

# The rise of survey sampling

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Discussion paper (09015)



## Explanation of symbols

.	= data not available
*	= provisional figure
x	= publication prohibited (confidential figure)
–	= nil or less than half of unit concerned
–	= (between two figures) inclusive
0 (0,0)	= less than half of unit concerned
blank	= not applicable
2005-2006	= 2005 to 2006 inclusive
2005/2006	= average of 2005 up to and including 2006
2005/'06	= crop year, financial year, school year etc. beginning in 2005 and ending in 2006
2003/'04–2005/'06	= crop year, financial year, etc. 2003/'04 to 2005/'06 inclusive

Due to rounding, some totals may not correspond with the sum of the separate figures.

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# The rise of survey sampling

Jelke Bethlehem

*Summary: This paper is about the history of survey sampling. It describes how sampling became an accepted scientific method. From the first ideas in 1895 it took some 50 years before the principles of probability sampling were widely accepted. This paper has a focus on developments in official statistics in The Netherlands, but it also pays attention to the use of sampling techniques in market research*

*Keywords: Sampling, Probability sampling, History*

## 1. Introduction

By a small sample we may judge the whole piece. This is a well-known quote from the English translation of the famous book “Don Quixote” by the Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616). It is but one example of a method that is probably as old as mankind. Other familiar examples are the cook in the kitchen taking a spoonful of soup to determine its taste, and the brewer needing only a sip of beer to test its quality.

The Dutch word for sample is “steekproef”. The origin of this word is unclear. Some believe it is a translation of the German word “Stichprobe”. The word is composed of two parts: “Stich” means to dig, stab or cut, and “Probe” means to test or to try. The word is mentioned in German literature already in 1583. It describes a “Stichprobe” as a technique used in mining. A kind of spoon (“Problöffel”, test spoon) was used to take a small amount from a melted substance to determine the amount of metal contained in it. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was also used in other branches of industry, like manufacturing paper.

Others believe the word “steekproef” goes back to cheese making. Cheese has been produced in The Netherlands since prehistoric times. There already have been cheese markets in The Netherlands since the Middle Ages. The cheese master cut (“steken” = to cut) a sample from a cheese and tasted (“proeven” = to taste) its quality.

Intuitive application of the principles of sampling in science has been taken place for a long time. However, it was not called sampling but *inductive reasoning*. Many scientific results are based on observations in just a few experiments. Apparently, it was possible to generalize these experimental results. Although inductive reasoning has been commonly applied both in everyday life and in science for a long time, sampling as a well-defined statistical method is fairly young. Its history started just more than a century ago, in the year 1895.

This paper describes how sampling became an accepted scientific method. It concentrates on the use of sampling in official statistics, i.e. statistics that are collected by government agencies, and are used for policy making and scientific research. However, also some attention is paid to the introduction of sampling in public opinion polls. It is interesting to see how market research agencies went through their own development process, and learned the hard way that wrong use of sampling may lead to fatal mistakes.

The paper starts with a description of some general early historic developments in official statistics in section 2. Section 3 describes some early developments in the application of sampling to describe demographic phenomena. Graunt (1662) and Laplace (1812) applied the principles of sampling in an intuitive way, but there was no proper scientific foundation. This section also describes the period before 1895. It shows how the first foundations of modern statistical methods emerged from developments in what was called “political arithmetic”. Section 4 explains that the birth of sampling theory was what Kuhn (1975) calls an “intellectually violent revolution”. Section 5 is devoted to the “Representative Method” of Anders Kiaer and the discussion it caused in the international statistical community. Section 6 shows how random sampling slowly emerged as a way to obtain representative samples. It made it possible to apply probability theory. As a consequence the accuracy of estimates could be determined. Section 7 continues to describe how slowly but gradually the ideas behind survey sampling were implemented in practice. Section 8 provides an overview of developments in the Netherlands. Finally, section 9 is devoted to the introduction of sampling methods in the area of market research.

## **2. Some history of official statistics**

The history of official statistics is already very old. As far back as Babylonian times censuses of agriculture were taken. This took place fairly shortly after the art of writing was invented. Ancient China counted its people to determine the revenues and the military strength of its provinces. There are also accounts of statistical overviews compiled by Egyptian rulers long before Christ. Rome regularly took a census of people and of property. The data were used to establish the political status of citizens and to assess their military and tax obligations to the state. And of course, there was numbering of the people of Israel, at the time of the birth of Jesus in the small town of Bethlehem.

Censuses were rare in the Middle Ages. The most famous one was the census of England taken by the order of William the Conqueror, King of England. The compilation of this *Domesday Book* started in the year 1086 AD. The book recorded a wealth of information about each manor and each village in the country. There was information about more than 13,000 places, and on each county there were more than 10,000 facts.

To collect all this data, the country was divided into a number of regions, and in each region a group of commissioners was appointed from among the greater lords. Each county within a region was dealt with separately. Sessions were held in each county town. The commissioners summoned all those required to appear before them. They had prepared a standard list of questions. For example, there were questions about the owner of the manor, the number of free man and slaves, the area of woodland, pasture and meadow, the number of mills and fishponds, to the total value, and the prospects of getting more profit. The Domesday Book still exists and many county data files are available on CD-ROM or the Internet.

Another interesting example of the history of official statistics can be found in the Inca Empire that existed between 1000 and 1500 AD. Each Inca tribe had its own statistician, called the *Quipucamayoc*. This man kept records of e.g. the number of people, the number of houses, the number of llamas, the number of marriages and the number of young men that could be recruited for the army. All these facts were recorded on *quipus*, a system of knots in coloured ropes. A decimal system was used for this.

At regular intervals, couriers brought the quipus to Cusco, the capital of the kingdom, where all regional statistics were compiled into national statistics. The system of Quipucamayocs and quipus worked remarkably well. Unfortunately, the system vanished with the fall of the empire.

An early census also took place in Canada in 1666. Jean Talon, the intendant (governor) of New France, ordered an official census of the colony to measure the increase in population since the founding of Quebec in 1608. The enumeration, which recorded a total of 3,215 persons, included the name, age, sex, marital status and occupation of every person.

Early censuses in Europe were undertaken in the Nordic countries: The first census in Sweden-Finland took place in 1746. It had been already suggested earlier, but the initiative was rejected because "... it corresponded to the attempt of King David who wanted to count his people". The first census in Denmark-Norway was carried out in 1769.

In 1795, at the time of the Batavian Republic under Napoleon's influence, the first integral enumeration of the population of The Netherlands took place. The new centralised administration wanted to gather quantitative information or devise a new system of electoral constituencies (see Den Dulk and Van Maarseveen, 1990).

It is clear that for a very long time, records of population and related matters have been collected. Usually, the main purpose of these statistical activities has been to increase bureaucratic efficiency. Without detailed records, centralized administration is almost inconceivable. The census in its modern form can be closely associated with the rise of democracy, because a periodic count of the population was essential for a truly representative government. According to Porter (1986), the modern periodic census was first introduced in the most advanced states of Europe and America. This took place around the beginning of the nineteenth century, at the end

of the industrial revolution (1750-1840). The use of censuses spread over much of the world in subsequent years.

### **3. Some early developments in survey sampling**

The first known attempt to make statements about a population using only information about part of it was made by the English merchant John Graunt (1620 – 1674). In his famous tract (Graunt, 1662) he describes a method to estimate the population of London based on partial information.

Graunt surveyed families in a sample of parishes where the registers were well kept. He found that on average there were 3 burials per year in 11 families. Assuming this ratio to be more or less constant for all parishes, and knowing the total number of burials per year in London to be about 13,000, he concluded that the total number of families was approximately 48,000. Putting the average family size at 8, he estimated the population of London to be 384,000. Although Graunt was aware of the fact that averages like the number of burials per families varied in space and time, he did not make any provisions for this phenomenon. Lacking a proper scientific foundation for his method, John Graunt could not make any statements about the accuracy of his method.

John Graunt carried out many different demographic studies, and not only to estimate the size of the population in London. He used methods he had developed by himself or together with William Petty (1620 – 1683). Therefore, John Graunt has frequently been merited as the founder of demography. John Graunt invented also two concepts that later turned out to be very important for survey sampling:

- He observed and then applied the fact that some social and demographic indicators remained stable in time and space. This stability is an essential assumption, without which making inference based on data collected by social surveys would not be justified. For instance, he discovered that nearly the same proportion of boys and girls were born, though slightly more boys. This proportion remained constant in all parishes in London and in the countryside nearby, and it remained also constant over time.
- Graunt used averages to estimate total values. Essential to his methods was the observation that the proportion of burials in a year remained around 3 to 11 families, and that the average family size was 8 persons.

The second time a survey-like method was applied was more than a century later. Pierre Simon Laplace (1749 – 1827) realised that it was important to have some indication of the accuracy of the estimate of the French population (Laplace, 1812). He implemented an approach that was more or less similar to that of John Graunt. He selected 30 departments distributed over the area of France. Two criteria controlled the selection process. First, he saw to it that all types of climate were represented. In this way, he could compensate for climate effects. Second, he selected departments for which the mayors of the communes could provide accurate

information. Using the Central Limit Theorem, he proved that his estimator had a normal distribution. Unfortunately, he overlooked the fact that he used a cluster sample instead of a simple random sample, and moreover communes were selected within departments purposively, and not at random. These problems made application of the Central Limit Theorem at least doubtful. The work of Laplace was buried in oblivion in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Another development that turned out to be important for official statistics was the invention of *political arithmetic* by William Petty (1620 – 1683) in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It led to a discipline of empirical collection of population records and preparation of accurate life tables. In the Netherlands, important contributions to political arithmetic were made by Nicolaas Struyck (1687-1769) and Willem Kersseboom (1691-1771), see Stamhuis (1989).

Nicolaas Struyck published a book in 1740 chiefly containing contributions to astronomy and geography, but also with several observations on vital statistics, see Struyck (1740). He estimated the world population to be 500 million, and the number of deaths in every hour 2,000 (a death rate of 35 per 1,000). He provided no scientific bases for his estimates. More solid were his computations of age and sex specific death rates. He also investigated differences in mortality rates of males and females, partly based on observations from Germany. In a later publication, Struyck (1753) collected more vital statistics on Holland and other countries. He attempted to relate mortality in childhood to age at death. He also investigated the number of twins and multiple births, and mortality of sailors on the journey from Holland to the Cape.

In the literature on the history of statistics in the Netherlands, Willem Kersseboom is more frequently referred to than his contemporary Struyck. Kersseboom did not have as much mathematical training as Struyck. Also, his publications were more of a polemic nature. Since he was too much engaged in a process of attack and defence, he was not able to develop a systematic treatment of statistical problems. He was particularly interested in estimating the size of the population of the provinces of Holland and Westfriesland, see Kersseboom (1738-1742). Using a large amount of material, he correctly computed the number of people exposed to risk at each age. Using these results he made life tables for the well-to-do people in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. He found the mean life expectancy to be 35 years, and he calculated the birth rate to be 29 per 1,000. This was a rather low birth rate for this period, and therefore there was much criticism. He made the mistake of transferring his results for the well-to-do people to the whole population. Also he saw no problem in making inference for other countries based on Dutch data.

Political arithmetic dominated statistical thinking up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Gradually it turned into a new social science of statistics (“social calculus”).

In the period until the late 1880’s, there were many applications of *partial investigations*. These were statistical inquiries in which not a complete human population was investigated, but only part of it. The selection from the population

came to hand incidentally, or was made specifically for the investigation. Generally, the selection mechanism was unclear and undocumented. While by that time considerable progress had already been made in the area of probability theory and mathematical statistics, little or no attention was paid to applying these theoretical developments to survey sampling. Nevertheless, gradually probability theory found its way in official statistics. Important roles were played by the Dutch/Belgian scientist Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet (1796-1874), and the Dutch statistician Rehuel Lobatto (1797-1866). Both were involved in the first attempt in 1826 to establish a Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics. In 1830 Belgium separated from the Netherlands, and Quetelet continued his work in Belgium.

Quetelet was the supervisor of statistics for Belgium (from 1830), in which position he developed many of the rules governing modern census taking. He also stimulated statistical activities in other countries. The Belgian census of 1846, directed by him, has been claimed to be the most influential in its time because it introduced careful analysis and critical evaluation of the data compiled. Quetelet dealt only with censuses and did not carry out any partial investigations.

According to Quetelet, many physical and moral data have a natural variability. This variability can be described by a normal distribution around a fixed, true value. He assumed the existence of something called the *true value*. He proved that this true value could be estimated by taking the mean of a number of observations. Quetelet introduced the concept of *average man* ("l'homme moyenne") as a person of which all characteristics were equal to the true value, see Quetelet (1835, 1846).

Lobatto was a friend of Quetelet. They remained in contact after Belgium separated from The Netherlands. Lobatto was the first to compile statistical yearbooks for The Netherlands. He also proposed to carry out a census every 10 years. Indeed, starting from 1829, his proposal was put into practice. Lobatto also applied probability in his work. He used the same concept of *true value*, and computed the accuracy of the mean of a number of observations as an estimate of the true value, see Lobatto (1860)

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century so called *monograph studies* or surveys became popular. They were based on Quetelet's idea of the average man, see Desrosières (1998). According to this idea, it suffices to collect information only on typical people. Investigation of extreme people was avoided. This type of inquiry was still applied widely at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was an "officially" accepted method.

Industrial revolution was also an important era in the history of statistics. It brought about drastic and extensive changes in society, as well as in science and technology. Among many other things, urbanisation started from industrialisation, and also democratisation and the emerging social movements at the end of the industrial revolution created new statistical demands. The rise of statistical thinking originated partly from the demands of society and partly from work and innovations of men like Quetelet. Harald Westergaard (1932) called the period from 1830 to 1849 the "era of enthusiasm" in the history of statistics. In this period, the foundations for



many principles of modern social statistics were laid. Several central statistical bureaus, statistical societies, conferences, and journals, were established soon after this period.

#### **4. On the birth of sampling theory**

Sampling theory was not invented suddenly but in a continuum together with the development of other statistical methods. New methods are not born in isolation from other related methods, and not in isolation from the development of society, either. Usually methods are developed stepwise, by the same author or by other authors in the same field. Each new idea is based - in one way or another - on previous knowledge or ideas. However, every now and then there are remarkable points in time at which development takes a new direction, or development splits into two different paths. In Kuhn's (1975) terminology, these points are called "intellectually violent revolutions". A classical example of this is Darwin's Evolution Theory that replaced Christian theory. Another example is Einstein's Relativity Theory that came in the place of Newton's Theory of Gravity. However, most examples are not as remarkable. Science usually develops in smaller steps, but the changes, according to Kuhn, are similar.

Although sampling theory has become a separate, grown-up branch in modern statistical science, this was certainly not the case at the beginning. The roots of survey sampling are more in official statistics and social statistics than in the probability theory and experimental design. Especially political arithmetic and later social calculus have been important activities in early stages that gave rise at a later stage to developments finally leading to modern sampling theory. However, only after the probability theory had become an inherent component of the sampling theory, it has been regarded as a genuine branch of statistical science. The history of survey sampling is longer, though.

To understand the history of sampling we should first ask where the history of statistics begins. This also was the title of a paper by Kendall (1960). He claims that it is always difficult to trace the roots of specific themes back to the past, because developments usually have no clear-cut starting point. Only much later is it possible to see and understand what has influenced a discipline to be born. By looking back it is possible to assess the importance and impact of various factors, and trace crucial innovations. However, the reasons and motives usually remain uncertain because they are partly concluded by way of conjecture, and all affecting facts and factors may not be known at all. In addition, early scientific reports contained little reference to sources. This makes it difficult to follow paths to sources of ideas. All this applies to the history of survey sampling as well.

A general problem in understanding history development of ideas and science is that it is difficult to know what was known, and what was not known. There is always a risk that we project our present knowledge and ways of thinking to the past, and that may be wrong in many cases.

Yet, if a year must be chosen as a starting point for statistical sampling, 1895 would be a good candidate. There are many reasons to claim that this year marks the beginning of modern survey sampling. If there is one man that should be given credit for starting the development leading to the widespread use of sampling as a scientific method, it is Anders Kiaer, the director of the Norwegian Statistical Bureau. Many respected authors share this view, but different views also exist (see e.g. Stephan 1948).

## 5. The Representative Method

Anders Kiaer (1838-1919), the founder and first director of Statistics Norway, was the founder and advocate of the survey method that is now widely applied in official statistics and social research. With the first publication of his ideas in 1895 he started the process that ended in the development of modern survey sampling theory and methods.

Section 3 shows that there have been earlier examples of scientific investigations based on samples, but they were lacking proper scientific foundations. In addition, they were often combined with censuses. Kiaer was the first to use a sampling survey on its own. The survey was an investigation carried out throughout Norway on a proposed retirement and sickness insurance scheme.

What was Kiaer's method like? What he did was to give an account of how a survey had been set up in Norway using his *Representative Method*. The approach may be described as intuitive. He did not give any theoretical description of his method in any of his presentations or writings. The absence of any theoretical treatment of the problem probably was one of the reasons why Kiaer often has not been attributed as one of the innovators of the sampling method. Another problem might be that there are no references in Kiaer's papers. Therefore, they appear to be more technical descriptions than scientific reports.

The idea behind the survey was that enumerators (hired only for this purpose) would fill in a total of 120,000 forms about the adult population in Norway according to the rules Kiaer had laid out. About 80,000 of the forms were collected by the Representative Method and 40,000 forms by a special (but analogue) method in the areas where the working class people lived.

For the first sample of 80,000 respondents, the households in Norway were divided into two strata based on the 1891 census. Approximately 20,000 respondents were selected from cities and the rest from rural areas. The actual sample was selected by a different method in cities and rural areas.

From the 61 cities in Norway, 13 representative cities were selected so that all the five cities having more than 20,000 inhabitants were included, and also eight cities representing the medium sized and small towns (e.g. Lillehammer). The proportion of respondents in cities varied: in the middle sized and small cities the proportion was greater than in the big cities. Kiaer motivated this choice by the fact that the

middle sized and small cities did not represent only themselves but a larger number of similar cities. In Kristiania (nowadays Oslo) the proportion was 1/16, in the medium sized towns the proportion varied between 1/12-1/9, and in the small towns it was 1/4 or 1/3 of the population.

Based on the census, it was known how many people lived in each of the 400 streets of Kristiania, the capital of Norway. The streets were sorted in four categories according to the number of inhabitants. A selection scheme was then specified for each category: the whole adult population was enumerated in 1 out of 20 for the smallest streets. In the second category, the adult population was enumerated in half of the houses in 1 out of 10 of streets. In the third category, the enumeration concerned 1/4 of the streets and every fifth house was enumerated; and in the last category of the biggest streets, the adult population was enumerated on half of the streets and in 1 out of 10 houses in them.

In selecting the streets their distribution over the city was taken into account to ensure the largest possible dispersion and the “representative character” of the enumerated areas.

In the medium sized towns, the sample was selected using the same principles, though in a slightly simplified manner. In the smallest towns, the whole adult population in three or four houses was enumerated.

Also, in the rural area the number of informants in each of the 18 counties of Norway was decided on the basis of census data. To obtain representativity, municipalities in each county were classified according to their main industry, either as agricultural, forestry, industrial, seafaring, or fishing municipalities. In relation to the population as a whole, the representative municipalities in each category and also the number of informants were determined so that each industry attained a correct weight. In addition, the geographical distribution was taken into account.

The total number of the representative municipalities amounted to 109, which is six in each county on average. The total number of municipalities was 498.

The selection of informants in a municipality was done in relation to the population in different parishes, and so that all different municipalities were covered. The final step was to instruct enumerators to follow a specific path. In addition, enumerators were instructed to visit different houses situated close to each other. That is, they were supposed to visit not only middle class houses, but also well-to-do houses, poor-looking houses and one-person houses.

Kiaer does not explain in his papers how he calculated estimates. The main reason probably was that the representative sample was constructed as a miniature of the population. Therefore, calculation of estimates is trivial: the sample mean is the estimate of the population mean, and the estimate of the population total could be attained simply by multiplying the sample total by the inverse of sampling fraction.

A more detailed description of Kiaer’s method can be found in the paper read before a meeting of the Historical Philosophical Section of the Academy of Norway, in 1897, see Kiaer (1997), or in Kiaer’s papers read before ISI meetings, see Kiaer

(1895, 1897, 1901). Even this short description of Kiaer's representative survey method shows that it resembles the methods of modern sampling theory. The main difference is that there was no explicit random selection mechanism but some kind of purposive sampling under constraints of representativity.

The major innovation in Kiaer's method, compared e.g. to monograph studies, was that the variation in population was considered an essential characteristic. The sample was selected in such a manner that the variation was covered in correct proportions.

With his visions Kiaer was way ahead of his time, which can be seen in the reactions his paper raised at the ISI meeting in Bern in 1895. The last sentence of a lengthy comment by the influential Bavarian statistician von Mayr almost became a catch phrase: "Il faut rester ferme et dire: pas de calcul là où l'observation peut être faite" (do not use calculations if you can have observations). The Italian statistician Bodio supported Von Mayr's views. The Austrian statistician Rauchberg said that further discussion of the matter was unnecessary. And the Swiss statistician Milliet demanded that incomplete surveys should not be granted a status equal to "la statistique serieuse". The criticism was almost shattering and Kiaer was not completely insensitive to it, see Kiaer (1997). Nonetheless, Kiaer developed the method further and gave papers about it at several ISI meetings.

## **6. From purposive sampling to random sampling**

Despite the hard criticism, professor Arthur Bowley of the University of London soon became attracted to the Kiaer's Representative Method. He carried out research on its merits, especially in the context of a large-sample survey. See e.g. Bowley (1913). Bowley also played a decisive role in persuading the ISI to endorse Kiaer's ideas in a resolution in 1901.

A basic problem of the Representative Method was that there was no way of establishing the accuracy of estimates. The method lacked a formal theory of inference, and Bowley made the first steps in this direction. Already very early, he stressed the importance of applying random sampling (Bowley, 1906). Bowley showed that for large samples, selected at random from the population, estimates have an approximately normal distribution. Vital for his results was the assumption that every element in the population had the same chance of being selected. Noteworthy in Bowley's work is that he already presented the notion of a confidence interval.

After Bowley's contribution in the ISI meeting of 1924, there were two accepted methods of sample selection. The first one was Kiaer's Representative Method, based on purposive selection, in which representativity played a crucial role, and for which a rough measure of accuracy of the estimates could be obtained only for the variables that were present in a census. The second was Bowley's approach, based on random sampling with equal probabilities, and for which an indication of the

accuracy of estimates could be computed for all variables. Both methods existed side by side for a number of years.

In 1924 The International Statistical Institute appointed a commission “for the purpose of studying the application of the Representative Method in Statistics”. Jensen was appointed reporter of the commission and the other members were Bowley, Gini, March, Verrijn Stuart, and Zizek. The report starts “Three decades have elapsed since our late lamented colleague, the Norwegian A.N. Kiaer, for the first time placed this matter on the agenda for the session of the institute...”.

Jensen (1926) writes in the report: “The investigations made by A.N. Kiaer in the nineties, which form the starting point for the discussion on the Representative Method at a number of meetings of the International Institute of Statistics, were representative in the truest sense of the word.”

Verrijn Stuart, Director of Statistics Netherlands, makes a number of noteworthy comments, see Verrijn Stuart (1926). He starts by remarking that a sample survey can never be better than a census. He admits that sometimes it is very difficult to carry out a census, and then a sample survey can be a useful alternative. He also mentions that the costs of collecting statistical data are increasing. To carry out the work within a given budget means either publishing less statistics, or going from censuses to sample surveys.

Verrijn Stuart continues to remark that in some sense statistical offices are already using the Representative Method. They publish statistics for a certain period, but the data are collected at one point in this period. Apparently, these data are considered to be representative for the whole period. Moreover, several statistical quantities, like e.g. price index numbers, can only be computed using samples and interpolation. He also admits that statistical offices sometimes do things that are even worse than sample surveys. One of these things is making assumptions that cannot be checked. An example is assuming that male/female ratio is the same everywhere in the population.

Notwithstanding some critical remarks, Verrijn Stuart concludes that it is often possible to use sample surveys without losing quality. He cannot give general recommendations for every survey. Possible application should always be carefully tested. And also detailed documentation should be produced, so that one can always find out at some later date how certain results have been obtained.

With respect to sampling, Verrijn Stuart advocates random selection. In his views, purposive sampling always reflects subjective decisions. This can be avoided using random samples. And one has not to be afraid of skewed samples. The Law of Large Numbers will reduce the risk of such samples to almost zero.

It took almost 30 years until in 1924, five years after his death, Kiaer’s Representative Method was approved as a valid statistical method. According to Porter (1986), the distrustful attitude of statisticians towards sampling was not surprising. Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century they emphasized the importance of complete enumeration at every opportunity. This scepticism of statisticians about

inference from samples was not wholly unjustified. In the absence of reliable information about the population as a whole it was difficult to know if a particular sample was adequately representative.

The coexistence of the two selection methods (purposive and random selection) lasted until 1934, in which year the Polish scientist Jerzy Neyman read his now famous paper in front of the Royal Statistical Society (Neyman, 1934). He had developed a new theory of estimation based on the concept of confidence intervals. One of the basic ideas was to apply the same methods in social surveys as Fisher had applied in agricultural experiments, especially randomisation and inclusion probabilities.

The contribution of Neyman was not only that he invented the estimation method based on confidence intervals. By making an empirical evaluation of Italian census data, he could also prove that the Representative Method based on purposive sampling could produce unsatisfactory estimates of population characteristics. The result of Neyman's evaluation of purposive sampling was that the method fell into disrepute. He had established the superiority of random sampling (also referred to as *probability sampling*) over purposive sampling.

It should be remarked that the concept of random sampling not only emerged in Western Europe. The literature on the history of statistics often seems to overlook the role played by Russian statisticians in the Zemstva, see Mespoulet (2001).

After the reform of 1864, district and provincial assemblies (Zemstva) were created in the rural parts of Russia. The members of the district assemblies were elected by their inhabitants. District assemblies then elected delegates for the provincial assemblies. The Zemstva were responsible for administration, local education, public health, etc. The quantity and the diversity of statistical data needed by Zemstva administrators stimulated development of a methodology for sample surveys in Russia between 1875 and 1930. From 1890 on, sample surveys were conducted by statisticians who were seeking solutions to practical administrative problems, and their sampling techniques evolved as Russian administrators put these statistical surveys to use.

The first samples were selected in a systematic way, using lists provided by village heads. In 1896, the Zemstva statistician A.V. Peshekhonov, conducted a budget survey in the province of Kaluga, where the sample was selected at random. The reason he did this was that he lacked any other information that could help him in getting a representative sample.

Mespoulet (2001) also mentions the work of Kovalevskiy. His mathematical treatment of the theory of stratified sampling was published in 1924 (10 years before Jerzy Neyman's famous paper). Kovalevskiy's work is in fact a synthesis of the practical work of statisticians in the Zemstva and the theoretical work of Russian university statisticians before 1917.

Looking back to the first applications of applying probability in official statistics, it should be noted that a fundamental change has taken place. Statisticians like

Quetelet and Lobatto introduced randomization as uncertainty in the measurement process. They considered observed values as being random variations around a *true value*. They used probability theory to prove that the average of a number of such observations had a normal distribution. By contrast, sampling theory as developed by Bowley, Neyman and their successors, saw observations as fixed values measured without uncertainty. Randomization was introduced by the sampling mechanism. This is “man-made randomization”. Since the sampling mechanism is completely under control of the statistician, he can apply probability theory to compute all sampling distributions exactly. No assumptions need to be made. Therefore, modern sampling theory provides a very robust instrument for making valid inference about a population.

## **7. Putting theory into practice**

Random selection became an essential element of survey sampling. Although theoretically very attractive, it was not very simple to realise this in practical situations. How to randomly select a sample of thousands of persons from a population of several millions? How to generate thousands of random numbers? To avoid this problem, systematic samples were selected often. Using a list of elements in the population, a starting point and a step size were specified. By stepping through this list from the starting point, elements were selected. Provided the order of the elements is more or less arbitrary, this systematic selection resembles random selection. W.G. and L.H. Madow made the first theoretical study of the precision of systematic sampling only in 1944, see Madow and Madow (1944). The use of the first tables of random numbers published by Tippet (1927) also made it easier to select real random samples.

In 1943, Hansen and Hurvitz published their theory of multi-stage samples. In the first stage, primary sampling units are selected with probabilities proportional to their size. Within selected primary units, a fixed number of secondary units are selected. This proved to be a useful extension of the survey sampling theory. On the one hand, this approach guaranteed every secondary unit to have the same probability of selection in the sample, and on the other, the sampled units were distributed over the population in such a way that the fieldwork could be carried out efficiently. This theory still forms the basis of the sample designs of e.g. the household surveys of Statistics Netherlands: first, municipalities are selected with probabilities proportional to the number of inhabitants, and then an equal number of inhabitants are selected in each selected municipality.

The United Nations Statistical Commission established the Sub-commission on Statistical Sampling in 1947. The work of the Commission consisted of drawing up standards that would assist national statistical institutes in improving their statistics by using modern sampling procedures. The first publication of the Sub-commission was a paper on “The Preparation of Sampling Survey Reports”, see United Nations Statistical Commission (1950). This historically significant document provides a set

of suggestions for the preparation of sampling survey reports. It is one of the earliest set of international guidelines which dealt with the use of technical terminology in various aspects of the sampling process. Members of the Sub-commission were the famous statisticians Darmais, Deming, Mahalanobis, Yates and Fisher. The suggestions in this paper still provide a useful guide for achieving clarity, comprehensiveness, and international comparability in sample survey reporting. The paper promotes probability sampling. If researchers decide not to use random selection, they should provide evidence on which they rely for adapting alternative procedures. Purposive sampling and quota sampling are not regarded as equivalents to random selection.

Mahalanobis was the driving force behind the United Nations Sub-commission on Statistical Sampling. With the vision of a pioneer he perceived how sampling methods could overcome the otherwise insoluble problems of obtaining accurate information about a vast and still largely illiterate country like India. Mahalanobis (1950) showed that with an acceptable level of precision the costs of sample surveys are only about 10% of that of a complete enumeration.

Fisher (1950) made four claims for application of sampling procedures. Three more obvious ones are adaptability, speed, and economy. His fourth claim is that sampling is a more scientific method than complete enumeration. The roots of sampling are in mathematical theory. This allows for a careful design of sample surveys with a preset level of precision.

The classical theory of survey sampling was more or less completed in 1952. Horvitz and Thompson (1952) developed a general theory for constructing unbiased estimates. Whatever the selection probabilities are, as long as they are known and positive, it is always possible to construct a useful estimate. Horvitz and Thompson completed the classical theory, and the random sampling approach was almost unanimously accepted. Most of the classical books about sampling were also published by then (Cochran, 1953; Deming, 1950, Hansen, Hurwitz and Madow 1953, Yates 1949).

## **8. Developments in the Netherlands**

Statisticians in The Netherlands followed the discussions about sample surveys closely. Still, sampling was not a topic that could be found in textbooks about statistics that were published early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the concept of sampling was not mentioned in Verrijn Stuart (1910). Van Zanten (1927) mentions Kiaer's Representative Method, and the discussion about it during the ISI sessions in 1903 and 1925. He notes that this method was not completely rejected, and could have some merits if some conditions were satisfied. He did not mention probability sampling as means to overcome some of the difficulties of Kiaer's approach.

Only in the third revision of his book, Bakker (1941) includes the notion of random sampling. He argues that it is not necessary to investigate a complete population. A



sample may suffice as long as its elements are selected “blindly”. He points that some indication of the accuracy of estimates can be obtained by repeating the sampling experiments a number of times. Bakker does not mention the confidence interval. However, he gives the formula for the standard error of the sample mean, and states that the “error” in the sample mean can never be larger than three times the standard error. It should be remarked that initially Bakker considered use of sampling techniques only for quality control in industrial production processes. In a later book, Bakker (1948a) proposes the use of sampling in social-cultural research and opinion research. By reducing the number of observations, more in-depth investigations can be carried out, and this will also create the possibility to do research in other fields.

In May 1924, Jensen accepted to be rapporteur of the ISI commission “for the purpose of studying the application of the Representative Method in Statistics”. In August of the same year, Methorst (Director of the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics) writes to Jensen, explaining that he is in favour of the Representative Method. According to Methorst, “the method helps to save a great deal of expense and labour in these times of economic stress”. Methorst (1924) tested the Representative Method on mortality statistics in the province of Noord-Brabant. He formed two groups of municipalities. The first group consisted of 143 small municipalities with at most 5,000 inhabitants. The second group contained all 29 municipalities with a number of inhabitants between 5,000 and 20,000. In each group he ordered the municipalities alphabetically by name, and subsequently divided the group into 5 sub-groups. In this way he obtained five samples in each group. He computed estimates by taking various combinations of a sample from the first group and a sample from the second group.

The conclusions of Methorst were that the Representative Method did not work in this application. The variations in the estimates for the age distribution and the mortality distributions were too large. He judged the method completely useless for estimating age specific mortality distributions. Moreover, in his opinion, application of the Representative Method did not save time.

Van der Waerden (1924) also applied the Representative Method in an experimental setting. Like Methorst, he divided the municipalities of the province of Noord-Brabant in three size groups. He concentrated on the group of municipalities with 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. Using a selection of 5 to 7 municipalities from the group of 31 municipalities, he attempted to estimate the number of illegitimate children. It is unclear how he selected municipalities. Van der Waerden concluded that the obtained estimates lacked sufficient accuracy. The main reason, according to Van der Waerden, was that the probability of getting an illegitimate child is not the same in every municipality. He attempted to improve his estimates by incorporating data on the previous year. So, he used a kind of ratio estimator. This estimator performed better, but still accuracy was low. His conclusion was that the Representative Method could not be used for this kind of statistics.

In the period until the Second World War little attention is paid to applying proper sampling designs to obtain representative samples. One example is a survey about leisure activities by workers, see Blonk and Kruijt (1936). The target population consisted of all people of age 10 and older with a regular job. Media and labour unions made calls to participate. At the local level, teachers, clergymen and board members of organisations helped in persuading people to fill in forms. Sometimes, local leaders filled in many forms on behalf of others. All in all, 742 forms were received, only 50 of which were completed by women. This amount was considered too small for analysis, and therefore these forms were discarded. The researchers realised that their survey could not be considered representative, because a substantial amount of lower-class people were illiterate, or at least had difficulty writing down answers to questions.

A first test of a real sample survey using random selection was carried out by Statistics Netherlands in 1941, see CBS (1948). Using a simple random sample of size 30,000 from the population of 1.75 million tax payers, it was shown that estimates were accurate. Also, confidence intervals were computed. CBS (1948) also paid attention to stratified samples, but the underlying theory was considered to be rather complicated. This publication already contained a warning that the phenomenon of non-response may lead to biased estimates. The Budget Survey was used as an example. Finally, allocation of the sample for stratified sampling was discussed. It was shown that allocation proportional to the total of the variable produced more accurate estimates than proportional allocation.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned studies, all statistics published in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first halve of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were based on a complete enumeration. Either data was collected by means of a population census, or the data was obtained from population registers. This is clearly shown by Idenburg (1952a), who describes the history of statistics in The Netherlands between World War I and II. Words like ‘sample’ or ‘sample survey’ are not mentioned at all. Real use of sample surveys at Statistics Netherlands did not start until after World War II.

Even in 1952, there was a plea by the Director-General of Statistics Netherlands for the use of sample surveys. In a paper for the Central Statistical Commission, he explained how scientific developments had made it possible to compute accurate estimates, see Idenburg (1952b). He also responded to the criticism that sample surveys do not treat everybody equally, by stating that a random selection gives everyone the same probability to contribute to statistics.

One of the first real applications of sampling took place with respect to income statistics of 1947. In 1946, a complete enumeration had been carried out. It meant processing of data on 4 million tax administration cards. Since the quality of the data on the cards was not very good, a lot of manual editing had to take place. To reduce the size of this immense effort, it was decided to use sampling methods for the next years. All large towns were included in the survey. In these towns, either a systematic or a random sample of cards was selected. For the rest of the country, a sample of towns was selected, and in these towns all cards were processed. Later

income surveys were partly based on a sample of households from the population administration of the municipalities.

In the same post-war period, Statistics Netherlands used sample survey methods in agricultural statistics, see Snoep (1950), Idenburg and Ignatius (1949), and Idenburg (1952b). Starting in 1947, surveys were carried out to estimate agricultural production. Samples were selected from a sampling frame consisting of a list of addresses of farms. These lists were compiled in the agricultural census (a complete enumeration) that was conducted every year in the month of May. A stratified sample was selected, where strata were formed based on province and size of farms. Within each stratum, systematic samples were selected. The total sample size was 10,000 to 20,000 farms. The size of the sample was small compared to the size of the census (in the order of magnitude of 500,000 farms). Nevertheless, it allowed for early estimates for the type and size of agricultural production.

One of the most important economic indicators produced by Statistics Netherlands is the consumer price index. To be able to compute this statistic, information from two types of sources is required. In the first place, there must be information about prices of products and services. Such information is collected by means of price surveys. To monitor changes over time, these surveys must take place at frequent intervals. In the second place, consumption of products and services by households must be measured. This is done by means of expenditure surveys. Usually, these surveys are carried out at less frequent intervals, as consumption patterns vary less over time than prices. Also, expenditure surveys are much more complex and more expensive to carry out.

The computation of consumer price indices started somewhere during World War I. This work was mainly done by the municipal statistical bureaus of large towns like Amsterdam and The Hague. Work at the national level started in 1935. In this and the following year, the first national expenditure survey was carried out by Statistics Netherlands. The number of households in the sample was 598. This was not a random sample. Two recruitment techniques were used. In the first place, households were recruited through labour unions, farmer's associations, housewife unions, etc. This was a cause of selectivity, because only the more active members agreed to participate. In the second, place, households were recruited through advertisements in local newspapers. Also here, the same type of selectivity was observed. Until 1956, this selection strategy was used, although the size of the selection was increased. Then selection procedures changed. The basic selection was obtained by means of a random sample from the population registers of the municipalities. Due to non-response and attrition, the effective sample size reduced. A backup sample of recruited volunteers was used to fill gaps. For more information about budget surveys, see CBS (1967).

Efforts through the following years have been aimed at moving more and more in the direction of random samples. Due to high non-response rates in expenditure surveys, it remained difficult to consider the effective sample as representative.

Thus, it remained hard to apply survey sampling theory to compute accurate estimates.

## 9. Sampling in market research

Up until now, the introduction of sampling in official statistics has been described. But that was not the only area where sampling was introduced. Opinion polls can be seen as a special type of sample surveys, in which attitudes or opinions of a group of people are measured on political, economic or social topics. The history of opinion polls in the United States goes back to 1824. In that year, two newspapers, the Harrisburg *Pennsylvanian* and the Raleigh *Star*, attempted to determine political preferences of voters prior to the presidential election of that year. The early polls did not pay much attention to sampling. Therefore, it was difficult to establish accuracy of results. Such opinion polls were often called *straw polls*. This expression goes back to rural America. Farmers would throw a handful of straws into the air to see which way the wind was blowing. In the 1820s, newspapers began doing straw polls in the streets to see how political winds blew.

It took until the 1920's before more attention was paid to sampling aspects. At that time, Archibald Crossley developed new techniques for measuring American public's radio listening habits. And George Gallup worked out new ways to assess reader interest in newspaper articles, see e.g. Linehard (2003). The sampling technique used by Gallup, was *quota sampling*. The idea was to investigate groups of people who were representative for the population. Gallup sent out hundreds of interviewers across the country. Each interviewer was given quota for different types of respondents: so many middle-class urban women, so many lower-class rural men, etc. In total, approximately 3000 interviews were carried out for a survey.

Gallup's approach was in great contrast with that of the Literary Digest magazine, which was at that time the leading polling organisation. This magazine conducted regular "America Speaks" polls. It based its predictions on returned ballot forms that were sent to addresses obtained from telephone directories books and automobile registration lists. The sample size for these polls was very large: something like two million people.

The presidential election of 1936 turned out to be decisive for both approaches, see e.g. Utts (1999). Gallup correctly predicted Franklin Roosevelt to be the new president, whereas Literary Digest predicted that Alf Landon would beat Franklin Roosevelt. How could a prediction based on such a large sample be so wrong? The explanation was a fatal flaw in the Literary Digest's sampling mechanism. The automobile registration lists and telephone directories were not representative samples. In the 1930's cars and telephones were typically owned by the middle and upper classes. More well-to-do Americans tended to vote Republican, and the less well-to-do were inclined to vote Democrat. Therefore, Republicans were over-represented in the Literary Digest sample.

As a result of this historic mistake, the *Literary Digest* magazine ceased publication in 1937. And opinion researchers learned that they should rely on more scientific ways of sample selection. They also learned that the way a sample is selected, is more important than the size of the sample.

Bakker (1948b) devotes one chapter in his book to opinion polls. He remarks that to measure the opinion of the Dutch population, it is not necessary the question all 5.5 million Dutchmen. With a sample of, say, 2,000 to 10,000 people, a high degree of accuracy can be obtained.

In the 1930's, we see the emergence of the first market research agencies. Van Ginneken (1993) describes how Unilever established an advertising agency called Lintas (Lever's International Advertising Services). Initially, this agency was mainly engaged in design of advertisements, but in 1934 a market research department was set up. A first market research project was carried out in The Netherlands in 1937 about the use of abrasives ("VIM") and reading habits. The project was so successful that Unilever founded a new market research agency in 1938. It was called the "Instituut voor Huishoudelijk Onderzoek (IHO)". In 1971 It was renamed into "Social and Marketing Research (SOCMAR)", and from 1987 it operated under the name "Research International Nederland". During the Second World War, market research activities almost come to a halt, but they were resumed at a large scale after the war. In 1946 a panel of approximately 600 housewives was established to regularly measure consumer opinions. It is unclear how these housewives were selected, and whether the panel could be considered representative.

In 1940, another market research agency was established: "Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek (NSS)", see Van der Bie (2001). It was the commercial 'sister' of the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). Among the board members were Idenburg (Director-General of the CBS) and Tinbergen (at that time professor in Rotterdam). Main activities of NSS were market research, opinion polls, business consultancy, and correspondence courses in statistics. The first national opinion survey of NSS was carried out in 1947. It is described in NSS (1947). A sample of 5861 households answered questions about the consumer goods. The sample was stratified into four strata: the largest three cities and the rest of the country. There were 375 interviewers, distributed all over the country, who collected the data. The sample selection was carried by the interviewers according to specific instructions. The documentation is unclear about the sample selection mechanism. There is no indication that a form of probability sampling has been applied. However, formulae are given for the accuracy of estimates that assume simple random sampling.

In 1945 yet another market research agency was founded: the "Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie (NIPO)". Related to this institute was the "Vereeniging voor Opinie-onderzoek". Its objective was to disseminate results of opinion polls, and to publish reflective articles about opinion polls. For several polls conducted in this year, some form of sampling was applied, but sometimes in a primitive way. For example, Vereeniging voor Opinie-onderzoek (1945) gives an account of a mail survey carried out in the town of Eindhoven, in which the sample consisted of all

persons of age 21 and over of which the last name started with the letter A. The response rate turned out to be 78%.

In 1946, a new magazine (“De Publieke Opinie”) was published by NIPO and the “Instituut voor Marktverkenning” in Amsterdam. The first issue explains that long experience and laws of statistics have shown that a sample size of 100,000 people is not require for reliable outcomes of opinion polls, see NIPO (1946a). Samples of size 2,000 to 10,000 suffice as long as two conditions are satisfied:

- Face-to-face interviewing should be used, and not mail interviewing;
- The distribution of the sample over rural and urban areas, and also over population groups determined by income, occupation, age and sometimes religion, should match the corresponding population distribution.

Mail interviewing was advised against. Response rates were low, and people completing and returning questionnaire forms were assumed to be more interested in the topics of the polls because their intelligence and social-economic position was above average.

Election polls provided an opportunity to check whether opinion polls work, because the poll results could be compared with election results. Figure 8.1 contains an example. Data relate to the parliamentary election of 17 May, 1946. The prediction is based on a NIPO opinion poll two weeks before the election.

NIPO was not too happy with the results. This organisation considered an average difference of 1.8% too large. The explanation given was a sudden event on the night before election. Prime Minister Schermerhorn gave a radio speech in which he announced the use of military force to break a strike. This caused a lot of voters to move from the Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party) to the Communistische Partij Nederland (Communist Party). For more information, see NIPO (1946b).

*Figure 8.1. Comparison of the prediction and the final result of the parliamentary election of 1946.*

Party	Election result	Prediction	Difference
Partij van de Arbeid	28,3 %	33,9 %	5,6 %
Katholieke Volkspartij	30,8 %	29,5 %	1,3 %
Anti-Revolutionaire Partij	12,9 %	10,3 %	2,6 %
Christelijk Historische Unie	7,8 %	6,6 %	1,2 %
Partij van de Vrijheid	6,4 %	9,5 %	3,1 %
Communistische Partij Nederland	10,6 %	7,9 %	2,7 %
Protestantsche Unie	0,7 %	0,5 %	0,2 %
Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	2,1 %	0,9 %	1,2 %
Bellamy-Partij	0,2 %	0,8 %	0,6 %
Groep Lopes	0,1 %	0,1 %	0,0 %
Average difference			1,8 %

On 11 June 1946 the first telephone survey was conducted in The Netherlands, see NIPO (1946c). A few hundred owners of telephones in Amsterdam were asked to

answer a few questions about listening to the radio. The people were called between 20.00 and 21.30 hours on a Tuesday night. Some results are given in table 8.2.

*Figure 8.2. The first telephone survey in the Netherlands*

Are you listening to the radio at this moment?	Percentage
Was listening	24 %
Was not listening	38 %
Line busy	5 %
No answer	31 %
Did not have a radio	2 %

Those people listening to the radio were also asked which programme they were listening to. It turned out that 85% was listening the “Bonte Dinsdagavondtrein”, a very famous radio show at that time.

Generally, market research organisations provide little information in their publications about their sampling designs. But in NIPO (1947), a reasonably detailed description was given. The organisation stressed the importance of “randomisation”, which was interpreted as every person in the population must have the same probability of being selected. This was the reason to use face-to-face interviewing instead of mail interviewing. Poor people were considered to have poor writing skills, and moreover, they were not interested in the topics of the surveys. Therefore, they had a lower probability to complete mail questionnaires.

NIPO also applied stratification in the 1940s. First, a sample of, say, size 2500 was proportionally distributed over provinces and towns. Interviewers were instructed to see to it that they interviewed as much males as females. Based on their occupation, interviewers had to classify respondents in social classes, and they had to interview the right proportion of people in each social class. Furthermore, interviewers selected the right proportion of people in each age group. Note that within these boundaries, selection of people was left to the interviewers. No probability sampling was applied. The method described in NIPO (1947) closely resembled Kiaer’s Representative Method. Also note that NIPO generally did not provide any measures of accuracy of its estimates.

By 1948, sampling seems to have become an accepted method data collection method for opinion polls. Market researchers even criticise the Central Bureau of Statistics for conducting a population census. Idenburg, at that time Director-General of the CBS, even writes a letter to the magazine “De Publieke Opinie” to explain why a census is necessary and useful, see Idenburg (1948).

## 10. Conclusion

The theory of survey sampling has been developed over a period of more than 100 years. By now, the paradigm of probability sampling has shown to work well in social research, official statistics and market research. It has allowed researchers to produce well-founded and reliable survey results.

Survey sampling is now a well-established scientific method. Nevertheless, there are still surveys in which the fundamental principles of probability sampling are not applied. This is particularly true for web surveys. Online data collection is cheap and fast. It also offers easy access to large groups of potential respondents. At first sight, online surveys seem to have much in common with other types of surveys. It is just another mode of data collection. Questions are not asked face-to-face or by telephone, but over the Internet. What is different for many online surveys, however, is that the principles of probability sampling have not been applied. This can have a major impact on survey results.

One of the problems is under-coverage. Since not everyone has access to the Internet, specific groups in the population will be under-represented in a web survey. An even more serious problem is that many web surveys rely on self-selection of respondents instead of on probability sampling. The researcher has no control at all over the selection process. Selection probabilities are unknown, and therefore it is not possible to construct unbiased estimates.

It is important that survey researchers are transparent about the way in which their surveys are carried out. Following Fowler (2002), researchers should explain to the users of their survey results how the sample was drawn. They should point out that estimates are likely biased in the direction of availability and willingness to be interviewed, and that the normal assumptions for calculating sampling errors do not apply. Unfortunately, such warnings are not common. Therefore, non-probability samples are often misrepresented seriously, and that constitutes a serious problem for the credibility of survey research.

## 11. References

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