat income as a secondary demographic.

2004 ARCHIVAL SURVEYS

The archival surveys were evaluated using data on nine demographics: sex, age, race, ethnicity, education, region, marital status, number of adults, and income. 215 The six telephone surveys obtained from iPoll measured demographics differently than was done in the commissioned surveys, so the response categories used to compute error for age, number of adults in the household, and income in these analyses were slightly different from those used for the commissioned surveys.

2008 ARF SURVEYS

220 Identical questionnaires were administered to respondents from the 17 participating non-probability Internet firms. The questions used to generate publicly available results for the full sample of over 100,000 respondents were homeownership, smoking 100 cigarettes in one's lifetime, current cigarette-smoking status, having a residential telephone, and owning a cell phone. The only benchmark question 225 reported publicly with separate results for each of the 17 non-probability Internet firms (and thus the only question for which a standard deviation across firms could be calculated) assessed current cigarette-smoking status.

2009 SURVEYS

To compare the accuracy of the 2004 and 2009 probability sample Internet surveys, we examined all suitable variables measured in both surveys: sex, age, 230 race, ethnicity, education, region, marital status, income, homeownership, household size, and work status. The same variables were available to compare the 2005 and 2009 non-probability sample Internet surveys. Comparing the 2004 and 2009 RDD telephone surveys was possible with a slightly different 235 set of variables: sex, age, race, ethnicity, education, region, work status, and annual household income.

Benchmarks

The U.S. Department of State provided the number of passports held by American adults.⁶ The U.S. Federal Highway Administration provided the number of 240 driver's licenses held by American adults.⁷ Large government surveys with

6. The total number of U.S. passports held by Americans age 16 and over as of May 2005 was obtained via personal communication from an official in the U.S. Department of State and was divided by the total population of Americans age 16 and older in 2005 to obtain a percentage. This was the only benchmark on passports available from any source and does not match the surveys in two regards: Whereas the State Department information is from 2005, all but one of the surveys were conducted during 2004, and the surveys collected data from individuals age 18 and older.

7. The total number of driver's licenses held by people age 18 and older in the United States in 2004 was obtained from the U.S. Federal Highway Administration's website (<http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policy/ohpi/hss/hsspubs.cfm>) and was divided by the total population of Americans age 18 and older in 2004 to obtain the percentage.

response rates of over 80 percent were used to obtain the remaining benchmarks. The primary and secondary demographics benchmarks were taken from the 2004 Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) supplement to the Current Population Survey (response rate = 84 percent), and the 2004 American Community Survey (ACS; response rate = 92 percent).⁸ Non-demographic benchmarks for cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption, and quality of health came from the 2004 National Health Interview Survey (NHIS; response rate = 72.4 percent).

Weights for Commissioned Surveys

To adjust the telephone survey sample for unequal probabilities of selection, a weight was constructed using the number of non-business landlines that could reach the household and the number of adults living in the household. Next, because some survey companies did not provide post-stratification weights or did not explain how their post-stratification weights were computed, we constructed a set of weights using the same method for all nine surveys.⁹ These weights maximized the match of the survey sample with the 2004 CPS ASEC supplement via raking using the following variables: race (3 groups), ethnicity (2 groups), census region (4 groups), a cross-tabulation of sex by age (12 groups), and a cross-tabulation of sex by education (10 groups).¹⁰

Analysis Method

Survey accuracy was assessed by computing the difference between the proportion of respondents selecting the modal response for each variable in the

8. Because data from one of the non-probability samples were collected in early 2005, we tested whether that sample's accuracy appeared to be better when compared to benchmarks collected in 2005, and it did not. We therefore compared all surveys to benchmarks collected in 2004.

9. These weights were constructed following recommendations from the Report from the American National Election Study's (ANES) Committee on Optimal Weighting (DeBell and Krosnick 2009) and other sources (e.g., Battaglia et al. 2009). The ANES procedure suggests inspecting the marginal distributions for secondary demographics, such as marital status and number of people in the household, after weighting on primary demographics. If a discrepancy larger than 5 percentage points appears for a variable, weighting can then be done using that variable as well. We did not implement this part of the procedure, because we used the secondary demographics as benchmarks to assess accuracy.

10. In an initial contact letter, all firms were asked for survey weights, but only three firms provided post-stratification weights to eliminate demographic discrepancies between the U.S. population and the samples of respondents: the probability sample telephone survey, the probability sample Internet survey, and one of the non-probability sample Internet surveys. The probability sample Internet survey's weights adjusted for unequal probability of invitation. The firm that conducted non-probability sample Internet survey 1 provided weights that included a propensity score adjustment in addition to a post-stratification adjustment. In the analyses reported here, we chose to use the weights that yielded the most accurate survey results, which were the weights we constructed, and so no results are reported using the weights provided by the firms.

benchmark data and the proportion of survey respondents giving that answer (the response categories are listed in column 1 of table 3).¹¹ We assessed the statistical significance of the difference between the benchmark data's measurement of the modal category and each survey's estimate of that category using standard errors from the benchmark surveys and the target surveys. Because the driver's license and passport benchmarks were not obtained from surveys, they were treated as measured without error. For each survey, the average absolute error was computed across all three categories (primary demographics, secondary demographics, and non-demographics), and we tested the statistical significance of the differences between pairs of surveys by bootstrapping standard errors for each survey's average absolute error and computing t-tests to compare these averages.

All of the above analyses were first conducted with no weights on the Internet survey data and weights to adjust for unequal probability of selection on the telephone survey data. The analyses were then repeated using post-stratification weights and examining only the secondary demographics and non-demographics. Finally, t-tests were computed to assess whether the change in accuracy due to weighting was statistically significant using bootstrapped standard errors. For more details on methods and analyses, see the online supplement (INSERT [AQ2] WEBSITE).¹² For more information on past findings generated with the present study's commissioned surveys, see appendix 2.

Results

ACCURACY OF THE 2004/2005 COMMISSIONED SURVEYS

Primary Demographics

Without post-stratification. Without post-stratification, the probability samples provided the most accurate estimates of the primary demographics. The telephone survey and the probability sample Internet survey had average absolute errors of 3.29 and 1.96 percentage points, respectively, which were significantly different

11. When we computed the average absolute error across all response categories for each variable, we reached the same conclusions about relative survey accuracy as are reported in the text.

12. The online supplement provides descriptions of the firms' methods for collecting data; descriptions of the archival surveys; other questions included in the questionnaire that could not be used to assess accuracy; benchmark sources and calculations; missing data management techniques; descriptions of the data used and analyses conducted to assess the accuracy of surveys from 2009; a description of the weighting algorithm and the program that implemented it; a description and copy of the bootstrapping procedure used for statistical testing; t-tests comparing the firms' average errors; t-tests assessing whether post-stratification improved accuracy for each survey; the variability of accuracy across the telephone surveys, probability sample Internet surveys, and non-probability sample Internet surveys; results obtained when using weights provided by the firms, when capping weights, and when dropping health status as a benchmark; targets used to build post-stratification weights; and confidence intervals for the commissioned telephone survey's weighted measurement of benchmarked variables not used to create weights.

290 from each other (see row 1 of table 2). All of the non-probability sample Internet surveys were significantly less accurate than the probability sample Internet survey in terms of primary demographics, and all but one of the non-probability sample Internet surveys were significantly less accurate than the telephone survey (see row 1 of table 2).

295 *With post-stratification.* After post-stratification, all of the samples closely matched the primary demographic benchmarks (see rows 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, and 30 of table 3). This suggests that the weighting procedure had the intended effect on the variables used to create the weights.

Accuracy Across All Benchmarks

300 *Without post-stratification.* Without post-stratification, the telephone survey and the probability sample Internet survey were not significantly different from each other in terms of average accuracy for all 19 benchmarks (average absolute errors of 3.53 and 3.33 percentage points, respectively) and were both significantly more accurate than all of the non-probability sample Internet surveys (which ranged from 4.88 to 9.96 percentage points; see 305 row 2 of table 2).

With post-stratification. After post-stratification, accuracy for the secondary demographics and non-demographics was best for the telephone survey (2.90 percentage points), and slightly (but not significantly) less accurate for the probability sample Internet survey (average absolute error 3.40 percentage 310 points). The telephone and probability sample Internet surveys were significantly or marginally significantly more accurate than all of the non-probability sample Internet surveys (see row 4 of table 2; see also figure 1).

As expected, post-stratification significantly increased the average accuracy of both probability sample surveys (compare rows 3 and 4 of table 2). Post- 315 stratification significantly increased accuracy for only two of the seven non-probability sample surveys, increased accuracy marginally significantly for a third, and decreased accuracy marginally significantly for a fourth. Post-stratification had no significant or marginally significant impact on accuracy for the remaining three non-probability sample surveys (compare rows 3 and 4 of table 2).¹³

320 *Other Accuracy Metrics*

Largest absolute error. Other accuracy metrics also suggested that the probability sample surveys were more accurate than the non-probability sample surveys. For example, another way to characterize a survey's accuracy is the error of the variable on which that survey was least accurate, which we call the survey's "largest absolute error." With no post-stratification, the probability sample 325 surveys had the smallest "largest absolute errors" (11.71 percentage points

13. For two of these surveys, post-stratification yielded non-significant improvements in accuracy, and for the third, post-stratification yielded a non-significant decrease in accuracy.

Table 2. Overall Accuracy Metrics for Commissioned Probability and Non-Probability Sample Surveys, Without Post-Stratification and with Post-Stratification

Evaluative Criteria	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
	Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Average percentage point absolute error									
Primary demographics									
Without post-stratification	3.29	1.96	4.08 ^b	5.02 ^{ab}	6.44 ^{ab}	6.39 ^{ab}	5.33 ^{ab}	4.72 ^{ab}	12.00 ^{ab}
All benchmarks									
Without post-stratification	3.53	3.33	4.88 ^{ab}	5.55 ^{ab}	6.17 ^{ab}	5.29 ^{ab}	4.98 ^{ab}	5.17 ^{ab}	9.90 ^{ab}
Secondary and non-demographics									
Without post-stratification	3.64	3.96	5.25 ^{ab}	5.79 ^{ab}	6.05 ^{ab}	4.79 ^a	4.81 ^a	5.38 ^{ab}	8.93 ^{ab}
With post-stratification	2.90	3.40	4.53 ^{ab}	5.22 ^{ab}	4.53 ^a	5.51 ^{ab}	5.17 ^{ab}	5.08 ^{ab}	6.61 ^{ab}
Rank: Average absolute error									
Primary demographics									
Without post-stratification	2	1	3	5	8	7	6	4	9
All benchmarks									
Without post-stratification	2	1	3	7	8	6	4	5	9
Secondary and non-demographics									
Without post-stratification	1	2	5	7	8	3	4	6	9
With post-stratification	1	2	3	7	4	8	6	5	9
Largest percentage point absolute error									
All benchmarks									
Without post-stratification	11.71	9.59	17.99	13.23	15.55	15.25	13.70	15.97	35.54

Continued

Table 2. *Continued*

Evaluative Criteria	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
	Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Secondary and non-demographics									
Without post-stratification	11.71	9.59	14.68	12.12	13.03	14.80	13.70	15.97	20.04
With post-stratification	9.00	8.42	14.56	11.90	12.09	15.14	12.95	9.98	17.83
% Significant differences from benchmark									
All benchmarks									
Without post-stratification	47%	63%	58%	68%	79%	58%	63%	58%	89%
Secondary and non-demographics									
Without post-stratification	46%	69%	69%	77%	77%	54%	62%	62%	85%
With post-stratification	31%	46%	69%	69%	69 ^a	77%	62%	77%	77%

^a Significantly different from the telephone sample survey at $p < .05$.

^b Significantly different from the probability sample Internet survey at $p < .05$.

Table 3. Accuracy Benchmark Comparisons for Commissioned Probability and Non-Probability Sample Surveys: Primary Demographic, Secondary Demographic, and Non-Demographic Benchmarks, Without Post-stratification and with Post-Stratification

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Primary demographic										
Female	51.68%									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		55.40%*	50.57%	53.80%	49.82%	48.73%*	50.73%	52.26%	49.61%	55.45%*
Percentage point error		3.72	-1.11	2.12	-1.86	-2.95	-0.95	0.58	-2.07	3.77
With post-stratification										
Estimate		51.63	51.50	51.27	51.66	51.31	52.46	52.32	51.71	50.98
Percentage point error		-0.05	-0.18	-0.41	-0.02	-0.37	0.78	0.64	0.03	-0.70
Age 38-47	20.83									
Without Post-stratification										
Estimate		20.88	22.10	19.78	19.54	21.26	20.55	19.45	20.80	15.54*
Percentage point error		0.05	1.27	-1.05	-1.29	0.43	-0.28	-1.38	-0.03	-5.29
With post-stratification										
Estimate		21.55	20.73	22.34	19.89	20.36	22.89	20.88	19.49	20.84
Percentage point error		0.72	-0.10	1.51	-0.94	-0.47	2.06	0.05	-1.34	0.01
White only	82.02									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		79.15	79.12*	84.10*	86.22*	89.62*	88.73*	87.11*	82.19	46.48*
Percentage point error		-2.87	-2.90	2.08	4.20	7.60	6.71	5.09	0.17	-35.54
With post-stratification										
Estimate		82.02	82.02	82.02	82.01	82.03	82.02	82.03	82.02	81.77
Percentage point error		0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01*	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.25

Continued

Table 3. *Continued*

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Non-Hispanic	87.62									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		94.61*	90.86*	88.64	95.09*	96.65*	96.64*	94.78*	93.44*	90.19*
Percentage point error		6.99	3.24	1.02	7.47	9.03	9.02	7.16	5.82	2.57
With post-stratification										
Estimate		87.62	87.62	87.62	87.63	87.62	87.63	87.63	87.62	87.70
Percentage point error		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.08
High school degree	31.75									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		27.36*	31.41	13.76*	18.52*	16.20*	16.50*	19.03*	20.45*	16.60*
Percentage point error		-4.39	-0.34	-17.99	-13.23	-15.55	-15.25	-12.72	-11.30	-15.15
With post-stratification										
Estimate		31.75	31.71	34.65*	31.79	34.75*	33.98	32.81	31.75	31.80
Percentage point error		0.00	-0.04	2.90	0.04	3.00	2.23	1.06	0.00	0.05
South	35.92									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		34.22	38.82*	36.13	38.01	39.03*	29.80*	40.99*	44.85*	26.25*
Percentage point error		-1.70	2.90	0.21	2.09	3.11	-6.12	5.07	8.93	-9.67
With post-stratification										
Estimate		35.92	35.92	35.92	35.92	35.91	35.90	35.95	35.92	35.94
Percentage point error		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	0.03	0.00	0.02

Continued

Table 3. Continued

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Secondary demographic										
Married	56.50									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		61.87*	59.82*	58.77*	59.93*	61.49*	56.82	58.15	53.71	45.54*
Percentage point error		5.37	3.32	2.27	3.43	4.99	0.32	1.65	-2.79	-10.96
With post-stratification										
Estimate		58.55	57.11	55.49	57.64	56.33	51.33*	48.81*	52.64*	51.99*
Percentage point error		2.05	0.61	-1.01	1.14	-0.17	-5.17	-7.69	-3.86	-4.51
2 people in household	33.84									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		34.19	37.46*	41.50*	36.52	39.98*	40.55*	38.25*	35.25	23.96*
Percentage point error		0.35	3.62	7.66	2.68	6.14	6.71	4.41	1.41	-9.88
With post-stratification										
Estimate		32.24	34.56	38.38*	34.72*	37.98*	36.44	31.85	32.90	27.72*
Percentage point error		-1.60	0.72	4.54	0.88	4.14	2.60	-1.99	-0.94	-6.12
Worked last week	60.80									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		60.58	61.69	63.12*	53.59*	67.05*	61.18	55.76*	60.00	63.29
Percentage point error		-0.22	0.89	2.32	-7.21	6.25	0.38	-5.04	-0.80	2.49
With post-stratification										
Estimate		58.50	62.46	62.17	48.90*	60.24	60.12	51.39*	57.07*	58.44
Percentage point error		-2.30	1.66	1.37	-11.90	-0.56	-0.68	-9.41	-3.73	-2.36
3 bedrooms	43.38									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		44.43	45.88	43.56	46.14	45.05	45.18	41.71	41.25	36.87*
Percentage point error		1.05	2.50	0.18	2.76	1.67	1.80	-1.67	-2.13	-6.51

Continued

Table 3. Continued

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
With post-stratification										
Estimate		44.82	44.91	43.52	48.25*	47.95*	45.19	39.69*	42.11	41.00
Percentage point error		1.44	1.53	0.14	4.87	4.57	1.81	-3.69	-1.27	-2.38
2 vehicles	41.46									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		41.09	45.53*	43.73	44.41*	46.93*	41.82	42.03	40.18	41.50
Percentage point error		-0.37	4.07	2.27	2.95	5.47	0.36	0.57	-1.28	0.04
With post-stratification										
Estimate		40.94	45.41*	43.62	42.12	44.80*	37.88*	39.17	38.35*	45.66*
Percentage point error		-0.52	3.95	2.16	0.66	3.34	-3.58	-2.29	-3.11	4.20
Owns home	72.50									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		78.75*	71.72	72.68	68.66*	71.71	71.18	69.32*	64.83*	52.46*
Percentage point error		6.25	-0.78	0.18	-3.84	-0.79	-1.32	-3.18	-7.67	-20.04
With post-stratification										
Estimate		76.20*	69.51*	67.23*	66.62*	72.44	67.24*	66.69*	62.84*	61.26*
Percentage point error		3.70	-2.99	-5.27	-5.88	-0.06	-5.26	-5.81	-9.66	-11.24
HH income \$50K -59.9K	15.11									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		14.05*	23.26	21.57*	23.00*	18.44*	19.96*	19.63*	19.52*	19.28*
Percentage point error		-1.06	8.15	6.46	7.89	3.33	4.85	4.52	4.41	4.17
With post-stratification										
Estimate		14.57	22.18*	21.47*	22.50*	17.95*	20.18*	22.01*	19.38*	16.07
Percentage point error		-0.54	7.07	6.36	7.39	2.84	5.07	6.90	4.27	0.96

Continued

Table 3. Continued

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Non-demographic										
Non-smoker	78.25									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		76.63	74.91*	76.26	68.85*	70.40*	73.73*	68.76*	70.55*	65.82*
Percentage point error		-1.62	-3.34	-1.99	-9.40	-7.85	-4.52	-9.49*	-7.70	-12.43
With post-stratification										
Estimate		75.69	74.00*	72.44*	68.25*	69.85*	69.39*	70.18*	70.18*	60.42*
Percentage point error		-2.56	-4.25	-5.81	-10.00	-8.40	-8.86	-8.07	-8.07	-17.83
Had 12 drinks in lifetime	77.45									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		84.54*	87.04*	92.09*	89.57*	90.48*	92.25*	91.15*	88.89*	81.55*
Percentage point error		7.09	9.59	14.64	12.12	13.03	14.80	13.70	11.44	4.10
With post-stratification										
Estimate		84.60*	85.87*	92.01*	87.87*	89.54*	92.59*	90.40*	87.43*	90.63*
Percentage point error		7.15	8.42	14.56	10.42	12.09	15.14	12.95	9.98	13.18
Has 1 drink on average	37.67									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		43.46*	42.98*	40.22*	37.74	38.73	38.77	40.18	33.75*	22.07*
Percentage point error		5.79	5.31	2.55	0.07	1.06	1.10	2.51	-3.92	-15.60
With post-stratification										
Estimate		39.47	40.33	34.60*	39.54	38.19	32.49*	37.24	32.14*	32.69*
Percentage point error		1.80	2.66	-3.07	1.87	0.52	-5.18	-0.43	-5.53	-4.98
Health "very good"	31.43									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		33.64	37.91*	38.73*	40.45*	40.39*	38.91*	34.12	36.42*	42.93*

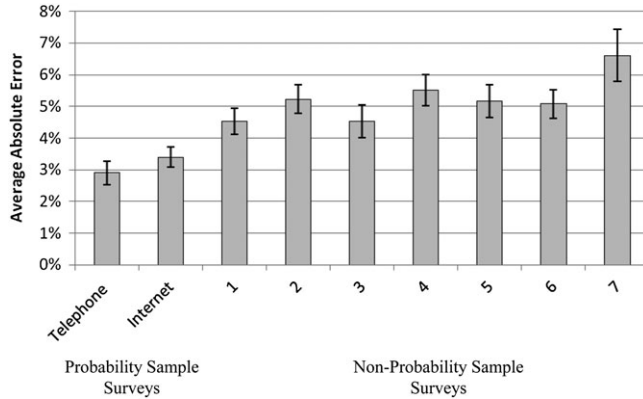
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Table 3. *Continued*

Benchmark comparison	Value	Probability Sample Surveys		Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys						
		Telephone	Internet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Percentage point error		1.71	5.98	6.80	8.52	8.46	6.98	2.19	4.49	11.00
With post-stratification										
Estimate		33.30	38.93*	37.06*	39.05*	40.27*	39.58*	33.53	33.86	36.90*
Percentage point error		1.37	7.00	5.13	7.12	8.34	7.65	1.60	1.93	4.97
Does not have a passport	78.50									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		66.79*	75.19*	63.82*	70.21*	65.99*	65.36*	68.87*	62.53*	63.30*
Percentage point error		-11.71	-3.31	-14.68	-8.29	-12.51	-13.14	-9.63	-15.97	-15.20
With post-stratification										
Estimate		69.50*	76.28	72.14*	75.19*	68.68*	71.82*	72.59*	69.09*	69.33*
Percentage point error		-9.00	-2.22	-6.36	-3.31	-9.82	-6.68	-5.91	-9.41	-9.17
Has a driver's license	89.00									
Without post-stratification										
Estimate		93.77*	89.63	95.27*	95.10*	96.08*	95.00*	93.02*	94.97*	92.66*
Percentage point error		4.77	0.63	6.27	6.10	7.08	6.00	4.02	5.97	3.66
With post-stratification										
Estimate		92.66*	87.91	92.10*	91.40*	93.06*	92.97*	88.54	93.22*	93.00*
Percentage point error		3.66	-1.09	3.10	2.40	4.06	3.97	-0.46	4.22	4.00

NOTE.—All errors are deviations from the benchmark.

* $p < .05$.



[AQ15] **Figure 1. Average Percentage Point Absolute Errors for Commissioned Probability and Non-Probability Sample Surveys across Thirteen Secondary Demographics and Non-Demographics, with Post-Stratification.** Error bars represent + or - 1 standard error.

for the telephone and 9.59 for the Internet; see row 9 of table 2), and the non-probability sample Internet surveys all had larger “largest absolute errors,” ranging from 13.23 to 35.54 percentage points. With post-stratification, the same was true—the probability samples had the largest absolute errors, of 9.00 and 8.42 percentage points, in contrast to the non-probability sample Internet surveys’ largest errors, ranging from 9.98 to 17.83 percentage points.

Number of significant differences from benchmarks. The same conclusion was supported by the percent of benchmarks from which each survey’s estimates were significantly different ($p < .05$; see rows 12 and 14 of table 2). Without post-stratification, the telephone surveys’ estimates were significantly different from the fewest benchmarks (47 percent). The probability sample Internet survey’s estimates were significantly different from somewhat more benchmarks (63 percent), and the non-probability sample Internet surveys were significantly different from about the same percent or more of the benchmarks (range: 58 to 89 percent). With post-stratification, however, the probability samples were more obviously superior: Their estimates were significantly different from 31 and 46 percent of the benchmarks, respectively, whereas the non-probability sample Internet surveys were significantly different from between 62 and 77 percent of the benchmarks.

Superiority of Some Non-Probability Samples?

The average accuracies examined thus far suggest that some non-probability samples may have been more accurate than others, but these differences were

350 almost never statistically significant.¹⁴ Furthermore, it is essentially impossible
to predict a non-probability sample survey's accuracy on one benchmark using
its overall accuracy on all of the benchmarks. Without post-stratification, the
correlation between overall rank order of the surveys in terms of absolute error
and the absolute error for each of the 19 benchmarks ranged from $-.65$ to $.70$
355 and averaged $.27$. Similarly, the correlation between average absolute error
for each survey and absolute error for each of the 19 benchmarks ranged from
 $-.94$ to $.92$ and averaged $.37$. These two average correlations were similar
when post-stratification was done ($.23$ and $.27$, respectively). Thus, these
results challenge the conclusion that some of the non-probability sample In-
360 ternet surveys were consistently more accurate than the rest.

COMPARISONS WITH 2004/2005 ARCHIVAL SURVEYS

Because the RDD telephone survey and probability sample surveys commis-
sioned for this article were overseen closely by university researchers, and the
telephone survey involved a very long field period and extensive efforts to max-
365 imize the response rate, one might imagine that these surveys overstate the ac-
curacy of most surveys done with these methods at that time. In fact, however,
the surveys commissioned for this article were almost always less accurate than
the archival surveys we examined (commissioned telephone survey: average
absolute error 3.74 percentage points vs. archival telephone surveys: 3.40,
3.18, 3.55, 3.40, 3.46, 3.79 percentage points; commissioned probability sam-
370 ple Internet survey: 2.67 percentage points vs. archival probability sample In-
ternet surveys: 1.71; 2.10; 1.43; 1.94; 1.62; 1.45 percentage points).

Consistency of Absolute Errors in the 2004/2005 Surveys.

Consistency of absolute error rates across surveys. In addition to the
375 probability sample surveys being more accurate than the non-probability
sample surveys, the former were also more consistent in their accuracy. Without
post-stratification, the average absolute error for the seven probability sample
telephone surveys (i.e., the commissioned survey plus the six archival surveys)
was 3.51 percentage points (for the primary demographics and some secondary
380 demographics), with a standard deviation of 0.23 percentage points. The same
average absolute error and standard deviation were 1.84 and 0.44 percentage
points for the seven probability sample Internet surveys, respectively. In
contrast, for the seven non-probability sample Internet surveys, these figures
were 5.60 and 2.20 percentage points, respectively. Thus, the standard
385 deviation for the non-probability sample surveys' average error was nearly

14. Of 21 possible t-tests comparing pairs of non-probability sample Internet surveys' average absolute errors to one another (after post-stratification), only 3 were statistically significant ($p < .05$)—slightly more than would be expected by chance alone. All three of those significant t-statistics indicated that non-probability sample Internet survey 7 was significantly less accurate than others of the non-probability sample Internet surveys.

ten times larger than the telephone surveys' standard deviation and five times larger than the probability sample Internet surveys' standard deviation.

390 *Consistency of absolute error rates within surveys.* Not only were the probability sample surveys more consistent in their average errors across surveys than were the non-probability sample surveys, but the former were also more consistently accurate across benchmarks within a survey. Without post-stratification, the average standard deviation (across nine demographics) of the absolute error averaged 2.76 percentage points for the seven probability sample telephone surveys, 1.31 percentage points for the seven probability sample Internet surveys, and 5.19 percentage points for the seven non-probability sample surveys. Thus, it is easier to predict a probability sample survey's accuracy on one benchmark knowing its accuracy on another benchmark than to predict a non-probability sample survey's accuracy on one benchmark knowing its accuracy on another benchmark.

400 The consistency of the accuracy of the probability sample surveys is illustrated in figure 2. In terms of nine demographic variables, the range of absolute errors was much narrower for the seven RDD telephone surveys (shown on the left of figure 2) and the seven probability sample Internet surveys (shown in the middle) than for the seven non-probability sample Internet surveys (shown on the right). Thus, it is difficult to anticipate whether a non-probability sample Internet survey will be somewhat different from a population benchmark or substantially different from it, whereas the probability sample surveys were consistently only minimally different.

RELATION OF COMPLETION RATES TO ACCURACY

410 Remarkably, higher response rates were associated with lower accuracy of the surveys. Among the seven RDD telephone surveys, response rates were

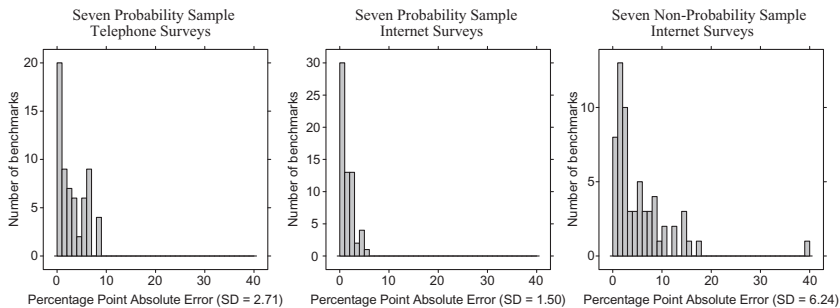


Figure 2. Histograms Showing the Variability in Absolute Errors for Comparisons to Nine Benchmarks from Seven Commissioned and Archival Probability Sample Telephone Surveys, Seven Commissioned and Archival Probability Sample Internet Surveys, and Seven Commissioned Non-Probability Sample Internet Surveys.

positively correlated with the size of each survey's average absolute error without post-stratification ($r = .47$). Completion rates were also positively correlated with the size of average absolute error among the seven probability
415 sample Internet surveys ($r = .47$) and among the non-probability sample Internet surveys ($r = .61$). Thus, higher completion rates and response rates were coincident with less accuracy, not more.

COMPARISON WITH THE 2008 ARF SURVEYS

In the ARF's study, the post-stratification weighted average absolute error
420 across the benchmark questions not used for weighting was nearly identical to that found in the present study's commissioned 2004/2005 non-probability sample Internet surveys (5.2 vs. 5.2 percentage points). For the same current cigarette-smoking benchmark, the standard deviation of absolute errors across
425 multiple non-probability sample surveys was nearly identical in the ARF study and in the present study's commissioned 2004/2005 surveys as well (3.74 vs. 3.45 percentage points), as was the largest absolute error among non-probability sample surveys (12 vs. 12). Thus, when considering only the limited set of publicly available results from the ARF's 2008 FoQ study, there was remarkable correspondence to the present study's results.

430 COMPARING ERRORS IN THE 2004/2005 AND 2009 SURVEYS

In no instance was a firm's 2009 average error significantly different from its 2004/2005 average error. T-tests comparing the average absolute error for each firm's surveys in 2004/2005 and 2009 using bootstrapped standard errors failed to reach
435 significance (telephone: $\Delta = -0.23$ percentage points, $t = 0.38$, $p > .10$; probability sample Internet $\Delta = -0.09$ percentage points, $t = 0.18$, $p > .10$; non-probability sample Internet $\Delta = -0.81$ percentage points, $t = 1.39$, $p > .10$). Moreover, in 2009, as in 2004/2005, the probability sample Internet survey was significantly more accurate than the non-probability sample Internet sample survey (difference in average absolute error = 2.84 percentage points, $t[1100] =$
440 4.76, $p < .05$).

Discussion

This investigation supports the following conclusions:

- 445 (1) The probability sample telephone and Internet surveys commissioned for this study were highly accurate across a set of demographics and non-demographics, especially after post-stratification with primary demographics (average absolute errors of secondary demographics and non-demographics = 2.90 and 3.40 percentage points, respectively, for the telephone and probability sample Internet surveys).

- 450 (2) The non-probability sample Internet surveys were always less accurate, on average, than the probability sample surveys (average absolute errors for secondary demographics and non-demographics = 5.23 percentage points) and were less consistent in their accuracy. Thus, the accuracy of any one measure in a non-probability sample survey was of limited value for inferring the accuracy of other measures in such surveys.
- 455 (3) Post-stratification with demographics sometimes improved the accuracy of non-probability sample surveys and sometimes reduced their accuracy, so this method cannot be relied upon to repair deficiencies in such samples.
- 460 (4) Although one of the non-probability sample surveys was strikingly and unusually inaccurate, the rest were roughly equivalently inaccurate, on average, challenging the hypothesis that optimizing methods of conducting non-probability sample Internet surveys can maximize their accuracy.
- 465 (5) Completion rates and response rates of the surveys were negatively correlated with their accuracy, challenging the notion that higher completion rates and response rates are indications of higher accuracy.
- (6) The accuracy of probability and non-probability sample surveys in 2004/2005 and 2009 is about the same.

Conclusion (1) is useful because probability sample surveys routinely come under attack, being accused of inaccuracy due to low response rates and a shrinking landline telephone sampling frame (e.g., Crampton 2007; Kellner 2004, 2007; Zogby 2007, 2009; see also Ferrell and Peterson 2010). It is rarely possible to evaluate the credibility of such assertions, because benchmarks to assess accuracy are rarely available. Therefore, this investigation's administration of measures suitable for comparison to benchmarks made this sort of evaluation possible and yielded reassuring conclusions about probability sample surveys.

475 Conclusion (2) should come as no surprise, because no theory provides a rationale, whereby samples generated by non-probability methods would necessarily yield accurate results. Because we saw substantial and unpredictable accuracy in a few of the many assessments made with such surveys, it is possible to cherry-pick such results to claim that non-probability sampling can yield veridical measurements. But a systematic look at a wide array of benchmarks documented that such results are the exception rather than the rule.

RESONANCE WITH PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The evidence reported here complements past studies, such as that done by Roster et al. (2004), who compared an RDD telephone survey to an Internet survey of a non-probability sample from the same geographic region. Those investigators found numerous statistically significant and sizable differences between the surveys in terms of demographics and non-demographics.

Schonlau, Asch, and Du (2004, who collected data in California) and Sparrow (2006, who collected data in the United Kingdom) reported similar comparisons that yielded equivalent results. However, because these studies did not compare the estimates to trusted benchmarks, it is impossible to tell which data collection method yielded more accurate results. The present study suggests that in general, RDD telephone surveys are likely to be more accurate than non-probability sample Internet surveys. This conclusion is supported by similar studies that compared estimates from an RDD telephone survey and a non-probability sample Internet survey to benchmarks and found greater error in the latter (e.g., Bethell et al. 2004; Chang and Krosnick 2009; Crete and Stephenson 2008; Niemi et al. 2008; van Ryzin 2008).¹⁵

The present study's finding of substantial variability in results across non-probability sample surveys (in 2004/2005 and in 2008) resonates with other studies documenting the same result (e.g., Baim et al. 2009; Elmore-Yalch et al. 2008; Vonk, Ossenbruggen, and Williams 2006). All of this reinforces confidence in the conclusions supported by the present research.

[AQ3]

EFFECTS OF SURVEY WEIGHTS ON ACCURACY

Advocates of non-probability sample surveys sometimes assert that inadequacies in panel recruitment and survey participation can be corrected by suitable adjustments implemented when inviting panelists to complete the survey or after data collection. And some firms that sell such data sometimes say that they have developed effective, proprietary methods to do so. The evidence reported here challenges those assertions in various ways: (1) the non-probability sample surveys differed in how they used quotas, adjusted the probability of invitation from the panel, and provided incentives, yet none emerged as superior to the others; (2) the sizes of errors observed within and across such surveys were not consistent; (3) the weights that included a propensity score adjustment did not reduce the errors in that non-probability sample Internet survey; and (4) post-stratification of non-probability samples did not consistently improve accuracy, whereas post-stratification did increase the accuracy of probability sample surveys. This suggests that weights may not always be effective for removing the biases in non-probability sample surveys, although they are effective at reducing error in probability sample surveys.

15. Other research has compared non-probability sample Internet surveys to probability sample surveys conducted face-to-face and has found similar results (e.g., Newman et al. 2002; Smith 2003; Smith and Dennis 2005). For instance, Loosveldt and Sonck (2008) found numerous sizable differences between a non-probability sample Internet survey's measurements and those of a probability sample face-to-face survey in Belgium, as did Faas and Schoen (2006) with data from Germany. Again, these investigators did not provide evidence on which survey was the more accurate. Malhotra and Krosnick (2007) compared probability sample face-to-face surveys with non-probability sample Internet surveys and showed that the face-to-face surveys' results were more accurate.

The logic of such weighting hinges on the assumption that the members of underrepresented groups from whom a researcher has collected data will provide answers mirroring the answers that would have been obtained if more individuals in such groups had been interviewed. So, perhaps with non-probability sampling, interviewed members of underrepresented subgroups do not resemble non-interviewed members of such groups as closely as occurs with probability sampling. For example, if young, African American, highly educated males were underrepresented in a non-probability sample Internet survey, the young, African American, highly educated males who did participate may not have closely resembled those who did not. This may be the reason why weighting up the participating members of this group increased error rather than decreasing it.

Resonating with this logic, many researchers (Couper et al. 2007; Dever et al. 2008; Duffey et al. 2005, Lensvelt-Mulders, Lugtig, and Hubregtse 2009; Loosveldt and Sonck 2008; Schonlau et al. 2009) have shown that although weighting and propensity score adjustments can sometimes significantly reduce error in non-probability sample surveys, large discrepancies from the population of interest often remain even when the data are weighted. We look forward to seeing the results of future research seeking to refine and improve these methods.

540 THE SPECIAL CASE OF PRE-ELECTION POLLS

Pre-election polls are perhaps the most visible context in which probability sample and non-probability sample surveys compete and can be evaluated. A number of publications document excellent accuracy of non-probability sample Internet surveys (with some notable exceptions), some instances of better accuracy in probability sample surveys, and some instances of lower accuracy (Harris Interactive 2004, 2008; Stirton and Robertson 2005; Taylor et al. 2001; Twyman 2008; Vavreck and Rivers 2008). However, to produce these numbers, analysts must make numerous decisions about how to identify likely voters, how to handle respondents who decline to answer vote choice questions, how to weight data, how to order candidate names on questionnaires, and more. And these decisions can be shaped partly by the numerous surveys measuring the same preferences that were publicized previously during a campaign. So, differences or similarities between polls in terms of accuracy may reflect differences in analysts' procedures rather than differences in the inherent accuracy of the data collection methods. Thus, it is difficult to know how to relate the present findings to the evidence on candidate preferences during campaigns.

COMPLETION RATES AND RESPONSE RATES

The evidence reported here that higher completion rates and response rates were not associated with more accuracy is consistent with the growing body of work

[AQ4] supporting the same conclusion (e.g., Curtin et al. 2005; Holbrook, Krosnick, and Pfent 2007; Keeter et al. 2000; Keeter et al. 2006; Merkle and Edelman 2002). The evidence of negative relations of completion rates and response rates with accuracy challenges the claims that probability sampling is undermined by
565 low response rates and that efforts devoted to maximizing completion rates and response rates necessarily maximize the accuracy of surveys.

LIMITATIONS

The present study has significant limitations, some involving no small dose of irony. First, this study examined only a limited set of benchmarks, including
570 demographics and non-demographics addressing cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption, health quality, and passport and driver's license possession. This list goes beyond the variables that have been examined in past studies of survey accuracy, but it is not a random sample of measures from a universe of all possible measures. Just as the evidence reported here shows that random sampling
575 of respondents yields more generalizable results, random sampling of measures would permit an increase in confidence when generalizing research conclusions. Therefore, it would be useful to conduct investigations in the future with an expanded list of criteria to assess the generalizability of the present study's findings. Perhaps it would be possible to define a population of eligible meas-
580 ures and randomly sample from it. But it may not be possible for the community of scholars to agree on what constitutes the population of measures, in which case more investigations such as the present one can be conducted with convenience samples of measures to provide a basis for further confidence in general conclusions.

585 Second, the present study focused on commissioned non-probability sample Internet surveys conducted by a set of seven firms, and these firms were not chosen randomly from the population of such firms. Rather, they were selected because of their high visibility in the industry, and some highly visible firms were not included. Although the results from the seven data collection firms in
590 2004 closely mirrored those obtained from 17 data collection firms in the 2008 ARF study, in the absence of random sampling of companies, we must be cautious about generalizing from these results to all such companies. Ideally, future studies of this sort will involve sufficiently substantial budgets to allow random sampling of data collection firms for participation.

595 HOW ACCURATE WERE THE BENCHMARKS?

All of the analyses reported here presume that the benchmarks used to assess survey accuracy were themselves accurate. Yet most of those benchmarks were obtained from surveys, which no doubt contain some error. Because those surveys had extremely high response rates (so non-response bias was extremely

600 small) and involved very large samples of respondents, there is reason to have confidence in them.

Nevertheless, the use of human interviewers in the benchmark surveys and in the telephone surveys we examined might have created an illusion of similarity between their results. Human interviewers sometimes induce a bias toward giving
605 socially desirable answers, especially in telephone interviews, and this bias is less present in answers to self-administered questionnaires (Chang and Krosnick 2009; Harmon et al. 2009; Holbrook, Green, and Krosnick 2003; Holbrook and Krosnick 2010; Turner et al. 2005; Turner et al. 2009; Villarroel et al. 2006). Therefore, for measures tinged with social desirability implications, the
610 benchmark comparisons might overstate the accuracy of the telephone survey data.

Such bias seems unlikely to have contaminated the CPS or ACS's measures of demographics such as sex or number of bedrooms in the household or, of course, the government's statistics on passports or driver's licenses. But one might imagine that reports of cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption, and health quality could be distorted by social desirability pressures.
615

In fact, however, such pressures do not appear to bias adults' reports of smoking and drinking. Numerous studies have used the "bogus pipeline technique" to test for social desirability bias in such reports, and meta-analyses of these studies concluded that the bogus pipeline technique did not increase adults' reports of these behaviors (Aguinis, Pierce, and Quigley 1993, 1995). An additional study analyzed eight years of data from the NHANES, a large, federal face-to-face survey, and found remarkable correspondence between self-reports of nicotine consumption and blood test results (Yeager and Krosnick 2010).¹⁶
620 In that study, less than 1 percent of adults said they did not recently consume nicotine yet had blood tests that suggested otherwise.
625

Furthermore, if social desirability pressures distorted self-reports of smoking and drinking, and if these pressures operated more in interviewer-administered surveys than in self-administered surveys, we should have seen reports of less smoking and drinking in the RDD telephone survey commissioned for this article than in the probability sample Internet survey we commissioned. Yet no significant differences between the two were found in reports of smoking or drinking.
630

Some investigators have speculated that reports of health quality may be subject to social desirability response bias (e.g., Adams et al. 2005; McHorney, Kosinski, and Ware 1994; Siemiatycki 1979), and several studies have found reports of higher health quality in interviewer-administered surveys than in self-administered surveys (e.g., Baker et al. 2004; Bethell et al. 2004; Hochstim 1967; McHorney et al. 1994; Schonlau et al. 2004; Siemiatycki 1979). Likewise, the present study found that telephone survey respondents reported
635

16. Klein et al. (2007) reported results that they said indicated substantial bias in smoking self-reports in interviewer-administered surveys, but see Yeager and Krosnick (2010) for a reanalysis of that data, or see <http://blogs.abcnews.com/thenumbers/2009/12/survey-accuracy-revisiting-the-benchmarks-.html>.

640 significantly higher health quality than did the probability sample Internet survey respondents.

Nonetheless, when the data from the present study were reanalyzed dropping the health quality benchmark, the same conclusions were reached about the relative accuracy of the nine commissioned surveys. So, the conclusions of this research do not seem likely to have been distorted by social desirability response bias in the benchmark surveys.¹⁷

Conclusion

The present investigation suggests that the foundations of statistical sampling theory are sustained by actual data in practice. Probability samples, even ones without especially high response rates, yielded quite accurate results. In contrast, non-probability samples were not as accurate and were sometimes strikingly inaccurate, regardless of their completion rates. Because it is difficult to predict when such inaccuracy will occur, and because probability samples manifested consistently high accuracy, researchers interested in making accurate measurements can continue to rely on probability sampling with confidence.

This is not to say that non-probability samples have no value. They clearly do have value. Indeed, a huge amount of tremendously useful social science has been conducted during the last five decades with what are obviously highly unrepresentative samples of participants: college students who are required to participate in studies in order to fulfill course requirements (e.g., Henry 2008; Sears 1986). However, researchers conducting such studies have usually not set out to document the distributions of variables or the magnitudes of associations between variables in the population (see, e.g., Petty and Cacioppo 1996). Rather, these studies were intended mostly to assess whether two variables were related to each other along the lines that theory anticipated. The continued use of non-probability samples seems quite reasonable if one's goal is not to document the strength of an association in a population but rather to reject the null hypothesis that two variables are completely unrelated to each other throughout the population. Yet if a researcher's goal is to document the distribution of a variable in a population accurately, non-probability sample surveys appear to be considerably less suited to that goal than probability sample surveys.

17. Another potential source of bias in the telephone survey is acquiescence response bias, which is the tendency to say "yes" in response to yes/no questions, regardless of their content. Some previous research suggests that this bias is more prevalent in telephone surveys than in computer-based surveys (e.g., Chang and Krosnick 2010). Consistent with this finding, the present study found that the telephone survey overestimated possession of passports and driver's licenses, more so than did the probability sample Internet survey ($ps < .05$). So, some of the overestimation in the telephone survey data may have been due to acquiescence and not due to sample composition.

Supplementary Data

Supplementary data are freely available online at <http://pub.oxfordjournals.org/>.

Appendix 1

675 MEASURES IN THE 2004/2005 COMMISSIONED SURVEYS

Identical questions measuring primary demographics, secondary demographics, and non-demographics were asked in the same order in a survey that lasted about 30 minutes on average by telephone.

Primary demographics.

680 *Sex:* [Only asked of Internet respondents. For the telephone survey, interviewers coded respondent sex.] “Are you male or female?” (Internet response options: Male, Female; Categories used for analysis: Male, Female)

685 *Age:* “In what year were you born?” To calculate age, open-ended responses were subtracted from 2004 (the year in which the survey was conducted) [programming restricted answers to range from 0 to 1986]; Categories used for analysis: 18–27, 28–37, 38–47, 48–57, 58–67, 68+.

690 *Ethnicity:* “Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?” (Telephone and Internet response options and categories used for analysis: Yes, No)

Race: Telephone: “Please tell me which of the following races you consider yourself to be: White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian, or Other Pacific Islander.” Internet: “Which of the following races do you consider yourself to be?” (Categories used for analysis: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Other)

700 *Education:* “What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?” (Telephone: Interviewer coded responses into the categories listed below;

705 *Internet response options and categories used for analysis:* Less Than 1st Grade, 1st Grade, 2nd Grade, 3rd Grade, 4th Grade, 5th Grade, 6th Grade, 7th Grade, 8th Grade, 9th Grade, 10th Grade, 11th Grade, 12th Grade with No Diploma, High School Diploma or an Equivalent, Such as a GED, Some College But No Degree, Associate Degree from an Occupational/Vocational Program, Associate Degree from an Academic Program; Bachelor’s Degree, such as B.A., B.S., or A.B.; Master’s

Degree, such as M.A., M.S., Masters in Engineering, Masters in Education, or Masters in Social Work; Professional School Degree, such as M.D., D.D.S., or D.V.M.; Doctorate Degree, such as Ph.D., Ed.D.)

710

Region: "In what state do you live?" (*Telephone:* Interviewers recorded open-ended responses. *Internet response options:* All 50 states and the District of Columbia; *Categories used for analysis:* Northeast, Midwest, South, West, using Census region classifications)

715

Secondary demographics.

Marital Status: "Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?" (Categories used for analysis: Married, Widowed, Divorced, Separated, Never Married)

720

People in Household: "Including yourself, how many adults, 18 years old or older, live in your household? Do not include college students who are living away at college, persons stationed away from here in the armed forces, or persons away in institutions." "How many people age 17 or younger live in your household?" The two open-ended answers were summed (Categories used for analysis: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15+).

725

Work Status: "Last week, did you do ANY work for either pay or profit?" (Categories used for analysis: Yes, No)

Number of Bedrooms: "How many bedrooms are in your house, apartment, or mobile home? That is, how many bedrooms would you list if your house, apartment, or mobile home were on the market for sale or rent?" (*Telephone:* Interviewers recorded open-ended responses; *Internet response options:* No Bedrooms, 1 Bedroom, 2 Bedrooms, 3 Bedrooms, 4 Bedrooms, 5 or More Bedrooms; *Categories used for analysis:* 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5+)

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Number of Vehicles: "How many automobiles, vans, and trucks of one-ton capacity or less are kept at home for use by members of your household?" (*Categories used for analysis:* None, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6+)

Owning a Home: "Are your living quarters. . . owned or being bought by a household member, rented for cash, or occupied without payment of cash rent?" (Response options and categories used for analysis: Owned, Rented, Occupied without Payment of Cash Rent)

740

Household Income: "Thinking about your total household income from all sources, including your job, how much was your total household income in 2003 before taxes?" A respondent who refused to answer was asked "Was it \$35,000 or more?" and, if so, he or she was asked "Was it \$50,000 or more?," "Was it \$60,000 or more?," "Was it \$75,000 or more?," "Was it \$100,000 or more?," "Was it \$150,000 or more?,"

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“Was it \$200,000 or more?,” or “Was it \$250,000 or more?,” in that order, until the respondent said “no” to one of those questions. If the respondent said his or her income was less than \$35,000, he or she was asked “Was it \$10,000 or more?,” “Was it \$15,000 or more?,” or “Was it \$25,000 or more?,” in that order, until the respondent said “no” to one of those questions (Categories used for analysis: Less Than \$10,000, \$10,000–14,999, \$15,000–24,999, \$25,000–34,999, \$35,000–49,999, \$50,000–59,999, \$60,000–74,999, \$75,000–99,999, \$100,000–149,999, \$150,000–199,999, \$200,000–249,999, \$250,000+).

Non-demographics.

Smoking: “Do you smoke cigarettes every day, some days, or not at all?” (Categories used for analysis: Every Day, Some Days, Not at All)

Drinking in Lifetime: [Asked only of respondents who were 21 years old or older] “In your ENTIRE LIFE, have you had at least 12 drinks of any type of alcoholic beverage?” (Categories used for analysis: Yes, No)

Drinking This Year: [Only asked if a respondent answered “yes” to the previous question] “In the PAST YEAR, on those days that you drank alcoholic beverages, on average, how many drinks did you have?” Respondents who answered “no” to the previous question were coded as missing for this question. Coding respondents who answered “no” to the previous question as “0” instead of as missing did not change the pattern of results reported here. (Categories used for analysis: 0 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)

Quality of Health: “Would you say your health in general is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?” (Categories used for analysis: Excellent, Very Good, Good, Fair, Poor)

Passport: “Do you personally own a valid U.S. passport?” (Categories used for analysis: Yes, No)

Driver’s License: “Do you personally have a current driver’s license?” (Categories used for analysis: Yes, No)

Appendix 2

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS FINDINGS GENERATED FROM THE COMMISSIONED SURVEYS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PRESENT STUDY

Collection of the data analyzed in this article was initiated by Norman Nie, following the model of an earlier project (Chang and Krosnick 2002, 2009). The general outline of the new data collection was designed by Jon Krosnick, Norman Nie, and Douglas Rivers; LinChiat Chiang

785 assembled the questionnaire; coordination of the data collection firms
was done by Chang, Krosnick, and Rivers.

Previous reports of findings generated using these data have been
authored by Krosnick and Rivers (2005a, 2005b), Krosnick et al.
(2005), and Graham (2005, 2007). Presentations at the annual confer-
790 ence of the 2005 American Association for Public Opinion Research
by Krosnick and Rivers (2005a, 2005b) included results generated by
a team of researchers at Stanford University. Some of those results were
included in a paper being drafted at that time by Krosnick et al. (2005),
which was never completed or released. Errors were discovered in the
795 calculations, and the analyses were never redone by that team. The pres-
ent article follows from that manuscript.

Analyses of the same data conducted by staff at Knowledge Networks
were described in a publication released by Knowledge Networks
(Graham 2005) and were presented by Graham (2007) at a conference
800 sponsored by the Advertising Research Foundation.

In concept and form, tables in the present article resemble those pre-
sented by Krosnick and Rivers (2005a), Krosnick et al. (2005), and
Graham (2005, 2007), make the same distinction between primary
and secondary demographics, and compute error similarly.

805 To assess the accuracy of the various surveys, Krosnick and Rivers
(2005a) and Krosnick et al. (2005) compared measurements of 21 var-
iables with benchmarks thought to be accurate, and Graham (2005,
2007) compared 14 of those same variables with benchmarks and made
comparisons with benchmarks for six additional variables.

810 The present article revisits the same datasets, but there is no overlap of
the results reported here with the results reported by Krosnick and Rivers
(2005a), Krosnick et al. (2005), or Graham (2005, 2007), because the
present article reports results of analyses not conducted previously,
and the prior papers reported results of analyses not reported here.

815 Among the present article's results that were not reported previously
are: (1) new comparative measures of accuracy, including the rank order
of the average absolute errors across data collection firms, the consis-
tency of those ranks across variables, comparative analysis of the largest
absolute error for each firm, the consistency of those largest absolute
820 errors across measures, and the number of significant differences from
benchmarks for each firm; (2) accuracy results for four new variables; (3)
accuracy of six other telephone surveys conducted in 2004; (4) accuracy
of six other probability sample Internet surveys conducted in 2004; (5)
accuracy of three other surveys conducted in 2009; (6) accuracy of 17

825 other surveys conducted in 2008; (7) comparisons of two new sets of
weights, one capped and one uncapped; (8) associations of response/
completion rates with accuracy; (9) tests of statistical significance of dif-
ferences in accuracy between surveys; and (10) statistical significance
830 tests assessing whether post-stratification improved the accuracy of
the surveys.

Seventeen of the variables that Krosnick and Rivers (2005a) and
Krosnick et al. (2005) examined and seven of the variables examined
by Graham (2005) are not examined here, because we believe no defen-
sible benchmarks are available for these variables (for an explanation,
835 see the online supplement accompanying the present article). Moreover,
Krosnick and Rivers (2005a), Krosnick et al. (2005), and Graham (2005)
used benchmark values from surveys conducted in 2003 or earlier or
official government records calculated in 2003, whereas all surveys de-
scribed in this article were conducted in 2004 or later.

840 None of the present article's results match those reported by Krosnick
and Rivers (2005a), Krosnick et al. (2005), or Graham (2005, 2007),
because different reference categories are used here, different bench-
mark values from 2004 are used here to correct errors in the earlier work,
variables are grouped differently to yield summary statistics, no results
845 are reported in this article using weights provided by the data collection
companies, and computational errors in the earlier reported analyses
have been corrected.

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