

B. Z. Doktorov

**GEORGE
GALLUP:**

BIOGRAPHY AND DESTINY

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Today, George Gallup (1901-1984) is perceived more as a brand name and a symbol rather than as a real person who changed the beliefs and the mindset of millions of his contemporaries. He undertook the creation of the new information and communication environment for the future generations. The legacy of George Gallup is an integral part of twentieth-century world political culture. George Gallup was a scientist and a citizen who determined many of the principal components and specific features of the modern institution of democracy, not only in the U.S., but also in many other countries. Being a tenth generation American, he became also a citizen of the world.

This book of Prof. B.Z. Doktorov, the sociologist, pollster and public opinion research historian, is the first monograph, which offers a biography of George Gallup together with an assessment of his creative heritage. At the same time, it investigates the genesis of the polling technology, appraises its present state and contemplates the directions for its development in the coming years and decades.

The description and the analysis of George Gallup's life and work are based on the study of his books and articles, his interviews with contemporaries, archive materials, the author's correspondence with people who knew George Gallup in person, and on studies of the history of public opinion polling and market research.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is a sequel — I do not mean that it's something like a finalization — of the cycle of writings about the life and work of George Gallup and of a large group of prominent American copywriters, market researchers and pollsters. Work has been going on for ten years now, and during all these years, I have felt and do feel the attention of many, many friends, colleagues and almost unknown people. I sincerely thank all of them — Russians and Americans — for the informational support, for the organizational and material assistance, for the nice and for the critical words. I live in the small American community of Foster City, where there is no scientific library, nor a forum for discussion of historical and methodological studies or methods for the analysis of biographical material. There have been moments of self-doubt, frustration, cognitive impasses, ethically complex circumstances, but I have never felt like a hermit, for I have had the right people to lean on. And I still do. In previously published books and articles, I have repeatedly and sincerely thanked all those who have been throwing lifelines at me. Now I want to name just those without whom this project would have never been implemented.

When the boundaries of the topic were emerging only and when the book was still a long way off, I was helped by Mikhael Ille — publisher and editor of the St. Petersburg sociological and marketing journal *Telescope*. At that time I also felt the support of Elena Bashkirova, who represented Russia in the Gallup International Association. The space of the Moscow «Journal of Sociology» was opened to me by Larissa Kozlova. The leaders of the Public Opinion Fund, Alexander Oslon and Elena Petrenko, published my articles in the *Social Reality Journal* and my first book from the series of my works on George Gallup. The birth of the two subsequent books was made possible thanks to the friendly initiative and great editorial assistance by Francis and Galina Sheregi.

I clearly understand that my work would have been much harder, both professionally and psychologically, if it has not been for the certitude that I could always ask for advice or just discuss a problem with my Russian friends Andrey Alekseev, Julia Beshpalova, Igor Kon, Boris Firsov and Vladimir Yadov. There are two other friendly and authoritative experts, namely, the Russian-born American sociologists Dmitri Shalin and Vladimir Shlapentokh.

At the first stage of this project, I have received various types of

support from many American scientists and archive experts. I owe them an enormous gratitude. I will only name three of them whose attention to my work has been highly important for me, and I deeply appreciate it. First of all, I am profoundly grateful to the famous American pollsters Eleanor Singer and Howard Schuman, without whose assistance many doors would have been closed for me. Also, I sincerely thank Valerie Ogren, the local historian of Jefferson City, Iowa, where Gallup was born and spent the first two decades of his life. The documents made available to me by Valerie and the subsequent correspondence with her brought me into contact with the native place of my hero. This is very important indeed for grasping the personality of a human being.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the long-term participation of Natalia Mazlumyanova in my work. This book is the fourth one edited by her, with the total number of pages is approximately two thousand. In my opinion, this is a unique style of cooperation between an author and an editor. I have to add that our communication via email, which certainly was a complicating factor for our mutual understanding.

The book has been written in Russian, and thanks to the Bulgarian translator Simeon Enchev, it has become accessible to the English-speaking audience. Interaction with him has been useful for me because of his professionalism, and pleasant, because of his openness and goodwill.

The preparation of the book has been conducted under the auspices of Gallup International, and the path to its publication has been opened by Kancho Stoichev, Vice President of this organization, which unites pollsters from approximately 100 countries worldwide. Work on the book has been simultaneously conducted in the U.S., Russia and Bulgaria. It has been possible to avoid many problems thanks to the brisk and effective action of his personal assistant Galia Ivanova.

Finally, I am extremely grateful to Andrey Milekhin, Regional Director of Gallup International for Eastern Europe and CIS for supporting the idea of writing a book about George Gallup and for arranging its publication in Russian and English.

*Boris Doktorov
Foster City, California, USA*

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INTRODUCTION

THE BIRTH OF THIS BOOK

George Gallup was born on November 18, 1901. Therefore, in 2011 we will commemorate the 110-year anniversary of his birth. This is not a very round anniversary, but it is significant enough to justify a brief narration about the life of Gallup which will make it easier to comprehend his scientific and creative legacy. Conceivably, the most accurate image of Gallup has been introduced by the words of his son — George Gallup, Jr. (born 1930): “...he was a man of ideas, certainly, and a man of ideals, as well” [1]. These words are taken up as the leitmotif of the book.

Nowadays, Gallup is understood more often as a brand name, as a symbol or as a designation of a technology rather than the name of a real person who changed the perception of the world and the identity for millions of his contemporaries, and who initiated the creation of the new informational and communication environment for the future generations. Gallup's legacy is an integral part of world political culture of the XXth c. George Gallup was a scientist and a citizen who shaped many components and features of the modern institution of democracy not only in the United States, but also in many other countries worldwide. Being a tenth generation American, he also became a citizen of the world.

Here is a brief list of the high awards received by George Gallup in recognition of his work as a scientist and a citizen: in 1938, he became “One of America's 10 Outstanding Young Men”; in 1947 he was “One of the 64 Who Run America”; in 1971 and 1972 he was chosen as “One of the 1000 Makers of the Twentieth Century”; in 1990 he was “One of the 100 Most Important Americans of the 20th Century” [2].

In 1963, after three decades of studying public opinion, Gallup received the highest award of the *American Association for Public Opinion Research* — the AAPOR Award. The awarding document states: “Pioneer in the field of public opinion research. His methodological and substantive contributions, particularly the long continuity and the wealth of the information he has furnished to the world as to how mankind reacts to various stimuli, are exceeded only by his stubborn integrity, which has done much to elevate the status of public opinion research both in the United States and the world at large.” [3, p.618-619].

Gallup died in 1984. By historical standards, this is recent times. In the United States and in many European countries, there are people who have been calling him friendly as Ted and who are still alive and working. There are people who have listened to his speeches. There are people who have begun mastering the polling technology on the basis of his books and articles. Many aspects in the organization of public opinion polls, the formation of the sampling framework, the design of the questions, the approach to solving the ethical issues omnipresent in the processes of data acquisition and in the publications of the obtained picture of the attitudes, the internal communication system inherent to the modern multicultural pollster community, etc., bear the traces of George Gallup's proper scientific and organizational activity of and of his civic position. Let me remind you that in 1937 George Gallup became one of the founders of the "Public Opinion Quarterly", namely, the central journal of public opinion analysts, one of the founders of the American Association for Public Opinion Research in 1947, and of the World Association for Public Opinion Research in 1947, and of Gallup International Association in 1947. George Gallup was the first president of this organization, heading it throughout the years 1947-1984.

The older members of our professional community know it all. The younger ones are not fully aware of it, but do follow the traditions. It is believed that Fyodor Dostoevsky, describing the influence of Nikolai Gogol on Russian literature and referring to his story "The Overcoat", said: "We have all come out from under Gogol's overcoat". Recognizing the importance of George Gallup's heritage for the formation of the modern global technology and the culture of public opinion research, we can paraphrase this famous quotation as follows: "We have all come out from under George Gallup's coat."

For many decades, the results of the polls conducted under the direction of George Gallup have been at the center of attention of journalists and the political elite in many countries. Leading politicians and political commentators have been striving to discuss with him the attitudes of people with regard to their concerns, because he was not a dispassionate analyst who simply identified and wrote down the mere structure of the views of his contemporaries.

The present book provides information that will help understand George Gallup's personality as a human being and the way he went about his work. Nevertheless, allow me to begin with two illustrations, which, in my opinion, explain a lot about his inner world.

Prof. Paul Scipione, a market researcher and a historian of marketing, who knew George Gallup personally and considered himself his third-generation student, quoted parts of his conversation with George

Gallup held three years prior to his death: "In fact, you really are as much a historian as a researcher." Gallup smiled, shook his head and replied, "No, I am really more a reporter. I report what American citizens think and feel." [4].

Speaking about their father, both his sons considered it very important to emphasize that, while urging Americans to vote, Gallup himself did not vote at presidential elections. According to the memoirs of George Gallup, Jr., their father last took part in the elections in 1928, when he cast his vote for the Democratic candidate Alfred Smith (Alfred E. Smith, 1873-1944). That year, I should note, the winner of the election was Republican Herbert Hoover (1874-1964) who obtained a large majority of the votes [5, p.920]. George Gallup explained that if he would vote, but would refuse to say for whom he would vote, he would not be able to ask anyone a similar question [5, p.920]. Alec Gallup used to explain this behavior of his father in the following way: "He never voted. This was one of the things people couldn't understand. The reason he didn't vote is because he didn't have people asking him how he voted. He said, "I don't. It's easier not to." He said, "Everybody should vote but me." He said, "I don't want to do it, because then people ask me, and then they say, 'Oh, you're a Republican or you're a Democrat.'" [6].

Now let us quote a few more retrospections about George Gallup.

The obituary, written by Albert Cantril, the well-known analyst of political attitudes, said: "George Gallup, Sr. was a true democrat", a constant advocate of majority opinion; "he was ever the advocate or the majority" [7, p. 807]. Cantril pointed out that considerable time would be necessary to analyze and internalize Gallup's multifaceted heritage of.

Irving Crespi (1926-2004), one of the world's leading experts in the field of public opinion research, who worked in Gallup's Institute for many years, said in an interview for "The New York Times" on the day after George Gallup's death: "Dr. Gallup was the most important individual in the history of polling. He was a pioneer in modern polling methods, in establishing the creditability of polls, and in furthering the spread of public opinion polling through the world." [5, p.917].

The Swedish sociologist, pollster and marketer Hans Zetterberg (Hans Lennart Zetterberg, b.1927) who was Gallup's friend for many years, wrote: "His innovations and insights were never packaged as "research products" and licensed to others. He gave them away to his friends around the world. If there is such a thing as American intellectual imperialism ... it has a very kind face. To me American intellectual imperialism is ... Dr. Gallup's generosity." [8].

In 1950, Zetterberg was in the US. He met George Gallup and

Hadley Cantril, and learned about the first generation of public opinion researchers. Half a century later, recalling his first impressions and summarizing his introspections of the following decades, he described the motives of the endeavors of the founders of the new polling approach and of Gallup in particular: "In the beginning, the pollsters were driven by an ambition to bring the views of the public to the attention of everybody, particularly the politicians. Of course, Gallup did not think that the politicians were constitutionally bound to follow public opinion as revealed in his polls. But he felt that they were morally obliged to do so." This observation was followed by a very incisive and accurate historical and political conclusion: "The first generation of pollsters used the rhetoric of the French and American Revolutions. In democracy the people is the ruling class. In democracy, politicians are the servants of people, not their lords. The source of political actions and programs were found in the general public. Gallup and his generation of pollsters believed that the public's views were loaded with political wisdom, and that a poll was the key to unlock it. A critical task for the pollster was to ask questions revealing the public's concerns rather than the pollster's concern. Gallup solved this in the late 1930's by regularly asking 'what is the most important problem facing the country today?' He did not define the problem, his respondents did." [8].

Paul Scipione, who was quoted above, noted: "Always modest, George Gallup was a true renaissance man: both a journalist and researcher, as well as loving husband and father, inspiring academic, smart businessman and technical innovator." [4].

In the early 1970's, having completed my mathematical education, I was included in a group, which was to establish and tune up a system in Leningrad for the collection of data about the public opinion of the city's workers and employees. Most probably, this was the time when I first learned about polling in the United States and heard the name of George Gallup for the first time. For some reason, the "*Public Opinion Quarterly*" journal, which published George Gallup's articles, was stored in the library of the Leningrad branch of the Mathematical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. At first, I took George Gallup for a statistician. At the beginning of the second half of the 1970's, Boris Firsov (born in 1928), Head of the Institute of Sociology, who led work on the study of public opinion in Leningrad, was on an internship at the *Gallup Institute* at Princeton, and told me many things about the Maestro. Three decades afterwards, Firsov recalled that long trip to the United States in the following way [9, p.8]:

"Gallup first treated me with restraint. Perhaps this was a reaction to my maximalism and insistence. Originally I asked for permission

to spend one working week within the hardworking organization and arrange my meetings with all key players, including George Gallup and his sons, who already were active assistants and followers of their father. We agreed that I would come to a preliminary interview, and everything else was to be decided afterwards. I met George Gallup at the appointed hour. I was pleasantly surprised by the openness of his face and by his perceptive eyes; his demeanor invited frankness and a direct dialogue. After my brief presentation, George Gallup took a piece of chalk, gave it to me and said: "Go to the blackboard; let us see what you know and how deep you know it." He said to his secretary that he intended to have a long conversation with me, since I pretended to have seven days of training instead of a single study visit. The Maestro asked me about everything, about my comprehension of the social role of the public opinion phenomenon, the technologies for its study, the methods for the presentation of research results, the ethics of the relationship with the respondents and many other things, including my own opinions about the state of this research in my country.

At the end of the meeting, he gave me 15 minutes for my questions and for a detailed explanation of the objectives of my visit to Princeton. I asked him, in particular, about the attitude of the Senate and the U.S. Congress with regard to the results of public opinion polls. He said that practically after every ordinary election he had to engage in a basic literacy educational program in the field of sociology for the new congressmen. When going to the subsequent congressional hearing after an electoral campaign, he knew that he would certainly be asked the obligatory question: "Where is the guarantee, Dr. Gallup, that the opinion of two thousand Americans, to which you refer, represents the opinion of the major segments of the population and of the population in general? Can we trust your results?" He had formulated the answer to this "treacherous" question some 40 years ago and since then used to reproduce it without any changes: "In order to appreciate the taste of a soup, you don't have at all to eat the entire cauldron and to scrape the bottom. It is sufficient to mix the soup well enough and to eat one spoonful. The guarantees for the representativeness of the information about public opinion are in the high quality of the sampling method." Politicians are alike across the entire world. Afterwards, I have often been asked the same question by the Leningrad party officials.

Then his secretary came and the verdict was pronounced: "This gentleman from Russia must be shown everything that he wants to

see, and have business meetings arranged with all the staff that is of interest to him. He promises with his word of honor not to publish any scientific reports or papers, given that they are the property of a commercial organization. Provide him with samples of reports, methodologies and materials that regulate the collection of information about public opinion. Give him to read some reports on the most typical studies, including marketing research.” Before saying goodbye, George Gallup said that he was very interested by Russia as a partner. He would have liked to establish a branch in Moscow or Leningrad. It was not possible to do that at once, but things should be started without undue delay (“without pushing the pan to the back burner”). For example, he said that he was ready to carry out a representative sampling for a Soviet-American research on any topic that would be named by the Soviet side, or by me, as a representative of an academic institution. As a matter of fact, he realized that I could not have been in a position to be authorized with a mandate for similar negotiations and he said that I should not hesitate to tell him about it. This was a great example of refinement and kindness in a relationship with someone who is not currently a partner, but who might become one! We parted amicably, and afterwards I was traveling for an entire week between New York and Princeton, studying the activities of all departments and units of the American Institute of Public Opinion.”

Later, I read George Gallup’s most important books. I appreciated the enormity of the perimeter of his scientific interests and the depth of his immersion in public opinion research. However, at that time I did not feel any particular interest with respect to his biography.

It so happened (or destiny wished it to be) that I resettled to the United States in 1994 and obtained permanent residence there. The first years of immigration generally represent a pretty complicated period of one’s life, and my case was not entirely different. By that time, I had long been a Ph.D. and professor, an author of many books on the methodology and the technology of sample surveys, but there was no demand for my knowledge and skills, and I had to learn doing various other kinds of jobs that did not require a particularly high qualification.

By the late 1990’s, life became less complicated for me, and I began taking steps to engage in scientific activities on the orders of Russian institutions, while living in America, and to read lectures in Russian universities. Something was beginning to happen the right way. After returning from my second trip to Russia in January 2000, when the country started to prepare for a presidential election, people began

to ask me about forecasting the outcome. I explained the results of the surveys of the *All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center*, of the *Public Opinion Research Foundation* and other organizations. My listeners, however, mostly former Soviet citizens, doubted the possibility of predicting the outcome of the election campaign on the basis of a relatively small sample frame. To strengthen my argument, I went to a library and wrote out a table with the predictions of Gallup since 1936. Then, I wrote a small article about his experience and achievements, and published it in the Russian newspapers of San Francisco and Philadelphia. At that moment, I had a good idea about the methods and the technologies used by George Gallup, but I knew nothing about him as a man of science and a personality. Having started to be acquainted with the available literature, I discovered that November 2001 was a perfect occasion to commemorate 100 years since George Gallup’s birth, and wrote my first biographical article about him [10]. Gradually, what I had started thinking of as a historical and methodological work – an analysis of the emergence and establishment of the modern public opinion polling technology – turned into a historical and biographical piece of science study. I started to be interested not only in what was achieved by George Gallup, but also in the very process of his creative work.

I obtained the first bits of biographical information about George Gallup from brief encyclopedia entries and a few short essays written by people who knew him. However, this material was interesting in itself, but it did not contain the key I needed for the continuation of my research. On the contrary, it created the illusion that there was complete comprehension of George Gallup’s life and work. The elimination of this impression and the full understanding of the existence of unexplored areas for new biographical searches were made possible by the “tips” provided by George Gallup himself. Let me quote a small fragment from one of George Gallup’s most recent interviews in which he summarized his endeavors of more than half a century [11, p.23]:

Question: What happened in your career after Young & Rubicam?

Answer: Raymond Rubicam, one of the great men of advertising, not only let me start something called the Gallup Poll, but another organization, called Audience Research, which dealt with the motion-picture industry ... my right-hand man was David Ogilvy.

At first sight or from the purely formal point of view, there is nothing here to describe or suggest the emergence of system of public opinion measurement or of the essential elements of George Gallup’s

working style. In fact, this reply mentions a pivotal moment in his life as well as the names of the people who defined in many ways his personal and creative destiny. Thus, George Gallup himself “showed” me the need to study the process of development of the advertising industry and marketing research in the United States. This is so, because precisely the search for solutions of advertising problems in the late 19th c. led to the emergence of the first sample polling procedures and, later, in the 1920’s, to the emergence of Gallup’s method.

My mindset, which was pushing me towards a comprehensive study of the creative work of George Gallup over a very broad subject field, was considerably strengthened after reading a short essay about him in the book by Jean Converse (born 1927) on the history of the origin and the development of polling as a method of market research and public opinion studies. A guiding light for me was Jean Converse’s assertion that George Gallup discerned the spirit of Jeffersonian democracy and of the town meetings of New England in the polls that appeared in the first half of the 17th c. For George Gallup, the polls represented democracy in action. In his view, people had political sovereignty and collective intelligence sufficient to find solutions to their common problems [12, p.122].

The monograph by David Moore (born 1940) is not very abundant in biographical information about George Gallup. However, this paper proves in general terms that the adequate understanding of George Gallup’s achievements requires indispensably a detailed study of the heritage of other pollsters as well, who explored the political and consumer attitudes of Americans from 1930 to 1950. A very important element for the formulation of the methodology of my research was Moore’s remark about the creation by George Gallup in the summer of 1935 of the *American Institute of Public Opinion*: “This new force in American politics began in a one-room office — with only a desk, a telephone, and a typewriter.” [13, p.47]. Another layer of the reality under observation was exposed in the following way: we see now the forces that supported George Gallup and the other pioneers in the study of public opinion at the very beginning of their activities.

While I was still struggling to “keep afloat”, a lifeline was thrown to me by the author of some interesting research on the history of straw polls, Susan Herbst, an expert on the history of Jefferson City, George Gallup’s hometown, by Valerie J. Ogren, and by John H. Gallup, the former Vice President of the Gallup Family Association, Inc. Professor S. Herbst gave me her book and a number of articles on the early American electoral polls [14]. Valerie Ogren helped in the search for photographs of the house in which George Gallup was born and raised.

She also sent me copies of local newspapers publications about the first successes of the “Jefferson boy”. I received a valuable gift from John Gallup, viz. the genealogy of the Gallup family [15], starting with a biography of John Gallop, who arrived in the New World in March 1630.

Of no less importance for the continuation of the initiated work was the moral support provided by George Gallup, Jr. In early 2003, I informed him that I had written several articles about his father (one of which was translated into English and sent to him), pointing out that I intended to continue my research. He replied. “Dear Professor Doktorov: Thank you for the sensitive and thoughtful profile you did on my father, Dr. George Gallup, in March. The entire Gallup family read the article with great interest and appreciation. With best wishes, Sincerely, George Gallup, Jr.” [16].

Some time later, he wrote: “We do, indeed, have someone at this office that speaks Russian, and therefore would like to read other articles you have written about my father if you would care to send them to us. I’m certain they will be as well done as the one to which I referred in my earlier email”. I was strongly encouraged by his following phrase: “You are a faster worker than I am — I first started a biography in 1940 when I was 10 years old, and have been at it ever since.” [17].

In the early 2000’s, there were no other monographs related, even indirectly, to the biography of George Gallup or to the history of the development of public opinion research, but some Internet surfing enriched me with contacts with the authors of a number of detailed articles focused on various stages of the life of Gallup and on some domains of his activities.

First of all, I need to mention Becky Hawbake’s research, produced in Iowa University in the early 1990’s. Until the present moment, it is still the most comprehensive source of information about the Iowa period of George Gallup’s life [18]. In addition, Gallup’s early career as a lecturer in advertising and an analyst, who used a sample polling method to study the effectiveness of advertising exposure [19], was investigated by the well-known historian of journalism Steven H. Chaffee, (1936-2001), with whom I managed to exchange some e-mails for two months before his death.

In December 1989, during their visit to Leningrad, I became acquainted with Dr. Eleanor Singer and Dr. Howard Schuman, the well-known methodologists in the field of attitude measurements and the conduct of poll. In 2000, when I started to dive deeper into the history of public opinion polling and to collect information about the first generations of pollsters, they helped me with their recollections and supplied the addresses of analysts who had been working with Gallup

or who had met him. In the same year, I began some correspondence with Helen Crossley, the daughter of one of the pioneers of public opinion research Archibald Crossley, and a little later with Dr. Albert Cantril, the son of one of the first researchers of the methodology of polling, Hadley Cantril.

In the second half of the 1990's, Susan Ohmer began developing the topic of the research of moviegoer audiences for Hollywood films. In 1997 she defended her doctoral thesis, some fragments of which were available in the Internet, whereas in 2006 she published her book, *George Gallup in Hollywood* [20].

Historian and culturologist Sarah Igo proposed an unexpected viewpoint for the analysis of Gallup's legacy. According to her concept, the polls of Gallup and Elmo Roper should be considered on a par with the classic sociological project *Middletown* of Robert Lynd (1892-1970) and his wife, Helen (Helen Merrell Lynd, 1896-1982), as well as with the study of human sexuality by Alfred Charles Kinsey (1894-1956). According to Sarah Igo [21], the emergence of public opinion polls, the Kinsey Reports, and the study of the life of "average Americans" fundamentally changed the concept of the U.S. public about social science in general and its methods, too. However, most importantly, they transformed the views of people about themselves. Prior to these studies, society was dominated by the perception that social scientists studied exclusively social problems, whereas afterwards people saw themselves for the first time. In a letter, Sarah Igo wrote: "As for me, my work is only partly about polling. The book as a whole is about new social scientific techniques in the twentieth century and how they changed Americans' attitudes toward the nation and themselves." [22].

In my view, the results of the Ohmer and Igo research are extremely valuable from the perspective of historical science studies, because they not only expand radically the scope of the discussion on the role of George Gallup's scientific heritage, but suggest new approaches to the analysis of the genesis of polling technologies, highlighting the importance of data about public attitudes towards social sciences as an aggregate.

While few things have been written about George Gallup the human being and Gallup the scientist, what has been written is not focused on understanding the origins of his scientific and social activities. The accomplishments of Crossley, Cantril and Roper have been studied even less than that. There are many reasons for this, but I will name just one of them, perhaps the most important one.

Just a few decades have elapsed since the death of the founders of

the modern methodology of public opinion studies. This is too short a time interval for historical research of any type. Much of what happened in the near past continues to be considered at present for a number of reasons. The dust of many events has not settled down yet. Many separate processes that began unfolding several decades ago and would have seemed to provide grounds for a historical analysis, in reality are far from completion. Because of objective reasons, the information about them is confidential and/or personal, and remains a matter of privacy. Therefore, it actually turns out to be off-limits.

The legacy of the founders of the new polling approach has not yet been perceived as a subject and an object of historically scientific research. The history of science is long-sighted, it actually suffers from hypermetropia. It sees distant objects in a much better way than things close at hand.

However, it is also true that if at present the significant events, which occurred between the early 1930's and the late 1950's, can still be recorded directly from the words of eyewitnesses and thus can go down in history, this will soon become very difficult or impossible. Thus, while studying the writings of Roper, I discovered some discrepancies in the descriptions of the origin of his "*Fortune Survey*" research commissioned by the *Fortune* magazine. I wrote about this to Jean Converse, who is not simply the author of the above-mentioned book on the history of polling, but also a well-known expert on interviewing technologies. Besides, she is the wife of Philip E. Converse (born 1928), whose research in the areas of psychology, politics and methodology covers many fundamental aspects of the nature of public opinion and its studying. Both of them belong to the elite of the professional community of American pollsters and public opinion analysts.

When Jean Converse worked on her book, the son of Elmo Roper, Burns Roper (Burns Worthington "Bud" Roper, 1926-2003) was still alive. He had been actively engaged for many years in the research of public opinion and in market studies. I assumed that while presenting her version for the birth of the "*Fortune Survey*", Jean Converse might have consulted Elmo or Burns Roper, and I asked her about this in my letter. In April 2004, she wrote back to me that she never talked to Elmo Roper, because he died long before she began developing her own historical project. She happened to meet Burns Roper at conferences of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, but did not question him about his father's career [23].

I will mention another episode from the past, the contents of which brings us back to the beginning of 1940 and introduces a range of

methodological and mathematical issues, discussed in those years by the scientists who spearheaded the study of public opinion.

In the second half of 1970, I became acquainted with Hadley Cantril's classical work of 1944 "*Gauging Public Opinion*" [24]; this probably happened a few years after my acquaintance with Gallup's publications, but much before that with the materials of the polls by Roper and Crossley. Ten years prior to that, I was very much engaged in the methodological and mathematical problems of factor analysis. Therefore, my attention was caught by John Harding's chapter, which explained the results of the factor analysis of mass consciousness indicators. I wanted to know something more about him and about the way he came to use this then new and challenging mathematical technique. However, I was unable to do this at that moment. Later on, when I was studying the achievements of Cantril, I felt the desire to carry out my long-standing intention, and, although by that time 60 years had passed after the publication of the book, I decided to find Harding and ask him the all the accumulated questions. Omitting the description of the long search, let me say just that I managed to do it. Indeed, I was happy to receive the first short e-mail of Harding, which began with the words, "Yes, I was a member of Cantril's" team at Princeton ... from February 1942 to May 1943. I contributed two or three pieces to his book *Gauging Public Opinion*. One of these was Chapter XVII, "*The Measurement of Civilian Morale*", based on interviewing done by the Gallup organization. I had been sent down to Princeton by Gordon W. Allport, my graduate adviser at Harvard University, to collect data for my doctoral dissertation." [25].

Harding was born in 1919. He was 84 years old when we began our correspondence. He is one of the very few people who have kept in their memories also the fact of *Gordon Allport's involvement* (Gordon Willard Allport, 1897-1967, a classic of XXth c. psychology and a teacher of Cantril, in the development of the theoretical foundations of public opinion research, as well as some details about the first steps in the development of the principles and the technology of multi-dimensional factor analysis with regard to mass consciousness measurements.

Much in the way of understanding public opinion research was revealed to me by a few letters from Jerome Seymour Bruner (born 1915), a psychologist, a leading expert in the theory of teaching, and a prominent researcher of cognitive processes, who had completed his doctoral work in 1941 under the leadership of Gordon Allport. During the war years, Bruner worked with Cantril and Gallup, and in 1943-1944, despite his youth, he headed the "*Public Opinion Quarterly*" journal. Thus, relying on Bruner's memories, new protagonists appeared in my historical

studies — Gerard Lambert (Gerard Barnes Lambert, 1886-1967), an outstanding advertiser who funded the wartime research of Cantril for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and several senior officials from the presidential administration who did a lot for the president's regular reviewing of the survey results. Bruner described also the attitudes of Roosevelt and Cantril with regard to the public opinion phenomenon. Bruner wrote: "Cantril deeply believed in the importance of public opinion in the making of democratic decisions, though he was rather vague of the subject. He admired the ways in which FDR "led" public opinion rather than simply following it. And he felt it was a high democratic "duty" to inform policy makers, up to the President, about the state of public opinion in order to help "guide" them. But he never saw the President as merely following opinion. Rather, his task was to lead it. Please remember, those were innocent and very optimistic days!" [26]. Let me point out that Gallup and Cantril were neighbors in Princeton. They were close friends, and in general had similar views about the nature of public opinion and its role in the institute of democracy.

The accumulated information and the help of my friends allowed me to publish in Russia in 2005, 2006 and 2008 three books of a historical and science study orientation, devoted to the emergence of advertising research in the United States, the establishment of the technology and the culture of public opinion polls and the lives of many scientists who worked in these fields throughout the twentieth century [27], [28], [29]. George Gallup was in many respects the central figure in these books, linking the numerous heroes of the historical quest. A significant place, however, was also assigned to the biographies of Crossley, Cantril and Roper, and to the biographies of those who studied public opinion before them and of those who followed them.

In the present book, George Gallup is the main character. To understand this, it was necessary, first and foremost, to clarify George Gallup's image. Secondly, a painstaking analysis was carried out with regard to what was previously written, and all materials were incorporated into the new composition. Thirdly, the book introduces some new archival data, and references are made to a number of unpublished letters from people who knew George Gallup personally. However, I need to point out that the limited volume of this book did not allow the inclusion of everything previously written by me about George Gallup.

In general, the biography of a certain person is the saga of his or her life path from beginning to end. It is an investigation of this life in all its manifestations. The biography is more than a chronicle of one's life and work. It must incarnate a comprehension of the integrity of what has been lived by the individual. The recreation of a fully comprehensive biogra-

phy of a certain person implies total knowledge of his/her course of life and living conditions. There is no such thing as a human being without a social environment and a historical context. Therefore, the study of an individual life path includes research of the historical era and the social environment. The era is not just a historical backdrop; it is a "partner" of the person throughout his or her life. Since human life is not limited to the mere events, but it includes also the process of experiencing them, the area of human feelings is extremely important as well.

Traditionally, scientists who study the life and the work of eminent personalities are termed as biographers, a word derived from biography (i.e., a life description). This seems quite obvious. I do not think it is necessary to break the established rules, but it is important to draw attention to the existence of a somewhat unusual but highly heuristic interpretation of the reconstructive work on the image of the people being biographed. It belongs to the prominent expert in the field of history and philosophy of physics, B. G. Kuznetsov, author of the scientific biographies of A. Einstein, G. Galileo, Isaac Newton and other eminent scientists and thinkers [30]. In the introduction to his little autobiographical book (a collection of essays about his meetings with people who left indelible imprints on his memory, such as V. I. Vernadsky, I. E. Tamm, F. Joliot-Curie, L. de Broglie), he notes that a researcher of the past of science and of the creativity of scientists should perhaps be more appropriately termed a "biologist" rather than a "biographer." The Greek word "graphos" alludes to a mere description of life or a narration about it, while the term «biologist», which is not used nowadays in its original Linnaean sense, combines "Bios" and "Logos" and indicates the perception and comprehension of life in its unity with the surrounding world.

It is believed that a biography is a story about the past. In my opinion, this is true, but only in the sense that a biography is mostly about something that may or may not have already happened in the past; about something that may have been possible or probable or sometimes just desirable. However, a seriously written autobiography and a biography created by a professional historian cannot be merely about the past. Distant historical periods are interesting only to a narrow circle of experts. The biography as a "Bio-Logical" portrait of a person, who has left a bright trace in the history of any domain of human activity, can only be significant if the story of the past, which is contained in it, is perceived as significant by modernity. Thus, a biography – even of a person who had lived many centuries ago – is a story about the present as well.

Therefore, the title of my first article about G. George Gallup [10]

contained two words, which conditioned many aspects of the direction of my further contemplation, and determined the object field of my research in its biographical and non-biographical aspects. These words are "Our Contemporary." At that time, a series of motives were quoted in support of the assertion that George Gallup is our contemporary, but they did not concern the interpretation of the "present time" concept as a social and historical category. Soon I realized that the temporal boundaries of the space of historical and biographical searches had not been defined. Many questions were left out. For example, is it appropriate to consider George Gallup's genealogy when investigating the emergence of the sample polling technology for public opinion research? What about the centennial history of straw polls? Is the early market research of Charles Parlin relevant? From the purely formal point of view, all this is quite "distant" from the direct sources of George Gallup's polling procedure. Today my answer is unequivocal: Yes, this is appropriate and necessary. Otherwise, the past will not be revealed and the identity of the person, whose heritage is being studied, will not be brought to light.

The notion of fate and all that surrounds it goes back to ancient times and has been the subject of many analyses, interpretations and deliberations of religious and secular thinkers, writers and cultural researchers. Fate has been treated as doom, as a book that contains records about a person's life as "summoning" or "warning" signs that people should follow, as something akin to the destiny of every person, to the purpose and the meaning of his or her life. Fate has been considered as a kind of higher power, or as a dimension, which establishes the balance between the autonomy of human beings and their dependence on higher powers, between one's choice and one's predestination or predetermination.

My experience of studying the life paths of people, who have left visible traces in the history of several domains of science and culture, shows the cognitive and methodological fruitfulness of the separation between biography and fate. These are concepts, which are related, but have a different substantiality. For me, a biography is the aggregate of all actions and thoughts of a person that have occurred throughout the years of his or her life. Everything that happens after that, such as the further development in history, the evolution in the field of activities where the person worked, etc., cannot change the trajectory of the person's life and the surrounding socio-cultural space of the time, because all this has already happened, it is gone. However, time instills new meaning into the lives lived by people and make visible their fates. The fate of people is an aggregate of everything that predetermines their bi-

ography (the pre-biography), that fills their lives (the biography proper), and that is associated with them afterwards (the post-biography). A biography has a beginning and an end, while fate is theoretically infinite. It might be more precise to say that fate generally endures longer than life. Fate is a multidimensional biography.

In exceptional cases only, historians and biographers deal with biographies. Usually they are interested in the fates of people. Moreover, the longer the time interval separating the biographer and the biographee is, the thinner the biographical layer. At the same time, it is more difficult to isolate the biographee from his or her fate. Usually, by the time that scientists and writers take up the study of the biographies of their protagonists, they have long been under the power of the fate of these people, they have been “bewitched” by them. Otherwise, there would be no reason for scrutinizing the lives of these actors. After all, it is not infrequent that dozens of years may pass from the moment of acquaintance of the researcher with the name of a hero or with fragments of his life, until the moment when the researcher becomes interested in a historical figure or until a decision is made for a purposeful study of that life.

While working on the biographies of many prominent people, including that of George Gallup, I realized that the nature of my search had been largely determined by the knowledge of their post-biographies.

The biographies of historical personalities written at different times, even if based on the same factual material, are different because of two circumstances. First, the author who seeks to write a new biography of a hero is in a field of the fate of the latter, which is different from the field of those who perceived the hero's life and deeds decades and often centuries earlier. Secondly, the given author and the biographed hero will be in a completely different communication space, they will have a different dialogue from those who have written on the same topic before.

In general, the comprehension of a human fate involves the study of the pre-biography, of the biography and of the post-biography of the respective person.

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Chapter 1.

PRE-BIOGRAPHY AND PREHISTORY

Grasping the character of creative people while understanding the nature and the singularities of their endeavors and lives as a whole requires in the first place research of the pre-biography of that person together with the history of the previous development of the respective field of science, art or culture where the person's most remarkable successes have been achieved. In general, methodological and historical terms, pre-biography and background of a person represent a whole. This means that the person's biography is a product of what has been preset or predetermined by one's genealogy and by the environment in which his/her professional activities were shaped and took place. There are many known cases where the pre-biography of a person has determined the scope of his/her future activities. For example, boys in the families of farmers, soldiers, handicraftsmen, musicians and scholars have been choosing the "family" occupation, achieving outstanding results in it throughout a number of successive generations. In other words, the family in similar cases has not only been a part of the person's pre-biography, but it has also acted as a partner in the process of formation of the professional domain of the family's new representative there.

At the same time, however, usually the pre-biography of a person and the prehistory of his/her professional environment develop independently of each other, and in their own time frames. Formally, each person has a pre-biography of infinite duration. Nevertheless, in reality, the overwhelming number of families — except for very ancient aristocratic clans — are able to trace back their past for three or four generations only, and, quite frequently, even for less than that, especially in countries having gone through revolutions and wars.

The underlying historical backgrounds for the development of contemporary human activities are also very different. In many cases, it is impossible to outline them unequivocally in terms of time and subject relations. Various kinds of activities and forms of culture are known to have originated in extreme antiquity, but have not changed much since then, while there are also young and rapidly changing areas.

The life and work of George Gallup represent an extremely interesting, *sui generis*, "model case" for the historical and biographical

research oriented towards the study of science. First, George Gallup belongs to a large multigenerational family, whose members have actively participated in the development of the New World and whose accomplishments are reflected in the history of the country, while some of these are seen even in the country's geography. Second, although the current stage of public opinion research begins with the pioneering work of George Gallup from 1935-1936, the study of electoral attitudes in the U.S. has a very long history. Nonetheless, the history of the development of American democracy is even longer, and one of its components has been the scientific research of public opinion.

This explains the structure of the present chapter. The first section sheds some light on the pre-biography of George Gallup, while the remaining two sections introduce the prehistory of public opinion research.

A TENTH GENERATION AMERICAN

For many years, the large Kollop family lived in Lotharingia (Lorraine), which was once claimed both by France and by Germany. In the Middle Ages, its English branch stood out. Its descendants have preserved the Gollop name until now. It is believed that the basis of this name was coined by the German words Gott and Lobe, which respectively mean "God" and "praise". There are different spellings of this family name: Gallop, Galloup, Galloupe, Gallupe, Gollop. The most frequent version in America is Gallup. There is a multitude of genealogical sources, which in varying degrees affect the history of George Gallup's family. The basis of the facts presented below is the thoroughly detailed "Gallup Genealogy" book released by the Gallup Family Association [1].

A historical record has been preserved concerning John Gollop (born about 1440), who came "out of the North in the fifth year of the reign of Edward IV" (1465) [1, p.4]. John Gollop married Alice Temple, who lived in Dorset. They became the founders of the Gollop clan, and this region became the home of many members of this family. Their descendant John Gallop (1590-1650), John Gollop's great-great-grandson, gave the beginning of the American branch of the Gallups, one of the oldest American families.

The intricate social mechanism, which caused the relocation of John Gallop and of a large group of English Puritans to New England, was set in motion in 1623. It was then that Puritan preacher John White (Rev. John White, 1575-1648) from Dorchester, Dorset,

with the support of a group of local investors founded the Dorchester Company with the objective to send the parishioners of his church to America. First of all, this project pursued economic goals: the settlers in New England obtained favorable opportunities for farming and fishing, as well as for hunting and forest fruit harvesting, and for establishing trade relations with the Indians. Over time, this was expected to solve the problem of food shortages facing the residents of Dorchester.

There was also a second purpose, a religious one. This was the strengthening of the Puritans' role in New England. Since the 1620's, the East Coast of America had begun to be settled by representatives of one of the branches of English Protestantism, who defended the idea of establishing a metropolis-independent religious community. In contrast, the Puritans and, in particular, White and the wing of the Anglican Church to which he belonged, while sharing many of the dogmas of the Pilgrims in general, did not seek a break with the Mother Church.

The existing documents prove that John Gallop set sail for New England together with 140 other passengers from the English City of Plymouth on March 20, 1630 on the 400-ton "Mary and John" ship [2]. This group of residents of Dorset and from several neighboring areas was collected and sent by White's company. The ship reached the coast of America on May 30, 1630.

Shortly after their arrival, the Dorset County natives established a new settlement near Boston and named it Dorchester in recognition of John White's merits. This town became the birthplace of an early form of American democracy, i.e. the New England town meeting. The same town was also the first one in the country where a system of support for public education through tax regulation was established.

On April 7 of the same 1630 year, four more vessels sailed from English Dorchester to America, with about 400 people on them. Among the passengers on the Arabella (or Arbella) ship was John Winthrop (1588-1649), one of the leaders of the Puritan movement in England, a lawyer and an outstanding writer. He became Governor of the Massachusetts Colony.

Historians believe that the Puritan community, sharing the ideas of White, while organizationally united by Winthrop, was the most important and the most influential among all groups of Europeans who had arrived in North America. It was the most homogeneous group in terms of religion and moral values, and many people knew each other since they were relatives or former neighbors. This community had brought with them their Puritan — or Protestant — ethics, which later identified the specificity of American capitalism; it was precisely by the members of this community and their followers that the funda-

mental organizational and functional principles of power institutions were developed and the foundations of American democracy were laid [3]. According to the remark of Alexis de Tocqueville, Puritanism was not merely a religious doctrine; it had a lot in common with the ideas of advanced democracy and with the republican theories [4, p. 1–3].

John Gallop was among the founders of Boston and he was one of the first people who obtained plots of land in the northern part of the town. His wife, Christobel Brashett (1595-1655), remained in England with their children and at first, John was planning to return and join them. However, Winthrop needed Gallop and therefore actively assisted the family's reunification. A letter written by Winthrop on July 4, 1632 to John White of Dorchester has been preserved. It contains a request to convince Christobel to move to America. It contains such words: "I have much difficulty to keep John Gallop here by reason his wife will not come. I marvel at the woman's weakness ... I implore you to convince her to come by all means" [1, p. 7]. Soon all was settled, and Gallop's family arrived in Boston on September 4, 1633.

Judging by the preserved documents, John enjoyed great authority among the first settlers of New England. He had received military training in Holland, was an experienced and courageous seafarer, an enterprising skipper, one of the organizers of the coastal trade between Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, the owner and the captain of the first ship built in America. The maps of Boston and the adjacent territory from the middle of the XVIII c. show the Gallop Shipyard and the Gallop Alley named in his honor. The Gallop Island in Boston Harbor was of strategic importance during the Civil War, and is now a historic part of the City.

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

The results of the first research on the history of American Gallups were published in 1893 [5]. In 1902, *the Gallup Family Association* was founded, initiating a purposeful study of the past of the family. The first edition of the Gallup Genealogy book dates from 1966, the second edition was published in 1987 and represents a large-format book that contains data about representatives of fourteen Gallup generations [1].

Members of the Gallup family have participated in all major events of American history, including the War of Independence, the Civil War and all wars of the XXth c. Among them, there were farmers and seafarers, businessmen and doctors, teachers and priests, politicians and journalists, scientists and engineers. By the beginning of

this century, *the Gallup Family Association* archives totaled more than 13,000 names and one can confidently say that representatives of all professions and trades were among them.

John Gallop's eldest son of, named also John Gallop (1615-1675) [6], was an uncommon and remarkable person. Together with his father, he engaged in maritime trade, was an experienced warrior who participated in many historic battles and who was repeatedly awarded large tracts of land for his service. In 1640, John Gallop Jr. became the first sheriff of Plymouth and later founded the New London County in Connecticut. He was killed in a battle with the Indians.

In 1643, John Gallop II married Hanna Lake (Hanna Anna Lake, 1621-1675), who had arrived in America in 1635. She belonged to a large English family, whose members' names are present in the genealogies of many French, Saxon and English kings; the family's history dates back to the times of medieval chivalry, further back to the rule of Pharamond, the King of Westphalia, who lived on the verge between the third and the fourth century A.D., and into an even deeper past — the first half of the third century B.C. Four out of their ten children, whose family name already used to be written as Gallup, became the founders of lineages that gave America many famous people.

The biographies of John Gallop II and of the grandson of his grandson, Joseph Gallup (Joseph Adams Gallup, 1769-1849) [7], who represented the sixth generation of the American family, are included in the online series of biographies of prominent Americans. Joseph Gallup was a practicing physician, professor of theoretical and applied medicine and author of many books on healing.

One of the Gallups was famous in his time for being a familiar name in many different languages. That man was Elisha Gallup (1820-1903), the great-grandson's great-grandson of John Gallop II (the eighth generation of the American branch of the family). In 1865, he settled in one of the small towns of Iowa and did a lot for the development of bee keeping in the country. The Iowa Atlas for 1875 wrote that Gallup's name was known and spoken in every language and country wherever the little bee was known [8].

The U.S. Congress archives keep the biography of Congressman Albert Gallup (1796-1851) [9], another representative of the eighth generation of his family. He obtained a law degree, was a sheriff, and represented New York in Congress during the years 1837-1839.

Colonel George W. Gallup (1828-1880) remains in the history of the Civil War of 1861-1865. He was one of the founders of the famous 14th Kentucky Infantry Regiment, which participated in a number of key events in this war [10].

The poetess Emily Dickinson (1830-1886) [11] is one of the representatives of the ninth generation of American Gallups. During her lifetime, she published anonymously just a few poems, but her heritage includes more than 2000 poetic works. The leading experts see in her poetry the development of biblical iconographic scenes and well-known myths. She is recognized as a classic of American literature. Describing the characteristic features of American theoretical thinking, Benjamin Barber, one of the country's leading social and political scientists, pointed out that the true American philosophers in general were not particularly well-read, or professors and theorists. They were poets, like Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman, and essayists, like Henry Adams and Ralph Emerson [12 p.181]. In 1971, a post stamp was issued with an Emily Dickinson's portrait. Few American writers have been awarded such a high public recognition. It is hard to believe that George Gallup was not well versed in Emily Dickinson's poems; probably, when doing research on the attitudes of Americans with regard to success, he remembered her lines [13]:

*“Success is counted sweetest
By those who ne'er succeed.”*

Anyway, those are precisely the words used by Gallup's sons for the beginning of their book dedicated to the success notions of contemporary Americans [14, p.4].

The map of the United States has a number of places named in honor of members of the Gallup family. The most famous of them is the City of Gallup in the State of New Mexico. In 1880, David Gallup (David Leeds Gallup, 1842-1924) [15], one of the representatives of the ninth generation of the clan, founded a small financial company in the south-west of the country, in what was then known as Carbon City. The company used to pay the wages of the workers of the railway line, which was under construction at the time. People trusted him and used to say that they were “going to Gallup” to get their pay. When the construction works were completed, Carbon City was officially named as the City of Gallup. The man whose ancestors fought with the Native Americans gave his name to a city, which is nowadays one of the national centers for the preservation of the traditional culture of this nation.

It is hard to resist mentioning another fact from the history of the huge Gallup family. In 1677, Elizabeth Gallup, John Gallup II's daughter, married Henry Stevens. In 1821, their granddaughter's granddaughter Harriet (Harriet Smith) married Obadiah Newcomb

Bush, whose maternal-line ancestors came to America with the first group of settlers on November 11, 1620 on board the famous Mayflower ship. In 1988, their great-grandson George Bush Sr. (a representative of the eleventh Gallup generation) was elected for the office of the 41st President of the United States of America, while in 2000 his son George W. Bush (the twelfth generation) became the 43rd U.S. President [16].

George Gallup, whose life and work are the subjects of our analysis, was a tenth-generation American. He is a direct descendant of John Gallup III (1646-1733 [?]), the eldest son of John P. Gallup II.

What are the reasons that made me look at the history of George Gallup's family?

The first reason is that such a long family genealogy line is intrinsically an extremely rare phenomenon for people who do not belong to the top aristocratic estates, and thus it is sufficiently interesting by itself. The second reason is related to the first one, but is much more important. The members of this family always knew their history and remembered their forefathers. Just like his father, George Gallup was interested in genealogy, and reading historical literature was one of the favorite things to do throughout his entire life. Gallup was given a feeling for the continuity (or indissolubility) of social time. America's past for him has probably never been something done and terminated long ago, something remote and therefore passive; on the contrary, the past was alive in him and it invigorated his endeavors. The fundamental values and ideals of the Massachusetts Bay settlers, brought with them from England in the first half of the XVIIth c., were also his values and ideals. They defined his accomplishments, stimulated his creativity. Undoubtedly, Gallup's overriding objective, which was to strengthen the democratic foundations of American society (as well as the pivotal problem that he spent half a century to solve — the creation of a toolkit for the measurement of public opinion), were determined by his understanding of America's past and of the role played by nine American generations of his family for the country's development. With the endeavors of his lifetime, George Gallup was standing up to the challenges of the past.

Here is an interesting detail. On admission to the University of Iowa, in 1919, brief biographical notes used to be filled according to the students' verbal statements: place and year of birth, address, kind of father's occupation, place of study before admission to the University, etc. There was also a “Nationality” column. Gallup, knowing and appreciating the long history of his family's life in America, answered that he was an Englishman. This is a noteworthy socio-cultural fact, which witnesses his respect for the distant past.

The present generations of this enormous family feel intensely their unity with America's past. Here is an excerpt from a letter (dated July 24, 2000) received by me from one of the most active members of the Gallup Family Association [17]:

“Yes, George Gallup was a very American guy. The long historical aspect of our family does make us more aware of our country and gives us more of a feeling of belonging to and with the land. We have a great sense of pride in having been a part of the development and history of this great country. We are not any more «American» than the next person, but having been here since 1630 we feel we know who we are and our part in the great flow of history.”

Of course, it would be naive to condense all the motives that induced George Gallup to engage for nearly half a century in public opinion research just to the fact of belonging to a family with such a long and rich American history. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore this fact either. To quote a short excerpt from a letter from another member of the Gallup clan [18]: “The family has always been interested in the genealogy, apparently and in keeping track of each other. Perhaps that is why Gallup got interested in poling.”

THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING AND LORD BRYCE

As described above, the patriarch of the great American Gallup family, John Gallop, arrived in America in 1630 on the “Mary and John” ship. In some historical documents, the “Mary and John” is mentioned with the name of one of the passengers on that ship, Roger Ludlow (1590-1666). Ludlow had a law degree. He was a successful politician and a staunch Puritan. He was very well known among the first settlers in America. He was elected Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Colony in 1634. Ludlow has left a bright trace in the history of the development of the New World as one of the founders of the State of Connecticut and as a man who laid the foundations of the political and legal system of the United States [19].

On October 8, 1633 in Dorchester, Ludlow established the form of self-governance that became to be known as the New England Town Meeting, or the Massachusetts Town Meeting. That forum has been classified by historians as “the purest form of democracy”, which can be traced back to the Athenian democracy. The modern American political scientist James Fishkin calls it “the ideal of face-to-face democracy” [20, p.4]. The Meeting enjoyed the right to adopt decisions

on all matters of community life, except on those that were within the management competencies of the Commonwealth of States and of the administration that represented Britain's interests. This form of governance was soon adopted also by other cities and in 1638, it was officially recognized as an element of the organization of governance in the colonies.

In the XVIIth c. and the XVIIIth c., the New England Town Meeting was simultaneously a power institution, a channel for the formation of public opinion and a research laboratory, where the very participants in the discussion revealed the full range of opinions on the issues discussed, and analyzed and synthesized them in the form of decision-making recommendations.

Thus, the analysis of public opinion research in the United States should start with the Massachusetts Town Meeting. Further, this approach is even more natural and pertinent when applied to the research of George Gallup's scientific heritage. Here we are confronted with a unique situation for the studies of science when the activities of a scientist are most intimately associated with the history of his family. However, it is most likely that until the late 1920's or the early 1930's, that information existed for Gallup as something independent; it was not an integral part of his professional consciousness and was not related to his scientific activities.

The person who provided Gallup with the opportunity to reappraise the role of the New England Town Meeting in a new fashion was the prominent British historian and lawyer, sociologist and anthropologist, statesman and political activist, the writer and adventurer Lord James Bryce (1838-1922). For several decades, Gallup used to point out that his own views on the role of public opinion as an instrument of democracy, and the general direction of his methodology and methodological solutions in their most significant aspects were directly related to the political and historical ideas of Lord Bryce. For Gallup, Lord Bryce's findings were not just a rational basis for research. The thoughts and opinions of Lord Bryce became part of Gallup's creative and existential philosophy. For many years Gallup was engaged in an extensive, continuous and very productive internal dialogue with Lord Bryce. One gets the feeling that Bryce's historical and social concepts not only provided a vigorous impetus for the activities of Gallup, but that they were the source of his long-term plans in the field of public opinion research.

Here is another interesting historical and biographical fact. When summing up his achievements (whether for a certain field of research or within a certain period of time), Gallup often referred to quotations

from Bryce. From Gallup's point of view, this was probably equally necessary both in the narrowly scientific aspect and in a moral aspect. At the end of 1937, addressing the participants of the supreme forum of the American Statistical Association, Gallup was speaking about Bryce as "the great Englishman" who discovered the huge opportunities for the development of American democracy offered by public opinion research, but who stopped in front of the technical problems involved in the identification of the views [21, p.131]. Many pages of the most famous Gallup book "The Pulse of Democracy" [22] are devoted to an analysis of the concepts and the findings of Lord Bryce. In 1942, in an article summing up the experience of the first seven years of public opinion polling [23], Gallup clearly highlighted the connection of his own methodology and technology with the ideas of Lord Bryce. The same attitude can also be found in several later articles. In 1984, [24], a few months before his death, George Gallup, when receiving an award from the State of Iowa, which was very valuable for him, accentuated the connection of his long-standing public opinion research work with Lord Bryce's ideas about democracy. Gallup's obituary, written by Albert Cantril, noted that the intellectual roots of the enormous endeavor, to which Gallup devoted his energy, could be discerned in the observations of Lord Bryce whom he very frequently quoted. [25, p.807]

Lord James Bryce was born in Belfast (Ireland). At first, he studied in Glasgow (Scotland), and then he graduated with honors from the famous Trinity College in Oxford. After that, Bryce studied law in Heidelberg (Germany). Early on, he showed a keen interest in classical history and by the mid-1860's he became a leading authority in this area and the author of a book about the Roman Empire highly regarded by the scientific community. In 1870, Bryce was appointed a professor of civil law at Oxford University. At the same time, his political career was already receiving increased recognition: he became the leader of the Liberal Party, held senior positions in Ireland's government and supervised many nationally important social and economic projects.

In 1870, Lord Bryce, already a renowned scholar and writer, visited the United States for the first time, and he stayed there for almost an entire year. In 1881 and 1883, he continued his journeys across the United States and visited many parts of the country. He lived with the families of politicians, businessmen, of educated and influential people, but at the same time, he used every opportunity to interview the ordinary Americans whom he met on his way. Lord Bryce outlined his observations and generalizations in the book "The American Commonwealth", which was published in England in December 1888 in three volumes. The book was immediately recognized as a classic piece of

work [26]. From 1907 to 1914, James Bryce was England's ambassador to the United States, and was considered to be the best of all official representatives of London at the White House.

In 1914, James Bryce became a member of the Hague Tribunal and after 1917. He devoted his energy and knowledge to the creation of the League of Nations. Thus, James Bryce not only studied history, he was actively involved in the creation of history. In 1914, he was granted the title of Viscount, and he took his seat in the House of Lords of the English Parliament.

"*The American Commonwealth*" book is extremely valuable in many respects, but now we shall single out just one thing: it formulated Bryce's idea about the role of public opinion in the structure of the American system of governance and emphasized the importance of its continued research. Carefully analyzing the social structure features, and the socio-psychological and educational characteristics of the U.S. population, Lord Bryce was proving the ability and the readiness of Americans as a nation to develop public opinion on many significant issues of social development.

Lord Bryce singled out four forms in the centuries-long development of Western democracy [27].

The first stage consists in the "*primary associations*", i.e., the various forms of direct democracy that existed in ancient Greece and the early Teutonic tribes. Lord Bryce saw something similar in a number of Swiss cantons and in the town meetings of New England. He labeled the Swiss and the American forms of direct democracy as "the most perfect school of self-government in any modern country." [27, p.276].

The second form of democracy was seen by Lord Bryce in the various models of representative government, in particular, in the State governance system of England. The members of Parliament were able freely and without encumbrance or pressure, from above or from below, to discuss the major problems of the country and to plunge into the substance of the matter discussed in a much more profound way, when compared to the majority of the population.

The third form, namely, the way in which the U.S. government is organized, was seen by Lord Bryce as "something in-between the other two." According to him, it could "be regarded either as an attempt to apply the principle of primary assemblies to large counties, or as a modification of the representative system in the direction of direct popular sovereignty." [27, p.256]. According to Lord Bryce, the power system in the United States came nearest to what he called "government by public opinion." [27, p.257]. Public opinion, Lord

Bryce wrote, is the key that opens all doors, it is the great source of all power; it is the master of servants who tremble before it.

In the 1880's, Lord Bryce discovered the embryonic forms of the fourth stage of democracy's development: "A fourth stage would be reached if the will of the majority of the citizens would become ascertainable at all time, and without the need of its passing through a body of representatives, possibly even without the need of voting machinery at all." [27, p.250]. In such a state of things, the sway of public opinion would have become more consistent, more regular, and, consequently, more complete.

Lord Bryce singled out two main fundamentals in American political reality. The first one was the presence of public opinion in the country, and, in particular, the development of the press, the willingness of people to discuss important social issues and their long experience of participating in electoral campaigns. The second fundamental was the growing trend towards an expansion of the direct forms of cooperation of the authorities with public opinion; this had already been made apparent by the New England Town meetings.

Lord Bryce admired the Swiss model of democracy but at the same time, he also realized that referendums were practically impossible in the immense United States with a rapidly growing population. Being unaware of the opportunities provided by the sampling and polling methodology, Lord Bryce could not offer a solution to the problem of continuous analysis of public opinion. Therefore, he referred to the "mechanical difficulties", standing in the way of the democratic development of the "management on behalf of public opinion", which obstructed the movement toward a democracy of the "governance through public opinion" type.

Nearly one hundred years after this writing of Lord Bryce, George Gallup expressed his agreement with Bryce's high opinion of the Swiss democracy model, but he did not consider it related to the size of the country. George Gallup wrote that the efficiency of public administration in Switzerland "is not to be found in the fact that Switzerland is a small nation. In theory, it should be one of the most difficult nations in the world to govern — with three official languages and two others that are unofficial. The cantons have nurtured their own loyalties and customs over the centuries due largely to the mountain barriers, which separate them." [28, p.171].

Why was Lord Bryce closer to Gallup than other thinkers and social philosophers who contemplated the role of public opinion? What was it that made precisely Lord Bryce's work to be constantly quoted in Gallup's studies and public speeches? Perhaps this is due to the fact

that Gallup needed first of all to establish his required methodological basis — not merely to achieve a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of the attitudes of massive groups of people, but to do it for practical research purposes.

The assumption of Lord Bryce that democracy cannot exist without solving the problem of measuring public opinion was in agreement with Gallup's ideology and social concepts. George Gallup also concurred with Lord Bryce's assessment of the Massachusetts town meeting, he was very favorably impressed by the fact that "people would gather in one room to discuss the problems related to the life of the community and to vote on them." He wrote: "There was a free exchange of opinions in the presence of all the members. 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." [29, p.79].

Secondly, for Gallup, as well as for Lord Bryce, the important matter was not simply to acknowledge the existence of public opinion; the essential idea consisted in the recognition of two fundamental attributes in the nature of public opinion: those of effectiveness and of measurability. Gallup recalled the way that, when the first public opinion measurement results came into view, "political scientists and social scientists generally ignored them. And Washington correspondents and columnists openly attacked them. Only a few hardy editors and publishers had faith enough to print poll results" [30, p.23].

Finally, what Gallup had very much in common with Lord Bryce was the high appreciation of personal interviews as a method of identifying opinions. The interviews performed by Lord Bryce did not represent for him merely a conveniently and successfully found source of scientific information. They gave him the opportunity to feel his own connectedness with the people. The interviews were away to satisfy his profound need for social information in the broadest sense of the term. Something similar with respect to the opinions of others was characteristic of Gallup as well. C. Van Allen notes in his very personal essay on Gallup: "His respect and interest for what each individual had to say made him one of the century's keenest listeners. He never tired of saying that there were five billion ways to live alive and we should study each one." [31].

George Gallup repeatedly noted that Lord Bryce "did not know the possibilities inherent in sampling. He did not realize that by polling a few thousand, a scientifically selected cross section, it is possible to know with a high degree of accuracy the view of an electorate of fifty million." [32, p.430]. Being unable to see any other way of measuring public opinion, Lord Bryce spoke about carrying out referenda, while

at the same time understanding that they were practically impossible to implement in a vast country such as the United States: they would be expensive, long and labor consuming. Gallup's polls were actually sampling referenda among the population, and represented a solution for the problem formulated by Lord Bryce; they provided the response to his challenge.

George Gallup was assisted in solving the problem of the continuous polling of public opinion by his experience in the use of sampling methods in the measurement of attitudes. He claimed that "The New England Town Meeting, in a certain sense, should be restored", since, thanks to the press and the radio, it can cover the entire nation. Gallup saw the opinion measurement tool in "the sampling referendum, which provides a means of determining quickly the response of the public debate on issues of the day." [29, p.79]. In an article in the "Washington Post" from October 20, 1935 George Gallup announced his method for public opinion polling and presented the results of the first nationwide poll. There he also quoted the words of Lord Bryce about public opinion measurement as a prerequisite for democratic policies, and pointed out: "After one hundred and fifty years we return to the town meeting. This time the whole nation is within the doors." [33]. This explains the reason why the author of the new technology for public opinion research, James Fishkin, refers to the polls of Gallup as to "Gallup's Town Meeting" [34, p.10].

In George Gallup's vision, the sample surveys and the publication of their results through the mass media were to constitute the all-American analogue of the Massachusetts town meeting. The circle was closed. A descendant of the people who were involved in the formation of the Town Council of New England in the first half of the XVIIth c. proposed a new scheme for the organization of a national democratic forum.

THE LONG HISTORY OF STRAW POLLS

When the United States was still a small and sparsely populated country, the town council was indeed the place for the formulation and expression of public opinion related to the problems that preoccupied the first settlers. The history of the public discussion of the country's important issues and of the research of American electorate opinions is very deeply rooted. The revealing and the announcement of public opinion findings are inextricably linked to the development of the country's presidential system of governance, to the development of democracy and of the press.

The first U.S. president, George Washington, was elected in 1789; Barack Obama, who won in 2008, is the 44th Head of State. During this time, almost 60 presidential elections were held in the United States. Taking into account the profoundness and the regularity of the research of electoral attitudes, the quality of primary data and other parameters of public opinion polling practices, the history of American presidential elections can be divided into three stages:

First stage: 1789-1824. Emergence of political, social and informational prerequisites for voter opinion polling. Holding the first straw polls.

Second stage: 1825-1936. Carrying out straw polls among the electorate. Within this stage, two phases can be distinguished. The first phase, lasting almost one hundred years, consists in episodic local straw polls carried out with small samples. The beginning of the second period dates from 1916, when the "Literary Digest" magazine initiated its grandiose electoral polls.

Third stage: From the fall of 1936 to present times. Judging according to a number of parameters, the third stage is far from uniform; nevertheless, the variables used as criteria for the description of its main trends have generally evolved and continue to evolve monotonously and unidirectionally. The year of 1948, when the founders of the approach were proven wrong in their forecasts concerning the outcome of the presidential campaign, subdivides this stage into two phases as well. The first, or the so-called "romantic" phase, was brightly colored by the euphoria of the huge success in 1936 and was not free of illusions about the omnipotence of the newly discovered technologies for population polling. The second phase of this stage began in 1948: the time had come to understand the real potential of the polling methods, and to embark on an exploration for the optimum research strategies.

According to the authoritative "New Political Dictionary", the author of the "straw polls" term is the prominent English lawyer, politician and scholar John Selden (1584-1654), one of the most knowledgeable men of his time. In a series of articles published at the end of last century, David Yepsen quoted the words of Selden that if you threw a straw in the air, you could see where the wind blows. It is difficult to determine the time when the term was extended to electoral polls, that is, determining the direction of political winds, but Yepsen pointed out that already in 1866, the "Cleveland Leader" newspaper published the results of a straw poll carried out in a train on the previous day.

Nowadays, when we refer to straw polls, we usually mean some polls carried out along a most simplified scheme, with unrepresentative samples, i.e., polls, which do not take into account the impact of

numerous factors that deteriorate the quality of obtained information. However, it would be mistaken to consider these long-standing attempts to measure attitudes exclusively from the critical point of view. Firstly, they served important social and cultural functions, and secondly, they became the starting point for the development of the “scientific” techniques for public opinion polling. Let us explain this.

The holding of straw polls, the publication of their results and their discussion by the press and the electorate — all these generated and developed public demand for such social information. A tradition was emerging: on the eve of elections, both national and local, the newspapers published poll results.

The press quickly discovered not only the informational and the propagandavalue or the PR aspect of straw polls, but also their practical and organizational function, that is, the opportunities they offered for a consideration of the results of the opinion surveys during the decision-making process. K. Frankovich wrote that in May 1824, the newspaper “American Watchman and Delaware Advertiser” urged the citizens to participate in the identification of the public opinion in order to enable the politicians in Washington and elsewhere to know the will of the people and, if that does not solve the problem, to inform the people about it [35]. Frankovich points out yet another role of the polls at the beginning of the XIXth c. At that time, far from all people enjoyed the right to direct voting and the polls showed for whom people would vote, if entitled to such a right.

Finally, the straw polls played the role of a laboratory with proving grounds for designing and testing the polling methodologies. Regardless of the triviality of the sample selection techniques and of the methods for the actual polling or of the analysis of the obtained data, considerable collective methodological experience was accumulating, and the procedural part was improving.

Now let us consider some pages of the history of electoral polls in the United States.

1789-1824: The Prehistory of Straw Polls

The 35 years under consideration are known as the period of time for the genesis and the establishment of the American presidential system, of the development of democracy and market philosophy, and for the formation of the views of society, especially of the elite, concerning the role of the various power institutions. During this historical period, the country was consequently led by five presidents: George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe.

U.S. Presidents: 1789-1945

President	Years	President	Years
George Washington	1789–1797	Andrew Johnson	1865–1869
John Adams	1797–1801	Ulysses S. Grant	1869–1877
Thomas Jefferson	1801–1809	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877–1881
James Madison	1809–1817	James A. Garfield	1881–1881
James Monroe	1817–1825	Chester Arthur	1881–1885
John Quincy Adams	1825–1829	Grover Cleveland	1885–1889
Andrew Jackson	1829–1837	Benjamin Harrison	1889–1893
Martin Van Buren	1837–1841	Grover Cleveland	1893–1897
William Henry Harrison	1841–1841	William McKinley	1897–1901
John Tyler	1841–1845	Theodore Roosevelt	1901–1909
James K. Polk	1845–1849	William Howard Taft	1909–1913
Zachary Taylor	1849–1850	Woodrow Wilson	1913–1921
Millard Fillmore	1850–1853	Warren G. Harding	1921–1923
Franklin Pierce	1853–1857	Calvin Coolidge	1923–1929
James Buchanan	1857–1861	Herbert Hoover	1929–1933
Abraham Lincoln	1861–1865	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933–1945

These were also the years for the formation of the American press, for the development of its operational mechanisms, for the philosophical and empirical determination of its capabilities and its role in the socio-political life of the State and of society. The strongest factor, which determined many features of the functioning of the press, was the market together with its needs and interests. The country's Constitution had conferred to the press the broadest possible opportunities for survival and development, but it was indeed the market that actually regulated the activity of this nascent social institution. It should be remembered here that the American press is older than the presidential

system of governance; it came into being before the country became independent. The first American newspaper — “*Public Occurrences*” — was born on September 25, 1690, in Massachusetts. As a matter of fact, however, the publication ceased to exist the next day because of the complex political and religious processes that were going on at that time in the Massachusetts colony.

At the end of the XVIIth c. and during the XVIIIth c., various kinds of registers were used for voting purposes in the U.S. (referred to as poll books, poll lists or just polls). These represented a particular kind of registration documents, which kept records of the participants in elections — white and financially independent men, residents of the constituency — and of the way they voted. There were no ballot papers at all and secret voting did not exist then. Each candidate had friends, supporters and trustees who controlled the correct recording of events in the poll book.

Many researchers note that even since the earliest days of the Republic, politicians had been searching for ways to predict — and to shape — the voting results. The Jeffersonian administration was already regularly interviewing the voters. In this case, the electoral intentions were recorded, but the demographic characteristics of the voters were not observed and the attitudes unrelated directly to the elections were not studied.

The socio-economic, intellectual and moral climate of the United States was the factor, which predetermined the practice of electorate opinion research. Tom Smith, an expert on the history of electoral polling, enumerates the three main causes that have led to the emergence of opinion polling: the democratization of society, the desire to strengthen the central government, and the interest towards the quantitative assessments of voting results. He also notes that the various interested political groups began to assess the prospects for the outcome of the 1824 elections at the very beginning of the second presidential term of George Monroe, i.e., during the spring of 1821 [36]. Nevertheless, in 1824, when Monroe's powers were expiring, many questions with regard to the election of the new president still remained unsolved. There were many candidates, while the forecasts were contradictory and this became an incentive for the holding of electoral surveys.

The first two historically documented opinion surveys carried out in 1824 and mentioned in the “*The Pulse of Democracy*” book of George Gallup and S.F. Ray were used as starting points for the study of T. Smith. First of all, the book provided a quotation from the document of Emil Hurja (1892-1953), reflecting the findings of his extended research: “As we look back at the oldest report of polling which I have

seen in print, we come to the conclusion that Americans, in whatever era they live, are generally interested in seeing beyond the rim in politics as in everything else.” [23, p. 35]. Further, Gallup, in support of Hurja's findings, provides the first printed evidence of electoral polling surveys. On July 24, 1824, the “Harrisburg Pennsylvanian” newspaper published the results of the survey of Wilmington town residents in the state of Delaware, where the leadership of Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) was recorded (with 335 likely voters), well ahead of John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) (with 169 likely voters) and the other candidates. In August of the same year, the “Raleigh Star” newspaper reported the findings of a North Carolina survey: out of a total of 4256 respondents, the large majority was ready to vote for Jackson (3428 voting intentions), while the second place was held again by Adams (470 voting intentions). In real terms, the election in this state was indeed a victory for Jackson. Moreover, he did score a greater number of votes in the country as a whole (nearly 153,000 votes) than Adams (115,000 votes), but due to the peculiarities of the American electoral system, Adams was to become President according to the decision of the House of Representatives [37].

In 1824, for the purpose of collecting information about the possible outcome of the presidential election, an opinion survey was carried out among the following respondents: members of discussion groups created specifically for the study of electoral attitudes (probably something like the modern focus groups); voters having participated in elections of local authorities; members of various assemblies unrelated to the presidential elections; and, finally, among simple passers-by, by means of forms with printed questions that were distributed in crowded public places. All these polls were carried out by party supporters and ordinary citizens, and aroused great interest on behalf of the journalists and the public at large. At that time, nobody was thinking about the problems of sample selection, about the wording of the questions, about the context in which the identification of the views was performed or about the objectivity of the reporting, etc. Most frequently, polls have been a spontaneous expression of interest in politics, especially with regard to presidential elections.

With the objective to provide a characterization of the polls in 1824 and those of the following few decades, Smith coined the term “proto-straw polls”. The author did not engage in an accurate definition of this type of opinion polling related to electoral attitudes, limiting himself to the observation: “...While these proto-straw polls differed from later straw polls conducted in the nineteenth and early twentieth century by newspapers and magazines and differed even more fundamentally

from the modern polls emerging out of the work of Gallup, Roper, and Crossley in 1936, these soundings can be considered as close ancestors of media straw polls.” [36, p. 30]. These early forms of straw polls had come from “the people” and represented the spontaneous manifestation of the people’s interest to know what the other thought about the presidential candidates and their desire to express their own opinions as well.

T. Smith believes that certain forms of public opinion identification have been used much earlier. He quotes several arguments in favor of this assumption. His first argument was the following: the 1824 surveys were conducted on the initiative and by the forces of the militia groups, and those politically active groups have existed as early as colonial times. The second argument was that in 1824, the efforts to identify the voters’ opinion emerged on the eve of the convention, which was to determine the presidential candidate. However, by that time the conventions had already existed for nearly two decades. In 1824, the polls were actually held in the form of mass political gatherings, and had already had along history by that time.

1824-1916: The straw polls are becoming commonplace

The second phase of the straw poll history covers a significant period of the country’s development. During this time, America has been led by 26 presidents, some of them having been recognized as outstanding politicians, while the names of others have remained in history, but not in the living memory of the subsequent generations.

I am not aware of any findings produced by extensive political or historical and methodological studies of the straw polls that have considered their methodology and results in correlation with the electoral campaigns of the XIXth c. and the first third of the XXth c. However, the last few years have seen a few studies that allow perceiving both the scope of the conducted testing of electoral attitudes, and the methods applied.

The surveys of 1824 that were held during the period of the first rivalry between Adams and Jackson for the job in the White House were often quoted in the literature and are well known to the experts. However, the recent publication by Samuel Kernell on the prediction of the outcome of the presidential election in Ohio in 1828, when the main competitors were again the same politicians, in my opinion was a major discovery in the field of political science, sociology and in the history of public opinion analyses [38].

Many eyewitnesses to the events of 1824 believed, and some modern historians agree with them, that the victory then was “stolen” from Jackson. He had received considerably more votes than Adams, who

became president. In 1828, the United States had not only to choose a new Head of State, but also to determine the nature of their social structure. Not without reason, this election went down in the country’s history as the Revolution of 1828.

Because of a number of reasons, the Ohio elections in 1828 represented one of the key moments of the entire campaign. In order to reduce public doubts about the outcome of the election, Jackson’s electoral campaign headquarters carried out a special survey of a forecasting nature. According to a report published on July 9, 1828 in the “*U.S. Telegraph*” newspaper, their candidate had every chance to win a victory in the state. The predicted advantage was for 7150 votes, while actually Jackson outstripped Adams by 4143 votes. If we take into account the number of voters — 131,049 people — it will be seen that the forecast had predicted a victory with 52.7 percent of the votes, while the results of the voting was 51.5 percent. Even by today’s standards, this is more than an excellent result. In addition to that, the predictions about the winner in nine out of ten constituencies of the State were confirmed.

Kernell’s study is of fundamental historical and methodological significance. It reveals that already by the first third of the XIXth c., straw polls results were considered not merely as the final product of an electoral opinion research, but also as the basis for performing complex statistical and analytical research constructions of a forecasting nature.

The data array related to the 1828 elections was discovered by Professor Kernell by accident. This information indicates the possible existence of other cases in the early history of American electoral opinion polling, where straw poll results have become parts of a comprehensive multistage statistical and analytical forecasting procedure.

The research of Susan Herbst, completed in 1990, revealed numerous hitherto unknown particulars about the practice of straw polls conducted during the second half of the XIXth c. More specifically, there is her interesting historical and political conclusion that straw polls had been conducted since 1820, but became popular in the middle of the XIXth c. [39, p. 76]. She refers to this period as the era of “people’s polling” (people’s or citizen’s polls) and provides many examples for the research of electoral intentions on behalf of journalists and ordinary citizens who were actively involved in the electoral campaigns.

During the second half of the XIXth c., electoral straw polls had already assumed quite a complicated and multistage character. For example, in 1883, the Civil War veteran and politician, General Charles H. Taylor (1846-1921 (?)), the then editor of the famous “*Boston Globe*” newspaper, proposed a new method for the acquisition of information for the final clarification of the electoral prediction, which was quite a

novelty at the time. The day before the election, he sent his observers to carefully selected constituencies and, based on their reports, he made predictions about the outcome of the electoral process in the state [22, p.35].

In 1896, several Chicago newspapers carried out cooperatively a straw poll with the objective to determine the candidates' chances in the McKinley — Brian electoral campaign. The "*Chicago Record*" spent in excess of 60 thousand dollars on mailing questionnaire cards to poll the voters from a random sample — one out of every eight voters in 12 Midwestern states. A quarter of a million cards were received back. The prediction for Chicago came out correct: it was mistaken in the case of the other places [40].

One of the first newspapers to start publishing political predictions based on straw polls was the "*New York Herald*". Before 1900, it used to collect information about the straw polls conducted in the various states and in the smaller regional communities, to generalize them and to make forecasts about the presidential elections. Gradually, the electoral opinion sounding and the forecasts of this newspaper evolved into regular public opinion straw polls.

In 1904, the "*New York Herald*" surveyed 30,000 registered voters in order to predict the outcome of elections in New York. In 1908, the "*New York Herald*", the "*Cincinnati Enquirer*", the "*Chicago Record-Herald*" and the "*St. Louis Republic*" used the results of street surveys to forecast the electoral outcome. Another four years later, the "*New York Herald*", in collaboration with the "*Boston Globe*" and the "*Los Angeles Times*", conducted a survey (consisting mostly of person-to-person interviews) in 37 states, while in 1916 the same kind of survey covered 36 states.

The network of newspapers owned by W.R. Hearst sponsored the carrying out of three electoral opinion surveys at the national level. In 1916, in cooperation with a number of independent publications, statistical assessments of the voting results were obtained for some states located in different parts of the country and afterwards these assessments were generalized. In 1924, straw polls were carried out in 43 states. In 1928, the straw polls were extended to 46 states, which allowed the accurate prediction of the electoral outcome.

According to Claude Robinson's estimates, approximately 85 straw polls were carried out during the electoral campaign of 1928. Seventy-five of them were at the local level, namely, city, county and other relatively small settlement structures. Four polls — those of the "*Columbus Dispatch*", the "*Cincinnati Enquirer*", the "*Chicago Tribune*" and the "*New York Daily News*" — covered the voters of the respective state

and sometimes also people in the neighboring territories. Finally, six surveys funded by the "*Literary Digest*", "*Hearst Newspapers*", "*Farm Journal*", "*Pathfinder*", "*The Nation*" and "*College Humor*" had a nationwide character, with the "*Farm Journal*" and "*Pathfinder*" focusing on rural population surveys [41, p.50-51].

1916-1932: The triumph of the Literary Digest

By the beginning of XX c., the United States had developed an extensive system for the implementation of straw polls that were sponsored and organized with the participation of many newspapers and magazines. However, the leader in the field of political journalism was the *Literary Digest*, whose name became synonymous with the holding of straw polls.

Even in American literature, one often comes across an oversimplified view of the *Literary Digest* polls. This is substantially due to the generally underestimated role of the magazine in the development of American culture during the first years of last century. It is not just the mere fact of the achievement on behalf of the *Literary Digest* of a series of correct predictions that had been overlooked and underestimated. What had been largely ignored was also the fundamental socio-cultural fact that, thanks to the surveys and the publications of this journal, millions of Americans became acquainted with a methodology for probing electoral attitudes (even though this methodology was a rudimentary one) and were able for the first time to find out what the nation thought about the presidential candidates. According to Robinson, the *Literary Digest* was more successful than any other news agency or publishing house in the United States in attracting the interest of readers to public opinion surveys during two entire decades.

The founder of the *Literary Digest* was the Rev. Isaac Kauffman Funk (1839-1912). Funk was born in America, obtained locally his theological education and worked for many years in the Lutheran Church of the country. In the early 1870's, he began publishing and distributing religious literature and then he turned to secular literature as well. In 1891, he and his friend from college, the lawyer and former Lutheran priest Adam Willis Wagnalls (1843-1924), incorporated the "*Funk & Wagnalls*" Company. The firm successfully published English language textbooks, cheap versions of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Encyclopaedia of Social Reform*. Subsequently, the company invested considerable capital in the publication of "*The Standard Dictionary of the English Language*". Many thousands of immigrants began mastering with these books the language and the culture that were new to them.

The *Literary Digest* was founded in 1890. It belonged to the category of mass publication magazines and cost 10 cents per issue. Initially, the weekly was targeted at teachers and priests. It reprinted reports on the latest ideas and studies that were being published by nearly 200 magazines and newspapers in the United States, Canada and Western Europe.

While the weekly magazine was started in 1890, ten years later its circulation was 60,000 [42, p. 575]. Due to many circumstances, including the first successful public opinion polls, by the beginning of the 1920's the circulation of the *Literary Digest* was considerably more than a million copies, and according to this indicator it was one of the leaders of the American magazine market. During the years 1926-1934, only 25 American magazines had a circulation in excess of 1 million copies [43, p. 63]. However, pressed by competition from the newer weeklies «Time» and «News-Week» and by the economic pressures of the depression years, the *Literary Digest* had been losing circulation and advertising for several years. By 1936, its circulation had dropped below 700,000 [44, p. 576].

Wilfred John Funk (1883-1965) [44, p. 576], the son of the head of the firm, a graduate of Princeton University, also worked for “*Funk & Wagnalls*”, at first as a Director of the educational department; after the death of his father he worked as Company Secretary, and afterwards as the Company's Vice President and President from 1925 to 1940.

In 1916, the *Literary Digest* launched its straw polls, which included sending out millions of postcards. Who could have been the initiator and the motor of this grand project? There is no doubt that, because of the high cost and the complexity of nationwide polls, the decision concerning their implementation could only have been made by the “top person” of the Company. After the death of Funk, that person was A. Wagnalls, and after 1925, that was V. Funk. Therefore, in any case, these two persons occupy a laudable place in the history of the formation of public opinion research in the United States. However, the prerequisites for conducting public opinion surveys were created much earlier. In 1895, for the purposes of their own research and communication needs, the *Literary Digest* undertook the creation of a card file or filing system for the prospective subscribers. We can assume that this endeavor was the apparent result of the extraordinary business acumen of Isaac Funk who was nicknamed the “Steam Engine” for his energy.

The card index included predominantly the names of people of middle and upper-middle income who constituted the potential market for the magazine itself and for the goods advertised by it. These were lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, members and representatives

of various clubs, businessmen, traders, brokers, etc. By 1895, the card file covered 350,000 people. By 1900 that number had already risen to 685,000, and by 1932 it had grown to 20 million [22, p. 39]. According to the calculations of the magazine itself, 73 percent of its subscribers in 1922 had their own businesses or were the heads of companies, or qualified professionals.

In 1916, the magazine asked their subscribers in five states, namely, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York and Ohio, to provide an answer as to who had a better chance of winning of the presidential campaign: the current Democratic President Woodrow Wilson or his opponent, the Republican Charles Hughes. In 1912, Wilson won by a wide margin in front of former President Theodore Roosevelt (81.9 percent against 16.6 percent), but it was difficult to determine the outcome of the 1916 election. The prediction of the *Literary Digest* was correct, although in that year Woodrow Wilson was not so much (49.2 percent of the votes) in front of the Republican candidate (46.1 percent).

In 1920, before the party conferences and caucuses began nominating their candidates, the *Literary Digest* sent out 11 million ballot papers. During the subsequent years, electoral polls were carried out in the same states as in 1920, plus California. The prediction proved correct, but, apparently, its construction was not a difficult task: the Republican candidate William Harding (60.3 percent of the voters and 404 electors) was significantly outpacing Democrat James Middleton Cox (1870-1957) who had just 34.1 percent of the voters and 127 electors.

In 1924, the magazine posted 16.5 million cards: the prediction was favorable for Republican Calvin Coolidge (54 percent of the voters and 382 electors), defeating at the election Democrat John William Davis (1873-1955), who obtained 28.8 percent of the voters and 136 electors. The prediction “promised” the winner an advantage of 5 percent only.

In 1928, the *Literary Digest* questionnaire cards were received by 18 million owners of telephones and cars: the answers of the respondents showed an advantage for the Republican candidate Herbert Hoover (63.2 percent). He won the presidency with fewer votes than predicted (58.2 percent). Nevertheless, the *Literary Digest* proved once again the consistency of their predictions.

Furthermore, in 1924, the *Literary Digest* predicted correctly the voting outcomes for all states with the exception of Kentucky and Oklahoma. Four years later, the predictions proved wrong for four states only.

On September 3, 1932, the magazine reported: “Twenty million envelopes have hand-written addresses. Twenty million ballot papers have

been printed. Twenty million letters have been prepared, folded and put into the envelopes". The article concluded by stating that the Literary Digest re-launches the huge public opinion survey machine, which in 1924 and 1928 had achieved results of "mystical precision." [45].

The classic research study of the methodology and results of the *Literary Digest* surveys, performed by W. Willcocks in 1930, [46] showed that the return rate for the postcards was low (from 9.1 percent in 1922 to 23.8 percent in 1930) and that the final sample selection clearly did not represent accurately the country's general population. Nevertheless, the magazine never changed its polling technology.

The 1932 prediction went down in history with its fantastic accuracy. On November 5, 1932, (i.e., three days before the election) the magazine reported that Governor Roosevelt would obtain 55.99 percent of the vote and secure the support of 474 electors [47]. The official statistics showed 57.4 percent of the vote and 472 members of the Electoral College.

The past of George Gallup's family, the history of the development of the U.S. political system, and the environment for the emergence and formation of the field of social relations analyses, where he would be working for many years, largely predetermined many aspects of his life and his creative achievements. Further below, his proper biography starts.

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Chapter 2.

FORMATION OF AN INDIVIDUALITY AND OF A PROFESSIONAL

The State of Iowa is located in the Midwest of the United States and is often called the American Heartland. Americans began settling there in the first half of the XIXth c., when this area was purchased by President Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) from France. The fertile land and the mild climate of Iowa attracted farmers from the neighboring areas and during the 1850's, corn growing became the dominant sector of Iowa. The State became famous for being the center of the Corn Belt of the country; even now, the State of Iowa is often referred to as the Food Capital of the World.

George Gallup was born, educated and became a highly qualified professional in Iowa. He left the State in the early 1930's, but always loved his native place and often came to Iowa. He counted many Iowans among his friends. His character, his speech mannerisms and his attitude to life pointed to its origin. A detailed article devoted to Gallup as a market researcher asserted that he lived in Princeton, New York, but as a real Iowan, wherever he might happen to live, he would be investing his money in land property. [1, p.6]

In 1948, George Gallup became the first person whose portrait had been placed in the Hall of Fame at the University of Iowa's Journalism School.

In April 1984, six months before his death, George Gallup went to visit his native places in connection with being awarded the highest award of the State of Iowa. This highest citizen award was established in 1948 to be presented to State natives having attained outstanding and meritorious achievements in various fields. The leading newspaper of the State, "Des Moines Register", where Gallup's research career started six decades before that, wrote: "George Gallup is a believer in democracy. His work has enhanced democracy. The man from Jefferson has built on Jeffersonian ideals to bring honor to himself, and to Iowa." [2]

THE JEFFERSON KID DEVELOPS JEFFERSON'S IDEAS

George Horace Gallup was born in Jefferson City, Greene County in the State of Iowa, on November 18, 1901, where he actually

spent most of the first thirty years of his life. Several fundamental features of Gallup's creative work and, above all, his understanding of the nature of American society, were largely determined by the socio-political and the moral climate that existed at the beginning of last century in this part of the United States.

The few families who founded this settlement early in the second half of the XIX c. in a beautiful and comfortable living place in Iowa decided to name it in honor of the third U.S. president Thomas Jefferson, one of the authors of the country's Constitution, a staunch supporter of the republican system and of democracy in general. Initially, this caused protest on behalf of the local post office, as the neighboring district already had a city with the same name. Therefore, in 1854 the city was renamed to New Jefferson. However, the word "New" did not stick, and in January 1872, the settlement officially gained the status of Jefferson City.

When George Gallup was born, about 3000 people lived in Jefferson City. The population was largely a homogeneous one in religious and racial terms. They were mostly descendants of the first settlers from England. Since 1870, the residents had been voting Republican almost unanimously. [3, p.42] According to a guidebook from the beginning of the XXth c., when the founders of the City were creating the first settlement, they did not plan for its transformation into a major urban center; it was conceived as a "town that would be pleasant to live." During George Gallup's childhood days, half a century after the founding of the City, its people followed strictly the written and unwritten Puritan standards: they worked a lot, went regularly to church, held education in high esteem, tried to help each other and greeted encountered people with a smile, including strangers. [4, p.96-98]

When organizing the city, many things were done so thoroughly and in a thoughtful way that they proved stable enough to preserve the spirit of the City up to the present day. The population of Jefferson has been growing quite slowly, and by the beginning of the XXIst c. it had not reached 5000 residents. Some buildings built more than a hundred years ago had been preserved. They convey the architectural features of the environment in which George Gallup grew and formed his personality. In a letter addressed to me, Valerie Ogren, a Jefferson old-timer who has been successfully engaged for many years in genealogical research, the city is described as very friendly; it is pointed out that she always finds kinship relations among the city's residents in her historical investigations. [5]

Since the times of the first American settlers, many members of the Gallup clan have lived in New England, and one can only speculate

when and due to what circumstances the older generations of George Gallup's family came to Jefferson. The reason for the move, apparently, consisted in Iowa's accessibility and in the availability of fertile land for farming (Iowa began to be populated with white settlers as late as the beginning of the XIXth c.), while the time of the move most likely pertains to the last quarter of the XIXth c.

John Nelson Gallup, George Gallup's grandfather, was born in Kent County, New England. He was married in the middle of the century in Connecticut, but engaged in farming in Iowa, and in 1892, when his three sons were already adults he bought a farm near Jefferson.

His eldest son Edgar owned a shop in Jefferson, and George worked there during the summer vacation. 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) was born in Illinois. He was a teacher, for some time he was a school principal, then afterwards he became a successful businessman involved in dealing with real estate. His library contained more than a thousand books and he devoted his free time to reading and to the creation of his own logic system. According to Gallup's memoirs, it would have never occurred to his father to ever lie, to distort the facts or to cheat. He was a very cheerful and obliging person, even when he was very tired or in case of illness. He loved his family very much. Most likely, he remained a farmer at heart; he loved farming, pets, etc. He did not adhere to any rigid line in politics and did not rush enthusiastically in support of a new leader; he was very cautious in his assessments and conclusions. He was very independent in his opinions. He had no formal systematic education, but according to his son, he admired the world of ideas; he was a true intellectual and always resisted routine. George Gallup recalled that his father had "resisted strenuously doing things the way they had always been done." 6, p.101.

The first wife of George Gallup's father died in 1891, leaving him with a six-month old daughter. In 1893, in Jefferson, he married Nettie Davenport (Nettie Quella Davenport, 1866-1953) who lived in a neighboring county. They had three more children, George being the youngest.

The daughter Ruth (1891-1955) obtained a bachelor's degree from Cornell College in Iowa and had two children. Edna (1894-1986) graduated from Iowa State University, worked as a teacher and had four children in her family. The genealogy book of the Gallup clan contains very scarce information about the youngest daughter Gladys (1895-1960), stating just that she was married and had no children. The eldest

son John (1899 -?) participated in the First World War; he worked in the field of banking and had four children from two marriages.

In 1900, President William McKinley (1843-1901) was re-elected for another term in office, but he was assassinated in September of the following year. Young Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), who became the next American President, enjoyed enormous popularity among ordinary people. Gallup's family nurse started calling little George with the nickname Ted, which stuck; subsequently, his family, friends and many colleagues called him so. This unexpected "connection" of George Gallup to Roosevelt's family was accidental, but this fact can also be regarded as some sign of destiny. More than three decades afterwards, the novice researcher of public opinion George Gallup (Ted) successfully predicted the presidential election victory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882 — 1945), a distant relative of Theodore Roosevelt and also the husband of his niece.

Gallup's mother was a quiet and kind woman, very religious, she explained to the children that happiness in life is achieved through hard work and honesty. All her four children graduated from college and this was the most important source of joy and pride in her life; education was one of the main priorities of Jefferson City residents. George Gallup idealized his father who stimulated his intellectual activity, developed in him the ability to think about the future and advised him to become a journalist. However, it was exactly his mother who taught him how to correctly assess his potential and strive for success in a chosen direction.

A convincing illustration for the dissimilarity of George Gallup's father from the surrounding environment, and for the non-triviality of his thinking was the unusual octagonal house built by him in the beginning of last century that has been preserved to the present day. Similar houses began to be built in America in the middle of the XIXth c., and they were justified by a number of economic and aesthetic considerations. However, one can not say that this kind of architecture was very popular [7] R. Kline, who studied the history of the octagonal houses, wrote to me that just a few thousand buildings with such unusual shapes had been built in America. Even more surprising is the fact that even before this house, Gallup Sr. already possessed a house of a similar configuration [8]. According to the acknowledgment of R. Cline, this is a completely unique case [9].

In July 1985, this building was entered in the roster of the National Register of Historic Places [10] under the name of Gallup, George H., House, that is, it was, and still is, subject to the jurisdiction of the National Legislation on the Conservation of Cultural Property. At the

beginning of the new century, the "*Gallup & Robinson*" firm bought this house, and, after restoration works, it will be used for the organization of various workshops, business and private receptions.

Since early childhood, his father taught Ted self-sufficiency and independence. The house had a farm, and when George was 9-10 years old, his father bought a few cows for him and his brother. The boys were supposed to take care of them, to milk them, to find customers for the milk and to deliver it to them. The income obtained was used to buy clothes and to pay for their studies. When nationwide fame came to George Gallup in 1936, the residents of Jefferson City remembered him as the boy from whom they bought milk.

The young entrepreneurs ran their business successfully. Later, George Gallup used to say that he was richer than his friends at school were. There was sufficient money even for the trips that they undertook with Ted's brother when Ted was not even 10 years old. In the senior classes of high school, Ted was the captain and the playing coach for the American football school team. In addition, he bought sports gear for his schoolmates, paid for the travel of the team and for the repairs of the sports equipment.

There is an interesting photograph from the time when George Gallup was finishing school. In the photograph, we see a teenager who looks more mature than his age would suggest, while the inscription reads: "George H. Gallup, 'Ted', Class President-19. Business Manager, "Krazy Kazett". Football Captain-19. Basketball Captain-19." And further below: "Leave the women alone, work hard and enjoy life is my motto!" [6, p.101]

George Gallup evaluated the education obtained by him at the City (municipal) School as "remarkably good" [6, p.101]. At school, he gained his first editing experience, while at the same time he clearly showed his brilliant organizational skills. Many years later, one of his school friends recalled: "Ted Gallup was always very enterprising." [11, p. 1]

It is believed that everything in life is interconnected. In the light of this observation of daily life, which at the same time is an established scientific assumption, it would make sense to quote a "biogeographical" remark, published in the famous "*Econometrics*" English journal: "Perhaps because he had been born in Jefferson, Iowa, atypical Midwestern town, it seemed natural to him that the view of a small sampling group might reflect the views of all Americans." [12, p.95]

To some extent, this assertion reveals the psychological basis of Gallup's attitude towards the opinions of other people and towards the nature of selective observations based on samples. However, that would be too straightforward to be true: firstly, it concerns the technological

aspect of public opinion polls only, leaving aside the more important aspects of the nature of Gallup's creativity, and, secondly, this totally eliminates or substantially minimizes the logical grounds of the justification of his research strategy.

Another inaccuracy of the assertion in question is that Jefferson City can not be considered atypical Midwestern town; it was typical, but in geographical terms only, and not from the social and cultural points of view. During the first half of the XIX c., only 5,500 people in Iowa (3 per cent of the State's population) were immigrants from New England. The southerners, that is, those who had previously lived in Virginia, Kentucky and other southern states, were six times as many. By 1856, the ratio had changed: among the half million people who populated Iowa, there were about 13 thousand New England natives and approximately 24,000 southerners. Until the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, the number of immigrants from the south of the United States surpassed the number of the northerners [13, p.237-238]. However, Jefferson City had a different colonization history. Remembering the past in 1962, George Gallup said that Jefferson City was a more typical New England town than all New England towns known to him. Practically all families in the City or, at least, all his friends, were immigrants from New England, and almost all of them had identical histories. This Iowa town was inhabited mostly by descendants of the English Puritans; by the beginning of the twentieth century, they had preserved the traditions and the values of their ancestors to a greater extent than those who had remained in New England, where the continuous new waves of immigrants constantly eroded the old Puritan culture.

It is most likely that, while studying the history of America, every school friend of Ted saw in this history also the members of his own family. The children of the city named in honor of President Jefferson could not but study Jefferson's philosophy and the documents created by him. In addition, Jefferson City during those years was and still continues to be the center of the county named after General Nathaniel Greene (1742-1786), a hero of the War of Independence (1775-1783). During those years, the general was second in popularity only to George Washington (1732-1799) that he was supposed to replace in the event of Washington's capture or death. For young people, whose ancestors fought in the War for Independence, General Greene was not just a character of the distant history; he was a man about whose life they could hear stories told at home, listening to the words of eyewitnesses. George Gallup, knowing the history of his family since early childhood, probably knew that his ancestors and the ancestors of

General Green had lived for centuries in Dorset County in England, that is, they had been neighbors.

Therefore, the fact that George Gallup was born and raised in Jefferson City fundamentally influenced his vision of the world and his ideals, generating a unique attitude towards the country's history and the institutions of American democracy; this attitude was infused with profound historical reflections and penetrated by strong personal associations. Ultimately, all this was reflected in his understanding of public opinion and in the sample survey technology developed by him. However, all this happened not because Jefferson was atypical Midwestern town, but because it was not one.

THE ACQUISITION OF A PROFESSION

Overview

The University of Iowa was founded on February 25, 1847, i.e., 59 days after the birth of the State itself. [14]. In 1855, the University Library received the first fifty books, and two years later it became one of the largest U.S. academic libraries with a collection of rare books and archives of global significance, including the documents of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). During the second half of the XIXth c., the University structure included a Museum of Natural History; this was the first university in Iowa to provide equal rights to students of both sexes; the University established a school for the training of lawyers (University of Iowa College of Law), opened a department of medicine, and soon became one of the nation's largest centers for the training of medical doctors. In 1858, the University started granting its students bachelor's degrees, and two years before the turn of the century, the first doctoral diplomas (Ph.D.) were issued. In 1907, the first Department of Pedagogy in the United States was founded there. Generally speaking, at the beginning of the XXth c., the Iowa State University was considered one of the finest universities in the United States and the best one in the Midwest.

In his speech on the occasion of receiving the highest award of the State of Iowa, George Gallup recalled that his father, having read one of his school works, advised him to choose the career of a journalist. By the early 1920's, land prices had plummeted, profits had declined significantly and the financial situation of the family's father had become very difficult. However, by the end of his studies, Gallup had already created the very attitude towards himself and towards life that successful Americans cultivate: independence in his judgments and behavior, self-confidence, determination, business aggressiveness, resilience and optimism. George

Gallup had always earned himself the money for his higher education. Many years later, he recalled that on admission to college, there were just six dollars in his wallet, while on completing his education, he earned more than the President of the University [15, p.87].

At the very beginning of my work on George Gallup's biography, some discrepancies were found between the data in the various encyclopedic dictionaries with respect to the periods of time when he attended the University of Iowa and the learned degrees he obtained. In order to clarify this matter, I sent a query to the University's archives. The answer was highly unexpected and greatly stimulated all subsequent research on the life and work of George Gallup. I was sent a photocopy of a three-page transcript (an excerpt from George Gallup's personal file as a student), which contained detailed information on the courses he studied during the different years, as well as the assessments of his knowledge. Before proceeding to a description of the transcript, I should point out that I am not aware of any historical research or science studies where documents of this kind have been analyzed with the objective to "measure" the process of transferring scientific expertise.

George Gallup was enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Iowa on September 26, 1919 (he was 18 years old) and he completed his studies there on 1 February 1923 with a Bachelor of Arts degree. During the same year, the University opened its School of Journalism, and Gallup, who had not yet turned 22 by that time, was offered a teaching position there. He took it and at the same time continued his studies at the University's Graduate College, majoring in psychology. He studied at this college from February 1923 to August 1928.

The transcript indicates that George Gallup's major subject was Applied Psychology: on June 9, 1925, he was awarded a Master of Arts degree, and on August 23, 1928, a Doctor of Philosophy degree. In addition, two minor subjects are identified: Pure (theoretical) Psychology and Economics. Thus, even before his 27th birthday, George Gallup had completed his education with the highest learned degree in the country with professional training and qualification in the fields of psychology and economics.

Before reviewing the list of subjects studied by George Gallup, we have to make two general observations:

First, the traditional science departmentalization system and the practices of differentiation between the various scientific fields within the university department's structure that existed at the beginning of last century were very different from modern practices. Thus, eight decades ago, Psychology was usually treated as a branch of Philosophy, it was just fighting for the right to be considered and treated as an

independent science. In particular, as far as the University of Iowa is concerned, the Psychology Department was established as late as 1927, while previously Psychology lectures were read by teachers of the Philosophy Department.

Second, George Gallup's transcript is an old hand-written text. Much of it is written with abbreviations, while other parts are not easily readable; therefore the individual words in the titles of the courses are difficult to be clearly identified, and some words even could not be read at all.

Having familiarized myself with the transcript, I realized it was not enough to know the subjects that George Gallup studied, it was crucial to determine who the professors were. In reply to my new request addressed to the archives of the University, I received a document showing the names and the initials of the professors. In some of the cases, the surnames and the initials of the scientists who were of interest could be found in reference books and in online databases, but when dealing with commonly used names, such as Knight, Haynes and the like, it was practically impossible to find the relevant information. Once more, it was necessary to address another request to the archives. The deciphering of the transcript and the clarification of the names of the professors took about two months.¹

Table 1.

Professional courses studied by George Gallup in the years 1920-1928

Subject	Lecturer
Academic year 1920/1921	
Psychology	Mabel Clare Williams Kemmerer, Warner Brown, Max Schoen
Summer semester 1921 (July)	
Philosophy (psychology of advertising)	Frederic Butterfield Knight
Academic year 1921/1922	
Philosophy (Introduction)	George Thomas White Patrick
Philosophy (An introduction to Ethics)	Edwin Diller Starbuck
Economics (Principles of Sociology)	Frederick Emory Haynes
Political Science (Eastern policies)	Ivan Lester Pollock, Sudhindra Bose
Philosophy (An introduction to Logic)	Edwin Diller Starbuck

¹ I am very grateful to the staff of the University of Iowa Archives David McCartney and Kathryn Hodson, Professor of Journalism at the same University, Kenneth Starck, and the Berkeley University archivist Pat Soberanis for their invaluable assistance in collecting the materials analyzed.

Subject	Lecturer
History of Philosophy	George Thomas White Patrick
Summer semester 1922 (August, 5 weeks)	
Economics (American racial problems)	Walter Wilson Jennings
Political Science (American Government)	Jacob Van der Zee
Philosophy (Psychological control technologies)	Frederic Butterfield Knight
Academic year 1922/1923	
Philosophy (laboratory course)	Carl Emil Seashore, Mabel Clare Williams Kemmerer
Modern Philosophy	Edwin Diller Starbuck
Modern Philosophy (continued)	Edwin Diller Starbuck
Philosophy (personnel management)	Frederic Butterfield Knight
Academic year 1923/1924	
Philosophy (Introduction to the measurement of intelligence)	Giles Murrel Ruch
Philosophy (Advanced course)	No data about the course
Philosophy (Testing of intellectual and physical abilities)	
Summer semester 1924 (July, 6 weeks)	
Philosophy (Behaviorism)	Christian Alban Ruckmick
Summer semester 1924 (August, 5 weeks)	
Philosophy (Social Psychology)	Norman Charles Meier
Academic year 1924/1925	
Philosophy (seminars)	George D. Stoddard
Philosophy (research methods)	
Summer semester 1925 (July, 6 weeks)	
Philosophy (Psychology)	
Economics (Marketing)	No data about the course
Psychology (Study of abnormal personality)	Department lecturers
Economics (Retail trading)	No data about the course
Economics (market research)	No data about the course
Summer semester 1928 (two periods: 6 weeks and 5 weeks)	
Psychology (Research)	Department lecturers

During the academic year 1919/1920, George Gallup did not study any specific professional disciplines. His schedule only included items that referred to his general education, in particular, English Rhetoric and Spanish, European history and Chemistry, which were subject to examinations. In addition, there were physical education and military training, which were not subject to examinations. Besides, Gallup chose the additional subjects of Art History, Archeology, Contemporary Music and Biology. Among his freely selected subjects were also English and American Literature of the XVIIIth and XIXth c., writing and editing texts of general character, an in-depth course on writing essays and articles.

Since his youngest days, George Gallup dreamed of becoming a journalist, therefore, during his student years he engaged in a number of courses, preparing him for this profession, i.e., not just literature, but also history and theory of journalism, editing news stories, advertisement publication rules.

Already during his first years in the University, George Gallup attended the lectures of the leading experts in political sciences and sociology. In the summer of 1922, Professor Jacob Van der Zee (1884-1960), a prominent authority in the history of politics, read a course of political science lectures in the University of Iowa. One of his students was Gallup, whose knowledge the professor assessed at "A" (the highest assessment). It would be hard to say right now what kind of material was proposed to the students when covering the structure and the functioning of governmental institutions in the United States, but the electoral process is most likely to have been one of the central topics. Moreover, here, perhaps, Gallup came for the first time across the findings of science about the heterogeneity of the electorate and the dependence of political attitudes on the electorate's sociocultural characteristics. Thus, in one of his studies, Van der Zee wrote that the Dutch immigrants, who did not know the history of the United States and, therefore, did not understand well the political processes there, regarded the Republicans as an "aristocracy" of a monarchical type, and, aspiring to be real Americans, voted for the Democrats 16, p.22.

During the academic year 1921/1922, the program of Political Science studies included a course on Eastern policies, read by Dr. Sudhindra Bose (1883-1946). He was born in India and educated at home, then in the United States and England; in 1913 he received a Ph.D. in Iowa. At that time, he began teaching political sciences at the University of Iowa and worked there until his death.

The second lecturer of political sciences during the same school

year was Dr. Ivan Lester Pollock (1887 -?), author of a number of profound studies on the economic and citizen politics of the State of Iowa.

The robust composition of the team of Political Science professors at the University was a consequence of the line that was set by Benjamin Franklin Shambaugh (1871-1940), who headed the Political Science Department for four decades and engaged in political history for many years, especially in Iowa's history. A recent book about him states that Shambaugh was little known outside Iowa, but in the early XX c., he was a key figure in the community of historians [17]. In 1903, Shambaugh was a founding member of the American Political Science Association, and became its president in 1930.

During the winter semester of 1921/1922, Fred Haynes (Frederick Emory Haynes, 1868-1958) was apparently the first person who introduced George Gallup to the basics of sociology. These were two half-semester courses; Gallup was rated "B" ("good") for the first one, and "A" for the second one. Walter Wilson Jennings (1887 -?) was another of Gallup's professors who explored the historical and the philosophical issues of religion in the 1920's and 1930's, but apparently, even then, Gallup's interests extended also to the history of business. His research on the greatest American entrepreneurs dates half a century back, but is regularly quoted also in modern bibliographies [18].

A star team of psychology professors

The professors who introduced the student Gallup to his chosen profession can be divided into three groups. The first group comprises the most senior professors in terms of age, widely known in the American community of philosophers and psychologists at the boundary between the XIXth c. and XXth c. They were outstanding representatives of the second generation of American psychologists. The next group comprises the 35 to 40-year-old scholars, who by the early 1920's had acquired a formidable experience in research and teaching. The third group is composed of the young, but already experienced psychologists, who published their first books in the first half of the 1920's, and subsequently became widely recognized experts.

Direct followers of the founders of modern psychology

Carl Emil Seashore (1866-1949) was a descendant of the Swedish community of Iowa. During his childhood, there was one single person within an area of 50 square miles around his home who went to college and Seashore's father suggested to his son to follow suit. The money that Seashore earned by playing the organ at the Swedish church was more than sufficient for his college tuition.

In 1891, he graduated from college, and in 1895, he became the

first person in the Yale University's history to be awarded a doctoral degree in psychology. His mentor was Professor Edward Wheeler Scripture (1864-1945) who in his turn was a student of Wilhelm Maximilian Wundt (1832-1920) and an associate of one of the founders of American psychology, Stanley Hall (see below). Seashore was offered a permanent job at Yale, but in 1897 he accepted an invitation from the University of Iowa and worked there until his death. Seashore enrolled at Yale University on the very day when George Ladd (George Trumbull Ladd, 1842-1921) inaugurated the first U.S. psychology laboratory there. Seashore worked for Ladd in the course of four years; this allows the suggestion that the technology of psychological measurements, studied by several generations of University of Iowa students, was born in Ladd's laboratory.

Seashore has made a significant contribution to the emergence and development of several areas of psychology. He obtained important results in his research on speech and hearing psychology, child psychology, psychology of music and psychological testing, being one of the founders of military psychology. In a recent book on the emergence and establishment of the science of advertising, Seashore is placed among those who have made a significant contribution to its development.

In his book on the history of psychology teaching at the University of Iowa, George Stoddard (see below), a disciple of Seashore and his successor on a number of administrative posts, has devoted a chapter to the so-called "Iowan Seashore"; as the author notes, it might also have been appropriate to name this chapter "*The Seashorean Iowa*" [19], p. 46. Seashore generated a powerful intellectual and ethical field around himself, and acted in support of the development of many new areas of psychology. Thanks to him, Iowa became one of the centers of psychological science in the United States.

George Gallup was introduced into the theory and history of philosophy by Professor George Thomas White Patrick (1857-1949), who studied at the University of Iowa, and returned there after earning a Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University. Patrick was a philosopher who understood the role of psychology and the importance of experiments for it; in 1887, he founded the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Iowa. At that time, this was the seventh such laboratory in the United States. However, he was not ready to lead the psychological studies at the University, and on his insistence, Seashore was invited for that job.

One of the students who studied together with Gallup later wrote that perhaps their most remarkable professor was J.T. Patrick, who was reading an Introduction to Philosophy. For this course of lectures, Gal-

lup got an “A” rating from Patrick, while he got a “B” for the History of Philosophy, also from Professor Patrick.

I must point out here two pivotal ideas of George Gallup's creativity that seem to have grown on the soil prepared by professor Patrick and several other Iowa professors. The first one is Gallup's interpretation of public opinion as an *instrument* of democracy, that is, as a mechanism, the functioning of which normalizes the course of social development. The second idea is the belief in the possibility of creating an *instrument* for the study of public opinion. Both of these *instrumentality* principles were of fundamental importance to Gallup and they were the leading guidelines in his practice of public opinion research, while for researchers of his work, they have become an *instrument* for the acquisition of knowledge related to George Gallup's activity.

Professor George Patrick's doctoral research was done under the mentorship of professor Stanley Hall (Granville Stanley Hall, 1844-1924), who exercised an immense impact on the development of American psychology as a whole, and on a number of related scientific disciplines. He became the first American doctor of psychology, doing research under the leadership of William James (1842-1910). Then Hall traveled to Germany in order to study experimental psychology, which was new at the time, was the first American student of Wilhelm Wundt, he worked with Gustav Fechner (Gustav Theodor Fechner, 1801-1887), Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894) and other prominent European psychologists.

While we are on the subject of the development of American psychology, we should not disregard or underestimate the fact that Hall was the first psychologist to have actively used the questionnaire technologies. In the late 1870's, he worked in Leipzig and Berlin, and began to use surveys in his psychological research, although, in those days, many of his colleagues regarded disapprovingly this method. By 1903, Hall had prepared more than one hundred different questionnaires and supporting documents and he had firmly established the value of this method for data collection in psychology. Altogether, he and his students produced approximately 200 questionnaires, which were mainly used to study child psychology and higher education issues.

George Gallup attended several philosophy courses, including psychology lectures read by Professor Edwin Starbuck (Edwin Diller Starbuck, 1866-1947), who was a great scientist and an extraordinary person. Starbuck is one of those who are considered to be the founders of psychology of religion. He began to do research in this area under the influence by the works of Professor James at Harvard, where he began his studies in 1890. During the years 1901-1902, while conducting interviews, Starbuck measured the religious experience of people and

tried to examine it in terms of the respective personality's psychology. In 1906, after the completion of two years of apprenticeship in Germany, he worked closely with Ernst Meumann (1862-1915), a student of Wundt and a leading authority in the field of empirical research of educational issues. In 1906, Starbuck became a professor at the University of Iowa and worked there until 1930.

Acquaintance with Psychology

George Gallup began studying psychology during the academic year 1920/1921. The fact that he chose so quickly this subject as a field of specialization may be explained by several reasons. Let us consider just two of them. Firstly, it seems that he was interested in the science of human nature; he saw or rather felt that this science offered enormous practical opportunities, primarily from the point of view of journalistic work. Secondly, George Gallup was most likely inspired to explore the realm of psychology by those who introduced him to the theory and the methodology of this science.

According to the archive papers, the psychology courses during the academic year 1920/1921 were led by three teachers. The first name mentioned is that of Mabel Clare Williams Kemmerer (1878-1981). In 1903, she completed her doctoral research paper under the mentorship of Seashore and worked for many years at the University of Iowa. In the 1922/1923 academic year, Kemmerer helped Seashore in carrying out his lectures. In 1930, she published the book “Some Psychology”; judging by its title, this was an introduction to psychology [20]. Most likely, the contents of this book addressed to a considerable extent the issues raised in the course that was attended by Gallup.

The second mentioned name is Warner Brown (1882-1956), a scientist in possession of tremendous professional and general knowledge; even as a very young man, he was in command of the French, Greek and Latin languages, reading the classics in the original. He obtained his first learned degrees from the University of California, where he majored in philosophy, and then began work in the field of experimental psychology. In 1908, Brown completed his doctoral studies at Columbia University under the mentorship of Robert Sessions Woodworth (1869-1962), the founder of several modern trends in the science of psychology. Brown's professional development was also markedly influenced by James McKeen Cattell (1860-1944) and John Dewey (1859-1952).

The third professor having familiarized George Gallup with the basics of psychology was Max Schoen (1888-1957) who had completed his doctoral thesis in 1921 under the supervision of Professor Seashore.

The scientific research interests of Schoen were essentially addressed to the psychology of music and aesthetics. His first works on this subject were published in the early 1920's, while a number of important monographs were published at the end of the 1940's. Some of his earlier books were republished in the 1970's.

An interesting intertwinement can be observed between the creative endeavors of George Gallup and those of one of his teachers, Professor Christian Alban Ruckmick (1886-1961), who was both a theoretician and an observant experimenter. In 1912, Ruckmick published an article on the history of psychology in America, and in 1913, he completed his doctoral thesis at Cornell University under the mentorship of Professor Titchener (Edward Bradford Titchener, 1867-1927). According to many experts, Ruckmick's findings about the perception of rhythm, which were published in 1913, "closed this topic" to psychology researchers for several decades. If we take into account that Ruckmick's teacher, Edward Titchener, developed his doctoral thesis under the mentorship of Wundt, we have yet another confirmation that Gallup's work in its many aspects is a continuation and development of the classic European and American psychology.

Measurement of personality traits

Frederic Knight (Frederic Butterfield Knight, 1891-1948) introduced Gallup to the social perspective of advertising and acquainted him with this topic located at the intersection of sociology and economics.

In 1920, Knight received his doctoral degree in psychology at Columbia University, where during that time Kettell, Woodworth, Edward Thorndike (Edward L. Thorndike, 1874-1949) and several other prominent psychologists worked. Knight has gone down in the history of psychology as the developer of tests for the measurement of skills, particularly in mathematics, and as the compiler of problems aimed at the development of analytical skills. During the years when George Gallup attended his lectures, Knight was already the author of several books published by prestigious publishing houses in New York.

The same classical field of psychology — intelligence testing — was also the areawhere Giles Murrell Ruch (1892-1943) began his research that received extremely high recognition on behalf of the experts at the turn of the 1930's and the 1940's. However, even in those early years when he taught Gallup the basics of testing (1923-1926), Ruch disposed of a profound theoretical knowledge and significant experience in empirical research. Thus, by the mid-1920's, he published several books, which contained the results of his research of the mental and

physical development of schoolchildren, as well as of the intellectual factors that determined the success of the learning process. In 1925, he published the results of the measurements of the intellectual capacities of 1500 Iowa schools graduates. One should not exclude the possibility that this mass surveying experience has been analyzed by him in the lectures attended by Gallup.

The analysis of the above-mentioned research of Ruch allows us to make a conclusion about the approaches and methods that have been studied by George Gallup within the testing course. A more complete picture of the contents of these lectures is provided by the monograph of Ruch and Stoddard, published in 1927. [21]. This monograph, apart from the methodology for the measurement of the various properties of intelligence, contains a thorough description of the procedures for constructing psychological tests and the identification of their operational properties.

The contents of that book are extremely important to our historical and biographical analysis, since it allows an estimation of the probable volume of knowledge and conceptions about the psychological measurement instruments that Gallup had at the beginning of his independent research endeavors. Moreover, this course did not only give George Gallup professional knowledge and skills, but also — most likely — the lectures patterned his attitudes with regard to the measurement of the properties of consciousness, and laid the foundations of his scientific career's style. Another section of that book, which merits particular attention in connection with the creative side of Gallup's accomplishments, concerns the testing of knowledge and understanding of the English language. George Gallup has always paid considerable attention to the linguistic aspects of communication, and this fact has been emphasized by several researchers of his work. George Gallup's attitude to the language has been attributed primarily to his journalistic activities, to his innate feeling for the language. However, that research has not taken into account some specific features of his education.

One section of the book proves to be essential and of fundamental importance for understanding the genesis of the technology of public opinion research. This section considers the positive and the negative aspects of the various examinations forms. There are, on the one hand, the non-standardized or subjective procedures for identifying knowledge and, on the other hand — the standardized, or objective, test-based procedures. The examinations of the first type are the traditional ones, while the examinations of the second type are the new ones, implemented progressively into practice. The results of conventional examinations depend largely on the personality and the singularities of

examiners, while the results of the new type of examinations are independent of them or depend insignificantly on the examiners' qualities. Even a brief consideration of the second type of examination schemes represents a particular interest for a historical analysis, not just with respect to Gallup's creative work, but also to the establishment of polling procedures in general.

First of all, a distinction should be made between the two types of objective tests: the recall type and the recognition type tests. The first type of examination is focused on the fact that the subject has remembered and can recall something from memory. The second type of examination also measures the properties of memory, but at the same time and in addition, it captures the level of other intellectual abilities as well, such as recognition. Now, let us consider the measurement procedures for the objective examination tests proposed by Ruch and Stoddard.

The authors examined in great detail the strong points and the weaknesses of each variety of tests and the methodology for the processing of the test results. Thus, as early as 1920, Gallup learned many important things from the course on testing about the design principles and the operational characteristics of the various types of questions.

The analysis of Giles Ruch's work allows the consideration of another methodological issue related to the used instruments, which is directly related to a number of fundamental metrology and ethical aspects of public opinion research: this is the standardization of tests. It turns out that as early as 1895, the American Psychological Association created a committee to study the opportunities for the standardization of the tests and for the establishment of mandatory requirements for them. Ruch was the first person who in 1925 proposed the creation of an independent agency to monitor the quality of the tests; this idea found an embodiment seventy years later, in 1998, the National Board on Educational Testing and Public Policy was established [22].

The creative life of Professor Meier (Norman Charles Meier, 1893-1967) gives us another example of fruitful "teacher — student" relations. During George Gallup's university years, Meyer had already completed his doctoral thesis on art psychology under the guidance of Seashore (1926), had published several books in this area and had created a series of tests on the measurement of artistic abilities. Meyer always preserved his interest in this subject, and in 1966, virtually half a century after the initial analysis of this subject, he published a book on art psychology.

In the summer of 1924, George Gallup attended a short course in social psychology, which was read by Meyer. Apparently, the student

liked the subject and the way it was expounded, while the teacher appreciated Gallup's attitude towards the subject and his knowledge, which were marked by an "A" rating.

It is difficult to say what was the exact manner for the further development of relations between the experienced teacher and the student who was undertaking his first steps in science. However, in 1938, one of the first issues of the "*Public Opinion Quarterly*" journal published an article by Meyer and one of his post-graduate students based on the results of their own small opinion survey carried out through postcards on the basis of data from the first Gallup polls. Gratitude was expressed to Dr. George Gallup for the permission to use his materials [23]. The subject of the analysis was data collected during the winter of 1935-1936, that is, before the 1936 presidential election, after which George Gallup became a nationally known public opinion analyst. Thus, continuing his research on the perception of art in the mid-1930's, Meyer began working with George Gallup in the field of measurement of political attitudes. This is a rare case, because a student introduced his teacher to the field of his own research.

Another of George Gallup's teachers, George D. Stoddard (1897-1981) was only four years older than Gallup himself. Stoddard attained considerable achievement both as a researcher and as an organizer of science and education. He arrived in Iowa in 1923 after obtaining a first-rate American and European education. He graduated from college at the University of Pennsylvania and later studied at the Sorbonne, specializing in the field of cognitive testing. He obtained a teaching position in the University of Iowa and simultaneously began working on his doctoral research thesis. In 1925, Stoddard had completed his studies on cognitive testing and was able to fully concentrate on his scientific work. He performed a series of studies on the properties of the intelligence quotient (IQ) that brought him fame in the professional circles [24]. In general, it can be asserted that the research carried out by Stoddard may have radically improved Gallup's knowledge on psychological measurement methodology and technology.

Editor of the student newspaper

The University of Iowa has had its newspaper since 1868. As a matter of fact, however, its issues appeared irregularly and its name was changed periodically. In 1901, the newspaper was renamed to "*The Daily Iowan*" and became the first daily student newspaper in the Midwest. For a long time, it had no permanent manager or editors, and during the spring of 1921 the question arose as to who should be editing "*The Daily Iowan*" during the summer. Later, Gallup used

to make a strong point that, in those years, the newspaper was issued on the “*get rich or ruined*” principle (“*make it or break it*”); in other words, the chief editor and the general manager agreed to cover all running costs and eventual losses, but in case of success, all the returns would be theirs. According to George Gallup's memoirs, there were few students willing to take the risk of editing the newspaper. George Gallup did take this risk.

Summer was drawing on. The newspaper's affairs were going from bad to worse. In an effort to attract the students' attention to the edition, on July 21, 1921, George Gallup wrote an editorial entitled “*The Unattractive Women*”. The article renders supposedly overheard a conversation between two young men: according to their observations during the summer semester, their college was attended by very unattractive girls. These mostly consisted of schoolteachers who were unable to make themselves as attractive as they could. The participants in the dialogue had come to the conclusion that what women needed was first of all to learn how to look in their best possible way, because men wanted something more in a wife than “a bone, a rag, and a hank of hair.”

George 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.” The newspaper received a lot of critical letters, claiming among other things that male students, including the editor, were also not very pleasing to the eye. However, “From that day on, the paper was eagerly read.” [6, p. 103]. By the end of the summer semester, George Gallup had earned money enough to allow himself some rest.

More than three quarters of a century later, Daniel Robinson, the historian of Canadian public opinion polls, unexpectedly linked the contents of this article written by Gallup as a student to the fact that during the first years of Gallup's polls, women were underrepresented in the sample selections [25]. Referring to the detailed analysis of the samples' structure of Gallup's Institute (the *American Institute of Public Opinion*) performed by Norval Glenn, Robinson pointed out that women accounted for less than 40 percent of the samples in the beginning of the 1940's, and their share showed an upward trend after 1944 only. As a conclusion, the author linked this sample underrepresentation of women respondents to George Gallup's views on the role of women in public life.

This explanation for such a bias in Gallup's samples seemed strange to me, since it was contrary to the entire logic and ethics of his work. Therefore, I addressed on the subject Professor Glenn, the author of research on social and cultural change, social stratification, and

sociological methodology, who had been a member of the editorial board of the “*Public Opinion Quarterly*” for many years. In his reply, Professor Glenn explained that the reason for the underrepresentation of women in the samples of the Gallup Institute in 1940 was very simple. Gallup surveyed the electorate rather than the adult population as such. Consequently, the population groups were represented in the correct proportion to their participation in the elections and not to the adult population as a whole. For example, Southerners and black Americans were even more underrepresented than women were. According to Glenn, George Gallup harbored no prejudice against women, although he may have been prejudiced against the part of the electorate that was not voting. [26]

In late 1921, G. George Gallup proposed an ambitious plan for the transformation of the “*The Daily Iowan*” from a student paper to a complete urban daily newspaper and became its Chief Editor. There were many plans. On May 4, 1923, the first page of the newspaper carried the article “*Iowan Editors Outline Plans*” with the subtitle “*Gallup Favors Technical Changes*” [27, p. 1]. The article contained information about the plans of the newly elected leadership of the newspaper about the summer semester of the 1922/1923 academic year.

More particularly, it was reported that George Gallup, a third-year student from Jefferson and Chief Editor of “*The Iowan*” for the next year, intended to introduce major changes in the newspaper, most of them of a technical nature. However, the most interesting piece of information was “Mr. Gallup's idea of using national news from the Associated Press”. In the section of the article entitled “Gallup States Policies” [of the newspaper – B. D.], the following words of Gallup were quoted: “Every worthwhile institution of the University will receive the support of the *Daily Iowan*.” Gallup included also “Women's activities” among the important areas of university life, which were supposed to be permanently kept in sight by the newspaper.

Thanks to the active coverage of local events and nationwide news, George Gallup was able to improve the level of the publication and to increase the number of readers. Accordingly, the volume of published advertisements also increased, and the newspaper was becoming a moneymaker.

Spending a lot of time and efforts on the newspaper's management, George Gallup at the same time maintained a daily editor's column. Many people knew him as an independent person with respect to his judgments, “a man who is ever ready to expose and ridicule pretentiousness and stuffiness.” [6, p. 104]. He did not write exclusively on academic affairs. His perspective covered broader themes, among

which, in particular, the issues of the State's development, as well as the general problems of ethical education. He had such irresponsible attitude with regard to his duties as editor and author of the newspaper's daily column that he somewhat delayed even his own Master's degree. His editorials were read with interest and were even played up in a comic play that was named "His Majesty, the Big Duke Theodore."

George Gallup's most famous statement in the "*The Daily Iowan*" is considered to be the programmatic article "Be radical!" Becky Hawbaker, who was the author of several quotations provided in that section of the paper, pointed out absolutely correctly that the general feeling of George Gallup's article was more reminiscent of the spirit of the 1960's student manifestos than of the 1920's newspaper texts. George Gallup wrote: "Don't be afraid to be radical. Universities need radicals. We are all-rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool intellectual stand-patters. 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 aradical is aduty, like casting your first ballot or kissing your sister. Only aman of fifty has the right to be conservative. Don't be acow. Think, question, doubt! Be radical!" [6, p.105].

This was the real nature of George Gallup's attitude, aimed at new achievements and changes, just a few years after his twentieth anniversary. "*The Daily Iowan*", which had begun its development according to Gallup's scenario, became the training ground for many journalists who later achieved universal acknowledgement for being experts in their profession and received nationwide acclaim. The extent to which the plan to transform a student newspaper into a normal urban newspaper was highly unusual but still viable can be seen from the statement of one of the current leaders of "*The Daily Iowan*". According to him, "*The Daily Iowan*" in 1999-2000 was one of the six major American college-published newspapers, and the only one among them that was distributed among the residents of the State of Iowa and beyond [28].

Concluding this section, may I note that George Gallup met Ophelia Miller in 1923. She studied at the University and she taught French there. They were married during the Christmas days of 1925. One of the encyclopedic dictionaries states that, during the early 20's, George Gallup carried out his first public opinion poll as the editor of the student newspaper. The subject was the identification of the most beautiful girl of the University. The winner was Ophelia Miller, and she was the one who became his wife [29, p.320]. I assume that something similar could be true. They were the smartest-looking students in the campus, recalled Bruce Gould, a university friend of Gallup [30, p.78].

DR. GALLUP: BEGINNING OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The journalist becomes a psychologist

There is a seldom-quoted short anthology for studies in the history of advertising; it was published in 1986, i.e., two years after George Gallup's death. A short but extremely valuable section there has been written by George Gallup himself. It has been entitled — possibly by the editors — as "George Gallup: A Personal History". This is one of the most detailed descriptions of the way he began his scientific research career. Let me provide a few fragments:

"A summer job as an interviewer in a newspaper readership survey conducted by the D'Arcy Advertising Agency in St. Louis, — Gallup wrote — 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. It included questions that asked respondents what kind of news they read, which features, which departments, etc. 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." [31, p.47].

And further on: "During the next few years, both as an undergraduate and as a graduate student, I explored all the ways that newspapers used to discover what interested their readers. 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. By interviewing across-section of the newspaper's readers, an accurate picture would emerge as to what interested subscribers in that day's issue. One obvious reason why the procedure worked was that it provided the respondent with a great many memory cues. Later, 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 commixstrips, the love advice features and the like had considerably more readers.

I presented the results to Gardner Cowles, Jr., editor of the Des

Moines Register, and later publisher of Look Magazine, and he offered to sponsor a survey of the Register, using this method. At the same time, the psychology department of the University of Iowa agreed to accept this test of the method as a suitable Ph.D. thesis in that department." [31, p.47-48].

The same story was described by George Gallup in an interview granted in the early 1980's. In response to the question: "How did you happen to get into the research field?", he told the following story: "I happened to get into it by being an interviewer in St. Louis for the D'Arcy Advertising Agency in 1923 or 1924. The study that we were doing in the Louis was one designed to find out what people read in their newspapers. I went back to the University of Iowa with the idea that there had to be a better way than what we were using. I made that my Ph.D. thesis, stayed on and taught and wrote my thesis". Later, he said that during the preparation of his doctoral thesis he had worked with Mike Cowles [32, p.21].

Despite the differences in the dating of the first participation in a survey, both fragments of George Gallup's recollections reproduce in the same way the sequencing and the context of his first steps in science. Schematically, they can be described as follows: 1) The first polling of the newspaper's readers made a strong impression on George Gallup; 2) He had serious doubt about the performance of the technology used; 3) He believed that an improvement of the measuring instrument was possible; 4) His first results attracted the attention of the managerial staff of the "Des Moines Register" newspaper (Gardner Cowles, Jr. and Mike Cowles are two names of the same person), and it funded the readers' surveys; and 5) The results of these surveys became the essence of George Gallup's doctoral thesis.

Hundreds of students took part in the survey of the "D'Arcy" Agency that was discussed above and in other similar surveys carried out in the United States in the early 1920's. However, it was only George Gallup, for whom this experience became an impetus for independent scientific research, that later led him to the main achievement of his life. Why did it happen so?

The answer to this question, of course, should be sought in the personality attributes of this unique interviewer. The effect of George Gallup's "coming across" the polling technology can be characterized as an inspiration or an "insight", since he determined at first sight the main direction of his future long-term research: the study of people's opinions. Nevertheless, such an insight is always a manifestation and a summing up of the complex rational and emotional processes that occur in a human being long before the time of the insight's outbreak.

Thus, it should be fair to assume that — already during the early years of his studies — George Gallup had been seriously thinking about the direction and the nature of his future professional activities.

Of course, in the early 1920's, George Gallup was not in a position to clearly delineate the scope and the nature of his future research, and to predict that he would be one of the main founders of the modern culture and technology of public opinion research. However, it was precisely in those years that his views on science and society were actively shaped while he was looking for his own place in the professional community and the social environment. Apparently, the polling method for researching the attitudes and the behavior of readers was immediately perceived by him as a promising technology.

In those years, George Gallup was most likely proceeding on the basis of the general principles of journalism, the most important of which for him was "What to say, and not how to say it." Since his early youth and throughout his life, he saw in journalism an instrument for the harmonization of the various different public interests, rather than a kind of "*belles lettres*" exercise. During his early years of learning, George Gallup developed a keen interest in psychology, and in particular, towards the methodology and the instruments for consciousness testing. Perhaps at first he considered psychology merely from the point of view of a tool able to help him — the journalist — understand the world of human consciousness. But afterwards, in addition to the exclusively applied aspect of this science, he discovered also its cognitive and analytical function, and became interested in the very process of finding out new things.

The cooperation of the beginning researcher with the editors of the "*Register*" and "*Tribune*" newspapers was not limited to the formal relations between a contractor and his principal. It was extremely fruitful for the reporters who influenced George Gallup's subsequent creative and personal development. He found himself in the unique intellectual, creative and ethical environment that would be conducive to the full flourishing of his scientific and personal potential.

Completion of education

George Gallup's student personal dossier states that on June 9, 1925 he was awarded a Master's degree in applied psychology for his work "A Study in the Selection of Salespeople for 'Killian's' Department Store, Cedar Rapids, Iowa". In the middle of the 1920's, research on the personnel of commercial chains was becoming a routine task in the fields of marketing and the emerging industrial psychology. The results of this work were most likely presented in the first learned publication of Gallup, which appeared in April 1926 [33].

Susan Ohmer, who has been involved for many years in the analysis of George Gallup's works, has found in this article not just simple indicators for the eventual success of the sales personnel, but also a general methodological setting, namely, a confirmation for the effectiveness of the objective methods for human behavior analysis [34, p. 62]. A detailed monograph in Applied Psychology from 1950 contains a short list of the scientists who, in the first third of the XXth c., developed the tests for determining the success of retail salespeople. The monograph also points out the contribution of 25-year-old Gallup [35, p. 158].

It seems that just before undertaking that study, George Gallup began working on a job commissioned by the "*Des Moines Register*" and the "*Register*" newspapers. It would be hard to pinpoint the circumstances that made him choose exactly this topic for his first research paper, but one can assume that this was what interested the owners of these publications. In the article of one of the owners and editors of these newspapers, Harvey Ingham (1858-1949), written in October 1938, we can read the remark that George Gallup began his public opinion polls for that newspaper: "He had taken experimental polls while he was at the University and his master's degree was on these experimental polls." [36]. Consequently, we can assume that Gallup's cooperation with the newspaper began at the end of 1924 or the beginning of 1925, when he had already acquired some considerable experience in interviewing the readers and when he had conceived his ideas about the improvement of this research technology.

The doctoral thesis of George Gallup had a methodologically instrumental character; his technology for studying the readers' interests was intended to solve some specific problems faced by these newspapers in their practical activity. However, the character of the results obtained in the thesis was far from a purely private one. The very first "finds" of the young analyst became fundamental to the development of a number of domains in American journalism and of mass culture in general.

George Gallup wrote in an unpublished doctoral work the following: "The question was, what did people read? Well, you ask them and they say, the editorials, and the national news, everything that reflects glory on themselves, never the comics and sports. But if you show them the paper, make them focus their minds on what they actually read — what did read on this page — they can't keep thinking of what they ought to have read." [37, p. 268]

In March 1930, i.e., shortly after receiving his Doctor's degree, George Gallup published an article of great interest for the study of

his work and of polling technology in general. In essence, it outlined the basic methodological and substantive conclusions of his thesis. First of all, one's attention is immediately drawn to the article's title: "A Scientific Method for Determining Reader-Interest." [38]. In the special section "A Scientific Method" Gallup describes his research procedure and proves its validity, dwelling on the rules for the formation of stratified sampling, for interviewing the respondents and for the processing of the data; an outline is provided for the entire scope of application of his technology. The latter was understood in a quite expanded meaning of the term: "The Method described above can help to solve many important problems in the field of advertising and journalism." [38, p. 8]. In this early article, it is difficult to detect even a hint about public opinion research, but in a technological aspect, all that Gallup did in relation to the investigation of an audience of newspaper readers is also applicable to the measurement of attitudes.

The volume of George Gallup's empirical work is impressive: "Experimental work covering a period of five years and thousands of readers has fully established the reliability of the method. It has been used successfully to date for a half dozen newspapers whose circulations range from a few thousands to half a million." [38, p. 6].

George Gallup's main conclusion disproved the results of researchers who had used other, unscientific, methods. In his opinion, the readers' assertions are difficult to quantify: "The man who says that he 'usually' reads editorials may mean that he reads them five times a week, or once a month, depending upon his interpretation of the word, and his knowledge of his own reading habits." [38, p. 4]

The traditionally used methods for studying the readers' assessments rarely succeeded to identify the critical attitudes of the audience. It turned out that none of the respondents, even out of those who initially claimed that they never missed a word, had read more than one-half of the newspaper. On average, no more than 15 percent of the newspapers' contents were read. It was clarified that the first page — it usually contained the main international and home news — was rarely read, and preference was given to the cartoons and the photographs [6, p. 106]. Obituaries were read more frequently than the analysis of social and political events. In addition, Gallup revealed that differences existed in the interest towards newspaper content that were determined by the gender and the social status of the readers [38, p. 9-12]

George Gallup began the presentation of his findings with the assertion that comics attract a larger number of adult readers than the information about the major events of the day does. An extremely extensive study of the history of American advertising during the XXth

c. notes that, beginning from the 1890's, newspaper comic strips have gradually become part of the American mass consciousness and a characteristic element of American culture [39].

During the second half of the 1920's, when George Gallup undertook his research on the readers' interests, comic strips had already become fairly common in journalism and advertising, but there were no scientifically established facts related to their appeal from the readers' point of view. Therefore, George Gallup is fittingly considered to be one of the pioneers who studied the audience of comics; his work stimulated their use in advertising. According to Edward Strong (1884-1963), George Gallup's study shed considerable light on many aspects of the readers' interest for the various sections of a newspaper. For example, Gallup proved the considerable popularity of comic strips, and this led to their increased use in advertising after 1931. [40, p.168].

It is quite possible that during the years when Gallup recorded the high interest of Iowans for comic pictures with text, another analyst (if there were one) in another state could have obtained a different result. However, the readers of the "*Register*" and the "*Tribune*" had already been familiar with the comic papers for several decades, since the first Sunday issues of these newspapers with four-page color drawing supplements were printed as early as September 1904. Ingham wrote that their newspapers were among the first newspapers in cities with populations of less than 100,000 people to begin printing comics [41, p.61].

In the late 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's, the success of the newspapers in margin was determined to a large extent by the activity of the editor Walters (Basil Leon Walters, 1896-1975), one of the people who shaped the modern American press. In a detailed book about Walters written by R. Moskowitz on the basis of his personal acquaintance with him and an extensive document research, many examples for the cooperation between Walters and Gallup are provided. Despite their warm and friendly relations, they had stormy discussions about the ways to make a newspaper. In a 1973 conversation with Moskowitz, Walters remembered an episode of more than forty years before that, which illustrates well the nature of his work with Gallup, and moreover, shows the common style of their work.

One evening, George Gallup went to the editorial office of the "*Register*", approached the table behind which Walters and several of his staff were sitting, and after greeting them said that the weakest links of the newspaper were its main topic, often on an international theme, and the main heading, typed with the largest print. Everybody was in indignation. Developing his assertion further, Gallup said that his students went to the subscribers' homes and asked them what they read in the

newspaper. It was established that a significant proportion of the respondents did not understand a single word from the main title, which, according to the editors' board philosophy, should have been the premium attraction for the readers. The latter had a much greater preference for local topic articles written in a simpler language. The editor in charge of the formulation of main titles said that this could not be true and that even the typesetter guy who worked in the newspaper knew the meaning of all the words. Walters invited the typesetter and asked him the meaning of one of the words in the title; the typesetter replied that he had no idea. The debate continued in a nearby restaurant, where Gallup asked the customers whether they understood the meaning of that main title. It came out that they did not. This was accepted immediately as a proof that George Gallup was right [42].

There is another domain of journalism in the development of which George Gallup has made a significant contribution. This is photojournalism: the readers' interest to visual information and photographs discovered by Gallup, the development of new technologies for the creation and the printing of photographic materials. The successful sale by the newspaper of photographs to other publications: — all these led to the fact that in 1936 Mike Coles decided to organize the nationwide release of the photo magazine "*Look*". The first issue of "*Look*" was released in January 1937. The magazine was a tremendous success. During the first few months, 705 thousand copies a month were sold, while by November its circulation reached 17 million copies, and "*Look*" began to be printed every two weeks, and not monthly.

Thus, the results of the research carried out by Gallup during the completion of his university studies and within the next two to three years — both in its theoretically methodological aspect, and in its applied aspects — made up a significant part of the scientific advance in the research of American media audiences. Gallup actually jumped through the phase of apprenticeship, he immediately proved himself an independent analyst, capable to solve complex theoretical problems, to devise tools able to secure reliable facts and to make conclusions of high practical relevance.

On September 23, 1928, George Gallup was awarded a Ph.D. in Applied Psychology for his work "An Objective Method for Determining Reader Interest in the Content of a Newspaper". The last entry in the personal dossier of George Gallup as a student was the qualification decision that he was awarded a Doctoral Degree with a Major in Applied Psychology and an additional minor specialization in Theoretical Psychology. It was signed by the Dean of the Graduate College, Professor Seashore.

The domain in which George Gallup performed his doctoral research was relatively new; nevertheless, by that time American psychologists and advertising researchers had already accumulated considerable experience in the research of the newspaper readers' audience. In the first half of the 1920's, similar research results were published quite frequently, but it was still not possible to generalize the slowly accumulating facts and conclusions in order to establish a theory, be it an average level theory. That was a stage of isolation and establishment of the simple typology of factors that could attract the readers' attention to a particular type of message.

The psychology course taught George Gallup many things about the mechanisms of memory and he was very capable to work with tests that measure the various properties of memory and the different aspects of the process of remembering. It is hard to determine now the extent to which he was familiar with the mid-1920's research results that revealed the psychological mechanisms for the formation of the people's attitudes to newspaper and magazine advertising, but it is most likely that during the preparation of his doctoral thesis, he learned a lot about this topic.

The "objective method" term in the title of George Gallup's doctoral thesis clearly resonates with studies that were carried out at that time in the University of Iowa and were aimed at establishing procedures or methods for objective examinations. When researching the readers' interests by means of using the polling technologies, Gallup had two options: focusing on those properties of the readers' memory that were described with the notion of "*recalling capacity*", or on the reader's ability to "*recognize*" something seen by the reader before. The choice was made in favor of the second option, i.e., *recognition*.

The most important outcome of George Gallup's doctoral work was his measurement technology, now referred to as the "Gallup Method", or, less frequently, the "Iowa Method". The essence of the approach was that the interviewer handed the respondent a copy of the newspaper published on the eve of the polling and, moving consecutively from column to column together with the respondent, identified the extent of the respondent's acquaintance with the contents. In accordance with the rules, which regulated the procedure for the development of psychological tests, Gallup first checked the validity of his method for collecting information and the reproducibility of the measurements in a series of small experiments. Then he applied it for a sample of 1000 people in the analysis of the Des Moines Register's readership audience [43, p.114-115]. The method did not actually measure memory proper-

ties and did not identify the reasons for the recognition of the text in question, but allowed an estimation of the proportion of the audience that had read, or simply had paid attention to the specific materials of the newspaper. In subsequent years, the method developed further and was built upon, but its core remained unchanged. Gallup successfully used it for many years in the research of press audiences, as well as in studying the perception of advertising.

In applied psychology, this measurement technique is known as *the recognition method* (or the identification method), because it allows the researcher to record the fact of recognition of what the respondent may have previously read, heard or seen. The experts believe that this method, in its various modifications, has become the most widely used one in studies of advertising and mass media audiences. George Gallup's method is discussed as one of the research procedures known collectively under the designation of "reading-and-noting".

Even the shortest narrative about the Iowa period of George Gallup's life justifies the assertion that he accomplished a great deal over these years.

First of all, he obtained an excellent education in the sphere of theoretical and applied psychology, which enabled him to propose a new approach to the research of press audiences and to prove the effectiveness of the approach. One can definitely say that George Gallup's subsequent accomplishments in researching advertising and measuring public opinion were closely linked to the development of the "Iowa method" and the expansion of its field of application.

Secondly, George Gallup acquired a profound knowledge base and accumulated extensive experience in the sphere of journalism. He did not just come to be acquainted with the world of journalism. On the contrary, despite his youth, he occupied a unique place in that world. Very few are those researchers who have been able to create something new that has remained in history in close association with their names.

Thirdly, he created a family of his own. His son Alec (Alec Miller Gallup, 1928-2009) was born in Iowa City. He received his education in journalism, at first at Princeton University, then at the University of Iowa and at Stanford University. His son George (George Horace Gallup, Jr., b. 1930) received a bachelor's degree in theology from Princeton University and later defended successfully a doctoral thesis. For many decades, they both worked at key positions with the Gallup Organization. In 1937, a daughter, Julia, was born in Gallup's family.

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Chapter 3.

THE UNKNOWN GALLUP

Archibald Crossley and Elmo Roper, pioneers of public opinion research through polling, became known for having predicted, simultaneously with George Gallup, the victory of Franklin Roosevelt in the presidential election of 1936. Crossley and Roper will be discussed in detail further below. Their names are quoted right now in order to make more understandable the story included by Paul Lazarsfeld (1901-1976) in his speech at the leading U.S. pollster forum, which took place in 1949. Lazarsfeld had just returned from Europe where he was confronted with an interesting linguistic situation. During discussions in Norway and Sweden, he was asked: “Do you have a Gallup yourself?” Or “Has Crossley’s ‘Gallup’ been better than Roper’s ‘Gallup?’” [1, p.194].

P.A. Scipione, referring to the renowned “Printers’ Ink” magazine, 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” [2].

Answering the question: “Has Gallup become synonymous with polling?”, Alec Gallup, the eldest son of George Gallup, 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. And, as a matter of fact, it’s a little spooky, the generic part of it. It causes us a lot of problems, because in Scandinavia you really can’t say, “Hey, you can’t use our name”, because they can use it, because it means survey.” [3].

Of course, George Gallup is most famous worldwide as the creator of the modern technology of mass attitudes measurement and as a scientist who has made the greatest contribution to the development of the public opinion research culture. Nevertheless, the investigation of his legacy should not be confined exclusively to the analysis of this component of his endeavors. This chapter discusses two other important aspects of Gallup’s activity: teaching and research on the effectiveness of advertising.

From the formal point of view, George Gallup has held teaching positions for a relatively short period of time. However, taking into account all his achievements, analyzing the topics of his polls, consider-

ing all things written in his books and articles, and pronounced in his interviews, we can confidently assert that the problems of education and training in most of their significant aspects have always been in the focus of George Gallup’s attention as a researcher and a citizen throughout his life.

George Gallup’s contribution to the creation of the arsenal of methods intended to study the effects of advertising, and the instruments for the improvement of advertising efficiency discovered by him are analyzed in practically all studies of modern American advertising. George Gallup fully deserves his place in a small group of super professionals who have transformed advertising from a modest and narrowly targeted source of information into a meaningful element of the global communication culture of the twentieth century.

In 1976, the Chairman of the 40th Annual Conference of the Advertising Research Foundation, Professor Benjamin Lipstein, a prominent expert on the history of marketing and advertising, included George Gallup in the group of the seven legendary analysts whose work defined the evolution of this research area [4, p.11-15]. After Gallup’s death, Lipstein wrote: “George H. Gallup was one of the great wellsprings of ideagenerators in the copy research field” [5, p.13]. Delivering a speech on the occasion of the semi-centennial anniversary of the above-mentioned Foundation in 1986, David Ogilvy (see below), summed it up: “Gallup contributed more to advertising research than all the rest of us put together.” [6, p.106].

THE TEACHER: A POSITION AND A SOCIAL ROLE

There are three domains that can be delineated within George Gallup’s work in the sphere of education. Firstly, teaching or training *per se*, i.e., the transfer of knowledge to the students. Secondly, research on education-related public opinion and, in particular, monitoring the attitudes of Americans to public school education. Thirdly, an analysis of the philosophy and the history of American education and of the general principles of teaching.

George Gallup was always interested in what people knew about the world and what they would like to know about it. He sought to ensure that people should think in a more profound way about social problems, both at the local and the national level and to actively participate in finding solutions for them. The publication of poll results was regarded by Gallup as providing information to the public and to the voters for a more complete understanding of the relevant social

processes and trends, and for an informed behavior, including the voting process.

Describing his own activity in the areas mentioned above, George Gallup used the term “educator”. However, it does not reveal the entirety of George Gallup’s endeavors and achievements in this area. In our view, this case justifies the use of the word “enlightener” as much more appropriate. This is the only way to understand why in 1970 Gallup — overburdened with many projects and plans, and pressured by leading politicians and journalists — found the time to write a book with quite an unusual destination. It was intended to serve as a guidebook for the parents of children in the first year of school [7].

George Gallup had the gift of convincing people about the importance and the indispensability of the objective he was pursuing. Thanks to his work and as a result of his contacts and efforts, many eminent public opinion analysts emerged in the United States and worldwide. He has always actively supported those who dared go together with him. The corporate website of the Gallup Organization explains the organization’s history and the major components of George Gallup’s heritage. In particular, there is a section named “Dr. Gallup as Teacher”. It begins with the words: “Obviously, Dr. Gallup was a gifted scientist. However, his greatest talent was probably best described by his close friend, the founder of the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion (Jan Stapel, 1917–2002), who stated, ‘George was simply the greatest teacher of his time’” [8].

The “Quill and Scroll” Association

On April 10, 1926, twenty-three enthusiasts (twenty women and three men) who were devoted to teaching journalism in the high schools gathered in Iowa City and created the fundamental documents of an organization that they called “*Quill and Scroll*”. The proclaimed goal of “*Quill and Scroll*” consisted in providing every possible support for high school students engaged in journalism. The initiator of this effort was a then unknown student of the University of Iowa and also a lecturer in the School of Journalism at the same University — George Gallup.

In October 1926, the first issue of the “*Quill and Scroll*” magazine appeared, representing, as stated on the cover, the “*National Honorary Society for High School Journalists*”; its editor was George Gallup. It was the first educational project of Gallup; in the broader sense of the term, it was a social project of a nationwide scale. Undoubtedly, in those years and later on, many organizations were created with equally commendable goals. However, how many of those survived until the begin-

ning of the new century? At the time it was created, “*Quill and Scroll*” (Q&S) covered 25 schools from Iowa and the neighboring states, each of them being considered a local chapter of the organization. At the beginning of the present century, Q&S had more than 14,000 chapters (schools) in 50 U.S. states and 44 other countries. By the end of the XXth c., there were more than a million graduates of the association, including a large number of world-famous journalists.

Many years afterwards, George Gallup recollected the way that the idea emerged to create an organization aimed at assisting school journalism. He pointed out that he was the editor of the school’s and then the University’s daily newspaper “*The Daily Iowan*”; he valued highly this journalistic experience. At the same time, he drew attention to the fact that school sportsmen were granted awards, while those students who had achieved the same excellence in journalism were deprived of them [9, p. 14]. Nevertheless, how and why was Q&S able, originating in a small Iowa town, to turn into a powerful international community?

In the mid-1970’s, half a century after the birth of this association, the general frame of mind and the motives of its creators were accurately portrayed by Professor Laurence R. Campbell (1903–1987) — a distinguished expert in the field of journalism — who contributed a lot to the development of Q&S. He was the same age as George Gallup. Therefore, his depiction of the social atmosphere of that period of time does not only represent the opinion of an amateur historian with regard to the past, but also an adult’s perception for the world of his youth. According to Campbell, during the 1920’s, the Americans attempted to rethink what they had seen and understood during the war, and to enjoy the fruits of victory, in order to make the world a safe place for democracy. American journalism was gaining strength, and the creation of Q&S by Gallup and his colleagues responded to this new need, which was being progressively rationalized by society [10, p. 4].

Professor of several universities

Q&S came out to be not just a scholarly and educational, but also a social and informative project. After all, this society has given the United States and many other countries a large number of journalists, who in their turn shaped and continue to shape the minds of millions.

In 1927 in Iowa City, two books were published, whose co-author or editor was George Gallup. One of them was the small booklet “*Best Creative Work in American High Schools, 1926/27*” [11] that was directly related to the emergence of Q&S. The book was published under Gallup’s editorship and described the outcomes of the starting year of

the association. The second book introduces Gallup on its title page as one of its four co-authors and as a teacher at the University's School of Journalism, editor of Q&S and a person with previous experience in advertising [12].

Strictly speaking, George Gallup began his teaching activities in 1925, as mentioned above, at the University of Iowa School of Journalism. In 1925, he taught three courses for students who had already attended the introductory courses, a typing course and two seminars. By 1927, he already had six courses. Since the teaching content at the School of Journalism was just emerging, the teachers were free to choose their subjects. George Gallup recalled: "We just carved out the courses ... I decided I wanted to teach a course and then I would give it a title." The description of one of them pointed out: "A study of what interests people; psychological basis of news appeals; public opinion ... experimental work in evaluating news." [13, p. 105].

Thus, the problem of public opinion research had been within George Gallup's sight for about ten years before he began to conduct regular surveys. The fact that Gallup included this subject in the curriculum as a young teacher automatically indicates that he had had abundant knowledge about the most important studies on the theory of public opinion and the role of the latter in the structure of U.S. political institutions at the beginning of the second half of the 1920's.

After graduating from the University, from 1929 to 1931, George Gallup led the Journalism Department at the private Drake University in the capital of Iowa, Des Moines. According to materials of the archive library of Drake University, the students of journalism in those years were offered the following courses: "Preparation and editing of texts", "Trends in the development of journalism", "Editing advertisements", "Creation of advertisements", "Preparation of texts for magazines", "History of Journalism" and several others. W.B. Friedrichs [14, p. 86] notes that Gallup was the only professor of journalism at that University. Thus, it is natural to assume that he was the one who taught all these courses. In 1940, for his services to the University, George Gallup was awarded an honorary Doctor of Law degree of the Drake University.

In 1931, he received an invitation from the Northwestern University located in the town of Evanston, near Chicago, and worked there for one year in the relatively new Medill School of Journalism; it was established in 1921 only. According to the official documents, George Gallup was a professor of journalism and advertising. During the 1931/1932 academic year, the 30-year old professor had to lead three courses [15]. Firstly, the course "Testing of advertising": methods

to identify the advantages and disadvantages of advertising texts; evaluation of the interest of readers in a specific advertisement and in press promotional campaigns; using reading habits and attitudes in order to increase interest in newspaper and magazine advertising.

Secondly, together with other teachers, George Gallup conducted a semester course on journalistic practice, the substance of which consisted in the preparation of news reports. In addition, Gallup taught a special course on studying readers' interests: what people read and why they read it. As in the first case, students were given the opportunity to work in newspapers and magazines, which allowed them to see real-life solutions for publishing house problems.

George Gallup lectured at the Northwestern University for just one year, but the University is proud that he worked there. In 1939, Gallup, who by that time had become a nationally known analyst and journalist, was awarded by the University an Honorary Doctor of Law degree.

In 1935-1938, as a visiting professor George Gallup, lectured in one of the best-known training centers for journalists in America—the School of Journalism at the Columbia University in New York, also called the Pulitzer's School. Here, Gallup led five courses.

For two years (1935-1937) he taught "A Publisher's Perspective" course of lectures and led a "Publishing Policies" seminar. The lectures were focused on the newspapers' editorial policies, including the preparation, submission and styling of news reports; advertising policies and distribution of publications. The current issues of daily newspapers and radio broadcasting were discussed briefly, from the point of view of a publisher of newspapers or magazines. The seminars were aimed at preparing students for work in the offices of daily newspapers and magazines. The seminar program written by George Gallup stated: "Direction will be given to individual interest in publishing with emphasis upon scientific methods of studying and interpreting readers' interests and trends in public opinion." [16].

For the winter semester of 1937-1938, Gallup suggested the "Public Opinion, Radio, and the Press" series of lectures. Apparently, it was assumed that this course should not only consider the general theory of public opinion and its interaction with the press and the radio, but also to analyze the strategy of the surveys that ended with the successful forecast of the victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the elections of 1936.

Properly speaking, Gallup's teaching activities in the narrow sense of the term, that is, professorial work, ended in 1938. This work was given ten years. However, the problems of education always remained within his range of vision and constantly captivated his attention as a citizen.

“... Surveys can help education”

In the early 1960's, George Gallup came to the conclusion that the inadequate awareness with regard to important events at home and abroad, as well as the lack of interest in large groups of the population, all combined with the low popularity of reading, were serious obstacles confronting the development of democracy institutions. He was not misled by the impressive numbers of the books sold or collected by libraries. The polls showed that, during these years, the preponderant majority of books was bought and read by “asurprisingly small part of the population”: 80 percent of everything read was attributable to one fifth of the adult American population. In 1962, responding to a reporter's question about the reading habits of the population, Gallup said that high school and college students were reading fewer books than their peers of twenty years ago were. He explained the growth of book sales with the population growth and with the significant increase in the number of senior classes in schools and colleges. He pointed out that according to the formal indicators for the level of education, such as the number of years of schooling and the percentage of graduates who continue their education after high school, the United States held the top place worldwide. However, with regard to the level of actual book reading, the country was lagging behind the leading European states [17]. George Gallup's attitude towards books was similar to the standard of Erasmus of Rotterdam (Erasmus Roterodamus, 1466-1536): “When I have a little money, I buy books; and if I have any left, I buy food and clothes”, while with respect to reading, Gallup often quoted Mark Twain's aphorism: “A person who won't read has no advantage over one who can't read.”

Now let us briefly discuss George Gallup's long-term research project, which shows his permanent and profound interest in the issues of education and professional training. This is the “*PDK/Gallup Poll*” project, which for more than thirty years has been monitoring the Americans' attitudes towards public schools. The PDK acronym means Phi Delta Kappa International — an organization that has been supporting for many decades a large number of public school development programs.

In 1960, Charles F. Kettering II (1931-1971) and his friend Edward A. Brainard (b.1931), being well acquainted with the issues of the school education system because of their own working experience, recognized the need to study more profoundly the problems of education. To this end, Charles Kettering II created the “*C.F. Kettering Foundation*”, with the objective, among other things, to organize annual polls on education. Then it was decided to involve Gallup in this work. He “expressed

no less enthusiasm with regard to the improvement of education” than that of the foundation's managers, and “named aridiculously low price for carrying out the polling function.” Gallup permanently devoted a lot of time to this project and insisted on his own personal involvement in the analysis of results and their presentation [18, p.2-3].

Many years after the events described above, a letter of Edward Brainard added some details to this story [19]. According to Brainard's memoirs who worked as president of the “C.F. Kettering Foundation” during the entire existence of this organization, the foundation was established in 1967 with the goal of improving school education. In those years, the “School Management” magazine used to publish annually an index of the “education costs”, which was widely known among the experts. The discussion of the entire set of issues generated the idea of having another “index” produced by an annual polling of public opinion on education. It was felt that teachers would understand the significance of such a survey. Kettering then turned to Gallup, and the planning of the annual surveys began [20].

The first survey, which was representative of the adult population of the United States, was held in 1969, and its results were published by research unit of the “C.F. Kettering Foundation”. Later, in view of the future publication of the surveys' results, E. Brainard addressed the “*Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation*”, which had its own magazine with a circulation of 80,000. This is how the PDR/Gallup Poll monitoring was born.

The surveys immediately became an annual even. George Gallup started his 1973 book containing an analysis of the first years of work with the following passage: “The public schools have passed through a trying period during the five years covered by surveys reported in this book (1969-1973). The dominant mood of the nation during this period has been one of disillusionment brought about by the war in Vietnam, student protests, racial strife, and Watergate. Nevertheless, respect for and confidence in the public schools, this peculiarly American institution, remain at a high level” [21, p.6].

In addition, George Gallup noted “the shocking lack of public awareness” about public schools and the unfavorable attitude of the press towards them. The latter was explained by him with the fact that the schools' administration preferred to talk about their problems rather than about their achievements, and the press acted correspondingly.

Similarly to many other George Gallup's initiatives, the monitoring of attitudes towards public schools proved necessary for society and stood the test of time. In 1978, a book was published containing short summaries of ten Gallup polls. Gallup wrote the introductory chapter;

his general conclusion was tough and optimistic at the same time: "The public schools have lost favor with the American public during recent years. Therefore, heroic efforts must be devoted to restoring this lost confidence and respect. Hopefully, ground lost during the last decade will not only be recovered but education will become, as it should be, the central institution of American and world society" [22, p.6].

Many years after George Gallup's death (in 1984), his son, George Gallup Jr., was Chairman of the Board of Q&S, while his other son Alec Gallup was co-director of "*PDK/Gallup Poll*". In 1995, this project was led by Lowell C. Rose who had prepared jointly with A. Gallup a series of reports on the current state of public opinion on public school [23]. Dr. Rose began working for PDR/Gallup Poll in the late 1970's to early 1980's; he was not simply watching Gallup's activity from the outside; he participated in it. In response to my request for his comments on some points related to the past history of the "*PDR/Gallup Poll*", he quoted a number of facts showing George Gallup's strong involvement in all aspects of the project and, in particular, his great interest in the problems of public schools. During their annual meetings, the project's participants discussed topics and details of the next year's poll. Gallup always encouraged similar discussions and recorded diligently everything. In his letter, Mr. Rose stated: "Dr. Gallup took full responsibility for determining the questions that would be asked, framing the questions, directing the survey process and drafting the final report, while Phi Delta Kappa and the Gallup Organization had never operated under a contract." Concluding his letter, Rose pointed out: "I found Dr. Gallup to be a fascinating person. I enjoyed being around and took every opportunity I could to get him to talk about his polling experiences ... He was better informed regarding education than most of the educators I knew and considered the poll to be one of his major contributions. I guess I can sum things up that he was one of those persons that I am glad I had the opportunity to know." [24].

A special place in George Gallup's creative work is occupied by his book *The Miracle Ahead*, written in the genre of reflections or essays, and published in 1964. It summarizes the results of his activities as a psychologist who studied the various aspects of human consciousness, of a pollster who analyzed public opinion in the United States and other countries, of a teacher and a scholar who had devoted years to the study of education; and finally, those of a public figure. In this book, George Gallup, who by the mid-1960 had long been recognized as the world's leading public opinion analyst, and whom many American textbooks call one of the greatest explorers of advertising, reveals himself from a completely different perspective. He showed that, to enhance our

mental powers, a new system of education needs to be created in the future that will shape the mentality of people for a new type of thinking process, leading to creative thinking. This is the essence of the miracle.

Modern Western culture, George Gallup wrote, should be proud of the achievements of the Greeks and Romans in science and of the Renaissance people in art and literature. Gallup did not say that humanity is close to implementing in the near future similar advances in knowledge of ourselves and of the world, but believed that we should all prepare for large-scale global transformations that would change the type of civilization.

Recognizing that "...resistance to change springs from many sources," George Gallup at the same time pointed out the opportunity to overcome it, and placed particular emphasis on 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." [17, p.199]. According to Gallup, the extent to which people understand profoundly the nature of social change and the extent of their readiness for change are the most important attributes of the degree of development of civil society. If people want to succeed in their endeavors, they need to be well informed and must not expect help from the powerful of the world, or from politicians, journalists and others.

Something quite interesting is the back-page summary of the book about the author's background that must have been written or at least edited by Gallup. It 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." [17, p.207]. Like any other back-page summary, it is designed to attract the attention of readers to the book, but everything written there is accurate.

The broad perspective of the covered subject fields, the theoretical approach and the historicity, while valuable for themselves, are just some manifestations of the more substantial and most important property of George Gallup's research thinking process — the nonstandard, creative interpretation of his tasks, and the innovative way to address them. Gallup's phenomenal creativity will repeatedly be our subject. In the meantime, let us provide two examples, which demonstrate the versatility of his scientific interests.

One recent psychology article on measuring verbal intelligence con-

tains a reference to the Gallup-Thorndike test implying that the communication about this test was first published in 1944. A more detailed search revealed that the Gallup-Thorndike test was published in the serious academic *Journal of General Psychology* publication [25] and that Gallup's co-author was the son of Edward Thorndike, Robert Thorndike (Robert Ladd Thorndike, 1910-1990), a recognized expert in education and psychology, the author of a large number of tests, books and articles. In 1961, this article was included in the fundamental anthology of intelligence psychology that contains the most important works of Galton, Spearman, Binet, Edward Thorndike, Thurstone and other classics of testing [26].

While studying the book *The Miracle Ahead* I met Australian scholar Michael Hewitt-Gleeson, who for many years has been developing approaches for teaching and for studying the logic of decision-making. He was the first person to receive a Ph.D. in lateral thinking²; his mentor was Edward de Bono (p. 1933), and his examiner was George Gallup. The thesis defense was held in January 1981, and Gallup wrote in his review: "You have presented a new approach to a very old subject with proof that your ideas do work. I find some parallels in your thoughts about selling and my own views on how advertising works." [27].

In his first letter, Hewitt Gleeson wrote that Gallup was his mentor and one of the most eminent persons that he had been able to communicate with. I would like to conclude this section with a review of my correspondence with Hewitt Gleeson. In one of his interviews, Benjamin Barber (Benjamin R. Barber, p. 1939), a well-known American philosopher and political scientist, noted that Thomas Jefferson (who led the country for eight years, doubling the territory of the United States through buying Louisiana from France, and who founded the Democratic Party) requested that nothing should be written on his tombstone about his presidency and the acquisition of Louisiana, but that only two moments of his life should be reflected: the writing of the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the establishment of the University of Virginia [28]. Jefferson saw a deep connection between the Bill of Rights — a document that enshrines the rights of the citizens — and education, which ensures democracy and civil rights. For Jefferson,

² Lateral thinking (from Lat. *lateralis* — side) involves reliance on spin-offs arising in the process of targeted cognitive and behavioral acts. This is a method for solving complex problems through the application of non-traditional approaches to the issue, mobilizing the creative potential hidden in human beings. The concept of lateral thinking was proposed by Edward de Bono in order to describe the mechanism of creativity in contrast to "vertical", or logical, thinking.

the creation of schools was the basis for effectiveness and for the success of democracy.

It is difficult to say whether George Gallup knew about this story, but, having been born and raised in a city named in honor of the third president, he could not have been unaware of what Jefferson has done for America. Sending a link to Hewitt Gleeson about an interview with Barber, I suggested that Gallup interpreted the relationship between polls (an instrument of democracy) and the development of education in the country in a Jeffersonian way. According to Hewitt Gleeson, Gallup certainly saw the connection between the right of people to vote and the right of people to think about themselves; in his view, democracy, civic engagement and education complemented each other.

"I ALWAYS LIKED TO STUDY ADVERTISING"

The Precursors

The European and American scientists who laid the foundations of experimental psychology and psychometrics were senior contemporaries of the first American advertising and public opinion analysts, or teachers of their teachers. In particular, they taught many of Gallup's university professors, who not only introduced him to the sphere of psychology's theoretical problems and the empirical methods of cognition, but also formed a creative approach to science that was typical for the activity of all the classics of psychology. The influence of James's philosophy, Wundt's ideas and methods, and Pearson's methodology of science, is clearly traced in all that has been done by the first researchers of advertising, including Gallup.

Advertising research emerged primarily as a continuation and further development of such areas of psychological research as the studies or testing of intellectual and creative abilities. This domain has had a protracted pre-scientific phase; it is currently being actively developed by scientists from different countries and delivers a multitude of effective applied outputs.

The first professional psychologist who studied the perception of advertising was Harlow Gale (Harlow Stearns Gale, 1862-1945). However, Gale's scientific heritage is of a small volume, he engaged in science for a brief period of time, and little was published. In addition, he did not keep in touch with the scientific community, and few recollections have been preserved. Perhaps, because of the peculiarities of his value orientations and general ideology, he was the first one able to see both an object and a subject of knowledge in advertising. Yet, these same features of Gale's worldview have resulted in the fact that he dis-

continued his scientific research and deliberately did not want to look for ways for the practical application of his results.

A key role in the formation of the advertising science belongs to Walter Dill Scott (1869-1955), one of the founders of industrial psychology, who was well aware of the needs of American businesses and, at the same time, thoroughly acquainted with European psychology traditions. Scott reformulated a number of general postulates of psychology as applied to the production of advertising material, and introduced the idea about the need to study advertising not only in the minds of advertising developers, but also in the minds of the producers of goods and services. Where Gale shunned contacts with businessmen, the studies of Scott on the effectiveness of advertising represented a direct response to business demand.

At the end of the XIXth c. and the turn of the XXth c., many producers of advertising proceeded in their work from the presumption that the consumer is a rational being; therefore, in order for the consumer to buy the respective product or service, it would be enough to supply him with information about the product and to explain why he needs it. Gale's experiments had revealed the existence of more complex mechanisms in the perception of advertising, including, among other things, the rational, the subconscious, and the unconscious. According to Scott, it is precisely the suggestion exerted by advertising that is the primary driving force for the buyer's actions. Before long, this approach became the backbone of all research in this field.

The desire to trace in detail the migration routes of the measurement technologies that underlie today's public opinion research provides grounds for a historical observation. The research on advertising had brought Walter Scott to the study of the salespersons' behavioral psychology, and it was a step towards the creation of industrial psychology. George Gallup's path of creative development went in a different way. His first scientific task was associated with the selection of salespersons for a supermarket. Undoubtedly, when solving this task, he must have used the work of Scott and the other founders of industrial psychology, and then only proceeded to study the effectiveness of advertising.

Most likely, George Gallup must have been familiar since his student years with Scott's research on the perception of advertising. In 1931-1932, Gallup worked in the Northwestern University, whose president was Scott. Did they know personally each other at that time? Probably not. Scott was twice as old as Gallup was; he had been long recognized as a classic in the research of advertising and held a high position in the organizational structure of American psychology. Gallup was just starting his career in science.

Paul Terry Cherington (1876-1943) is the oldest representative of the first generation of public opinion researchers. When compared to his colleagues, he was in possession of the largest analytical and teaching experience. His encyclopedic knowledge of economics and statistics, and his understanding of market research methods played a crucial role in the development of scientific standards for opinion measurement.

Cherington began his career as statistic reports editor; this required a profound understanding of economic developments. In 1908, he obtained a Master's degree at the University of Pennsylvania, and was invited by the Harvard Business School to give lectures for a marketing course, which was a novelty for that time. Subsequently, he taught the course for ten years. From the spring of 1909, Professor Cherington taught courses in commercial organization and methods that included advertising. Thanks to Cherington's efforts, the Harvard Business School was one of the first to use sampling methods in marketing research.

Starting from 1911, Cherington combined his teaching at Harvard with field marketing research. The predominant problems in the focus of his attention were the formulation of questions for interviews and mail surveys as well as the development of sample analysis methods.

Cherington is deservedly considered to be one of the pioneers of advertising research. In his book *Advertising as a Business Force* published in 1913, he was the first to reveal the place of advertising in marketing. This book has not lost its significance in modern times: it was republished in 1976.

Walter Scott's methodology for experiments on advertising perception was in compliance with the laboratory test traditions of those years. Nevertheless, his conclusions about the attractiveness factors and the memorability of advertising were of interest for many people, while his firm belief that psychology is capable to respond to the demand of the advertising business has attracted many young researchers to this branch of knowledge.

In particular, his lectures have been a determining factor for the career and the life path of Daniel Starch (1883-1979). In 1965, in his welcoming speech for the semi-centennial anniversary of psychological studies of consumer behavior Starch said: "Incidentally, my own attention was first drawn to consumer-marketing problems when I was a graduate student at the University of Iowa through a series of invited lectures by Walter Dill Scott." [29, p.258].

Daniel Starch's family came to America from Bohemia in 1855. After some time his father became a farmer in Iowa. Early in his childhood, Starch showed his abilities in mathematics and public speaking. In 1899, Starch enrolled as a college student in the small Sioux City

in Iowa. At the age of 19, he obtained two undergraduate degrees: in mathematics and psychology. Fascinated by experimental psychology, he was admitted to the University of Iowa in 1903 and, one year later, he obtained two Master's degrees: one in psychology and one in pedagogy. Starch became a Doctor of Psychology in 1906 after completing psycho-physiological research on the localization of sound sources.

By the whim of history, George Gallup was educated at the same university as Starch. Both of them became psychologists, and they were taught the basics of this science by the same professor. Shortly before his 90th anniversary, Starch published the book "*Look Ahead to Life. How to Be a Fine Person*" [30], where he referred to the people who had exerted the greatest influence on him. In particular, he emphasized the role of its two Iowa professors: Carl Seashore and George Patrick.

Like many other researchers who joined experimental psychology at the end of the XIXth c. and the turn of the XXth c., Starch began his career in science with the analysis of educational psychology problems. He was particularly interested in the measurement properties of psychological tests. In 1911, he published a small book on the subject; after substantial improvement and development, the book came out in 1917 under the title "Educational Measurements" [31]. It was an extensive piece of research with a wide coverage of topics that demonstrated the author's profound knowledge of his contemporary measurement methodology and practices. The principles and techniques for constructing measuring scales, the methods used to check their performance and reliability, which were applied by Starch in his early works on educational measurements, were later used by him for his research on the readability and effectiveness of advertising.

In his numerous writings, Starch provides different dates for the time when he became professionally interested in the problems of advertising. However, the overall picture is more or less clear. Experiments determining the dependence of attention to advertisements on their size — this topic was formulated by Gale — were launched by Starch in 1907. The experiments' results were published in 1909 in the *Judicious Advertising* magazine, which was quite authoritative in the advertising industry.

In 1919, as a result of Starch's highly appraised work on advertising psychology, he was invited to the Harvard Business School, where he worked until 1926. According to Starch, his course was the second one, after that of Scott's, in the history of advertising psychology teaching in America. His lectures were used as a foundation of his classic *Principles of Advertising* [32]. Starch was immediately recognized as one of the leaders in a new scientific discipline, and the

book was reprinted many times. It formulated the essential principles and methods for the sample polling of readership audiences that he began using in 1919.

In 1925, Starch founded the firm Starch and Staff Inc., which was extremely successful in research of the perception of press and radio advertising. By 1925, radio had already become an important element of the communication environment, but at the time, nobody knew how many families had a radio, how much time it was listened to, what the listeners liked and what they disliked. The National Broadcasting Company wanted to have answers to these questions and the managers of the company, who were responsible for the sales of radios, asked Starch to examine the situation. This was in 1926 or 1927. He developed a kind of probability sample of households, which included approximately 19 million households. In 1928 and 1929, he was asked to conduct additional interviews and to provide a forecast for 1930. The U.S. Census of 1930 included the question of whether a radio was available. It turned out that the forecast of Starch was within the five-percent range of the General Census results [33, p. 191–192].

The creative life of George Hotchkiss (George Burton Hotchkiss, 1884–1953) was an immense success. Virtually all his yearlong endeavors have been associated with New York University, where he taught various English courses, including Business English. In 1915, Hotchkiss headed the University's Department of Advertising and Marketing. He was the first person to realize the importance of teaching English to students who are preparing to engage in business. Hotchkiss's 1938 book on the history of marketing in Britain and the USA [34] is regarded even nowadays as a fundamental breakthrough in this area.

Edward Strong (Edward Kellogg Strong, Jr., 1884–1963), just as Starch, belonged to a generation of scientists for whom the classics of American psychology and the pioneers of advertising studies were not just older contemporaries, but also their immediate teachers or peers. This is reflected in its multi-faceted research work and explained in a number of biographical articles about him. However, the historical and science-study analysis of Strong's activity shows that he was not only a pioneer in the study of advertising, one of the founders of applied psychology, and the author of the well-known occupational attitudes test — he can be rightfully considered to be one of the earliest public opinion researchers.

Like Gallup, Strong belonged to a family whose founder was among the first settlers in America; his distant ancestor arrived to the New World from England in 1630. His first learned degrees — a Bachelor's and a Master's degree — were obtained by Strong at the University of

California in 1906 and 1909. According to Starch, Strong was the first Ph.D. in advertising psychology.

Strong was modeled as a scientist in the environment of outstanding professionals. Thus, in the introduction to the publication of his doctoral research, he thanked those who assisted him, including James Kettle, Edward Thorndike and Robert Woodworth, whose methods he used. The writings of Gale and Scott were not mere pages of history for Strong; he used them as a foundation for his own research [35].

When Strong was in need of arguments reinforcing the logical validity of the conclusions of his consumer psychology studies, he turned to the theoretical arguments about the nature of public opinion. Strong was among the first ones who discovered the nature of the similarity of consumer and political attitudes. Therefore, he was attracted by Walter Lippmann's theory of stereotypes (Walter Lippmann, 1889-1974). Lippmann saw the roots of many social and political problems in the fact that the different groups of the population had different configurations of consciousness, and that was manifested in the vote. Strong discovered something similar in the consumer behavior of people and in their responses to advertising.

Thus, even this brief historical review shows that when he started his research of advertising at the end of the 1920's and at the turn of the 1930's, Gallup was in a fiercely competitive field of studies, where established psychologists had already worked, which had its traditions and its authorities. However, the knowledge and the experience acquired by Gallup in Iowa allowed him to quickly obtain meaningful results, and to occupy one of the leading positions in the advertising industry.

How it all began

Shortly before his death, George Gallup was asked: "Which major area of research would you say was your area or your source of greatest satisfaction or where you feel you've 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. "And, speaking 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." [36, p. 23]. These reflections shed light on many things related not only to the personal life of Gallup, but also to the emergence of the modern practice of public opinion research and the development of the sociological polling technology.

George Gallup's interest to advertising appeared quite early. His analytical and journalistic experience accumulated over the years. I will remind you that George Gallup began editing The Daily Iowan student newspaper in 1921 and the newspaper's success was determined, among other things, by the fact that the young editor actively published advertisements. It is certainly possible that in the early 1980's, when asked by the interviewer, Gallup did not remember his involvement in the preparation of a book published more than half a century before that, in 1927, setting out systematically enough a concept of the role of advertising for a newspaper and a vision of advertising itself [12]. The authors were emphasizing the importance of the separation of advertising into institutional advertising and service advertising. The first one creates a "positive attitude" that must be preserved even when the actual impact of advertising will lose power, while the second one "calls" for immediate action. The contents and the language of the book in question show that 25-year-old Gallup had a clear idea of the tasks of the advertising industry and the then existing general approaches to solving them.

In the above-mentioned 1930 article [37] about the readers' interests, George Gallup already appears as an experienced analyst having created a science-based procedure for the research of newspaper readers. The following year, a new instrumental problem appeared: is it possible to study attitudes towards magazine advertising by means of Gallup's method? It was not clear whether the readers remembered what they had read along time before the interview. A series of polls, one of which was reported by the Time in July 1932, proved the effectiveness of Gallup's technology for the research of magazine audiences as well.

A group of publishers and advertising agencies funded a study of large proportions for its time related to the definition of the readers' interest to advertising and editorial content. The study took place on the basis of four magazines: Collier's, Saturday Evening Post, Liberty and The Literary Digest [38]. Each of the magazines had a significant volume of nationwide audience and played a prominent role in the cultural life of the country.

The sample of the summer polls in 1931 included 15,000 households in six cities in different parts of the country. The polls were conducted for a week in each city. The respondents were first presented with

new issues of the magazines and were asked whether they had these issues. In case of a negative answer, the interview was terminated. In case of a positive answer, the respondents were asked whether they had read or looked through any of them. In case of a second positive answer, the interviewer ran through the entire issue together with the respondent and noted down every advertisement, article or editorial material definitely remembered by the respondent. In each interview, a new copy of the magazine was used. The grand total of the poll comprised 3789 magazines with readership notes.

In view of the novelty of the method described, the Liberty magazine invited the *Association of National Advertisers* (ANA) to act as an observer for the study in general and, in particular, for the conduct of fieldwork. ANA representatives were allowed to participate in the polls in all cities and to monitor all stages of the data collection and processing. Gallup had included a document in his book confirming that the findings of the study were really based on the material collected. Moreover, it was announced that the archives of the magazines with the readership notes were accessible for inspection. The data acquired in this research with respect to the behavior of the readers' audience were of interest to the publishing houses, as well as to the advertisers. In addition, Gallup was able to obtain original results, which allowed him to see some of the psychological mechanisms of advertising impact in a new way.

George Gallup identified ten properties that characterize the contents and the form of advertising and that, according to the producers of advertisements, attract the readers' attention. After examining six issues of each of the four popular weeklies, he ranked these characteristics according to the frequency of their occurrence. Thus, a model of the appeal of advertising to potential consumers was built. The top places were occupied by the cost-effectiveness and the efficiency of the advertised product, while the bottom places were held by appeals related to the sex of the reader and the pretentiousness of the advertisement itself. During the interviews, the best remembered attributes were identified. It turned out that the readers had their own understanding of the language of advertising, which did not coincide with the understanding of its creators, and that the mechanisms of memorization were noticeably determined by the gender of the readers [39, p.138].

The research performed by George Gallup goes beyond the perimeter of strictly advertising topics. Obviously, we can see here one of the first attempts for a sociological measurement of the effectiveness of mass media impact. Gallup showed the existence of differences between the objectives of the communicators (in this case, of those who order

the advertisements and of their writers) and the impact achieved by their communication. In addition, Gallup suggested and in fact implemented the approach preserved until now for measuring the impact of communication — he calculated the “distance” between the signal sent by the communicator and the signal perceived by the recipient. George Gallup proposed a very simple scheme for the content analysis of advertising. Within the framework of one single project, the text analysis was conducted in parallel with the polling of the population. Thus, implementing a marketing measurement exercise, he was incomparably ahead of the sociological research on the effectiveness of mass media instruments.

George Gallup published the results in March 1932 in the high profile *Printers' Ink* magazine. Another notorious magazine in the advertising industry, *Advertising & Selling*, wrote about Gallup: “The activities of this newcomer in the world of advertising and marketing have provided what is probably the most discussed topic of the day.” [39, p.138]. Indeed, Gallup's method allowed us to see advertising impact mechanisms that were unknown to the science or the practice until then, and thus opened new avenues for the improvement of advertising efficiency. These results made Gallup's name famous in the advertising world; after the publication of the above-mentioned article, the previously unknown professor Gallup topped the list of the “most desirable persons” for a number of advertising agencies [40, p.44].

George Gallup's colleagues also took up his work very seriously. Gallup's methodological approach and his findings were highly appraised by the monographs, textbooks and articles of the mid-1930's. Thus, 1936 saw the publication of the book “*Four Million Inquires from Magazine Advertising*” [41] of Harold Rudolph (Harold J. Rudolph, 1903 -?) that thoroughly analyzed the operational features of the research of advertising effectiveness on the basis of the coupon technology, which had already been used for many years. In particular, the author compared the results obtained when applying the coupon technology and those from Gallup's method. The foreword to the book was written by Gallup [42, p.v-vi].

When discussing George Gallup's early research on advertising, historians have often referred to the above-mentioned report of 1931 on the readership audiences of the four magazines. In the old catalogue of the Library of Congress, there are two other small books by Gallup concerning the effectiveness of advertising. His 1932 book examines the factors affecting the interest of readers to advertising [43], while the 1933 work considers the sections of Sunday newspapers, which published illustrations with engraving technology, analyzing them as a

medium for advertising [44]. I have not come across any reference to these publications: neither in the literature on the history of advertising, nor in papers about Gallup's work.

A unique partnership

By the early 1930's, George Gallup had already achieved a lot. He had the highest American learned degree and long years of experience in journalism; editing and teaching experience; he had developed efficient methods for studying the readers' interest. His name was known in the academic circles, among the newspapers and magazines, and in the advertising business milieu. Many advertising agencies offered him interesting and well-paid jobs.

Probably George Gallup himself thought about the future. Three opportunities were open before him. The first one was to continue teaching, combining it with the implementation of research projects and business consulting. The second one was to concentrate on in-depth, long-term projects and to publish their results in scientific journals and academic publications. The third one was to create a research firm and develop his own business.

However, it all happened the other way around. He was invited to work for Raymond Rubicam (1892-1978), president of the "*Young & Rubicam*" (Y&R) advertising agency in New York. Whenever Rubicam was asked about his education, he referred to the then fictional University of the State of New Jersey [39, p.128]. Nevertheless, he is recognized as an outstanding practitioner and philosopher of advertising. Rubicam was the first person in the advertising industry to create a department for its research, and his ideas have led to a creative revolution in this central communication and cultural sphere of the last century. In the mid-1980's, S. Fox said: "From the distance, five decades after his advertising prime, Rubicam looks nearly mythological — a man who made no serious mistake." [39, p.128]

Rubicam was a follower of the Lasker-Hopkins principle that advertising is a salesman, but his professional philosophy included one more extremely important message for the copywriter. In order to buy a product, someone first needs to read about it, believed Rubicam, and for this purpose, the salesman must give his prospective customers a reason why they should buy his product, the salesman must know the customer. Therefore, advertising was designed to show the customers their own selves, and then to prove them that the proposed product meets their needs. This concept implies the need to have the largest possible knowledge about the consumer. In our times, the methodology of indirect advertising exposure is universally recognized. Rubicam was

among the first to realize that it was time to undertake active and targeted research of advertising, and started thinking about its ethics. He himself had always aspired to seek the unconventional and constantly urged his staff: "Our job is to resist the usual." [39, p.137].

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, but he was chauffeur-driven to work in a Rolls-Royce [40, p.38].

The above allows us to comprehend the experience, the wisdom and the professional caliber of the man who made a special trip from New York to Chicago in April 1932 in order to invite the young professor Gallup to work for Y&R. Rubicam formulated his rules for recruiting staff as follows: "They must know the market better than anybody else and be able to involve writers and artists with vivid imagination and a deep respect for people." According to D. Daniels, who worked for many years in the advertising business, including the job of vice-president of Y&R, "Raymond Rubicam was a genius at picking big men standing on their shoulders." [40, p.43]. Sarah Van Allen, who worked with Gallup, writes that Rubicam had decided to meet him after reading his article "Guesswork Eliminated in New Method for Determining Reader Interest", published on February 8, 1932 in the Editor & Publisher magazine [45]. Rubicam saw in the methods and the results of Gallup's study both his experience, and his high scientific potential. Rubicam appraised correctly his creative aggressiveness, which was highly regarded in the business world of America.

In 1974, remembering events of forty years before that, George Gallup noted the way that, as a professor who taught psychology of advertising, he discovered by the early 1930's "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. He went further: "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." [46, p.7].

George Gallup had before himself the task to identify everything that explains the work of advertising and to find ways of improving its efficiency. During the next 15 years, he had no other objective. He was given complete freedom to determine the direction and the form of his research activities, which generally is not typical of the business world. When Gallup came up with new results, Rubicam used to bring together the leading experts and they discussed the findings until well after midnight. Gallup worked at Y&R for one decade and a half, and did not regret the fact that he left academic life. According to his words,

he always had enough money to experiment and he was never forced to do what he considered unethical.

As shown above, the traditions and the spirit of the *Iowa Register* and the *Tribune* newspapers had fundamentally determined the direction and nature of George Gallup's readership surveys, while the accuracy of his conclusions was tested by the aces of journalism who worked there. The important things for them were the practical recommendations of Gallup, while their observation of the simplest empirical indicator — the number of subscribers of their newspapers — confirmed the validity of these recommendations. In other words, the practice of journalism demonstrated the validity of Gallup's approach to measuring the properties of consciousness and the readers' behavior, as well as the working capacity of the instruments invented by him.

The same, to a certain extent, can be said about George Gallup's work at Y&R. Rubicam's philosophy of advertising stimulated the long years of Gallup's studies and defined their subject field. At the same time, the achievements of David Ogilvy (David Mackenzie Ogilvy, 1911-1999), who collaborated with Gallup, can be interpreted as a proof of the correctness of Gallup's technology for the research of advertising, and of the effectiveness of his practical and organizational findings. Ogilvy was the only classic copywriter and organizer of major advertising campaigns who had its own considerable experience in research activities. He called this "the Gallup school".

In the early 1980's, the *Expansion* magazine published an article on the industrial revolution and a list of thirty persons who had most stimulated the enormous socio-economic transformations of the XXth c., of the people who had made a revolution in social practice, science or engineering. The list included Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, John Maynard Keynes, Alfred Krupp, Vladimir Lenin, Karl Marx, Louis Pasteur, etc. David Ogilvy was also included in the list under the title "the Pope of modern advertising." [6, p.64-65].

The descendant of an old Scottish family, Ogilvy was born in a small town near London. He studied at Edinburgh and Oxford, but having obtained no diploma, he went to France. In Paris, he began to work for a restaurant where he cooked breakfast for the dogs belonging to the guests of Hotel Majestic; a few years later, he became the chef of the restaurant [47, p.45]. He then returned to England, where he worked as a traveling salesman and was employed for a very brief time in an advertising business.

Having arrived in the U.S. in 1936, Ogilvy decided to engage in advertising and rang up Raymond Rubicam's agency. By that time, George Gallup was already actively engaged in the study of public opinion, but

continued to work for Y&R. From 1937 to 1947, he was Vice-president of the firm. He offered Ogilvy a job in the American Institute of Public Opinion created by him shortly before that in Princeton.

Ogilvy studied the basics of fieldwork for a few weeks, after which George Gallup went with him to Hollywood where their negotiations resulted in a contract for conducting a series of studies. It was assumed that the methods used by Gallup for the research of readers and listeners, and for the analysis of advertising effectiveness and the views of the electorate, will be useful in measuring the responses of movie-goers [48]. The producers needed guidance with regard to the planning of the production of new films and with regard to the advertising of the films already produced. According to Ogilvy's memoirs, the average error in his and Gallup's predictions for the numbers of film audiences before the films were shot did not exceed 10 percent [49, p.68]. George Gallup remarked that the most creative people in Hollywood were actively using the results of his research and were listening to his recommendations. In particular, those were the movie classics of the XXth century David Selznick (1902-1965), Disney (Walter Disney, 1901-1966) and Sam Goldwyn (Samuel Goldwyn, 1882-1974). In the mid-1940's Gallup tested practically all aspects (design, name, advertising, etc.) of one of Hollywood's masterpieces — the movie "The Best Years of Our Lives" that collected seven Oscars at its time [50, p.51]. Ogilvy suggested to Walt Disney to make the "Alice in Wonderland" movie and the latter implemented this idea [49, p.69].

Ogilvy had great analytical skills and possessed extraordinary business acumen; a year later he became the director of Gallup's research structure — the *Audience Research Institute in Princeton*. Just one example: when Ogilvy came to the Institute, the processing of materials and the preparation of a report took two months; he reduced that time to two days. For the three years of work at the Institute, more than 400 national polls were conducted under his leadership.

During the war, Ogilvy worked for the British Intelligence Services and then engaged in farming for a few years with the Amish community in Pennsylvania. In 1949, Ogilvy — who was already 38 years old — organized his own advertising agency "Ogilvy & Mather". One of his first campaigns was a huge success. This was an advertisement for the small American firm "Hathaway", which produced men's shirts; it showed a man with a black bandage over one eye. It was very unusual. The "Man in the Hathaway shirt" advertisement appeared in the "New Yorker" at the end of September 1951, and soon the factory could not meet all demand.

A classical piece of advertising is the Rolls-Royce advertisement

written by Ogilvy; its title is quoted by many textbooks: “*At 60 miles an hour the loudest noise in this new Rolls-Royce comes from the electric clock*” [51, p. 10]. According to one historian of advertising, this ad from the beginning of 1958 is probably one of the things that remain engraved forever in the memory of people [52, p. 229].

Ogilvy believed that advertising had already had its heyday, and he wanted to revive it. He said about himself: “I am an advertising classicist” [39, p. 225.], while he explained his success with the active and creative use of the results of advertising research. In the mid-1960’s 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. In the early days of our agency, I was the research director (among other things) and I used to write research memorandato myself, to the copywriter, on a Friday. On Monday morning, I would come into the office, read the memo, and had to write the advertisement related to the research.” [53]. And further: “My ideas about what constitutes a good copy, almost all of them, derive from research, not personal opinion.” [53, p. 79]. Drawing on experience in the advertising industry and in research, Ogilvy observed that “Advertising people who ignore research are as dangerous as generals who ignore decodes of enemy signals.”

Rubicam was George Gallup’s mentor. Gallup was Ogilvy’s mentor. The latter said about Rubicam: “I knew him for 40 years. He introduced Gallup to me, bless him.” [49, p. 166]. In 1974, the name of Rubicam was written in the Honor Roll of the Advertising Hall of Fame of the Advertising Federation of America; in 1976, this honor was awarded to Ogilvy and in 1977 — to Gallup. The leading creative attitude of Rubicam is reflected in the words: “Resist the usual”, while that of Ogilvy is “I hate rules”. Even at a very young age, Gallup wrote: “Be radical!” What brought together such brilliant and unique people can be regarded as the extremism of creation.

Work in “Young & Rubicam”

The results of George Gallup’s studies related to the perception of advertising were discoveries in the literal sense of the word: they discovered mechanisms of influencing human consciousness that were not known before by science or practice. Many aspects and dimensions of his accomplishments can be distinguished: the factological aspect, factors enhancing the effectiveness of advertising, the metrological aspect: proof of the accuracy of his conclusions, the instrumental and the organizational dimension, the accumulated experience in public opinion research.

The philosopher of American advertising and the finest literature stylist William Bernbach (1911-1982), who was held in high esteem by Ogilvy, said that the true giants are poets that soar over the facts in the realm of imagination and ideas. These words are truly applicable to Rubicam and Ogilvy; “they soared over the facts” obtained by the research of Gallup.

In order to improve the readability and the memorability of advertising, George Gallup offered many specific techniques: use of humor in advertising, structured text headings, use of different fonts and rectangular images, text begins with a small introductory paragraph; making advertising slogans shorter (less than 11 words), leaving room for open spaces, indents, etc., and not cramming everything with text and so on. 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 from the professional associations do not work in advertising; ads require something simple that arises curiosity. Gallup called “mere brag and boost” the advertising that says: “Our product is the world’s best.”

All these “quiet” tips were highly appreciated by the creators of advertising and they were immediately taken into account. George Gallup managed to synthesize his unique experience of a journalist and researcher, and do it in such a way that the results of his measurements were trusted, while the suggestions he made were used in practice. The Y&R Agency embarked on a number of innovative projects and was convinced that Gallup’s recommendations were beneficial at all stages of the marketing activities.

The research of advertising is a form of applied sociological and socio-psychological research, and its most important goal is to increase the profits of the advertiser and the advertising agency. The following remark of Ogilvy is noteworthy: “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.” [51, p. 21-22]. The effect of Gallup’s proposals was very apparent: in 1927, the Agency’s revenues amounted to \$ 6 million; by 1935, they rose to \$ 12 million, while they jumped to \$ 22 million in

1937. According to Starch's research, during the ten years after the arrival of Gallup at Y&R, the magazine advertising of this company was well ahead of all other advertising companies with regard to the level of readers' attention per dollar spent [40, p.44].

Here is what George Gallup 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, was able to deliver three times as many readers per dollar as the average of the advertisers using the same magazines at that time." [50, p.49].

George Gallup has proved the effectiveness of the preliminary testing of advertising. In particular, in one of his last articles he wrote: "Even simple methods will show that the best advertiser in each product field gets as much as twenty times for his advertising dollars as 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?" [50, p.14].

Mindful of the Occam's razor principle, George Gallup said, "Never accept a complicated explanation where a simple one will do." [46, p. 8]. In order to visualize the function of advertising, Gallup suggested a chart in the form of an isosceles triangle whose corners are labeled as "Need", "Product" and "Price". The consumer tries to find a balance between these three factors and advertising is a most critical communication component in this process. It should show the consumer, who has a certain set of consciously perceived or latent needs, that the product or service can meet those needs. Price was usually not mentioned in the advertisements, because it was different in different parts of the country and at different times of the year; the buying decision was the result of correlating the depth of demand with the aggregate properties of the product. Summing it all, Gallup emphasized the need for targeted research of the needs in order to really help the creators of advertising.

Gradually, material was accumulating with respect to the factors that determined attention to and memorability of advertising. The uncertainty regarding the role of the brand /the trademark/ in the perception of advertising led George Gallup to the creation of the method called Impact. It was not focused on studying printed advertising only, but was targeted at all kinds of advertising, including TV ads [50, p. 49-50]. The method had a number of modifications and was based on a series of questions for a telephone interview, which allowed the re-

spondents to recall advertising that they had read, seen or heard the day before. Some of the questions were focused on targeted (provoked) recalling, other questions were aimed at random (discretionary) advertising recall.

Rubicam came into the advertising business and took a leading position there before the point in time when his colleagues recognized the need to study the effectiveness of advertising. He did not try to look deep into the process of collection and initial analysis of information. Using Gallup's findings, the Y&R firm developed further its successes and acquired a new public image. The "*Ogilvy & Mather*" firm was built directly on the foundation of scientific facts and recommendations from the very beginning. Ogilvy set about the creation of his company having a solid research experience; he thoroughly knew the results obtained by Gallup and consciously relied on his own experience of working with him. For Gallup, work for Y&R served as a springboard for the transition to public opinion research. "*Ogilvy & Mather*" can be regarded as a laboratory for the multidimensional in-depth testing of Gallup's methods and results.

George Gallup's research endeavors were very effective in practical terms — he invented a series of techniques that enhanced the impact of advertising. This witnesses their metrological consistency: the measuring instrument, which was created by the first generation of advertising researchers with the active participation of Gallup, worked correctly. The questionnaire technology used by him and by his colleagues truly reflected the opinion of the people; it allowed making informed conclusions about their consumer behavior. While solving everyday problems of the advertising business, Gallup made a conclusion of fundamental scientific significance: if his technology had successfully tested the opinions in market research polls, it should also be applicable for the study of other spheres of social relations.

The historians of marketing research mention extremely rarely another contribution of Gallup in this field: he was one of the first people to undertake research of advertising as a social institution. An article published nearly forty years ago by Harvard experts R.A. Bauer and S.A. Grazer noted that although by that time countless studies of consumer reactions to the advertising of certain products and firms had been conducted, "The search of the specialist literature ... found few studies that focused on the people's attitude toward advertising as an institution. There were even fewer studies that would systematically identify the various aspects of the image of advertising or opinions about these aspects among significant groups of the population" [54, p.70]. The first mentioned report among similar papers is the 1938-1939 project of

the well-known Harvard expert on advertising economics Neil Hopper Borden (1895-1980) [55]. Then they mention the Gallup polls conducted at the end of the 1930's and the turn of the 1940's, and in 1959. The first series of these polls revealed a high level of negative attitudes toward advertising. However, in 1959, three quarters of respondents (75 percent) liked advertising and 80 percent said that it promotes the country's economy, as it increases sales [56, p.398-399, 40].

It was the beginning of the 1930's. George Gallup was a young and successful advertising researcher who occupies a key position in one of the best advertising agencies of the United States. He was a member of the restricted elite group of the advertising business, and the financial position of his family was quite stable. His experience allows him to combine work with teaching at the leading American universities, and with writing books. However, all this did not quite satisfy him. He was looking for something more, he needed goals and objectives that would only be achieved with the involvement of both his considerable experience of a scientist, and of his general civil attitudes. He saw his duty in continuing the endeavor initiated by his ancestors who arrived in America during the first third of the XVIIth c. In an interview, Gallup said: "By nature, I've always believed in change. I guess I've always had a messianic delusion." [57, p.3].

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Chapter 4.

FROM IDEAS TO TRIUMPH

In the early 1930's, while continuing the analysis of the perception of advertising, Gallup intensified his search and experimentation in the sphere of the measurement of political attitudes and electoral behavior. At that time, this research niche was only vaguely outlined by the social philosophers and partially explored by the social psychologists. It was only seen as meaningful by an extremely limited circle of policy analysts and high-level politicians. It did not exist as something independent. It had not been spelled out in the system of theoretical and empirical social sciences, and it had no name. That was an almost virgin territory at the intersection of journalism, policy research, psychological study of human individuality and of the analysis of consumer behavior.

Why did George Gallup begin to look closely at this particular field of research and what stimulated his interest in this area? First of all, I have to point out that his movement in the direction of measuring public opinion did not represent a denial of his past experience, or a desire to change his area of research. What had been previously achieved was preserved and was being developed. However, the emergence of a new direction in the domain of his activity was not a whim of chance. George Gallup was a romantic, but he was also a man of the highest level of self-discipline. His value system would not let in anything irrelevant or "alien".

The knowledge and the experience acquired by George Gallup during his university years persuaded him that the straw polls did not meet the metrological criteria established by science. Nevertheless, he was able to not only critically evaluate the straw polls technology, but also to offer something much more refined. Thus, George Gallup's understanding of the social significance of public opinion research and his strengthened conviction with regard to the working performance of the scientific marketing research methods became the basis of his theoretical and organizational activity resulting in the creation of the public opinion measurement technology.

The success of Young & Rubicam's advertising campaigns allowed George Gallup to make a conclusion of universal scientific importance: the technology that is effective in marketing surveys can be successfully

used for the measurement of public opinion regarding social issues. In 1948, one of the spring issues of Time magazine placed Gallup's portrait on its cover page and published along article about his activities. Among other things, the article's author wrote that, as early as 1932, Gallup, the highly skilled researcher of toothpaste advertising (this is the way the magazine saw him at that time – B.D.), said to himself: "If it works for toothpaste, why not for politics?" [1].

WHY IN 1936, AND NOT BEFORE?

Historical science as such, and the history of science in particular, analyzes and describes the way that things emerge and develop. However, sometimes one has to look for the reasons why something was never born or was conceived later than it could have been. This section demonstrates that the commencement of systematic public opinion polling in the United States in 1936 was "historically motivated"; i.e., it could not have happened before.

The electoral straw polls conducted by newspapers and magazines (see Chapter 1) can be regarded as the first source for the formation of the modern arsenal of polling methods. The second source consists in the marketing surveys targeted at the study of press readers' interests, and some time later, of the interests of radio listeners. The foregoing provides a general outline of the required education and professional activities of the researchers who would have been capable to begin the systematic conduct of sample surveys of public opinion in the first third of the twentieth century. The logic of this historical research is simple: in case that the availability of professionals with the required training and experience had been established, one must try to find out the reasons why they did not start similar work. These reasons might be subjective, that is, they may be a manifestation of their personal and individual characteristics; of their value systems; of their social and cultural environment; or such reasons may be of an objective social and political nature.

Born in the XIXth century

Considering the analysts, who could have been the first to conduct sample surveys of public opinion, the foremost one to be named is Charles Parlin (Charles Coolidge Parlin, 1872-1942).

In 1911, two of the most popular American magazines – the "*Ladies' Home Journal*" and the "*Saturday Evening Post*" owned by the prominent publisher and philanthropist Cyrus Curtis (1850-1933) de-

voted almost 60 percent of the magazines' space to advertising. Publishers and advertisers needed to know the composition of the audience of these magazines, the readers' interests and the attention they paid to the ads. To do this, the "*Curtis Publishing Company*" established a commercial research department — the first one in America — headed by Charles Parlin. He was nicknamed as the "father" of American market research even during his lifetime.

Parlin was born in a small town in Wisconsin. At school he was a brilliant student, they called him "*The walking encyclopedia*", and in 1889, he enrolled at the University of Wisconsin. However, before completing his education, he began teaching mathematics in his state. For 15 years, Parlin worked as a school principal and was twice elected president of the state's association of teachers.

When the search began for a man capable of organizing some market research, one of the "*Curtis Publishing*" managers recommended Parlin as a man who knew mathematics. Generally speaking, it would have been difficult to find a less suitable candidate: Parlin was 38 years old, he had never worked either in business or in advertising or within the publishing industry. He did not even have similar intentions at all and refused three times the offer of the company.

Nevertheless, Parlin conducted the first national consumer survey in 1912 and for his 26 years in "*Curtis Publishing*", he organized more than 40 national and regional projects. In 1945, the American Marketing Association established a prize named after Charles Parlin (the Parlin Award). Now it is the oldest and most honorable distinction in the field of marketing. In 1965, it was awarded to George Gallup, and in 1972 to David Ogilvy. This fact is extremely important for the history of public opinion studies [2]. Thus, the "presence of some particles" of Parlin's experience in the achievements of the classics in advertising and public opinion research is recognized.

Now, let's ask ourselves this question: could it have been possible for Parlin to become the founder of public opinion research in the United States, or as a matter of fact, worldwide? If it all comes down to the instrument, namely, the sample survey, this could have been possible. On the other hand, the analysis of Parlin's work unequivocally indicates that the mere existence of tools for measuring the attitudes of people could not have been a sufficiently strong incentive (in terms of internal motivation) for the study of electoral opinions or for researching the attitude of people towards the problems of the country's development. It would be hard to assume that Parlin might have had the desire to expand his field of action during the first years of marketing research. Nevertheless, such an aspiration might have appeared on the

eve of the election campaign of 1916, and the emergence of such a desire is even more probable if we consider a subsequent time frame. The positive experience of the *Literary Digest*, which was rapidly increasing its audience by publishing the results of electoral surveys, could have been an incentive for the conduct of analogous activities that would, however, be based on selective polling.

Parlin was born too early. During the years of his youth, American society was not yet so well-established and monolithic in order to feel the internal need, or at least a need within the political elite, to know the public opinion of the nation. The modern mass media information system was emerging only (there was just the press) and its role in the dissemination of social and political information on a nationwide scale was not significant. Thus, public opinion in its modern sense simply did not exist then. The role of a cementing compound in society was performed by such social mechanisms as interpersonal communication, traditions, the Church and the market. During the years when Parlin was shaped as a professional and even when he was beginning his market research, American social thinkers were far from the discussion of the issues of public opinion phenomenology and its role in democracy. Let me remind you that the book of Lord Bryce, which was a major determinant of the direction of George Gallup's move towards public opinion research, was published when Parlin had already finished his education and was completely immersed in math teaching.

The names of the three scientists who were also familiar with the basics of the formation of samples, who had some experience in the conduct of polls, and who, generally speaking, might have been able to proceed to the study of electoral attitudes before the presidential campaign of 1936, were mentioned above, namely, Paul Cherington, Daniel Starch and Edward Strong.

Cherington "had been sitting long in his ivory tower" [3, p.182], but he then moved to the advertising business. This enabled him to become in 1936 one of the pioneers of public opinion polling together with a team of people who were a quarter of a century younger than he was (see below). He made a contribution to the work of the younger generation with the experience of the older professional cohorts to which he belonged. As far as Starch is concerned, his memoirs do not provide grounds to speak about some very intensive civil or political activity. Working in the advertising industry, he remained at the same time a university professor detached from political realities. Perhaps, his understanding of the world can be explained by the fact that, although he had spent his childhood in Iowa, like Gallup, he was not thoroughly impregnated by the spirit of New England settlers who lived in Gallup's native Jefferson.

Strong's interest in mass consciousness and in the methods used for the study of public opinion is clearly seen in his book "*Psychological aspects of business*" [4]. The latter contains references to the classic writings of the founders of general and applied psychology; an analysis of the results of the pioneers of advertising studies, such as Gale, Scott and others is provided. Strong takes into account the conclusions of Starch and Link (see below). They were psychologists who regularly used the sample survey method for the study of consciousness and behavior. A new technique for the research of attitudes, which was a novelty for its time, has been described. The "presence" of the pioneers of public opinion research, Cherington and DeWitt Poole (DeWitt Clinton Poole, 1885-1952) is felt throughout the book. Finally, it reflects the initial experience of propaganda studies. The book contains a critical assessment of the sampling used by the Literary Digest for the polls in 1924 and 1928. Thus, without expressly manifesting the historical and the science-study orientation of his book, Strong outlined in it a number of scientific areas where instruments for the measurement of public opinion were emerging. However, he himself did not take a dip in this "river".

The search for experts who could have been able to undertake nation-wide sample surveys of public opinion before 1936 enabled us to discover the name of another social researcher who is relatively little known at present. Leonard Ayers (Leonard Porter Ayers, 1879-1946) was the author of numerous books on the psychology of education, economics and statistics. He provided advice to Starch in connection with the problems of sampling. In 2007, Ayers' book from 1911 was reprinted and posted on the Internet together with a detailed biographical introduction [5].

In 1902, Ayers obtained a bachelor's degree from Boston University and, like Parlin, began his career as a teacher. He worked in Puerto Rico and four years later, he became head of the department that managed the schools in the capital of this state, while simultaneously he headed the statistical service of this department. From 1908 to 1920, Ayers was in charge of the education department of the "*Russell Sage Foundation*", a New York organization that studied social problems, including the labor market, immigration, culture, religion, education and others. It was exactly at this time that he was half a step away from the commencement of regular public opinion surveys. It is quite possible that he might have engaged in such work, but then the First World War broke out. From 1917 to 1920, Ayers served in the Army, supervising important military statistical services. Then until 1946, he was Vice President of the "*Cleveland Trust Company*" and gained a nation-wide

reputation as an expert on the analysis of economic trends and of the stock market.

In the autumn of 1938, the *Time* magazine published a lengthy article about Dr. Henry Link, the Head of one of the departments of the Psychological Corporation. The article indicated that Link began to study the attitudes of the population using modern scientific methods three years before Gallup and Roper did [6]. Indeed, this was really so, but today his name is rarely mentioned in works on the history of public opinion research.

Henry Link (Henry Charles Link, 1889-1952) was born into a family of German immigrants who came to America shortly before his birth [7, p.708-710]. In 1908, he enrolled in the North Western College in Illinois and graduated from it two years later with a Bachelor's degree, when he continued his education at Yale University, where he received a Bachelor's degree in 1913, a Master's degree in 1915 and one year later, the learned degree of a Doctor of Psychology.

From 1917 to 1919, Link was developing tests for the assessment of occupational aptitudes, and in 1919, he published the book "*Employment Psychology*", which analyzed methods for the selection and training of workers [8]. The book was translated into several languages and brought international fame to Link; at present, this book forms an integral part of the bibliography of the most significant works in industrial psychology of the XXth c.

In 1931, Link became one of the senior members of the Psychological Corporation, which was established a decade earlier with the active participation and financial support of James Cattell. The purpose of the Corporation was to develop educational materials for practical psychologists, dissemination of valid personality tests and development of applied psychological research in general. For many years, Link headed the Marketing Research Department of the Corporation, was its Vice President and implemented a large number of projects.

In the early 1930's, the *Psychological Corporation* with its center in New York conducted polls involving about 50 of its offices located in 25 U.S. states and in Canada. They were mostly research centers in universities and colleges. When necessary, the implementation of the polling process could involve up to hundreds of local organizations. More than 700 students worked as interviewers; as a rule, they were mainly second or third year students. The New York's center had more than 250 psychologists, analysts and poll organizers; the raw information was received in New York and it was processed there.

In 1932, Link published the monograph "*The New Psychology of Selling and Advertising*", which summarized the results of the Corpo-

ration's studies and justified the used sample survey technology of the polling [9]. The book was very highly appreciated by the professional milieu.

The most significant achievement of Link in the research of attitudes was the creation in March 1932 of the nationwide system of surveys called the Psychological Barometer. As early as the first polling, the sample included 15 cities and towns, personal interviews were conducted in 1578 households, and by 1934, the Barometer was already a self-sustaining project. By the summer of 1947, 80 "barometric" measurements had been implemented, while the total number of respondents reached 570,000. By that time, four polls were conducted each year with samples of 10,000 people and two polls were conducted each year with samples of 5,000 people. The samples included 125 towns and cities with different population numbers and were representative of the urban population of the United States [10, p.226-227].

Link studied a wide range of social attitudes of the population, but he did not get involved in the electoral theme. His civic interests were focused on another particular area of societal life. Without interrupting his regular marketing surveys and public opinion soundings, Link published four books on the ethics of religion between the 1930's and the early 1950's. They were constantly reprinted and, thus, continue to remain a prominent element of American religious and ethical culture.

Therefore, the beginning of the XXth c. in the United States has seen several outstanding researchers, who had mastered the polling methodology and who were professionally prepared to conduct regular nationwide surveys of the population across the whole spectrum of issues that were of vital importance to society at the end of the 1920's and the early 1930's. Why did this not happen? Why in 1932, when Franklin Roosevelt was fighting for the presidency for the first time, the sounding of electoral attitudes was done through "straw" methods, rather than through using polling technologies based on representative samples? Were there any circumstances of a general nature other than the personal reasons of each particular analyst?

The shortest answer to that question is that the time for it had not come yet.

The financial market meltdown in October 1929 had led to tragic consequences in all spheres of societal life in the United States during the Great Depression (1929-1932). The most difficult years of this period were the first three ones. The nation was economically weakened, divided and depressed. It had lost its social reference points. The socio-political, economic, moral and intellectual environment in the country did not contain the charge or the momen-

tum needed for the emergence of such a new social practice as the study of public opinion.

There is also a second circumstance. Businesses were much more far-sighted than politicians were. During the second half of the XIX c., entrepreneurs became acutely aware of their dependence on consumers and quickly called in the aid of psychologists who already were in command of methodologies — quite advanced for the time — for the research of consumer attitudes. The political elites did not understand so profoundly their dependence on public opinion, and were long satisfied with the results of the rather imperfect straw polls conducted during the electoral campaign periods.

Finally, there are the scientific and ethical considerations. At the end of the XIXth c. and the turn of the XXth c., university psychologists responded negatively to the requests of the businesses to study advertising; the academic community did not consider this subject worthy of the attention of "high" science. Something similar, but not in the business sphere and in politics, was observed during the first decades of the twentieth century. The issues of public opinion research were considered by the academic community to be too closely linked to the interests of politics and politicians and it was feared that this would limit the creative freedom of scientists.

"Children of the Twentieth Century"

By the whim of History, the pioneers of the creation of the modern technology and culture of public opinion research were children of the twentieth century. Let me remind you that Gallup was born in 1901, while the heroes of the present section — Crossley, Roper and Cantril — were born between 1896 and 1906.

George Gallup arrived to the conduct of public opinion polls while building on his experience in the research of press audiences and the public perception of advertising. Crossley arrived to the sounding of the views of the electorate and the population in the same way — starting from market research. He was a pioneer in the field of radio audience measurement, and by the mid-1930's he had accumulated unique research skills and organizational expertise in the conduct of nationwide polls. Thus, right from the very beginning, public opinion studies for Crossley represented a continuation of his work in the field of marketing. However, the immediate comprehension of the social significance of electoral polls, the profound democratism of his political views and the discussions between him and Gallup — both lived in Princeton and were close friends — on the methodological and technological problems of public opinion studies developed his analytical interest in this subject.

Archibald Crossley (Archibald Maddock Crossley, 1896-1985) was born in the small town of Fieldsboro, New Jersey; his parents were immigrants from England [11, p.396-397].

An authoritative biography reference book [12, p.185-186] states that Crossley completed his education at Princeton University in 1917. As a matter of fact, the situation was quite different and unique in its own way; I was informed about it by a letter addressed to me by his daughter, Helen Crossley [13]. In 1916 or 1917, Crossley left the University in spite of having enrolled for the fall semester. Thirty years afterwards, his wife asked the President of Princeton University that her husband be awarded an honorary degree from the University for his contribution to science. The University did not accept the idea, but recognizing the merits of Crossley, the Psychology Department developed a special plan for the completion of his education. Being extremely busy with his affairs, Crossley nevertheless passed a series of difficult examinations and wrote a thesis on the factors determining the memorization of advertising. In June 1950, he was awarded "with distinction" the learned degree of Bachelor in Psychology.

For one year after dropping out of Princeton, Crossley was selling vacuum cleaners and collaborated with one of the advertising agencies in Philadelphia. He was attracted by research work and in December 1918, he organized a research department in the *J. H. Cross Advertising Agency* in Philadelphia. During the years 1922-1926, Crossley was the leader of the research department of the *Literary Digest* magazine, but he was not involved in the performance of nationwide straw polls; he studied the readers' interests.

In 1926, Crossley founded his own firm, Crossley Inc., in Princeton. A year later, the Frank Seaman Advertising Agency asked him to check the radio stations that really did broadcast the ads of one of their customers. The polling was conducted through telephone interviews. In 1928, the Association of National Advertisers suggested to Crossley to develop a method for radio audience measuring [14]. Early next year, he did the same thing for "Eastman Kodak", the well-known photo camera producer.

It was not long before Crossley created the analytical framework "Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting" (CAB) engaged exclusively in the research of radio audiences. Already the first results produced by Crossley made his name famous. The number of orders for radio audience polling kept growing; his telephone polls became a regular feature.

Crossley measured the radio audiences by using the "next day method" for telephone polling. Residents of large urban areas were asked to recall what they had heard on the eve of the broadcast. The

"day-part method" was also used. The telephone polls were conducted four times a day, and respondents were asked to recall what they had heard during the previous 3 to 6 hours [15]. The measurement error produced by these methods was significant, but the popularity ratings of radio stations calculated by Crossley were nevertheless providing the advertisers and the advertising agencies with an idea about the preferences and the volume of their radio audiences. The major American advertising associations, such as the *Association of National Advertisers* and the *American Association of Advertising Agencies*, adjusted their sights according to these ratings.

Having worked for several years in the *Literary Digest*, Crossley clearly saw the weaknesses of the polling technology used by that magazine. In those years, affluent Americans were more likely to be supporters of the Republican Party, and Crossley was well aware that the results of surveys of subscribers of the magazine and of consumers of expensive goods were biased in favor of the views of the Republicans. He was interested in comparing the forecasts of the magazine, which had earned an indisputable reputation with regard to its political predictions, with the forecasts that would be based on the new polling technology [16, p.10]. He did not wait to be invited and by the mid-1930's had sent letters to several newspapers and other organizations trying to get support for conducting representative surveys on relatively small samples. Eventually he managed to convince the powerful King Features publishing syndicate that the funding of electoral polls in 1936 would be expedient.

The biographical reference books of the 1940-1960's represent Elmo Burns Roper (1900-1971) [17, p.850-851], [18, p.500] primarily as a marketing researcher and then, secondarily only, as a public opinion analyst. There is a considerable element of truth in this representation. Thus, in the early 1960's, when asked by political scientist Donald McDonald whether his firm was focused primarily on marketing research, Roper answered: "Oh, still primarily marketing research. Even in election years, when we do a lot of election forecasting, 85 percent of our dollar volume will still be in industrial and commercial work. And of course, in a non-election year, it's 98 percent industrial and commercial. I suppose that for every dollar spent on what the public calls "public opinion research", there must be at least \$ 10,000 spent on marketing research." [19, p.1].

Nevertheless, as an analyst of public opinion, Roper was remarkable with his highest level of professionalism and civic activity. During the years of the Second World War, thanks largely to him, the leaders of the country recognized the value of public opinion polls, while after the war he exercised a noticeable influence on the development

of American democracy. One cannot separate Roper the pollster from Roper the politician and the public figure. The document awarding him the highest award of American public opinion researchers noted: "Over the years, Mr. Roper has divided his energies between his research career and his devotion to a variety of public causes." [20, p.303-304].

George Gallup's distant American ancestor came to America from England in 1630 and settled in the Massachusetts Bay area. Seven years later, the Englishman John Roper (1587 — ca. 1664) landed in the same place and became the founder of the "northern" or the "Massachusetts" line of the branched out American Roper clan. Elmo Roper was a descendant of the members of the Massachusetts community.

Elmo Roper was born in the small town of Hebron, Neb. in a banker's family. He studied at the University of Minnesota, and then, at the insistence of his Scottish grandmother, he continued his education in Edinburgh in England. [21, p.486-487]. However, he did not complete his education. In 1921-1928, Roper owned a small jewelry shop in the town of Creston, Iowa, near Iowa City, where Gallup studied during the same years.

During the following four years, Roper was a traveling salesman selling watches. He started talking with his customers and found differences between their real requirements and the perceptions of the owners of jewelry businesses about these requirements. In 1933, Roper became an analyst for the jewelry firm "*Traub Manufacturing Co.*". When studying the decline in demand for rings, he discovered that the products of the company were too old-fashioned from the point of view of the large stores and too expensive from the perspective of the small trading firms. This research became a turning point in his life: he realized that he was interested in studying the market.

Another key event in Roper's life — the beginning of his year-long partnership with the Fortune magazine — occurred thanks to the intuition and the connections of his friend, writer and market analyst, Richardson Wood (Richardson King Wood, 1903-1976) [22, p.625]. In 1934, Wood introduced Roper to Paul Cherington (see Chapter 3) and during the same year in New York, they created the "Cherington, Roper and Wood" market research company. It existed for several years. In 1938, Roper incorporated his own firm, which in 1955 became known as the "*Roper Research Associates, Inc.*". Later on, the merger of the firms of Roper and Starch resulted in the creation of the powerful research structure "*Roper Starch Worldwide*", which is actively operating also at present.

The polls conducted by Roper's company for the Fortune magazine were of the omnibus type. Along with the measurement of the attitudes

of the U.S. population with regard to the major political and socio-economic issues, a wide spectrum of consumer attitudes was investigated as well. From the technological and the methodological perspective, the conduct of public opinion polling for the Fortune magazine consisted in transferring the rules of consumer market research to the sphere of studying political consciousness and behavior.

The publication of the results of the first survey in July 1935 was preceded by a long editorial article entitled "*A New Technique in Journalism*" [23, p.65-66]. Journalism was able to detect — earlier than "big science" was — the arising aspirations of society for self-knowledge and active participation in domestic and foreign policy. The most far-sighted and socially-minded journalists recognized in the polls an opportunity to extend their influence in the social and economic processes aimed at overcoming the effects of the Great Depression. Journalism as a social institution and as a business sphere, recognizing its political strength and financial capacity, stepped forward as a sponsor and a customer for the first nationwide polls. Investing in polls became a form of the strengthened political power of journalism.

Hadley Cantril (Albert Hadley Cantril, 1906-1969) occupies a unique place in the history of public opinion research and its establishment within the system of power institutions of the United States. He was one of the pioneers of research on the mechanisms of mass consciousness and behavior, a brilliant analyst of political attitudes, author of the book "*Gauging Public Opinion*", which has been used as a textbook by several generations of students [24]. He was a psychologist and a sociologist, a philosopher of science and political researcher, a journalist and a diplomat. The first public opinion analyst who worked directly for the President of the country and for the Democratic Party was Emil Hurja (1892-1953), but the scope of his analysis was confined within the limits of the electoral campaigns. The history of the cooperation of U.S. presidents with the pollsters begins counting with Cantril. As an author, co-author and editor, he has published 20 books and a considerable number of articles; he has trained many experts of public opinion research; he is also one of the founders of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* journal.

Cantril performed complex government contracts coming, not infrequently, from the intelligence agencies. He was one of those who had, up to a certain extent, influenced U.S. foreign policy in the pre-war period, during the Second World War, and during the Cold War. The things that he considered possible and appropriate to be said about his own work for the Government are described in his memoirs published in 1967 [25].

In 1966, Cantril was named laureate of the *American Association of Public Opinion* researchers. The supporting speech nominating him for this highest professional award pointed out that, as a psychologist, Cantril revealed the opportunity to study the perceptions processes in the world of social relations by means of the polling technologies. As a public opinion analyst, he demonstrated that even extremely intricate political problems can be the subject of scientific research. While as a political scientist he was the first to demonstrate that large-scale public opinion surveys can serve the cause of peace [26, p.437].

Cantril and Gallup were involved in a long-standing relationship of cooperation and friendship. After the death of his friend, Gallup wrote: "Dr. Cantril was one of the first, if not the first to bring to the classroom firsthand experience which he, himself, had gained in public opinion polling. He was equally at home whether dealing with theory or practice. On the basis of his opinion studies, he advised Presidents Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and Kennedy at critical periods in history. Judged by subsequent events, his advice was exceptionally sound." [27, p.506].

Cantril was born in the family of a doctor in the tiny town of Hyrum, Utah, where — even in the beginning of the XXth c. — less than five thousand people lived. In 1928, he graduated from Dartmouth College, one of the oldest higher educational institutions of the United States with a very robust team of academic staff. Having obtained his Bachelor of Psychology degree, Cantril studied for two years in Berlin and Munich and completed his education at Harvard University, receiving a doctorate in psychology in 1932. He taught sociology at Dartmouth College for one year and then returned to Harvard.

Professor Gordon Allport taught psychology to Cantril both at college and at the University, and he was also the tutor of his doctoral thesis on the measurement of attitudes; the findings of this thesis were published by Cantril in 1932 in his first monograph [28].

In the early 1930's, Cantril pointed out that the already existing measurement technologies might prove useful in meeting the new challenges faced by social psychology [29, p.297-330]. In particular, this concept induced him to get thoroughly acquainted with the results published by newspapers and magazines with respect to the first sample surveys of public opinion. Three decades afterwards, he recalled: "I felt that through using this new tool, a social analyst, particularly a social psychologist, might be in a better position to examine society from within. I realized that the polls helped to reveal the real social problems, to understand the way people perceive current events, to see why differently informed people with contrasting worldviews, interests and preferences are of the same opinion." [25, p.22].

Therefore, Cantril enthusiastically accepted the offer of the *New York Times* to write a series of articles on the "scientific" methods for public opinion research. While preparing these articles, he met George Gallup at Princeton. This was immediately before the end of the electoral campaign of 1936, after Gallup's publication of the materials revealing that the forecast made by the *Literary Digest* concerning the outcome of the elections was erroneous. According to Cantril's memoirs, Gallup at the time was "quite naturally, very nervous and excited", but he welcomed him in an extremely polite manner, seemed genuinely pleased that an academic social researcher took seriously his work and suggested to Cantril to use the capabilities of his data acquisition system, that is, his sampling methods and his trained interviewers for future surveys [25, p.22-25].

In 1936, Cantril became a professor at Princeton University, while his decision to move to Princeton was determined to a significant degree by Gallup's cooperation proposal.

During the last years of his life, Cantril conducted, jointly with his friend Lloyd A. Free (1908-1996), a series of polls measuring the attitude of the population of various countries with regard to the United States. This work was highly appreciated by policy makers; at the same time, it encouraged the development of this cross-cultural research methodology that emerged in the middle of last century.

Cantril's heritage has not been adequately investigated. However, it can be argued that a considerable proportion of today's global culture of public opinion measurement, as well as of the practices of political life in democratic countries, originated in his works; it is a development of his views on the nature of this complex socio-psychological phenomenon and on the role of its researcher.

THE INCUBATION PERIOD

The several years during which George Gallup was refining his views about the study of public opinion and was building the appropriate technology, were named by him as "the incubation period" [31, p.76]. A lot had already been achieved. Experience was acquired in the polling of voters and the construction of electoral forecasts. The American electoral statistics was rethought, a mechanism for the funding of the surveys was developed and implemented, which determined the independent nature of Gallup's activity. Finally and most importantly, a system was created for the acquisition and analysis of data, and for the dissemination of polling results.

Let us begin the analysis of all this activity of George Gallup with his first survey of electoral attitudes conducted in 1932 in Iowa. An impetus for its implementation was Gallup's desire to help his mother-in-law Ola Miller (Eunice Viola Babcock Miller, 1871-1937) to win the election for the post of Secretary of the State of Iowa.

Remembering the times when Ola Miller began her electoral campaign, George Gallup said: "I actually became interested in the whole spectrum of polling possibilities, and I did a few rather crude samples ..." [32, p.107]. In particular, he was trying to find out with the poll whether the potential voters had heard of Ola Miller and what they thought about her. In his commentaries, P. Scipione provides the following quotation for one of the questions in that Gallup's first political poll: "What are you most worried about?" The poll was conducted by Gallup's students in 101 counties of the State, and the obtained results helped Ola Miller develop a strategy for the campaign. I have not been able to find more detailed information about the organization and the financial support for the poll. What is only known is that the forecast was correct, but the attitude towards it was skeptical.

Two factors made improbable George Gallup's prediction for a win. Firstly, no woman had previously been elected to this position in Iowa, and secondly, the population of the state typically supported the Republican candidates. Roosevelt's victory in 1932 helped Ola Miller win her first election and she was easily re-elected to that position in 1934 and 1936. One historical reference book notes that Ola Miller was a good politician in the sense that she sought to justify the trust of the people with her actions [34, p.202].

The success of the electoral prediction in 1932 was one of the factors that influenced Gallup's transition to a sphere of activity that was new to him. And it was the measurement of political attitudes, and in a wider sense, the measurement of the public opinion of Americans. This logical conclusion can be supplemented with the words of Gallup's sons. Alec Gallup, when asked about the way that his father became involved in public opinion polls, referred in particular to the fact of conducting the successful polling for Ola Miller. The poll was unofficial and its results were not published, but it allowed his father to check out some of his ideas about the sampling procedure he used [35]. His second son, George Gallup, Jr., also said that the success of his father "in that election forecast, this informal effort on behalf of my grandmother, certainly inspired him and empowered him to move forward with polling." In the same interview, he disclosed another "family secret". In 1934, during the congressional elections, Gallup made a forecast based on the statistics of previous polls and the known results

of conducted straw polls; the error of this forecast was 1 percent. May I note that this "secret" was disclosed in 1937 [37, p.29].

George Gallup's firm conviction in the necessity and the possibility of public opinion research in the United States, and his willingness to organize surveys were insufficient for the start of practical work about it. What was needed was an intellectual and institutional environment interested in the conduct of public opinion surveys, as well as robust financial support. Both were found by George Gallup in his familiar and comprehensible community of journalism. Active assistance was provided to him by Harold H. Anderson who in this way inscribed his name in the history of American public opinion polls. Anderson was a participant in the very same study of the D'Arcy Advertising Agency where Gallup the student first came to be acquainted with the polling methods [38, p.8]. There is not much preserved information about Harold Anderson; one has to collect it bit by bit.

About the end of 2004, Hans Zetterberg, Gallup's year-long friend, said: "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, a business providing papers with editorial material. This included both features and columnists such as Sylvia Porter, who wrote about finance so 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 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." [39]

In addition, here is the way that this story sounds according to the statement of David Moore, author of the detailed 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 [40, p.47].

To understand the social and intellectual forces that supported Gallup's idea and assisted him and Anderson in the implementation of their plans, it might be very useful to consider the contents of a brief para-

graph in the mentioned *Time* article: Gallup “talked the idea over with a blond, blue-eyed Midwestern salesman of newspaper features named Harold 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.” [1]. Both were high-ranking professionals in the newspaper business.

In 1940, the editors of the “*Public Opinion Quarterly*” accompanied a two-page article written by Eugene Meyer (Eugene Isaac Meyer, 1875-1959) with the following words: “The publisher of the *Washington Post*, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of public opinion polls in the newspaper field tells why the Post has published the American Institute of Public Opinion polls since the first Gallup release.” [41, p.238].

In that article, Meyer mentioned that many years ago, while investing money in the mining industry, he studied the reports of the engineers and became acquainted with the methods for determining the quality and the composition of minerals and ores. He pointed out that the methodology for the definition of the samples, which takes into account the population structure, is similar to that used in metallurgy. This observation allowed some authors to argue that Meyer supported Gallup because he understood the essence of the sampling methods.

In fact, the positive attitude of Meyer to the public opinion surveys was determined by two factors at least, namely, the character of his education and professional experience, as well as his understanding of one’s civic responsibility. Therefore, it makes no sense to try figuring out which factor was the primary one, and which was secondary.

At Yale, Meyer studied psychology under Professor George Ladd, whose student a decade earlier was Carl Seashore, a teacher of Starch and Gallup. Having overcome many difficulties in studying this subject, Meyer promised to himself that if he were not to become a banker, he would be studying psychology [42, p.21]. During his student years, he was close to the socio-economic doctrine of William Sumner (William Graham Sumner, 1840-1910), proclaiming the non-interference of government in the economy. Taken as a whole, the interest of Meyer towards the research of consciousness and his understanding of the presence of deeply rooted connections between the social and the economic aspects of the development of society are very useful to better understand the reasons for his positive attitude towards the study of public opinion. There is also one other biographical fact that explains the increased attention of Meyer towards the electoral forecasts. In 1900, he construed his stock-market game taking into account the forecasts for the outcome of the presidential election. On the basis of his

own analysis, Meyer came to the conclusion that President McKinley would be reelected. Consequently, he developed the appropriate strategy for his behavior in the securities market. His forecast was justified; the elections were held in early November 1900, while by January 1901 Meyer’s capital had grown by a factor of 10. Experience convinced him that an correct electoral prediction is vitally important for politicians and big businesses.

The biography of Helen Reed (Helen Rogers Reid, 1882-1970) also provides clues for a plausible explanation of her confidence in the results of opinion surveys. In 1903, she graduated from the prestigious Barnard College and then for over ten years she was an assistant to the well-known socialist, suffragette and participant in many philanthropic campaigns Elizabeth Mills Reid (1858-1931), the wife of Whitelaw Reid (1837-1912), the owner of the New York Herald Tribune. In this capacity, Helen had to find solutions for many complex social problems, to meet prominent American and foreign politicians. Having married Reid’s son, she spent several years in raising their children and became involved in women’s emancipation issues. In 1918, her husband, who by that time had become the owner of the “New York Herald Tribune”, asked her to work for the newspaper. Starting with the performance of simple tasks, she soon became director of advertising. In the mid-1930’s, when the *Gallup Institute* was being created, Helen Reed was Vice President of the publishing house, while remaining the head of the advertising department. Therefore, the interest of H. Reed in the research of public opinion was closely linked to her democratic views. In addition, there is no doubt that — having being in the advertising business for many years — she was aware of Gallup’s achievements in the field of advertising research and realized that his methods of studying the consumers’ attitudes were applicable also to the polling of the views of the electorate and of the public in general. Looking deeper into the biographies of Meyer and Reed, one understands why the most part of the journalistic elite of the United States in the middle of the 1930’s was able to appreciate and support Gallup’s idea. Summarizing it in brief, the reasons for this were as follows: the established Protestant traditions in the country; the ethics of entrepreneurship, one century and a half of presidential rule and an even longer history of independent media development; one hundred years of conducting straw polls and several decades of sample based marketing research. The entire public and many social institutions were ready to accept the emerging practice of public opinion research, while the most authoritative representatives of the business and political elite were in a position to perceive this societal need and to respond to it.

GEORGE GALLUP'S FINEST HOUR

On October 20, 1935, Gallup released a report on the results of the first survey held between 10 and 15 September 1935. Meyer had hired a small dirigible balloon that cruised over Washington and advertised the launching of the nationwide public opinion polls [40, p. 31]. A press release analyzed the opinions of Americans with regard to the age-old issue of the appropriateness of increased public spending. The newspapers placed these materials on the front pages, showing not only the aggregate data and the main results of the polling as a whole, but also the opinions and positions of the separate groups of respondents; in some cases descriptions of the data acquisition technology were provided, as well as personal interviews out of a representative sample of the American electorate. It was announced previously that the summary records of the polling results would be published weekly. Many national newspapers published Gallup's weekly column "America Speaks". The title of the column reflected accurately Gallup's political philosophy: Democracy must give everyone the chance to be heard. It can be said in general that the nation had begun listening to itself.

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

On 11 November 1935, the *Time* magazine reported that according to Gallup's data, the popularity of Roosevelt was very low (most likely, this was the first reference to the *American Institute of Public Opinion Polls* published in this magazine). As a validation of the polls' results, the magazine referred to a similar conclusion of the well-known journalist and political commentator Frazier Hunt (1895-?), who was engaged in the nationwide press research [44].

With the new presidential election coming nearer, George Gallup expected it to provide an answer to the fundamental question: "How is the new scientific technology for public opinion research going to perform?" He had a firm belief in this technology, but it had to be believed by America. As early as the beginning of 1936, it was clear that the campaign would not be an easy one for its participants. On January 6, the *Time* magazine published an article about the virulence of the upcoming confrontation and remarked "...Never before in U.S. history have so many extensive and intensive attempts been made [for an electoral forecast - B.D.] so far in advance to foretell what will happen on November 3." [45].

Generally speaking, these attempts can be divided into the following three groups:

The first group of attempts used a century-old technique: sending out correspondents and trained observers across the different states in order to identify the political attitudes of the electorate.

The second technique consisted in conducting nationwide straw polls, such as a methodology blossoming anew before the eyes of the then living generation. There were reports that according to one survey of the *Literary Digest*, which had received almost a million responses from residents of 41 states of the country, 41 percent of the respondents supported Franklin Roosevelt's policy, and 59 percent were against it. The *Time* magazine called attention to the deficiencies of the *Literary Digest* sampling, which was organized on the basis of lists of owners of telephones and cars; therefore, it was failing to include some groups with many supporters of the New Deal. In their defense, the *Literary Digest* wrote that they were repeating exactly the procedure of 1932: then, the prediction error was less than one percent.

Finally, the third technique represented a method that emerged one year before that: "Tests of sentiment by personally questioning relatively small groups chosen with the object of getting a scientifically accurate sample of the voting population." [45]. According to the December poll of Gallup, almost 45 percent of the voters by that time were ready to support Roosevelt and 47 percent intended to vote for the Republican nominee. According to the results of the poll of Starch, 43 percent of voters were in favor of Roosevelt's New Deal, and 38 percent were against him. The November 1935 polls of the *Fortune* magazine conducted by Roper also revealed the positive prospects of Roosevelt.

Gallup, Crossley and Roper, who had their own independent research firms, became involved in the study of the electorate long before the beginning of the electoral process. Particular attention on behalf of the media and of the voters was directed towards the activities of Gallup. On June 12, 1936, i.e., just one month after the nomination of Alfred Landon (1887-1987) as the Republican candidate and more than six weeks before the *Literary Digest* began its poll, Gallup released a report that the magazine in question would predict Landon's victory (with 56 percent of the vote) and, accordingly, the defeat of Roosevelt (with 44 percent of the vote). Moreover, this then completely nameless analyst announced that such a forecast would be erroneous, because the procedure for the sample selection of the respondents used by that magazine was defective. Gallup relied on the results of his own pilot survey. 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

small sampling would be representative for the results of future survey of the same magazine [40, p.48].

Wilfred Funk (Wilfred John Funk, 1883-1965), editor of the *Literary Digest*, was outraged by that article. In an open letter published a week afterwards in the *New York Times*, he wrote: "But never before has anyone foretold what our poll was going to show before it was even started!" He continued further: "Our fine statistical friend (George Gallup – B. D.) 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." [40, p.48].

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

Table 2

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

Features of the electoral projections	Forecast of the Gallup Institute 46	Forecast of the <i>Literary Digest</i>
Share of votes in favor of Roosevelt	55.7	43
Share of votes in favor 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

Historically oriented studies often provide several divergent quantitative indicators for the results of electoral polls. For example, some authors show the numbers with the decimals of a percent, while others limit themselves to whole numbers. Below, we use the statistics quoted by Gallup and commented by him in the early 1970's [47, p.65].

In purely quantitative terms, George Gallup's forecast — 55.7 percent of the vote for Roosevelt, and 44.3 percent of the vote for Landon (referring to the number of votes actually cast) — cannot be recognized as really accurate. In fact, the winner scored 62.5 percent of the vote. Nevertheless, firstly, Gallup named correctly the next president, and, secondly, his error amounted to 6.8 percent, while the researchers of the *Literary Digest* deviated three times farther away (19.5 percent). The

forecasts of Crossley (53.8 percent) and Roper (61.7 percent) in favor of Roosevelt were also correct [48, p.10].

George Gallup's forecasting success together with all the events taking place around the election made him a figure propelled to nationwide fame. His name became widely known. Significantly, however, there was something more. The successful prediction of the result of such an important political process as the presidential election proved the advantages of the new scientific approach to electoral research. In its own turn, this became the starting point for in-depth analyses and fundamental changes in the practice of all kinds of sociological surveys across the population.

The Gallup, Roper and Crossley success of the electoral forecasts was one of the circumstances that contributed to the improvement of the social and psychological sentiment in the United States. By the time of the 1936 election, millions of Americans had not yet recovered from the hardship of the Great Depression, when many people lost their money and real estate property, having relied on the optimistic stock market forecasts. Nevertheless, investing in securities had already become an integral part of societal life, the Dow Jones index was the financial icon of many people, while its value was used as the most exhaustive answer to the traditional question: "How's the market doing?" By the mid-1930's, those, who were gradually beginning to regain their confidence and were already thinking about new investments or a new business, experienced (often unconsciously) the need to have access to accurate scientific predictions of the future — or at least to recognize the possibility of such predictions.

George Gallup was not the only one who used the then-new sample selection procedure for a public opinion poll and who made a correct forecast of the behavior of the electorate. However, he predicted the erroneousness of the forecast of the *Literary Digest*, doing this a couple months before the start of the editorial polling. Gallup demonstrated twice the effectiveness of correctly organized small samples: in his public opinion poll, he represented the American electorate, while his methodological poll was representative for the sample of the *Literary Digest*. Of essential importance was also the fact that Gallup gave wide publicity to his statement, which foresaw the erroneousness of the *Literary Digest* methodology, publishing it in a number of newspapers. He transformed the opinion poll into a phenomenon of a societal and public character, into something that was not discussed merely within a narrow circle of professionals, but across many population groups.

George Gallup's more purposeful and more aggressive behavior than that of Crossley or Roper was not a consequence of excessively

high ambition. On the contrary, it can rather be explained by the professional understanding of the role of the press and the experience in studying the effectiveness of advertising. Notwithstanding that, those are secondary reasons. The important thing is that Gallup was more motivated — both historically and socially — in the measurement of public opinion than his colleagues were.

Later, George Gallup wrote that he had not been assuming such a great risk when he was putting forward his forecasts [47, p.66]. However, this was not quite true. The funding for the poll was obtained against a guarantee for its reimbursement, and he knew perfectly well that in case of getting it wrong with his prediction, he would lose both his money and his established position.

The election victory in 1936 brought national prominence to George Gallup. This was the finest hour of his career and one of the most important events in the history of polling methodology and of the scientific research of social and political issues.

Was it possible for errors in the *Literary Digest* forecasts to have occurred before 1936? Certainly, yes. Was it possible for its 1936 forecast to come true? This was quite possible — as a result of some coincidence or if the social and political situation in the country had been different. Conversely, the 1936 forecasts of Gallup, Crossley and Roper could also have proven false, as it did happen indeed twelve years later. However, history would have it that these three representatives of the new sampling technology turned out to be the winners in 1936, and the *Literary Digest* lost. This meant that the end of the straw polls era had come.

A large number of research studies have been devoted to the analysis of this fiasco of the *Literary Digest* poll. The deficiencies that have been pointed out include the following: the severe bias in the structure of the baseline or initial sampling, the low return rate, the inability of the technology of this magazine to capture the dynamics of the electorate's opinion, the crude scheme for the analysis of the responses of respondents, which did not take into account the bias of the sampling, and some other reasons for the failure. Gallup said unequivocally: "Disaster lay in the Digest's cross section and its sampling methods" [31, p.44]. Firstly, Gallup was very well aware of the results of K. Robinson's studies devoted to the nature of straw poll erroneous-ness. Secondly, he saw the rapid changes occurring in the social structure of the United States and knew that this factor may prove of vital importance for the sample formation process.

In this historical study, I would like to dwell less on the technological, methodological and organizational circumstances of the *Literary Digest* defeat, and more on the human factor of what had happened.

First and foremost, why did the *Literary Digest* begin the conduct of its poll in 1936, knowing the fundamental weaknesses of their data acquisition methodology? What was that? A self-hypnosis due to the previous successes or an inability to understand the findings of the statisticians who proved the erroneousness of the straw poll technology? In the first days after the election, W. Funk wrote: "...All this conjecture about our "not reaching certain strata" simply will not hold water.... The basis of the 1936 mailing list was the 1932 mailing list, and since the overwhelming majority of those who responded to our poll in 1932 voted for Mr. Roosevelt, it seems altogether reasonable to assume that the majority of our ballots this year went to people who had voted for Roosevelt in 1932.... So what? So we were wrong, although we did everything we knew to assure ourselves of being right." [49]. It does seem indeed that the organizers of the *Literary Digest* poll did not really understand the logic of the sample selection process and the mechanisms of respondent participation in the polling.

In addition to the above, I was curious to know who made the decision to proceed to the conduct of the survey. Since W. Funk published a letter in response to Gallup's statement that the *Literary Digest* forecast would be wrong, it seemed that the primary responsibility for this electoral polling was born by him. Nevertheless, things were completely different.

In the beginning of 1981, Ron Marmarelli, who was doing research on the *Literary Digest* polls [50], had sent a letter to the son of Wilfred Funk, Peter Funk (b. 1921), a priest of the Episcopal Church, a philologist and author of many books, with a solicitation to clarify some details of the organization of the 1936 poll. A reply had been received, but it was not published. R. Marmarelli had sent to me a copy of the letter; I sent to Peter Funk an inquiry regarding the possibility to publish this text and I obtained his kind permission to do so [51].

Peter Funk stated in his reply letter that in reality his father headed the magazine nominally only. The insistence on the type of polling conducted by the *Literary Digest* was exercised by Robert Joseph Cuddihy (1862 -?) who at that time owned the controlling stake in the magazine. Wilfred Funk had been repeatedly saying that the idea of a telephone poll (apparently, here the use of the addresses of telephone subscribers is meant — B.D.) would be outrageously erroneous, since only relatively wealthy people were able to afford telephones at that time. Consequently, the majority of the respondents were likely to vote for Landon. In private, Wilfred Funk predicted a shift of votes in favor of Roosevelt. The irony is that he himself did not vote for Landon either [52].

Some partial confirmation of these words of Peter Funk (who may

be considered to be an “interested party”), which were pronounced nearly half a century after the described events, was found in publications dating more than seventy years back. Indeed, during the second half of the 1930’s, Robert Cuddihy owned 60 percent of the stock of the magazine, while Wilfred Funk owned 40 percent [53]. In mid-November 1936, the *Time* wrote: “...The fact was that to the *Digest’s* aging publisher Robert Joseph Cuddihy, mail-order methods have always spelled success. This year, Editor Funk recommended that more money be spent to check and supplement the 1932 lists, but he was overruled.” For objectivity’s sake, it should be noted that Cuddihy began working as a clerk with the founders of the *Literary Digest* when he was sixteen; he was a very energetic manager and the successes of the magazine between 1910 and 1930 were largely his achievement.

In essence, the year of 1936 was the moment of the birth and, simultaneously, the period of the most serious testing of a new scientific methodology for public opinion research. The stars were auspiciously aligned for it. George Gallup summarized the fundamental lesson of electoral polling in 1936 as follows: “...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.” [31, p.54-55]. In 1936, the electoral polls that used a small scientifically based sampling methodology demonstrated their advantage over the *Literary Digest* surveys with their gigantic sample, and marked the beginning of a new political culture in the United States.

THE PULSE OF DEMOCRACY

The *Pulse of Democracy*, a book by George Gallup and Saul Rae, was published in 1940 and has long been recognized as the Bible of the global community of public opinion researchers. Almost all authors of new writings on the methodology and the techniques of public opinion studies include references to this book; it remains a most important source of information on the history of the development of this subject.

By the end of the 1930’s, George Gallup began to realize that his vision of the subject and his five years of experience in the conduct of public opinion polls required a comprehensive analysis and synthesis. The time had come to introduce the different professional groups and the advanced strata of the population to the essence of public opinion research and, more importantly, about the inner intricacies of such

research. However, Gallup was still not in a position to fully concentrate on his work on the book. He regularly conducted national surveys, wrote and edited press releases that were published by the leading newspapers of the country, and headed the research department at *Young & Rubicam*. For his work on the book, he needed an assistant. This had to be a creative person, well versed in the subject and less burdened with operational matters than Gallup. The choice fell on Saul Rae (Saul Forbes Rae, 1914-1999), a young, well-educated and energetic person.

Rae was born in the small Canadian town of Sunshine; his father was Jewish, a native of Lithuania, his mother was Scottish. In 1936, he completed his education in the College at the University of Toronto with a degree in sociology. He then studied at the London School of Economics and in 1938, he received a doctorate for work related to the study of public opinion. Rae lived in England, where, by the end of the 1930’s, the British Institute of Public Opinion was already operating as a branch of the *Gallup Institute*. The acquaintanceship between Gallup and Rae could have been made, for example, by Harry Field (Harry Hubert Field, 1897-1947), an experienced pollster and a friend of Gallup, and Henry Durant, a pioneer in the research of public opinion in England. In early 1939, Gallup asked Rae to come to his institute, inviting him to participate in the preparation of the planned book. It is at present hard to identify the terms under which Rae was involved in work on the book. It is possible that initially Gallup did not see in him an associate or a fellow co-worker, but an assistant only. However it may have been, after the death of Rae, the Canadian researcher Daniel Robinson interviewed his son and wrote to me that, according to the latter, most of the text was written by his father, who “even had to fight a little” in order for his name to appear on the cover of the book [55].

After the book was completed, Rae returned to Canada. In 1941, he created the *Canadian Institute of Public Opinion*, which was an affiliate of the *Gallup Institute*. Soon afterwards, Rae obtained a position at the Department of External Affairs of Canada, where he worked for over forty years and accomplished a brilliant diplomatic career. He was the ambassador of Canada to Mexico and represented his country at the United Nations for four years (1972-1976).

Four years after the publication of *The Pulse of Democracy*, in the preface to his new writing, George Gallup noted: “Perhaps, no one has given more thought to the present day relationship of polls to democratic governments than Dr. Saul Forbes Rae of the Department of External Affairs of the Dominion of Canada. In *The Pulse of Democracy*, the philosophy of government by majority opinion, and the role of public opinion polls in defining this majority are described

at length.”) [56, p.viii]. This was said about an analyst who had just turned thirty.

Consequently, *The Pulse of Democracy* had two authors and perhaps Rae had written more pages than Gallup had. However, when people quote passages from the book and mention its findings, the references to the author are often limited to the name of Gallup. This is recognition of the obvious facts that the book is based on his statistical data, that it reflects the achievements of *Gallup's Institute*; that it describes the experience of his transition from market research to the sounding of opinions. The book is thoroughly permeated by Gallup's prodigious intellectual respect for the ideas of Lord Bryce; it is intimately personal, of course, to the extent that a scientific book can be personal.

The Pulse of Democracy is the book of a pollster, of a scientist and of a university professor. It can rightfully be regarded as George Gallup's confession, in which he talks about his dream — the measurement of the pulse of democracy — and indicates the path to the achievement of that dream. This book is a multi-faceted, multi-layered and multi-genre work; it is situated in the boundary field between sociology and political science, between historical science and statistics. However, above all, *The Pulse of Democracy* is a detailed analysis of the work done by Gallup after 1936.

By the time the book was published, the public in the United States was informed just about the success of the country's three leading pollsters in predicting the outcome of the presidential campaign of 1936. During the subsequent years, however, enormous work was done by George Gallup, thanks to which he was able to show that the accurate prediction of Roosevelt's victory was not accidental. The book discusses George Gallup's twelve electoral forecasts: their average error was equal to 3.5 percent [31, p.82].

In analyzing these statistics, George Gallup did not try to convince the readers of the impossibility of forecasting errors. As a serious scholar, he understood that the polls were based on sampling methods, which are always burdened by random errors. Consequently, even with the most scrupulous and meticulous organization of the data acquisition, there will be a certain probability of erroneous forecasts. However, even though Gallup, Crossley and Roper were aware that the electoral campaign forecasts were an endeavor risky for their personal reputation and businesses, they persisted with conducting election polls.

Firstly, the publication of the materials related to the polls drew the attention of the voters to the elections and encouraged the political activity of the public at large. This, in the view of the founders of the new polling approach, was the civic sense and the ultimate purpose of

their efforts. Secondly, the intensive research opens wider possibilities for finding the factors that determine the dynamics of public opinion. Thirdly, the surveys revealed the electoral attitudes and the behavior of various different groups, while the publication of the materials was changing the political science constructs of the observers and journalists, transforming them from speculative to scientific ones. Fourthly, by means of recording the different phases of the formation and the functioning of public opinion, the surveys allow a deeper understanding of the operation of democratic institutions. Finally, an extremely important conclusion was formulated: “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.” [31, p.90].

One of the fundamental objectives of *The Pulse of Democracy* was to describe what the researchers did to improve the reliability of the polling results and how they did it. The number of difficulties was great, but the most difficult thing from the logical and the psychological perspective was to find arguments in favor of conducting surveys based on relatively small samples. The theory and the methodology of sampling were not sufficiently developed by that time, and it was necessary to find simple words for the presentation of complex mathematical and statistical constructs.

Most likely, this is exactly the reason why the chapter of the book entitled “*Building the Miniature Electorate*”, which is devoted to a much broader issue — the construction of a sample for a public opinion poll — starts with a soothing phrase: “There is nothing startling or magical about sampling. The stenographer who hurriedly counts a single line of her typing to see how many words she has typed in the page is taking a rough 'sample.' The housewife, testing a spoonful of tomato soup, which she is preparing, 'samples' the soup. The doctor who extracts a few cubic centimeters of blood from a vein in his patient's arm is taking a 'sample' of the blood stream.” [31, p.56].

While he worked on his book, George Gallup already commanded nearly two decades of experience in constructing 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." [31, p.57]. Further, the book discusses a key aspect of the construction of a sample, which is the achievement of representativeness. With that end in view, two types of universes are considered: the homogeneous and the heterogeneous ones. As a rule, public 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, the use of stratified, or controlled, sampling methods was suggested. Since "the U.S. population is a mosaic" of a wide range of groups and associations, there emerges a necessity to identify such groups where the distribution of opinions and attitudes would be more uniform than in the universe as a whole.

The experience of the analysts of consumer attitudes, and of the researchers of press and radio audiences shows that the stratification of the population should take into account the geography of residence of the respondents, the types of their activities, their age, gender, political orientation, race, 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'." [31, p.63].

The foregoing permitted the authors to turn to the consideration of two central problems of the methodology for the construction of the sample, i.e., the character of the stratification and the number of respondents. Of course, many problems related to the formation and the implementation of the sampling methods for public opinion polling are nowadays treated and solved in a different way than what the practice was more than six decades ago, but the historical focus of the present book requires at least a brief analysis of Gallup's approach to solving these two problems.

The basic issue proved to be the selection of the two types of stratification that needs to be considered when conducting surveys: the social stratification, which covers the entire adult population, and the political stratification created for the study of political attitudes and voting behavior. The researchers use the first stratification for the study of the attitudes of people towards various social phenomena and processes, such as the quality of life and the well-being standard; the parameters of this sampling are set and controlled by the statistical data of population censuses.

The second stratification is used for the research of the electorate; here, the sampling methods are based on census data and on the findings of sociologists who study the determinants of the participation of

people in the political life of society. Based on the results of the theoretical studies of a number of American and European scholars, as well as on George Gallup's results of the analysis of the first electoral polls, the authors of *The Pulse of Democracy* pointed out the following fundamental coordinates of the political stratification: the type of elections in which the respondents are involved (presidential, gubernatorial, etc.), place of residence, gender, income and other socio-demographic indicators of the respondents (in particular, age, race and nationality).

The size of the sample, according to the book, must in general be sufficiently large to neutralize the effect of random factors, but even before coming to the sample size, the authors formulated an important empirical generalization: "...No major poll in the history of this country ever went wrong because too few persons were reached." [31, p.68]. In addition, it was pointed out more specifically: "On general studies of public opinion issues, small samples between 3,000 and 9,000 cases have been found reliable." [31, p.69].

The subsequent years forced George Gallup, and those who engaged later in the conduct of public opinion polls, to review and reconsider many things, both regarding the theoretical aspects of the sample analysis, and regarding the practice of sample construction. Nevertheless, two of the cornerstones of sampling for the purposes of public opinion surveys, which were strongly defended by George Gallup, remain unchanged: these are the control of sampling according to the most important parameters of the universe and the science-based identification of the volume of the sample. I need to point out here that the refined stratification methods, the use of random samples, and the optimization of the data acquisition procedures contributed to the marked reduction of the sample size of regular polls during the second half of last century. It was within the limits of 1500 to 2000 respondents, while later even smaller samples came to be used.

A rational and emotional conclusion, which reflects the comprehensive analysis made by Gallup and Rae concerning the experience of the *Literary Digest*, the sampling schemes of Roper, Crossley and Hurja, the results of the Gallup Institute polls and the targeted methodological experiments, is the fundamental political and science study conclusion that the methods used in the late 1930's and the early 1940's represented "a new epoch in the history of public opinion measurement" both from the theoretical and the practical perspective [31, p.75].

Thus, in 1936, the new polling technology showed its superiority over the postal surveys of the *Literary Digest*. Young David with his

sling and stone defeated the giant Goliath clad in armor and wielding a colossal spear. Shortly after the shattering victory of the new over the old technology, Crossley wrote: "Scientific polling makes it possible within two or three days at moderate expense for the entire nation to work hand in hand with its legislative representatives, on laws which affect our daily lives. Here is the long-sought key to 'Government by the people'." [37, p.35].

Was the great future of the sampling procedure for the study of public opinion clearly visible at the time, or was it regarded as something ephemeral, which did not represent considerable scientific or social values? What were the impressive features of the new technology and what was suspicious? I have to point out right away that there was no unanimity regarding the assessment of the new data acquisition technologies and regarding the role of public opinion polls in U.S. political life.

The critical remarks made immediately after the 1936 polls and over the next two or three years can be disaggregated into three groups. They were addressed, first, towards the wording of the questions and the selection of the words, second, towards the size of the used samples and their structure, and, third, towards the existence of the very possibility to reveal public opinion. Many influential politicians and journalists did not recognize nationwide polls at all or considered them useless. A certain part of the intellectuals saw in them a method for the manipulation of mass consciousness, including the purpose of imposing on the electorate candidates who represented the interests of particular political forces. There were also those who perceived the very idea of conducting polls as alien to American society.

Nevertheless, public opinion polls were gradually permeating the political system and everyday social life in the United States.

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Chapter 5. THE CRUCIAL FORTIES

The 1940's, in my opinion, were the crucial and the ultimately decisive years in the American history of public opinion research because of two closely related circumstances. First, this was the decade when many events occurred that allowed the power elite of the country, the electorate, and the public at large to recognize a new political, social and cultural phenomenon in the already regularly held public opinion polls, which revealed to society previously hidden facets of its own activity. Society was able to see itself in new ways. Second, the formation of the body of public opinion researchers was completed and a new occupation was born: the pollster. The term itself, derived from the public opinion poll, was introduced by Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University (1891-1970) in the wake of the debate on the erroneous forecast of Gallup, Crossley and Roper concerning the winner of the 1948 presidential elections [1]. As conceived by Rogers, this term should have been associated to the word "huckster", i.e., the scornful denomination of commercial ad writers, but this did not happen. The term caught on, but its intended negative "backdrop" was gone.

What were the milestones of the decade? They were the two accurate forecasts of Gallup, Crossley and Roper about the outcome of the presidential election campaigns in 1940 and 1944, and the fiasco of the same trio in 1948. The two previously successful measurements of electoral sentiment strengthened the confidence of the founders of the new approach in the tremendous potential of their attitude testing technology. They did not explain the failure of 1948 with any fundamental shortcomings of the measuring instrument invented by them; no doubts were raised about the importance and the necessity to study public opinion. They perceived and accepted the event as a social and technological challenge. The challenge was accepted, and they transformed defeat into victory. The measuring methodologies, which were developed during the second half of the 1930's and enhanced by them and by their followers in the 1950's and 60's, passed successfully the toughest tests of the subsequent decades.

I would like to quote a letter, which I consider very important from the historical point of view. It is a letter addressed by Gallup to the Democratic Senator Elmer Thomas (John William Elmer Thomas, 1876-1965) and

written on July 2, 1949, i.e., six months after the events of 1948 that were so unfortunate for Gallup: "Dear Senator 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." [2]. 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 for the different political parties was 1.2 percent). It also contained George Gallup's summarized statistics about electoral research: "The Canadian forecast was the 515th one which has been made in the last 13 years by modern sampling polls. The average error in the 515 forecasts has been 4 percentage points." [3].

Among the many things done by George Gallup during the 1940's, a special place is occupied by the project, which was initiated by him, but later was transformed into a permanent task: the research of the dynamics of the attitude of Americans to the most important social and political processes in the United States. He created a capital with a perpetually growing value.

TESTING BY VICTORIES AND DEFEATS

Two more successful presidential election forecasts

Many aspects of the formation of public opinion polling practices and of the lives of Gallup, Crossley and Roper were determined by the fact that the monitoring and the forecasts for the presidential election results in 1940 and 1944 were successful. The researchers obtained a confirmation of the accuracy of the used technology. The politicians were convinced of the electorate's sentiment and meaningful behavior. The interested publishers who financed the polls experienced professional satisfaction from the fact that they did not deceive the trust of their readers. Finally, the active segments of the population saw in the polls and in the publication of their results some kind of a compass that allowed people to find their bearing and to navigate the world of societal relations.

In 1940, America still remembered the failure of the *Literary Digest* that happened four years before that, and kept an interested eye on the forecasts of the triumphant victors of 1936. In 1940, Roosevelt ran against Republican Wendell Wilkie (1892-1944), a former Democrat and an active critic of the Democratic New Deal course. Although Wilkie was considerably less experienced than Roosevelt as a politician, he had quite a sufficient number of supporters, not exclusively among the Republicans, but also among Democrats. In particular, this was explained by the

fact that many people had turned away from Roosevelt who had violated along-standing American tradition and had decided to run for president for a third time. In those years, there was still no constitutional barrier to restrict the president to a maximum of two terms in office.

George Gallup probed eight times the electoral attitudes to the candidates. In all cases, Roosevelt was coming out in front of Wilkie, but the distance between them was not invariable. In June, the distance between them was 6 percent, and afterwards, until mid-September, less than 2 percent. In early autumn, Roosevelt was ahead by about 8 to 10 percent, but according to the last poll — in mid-October — Wilkie was lagging behind by just 4 percentage points: 52 percent of the electorate were on Roosevelt's side, with 48 percent for Wilkie.

On Election Day, Roosevelt was supported by 27 million voters and Wilkie obtained 22 million votes. The winner secured 499 electoral votes, and the loser had 82. However, in the course of the election campaign and immediately before the election, several well-known and authoritative analysts predicted victory for Wilkie. Thus, Emil Hurja assessed the advantage of Wilkie to one million votes [4, p. 270]. A landslide victory for Wilkie had been predicted also by the political scientist Rogers Cleveland Dunn (1902-1985), whose conclusions were based on a study of the press and the polling of small groups of voters [4, p. 244]. According to the estimates of Harvard professor William Crum, Wilkie could rely on 300 electoral votes [5].

Roosevelt obtained 55 percent of the vote. The most accurate prediction was Roper's — 55.2 percent. Gallup announced 52 percent and Crossley put forward 50.4 percent [6, p. 52]. Crossley conducted representative surveys in about 20 states, while Roper used small samples and predicted the outcome of the national vote only. Gallup studied the electorate in 48 states and constructed a forecast for each of these. Daniel Katz (1903-1998), who has analyzed the results of the polls and the forecasts of 1940 with extreme comprehensiveness, qualifies Gallup's results as remarkable: the average error in predicting the outcome of voting in 48 states was 2.4 percent [6, p. 75]. The average error of Crossley was slightly higher — 2.7 percent [6, p. 62].

It needs to be mentioned that along with the solution of the essential task — predicting the outcome of the election — Gallup, Crossley and Roper conducted a lot of methodological and exploratory research with the objective to improve the measurement technology. In particular, Roper established a small panel jointly with Lazarsfeld with the objective to study the dynamics of electoral attitudes [7, p. 87-90]. Six measurements were performed, the first one was done in May 1940 and the last one was completed in October. The interviewer recorded

the respondent's opinion and if it differed from what was stated in the previous poll, the interviewer tried to find out the reason. Initially, the sentiment of the population in the neighborhood where the polling was conducted was distinctly in favor of Wilkie. However, during the six-month observation period, approximately 45 percent of respondents had changed their attitudes with respect to both presidential candidates. By late October, the structure of the opinions was stabilized.

An article written by Crossley immediately after the end of the election campaign in 1940 explained the sampling methodology used by him and contains a description of a series of methodological attempts to improve additionally the electoral forecast procedure [8, p. 83-86]. The trial surveys conducted on the basis of small samples, and the analysis of electoral statistics from previous years had allowed Crossley to single out two groups of states. The first group included 19 states (the "paramount states"), which were important for the research and the prediction of the course of the electoral campaign. In these states, a focused monitoring of the entire campaign was performed. In the remaining 29 states, just the general trends for the candidates' leadership were brought to light. This strategy allowed Crossley to assume that Roosevelt would receive at least 49 percent of the vote in the selected 19 paramount states and no less than 51 percent across the country as a whole.

When modeling his final forecast, Crossley attached great importance to the results of the study that were focused on the moment in time when the potential voters were making the decision about their vote. The latest survey was conducted on October 29. The table below shows the way in which the proportion of voters from the 19 key states having decided to participate in the voting was changing together with the extent of their support for Roosevelt.

Table 3

Dynamics of decision making about voting and level of support for Roosevelt [8, p. 85]

Having decided before Oct. 29:	% fairly definite	% for Roosevelt
More than 4 weeks	80	54.5
3 to 4 weeks	92	52.9
2 weeks	96	52.1
1 week	100	52.0

In 1944, Roosevelt announced his candidacy for a fourth presidential term. His opponent was the above-mentioned young but experienced politician, the fighter against organized crime, the Governor

of New York, Republican Thomas Dewey. The table below shows how severe the battle for the White House was.

Table 4

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

In early August, referring to the results of Roper's survey, the Time magazine reported that 52.5 percent of the voters with any degree of certainty were ready to vote for Roosevelt and 43.9 percent of these voters would vote for Dewey. Those who had not made a decision about their preferred candidate were a few — 3.6 percent of respondents. According to the Gallup polls conducted during the last six weeks, Dewey was ahead in 35 states out of 48 [9].

In 1944, in addition to Gallup, Crossley and Roper, the evolution of the electoral campaign was closely followed also by Cantril and Harry Field (Harry Hubert Field, 1897-1947). The latter was in charge of the National Opinion Research Center created by him in 1941. Each analytical structure was solving the various specific problems and was conducting the methodological experiments in its own way. Yet, taken as a whole, the research of voter opinions used the same general approach: personal interviews and quota sampling methods, selected to be representative in terms of geography, size of settlement, socioeconomic status, sex and age. In their final forecasts, Roper, Cantril and Crossley took into account the attitudes of the entire population, including the attitudes of 3 million military personnel, while Field and Gallup surveyed the civilian part of the population only [10, p.469].

Table 5

Polls	Prediction (percent)	
	Total Vote	Civilian Vote
Roper Poll	53.6	
Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research	53.3	

Polls	Prediction (percent)	
	Total Vote	Civilian Vote
Crossley Poll	52.2	
National Opinion Research Center		51.7
Gallup Poll		51.5

Taking into account the fact that 53.8 percent of the voters voted for Roosevelt, all five predictions should be regarded as brilliant. Crossley and Gallup predicted the election results in 48 states. The forecasts of the former were correct for 43 states, and those of the latter were correct for 41 states. In addition, the average errors were unimportant too. Cantril and Field did not publish their forecasts, but nevertheless, when analyzing the results of the 1944 election, D. Katz had the opportunity to use official documents, which substantiated the above numbers.

Although the new public opinion research technology had been tested in three presidential election campaigns, the creators of the technology continued to seek ways to improve it and tested it continually while monitoring and predicting the outcome of elections at various levels.

By the beginning of the 1940's, public opinion polls had become an integral part of political life in the United States and also a conspicuous element of the communication environment. In this respect, it is interesting to consider the results of the "poll about polls". One of the first representative studies, which was intended to find out whether the population knew about the very fact of the existence of public opinion polls. The study was conducted in late 1944 by Cantril's Office of Public Opinion Research [11].

By that time, more than one-half (56 percent) of Americans had heard something about public opinion research in the United States. Those who knew about it were asked to name one or more organizations engaged in the conduct of polls. According to the degree of popularity, the Gallup Institute was well ahead of all others. It was indicated by 60 percent of the respondents. One out of every 10 persons (11 percent) who had heard about the polls knew about Roper's soundings of public opinion, and a somewhat smaller percentage of respondents (7 percent) remembered the polls of Crossley.

In addition, about 40 newspapers, magazines and commercial services were mentioned that conducted local and national soundings of public opinion. In particular, the quoted names included: "New York Daily News", "Chicago, Minnesota Poll", "Chicago Tribune", "Time

Magazine, “*Newsweek*”, “*Reader's Digest*”, “*Detroit News*”, “*New York Herald Tribune*”, “*Ladies' Home Journal*”, “*New York Times*”, “*Saturday Evening Post*”, “*Woman's Associated Press*”, “*Atlanta Forum*”, “*Babcock's Financial*”, “*Collier's*”, “*Des Moines Register*”, “*Pathfinder*”, “*Farming*” and several others.

The following paragraphs consider the statistical data related to the opinions of respondents who knew about the conduct of polls in the country, therefore, the sum of the quoted distribution of votes is equal to 100 percent.

Here is one of the key questions: “Do you follow any public opinion poll regularly in any newspaper or magazine?” Exactly one-half of the respondents (50 percent) who knew about the polls did not follow the publications, while the second half of them used to read regularly or occasionally press reports related to poll results. The overwhelming majority (68 percent) of those, who knew about the conduct of polls in the United States (21 percent of the population), felt that the pollsters published “honest” data, 12 percent proceeded from the presumption that the surveys were conducted in the interests of one or another political party, or for the benefit of certain people or their points of view. Finally, 20 percent of respondents expressed no definite opinion on the matter.

A special theme was confidence in polling results (with respect to both electoral polls and polls related to separate spheres of public life). The available data suggested that such confidence did exist. 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

Probably, here is one of the essential findings of the study: seven out of ten respondents (73 percent), who knew something about the conduct of public opinion polls in the United States, considered them to be a necessary and useful thing, and only a very small proportion of respondents (6 percent) displayed a critical attitude towards the polls.

The 1948 Fiasco

There is a thin (16-page) booklet [12], which is extremely rarely quoted in American literature, and which was found by me in the archives of the University of Oklahoma. It provides an idea about the enormous analytical work carried out by Gallup during the preparations for the presidential election of 1948. The booklet's text is based on a statement of Gallup at a seminar of the New Orleans Branch of the American Statistical Association in April 1948, but according to the date-related references contained in text, it can be concluded that the entire text was completed in the second half of August 1948. It contains a careful and meticulous analysis of the statistical data about election forecasts made by him, by Crossley and by Roper since 1936.

According to George Gallup's estimates, by April 1948, his Institute had conducted 392 election forecasts, the average error of which amounted to 3.9 percent. The average error of forecasts made after November 1944 was even smaller — 2.9 percent. The subject of the analyses were the results of forecasts about national electoral campaigns, about elections held in many separate U.S. states and in more than a dozen other countries.

Three main conclusions were formulated. Firstly, the average error of all forecasts about American and foreign elections varied within the same interval. Secondly, in parallel with the accumulation of experience in the conduct of surveys, the average forecast error was decreasing. Thirdly, the accuracy of forecasts about the outcomes of nationwide referenda was the same as the accuracy of predictions about elections with the participation of parties or individual candidates. As if anticipating the situation that emerged a few months later, Gallup noted that there were many factors, which reduced the accuracy of electoral forecasting: from voting activity across the electorate to weather conditions. In addition, he emphasized that, from the point of view of science, the accuracy of the forecast is determined only by the magnitude of its deviation from the election results, but not by the correct or mistaken prediction of the winner. Gallup wrote: “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.” [12, p.5].

By the autumn of 1948, American society had cultivated the same trust in the technology of sample-based public opinion polls, as the trust it had during the first third of the century with respect to the *Literary Digest* polls. The forecasts of Gallup, Crossley and Roper, being propagated by the press and radio broadcasts, were attracting enormous attention on behalf of the population, of politicians and scientists. Their results were trusted. Of course, during the course of the first decade of electoral polling, some errors in the forecasts about regional and local elections did occur; there was continual criticism of the sampling arrangements of Gallup, Crossley and Roper. There were critical comments expressed about the inaccuracy or inappropriateness of certain wordings of the separate questions. Notwithstanding that, what happened in November 1948 was completely unexpected. Three leading pollsters predicted a victory for Republican Thomas Dewey (1902-1971), but the first one who crossed the finish line of the presidential marathon was Democrat Harry S. Truman (1884-1972). This episode went down in the political history of the United States, in the collective memory of the country and in the history of public opinion research as the *1948 fiasco*.

On September 13, 1948, i.e., slightly less than two months before the presidential election, the *Time* magazine published excerpts from an article written by Roper and published a few days earlier in the *New York Herald Tribune*. According to Roper, Dewey had won the election even before the start of the campaign, because there was an irreducible gap in the support of voters between him and Truman in September: 44 percent vs. 31 percent; supposedly, only extraordinary unforeseen "political convulsions" could interfere with Dewey's moving into the White House next year. In conclusion, Roper said that in view of the clarity of the situation he would refrain from new forecasts. These conclusions were based not only on the materials of his recent surveys and estimations of the macro-social and political factors, but also on the experience of observing the evolution of 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." [13].

Several leading national newspapers were quick to proclaim Dewey to be the new master of the White House. Immediately before the election, the *Life* magazine published a photograph of Dewey, presenting him as the next President of the United States. Very few people believed that Truman would have a chance of being elected.

The winning forecast released a few weeks before the election was

received with optimism by the Republicans and they lowered the level of their activity in the fight for votes in the remaining days before the election. In accordance with the then existing concepts about the variability of political attitudes, it could have been expected that the current pattern would be preserved until Election Day. Nevertheless, Truman saw the situation differently and fought to the last. He traveled all across the United States on a special train, covering 22,000 miles, and making speeches three hundred times in front of thousands of farmers and residents of small towns. Nevertheless, going to sleep on November 2, 1948, Truman was ready to lose.

In the morning of next day, already aware of his victory, he was coming back to Washington by train, and at the St. Louis station, he received the latest issue of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* newspaper with an article entitled "*Dewey Defeats Truman*". The photograph of the victorious Truman holding a newspaper reporting his defeat flew around the world. Asked to comment on what happened, Truman replied: "This is for the books." [14]. Nonetheless, earlier than all the books, a letter came from the former editor of the no-longer-existing *Literary Digest* magazine. In *The New York Times* of 15 November 1948, i.e., almost immediately after the election, he wrote: "I do not want to seem malicious, but I can't help but get a good chuckle out of this." [15].

An article published in the *Time* two weeks after the election was entitled "The Great Fiasco". It reported that what had occurred was the biggest blunder in predicting the outcome of elections since 1936. This threatened the Gallup, Crossley and Roper business. Many editors and the readers of various publications were not interested in the causes of the pollsters' errors: the very fact of the error itself was emphasized. The editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* summed up the sentiment of many people: "We won't pay any attention any more to 'scientific' predictions and we don't think our readers will." [16].

50 years after these events, many American newspapers returned to the analysis of the causes of the failure that occurred then. The children of the founders of the new polling approach to public opinion research also took part in the discussion, having already become experienced pollsters themselves by that time. In repetition of what their fathers used to say, they pointed out that the main reason did not consist in an eventually inappropriate sampling procedure, but in the early discontinuation of polling. George Gallup-son said: "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." [17].

It is also necessary to say something about the reasons of a social and psychological nature that determined to a certain degree the behavior

of the researchers. Probably, the three successful forecasts of the results of presidential elections following in a row did “lull” somewhat George Gallup and his colleagues. When monitoring the 1948 elections, they lost their vigilance and underestimated the probabilistic nature of the polling results. It was only when half a century had passed after the events that one of the creators of the telephone polling technology, Warren Mitofsky (1934-2006), said about George Gallup and his colleagues: “In 1948, they got burned” and added: “Those who conducts polls, should not be too arrogant. There's a lot of room for humility in polling”. “Every time you get cocky, you lose”, Mitofsky said [17].

George Gallup probed ten times the sentiment with respect to all three participants in the presidential election campaign (the third one was Henry A. Wallace (1888-1965)). Truman was leading by a small margin exclusively in January. By June (the 4th measurement), Dewey was ahead of him by 12 percent, and this advantage was maintained until the end of August. In September, a decline of the leader's rating commenced, but Gallup assumed that Dewey's accumulated “stock of advance” would be more than sufficient until the end of the election campaign; in late October, he discontinued polling and published his forecast.

Table 6

**Result and forecasts of the U.S. presidential election in 1948,
in % [18, p. 298]**

	Harry Truman	.Dewey	Other candidates	Total
Election result	49.5	45.1	4.8	99.4
Gallup's forecast	44.5	49.5	6.0	100.0
Crossley's forecast	44.8	49.9	4.9	99.6
Roper's forecast	37.1	52.2	9.5	98.8

According to Michael Barone, the author of an extensive study on modern U.S. history [19], Dewey, i.e., the leading candidate according to the polls, asked Gallup why he stopped polling. Gallup said that their experience had witnessed the invariability of the views of the electorate; therefore, there was no reason to continue polling after October 24. In 1940, Gallup had said in connection with the analysis of previous election campaigns: “Public opinion changes slowly and usually only under the impact of important events.” [20, p.80]. At the end of September 1948, a similar view was expressed by Crossley: according to his experiments, changes in the distribution of the votes of

the electorate would be quite insignificant during the last days of the election campaign [18, p.53].

In his book about the presidents of the United States, Roper wrote that the structure of opinions had remained fairly stable during the previous election campaigns of Roosevelt — from his nomination until Election Day — and it seemed that everything would be the same in 1948 as well [21, 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 [18, p.52].

According to Roper, one of the causes of the erroneous prediction was the incorrect assumption about the vote of respondents who had previously answered with “I do not know” for the sample polling. In the process of the analysis, the researchers had split the votes of such respondents proportionally to the available data, but this group in its majority voted for Truman, who impressed the Americans with the displayed perseverance in the attainment of his goal. The post-election polls conducted by Gallup and Roper partially explained what happened: 14 percent of the voters had made their final decision within the last two weeks of the campaign, and 74 percent of them supported Truman.

The forecasts by Gallup and Crossley were practically concurring and differed little in qualitative terms from the real vote. The average error was about 5 percent (Table 6). Nevertheless, very few people were interested in the “arithmetic” of the forecast. The paramount importance was attached to the point of substance, viz. that the person that was elected for president of the United States was not the one predicted by the well-known political oracles.

During the first post-election weeks, both the researchers themselves and those who knew and trusted their methods of measuring the electoral attitudes, i.e., the people who were beginning to see a new tool of democracy in the research of public opinion, suffered shock and bewilderment. On the other hand, those who did not believe in the possibility of measuring sentiment, who did not understand the political significance of such research and considered it to be a “game”, obtained, in their own view, proof of their uprightness.

A few days after the election, the *Business Week* magazine published photographs of the founders of the new polling approach with the following caption underneath: “George Gallup, and ... Archibald Crossley, and ... Elmo Roper are trying to explain ... how the election polls went wrong” [22, p.25-26].

This was of interest to many, especially to the pollsters. On the one hand, electoral predictions -because of the obvious opportunity to

check their quality and reliability — provide a unique opportunity to test the measuring instrument. On the other hand, the errors committed in determining the electoral intentions might have a universal nature, and be present in the measurements of all types of attitudes. Here, the professionals had to conduct a thorough investigation of the technology used by them for the surveys.

On November 11, a group was formed with the objective to analyze all documents that reflected the stages and the procedures for the formation of the election forecasts. Gallup, Crossley and Roper agreed to cooperate with it and to provide it with the necessary information. This team was led by a young but experienced statistician, the Harvard University professor Frederick Mosteller (1916-2006). The general supervision over the work of the group was exercised by experts who were already widely recognized authorities, such as Samuel Stouffer (Samuel Andrew Stouffer, 1900-1960) and Samuel Stanley Wilks (1906-1964). Work proceeded quickly, and on December 27, 1948, the report was completed.

Two groups of reasons for the occurrence of errors were highlighted. The first group included errors in the methods of sampling and interviewing, while the second group covered the forecasting errors. It turned out that the sample of respondents had some surplus of respondents who had graduated from college and some shortage of people who had school education only. In addition, the experts recommended the use of filter questions for a clearer separation of the people who would participate in the election from those who would not. The forecasting errors were related to the assumptions about the behavior of the voters who at the time of the last poll had not made a decision on their vote, and to the used hypotheses about the possible shifts in voting intentions during the final stage of the campaign.

However, even after the completion of the work of Mosteller's group, a large number of questions remained unanswered, including particular questions related to the specific reasons for the errors in the electoral forecasts, as well as general questions: about the path of the future development of public opinion research and about the improvement of the polling technology. During the first half of February 1949, the most important aspects of these topics were discussed by a conference [23], which was held in the native University of Gallup — the Iowa University. The conference was organized by Professor Norman Meier, whose course of social psychology was attended by Gallup as a student in 1924.

At this conference, Crossley and Gallup expressed for the first time their understanding of what caused the errors in the election forecasts of 1948 and their attitude with respect to Mosteller's findings.

The first statement during the session devoted to the reasons of the differences between the results of the polls and the election results was made by Crossley [24, p.161-168]. Justifying his interest in conducting an exhaustive analysis of the errors in measurement and forecasting, Crossley said: "The results of our polls, based upon field interviewing three weeks before the election combined with earlier interviewing, showed Truman with 44.8 percent of the total expected voters, and called attention to a slowly rising trend. He received 49.5 percent of those who cast a ballot for president. 1.4 percent of those who voted did not vote for anyone for president." [24, p.161].

According to Crossley's estimations, 51 million people should have been involved in the election, while, in fact, the total number of voters was 49.4 million.

Crossley outlined the central theme of discussion in the following way: "The disparity between our Truman percentage of decided voters and the Truman percentage of actual voters for president was 4.7 percentage points. The problems before us today are these two: (1) How much of those 4.7 points were error? (2) What was the cause of that error?" [24, p.162].

Referring to the analysis of Mosteller, Crossley noted that during the two weeks remaining before the election, Truman succeeded to increase the proportion of his electorate by 2 or 3 percent. Thus, he concluded, the error of the prediction itself was decreasing to 1.7-2.7 percent. While suggesting this, he felt that the magnitude of the error was nearer to the 1.7 value.

In general, Crossley considered that a 2-percentage measurement error was quite acceptable in the case of a sample survey. He explained the failure with the early termination of the polling. He had believed that no significant changes in the electoral attitudes could occur within the remaining time before Election Day. Crossley concluded his speech with the words: "It is not an error on the part of the pollsters that they have not yet found how to correct their cross-sections for last minute voting behavior. It is a challenge. And somehow I do not think that challenge is being flung across a deathbed." [24, p.168].

George Gallup's statement was something like a report of its own kind about the work performed by him during the previous years; after all, he graduated from that university two decades ago and never broke his contacts with it. He began his speech as follows: "The performance of sampling or cross-section polls in 1948 should be viewed against the background of poll performance recorded in the years since 1935 when polls were first established on a continuing basis. During this period, a total of 512 election forecasts were made by some twenty polling or-

ganizations operating in twelve democracies of the world. In this country alone a total of 446 forecasts have been made in this fourteen-year period.”

“The average error in these forecasts — including those made in the presidential election of 1948 — is approximately four percentage points ... The winners have been predicted correctly in more than eight out of ten elections. This is a record of which we can all be proud. Probably, as one of the earlier speakers said, in no other field has human behavior been predicted with such a high degree of accuracy.” [25, p. 177].

Quite eloquently, George Gallup explained the prevailing societal perception of the capacities of the new public opinion research technology: “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.” [25, p. 178].

For the August issue of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, George Gallup wrote an article entitled “How Accurate Are the Polls?”, where he noted: “Oddly enough, one of our problems is that people think that polls are more accurate than they really are. We expect to be pretty close in forecasting the outcome in November, but we don’t expect to score a bull’s eye. Accuracy within three or four percent would be well within the range of good performance.” [25, p. 178].

This allowed George Gallup to contend that what was done by Crossley and the other analysts of public opinion in 1948 was in conformity with all reasonable expectations. “... To have predicted with certainty the election of Mr. Truman last fall would have required methods with an average error of less than one percentage point! That is too much to ask of polling research at this stage of its development.” [25, p. 178].

George Gallup explained the erroneousness of the forecast primarily with the difficulties associated with the appraisal of last minute voting behavior changes that might have occurred during the final moments of the election campaign, and also with the complications involved in the identification of the level of participation of the public in the election. The latter, Gallup said, was a particular problem of the United States where participation in elections is not compulsory, as in England or France.

More than sixty years have elapsed since the 1948 fiasco. During this time, the technology of polling and the forecasting methodology have greatly improved. However, the elaboration of constructs for electoral forecast still remains problematic in many respects.

THE DIGITIZED VOICES OF THE GENERATIONS

In 1960, while introducing the readers to the book of his colleague John Fenton (John M. Fenton, Jr., 1929-2004) [26], George Gallup described very concisely the achievements made during the first quarter of a century of polling. He wrote: “For twenty-five years, a systematic effort has been made to gauge American public opinion on the important issues confronting the nation. This span of years — 1935 to 1960 — has bridged the end of a great depression, the anxious years before World War II, the war years, the uncertainty of reconversion, the beginning of the cold war and, most recently, a period of domestic prosperity and industrial expansion. A unique opportunity has thus been presented to study the views of the American people under a wide variety of conditions and to arrive at conclusions on how the common people of the land react in times of stress as well as times of complacency.” [27, p. VII].

Almost half a century has passed since the moment when George Gallup wrote these words. The United States fought several wars; the Cold War was over; society had entered the post-industrial development phase; Americans had walked on the moon; U.S. influence on the evolution of global processes strengthened considerably; computer networks and the Internet have become commonplace. The world has become a global place; human nature has evolved. Many aspects of human conceptualization have changed. Thanks to Gallup’s long-lived polling questionnaires, American society and science have obtained a unique opportunity to see many of these transformations in a digitized form. This is easy to understand at nominal value, but it is difficult to be truly conceived and internalized. It is impossible to indicate — even to a very rough approximation — the political, social and scientific consequences following from the availability of this array of social information, which is unique by any standards. Furthermore, the value of this data array is constantly increasing.

It is quite obvious that the time series concept was adopted by sociology long time before the beginning of regular public opinion research. Examples are census data, industrial and territorial development statistics, etc. However, that information was only an indirect reflection of the mass consciousness and of the way it evolved, responding to the challenges of time. The public opinion surveys allowed sociology and psychology to proceed for the first time to the direct measurement of the attitudes of people with respect to their concerns. Thus, public opinion analysts, and most notably Gallup, were pioneers in the research of mass sentiment dynamics.

The most frequently asked question

The awareness of contemporary public opinion analysts with respect to the fundamental importance of the long series of observations is clearly expressed in the wishful and somewhat regretful statement of F. Newport and K. Joseph made during the 2004 presidential election campaign: “Unfortunately, we don’t have presidential job approval ratings for the majority of these situations in which an incumbent sought re-election. It would be fascinating to know what George Washington’s job approval rating was as he sought re-election in 1792, or John Adams’ when he was defeated in his bid for re-election in 1800 by Thomas Jefferson, or Abraham Lincoln’s in 1864, or Herbert Hoover’s in 1932 when he ran and was defeated by Roosevelt. But we don’t have the data.” [28]

Already in his first poll, conducted on September 10-15, 1935, George Gallup outlined his major topic of interest — the sentiment of Americans with regard to the incumbent president. The “paired” question No.2 had the following wording: “Did you vote for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932? Would you vote for him today?” [29 p.2]. In the poll held on November 9-14, the retrospective part of the question was absent, but the attitude to vote for Roosevelt “today” was again subject to measurement. In mid-December of that year, the question was reiterated for the third time.

The social and the political realities of the United States, the traditions of political life, and his own journalistic experience allowed George Gallup to grasp quickly the relevance of a scientific and practical problem, which was an absolute novelty at the time, and which basically could not have been formulated earlier. This concerns the regular analysis of public attitude towards the country’s president in elections-free years. Being a professional psychologist, Gallup was well familiar with the theory and the practice of designing tests. He understood perfectly well the difficulties of constructing valid measurement toolkits, and knew what the directions for the move towards the attainment of this goal were. However, it is highly unlikely that, when thinking about the regular measurements of attitudes towards an incumbent president, George Gallup could have imagined that the solution to this task was going to be delayed by ten years.

As of the present moment, a series of writings with a historical and political orientation have been published that are focused either on the use of the results of more than half a century of measuring the attitudes of Americans to the elected president, such as: “Do you approve of the way the President is handling his job?”, or on the identification of the factors that determine these attitudes. However, the entire process of Gallup’s search for this wording seems to have been left out of the

experts’ field of vision. This was the wording, which he considered capable to satisfy the requirements of science with regard to the measuring instrument, and which was in agreement with his perception about the operational performance of the test. Even the exhaustive book of D. Edwards and A. Gallup, which bears on its jacket the special mention that this question was “the most frequently asked question in the history of survey research”, and which analyzes the available statistical data about attitudes towards the current president for 35 years — from 1953 to 1988 — contains just a two-page annotation about the evolution of the question in margin [30, p.185-186].

In 1936, when George Gallup proceeded with the contemplation and the implementation of his design, i.e., with the regular measurements of the way that Americans perceive their president’s activity, he was not only the main protagonist of this “public performance”, as well as its script writer and director, but also its only professional critic: he had to create the necessary measurement instruments and to evaluate their work. The study of this unique analytical process permits us to put forward the following conclusions:

First: George Gallup was actively searching for such a wording of the question that would most accurately measure the aspect of electoral consciousness, which was of interest to him. The main methodological and technical complexity of these searches was related to the peculiarities of the organization of governance structures in the United States. The U.S. President is both the elected Head of State and Head of Government, and during different periods of the development of society, these two functional roles have had different “weights”.

Second: George Gallup was utterly aware that the public had some generalized perceptions about the work of the president, that is, of the social actor or of the functionary vested by the Constitution with some clearly defined power prerogatives. However, it was clear that what the people were watching was not the behavior of some abstract president, but the policies of a specific person empowered with the presidential functions. This fact needed to be taken into account when formulating the question aimed at revealing the attitude of the population towards a particular actor for the given role — the incumbent president who is pursuing certain domestic and foreign policies.

Third: During the many years of searching for a valid and appropriate wording of this question, George Gallup was continually in doubt whether the scale of attitudes towards the incumbent president should include an exact location in time (such as “today”). He understood that this might interfere with the understanding of the question and could become the cause of false responses.

George Gallup continued his experiments aimed at the study of public attitude towards the president. In March 1937, the following question was asked: "Would you vote for Franklin Roosevelt today?" [29, p.51]. In May, the question was worded in a slightly different way: "If the election were being held today, would you vote for President Roosevelt?" [29, p.62].

For the first time ever, the wording of the question targeted at revealing public sentiment towards the president was free from dependence on the election when tested on Aug. 2, 1937 in the following way: "Are you for or against President Roosevelt?" [29, p.68]. The main noteworthy thing here is not the lexical content of the question, but its logic. Apparently, that has been precisely the time when Gallup's understanding began to develop and crystallize with regard to the fundamental differences between what he intended to measure and what he had already measured. The new objective of his search was beginning to form its own logical and verbal space. The focus of the research had shifted from the topic of the election of the next president toward the topic of appraising the current, already elected, president. The objective of the scientific analysis was coming nearer: the future, that is, the upcoming election, was being replaced by the present time: here and now. The problem of forecasting the future election results, or in fact, the prediction of electoral behavior, was being transformed into a problem of current public opinion diagnostics. The high degree of uncertainty, into which the respondent used to be plunged by the question about the upcoming election, was being replaced by a much more concrete, transparent and unambiguous situation.

In January 1938, the "find" of 1937 was used: "Are you for or against ...?" [29, p.83], but some time later on, the wording of the question was changed. George Gallup included once again the exact location in terms of time; however – and this is of fundamental importance – simultaneously, he began to measure attitudes toward Roosevelt not as towards the bearer of supreme state power, i.e., towards his presidential role function, but towards the man as a human being: "Are you for or against Franklin Roosevelt today?" [29, p.89].

Nevertheless, even this version contained something inconsistent with the internal search paradigms and/or the external research requirements, and by the end of May or the beginning of June, a new nuance appeared in the wording of the question: respondents were asked for the first time to assess the actions of the person performing the duties of a president: "How would you rate Franklin Roosevelt's performance as President?" [29, p.106].

In the previous case, just the name of the president was indicated,

while the criteria of the attitude towards him could be chosen independently by each respondent. On the other hand, the latter version clearly stated the evaluation criteria for Roosevelt: his performance as president. Thus, the very concept for the measurement and for the formulation of opinions outlined a distinct separation between the social role function (the presidential function) and the performer of this role (in this case, Franklin D. Roosevelt). During the autumn, the same logical problem was solved somewhat differently: "If Franklin Roosevelt were running for President today, would you vote for or against him?" [29, p.111]. This wording – if considered within the new search environment – was a regressive one: the ongoing performance of the elected president was implicitly proposed for projection on the electoral scale. Apparently, Gallup immediately paid attention to this, and the dependence on the election was eliminated from this question in the next poll: "What is your attitude towards President Roosevelt?" [29, p.112]. This represented unconditional progress, but the author was obviously dissatisfied by the fact that the respondents were asked to evaluate the elected president.

At the end of the first decade of November 1938, the measurement of the attitude towards the president was conducted for the first time in terms of "endorsement": "In general, do you approve or disapprove of Franklin Roosevelt as President?" [29, p.126]. Apparently, this scale at first was conceived by Gallup as valid, while a week later he tried to combine it with the time continuum: "In general, do you approve or disapprove of Franklin Roosevelt as President today?" [29, p.127].

The latter formulation of the question – sometimes with the "today" clarification and sometimes without it – had been used by George Gallup before 1941. Nevertheless, he apparently was becoming more and more clearly aware of the multidimensional semantic ambiguity of the phraseology used. First and foremost, the logic of the question did not fully reflect the balance between the two roles of the U.S. president as Head of State and Head of Government. Secondly, the question was ineffective in separating the actor from the actor's social role.

A logical leap in the right direction occurred in mid-January. A wording was found, where the role function of the president and the performance of the particular actor were clearly separated: "In general, do you approve or disapprove of Franklin Roosevelt as President?" [29 p.140]. Gallup found a satisfactory phrasing of his question as late as the summer of 1945. By that time, Harry Truman was the president of the United States. "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Harry Truman is handling his job as President?" [29, p.512].

On January 20, 1955, practically after ten years of regular usage of this question, David Lawrence (1888-1973), a well-known journalist and publisher, sent to Gallup a letter, asking him about the nature of this question and about a possible correction of the existing wording. Gallup's reply (dated January 24) is very important; here is the text of his letter in full.

“Your point is a good one. The president's popularity can be measured in two ways: by finding out how people appraise the “job” he is doing; and by finding out his strength in terms of votes. The first approach is much more sensitive and tends to cut across party lines. For example, we found one time that Truman's popularity had reached such a low point that even a majority of Democrats thought he was doing a “poor job”. Obviously, most of these same people would vote for him in a presidential election because party feelings are so deeply entrenched.”

“We can and do poll from time to time on how people would vote if a presidential election were being held today. We have such a poll in the field right at the present time. The trouble with this question is that it not only reflects the popularity of the president but also the strength of the party. This is one reason why it is sensitive.” [31].

It seems now most probable that many people have asked George Gallup the same question as Lawrence did. Some of them, obviously wishing to help, tried to show to Gallup those facets of the question that he, in their opinion, had not or could not have perceived. However, the ten years of experimentation inspired Gallup with confidence about the reliability of his scale, and he did not change the wording of the question.

However, is it not true that the question in issue is just a relic, which is of interest exclusively to historians and methodologists of polling technologies? Does this question have a present use? Yes, absolutely so. Under the reign of seven presidents, beginning with Eisenhower and ending with Reagan, the question in margin has been asked in 600 polls, including 119 times during the two presidential terms of Eisenhower and 135 times during Reagan's two terms of office [30, p.1]. The sentiment of Americans has been probed even more frequently with regard to the performance of President Clinton: from January 1993 until December 2000, 226 measurements have been carried out [32]. The attitude towards the performance of George W. Bush has been measured 40 times a year on average, therefore, about 300 times within his eight years in office. Taking also into account the polls that were studying the attitudes toward President Truman and President Bush, we can conclude that by the end of the first decade of the XXIth c., the Gallup

Institute has measured the Presidential Approval Index more than one thousand five hundred times.

Table 7
Main Features of the Presidential Approval Index, 1945-2009 [33]

Year	President	Job Approval Rating (%)			Range (%)
		Average	Low	High	
1945–1953	Harry Truman	45.4	22	87	65
1953–1961	Dwight Eisenhower	65.0	48	79	31
1961–1963	John Kennedy	70.1	56	83	27
1963–1969	Lyndon Johnson	55.1	35	79	44
1969–1974	Richard Nixon	49.0	24	67	43
1974–1977	Gerald Ford	47.2	37	71	34
1977–1981	Jimmy Carter	45.5	28	75	47
1981–1989	Ronald Reagan	52.8	35	68	33
1989–1993	George Bush	60.9	29	89	60
1993–2001	Bill Clinton	55.1	37	73	36
2001–2009	George W. Bush	49.4	25	90	65

A data array, which covers more than 60 years (Table 7), characterizing the public attitude towards the eleven presidents who performed in different historical circumstances and pursued substantially dissimilar internal and foreign policies, is of enormous value to social scientists and methodologists. In particular, when by the end of the 1960's, a considerable amount of empirical information was accumulated, theoretical and empirical models of the dynamics of public opinion began to be developed.

John Mueller is considered to be the pioneer of the presidential approval index research process, having proposed a four-factor dynamic model in the early 1970's [34]. The first variable (or factor) is measured with the number of years having passed after the inauguration of the president (for his first term) or after his re-election. As it were, the president accumulates public discontent distributed among various relatively small groups, and his approval rating falls. The second variable is determined by the fact that the nation is rallying around the presi-

dent during harsh historical periods associated with extraordinary international or domestic events, vigorously expressing support for him, giving him a special credit of confidence. Mueller counted 34 similar events in U.S. history, for example, the attack on Pearl Harbor (December, 1941, when the approval index rose by 12 percent); the Cuban missile crisis (November, 1962; a 13 percent rise); the conclusion of the Vietnam peace treaty (January, 1973; 13 percent); the beginning of the operation "Desert Storm" (January, 1991; 18 percent); the terrorist attacks on Washington and New York (September 11, 2001; 35 percent). In order to describe the economic situation in the country (a third factor), the unemployment rate at the time of the survey was taken into account. The impact of this indicator has shown a mixed performance; the correlation between unemployment and the presidential approval index at different times may be a positive or a negative one. In general, if the country's economic situation is adverse, the rating is low, but at the same time, an improving economic situation does not lead to an increase in the rating. The last variable is a simple dichotomy: its value is equal to one if the country is at war, and to zero in peacetime. As a general rule, the country's participation in a war reduces the presidential approval index.

Later on, significant contributions to the further development of the models of this type were made by J. Stimson [35], H. C. Kenski [36] and K. R. Monroe [37]. L. Sigelman [38] constructed a regression equation relating the outcome of the presidential vote to the magnitude of the rating recorded by the last Gallup poll, and obtained a high correlation coefficient (0.737) between the predicted and the actual values. Thus inaugurated the use of the presidential approval index for predicting the likelihood of the president's re-election.

This approach was developed by M. S. Lewis-Beck. In 1981, he proposed the so-called "June model" [39], in which the forecast of the outcome of the election was made according to the results of the June public opinion poll (and not of the last one). June is the month when the primary elections are completed, but the conventions and the conferences for the nomination of the parties' candidates have still not been held. Later his model began taking into account not only the characteristics of mass consciousness, but also the state of the macroeconomic environment. In 1996, based on his calculations, he made the most accurate prediction (54.8 percent of the vote against the actually obtained 54.7 percent) for the re-election of Clinton.

In 1982, L. Sigelman generalized his model and showed that the value of the approval index of the incumbent president can also be successfully used to predict the chances of winning for the candidate of the

president's party when the president himself is not being re-elected [40]. M. Lewis-Beck, while analyzing the presidential elections statistics for the period from Truman to Clinton, found a high correlation (0.87) between the president's approval index and the percentage of votes that would be obtained by the president's party candidate [41].

Taken as a whole, there has been a significant change over the past quarter of a century in the understanding of the *status and of the nature* of public opinion measurement results. While during the prewar years and in the next two to three decades, public opinion polls were interpreted as a production of "momentary" pictures of mass consciousness, and the results were taken as illustrative material for the journalists and a tool for the ideologues, by the end of the XXth c. it became obvious that the aggregate of public opinion measurements is a most valuable source of information for penetrating social studies and generalizations. Placed in line with the series of events of the modern era and considered in their dynamic aspects together with the relevant macroeconomic trends and other indicators, the public opinion data are becoming the object of a multidimensional sociological analysis.

Impressive record

The president's job performance approval question has been asked in an unchanged form for over sixty years, but this question is not the oldest one. Further below, some fragments will be examined with regard to the most profound section of the archive of Gallup's questions, all of which have been in use for more than half a century.

While reviewing the above-mentioned subject, the primary source used was the fundamental work "*Trends in Public Opinion: A Compendium of Survey Data*" of three most authoritative political scientists — R. G. Niemi, J. Mueller and T. W. Smith — which presents the trends of a large number of political, social, religious and other attitudes [42]. This edition covers the period from 1935 to 1988, i.e., the first half-century of public opinion research. A very informative guide to the world of the longest statistical series is the overview of F. Newport, D. Moore and L. Saad, written in late 1999. It traces in brief the 65-year history of Gallup's monitoring indicators [43, p. 1]. Life goes on, and the results of the use of these questions in the new century are being regularly covered on the site of the Gallup Organization [44]. I will quote a few examples of the longest series of such observations.

Most important problems of the country. In September 1935, that is, in one of his first polls, Gallup suggested that respondents name the most important problems facing the country: "What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?" [42, p. 39]. He

understood that the list of such problems would be interesting to the public, the journalists and the politicians. It did prove so indeed.

The year 1936 was anyway marked by the presidential election; therefore, George Gallup found it appropriate to ask the question about the major problems of the country for a second time as late as December 1937.

The tests of the design of the question having been completed, George Gallup made a decision about the regular polling of people's opinions about the major problems of the country; during some years, the question was asked once or twice. Usually it was asked three or four times per year, but it was not an exceptional occasion to have it asked five times or more. Thus, in 1960, the "temperature" of social problems was measured every month. During Gallup's lifetime, that is, until the end of 1984, the question was asked 180 times, and for the past 70 years there were only two years (1943 and 1944), when it was not offered to the attention of U.S. citizens. Everything then was sufficiently clear without polling. The country was at war. In recent years, the question about the major problems of the country has been included in the polls of the Gallup Organization on a monthly basis.

The wording of this exploratory question has seen virtually no change for many years (sometimes, instead of the "country", reference has been made to the Government or to the American people), but the set of suggested answers has been variable, of course. This is due to the specific realities of U.S. domestic and foreign policies. The respondents' answers were usually combined into three large groups: their attitudes towards problems of an economic nature, towards foreign policy events and towards domestic political events and processes. During George Gallup's lifetime, the dominant causes of public concern until the early 1960's were international events, at first those related to World War II, then to the Cold War and, somewhat later, to other foreign policy events, such as during the years of the Vietnam War. Economic problems were quoted more frequently in the late 1960's and the early 1970's, as well as in the early 1980's. Among internal problems, the top position in the mid 1960's was held by interracial relations, while in the late 1970s their place was occupied by the state of the environment [45].

In the first years of the XXI c., the main problem of the country, according to the opinion of the Americans, became the war in Iraq, which in 2007 was indicated as such by at least one third (33-38 percent) of American adults. The strictly economic problems have receded into the background; for example, oil prices and unemployment have been rated as major problems by only 5 percent of respondents on average [46].

Two decades ago, the authors of the above-mentioned detailed

study of the dynamics of American public opinion made the following comments about the aggregate of George Gallup's observations of public attitudes towards the troublesome points of the country and society: "...It is an indelible record — unlike any other — of over a half century of history" [42, p. 14]. Today, the final part of the above conclusion can be expressed in a much more categorical way: "the concerns of the general population throughout seven decades of history".

Attitudes towards the trade unions. One of the conspicuous long-livers among the questions is the one about the attitude of Americans to the trade unions, which was first asked in 1936: "Do you approve or disapprove of labor unions?" This happened one year after the approval by Congress of the National Labor Relations Act, according to which the employees obtained the right to create their own associations and to require employers to take into account the employees' collective position. The answers to this question started with the ratio of 72 to 20 percent, that is, the vast majority of the country's population approved the existence of the trade unions. Over the past seven decades, the first indicator has varied from 55 to 75 percent, while the second has varied in the range between 14 and 39 percent. Nevertheless, at all times, the percentage of those who approve the trade unions has been higher than that of those who disapprove them. In 1983, two thirds of Americans (66 percent) were in favor of the existence of the trade unions, and about one-third (29 percent) were against them. In the 21st century, support for the trade unions is regularly declared by about 60 percent of respondents [47].

Employment of married women. In the autumn of 1936, Gallup offered to his respondents the following question: "Should a married woman work?" [42, p. 225]. In this context, the reference to a "married woman" meant a woman whose husband was capable of supporting her. As little as 18 percent of Americans answered this question in the affirmative. It is believed that such a response was not a testimony of the patriarchal or the "domestic tyranny" mindset, but represented predominantly an echo of the times of the Great Depression, when the country suffered from the scarcity of employment. This indicator was showing the same value during the final period of the war. In 1945, society believed that vacancies should be freed for those who return from the Army. By the middle of last century, the proportion of Americans who believed that a married woman might engage in business and manufacturing (55 percent) exceeded the percentage of those who believed that a woman should not work if her husband could provide for her (40 percent). Despite some fluctuations, the share of supporters of work for married women rose to two-thirds by the end of 1970. In 1983, it went up to 75 percent, and to 79 percent five years later.

Although even in the beginning of the XXI c. men are still considered as the breadwinners of the American family, bringing home “the biggest part of the bacon”, and women were considered to be the guardians of family values and unity, increasing numbers of men during the past two decades are moving to work at home (computers and modern communications make this possible), whereas women move to work outside of home.

Number of children in the family. A very visible illustration of the multitude of technological and urban processes is the dynamic attitude of Americans to the ideal number of children per family, which also is a clear reflection of the changes in the social and cultural environment. In 1936, two-thirds (64 percent) of respondents believed that a family should have three or more children, and one-third (34 percent) thought that no more than two children were desirable.

Within the next thirty years, the number of supporters of small families was declining, and of those for large families has been increasing: in 1967, the share of the first group in the structure of the adult population was 23 percent, and that of the second group was 70 percent. During the first half of the 1970's, a qualitative change in the attitudes related to the fecundity of the family occurred. First, the numbers of the considered two groups became equal, then the number of those for whom the ideal for families was to have no more than two children began to grow rapidly, while the number of those for whom the ideal was three or more children began to decrease. By the mid-1980's, the proportion of the adherents of families with a small number of children increased to 66 percent and the share of those who adhered to the other ideal (three or more children) fell to 23 percent. In general, from 1967 to 1986, the proportion of Americans who considered for ideal a small number of children in the family had been growing by 2.2 to 2.3 percent annually. However, then the reverse process started and lasted until the end of the century: attitudes in favor of large families were getting continually stronger. By 1997, the proportions of the groups holding different views on the number of children per family became almost equal: 50 percent believed that the ideal was to have no more than two children, and 42 percent believed that three or more children were desirable. Thus, the share of the first group has been shrinking at 1.5 percent annually, while the share of the second group has seen an annual growth of 1.7 percent.

Until the mid-1970's, the desired number of children per family ranged from 3.3 to 3.6, and since then, for many years, this indicator has been moving in the range from 2.4 to 2.8. In mid-2007, 56 percent of respondents believed that a family should have two or fewer

children, and 34 percent believed that three or more children were the ideal. Summarizing these data, some analysts calculated the “the ideal number of children for a family to have” as 2.5 [48].

May I note here that the statistics regarding the attitudes concerning the number of children in a family and the indicators of birth rates in the United States turn out to be generally consistent. Since the end of World War II and until 1967, the average number of children born in the country was relatively high and ranged from 2.7 to 3.7 per family. By 1973, the value of this indicator had fallen to 1.9, and by 1997, it had risen to 2.1.

Attitudes toward the death penalty. For many years, the application of the death penalty in the United States has been one of the most common topics for public discussion and it remains so. In 1936, George Gallup had construed a question that, in an invariable form, is being used also nowadays: “Are you in favor of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder?” [49]. In 1936 and in the following year, almost two-thirds of Americans (60 percent) answered in the affirmative, and three or four out of ten provided a negative answer. Since the mid-1950's and until the beginning of the 1970's, public opinion in general has been extremely cautious about the execution of this form of punishment; thus, in 1968, for the only time in the history of monitoring public opinion on this subject, the proportion of protesters against the death penalty (47 percent) was higher than the proportion of its supporters (42 percent). This was followed by a rapid growth in the number of supporters of the highest form of punishment, and in the mid-1990's (in 1994), their share in the adult population was 80 percent; only 16 percent were against the death penalty. At the boundary between the past and the present century, the supporters of the death penalty have become less numerous: their average proportion for the 17 polls conducted from 1995 to 2005 (in some years, this question was asked two or three times) was equal to 69 percent.

The image of the U.S. President. In 1937, George Gallup began exploring the extent to which Americans were willing to vote for a presidential candidate who would differ from the prevailing stereotype of the time, that is, if the candidate were not a white male and a Protestant.

After the long struggle of many feminist movements, 1920 saw the adoption of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, according to which the rights of citizens to participate in elections were dissociated from their gender, and women in all states of the country were given the opportunity to vote and be elected. Thus, the survey in 1937, in fact, recorded the beginning of the awareness of Americans to the fact

that a woman could, in principle, become the country's president. The question was: "If your party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be a woman would you vote for that person?" Two possible answers were envisaged: "Yes" and "No". As a matter of course, the proportion of those who refrained from responding was also recorded. One-third (33 percent) stated their willingness to vote for a woman in a presidential election, but twice as much of the population (64 percent) were not ready for it.

More than ten years were required by society to reach an equilibrium state with respect to the support of women candidates in a presidential election: in 1949, the pros and cons groups had 48 percent each. Thus, during this period, the number of voters who in principle were willing to recognize a woman's right to govern the country grew annually by 1.2 to 1.3 percent on average. Over the next two decades, the dynamics of this process looked in a different way. Until the end of the 1960's, the share of those who were ready to elect a woman to the highest-ranking position in the country fluctuated slightly around a mean level of 55 percent, but the proportion of those who were not ready to do so decreased annually by approximately one-half of a percent. As a result, in 1969, more than one-half of Americans (53 percent) indicated their willingness to vote for a woman in a presidential election, and only four out of every ten people (40 percent) did not indicate such readiness. The last 30 years of the 20th century determined definitively everything: the first group (inclined to support a woman in a presidential election) grew rapidly (by 1.3 percent annually), while the size of the second group declined equally fast (by 1.1 percent annually). By the end of the century, the idea of electing a woman for president was indeed completely rationalized and accepted by society: there were 92 percent in favor of this and 7 percent were against. In a poll conducted one year and a half before the presidential election of 2004, 87 percent of Americans were ready to vote for a female candidate [50].

In February 1937, Americans were asked for the first time whether they would vote for a presidential candidate if he were a Jew (the poll question was formulated exactly as it was when asked about women candidates) [50]. Then the attitude of the population was divided into two equal groups: 46 percent said "Yes" and 47 percent said "No." Gallup returned to this theme in 1958 with two polls conducted in July and September, showing a marked shift towards support for a Jewish candidate, and almost two thirds (62 percent and 63 percent respectively) of the population expressed their willingness to vote for such a politician, while less than one-third (respectively, 28 percent and 29 percent) would not do that. In subsequent years, the percentage of

Americans who responded that they could support the candidature of a Jew in a presidential election has continued to grow steadily, and by early autumn 1987, it had reached 89 percent. In a 2003 survey, this figure stood also at 89 percent [51].

In September 1937, monitoring was initiated with regard to the public attitude towards a presidential candidate representing another minority group – the Catholics. Sixty percent of respondents said that they would vote for a qualified Catholic politician, and half this proportion (30 percent) said that they would refrain from doing so. Then the attitudes towards eventual Catholic candidates began to improve, and by May 1960, this indicator was standing at 71 percent. A few months later, for the first time in its history, the United States elected the Catholic President John F. Kennedy. In early 1983, the vast majority of the nation (92 percent) was ready to vote for a candidate who professes Catholicism. By the beginning of the new century (in 2003), the strength of this attitude remains at the same level (93 percent) [50].

In 1958, the nation's disposition to an eventual atheist candidate was probed for the first time, and only 18 percent were willing to vote for such a candidate. By 1987, that is, nearly thirty years afterwards, this figure rose to just 44 percent. It turns out that the confessional affiliation of the candidate is not a very significant attribute of the future president of the country, but the candidate needs to be a religious person.

Also in 1958, two decades after the start of monitoring the population's attitude to the election of a woman, a Jew or a Catholic for president, George Gallup first asked a similar question with regard to an Afro-American candidate (the word was "black" in the original wording of the question). At that time, 38 percent of the population said "Yes" and 54 percent said "No" [43, p. 1]. In subsequent years, due to a number of consequential social and cultural circumstances, including the demonstrations against the Vietnam War, the hippie movement and the adoption in 1964 of the Civil Rights Act, the positive attitudes toward the nomination for president of a black American were shared by a growing number of people. By 1969, two-thirds of Americans (66 percent) indicated their willingness to vote for such a candidate. Between 1987 and 1997, this figure rose from 79 percent to 93 percent, and reached 95 percent in early 1999. In other words, by the end of the last century and according to the voters' opinion, the race of the presidential candidate was not a determinant for their choice. In the summer of 2003, 92 percent of Americans said that they were prepared to vote for a black candidate.

In February 2007, 95 percent of adult Americans indicated their

readiness to vote for a Catholic candidate; 94 percent were prepared to vote for an Afro-American, 92 percent — for a Jew, 88 percent — for a woman, while only 45 percent were ready to vote for an atheist [52].

Everything seems to indicate that the polling materials accurately reflect the trends in American attitudes with respect to the image of the country's president. In 2008, the first Afro-American U.S. president Barack Obama was elected with the Catholic Joe Biden as Vice President. Moreover, several months before Election Day, Hillary Clinton had a real chance to get the job at the White House, while Sarah Palin could have been elected for Vice President. As far as support in the presidential election for a Mormon candidate in 2008 is concerned, however, it was clearly weak. Republican Mitt Romney, who belongs to the Mormon Church, refused to participate in the presidential race in February 2008. It is too early to contemplate the balance of power in the election campaign of 2012, but in November 2010, Romney, with his 19 percent support from Republican voters, held the first place among his party fellows, three percent ahead of Sarah Palin [53].

The analysis of the statistical data collected by George Gallup and his followers is just beginning, but this has already enabled modern public opinion analysts to arrive to significant methodological and technological conclusions. In particular, it was possible to show that the population is capable to adequately assess complex social and political processes.

For an illustration of the correctness of this assertion, one can use the main findings of the book of two famous authors who have been quite cautious in the drawing of their conclusions: Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro — *"The Rational Public"*. Based on the analysis of a semi-centennial time series of data concerning the trends of the political views of the U.S. public, the authors show that "The American public, as a collectivity, holds a number of real, stable, and sensible opinions about public policy and that opinions develop and change in a reasonable fashion, responding to changing circumstances and to new information..." [54, p. 1].

Twelve years later, Frank Newport, one of the leading American pollsters who headed the *Gallup Organization*, dedicated a book to explaining why the country's leaders should listen to the voice of the people. He acknowledged that, very frequently, the knowledge of the public is inadequate: only 33 percent of respondents were familiar with the name of the Secretary of State when Madeleine Albright was holding that position; only 16 percent of respondents in 1991 could correctly

name the capital of Canada. Only 40 percent of respondents in 2000 knew the name of the President of Russia, and 6 percent knew the name of the Prime Minister of Israel. Virtually no one could recall the name of Japan's Prime Minister. Nevertheless, 72 percent of respondents knew that before becoming President of United States, George Bush, Jr. was Governor of Texas, and 90 percent knew the name of the Vice President of the country; 71 percent named the leader of Cuba Fidel Castro and 62 percent named the head of Microsoft Bill Gates [55, p. 108]. Most importantly, what holds true is the author's general conclusion about social progress: "Americans have solid, basic perceptions of the broad principles and a feel for the direction in which they want their country to go. It is this wisdom that can be so valuable for a society's progress." [55, p. 119].

The social analysts have not yet become fully aware of the significance of the time series of data acquired throughout the many decades of public opinion measurements, which are now available to them. However, this situation will change in the coming years, and this will entail the emergence of new theoretical, methodological, technological and instrumental problems, as well as a reconsideration of the hitherto existing approaches.

GALLUP INTERNATIONAL: THE GROWTH POINT OF THE WORLDWIDE ASSOCIATION OF POLLSTERS

The 1940's were the years of George Gallup's successes and testing of the scientific methodology and technology of public opinion polling created by him and his friends and colleagues; those were years of versatile and vigorous activities devoted to explaining to society the political and the general humanitarian value of the new forms of dialogue between government and public. At the same time, this period of time for him was filled with highly intensive and fruitful work aimed at the formation of the professional community of pollsters.

At that time, the achievement of this objective required the joint efforts of public opinion researchers. The knowledge, the organizational experience and the personality traits of George Gallup made him a true leader of the American and the international pollster community, which in some cases might be termed more appropriately as a brotherhood. This explains the reason why the emergence of the Gallup International Association should be considered as a part of Gallup's program for the development of public opinion research, and, in a wider context, for the development of the institutions of democracy in the United States and worldwide.

To some extent, it all started with the crystallization of a system of regional organizations, which studied the public opinion of the local residents, i.e., the state's voters. The emergence of such organizations was a consequence of the successful performance of the first nationwide polls. From the historical perspective, it is very important that in 1936 it was not a single one but three mutually independent market researchers — Gallup, Crossley and Roper — who were simultaneously recognized as talented electoral attitude analysts. Taking this fact into consideration, it is logical to assume that during the same year, within the same presidential election campaign, other successful electoral soundings, forecasts and prognostications could have been implemented, even if not at the nationwide level, but locally. As a result of some searching, I have found proof of the plausibility of such an assumption.

In 1936, the *Literary Digest* magazine interviewed more than 30 thousand people in the state of Iowa. It then appeared that, also in Iowa, the Republican candidate Landon was supposed to easily win ahead of the Democratic candidate Roosevelt who was seeking reelection for a second term in office. Gallup, refuting the forecast of the *Literary Digest* at the national level, predicted the victory of Franklin Roosevelt in Iowa as well, notwithstanding the fact that Iowans had been traditionally supporting the Republican Party.

This circumstance drew the attention of the Iowa Republican Central Committee, and they decided to verify the Gallup findings. According to the Iowa politicians, the methods and predictions of the *Literary Digest* were more reliable than the methods and the forecasts of a young scientist who until recently had taught at the University of Iowa. The verification was assigned to Charles E. Parker (1883-1965) [55], who worked in one of Iowa's economic organizations, and therefore was familiar with the sampling methods. He was a Republican and had been involved in work with the Central Committee of his party.

Parker conducted a careful survey and came to the conclusion that George Gallup was right and that the forecast of the *Literary Digest* magazine was erroneous because the sampling procedure of this publication was biased towards the more affluent part of the electorate. The Iowan Republican leadership did not accept the findings of Parker, but the voting results proved that Parker and Gallup were right.

Based on this experience, Parker created in 1937 the Central Surveys, Inc. research company in the small Shenandoah City. Despite the depression and the war, this company had grown by the mid-1960's from a tiny «one person, one room» business into an organization conducting serious market research studies and public opinion polls [57].

During the 1940's, a series of new organizations emerged, which

conducted local (usually statewide) surveys commissioned by local newspapers [58]. George Gallup took an active part in the creation of many of them.

One of the earliest similar structures was Texas Poll, created by Joe Belden (Joseph "Joe" Belden, 1915-2005) in 1940. As early as 1937, Belden, then a student at the University of Texas and, according to his own words, relying on Gallup's experience, created "*The Student Opinion Surveys of America*", a system of university student referenda, which used scientific sampling frame principles [59]. In 1939, Belden completed his education, qualifying as a journalist, and a year later he incorporated the Belden Associates market research company, the first one in this industry in the south and southwest of the United States. Then he organized the first U.S. system of public opinion research for the residents of a separate state — "*Texas Poll*". In 1948, the polls of Belden were funded by 25 newspapers, which published their results. By that time "*Texas Poll*" had issued ten forecasts about the outcomes of various election campaigns held in the state; the average forecasting error of Belden was 3.2 percent [60, p.728].

In 1991, half a century after the creation of "*Texas Poll*", Belden received the highest award of the *American Association for Public Opinion Research* — the AAPOR Award. The awarding document stated that "*Texas Poll*" had become a model for many polling services in the separate states and regions [61, p.473].

The endeavors of Joe Belden are being continued by his daughter, Nancy Belden; she headed for many years the Washington company "*Belden Russonello & Stewart*", which conducted nationwide and local polls. In 2004-2005 she was President of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (see below).

Still another one of the first regional services was the "*Pulse of New York*", created by Sydney Roslow (1910-2002). During his long creative life, Roslow managed to achieve a lot. A brief note on his 90th birthday (at that time he was a Professor Emeritus of Florida International University) begins with the words: "If you ask to be faxed Dr. Sydney Roslow's resume, you better be prepared to have an extra roll of paper on hand to receive his lengthy scroll of impressive accomplishments!" [62]. Currently, his work is being continued by his son, Peter Roslow, who studied for many years the Latin American market and the consumer behavior of Hispanic U.S. population.

In 1927, the Market Research Council's Hall of Fame was established as a form of recognition for those who had made a significant contribution to market research, advertising and public opinion studies. Places in the Hall of Fame have been voted for George Gallup, Arthur

Nielsen, David Ogilvy, Elmo Roper, Daniel Starch and other prominent analysts [63]. In 1992, this honor was awarded to Sidney Roslow.

One of the first U.S. organizations that studied public opinion in a separate state was the “*Iowa Poll*”, created in 1943. By the beginning of the XXI c., the “*Iowa Poll*” records covered the events of the last six decades, but it is obvious that its roots and philosophy have a long history. The counting of time should start from the second half of the 1920’s, with the early Gallup polls.

George Gallup and his staff have provided assistance to the “*Iowa Poll*” for the solution of many problems associated with the acquisition and analysis of information. To develop the sampling scheme, George Gallup’s former teacher, Professor Norman Meier, was invited. He was actively engaged in the study of public opinion since the late 1930’s.

The current head of “*Iowa Poll*”, Dr. J. Ann Selzer, has begun one of her letters in the following way: “You are quite right about George Gallup’s assistance in setting up the IowaPoll ... Gallup was instrumental in devising a sampling system.” The letter proudly mentions the fact that by the year 2002, the “*IowaPoll*” surpassed all similar organizations in the United States with regard to the duration of its continuous operation as the nation’s longest continuously running statewide newspaper poll [64].

One of the other oldest U.S. polling organizations is the “*Minnesota Poll*”, created in February 1944. During the formation of “*Minnesota Poll*” and the subsequent years, Gallup was keeping it in his field of view, and was providing assistance to it. In particular, Robert D. Coursen (1922-2002) went to “*Minnesota Poll*” in 1956, having worked for the Gallup Institute before that. In 1964, he became the third head of the polling service, and supervised it for fifteen years until 1979. Robert Coursen introduced into practice one of the modifications of the random selection of respondents (up to the 1960’s, the principle of quota sampling was used). During the mid-1970’s, personal interviews were replaced by telephone interviews [65].

The story of the establishment of “*California Poll*”, led for more than half a century by its founder Mervyn Field (b. 1921), is with interest. By the way, this public opinion research organization and its character, as well as the style of its leader were to a large extent shaped under George Gallup’s influence. The repeatedly quoted book of D. Moore devoted to the superpollsters states: “Mervyn Field is one of the last polling pioneers still active, for whom George Gallup was both mentor and friend” [40, p. ix]. In addition, Field himself said about Gallup: “He was a great mentor, a great guy” [40, p. 305].

In 1979, the *American Association for Public Opinion Research*,

awarding its highest professional award to Field, called him “an example for businessmen and a prominent political analyst” and pointed out the fact that, for more than thirty years, the “*California Poll*” had been successfully promoting mutual understanding between the public and the politicians [66].

The formation of the *American Association for Public Opinion Research*, better known with its acronym AAPOR, can be regarded as the next important milestone on the way to the creation of Gallup International. Putting it in a nutshell, the progression towards this important event in the lives of American pollsters can be described as follows:

The organization of the first conference of American pollsters, which played a key role in establishing the national and the international associations of public opinion researchers was greatly facilitated by the enormous contribution of Harry Hubert Field (1897-1947) [67]. The document, which explained how he received the highest AAPOR award in 1957 — ten years after his death in a plane crash — pointed out that he was the first person to realize that the study of public opinion deserves the status of an academic discipline. He formed foundations and developed the necessary connections for the operation of the first non-profit polling structure designed to study the interests of the public and the teaching of public opinion analysis methods. He was the sponsor and the leader of the Steering committee of the First International Conference for the Study of Public Opinion in 1946 in Central City, Colorado. He worked hard for the development of mutual understanding and cooperation between researchers from commercial and academic institutions [68].

Harry Field was born in England and fought for four years during the First World War. In 1921, Field came to the United States as a teacher at a military school. In the early 1930’s, he was hired by Rubicam’s advertising agency, where he met Gallup and became his friend. Most probably, George Gallup appreciated the potential of Field to sense the spirit and the letter of the polling technology, and he saw him as a talented manager. However, a more important reason for their prolonged and intimate cooperation was perhaps their common attitude towards public opinion polling. H. Hyman wrote that many people had been emphasizing the importance of measuring public attitudes, while Field, like Gallup, believed deeply in what he said [69, p. 140]. The history of public opinion research in the United States links the name of Field primarily to the emergence of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). NORC became the first academic institute, which created “the new science of public opinion measuring.”

With George Gallup’s support, Field started to create in 1946 a

center similar to NORC in Europe. However, he was unable to see the implementation of this plan. In the early autumn of that year, he was killed in a plane crash while flying from Paris to London on September 4. Field was on his way back after visiting the organizations that were engaged in public opinion research in Holland, Belgium and France, particularly, the *French Institute for Public Opinion*. In Paris, he participated in the formal negotiations on the conduct of a UNESCO international survey.

In 1938, ten years after the end of George Gallup's university studies, another student of Norman Meyer, Don Cahalan (1912-1992), received from the same University a Bachelor's degree in journalism and a Master's degrees in psychology. It seems most likely that Meyer began his career as a researcher of public opinion in *Gallup's Institute* on the recommendation of Cahalan; during the war years, he worked in the analytical department of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and then for many years he was one of the key personalities of NORC. Cahalan did a lot for the development of the professional community of American pollsters; his obituary stated that Don Cahalan was the personification of AAPOR [70].

According to Cahalan's reminiscences, Harry Field had decided by the end of the winter of 1946 to convene a representative conference of pollsters in the small community of Central City, Colorado, with the objective to discuss a wide range of issues related to the measurement of public opinion. In April, he shared his plans with the staff of NORC; they were enthusiastic about this idea, but immediately perceived a lot of obstacles on the way to its implementation.

Cahalan said: "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." However, after Field's statement that he had already solved the related financial problems, Cahalan continued: "But how can you get them to come?" "Just use a little strategy", Field said. "First of all, I will get Ted (Gallup's nickname – B.D.) 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?" [71, p.27].

The time for the conference was well chosen: the victory in the war against Germany, Italy and Japan had given people a huge charge of optimism, and the cold war had not yet begun. Many people linked the conduct of polls to the solution of important political and marketing problems; the professionals were tempted to discuss some specific

methodological problems in their own closed circle. Before the war, the contacts between the academic scientists who studied public opinion, and those who worked in the marketing firms and the advertising agencies were just beginning to emerge. During the war, they both worked for the government, which enriched reciprocally "the theoreticians" and "the practitioners" and contributed to their mutual understanding. After the war, people could once again retreat into their partitioned professional communities.

The conference was attended by 73 persons who represented the following industries: radio stations and the press (it was still the pre-television epoch) – 19 persons; the universities – 18; commercial research firms – 13 persons; nonprofit research organization (mostly from NORC) – 11 persons; government employees – 7 persons, advertising agencies – 3 persons, others – 2 persons. In fact, it was not only the first representative meeting of the American polling experts, but also the first similar international forum. There was one researcher each from Mexico, Canada, Libya and Norway.

George Gallup actively participated in the conference, Roper sent in his own place the Vice-president of the firm, the experienced pollster Julian Woodward (1900-1952). Crossley canceled his participation at the last minute because of his mother's death.

The first section discussed the problems of public opinion research related to foreign policy issues; it was chaired by George Gallup. Presentations were made by Wilfrid Sanders (1907 -?), the Director of the *Canadian Institute of Public Opinion* and by the American scientists David Henrie and Stuart Dodd (see below), who were key experts in the areas under discussion. History would have it that they both were at the center of those activities of many people, which culminated one year afterwards in the establishment of two associations of public opinion researchers: the American one and the international one. Each of them will be briefly discussed below.

The second section was considered particularly important. It was led by Gallup, Field, Woodward and Hart (Clyde William Hart, 1892-1969). The discussions focused on the issues of the development of technical and ethical standards in public opinion research.

Of great importance for the success of the conference was an address made by Woodward. He pointed out the growing number of conducted polls, the further strengthening of their role in politics and society. Public opinion polls on various topics were treated by him as a feedback mechanism that allowed people to know what is of concern to the country's population or to the residents of individual regions, while it allowed politicians to develop public awareness and education

programs. Building on these premises, Woodward pointed to the danger of errors in measuring public opinion, of the incorrect presentation of polling results, to the possibility of manipulating public opinion in the interest of power and propaganda bodies. To prevent this and to strengthen the social utility of the polls, Woodward asserted, there was need to establish standards for the conduct of polls and rules for the publication of their results.

In particular, Woodward said that Gallup, Roper and Crossley agreed to sponsor agencies then engaged in reporting poll results through various media of communication [72, p.50]. In addition to the above, the conference program included nine more sections.

The high professionalism of the participants, "the spirit of informality and openness to new ideas" transformed the Central City meeting into a historic event, which largely determined the formation and the development of the American and the worldwide public opinion research community. In particular, this conference provided an impetus for the creation of two of the most powerful and influential unions — *AAPOR* and *WAPOR*, which will be discussed below.

The subsequent events demonstrate both the optimism of that epoch and the strong commitment of the panelists to their cause, and, of course, the American drive and determination to achieve the established goals. On July 31, 1946, at 12.05 hours, immediately after the end of the forum's work, the Continuing Committee established by the Conference was convened; it had five members: Borg (Head of the "*Minnesota Poll*"), Woodward, Gallup, Field and Hart. Field was elected Chairman.

First, it was decided to classify the First conference of public opinion researchers as an international conference, and then a discussion began concerning the preparation of the next forum. Its international character was immediately enshrined in its title: The Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research.

The Continuing Committee confirmed the prerogatives of the Committee on Standards, which was established by the Conference and consisted of Elmo Wilson, Morris Hansen and Henry David. This group would be cooperating with the "nuclear committee" (Gallup, Crossley and Roper), whose goal was to create an association uniting the pollsters' organizations. P. Sheatsley wrote: "This was indeed a distinguished trio, but in retrospect it seems strange that the Central City conference did not appoint a larger and more representative committee to draft a constitution for the proposed association" [72, p.54].

Elmo Wilson (1906-1968) [73] was a journalist by training, but he began working in the Roper Organization in 1940 and was able to suc-

cessfully combine in his work his experience of a journalist, a political analyst and a public opinion researcher. During the war, Wilson was among those who developed the then-new area of international surveys; the first survey was carried out by order of the Government in 1942. In 1948, Wilson became president of the *International Research Association, Inc.*, one of whose tasks was to spread the American experience of studying public opinion in postwar Europe and other continents. He was the second president in the history of AAPOR and headed a number of other U.S. and international professional associations.

Morris Hansen (Morris Howard Hansen, 1910-1990) is considered to have been one of the most influential experts in the theory of sampling and the methodology of sample surveys of the XXth c. For many years, he worked at the U.S. Census Bureau and during the considered period of time he was the Head of the Bureau.

Henry David (1907-1977) was born in Eastern Europe. During World War II he worked in London for the BBC Radio Services. In the second half of the 1940's, David was a famous historian of economics, the author of a classic book on the history of the American labor movement and of a series of papers on industrial relations in democratic societies. David had not been engaged in the study of public opinion, either before the conference in Central City or after that. It is hard to tell who invited him to the Conference, what the reasons for that were and whether he knew Gallup before the conference. However, it is reasonable to assume that David was included in the Standards Committee, on the initiative or at least with t George Gallup's support.

In early February 1947, some fundamental organizational decisions were adopted: Williams College was chosen as venue of the Conference and its dates were approved: 1 to 5 September 1947. The announced sponsors were Gallup, Crossley, Roper and the Time Corporation. Later, an agreement was reached on the financial support of the Conference on behalf of a number of foundations. Delegates would pay a registration fee of \$ 10.

The second conference had 194 registered participants — twice as much as in Central City. Experts arrived from many countries: Australia, Britain, West Germany, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, France, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland.

Among the leaders of the plenary sessions and the discussions, among the speakers and the panelists, there were leading experts on public opinion research who represented the largest universities in the United States, and many companies engaged in the study of public opinion and consumer attitudes.

On one of the days, a plenary session of all the “stars” was held and there was a discussion between Gallup, Crossley, Lazarsfeld and Roper, entitled “Polls and the political processes.”

After extensive discussions, which were concluded on the eve of the decisive day, the leadership of the conference approved the final draft document on the establishment of an association with individual membership and introduced a change in the name of the new professional association – the *American Association for Public Opinion Research*, with its established acronym *AAPOR*. Clyde Hart was approved without voting as the first president of *AAPOR*.

The creation of a global network for the conduct of polls and of an extensive international community of public opinion researchers began in 1936 when Harry Field, acting on a Gallup commission, organized in England the first overseas branch of the *Gallup Institute – the British Institute of Public Opinion*. Already before the war, research organizations were established in several countries, and they became involved in the analysis of public opinion, of the quality of life, of the communication and economic behavior of the population.

This network was further developed to what became the research structure of the *Gallup International Association, GIA* [74]. The first meeting was held from 11 to 18 May 1947 in the small English village of Loxwood; at that time, the Association united 11 organizations. In addition to George Gallup, who represented the United States, this conference was attended by pollsters who headed the Gallupian structures in Britain, Australia, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, France and Sweden; the representative of Brazil was unable to attend. Italy and Czechoslovakia had observer status.

George Gallup and the other founders of the network proceeded from the belief that international surveys would help nations understand each other better and so help prevent war. They perceived the polls as a component of democracy institutions. Here are the words of Gallup: “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.”

Many years have passed since, and Hans Zetterberg, before whose eyes the entire story of public opinion polling evolved, pointed out that the creation of GIA was “another great social innovation of George H. Gallup”. The Association was established on the basis of friendship and mutual assistance in pursuit of the enormous task of giving voice to the common person around the world [75].

George Gallup was the first president of GIA and headed the Association from 1947 to 1984. Afterwards, the presidents were pollsters and market researchers from different countries: Britain, Holland, France,

Finland: Jan Stapel, 1984-1990; Helene Riffault, 1990-1993; Leila Lotti, 1993-1999; Theo Hess, 1999-2002; Tony Cowling, 2002-2009. Since 2009, the duties of the Acting President of GIA are performed by the Canadian researcher Jean-Marc Leger.

From the brief information announced by Leger about the GIA conference held in May 2010 in Vienna, it can be seen that the Association unites public opinion polling and market research companies from more than 60 countries, covering 89 percent of world population [76].

In 1977, George Gallup initiated a project called Global Barometer of Hope and Despair, and initially it was implemented in 20 countries under the guidance of Gallup. Since then, this survey has been conducted regularly each year by GIA. In 2010 it was conducted in 53 countries, where 64,000 people were polled [77].

GIA is registered in Zurich. Until 2009, the headquarters of the Association were based in London, and since then they are in Zurich. The combined turnover of all the members of GIA for 2010 is just over 1 billion US dollars. The Gallup International Association represents a separate entity from Gallup Inc. and Gallup Org.; it bears proudly its own prestigious reputation, based on 65 years of worldwide development. Every year, GIA conducts the biggest global poll, named «The Voice of the People» [78-79].

Returning to the results of the Second Conference of public opinion researchers, may I point out that the Continuing Committee created the International Committee, whose functions included the organization of soundings of public opinion in different countries and consideration and research on the establishment of a worldwide organization of public opinion researchers. Gallup and Dodd (Stuart Dodd, 1900-1975) were approved as co-chairmen of this group were approved.

Dodd was born in Turkey, his father and grandfather were medical missionaries. Throughout his life, in the interpretation and the implementation of his research projects, Dodd has been constantly striving to resolve academic and personal conflicts [80]. Dodd studied at Princeton University, graduated from the same University in 1926 and completed there his doctoral thesis in psychology, in which he developed a system of tests eliminating the influence of national or local cultural elements in the measurement of intelligence. For some time he worked in London with Karl Pearson and Charles Spearman, and then he decided to engage in sociology.

In 1927, Dodd created a Sociology Department at the University of Beirut and headed it until 1947. During the Second World War, he managed a research program conducted in the interests of the allied

forces in the Middle East and Sicily [81]. In 1947, Dodd became a director of the Public Opinion Study Laboratory at the University of Washington in Seattle. In this capacity, he worked for 14 years. Dodd has performed a large number of various empirical sociological research tasks and has published several books with atheoretical and methodological orientation.

On the last day of the Conference, the “Exploring World Public Opinion” panel discussion was held, followed by a session on organizational matters. The Chairman of that session was Gallup, and Dodd read the report of the International Committee on the work done. After a discussion of the submissions, it was decided to establish the World Congress on Public Opinion Research, later renamed to the World Association for Public Opinion Research (*WAPOR*). The first president of this association was the French researcher Jean Stoetzel (1910–1987). History has recorded the exact date of the birth of *WAPOR*: 12:30 h, September 5, 1947 [72, p.49].

A year later, at the Third conference of public opinion researchers, held in Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania, Stoetzel announced the first results achieved by *WAPOR*, and provided some indicators from the worldwide soundings of opinions. By 1948, surveys had already been conducted in more than 20 countries, including Australia, Britain, Belgium, Brazil, Hungary, Canada, Holland, Denmark, West Germany, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and South Africa. In fact, this was already the basis for the global sounding of public opinion. In 1948, the membership of *WAPOR* consisted of 129 organizations, while membership in the early 1990’s had grown to 550 organizations from 57 countries.

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Chapter 6.

POST-BIOGRAPHY

I have to repeat what has been mentioned at the beginning. Grasping the fate of creative people requires a consideration of their pre-biographies, of their biographies and of their post-biographies. The analysis of a pre-biography includes examining the family roots of the respective person and bringing to light the history of the emergence and formation of the given field of science, art, culture or technology, the further development of which will become important in this person's life. The biographies of people cover the period of their socialization and their work. They begin with their birth and end with their death. The things and the ideas produced by creative people, i.e., their legacies, are the result of what has been lived through, and represent the foundations of their post-biographies.

The first chapter of this book focuses on the pre-biography of George Gallup, while the following four chapters consider the different stages and aspects of his biography. In the immediately preceding chapter, some events of the late 1940's were outlined. At that time, George Gallup was approaching his fiftieth birthday. He had in front of him three more decades of research in public opinion and advertising, many new projects, tremendous work on the refinement of the methodology and of the measuring tools, as well as on forging a pollster network across the United States and worldwide. Some of the things done by George Gallup during this period of his life will be discussed below, but basically, this chapter is devoted to the analysis of the post-biography of our hero. In my opinion, it is exactly the post-biography, i.e., everything that is happening with the legacy of the creator, which reveals the true value of what has been achieved. With regard to Gallup, the study of his post-biography permits the complete appreciation of the essence of his scientific and social discoveries, inventions and the more precise definition of his place in the history of societal and cultural research during the twentieth century.

GALLUP'S LEGACY

George Gallup began polling newspaper audiences in the early 1920's, while still a student at the University of Iowa. In the late 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, he drew back from the

leadership of the *Gallup Organization*, but continued to be interested in its current affairs and to participate in the discussion of the research strategy. "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" [1, p.90]. Thus, the creative life of the Gallup lasted for six decades, and if we want to speak about its most important features, there are two of them: diversity and productivity.

Six decades of creativity

Exactly in the same way that a human being is not subject to atomization, the creative heritage of a given person represents an indivisible whole. Several George Gallup's activities have been mentioned above. We have observed his teaching activity and his leadership in the research of advertising and of cinema audiences. George Gallup created an organization that operates currently in support of students who desire to try their hand at journalism. In 1935, George Gallup created the *American Institute of Public Opinion*, now known as the *Gallup Organization*. He supported the establishment of the U.S. system of regional polling organizations. He was an active participant in the formation of the professional association of U.S. public opinion researchers and of the "*Public Opinion Quarterly*" journal. Two statements of Gallup clearly demonstrate the general foundations of his attitude with regard to the distribution of information, of his attitude towards 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." [2, p.734]. Moreover, this: "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." [2, p.735].

In addition to *The Pulse of Democracy* (1940) [3], which has become the leading textbook for pollsters in many countries worldwide, Gallup has written several other books that describe in detail the steps of data acquisition and the difficulties to be overcome in the process of public opinion research. Four years later, the small-format book "*A Guidebook to Public Opinion Polls*" [4] was issued, and in 1976, the exhaustive monograph *Sophisticated Poll Watcher's Guide* [5] was published.

People say that their real identity and their inner moral qualities are revealed primarily through their attitude towards children and the

elderly. The many years of research done by George Gallup in the field of school education (see above) and his concern about the declining interest in reading on behalf of various population groups are a strong indicator of his attitude towards the problems related to the formation of the future American generations. He noted with serious concern the fact that, in the beginning of the 1960's, exactly one-half of the high-school graduate group, 46 percent of college students and one-third of those who had graduated from college had not read a single book during the year that preceded the survey. According to the strictly formal level of education indicators, for example, with regard to the number of years of schooling and the percentage of school graduates who go on to college, the United States held the first place in the world. However, with regard to book readership, the country was lagging behind the leading European states [6, p.41-42].

The formation and education of young people are one of the main themes of the book *The Miracle Ahead* [6], which was mentioned above. There, George Gallup reveals himself to the readers primarily not as a pollster, but as a scientist and humanist who believes that researchers, educators and policymakers must work together. Only then can the movement of society to higher levels of development be secured.

The problem of aging and longevity are examined in his book *The Secrets of Long Life*, written jointly by George Gallup with the very experienced journalist Evan Hill (1909-2010) [7]. The book is dedicated "to the 29,000 Americans who were older than 94 and to those 179,971,000 who hoped to be". The book analyzes the results of a poll on a representative sample out of 29,000 people of this quite advanced age regarding the factors that contributed to their longevity. In addition, Hill traveled all across the country in order to meet and talk to many of these people.

One of the most brilliant examples of George Gallup's work is the latest book conceived by him and published under his editorship under the title *America Wants to Know*. It demonstrates the breadth of Gallup's interests, his understanding of his own mission as a citizen and his responsibility in front of public opinion. He felt that it was important to provide answers to the most complex and intricate problems, which were of concern for the people on the eve of the new century. Both the design and the contents of this book are unusual. At first, some experts and several small groups of respondents generated the questions, the answers to which they believed were important for the population at large. There were hundreds of questions. Then a panel of 526 "ordinary citizens" was established, representing the entire country. Depending on their own interests, they ranked the proposed questions on a scale

from “1” to “10”. Finally, the 100 highest-ranking questions were selected and a group of renowned and prestigious experts was invited to provide the answers to be given. Among them were Isaac Asimov — the world-famous science fiction writer; one of the founders of cardiac surgery, Michael E. DeBakey, who in 1996 led the team of consultants during the heart surgery of President Boris Yeltsin. They were Norman Cousins, the guru of political journalism and founder of many major international events and forums; Rollo May — the psychologist and humanist who analyzed the nature of good and evil, freedom, destiny and other existential categories; Linus Pauling, the laureate of two Nobel Prizes (chemistry and peace prizes); Julia Child — a famous gourmet expert who specialized in French cuisine, a TV star and author of many books on cooking; Leon Jaworski — a lawyer and a social activist who played a key role in the investigation of the Watergate scandal; and many other prominent scientists, writers, politicians and public figures. It was only the exclusive reputation of Gallup and his authority across the different strata of American society that secured the involvement of such a powerful team of experts to answer the questions of the people. Everyone knew that Gallup was not a dispassionate analyst who would be merely recording the statements of respondents and their attitudes: his comments on poll outcomes always showed respect for the people and understanding for them. Very few of his contemporaries would have been able to say what he said: “In real life, no one is 'average', and the American way of life is being pursued by 220 million individuals, each in his own way.” [8, p. XIV]. These words were quoted in a book published one year before the death of Gallup, and they are perceived as part of his professional and ethical testament.

George Gallup's legacy does not include only the things written by him — books, articles and hundreds of thousands of comments in connection with the polls conducted by him. This legacy includes also the following: methodology of public opinion research, technology of the measurement of attitudes, practices for informing the public about the way they make assessments of what is happening in the United States and internationally, recognition by society of the fundamental role of public opinion in the modern institution of democracy. This legacy includes also the several generations of pollsters in dozens of countries worldwide, the abundant professional infrastructure, the system of scientific standards and research ethics.

No other social scientist has left behind such a tremendous volume of high-quality materials related to contemporary society as George Gallup has. When they appeared for the first time, these data were of the highest level of innovation, relevance and usefulness, while the

progression of time increases constantly their scientific significance. An investigation of the archives of the *Gallup Organization*, of the Roper Center and of other depots of information will allow the accurate assessment of the quantity of regional, national and cross-cultural polls conducted by Gallup, as well as the proper delineation of the boundaries of the semantic space established by the topics of these polls and by the content of the used questions. However, even without this, it is patently clear that hundreds of topical “cross sections” are involved, reflecting U.S. domestic and foreign policies; thousands of polls and tens of thousands of polling questions. Political scientists, historians and sociologists will find in this material valuable information about the specific parts of reality that were in the field of vision of the general public and about the way that the different groups of the public perceived the world around them. The social psychologists and the researchers of mass consciousness and mass media effects will be able to acquire an insight into the then existing character of the information world of the public, into the things that used to make people concerned, to obtain a perception of their mood.

Another extremely important feature is that the American mass consciousness has been represented by George Gallup in its dynamics. He was able to introduce into social studies the temporal element as a really observable and recordable variable, and he did so much earlier than the other analysts, who had no opportunity to constantly monitor social processes. His long time series, which originated at the end of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's, and are being continued by his present-day followers, represent a substantial step forward in the development of the methodology and the technology of social cognition, but are still underestimated by the scientific community. May I point out that this innovation was born around the end of the first half of the XX century, when American society had overcome the Great Depression, had just started to breathe freely after the difficult years of World War II, and, thanks to the advances in the communication technologies, the public were becoming aware of the acceleration of social time and were looking for new ways to treat their history.

In 1972, under the George Gallup's editorship the, “*The Gallup Poll*” publication was started, which is now a multi-volume edition. Then, all at once, three books were published covering research done during the years 1935-1971 [9]. In the preface to the first volume, George Gallup summarized the general findings of his activities as completed by the end of summer in 1972 [10, p. v-viii]. At that time, the *American Institute of Public Opinion*, often referred to as the *Gallup Poll*, and a network of 30 organizations affiliated with the Institute —

Gallup International, Ltd.— conducted polls in more than 50 countries. The results of the polling of the American public were published in 153 newspapers with an audience coverage of about thirty million people. Being also a journalist, George Gallup always appreciated very highly the help of the representatives of this professional community in conducting his polls. His book “*A Guidebook to Public Opinion Polls*” begins with the following dedication: “Dedicated to the daily newspapers of America whose publishers and editors saw the opportunities in this new field of journalism and whose financial support had made possible our forty years of public opinion research into the social, political, and economic problems of the nation.”

According to Gallup's estimates, starting from the mid-1930's and until the early 1970's, more than two million people have been involved in his polls, and approximately 20,000 questions have been asked. He used a stratified random sample representative of the adult (over 18 years of age) population of the country according to a number of geographical criteria (regions of the United States, size of the settlement) and demographic criteria (age, gender and socio-economic status). The polls were conducted by means of personal interviews during the hours when the respondents were most likely to be found at home.

I have in front of me a volume of the second edition of “*The Gallup Poll*” [11]; it contains materials from the polls conducted during the years 1949-1958; these are eight hundred pages. The questions that have been used in the polls are displayed in chronological order, as well as the distribution of their responses: as a total and in a breakdown by selected subgroups of respondents. This “collection” reflects the data acquired from 187 polls, and each of them is represented in the book by several of its central or most salient questions. Taken as an aggregate, these questions represent a first approximation to the understanding of the structure of this semantic space in the 1950's.

As noted above, after many years of testing, George Gallup introduced into real practice the presidential job approval question in 1945; this question has been asked repeatedly, first with respect to the performance of Harry Truman, and afterwards, about the presidential performance of Dwight D. Eisenhower, elected in 1952 and reelected in 1956. For the time, this question was a novelty and, in a certain aspect, an intriguing political phenomenon. The public sentiment towards the country's economic system, towards the state of the economy, towards prices and taxes was continually probed. It is comprehensible that a significant place within the topics of the polls was devoted to the status and the development of the country's education system. World War II had just ended, and although there were relatively few questions related

directly to the appraisal of the recent past, the topic of the structure of the post-war world was analyzed from different points of view: attitudes towards the former allies and the former enemies, the beginning of the Cold War and the conclusion of the North Atlantic Security Pact, the prospects of a Third World War, attitudes toward the emergence of atomic and hydrogen bombs in the U.S. and the USSR. In those years, Crossley and Roper were predominantly involved in market research, while Cantril never conducted polls with such regularity as Gallup did. The “*Louis Harris and Associates*” enterprise of Louis Harris (b. 1921) was established as late as 1956 and began its electoral polls in 1960. Thus, it was precisely Gallup who had to master the research of this new subject matter and to lay the groundwork for probing American attitudes to the wars fought by the United States after the Second World War.

George Gallup was the first to begin research of the public perception with regard to many innovations of modern civilization. Thus, according to a survey conducted in early May 1949, only 44 percent of adult Americans had ever seen a television broadcast, out of whom as little as 9 percent had watched TV at their own homes, about 80 percent — with friends and acquaintances or in bars and clubs, 14 percent had watched TV in shop windows. Among those who had seen a TV broadcast, one-third (32 percent) believed that “TV would kill radio”, while among the group of people who had never seen a TV show, that proportion was one-quarter (25 percent) [11, p. 821]. Exactly one year later, nearly two-thirds of respondents (62 percent) had already watched a TV show, and one in ten families (10 percent) had a home TV set. Among those who did not have a TV set, 15 percent of respondents intended to buy one within a year, 34 percent supposed that they would buy a TV set after more than a year, 12 percent did not want to have a TV set and 39 percent of the respondents at the time had not yet made a decision about their choice [11, p. 921-922].

George Gallup initiated the study of public attitudes towards the achievements of science and towards new discoveries. In November 1949, he was asking the American public whether trains and planes would run on nuclear power 50 years later (“Do you think that 50 years from now trains and airplanes will be run by atomic power?”); whether a cure for cancer would be found in the next 50 years (“Do you think that a cure for cancer will be found within the next 50 years?”) and whether men in rockets would be able to reach the moon. Nine out of ten respondents (88 percent) had hopes for a victory over cancer, nearly two-thirds (63 percent) admitted that trains and planes might run on nuclear fuel by the end of the twentieth century and only 15 percent thought that people would fly to the moon [11, p. 875].

The latter possibility was not considered plausible by most Americans even after the launching of the first Soviet satellite, which happened on October 5, 1957. The poll conducted by Gallup shortly after that event asked: "How long do you think it will be before men in rockets will reach the moon?" Only 27 percent of respondents believed that this would happen within the next ten years; a quarter of the population (25 percent) supposed that this would happen in 10 to 25 years. Another 14 percent believed that such a flight would be impossible and 34 percent answered, "I don't know." On average, people believed that the flight to the moon would take place within 20 years [12]. Let me remind you that in reality this happened a lot earlier — on July 20, 1969.

Being in possession of a refined sensitivity with regard to the nature of words and their possible impact that might influence the respondents' opinions and their responses, Gallup was one of the first pollsters who linked the problem of the phrasing of the questions and the selection of the words to the character of the state of public opinion. For example, in his programmatic article published in 1941 in the authoritative *Sociometry* journal, George Gallup noted that "...the suggestive effect of the positive or the negative types of questions or of a difference in wording is largely a function of the degree of crystallization of opinion on an issue, and tends to decrease to zero as the no-opinion vote tends to zero" [13, p.261]. In other words, if an opinion is already established, the effect of the wording of the polling questions will be insignificant. Nevertheless, George Gallup spelled out the rules used by his organization in order to ensure the adequate understanding of the questions on behalf of the respondents: application of the vocabulary used when discussing the respective issues in Congress and by the mass media.

Everything explained above indicates that, in George Gallup's visualization, the world of ordinary people was extremely rich, and that it was *a priori* impossible to limit it. On the contrary, if one aims to understand the course of its development and expansion, this world needed to be constantly probed. This was the paramount interest and concern of Gallup throughout many decades.

Statistics of Victories

The first three successful forecasts of the outcome of three presidential elections (1936, 1940 and 1944) had shown to George Gallup that his sample survey technology did work, whereas the 1948 failure showed that the measurement procedure needed further careful study and adjustment. Consequently, a few simple questions come naturally to one's mind: How did the events of 1948 influence the creative work of

Gallup and the operations of his institute? What would have happened if it were not for this failure? Everything seems to indicate that he would not have discontinued his intensive studies of the opinions of the American public, because this had not only become his core business, but it was also apart of his political philosophy. However, it is highly plausible that Gallup began perceiving the measurement of public opinion as the great undertaking of his life precisely after the 1948 fiasco.

Thus, the central theme for Gallup became the *improvement of the technology of public opinion measurements* and the disclosure of the polling results to society. Most likely, it was precisely then, hot on the trail, that he arrived to the conclusions, which he explained in detail a quarter of a century afterwards. In 1972, he wrote, "Many social scientists in the United States have warned of the dangers of attempting to predict human behavior. 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 behavior 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 behavior can be predicted with a high degree of accuracy. The goal is to increase this accuracy." [14, p.VIII].

The correctness of such claims is proved by the statistics of the forecasts made by the Gallup Organization in the course of 19 presidential campaigns in the United States within seven decades, from 1936 to 2008 (see Table 8). Accordingly, 13 monitoring exercises have been carried out under the guidance of Gallup or during his lifetime, while the last six were conducted after his death.

Table 8

Year	Candidates	Forecast	Election result	Deviation
1936	Franklin Roosevelt	55.7	62.5	-6.8
	Alfred Landon	44.3	37.5	+6.8
1940	Franklin Roosevelt	52.0	55.0	-3.0
	Wendell Willkie	48.0	45.0	+3.0
1944	Franklin Roosevelt	51.5	53.8	-2.3
	Thomas Dewey	48.5	46.2	+2.3
1948	Harry Truman	44.5	49.5	-5.0

Year	Candidates	Forecast	Election result	Deviation
	Thomas Dewey	49.5	45.1	+4.4
1952	Dwight Eisenhower	51.0	55.4	-4.4
	Adlai Stevenson	49.0	44.6	+4.4
1956	Dwight Eisenhower	59.5	57.8	+1.7
	Adlai Stevenson	40.5	42.2	-1.7
1960	John Kennedy	50.5	50.1	+0.4
	Richard Nixon	49.5	49.9	-0.4
1964	Lyndon Johnson	64.0	61.3	+2.7
	Barry Goldwater	36.0	38.7	-2.7
1968	Richard Nixon	43.0	43.5	-0.5
	Hubert Humphrey	42.0	42.9	-0.9
1972	Richard Nixon to	62.0	61.8	+0.2
	George McGovern	38.0	38.2	-0.2
1976	Jimmy Carter	48.0	50.1	-2.1
	Gerald Ford	49.0	48.1	+0.9
1980	Ronald Reagan	47.0	50.8	-3.8
	Jimmy Carter	44.0	41.0	+3.0
1984	Ronald Reagan	59.0	59.2	-0.2
	Walter Mondale	41.0	40.8	+0.2
1988	George Bush (senior)	56.0	53.0	+3.0
	Michael Dukakis	44.0	46.1	-2.1
1992	Bill Clinton	49.0	43.3	+5.7
	George Bush (senior)	37.0	37.7	-0.7
1996	Bill Clinton	52.0	49.2	+2.8
	Bob Dole	41.0	40.7	0.3
2000	George Bush (Jr.)	48.0	47.9	0.1
	Al Gore	46.0	48.4	-2.4
2004	George Bush (Jr.)	49.0	50.7	-1.7
	John Kerry	49.0	48.3	0.7
2008	Barack Obama	55.0	53.0	2.0
	John McCain	44.0	46.0	-2.0

The failure of 1948 was not regarded by Gallup, Crossley and Roper as a crash of their polling technology, nor did they perceive it as a hint about the unimportance of public opinion research; they accepted it as a social and technological challenge. They managed to transform defeat into victory. The measuring methods, which were created in the second half of the 1930's and were enhanced by them and their followers in the 1950's and the 1960's, have successfully passed the most rigorous tests during the following fifty years.

Here, I have to quote a letter written by George Gallup, which I consider very important from the historical point of view. It is a letter sent by Gallup to the Democratic Senator Elmer Thomas (John William Elmer Thomas, 1876-1965). The letter was written on July 2, 1949, that is, six months after the events of 1948 that were so devastating for Gallup: "Dear Senator 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. Sincerely yours, George Gallup." [16]. 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." [17].

George Gallup's letter gives us a chance to feel the exultation of a man who, having gone through many things, had realized that his ideas were correct; therefore, he had the right and the duty to do what he considered necessary to be done.

In the light of the above, it becomes obvious that the presidential election campaign in 1952 — the first one after the 1948 *fiasco* — would represent a challenge for the pollsters in any case. They had to convince themselves and to prove to the country that the sampling technology of conducting nationwide polls that had been invented by them was effective and allowed the formulation of well founded and reliable forecasting conclusions.

In 1952, the fight for a place in the White House was led by two experienced politicians: on behalf of the Republicans, there was Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), while on behalf of the Democrats there was the diplomat Adlai Stevenson (1900-1965). During the election campaign, George Gallup measured electoral sentiment nine times. Every time, he recorded Eisenhower's superiority. In July, Eisenhower was ahead of Stevenson by 28 percent, but in June, his

advantage had shrunk to 7 percent only. Afterwards, the gap increased slightly, then there was an insignificant decrease of Eisenhower's advantage, and by mid-October, it was about 10 percent. Perhaps, had it not been for the experience of 1948, Gallup might have discontinued the polling of attitudes, but he did not do this in 1952. In the last poll conducted a few days before the election, Eisenhower had the support of 51 percent of the electorate, while his opponent had 49 percent. The forecasting error was slightly in excess of four percent, but the winner's name was predicted correctly.

Four years later, the fight for the presidency was again between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but the outcome of the campaign was clear at a very early stage. In January, the candidate who was running for a second term as president was ahead of his opponent by 26 percent. By the end of the summer and in the autumn, the gap was less pronounced (only 10 percent), but the winner's name was not in doubt after the final poll. Four out of ten voters were going to vote for Stevenson and six were going to vote for Eisenhower.

The formulation of the forecast in 1960 was extremely complicated, when the fight for the U.S. presidency was between John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) and Richard Nixon (1913-1994). Both were excellently educated, both had participated in World War II, both had firsthand experience in Congress and Senate. Kennedy was the Democrats choice, while Nixon, who at the time served as Vice President in the Eisenhower administration, was the candidate of the Republican Party.

George Gallup began studying the public attitude towards these politicians in January 1960. At that time, Kennedy lagged behind Nixon by 5 percent, according to the February poll, their popularity was equal (48 percent). Then the lead changed several times, but in each case, the candidates were separated by a maximum of 6 percent, and in four polls (altogether, there were 14 polls), the two candidates obtained an equal number of votes. In August and September, none of the candidates had any definite advantage. The voters were having difficulties with their choices. This situation was commented by George Gallup in the following way: "Open season on pollsters has arrived, and the shooting, as usual, comes from those who do not like the poll findings." [18]. 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." [19]. Another couple of weeks passed and the results of the final measurement were published: Kennedy received the support of 51 percent of the voters and Nixon was left behind with 49 percent. The forecast proved correct and its error was less than 1 percent.

The election campaign in 1964 came out "easy" to predict. The competition was between Democrat Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973), who became president in 1963 after the assassination of President Kennedy, and Republican Barry Goldwater (1909-1998). In June, the gap between them was huge, almost 60 percent. Johnson was going to be supported by 77 percent of the voters, while there were only 18 percent willing to vote for Barry Goldwater. Afterwards, the gap was cut by half and remained at this level until the final poll. Gallup predicted that 64 percent of the voters of the electorate would vote for Lyndon Johnson and 36 percent would go to vote for Barry Goldwater. The forecasting error was less than 3 percent.

In contrast, the next election campaign was highly unusual and its outcome was very difficult to predict. Spring and early summer were more favorable for Democrat candidate Vice President Hubert Humphrey (1911-1978), and then the lead was taken by Richard Nixon: he was supported by 43 to 44 percent of the voters, while Hubert Humphrey could count on 28 to 29 percent. There was also a third candidate — George Wallace (1919-1998) who represented the American Independent Party; he had on his side about one-fifth of the electorate. In early autumn, the votes of the supporters of George Wallace began moving rapidly to Humphrey, and in October, the Democratic candidate was lagging just by 8 percent behind the Republican candidate. On the eve of Election Day, the last poll showed 43 percent of votes for Nixon and 42 percent of votes for Humphrey. In a similar situation, only a person who had a profound understanding of the logic of social processes and of the technology of public opinion measurement could be daring enough to venture with the formulation of a forecast. Gallup named Nixon as the winner of the election and his forecast proved right. Summing up the results of its observations, the *Time* magazine, referring to a Gallup's statement, wrote that the 1968 election campaign "may go into the record books as the one that shattered more traditional voting patterns than any other election of this century." [20].

The presidential election in 1972 was an easy one for Nixon; he was opposed by the much less experienced politician Sen. George McGovern (b. 1922). George Gallup measured electoral sentiment nine times and every time Nixon was ahead of his opponent, leading by 20 to 25 points. Gallup's forecast was right, the winner was Richard Nixon.

The situation that occurred in 1976 was a very unusual one. The election was fought by Gerald Ford (1913-2006), who became president in August 1974, after Nixon's resignation in connection with the Watergate affair, and by the nominee of the Democratic Party, Senator Jimmy Carter (b. 1924). Given the complexity of the process of rapid

transformation of electoral attitudes during the months from March to early November, George Gallup polled public opinion eighteen times. Carter's popularity never lagged behind that of Ford, but the magnitude of his advance was varying constantly. Until July, his advantage grew monotonously from zero to 33 percent, which was followed by an equally monotonous fallback. In late October, the separation between the two candidates was equal to 4 percent. In the latest poll, the candidacy of Ford was supported by 49 percent of the electorate, while Carter had 48 percent. Seeing this trend, Gallup named Ford to be the winner of the campaign. In the real event, Carter won (50.1 percent), by two percent ahead of Ford. "To George Gallup, it is the most unpredictable presidential election in his four decades as a pollster", the *Time* magazine wrote in late October [21]. The inaccuracy of Gallup was perceived by the pollster community as completely explainable by the theory of random errors, and was not treated as a weakness of the sample survey technology.

Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) was well ahead of his rivals in the two cases: in 1980 this was President Carter, while in the next election campaign this was Walter Mondale (b. 1928), Vice President in the Carter administration. The forecasts of Gallup were true and accurate.

The election campaign of 1988, which was waged by George H.W. Bush Sr. (p. 1924) and Michael Dukakis (b. 1933), reaffirmed the correctness of the electoral predictions of the leading pollster services of the country, including those of the Gallup Organization.

The monitoring of the 1992 election was difficult, because in addition to the Republican candidate and incumbent president George Bush Sr. and Democrat Bill Clinton (b. 1946), there was the active campaign by the independent candidate Ross Perot (b. 1930). He obtained 19 percent of the votes. George Gallup's forecast was correct, although its accuracy was not very high; the average error for the three candidates was 3.8 percent.

The forecasts about the last elections of the twentieth century (in 1996) and the first two elections of the new century (2000 and 2004) were both correct and accurate. In all cases, the forecasting error was less than 3 percent, and even less than 1 percent in some cases.

The fierceness of the fight in the 2008 presidential campaign between Barack Obama (b. 1961) and John McCain (b. 1936) did not allow even the most daring pollster to clearly mention the name of the winner even as late as a few weeks before Election Day. Certain trends in this rivalry were discernible beyond doubt; nevertheless, each and any of the forecasts inevitably contained a qualifying reservation, such as "everything seems to point to..." "most probably..." "more chances

appear to be in favor of ..." etc., etc. While formulating their predictions about the likely Obamavictory, the analysts used to draw attention to a number of circumstances, which could nullify their conclusions.

First, the country had never before voted for a black presidential candidate, and there were fears that some kind of a Bradley effect might occur in the course of the election campaign, that is, the case when survey respondents express their support for the Afro-American candidate, but actually vote against him. Second, almost one-third of the states allowed early voting, and this complicated the modeling of the behavior of that part of the voters who would come to the polls on Election Day. There was also another circumstance of an instrumental nature. It was assumed that the presence in the groups that would potentially support Barack Obama of a significant number of people, who used mobile phones only, might shift the poll results in the direction of the Democratic candidate.

However, the pollsters sighed with relief already in the evening of November 4. The old telephone survey, which enjoyed the decade-long trust of public opinion researchers proved highly reliable again. The wide diffusion of mobile phones had complicated the data acquisition, but the research community had coped with this challenge. The Bradley effect had not materialized. Just as analysts had expected, those who had not made a decision about their preferred candidate even as late as the eve of Election Day, did not constitute "hidden" or latent groups intending to support John McCain. In late October, a generalization of the results of a large number of polls conducted by different organizations showed that the voters, who had not made a decision about their preferred candidate as late as the day of voting, would split in a proportion of approximately 54:46 percent in favor of Obama, i.e., this should pretty much repeat the stratification among those voters who would have had made their choice by that time. This was almost precisely what happened in practice. The forecast of the Gallup Organization also proved correct and accurate.

Taken as a whole, the average discrepancy between the official statistical data on the electoral outcome of 19 presidential elections and the final results of the *Gallup Institute* polling forecasts (Table 8) is 2.3 percent. If we consider exclusively the polls conducted after the 1948 fiasco, this indicator will be even lower – 1.8 percent. The average error for the last ten presidential campaigns has been 1.7 percent. These are fantastic results. In addition, all this has happened and is happening in front of the eyes of the entire country, and during the recent decades – even of the whole world. The pollsters' successes in the analysis of a relatively narrow field of societal relations – electoral intentions

and behavior — is proof of the power of sample polling as one of the most widely used knowledge technologies in sociology, and in social sciences in general.

When discussing the prospects of public opinion research about 50 or 70 years ago, people from the academic, journalistic and political circles had the habit of saying complacently: “Time will show!” Now, we have all the reasons to say: “Time has shown!”

THE POST-GALLUP CULTURE

In the process of my historical and methodological exploration, an assumption emerged in my mind that the development of public opinion research methods would lead to the creation of qualitatively new polling technologies. The fundamental thesis is simple: if the methods for the identification and the measurement of public attitudes have been changing in the course of almost two hundred years, it is quite likely that they will change in future times as well. At first, there was a simple means of identifying the electoral sentiment of the population. Those were the proto-straw polls and the straw polls; they were replaced by scientific methods, i.e., Gallup’s methods. It is logical to assume that they should also be replaced by more advanced technologies that would be in a position to respond to the new social and scientific imperatives. Therefore, it does seem reasonable to refer to these innovative future technologies with the “Post-Gallup technologies” term.

From Straw Polls to Post-Gallup Technologies

The concept of the existence of Post-Gallup technologies was put forward by me in early 2003, when I was trying to differentiate the development stages of the sampling technology for public opinion research studies [22]. It seemed then that the “Post-Gallup polls” concept had a purely ancillary or “nominal” significance: it would permit an explanation of the reasons why the research community had experienced difficulties in accepting the methods of public opinion research that had arisen in the last decade of the XX c. Later, the issue of the emergence and the development perspectives of Post-Gallup technologies exhibited some new aspects. However, all these measurement technologies are only beginning to develop; therefore, the analysis of this topic needs to involve the solution of a multitude of methodological and informational problems. Nevertheless, let us start with a clarification of the terminology.

It is natural to refer to the sample survey or the polling method as to the sequence of logical, technical and organizational operations undertaken by a researcher with the objective to identify the opinions, perceptions and attitudes of the respondents with regard to various phenomena and processes occurring in a community, in a country or worldwide. It makes sense to talk about the broad and the narrow interpretations of the sample survey or polling concept. The broad interpretation includes into the polling method all aspects of its existence: from its theoretical justification to the details of its design and implementation. The terms “polling technology” and “polling culture” correspond precisely to the broad interpretation of the concept of the polling method. In the narrow sense of the term, the polling method is a concrete, limited and instrumental arrangement; it is primarily an aggregate of actual measurement procedures and rules for their use.

At the same time, it makes sense to clarify the concept of public opinion polling culture. This concept covers the polling technologies and the social context of their use. For example, the elements of the polling culture include the attitude towards the polling of the population and of the ruling elite; the contents of the information about public opinion that is transferred to the public administration system; the ethics of the analysts of mass attitudes; the channels for the formation and the disclosure of public opinion. The polling technologies shape the polling culture, but the latter, in its own turn, supports or rejects the existing technologies and leads to the emergence of new and corrective technologies, which in some cases transform the established polling culture.

Just as the continually changing social space preserves the silhouette of the past while evolving, the polling technologies (and methods) contain something unalterable, which justifies speaking about the evolution of technologies. The efforts to identify the ratio between things changing and things permanent, between things new and things old will inevitably introduce time as a social category into the methodological study, transforming methodological research (strictly speaking) into historical and methodological studies. This reveals the asymmetric duality of the historical-methodological research. When one examines the changes that have occurred until the present moment, it is possible to refrain from tracing the future of the changes. However, it is impossible to imagine the future of polling technologies without a thoroughgoing analysis of their past and of the process of their transformations.

The introduction of one notion will automatically require the appearance of other notions associated with it. If we speak about “Post-Gallup technologies”, it should be natural to introduce the terms of “Pre-Gallup technologies” and “Gallup technologies”, and also iden-

tify the fundamental, criteria-setting and quality-specific attributes that permit the distinction between the technologies included in the different groups.

The first criterion is the time of the birth of a procedure, of a method or of a technology. This criterion should always be considered in conjunction with another criterion, i.e., the level of their scientific character. As a matter of course, the measurement of the depth or of the level of the scientific character is not something permanent; what we view as scientific is a function of time. Thus, during a given historical period, a certain sampling scheme might appear as scientifically justified, proved and useful. It might be considered to be the optimal one. However, the mathematical verification of the properties and of the application details of this sampling scheme may reveal some flaws or disadvantages. Then this technique will be replaced by a new one with better operational performance features.

The public opinion research techniques that were popular until the mid 1930's belong to the group of Pre-Gallup methods not only because they emerged and were used before Gallup started to poll the public, but also because they were not scientific, that is, they were developed without regard to the established norms of statistics and psychology. The second half of the XX c. was dominated by Gallup's techniques of public opinion research, but Pre-Gallup approaches were also widely used. This was apparent, for example, in the use of unrepresentative samples, in the biased or ambiguous wording of the questions, in the inappropriate organization of the communication process between respondents and interviewers, etc. The simplest methods of online public opinion polls should also be classified as Pre-Gallup methods, although they originated in the late 1990's. The reason is obvious — the unscientific character of these surveys: their final samples did not represent any generally valid aggregates.

The scientific character is the fundamental determinant of George Gallup's approach to the study of public opinion. For Gallup, the word "scientific" was essential, when applied to his polls. He 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." [23, p. 26]. According to Gallup, those who held a different view did not understand the nature of the new approach towards the scientific measurement of public opinion. At the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, the scientific approach turned into a common attribute of modern polling technologies. Scientific soundness and adherence to the standards applicable for measuring instruments was becoming the norm of the professional communities of pollsters and sociologists who

were using sample survey technologies, regardless of the specific techniques and methods they were employing. In particular, the scientific character presupposes the representativeness of the final sample, the validity of the scales used, the coherence of the initial data acquisition process, the adequacy of the methods of processing the collected data.

The second fundamental feature of George Gallup's technology is related to the special role of the interviewer in the process of the acquisition of primary information. From the theoretical point of view, the interviewer's character is not a central one. The interviewer only "connects" the researcher and the respondent. However, considering things from the practical point of view, the role and the function of the interviewer at the data acquisition stage become essential and defining factors of the measurement process. With regard to the organization of the data acquisition process, Gallup proceeded from the principle that "No poll is any better than its interviewers." [24].

Prior to the initiation of the fieldwork and after its completion, the interviewer is absent from the poll as a measuring circuit, but during the time of the survey the interviewer actually turns out to be endowed with a number of obligations and rights of the researcher, "replacing" him, as it were. In the minds of a large proportion of the respondents, the interviewer is the only organizing figure in the public opinion research process. The researcher either does not exist for these respondents or is located at a remote, unfamiliar part of their semantic space.

Thus, the mere fact of the emergence of some sample survey methods by the end of the XXth c. and in the beginning of the XXIst c. cannot justify their automatic entry into the category of Post-Gallup technologies. In order to be considered as such, they must be scientific in terms of their mandatory attribute. However, this is not sufficient: an innovation needs to contain something that transforms fundamentally the new approach to the research of attitudes and that differentiates it substantially from Gallup's technology. In our opinion, this novelty needs to involve the organization of the communication process between the respondents and the researchers who study public opinion.

In view of the above, we shall classify as Post-Gallup those polling technologies, which are characterized by the following criteria properties:

- First, they are younger than the Gallup technologies, represent a further stage of their development, and are aimed at solving the problems that can not be adequately solved within the polling technologies of the Gallup phase;
- Second, they must be scientific, that is, they need to take into account the principles and achievements of metrology (the science of

designing measurement instruments), as well as the recommendations and the generalizations accumulated by the pollsters over the many decades of use of the technologies of the Gallup phase;

- Third, the Post-Gallup polling technologies as measuring circuits should be described by functions that differ from the functions, which describe the Gallup stage technologies. The matter here concerns both the new functional relationships, and the new variables (or parameters) involved in the representation of the functional relationships, together with the new application areas of such functions.

The last attribute (or criterion) of the Post-Gallup stage of polling technologies needs some explanation, since it is formulated in a language that is currently used only in writings dealing with the methodology of sociological measurements. Here, the starting point is the assertion that polling (as an instrument for the measurement of attitudes) can be described by metrological equations, that is, by a series or a sequence of functions where the output variables (or functions) are indicators for the reliability of the measurement, i.e., its precision and accuracy, while the input variables (or arguments) are the most important features of the measuring circuit itself.

The concept of the metrological equation of the polling methods [25] was introduced by me in the mid-1980s. At that time, it was treated both as a foundation and simultaneously as the main theoretical and empirical result of the methodological experiments. Two decades later, another application of metrology equations was discovered. Their structure, that is, their domain of assignment and the aggregate of their arguments and parameters in effect determine the criteria for the classification of the polling technologies to the Gallup or the Post-Gallup stages. The most formalized section of polling technologies, which has been developed to the stage of explicitly written equations, is the section of the planning and the implementation of sampling. Further, there are theoretical and empirical rules for the estimation of the magnitude of displacement (as a measure of the accuracy) of the answers of the respondents that have been generated by the patterns of the interviewer's behavior or personality. Yet, another example of the mathematical description of the fragments of the polling technologies are the multivariate regression equations that relate the rate of return (which determines the validity and the precision) of a mail survey to the organizational factors of the mail survey. Thus, in principle, we can already now speak about the existence of metrological equations for polling technologies. At present, they are still rarely set out in an analytical form. They are seen more frequently in the form of tables or descriptions, that is, using "soft" formalization techniques. In the

future, the metrological properties of many elements of modern polling technologies and of the technologies that will emerge as their further development forms will be determined by systems of equations and will be analyzed mathematically.

The Post-Gallup Polling Technologies

The theory and the practice of conducting public opinion polls are just entering into the epoch of Post-Gallup technologies. Nevertheless, it seems even now possible to consider some new schemes of public opinion polls, which satisfy all three components of the above-mentioned definition for Post-Gallup polling technologies, and illustrate the general discussion about the future of polling methods.

Figure 1. Randomized response technique.

At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, the endeavors of the scientists aiming to improve the reliability of the data led to their discovery of a new class of methods for planning and conducting interviews, different from those of George Gallup. The traditional patterns of the interviews used also at present are characterized by two properties. Firstly, the interviewers know the way that each of the respondents has replied to each of the questions asked. Secondly, the aggregated data with which the analyst works are the sum of the individual responses of the respondents. The design of this method is such that the interviewers, while recording the answers of each of the respondents, do not know to which question the answer applies, whereas the analyst calculates the distribution of the responses without knowing the individual responses of the respondents. In other words, the outcome of the survey represents a picture of the distribution of the respondents' opinions, but no one knows and cannot know the opinions of the individual respondents.

The basic assumption of all these interviewing techniques runs approximately as follows: if the respondent is aware that the interviewer does not know the question being answered by the respondent, his or her responses to personal and intimate questions will be more honest and sincere, and this will increase the accuracy (or reduce the bias) of the primary information. It all started with the scheme of Stanley Warner [26], which can be briefly summarized as follows below.

Suppose that a certain number of respondents, who are selected to be representative of the total aggregate under research, participate in an interview. Each of them gets a card from the interviewer with two opposing assertions, such as: "I use heroin" and "I do not use heroin". The first question, near which the letter is written, is a sensitive ques-

tion. The second question, which has near it the letter Ω written on the card, in general is a much less emotionally charged question. Both assertions allow two types of responses: “Yes” or “No.”

Together with the card, the respondent is given a spinner the surface of which is divided into two sectors: one is marked with the letter ω , the second is marked with the letter Ω . The surface area of each of the sectors is determined by the researcher. Therefore, the researcher is able to preset the probability of hitting any of the letters. The respondent spins the spinner, covering it and hiding it from the interviewer. If the spinner stops while the sector marked with the letter ω touches the surface of rotation, then the respondent is asked to provide a response about the assertion marked with ω , if the letter Ω sector hits the rotation surface, then the response to the Ω assertion is requested. The respondent answers, and the interviewer records his/her response (“Yes” or “No”). I repeat that the interviewer does not know to which one of the assertions the respondent's answer applies.

Let us denote by “n” the number of “Yes” responses (obviously, some of these responses are related to the ω assertion, and another part of them is related to the Ω assertion). Now we can calculate the sought-for probability “ ω ” of getting “Yes” answers to the assertions designated by :

$$\omega = (P-1 + n / N) / (2P-1).$$

The P parameter, which is present in the formula, represents the probability that the spinner will stop on the letter ω ; it is selected by the author of the survey.

Thus, Warner created a very simple polling model, which minimized the impact of the interviewer on the respondent. The drawback of Warner's scheme consisted in the fact that the second question and its answer were also far from neutral, generally speaking. Nevertheless, his idea — to get an introduction to the procedure of the manageable random sampling — has been developed further and has led to the creation of polling technologies that increase the accuracy of the respondents' answers.

Subsequently, many schemes have been developed with the objective to enhance the performance of public opinion research related to issues that might be embarrassing to discuss with the respondents because of dominant society taboos and statutory concepts [27], [28], [29]. The authors of one of the first books on the randomized responses and answers technique, which was published a quarter of a century ago, came to the conclusion that the randomized response method is

extremely promising for a number of scientific disciplines, and that, therefore, it will be very popular in future [30].

Having no opportunity for a detailed analysis of the technological, algorithmic and applied aspects of this group of methods within the present paper, let us point out their fundamental difference from the interviews of the Gallup stage.

First, the symmetry in the relationship between respondents and interviewers, which is inherent to all previous interviewing methods, has been eliminated. Now, the respondent knows the answered questions and the way they have been answered, but the interviewer has only recorded the type of answer and the cluster to which it belongs. The answers of the individual respondents generally cannot be retrieved. Second, the elimination of this symmetry is in favor of the respondent. The respondent understands that the randomization device (a spinner or a card) becomes an “impenetrable firewall” that separates and protects him/her from the outside world. The intimate facts of inner consciousness and the personal behavior of the respondents cannot, in principle, be made public when such polling methods are used. Thirdly, this group of methods for the acquisition of primary data deepens qualitatively the methodology of polling: it appears that knowledge about the attitudes and the behavior of the social groups can be obtained directly without acquiring any information about the attitudes and behavior of specific group members. In substance, the analyst has only a group view, whereas the individual opinions remain unknown.

Finally, one can assume that the distinctive features of the development and operation of Post-Gallup polling technologies are most likely to consist in a strive for their formalization (that is, for their representation in the form of mathematical equation systems) and in a planning of the acquisition of data based on the results of preparatory simulative experiments. Within the entire aggregate of the randomized response techniques, this feature of the future polling technologies is exposed more clearly and consistently than in the other new polling methods.

Figure 2. Deliberative Public Opinion Polling

The many years of critical analysis of all poll variations of the Pre-Gallup and Gallup stages of public opinion research include a debate on the assertion that respondents have been frequently asked to express their views on issues with which they feel uncomfortable or about which they are not informed at all. This is not only the reason for a large number of evasive actions in avoidance of participation in the polls and for a high proportion of responses like “I don't know” or “I have no opinion about this”, but also for the justified doubts of many

politicians, journalists, and advanced groups of the population with respect to the reliability of the obtained answers.

Having diagnosed this problem, George Gallup developed in the mid-1940's and then regularly used the so-called "*Quintamensional*" plan of polling. This design included a sequence of five questions of different types, the aggregate answers to which increased the reliability of the information received. The plan contained a filter question, such as "Have you heard or read about ...?", an "open" or "free answer question"; a dichotomous question, usually for a "Yes" or "No" answer, a question allowing the respondent to explain the reason why he adheres to his opinion, and finally, a scale of the intensity with which opinions are held, such as "How strongly do you feel about ...?" [31, p.385-393].

At the end of last century, a new interpretation of the mechanisms of the formation of public opinion was proposed by James Fishkin [32]. He brought together the public opinion research practices with the philosophical and political doctrine of deliberative democracy. Based on the traditions accumulated by the studies of deliberative democracy, Fishkin has focused on the analysis of deliberative public opinion, that is, the aggregate of the judgments of people or large groups developed during the joint deliberation of the issues. As a result of his social and political exploration, he proposed a three-phase technology for the study of deliberative public opinion polling.

Step One: Preparing and conducting of a baseline public opinion poll according to the traditional Gallup scheme. In other words, the subject of the research would be the "raw" public opinion based on a scientifically selected sample taken out of the relevant general population.

Step Two: The opinions and the attitudes of the baseline poll participants are discussed, deliberated or "enriched". This is done by using different methods: all poll participants can be assembled in order to discuss the relevant issues in small groups, meetings with experts can be organized, specially prepared materials can be distributed, the required information can be sent to the respondents via e-mail or posted on a dedicated website, etc.

Step Three: A subsequent (second) poll is conducted, the interval between the baseline poll and the second poll varying from a few days to one and a half or two months. It is assumed that during this time, all respondents will be able to obtain, explore and synthesize the necessary information and to formulate their new attitudes towards the relevant social issue. The final poll outcome is regarded as a measurement of the deliberative public opinion.

The idea of deliberative polling was first described by Fishkin in August 1988 [33, p.16-18]. His idea of the deliberative poll was as fol-

lows: "We do thousands of polls of the public when it isn't thinking", he said. "Why not do a couple of polls of the public when it has access to information and it is thinking? I see no other good way to get an informed and representative opinion from the public." [34].

In the mid-1990's, Fishkin was in a position to proceed to an empirical study of this phenomenon. The beginning of it all was started by the Manchester experiment. The first deliberative opinion poll was held on April 15-17, 1994. It concerned the problems of crime. Then the topics of the new type of polling included the attitudes towards the future of Europe (1995), the views about monarchy (1996), the perception of the country's economic problems (1997) and the future of the National Health Service (1998).

Australia today is probably the country in the world, which is second only to the U.S. with respect to the active conduct of research on deliberative democracy, and where similar surveys are regularly carried out. From among the former European socialist countries, Fishkin's methodologies and technologies are beginning to be mastered in Bulgaria and Hungary. In addition, polls using the deliberative democracy technology under discussion have been conducted in Greece, Denmark, Italy, Ireland, Canada, China, Japan and other countries.

The methodology and the technology of this kind of polling can be considered to be something new and currently developing, therefore, they represent an appropriate area for professional debate. I will quote here the opinions of several experts, who have been watching the development of public opinion research technologies for many years: Professor Robert Dahl: "...I hope that in the coming century, it will be widely adopted in the United States and other democratic countries." Walter Shapiro, the observer of the *Time* magazine wrote that it was "an innovative method for bridging the chasm between the electors and the elected." Professor Norman Bradburn said: "Deliberative polling combines two familiar techniques — sample surveys and focus groups — into a powerful new technique for gauging informed public opinion. I think it is the most innovative approach to studying public opinion since the development of scientific polling in the 1930's". Professor F. Converse wrote: "From the point of view of citizenship and democratic values, the Deliberative polling design is a delightfully fresh departure.... This is a visionary kind of inquiry." [35].

The stage of deliberation (or enrichment) of the respondents' opinions has a complex and multifunctional nature. According to its geometry, this is an intermediate element in the measurement process chain, but it forms the *nucleus* of the new measurement technology. Outwardly, this technology looks like a synthesis between the Gallup

interviews and the method of the focus group, but asimilar interpretation of the technology would not convey its essence. The purpose of the focus groups consists in extracting information from the respondents, while the objective of the enrichment or deliberation stage consists in correcting and modifying the attitudes of the respondents. In other words, the stage of the deliberation of opinions consists in moving a social group (or rather, the group's authorized representatives) from one social space to another: out of the present into the past or into the future; out of a specific and restricted environment into the abstract space; from a low awareness state to a quasi-expert position.

The fundamental difference between the deliberative public opinion polling and all other interviewing varieties, which are typical of the Gallup stage, can be easily discovered if one tries to write down — even in a most generalized form — the metrological equation of this technology. Insofar as the respondents' opinions at the moment of the final survey are revealed to be functions of the influence that they have been experiencing during the time that separates the first (baseline) polling from the second one, the right side of this equation must contain the variables or the parameters that define the deliberation process features.

In the mid-1990's, the highest forum of American public opinion research experts discussed the methodological aspects of Fishkin's technology [36]. Many experts had difficulties in determining the nature of this method and its future. Some saw it as a new polling method, while others considered it to be an experiment, which includes the intensive use of polling technologies. Fifteen years have passed since this debate, but the ambiguity in assessing the nature of the new method is still there. In our view, the problem of identifying the substance of the new method arises when one starts making attempts to treat it as part of the paradigmatics of the Pre-Gallup and Gallup public opinion research technologies. In reality, however, we should go beyond this traditional system of coordinates and treat it as a polling method, which represents one of the directions for the development of Post-Gallup polling technologies.

Figure 3: The online "Knowledge Networks" and "YouGov/Polimetrix" polls.

The Internet has entered world culture at the end of the XXth c., and has instantly started to change the lifestyle of the population, completely transfiguring various forms and fields of human activity, first of all in the sphere of telecommunications. In different countries, this process has been proceeding in various different ways; anyway, by the beginning of the new century, Internet had become an integral part of the everyday life of ordinary people in the United States.

One of the first online surveys of Internet users was conducted by

James Pitkow and Margaret Recker of the Georgia Institute of Technology in January 1994 [37]. As a matter of fact, such attempts have been made even before that. This is evidenced, in particular, by a note in their report: "Using the Internet to survey users is not new. However, the problem with most of these surveys has typically been an inadequate level of participation." [38].

In 1996-1997, American researchers began conducting the first Internet online surveys, sharing their experiences, and discussing the technological and ethical problems related to the use of the new methods of data acquisition, and to the validity and efficiency of these methods. By the beginning of the 21st century, the general orientation of online surveys was already apparent. My analysis of the activities of 83 companies conducted in early 2000 [39] permitted the identification of three topical groups for research of this kind. The first group was related to the users' Web behavior and their attitudes towards the technological and the socio-cultural aspects of Internet development. The second group concerned the attitudes and the behavior of consumers in the different markets for various goods and services. These studies constituted the bulk of online surveys. The third group was concerned with the social and political attitudes of respondents from among the users of the Internet, including their electoral preferences.

The organization and the definition of the sampling procedure became immediately one of the central methodological and organizational problems of online surveys. In general, an Internet survey is based on a two-stage sampling methodology: at first, the respondent panel is identified, then, out of it a sample is formed in such a way that it should be representative of the general population with the specified parameters.

At the beginning of the decade, the relatively small research structures with limited capacities used passive methods for the construction of their respondent networks; they still use such methods. They ask the casual visitors on their websites and on the web portals of their customers to register for the surveys, and then turn to these volunteers with the request to address (against a nominal fee) to their friends or acquaintances a recommendation to participate in the survey as well. Other inexpensive methods for the recruitment of the panel are also used.

The more prosperous and well-known companies also offer the visitors of their sites to sign up, but at the same time they recruit panelists in the process of conducting their personal, postal and telephone interviews, as well as by calling on potential respondents using a random sample of telephone numbers. Various types of panels have been created, viz. at the local level (one or several states), across the United States and worldwide.

Mick Couper combined the multitude of Web survey schemes that existed at the beginning of the twentieth century into eight types, starting from the simplest schemes, “carried out of curiosity”, to the most highly evolved projects implemented on the basis of a careful random sampling of the population [40]. Probably, there are several organizations that organize their sampling at present according to this principle, but the first and most famous Web survey technology is the one that was called InterSurvey when it was created in 1998. It was later renamed to Knowledge Networks (KN). Its creators are Norman Nie and Douglas Rivers.

In May 1999, KN conducted the first pilot survey of 600 participants in a panel. In 2010, the panel included 50 thousand adults (18 years and older), including people living in homes where only mobile telephones are used. In addition, the panel has 3,000 teenagers (13-17 years of age) whose parents are usually panelists themselves and have given permission for the surveying of their children [41].

At present, when the Internet has become something commonplace and has penetrated into the majority of households, the procedure of forming a KnowledgePanel® is not so expensive anymore, but nevertheless, it provides an opportunity for the online study of opinions of those strata of the population that are not represented in the panels of other firms that specialize in online surveys.

Just like all companies that are engaged in the conduct of online surveys, KN creates a panel of potential respondents, using the method of random selection of telephone numbers. However, the key innovative aspect of this technology is hidden in the fact that the respondents' panel does not include only households in possession of a computer and with access to the Internet, but also households that do not have any of them. They receive for free the appropriate hardware, access to the Internet and e-mail, and undergo a certain training as well. In the years when the technology was just becoming a part of everyday life and the Internet was used by about one-third of American households, the provision of the necessary equipment for those who did not have access to the network dramatically changed the nature of the panel formed and contributed to the higher quality of the sample created on this basis. For example, in August 2008, the establishment of a nationwide panel of American Hispanics was announced. One-half of the households pertaining to this rapidly growing and strengthening its political and economic importance stratum had no access to the Internet; therefore, they could not have been adequately represented in online surveys.

As late as the end of the 1990's, 96 percent of American house-

holds were accessible when using the procedure of random phone calls. However, the rapid development of mobile telephony has led to serious limitations in the recruitment of a network panel on the basis of this method. Families living in houses without conventional (wired) telephones are appreciably underrepresented in panels of the “opt-in” type, that is, panels composed by respondents who have registered for online panels on their own initiative. There are also other reasons for limiting the use of schemes for random dialing of telephone numbers; therefore, according to KN experts, because of the cumulative effects of different factors, one-fifth of all American families can in general be unavailable for public opinion researchers who use this approach.

The way out of this situation turned out to be obvious and logical: in addition to the proven and established methods of recruiting panel participants, it was possible to address the potential respondents based on randomly selected e-mail addresses. This technique had been used for many decades in the formation of mail panels, but in this case, it is some sort of a novelty, which minimizes the zone of the inaccessibility of the potential respondents. If the addressees do not have computers at home, they are given the hardware and the ability to access the Internet.

Table 9

Feature	Opt-In Panels	KnowledgePanel®
Coverage	76 percent of U.S. Households	97 percent of U.S. households
Sampling	Self-selected / convenience	Probability-based random
Non-internet population	Excluded	Included
Latino Households without Internet access	Excluded	Included
Sample representativeness	Overrepresents hyper Internet users	Comparable to high-quality RDD with cell phone sample supplementation

While Internet penetration rates were low, only the KN technology was in a position to provide a representative picture of mass attitudes. However, the growth of the Web audience was supposed to improve the quality of the largest opt-in panels.

That is indeed the way it happened: in 2004 D.Rivers created another company for the conduct of online surveys, based on a technology called PollingPoint. The basis for the sampling frame is a panel of volunteers, which in 2007 contained one million addresses in the U.S. and Canada together with the necessary data about them. Simultaneously, on-line panels of voters are being formed — both nationwide and in individual states — as well as panels of different consumer groups. In constructing the sample, the demographic, geographic, social and economic characteristics of the represented general population are accounted for. In 2000, similar principles of on-line paneling were employed by Nadhim Zahawi for the creation of the technology used by the British company YouGov. Initially its panel included a small number of people in England, but it is a global network now. The participants in the panel are volunteers, and a variety of socio-demographic information for each one of them is maintained. For their participation in the polling, the respondents are paid cash incentives (up to one pound), and when the amount of the compensation reaches 50 pounds, the panelists are sent checks. In addition, the panelists participate in various lotteries. The organizers of the polls are aware that they definitely fail to cover a certain part of the population, but they also know that the implementation of an absolute coverage (one hundred percent) of the sample frame is a fantasy, no matter what the polling method may be.

At the end of 2006, YouGov acquired one-third of the stock of Polimetrix. The organizations became strategic partners, and within six months, YouGov swallowed up the U.S. company. The new technology is sometimes referred to as the “*YouGov PollingPoint*” [43].

What allows us to classify the technologies of Knowledge Networks and YouGov/Polimetrix as Post-Gallup? The short answer is as follows: all three above-mentioned requirements are satisfied. These polling schemes are six decades younger than Gallup’s methods (the first criterion). These technologies take into account the most advanced scientific ideas about the conduct of surveys (the second criterion). The method of communication with the respondents is essentially and radically different from the methods used in the surveys of the 19th c. and the XXth c. (the third criterion). The fundamental difference between the new scientific polling technologies and the schemes of the past consists in the transfer of the process of communication between the researcher and the respondents from the reality niche of modern social space to the virtual one. However, if the reality niche is something familiar and habitual for the organizers and the participants in public opinion polls, the virtual one is just beginning to be internalized.

The methodology of Pre-Gallup polls actually did not contain any notions about a “method error”. In particular, the impact of the inter-

viewer (or the collector of information) on the respondent’s answers was not recognized. In Gallup’s methodology, the influence of the environment and of the interviewer is regarded as an important factor of the quality of measurement. According to the polling technology of Nye, Douglas and Zahavi, the specificity of human interaction in the Internet environment must be taken into account as a factor affecting the reliability of the results. It differs in many respects from the traditional off-line forms of communication; on-line, one has to consider the characteristics of the respondent’s behavior within the “human being — electronic environment” system.

A significant event in the process of crystallization of the Post-Gallup polling technologies occurred in December 2002 — January 2003. Before that, the deliberative public opinion polls and the KN polling scheme, both of which were qualified as Post-Gallup ones, existed separately, developing on their own within their social and technological niches. At that point in time, the trajectories of the two polling methods reached an intersection. During four weeks, the 280 participants of the KN panel, combined into 15 groups of 10-20 people each, met twice a week in the Net and, with the participation of an experienced moderator, discussed the topic of the research — America’s role in the world. The technology allowed the respondents to speak to each other in the literal sense of the word (and not to exchange electronic messages). Before each session, the participants in the discussion used to read specially prepared materials about America’s role in the world. In addition, they were able to send their questions to experts, while the answers were posted on the website. Thus, the first online poll of deliberative or enriched public opinion was held. Comparing the results of the on-line and the “face-to-face” deliberative opinion polls, Fishkin said that this new tool of democracy made it possible to avoid the division of the nation along the partition line of availability or absence of Internet connectivity at home. It was America that was listening.

In the autumn of 2005, a nationwide online deliberative poll about health policies and education was conducted by Fishkin and Douglas by means of the Polimetrix technology. The poll was conducted over five weeks on a sample with a size of 360 people; each respondent participated in the discussion, which lasted for more than a three hours [44].

The analysis of the long history of the development of public opinion studying methods provides grounds to put forward the following two assertions:

First, together with the transformation of social space, the require-

ments addressed to the reliability of the information about public opinion have continually become more stringent, while the methods for researching it have also been subject to transmutation. Certain dominant data acquisition methods have been replaced by other methods. A new culture for the functioning of public opinion has been formed. The role of public opinion in the system of social and political institutions of the United States has changed.

Second, the new technologies have not entirely displaced the previously existing technologies; the “obsolete” data acquisition methods have preserved their special fields of application (of course, with a narrower scope), while, simultaneously, opportunities for the refinement of the old tools were discovered. This course of events will continue into the 21st century. In 2024, when public opinion research in the United States will be two hundred years old, public opinion measurement technologies will be multi-layered, preserving the techniques proven by practice, while simultaneously they will be continuously updated, i.e., the new polling methods will continue to coexist with the old ones.

Gallup’s classical polling scheme is being gradually transformed now into a *Post-Gallup* one; together with this, the establishment and the strengthening of *Post-Gallup public opinion study practices* will continue.

Why do we speak about Post-Gallup technologies, practices and culture in our rationalizing on the future of public opinion polls, instead of using neutral definitions that are not related to the name of Gallup? Why don’t we use for this purpose the features of the new era that are already visible or predicted?

We do so because everything new in the research of public opinion and in the forms of its functioning will consist in *continuation, development, inclusion and transformation* of the very experience and social practices that have emerged during the years of domination of the classical Gallup technology and its numerous modifications. Everything that lies ahead will always be compared to what has been done in the twentieth century by George Gallup and by those who stood at the origins of scientific public opinion research.

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GEORGE GALLUP: THE NATURE OF CREATIVITY AND THE CHARACTER OF SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE

An exceptional role in the life and the fate of George Gallup has been played by Lord James Bryce. Lord Bryce's high appreciation of the New England town meeting was an essential factor through which George Gallup's pre-biography (i.e., the experience of nine American generations) exercised its impact on his biography. This appreciation was also a key element that assisted Gallup while he was defining the philosophy, and the political and civic purpose of the public opinion polls that he was contemplating. Gallup established the formula of polls as a «Sampling Referendum» and, throughout his endeavors, he pushed for the promotion of the consequences of this assertion. It is noteworthy that his report on the results of the first survey of the attitudes of the electorate and the public, which was read in December 1937 at the Ninety-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Statistical Association, was entitled «Government and the Sampling Referendum» [1].

The integrity of Gallup's personality and the coherence of his scientific views with his citizen ideology are visible throughout his work and life. This coherence can also be seen in the fact that, under the influence of Bryce, Gallup was imbued with such a profound respect for the Swiss model of democracy that he 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 moved away from active work, lived there for many years. Generally, such Euro-centrism has not been typical for Americans born in the beginning of the XXth c. It becomes even more surprising when one considers the appurtenance of George Gallup to a family, which had been living in America since the first half of the seventeenth century, and when his commitment to the State of Iowa is taken into account.

On July 26, 1984, George Gallup died of a heart attack in his Swiss home; he was buried in the cemetery at Princeton. On the tombstone of Gallup and his wife, the ancient motto of the Gallups family was en-

graved: «Be bold. Be wise.» Both these two qualities accurately describe the scientific and the civic commitment of Gallup.

In the beginning of the 1940's, when summarizing the data series made available thanks to the observations of Gallup and other pollsters, Hadley Cantril formulated about two dozens of rules about the volatility of public opinion. In particular, he identified the following two axioms:

- When self-interest is involved, public opinion in a democracy is likely to be ahead of official policy.
- By and large, if people in a democracy are provided educational opportunities and ready access to information, public opinion reveals a hard-headed common sense. The more enlightened people are to the implications of events and proposals for their own self-interest, the more likely they are to agree with the more objective opinions of realistic experts [2, p.228-230].

George Gallup had arrived at similar conclusions even earlier. Moreover, these views about the role and the contents of public opinion, which were going back in time to the findings of Lord Bryce, had provided strong incentives for the encouragement of Gallup's research. We can assume that they represent the impetus, which provided the initial momentum and simulated all his scientific and organizational work that preceded the start of polling in 1935.

In the above-mentioned preface to the book of John Fenton (see Chapter 5), George Gallup quoted the words of Robert Millikan (1868-1953), the physics Nobel prize laureate, a person with a profound understanding of politics and morality. Commenting on the results of a survey on the attitude of people towards the war and on their readiness and willingness to endure the hardships of war, Millikan wrote: «If all this does not show that the average American has more intelligence and more conscience than his political leaders, then I don't know straight thinking and straight social morals when I see them.» [3, p.IX].

Why is it that George Gallup, wishing to emphasize the value and the importance of the views of Americans, of their ability to see and understand what was happening in the country, quoted the words of Millikan, the experimental physicist, but did not formulate the idea himself or did not refer to the opinions of pollsters, journalists or politicians? For example, in his above-mentioned address to the American Statistical Association, made at a time when his experience in political research was still relatively limited, George Gallup quoted the words of Theodore Roosevelt: «The majority of plain people of the United 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.» [1, p.142].

It seems justified to think that George Gallup, who had been brought up with the philosophy and the statistical analysis principles of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), considered it extremely important to have his work highly appreciated by a leading-edge expert in natural sciences, by a top class experimenter who understood all the subtleties of the measurement process. Most likely, Gallup perceived Milliken's words as the ultimate recognition of his own scientific approach to the study of public opinion, and, for Gallup, precisely this was the thing of importance and essence.

Having initiated the regular polling of the attitudes of Americans towards the various problems of societal life, George Gallup made a major twentieth century discovery in the social and cultural sphere: he gave the United States and the whole world a technology for the analysis of public opinion and actively promoted the formation of demand for such information across all strata of society. The multidisciplinary analysis of George Gallup's work and his biography, the study of the modern practice of public opinion research in the United States, as well as the correspondence with several researchers of the history and the methodology of the research areas developed by him, enables us to try describing the specificity of his creative process and the essence of his scientific legacy.

The complexity of this task is determined by many circumstances, including the lack of traditions and standards for the dissection of the creative process of scientists who have been involved in the research of societal systems and relationships. Some part of what was said above is due to the fact that the social sciences in their modern interpretation, that is, science in its theoretical and empirical form, is much younger than natural sciences that gave to humankind brilliant scientists whose work has long been the subject of science studies in general and of socio-psychological studies in particular. Another reason is the rapid change of the paradigms of social sciences and their methodological instruments, making it difficult to conduct penetrating historical science studies of the endeavors of social scientists. Thirdly, turning to the history of awarding Nobel Prizes, it is easy to discern the subjectivity in the assessment of achievements even when natural sciences are concerned. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that prizes have been frequently awarded to the scientists many years and even decades after the making of their discoveries. It seems that the criteria for "weighing" the achievements in the field of social sciences are even less clear-cut and even more subjective.

The analysis of the long course of development of advertising and the science devoted to it in the United States, the study of the sam-

ple polling technology and of the emergence of the culture of public opinion research made apparent the relatively minor role of the State with respect to the nature of the dynamics of these processes. The challenges of our time have been perceived and captured by outstanding individuals who have assumed the responsibility for finding solutions to the problems. The lives of these people have unfolded within a certain macro-environment with its particular circumstances and imperatives, but their activities have been primarily determined by the milieu of their early socialization, as well as by the respective traditions and norms taught to them in early childhood and adolescence and by the experiences of their parents and families in the continuity of generations. Their plans and their actions (meaning the professional part of their lives) have been determined to a very small extent by the decisions of governmental institutions and organizations. Their work has been motivated by their own values and attitudes; it has been based on their own experience.

The foregoing is fully applicable to the life and work of Gallup; his biography provides a view of the intersection of such a large number of trajectories of the development of American society, which witnesses the participation of such a large number of outstanding personalities that there can be almost no doubt in the non-randomness of a similar interleaving. One is left with the impression that history has been preparing this destiny long and purposefully.

S. Ohmer, who studied the biography of George Gallup and, more specifically, his Hollywood-based research, has recorded this wholeness, this inner orderliness of his creative activity in the following way: "Gallup's career was remarkably linear: one project led to another, and the people whom he met in one field became points of entry into another." [4, p.4].

Indeed, George Gallup was a true representative of the tenth-generation of Americans. He always felt the appurtenance of his family history to the history of the country. The patriarch of the clan John Gallop belonged to the Puritans, the oldest and one of the strongest groups of English settlers in America, who developed this early form of American democracy — the Massachusetts town meetings. Throughout his life, George Gallup believed in direct democracy and considered it an effective form of public participation in state affairs. He talked about the polls as a form of continuation of the Massachusetts town meetings.

The emergence and establishment of presidential power in the United States has been closely linked to the solution of the problem about the type of American democracy and the role of public opinion in governance. The participants in the United States Constitutional

Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 rejected the Athenian democracy scheme with respect to the political structure of America. The authors of the Constitution had serious doubts in the ability of the citizens to make informed decisions. They feared the demagoguery of the majority and the disregard of minority opinion; they could not and were not willing to accept that 51 percent of the population should, in principle, have the ability to suppress with its “majority of votes” the 49 percent “minority”. In their view, direct or pure democracy could become a direct route not only to tyranny of the majority, but also to the establishment of a dictatorial regime. All this persuaded them to adopt the republican model of the social organization, that is, representative democracy.

The third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), had different views about democracy. He had been State Secretary in the government of George Washington and Vice President in the administration of the second president of the country, John Adams (1735-1826). Before that, he had been the U.S. ambassador to France, and was a man who sympathized with the French Revolution. Jefferson was the author of the first draft of the Declaration of Independence of the United States. In 1774, he wrote the famous words “All men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” Jefferson is recognized as one of the leading theorists and advocates of direct democracy. In his First Inaugural Address, delivered in March 1801, there are these words: “Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.” [5, p. 139].

Exactly one hundred years after Jefferson pronounced his First Inaugural Address, George Gallup was born. The United States are a huge country, but he was born in a small town named in honor of Thomas Jefferson. Was it a coincidence? Well, most people say that important historic events are not accidental.

The founders of the town, migrants from New England, honored the ideas of Jefferson and aggressively sought to secure that the town bears his name, becoming Jefferson City. According to the memoirs of George Gallup, Jefferson City in rural Iowa of the early twentieth century was more like New England than New England itself, so that the Jeffersonian views on the organization of American democracy were familiar and precious to Gallup since his youth. He used to say that he began perceiving himself very early as “an apostle of democracy”.

It was pointed out above (see Chapter 3) that the Jeffersonian ideas about the relationship between democracy and education, and

between “the right to vote” and “the right to think about yourself” were in tune with Gallup’s mindset. This theme was touched upon in the interview of 82-year Gallup in Iowa City when he reminisced about his years as a high school and university student. In particular, he said: “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 U.S. Constitution words for word, but many have failed because their people are not informed.” [6, p. 3].

Thus, the motivation of Gallup as a public opinion researcher was based on a thorough understanding of the numerous historical and philosophical ideas of American and European thinkers and politicians, and was supported by the spirit of liberty and the pursuit of democracy, which pushed the first colonists to leave England and to settle in the New World.

Trying to understand the main features and the inner structures of Gallup’s creativity, one should take into account a number of important circumstances.

The first circumstance consists in the multitude of domains of Gallup’s endeavors. He himself considered the development of the public opinion research technology and the creation of new public attitudes towards polling in general to be the most important task of his life. But at the same time, Gallup was a journalist and a psychologist, a researcher of the mass media and the cinema audiences, one of the pioneers of research on advertising, a statistician, an author of numerous scientific research papers, a university teacher, an inventor of audience study instruments and a businessman. Moreover, throughout his life, he worked in a large number of domains simultaneously.

The second circumstance consists in the fact that all significant initiatives and projects of Gallup have been highly successful. His public opinion research technology has been adopted not only in the United States, but also in many countries worldwide. His methods of studying mass media and advertising audiences are being successfully used in the present time. The validity of his recommendations for the creation of advertising material has been proved by the market. The student newspaper he created is still published today. His books remain the best textbooks for students engaged in the organization of public opinion polls. Many universities and scientific research societies have awarded him with high honorary degrees and awards.

Thirdly, Gallup was growing as a researcher extremely rapidly and obtained his substantial results very early in his scientific career. In particular, Gallup’s method for the study of newspaper readability was

developed by him at the age of 25 – 26. He created an nationwide system for the research of public opinion and produced a correct forecast of Roosevelt's victory when he was 35.

Fourthly, having excellent knowledge and sensitivity for the past and the present of the country, Gallup was actively looking into the future. A lot earlier than the other researchers did, he began conducting monitoring surveys during the second half of the 1930's and engaged in cross-cultural research in the early 1940's). Everything seems to suggest that this was a fundamental aspect of Gallup's attitude towards the world; this attitude can best be described with the word "optimism". His perception of the nature of public opinion was notable predominantly with the recognition of the latter's dynamism and the deterministic nature of the system of values and norms of mass consciousness.

Fifthly, Gallup had a much more profound understanding than that of his contemporaries about the active role of the empirical methods in social cognition.

The enormous creativity of Gallup has been commented by many of those who worked with him. He always had numerous ideas and plans; therefore, he had little interest for what had already been created. The process of the acquisition of knowledge attracted him to a much greater extent than the final outcome did.

Each and every one of the features of Gallup's creativity highlighted above is valuable and significant in its own way, but their combination is a unique one and allows us to put forward some assumptions about the central link of his creative process. My hypothesis is that Gallup had a very valuable and rarely seen analytical gift, which was the possession of an *a priori* vision or cognition of the subject of research. In other words, the main features and many details of what he studied were seen by him before the initiation of research. He saw everything as an integral whole; he did not have to split the object of knowledge in order to "collect" its parts afterwards like many other analysts did. For example, Gallup could afford to act in disregard of the rules, breaking up with the classical scheme of scientific research. In the second half of the 1930's, one could only make guesses about the dynamism of public opinion and the factors that determine the variability of attitudes. Academic traditions prescribe to start in such a case from the theoretical study of the known phenomenon, with the identification of its symptoms, which would then need first to be subjected to a dynamic analysis, etc. Since his student years, Gallup was well versed in the logic of scientific searches, but he could afford omitting some steps, because he had the final solution in view. This gave him strength for his actions. He

was a position to leave the theoretical study of the phenomenological problems to the next generation of scientists.

The absence of specialized investigations prevents us from putting forward estimates about the extent of typicality of *a priori* knowledge and of a holistic vision of the subject of cognition among experts in the field of social sciences. For an explanation of this property of intelligence, we have to turn to examples that reveal the mechanisms of the creativity of those who were engaged in natural science research. Thus, B. M. Kedrov managed to trace the process of the discovery by Mendeleev of the periodic table of chemical elements, which he, after many years of work, finally saw instantly and integrally [7]. D. Danin showed how Niels Bohr had seen the ladder of the admissible atomic energy levels that was allowed by nature [8].

The gift of a holistic view over very complex systems is inherent to genius mathematicians. Leopold Infeld (1898-1968) tells the story how French mathematician Evariste Galois (1811-1832) was reading the book "*Elements de geometrie*" (Basics of Geometry) by Legendre (Adrien-Marie Legendre, 1752-1833). He immediately saw the style and the harmony of geometric constructions and guessed what was to happen next [9]. The algebraic structure seemed unconvincing to him and at the age of 16, having no special education, Galois undertook the solution of problems the formulation of which had confounded the greatest mathematicians for several centuries. At the age of 21, Galois was killed in a duel, leaving 60 pages of text, which formulated the basic tenets of the theory of groups — the language of modern algebra and geometry.

The Indian mathematician Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920), who had made a significant contribution to the theory of numbers and to a series of related areas, had a fantastic vision of a world of numbers [10]. Ramanujan was educated in the medieval tradition of the Brahmins. In fact, he had no special education and had read only one book on mathematics, experiencing no contact at all with the scientific world until the age of 25. Ramanujan explained his ability to navigate the world of numbers by the action of mystical powers, and there was indeed something like this in his talent.

Now, our subject above is not the *strength* of Gallup's ability to have a holistic vision or an *a priori* knowledge of the subject of cognition: the examples have been provided with the exclusive purpose to show the existence of a similar property of thinking.

George Gallup's father, who was a real estate trader, devoted most of his time to the creation of his own system of logic and organized his relations with the outside world according to his own laws. He built his house in a rare octagonal architecture style; this is one proof

for the non-triviality of the inner world of its creator. We can assume that George Gallup had inherited from his father the quality of deep concentration on the subject of cognition together with the Gallupian universalism — a manifestation of a particular world view where things of general nature dominate over things of restricted importance; with such an approach, generalities are easily detectable, even where all other researchers establish differences. Gallup's views about science and scientific activities were more in compliance with the natural philosophy traditions (*philosophia naturalis*) rather than with the modern understanding of science.

George Gallup's entire activity as a public opinion researcher and the nature of his legacy provide sufficient reason to say that he was an expert in natural sciences who worked in the social departments of science. He understood the importance of a justified and profound theory of public opinion, but above all, he was thinking about the development of democracy, which in his understanding meant the provision of opportunities for everyone to make their views known to the entire society as a whole. Undoubtedly, Gallup was thinking about the phenomenology of public opinion as such and about the role of the various factors for its formation; about the possibility of manipulating the opinions of people; about the strengths and the weaknesses of the views of the population, etc. However, he saw his mission primarily in the creation of instruments for the study of public attitudes and for the recording of the sentiment of people with regard to various aspects of the social environment.

Let us turn again to the history of classical natural sciences, for example, astronomy. Ptolemy, Galileo, Bruno and Copernicus have offered their visions of the Universe and have discovered the fundamental laws that govern the motion of celestial bodies. Other scientists have been and are still engaged in research about the emergence and the existence of galaxies and celestial mechanics. The great astrometrists Ulugbek and Brahe have performed measurements, which were fantastically accurate for their times, describing the motion of the stars and the planets on the basis of measurement technologies created by them. Many centuries have passed since, a number of various astronomical theories have been put forward; new ultra-precise measuring instruments are being used at present, but the endeavors and achievements of Ulugbek and Brahe have not lost anything from their value. Their sky atlases are still the basic framework for the analysis of the dynamics of celestial bodies.

Three giants created *biometrics*: those were Darwin, Galton and Pearson.

Petty, Edgeworth, Galton and Pearson have laid the foundations of *econometrics*.

The teachers of Gallup's teachers — Galton, Spearman, Wundt and Fechner — as well as some other psychologists created a new area of scientific research: *psychometrics*.

What has been achieved by George Gallup has also determined his place in the history of science, culture and politics. Years and centuries will pass away, but the practice of scientific studying public opinion and, in particular, the analysis of the dynamics of public attitudes will always start by mentioning the work and the writings of Gallup. He has provided a reference point for all subsequent research, and all Post-Gallup polling technologies will represent a development of Gallup's techniques, just like the way that the Post-Gallup culture of public opinion research will build on the polls initiated by him in the mid-1930's.

Consequently, the legacy of George Gallup consists in *opiniometrics as an effective instrument of democracy*. This book began with the words of George Gallup's son saying that his father was a man of ideas and a man of ideals. Opiniometrics is indeed a synthesis of the ideas and of the ideals of George Gallup.

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The Gallup House, Jefferson, Iowa



George (Ted) Gallup, in front of the Gallup House

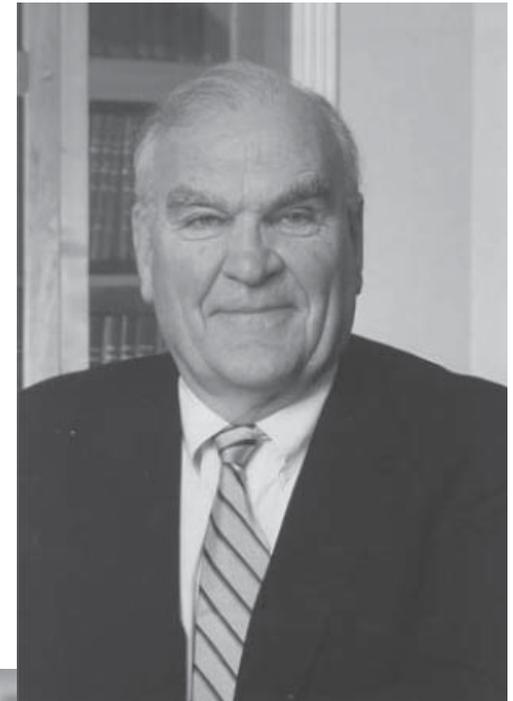


George Gallup in 1978

*George Gallup,
Elmo Roper and
Archibald Crossley*



George Gallup, Jr.



Alec Gallup



*David Ogilvy and
George Gallup*

B. Z. Doktorov

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