



Directorate of  
Intelligence

Secret



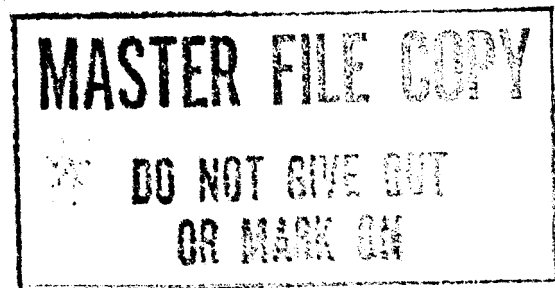
25X1

# Opinion Polling Overseas



25X1

A Reference Aid



State Dept. review  
completed

Secret

CPAS 82-10008  
September 1982

Copy 171

**Page Denied**



**Directorate of  
Intelligence**

**Secret**  
[Redacted]

25X1

# Opinion Polling Overseas [Redacted]

25X1

## A Reference Aid

25X1

This paper was prepared by [Redacted]  
Office of Current Production and Analytic Support,  
with contributions from [Redacted] Office of  
Central Reference. Comments and queries are  
welcome and may be directed to the Chief,  
Methodology Center, Analytic Support Group,  
CPAS, [Redacted]

25X1

25X1

This paper has been coordinated with the  
Directorate for Operations. [Redacted]

25X1

**Secret**  
*CPAS 82-10008*  
*September 1982*

Secret  
[Redacted]

25X1

**Opinion Polling Overseas** [Redacted]

25X1

**Summary**

*Information available as of 20 September 1982 was used in this report.*

Approximately 2,000 firms are now engaged in marketing research and opinion polling worldwide, and their number is expanding by about 10 percent per year. Many of these firms were founded immediately before or after World War II. They have over 30 years of polling experience and data to contribute to assessments of current and prospective trends in public attitudes and behavior. The vast majority of firms are active in only one country, but substantial linkages exist among polling organizations through interested individuals, opinion polling consortiums, and market research societies. [Redacted]

25X1

25X1

The quantitative mass survey, in which a sample is drawn according to predetermined criteria from a national population, is the most prevalent form of survey analysis worldwide. All of the firms [Redacted] regularly conduct such surveys, often on a weekly basis, using random or quota samples of the national population. [Redacted]

25X1

While the reliability of polling data must be carefully assessed, data from established firms generally are accurate within the normal limits of sampling error. Polling firms base their commercial viability on their ability to satisfy businesses with the quality, that is, the accuracy, timeliness, and cost, of their market research. [Redacted]

25X1

25X1

Secret

25X1

**Contents**

	<i>Page</i>
Summary	iii
Foreign Public Opinion Polling	1
Polling Consortiums	1
International Contacts	1
Market Research and Opinion Polling	2
The Opinion Polling Process	3
Funding Public Opinion Polls	3
Utility of Opinion Polls	4
Opinion Sampling Techniques	5
How Reliable Are Opinion Polls?	6
From Reliable Polls to Election Forecasts	7
Opinion Polling in Selected Foreign Countries	8
United Kingdom	8
France	10
West Germany	11
India	11
Spain	12
Polling in Communist Countries	12

25X1

Secret

Opinion Polling Overseas 

25X1

25X1

## Foreign Public Opinion Polling

## Polling Consortiums

The largest polling consortium is the Gallup International Research Institutes (GIRI) founded at Loxwood, England, in May 1947. Initially sponsored by the Gallup Institute at Princeton, GIRI is a loosely affiliated group of independent opinion polling firms in over 30 countries.<sup>1</sup> GIRI meets annually to exchange information on polling and to assess the professional caliber of candidate firms. New firms are admitted to GIRI (but never more than one per country) only after they successfully complete a three-year probationary period.

25X1

25X1

The individual Gallup affiliates are more responsive to national demands for opinion polling and market research than to directives or suggestions from GIRI. Nevertheless, regional Gallup organizations are attempting to poll simultaneously on comparable issues:

- Under the auspices of the European Community, Gallup affiliates poll biannually on public perceptions of Community and national issues, life satisfaction, political orientation, and expectations about the future. Often these European barometers devote much space to issues such as the European Parliament, the role of women in society, the balance between national and community institutions in European decisionmaking, and the status of children in Europe.<sup>2</sup>
- Gallup affiliates in Central and Latin America have recently organized into a consortium (Gallup Sud) to run comparable surveys in Argentina, Brazil, Chile,

<sup>1</sup> Gallup affiliates are active in Argentina, Austria, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, West Germany, India, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Kuwait, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

<sup>2</sup> The Euro-Barometer is currently run in the spring and fall of each year by Gallup affiliates or other reputable firms in Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, West Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and Uruguay. These firms poll on a wide range of domestic and international issues.

In addition to GIRI several other multinational polling consortiums exist. Prominent among these are International Research Associates (INRA) with 11 affiliates in Western Europe (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom); the London-based Survey Research Group, Ltd., with affiliates in most of the major nations of Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand); and Research International with 18 affiliates in Western Europe and Africa.

A few firms, such as Market and Opinion Research International (MORI), poll in many countries. Although based in London and heavily involved in the United Kingdom since its establishment in 1969, MORI has conducted polls in nearly 30 foreign countries. Another firm, Marcomer, polls in metropolitan France and former French colonies including Algeria, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast. Marcomer's clients are many and varied. In January 1981, for example, Marcomer assisted the Democratic Party of Gabon in surveying an urban sample asking respondents to state their confidence in various Gabonese political leaders and institutions.

## International Contacts

25X1

Opinion assessment also is internationally linked through individuals and societies. George Gallup and Hedley Cantril have helped expand professional attitude polling from the United States to Western Europe and then to the newly developing states. Pioneers in this field received support beginning in the late 1940s with the founding of GIRI and the establishment of the European Society of Market and Opinion Research (ESOMAR) in 1948. The World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR)

25X1

1

Secret

25X1

Secret

was founded under the auspices of the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1947 as a companion organization to the American Association of Public Opinion Research. UNESCO has continued to sponsor international meetings and conferences on public opinion research. [redacted]

International conferences, periodic exchanges, and the publication of journals, reference materials, and newsletters on a global scale have defined opinion assessment as a profession and have further enhanced the international exchange of analytic techniques. Today, a number of periodicals exist for transmitting public opinion data and research approaches internationally. Prominent among these are *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Public Opinion*, *World Opinion Update*, *Index to International Public Opinion*, and *The International Gallup Polls*. [redacted]

The US Government has promoted systematic assessment of opinion in foreign countries since the end of World War II. In part, this was a natural outgrowth of American efforts to introduce democratic norms and institutions in West Germany and Japan. Numerous national surveys were conducted in what is now West Germany under the auspices of the US High Commissioner. American political and military authorities were supportive of efforts by the fledgling EMNID Institute and the Institute for Demoskopie (Allensbach) to begin national opinion polling in the late 1940s. Both are now the leading opinion polling firms in West Germany. [redacted]

The main impetus from the United States toward international opinion surveying has come through the work of the US Information Agency (USIA) and its various parent organizations. Directed from Washington, USIA has regularly used foreign firms to conduct parallel polls in a large number of West European and developing nations. It uses the data to assess foreign public attitudes about the United States and about important issues in international affairs.<sup>3</sup> [redacted]

<sup>3</sup> The comparability of USIA-sponsored polls may vary from case to case depending on question wording, sample and questionnaire design, and the national political context in which the surveys were conducted. [redacted]

Another element of opinion research is the expansion of international survey data archives, which document and store data collected by individual scholars or research organizations. In addition to the holdings on US opinion of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research also maintains a substantial and growing collection of foreign survey and elections data.<sup>4</sup> Other leading archiving groups are the Roper Center, the Zentralarchiv fuer Empirische Sozialforschung in Cologne, and the Survey Archive of the Social Science Research Council at the University of Essex, England, all of which maintain regular data exchange programs and are at the forefront of software development for manipulating and analyzing opinion polls. [redacted]

**Market Research and Opinion Polling**

Market research differs from opinion polling only in the nature of the clients and the types of questions asked. Market research is the formal and quantitative sampling of a national, regional, or local population to evaluate the suitability and probable commercial success of various products. Using similar sampling techniques, opinion pollsters focus on public attitudes and likely future behaviors on issues of political, social, and economic importance. Typical among such concerns are party identification, electoral choice, support for the government, and attitudes toward specific policies. Most opinion surveys are made public, while the results of market research are kept confidential. In fact, most opinion polls are conducted with the express purpose of informing the public—typically, through the newspapers—rather than merely enlightening the poll's sponsors. [redacted]

All opinion polling firms conduct market research, but most market research firms do not conduct opinion polls, preferring instead to work confidentially for commercial clients. Among firms that do both, revenues from commercial surveying largely underwrite political polling. Market research enables the firm to develop the interviewing staffs, sampling frame, and data processing capabilities that can then be used by other clients for political polling. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

In West Germany, for example, where firms like the EMNID Institute and the Institute for Demoskopie (Allensbach) have been active for over 30 years, opinion polling accounts for only 3 to 5 percent of their annual revenues. Even in France, which has a reputation for being "poll-happy," formal opinion assessment accounts for a small proportion of total revenues. With the exception of Louis Harris-France and the Institute Francais de Recherche Economiques et Sociales (IFRES), political opinion polling accounts for small proportions of total research activity (see table 1).

25X1

**The Opinion Polling Process**

25X1

**Funding Public Opinion Polls**

In almost all instances, survey organizations conduct polls on behalf of specific clients. Few polling firms can afford to poll public opinion on political issues, whether out of curiosity or to support scholarly inquiry. The public press and political parties are usually the major clients for opinion polling firms

25X1

25X1

Firms that conduct market research surveys establish the infrastructure and custom of direct attitude assessment, and their data may be used in charting social and economic trends. Market research firms regularly collect demographic data about the respondents, including age, income, education, residence, and occupation. Systematically collected, these surveys can tell much about socioeconomic trends that may affect political behavior.

25X1

Many firms are willing to sell data, publications, and their polling service to the US Government. Others make their data routinely available to survey archives and in a limited number of cases to commercial distributors. The West German firm Demoskopie (Allensbach), for example, commonly provides its surveys to the *Bundesarchiv* (federal archives) in

25X1

\* This ad hoc collection, although large, lacks timeliness. Time lags between initial data collection and availability to users is more often measured in years than in weeks or months. Of course, archived data can provide a historical context for current information on public opinion and may also be useful for establishing trends.

25X1

**Table 1**  
**France: Opinion Polling as a Proportion of Total Revenue of Polling Firms**

Percent

	Polling/Total Revenues
Institute Francais de Recherche Economiques et Sociales (IFRES)	30
Louis Harris-France	30
Public	12
Institute Francais d'Opinion Publique (IFOP)	10
Societe Francais de Etudes par Sondages (SOFRES)	10
Indice Opinion	8
Publietrie	5

25X1

Koblenz, although these data will not be publicly available for 30 years. Irish Marketing Surveys deposits its data with the Survey Archive in Essex for public distribution.

Many polling firms are tied closely to particular parties. An example is MORI, which has established close links with the British Labor Party. Before the general election in May 1979, MORI conducted 10 "instant" polls that were generally discussed the following morning at 10 Downing Street, reflecting the timeliness with which polling data can be made available and the access that pollsters have to the top political leadership.



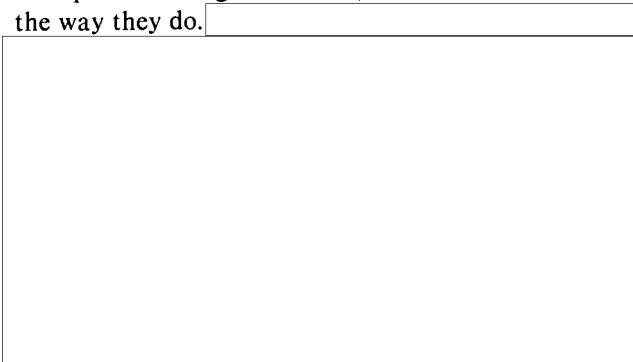
Secret



25X1

**Utility of Opinion Polls**

Foreign leaders use public opinion polls to describe, explain, and predict public attitudes and behavior across a wide range of issues. Intensive analysis of poll data provides insights into why people think and act the way they do.



the timing of an election to their standings in the polls.



25X1

25X1

25X1

Opposition parties also poll extensively on their chances in a hypothetical or planned election.



25X1

The predictions of pollsters are part of the decision processes of all aspiring political figures, particularly in parliamentary systems. Governments often adjust

Secret

25X1

25X1

Secret

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Political leaders use opinion polls to assess their standing with the populace and their own party.

[Redacted]

25X1

The quantitative mass survey, in which a sample is drawn according to predetermined criteria from a national population, is the most prevalent form of survey analysis worldwide.

[Redacted]

These regularly conducted surveys are generally omnibus polls in which a number of clients may place their questions.

25X1

Government leaders frequently commission polls to assess the effects of their words as well as their deeds.

[Redacted]

25X1

The polling firm has already developed an interviewing infrastructure—interviewing staff and sampling points, which are villages, city blocks, and so forth—and sells space on the questionnaire to commercial clients. Clients then place their own “rider” questions on the firm’s omnibus poll. Thus, respondents face a set of questions that range from consumer issues, such as the proverbial toothpaste question, to issues of national and international significance.

Interested parties can commission ad hoc surveys, but these are more expensive than the omnibus method. Ad hoc polls are justified if the client wants a different sample than that available through the omnibus instrument. Thus, if one wanted to examine the position of selected groups in the West German population on theater nuclear forces, it would be possible at some cost to stratify the sample to include more young people, more Bavarians, more blue-collar workers, or more from other socioeconomic groups.

25X1

**Opinion Sampling Techniques**

Polling firms assess public opinion qualitatively through in-depth interviews and quantitatively with national samples.

Qualitative, in-depth interviews focus on a relatively small number of people (usually about 100), take two to three hours to complete, and are relatively expensive (about \$150 to \$200 per interview depending on country and complexity of issues). They are often undertaken to examine in more detail important findings of larger sample surveys or to better prepare for such large-scale surveys. Qualitative surveys frequently focus on a small group within the population that is of special interest to the client.

25X1

Polling firms prefer quota sampling, or a blend of random and quota sampling, to a purely random method for several reasons. First, random sampling is a more complex process. To be genuinely random, a

25X1

\* A quota sample is a set of individuals chosen from a target list (such as a census register or electoral records) on the basis of their standing in particular population groups. Most commonly, these individuals are selected on the basis of their sex, age, socioeconomic class, or the region of the country in which they live. Interviewers work to meet their quotas for types of respondents within randomly selected sampling points rather than specific individuals. Quota samples are virtually equivalent to purely random samples in a statistical sense. A random sample results from the selection of individuals one at a time from a list of the national population. Such lists are either the census files or electoral registers. In a random sample, each individual has an equal probability of being selected without regard to geographic location. Quota samples are preferred for commercial polling because of their relatively low cost and greater speed.

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

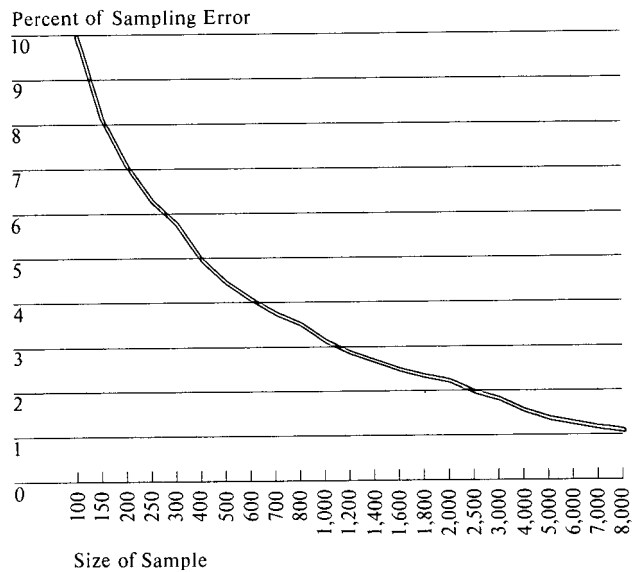
sample must be drawn person by person from the population until a sufficient number has been selected. Second, random sampling immeasurably complicates the interviewing process since interviewers must contact specific individuals and this can necessitate several return visits. Third, randomly selected individuals are geographically dispersed in a national poll—a requirement that imposes substantial travel costs in medium-sized societies (West Germany, France, and the United Kingdom) and in larger ones (the United States, Australia, and Canada). Hence, most sampling points or districts are randomly selected from national lists. Within each of those districts interviewers are charged with finding quotas of individuals to meet specified criteria—age, sex, and socioeconomic class. Actual interviewing is geographically concentrated with interviewers free to choose respondents who meet the quotas.

Increasing sample size can enhance the statistical reliability of the data and allow for more discrete breakdowns of the sample for comparative analysis. Sampling error decreases as sample size increases, but with decreasing marginal returns. As the sample size expands, the gain in precision shrinks, particularly when the sample exceeds 1,200 (see figure 1).

The quality of the sample should be evaluated by comparing the survey results to information provided by a national census and be evaluated with reference to actual behavior that, for instance, the poll may cover. Only in countries with reliable data on the socioeconomic distribution of their own populations can one evaluate the quality of the sampling frame. In a number of important developing nations, such as Lebanon and Nigeria, the collection and publication of national census data have proved troublesome political issues that are not likely to be resolved to the satisfaction of the pollsters.

One can evaluate the merits of random and quota samples by comparing the results of the survey with actual behavior subsequent to the taking of the poll. The behavioral test is clearly more relevant to election forecasting than to assessing foreign policy beliefs. With elections at least, there is subsequent behavior

**Figure 1**  
**Sample Size and Sampling Error**



25X1

25X1

that can be measured. For example, in May 1979, MORI forecast from quota samples that the Conservatives would receive 44.4 percent of the vote in the British general election. Working with a random sample, Marplan projected a 45-percent vote share. The actual result was 44.9 percent for the Conservative Party. The difference in the accuracy of the forecast was trivial and did not justify the greater cost of the Marplan effort.

25X1

**How Reliable Are Opinion Polls?**

25X1

A crucial issue for those who commission and those who use public opinion surveys is the quality of the data. Do sample surveys accurately represent public views? The evidence suggests that, on balance, opinion polls do portray the views of the mass populace reasonably well *at the time that the survey is taken*. Whenever possible, a current poll should be reviewed in the light of previous findings. Once analyzed, it should become part of a data base that can display trends over time.

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

25X1

Although the reliability of polling data must be carefully assessed, data from established firms generally are accurate within the normal limits of sampling error. Polling firms base their commercial viability on their ability to satisfy businesses with the quality—that is, accuracy, timeliness, and cost—of their market research.

- The Swedish Institute of Public Opinion (SIFO) was also accurate in forecasting the outcome of four national elections held during the 1970s (see table 6).

25X1

Although data are not available, we believe similar firms in developed, open societies are of equal professional caliber. Because opinion polling is an international business, there has been a widespread transfer of expertise, survey and interview methodology, and data processing technology. The growth of professional associations has helped to improve the quality of international opinion polling. Competition in both the national and international markets for opinion data winnows out firms whose work is below known and measurable professional standards. Although these observations are most relevant to polling firms in Western Europe, as developing societies modernize we expect the quality and quantity of their opinion research will increase as well.

25X1

**From Reliable Polls to Election Forecasts**

The public reputation of polling firms in the United States and overseas is based on their success in electoral forecasting, in part because that is their most visible activity. Although hardly infallible, survey firms in major industrial countries have generally forecast elections accurately.

25X1

In the May 1979 British general election, the average rate of error between final forecasts and the actual result for each of the three major parties (Conservative, Labor, and Liberal) was 1 percent. These projections were made independently by MORI, Marplan, Social Surveys (Gallup), and the National Opinion Poll. Social Surveys correctly called the outcome of nine of the last 11 national elections in the United Kingdom (see tables 3 and 4):

25X1

At the same time, any electoral forecast based on polling data should be treated cautiously—no matter how reliable the polling firm—for several reasons.

25X1

Polls report only attitudes or personal assessments of probable future behavior.<sup>8</sup> Actual behavior can be affected by circumstances beyond an individual's control, and one's attitudes may change between the time the polls are conducted and the actual balloting takes place.

25X1

- French polling firms have reached a similar level of professionalism, particularly in presidential elections (see table 5).<sup>7</sup>

Every survey contains a statistically normal level of sampling error. Although this error margin can be reduced, at a cost (see figure 1), analysis of survey data should be done with this in mind.

25X1

- The Roy Morgan Research Centre (Gallup) correctly predicted the winner in eight Australian national elections between 1958 and 1975. Moreover, the average error in predicting the gap in vote share between the two main parties was only 3.6 percent.

Finally, the reliable collection of opinion data should be distinguished from its analysis and presentation. Improper or biased analysis and presentation of opinion

25X1

<sup>7</sup> To be accurate, almost everyone, including most pollsters, missed the 1978 French legislative elections. The projected leftist landslide did not materialize, and this was caught only in a last minute SOFRES poll, which was too late to affect much of the public discussion about the election.

is not evi-

<sup>8</sup> There are, of course, "exit polls," which ask voters how they voted as they leave the polling stations. This is one method for gaining insights into the results a few hours before the official results are tabulated.

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

**Table 3**  
**United Kingdom:**  
**Election Forecasts, May 1979**

Percent

Pollster	Date of Poll	Conservative	Labor	Liberal	Average Error
Marplan	1 May	45	38.5	13.5	0.5
National Opinion Poll	1-2 May	46	39	12.5	1.3
Gallup	1-2 May	43	41	13.5	1.9
Market and Opinion Research International (MORI)	2 May	45	37	15	0.6
Result	4 May	44.9	37.7	14.1	

Source: David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 1979* (London: Macmillan Press, 1980): 264-5.

25X1

dence that the originally collected data are unreliable.<sup>9</sup>

Several variables—including the distribution across parties of the total vote—are of interest besides which party wins.<sup>10</sup> Especially in multiparty, parliamentary systems, the seat distribution effectively determines political power in the legislature. Even in systems based on proportional representation, a 1-to-1 relationship between vote and seat share does not necessarily exist. One might also be interested in changes in support for political parties among various groups in the population. A perennial question in France is how voters from the French Communist Party (PCF) will cast their votes in the second round of the presidential election.

**Opinion Polling in Selected Foreign Countries**

25X1

**United Kingdom**

Polling is a well-established research tradition in Britain. Public opinion assessment began in the United Kingdom with the founding of the British Institute of Public Opinion in 1937. Founded two years after its American parent, British Gallup (now Social Surveys, Ltd.), was the first firm of its kind in Britain. Until 1961, British Gallup published its poll results in the *News Chronicle*; since 1961, it has regularly published findings in the *Daily Telegraph*. Through the mid-1950s, Gallup conducted monthly omnibus surveys. Since then it has conducted weekly polls of at least 1,000 individuals on major national and international issues. Many of these results are disseminated through the monthly *Gallup Political Index*, which has been published since 1960.<sup>11</sup>

25X1

25X1

<sup>10</sup> To generate an accurate electoral forecast, one has to estimate turnout and then the distribution of the vote by party among those that come to the polls. Forecasts are improved to the extent that turnout is required (Australia, Belgium, and Italy, for instance) or is highly stable as it is in West Germany at a consistent 90 percent of registered voters. Moreover, the accuracy of forecasts improves as the elections draw near, as more people make up their minds and fewer opportunities exist for events to alter those intentions.

<sup>11</sup> The results of many Gallup polls have been collected for publication by George H. Gallup in *The Gallup International Public Opinion Polls: Great Britain 1937-1975*, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1977).

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

**Table 4**  
**United Kingdom:**  
**Gallup's Forecasting Record, 1945-79**

Percent

Date	Gallup Final Survey	Election Result	Error <sup>a</sup>
1945	47.0 Labor	49.0 Labor	-2.0 Labor
1950	45.0 Labor	46.8 Labor	-1.8 Labor
1951	49.5 Conservative	49.3 Labor	-2.2 Labor
1955	51.0 Conservative	49.3 Conservative	1.7 Conservative
1959	49.5 Conservative	48.8 Conservative	0.7 Conservative
1964	46.5 Labor	44.8 Labor	1.7 Labor
1966	51.0 Labor	48.9 Labor	2.1 Labor
1970	49.0 Labor	46.2 Conservative	-4.2 Conservative
1974 (February)	39.5 Conservative	38.6 Conservative	0.9 Conservative
1974 (October)	41.5 Labor	40.2 Labor	1.3 Labor
1979	43.0 Conservative	44.9 Conservative	-1.9 Conservative

<sup>a</sup> Error rates are presented for the party receiving the largest share of the vote in a given election. It is not always the party that subsequently formed the government.

25X1

25X1

Social Surveys has conducted over 2,000 surveys, with over 1,000 respondents in each survey answering approximately 25 questions on diverse topics. A standard core of political questions on satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister and the government, political party preference, and appraisal of the performance of the opposition leader(s) are asked on a weekly basis. These questions are often phrased in different ways or with additional supplementary questions as circumstances warrant. Satisfaction with the performance of the prime minister is often joined with questions about the ability of the prime minister to lead on a particular issue. Approval of government performance may be disaggregated to probe for variations on specific policies.

25X1

Basic political questions are supplemented by ad hoc queries on specific issues or by rotating questions on a monthly rather than a weekly basis. Social Surveys routinely adds questions about specific policy concerns facing the United Kingdom. Recent examples of this include theater nuclear weapons, the budget, social issues such as race relations and housing,

Britain's role in world affairs, and its relationship to the European Community.

Each Social Surveys poll also collects information on the characteristics of the respondent. To assess the sources of political loyalty and support, pollsters profile the Conservative voter, the ecologist, the new Social Democrat, and other groups by regularly collecting respondent age, income, trade union membership, occupation, education, religion, social class and standard-of-living indicators. These data can complement the explicitly political data or can be directly analyzed to indicate socioeconomic changes between censuses.

Beginning in the 1960s, Social Surveys began to face competition from other polling firms, notably Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) and the National Opinion Poll (NOP). MORI polls a national sample of the United Kingdom, a sample of Scotland, and samples of specific constituencies to support

25X1

Secret

**Table 5** Percent  
**France: Reliability of Electoral Forecasts**

	Results	SOFRES	IFOP	Error
<b>1973 Legislative (First Round)</b>				
Reformateurs	12.56	15	14	1.44-2.44
URP	38.84	37	36	1.84-2.84
PS (Socialist Party)	19.16	21	23	1.84-3.84
PCF (French Communist Party)	21.29	20	19	1.29-2.29
<b>1974 Presidential (Second Round)</b>				
Giscard	50	50.9	50.6	0.1-0.2
Mitterrand	49	49.4	49.1	0.1-0.2
<b>1978 Legislative (First Round)</b>				
UDP (Union of Democrats for the Republic)	21.5	20	20	1.50
RPR (Rally for the Republic)	22.6	22	22	0.60
PS	24.7	28	30	3.30-5.30
PCF	20.5	21	20	0.50-1.50
<b>1979 European Parliament</b>				
UDF (Union for French Democracy)	27.6	30	33	2.40-5.40
PR (Radical Party)	16.3	16	14	0.30-2.30
PS	24.7	28	27	2.30-3.30
PCF	20.5	20	21	0.50

analysis of elections or to assess public opinion on local issues. On request, it will also conduct ad hoc polls in Northern Ireland. Its findings are regularly published in *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Standard*, *The Scotsman*, and a monthly bulletin, *Public Opinion in Great Britain*. This bulletin contains detailed poll results, time-series data on regularly asked questions, commentary, and technical discussion. [redacted]

NOP, which evolved from the Media Research Department of Associated Newspapers, Ltd., began polling regularly in 1959 and accurately forecast the 1959 general election. Since then, it has conducted polls on a regular monthly basis to assess the central political

**Table 6**  
**Sweden: SIFO's Election Forecasts**

Date	Number of Parties	Average Forecasting Error (percent)
1970	7	.62
1973	8	.68
1976	7	.76
1979	5	.65

questions of the day, including questions on unemployment, the Social Democrats, Britain and the Community, and international security issues. The results of NOP surveys are regularly reported in its *Political, Social and Economic Review*. [redacted]

**France**

Polling in France is similar in scale and sophistication to that in the United Kingdom or the United States. This is due, in large part, to the reputation of the two leading firms—the French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) founded in 1938 and the French Society for Public Opinion Research (SOFRES), which has been active since 1962. Smaller, less well-known firms include Louis-Harris France (started in 1977), Public (1976), Indice Opinion (1980), and Publiemetrie (1970). In addition, the Ministry of the Interior's Resignments Generaus are charged with periodic reporting on public attitudes and behavior in each of the 100 prefectures.<sup>12</sup> [redacted]

Opinion polling took off in France at the time of the 1965 Presidential election, which was the first since World War II with universal suffrage. The frenetic pace of polling since then, and the complexities of the two-round electoral system, occasioned the establishment in 1977 of a national polling commission (Commission des Sondages) within the Ministry of Justice.



25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

Secret

25X1

This polling commission is charged with monitoring the objectivity and the quality of polls taken and published during election campaigns. As a further check on the undue influence of public polls on the democratic process, French law prohibits the publication of poll results during the week prior to both the first and second rounds of legislative and presidential elections. [redacted]

25X1

Two types of polls dominate French surveys, or at least published materials about polling—popularity or image polls, and voter-intention polls. Popularity or image polls ask respondents to identify their most admired political leaders, the qualities they associate with particular candidates, and to express their degree of confidence in particular leaders. Voter-intention polls ask for a respondent's choice on political party if a legislative election is imminent or on an individual candidate if the upcoming election is presidential. In addition, these polls present hypothetical election contests to assess alternative races in both the first and second rounds. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

#### West Germany

Public opinion polling in West Germany is rooted in the US Government's efforts to build democratic institutions in the Allied zones after World War II. Although the Nazi security service (Sicherheitsdienst) maintained a sophisticated network of informers regularly reporting to Berlin, formal opinion polling began with the establishment of the Emnid Institute in 1945 and the Institut fuer Demoskopie (Allensbach) in 1947—two firms that still dominate opinion polling in West Germany. EMNID, with almost 40 years of polling on political topics as a member of the international Gallup consortium publishes *Aktueller Politischer Dienst* and *Emnid Informationen* on alternative months. These periodicals analyze opinion trends and provide time-series data on party identification, support for the government, satisfaction with the performance of the chancellor, and attitudes on foreign policy issues. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

More than 100 professional market research and opinion polling organizations are now active throughout West Germany. As in most other countries, these organizations devote 90 to 95 percent of their resources to market research. A number of research

centers provide the professional and technical infrastructure for their polling activity. Polls are routinely analyzed by academic experts at the Zentralarchiv fuer Emprische Sozialforschung (Cologne) and the Zentrum fuer Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen (Mannheim), as well as several universities. University-sponsored panel studies on West German elections and analysis based on data collected by others provide a quality check on materials collected and published by the major polling firms. [redacted]

#### India

Opinion polling in India is largely the preserve of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion (IIPO), a member of the international Gallup affiliates which has conducted periodic opinion surveys since 1955. The results of these surveys are regularly published in IIPO's own bulletin, *Public Opinion*. Other institutes active in opinion assessment and market research—such as the Institute of Marketing and Management, International Research Associates, and the Indian Market Research Bureau—lack IIPO's experience in attitudinal surveying that focuses on political and social issues. [redacted]

IIPO regularly conducts surveys on a wide variety of topics, including voter intentions at each Lok Sabha (lower house) election since 1961, midterm polls in constituencies with byelections, international issues for USIA, and Gallup's end-of-year survey on popular expectations. The firm conducts several standard urban surveys each year (Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and New Delhi) and conducts two all-India surveys (with 4,000 respondents each) twice yearly. [redacted]



Secret

**Spain**

Opinion polling in Spain—conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas (CIS), Data S. A., and ICOSA Gallup—is a fledgling institution in a new democracy:

- CIS, which began polling in the early 1960s, mainly concentrated on international issues (for example, Gibraltar and the EC), religion, and tourism until the mid-1970s. Since then it has increasingly polled on domestic political issues—such as party identification, satisfaction with government performance, and popular views on policy alternatives. In June 1979, a political barometer was developed by CIS consisting of a national poll of 1,200 Spanish adults that is run six times a year. The firm also undertakes monthly surveys, which it summarizes in the *Revista Espanola de Investigaciones Sociologicas*.

- Madrid-based Data S. A. conducts market research and political surveys. [redacted]

[redacted] most of its political data are available in a volume entitled *Evolucion Politica Espanola 1975-80*. The company will conduct omnibus polls for any client as well as vend existing data on social and political topics.

- ICOSA Gallup polls on a weekly basis and publishes the results in a monthly bulletin, using a quota sample of about 2,000 adults drawn from the peninsula and the Balearic Islands. Interviews are conducted in person in the home of the respondent, a procedure that is used by the the best polling firms overseas. Polling data on political parties, available since March 1980, have increased in depth and breadth. [redacted]

**Polling in Communist Countries**

Opinion assessment in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is monopolized by state research institutes. Most surveys in Eastern Europe have not dealt with such basic issues as the legitimacy of the regime, the validity of Marxism-Leninism as a guide for public life, or the appropriateness of the Soviet military presence abroad. They have focused on such issues as consumer satisfaction and expectations, attitudes of the youth, workers and the workplace, and marriage

and the family. The bulk of formal opinion research in the socialist countries is concerned with either demographic analysis or market research—not political polling as it is understood in the West. [redacted]

25X1

Although opinion polling had been undertaken by East European research institutes for some time, interest in opinion assessment as an aid in policymaking grew in the 1970s following contacts with Western scholars and the acquisition of the computer hardware and software needed for intensive data analysis. In 1976 the Institute for Public Opinion Research was founded as part of East Germany's agitation and propaganda apparatus and was tasked with keeping the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party fully informed about public attitudes. Scattered high-level support exists in the Soviet Union for research through opinion surveys on "what the people think and what they want." A *Pravda* article in late 1982 cited public opinion as "a sensitive barometer whose readings, if properly analyzed, can tell about deep social processes that at times seem hardly noticed."

25X1

25X1

Polls have been completed on both the elites and the mass publics in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union:

25X1

- In April 1972 East Germany polled a sample of administrative and several scientific personnel on key political issues. These elite respondents, who benefit most from the status quo, were asked whether East Germany was a democratic state, whether individual views were heeded, whether friendship with the USSR was beneficial, and to make comparisons between East Germany and West Germany.

25X1

25X1

- The USSR Academy of Sciences surveyed 1,500 individuals in the Moscow region on the sources of information on which the respondents rely, the problems and concerns of daily life, and their assessment of the most important problems facing the Soviet Union. This poll was published in the *Journal of Sociological Research*. [redacted]

25X1

Secret

Secret

Public opinion assessment exploded in Poland during the two years prior to the December 1981 declaration of martial law. Most surveys have been sponsored by Solidarity or by an external actor such as *Paris Match*. Polls by the former focused on the attitudes of union members while those conducted for the foreign press have attempted to obtain a national sample. In 1981 a Solidarity poll of its own members showed extensive support for the union and the Catholic Church and much less trust in the party and the state. Another survey in the fall of 1981 indicated that 75 percent of the Polish people supported Solidarity, although there was a small increase in the number of people willing to assign responsibility, in part, for the current crisis to the labor union (table 7).

25X1

**Table 7** *Percent*  
**Trust of Solidarity Members**  
**in Polish Institutions**

Institution	Expressing Trust
Solidarity	100
Catholic Church	91
Military	72
Parliament	47
Police	22
Government	18
Polish Socialist Workers Party	4

25X1

Secret

**Page Denied**

Next 7 Page(s) In Document Denied

**Secret**

**Secret**