

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD



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GALLUP
INTERNATIONAL



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First printing: May 2017

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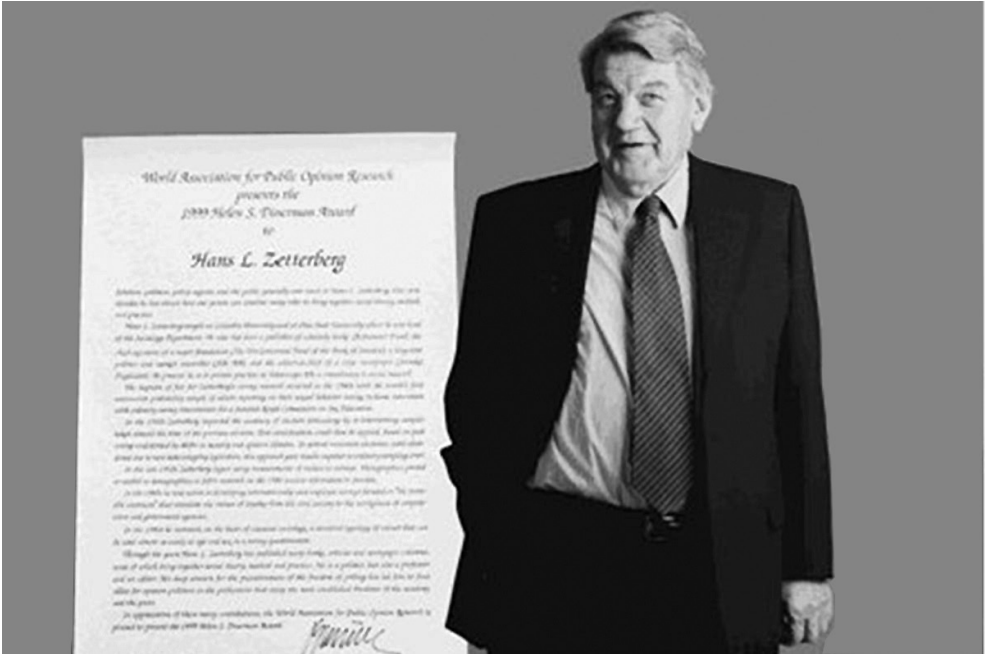
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POLLING AROUND THE WORLD



Mr. Zetterberg has been granted an Honorary membership of Gallup International

PART 1

Unfinished attempt for a GIA history

At the beginning of the new millennium, the Board of GIA decided to initiate a history of the Association. The Secretary General at that time – Meril James – entrusted the task of writing it to Hans Zetterberg, the eminent Swedish social scientist and expert on public opinion. He was able to complete just one draft chapter of the book. In the meantime Meril passed away, and the project was abandoned. In 2014 Hans passed away too.

This is Hans L Zetterberg's draft of Chapter One of a book, tentatively entitled Gallup Goes International.

Giving Voice to the Common Man: George H. Gallup's Innovations

After all, we didn't invent public opinion in 1935 when the first poll was published in the newspapers. There were a few thousand years before that, when people had been thinking about those matters, and there is also the tremendous tradition in thinking about public opinion in social philosophy, polit-

ical science, and so on, so that the young technique of polling in empirical research is really an outstanding task. (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, founding father of communications research, 1949, p. 154.)

Public Opinion Polls in the Success Story of Democracy

Norman Webb, the first Secretary General of Gallup International, used restrictions of survey interviewing to arrive at an important classification: he placed opinion polls in the context of the success story of democracy. He separated (1) countries where neither market, nor political research was permitted, (2) countries that permitted market interviewing but not interviewing on political issues, and (3) countries that permitted both. The latter were on the rise in the second half of the twentieth century.

In most states, a functioning constitutional democracy is not more than a few decades old. Actually, the world has had a very brief experience of free and peaceful general elections, and of rulers stepping down when they lose elections, turning over their offices to the winners.

In the United States, democracy can count its age in centuries, at least if one has a generous definition of democracy. In a stricter sense, not all of the southern states have had a functioning system of competing parties in their elections for more than a few decades. In Europe, democratic ideas have not infused the long history of the Continent for more than a century – except in England, France, and Switzerland. However, in the latter country women have not had the vote longer than in many developing countries. In France, a democratic order was replaced by an autocracy three times. A setback with extreme consequences was the fall of the Weimar democracy, which led to Hitler's dictatorship of the Third Reich.

A testament to the limited scope of democracy in Europe is the main political process in Europe's postwar years, the creation of the European Union. The Coal and Steel Community, like its successors the European Economic

Community and the European Union, was a treaty, a foreign policy agreement, constructed according to the rules of diplomacy, not those of democracy. A commission was appointed to implement, supervise, and develop the treaty. If its proposals for development were approved by a council of ministers, they would become law in the member states; national parliaments could not change the laws without revoking the diplomatic treaty. The democratic deficit was thus built into the EU from the beginning. Jean Monet, who designed this treaty model, did not believe that European integration could be achieved through democratic elections or parliamentary decisions. A fairly toothless European Parliament was later added to decorate the construction. It has grown some milk teeth, but the campaigns for election to the European Parliament have generally been fiascos. As a rule, voter turnout is low, and domestic issues, not EU issues, dominate the campaigns.

The world has had very brief experience of free general elections, and of rulers stepping down when they lose elections, giving up their offices to the winners. Given the sheer novelty of democracy, it is amazing that the system has attained such universal appeal and legitimacy. We have left much behind us, and we talk of post-industrialism, post-materialism, and post-communism, and we even call our own era the post-modern. Some have even proclaimed the end of history, and view the present era as post-historical. Yet democracy lives on. Today no one in the world would speak of post-democracy. There is simply no legitimate alternative to this recent system of governing countries.

In the beginning, democracy was introduced without first clarifying the problem of popular rule. The champions of democracy won the debate anyway, for they could easily show the arbitrariness of the rules that granted certain peoples or groups special positions of power. The defenders of monarchies could be silenced by pointing out how admittedly incompetent, stupid monarchs, like England's George IV or France's Louis XVI, had demonstrated the absurdity of giving so much power to the heir of a throne. The proponents of privileges could be dismissed with the same argument. Why should having forebears admitted to the ranks of nobility entitle aristocrats to more power than farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers with just as much wealth and

an equivalent education? Why should workers be denied the franchise before they have attained a certain income, but be considered responsible and entitled to vote when they have reached that income level? Why should women be denied the vote? All the curtailments of democracy could easily be viewed as tricks of the privileged to retain power, and as contradictions in the prevalent electoral system.

The conclusion presented by Herbert Tingsten, a stellar Swedish political scientist and publicist, is valid: 'In the debate, the argument for democracy has seemed to be less of an ideology, than a critique of ideologies and traditions. This has meant a weakness insofar as democracy could be introduced without reflecting over and discussing its problems', (Tingsten 1945). Only when democracy was tried in practice did we realize that it depended on underpinnings that were not parts of its original constitution.

The democracies existing in reality required, for example:

Rule of law

Voluntary associations

Political parties

Free media

Compulsory universal education

Public opinion polling

The last item, public opinion polls, is not normally found in the lists of requirements of democracy (see, for example, Lipset, 1991). Unplanned by the fathers of democracy, polls have become an integral part of the democratic political process. Regular polls of party standings or about the public's confidence in elected leaders keep up the voters' interest in politics between elections, as well. And they become particularly relevant to elected politicians toward the end of term when facing re-election. The pre-election polls prepare them for the transition from one government to another.

Polls regularly inform the incumbents in office about the support they and their party have from the voters. These polls prepare the incumbents, if need

be, for a most difficult phase in the democratic praxis: to peacefully and orderly leave office to the political opposition. And by reporting shifts in majority support, these same polls tell the opposition when the time comes for their rhetoric to face a practical agenda of political compromises, appointments to ministries and agencies, and all the hard work that goes with the business of governing. Without such signals from the polls, democratic transitions could be very chaotic.

Such continuous reporting of the government's and the opposition's standing, in the eyes of the electorate, undoubtedly affects the political process. The extent to which politicians in various democracies use the findings of opinion research in their legislative work on the issues is an entirely different problem. It is an empirical question with different answers in different cases. The *modus vivendi* of the typical politician is to follow their local or regional traditions, their own personal convictions, the party platform, discussions at party caucuses, party activists, government agency reports, expert testimonies, and suggestions given by lobbyists, as well as information from mass media. In this chorus of stimuli, polls on public attitudes towards the issues, when available, are but one influence among many. In fact, in most democratic countries there are no polls published on the issues that legislators cope with most often in their daily work. Even in countries dense with polling, the details of legislative work are not reflected in the published polls; the language of legislation is very different from the language of polling. The power of public opinion affects politics and all human affairs on a different level.

Political Philosophy Specifies the Problem

In classical works of social science, public opinion is usually conceived as a collective property, an expression of the collective's conception of itself and its role in history. Individuals could have a more or less correct interpretation of this *volonte generale*, to use Rousseau's term. If their interpretations were too deviant, they became viewed as being stupid, unaware, false, insane, or, at worst, criminal and a danger to society.

But Rousseau assigns another meaning to public opinion: *volonte de tous*, the will of all. In this case, opinion is an attribute of individuals, not of the collective. It can be questioned and discussed, and it may be summarised as majorities and minorities.

Eliminating the metaphysical qualities of *volonte generale*, but otherwise following Rousseau's lead, opinions can be divided into two well-known categories:

- opinions we must express in order to be part of a collective, and demonstrate this membership to others,

and

- other opinions that we may express without being disliked by, isolated in, or exiled from our collective.

The first category provides a basis for determining the consensus of opinion, for example, a national creed, a common religious confession, or an oath of allegiance. The second category provides the fuel for the differentiation of opinions, e.g. divisions on the issues of the day.

The amplification of the latter has led to two phenomena. First, we have the mechanisms of decision-making by casting votes in parliamentary assemblies and general elections. This voting leads to binding decisions in the form of legislation. This process of majority rule approximates John Locke's ideal of a government based on "the consent of the governed," a system believed to be the most cost effective and humane form of governance.

Second, we have opinion polls and the use of their results in journalism and lobbying. They give us *knowledge* about how people think and feel, and gaining this knowledge is appropriately called "opinion research." It does not bind any decisions, as elections and voting do under democratic constitutions. But it is useful in decision-making and has also achieved prominence in the life of modern democracies.

Yankee Ingenuity Measures the Problem

Opinion polling is the child of the newspaper world. (as we shall see, the academic world later entered as a stepfather). A newspaper stands on two legs, journalism and advertising. So did polling, by extension.

George H. Gallup, born in 1902 on a farm in Jefferson City, Iowa, did his undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. He took every course in journalism offered by the university. His first practical experience in journalism was as editor of the campus newspaper. He dated Ophelia Miller, daughter of the editor of a local town paper, and she became his wife on Christmas Day, 1925.

He helped support himself through the university through part-time jobs during school and doing odd jobs between semesters. One of them was as an interviewer for D'Arcy Advertising Agency in Saint-Louis, Missouri. The university did not offer doctorates in journalism. For his graduate work, Gallup turned to the philosophy department because it had psychology as a part of its curriculum. In 1927 psychology became a department in its own right. The following year, Gallup presented his doctoral thesis in psychology entitled *An Objective Method for Determining Reader Interest in the Content of a Newspaper*. Its methodology was an improved interviewing technique applied to a carefully designed sample of readers of *The Des Moines Register & Tribune's* editorial and advertising content.

Gallup's ingenuity had created a new dish for the menu of social science, featuring two key ingredients, *sampling* and *interviewing*. Heads of formal organizations like business enterprises or armies, had long received regular feedback about their operations. People in charge of mass media, in contrast, have had always been much more in the dark about the effects of their conveyed messages. With Gallup's ingenious method they could overcome this handicap. Editors soon learned with some surprise that most readers preferred comics to the front page, and feature stories to news.

Gallup became head of the journalism department at Drake University (1929-1931), professor of journalism and advertising at Northwestern University outside Chicago (1931-1932), and professor at the Pulitzer School of Journalism, Columbia University, in New York City (1935-1937). A research piece at Northwestern, showing how men and women rated appeals in advertisements differently in terms of economy, efficiency, sex, vanity, and quality set off a new chapter in Gallup's career. It caught the attention of Ray Rubicam, the rising advertising star, who asked Gallup to establish a research department, the first of its kind, in his advertising agency Young & Rubicam in New York. The private research house became a more congenial and supportive structure to his interests than the academic world, where departments of social science still generally lacked research facilities.

Gallup's love for media in its twin forms of journalism and advertising led him to establish private firms of his own. Both have survived into the twenty-first century. He founded both in Princeton, New Jersey, where he had bought a farmhouse – a beloved continuity with his boyhood that was still close enough to the cosmopolitan milieu of New York. In 1948 he created the advertising company *Gallup and Robinson, Inc.* It featured his models for research into media content, “Impact”, measuring unaided recall by the public, and “Reading and Noting”, using aided recall. For the study of broadcast media he founded *Audience Research, Inc.* The staff of both firms were headed by “Directors of Research”.

Gallup created the journalism firm *The American Institute for Opinion Research* in 1935. Its staff was headed by an “Editor of the Poll”. It featured his greatest innovation, the fortnightly nationwide opinion polls “America Speaks”, reported in newspaper columns with a bold logo. The country and the rest of the world were then in the middle of the Great Depression. On 20 October, 1935, the first release issue appeared. It dealt with Roosevelt's New Deal federal spending program to cope with the Depression. The question asked was, ‘Do you think expenditures by the government for relief and recovery are too little, too great, or about right?’ The answers: 60% said ‘too great,’ 31% said ‘about right’ and 9% said ‘too little.’ George Gallup had created the opinion poll, another dish on the

table of social science based on the ingredients of sampling and interviewing.

A journalist at heart, the poll was his favorite activity, and it became, if not always the most prosperous of his ventures, the basis of his lasting fame. In the election year of 1936 he had 20 newspapers subscribed to his column. He promised that he would refund their money if he did not predict the results of the 1936 election more accurately than the then well-established magazine *Literary Digest*, which used to tell its readers how elections were going by mailing millions of questionnaires to people in the phone book and automobile registry (the United States has never had a total population registry, at the time, and its civil servants and researchers depend on other registers). *The Literary Digest* had predicted that Roosevelt would lose by 56 percent. Many pundits agreed: Roosevelt seemed helpless to stop the Great Depression, appeared to be too free-spending (as Gallup himself had shown) and too controversial, not only to the business community, but to the broad middle classes. Gallup's quota sample included three thousand people, but his sample turned out to be more representative of the electorate as a whole. On Election Day, Roosevelt's Republican opponent Al Landon won a total of two states. Roosevelt swept the rest of the nation in the greatest landslide to date in presidential history. In due course, The American Institute for Opinion Research would reach over 200 subscribing newspapers, more than America's most famous political columnists. At almost the same time, Elmo Roper started a similar service for one single publication, the business magazine *Fortune*.

The American Institute for Opinion Research was to be politically independent and not pursue any opinion of its own. The institute delivered complete articles to editorial offices: text, illustrations, diagrams, and tables in finished layouts, bylined "George Gallup". This meant that one could always distinguish between the institute's articles and the newspaper's own comments. The institute determined the first day on which a release could be published, and therefore all over America they appeared in different newspapers on the same day. Subscribed press releases signed by George Gallup became cited all over as "Gallup polls" – not "America Speaks" or "AIOR" or "American Institute for Opinion Research". In this way the brand name "Gallup" was born – quite

inadvertently! Unregistered for many years, but also widely used outside the United States as a quality guarantee, a trade mark, or part of a corporate name, the use of the name “Gallup” became subject to several controversies and conflicts. The parent company of the poll eventually made “Gallup” part of its name, at present in the form of *Gallup Organization, Inc.*

Since its beginnings in 1935, the Gallup poll in Princeton has asked the American public tens of thousands of questions. The range of subjects is vast. Some have dealt with smaller concerns – attitudes to the lotteries of church sewing groups, favorite dishes, most feared diseases, the best cities to live in , etc. Others have dealt with bigger concerns – the structuring of the tax system, American military bases around the world, opposition to the Vietnam War, and, of course, opinions about presidents and the main political issues facing the nation. All answers are recorded as totals for the nation as a whole and as subtotals for regions, classes, ages, sex and urban or rural dwellers. Many questions have been repeated year after year, giving historians source material to follow the shifts and development of American opinion.

Two Innovations Wrapped into One

Dr. Gallup’s opinion polls represent two innovations, scientific and social. With time, we have come to appreciate their implications for society more than their scientific application.

A Scientific Innovation

The scientific innovation – opinion research – refers to surveys of popular opinion by means of interviews with questionnaires across samples of the population, the results of which are summarized in quantitative terms. The knowledge gained via this method can assist in developing theories about the formation and spread of opinions, as well as their consequences.

Gallup contributed primarily to the methodology rather than the theory of opinion research by combining sampling techniques of total adult populations, questionnaires and interviewing, and statistical techniques in reporting results.

Prior to Gallup's work, public opinion on an issue was an informed summary, formulated in ordinary language, about the views of people who had made their opinions heard or made them visible in print. After Gallup's innovation, public opinion became a mathematical expression of the frequency of views among representative samples of the population and its subgroups, both those who had expressed their opinion in public and those who had not. The very concept of "public opinion" changed from editorials, pamphlets, and public speeches to opinions recorded in interview surveys.

Sampling.

The father of quantitative social science and the standard-setter for census bureaus, Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) found his strength



Dr Gallup appearing on CBS-television series called "America speaks" - 1948

(photo getty images)

in large numbers. Among 100,000 young Frenchmen appearing before draft boards, the individual measurements of their height grouped themselves symmetrically into a bell-shaped curve around a stable mean. Armed with this information, Quetelet could conclude that about 2,000 men had escaped service by somehow shortening themselves just below the minimum height required for soldiers. In this instance, large numbers were needed to reach a reliable conclusion. But in other instances, such as in the number of questionnaires mailed out by *Literary Digest* in 1936, there was no certainty in the sample size. The Digest did not reach all the eligible voters, so just having a large number of people did not help in predicting the outcome of the election.

The answers obtained from correctly constructed samples apply to the entire population, with the allowance of certain margins for error. The margins of error that are always present in generalizations from samples do not mean that the researcher has erred. Margins of error mean that the reader would err in interpreting the figures as exact. The deviations from the true mean form the same kind of bell-shaped distribution that Quetelet had worked with. The correct answer probably lies within calculable margins – one usually states a probability of 95 percent. In other words, if the survey samples were to be repeated until the entire population had been interviewed, 95 out of 100 results would lie within the margins.

One must never forget that the figures in sample surveys represent approximate values, not exact numbers; but the beauty of correct sampling is that we can calculate the deviation.

Questionnaire writing.

Academic research, politics, economics, sports, art, literature, and religion all have their own symbols and languages. The basic rule of questionnaire writing is to use language common to people from all walks of life. This bans legal and religious phrases, bureaucratic and technocratic formulations, slang, and jargon from questionnaires designated for the public. Dr Gallup used to say that you must formulate questions that will be understood by the uneducated, without being insulting to the educated. The writing of questionnaires for opinion polls is actually more difficult than ordinary non-fiction writing.

The writer of a questionnaire must know not only the ins and outs of the topic of his research and the restrictions of questionnaire language, but also how to organize a questionnaire. A questionnaire should have the structure of a simple conversation, one with a series of short question-answer sequences. A good questionnaire, in the Gallup tradition, has an introduction with a few simple questions. They are followed by general questions, then specific ones, as in a funnel. Sensitive and difficult questions are usually saved until typical respondents have warmed up to their task. The order of the topics in a questionnaire should be such that it minimizes the influence of previous questions on the answers to later questions. This sequence of questions is further guided by so-called “filter questions”. They define subgroups in the sample, e.g., eligible voters to be asked about their voting intentions. Those for whom the filter does not apply are not asked such questions.

The questions in a questionnaire may be open-ended so that a verbatim answer can be recorded, or, more often, have pre-formulated responses among which the interviewee picks the one closest to his or her opinion. All reasonable response alternatives should be listed in wording that makes it as easy to choose one as any other response. It is unacceptable to lead the respondent to choose an alternative that is formulated as socially more acceptable, or one that is biased by the preferences of the questionnaire writer and/or his client. Of course, an acceptable questionnaire would also ask about no more than one issue at a time, so that one knows precisely to which issue an answer is referring.

Interviewing.

When polling began in the 1930s in the United States, its pioneers Crossly, Gallup, and Roper had to create a new occupation, the survey interviewer. He or more often, she is a stranger who assumes the right to ask and record other people’s opinions. The stranger is a well-known sociological type, first analyzed by Georg Simmel. He showed that quite often people are willing to tell a stranger something that they would not readily tell a neighbor.

Quantification.

Since the days of August Comte, the father of sociology, quantification has been heralded as the hallmark of science. Quantified and mathematical conclusions were then thought to be more valid than mere verbal conclusions. This is not necessarily true, but such was the thinking of the day in what has been called “the Century of Quantification”.

In his reports, Gallup emphasized majority and minority opinions. He did not report the number of persons in favour and the number against, as in a town hall meeting or a legislature. He presented *percentages*, sometimes in the text, or sometimes in small two-way tables. In the text he also reported the base, or number of interviews, on which the percentages had been calculated. He had noticed in his readership studies that the public had difficulty in understanding big tables, and even small three-way tables. They would rush to read figures without first reading the text that told them what the figures were about. Many would skip the tables in their newspaper altogether.

Gallup rarely used three-way tables. He was less interested and skilled in analysing the multivariate determinants of the opinions he recorded. When I once raised the issue of more sophisticated statistical techniques he said: “Percentage is the most advanced statistics the general public understands. Had I tried some sort of analysis of variance, as when agricultural statisticians measure the yields of grain in Iowa, nobody would have understood. And had I used regression analysis, not even a congressman would have understood.” His answer indicated that he also had another agenda, concerned with polling as a practical social and political mechanism, not just a scientific one.

A Social Innovation

The result of George Gallup’s *social innovation*, journalism based on opinion research, means that the media publish the opinions of surveys based on samples as news for their readerships and audiences, and sometimes as criticism of or praise for those in power. This was made possible because the media judged quantified opinions as newsworthy. This was a correct evaluation pro-

vided that the questions polled concerned an issue of the day, a person in the news, or were of general human interest. And the journalist in George Gallup had a knack for finding such questions.

Thus, George Gallup polled for the media, and in so doing gave back the knowledge acquired about public opinion to the public that had provided it.

Newspaper readers, and later TV-viewers, liked this form of journalism. They wanted more than interviews with society's bigwigs or reportage about the dealings of scoundrels: they also wanted to know how people like themselves thought. Opinion surveys sparked people's interest. Gallup's press releases always gave the exact formulation of the questions posed in the research. The reader or viewer could always ask himself: 'How would I have answered?' Then he could compare his answer with the responses of others, and begin to wonder about the differences between them. In some instances the reader could also compare these opinions with the official policy of the local or national government. In this way, the polls delivered food for thought in the democratic process.

Gallup was convinced that this process of influencing governments through opinion polls was more beneficial to democracy than the influence exerted by organized interest groups.

The irony was, as we shall explain in the next chapter, that the invention of polls also gave rise to even more influence of interest groups. No public authority, organization, business, or special interest group can function well without the support, or at least the understanding, of certain other groups. No leadership can expect to have personal contact with everyone who provides that support and understanding. *Applied opinion research* was soon employed to ascertain levels of support and to obtain optimal grounds for making decisions. It can provide knowledge about members, markets, interest groups, voters, opponents, and competitors. This knowledge becomes the property of those who commissioned the research; thus, political parties, for example, eventually began to survey public opinion before and during campaigns to obtain fundamental data to support their campaigns. Confidential opinion research of this kind can obviously be used as powerful weapon. Rich, well-or-

ganized special interest groups can utilise opinion research to gain an upper hand over more poorly organized groups in society.

It was not until the student rebellions of 1968 that social science in academia began to look more critically at the research being commissioned by different interests. Such research can yield much that is of scientific value, but which interests does it really serve, apart from that? And which interests does it harm?

After 1968, commissioned research could smack of imperialism. Conducting interviews in underdeveloped countries and then using the data chiefly in presentations to academic colleagues back home, or conducting interviews among the working class and presenting the results only to bureaucrats or businessmen could be viewed as repressive and exploitative. Rather than just supplying those who commissioned research with additional power and resources, some social scientists wanted to use research to provide greater awareness and knowledge to the masses.

The earliest opinion researchers, Archbald Crossley and George Gallup, were populists and therefore inclined to this way of thinking decades before 1968. They polled for the media, and through it returned the knowledge they had received to the public. Elmo Roper, who interviewed the general public to order to publish his results for the elites of the business community, the readers of *Fortune* to consume, did not fully live up to Gallup's ideals.

In the end, Gallup's most honorable achievement was his social innovation which made public opinion known to the public, and to the leaders of the public, without any restrictions.

Gallup Goes International

After moving to Princeton, the Gallups frequently travelled to Europe. Ophelia had to stock merchandise for her antiques dealership, and George promoted his opinion polling. Their close connection to Europe became long-lasting: Dr Gallup passed away in his Swiss chalet in Tschingel über Gunten in 1984.

When the American Institute for Opinion Research was hardly more than a year old, a British counterpart began to take form; The British Institute of Opinion Research. In 1937 Henry Durant, holding a fresh PhD from the London School of Economics, became its owner. Like many other international visitors eager to learn about opinion polling for use in their homelands, he had closely observed and participated in the Princeton operation while visiting. Gallup was also promoting his methods in other English-speaking countries at that time. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, headed by Saunders, who had also learned the trade in Princeton was founded in 1941. The Australian Public Opinion Polls was founded by Roy Morgan, who had also visited Princeton, in 1942.



President Dr. G. Gallup (in the middle) and Secretary General Norman Webb (on the left) during Vienna conference - 1982.

In 1946, the Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística (IBOPE) opened for business in Rio de Janeiro, sampling only in its own metropolitan area and that of São Paulo. A new ball game of polling had begun in a developing country, and that required some methodological rethinking.

Continental Europe became the scene of the biggest expansion of opinion polling in the 1940s. Alfred Max, editor of an important magazine in France and co-founder – with Professor Jean Stoetzel and Helene Riffault – of the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique (IFOP), spent time during the war years in Princeton. The French institute had been founded in 1939; it suspended operations during the war and reopened in 1944. The Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie (NIPO) was started in 1945 by Dr Wim de Jonge and Jan Stapel. They ran the institute without any personal contact with Dr Gallup in Princeton during their first two years of operation – a fact which shows that

the skills of the polling trade had become more generally available. In Italy, the Istituto per Ricerche Statistiche e Analisi de Opinione Pubblica (DOXA) was launched in 1947 by Professor Pierpaolo Luzzato-Fegiz.

Prior to the onset of World War II, four Scandinavian research organizations had been given permission by Dr Gallup to call themselves “Gallup Institutes”: Gallup A/S in Copenhagen, Svenska Gallupinstitutet AB in Stockholm, Norsk Gallup Institutt A/S in Oslo, and Suomen Gallup OY in Helsinki. The Norwegian and Danish operations were the work of Bjorn Balstad, the Swedish was run by Stig Blomquist and Sten Hultgren, the Finnish organisation was headed by Artturi Raula.

In Eastern Europe, a Czech institute was founded in 1946 with government sponsorship. Unlike all the other early organisations based on the Princeton, model it did not survive.

In December 1946 representatives of institutes from the USA, Britain, France, and Canada met in Princeton to discuss international polling. They agreed to put at least one international poll question on the first ballot going out each month. The minutes of the meeting went into practical details of “air mail” and “cabling” and sizzled with optimism about the future of international polls. For example, Alfred Max said:

... So far as France is concerned, there is tremendous newspaper interest in international poll results. On the few occasions when such results have been available, the French press ran the story on page one and gave it a big boost. I am firmly convinced that international poll stories greatly enhance an institute’s prestige and following among its own member newspapers. I also think international polling would lend itself beautifully to studies of habits and ways of life among various countries and studies of how much the people of one country know about other areas of the world. Polls on general non-topical issues of broad and permanent human interest would probably make better international poll stories than those dealing with specific international news events.

The meeting proposed the collection of international polling results to be ready for a planned meeting of several colleagues in England in the spring of 1947. They suggested the topic “What children of the world think”, with questions posed to 12 year olds such as “Do you get enough to eat?”, “How many children would you like to have when you grow up?”, and “What foreign country would you most like to visit?”

The proposed poll did not materialize; but the meeting in Loxwood Hall in Sussex did, from 10 May to 18 May 1947. The participants represented the thirteen institutes mentioned. This was when The International Association of Public Opinion Institutes (IAPOA), an organization for cooperation in survey research, was born; today it is known as the Gallup International Association.

The Loxwood Meeting

There seem to be no agenda or protocol saved from the Loxwood meeting. But in the July 1947 issue of *Sondage*, an unsigned summary appears which has the quality of a protocol (See Box). *Sondages* was the first European journal of opinion research; it was published in Paris by IFOP, l’Institut Francais d’Opinion Publique – one of the participants in the meeting. The summary was probably written by either Jean Stoetzel or Alfred Max from IFOP. The rules for its present and future members were:

- There shall only be one member institute from each country. This institute shall demonstrate a sufficient activity of interview studies and prove the scientific character of the methods used.
- Each institute must be independent of any foreign control, and in particular its director should be a citizen by birth, or should have been naturalized as a citizen for at least ten years, of the country where the institute functions.
- Each institute should be free of any financial constraint and its resources should be large enough to ensure its independence.

While the inspiration for the polling activities carried out in many countries

may have come from America, it was clearly stated there that the task of public polling would be a national one, not be manipulated by foreign control. The men and women who run polls in a country should be citizens of that country. They and their organizations should have the financial resources and protection to guarantee independence. In addition, they should be able to prove that they use good scientific practices.

These were tall orders given to the mixed group of journalists, advertising agency executives, professors, and marketing and media researchers (including some with doctorates) that made up the participants at Loxwood. They worked together for over a week. Many recall this meeting as the point when they began life-long friendships. Perhaps the secret is that these strong-willed individualists had one secret dream in common: becoming the “Dr Gallup” of their nation. It does not say so in the French text, but Dr Gallup was the self-evident president of the group.

The group would meet every other year. Inbetween meetings, a board of five members would run the business. Certain tasks were doled out:

- The British institute should maintain the secretariat of the association.
- The French institute should prepare the topics for public opinion questions to be posed simultaneously by the members, and write up the results of their answers.
- The Danish institute should coordinate other research and documentation.
- The American institute should organize an information center of public opinion.
- The Americans should also establish relations with the UN in New York, while the French would do the same with UNESCO in Paris.
- The Australian institute should prepare periodic reports on the activities of the Association.

By and large, these tasks were voluntary work. Hosting the bi-annual (soon

after annual) meetings of the Association, a duty which rotated among members, would later become an important addition to the voluntary assignments. Given the many contributions in kind, the budget of the Association could be kept very modestly.

The Measure of Success

In the 1940s, public opinion polling caught the attention of American universities and foundations. Centers for research in public opinion were founded at many universities. However, only two obtained field work facilities with national interviewing staff members. The University of Chicago established the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), and the University of Michigan established the Institute of Social Research. Princeton University took a different track, with its Office of Public Opinion Research, established in 1940. Hadley Cantril became its chief. To him, opinion research was not limited to the domain of political science. Being a social psychologist, he treated public opinion as an academic discipline in the tradition of research on attitudes and personality. When his office needed fieldwork, they paid for it to be conducted at private institutes with interviewing facilities.

Cantril's research office is also remembered for cataloguing and presenting existing results of opinion research. The Rockefeller Foundation provided the funds for a first volume of opinion findings between 1935 and 1946 in the United States and other countries of established polls. Their topics were catalogued with the system used by the Library of Congress. The work was carried out by Mildred Strunk. It assumed 'greater proportions than we originally envisaged' says Cantril in his preface to the volume of 1,191 densely-printed pages. In the years to come, polling activities expanded so much that it became even inconceivable to continue the ambitious intention of reprinting all findings.

Gallup's dominance in the first 16 years of national survey polling was overwhelming.

Cantril and Strunk gave their readers a reminder: 'The members of The International Association of Public Opinion Institutes exchange information on

techniques and survey results. Each institute is organized and directed entirely in the country which it samples – Dr Gallup acts only in an advisory capacity’ (Cantril & Strunk 1951. p. vii). I see this fact as further evidence of the creative and persuasive genius of the man.

Gallup International in the Balkans*

As Winston Churchill once observed, the Balkans are inhabited by industrious nations, who heroically strive to resolve the problems that they themselves have created. Over the last decade and a half, plentiful new evidence has come up to confirm these words. The former communist countries of the Balkans, on the whole, paid a much higher price for the transition to democracy than to their Central European counterparts did. In all fairness, one should point out that the Balkans are a place of great confusion, rather than evil. And the role of public opinion polls in bringing that confusion into an acceptable state of democratic order has been significantly more distinctive than it has been in countries like Hungary, the Czech Republic, or Poland.

There is a common Western misconception that there was no opinion polling in Central and Eastern Europe under communism. This is very far from the truth. In all of these countries, a number of research organizations that surveyed and analyzed public attitudes. The findings of these activities, however, were usually kept under wraps: what people thought about their governments was one of the greatest, most jealously guarded secrets within the former Soviet satellites. Having been long denied the chance to see its image in a mirror, public opinion quite often got a real shock from the first glimpses at its proper countenance!

In the Western experience, the establishment of democratic elections as the political norm preceded opinion polling. In the East, things happened in the reverse order: public opinion surveys became a fact well in advance of the first fair elections. The encounter with novel phenomena normally gives rise to skepticism. In this particular case, political polling was initially viewed with mistrust, and strong suspicions of deliberate bias. Gradually but inexorably, the reliability and social utility of opinion polling have been gain ever wider

* Unfinished part on the history of Gallup International in different regions

public acceptance. It can be said without exaggeration that, as far as postcommunist Balkans countries are concerned, it was Gallup International who made a major contribution to this achievement.

Gordon Heald, major shareholder and Managing Director of Social Surveys/ Gallup Poll London and leading Member of the Board of Gallup International of that period played a seminal role in the founding and professional development of independent, privately owned public opinion research organizations in the region. Combining a fondness for travelling (influenced, perhaps, by his father's job as steward on the celebrated Queen Mary) with missionary zeal, in the early 1990s Gordon was joined by two local sociologists, Andrei Raichev and Kancho Stoychev, to set up the first private public opinion polling firm in Bulgaria. Instead of the apt, more modest 'Bulgarian British Social Surveys', the founders half-jokingly called their company 'Balkan British Social Surveys'. This turned out to be a prophetic pretension, because in addition to Bulgaria, in a matter of a few years they had created a whole network of private survey research agencies throughout the region – starting from Romania, Albania and Macedonia, adding later, in the wake of the dissolution and the wars of former Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. In 1993 the Bulgarian parent company was awarded full membership in Gallup International - the first to be admitted from all of Central and Eastern Europe – and in subsequent years, other companies from the BBSS network, the biggest in the region, were admitted to the Association. The distance of time, and the perspective of apparently smoothly functioning democratic institutions in the region nowadays, may seem to diminish the magnitude of Gallup International's achievement, but it remains and will remain a feat of pioneering enterprise, of hard and imaginative work.

'Identifying the right local people in each of the countries, and getting them to join in the effort was crucial for success,' recalls Kancho Stoychev. 'Sometimes we were lucky to get partners with previous professional experience, like Dr. Sr-bobran Brankovic, the distinguished political scientist, who had already founded Medium, one of the first independent opinion research agencies in Serbia; or the social scientist Georgi Kimov, adviser to the first President of Macedonia.' As

local talent was scarce or altogether absent, key roles were entrusted to promising young researchers like Andrei Musetescu, who became a CEO in Romania, or even undergraduates like Aida Hadziavdic, now Research Director of MIB in Sarajevo, or Visar Berisha, the youngest of the bunch Managing Director of Index Kosovo. ‘For some of our colleagues, joining in this enterprise was a sort of adventure, a life-transforming experience’, muses Stoychev. “Life-transforming” for Maria Dede, professor and PhD in physics, who presides over Index Albania with her publisher-journalist husband Spiro, for Elida Medarovska, the law graduate and factotum of BRIMA, and for Reof Kljaic, alumnus of the Police Academy in Sarajevo, who ably manages the business of MIB.



American statistician and public opinion analyst George Gallup, creator of the Gallup public opinion polls.

(Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Two Articles from the Press Archives

Le Congrès International de Loxwood Sondages, *July 1947*

Un congrès international de l'opinion publique a eu lieu à Loxwood, Grande-Bretagne, du 10 au 18 mai 1947.

Les instituts de treize pays participèrent L'Australie. Le Brésil le Canada. Le Danemark. Les États-Unis. La Finlande. la France. La Grande-Bretagne. Les Pays Bas, le Norvège. Le Suède. La Tchécoslovaquie. L'Italie

Le programme de travail comportait: 1) une information réciproque sur l'organisation, les méthodes de travail, les recherches effectuées: 2) la discussion sur nombreux points techniques des sondages d'opinion publique: 3) la mise sur pied d'une association internationale commune destinée à assurer la coordination des recherches sur les problèmes d'opinion et à garantir un niveau scientifique élevé et une indépendance complète à tout les égards chez les organismes membres de l'association; 4) l'élaboration d'une liste de travaux simultanés à entreprendre dans les mois à venir.

Un fait s'est dégagé basé sur les discussions: malgré la variété fréquente des mentalités dans les pays divers, les ressemblances l'emportent beaucoup sur les différences.

L'Association Internationale des Instituts d'Opinion Publique a été créée. Les membres actuels sont: l'institut américain, l'institut australien, l'institut brésilien, l'institut britannique, l'institut canadien, l'institut danois, l'institut finlandais, l'institut français, l'institut néerlandais, l'institut norvégien, l'institut suédois. Les membres de l'Association se réuniront en principe tous les deux ans. Dans l'intervalle des congrès, un comité central, composé de membres de droit et de membres élus, est chargé de régler les questions de coordination, d'admission de nouveaux membres, et toutes les affaires urgentes. Le comité central pur 1947-48 est composé de l'institut américain, l'institut australien, l'institut britannique, l'institut danois, l'institut français.

Les membres du comité central se sont repartis plus précisément les tâches de la façon suivante:

- l'institut français est chargé de préparer les thèmes des questions à poser simultanément dans les pays où des instituts d'opinion publique existent et de coordonner les résultats. Il assure en outre la liaison entre la nouvelle association et les organisations internationales siégeant à Paris, telles que l'UNESCO;
- l'institut américain organisera à New York un centre d'information de l'opinion publique et assurera une liaison avec l'O.N.U.;
- l'institut britannique est chargé du secrétariat de l'association; l'institut danois coordonnera les recherches et la documentation; l'institut australien préparera des rapports périodiques sur l'activité de l'association.

Les membres de l'Association devront continuer de satisfaire un certain nombre de régies qui seront également chargés des organismes désirant être admis dans l'Association; les plus importantes de ces régies insistent que:

- chaque institut devra être indépendant de toute subordination étrangère et notamment son directeur sera obligatoirement citoyen de naissance du pays où fonctionne l'institut, où il naturalise de puis au moins dix ans;

- chaque institut devra également être libre de toute servitude financière et ses ressources devront être de nature à assurer son indépendance;
- il devra justifier une activité suffisante d'enquêtes et prouver le caractère scientifique des méthodes qu'il utilise.

Dans le but de contrôler les qualifications scientifiques des nouveaux membres, la création d'un comité d'experts a été décidée; ce comité réunit MM. Edward Benson (Etats-Unis), Henry Durant (Grande-Bretagne) et Jean Stoetzel (France).

L'Association Internationale demande à ses membres de s'informer mutuellement sur leurs enquêtes d'opinion publique et d'échanger leurs résultats pour permettre la publication simultanée. De plus, elle exige que tous les membres s'engagent à poser annuellement, à des périodes définies, au moins six questions internationales, dans une liste qui a été établie pour les dix-huit mois à venir. Enfin, les relations de L'Association Internationale des Instituts d'Opinion Publique avec la Commission Européenne de l'Opinion Publique créée à Paris en Janvier 1947, au moment du congrès européen de l'opinion publique, ont été étudiées. La Commission Européenne comprend actuellement les dirigeants des instituts belge, français, hongrois, italien, néerlandais, Suisse, tchécoslovaque et des organismes qui opèrent dans les zones d'occupation en Allemagne. Le congrès de Loxwood reconnu et encouragé l'activité de cette commission. L'institut Français d'Opinion Publique a été chargé d'assurer la liaison entre celle-ci et le nouvel organisme international. La création de L'Association Internationale des Instituts d'Opinion Publique constitue un nouveau progrès dans la voie de l'étude de l'opinion publique à l'échelle mondiale. Il est inutile de souligner l'importance de cette initiative et le rôle qu'elle peut jouer en faveur de la coopération internationale.

The New York Times

July 28, 1984

GEORGE H. GALLUP IS DEAD AT 82

GEORGE H. GALLUP IS DEAD AT 82; PIONEER IN PUBLIC OPINION POLLING

By ERIC PACE

George H. Gallup, an inquisitive Iowan who pioneered in the techniques of public opinion polling and did much to make it a key tool of politics, government, business and scholarship, has died at his summer home in Switzerland. He was 82 years old.

Speaking from Princeton, N.J., where Dr. Gallup had his headquarters, his assistant, Sarah H. Van Allen, said he died Thursday at Tschingel, a village near the Lake of Thun in central Switzerland.

She said a physician there had reported that Dr. Gallup almost certainly died of a heart attack. She said that funeral plans were incomplete, but that a memorial service would be held in Princeton.

Dr. Gallup's fame stemmed originally from his successful prediction in 1936, based on surveys by his Gallup Poll, that Franklin D. Roosevelt would beat Alf Landon in the Presidential election. And his fame survived the Gallup Poll's incorrect forecast in 1948 that Thomas E. Dewey would defeat Harry S. Truman, an error that Dr. Gallup said had been caused partly by ending the polling too early.

"Dr. Gallup was the most important individual in the history of polling," Irving Crespi, a polling consultant, past president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research - as Dr. Gallup once was - and former executive on Dr. Gallup's staff, said in an interview. "He was a pioneer in modern polling methods, in establishing the credibility of polls, and in furthering the spread of public opinion polling through the world."

Though he had a Ph.D. in journalism, Dr. Gallup was more a practical-minded tinkerer than a scholar, and his solid, six-foot presence, his booming laugh and his staid dark suits gave him the appearance of a prosperous businessman, which he also was. He was for years the largest stockholder and chairman of the Gallup Organization, the corporation that carried out much of his attitude sampling.

At his death, Dr. Gallup was its chairman of the board and chief executive officer, titles that he had held for many years.

He was also a salesman. After the 1948 election debacle, he blithely declared, "We are continually experimenting and continually learning," and he contended that the public opinion poll was "one of the most useful instruments of democracy ever devised."

Yet he liked to describe himself as a public opinion statistician, and statistics, which are what polling produces, seemed unendingly fascinating to him.

"I could prove God statistically," he said early in his career, with characteristic panache. "Take the human body alone - the chance that all the functions of an individual would just happen is a statistical monstrosity."

Poll Founded in 1935

It was in 1935, after Dr. Gallup had been hired to do research for the New York advertising agency Young & Rubicam, that he founded the Gallup Poll, with its headquarters in Princeton and an editorial office in New York.

The polling organization was officially, and rather grandly, christened the American Institute of Public Opinion. Its stated mission was to measure the public's attitudes on social, political and economic issues, and it was soon sending out weekly reports of its polling results, initially to 40 daily newspapers.

The poll's success in predicting the 1936 election, though it underrated Roosevelt's popular vote by about 7 percent, was underscored by the fact that a straw vote carried out by *The Literary Digest*, an influential magazine of the day, had wrongly indicated that Mr. Landon would win.

The Digest's haphazard polling method was simply to mail quantities of ballots to people months before the election. The huge list was drawn from various records, including telephone directories and automobile registrations, hardly representative in that Depression year. The magazine made no attempt at systematic sampling of the public, which was one of the techniques Dr. Gallup pioneered.

Resilience and Durability

Once established, the eminence of the Gallup Poll and of its creator proved resilient as well as durable. The poll's business dropped after the 1948 election, industry analysts later reported, but it lived on to regain its reputation for accuracy.

It also survived lesser problems, including the discovery that some data had been falsified by two interviewers employed in a 1968 poll of Harlem blacks that had been commissioned by The New York Times.

For decade after decade, Dr. Gallup remained a leader of the growing polling industry. If there was one ingredient in his complex, restless personality that accounted for his stature in the industry, colleagues said, it was his wide-ranging curiosity.

In the 1930's and 1940's, they said, his inquisitiveness led him to be the first poll taker to compile Presidential popularity ratings and to pose such basic questions about Presidential and national politics as these:

"Who would you vote for if the elections were being held today?" "Which candidate would you like to see your party nominate?" "What is the most important problem facing the country?"

Such questions became staples in the polling industry that arose in the nation and the world, although there was a belief in the industry that the Gallup questions were not so precise or sophisticated as those of some of the competitors who followed him into the business.

A Keen Sense of News

Dr. Gallup also successfully exploited his keen sense of what would interest

newspaper editors and readers. He honed that sense as an undergraduate at the University of Iowa at Iowa City, where he edited the campus newspaper. He polished it further while he earned his doctorate there. His dissertation, the fruit of much experimentation, was on the measuring of publications' readerships. Early in his career, he organized Quill and Scroll, an international honor society for high school journalists, and its membership grew to more than a million.

In later years, that news sense proved valuable in running the Gallup Poll, whose findings are sold as what is essentially a syndicated column, to newspapers around the country. For years the findings of Gallup polls have been reported by The New York Times, which has also conducted its own polls in collaboration with CBS News since 1975.

Over the years, the Gallup opinion-sounding operations came to range from appraising the effectiveness of advertising to testing consumers' preferences, including moviegoers' tastes in titles and stories, to plumbing Americans' religious beliefs, in addition to checking their views on anything from alcoholism to polling itself. A Gallup survey in 1975 showed that one in seven Americans 19 years or older had been interviewed in at least one survey.

Nation Influenced by Data

As time passed, the nation's life came to be much influenced by data from surveys mounted by Dr. Gallup and by other independent poll takers, including such industry leaders as Elmo Roper, Archibald Crossley, Louis Harris, Oliver Quayle and Daniel Yankelovich.

These surveys reach conclusions about the public's behavior and thinking through interviews, carried out by paid interviewers, with only a relatively small number of people, what poll takers call a sample, chosen to be representative of the populace of the area being surveyed.

In 1960, private polls led John F. Kennedy, in his successful quest for the Presidency, to discuss the issue of his Roman Catholic religion directly and to take a civil rights stand.

In 1968, it was after polls showed that Gov. George Romney of Michigan was substantially behind Richard M. Nixon that Mr. Romney decided to quit that year's Presidential race.

And it was after private polls indicated to Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York that he could beat Mr. Nixon, in the same race, that Mr. Rockefeller decided to try, unsuccessfully, for the Republican Presidential nomination.

Evoked Churchill Criticism

Such being the case, critics repeatedly accused Dr. Gallup and other poll takers of reprehensibly influencing officials, candidates and political campaigns. Winston Churchill once contended that "nothing is more dangerous than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup Poll, always taking one's temperature." Churchill went on to say, "There is only one duty, only one safe course, and that is to try to be right."

For his part, Dr. Gallup argued, in one of his six books, "The Sophisticated Poll Watcher's Guide," which came out in 1972: "Polling is merely an instrument for gauging public opinion. When a President, or any other leader, pays attention to poll results, he is, in effect, paying attention to the views of the people. Any other interpretation is nonsense."

And the Gallup organization, over the years, stayed out of the business of carrying out private polls; that is, political surveys carried out on behalf of candidates or parties. Dr. Gallup always stressed the nonpartisan nature of his polling activity.

Down the decades, poll takers' findings have come to be important in shaping candidates' campaign strategies as well as in deciding whether and how to market new products, in determining the popularity of television shows, in sociological and political science research, in court cases involving trademark and advertising disputes and in forming public policy on hospitals, housing and other fields.

The Federal Government has come to spend millions of dollars a year on surveys designed to evaluate its programs and provide information for use in forming policies.

Pervasive Influence of Polls

As time went by, the poll takers' influence became so pervasive that in 1981, Andrew Hacker, professor of political science at Queens College, wrote:

"Questions asked of citizens seem to know no bounds. We are asked to rate a new nail polish and a President's performance, or to list what we think we want in a marriage partner. We are pressed for opinions on issues of the day, even if no one is entirely sure what an MX missile does."

To accommodate such diverse inquiries, the structure of businesses through which Dr. Gallup operated was for many years highly complex. But it later became simplified, and he operated essentially through the Gallup Organization Inc.

Andrew Kohut, president of the company, said late yesterday that its revenues in 1983 totaled \$6.7 million. That is the first year for which the Gallup Organization has officially announced its revenues. The company is privately held and owned, Mr. Kohut said, by the Gallup family and Gallup organization executives.

Mr. Kohut declined to disclose the profits, but he reported that the company's revenues had doubled in the five years from 1979 to 1983 inclusive.

'To Do a Gallup'

Beginning in 1937, public opinion polling organizations affiliated with the Gallup Poll were set up in Britain and dozens of other foreign countries; and in Princeton, which became the capital of the polling industry after Dr. Gallup moved there, it was respectfully argued that in some European languages the verb "to poll" became "to do a Gallup."

In presiding over his manifold activities, Dr. Gallup cut a dynamic and vigorous figure until he was well into his 70's. He had much nervous energy, he could be highly affable and he had a forceful, plain, Middle Western way of speaking that bespoke his Iowan origins.

George Horace Gallup was born Nov. 18, 1901, in Jefferson, Iowa, a small rail

junction community in the center of the state, on the Raccoon River 50 miles northwest of Des Moines. His parents were George Henry Gallup, a land speculator, and Nettie Davenport Gallup.

The elder Mr. Gallup suffered business reverses while George was an undergraduate, but the son helped pay his own college costs by working in a gymnasium. He earned his bachelor's degree at Iowa in 1923, his master's there in 1925 and his doctorate in 1928.

Journalism and Advertising

After teaching journalism at Iowa, Drake and Northwestern universities, Dr. Gallup became director of research at Young & Rubicam in 1932. He continued to work for that firm until 1947, testing the efficacy of advertisements, the appeal of products and the impact of radio broadcasts.

At the same time he nurtured the Gallup Poll, which was founded as an independent partnership between Dr. Gallup and Harold R. Anderson, a businessman who oversaw the marketing of the poll to newspapers. The business remained a partnership for years, but Mr. Anderson eventually bowed out.

It was not until 1958 that the Gallup Organization Inc. was formed. Its original mission was to conduct marketing research, but its activities were subsequently broadened.

Crucial to the art of public opinion surveying as developed by Dr. Gallup and other poll takers was, and is, sampling, or the picking of a properly mixed group of people to question. In Presidential polling, Dr. Gallup and his aides followed complex procedures to pick the people.

Representative Mixture Sought

What they sought was a representative mixture, including all important political colorations, with about the same proportion of rich and poor, professionals and factory workers and Republicans and Democrats as the entire population.

"The quickest and cheapest way to poll people is by telephone," Dr. Gallup observed in 1976, "But you run into a problem when you do your polls by telephone.

You're likely to reach more conservatives and more Republicans than Democrats.

"If you could reach people in theaters or bars or massage parlors, you'd find the Democrats," he mused, "but I'm afraid I'm letting my biases show here."

Many others in the field say polling by telephone is a valid technique, and one that the Gallup Organization itself now uses regularly, including for its polls done for the magazine Newsweek.

Over the years, Dr. Gallup and his aides continually tinkered with their polling methods. In the Presidential campaign of 1976, the Gallup Organization asked more questions, and got more answers than ever before, the organization said.

More Than Head-Counters

"This year we put great emphasis on the why behind the figures," said George Gallup Jr., one of Dr. Gallup's two sons. "People think we're just head-counters, but we're making more of an effort to cross-tabulate the results."

The Gallup family liked to sit and talk in the kitchen of their longtime home, a rambling white house just outside Princeton, which Dr. Gallup and his Iowa-born wife, the former Ophelia Smith Miller, whom he married in 1925, moved into in 1936.

"Pop is continually propounding new ideas," George Gallup Jr. once said, "so there's lots of noise and discussion."

Politics was much discussed at the Princeton home, but in 1972 Dr. Gallup told an interviewer that he had not voted in a Presidential election since 1928, when he cast his ballot for Alfred E. Smith.

If he did vote for a President, he said, and if he revealed whom he voted for, that might be seen as an attempt to influence the election's outcome. But he added that, if he voted and declined to answer questions as to whom he had voted for, then, "How could I ask anyone else such a question?"

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Dr. Gallup is survived by his wife; a daughter, Julia Gallup Laughlin; and by two sons, Alec Miller Gallup, a vice chairman and a director of the Gallup Organization, Inc.; George H. Gallup Jr., president of the Gallup Poll, which is now a division of the Gallup Organization, and a director of the Gallup Organization - all of the Princeton area - and by 5 grandchildren.



George Gallup (1901-1984) was an American pollster, a pioneer in scientific sampling of public opinion. He founded the American Institute of Public Opinion, which executes the Gallup Poll. (Photo by © CORBIS/Corbis via Getty Images)



Leila Lotti
President 1993-2001

Congratulations to Gallup International

In May 1947 a group of people met at the first international Gallup conference. The chairman in that meeting was Dr George H. Gallup. The participants of the conference came from 11 countries in Europe, North America and Australia. Some participants ran already an opinion and marketing research company and some others were just about to start it. The second world war was over. For participants it was a great experience to attend the meeting, meet interesting people, discuss and enjoy the friendly and optimistic atmosphere.



The first president Dr George H. Gallup stands in the middle, the second president Mr. Jan Stapel stands as second in the second row from left and the third president Mme Hélène Riffault sits on the left of the first row. (photo by courtesy of Kantar TNS Oy)

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

During the following decades the group expanded rapidly. There were ca 25 members in seventies, ca 40 members in nineties and in the new century ca 70 members. The name of the association has been changed a few times. Dr George H. Gallup, Mr Jan Stapel, Mme Hélène Riffault, Ms Leila Lotti, Mr Theo Hess, Mr Tony Cowling and Mr Jean-Marie Léger have served as presidents of the organization.

International and global studies have been of great interest and played a vital role in the history of the association. Just in the beginning the first members started to share opinion research data and wrote small articles about the findings and sold them to newspapers. Later on in the seventies systematic and continuous opinion polls started to take place. Many of them measured values, satisfaction to life and happiness. There were Human Needs and Satisfaction Study, the World Values Study and Voice of the People Study among them. End of the Year Survey is carried out over 40 years and it measures opinions about the coming year, optimism and pessimism. Already in 1972 was started Eurobarometer which now covers all EU-countries.



Enthusiastic photographers in 1947. Mr Artturi Raula from Finland on the left.
(photo by courtesy of Kantar TNS Oy)

It has been a great honour for me to serve this network. Congratulations to Gallup International for 70 years in opinion and marketing research. I wish to you all success in your work and life in the coming years.

A Few Lines from Gordon Heald

To me, Gallup International is pioneering. I spent 22 years with Gallup and 16 years with Gallup International. There is no other group with such a record out there.

My first memory of Gallup International was meeting Dr. George Gallup. He changed my life. I was in my thirties and was eager to learn. I found it fascinating meeting and talking with him.

The problem with Gallup US after it was sold in 1989 is that the new owners are too provincial. When Jim Clifton aggressively tried to buy Gallup companies around the world, including Gallup UK, which I owned 40% of, I strongly objected. He wanted to stop doing the kind of work Gallup International is famed for, something which our founder Dr Gallup was a leader in. How could a man from Lincoln, Nebraska really understand or have an interest in global public opinion?



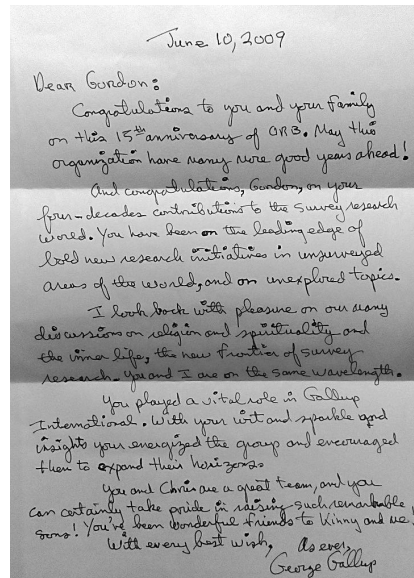
From left to right: Alec Gallup, Gordon Heald, Garry Morgan

I remember my time with Gallup International fondly. We would meet once a year and discuss how we could break new ground. We were particularly active during the late 80s and early 90s. The Soviet Union had just collapsed and the Berlin wall was down. As a group we collected some of the best opinion researchers from Moscow, Sofia, the Baltics, Balkans, etc. Together, through both qualitative and quantitative research, we told the story of what the people wanted, where they saw their future, what their aspirations were etc. We did all of this before WPP, or IPSOS. Suddenly, we were launching the first ever Eastern European Barometer for the EU. Gallup International had that contract for many years. These are the sorts of contracts that are perfectly suited to the network. Who else has 70 years of polling history?

I think the best days for Gallup International are still to come. Measuring global happiness is very important; so is tracking values across the world and running pioneering studies in war zones. Gallup International will always have a story to tell. Historically, the group has had some of the best researchers - Helene Riffault, Andy Kohut, Loula Zaklama, Marita Carballo, Kancho Stoychev, etc. These people really made a difference within our industry. Their work was ground-breaking.



Gallup International Conference in San Francisco, 1983



Letter to Gordon Heald.

The Day Gallup Came....

Roswitha Hasslinger



Yes, he was real, the man whom we knew from our books at university. Dr George Horace Gallup – the Godfather of opinion research.

We knew him from a photo hanging in Fritz Karmasin's office – a wise and kindly Sir who, in spite of his longtime American roots, remains more British to me than any British guy I ever met – maybe because of his wife's name: Ophelia.

Fritz Karmasin referred to him in the first lectures of his 'Introduction to Public Opinion Research' and shared that George Gallup introduced sample theory to public opinion polling because his mother in law, the first woman candidate for governor, was curious to know more about her chances. This was his first experience with samples, and in fact he was right with the election forecast. I really was impressed that he had set up a completely new method to please his mother-in-law.

And now he – Dr. Gallup himself – was coming to Vienna! In 1982 we hosted the Gallup International Conference in Baden, close to Vienna. Gallup not only visited our institute, but he gave some lectures at the university too. Wolfgang, one of university mates, was a trainee at the Gallup Institute at that time, and not only we two, the youngsters, but the whole institute with its 18 employees under the charismatic and patriarchal leadership of Fritz Karmasin, were very excited to meet the Godfather in person.

There was a real spirit of family at the Institute, after Fritz bought it: the former cleaning woman was designated as the "mistress of the printing machine", and her daughter, as well as her niece, started working there. My mates Wolfgang, Paul and I were "the students", so we had to do everything others did not want

to do. It was the best thing which could have happened to us, as it was the best way to learn market research from the very beginning.

Only three days more to wait – then HE would be our guest, and our job was to present the office in its very best condition. Those days it was quite normal that our boss requested us to do the renovation. In fact we – his followers – were very proud to be elected for this work. Later on we learned the truth: at that time he simply had no money to pay for craftsmen.

My parents were quite surprised to learn that a market research trainee had to paint doors and remove and mount wallpapers. But we worked with zeal to make the office beautiful for our highly-honored guest.

The new elevator had been built just some months before. Our job now was to hang wallpaper in front of its doors. It was no problem for us, as that sort of a job was quite suitable for beginners. But unfortunately, on the night right before Gallup's visit, there was a thunderstorm, and a flash flood soaked through all four floors. The newly laid wall-to-wall carpets proved to be very absorbent, so stepping on them gave you the feeling of walking over a swamp. And our wonderful fresh new laid wallpaper had, of course, separated from the walls, and was hanging sadly at half-mast.

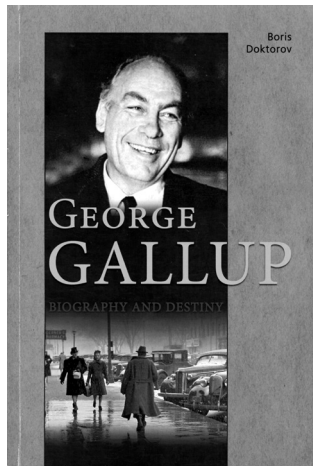
So it happened that Wolfgang and Paul, both very tall boys, had to stand like soldiers alongside the lift and try to fix it – unnoticed by Gallup, who had just arrived – with broomsticks two meters high. Gallup gave us his handshake and then walked grandly over the swamp into Fritz's office. It really was fortunate that he did not stick to the freshly painted door I had just finished some minutes before.

I will never forget this first meeting with George Gallup.

Later on during the conference, I had the opportunity to tell him about the renovation just prior to his visit. He was very amused and predicted a great market research career for me.

George Gallup: Highlights of His Life and Work

Note from the Publisher



This book is published by Gallup International to honor the memory of the founder and mentor of our association, George H. Gallup (1901-1984).

Countless tributes by his contemporaries attest to the heritage and the rare qualities of this remarkable man. Here is a sample of just a couple such testimonies: ‘Always modest, a true renaissance man: both journalist and researcher, as well as loving husband and father, inspiring academic, smart businessman and technical innovator.’¹ His legacy, as ‘a pioneer in modern polling methods, in establishing the creditability of polls, and in furthering the spread of public opinion polling throughout the world, forms an integral part of contemporary political culture.’²

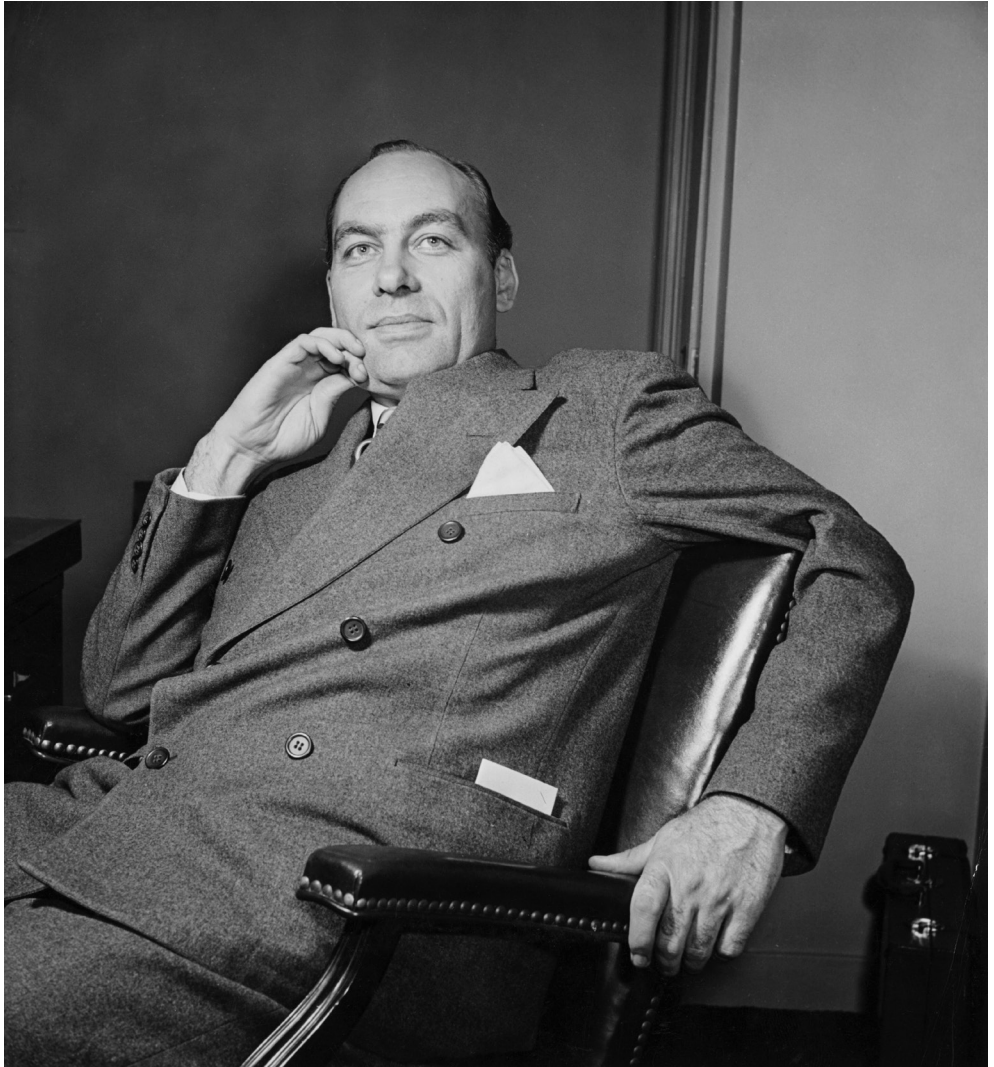
This narrative represents an abridged and re-edited version of the English text of the fundamental study of George Gallup’s life and work, produced by Doctor Boris Doktorov, and published in 2011.³ We are happy to reiterate here our gratitude to the author for the kind permission to use his material in this new edition.

1 Scipione P. A. A Nation of Numbers. Dr. George H. Gallup, Sr. (Manuscript).

2 Irving Crespi, one of the world’s leading experts in public opinion research, who worked in the Gallup Institute for many years, in an interview for “*The New York Times*” on the day after George Gallup’s death. (George H. Gallup Is Dead at 82; Pioneer in Public Opinion Polling // *The New York Times* Biographical Service. 1984. July 28.)

3 B. Doktorov. *George Gallup: Biography and Destiny*. Moscow, 2011.

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George Gallup, American public-opinion statistician who created the Gallup Poll. (Getty Images)

CHAPTER 1. PRE-BIOGRAPHY AND PRE-HISTORY

Understanding the character of creative people and the significance of their achievements requires, in the first place, a study of their pre-biography, together with the pre-history of that branch of science, art or culture where their endeavors have taken place. In other words, the person's biography is a product of both the genealogy and the environment in which his or her professional activity has taken place.

The life and work of George Gallup in this sense are exemplary. In the first place, he belonged to a large family, whose members had vigorously participated in the development of the United States, and whose accomplishments and merits are recorded in the annals of the country. Secondly, even though the modern stage of public opinion research began with the pioneering work of George Gallup in 1935 and 1936, the study of electoral attitudes in the US had a long history prior to that. Accordingly, after examining the pre-biography of George Gallup, we will also review the pre-history of public opinion research.

Tenth-Generation American

For generations, the large Kollop family resided in Lotharingia (Lorraine). During the Middle Ages some of its descendants moved over to England, retaining the Gollop name. It is believed to have been forged from the German

words Gott and Lobe, meaning respectively “God” and “praise”. Over time various spellings of the family name emerged: Gallop, Galloup, Galloupe, Gallupe, and Gollop, with the version prevalent in America becoming *Gallup*.⁴

A historical record has been preserved in England concerning John Gollop (born about 1440), who came ‘out of the North in the fifth year of the reign of Edward IV’ (1465). He married Alice Temple, who lived in Dorset, and they became the founders of the Gollop clan, and Dorset became home for many branches of the family.

A descendant, another John Gallop (1590-1650), great-great-grandson of the first John Gollop, founded the American branch of the family in 1623. He embarked for New England on the 400-ton *Mary and John* from Plymouth on 20th March, 1630, together with 140 other passengers.⁵ They reached the coast of America on 30th May, 1630, and founded a new settlement near Boston, naming it Dorchester in recognition of their origins.

The Puritan community, to which these early settlers belonged, was the most homogeneous among the pilgrims in terms of religion and moral values. They had carried with them the Protestant work ethic, which would define American entrepreneurship and American governance.⁶ As Alexis de Tocqueville noted, Puritanism was not merely a religious doctrine; it had a lot in common with the democratic ideas and republican theories.⁷

John Gallop enjoyed great authority among the settlers of New England. He was an experienced seafarer, enterprising merchant, and the owner and captain of the first ship built in America. The maps of Boston and adjacent area from the 18th century show Gallop Shipyard, Gallop Alley and Gallop Island in Boston Harbor, all named after him.

4 Gallup Genealogy. Gallop, Galloup, Galloupe, Gallupe, Gollop. 2d ed. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1987.

5 The Founding of the Mary and John Clearing House. URL: <<http://www.maryandjohn1630.com>>. Date of accessing the document: 31 October 2010.

6 Gallup J.D. The Genealogical History of the Gallup Family in the United States. Hartford, CT, 1893.

7 Ladd E.C. The Shape of the American Ideology // Patterson T.E. We the People: A Concise Introduction to American Politics. 3rd ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

John and his wife Christobel had a daughter and four sons. One son returned to England; the others become Americans. The daughter had eight children; his eldest son had ten; the younger twins had five and six children respectively. A prodigious family was being born.

In 1966 the first edition of the Gallup Genealogy book appeared, followed by a second in 1987. By the beginning of the 21st century, the *Gallup Family Association* archives contained over 13,000 names of family members.

John Gallop's eldest son, John Gallop II (1615-1675)⁶ engaged in maritime commerce alongside his father. He was a soldier, distinguished in many battles. In 1643 he married Hanna Lake, who belonged to a large, ancient English clan, with members featured in the genealogies of French, Saxon, and English kings; that family's lineage went back to the age of medieval chivalry. Four out of the ten children of John Gallop II and Hanna Lake, whose family names already come to be written as Gallup, themselves founded lineages that have included many prominent American personalities.

The Library Congress archives contain the biography of Congressman Albert Gallup (1796-1851),⁸ an eighth-generation member, who represented New York during 1837-1839.

The eminent poetess Emily Dickinson (1830-1886) acclaimed as canonical in American literature,⁹ is a member of the ninth-generation Gallups. In 1971, a commemorative postage stamp was issued with her portrait. Very few American writers have been awarded such high honour.

It is tempting to conclude this list of distinguished scions of the Gallup family with the following entry: in 1677 Elizabeth Gallup, daughter of John Gallup II, married Henry Stevens. In 1821 their granddaughter's granddaughter Harriet (Harriet Smith) married Obadiah Newcomb Bush, whose maternal ancestors had come to America on 11th November, 1620 with the very first settlers on board the celebrated *Mayflower*. In 1988, their great-grandson George Bush

⁸ Gallup, Albert. URL: <<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=G000028>>. Date of accessing the document: 3 November 2010.

⁹ Wells H. W. Introduction to Emily Dickinson. New York: Hendricks House, Inc., 1959.

Senior, representative of the eleventh Gallup generation, was elected the 41st President of the United States of America. In 2000 his son George W. Bush (a member the twelfth generation) followed to become 43rd U.S. President.¹⁰

George Gallup, whose life and work are the subject of this narrative, himself was a tenth-generation American and direct descendant of John Gallup III (1646-1733), eldest son of John P. Gallup II.

Just like his father, George Gallup was interested in genealogy; reading historical literature was one of his favorite pastimes. America's past was alive for him, and it invigorated his endeavours. The Puritan values and ideals that Massachusetts Bay settlers brought with them from England in the first half of the XVII century were also his. George Gallup's overriding goal – to strengthen the democratic foundations of American society, as well as the related practical problem that he spent half a century to solve, the creation of an instrument for the measurement of public opinion – directly stemmed from his perception of America's past, and of the role played in it by nine generations of his family.

The New England Town Meeting and Lord Bryce

As mentioned above, the patriarch of the American Gallup family arrived in America in 1630 on the *Mary and John*. Among the fellow passengers on the journey which brought John Gallop to America was Roger Ludlow (1590-1666). A successful politician and staunch Puritan, Ludlow was credited with having established, in the town of Dorchester, a form of self-governance that became to be known as the New England (or Massachusetts) Town Meeting.¹¹ Classified by historians as 'the purest form of democracy' akin the Athenian democracy of Ancient Greece, the Town Meeting had the authority to decide on all matters of community life, except those that were within the purview of the Commonwealth. This form of governance

¹⁰ *Rehcigl M.* The Czech Roots of President George W. Bush. URL: <http://www.svu2000.org/genealogy/George_W.pdf>. Date of accessing the document: 2.11.2010.

¹¹ *Westport K.W.* Connecticut: The Story of a New England Town's Rise to Prominence. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000.

was soon adopted by other cities, and in 1638 was officially recognized as a legitimate element of governance in the colonies.

In this manner, for George Gallup, a link was established whereby the quest of the scientist was intimately merged with the history of his ancestors.

Gallup was initially unaware of this particular link, until it was revealed to him through the writings of the British historian, lawyer, and statesman Lord James Bryce (1838-1922). Decades after this revelation, Gallup used to stress that his own views on the role of public opinion as an instrument of democracy, and the general direction of his methodology, were directly related to Bryce's ideas. In 1937, addressing the forum of the American Statistical Association, Gallup spoke about Bryce as "the great Englishman" who discovered the huge opportunities for the development of American democracy offered by public opinion research.^[12, p. 131]

Born in Belfast, James Bryce graduated from Trinity College in Oxford and later studied law in Heidelberg (Germany). In 1870 he was appointed professor of law at Oxford University. His political career was also advancing: he became a leader of the Liberal Party and held senior positions in Ireland's government. From 1907 to 1914 Bryce served as England's ambassador in Washington. In 1914 he became member of the Hague Tribunal, and after 1917 devoted his energy to the creation of the League of Nations.

In 1870, and again in 1881 and 1883, James Bryce, visited the United States. During these journeys across the country, he stayed with families of politicians, businessmen, academics, and other local people, using every opportunity to interview ordinary Americans whom he met on his way. His resulting observations and commentary are contained in the book "The American Commonwealth".¹³

In it, Bryce set out his ideas about the role of public opinion in the structure of the American system of governance. He thought that the power system in the United

12 Gallup G. Government and the Sampling Referendum // Journal of the American Statistical Association. 1938. Vol. 33.

13 Bryce James and the Academy of Political Science // Political Science Quarterly. 1938. Vol. 53. No. 3.

States came closest to what he called “government by public opinion.” [14, p. 257]. That assumption made Bryce closer to Gallup than other thinkers of that period. So did Bryce’s assessment of the Massachusetts town meeting: “The town meeting was a simple and effective way of articulating public opinion, and the decisions made by the meeting kept close to the public will.” [15, p. 79]

In his article in the *Washington Post* dated 20th October 1935, in which George Gallup publicized his method of public opinion polling and presented the results of the first nationwide poll, he quoted Bryce about public opinion measurement as prerequisite for democratic policies, concluding: ‘After one hundred and fifty years we return to the town meeting. This time the whole nation is within the doors.’¹⁶

The History of Straw Polls

According to the authoritative *New Political Dictionary*, the term “straw polls” was invented by the English lawyer, politician and scholar John Selden (1584 - 1654), who used to say that if you threw a straw in the air, you could see where the wind blows. Nowadays, when we speak of straw polls, we mean polls that are carried out in the simplest and often unspecified manner, on unrepresentative samples. It would be wrong, however, to dismiss these efforts, because they served as the starting point for the elaboration of scientific techniques for public opinion polling.

The holding of straw polls, the publication of the results, and their discussion by the press and the by people at large – all generated public demand for such information on the eve of elections. Straw polls also served as a testing ground for designing and improving polling techniques, and the experience accumulated over time provided valuable expertise to improve procedures.

At the end of the 17th and during the 18th century, various means were used

14 Bryce J. *The American Commonwealth*. 2nd ed. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1891.

15 Gallup G. *Government and the Sampling Referendum* // *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. 1938. Vol. 33.

16 *London S. Electronic Democracy* // *A Literature Survey*. 1994. March. URL: <<http://www.scottlondon.com/reports/ed.html>>. Date of accessing the document: 3 November 2010.

to register voting results in the USA. (referred to as poll books, poll lists or simply polls). These documents kept records of the participants in elections – white, financially independent men, resident in a constituency – and of the way they voted. No ballot papers were used at the time, as secret voting was nonexistent.

Tom Smith, an expert on the history of electoral polling, notes that various interested political groups as early as in the spring of 1821 undertook assessing the prospective outcome of presidential election scheduled for 1824.¹⁷ In their book *The Pulse of Democracy* George Gallup and S.F. Ray quote the first printed evidence of electoral polling surveys. On 24th July, 1824, the *Harrisburg Pennsylvanian* newspaper published the results of a survey of Wilmington residents (a town in the state of Delaware), where presidential candidate Andrew Jackson, with 335 likely voters, was recorded as polling well ahead of John Quincy Adams, with 169 likely voters. In August of the same year, the *Raleigh Star* newspaper reported the findings of a similar survey in North Carolina, where victory for Jackson was also predicted by large majority. The election in that state indeed brought a victory for Jackson. Moreover, he scored a greater number of votes in the country as a whole (153,000 votes versus 115,000 for Adams), but due to the peculiarities of the American electoral system Adams became President by a vote of the House of Representatives.¹⁸

In her research on straw polls conducted during the second half of the 19th century, Susan Herbst demonstrated that while such polls had been widely conducted since 1820, it was only in the middle of when century that they became really popular.^[19, p. 76] She refers to this period as the era of people's, or citizen's polls.

During the second half of the 19th century, straw polls were becoming increasingly sophisticated. In 1883, for instance, the Civil War veteran and politician General Charles Taylor, then - editor of the *Boston Globe* newspaper, on

¹⁷ Smith T. The First Straw? A Study of the Origins of Election Polls // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1990. Vol. 54. No. 1.

¹⁸ United States presidential election. URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_presidential_election>.

Date of accessing the document: 3 November 2010.

¹⁹ Herbst S. Numbered Voices. How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

the day before the actual election, used to send observers to carefully selected constituencies and, based on their reports, would make predictions about the outcome.^{[20, p. 35].}

In 1896, several Chicago newspapers jointly carried out a straw poll to determine the candidates' chances in the McKinley – Brian campaign. The *Chicago Record* spent in excess of 60 thousand dollars on mailing questionnaire cards to voters from a random sample – actually to one out of every eight voters in the 12 Midwestern states! A quarter of a million cards were received back. The prediction for Chicago came out correct, but it was wrong in the case of the rest of the places sampled²¹.

Claude Robinson estimates that some 85 straw polls were carried out during the electoral campaign of 1928. Seventy-five of them were local – at state, city, county, and other relatively smaller levels; four also covered neighboring areas. Finally, six surveys funded by the *Literary Digest*, *Hearst Newspapers*, *Farm Journal*, *Pathfinder*, *The Nation* and *College Humor* were conducted nationwide.^{[22, p. 50-51].}

By the beginning of the 20th century, numerous newspapers and magazines in the United States regularly sponsored and carried out straw polls. However, it was *The Literary Digest* – then the unrivaled leader in political journalism – whose name became synonymous with the straw polls. Thanks to the surveys created and published by this journal, over two entire decades millions of Americans could discover for the first time what the nation thought about the presidential candidates, and what the likely chances for their winning the election were.

The Literary Digest journal was founded and published by the Lutheran priest Isaac Kauffman Funk (1839-1912), together with his friend from college, another former priest, Adam Willis Wagnalls (1843-1924). A mass weekly publi-

20 Gallup G., Rae S.F. *The Pulse of Democracy: The Public-Opinion Poll and How It Works*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

21 *Hamilton J.M.* A Primer on Polls. URL: <http://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/weber/decs-433/A_Primer_on_Polls.htm>. Date of accessing the document: 3 November 2010.

22 *Robinson C.E.* *Straw Votes: A Study of Political Prediction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

cation, priced at 10 cents per issue and initially targeted at teachers and priests, it reprinted reports on the latest ideas and studies that were published by nearly 200 magazines and newspapers in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. Ten years after its launch in 1890, the journal's circulation was 60,000 readers. ^[23, p. 575] Not least thanks to the popularity of its successful public opinion polls, by the beginning of the 1920s *The Literary Digest* was selling over a million copies, making it one of the leaders of the magazine market.

It was in 1916 that *The Literary Digest* initiated its straw polls. The method that would become the standard was mailing out to subscribers millions of questionnaires printed on postcards. A decade previously, for the purposes of their marketing and administrative needs, the editors had started the creation of a card filing system for current and prospective subscribers. The card index contained names and addresses of people of middle and upper-middle income – lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, businessmen, etc. – who constituted the target both for the magazine itself, and for the goods advertised in it. By 1900, the file contained 685,000 entries, and by 1932 it had risen to 20 million. ^{[24, p. 39].}

The straw poll of 1916, was carried out among subscribers in five major states – Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York and Ohio – and the question was who had a better chance of winning the presidential election, the incumbent Democrat Woodrow Wilson, or the Republican challenger Charles Hughes. The result, in favor of Wilson, was correct. He actually outpolled his opponent by getting 49.2 percent, compared to 46.1 percent of votes for Hughes.

In the following presidential elections of 1920, 1924, and 1928, by sending out 11 million, 16.5 million, and 18 million polling cards, respectively, *The Literary Digest* managed to make correct predictions of the outcome every time. On a state-by state basis, the 1924 predictions were correct for all states except Kentucky and Oklahoma.

On 3rd September, 1932, the magazine boasted: ‘Twenty million envelopes have hand-written addresses. Twenty million ballot papers have been printed.

²³ Graybar L.J. Funk, Isaak Kauffman // American National Biography. Vol. 8. Oxford, 1999.

²⁴ Gallup G., Rae S.F. The Pulse of Democracy: The Public-Opinion Poll and How It Works. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

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Twenty million letters have been prepared, folded and put into the envelopes. The article then concluded that *The Literary Digest* was re-launching the huge public opinion survey machine, which in 1924 and 1928 had achieved results of “mystical precision.”²⁵ The 1932 prediction indeed went down in history with its fantastic accuracy. Three days before the vote, *The Literary Digest* reported that Governor Roosevelt would obtain 55.99 percent of the vote and secure the support of 474 electors.²⁶ The official statistics showed 57.4 percent of the vote and 472 members of the Electoral College.



GIA working session, 1979; Dr George Gallup is first on the left.

²⁵ Turning Up for The Digest's Presidential Poll // *The Literary Digest*. 1932. September 3.

²⁶ Roosevelt Bags 41 States Out of 48 // *The Literary Digest*. 1932. November 5.

CHAPTER 2. THE FORMATIVE YEARS

The State of Iowa, located in the Midwest of the United States, is usually referred to as the American Heartland. Gallup was born, educated, and became a highly qualified professional in Iowa. He counted many Iowans among his friends. His character, speech, mannerisms, and attitude to life carried the imprint of this origin.

Jefferson City Kid

George Horace Gallup was born in Jefferson City, Greene County, in the State of Iowa on 18th November 1901. The families who founded that settlement early in the second half of the 19th century decided to name it in honour of the third U.S. president Thomas Jefferson, one of the authors of the country's Constitution, staunch supporter of the republican system of government, and of democracy in general.

During Gallup's childhood, half a century after the founding of the city, its people adhered strictly to Puritan standards. They worked a lot, went regularly to church, held the value of an education in high esteem, tried to help each other, and greeted people, even strangers encountered in the street, with a smile. ^[27, p.96-98]

27 Past and Present of Greene County, Iowa / Ed. by E.B. Stillman. Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1907.

John Nelson Gallup, George's grandfather, was born in New England. After getting involved in farming in Iowa, in 1892 he bought a farm near Jefferson City.

His eldest son Edgar was shop owner. The middle son, Joseph, was a lawyer. The youngest son – George Gallup's father – who was also named George Gallup (George Henry Gallup, 1864-1932) – first started as a teacher before becoming successful as a real estate agent. He had no advanced formal education, but admired the world of ideas, and, as a true intellectual, 'strenuously resisted doing things the way they had always been done.' [28, p. 101] His first wife died in 1891, and in 1893 he married Nettie Davenport. They had three children, George being the youngest. Gallup's mother was a quiet, and kind, woman and very religious. All four of her children graduated from college, and this was the most important source of pride in her life.

From early childhood, George's father taught him self-sufficiency and independence. The house kept a farm, and when George was 9 or 10 years old, his father bought a few cows for him and his brother. The boys were supposed to take care of the animals, milk them, find customers for the milk, and make deliveries. The income was theirs to buy clothes with and to pay for their studies. The young farmers made a success of their business. Later, George Gallup used to say that he had been richer than his friends at school were.

There is an interesting photograph from George Gallup's school graduation. The teenager in the snapshot looks more mature than his age would suggest. The caption reads: 'George H. Gallup', "Ted", Class President-19. Business Manager, "Krazy Kazett". Football Captain-19. Basketball Captain-19," And below: 'Leave the women alone, work hard and enjoy life is my motto!' [6, p. 101]

Acquiring a University Education

The Iowa State University, founded in 1847, by the beginning of the 20th century came to be considered one of the finest universities in the nation, and the best in the Midwest. On 26th September, 1919, at 18 years of age, George Gallup was

28 *Hawbaker B.W.* George Gallup, Iowa, and the Origin of the Gallup Poll // Palimset. 1993. No. 74 (Fall).

enrolled in its College of Liberal Arts.

By the early 1920s, land prices had plummeted and the financial situation of the family, who lived on earnings from George senior's real estate trade, became precarious. However, by that time George junior had already acquired the attitudes and aptitudes that successful Americans cultivate: independence in judgments and behavior, self-confidence, determination, business aggressiveness, resilience, and optimism. So it was not hard for him to earn the money for his personal needs and to fund his higher education. Years later, he recalled that upon being admitted to college he had had just six dollars in his wallet, while at graduation he was already earning more money than the President of the University.^[29, p. 87]

On 1 February 1923 Gallup graduated from college with a Bachelor of Arts degree. During that year, the university had inaugurated its School of Journalism, and Gallup, who had not yet turned 22, was offered a teaching position there. He accepted it, at the same time continuing his studies at the university's graduate college, majoring in August 1928 with a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the fields of psychology and economics.

Editor of the Student Newspaper

The University of Iowa has published a newspaper since 1868. Renamed *The Daily Iowan* in 1901, it became the first daily student newspaper in the Midwest. Initially it had no permanent manager or editors, being run on the principle "make it or break it". In his memoirs George Gallup explains that this meant that the editor and the general manager undertook covering all running costs and eventual losses themselves, but in case of success, all the returns would be theirs. Few students were willing to accept the job on such risky terms, but George Gallup was not afraid to take it.

To start with, in an effort to attract attention, on 21 July 1921 he penned an editorial entitled "The Unattractive Women". In it he described a supposedly overheard talk between two young men, complaining that college was swarmed with

²⁹ *Sussman B. What Americans Really Think*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

ungainly girls, mostly schoolteachers, who had no idea how to make themselves attractive. The dialogue concluded that women needed first of all to learn how to look their best, because men wanted more in a wife than “a bone, a rag, and a hank of hair.” Gallup later recalled, “This editorial stirred up the campus as nothing else in my experience ever had. All of the girls were angry and I was berated soundly by many professors; however, ‘from that day on, the paper was eagerly read.’^[30, p. 103] By the end of the summer semester, George Gallup had earned enough money to allow himself to relax.

By 1923, Gallup had devised and implemented an ambitious plan to transform the *The Daily Iowan* from a modest student paper into a full-scale urban daily, with himself as Chief Editor. Combining coverage of local events with nationwide news, the paper attracted a rapidly expanding readership. Accordingly, the volume of advertisements grew too, and the paper became quite profitable.

In addition to his managerial efforts, Gallup kept writing a daily editorial column. This earned him the reputation of ‘a man who is ever ready to expose and ridicule pretentiousness and stuffiness.’^[30, p. 104] That column would be remembered for the article “Be radical!”. Reminiscent of the spirit of the 1960’s student manifestos, it declared: ‘Don’t be afraid to be radical. Universities need radicals. We are all-rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool intellectual standpatters. Worst of all, we are proud of it. We need atheists, free-lovers, anarchists, free traders, communists, single taxers, internationalists, royalists, socialists, anti-Christians ... Doubt everything. Question everything ... Being a radical is a duty, like casting your first ballot or kissing your sister. Only a man of fifty has the right to be conservative. Don’t be a cow. Think, question, doubt! Be radical!’^[30, p. 105]

To be complete, the account of events that marked George Gallup’s university years should mention that in 1923 he met Ophelia Miller; she was a student at Iowa University and taught French there. They were married on Christmas Day in 1925. An entry in a reference book (*Current Biography: Who’s News and Why*), published in 1940 attests, tells that during the early 1920s George Gallup, then editor of a student newspaper and carrying out his first public opinion polls, con-

³⁰ *Hawbaker B.W.* George Gallup, Iowa, and the Origin of the Gallup Poll // Palimpsest. 1993. No. 74 (Fall).

ducted a poll on the subject of who was the most beautiful girl at the university. The winner was Ophelia Miller, and she became his wife ^[31, p. 320].

The Journalist Becomes a Pollster

In a short anthology of studies on the history of advertising published in 1986, George Gallup describes the way his career as pollster began: 'A summer job as an interviewer in a newspaper readership survey conducted by the D'Arcy Advertising Agency in St. Louis started me on the research road, which I have traveled during the last 60 years. The survey was conducted in 1922 when I was a junior enrolled in the University of Iowa. The questionnaire used was typical of those employed by researchers in this field... I found that a high percentage of respondents claimed that they always read the editorials, the national and international news. Few admitted reading the gossip columns and other features of low prestige... I came ultimately to the conclusion that the best way to find out what they read is to place a fresh copy of the last issue of the newspaper in front of them, and then to go through the entire paper, column by column, page by page, with the respondent to see what he or she had read in this particular issue... I discovered that the attempts to shortcut this process (for example, by taking out a single page of the newspaper or by concentrating only on the advertising) failed to produce the same accurate results. The survey findings brought to light an interesting fact. The most important articles published in the newspapers attracted far fewer readers than shown by the typical questionnaire procedure. Conversely, the comic strips, the love advice features, and the like had considerably more readers.' The psychology department of the University of Iowa agreed to accept this test of the method as a suitable Ph. thesis in that department. ^[32, p. 47-48]

Gallup also presented his findings to Gardner Cowles Jr, editor of the *De Moines Register*, and later publisher of *Look* magazine, and Cowles commissioned from him a survey for the *Register* using the novel interview method. The conclusions

³¹Gallup G.H. *Current Biography: Who's News and Why*. New York: The Wilson Company, 1940.

³²Gallup G.H. *George H. Gallup: A Personal History // Copy Research: A Historical Perspective* / Ed. by B. Lipstein. New York: The Advertising Research Foundation, 1986.

from that survey appeared in an article published in the *Journalism Quarterly* issue of March 1930. George Gallup began the article with the assertion that comics attract a larger number of adult readers than news about the major events of the day. His overall conclusion was that traditional methods for studying readers' attitudes did not identify their genuine preferences. None of the respondents, even among those who initially claimed they never missed a word, had read more than half of the newspaper. It was also revealed that the front page, which contained major domestic and international news, was rarely read, while preference was given to cartoons, comics and photographs. ^[33, p. 106] Obituaries were read more frequently than analyses of social and political events. ^[34, p. 9-12]

The findings of George Gallup's readership studies apparently helped bring about the shift in print media content which occurred shortly thereafter: wider use of comic strips, as well as of photographs and other visuals; the latter probably encouraged the subsequent launch of the first US photo magazine *Look*.

Perhaps the most important long-term accomplishment of George Gallup's doctoral work was his novel measurement technology, nowadays still referred to as the "Gallup Method" (or, less frequently, the "Iowa Method"). This method, in its various modifications, has become the most widely used one in studies of advertising and mass media audiences.

To complete this story of the role that Iowa played in George Gallup's life, one should mention that his first son, Alec Miller Gallup, was born in 1928, to be followed in 1930 by another son, George Horace Gallup. And in 1937, a daughter, Julia, was added to the family.

33 *Hawbaker B.W.* George Gallup, Iowa, and the Origin of the Gallup Poll // Palimset. 1993. No. 74 (Fall).

34 The Daily Iowan. Much More Than It Seems // Parent Times Online. 2000–2001. Vol. 44. No. 3. URL: <<http://www.uiowa.edu/~ptimes/issues00-01/spring00-01/di.html>>. Date of accessing the document: 9 November 2010.

CHAPTER 3. THE LITTLE KNOWN GALLUP

In his answer to the question: ‘Has Gallup become synonymous with polling?’ Alec Gallup, his eldest son, said: ‘And what’s interesting, it’s used in Scandinavia as a generic term. It’s the word for survey. So you’d have a Harris Gallup or a Roper Gallup. The word for poll is a Gallup, with a small ‘g’, I guess. And so it is.’ In a similar vein, a close colleague, P. A. Scipione once observed ‘So clearly is Gallup identified with polling that Greeks, who usually have a word for everything, have adopted “to Gallup” as their verb for “to poll”.’³⁵

It is true that George Gallup is known worldwide mainly as the scientist with the greatest contribution to the development of the culture of public opinion research. But there are two other important aspects of Gallup’s work which one would be wrong to ignore. These are teaching, and research on the effectiveness of advertising.

The problems of education and training have permanently been at the forefront of Gallup’s attention as a researcher and citizen throughout his life; his studies on the impact of advertising, and the instruments for improving advertising efficiency, by general consent have earned him a place among the select group of super professionals whose work determined the evolution of this research area.^[36, p. 11-15]

³⁵ *Scipione P.A.* A Nation of Numbers. The Development of Marketing Research in America. Dr. George H. Gallup, Sr. (Attachment to the e-mail of P. Scipione addressed to B. Doktorov dated 20 June 2002)

³⁶ *Lipstein B.* A Historical Retrospective of Copy Research // Journal of Advertising Research. 1984. Vol. 24. No. 6.

One of these venerated major figures – David Ogilvy – admitted once in a speech, that ‘Gallup contributed more to advertising research than all the rest of us put together.’^[37, p. 106]

The Educator: “Quill and Scroll” Association, Teaching at Universities, Surveys that Help Education

George Gallup was always interested in what people knew about the world and what they would like to know about it. He also believed that citizens should be enabled to think in a more profound way about social problems, and to participate in finding solutions for them. The publication of poll results was meant by Gallup to help voters to become better informed participants in the elections process. Describing his activities in the areas mentioned above, George Gallup used the term “educator”. This term is key to understanding why in 1970 – under the heavy burden of research projects, coupled with job commitments to leading politicians and journalists – he managed to spare the time to write a book, published as a guide for the parents of children in their first year of school.³⁸

Gallup’s lifelong devotion to education is exemplified by his role as initiator of the *Quill and Scroll Association*. At his suggestion on 10 April 1926, twenty-three enthusiasts founded that organization with the proclaimed goal of providing every possible form of support for high school students interested in learning about journalism. He also took up the editorship of the *Quill and Scroll* magazine, which was meant to represent, as stated on its cover, the National Honorary Society for High School Journalists. Gallup’s educational undertaking, with time, grew into a social project on a national scale. At the time of its inauguration, the *Quill and Scroll* (Q&S) had local chapters in some 25 schools from Iowa and neighboring states. By the beginning of the 21st century, Q&S had over 14,000 chapters in schools in

³⁷ *Ogilvy D.* The Unpublished David Ogilvy / Ed. by J. Raphaelson. New York: Crown, 1986.

³⁸ *Gallup G.* Guidebook for Parents of Children in the First Year of School. Dayton, Ohio: Institute for Development of Educational Activities, 1970.

all 50 states of the USA, as well as in 44 other countries, and there were more than a million graduates of the association, including many world-famous journalists.

Years later, Gallup recollected that the idea to set up an organization dedicated to promoting the study of journalism, came to him while he was editing *The Daily Iowan*. He had adored that experience, and wondering why school athletes were encouraged by fellowships, while students excelling in journalism were ignored, moved him to set right the situation. ^[39, p. 14]

George Gallup's proper teaching career (discounting the early start in 1925 while still a graduate student), began after graduation. Initially, from 1929 to 1931, he led the Journalism Department at the private Drake University in the capital of Iowa, Des Moines. During the 1931/32 academic year, on invitation from Northwestern University located near Chicago, he taught at its Medill School of Journalism. From 1935 to 1938, as a visiting professor he, lectured in one of the best-known training facilities for journalists in America – the School of Journalism at Columbia University in New York, also called the Pulitzer School. His teaching engagements in the strict sense of the term, that is, professorial work, concluded in 1938, ten years after the start. The problems of education, however always remained within his range of vision and attention span as citizen.

A long-term research project, known as the “PDK/Gallup Poll”, has been monitoring the Americans' attitudes towards public schools for over three decades. The acronym stands for *Phi Delta Kappa International* – an organization throughout many decades had been generously funding public school development programs.

The first survey representative of the adult population of the United States was held in 1969. The surveys at once became annual, and Gallup himself wrote the analytical wrap-up reports. ^[40, p. 6]

39 Johns R. Seventy-Five Years of Excellence, Leadership // Quill & Scroll. 2001. October/November.

40 Smith V., Gallup G. H. What the People Think about Their Schools: Gallup's Finding. Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1977.

A special place in George Gallup's creative heritage belongs to his book of essays *The Miracle Ahead*, published in 1964. It brings together a summary of his findings as a psychologist – student of human consciousness – a pollster who analyzed public opinion in the United States and elsewhere in the world, as a teacher and scholar who had devoted years to the study of education, and finally, as a public figure. In this book Gallup showed that to enhance the power of the human intellect, a new system of education is needed for the future that will nurture a mentality capable of creative thinking. That was the essence of the miracle about which he wrote.

Noting that ‘.. resistance to change springs from many sources,’ Gallup singled out the following idea: ‘In the whole history of man, no generation has been taught to expect change, to be prepared for change, or to seek change.’^[41, p. 199] Accordingly, the extent to which people understand the nature of social change, and the extent of their readiness for change, are the most important indicators of the degree of maturity of civil society. If people want to succeed in their endeavors, they need to be well informed and must not expect help from the powers that be – politicians, journalists, or others.

The back-page summary about the author's background in *The Miracle Ahead* that was probably written, or at least edited, by Gallup himself, reads: ‘George Gallup's name is associated with public opinion polls throughout the world; a lesser-known side of Dr Gallup is his interest in people and the factors which influence their opinions and aspirations... Dr Gallup's research activities cover the fields of health, religion, politics, journalism, advertising, entertainment, education, and philosophy. It can be said that no other person has had the opportunity to study the views of so many people on so many aspects of modern life, and in so many parts of the world.’^[42, p. 207]

41 Gallup G. *The Miracle Ahead*. New York: Harper& Row Publishers, 1964.

42 Gallup G. *The Miracle Ahead*. New York: Harper& Row Publishers, 1964.

Shortly before his death, George Gallup was asked which major area of research was his area or source of greatest satisfaction, or where he felt he'd made the greatest contribution. He replied: 'I think that I would have to say public opinion research. We set out in 1935 to make a report every single week on the important social, political, and economic issues of the day. And we have done that and are carrying that on now in 30 nations of the world. But I always loved advertising research. There's nothing that is so challenging – every advertiser has a problem. And problem solving is the greatest fun in the world. You can solve some problems; you can't solve others. It's a game and it's fascinating, and if I had my life to live again I would not want to miss the advertising research side of it.' Talking about the future, he said: 'I think the future is tremendous. We're only in the beginning stages of all of this, and if I were beginning again I would go back into advertising.'^[43, p. 23]

Gallup's own interest in advertising emerged quite early. Following the successful testing of his novel method for the study of newspaper readership, a group of publishers and advertising agencies funded a large-scale survey of readers' interest in advertising and editorial content. The main sponsors were four magazines: *Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, and *The Literary Digest*.⁴⁴ The

43 George Gallup: Mr. Polling. An Interview with Dr. Gallup Conducted by R. Bartos // *Journal of Advertising Research*. 1986. Vol. 26. No. 1.

44 Gallup G. Survey of Reader Interest in *Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty*, *Collier's*, *Literary Digest*. Northwestern University, 1931.

sample of the polls, conducted in the summer of 1931, comprised 15,000 households in six cities across the country. Polling was conducted for a week in each city. A grand total of 3,789 magazines, with readership notes recorded in them, resulted from the survey.

The analysis of this material allowed for model of the appeal of advertising to potential consumers from different demographic groups to be built. In addition, Gallup proposed a very simple scheme for the content analysis of advertising. Thus, within a single project, text analysis was conducted in parallel with actual polling.

A Unique Partnership

In 1974, recalling events of forty years before, George Gallup noted that as a professor who taught the psychology of advertising, he had discovered by the early 1930s ‘an almost total lack of any intellectual interest in the theory of advertising – how it works and why it works.’ He saw capable practitioners, but very few investigators. ‘The one outstanding exception was Raymond Rubicam, who was both of these and who, incidentally, induced me to leave the academic world to join the agency that he headed.’^[45, p. 7]

Raymond Rubicam (1892-1978) was the founder and president of the Young & Rubicam (Y&R) advertising agency based in New York. The fame and prestige of the firm were legendary. Brilliantly trained college graduates lined up to work for Y&R in the mail-sorting department or as messengers for 18 to 20 dollars a week. A Yale graduate from a wealthy family worked as a courier in the firm, while the boss was chauffeur-driven to work in a Rolls-Royce.^[46, p. 38] These popular tales help one appreciate the experience, the wisdom, and the professional acumen of the man who in April 1932 went to the trouble of making a special trip from New York to Chicago in order to hire the young professor.^[p. 43] It is recalled that Rubicam had set his mind to it after reading Gallup’s article “Guesswork Eliminated in New Method for Determining Reader Interest” in the *Editor & Publisher* magazine⁴⁷.

45 Gallup G. How Advertising Works // Journal of Advertising Research. 1974. Vol. 14. No. 3.

46 Daniels D. Giants, Pigmies, and Other Advertising People. Chicago: Crain Communications, Inc., 1974.

47 Allen S. van George Gallup. *Twentieth-Century Pioneer*. URL: <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/3376/george-gallup-twentiethcentury-pioneer.aspx>>. Date of accessing the document: 5 November 2010.

Gallup stayed at Y&R for one decade and a half, and during these years he enjoyed complete freedom to determine the direction and form of his research, always had enough funds to experiment, and was never compelled to do anything that he considered unethical.

It was another piece of good luck that during Gallup tenure at Y&R he encountered, and got involved in a long-term professional relationship with, another outstanding practitioner of the advertising profession – David Ogilvy (David Mackenzie Ogilvy, 1911-1999). In the early 1980s, *Expansion* magazine compiled a list of thirty people who during the 20th century had made a revolution in social practice, science, and engineering. In that list, along with Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, John Maynard Keynes, Alfred Krupp, Vladimir Lenin, Karl Marx, Louis Pasteur, and others, David Ogilvy was featured under the title “the Pope of modern advertising.”^[48, p. 64-65]

Descendant of an old Scottish family, Ogilvy led a rather checkered early life. He studied, but failed to graduate in Edinburgh and at Oxford, moved over to Paris and had a job as cook for dogs belonging to guests of the *Hotel Majestic*, and eventually was promoted to restaurant chef.^[49, p. 45] Returning to England, he worked as traveling salesman and had a brief stint at an advertising agency.

In 1936, on arrival to the U.S. with the ambition to get into advertising, Ogilvy rang up Raymond Rubicam’s agency. By that time, George Gallup had already shifted the focus of his work to public opinion, but remained at Y&R as Vice-President of the firm (from 1937 to 1947). He gave Ogilvy a job at the American Institute of Public Opinion that he had recently founded at Princeton.

After the few weeks, Ogilvy spent learning the basics of polling, Gallup took him to Hollywood. There they negotiated a contract with the heads of some major film studios (David Selznick, Walt Disney, Sam Goldwyn) for surveying the potential responses of movie-goers to new movies, as well as the advertising of movies already produced.⁵⁰ According to Ogilvy’s memoirs, the average error in their pre-

48 *Ogilvy D.* The Unpublished David Ogilvy / Ed. by J. Raphaelson. New York: Crown, 1986.

49 *Ogilvy D.* Blood, Brains & Beer. The Autobiography of David Ogilvy. New York: Atheneum, 1978.

50 *Ohmer S.* The Science of Pleasure: George Gallup and Audience Research in Hollywood // Identifying Hollywood’s Audiences / Ed. by M. Stokes, R. Maltby. London: BGF Publishing, 1999.

dictions for audiences, before the relevant films had been shot, did not exceed 10 percent.^[51, p. 68]

From the very start Ogilvy displayed great analytical capacity and managerial acumen. Within a year he became director of one of Gallup's research bodies – the *Audience Research Institute* in Princeton. When Ogilvy joined the Institute, preparation of a report from a survey consumed two months; he reduced that time to two days. During his three years on the job, more than 400 national polls were conducted under his guidance.

During World War II Ogilvy served with British Intelligence. After the war he took a few years to farm with the Amish community in Pennsylvania. In 1949, he set up his own advertising agency “Ogilvy & Mather”. It was at that time that he created the famous slogan for Rolls-Royce, acclaimed as a genre masterpiece: ‘*At 60 miles an hour the loudest noise in this new Rolls-Royce comes from the electric clock*’.^[52, p. 10]

Ogilvy insisted on the active and creative use of the results of advertising research. He recalled: ‘I was in the research business - I worked with Dr. Gallup in Princeton - and I did a great deal of research. So I approach advertising from the viewpoint of the researcher... My ideas about what constitutes a good copy, almost all of them, derive from research, not personal opinion.’^[53, p. 79].

51 *Ogilvy D. An Autobiography*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997.

52 *Ogilvy D. Ogilvy on Advertising*. New York: Vintage Book, 1983.

53 *Higgins D. The Art of Writing Advertising. Conversations with Masters of the Craft*. Lincolnwood (Chicago): NTC Business Books, 1965.

Working for “Young & Rubicam”

During his years at Young & Rubicam George Gallup identified and introduced many techniques to improve the readability and the memorability of advertising: the use of humor, of structured text headings, of different fonts and rectangular images, of texts beginning with small introductory paragraphs; making advertising slogans shorter (less than 11 words), leaving room for open spaces, indents, etc., and not cramming everything with text. Every word in an ad, Gallup said, must be meaningful. Instead of vague promises, provide specific numbers; common phrases must give way to facts and instead of empty blandishments, tempting offers need to be made. He showed that two-level arguments of the type “such as ... as well as...” may lead to poor comprehension of the text; that photographs are perceived better than other kinds of illustrations, but the highly artistic photos that receive prizes in competitions do not work in advertising; ads require something simple that arouses curiosity. Gallup called advertisements that say: “Our product is the world’s best.” “mere brag and boost” types.

Here is how Ogilvy describes this unique contribution of Gallup at Y & R: ‘When George Gallup was research director at Young & Rubicam in the thirties, he not only measured the readership of advertising, he accumulated scores and analyzed them. Certain techniques, he found, consistently outperformed others... Within a few months, Young & Rubicam advertisements were being read by more people than any other agency’s, to the incalculable benefit of their clients.’^[54, p. 21-22] The effect of Gallup’s proposals was apparent: in 1927, the Agency’s revenues amounted to \$ 6 million; by 1935, they rose to \$ 12 million, jumping to \$22 million in 1937.^{[55, p. 44].}

And here is what George Gallup himself wrote: ‘At Young & Rubicam we organized a nationwide interviewing staff to obtain readership data on ads appearing in the leading magazines. Within a few months we had results on enough advertisements to begin an on-going analysis of the advertisements which emerged with the highest vs. the lowest scores in attention and reading... Within a few years,

⁵⁴ *Ogilvy D. Ogilvy on Advertising*. New York: Vintage Book, 1983.

⁵⁵ *Daniels D. Giants, Pigmies, and Other Advertising People*. Chicago: Crain Communications, Inc., 1974.

we were able to deliver three times as many readers per dollar as the average of the advertisers using the same magazines at that time.’^[56, p. 49].

George Gallup was also able to prove the importance of preliminary testing of the effectiveness of advertisements. In one of his late articles he wrote: ‘Even simple methods will show that the best advertiser in each product field gets as much as twenty times more for his advertising dollars than the poorest. With this wide chasm between the best and the poorest efforts, shouldn’t more attention be given to improving methods to measure advertising effectiveness?’^[56, p.14].

The uncertainty regarding the role of the brand in the perception of advertising led George Gallup to develop the method called *Impact*. It was extended from the study of print advertising to all media, including TV ads.^[56, p. 49-50] The method was based on a series of questions for a telephone interview, which allowed the respondents to recall advertising that they had read, seen, or heard the day before.

In advertising, Rubicam was George Gallup’s mentor. In his turn, Gallup became mentor to Ogilvy. In the case of Rubicam, his firm, already well established, using Gallup’s findings rose to new heights of profitability and reputation. “Ogilvy & Mather”, on the other hand, from the very start greatly benefited from the fruits of Gallup’s research.

For Gallup, working at Y&R became the springboard for his subsequent departure into the domain of public opinion polling. In the meantime, “Ogilvy & Mather” continued to serve as the laboratory for the testing and refinement of Gallup’s methods in the sphere of advertising.

⁵⁶ Gallup G.H. A Personal History // Copy Research: A Historical Perspective / Ed. by B. Lipstein. New York: The Advertising Research Foundation, 1986.

CHAPTER 5. "I'VE ALWAYS HAD A MESSIANIC DELUSION"

By the early 1930s, George Gallup was already firmly established as a leading professional in survey research, member of the select group of top experts, and senior manager of one of the nation's major advertising agencies. Financially, his family was prospering; his position permitted him to combine work with teaching at leading American universities, and with writing books. However, all these achievements did not satisfy him; he needed goals and objectives that would fit his broad expertise as scientist, but also satisfy his acute feeling of civic duty. In an interview, he said: 'By nature, I've always believed in change. I guess I've always had a messianic delusion.'^[57, p. 3]

This candid admission reveals why the focus of George Gallup's research was bound to shift from advertising to the measurement of political attitudes and electoral behavior. That area at the time still remained an almost virgin territory at the crossroads of journalism, policy research, psychological study, and the analysis of consumer behavior.

The success of advertising and marketing studies at Young & Rubicam using Gallup's methods had made him confident that a technology so effective in this area could be used with the same effect to measure public opinion on political issues. When in 1948 Time magazine had Gallup on its cover, the long

⁵⁷ *McElwain M. Profiles in Communication. Iowa: Iowa Center for Communication Study, 1991.*

feature story inside about his activities quoted that ‘as early as 1932, Gallup, the highly skilled researcher of toothpaste advertising said to himself: ‘If it works for toothpaste, why not for politics?’.⁵⁸

The years George Gallup spent refining his views about the study of public opinion and developing the appropriate technology were referred to by him, as “the incubation period”.^[59, p. 76] A lot had already been achieved. Experience had been accumulated in polling voters and analyzing data from polls to produce electoral forecasts. American electoral statistics were reevaluated, and a scheme for funding surveys was elaborated and tested to ensure independence of the research.

George Gallup’s experience with the first electoral poll that he carried out in 1932 is very relevant to this story. Gallup decided to do that poll to help his mother-in-law Ola Miller (Eunice Viola Babcock Miller, 1871-1937). She had decided to stand as the Democratic candidate in the election for Secretary of the State of Iowa. Recalling this event years later, Gallup said: ‘I actually became interested in the whole spectrum of polling possibilities, and I did a few rather crude samples ...’^[60, p. 107] Fieldwork for the survey was carried out by Gallup’s students in 101 state counties. The forecast that Ola Miller would win proved correct, despite great skepticism that she could do it. Two factors heavily influenced the skeptics: firstly, no woman had ever been elected to such office in Iowa; and secondly, people in the state traditionally voted Republican. Roosevelt’s victory in 1932, however, had helped Ola Miller to win that election, and she was easily re-elected to the same office in 1934 and 1936.^[61, p. 202]

The success of this early effort definitely helped trigger Gallup’s decision to move into this novel area of research. His second son, George Gallup Jr., among others, confirms that success ‘in that election forecast, this informal effort on behalf of my grandmother, certainly inspired him and empowered him to move forward with

58 The Black & White Beans // Time. 1948. May 3 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,798516,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 2 January 2011.

59 Gallup G., Rae S.F. The Pulse of Democracy: The Public-Opinion Poll and How It Works. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

60 Hawbaker B.W. Taking ‘the Pulse of Democracy’: George Gallup, Iowa, and the Origin of the Gallup Poll // The Palimpsest 1993. V.74 .

61 Fisher K. A History of Washington County, Iowa. Washington Iowa, 1978.

polling.” [62, p. 29].

But such a move still required an intellectual and institutional environment ensuring both, tangible demand for electoral surveys and robust financial support to fund them. Both prerequisites were discovered by Gallup in the familiar, and always congenial community of journalism.

In 2004 Hans Zetterberg, Gallup’s years-long friend, admitted: ‘George H. (Ted) Gallup did not deliver his stories directly to any paper. He had a partner in Chicago, Harold Anderson, who ran Publisher-Hall Syndicate, an agency providing papers with editorial material. This included both features and columnists such as Sylvia Porter, who wrote about finance in such a way that any American could understand. Gallup furnished Anderson with a new and unique product that no one else in his line of business had. Anderson loved Gallup’s material and did its marketing with enthusiasm. He offered it in the first place to the biggest paper in each city. This strategy was copied from the early success of the Associated Press that had started by giving a sole franchise to one paper in each city. At best, over 200 papers subscribed to the Gallup releases.’⁶³

This tale was repeated by David Moore in his book *The Superpollsters*: ‘Having heard from George Gallup that he had a system, but did not know how to make it work, Anderson immediately recognized the potential of this news-making enterprise. Along with Gallup, he invested his own capital in the new American Institute of Public Opinion and became the agent for Gallup’s surveys.’ This happened in the summer of 1935. The Institute is located in Princeton, New Jersey, across the street from the main campus entrance of Princeton. It was assumed that the proximity of their addresses would help increase the return rate of mailed questionnaires in case of postal surveys^[64, p. 47]. A paragraph in the same previously quoted *Time* article about Gallup goes on to say: ‘Gallup talked his ideas over with a blond, blue-eyed Midwestern salesman of newspaper features named Har-

62 Crossley A.M. Straw Polls in 1936 // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1937. Vol. 1. No. 1.

63 Zetterberg H.L. US Election 1948: The First Great Controversy about Polls, Media, and Social Science. Paper Presented at the WAPOR Regional Conference on “Elections, News Media and Public Opinion” in Pamplona, Spain, November 24–26, 2004 <<http://zetterberg.org/Lectures/l041115.htm>> Date of accessing the document: 2 January 2011.

64 Moore D.W. *The Superpollsters*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992.

old Anderson, who had become a partner in Gallup's research service. Anderson jumped at it, urged Gallup on. He began lining up newspaper publishers, soon interested both the Washington Post's Eugene Meyer and the New York Herald Tribune's Helen Rogers Reid.⁶⁵ Meyer and Reid were eminent publishers, among the select few at the very top of the U.S. newspaper business.

George Gallup's Finest Hour

On October 20, 1935, Gallup released a report on the first national public opinion survey, organized according to the new comprehensive arrangements he had made. Polling had been held between 10 and 15 September. To publicize the event Meyer had hired a small dirigible balloon to cruise over Washington and announcing the inauguration of the new nationwide opinion surveys.^[66, p. 31] The press release, focused on findings about public attitudes on the very controversial issue of increased public spending, was featured on front pages of newspapers across the country. In some cases not only aggregate data from the polling was quoted, but also the range of opinions by various demographics, and even the data acquisition technology were presented.

It was also announced that summary records of polling results would begin to be released on a weekly basis. These releases, written by Gallup in a weekly column entitled "America Speaks", were published by many national newspapers.

In November of the same year, Gallup polls were conducted to survey attitudes of the electorate in Kentucky (for the gubernatorial elections) and in New York (for the Legislative Assembly). Victories for candidates of the Democratic Party were predicted, with an error of 2 percent for Kentucky and 4 percent for New York.

With the new presidential election approaching, a cloud of expectation was thickening over George Gallup: how was his scientific technology for polling going to perform? He himself had firm confidence in his methods, but they

⁶⁵ The Black & White Beans // Time. 1948. May 3 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,798516,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 2 January 2011.

⁶⁶ Moore D.W. The Superpollsters. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992.

needed to be believed by America. As early as the start of the New Year, 1936, it was evident that the campaign would be virulent, and its outcome would not be easy to predict. On 6 January in an article on the subject *Time* commented ‘...Never before in U.S. history have so many extensive and intensive attempts been made [for an electoral forecast] so far in advance to foretell what will happen on November 3.’⁶⁷ These attempts fell into three categories: The first used the century-old technique of sending out correspondents and trained observers across different states to identify political attitudes of the electorate; the second continued to rely on the straw polls, a methodology familiar, and quite successful in recent decades. One such survey made at the time by *The Literary Digest*, on the basis of a million responses to postcard questionnaires mailed to residents across 41 states, found that 41 percent of respondents supported Franklin Roosevelt’s policy, and 59 percent were against it. *Time* magazine called attention to the deficiencies of *The Literary Digest* sample, which listed owners of telephones and cars; therefore, it was excluding lower income groups that were likely to support Roosevelt’s New Deal. The magazine countered the criticism by arguing that they were copying exactly their procedure of 1932, when the prediction error was under one percent. Finally, the third method was one that only quite recently had been tested and publicised on a national scale: ‘Tests of sentiment by personally questioning relatively small groups chosen with the object of getting a scientifically accurate sample of the voting population.’⁶⁷

George Gallup, it is appropriate to mention, was not the sole proponent and practitioner of this novel method. Other pollsters – the most prominent at that time were Elmo Roper, Daniel Starch, and Hadley Cantril – were contemporaries of Gallup. Like him, they pioneered the modern technology and culture of public opinion research. By a whim of destiny, like Gallup they were children of the twentieth century, of the generation born at its dawn. In their research endeavors at times they were competitors, but overall they maintained personal and professional relationships that were marked by friendship and cooperation.

⁶⁷ Now and November // *Time*. 1936. January 6. <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,755558,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 2 January 2011.

According to the December Gallup survey, almost 45 percent of the voters at that time were inclined to support Roosevelt, versus 47 percent who intended to vote for the Republican nominee. Poll results released by Starch showed that 43 percent of voters were in favor of Roosevelt's New Deal, and 38 percent were against. The November 1935 poll of *Fortune* magazine, conducted by Roper, also revealed positive prospects for Roosevelt.

The media and the public at large were particularly intrigued by what George Gallup had up his sleeve. On 12 June, 1936, i.e. just a month after the nomination of Alfred Landon as the Republican candidate, and six weeks before *The Literary Digest* poll was launched, Gallup predicted in his weekly column that the magazine would forecast a Landon victory with 56 percent of the vote and, accordingly, a defeat for Roosevelt with 44 percent. More than that, this still relatively unknown pundit declared that prediction to be wrong, because the sample of respondents used by the straw poll was skewed. To make these claims Gallup relied on the results of a pilot survey of his own: he had sent out 3,000 postcards to addresses similar to those used by the editors of *The Literary Digest*, and was confident that his smaller sample would be representative for the results obtained by the larger-scale survey of the magazine.^[68, p. 48]

The editor Wilfred Funk, was outraged. In an open letter published in the *New York Times*, he vented his resentment: 'But never before has anyone foretold what our poll was going to show before it was even started!.. Our fine statistical friend [Gallup] should be advised that the Digest would carry on our poll with those old-fashioned methods that have produced correct forecasts one hundred percent of the time.'^[68, p. 48]

On 2 November, 1936, the day before the presidential election, George Gallup published his final forecast.

68 Moore D.W. *The Superpollsters*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992.

Electoral predictions of the Gallup Institute and of the Literary Digest, 1936 (in percent)

Features of the electoral projections	Forecast of the Gallup Institute ⁶⁹	Forecast of the Literary Digest
Share of votes in favour of Roosevelt	55.7	43
Share of votes in favour of Landon	44.3	57
Number of states where Roosevelt wins	40	16
Number of states where Landon wins	6	32
Number of states without a declared winner	2	0

In strictly quantitative terms, George Gallup's forecast - 55.7 percent of the vote for Roosevelt, and 44.3 percent of the vote for Landon (counting the number of votes actually cast) - cannot be recognized as fully accurate. In fact, the winner scored 62.5 percent of the vote. However, in the first place, Gallup named him correctly, and, secondly, his error margin amounted to 6.8 percent, while the *Literary Digest* deviation was three times as big (19.5 percent). The forecasts of Crossley (53.8 percent) and Roper (61.7 percent) in favor of Roosevelt were also correct. ^[69, p. 10]

This forecasting success propelled George Gallup to nationwide fame. This was the finest hour of his career, and a crucial turning point in the history of polling.

Could errors in *The Literary Digest* forecasts have occurred before 1936? Certainly, yes. And could the magazine's 1936 forecast have come true? That was certainly quite possible too – had the interplay of social and political events in the country been different. Conversely, the 1936 forecasts of Gallup, Crossley, and Roper could also have proven wrong, as it did happen in fact twelve years later. However, the new sampling technology triumphed in 1936, and *The Literary Digest* lost. This meant the end of the straw polls era.

69 Roll C.W. (Jr), Cantril A.H. Polls: Their Use and Misuses in Politics. New York: Basic Books. Inc., 1972.

Quite a few research studies have been devoted to the analysis of *The Literary Digest* poll fiasco. George Gallup himself expressed it in a nutshell: ‘Disaster lay in the Digest’s cross section and its sampling methods,’ [70, p. 44] and went on to elaborate: ‘... the heart of the problem of obtaining an accurate measure of public opinion lay in the cross section, and no mere accumulation of ballots could hope to eliminate the error that sprang from a biased sample.’ [71, p. 54-55]



GALLUP INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
1977
Princeton, New Jersey

⁷⁰ Gallup G., Rae S.F. *The Pulse of Democracy: The Public-Opinion Poll and How It Works*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

CHAPTER 6. THE PULSE OF DEMOCRACY

The Pulse of Democracy, a book authored by George Gallup and Saul Rae, has long been recognized as the Bible of public opinion researchers. It contains a comprehensive and detailed presentation of the work accomplished by Gallup before 1940.

By the end of the 1930's, George Gallup felt that the time was ripe for presenting the methodology of public opinion polling he had devised, as well as the lesson learned from using it, to the interested professional groups and to the wider, educated and publicly-minded strata of the population. Overwhelmed by his daily burden of work – conducting surveys, writing and editing press releases of the results, and heading the research department at Y & R, he needed an assistant to write the book he decided to publish about these experiences. Gallup found the right person for the job in Saul Rae (Saul Forbes Rae, 1914-1999) – a young researcher with doctorate degree in public opinion studies, earned in 1938 at the London School of Economics.

In the view of Gallup and the other founders of new polling methods, the publication of opinion surveys' results helped draw attention to elections and generally encouraged public political activity. Such was the civic purpose and ultimate goal of their efforts. Secondly, their research opened wider possibilities for identifying

the factors that determine the dynamics of public opinion. Thirdly, surveys revealed the electoral attitudes and behavior of various demographic groups, while publication of the findings was helping to transform the political science constructs of analysts and journalists from purely speculative to science-based ones. Fourthly, by recording the different phases in the formation and functioning of public opinion, surveys allowed a deeper understanding of the operation of democratic institutions. Finally, an extremely important conclusion was made: ‘Elections, then, are the laboratory in which the polls are tested, and in which new facts and problems continually come to light. But the practical value of the polls lies in the fact that they indicate the main trends of sentiment on issues about which elections often tell us nothing ... The first stage of testing has demonstrated clearly that the polls can mirror the sentiment of large groups of individuals in concrete election situations. The second stage of practical application shows that the polls can also help to chart the main divisions of sentiment on issues, and so make possible continuous measurements of public opinion.’ [71, p. 90]

One of the fundamental objectives of *The Pulse of Democracy* was to describe what the researchers did to improve the reliability of polling results and how they did it. By the time he started working on the book, George Gallup had already amassed nearly two decades of experience in designing scientifically based samples. Therefore, he had all the good reasons to write: ‘The most important requirement of any sample is that it be as representative as possible of the entire group or “universe” from which it is taken.’ [72, p. 57] From the point of view of achieving sample representativeness, two types of universes exist: homogeneous and heterogeneous. Opinion pollsters in the United States normally have to deal with a heterogeneous general aggregate that consists of a large number of social groups with different interests and dissimilar perceptions of current events. In order to take this into account, a stratified, or controlled, sampling method is used. Since “the US population is a mosaic” of a wide range of groups and associations, it is necessary to identify such groups in which the distribution of opinions and attitudes would be more uniform than in the universe as a whole.

71 Gallup G., Rae S.F. *The Pulse of Democracy: The Public-Opinion Poll and How It Works*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

The experience of analysts of consumer attitudes, and of researchers of press and radio audiences, had shown that stratification of the population should take into account the geography of the respondents' residence, their occupations, age, gender, political orientation, race and religion, educational and cultural levels. 'The fundamental fact... – that the public consisted of people clustered into social groups... is the chief reason why the opinion surveyor makes use of selective sampling to build up his "miniature public."' [72, p. 63]

Two types of stratification need to be considered when conducting surveys: social stratification, which comprises the entire adult population, and political stratification, introduced specifically for the study of political attitudes and voting behavior. The first type of stratification is used to study attitudes towards social phenomena and processes, such as the quality of life, living standards, and incomes; the parameters of this sampling are set and controlled by the statistical data from population censuses.

The second type of stratification serves for surveys of the electorate. Here the sampling methods are based both, on census data, and on the findings of sociologists who study the determinants of people's participation in politics. Based on the results obtained in previous studies by Gallup and by other American and European scholars, *The Pulse of Democracy* defined the following fundamental criteria of political stratification: type of elections in which respondents are involved (presidential, gubernatorial, etc.), place of residence, gender, income, and other socio-demographic indicators (in particular, age, race, and nationality).

Sample size, according to the book, must in general be sufficiently large to neutralise the effect of random factors, but the important and empirically confirmed truth to bear in mind is that: '... No major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few persons were reached.' [72, p. 68]

Subsequent years may have necessitated reconsidering many aspects of both theory and practice of sample design. Two cornerstones of sampling for opinion surveys, which Gallup saw as fundamental, however remain unchanged. These are control of sampling, according to the most important parameters of the universe, and scientifically based determination of sample size.

CHAPTER 7. THE CRUCIAL FORTIES

The 1940s were crucial for public opinion research in the US. First, the regularly published survey results revealed to the country's elites and to the public at large previously hidden facets of their own activity. Secondly, the body of public opinion researchers had been formed, and a new occupation was born: the pollster. The term itself, deriving from the word poll, was introduced at the time of the great public disappointment with polling caused by the wrong forecast of Gallup, Crossley, and Roper about the 1948 presidential elections.¹⁰² Originally, the term was meant to be associated with "huckster", i.e., the derogatory name for ad copy writers. The term did catch on, but the intended negative connotation did not.

The milestones of the decade were the two accurate forecasts of Gallup, Crossley, and Roper about the outcome of the presidential elections in 1940 and 1944, and the resounding fiasco of the same trio in 1948. The failure, however did serve, and was perceived, as a new invigorating challenge by the researchers. The refined measuring methodologies they developed in the 1950s and 1960s successfully passed the test of practice in subsequent decades.

In a letter sent to a Democratic Senator on 2 July, 1949, six months after the events of 1948 that were so devastating for Gallup, he wrote: 'Dear Senator

¹⁰² Rogers L. The Pollsters. Public Opinion, Politics, and Democratic Leadership. New York: Alfred F. Knopf, 1949.

Tomas, We all have to live and learn. In the recent Canadian election we made every effort to apply the lessons learned in November here. The results, frankly, are better than we had even hoped.’¹⁰³ Attached to the letter was Gallup’s one-page report on the forecast about the outcome of the parliamentary elections in Canada (the average error of the prediction made for the different political parties was 1.2 percent). It also contained summarized statistical data about Gallup’s previous electoral research: ‘The Canadian forecast was the 515th one of those that have been made during the last 13 years ... The average error of the 515 forecasts has been 4 percent.’¹⁰⁴

Success in 1940 and 1944

In the 1940 election, Roosevelt ran against Republican Wendell Wilkie (1892-1944), former Democrat and active critic of the New Deal. Wilkie, though much less experienced than Roosevelt, had wide support not only from Republicans, but also among Democrats. (Roosevelt’s decision to run for a third term had caused strong resentment, because it violated a long-standing American tradition, even though the constitution did not yet restrict holding the office of president to a maximum of two terms).

Eight pre-election Gallup polls were held to test attitudes to the candidates, and in each case Roosevelt led Wilkie. But the distance between the two varied greatly. In June it was 6 percent, and by in mid-September it was less than 2 percent. In early autumn Roosevelt was ahead by about 8 to 10 percent, but the latest poll – in mid-October – showed Wilkie lagging behind by only 4 percentage points, at 48 percent of likely voters to Roosevelt’s 52 percent.

On Election Day, Roosevelt got 27 million votes (55 percent of the total) to Wilkie’s 22 million, and secured 499 votes by the electors to 82 for the Republican.

The most accurate prediction was made by Roper at 55.2 percent; Gallup declared

¹⁰³ Letter of George Gallup addressed to E. Tomas from 2 July 1949 // The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Search. Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection. Box 157: Political Papers. University of Oklahoma, 1948.

¹⁰⁴ Gallup G. Test of Polling Accuracy Met in Canadian Election. 1949, June 30 // The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Congressional Archives. University of Oklahoma. The Elmer Tomas Archive.

52 percent, and Crossley predicted 50.4 percent.^[105, p. 52] Crossley conducted representative surveys in about 20 states; Gallup studied the electorate in 48 states and constructed forecasts for each of these. His results were excellent: the average error in predicting the outcome in 48 states was 2.4 percent.^[76, p. 75] Crossley's average error was slightly higher - 2.7 percent.^[76, p. 62]

Along with predicting the outcome of the election, Gallup, Crossley and Roper carried out field tests to improve measurement technology. Roper, for instance, set up a small voters' panel to monitor the dynamics of electoral intentions.^[106, p. 87-90] Six measurements were performed, the first one in May 1940, and the last in October. Interviewers recorded respondent's intentions, and where they differed from those declared in the previous test, the respondent was asked about the reason. During the six-month observation period, approximately 45 percent of the respondents had changed attitudes to presidential candidates, but by late October the structure of opinions tended to stabilize.

In 1944, Roosevelt announced his candidacy for a fourth term. The Republicans nominated New York Governor Thomas Dewey, the popular opponent of organized crime. The table below shows how contested the battle for the White House was.

Gallup Poll Results, 1944

Time of polling	Level of support (percent)	
	Roosevelt	Dewey
May	47	45
Mid-September	47	45
Mid-October (more than 100 %, rounding error)	52	49

105 Katz D. The Public Opinion Polls and the 1940 Election // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1941. Vol. 5. No. 1.

106 Roper E. Recent Experiments in Polling Techniques. Checks to Increase Polling Accuracy // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1941. Vol. 5. No. 1.

In early August, *Time* magazine quoted the results of a Roper survey which found that 52.5 percent of respondents would vote for Roosevelt, 43.9 percent for Dewey, and 3.6 percent remained undecided. According to the Gallup polls carried out during the latest six weeks of the campaign, however, Dewey was still ahead in 35 states out of 48.¹⁰⁷

In 1944, in addition to Gallup, Crossley, and Roper, polling during the election campaign was also carried out by Cantril and Harry Field (the latter headed the National Opinion Research Center he had founded himself in 1941). In their final forecasts, Roper, Cantril, and Crossley, also included the attitudes of 3 million military personnel, apart from the general population, while Field and Gallup surveyed the civilian part of the population only.^[108, p. 469]

Polls	Prediction (percent)	
	Total Vote	Civilian Vote
Roper Poll	53.6	
Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research (Cantril)	53.3	
Crossley Poll	52.2	
National Opinion Research Center (Field)		51.7
Gallup Poll		51.5

Actually, 53.8 percent of the voters chose Roosevelt, so all five predictions can be considered very good.

By the beginning of the 1940s, public opinion polls had become commonplace in the United States. In this respect, the results of the “poll about polls” – a national survey designated to test public awareness of opinion polling – are quite significant. The survey was conducted in late 1944 by Cantril’s Office of Public Opinion Research.¹⁰⁹ It found that over a half (56 percent) of Americans had heard about public opinion research. Those who were aware were asked to name one or

107 Roper & Gallup // *Time*. 1944. August 21 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,932684,00.html?internalid=related>> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

108 Katz D. The Polls and the 1944 Elections // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1944. Vol. 8. No. 4.

109 Goldman E.F. Poll on the Polls // *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 1944–1945. Vol. 8. No. 4.

more organizations engaged in polling. By popularity, the Gallup Institute was well ahead of the others: it was mentioned by 60 percent of the respondents. One out of 10 persons (11 percent) who had heard about polls mentioned Roper, and a slightly smaller percentage (7 percent) mentioned Crossley.

To the question: ‘Do you follow any public opinion poll regularly in any newspaper or magazine?’ exactly one-half of the respondents aware of polls said they regularly or occasionally read press reports related to poll results, while the other half did not follow publications. An overwhelming majority (68 percent) of those who knew about polls felt that the pollsters published “honest” data, while 12 percent believed that surveys were carried out in the interests of some political party, for the benefit of certain people, or to benefit certain points of view. The remaining 20 percent of respondents had no definite opinion on the issue.

A special section of the poll aimed at testing confidence in poll results. The following questions were asked:

‘Some polling organizations make frequent predictions of election results. What is your general impression of how well they do: do you think they are pretty nearly right most of the time, or you think their record is not very good?’

Pretty nearly right	57 percent
Not very good	21 percent
Don't know	22 percent

‘Do you think poll returns on matters not dealing with elections, but with public opinion towards such things as labor problems or international affairs, are usually pretty nearly right or not right at all?’

Pretty nearly right	52 percent
Not right at all	12 percent
Don't know	36 percent

Finally, seven out of ten respondents (73 percent) who were aware of public opinion polling in the United States considered them to be a necessary and useful thing, and only a very small share (6 percent) expressed critical attitudes.

The 1948 Fiasco: Learning the Lesson

In an analysis he presented in April of 1948 to a seminar of the American Statistical Association, George Gallup estimated that since 1936 his Institute had produced altogether 392 election forecasts, with an average error which amounted to 3.9 percent. The average error of forecasts made after November 1944 was even smaller - 2.9 percent. Forecasts about national US elections, elections held in individual states, and in over a dozen other countries were included in this analysis. As if anticipating the situation that was to emerge only a few months later, Gallup pointed out that many factors reduced the accuracy of electoral forecasts – from voting activity of the electorate to weather conditions. In addition, he emphasized that from the point of view of statistics, the accuracy of a forecast is determined by the magnitude of its deviation from the actual results only, not by the correct or wrong prediction of the winner. Gallup noted: ‘A poll might be successful in picking the winner, and still be 20 percent away from absolute accuracy. On the other hand, a poll could possibly be erroneous by a fraction of 1 percent and still be on the wrong side.’^[110, p. 5]

By the autumn of 1948, Americans had come to trust the results of sample-based opinion polls. The forecasts of Gallup, Crossley, and Roper, widely publicised and commented about by the press and on the radio, were received with universal confidence. Therefore, what happened in November 1948 was utterly unexpected. The three leading pollsters had predicted a victory for the Republican Thomas Dewey, but it was the incumbent Democrat Harry S. Truman who against all odds won.

In September 1948, less than two months before the election, *Time* magazine quoted a claim which Roper had published days before in the *New York Herald Tribune*. According to Roper, Dewey had practically won the election even before the campaign had started, because the gap in voter support between him and Truman according to the September poll was too wide to be

110 Gallup G. Accuracy of Modern Polling Techniques in Making Election Forecasts. The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Search. Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection. Box 157: Political Papers. University of Oklahoma. 1948.

bridged, at 44 percent vs. 31 percent. Supposedly, only extraordinary and unforeseen “political convulsions” could interfere with Dewey safely getting into the White House. On top of that, Roper declared that in view of the clarity of the situation, he would refrain from making new forecasts, because these conclusions were based not only on findings from his current surveys, but also on monitoring how voter intentions evolved over the three previous presidential campaigns. ‘Political campaigns are largely ritualistic... All the evidence we have accumulated since 1936 tends to indicate that the man in the lead at the beginning of the campaign is the man who is the winner at the end of it.’¹¹¹

Several major national newspapers were quick to proclaim Dewey the sure winner of the election. On the very eve of the election, *Life* magazine published a photograph of Dewey, presenting him as the next President of the United States.

The forecast of easy victory caused Republicans to relax their campaigning in the few weeks before the election. Truman, on the contrary, was invigorated despite the heavy odds against him. He plunged into campaigning with renewed spirit, travelling by train 22,000 miles across the United States on a whistle-stop campaign to address crowds from the rear platform of a train, stopped at small towns along the railroad. In spite of this effort, going to bed on 2 November Truman was prepared for defeat.

Next morning, already aware of the unexpected victory, and going by train back to Washington, picked up the latest issue of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* at the St. Louis railroad station. On its front page carried the headline “Dewey Defeats Truman”. The photograph of victorious Truman, holding a newspaper that falsely announced his defeat in hand, flew around the world. In a characteristically terse comment, when questioned about what had happened, Truman said: ‘This is for the books.’¹¹² The retired editor of the now-defunct *The Literary Digest* magazine did not wait for the verdict of history, but hastened to comment (in *The New York*

111 Ordinary Horse Race // Time. 1948. September 13 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,888450,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

112 Kramer L. The Story behind “Dewey Defeats Truman” <<http://www.historybuff.com/library/ref Truman.html>> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

Times dated 15 November): ‘I do not want to seem malicious, but I can’t help but get a good chuckle out of this.’¹¹³

Two weeks after the election, in a feature entitled “The Great Fiasco” *Time* magazine called the wrong forecast the biggest blunder in predicting the outcome of elections since 1936. The editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* summed up the public outrage: ‘We won’t pay any attention any more to “scientific” predictions and we don’t think our readers will.’¹¹⁴

50 years after the event, returning to the causes of the failure, informed observers (including, for instance, George Gallup’s son) reiterated what the pollsters Gallup, Crosseley, Roper, et al. themselves had admitted at the time – the fundamental reason for the mistake was the early discontinuation of polling: ‘We stopped polling a few weeks too soon. We had been lulled into thinking that nothing much changes in the last few weeks of the campaign.’¹¹⁵ Factors of psychological nature also greatly contributed to the error. As Warren Mitofsky (1934-2006), one of the developers of telephone polling techniques, said about George Gallup and his colleagues: ‘In 1948, they got burned. Those who conduct polls should not be too arrogant. There’s a lot of room for humility in polling. Every time you get cocky, you lose.’⁸⁶

George Gallup himself, too, acknowledged this fact: ‘We permitted the public to get the impression that polls had reached a stage of absolute perfection. As someone said, we led the people to believe that we could walk on water. But we were not wholly unaware of this fact.’^[116, p.178] Like Roper, despite noticing that in September 1948 a decline of Dewey’s rating had commenced, Gallup assumed that the leader’s accumulated advance would more than suffice until the end of the campaign. In late October, he discontinued polling and published his forecast. When, post factum, Dewey asked him why he had stopped polling, Gallup replied that their experience had witnessed the invariability of the views of the electorate. Therefore,

113 Cooper J.S. Election Surprises: Truman’s 1948 Victory <http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/presidents_and_first_ladies/29362/4> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

114 The Great Fiasco // *Time*. 1948. November 15 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,853430-2,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

115 Blunder Set Stage for Poll Advances <<http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/e053.htm>> Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

116 Gallup G. *The Polls and Public Opinion* / Ed. by N.C. Meier, H.W. Saunders. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1949.

there was no reason to continue polling after October 24.¹¹⁷ Years before that, in 1940 when speaking about assumptions made on the basis of polling data from previous elections, Gallup had said: ‘Public opinion changes slowly and usually only under the impact of important events.’^[118, p. 80]

At the end of September 1948, a similar view was expressed by Crossley: according to his previous experiments, changes in the distribution of the votes of the electorate would be quite insignificant during the final days of the election campaign.^[119, p. 53] Roper, for his part, wrote that during Roosevelt’s previous election campaigns from his nomination until Election Day - the structure of voter intentions had remained fairly stable, and it seemed that everything would be the same in 1948 as well.^[120, p.p. 117-118] Roper was so confident of the immutability of this trend that he formulated his final forecast two months before Election Day.^[121, p. 52]

According to Roper, one of the causes of the erroneous prediction was the incorrect assumption about the vote of respondents who, in previous rounds of polling, had answered with “I do not know”. For the purposes of analysis, researchers used to split the votes of such respondents proportionally to the shares of voters with expressed preferences. But in 1948 the majority of the “undecideds” switched their support to Truman, who had impressed them with his perseverance and vigor at the end of the campaign. Post-election polls carried out by Gallup and Roper showed that 14 percent of voters had made their final decision during the last two weeks of the campaign, and 74 percent of these favoured Truman.

By 1948, the measurement of public opinion had not only become Gallup’s business core; he also began to see it as the greatest undertaking of his life. Therefore, after the failed forecast, the improvement of the technology of public opinion measurements, as well as of the release of polling results to society, became the

117 *Barone M.* *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan.* Free Press. 1990.

118 *Gallup G.* *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944.

119 *Mosteller F., Hyman H., McCarthy P.J., et al.* *The Pre-Election Polls of 1948.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949.

120 *Roper E.* *You and Your Leaders. Their Actions and Your Reactions.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1957.

121 *Mosteller F., Hyman H., McCarthy P.J., et al.* *The Pre-Election Polls of 1948.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949.

vortex of the work of Gallup and his colleagues. In hindsight, in 1972 he wrote: ‘Many social scientists in the United States have warned of the dangers of attempting to predict human behaviour. After the miscalculations of the poll takers in the 1948 presidential race, many in the field of market research added their voices to those who claimed that it was not feasible to predict what action people would take in a given situation. I have always held an opposite view, I believe that human behavior is predictable and, in fact, that we as researchers can make progress best by making predictions and learning from our mistakes when we make them. In fact, I believe that the fear of being “wrong”, with attendant penalties, has had a retarding effect upon all of the social sciences. It would be a folly to argue that behaviour can be predicted with perfect accuracy. It can’t and never will be. But already enough evidence has been accumulated in a number of different fields to prove that behaviour can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy. The goal is to increase this accuracy.’^[122, p. viii]

The failure of 1948 was seen by Gallup, Crossley, Roper, et al. as a social and technological challenge, and they managed to transform this defeat into victory. The measuring methods they refined and enhanced by them and their followers in the 1950s and the 1960s, have successfully passed the most rigorous tests over the subsequent half century.

In the presidential election campaign of 1952 – the first one after the 1948 *fiasco*, the Republican candidate General Dwight Eisenhower (1890-1969), faced the popular Democratic politician Adlai Stevenson (1900-1965). In all nine Gallup polls made during the campaign, Eisenhower came out ahead. His advantage did drop from 28 percent at the start down to 7 in June, but then stabilized at about 10 percent. Had it not been for the traumatic experience of 1948, Gallup might have discontinued polling, but he did not. The last poll a few days before the election found Eisenhower had the support of 51 percent of the electorate, to 49 percent for his opponent. The forecasting error was slightly over four percent, but the winner was predicted accurately.

¹²² Kramer L. The Story behind “Dewey Defeats Truman” <<http://www.historybuff.com/library/reftruman.html>>
Date of accessing the document: 20.11.2010.

Four years later, it was once again a contest between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but the outcome was predictable at a very early stage. In January, the incumbent was ahead by 26 percent. By the end of the summer and in the autumn, the gap was reduced to 10 percent, but after the final poll the winner's name was certain - six out of ten would vote for Eisenhower, versus four out of ten for Stevenson.

The 1960 election, which pitted John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) against Richard Nixon, (1913-1994) was extremely difficult to forecast. At the outset, in January, Kennedy lagged behind Nixon by 5 percent; the February poll showed them running head-to-head at 48 percent. Subsequently their positions changed intermittently, but in each case the distance between candidates was at most 6 percent, and four polls (there were 14 polls altogether) showed the two candidates tied. Voters evidently were having difficulty making up their minds. Similar difficulties were faced by the pollsters. George Gallup commented on the conundrum: 'Open season on pollsters has arrived, and the shooting, as usual, comes from those who do not like the poll findings.'¹²³ By mid-October Kennedy was ahead with a margin of 4 percent, and Gallup said: 'Unless this situation changes markedly between now and November 8, no poll has any scientific basis for making a prediction.'¹²⁴ Another couple of weeks passed and the results of the final poll were released: Kennedy was shown to be supported by 51 percent of the voters, with Nixon left behind with 49 percent. The forecast proved correct: its error was under 1 percent.

The election campaign in 1964 turned out to be easy to predict. In June, the gap between Democrat Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973), who became president after the assassination of president Kennedy, and Republican Barry Goldwater (1909-1998) was huge, almost 60 percent. Subsequently the gap was reduced by half, remaining at the same level until the final poll. Gallop predicted that 64 percent of voters would support Johnson, and 36 percent would vote for Goldwater. The forecasting error was under 3 percent.

123 Battle of the Pollsters // Time. 1960. September 5. <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,826573,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 18 December 2010.

124 Gallup Throws Up His Hands // Time. 1960. October 31. <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,938660,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 18 December 2010.

In contrast, the outcome of the next election was very hard to predict. In spring and early summer, the Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey (1911-1978) was ahead, but then Richard Nixon took the lead. He was supported by 43 to 44 percent of the voters, while Hubert Humphrey could count on just 28 to 29 percent. A third candidate – George Wallace (1919-1998), a southerner who ran on the American Independent Party ticket – garnered the votes of about a fifth of the electorate. In early autumn, George Wallace’s support began shifting to Humphrey, and in October he was lagging just 8 percent behind Nixon. The last poll on the eve of Election Day showed 43 percent for Nixon and 42 percent for Humphrey. Gallup took the risk of naming Nixon as the winner, and his forecast proved right.

The presidential election of 1972 was an easy one to predict. Throughout the campaign, the incumbent Richard Nixon outpaced the Democratic nominee Senator George McGovern by a margin of 20 to 25 percent, to arrive at a comfortable victory.

The monitoring of the presidential campaign of 1976, in which Gerald Ford (1913-2006), who became president after Nixon’s forced resignation over the Watergate affair, and the Democrat challenger Senator Jimmy Carter, was marked by an unexpected complexity. Given the volatility of electoral attitudes during most of the campaign (from March to early November), Gallup polled voter intentions eighteen times. Carter’s popularity never lagged behind that of Ford, but the margin of his advantage varied constantly. In late October, the distance between them amounted to 4 percent – with Carter still ahead. But in the latest poll this slight advantage had melted, and Ford moved ahead at 49 percent of the vote, while Carter retained 48 percent. This trend prompted Gallup to name Ford the winner. In the event, it was Carter who won by 50.1 percent, two percent ahead of Ford. ‘To George Gallup, it is the most unpredictable presidential election in his four decades as a pollster,’ *Time* magazine wrote in late October ¹²⁵. His mistake, however, was perceived by the pollster community as being well within the statistical margin of error, rather than as a sign of weakness in survey technology.

¹²⁵ Those Fluttering, Stuttering Polls // *Time*. 1976. October 25 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,918439,00.html>> Date of accessing the document: 18 December 2010.

Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) was persistently well ahead of his rivals in both of his election campaigns: in 1980, when he ran against the incumbent Carter, and in 1984, when he defeated the challenger Walter Mondale (b. 1928), Vice President in the Carter administration. The forecasts made by Gallup in both cases were easily arrived to, true, and accurate.

The average discrepancy between final official results from the nineteen presidential elections, monitored by Gallup polls, and Gallup polling forecasts amounts to a mere 2.3 percent. If only polls conducted after the 1948 fiasco are considered, this indicator goes down to 1.8 percent. These are truly magnificent achievements.

60 or 70 years ago, when musing about the prospects of public opinion research academics, journalists, and politicians used to say, with wonder: "Time will show!" Nowadays we have every reason to say: "Time has shown!"

CHAPTER 8. GOING INTERNATIONAL

The 1940s for George Gallup were the years when the bases of the professional community of pollsters in the United States and worldwide were laid. His knowledge, organizational experience and personality traits made him the person perfectly fit to lead this process.

Within the United States, work started with the setting up of organizations on a state-by-state basis, to survey the opinions of the respective state's voters. During the 1940s a series of such bodies emerged [58]. George Gallup took part in the creation of many of them. One of the first such organizations was "Iowa Poll", founded in 1943. Another early arrival was the "Minnesota Poll", created in February 1944. Mervyn Field, founder of the "California Poll", was "one of the last polling pioneers still active, for whom George Gallup was both mentor and friend".^[126, p. ix]

Harry Hubert Field (1897-1946),¹²⁷ one of the first scholars to realize that the study of public opinion deserved the status of an academic discipline, was a major contributor to laying the groundwork for a worldwide network of pollsters. Regrettably, he did not live to see the fruition of his design. In the early autumn of 1946 he was killed in a plane crash while flying from Paris to London, on the way back from visiting organizations that were engaged in public opinion research in Holland, Belgium, and France.

126 Brody R., Sigelman L. Presidential Popularity and Presidential Elections: An Update and Extension // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1983. Vol. 47. No. 3.

127 Harry Hubert Field (1897-1946) // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1946. Vol. 10. No. 3.

Before the tragic accident, Field had sponsored and chaired a Steering committee which convened the First International Conference for the Study of Public Opinion. This forum was held in Central City, Colorado earlier in 1946.¹²⁸ In his memoir, Cahalan, a colleague and friend of Field's, recalled his own doubts about that event: 'A great idea, but who would come way out here, when they are all so busy. And it takes a whole day to get here from New York.' Field's response that he had already solved the related financial problems did not satisfy Cahalan and he persisted: 'But how can you get them to come?' 'Just use a little strategy,' Field said. 'First of all, I will get Ted [Gallup's nicknam] to agree to come here. That will be easy, because he always says "Yes" to my ideas until his people talk him out of it. As soon as he says "Yes", I'll broadcast it to everybody and get them to thinking that if they don't come, they might be talked about. Besides, they can combine it with a vacation, good trout fishing, splendid mountains, great air. How can we miss?'" [129, p. 27]

The timing of the conference was propitious: optimism inspired by the victory in World War II was still alive, and the Cold War had not yet begun. Pollsters believed that polls helped solve vital political and commercial problems; after the interruption caused by the war, they were glad at the chance to resume professional contacts and discussions with colleagues. The conference was attended by 73 delegates from a wide range of institutions: radio stations and the press, universities, commercial research firms, nonprofit research organization, government offices, and advertising agencies. One researcher each from Mexico, Canada, Libya, and Norway was also in attendance.

The conference session on opinion research studying foreign policy issues was chaired by George Gallup. The session, considered particularly important, on technical and ethical standards in public opinion research, was steered jointly by Gallup, Field, Woodward, and Hart. Immediately after the closing session of the conference, a Continuing Committee, which it had appointed, met. Woodward, Gallup, Field, and Hart were members; Field was elected Chair-

128 American Association for Public Opinion Research: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference // Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 3.

129 Cahalan D. *Origins: The Central City Conference // A Meeting Place. The History of the American Association for Public Opinion Research / Ed. by P.B. Sheatsley, W.J. Mitofsky. Ann Arbor, Michigan: AAPOR, 1992.*



GIA conference agenda Vienna 1982.

man, and their first item of business was to initiate preparation for a Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research.

In February 1947 the Continuing Committee further decided on the venue and dates (1 to 5 September 1947) for the Second Conference, and Gallup, Crossley, Roper, and the Time Corporation were announced as sponsors.

The affiliates of Gallup International are listed below.

International Association of Public Opinion Institutes

Founded In:	Country:	Name of Organization:
1935	United States	American Institute of Public Opinion
1937	Great Britain	Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd.
1938	France	Institut Francais D'Opinion Publique
1940	Australia	The Roy Morgan Research Centre Pty. Ltd.
1941	Canada	Canadian Institute of Public Opinion
1943	Denmark	Gallup Markedsanalyse A/S
1944	Switzerland	Institut Suisse D'Opinion Publique
1945	Netherlands	N.V. NIPO Het Nederlands Instituut Voor de Publeke Opinie
1945	West Germany	EMNID—Institut GmbH. & Co.
1945	Finland	Suomen Gallup O/Y
1945	Norway	Norsk Gallup Institut A/S
1946	Italy	DOXA, Istituto Per Le Ricerche Statistiche E L'Analisi
1949	Austria	Osterreichisches Gallup-Institut
1952	Greece	Institute for Research in Communication
1953	Iran	Marketing and Public Opinion Research Center
1953	India	The Indian Institute of Public Opinion

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Founded In:	Country:	Name of Organization:
1954	Uruguay	Instituto Uruguayo de la Opinion Publica
1954	Sweden	Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research Ltd., SIFO
1960	Japan	Nippon Research Center, Ltd.
1962	Brazil	Instituto Gallup de Opiniao Publica
1964	North, West, and Central Africa	Etudes d'Opinion et de Marche en Afrique et a Madagascar
1966	Colombia	Interamerican Research
1967	Philippines	Asia Research Organization, Inc.
1970	Spain	ICSA Gallup
	Israel	ISRAPOLL
1971	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rican Institute for Opinion Research

The Second Conference had 194 registered participants – twice as many as in Central City. This time around, experts from many countries were present: Australia, Britain, West Germany, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, France, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland.

The development of a Gallup-related global polling network had started as early as 1936 when Harry Field, acting on a Gallup's authority, set up in England the first overseas branch of the Gallup Institute – the British Institute of Public Opinion. In the postwar years, similar polling organizations sprang up in other countries, to evolve into what would become the Gallup International Association, GIA.¹³⁰ Its first meeting, held from 11 to 18 May 1947 at the English village of Loxwood, was attended by George Gallup as the United States' representative, and by delegates from Britain, Australia, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, France, and Sweden. (Italy and Czechoslovakia were represented by observers; a representative of Brazil was unable to attend).

Gallup and the other founders of the Association were inspired by the belief that international public opinion surveys would permit nations to understand each other better, and so help prevent war. They perceived the polls as an instrument of democratic governance. As George Gallup expressed it: 'If democracy is supposed to be based on the will of the people, then somebody should go out and find out what that will is.'



130 James M., Carballo M. Gallup International Association. The History. Gallup International.

THE GALLUP LEGACY

George Gallup started polling newspaper audiences in the early 1920s, while he was still an undergraduate at the University of Iowa. His professional life, distinguished by its remarkable diversity and productivity, was destined to span six decades. ‘The last time - recalls historian and journalist Barry Sussman - I talked to Gallup, was by telephone, more than a year before he died. Making small talk, I asked why he was in his office on such a nice day. He was, after all, more than eighty years old at the time. “We are making plans for polling in the year 2000”, he replied.’¹⁰²

Gallup, alas, did not live to see these plans come into being...

Under the influence of Lord James Bryce, Gallup was imbued with profound respect for the Swiss model of democracy; he even fell in love with that country. He bought a house in the small Tschingel village in the vicinity of the Lake of Thun, not far away from Bern and, having retired from full-time work, lived there for many years. On 26 July, 1984, George Gallup died of a heart attack in his Swiss home; he was buried in the cemetery at Princeton. On the tombstone shared by Gallup and his wife the ancient motto of the Gallup family was chiseled: “Be bold. Be wise.”

Making a full and fair assessment of George Gallup’s creative heritage is not an easy task.

¹⁰² *Sussman B.* What Americans Really Think. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988, p. 90.

- To comprehend the range and variety of his work, one must appreciate, above all, the multitude of domains over which Gallup's endeavors were spread. He himself saw public opinion research and the propagation of new attitudes towards polling in general as the major task of his life. But at the same time, Gallup was a journalist and a psychologist, a researcher of mass media and cinema audiences, a pioneer in advertising research, a statistician, an author of countless research papers, a university professor, a book writer, and a businessman.
- The development of the methodology and practice of opinion research and the formation of generations of pollsters worldwide, as well as of the network of their professional associations, will probably continue to be remembered well into the future as Gallup's major and lasting contribution to science and culture.
- Compliance with rigorous scientific standards was the primary determinant of his approach to public opinion surveys. Gallup wrote: 'If our work is not scientific, then no one in the field of social science, and few of those in the natural sciences, have a right to use the word.'¹⁰³ It was in great measure owing to his efforts that by the 1950s, scientific soundness and ethical standards were becoming the universal norm in sample surveys.
- Of paramount importance for Gallup throughout his life and work was the allegiance to what he called an open door policy: 'Since the day it was organized, the American Institute of Public Opinion had maintained a policy of providing full information about all of its procedures and operations. . . Unlike some other occupations, the polling profession has no trade secrets. We have held that the public has every right to know just how we function.'¹⁰⁴
- Gallup's motivation as a citizen and researcher was nurtured by the pursuit of liberty and democracy – the values which inspired the first pilgrims to leave England for the New World. He believed in direct democracy, and considered it an effective form of public participation in state affairs. Wishing to emphasize the importance of American citizens' ability to see and comprehend what

¹⁰³ Gallup G. The Changing Climate for Public Opinion Research // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1957–1958. Vol. 21, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴ Gallup G. On the Regulation of Polling // Public Opinion Quarterly. 1948–49. Vol. 12. n.4.

was really happening in the country, Gallup quoted the words of Theodore Roosevelt: ‘The majority of plain people of the Unites States will, day in and day out, make fewer mistakes in governing themselves than any smaller group of men will make in trying to govern them.’¹⁰⁵

- Gallup was also well aware that democratic procedures and institutions are useless without an educated citizenry - conscious of its rights, ready and capable to defend them. Reminiscing about his school and university years, the 82-year Gallup commented: ‘Dealing with problems of education has been the most interesting work I’ve done. Democracies are effective only when the people are well-informed; almost every country in South America has taken the US Constitution word for word, but many have failed, because their people are not informed.’¹⁰⁶

The legacy bequeathed by Gallup has ensured him an indelible place in the history of science, culture, and politics. Decades and centuries will pass, but the scientific study of public opinion and of the dynamics of human attitudes will continue to find important reference points in the work and the writings of George Gallup.

105 *Gallup G.* Government and the Sampling Referendum // *Journal of American Statistical Association.* 1938. V. 33, p. 142.

106 *McElwain M.* Profiles in Communication. Iowa: Iowa Center for Communication Study, 1991, p. 3.

The Dispute over the Gallup Name

by K. Stoychev

This narrative is not another attempt at a history of Gallup International. I would never dare to make such a claim. It was many decades after the Association had been founded that I got to know it, and participate in its activities. This happened in September 1990. By a whim of destiny my first encounter with GIA was in Athens, which also happens to be the venue where we will be celebrating the 70th anniversary of the organization. We will be doing this in a city fraught with symbolism – as the cradle of core values which inspired the life and work of Dr George Gallup, values whose overwhelming pathos is democracy.

My story is but a handful of recollections and thoughts, hurriedly gathered for this occasion, entirely personal and subjective. I take the liberty to share them only because as of today no published history yet exists to describe the origins of our remarkable Association – unique in its design, with a role comparable to that of the other major international organizations to emerge in the postwar world. I had the honour and the fortune to know many of the founders and outstanding members of Gallup International. Most of these magnificent people, regrettably, are no longer with us; each and every one

of them deserves to be honoured and remembered, with a few short words at the least.

Over the past 16 years I have had the honour to be eight times elected Member of the Board, and for the last eight years, to serve as Vice President of the organization.

By another whim of history, it was in Athens, too, and at that same September meeting of 1990, that conflict broke out between the two organizations which George Gallup had sired: Gallup International (1947) and Gallup, Inc. (1958). The cause of the rift was dispute over the name – the Gallup trade name. Shortly after Ted (as friends used to call Gallup) passed away in 1984, his two sons (George Junior and Alec) sold the family business to ambitious investors from Lincoln, Nebraska. The sale was formally completed in 1989. And it was these investors, in their new capacity as owners, who appeared in Vouliagmeni near Athens as GIA members representing the USA. I perfectly remember them both – Jim Clifton and Richard Burdholder. Also present were the two Gallup heirs – bulky fellows in the family mold, white-shirted and in suspenders, with the typical Gallup smile on their faces. Most of the founders and veterans of GIA were in attendance too, as were (I was to later learn) the founders of AAPOR (American Association for Public Opinion Research), WAPOR (World Association for Public Opinion Research), and ESOMAR (European Society for Opinion and Market Research). In short, practically the entire elite of professions and industries linked with public opinion, media and market surveys, consumer and brand research, and sales and competition studies, was gathered for that occasion. I remember them all well: the Secretary General (1977 – 1992) of GIA Norman Webb (UK), the elegant Helen Riffault of IFOP (France), the eccentric Harry Morgan of the famous Roy Morgan Institute (Australia), Gordon Heald of Gallup Poll (London) – ever gesticulating and muttering at meetings - the colleagues and friends from the Nippon Research Center (Japan), especially Kendji Idjima, and from Gallup Korea, the overly polite Dr Gilani of Gallup Pakistan, the Solomon family of DOXA (Italy), Dr Fritz Karmasin and his wife Elena from Gallup Austria, the portly Robert Kappeler, Gallup's Swiss friend who was instrumental in getting the Association registered in Zurich, Loula Zaclama from RADA Research (Egypt), and Marita Carballo from Argentina.

I remember well, too, the timid speech I made as the first representative from free Eastern Europe to speak at the Annual General Assembly of GIA, and the applause that greeted me, which I still want to believe lasted longer than mere courtesy required. I remember with particular gratitude the man who introduced me to the GIA world – Gordon Heald, who became closer than only a business partner, as we jointly set up Balkan British Social Surveys, the company which pioneered public opinion surveys in the Balkans.

The dispute over the brand name, in a nutshell, is as follows: the US purchasers of Gallup, Inc. claim that they possess global rights over the brand name created by George Gallup. The members of the Gallup International Association have an identical claim, and defend it by identical arguments: it is that the same person, who set up Gallup, Inc. had created a non-profit entity (according to Swiss Law, a Verein), which he authorized to use his name. That event, by the way, in fact predated the incorporation of Gallup, Inc. by 11 years. Doctor Gallup was no profiteer, he was above all an innovator, and to guard the scientific integrity of his method, as well as promote its worldwide use for the benefit of mankind, he was happy to donate the brand name free of charge to the Association and its members. George Gallup himself became the first president of Gallup International, heading it throughout the years from 1947 until his death in 1984.

After Athens, attempts to reach a mutually acceptable solution between Gallup, Inc. and GIA continued in vain for two years: neither party was prepared to retreat. The new owners of Gallup, Inc. demanded that members of Gallup International pay them license fees for the use of the trade name. The members of Gallup International categorically rejected that demand. Accepting it would mean paying for something which was theirs by right, moreover considering that over decades, by their own efforts they had contributed to building up the Gallup brand's reputation and value. The denouement came at the 1992 Annual Conference in Costa Rica, which became the last event at which Gallup Inc representatives were present. They

staged a walk-out of that meeting, and announced their decision to leave the Association. Since then, scores of court cases have been heard and are still in litigation across globe. And since then, Wikipedia entries about both, Gallup, Inc. and Gallup International, contain the standard warning clause about the dispute – Not to be confused with...

I still keep wondering why agreement between Gallup, Inc. and Gallup International remains out of reach. The only possible explanation I imagine is the boundless American passion for litigation.

It is neither practicable nor useful to describe all these court cases and their attending circumstances, with their complex mixture of commercial and patent law, of local legislation and international agreements, of strong arguments, but also arguments of strength... I would still like, however, to present in short the gist of some of the major cases. My reasons for this are twofold:

In the first place, the preambles of these court rulings contain important and legally ratified details about the history of Gallup International. Secondly, these legally ratified – by various courts and under different legislations – facts of history legitimize the right of the Association to the trade name of Gallup International.

History Drawn from Fact Sheets of Amsterdam and Swiss Court Cases

1. George Horace GALLUP, born 18 November 1901 in Jefferson (Iowa, USA) and deceased 26th July 1984 in Tschingel (Berne, Switzerland), developed an opinion polling system which has been known since 1935 by the name THE GALLUP POLL' (in French: le sondage Gallup).

On 1st August 1935 he founded the 'AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION' (AIPO), in partnership with Harold ANDERSEN, who had a 25% share.

Keen to extend his opinion polling system beyond the United States of America, he encouraged Henry DURANT to found in Great Britain, on 1st January 1937, the 'BRITISH INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION', which would later take the name 'BRITISH GALLUP'. The said institute was also entitled to use the term 'GALLUP POLL'.

Thus by 1939, George Horace GALLUP had already given permission for four companies in the Scandinavian countries and in Finland to use the 'GALLUP' Institute name.

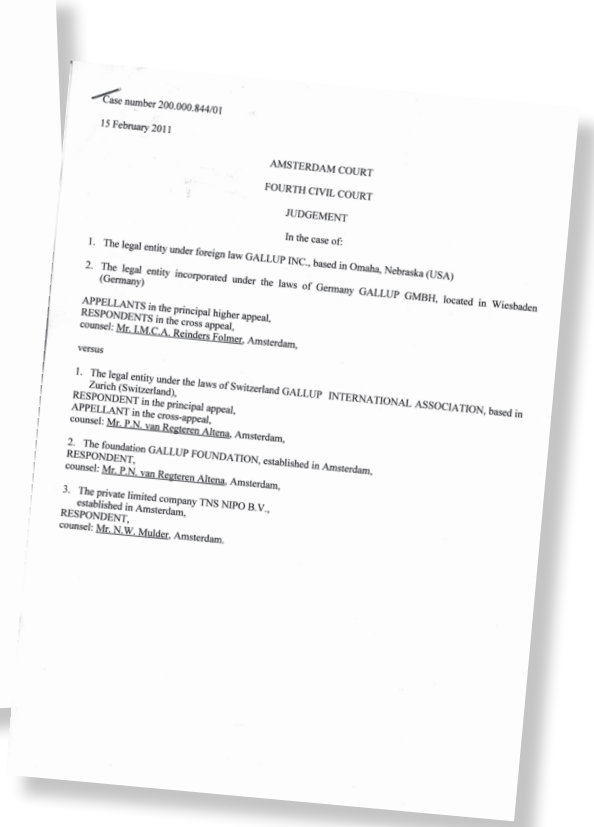
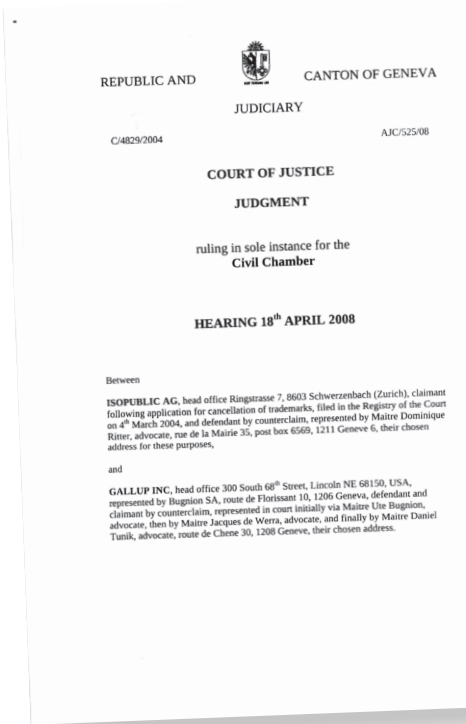
2. In 1947, at a meeting in Loxwood (Great Britain), attended by the British (meeting organisers), Finnish and Scandinavian organisations, George Horace GALLUP initiated an informal network of public opinion institutes world-wide, called the 'INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC OPINION INSTUTUTES' (IAPOI). Just one organisation from each country could belong to this network and members had a specialised exchange of views on a regular basis.

At the beginning 1960, IAPOI changed its name to become the 'ASSOCIATION OF GALLUP INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES'.

In 1978, when a Korean wanted to use the 'GALLUP' name in his organisation's business name, George Horace GALLUP replied that he was personally in agreement with this use of his name but he also asked that the Korean should contact the general secretary of the association. The latter's response mentions several problems which had already arisen at that time, which related to organisations in certain countries which had left the association, having obtained from it the right to use the 'GALLUP' name.

In 1981 at a meeting in Toronto (Canada), the members of the network which had been created in Loxwood - ie nearly 40 organisations from as many different countries - adopted the statutes of an association according to Swiss law (hereinafter: the International Association), to register with the Trade Register in Zurich. Robert KAPPELER, a director of ISOPUBLIC AG (a Swiss company, see e) below) was in charge of the formalities, which were carried out on 18 August 1982. It was agreed that the head office of the International Association would be at the

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address of ISOPUBLIC AG, in the canton of Zurich, and its first president was George Horace GALLUP himself.

At the Toronto meeting the participants also agreed, at the request of the USA member organisation, not to use the GALLUP name for a new market research organisation in any place where this name was not already being used, without permission from George Horace GALLUP and/or from his organisation which was in fact the USA member organisation (see d) below).

Also in 1981, the International Association confirmed its willingness to protect the 'GALLUP' name wherever possible and asked for its members' collaboration to this end.

On the death of George Horace GALLUP in 1984, one of his sons, George GALLUP Jr, succeeded him on the executive committee of the International Association.

On the day before his death, the USA member organisation drew up a licence for an Icelandic company which wanted to use the 'GALLUP' name and also to join the International Association.

3. In 1945 Wim DE JONGE and Jan STAPEL founded, in the Netherlands, a public opinion institute called the 'NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE, which later became the 'GALLUP' Institute of the Netherlands.

Jan STAPEL took part in the Loxwood meeting in 1947 and became a close friend of George Horace GALLUP. The latter authorised the use of his 'GALLUP' name by the Dutch Institute. According to Jan STAPEL's statements in a court case in Great Britain in 1996, he had proposed at the Loxwood meeting to protect the "GALLUP polls" against the improper use of this name by people who did not respect the principles which the method's inventor had developed, by filing a GALLUP trademark in the Netherlands, extending to other countries. Jan STAPEL stated that by using the Dutch institute for the filing of the trademark he had acted in the interests of all the members of the international network which had been created at Loxwood.

The fact remains that, on 30th August 1947, Jan STAPEL, acting officially on behalf of the said institute, proceeded to file the 'GALLUP' name as a trademark, under reference number 132'442, in the Netherlands and internationally for several countries including Switzerland (but not Iceland), in class 16 of the international classification (paper, printed products etc), for various printed items relating to the study of public opinion, markets and advertising.

In 1964, ownership of international trademark 'GALLUP' no. IR 132'442 was transferred to the organisation N.V.NIPO, HET NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE EN HET MARKTONDERZOEK, based in Amsterdam and still run by Jan STAPEL and Wim DE JONGE. This organisation has been registered since 9th November 1964 on the international trademark register as owner of in-

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ternational mark Gallup IR 132'442.

On 15th January 1975, following changes made to the name and address of the owner, NIPO HET NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE EN HET MARKETONDERZOEK BV (hereinafter: 'NIPO') in Amsterdam, was registered as the owner of international mark 'GALLUP' no. IR 132'442.

In October 1981 NIPO founded the GALLUP FOUNDATION, with its head office in Amsterdam. NIPO, in doing this, would have been acting on the instigation of the International Association.

4. GALLUP INC is a company with its head office in the USA; from its foundation on 9th January 1958 until 2nd September 1992, its business name was the 'GALLUP ORGANIZATION INC. George Horace GALLUP was its founder, its principal shareholder and its president. His sons, Alec GALLUP and George GALLUP Jr became board members of the said association in 1976 and 1978 respectively.

5. On 10 May 1973, the members of GIRI have drawn up a Memorandum (hereinafter: the Memorandum), which has been approved by all members, which included the following:

"12. Except as Provided in paragraph 13 hereof, no member shall have the right to assign, sell, transfer or otherwise dispose of any right in the name" Gallup "(whether the same is used alone or in combination with other words) to any other person or organization. Nor shall any member either directly or indirectly continue to use the name "Gallup" as aforesaid after termination of the membership in GIRI whether such termination of membership comes about voluntarily or involuntarily. (...)

6. Since in certain countries the name "Gallup" has almost acquired a generic meaning, organisations in such countries which have incorporated the word "Gallup" in their firm names shall have the right to sell or otherwise dispose of their organisations with their present firm titles, but they agree, as a part of any sales contract or other transfer of their businesses, that they will require their purchasers or transferees to agree not to contest the right of another organisation in any of such countries, if one should be selected by GIRI, to use the word

"Gallup" especially in its name or dealings."

7. In 1981, the members of GIRI, at a conference in Toronto adopted a resolution (hereinafter: the Toronto Resolution), which includes the following elements:

"Members of the Gallup International Group agree that they will not use the name "Gallup" for any new market research organisation where it is not now.

In the 1980s this American company took over the opinion poll business from AIPO.

GALLUP INC has been the owner of the American trademark 'THE GALLUP POLL', number 1'266'004, since it was filed on 6th July 1981, with a priority claim of use since 1st August 1935. On 13th May 1982 George Horace GALLUP gave his official endorsement to the registration of this trademark, in the American class 100 which equates to international class 42 (which brings together scientific and industrial research and all services which do not fit into any other class).

During the reign of George Horace GALLUP, the interests of this organisation did not prevail over those of the International Association, of which he was the founder and of which his American company was also part.

In 1989, i.e. around five years after the death of George Horace GALLUP, his sons sold GALLUP INC's share capital to a third-party investor, whilst still maintaining a certain level of paid collaboration with this company. This sale heralded a change in strategy. Under the new leadership of Jim CLIFTON, the American organisation underwent a global expansion and decided, in view of this, to claim exclusive use of the name and the GALLUP trademark throughout the world.

Thus, in an internal document dated 20th January 1992, GALLUP INC stated its regrets that past practice and organisations, in particular the International Association, had allowed the use of the GALLUP name by organisations which were independent of GALLUP INC. GALLUP INC no longer wished to entrust to the International Association the task of having to decide how the

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

GALLUP name should be used by its members. And so GALLUP INC began to create subsidiaries, bearing the 'GALLUP' name, in countries where other companies (members of the International Association) were already actively using the GALLUP name, even if they did not include it in their business name. This is how a dispute arose in Taiwan, when the International Association supported the position of its member organisation there, which did not meet with the approval of GALLUP INC.

According to a letter dated 1st July 1992, this organisation left the International Association. Consequently, at the meeting of the International Association on 6th May 1993 in Costa Rica, the representative of the American organisation was asked to leave the room and George GALLUP Jr was not re-elected on to the board of directors.

In addition to their opinion poll activities, GALLUP INC and its overseas subsidiaries also currently offer consultancy services and management training courses. So the official constitutional aim of the German subsidiary, GALLUP GMBH (founded 14th May 1993), includes market surveys, opinion polls, surveys sent to company directors (Managementbefragungen) and ongoing training within these areas. Authors linked to GALLUP INC have written books, published by third-party publishers, which deal with management issues by promoting principles which are attributed to 'GALLUP', indeed even by referring the reader to online 'GALLUP' services. In fact, GALLUP INC offers, over the internet, charging subscriptions to electronic online periodicals, such as 'GALLUP TUESDAY BRIEFING'.

Represented in Switzerland by BUGNION SA in Geneva, GALLUP INC is the holder of Swiss trademark, 'GALLUP' number 416*571, which was filed on 2nd September 1993 and registered in classes 16 (printed products etc) and 35 (advertising, business activities etc.) and also of the Swiss trademark 'GALLUP', number 428'420 which was filed on 8th August 1994 and registered in class 41 (training etc.).

8. ISOPUBLIC AG, whose head office is currently in Schwerzenbach (Zurich), is a company which is actively involved in setting up and conducting opinion polls on economic, social, psychologi-

CH 1996 G NO. 5618

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
OF SWITZERLAND
GRANDERY DIVISION
HELD ON 24th SEPTEMBER 1996
BETWEEN

(1) THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION LIMITED
(2) BEDMINSTER RESPONSE ANALYSIS LIMITED

Plaintiffs

- and -

(1) GALLUP INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
(constituted as a Verein as defined by section 60
of the Swiss Civil Code)
(2) TAYLOR NELSON A&B PLC

Defendants

CONSENT ORDER

UPON HEARING Counsel for the Plaintiffs and Counsel for the Defendants
AND UPON reading the documents recorded on the Court file as having been read
AND UPON the Plaintiffs and the Defendants having agreed to the terms set forth in the
Schedule hereto

BY CONSENT IT IS ORDERED THAT all further proceedings in this action and
counterclaim be stayed on the terms set forth in the Schedule hereto save for the purposes of
carrying this Order including the Order as to costs below and the terms of the said Schedule
into effect and for that purpose the parties are to be at liberty to apply

BY CONSENT IT IS FURTHER ORDERED THAT the Plaintiffs do pay the costs of the
First and Second Defendants as provided for in Paragraph 12 of the Schedule hereto.

Bundesgericht
Tribunal fédéral
Tribunale federale
Tribunale federal

+ 4

Judgment of 14th October 2008
First Court of Civil Law

Judges Corboz (presiding), Klatz, Rottenberg,
Lisowitsch, Kolly and Kiss.
Clerk: Mrs. Cornaz

Gallup Inc., 300 South 69th Street,
US-68152 Lincoln NE,
appellant, represented by Maître Daniel Tanik,
advocate, PO Box 615, 1211 Geneva 11,

against

Isopublic AG, Ringstrasse 7, 8603 Schwenzenbach, respondent,
represented by Maître Dominique Pittor, advocate, PO Box 6569,
1211 Geneva 6.

Trademark protection
Appeal against the judgment of the Civil Chamber of the Court
of Justice of the canton of Geneva, 19th April 2008.

Case 3:08-cv-01577-WHA Document 112 Filed 02/11/10 Page 1 of 16

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

No. C 08-01577 WHA

GALLUP, INC.,
Plaintiff,

v.

BUSINESS RESEARCH BUREAU (PVT.)
LTD., d/b/a GALLUP PAKISTAN, DIAZ
SHAFI GILANI, GALLUP BUSINESS
RESEARCH SERVICES (PVT.) LTD.,
d/b/a GALLUP PAKISTAN, and GALLUP
PAKISTAN (PVT.) LTD.,
Defendants.

ORDER DENYING MOTION
FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT
AND VACATING HEARING

INTRODUCTION

This civil action is but one front in a global war over the "Gallup" name. In this extraterritorial trademark dispute involving a foreign polling organization's right to publish opinion polls on the Internet under the name "Gallup Pakistan," plaintiff Gallup, Inc. moves for summary judgment and a permanent injunction against *pro se* defendant Ijaz Shaif Gilani, a resident and citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Chairman of Gallup Pakistan, a foreign corporation that has been conducting Pakistani opinion polls for nearly thirty years.

For the reasons set forth below, the motion must be DENIED.

STATEMENT

The United States trademark system is one of many in the world. Unsurprisingly, this has given rise to contentious international disputes over the right to use a particular mark across

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

cal and political issues.

At the time of its foundation on 20 May 1966 and thanks to the return of assets from a private concern which was already in existence in Lausanne in the 1940s, it became the IAPOI member for Switzerland.

In a letter of 6th October 1978 written on notepaper headed by 'THE GALLUP POLL, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION', George Horace Gallup confirmed to ISOPUBLIC AG that the latter had an exclusive right to use the names 'GALLUP' and 'GALLUP POLL' in Switzerland. ("This letter is to confirm your exclusive right to the names 'GALLUP' and 'GALLUP POLL' in Switzerland").

On 1st April and 20th April 1993, i.e. immediately after the new LPM [Swiss Trademark Protection Law] (RS 232.11) came into force on 1st April 1993, thereby extending its protection to service marks, and before GALLUP INC filed its Swiss trademarks, ISOPUBLIC AG filed trademark 'GALLUP' number 407'695 on the Swiss trademark register, registered in class 35 for "opinion polls and market surveys", as were derivative trademarks nos. 407'694 'EOS GALLUP EUROPE', no. 407'696 'GALLUP BRAND MONITOR', no. 407'697 'GALLUP EUROPE', no. 407'698 'GALLUP NEWS SURVEY', no. 407'699 'GALLUP QUALITY BAROMETER' and no. 41F341 'GALLUP INTERNATIONAL', which were registered on 5th January and 18th July 1994.

9. In 1995 NIPO was the object of legal action brought by GALLUP INC, which disputed its right to the 'GALLUP' trademark. NIPO eventually, on 12 th September 1995, assigned international mark 'GALLUP' no. IR 132'442 to GALLUP GMBH, the German subsidiary of GALLUP INC, in accordance with the entry in the international trade mark register.

Jan STAPEL and Wim DE JONGE sold NIPO in January 1996.

10. The assignation was filed in the court of justice register on 4ch March 2004, and ISOPUBLIC AG filed an application against GALLUP INC for the cancellation of the trademarks, submitting that the 'GALLUP' marks nos 416'571 and 428'420 which GALLUP had filed in Switzerland, should be declared null and void.

11. Following this assignation, in letters dated 19th May 2004 and 25th May 2004, on notepaper headed with 'THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION', George Horace GALLUP's sons claimed, both in their own name and in their capacity as mouthpieces of GALLUP INC and 'GALLUP POLL' respectively, to have 'revoked' all ISOPUBLIC AG's rights to use the 'GALLUP' name.

12. In its response dated 7th June 2004, GALLUP INC objected to the application.

Together with GALLUP GMBH, which wanted to get involved on the side of GALLUP INC, it filed a counterclaim with regard to the nullification of ISOPUBLIC AG's Swiss 'GALLUP' marks (both primary and derivative), along with the surrender of the 'GALLUP.CH' domain name, with ISOPUBLIC AG being forbidden to use the 'GALLUP' name as a trademark or in any form relating to opinion or market survey business.

13. In their judgment of 27th January 2005 the Court, having declared ISOPUBLIC AG's claim admissible, declared that GALLUP GMBH's application to be joined to proceedings was inadmissible.

Following this judgment, GALLUP GMBH transferred trademark 'GALLUP' no. IR 132'442, registered in class 16, to GALLUP INC, for Switzerland. This partial transfer to GALLUP INC was registered on 4 th March 2005 in the international trademark register under registration number IR 132'442A; the capital letter was added to the number of the partially-transferred registration, in accordance with Article 16 lit. b of the Common Regulations for the Execution of the Madrid Agreement (RS 0.232.112.21).

14. In its judgment of 13th May 2005 the Court, ruling on the counterclaim, dismissed ISOPUBLIC's submissions of lack of jurisdiction *ratione materiae*.

15. On 7th July 2005 the American company GALLUP INC and its German subsidiary GALLUP GMBH took action in the Netherlands against NIPO and the GALLUP FOUNDATION, submitting that these two Dutch organisations should be prohibited from using both the 'GALLUP' name and similar trademarks, and that the domain

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

name GALLUP-INTERNATIONAL.COM should be surrendered to GALLUP INC. To support their submissions, GALLUP INC and GALLUP GMBH claimed in particular, as in Switzerland, the protection of international mark Gallup no. IR 132'442.

In November 2005, the International Association stated that it wanted to get involved in these proceedings on the side of NIPO, pleading being the holder of international mark IR 132'442, to the exclusion of GALLUP INC and its subsidiary. In its decision dated 30 th November 2005, the second civil chamber of the court of the judicial district of Amsterdam (hereinafter: the 'Court of Amsterdam') authorised the intervention requested by the International Association.

In their judgment dated 13th October 2006, this Court dismissed ISOPUBLIC AG's submissions, pending the inquiry of these proceedings, in accordance with article 107 LPC and according to the law as recognised in Dutch legal procedure.

16. In the meantime, on 15th July 2005, ISOPUBLIC AG submitted, as a supplementary statement of claim, that the Court should render null and void international trademark 'GALLUP', which was registered under no. IR 132'442 (when used in Switzerland) and transferred to GALLUP INC on 3rd March 2005".

GALLUP INC deemed this supplementary statement of claim inadmissible, as the trademark which resulted from this partial transfer bore from then on the no. IR 132'442A.

ISOPUBLIC AG disputed the inadmissibility and requested a simple amendment to its supplementary statement of claim, no. IR 132'442A replacing no. IR 132'442.

17. Numerous exhibits were produced by the parties.

17.1. As far as ISOPUBLIC is concerned, it transpired that this company has used the 'GALLUP' name or title since 1981, on its headed paper and other documents (particularly its research) in order to indicate that it belonged to the International Association and also to indicate that it was also the 'Swiss GALLUP Institute'. Its website - accessible via the domain name 'isopublic.ch' as well as the domain name 'gallup.ch' - indicates

that it collaborates with 'GALLUP' institutes in many countries throughout the world.

ISOPUBLIC AG has undertaken market research and opinion polls in Switzerland since at least 1975, continuously until the start of these proceedings, using the word or name 'GALLUP'. From the early 1990s until 2005 it was in direct contact with many Swiss companies, many of which are important and well known (such as large banks and insurance companies), all the while using the word or name 'GALLUP'.

On 26th September 2002 ISOPUBLIC AG was successful in revoking Swiss trademark no. 479 346 'GALLUP TUESDAY BRIEFING' which had been registered in the name of GALLUP INC in class 41, for the production of electronic online publications.

17.2. GALLUP INC submitted Swiss journals to the proceedings, editions from the 1990s up to 2006; these make reference to 'GALLUP polls', with no further details given, and with subject matters relating to the United States of America. It also submitted recent articles which mention a 'GALLUP' poll, with no further details, and which relate to the motivation of employees, from several countries, in their workplace.

It also submitted documents which show that from 1997 to 2006 GALLUP INC itself (and, in one instance, their English subsidiary too) had mandates to research employee satisfaction and/or to improve management (by establishing personality profiles of employees, who were interviewed individually, without worries of confidentiality towards their employer) from several Swiss firms (considerably fewer in number than those in touch with ISOPUBLIC AG), most of which were subsidiaries or branches of foreign businesses (like STRYKER, which had given a mandate for several countries, including Switzerland).

Finally, it submitted documents showing that Campus (Publishers, Frankfurt/New York) have, since 2001 (also in 2002, 2003 and 2004), published four books in German which, whilst dealing with management issues, make reference in their content and sometimes even in their title, to "GALLUP methods", thus making more or less direct publicity for the services of GALLUP INC,

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

of which one of the co-authors of these books is a mouthpiece. Other exhibits show that its German subsidiary's website advertises the books in question, as does the website of the German publishing house. One last book, in English, which can be ordered via the internet (this includes sites with the geographic indicator ".ch" or ".de") was published by the 'GALLUP PRESS' publishing house in New York on 24th September 2004, i.e. after the initiation of these proceedings.

18. There were personal court appearances and also inquiries.

According to Robert KAPPELER, director of ISOPUBLIC AG and friend of George Horace GALLUP, the latter had written his 1978 letter at a time when ISOPUBLIC AG was considering changing its business name to include the word 'GALLUP', a plan which was eventually abandoned, to the disappointment in fact of George Horace GALLUP, because at that time 'GALLUP' was not yet well known in Switzerland and because the majority of the management at ISOPUBLIC AG were French speakers and were keen to have another reference. However, ISOPUBLIC AG was already at this time using George Horace GALLUP's name as a trademark, with his knowledge; this was without any financial consideration, since George Horace GALLUP was happy with the collaboration between members of the International Association, who shared and communicated their results between themselves. Until these proceedings, no one had ever challenged ISOPUBLIC AG's right to use the word 'GALLUP' as a trademark, either on its own or in combination with other words.

A former colleague from SUOMEN GALLUP stated that George Horace GALLUP had a very open, warm and "democratic" approach, stepping aside for each member organisation of the International Association which he had created and allowing some of them, like SUOMEN GALLUP, to use his name, without asking for anything whatsoever in return. GALLUP INC had the same generous attitude, until the taking-over of this company by Jim CLIFTON, who imposed a more "dictatorial" style of business practice.

The Vice President of the Swiss subsidiary of the American company STRYKER confirmed that all STRYKER's subsidiaries, including the Swiss subsidiary, call upon 'GALLUP', since 'GALLUP'

has its "European head office" in London.

One English-speaking director of the international bank ABM-AMRO explained that she contacted GALLUP with regard to a worldwide satisfaction survey of ABM-AMRO clients. As the person responsible for marketing and communications in the Swiss subsidiary of the ABM-AMRO group, the witness contacted GALLUP UK in London, which works closely with GALLUP INC to which, in fact, was submitted all the data which had been gathered. This witness did not know of ISOPUBLIC AG.

On the other hand, the acting editor-in-chief of the Swiss newspaper 'BLICK' always dealt with ISOPUBLIC AG, in connection with the 'GALLUP' trademark, and always entrusted all his surveys (conducted according to the 'GALLUP' method) to ISOPUBLIC AG. He is also aware of the 'GALLUP INTERNATIONAL' trademark in connection with ISOPUBLIC AG, as the latter used this trademark when it delivered the results of polls which had been conducted on a global level. This witness specified that a survey about the US Congress, mentioned in an online edition of 'BLICK', had been conducted by a 'GALLUP' organisation in the country concerned.

Another witness, a director of the Swiss company TRANSFERPLUS AG (also active in opinion and market polls) said he associated the 'GALLUP' trademark with ISOPUBLIC AG; his company called on ISOPUBLIC AG several times a year for the 'GALLUP Tele-Omnibus' service. He knew that ISOPUBLIC AG was in touch with other 'GALLUP' organisations overseas, organisations that ISOPUBLIC AG could call upon if they needed to conduct an international survey. This witness did not however know of either GALLUP INC or GALLUP GMBH, never having received any offers of service from these companies.

19. In their last statements, after the inquiries, the parties persisted in their initial submissions on the main action, the additional claim and the counterclaim.

At the hearing on 14th September 2007, ISOPUBLIC AG wanted to make a submission on a new fact and to submit a Dutch judgment of 5th September 2007. GALLUP INC replied to this. An exchange

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

of documents relating to this question was admitted and the case was set for hearing.

Both parties submitted the same Dutch judgment, rendered on 5th September 2007 by the Court of Amsterdam, with a loose translation, and submitted, on a point of law, that the Court should accept the submission of the corresponding exhibits.

It can be seen from the submitted judgment that the Dutch court rejected the American company GALLUP INC's main claim and that of its German subsidiary GALLUP GMBH, a claim which had been directed against NIPO and GALLUP FOUNDATION, on the grounds that both NIPO (from which the GALLUP FOUNDATION had emerged) and GALLUP INC had been members of the International Association, which had been founded and chaired by George Horace GALLUP in person, and that the Toronto Resolution, which was later included in the statutes of the International Association, guaranteed International Association members the chance to use the 'GALLUP' name, on a permanent basis, in countries where this was already the case (i.e. in particular the Netherlands), without constantly having to refer back to GALLUP INC.

Key Conclusions/Verdicts from some Court Decisions

THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE

CHANGERY DIVISION

27 September 1996, Friday

- The First Plaintiff [Gallup Organization Limited] shall forthwith by Deed assign UK registered trad. mark nos. 1,427,898 and 1,427,899 ("GALLUP INTERNATIONAL") to the First Defendant [Gallup International Association].
- Subject to the assignment to be made and the cancellation to be effected in accordance with paragraph 3, the Defendants [Gallup International Association] each acknowledge the rights of the Plaintiffs [Gallup Organization Limited] as proprietor of the United Kingdom registered Trade Marks 1,425,018 and 1,425,520 ("GALLUP") and the Plaintiffs [Gallup Organization Limited] each acknowledge the rights of the First Defendant [Gallup International Association] as proprietor of the United Kingdom registered Trade Marks 1,427,898 and 1,427,899 ("GALLUP INTERNATIONAL").
- The Plaintiffs [Gallup Organization Limited] acknowledge and agree that the uses of the words GALLUP and GALLUP INTERNATIONAL complained of in the Re-Ainended Statement of Claim herein and uses which are of substantially the same nature do not infringe their trade marks nor do they constitute acts of passing off by either or both the First Defendant [Gallup International Association] and the Second Defendant [Taylor Nelson AGB Plc]

17 October 2007

Re: Judgment of the District Court of Amsterdam

Gallup Inc and Gallup GmbH v TNS NIPO BV, Gallup Foundation and Gallup International Association

Conclusion:

- Neither Gallup Inc nor Gallup GmbH can invoke their trademarks (referred to in paragraph 2.1 above) against the Association .
- The Court denied the Association's claim on behalf of all its Members because those Members were not parties to the Dutch proceedings.
- However, the Court made no distinction between NIPO as a Member (which is a party to the Dutch proceedings) and the Association's other Members who were not present in the Amsterdam Court. The interpretation of the Judgment is that those organisations who were Members of the Association at the Toronto Conference in 1981 and those who subsequently became Members in accordance with the terms of the Toronto Resolution are entitled to use the "Gallup" name.
- Although one of the terms of the Toronto Conference was that the consent of Gallup Inc was required for a new Member in a new territory, in Peter Claassen's opinion, such right of veto was given up by Gallup Inc when it left the Association in 1992.
- In Peter Claassen's opinion, although the Court denied all the claims of all the parties, the Judgment is a significant win for the Association given the Court's findings of fact summarised in paragraph 6 above.
- The Judgment is capable of being appealed by all parties.

18th April 2008

REPUBLIC AND CANTON OF GENEVA

JUDICIARY

C/4829/2004 AJC/525/08

COURT OF JUSTICE

JUDGMENT

ruling in sole instance for the

Civil Chamber

• The trademark certainly corresponds to the family name of the inventor of an opinion polling method and at the time that the claimant [Isopublic AG] filed the service mark in April 1993 (when Swiss law finally allowed the filing of a service mark), this name and the polling method was already more or less well-known in Switzerland. However, if that is the way things were, it was not thanks to the use of the future service mark by the defendant [Gallup Inc], whose activity was limited geographically, but, quite the opposite, it was thanks to the claimant's [Isopublic AG] activity in the Swiss market and, to a lesser extent, thanks to the work of other companies in other countries, where each company worked hard on its own local market. The geographical limitations of the defendant's defendant [Gallup Inc] activities were, moreover, not just due to chance, but in fact quite the opposite, they were the result of the willing approach of the inventor of the polling method, who did not seek to extend the empire of his own American company across the globe, but in fact encouraged existing local companies in other countries to use his polling method and to join an association of independent organisations of which he was one of the founders and over which he himself presided. In other words, his vision was not that of his own global business empire but of an association of independent organisations, linked together by the rules of an association. Generous and charismatic, more scientist than entrepreneur, he always gave

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

willing permission for his name to be used, permanently and free of charge, by association members who whilst using his method and linking that with his name, made both his method and his name better and better known throughout the world.

- As already indicated, the inventor of the polling method whose family name became the contested trademark had authorised a multitude of companies in a multitude of countries to use his family name for their business activities, each one in their own domestic market and he never sought any fee or any other pecuniary remuneration.

Thus, each of the parties in the current proceedings had been authorized to use the family name in question, on a permanent basis, in the country where their head office was based. Even though the inventor was able to give his formal agreement to the registration of the American trademark, which was valid solely in the USA, he was not able to do the same for the claimant [Isopublic AG] because the registration of his name as a service mark was legally impossible in Switzerland during his life-time. He had nevertheless clearly authorized the claimant [Isopublic AG] , as early as 1978, to use his name in Switzerland exclusively and without any financial remuneration. He knew that the claimant [Isopublic AG] was using his name as a trademark and this use, in Switzerland, was in line with the rules of the international association which had been set up in person by the inventor of the polling method.

- The claimant [Isopublic AG] had been, under these conditions, using the trademark in Switzerland, quite legally, from at the latest 1981, in its own name and on its own account. Deriving its permanent rights, wherever necessary, directly from \ the person whose trademark was the family name and who had authorized it, the claimant [Isopublic AG] has never particularly used the trademark in the defendant's [Gallup Inc] interest in the context of a license.

15 February 2011

AMSTERDAM COURT

FOURTH CIVIL COURT

Case number 200.000.844/01

• The court considered, among other things - in short - that Gallup Inc c.s. insufficiently substantiated that the right, inter alia, of Gallup International on the use of the 'Gallup' name ended as evidenced by the agreements between the members of Gallup International included in the Memorandum included agreements made between the members of Gallup International, which included Gallup Inc at the time, and the provisions made in the Toronto Resolution. The mere fact that Gallup Inc terminated its membership of Gallup International in 1992, the court ruled to be insufficient. Gallup Inc c.s. therefore cannot reasonably oppose the continued use of the Gallup name by Gallup International] and Gallup Foundation, ruled the court.

Or, as Gallup Inc c.s. state, it is rightful that Gallup International and its members have violated the conditions of use and that therefore possible (good) grounds exist to terminate the use rights, may in the context of this dispute remain excluded, as is the question which law applies to the legal relationship between the involved parties. Where Gallup Inc c.s, argue that the continued use by GIA and its members create the confusing and misleading impression in third parties that a relationship with Dr. Gallup or Gallup Inc still exists, it applies that it cannot be inferred from their statements that any confusion does not stem from a surviving licence as discussed above. Whether and to what extent GIA actually uses the Gallup name in the Benelux can also be left undiscussed.

GALLUP INC vs GALLUP PAKISTAN

From a legal point of view, the case of the trade name Gallup, which over more than two decades has been heard and decided by courts across the globe, certainly deserves ample treatment in patent law manuals and handbooks dedicated to the teaching and study of patent law. The court rulings and decisions from London, Amsterdam, and Geneva (these are far from being the only ones, but for the purposes of this anniversary publication in is unnecessary and inappropriate to detail them all), in a manner categorical and irrefutable for any civilized legislation prove that, in the final analysis, regardless of the fact that they start from a single common source, the two rivers Gallup, Inc. and Gallup International are separate, autonomous entities, have separate, autonomous histories and reputations, and therefore there no legal grounds exist to prevent them from parallel existence, without giving rise to the legal issue of “trade mark abuse”.

Since the very beginning, cases over the use of the trade name Gallup within the United States have provoked particular interest, representing instances of particular complexity. That is why it is worth while to relate here one particular episode of the legal warfare in which Gallup, Inc. has involved Gallup Pakistan, an episode which has directly affected Gallup International even though the Association was not directly involved in the event.

Dr. Ijas Gilani and Gallup Pakistan have been members of Gallup International Association since 1982 (by a decision of the Vienna Conference), and the use of the Gallup name have been authorized to use the Gallup name by correspondence with George Gallup himself. Dr Gilani is an established scholar in the domain of public opinion, a graduate of MIT, and a frequent lecturer and reporter at international academic forums. At a conference held in San Francisco in 2008, he was presenting research data produced by Gallup Pakistan. He was interviewed there and the statements he made on behalf of Gallup Pakistan were reported in the press. As often happens all over the world, journalists did not make the distinction between Gallup, Inc. Gallup Pakistan and Gallup International. Normally there is no greater consequence from such an error than minor confusion. But in this particular

case, in response to a demand made by Gallup, Inc., Dr Gilani was arrested and subsequently sentenced on a charge of trademark infringement.

From this lamentable moment on, however, the magnificence of the US judiciary system began to unfold. One of Dr Gilani's sons is a lawyer, and he managed to get an appointment with the judge who had issued the sentence. Judge William Alsup carefully grasped the essence of the arguments presented by his young Pakistani colleague, and accordingly revised the case, admitting in a remarkable act of justice and honor that his initial decision was erroneous. This ruling made by the judge of the California District Court is of enormous value to the Gallup International Association, because of the importance of precedent in the US legal system. I will quote only three paragraphs from that 16-page long, second and final ruling of Judge Alsup, which directly concern GIA.

The District Court of California

1. The existence of GIA and other "Gallup"-branded GIA affiliates, however, is certainly relevant to whether defendant Gilani was operating Gallup Pakistan with the intent to violate plaintiff's trademark rights in the United States or as merely one of numerous member companies of a long-established international association.

2. Since only six of presumably thousands of Gallup Pakistan surveys have been of sufficient international interest to be selected for publication by American news outlets, the relief requested by plaintiff [Gallup Inc] seems plainly unfair. It would essentially shut down a foreign company that has been taking polls and surveys of the Pakistan public for over thirty years as a longstanding member of GIA, which was apparently founded by the very George H. Gallup that founded Gallup, Inc. This decades-long membership of Gallup Pakistan in GIA strongly suggests that Gilani did not (and does not) intend to harm the American commerce of plaintiff's mark in the United States by operating the Gallup Pakistan website.

3. To be clear, the only allegedly infringing acts committed within the United States are Gilani's appearances in Chicago

and San Francisco. The Plaintiff argues that Gilani's placement of polls on the Gallup Pakistan website should also be considered acts of infringement within the United States. This argument is unpersuasive. The publishing of polls on Gallup Pakistan website is a separate act from the re-publishing of polls by new outlets in the United States. With respect to the latter act, plaintiff has not put forth any theory or evidence as to why Gilani should be held liable under the Lanham Act for the independent decisions and actions of American news media.

I repeat here the crucial conclusion of Judge Alsup's ruling: the 'decades-long membership of Gallup Pakistan in GIA strongly suggests that Gilani did not (and does not) intend to harm the ...plaintiff's mark in the United States'.

My decades-long participation in litigation with Gallup, Inc., both as Member of the Board of the Association and as representative of a company which is a member of the Association, prompts the following conclusion, based on experience, on common sense, and on the postulates of the judicial systems of the civilized world:

Any attempt to mislead the consumer about a trade mark, to misuse someone else's trademark, or to exploit the reputation of another for one's own gain and profit is actionable.

The case of Gallup, Inc. vs. Gallup International does not fit the definition of actionability, because it concerns two distinct, legally recognized identities, with their distinct trajectories in time - different entities, despite the fact that they were originated by a single individual. This single individual, the great visionary Dr George H. Gallup, guided by his will, and by profound intent, created both these organizations as separate entities with the aim of globalizing his life's work, rather than confining it within national, and - in the final analysis - provincial limits, regardless of how grand is the scale of US territory by itself. Dr Gallup, above all was a great scholar and researcher, not a merchant in the temple of science. That is why Gallup International was conceived by him as a Verein according to Swiss Law.

That is why GIA has been and will continue to be the club of the best professionals in the domain of public opinion surveys all over the world, on all continents.

The Tony Cowling Era

A crucial role for GIA's success in the dispute over the Gallup trade mark has been played by Tony Cowling, one of the world's most successful researchers and entrepreneurs in the domain of market research. His small company Taylor Nelson managed to win in a tender the industry giant AGB, which had bankrupted after its owner British billionaire Robert Maxwell perished in mysterious circumstances on board his yacht. 'A couple of minutes after coming to my new office for the first time after acquiring AGB I took a seat at my desk, and realized that by nightfall I must find two million pounds to meet the company's debts,' Tony told me in 1997. And he managed to get the amount on time because of the high level of confidence he enjoyed among bankers, a confidence built up over an incredible career. In 1998 he managed to acquire the French giant Sofres, owned by the famous Pierre Veil, giving birth to one of the most successful brands in recent history – TNS; in 2008 joined the Kantar Group, the second biggest company for market and opinion research in the world, part of Sir Martin Sorrell's WPP.

Winning the London case against Gallup, Inc. to a great extent, should be credited to Tony Cowling, as Taylor Nelson AGB vital financial support to GIA in this litigation. Credit for the win is also due to Gordon Heald of Gallup Poll London, and especially to Meril James, a former researcher at AGB recruited by Gordon to become Secretary General of the Association after the retirement of Norma Web.

Tony Cowling also deserves a great deal of credit for the crucial victory over the trade mark case in Amsterdam, a result which had global importance: it was, in a sense, a game-changer in the dispute with Gallup, Inc.

The problem in Holland was caused by betrayal from within. A Dutch Association member at that time – NIPO, the oldest and most prominent Dutch

company in the industry and a founder of GIA - had Theo Hess as its CEO. From 1999 to 2002, he served as President of Gallup International as well. There was no dispute over the trade mark in Holland then, and there could not have been one, because the rights were definitely owned by NIPO. Going behind the back of the Association, Theo transferred the mark to the Americans. One can only try and guess why, but from an ethical point of view there is no room for doubt – this act was indefensible. Thanks to the perseverance of the Board of GIA, and of its new President Antony Brian Cowling, a protracted and costly, but successful battle in Amsterdam was waged.

The successful defense of the trade mark in Switzerland, which was of vital importance for the whole case too, as seat of the Association is located there, also owes credit to the perseverance of Tony and the Board.

During Tony Cowling's two terms as President of GIA, many companies, – members of the Association, were partially or totally acquired by TNS – quite strong and popular companies, covering significant markets on every continent. That is why that the Association has contributed to the emergence of TNS as a global giant. The experience of these members of the Association acquired by TNS permitted the creation of the Social and Political Polling Division of TNS, with Marita Carballo, CEO of Argentine Gallup International, as Director. I also took an active part in the development of the division, which continuously carries out the Eurobarometer - one of the most financially profitable survey projects.



The Board at the conference in Vietnam. Left to right: Kancho Stoychev, Marita Carballo, Ijaz Gilani, Tony Cowling, Roswitha Hasslinger, Loula Zaklama

Two Letters from the Archives

To the organisations that become involved in GIA/GO disputes.

I felt it important that you be made aware of some important facts relating to what is a long running disagreement between the two organisations, but one that we at GIA do not and have not sought to perpetuate. Also, I felt it important that you are reminded in a fair and unbiased way of the substantial: reputation, pedigree, size, and strengths of Gallup International.

Today, Gallup International is the largest Association of MR agencies in the world (in terms of total turnover of its members) and has active research company members in over 65 countries, who conduct research and public opinion polling each year in over 100 countries around the world.

GIA has been conducting international surveys around the world since 1947 and so it is not surprising that in terms of awareness and reputation, it is 2nd to none. Details of how this status was built up and what Gallup International now represents can be found in Appendix B of this letter, and we can provide much more reassurance and justification for our worldwide claims, should you want it.

Put briefly, the underlying cause of the dispute between Gallup International and Gallup Organization (previously Selection Research, Inc. - an executive recruitment consultancy) relates to the use of the name “Gallup”, which is of course a highly valued and trusted brand.

In all these disputes I can assure you that we at GIA have not initiated and do not seek to start any legal conflicts. However, many of our members have been threatened or taken to court by a very litigious American company.

Gallup Organization, now called Gallup, Inc., continues to attack Gallup International members on a worldwide basis regarding trade marks, which Association members have been using for many decades. In many cases, and countries, these companies are smaller than Gallup, Inc., and hence do not have the financial resources, nor the legal expertise, to defend their rights against a large and litigious American corporation.

More background to these unjustified attempts to restrict us from using the name we have owned and used for over 40 years can be found in Appendix A.

If you become aware of any legal actions, litigation, or disputes between GO and Gallup International and its Members, we hope you will understand from the above (and the detail in the Appendices) that these are extremely unlikely to have been initiated by us - the Association simply wishes and tries to maintain the situation and relationship which lasted during Dr Gallup's lifetime, and indeed until 1988, when Dr Gallup's heirs sold Gallup, Inc.

From the content of this letter, I hope you can see the size and scope and power of the research services within Gallup International Association, as well as that up until the 1990s, whilst Dr Gallup and his company built a considerable reputation in America, it was:

► Gallup International Association, and the efforts of its Members around the world that built Dr Gallup's reputation OUTSIDE OF the United States.

I apologise for any inconvenience that the dispute between the organisations may cause you, and for having to explain the background, but I feel it is necessary to do so in order to protect and preserve the long established rights of Gallup International Members. Please do not hesitate to contact me or Meril James, the GIA secretary General, if you would like more information.

Yours truly,
Tony Cowling, President
Gallup International Association

Appendix A

The Pedigree and high Reputation of Gallup International

A. The Association was formed (originally as AIPOI) in 1947. Soon after, it became known as Gallup International Association and it is the oldest association of market surveying companies in the world.

B. Today, it is the largest association in the world (in terms of total turnover of its members) and has active research company members in 65 countries who conduct research and public opinion polling each year in over 100 countries around the world.

C. Dr George Gallup was one of the Founding Members, became the first President of the Association and remained so until his death in 1984. His US company, Gallup Organization, Inc. which was incorporated in 1958, was the Association's only member from the United States.

D. Since the Association is a "Verein", registered in Zurich, Switzerland, it functions on the basis of one member, one vote, and one member only per country. Hence, neither Dr Gallup nor his company ever owned the Association or had any shareholding in any other Member, apart from Gallup Organization in the United States, which was a Member on equal terms with other Members.

E. Dr Gallup died in 1984 . In 1988 his US Company was acquired by Selection Research Inc (a company particularly active in executive training, recruitment and marketing consultancies), and under its new ownership decided to leave the Gallup International Association in 1993.

F. For many years before Dr Gallup died, Gallup International members had the right, and had used that right in many countries, to promote the fact that they were "a Member of the Gallup International Association for their country", and many of them (including some of the Founding Members) incor-



Kancho Stoychev and Tony Cowling - 1999

porated the word Gallup in their company name or used that word in their trading

G. Litigation:

I. Prior to the acquisition of Gallup Organization, Inc. from Dr Gallup's heirs in 1988, there were no cases at all of disputes relating to the use of the Gallup name between Dr Gallup / Gallup Organization on the one hand, and Gallup International Association or its Members on the other - none at all.

II. Since Gallup Organization, under new ownership, left the Association in 1993, they have brought over 100 legal cases against our Members around the world relating to the ownership and use of the word Gallup.

IV. Apart from having to react to certain cases, Gallup International Association has initiated no cases whatsoever against Gallup, Inc.

V. In one of these cases, the Court in Holland rejected the claims of Gallup Organization against the Association and its Dutch Member that they each stop using "Gallup" and determined that Gallup Organization cannot oppose the Association's use of this trade mark in its name and domain name.

H. Gallup Organization, now called Gallup, Inc., continues to attack Gallup International Members on a worldwide basis regarding trade marks, which Association members have been using for many decades. In many cases, and countries, these companies are smaller than Gallup, Inc., and hence do not have the financial resources, nor the legal expertise, to defend their rights against a large and litigious American corporation.

Appendix B

The size, extent and resources of the Gallup International network.

In terms of the volume of research activity, and the amount of market research surveys carried out, so that you better know the reasons why we defend the rights of our members, we would like to point out the following:

1. The Association's Members are long established and proven survey research specialists; they have been selected for their high quality and authoritative work, and trusted reputation within their country. In many cases, they are one of the oldest, established companies in their country, and in many cases, the largest, or one of the largest, in terms of turnover.
 2. The turnover of the Members, just in the territories for which they are the Member, exceeds US\$1 billion. We estimate this is approximately 4-5 times the size of the entire turnover for Gallup, Inc.
 3. Further, the turnover in market research surveys of the members outside the United States exceeds US\$750 million, which we estimate to be at least 8-10 times more than the market research turnover of Gallup, Inc. outside the United States.
 4. Gallup International Association and its Members conduct research around the world (in excess of 70 countries in 2006) and Gallup International works for reputable organisations such as the World Economic Forum, the BBC World Service and Transparency International, as well as for various UN agencies and a variety of other commercial and non-commercial organisations throughout the world.
 5. Since members work at the national level as well as being part of the Association, and are large companies within their respective countries, they have considerable knowledge, experience, and reputations for all types of survey research within their countries.
 6. Prior to 1993, the American company (now Gallup, Inc.) had conducted no surveys at all outside of America, except through members of the Association.
- From the above, we hope you can see the size and scope and power of research services within Gallup International Association, as well as that up until the 1990s, whilst Dr Gallup and his company built a considerable reputation in America, it was Gallup International Association, and the efforts of its Members around the world, that built Dr Gallup's reputation OUTSIDE OF the United States.

TNS RELATIONSHIP WITH GALLUP INTERNATIONAL

Dear Tony,

As discussed, we both agree that there is a doubtful future for Gallup International without the relationship with TNS.

The linkage with TNS is crucial for the welfare and the very survival of Gallup International

- About half of the members of GIA are TNS companies. Moreover, TNS companies represent most of the more important members of the Association.
- Until now we have enjoyed the benefits of a coincidence between the leadership of Gallup International and of TNS. Thanks to this fact, there have been no conflicts about lines of authority, even though many TNS companies, including major ones like those from Germany and the USA, have been indifferent and lukewarm to GIA participation.
- With your stepping aside, the lack of explicit and formalized rules and arrangements for interaction is beginning to be felt. If this vacuum is not properly filled, it may jeopardize the functioning of Gallup International, hamper its activities and potentially bring its decline as the most capable and prestigious organization for global polling.
- That is why it is vital to initiate a discreet discussion with TNS, without over dramatizing the issue, but with due priority so that a timely solution can be found.

To persuade TNS about the benefits of the relationship with Gallup International we need solid, convincing arguments.

Here are some such arguments that come to mind, without claim that the enumeration is exhaustive or adequate:

- The biggest assets of Gallup International are tradition (as the first and oldest organization of its kind) and credibility (as the most prestigious and trustworthy operator of global social and political polls). TNS, on the other hand,

as a relatively recent entity, is only now gaining a reputation in the social and political sector. Hence, the most substantial, immediate benefit from the linkage with GIA, until now and for the foreseeable future, is enhancing the image of TNS.

To maximize this benefit, one option is the possibility of co-branding, that is using the combined logos of TNS and GIA for the polls conducted by Gallup International. By linking TNS with the currently most popular sector brand in the sector world, this would serve to promote the TNS marketing effort for social and political polling. (The major obstacle to overcome in this regard would be objections from non-TNS members, some of whom are faced with competition from local TNS firms. However, I am confident that the Board can persuade the majority of members about the importance of such a step. Ultimately, a formal agreement between TNS and the Association should be negotiated and signed for the purpose.

- Moreover, it is worth pursuing the idea of offering to TNS a majority position in the management of the (VoP) brand. Considering VoP's growth potential and prospective earning power, with time its commercial value is bound to increase. This would substantiate the position that the link with Gallup International can bring to TNS not only through intangibles, but also quantifiable tangible benefits.
- Historically, acquisitions and mergers with Gallup International members have represented a major source of expansion of TNS (in the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, etc.). There remain important firms in GIA (in Austria, Russia, etc.) with interesting potential in this respect.
- Finally, opportunities for additional sales of TNS-branded business solutions and software licenses to non-TNS GIA members are also worth considering.

I am at your disposal to pursue this discussion.

Best regards,
Kancho Stoychev

After TNS

At the Nairobi Conference in 2009, Tony Cowling resigned from the presidency of GIA. The reasons were twofold. Firstly, the management of Kantar Group (new proprietors of TNS) saw no business sense in maintaining the membership of some twenty of its companies in GIA. Strictly speaking, this view was understandable. The Association is a non-profit entity, with huge nominal assets, but without a significant business benefit. In the second place, the fact that a considerable number of members, and members from big and important countries at that, had become the property of a single owner whose exclusive interests were commercial began provoking tensions in the Association. The fundamental principle of GIA – to be a club of independent and autonomous companies, dedicated predominantly to the study of public opinion and socio-political research – was being undermined.

These internal tensions resulted in the emergence of a group of some dozen companies which in 2007 decided to unite under the name of WIN. With the departure of Tony Cowling, all GIA members who had been acquired by TNS (except for John Smurthwhite, Malaysia) quit the Association too. The initiator and leader of the WIN group, Leger (Canada), was elected President of GIA, and some members of his group joined the Association. The publicly presented name of the Association was amended to the WIN/GIA acronym, regardless of the fact that such a change was never registered or otherwise made legally valid.

In 2014 Leger acquired control over the Swiss Member of the Association ISOPUBLIC – the company which Dr Gallup had chosen to serve as GIA seat of business and registration address. Less than a year later, Leger brought ISOPUBLIC to bankruptcy. It is clear that Leger had the opportunity, the right and the obligation to get the Gallup International trade mark out of the assets of ISOPUBLIC, once the company became scheduled for liquidation. But he failed to do so! In consequence, the trade mark was put for sale in the tender as part of the liquidation procedure. That is why GIA is now challenging these proceedings with a document which prove that the trade mark had been transferred to the Association back in 2009. That document has been discov-

ered in the files of ISOPUBLIC, and as an owner Leger had full access to it.

On account of these actions on Leger's part, his resignation from the GIA presidency was demanded in June 2016 by Kancho Stoychev. After an initial extremely sharp opposition, Leger conceded submitting his resignation the following month. The Board of GIA initiated a process of restructuring the Association on a voluntary basis, with each member opting which of the two names – GIA or WIN – to keep using. On 15 February 2017, members who had opted for WIN formally quit the Association.

In order to retain a modicum of joint activities, the two now separate and independent associations appointed a Coordinating Committee, consisting of Johnny Heald and Kancho Stoychev for GIA, and Richard Cowell and Heiner Junker for WIN. Vilma Scarpino (DOXA) was appointed Chairman.

In the meantime, as litigation over the trade mark goes on, the Gallup International Association retains its position of the most reputable club of global polling professionals, loyal to the legacy of its founder and mentor Dr. George H. Gallup.



Last Board meeting in Vienna (March 2017): from left to right - Michael Nitsche, Johnny Heald, Kancho Stoychev, Marchela Abrasheva, Dr. Andreas Ritter (Association lawyer).

Ten Biblical Commandments in Polling

1. Governance based on the constant obedience of public opinion is possible. But such governance never comes to a happy end.
2. Always hear public opinion, but never listen to it.
3. There is no clever answer to a dull question.
4. Whatever you ask people, they will always give an answer. But that doesn't mean that they are answering what you are asking them.
5. Even the most unsolvable problem reflected through the prism of public opinion looks fully solvable.
6. If as a pollster you are in doubt between intuition and people's answers, better follow people's answers.
7. There is no politician who won a battle with the pollsters. Not because the pollsters are very strong, but because only a weak politician would fight with them.
8. It is said that public opinion is repressive, leftist, and conservative. There are no arguments against that.
9. In the study of public opinion the facts of the moment are nothing, but the trends are everything.
10. When public opinion becomes progressive, the government is perverted. That is why in the absence of public wisdom it is public opinion that governs.

Gallup International's 40th Annual Global End of Year Survey

The World's First and the Leading Global Barometer

Note from the Editor

The Global Barometer of Hope and Despair, conducted on the eve of every new year since 1977, happens to be the world's first Global Barometer. It was initiated and led by the renowned pollster Dr George Gallup in that year and has since been conducted annually by research institutes affiliated with Gallup International and other associated research institutions. In 2017 we will be celebrating 40 years of its success.

Back in 1977 the world was still a stranger to modern computing machines on everyone's desk. It was a world in which the old mainframe computers were available to the fortunate. Others performed their tasks in more primitive ways. The mode of communication was through the post supplemented by telegraph

and telex machines. Despite these limitations, the first Global Barometer was conducted by 22 Gallup International Association members across the globe. They included all the G7 countries, as well as key countries from all continents. The number of countries surveyed has since risen considerably, and a highly representative sample of the global population is now covered. At present, the survey covers 68 countries, including the G7, all four BRIC nations, and others from all parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Australasia.

Considering that the Global Barometer was initiated in 1977 under conditions which would now seem primitive in terms of international communications as well as information technology, the archives of the Global Barometer were not in a position to present trend data in usable form. It has taken some effort to construct time series data.

Dr Ijaz Gilani from Gallup Pakistan has been among those most involved in this fabulous project for decades.

*Dr Ijaz Shafi Gilani
Chairman Gallup Pakistan
Board Member and Chair Expert Group
on Opinion Research
Gallup International*



Here we are publishing two recent press releases. The first one – On Hope and Despair – has generated over 1,000 citations in major global and local media; the second – On Defence and Terrorism Issues was released for the February 2017 Munich Conference on Security, together with Bloomberg TV, and has provoked an intensive debate around the world.

Happiness Improves despite Economic Confidence Falling

WIN/Gallup International, the world's leading association in market research and polling, has published today its 40th Annual End of Year Survey exploring the outlook, expectations, views, and beliefs of 66,541 people from 66 countries across the globe.

Headlines

- 68% of the world said that they feel happy about their lives, an increase from 66% last year; 22% are neither happy nor unhappy, and 9% feel unhappy about their lives.
- Net happiness (happy minus unhappy) globally is +59%, an increase from +56% last year.
- Fiji and China are the happiest countries in the world (+89% and +80% net happiness respectively), followed by the Philippines, Vietnam, Panama, Indonesia, and Paraguay while Iraq is the least happy for the third year in a row (less than +1% net happiness).
- 42% of the world is optimistic about the economic outlook for 2017; 22% are pessimistic and 31% believe the economy will remain the same. Net economic optimism is at +20%.
- The most optimistic countries about economic prosperity in 2017 are Ghana (+68% net optimistic) and Bangladesh (+67% net optimistic). In contrast, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Greece are the most pessimistic (-62%, -56%, and -53%, respectively).

Happiness: A happier world albeit with some stark regional differences

Two in three (68%) citizens of the world report being happy, a figure which has risen 2% from twelve months ago, despite a year in which the world has seen considerable change and frequent and bloody terrorist attacks. Of the 66,541 people surveyed, 9% said that they were unhappy, down from 10% at the end of

2015. Overall, this means that the world is +59% net happy (happiness minus unhappiness).

But regionally, the story is very different: those in East Asia and Oceania are significantly happier than those in the Middle East; for example, happiness in Fiji and China, the net happiest countries in the world (net scores of +89% and +80%, respectively) is in stark contrast to happiness in Iraq, which rates as the unhappiest of all 66 countries surveyed (net score of less than +1%).

The Beatles wrote “Money Can’t Buy Me Love”, but the findings suggest that it, does, however correlate strongly with happiness – those in the bottom quintile of income record a net happiness score of +33%, compared with a score of +75% for those in the top quintile, irrespective of nations in which they reside.

Economic Optimism: Globally high but lower than last year

When it comes to economic outlook, despite much of the world largely remaining out of recession, economic optimism has declined from twelve months ago. The study shows that 42% of the world is optimistic about the economic outlook in 2017, almost twice (22%) as many people as those who are pessimistic. Net optimism (the percentage of those saying next year will be one of economic prosperity, minus the percentage who say next year will be one of economic difficulty) has fallen from +23% to +20%.

While globally just over two in five (42%) say next year will be one of economic prosperity, there are very significant differences across the globe. European citizens are significantly less optimistic than anywhere else in the world: EU Europe net score is -26% and Non-EU Europe is -20%. The challenges that threatened the very future of the EU project in 2016 may well have created economic doubt within the world’s largest economic bloc. Within Europe, economic pessimism is most acutely felt in Italy (net score of -48%), the UK (net score of -38%), and France (net score of -35%). Only Korea and Hong Kong, who have witnessed a year of political and economic turmoil, are more pessimistic (net scores of -62% and -56%). The most optimistic nations when it comes to the economy are Ghana and Bangladesh (+68% and +67% net optimism, respectively). When it comes to a demographic breakdown, young people prove to be considerably

more optimistic than older generations, with 34% net optimism for those under 34 years of age compared to -7% for those over the age of 55.

Hope: High amongst Middle and Low Income Nations

As most of the world welcomes a New Year, we can see a majority (52%) of the planet feeling that 2017 will be overall, better than 2016, although one in seven (15%) feel it will be worse (giving a net score of +37%, which represents a small drop of 2% from a year ago). Those living in some of the fastest growing countries in the world (Bangladesh net +77%, Ghana net +76%, Ivory Cost +72%, Fiji +62%, China net +56%, India net +55%, and Brazil net +51%) are the most hopeful for the year ahead. However, it is the economic superblocks of the EU (net score of 1%) and North America (net score of +11%) which show the least optimism for improvement. With Prime Minister Renzi losing a referendum this month and with an economic recovery has failed to take off, it is perhaps of no surprise that Italians (net score of -42%) are most concerned about the year ahead.

Analysis: Global Income Redistribution drives national outlooks on Economic Optimism and Pessimism

Polling data combined with World Bank Big Data on Gross National Income (GNI) shows a clear link between economic outlook for the year 2017 and global redistribution of Income (GNI) during the last decade.

During the last 10 years (2005-15), the **Tier One Rich Countries** (30 nations with average annual per capita income of 45,000 US dollars) lost 10% of their global economy share. This group is at present the most pessimistic in their economic outlook for 2017 (-17% Net Score). The **Tier Two Middle Income Countries** (12 nations with average annual per capita income of 13,000 US dollars) gained 10% of their global economy share. This group is at present the most optimistic in economic outlook for 2017 (+30%). The **Tier Three Low Income Countries** (175 nations with average annual per capita income of 7,000 US dollars), which retained its global economy share during the last decade lies between the Tier One and Tier Two groups in terms of economic outlook (+26%). See Exhibit 5 on page 11.

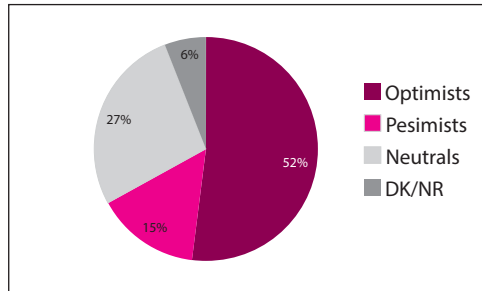
Vilma Scarpino, DOXA (Gallup International Association), said: ‘The world is witnessing changing income distribution across nations. The old rich are losing while the new rich are gaining ground. This transition is reflected in their outlooks on hope about 2017. Fortunately, happiness is becoming unrelated to views on economic outlook. The rich nations of the Western World are happy despite their gloomy outlook on economic prospects. As a result, the global community as a whole reveals a happy majority, in fact slightly happier than a year ago.’

	HOPE INDEX		ECONOMIC OPTIMISM INDEX		HAPPINESS INDEX	
TOP 10 OPTIMIST/HAPPY COUNTRIES (Starting from most optimistic/happiest) (Net score), showing positive minus negative	Bangladesh	+77%	Ghana	+68%	Fiji	+89%
	Ghana	+76%	Bangladesh	+67%	China	+80%
	Ivory Coast	+72%	Ivory Coast	+57%	Philippines	+79%
	Fiji	+62%	India	+55%	Vietnam	+78%
	China	+56%	Vietnam	+47%	Panama	+77%
	India	+55%	Philippines	+39%	Indonesia	+77%
	Brazil	+51%	Fiji	+34%	Papua New Guinea	+76%
	Philippines	+48%	China	+34%	Paraguay	+74%
	Vietnam	+48%	Papua New Guinea	+31%	Bangladesh	+74%
	Estonia	+47%	Pakistan	+30%	Argentina	+72%
TOP 10 PESSIMIST/UNHAPPY COUNTRIES (Starting from most pessimistic/unhappiest) (Net score), showing positive minus negative	Italy	-42%	South Korea	-62%	Iraq	<1%
	Hong Kong	-35%	Hong Kong	-56%	Hong Kong	+14%
	Greece	-30%	Greece	-53%	Greece	+21%
	South Korea	-30%	Ukraine	-49%	Nigeria	+29%
	Mexico	-29%	Mexico	-48%	Turkey	+30%
	Bosnia & Herzegovina	-14%	Italy	-48%	Afghanistan	+31%
	Bulgaria	-5%	Belgium	-39%	Bulgaria	+33%
	Belgium	-4%	Austria	-39%	Romania	+34%
	Austria	-3%	United Kingdom	-38%	Israel	+35%
	Turkey	-2%	France	-35%	Albania	+35%

The 3 Key Index Figures for 2017 are the following:

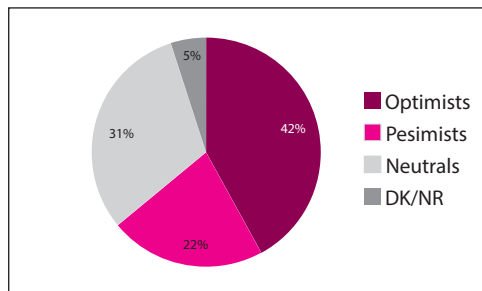
HOPE:

Optimists lead Pessimists by 37 %



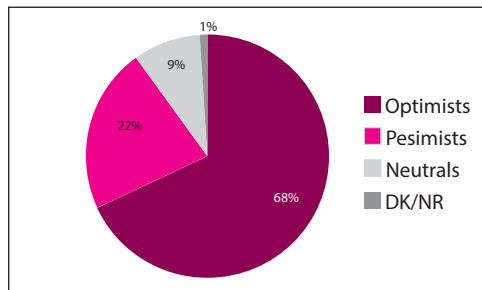
ECONOMIC OPTIMISM:

Optimists lead Pessimists by 20 %



HAPPINESS:

Happy People Lead Unhappy People by 59%



DRIVERS OF NATIONAL OUTLOOK ON ECONOMIC OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM

	Global Income (GNI) at PPP			Economic Outlook for 2017 Net Score
	Share in 2005	Share in 2015	Change in Share (2005-15)	
TIER ONE (G7 and EU countries)	50%	40%	-10%	-17%
TIER TWO (G20 other than Tier One countries)	32%	42%	+10%	+30%
TIER THREE (all other countries)	18%	18%	Nil	+26%

Note: 1- Global GNI is based on the latest available tables provided by the World Bank (databank.worldbank.org). The Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) based computations have been used for both years (2005-2015).

2- Approximations have been used within + 1%.

Table # 1.1: HOPE INDEX FOR 2017 (Country Wise)

	Q1. As far as you are concerned, do you think that 2017 will be better, worse or the same than 2016?				Net Hope
	Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	Do not know / no response	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
	Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Global average	52%	15%	27%	6%	37%
Afghanistan	35%	36%	27%	2%	-1%
Albania	47%	12%	37%	4%	35%
Argentina	45%	23%	26%	6%	22%
Armenia	34%	14%	42%	10%	20%
Australia	29%	26%	38%	7%	3%
Austria	23%	26%	46%	5%	-3%
Azerbaijan	29%	14%	12%	45%	15%
Bangladesh	86%	10%	3%	1%	76%

Countries in Alphabetical order

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Countries in Alphabetical order	Belgium	22%	27%	41%	10%	-5%
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	19%	32%	35%	14%	-13%
	Brazil	68%	17%	11%	4%	51%
	Bulgaria	21%	26%	40%	13%	-5%
	Canada	38%	24%	33%	5%	14%
	China	62%	6%	31%	1%	56%
	Congo	34%	22%	27%	17%	12%
	Czech Republic	27%	22%	47%	4%	5%
	Denmark	40%	7%	49%	4%	33%
	Ecuador	32%	27%	26%	15%	5%
	Estonia	53%	6%	31%	10%	47%
	Fiji	70%	8%	18%	4%	62%
	Finland	35%	22%	34%	9%	13%
	France	25%	27%	36%	12%	-2%
	Germany	31%	24%	42%	3%	7%
	Ghana	80%	4%	7%	9%	76%
	Greece	21%	51%	24%	4%	-30%
	Hong Kong	15%	50%	29%	6%	-35%
	Iceland	22%	11%	63%	4%	11%
	India	64%	9%	18%	9%	55%
	Indonesia	49%	11%	35%	5%	38%
	Iraq	52%	33%	12%	3%	19%
	Ireland	38%	21%	36%	5%	17%
	Israel	36%	20%	35%	9%	16%
	Italy	14%	56%	27%	3%	-42%
	Ivory Coast	78%	6%	8%	8%	72%
	Japan	20%	13%	41%	26%	7%
	Korea (South)	11%	42%	45%	2%	-31%
	Kosovo	46%	13%	36%	5%	33%
	Latvia	32%	22%	31%	15%	10%
Lebanon	43%	27%	27%	3%	16%	
Lithuania	40%	18%	34%	8%	22%	

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Countries in Alphabetical order	Macedonia	39%	21%	31%	9%	18%
	Mexico	17%	46%	35%	2%	-29%
	Mongolia	39%	22%	37%	2%	17%
	Nigeria	66%	21%	9%	4%	45%
	Norway	41%	15%	39%	5%	26%
	Pakistan	53%	28%	17%	2%	25%
	Panama	42%	23%	30%	5%	19%
	Papua New Guinea	52%	16%	24%	8%	36%
	Paraguay	43%	12%	39%	6%	31%
	Peru	57%	12%	23%	8%	45%
	Philippines	52%	4%	39%	5%	48%
	Poland	26%	26%	39%	9%	0%
	Portugal	45%	14%	38%	3%	31%
	Romania	40%	25%	29%	6%	15%
	Russian Federation	33%	19%	38%	10%	14%
	Serbia	30%	31%	37%	2%	-1%
	Slovenia	35%	19%	41%	5%	16%
	South Africa	56%	22%	14%	8%	34%
	Spain	39%	22%	37%	2%	17%
	Sweden	49%	10%	38%	3%	39%
	Thailand	42%	13%	44%	1%	29%
	Turkey	37%	39%	18%	6%	-2%
	Ukraine	37%	34%	28%	1%	3%
	United Kingdom	33%	29%	31%	7%	4%
	United States	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%
	Vietnam	60%	12%	26%	2%	48%
<p>Optimists: 2017 will be better</p> <p>Pessimists: 2017 will be worse</p> <p>*Neutral: 2017 will remain the same</p> <p>** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS: There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.</p> <p>Weighted according to adult population 18+</p> <p>SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016</p>						

Table # 1.2: HOPE INDEX FOR 2017 (Region Wise)

	Un weighted Count	Col%	Q1. As far as you are concerned, do you think that 2017 will be better, worse or the same than 2016?				Net Hope	
			Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists	
			Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%		
All Regions	66541	100	52%	15%	27%	6%	37%	
East Asia & Oceania	11442	41.16	55%	9%	33%	3%	46%	
Non-EU Europe	8382	4.69	34%	23%	35%	8%	11%	
EU Europe***	21357	10.19	29%	29%	36%	6%	0%	
Latin America	7544	7.12	49%	25%	21%	5%	24%	
MENA	2000	0.31	50%	32%	15%	3%	18%	
North America	2002	7.13	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%	
Sub-Saharan African	5423	3.16	65%	19%	10%	6%	46%	
West & South Asia	8391	26.23	63%	12%	17%	8%	51%	
G-7	7175	100	30%	26%	32%	12%	4%	
United States of America	1001	40.52	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%	
Canada	1001	4.83	38%	24%	33%	5%	14%	
Germany	1006	11.62	31%	24%	42%	3%	7%	
France	1007	8.41	25%	27%	36%	12%	-2%	
United Kingdom	1004	8.55	33%	29%	31%	7%	4%	
Italy	995	8.38	14%	56%	27%	3%	-42%	
Japan	1161	17.69	20%	13%	41%	26%	7%	
BRIC	5349	100	62%	9%	25%	4%	53%	
Brazil	1974	6.49	68%	17%	11%	4%	51%	
Russian Federation	1000	5.62	33%	19%	38%	10%	14%	
India	1225	37.01	64%	9%	18%	9%	55%	
China	1150	50.87	62%	6%	31%	1%	56%	
G-20	20733	100	52%	14%	27%	7%	38%	
United States	1001	7.83	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%	
Canada	1001	0.93	38%	24%	33%	5%	14%	
Germany	1006	2.25	31%	24%	42%	3%	7%	

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

France	1007	1.63	25%	27%	36%	12%	-2%
United Kingdom	1004	1.65	33%	29%	31%	7%	4%
Italy	995	1.62	14%	56%	27%	3%	-42%
Japan	1161	3.42	20%	13%	41%	26%	7%
Argentina	978	0.96	45%	23%	26%	6%	22%
Korea	1500	1.36	11%	42%	45%	2%	-31%
Turkey	1013	1.71	37%	39%	18%	6%	-2%
Australia	1253	0.58	29%	26%	38%	7%	3%
China	1150	34.37	62%	6%	31%	1%	56%
India	1225	25	64%	9%	18%	9%	55%
Russian Federation	1000	3.8	33%	19%	38%	10%	14%
Brazil	1974	4.38	68%	17%	11%	4%	51%
South Africa	1645	1.03	56%	22%	14%	8%	34%
Indonesia	1005	5.09	49%	11%	35%	5%	38%
Mexico	815	2.38	17%	46%	35%	2%	-29%
T3 Classification	66541	100	52%	15%	27%	6%	37%
Tier # 1 (Original G7 + EU Europe)	24520	20.1	31%	25%	33%	11%	6%
Tier # 2 (G20 excluding G7+ EU Europe)	13558	65.62	58%	11%	26%	5%	47%
Tier (All other countries)	28463	14.28	57%	18%	22%	3%	39%

East Asia & Oceania: Australia, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rep (South), Mongolia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Eastern Europe: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Russian Federation, Serbia, and Ukraine.

EU Europe: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Peru.

MENA: Iraq and Lebanon.

North America: Canada and the United States.

Sub-Saharan Africa: Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and South Africa.

West & South Asia: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Israel, Pakistan, and Turkey.

Optimists: 2017 will be better

Pessimists: 2017 will be worse

***Neutrals:** 2017 will remain the same

**** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS:** There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.

***** The United Kingdom has been considered part of EU Europe for the purpose of this press release.**

Weighted according to adult population 18+

SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016

Table # 1.3: HOPE INDEX FOR 2017 (Demographics Wise)

		Un weighted Count	Col%	Q1. As far as you are concerned, do you think that 2017 will be better, worse or the same than 2016?				Net Hope
				Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
				Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Gender		66541	100.00%	52%	15%	27%	6%	37%
D1. Gender	Male	11442	41.16	55%	9%	33%	3%	46%
	Female	8382	4.69	34%	23%	35%	8%	11%
Age		21357	10.19	29%	29%	36%	6%	0%
D2A. Age.	Under 34	7544	7.12	49%	25%	21%	5%	24%
	35 - 54	2000	0.31	50%	32%	15%	3%	18%
	55+	2002	7.13	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%
Monthly Household Income		5423	3.16	65%	19%	10%	6%	46%
D3. Income	Low (Bottom quintile/20%)	8391	26.23	63%	12%	17%	8%	51%
	Medium low (Second quintile/ 20%)	7175	100	30%	26%	32%	12%	4%
	Medium (Third quintile/ 20%)	1001	40.52	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%
	Medium high (Fourth quintile/ 20%)	1001	4.83	38%	24%	33%	5%	14%
	High (Top quintile/ 20%)	1006	11.62	31%	24%	42%	3%	7%
	Refused/ Do not know/ no answer	1007	8.41	25%	27%	36%	12%	-2%

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Education		1161	17.69	20%	13%	41%	26%	7%
D4. Education: Highest attained	No education/ only basic education	8391	26.23	63%	12%	17%	8%	51%
	Completed primary	7175	100	30%	26%	32%	12%	4%
	Completed secondary school	1001	40.52	36%	25%	26%	13%	11%
	Completed High level education (University)	1001	4.83	38%	24%	33%	5%	14%
	Completed Higher level of education (Masters, PHD, etc.)	1006	11.62	31%	24%	42%	3%	7%
	Refused/ DNK/DNA	1007	8.41	25%	27%	36%	12%	-2%
<p>Optimists: 2017 will be better Pessimists: 2017 will be worse *Neutral: 2017 will remain the same</p> <p>** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS: There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.</p> <p>Weighted according to adult population 18+ SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016</p>								

Table # 2.1: ECONOMIC OPTIMISM INDEX 2017 (Country Wise)

	Q2. Compared to this year, in your opinion, will next year be a year of economic prosperity, economic difficulty or remain the same for your country?				Net Hope
	Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	Do not know / no response	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
	Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Global average	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
Afghanistan	25%	51%	22%	2%	-26%
Albania	39%	29%	30%	2%	10%
Argentina	37%	31%	25%	7%	6%
Armenia	34%	20%	37%	9%	14%
Australia	12%	41%	39%	8%	-29%
Austria	9%	47%	40%	4%	-38%
Azerbaijan	20%	17%	16%	47%	3%
Bangladesh	81%	14%	5%	0%	67%
Belgium	10%	49%	26%	15%	-39%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	18%	38%	41%	3%	-20%
Brazil	41%	23%	31%	5%	18%
Bulgaria	12%	33%	41%	14%	-21%
Canada	16%	35%	42%	7%	-19%
China	44%	10%	45%	1%	34%
Congo	32%	27%	25%	16%	5%
Czech Republic	23%	24%	49%	4%	-1%
Denmark	26%	18%	50%	6%	8%
Ecuador	29%	37%	26%	8%	-8%
Estonia	11%	26%	54%	9%	-15%
Fiji	49%	15%	33%	3%	34%
Finland	13%	27%	54%	6%	-14%
France	13%	47%	30%	10%	-34%
Germany	13%	37%	47%	3%	-24%

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Ghana	73%	6%	13%	8%	67%
Greece	6%	59%	30%	5%	-53%
Hong Kong	8%	64%	24%	4%	-56%
Iceland	19%	21%	43%	17%	-2%
India	69%	15%	10%	6%	54%
Indonesia	35%	18%	39%	8%	17%
Iraq	35%	35%	27%	3%	0%
Ireland	22%	31%	42%	5%	-9%
Israel	21%	33%	39%	7%	-12%
Italy	9%	57%	31%	3%	-48%
Ivory Coast	69%	13%	12%	6%	56%
Japan	8%	25%	43%	24%	-17%
Korea, Rep (South)	4%	66%	28%	2%	-62%
Kosovo	37%	13%	40%	10%	24%
Latvia	8%	42%	40%	10%	-34%
Lebanon	37%	30%	30%	3%	7%
Lithuania	18%	35%	42%	5%	-17%
Macedonia	33%	27%	31%	9%	6%
Mexico	7%	56%	37%	0%	-49%
Mongolia	35%	27%	37%	1%	8%
Nigeria	58%	28%	11%	3%	30%
Norway	26%	24%	43%	7%	2%
Pakistan	56%	26%	16%	2%	30%
Panama	23%	20%	54%	3%	3%
Papua New Guinea	53%	22%	21%	4%	31%
Paraguay	39%	14%	39%	8%	25%
Peru	49%	21%	23%	7%	28%
Philippines	48%	10%	39%	3%	38%
Poland	16%	36%	38%	10%	-20%
Portugal	27%	22%	47%	4%	5%
Romania	22%	22%	51%	5%	0%

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Russian Federation	17%	31%	40%	12%	-14%
Serbia	23%	39%	35%	3%	-16%
Slovenia	32%	23%	40%	5%	9%
South Africa	29%	43%	19%	9%	-14%
Spain	27%	37%	34%	2%	-10%
Sweden	10%	23%	64%	3%	-13%
Thailand	28%	19%	51%	2%	9%
Turkey	23%	50%	23%	4%	-27%
Ukraine	13%	62%	24%	1%	-49%
United Kingdom	15%	53%	26%	6%	-38%
United States	28%	30%	30%	12%	-2%
Vietnam	60%	12%	25%	3%	48%
<p>Optimists: 2017 will be a year of economic prosperity Pessimists: 2017 will be a year of economic difficulty *Neutral: 2017 will remain the same</p> <p>** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS: There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.</p> <p>Weighted according to adult population 18+ SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016</p>					

Table # 2.2: ECONOMIC OPTIMISM INDEX 2017 (Region Wise)

	Un weighted Count	Col%	Q2. Compared to this year, in your opinion, will next year be a year of economic prosperity, economic difficulty or remain the same for your country?				Net Hope
			Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
			Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
All Regions	66541	100	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
East Asia & Oceania	11442	41.16	39%	15%	43%	3%	24%
Non-EU Europe	8382	4.69	17%	37%	36%	10%	-20%
EU Europe***	21357	10.19	15%	42%	37%	6%	-27%
Latin America	7544	7.12	31%	33%	32%	4%	-2%
MENA	2000	0.31	36%	34%	27%	3%	2%
North America	2002	7.13	27%	30%	32%	11%	-3%
Sub-Saharan African	5423	3.16	52%	29%	13%	6%	23%
West & South Asia	8391	26.23	66%	18%	11%	5%	48%
G-7	7175	100	18%	36%	35%	11%	-18%
United States of America	1001	40.52	28%	30%	30%	12%	-2%
Canada	1001	4.83	16%	35%	42%	7%	-19%
Germany	1006	11.62	13%	37%	47%	3%	-24%
France	1007	8.41	13%	47%	30%	10%	-34%
United Kingdom	1004	8.55	15%	53%	26%	6%	-38%
Italy	995	8.38	9%	57%	31%	3%	-48%
Japan	1161	17.69	8%	25%	43%	24%	-17%
BRIC	5349	100	52%	14%	31%	3%	38%
Brazil	1974	6.49	41%	23%	31%	5%	18%
Russian Federation	1000	5.62	17%	31%	40%	12%	-14%
India	1225	37.01	69%	15%	10%	6%	54%
China	1150	50.87	44%	10%	45%	1%	34%
G-20	20733	100	42%	21%	32%	5%	21%
United States	1001	7.83	28%	30%	30%	12%	-2%
Canada	1001	0.93	16%	35%	42%	7%	-19%

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Germany	1006	2.25	13%	37%	47%	3%	-24%
France	1007	1.63	13%	47%	30%	10%	-34%
United Kingdom	1004	1.65	15%	53%	26%	6%	-38%
Italy	995	1.62	9%	57%	31%	3%	-48%
Japan	1161	3.42	8%	25%	43%	24%	-17%
Argentina	978	0.96	37%	31%	25%	7%	6%
Korea	1500	1.36	4%	66%	28%	2%	-62%
Turkey	1013	1.71	23%	50%	23%	4%	-27%
Australia	1253	0.58	12%	41%	39%	8%	-29%
China	1150	34.37	44%	10%	45%	1%	34%
India	1225	25	69%	15%	10%	6%	54%
Russian Federation	1000	3.8	17%	31%	40%	12%	-14%
Brazil	1974	4.38	41%	23%	31%	5%	18%
South Africa	1645	1.03	29%	43%	19%	9%	-14%
Indonesia	1005	5.09	35%	18%	39%	8%	17%
Mexico	815	2.38	7%	56%	37%	0%	-49%
T3 Classification	66541	100	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
Tier # 1 (Original G7 + EU Europe)	24520	20.1	18%	35%	36%	11%	-17%
Tier # 2 (G20 excluding G7+ EU Europe)	13558	65.62	47%	18%	31%	4%	29%
Tier (All other countries)	28463	14.28	50%	24%	23%	3%	26%

East Asia & Oceania: Australia, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rep (South), Mongolia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Eastern Europe: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Russian Federation, Serbia and Ukraine.

EU Europe: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Peru.

MENA: Iraq and Lebanon.

North America: Canada and the United States.

Sub-Saharan Africa: Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and South Africa.

West & South Asia: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Israel, Pakistan, and Turkey.

Optimists: 2017 will be better

Pessimists: 2017 will be worse

***Neutrals:** 2017 will remain the same

**** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS:** There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.

*****United Kingdom has been considered part of EU Europe for the purpose of this press release.**

Weighted according to Adult Population 18+

SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016

Table # 2.3: ECONOMIC OPTIMISM INDEX 2017 (Demographics Wise)

		Un weighted Count	Col%	Q2. Compared to this year, in your opinion, will next year be a year of economic prosperity, economic difficulty or remain the same for your country?				Net Hope
				Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
				Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Gender		66541	100.00%	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
D1. Gender	Male	33995	49.86%	43%	21%	31%	5%	22%
	Female	32546	50.14%	40%	23%	31%	6%	17%
Age		66541	100.00%	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
D2A. Age.	Under 34	25522	44.01%	53%	19%	23%	5%	34%
	35 - 54	24758	36.77%	39%	23%	34%	4%	16%
	55+	16261	19.22%	23%	29%	42%	6%	-6%
Monthly Household Income		66541	100.00%	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
D3. Income	Low (Bottom quintile/20%)	10837	11.56%	38%	28%	26%	8%	10%
	Medium low (Second quintile/ 20%)	13238	17.98%	47%	25%	24%	4%	22%
	Medium (Third quintile/ 20%)	15376	19.31%	40%	26%	29%	5%	14%
	Medium high (Fourth quintile/ 20%)	10682	26.97%	41%	18%	38%	3%	23%
	High (Top quintile/ 20%)	7960	18.32%	43%	18%	35%	4%	25%
	Refused/ Do not know/ no answer	8448	5.85%	42%	22%	27%	9%	20%

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Education		66541	100.00%	42%	22%	31%	5%	20%
D4. Education: Highest attained	No education/ only basic education	4205	3.03%	53%	23%	19%	5%	30%
	Completed primary	8239	6.93%	33%	28%	33%	6%	5%
	Completed secondary school	28986	39.30%	35%	24%	35%	6%	11%
	Completed High level education (University)	18353	42.25%	47%	19%	29%	5%	28%
	Completed Higher level of education (Masters, PHD, etc.)	6049	8.22%	50%	25%	22%	3%	25%
	Refused/ DNK/DNA	709	0.26%	24%	28%	30%	18%	-4%
<p>Optimists: 2017 will be a year of economic prosperity Pessimists: 2017 will be a year of economic difficulty *Neutrals: 2017 will remain the same</p> <p>** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS: There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.</p> <p>Weighted according to adult population 18+ SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016</p>								

Table # 3.1: HAPPINESS INDEX 2017 (Country Wise)

	Q3. In general, do you personally feel very happy, happy, neither happy nor unhappy, unhappy or very unhappy about your life?				Net Hope
	Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	Do not know / no response	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
	Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Global average	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
Afghanistan	48%	36%	16%	0%	32%
Albania	49%	35%	14%	2%	35%
Argentina	77%	18%	5%	0%	72%
Armenia	65%	30%	4%	1%	61%
Australia	58%	27%	14%	1%	44%
Austria	65%	28%	6%	1%	59%
Azerbaijan	61%	26%	5%	8%	56%
Bangladesh	80%	14%	6%	0	74%
Belgium	55%	35%	9%	1%	46%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	59%	30%	11%	0%	48%
Brazil	70%	18%	11%	1%	59%
Bulgaria	43%	45%	10%	2%	33%
Canada	62%	25%	12%	1%	50%
China	81%	17%	2%	0	79%
Congo	56%	32%	10%	2%	46%
Czech Republic	48%	43%	8%	1%	40%
Denmark	61%	32%	5%	2%	56%
Ecuador	74%	21%	4%	1%	70%
Estonia	52%	40%	5%	3%	47%
Fiji	91%	7%	2%	0	89%
Finland	50%	36%	12%	2%	38%
France	49%	45%	6%	0%	43%
Germany	61%	24%	15%	0%	46%

Gallup International's 40th Annual Global End of Year Survey

Ghana	68%	5%	26%	1%	42%
Greece	34%	52%	13%	1%	21%
Hong Kong	36%	42%	22%	0%	14%
Iceland	76%	16%	6%	2%	70%
India	61%	19%	19%	1%	42%
Indonesia	79%	17%	1%	3%	78%
Iraq	38%	25%	37%	0%	< 1%
Ireland	61%	27%	12%	0%	49%
Israel	54%	25%	20%	1%	34%
Italy	45%	47%	7%	1%	38%
Ivory Coast	62%	18%	20%	0%	42%
Japan	59%	29%	4%	8%	55%
Korea (South)	49%	42%	9%	0%	40%
Kosovo	56%	30%	11%	3%	45%
Latvia	49%	38%	9%	4%	40%
Lebanon	63%	11%	26%	0	37%
Lithuania	54%	36%	8%	2%	46%
Macedonia	52%	36%	10%	2%	42%
Mexico	76%	19%	4%	0.01	72%
Mongolia	73%	24%	3%	0	70%
Nigeria	59%	10%	30%	0.01	29%
Norway	69%	17%	13%	1%	56%
Pakistan	77%	16%	6%	1%	71%
Panama	82%	12%	5%	1%	77%
Papua New Guinea	82%	13%	5%	0%	77%
Paraguay	77%	17%	3%	3%	74%
Peru	69%	26%	4%	1%	65%
Philippines	82%	15%	3%	0%	79%
Poland	67%	25%	7%	1%	60%
Portugal	57%	35%	7%	1%	50%
Romania	59%	16%	25%	0%	34%

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Russian Federation	56%	33%	5%	6%	51%
Serbia	48%	42%	10%	0%	38%
Slovenia	59%	34%	6%	1%	53%
South Africa	56%	23%	19%	2%	37%
Spain	59%	30%	10%	1%	49%
Sweden	60%	33%	6%	1%	54%
Thailand	67%	28%	4%	0.01	63%
Turkey	46%	37%	16%	1%	30%
Ukraine	50%	43%	6%	1%	44%
United Kingdom	60%	27%	13%	0%	47%
United States	62%	24%	14%	0%	48%
Vietnam	79%	20%	1%	0	78%
<p>Happy: Happy+ Very Happy Unhappy: Unhappy + Very Unhappy *Neutral: Neither happy nor unhappy</p> <p>** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS: <i>There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.</i></p> <p>Weighted according to adult population 18+ SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016</p>					

Table # 3.2: HAPPINESS INDEX 2017 (Regions Wise)

	Un weighted Count	Col%	Q3. In general, do you personally feel very happy, happy, neither happy nor unhappy, unhappy or very unhappy about your life?				Net Hope
			Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
			Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
All Regions	66541	100	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
East Asia & Oceania	11442	41.16	78%	19%	2%	1%	75%
Non-EU Europe	8382	4.69	54%	35%	6%	5%	49%
EU Europe***	21357	10.19	56%	33%	11%	1%	45%
Latin America	7544	7.12	73%	19%	8%	1%	65%
MENA	2000	0.31	43%	22%	35%	0%	8%
North America	2002	7.13	62%	24%	14%	1%	48%
Sub-Saharan African	5423	3.16	60%	14%	26%	1%	34%
West & South Asia	8391	26.23	63%	19%	17%	0%	46%
G-7	7175	100	59%	29%	11%	2%	48%
United States of America	1001	40.52	62%	24%	14%	1%	48%
Canada	1001	4.83	62%	25%	12%	1%	50%
Germany	1006	11.62	61%	24%	15%	0%	46%
France	1007	8.41	49%	45%	6%	0%	42%
United Kingdom	1004	8.55	60%	27%	13%	1%	47%
Italy	995	8.38	45%	47%	7%	0%	38%
Japan	1161	17.69	59%	29%	4%	7%	55%
BRIC	5349	100	72%	19%	9%	1%	63%
Brazil	1974	6.49	70%	18%	11%	1%	59%
Russian Federation	1000	5.62	56%	33%	5%	6%	51%
India	1225	37.01	61%	19%	19%	0%	42%
China	1150	50.87	81%	17%	2%		80%
G-20	20733	100	69%	21%	9%	1%	60%
United States	1001	7.83	62%	24%	14%	1%	48%
Canada	1001	0.93	62%	25%	12%	1%	50%

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Germany	1006	2.25	61%	24%	15%	0%	46%
France	1007	1.63	49%	45%	6%	0%	42%
United Kingdom	1004	1.65	60%	27%	13%	1%	47%
Italy	995	1.62	45%	47%	7%	0%	38%
Japan	1161	3.42	59%	29%	4%	7%	55%
Argentina	978	0.96	77%	18%	5%	0%	72%
Korea	1500	1.36	49%	42%	9%	0%	39%
Turkey	1013	1.71	46%	37%	16%	0%	30%
Australia	1253	0.58	58%	27%	14%	1%	44%
China	1150	34.37	81%	17%	2%	0%	80%
India	1225	25	61%	19%	19%	0%	42%
Russian Federation	1000	3.8	56%	33%	5%	6%	51%
Brazil	1974	4.38	70%	18%	11%	1%	59%
South Africa	1645	1.03	56%	23%	19%	2%	37%
Indonesia	1005	5.09	79%	17%	1%	3%	77%
Mexico	815	2.38	76%	19%	4%		72%
T3 Classification	66541	100	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
Tier # 1 (Original G7 + EU Europe)	24520	20.1	58%	29%	11%	2%	48%
Tier # 2 (G20 excluding G7+ EU Europe)	13558	65.62	71%	19%	9%	1%	62%
Tier (All other countries)	28463	14.28	69%	20%	10%	0%	60%

East Asia & Oceania: Australia, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rep (South), Mongolia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam.

Eastern Europe: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Russian Federation, Serbia and Ukraine.

EU Europe: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Peru.

MENA: Iraq and Lebanon.

North America: Canada and the United States.

Sub-Saharan Africa: Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and South Africa.

West & South Asia: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Israel, Pakistan, and Turkey.

Optimists: 2017 will be better

Pessimists: 2017 will be worse

***Neutrals:** 2017 will remain the same

**** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS:** There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.

*****United Kingdom has been considered part of EU Europe for the purpose of this press release.**

Weighted according to adult population 18+

SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016

Table # 3.3: HAPPINESS INDEX 2017 (Demographics Wise)

		Un weighted Count	Col%	Q3. In general, do you personally feel very happy, happy, neither happy nor unhappy, unhappy or very unhappy about your life?				Net Hope
				Optimists	Pessimists	Neutral*	DK/NR	Net Score of Optimists over Pessimists
				Row%	Row%	Row%	Row%	
Gender		66541	100.00%	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
D1. Gender	Male	33995	49.86%	67%	22%	10%	1%	57%
	Female	32546	50.14%	69%	21%	9%	1%	60%
Age		66541	100.00%	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
D2A. Age.	Under 34	25522	44.01%	70%	20%	10%	0%	60%
	35 - 54	24758	36.77%	69%	22%	9%	0%	60%
	55+	16261	19.22%	65%	25%	9%	1%	56%
Monthly Household Income		66541	100.00%	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
D3. Income	Low (Bottom quintile/20%)	10837	11.56%	52%	27%	19%	2%	33%
	Medium low (Second quintile/ 20%)	13238	17.98%	61%	23%	16%	0%	45%
	Medium (Third quintile/ 20%)	15376	19.31%	67%	23%	10%	0%	57%
	Medium high (Fourth quintile/ 20%)	10682	26.97%	77%	19%	4%	0%	73%
	High (Top quintile/ 20%)	7960	18.32%	78%	18%	3%	1%	75%
	Refused/ Do not know/ no answer	8448	5.85%	58%	25%	14%	3%	44%

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

Education		66541	100.00%	68%	22%	9%	1%	59%
D4. Education: Highest attained	No education/ only basic education	4205	3.03%	56%	20%	23%	1%	33%
	Completed primary	8239	6.93%	63%	26%	10%	1%	53%
	Completed secondary school	28986	39.30%	67%	21%	10%	2%	57%
	Completed High level education (University)	18353	42.25%	71%	21%	7%	1%	64%
	Completed Higher level of education (Masters, PHD, etc.)	6049	8.22%	70%	23%	7%	0%	63%
	Refused/ DNK/DNA	709	0.26%	39%	41%	11%	9%	28%

Happy: Happy+ very happy
Unhappy: Unhappy + very unhappy
***Neutral:** Neither happy nor unhappy

**** ROUNDING OFF OF DECIMALS:** There may be a slight difference of 1% in some instances. Exact figures are available elsewhere.

Weighted according to adult population 18+
SOURCE: WIN/Gallup International Annual Global Poll/ EOY, December 2016

America's Military Strength vs China's Economic Strength

The majority of the world's citizens welcome Chinese investment in their local economies but when it comes to requiring military support in conflict, the United States is preferred globally. If asked to choose between the two for foreign investment in infrastructure projects, Chinese investment (21%) is not far behind US investment (29%)

Kancho Stoychev, Vice President of Win/Gallup International said:

Contemplating the world through the prism of national states – the conventional approach that still predominates – is turning increasingly unproductive and misleading. The reason for this phenomenon, in my view, is the central contradiction of our time – the contradiction between the global economy and local political regulation. Overcoming this contradiction will be a slow, difficult (and hopefully – peaceful!) process. And the path toward globalization of politics will inevitably – for the moment, it seems to me – lead through regionalization. But not in geographical sense.

The globalization is continuing through a new phase - regionalization of the world.

The global defense preferences are drowning a new picture of a multipolar world.

While EU as a whole is predominantly US oriented when it comes to defense issues, there is a growing interest towards EU self-defence.

Some South European people like Greece and Bulgaria see a key potential risk from their security coming from a NATO country - Turkey . They are not convinced that the Alliance will protect them if they need / Cyprus complex/. That's why they are rather looking towards Russia.

POLLING AROUND THE WORLD

The growing economic influence of China is also drowning a new regionalized map of the world.

The danger of terrorism perceptions are getting more and more spread throughout the world and also have clearly regionalized structure.

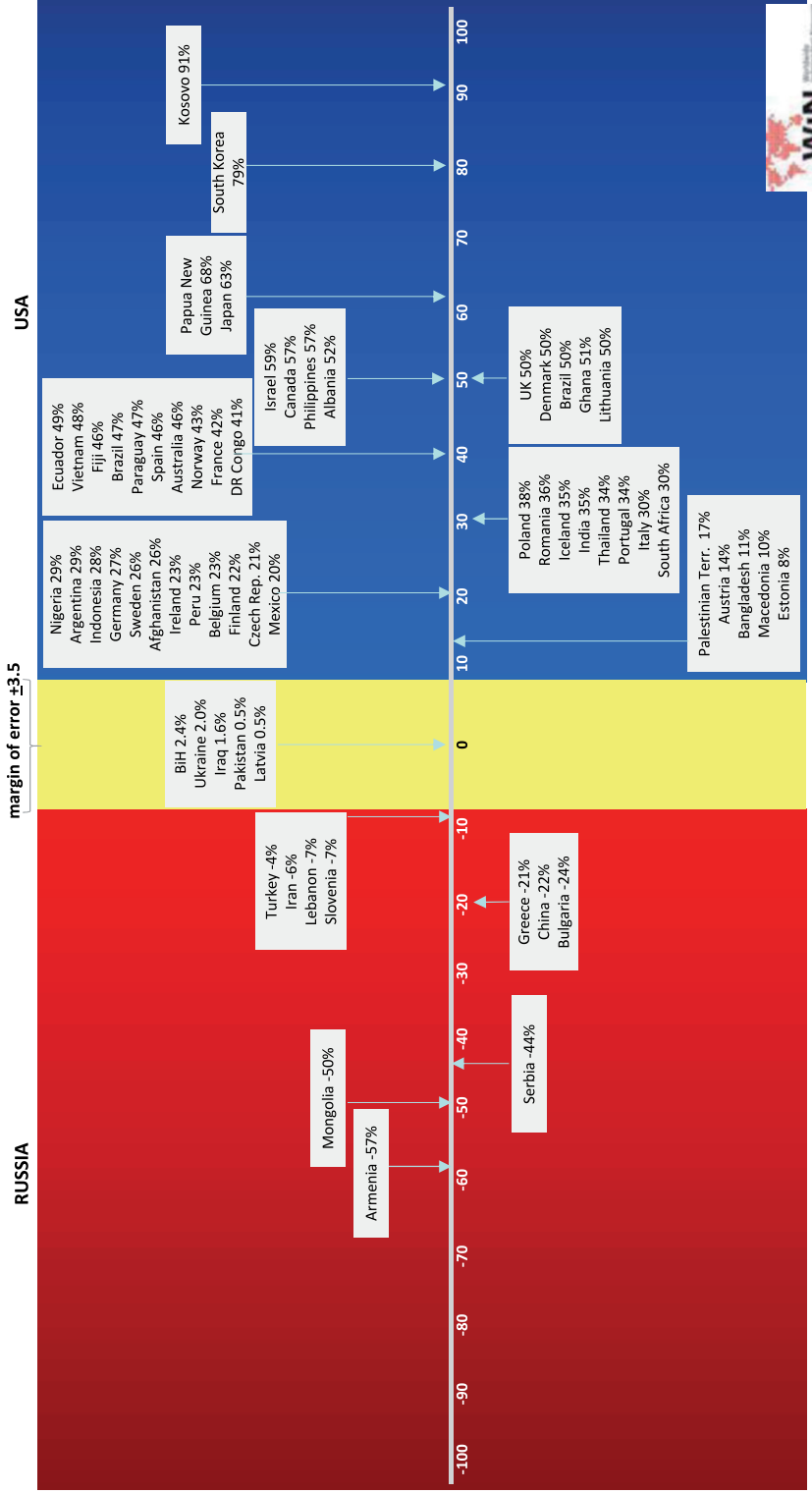


Global defense preferences – ranking per global power

	USA		RUSSIA		UK		FRANCE		CHINA		INDIA		
Kosovo	92%	Australia	49%	Mongolia	71%	USA	43%	Belgium	25%	Pakistan	72%	Bangladesh	46%
South Korea	81%	Poland	49%	Armenia	67%	Sweden	29%	Germany	19%	Russia	44%	Afghanistan	17%
Papua New Guinea	70%	South Afrika	45%	Serbia	56%	Iceland	28%	Austria	16%	Thailand	29%	Fiji	12%
Israel	68%	Peru	44%	Greece	48%	Ireland	25%	Lebanon	15%	Afghanistan	22%	Turkey	9%
Philippines	67%	Mexico	42%	China	47%	Norway	23%	China	15%	Nigeria	21%	Russia	4%
Albania	66%	Germany	41%	Bulgaria	42%	Denmark	23%	Portugal	13%	Palestinian Terr.	17%	South Africa	4%
Vietnam	66%	Italy	41%	Ukraine	33%	Portugal	21%	Spain	12%	Serbia	16%	USA	4%
Japan	64%	Nigeria	41%	Slovenia	30%	South Africa	21%	Mexico	9%	Paraguay	16%		
Canada	62%	Portugal	40%	Latvia	27%	Australia	16%	DR Congo	8%	Philippines	16%		
Ghana	62%	Afghanistan	39%	Lebanon	25%	Finland	16%	Slovenia	8%	DR Congo	16%		
UK	58%	Iceland	38%	Turkey	23%	Estonia	16%	UK	8%	Bangladesh	16%		
Ecuador	58%	Thailand	38%	Macedonia	23%	Czech Republic	15%	Palestinian Terr.	8%	India	16%		
Lithuania	58%	Finland	37%	Mexico	22%	Fiji	15%	Romania	7%	Peru	14%		
Paraguay	57%	Ireland	37%	Peru	21%	France	13%	USA	7%	USA	14%		
Brazil	55%	Argentina	36%	Iran	20%	Canada	12%	Iceland	7%	Ecuador	17%		
France	54%	Ukraine	35%	BiH	19%	Belgium	12%	Iraq	6%	Papua New Guinea	13%		
Spain	52%	Macedonia	33%	Vietnam	18%	Latvia	11%	Sweden	6%	Argentina	13%		
Denmark	52%	Indonesia	32%	India	16%	Thailand	11%	Czech Republic	6%	Italy	11%		
Fiji	52%	Czech Republic	32%	Finland	15%	Ukraine	11%	Mexico		Mexico	11%		
Norway	51%	Sweden	31%	Romania	15%	Lithuania	10%	Ghana		Ghana	10%		
Romania	51%	Estonia	31%	South Africa	15%	Poland	10%	Brazil		Brazil	10%		
India	50%	Belgium	30%	Albania	14%					Albania	10%		



USA - Russia Score



Global defense preferences

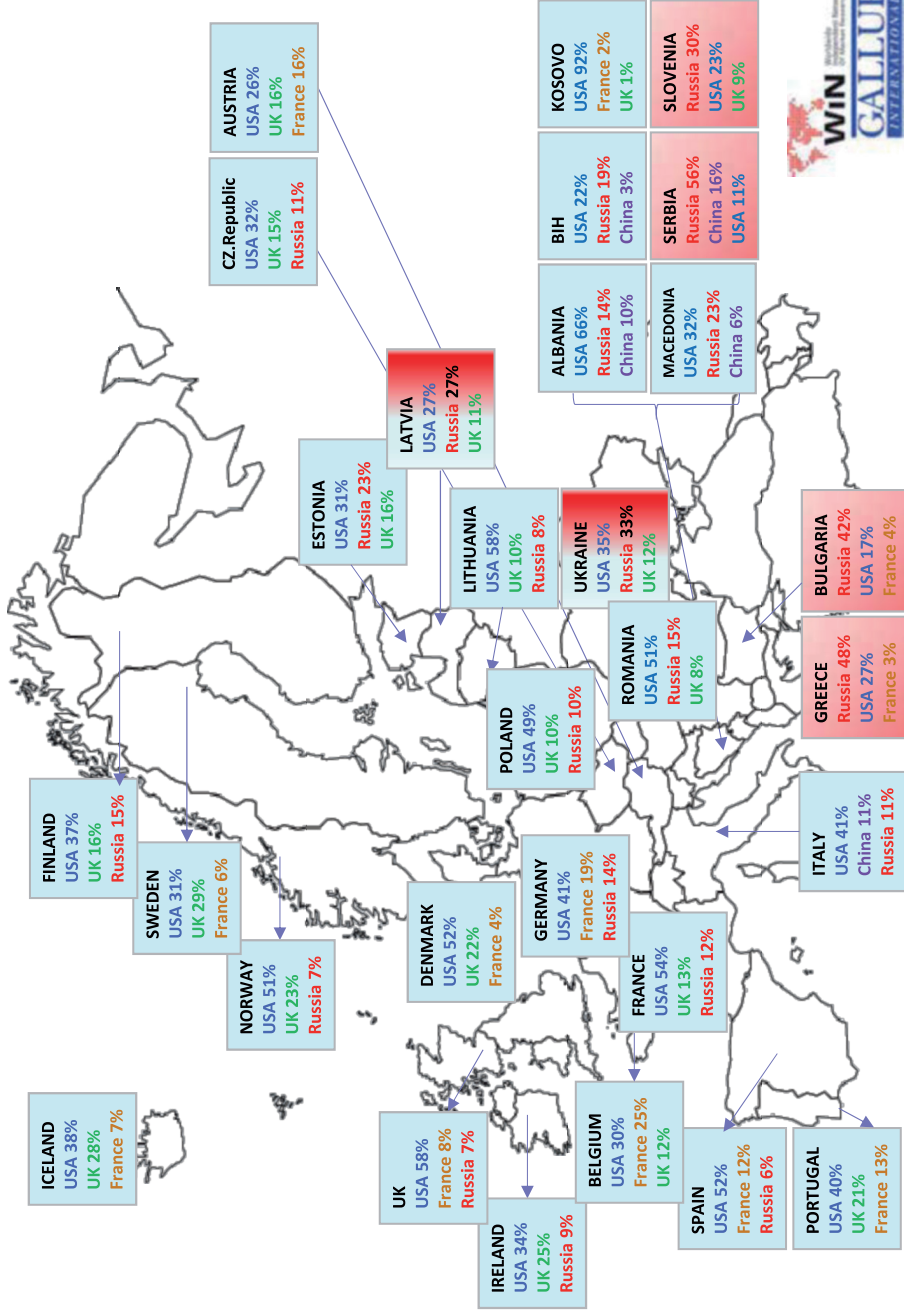
There are 6 countries in the world with big military power: USA, China, Russia, France, UK and India.
 Suppose in the case of a military threat to your own country you had to choose ONE of them as a partner,
 which one would you choose?

Divided/Problematic Countries

Country	None	WEST USA, UK, France	EAST Russia, China, India
BIH	43%	26%	23%
TURKEY	31%	25%	40%
IRAN	30%	20%	30%
IRAQ	27%	38%	31%
LEBANON	23%	37%	34%
ARGENTINA	22%	42%	23%
INDONESIA	21%	37%	14%
MACEDONIA	17%	36%	29%
SLOVENIA	15%	40%	31%
LATVIA	14%	41%	31%
PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES	12%	41%	33%



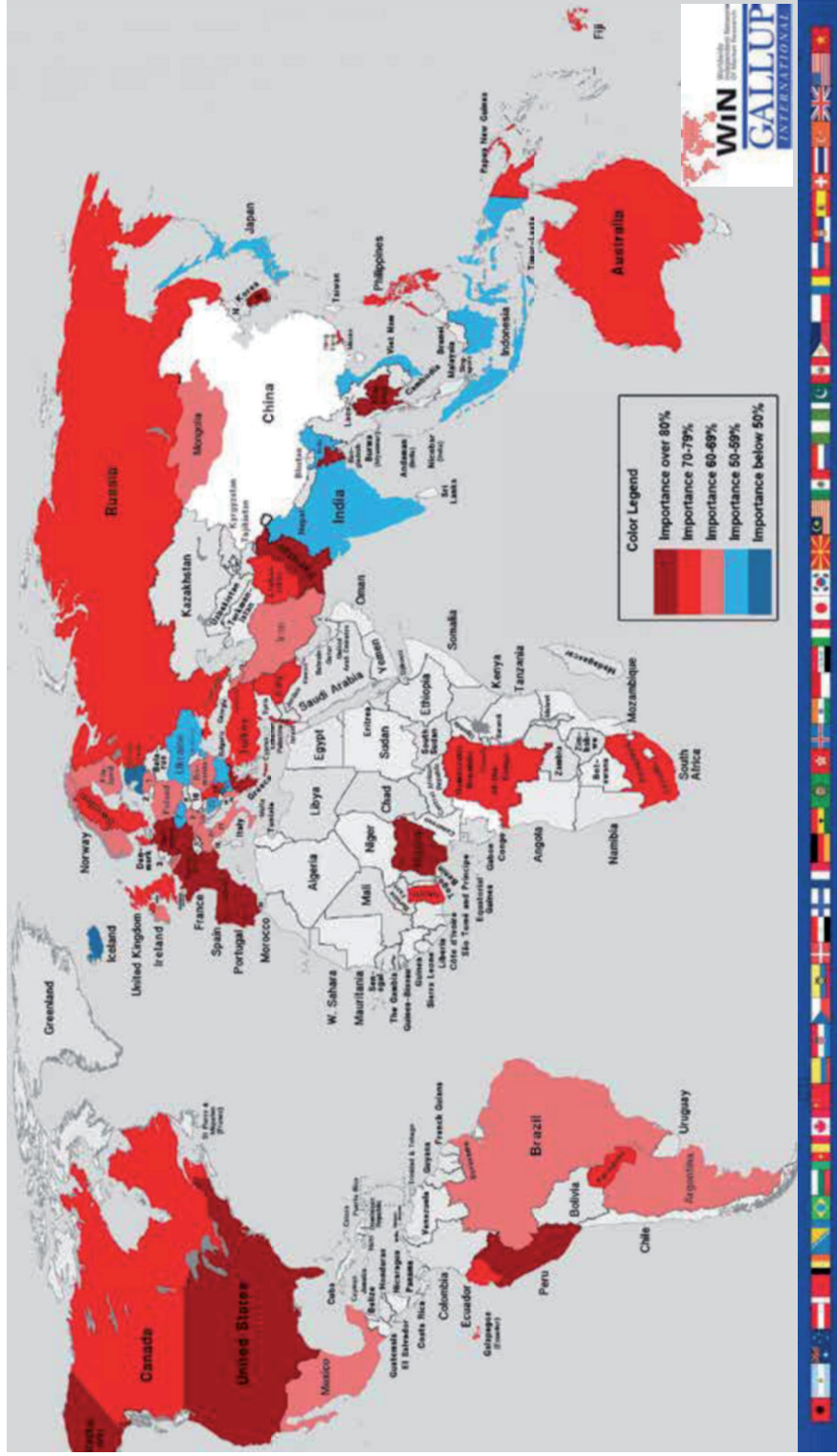
Europe defense preferences – TOP 3 choices per Country





Economic Role of China

In recent years China has become a big exporter of goods. It is also investing big money in big projects. Does China play an important role in the economy of your country? How important?



Economic Role of China

In recent years China has become a big exporter of goods. It is also investing big money in big projects.
Does China play an important role in the economy of your country? How important?

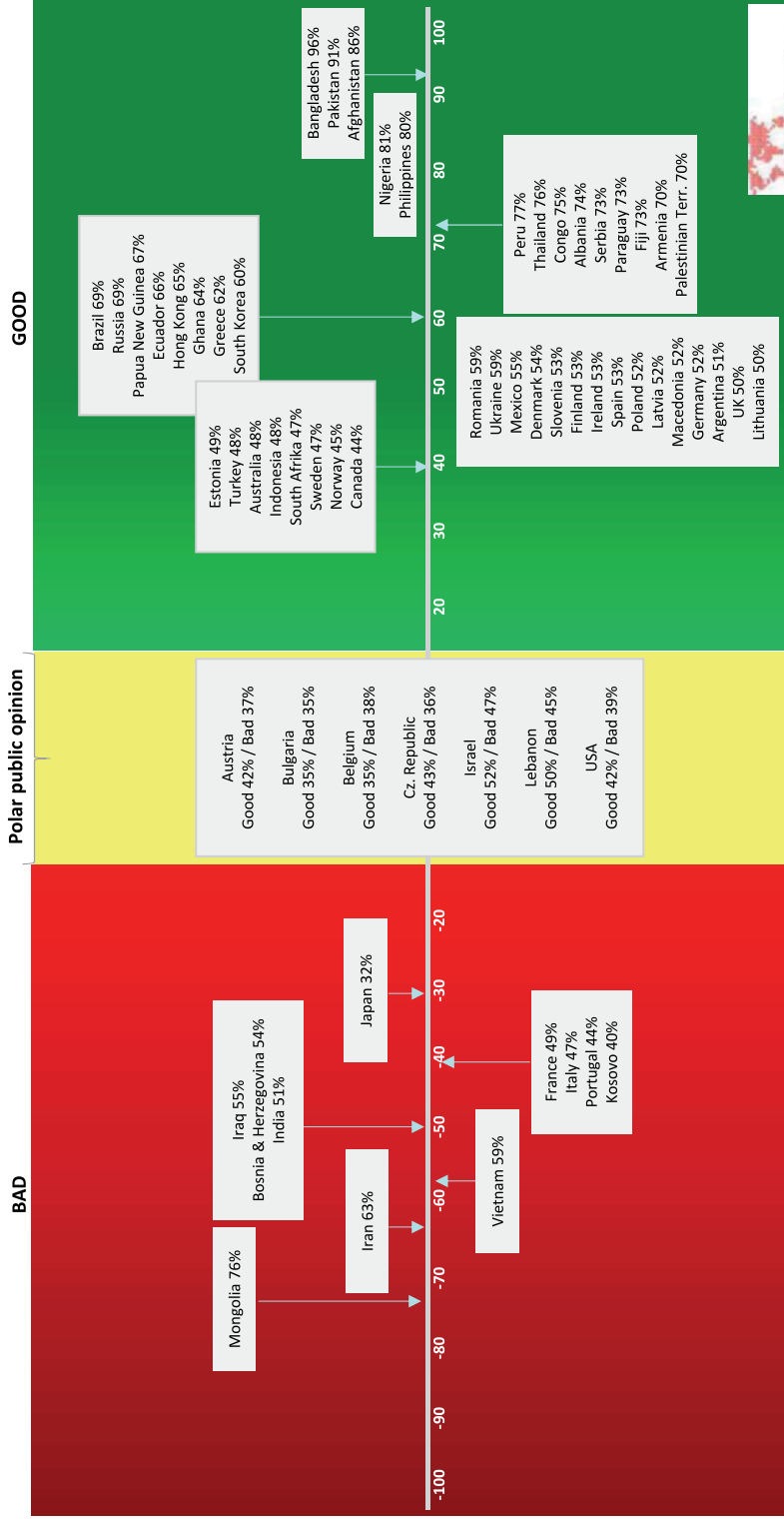
	Very Important	Important	Not Important	Plays no role at all			
PAKISTAN	49%	PORTUGAL	71%	UKRAINE	37%	KOSOVO	16%
NIGERIA	45%	SOUTH KOREA	67%	ICELAND	34%	VIETNAM	15%
LEBANON	42%	THAILAND	64%	ESTONIA	32%	ALBANIA	15%
BANGLADESH	41%	DENMARK	63%	MONGOLIA	31%	ROMANIA	15%
PERU	37%	FRANCE	62%	VIETNAM	28%	MEXICO	15%
IRAN	36%	GERMANY	62%	CZECH REPUBLIC	27%	INDIA	13%
USA	32%	GREECE	62%	LATVIA	27%	BRAZIL	11%
PARAGUAY	29%	FINLAND	62%	BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA	26%	IRAN	11%
SOUTH AFRICA	29%	SPAIN	61%	KOSOVO	25%	ARMENIA	9%
BRAZIL	28%	SLOVENIA	60%	MEXICO	23%	TURKEY	9%
ECUADOR	28%	PHILIPPINES	60%	INDONESIA	22%	BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA	8%
IRAQ	28%	SWEDEN	60%	PAPUA NEW GUINEA	19%	MACEDONIA	8%
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	28%	UK	59%	SLOVENIA	18%	ARGENTINA	8%
AFGHANISTAN	28%	SERBIA	58%	INDIA	18%	LATVIA	8%
PALESTINIAN TERR.	26%	AUSTRIA	58%	IRAQ	17%	LEBANON	7%

* TOP 15 of each answer are presented.



Economic Role of China

In your personal view, is the role of China in the economy of your country, good or bad for your country?



Economic Role of China

In your personal view, is the role of China in the economy of your country, good or bad for your country?

	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad
PAKISTAN	57%	THAILAND 73%	MONGOLIA 59%	INDIA 32%
BANGLADESH	28%	PHILIPPINES 69%	BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA 47%	ISRAEL 30%
NIGERIA	31%	BRAZIL 61%	VIETNAM 41%	IRAN 29%
AFGHANISTAN	28%	BANGLADESH 58%	FRANCE 39%	IRAQ 21%
PARAGUAY	27%	HONG KONG 58%	PORTUGAL 37%	LEBANON 18%
PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES	26%	SERBIA 57%	IRAQ 35%	VIETNAM 18%
GHANA	26%	AFGHANISTAN 57%	ITALY 34%	GHANA 17%
ALBANIA	20%	FIJI 57%	KOSOVO 34%	MONGOLIA 13%
PERU	20%	PERU 57%	IRAN 34%	ITALY 11%
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	20%	DR CONGO 56%	MEXICO 34%	FRANCE 11%
INDIA	19%	ECUADOR 55%	AUSTRIA 33%	BULGARIA 10%
DR CONGO	19%	UKRAINE 55%	SOUTH KOREA 32%	MEXICO 9%
SERBIA	16%	ROMANIA 55%	TURKEY 31%	TURKEY 9%
FIJI	16%	ARMENIA 54%	BELGIUM 31%	USA 8%
ARMENIA	16%	RUSSIA 54%	SOUTH AFRICA 31%	INDONESIA 8%

* TOP 15 of each answer are presented.

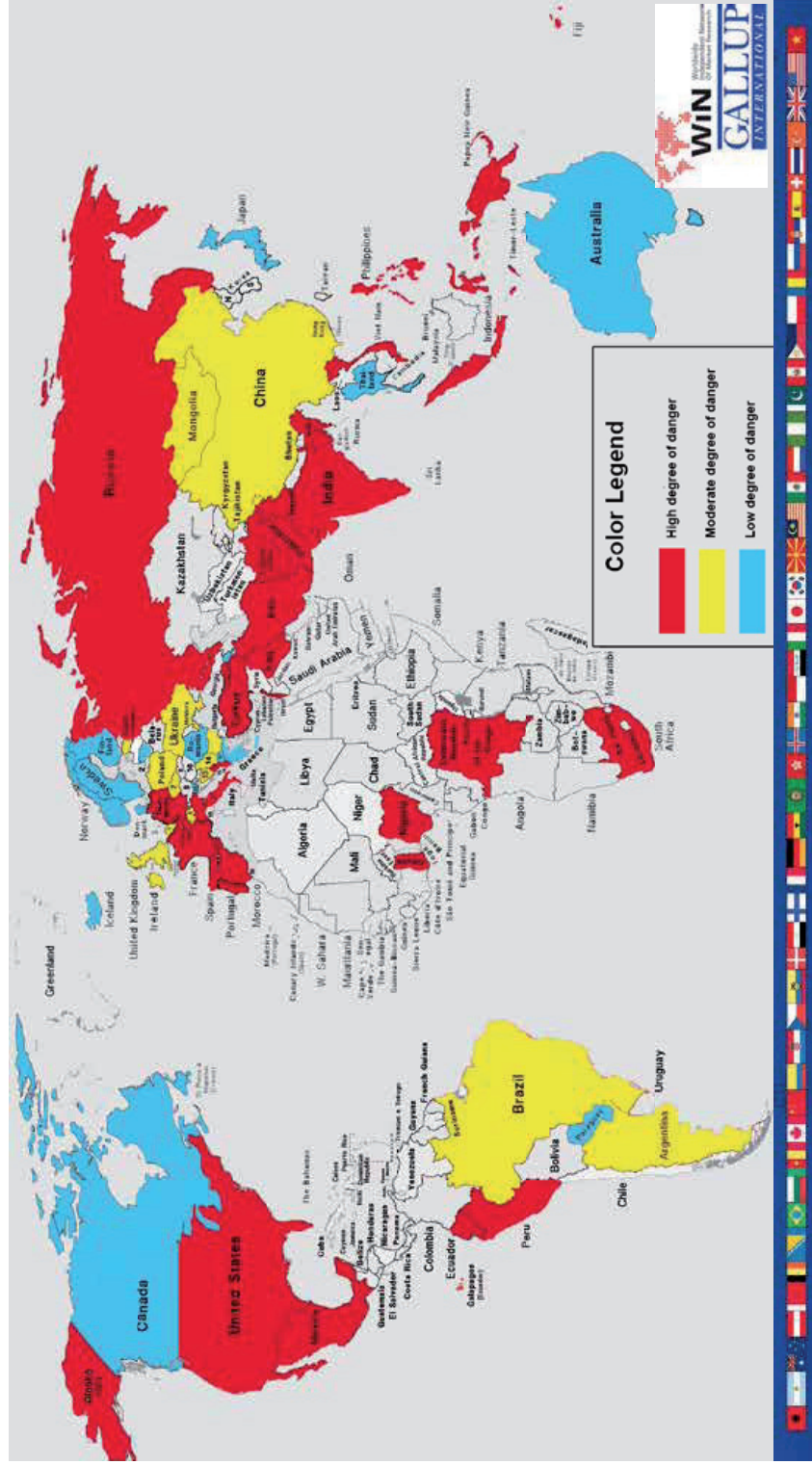




International Terrorism

What degree of danger do you think international terrorist groups such as ISIS/Daesh pose to your personal security

- is it a very high degree of danger, high degree, moderate degree, low degree, very low degree, or no danger at all?



International Terrorism

What degree of danger do you think international terrorist groups such as ISIS/Daesh pose to your personal security?

Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low	No danger at all
BANGLADESH 61%	FIJI 38%	CHINA 41%	FINLAND 29%	DENMARK 23%	PARAGUAY 25%
TURKEY 54%	RUSSIA 32%	BELGIUM 32%	ICELAND 27%	SWEDEN 23%	ROMANIA 24%
LEBANON 50%	CHINA 30%	THAILAND 32%	NORWAY 25%	ICELAND 23%	BRAZIL 22%
INDONESIA 50%	PHILIPPINES 30%	CZECH REPUBLIC 31%	DENMARK 24%	IRAN 21%	THAILAND 22%
PHILIPPINES 49%	VIETNAM 30%	SOUTH KOREA 31%	SOUTH KOREA 21%	GREECE 20%	BIH 20%
INDIA 47%	ECUADOR 29%	UK 31%	LATVIA 21%	NORWAY 20%	MONGOLIA 19%
PAKISTAN 45%	MEXICO 29%	PORTUGAL 31%	POLAND 21%	AUSTRALIA 15%	INDIA 17%
GHANA 45%	NIGERIA 29%	IRELAND 29%	HONG KONG 20%	CANADA 15%	ARGENTINA 16%
AFGHANISTAN 43%	PALESTINIAN TERR. 29%	SERBIA 28%	CANADA 20%	IRELAND 14%	ARMENIA 16%
IRAQ 43%	FRANCE 28%	CANADA 28%	AUSTRALIA 20%	AUSTRIA 14%	GREECE 12%
ECUADOR 41%	PAKISTAN 28%	POLAND 28%	SWEDEN 20%	FINLAND 14%	SERBIA 12%
VIETNAM 37%	ALBANIA 27%	DENMARK 27%	ESTONIA 19%	LITHUANIA 14%	LEBANON 12%
FRANCE 36%	BANGLADESH 27%	SWEDEN 27%	GREECE 19%	SLOVENIA 14%	ICELAND 11%
PALESTINIAN TERR. 25%	AFGHANISTAN 27%	FINLAND 27%	IRELAND 19%	JAPAN 13%	MEXICO 11%
PERU 25%	DR CONGO 27%	GERMANY 27%	LITHUANIA 18%	UKRAINE 12%	IRAQ 11%

* TOP 15 of each answer are presented.

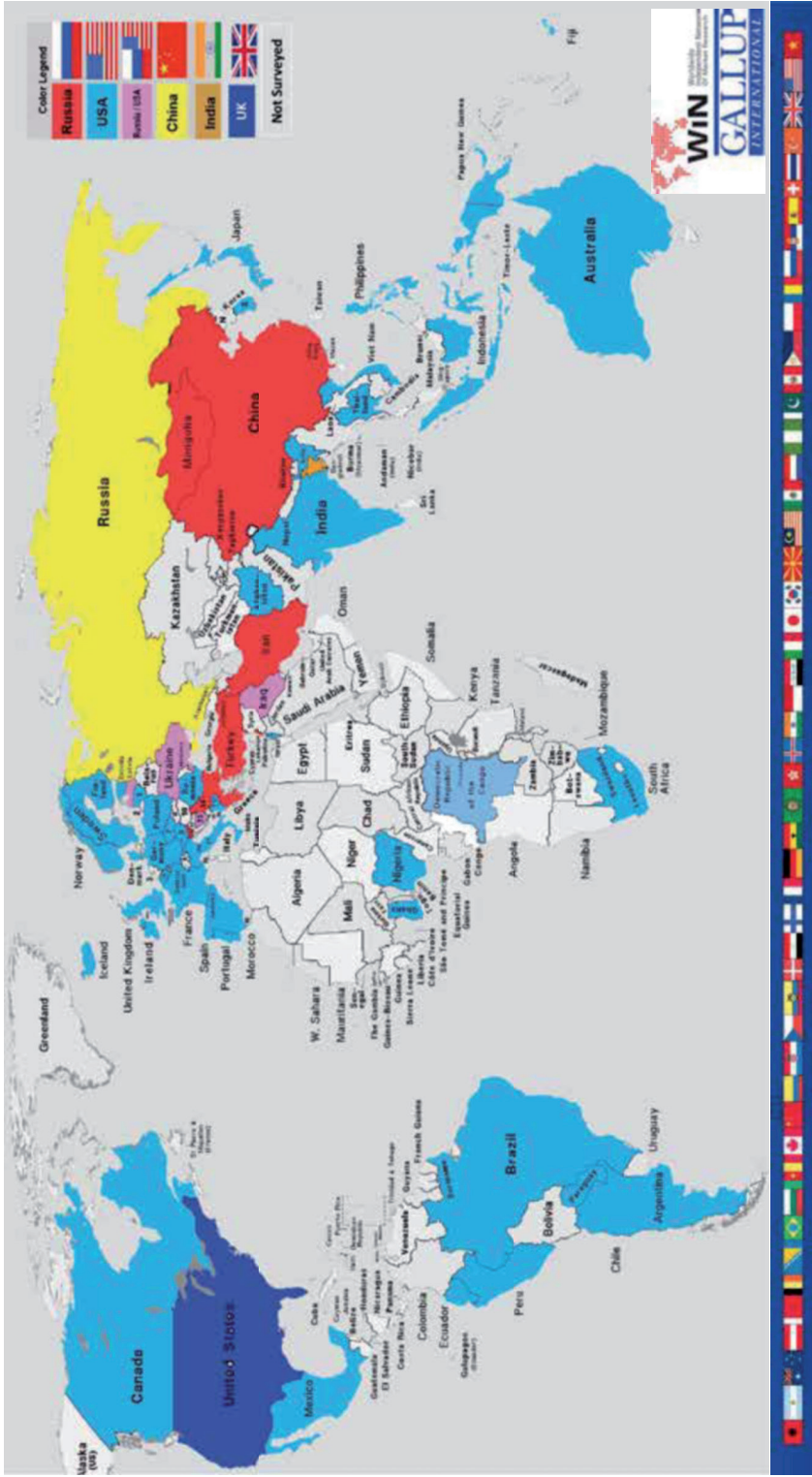




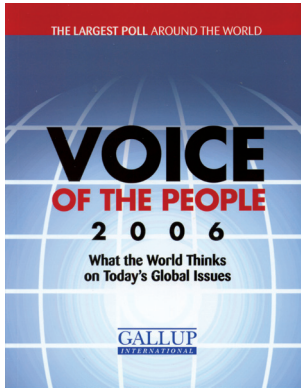
Global defense preferences - majority choice

There are 6 countries in the world with big military power: USA, China, Russia, France, UK and India.

Suppose in the case of a military threat to your own country you had to choose ONE of them as a partner, which one would you choose?



From our Bookshelf and Photo Archives



More than 5,000 interviewers worldwide polled 53,749 people from the African savannah, through the city of London, the Russian steppe, the mountains of Pakistan, the islands of Indonesia, the Peruvian Andes, New York City, and right on up to the great Canadian North — in order to gather their opinions on major global and national issues.

The most prestigious polling association in the world, Gallup International Association (GIA), has addressed this huge challenge in order to publish this unique document on the status of global public opinion. Voice of the People, 2006 edition, expresses the concerns of the world's population on globalization, the economy, poverty, democracy, religion, immigration, and health, as well as social and political issues.

The book is based on a poll conducted — according to the high standards of GIA, which ensure the quality and strength of the data collected — in 68 countries. In each country, Gallup International Association managed every step of the process rigorously, while adapting the methodology to cultural differences and local realities - as illustrated in the amazing photos found in this edition.

Of course this survey is primarily numbers, but it is also - above all - citizens expressing their lives through their joys, sorrows, and hopes.

I had the honour and the pleasure of being supported during this project by the TNS President and Special Advisor, Tony Cowling. I also had the support of outstanding pollsters in their areas of expertise: Mari Harris and Margit Cleveland in Africa, Marita Carballo and Henk Foekema in Europe, Ijaz Gilani and Kevin Meyer in Asia, Constanza Cilley and Ricardo Hermelo in South America, and Serge Lafrance in North America, as well as 60 members of GIA who managed local surveys.

May this book enlighten all those who seek a better world.

Jean-Marc Leger



Most modern leaders gain their authority by claiming adherence to democracy. Three thousand years ago in Greece, it was possible to rule a city by seeing and hearing the people, speaking to them directly and gauging their “will”. But times change, and by the early part of the twentieth century, leaders had little way of really knowing what the majority thought, let alone what they wanted.

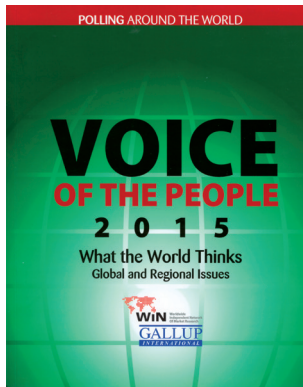
In the late 1930’s, along came Dr George Gallup, who started to ask what citizens thought in order to understand what they wanted. He demonstrated that it was possible to measure the will of the people through opinion polls. This was a revolutionary step at the time, but after a life devoted to reporting the views of people all over the world, he was able to say toward the end of his life:

‘The right to speak out vigorously on government and corporate policies is one of the most staunchly defended freedoms of the western world. The advent of modern public opinion polling provides an opportunity to let Government officials, public and private institutions, and the public itself know where the people stand on major issues.’

We have entered a new era in which political, economic, and social leaders can hear and know “the Voice of the People” on a worldwide scale. As the world globalises, leaders are making decisions that have an impact at the international level. It is their responsibility to understand the circumstances and needs of the people they govern. Again, it is possible for world leaders to enter a dialogue with the people whose lives they impact.

The Voice of the People® 2007 survey, conducted between October and November 2007, covered 62 countries around the world. Whilst the results can be studied at the national level, they are also representative of more than two billion global citizens. This book, concerned with findings about views of democracy in the world, continues the strong tradition of giving citizens around the globe the opportunity to communicate their opinions on issues that affect their lives.

Tony Cowling



The nature of peace is changing before our eyes. Until now, peace has been seen as the opposite of war, but all bets are off now. We used to maintain peace by preventing aggression. In the present globalizing world, peace requires much more, and it must start at home, within societies, across regions.

How can we sustain this balance? Political leaders are certainly essential, but peace is too important to be entrusted only to them. Each of us has a role – ordinary people across all societies are the guardians of peace.

They say that nothing is more volatile than time and public opinion. This is true as long as time and public opinion relate to transient processes. However, if we analyse what F. Braudel called “slow processes”, we can see that public opinion plays a central role in our fractured world today. Public opinion polls have developed key mechanisms of democratic societies (“What presidential candidate should I vote for?”) as well as market economies (“Which product should I buy?”).

In an irreversibly globalized world, public opinion is steadily transcending state boundaries. We don’t need sophisticated research techniques to prove this – we need to explore the world as it evolves around us. All major conflicts of the last decades were preceded by a decisive battle to win world public opinion. Likewise, these conflicts were reconciled on the same terrain.

Did public opinion take this new role when the world was coming out of the Cold War? It is hard to say, because we have not yet had sufficient time to understand fully this sui generis episode in the history of humanity. One hundred years from now, every school learner will know the answer. Until then, we will have to learn to better understand this major new player in our lives – the opinion of people across the world.

*Irina Bokova,
Director-General of UNESCO*



The board of GIA after a meeting with King Simeon II in Sofia. (from left to right Meril James, Kancho Stoychev, Tony Cowling, Loula Zaklama, Kenji Ijima, Teo Hess, Marita Carballo)



POLLING AROUND THE WORLD



THE 66TH ANNUAL WIN/GIA CONFERENCE - ROME, ITALY 2013



The background is a deep blue with a faint white grid pattern representing a globe. In the top left, an older woman with white hair smiles, her hand resting on her chin. In the top right, a young girl and a woman with a colorful headband smile. In the center, three smaller globes show North America, Europe, and Asia. In the bottom left, a man in a suit and glasses sits at a desk with a laptop. In the bottom center, a man and a woman smile together. In the bottom right, a man smiles. The text 'The Voice of the People' is written in a white, elegant serif font across the upper middle.

*The Voice of
the People*

GALLUP
INTERNATIONAL

Special News Notes

GALLUP INSTITUTES CONFER IN ENGLAND

The first international conference of Gallup Institutes was held at Loxwood Hall, Sussex, England, May 11-18. Its prime object was to form a closely-integrated organization among the member countries present so that more frequent and intensive international polling, along the lines recently described in an article by Stuart C. Dodd,* can be undertaken. The conference resulted in the forming of an International Association of Public Opinion (Gallup) Institutes, with eleven countries as members. The countries and the names of the organizations who make up the Association are given below, together with the names of those who attended the Loxwood Conference:

U.S.A. – Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and associates Lawrence Benson, Edward G. Benson, and William A. Lydgate.

ENGLAND – Dr. Henry Durant, director of the British Institute of Public Opinion, and his associate, Colin Mc-Iver.

FRANCE – Dr. Alfred Max, Dr. Jean Stoetzel, Henri Paoletti, co-directors of the French Institute of Public Opinion, and Mile. Riffault, executive secretary.

CANADA – Wilfred Sanders, director of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion.

HOLLAND – Jan Stapel, head of the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion, and W. de Jonge, statistical director.

AUSTRALIA – Roy Morgan, director of Australian Public Opinion Polls.

SWEDEN – Sven O. Blomquist, head of the Swedish Gallup Institute.

DENMARK – C. Reventlow, director of the Danish Gallup Poll, and Wahl As-mussen, general director of the Scandinavian public opinion institutes.

NORWAY – Bjorn Balstad, director of the Norwegian Gallup Institute.

FINLAND – A. Raula, head of the Finnish Gallup Institute. The director of the Brazilian Institute was unable to attend.

Each member Institute present contributed a list of questions for international polling. More than 100 questions were assembled in this way. The members then voted on each question and the 20 which received the highest number of choices were scheduled for international polling at the rate of approximately one per month. Some of the larger countries will conduct joint polls on several additional questions



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American Association for Public Opinion Research

monthly. Results will be made public.

An administrative body to be known as the Central Committee was formed to expedite the work of the International Association until the next conference which is planned for 1949. The Central Committee consists for the present of one representative each from five Institutes: American, British, French, Scandinavian (as a group) and Australian. It is charged with a wide variety of duties. These include collecting information on opinion research projects in all parts of the world; passing on the qualifications of new applicants for membership in the International Association; disciplining of members if necessary; setting standards of research requirements among the members; etc.

The Central Committee will be aided in its work by a technical committee consisting of Edward G. Benson of the American Institute, Dr. Jean Stoetzel of the French Institute, and Dr. Henry Durant of the British Institute, who are to examine the following matters in the case of new applicants for membership: (a) size and adequacy of sample, including distribution, (b) general sampling and cross-sectioning procedure, and (c) quality and efficiency of interviewers and their work. The Central Committee is also charged with examining the character of the operating heads of proposed new member Institutes.

Representatives from several polling organizations which are not members of the International Association of Public Opinion (Gallup) Institutes were present as observers. These included Professor P. Luzzatto Fegiz of DOXA, Italian public opinion measuring organization, and Dr. C. Adamec and Ivan Viden, of Czechoslovakia's public opinion polling organization. Plans were discussed for including these two countries from time to time in joint international polls on specific questions.

During the week's meeting at Loxwood much time was devoted to discussion of polling problems common to all the members, such as interviewing, election forecasting, question wording, public relations problems of polltakers, radio research, and newspaper research.

The over-all result of the conference was to place the member Institutes who attended well on the road toward the world surveying which has long been envisioned.

WILLIAM A. LYDGATE

* Dodd, Stuart C., "Toward World Surveying," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 10, No. 4 (1946), 470. See also Dodd, Stuart C., "Standards for Surveying Agencies," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11, No. 1 (1947), 115.