



A Meeting Place and More...:
A History of the American Association for Public
Opinion Research

Edited by
Tom W Smith

Table of Contents

	Page
1. Tom W. Smith, “Introduction”	3
2. Tom W. Smith, “The Diffusion of an Innovation: Survey Research, 1936-2018”	7
3. Don A. Dillman, “Three Decades of Advancing Survey Methodology”	95
4. Reg Baker, “Technology”	117
5. Lois Timms-Ferrara and Marc Maynard, “Public Opinion and Survey Research Data Archives”	145
6. Kathleen A. Frankovic, “AAPOR and the Polls: Guidance and Defense, But Also Criticism”	174
7. Craig A. Hill and Cynthia R. Bland, “Government Relations”	189
8. Janice M. Ballou, “What is AAPOR? The Annual Conference! ‘Linking Us Together: Professionally, Personally, Intellectually and Socially’”	201
9. Jeff Hackett, “Recognizing Achievement and Remembering Gratefully: AAPOR Awards”	229
10. Peter V. Miller, “AAPOR’s Journals”	245
11. Scott Keeter, “The Management of AAPOR, 1990 to the Present”	283
12. Timothy P. Johnson, “AAPOR’s Standards Committee, 1990-2020”	297
13. Morgan Earp and Adam Safir, “Membership and Chapter Relations”	319
14. Jennifer Hunter Childs, “Communications Committee”	341
15. Rob Daves, “AAPOR’s Task Force and Ad Hoc Committee Reports”	353
16. Melissa Herrmann, “Education”	373
Contributors	380

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1. Introduction

Tom W. Smith

In 1992, the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) published *A Meeting Place: A History of the American Association for Public Opinion Research*. It was edited by Paul B. Sheatsley and Warren J. Mitofsky. Now 28 years later, AAPOR is updating that history with *A Meeting Place and More...* Including this introduction, there are 16 chapters:

1. Tom W. Smith, "Introduction"
2. Tom W. Smith, "The Diffusion of an Innovation: Survey Research, 1936-2018"
3. Don A. Dillman, "Three Decades of Advancing Survey Methodology"
4. Reg Baker, "Technology"
5. Lois Timms-Ferrara and Marc Maynard, "Public Opinion and Survey Research Data Archives"
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As in the first history, this volume combines chapters covering general topics and AAPOR's role in those and chapters focusing entirely on AAPOR itself. General chapters include Smith's on the internationalization of survey and public opinion research, Dillman's on methodology, Baker's on technology, Timms-Ferrara and Maynard's on survey archives, and Frankovic's on

public opinion polls. The AAPOR-centric chapters are Hill and Bland – government, Ballou – conferences, Hackett – awards, Miller – AAPOR journals, Keeter – management and finances, Johnson – standards, Earp and Safir – membership and chapter relations, Childs – communications, Daves – task force reports, and Herrmann – education.

Most of the chapters focus on the last 30 years although many touch on previous years to set a baseline to discuss subsequent developments. Three of the chapters (Smith on internationalization, Timms-Ferrara and Maynard on survey archives, and Miller on journals) start around the advent of modern survey and public opinion research in the 1930s.

One theme that runs through most chapters is growth and expansion. Smith describes the globalization of survey and public opinion research, Ballou chronicles the increase in both conference attendance and the number of sessions and papers at the annual conference, Earp and Safir detail AAPOR’s expanding membership, Keeter relates the growth in finances and its shift from a being run by volunteers to using a professional, management company, Miller tells about the launching of two new journals, *Survey Practice* (2008+) and the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* (2012+), to augment its long-time, flagship publication, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, as well as POQ’s adding of an annual fifth special issue.

Notable expansions include Hackett’s account of the adding of numerous awards to AAPOR’s lifetime achievement award, Earp and Safir’s description of policies to promote diversity; Johnson’s detailing of two of the Standards Committee’s most successful undertakings, the publication of *Standard Definitions* (1998+) and the establishment of the Transparency Initiative (launched in 2014); Hill and Bland’s telling of AAPOR’s increased interactions with government regarding survey and public opinion research; Childs’ delineating the shift from having only an occasional newsletter, AAPOR News, to the birth of AAPORNet and the AAPOR web site, the use of press releases and the advent of task force and other AAPOR committee reports, and finally the rise of social media; Daves’ detailed reporting on the task force and related reports; Timms-Ferrara and Maynard’s story of the founding and development of survey archives; and Herrmann’s discussion of the new standing committee on education and its elevation to having a seat on the Executive Council.

A second major theme is adaptation. Particularly focusing on adaptation are the intertwined stories of Dillman on survey methodology and Baker on survey technology. Methods changed in response to new technologies and new technologies emerged to facilitate new methods. The chapters on survey archives, communications, and task force reports also cover technology driven changes.

Adaptation also occurs for others reasons. Frankovic, the only returning author from our first history, outlines how AAPOR has adapted to the role of public opinion polls in the changing political and media climate and demise of the National Council on Public Polls. Another adaptation has been its growing concern about diversity and inclusiveness. This is in particular covered in the Earp and Safir chapter on membership, but also discussed in Ballou on the annual conference, Hackett on awards, Herrmann on education, and Keeter on management.

As Ballou relates in the title of her chapter, “What is AAPOR? The Annual Conference!”, the central importance of the annual conference is also reflected in the title of our first history *A Meeting Place*. It is further echoed in the sorrow and dismay expressed by many AAPOR members upon learning that the 75th conference in Atlanta had to be cancelled due to the covid-19 pandemic and converted into a remote, virtual event. But AAPOR has become more than a meeting place over the last 30 years. It has become more outwardly oriented and less inwardly focused. It addresses and interacts with not only the whole field of survey and public opinion research, but also society more generally. Besides its annual conference, AAPOR now has three professional journals, holds webinars, and issues press releases and task force and other reports; its Transparency Initiative connects AAPOR to nearly 100 organizations, it works with the Insights Association and other organizations regarding government regulations concerning survey and public opinion research, and educates journalists about how to use polling data both on its own and in partnership with the Poynter Institute. Hence, the title of this book, *A Meeting Place and More...*

I want to thank all of the authors for their dedication in preparing their chapters. I also want to extend to all of the contributors, the sentiment of Warren J. Mitofsky, one of the editors of our first history, towards his co-editor, Paul B. Sheatsley, who had passed away before the book was completed. Mitofsky wrote, “Paul embodied the ineffable spirit of AAPOR.” That spirit also dwells in all of you. Also, special recognition goes to NORC at the University of Chicago for partnering with AAPOR to support this publication.

2. The Diffusion of an Innovation: Survey Research, 1936-2018

Tom W. Smith

Introduction

Cross-national, survey research emerged out of and developed along with many of the seminal megatrends of the 20th century including globalization and democratization. It was also shaped in important ways by such major historical events as World War II, the advent of post-bellum collective multilateralism, and the spread and collapse of Communism.

The development of cross-national, survey research is an example of what Rogers (2003) calls the diffusion of innovation. Public opinion polls were created in the United States in the mid-1930s and spread to other countries (Bulmer, 1998; Bulmer, Bales, and Sklar, 1991; Heath, Fischer, and Smith, 2005; Lagos, 2008; Livingston, 2003; Norris, 2009; Oberschall, 2008; Rokkan, 1955; Smith, 2010; Verba, 1993; Zetterberg, 2008). As Verba (1993) has observed, “Survey research has been developed largely in the United States, and has been transferred from there to other western democracies and more recently to developing states,” Like all diffusions, its development and trajectory was innovation specific and was both aided and hindered by the particular characteristics of survey research itself.

Its expansion was part of the more general process of globalization (Heath, Fisher, and Smith, 2005). Of course in the case of survey research, globalization involved considerable interaction between the global product (survey research) and the local markets and cultures. Thus, as Heath, Fisher, and Smith (2005) note, “Globalization of public opinion polls has not entailed a straightforward spread of a standardized ‘product’ throughout the world in terms of survey conduct.”¹

Additionally, “(t)he expansion of surveys in general and public opinion polling in particular was part of the general growth of democracy within and across societies (Oberschall, 2008).” Surveys in general and public opinion polls in particular typically develop and only thrive in open, democratic societies (Butler, Penniman, and Ranney, 1981). They are rarely allowed in authoritarian regimes and seldom flourish in colonies. Democratization in general and decolonialization in particular opened up more countries to surveys.

Besides being shaped by these overarching megatrends, the development of cross-national, survey research was also influenced by important, historical events. Chief among these were the impact of World War II, the advent of post-war collective multilateralism and the founding of the United Nations (UN), and the emergence of the Cold War and the imposition of the Iron Curtain across Europe and later the collapse of Communism.

The diffusion of survey research has progressed through four distinct stages of development. The first stage covered the inception of modern survey research and its initial diffusion and establishment, 1935-1947.

¹ In the diffusion of innovation literature this process is known as re-invention (Rogers, 2003).

The second stage was the period of cross-national pioneers, 1948-1972. During it, comparative, survey research 1) consisted of a relatively small number of studies that covered a limited number of societies, 2) was directed by a small group of researchers, and 3) was conducted on a one-time, topic-specific basis.

The third stage ran from 1973 to 2001 during which comparative, survey research 1) expanded in scope, 2) became sustained, time series, and 3) became more collaborative.

During the fourth stage starting in 2002, cross-national, survey research became part of the social-science infrastructure. In particular, the degree of central coordination and control notably increased. The establishment of the biennial European Social Survey (ESS) in 2002 capstoned this advance (Jowell et al., 2007) (www.europeansocialsurvey.org).

This paper examines 1) the emergence of cross-national, survey research including the role of early adopters - Gallup, the National Opinion Research Center, other survey-research organizations, and Public Opinion Quarterly; 2) the initial diffusion of survey research by Gallup, International Research Associates, Inc., and others, 3) foundational survey-research meetings and associations, 4) the impact of World War II, 5) the role of the UN and other international organizations including its collaboration with the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), 6) the contributions of international exchanges and immigrations, 7) the first comparative surveys, 8) changing developments in the 1950s and 1960s in the social sciences and in other domains – government, commercial public opinion research, and market research, including the role of American influence and center/periphery diffusion, 9) impediments to early development, 10) continuing developments in the period of time-series, cross-national research, 1973-2001, 11) the period of cross-national research becoming infrastructure in 2002+, including a digest of the types of international and cross-national surveys and the coverage and limitations of contemporary international and cross-national research, and 13) a concluding assessment.

The Emergence of Cross-National, Survey Research

Cross-national, survey research did not emerge fully-formed like Athena from the forehead of Zeus, but developed in stages. First, its collection spread from the US to other countries. Second, comparisons were made across countries. Third, coordination and planned comparisons supplanted coincidental and unplanned comparisons. Finally, concentrated comparative studies that focused on cross-national comparisons were designed and carried out. Examples from Gallup, NORC, and Public Opinion Quarterly illustrate this progression.

A. Gallup

The collection and dissemination of cross-national data by Gallup emerged through a series of steps:

1. First reported use of similar questions in more than one country; no cross-national comparison (Cantril and Strunk, 1951):

US (AIPO) 11/11-15/1936 “What do you think is the ideal family size?”

UK (BIPO) 1/1938 “What do you consider the ideal size of a family – a husband, wife, and how many children?”

2. First American Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO)/Gallup report of international results (Gallup, 1972a):

Gallup Poll January 28, 1938 “Are you in favor of a trade agreement between the United States and England?”

In a December 1937 release, British Institute of Public Opinion (BIPO) reported an item “Would you like to see a trade agreement reached with United States?” with the same response distribution as that reported in the AIPO release (Cantril and Strunk, 1951). If these are referring to the same question, one wording appears to be wrong. However, in the US in early Gallup surveys, wording experiments were common, so it is possible that both questions were used in a BIPO survey.

3. First confirmed use of identical questions in more than one country; no cross-national comparisons (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Gallup, 1976b; Gallup, 1972a; US and UK results and wordings not listed in AIPO and BIPO releases):

US (AIPO) 5/1936; UK (BIPO) 3/1939 “Do you believe there is a life after death?”

4. First coordinated AIPO/Gallup report of cross-national results (Gallup, 1972a; Gallup 1976a; Gallup 1976b):

July 21, 1939 US, UK, France

US 7/1-6/1939: “What EUROPEAN country do you like best? What EUROPEAN country do you like least?” (“European” omitted from published Gallup volume (Gallup, 1972a); “European included, but release date listed as July 31, 1939 (Cantril and Strunk, 1951)).

UK 6/1939: “Which foreign country do you prefer? Which is the foreign country you like least?”

France 7/1939: “What foreign country do you like best? What foreign country do you like least?” (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Gallup, 1976a. Original French wording not reported.)

5. First presentations of results from other selected countries in AIPO releases (Gallup, 1972a; Gallup, 1999):

Britain – 1/28/1938

France – 7/21/1939

Canada – 12/6/1941
Sweden – 3/2/1942
Australia – 5/25/1942
The Netherlands – 12/24/1947
Finland, Denmark, Brazil, Norway, Italy – 1948

From 1945 to 1948 Gallup regularly published an international compilation of polls results initially entitled “World Opinion: A Digest of Polls in Various Countries” and in 1948 called “A Survey of World Opinion.” Starting with the January, 1948 issue, it mentioned the 12 Gallup affiliates in the International Association of Public Opinion Institutes as contributors to the periodical (see p. 7-11 on Gallup affiliates).

Other countries of course also adopted Gallup items from the US and in turn cited the cross-national results in their domestic releases. In particular, this was a central feature of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) which in one of its thrice weekly reports included results from the “United States, Australia, Britain, and sometimes from the recently organized Swedish poll (Gallup, 1942; Office of Opinion Research, 1942).” Similarly, the Australian Roy Morgan “Gallup Poll” published an US-Australian comparison at least as early as 1945 (“Background,” 2005; Morgan, 2008; Goot, 2010a, b).

B. National Opinion Research Center (NORC)

The progression of the reporting of cross-national results followed a similar path in the publications of NORC. In January and February, 1943, drawing on Gallup data from Britain and the United States and its own American data, NORC produced a two-part report on “Public Opinion in Wartime Britain (1943).” “Attitudes towards Rationing and Other Restrictions” in January, 1943, comparing some similar British and American items on wage controls. Then in February, 1943 “Attitudes towards the United States and Russia” compared parallel items in the two countries from NORC and British Gallup on the popularity of Russia vs. the United States/Britain (“Public Opinion,” 1943a; 1943b). Later, on May 10, 1943, NORC issued a sample issue of a periodical compilation of survey results entitled Public Opinion Polls and Surveys. It included data from NORC, Gallup, and other sources. The trial issue had data from the Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, but there were no similar items across countries and no explicit comparisons. The first regular issue under the title Opinion News came out on September 13, 1943. It had data from Canada and the US, but no direct comparisons. The fourth issue on October 25, 1943 directly compared similar, but not identical, items from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the US on issues dealing with Japan and alcohol prohibition. The seventh issue on December 6, 1943 directly compared reportedly identical items from Gallup in Australia, Canada, and the US about compulsory, universal military service (“After the war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to serve one year in the army, navy, or air force?”).² After that start, Opinion News frequently included explicit, cross-national comparisons during its remaining years of publication (1943-1948).

² However, the Gallup releases of the period only document a US question asked October 28-November 2, 1943 and released November 17, 1943 that read “After this war is over, do you think every young man should be required to

C. Other Organizations

Other early, survey-research organizations also carried out and reported on cross-national comparisons (e.g. "Postwar World," 1942). A particularly notable example was the Fortune/Roper Poll "We Compare Notes with Canada," *Fortune*, 25 (June, 1942), 8-10, 12, 14. Nine questions were compared on war/peace and international cooperation (see US: Roper Fortune # 32, 2/7-18/1942, n=5,196 and Canada: CNRFOR42-033, 3/1942, n= 2,082; both archived at the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at Cornell University). It may well qualify as the first coordinated, bilateral study on a topic rather than merely a comparison of individual questions.

Thus the first cross-national studies were not coordinated, substantive studies on a specific topic of comparative interest, but routine comparisons across countries on a miscellaneous series of topics of mutual, but not especially comparative, interest. These then evolved into coordinated comparisons of questions and eventually into full-blown, coordinated studies.

D. Public Opinion Quarterly

Public Opinion Quarterly recognized the international dimension of public opinion and survey research from the start. In the editors' foreword in the first issue, they wrote that "A new situation has arisen throughout the world" and "for the first time in history, we are confronted nearly everywhere by mass opinion as the final determinant of political and economic action (Editors, 1937)." Likewise, in the lead article Floyd H. Allport (1937) argued that "In international conflicts, similarly, we should take our public-opinion field as broader than the limit of one country alone. We should think of a U-shaped distribution of the population of both countries combined; for the shifts of attitude distribution in one of the countries bears a definite predictable relationship to the shift in the other." Additionally, two articles in the inaugural issue covered foreign subjects; Riegel's (1937) piece on the media in the Spanish Civil War and Nicolson's (1937) analysis of British public opinion on foreign-policy issues and the 1934 "peace ballot." Neither article used data from polls. Likewise, two of the initial list of reviewed books dealt with Germany and France. Besides articles on Croatia (Tomasic, 1937), Spain (Ziffren, 1937), and international broadcasting (Bent, 1937), the third issue had the first comparative contribution. The anthropologist Margaret Mead (1937) wrote on public opinion formation among primitive peoples. It covered several primitive societies and placed their handling of public opinion into a conceptual framework developed by Floyd Allport.

The first article to feature public opinion polls from more than one country was by Gallup and Robinson (1938). In Part IV of their compilation of poll results from 1935-1938, they included British surveys from 1937 and 1938. While the British data were presented separately from the

serve one year in the army or navy?"(Gallup, 1972a). This wording is confirmed in the original questionnaire although army and navy were capitalized in the questionnaire. Whether the reported wording in Opinion News is wrong or it refers to a different item not included in a Gallup release is unknown.

American results and there was no explicit comparison of results, the same issues were addressed by at least eight questions in both countries and the items were close (but not identical) in two instances. This was followed by a similar compilation in 1939 covering polls from May, 1938 to August, 1939 (American Institute, 1939), but only American data were included. These occasional compilations morphed into a regular section starting with “Public Opinion Survey” in the first issue in volume 4 in March, 1940 (Rae, 1940). It started with five departments: 1) British Institute of Public Opinion, 2) Gallup and Fortune Polls, 3) Analysis of Poll Results, 4) “Panel” Studies, and 5) Problems and Techniques. With the exception of Gallup and Fortune Polls, these departments did not regularly appear in subsequent issues. However, British data became a regular part of the Gallup and Fortune Poll pieces starting with the first issue in volume 5 in March, 1941 and the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion was included with the first issue of volume 6 in Spring, 1942 (Office, 1942). This issue also included the first direct cross-national comparison of identical questions with the US and Canada compared on several questions (“Gallup,” 1942). Then, in the spring, 1943 issue of volume 7, in reflection of the expanding number of public opinion organizations, the section was renamed “Public Opinion Polls” (1943).

In addition to these evolving compilations of cross-national data, the most notable early expression in Public Opinion Quarterly was an article by George Gallup in the fall of 1942 which noted that “Cross-section surveys of public opinion are now being conducted continuously in five countries – the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, and Sweden. Through these surveys it has become possible for the first time to measure and to report the views of the common man on the same issue at the same time in five nations of the globe...(Gallup, 1942).”

Thus, the coverage of cross-national, survey research in Public Opinion Quarterly also occurred in stages that paralleled those shown by Gallup, NORC, and survey researchers in general.

Initial Diffusion of Survey Research

Contemporary survey research emerged from the public opinion polls of Gallup, Roper, and Crossley in the 1930s (Converse, 1987; Crothers and Platt, 2010; Heldman, 2004; Igo, 2007; Martin, 1984; Oberschall, 2008; Platt, 1996; Zetterberg, 2008).³ As Zetterberg (2008) has observed it was “a child of the American newspaper world, born in the 1930s.” Likewise as Bulmer (1998) has noted “The social survey, although it did not originate in the United States, is a quintessentially American form of social research.” From that node “(t)he spread of public opinion research can be seen as a part of the Americanization of the world (Zetterberg, 2008).”⁴

³ On developments in survey research in particular and the social sciences in general prior to the 1930s see Bulmer, 1984; 1987; Converse, 1987; Korzi, 2000; McKennell, Bynner, and Bulmer, 1987; Oberschall, 2008; Platt, 1991; Rokkan, 1993; Smith, 1990). On various precursors of survey research see Formisano, 1969; Jensen, 1970; 1983; Robinson, 1932; 1937; Speck, Gray, and Hopkinson, 1975; Smith, 1990; Vincent, 1967.

⁴ Besides expanding internationally, survey research also spread within the United States into the social sciences in general (Converse, 1987; Platt, 1996).

A. First and Foremost: Gallup

As Worcester (1987) notes, “George Gallup was largely responsible for the internationalization of commercial opinion polling...” Gallup’s promotion of international public opinion research was both direct and entrepreneurial and indirect and inspirational. Along the direct, trailblazing path, within a year of founding AIPO in 1935, Gallup was working on establishing Gallup affiliates in other countries. In some cases Gallup sought out collaborators in other countries to organize institutes. In 1936, he sent Harry Field to Great Britain to establish the British Institute of Public Opinion (BIPO). Field made enquires at the London School of Economics about who might be able to organize a British counterpart to Gallup’s AIPO. He was referred to Henry Durant who was teaching at the London School of Economics (Editors, 1946; Connelly, 1947; Gallup and Gallup, 1969; Webb, 1983; Worcester, 1983). The BIPO was organized in 1936 and started national polls in January, 1937 (Gallup, 1976b; Gallup and Gallup, 1969; Gallup and Rae, 1940).⁵ In the case of Canada, Gallup send representatives to interest newspapers in supporting Gallup polls. In response, a group of Canadian publishers approached Gallup in the summer of 1941 and asked him to establish a Canadian affiliate. Gallup sent a team from the US to set up CIPO in November, 1941 and a Canadian didn’t join the leadership until Wilfrid Sanders took over as editor in December, 1941 (Gallup, 1942; Robinson, 1999). Field (prior to founding NORC) also apparently played a role in establishing both the French and Australian Gallup affiliates (French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) and Australia Public Opinion Polls)(Editors, 1946; Connelly, 1947; Gallup, 1942).

In many other cases foreigners were inspired by the development of public opinion polling in America. They learned about this innovation through mass media reports of poll results and from the scholarly literature. They then often followed-up by approaching Gallup and others public opinion researchers for assistance and/or by enrolling in or visiting American universities. A number of foreign researchers came to the US to study the new field of public opinion research in general and to confer with Gallup in particular. Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann from Germany came to the University of Missouri in 1937-38 to study Gallup’s survey methodology. In 1940, she received her doctorate from Freidrich-Wilhelms University on “Researching Opinion and the Masses in the USA: Surveys of Politics and the Press.” After World War II, she was recruited by the French Occupation authority to conduct surveys and in 1947 with her husband Erich Peter Neumann, she founded the Institut fuer Demoskopie Allensbach. Allensbach did monthly surveys for the Germany government starting in 1950 as well as conducting surveys for other sponsors (Noelle-Neumann, 1967, 1981, 1983; Petersen, 2010).

Jean Stoetzel (Cowans, 2002; Stoetzel, 1948; 1983) taught at Columbia University in 1937-38 and apparently both contacted Gallup and formed his plans for a French polling organization at that time. He returned to Paris in May, 1938 and conducted his first poll in July. Both the name of his institute, IFOP, and various accounts indicate that Gallup helped launch IFPO (Editors, 1946; Connelly, 1947), but his exact role is not known.

⁵ Connelly (1947) and Cahalan (1992) indicate that Field also initially directed the BIPO, but this is not supported by other accounts of BIPO’s early operation.

In the case of Australia, at the behest of Keith Murdoch, Roy Morgan visited Gallup and others in the US in 1940 and then returned to found the Gallup affiliate, Australian Public Opinion Poll, in 1941. Field may have played a role in its establishment (Editors, 1946; Connelly, 1947; Gallup, 1942; Goot, 2010a.b).

In Denmark, Haagen Wahl Asmussen had followed the Gallup achievements in America and arranged a meeting with Gallup in Berlin in 1939. Asmussen introduced himself as “I am the Danish Mr. Gallup.” Gallup replied, “Hell, you’re not.” But after their meeting, Gallup granted Asmussen the right to use the Gallup name in Scandinavia (Randrup, 2004; “TNS Gallup,” n.d.). Asmussen established an organization in Denmark in 1939. It is unclear what work he carried out before Germany invaded the country in April, 1940. Some accounts refer to Gallup starting in Denmark in 1939 (Brunbech and Kjaersgaard, 2014; “Gallup 1947: Er Gud Til?” 2014; Madsen, 2016). Others date the start to 1943 when Asmussen reorganized as the Dansk Gallup Institut (Gallup, 1972b). If 1943 is accepted as the start of the Gallup connection and 1944-45 as the start of actual Gallup polling in Denmark,⁶ then the first Gallup-affiliated poll in Scandinavia was organized in neutral and unoccupied Sweden in 1942 under the direction of Sven O. Blomquist following “early groundwork for the formation of Scandinavian public opinion polls...laid by Wahl Asmussen of Denmark (Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1942; see also Gallup, 1942).”

In the Netherlands, Jan Stapel and Wim de Jonge set up the Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion in 1946 as a Gallup affiliate. Stapel was “inspired and fascinated by the early work of George Gallup (Spangenberg, 2003; See also Gallup, 1976a).”

In Switzerland, Pierre Devrient set up the Institut Suisse D’ Opinion Publique in 1943. He was a friend of Gallup and joined Gallup International in 1949 (ISO Public, n.d.).

Other early Gallup influencees include Auricélio Penteado who set up Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública (IBOPE) in Brazil (“Brazilian,” 2018; “History,” n.d.; “History,” 2004) Bjorn Balstad founder of Norsk Gallup in Norway in 1946 (Zetterberg, 2007), Arturi Raula, head of the Finnish Gallup Institute, started in 1945, and Eric P.W. Da Costa in India in 1953 (Dixon, 2006).

In other cases the influence was more general. In Italy, Pierpaolo Luzzatto-Fegiz and others who established DOXA in 1946 (DOXA – Institute of Statistical Research and Public Opinion Analysis) had followed the methods of Gallup and Roper (Luzzatto-Fegiz, 1983; Fegiz, 1947) and at some point after the 1947 Loxwood meeting became associated with Gallup. In Spain, the earliest polls in the 1940s in part grew out of reading about American poll results in international newspapers (Giner, 1983). In Czechoslovakia, “it was from foreign broadcasts, especially those of the BBC” that researchers “became acquainted with British and American polling” (Adamec and Viden, 1947-48). In these cases there was not apparently any direct, initial contact with or encouragement from the Americans.

After expanding and setting up affiliates for over a decade, Gallup decided he needed to coordinate the international polling and so held the Organizing Meeting of the International

⁶ Gallup and Gallup (1969) report that “One survey, which sought to ascertain the views of youths, was carried out in Denmark at the end of 1944 and published despite German occupation.”

Association of Public Opinion (Gallup) Institutes at Loxwood Hall, Sussex on May 11-18, 1947 (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; “Le Congres,” 1947; Lydgate, 1947; “Proceedings,” 1950; Stoetzel, 1976; Zetterberg, 2008; 2017). Stoetzel (1976) contended that “The Loxwood meeting marked the beginning of international cooperation in research.” But what it really did was formally organize cross-national, survey research.

The collaboration was typically small-scale. As set up at Loxwood (Lydgate, 1947), the target was for the Gallup affiliates to ask one joint question a month although “some of the larger countries will conduct joint polls on several additional questions monthly.”

As Webb (1983) has noted, the International Association (usually informally referred to as Gallup International) was “the first group of international friends of Gallup” and the Gallup organized or inspired organizations were “linked only by common interests and a shake of the hand.” Each of the member organizations were “owned and controlled by nationals of the country in which it operated (Wood, 1962; see also Cantril and Strunk, 1951).” As Cantril and Strunk (1951) observed, “Dr. Gallup acts only in an advisory capacity.” The new organization was to be headed by a Central Committee representing the US, UK, France, Australia, and Scandinavia. Gallup was chosen to preside over the new association and would serve in that role until his death in 1984 (Webb, 1983, Wood, 1962). Besides setting up a general association for collaboration, Gallup International also sought to improve international polling methodology. A technical committee under Edward G. Benson (US), Stoetzel (France), and Durant (UK) was established to vet the methodology of new applicants and “much time was devoted to discussing polling problems common to all the members, such as interviewing, election forecasting, question wording, public relations problems of polltakers, radio research, and newspaper research (Lydgate, 1947).”

Dodd (1946-47) noted that under the Gallup arrangement “Their affiliation consists of the use of the copyrighted name in common, first publication rights on one another’s findings, monthly common polls and increasing use of a common Records Office for depositing duplicate records at the Office of Public Opinion Research. For polls in common, the affiliates first cabled suggested questions to the Canadian Institute. As coordinator, it cables back four candidate questions for a vote. The cabled outcome of this vote determines the monthly question which will be surveyed simultaneously by all the affiliated institutes in comparable fashion.” Similarly, Link (1947) observed that “All of these public opinion institutions have been inaugurated under the inspiration of Dr. Gallup and the American Institute of Public Opinion of which they are affiliates. However, each operates independently in its own field.” Likewise, as Mildred Strunk (Cantril and Strunk, 1951) noted, “Each institute is organized and directed entirely in the country which it samples – Dr. Gallup acts only in an advisory capacity.”

Sources disagree about the starting year for various Gallup affiliates (Table 1). Some of the disagreement stems from using different criteria such as when an organization was formed, when it did its first poll, when it started national polls, and when it first collaborated with Gallup. There are also differences over the names of organizations. These stem from changes over time, formal vs. informal names, and native language vs. Anglicized versions.

The organization met annually to discuss survey methodology and issues arising from doing polls in each country. “During these conferences, schedules are agreed upon for simultaneous polls at monthly intervals on international issues (Gallup, 1972b).”

Today Gallup Inc. is the company founded by George Gallup Sr. and is headquartered in the US. The Gallup International Association (GIA) is the current form of the International Association of Public Opinion Institutes founded in 1947. It was usually referred to just as Gallup International, but was still known as the International Association of Public Opinion Institutes at least as late as 1969 (Gallup and Gallup, 1969). In 1976 or earlier,⁷ it was known as the Gallup International Research Institutes and in 1981 had become GIA (Klapper, 1962; 1967-68; Stoychev, 2017; Webb, 1983; Wood, 1962). Gallup, Inc. and GIA parted ways after Gallup’s death in 1984 when the Gallup firm was sold to Jim Clifton of Selection Research Inc. in 1988. GIA is not affiliated with Gallup Inc. and has been headquartered in Switzerland (Gallup International Association, n.d.; 2017; Gallup Pakistan, n.d.; Moore, 2008; Zetterberg, 2017).

B. International Research Associates, Inc.

A second international collaboration, International Public Opinion Research Inc. (IPOR), later known as International Research Associates, Inc. (INRA) was set up by Elmo Roper’s associate, Elmo Wilson, in 1948 (Dinerman, 1969; Dodd, 1946-47; Hyman, 1991; Noelle-Neumann, 1992; “Out of the Question,” n.d.; “The Press,” 1957; Wilson, 1950, 1957, 1958b; Worcester, 1987; Zetterberg, 2008).⁸ It followed the collaborative model of the Gallup International Association. It initially focused more on South America. It mostly did market research, but also facilitated the needs of the US State Department and United States Information Agency (USIA) for international data. By 1956, INRA had affiliates in 27 countries. In 1957, it started a “World Poll” series in the New York Herald Tribune, but that may have only lasted for a couple years (Almond, 1960; Converse, 1987; Wilson, 1958a). Conflicting reports in 1969 indicated INRA in 28 or “some 60” countries (Dinerman, 1969; “Research..., 1969). INRA was eventually acquired by David Starch and Staff in 1974 which was headed by William J. “Jay” Wilson, Elmo Wilson’s son. Starch/INRA/Hopper later acquired the Roper Organization and rebranded itself in the mid-1990s as Roper Starch Worldwide. That organization in turn was bought by NOP World in 2001 and later it was in turn purchased by GfK (originally Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung – the Association for Consumer Research)(Roper Center, 2020; Singer, 1988).

As Stein Rokkan (1969) observed, “These two networks [i.e. Gallup and INRA] served crucial functions in the internationalization of the polling profession: they spread techniques and standard from country to country; they accumulated experiences in the use of equivalent question formulations as measurement techniques across different countries; they offered facilities for the conduct of comparative surveys by government agencies, by business corporations, and even by academic scholars.”

⁷ By one account it was changed to the Association of Gallup International Research Institute in 1960 (Stoychev, 2017).

⁸ But Wilson (1957) reports that it was “founded in the last month of the war in 1945.” This may refer to INRA’s precursor IPOR.

C. Beyond Gallup and INRA

In addition to the Gallup and INRA collaborations, other independent organizations, both commercial and non-commercial, were also early initiators. The growth of survey research across organizations and countries is shown in Table 2. Across all lists a total of 34 countries are reported as having survey research organizations by the late 1940s. But several reports consist only of unconfirmed mentions of a country (Chile, Peru, New Zealand, Uruguay, Venezuela) and a couple mentions seem dubious given what is known about the general development of survey research in those countries (South Africa, China). Also, Radvanyi (1947b) and Lee (1948) indicated that public opinion polling was underway in respectively 25 or 36 countries, but neither listed them.

In brief, over the first decade and a half after the advent of the Gallup, Roper, and Crossley polls in 1935-36, survey research had spread to about 30 countries. Many of the organizations were affiliates of Gallup or INRA, but there were also numerous completely independent commercial firms. Few of these very early firms were apparently either university-based or not-for-profits (Converse, 1987). Gallup's preeminent position is shown by the fact that in 1948 40% of all members of WAPOR were Gallup affiliated (Proceedings, 1949).

Early Survey Research Conferences/Meetings

After the end of World War II, survey researchers began to hold conferences, form organizations, and organize as a profession and industry (Table 3). In 1945, Laszlo Radvanyi conducted a survey of "the state of opinion of the social scientists, journalists, and professionally interested persons, concerning public opinion measurement in the countries where Institutes of Public Opinion exist (Radvanyi, 1945)." He compiled results from his US respondents and intended to do the same later with responses from those in other countries, but apparently never carried through with this plan. There were at least 37 respondents including such survey research luminaries as Hadley Cantril, Field, Morris Hansen, and Roper, a number of prominent social scientists, and editors and publishers such as Henry Luce of Time and Chet Shaw of Newsweek. Radvanyi's question about how the "relations between the Institutes of Public Opinion in different countries could be established or strengthened in order to foment the further development of the science of public opinion and to increase the mutual understanding among peoples" got the following responses:

Interchange of information regarding methods	36.8%
Organization of an International Cooperative Association of Public Institutes	35.5%
Interchange of survey results	34.2%
International conferences of institute officials	23.7%
International collaboration of Public Opinion in connection with the New World Organization	9.2%
Simultaneous polls and studies of similar questions	6.6%

Establishment of international standards	6.6%
Personal visits among Institute officials	6.5%
Exchange of personnel	5.2%
Miscellaneous	6.5%

Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research, Central City, Colorado, July 29-31, 1946
(Cahalan, 1992; “Proceedings,” 1946)

Reflecting this sentiment, Field, founder of NORC, organized the very first survey research meeting, the Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research in Central City, Colorado on July 29-31, 1946 (“Proceedings,” 1946). At this inaugural survey research conference, the very first session was on “Public Opinion and International Affairs” (“Proceedings,” 1946). This session listed as its topics “Contribution to world peace of research on international affairs” and “Development of an International Barometer of Public Opinion.” This session and others at the conference discussed the promise that cross-national, survey research offered, especially for promoting world peace and also considered the many practical challenges that had to be surmounted to achieve the goal.

As one of their concluding resolutions, the City Central attendees unanimously resolved that “a second conference on public opinion research be held in 1947” and further declared that “this conference favors the ultimate establishment of an international organization for the encouragement of opinion research on a world-wide scale....This conference further asks its Continuing Committee to appoint a committee to implement this resolution (“Proceedings,” 1946).” Gallup and Stuart C. Dodd were named as co-chairs of the international polling committee (“Proceedings,” 1946) and also serving were Rensis Likert, Elmo Wilson, and Wilfrid Sanders (Sheatsley, 1968).

The transformation of Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research began as soon as the final session ended. The Continuing Committee decided that “this First Conference on Public Opinion Research (Central City), and all ensuing ones, be in fact and in name international.” They decided to name the 1947 follow-up conference “the Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research (Sheatsley, 1992).” This was followed by the “Third International Conference on Public Opinion Research in Ithaca in 1948, but with the organization of WAPOR, in 1949 in Lake Forrest, Illinois, AAPOR abandoned “international” as part of its title becoming the Fourth **Annual** Conference on Public Opinion Research.

Conference of European Public Opinion Institutes, Paris, January 28-30, 1947 (“Conference,” 1947; Gallup, 1976a; Downham, 1997; Stoetzel, 1976)

IFOP hosted the “first meeting of European professional pollsters (Stoetzel, 1976).” It aimed to establish a forum for the exchange of ideas about market and survey research in Europe. This

goal was to be pursued by the establishment of a Commission Europeenne d'Opinion Publique (Downham, 1997).

Organizing Meeting of the International Association of Public Opinion (Gallup) Institutes,

Loxwood Hall, Sussex, May 11-18, 1947 (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Lydgate, 1947; "Proceedings," 1950; Stoetzel, 1976; Webb, 1983; Wood, 1962; Zetterberg, 2008; 2017).⁹

Stoetzel (1976) noted that "The Loxwood meeting marked the beginning of international cooperation in research." All but one of the existing Gallup affiliates attended the meeting (i.e. America, Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden with Brazil absent). The new organization was to be headed by a Central Committee representing the US, UK, France, Australia, and Scandinavia. Besides setting up a general association for collaboration, the Gallup Association also sought to improve international polling methodology. A technical committee under Edward G. Benson (US), Stoetzel (France), and Durant (UK) was established to vet the methodology of new applicants and "much time was devoted to discussing polling problems common to all the members, such as interviewing, election forecasting, question wording, public relations problems of polltakers, radio research, and newspaper research."

Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research, Williamstown, Massachusetts,

September 2-5, 1947 (David, 1948; "Research News," 1947; Sheatsley, 1947; 1992; World Congress, 1947)

The Central City Continuing Committee organized what it named the "second" international conference. Both AAPOR and WAPOR originated from this conference (see following section).

Second International Congress of Public Opinion, Amsterdam, September 15-17, 1948 (Guigoz, 1949; Downham, 1997)

Following up on the Paris meeting, this conference created the European Commission of Public Opinion and Market Research which became the European Society for Opinion and Market Research (ESOMAR). As Helene Riffault of IFOP noted (quoted in Downham, 1997), "We felt a great need to meet researchers from other countries and exchange experiences and ideas.... We felt that we should have some form of organization. WAPOR had already been set up. But that was mostly public opinion research, not market research and had an American perspective. We wanted to show potential clients in Europe that we were a new profession which they needed, a profession with advanced techniques, discipline, and ethical rules."

Conference on Attitude and Opinion Research, Iowa City, Iowa, February 10-12, 1949 (Iowa, 1949; Meier and Saunders, 1949).

While this conference only had representatives from the US and did not lead to any permanent organization being formed, it also showed a strong interest in cross-national, survey research. Its

⁹ See preceding discussion of the spread of Gallup affiliates on p. 7-11.

closing statement indicated (Meier and Saunders, 1949), “Anyone interested in the World Association for Public Opinion Research is invited to a meeting as soon as we disband here. Stuart Dodd and Mr. Lentz will outline some of the material which they’d like to bring up for consideration toward the development of professional polling on a world scale. I think we are all aware of the fact that one of the hopes of the late war was to bring about better understanding among nations and also to make democratic principle operative and functional in other countries that have not witnessed the development of democracy, as we think the United States has developed it at least, and we would be inclined to favor the whole idea of extending the public opinion poll to other countries as rapidly as possible – possibly also to Russia eventually.”

With these conferences the foundation of cross-national, survey research was laid. Even from the beginning, the conferences were international (Table 4). Attendees were predominately from the United States and Europe, but a smattering of other countries was represented and the international profile of survey research would continue to expand over the years.

International Associations

While an interest in international polling goes back to the late 1930s, this greatly expanded after World War II when, “For perhaps the first time, the pollsters realized...that what they were doing had important implications for postwar society, not only in the United States, but in western Europe, the former Axis nations, and the underdeveloped world (Sheatsley, 1968).”

WAPOR, like AAPOR, was formally organized at the 1947 Williamstown conference. This conference was named the Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research counting the 1946 Central City Conference as the retrospectively named “First International Conference” (Dodd, 1957b; Sheatsley, 1947; 1992; Smith and Smith, 1956; “World Congress,” 1947). WAPOR’s first president was Jean Stoetzel, head of Gallup’s French affiliate. Stoetzel (“Proceedings,” 1949) observed that WAPOR’s annual conferences offered “a rare opportunity for members of the opinion research profession to meet each other and to ‘talk shop’...” In the draft constitution its “broad purpose” was defined as “to serve as an international meeting ground for individuals engaged in sample polling, as applied to the opinion, information, and needs of people, or in teaching and to act as a clearing house for ideas and results from its members, 2) to maintain a level of ethics, and the progressive development of scientific standards of members, and to foster, in every practical way, improvement of current techniques and the development of new techniques, in this field, 3) to promote professional interests (David, 1948).” The first act of the just formed WAPOR was to “petition the proper bodies of the United Nations to increase the use of polling on international questions (David, 1948).”

Epitomizing the connection between cross-national, survey research and the goal of international cooperation was the inclusion in the WAPOR provisional constitution of a Technical Committee on Opinion Research and World Peace (“Proceedings,” 1948) and the related founding at the 1947 Williamstown conference of the International Committee for Public Opinion Research and World Peace (Lentz, 1947). Its stated purposes were 1) “to learn about, to improve and to increase the amount of opinion research related to world peace,” 2) “to analyze. Interpret and constructively publicize poll and survey data on world unity”, and 3) “to promote the development of an ‘international barometer’ of opinion relevant to world understanding and world peace.” Neither of these particular initiatives lasted long. The Technical Committee was

not part of the final constitution adopted in 1948, but it may have continued as a “sub-committee on peace” (“Proceedings,” 1949). But general efforts to promote UNESCO/UN backed peace research continued (Eckhardt, 1983; Lentz, 1955). Similarly, Lee (1948) wrote that growing cooperation amongst international public opinion organization “might reach a point where they could be said to be contributing with reasonable adequacy to international understanding, to the United Nations policies, and to the building up of popular resistance to military expedients in international affairs.”

As finally adopted at the Third International Conference on Public Opinion Research in 1948, WAPOR’s purposes were redefined to be “For society: to promote understanding among peoples of the world through honest and accurate surveying of samples of them concerning their opinions, knowledge, behavior, needs, hopes, fears, and ideals. For the profession: to promote internationally the interests of the profession among all persons concerned with polling samples of people. These professional interests may include such functions as promoting meetings and publications, developing better methods and professional standards, training more competent personnel representing the profession collectively, coordinating and integrating institutional polls, augmenting the use of polling in international public affairs (“Proceedings,” 1949).” Also, its provisional birth name, the World Congress on Public Opinion Research, was changed to the World Association for Public Opinion Research at the 1948 conference (“Proceedings,” 1949).¹⁰ In 1949, it met in Europe for the first time in tandem with ESOMAR (Downham, 1997). Since then, WAPOR regularly met in alternate years with AAPOR and ESOMAR.¹¹

Following shortly after the establishment of AAPOR and WAPOR, ESOMAR was organized at the 1948 Amsterdam conference. In its early years ESOMAR was restricted to Europe and focused on market research. While naturally interested in international survey research, ESOMAR was not heavily involved in the major currents that developed cross-national, survey research in this early period (Downham, 1997).

World War II and the Internationalization of Survey Research

The advent of World War II affected the development of survey research in general and in particular its internationalization. First, it both encouraged and discouraged the actual use of surveys. Second, it greatly increased attention towards international and military matters rather than domestic concerns. Third, in its aftermath it created a strong desire to use surveys to promote world peace and international cooperation and thus avoid the specter of further war. Finally, the Allies formed the UN at the close of the war and that institution would play an important role in early cross-national, survey research,

First, World War II was both an impetus and an impediment to the international expansion of survey research. The German conquest of France led to the suspension of the Gallup-affiliated, IFPO in 1939 and the Nazis did not encourage the establishment of public opinion organizations either in Germany or other areas they controlled (Gallup and Gallup, 1969; “Research... , 1969; Schaefer and Miller, 1998). The Allies, led by the Americans, not only used public opinion polls in their own countries and to study members of their armed forces (Converse, 1987; Hyman,

¹⁰ For a list of names floated for the new “World Association” see Dodd, 1946-47.

¹¹ This changed in 2012 when WAPOR adopted a three-year cycle, meeting with AAPOR, in Europe, and somewhere else. On AAPOR/WAPOR joint conferences see Ballou, 2020.

1991; Sheatsley, 1968), but utilized both open surveys and informal, clandestine polls in both neutral and enemy-occupied territories. In Latin America, the Office of Inter-American Affairs commissioned a series of surveys to gauge support for the Allies vs. the Axis powers. This started with the people being sent to the main capitals of Latin America in February-March, 1940 (Garza, 2010) and the first survey every conducted in Latin America was carried out by Lloyd Free in Brazil in early 1941 (Cantril, 1967; Garza, 2010). Surveys in several other countries followed (Garza, 2007; 2010).

In Europe various surreptitious surveys were carried out in neutral and occupied countries. In neutral Sweden in 1940, W. Phillips Davison (Davison, 1992) was recruited by the American embassy to ask Swedes about war-related issues. He interviewed about twenty people in Stockholm and by asking the informants about the views of roommates, parents, and grandparents collected information on nearly 100 people. In neutral Switzerland in 1942, Lloyd Free led an unsuccessful attempt to set up a similar polling operation (Cantril, 1967).

The Allies also conducted polling in enemy-occupied countries. In France the Resistance carried out clandestine polls (Dorsey, 1952; Roper, 1948; Roper and Woodward, 1948; Wilson, 1957). Max Barioux organized a network of interviewers and carried out a series of secret surveys for the resistance. As Dorsey(1952) notes, “Because of the need to avoid written documents and to prevent even respondents from knowing that a survey was being made, each survey was limited to two or three questions.” After the war this effort was formally organized as the Service de Sondages et Statistiques. In French North Africa, Hadley Cantril organized an effort to interview mostly members of the French armed forces and colonial administration about the planned Allied invasion of the French colonies (Cantril, 1967; Reuband, 2010). In Norway for the US Office of Strategic Services, Leif Holbaek-Hanssen set up Fakta to conduct polls in which “Innocuous questions on consumer habits or desires provided the framework in which more significant information of importance to the Allies was obtained (Wilson, 1957).”

In addition to the clandestine polls in enemy territory, the Allies probed the views of Germans by collecting “questionnaire opinion data of German prisoners of war (Janowitz, 1949)” and by surveys of Germans or people recently in contact with Germans (Cantril, 1967). The prisoners-of-war surveys were extensive, but the surveying of other Germans was very small scale. From April to June, 1944, 78 Germans and 9 Swedes who had recently been in contact with Germans were interviewed (Cantril, 1967).

The clandestine polls in neutral and enemy-occupied territory were then augmented by more formal and extensive surveys in newly-liberated areas. Quite early on the value and special character of occupation surveys was recognized and Public Opinion Quarterly had a special issue in the last issue in 1943 on “The Occupation of Enemy Territory” (Editor, 1943) with 15 articles dealing with various aspects of public opinion. In Sicily the US carried out a survey of respondents within weeks of liberation (“A.M.G.,” 1944; Dodd, 1946a; Reuband, 2000; 2010). Some 70 interviewers conducted about 3,000 interviews. In France the US Office of War Information commissioned a poll from the newly-revived IFOP in 1944 even before all of France was liberated (Bogart, 1987). Immediately after the surrender of Germany, the US carried out the Strategic Bombing Survey and following Japan’s capitulation a similar study was conducted in Japan (Gentile, 1997; Hyman, 1991; Jams, 1951; MacIsaac, 1976).

The Americans (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Conference, 1947; Converse, 1987; Crespi, 1950a; 1950b; Kaase and Klingemann, 1994; Katona, 1953-54; Merritt and Merritt, 1970; "Proceedings," 1946; "Research Institutes," 1953; Roper and Woodward, 1948; Smith and Smith, 1956; Williams, 1950; Wilson, 1957; Ylvisaker, 1948-49), British (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Downham, 1997; Katona, 1953-54; Wilson, 1957), and French (Bogart, 1987; Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Cantril, 1967; "Conference," 1947; "Proceedings," 1950; "Research Institutes," 1953) all set up survey units in their occupation zones in Germany. The United States also considered establishing a similar unit in Austria, but ultimately did not (Hyman, 1991). Surveys by the US occupation authorities continued into the 1950s first under Frederick W. Williams and later Leo P. Crespi (Merritt and Merritt, 1980). After the first few years the US ceased running its own field operations and helped to establish German organizations to carry out the data collection. In particular, the Deutsches Institut fuer Volksumfragen (DIVO) in Frankfurt, later known as DIVO-Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung, Sozialforschung, und Angewandte Mathematik, was set up in 1951. It was run by Germans who had previously been employed by the US High Commission for Occupied Germany (HICOG) and initially most of its work was done for the Reactions Analysis Staff of HICOG (Katona, 1953-54; Merritt and Merritt, 1980; Schaefer and Miller, 1998). Most of their work concerned Germany alone, but they did spearhead at least one important cross-national study. In 1952, surveys were carried out in Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands under the direction of the Dutch Gallup affiliate (Smith, 1956; Smith and Smith, 1956). The survey covered public opinion on European integration and cold-war issues. When occupation ended, surveys were continued by USIA and conducted by German firms (Converse, 1987; Merritt, 1967; 1968; Merritt and Merritt, 1980; Rubin, 1966; Zetterberg, 2008). Similarly, in the French zone, the Institut fuer Demoskopie Allensbach was organized in 1947 in response to French support for occupation surveys.

Besides conducting survey research and helping to establish local, survey-research organizations in the occupied countries, the US in particular carried out cross-national, survey research. The first and most famous example occurred right after the end of World War II when the Strategic Bombing Surveys were conducted in Germany (5-6/1945) and Japan (Fall, 1945). As part of a comprehensive assessment of the Allied bombing campaign, surveys of the general population measured the impact of the bombing on civilian morale in Germany and Japan (Converse, 1987; Gentile, 1997; Hyman, 1991; MacIsaac, 1976). Later, the occupation surveys were merged with the information gathering of the USIA and multilateral surveys were conducted (Merritt and Merritt, 1980). In the early 1950s, the USIA commissioned surveys in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, and Venezuela (Converse, 1987; Merritt, 1967; 1968; Roper Center, 2019b; Rubin, 1966; Smith, 1956). The Voice of America also conducted international surveys in the 1950s (Converse, 1987; Smith, 1956; Wilson, 1957). This included one study done in 1950-1951 with small-scale, quasi-random samples in six Middle Eastern countries (Converse, 1987; Glock, 1952-53; Lerner, 1958).

The Americans also facilitated the establishment of survey research in Japan (Converse, 1987; Hyman, 1947; 1991; Knutson, 1945; Nisihira, 1956; 1983; Passin, 1951; "Research Institutes," 1953; Roper and Woodward, 1948; Wilson, 1957). Hyman (1991) writes that "the experience [Raymond] Bowers, [Clyde] Kluckhohn, and I gained in the Bombing Survey aided us when we served in 1947 as an 'expert mission' recruited by the Occupation to help train the Japanese public opinion researchers and stimulate fledging survey organizations just beginning to flourish in postwar Japan." By 1947, there were 60 firms operating in Japan (Hyman, 1947).

In brief, the Allies generated a demand for survey data, created a supply by establishing data-collection agencies, and stimulated an interest in survey research in the occupied countries (Verba, 1993).

Second, World War II also promoted cross-national, survey research by increasing interest in international issues in general and concern about world peace and international cooperation in particular. The shift is illustrated by the content of Gallup's AIPO releases. In 1936 only 5% dealt with either military or international issues. In 1940, 40% of releases focused on military or international matters as did 33% of releases in 1944. This is also shown by the military and international focus of surveys during and after the war by NORC and those after the war by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan (Bova and Worley, 1991; Converse, 1987; Survey Research Center, 1952).

Finally, as discussed in the next section, in the aftermath of World War II people and governments both focused on the goal of avoiding future wars and hoped that cross-national, survey research could be utilized to further world peace and created the UN and related international associations that sought to use cross-national surveys to further both world peace and other goals.

UN and Other International Organizations

At the close of World War II, the Allies formed the UN to help regulate the international order in the post-bellum period in general and promote world peace in particular. There was a strong desire both from within the survey-research community and from the UN and other international agencies that international polling become a centerpiece of postwar, international relations and cooperation (Allport, 1947; Bruner, 1947; Editor, 1947; Radvanyi, 1945). Dodd (1946-47) argued that "Servicing the U.N. should be a major function of international surveys." He (Dodd, 1948) further indicated that "most [survey research] agencies are interested in participating in an international network which could serve the United Nations agencies, especially UNESCO."

The United Nations Economic, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was most often singled out to lead the envisioned collaboration. UNESCO was created in London in 1945 and organized in Paris in 1946. "UNESCO...stood in those days [the late 1940s] as an unchallenged leader, intellectually and internationally, in all matters then within the orbit of social science... (von Morpurgo, 1998)." UNESCO promoted cross-national, survey research directly by commissioning comparative research to implement its specific programs and policies such as reducing international tensions and furthering mass communications and indirectly by building up international, social science and educational infrastructure (Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1988). As Johnson (1948) noted, "The Social Sciences are regarded as occupying a central position in the program of UNESCO and as being in a strong position to assist in providing a suitable climate within which to carry on cooperative international relations and promote democratic ideals and freedoms."

Roper and Woodward (1948) believed that "ultimately if the job [of international polling] is to be done thoroughly, the active support of a world political federation will be necessary. The power to poll opinion in foreign countries is too great a power, and involves too great a responsibility, to be left solely in the hands of private agencies. It has been proposed that the

United Nations do the polling through UNESCO, but, if an international poll is blocked there by the non-democracies, it will come later.”

From its inception, UNESCO was interested in both studying the cause of international tensions and conducting large-scale, cross-national, survey research (“United Nations...,” 1947; UNESCO, 2009; Duijker, 1955). In 1947 at its second meeting in Mexico City, UNESCO passed a series of resolutions establishing the project on Tensions Affecting International Understanding (Klineberg, 1950):¹²

“The Director-General is instructed to promote enquiries into:

1. The distinctive character of the various national cultures, ideals, and legal systems;
2. The ideas which people of one nation hold concerning their own and other nations;
3. Modern methods developed in education, political science, philosophy, and psychology for changing mental attitudes, and into the social and political circumstances that favour the employment of particular techniques;
4. The influences which make for international understanding or for aggressive nationalism;
5. Population problems affecting international understanding, including the cultural assimilation of immigrants;
6. The influence of modern technology upon the attitudes and mutual relations of peoples.”

As Angell (1950) has noted, this was UNESCO’s “oldest and largest” comparative research project. Cantril was selected to head the project, but agreed to serve only for six months starting in March, 1948. During this period he worked with the leaders of the Gallup polls in Britain and France to design a cross-national survey in furtherance of the resolution calling for “Inquiries into the concepts which the people of one nation entertain of their own and other nations.” As Cantril (1967) noted, “This clearly called for reliable survey data on samples of the population in as many countries where survey facilities existed as our budget would permit.” Some effort was made to collect data in 13 countries and ultimately analysis was done in nine countries (Australia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States) (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Klineberg, 1950; Saum, 1951). By the time that Otto Klineberg took over the Tensions project in the fall of 1948, the cross-national surveys were already underway (Angell, 1950; Cantril, 1948; 1950; 1967; Converse, 1987; Klineberg, 1949; McKeon, 1948; Saum, 1951; “United Nations...,” 1947). Basic studies were carried out from June, 1948 to January, 1949 with one follow-up study in Berlin done in October, 1949 (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953). Gallup affiliates carried out the work in six countries (but not in the US), IPOR (later INRA) did the work in Mexico (cities only), and the British military government carried out the survey in their zone in Germany. Results appeared in a 1953 book by William Buchanan and Cantril, How Nations See Each Other.

Besides the comparative surveys, Cantril also organized an international conference of social scientists in the early summer that led to the edited volume, Tensions that Cause Wars (Cantril, 1950).

¹² Cantril (1948) quote similar, but not identical resolutions. It is not clear whether one source is only paraphrasing the formal language or whether these were two sets of resolutions passed as successive general meetings as Klineberg (1950) implies.

The Tensions Project was not just an important, pioneering comparative project dealing with international understanding. Promoting world peace was seen at the time as the main purpose of international polling (Cantril, 1948) and thus the Tensions project epitomized what cross-national, survey research was supposed to be and do. This focus is of course illustrated by the major and continuing efforts to establish a barometer of international security (see p. 26). As a special issue on Comparative Cross National Research (1955) in the International Social Science Bulletin (“Foreword,” 1955) noted, “In the present state of the world where so many urgent problems in mutual understanding arise, the acquisition and spread of knowledge concerning peoples of various cultures is a matter not only of scientific curiosity, but of vital interest.” This was reflected in the content of UNESCO’s International Social Science Bulletin which “was inspired by reflection on the recently ended Second World War and expectations of the impact the social disciplines could make towards a more just, more rational, more peaceful world (von Morpurgo, 1998).” Likewise, in the related field of mass-communications research, scholars were strongly influenced by the lessons of World War II and believed that “it is plainly urgent in our time to develop an art and science of international and cross-cultural communications, in the hope of reducing international confusion and irritation (Smith, 1956).”

UNESCO made various plans to follow-up on the Tensions study. In 1949, the Australian Social Sciences Research Committee and UNESCO sponsored two community studies (Oeser and Emery, 1954; Oeser and Hammond, 1954). Angell (1950) indicated that “there is every possibility that the Tensions Project will be undertaking in 1951 studies in so-called under-developed areas of the world.” But this apparently never occurred. UNESCO did convene a working group in 1956 that planned a major, follow-up study of How Nations See Each Other (“Working Group,” 1956). It had major plans for expansion and indicated the need “To ensure wider coverage, concerted efforts would have to be made to aid the development of research organizations of this type in more and more countries. Among countries singled out for particular attention were Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey, India and Pakistan. It was suggested that UNESCO consider the possibilities of encouraging the development of permanent organizations for the conduct of sample surveys in these countries (“Working Group,” 1956).” However, the 1956-1957 follow-up study was only carried out in four countries (Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands) (Anderson, 1957; Brouwer, 1965b; Reigrotski and Anderson, 1959-60; Rokkan, 1957). Unlike the previous study, it seems to have been little used and attracted little attention.

Many saw cross-national, survey research as both a tool for promoting international peace and a natural manifestation of the movement towards multilateralism represented by the UN and its organs such as the UNESCO. One of the strongest proponents of this UN-centered, multilateral approach was Stuart C. Dodd, who had been introduced by Gallup at the Central City Conference as “the man who had given more thought than anyone else in the world to the problems of international polling (“Proceedings,” 1946).”

Another strong advocate of international polling was NORC-founder Field. He had founded NORC in 1941 to foster public opinion research in the public interest. One of his three major goals behind the Central City Conference was “to help spread the practice of survey research to other countries of the world by organizing centers like NORC in collaboration with foreign universities (NORC, 2010; see also Hyman, 1991).” In particular, like Dodd, Field wanted to use cross-national, survey research to reduce international tensions (Converse, 1987). He hoped to

enlist UNESCO in this effort and in the fall of 1946 visited UNESCO headquarters and the University of Louvain in Belgium. He died in a plane crash in France on his return (Connelly, 1947; Converse, 1987; Editors, 1946; Hackett, 1991).

Perhaps the first collaboration between survey research and UNESCO was represented by reports that NORC prepared examining public attitudes towards “attitudes bearing on the work of UNESCO (“Where UNESCO Begins,” 1947; “UNESCO and Public Opinion,” 1947). While the first report drew mostly on US data, it included polls from Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden (“Where UNESCO Begins,” 1947). As such, it represented perhaps the most extensive cross-national comparison conducted up to that date. The second report focused on a special survey conducted by NORC to evaluate US attitudes towards UNESCO and its goals (“UNESCO and Public Opinion,” 1947). The reports covered a wide range of topics including the meaning of democracy, intergroup relations, immigration, world trade, prospects for war or peace, the role of the UN, international conflicts, etc. This budding collaboration was especially fostered by Field and his death in 1946 on his return from his visit to UNESCO in Paris may have permanently nipped its development.

Mass communications research was also endorsed by UNESCO. As Lazarsfeld (1952-53) noted, “Toward the end of the war, interest in international organization as a means of preserving peace became very strong and the possible role of communications research in the service of international cooperation was discussed.” This led to the founding of the International Association for Mass Communication Research by UNESCO in 1957 and a general expansion of the field throughout the world (Nixon, 1960; Vroons, 2005).

UNESCO also favored and apparently supported international, audience surveys (“UNESCO’s Program,” 1946-47; “United Nations,” 1947; “Proceedings,” 1949). However, it appears this ambitious program never materialized (Rokkan, 1966a). For example, Dodd (1946-47) reported that UNESCO’s Mass Media Division was “interested in farming out contacts through the World Association [i.e. WAPOR] to make the international surveys... upon the flow and effects of international communications by press, radio, and movie.” But this apparently never occurred.

Another comparative UNESCO project was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) study (“Trois,” 1953; “WAPOR,” 1953). It was carried out in 1952 in three European cities (Cambridge, Grenoble, and Uppsala). A pre-test/post-test design was used. After an initial poll in each city on the UN and UDHR, an information campaign was carried out about the UN and UDHR and then a follow-up poll was conducted.

Several other UNESCO efforts involved the harmonization of comparative, survey data. A prominent early cross-national, survey-research effort connected to UNESCO was the International Sociological Association’s (ISA) Committee on Social Stratification and Mobility which was started at the 1950 ISA Congress (Platt, 1998).¹³ In Rokkan’s (1966b) judgment it was “probably the most successful” of all the early programs of comparative research. In 1951, the ISA held the First International Working Conference on Social Stratification and Mobility and organized a continuing effort under its Research Committee (Rinde and Rokkan, 1951). In 1956, when the general Research Committee sub-divided into substantive groupings, it became

¹³ The ISA was established by UNESCO in 1948 and UNESCO provided much of its budget in the 1950s. This led to the ISA often reflecting the agenda of UNESCO’s Social Science Department (Platt, 1998).

the ISA's Research Committee on Social Stratification and Mobility. Headed by Theodor Geiger (University of Aarhus, Denmark) and David Glass (London School of Economics), the group promoted both the harmonization and analysis of existing data and the collection of new and coordinated surveys with a focus on national samples (Mueller, n.d.; Rokkan, 1966a, 1966b, 1969). These efforts greatly stimulated research in this field (Barber, 1957; Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Rokkan, 1955; 1962; 1966a; 1966b; 1969; 1993). Comparative studies of the period mostly analyzed studies that were designed and conducted independently and often prior to the ISA initiative (Ganzeboom, 2006; Inkeles and Rossi, 1956; Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Miller, 1960; Nisihira; Odaka and Nisihira, 1959). Both the work of Lipset and Bendix (1959) and Miller (1960) which Rokkan (1966b) described as "the first systematic attempt to collate and compare the data produced in different countries as result of the efforts of the Committee on Stratification and Mobility under the International Sociological Association," mostly utilized non-ISA studies.

But both getting countries to conduct surveys and adequately coordinating and standardizing their work proved difficult (Miller, 1960). As the Japanese noted (Nishira, 1956), "In 1955, Japan Sociological Society carried out a survey of social stratification and social mobility in order to cooperate with the International Sociological Association. I.S.A. took up this study with the intention of making this survey a cross-national comparative survey. However, because of unavoidable reasons, the survey in each country has been done without exchanging sufficient information." Similarly, in the Four City Project of mobility in Latin America known as LAPCS (Centro Latino-Americano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais) which was done in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo in 1959-1961, "the research was basically independent, each country conducting its own. Certain factors were common to all...Nevertheless the project lacked a basic design (Rokkan, 1969)."

Another example of secondary or post-harmonization is the early "industrial man" study of Alex Inkeles (1960). This work eventually led to a coordinated, original data collection in six developing countries (Argentina, Chile, East Pakistan, India, Israel, and Nigeria) in the 1960s, but one using quotas of targeted groups rather than random samples (Inkeles and Smith, 1974).

UNESCO and the International Social Science Council also facilitated various other harmonization studies with a series of International Social Science Council Workbooks in Comparative Analysis starting with the eight nations political participation study with surveys beginning in 1963 (Asher, Richardson, and Weisberg, 1984).

UNESCO and AAPOR-WAPOR

Both survey researchers and officers of the UN were interested in promoting collaboration between the two groups. Delegates from the UN attended the founding meeting of AAPOR and WAPOR in 1947 and the following AAPOR meeting in 1948 (David, 1948; "Proceedings," 1949). At the 1948 joint AAPOR/WAPOR conference, the UN Assistant Secretary General for Public Information Benjamin A. Cohen addressed WAPOR and described the UN's use of surveys and suggested that WAPOR apply to be a consultative organization of the UN. Picking up on a frequent theme heard from both UN officials and survey researchers, he asserted that "public opinion can be the most powerful weapon for peace ("Proceedings," 1949)."

Radvanyi (1947a) argued that the UN would benefit by having “exact data available concerning the opinion of as many people as possible in relation with the problems to be solved and the ways of solving them.” Dodd (1945) stated that public opinion polls were a valuable tool for the UN that “the League of Nations never had...” and added that “perhaps the most significant use of surveying in the post-war world would be to serve the United Nations as a barometer of international security.”¹⁴ Dodd (1946-47) in particular believed that “servicing the U.N. should be a major function of international surveys.” Dodd (1948) saw international polling as ideally suited to “service the United Nations and make a scientific contribution towards the goal of One World.”

UNESCO and WAPOR worked together in various ways (“UNESCO Executive Board,” 1949). WAPOR was associated with UNESCO and was one of the founding members of UNESCO’s International Social Science Council (Hernes, 2008; Rokkan, 1962; Stoetzel, 1976; Smith and Smith, 1956; “Proceedings,” 1949). WAPOR in 1950 applied for “consultative status” with UNESCO and ECOSOC of the UN (“Proceedings,” 1950) and in 1952 was recognized as a “non-government consultant organization of UNESCO” (Dodd, 1957b). The International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research had become the WAPOR official journal in 1949. After it folded in 1952, UNESCO’s International Social Science Bulletin started publishing WAPOR’s proceedings (Dodd, 1957b; Boshi, 1962).

In the early 1950s, WAPOR carried out several projects for UNESCO (Rokkan, 1955). UNESCO contracted with WAPOR to compile “a systematic index of polls and surveys,” in effect extending the Cantril and Strunk (1951) work from 1946 through about 1951 (Rokkan, 1955; Smith and Smith, 1956). This was completed as Kurt Baschwitz’s Poll Index, 1947-1955, but never published (Bouman, 1965; Scheuch, 1993). Further efforts by WAPOR to produce an ongoing index also meet with limited success (“The 1957 Conference,” 1958).¹⁵

Another UNESCO-WAPOR collaboration called Project Demoscope was headed by Dodd with an advisory committee of 16 and 15 assistant editors (Dodd, 1957b; “World,” 1957). As Smith and Smith (1956) noted “Under the auspices of UNESCO and the World Association for Public Opinion Research, the University of Washington Public Opinion Laboratory (Stuart C. DODD, Director) is preparing a study, expected to be published in whole or in part in 1956, ‘aimed to increase the comparability of cross-cultural polls and so to improve technical, and perhaps ethical, standards in international surveys.’ Under an international Advisory Committee chaired by DODD, some 80 persons are reviewing and writing methodological materials, and a 1000-title set of abstracts of the principal methodological writings of recent years is being prepared.

¹⁴ The term “barometer” has been used to describe public opinion polls at least as early as 1932 when the Psychology Corporation had its Psychological Sales Barometer and a little later its Psychological Brand Barometer which was rebranded as the Psychological Barometer in the early 1940s (Converse, 1987; Link and Freiberg, 1942). The term was also used by Archibald Crossley in 1936 in the Crossley Barometer (Robinson, 1937). Despite these early uses, the term really never became a common term for polls or surveys in the United States. Internationally, especially after the founding of the Eurobarometer in 1973, it became a commonly-used term. As a generic term, it does not necessarily indicate any connection between different polls/surveys sharing that nomenclature.

¹⁵ Public Opinion Quarterly revived its Quarter’s Polls section which had ended in 1951 under the title “The Polls” in 1961, but it made no reference to WAPOR or UNESCO. WAPOR did get a compilation organized in 1965 in the publication of the Steinmetz Institute in the Netherlands call Polls (Editors, 1965). But that publication appears to have folded in 1968.

Some view this project as a first step toward establishing a Barometer of International Opinion – periodic surveying, over large areas of the world, of opinions on issues of international importance. Progress reports are expected to appear from time to time in UNESCO’s International Social Science Bulletin.”

The project prepared a manuscript, Techniques for World Polls, that had “not only abstracted several hundred articles on polling methodology, but had attempted to make polls potentially more comparable by standardizing the polling instrument (Dodd, 1956-57).” The book was described as by Dodd and Jiri Nehnevajsa, as 300-pages long (Dodd, 1957b), and as “nearly ready for submission” and “shortly to be published by UNESCO” (Dodd, 1956-57). Elsewhere it was referred to as a “600-page report” and as “finished” (Dodd, 1957a). According to WAPOR’s 1957 business meeting minutes (“The 1957 Conference,” 1958), “a long and impressive report prepared at the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory had been submitted to and accepted by Unesco. Thus, WAPOR’s responsibilities for the project had been discharged. Since Unesco had not the means to publish the document at present, Mr. Dodd was negotiating with Unesco for release of the publication rights, so that private publication might be undertaken if it was found to be feasible.” Later, it was however still listed as “in preparation” (Dodd, 1959) but it never appeared (Scheuch, 1993).¹⁶

WAPOR officers were also involved with various UNESCO committees. However, it was usually unclear whether people were representing themselves, their employer, or WAPOR.

Dodd (1946-47) had believed that with consultative status and the solidifying of various relations with the UN in general and UNESCO in particular that WAPOR would become “the semi-official agent of the United Nations.” But this was not to be. Despite the numerous early interactions between UNESCO and WAPOR, the relations weakened over time (Dodd, 1956-57) and in 1962 the small level of UNESCO support for WAPOR ended (UNESCO, 1962). Joint projects continued only on a small scale. For example, an UNESCO list of survey research organizations (“International Directory,” 1962) was collected by its International Committee for Social Science Documentation “with the full agreement and support of the World Association for Public Opinion Research...” This decline reflected UNESCO diminished direct involvement in cross-national, survey research in general.

In the early 1960s, UNESCO continued to back comparative survey research, but took little concrete action to implement such work. Rokkan (1966b) noted in the mid-1960s that “the current UNESCO program does not provide funds for the organization and execution of joint international inquiries...” While UNESCO had supported such efforts in its early years, it came to realize that “such international ventures are very costly, however, and it seems likely that UNESCO will spend its limited funds more efficiently by offering systematic encouragement of such ventures rather than by financing them from scratch.” Similarly, Jacobson (1966) observed that “International agencies have played a significant role in encouraging scholarly exchange in the social sciences... Among the more important of these efforts are the activities of the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO. For twenty years UNESCO has had a program

¹⁶ Dodd (1957b) is the fullest extant version of this work located. It outlines his arguments and concepts, but has none of the extensive bibliography.

intended to strengthen the social sciences internationally. It has been inadequately financed and has done little to make its scope and purpose known in the United States.”

Barometer of International Security

One of the earliest and most frequent calls was for a cross-national “barometer of international security”.¹⁷ First advanced by Dodd in 1945 (Dodd, 1945), it was proposed repeatedly over the next decade and a half (“Proceedings,” 1946; Dodd, 1945; 1946-47; 1948; 1957a; 1959; “Proceedings,” 1949; 1950). In 1950, WAPOR asked UNESCO to establish a barometer of international security and in 1956 WAPOR made a similar request under the rubric of “program evaluation” (Dodd, 1957b). WAPOR (“Proceedings,” 1950) argued that “Professional leadership by WAPOR is needed together with the prestige of UNESCO to establish such international surveying, or Barometer of International Opinion, on a firm basis.”

In 1950, Robert Angell, who took over the UNESCO Department of Social Science from Klineberg, indicated that “the development of a barometer of public tensions by Mr. James R. White (WAPOR) whose readings would be obtained by polling methods” was in the “planning stage” (Angell, 1950).¹⁸

Hope for an UN-backed world poll continued into the late 1950s. In 1956, Gallup (Dodd, 1956-1957) “remarked on the desirability of ‘a world-wide organization ready to spring into action’ on short notice, and on the prohibitive cost of such an agency. He expressed the hope that UNESCO might eventually be able to do something in this regard.”¹⁹ As Dodd (1956-57) noted, “Various discussants rued the limited funds at UNESCO’s disposal for survey research, and the resulting limitation of UNESCO-sponsored survey activities.” Jacobson suggested that it would be highly used and relatively inexpensive for UNESCO to accumulate information about all cross-national studies completed to date or now in progress.” But no barometer was established.

Over time more and more UN agencies, as well as other international organizations,²⁰ sponsored and commissioned cross-national, survey research (Smith, 2010), but the initial vision of the UN establishing world polling with the primary goal of promoting world peace never materialized.

Cross-National Bios and International Exchanges

Rogers’ (2003) research on the diffusion of innovation indicates that new ideas and technologies are usually first adopted by cosmopolites. Bulmer (1998) notes several specific mechanism by

¹⁷ “Barometer of international security” was the first and most frequently utilized term (“Proceedings,” 1946; Dodd, 1945; 1946-47; 1948), but other terms included “barometer of international tensions (Dodd, 1959), “barometer of world opinion” (Dodd, 1957a; 1959), “barometer of international opinion” (“Proceedings,” 1950), and “barometer of international security or opinion (“Proceedings,” 1949).

¹⁸ White was WAPOR president in 1949-1950.

¹⁹ For the implementing of quick turnaround, global polls by Gallup without a barometer of international security see p. 32-33.

²⁰ Other international organizations also supported some early cross-national, survey research. For example, the Organization for European Economic Co-Operation (OEEC) was founded in 1947 and became the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development in 1961. In the early 1950s it carried a labor force survey of OEEC members. In 1956, this was followed up by a study of food purchases by consumers in five countries (Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway). Other comparative surveys followed (Kapferer, 1964).

which this occurred in the social sciences and survey research: 1) “overseas scholars studying in leading institutions and then returning to their own countries,” 2) international migration of survey researchers themselves, 3) international scholarly exchanges, 4) “the establishment of teaching centers and summer schools,” and 5) “the usual channels of scholarly publication and dissemination.” These factors were certainly operating in the early years of cross-national, survey research which was stimulated by the international background of many of its pioneers in the United States.

Of the three leading university-based survey-research organizations in the United States, two were founded by immigrants. The Office of Radio Research was started in 1940 by Paul Lazarsfeld from Austria and in 1944 it became the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. NORC was established in 1941 at the University of Denver by Field from Britain. Even the third member of the troika, the Institute for Social Research (ISR) at the University of Michigan which started as the Survey Research Center in 1946 and expanded into ISR in 1948, had a strong international component with two of its founding members, George Katona and Leslie Kish, from Hungary and its co-founder, Angus Campbell, having studied in UK at the outbreak of World War II and then doing research in the Caribbean (Coombs, 1987; Converse, 1987).²¹

On the commercial side the international influence was less, with George Gallup, Elmo Roper, and Archibald Crossley all from the United States. But even here the foreign connections were strong with Saul Forbes Rae, Gallup’s co-author of Pulse of Democracy, being Canadian and Field from Britain having worked with Gallup from 1933 to 1939 and helped establish Gallup-affiliates in Australia, Britain, and France.

In addition, a number of other early pollsters had strong international ties. Joe Belden, a dual US/Mexican citizen, founded both the Texas Poll and a market-research firm in Mexico (Saxon, 2005; Black, 1991). Dodd, an American, was born in Turkey and taught for many years at American University in Beirut (Radvanyi, 1948). Laszlo Radvanyi, the leading survey researcher in Mexico in the 1940s, was from Hungary and returned to Eastern Europe in 1952 (Moreno and Sanchez-Castro, 2009).

The influence of cross-national ties in survey research of course continued a similar tradition among the precursors of survey research. They included several international travelers writing insightfully about countries they visited (e.g. Alexis de Tocqueville (France=>US) and James Bryce (UK=>US)).

The Earliest Comparative Studies

The first coordinated, multilateral studies emerged in 1948.²² They consisted of studies by commercial firms for the media, surveys by reform associations, UNESCO-sponsored studies, and academic collaborations led by social scientists.

²¹ The international collaboration in survey research and the social sciences more generally was furthered by “the intellectual exiles fleeing Hitler...” (Platt, 1996).

²² Among earlier contenders were the bilateral Roper/Fortune poll on international cooperation in 1942 (see “We Compare,” 1942), the US conducted Strategic Bombing Surveys in Germany and Japan in 1945 (see Hyman, 1991;

Time Magazine's "Where Stands Freedom"

Davison (1992) described Time magazine's "Where Stands Freedom" survey in 1948 as "the first large-scale international survey ever attempted" and as Wallace and Woodward (1948-49a) observed at the time, it was "one of the first attempts to measure popular feelings toward a common set of issues on an international scale. As such it is a milestone of early work in this field." In early 1948, Time magazine announced it would co-sponsor with New Orleans "The Future of Freedom Forum" to be held in that city on April 14-17, 1948 ("Letter," 1948a). World leaders and international experts were expected to attend. On January 23rd Time decided to conduct an international poll on the topic of the planned forum – international cooperation, the Marshall Plan, the Cold War conflict, and "the future of Freedom around the world" ("Letter," 1948a; 1948b; 1948c; 1948d; Roper, 1948). The poll was designed by Elmo Roper and largely conducted by International Public Opinion Research, a Roper affiliate. Originally slated for 11 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Mexico, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States), it was successfully carried out in all but Argentina between mid-February and late March (Roper, 1948). It was by far the largest and most complex cross-national survey conducted to date ("Proceedings," 1949; Wallace and Woodward, 1948-49a). However, the flare up in Cold War tensions, especially after the Czech Coup on February 25, 1948, led to the cancellation of the Freedom Forum as "April will be a period of crises almost certain to tie top government people to their desks abroad" ("Letter," 1948c). Ultimately, in April Time featured results from Europe in an article ("Plain People," 1948) and published the full results in a Roper report, "Where Stands Freedom?" (Roper, 1948).

The Where Stands Freedom study also set a second milestone when the methodological lessons of the study were later highlighted in a Public Opinion Quarterly symposium (Barioux, 1948-49; Stern, 1948-49; Wallace and Woodward, 1948-49a; Wallace and Woodward, 1948-49b; Ylvisaker, 1948-49; see also Davison, 1992). This collection of essays represented both the first in-depth critique of a cross-national study and the first extensive discussion of cross-national, survey-research methods.

European Beliefs Regarding the United States

Another early "cross-national" study was "European Beliefs Regarding the United States" in 1948-1949 conducted for the pro-immigration reform association the Common Council for American Unity (Common Council, 1949). It was perhaps the first comparative elite study and consisted of convenience samples of various groups of Europeans such as public officials, labor and business leaders, journalists and editors, and exchange students who either still resided in Europe (354) or were currently in the United States (1348). Elmo Roper provided advice on question wording and the study design.

UNESCO's Tensions Project

As described above, in 1948 and 1949 as part of UNESCO's Tensions Project, surveys were conducted in nine countries (Australia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands,

MacIsaac, 1976; Platt, 1996), and the multi-lateral, but generally single-questions, collaborations conducted by Gallup (see previous discussions of these.)

Norway, and the United States) (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953; Klineberg, 1950; Saum, 1951) on the sources of international conflict and cooperation.

Comparative Study of Teachers' Attitudes

The Seven Nations Teachers' Study was designed to examine the association between levels of threat and variation in pressures to conform. As Katz and Hyman (1953) noted, "The basic hypothesis under investigation was that, as perception of threat to the group increases, the central values of the group become more salient and the pressures toward conformity becomes greater." The study developed out of the International Seminar for Comparative Social Research which was established by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Oslo in 1951 (Deutsch, 1980; "International Seminar," 1951; Jacobson and Rokkan, 1952; Schachter and Jacobson, 1954). To conduct the study, the Organization for Comparative Social Research (OCSR) was established in 1952. While only carried out in European nations (Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden) and involving over 30 European social scientists, Americans were also heavily involved. Erick Rinde, Norwegian Chairman of ISR, and David Krech, a Fulbright Scholar from the University of California, organized the seminar and other American Fulbright Scholars (Hyman, Daniel Katz, Stanley Schachter, and Eugene Jacobson) were co-directors of OCSR. In addition, the data collection was funded by the Ford Foundation and encouraged by the US-based Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI). The project also received the "sympathetic interest" of and "encouragement" from UNESCO. Data were collected by May, 1953. The study included both general samples of both primary and secondary school teachers (about 400 per country) and classroom experiments in each country.

An initial analysis of results was completed in 1954 and a special issue of the SPSSI's Journal of Social Issues highlighted mostly methodological findings the same year (Aubert, Fisher, and Rokkan, 1954; Christiansen, Hyman, and Rommetveit, 1951; Daalder, 1979; Duijker and Rokkan, 1954; Graumann, 1995; Jacobson, 1954; 1966; Katz and Hyman, 1954; Rokkan, 1955; 1969; Schachter, 1954; Smith, 1954). A complete report was scheduled for 1956 (Rokkan, 1955), but it apparently never appeared.

The Teacher's Study was pioneering in several regards. It was of course one of the first coordinated cross-national investigations ever carried out. In addition, the International Seminar and OCSR considered in depth the theory and methodology of comparative research. Also, the combination of comparative teacher samples with classroom experiments was highly innovative and probably unprecedented.

What OCSR did not do was create an on-going entity to promote comparative research in general. Rather it was a project-specific organization that disbanded after the teachers' study was completed (Rokkan, 1955). Also, it did not establish data-collection organizations in the surveyed countries. It either used existing commercial firms or created temporary, ad hoc field staffs.

Changing Patterns during 1950s to 1970s and the Expansion of the Social Sciences

Many of the very early efforts of social scientists to advance international and cross-national, survey research were tied to either efforts of the US government to both establish survey

research organizations in countries of interest and collect information useful to the US from these countries or to UN-related efforts to promote international polls to further world peace. Social science efforts not related to these approaches were largely related to attempts to harmonize results from existing national studies rather than establishing new organizations and forging original data collection. As the hoped for UN-sponsored world polls faded in the 1950s, social scientists turned to private foundations to support basic comparative research not connected to UNESCO or other UN agencies (Table 5). The Rockefeller Brothers Fund supported Cantril setting up the Institute for International Social Research in 1955 (Cantril, 1967) and subsequently funded his Human Concerns study and the Carnegie Corporation financed Almond and Verba's Civic Culture study in 1959-1960 (Almond and Verba, 1963). While no longer being part of a collective, UN-affiliated effort as initially envisioned, these studies shared with the initial efforts a substantive focus on promoting international cooperation and mutual understanding. Almond and Verba (1963) wanted to study the political and social attitudes that were "supportive of a stable democratic process" and hoped to thereby promote the growth of democracy. Cantril (1965) also emphasized examining countries representing different cultures at various phases of development and sought to draw actionable lessons that could be used to further national development.

In the early years, social scientists operating-independently, spearheading cross-national, survey research were a rarity. Rather than being lead actors they generally served as handmaidens to efforts orchestrated by government agencies, international organizations, or US-inspired commercial, survey research organizations. As one review of social science research in 1947 noted, "As for examples of jointly planned and communally executed international social or psychological research projects, the authors are hard put to find a single instance (Christiansen and Hyman, 1951 quoting Murphy, Cartwright, and Bruner, 1947)." Likewise, Young (1950) observed, "But as yet sociologists, social psychologists, and social anthropologists – the social scientists most directly concerned with problems of behavior – have done little research on international behavior."

This changed in the 1950s as the possibility of UNESCO or another international organization taking the lead in cross-national, survey research diminished. In 1948, Lee (1948) had classified "world opinion surveying" into three types: 1) "the existing national and national-chain agencies", 2) "the federative approach advocated by Stuart C. Dodd" which called for world polls being directed by the UN or similar international agency, and 3) "the basic social science procedure".²³ The federative approach faded while the basic social science approach ascended and cross-national, survey research increasingly relied on a growing, international collaboration of social scientists (Converse, 1987; Korzi, 2000; McKennell, Bynner, and Bulmer, 1987; Platt, 1991). While still having both general idealistic and applied goals, the research veered more towards basic research to expand scientific knowledge and the audience became more fellow social scientists rather than either policymakers or the general public. Project-specific collaborations were generally led by American social scientists and funded by American foundations (see section on American Influence below).

The social scientists involved in early survey research came from a wide range of academic disciplines including demography, political science, psychology, social psychology, sociology,

²³ For development of the concept of "world opinion," see Rusciano, 1998, 2004.

and statistics. Cross-national, survey research in particular drew on one other social science in its early year – cultural or social anthropology. Anthropology had a strongly comparative perspective and in 1937 had started the Cross-Culture Survey to systematically compare cultures (Murdock, 1940). This evolved into the Human Relations Area Files being established at Yale in 1949. As noted above, Mead’s 1937 article was the first comparative piece in Public Opinion Quarterly. Survey researchers and cultural anthropologists often conferred with one another (Holland, 1951-52; Lazarsfeld, 1952-53; Rokkan, 1962; Wang, 1996). As Katz and Hyman (1953) observed, “Anthropological studies have done much to make us aware of the culture-bound character of our discipline...” Furthermore, Hyman (1991) remarked that in doing the Bombing Survey in Japan “sensitivity to cultural differences was essential and ensured by the anthropologists...” Likewise, Stoetzel (1953) found a close tie between cross-cultural anthropology and public opinion research. He also observed that the later could also be in turn used to facilitate the former. Over time, the role of anthropologists in cross-national, survey research declined and they were in large part replaced by cross-cultural specialists within the other social sciences and area study researchers.

While anthropology’s role was waning, the role of political science in general and comparative studies of elections in particular was waxing. One important strand in the development of comparative, political-science research was the spread of the ISR’s American National Election Studies (ANES) model to other countries (Heath, Fisher, and Smith, 2005; Norris, 2009; Verba, 1993). Michigan researchers both encouraged other countries to establish elections studies and also supported the organization of university-based research centers in other nations (Aitkin, 1982; Butler, Penniman, and Ranney, 1981; Butler and Stokes, 1974; Frantilla, 1998; White, 1956). However, the major early coordinated programs of comparative politics were conducted by others (Almond and Verba, 1963; Barnes, Kaase et al., 1979; Verba, Nie, and Kim, 1971; 1978) and even the first harmonization of election studies was carried out by others (Asher, Richardson, and Weisberg, 1984).²⁴ It was not until the Michigan-led formation of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems in 1994 that a centrally-coordinated, comparative program of ANES-oriented, election research was formalized (Smith, 2010). Other early dissemination was inspired by Lazarsfeld’s election studies in the 1940s such as the 1949 Norwegian election study (Barton, 1998; see also Rokkan, 1961).

Expansion from the 1950s to 1970s beyond the Social Sciences

Besides the conducting of these major cross-national surveys and other developments in the social sciences, international surveys grew in other ways. First, the number of countries doing polls and the frequency of polling increased. As the editors of Polls noted, “Many countries which until recently had no such organization are now establishing institutes for survey research. The volume of work being produced by all these organizations is growing rapidly... (Editors, 1965).” For example, by the 1960s Gallup International cover around 30 countries (Klapper, 1962; “Research...,” 1969), by 1972 there were 26 cooperating institutes doing surveys in over 50 countries (Gallup, 1972b), and Gallup International continued to expand and by 1983 covered 38 countries (Webb, 1983).²⁵ INRA also experienced appreciable growth. As INRA CEO Helen

²⁴ Asher and Weisberg did receive their Ph.D.’s from the University of Michigan.

²⁵ Reports of coverage depends on what is being reported on such as member institutes, markets covered, and countries included. For example, for the 1974-1976 Human Needs and Satisfaction Global poll, 29 members of

Dinerman (1969), noted, “Looking back 30 years, I feel the most striking change in the sphere of research has been the sheer growth of our field, growth in the number of practitioners, growth in the membership in professional organizations...”

Besides the general growth of international polling in the 1950s and 1960s, there were two special initiatives to establish global polling. In 1957, major cross-national initiatives were started by the two major international public opinion firms. INRA in partnership with the New York Herald Tribune announced its World-Poll (Wilson, 1957; New York Herald Tribune, August 25, 1957). Its first release appearing on October 13, 1957 had data from 11 countries on the cold war struggle between the US and the Soviet Union. At the same AAPOR session George Gallup (1958) announced his own initiative which is well-summed up by the title of his talk, “High Speed Surveys of Reaction to Current Issues in World Opinion Centers.” It differed from the INRA-Herald Tribune effort in focusing on a quick reading of world opinion with the goal of collecting data from “17 or more capitals or world opinion centers in the matter of some 72 hours (Gallup, 1958).”

Leo P. Crespi, head of public opinion polling at the USIA, described their appearance as “a breakthrough – major advances that reflect years of patient progress, but which have in the short span of the past year blossomed into fruition (Crespi, 1957).

Despite their big splashes neither initiative lasted very long. The World Poll lasted a little over a year with the last identified release appearing in January, 1959 (Dinerman, 1969).²⁶ The Gallup polls of world cities appear to have started with the Suez intervention polls in 1956 and was followed up by World Gallup Poll (WGP) about Sputnik in 1957.²⁷ The WGP greatly expanded in 1958 starting on January 1, 1958 with a WGP fielded in 13 cities in 12 countries following a NATO summit in Paris in mid-December. Numerous other WGPs were conducted in 1958, but they evolved in two ways. First, they often were not quick turnaround surveys triggered by some event and second, they began to combine national surveys with city surveys. In 1959, their number fell sharply, none were responses to breaking world events, and no percentages were reported (Gallup, 1972a). The last WGP in 1959 had data from 11 countries, but no cities. The last cities surveys were done in 1961 (Gallup, 1999).

The precise reasons for their failure are not known, but economics most certainly played a major role. When Wilson (1957) announced the World Poll at the 1957 AAPOR meeting, he noted that “among the problems to be coped with, are those relating to the simple economics of keeping an operation of this sort in the black – or close enough to the black to keep the organization out of bankruptcy.” This difficult hurdle was also foreseen by Crespi (1958) who remarked, “It takes no profundity to realize that the challenges that continue to face these laudable enterprises are financial and technical. The Wilson and Gallup operations are from the very start trying to make

Gallup International plus seven non-Gallup affiliates conducted interviews in 60 countries (“Summary Africa,” 1976). Similarly, Gallup (1981) reported 35 member organizations doing surveys in “more than seventy nations.”

²⁶ See also New York Herald Tribune on August 25, 1957, p. 6 (World Poll announced), October 13, 1957, p. 1ff (first publication of World Poll results), November 10, 1957, p. 14 (World Poll advisory board announced), and in Oakland Tribune, January 4, 1959, p. 64 (last World Poll results located).

²⁷ There was a three city survey in London, New York City, and Toronto in December, 1953 following President Eisenhower’s “Atoms for Peace” speech to the UN on December 8, 1953 (Gallup, 1972a,).

the grade on a pay-for-itself basis - which will surely rank as monumental achievements if the formidable financial obstacles can be overcome.”

Shortly after the fading away of the world opinion centers initiative, Gallup in 1962 announced the formation of International Opinion Trends “which will survey national samples in foreign countries on regular schedules throughout the year (Klapper, 1962). It started with 11 Western European countries, Uruguay, and India. It was to expand to the 36 markets then served by Gallup International (Klapper, 1962). But no subsequent mention of this effort initiative has been located.

Overall, a general picture of the development of Gallup’s cross-national and international work can be gleaned by examining the release of Gallup Reports. Gallup Reports were issued to newspapers that subscribed to this Gallup service.

As Figure 1 shows, the use of international data in the US Gallup Reports rose over time, but also fluctuated greatly across the years. The counts are the number of foreign countries for which data were mentioned in the US Gallup Reports. International results were usually referred as coming from “affiliated Gallup Polls.” Starting with only a single foreign country in 1937 (Great Britain), it initially peaked at 12 in 1948 as a result of the formation of Gallup International at Loxwood in 1947, slumped from 1949 to the mid-1950s before surging in 1958-1961 with a high of 17 foreign countries in the later year. From 1960 until 1980, it swung back and forth between highs of 10-15 foreign countries in 1962, 1968, 1970-71, and 1977 and lows of zero in 1964, 1972, 1976, and 1979. Then from 1981 through 1989 a new plateau was reached with 26-35 foreign countries mentioned annually.²⁸

Additionally, international data were always a very small proportion of the total number of Gallup Reports. In some years international data appeared in none of the Gallup Reports (e.g. 1964, 1972, 1976, 1979). Even in years with peaks number of foreign countries cited, the share of all US Gallup Reports with such data appeared in less than 10% of Gallup Reports and decreased over time (1948, 1961, 1968, 1981: 9.8%, 8.8%, 5.8%, 4.5%).

Besides the growth of Gallup International and INRA, there was also a large expansion in international market research (Gaither, 1969; “Research...,” 1969). A.C. Nielsen was one of the first research firms to expand internationally and in 1969 was doing business in 20 countries mostly via wholly-owned subsidiaries (“Research...,” 1969).

Likewise, commercial oriented, media research internationalized. Reader’s Digest had international editions as early as 1939 and by 1947 published versions in nine languages and in several dozen countries. It carried out market research by about 1940 and had a Survey Research Department that conducted international market research before 1958 (Heidenry, 1993; Schreiner, 1977; Wood, 1958, 1967). Representatives of Reader’s Digest also participated in meetings of AAPOR and ESOMAR in the 1940s. The magazine sponsored cross-national polls at least as early as 1963-64 when a consumer-oriented poll was done in seven European

²⁸ These figures differs from alternative ways of counting international uses. In many years there were multiple reports from a particular country, so the total international data uses per annum are often greater than the number of countries whose data was cited. But reports from more than one country on the same item often appeared in the same report rather than in separate reports.

countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands (Reader's Digest, 1963; Scheuch, 1993). These expanded in 1969 and 1990 ("Tabular History," 2009). But there is little information on just what research the magazine carried out involving cross-national surveys before 1963 (Smith, 1956).

Also expanding during the 1950s and later were the efforts of governmental agencies. The USIA ("Government Research," 1969) operated from 1952 until 1999 and conducted international surveys throughout this period. It is estimated that over 2,000 surveys were carried out (Timms-Ferrara and Adams, 2010). The Roper Center and the National Archives and Records Administration are the main repositories for USIA surveys, but some are located elsewhere, others are incomplete, and still others unaccounted for (Timms-Ferrara and Adams, 2010; Roper Center, 2019; Merritt, 1967; 1968). The surveys are each separately archived and documented and not merged together in cross-national files even when part of multi-national studies. From what is available at the Roper Center, USIA cross-national studies from 1952-1962 each covered 2-4 European countries. In 1962, a Latin American study covered seven countries. Starting in 1963 a series of "world surveys (WS)" were conducted: WS1 (1963) six countries, WS2 (1964) 10 countries, WS3 (1965) 14 countries, WS4 (1969-70) five countries, and WS5A,B,C (1972) seven countries (Roper Center, 2019a, b).

In 1958, the European Economic Community or European Community (EC) was formed covering Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and West Germany. In 1962, it conducted a survey focusing on European unification in five member states (excluding Italy) (Table 5).

Another development during this period was that building on Cantril and Strunk's (1951) nearly comprehensive compilation of poll results from 1935 to 1946, a journal Polls was started in 1965 to collect and publish survey data from around the world. Issues included country level data from around 10-12 countries and in about half the issues there was a section called International featuring cross-national comparisons. Polls ceased publication at the end of 1968.

Overall, the growth of cross-national studies and international survey research was appreciable during this period. But as the Gallup and INRA pattern and the Polls case illustrate, the growth was unsteady with initiatives often fading after a few years.

General Developments during the Pioneering Period

The international expansion of survey and public opinion research from the late 1940s to the early 1970s also led to various changes in the nature and structure of such research.

American Influence during Early Expansion

Cross-national, survey research originated from the spread of American public opinion polls. Even during the late 1940s and early 1950s when the internationalist, federative approach was strongest, American influence on this diffusion was notable with American social scientists Cantril and Klineberg heading UNESCO's Tensions project. With the waning of the multilateral approach, America's role grew even larger.

As Rokkan (1969) noted, "The great majority of the centrally coordinated projects were American in origin: until well into the 'sixties it was only possible to raise funds for such costly

research enterprises from U.S. agencies and foundations.” This is clearly shown by the list of the primary funders of the major, social-science collaborations of the period:

International, General:

<u>Where Stands Freedom</u>	Time magazine
<u>How Nations See Each Other</u>	UNESCO
USIA surveys	USIA
<u>Civic Culture</u>	Carnegie Corporation
<u>Pattern of Human Concerns</u>	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Time Budget	Vienna Center, International Social Science Center, UNESCO +

Country-Specific

<u>Political Participation and Equality</u>	Carnegie & Ford Foundations
<u>Images of the World in the Year 2000</u>	UNESCO + Country-Specific

International, Only Europe:

Teachers/Seven Nations	Ford Foundation
Attitudes towards Europe	European Community

American foundations and other programs also assisted cross-national, survey research in other ways. The Rockefeller Foundation funded Cantril’s Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton University and Cantril and Strunk’s (1951) international compilation of survey results. Cantril later received support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to set up the Institute for International Social Research in 1955 (Cantril, 1965; 1967). As noted above, Fulbright Scholars played an important role in the Teachers Study and OCSR²⁹ and grants from the Rockefeller Foundation supported the travel of most foreign attendees to the 1947 Williamstown conference where AAPOR and WAPOR were organized (Sheatsley, 1968).

²⁹ Fulbright awardees in 1950-1952 included a number of outstanding survey researchers: Theodore Caplow who did the Middletown III study, Herbert Hyman who won the WAPOR Dinerman Award and became AAPOR president, Leo Bogart who won the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement and served as both AAPOR and WAPOR Presidents, Daniel Katz who won the AAPOR award, and Theodore Newcomb who helped start the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan and later served as president of the American Psychological Association.

In addition to the foundation-sponsored, cross-national research, there were of course also the comparative studies done by the USIA and Voice of America, by the American magazines Time and Reader's Digest, and by Gallup, INRA, and other American-led polling organizations.

Even the two later UNESCO funded surveys in the 1960s, Time Budget and Images of the World in the Year 2000, received only very minimal support from the UN agency with the vast majority coming from country-specific sources.

But while American expertise and influence was great, the expansion of international survey also depended on the development of skilled survey researchers around the world. As Gallup (1953) observed, "Since research in political and business fields has been given much attention in the United States, American researchers are prone to believe that everything new and good in opinion and attitude research must come from here. But any American who has the opportunity to sit down with European researchers will be quickly disabused of this idea. He will discover that America has no monopoly on research skill (Gallup,)." Similarly, Dinerman noted, "Over the years, there has been growing recognition that no one country has cornered the market on creativity, ingenuity, or efficiency in the practice of research... The fact is, that in almost every phase of the research process, one finds abroad some practitioners who are the equals or superiors of the best of their American colleagues ("Research...", 1969)."

Center/Periphery Diffusion during Early Expansion

Survey research and ultimately cross-national comparisons immediately spread to countries that were economically advanced and democratically oriented. The first condition insured that countries had the resources to do national surveys and the second that the innovation was "compatible" with their socio-political system (Rogers, 2003). The early cross-national collaborations were infrequent, involved a small number of countries, and were focused on the developed world in general and Europe in particular. These included Time magazine's Where Stands Freedom survey in 10 countries in 1948, the UNESCO-sponsored How Nations See Each Other study in nine countries in 1948-49 by William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril (Buchanan and Cantril, 1953), the Comparative Study of Teachers' Attitudes in seven countries (Rokkan, 1951), the Civic Culture Study in five nations in 1959-60 by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (Almond and Verba, 1963), the Pattern of Human Concerns study in 14 countries in 1957-1963 by Cantril (1965); the Attitudes towards Europe Study in five countries in 1962 as part of the EC (<https://www.gesis.org/index.php?id=1352>), the Political Participation and Equality Study in seven nations in 1966-1971 by Verba, Norman Nie, and Jae-On Kim (Verba, Nie, and Kim, 1971; 1978) and the Images of the World in the Year 2000 in 1967-70 in 11 countries by Helmut Ornauer and others (Ornauer et al., 1976). Two of these early studies (Teachers and Attitudes towards Europe) were restricted to Europe and with the notable exception of Cantril's Human Concerns study, the rest were Euro-centric with 28 countries surveyed from Europe and 14 from the rest of the world. Including Cantril's, but excluding the two regional European studies, 30 countries were from Europe, 8 from Latin America, 6 from North America, 2 from the Middle East, 6 from South and East Asia, 2 from sub-Saharan Africa, and 1 from Australia. With the regional European studies included, there were 42 surveys in Europe and 25 from the rest of the world.

Given more limited financial resources, the existence of colonialism, little social-science infrastructure, and isolation from social-science advances in the First World, the development of survey research in general and participation in cross-national, survey research in particular was naturally slower and more limited in less developed countries (Mitchell, 1983).³⁰ But even in the early years of internationalization, surveys were spreading into the developing countries (Warwick, 1983).

Mexico was an early leader in public opinion research. Hungarian-born Radvanyi started the Scientific Institute of Mexican Public Opinion in 1942, the Institute for Studies in Public Opinion and Attitudes in 1944, and the International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research in 1948 (Radvanyi, 1945; 1952). Another early initiative in 1942 was the straw polls done for *Tiempo* by the Institute of Public Opinion (Belden, 1944). Also, Belden in 1947 set up a firm to do audience and market research in Mexico (Black, 1991; Saxon, 2005) and INRA had a local partner. But Radvanyi left Mexico in 1952 to return to Eastern Europe and Belden focused his efforts towards his American operations. While Mexico was part of the Civic Culture study (Almond and Verba, 1963), public opinion research largely languished in Mexico during the next 30 years (Basanez, 1995; Basanez and Paras, 2011; Camp, 1996; Moreno and Sanchez-Castro, 2009).

Another relatively early adopter in the less developed world was India (Bulmer, 1983; 1998; Murthy and Roy, 1983). In 1953, under Da Costa's leadership India became one of the earliest developing country to have a Gallup affiliate (Gallup, 1972b; Dixon, 2006). Indian surveying also distinguished itself by starting the National Sample Survey in 1950-51 which focused on economic matters especially consumption patterns (Indian Statistical Institute, 1953; Murthy and Roy, 1983).

In the Middle East early polling was mostly restricted to Israel (Foa, 1950), but there were small-scale and intermittent polling done in some Arab countries (Dodd, 1946a; Lerner, 1958).

For other developments in Latin America see Campbell, 1949; Cantril, 1967; Harris, 1990; "History," 2004, "Mexican-Cuban," 1949; "Proceedings," 1949; and Research Institutes, 1953.

On early developments in less developed countries in general see Bulmer, 1983; Dixon and Leach, 1984; Hursh-Cesar and Roy, 1976; Iyengar, 1983; Mitchell, 1983; Riffault, 1961; Romero, 2004; Singer and Scotto, 2004; and Wilson, 1958b.

Impediments to the Development of Cross-National, Survey Research during its Initial Expansion

Cross-national, survey research grew more slowly and unevenly than initial, optimistic expectations based on rapid, immediate post-war expansion and the grand visions being floated advocating world polls. As Rokkan (1969) observed, "The rapid expansion of the network of

³⁰ For polling in Europe in the 1940s also see Cowans, 1991, 2001, 2002; Crespi, 1950a,b; Fegiz, 1947; Gallup and Rae, 1940; Goot, 2008; Hyman, 1991; Luzzatto-Fegiz, 1983; Stern and D'Epina, 1947-48; Research Institutes, 1953; Stoetzel, 1948; Wilson, 1950, 1957; Worcester, 1991. For European developments in general see Abrams, 1966; Friis, 1960; Henn, 1998; Meagher, 1983; Scotto and Singer, 2004; Stapel, 1983. For polling in other developed regions see Converse, 1987; McNair and Teer, 1983; Morgan, 2008; Worcester, 1983.

polling agencies and market research organizations in the immediate wake of World War II generated a great deal of internationalist ferment: enthusiasts talked about ‘world surveying’ ..., global ‘demographic services’ on the model of meteorological services. The numbers of cross-national polls and surveys did indeed increase rapidly in those years.... But the early enthusiasms for world surveying were soon disappointed: it proved difficult to spread the new techniques beyond the confines of the advanced Western countries, and even when organization could be set up in typical ‘developing countries’ the sampling and the interviewing proved difficult to organize beyond the boundaries of the larger urban settlements.”

First of all, cross-national, survey research proved to be a difficult and demanding enterprise. First, it was hard to conduct surveys in many countries of the world. Most countries lacked the economic resources and social science infrastructure for conducting survey research. Many other countries were non-democratic and not open to allowing public opinion polls. As discussed below, Soviet states initially discouraged survey research in general and public opinion research in particular. Also, in 1945 most developing nations were colonies and imperial powers had little interest in fostering survey research in general or public opinion polls in particular in their dependencies.

Second, cross-national surveys were expensive to conduct (Murphy, Cartwright, and Bruner, 1947). Few countries had the internal resources to support their share of a cross-national collaboration and, as discussed above, in the initial decades there were few general sources for funding cross-national, survey research.

Third, cross-national, survey took considerable time to design and carry out. While the difficulty of quick turnaround did not thwart all uses of cross-national, survey research, it was a serious impediment to the widely touted objective of using world polls to reduce international tensions. Cross-national, survey research could not move at the rapid pace of international crises and therefore were ill-suited as a tool for dealing with them. The 9-nations How Nations See Each Other study was authorized by UNESCO in 1947, but the Buchanan and Cantril book did not appear until 1953. The even more ambitious Pattern of Human Concerns Study in 14 nations took six years to collect the data and another two years for the analysis. It also required Cantril to personally travel over 250,000 miles. While such durations were both necessary and reasonable from a social-science perspective, they did not fit in with the early designs of having world polls with an international security barometer to aid the UN in ensuring world peace.

Later, Gallup tried to deal with the turn-around problem by developing “high speed surveys” that could be conducted in “17 or more capitals or world opinion centers in the matter of some 72 hours” (Gallup, 1958). While the initial Suez intervention and sputnik polls and some later WGP’s were conducted quickly (Riley, 1958), there is no evidence that these or later polls were completed within the target three-day window.³¹

³¹The Suez intervention occurred on October 29, 1956. The Gallup poll was released on November 12th with results from 12 cities (New York-Washington-Chicago, Melbourne, Toronto, Vienna, Helsinki, Milan-Rome, Bonn, Oslo, and Amsterdam). Sputnik was launched October 4, 1957 (Gallup, 1972a). The Gallup poll was issued October 20th with results from eight world centers (Washington-Chicago, Toronto, Helsinki, New Delhi, Copenhagen, Oslo, and Stockholm). The exact dates of the city surveys are unknown (Gallup, 1972a).

Second of all, a number of specific historical events hindered the advance of international survey research. Just as cross-national, survey research was taking-off during the immediate post-war period, it was also suffering setbacks. Two developments in 1948 probably contributed to a slowdown in the development of cross-national, survey research. The first was the general failure of American pollsters to predict that Truman would defeat Dewey in the 1948 presidential election. Survey research largely represented an expansion of the general American model of public opinion research that had been forged by Gallup, Roper, and Crossley around the 1936 presidential election. That model in general and Gallup's success in particular were tarnished by their misprediction of a Dewey victory in 1948. This led to a major methodological review of polling methodology and at least a temporary drop in polling credibility (Converse, 1987; Mosteller, 1949; Sibley, 2001). While there is no explicit tie to this setback and developments in international polling, it is suggestive that both NORC ended its Opinion News and Gallup stopped publishing World Opinion after October 1948.

Another impediment to cross-national, survey research was the rise of the Iron Curtain and the advent of the Cold War (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Dodd, 1948; Downham, 1997; Gostkowski, 1967; Halpern, 1949; Heath, Fisher, and Smith, 2005; Worcester, 1987). At the close of World War II there was a widespread belief that survey research could soon spread around the world (Dodd, 1948). In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, public opinion organizations sprang up immediately after the end of the war (Adamec, 1947; Adamec and Viden, 1947-48; Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Connor and Gitelman, 1977; Subrt, 2010), but when the Communists solidified control over these countries, these enterprises were discontinued.

In general, survey research was restricted in scope and limited in content in the Socialist countries, especially in the 1940s and 1950s (Brouwer, 1965a; Connor and Gitelman, 1977; Weinberg, 1974). Later, positive developments did occur such as participation of Yugoslavia and Poland in several cross-national projects (Cantril, 1965; "Cross-National Survey," 2018; Gostkowski, 1967; Mason, 1985; Ornauer et al., 1976), the setting up of the Institute for Concrete Social Research in the Soviet Union in 1968 (Heath, Fisher, and Smith, 2005; Weinberg, 1974), the conducting of polls in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Piekalkiewicz, 1972), and the time-use studies of Alexander Szalai in Hungary and other Soviet-bloc nations in the 1960s and 1970s (Szalai, 1966; 1977), but what little survey research was conducted was usually isolated from the rest of the world.³²

Socialist states did not begin to participate in the major cross-national, social-science collaborations until the 1980s and were not heavily involved until after the fall of Communism in the 1990s. Hungary which participated in the World Values Survey in 1982 and the International Social Survey Program in 1986 was a rare exception.

Similarly, Socialist states did not allow the major international commercial outfits to establish affiliates. Although social scientists had wanted to include Russia and other Soviet bloc states since at least as early as 1949 (Meier and Saunders, 1949) and Western pollsters repeatedly tried to get permission to conduct surveys within the Soviet bloc. Dinerman (1968), who took over

³²In the bibliography of 991 cross-national, survey-research publications compiled through 1965, only a handful were from Socialist countries (Rokkan, Verba, Viet, and Almasy, 1969). For example, only eight were from Czechoslovakia and just two covered the Communist period. For East Germany, the only study was one of defectors.

leadership of INRA after Wilson's death noted that Wilson had "hoped to institute the first soundings of opinion in communist countries [but]... he would not realize this ambition." Similarly, Gallup (1976) noted that in his Human Needs and Satisfaction Global Survey "surveys have not been conducted in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but negotiations are currently being conducted to persuade research organizations in this area to participate in the future." Unfortunately, he was unable to achieve this goal. Only after the collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 1990s did the situation materially change.

More broadly, the restriction of polling in the Soviet bloc undermined the idealistic hope that public opinion polls could promote mutual understanding and facilitate world peace. Clearly this goal would be less plausible if public opinion polls were to be forbidden by one side and therefore the promise of furthering international cooperation via cross-national polls was not going to be achievable. One particular example was the collapse of the international conference planned by Time magazine in 1948. While the poll itself was already conducted before the rise in international tensions led to the scuttling of the conference, this clearly undermined a key rationale for future such projects.

Third of all, the American imprimatur on public opinion research also hindered its dissemination. It was one of many reasons that Socialist countries shunned its adoption and even hobbled its spread in such countries as France (Cowans, 2002). There was also an element of American-centric hubris that led to some resentment and resistance from those in other countries. Gallup (1953) lamented that "American researchers are prone to believe that everything new and good in opinion and attitude research must necessarily come from here. But any American who has the opportunity to sit down with European researchers will be quickly disabused of this idea." Likewise, Dinerman at INRA noted "When I entered the field of international research about 20 years ago [i.e. in the late 1940s], the notion was prevalent that Americans held the key to research methodology. Even if Americans did not hold an exclusive franchise, it was widely accepted that they had no peers in this field. And over the years, I have winced every time a conference speaker claimed that he or his organization was bringing 'American expertise' or 'know-how' to his colleagues in other countries (Dinerman, 2001)."

Finally, there were also idiosyncratic developments that hindered the development of cross-national, survey research such as Field's untimely death in 1946 in the middle of his initiative to foster university-based survey research institutes around the world and attract more UNESCO support for furthering international polling and Rokkan's decision in the 1950s to switch temporarily from his initial focus on cross-national surveys and instead concentrate in the 1950s on political developments in Norway (Daalder, 1979).

Cross-National Time Series, 1973-2001

The third stage ran from 1973 to 2001 during which comparative, survey research 1) expanded in scope, 2) became sustained, time series, and 3) became more collaborative. As Max Kaase (2010, p. 543) noted, "In the 1970s a pervasive sense began to spread in the social sciences that it was high time to move cross-sectional empirical studies conducted at one specific point in time, be they comparative or single country, in a longitudinal direction." First, both the number of studies increased and the number of countries included in many studies greatly expanded. Second, rather than one-time, intermittent enterprises, cross-national research was increasingly

conducted on a continuing basis. Finally, rather than being led by a small cadre of researchers from a few countries, survey research was increasingly headed either by collaborative teams of social scientists drawn from most, if not all, of the participating societies, or involved studies formally representing an association of countries such as the EC.

This third stage was heralded by the launch of the EC's Eurobarometer which developed from the earlier Attitudes towards Europe Study in 1962 and the two rounds of the European Communities (EC) Studies in 1970-71. Kaase (2010, p. 543) observed, "(A)n important step in the direction of comparative longitudinal surveys was taken by the Eurobarometer, representative cross-sections of the population of European Union (EU) member countries." The Eurobarometer was established as a biannual study in 1973-1974 and has grown over time as the EU has expanded and was further augmented by the Central and Eastern European Barometer in 1990-1997 following the fall of Communism and the Applicant and Candidate Countries Barometer in 2000-2004. In addition, the standard Eurobarometers have been complemented by Special and Flash Eurobarometers and starting in 2007 the EU Parliament's Parlemeter (<https://www.gesis.org/eurobarometer-data-service/home>)³³.

Equally important was the founding during this period of a substantial number of ongoing, collaborative, research programs organized by social scientists (Table 6):

1. The associated European and World Value Surveys (EVS/WVS) started in 1981 and, across six completed rounds, have grown from 24 to 84 countries (in round 5). (www.worldvaluessurvey.org and <http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu>)
2. The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) has conducted 34 annual studies from 1985 through 2018 while expanding from the founding 4 to having included a total of 61 countries (Smith, 2007; www.issp.org).³⁴
3. The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) started in the late 1980s and between 1990 and 2019 has conducted a total of 59 surveys across 28 participating countries. (<https://u.osu.edu/cnep/>).
4. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) has completed four rounds (www.cses.org), expanding from 33 countries in round 1 to 39-40 countries in rounds 3-4.
5. The Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)/Americasbarometer, 1995+ did its first national survey on political culture in Costa Rica in 1995 and its first contemporaneous, cross-national, political-culture polls were done in El Salvador,

³³ A related EC development was the addition in 1972 of consumer surveys by the Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs to the existing cross-national surveys of industry and construction which respectively had started in 1962 and 1966 (Gayer, 2017).

³⁴ The ISSP started as a collaboration between existing social-indicators program in the US (the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey (GSS)), Germany (the Zentrum fuer Umfragen und Methoden's ALLBUS), the UK (Social Community Planning Research's British Social Attitudes Study), and Australia (Australia National University's National Social Science Survey) and extended bilateral studies carried out as part of the GSS and ALLBUS in 1982-1984.

Guatemala, and Nicaragua in 1995. These led to the founding of the Americasbarometer in 2004+ (Zechmeister, 2019).

6. The Global Barometer Surveys (GBS) was organized in 2003 from four pre-existing regional barometers, 1) the New Europe Barometer (NEB) headed by Richard Rose which started in 1991, 2) the Latinobarometro headed by Marta Lagos starting in 1995, 3) the Afrobarometer headed by Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes, and E. Gyimah-BadSafa starting in 1999, and 4) the Asian Barometer headed by Yun-Han Chu which combined the East Asia Barometer organized in 2000 with data collection starting in 2001 and the South Asia Barometer starting in 2004. Rose and the NEB later withdrew. In its place the Eurasia Barometer was added. It retained the early 1991-1998 rounds of the NEB which were originally known as the New Democracies Barometers (NDB), but on the GBS site the Eurasia Barometer only lists Eura Wave 1 (2001) and Eura Wave 2 (2010). The Eurasia Barometer does not include Rose's later NEB rounds (2000-2005), his New Russia Barometer in Russia, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine (1992-2012, 20 rounds), his New Baltic Barometer (1993-2004, 6 rounds), nor what are sometimes referred to as his Yugoslavia Successor States surveys (1992-2005, 3-8 rounds)³⁵ (GBS, 2018; Centre, 2019a,b,c; Lagos, 2003; Rose, 2014; 2019; UK Data Archive, 2010; UK Data Service, 2019). Other listings subsume all of these series under the header NEB. Later the Arab Barometer, founded in 2005, also joined the GBS.

The GBS collaboration has so far led to two coordinated waves across the regional barometer partners being completed: 1: 2005-2011 with 46 countries and 2: 2011-2013 with 42 countries. A third wave started in 2019. The Eurasia Barometer has not participated in either of the first two GBS rounds (Global, 2019a, b).

In addition, to the long-term, cross-national times series, a number of cross-national surveys were also replicated over time such as the Political Action Study in eight countries in 1973-76 and 1976-1981 (Barnes and Kaase, 1979), the Consolidation of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe Study in 14 countries 1990-1992 and 1998-2001 (Bandelj and Radu, 2006), and the International Social Justice Project in 14 countries in 1991 with some countries repeating in 1996, 2000, and/or 2006 (Mason, Kluegel, and Khakhulina, 2000).

Of special note during this period are two exceptional, cross-national surveys: the Human Needs and Satisfactions Survey and World Fertility Survey. In 1974-1976, George Gallup and Jean Stoetzel organized a study called Human Need and Satisfactions: A Global Survey (Gallup, 1976-77). It was characterized as “the first global research effort” (Summary, 1977; Gallup, 1980, 1981). It used a highly innovative research design in which the world was divided into eight regions: 1) Anglo-America also labelled as North America, 2) Latin America, 3) Western Europe, 4) Eastern Europe and the USSR, 5) North Africa and the Middle East, 6) Africa (sub-Saharan), 7) the Far East, and 8) Australia. The sample was a highly innovative, hybrid design combining regional samples with a limited number of national samples. Only two countries had normal-size, national samples (United States – 1014 and Canada – 1032), another group with

³⁵CSPP (Centre, 2019d) reports the Yugoslav Successor State surveys in eight years, but cross-national surveys were only done in 3 years (1998, 2002, and 2005). Countries covered were Serbia+Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia. Slovenia was covered as part of the NDB/NEB.

sample sizes of 300-385 were deemed as covering “individual nations” (Brazil, Columbia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, France, Italy, UK, West Germany, Nigeria, India, Japan, and Turkey) plus two sub-regional amalgamation of nations (Scandinavia and Benelux), and the rest had smaller sample sizes and these were used only to calculate regional results. Altogether 60 countries were represented and 9072 cases were collected (“Summary Africa, Latin America, Far East,” 1976; “United States, Canada, Western Europe,” 1976). No survey were ever conducted in Eastern Europe and the USSR and the initial analysis omitted North Africa and the Middle East whose data were “expected shortly” (Gallup, 1977a). In the final release, there are 639 cases with cases from Turkey, Iran, Lebanon, and Israel. The plan was that “with the global survey serving as a prototype to provide for development of an operational research capacity by which the world community could be surveyed on a regular basis – reliably, quickly, and at a reasonable cost (“Summary Africa..., 1976)³⁶.” But this never transpired and despite a highly-publicized, initial release of results (Summary, 1977; Gallup, 1976-1977), the study was seldom used in the research literature.

The second extraordinary cross-national survey during this period was the World Fertility Survey (WFS). Between 1973 and 1984 the WFS was conducted in 62 countries. Not only did the number participating far exceed almost all other contemporary cross-national surveys, but 44 were fielded in less developed countries. In many of the countries few or no national surveys had been done before the WFS. Most funding came from the US Agency for International Development and the UN Fund for Population Activities (Cleland, 2003; Cleland and Scott, 1987; Cornelius, 1985). While not repeated over time, the WFS was a foundational survey for the UN’s Demographic and Health Surveys program that started in 1984³⁷ (DHS Program, 2019; Schoumaker, 2014; Vaessen. Thiam, and Le, 2005).

Of course, there were still one-time-only cross-national studies during this period such as the Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class consciousness in 10 countries in 1980-1987 (Wright, 1989), Social Stratification in Eastern Europe in six countries in 1993-94 (<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.1/M653V1>), and People on War in 12 conflict zones and four of the permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Switzerland in 1998-99 (<https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/globalreport.pdf>).

Additionally, international polling by commercial organizations such as Gallup continued to grow. As Figure 1 showed, US Gallup Reports covered a record high number of countries in the 1980s. Also, from the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s Gallup launched a series of publications disseminating and promoting its international research. These included:

The Gallup International Public Opinion Polls: Great Britain, 1937-1975 (1976)

The Gallup International Public Opinion Polls: France, 1939, 1944-1975 (1976)

³⁶ And in Gallup’s *Reader’s Digest* article (Gallup, 1977a) he wrote “With the techniques refined and worldwide network now established, it should be possible to complete future polls in a mere three months. If the results of future efforts are as eye-opening and instructive as these initial findings, global polling could constitute a turning point in human understanding.”

³⁷ But DHS conducted no surveys in 1984, only one in 1985, and 6 standard and 3 special or experiment surveys in 1986 (DHP, 2019).

International Gallup Polls: Public Opinion, 1978 (1980)

International Gallup Polls: Public Opinion, 1979 (1981)

Gallup Report International: A Survey of International Opinion and Foreign Policy (1982-1985)³⁸

But each of these publications ceased after a few years.

Besides being done on a continuing basis the second phase had two additional major characteristics: 1) more studies were designed and funded by government bodies especially in the EU and 2) especially on the regional rather than the global level, the main impetus and support for cross-national studies shifted from the United States to Europe.

Cross-National Infrastructure, 2002+

During the fourth stage starting in 2002, cross-national, survey research became part of the social-science infrastructure (Table 7). In particular, the degree of central coordination and control notably increased. The establishment of the biennial European Social Survey (ESS) in 2002 capstoned this advance (Jowell et al., 2007) (www.europeansocialsurvey.org). While the ESS, like the WVS, ISSP, CNEP, and CSES, is a collaboration of social scientists, unlike those earlier consortia, it has centralized funding for the design, direction, and methodological monitoring of the national surveys. While the data collection is funded nation-by-nation, their notable level of centralized resources and coordination distinguishes the ESS from the earlier collaborations. Since its first round in 2002 the ESS has completed eight rounds with 206 surveys, and 381,351 respondents covering 36 countries. It won the EU's Descartes Prize for Research and Science Communication in 2005 and was given European Research Infrastructure Consortium status starting in 2013.

Another milestone of the establishment of cross-national surveys as part of the global, social-science infrastructure was the establishment of the annual International Workshop on Comparative Survey Design and Implementation (CSDI) in 2002. Besides the annual workshops, CSDI also organized two major international conferences in Berlin in 2008 and Chicago in 2016 which in turn led to two books, Janet A. Harkness et al. eds., Survey Methods in Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural Context (2010) and Timothy P. Johnson et al., eds., Advances in Comparative Survey Methods: Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural Contexts (2019).³⁹ The first won the 2013 AAPOR book award. The CSDI also organized the

³⁸ Initially, it was called Gallup World View: A Survey of International Opinion and Foreign Policy.

³⁹ This initiated the term 3MC to refer to comparative survey research. It stands for "survey methods in multinational, multiregional, and multicultural context." It comes from the title of the CSDI 2008 Berlin conference (International Conference on Survey Methods in Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural Contexts (3MC)) and the subsequent edited book based on that conference (Harkness et al., 2010). Often however 3MC references

on-line Cross-Cultural Survey Guidelines site in 2008 (<https://ccsg.isr.umich.edu/index.php>). Now in its fourth edition, the pdf version of the Guidelines has 853 pages of content.

Another major development was the establishment of global standards for surveys. Recently, international standards for survey research have been developed and their adoption is spreading (Lynn, 2003; Smith, 2016). The most authoritative are the Standards for Market, Opinion, and Social Research of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) (<http://www.iso.org>). The ISO formed Technical Committee 225 for Market, Opinion, and Social Research in 2002 with the first ISO standards for surveys issued in 2006 and updated in 2012 and 2019. Other examples are *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*, initially created by AAPOR in 1998 and later adopted by WAPOR, the ISSP, and other groups (<https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/For-Researchers/Poll-Survey-FAQ/Response-Rates-An-Overview.aspx>); the International Guidelines for Opinion Surveys of the OECD (<http://www.oecd.org/sdd/leading-indicators/37038362.pdf>); and the Cross-Cultural Survey Guidelines of the CSDI Guidelines Initiative (<http://projects.isr.umich.edu/csdi/>).

Other examples of the establishment of cross-national survey research include the joint creation by AAPOR and WAPOR in 2013 of the Janet A. Harkness Student Paper Award for "emerging young scholars in the study of multi-national/multi-cultural/multi-lingual survey research," AAPOR's selection of cross-national surveys as one of the featured tracks for conference sessions starting in 2016, and the AAPOR/WAPOR Joint Taskforce on Quality of Comparative Surveys, 2018-2020.

Other developments during this fourth period have been a continuing expansion in the number and size of cross-national studies and more cross-project collaboration. The Arab Barometer, East Asian Social Survey (<http://www.eassda.org/modules/doc/index.php?doc=intro>), and ESS are examples of new cross-national studies initiated in recent years. Also, as indicated above, the major global collaboration (CSES, Global Barometers, ISSP, WVS) have all expanded coverage. For example, the ISSP grew from the founding four countries to include 61 participating countries and the WVS expanded from 24 countries in round 1 to 84 in round 5. Likewise, the new Gallup World Poll was launched in 2005 and grew from covering an average of 113.5 countries in 2006-07, to 122 in 2008-10, 142.7 in 2011-13, 143.7 in 2014-16, and 145.5 in 2017-18.

In terms of inter-study collaborations, the ESS and GSS have carried out joint projects, and the CSES and ISSP have organized workshops, sponsored joint conference sessions, and discussed other collaboration. In 2017 in London, Rory Fitzgerald, ESS director, organized the Workshop on Strengthening Links between Cross-national and Cross-Cultural Social Surveys (Fitzgerald, 2017).

Types of International and Cross-National Surveys

Globalization has triggered both the necessity for and existence of international survey research. The number of countries conducting surveys, the number of surveys conducted in each country,

mix-up the order of the three Ms and sometimes replace a standard term with an alternative (e.g. multilingual and even multigenerational). The C is often ignored.

and the number and size of cross-national, comparative surveys have all expanded. As a result of these expansion, a large and complex array of different types of contemporary, cross-national surveys have emerged.

First, there are the global, general-topic, general-population, social-science collaborations discussed above (e.g. the CNEP, CSES, Global Barometers, ISSP, and WVS). These are large, on-going, and expanding collaborations that seek information on a wide range of topics and coverage of societies across the globe (Smith, Kim, Koch, and Park, 2006). They have been widely used in scholarly publications.⁴⁰

Second, there are global, general-population studies on specialized topics, such as the International Mental Health Stigma Survey (<https://icmhsr.sitehost.iu.edu/sgcmhs.html>), the World Mental Health Survey (www.hcp.med.harvard.edu/wmh/index.php), the International Adult Literacy Survey/Adult Literacy and Life Skills Surveys (<http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/all>), the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (<http://www.oecd.org/site/piaac/#d.en.221854>), the Demographic and Health Surveys (www.measuredhs.com), the Multinational Time Use Study (www.timeuse.org/mtus), the World Health Survey (www.who.int/healthinfo/survey/en/index.html), the International Crime Victims Survey (<http://wp.unil.ch/icvs>) and the World Internet Project (www.worldinternetproject.net). These include scholarly collaborations, UN affiliated projects, and programs by other international organizations, such as the World Bank and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Third, there are global, special-population studies on specialized topics such as student surveys, like the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA; www.pisa.oecd.org), the Relevance of Science Education (ROSE; www.ils.uio.no/english/rose), the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS; <http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pirls>), and the Trends in International Mathematical and Science Study (TIMSS; <http://nces.ed.gov/timss>).

Fourth, there are regional, general-population, general-topic, social-science surveys, such as the ESS (www.europeansocialsurvey.org), the East Asian Social Survey (<http://www.eassda.org>), the Latin American Public Opinion Project and its Americasbarometer (www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop), and the various regional barometers associated with the Global Barometer Surveys (Lagos, 2008). Like the global, general-topic surveys, these operate on a continuing basis under the leadership of social scientists.

Fifth, there are regional, special-population, special-topic surveys like the Survey of Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe (SHARE; www.share-project.org), the European Working Conditions Survey (<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/about-eurofound>), the European Election Studies (www.ees-homepage.net), and the European Quality of Life Survey (www.eurofound.europa.eu). These are especially common in the EU.

⁴⁰ Cross-national survey research has produced a large and invaluable body of findings. For example, in 2019, the CSES lists about 920 publications using its surveys, the WVS's bibliography mentions over 1,000 uses by members of their network and "several thousands" more by secondary users, and the ISSP's 2018 bibliography has 9,539 references.

Sixth, there are global polls conducted by large commercial companies such as Gallup Inc. (www.gallup.com)⁴¹, GfK (<http://www.gfk.com>), ICF International (<http://www.icfi.com>), Ipsos (www.ipsos.com), and Kantar (<http://www.kantar.com>). There have been a series of mergers creating larger and more international commercial firms (e.g. Ipsos taking over Synovate; GfK acquiring NOP; and Taylor, Nelson Sofres being acquired by the Kantar Group of WPP – originally Wire and Plastic Products, plc.). Rather than primarily engaged in comparative studies, these firms collect national as well as international data. They mostly conduct market research, but also cover public opinion and other areas. However, the Gallup World Poll, started in 2005, covered more countries than any other comparative study (see above).

Seventh, there are consortia of commercial firms. Some represent long-term, general collaborations such as the Gallup International Association (GIA) which was formed in 1947⁴², Globescan (www.globescan.com), established in 1987, the Worldwide Independent Network of Market Research and Opinion Poll (WIN) which was founded in 2007 and in 2010-2017 was merged with GIA as WIN-GIA, and others are more project-specific collaboration, such as the Pew Global Attitudes project in 2002+ (<http://pewglobal.org>).

Finally, there are harmonization projects that merge and make more comparable studies not originally designed for comparative purposes such as the Luxembourg Income Study (<https://www.lisdatacenter.org/>), the International Stratification and Mobility File (<http://www.harryganzeboom.nl/ismf/#:~:text=The%20International%20Stratification%20and%20Mobility,and%20maintained%20by%20Harry%20B.G.>), the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International (IPUMS International <https://international.ipums.org/international>), the Survey Data Recycling: New Analytic Framework, Integrated Database, and Tools for Cross-national Social, Behavioral and Economic Research project, a joint endeavor of Ohio State University and the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences which continues the Survey Data Harmonization project (<https://www.asc.ohio-state.edu/dataharmonization/>), and the many efforts of the UN (<http://unstats.un.org>) and Eurostat (<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>).

These cross-national surveys have been integrated or interconnected broadly by two approaches. The first approach is top-down: a survey organization or company, often Western-based, initiates a cross-national survey series by either sponsoring surveys in other countries or asking local agencies to seek funding to implement the surveys. The content and methods of the top-down surveys are often predetermined or decided by the dominating organization or company. The so-

⁴¹ See Gallup International Association in following paragraph.

⁴² As noted above, Gallup Inc. is the company founded by George Gallup Sr. and is headquartered in the US. GIA was formed in 1947 by George Gallup Sr. and is headquartered in Switzerland. Some current GIA affiliates had ties to George Gallup and Gallup Inc. in the past. GIA and Gallup, Inc. are no longer affiliated with one another and have been engaged for many years in legal battles over the use of the name “Gallup.” GIA and WIN merged in 2010. WIN and GIA parted ways in 2017. In 2019, WIN had 44 members and GIA had 59 members and of these there were 23 joint members.

called safari surveys are the extreme example of the top-down model (Bulmer, 1983; Kuechler, 1987; Rogers et al., 1976; Smith, 2004; Szalai, 1966).⁴³

The second approach tends to be bottom-up: national teams collaborate and launch cross-national surveys, and teams from other countries join them later. As a rule, the content and methods of the bottom-up surveys are decided collectively, with each team being responsible for its own costs of survey operation. The ISSP, where participating members have a vote in group decisions, epitomizes this model. As globalization further develops and the continued adoption of the survey innovation becomes more self-sustaining given favorable political and economic circumstances, the shift over time has clearly gone from top-down to a more collaborative, bottom-up approach. As Bulmer (1983) noted in contrast to the 1950s and 1960s, “This era of the ‘safari’ scholar is now at an end.” The Afrobarometer is an interesting example. They have been funded principally with international governmental agencies, non-African foundations, and non-African governments. They also started in 1999 with major leadership from non-African scholars, but have become much more Afro-centric over time (www.afrobarometer.org).

Contemporary Coverage and Limitations

Both the global expansion of survey research and its limitations are evident by analyzing participation in major cross-national surveys. A comparison by Smith and Yu (2016) found that across the CSES, Global Barometers, ISSP, and WVS that 65.3% of the world’s countries were covered in one or more study. Completely missed countries fell into three main categories. First, countries that were small in both area and population and often geographically isolated (e.g. islands) were often not covered. These principally included the microstates of Europe (e.g. Monaco, San Marino, Vatican City), Pacific islands (e.g. Fiji, Kiribati, Tonga), and Caribbean islands (e.g. Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia). Second, strongly authoritarian countries such as Myanmar, North Korea, and Uzbekistan were generally missed. For the nine countries that Freedom House listed in 2013 as the worst of the worst on political rights and civil liberties, only two were included in any of these cross-national studies, with Syria and Sudan each being included in just one of the four cross-national studies. Finally, countries undergoing sustained civil wars and other internal unrest were often not covered (e.g. Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, South Sudan).⁴⁴

An analysis of the Gallup World Polls produced similar results. From 2006 to 2012, the GWPs conducted surveys in 162 countries or territories, thus covering 78.7% of generally recognized

⁴³ Other terms used to describe the same practice are “academic imperialism” (Kanahele, 1968), “parachute” and “helicopter” research (Webster, 2005), and the “hit and run” researcher (Rogers et al, 1976 citing Tagumpay-Castillo, 1968).

⁴⁴ The underrepresentation of countries undergoing war and civil disorder is partly compensated for by the conducting of conflict polls such as D3 Systems polls in Afghanistan and South Sudan (<https://www.d3systems.com/>) (Langer, Warsaw, and Beard, 2015). Two major examples are the Peace polls of Colin Irwin in Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Cyprus, Darfur, Sri Lanka, Kashmir, and elsewhere (<http://www.peacepolls.org/cgi-bin/greeting?instanceID=1>) (Irwin, 2012) and the People on War study conducted in 12 conflict zones and four of the permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Switzerland in 1998-99 (<https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/globalreport.pdf>). Similarly, disaster surveys are done in areas disturbed by natural and other disasters that often prevent normal surveys (Norris, 2001).

countries plus a few other areas (e.g. Hong Kong and Puerto Rico). While covering more countries, the GWPs essentially missed the same types of areas as the four cross-national collaborations discussed above did. Moreover, neither the GWPs nor the major academic collaborations covered all countries and regions equally well. Looking across the seven rounds of the GWPs, a coverage completeness statistic was computed. It took the total number of countries in a region times the number of rounds (7) and compared that base to the number of surveys conducted in the GWPs from 2006 to 2012. South America had the highest completeness level (85.7%), followed by Asia (77.8%), Europe (72.9%), Africa (55.3%), North America (43.9%), and Other (Oceania and Pacific islands – 13.2%). However, if the regions are realigned as Latin America and the Caribbean vs. the remainder of North America (Canada and the United States), the completeness rates are respectively 32.8% and 100.0%. Similarly, if Australia and New Zealand are separated from Other, their completeness rate is 85.7% and the remaining Other area's completeness rate falls to 0.0%. Thus, the so-called First World has the most complete coverage and Third-World regions the lowest.

In addition to the coverage of countries discussed above, territories and contested areas are also usually missed. These include many island dependencies especially in the Caribbean and Pacific, which are missed just like many of the independent nations from these same regions, and other areas such as Greenland (part of Denmark, but routinely excluded from Danish samples) and French Guiana. Also, typically missed are contested areas like Northern Cyprus, Transnistria, and Western Sahara. Among the few areas in these groups that are occasionally included in cross-national surveys are Puerto Rico and Palestine.

While surveys are being conducted both in more countries and more frequently, there are still many legal constraints on the conducting of surveys and dissemination of survey results. In 2017, WAPOR and ESOMAR published the latest in their long series of Freedom to Public Opinion Polls series dating back to 1984. This report compiled reports from 133 countries/jurisdictions (Frankovic, Johnson, and Stavrakantonaki, 2018). There were pre-election blackout periods or total embargos in 75% of the covered countries, ranging from 1 to 150 days. Moreover, the situation was deteriorating. Of countries covered in both the 2012 and 2017 reports, 16 lengthen or started blackout periods and only 2 dropped their restrictions.

Conclusion

Modern survey research in general and public opinion research in particular originated in the United States in the 1930s. This innovation was then adopted by a growing number of countries until it spread to virtually all countries (Smith, 2010; Smith and Fu, 2016). American leadership in international and cross-national, survey research was first of all inspirational. Through the distribution of poll results in the mass media and in scholarly writings, and from the educational exchanges of teachers and students, information about the American public opinion polls disseminated to other countries. They attracted a great deal of interest and many adopters spontaneously started polls in their own countries. Second, the diffusion was entrepreneurial. American companies, primarily Gallup and INRA initially, spread survey research by establishing international affiliates in other countries. These affiliates then collaborated on comparative projects and largely created cross-national, social research. Third, initially as liberation and occupation surveys by the US military and later by such agencies as the USIA and Voice of America, the US government commissioned many foreign surveys. Fourth, US-based

foundations funded most cross-national, survey research by social scientists. Until the EU started doing the Eurobarometers in the early 1970s, most cross-national research was supported by US foundations and led by American social scientists (Smith, 2010). Finally, through scholarly exchanges (e.g. foreign students training in the US; US scholars going overseas with Fulbrights and similar support) knowledge about survey research spread internationally.

The diffusion of cross-national, survey research was part of globalization. Globalization meant both that more and more comparative data were available and there was more and more need for such comparative data as the world became more interconnected. More reliable, quantitative information was increasingly needed about multiple countries and markets and a globalization of statistics also occurred. This is shown by the collection of statistics by international agencies such as the UN, World Bank, and OECD, by compilations by social scientists (e.g. Problems, 1949), and by the spread of market research (Livingstone, 2003; Mattelart, 1979; Wang, 1996). The international expansion of survey research in general and of comparative, cross-national, survey research in particular is a prime example of this process. As Bulmer (1998) has noted, “The world wide prevalence of the social survey today is evidence of its exportability.”

It was also part of the process of democratization (including decolonialization). The adoption of survey research was opposed by authoritarian governments such as the Nazis and Fascists during World War II, the Communists during the Cold War, and by the colonial powers. It was mostly accepted by democratic regimes and actively promoted internationally by the US government.

Survey research continued to expand and eventually extend to virtually every country in the world. However, the coverage in the center has remained much denser than in the periphery both in terms on the frequency of separate national surveys and participation in cross-national surveys (Smith, 2010).

While the promotion of world peace was advanced as a main early goal of international polling in the immediate post-bellum period and the UN advocated as the organization for organizing and leading world surveys, neither this focus nor this leadership, actually shaped the development of cross-national, survey research. After a little over a decade of effort, this approach died out in the late 1950s. Especially in the early years it was mostly commercial firms led by Gallup and INRA that spread survey research organizations to other countries. Later on social scientists doing comparative survey research played an increasingly important role and by the third stage they added time series as a major component of cross-national survey research. Also during the 1973-2001 period, governmental units, intergovernmental organizations especial in the economic area (OECD, International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank) and the EU in particular once again played a leading role.

While international and cross-national survey and public opinion research diffused globally from its US node in the mid-1930s, its path took many twists and turns and frequent backs and forths. Some paths such as an UN-led program of barometers of international security wilted away, while others such as cooperative collaboration among social scientists blossomed. While the international purveyors expanded their geographic coverage, they were repeatedly thwarted by authoritarian governments and constrained on election polling even in many democracies. Likewise, it was difficult for Gallup, INRA, and other data collectors to come up with a successful business model outside of market research to sustain international and cross-national

studies. But overall adaptations and successes overcame the travails and obstacles to make international and cross-national survey research part of social science infrastructure, an important component of global economic development, and both an offspring of and sustainer of democratization.

Table 1

Early Gallup Affiliates

Country	Year Founded/ First Poll	Organization (Acronym)
A. Loxwood Group ^a		
United States	1935/1935	American Institute for Public Opinion (AIPO)
United Kingdom	1936/1937	British Institute for Public Opinion (BIPO)
France	1938/1938-39	Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique (IFOP)
Australia	1941/1941	Australian Public Opinion Poll (APOP)
Canada	1941/1941	Canadian Institute for Public Opinion (CIPO)
Brazil	1942/1946 ^b	Instituto Brasileiro de Opinio Publica (IBOPE)
Sweden	1942/1942	Svenska Gallup Institutet (SGI)
Denmark	1943/1945	Dansk Gallup Institut (DGI) ^c
The Netherlands	1945/1945	Nederlands Instituut voor de Publieke Opinie (NIPO)
Finland	1945/1945	Suomen Gallup Osakeyhtio
Norway	1945/1945	Norsk Gallup Institutt (NGI)
B. Other Early Gallup Affiliates (Not Part of Original Loxwood Group)		
Switzerland	1944/1944	Institut Suisse d'Opinion Publique (ISOP)
Germany (West)	1945/1948	EMNID: Institut fuer Markforschung und Marktermittlung (Erforschung der Oeffentlichen Meinung, Markforschung, Nachrichten, Informationtionen, Diesnsleistungen)
Italy	1946/1946	DOXA, Istituto per la Ricerche Statistiche e d'Analisi dell Opinione Pubblica
Austria	1949/1949	Oesterreichisches Gallup Institut

^a Also attending as observers was Doxa from Italy and the Czechoslovak Institute of Public Opinion.

^b This is the most uncertain date in this table.

^c Wahl Asmussen founded a polling company in Denmark in 1939 which became Dansk Gallup Institut in 1943. It is unclear how much work was done before or during the German occupation (1940-1945).

Table 2

Early Counts of Survey Research Organizations

Lists	Entries	Countries
Dodd, 1946-47	---	30
Radvanyi, 1948	229 ^a	22
Stoetzel, 1948	25	16
“World Opinion,” 1947-1949	34	18
Cantril and Strunk, 1951	23	16
“International [pre-1950],” 1962	47	21
“List,” 1953	52	22

^a Many of these entries were not entities that were primarily survey-research organizations (e.g. the British Admiralty, American Jewish Committee, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Federal Trade Commission, General Motors, McGraw Hill Publishing). Whether certain other organizations did their own questionnaire development and fielding or only commissioned or utilized research by others is uncertain (e.g. American Telephone and Telegraph, Life magazine, Meredith Publishing, Proctor and Gamble).

Table 3

List of Earliest Survey Research Conferences, 1946-1949

Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research, Central City, Colorado, July 29-31, 1946 (“Proceedings,” 1946)

Conference on State and Local Polls, Princeton, New Jersey, December 2-6, 1946 (Conference on State and Local Polls, n.d.)

Conference of European Public Opinion Institutes, Paris, January 28-30, 1947 (“Conference,” 1947; Gallup, 1976a; Downham, 1997; Stoetzel, 1976)

Organizing Meeting of the International Association of Public Opinion (Gallup) Institutes, Loxwood Hall, Sussex, May 11-18, 1947 (Cantril and Strunk, 1951; Lydgate, 1947; “Proceedings,” 1950; Stoetzel, 1976; Zetterberg, 2008)

Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research, Williamstown, Massachusetts, September 2-5, 1947 [Joint AAPOR/WAPOR meeting] (Henry, 1948; Sheatsley, 1947; World Congress, 1947; Sheatsley, 1992)

Third International Conference on Public Opinion Research, Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania, September 12-15, 1948 [Joint AAPOR/WAPOR] (“Proceedings,” 1948)

Second International Congress of Public Opinion, Amsterdam, September 15-17, 1948, (Guigoz, 1949; Downham, 1997)

Conference on Attitude and Opinion Research, Iowa City, Iowa, February 10-12, 1949 (Iowa, 1949; Meier and Saunders, 1949)

Fourth Annual Conference on Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), Ithaca, NY, June 19-22, 1949 (Wilson, 1949)

International Conference on Public Opinion Research, Paris, September 7-9, 1949 [First Joint WAPOR/ESOMAR meeting] (Downham, 1997; “Proceedings,” 1949)

Table 4

Attendees of Early Conferences

Number of Attendees by Region

Conference	Group	Total #	Number of Countries	United States	Europe	Other
Central City	“AAPOR/WAPOR”	73	5	69	1	3
Princeton	Gallup	49	2	47	0	2
Paris	“ESOMAR”	28	10	1	27	0
Loxwood	Gallup	19	12	4	13	2
Williamstown	AAPOR/WAPOR	194	10	179	8	7
Amsterdam	ESOMAR	29	7	0	29	0
Iowa City	Other	33	1	33	0	0

Table 5
Cross-National Pioneers, 1948-1972

Study	Organizer	Countries	Year
Where Stands Freedom	Time Magazine	10	1948
How Nations See Each Other	Buchanan/Cantril	9	1948-49
Comparative Study of Teachers ^a	OCSR	7	1952-53
United States Information Agency ^b	USIA	4-14	1952+
Civic Culture	Almond/Verba	5	1959-60
Patterns of Human Concerns	Cantril	14	1957-63
Attitudes towards Europe	EC	5	1962
Products and People	Reader's Digest	7	1963-64
Multinational Comparative Time Budget Research Project	Szalai	10 ^c	1965-66
Political Participation	Verba/Nie/Kim	7	1966-67
Images of the World in the Year 2000 ^d	Galtung et al.	11 ^e	1967-70
A Survey of Europe Today	Reader's Digest	16	1969

OCSR=Organization for Comparative Social Research

EC=European Community

^a Samples of teachers rather than the general population.

^b Archives hold 173 USIA surveys from the 1950s and 1960s (Roper Center, 2019a). But this collection is incomplete.

^c 10 countries included, but national samples only in Belgium, West Germany, and the US.

^d General population ages 15-40.

^e Nine national samples and two regional and/or elite samples.

Table 6

Cross-National Time Series, 1973-2001

Eurobarometer, 1973+

European/World Values Surveys, 1981+

International Social Survey Program, 1984+

Comparative National Election Project, 1990+

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, 1994+

Latin American Public Opinion Project/Americasbarometer, 1995+^a

Global Barometer Surveys:

New Democracies Barometer, 1991-98/ New Europe Barometer, 2001-2005^b

Latinobarometro, 1995+

Afrobarometer, 1999+

Eurasia Barometer, 2001+

Asian Barometer^c, 2001+

Arab Barometer, 2005+

^aThe first national survey on political culture was done in Costa Rica in 1976. The first contemporaneous, cross-national, political-culture surveys were done in 1995 in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. These led to the founding of the Americasbarometer in 2004+ (Zechmeister, 2019).

^bName of series changed. Only 1991-98 now part of Global Barometer Surveys.

^cFirst round in 2001-2003 known as East Asian Barometer. South Asian Barometer added in 2004 (Asian, 2019).

Table 7
Cross-National Infrastructure Development, 2002+

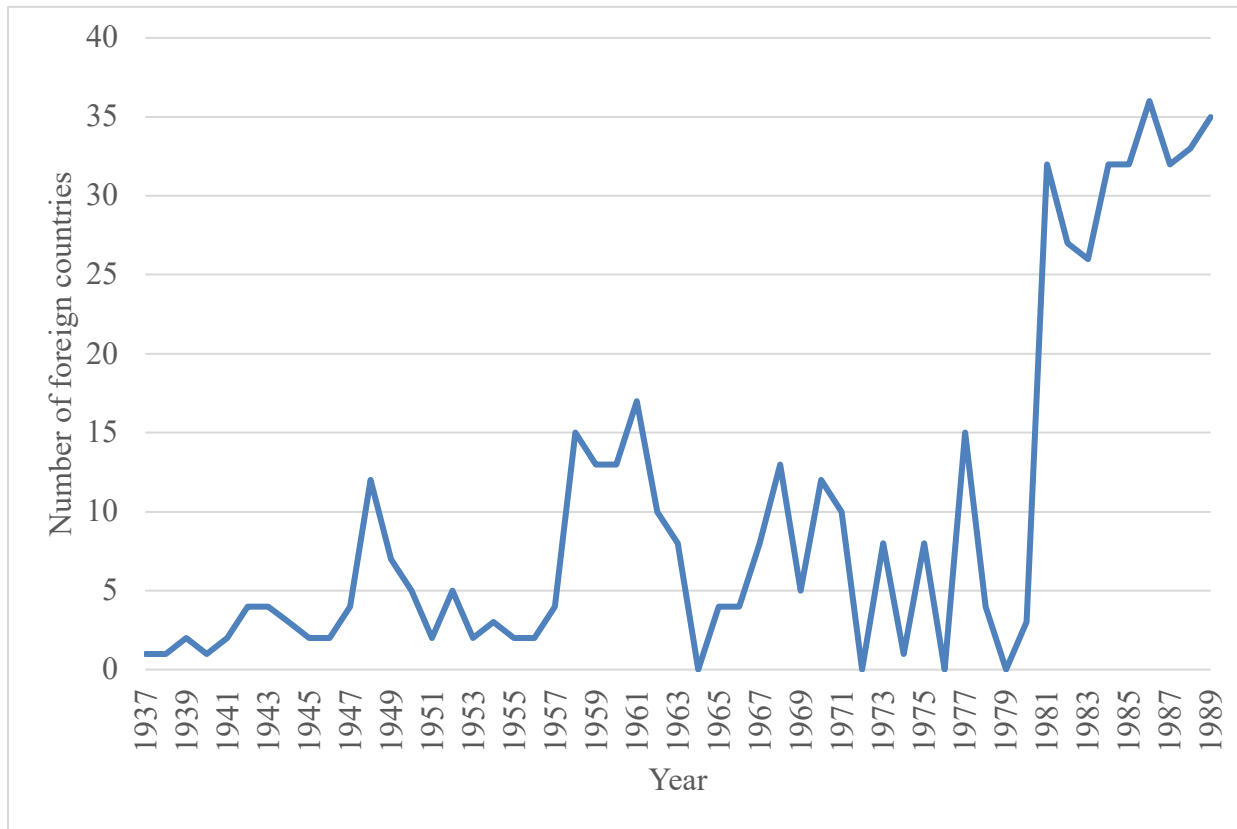
- Founding of the European Social Survey – 2001+

First round of surveys, 2002

Winner of the Descartes Prize for Research and Science Communication, 2005
ESS awarded European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ERIC) status, 2013
- International Workshop on Comparative Survey Design and Implementation (CSDI) founded, 2002+
- Major conferences on comparative survey research methods, Berlin – 2008; Chicago - 2016
- International Organization for Standardization forms Technical Committee 225 for Market, Opinion, and Social Research in 2002 with first ISO standards issued in 2006 and updated in 2012 and 2019.
- Cross-Cultural Survey Guidelines, 2008+
- AAPOR Book Award to Janet A. Harkness et al., eds., *Survey Methods in Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural Contexts* (2010) based on 2008 Berlin conference, 2013
- WAPOR/AAPOR’s Janet A. Harkness Student Paper Award for "emerging young scholars in the study of multi-national/multi-cultural/multi-lingual survey research," 2013+
- AAPOR/WAPOR Joint Taskforce on Quality of Comparative Surveys, 2018-2020

Figure 1

Number of Foreign Countries Cited in US Gallup Releases



Notes:

Countries include just Moscow for the USSR and the then British colony of Hong Kong.

In 1975, cross-national surveys from eight countries were mentioned, but no data were reported.

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3. Three Decades of Advancing Survey Methodology

Don A. Dillman

Introduction

The normal tendency associated with methods of doing things is to repeat what one has done before, assuming it will continue to work, at least okay if not well. For survey methods in the early 1990s, that meant expecting to rely mostly on Random Digit Dialing (RDD) to sample and survey samples of the general public over voice telephones for the foreseeable future. Since its inception in the 1970s, RDD surveys had replaced in-person interviewing for nearly all national surveys, and opened up the possibilities of regularly surveying state, county, and city samples of the general public at a reasonable cost.

Mobile phones were not yet widely available; they were also bulky and awkward to use by the few who had access. In addition, cellular transmission towers had not yet blanketed the country so that calls could be made to and from virtually anywhere. The internet was in its early stages, and limited mostly to email. Many large organizations had not yet connected their employees to one another through email. More importantly, transmission speeds for internet connections were slow because of limited fiber optics and other means necessary for achieving fast connections. In addition, web pages were mostly non-existent, and for most people in 1990, hard to imagine. The implications of these technologies for surveying seemed remote, and perhaps not feasible.

Yet, the next thirty years have proved to be a time of monumental change in how previous survey methods became impractical to use, and new technologies and communication capabilities evolved, often to be replaced quickly by even newer methods. This chapter is about how in these last three decades, the development of new possibilities changed how surveys now get done in the U.S. and most of the developed world.

AAPOR has played a critical role in facilitating the development and use of new survey methods that have displaced older methods. Responding to the need for innovation occurred in part through welcoming at our annual conference new ways of thinking about how surveys could and should be done, and providing a meeting place for professionals dedicated to those developments. The attention given to methods also fueled the rapid growth of AAPOR. It now appears to be the most important organization in the world for discussing, advocating, testing, and establishing new survey methods, providing leadership to the transformation of survey methodology to take into account massive changes in the means by which surveys are done.

My purpose in this chapter is to chronicle, for each of the last three decades, the work of AAPOR to encourage the development of innovative methods and how AAPOR was able to attract new members with the skills to make those contributions. I also describe how AAPOR was able to maintain certain attributes that helped it become an umbrella for the methodological diversity needed for achieving and maintaining relevance in our rapidly changing world.

Essential Foundations that affected the potential for change

The foundation for the changes that would occur these last 30 years had been set in place much earlier. Until the early 1970s, face-to-face interviews were with few exceptions the only acceptable means of doing surveys. Mail was sometimes used, but with generally poor results from both sampling and response perspectives. The telephone was almost never used. Its use was restrained by the lack of a comprehensive sample frame of the general public, poor voice transmission capabilities, the hierarchical process of going through multiple operators in order to make calls, and high costs for long-distance calling. Three books, published one after another in the 1970s, introduced the telephone to a skeptical survey methodology audience—Blankenship (1977), Dillman (1978), and Groves and Kahn (1979).

A series of technological and structural changes made it possible to replace in-person with telephone interviewing for many of the nation's most important surveys, from political polling to government agency surveys in a short period of time (Dillman, 2005). These changes, included the standardization of telephone numbers (xxx-xxx-xxxx) with an embedded geographic location making it easy to develop national samples, as well as eliminate human operators as the cumbersome intermediary between callers and the called. The creation of WATTS (Wide area telephone and transmission service) reduced the cost of long-distance telephone calls dramatically. Household probability sampling methods, developed by AAPOR members Mitofsky (1970) and Waksberg (1978), while cumbersome in their infancy, made it possible to sample households randomly and with efficiency. RDD became a part of surveyors' standard vocabulary. Underlying these developments was the near universal presence of telephones in homes. When telephoning was combined with computer advances it became possible for CATI (computer assisted telephone interviewing) to do much more than simply connect interviews with respondents (Nicholls and Groves 1986).

These developments made it possible for survey organizations emphasizing state, city, and county survey populations to conduct surveys that in the past would have been prohibited because of cost, and to produce results far more quickly. Accompanying this change was increased organizational specialization with some survey organizations doing only telephone surveys. By 1990, telephone interviewing had mostly replaced in-person interviews for major national surveys. Methodological discussions at AAPOR conferences in the later 1980s were dominated by presentations on various aspects of collecting data by telephone.

Mail survey methods were also exhibiting significant development, and becoming a data collection approach that could obtain response rates comparable to telephone (Dillman 1978). However, they were primarily used for specialized population surveys because of the lack of high-quality address-based sample frames. However, the use of postal surveys was such that one or two sessions were devoted to mail methods at each annual conference.

Prior to the 1990s, AAPOR had been focused largely on the study of public opinion, with its conferences and journal emphasizing the nature, sources and effects of public opinion in society. The study of methods for ascertaining and understanding changes in public opinions was a necessary, but a seemingly less important part of its work. When an expert panel identified "Fifty

books that have shaped Public Opinion Research” in 1995, only 11 of the 50 books were about methods. Among the 15 books that were unanimous selections for inclusion, just four of them were focused on methods (American Association for Public Opinion Research 2019c).

However, the groundwork for achieving a greater emphasis on methodology was laid during the 1980s in papers at AAPOR-sponsored conferences and at least four critical books that would result in a dramatic expansion of AAPOR interest in research methods. The first of these books was *Telephone Survey Methodology* (Groves, Biemer, Lyberg, Massey, Nicholls II, and Waksberg, eds., 1988) that published papers from an AAPOR-sponsored conference. It summarized the rapidly expanding information on how to do effective telephone surveys and solidified support for telephone as the likely replacement for most in-person interviews

A second book, *Survey Errors and Survey Costs* by Robert Groves (1989) provided a detailed case for a more complete treatment of survey errors, articulating the importance of simultaneously reducing coverage, nonresponse, sampling and measurement as sources of survey errors, and how they are affected by cost considerations. This framework, which became a guide to future research on obtaining more accurate results, encouraged surveyors to move beyond simplistic measures of survey success such as the excessive reliance on sample size and response rates for assessing the likely accuracy of results.

Earlier in that decade, two books had built the case for the scientific study of measurement effects in surveys. One of these books, *Questions and Answers in Attitude Surveys*, by Howard Schuman and Stanley Presser (1981) had showed through experiment after experiment how seemingly minor changes in wording could dramatically influence answers to a wide variety of survey questions. This work utilized rapid advances that had been made in telephone survey methodologies in conjunction with in-person interviews, to build the case for more study of measurement issues. A second book, *Cognitive Aspects of Survey Methodology: Building a Bridge between Disciplines* (Jabine, Straf, Tanur, and Tourangeau 1984), brought additional perspective to the need for public opinion researchers to utilize cognitive science perspectives in order to improve measurement in surveys.

From the early 1990s to the present, AAPOR has undergone a huge change in the emphasis given to research methods, some of it by choice, and other aspects that were necessary in order for AAPOR to remain relevant. The number of methodological topics included in annual conferences, and other activities expanded greatly during this thirty-year period. In addition, participation in the annual conference, which had reached 300-375 participants in the 1980s climbed to around 500 in the 90s, and 1000 in the first decade of the 21st century. Participation has now surpassed 1200 in each of the last three years, 2017 to 2019. There are many reasons for this growth.

From its founding in 1947 AAPOR had a diverse membership, representing a variety of disciplines and backgrounds—political science, sociology, economics, and marketing research to mention a few. Members were also employed in different ways. Some worked for commercial companies, while others worked for universities or the government. A common thread of interest was conducting surveys and interpreting the results. Election trends and polls were one example

of how academic researchers and private sector organizations needed to connect with each other. All members were, and are still required to sign a Code of Professional Ethics and Practices.

Since AAPOR's founding in 1947, it had become a mandatory professional affiliation and annual conference for many professionals. From its beginning, AAPOR included people who were focused on theoretical ideas about public opinion formation, mostly from universities. But it also attracted professionals who were concerned with the practical aspects of mounting surveys that produced accurate results. Professionals who conducted political polls, and got regular feedback on whether those polls were successful in predicting outcomes, found it important to be there. And, university researchers learned a lot from their sharing of methods and results.

Another reason for growth was the nature of AAPOR's by-laws that required key officers of the organization to alternate between being employed in commercial and non-commercial organizations:

In odd-numbered years the candidates for Vice-President/President-Elect are restricted to members from commercial organizations and the candidates for Associate Conference Chairperson and Councilor-at-Large will be restricted to members from non-commercial (e.g., government, university, and/or non-profit) organizations. In even-numbered years, the opposite restrictions apply so that officers in these positions rotate each year between commercial and noncommercial organizations. (American Association for Public Opinion Research 2019a).

This structure was intended to provide incentive for maintaining a strong connection between theory and practice, rather than gravitating to a singular focus on one or the other.

Yet another reason for AAPOR's growth was the fact that it focused heavily on creating an inviting user experience. From its founding until after 2000, conferences were held in hotels or resorts small enough that they could be filled completely by members for the duration of the conference. The experience involved having relatively few competing sessions so that at group meals, which ran throughout the conference, attendees could share ideas about the presentations they had just heard. Members located meeting sites and made the local arrangements. Its respected journal, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, although operated by AAPOR, was owned by Columbia University until ownership was transferred in 1987.

As discussed below, each of these issues came into play as AAPOR responded to the challenges of the last 30 years. They also contributed to survey methods becoming the dominant focus of AAPOR's work.

The 1990's—recognizing the need for fundamental change

This decade was a challenging time of change for survey methods. The portion of AAPOR meetings devoted to methodological research had previously resulted in meeting sessions becoming labeled simply as in-person interviewing, telephone interviewing, and mail surveys. However, most methodological sessions in the 1980s emphasized surveys over the phone, the most used mode for household surveys at that time. In addition, there was an established

tradition of topical sessions, ranging from political polling to substantive research on health, education, and other societal concerns. Every session, was expected, if not required by the organizers to have a discussant.

A subtle change began appearing in the annual AAPOR conference program in the early 90s as sessions on the problems associated with telephone interviewing became more prevalent. Response rates were undergoing an obvious decline. It was also apparent that the internet and mobile phones were beginning to work their way into people's lives. The technology to facilitate their adoption and use was continuing to develop as reported annually at the AAPOR conference. Most people did not yet have access to the internet, and connections were slow. Conference sessions in the early 1990s were less about surveying directly over the internet, than improving computer capabilities. Acronyms were created, such as CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) and CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interviewing), and CASI (Computer Assisted Survey Interviewing).

In addition, the groundwork was laid for researching and trying to understand the effects of human cognition. The early 90s saw a gradual increase in attendance at the annual AAPOR conference, from 500 in 1990 to 765 in 2000. This increase was partly the result of greater participation from surveyors, especially from the government, many of whom had little or no interest in measuring public opinion. Instead they were focused on ways to improve the design and implementation of surveys to determine attributes and behaviors of survey respondents.

One reason for this increase in conference participation is that creative ways were found for including more participants in the program that had usually begun on a Thursday evening, and ended at noon the following Sunday. More sessions were scheduled simultaneously than in the past. Poster sessions were added, with one small session in 1993, expanding to three, only two years later. In addition, creative ways of getting more presentations into less time was achieved, by introducing "methodological briefs." Each presenter was limited to ten minutes without a discussant.

In 1995, AAPOR conference attendees identified as 42 percent academic, 39 percent commercial, 10 percent government and 6 percent nonprofit. This heterogeneity contributed to the attractiveness of AAPOR as a meeting place. Innovations were needed in how surveys were designed and implemented, and the quite different employment interests of attendees was helpful in moving innovation along at a quicker pace. Commercial organizations were usually faster at trying new ideas, including how to begin doing internet surveys, than were either universities, which typically had to seek and secure outside funding, or government that needed a multiple-year planning and testing process prior to implementing new survey methods. In addition, election polling provided regular tests of whether methods resulted in accurate prediction of election results. Individual sessions at AAPOR often included presentations from participants representing all employment sectors.

Another feature of AAPOR that encouraged greater participation in its annual conferences was that papers did not have to be written prior to submission, as was often the case for academic meetings. Results presented in May of each year often came from field research completed only

a month or two earlier. In addition, AAPOR meeting participants could expect that methodological presentations would appear in nearly every time slot throughout the meeting. These features attracted survey methodologists from multiple disciplines. Although some disciplines included survey design issues in their professional conferences, such sessions were often a very small part of those meetings. AAPOR became recognized as a meeting place where survey methods sessions permeated nearly every time slot of the meetings.

Surveying over the Internet began to occur in earnest in 1997. The 1998 Annual Conference in St. Louis included three sessions on internet surveys. Two years later the conference in Portland, Oregon, was intensely focused on the Internet, with nearly every time slot including some aspect of surveying over the web. The excitement generated by this new approach to surveying was palpable, as virtually all of the Internet sessions overflowed the rooms to which they were assigned. Not surprisingly, a record attendance of 765 people was achieved. It was also evident that the proportion of AAPOR sessions devoted to methodological papers was continuing to increase.

Along with the interest in surveying over the Internet, a few papers were focused on understanding how interviewing differed from self-administration. Based upon the past, it was assumed by many surveyors that only interviewing could produce quality data. Serious attention being given to the Internet also encouraged funding of research on whether answers to surveys would differ when relying on visual communication, and papers on this topic began appearing in AAPOR meetings as the 20th century came to a close.

Another change was the inclusion of sessions on qualitative methods, for example the development of cognitive interviewing methods and uses of focus groups, which had evolved from Jabine et al's (1984) work that had promoted concerns about cognitive aspects of measurement. Finally, a major shift in focus seemed to be occurring from response rates, which many practitioners then relied on as a single indicator of successful survey implementation, to nonresponse error, as had earlier been articulated by Groves (1989).

Individual presentations at the annual conference increased dramatically from around 175 to over 300, in large part because of the innovation of poster sessions, innovation of methodological brief presentations, and fewer sessions with discussants. These changes allowed more presentations to be packed into the available time slots. It was also clear that AAPOR had been transformed into an organization whose major focus at its annual conference was on research, and especially survey methods. In addition, the stage had been set for AAPOR's influence on innovating new methods to grow through providing new services to members and the building of connections with other organizations having survey interests, both nationally as well as internationally. Intense interest in survey research methods existed among nearly all segments of AAPOR's membership.

One of the developments in AAPOR in the 1990s that became immediately relevant to methodology was the creation of AAPORnet, a listserv on which people could offer opinions, inform others of events, and ask for advice on methodological questions and expect to receive answers. Regularly, members asked questions like: "Should I avoid surveying at particular times

of the year like the Christmas holidays,” and, “Where can I get information on the best way to survey 6th and 7th grade children?” This listserv is more active on survey issues than those supported by any other professional organization. It was developed with leadership from James Beniger who became the 1997-98 AAPOR President. It grew out of a tradition established in the lunches and dinners of the traditional AAPOR. The AAPORnet tradition carries forward to the present, and is read daily by a significant portion of the membership.

In 1986, AAPOR members had provided leadership for organizing a topical conference on telephone survey methodology. This was the first of a series of special topic conferences organized in collaboration with the Survey Methods Section of the American Statistical Association and other organizations. These conferences, each of which attracted 300-400 participants, echoed the transformation occurring in AAPOR with regard to new issues influencing survey design. Important papers from these conferences were meticulously edited and published in a manner that each would become a major reference book for survey methodologists.

Table 1. Co-sponsored methodology conferences for which AAPOR members provided significant leadership.

Date Held	Book produced	Date Published
November 1986 Charlotte, NC	Telephone Survey Methodology (eds.) Groves, Biemer, Lyberg, Massey, Nicholls II, and Waksberg	1988
November 1990 Tucson, AZ	Measurement Errors in Surveys (eds.) Biemer, Groves, Lyberg, Mathiowetz, and Sudman	1991
April 1995 Bristol, UK	Survey Measurement and Process Quality (eds.) Lyberg, Biemer, Collins, de Leeuw, Dippo, Schwarz, and Trewin	1997
October 1996 San Antonio, TX	Computer Assisted Survey Information Collection (eds.) Couper, Baker, Bethlehem, Clark, Marin, Nicholls II, and O’Reilly	1998
October 1999 Portland, OR	Survey Nonresponse (eds.) Groves, Dillman, Eltinge, and Little	2002
November 2002 Charleston, SC	Methods for Testing and Evaluating Survey Questionnaires (eds.) Presser, Rothgeb, Couper, Lessler, Martin, and Singer	2004
October 2006 Atlanta, GA	Advances in Telephone Survey Methodology (eds.) Lepkowski, Tucker, Brick, de Leeuw, Japac, Lavrakas, Link, and Sangster	2008
June 2008 Berlin, Germany	Survey Methods in Multinational, Multicultural and Multiregional Context	2010

	(eds.) Harness, Braun, Edwards, Johnson, Lyberg, Mohler, Pennell, and Smith	
November 2012 New Orleans, LA	Hard-to-Survey Populations Tourangeau, Edwards, Johnson, Wolter, and Bates	2014
September 2015 Baltimore, MD	Total Survey Error in Practice (eds.) Biemer, de Leeuw, Eckman, Edwards, Kreuter, Lyberg, Tucker, and West.	2017
November 2017 Miami, FL	Advances in Questionnaire Design, Development, Evaluation and Testing (eds.) Beatty, Collins, Kaye, Padilla, Willis, and Wilmot	2020

Another effort undertaken by APPOR in 1998 under the leadership of Tom W. Smith was to establish standard definitions for response rates. Now in its 9th edition, it sought to standardize how authors calculate response rates for in person, RDD telephone, In-Person, Mail, Internet, mixed-mode, and establishment surveys. This document is now the most common reference for how response rates are calculated and reported in scientific journals (American Association for Public Opinion Research 2019b).

Throughout the 1990s, much of the discussion at AAPOR conferences revolved around which method of surveying was best. The Internet was seen by some as an undesirable threat to interviewer administered telephone and in-person surveys, with the result that survey quality would decline. The intensity of those debates, was temporarily addressed in three ways (Dillman 2000). One was to introduce procedures for doing viable web surveys. The second was to shift the discussion towards tailored design, recognizing that different populations, survey topics, and situations warranted the use of different survey designs. The third was to propose the use of mixed-mode surveys, as a way of improving response rates and data quality. Just as AAPOR evolved from an organization in which the drive was to find the best set of methods that could be applied to nearly all situations, the ideas of Tailored Design and the mixing of survey modes brought the decade to a close, and suggested likely discussions in the new century.

2001-2010—a turbulent time of change

As the 21st century began, survey methodologists were facing a multitude of problems that became the focus of AAPOR conference papers and articles in *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Traditional methods of data collection, especially telephone, were not working well. But neither was the newest one, the Internet, especially for the general public. The topics being investigated and reported on at AAPOR conferences and in its journal were focused on solving emerging problems, from response rates, to questionnaire design for different modes.

AAPOR’s co-sponsorship of special topic conferences continued during this decade. A book from the 1999 conference on shifting the survey error focus from response rates to nonresponse error was the first to be published (Groves, et al. 2002). A second conference on improving

question measurement through better testing methods, relying in part on qualitative methods appeared soon afterwards (Presser, et al. 2004). It was a logical follow-up to the emphasis on cognitive methods that developed during the 1990s' theoretical ideas into practical procedures for evaluating and testing questionnaires.

A third conference took another look at telephone surveys and the challenges it faced, being scheduled for 20 years after the pioneering effort of the 1986 conference (Lepkowski, et al. 2008). This conference made it clear that telephone interviewing faced huge, and perhaps insurmountable problems with both coverage and nonresponse issues. Response rates had declined from around 30 percent in the mid-90s to single digits by 2010 (e.g. Dutwin and Lavrakas 2012), At the same time, the proportion of households without landlines climbed from one to two percent to over twenty percent in 2010 (Blumberg and Luke 2019), as mobile phones began to replace them, turning this form of communication from a household to (mostly) an individual device. This change led to the need to combine household and mobile phone frames in sample frames. At this time, continued advocacy persisted for interviewing being the best mode of data collection, in many situations, and perhaps the only acceptable way of data collection in household surveys. Part of this defense, including the suggestion, supported through a meta-analysis, that low response rates were acceptable because that did not necessarily mean higher nonresponse error was being achieved (Groves and Peytcheva 2008)

It was also troubling that Internet surveys had coverage and response rate problems. The first AAPOR conferences of the 2000s had many optimistic presentations on doing Internet surveys, but there were also papers on the many problems that prevented relying on only email requests to conduct representative surveys. One problem was the lack of a probability sampling algorithm of email addresses for doing general public surveys, such as RDD had provided for telephone surveys. In addition, some segments of the general public had unacceptably low Internet access, and among those with access, many Internet users preferred not to respond to surveys.

One of the developments discussed frequently in AAPOR conferences early in this decade was the availability of all residential household addresses from the U.S. Postal Service that could provide an address-based sample frame that included virtually all residential households. It provided more complete coverage than landline, cell, or Internet addresses. It stimulated much interest as a household sampling sample frame, as reported in AAPOR conferences at this time. Although mail surveys, including those of ABS samples, were not suffering the same low response rates as telephone and Internet, the use of mail was seen as a major problem to potential users because of the extensive branching of questions that was easily handled, and encouraged, by both telephone and the Internet questionnaires.

Papers with quite different ways of utilizing ABS sample frames began appearing in AAPOR discussions. One approach was to utilize financial and other incentives deliverable by mail to improve response rates and compliance with survey requests. In addition, mailed survey requests that included incentives could also offer alternative modes of responding to the surveys, which some individuals, though not all, would be willing to do. Papers began reporting efforts to identify phone numbers associated with particular mailing addresses as a means of potential follow-up. Other papers encouraged obtaining and using multiple means of contacting

individuals whenever possible, showing that doing so could significantly improve the likelihood of both reaching all sample members and encouraging them to respond.

The use of multiple modes of contacting and seeking response from people raised significant concerns about measurement effects. Research reported at AAPOR revealed the existence of different mental processes being activated when people received aurally delivered questions than when they received them visually. The dominant influence of the prose was shown to be modified in various ways because of multiple visual languages—words, numbers, symbols and graphical layout. Each could independently influence how questions were processed, understood and answered (Christian and Dillman 2004, Tourangeau et al. 2004).

Traditionally, in-person interviews, telephone, and mail had each emphasized the construction of questions in ways that worked best for that mode, a trend that was also being encouraged for the Internet. It became apparent in the early 2000s that some of the measurement differences were coming from different constructions of questions that favored different modes, e.g., check-all questions on mail and the web vs. forced-choice for telephone (Smyth, Christian, and Dillman 2008). Another difference was the withholding of “no opinion” or “don’t know” categories on the telephone unless that option was requested by the respondent, vs. the need either to offer or completely withhold such categories in mail and questionnaires (Dillman and Christian 2005). A potential solution was unified-mode construction, i.e., structuring and wording questions the same across modes (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2009). In practice this could mean not using some of the new web possibilities such as drop down menus, when trying to achieve commonality across survey modes.

Ever since publication of, *The Art of Asking Questions*, the classic book by Stanley Payne (1951), which showed how the wording of questions could significantly affect answers to public opinion questions, AAPOR conference participants regularly gave attention to those issues. Sudman and Bradburn (1974) added to this tradition with their book, *Response Effects in Surveys*, and Schuman and Presser (1981) advanced the study of question structure and wording effects significantly with repeated experimentation on many types of questions. The turn of the century brought with it a clear recognition that visual self-administration affected respondent understanding and answers to survey questions. AAPOR conferences in the early 2000s included many papers proposing new principles, backed by experimental results, for writing specific questions and constructing questionnaires in ways that would achieve good measurement across survey modes (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2009).

Just as the 1990s witnessed a concentration on the cognitive aspects of responding to surveys, which was appropriate to an interview era, this first post-2000 decade also saw a significant shift towards understanding how respondent motivation affected survey errors. This was caused in part by the substantial, even frantic search for solutions to the problems of declining response rates for most surveys.

In sum, the early 2000s observed a host of related problems being investigated as potential solutions to the decline in effectiveness of telephone surveys. They include switching from interviews to self-administration, changing from survey sample frames that relied on telephone

numbers, bringing the wording and visual construction of survey questions in line with one another across modes, and incentivizing potential respondents in ways that would substitute for the persuasive powers of interviewers.

Discussions at AAPOR also began going in quite different directions in search of solutions. One of the reactions to the low cost of contacting people with requests to respond over the Internet, was to find ways for Internet-only surveys to produce acceptable survey results. These efforts took many forms. One was to recruit respondents by probability telephone surveys in which people were asked to become members of an Internet-only survey panel, even providing Internet access to those without it in order to improve representation. Another approach was simply to recruit anyone with interest in being part of an Internet panel in return for points that could be redeemed for prizes or cash payments. Statistical adjustments through weighting became a major part of this effort, showing considerable success in election polling efforts (Baker et al. 2010).

AAPOR discussions also became more international. Interest existed in conducting surveys in multiple countries. The involvement of survey methodologists from other countries in AAPOR had been encouraged through the special topic conferences of the 1990s, and the achievement of regular internet contact, which had remained limited in the 1990s. One tangible result was for regular sessions to appear at AAPOR meetings on how cultural attributes influence impacts on surveys. Another special topical conference in 2010, which featured the leadership of many AAPOR members, addressed these issues in depth. It produced a monograph on the use of survey methods in multinational and multiregional contexts (Harkness, et al. 2012).

Papers on the qualitative aspects of answering survey questions and cognitive testing of survey questions became a regular fixture of the annual AAPOR conferences. Testing methods had already become regularized in many government agencies as well as private sector organizations. A 2002 conference sponsored by AAPOR and other organizations that was focused almost entirely on methods for testing and evaluating survey questionnaires, provided impetus for regular AAPOR discussions throughout the decade. A related development was the development of eye-tracking to provide empirical measures of what people were seeing and doing when answering self-administered paper and web surveys.

AAPOR was becoming a complex meeting place where for three days, advocates for different ways of surveying could debate various possibilities as an alternative to the traditional ways of interviewing people. AAPOR members found during this decade that they could participate in the AAPOR conference, focusing almost completely on Internet surveys. Alternatively, they could focus on telephone interviewing. Or, they could focus on mixed-mode surveys. There were also tracks focused entirely on political polling. And, qualitative methods could also be the major focus of one's participation in AAPOR. Increasingly, there were in-depth sessions on health surveys, on Census surveys, and other specialized sessions. The more sessions and participants allowed, the greater the likely attendance. AAPOR had to make the choice between being a significant force about many emerging concerns, and focusing on one topic of special interest to current AAPOR leaders.

The individual interests created pressures for expanding the number of sessions where papers could be presented, but there were also counter-pressures. The value of AAPOR for many participants was to hear the same presentations, and at meals (all of which were shared as part of a required “American meal plan”), discuss what they were learning. This expectation had resulted in AAPOR finding small hotels, often remotely located, which could be taken over completely by AAPOR participants to facilitate this kind of togetherness. This had led to memorable meetings for many decades at somewhat remote locations such as Buck Hill Falls, PA, Delavan, WI, and St. Petersburg Beach, FL. AAPOR had valued its smallness, but the demand for covering a diversity of interests made continuation of this togetherness difficult.

Several significant changes in AAPOR during this decade were made in order to meet the diverse concerns and need for specialized learning experiences caused by the rapid increase in people coming to AAPOR for methodological reasons. In 2002, AAPOR reluctantly moved away from a one-person Secretariat and dependence upon volunteer members to develop details of annual conferences and locate meeting places. Instead, it turned to professional management firms whose job it became to put modern management practices into effect for better meeting AAPOR goals. Another much needed change was the decision to actively encourage organizations and product vendors, many of whom provided survey design services, including software, to conduct surveys.

Short courses, which had begun to be offered in the late 1990s became a regularized feature of the AAPOR annual conference with nine being offered in 2004. Topics ranged from survey sampling to methods for conducting web surveys. It became apparent that this was a much-valued feature of the AAPOR conference. In addition, the number of concurrent sessions increased to as many as eight, an unheard of possibility only a decade before. The total number of methodological brief sessions also increased with seven such sessions offered in 2007.

Also, in the early 2000s AAPOR began responding to the emerging need for guidance on using new methods by creating task forces to write and distribute expertly prepared reports. In addition, starting in 2005, a fifth “special” issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly* was added on a specialized topic that differed each year. Many of these special issues were focused on survey methodology issues: e.g., phone surveys in 2005, web surveys in 2008, and total survey error in 2010.

A new electronic publication, Survey Practice, was added in 2008 to provide quick availability of methodological procedures and the challenges of using them. Papers did not go through the extensive peer review, and many embraced an “ideas to consider” flavor. Thus, being “practical” remained a core concern of AAPOR.

A consequence of these changes is that a larger segment of AAPOR membership activities had very little to do with theories of how public opinions were formed and their consequences. In fact, many of the participants in meetings, for example government agency surveyors, ask almost no survey questions that concern opinions—their focus was on characteristics and behaviors. Theories of public opinions remained part of AAPOR’s interests, but one of particular interest to a declining proportion of conference attendees.

In retrospect, the opening decade of this century was one of great turbulence in pursuit of better survey science, while it was unclear where the use of survey methods was likely to head. But once created, diversity is difficult to reverse, and it was clear that AAPOR and survey methodology were on a trajectory of tailoring survey designs in different ways for various populations, survey topics, and data collection situations.

The decade came to an end with the 2010 AAPOR conference registering 1093 members where 500 presentations were made, both all-time highs. As an organization AAPOR also crossed the threshold of having more than 2000 members. It was now a very different organization, having gone through a turbulent decade of change.

2011-2020 Accepting Diversity as the New Normal

In the 2010s, mixed-mode surveys became increasingly normal, as evidenced by AAPOR conference presentations. Routinely, surveys began to offer multiple response modes, and where feasible, used multiple contact modes in order to improve response rates.

Web-push surveys utilizing a postal start, without initially responding to the option of responding by mail, became an increasingly common way of conducting surveys. Beginning in 2010, censuses throughout the world began using push-to-web efforts, with paper questionnaire and/or in-person follow-ups. Multiple countries adopted these procedures, including Estonia in 2010, followed by Japan and Australia in 2015, and Canada, in 2016 (Dillman 2017). The American Community Survey adopted these procedures in 2013, and also removed telephone as a major method of follow-up, going straight from paper questionnaires to in-person interviews.

The decline in RDD telephone surveys continued, with U.S. government surveys such as National Household Education Survey (conducted for the National Center for Educational Statistics) and the National Survey of Children's Health (conducted for the Maternal and Child Health Bureau) going through a process of change from RDD to web-push methods. RDD surveys continued for election surveys, where alternative web-only ways of predicting results were also being reported regularly at AAPOR conferences.

A dominant trend of the 2010s was the attempt by many to create Internet-only panels, taking advantage of the increasing penetration of the Internet. All of the AAPOR conferences included papers describing and comparing results from various panels in which people had agreed to answer multiple surveys, typically with some sort of remuneration. Comparisons between probability and nonprobability panels were frequent, and in some instances intense as the underlying error structures of these surveys were considered. Interest in panels of both types escalated significantly as RDD telephoning encountered increasingly unresolvable problems of obtaining responses.

It was becoming apparent that the major limitation associated with web-only surveys was less the lack of Internet access than it was people's willingness to connect to electronic links, especially when it came from an unknown source. Thus, discussions of trust, and how to foster it, became increasingly important in AAPOR discussions.

Perhaps the biggest change in AAPOR meetings during this decade was how to deal with electronic devices for contacting and getting people to respond to surveys. Release of the iPhone in 2007 represented a huge breakthrough in the practical application of new technologies. This device included five radios with different bandwidths for communication, huge advancements in processing power and flash memory, and was controlled by software instead of buttons. These advancements were all concentrated in a device that one could slide into a small purse or pocket, placed smartphones on a trajectory of rapidly increasing use (Friedman, 2016), changing the way people interacted with computers. Just as desktops had given way to laptops that people could carry everywhere with them, those were now being replaced with new and rapidly changing devices that made practical constant contact and communication. Data were being presented annually at AAPOR meetings that each year revealed people were both able and more likely to respond to survey requests on smartphones and tablets than they had the previous year.

This possibility made it necessary for survey designers to reconsider how questions could be more effectively displayed in the limited space allowed by the purse and pocket devices people were using to stay in touch with the world. These changes raised the specter of needing to change how questions were asked by other survey devices and modes (telephone and mail) in order to assure common measurement. Sessions on these topics became more prevalent at AAPOR meetings in the last half of this decade.

Smartphones also played a critical role in the decline of telephone interviewing. The ability to text messages quickly to others, began to replace voice calls, as the normal way of communicating with people. This huge cultural change made it increasingly difficult for asking people to complete an interview over the telephone. But, an even bigger problem for telephone interviewing was about to occur. Marketing efforts, some legitimate and others not, occurred with greater frequency. And, in order to get people to answer the phone, sponsors spoofed the source of the call as coming from the same area code, and often the same exchange of the number being called in efforts to get the one receiving the call to believe it was a local call. Response rates to RDD calls were reported by the Pew Research Center (2019) to have dropped from 9 percent to 6 percent, causing them to discontinue RDD calling (Kennedy and Hartig 2019). National efforts are being made to overcome the spoofing of phone numbers as the source of calls, but the damage may have been done, changing people's normal behavior from picking up on voice phone calls, to relying instead on one to leave a message.

One of the provocative themes that permeated AAPOR discussions in this decade was the promises and pitfalls associated with adaptive survey designs, whereby mid-survey decisions were made to emphasize getting respondents who were underrepresented among the early returns. One aspect of these discussions was to achieve a concentration of implementation resources on under-responding types of respondents, by using incentives, only following up with people in certain geographic areas, etc.

Another dominant theme of methods research in 2010's was the recognition that methods need to be appropriately tailored to different populations, topics and survey situations. Discussions became frequent about the best combination of modes and devices, contact modes, incentives,

and cost allocations that would work for one population or type of survey was not appropriate for another.

One was beginning to see discussions on how to rely on already collected data, or administrative records, to reduce the burden of surveys on survey respondents. Throughout the decade, several survey agencies had worked hard to get agreements with other agencies, with states, and in some cases private organizations. These efforts fostered intensive discussions about how to do this, while maintaining the privacy of individuals, and trust. The question of why do sample surveys at all was raised, but appeared to gain little traction. However, papers began appearing at the annual conference that relied on data from administrative records and multiple surveys conducted by different organizations to improve estimates of behavior on many different topics, from health practices to consumer expenditures.

Among the major changes happening in this decade was creation of another new publication, the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology*. It is a jointly-sponsored journal with the American Statistical Association, which began quarterly publication in 2012. As an outlet for work produced by AAPOR members, it was created to encourage a greater emphasis on statistical issues essential to producing high-quality survey results, responding to the concern that our flagship journal, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, had often deemphasized the detail required for explaining detailed methodological or statistical explanations. An example was the tendency for the *Public Opinion Quarterly* to turn methods articles into briefer research notes of 3,000 words or less, rather than the 6500 words allowed for regular articles.

The nature of presentations at AAPOR also continued to change. A significant separation developed between the AAPOR conference where in order to accommodate more authors and more ideas, as many as ten sessions were in 2019 scheduled concurrently. In addition, fewer discussants were included in the meetings, yet another effort to provide more opportunities for the increasingly diverse content available. Increasing proportions of conference papers were PowerPoint only and unlikely to make it into written and published papers. Efforts to preserve those results led to providing access, with presenter permission, to those PowerPoints. Written papers had evolved to being unexpected at the annual AAPOR conference, thus limiting the use of AAPOR as a place for getting initial reviews of written papers.

Two sets of activities critical to AAPOR's previous growth diminished in importance. The co-sponsored conferences on specific topics became a less used forum for encouraging detailed attention to a particular issue. The 2017 co-sponsored conference on questionnaire design was deemed a 15-year follow-up to the 2002 conference, just as the 2006 conference on advances in telephone methods had been a follow-up to the 1986 conference. However, a decline may be occurring in new special topic conferences, with only two conferences on new topics (Total Survey Error and Hard-to-Survey Populations) being convened during the most recent decade. However, these two conferences have special significance as events that intellectually and practically brought together the last three decades of changes in how to conduct high-quality surveys. The Total Survey Error conference accentuated the progress made in convincing surveyors that they must simultaneously deal with coverage, sampling, measurement and nonresponse errors in the design of all surveys as articulated by Groves (1989). The Hard-to-

Survey Conference recognizes another set of advances in tailoring different data collection approaches for different groups. It seems plausible if not likely that fewer special topic conferences on new topics may be held in future years. The typical five to six-year effort of getting a conference organized, held, and the results published later in a book, is an increasingly inefficient way of achieving topical impact.

The second set of changes is that although AAPOR short courses continue to be held at each year's annual conference, they too may be declining in importance. The short course market is to some extent shifting to regularly sponsored webinars by AAPOR, and other organizations. These efforts reach far more people who can benefit from them on a regular basis. AAPOR sponsored webinars now occur with nearly monthly frequency as the organization attempts to update members, and other audiences, on methodological developments without waiting for the annual conference to occur.

Towards the Future

AAPOR has undergone tremendous change in the last three decades, both as an organization and as a meeting place for creating and sharing information about surveys and other research methods. Membership in AAPOR has grown from about 1100 members in 1980 to over 2000 at present. Participation in its annual conference has more than tripled, from less than 400 participants in the 1980s to 1200 at present. There have been dramatic changes in how AAPOR reaches out to its members. It now has three journals instead of only one. It developed a standard way of reporting response rates for multiple types of surveys that is regularly updated and has become an expected standard for publishing survey research results in the journals of AAPOR, as well as other organizations. Short courses and webinars are now regularly provided to update members and non-members in various aspects of surveying. AAPOR has also become a source of task force reports aimed at providing critical reviews of emerging issues in survey research.

The growth and influence of AAPOR has occurred in part by its willingness to expand beyond public opinion research to examining survey design issues for all types of surveys, many of which have little to do with assessing people's opinions and attitudes. Its current web page describes AAPOR this way:

Founded in 1947, the American Association for Public Opinion Research is *the* leading association of public opinion and survey research professionals.

The AAPOR community includes producers and users of survey data from a variety of disciplines. Our members span a range of interests including election polling, market research, statistics, research methodology, health related data collection and education.

Membership in AAPOR is all about opportunity – the opportunity to learn from a diverse group of leaders in the survey and public opinion research field, the opportunity to network and exchange knowledge and the opportunity to improve how survey research is conducted and disseminated (American Association for Public Opinion Research 2019b).

AAPOR has maintained a focus on the study of all aspects of public opinion, especially through its journal, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, which began its 84th year of publication in 2020. However,

it is clear that methodological research now constitutes the largest aspect of its contributions to scientific knowledge and especially survey practice.

The shift towards greater methodological research and its application for conducting quality surveys, happened as dramatic changes had to be made in how surveys could be done. In 1990, the Internet was basically about email connections that large portions of professionals did not yet have or use, and web pages were a distant dream. It was also a time when mobile phones were a curiosity and the idea of building cell towers short distances apart throughout the country, also seemed like little more than a dream, and most of the needed technology for data processing, creating web pages, and transmitting large amounts of data did not yet exist. Thirty years later, the transition to an Internet world with seemingly constant contact through Smartphones and other devices, seems mostly to have occurred.

The manner in which AAPOR was able to respond to the methodological challenges raised by this transition relates to aspects of AAPOR firmly grounded in history. From its beginning AAPOR has had members of different disciplines, ranging from journalism and political science to statisticians and survey practitioners. It was also structured to include in its governance commercial, as well as academic and other non-commercial members. Some members of AAPOR tended to be theoretical while others emphasized the practical aspects of surveying. The annual conferences were organized to bring individuals together around meals, a practice which has been maintained.

One of the occasional outcomes of rapid change is for individuals with particular interests to separate themselves from one another, occasionally forming new organizations, or developing membership sections, having numbers of sessions allocated to particular sections, and basically competing with one another. In AAPOR the tradition of it being A Meeting Place has been maintained, by each year building the annual conference around submissions rather than allocating a set number of sessions to particular interest groups, as is commonly done by many professional organizations.

As 2019 came to a close, two important activities seemed to signal important changes likely to have a profound effect on issues that demand attention of AAPOR and its membership in the 2020s. One was a “Data Linkage” seminar sponsored by the National Academies Committee on National Statistics that was focused on linking surveys and administrative records, using the massive computer power that now makes it possible to summarize in a comparative way data from multiple sources, only some of which is from sample surveys. It included 50 posters prepared by representatives of U.S. statistical agencies reporting attempts to link different surveys and administrative records in order to strengthen confidence in statistical estimates (Committee on National Statistics 2019).

A month later, a webinar on “Data Collection with Apps, Sensors, and Wearables” was presented to a large audience of AAPOR members and their colleagues, evaluating the potential for such information to produce data that would supplement and, in some cases, replace data collected by traditional survey methods. (Kreuter and Keusch 2019). It is apparent that this possibility is now

receiving worldwide attention and will provide information that can be linked to both surveys and administrative records.

The future of AAPOR is difficult to predict, especially as the world moves beyond the singular use of survey data collection, analysis, and reporting of people's answers to survey questions. Data Scientist is used frequently as the title that describes organizational responsibilities formerly described simply as survey methodology positions. It's also apparent that the technology changes, which fueled much the change in AAPOR for the last three decades, is not over. It is important that AAPOR work to continue as a productive meeting place for dealing with more change, coming more quickly, and with consequences much larger than those that have occurred in the last three decades.

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4. Technology

Reg Baker

INTRODUCTION

Over about the last 60 years, technology has transformed the practice of market, opinion, and social research, and AAPOR has had an important role to play. In the spirit of “a meeting place,” AAPOR has provided a forum where researchers can come together to share their ideas, their experiences, their hopes and fears, all with the goal of sustaining and improving upon our ability to study and understand the human experience. Through its publications—*POQ*, *JSSAM*, *Survey Practice*, an expanding set of task force reports, short courses and webinars—AAPOR has documented our progress for current and future generations of researchers.

As with the other aspects of the AAPOR experience described in this volume, the story of technological advances in survey research is not AAPOR’s story alone. While the Annual Conference, *POQ*, and task force reports have provided a stage for the sharing of ideas and research outcomes, AAPOR has shared that stage with other professional associations and trade bodies both in the U.S. and around the world, as well as governments, companies, and individual researchers willing to take risks and experiment with new ways of doing things. But this chapter is about AAPOR’s experience and the efforts of others are mentioned only in passing, hopefully still giving them the credit they are due. By necessity, there also is some overlap with other chapters (e.g., Task Forces and Methodology) and readers are encouraged to consult them for more detailed discussion of these and other important aspects of the AAPOR experience.

THE AAPOR DILEMMA

Having written about technology and survey research on more than one occasion it is always tempting to begin by quoting from the 1987 supplement issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly* that celebrated the journal’s 50th anniversary (Bogart, 1987). As part of that issue, 16 well-known scholars and survey practitioners were asked to offer their visions of the future of public opinion research. In his response, Harold Mendelsohn described how “... the eventual ‘computerizing’ of the American home undoubtedly will contribute significantly to the speed, accuracy, and economy with which data will be gathered, analyzed, and readied for dissemination” (p. S183). James Beniger wrote that “a host of new technologies will ... make possible the real-time mass monitoring of individual behavior Survey research will increasingly give way to more direct measures of behavior made possible by new computer-based technologies.” (p. S175)

The previous year, AAPOR had joined with the American Statistical Association (ASA), the International Association of Survey Statisticians (IASS), and a broad set of government agencies, research companies, and foundations to organize a conference focused exclusively on telephone surveys. The conference was widely viewed as a sort of coming out party in which telephone surveys were accepted as a sufficiently robust methodology to be used confidently for a broad range of market, opinion, and social research purposes. Key to that acceptance in the U.S. was near-universal coverage of the population, estimated to be 93 percent in 1986 (Massey, 1998). While careful analysis showed that biases due to noncoverage and nonresponse were of concern, they were felt to be manageable through careful weighting (Thornberry and Massey, 1988).

But as is always the case with AAPOR and new methodologies, the story was not that simple. In his 1987 presidential address, Ron Milavski (1987) worried about the impact of the telephone on the interviewer/respondent relationship.

Because of the telephone, we have seen a change from personal interviews to impersonal methods of interviewing. Many of the early reports of polls in the late 1930s appeared first in *Fortune* magazine, then were reported once again in the pictorial *Life*. The reports in *Life* always showed pictures of real respondents, and often pictures of the interviewer. It was clear that these were real flesh-and-blood people who had well-defined, important roles. Today the typical situation involves a phone contact by a person carefully and deliberately trained to sound and act like a tape recording. Is it any wonder that some clients see nothing wrong with saving money on telephone interviews by using computers programmed to sound like people? (p. 438)

Milavski went on to worry about the emergence of field and tab companies “run as businesses by business people, some with no people with formal training in research methods in their management structure.” He ended by asking, “What happens to the quality of data when things like assignment of sample, selection of random starts, rotations, administration of split-forms, and callbacks are guided by principles of efficiency rather than research logic?”

Therein lies the AAPOR dilemma, what Warren Mitofsky (1989) described as a “persistent undercurrent that keeps surfacing” (p. 446). And it goes all the way back to Central City and the founding of the association. When a panel of George Gallup, Julian Woodward, Clyde Hart and Harry Field debated the value of standards, Woodward worried that with the increased use of polls there would be temptations to cut corners and to misuse them (Sheatsley 1992).

The Central City Conference adjourned without a consensus on standards, but the issue would soon come to a head again the following year in Williamstown where attendees came together to ratify a constitution and formally found AAPOR. On the issue of standards, Paul Sheatsley describes “a very low-key debate,” generally between commercial and academic researchers, noting that “the commercial researchers, who were at a numerical disadvantage, were on guard against any attempts by academics or others to restrict their research freedom” (p. 58). The debate ended with an agreement to establish a Standards Board that would provide a place to debate methodological issues but without established standards or any enforcement authority.

In his chapter, “The Imperfect, Durable Union” (1992) in *The Meeting Place*,” David Sills describes AAPOR as “an interstitial association” that mediates between “different segments of a distinctive professional community.”

It is inhabited by commercial market researchers, by academic social scientists, and by government employees, all different constituencies with different goals and career paths. They meet through AAPOR and at AAPOR meetings and, without surrendering the identity provided by their training or place of employment, they take on an added, shared identity through AAPOR. (p. 21)

That was and is the ideal, but realizing it has been especially difficult in two interrelated areas: sampling and the increasing use of technology in all phases of what we do. Each of the three groups Sills mentioned has different incentives. Commercial market researchers, as Milavski pointed out, do indeed live in a world where speed, price, and efficiency are key ingredients of success. Over about the last decade, there also has been an emphasis on technology-based

innovation as a point of differentiation. Academic social scientists aspire through publication to describe, refine, and apply theory to practice. Government employees have responsibility for enormously important official statistics whose value lies in their accuracy, reliability, and consistency over time. They also subscribe to the mantra, “In a democracy you need to count everyone.” The nonprofits and commercial enterprises with whom government agencies contract for much of their work configure their offerings to those requirements. These differing incentive systems are a key determinant of how those working within them view the promise of technology and how best to use it.

While there are exceptions, the most obvious model is one in which market researchers often are the first movers, applying some new technology to reduce cost and/or cycle time while maintaining a level of data quality and accuracy that is acceptable to their clients. These innovations typically have been viewed cautiously by academics and government researchers. They react with evaluations and experiments that over time—perhaps too much time to suit market researchers— build a foundation of theory and practice that leads to wider adoption, often to the point where the new method becomes the standard. Where this process most often fails is in dissemination of that research back to market researchers, and refinements discovered do not always become standard practice.

This pattern has played out among some of the most important innovations in the history of survey research.

TELEPHONE INTERVIEWING

On the face of it, telephone interviewing is the simplest of all the technologies we will discuss. Still, it was a source of great debate within AAPOR as it gradually replaced most face-to-face and mail surveys.

Market researchers led the way with increasing adoption of telephone interviewing starting in the 1960s. While the pioneers among them had been experimenting with the telephone prior to that, they were hobbled by high long-distance costs, poor voice quality, and low penetration. Where telephones were used it was often by interviewers attempting to set appointments with respondents for in-person interviews.

During the 1960s, much of that changed. WATS lines were introduced, which dramatically lowered long-distance costs. The invention of the area code system reduced the need for operator-assisted calls. Voice quality improved. By the end of decade, 87 percent of U.S. households had a telephone (Dillman et al., 2009). It was during this period that nationwide telephone centers began to emerge, but mainly for market research purposes.

The attraction of the telephone as a method for conducting surveys was clear from the beginning. It was less expensive than sending out staff to interview in person, especially across a wide geographic area. Data collection could be completed more quickly. Interviewers could be recruited, trained, and managed locally, giving the researcher greater control over survey administration and quality control of the interviewers’ work.

The 1960s saw some early evaluations of telephone surveys on the part of AAPOR members from all sectors as annual conferences routinely featured round tables where experiences were shared and issues debated. The issue of coverage was generally seen as a problem that would solve itself over time as more and more households adopted telephones. The debate soon shifted

away from feasibility of surveys by telephone to how to conduct them in ways that led to robust and reliable outcomes. Among the earliest was a 1969 *POQ* article (Kegeles, et al.) in which three University of Michigan researchers published the results of a 1964 experiment in which they conducted a national telephone survey on health-related issues and compared the results to similar studies done face-to-face.

From the results of the present study, as well as from those of other recent studies, it seems reasonable to conclude that the telephone holds great promise as a device for obtaining needed personal and social information. The validity of the information would appear to be as high when obtained from a telephone interview as from a face-to-face interview. The response rates for the telephone are quite similar to those obtained for face-to-face interviews, and the costs of telephone interviews, even for a national sample, are substantially lower. (p. 419)

In 1979, Groves and Kahn (1979) largely cemented this view, although they also pointed to enough differences in response rates, incomplete interviews, and response length to call for additional research. They also pointed to the potential for then-emerging CATI systems to support more sophisticated experiments capable of testing a wide range of potential differences that remained to be studied.

Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing

In 1971, Chilton Research Services conducted the first CATI survey (Fink, 1983). Other research organizations were quick to follow, including university-based research organizations at UCLA, UC Berkeley, and the University of Wisconsin, to name a few. By the early 1980s, the Census Bureau joined the movement and began its evaluation of the potential for CATI to collect official statistics.

Many of these early adopters tended to design and build their own systems. By the early 1980s, that burden was lifted as a number a relatively small group of companies offered systems for sale or lease. That, in turn, engendered a new debate about just what sort of capabilities a robust CATI system should include.

The earliest systems were quite basic and primarily focused on delivering instructions and questions to the interviewer's screen and the allowing the interviewer to record the response. Simple quality checks ensured that answers were within the allowable range for the question and any skip logic being used was properly executed. In time, systems evolved to give questionnaire designers and interviewers alike more flexibility to accommodate more complex questionnaires and to navigate them during the interview. Features such as text fills, complex skip patterns, response set rotations, behind-the-scenes calculations, creation of new variables, and the ability to suspend an interview and then come back at a later time to pick up where the respondent left off are but a few of the new features that soon became commonplace. It was during this period that systems developers solved the basic problem of how to represent even a very complex questionnaire as a computer program, setting the stage for future innovations in survey data collection.

The development of CATI systems was not limited to more efficient questionnaire administration and soon CATI requirements expanded to automation of the entire data collection effort. Nicholls and Groves (1986) described six categories of capabilities for CATI systems that soon became standard:

- Sample management;
- Case management and call scheduling;
- Interview administration;
- Interviewer monitoring;
- Record keeping of call, their outcomes, response rates, interviewer productivity, etc.; and
- Preparation for datasets of analysis.

Taken as a whole, the evolution of CATI systems further enhanced the attraction of telephone interviewing. The traditional advantages of lower costs and management control of the interviewing labor force were increased significantly. A variety of sampling techniques (especially list-assisted sampling) made calling efficiency even more efficient. But questions about data quality and how to improve it remained.

Data quality concerns

As noted earlier, few debated the cost and speed advantages of telephone interviewing compared to face-to-face, but the impact on data quality broadly defined remained an open question. Careful study of the methodological issues that underpin data quality are an essential part of the AAPOR mission, and its conferences and publications provided ample opportunity for debate and discussion rooted in empirical evidence. It was not until the 1989 publication of *Survey Errors and Survey Costs* (Groves, 1989) that the Total Survey Error (TSE) framework became the standard approach to assessing survey data quality, but survey methodologists had been investigating sources of error and how to mitigate them for decades. The most obvious cases focused on sampling where coverage had long been a concern, especially among those focused on government-funded work where the mandate was and is to count everyone.

As telephone studies increased in popularity, so did mode comparison studies that compared telephone results with those from face-to-face and mail. The focus was mostly on nonsampling error, of which the aforementioned study by Groves and Kahn perhaps the most well-known and widely cited. The widespread use of CATI made this kind of methodological research easier than it had ever been, and such studies became standard fare at AAPOR conferences.

By the early 1990s, telephone interviewing had established itself as the default methodology for surveys of all kinds. One study (Rudolph and Greenberg, 1994) of full-service U.S. research organizations found that 92 percent conducted telephone interviews, although only 60 percent used CATI. Over the 1990s, this would change and by the end of the decade, CATI would dominate. The one major exception was large-scale government data collections, many of which continued to rely on face-to-face. (More on this later.) Still, CATI or at least use of the telephone was not unheard of on major government data collections.

In the late 1980s, the Census Bureau had begun experimenting with CATI on the Current Population Survey (CPS) as part of a mixed-mode strategy in which the baseline survey was done face-to-face but subsequent rounds were conducted via CATI. The advantages of a CATI questionnaire, with its ability to manage complex skip patterns and use information from prior rounds, led to a complete redesign of the CPS questionnaire. In 1994, the new questionnaire was deployed both in CATI and on laptops (CAPI) for in-person interviews on a parallel survey designed to isolate potential differences in the basic CPS measures. Relatively minor differences

were discovered, but the overall improvements in data quality led to development of adjustment factors that analysts could use when working with time series the covered both the old and new data collection methods. (Dippo et al., 1994)

Interactive Voice Response

This was also the time when researchers at the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) began experimenting with touch-tone data entry (TDE) to collect monthly data from a panel of businesses. The initial panel recruitment was by traditional methods with responding companies that agreed to report a small number of numeric data items each month. Respondents were reminded when it was time to report and encouraged to call a toll-free number where they were prompted to enter their data using the keypad of a touch-tone phone. Early experiments yielded positive results in terms of improved data quality, reduced panel attrition and lower costs. The approach was successfully employed for a number of years and eventually transitioned to voice recognition in place of touch-tone (Clayton and Harrell 1989).

The early 1990s also saw the adoption of this same technology to household interviewing and, in particular, for public opinion research. Unlike the TDE application at BLS, companies such as SurveyUSA and Rasmussen Reports placed automated calls to random samples of phone numbers. Pre-recorded questions were played to respondents who answered using voice recognition. Despite initial skepticism, this method worked reasonably well when compared with live interviewer polls (Blumenthal, 2005). More recently, the FTC rule prohibiting automated calls to cell phones has renewed skepticism about the validity of the approach. Some providers supplement their IVR interviews with online surveys to achieve demographic balance. Yet despite challenges to the methodology, Nate Silver (2019) has awarded an A rating to SurveyUSA for its demonstrated accuracy over time. Rasmussen has fared less well with a C⁺.

TECHNOLOGY BITES BACK

It is tempting to view the last two decades of the 20th century as the salad days of telephone interviewing. Ongoing methodological research helped establish a set of best practices. Technological improvements enhanced the overall efficiency of the calling effort and quality of survey data. Telephone interviewing was increasingly the first choice when designing new studies and even transitioning existing studies from face-to-face. But as sunny as the outlook may have seemed at the time, there were clouds on the horizon.

First among them was increasing nonresponse. In 1969, Kegeles, Fink and Kirscht had described telephone response rates as “similar to those obtained for face-to-face interviews.” While mostly rendering a positive judgment about the efficacy of telephone interviewing, Groves and Kahn (1979) had noted that telephone surveys tended to produce more refusals and partial interviews than face-to-face and higher non-contact rates. In 2005, Curtin, Presser and Singer documented a dramatic fall-off in response rates for one of the University of Michigan’s flagship telephone surveys, the Survey of Consumer Attitudes. They found that response rates since 1980 had been declining by about one percentage point a year, with the rate of decline accelerating in the last ten years of the study period. This trend continues to this day. For example, the Pew Research Center recently documented the dramatic fall-off in their response rates from 36 percent in 1997 to just 6 percent in 2018 (Kennedy and Hartig, 2019).

Part of this nonresponse was due to declining cooperation with survey requests in general, including face-to-face. But technology played a role as well. Starting in around 1990, telephone

answering machines became increasingly common, making it possible for households to screen calls easily without actually answering the phone. In 1991, the Electronics Industry Association estimated that two out of every five households owned one (Ramirez, 1991). Over time, telephone service providers began offering caller-ID services that were even more effective at avoiding unwanted calls or simply calls from unfamiliar numbers. The growth of telemarketing further encouraged the purchase of devices and services directed at avoiding unwanted calls. Little wonder that the cost of telephone surveys began to rise as non-contact rates increased, more calls were needed to get a completed interview and response rates continued their long-term decline. And if telephone polls weren't already on life support, the spoofing of calls and other phone spamming are now a toxic addition. As troubling as all of this was and still is, the worst was yet to come.

Enter the Cell Phone

In 1984, Motorola introduced the first cell phone for consumer use. By 1990, more than five million Americans had a cell phone subscription (CTIA 2015). By 2000, that figure had increased by roughly 20 times, accounting for almost two-thirds of U.S. adults. To complicate things further, households began dropping their landline service and using cell phones exclusively, undermining the landline telephone sample frame that served as the foundation for RDD telephone surveys. In December 2003, 4.2 percent of U.S. households were wireless only. By 2010, that figure had increased to almost 30 percent. As of December 2018, slightly more than half of U.S. households were wireless only (Blumberg and Luke, 2019).

The historical challenge to telephone interviewing was limited coverage, a problem that was only solved when adoption reached a level and a frame existed where representative samples could be drawn. As households dropped from that frame, sampling was once again at the center of concerns about the validity of telephone surveys. The response from AAPOR was proportional to the threat, and some might say that it has been the association's finest hour—or to be more precise, decade.

In January of 2006, AAPOR joined with the ASA, the Marketing Research Association (MRA), the Council of American Survey Research Organizations (CASRO), IASS, and a broad group of industry stakeholders to sponsor a conference in Miami designed as a follow-up to the 1987 Charlotte conference that resulted in publication of *Telephone Survey Methodology*. Nicknamed "TSM II," the conference included sessions on all aspects of telephone interviewing (Lepkowski et al., 2008). It painted the picture of a much more complicated landscape than what researchers faced in 1987. As conference co-chairs Clyde Tucker and James Lepkowski (2008) noted in their introduction to the conference, "The invention that will prove most disruptive to traditional telephone survey methodology is the mobile telephone." (p. 8)

The following year AAPOR organized a three day "mini conference" of seven sessions within the Annual Conference (Lavrakas et al., 2007). Arguably, the most significant outcome of the miniconference was the AAPOR Council's decision to establish the first of four task forces focused on telephone interviewing. (For a detailed discussion of these and other task force reports see the chapter on Task Forces.) Under the leadership of Paul Lavrakas and Standards Chair Charlotte Steeh, (Lavrakas et al., 2008) the task force was given the mandate to "prepare a report that would provide survey researchers with information that should be considered when planning and implementing telephone survey with respondents who are reached via cell phone numbers in the United States." (p. 1) The Task Force delivered its report in April of 2008 and

recommended best practices in five broad areas: coverage and sampling, nonresponse, measurement, legal and ethical issues, and weighting.

The 2008 report was far from the last word, and research on all phases of the cell phone challenge continued. So much so that in 2009 the AAPOR Council reconstituted the original Task Force with the charge to update the 2008 report “to reflect the new knowledge that has been gained in the past two years from (a) a number of empirical studies . . . and (b) the wealth of new experience gained by cell phone survey practitioners in the United States.” (Lavrakas et al., 2010, p. 4) Under the leadership of Paul Lavrakas as Chair, the task force reported on new knowledge acquired in the same five areas as the previous report with the addition of two other major areas of concern: operational issues and costs.

Extensive as these two reports were, neither presented itself as the last word on any of these topics. Their recommendations confined themselves to transparency rather than setting out standards that all telephone surveys should follow. At the same time, defining the issues and summarizing research to date created a foundation for ongoing research that continues to this day.

The third report in this series – and in many ways the most ambitious – was developed by a task force created by the AAPOR Executive Council in 2014. Once again chaired by Paul Lavrakas and including a number of veterans from previous task forces, it took on the imposing task of predicting “what is likely to happen in the next decade (and beyond) with telephone surveying of the general public in the United States.” (Lavrakas et al., 2017, p. 1) In general, the report challenged the notion that telephone interviewing was dying or dead, soon to be replaced by online surveys. In this they assumed that:

- The RDD cell frame would continue to provide extensive coverage of the U.S. population;
- New data sources would become available that could be appended to telephone frames to improve sampling, weighting, nonresponse bias investigations, and other analytical needs;
- Survey sponsors would continue to insist on probability samples;
- The ability of interviewers to encourage cooperation and administer complex surveys would provide an enduring advantage over self-administration; and
- Improvements to weighting techniques would reduce bias due to nonresponse and other types of error.

We are now roughly half-way through the Task Force’s 10-year window, and it seems fair to say that events have moved much faster than anticipated. Two things in particular stand out.

First, sole reliance on the landline RDD frame became untenable as the majority of U.S. adults transitioned to wireless only households. Dual frame designs are now the standard. Second, response rates fell more quickly and deeply than assumed. See, for example, the previously cited Kennedy and Hartig (2019).

The fourth and final Task Force report (Dutwin et al. 2018) grew out of an ad hoc committee created by Council to examine the impact of cell phone applications that flag or block calls to cell phones. Unlike traditional answering machines, these apps often feed an online ecosystem in

which individuals can flag calls from specific numbers as spam or a robocalls with the potential that legitimate survey calls are broadcast as spam to be avoided. Reliable estimates of how many legitimate survey calls are being blocked are hard to come by, but data from the Behavior Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) suggest that the number of calls not being answered either due to call blocking apps or some other technological barrier in 2016 was around 8 percent and growing. (p. 11)

All of which is not to say that telephone interviewing is dead. The expectation of more mixed-mode, of expanded use of interviewers for recruiting and follow-up on longitudinal surveys, and the ability to use probability sampling methods continue to make it an attractive method, where time and cost allow. This is especially true among the academic and government researchers who are the majority of AAPOR members. In the market research sector where it all began, recent data from ESOMAR (2019) estimates that in 2018 just 15 percent of U.S. market research revenue was accounted for by telephone interviewing.

COMPUTER-ASSISTED PERSONAL INTERVIEWING

At a time when most survey research was forsaking face-to-face for the telephone many government surveys, both those fielded by units such as the Census Bureau as well as those contracted out, continued to field large national field staffs and face-to-face interviewing rather than convert to CATI. In part this reflected a reluctance to make a major change in method for fear of jeopardizing the robustness of long-term data series, many of which were a critical resource for governmental decision making including the distribution of funds for government programs. Previously cited mode comparison studies in the 1960s and 70s showed small, but potentially important, differences in response rates and interviewer effects. In addition, many of the questionnaires for these studies were long and complex, often relying on extensive information from previous interviews, and study designs sometimes required interviewing multiple household members. These features were somewhat unique, especially when compared to the market research sector. Thus, the development of CAPI was something of an outlier in that it did not originate in the market research sector, but rather to serve the specific needs of large-scale government data collections. In this, the main actors, at least in the U.S., were government agencies (especially the Bureau of the Census and the National Center for Health) along with the contractors who conducted many of these surveys, such as NORC, RTI, and Westat.

CAPI also was an outlier in that unlike CATI, which was invented and first deployed in the U.S., the development of CAPI was an international effort involving statistical agencies in the major western democracies including Canada, the UK, Sweden, the Netherlands, and France. Nowhere was this clearer than in the success of the data collection software system Blaise, developed by the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Netherlands and eventually used for CAPI studies by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the UK Office for National Statistics, and several government contractors.

Challenges overcome

The development of CAPI was inspired by CATI's success. The potential of improved administration of complex questionnaires and the reduction in post-processing suggested that gains in quality, speed, and cost savings were possible. But there was one major obstacle for CAPI to overcome: the need for a device on which the automated questionnaires could be run and the data stored prior to transmission to the central office. CATI software had evolved from

mainframes to minicomputers to PC-based networks, but it was not until the late 1980s that portable computers light enough to be carried into the field by interviewers and with sufficient battery life and processing power were available at a price point survey organizations could afford. While there was some experimentation with early tablets and Statistics Sweden went so far as to spec out the ideal field data collection device, the standard, commercially available laptop became the standard CAPI machine, now being replaced by tablets.

A second reason for the fairly rapid and widespread adoption of CAPI was methodological. The movement from in-person to telephone interviewing raised major concerns about the impact on the interviewer/respondent relationship. With CAPI, the disturbance was less concerning as interviews still were conducted face-to-face. Nonetheless, there were worries about data impacts due to loss of eye contact, interviewer focus, and the physical act of recording respondents' personal details, experiences and opinions on a computer. Field tests quickly determined that these fears were groundless.

The first national survey to use CAPI was the Dutch Labor Force Survey in 1987. The first successful national survey in the U.S. was the 1989 round of the National Longitudinal Survey, conducted by NORC. This survey also had an embedded experiment to assess the data quality and cost implications of migrating from paper and pencil to CAPI. The results of the experiments showed that data quality was improved and there was the potential for long-term reduction in costs (Baker et al., 1995). Many more surveys by both government and private organizations followed and by the mid-1990s CAPI had established itself as the preferred method for large and complex face-to-face surveys.

THE “COMPUTERIZATION” OF SURVEY RESEARCH

Thus far, we have focused primarily on the development of computer applications to administer survey questionnaires. Of equal importance was the development of a broad set of ancillary support systems that were a key part of delivering on the promise of better quality, faster turnaround, and cost savings. CATI required a system to manage sample, schedule calls optimally, monitor interviews, and deliver page after page of reports that were key to management of the calling effort. Similar systems were required by CAPI, with the added complication of delivering across a wide geographic area rather than a centralized location. They included systems capable of delivering sample to field interviewers, transmitting completed interviews back to headquarters, monitoring the progress and cost of the interviewing effort, and even making questionnaire changes on the fly.

In 1995, AAPOR once again joined with the ASA, IASS, and a number of national statistics organizations and survey research firms to organize a conference focused on “the use of computers for survey data collection, data capture, data preparation and the activities that support those tasks.” (Couper et al., 1998, p. xiii) The acronym CASIC (for Computer Assisted Survey Information Collection) was introduced, causing one wag to observe that it was the sort of acronym only the government could invent. Joking aside, the new term was meant to express the degree to which the use of technology had moved beyond computer-assisted interviewing (CAI) to “a general acceptance of computer technology as an integral part of the entire survey process” (p. 20) with broad implications for how survey organizations should be organized, managed, funded, and staffed. The 1995 conference and the published volume of papers subsequently

produced was a catalogue of applications and systems in use across a wide variety of research organizations, both within the U.S. and around the world.

Of particular interest to our story going forward was a chapter by three Census employees describing the use of computerized self-administered questionnaires (CSAQ). They defined the term as “computerized questionnaires that request information electronically from respondents without an interviewer present.” (Ramos, Sedivi and Sweet 1998, p. 389) Using various distribution methods CSAQ questionnaires were completed on respondents’ computers and then sent back to the survey agency. One form of CSAQ, disk-by-mail, was relatively straightforward to execute. The other methods, which involved the electronic distribution of the questionnaire, were more problematic technically. Coverage was an issue as well. Ramos and her colleagues understood that the future of CSAQ was dependent on the evolution of technologies that allowed them to easily reach a broader population than what was possible in 1998. One possibility was the Internet, which was only beginning to be broadly adopted.

The future of Internet, with or without low-cost access, is not easily predicted. The exponential growth of the Internet may or may not be maintained, and the security concerns that discourage its use may persist or be quickly resolved. Within a decade computers may become as common as telephone and television sets, and some futurists predict they will eventually merge in the same appliance. It also is possible that the willingness of the public to use the Internet to respond to surveys may prove disappointing. (406)

They concluded that part of the discussion by noting that some survey organizations already were conducting surveys via the Internet but urged caution in assessing their survey results. “While PC ownership and Internet/Web access are growing rapidly, they are still confined to a self-selected minority who are not representative of the general public.” (p. 406)

“A POLTERGEIST IN THE PANTRY”

The view of the future expressed by Ramos and her colleagues was pretty much mainstream in 1998, especially among AAPOR members from academia and government. One notable exception was the team that developed the TDE methodology for BLS. Inspired by growing Internet penetration among the businesses that comprised their sample, Richard Clayton and George Werking (1998) began redesigning their data collection process to rely on email and a Web-based data collection system. After a successful field test in 1996 they concluded that “the development of strong, fully automated data collection via the WWW is inevitable ...The results from this research may ultimately position the World Wide Web as the most timely, accurate, and cost-effective approach to establishment and household surveys.” (p. 562)

The emergence of online panels

In 1998, the Census Bureau estimated that 42 percent of U.S. households owned at least one computer and just 26 percent had access to the Internet (Newburger, 2001). Those with access were more likely than those without to be higher income, white non-Hispanic, married with children, and living in a metropolitan area. Further, there was no analogue of the RDD frame from which a probability sample could be drawn. In an echo of the early days of telephone interviewing, the market research sector was not deterred by limits in coverage. For years, several companies had been recruiting people to mail panels from which respondents could be selected to do everything from surveys to in-home product tests. While these panels were

generally managed to be demographically diverse, they were not probability samples. Beginning in the mid-90s, a handful of companies began to extend that model to the Internet.

The best known and most successful company, at least in the early years, was the Gordon S. Black Corporation, a small firm that grew quickly to become Harris Interactive. In 1998, the firm's namesake and a colleague, George Terhanian, laid out their vision in the online journal, *The Polling Report*. It called for a new model that recognized the twin challenges of coverage and the lack of a sampling frame for those already online.

Random sampling is a very powerful tool in every avenue of science and industry for increasing the accuracy of estimates while decreasing the cost of the process. . . We are not challenging the validity of random sampling. In fact, we employ random sampling daily in our telephone polling and believe that it is a wonderful statistical tool for those applications for which it is designed. We are instead investigating whether findings from huge samples of Internet respondents, coupled with sophisticated weighting processes, are as accurate as anything done on the telephone or door-to-door.

In 2000, Harris Interactive conducted a very public test of their methodology. Using samples drawn from their online panel of over a million volunteers, recruited through a partnership with the Internet portal Excite, they polled 73 races up and down the ballot of that year's national and state elections. The results exceeded their expectations. They reported them via the Roper Center publication, *Public Perspective* in an article fittingly titled, "Touchdown!" (Taylor et al., 2001) More fundamentally, it defined the terms of the sampling debate for the next decade. It allowed online panel evangelists to make the simple empirical argument—"it works"—to counter the skeptics who wanted either a traditional probability sample or a theoretical basis around which a new theory of sampling could be constructed.

The success of the 2000 test was all the market research sector needed to begin the transition of studies of all kinds, from telephone to online. The twin advantages of speed and reduced cost made online surveys attractive to clients, and the ability to easily repurpose existing questionnaires minimized disruption. Five years later, the now defunct *Inside Research* estimated the total global spending on online research at just over \$2 billion per year and growing rapidly, virtually all of it relying on nonprobability samples from online panels of volunteers.

As an aside, it is worth noting that this embrace of online panels on the part of the market research community differed from the Harris approach in one very important way. Much like some had argued in the early days of telephone interviewing, Harris relied on "sophisticated weighting processes" to correct the bias inherent in the online panel model. Extensive research comparing samples from telephone studies with those drawn from their online panel provided the basis for a proprietary adjustment technique utilizing propensity scores. For whatever reasons, their competitors never bothered, mostly sticking to simple demographic weighting to create the appearance of a representative sample. Simple convenience sampling to match predefined quotas ruled the day and pretty much still does.

AAPOR's official response to these developments was less than hospitable. For the Thursday night Plenary at the opening of the 1998 Annual Conference, Mark Schulman invited the CEOs of three major market research firms to a program titled, "The Market Research Industry in 2010." Gordon Black was one of the three and he used the opportunity to present his views on

how online surveys would soon replace telephone surveys, and the sampling methods that would make that possible.

Two days later in his President Address, AAPOR President James Beniger struck back (Beniger 1998). He bemoaned “the sudden emergence of the World Wide Web, which has popped up here, there, and everywhere at this conference, often where least expected, like a poltergeist in the pantry.” (p. 442) Responding in particular to Gordon Black, he went on to say, “I believe, what Dr. Black proposed on Thursday night will be viewed as a step in the wrong direction, leading down a wrong path for survey researchers to take onto the World Wide Web.” (p. 444) The key issue, of course, was the sampling, which he saw as undermining the laws of statistical inference, the foundation of scientific surveys.

To be fair to Beniger, he was no Luddite. In 1998, the Internet was still a new thing, full of potential for good or for ill. In his address he also described a future that looks a lot like what we have come to call ‘big data,’ with all the potential research value inherent in a world where data are no longer scarce and expensive, but plentiful and accessible. Yet he also worried about what we have come to call “the democratization of survey research,” that is, the ability of anyone with a computer and an Internet connection to design and conduct a survey without the knowledge and skill to do it properly.

He was not alone in his concerns. On the heels of that Annual Conference the AAPOR Executive Council released a statement that left little room for doubt about the association’s views on emerging online sampling practices. The release (AAPOR, 2000) began by saying, “Many Web-based surveys fail to represent the views of all Americans and thus give a misleading picture of public opinion.” After citing some recent spurious findings from online surveys (to counter the empirical argument) the statement went on to note the twin problems of limited household Internet penetration and the volunteer character of online panels. In its conclusion, Council left no doubt as to AAPOR’s view: “Only when a Web-based survey adheres to established principles of scientific data collection can it be characterized as representing the population from which the sample was drawn.”

Beniger had concluded his address at Conference with a challenge to all AAPOR members: “I’d like to see AAPOR pioneer the new survey research, as it did the old” (p. 452). And indeed, the first serious try at that was already underway. In 1997, two political scientists at Stanford University, Norman Nie and Doug Rivers, had founded InterSurvey (subsequently renamed Knowledge Networks). Their approach, loosely based on the model successfully used by Willem Saris in the Netherlands (Saris, 1998), was to honor “the laws of statistical inference” via a design that differed from the Harris methodology in two fundamental ways: (1) they recruited their panel via RDD telephone and (2) they provided their panel members a connection to the Internet via WebTV.⁴⁵

While the probability sampling approach was appealing, the cost of building and maintaining the panel was significantly higher than the online intercept method used by Harris and others. While Knowledge Networks offered a panel that numbered in the tens of thousands, the competition boasted millions. There also were limits on questionnaire length and functionality imposed by the WebTV platform. Thus, the Knowledge Panel, as it came to be called, along with a handful

⁴⁵ A set-top box that connected to a TV and telephone, with a keyboard and mouse. Panelists connected to the Internet via a standard modem.

of others like it, were limited to relatively short and straightforward surveys at the national level. They generally lacked the capacity to survey low-incidence populations or small geographic areas.

Over time, increases in household Internet penetration, a move to address-based sampling for recruitment, and migration away from WebTV to standard browser-based questionnaire administration improved the capabilities and competitive position of Knowledge Networks. In 2011, the company was acquired first by the market research firm GfK and more recently by another market research firm, Ipsos. Roughly 20 years after its founding, the total size of the panel still is around 55,000 members.

Despite the KnowledgePanel's small size compared to other online panels, it continues to be attractive to researchers whose work requires a probability sample but who have been deterred from the telephone due to rising costs and single-digit response rates. A handful of other panels using a similar design have emerged in the U.S. and Europe. Perhaps the two best known in the U.S. as of this writing are Pew's American Trends Panel and NORC's AmeriSpeak.

Measurement error

Despite AAPOR's strong initial reaction to the emergence of online panels, annual conferences continued to feature papers focused on online surveys and do so to this day. Mode comparison tests (online versus telephone) were especially popular and generally found significant differences. However, those differences have been difficult to interpret because these tests typically confounded sampling method and mode effects (interviewer administration versus self-administration).

The move to self-administration was a legitimate cause for concern. Although mail surveys were popular when cost was important and time allowed, interviewer administration had long been the norm, either in-person or via telephone. In addition, it was widely believed that well-trained interviewers were an essential ingredient that led to high response rates on the one hand, and low levels of item nonresponse on the other. But where some saw danger others saw opportunity. The former worried about how hearing question-and-answer options read by a trained interviewer versus a respondent reading them on a monitor screen might influence the answers. Given previous research comparing mail- with interviewer-administered surveys, this concern was well founded. The latter saw great potential in leveraging the interactivity of the Web to create a richer and equally engaging respondent experience that would lead to improved data quality.

In the early years of online interviewing, the survey tools were primitive, and an online questionnaire was essentially a mail survey posted on a website. Researchers had become accustomed to the software tools used for CATI and CAPI that made it easy for interviewers to administer complex questionnaires with elaborate skip patterns and a wide range of error checking and resolution during the interview. In the days of paper and pencil, those responsibilities fell to the interviewer or were handled post data collection with a combination of manual and automated checks. As software improved, it became possible to include much of the functionality questionnaire designers were used to, but then a second set of problems emerged. Without an interviewer to engage with respondents and manage the pace of the interview, evidence of extreme satisficing and even fraudulent behavior emerged. The incentive-driven character of online panels sometimes led panel members to complete as many surveys in as short a time as possible, sometimes even lying in order to qualify. While these extreme behaviors were

seldom of a magnitude to significantly impact survey results, they were worrisome enough to result eventually in tools to detect and reduce their impact.⁴⁶

By far, the more interesting questionnaire issues were those that focused on how to use the power of the Web to create a more engaging interview, and even provide some of the quality assurance functions normally handled by interviewers. In the former category were such things as use of color, orientation and spacing of scales, images including video, Web “gadgets” (e.g., drop-down boxes, sliders, drag and drops) and progress bars that displayed the estimated time remaining to complete the interview). Other innovations included prompting when a question was skipped, or a nonsubstantive answer selected and even warning a respondent when he or she appears to be moving too quickly through the survey.

In all of this, the techniques used to study measurement error with CATI were key. The automation of both sampling and interviewing made the execution of experimental designs easier than it had ever been. Respondents could be allocated to different treatments, their clicks and movements tracked and analyzed. Annual Conference programs became rich with reports on such experiments and the field advanced more quickly than what was possible in the days of pencil-and-paper questionnaires.⁴⁷

Sampling again

Unfortunately, all of this impressive work on questionnaire design and measurement was not matched by advances in online sampling. In commercial market research nonprobability panels were proliferating and growing rapidly as online surveys were gradually becoming the preferred method.

Within AAPOR, the attitude is probably best described as “nothing to see here.” The official view was aptly summed up by Cliff Zukin in his 2006 Presidential Address:

Standards Chair Nancy Mathiowetz and I spent a lot of time this past year reminding journalists and survey organizations that one cannot compute a margin of sampling error on nonprobability surveys, such as opt-in Internet polls. We have had cases of organizations who are flat-out inaccurate in their disclosure on this matter or who, while not technically inaccurate, appear to be at best confusing, or perhaps even disingenuous, in their discussion of sampling error on nonprobability surveys. (430-431)

That began to change in the fall of 2008 when the AAPOR Executive Council established the first of two task forces aimed at educating survey researchers about online panels and sampling—when to use it and how to interpret the results. This first task force was charged with “reviewing the current empirical findings related to opt-in online panels utilized for data collection and developing recommendations for AAPOR members.” As with the first cell phone task force, Council specified that the charge did not include development of best practices, but rather should “provide key information and recommendations about whether and when opt-in panels might be best utilized and how best to judge their quality.” It was formed in October with Reg Baker as chair. The Task Force delivered its report in June of 2010 (Baker et al., 2010).

⁴⁶ For further discussion see Baker et al. 2010, pp. 753-757.

⁴⁷ Much of this work is summarized in Roger Tourangeau, Frederick G. Conrad, and Mick P. Couper, *The Science of Web Surveys*.

As requested by Council, the report attempted to educate the reader about online panels and overview empirical research aimed at assessing panel quality and accuracy. The two main conclusions were: (1) when accuracy is essential, nonprobability panels should be avoided and (2) there are circumstances when such panels may be fit-for-purpose. One obvious example cited was methodological experiments.

The report also pointed to the potential value in sampling methods used in other disciplines. Most online panels relied on relatively straightforward purposive sampling, while techniques loosely called “model-based sampling” might be an alternative worth investigating. That conclusion led commissioning of a second task force with Reg Baker and Mike Brick as co-chairs (Baker et al., 2013). Its mission was “to examine the conditions under which various survey designs that do not use probability samples might have scientific merit and therefore be expected to produce estimates that are fit for their planned use. A key conclusion of the report was that, unlike probability sampling, there was no single nonprobability method but rather a range of methods with varying levels of rigor and accuracy. It further concluded that there was sufficient successful use of nonprobability methods in other disciplines to warrant further investigation into potential applications to surveys. That work continues.

Game Changer: The Smartphone

We have seen how the widespread adoption of cell phones disrupted telephone interviewing. The main thrust of that disruption was sampling related, but there were other issues as well, including respondent safety, confidentiality, environmental distractions, telephone charges, interview length, and so on. The evolution of the cell phone to the Smartphone and its rapid adoption constituted a disruption of a different sort. While coverage issues were part of that, the primary disruption was in the design and execution of online surveys, and once again, commercial market researchers led the way.

The rapid adoption of cell phones and their successful integration into standard telephone methodology unwittingly set the stage for the next major innovation in online research. Researchers were quick to recognize that cell phones provided a new and different opportunity for communicating with potential survey respondents. In theory at least, SMS made it possible to conduct simple surveys, but its limitations made it impractical. Then, in June of 2007, Apple released the iPhone and with it two features that changed the game: (1) the ability to browse the Internet much like a desktop computer and (2) the ability to run apps capable of doing all kinds of things, including surveys. In 2010, Apple followed up with the first iPad with many of the same functions as the iPhone but with a larger screen. Other manufacturers followed and soon everyone was talking about mobile.

Still, survey researchers pretty much stood pat. While there was a good deal of discussion about the potential of mobile surveys via Smartphones and some experimentation, it was mostly considered a niche application. Some companies developed mobile panels that they equipped with their own survey apps, but most of the major panel companies continued to use their Internet panels and rely on browser-based survey administration.

This approach only changed when respondents took matters literally into their own hands and began responding to email invitations to online surveys via their mobile devices. It quickly became clear that current practices in survey design were unworkable on the small Smartphone screen. Further, the age and income bias in Smartphone ownership meant that important

demographic groups were being excluded when surveys meant to be completed on a desktop could not be completed on the small Smartphone screen. The intolerance of Smartphone users for long surveys made the problem even worse. Online survey design was back at square one.

To its credit, AAPOR saw this coming and in 2012 the Executive Council formed an Emerging Technologies Task Force with the remit to focus on two critical areas: (1) data collection on mobile devices, and (2) social media as a public opinion resource. Two co-chairs—Michael Link and Joe Murphy—were appointed and in 2014 two reports were issued: “Mobile Technologies for Conducting, Augmenting and Potentially Replacing Surveys” (Link et al., 2014) and “Social Media in Public Opinion Research.” (Murphy et al., 2014)

The Mobile report (The Social Media report is discussed in the next section.) overviewed current and likely future developments in use of mobile devices (mostly Smartphones and tablets) in three broad areas: (1) mobile surveys; (2) augmentations beyond surveys (e.g., GPS tracking, photos and videos); and (3) respondent privacy. A fourth area listed broad set of concerns for future research.

A major theme of the report is the absence of a research record from which it might be possible to distill best practices. “The current state of knowledge about the dynamics of mobile surveys is less advanced than is needed for a full understanding.” (p. 4) While the extensive list of references in the report suggests a significant amount of experimentation already had been done, the text is mostly a cautionary tale of uncertainties about potential uses, likely fit for the kinds of projects AAPOR members might undertake, and the need to do more research to serve as a foundation for development of best practices.

The AAPOR report stands in stark contrast to *The Handbook of Mobile Market Research: Tools and Techniques for Market Researchers* (Poynter et al., 2014), also published that same year. In the introduction to the first chapter the authors summarize the role of mobile in market research in 2014.

Mobile market research is a topic that had been forecast as the next big thing in market research for more than ten years. By 2014 there was widespread agreement it was finally coming of age and was already having a major impact on many aspects of market research, from quantitative to qualitative, and from local to global. (p. 3)

The book is a sort of cookbook for market researchers aiming to use mobile devices in their work. It admits to limitations and challenges in the methodology, not as showstoppers but as things to consider when making choices about design and execution.

It is a familiar story when it comes to AAPOR’s caution, perhaps even reluctance, to embrace new applications of technology before they are fully vetted. This vetting process is most often led by academics who help to build out a body of research from which can be distilled best practices and a clear understanding of the validity of results.

BIG DATA

At the beginning of this chapter we quoted speculations about the future of public opinion research offered in 1987 by a number of well-known AAPOR members. One theme to emerge was the likely future widespread availability of useful data about people’s opinions and behavior to complement and even potentially replace surveys.

Social Media

The first test of that proposition came with the emergence of social media in the first decade of the twenty-first century. At a time when it was becoming increasingly difficult for survey researchers to find cooperative respondents, the population at large was finding a new and more satisfying outlet for expressing their opinions and views on a wide array of subjects. Market researchers in particular began considering the possibility that mining of social media networks might replace surveys. They were intrigued by the spontaneous expression of opinions on a broad array of issues including product and service quality, advertising effectiveness, and brand equity, to name a few. At the same time, political pollsters were experimenting with social media as a key resource for measuring public opinion.

We have already noted that in 2012, the AAPOR Executive Council established a task force on emerging technologies with Michael Link and Joe Murphy as co-chairs. In 2014, it delivered two reports: one on mobile technologies (described earlier in the chapter) and one on social media. The latter report overviewed current and potential future issues of social media while drawing attention to the many challenges researchers faced when harvesting tweets and other types of posts to measure opinions and behavior. These included coverage, response validity, privacy concerns, and the state of development of software systems capable of processing free text to yield accurate measures of sentiment. These same limitations led to some disenchantment in market research as well, and at this stage, there is little discussion of social media fully replacing surveys anytime soon. Nonetheless, there remains a great deal of interest in social media as a source of insight and it is a frequent topic at the Annual Conference.

“Organic Data”

In 2011, Bob Groves published an article in *POQ* entitled, “Three Eras of Survey Research.” In the article, Groves coined the term “organic data” as a natural feature of a new digital ecosystem.

We’re entering a world where data will be the cheapest commodity around, simply because society has created systems that automatically track transactions of all sorts... Collectively, society is assembling data on massive amounts of its behaviors. Indeed, if you think of these processes as an ecosystem, the ecosystem is self-measuring in increasingly broad scope. (p. 868)

He went on to contrast this organic data with what he called “designed data,” essentially surveys and similar data collections. He noted that the quantity of organic data already swamped the volume of designed data and organic data were increasing exponentially. At the same time, sampled individuals were increasingly rejecting attempts to collect meaningful designed data: “The obvious question is how survey-based design data might be useful in this new, organic-data-rich world.” (p. 869)

He also described how each data source might be used to enrich the other. There are two important characteristics of organic datasets: they tend to have large Ns but a small number of variables. Designed data, on the other hand, is the opposite—small Ns and a large number of variables. Large organic datasets might be enriched by sample surveys and surveys might be augmented with organic data. The segment of AAPOR membership best positioned to pursue this line of development was the national statistical agencies who already had on hand massive amounts of administrative data and for several years had been exploring its use not only to enrich survey data but, in some cases, replace it. In the U.S., government administrative records are

being used primarily to improve the efficiency and accuracy of data collections. Elsewhere in the world, most notably in the Nordic countries, administrative records systems are being used to replace censuses (Walgren and Walgren, 2014).

These and other current and potential uses of big data in and out of government are described in an AAPOR Task Force Report published in *POQ* in 2015. With Lilli Japiec and Frauke Kreuter as co-chairs, the report went beyond the theoretical uses of big data to explore some very practical aspects of doing research in these kinds of sources. In a section entitled, “What Are the Policy, Technical, and Technology Challenges, and How Can We Deal with Them?” the report describes policies, skills and computing resources, both hardware and software, that are needed to exploit fully what big data can offer. Taken as whole, the report also seems to validate and expand upon the organic data vision laid out by Groves. These and similar themes were explored at the European Survey Research Association’s 2018 conference, BigSurv18: Big Data Meets Survey Research, a conference that was partially sponsored by AAPOR.

Paradigm Shift

The market research sector took a different tack, at least initially. The most often cited inspiration was Gartner analyst Doug Laney’s 2001 research report in which he introduced “the 3 Vs” of volume (the increasing amount of data), velocity (the speed with which it is created), and variety (the many types of data and sources). Laney argued that leveraging the value in all that data required an entirely new approach to data management, storage, and analysis.

Seven years later, Chris Anderson (2008), then editor-in-chief of *Wired*, published his essay, “The End of Theory: The Data Deluge Makes the Scientific Method Obsolete,” in which he argued that the sheer size of datasets “forces us to view data mathematically first and establish a context for it later.” In other words, Anderson argued that to reap the value in these enormous datasets we needed to reject the survey tradition of stochastic models and hypothesis testing in favor of “letting the data tell the story” without assumptions about the relationship among data items.

To many, this represented a major paradigm shift both in ways of thinking about data and how to extract insight from it. The AAPOR big data report noted this as well. Unsaid in that report is the difficulty that AAPOR members face in adopting such a major shift in research design and execution. For many of us, letting the data tell the story has been considered unscientific or even anathema. Rhetorically at least, market researchers have embraced the change with great enthusiasm. In reality, the new paradigm is mostly practiced by new entrants to the field rather than through a transition on the part of traditional survey-oriented companies.

“Thick Data”

In the earlier discussion of social media, we saw how initial enthusiasm for social media as a potential replacement of surveys gradually subsided as the reality of its shortcomings became clear. The same is now happening with big data. Simply put, as companies undertake big data projects to help them better understand their markets and customers, they are discovering that behavioral data are not answering all the questions they have. These kinds of sources can be useful for understanding what people did but the why remains elusive. So, there is increasing interest in augmenting the “thin data” of transactions with the “thick data” of surveys and focus groups. In one sense, this is reminiscent of the organic data plus designed-data approach described by Groves. And so, in this area at least, the views for market researchers and those in

academia and government may be converging. But as best one can tell from review of AAPOR Conference Proceedings, the primary focus of the moment within the AAPOR membership seems to be two-fold: (1) a focus on administrative data to improve survey design, execution and validation and (2) sharpening the analytics required to extract insight from social media.

AUTOMATION AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Automation and artificial intelligence (AI) are among the hottest buzzwords in contemporary research. Often used interchangeably, they are two very different things. Pretty much everything we have discussed in this chapter has involved the ongoing automation of the survey process, that is, the use of technology to perform tasks previously done by hand. Even the earliest CATI systems combined the formerly discrete tasks of asking questions; recording the answers; editing to ensure they fall within a specified range; routing the interviewer through the questionnaire; retrieving and displaying text from previous interviews or the sample file; and creating a machine-readable record of the interview into a single automatic process with only limited human intervention. Along the way, we have automated other aspects of the survey process including sample delivery, dialing the telephone, recording of call outcomes, and coding open-ended responses, to name a few. There are now services that allow researchers to upload a questionnaire and sample specs to a website and receive a data file and PowerPoint report within hours. (See, for example, <https://www.zappi.io/web/>) The automation of the survey process has led to cost reductions, reduced cycle times and data quality improvements simply not possible when each step in the process is performed by humans. There may be legitimate concerns about whether we have automated too much too quickly, but the trend is unmistakable, and worries about job loss within the research industry (as in other sectors) are on the rise.

While automation of survey research has been an ongoing reality for decades, applications of artificial intelligence are just beginning to emerge. The primary difference from automation is that AI applications learn and adjust their process based on those learnings. The common example of such systems are machine learning programs that code open-ended text such as social media postings or survey verbatim responses. Some of these systems learn by reading samples of text coded by humans while others teach themselves through their own examination of the data.

There also are experiments in using AI for interviewing. One example is chat bots. Online users often encounter chat buttons on commercial websites. In most cases, clicking the button initiates a conversation with a human agent, typically to resolve a user's problem. But there also are automated chats in which there is no human agent but rather a rule-based application that functions as a sort of interface to a database of frequently-asked questions or standard solutions to commonly-reported problems.

Market researchers have begun experimenting with chat bots for surveys, mostly for conversational style interviews (Poynter, 2019). They function mostly like a series of open-ended questions to the respondent. The bot may have the capacity to create an individualized experience by searching responses for key words that trigger a skip pattern, giving the impression of an interactive conversation.

Closer to home, Fred Conrad and Michael Schober have assembled a variety of perspectives on how technology may change interviewing in the years ahead in their book, *Envisioning the Survey Interview of the Future* (2008). Their own work involved the creation of human-like avatars capable of "conversing" with a survey respondent and performing simple tasks such as

prompting after a period of no response, following a skip pattern, and other standard questionnaire functions. To date, these have been used for methodological research to improve our understanding of how interviewer appearance, movements, and guidance impact response. The book also includes a number of chapters that speculate on future impacts of technological advances on surveys.

CONCLUSION

In her *Survey Research in the United States: Roots and Emergence 1890-1960* (1987), Jean Converse described three broad eras in the development of survey research in the U.S. First came the period in the 1920s and 30s when market research methods were first used by the likes of George Gallup, Elmo Roper, and Archibald Crossley to measure public opinion and forecast elections. That was followed by the wartime expansion of opinion research and work by social scientists that included Paul Lazarsfeld, Hadley Cantril, Rensis Likert, and Louis Guttman to develop a scientific foundation for their polling work. The third and final period Converse called “Migrations to the Universities.” This is the immediate postwar period in which members of the wartime generation founded the three major university-based survey organizations: the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, the National Opinion Research Center (eventually at the University of Chicago), and the Survey Research Center within the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. And, of course, AAPOR. It also was the period during which academic survey research began to dominate.

Within AAPOR today, academic survey research is still ascendant, not just among members from academia, but also those from governmental agencies and the commercial organizations and nonprofits that are their primary contractors. The heart of this paradigm is the scientific survey with its reliance on a representative sample and unbiased questions, and a central part of AAPOR’s mission has long been to advance and sustain the science and practice of surveys.

There also is another smaller segment of the AAPOR membership, mostly market researchers, whose very presence in AAPOR is testament to their commitment to those same scientific principles. But once again, to quote David Sills in *The Meeting Place*, they have “different constituencies with different goals and career paths.” Their success is tied to innovation, speed, and cost efficiency. By their nature they are impatient, see new technologies as opportunities, and sometimes see AAPOR as plodding or out of touch, too often ignoring the innovative methodological research that leads to best practices over time.

The story of this chapter has been AAPOR’s nearly 60-year struggle to capitalize on an ongoing stream of new technologies without compromising the scientific principles that have made surveys a robust and fundamental tool for understanding the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of a population, however defined. This sometimes has created tensions within AAPOR’s membership—Mitofsky’s “persistent undercurrent that keeps surfacing.” Looking back, those tensions have generally been constructive and made us all better at what we do.

But the pace of technological change continues to accelerate and we can expect that adoption will continue to play out differently among the various member segments. The method that still tends to unite us all is our reliance on surveys, but there are those who argue that the survey itself will decline in importance if not become extinct, in favor of analysis of the vast amounts of data constantly being collected about all of us. If history is any guide, AAPOR will find a role to play

in this future no matter how it unfolds, and our profession, our industry, the clients we serve, and society at large will be better off for it having done so.

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5. Public Opinion and Survey Research Data Archives

A Gold Mine and a Tool for Democracy⁴⁸

Lois Timms-Ferrara and Marc Maynard

Introduction

The Smithsonian Institution thoroughly documents the history of America's scientific inventions, art and culture. The National Archives preserves the original written words that declared the values of the nation's founders and established the form of government that is still globally revered. Individual presidential libraries chronicle decisions made by each administration. Suffice it to say, the Library of Congress has left few actions of our law-making bodies undocumented. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the nation without these resources that have so scrupulously detailed our heritage.

While at first glance, the differences between the federal institutions mentioned above with the social science data archives may appear substantial, upon further consideration, however, it becomes apparent that the value of public opinion information in a democratic society cannot be overstated. Society holds in high regard the contents of those national museums that document policies reflecting the aggregate desires and resolve of Americans. Public opinion survey data archives preserve and protect the opinions, beliefs, and behaviors of the people; their holdings have informed policy and historically, without these data, there is little evidence-based representation of what was on the collective minds of the public at particular points in time.

There are reasons that go well beyond altruism and historical recordkeeping, to professionally archive survey data, as Tom W. Smith, a senior fellow at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), experienced firsthand in September 2001. Just after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States, he and his colleagues recalled a survey they had conducted just after President John Kennedy was assassinated that captured the personal emotions expressed in that survey. Anxious to field those questions again given the current tragedy, his futile search of the Roper Center and the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) holdings did not locate the study. While he successfully turned up the study within the NORC archives, Smith documented the four-month process that brought a NORC archivist out of retirement to assist in identifying the study, locating the data and documentation, reading the data—stored only on punched cards—flying the boxes of cards across half the country to a card reader located in New York, and eventually handling the multipunched data format and creating a usable dataset⁴⁹ (Smith and Forstrom, 2001).

Had those data been archived, they would have been preserved in a current usable format with all relevant documentation and easily located and downloaded, which would have enabled Smith and his colleagues to work with the study materials within minutes rather than months.

⁴⁸ Sarah E. Igo (2006), "A Gold Mine and a Tool for Democracy': George Gallup, Elmo Roper, and the Business of Scientific Polling, 1935-1955," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 42 No. 2, (Spring 2006): 109-34.

⁴⁹ Tom W. Smith, Michael Forstrom, (2001), "In Praise of Data Archives: Finding and Recovering the 1963 Kennedy Assassination Study," *IASSIST Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 12-14.

Data archives take their role of stewardship seriously. From acquisition to quality curation to preservation and re-dissemination, professional processes have been developed to assure the best practices are observed. It is difficult to imagine the industry without this documentation of its legacy. The challenges faced by the earliest data archives are difficult to grasp in a current world of flourishing information technology and powerful computation; the mediums for storing data have intensely improved, access tools once involved hours of laborious manual searching is now a google entry completed in a split second.

Three Eras of Survey Research Archives

In a 2011 piece titled “Three Eras of Survey Research,” Robert Groves⁵⁰ discussed his observations of the survey research industry across three periods of time. The first era was 1930-1960 when the pioneers invented methods for measuring public opinion; the second, 1960-1990 was the period of vast proliferation of polling; and the third era from 1990 forward was marked by the falling off in response rates, weakening of sampling frames, and the growth of steady streams of data collection and other methods of collecting data. He sums up the response of the industry to the many challenges during each era with this observation, “Throughout each era, survey research methods adapted to changes in society and exploited new technologies when they proved valuable to the field.”

When looking over the same period for opinion data archives, perhaps it is not surprising that given the delay in data archiving, there appears to be a decade lag to the time frame described by Groves. This chapter describes a somewhat parallel journey as experienced by the survey research industry, with challenges and resolve to adapt in ways that better serve the research community.

	Groves: Survey Research Industry	Archives of Survey Research
Infancy/Establishment	1930-1960	1940-1970
Expansion	1960-1990	1970-2000
Standards/new methods	1990 to present	2000-present

Public Opinion and Survey Data Archives: The Early Years 1940-1970

Public opinion data archives were founded to preserve, manage, and disseminate survey data. Archiving data signified the “owners” of the surveys were willing to share their knowledge, were confident in their methods, or were willing to hear what others thought of their data collection efforts. It could be considered the first endeavors towards *transparency* in survey research.

In reviewing the early years of data archiving in the industry, we present details of the three substantial entities in public opinion data archiving: the Roper Center, the Odum Institute, and

⁵⁰ Robert M. Groves, “Three Eras of Survey Research,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75, Special Issue, no. 5 (2011): 861-71.

the ICPSR; and a summary of smaller institutional data centers, government-generated data archives, the international archives, and ways in which they worked jointly and apart to address preservation issues and researcher requirements.

The Roper Center

Coinciding with the early stages of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), pioneer pollster and market researcher, Elmo Roper founded a repository for his survey work, in 1947 at Williams College in Massachusetts, where his close associate and enthusiast of the survey research field, historian James Phinney Baxter III, was president. This repository came to be known as the Roper Public Opinion Research Center. Roper and Baxter had met “on an OSS (Office of Strategic Services) mission to London in connection with the intelligence side of the later landing in North Africa (that) led to a friendship which blossomed into Williams becoming host to the first American Conference on Public Opinion Research in 1947.”⁵¹ While Baxter was incorrect about the Williamstown conference being the first for AAPOR, the 1946 Central City conference holds that designation, the Williamstown meeting marked official organization of AAPOR and the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR).⁵²

At the time, Elmo Roper believed that this new profession and the information it collected would someday be of particular interest to historians for the manner in which it documented the views of the public leading up to and throughout World War II. The Center’s collection began exclusively with *Fortune* magazine data provided by Elmo Roper, and by 1957, Roper had convinced two former AAPOR presidents, Archibald Crossley (1952-53) and George Gallup (1954-55), to archive their robust collections with the Center.⁵³ By 1958, the archives at Williams College had successfully expanded the holdings and become the archival home for eighteen different data collections including those conducted by the NORC, founded in 1941 at the University of Denver under the leadership of Harry Field and then relocated in 1947 under the leadership of Clyde Hart (first president of AAPOR 1947-48) to the University of Chicago. NORC had stepped up to take on government survey work during World War II with the Office of War Information (OWI).⁵⁴ The Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University archived its radio and social research surveys collected by director Paul Lazarsfeld (AAPOR President 1949-50) and Princeton University’s Office of Public Opinion Research archived a large compilation of survey work conducted for the Roosevelt presidency during the war years.

Multiple statewide polls from California, Iowa, Minnesota, Texas, and Washington, along with *Wallaces Farmer and Iowa Homestead*, and the *Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer* polling collections were also archived. International collections included Latin American data from International Research Associates, Inc. (INRA), whose president was Elmo Wilson, a former associate of Elmo Roper and past AAPOR president (1948-49). Gallup affiliates, the Canadian

⁵¹ Summary of Baxter’s address on September 22, 1962 when the Roper Center’s new building was dedicated. *Williams College Newsletter*, Fall 1962.

⁵² The Williamstown meeting was officially the “Second International Conference on Public Opinion Research” following up on the Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research, Central City, Colorado, July 29-31, 1946.

⁵³ Philip K. Hastings. Letter dated June 17, 1957 to James P. Baxter, President of Williams College. James P. Baxter Papers at Williams College Sawyer Library, Special Collections, Box 37.

⁵⁴ Norman M. Bradburn and James A. Davis. “The Place of NORC in the Development of Survey Research in the U.S.” http://www.norc.org/PDFs/Events/ASA/ASA_Presentation_Bradburn.pdf (accessed November 7, 2019).

Institute of Public Opinion and the British Institute of Public Opinion had begun to archive with the Roper Center, and there were 22 additional international organizations who had committed to sending their punch cards and documentation to be archived.⁵⁵ From 1947 into the mid-1950s, the archive had grown into a significant body of opinion data and on July 1, 1957, the Center was formally established and began offering access to scholars for research and teaching. An article in the *New York Times* on May 5, 1957 announcing the opening of the Center, described the collection as “growing at a rate of about 50,000 interviews a year.” Among those serving on the advisory board for the Center were Frank Stanton, then president of the Columbia Broadcasting system and Samuel A. Stouffer (AAPOR President 1953-54), distinguished sociologist and lead researcher for The American Soldier surveys conducted for the War department during World War II.

The governance structure of the Center was a paid faculty member serving as executive director and an unpaid board of directors comprised of leaders within the AAPOR community, both private pollsters and scholars making use of the data. Philip Hastings (WAPOR President, 1971-72), a Williams College alumnus who returned as assistant professor of psychology and political science in 1951, had informally worked with the collection since his arrival and was officially named the Center’s director for the 1957 opening. Hastings had an affinity for comparative analysis and diligently expanded the collection to include surveys collected internationally. Hastings entered into an agreement to archive the broad international collections sponsored by the Office of Research at the United States Information Agency.

By 1964 in a *POQ* article, Hastings described the collection, “...the raw data from approximately 3,200 surveys conducted in this country and abroad had been placed at the Roper Center by over seventy cooperating groups.”⁵⁶ He went on to describe how its new membership service, the International Survey Library Association (ISLA) would improve accessibility to data by scholars worldwide. “...it is hoped that the program will serve to stimulate the development of specialized subcenters of survey data at educational and other nonprofit institutions and act as a workable vehicle for increasing coordination among data centers.” Members were also provided an index of question wordings with source citations that was updated regularly as new materials were accessioned.

⁵⁵ Roper Public Opinion Research Center (brochure) Williams College, 1958, 6 pp.

⁵⁶ Philip K. Hastings, “International Survey Library Association of the Roper Public Opinion Research Center,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1964): 331-33.

In 1969, the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement was given to the Roper Public Opinion Research Center. The Award honors the Center's founders for having the foresight to maintain and curate survey data and credits the Roper Center for serving the scholarly community in ways that multiply the uses of public opinion research data.⁵⁷ The prose on the award reads:

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH PRESENTS THE

AAPOR AWARD for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement to The Roper Public Opinion Research Center

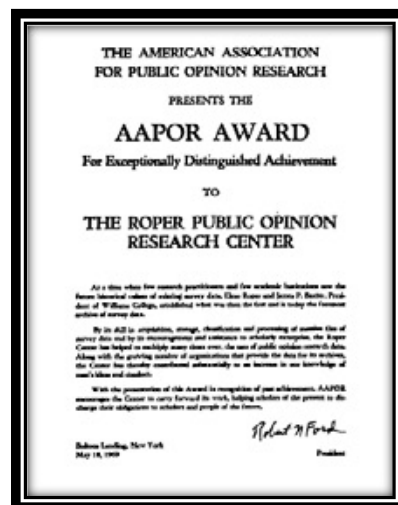
At a time where few research practitioners and few academic institutions saw the future historical values of existing survey data, Elmo Roper and James P. Baxter, President of Williams College, established what was then the first and is today the foremost archive of survey data.

By its skill in acquisition, storage, classification and processing of massive files of survey data and by its encouragement and assistance to scholarly enterprise, the Roper Center has helped to multiply many times over, the uses of public opinion research data. Along with the growing number of organizations that provide the data for its archives, the Center has thereby contributed substantially to an increase in our knowledge of man's ideas and conduct.

With the presentation of this Award in recognition of past achievement, AAPOR encourages the Center to carry forward its work, helping scholars of the present to discharge their obligations to scholars and people of the future.

**Boltons Landing, New York
May 18, 1969**

**Robert N. Ford
President**



The Odum Institute for Research in Social Sciences

In 1969, the Odum Institute for Research in Social Sciences formally established its survey data archive with funding from the National Science Foundation (NSF). At the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill, Odum had been founded in 1924 and named after its first director, sociologist Howard W. Odum, making it the oldest university-based interdisciplinary

⁵⁷ "Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Conference on Public Opinion Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 33 (Fall 1969): 433-37.

social science research institute in the U.S. Initially, faculty associated with the institute focused on research concerning the social and economic issues of the American South and on the role of local government in promoting public welfare. Among its holdings were textile industry surveys, and data on race relations and farming.⁵⁸ However, by the mid-1960s, the Institute had transformed into a data center with broader computational responsibilities and expertise in statistical analysis.

UNC alumnus Louis Harris, a former colleague of Elmo Roper and Associates who had started his own polling firm, Louis Harris and Associates, contributed volumes of his work to the Institute, including a significant collection completed with ABC News. And in 1985 the Carolina Poll was launched at Odum, followed by the Southern Focus Poll in 1992. In addition to these opinion surveys, Odum was one of the earliest repositories for the 1970 Census, and it housed the most complete collection of data from that Census.

Inter-university Consortium for Political Research

In 1962, Warren Miller established the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research (ICPR) at the University of Michigan. To broaden its topical scope, the ICPR was later renamed the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). Miller, a scholar of American voting behavior and actively engaged with the American National Election Studies, defined this initiative differently from the other archives with a broader mission.

By the 1960s, survey research had become a highly-coveted tool for scholars and yet, much of the data were not easily attainable and required particular technical skills to use. Universities were beginning to formulate small survey research facilities of their own. Miller believed, by assembling these institutions and organizing regular communications, this network of local archives and survey centers would continually assess the needs of the community who shared an interest in expediting the archiving of behavioral research for the benefit of the broader scholarly community.⁵⁹ Miller's vision was to create a partnership between the ICPSR and other institutions with similar needs to advance social science research. The ICPSR presented a centralized repository for archiving and disseminating an extensive, wide-ranging collection of academically based empirical surveys. And, perhaps of equal import to Miller, the Consortium provided professional training on how to manage and analyze data. To meet the latter objective, the ICPSR had established very early on its Summer Institute (1948), a fellows program, held seminars, and created other opportunities for teaching primary and secondary research methods, including the Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research in 1963.

Additionally, the Consortium became involved in primary research planning and analysis. Sharing intellectual interests of faculty at the member schools, the Consortium was expected to generate new data collections. The first such activity was providing support for the data collection relevant to the 1962 Congressional elections, which was then processed and distributed to the membership by February 1963.

⁵⁸ The Odum Institute for Research in Social Sciences website. <https://odum.unc.edu/about/history/> (accessed June 14, 2019).

⁵⁹ Philip E. Converse, "A Network of Data Archives for the Behavioral Sciences." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1964): 273-86.

The active holdings held at Michigan and ready for distribution in 1963 numbered fewer than ten, consisting mostly of the widely sought after American National Election Studies surveys, and another 15 studies in various stages of processing. The Consortium consisted of 21 academic member institutions offering graduate work at the doctoral level in relevant disciplines, and several others lining up to join, including international universities.

The ICPSR governance model included a Council elected by the membership to make decisions regarding the broad direction of the organization, standing and advisory committees on mission-critical activities that report to the Council, and an academic executive director leading the staff organization on a daily basis. A Committee of Representatives, which later became Official Representatives (ORs), are individuals from each organization member who serve as the primary contact for their institution. During the early period, the representatives were responsible for obtaining and maintaining local copies of data, for communicating with both the archive staff and local users, and would convene at the ICPSR regularly for meetings. Today the ORs are sophisticated data managers and OR meetings resemble miniconferences where ICPSR staff and others provide an extensive array of training topics and data presentations.

Individual University Based Data Centers

Even before the ICPSR was founded, and perhaps as early as the polling industry began releasing studies, academic researchers around the country began amassing private collections of data for their own use and small data centers started to appear within universities with the intention of internal data sharing. These centers maintained the collections and most became members of either or both the Roper Center and the ICPSR to acquire sufficient data to meet the increasing demand within their institutions.

Polling institutes such as NORC and the Bureau of Applied Social Research maintained data files of their work in their own repository and archived with the Roper Center and the ICPSR, disseminating only data not deposited into one of those archives.

The International Data Library and Reference Service at the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley was founded in 1958 and expanded to include the social science data archive in 1961 when Berkeley scholars of comparative international surveys received NSF support. The grant sustained the operation for not only UC-Berkeley users, but also for scholars in other organizations in the U.S. and abroad.⁶⁰

At the University of Wisconsin, the Data and Program Library Service (DPLS) was established in 1966 with a full-time archivist, Margaret O'Neill Adams (who later became Reference Program Manager at the Electronic and Special Media Records Services, National Archives and Records Administration). Not only did the DPLS provide access to the ICPSR and Roper data, but also became a centralized repository and data center across all academic disciplines for the entire university community and included significant quantities of data generated by the campus. The services included preservation of data and the provision of access, as well as training researchers in using the data. DPLS joined forces with the Council of Social Science Data Archives to cosponsor a workshop in the summer of 1969 on data management and techniques

⁶⁰ Ralph L. Bisco, "Social Science Data Archives: Progress and Prospects" *Social Science Information* 6, no. 1 (February 1967): 39-74.

for operating a campus data services center. According to the proceedings of this workshop, the content of this meeting addressed how to set up such data centers, but also initiated discussions on far more pressing topics affecting the use and distribution of quantitative survey data. The variety of those who attended included data librarians, data technicians, administrators of archives, collectors of data, and the faculty and scholars who create, use, and train others in the use of social science data. The workshop served to join forces among these professionals who expressed different challenges related to data access, caveats in current systems, and how to standardize codebooks, inventorying, indexing, cataloging, and creating finding aids and establishing faster and better ways of accessing both the metadata that described the surveys and the datasets themselves. Several ideas were brought forth and heard by those representing the various sectors. In years that followed, the field of data librarianship became firmly established and communication among these stakeholders began to solidify in order to establish standards for data archiving and management.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, several other universities began to archive data with similar organizational structures, including the Laboratory for Social Relations at Harvard, the Political Science Research Library at Yale University, MIT's Center for International Studies, and the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois. Other university-based archives of social science data with a survey component included: the University of Florida's Latin American data collection (1966); the International Development Data Bank surveys about social change and innovations in developing countries at Michigan State University; the Laboratory for Political Research at the University of Iowa; the Social Systems Research Institutes surveys on consumer behavior in the United States at the University of Wisconsin, and the Public Opinion Survey Unit at the University of Missouri, which conducted surveys on social and political behavior and attitudes of those living in the states of Missouri and California. UCLA's Political Behavior Archive was created in 1961 and contained government data pertaining to elections. These ancillary data centers/archives were established and maintained for the benefit of the academic communities on their respective campuses, and would, on occasion, share data with off-campus scholars who inquired.

U. S. Government Data Archives

The statistical data system of the U.S. federal government is decentralized, making it distinct from many other developed countries.⁶¹ By the 1950s, various federal agencies, in addition to the Census Bureau, had responsibilities to collect data on a variety of topics: the Bureau of Labor Statistics (established in 1884) regarding employment and wages; the Department of Agriculture regarding farms, livestock and crops; the Federal Trade Commission regarding corporate financial reports; and Internal Revenue Service regarding personal and corporate taxes; among others.

While the establishment of a permanent Census Bureau in 1902 (although the first census was in 1790, it was considered a temporary office engaged only for a time to conduct each decennial census) placed the Census at the fore in developing and adopting technologies to improve efficiencies in data collection, during the early part of the century, many other federal agencies

⁶¹ Richard Ruggles, et al, "Report of the Committee on the Preservation and Use of Economic Data to the Social Science Research Council," 1965.

began using punched cards for data storage and processing on a wide scale. The punched card innovation initially provided improved flexibility and access to collected data, though physical storage of millions of cards became a significant challenge for individual agencies. Only the development of magnetic tapes for data storage and retrieval provided the basis for the federal agencies to cost-effectively manage their data collections and respond to developing research and public pressure for early and more comprehensive access to nonaggregated data.

Given the large size of the Bureau of the Census collection and the special needs concerning privacy and confidentiality, only portions of its data were made available in the 1960s. Advances in technology, primarily computer tapes, allowed the efficient storage of thousands of punched card images on a single tape. The relatively low cost of tape storage and duplication provided a rationale for evaluating the preservation and re-use of federally-collected data. "Report of the Committee on the Preservation and Use of Economic Data to the Social Science Research Council," also known as the "Ruggles Report," released in 1965, specifically addressed the current state of federal data management and preservation and called for the establishment of a "Federal Data Center...to preserve and make available to both Federal agencies and non-government users basic statistical data originating in all Federal agencies."⁶²

The Federal Data Center recommendations were stymied by larger concerns regarding privacy through potential linkages between data from various federal agencies and after congressional hearings was, in effect, abandoned by 1968. According to the Ruggles Report, the National Archives and Records Service (NARS) was primarily interested in original information or statistical outputs of federal agencies and intermediate documents and data were left to the management of each agency.

NARS was well aware of the national data center recommendations, and after further evaluation of the value of burgeoning number of federal machine-readable records, NARS formally established the Data Archives Staff in the fall of 1968 and processed the first electronic records into the Archives in April 1970.⁶³ Still, the focus of the National Archives' efforts at this early date was to identify and preserve relevant federal records, with only minor attention to providing user access.

By the 1970 U.S. Census, the Census Bureau had invested considerable effort investigating the manner in which the data could be shared. In 1964, it released the first 1/1000 sample to allow for analysis of small population groups, and by 1970, 1/100 Public Use Samples were released with alternative geographic coding to protect privacy of individuals. These files were released to researchers on magnetic tape as a more standardized offering from the Bureau.

In another example of federal agency data collection efforts, the United States Information Agency was formed under the Eisenhower Administration in 1952, and, among its programs, immediately began collecting survey data around the world. During the 1960 presidential election campaign, the USIA found itself in the midst of a controversy regarding international "prestige surveys" that purported to show a loss of prestige for the United States under the

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ *Thirty Years of Electronic Records*. Ed. Bruce I. Ambacher, Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003.

Eisenhower Administration. After poll results were leaked supporting this view, the domestic politicizing of USIA surveys was thwarted when President Kennedy supported an agreement worked out between the USIA and Representative John E. Moss of California that would declassify and release USIA reports data two years after their initial internal distribution. According to Merritt, the Moss agreement did not completely solve the airing of USIA survey results, but did enable the USIA to “systematically...turn over its data and reports to major academic research centers after the required two years had elapsed.”⁶⁴ As early as 1961, the Roper Center at Williams College became the main USIA repository for punched cards and raw data files. By the end of 1972, more than 200 surveys conducted between 1953 and 1972 were archived at the Roper Center. Further congressional activities regarding the release of USIA materials and information to the American public culminated in a “blanket prohibition” on the distribution of USIA information as part of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1972. While not affecting the existing collection of USIA data housed at Roper, this prohibition, in effect, placed a long-term pause on the archiving of new USIA survey data.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) was established in 1934 (first as the National Archives Establishment, NAE; then the National Archives Records Service, NARS in 1949; and officially named NARA in 1985) and punched card records were included among the types of federal records that might have archival value in the General Disposal Act of 1939.⁶⁵ However, the program within the National Archives for machine-readable data began in 1968 and needed time to ramp up its protocol, so the first survey data from the USIA were deposited with NARA in June 1980 and included studies from 1971-1979. As of October 1, 1999, the USIA was abolished and its survey programs and functions were folded into the U.S. Department of State.

Demand for Data Archives

As the proliferation of survey data continued, the academic social science community grew more anxious to secure access to existing data sources, those captured within the early archives, as well as the large body of academic research collected by individuals for their own use and who did not share nor deposit the raw data with an archive. There was frustration that not all data were archived and that access to those data within the archives was hindered by insufficient communication and finding aids to make scholars aware of their existence. One librarian who supported political science scholars at his University described the condition of the data archives as analogous to uncatalogued libraries and complained that too little of the data were getting to the archives and even less was being published for the scholarly community.⁶⁶

Individual scholars began to catalog survey data, creating indices to assist in locating data on particular topics. One such scholar, Hazel Erskine authored a special section in *Public Opinion*

⁶⁴ Richard L. Merritt, “European public opinion and American policy: The USIA surveys,” *Social Science Information* 6, no. 4 (August 1967): 143-60.

⁶⁵ James Gregory Bradsher, “An Administrative History of the Disposal of Federal Records, 1789-1949,” *Provenance - Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 3, no. 2 (January 1985).
<https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1307&context=provenance>.

⁶⁶ Clifton Brock, “Political Science,” *Library Trends* 15 (April 1967): 628-47.

Quarterly called “The Polls” from 1961 to 1975⁶⁷ where she would illustrate an issue using data collected by various survey organizations. Over thirty years, Erskine had created what came to be known as the Erskine Archive: individual index cards with questions, responses, and citations for every poll she located containing data on topics relevant to her work. She graciously offered access to anyone willing to travel to her home in Nevada. Ultimately, her index was donated to the Roper Center where staff utilized her model to develop a similar indexing system that was used to locate data sources well into the 1980s.

Throughout the sixties there was interest in establishing a national social science data archive that would preserve more data collections conducted in both private and public sectors. The archive would foster a communal ownership of data collections and also provide broader and enhanced access. Social scientists justified this action, noting the potential loss to science when data were not more fully exploited, the benefit of pooling survey resources for comparative studies, and triangulation of multiple sources measuring similar and related activities. They further articulated how using existing data resources reduced time and costs and provided opportunities for graduate students to hone analytical skills. Replication could be readily facilitated and the archive would establish stability for advancing longitudinal studies that aim to understand social change better.

Some scholars argued for a central repository that would assume stewardship for preserving and maintaining data and would be tasked with developing technical solutions to accelerate the speed in which data and tabulations became available and creating tools for locating and analyzing results. Over time, they argued, the archive might “act as a mechanism for standardizing survey methodology.”⁶⁸

Council of Social Science Data Archives (CSSDA)

In response to this growing interest in public opinion and survey data, the archives began having formal discussions in 1962 when ICPSR held an initial meeting of principals at eight leading archives to address improving access to data and to encourage development of the archives. With support from NSF, the group was expanded and additional meetings were held when the group “realized the need for cooperation and the exchange of information was so great and so permanent that a regular mechanism should be created.”⁶⁹ In September 1965, 25 social science data archives’ representatives met in Washington, DC to approve a Constitution and set of By-laws that established the Council of Social Science Data Archives. Participants included the directors of most of the established social science data archives and William Glaser of Columbia University was appointed Executive Director; the Council was a scholarly association of professionals in this new field. Commissioned with a range of tasks from establishing data management principles to setting standards for documenting, processing and storing data, coordinating data acquisitions and developing procedures for responding to the user community, the partnership was initiated as an advisory vehicle to the data archives. Initially, there were 19

⁶⁷ Eleanor Singer, Herbert Hyman, et al. “In Memoriam: Hazel Erskine, 1908-1975,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1975): 571-79. <https://doi.org/10.1086/268257>

⁶⁸ Myron J. Lefcowitz, Robert M. O’Shea, “A Proposal to Establish A National Archives for Social Science Survey Data,” *The American Behavioral Scientist* 6, no. 7 (March 1, 1963): 27-31.

⁶⁹ William A. Glaser, Ralph L. Bisco, “Plans of the Council of Social Science Data Archives,” *Social Science Information* 5, no. 4 (December 1966): 71-96.

organizations belonging to the Council. This consortium included one Canadian data archive, the Political Science Data Archive at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. The Council had become international and, given the uniqueness of mission, origin, type of data, business model, it was unlikely to merge into a single archive as some had suggested.

The Council as a whole and via its committees, set out to contribute to the archives by offering opportunities for collaboration on matters of acquisition and assisting in the communication of individual archives' data holdings, facilitating data exchanges, and sharing information on technical developments concerning indexing and creating retrieval systems to serve the needs of end users more successfully, including an ambitious plan to create a telecommunications network for permitting users to access multiple archives' holdings remotely from a single location. CSSDA was present to counsel and provide expertise on common interests involving the management of archives about funding, staffing, pricing, relationship with data providers, and so on. Technical and professional conferences were held to share technical ideas for data management, preservation, and workflows. Another major CSSDA contribution was to connect the archives with the scholars and generate opportunities for the researchers and for the archives to provide training in the use of data.

By 1968, Glaser had turned over the directorship to Ralph Bisco who had been a co-technical director of the Council. Glaser assessed the work of the Council with mixed reviews. On the positive side, the group had begun to publicize the holdings of the archives, develop guidelines for processing data and documentation, and share information on managing data archives. Some of the committees had begun to set the tone for standards in the field. Conversely, he conceded the "archives had not improved efficiency and in the range of their services as much as I had hoped."⁷⁰ There had been less coordination among the archives and he suggested the scope of the CSSDA might "evolve to a more comprehensive association of social science center that produce and analyze quantitative data, archive data, and do original work in developing computing in the social sciences."⁷¹ Under Bosco's tutelage, the standing committees continued to provide occasions for informal exchanges on standards, information retrieval, advancing related technologies and computing, along with sharing of this work with archives from the Americas and abroad, creating networks that have been sustained for years.

The CSSDA faded as the International Social Science Council's (ISSC) Standing Committee emerged with a set of task forces on many of the same topics. The ISSC had begun in 1952 as an interdisciplinary nongovernmental organization supported by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). During the time that CSSDA was forming, the ISSC was beginning to hold conferences on similar content in Europe, in which the Council had engaged. In 1968, UNESCO had underwritten support for the Standing Committee's seven task forces: data inventories and retrieval, archive management, program library services, archives of aggregate data, historical data archive training in secondary analysis, and archive development.

⁷⁰ William A. Glaser, "Note on the work of the Council on Social Science Data Archives 1965-1968," *Social Science Information* 8, no. 2 (April 1969): 159-76.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

The International Association for Social Science Information Service and Technology

The ISSC's Standing Committee on Social Science Data Archives was established in 1966 and had been very interested in assuring collaboration of those individuals working with social science research data. In 1974, this Committee sponsored a Conference on Data Archives and Program Library Services in Toronto. Key elements discussed at the conference were: data quality, inventorying and data classification, increasing utilization of data archives, integrating social science data into the library, data ownership, and exchange of information. A summary of the resulting issues raised during the conference included the need for professionalization and training of data archivists, which was a lynchpin for the staff from larger academic data centers in attendance. What emerged from this conference was an independent professional organization of data specialists working in the realm of social science. This organization became the International Association of Social Science Information Service and Technology, or IASSIST. First referred to as the International ASSIST, it was founded as an organization of individuals rather than institutions with six regional secretariats and a steering committee representing 13 different countries. Annual conferences ensued and working groups of these collaborative data professionals created countless workflow tools, training materials, joint archives projects, and a quarterly journal to address the challenges at the intersection of the social sciences and technology.⁷² Today, IASSIST is the premiere professional organization for data professionals in the social sciences, and includes data librarians, faculty in social science, software developers, and data scientists and archivists.

Public Opinion and Survey Data Archives: Expansion and Innovation 1970-2000

In 1965, Ralph Bisco, Executive Director of the Council of Social Science Data Archives, noted that "The biggest problem confronting archives is large files. The Roper collection has over 6.5 million cards. The ICPR archive will contain about 300 million characters of data within two years."⁷³ He then went on to write, "Archives can and should be expected to make innovations in the handling of large files; they should become a basic source of information about the organization, management, and processing of large files of social science data."

Out of necessity and sustainability, the archives had to innovate to fulfill their long-term service commitment to the research community. On separate paths, the Roper Center, Odum Institute, ICPSR, and others including the Census Bureau and the University of Minnesota's IPUMS Project, continued to evolve over the next two decades.

Following newfound demand for social science data in the late 1960s, the Roper Center outgrew its home at Williams College, and while the collections of international data continued to expand, resources to manage and serve researchers were limited. By 1975, it was clear the Roper Center needed a new home and organizational structure to continue to advance its mission and the Board of Directors opened discussion of new host arrangements for the Center. A multihosted institutional arrangement between Williams College, the University of Connecticut,

⁷² Margaret O'Neill Adams, "The Origins and Early Years of IASSIST," *IASSIST Quarterly* 30 (Fall 2006): 5-14. <https://doi.org/10.29173/iq108>

⁷³ Ralph L. Bisco, "Social Science Data Archives Technical Considerations," *Social Science Information* 4 (September 1965): 129-50.

and Yale University was agreed to in February 1977 with the University of Connecticut serving as the main archives; user services were handled by Yale until 1981, and special projects were managed by Williams College. The move of hundreds of thousands of physical codebooks, documentation, tape data and punched cards took place during 1977 and 1978.

The Board of Directors, populated by many distinguished AAPOR members, played a critical role in guiding the Center through these years. Burns W. “Bud” Roper served as Board Chairman for over 30 years, until his death in 2003.

The move to Connecticut provided the right foundation on which to address the burgeoning public opinion polling developments of the next couple of decades. Located in a Carnegie Research I university environment, the Center was able to utilize resources that were not previously available. Additionally, the relentless energy and research output of Roper Center Executive Director Everett Carll Ladd established the Center as a critical resource for timely, in-depth analysis of current public polling in the aggregate. The Roper Center also became incorporated as a nonprofit 501(c)3 organization in 1982, establishing its own articles of incorporation, by-laws and a board of directors with fiduciary and mission-related responsibilities. Still very much integrated in the University of Connecticut, the Center became a separate legal entity, a move that secured its assets and provided independence for the board to make financial decisions.

At the Odum Institute, the Louis Harris Data Center, at what was then called the Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS), contained several hundred survey datasets collected by Louis Harris and Associates. The archived files were maintained on magnetic tape and managed through mainframe-based file indexes and a book of repeated questions. These provided staff the ability to find relevant surveys based on research requests. During the mid-1980s, the source materials for the repeated questions book were converted to a database, stored on tape originally, and then later imported to a Stanford Public Information Retrieval System (SPIRES) database for search and retrieval. Additionally, the full IRSS Data Archive catalog of holdings was migrated to a separate SPIRES database. Both of these developments allowed IRSS staff to manage and access more easily the various archived materials in an efficient and cost-effective manner. During this time, Odum also became the home of the dataset files from the National Network of State Polls, an association of several state survey organizations mostly being conducted at academic institutions.

In 1973, the ICPSR released the first electronic version of the ICPSR Guide to Resources and Services on magnetic tape to ICPSR Official Representatives, providing campus libraries the ability to post a searchable file of study-level metadata for researchers to access locally. In new developments, the ICPSR established dedicated topical archives and partnerships with federal government agencies including in 1977, the Criminal Justice Archive and Information Network (CJAIN) supported by the U.S. Department of Justice and the National Archive of Computerized Data on Aging (NACDA) sponsored by the U.S. Administration on Aging. These special archives attracted researchers beyond those in political science and sociology.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Eric Austin. ICPSR: The Founding and Early Years.

<https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/content/about/history/early-years.html> (accessed June 15, 2019).

In an attempt to provide more robust and easier access to data and documentation, the ICPSR developed OSIRIS statistical analysis software for the IBM mainframe environment about the same time as SPSS was being developed. By the mid-1970s, OSIRIS stood out from available packages in that study variables were “self-described,” meaning documentation was partially built into the dataset. The codebook could then be printed out separately. Despite this advantage, by the mid-1980s, OSIRIS III was an established product and used mostly internally by ICPSR, but SPSS and SAS were already mainstays in the statistical package arena, and OSIRIS was phased out.

Michael Traugott (AAPOR President 1999-2000) was on the ICPSR professional staff in 1966 and was the first Assistant Director for the Historical Archive, and by 1975 was the Director of Archival Development for all of ICPSR for a number of years. Traugott was successful in raising funds for the ICPSR and, in fact, led the charge that founded the Aging and Criminal Justice archives.

In the late 1980s, the Consortium (ICPSR) acquired the 1980 U.S. Census data files and provided them to members at a cost-effective rate for the first time and, additionally, held training workshops on the methods of using them for academic research purposes, adding greater accessibility to The Census Bureau’s distribution of public use sample datasets for 1960, 1970 and 1980.

Rise of the New Omnibus and Media Conducted Polling

The 1970s witnessed a new wave of survey research efforts including Yankelovich, Skelly, and White (1972), the 1972 CBS News Presidential Election Exit Poll, as well as, the establishment of ongoing media polling efforts by ABC News (1979), CBS News (1976), NBC News (1980), *Los Angeles Times* (1977), followed by the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, Associated Press, *Washington Post*, and news magazines *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *Newsweek*. Though not a media supported effort, the initial NORC General Social Survey fielded in 1972 and annually throughout the decade, was also part of this new wave of survey data collection.

The tremendous growth in the number of surveys from 1970 into the 1990s provided the established archives both opportunity and challenge. The great opportunity was to become full-fledged partners in the research process; to acquire, enhance, preserve and provide data and related resources to researchers in a more comprehensive and focused manner.

The challenge was two-fold: (1) to identify, acquire, and document data resources in a burgeoning and dynamic environment, particularly with regard to media polls and, (2) to engage with and promote the use of these resources to the research community.

The Roper Center had long defined its position as the archive of commercial public opinion and acquired many of these new media surveys. ICPSR also secured some of them, but had come to be known as the resource for academic data collections and later as the source for government-sponsored survey research.

Acquisition of survey datasets closest to the point of public release was a challenge for surveys that were produced outside academia or government agencies. The fast-paced media environment necessitated a quick pivot to the next project introducing the potential for missing

methodological and substantive information about the survey or worse yet, lost datasets, survey instruments and/or other metadata. The relationships between the data producers and the archive were never more important than at this point in time. Two commercial organizations, one a major media outlet and the other a commercial polling firm, requested from Roper to provide them a complete set of their own data collections that had been archived at Roper, but had not been maintained by the firms. Transfers from data contributors to the archives needed to be coordinated and monitored to ensure completeness and accuracy, and to avoid duplication of effort. As a way of building these relationships, the Roper Center archive staff began to directly participate in AAPOR through presentations and posters at the annual conferences. The AAPOR Conferences were incredibly important for the advancement of the archives' mission to identify, preserve, and disseminate survey data. New survey enterprises, collaborations, and methods were highlighted annually and the archives could make connections with survey practitioners. In future years, data discovery and acquisition would become more complex, as the ongoing value of survey data increased, even as the initial cost of data collection decreased in relative terms.

Technical Advancements

In early decades of the archives' development, typically researchers had access to Roper Center datasets in one of three basic manners: (1) travel to the Center and use the facilities and data there; or (2) they could borrow duplicate sets of punched cards and documentation for a limited time; or (3) work with Center staff to run customized analysis and be sent results.⁷⁵ Early ICPSR data services included basic reproduction of card and tape files of available studies to the preparation of special analysis, tables, and data subsets tailored to the needs of particular researchers.

Technological change of the 1980s and 1990s led the archives away from centralized mainframe computing environments to decentralized PC-based environments for data processing and paved the way to providing data access to end-users via file-transfer-protocol (FTP) and later the web. Punched card sorters/readers were superseded by direct-connect, mainframe-computer terminals that were then replaced by networked personal computers.

Datasets were distributed on magnetic tape and accompanied by printed documentation for a time, while some smaller collections were eventually distributed on floppy disk and CD-ROMs by the end of the 1990s.

For the research community, finding data resources in the 1970s through the mid-1990s was based primarily on printed catalog information and periodic archive updates. Limited metadata and methodological information were readily distributed and researchers needed to request physical copies of codebooks/questionnaires to understand fully the relevance of a particular survey to their research effort. Once identified and the dataset was requested, the data were written to tape (typically 9-track or briefly, IBM cartridges) and sent via the postal service. The time from data discovery to analysis could be several weeks or more at this point in time.

By 1990, ICPSR had already launched, with NSF funding, the Consortium Data Network (CDNet) providing user access to the consortium's catalog of data, bibliographic citations and

⁷⁵ Ralph L. Bisco, "Social Science Data Archives Technical Considerations," *Social Science Information* 4, no. 3 (September 1965): 129-50.

the ability to order data online. Introduced early in 1986, it was a service that provided four basic functions: (1) ordering data from the ICPSR holdings, (2) searching ICPSR study catalog and VARIABLES databases, (3) analyzing ICPSR data files with selected statistical packages, and (4) using electronic mail to communicate with ICPSR staff.⁷⁶ The 1990s were times of transition for ICPSR with regard to data delivery, organizational structure, funding, and initial development of standards for “machine-actionable” survey codebooks and associated metadata.

The ICPSR’s first website was launched in 1994 and migration of more than 40,000 data files from 12,000 magnetic tapes to network disk storage was completed in 1996⁷⁷ and made available electronically via FTP. By 1998, select studies were available for direct download from the web and several additional specialized archives were established through funding from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (SAMHDA archive) and National Center for Education Statistics (IAED archive), among others.

In 2001, ICPSR Direct was launched and made all ICPSR datasets and documentation accessible to all member institutions for direct download to the researcher.

At the Roper Center, the early-1990s were marked by a period of expansion into data analysis and the publication of *The Public Perspective*⁷⁸ as a way to address the burgeoning world of public opinion research initiated during the late-70s and 1980s. The bimonthly magazine secured many authors from the AAPOR community to provide readers with timely and synthesized information on the field and substance of public opinion research. Additionally, the Center provided access to a one-of-a-kind resource, the Public Opinion Location Library (POLL), a database of topline results from thousands of public opinion surveys conducted since 1935. These two new Roper Center resources complimented the continued acquisition and archiving of contemporary survey datasets.

Originally available through a telnet internet connection, typically over a dial-up modem, POLL contents grew steadily to contain the vast majority of publicly-released opinion and media polls. The number of survey questions in POLL each year ballooned from 2,040 asked in 1972, to 12,462 asked in 1990, and nearly doubled again by 2004, with 22,549 questions asked that year. To map the proliferation of polls, one need only look at the growth of individual questions in the POLL (and later, iPOLL) database.

Two other databases were unveiled at about the same time: the Variables database available through the ICPSR’s CDNet system and the Public Opinion Item Index of the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. All three of these databases provided individual researchers direct access to survey questions, results and basic documentation from thousands of fielded surveys. Three sets of annual volumes titled the “Index to International Public Opinion” (first Roper Center director, Philip Hastings and his wife Elizabeth Hastings were the editors), The Gallup Report, and the “American Public Opinion Index” (which later became “Polling the Nations”) appeared during this time that referenced various published

⁷⁶ Janet Vavra, “CDNET: The Consortium Data Network,” *IASSIST Quarterly* 10 (Fall 1986): 39-40.

⁷⁷ Mary Vardigan, “ICPSR completes large data migration,” *University Record*, Oct. 8, 1996.

⁷⁸ The Public Perspective, <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/data-highlights/public-perspective> (accessed October 24, 2019)

survey results from numerous U.S. and international sources. These volumes became mainstay reference tools in many academic libraries.

Data curation tools were also in demand, particularly pertaining to standardization and improved metadata to support discovery and re-use of survey data. In 1995, led by ICPSR and its director, Richard Rockwell, and in response to a growing collection of social science research data, an increasing community of researchers and a need for better documentation, a number of archives and data producers initiated development of the Data Documentation Initiative (DDI).⁷⁹ The DDI is a specification to document social science survey data clearly and consistently. Versions 1 and 2 (released in 2002) primarily aligned with the elements of a traditional printed codebook focusing on study, data files and variable metadata. Since it implemented a structured approach to social science metadata, the DDI promised to become the exchange format for archives and libraries that provide access to survey dataset collections.

Leadership change at the Roper Center in 1999 provided the opportunity to reprioritize the work of Center staff and refocus resources from producing in-depth analytical pieces to emphasizing its core mission of data preservation and data access. Richard Rockwell, while ICPSR's director, had overseen their changing data delivery modes from tape to web services and was named director of the Roper Center in 2000.⁸⁰ With an eye toward serving the research community in a dynamic environment, the Center began migrating its archive of some 14,000 surveys from magnetic tape to networked drives, scanning questionnaires and relevant survey documentation, building out additional methodological information elements, and experimenting with direct-to-the-user, web-based delivery mechanisms. As part of its transition towards becoming more proactive stewards of the data and responsive to users, staff members began regularly attending and hosting IASSIST meetings. Roper Center board meetings began to be held at the end of annual AAPOR conferences where new concepts discovered at the conference were brought to the forefront of the conversation.

The Census Bureau, in a broad effort to make data more accessible to the public and take advantage of new internet technologies, announced in 1998 a new web-based data delivery system called "the American FactFinder." The FactFinder provided for both standard (typically published tables) and nonstandardized access to Census data tables by population, geographic area, and a wide variety of variables for tabulation. By early 2001, the 2000 Census data were gradually released through the American FactFinder.

The Census Bureau's innovative work to provide timely and continuing access to its primary data collection efforts, was just one development regarding research access to U.S. Census data during the 1990s. At the University of Minnesota in 1992, the IPUMS (previously known as the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) project, began with funding from NSF to recover, integrate, anonymize, harmonize, and disseminate historical censuses for research purposes. Building on the work of the Census and Halliman Winsborough (University of Wisconsin), IPUMS, under the direction of Steven Ruggles, created microdata samples of the 1850 (with

⁷⁹ Mary Vardigan, Pascal Heus, Wendy Thomas, "Data Documentation Initiative: Toward a Standard for the Social Sciences," *The International Journal of Digital Curation* 3, no. 1 (2008), <http://www.ijdc.net/index.php/ijdc/article/view/66/>, (accessed June 15, 2019).

⁸⁰ Rockwell had also served earlier in his career as director of the Louis Harris Data Center at UNC's Odum Institute.

Russell R. Menard), 1880, and 1920 U.S. Censuses. These datasets and extensive documentation were released during by 1995, but required much perseverance from researchers to use easily and effectively. In 1997, IPUMS received additional grant funding from NIH and NSF to develop a system to extract, disseminate, and document in a more user-friendly manner the entire collection of integrated historical U.S. Census public use samples.

By the end of the 1990s, the archives had navigated the waters of incredible growth in content and changes in technology and were once again faced with new challenges and opportunities.

Public Opinion and Survey Data Archives: Standardization, Collaboration and the Challenges of Transparency 2000-present

The new millennium brought a time of standardization, collaboration, and integration to the archives, as well as a new set of challenges. Across the board, the major survey data archives had abandoned large university-based mainframe systems in favor of decentralized locally networked PCs and storage devices. These provided more flexibility to provide increased data resources and services to a broadening research community.

In the case of the Roper Center, developing a web-enabled, researcher-focused data delivery system boosted its user base seven-fold in a matter of just a few years. The Center's catalog of survey datasets was made available over the web in October 1998. POLL was redesigned and relaunched as a web-based service called *iPOLL* in May 2000, providing standardized campus-wide authenticated data access to hundreds of thousands of survey questions.

The Center partnered with the Kaiser Family Foundation to launch Health Poll Search database in January 2001. By 2003, questionnaires for over half the U.S. Archive were downloadable from the website and by October 1, 2005, *RoperExpress*, an integrated dataset download service was launched. Over the next year, dataset downloads more than tripled. These advances also helped to support ongoing relationships with data providers, preserving their survey data and providing added value to data and documentation.

In 2014, the University of Connecticut announced that it would withdraw support of the Roper Center prompting the Roper Center Board to search for a new institutional home for the Center's archive. In mid-2015, the Board selected Cornell University and the virtual and physical move took place in October of that year. Since that time, the Center has doubled the number of organizations contributing data and redeveloped its data preservation tools and workflows. In May 2019, the Center announced an expansion of its data acquisition policy to include recently developed survey methods including online nonprobability samples and recommitted to an enhanced methodological disclosure through the Roper Center Transparency Project.

For the ICPSR, the appointment of Myron Gutmann as Executive Director in 2001 ushered in a time of growth in research activities and grant funding for the organization. In 2001, ICPSR launched its web download service ICPSR Direct to provide direct access to datasets, with personalized "MyData" accounts introduced several years later. New topical archives and data collections were also funded during the 2000s, including Resource Center for Minority Data (RCMD), National Addiction and HIV/AIDS Data Archive Program (NAHDAP), and China Multi-Generational Panel Datasets Series, among them. Extensive work was initiated to

streamline and standardize the data processing and preservation activities of the ICPSR. Staff engaged in funded research with various partner organizations to advance the state of social science preservation efforts that continue to the present.

At the Odum Institute, the Public Opinion Item Index system was relaunched as a web-based system, improving access to its core collection of questions. Odum staff continued to add new surveys into the Item Index and, also, went back and captured previously unpublished survey results over time. By 2006, Odum had once again improved and upgraded their online data access by using the Virtual Data Center (developed at Harvard and University of Michigan), eventually migrating to the Dataverse data management platform to provide users with a growing array of access services.

During this time, all the archives expanded their ability to capture and enhance available survey methodology information in an effort to make decisions about data acquisition and also to better inform future researchers about data quality.

In fact, during this period a paradox emerged: while the field was striving for greater transparency, many private/commercial research organizations were making decisions not to archive their data in a central public location. There are a variety of understandable reasons for moving towards decentralization of survey data. “Some individual researchers have been reluctant to deposit their data in archives because they wanted to avoid sharing it with potential competitors. Some lacked the time or expertise to prepare the metadata required for effective sharing. And some investigators simply did not recognize the long term value of their data.⁸¹” With a new understanding that legacy data sustains value beyond initial release, along with improved technologies, firms were able to more easily store and provide access to their holdings, while controlling access and monetizing their data.

Examples of this include the decision of the Harris Organization to discontinue data contribution efforts to the Odum Data Archive, especially as more of their data became sponsored and commercialized. The Roper Center experienced similar situations including a reduction in number of Gallup surveys during the advent of the Gallup Brain, and today no Gallup omnibus data are archived. Despite sharing a founding father, Elmo Roper, The Roper Organization stopped archiving data with the Center upon learning that competitors were accessing their data via POLL and using it to compete with them for contracts. Over the years, the Exit Polls’ principals delayed depositing complete datasets with the archives, as they found operating costs could be defrayed over a period of time post-election by responding to user requests. These trends have continued to the present.

This decentralization of data collection was one of the critical developments that underscored the relative positions of the archives and how they would approach future growth in content and changing user expectations. One focused on continued development of data management standards; another on the relationships among the archives, as well as data producers; and a third

⁸¹ John Crabtree, Marc Maynard, Lois Timms-Ferrara. “Developing Partnerships in the Social Sciences” Presented at the e-Social Science Conference, (2007), Ann Arbor, MI.

focused on extended technologies both to manage research output at the scale of individual researchers and to make it easily accessible to end users.

Continued Development of Standards: DDI Alliance

The DDI Alliance⁸² was established with a Steering Committee in 2003 under the auspices of ICPSR leadership. After the initial release of the Data Documentation Initiative, there was a newly organized effort to build out a more comprehensive and robust specification with the intention of encouraging more data archives and data producers to use it. DDI2 (still based on a “codebook” model of documentation) was released in 2003 and provided the platform for adoption by many archives around the world.

Over the next five years, the DDI Alliance adopted a lifecycle-based approach to survey documentation in order to capture and support continuing use and reuse of data resources throughout the research process. The flexibility of the specification provided support for richer content, more robust search possibilities, and interoperability between archives and projects. Based on an XML schema, the DDI’s computer-actionable metadata promised to become the backbone for software developments to follow.

At this time, there was an emergence of topic-specific archives that were utilizing DDI and implementing other best practices established at larger national and international archives. Two such archives are the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) and the Cultural Policy & the Arts National Data Archive (CPANDA). Both of these archives offer searchable databases of relevant topical literature and datasets in a self-serve format. The ARDA is located at Pennsylvania State University and “strives to democratize access to the best data on religion”⁸³ providing an assortment of information about religion for research and teaching. CPANDA was founded in 2001 as the first interactive digital archive of policy-relevant data on the arts and cultural policy in the United States. It was a collaborative effort of Princeton University's Firestone Library and the Princeton Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, and underwritten by the Pew Charitable Trusts. Considered a state-of-the-art archive when it was made public, CPANDA datasets have now been merged into the ICPSR special archive, National Archive of Data on Arts and Culture (NADAC).

Relationship Building: Data-PASS Initiative

In another example of collaborative developments, and a throwback to earlier days of the archives, the Data Preservation Alliance for the Social Sciences (Data-PASS)⁸⁴ was formed in 2004, underwritten by an award from the U.S. Library of Congress’s National Digital Information Infrastructure and Preservation Program (NDIIPP).⁸⁵ Data-PASS is a voluntary partnership created to identify, archive, catalog, and preserve social science research data.

Led by the ICPSR, other partners included the Institute for Quantitative Social Science at Harvard University, the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North

⁸² DDI Alliance Website. <https://ddialliance.org/> (accessed January 6, 2020).

⁸³ Association of Religion Data Archives website. <http://www.thearda.com> (accessed January 8, 2020).

⁸⁴ Data Preservation Alliance for the Social Sciences website. <http://www.data-pass.org/> (accessed January 8, 2020).

⁸⁵ Jonathan Crabtree, Darrell Donakowski. “Building Relationships: ‘A Foundation for Digital Archives.’” Last accessed on June 6, 2019. <http://www.ils.unc.edu/tibbo/JCDL2006/Crabtree-JCDLWorkshop2006.pdf>.

Carolina, the Electronic and Special Media Records Service Division at the National Archives and Records Administration, and the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut.

The Data-PASS partnership's primary goal was to identify and preserve historically significant digital social science data at risk of being lost. Among the archives, best practices in data preservation and access were discussed and documented. Domain jurisdictional issues and shared processing ideas were determined. A shared catalog was developed to ease the path for data discovery by end users. Additionally, much work was done to explore relationships and incentives among commercial, academic, and government data providers. And last, and most importantly, over 1,300 surveys were identified and many were found, recovered and archived for future research use.

One further benefit and outcome of the Data-PASS collaboration, is the restoration and completion of the USIA survey data collection for preservation and for research access. The Roper Center held some 200 plus survey datasets, supplemented by hundreds of reports from 1953-1972 and the National Archives housed datasets and documentation for nearly 1,000 surveys from 1973-1999. The Roper Center and the National Archives, working in tandem, identified, recovered, and processed surveys that were missing from each collection. The resulting collection contains over 1,250 survey datasets covering the entire existence of the United States Information Agency, 1952-1999.

Changing Technologies in a Networked World

The technologies supporting social science data archives in the United States have historically been developed in a customized way with each archive having a particular set of functional requirements and goals. While each archive has fundamentally the same general purpose -- time, finances, user expectations, and available technical resources have conspired to negate the possibility of a "one-size fits all, off the shelf" archive software solution. These locally customized systems were typically built around existing unique workflows and, in the case of older data, legacy software programs. While these formalized workflows have served the archives, and by extension, the research community well, integrated data processing and analysis solutions continued to be developed.

Survey Documentation and Analysis (SDA)⁸⁶ system is one of the oldest such integrated solutions, first developed at the University of California-Berkeley and released in 1996. SDA is a robust web-based survey data analysis system and has served as an online analysis home for the General Social Surveys and American National Election Surveys. In 2000, SDA was part of the group, including team members from NORC and the Roper Center, that received the AAPOR Innovators Award for developing web-based products for free dissemination of public opinion data. That group of researchers included: Thomas Piazza, J. Merrill Shanks, Charlie Thomas, Richard Rockwell, William Lefes, and Tom W. Smith.

⁸⁶ SDA: Survey Documentation and Analysis website. <https://sda.berkeley.edu/> (accessed January 8, 2020).

Another advancement was the Networked Social Science Tools and Resources, or currently called NESSTAR⁸⁷ software, originally released in 1999 by the Norwegian and U.K. archives. NESSTAR provides data cataloging, subset extraction, and exploratory analysis capabilities based on the Data Documentation Initiative specification. A critical differentiating feature is the ability to “federate” across multiple NESSTAR installations so that a researcher could concurrently search multiple archives. NESSTAR became a commercial product in 2002 and continues to be used in data centers in the United States and Europe.

Another contemporaneous system for data storage and access was the Virtual Data Center (VDC) developed at Harvard-MIT Data Center (HMDC) and the University of Michigan.⁸⁸ The VDC was an open-source, web-based system for management and dissemination of survey data conceptualized and initially developed in 2001, with VDC 1.0 released in 2004. The VDC was eventually superseded by the Dataverse Network⁸⁹ in 2007. The Dataverse Network, developed at Harvard University, is an open-source web-based application for publishing, referencing and analyzing research data. It provides mechanisms to sharing research outputs including datasets, journal articles, etc. Dataverse is currently in use by various data archives including the Odum Institute and Harvard University.

Transparency

Building comprehensive survey data collections, establishing and adopting standards for acquiring, documenting, and preserving those data, and providing ready access to varieties of user communities, resulted in the archives achieving a natural position to support the full research lifecycle. The lifecycle approach to the management of survey data focuses on the idea that research data are preserved and made accessible for reuse and repurposing.⁹⁰ Repurposed data can then be preserved in another state, combined with other data or subsetted in particular ways. The value of data at different points in the research process increases if they are documented and maintained appropriately.

The advent of required data management plans for many federal funding agencies including NIH and NSF, provided an opportunity for the archives to support researchers in efforts to adopt best practices for data management earlier in the research effort. Individual university library data management support teams developed around the country and the archives, especially ICPSR and Odum, provided critical leadership and guidance in sharing expertise and experiences.

It is also important to note that advances in computational capabilities have not only enhanced data analysis methods and approaches, it has (1) created a far more robust infrastructure for the volume, size, and complexity of survey research data; (2) allowed for the development of more complete and accurate metadata; and (3) vastly improved the interoperability of the various types of data.

⁸⁷ Nesstar website. <http://www.nesstar.com/> (accessed January 8, 2020).

⁸⁸ Micah Altman, et. al., “Overview of the Virtual Data Center Project and Software”, in JCDL '01: Proceedings of the 1st ACM/IEEE-CS joint conference on Digital libraries. New York, NY, USA: ACM; 2001: 203–204.

⁸⁹ The Dataverse Project website. <https://dataverse.org/> (accessed June 15, 2019).

⁹⁰ ICPSR The Data Life Cycle. <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/content/deposit/guide/#cycle> (accessed June 15, 2019).

The ability to integrate search capabilities with large-scale data analysis has been a driving force for the archives. More complete metadata developed in CATI/CAPI systems have enhanced the ability of the archives to document surveys more fully and preserve the context of the interview for future researchers. As mentioned before, capturing methodological information about the survey and details about the survey instrument in particular as early as possible is beneficial, but can be difficult. Current computing capabilities, metadata standards (DDI) and tools make this process easier and more complete.

New survey methods and modes developed around changing technologies and the decline of telephone survey participation rates contributed to a dynamic environment in the survey industry. The archives, for the most part, stayed a conservative course acquiring survey data based on traditional random sample methods, watching the progress and taking cues from end users and AAPOR conference presentations and discussions. Additionally, the technological advances added a complicating factor to the role and purpose of the archives. For years, they have argued that survey data had value beyond its initial purpose, indeed this is the reason the archives exist in the first place. The strength of that argument was finally being realized by media and commercial survey research firms and, coupled with advances in and decreased cost of data storage and data transfer, survey firms started to re-evaluate their data contributions to the archives. The path forward for the archives within a technically/methodologically and economically dynamic market was not clear.

In 2010, AAPOR President Peter Miller in his presidential address stated, “After decades of effort, we have yet to reach the place where survey researchers ‘describe adequately just what they do so that their findings can be objectively evaluated.’ AAPOR opted long ago to push for methodological disclosure rather than to write rules for research.”⁹¹ After describing how new communications and research environments have changed and impacted AAPOR’s ability to rely solely on enforcement of survey standards, Miller suggested “a proactive, positive approach... called the Transparency Initiative” focusing on recognizing those “organizations that routinely disclose essential information about their publicly-released studies.” AAPOR, through The Transparency Initiative,⁹² has as a goal to promote an open science of survey research and “makes no judgement about the approach, quality or rigor of the methods disclosed.” Membership in the Transparency Initiative (TI) initially under the leadership of Miller and subsequently guided and implemented by Tim Johnson (AAPOR President 2018), has grown tremendously since its inception in 2014, with nearly 100 survey organizations joining. The U.S. social science archives play a significant role in helping operationalize the need for transparency in research methods. The archives have developed a legacy as standard bearers for research data and related outputs. As far back as 1987, *Public Opinion Quarterly* required additional information about cited data sources if they were NOT already archived at either ICPSR or Roper Center, stating to potential authors: “All submissions that make use of survey data not archived at the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research or the Roper Center must contain the following information: (population sampled, response rate, field dates and exact question wording).”⁹³ During Peter Miller’s tenure as *POQ* editor (2002-2008),

⁹¹ Peter Miller, “The Road to *Transparency* in Survey Research,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2010): 602–06.

⁹² American Association for Public Opinion Research. *AAPOR Transparency Initiative*. <https://www.aapor.org/Standards-Ethics/Transparency-Initiative/FAQs.aspx> (accessed June 14, 2019).

⁹³ *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 290–91. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/51.2.290>.

he successfully established a practice of citing with standardized naming conventions for the archives or the databases from which data were retrieved. In 2010, the website FiveThirtyEight.com released its first set of pollster ratings and by 2014, the methodology for calculating those ratings included a variable test for methodological quality, positive if one of the following were present: if the polling firm was a member of (since defunct) NNCP (National Council on Public Polls), a participant in the AAPOR Transparency Initiative, or releases its raw data to the Roper Center Archive.⁹⁴

Conclusion

Survey data archives have historically played an important, yet understated, role in the development of AAPOR, providing a tangible link to the past for today's survey practitioners, especially graduate students and early career professionals. If the archives did not exist, AAPOR would have, at some point, had to face the real need to capture and preserve the vestiges of its past and the research output of industry pioneers and innovators. Visionaries like Elmo Roper, James Baxter, Warren Miller, George Gallup, Bud Roper, Harry O'Neill and a slew of other AAPOR members recognized the value of the archives and promoted their development. The archives through the years have been crucial in achieving widespread distribution of polling data, and as such, are largely responsible for the overwhelming numbers of consumers of surveys experienced today. Survey data archives offer the ability to triangulate theories and compare data across time, location, question wordings, methods, or survey shops. Without these repositories, scholarship would be restricted and training of new survey researchers limited.

The archives are uniquely situated to continue to help AAPOR and the survey-research industry train new practitioners, develop new approaches, providing the context of past work, but are beset with the ongoing challenges in a changing empirical research landscape and survey research industry.

For government-funded research, NSF and NIH guidelines and mandates for data management planning have helped to provide incentives for making research data accessible to researchers, but can be quite vague as to the implementation of those plans resulting in a hodgepodge of "self-archiving," "data in the cloud" mechanisms and platforms, such as Google Docs, Dropbox, and OneDrive, that technically satisfy data management guidelines, but can be as ephemeral as Facebook posts and Tweets.

On the commercial and media side of the industry, the value of case-level information, the relatively low cost of technical platforms to store raw files, in addition to the desire to discover and leverage new revenue streams, and of course, contractual obligations, have prompted many organizations to hold onto their own data and provide user access through paid subscriptions. This is akin to the current trend in entertainment content where individual content providers (think HBO, ESPN, CBS, Disney, etc.) are moving away from centralized access points (cable television systems, Netflix, Hulu, etc.) to develop their own dedicated for-pay streaming services, while others (Amazon, Netflix) are creating their own content.

Today, survey data archives actively and professionally perform curatorial functions over the lifespan of survey data to acquire, enhance, preserve, and provide data and related resources to

⁹⁴ How FiveThirtyEight Calculates Pollster Ratings. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-fivethirtyeight-calculates-pollster-ratings/> (accessed June 15, 2019).

researchers. From a larger view, like AAPOR, the archives continue to provide contemporary support addressing current research problems, while furnishing unique and important linkages to the methods, outcomes, and practitioners of the past. The pioneering vision that led to the creation of AAPOR and subsequently, the data archives will continue to reap dividends for researchers of the future.

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6. AAPOR and the Polls: Guidance and Defense, But Also Criticism

Kathleen A. Frankovic

In 1992, *A Meeting Place* described AAPOR's relationship with public polls (those public opinion polls conducted by organizations outside of academia, usually news organizations, meant for public release) as one of varying engagement, sometimes dealing with "scandals" arising from pre-election polls, sometimes with misrepresentation of poll results, and occasionally creating conflicts between public pollsters and those in academia.

From 1992 until today, the path of public polls – like that of survey research in general – has not been easy. The Presidential Address of 1993 (Frankovic, 1993) described a time of unparalleled success for public opinion research, and the major caution it outlined in its title was one of the "Unintended Consequences of Success." In 1993, the concerns and difficulties of the next two decades were yet to be discovered: the rise of mobile phones, increasing nonresponse, extensive political attacks on opinion polls, and the rise of polling online, which opened up the floodgates of conflict over probability vs. nonprobability (which harkened back to the debates between quotas and probability after the 1948 election troubles).

But things change. In 1993, AAPOR Council argued about whether or not to make a statement about Ross Perot's "National Referendum," finally doing so after other organizations attacked Perot's method and his intent. By 2019, President David Dutwin (Dutwin, 2019) would call for an AAPOR defense of polls in his address: "We have to learn to professionalize our communication and advocate for our members and our field. There are no such things as sidelines anymore. We must do our part to defend survey science, polling, and the very role of public opinion in a functioning democracy ... I would argue that AAPOR must say, democracy dies in silence, when the vehicle for public opinion, surveys, has been twisted to be distrusted by the very people who need it most, ordinary citizens. For the most part, AAPOR has been silent. We can be silent no more."

In the time since the publication of *A Meeting Place* (Sheatsley and Mitofsky, 1992), AAPOR has moved far beyond the tentative steps it took in assessing public polls in the 1990s to an assertion of its role in judging poll quality, with reports and statements evaluating (and criticizing) how polls are conducted.

AAPOR may spend more time criticizing and questioning opinion polls than it does in defending them, but it always defends them in principle. The defense of opinion polls can be seen in several areas: explicitly defending opinion polls from political attack, investigating methods when public polls do not successfully predict election outcomes, and encouraging good methods and above all, transparency.

In 1993, AAPOR Council struggled in a serious debate about whether or not AAPOR should issue a critical statement regarding a questionnaire presented in an issue on *TV Guide*, then the largest-circulation magazine in the United States, by former independent presidential candidate

Ross Perot. For Perot, this “poll” would be an addition to his nationally-broadcast “town hall,” presenting his questionnaire and its results to the public. The set of 16 questions was promoted as “The First National Referendum -- Government Reform.” The ballot (and the NBC broadcast) also included a suggestion that supporters join Perot’s political organization, United We Stand America.

Perot spent a total of \$690,000 on the *TV Guide* advertisement and the 30-minute prime time spot. While Perot’s approach violated AAPOR norms of respondent confidentiality and was also clearly a case of fundraising under the guise of research (frugging), AAPOR hesitated before making a statement, and left most of the criticism to the National Council on Public Polls (NCPP), which made the harshest criticism, saying the referendum, "could be the biggest polling hoax since the 'Literary Digest' declared Alf Landon the winner over Franklin Roosevelt in 1936." Harry O’Neill, President of the NCPP, added “It stinks (Baer, 1993).”

That certainly was a continuation of AAPOR’s activities since the founding of the NCPP in 1974. But when an AAPOR Past President, Warren Mitofsky, wrote an opinion piece in *The New York Times* titled “Mr. Perot, You’re No Pollster” (Mitofsky, 1993), his association with AAPOR was not mentioned.

AAPOR did, however, after much agonizing and debate, release a carefully-worded statement criticizing Perot’s plan, but the statement received far less coverage than the actions of others. Rich Morin quotes AAPOR’s statement in part in *The Washington Post*, noting that the Perot effort was "not a representation of what Americans think," and that the AAPOR Council added: "We hope this referendum, as flawed as it is for measuring public opinion, is not a come-on for Mr. Perot to build a mailing list to further the aims of United We Stand America." At the same time, the Council managed to give Perot a little praise, adding "This is a public service," in its two-page statement. "But if he really wants to know what the public thinks, there is a better way to do it. He could conduct a scientific poll with good questions (Morin, 1993).”

Contrast this with the political and poll-related activities of AAPOR in 2016-19. AAPOR produced an analysis of the pre-election polls in the 2016 election (AAPOR 2017b), critiqued a web survey from the Trump-Pence campaign that requested donations as another example of frugging (AAPOR 2017a), questioned the Commerce Department’s request to add a citizenship question to the 2020 Census (AAPOR 2018a) and praised the Supreme Court’s decision that prevented its addition.

Perhaps the most visible attempt to stop the misuse of polls came after the 1994 Congressional elections, when the Council engaged in what became a three-year standards case against Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster and message-tester. The GOP had advertised in its campaign what it called a “Contract with America,” containing a list of eight major reforms and ten policy bills the Republican Party would vote on if it took control of Congress in the 1994 election. Each of the points was described as having the support of at least 60 percent of the public.

The AAPOR condemnation was slow in coming. The Standards Committee did not receive a complaint about the “Contract” until 1996 and issued its statement in April 1997. This case underscored the difficulties of relying on AAPOR Standards procedures, which by definition,

follow a detailed and lengthy procedure. In its press release, AAPOR noted that they spent 14 months on the case.

The Luntz decision highlighted what had been AAPOR's major concern about polling through most of its history: disclosure. The release quoted from the Code: "Good professional practice imposes the obligation upon all public opinion researchers to include, in any report of research results, or to make available when that report is released, certain essential information about how the research was conducted." Luntz, who claimed that his polling data showed at least 60 percent public support for each of the planks of the Contract with America, had refused to respond when asked by AAPOR for basic facts about his research. He released only some information but claimed that the rest of the information required by the Code was "proprietary."

The Luntz case, while it was one of the few times AAPOR made a public statement finding a violation of the AAPOR Code, also underscores the difficulty AAPOR can have in using its standards procedures to respond to polling issues in a timely manner. AAPOR needs to wait for a complaint, and then follow detailed and specific procedures. By the time AAPOR made its decision in the Luntz case, it was too long after the 1994 polling to be news, and while Luntz is still occasionally linked in the media with the AAPOR censure, he has clearly moved on.

The 1990s saw a change in news coverage, as 24-hour news networks proliferated, and (later) the Internet provided a place for rapid reporting and eternal availability for poll results. AAPOR's relations with public polling has always been one of tension. Journalists who use polls are not academic researchers, and often struggle with analysis. Journalists have different interests – they look for "news" and sometimes go too far. Those who conduct polls for news organizations must manage journalists' expectations for immediacy and their researcher's standards for conducting quality work.

The number of public polls increased dramatically, and the presence of polls during high-profile events – the Persian Gulf War, the 1994 Winter Olympics (and the figure skating scandal of Tonya Harding and the attack on Nancy Kerrigan), and the trial of O.J. Simpson – gave pollsters the opportunity to track daily measurements. News could be made through the tracking of daily changes (or the lack of change) in the public's mind. Most especially, the polling surrounding the impeachment of President Bill Clinton provided the best example of the need for news. Until Hillary Clinton's first run for President in 2008, Monica Lewinsky was the woman whose name appeared in the largest number of questions in the Roper Center database (Frankovic, 2008). In part, that was because the news media expected a large negative turn in public assessment of the president during the impeachment and trial, a turn that never happened either in 1998 or 1999. These polls were highlighted in Michael Kagay's 1999 Presidential Address (Kagay, 1999), perhaps the only presidential address accompanied by handouts.

Monitoring methods would become difficult as methods were changing. Though most national polls in the 1990s used traditional approaches – live interviewers and random-digit-dialing – the public polls were becoming more diverse even then. Interactive voice response polls appeared in local markets in 1993. They were conducted using recorded voices (sometimes of a local news anchor) and completed and reported in a few days. While tracking polls prior to elections were

routinely conducted by campaigns in the late 1970s (and adopted by news media soon after), by the 1990s, they were being used to discover any changes in public opinion on multiple issues where change might occur in response to specific events: wars and scandals in particular.

There was a good reason why polls in this era were mostly still based on RDD and telephone calling. As late as 2004, more than 90 percent of U.S. households could be reached by landlines, which allowed for relatively easy sampling. News media were able to pioneer exit polling, tracking polls, and overnight instant reaction polls. Many still had their own in-house polling operations, while others used existing firms to conduct their polls (Frankovic, 2010). The prevalence of the news polls can be seen in AAPOR, too. In the 15 years between 1993 and 2007, at least seven AAPOR presidents were associated with news polls. In the next ten years, there were only two. Many cutbacks in internal polling operations (at the *Los Angeles Times* in 2008, and the *Minnesota Star-Tribune* in 2007) also changed news organizations' relationships with polls. NBC News ended its internal operation in the 1990's, while CBS News remained an in-house operation until 2013. But in the 2016 election, both organizations relied on online organizations for most of their polls (NBC News with Survey Monkey and CBS News with YouGov).

There were conflicts and disputes over polling in the 21st century. As response rates dropped (even before household landline dominance declined), there were discussions about AAPOR adding a requirement that polls disclose their response rates. Most news organizations had adopted the rules set by the NCPP for disclosure and reported that they did so in their releases. The NCPP rules did not include a requirement to disclose response rates. AAPOR President Betsy Martin pursued that goal in 2004, and noted it in her presidential address (Martin, 2004) that year. The end result was an AAPOR reporting requirement to disclose – no more than 30 days after a request has been made – information about response (participation rates for nonprobability surveys) or information so the requestor can calculate such a rate, according to the AAPOR Standard Definitions (AAPOR, 2015a; AAPOR; 2016a).

AAPOR's biggest challenges in dealing with public polls in this period included managing the aftermath of election polls that were different from the outcome of an election. Much like the reaction after the 1948 election, AAPOR needed to defend survey research from the attacks (in the media, from academics, and from politicians) after those apparent election stumbles. AAPOR drew a fine line between criticism and defense, and it was sometimes difficult to find the right balance.

After the 2000 presidential election, in which Republican George W. Bush defeated Democrat Al Gore in the Electoral College (though Gore had more popular votes), pre-election polls were not seen as the culprit (nearly all of them had suggested a very close election). The election hinged on who won the state of Florida, and news organizations, some of which had projected a win for Al Gore in that state early in the evening, later called the state for Bush. Both projections had to be reversed, and Bush eventually was declared the winner of the state's electoral votes, by a margin of only a few hundred votes. The network projection errors dominated the post-election coverage, and exit polls were called into question. Murray Edelman, the head of Voter News Service, the organization which conducted the exit polls and made projections from vote

tabulations, was President of AAPOR at the time. While AAPOR members served on committees established by news organizations to learn what happened, two testified in House of Representative Committee hearings, and NORC conducted a study of the Florida ballots, there was no official AAPOR response. Edelman's Presidential Address (Edelman, 2001) used his experience to describe the value of AAPOR during this time.

One other AAPOR President, Rob Daves, who served in 2006-2007, was attacked while he was running the Minnesota Poll, by politicians who did not like his poll results. There was picketing outside the offices of his employer, the *Minnesota Star-Tribune*. Like Edelman, Daves used his AAPOR Presidential Address (Daves, 2007) to talk about his experience, and that of other researchers in the previous decade, who had been attacked by partisans not for their methods, but for their results. Daves suggested that "pummeling the pollsters" had increased in that time period.

Later elections provided AAPOR with the chance to respond to election-polling issues. While the 2004 election did not have projection mistakes as 2000 did, there was still a poll-related controversy. In this case, some Americans may have been too willing to believe the precision of the exit polls in Ohio (the state that determined the Electoral College winner), arguing that Warren Mitofsky, who developed the exit poll, simply could not be wrong (for perhaps the first time in his professional life, Mitofsky disagreed with that claim). In its 2005 conference, AAPOR held a plenary lunch session to examine this question.

In 2008 and 2016, AAPOR was much more assertive in assessing perceived problems with pre-election polls. Two days after the New Hampshire primary in 2008, when Hillary Clinton defeated Barack Obama by just over two percentage points though pre-election polls suggested Obama had a solid lead, AAPOR issued a statement (AAPOR, 2008a; updated AAPOR, 2008b), noting (among other things) that opinion can change between poll and primary (28 percent of voters in one poll said they could still change their minds before election day), methodology can make a difference, and that disclosure is important. (The statement did not note that the New Hampshire Primary was held January 8, only five days after the Iowa Caucuses, held January 3. The two events are typically separated by more than a week.) This rather innocuous statement was followed by a more intense study. A committee, chaired by Michael Traugott, a former AAPOR president, examined the polls' methodologies and their analyses in a Task Force Report (AAPOR, 2009).

The Report included an overall view of more than just the 2008 New Hampshire primary polls. It reviewed polls in four state primaries: New Hampshire, South Carolina, California, and Wisconsin, though it was most concerned about the New Hampshire errors. It cited the timing of the primary just a few days after Iowa, the results of which could have complicated voter decisions (and which polls might not have been able to measure), as well as poll differences in assessing likely voters, differential nonresponse, which may have understated support for Clinton, and the possibility of social desirability influencing poll answers. But many other explanations lacked the data for the committee to assess their impact. In addition, the committee found it difficult to receive enough information about methodology from polling companies to evaluate individual polls.

The report took much longer than expected to produce. In fact, the final report did not appear until April 2009, more than a year after the New Hampshire primary. The slow response from pollsters led to several Standards cases based on nondisclosure of required information.

The Report recognized that negative assessment of “the polls” rose after the New Hampshire primary, stating: “The coverage of polls increased in amount after New Hampshire, turned more negative than in the period leading up to the primary, and became more focused on “the polls” as a group rather than on specific estimates produced by individual polling.” The negative comments from this content analysis were overwhelmingly about the lack of poll accuracy. That focus was a threat to the image of the entire survey industry.

AAPOR’s poll consciousness had preceded the 2008 election. The 2007 AAPOR Conference was dedicated to “Polls and Policy.” The conference’s plenary session was titled “Polls and the Practice of Politics,” with a panel including Mark Mellman and Dave Sackett, political pollsters, and the journalist Ron Brownstein of the *Los Angeles Times*. The next year’s conference, titled “Polls for the Public Good,” took place in New Orleans. There, Frank Newport led a session of government leaders looking at the impact of public opinion research after 2005’s Hurricane Katrina devastated the city.

In 1997, AAPOR also clarified what “push polls” are (AAPOR, 2007a). Put simply, they are “unethical political telemarketing,” disguised as research, designed to persuade voters, not to measure opinion.

Also in that year, AAPOR decided there might be better means than standards cases and investigations to improve public opinion research and reporting. It would not just investigate the polls (as it would do in 2008), but it would attempt to educate journalists on how to report polls. The effort to train journalists was not new; NCPP had sponsored training sessions at journalism conferences for years, and books for journalists on polling dated back at least to 1972, when Phil Meyer, who would become AAPOR president in 1989, first published *Precision Journalism: A Reporter’s Introduction to Social Science Methods*, one of the 50 books cited by AAPOR for shaping public opinion research (AAPOR, n.d.). But in 2007, AAPOR began a collaboration with the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, a nonprofit journalism school in St. Petersburg, Florida. The Poynter Institute, founded in 1975, provided online journalism training through its NewsU, which offers self-directed online courses for those interested. The AAPOR-NewsU partnership released its course in September 2007 and added a section on election polling two months later.

"This is an exciting new venture for AAPOR," said Nancy Mathiowetz, then the AAPOR president. "It goes directly to the heart of our goal to improve public understanding of public opinion and survey research methods."

The AAPOR Press Release, where Mathiowetz was quoted, noted: “The online course is ideal for new journalists, veteran journalists, journalism and political science students, bloggers, voters – anyone who wants to know why polls work and how they are conducted (AAPOR, 2007b).” The course has been updated several times, with the most recent revision done in 2019. In 2015,

AAPOR joined with the World Association for Public Opinion Research and ESOMAR, the Global Insights Community, to create an international version of the course.

The AAPOR/Poynter Course for journalists fills a void left by recent inaction by the NCPP. NCPP's last election review was completed for the 2012 election; the third (and apparently, most recent) edition of *20 Questions a Journalist Should Ask about Poll Results* was posted in 2006 (Gawiser and Witt, 2006). The organization, established in 1969, maintains a website (ncpp.org), but it is not updated and NCPP is now defunct.

AAPOR's intense response to 2008 primary polling meant there would now have to be increased focus on all polls, especially after elections. After the 2012 presidential election, AAPOR issued a statement that congratulated the public pollsters. It said in part that AAPOR wanted to "compliment pollsters who used established, objective scientific methods to conduct their polls, rather than subjective judgments about the electorate to make their forecasts (AAPOR, 2012)."

The 2016 election, like the 2000 contest, produced different popular vote and Electoral College winners. This time, AAPOR took a much larger role than it had in 2000, initiating a special report on the pre-election polls. That committee, chaired by Courtney Kennedy, was formed in April 2016, months before the election, and announced in a press release (AAPOR, 2016b) the day after the election. It completed its work much faster than the 2008 primary polling review committee did, producing a report (AAPOR, 2017b) only a few months after the election.

The 2016 election issues were even more complicated than those of 2008.

Nearly all national polls showed Clinton ahead of Republican Donald Trump. Public expectations of a Clinton victory may have been exacerbated by the role of poll aggregators, who placed the odds of a Clinton victory between 71 and 99 percent. Poll aggregators took all public polls and created a probability for a victory by each candidate. Some weighted specific polls differently in their models, others simply averaged the polls. Aggregators (the first of which, realclearpolitics.com, began in 2002) had been very successful in 2008 and 2012, just as pre-election polls had been from 1936 to 1944, before their failure in 1948.

The AAPOR report found that the national polls were generally accurate, giving Clinton an average lead of three percentage points. Her actual national vote count total was about two percentage points higher than the vote received by Donald Trump. This was in contradiction to the day-after-election claim in AAPOR's press release that "Although Clinton may actually win the popular vote, her margin is much lower than the 3 to 4 percent lead the polls indicated." (AAPOR, 2016b)

But polls in several states were more problematic. Although the AAPOR report noted that many polls suggested a close race, the overall picture presented in the pre-election analyses was that Clinton would win easily in the Electoral College. As it turned out, her nearly 3 million vote lead nationally was nullified by a combined 78,000 Trump plurality in three states, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, giving the Republican the Electoral College victory. The AAPOR analysis came to two important conclusions about those state polls: change in voting preference between the final state polls and the election, and one glaring methodological concern.

The NES exit polls showed a change in vote preference towards Trump in the last week of the campaign nationally, and especially in the three states that gave the president his Electoral College victory, supporting the Task Force's conclusion of a change in preference at the end of the campaign. The methodological problem was more critical for the state polls, as many of them did not weight data by education. There was a correlation between education and vote preference (majorities of those without a college degree preferred Trump), and less educated voters were underrepresented in many state polls' achieved samples. The NES exit polls indicated that more than half of voters did not have a college degree; 18 percent nationally and 20 to 22 percent in the three critical states had a high school diploma or less. The smaller representation of less-educated voters in polls and the relationship between education and candidate support in 2016 could have been corrected if weighting by education (something national polls usually do) had been employed.

AAPOR's more proactive role in managing its response to public polls continues: in 2018 AAPOR protectively set up a committee to study the pre-midterm election polls should there be perceived problems like those in 2016. But the 2018 pre-election polls were deemed essentially accurate, and the committee did not have to produce a report.

One of the most difficult areas for AAPOR and the polls has been navigating the struggle over methods. For decades, as survey research migrated from the early days of in-person interviews to landline- telephone polling, AAPOR needed to adjust to the changes. When upwards of 95 percent of the population had access to landline telephones, random samples of existing household phone numbers clearly were possible and became the ideal method of sampling (using an optimization technique – Mitofsky-Waksberg – that was partly developed by a practicing pollster). But as telephone usage shifted away from landlines to cell phones, new sampling methods were needed. Although at first cell phone-only respondents could be safely ignored, as they comprised less than 10 percent of the adult population in 2006, three years later that percentage had risen to 25 percent (Blumberg and Luke, 2018). By that time, most pollsters were incorporating cell phones in their samples, (Thee-Brenan, 2014) and that meant merging two separate samples, one based on households, the other on individuals. In 2008, AAPOR released a task force report (AAPOR 2008c) on ethical and methodological considerations when conducting surveys by cell phone. By 2018, a majority of the adult population could be contacted only via mobile phone (Blumberg and Luke, 2018) and at least half of completed interviews in most polls had to be conducted on cell phones.

At the same time that cell phone-only households were increasing, response rates were declining. They dropped 30 points from a 36 percent response rate in 2007 and to single digits in 2018 (Kennedy and Hartig, 2019).

Despite the concerns about response rates and coverage issues, through this entire period, telephone polls were still looked on by many as the best and most reliable polling method. Multiple organizations have limited their poll use to phone polls. The Democratic National Committee used only qualified telephone polls to determine which candidates would qualify for their 2020 debates, and multiple news organizations restrict reporting to telephone polls only. However, it was clear that public polling was changing, and AAPOR had to consider change as

well, even as it upheld probability telephone polls as the “gold standard.” As recently as 2017, an AAPOR Task Force saw a continuing future for telephone polling (AAPOR, 2017c). Still, other methods were being used as well.

In the early 1990s, SurveyUSA pioneered voice interactive response polling, which eliminated live interviewers for voice or keypad responses, opening up polling to local news organizations throughout the country. However, in order to remain believable in an environment that included a growing number of cell phones, IVR polls had to supplement their landline sample with either hand-dialed calls to cell phones or conduct online interviews with cell phone-only respondents (economically preferable because the cost was less).

In 1996, the Gordon S. Black Corporation bought Louis Harris and Associates, and in 1997 became Harris Interactive, which used Internet opt-in panels, sampling from them for polls and then weighting the sample to the population – and to a measure of propensity to use the Internet. Other organizations developed their own panels, sometimes based on selection by probability sampling (Knowledge Networks, whose founders, Doug Rivers and Norman Nie, were given the AAPOR Innovators Award in 2001, and NORC’s AmeriSpeak) and sometimes by opt-in methods.

The AAPOR 2016 Report found online polls, live phone, and IVR-online combinations had similar absolute error in their general election national polls, but larger differences in the battleground state polls. In 2016, approximately the same proportion of national polls conducted in the last two weeks of the general election campaign were conducted entirely with opt-in panels as were conducted by live interviews by telephone. There were only a few IVR national polls (less than 10 percent of total national polls, and none conducted in the last two weeks before the election). Far more were conducted in battleground states.

AAPOR has taken strong stands against opt-in polls, despite their apparent recent success, their prominence, and the fact that many members are using them. CBS News, NBC News, and the *New York Times*, among other polling organizations, have used online samples. When CBS News and the *New York Times* did that in 2014, AAPOR expressed its dismay in a press release (AAPOR, 2014a), noting that these polls “spark[ed] concern among many in the polling community.” But the release then focused on disclosure, noting limited information in the two news organizations’ stories, and a “high level overview” online, about which AAPOR wanted more information.

This was not the first time AAPOR had been critical of online sampling. In 2010, a Task Force Report (AAPOR, 2010) concluded that “**Researchers should avoid nonprobability online panels when one of the research objectives is to accurately estimate population values.** There currently is no generally accepted theoretical basis from which to claim that survey results using samples from nonprobability online panels are projectable to the general population. Thus, claims of ‘representativeness’ should be avoided when using these sample sources.” But the report allowed that there were times when using nonprobability samples could be appropriate (noting the term coined in 1992 of “fitness for use”) and, like so many AAPOR statements regarding polls, the importance of methodological disclosure. Just as in the statement

in 2014 about CBS News and the *New York Times* mentioned above, not enough was being disclosed about the methods used by online polls.

The same necessity for disclosure was cited in the 2016 Task Force Report “Evaluating Survey Quality in Today’s Complex Environment (AAPOR, 2016c).” It provided 17 questions that users should ask in order to evaluate survey quality in areas of coverage, sampling, nonresponse, and measurement, among other areas at a time when “the public’s appetite for surveys has never been stronger.” This task force included members with experience in conducting online polls.

For news organizations facing budget cuts, the choice might be dropping polling entirely, or finding less expensive ways of conducting it. That sometimes – but not always – opened the door to the more visible use of Internet polling.

Changing methods have also forced AAPOR to deal with very nontraditional (but increasingly popular) methods of determining public opinion based on [social media](#) and the use of [big data](#). A 2014 AAPOR Task Force Report, “Social Media in Public Opinion Research” (AAPOR, 2014b) noted that it was unclear when social media research might be fit for use in public opinion research; a 2015 report on big data saw “great potential” but also “fundamental challenges” in its use (AAPOR, 2015b).

AAPOR’s mission includes the role of “act[ing] as an advocate for survey and opinion research and its practitioners.” That is, however, the last of eight goals in AAPOR’s professed mission statement, which includes the role of AAPOR as educator and AAPOR as the promoter of high ethical standards and best practices. Dutwin’s Presidential Address was unusual in highlighting the importance of protecting the discipline and its practitioners.

AAPOR has had a difficult time advocating for public polls. Partly that is because there are poll shortcomings – public polls done outside of academia are conducted quickly, reducing response rates. They may not be explained well in the news media. And criticism may be easier than praise. In part, that is due to how polls appear in AAPOR’s most visible records: AAPOR has either reviewed poll quality in the wake of accusations of irregularities (the 2000 election, the 2008 primaries, the 2016 election), or has issued statements when the Executive Council sees what it believes to be the misuse or misapplications of polling methods. However, there appears to be no policy on when these are needed.

There was one very clear (though unofficial) example of a good defense of a poll in the statements of two AAPOR past presidents following President Trump’s criticism of the Fox News Poll in a June 2019 tweet: “[@FoxNews](#) Polls are always bad for me. They were against Crooked Hillary also. Something weird going on at Fox. Our polls show us leading in all 17 Swing States.... More Fake News”

In the *Washington Post* (Wemple, 2019), past presidents Frank Gallup and David Dutwin praised Fox News Polls, noting their methodological standards and their transparency – two things that AAPOR cares very much about. AAPOR tweeted a link to the *Post* article on June 21, mentioning the praise from AAPOR’s leaders.

Beyond the defense of polls, AAPOR's and pollsters' goals coincide when it comes to stressing the importance of polling. That has been reflected in AAPOR Conferences highlighting polls and the recognition of nonacademic polling's impact on policy. In 2010, a study of opinion in Iraq and Afghanistan conducted by ABC News, BBC, ARD German TV, NHK General TV, *Time Magazine*, *USA Today*, and *Der Spiegel*, part of a much broader set of news reports called "Where Things Stand," about progress (or lack of progress) in Iraq and Afghanistan, was awarded the AAPOR Policy Award.

In 2013, an [AAPOR task force on polling and democracy](#) (AAPOR, 2013) noted public opinion's role in influencing policy in a democracy, part of the founding statements of AAPOR. But as time passed, methods and process had become more dominant themes for AAPOR. It was time to think more about the use of public opinion data in decision making and the challenges of such use. To insure this happened, the task force said AAPOR needed to become more of an advocate for such public opinion use.

AAPOR's relationship with public polls is likely always going to be tense. After all, public polling issues and problems have created much work for AAPOR over the years. But the relationship has survived – AAPOR remains the host organization for many public pollsters – so it is likely to continue for many more years to come.

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7. Government Relations

Craig A. Hill and Cynthia R. Bland⁹⁵

To be straightforward, AAPOR does not actually *have* “government relations”—at least, not officially: it does not have a government relations office or role or council member. But, because its members are conducting studies of public opinion or using survey research as a tool, AAPOR and its members *do* find themselves affected by, or at the very least, interested in the government⁹⁶ for two main reasons: (1) governments may attempt to regulate or limit data collection and survey research, and (2) governments may sponsor, or fund, or otherwise facilitate and enhance the practice of survey research. In this chapter, we examine AAPOR’s relations with the government—in both directions—from about 1992 to the present.

Before doing that, though, it is important to note that AAPOR does not take a direct advocacy role towards government; however, the organization’s “Mission and Goals” (amended in December 2013) states, among other aspirations, that AAPOR strives to “...educate policy makers”—most of whom one would presume are in a government role; do “...systematic analyses of public opinion on the major issues of the day”—many of which would be considered “political” and, as such, quasi-governmental; and, “...act as an advocate for survey and opinion research.” On the other hand, AAPOR’s by-laws are completely silent on the topic of government relations; however, its Strategic Plan (<https://www.aapor.org/About-Us/Who-We-Are/Strategic-Plan.aspx>) echoes the mission statement, stating that one of AAPOR’s focuses is “...advocating and educating the public, news media, decision-makers and others on the importance of quality measurement and need to support organizations critical to our field.”

In the remainder of this chapter, we provide a brief examination of AAPOR’s (and, to a certain extent, its members’) (1) relations with government as dictated by regulations, rules, and legislation that wholly or in part, directly and sometimes indirectly, impact the conduct of public opinion research and (2) AAPOR’s relations with, and toward, government agencies that conduct or sponsor public opinion or survey research.

Regulation, Rules, and Legislation Pertaining to Public Opinion Research

The work of AAPOR members—primarily public opinion research and survey research—is often impacted, and sometimes directly affected, by government regulations and rules. In this section, we cover several government actions that have had major influences on our field during 1992 to the present, including rules pertaining to privacy and data security; U.S. federal government-issued standards and guidelines; government contracting regulations; and, state- and local-level regulations and restrictions.

Privacy and Data Security. There are several government-enacted rules and regulations that seek to govern and protect the data of citizens (potential respondents) and, as such, have an impact on the conduct of public opinion research, including (but not limited to) the Telephone

⁹⁵ The authors wish to acknowledge the contributions of Victoria Dounoucos, also of RTI International, who provided valuable research in the AAPOR archives.

⁹⁶ In this chapter, we use “government” to refer to the entire public sector in the United States, meaning government agencies across the federal, state, and local levels.

Consumer Protection Act (TCPA, 1991); the Privacy Act (1974); the Confidential Information Protection and Statistical Efficiency Act (CIPSEA, 2002); the Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA, 1996); the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR, 2018); and the Common Rule (CR 2019).

TCPA. The Telephone Consumer Protection Act (TCPA) was passed by the United States Congress and then signed into law in 1991 by President George H. W. Bush as Public Law 102-243, amending the Communications Act of 1934, and codified as 47 U.S.C. 227. The spirit of the law was an attempt to reduce (eliminate) the frequency of unwanted and unsolicited telephone calls, interrupting dinner and tying up (predominantly, at the time) landlines. To prevent these intrusions, the TCPA restricted the use of “automatic telephone dialing systems,” broadly limited the use of prerecorded voice messages, and prohibited outreach to mobile phones without “prior express consent” from the call recipient. Further, the TCPA limited the use of automatic dialing systems, artificial or prerecorded voice messages, SMS text messages, and fax machines. The TCPA permitted recovery of actual statutory damages ranging from \$500 to \$1,500 per unsolicited call; in addition, courts could treble the statutory damages if they found that the defendant “willfully” or “knowingly” violated the TCPA.

In 1991—when the TCPA was first enacted—over 90 percent of U.S. households still relied on a landline phone, and survey research/data collection organizations quickly adapted: the TCPA’s restrictions on calls made to home phones is generally limited to commercial telemarketing and was not aimed at noncommercial calls, including for survey research; similarly, survey research was exempted from the Do Not Call Registry (promulgated under a different federal statute). This registry was initiated in 2003 and telemarketers were covered by this legislation since 2005. Further legislation in 2007 improved the registry and allowed phone numbers to remain on this list indefinitely.

As the prevalence of cell/mobile phones owned by American consumers grew, however, the TCPA regulations became increasingly constraining since the law strictly prohibited, absent prior consent, virtually any nonemergency call (or text) made with an “automatic telephone dialing system” (“autodialer”) to cellphones. And, in fact, this was made worse (from the perspective of data collection organizations) by a Declaratory Ruling from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in July 2015, which substantially broadened the definition of an autodialer: “equipment which has the capacity (A) to store or produce telephone numbers to be called, using a random or sequential number generator; and (B) to dial such numbers.” Worse yet, the FCC’s Ruling said that any system that had that *capacity*—even if it was not used—or *could have* that capacity in the *future* would be considered an autodialer.

In response, AAPOR formed a Task Force, which produced a White Paper⁹⁷ (May 2016) intended to provide information and interpretation of the new Declaratory Ruling to its members; in addition, and somewhat later (July 2018), AAPOR joined forces with the Marketing Research Association (now known as the Insights Association) to file a petition with the FCC,⁹⁸ urging the

⁹⁷ APOR’s White Paper on the TCPA is available only to AAPOR members

⁹⁸ <https://www.aapor.org/getattachment/Publications-Media/Press-Releases/Insights-and-AAPOR-File-FCC-Petition-Seeking-Legal/insights-fcc-petition-10-30-17.pdf.aspx>

FCC to clarify the difference between marketing research and marketing. It further argued that elucidation could eliminate unnecessary lawsuits and reduce the costs and increase the acceptance and use of marketing research.

Under the “Education/Resources” tab on its website, AAPOR has a page⁹⁹ devoted to providing the latest information about TCPA and its possible effects on members.

The Privacy Act, CIPSEA, and HIPAA. The Privacy Act of 1974 (5 U.S.C. 552a) “requires the safeguarding of individuals” against the invasion of privacy; as a result, the government—and any contractor working on behalf of the government—must develop and implement appropriate safeguards regarding study participants’ data and information. In addition, legislation covering the confidentiality of such information was enacted with the passage of CIPSEA in 2002 (PL-107-347), which proscribed fines and penalties for the disclosure of data and information that are gathered for statistical purposes. Similarly, the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996, commonly known as HIPAA, was created to modernize the flow of health care information and outline how personally-identifiable information (PII) is maintained and protected; HIPAA, also, proscribes fines and penalties for data breaches.

GDPR. In April 2016, the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) was enacted in the European Union, aimed at giving control to individuals over their personal data, including survey or panel responses. GDPR became effective on 25 May 2018. Despite the fact that AAPOR is an *American* organization, its members are overwhelmingly supportive (81 percent “very” or “extremely” important¹⁰⁰) of being inclusive of members “from countries other than the US” and has become an increasingly global association (and, of course, is strongly connected to the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR)); for this and other reasons, GDPR has wide-reaching effects because it protects EU citizens regardless of where they are located. Further, many AAPOR members work for research companies that work in the United States *and* Europe and will need to adhere to the GDPR principles. Specifically, these include the rights of access and erasure. Covered individuals may access their personal data and know how this is being used or shared. This access also pertains to data the individual provides to a survey organization (e.g., a response to a survey item) and information or behavior that is being observed (e.g., survey paradata). The right to erasure is commonly known as the “right to be forgotten.”

From a survey research perspective, GDPR requires that data protection be designed into the survey process, including responsibility and accountability for data breaches and there are stiff penalties and sanctions for lack of compliance. Furthermore, GDPR has affected staffing of survey research organizations: firms must designate a Data Protection Officer (DPO) to address IT processes and data security issues like cyberattacks; additionally, firms located outside of the EU must provide an EU-based representative.

Indeed, it is likely that organizations that operate solely in the U.S. currently and do not have contact with EU citizens will need to comply with this type of legislation in the future; by way of, for example, the California Consumer Privacy Act, which was passed in 2018 and will become effective in 2020. This act focuses on the right to refuse the sale of personal information, data access rights, and privacy policies. The penalties for violations are less severe

⁹⁹ AAPOR’s webpage with the latest TCPA information is available only to AAPOR members

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.aapor.org/getattachment/Membership/Membership-Research/2018AAPORSurveyToplinesWeb.pdf.aspx>

than under GDPR, but will likely incentivize businesses to focus on consumer privacy and rights. Beyond the regulations, this move toward enhanced data privacy rights will be an important aspect of earning and maintaining respondent cooperation.

The Common Rule. The Common Rule is a set of regulations covering biomedical and behavioral research using human subjects, which outlines the minimum ethical guidelines required for conducting government-funded research using human subjects in the United States; indeed, most U.S. academic institutions follow these standards. Organizations and institutions covered by the Common Rule must have processes in place for assuring compliance with the rule, must properly use informed consent, and must adhere to details about the membership and functioning of their Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Common Rule requires additional protections for vulnerable research subjects including pregnant women, fetuses, children, or prisoners.

This set of regulations was initially enacted in 1981, updated in 1991, and a new set of changes aimed at modernizing the Common Rule took effect on 21 January 2019 (following a revision period of almost eight years). Most of these latest changes are intended to result in a better fit for a wider variety of research settings, areas, and fields, including several burden-reduction provisions: for example, revised definitions of “research,” the elimination of annual continuing review for certain categories of research, and the elimination of requiring IRBs to review grant applications. Notably, the revised Common Rule allows an IRB to exempt some types of research including “research involving educational tests, surveys, interviews, or observations of public behavior with adults that: a) has no linkable identifiers, or b) disclosure of the responses places the subject at no risk of civil or criminal liability and will not be damaging to the subject's financial standing, employability, or reputation.”

AAPOR's Stance. The spirit of these laws and regulations is directly aligned with AAPOR's Code of Professional Ethics and Practices¹⁰¹ last revised in 2015. Specifically, the code indicates that research with participants should be in accordance with all laws and that the rights of minors and vulnerable individuals will be protected. Research involving personally identifying information has further restrictions: central among those (and directly related to GDPR) is recognizing the rights of participants to know how their personally identifiable data is used and guaranteeing protection from disclosure.

For the most part, AAPOR has not found it necessary to take a stand or make a public pronouncement about these regulations or laws. But, while the U.S. government was in the process of considering changes to the Common Rule, AAPOR saw fit to make a public statement¹⁰² in 2015 in response to the government's Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM), commenting on specific issues (but not the Common Rule in its entirety). AAPOR suggested clarifications, requested definitions, discussed exemptions, and explained rationale based on practical research considerations, making several points in its statement, including: (1) because HIPAA was not designed with social science research in mind, its “...rules unnecessarily constrain research data collection (e.g., in much social research, the collection of county or zip code will not allow identification at the level of person.)”; (2) instead, Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval could be an alternative for “minimal-risk” social science research; (3)

¹⁰¹ <https://www.aapor.org/Standards-Ethics/AAPOR-Code-of-Ethics.aspx>

¹⁰² [https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/Public-Statements/AAPOR-Response-to-Notice-of-Proposed-Rulemaking-\(N.aspx](https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/Public-Statements/AAPOR-Response-to-Notice-of-Proposed-Rulemaking-(N.aspx)

“Overall, we agree that some of these proposals would promote the NPRM goals of increasing protections for human subjects while reducing burden, delay, administrative costs, and ambiguity for researchers. Others, however, could conceivably add burden, delay, and cost to valuable research while providing no real additional protections to research subjects”; and, finally, (4) “AAPOR is a strong advocate of transparency in the discussion of risks to human subjects.”

AAPOR made no further statements during the revision period (which spanned eight years).

U.S. Federal Government Standards and Guidelines. AAPOR has its own Standards Committee, which is charged with the responsibility to maintain, monitor, and improve professional standards in the field of public opinion and survey research. Elsewhere in this book, there is a chapter on methods which discusses AAPOR’s standards and guidelines pertaining to practical and operational survey issues such as respondent burden, response rates, and nonresponse bias. But, AAPOR members also often have to consider regulations and standards from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and/or an IRB.

OMB. As noted, AAPOR members who work for or with the U.S. federal government have additional standards and guidelines to follow: first and foremost among these is the Office of Management and Budget’s (OMB) Standards and Guidelines for Statistical Surveys, promulgated in 2006.¹⁰³ Survey researchers working for, or on behalf of, the U.S. federal government must participate in the OMB clearance process to justify the methods, approach, need for the survey, and burden on the American public.

There is a fast-track option for OMB clearance; under that protocol, data collection must focus on improving an existing product, must be voluntary, must not require statistical rigor, must show low participant burden, and results cannot be publicly released. However, the standard (i.e., not fast-track) OMB approval is typical for most AAPOR members and their organizations. Herein, we do not describe in detail the many steps in the OMB process, but we note that the time from initial submittal of Form OMB 821 to official approval is significant and can often take nearly an entire year, depending on the volume of competing OMB applications and complexity of the research.

OMB’s review of a submitted “package” involves scrutiny of the survey instrument and statistical methods, and imposes certain mandates or performance standards (as described in Smith, 2007). These technical standards include specific definitions of response rates using agreed-upon formulae and common customary practices for calculating nonresponse bias. Since 2006, OMB has required survey organizations to conduct a nonresponse bias analysis for surveys achieving a response rate less than 80 percent. While AAPOR has published extensive guidance on response rate calculations, it does not provide specific guidance for navigating the OMB process and has little comment about OMB in general. This stance may have best been summed up by Diane Colasanto in her 1997 AAPOR Presidential Address: “...we think research standards are vitally important, but we have never been able to agree on standards of performance.” While AAPOR members work closely with the government through this OMB process, AAPOR has not advocated for specific standards or processes.

IRB. An IRB is an administrative body established to protect the rights, welfare, and privacy of human research subjects recruited to participate in research activities conducted under the

¹⁰³ <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2006-09-22/pdf/06-8044.pdf>

auspices of the institution with which it is affiliated. An IRB is charged with the responsibility of reviewing, prior to its initiation, all research (whether funded or not) involving human participants. An IRB has the authority to approve, disapprove, monitor, and require modifications in all research activities that fall within its jurisdiction as specified by both the federal regulations and institutional policy. IRBs typically have members of varying backgrounds in order to provide complete and adequate review of human research and its institutional, legal, scientific, and social implications. AAPOR members who conduct work for (or on behalf of) universities typically have their research protocols fall under IRB purview. In 2013, AAPOR's Standards Committee provided guidance on working with IRBs through a panel at the 2014 annual conference and an update of materials on the AAPOR website.¹⁰⁴

Service Contract Act. The McNamara-O'Hara Service Contract Act, originally passed in 1965, requires contractors and subcontractors performing services on prime contracts in excess of \$2,500 with the U.S. federal government to pay service employees in various classes no less than the wage rates and fringe benefits found prevailing in the locality. Ultimately, AAPOR members who work for institutions that carry out federally-contracted work saw this provision applied to interviewers (both field and phone). To date, AAPOR has made no statements about this set of regulations.

Federal Government-Sponsored Survey Research (Official Statistics)

There are 13 official statistics agencies¹⁰⁵ in the U.S. federal government, and AAPOR members are either employed by, or work with, all of them. Almost all of the statistical agencies rely on primary data collection of one stripe or another; thus, survey research practitioners and statisticians are often directly involved in the production of these official statistics. As of December 2018, by way of example, almost 9 percent of AAPOR members classified themselves as "government employees"¹⁰⁶.

AAPOR has become somewhat more "vocal" in the past decade or so, releasing an increasing amount of public statements, often pertaining to government action, decisions, or budgets. By virtue of its size, prominence, and what it does, the U.S. Census Bureau has, more often than any other statistical agency, received quite a bit of attention from AAPOR over the years.

AAPOR and the Census Bureau. Since 2010 (as far back as electronic records go), for example, AAPOR has released six statements (on its website and to the press/media) pertaining to Census Bureau issues or concerns, summarized below:

Condemns Republican National's Committee's use of "Census" in a fund-raising mailing. AAPOR's public statement in January 2010 characterized this mailing from the RNC as fund-raising under the guise of survey research (*aka* "frugging") and noted that its use of the term

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.aapor.org/Standards-Ethics/Institutional-Review-Boards/Full-AAPOR-IRB-Statement.aspx>

¹⁰⁵ Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA); Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS); Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS); Bureau of Transportation Statistics (BTS); Census Bureau; Energy Information Administration (EIA); Economic Research Service (ERS); National Agricultural Statistical Service (NASS); National Center for Education Statistics (NCES); National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS); National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics (NCSES); Office of Research Evaluation and Statistics (ORES); and, Statistics of Income (SOI)

¹⁰⁶ personal communication: Emily Geisen, 2019 AAPOR Member Relations chair

“Census” could confuse U.S. residents and, ultimately, depress response rates to the then upcoming 2010 decennial census.

Supports Efficiency and Management Reform Act of 2010. In December 2010, AAPOR released a statement supporting this bill, which would result in a five-year appointment for future Census Bureau Directors.

Joins more than 40 other organizations in support of the 2012 U.S. Census Bureau Budget. AAPOR joined a diverse group of national, state, and local organizations to decry, in July 2012, an attempt to reduce substantially the FY2013 Census Bureau budget and, in particular, imperil the American Community Survey (ACS).

Support for the nomination of John Thompson as Census Bureau Director. In the summer of 2013, AAPOR authored a statement in support of John Thompson (a long-time AAPOR member, incidentally)—to become the next Director, writing that he would be a knowledgeable, experienced leader, and urging quick confirmation.

Thompson’s resignation. Ironically, the next statement from AAPOR regarding the Census Bureau came in the wake of Thompson’s sudden resignation in 2017. AAPOR’s statement urged the President to appoint a replacement of “equal caliber” and also expressed concern that both budget and preparations for the 2020 decennial were likely inadequate.

Citizenship question. In early 2018, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross directed the Census Bureau to add a question to the 2020 Decennial Census asking about respondents’ citizenship status. AAPOR issued a public statement in April 2018, noting that the Trump administration’s plan to add a “new, untested” citizenship question to the 2020 Census form could impact the quality of the census data. AAPOR strongly recommended that the Department of Commerce reconsider this decision, noting that it is both “methodologically unsound” and “apparently [a] political decision.” AAPOR also signed on, as an institutional member, to a “community statement” organized by the Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA).¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, and after a year-long legal fight, three federal judges permanently blocked the Presidential administration from using the 2020 decennial census to ask about the citizenship status of every person living in every household in the country.

AAPOR and other Federal Statistical Agencies. AAPOR, from time to time, has also released public statements about other federal statistical agencies, including two recent examples.

BLS budget and leadership. Reacting to a prolonged vacancy at the top of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, AAPOR released a letter to the newly-appointed Secretary of Labor as a public statement in which it urged that he “prioritize the filling of BLS leadership positions,” including the “swift appointment of a BLS commissioner with the necessary credentials.” Also, AAPOR recommended “appropriate funding levels for the Bureau...” noting that “BLS has been flat funded since FY2010, resulting in a 14% cut to its purchasing power due to inflation.”

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.cossa.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Census-Comment-Aug2018-FINAL.pdf>

eBEA budget. In May 2018, AAPOR and 19 other organizations penned a letter (also released as a Statement¹⁰⁸) to members of the House and Senate Appropriations subcommittees on Commerce, Justice, and Science. The undersigned organizations wrote to convey strong support of \$104 million for the FY19 budget of the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA). This amount would allow the BEA budget to continue its important work at the same level as in FY15, accounting for inflation, and restore programs cut or pared back due to budget reductions in FY18.

Discussion

AAPOR's government relations are not a core element of its strategy or mission. We do, however, see evidence of increasingly frequent statements about government actions—either proposed or enacted—that could influence or impact the work and professional lives of AAPOR members. In fact, from 1992 to the present, we have seen an uptick in the number of times that AAPOR inserts itself into government relations, typically through these mechanisms:

- Encouraging ethical behavior and rigorous scientific research methods in all areas where members do their work—because this work often is in support of evidence-based policymaking
- Creating task forces to examine emerging areas and provide reasoned advice on a topic through the publication of a White Paper or Report
- Responding to Notices of Proposed Rulemaking
- Undertaking public advocacy campaigns, which are distinct from lobbying the government or officials

In the original edition of *A Meeting Place*, Abelson (1992) suggested that there were four explanations for AAPOR's infrequent activity vis-à-vis governments: (1) AAPOR is not organized to do much about government initiatives; (2) AAPOR represents individuals, not organizations; (3) the interests of AAPOR members overlap, but are not identical; and (4) political action is specifically excluded from the AAPOR charter. Further, he noted that there existed "other voices" that were able to speak out about government activities. Below, we reprise the four reasons and offer an updated take on each of them.

1. AAPOR's organization. Abelson noted that, when he was writing, the limited number of Council meetings and AAPOR's by-law-mandated authority structure were not conducive to acting quickly enough to influence, or even comment on, anticipated government activities, regulations, or initiatives. But, of course, times have changed and AAPOR (like everyone else) now has access to modern technologies that facilitate meeting more often (by telephone, by videoconference, by group chat, etc.) that would, in fact, allow Council (and subcommittees or Task Forces) to get together as quickly and as often as exigencies demand. In addition, AAPOR (like everyone else) now has at its disposal communication platforms that did not exist in 1992, including its website, mass- or bulk email (listservs), electronic press releases and public statements, social media presence, and a vast arsenal of other marketing and public outreach platforms. Indeed, as documented above, we have seen AAPOR use these kinds of tools much

¹⁰⁸ [https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/Public-Statements/AAPOR-Joint-Statement-on-BEA-Funding-\(1\).aspx](https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/Public-Statements/AAPOR-Joint-Statement-on-BEA-Funding-(1).aspx)

more frequently in the last ten years; for example, since 2010, AAPOR has published 17 “Statements” on its website,¹⁰⁹ including four in 2017 alone.

2. Individuals, not organizations. Abelson wrote that AAPOR is, and has always been “... a source of professional identity, and a forum for persons with common professional interests.” He further noted that government regulations (as pertaining to public opinion research) most often affect *companies and institutions* that conduct public opinion research (through contract and grant vehicles) as opposed to affecting individual professionals in the industry. AAPOR is, still, a meeting place for individuals rather than companies or universities; even though many of those individuals have, and will, share the same concerns as the institutions for which they work or with which they interact, we do not expect that AAPOR would take up the banner for institutions that do public opinion/survey research. We do, on the other hand, see increasing evidence for AAPOR taking up the cause on behalf of the research community to which its members belong.

3. Members’ interests overlap but are not identical. In 1992, AAPOR had 1,447 members, and as noted by Abelson, those members shared a common professional interest in methods, techniques, standards, and approaches—but, even those 1,400 or so were far from united as to the efficacy of those approaches and, thus, “hardly energized by the same things.” We daresay that this sentiment is even more true in the 21st century: AAPOR continues to grow and has about 2,300 members now.¹¹⁰ *And*, the number and type of methods, techniques, and so on, used by that membership has exploded, making even wider the landscape in which AAPOR members live and work. As a result, AAPOR cannot really find itself ‘taking sides’ on government issues (nor should it). Nonetheless, it uses, to good effect, the Task Force approach now (formalized beginning about 2008), which most often involves putting together a microcosm of experts drawn mostly from its own membership, representing, as much as possible, the full panoply of work settings (e.g., government, industry, academia) and approaches (i.e., full probability and non-probability; or field, telephone, and on-line, etc.) to author a report/position paper on issues of the day including, most recently (2018), for example, a Task Force Report on “Spam Blocking and Call Flagging....”¹¹¹ The 2018 member survey reported¹¹² that a substantial majority (81 percent) found these Task Force reports “very or extremely” “relevant to topics that are pressing or of current interest.”

4. Political action specifically excluded from the AAPOR charter. Abelson noted that AAPOR’s certificate of incorporation included this clause: “No substantial part of AAPOR’s activities shall be devoted to attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise.” This clause still exists and AAPOR, of course, still abides by this proscription. Nonetheless, as we have seen (above), AAPOR is increasingly registering public comment or making press releases when an issue has high salience for its membership. And, indeed, that clause has not stopped AAPOR from time to time organizing sessions or events around topical, political issues. For example, in direct response to Arizona’s Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (2010), the 2011 conference, held in Phoenix, kicked off with a plenary

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/Public-Statements.aspx>

¹¹⁰ Personal communication from Tamara Terry, 2019-2020 AAPOR Membership/Chapter Relations Chair

¹¹¹ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Spam-Flagging-and-Call-Blocking-and-Its-Impact-on.aspx>

¹¹² <https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/NewsletterBlog/August-2018/77-of-AAPOR-members-are-very-or-extremely-satisfied.aspx>

session entitled, “Public Perception and Societal Conflict: The History of Immigration Reform in the U.S.” This plenary was moderated by Gary Langer and included as panelists: Henry G. Cisneros, executive chairman of CityView; former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Rodolfo de la Garza; Doris Meissner, senior fellow at the Migration Policy Institute, former commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Services Commissioner, and Frank Newport of Gallup. Interestingly, the program description of the session included direct references to legislation and public policy: “...a discussion of a critical public policy issue with national and global implications – immigration reform... The objective is to understand the history of immigration to the United States and explore the interactions between public perception of immigrants and local/national policy [and] will include discussion of the interplay between public opinion polling, media coverage and local, regional and national reaction to immigrants, reform efforts and policies such as Arizona’s SB1070 legislation... with the hope that this could lead to more effective immigration policy.” Additionally, the 2011 conference showcased several paper sessions devoted to the topic of immigration, especially as it relates to survey response.

And, perhaps not coincidentally, the 2011 Member Survey (reported out on at the 2012 Annual Business Meeting) results generated several ideas for “areas for improvement” for AAPOR, including educating journalists and the public, supporting students and *influencing legislation* (emphasis added).

As a more recent example, there was discussion at the 2019 Annual Business Meeting about the possibility of having a plenary at the 2020 Annual Conference focused on the “abortion issue” since the conference will be held in Atlanta; and Georgia, along with several other states, had recently passed legislation severely restricting the rights of women to access pregnancy-related health care services.

Other voices. Almost as an aside, Abelson wrote that there are many other organizations, such as Council of American Survey Research Organizations (CASRO), the Marketing Research Association (MRA), and the National Council on Public Polls (NCPP), whose interests are more or less aligned with AAPOR, and that, as trade organizations (as opposed to a professional society), these organizations were often more overt about attempts to influence legislation. Since that time, the NCPP has gone defunct and, in 2017, CASRO and the MRA merged to form the Insights Association, representing the marketing research and data analytics industry. The Insights Association still represents full-service research companies and data collection services, whose interests, quite obviously, overlap to a great extent with the work of AAPOR members. It should be noted, also, that AAPOR has strengthened its relationship with the American Statistical Association (ASA), a much larger professional association that has the luxury of full-time staff. In addition, AAPOR is a member of COSSA which does, as a matter of course, attempt to influence legislation on behalf of its members’ interests. Most of COSSA’s energy is aimed at securing, or increasing, federal funding for social science research. In a similar vein, AAPOR is a member of the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS), which represents that part of the social science research community that relies on high-quality, easily accessible statistics that can only be effectively collected by the federal government.

If the recent past is in any way indicative of the near future, we would assert that AAPOR will continue—and likely increase—its “government relations,” making more use of Task Forces,

public “Statements,” press releases, and its social media presence to comment on, react to, express support for or displeasure with, government initiatives, regulations, and legislation. One example of this line of thinking is the Count on Stats program, which began in January 2018. Through a partnership with the American Statistical Association (ASA), this campaign aims to advance the federal statistical system and highlight its importance. The Count on Stats program has a quite visible social media presence (@CountOnStats on Twitter; Count on Stats on Facebook; Group 8777968 on LinkedIn, etc.) and its web page serves as a networking and resource group for the American Statistical Association, its Count on Stats partners, members of the federal statistical system, along with the broader statistical community, policymakers, businesses, journalists and others to discuss the importance of the U.S. Data Infrastructure. While the focus of this program is federal statistics, the campaign is not focused on government advocacy and instead emphasizes the public’s understanding of the importance, reliability, and trustworthiness of government statistics. AAPOR is a member of the program, and we likely can expect more such memberships and partnerships in the spirit of public outreach (even branding) for the work and research done by AAPOR members.

Summary

AAPOR does not, in any formal way, have government relations—it has no such office or officer; it has, however, increasingly taken notice of, and acted on, government activities (both in the U.S. and abroad) in large part because many AAPOR members have their work and professional lives affected, directly or indirectly, by government-enacted regulations, laws, and protocols.

The amount and frequency of rules, regulations, and legislation affecting the conduct of public opinion research is growing. Examples discussed here included the Telephone Consumer Protection Act (TCPA, 1991); The Privacy Act (1974); the Confidential Information Protection and Statistical Efficiency Act (CIPSEA, 2002); the Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA, 1996); the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR, 2018); and the Common Rule (CR 2019)—but there will be more. And, of course, the U.S. federal government (and many other governments) sponsor and conduct survey and/or public opinion research—not to mention employ AAPOR members. While AAPOR is constrained, by charter, from directly influencing legislation, we see evidence that our professional association is indeed finding its voice and using it to encourage responsible and ethical research behavior and, in general, good, sound public opinion research.

AAPOR’s “voice” in the government relations space is at present taking many different forms, including public statements, press releases, Task Force reports, and social media. We expect that to continue to expand as governments’ potential sphere of influence and the choice of platforms for speaking outgrow. Indeed, and perhaps because, the avenues through which one can “communicate” with government are becoming more real-time and more informal, the opportunities to comment on actions that governments are contemplating will become easier, more straightforward, and more frequent.

References

Tom W. Smith, "Codes of Ethics and Standards in Survey Research," in *Handbook of Public Opinion Research*, edited by Wolfgang Donsbach and Michael Traugott. London: Sage, 2007.

8. What is AAPOR? The Annual Conference!
“Linking Us Together: Professionally, Personally, Intellectually and Socially”¹¹³

Janice M. Ballou

INTRODUCTION

As AAPOR prepares to celebrate 75 years of conferences, this chapter about our history picks up from Harold Mendelsohn’s concluding sentence in the Annual Conference Program Chapter in *The Meeting Place*: “Though AAPOR membership continues to expand, though the times keep changing and what was once a new and innovative practice has become a recognized profession, the annual conferences of AAPOR continue to be anticipated and enjoyed by all those who are interested in public opinion research.” (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 215)

The conference is also highlighted in “The Culture of AAPOR,” Richard (Dick) Baxter’s chapter in *The Meeting Place*. Baxter writes: “AAPOR has a ‘culture’ all its own,” and notes: “The annual AAPOR conference is the major focus of this culture, and renews it from year to year.” (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 199) Since Baxter ¹¹⁴ was there in 1946 at AAPOR’s origin, he is a very credible source to make this observation in the 1992 recollections. So from the formation and continuing forward, conference attendees have experienced Baxter’s appreciation for the conference as what “sets it apart from other associations” and “the annual conference virtually *was* AAPOR (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 200).”

The conferences are so essential to AAPOR that in addition to the “official” chapter in *The Meeting Place*, the book begins with Paul B. Sheatsley’s “Memory Lane: Conference Highlights and Lowlights,” which provides “color commentary” on conferences from 1946 to 1989. Underscoring the importance of AAPOR conferences, there is ongoing established documentation. The tradition is for the fall issue of *Public Opinion Quarterly (POQ)*, following the May conference, to have a section on AAPOR Conference Proceedings. This coverage began in 1947 in *POQ* (Volume 11, Issue 2) with information about the event at Williams College. While the conference coverage differs somewhat depending on the year, the key topics have been: Conference Proceedings, AAPOR Award, Presidential Address, Conference Program (some years these included paper abstracts) and the minutes from the Membership Meeting.

Over the years, the trend has been for the *POQ* conference coverage to be reduced as the AAPOR website (www.aapor.org) increased what was archived. Also, advances in technology provided the opportunity for the website to have video of key events and presentations. For example, the Fall 2018 *POQ* (Volume 82, Issue 3) had a section titled “Seventy-Third Annual Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research” with two entries: “Presidential Address: Legitimacy, Wicked Problems, and Public Opinion Research” (Timothy P. Johnson) and “AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement” (Lars Lyberg). In comparison, the AAPOR website had: “Presidential Address, Conference Program, Abstracts, Conference Photos, AAPOR Award, and Conference Proceedings”. Overall, while these are

¹¹³ 1998 AAPOR Conference theme

¹¹⁴ The July 29-31, 1946 Proceedings of the Central City Conference on Public Opinion Research lists “Dick Baxter, Graduate student in psychology, University of Iowa” on page vi with other conference attendees.

generally the materials that are preserved, there is variation among the conferences. For example, there is a variety of plenary session videos (2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009), the 2014 conference information notes a webinar for new members with a half-hour presentation to orient new conference attendees,¹¹⁵ and in 2015 a similar goal was achieved with a “Student and Early Career Guide” for those attending the conference. With a recognition to the use of social media, website information for some conferences (2014, 2015, 2016) includes a compilation of “tweets.”

Prior to the revolutionary changes in ways to “meet” (e.g. AAPORnet, email, Facebook, YouTube, etc.), the conference was the meeting place. AAPOR had periodic paper newsletters (now electronic) to keep members generally informed, but the conference was the essential venue to meet and exchange information. Today we take AAPORnet (first tested June 10, 1994 by the late Jim Beninger specifically to plan for AAPOR’s 50th conference¹¹⁶) for granted as a way to share information immediately and identify key issues and challenges. Technology also provides the opportunity for webinars and a range of other electronic options to gather periodically before the annual conference. In addition, the seven AAPOR chapters¹¹⁷ in a range of geographic locations have become more prominent and active in the dissemination of information and opportunities to socialize and collaborate. Even with the expansion of these opportunities to meet, the AAPOR conference continues as an irreplaceable experience.

To guide readers through this update, Table 1 is a roadmap for the conferences from 1989¹¹⁸ to 2019. It provides a quick reference to the range of locations, joint World Association for Public Opinion Research conferences, names of conference chairs, presidential address titles, key conference themes, and an opportunity to measure AAPOR conferences by the numbers attending and sessions presented.¹¹⁹ Just a quick look at the numbers underscores the growth—from 379 (1989) to 1,250 (2019) attendees and 27 (1989) to 144 (2019) conference sessions!

While these numbers offer a quick historical overview, there is much more to the story of AAPOR conferences. The highlights that follow describe the key features amplified with recollections of what makes them memorable. The caveat is: this narrative is biased by the author’s experience. The expectation is that the descriptions will ignite the memories of those readers who were there and inspire those who were not to learn more about how our incredible AAPOR conferences nurture our professional and intellectual needs, underscore our contributions to society and public policy, and foster lifelong friendships.

¹¹⁵ https://www.aapor.org/AAPOR_Main/media/NewMemberWebinar/lib/playback.html

¹¹⁶ According to *AAPOR News*, Fall 1994, to plan AAPOR’s 50th conference, Beninger “went on-line Friday June 10 (1994)...posted to the listserv at aapor50vm.usc.edu.” *AAPOR News*, Spring 1995 notes: “On the morning of Wednesday, November 23, the day before Thanksgiving, 260 AAPOR members found...a message introducing AAPORNET...”

¹¹⁷ AAPOR Chapters: Midwest (MAPOR); New England (NEAAPOR); New York (NYAAPOR); Pacific (PAPOR); Pennsylvania-New Jersey (PANJAAPOR); Southern (SAPOR); Washington, DC (DC-AAPOR)

¹¹⁸ 1989 is the conference that overlaps *The Meeting Place* (1992).

¹¹⁹ The attendee and session numbers in Table 1 were based on a careful review of information provided in 2019 from the Kellen Company AAPOR Executive Staff and the *Public Opinion Quarterly* (POQ) published Conference Proceedings and AAPOR Annual Business Meeting Minutes. Also, Table 1 uses the hotel names and conference locations that are listed on the actual program for each year. While some programs indicate otherwise the Don CeSar Beach Resort is located in St. Pete Beach.

TABLE 1
List of AAPOR Conferences Since 1989

Conference Number Date Program Size ¹²⁰	Conference Chair Location Hotel Presidential Address Theme ¹²¹	Number Attended	Number of Sessions
44 May 18-21, 1989 74 pages 6 x 9 inches	Robert Groves St. Petersburg, FL The Don CeSar Beach Resort Methods and Standards: A Challenge for Change Warren Mitofsky	446	27
45 May 17-20, 1990 88 pages 6 x 9 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Michael Kagay Lancaster, PA Sheraton Lancaster Golf Resort Polling as Political Science and Polling as Journalism Phil Meyer	565	27
46 May 16-19, 1991 84 pages 6 x 9 inches	Larry Bobo Phoenix, AR The Pointe at Squaw Peak Trashing the Polls Joan Black	480	29
47 May 15-19, 1992 108 pages 6 x 9 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Charles Cowan St. Petersburg Beach, FL The Don CeSar Resort A Response to the Nonresponse Problem Norman Bradburn	608	32
48 May 20-23, 1993 103 pages 6 x 9 inches	Michael Traugott St. Charles, IL Pheasant Run Resort and Convention Center Noise and Clamor: The Unintended Consequences of Success Kathy Frankovic	498	45

¹²⁰ For some programs the total page numbers are estimates because they were not paginated from beginning to end. The increase in pages in later years is primarily because of the number of sponsor pages.

¹²¹ Not all Conferences had themes.

49 May 11-15, 1994 110 pages 6 x 9 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Diane Colasanto Danvers, MA Sheraton Tara Hotel and Resort Informed Consent and Confidentiality in Survey Research Stanley Presser	584	41
50 ¹²² May 18-21, 1995 Black Program 112 pages White Program 94 pages 6 x 9 inches	Jim Beniger Fort Lauderdale, FL The Bonaventure Resort and Spa Opinion Polls and the Democratic Process: 1945/1995 Andy Kohut	569	42
51 May 16-19, 1996 102 pages 6 x 9 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Jacob Ludwig Salt Lake City, UT Red Lion Hotel The Educational Infrastructure of the Survey Research Profession Robert Groves	568	44
52 May 15-18, 1997 112 pages 6 x 9 inches	Roger Tourangeau Norfolk, VA Norfolk Waterside Marriott A Proposal for a New Role and New Voice for AAPOR Diane Colasanto	547	36
53 May 14-17, 1998 84 pages 6 x 9 inches <i>50 years of Joint AAPOR/WAPOR</i>	Murray Edelman St. Louis, MO Marriott Pavilion Downtown Survey and Market Research Confront Their Futures on the World Wide Web James Beniger <i>Linking Us Together: Professionally, Personally, Intellectually and Socially</i>	566	44
54 May 13-16, 1999 67 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches	Paul J. Lavrakas St. Pete Beach, FL Trade Winds Resort	609	33

¹²² The white edition was a commemorative book for the 50th anniversary celebration. It included historical information and photos plus multiple pages of sponsors offering 50th congratulations.

	Public Opinion and Polling During Presidential Scandal and Impeachment Michael Kagay		
55 May 17-21, 2000 74 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Mark Schulman Portland, OR Double Tree Jantzen Beach Polling in the Public's Interest Michael Traugott <i>Facing the Challenges of the New Millennium</i>	729	41
56 May 17-20, 2001 96 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches	Peter Miller Montreal, Quebec Hilton Montreal Bonaventure Defining Our Profession and Ourselves Murray Edelman <i>Making Connections</i>	801	53
57 May 15-19, 2002 100 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Richard Kulka St. Pete Beach, FL The TradeWinds Beach Resorts and Conference Centers Navigating the Rapids of Change: Some Observations on Survey Methodology in the Early Twenty-First Century Don Dillman <i>Strengthening Our Community</i>	753	56
58 May 15-18, 2003 108 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches	Jon Krosnick Nashville, TN Sheraton Music City Hotel Toward a New Research Relevancy: Winning Our Seat at the Table Mark Schulman	760	52
59 May 13-16, 2004 164 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Robert Daves Phoenix, AZ Pointe Hilton Tapatio Cliffs Resort Unfinished Business Betsy Martin <i>The Image of Public Opinion Research</i>	846	76

60 May 12-15, 2005 184 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches	Tom W. Smith Miami Beach, FL Fontainebleau Hilton Resort Privilege, Moral Responsibility, and Diversity in Public Opinion Research Nancy Belden <i>Improving Survey Quality</i>	913	82
61 May 18-21, 2006 180 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	David Moore Montreal, Quebec Hilton Montreal Bonaventure The Future is Here! Where Are We Now? And How Do We Get There? Cliff Zukin <i>Confronting Core Values and Cultural Conflict</i>	801	77
62 May 17-20, 2007 204 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches	Patricia Moy Anaheim, CA Hyatt Regency Orange County Gladly would We Learn and Teach—and Gladly should We Gather and Preach Rob Daves <i>Of Polls and Policy</i>	825	84
63 May 15-18, 2008 236 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Frank Newport New Orleans, LA Sheraton New Orleans The Quagmire of Reporting Presidential Primary Election Polls Nancy Mathiowetz <i>Polls for the Public Good</i>	850	74
64 May 14-17, 2009 177 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches	Michael Link ¹²³ Hollywood FL The Westin Diplomat Convention Center	834	68

¹²³ Michael Link, the 2009 Associate Conference Chair, served as AAPOR Conference Chair for two years because Vincent Price, the 2009 Conference Chair, had to step aside.

	<p>Plus Ca Change, Plus C'est La Meme Chose? AAPOR's Standard Code and Procedures Richard Kulka</p> <p><i>Public Choices in Changing Times</i></p>		
<p>65 May 13-16, 2010 223 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i>¹²⁴</p>	<p>Michael Link Chicago, IL Chicago Marriott Downtown Magnificent Mile</p> <p>The Road to Transparency in Survey Research Peter Miller</p> <p><i>Opportunity Through Diversity</i></p>	1,093	79
<p>66 May 12-15, 2011 235 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches</p>	<p>Rob Santos Phoenix, AZ Arizona Grand Resort</p> <p>Taking AAPOR's Mission to Heart Frank Newport</p> <p><i>Public Perception & Societal Conflict</i></p>	967	85
<p>67 May 17-20, 2012 245 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches</p>	<p>Dan Merkle Orlando, FL JW Marriott Orlando Grande Lakes</p> <p>Survey Research, Its New Frontiers, and Democracy Scott Keeter</p> <p><i>Evaluating New Frontiers in Public Opinion and Social Research</i></p>	1,026	84
<p>68 May 14-16, 2013 293 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches <i>Joint WAPOR</i></p>	<p>Paul Beatty Boston, MA Seaport Boston Hotel & Seaport World Trade Center</p> <p>Applying a Total Error Perspective for Improving Research Quality in the Social, Behavioral, and Marketing Sciences Paul J. Lavrakas</p>	1,152	84

¹²⁴ After 2010 the tradition, started in 1949, of every other year joint AAPOR/WAPOR changed to a three-year cycle with 1) AAPOR, 2) Europe, and 3) somewhere else.

	<i>Asking Critical Questions: Toward a Sustainable Future for Public Opinion and Social Research</i>		
69 May 15-18, 2014 259 pages 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches App available ¹²⁵	Susan Pinkus Anaheim, CA Anaheim Marriott Borne of a Renaissance—A Metamorphosis for Our Future Rob Santos <i>Measurement and the Role of Public Opinion in a Democracy</i>	1,037	86
70 May 14-17, 2015 157 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches App available	Dawn Nelson Hollywood, FL The Diplomat AAPOR 2025 and the Opportunities in the Decade Before Us Michael Link <i>A Meeting Place</i>	1,137	88
71 May 12-15, 2016 185 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches App available <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	David Dutwin Austin, TX Hilton Austin A Call for Inclusion: Why AAPOR Needs an Increased Focus to Thrive Mollyann Brodie <i>Reshaping the Research Landscape: Public Opinion and Data Science</i>	1,308	100
72 May 18-21, 2017 181 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches App available	Jennifer Dykema New Orleans, LA Sheraton New Orleans Paradoxes of Nonresponse Roger Tourangeau <i>Embracing Change and Diversity in Public Opinion and Social Research</i>	1,222	110

¹²⁵ The 2014 conference is the first to list “Conference App” in the Table of Contents and “A big thank you to RTI International for developing and donating a conference app...” is noted on page 5. All the years following 2014 have a “Conference App” listing in the Table of Contents.

73 May 16-19, 2018 180 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches Paper option; Electronic program and App available	Trent Buskirk Denver, CO Sheraton Denver Downtown Legitimacy, Wicked Problems and Public Opinion Research Tim Johnson <i>Taking Survey and Public Opinion Research to New Heights</i>	1,244	112
74 May 19-21, 2019 194 pages 8 ½ x 11 inches Paper option; Electronic program and App available <i>Joint WAPOR</i>	Courtney Kennedy Toronto, Canada Sheraton Centre Toronto Hotel The Need for Public Opinion Advocacy David Dutwin	1,250	144

CONFERENCE ESSENTIALS

The review of the conferences from 1989 to 2019 suggests a format that begins with a standard program core supplemented with a range of relevant modifications. As Mendelsohn noted in the earlier quote: “the times keep changing” and AAPOR conferences reflect multiple changes that impact our profession such as shifts in salient social and political issues; research methodologies; and technological changes for both survey practice and for conference planning and presentations. While coverage of all the changes since 1989 is unrealistic, the goal is to provide illustrative examples to underscore the value of AAPOR conferences as a “meeting place.”

PLANNING

A very big “thanks!” has to be the start for a history of conference planning. The backbone of every AAPOR conference has been the teams of people who work and plan together to make it happen for the rest of the members. The importance of conference planning is underscored by remembering that in 1946, the first resolution passed in Central City was to arrange for a second conference in 1947. (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 41)

From the beginning, finding the optimal time of year was an important decision. In 1953 the conference was held from May 15 to May 17 and a pattern developed for a Thursday to Sunday conference on the weekend in May between Mother’s Day and Memorial Day (Table 1).¹²⁶ However, while the number of days has been constant, the number of sessions offered within

¹²⁶*The Meeting Place* (pp.202-203) describes the process to determine the optimal conference time of year and days of the week. An exception was the 2018 Conference in Denver, Colorado which started on a Wednesday and concluded on Saturday. Note that pre-conference short courses have been offered the day before the official program begins.

these days has changed. The 1989 conference had 27 sessions compared to 144 in 2019. To illustrate further, the 1989 program listing for Friday has three sessions in each of the two morning time slots compared to the 2019 program listing for Friday that has eleven sessions in each of the two morning time slots.

AAPOR conference planning begins three to four years in advance to make sure we have our conference site selected, reserved, and have negotiated the most favorable rate. Site selection is just the beginning. Before we can have a conference, AAPOR members elect a Conference Chair and an Associate Conference Chair who have responsibilities such as planning the key themes, selecting presenters among the submitted papers, organizing the sessions, and a range of other activities. Volunteers on the conference operations team make sure everything about the hotel facilities works for AAPOR. They also focus on other logistics like the venues for the Fun/Run, meals, and social events. In addition, there are volunteers who take over the planning for specific activities such as the short courses, new attendee and student events, sponsors, exhibits, awards, and social outings. These are examples of the “army” it takes to get the conference ready. Just take a look in an AAPOR conference program and you’ll be impressed by the numbers of committees and people who make the conference happen.

While site selection had traditionally been done by AAPOR volunteers¹²⁷ starting in 2003, AAPOR contracted with Applied Measurement Professionals (AMP), a professional management firm, who took over the core tasks of getting the conference site located and other basic logistics previously done by volunteers. Meetings after 2009 were managed by the Sherwood Group, which merged with the Kellen Company, the current firm, in 2015.

Here is an overview of the key considerations that go into selecting a conference site:

Conference Dates: As described above, AAPOR wants a site with the preferred dates described above.

Geography: Concerning the conference location, customarily, AAPOR would meet in the East for two consecutive years; the following year, some other region would be chosen, then for the next two years, the conference took place back in the East. While there is more geographic diversity since 1989, the numbers still favor the East and Southeast. Also, AAPOR discovered that Florida (where eleven conferences have been held) in the Southeast was more likely to attract attendees, owing to its warm weather, as opposed to lingering winter chills found in St Charles, IL or Danvers, MA, even in May.

Remote and All AAPOR: Maybe guided by the success of the first gathering in the remote Colorado town of Central City, AAPOR leaders saw the value of minimal or no distractions at the conference location. Attendees had no other choices than to eat, work, and play together since typically, there was not much else to do at the location outside of the hotel. Another goal was to “take over” the conference hotel to avoid distractions from other hotel residents. This began to change by 1989. As the number of conference attendees grew beyond a couple

¹²⁷ *The Meeting Place* (pp. 203-206) has a detailed description of site selection with recognition of dedicated AAPOR volunteers Joe and Hope Klapper. Another long serving site selection volunteer was Chuck Cowan (1984-1992).

hundred, larger hotels were needed to accommodate attendees and logistics like airports and other travel options worked better for venues in cities.

Affordability: Historically, the goal was for the AAPOR conference to be affordable to all types of members. AAPOR Council recognized the diverse financial needs ranging from students (whom AAPOR wanted to encourage to attend) to CEOs of major research organization and a wide range of others in between. As a result, especially in the early years, the conference accommodations and locations were purposely inexpensive but were described by some as “a dump.”¹²⁸ While the AAPOR Council was continually vigilant about increasing hotel costs, the prices did increase. These increases were somewhat alleviated by less expensive, but close by, non-conference hotels located in the same cities.

Meal Options: Related to affordability is the challenge conference planners have in providing meals for attendees. Traditionally, all meals were included in the conference fee and were as much a communal opportunity as a time for sustenance. With only some minimal modifications, this was the meal experience until 2005. A variety of changes have been tried since then. For example, a full breakfast evolved to cash and carry and, in recent years, to the sponsored continental breakfast in the Exhibit Hall. The meal options in 2019 are an example of what is now most typical: no breakfast, first night reception with food stations, lunch on Friday and Saturday, and the Saturday evening Banquet.

No description of conference meals would be complete without acknowledging attendee culinary comments. Especially with the use of social media, attendees can quickly provide reviews of the meals such as the multiple “tweets” about surviving the overabundance of the same chicken meals in 2019!

Type of Space: AAPOR conference attendees like to have plenty of public space where people can hang out (for some members this includes a pool, beach, or gym) and catch up. Bars have traditionally been popular; some attendees, like the late Harry O’Neil, were known for picking out a spot in the hotel bar—a perfect place for O’Neil to greet attendees and share his wisdom and opinions. Of note, O’Neil was a proud Republican who had the experience of polling for Richard Nixon, and this naturally enhanced the liveliness at the conference.

CONFERENCE THEMES AND CALL FOR PAPERS

The elected Conference Chair leads the process for making the conference happen. While the programs for conferences from 1989 to 1997 did not focus on a particular “theme¹²⁹,” Murray Edelman, as the 1998 Conference Chair, did introduce the theme “Linking Us Together: Professionally, Personally, Intellectually and Socially.” Since 1998, there have been 19 conferences with themes (Table 1). Some examples show the range of topics selected by conference chairs and how they reflect survey research and society at that time. For example, in the milestone year 2000, Conference Chair Mark Schulman’s theme underscored that entering a new century could have an impact on polling and survey research (*Facing the Challenges of the*

¹²⁸ From the Herb Abelson Heritage Interview

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8CxISdzhYUM&feature=youtu.be>

¹²⁹ For the 50-year celebration conferences, 1995 was identified as 50 Years Together and 1996 as 50th Anniversary. Of note, the 2019 Toronto conference did not have a theme.

New Millennium). Rob Daves' 2004 theme: *The Image of Public Opinion Research* reminded those at the conference of the intensified scrutiny of our field. As new sources and large amounts of nonsurvey data increased (internet data capture such as Google and Facebook) and even new professional fields (data science) developed, AAPOR conference themes addressed the potential uncertainty of AAPOR's future: Paul Beatty (2013): *Asking Critical Questions: Toward a Sustainable Future for Public Opinion and Social Research*; and David Dutwin (2016): *Reshaping the Research Landscape: Public Opinion and Data Science*.

The process for the professional and intellectual core of the conference begins when the Conference Chair announces the call for papers in the fall prior to the May conference. Over the years, the requirements for and method of submissions has evolved. In contrast to the former requirement to mail in paper copies of proposed conference submissions, current submissions are sent electronically following guidelines for a 300-word abstract and a paper, methodological brief, poster, or full panel format.

These submissions are just the beginning of the process to insure the professional relevance and intellectual rigor of what will be accepted for the conference. Numerous AAPOR volunteers assist the Conference Chair in a review of the submissions. The electronic process provides an opportunity for multiple reviewers to rate each submission to ensure quality presentations. At the completion of the review, the final conference program is created by the Conference Chair who leads the process of organizing papers on similar topics.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMS

Over the years, the conference program also evolved. A review of those from 1989-2019 illustrates how the program has expanded in overall size and number of pages (Table 1). More recent conference programs are larger because of additional information about AAPOR such as award winners, committee members, and ongoing task forces. A major change is the increase in pages with information on conference sponsors.

To illustrate the evolution of conference programs, Table 1 shows in 1989 there was a 6-by-9-inch 74-page program. This program was generally organized to list the dates and times of all the sessions and activities during the Thursday evening to the Sunday noon program and a section with presentation abstracts. There are two pages with information about AAPOR officers and several committees. One page has a column and a half with Conference Exhibitors: Books (36)¹³⁰ and Computer Technologies (10). Two and a half pages show a list of "agencies" who have contributed \$50 or more to AAPOR in the past year such as Audits & Surveys, Inc.; Belden Associates; CBS News, Election & Survey Unit; and Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc. On the last page of the program labeled "Advertisement" there is one listing for the Institute for Survey Research with job openings.

In contrast, the 2019 program was close to twice the size (93.5 to 54 square inches) at 8 ½ by 11 inches. But, attendees really did not need a paper program. An online PDF program was available and there was also an app for attendees to manage the program information on

¹³⁰ Note that most, if not all, the publishers listed were not exhibitors with separate booths. They provided samples to a central book exhibit area as described in the upcoming section "Exhibit Hall and Book Sale."

electronic devices.¹³¹ The program Table of Contents lists the conference schedule of events (pages 38 to 131), AAPOR Advertisements (pages 132 to 147), and the Sponsor and Exhibitor Directory (pages 158 to 165). There are no abstracts in the program, however, the abstracts from 2010 to 2019 may be found on the AAPOR website.

Since 1989, the program covers became increasingly more artistic with graphics that typically identified the conference location. For example, the 1989 cover for St. Petersburg, FL has palm trees on the cover and a sailboat with a clever line-graph on the sail on the back cover; the 1990 Lancaster, PA program has an Amish quilt design, and for the conference in Toronto, Canada in 2019 there is a view of the Toronto skyline. In 1989, Associate Conference Chair, Michael Kagay initiated a tradition to award the Conference Chair a framed copy of the program cover.¹³²

Over the years, paper programs were an invaluable reference that provided contacts for needed advice on different methods and survey topics based on the session information. With recent programs available electronically or as a downloaded PDF, access to this information is even more convenient. For the 2019 conference registration, attendees were given the option to have or not have a paper copy.

CONFERENCE SESSIONS

There has been a robust increase in the number of conference sessions. Conference Chairs have been creative in providing attendees assistance in planning their conference activities. For example, before apps, there were pull-out single-page daily session summaries listed. Some Conference Chairs have also used “track” designations linked to sessions. For example, in 2018 there were the following 12 tracks: Attitudes and Issues; Populations, Polls, and Politics; Data Quality; Data Collection and Survey Participation; Innovations & Emerging Methods; Multinational, Multigenerational, and Multicultural; Probability & Nonprobability Samples; Big Data/Data Science and Surveys; Questionnaire Design & Interviewing; Research in Practice; PORTAL (Public Opinion Research Training And Learning examples: Putting Census on the Map: An Overview of Census Data Products, and Collecting Survey Data Via Text Messaging); DEMO (Live Interactive Vendor Demonstrations: such as: PARC by Langer Res&Assoc, Qualtrics, Sawtooth Software. Note that the PORTAL track was new for 2018 described by Conference Chair Trent Buskirk as a way to provide “sort of like a mini mini mini shortcourse.”¹³³ An example of track variation is a comparison with 2019. Conference Chair Courtney Kennedy had fewer tracks (7) with several different themes than 2018: Data Science & Organic Data; Elections & Political Polling; Statistical Techniques for Surveys; and Survey Design.

Each Conference Chair may name and organize sessions in unique ways. To review topics and how they have evolved since 1989, examples will focus on the general categories of methods, issues and topics of social relevance, and elections.

¹³¹ As noted on Table 1, AAPOR programs listed “Conference Apps” beginning in 2014.

¹³² Michael Kagay email August 26, 2019.

¹³³ Trent Buskirk email March 30, 2019. Buskirk also describes the PORTAL track as having “2 45 minute presentations aimed at helping our members tool in new and emerging areas.”

METHODS

Reviewing the key themes among the sessions over the years, one discovers that they tend to be similar to the examples of the tracks used in the 2018 and 2019 programs. However, while the topics sound similar, over time the particular challenges of “traditional” methods compared to new emerging methods are now a focus at the conference. For example, both sampling and data collection sessions have historically been included in conference programs. However, depending on the year, the specifics of what is presented in these sessions could be very different. For example, looking at the titles of the conference sessions before 2000, there is not a mention of “cell phones.” Starting in 2002 there is a Joint AAPOR/WAPOR Roundtable: Mobile Phones in Telephone Surveys. With the interest in the research on cell phones increasing each year, the 2003 program has two sessions on “cell phones.” Of note is the 2005 conference when “The Prevalence and Impact of Wireless Substitution: Updated Data from the 2004 National Health Interview Survey (NHIS)” is presented by Stephen Blumberg and his team. Over the years since that presentation, the NHIS updates of the data on the prevalence of cell phones is eagerly anticipated. Now using AAPORnet, Blumberg provides timely notification when the NHIS updated cell phone data are available.¹³⁴

The changes in the prevalence of cell phones, and in particular cell phone-only households, has an impact on both survey sampling and data collection increasing the importance of understanding how cell phone use has impacted scientific surveys. The increase in importance is underscored in the bright orange 2007 Conference at a Glance program insert that lists Cell-Phone Surveying as one of the seven tracks.¹³⁵ In addition, following the 2007 conference AAPOR set up a volunteer task force to prepare a report synthesizing the research that addressed this major shift in surveying.¹³⁶ Another example is the similar increase in conference attention to the internet with several sessions in 2000: Going Cyber: The Impact of Internet Usage; The Next Generation of Internet Research; The Internet’s Impact on Society Part I and Part II. This evolved into web surveys in 2001 and a conference short course “Designing Effective Survey Instruments for Web,” taught by Mick Couper from the University of Michigan.

PUBLIC OPINION: POLICY, POLITICS AND SOCIAL TOPICS

A review of topics covered at AAPOR Conferences is also a roadmap to key societal issues that benefit from representative public opinion surveys. As described in *The Meeting Place*, this is a theme George Gallup emphasized during a radio broadcast just before the 1946 Central City meeting: “I believe the polls perform a great service in this country in revealing at all times what the people think about the important issues of the day.” (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992,118) In agreement with Gallup, Frank Newport, past editor-in-chief of The Gallup Poll, noted in his 2011 AAPOR Presidential Address: “...I think the virtue of the idea that it is, in the broadest sense, *good* to give people a voice in the decisions that affect them...” Newport also cited the

¹³⁴ <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhis/earlyrelease/wireless201712.pdf>

¹³⁵ The full list of 2007 seven topics/tracks is: voting; cell-phone surveying; methodology (for two tracks); nonresponse; public opinion; and of polls and policy (and communication).

¹³⁶ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Cell-Phone-Task-Force-Report/Coverage-and-Sampling.aspx>

AAPOR Task Force on Public Opinion and Leadership and he quoted the 2010 AAPOR mission statement: “Encourage and disseminate systematic analyses of public opinion on the major issues of the day...to give people a voice in the decisions that affect their daily lives.” (AAPOR 2010) Some examples of “issues of the day” covered at AAPOR conferences are: research on AIDS (1989); abortion (1990); the Gulf War (1992); Anita Hill and the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination (1993); kids and the media (1994); evolution, sex and religion, President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky (1998); energy policy such as pipelines, nuclear power, and fracking (2015); health care and the Affordable Care Act (2017), and the special 2018 conference panel “Public Opinion and Marijuana Legalization: A View of the Past and Future.”

ELECTIONS AND PRE ELECTION POLLING

With many AAPOR members engaged in political polling, in particular for the media, sessions on voting and election issues are prevalent. These sessions can include statewide elections as well as national races. Some examples from 2007 are: Mixed Modes in Pre-Election Polling; Issues in Election Polling; and Party Identification and Presidential Approval. Since political polls are typically the most visible to the public, the credibility of all polls and surveys can be impacted by perceived “errors” made especially in “wrong” descriptions of who will win an election. While just about any conference included in this chapter is likely to have sessions on political polls, sessions on these are most prevalent in post-presidential election years. The 2001 conference following the notable and controversial “tie” in the 2000 Al Gore versus George W. Bush contest is an example of AAPOR focusing on election polling. The conference started on Thursday evening with the Plenary Session: Lessons From Election Night 2000. Kathy Frankovic, CBS News focused on the “news media;” Murray Edelman, Voter News Service, on the survey profession; and Don Dillman, Washington State University, the ballot design (remember the Florida butterfly ballot, the hanging chads, and the Supreme Court deliberation?). In addition to the Plenary Session, the 2001 conference had nine other sessions on elections—those in the United States as well as Mexico and Canada. Examples of the topics covered ranged from: Taking a Deeper Look at the 2000 Electorate: Issues, Voters, and Groups; Polls and Political Outcomes; Campaign Advertising and Media Effects; and Is it Time for a Change in Election Polling Methodology? The Merits and Pitfalls of Weighting to Party ID. Even Allan Barton’s winning T-Shirt slogan in 2001 was political: Polling: Now More Accurate Than the Election Itself.

In comparison, the 1989 conference followed the much less controversial 1988 George H.W. Bush versus Michael Dukakis. Yet there were two election roundtables and five sessions on elections. Of note, the late Adam Clymer, then polling editor for *The New York Times*, was the chair for the session Tracking Polls in Pre-Election Research.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND FORMATS

Over the years, the methods used to present information at the conference sessions evolved as new technologies provided a greater variety of options for presenters. At the earlier conferences presenters were expected to bring completed hard-copy of the papers used for their presentations and in some cases their style was to read verbatim from the papers. Often a presenter would have a pre-conference rush to make copies and would fill a suitcase to transport them. After the

presentations, session attendees would rush up to make sure they could have their own copies. Over time, while paper was still used for distribution, instead of full papers there were highlights available. Often these highlights had the core information of the presentation, which were frequently the data tables as opposed to text. When presentors upgraded to use “transparent sheets” with their information, they had to make advance requests to ensure an overhead projector would be in the room. As technology began to offer the option to use computers and the PowerPoint option, AAPOR had to consider the extra cost requested by some conference hotels to have these available. In addition, there were opportunities to “sponsor” the computers used in the sessions.

Recent conferences are paperless. Presenters bring their flash drive and receive instructions on where to have their presentations uploaded; so when they walk into the session presentations are already prepped on a laptop and ready to be used. The skillful use of technology has greatly increased the creative application of styles and formats to enhance the transmission of information such as film clips, audio effects, and data that can be highlighted and manipulated on the screen to illustrate key points. With available electronic distribution, presentations and papers are now available immediately.

The conference session formats have evolved over the years. Some examples begin with 1989 when there were two main formats. Among the 27 sessions, most were a “traditional” panel with a paper presentation format, a chair, and a discussant, while seven used a roundtable format. Of note, the traditional format required paper presenters to make sure the discussant had copies well in advance of the session so thoughtful observations, comparisons, and summaries could be made, adding to the value of the presentations. In comparison, in 2019 there were no session discussants listed in the program.

In 1993, posters were a new presentation option with the program listing one session with six posters. This format was an opportunity for new professionals in the field and students, in particular, to gain experience communicating their research. Posters gained popularity over the years and, in comparison, the 2018 Denver conference had three poster sessions with a total of 186 posters.

The 2007 conference introduced the Methodological Brief format with seven sessions listed in the program each with seven or eight presentations. Each year since 2007, this format has continued providing an opportunity for those who had significant and useful information to disseminate in a shorter presentation that did not generally include theoretical information such as the research presented in the paper format. In comparison, there were 14 Methodological Brief sessions in 2019 and most of these had eight presentations.

OTHER PROGRAM EXPERIENCES

In recent years, the video competition, Research Hack, and AAPOR’s Got Talent (AGT) have expanded attendee opportunities for unique experiences.

VIDEO COMPETITION

In 2012, 2013, and 2018, AAPOR had a video contest with the winning entry presented at the conference. In 2012, the winning video was Total Survey Error: Data Mayhem,¹³⁷ submitted as part of a University of Nebraska Data Collection Methods class project by Patrick Johnson, Bryan Parkshurst, A. Lynn Phillips, and Adam Swift. Research Triangle Institute (RTI) won with “A Discourse on Survey Research Methods” (2013) and “Survey of the Future” (2018). Additionally, while it was not entered in a contest, in 2014 RTI produced “Law & Order: Survey Victims Unit.” Of particular note, about two minutes into the 2014 video we may have witnessed the first official diagnosis of “big data” as a “disease” infecting key AAPOR members when “Dr.” Paul Biemer gives Andy Peytchev his diagnosis of this alarming condition.¹³⁸

RESEARCH HACK

The 2014 conference program announced that AAPOR ResearchHack would be a new feature for this year. The goal was described as aiming to challenge the minds of new members to innovate research methodology using the Instagram app as a data collection tool, to solve a real-life research problem for the leading domestic hunger-relief charity, Feeding America, and to present their innovative research ideas over a two-day period.¹³⁹

How did ResearchHack get started? Typical great AAPOR collaboration! Rob Santos started the idea and connected with Jennie Lai and Chuck Shuttles who made it happen. What also made it work was: Nielsen wanted to be a sponsor and provided the funding.

AAPOR’S GOT TALENT (AGT)

In 2018, ResearchHack was re-envisioned as AAPOR’s Got Talent (AGT). AGT is described as an opportunity to obtain funding to address important survey research problems. With the help of sponsors, there was a \$3,000 Grand Prize and \$500 Runner-up Prize. In addition to a panel of judges, conference attendees in the audience cast votes.

To get an idea of the topics entered in AGT, the following were the announced finalists for AAPOR 2019: “Leveraging Voice User Interface to Increase Federal Survey Response Rates”: Tina Norris; “Using Image Data to Enhance Geographic Data Sources”: Sarah Kelley, Claire Kelley, Mark Masterton and Clyde Tucker, American Institutes for Research; “Does Memory Trump Desirability? Weighting to Reported 2016 Vote vs. Partisanship in Nonprobability Samples”: Mark Ayoub and Chris Coke, Change Research; “Improving Data Quality for Web Surveys in Real Time Through Predictive Modeling Using Paradata”: Katherine Blackburn, University of Michigan.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vyzq7-6nGdc>

¹³⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCg3n8TJknNJlf2VHilF8L8w>

¹³⁹ <http://aaporresearchhack.tumblr.com>

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/NewsletterBlog/April-2019/AAPOR%E2%80%99s-Got-Talent-Finalists.aspx>

CORE SHARED EXPERIENCES

The conference opportunities for shared experiences are important to AAPOR culture. Over the years, with some schedule variation depending on the Conference Chair, the first evening of the conference has typically been a Plenary Session with a unifying theme of interest to all attendees. Depending on the topic and the year, often attendees would reference themes from the plenary at other sessions during the conference or could discuss them informally. An easy opener for a conversation has been: “What did you think about ‘xyz’ that was presented at the plenary?”

The Presidential Address is another shared experience. At one time these were given in the evening. However, conference organizers decided that important information was presented and evening sessions suffered from attendee fatigue. By 1989 it had changed to a luncheon presentation. After serving as AAPOR President, these leaders identified significant issues and their addresses were used to inform and alert conference attendees. For example, Joan Black talked about “Trashing the Polls” (1991); James Beniger’s theme was “Survey and Market Research Confront Their Futures on the World Wide Web” (1998); Murray Edelman focused on “Defining Our Profession and Ourselves” (2001); and Michael Link suggested “AAPOR 2025 and the Opportunities in the Decade Before Us.” Table 1 includes the the full list of AAPOR Presidents from 1989 to 2019 and the titles of their presentations. Cliff Zukin (2006)¹⁴¹ and Paul J. Lavrakas (2013) are examples of AAPOR presidents who did not present at the luncheon, and used a conference room. In 2010, there was a noteworthy repeat of Peter Miller’s address: “The Road to Transparency in Survey Research.” His lunch presentation was not audible because of the ambient chatter and a poor sound system. The Conference Operations team, totally on top of all events and how the hotel facilitated events, were so disappointed in how this Presidential Address event had turned out, Miller was persuaded to present it again so attendees could actually hear what he had communicated. Traditionally, *Public Opinion Quarterly* publishes the Presidential Address text in the issue following each conference, and since 2013 the AAPOR website has video recordings.

AWARDS BANQUET

On Saturday evening, following the President’s Reception, the Awards Banquet is AAPOR’s time to honor various achievements listed in the program: the Book Award, Policy Impact Award, Warren J. Mitofsky Innovators Award, the Burns “Bud” Roper Fellows, and the Seymour Sudman Student Paper Competition Award. However, the winner of the most prestigious AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement is not listed. This award has always been classified until Saturday evening. This secrecy has some attendees searching for clues such as seeing people with family members who are not typically at the conference. That evening, the special banquet table where the award winner would be seated provides some advance notice. In addition to the tribute described on the award, available on the AAPOR website since Peter Miller in 2015, there is a Steve Everet-produced video presentation

¹⁴¹ Cliff Zukin recalls the reason for his change (email October 3, 2019): “We were in Montreal that year and had grown too big for the space booked 3 years earlier. Conf ops said the hotel would have a problem setting up rooms coming out of lunch or something so they asked to change it and I said ‘fine’.”

that informs all about the awardee's background and intellectual and professional contributions.¹⁴²

POST-BANQUET PARTY

While in some early years, attendees were on their own for local entertainment Saturday evening, the post-banquet party has become a regular event. Most notable were the two years AAPOR had 50th anniversary big-band celebrations in Fort Lauderdale, FL (1995) and Salt Lake City, UT (1996). In 1995 Chuck Cowan, Virginia State Swing Champion, led the jitterbug dancing with Susan Pinkus and the late Donna Charron led the conga line. There was more dancing, in Portland, OR (2000), with a 1970's Saturday Night Fever Disco Blast from the Past Party that included a retro 1970's dress contest headed by Susan Pinkus. Who could forget Montreal (2006) with can-can dancers and a casino with an elegant red-velvet curtained room? Another memorable evening was in 2015 when Conference Chair Dawn Nelson added a fundraiser for student attendees at the 70th in Hollywood, FL with a Casino Night and Texas Hold'em event. Other memories are Conference Chair Jon Krosnick playing the drums with his band Charged Particles in Nashville, TN; Mark Schulman using his expertise to book incredible jazz in Portland, OR (2000); and the talented Courtney Kennedy leading off the Karaoke contest (2019).

LATE NIGHT SYMPOSIUMS

Another long-time AAPOR tradition has been the card game and sing along—which have had various names over the years in the conference program such as: “Symposium on Collective Harmonics and Symposium on Five Card Probability” (1992); “Nontraditional Sing and Seminar on Five-Card Probability” (1993); “Symposium on Convergent Harmonics and Symposium on the Interface of Psychology and Probability” (1990), and “Seminar on Applied Probability and Non-Traditional Sing along” (2000).

AAPOR BUSINESS MEETING

While not as well attended as the other shared events, another opportunity for all to experience is the AAPOR Business Meeting. This is an important meeting when all the elected AAPOR Council members present their annual reports, the newly elected Council members are introduced, and the gavel is passed to the successor of the current AAPOR President. One of the most important reports is the AAPOR budget and a review of how the organization is doing financially. A highlight of the budget is the conference revenue since this is the major fundraiser for the organization. Members who attend can ask questions and offer suggestions to the Council members.

¹⁴² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4KeZqrNOVT0&feature=youtu.be>

OTHER CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

In addition to the main programing, conference attendees also have opportunities for other relevant and informative experiences.

DIDACTICS TO SHORT COURSES TO WEBINARS

The learning opportunities at the conference are extensive. Attendees can gain knowledge from the various conference sessions they attend. In addition, there is the option to enroll in specific classes. Originally identified as “Didactic Sessions,” they have evolved into Short Courses. For example, in 1994 the Thursday afternoon before the official evening conference started, there were two three-hour didactic sessions: “Measuring Customer Perceptions of Service Quality: State of the Art, Design and Implementation Strategies” (Susan Devlin and John H. Hughes from Bellcore) and “Using Focus Groups to Design Surveys” (Robert Cameron Mitchell, Clark University and Donna Eisenhower, Mathematica Policy Research).

By comparison, at the 2018 conference there were seven Short Courses:

- (1) Multilevel Regression and Post-stratification;
- (2) From Ground Rules to Group Dynamics: Moderating Focus Groups for Social Science Research;
- (3) Data Visualization for Survey Research: From Data Collection, through Budgets and Production, to Reports and Presentations;
- (4) Smartphones: From Surveys to Sensors;
- (5) Nonprobability Sampling and Analysis for Population Inference;
- (6) Designing Mixed-Mode Surveys; and
- (7) Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Applications in the Social Sciences: Maps, Mappable Data, and Geospatial Analysis.

While these conference courses are invaluable, AAPOR Webinars throughout the year provide ongoing learning experiences beyond the conference.

EXHIBIT HALL AND BOOK SALE

The growth in the conference exhibit hall has been notable. The Confense Exhibitors listing in 1989 the conference programs has Computer Technologies with 10 companies listed and Books with the names of 36 publishers in a single exhibit. In compaison, the 2019 program lists 43 separate exhibitors, and has a map of where the exhibitors are located. The Exhibit Hall has also transformed into an expanded meeting place where sponsors provide attendees a continental breakfast, session break refreshments, and “swag” (souvenirs, wearables, and gifts).

This is also the place for the Poster Sessions, new-technology demonstrations, and Meet the Author sessions. While the number of Meet the Author sessions varies by conference, a constant is a session with the AAPOR Book Award winning authors for that year. For example, in 2008, the Exhibit Hall hosted Robert M. Groves and Mick P. Couper: *Nonresponse in Household Interview Surveys* and in 2018 Lawrence D. Bobo and Mia Tuan: *Prejudice in Politics: Group Posistion, Public Opinion, and the Wisconsin Treaty Rights Dispute*.

For many years, the book companies would send along samples that were displayed together in one exhibit. Any history of the these collective book exhibits has to honor the late Phyllis

Endredy. Endredy was the book exhibit. There are stories of her dedication including one of her riding her bicycle on Chicago's busy streets, risking an accident while carrying items for the AAPOR book exhibit. Most notable is her book sale. Saturday night, right after the conference banquet, Endredy would set up a dramatically discounted sale of the exhibit books so she would have fewer to mail back to the publisher or carry back to Chicago. Members who knew about the sale were always well prepared and able to go to the exact display location to pick out their books quickly. Those who came to browse first were "left in the dust" by the experienced book sale buyers. Some conference attendees came with almost empty suitcases to make sure they had room to carry back these discounted books to add to their collections. While there is not the promotion of the event as during the Endredy era, attendees can still find a book sale as the conference is ending.

LOCAL INFLUENCE

Another attribute of AAPOR is connecting to the conference site. AAPOR members are distributed across the country and those living near the conference offer suggestions and organize local experiences for visitors. Typical examples are historic attractions, sports events like professional baseball games, evening bar crawls, and music and dancing venues. At the Anaheim, CA conference (2007) there were many more families joining AAPOR attendees and lots of Mickey Mouse ears and other Disney apparel at the conference. Of particular note was the Austin, TX conference (2016) when the conference was timed right for the bat migration and a boat trip was organized to experience the bats flying under the Congress Avenue Bridge at sunset.

WORK HARD PLAY HARD

From the very beginning in 1946 the AAPOR conference has been an extraordinary balance of hard work and commitment to enjoyment. What better way to give attendees multiple ways to get to know each other?

WALK/RUN

For those who are awake early Saturday morning, the Walk/Run has engaged attendees since 1992. Many memories are made at this event. While this is a real competition with both running and walking, winners getting prizes and acknowledgements at the awards luncheon. It is also an opportunity to meet up with prior buddies (especially for the walkers) or get introduced to new partners. And who would not be thrilled with walking along with AAPOR notables like Leslie Kish, Warren Mitofsky or Phil Meyer? The Walk/Run took participants into some interesting locations—the beach at the Don CeSar in St. Petersburg, FL; along the Mississippi River in New Orleans, LA; around a golf course in Hersey, PA; and along a road in Danvers, MA past the sign that read something like: "Watch Out for Survey Crew." While the sign was there for road construction and not for our Walk/Run, it made us all smile to see it.

GOLF OUTING

The exact history of the start of the "official" AAPOR golf outing is unclear. It may have started informally with AAPOR members meeting up on their own, and then it evolved into a sponsored

AAPOR event. Craig Hill has taken the lead since the 2006 event in Montreal when the golf organizer showed up in unlikely attire--cowboy boots and jeans. Since 2007, with Hill's leadership, the event typically attracts about 20 participants with a wide range of skills, but all are out to have fun. Prizes are awarded to the winners at the Saturday luncheon and awards are also given for specific skills such as closest to the pin, longest drive, and straightest drive. Golf Outing highlights include: TPC Louisiana with "an abundance of bayou wildlife" including a 6-foot black snake by the 16th hole (2008); an Arizona mountain course when at least one golf cart overturned coming down a steep mountainside path (2011); and a Los Angeles course that was the one where Tiger Woods learned to play as a boy (2014).¹⁴³

HUMOR

It is well established that to be a survey researcher you need lots of creativity and that can be appreciated in conference events other than the panels. Fortunately, *The Meeting Place* documents AAPOR's comedic heritage by describing Elmo Roper's 1950 "spoof on research gimmicks with his deadpan demonstration of the Roper Veracitator, an electronic truth machine." (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 4) Hal Mendelsohn's introductory monologue and stand-up comedy routine and his contribution to keep AAPOR attendees laughing is reported in 1983 and 1989. Paul Sheatsley laments that "Again we forgot to tape it." (Sheatsley and Mitofsky 1992, 13) Merv Field had the banquet room in tears with laughter as he performed his imitation of Johnny Carson doing Carnac the Magnificent in complete costume. Again, a record of this humorous event is lost. Checking on the rumor that Field actually got Carson's joke writer to do his material, Mark DiCamillo, who was Director of the Field Poll, reported the files that might have had Field's jokes were lost. DiCamillo did have a Field/Carson story from 1982 about how Carson was merciless in mentioning the Field Poll was still predicting Tom Bradley will be elected governor of California. Carson's jokes about Field increased his name recognition among the national audience.¹⁴⁴ Starting in Salt Lake City (1996), Peter Miller presented Replies to Habermas. Jack Ludwig, the Conference Chair, enlisted Miller when he found out that Merv Field was not going to do Carnac. The idea was: Ludwig would tell the banquet audience that a paper had been inadvertently left off the program and the only fair thing to do was to have it presented at the banquet. Miller began in a serious mode with a summary of Habermas's "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere." Then, as Miller describes "having set the hook" he would now offer "replies." He picked 'authors' who would be known to a significant portion of the audience and who represented different segments of AAPOR. Some examples: "Oh, screw these nitpickers" attributed to Warren Mitofsky and Andy Kohut, from a book they were said to have authored, entitled, "The Pollster is Always Right." Another reply, "Maybe a few think-alouds will clear this up," attributed to Seymour Sudman and Norman Bradburn, from the book entitled, *Cognitive Interviewing: A Religion for Our Time*. Miller reveals that AAPORnet provided material and that AAPOR had many characters whose personalities and viewpoints could be distorted for comedic effect.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Email exchange with Craig Hill

¹⁴⁴ Email exchange with Mark DiCamillo

¹⁴⁵ Email exchange with Peter Miller

Over the years, the Presidential Address introduction has become an opportunity for humor. An example is the clever 2018 *The Man Who Can't Say No a.k.a., 'Dr. Yes'* video¹⁴⁶ presented by Vice-President David Dutwin, a gentle roast of President Timothy Johnson.

MORE FUN MEMORIES

Some AAPOR conferences had additional informal celebratory and comic activity take place at meals. A group led by the late Al Gollin, Sheldon Gawiser, and G. Evans Witt with contributions from Susan Pinkus, Janet Stryker, the late Mickey Blum, and other frolicking attendees added to AAPOR fun. This group led attendees with their antics of tossing around beach balls, throwing streamers, using party noise-makers to balance out the serious awards and speeches.

A variety of other informal events outside of the conference hotel also developed, especially after the official program no longer had official Friday evening events. For example, Murray Edelman and others began an informal Friday dinner for LGBTQ+ members that evolved into a GAAPOR. Other examples are the HISP-AAPOR Affinity Group and one year, there was a retiree meetup. Some of these started informally and are now included in the conference program to get the word out so those with a kinship to a group will know they can join in.

In addition, some years there were sponsored social events outside the conference. For example, in 2019 NORC sponsored an event in Toronto at the Hockey Hall of Fame and also in Chicago (2010) at their headquarters. An off-site event in New Orleans (2008) was sponsored by the AAPOR regional chapters.

The conference also became the place for annual reunions of various groups such as alumni from different schools or employees at various businesses. One notable example that was reported in the 1993 AAPOR newsletter: "Obituary: The Michigan Party sustained a fatal blow when Bob Groves, Mike Traugott, and Stan Presser received a \$300.00 bill from the Don CeSar for cleaning up after the 1992 party."¹⁴⁷

CONFERENCE ATTENDEES

According to the 2018 Post Conference Survey,¹⁴⁸ 70 percent of AAPOR members reported that they had attended the 2018 AAPOR conference in Denver, CO. Prior conference attendees, some who have been coming for 30 or more years, new attendees, and students are core groups the conference attracts. In addition, AAPOR's goal is to enhance and support the diversity of members and conference attendees. Of particular note is the inclusion of the AAPOR diversity statement beginning in the 2016 Conference Program.

This survey also underscores attendees' satisfaction with the 2018 conference experience. Seventy-six percent report being extremely (18%) or very (58%) satisfied with this conference.

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.aapor.org/About-Us/History/Presidential-Addresses/2018-Presidential-Address.aspx>

¹⁴⁷ *AAPOR News*, Summer Volume 21, Number 1, page 2. Singing, Dancing, Swimming, Golf And Other Dynamite Performances by Joan S. Black

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.aapor.org/Publications-Media/NewsletterBlog/August-2018/77-of-AAPOR-members-are-very-or-extremely-satisfied.aspx> In addition, results from 1996 and for various years between 2005 and 2008 are available on the AAPOR website.

These results are similar to 2017 (extremely 22%); very (55%) satisfied and 2015 (extremely 19%); very (55%) satisfied, and 2013 (extremely 16%); very (60%) satisfied .¹⁴⁹

NEW ATTENDEES

An AAPOR tradition has been to welcome new attendees. The Conference ID Badges for new attendees have a “first conference” indicator to encourage the regulars to introduce themselves. Plus, a free drink ticket is provided for the welcome cocktail hour to make sure they attend and circulate among other attendees. There is also a docent program where newcomers are matched up with veteran attendees to provide introductions and information. Organized networking is also available to new attendees.

STUDENTS AND YOUNG PROFESSIONALS

Historically, AAPOR has been attentive to encouraging student conference participation. Even with reduced student rates, it can be a financial challenge for them to attend the conference. There has been a variety of support for students over the years. At a very basic level, AAPOR’s faculty members have encouraged and helped to support attendance for their students. One of the heart-warming stories of how faculty often struggled to do this centers on the efforts of the late Allan McCutcheon from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. McCutcheon would come up with creative ways to get students to the conference. For the 2005 conference at the Fontainebleau Hilton there was a “road trip” with a group of students driving from Lincoln, NE to Miami, FL. They found budget group housing accommodations close enough to the conference hotel to enable convenient and active participation.

AAPOR also encourages the inclusion of students by having a Student Travel Award, Student Poster Competition, and the WAPOR/AAPOR Janet A. Harkness and the Seymour Sudman Student Paper Awards. For example, the 2018 program listed 32 AAPOR Student Travel award winners with representation from a range of schools such as Grand Canyon University, The New School, University of Michigan, and Harvard University. Several of the AAPOR regional chapters have also sponsored their student paper award winners conference attendance. In particular, the list of Seymour Sudman Student Paper Award winners illustrates the longterm benefits of attracting talented students to AAPOR. Among these awardees are future AAPOR notables such as: Jim Beniger (1975/1998 AAPOR President); Jon Krosnick (1984/2014 AAPOR Award Winner); and David Dutwin (2002/2019 AAPOR President).

An endowment from the late Burns “Bud” Roper supports young professionals just starting out as survey research professionals. To qualify, they need to be in the early stages of their career and those presenting at the conference are given preference. This award involves the employer providing candidate information and encourages additional employer financial support for conference expenses.

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.aapor.org/Membership.aspx>

AAPOR FASHION

Typically, conference attendees wear what some would call “smart casual” (which is considered slightly less formal than business casual). Members can also be seen wearing shirts with their corporate logos and university designs. Attendees doing presentations, leading sessions, or Short Courses tend to be easily spotted since they are more likely to dress in business attire. For the Saturday evening AAPOR President’s cocktail party and banquet, attire is generally more “glamorous,” as attendees celebrate their achievements and experiences of the prior days attending sessions pursuing knowledge.

AAPOR also established its own fashion trend. Starting in St. Petersburg, FL (1989), as an incentive for those in the Walk/Run event, the AAPOR T-Shirt with the iconic slogan “If I want your opinion, I’ll ask”¹⁵⁰ debuted. Since then, every attendee has the option to purchase the annual T-shirt with the conference package. After check-in, the conference is awash with those wearing shirts with the same color and slogan. The pre-conference slogan contest each year brings out the wit and creativity of AAPOR members. Starting in 2004, attendees also received a sponsored tote bag¹⁵¹ as they register. With their similar AAPOR shirts and tote bags, it is easy to spot conference attendees at the hotel. One year, a bit more upscale green or tan golf shirt with the AAPOR logo was also available.

When Rob Daves was AAPOR President, he distributed the AAPOR lapel pin in a unique manner. As part of his luncheon presidential address in 2007, Daves asked attendees to look under their chairs. Attached was an AAPOR logo lapel pin that Daves encouraged us to wear. It was a perfect ending to his address where his closing message was, “One of the ways we can hang together is to take the pride in this wonderful organization called AAPOR that we all feel, and let others know about it.”¹⁵²

MEMORABLE CONFERENCES

All AAPOR Conferences create individual memories for many reasons. Here are a few examples to illustrate a range of notable experiences.

1990 LANCASTER ROUNDTABLE ON NICARAGUA’S POLLWARS

Two different groups of AAPOR Council Members had served on a Ford Foundation Commission to observe the polling in the February 25, 1990 Nicaragua Election of Daniel Ortega v Violetta Chamorro. At the 1990 Conference there was a Roundtable: Poll Wars—Observers Discuss the Pre-Election Polls in Nicaragua: Janice Ballou (Organizer); Nancy Belden (Belden Associates); Carols Denton (CID-Gallup, Costa Rica); Victor Borge (Victor Borge and Associates); and Howard Schuman (University of Michigan). Having key Central American pre-election pollsters attend our conference offered a unique opportunity for attendees. Some may also recall that another result of AAPOR pre-election monitoring was Howard Schuman’s March

¹⁵⁰ 2004 AAPOR President Elizabeth Martin credited with this message.

¹⁵¹ The estimate for the first tote bag is based on information in the 2004 conference program registration information (p.2) and cite of Roper Center tote bag sponsorship (p. 37).

¹⁵² <https://www.aapor.org/About-Us/History/Presidential-Addresses/2007-Presidential-Address.aspx>

7, 1990 *New York Times* op-ed article about possible bias introduced by the in-person interviewers' pens.¹⁵³

1991 PHOENIX ROUNDTABLE: THE KING DAY REFERENDA AND SPECIAL LUNCH PLENARY: RACISM IN ARIZONA

In 1991 Joan Black, President, and Larry Bobo, Conference Chair, had the challenge of satisfying concerned AAPOR members who lobbied to move the conference from Arizona because the state-wide celebration of Martin Luther King Day was voted down. Because of the financial penalties at the reserved hotel and challenges to find a new site, the compromise was to address the issue at the conference. Lee Sigelman (Dean) and Henry C. Kenski at the University of Arizona planned a roundtable: "The King Day Referenda in Arizona: A Retrospective on the Campaign, the Polls and the Media." In addition, a special Friday lunch plenary focused on Racism in American Politics.

2003 NASHVILLE SPACE ADJUSTMENTS

The Sheraton Music City Hotel turned out not to have adequate space for all conference sessions, in particular, the all-conference Presidential Address luncheon. Conference Chair Jon Krosnick negotiated setting up a huge tent in their parking lot. Attendees were lent umbrellas to get to the tent. However, once in the tent, it was very crowded and water kept pouring in on people's feet. While attendees were good-humored about the rain, Mark Schulman had the challenge of giving his Presidential Address with Mother Nature's distractions. Also memorable in 2003 was the plenary: "Public Opinion and Polling in Contemporary American Politics" with featured speaker Arianna Huffington and discussants Robert Shapiro, Roger Tourangeau, and Richard Morin. At the conclusion of the plenary, Krosnick has Huffington pledge on the AAPOR Conference Program not to kill off survey research.¹⁵⁴

2005 MIAMI BEACH HOTEL OWNERSHIP SWITCH

Tom W. Smith was the 2005 Conference Chair when the hotel changed ownership in the middle of the conference. Attendees were required to check out of the prior owner's establishment and re-register to stay for the rest of the conference. While it all worked out okay, it did create uncertainty. An innovation at this conference was the dessert buffet after the Thursday plenary to incentivize people to stay for the plenary.¹⁵⁵

2008 NEW ORLEANS POST HURRICANE KATRINA

There was uncertainty about having the 2008 conference in post-Katrina New Orleans. Even though the conference was held three years after the devastating August 29, 2005 event, AAPOR was hesitant about how prepared the city would be to host the event. Frank Newport, Conference

¹⁵³ Howard Schuman, "3 Different Pens Help Tell the Story." *New York Times*, Op Ed page, March 7, 1990.

¹⁵⁴ <https://youtu.be/JUa4Fn0JoC0>

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTG99qLSoQE&feature=youtu.be>

Chair, organized a comprehensive plenary co-hosted with Tulane University: “Polls for the Public Good: Making Use of Public Opinion in the Aftermath of Katrina.” The panel included many notables: Mitch Landrieu, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana; Ray Nagin, Mayor of New Orleans; Walter Isaacson, President and CEO of the Aspen Institute; Dr. Scott Cowen, President of Tulane University; Donald E. Powell, Federal Coordinator of Gulf Coast Rebuilding; Dr. Norman C. Francis, President of Xavier University and Chair of the Louisiana Recovery Authority. A key takeaway from the plenary was the value of public opinion polls in assisting leaders with planning. In addition, there were tours of Katrina-devastated areas that were still in major disrepair.

2011 PHOENIX IMMIGRATION REFORM

Arizona, again challenging social concerns, led AAPOR to a plenary session: “Public Perception & Societal Conflict: The History of Immigration Reform in the U.S.” Notable participants in the session were Henry G. Cisneros, former U.S. Housing and Urban Development Secretary; Rodolfo de la Garza, Columbia University; Doris Meissner, former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Services; Frank Newport, Gallup Editor-in-Chief and AAPOR President; and Gary Langer, Langer Research Associates.

2018 DENVER MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION AND CENTRAL CITY

In 2018 the Denver conference, in recognition of Colorado being one of the first states to legalize marijuana, began with a special panel: “Public Opinion and Marijuana Legalizations: A View of the Past and Future.” The theme of the panel was how public opinion shaped the passage and implementation of marijuana legalization in Colorado and other states. The panelists and the discussion that followed underscored the value of polling to provide education and insight to a key social and political issue. Conveniently located directly across the street from the conference hotel was a marijuana store giving conference attendees the opportunity to experience how Colorado was implementing this legalization.

Also convenient was Central City. About 35 miles from the conference hotel was the Teller House and Central City Opera House where AAPOR first met in 1946.

To sum up, just as envisioned in Mendelsohn’s observation at the beginning of this Chapter, AAPOR continues to expand. And, while the methods and technology available to conduct our research and to meet with each other has ongoing changes, the annual conference continues as the meeting place and as the foundation for AAPOR.

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9. Recognizing Achievement and Remembering Gratefully: AAPOR Awards

Jeffrey D. Hackett

Introduction

Why does a professional association give awards?

Between its 1947 founding and 1954, AAPOR did not give awards to members. And between 1955 and 1966, a single AAPOR award activity existed in steely austerity—a lifetime achievement award, at first named for revered colleague Julian Woodward and subsequently renamed for its purpose and in recognition and memory of other distinguished members as the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement in 1962. Then, in 1967, a student writing award was inaugurated, recognizing the attribute that AAPOR seems to prize as highly as any other: excellence in communication.

As the 2000s opened, however, the awards multiplied. Soon, AAPOR offered a Book Award, an Innovators Award, a Policy Impact Award, and—by 2018—a Public Service Award. These awards, like the lifetime award, recognize achievement, generally by individuals with established careers or, in the case of the Policy Impact Award, by large research programs.

Another set of mostly newer AAPOR awards are future oriented. Additional student writing awards were created in 2013. Burns Roper Fellow and Student Travel awards, dating respectively from 2005 and 2012, brought students and young researchers to the AAPOR annual conference to engage as peers with their more experienced colleagues. The Inclusive Voices and Student-Faculty Pipeline Awards seek to show that public opinion and survey research is a vital discipline that seeks to benefit from the perspectives of a diverse group of smart young people. With all of these awards, AAPOR is recognizing and encouraging achievement and behavior that support the evolution of the field.

What do the awards do for the awardees?

With an award comes a nice citation, of course, and there are varying levels of public recognition. Some awards provide a bit of cash, and once a year, one awardee gets a glamorous item of clothing. As for the benefit to *all* AAPOR members due to the association's award program, one answer is provided in a lighthearted essay on awards in the area of economics. W. Lee Hansen and Burton A. Weisbrod (1972) explain, "Awards are essentially free goods (apart from small computational costs), and the prospect of receiving an award has a substantial collective good component (all may 'enjoy' the prospect in common)."

Awards are a chance to celebrate the past, present, and future. Professionals seek to recognize the achievements of their peers—achievements foster the creation and dissemination of knowledge and serve as guides and sources of inspiration. They also seek to prepare for the field's future by encouraging involvement and inclusion.

The Age of AAPOR

The age of AAPOR, from the mid 20th century to the present moment, is an age in which the utility of scientific measurement of opinion and behavior is continually tested, and the methods of that measurement are refined with the advent of new understanding and technology. It is an age in which the discipline of public opinion polling and survey research provides much of the evidence that underlies evidence-based policymaking. And it is an age in which polls and surveys are a principal means of understanding political sentiments and behaviors, as well as a principal means of conducting the business of politics.

AAPOR's founding at a conference in Williamstown immediately cemented the organization's interest in better understanding sentiments about fields such as politics. In fact, Paul Sheatsley (1947) identified a highlight of the Williamstown conference as "the participation of Stuart Chase, George Gallup, Elmo Roper, Archibald Crossley, and Paul Lazarsfeld in a discussion of 'Polling and the Political Process.'" This focus has continued: Five of the 16 selections for the AAPOR Book Award, which was initiated in 2004, mention politics in their title, and politics is a focus of a number of the books on AAPOR's list of 50 books that have shaped public opinion research (AAPOR, n.d.). The URL for the list of 50 books is found at this reference.

A 53-line "News Note" in a 1947 *Public Opinion Quarterly* (POQ) announced the founding of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) and offered this summary of the new organization's purposes:

The new organization has as its stated purposes: "to stimulate creative research and study in the public opinion field; to encourage the development of the highest professional standards in public opinion research; to facilitate the dissemination of opinion research methods, techniques, and findings through annual conferences and an official journal and other publications; to promote the utilization of public opinion research in democratic policy formation; and to serve as a representative national organization in international opinion research meetings and associations." (Sheatsley, 1947)

AAPOR's enduring concerns with research standards and methods, public information, and the role of public opinion research in a democracy are captured in this brief passage; concerns that would be reflected in its program of awards to emerge in the coming decades. The rise of authoritarian movements and the survival of democracy had occupied many of AAPOR's constituents personally and professionally over the previous decade. Months before the conference, the planned chair, Harry H. Field, had died in an aviation accident in France, and POQ observed:

The last few days of his life were a symbolic climax of his last ten years. His tragic death occurred in the line of a self-imposed duty to make the tool of the public opinion survey a vital instrument of democratic government. He died in the midst of an effort to do his part in urging UNESCO officials to make public opinion research an instrument for the effective conduct of their work. (POQ, 1946)

Many attendees at Williamstown had emerged from military or government service during the war years. Julian Woodward, for whom AAPOR's highest award was initially named, and

AAPOR's first president, Clyde Hart, had served in the federal Office of War Information (*POQ*, 1953; *POQ*, 1970). The Viennese Lazarsfeld was a refugee who came to the United States as a Rockefeller Foundation fellow for the academic year 1933–1934 and remained in the face of a deteriorating political situation in Austria (Sills, 1987).

Organization of This Chapter

This chapter discusses award categories and recipients and concludes with a list of awardees for each category. It pays particular attention to the careers of awardees as documented by the receipt of multiple awards. Unattributed information on the rules and purposes of the awards is taken from the AAPOR website and, in the cases of the Janet A. Harkness Student Paper Award and the Monroe G. Sirken Award in Interdisciplinary Survey Research Methods, the websites of the World Association for Public Opinion Research and the American Statistical Association, respectively.

In discussing the Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement, this chapter draws primarily on the text of the AAPOR award citations, when available in *POQ*. Following the discussion of the AAPOR Award, seven other awards that recognize particular contributions are presented in the reverse chronological order. These are followed by student writing and travel awards, the one-time Frank Stanton award, and finally by the conference t-shirt slogan award.

The Awards

Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement

The AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement, often called the “AAPOR Award,” requires this qualification for consideration:

an outstanding contribution to the field of public opinion research, including: advances in theory, empirical research and methods; improvements in ethical standards; and promotion of understanding among the public, media and/or policy makers.

The award was initially named to memorialize Julian L. Woodward (Dinerman, 1953), a public opinion research pioneer whose career had spanned academic, government, and commercial organizations, which were then, as now, major areas of endeavors for the AAPOR membership. Woodward (who was called “Woody”) had served as AAPOR president in 1950–1951. This inaugural award in 1955 was conferred on another former AAPOR President, Paul S. Lazarsfeld, who was at the time chair of Columbia University's Sociology Department and played a leading role in the Bureau of Applied Social Research. Lazarsfeld receiving the award was said to be:

especially appropriate because both he and Woody made pioneer contributions to the methodology of opinion research, and each exemplified how the academician can work successfully in the university and the world of commercial research. (*POQ*, 1955)

In his remarks accepting the award, Lazarsfeld reflected on how his work in both the academic and commercial spheres paralleled Woodward's own interests:

There are many in this room who deserve more than I do to be the recipient of this Award. It is just my good fortune that I am a Columbia sociologist who is working on academic as well as commercial projects. And as such I might be an acceptable token of what AAPOR tries to express by the creation of the Julian Woodward Award. But even this can be meant only in a very limited way. Because there remains Woody's fairness in dealing with colleagues; his gentleness in his contacts with friends; his integrity as a research expert. These are qualities which no Award can evoke; they can only be remembered gratefully by every one of us and by this association as a whole which he served so faithfully both as a member and as president. (Lazarsfeld, 1955)

Lazarsfeld's comments about Woodward serving as AAPOR president are telling, making apparent the tie between service as AAPOR president and the AAPOR award. Of the 36 individuals who have both served as AAPOR president and received the AAPOR (or Woodward) Award, only two—Norman Bradburn and Herbert Hyman—received the award before serving as president.

Ahead of the 1962 award, the AAPOR Council decided to rename the Woodward Award the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement “to be given both in honor and in memory of all distinguished members who have died.” (POQ, 1962)

The AAPOR Award has been conferred on 69 individuals and three organizations. In general, the award is conferred on a single individual, but in five instances it was conferred on multiple individuals. In such cases, the award might be shared and documented in a joint citation, as it was in 1983 by Matilda White Riley and John R. Riley, Jr.; in 1987 by Bradburn and Seymour Sudman; and in 1989 by Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang. In some years, there is more than one AAPOR award. In 1983, the Rileys were honored along with Wilber Schramm and Paul K. Perry. In 1999, Charles Cannell and Warren Mitofsky were separately honored. In 2003, Don A. Dillman and Frank Stanton were selected, also separately.

Gender imbalance. A cursory review of the list of AAPOR Award selections reveals names that are overwhelmingly male. In her 2016 presidential address “A Call for Inclusion: Why AAPOR Needs an Increased Focus to Thrive,” Mollyann Brodie spoke to AAPOR's successes and challenges as an inclusive organization. Brodie noted the small number of women among the AAPOR Award recipients. Shirley A. Star, who received the award in 1980, was the first of the female awardees, followed by Matilda White Riley in 1983, Gladys Engel Lang in 1989, Eleanor Singer in 1996, Kathleen Frankovic in 2008, Elizabeth Martin in 2009, and Nancy Mathiowetz in 2015.

Both Matilda White Riley and Gladys Engel Lang shared their awards with their husbands. And while that observation does not suggest that either recipient was in any way less deserving—their careers speak for themselves—it does leave the number of women who have received the AAPOR award on their own at five, which seems to illustrate Brodie's observation on AAPOR's inattention: “We don't intentionally exclude one group or another. Rather we fail to take affirmative steps to be inclusive” (Brodie, 2016).

Pioneers. The 1953 death of Woodward, a survey research pioneer, inspired the creation of AAPOR's lifetime award, and AAPOR has been careful to use it to recognize the achievements of its pioneers. In fact, the word "pioneer" appears in 11 award citations. The foremost professional figures of the 1930s and 1940s, including Hadley Cantril, Archibald Crossley, George Gallup, Field, Hart, and Elmo Roper, were among the earliest honored.

Commercial, academic, and government researchers. Award citations frequently document the distribution of awardees among commercial, academic, or government enterprises. At the same time, these citations make plain that such identification is often relevant only for that particular point in time—in this, a field in which careers frequently ignore such boundaries. Woodward himself had been a university faculty member, in government service, and a leader at the Roper Organization. Mathiowetz's career documented in her citation includes positions at universities, in government, and at Westat. Paul Lavrakas's 2019 citation mentions his contributions in academia and in the public and private sectors. After three decades as a commercial researcher, Herbert I. Abelson, 1995 AAPOR Award recipient, established the Survey Research Center at Princeton University.

Sheatsley (1968) pointed out in his AAPOR presidential address:

Market researchers now routinely compete for government contracts and even perform services for university researchers. Academic researchers lend their expertise to the world of business, and noncommercial agencies often do work that looks suspiciously like market research. The blurring of the differences has also been encouraged by the growing frequency with which AAPOR members move from one of the two worlds to the other.

Quality of communication. The citations are revealing in identifying what AAPOR prizes in an awardee, and particularly prized is excellence in communicating ideas and findings, particularly excellence in writing. References to scholarship, written works, the quality of an awardee's communications, or editing *POQ* appear in more than half of the citations. Eleanor Singer's 1996 citation reads in part, "Her scientific reporting is graced by proficiency and fluency of expression. The English language is her willing servant, and she honors it with writing that is concise and elegant." Sheatsley's 1982 citation reads in part, "Fortunate indeed are readers who have encountered his clear, precise, and illuminating prose." In 2005, Andrew Kohut was recognized for his "unrivalled ability to speak in direct and understandable ways about complex political and social phenomena while remaining sensitive to the proper uses and limits of survey methods." In 2017, Peter V. Miller was recognized for his "deft editorial touch" at *POQ*. In 1980, Star was called "courageously outspoken." It will be interesting to see in future years if selection for the AAPOR Book Award is a signal that selection for an AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement can be anticipated or if the existence of the separate Book Award lessens the importance of writing in the selection for the lifetime award.

Methods. Methodology, a principal concern of AAPOR, is likewise a principal concern of the AAPOR award. More than one-third of citations mention methods or methodology, but this is likely a radical undercount of the awardees whose careers have included important methodological contributions. Lester Frankel (1981) is credited with Steve Stock for developing "the first national probability sample used by the U.S. government." Jack Elinson (1993) was

recognized for his “pioneering work applying the survey method to the measurement of health.” Dillman’s methodological work was described as “the ‘Bible’ for conducting mail and self-administered surveys.”

Politics and civic participation. The AAPOR Award reflects AAPOR members’ deep concern with civil liberties, civic participation, politics, elections, and voting as topics of study, areas of practice, and driving passions. Many of AAPOR’s leading lights have been engaged in the study of politics, and at least 19 of the citations identify research on politics or voting as a key concern of the awardee. Mitofsky’s development of exit polling techniques is called out in his 1999 citation. Harry O’Neill’s 2007 award pointed to his service as pollster for the Nixon White House. Elmo Roper’s 1959 citation called him “a champion of civil liberties.”

Service to AAPOR. The AAPOR award is also respectful of service to AAPOR, which is a regular feature of award citations, especially AAPOR presidency. Kathleen Frankovic’s citation notes her services as AAPOR President, Standards Chair, Conference Chair, and Councilor-at-Large. In 2002, Tom W. Smith was cited for six different AAPOR roles, including multiple terms as a judge of student essays.

Outside of formal roles, friendship and wise counsel are personal attributes that have fostered the success of AAPOR. Albert Gollin’s 1998 citation reports that:

his sharp wit and warm embrace enlivened decades of AAPOR meetings. For years, he served as the organization’s unofficial parliamentarian and pragmatic political mentor. Without his skills in these areas, ‘the Standards of Disclosure would not now be a part of AAPOR’s Code of Ethics and *Public Opinion Quarterly* might not be owned by AAPOR.’

The 1965 AAPOR Award honored for service to AAPOR an individual who did not live to see its creation. Given posthumously to National Opinion Research Center founder Field, the citation reflected on Field’s foundational convening of the 1946 Central City Conference and chairing the AAPOR organizing committee. Others who received the AAPOR award posthumously include Ithiel de Sola Pool (1984), Star (1980), and Elmo C. Wilson (1968).

Colleagues. Accomplishments in every scientific field build on the advances of colleagues and predecessors. Collaboration is a valued characteristic. Lars Lyberg’s 2018 citation praises him “as a highly effective collaborator.” Occasionally, key collaborators are noted in the citations, although the practice is far from consistent. The earliest two awards, in 1955 and 1956, noted that the awardees knew Woodward, for whom the award was then named. Lazarsfeld, the 1955 awardee, is mentioned in three other citations, including the 2003 Award citation for Frank Stanton of CBS.

Awards to organizations. The award has also gone to three organizations. In 1957, the AAPOR Award was conferred on *POQ*. The Roper Public Opinion Research Center was selected in 1960 and the Fund for the Republic in 1961. *POQ* and the Roper Center are enduring institutions, and their recognition would seem appropriate in any year. The Fund for the Republic (FFR), established in 1952 and backed by the Ford Foundation, was celebrated because its “targeted

grantmaking and the leverage afforded by its political supporters helped to defend free thought and expression in what were perilous times” (Walton, 2015). The FFR later transitioned into a research center. The selection of the Roper Center and the FFR underline the leading role played by Elmo Roper in AAPOR. Roper established the Roper Center and was a founding board member of the FFR (Reeves, 1965) and became board chair in 1956 (Reeves, 1969). Roper continued to defend the FFR, even after receiving hints that his business relationship with the Ford Motor Company might be jeopardized by Henry Ford II’s unhappiness at the activities of the FFR (Reeves, 1969).

Award careers. Because the AAPOR Award predates all other awards it has been, for most recipients, their first award from AAPOR. However, five AAPOR Award winners received an earlier award. Robert Groves, Kohut, Lavrakas, Norman H. Nie, and Smith were earlier winners of the Warren Mitofsky Innovators Award. Scott Keeter and Lyberg were prior recipients of the Book Award. Stanley Presser and Jon A. Krosnick followed student paper success with the AAPOR Award.

Inclusive Voices Award

The Inclusive Voices Award was awarded for the first time in 2019 and is intended to recognize “scholars/researchers, organizations, or institutions who have produced the important data sets, research, and survey methods that have improved the ability to study complex social phenomena related to understudied and underserved, and therefore under-voiced populations.” The inaugural award was conferred on the National Survey of Latinos, which is conducted by the Pew Research Center.

Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award

First awarded in 2019, the Student-Faculty Diversity Pipeline Award is shared by a student and a faculty mentor. According to the AAPOR website, the award is reserved for students and faculty who identify as: American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Black or African American; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; and Hispanic or Latino. The award supports AAPOR membership and conference attendance. Twenty student/faculty pairs were selected during the inaugural year; four of the students or faculty members were from historically black colleges or universities.

Public Service Award

AAPOR’s Public Service Award was inaugurated in 2018. The AAPOR website notes that the award “is intended to recognize and honor outstanding public service and dedication to maintaining AAPOR standards. It recognizes persons who work on behalf of the public sector, and have contributed to the quality of government surveys, data systems, research, leadership, and/or policy.”

The initial award grew out of a tragedy. It was conferred posthumously in 2018 on Scott Fricker of the Bureau of Labor Statistics who was also president of AAPOR’s DC chapter. Fricker and spouse, Buckley Kuhn-Fricker, were fatally shot in late 2017, allegedly by a teenage friend of their daughter’s. The alleged assailant was reported to have neo-Nazi leanings (Jouvenal, 2019). That this homicide has apparent links to fascist beliefs is a reminder that AAPOR’s dedication “to advancing the science and practice of survey and opinion research to give people a voice in

the decisions that affect their daily lives” (AAPOR, n.d.2) is a mortal threat to authoritarian movements. Many AAPOR members, including many of AAPOR’s awardees over the years, have contributed significantly to the struggle against fascism in their personal and professional lives through government and military service and by practicing and strengthening an organization that prizes measurement and objectivity.

In 2019, the Public Service award was then made to Nancy Bates. The award citation recognizes Bates’s career in the federal statistical system and her contributions to AAPOR.

Monroe G. Sirken Award in Interdisciplinary Survey Research Methods

The annual Monroe G. Sirken Award is awarded to a survey researcher for contributions for advances in theory and methods. Inaugurated in 2015 as an award of the American Statistical Association (ASA), the Sirken Award is now shared by the ASA and AAPOR. Beginning in 2018, the association taking the lead in selecting the Sirken awardee began to alternate between ASA and AAPOR on a two-year cycle. The presentation takes place at either the Joint Statistical Meetings or at the AAPOR annual meeting, in line with the lead association of that year. The awardee presents the Sirken Lecture and receives a \$5,000 honorarium and an award plaque.

The award was endowed in 2014 by Monroe G. Sirken, a distinguished researcher whose career at the National Center for Health Statistics spanned more than 50 years. At the time of the 2014 endowment, ASA Executive Director Ron Wasserstein told ASA’s membership newsletter, “Monroe’s generosity opens an opportunity to recognize outstanding interdisciplinary work by survey researchers. By shining a beacon on this work, the Sirken Award will encourage and stimulate future research in this important area of statistical practice” (*Amstat News*, 2014).

Book Award

AAPOR has always cared about excellence in writing. In fact, even the first Julian Woodward Memorial Award noted that awardee Lazarsfeld’s “eminence in the field of opinion research is attested to by his many publications in this field” (*POQ*, 1955). The second Woodward Memorial Award identified Hyman’s “two major contributions to recent literature—*Interviewing in Social Research* and *Survey Design and Analysis*” (*POQ*, 1956). For the third award, AAPOR dispensed with people and gave the honor outright to *POQ*. It’s similarly indicative that AAPOR’s second-oldest honor is the student paper award, which dates from 1967.

It was a natural development, therefore, when the organization added the AAPOR Book Award in 2004 and began recognizing books that have influenced understanding of public opinion or survey research methodology. The first book selected for award was John R. Zaller’s *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, which had been published in 1992 by Cambridge University Press. University presses dominate the award selection, with 12 of the 16 book awardees published by university presses. Three individuals, Lawrence D. Bobo, Mick Couper, and Groves, have seen two of their books selected for the Book Award.

Winners of the AAPOR Book Award are well represented in other award categories. Seven Book Award winners have also received the AAPOR Award—Bradburn, Dillman, Keeter, Lyberg, Schuman, Smith, and Sudman. Five—Bobo, Martin I. Gilens, Maria Krysan, Diana Mutz, and Zaller—are former student paper honorees, a fact that must really please those who assessed student papers in those years. Eight Book Award winners have also served as AAPOR president.

These were Bradburn, Dillman, Groves, Timothy Johnson, Keeter, Schuman, Sudman, and Roger Tourangeau.

Not eligible for consideration are 50 books that AAPOR has judged to have influenced public opinion research. These 50, published between 1946 and 1992, focus on a broad range of topics, such as opinion formation, politics, and voting. Methodological works are well represented. Six authors—Bradburn, Dillman, Groves, Howard Schuman, Sudman, and Sidney Verba—have works among the 50 books and also have had a volume selected for the AAPOR Book Award. The changing nature of the publishing industry seems evident in that 33 of the 50 influential books were published by commercial presses, unlike the Book Award winners, which come largely from university presses.

Policy Impact Award

The Policy Impact Award, inaugurated in 2004, is “intended to recognize outstanding research that has resulted in a clear impact on improving policy decisions, practice and discourse, either in the public or private sectors.” It has always been awarded to a study or research program, beginning with the Urban Institute’s Assessing the New Federalism Project. The citation that first year read:

AAPOR honors the Urban Institute for providing critical surveys on understanding the changes in program participation and well-being that accompanied the dramatic changes in the social safety net that took place after passage of 1996 welfare reform legislation.

The foundation-funded initiative provides national and state policymakers with ongoing survey-based assessments of policy impact in such areas as cash assistance, child care, child welfare, child support, health insurance coverage, access, and use, Medicaid, the State Children’s Health Insurance Program, and the health safety net generally. The project emphasizes timely dissemination of data and analysis to inform and improve public policy. (*POQ*, 2004)

The 2019 Policy Impact Award was conferred on the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey for the provision of critical information for planning by business and by governments at all levels.

AAPOR’s Policy Impact selections often have a focus on health. Half of the 14 research programs recognized since 2004 are health focused: among them, the International Tobacco Control Policy Evaluation Project (2017), Kaiser Health Tracking Survey (2015), the University of Minnesota’s State Health Access Data Assistance Center (2012), and the HIV Cost and Services Utilization Study (2005) conducted by the RAND Corporation.

Warren J. Mitofsky Innovators Award

The Warren J. Mitofsky Innovators Award was established in 2000 as the Innovators Award. The 2007 and subsequent awards were renamed for Warren Mitofsky. It is “designed to recognize accomplishments in the fields of public opinion and survey research that had their primary impact on the field during the past decade. These innovations could consist of new theories, ideas, applications, methodologies or technologies.”

In the first year, three awards were made—to Kohut, for developing the Pew Research Center; to Groves, for “leadership in establishing survey methodology as a recognized academic field”; and to Thomas Piazza, J. Merrill Shanks, Charlie Thomas, Richard Rockwell, William Lefes, and Smith, “for developing Web-based products for free dissemination of public opinion data.” The award has been conferred 20 times since 2000, although in some years no award was made and in other years multiple individuals or teams were honored for separate accomplishments. Overall, 55 individuals have received or shared the award, and one, Smith, has received it twice.

Mitofsky, who had served as AAPOR President in 1988–1989 and received the AAPOR Award in 1999, was a leading innovator in his role as head of surveys and election polls at CBS and is credited with inventing the exit poll (Bai, 2006). His name was also often linked to that of Westat’s Joseph Waksberg; together they developed the Mitofsky-Waksberg approach to telephone survey sampling. In an appreciation of the pair that appeared in *POQ*, J. Michael Brick and Clyde Tucker (2007) wrote:

Warren Mitofsky and Joseph Waksberg were two of the most influential researchers in telephone surveys and survey research methods. Their development of the Mitofsky–Waksberg method for random digit dialing sampling revolutionized telephone sampling and surveys. Jointly and separately, Waksberg and Mitofsky were instrumental in the development of many innovative methods and applications.

Student Writing Awards

WAPOR/AAPOR Janet A. Harkness Student Paper Competition

The Janet A. Harkness Student Paper Award dates from 2013 and is shared by AAPOR and the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR). Eligible entries must involve survey methods in multinational, multiregional, and multicultural context. A Harkness awardee has been selected five times since 2013. In 2015 and 2017, there were no awards.

The Harkness awardee receives a cash prize of \$750 plus reimbursement for some WAPOR conference expenses. It is named for Janet A. Harkness, an expert in cross-cultural survey research who was a faculty member at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and Director of the Survey Research and Methodology Program at the UNL Gallup Research Center. As is also true of Sudman, a book by Harkness was selected by AAPOR for the Book Award.

Seymour Sudman Student Paper Competition

The Seymour Sudman Student Paper Award “honors the best student paper presented at the AAPOR annual conference.” The award is given as a tribute to Sudman, in “memory of his many contributions to survey methodology, his leadership in the AAPOR community and his teaching and mentoring of students.” The award actually dates from 1967 and was renamed in honor of long-time University of Illinois faculty member and 1981-1982 AAPOR President Sudman in 2003. Sudman was an apt choice as the namesake of an award for excellence in writing. The *New York Times* observed in his obituary, “A consummate semanticist, Dr. Sudman was fascinated by the way the outcome of a questionnaire could be tainted by the choice of a single word” (Saxon, 2000).

One hundred and thirty-nine individuals have been recognized with Sudman Awards. Some years have more than one winner—overall, there have been 70 winners—with the remainder second- or third-place finishers or receiving honorable mention. The paper award has proven a first step in some distinguished AAPOR careers. As noted above, five student paper honorees have gone on to win the Book Award, two to win the Mitofsky Innovators Award, and two to win the AAPOR Award. Five student-paper honorees have gone on to be AAPOR President.

Although 38 different universities have produced student paper honorees, there are clear leaders. Twenty-one student paper honorees were from the University of Michigan. Other universities with double-digit awardees include Princeton University (16), University of California at Berkeley (12), and University of Wisconsin (10).

The Sudman awardee receives a cash prize of \$750 plus reimbursement for some conference expenses. Authors receiving honorable mention receive prizes of \$100.

Travel Awards

Student Travel Award

Beginning in 2012, AAPOR's Student Travel Awards have offered travel funds, allowing 107 student awardees to attend the annual conference.

Burns "Bud" Roper Fellow Award

Since 2005, early career survey researchers have been eligible for the Roper Fellow Award, which provides support to attend the AAPOR conference and take advantage of its short courses. More than 100 students or early career professionals have been selected as Roper Fellows. The Roper Fellow Award is supported by a bequest from Burns "Bud" Roper, AAPOR President in 1982-1983 and recipient of the AAPOR Award in 1988. In his career, Roper had headed the Roper Organization and chaired the board of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. Both organizations were founded by his father, Elmo.

Student Poster Award

The Student Poster Competition honors with a cash prize the best student poster presented at the annual conference. The award, inaugurated in 2015, is announced at the annual conference.

Frank Stanton Award for Meritorious Research on the Media of Mass Communication

The Frank Stanton Award was awarded once only, in 1959, to recognize achievements during the period of 1957-1959. The award was sponsored by AAPOR and the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. The recipient was New York University faculty member Charles Siepmann for his volume *TV and our School Crisis*, which focused on the use of television in schools. In the *New York Times*, radio and TV critic Jack Gould (1958) wrote, "This book should be read by any layman concerned over the future of the nation's schools and colleges." AAPOR's award citation reported that the volume "reviews the relevant research on the use of television in the schools and presents a vigorous argument in its favor." The award was named for Frank Stanton, president of CBS, himself the recipient of the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement in 2003.

The Stanton Award is a curiosity in that it was intended to be awarded every two years but was awarded only the once. The panel of judges that selected Seipmann's book included that year's AAPOR Award recipient Elmo Roper, future AAPOR Award recipient Wilbur Schramm, and writer and cultural critic Gilbert Seldes. Seipmann was a stern critic of broadcasters so the fact that the award was named for the president of CBS is an additional curiosity.

T-Shirt Award

Fashionable for all occasions, the AAPOR Conference T-shirt proudly asserts the wearer's devotion to public opinion and survey research while simultaneously showcasing the multidimensional wit of the AAPOR membership. In the first year of competition, 1989, Elizabeth Martin provided the winning T-shirt slogan, "If we want your opinion, we'll ask for it." Wise persons can debate whether the selection of her slogan presaged her eventual selection as AAPOR President and winner of the AAPOR Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Achievement or guaranteed it.

Since 1989, a T-shirt slogan has been selected for every conference save for 1990, 1991, and 1994. There are varied paths to T-shirt slogan success. Martin's repurposing of the common expression to comment on opinion research is echoed in such imaginative slogans as "Pollsters do it for the asking" (Nikolai Popov, 1993); "To err is human, but if it's less than 4% it's just sampling" (Tom W. Smith, 1997), and "Practice random acts of dialing" (Tancy Vandecar-Burdin, 2015). The clever pun is always welcome, as in Fred Solop's 2008 slogan, "Will weight tables for food."

Popular culture has also lured T-shirt sloganeers. A. Rupa Datta offered a pun on Tom Petty's earnest ballad "The Waiting" with her 2014 winner "The weighting is the hardest part," an appropriate successor to Megan Zander-Cotugno's and Jen Pevar's 2013 slogan "We'll call you maybe," which borrowed the title from Carly Rae Jepsen's thumping hit "Call Me Maybe." In 2010, Angela Kittle captured the verbal shorthand of our discipline with her slogan "AAPOR: Freqs and geeks," nodding at a short-lived, much-loved television show.

Politics is a field of study for many AAPOR members as well as an area of practice for others. It is in the arena of politics that survey researchers can most expect a tongue-lashing when the results of a survey don't match expectations. This fact of life underlies the wisdom of "Polling: Now more accurate than the election itself" (Allan Barton, 2002) and "Joe the pollster" (Timothy MacKinnon, 2009). Jenny Marlar captured the zeitgeist in 2018 with her winning slogan: "We have good surveys. The best surveys. No one is better at surveys than we are." Who could doubt it?

An underutilized approach for aspiring T-shirt slogan writers is referencing the geographic location of the annual conference. A standout example is Alice Blackwell's "I'm just looking for the French quartile" that appeared on the T-shirts of well-dressed AAPOR members in 2017 in New Orleans. Somewhere out there, perhaps, a brilliant AAPOR member is working on a slogan that brings together references to web surveys, artificial intelligence, the music of Janelle Monae, and the landmarks of a future conference site. It will be glorious to see that slogan stenciled on a T-shirt. Until then, all AAPOR members can enjoy the prospect of such a slogan.

What Do These Awards Give AAPOR?

In his 1947 *POQ* “News Note” on the founding of AAPOR, Sheatsley pointed to research and study in the public opinion field, the development of professional standards, and the dissemination of methods, techniques, and findings as the new organization’s central objectives. Through its awards, AAPOR has recognized individual accomplishments as well as scholarship and research programs in forwarding those aims. Always focused on ways that public opinion research fosters democracy, and always international in its outlook, AAPOR has reflected that outlook in its awards that recognize writing, multinational research, policy impact, public service, and conference attendance.

AAPOR’s awards also reflect the values of the APPOR community. Lazarsfeld cautioned that awards are inadequate at recognizing personal qualities, but AAPOR’s awards do strive to acknowledge collegiality and service to the AAPOR and its members. A challenge to the AAPOR award program, as to the organization itself, is to remain relevant as technologies and methodologies evolve, and to be increasingly inclusive in order to take advantage of expertise and experiences all those involved in public opinion and survey research who share its aims. The student writing awards have always promoted inclusion; the Inclusive Voices and Student-Faculty Pipeline awards do so more explicitly.

AAPOR’s approach to awards creates the opportunity to honor recipient and the values of the organization while encouraging further creative endeavor to keep the organization vital.

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10. AAPOR's Journals

Peter V. Miller

Introduction

For the previous edition of *A Meeting Place* (Sheatsley and Mitofsky, 1992) W. Phillips Davison - former AAPOR President and Editor of *Public Opinion Quarterly* - contributed a short chapter entitled, "AAPOR and the Written Word." While the chapter was short, its scope was broad. Davison described a wide variety of methods that AAPOR leadership had undertaken to communicate with the membership and the world from 1947 to 1985. He observed that the Association's communication goals were often ambitious, but its resources were limited and unstable. AAPOR publications listed by Davison were a potpourri of conference proceedings, newsletters, one-off pamphlets (e.g. the Code of Professional Ethics and Practices), a directory of research organizations (the "Blue Book") and indexes to journal articles. AAPOR's journal, the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, was only one of the items in the list. If one were to take Davison's approach today, AAPOR's publications would also include the Association's many task force and committee reports, press releases and public statements, AAPORnet, social media pages, "Heritage Interviews" and this edition of *A Meeting Place*.

This chapter has a narrower focus than Davison's effort. We look closely at AAPOR's Scholarly journals - *Public Opinion Quarterly* (*POQ*), and the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* (*JSSAM*) - and its online publication, *Survey Practice*, tracing their development, their evolving content, and their relationships to each other. We examine AAPOR's influence on the publications and their effects on the Association. In this story, the focus is mainly on the people involved in creating and sustaining AAPOR's periodicals. Because of its long history, most attention is devoted to *POQ*.

Public Opinion Quarterly

A Distant Forebear

"Whereas there is nothing more necessary for promoting the improvement of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to such, as apply their studies and endeavours that way, such things as are discovered or put in practise by others; it is therefore thought fit to employ the press as the most proper way to gratifie those, whose engagement in such studies, and delight in the advancement of learning and profitable discoveries doth entitle them to the knowledge of what this Kingdom, or other parts of the World, do, from time to time, afford, as well of the progress of the studies, labours, and attempts of the curious and learned in things of this kind, as of their compleat discoveries and performances..."

This introduction to the first issue of *Philosophical Transactions*, the oldest scientific journal, explains why "learned societies" (later, professional associations) sponsor journals (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1:1, March, 1665). There is "nothing more necessary" to the progress of a field of study than communication among researchers. *Philosophical Transactions* began as a kind of newspaper - a compendium of correspondence - for an elite audience of "natural philosophers" in England and Europe (predating the first mass newspaper in London).

It was transformed into a journal that published a sampling of the papers presented at meetings of the Royal Society of London, and then became, much later, an outlet for refereed papers, either based on the Society's discussion meetings or invited for themed issues (<https://royalsocietypublishing.org>).

In this 350 year progression, *Philosophical Transactions* illustrates multiple forms of communication that serve the interests of a research community - from informal sharing of recent ideas and observations to documentation of prioritized and carefully appraised findings. The publication's founder, Henry Oldenburg, a German theologian, diplomat and linguist, with a broad network of correspondents in Europe, originated the idea. He became a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and its corresponding secretary, in 1662. In the next two years, he came to the idea of publishing a newsletter, the first issue of which was printed in 1665, the year in which a quarter of London's population was wiped out by the bubonic plague. The publication's content consisted of his correspondents' reports of inventions and discoveries, along with excerpts from books and book reviews. The Royal Society licensed the publication, but did not oversee the content. The project was Oldenburg's - a money-making venture that coincided with the Society's interest in communication within the scientific community. The Society bore none of the costs of producing the journal but could take credit for what was published - or disavow it. After Oldenburg's death in 1677, the newsletter was gradually transformed into a less-frequently appearing journal, edited (and funded) by secretaries of the Society, but without a Society claim of ownership. Ownership control was not asserted until 1773, more than 100 years after the printing of the first issue.

Public Opinion Quarterly

"The editors undertake to make the QUARTERLY a clearing house of information and a meeting ground of thought for all interested in public opinion; to gather and systematize the relevant data; and, as the means become available, to promote and direct specific researches. They expect that their activities will contribute substantially to the more enlightened comprehension of a controlling but obscure force." (Public Opinion Quarterly, 1.1 1937)

There are a number of similarities between the early histories of *Philosophical Transactions* and *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Both journals originated through individual entrepreneurship. They both contained informal, newsletter content, often solicited by the editors. There was no peer review process for selecting papers to publish. And while *POQ* became the official organ of AAPOR in 1947, the Association exercised little control and did not take possession of it until many years later.

Public Opinion and "Public Management"

The entrepreneur behind *Public Opinion Quarterly* was a Princeton associate professor of Politics, Harwood Childs. Childs had pioneered teaching public opinion at the university in the 1930s. In 1934, the Princeton University Press published his *Reference Guide to the Study of Public Opinion* - a syllabus for a course that Childs first taught as an "experiment" in the 1933-34 academic year (Childs, 1934). The ambitions for the course were broad: Childs emphasized the need for those interested in the topic to cross disciplinary boundaries - "to ignore to some extent traditional categories of academic learning and venture resolutely across more or less

crystallized lines of departmental distinction.” The 25 lectures outlined in the syllabus covered “public opinion management,” instruments of opinion dissemination (press, radio, motion pictures), propaganda, definition and measurement of public opinion, scientific and statistical methods, and psychological, cultural and institutional factors affecting opinion formation. Childs assembled a voluminous collection of readings, drawn from a variety of academic fields and popular publications, for each topic.

In addition to the interdisciplinary emphasis in Childs’ conception of the public opinion field, the other notable feature of his syllabus is the prominence given to “opinion management.” More than half of the course sections focused on institutions and mechanisms of influence on opinions. The definition of public opinion itself did not appear in the syllabus until the sixteenth lecture, following ones on such topics as “the political significance of public opinion management,” “leaders and managers of public opinion,” “the development of organized public opinion management,” and “the strategy and technique of opinion management.”

Contributing to the growth and effectiveness of public relations was a prime goal in Childs’ efforts to systematize the study of public opinion. He did not want to foster a “purely academic” approach; rather, he was intent on shaping the practice of “opinion management.” The *Reference Guide* has a preface by Edward L. Bernays, perhaps the most famous of public relations practitioners (the “Father of Spin” (Tye, 1998)), which lauded the fact that, in publishing the guide, Princeton exercised intellectual leadership in both developing “important facts and ideas,” and distributing them to “those people and organizations equipped to make use of them.” In the volume’s acknowledgement section, Childs praised Bernays as “among those whose genius enables them to bridge the chasm between the laboratories of academic endeavor and the world of practice.” He went further to say that Bernays had shown “a very generous interest” in the *Reference Guide*, and that, as a result of his suggestion, “the publication of the volume has become possible, for the benefit of all students, both academic and practical, in the field of public opinion leadership.” Childs doesn’t say so explicitly, but one gets the impression that Bernays may have had a role in subventing the publication. Childs’ next book, *An Introduction to Public Opinion*, follows the same path. He describes it in the preface as “the outgrowth of a series of lectures...presented to businessmen” as part of a course on public relations organized by the American Council on Public Relations (Childs, 1940). At this stage in his career, the study of public opinion for Childs was the study of how to control and shape it.

Genesis of *POQ*

In the 20 year anniversary issue of the journal, Harwood Childs wrote that *Public Opinion Quarterly* originated in a memorandum that he wrote in 1935 to Dewitt Clinton Poole, the first director of Princeton’s School for Public Affairs (later christened the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs) (Childs, 1957). Poole was a diplomat who had served as consul general in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution and as ambassador to Germany, among other postings. Childs presented an idea for a journal that would have a similar aim to the course he taught on public opinion - to integrate scholars from different fields of study with practitioners of opinion management. Progress in the field was said to depend upon the cross-fertilization of ideas from individuals with different sorts of expertise. Childs envisioned a publication that would contain a section with scholarly articles coupled with separate sections reporting recent news in four areas: 1) current research on public opinion, 2) organized groups

(e.g. labor unions, trade associations, political parties), 3) government and 4) communication media. The publication would also contain a section with book reviews and a bibliography. The first issue of the journal actually had five “recent news” sections - the fifth, on public relations (“professional services”), was edited by Childs himself.

Childs reported that approval for Princeton sponsorship of the journal was achieved quickly after initial discussions of his memorandum. A funding scheme was developed in which \$5000 was requested from individual benefactors and \$5000 was counted on from subscription revenue for the first three years of operation. Poole assumed the role of editor of the journal, while Childs became managing editor. Childs’ job seems to have been much more time consuming, since he was in charge of production and subscription maintenance. Poole and Childs did the work of fundraising. Hadley Cantril was recruited to edit the current news section on public opinion research; Harold Lasswell edited the section on government; E. Pendleton Herring assumed the role for organized groups, and O.W. Riegel edited the section on communication. The editorial team was occupied with soliciting articles and news items to fill the pages in the various sections. Princeton University Press assumed the responsibilities for printing and distribution. The journal was published by “Public Opinion Quarterly, Incorporated,” but Princeton University and its Press provided the personnel and infrastructure for production, circulation management and distribution. Princeton provided a home for the journal for the next 31 years.

In their research, the four associate editors, like Childs, were concerned with forces shaping public opinion, and were caught up in the contemporary zeitgeist that was permeated with fascination and worry about the effects of propaganda. Cantril and Lasswell are better known to students of public opinion today. Cantril, then a psychologist at Princeton, became president of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in the same year that the journal began publication. Cantril and colleagues’ study of the effects of Orson Welles’ *War of the Worlds* 1938 radio broadcast was a classic in the field of media effects (Cantril, Gaudet and Herzog, 1940). He developed an expertise in polling, and founded a polling organization at Princeton - he was a friend of George Gallup, who moved to Princeton in 1935 - in addition to his interest in mass persuasion. Lasswell, a seminal thinker in the social sciences, policy analysis and law, had written on propaganda in World War I (Lasswell, 1927) and later served in the federal government, analyzing German propaganda in World War II. In these activities and others, he systematized the field of content analysis. Later, he framed the study of communication in society in the famous five-part question, “Who, Says What, In Which Channel, To Whom And With What Effect?” (Lasswell, 1948;1970). Riegel, a journalism professor, also held a government position analyzing communication in World War II, having published a book (Riegel, 1934) on “the new propaganda.” He assembled a large personal archive of propaganda posters. Unlike the others, Herring did not focus on communication effects, but on the interplay of “pressure groups” and public administration (e.g. Herring, 1936). This emphasis fit with Childs’ view of the role of such groups as shapers of public opinion.

POQ before AAPOR

In creating these sections for *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and in recruiting scholars with expertise in each sphere to lead them, Childs created a schema, presaged in his 1934 *Reference Guide*, that defined a new inter-discipline of public opinion research. The template privileged influences - government and commercial interests, mass media, social groups - on public opinion. It

emphasized the “Who,” the “What,” and the “Channels” of communication in Lasswell’s framework. A key audience for the journal was opinion leaders and “managers.” The schema put less emphasis on opinion measurement and assessment of persuasion efforts: the “to Whom” and “with What Effects” parts of Lasswell’s template. The editors’ foreword in the first *POQ* issue declared that there was a new, “controlling but obscure force” of mass opinion that needed to be understood and managed. This was a “top-down” vision of the field, focused on institutions and tools for affecting public opinion.

The first issue of *POQ* was distributed in January, 1937 - ten years before AAPOR was founded and the first connection between the Association and the journal was made. It appeared several months after the famous *Literary Digest* polling debacle in the 1936 election that pitted Roosevelt against Landon. There are two articles in the issue that focus on the polls in that election - one by Archibald Crossley (1937) in the front section of the journal featuring scholarly articles, and one by Harold Gosnell (1937), a pioneer in quantitative political science, included in the section on “technical research” edited by Hadley Cantril. These articles combined take up some 20 pages of the 176 page issue, roughly the same space allocation as that given to individual papers on “President Roosevelt and the Washington Correspondents,” by Leo Rosten, or “Editorial Policies of the Broadcasting Companies,” by Merrill Denison.

The 1936 polling experience has come to be seen as the decisive demonstration of the superiority of sampling over “opt-in” methods of respondent recruitment - a signal moment in polling and survey methodology. In *POQ*’s first issue, however, it was not the main news. Childs’ “top-down” conception of the field is evident in the selection of papers published in that issue, as it would be for several years. The first issue of 1939, for example, contained a proud description, by an employee of Joseph Goebbels, of how the Nazis had transformed the German film industry to serve the government’s purposes (Olimsky, 1939). It also featured an analysis of the Roosevelt administration’s public relations strategy in winning Congressional support for a large buildup of U.S. naval forces, despite isolationist opposition (Bourgin, 1939). Polling and other “bottom-up” research, while present in this era, came to be more significant foci for the journal during World War II and, particularly, in the immediate postwar period leading up to AAPOR’s founding in 1947.

Organizing the Work of Journal Production

We will examine the content of *POQ* issues in more detail later, but let us look first at how the journal transitioned in its first ten years from the Childs template to one that increasingly emphasized more the findings from polls and other “bottom-up” research. The mastheads - the listing of editorial personnel - for each issue give insight into this transition. The editorial management of a journal reflects the sorts of expertise deemed important for soliciting and vetting articles for publication: in *POQ*’s early years, editorial work involved more author outreach for material than evaluating articles that came in “over the transom.” For external audiences, the editorial board reflects what those running the journal intend the publication to cover. It is a signal, for prospective contributors and readers, of what a journal is about. It is also an indicator of prestige, to the extent that famous individuals are willing to lend their names to the publication. The story drawn from mastheads during the early years of the journal, the transition to AAPOR involvement and then, much later, to AAPOR’s ownership of *POQ* is one of a publication with a mixed image - both academic and popular - with an editorial board of

celebrities, to one that fits squarely in the mold of a scholarly journal, with an editorial board of accomplished researchers.

From the first issue in 1937 through the third issue in 1939, the editorial structure was static: Poole as editor, Childs and managing editor and Cantril, Herring, Lasswell and Riegel as associate editors. The last issue of 1939 shows a subtle restructuring. Childs was now listed as chairman of the editorial board, which contains the former associated editors (Cantril, Lasswell and Riegel) and Poole, no longer the director of the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs. New expertise was also represented on the board. Daniel Katz, Princeton social psychologist, student of Floyd Allport and future AAPOR Award winner, who published an evaluation of the 1940 and 1944 pre-election efforts in the journal, is listed on the masthead. In addition, famed Princeton statistician S.S. Wilks, who published papers on confidence intervals and representative sampling in *POQ* in 1940, was added to the group (Wilks, 1940). Childs was no longer listed as managing editor - that position was assumed by Lloyd A. Free, who served on the Princeton faculty and who later founded with Cantril the Institute for International Social Research at Princeton. Childs would return as editor a couple years later for a brief time, after service chairing the editorial board.

There followed a period, during and immediately after World War II, when the managing editor/editor position was assumed by Jerome S. Bruner, Eric Goldman and Lloyd Free (again), in 1-2 year stints. Bruner, known today as a path breaking developmental psychologist and educational theorist, had done his dissertation on Nazi propaganda at Harvard. Data for the study came from his work as a research assistant at Hadley Cantril's Princeton Listening Centre (J. Bruner, 1941). He served as managing editor for a year beginning in the latter part of 1943, having already published a trenchant critique of the U.S. Office of War Information's performance, in *POQ*'s first issue of that year (J. Bruner, 1943). Bruner's editorial assistant was his wife, Katherine Frost Bruner, a veteran of the editorial team at the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, and author of a widely-cited paper on scholarly writing (K. Bruner, 1942). Goldman, who assumed the editor position in the latter part of 1944, was a newly-hired Princeton history professor, who went on to become the Rollins Professor of History at the University, author of a standard text on American reform movements (Goldman, 1956) and advisor to President Lyndon Johnson.

During the war, the board's composition continued to support a publication that emphasized Childs' original plan for the journal: Bruce L. Smith of New York University, a propaganda analyst and student of Lasswell, Peter Odegard, a student of propaganda at Amherst, Edward M. Earle, a founder of "security studies" at Princeton and John Sly, a Princeton scholar focused on local and state government joined the board. Volume 7, 1943 featured three special issues on wartime opinion management – the first issue aimed at the operation of the Office of War Information, the third issue focused on labor-management relations and the last issue examining management of opinion in occupied territory.

A sea change was announced at the end of 1944, when the masthead for Issue 4 of Volume 8 showed an almost entirely different "board of editors." (Volume 8, number 3 had no masthead). In addition to original members Childs, Cantril, Lasswell and Riegel, several directors of polling and survey organizations were listed on the masthead - Archibald Crossley (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Henry Durant, Harry Field (future AAPOR Award

winner), George Gallup (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Rensis Likert (future AAPOR Award winner) and Elmo Roper (future AAPOR Award winner). They were joined by a number of media executives: Atherton Hobler (founder of Benton and Bowles advertising agency), Palmer Hoyt (Denver *Post* publisher) Eugene Meyer (Washington *Post* publisher), Hamilton Owens (editor of the Baltimore *Sun* newspapers) and Walter Wanger, film producer and president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Walter Lippmann, syndicated columnist and author of seminal books on public opinion was also listed on the board. Government officials were also included: Otto Beyer (National Mediation Board), John Bird (Director of Information for the War Relocation Agency) and Alexander D. Chiquoine (Editor, United States Employment Service Bulletin). Finally several academicians were added to the board of editors - psychologist Floyd Allport, historian Merle Curti and Howard D. Odum, founder of the journal *Social Forces*, and the social science research institute at the University of North Carolina that bears his name. Samuel S. Wilks, Princeton Statistician who had served on the board since 1939, was absent from the Board, perhaps because he was elevated to head of the Princeton Section on Mathematical Statistics that year. Two issues later (Volume 9. Number 2), Niles Trammell, President of the National Broadcasting Company and Richardson Wood, a market researcher at J. Walter Thompson advertising were added to the board of editors. Jean Stoetzel, founder of the French Institute for Public Opinion, joined the Board in the latter part of 1947.

Another significant 1947 addition to the Board was the prominent statistician Frederick Stephan, who had just joined the Princeton faculty. Stephan would go on to become AAPOR President and Editor of *POQ* in the late 1950s. Like Samuel Wilks, he also served as President of the American Statistical Association.

Accompanying this major transformation in the editorial structure was a new mission statement for the journal, first published in Volume 9, Issue 2. The field covered by the journal was said to be comprised of "...in equal measure, advertising, the film, market research, polls of public opinion, the press, propaganda, public relations, radio and other activities swept by the wide range of opinion studies." Noteworthy in this description is the continued emphasis placed on influences on public opinion - advertising, film, the press, propaganda, public relations and radio - proclaimed in Harwood Childs' initial conception of the journal, along with the significant addition of market research and public opinion polls. The "top-down" and "bottom-up" perspectives were combined in this new, expansive vision of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Also significant in the new mission statement was the declaration that the "board of editors" was entirely advisory, not responsible for editorial policy or content. It was a board of celebrities, personifying the segments of a field that the journal surveyed.

With a few noteworthy changes, this is *POQ*'s editorial structure when it became AAPOR's "official organ" after the Williams College meeting in 1947. The changes included W. Phillips Davison's ascent to the editorship, the addition of Paul Lazarsfeld (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner) and Frank Stanton (future AAPOR Award winner) to the advisory board, and the loss of Harry Field after his untimely death in late 1946. The ground had been prepared for AAPOR's merger with *POQ* with the formal recognition of polling as a focus for the journal and the addition of so many prominent pollsters to the journal's advisory board. Harwood Childs' vision for the journal persisted in some respects, but, as he recognized in a

retrospective account, the field he tried to define had exceeded the boundaries of his conception (Childs, 1957).

AAPOR's Official Organ

AAPOR's founding in 1947 had profound consequences for POQ, though it did not immediately lead to an AAPOR "takeover" of the publication. After it was designated AAPOR's "official organ" at the 1948 meeting of Association, the journal remained a publication funded by Princeton University, editorially controlled by Princeton faculty, staffed by Princeton employees, and printed and circulated by Princeton University Press. AAPOR's role in the journal was to lend the publication its name (in a circumscribed fashion), to advocate for an AAPOR representative to the Princeton committee responsible for editorial direction (eventually achieved a few years later, when Louis Harris joined the committee), to provide discounted subscription revenue from some 200 AAPOR members and to supply funds for printing the Association's annual conference proceedings.

The attitudes of the University and AAPOR toward the new union were guarded. The masthead announcing the arrangement stated that the journal "...is solely supported by Princeton University, Princeton University Press, and income from subscribers and advertisers." AAPOR's role was stated largely in the negative: "The American Association for Public Opinion Research assumes responsibility only for material which is signed by an officer of the Association in his official capacity." Princeton was anxious to retain editorial control, given its substantial investment in the publication. While AAPOR was interested in editorial participation, it was not in a position to supplant the Princeton operation nor meaningfully contribute to its finances. The discounted subscriptions to the journal for AAPOR members were offered by Princeton at cost. The AAPOR "organ" remained Princeton property. One is struck, in reading the minutes of the AAPOR business meeting for 1948 (Proceedings of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (1948)), how much concern there was for how the publication of the AAPOR conference proceedings would be arranged and how little attention was paid to the direction of the Association's new official publication. One is reminded of the attitude of the Royal Society of London when Henry Oldenburg approached the organization with his idea for *Philosophical Transactions* - the Society was happy to have Oldenburg publicize its proceedings, but did not want to extend an imprimatur or provide money.

Davison is largely responsible for the fact that the journal survived to be a major benefit to AAPOR. Having just assumed the editorship of POQ, succeeding Lloyd Free after Volume 11, Number 2, Davison attended the 1947 AAPOR founding meeting. He proposed POQ as the "official organ" for the Association, satisfying the just-adopted constitution's provision that AAPOR would sponsor a journal. He reports being relieved that AAPOR took up his offer, which had been motivated by the fear that a separate AAPOR journal would consume manuscripts that might be published in POQ (Davison, 1987).

Among the publications that served as competition for POQ, as noted by Link (1947), were the *Journal of Applied Psychology*, the *American Sociological Review*, the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, and, perhaps the most important competitor, the *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research* (IJOAR),

edited by Laszlo Radvanyi at the National University of Mexico.¹⁵⁶ The journal - which began publication in 1947 - featured articles by a number of luminaries in public opinion research, many of whom played important roles in AAPOR: e.g. Harold Lasswell, Paul Sheatsley, Don Cahalan, Leo Crespi, Hugh Parry, Herbert Hyman (and even George Horsley Smith, who later served as assistant editor of POQ). In a review of the first two issues of IJOAR, Blankenship (1948:417) lauded the new publication, opining, “For the first time, here is a journal made to order for the researcher. While the scope of such publications as the *Journal of Marketing* and *Public Opinion Quarterly* includes research, neither has research coverage as its principle aim.” It isn’t clear exactly what Blankenship means, but the IJOAR did include more papers on the “nuts and bolts” of polling than POQ was accustomed to publish, and POQ during these years did focus a great deal on public relations. Radvanyi had attended the 1946 Central City conference that led to AAPOR’s founding a year later. It is likely that he had encouraged submissions from attendees - all of them polling and survey practitioners - to IJOAR at that session. No one represented *Public Opinion Quarterly* in Central City. The situation facing pollsters looking to settle on a publication home was in some ways similar to the circumstances facing survey methodologists some sixty years later. What journal would provide the editorial attention and the space to accommodate pollsters’ publication desires?

If the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) had not been founded in Williamstown during the next year, at the same time that AAPOR was constituted, it is possible that IJOAR could have been considered as AAPOR’s “official organ.” Instead, Radvanyi’s publication was adopted by WAPOR, and, at the subsequent (1948) AAPOR business meeting, Davison secured the deal between the Association and Princeton.¹⁵⁷ To allay financial concerns of members, Davison offered to print the AAPOR conference proceedings in POQ for \$530, instead of \$700 for a separate proceedings pamphlet. This meant that the AAPOR membership would receive the journal and the conference proceedings for \$3.75 per year (\$40.25 in 2019 dollars).

Davison was not just the Editor of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. He was also elected AAPOR’s Editor for all publications. He played an active role in the Association for many years, serving as President in 1971-72 and winning the AAPOR Award in 1978. *Public Opinion Quarterly* itself was given the Julian Woodward Award (precursor of the AAPOR Award) in 1957, before the Award was restricted to human recipients. The journal could not have been recognized with the Woodward Award were it not for Davison’s efforts to integrate it in the life of the Association. At the 1949 AAPOR annual conference, he joined the always contentious discussion of standards for opinion research, offering the journal as a mechanism for furthering development of the profession:

“It is the function of the professional journal to provide one of the means by which standards may be maintained, by publishing legitimate criticism of articles it has carried. The Public

¹⁵⁶ Not mentioned by Link were publications devoted to journalism and public relations, some of whose contributors, e.g. Wilbur Schramm, also wrote for POQ.

¹⁵⁷ The IJOAR alliance with WAPOR was “star crossed.” The Association could not provide sufficient subscription numbers to help sustain it. The journal ceased publication after volume 5 (1951) when Radvanyi left Mexico to return to Berlin, from which he had fled when the Nazis came to power in 1933 (Moreno and Sanchez-Castro, 2009).

Opinion Quarterly would welcome more of such critical statements. I fear that many of these are withheld because of fraternal politeness. (Davison, 1949-50).”

“Letters to the Editor” and “Comments,” while by no means a feature of every issue, have been a notable aspect of *POQ* since Davison’s invitation. Howard Schuman later institutionalized the concept of edifying critiques, in a regular journal section entitled “Poll Reviews,” at the beginning of his editorial tenure in 1987 (Volume 51, number 2). The feature has involved associate editors commissioning commentary on polls and surveys that “have an important impact on public life” (Schuman, 1987)¹⁵⁸.

Having facilitated the adoption of *POQ* by AAPOR, Davison later rescued the journal in 1968 when Harwood Childs, who had again been pressed into editing *POQ* in 1964, retired with no successors to be found at Princeton. The *New York Times* reported that *POQ* was moving to Columbia University, with the “decisive factor” in the move appearing to be the “relative scarcity of experts in the publication’s field at Princeton compared with Columbia.”¹⁵⁹ According to Eleanor Singer, Princeton had stopped financially supporting the journal some years before that. Singer, who served as Davison’s managing editor, recalled that he negotiated with Columbia University to provide a home for the journal and then personally packed the journal files in his station wagon and drove them to the upper west side of New York, where he and Singer edited the journal from mid-1968 through 1971 (Singer, 2011). Davison was an exemplary force in guiding *POQ* and AAPOR, but his contributions to the profession do not end there. He was also the author of one of the most cited papers ever published in the journal - “The Third Person Effect in Communication” (Davison, 1983) - and a foundational scholar in international communication.

Evolution to a Scholarly Journal

The mastheads for the issues of *POQ* that Davison edited from 1947 through 1951 continued to feature the “board of celebrity” advisors that he inherited from Lloyd Free. But as the decade progressed, the management of the journal changed into one that evaluated submitted manuscripts through peer review, rather than publishing solicited papers and articles written by members of the advisory board (Davison, 1987).

First, the board composition changed markedly - to a group consisting almost entirely of academics - in 1952 (Volume 16, Number 1), when Richard Snyder, a political scientist recently hired at Princeton, assumed the editorship. The board now included sociologists Bernard Berelson (then AAPOR president and a future AAPOR Award winner), Leonard Cottrell, Phillips Davison, Herbert Hyman (second recipient of the Julian Woodward Award (later, the AAPOR Award) and a future AAPOR president)¹⁶⁰, Paul Lazarsfeld (past AAPOR president and the first recipient of the Woodward Award), Philip Selznick and Samuel Stouffer (future

¹⁵⁸ Presser (personal communication) recalls that the Poll Review section began as an idea in the AAPOR Council – a mechanism to deal with standards complaints that were not violations of the AAPOR Code, but did deserve public comment. Presser, then Standards Chair, and Associate Chair Seymour Sudman were the first section editors.

¹⁵⁹ “Research Journal Moves to Columbia” *New York Times*. March 3, 1968.

¹⁶⁰ Hyman was replaced on the committee by Harvey C. Mansfield in 1969 when Hyman moved to Wesleyan University and was appointed to the editorial board instead.

AAPOR president and Woodward Award winner). Pollsters Archibald Crossley, Paul Trescott and Elmo Wilson (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner) were added. Psychologist Jerome Bruner, Wilbur Schramm, founder of institutes of communication research at Illinois and Stanford (and future AAPOR Award winner), and David Truman, political scientist, rounded out the academic representation. The board also included CBS public relations practitioner, Robert Strunsky.

In addition to the new advisory board, which, the masthead continued to proclaim, had no responsibility for journal policy or content, a committee of Princeton faculty - that did have control over these matters - was acknowledged. The committee was chaired by sociologist Wilbert Moore, but other committee members were not named, probably because the committee membership was fluid.¹⁶¹ Louis Harris was named as the AAPOR representative on the committee.¹⁶² This committee arrangement and the board of advisors persisted throughout the next several years, until statistician Frederick Stephan assumed the editorship in 1958. (After Richard Snyder departed for Northwestern University in 1954, Betty B. Bredemeier, who had served as assistant editor under Davison and Snyder, assumed the role of managing editor and ran the journal until Stephan took over).

Stephan hastened the move away from celebrity board members, representatives of institutions thought to shape public opinion, to scholars with expertise in studying it. There was now one “editorial board” - not one group of external advisors and another group of Princeton insiders who set editorial policy. Gabriel Almond, who had recently come to Princeton from Yale, chaired the board and was joined by two additional political scientists, Stanley Kelley (Princeton) and Ithiel de Sola Pool (MIT). Psychologist Daniel Katz (Michigan), sociologists William N. McPhee (Columbia) and Melvin Tumin (Princeton), and Herbert Hyman (Chicago), the AAPOR representative, were named to the board, as was Robert O. Carlson, a Columbia PhD. and research analyst with Standard Oil of New Jersey - who had represented AAPOR on the board in previous years. Editor Stephan rounded out the group.

Significantly, for the first time, a “notice to contributors” was issued in Volume 22 (1958), providing rules for authors on how to submit papers for review. The open call for manuscripts was in marked contrast to the practice of informal solicitation employed by previous editors. The notice to contributors eventually became a standard feature in the journal, or, more recently, on its website. Stephan continued as editor until 1964. During these six years, the structure of the editorial board remained the same, with a few changes in membership. Angus Campbell, then director of the Survey Research Center at Michigan, joined the editorial board in 1960, as did Wilbur Schramm, who was director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford. Schramm had earlier served on the external “Advisory Board.” Campbell, an AAPOR Award

¹⁶¹ The faculty committee had been in operation for some years, but heretofore had not been acknowledged in the masthead. The *Princeton Alumni Weekly*'s October 27, 1950 profile of *Public Opinion Quarterly* observed that the journal was supervised by Hadley Cantril, Harwood Childs, demographer Frank Notestein. Datus C. Smith, head of the Princeton University Press and Frederick Stephan.

¹⁶² Robert O. Carlson succeeded Louis Harris as the AAPOR representative on the Princeton faculty committee in 1955.

winner, was the lead author of the classic, *The American Voter* (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960). (His colleague, Philip Converse, was also an AAPOR Award winner). Schramm, who began his academic career in the English Department at the University of Iowa, was the founder of the famed Writers Workshop there. He transitioned, like a number of other scholars, to the study of propaganda in World War II, at the Office of War Information. After the war, he founded the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois, an interdisciplinary unit that enlisted faculty from several social science departments (among them Charles Osgood, a psycholinguist who, with George Suci and Percy Tannenbaum wrote the seminal text, *The Measurement of Meaning*, which introduced the “semantic differential” scale).

Beginning with the first issue of 1962, Stephan recruited help with editorial work from a cadre of Princeton faculty members, separate from the editorial board, who were given the title of “editorial associate.” This management structure continued, and was expanded, during the second editorship of Harwood Childs (1964-68). The editorial associates included a number of scholars who made major contributions to their fields. Most recognizable to readers of POQ, perhaps, is political scientist Sidney Verba, co-author, with his mentor Gabriel Almond, of *The Civic Culture*, an international study of political attitudes in relation to democracy. Later in his storied career, Verba became the Librarian of Harvard University. Another associate, William G. Bowen, a young Princeton economist, would later serve as Princeton’s President (1972-1988), and then as President of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, during which time he founded JSTOR, the digital repository of academic publications, and authored several books on issues facing higher education.

Editorial Associates sometimes contributed book reviews or articles to the journal. A more substantial contribution was Arthur S. Link’s editing of a special issue on “The Historical Study of Public Opinion” in 1967 (Volume 31, Number 4). Link, who served as editorial associate from 1962 to 1968, was a noted historian of early 20th Century America and the editor of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*.

The editorial boards composed by Harwood Childs, who followed Stephan in 1964, largely represented the same sorts of academic expertise, adding political science (Robert E. Lane, Yale; James W. Prothro, North Carolina; Donald Stokes, Michigan); psychology (AAPOR Award winner Herbert Krugman, General Electric Company) to the other specialists in these fields, and in communication and sociology recruited by Stephan. Thus, at the end of the Princeton era, the board included eleven members, plus the rotating AAPOR representative - which included Philip Hastings, Helen Dinerman and Richard Maisel in different years. Dinerman’s contributions to the field are memorialized in the prize named for her, awarded by WAPOR for lifetime achievement in the field of public opinion. Robert O. Carlson had become chair of the board, after serving as AAPOR representative and as a regular board member. Broken down by field, political science had the most representation on the board, roughly as much as sociology and communication combined.

Concluding the Princeton Years

Public Opinion Quarterly left Princeton in 1968 (in Davison’s station wagon) after a run of 31 years. The journal had changed from one with mixed identity - both academic and popular - to a scholarly publication. Its operation involved an editorial board of academics focused on areas of

research likely to be published in the journal instead of an advisory committee of celebrities. It publicly solicited submissions from all interested authors rather than relying exclusively on informal contacts for manuscripts. But it was still a Princeton product, drawing on Princeton faculty and staff for editors, editorial associates and some of its editorial board members. AAPOR had asserted itself in its representatives to the editorial board, but it had no role in selecting editors or board members or in shaping editorial direction. The transition to an AAPOR-governed journal would not come for several more years, when the next institutional home decided not to continue its support.

The Columbia Years

Continuing the practice of previous editors, Davison retained the editorial board members recruited by Harwood Childs, and added Childs himself to the group. In addition, Davison established an “Advisory Committee on Communication,” consisting of Edward W. Barrett, Dean of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism; Allen Barton, Professor of Sociology at Columbia and Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research (BASR); Herbert Hyman, then a Professor of Sociology at Columbia; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Professor of Sociology and founder of the BASR and Frederick T.C. Yu, Professor of International Journalism. Barrett founded the *Columbia Journalism Review*. Barton was noted for research in a variety of areas, including investigations of the aftermath of disasters. In addition to many serious papers, such as one on the 1968 “Columbia crisis” during the Vietnam War (POQ, 1968, vol. 32, no. 3) Barton is remembered for a tongue-in-cheek paper on “Asking the Embarrassing Question” - a send-up review of methods that questionnaire designers might employ to gather sensitive information (POQ, 1958, vol. 22, No. 1). Hyman, one of the foremost American social scientists, was an author of an important volume of empirical research on interviewing, conducted at the National Opinion Research Center (Hyman, 1954). Lazarsfeld, the intellectual giant on whose shoulders stood a generation and more of scholars in sociology, communication and political science, AAPOR president and Award winner, and frequent contributor to the journal, rescued POQ on several occasions by securing donations when its revenue from other sources was insufficient. Yu was the first non-American student to earn a PhD in mass communication (at the University of Iowa in 1951). He was Davison’s close collaborator on international communication research. The aim of the Advisory Committee was never spelled out for journal readers; it seems to have been a re-creation of the journal advisory committee that governed POQ during its Princeton years, not restricted to opining on “communication.”

The editorial board was revamped in 1969, when it was joined by Leo Bogart, Hyman, Richard Maisel, Herbert McClosky and Charles R. Wright. Carlson, Childs and Krugman were holdovers. Bogart was an AAPOR past-president and future AAPOR Award winner. His research focused largely on measurement of media audiences, though he also wrote broader works on public opinion. Richard Maisel, a sociologist at New York University, had served as the AAPOR representative on the editorial board and was to become an AAPOR president several years later. His paper, “The Decline of the Mass Media,” published in POQ in 1973 (vol. 37, no. 2) argued, decades before the digital revolution was envisioned, that mass media would be supplanted by specialized media. Herbert McClosky, influential political scientist at Berkeley, was one of the moving forces in the study of political behavior. When he joined the editorial board, Charles R. Wright, a Columbia trained sociologist, had just joined the faculty of

the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. He authored *Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective* (1959) while teaching at UCLA. The new eight member editorial board had a more even distribution of scholars across political science, sociology, communication and psychology.

For two years, the editorial board remained static, and no AAPOR representative was listed. Then in 1970, communication scholar Nathan Maccoby was added to the board and Richard Maisel was named the AAPOR representative. In 1971, Joseph Klapper, a student of Lazarsfeld and research director at the Columbia Broadcasting System and author of *The Effects of Mass Communication* - a broad survey supporting the thesis that the mass media have limited effects on attitudes and behavior - joined the board. Klapper had edited a regular feature in the journal, "News and Notes," that detailed recent information on individuals and organizations in the field. This was the group inherited by Bernard Roshco, who succeeded Davison as editor in 1972. The communication advisory committee also continued, with the additions of Davison and Robert K. Merton, who, like Lazarsfeld, was a prime mover in the social sciences and particularly influential in the development of the field of sociology.

Roshco was a former journalist and PhD student when he acceded to the editorship. The period following Davison's Columbia editorship was one of major change in the editorial management of the journal, its ownership and its publication arrangements. By the end of Roshco's term as editor, the editorial board been expanded greatly to include several more sociologists (Herbert J. Gans, Norval D. Glenn, Matthew Hauck, Kenneth C. Land, Eleanor Singer and Carol H. Weiss), as well as social psychologists Eugene L. Hartley and John P. Robinson, political scientist Steven R. Brown and communication scholar Gladys Engel Lang. The eighteen member board was the largest group assembled since Stephan established an editorial board with real editorial responsibility in 1958. Sociologists Glenn and Land brought expertise in demography, social indicators and statistical modeling to the group. Gans, a qualitative sociologist, was the author of books on popular and high culture and on television news. Hartley, a collaborator with Herbert Krugman on articles on "passive learning" from television, was an author of textbooks on social psychology and was noted for his work in the study of prejudice. Robinson's research was wide ranging, but he was particularly involved in research on mass media effects and time use studies. Brown was a proponent of the "Q-methodology" for studying subjective judgments. Weiss was a pioneer in the study of knowledge utilization in public policy and in evaluation research. Lang, a future AAPOR Award winner, was a scholar of mass media effects, having served in the Office of War Information in World War II and participated in the Committee on Communication at the University of Chicago. Hauck was director of field operations at the University of Illinois Survey Research Laboratory.

Eleanor Singer moved from the managing editor position of POQ to the editorial board when Roshco became editor. In 1976, when Roshco left Columbia for the United States Information Agency, Singer was appointed editor by the Advisory Board on Communication. She would go on to edit the journal for eleven years - the longest tenure of any editor in the journal's history. She was the first woman to have the title of Editor.¹⁶³ A future AAPOR President and Award

¹⁶³ As noted above, Betty Bredemeier was "managing editor" of the journal for several years when it was housed at Princeton, after Richard Snyder left the Princeton faculty.

winner, her management of the editorial board established a template for future editors. She shepherded the journal as AAPOR assumed ownership of the publication in 1985, and as it changed publishers - from Elsevier to the University of Chicago Press - in the following year. She reported to a new advisory committee, appointed by AAPOR, which replaced the university-appointed groups that had governed the journal during the previous forty years. The new conditions of publication coincided with rapid change in the editorial management of POQ.

Like editors before her, Singer inherited the editorial board that the previous editor had assembled. She moved more quickly than others to change its composition. In the next couple years, she increased the size of the board, adding statistician Martin Frankel, mass communication scholar Steven Chaffee, political scientist Everett Ladd and sociologist John Hammond. The size of the board was substantially increased again, to 28 members, in 1979, when Singer added sociologist Steven M. Cohen, political scientist Philip Converse and sociologist James Davis (both future AAPOR Award winners), sociologist/communication scholar Elihu Katz, psychologist William McGuire, sociologist Howard Schuman and survey methodologist/marketing scholar Seymour Sudman. Schuman would later become POQ editor and AAPOR president; he and Sudman (who also served as AAPOR president) were also both AAPOR Award winners.

Sociology and communication dominated the composition of these boards assembled by Roshco and Singer. Methodology and statistics began to grow as a specialty on the 1979 board¹⁶⁴. From this point forward, the size of POQ editorial boards never fell below 20 members - more than twice the size of the boards employed at any time at Princeton, or at Columbia under Davison. Membership on the board increased to nearly thirty in 1985, by which time Singer had recruited a large contingent of sociologists (James Beniger (future AAPOR president), Albert Cantril, Herbert Gans, Albert Gollin (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Herbert Hyman, Mary Jackman, J. Ronald Milavsky (future AAPOR president), Stanley Presser (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Charles Wright, and journalism and communication scholars (Muriel Cantor, Robert Hornik, Philip Meyer (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, Donald Roberts). Several board members could be classified in psychology, sociology, statistics or survey methodology (Norman Bradburn (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Charles Cannell (future AAPOR Award winner), Don Dillman (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Ronald Kessler, Morris Rosenberg). Polling experts Warren Mitofsky (future AAPOR president and Award Winner) and Daniel Yankelovich (future AAPOR Award winner) served on the board, as did marketing researcher Joan Black (future AAPOR president) and economist F. Thomas Juster. Psychologist Robert Krauss, political scientist Arthur H. Miller and statistician Martin Frankel rounded out the board in 1985.

That methodology and statistics had several more members than political science was a significant change from earlier boards, reflecting the kinds of manuscripts that Editor Singer found that she had to evaluate. The adjustment of editorial boards in response to shifting submission requirements is seen repeatedly in subsequent years, as the flow of incoming

¹⁶⁴ This year is a useful one to look at because by this time Singer had the opportunity to put her stamp on the board inherited from Roshco.

manuscripts led editors to seek different sorts of expertise. Forming an editorial board for the purpose of vetting unsolicited manuscripts, more than just to advertise the journal's prestige, was the norm for the journal now - one that Roshco began and Singer expanded and institutionalized. Anticipating the submission workload in various topic areas, board members could be recruited for a term of three or four years, with the understanding that they might be asked to review several manuscripts per year. Some board members, as in earlier years of POQ, might be members for a decade - if they and the editor agreed that their membership continued to serve current journal needs - but the time of service now became routinized in a kind of "contract" for a shorter, renewable, term.¹⁶⁵

POQ's Journey after Columbia

The Columbia period was in some ways an extension of the Princeton years for POQ. The journal lived in a university cocoon, serviced by the university press. Davison's Advisory Board on Communication functioned like the faculty advisory boards that controlled the journal at Princeton. The small editorial board looked like those that had worked with Childs, Stephan, Bredemeier, Snyder and Davison himself at Princeton. But when Davison turned over the editorship of POQ to Roshco and then Singer - coupled with the demise of the Columbia University Press's journals division - the resemblance to Princeton operation was diminished. Singer's long tenure, marked by growth and specialization in the editorial board, established a template employed by subsequent editors.

We can see the shifting demands for referees by looking at the editorial board memberships for a few years during the terms of editors who followed Eleanor Singer. Howard Schuman succeeded Singer as editor in 1987, as the journal's editorial office moved from Columbia to the University of Michigan, shortly after the University of Chicago Press became the publisher. Schuman had just served as AAPOR president. His 1990 board shows a continuation of methods and statistics expertise (Barbara Bailar, Jean Converse, Robert Groves (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Harold Nisselson, Norbert Schwarz), and a large addition of political scientists (Larry Bartels, George Bishop, Stanley Feldman, Deborah R. Hensler, Shanto Iyengar, Jon Krosnick (future AAPOR Award winner), John Mueller, Helmut Norpoth, Steven Rosenstone, David Sears, Robert Shapiro, Lee Sigelman). Sociologists on the board were Lawrence D. Bobo, James Davis, Norval D. Glenn, and McKee McClendon. Communication scholars included Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Michael McKuen and Jack M. McLeod. Psychologists Robert Abelson and Thomas D. Cook, business school professor Richard J. Fox, historian John Modell and pollster Irving Crespi completed the board.

Placing board members in categories is not always easy, since a number of the members embodied in their work the interdisciplinary nature of the journal. Converse, for example, was a student of the survey interview process, but she also wrote the authoritative history of survey research from its beginnings to 1960 (Converse, 1987). Deborah Hensler, who headed the RAND survey research unit for some years and served as AAPOR's Standards Chair, went on to found RAND's Institute for Civil Justice and then to serve on the faculty of the Stanford Law

¹⁶⁵ The shift from Columbia University Press to Elsevier and then to the University of Chicago Press may have played a role in the rapid expansion of the editorial board. Later contracts with Oxford University Press had stipulations about the size of the editorial board.

School. George Bishop, Richard Fox and Jon Krosnick made substantial methodological contributions. Norbert Schwarz's studies of question wording - nominally a methodological contribution - are also studies in cognitive psychology. Editor Schuman himself was noted for his experiments on question-wording, particularly a book co-authored with Stanley Presser (1981), but his paper entitled, "Artifacts are in the Eye of the Observer" (Schuman, 1982) demonstrates the overlap between "methods," and "substance" - a subject to which we will return.

Stanley Presser followed Schuman as editor of POQ in 1994. He served as AAPOR president during his editorial term and was given the AAPOR Award several years later. Presser, Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, is a distinguished survey methodologist and a founder of the Joint Program in Survey Methodology. His editorial board in 1995 shows for the first time a plurality of methodologists/statisticians (Johnny Blair, Mick Couper, Jacob Ludwig, Tom Mangione, Peter V. Miller, Lois Oksenberg, Nora Cate Schaeffer, Charlotte Steeh, Seymour Sudman, Roger Tourangeau (future AAPOR President), Michael Weeks). Pollster Warren Mitofsky, who could also be included in the methodology group, served on the board. The next largest category was political scientists (Charles Brody, Steven E. Finkel, Doris Graber, John P. Katosh, Jon Krosnick, James Stimson, Katherine Tate, Michael W. Traugott (future AAPOR President and AAPOR Award winner), Susan Welch). Katosh, Krosnick (as noted above) and Traugott could also be placed among the methodologists, Sociologists included Myra Marx Ferree, Jacqueline Scott and Marylee C. Taylor. Communication scholars on the board were Diana C. Mutz and Vincent Price. From Singer to Schuman to Presser, we can see growing the need for referees who could evaluate methodological papers.

Vincent Price, then serving on the faculty of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, succeeded Presser in 1998. His 2000 editorial board continued the pattern of a heavy representation of methodologists (Mick Couper, Barbel Knauper, Paul J. Lavrakas (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Tom Mangione, Lois Oksenberg, Colm O'Muircheartaigh, Dianne O'Rourke, Robert Santos (future AAPOR president)) and political scientists (Martin Gilens, M. Kent Jennings, Jon Krosnick, Kathleen McGraw, Jeffery J. Mondak, James Stimson, Laura Stoker, John Zaller). Sociologists Myra Marx Ferree, James M. Fields and Maria Krysan and pollster Warren Mitofsky completed the board in that year. During Price's tenure, the University of Chicago Press began publishing an online version of POQ.

Price left the editorship when he became Associate Provost and then Provost of the University of Pennsylvania (and then, several years later, President of Duke University). He was succeeded as editor of POQ by Peter V. Miller in 2001. Like Phillips Davison, Eleanor Singer, Howard Schuman and Stanley Presser, Miller would go on to serve as AAPOR president and would later receive the AAPOR Award. Miller's editorial board in 2005 again shows a heavy representation of methodologists (Duane Alwin, Paul Beatty, Paul Biemer, J. Michael Brick, Don Dillman, Theresa DeMaio, Floyd Jackson Fowler, Jr. (future AAPOR Award winner), Paul J. Lavrakas, Norbert W. Schwarz, Eleanor Singer) and political scientists (Scott Althaus, Darren Davis, Robert Erickson, Martin Gilens, Gary Jacobson, M. Kent Jennings, Kathleen McGraw, Jeffrey Mondak, David Sears, Susan Welch and Cliff Zukin). Pollsters Daniel Merkle (future AAPOR president) and Mark A. Schulman (future AAPOR president) were included on the board, along

with sociologists Maria Krysan and Carolyn F. Shettle and psychologist Lance Rips. (Rips could be included in the methodologist group, just as Schwarz could be included in psychology).

During Miller's editorship, associate editors were recruited to manage manuscript processing due to a large influx of papers submitted to the journal's new online system. The associate editors included James N. Druckman, Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, Nancy Mathiowetz, then Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Patricia Moy, Professor of Communication at the University of Washington and Robert Oldendick, Professor of Political Science at the University of South Carolina. Druckman is principal investigator in the NSF-sponsored Time Sharing Experiments in the Social Sciences program. His work in political psychology features survey experiments. Mathiowetz is a survey methodologist with broad expertise in sociology, public health and statistics. Moy, who also served as POQ's Book Review editor during this period, is a scholar of political communication. Oldendick, longtime director of the Survey Research Center at South Carolina, blends political science and survey methodology in his publications. Subsequent POQ editors-in-chief have maintained the associate editor structure begun during Miller's tenure.

James N. Druckman and Nancy A. Mathiowetz followed Miller as POQ editors in 2009. Mathiowetz had served as AAPOR president and would win the AAPOR Award several years later. The Druckman-Mathiowetz team was the first joint editors-in-chief team in the journal's history. The combination of political scientist Druckman with survey methodologist Mathiowetz was further demonstration of the importance of these two fields in the journal's editorial management - a trend that began with Eleanor Singer. The composition of their editorial board in 2010 reinforces this pattern. Survey methodologists included Duane Alwin, J. Michael Brick, Wil Dijkstra, Don Dillman, Jennifer Dykema, Marc N. Elliott, Michael R. Elliot, Allyson Holbrook, Paul J. Lavrakas, Peter V. Miller, Robert Santos, Nora Cate Schaeffer (future AAPOR President), Eleanor Singer and Gordon Willis. Political scientists on the board were Scott Althaus, Stephen Ansolabehere, Matthew A Baum, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Darren Davis, Robert Erickson, D. Sunshine Hillygus, Simon Jackman, Scott Keeter (future AAPOR president and AAPOR Award winner), Arthur Lupia, Robert Y. Shapiro, Mark A. Tessler, Nicholas A. Valentino and Cliff Zukin (past AAPOR president). Communication scholars on the board were Paul R. Brewer, Diana Mutz and Claes H. de Vreese. Sociologist Maria Krysan and psychologist Lance Rips completed the board. The associate editors serving with Druckman and Mathiowetz were Daniel Merkle and Patricia Moy. Merkle, a communication scholar and survey methodologist, began his career at Voter News Service, a consortium of news organizations that sponsored exit polls from 1990 through 2000. He has managed exit polls for ABC News since then. He is the current president of AAPOR.

Co-editors Patricia Moy and Tom W. Smith followed Druckman and Mathiowetz in 2013. At this writing, Moy is Christy Cressey Professor of Communication and associate provost at the University of Washington and AAPOR president elect. She formerly served as associate journal editor and editor of the book review section.. Smith, an AAPOR Award winner, director of the NORC Center for the Study of Politics and Society and director of the General Social Survey since 1980, edited the Polls section of the journal from 1984 to 1990. Moy is a communication scholar; Smith is a historian by training, but his research has covered a broad range of public opinion and methodological topics. Their editorial board in 2015 again emphasized

methodology and political science, with an increased representation of communication scholars. The political scientists included Scott Althaus, Stephen D. Ansolabehere, Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Darren Davis, Michael X. Delli Carpini, James Druckman, Robert S. Erickson, D. Sunshine Hillygus, Simon Jackman, Scott Keeter, Neil Malhotra, Robert Y. Shapiro, Tamir Sheafer, Mark A. Tessler, David C. Wilson and Cliff Zukin. Survey methodologists were Duane Alwin, J. Michael Brick, Frederick Conrad, Wil Dijkstra, Jennifer Dykema, Marc N Elliott, Michael R. Elliot, Craig A Hill, Allyson Holbrook, John M. Kennedy, Peter V. Miller, Robert Santos, Nora Cate Schaeffer, Eleanor Singer and Gordon Willis. Members of the expanded communication group were Paul R. Brewer, Kate Kenski, Brian Southwell, David Tewksbury and Claes de Vreese. Pollster Daniel Merkle and psychologist Lance Rips completed the board. The journal's associate editors were Kate Kenski, a political communication scholar at the University of Arizona, Andy Peytchev, a survey methodologist at Research Triangle Institute and Christopher Wlezien, a political scientist then at Temple University.

Moy and Smith were succeeded by the team of Patricia Moy and Eric Plutzer in 2017. At this writing, Plutzer is professor of political science and academic director of the Pennsylvania State University Survey Research Center. Their 2019 editorial board, like all of the ones we have examined over the past 25 years, has a heavy representation of political science and survey methods scholars, with a smaller contingent of communication faculty. The assembly of political scientists on the board contains a number of continuing members - Scott Althaus, Darren Davis, Robert Erickson, Sunshine Hillygus, Scott Keeter, Robert Y. Shapiro, Tamir Sheafer, David Wilson - as well as some new members: Adam Berinsky, Will Jennings, Jennifer Jerit, Cindy D. Kam, Patrick Sturgis. The survey methodologists also include some new names - Nancy Bates, Brad Edwards, Dana Garbarski, Timothy Johnson, Frauke Kreuter, Jolene Smyth - and previous board members: Paul Beatty, J. Michael Brick, Frederick Conrad, Don Dillman, Peter V. Miller, Nora Cate Schaeffer and Gordon Willis. Communication scholars include Paul Brewer, Kate Kenski, Natalie Jomini Stroud, David Tewksbury and Claes H. de Vreese. The associate editors serving with Moy and Plutzer were survey methodologist Rene Bautista of NORC, psychologist/methodologist Allyson Holbrook of the University of Illinois at Chicago and Neil Malhotra a political economist at Stanford University.

As this chapter was nearing completion, a new editorial team was named to begin accepting manuscripts in 2020: Political scientist Eric Plutzer continues as one of the editors-in-chief, joined by Allyson Holbrook, Professor of Public Administration and Psychology at the University of Illinois-Chicago. Holbrook blends survey methodology, psychology and political science in her publications. The Holbrook-Plutzer team continues the joint editorship arrangement that began with Druckman and Mathiowetz in 2009. They are to be joined by seven associate editors. Four are survey methodologists: Ipek Bilgen of NORC, Florian Keusch of the University of Mannheim and the Joint Program in Survey Methodology, Stas Kolenikov of Abt Associates and Jolene Smyth of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Political communication scholar Amber Boydston (University of California-Davis) and political scientists Julie Pacheco (University of Iowa) and Candis Watts Smith (Penn State) complete the associate editor team.

This review of the editorial management of Public Opinion Quarterly, from its inception to the present, has revealed how those in charge at different times have “operationalized” the journal, in

line with a priori concepts of the field and/or in response to the ebb and flow of manuscripts from different streams of research.

Evolution of Content in Public Opinion Quarterly

Harwood Childs fostered a medium of communication for those interested in public opinion, following in the footsteps, like many other journal founders, of the *Philosophical Transactions* creator Henry Oldenberg. His aims, like Oldenberg's, were to connect researchers and practitioners in order to advance understanding - in this case, understanding of "a controlling but obscure force" in society. Childs envisioned accomplishing this task with different types of contributions - less time-bound scholarly articles, on the one hand, and papers focused more on current developments in the field, on the other. These latter articles, gathered under the heading of "Surveys," initially reviewed research on polling, government activities, interest groups and communication. Beginning with Davison in the late 1940s, such papers were characterized as "Living Research." In later incarnations, they have appeared under the designation, "Current Research," under Davison's second editorship, followed by Roshco and Singer. Then they vanished from the journal in Singer's second term and remained absent during Schuman's editorship. They were restored under Presser and continue to this day under the heading, "Research Notes."

These contributions may serve multiple functions: e.g., alerting the research community to new ideas that deserve more attention, or providing an outlet for papers by non-academics and students, as Davison (1948) envisioned. Descriptions he provided for the "Living Research" section include: "...short and meaty item[s]...which have suggestive theoretical implications...succinct case histories...hypotheses and insights which the originators do not have time to develop, but which may be useful to other students." We can see here an effort to expand the research community to include non-traditional members. Outside of the journal, similar efforts have been made throughout AAPOR's history to draw non-academic researchers into the fold.

In more recent times, the POQ "Research Note" has become a designation for journal articles, but ones that do not require the space afforded to "standard" papers. The mission of publishing current, "short and meaty," nontraditional contributions was assigned to AAPOR's online publication, *Survey Practice* in the early 2000s, as we will see below.

The preeminent function for a professional journal is to publish articles that enhance understanding of matters encompassed by the field. "Matters" may be classified under the headings of academic disciplines to which readers have allegiance - public relations, political science, sociology, psychology, communication, and so forth. But, in the case of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, a broader classification is important to consider. From its first issue, POQ has contained papers that focused on "substance" and "method." The first type contributes to a discussion of the subject of an area of study, while the latter contributes to a discussion of how research in that area of study should be conducted.¹⁶⁶ For illustration, an example of the many papers published in POQ focusing on "substance" is Jackman and Crane's (1986), "Some of My

¹⁶⁶ In the early years of the journal, "method" included not just research practice, but also public relations practice - how to "message" to various audiences.

Best Friends are Black”: Interracial Friendship and White’s Racial Attitudes.” The article presents a test of the hypothesis that in-person contact between people of different races leads to more positive racial attitudes. An example of a paper focusing on “method” is Hatchett and Schuman’s (1975), “White Respondents and Race of Interviewer Effects” which examines the question of whether White respondents give different sorts of answers to identical questions about racial issues when posed by interviewers of the same or a different race. The Jackman and Crane article contributes to a discussion of the social bases of racial attitudes, while the Hatchett and Schuman paper contributes to a discussion of how reported racial attitudes vary depending on how they are elicited.

Some *POQ* editors ((Schuman (1987), Presser (1994, 2011), Miller (2008)) have noted that the “substance” and “method” categories can overlap. First, investigations of “substantive” matters are always conducted within the boundaries of chosen research methods. This truism is the basis for standards of methodological disclosure promulgated by AAPOR and its journals. In addition, Presser (2011) classified some papers published in *POQ* as making both substantive and methodological contributions. The Hatchett and Schuman article just cited is described by the authors as providing insight into race relations broadly, in addition to its methodological message. Schuman (1982) points to other examples. Miller (2008) drew attention to Streb, et al. (2008), “Social Desirability Effects and Support for a Female American President” and Sturgis, Allum and Smith (2008), “An Experiment on the Measurement of Political Knowledge in Surveys.” The former paper integrates study of measurement error with study of the role of gender in political candidate evaluation. Sturgis, Allum and Smith tackle the theoretical issue of what constitutes political knowledge, in a paper that also focuses on methods for measuring it. Druckman and Mathiowetz (2009) suggested that the substantive implications of methodological articles would be more evident if they were better communicated. Moy and Smith (2013) go so far as to say that, “the theory-method dichotomy perceived in the field of public opinion is a false one.”

Despite these complicating considerations, it is possible to go through issues of *POQ* and classify articles, for the most part, in one group or the other. Indeed, the certain perception of a difference between the two types of papers has motivated a long-running debate among *POQ* readers on whether one or the other type is more prevalent in the journal’s pages than it should be: that there is a kind of “zero-sum game” played out in the apportionment of pages between the two types of articles in each issue of *POQ*. Growing dissatisfaction with the space allotment for methods papers in the journal and other factors resulted in the birth of two additional AAPOR publications since 2008 - *Survey Practice* and the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* (JSSAM). Hence, it is useful to document the distribution of “substance” and “method” papers over the course of the journal’s history.

Following Presser (2011), I classified papers published in *POQ* since 1937, as ones focused on “substance,” on “methods,” or on “both.” The classification was conducted for all papers published in one issue of each of the 83 volumes of *POQ*. A systematic random sample of “regular” issues by volume was undertaken to identify the ones to be coded; “special” issues, with all articles focused on a single topic, were excluded. This process led to selection of the first

issue of each volume for coding, with a few exceptions - four years in which the first issue was a special issue.¹⁶⁷ For those years, the second issue of the volume was coded.

The analysis of “substance” vs. “methods” concerns research articles and “briefs” - shorter papers that were grouped under sections entitled “Living Research,” “Current Research,” and “Research Notes.” Before presenting that analysis, let us briefly consider the ebb and flow of other features seen in POQ over the years: the Polls section, Comments and Letters to the Editor, News of People and Organizations in the field, Poll Reviews, and Research Syntheses. The Polls section has played a prominent role in the journal over time, from the early display of findings from Gallup and Fortune polls to the later curated analyses of polls on a wide variety of topics. Prominent scholars who managed this section include Hazel Gaudet Erskine, who personally collected and presented poll findings from the early 1950s until the mid-1960s. The section appeared periodically after her death, until the responsibility for editing it was taken by Tom W. Smith in the mid-1980s. Since then, under Smith, Robert Y. Shapiro and Greg M. Shaw, the section, now called Poll Trends, has appeared in nearly every issue of POQ.

As noted above, Joseph Klapper had edited a “News and Notes” section of the journal from the late 1950s to the early 70s. Much more news about AAPOR was presented every year in the conference proceedings and presidential addresses that appeared in the Fall or Winter issues of POQ. Comments and Letters to the Editor have appeared sporadically since the journal’s inception - more frequently from the early 1960s through the 1980s. The idea to provide critique of published, non-POQ material was formalized by Howard Schuman in the late 1980s, in the Poll Review section, as noted earlier. The section has appeared since then, less frequently in recent years, taking on not just reports of polls but also other survey-based publications. The most extensive use of this feature was the Poll Review Symposium that focused on the failure of the exit polls in the 2000 presidential election (Volume 67, Number 1, 2003). The Poll Review section has had designated editors from its inception. The inaugural editors were Stanley Presser and Seymour Sudman (1987-1994). They were succeeded by the following teams of scholars: Albert Gollin and Peter V. Miller (1994-1998), Robert P. Daves and Miller (1999-2001), Daves and Tom Guterbock (2002-2005), Guterbock and Mark Schulman (2006-2008), Schulman and Christopher Wlezien (2009-2012), and Wlezien and Michael W. Traugott (2013-present), Research Syntheses, established as a section in 2002, was intended to present a comprehensive review of current research on a substantive or methodological topic. They have examined such topics as human subjects protection, approaches to surveying American Indians, indicators of nonresponse bias and AAPOR task force reports, such as the one on online panels (Baker, et al., 2010). Nancy Mathiowetz was the inaugural editor of this section (2002-2006). She was followed by Kristen M. Olson (2009-2015).

The only constant section in Public Opinion Quarterly since 1937 is the one devoted to book reviews. For most of the journal’s history, the work of soliciting and editing reviews appears to have been conducted by the editors. The few acknowledged editors of the section are Henri Verwayen and Marc B. Glassman during the Columbia years, Patricia Moy (2002-2008), Adam Berinsky (2009-2012) and Travis N. Ridout (2013-present).

¹⁶⁷ Special issues began volumes 7 (1943), 20 (1956), 21 (1957) and 61 (1997).

Our focus now turns to the examination of the “substance” vs. “methods” content divide in the original articles published in POQ over the decades. Figure 1 shows the percentage of articles devoted to “substance,” across sampled issues, in five year increments. The reciprocal percentage, above the trend line, represents papers focused on methods, combined with papers classified as both methods and substance. There is an irregular, but clear decline in “substance” over the decades and a corresponding increase in methodological and mixed methods/substance contributions. The same general pattern, though more pronounced, is seen in Figure 2, which displays the trend in the percentage of Briefs devoted to “substance.” (“Briefs” are missing entirely in this sample from volumes 48-58, when short papers were not organized under “Current Research” or “Research Notes” sections.

The overall findings are similar to Presser’s (2011) analysis, here with a larger sample of journal issues. In the earlier years of POQ, this sample suggests, “substance” was the focus of around 65 to 100 percent of papers, while, in later years, it was the focus in around 30 to 60 percent of them.

Figures 1 and 2 about here

How did this happen? Did editors influence the sorts of papers submitted and accepted for publication? Did the field covered by the journal change? In his analysis of “substance” and “method” in POQ, Presser (2011:842) observed that, “The changing nature of POQ papers corresponds, to a degree, with the changing interests of POQ’s editors.” Davison (1987:S7) emphasized this latter position, arguing that, “Differences in content that can be attributed to different editorial regimes are not obvious...Shifts in content that did occur were of a fairly long-term nature, and appear to have been associated with major world events, such as World War II, or with increasing specialization within the social sciences generally, and not with individual editors.”

This duality in reasons for POQ content change is too simple, however. Though suggesting some support for the “editor influence” explanation, Presser also marshalled evidence supporting the “changing nature of the field” viewpoint. The growth of methodology in POQ is doubtless the result of a multitude of factors, including the role of editors and the context in which they worked. Early in the journal’s history, as we have seen, editors played a directive role in soliciting papers they wanted to publish. But as Presser noted, in recent times, editors may influence what is submitted to the journal just by how they are perceived by possible contributors. Anecdotally, it is interesting to observe from the editor’s chair how submissions in an area increase after the publication of a paper on that topic. This phenomenon seemed noteworthy in the early 2000s when a number of papers on attitudes toward homosexuality and gay rights flowed unsolicited into the POQ office following the publication of Herek (2002). The appearance of that piece might have signaled “editor interest” in the topic. But the paper had actually been accepted by the previous editor and had been in the backlog of “in press” papers, waiting to appear in print, when a new editor, with no history with the piece, assembled papers for the issue in which it appeared.

The “macro” conditions affecting journal content include changes in competing outlets and the disciplines that support them. We saw how POQ developed a publication niche among a set of social science journals when AAPOR was founded. The evolution of those competing journals,

and, importantly, the addition of other competitors, foreclosed or enhanced publication options for scholars in the decades since. *Public Opinion Quarterly* was a prime target for communication scholars early in its existence, but changes in that discipline - its expansion from sociology to schools of journalism and speech and communication (as those areas adopted quantitative social science approaches) led to more, discipline-specific, publication outlets - e.g., the *Journal of Communication*, *Communication Research*, *Political Communication*. Older journals, such as *Journalism Quarterly*, expanded to become welcoming homes for authors whose work spoke to readers in familiar academic departments, rather than addressing the broader interdisciplinary POQ audience. A variety of public relations journals also emerged over the years.

On the other hand, some disciplinary journals evolved in ways that discouraged submission of papers whose authors then looked to other outlets, including POQ, for a home. This appears to have been the case with the *Journal of the American Statistical Society* (JASA). JASA had a long history of publishing survey methods papers, including even an influential symposium focused on a totally non-statistical case study analysis of survey interview interaction by two anthropologists (Suchman and Jordan, 1990). In years following that publication, however, the journal gradually became less receptive to survey methodological submissions, becoming more focused on theoretical contributions in statistics. The lack of publication opportunity was felt by denizens of the American Statistical Association and by scholars not centrally attached to it. The change in JASA contributed to a shortage in outlets for methodological papers. These developments played a role in the growth of methodological submissions to *POQ* in recent years. They also fueled demand for greater change - entirely new publications devoted to methodology.

In 2020, meanwhile, *Public Opinion Quarterly* remains a blend of substantive and methodological papers. The editorial board, as we have seen, is dominated by political scientists and methodologists. The content analysis presented earlier suggests a possible trend toward more papers in the “substance” category in the past several years, but no indication that the current editors have sought (or are being perceived to have sought) to abandon the unique blended quality of “substance” and “methods” that Presser (2011) lauded.

The Advent of *Survey Practice*

Robert M. Groves chaired the AAPOR Advisory Committee for *Public Opinion Quarterly* from 2006 to 2010. A former AAPOR President and an AAPOR Award winner, Groves has been one of the most influential survey methodologists since the 1970s, when he authored, with Robert Kahn, *Surveys by Telephone* (1979) - a national comparison of findings from telephone and in-person interviews. He went on to author many other important methodological contributions, including seminal articles on nonresponse bias in surveys, published in POQ in the early years of this century. He also was instrumental in founding, and then led the Joint Program in Survey Methodology - a joint graduate education venture of the University of Michigan and the University of Maryland devoted to training methodologists for work in the federal government, commercial firms and academia. He later served as director of the U.S. Census Bureau and then became Provost at Georgetown University, where he is situated at this writing.

While serving on the AAPOR Advisory Committee for the journal, Groves sought to find ways to increase publishing opportunities for methodological work. The motivation, mentioned above,

was to address the problem of few, scattered outlets for this research. One of Groves' suggestions, supported by other prominent scholars and enacted by the AAPOR Council after a special committee review, was to fund an increase in the page budget for *POQ*, increasing it from 160 pages per issue to 200 pages, with the intention that more space might be filled by methods papers. Miller (2008) advertised this change and, while not promising to simply reserve the added pages for methods papers, he encouraged authors to consider *POQ* as an outlet for methodology.¹⁶⁸

It had already become evident, however, that this alteration to *POQ*, per se, would not satisfactorily address the desire of methodologists for a vehicle that addressed their particular communication needs. *Survey Practice*, which began publication in 2008, was AAPOR's first effort, inspired by Groves and other methodologists, to sponsor a dedicated methodological publication. This venture was to be an online-only "e-zine," an attempt to capitalize on internet communication to push out more immediate information for researchers in the fast-moving methodological sphere. The mission statement, for the publication, set out in the first issue, included this language:

"Survey Practice provides current information on issues in survey research and public opinion. The articles in Survey Practice emphasize useful and practical information designed to enhance survey quality by providing a forum to share advances in practical survey methods, current information on conditions affecting survey research, and interesting features about surveys and people who work in survey research. Survey Practice is intended for practicing survey and public opinion researchers. Survey Practice is not an academic journal. Its articles will not have extensive literature reviews, elaborated hypotheses, or difficult statistics. Survey Practice is not a competitor of Public Opinion Quarterly."

Survey Practice was to include short articles on "methods" and "public opinion," as well as interviews, an "Ask the Experts" column and short "blurbs" on survey projects and researchers. An informal publication featuring short articles, without the time-consuming rigors of traditional peer review, *Survey Practice* might be seen, at least in its initial conception, as closer to a newsletter like *Philosophical Transactions* at the time Henry Oldenberg began its publication - the "first draft" of research - rather than the scholarly journal it became centuries later. Or, as suggested earlier, a cross between the "News and Notes" column that Joseph Klapper edited for a number of years in *POQ* and the journal's "Living Research" section in the early 1950s that Davison devoted to "short and meaty" items that might inspire new directions in research.

John Kennedy, director of the University of Indiana Center for Survey Research and a driving force in the founding of the American Association of Academic Survey Research Organizations, was the inaugural editor of *Survey Practice*. He was joined by editorial board members David Moore, longtime researcher at the Gallup Organization; Diane O'Rourke of the University of Illinois Survey Research Laboratory and Andy Peytchev of the Research Triangle Institute. The

¹⁶⁸ Davison counseled me at the time that the addition of pages "...would be fine as long as future editors do not allow the journal to focus exclusively on content of interest mainly to research technicians...I think survey specialists benefit when the *POQ* is able to include articles written by a wide variety of social scientists and journalists." (Davison, personal communication, 2007)

editorial team split up the work of vetting submissions, using the relaxed guidelines set out in the mission statement. Each paper was reviewed by one associate editor.

Thus, as emphasized in a recent notice to contributors, *Survey Practice* has been defined as an “editor,” not a “peer” reviewed journal. Authors are encouraged to list a *Survey Practice* publication in an “other” section of their professional vitae. Authors are advised that an accepted submission that undergoes one cycle of “revise and resubmit” with minor revisions could see publication in 21 weeks after initial submission. By contrast, potential contributors to *Public Opinion Quarterly* and the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* are told that they can expect to receive “accept”, “reject” or “revise and resubmit” notices in 90 days - 13 weeks - after submission (assuming that the submission is not rejected (“screened”) by an editor immediately after submission because it does not fit the journal’s mission or is judged to have little chance of enduring peer review). A “revise and resubmit” cycle for POQ and JSSAM would add another 17 weeks to the process - one month for revision and three for collecting reviews. Papers could see publication in a few weeks if accepted then, if copy editing and proofing go well, in the electronic “advanced” publication section of these journals (but will wait longer to appear in print). Thus, ideally, *Survey Practice* could produce a publication in around five months, while the refereed journals would take seven to eight.¹⁶⁹

The rapidity with which a paper could be published in *Survey Practice* depends not only on the vetting process but also on the way in which accepted papers are packaged. The traditional journal or magazine collects papers in “issues” that are distributed with a periodicity dictated, on one hand, by editorial vision, the amount of publishable material and revenue available, and, on the other, by the work and costs involved in production and distribution. Davison (1987) observed that the pages per issue for POQ swung wildly during the 1950s, from a huge special issue on political communication, for example, that was funded by MIT (Volume 20, Number 1, 1956), to an 80 page issue (Volume 22, Number 1), produced by Princeton University Press under pressed economic circumstances. Nowadays, as we have seen, print journals have annual page budgets that are negotiated between journal owners and publishers. Digital publications, however, are not bound by the same rules; content can be uploaded whenever editors decide it is suitable and the needed production steps have been taken.

For most of its history, *Survey Practice* followed the print journal model, packaging papers in periodic (e.g. monthly, bimonthly, quarterly) issues, rather than taking full advantage of the immediacy of digital publication. There was often a deliberate effort on the part of the original editorial team to organize individual submissions together and designed special issues were curated (e.g., Volume 2, Number 1). This attitude was underscored by the editors’ intention to publish regular columns (e.g. “Ask the Expert”). Thus, the journal issue itself - a product of editorial judgment - was a focus of value. One (untested) argument for this approach is that readers could learn better from the ability to compare papers on a similar topic in one package than from encountering the individual papers willy-nilly over time. But, while the curation strategy may have such benefits, it runs counter to aims of publication immediacy afforded by

¹⁶⁹ The ideal case is constructed only for purposes of comparison. In practice, in the traditional journal case, it can take substantially longer for a paper to be assessed and published, depending on the circumstances of the editorial office, the luck in recruiting referees and the issues presented by submissions (Miller, 2007).

the online medium. Assuming a constant stream of submissions, the journal issue approach contributes to whatever time lag there may be between submission intake and article presentation to readers. It does not foster rapid airing and debate about new ideas - something that a “blog” or a “wiki,” or a “listserv,” (viz. AAPORnet) common internet publication vehicles - could make possible.

From 2008 to 2012, *Survey Practice* ranged from 9 to 4 yearly issues. The initial *Survey Practice* editorial team was succeeded in 2012 by Kumar Rao, then of the Nielsen Corporation, and Kirby Goidel, then on the faculty at Louisiana State University. Their editorial team included Johan Martinsson of Gothenburg University, Ashley Kirzinger, then at the University of Illinois Springfield, Mignon Liu of SurveyMonkey and Chris Simek of Texas A and M. During their editorship, the number of issues held relatively steady at four to six per year, and included special issues on item nonresponse, training in survey methodology and interviewer-respondent interaction. Their editorial approach to packaging papers in several issues a year continued the practice set in the first four years of the publication.

Ashley Amaya, then with Research Triangle Institute, was named editor of *Survey Practice* in 2017. Amaya brought an end to the practice of curated issues. Instead, her approach emphasized the immediate availability of accepted papers, making publication possible now after the five month review and editing process discussed earlier. This strategy is being continued by Amaya’s successor, Emily Geisen of Qualtrics. Geisen’s editorial board includes Eva Aizpurura of Trinity College, Dublin, Eran Ben-Porath of SSRS, Jessica Holzberg of the U.S. Census Bureau and Margaret Roller of Roller Research. Geisen, Ben-Porath, Holzberg and Roller had served as editorial board members under Amaya. Since 2018, a yearly “issue” has been filled with accepted papers - 28 publications in 2018, 14 in 2019 and 4 through April, 2020.

While the mission statement for *Survey Practice* declared that it would publish “public opinion” as well as methods papers, a perusal of the issues since it began publication finds only a handful of contributions that might be classified in the “public opinion” category. The “e-zine” has been an outlet for sharing methodological ideas. But, while it was serving its readership - giving them preliminary insights that may have led to more rapid innovation in this sphere - any advantages of speed and informality were also disadvantages. For some methods researchers, particularly in the academic and governmental domains, a publication in *Survey Practice* would not provide the reputational benefit of a peer-reviewed article. For this reason, and others, it is not surprising that methodologists sought to establish a new refereed journal.

The Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology

Public Opinion Quarterly’s position as the home for both public opinion and methodological research left it unable to offer the “branding,” the audience and the publication space to accommodate the aspirations of methodologists for a single, prominent home for their research. Instead, as noted above, methodological work was dispersed in journals across a range of fields, a main feature of which was often a primary focus on something else. The argument for a journal devoted to survey methodology, as stated by the inaugural editors Joseph Sedransk and Roger Tourangeau (2013), was that methodology had become a field in itself - that it should not be regarded as a subcomponent of other disciplines. Methodologists unaffiliated with AAPOR did not see a journal with “public opinion” in the title as the right venue for their work. Because

its readership varied widely in technical sophistication, there was a limit on the mathematical argumentation that could be employed in submitted papers. Even AAPOR denizens bridled under the constraints imposed by the need to fit into limited pages in POQ or to compete for space in such journals as the *Journal of Official Statistics* (published by Statistics Sweden), or, *Survey Methodology* (published by Statistics Canada). The latter publications were founded to serve the needs of government statistical communities.

Thus, from two directions, advocacy began in 2011 to found a new journal. In the American Statistical Association, Roderick J.A. Little, the Richard D. Remington Distinguished Professor of Biostatistics at the University of Michigan, a former editor of JASA and the first Associate Director for Research and Methodology and Chief Scientist at the U.S. Census Bureau, spearheaded a campaign in the Survey Research Methods Section of ASA to found a new journal devoted to survey statistics. In the AAPOR Council, then Counselor-at-Large Roger Tourangeau, prominent survey methodologist and Westat vice-president, proposed joining with ASA in this venture, adding methodology to statistics as foci of a new publication. A joint committee of the two associations was formed to develop a proposal for consideration by each one, and by prospective publishers.

On the AAPOR side, there were some worries about whether a journal devoted to methodology per se would be attractive to the membership at large. There were also concerns about a new outlet cannibalizing good papers that were then being submitted to POQ. And there was uneasiness about whether a new publication could succeed financially, since ASA did not want to participate in the “business-side” of any publication arrangement. The committee had to hash out these matters and analyze the potential market for the new journal (gauging member interest in both societies and in other groups). It had to identify inaugural editors and possible editorial board members. It had to present a case to prospective publishers that it would be worthwhile to invest in the new publication.

A proposal for publishing the new journal was presented by the committee to Oxford University Press, the publisher of *POQ*, in 2012. AAPOR’s experience with Oxford had been good. It seemed likely that bundling the new journal with POQ in marketing to libraries (the main source of journal revenue) would benefit both publications. And, if negotiations proceeded well, an agreement with Oxford would be the quickest way to put the new journal into motion.

The publisher was receptive to the proposal crafted by the committee, and, in turn, it proposed a contract for JSSAM with AAPOR that combined the new journal with a renewal of the POQ contract. Members of AAPOR and the ASA Survey Research Methods Section were to receive JSSAM with no charge for several years, after which the two Associations would determine how to pay subscription fees for members (just as AAPOR already paid member subscription fees for POQ). The membership base for each association would constitute a substantial share of the subscriber population for the new journal. AAPOR was the business partner for Oxford, but the two Associations were to share editorial control, exercised by a joint oversight committee for JSSAM. This committee would recommend editor appointments to each society. Editors had control over the composition of the editorial board, the rules for contributors, the refereeing process and the sorts of articles that the journal would publish. One editor would be recruited from the community of survey statisticians and the other from the scholars expert in survey methodology.

The first editor for survey statistics was Joseph Sedransk, then professor emeritus of statistics at Case Western Reserve University. Sedransk had previously served as an editor of JASA and was a widely published Bayesian statistician. He went on to serve on the faculty of the Joint Program in Survey Methodology. Roger Tourangeau, the inaugural editor for survey methodology, was then Vice president and Associate director at Westat and past Director of the Joint Program in Survey Methodology. A prolific author of publications in many areas of survey methodology, including work on data collection mode effects, the psychology of the survey response process and the effects of survey nonresponse, Tourangeau later became AAPOR president. As noted above, he initiated the process that led to the founding of JSSAM when he served as AAPOR's Counselor-at-Large.

In their joint editorial statement for the first issue of the Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology, Sedransk and Tourangeau (2013) outlined the scope of the new publication:

“*JSSAM* will have three sections, reflecting the major subdivisions within the field. The *Survey Statistics* section will include articles on innovative sampling methods, imputation, measures of uncertainty, small area estimation, new methods of analysis, and so on. In our first six months of accepting submissions, we have received papers on small area estimation, inference from volunteer surveys, inference in the face of nonresponse, treatment of selection bias and weighting, identification of potential falsifications in survey data, randomized response methods, record linkage, and inference in auditing problems when there is a preponderance of zeros. The *Survey Methodology* section presents articles that focus on methodological research, including methodological experiments, modes of data collection, and the use of paradata. So far, we have received submissions on topics ranging from address-based sampling, methods for collecting sensitive information, question context effects, and differences across modes of data collection. Finally, the *Applications* section contains articles involving innovative applications of methods and providing practical contributions and guidance or significant new findings. We hope this section will include many papers that appeal to survey practitioners.”

The new journal was published similarly to *Public Opinion Quarterly*, with print and online issues. It published two issues in its first year and then went to the quarterly format. The inaugural editorial board included the following scholars for the survey statistics section: Paul Biemer of Research Triangle Institute, F. Jay Breidt of Colorado State University, Ray Chambers of the University of Wollongong, Australia, Graham Kalton of Westat, Sharon Lohr, then of Arizona State University, Balgobin Nandram of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Danny Pfeffermann, then the head of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, Nathaniel Schenker, then at the U. S. National Center for Health Statistics, Chris Skinner, then of the London School of Economics, and Eric Slud of the University of Maryland and the U.S. Census Bureau. For the survey methodology section, the board members were: J. Michael Brick of Westat, Mick Couper of the University of Michigan, Jennifer Dykema of the University of Wisconsin, Scott Keeter, then of the Pew Research Center, Jon Krosnick of Stanford University, Peter Miller, then of the U.S. Census Bureau, Stanley Presser of the University of Maryland, Nora Cate Schaeffer of the University of Wisconsin and Ting Yan of Westat.

With any new journal, it can be difficult to attract enough manuscripts to fill the pages. A test for the publication would be how unsolicited submissions grew once scholars became aware of it. We can get a sense of how well the journal is doing now by looking at the number of articles

that have been accepted and are waiting to be compiled in print issues. As of Volume 8, Number 2, 2020, some 45 papers are listed among the “advance articles,” roughly two-thirds of them in the survey methodology category. This is a considerable backlog, which advertises the value of the journal for researchers: it is far from living “hand-to-mouth.” Since the advance articles can be read by subscribers online and listed as publications on authors’ vitae, the existence of a backlog does not constitute a delay in publication.

Another hurdle for a new journal is the fact that it can only suggest a potential impact on the profession. JSSAM did not have the advantage of *POQ*’s decades of citation history. For academic contributors, the fact that the new journal lacked an “impact factor” meant that a publication in it could be viewed by tenure and promotion reviewers as less valuable than one in a journal with a long track record. JSSAM, now tracked by resurhify.com, shows a steady increase in the number of citations its articles have received during its time in operation; while it will take some years before its ranking among publications of its kind will solidify, the track record to date is very promising.

Joseph Sedransk was succeeded by Roderick J.A. (Rod) Little in 2016. Ting Yan replaced Roger Tourangeau in the following year. Little and Tourangeau had been instrumental in bringing the journal to life. Ting Yan is a survey methodologist at Westat and faculty member in the Joint Program for Survey Methodology. For the survey statistics section, Little led a transition from the editorial board review process to a team of associate editors. This structure puts associate editors in charge of manuscripts from the outset - commissioning reviews and writing draft decision letters. The editor-in-chief retained final say over article acceptance. Yan moved to this structure in 2018.

Bringing the JSSAM editorial team up to date, Michael R. Elliott, Professor of Biostatistics and Research Professor in the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan succeeded Rod Little in 2019. The associate editors for statistics now are Rebecca Andridge, Ohio State University; Sixia Chen, University of Oklahoma; Jeorg Drechsler of the German Institute for Employment Research; David Haziza, University of Montreal; Sunghee Lee, University of Michigan; Dan Liao, Research Triangle Institute; Robin Mitra, Lancaster University; Isobel Molina, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid; Keith Rust, Westat; Eric Slud, University of Maryland and Rebecca Steorts, Duke University. For survey methodology, the associate editors are Annette Jackle, University of Essex; Aaron Maitland, National Center for Health Statistics; Daniel Oberski, Utrecht University; Kristin Olson, University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Joseph Sakshaug, University of Manchester and Brady T. West, University of Michigan.

In its eight years of publication, JSSAM has featured, in addition to regular articles, print versions of lectures sponsored by the Washington Statistical Society and by ASA (e.g. Eleanor Singer’s lecture written on her receipt of the Monroe G. Sirken Award (Singer, 2016)). The journal has also published a special topics section on recreation surveys (Volume 5, Number 3, 2017) and has begun publishing annual special issues under guest editorship. The first special issue, Volume 8, Number 1 (2020) is devoted to recent advances in probability-based and nonprobability survey research. One gets the impression after looking at all of the articles published in JSSAM that a good number of the survey methodology papers could have been published in *POQ*, if there were space available and if the authors felt that it was the right venue.

At the same time, some of the survey methods articles seem too technical for the POQ general readership and the survey statistics papers are certainly so.

Co-Editor Michael Elliott has recently advertised that the journal will offer more pages for print issues; the current page budget appears to be around 150 pages per issue. The page increase is a sign that the publisher and AAPOR, its business partner, are pleased with the stewardship of the journal and have confidence in its future.

AAPOR and the Journal Business

We conclude this overview of AAPOR's journals with a more detailed discussion of their financial history and their prospects in a changing world of academic publishing. A brief review of *Public Opinion Quarterly's* shifting fortunes since 1937 frames this discussion.

For POQ to operate, it needed an editorial operation to obtain manuscripts and to commission reviews of them, to communicate rejection, revision and publication decisions to authors, and to convey accepted manuscripts to a production operation. It needed a business function to promote the journal, manage subscription lists, solicit advertising, pay the bills and bank any income. And it needed a production function to manage copy editing, typesetting, printing and distribution of issues. When the journal was founded, the editorial operations were performed by staff in the Princeton School of Public Affairs and the business and production functions were managed by the Princeton University Press. Harwood Childs was counting on a combination of contributions from a few wealthy donors, University provision of space and, perhaps, funds for editorial staff, and subscription/advertising revenue to provide the wherewithal to enable the journal to run for a few years, in the hope that subscription and advertising revenue would gradually obviate the need for donations.

This is what amounts to the "business model" on which POQ relied for nearly 50 years, at Princeton and Columbia. Davison (1987) provides a picture of the precarious financial circumstances confronting POQ in the years following its "adoption" by AAPOR in 1947. The Association provided revenue from discounted subscriptions included in the dues paid by a few hundred members, but the discount meant that the journal just broke even on those subscriptions. The total revenue from subscriptions and advertising was insufficient to keep the doors open. Some kind of donor intervention was needed again. In 1953, Louis Harris, AAPOR representative on the POQ faculty supervising committee, reported to the membership that the journal urgently needed funds. An ad hoc committee led by Paul Lazarsfeld secured contributions from institutions. As noted above, Davison reports that some special issues were paid for by outside funders, for example, Volume 20, Number 1, 1956 *Studies in Political Communication*, funded by MIT, and the 20th anniversary issue in 1957 (Volume 21, Number 1), subvented by the Twentieth Century Fund.

POQ's operation at Columbia, beginning in 1968, was not given any cash support by the university, though the University Press handled the business and production functions. To support operations, Lazarsfeld raised funds again from institutional supporters. Together with money from subscriptions and advertising and fees for reprints, this produced, Davison reports, a

budget of \$5000 per year.¹⁷⁰ (Additionally, Eleanor Singer (2011), noted that she was given credit for teaching a course (worth \$2000) for her work as managing editor, through an arrangement set up by Robert Merton).

After the Columbia University Press discontinued its journals business in 1977, the journal made an arrangement, for the first time, with a publisher outside the university at which POQ was housed - Elsevier-North Holland Publishing. In this and subsequent publishing contracts, if Elsevier followed the typical pattern, the editorial office received an allowance for staff and communications, as well as copy editing and typesetting services, subscription solicitation and maintenance and journal issue distribution. For the editor, then Eleanor Singer, there was a level of certainty that press runs for upcoming issues would not be interrupted. The number of pages to be filled per year would have been stipulated in the contract, along with the deadlines for copy submission, processing and mailing. (Indeed, the number of pages per issue settled at or about 160 pages during these years). A modest editorial office budget was likely established. Conditions were stable, but certainly not financially comfortable for the editorial staff. This situation persisted for the next 20 years. AAPOR finally assumed ownership of POQ in 1985 and the University of Chicago Press replaced Elsevier as the publisher.

A marked change occurred in 2004 when Oxford University Press replaced Chicago University Press. Testing the market for a new publisher, the journal was put out for bid when the contract with Chicago was up for renewal. AAPOR and POQ were recipients of a windfall. The contract with Oxford provided a substantially greater amount for the editorial office and also a share of the annual journal royalties for the Association. POQ became a major source of money for AAPOR, rather than a potential drain on it. It is unclear why previous agreements with Elsevier and Chicago did not include some provision for royalty income for the Association. In any case, the Council was now in a position to invest money in more pages for the annual allotment for POQ, as seen above. It was also possible to fund a fifth issue on a special topic each year, beginning in 2005.

Many sacrifices by editorial staff, many gifts by donors dedicated to the journal, along with financial and other support provided by the universities that were home to POQ over the decades had enabled the journal to achieve an enviable status. Its large corpus of content, valued highly by individual scholars and academic institutions (as seen in *POQ*'s lofty journal rankings) made publishing the journal a prize to be competed for by prestigious academic publishers. This outcome validated the decision by AAPOR in 1985 to assume ownership of the journal. It also created conditions favorable to the Association's subsequent publishing ventures - *Survey Practice* and the Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology.

First, the income from royalties from *POQ* made a major contribution to the AAPOR budget. The Association had been almost entirely dependent on membership dues and proceeds from the annual conference prior to the influx of royalty payments from Oxford. (In subsequent years, revenue from webinars has also added to available resources). Some of the royalty income has been "plowed back" into *POQ* to fund more print pages and the annual 5th issue. In addition,

¹⁷⁰ Davison (personal communication, 2007) wrote that, "Experienced publishers are very useful people, even though they are sometimes greedy...[W]e were very surprised to find out how much income Columbia University press was getting from the journal at the same time that the editorial office was scratching up small contributions."

AAPOR's subvention of *Survey Practice* - a few thousand dollars per year at this point, for web publishing services - was facilitated by the extra revenue.

Second, the POQ publishing agreement made it easier for AAPOR and ASA to begin publishing JSSAM. Oxford University Press could rely on *POQ*'s decades-long presence in libraries in making the case to these crucial subscribers that JSSAM would be worth their investment. Also, the experience in negotiating a contract with Oxford was useful for AAPOR in its approach to the publisher concerning the new journal. It would have been a much harder sell for AAPOR and ASA to pitch a new journal, in an era when institutional subscribers are culling their serials collections due to budget cuts, if the publisher and the libraries did not have the long experience with an allied prestigious publication.

Factors Bearing on the Future of AAPOR and its Publications

Disruptions in the academic publishing model, however, may bring significant change to the current status of *POQ* and *JSSAM*. The royalty income that transformed *POQ* and made *JSSAM* possible is based on a "paywall" model that has been under heavy attack from different quarters for around 20 years. There has been heavy pressure on publishers, particularly those who publish research funded by public dollars, to make their journals "open access." Publishers have responded in different ways. Some journals now rely on authors or institutions where they are employed to fund the publication of articles. Others have kept the "pay wall," but have shortened the time during which an article is kept behind it. Advocacy by European governments, research funders and scientific societies points to much more sweeping changes in how journals operate (see www.coalition-s.org). Other factors that may affect the revenue include demands from authors and article reviewers for some monetary compensation for their work. Referees for papers submitted to journals in some fields are compensated now.

The point is that changes in the business model for journals can have implications for the royalties that learned societies that own journals, like AAPOR, currently collect. For most of their existence, AAPOR and *POQ* have been strapped for money. Recent years have seen each of them grow more financially comfortable through a publishing partnership. The "arms length" relationship between AAPOR and *POQ*, and now *JSSAM*, has become a tight bond. The resolution to the factors affecting the business of journal publishing will determine the future path of these venerable institutions.

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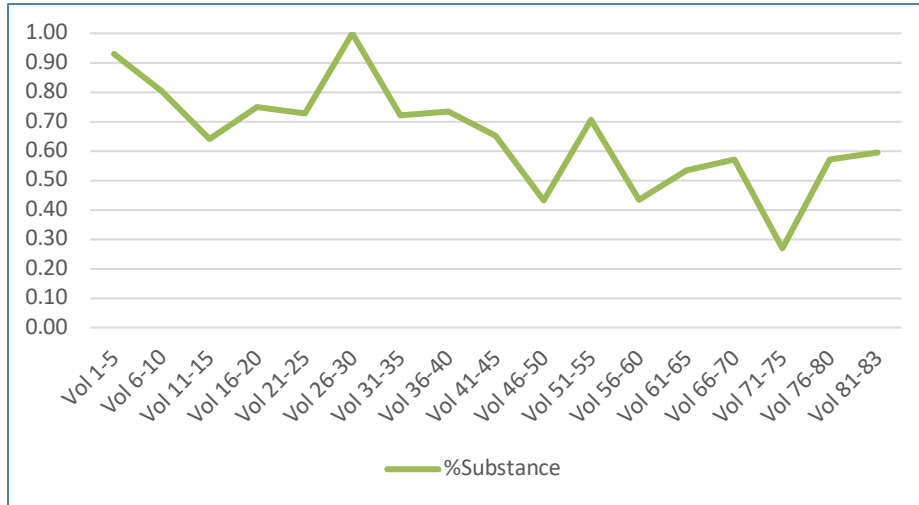


Figure 1.

Proportion of articles featuring substance in five year increments in POQ 1937-2019

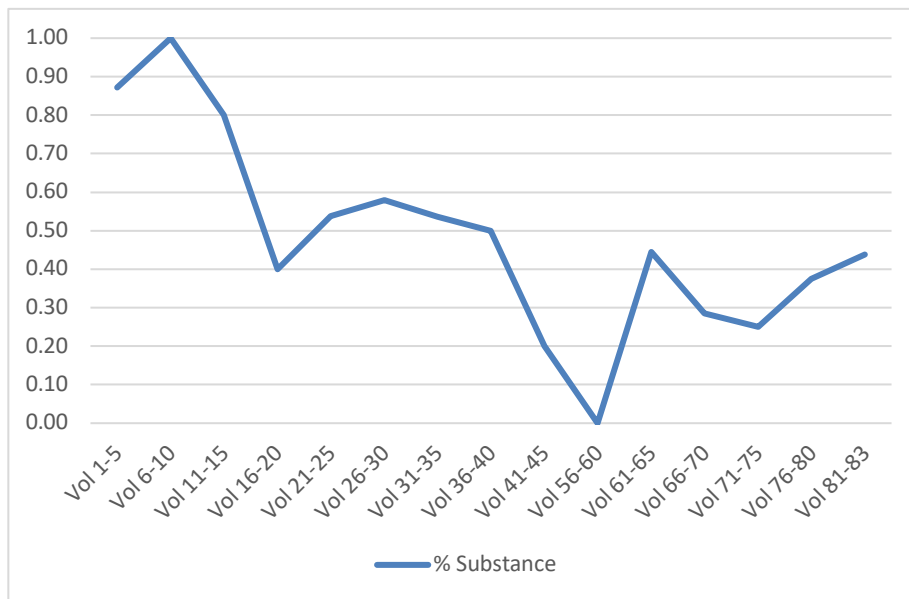


Figure 2.

Proportion of briefs featuring substance in five year increments in POQ 1937-2019

11. The Governance and Management of AAPOR, 1990 to the Present

Scott Keeter

In the years since *A Meeting Place* was published, the management of AAPOR has undergone a dramatic transformation. In 1990, AAPOR had a part-time administrator who processed membership applications and renewals and handled administrative details related to the annual conference. The AAPOR Executive Council consisted of 14 members who led committees that did virtually all of the other operational work of keeping the association running, from taking notes at meetings to approving checks and deposits to choosing hotels for the annual conference. Today, AAPOR is managed by a professional association management company. The Executive Council has grown to 17 members, who – while still attending to many details related to membership, education, conference and other tasks – also function increasingly as a strategic board, conducting long-range goal setting and planning to direct the association.

AAPOR was founded by far-sighted people who helped create the survey research profession. But the business of creating a successful professional association required more than vision – it also required attention to the here and now. Fortunately, the founders were more than capable of that too. Because of the very nature of survey research as a profession, the membership of AAPOR tends to include people with management and organizational skills and this has been especially true among the leadership of AAPOR. AAPOR's founders included eminent scientists but many of these same individuals also led organizations that undertook complex projects. Many of AAPOR's councilors since then have brought similar experience and talent to their positions. The governance of AAPOR has consequently benefited.

AAPOR's GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE

Laurie Sharp began her *A Meeting Place* chapter on AAPOR's governance and finances with this overview:

AAPOR's governance is based on principles and rules that were enunciated at the time AAPOR was founded in 1947. AAPOR is a voluntary, professional association, governed by an Executive Council elected by the membership and financed primarily by membership contributions through the payment of annual dues. The bulk of the association's professional and administrative activities are performed by the Executive Council, by various committees, and by individual members who carry out specific tasks assigned by Council.

Despite enormous changes to the association since *A Meeting Place* was published, Sharp's summary of AAPOR's governance remains largely accurate. AAPOR is very much an organization *of* its members. More of the day-to-day administration of the association has devolved to the management company but AAPOR members still do a lot of hands-on work. The shift of day-to-day work to paid staff had already begun during the period reviewed by Sharp and in a harbinger of vigorous debates to come, wrote that "this concession to organizational practice was slow to be accepted by an association fiercely dedicated to the notion of voluntarism."

AAPOR’s leadership

AAPOR is a nonprofit organization – a 501(c)(3) – led by a member-elected board known as the Executive Council. The current Council is made up of the officers of the association (the current president, the vice president/president-elect, the past president, the secretary-treasurer and the associate secretary-treasurer), the chairs and associate chairs of five standing committees (Membership and Chapter Relations, Conference, Standards, Education and Communications), and two Councilors-at-large. One other standing committee exists (Nominations), chaired by the past president. The officers

of the association also constitute an Executive Committee, which is empowered to act on behalf of AAPOR on time-sensitive matters, subject to review and vote by the full Executive Council. Members of the Executive Council are volunteers who receive no compensation for their service.

Elections for Council positions are held annually. The person elected to the presidency serves for three years (one year as vice president/president-elect, one as president and one as past president). All other positions carry two-year terms. Those elected to be chairs of standing committees serve their first year on Council as associate chair and then as chair the second year. The Councilors at-large serve two-year terms on a staggered basis. Candidates for AAPOR elections are typically nominated by a Committee on Nominations, chaired by the past president who appoints at least five

additional members. This committee solicits suggestions for nominees (including self-nominations) from the membership and develops a list of possible candidates. The process by

Members of the AAPOR Executive Council		
<i>Officers of the association</i>		
President		
Vice-President and President-Elect		These positions alternate between commercial and non-commercial sectors
Past President		
Secretary-Treasurer		
Associate Secretary-Treasurer		
<i>Other members</i>		
Conference Chair		These positions alternate between commercial and non-commercial sectors
Associate Conference Chair		
Membership and Chapter Relations Chair		
Associate Membership and Chapter Relations Chair		
Standards Chair		
Associate Standards Chair		
Education Chair		
Associate Education Chair		
Communications Chair		
Associate Communications Chair		
Councilor at-large		One elected each year; each serves two-year term; these positions alternate between commercial and non-commercial
Councilor at-large		

Based on bylaws adopted 2015

which the nominee lists is developed has evolved considerably over the years. The current process, based on innovations introduced by Peter Miller during his time as chair of the nominations committee (2010-2011), ensures that the candidates for any given position have been well vetted by the committee and have agreed to run before the field is narrowed by Council to a pair for each position. Once Council and the committee have completed their work, the slate of candidates along with their biographies are announced to the AAPOR membership.

A goal of this top-down process is to ensure that AAPOR will be well served regardless of the outcome of a given election. Candidates for election often express the sentiment of “Oh @#\$\$%, I didn’t know I was going to have to run against her/him” when they find out who is on the slate of candidates. While the Council has tried to be responsive to membership concerns about various kinds of biases in the nominations process, there is a provision in the by-laws that allows members to offer alternative candidates. If twenty-five members nominate an alternative candidate for any position, that person is added to the ballot, subject to approval by the Executive Council. No alternative candidate has been proposed during the period covered by this history.

AAPOR’s Executive Council is responsible for setting the goals for AAPOR and its strategy for achieving them. Historically, though, the Council, through its committees, has also been deeply involved in execution as well. But the growth and increasing complexity of AAPOR’s activities, as well as the changing legal and financial obligations of nonprofit organizations, led to a decision in the late 1990s to seek professional help in managing the association. Today, much of the day-to-day execution of the tasks crucial to AAPOR’s existence is not performed by the Council but by the professional association management firm, operating within a framework established by the Council.

By-laws revisions

The administrative structure of AAPOR is determined by its certificate of incorporation and by-laws. AAPOR’s founders and the leadership prior to the period covered by this chapter created a governance structure and set of rules and procedures that has served the association quite well, but it is inevitable that changes would be needed from time to time. The basic governing structure of the association today would still be recognizable to the founders, but many changes have occurred to accommodate changes in the membership, its values and the political and social environment in which the survey research profession operates.

Much of the governance structure in use today was established in a revision of the by-laws adopted in 1979 and published in 1982. Important changes have occurred since then, but the skeleton of the Executive Council and its committees was the product of a number of changes made in that revision. Today’s Executive Council, as in the 1980s, represents a small number of functional standing committees, each with a chairperson and associate serving two-year terms, along with two councilors at large and the “three presidents” (vice president/president-elect, president, and past president). In particular, the creation of associate chair positions in 1982 for all committees represented on Council helped establish a process for continuity in leadership as well as creating opportunity for younger and less experienced members to serve on Council.

A narrower set of amendments was published in 1986, including revisions to the AAPOR Code and the creation of an advisory committee for *Public Opinion Quarterly*. After the 1986 revisions, no changes were made in the bylaws until 1995, when a rule was eliminated that

required local chapter members to be members of AAPOR in order to vote on local chapter officers. That change and other small revisions were incorporated into bylaws published in 1997.

The 2004 bylaws revisions

Big changes were afoot in AAPOR by the start of the 21st century. Council had created a committee on education, another for conference site selection and operations and an endowment committee. Following extensive research and discussion, led by the Long-Range Planning Committee, responsibility for most of the administrative tasks of the association were transferred in 2002 from the secretariat at the University of Michigan to a professional management company, Applied Measurement Professionals (AMP). Interestingly, this change in management required no modification to the by-laws. But a number of governance issues had arisen during the years-long strategic planning process.

In 2003, a new committee was established to review the AAPOR bylaws and propose revisions. Based on the committee's recommendations, the Executive Council in 2004 proposed, and membership approved, a range of revisions. Most of the changes were relatively minor and the basic structure of leadership and the Executive Council created more than two decades earlier were retained.

One provision directed the Council to change the association's fiscal year from July 1-June 30 to the calendar year, a change that was implemented in 2006. The Endowment Committee was made a standing committee in the by-laws and its charge, membership and structure were spelled out. Reflecting discussions that had been going on in the Executive Council for several years, the new by-laws included a statement expressing AAPOR's goal to "represent the breadth and diversity of its membership in appointments to its Committees."

Another set of changes pertained to AAPOR's relationship with its local chapters. In an effort to tie the chapters more closely to the national association, the new by-laws added language stipulating that local chapters have by-laws and other organizational documents "that are reasonably consistent with" AAPOR's goals and objectives. It also required chapter members to agree to adopt and follow the AAPOR Code. It required chapters to file an annual report to the Executive Council.

This revision of the by-laws also responded to a growing concern about whether different sectors of the survey research field felt welcome in AAPOR. A new provision created a process for rotating three positions – president, conference chair and Councilor at large – between people from the commercial and non-commercial sectors. The share of AAPOR membership coming the private sector was diminishing and the share from the public sector – nonprofit organizations, government and universities – was growing. The rotation of key leadership positions between the sectors was meant to signal researchers in the commercial world that their participation in the association continued to be welcome.

But survey researchers working for businesses span a great variety of organizations. Some are focused entirely on marketing research, and while many of them participate in AAPOR conferences it has long been clear that AAPOR is not a principal venue for market researchers. Another group that has been underrepresented in AAPOR are private political consultants and pollsters. These professionals are not completely absent from AAPOR but relatively few of them are active in the association. The commercial members tend to work for firms that conduct

surveys on contract for various clients, especially those engaged in political and policy research as well as people in news organizations.

One final change: the new by-laws directed the Executive Council to review the by-laws at least every five years and recommend any needed changes. No change was made at the time of the 2009 review, but a number of changes emerged in revisions published in 2015.

The 2015 by-laws revisions

During the 11 years between the 2004 and 2015 revisions of the by-laws, many significant changes were occurring that had implications for AAPOR's governance and structure. One of the most important was that the change in management from AMP to Sherwood brought together an Executive Council committed to modernizing the association with an association management company that could provide alternative models for governance. This was an organic process that proceeded in fits and starts but led to concrete changes in the relationship of the Executive Council and AAPOR's committees, streamlined the amendment process for the by-laws (from a two-thirds vote to a simple majority) and gave student members the right to vote in AAPOR elections.

The 2015 revisions attempted to reflect discussions in the Executive Council and the membership about AAPOR's relevance in a changing survey research environment. It revised AAPOR's stated "nature of the business of AAPOR" by adding a mention of *survey* research, a goal "to conduct outreach activities to inform the public and media about the merits and limitations of public opinion and survey research" and "to promote the scientific conduct of public opinion and survey research; and to promote public opinion and survey research as a profession." An educational mission was made explicit: "AAPOR shall promote the scientific conduct of public opinion and survey research, in part, through the provision of educational information to policy makers."

Changes to committees consolidated power in the Executive Council. It reduced the number of standing committees, removing the *POQ* Advisory Committee and Endowment Committee from the list while adding the Education Committee, which had the charge of "advising the Executive Council on educational and professional development activities, as well as overseeing and causing the implementation of such activities." (The Education Committee chair and associate chair also became elected members of the Executive Council.) It specified a process for the creation of ad hoc committees and gave the Executive Council power to create or dissolve committees, add or remove members, direct activities, with or without cause. The Publications and Information Committee was renamed the Communications Committee. One other provision offered a partial response to concerns about the cost of AAPOR's membership dues: it created a one-year hardship waiver of membership dues for members facing financial problems.

Professional Management

The administrative tasks needed to keep AAPOR functioning are relatively straightforward but there are a multitude of them. A principal force driving AAPOR to turn to professional association management companies was the steady increase in the number of functions that were

becoming difficult for the secretariat and the volunteers to accomplish. One of the most critical is supporting the annual conference. Indeed, one of the strongest arguments for retaining a professional management company was their ability to assist in selecting venues for the annual meeting and then executing the complicated logistics of putting on the conference, in coordination with the conference committee and conference support committee. The conference is the most important generator of revenue for the association and serves as the glue for bonding members to AAPOR, so its successful execution is at the top of AAPOR's goals each year.

The potential value of professional management for conference activities was recognized by AAPOR's leaders more than three decades ago. AAPOR's members diligently volunteered to assist with the myriad details of making the conference operate smoothly, but as the association grew and its ambitions for the conference expanded, it was clear that the volunteer model had its limits. Similarly, leadership knew that exploring venues and negotiating with hotels and other conference vendors required special expertise. Moreover, firms that did a lot of that type of work would have existing relationships with hotel brands and could potentially leverage the clout of representing multiple associations as they bargained. During the 1990s, successive Executive Councils discussed obtaining help with the selection of venues and finally retained a firm in 1995 to do so. Even though the hiring of a conference firm helped, conference issues continued to be a big part of ongoing Council discussions about the secretariat and what model would best fit AAPOR's needs.

Other tasks taken on by the management company are also very important. Among the most important is support of the Executive Council. This support entails a wide variety of both logistical help and information gathering. Since the mid-2000s, the Council has been meeting nearly monthly, either in-person or by conference call, and the management company makes these meetings happen. They also assist with the critical job of tracking and processing memberships, and with interacting with members when they have questions. The finances of AAPOR are managed by the company, which prepares budget and financial reports, pays the bills, and files the tax forms. They also provide technology support, management of the AAPOR website and marketing help for the educational and professional development efforts of the association. And they offer strategic communications and logistical help.

The AAPOR Secretariat, 1990 to the Present

For decades AAPOR's leaders have debated the proper balance between contracted services and volunteer services. Laurie Sharp's *A Meeting Place* chapter documents these discussions among the earlier generation of AAPOR officials. However much some AAPORites wanted to retain the all-volunteer model, the growth of AAPOR and its ambitions through the period led inevitably to the need for professional help in conducting its business.

In early years of AAPOR's existence, volunteers and their employers provided office support to AAPOR as an alternative to a formal secretariat. After a few years of informal arrangements in which AAPOR paid small fees for secretarial help, AAPOR Council employed a private management firm in late 1975 to take over these responsibilities. Two years later, AAPOR shifted this work to another firm in Princeton, New Jersey, which retained the contract up to the period that this history begins. In 1991, the Executive Council reviewed proposals from two organizations to take over the secretariat and hired the University of Michigan to do so.

But the move of the secretariat did not end the debate about how AAPOR’s administrative needs should be met. Discussions on Council during the 1990s returned repeatedly to concerns about the ability of a part-time secretariat to handle the growing number of details required to administer the association. As soon as the move to Michigan occurred, Council discussed the feasibility of making the secretary’s position full time, though it did not do so. As noted above, in the latter half of the decade Council retained a company to assist with site selection and conference operations.

AAPOR’s management	
Rosenberg & Druker	1977-1992
University of Michigan	1992-2002
Applied Measurement Professionals (AMP)	2002-2009
The Sherwood Group	2009-2014
Kellen	2014-present

As the end of the 1990s approached, Council created a long-range planning effort to address the question of what future AAPOR wants for itself and how best to achieve it. That effort ranged quite widely, examining AAPOR’s leadership structure, mission and goals, finances, size, location in the professional marketplace and its administrative support. By 2001, Council was considering a recommendation from the Long-Range Planning Committee to expand the association’s management infrastructure. Council directed the committee to seek proposals from professional association management companies, which it did in the summer of 2001. Council ultimately chose to hire AMP of Lenexa, Kansas, a company that included association management in its portfolio. The University of Michigan’s contract to host the secretariat expired in 2002 and AMP took over full responsibility for managing AAPOR September 1 of that year.

At the same time that management changes were underway, Council was considering the broader questions raised by the long-range planning process. One of the most important was whether and how much AAPOR should attempt to grow. While there was considerable concern that growth could threaten the collegial and friendly culture members loved about AAPOR, it was agreed that the association’s finances and clout in the field would be enhanced by orderly growth. Owing to a series of steps taken in the early 2000s to encourage people to join and to stay in AAPOR, membership climbed. Membership at the end of the 2002 fiscal year was 1,611 members; one year later it stood at 1,833, the largest single year increase in the association’s history. Its financial situation was similarly improving, with a growing endowment and expanding budgets. By 2003, AAPOR had financial reserves equal to one year’s budget.

Growth in membership and revenue had the effect of leading the association’s leadership to return to long-range planning once again. At the beginning of 2005, the Long-Range Planning Committee was reconstituted under Cliff Zukin and given a broad charge to envision the future of AAPOR. One of its conclusions was that AAPOR lacked effective external communications, something considered increasingly critical in an era of diversifying survey methods and growing controversies related to public opinion polling. AAPOR was not nimble enough to quickly respond when controversies related to polling and survey research arose. During the 2000 presidential election, AAPOR created a “rapid response team” to monitor the campaign and act on AAPOR’s behalf if polling controversies arose. The experiment met with mixed results, further reinforcing the sense among leadership that professional help was needed.

While some management companies attempt to provide these kinds of communications services, AMP was not well suited to this responsibility. One action step that emerged was the creation of

a position for a full-time communications director, who would report to the AAPOR president and coordinate with AMP. This position was filled in 2007 by a communications professional who worked in Washington, DC. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons this test of the model was unsuccessful and the position was eliminated in 2008. These and other issues led Council to once again create a special committee to evaluate AAPOR's management needs. This committee deliberated throughout 2008 and ultimately recommended that a new company be found to manage AAPOR's affairs. Council agreed and the committee created an RFP and a search committee. After an extensive search, Council ultimately selected the Sherwood Group in suburban Chicago to take over from AMP. The transition from AMP to Sherwood occurred in 2009.

The move to Sherwood and eventually to Kellen brought benefits but did not solve the issue of finding a way for AAPOR to have a more effective public voice for the profession. Widespread public perceptions that polling failed in the 2016 presidential election added urgency to the issue, and in 2019 Council reviewed proposals from several public relations firms for services that could help raise AAPOR's profile. In March of 2019, Council awarded an 18-month contract to Stanton Communications, a strategic communications company.

One perspective Sherwood brought to the job was its advocacy for AAPOR's Executive Council to consider itself a governing board more than an operational one. In reality, this progression was well underway by 2009, as a reading of the Council meeting minutes from the 1990s and 2000s readily shows. But compared with many other professional associations, AAPOR's leaders (and members) are nearly uniformly highly skilled project-oriented people, and some bristled at the idea of change in what the Council did. Over the course of AMP and Sherwood's management of AAPOR, more of the day-to-day details devolved to the management company, most notably conference operations. But one downside of the frequent turnover associated with an elected board whose members serve short terms is that institutional memory was often lacking. This problem was (and is) a regular complaint among members of the Council. One solution, frequently discussed, was the hiring of a full-time executive director who would – in the words of one member of Council – “wake up every morning thinking only about AAPOR.” However, for reasons of cost and the availability of appropriate personnel, this has not been implemented and remains an ongoing issue.

The executive director's responsibilities under AAPOR's model lie primarily in management of the professional staff and the fulfillment of the management company's responsibilities to the association. AAPOR's president remains the voice of the association and the Council is its policymaker.

In 2014, Sherwood's owner retired and sold the business to Kellen, a large association management firm. Even as this history is written, though, the AAPOR Council continues to ponder the best model for managing the association.

BUDGET AND FINANCE

AAPOR's financial situation was generally healthy throughout the period under review. Perhaps this should not be surprising for an association led by people experienced with managing complex projects and organizations and comprised of professionals in an industry that has been reasonably healthy financially. Indeed, a review of Executive Council minutes through the years reveals a financially conservative mindset by leadership, with a regular focus on the balance sheet, and periodic efforts to address anticipated deficits. When the major financial crisis of 2008 caused a downturn in economic activity, Council members voiced concerns about the impact on membership totals and conference attendance. But revenues tended to exceed expectations, even in the years immediately following the crash. This good performance was driven in part by conservative budgeting, in part by membership growth in the 2000s and in part by a diversification of income sources.

Both revenues and expenditures grew dramatically through the period. The association is now raising and spending far more than it did in the 1990s, even after adjusting for inflation on a per-member basis. At the same time, membership dues have risen fairly modestly on an inflation-adjusted basis. But the total budget growth far outstrips the rise in revenue from dues. The conference has long been profitable for AAPOR and its contribution to AAPOR's financial health has increased substantially. Conference revenues include both member registration fees

Comparison of AAPOR Financials, 1992 and 2017

	1991-1992	2017
Revenues and Gains		
Membership dues	\$ 88,400	\$340,100
Distance education		\$112,259
Publications, Career Center, Investments, Other	\$ 40,734	\$150,728
AAPOR Journals	\$ 15,615	\$236,229
Conference & Awards	\$ 53,553	\$871,489
<i>Total Unrestricted Revenues and Gains</i>	<i>\$ 198,302</i>	<i>\$1,710,805</i>
Expenses		
Administrative support	\$ 92,938	\$575,069
Distance Education		\$50,651
Transparency Initiative		\$21,096
Publications, Career Center, & Other	\$ 25,280	\$8,257
AAPOR Journals	\$ 26,226	\$90,798
Conference & Awards	\$ 57,106	\$792,908
<i>Total Expenses</i>	<i>\$ 201,550</i>	<i>\$1,538,779</i>
Membership total at end of year	1,447	2,465
Conference attendance	439	1,222
Conference attendance as a percentage of total membership	30%	50%
Analysis		
Dues as a percentage of total revenues	45%	20%
Conference as a percentage of total revenues	27%	51%
Conference as a percentage of total expenses	28%	52%
Administrative support as a percentage of total expenditures (not including conference)	46%	42%
Inflation-adjusted per-member averages (2018 dollars)		
Membership revenue per member	\$107	\$141
Total average revenue per member	\$241	\$711
Expenses per member	\$245	\$624

1992 data reconstructed from current October 1992 data and projected data.

2017 data provided by Kellen and AAPOR's tax filing. Analysis by the author.

and also sponsorships, exhibitor fees and short courses, which expanded dramatically in the past decade.

AAPOR's journals also have provided a dependable revenue stream, nearly a quarter of a million dollars in the most recent IRS filing. That's not a net contribution, since AAPOR supports the editorial offices of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* and *Survey Practice*. But even accounting for the costs, the journals have added between \$65,000 and \$145,000 annually to the association's bottom line over the past ten years.

Driven both by strategic choice and by opportunity, the scope of AAPOR's educational activity has grown substantially, as have revenues from this activity. As Internet access and popularity spread, AAPOR decided to embark on a program of Web-based education, primarily through webinars. The first webinars were conducted in 2011, generating about \$35,000 in gross revenues for the association. This type of distance education became a priority for the Council and expanded, with revenues generally rising over the next several years. As noted in the table, AAPOR earned \$112,259 from this activity in 2017, while spending just over \$50,000 on it. This aspect of AAPOR's educational outreach has become an important part of its overall budget in addition to fulfilling an important mission.

AAPOR is both bigger (in terms of membership) and doing more now than it was in the 1990s. This expansion was, not surprisingly, accompanied by significant growth in management expenses. But as a share of total expenditures by the association, management costs (as reflected in payments to AAPOR's management company for its support of the membership and Council, and excluding direct costs associated with the annual conference) have not grown over the past two and a half decades. Administrative costs for 2017 were 42 percent of total expenses, typical of the 2010s and slightly below the 46 percent in 1992.

Growth in the Annual Conference over this period was substantial, both in headcount and in revenues. As recently as the mid-1980s, conference attendance was around 350. It rose to around 400 as the 1990s got underway and then jumped more than 50 percent by 2000 (623 attended the 1999-2000 conference). Attendance then grew steadily through the decade and into the 2010s. Part of the growth in attendance was simply the growth in membership, but that is not the whole story. In the early 1990s, conference attendance as a share of total membership hovered between 30 percent and 35 percent. By 2001, this had risen to more than 40 percent. In the second half of the 2010s, conference attendance totals have been more than 45 percent of total membership, not including WAPOR years when the conferences were typically even better attended.

Along with this conference growth came substantially more expense and more revenue. In 1992, the conference accounted for 28 percent of AAPOR's total expenditures. The 2000-2001 conference cost about four times as much as the earlier conference and accounted for 48 percent of AAPOR's expenditures that fiscal year. Yet despite further growth in conference attendance, expenses related to the conference stabilized after 2000-2001 at around 50 percent of total annual expenditures. Fortunately, due to the diversification of revenue sources related to the conference, income from the conference grew even faster. Through this period, conference revenues have constituted an average of 55 percent of total revenues. The surplus generated by the annual conference has been an important part of AAPOR's steady accumulation of financial reserves.

Oversight of AAPOR's endowment and general funds

AAPOR's financial gains through this period led to a growing amount of reserves. Especially after incurring the expense of hiring professional management companies, Council frequently expressed concerns about the bottom line. But most years during the period saw surpluses which, in some cases, were quite substantial. AAPOR responded to the trends in the latter part of the 1990s by creating the Endowment Committee in 1999. Council provided initial funding for the committee and charged it to develop ways to seek contributions from members and others. It established awards in the names of survey pioneers and sought contributions to the fund. But AAPOR's surpluses, which were not a part of the endowment, needed tending. They resided in low-interest savings accounts.

Council created an Investment Committee in 2005, charged with overseeing AAPOR's endowments and other investments and to try to improve the returns on the investments. Daniel Merkle led this committee, as well as the two further iterations of the committee that ultimately rationalized financial oversight. The relative neglect of this issue over the years had many causes but one clear factor was that there was no designated advocate on Council for focusing on investments. In 2015 at Merkle's suggestion, Council created the Finance Committee, which would report to the Secretary-Treasurer. This committee had three main responsibilities: to secure donations from members and others; to oversee our portfolio and strategy; to gain conference sponsorships.

This focused approach in sustained fundraising and managing the portfolio in the volatile investment period from 2005 to the present has paid off. Conference sponsorships have grown over time and are a major share of conference revenue. And AAPOR's investments grew steadily in the favorable investment climate of the decade after the crash of 2008. AAPOR's endowment stood at just over \$250,000 in 2017 and its investments and reserves exceeded \$1.6 million. AAPOR's annual expenditures and its reserves were approximately equal, an indicator of good fiscal health. Nonprofit organizations are typically advised to have savings equivalent to one year's budget.

MAJOR ISSUES DEBATED AND ADDRESSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

There is inadequate room in this chapter to describe the myriad issues that have come before the Council and many are discussed in other chapters. But a few issues have returned repeatedly to the agenda, signaling their continuing importance if not also their intractability. Not surprisingly, the size of its membership, its finances and the Annual Conference have received regular attention from the Council. Given AAPOR's strong membership and financial situation today and the growth and ongoing popularity of the conference, the Council's attention to these has clearly paid off.

But the Council also has periodically addressed the question of what AAPOR's purpose should be. As vice president/president-elect in 1994, Robert Groves proposed a committee to examine this broad question. By the time of the Annual Conference in 1995, this committee reported a focus on four aspects: (1) a concern about the lack of inclusiveness, understood as the sense among younger professionals that AAPOR was not as welcoming to them as it could be; (2) AAPOR's lack of visibility among audiences of interest; (3) a concern that AAPOR should do more to educate both its members and those outside the association regarding public opinion and

survey research; and (4) the adequacy of AAPOR's existing Code of Ethics and Standards.¹⁷¹ All four of these topics have received repeated attention from successive Councils.

Diversity and Inclusiveness

Concerns about inclusiveness have persisted. Over the years, Council has taken a number of steps to make AAPOR more attractive to students and younger professionals. The average age of the members of Council declined in the 2010s. Women have long constituted a significant share of AAPOR's membership and their representation on Council has increased. Yet despite regular discussion of the issue on the Council, it was not until the mid-2010s that a structure was established to focus attention on questions of diversity. Mollyann Brodie's presidential address in 2016 challenged AAPOR to take more decisive action to ensure that concerns about diversity were addressed in all major actions that the association considers. During Brodie's year as past president, Council created a diversity coordinating committee with representatives from each of the standing committees. This committee helps encourage consciousness of diversity and monitors efforts to improve inclusiveness.

AAPOR's Visibility

The other concerns of the Groves committee in 1995 – about AAPOR's visibility, its educational mission and its standards – were in some ways interrelated. A desire to increase its visibility was motivated, in part, by a desire to help attract members. But an equally important aspect of this was to make AAPOR more relevant to practitioners and consumers of survey and opinion research. One element was educational, with a goal of providing professional education to its own members and relevant constituencies outside AAPOR. By the end of the 1990s Council had created an education committee tasked with developing content for professional development and a strategy for all educational activities. One such effort with an outward focus was journalist education. Begun in 2007, it was designed to help journalists better understand polling, distinguish good and bad polls, and write more accurately about survey research. Inward facing efforts largely took the form of online education, along with short courses offered at the annual conference. Starting in 2011, AAPOR began offering a program of webinars on a variety of topics, which attracted sizeable paying audiences and became a significant revenue stream for the association (a list of most of the previous webinars can be found on the [AAPOR website](#)).

Science, Standards and “the Poll Police”

Another aspect of these interlocking goals was to improve the image of the profession in the eyes of the public. Admittedly a tall order for a small association with limited resources, the creation of a communications director position (described earlier) was one such effort, though an unsuccessful one. But one aspect of this aspiration involved a desire to *improve* the profession through the setting of standards, calling out bad behavior and modeling good behavior. No topic discussed by Council through the nearly three decades covered by this review has occasioned as much energetic debate as this one. AAPOR's Code of Professional Ethics and Practice has long included a mechanism for investigating and sanctioning violations of the code, whether by AAPOR members or nonmembers. Standards complaints and investigations have consumed an enormous amount of Council's efforts over the years but there is no consensus on whether this use of resources has made any real difference. Persistent issues like fund raising under the guise

¹⁷¹ Minutes of the Executive Council, May 18, 1995.

of surveying (frugging) and selling under the guise of surveying (sugging) have proven to be impervious to efforts to curb it, despite occasional efforts by Council.

Even more divisive was the debate over what constituted a scientific survey and whether AAPOR should make a public effort to define what is a “good” survey. While the association’s communications efforts with journalists and others were designed to help consumers recognize good quality in a poll and spot obvious problems, the effort to set such standards was fraught. As early as 2001, with the rise of opt-in online panels and river sample surveys, AAPOR’s Council and members vigorously debated whether a nonprobability sample could be a scientific sample. Recognizing the already widespread use of such methodologies in the market research field and their growing use by opinion pollsters, some in the association counseled against declaring such approaches as unscientific, fearing the impact on existing members who used them or others outside the association who might otherwise be willing to join AAPOR. Others worried that these kinds of surveys would ultimately damage the reputation of the survey research industry, given widespread concerns about quality. These debates continue today, though ultimately Council decided to adopt a “fitness for purpose” stance and to encourage research that would attempt to improve opt-in and other nonprobability methods.

The Transparency Initiative

Born out of the intractability of the debate over how to define survey quality was the creation of AAPOR’s Transparency Initiative (TI). Proposed by Peter Miller in his presidential address in 2010, the TI was envisioned as a way for AAPOR to have an impact on the debate about survey quality without having to try to define the line between good and bad research. Instead, by leveraging the Internet and scrutiny by peers, clients and consumers, the TI would create a set of standards of disclosure, based on the AAPOR Code. Organizations could apply to become a member of the TI by agreeing to abide by the disclosure standards and demonstrating their ability to do so. In return, organizations could publicize their membership and AAPOR’s endorsement of their commitment to transparency. The TI allowed AAPOR avoid the difficult role of being the “poll police” while hopefully contributing to the field’s reputation for openness. Today nearly 90 organizations are members of the TI.

THE ROAD AHEAD

AAPOR’s growth and financial success over the past thirty years is attributable, in part, to the focus by leadership on important priorities. At the top of the list is the Annual Conference, which now attracts nearly half of the membership, up from just a quarter at the beginning of this history. Many important Council decisions played a role in this, including the choice to include cities as venues (and now as primary venues) rather than limiting sites to resorts.

Another priority has been education. A program of webinars was created and short courses at the conference were expanded. These performed a valuable service for members while also bringing significant new revenues to the association.

Significant growth in membership occurred during this period as well. Many discussions on Council focused on how to attract and retain younger professionals working in the sector. Many of the efforts in the 1990s and 2000s were successful, but membership numbers have been relatively flat for the past decade. That is not necessarily a bad thing in the eyes of some on the Council but it is a reminder that growth is not inevitable.

While membership and conference growth brought growing financial resources and a set of reserves adequate to see it through a fallow period, a look ahead suggests that AAPOR should be cautious. Sustained interest in the AAPOR conference seems like a solid bet. But reliance on a single event to generate half of AAPOR's annual revenues is inherently risky. The financial performance of the conference has been greatly aided by the steady strength of the U.S. economy. But an economic downturn could have significant negative consequences beyond dampening attendance. It could also discourage sponsors and exhibitors, who account for a sizeable share of revenues. And because many people join at the time they register for the conference, AAPOR's membership totals could be affected.

Similarly, the ferment occurring in the academic publishing industry suggests that AAPOR should not count on the sizeable revenues it receives from its journals to last forever. And it is unlikely that private fundraising could make up the slack from major shortfalls in revenue. AAPOR's efforts to cultivate donations have been underwhelming, despite a few major contributions from named individuals.

Fortunately, if one characteristic attitude among AAPOR leaders is evident across years of debate and discussion on the Executive Council, it is a steady attention to the bottom line. Based on the history reviewed here, it is hard to imagine that the leadership of the association won't be prepared for whatever the future holds.

12. AAPOR's Standards Committee, 1990-2020

Timothy P. Johnson

“... we have sometimes been condemned to repeat our history.”

-Sidney Hollander, “Survey Standards,” page 102 in: *A Meeting Place*. The History of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, 1992.

Introduction

As Sidney Hollander (1992) observed when writing about AAPOR's standards in the original edition of *A Meeting Place*, concern with professional standards was an important preoccupation of AAPOR throughout the Association's first 50 years. Since that time, our Association's emphasis on research ethics and professional standards has continued to be a key focus of its activities. Evidence of this ongoing concern was the establishment of a permanent Standards Committee during the 1991-92 Council year. According to Council meeting minutes from September 1991, Associate Standards Chair Glenn Roberts first suggested forming a permanent Standards Committee with the expectation that members of this committee would be available for consultation on issues related to AAPOR standards. This was followed in January 1992 by a formal proposal for the committee's formation, along with a list of potential persons to recruit for service on this committee. The mission of this new Standards Committee was to “assist in carrying out the work” of the Standards Chair. AAPOR's current by-laws lists the Standards Committee as one of the association's six standing committees (AAPOR, 2015a), being charged with working to “improve professional standards in the field of public opinion and survey research.” Our focus in this chapter will be a review of key activities of the Standards Committee in carrying out this responsibility from the time of its formation through early 2020.

Professional Code of Ethics

Although discussed early in AAPOR's history (AAPOR, 1948-1949; Sheatsley, 1992), a Code of Professional Ethics and Practices (hereafter referenced to as the “Code”) was not formally adopted until 1960 (AAPOR, 1960). It serves as a statement of general ethical practices rather than as a code of research procedures. While the Code has been revised several times since its inception (see following paragraphs), its key elements have endured now for 60 years. These include articulation of the principles of ethical practice when conducting research, and the principles of professional responsibility vis-à-vis respondents, the public, clients and sponsors, and the profession. It was not until 1986 that a third section was added to the Code, which introduced for the first time a specific set of minimal disclosure standards. This emphasis on standards of disclosure rather than standards of practice was a topic hotly debated early in AAPOR's existence, and one that remains controversial today (Hollander, 1992).

In 2004, AAPOR's by-laws were revised to require that the Standards Committee review the Code at least once every five years in order to “keep it current with changing environmental circumstances” (AAPOR, 2004a). As such, it is viewed as a living document, and revisions must be approved by AAPOR's Council and a majority vote of at least 25 percent of the eligible

membership (AAPOR, 2015a). All AAPOR members are required to adhere to the Code (including regional chapter members) as of January 2010.

AAPOR Code revisions were made and approved by membership in 2005, 2010, and 2015. (A review committee chaired by past Standards Chair Stephanie Eckman was still working on the 2020 Code review at the time this chapter was completed.) Code revisions made in 2005 appear to have generated little controversy. Although the Code had not been updated since 1986 (AAPOR, 1986), the changes made were relatively minor. The main changes were expansions to the sections addressing principles of professional responsibility in dealings with the public and with respondents. For the public, key additions were concerned with insuring “balanced and accurate” portrayals of survey findings and informing clients for whom publicly released research is conducted that “AAPOR standards require members to release minimal information.” The additions in regard to responsibilities to the public included (a) respecting respondent privacy concerns; (b) providing sampled persons with the information necessary to make informed decisions regarding participation; (c) not misrepresenting research or engaging in frugging, suggesting or cugging activities (see section below on frugging and suggesting); and (d) maintaining respondent identities confidential when survey results become part of legal proceedings. One final change, concerning minimum disclosure standards, was substitution of a response rate disclosure requirement in place of the previous requirement that completion rates be reported.

Council minutes, however, revealed considerable disagreement in 2010 regarding several aspects of that year’s Code review, chaired by past Standards Chair Mary Losch. Points of disagreement included a recommendation not to report sampling errors for nonprobability samples; institution of a two-tiered disclosure system in which some methodological elements should be reported immediately at the time a poll is released while others need only be reported within 30 days of a specific request for the information; and new specifications making it clear that the Code would be applied to AAPOR members and nonmembers alike.

The 2015 Code review, led by former Standards Chair Courtney Kennedy, also brought about several important changes, some of which became contentious. Most importantly, it marked a change in the Association’s position on the reporting of variance estimates for nonprobability surveys. Based on the 2013 Task Force report concerned with Nonprobability Surveys (Baker, 2013), the revised Code changed AAPOR’s position from not allowing any variance statements for nonprobability surveys to one that acknowledged that model-based precision estimates for nonprobability samples could be reported “if they are accompanied by a detailed description of how the underlying model was specified, its assumptions validated and the measure(s) calculated” (AAPOR, 2015c). It was also advised that the terms “margin of error” or “margin of sampling error” should not be employed when discussing nonprobability samples. There was considerable discussion by the Council regarding a new proposed section of the Code (Section 3E) concerned with the release of data sets and the willingness or ability of many organizations to do so. Compromise language was introduced that addressed this concern: “Those who commission publicly disseminated research have an obligation to disclose the rationale for why eventual public release or access to the datasets is not possible, if that is the case.” Additional subsections were added for the first time to Section III to provide disclosure standards for qualitative research and for studies using content analytic methods.

Objections were raised by several AAPOR members during the public comment and vote regarding another aspect of the proposed 2015 revisions. At issue was language concerning the requirement for disclosure of sponsorship to research participants. This topic dominated discussion on AAPORnet for several weeks during the voting period, with 22 members specifically commenting on this provision. The Council subsequently decided that, although the membership had voted to approve the revised Code (AAPOR, 2015d) in April, it would temporarily suspend enforcement of this provision – which stated: “We recognize the right of potential participants to be provided with a description of our research sufficient to permit them to make a free and informed decision about their participation. Such a description includes the purpose of the research, who is conducting and sponsoring it, a summary of risk of harm or benefit from participation, and how their personally identifiable information will be used and protected.” – pending an expedited review and resolution.

An Ad Hoc Committee on Sponsor Disclosure, chaired by Associate Standards Chair John Loft, was appointed shortly after AAPOR’s May 2015 conference to quickly review the Code language concerning disclosure of study sponsor to respondents and to present to the Standards Committee any proposed revision within a few months for review and immediate consideration by the Executive Council. It was understood that any revisions accepted by the Council would also need to be presented to the membership for comment and vote. The ad hoc committee concluded that the disclosure examples provided in the 2015 Code revision represented the types of information that are common in government and academic research often covered by Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) but which “are not routinely provided to participants in all sectors of the survey profession.” The committee felt that it was “overreaching for AAPOR to require disclosures for research not subject to IRBs” and “that what is sufficient for informed consent will vary by study and by respondent and due to that wide variation attempted specification is not appropriate for our shared Code” (AAPOR Ad Hoc Review Committee, 2015). It recommended new language that discussed “the need to be truthful to respondents,” and that acknowledged “participation is voluntary, that participants should not be misled or coerced, and that participants have the right to decline to participate.” In doing so, the Ad Hoc Committee removed the language, to which some had complained, that implied respondents had an absolute right to information regarding a study’s sponsor. With some minor edits by the Executive Council, the following language was added in its place in Section I.A of the revised Code:

3. We recognize that participation in our research is voluntary except where specified by regulation or law. Participants may freely decide, without coercion, whether to participate in the research, and whether to answer any presented question or item.
4. We will make no false or misleading claims as to a study’s sponsorship or purpose and will provide truthful answers to participants’ questions about the research. If disclosure of certain information about the research could endanger or cause harm to persons, or bias responses, or does not serve research objectives, it is sufficient to indicate, in response to participants’ questions about the research, that some information cannot be revealed. (AAPOR, 2015c).

These proposed revisions were approved by a vote of the membership in November 2015 (AAPOR, 2015c).

Code Enforcement

In addition to maintenance of the AAPOR Code, one of the most important responsibilities of the Standards Committee is to investigate complaints regarding violations of it. A formal set of procedures for investigating Code violations was first developed and approved in 1975 (Crossley, 1975). Over the past several decades, with a few exceptions, the Standards Committee has typically investigated an average of three to four Code violation complaints each Council year. Many of these complaints, upon initial examination, have not turned out to be actual violations of AAPOR's Code. Some others have been found to be serious violations, triggering detailed investigations and, in some cases, public condemnation. Given the time-consuming and costly nature of Code complaint investigations, Council members have occasionally questioned the value of continuing enforcement activities and asked whether the association might be better served by instead focusing on educational outreach. AAPOR's Code enforcement policies have nonetheless remained active. In order to protect the rights of the accused, the process is both complex and legalistic (Smith, 2008). Recognizing that this sometimes results in a cumbersome process, a revised set of investigation procedures for dealing with alleged Code violations were prepared by Standards Chair Eleanor Singer in 1996. These were designed to streamline and speed up the Code enforcement process and to increase effectiveness through the use, for the first time, of electronic communication. Further revisions to the process, including introduction of a Schedule of Procedures and Standards Complaint Form, were subsequently prepared by Standards Chair Tom Guterbock and approved by Council in 2006 (and revised in 2009) with the intent of making the process even more efficient and transparent (AAPOR, 2009c). Since AAPOR's 50th anniversary, there have been three notable cases that resulted in public censure. These are chronicled here:

The Frank Luntz Case

One of the most well-known Standards cases AAPOR has addressed involved research ostensibly undertaken as part of the development of the "Contract with America" policy agenda, which served as the basis for Republican efforts to win control of Congress during the 1994 election. In late 1995, a complaint was received from an AAPOR member regarding a potential Code violation associated with a "Contract with America" poll that was conducted by Frank Luntz, an independent pollster active in conservative politics. The concern with this research was the question of whether or not an opinion poll's methodology should be placed in the public domain once its findings had been made public, a requirement stipulated in Section III (Standards for Minimum Disclosure) of the AAPOR Code dating back to the 1986 revision (AAPOR, 1986).

In responding to AAPOR, Luntz argued that, because the poll in question was privately commissioned research, his survey was exempt from this requirement and that any details about the survey could not be made public. AAPOR's Council disagreed and, after considering the severity of the violation, the impact of the violation on the public opinion research community, and the possible impact of the sanctions, Luntz was found to be in violation of Section III of the Code. In what President Diane Colasanto (1997: 525) described as "an unprecedented action" in AAPOR's history, this was followed by public censure with a press release on April 23, 1997

(AAPOR, 1997a). Luntz subsequently claimed that he “made money off that incident,” as some business clients were impressed that he was unwilling to share information (Chinni, 2000). A secondary issue raised by this case was the question of whether AAPOR should be concerned with Code enforcement against nonmembers such as Luntz. AAPOR’s Council decided that questions of professional standards were universal and should be pursued when violated, a position it has maintained since that time.

The Gilbert Burnham Case

Another politically controversial case involving an AAPOR Code violation was concerned with the unwillingness of Dr. Gilbert Burnham, of Johns Hopkins University’s Bloomberg School of Public Health, to disclose publicly key methodological information regarding a survey of the Iraqi public that he had conducted several years earlier (Roberts et al., 2004). Indeed, Burnham’s research had received considerable public attention at the time it was published in the medical journal *The Lancet* and is perhaps one of very few examples of social science research ever to be greeted with a White House Rose Garden press conference critique of its methodology, literally within minutes of publication (CNN, 2006). The complaint and AAPOR investigation leading up to public censure began in March 2008 and entailed multiple attempts to obtain Dr. Burnham’s cooperation. AAPOR’s press release announcing public censure (AAPOR, 2009a) indicated that Burnham had provided some – but not all – of the information that had been requested.

As then-President Richard Kulka indicated several months later during his Presidential Address, the public censure of Burnham provoked considerable discussion among AAPOR’s membership, much of it regarding the question of censuring a nonmember of the Association (Kulka, 2009). AAPOR’s Council again remained firm during this debate that no distinctions should be made between members and nonmembers when considering violations of the association’s disclosure standards. An additional question that was later raised during debate of what became known as *L’Affaire Burnham* asked why an investigation concerned with issues of research methodology needed to be addressed via a committee investigation of an anonymous complaint, rather than via the traditional peer-review process in the scientific literature. Perhaps the most obvious answer is that the AAPOR investigation was necessary precisely because the peer-review process had failed to insist that details of the study’s research methodology be fully reported at the time of publication.

Several weeks after his censure by AAPOR on February 3, 2009, Johns Hopkins University announced findings from a parallel investigation of the research which found discrepancies between the study’s approved university IRB protocol and the actual procedures followed during field work (Johns Hopkins University, 2009). The approved protocol indicated that respondent names would not be collected, whereas a review of the actual questionnaires – which deviated from what had been approved – showed they were clearly designed to record respondent names. In addition to being a violation of the approved IRB protocol, the paper published in *The Lancet* also incorrectly reported that no identifying information had been collected. Consequently, the Bloomberg School announced that “Dr. Burnham’s privileges to serve as a principal investigator on projects involving human subjects research” had been suspended.

The Strategic Vision LLC Case

AAPOR initiated another investigation in November 2008 concerning the principle of public disclosure of research methodology. The target of this investigation was the Atlanta-based private research firm Strategic Vision LLC and its refusal, despite repeated requests, to release basic information regarding public opinion polls it reportedly had conducted prior to the 2008 presidential primaries in New Hampshire and Wisconsin. This case grew out of a larger assessment AAPOR was conducting of the methods employed by 21 polling firms that published poll findings in advance of several state primary elections that year. Of these firms, only Strategic Vision refused to provide the methodologic details of their work. The details Strategic Visions declined to report included survey sponsorship, who conducted the research, sample frame descriptions, details of how likely voters were identified, response rates, and descriptions of weighting and estimation procedures. Failure to provide this information led to the formal AAPOR investigation, which was directed to Strategic Vision LLC's CEO, David Johnson. Upon being notified of AAPOR's preliminary finding of Code violations, Johnson offered partial information, but declined to provide information regarding response rates, weighting and estimation procedures. After a hearing requested by Johnson failed to happen, AAPOR issued a formal press release announcing the Code violation findings and public censure of Strategic Vision LLC on September 23, 2009. In that announcement, AAPOR Standards Committee Chair Stephen Blumberg noted that AAPOR's concern was strictly focused on methodological disclosure: "In no way did the investigation address the quality of work by Strategic Vision, the accuracy of the polls, or the integrity of the company," he noted (AAPOR, 2009b). Rather, "AAPOR's singular goal when enforcing its Code is to maintain the public's confidence in public opinion research. Confidence is strengthened when researchers disclose aspects of their work that may have a direct bearing on the data produced and the interpretation of results."

As with several other AAPOR Code violation investigations, employees of Strategic Visions were not AAPOR members. This was specifically acknowledged in the press release, which stated that "AAPOR holds that all researchers, regardless of their membership in the association, must disclose, or make available upon request, basic methodological details whenever survey findings are made public. Membership in the association is irrelevant to the applicability of AAPOR's Code and its review of actions of public opinion research organizations." Several days after AAPOR issued its conclusions, the website fivethirtyeight.com reported findings from a statistical analysis suggesting – but not proving – the possibility of fraud in connection with Strategic Vision polling results (Silver, 2009). This concern had not been directly addressed as part of the AAPOR investigation.

Ongoing Standards Issues

In addition to the high-profile cases discussed above, several other topics relative to Code enforcement have received continual attention from the Standards Committee over the past several decades. The two issues most commonly discussed in Council meeting minutes have been the problems of frugging and sugging, and push polls, both of which are reviewed here:

Frugging and Sugging

The seemingly intractable issues of frugging (fundraising-under-the-guise-of-surveys) and sugging (selling-under-the-guise-of-surveys) have confronted AAPOR throughout its history (AAPOR, 1948-1949; Baxter, 1971; Crossley, 1975; Gilfeather, 1987; Hollander, 1992; Sharp, 1984) and continue to be a focus of attention and complaints today. These issues remain of great concern in 2020 due to perceptions that they remain both pervasive and growing in popularity, primarily because of the common belief that they are highly profitable and/or effective techniques. At the same time, these techniques are thought to be a contributor to the crisis of legitimacy in public opinion research (Johnson, 2018). Sugging and frugging are clearly prohibited by the AAPOR Code (“We will not misrepresent our research or conduct other activities (such as sales, fundraising, or political campaigning) under the guise of conducting research;” (AAPOR, 2015c), and by the ethical standards of related professional associations, such as the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR, 2011).

A review of AAPOR Council meeting minutes since 1990 reveals an almost continuous concern with sugging and frugging activities. In 1991, Standards Chair Tom W. Smith reported sending letters to offending organizations, but received only one response – a defense of the organization’s actions. He highlighted the general problems of sugging/frugging and the challenge of addressing them in several *AAPOR News* articles on the topic (Smith 1991a; 1991b). AAPOR minutes indicate that successive Standards chairs, including Teresa Rogers, Elizabeth Martin, Larry Bobo, Kathy Frankovic, and Janice Ballou, continued sending letters to organizations engaged in these activities, with little evidence they were having any effect. In 1994, one Councilor suggested that AAPOR was “beating its head against a wall, and that it might be more fruitful to focus on how to enhance our own reputation, a reputation which is being harmed by FRUGGING.”

In addition to sending letters to organizations engaged in sugging or frugging, numerous other strategies were considered by successive Councils. In 1990, Smith discussed the possible development of an annual list of the “Worst Dressed Polls,” intended to make fun of unethical practices. Such a list was actually published in a 1991 issue of *AAPOR News* (AAPOR, 1991b). In 2017, Standards chair John Loft made a similar proposal for the creation of an annual list of the 10 Worst Fruggers at the end of each year as a way of promoting Code enforcement. Another possibility considered in 1994 was to single out a member of Congress using surveys inappropriately as a means of publicly promoting the anti-frugging cause. In 1999, Warren Mitofsky suggested that AAPOR develop a public “we do not patronize” list of organizations engaged in sugging and frugging – which the association considers unprofessional and unethical – as a way to encourage them to cease the practice. He developed a detailed set of procedures as part of this proposed plan and consulted with an attorney regarding it. The following year, Mitofsky confronted newly-elected Associate Standards Chair Janice Ballou with a “hefty box” containing frugging/sugging letters that had been collected and presented to him by long-time AAPOR member Helen Crossley, who regularly updated this collection and often brought it to AAPOR business meetings. Suitably impressed, Ballou indicated her intention to complete Mitofsky’s efforts to list organizations and companies engaged in frugging or sugging on AAPOR’s website. The Council was supportive of these plans, noting that these activities undermined legitimate research.

AAPOR's plans to discourage the practice, primarily by sending letters to groups engaged in frugging (by this time, sugging had become illegal), received some pushback in 2001, however, when the Council received a letter from the Free Speech Coalition – a nonprofit trade association of the U.S. pornography and adult entertainment industry – indicating that they had informed their members to ignore letters from AAPOR because of their constitutional right to free speech. In addition, another group that had been contacted by AAPOR, Action on Smoking and Health, had threatened liability. Consequentially, AAPOR decided to abandon the aggressive pursuit of frugging cases and to cease posting their names on AAPOR's web site. Standards Chair Scott Keeter concluded then that AAPOR's current efforts to stop the practice of frugging had been determined to be unworkable by the committee. Keeter subsequently wrote an AAPOR newsletter article that provided background regarding AAPOR's position on frugging, why the Council believed that it is was an unenforceable policy, and that AAPOR's membership had divided sentiment on the issue (Keeter, 2002).

The frugging problem, however, did not go away, and the Council continued to receive complaints from members regarding the practice. In 2006, Standards Chair Tom Guterbock reported work designed to update a letter that could be sent to fruggers that was more informational and less accusatory. He also noted the difficulty involved in distinguishing true cases of frugging from surveys that might be at least partially legitimate. In 2013, Standards Chair David Cantor reported on committee follow-up on a sugging complaint – although the committee's work was completed, they were unable to contact the company in question. In 2017, Standards Chair John Loft reported receiving a complaint regarding frugging by a political party. That same year, the AAPOR Council – apparently repeating past efforts – organized and charged an ad hoc committee to “prepare a set of recommendations regarding concrete steps that AAPOR can begin to implement to address” the problems of sugging and frugging. As of early 2020, the committee had yet to complete its charge.

A related activity that AAPOR also considers unethical, known as cugging – canvassing-under-the-guise-of-polling – is used to identify respondent political opinions and to cross-reference these data with identifying information so that respondents can be solicited for contributions and other political purposes (Smith, 1991c). AAPOR first condemned political canvassing in a 1991 statement (AAPOR, 1991b). This was followed by a press release on May 18, 2000 in response to a case of cugging (AAPOR, 2000a). In that statement, the organization Campaign Tel, Ltd. was specifically condemned for its misuse of respondent information. AAPOR's investigation confirmed that identifying information and survey responses had been forwarded to the Wisconsin Republican Party for use in a get-out-the-vote campaign. Respondents had not been asked to provide consent for this release of their personal information. In issuing this condemnation, AAPOR cited Campaign Tel as being in violation of the section of its Code that protects respondent confidentiality. It stated that “AAPOR strongly condemns any practice that poses as a survey and elicits information from a respondent for any purpose other than legitimate survey research. In this case the information was used for a partisan get-out-the-vote effort. This practice misleads respondents while serving no legitimate survey purpose. It also threatens researchers' ability to conduct quality surveys.”

Another variation of this problem, identified in a 2005 AAPOR Statement – thankfully not given an acronym – was instead labelled: *the solicitation of respondent's signatures under the guise of conducting a survey* (AAPOR, 2005). Here, the goal of the purported survey was, in fact, to obtain respondent signatures, either on the questionnaire or from an incentive check endorsement, so that they could be compared to signed post-election affidavits of persons who voted via absentee ballot, an intention that was not revealed to the respondents.

Push Polls

Another topic receiving considerable attention from the Standards Committee for many years has been push polls. According to AAPOR, push polls are an illegitimate “form of negative campaigning that is disguised as a political poll” (AAPOR, 2007). Rather than collecting data to measure opinions, they are intended to influence election outcomes through respondent persuasion. A push poll example might ask respondents “If you knew that Candidate X had cheated on his spouse, would it make you more or less likely to vote for (him/her)?” AAPOR’s Council discussed push polls throughout the 1990s, considering them, in some instances, to be a last-minute campaign tactic used to gain votes. As such, push polls might also be considered a form of cugging.

In January 1996, a statement condemning push polls as “political telemarketing” was approved and released by AAPOR’s Council. This statement, prepared by Standards Chair Eleanor Singer, indicated that push polls violate AAPOR’s Code by “intentionally lying to or misleading respondents.” Rather than assessing public opinion, the intent was to “manipulate it – to ‘push’ voters away from one candidate and toward the opposing candidate.” The document further stated that “such polls defame selected candidates by spreading false or misleading information about them,” with the intent being to “disseminate campaign propaganda under the guise of conducting a legitimate public opinion poll.” The statement also observed that, because push polls “can easily be confused with real polls, they damage the reputation of legitimate polling, thereby discouraging the public from participating in legitimate survey research.” In February 2000, AAPOR released a second statement on this topic in response to reports that push polling had taken place in South Carolina during that month’s Republican primary campaign (AAPOR, 2000b). In that statement, AAPOR President Michael Traugott asked all presidential candidates to “take a pledge that they will not use the technique in their campaigns and they will dissociate themselves from independent organizations that employ the technique in support of their campaigns.” Reflecting the number of complaints received about push polls, a revised AAPOR statement was issued in May 2004 as that year’s presidential election polling season was in full swing. It focused on an alleged push poll conducted in Flagstaff, AZ prior to an election being held there (AAPOR, 2004b).

In early 2007, the Council considered the need to update the original push poll statement. In particular, it was felt that a revision was needed to make it clear that push polls are not really surveys to begin with, and that the distinction between “political telemarketing under the guise of a survey” and legitimate message testing polls should be emphasized more clearly. This revised statement was released in June 2007 and indeed did focus on explaining “how to tell the difference between fraudulent political polls – commonly referred to as ‘push polls’ – and legitimate polling, including message testing” (AAPOR, 2007). This update was itself

subsequently updated in a revision released in October 2015. The one apparent difference was the removal of the suggestion that push polling was primarily an opportunity for political campaigns to misbehave (AAPOR, 2015b). This change was likely made in recognition that not only political campaigns but also unaffiliated political groups not formally associated with individual candidates were now engaging in these activities.

Standards Committee Initiatives

In addition to addressing issues, new and old, related to violations of the AAPOR Code, the Standards Committee has been actively engaged in numerous other activities relevant to the ethical and professional conduct of public opinion research. Among these was the development of a document designed to provide guidance to IRBs when reviewing research protocols that involve surveys of human subjects. This resource was first drafted by Standards Chair Peter Miller and released in 1991 (AAPOR, 1991a) in response to numerous negative member experiences with local IRBs (see, for example: Miller, 1988). The document was subsequently revised in 2003 (AAPOR, 2003) and again in 2014 (AAPOR, 2014). It covers multiple topics, including assessment of the risks and benefits to respondents participating in surveys, anonymity and confidentiality, the process of informed consent, mandatory reporting, and respondent incentives. As past Standards Chair Janice Ballou (2020) has observed, this document became “very important for survey centers (and maybe other academics doing survey research) who had challenges working with IRB’s who were usually staffed by scientists who did not have sufficient knowledge of survey science and often put up barriers or prolonged IRB approval for projects because the IRB asked for extensive information and could hold up projects that had timely deadlines.” AAPOR’s website now includes additional relevant resources, including a set of IRB FAQs, and examples of consent forms and IRB documents.

AAPOR has undertaken other periodic efforts related to federal IRB policies of concern to members. One of these has involved responding to proposed changes to the rules governing human subjects’ research, most recently in 2015. In September of that year, a Notice of Proposed Rule Making (NPRM) was published in the *Federal Register* regarding a large set of proposed changes to the Common Rule. As the proposed changes appeared to be far-reaching and, if adopted, could affect many AAPOR members, especially those who submit their research to IRB’s for review, AAPOR’s Executive Council quickly approved the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee to respond to the proposed changes and develop answers to the 88 questions in the NPRM. The committee was made up of several current and former Standards Committee members and chaired by past Standards Chair Ron Langley. Given the short 90-day deadline for submitting comments (later extended by 30 days), the committee broke into four groups to address broad areas covered in the NPRM: (1) research with biospecimens; (2) secondary research use of data; (3) IRB review and operations; and (4) new exclusion and exemption categories of review. The committee then met to discuss the response drafts to come to consensus that the response represented the views of AAPOR as an organization, and that all responses were consistent with AAPOR’s Code of Professional Ethics and Practices. The Executive Council approved the response at its December 2015 meeting.

One other important document developed by the Standards Committee was *Best Practices for Survey and Public Opinion Research and Survey Practices that AAPOR Condemns* (1997b),

prepared under the leadership of Standards Chair Eleanor Singer. Some of AAPOR's Task Force reports, which have become an important source of high-quality overviews and assessments of important challenges facing the survey research and public opinion communities, are also developed under the auspices of the Standards Committee (see Chapter 15 for details regarding AAPOR Task Force reports). Several other significant accomplishments of the Association were also led by the Standards Committee. Two of these, discussed in more detail below, were the development of the *Standard Definitions* document and calculator, and the launching of the Transparency Initiative.

Standard Definitions

With the decline in household survey response rates accelerating during the 1990s, a proposal was submitted to AAPOR's Council in early 1996 to develop a set of technical reporting standards for the calculation of response rates and related measures of survey participation. This was also deemed necessary given the lack of standardization in the research literature, with response rates, completion rates and cooperation rates commonly confused and/or misrepresented. Councilor-at-Large Tom W. Smith proposed that AAPOR work with the editors of *Public Opinion Quarterly* to develop a well-defined set of response rate definitions and related measures of the disposition of sampled cases. It was expected that these standardized measures would be used for the reporting of all manuscripts published by the journal. The first edition was completed and distributed approximately two years later, in May 1998 (AAPOR, 1998). The committee responsible for development of this document included Smith (Chair), Barbara Bailar, Mick Couper, Don Dillman, Robert Groves, William Kalsbeek, Jack Ludwig, Peter Miller, Harry O'Neill, and Stan Presser.

During a Council Meeting in September 2000, Standards Chair Janice Ballou urged AAPOR to view *Standard Definitions* as a living document and recommended the association promote its widespread dissemination and use. Indeed, revised editions became commonplace over the ensuing two decades, with the document's coverage expanded beyond telephone and in-person household surveys to also cover mail surveys of specifically named persons (2nd edition, published in 2000), complex samples (3rd edition, published in 2004), internet surveys (4th edition, published in 2006), cell phones (5th edition, published in 2008), mixed-mode surveys and methods for estimating eligibility rates for unknown cases (6th edition, published in 2009), establishment surveys (7th edition, published in 2011), dual-frame telephone surveys (8th edition, published in 2015), and mail surveys of unnamed persons (9th edition, published in 2016). Across these editions, the length of the document increased from the 1st edition's 27 pages to 80 pages in the 9th edition (AAPOR, 2016).

In January 2002, Standards Chair Scott Keeter proposed the development of an online response rate calculator designed to implement the standardized formulas provided in the *Standard Definitions* document. This was also developed and made available to the public in short order. The initial version of this Excel program was developed by a team led by Rob Daves and released in early 2002. Version 4.0 of this calculator was released in May 2016.

In 2003, Rob Daves, Paul Lavrakas, and Tom W. Smith received the AAPOR Innovator's Award for their leadership in developing the *Standard Definitions document*. As of 2020, several

professional journals request or require the use of *Standard Definition's* formulas in the estimation of response rates for submitted papers that report survey data. Among these are *Public Opinion Quarterly*, the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology*, the *American Political Science Review*, and *JAMA*.

Transparency Initiative

As many of the Standards cases investigated by AAPOR over the previous decade had involved failure to disclose basic aspects of research methods, it was apparent by the end of the first decade of this century that research transparency remained a fundamental challenge. In response, AAPOR President Peter Miller used his 2010 Presidential Address to outline a proposal for the Association to develop and implement a positive, proactive program – to be known as the Transparency Initiative – that would be designed to encourage and recognize survey research organizations that agreed to disclose methodological information routinely (Miller, 2010). His motivations for undertaking this challenging project were transparent. They included a belief that there was inadequate transparency of research methods when disseminating findings – particularly in the nonacademic sectors, that this had become a serious barrier to progress in the social and behavioral sciences and was contributing to public disillusionment with survey research. Miller also expressed concern about the large amount of undocumented survey data being publicly disseminated. He further suggested that professionalism was declining, scientific fraud was increasing, ignorance of survey research remained prevalent, and that AAPOR needed to be proactive in addressing these problems.

The Transparency Initiative (TI) was envisioned as a vehicle to encourage openness and to promote credibility in survey research, one that could serve as a model for self-regulation. Membership in the TI would be open to any survey organization willing to commit to the principles of transparency as outlined in AAPOR's Code and train its employees in best practices for transparency. Membership in the TI was envisioned as a means for publicly recognizing those organizations willing to demonstrate their commitment to an open science of survey and public opinion research by routinely disclosing to the public their basic research methods.

Several standing committees within AAPOR were asked to assist in the effort of developing and launching the TI, which was intended to include education, data archiving, and recognition activities. The work of these groups was overseen by a Transparency Initiative Steering Committee (TISC). At the time that Miller announced plans for the TI at the 2010 conference, more than 80 professional survey organizations endorsed the effort (AAPOR, 2010) and all but a notable few became members of the TI. These endorsements were important, as they represented many well-respected professional survey organizations in the United States. This support was also important, given that membership in the TI was to be organization-based: unlike AAPOR – an association of individuals, membership in the TI was to be available to organizations only. The rationale for this was the expectation that organizational commitments would be necessary to comply with the disclosure and policy requirements that the TI expected.

Considerable effort was necessary to build an operational plan for the TI's implementation. Work proceeded slowly as responsibility for developing the TI was spread across multiple committees and working groups within AAPOR. Recognizing that annual turnover in the

leadership of these various groups tended to slow progress, President Paul Lavrakas in April 2012 appointed a permanent Transparency Initiative Coordinating Committee (TICC), chaired by past Standards Chair Timothy Johnson, to oversee all remaining aspects of development and implementation. At about the same time, a first pilot test of the TI's operational procedures revealed the inability of most participating organizations to easily comply with its demanding reporting requirements. The biggest hurdle seemed to be the expectation that TI member organizations would contribute all methodological information for all surveys conducted to a data archive. A focus group held with representatives from the organizations participating in the initial pilot nonetheless revealed a strong commitment on the part of AAPOR members to the concept of transparency. Findings from the focus group also lead to additional questions regarding the optimal scope for the TI, in particular the value of developing a centralized data archive and the potential burden that would fall on all members if required to deposit all transparency materials there routinely.

One of the first decisions implemented by the new TICC was to find ways to remove the perceptions of the TI as a burden and replace it with a process that potential member organizations would find more practical and beneficial. The TICC decided that the requirement to contribute routinely all information to a data archive was dropped. TI member organizations would instead be free to disclose all methodological details publicly in whatever manner was most convenient, with the requirement that all publicly disclosed elements were to be released at the same time as announcements of study results. It was also agreed that the TI's definition of reporting transparency would be consistent with the disclosure requirements already found in the AAPOR Code.

Additional concerns identified by the research community also needed to be addressed. An important point to clarify was that the TI would not evaluate or pass judgment on the quality or appropriateness of the methodologies being employed by member organizations. Rather, the emphasis was to be on the importance of transparency and the willingness of members to disclose the methodologies being employed in their research publicly. It was also important to reassure potential TI members that they would not be required to disclose methodological information for clients who did not publicly disclose their research findings. The obligation of TI members was rather to pledge to provide to such clients the disclosure details specified by the TI, and to encourage them to reveal this information themselves should they publicly report research findings.

As discussed earlier, an important goal was to remove as many potential barriers to membership as possible. Initial plans had called for requiring an annual membership fee. The AAPOR Council agreed to waive any application or membership fee during the first year of operation. This waiver was reapproved for several additional years and, in 2017, AAPOR's Council voted to end any financial requirements for TI participation. This decision was made subsequent to Council review of the actual costs to AAPOR of developing and supporting the TI operations. In addition to removing this potential barrier to participation, particularly among smaller organizations, it was felt that waiving any cost requirements was an opportunity for AAPOR to further demonstrate its organizational commitment to the spirit of transparency in our profession. Hence, as of 2020, AAPOR continuously provides staff time and resources to support the TI and does not require members to pay any application or membership maintenance fees.

While the TICC worked to remove as many barriers to participation as possible, one important requirement put in place was the expectation that any organizations currently the subject of an AAPOR Standards complaint would not be able to join the TI until any such complaint had been successfully resolved. An every-two-year audit procedure was also developed to monitor member compliance with TI standards.

In August 2013, a second pilot was launched with ten participating organizations providing feedback regarding the degree to which they found the revised TI membership process and procedures manageable. Participants were also asked to provide feedback on a set of online training videos that were developed to support the TI's educational mission. This second pilot suggested that most organizations would be able to comply with the TI's disclosure and staff training requirements. Final planning for the official launch of the Transparency Initiative took place during the first months of 2014. This involved finalizing technical aspects of TI application and review procedures, review of all TI materials by AAPOR's attorney, and contracting with communications consultants to produce the TI's online educational videos in a professional format. Additional activities included preparing an advertising campaign to accompany the TI's roll-out, and upgrading the TI's portal on AAPOR's web page to provide easy access to all application materials and to facilitate online submission of membership applications.

The TI was launched in two phases. An initial "soft launch" took place on September 8, 2014, when those organizations that had in previous years publicly endorsed the TI were invited to be the first to submit applications for membership and to become Charter Members of the Transparency Initiative. The TI's "hard launch" took place exactly one month later, on October 8, 2014, when a general public announcement, inviting membership, was issued. The first organization formally accepted into the Transparency Initiative was the Sarah T. Hughes Field Politics Center at Goucher College (on October 8, 2014). By the end of the TI's first year, a total of 78 members had been accepted. These organizations were designated as Charter members. As of March 2020, TICC Co-Chair Ashley Kirzinger reports that the TI includes nearly 100 member organizations.

A review of the TI's organizational membership suggests that academic and nonprofit organizations are overrepresented, and media and for-profit organizations underrepresented. As several AAPOR Presidents have previously lamented, there has long existed within the Association tension across membership sectors on the topic of standards (Colasanto, 1997; Mitofsky, 1989; Sheatsley, 1968). This ongoing controversy may well be reflected in the composition of today's Transparency Initiative, suggesting this historical tension has yet to be resolved. Also, federal agencies that are heavily involved in survey data collection are unable to participate in the TI. Nonetheless, they have been supportive of the TI's principles. Soon after the TI's formal launch, a letter from Jonaki Bose (2015), Chair of the Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology (FCSM) to AAPOR confirmed that "the federal statistical community shares the value of scientific openness that is the aim of" AAPOR's Transparency Initiative.

An important concern that has been expressed regarding the TI, which continues to report to the Standards Committee, is that it does not require that all researchers make all raw data available

for public inspection and re-analysis. Addressing this issue, AAPOR's Code of Ethics and Practices states that:

Reflecting the fundamental goals of transparency and replicability, AAPOR members share the expectation that access to datasets and related documentation will be provided to allow for independent review and verification of research claims upon request. Datasets may be held without release for a period of up to one year after findings are publicly released to allow full opportunity for primary analysis. In order to protect the privacy of individual respondents, such datasets must be de-identified to remove variables that can reasonably be expected to identify a respondent. Those who commission publicly disseminated research have an obligation to disclose the rationale for why eventual public release or access to the datasets is not possible, if that is the case (AAPOR, 2015c).

Essentially, AAPOR and the TI encourage making de-identified versions of raw data publicly accessible, but do not require it. A considerable amount of survey data is collected for private organizations, and survey firms contracting to collect those data are not free in many cases to release that information publicly. The TI recognizes this and neither AAPOR nor the TI considered establishing requirements for TI membership that would interfere with commercial contracts. The AAPOR Code, however, does expect TI members, and survey professionals more broadly, to provide clear justification whenever raw data cannot be made publicly available after some period of time.

Unfinished Business

As President Paul Sheatsley (1968, 470) commented during his presidential address, "AAPOR Standards Committees are probably the hardest working of all, and seem to get busier every year." This may still be true some of the time. Since its formation in the early 1990s, literally hundreds of AAPOR members have volunteered their time to contribute to the work of Standards Committee. Only a few could be mentioned by name in this chapter. A list of Standards chairs from 1990-2020, though, is provided as an Appendix.

The Standards Committee continues its mission to promote AAPOR's Code of Professional Ethics and Practices. While adjudicating Code violations remains its primary focus, the scope of the Committee's activities and responsibilities has expanded over the past quarter century and now includes also oversight of the living Standard Definitions document, the by-laws-mandated five-year review of the AAPOR Code, the production of AAPOR Task Force reports, and the activities of the Transparency Initiative. These additional activities reflect a shifting focus beyond Code enforcement to a more balanced strategy that also emphasizes educational outreach.

Some challenges, however, have remained unresolved. Both frugging and sugging, and push polls fall into this category. As Hollander (1992) would agree, AAPOR has continued to spin its wheels in finding workable solutions to these twin problems. With frugging and sugging, in particular, it seems clear that succeeding incarnations of the Standards Committee have not always been aware of the prior attempts and strategies considered for confronting this intractable

issue, one which cuts directly to public perceptions of the integrity of our research. Push polls, likewise, have been difficult to discourage, probably because, like sugging and frugging, of their perceived effectiveness. Concerns regarding the time and cost invested by AAPOR in confronting these issues remain unanswered, perhaps balanced by near-universal agreement among AAPOR's membership that we have a professional obligation, as the last line of defense, to challenge the legitimacy of these unacceptable practices vigorously.

Several of the educational outreach projects spearheaded by the Standards Committee have been more successful. The *Standard Definitions* document, now in its 9th edition, has probably been the Committee's most successful undertaking. This sustainable, living document has become institutionalized in many professional venues and serves as a resource to many researchers well beyond AAPOR's membership. It can perhaps only be rivaled in significance by the Committee's ongoing maintenance and updating of AAPOR's professional standards in terms of impact.

The Transparency Initiative has also been a successful long-term project of the Standards Committee, one that has extended observance of AAPOR's disclosure standards beyond individuals to organizations as well. Its ability to reach much beyond organizations that routinely employ AAPOR members, however, has yet to be realized. The Association, though, continues to invest actively in the TI and it remains a unique, voluntary resource for advocating professional research standards.

Over the past 30 years, as throughout AAPOR's history, the Standards Committee has worked both reactively and proactively to confront the applied ethical issues facing AAPOR's membership as well as the greater public opinion and survey research communities. It will no doubt continue to do so, emphasizing education wherever possible to inform future practice, and developing new programs and resources that may be deemed important to the maintenance of professional standards. An important future concern that will eventually need to be addressed is that of respondent confidentiality and privacy as new methods and technologies become increasingly available to link personally identifiable information across multiple and expansive data platforms. In the years immediately ahead, this topic can expect to receive considerable attention from AAPOR.

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Table 1: AAPOR Standards Chairs 1990-2020

1990-1991	Tom W. Smith, NORC
1991-1992	Glenn Roberts, Iowa Poll/Glenn Roberts Research
1992-1993	Theresa Roberts, Columbia University
1993-1994	Betsy Martin, Bureau of the Census
1994-1995	Larry Bobo, UCLA
1995-1996	Eleanor Singer, University of Michigan
1996-1997	Richard Kulka, RTI
1997-1998	Clyde Tucker, Bureau of Labor Statistics
1998-1999	Kathy Frankovic, CBS News
1999-2000	Warren Mitofsky, Mitofsky International
2000-2001	Janice Ballou, Rutgers University Eagleton Institute
2001-2002	Scott Keeter, Pew Center
2002-2003	Deborah Jay, Field Poll
2003-2004	Roger Tourangeau, University of Maryland/Joint Center
2004-2005	Mick Couper, University of Michigan
2005-2006	Nancy Mathiowetz, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
2006-2007	Tom Guterbock, University of Virginia
2007-2008	Charlotte Steeh, Centers for Disease Control
2008-2009	Mary Losch, University of Northern Iowa
2009-2010	Stephen Blumberg, National Center for Health Statistics
2010-2011	Reg Baker, Market Strategies, Inc.
2011-2012	Timothy P. Johnson, University of Illinois at Chicago
2012-2013	David Cantor, Westat
2013-2014	Courtney Kennedy, Abt SRBI, Inc.
2014-2015	Frauke Krueter, University of Maryland
2015-2016	Ron Langley, University of Kentucky
2016-2017	John Loft, RTI
2017-2018	Andy Peytchev, RTI
2018-2019	Stephanie Eckman, RTI
2019-2020	René Bautista, NORC
2020-2021	Timothy Triplett, Urban Institute

13. AAPOR Membership and Chapter Relations

Morgan Earp
Adam Safir

I. Membership Overview

AAPOR is an association of individuals who share an interest in survey research methods, qualitative and quantitative research methods, and public opinion data. AAPOR members work in, and represent, a broad and diverse range of occupations and interests including academia, media, market research, government, health, polling, nonprofits, and private industry.

As an organization, AAPOR primarily focuses on survey methodology and survey research. AAPOR members work on everything from political polls, to government surveys, to academic experiments and studies. AAPOR members not only conduct survey research, but they also teach courses for universities, professional organizations, and/or within their place of employment. While the overall interest in survey methods unites our membership, members work in diverse areas, including both household and establishment surveys, covering topics such as business, sociology, political behavior, public health, education, journalism, economics, and/or law.

AAPOR members join the organization at an individual level, meaning that they are not representatives of their employer firm or agency; in fact, more than half of our members (53 percent) paid for their own membership in 2018. Regardless of who pays for the membership, it is always the individual, not the employer, who must subscribe to the AAPOR [Code of Professional Ethics and Practices and pay annual dues](#). In return, members receive a subscription to AAPOR's official journals, the *Public Opinion Quarterly (POQ)*, the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology (JSSAM)*, and *Survey Practice*, as well as the opportunity to participate in the Association's activities, and receive discounted registration rates for the Annual Conference, short courses, and webinars. Members are also asked to serve on the various standing and ad hoc committees of AAPOR, and have the right to vote and to stand for elected office in AAPOR.

What follows is an updated version of the previously published Membership chapter, "A Meeting Place." While some of the original narrative has been carried over, readers are encouraged to refer to the previous edition for a rich history from the early days of AAPOR membership.

II. Membership and Chapter Relations (MCR) Committee

a. MCR History

Although a membership committee was proposed early on, the first formally adopted constitution did not include one. In the earlier years, membership duties were passed around to various council members and standing or ad hoc committees. The collection of dues and the maintenance of mailing lists have always been considered the province of the secretary-treasurer,

and in the early years, that person and his/her secretary (usually subsidized by their employer) performed these tasks. But as the membership burgeoned, the help of a paid assistant or secretariat was sought and obtained. Eventually AAPOR grew to need more than just membership record keeping, and was also interested in enhancing their communication with members and having the ability to recruit new members. Early on, the secretary-treasurer would distribute a modest in-house newsletter, which later grew to be a regular publication. In 1981, AAPOR created an official membership committee responsible for handling both membership relations and chapter affairs.

b. MCR Overview

The MCR Committee is responsible for recruiting and retaining members, communicating and supporting the chapters, and connecting volunteers with committees. MCR regularly reports to Executive Council on membership trends, composition, and retention. MCR identifies new member benefits, serves as the primary contact for regional AAPOR chapters, conducts surveys of AAPOR members, and provides committees with information about potential volunteers. The MCR Committee is a volunteer committee invited by the MCR Chairs and approved by Executive Council.¹⁷² The MCR Committee is made up of a Chair, an Associate Chair, eight subcommittee chairs, and all subcommittee members (approximately 43 individuals).

b. MCR Subcommittees

As of 2019, MCR is supported by eight subcommittees: Chapter Liaison and Support Subcommittee; Data Analysis and Reporting Subcommittee; Diversity Subcommittee; Membership Communications Subcommittee; Student Engagement Subcommittee; Volunteer Coordination Subcommittee; the Roper and Student Travel Awards Subcommittee; and the newly formed Database Improvement Subcommittee.

The Chapter Liaison and Support Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, a Subcommittee Chair, and regional chapter leaders. The subcommittee meets with the regional chapter representatives on a quarterly basis. Topics typically include the national conference's All Chapter Reception, the membership survey, webinar opportunities, and regional events. This subcommittee provides a platform and venue for the national organization to hear about regional organization events as well as concerns, but also allows for regional chapters to hear about what other regions are planning and/or struggling with.

The Data Analysis and Reporting Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, and two Subcommittee Chairs: one that oversees the design and dissemination of the survey and one that oversees the analysis and summary of the survey results. Both subcommittee chairs work together to ensure the survey summary results are published to the AAPOR website each year.

¹⁷² From <<https://www.aapor.org/About-Us/Leadership/Committees-and-Taskforces.aspx?cid=MEMBERSHIP>>

The Diversity Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, and the Subcommittee Chair. The MCR Diversity Subcommittee is one of three diversity subcommittees (the two other subcommittees fall under the Education Chair and the Communications Chair). Each of the three diversity subcommittees helps comprise the overall AAPOR Diversity Committee, which is responsible for carrying out the Diversity Initiative (described later in this chapter).

The Membership Communications Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, and the Subcommittee Chair. The MCR Communications Subcommittee is typically responsible for preparing the messaging for the membership drive and the membership survey.

The AAPOR Welcoming Committee, previously known as the MCR Student and Early Career Subcommittee, is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, the Subcommittee Chair, and several volunteers. The AAPOR Welcoming Committee plans a number of new/newer member events at the conference and even coordinates mentoring, room-sharing, and reserved tables at larger AAPOR events to ensure that our newer members are made to feel welcome.

The Volunteer Coordination Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, and the Subcommittee Chair. The Volunteer Coordination Subcommittee Chair manages a database of volunteers, which includes member level demographic data, and helps to ensure that the process and pipeline to AAPOR leadership is both fair and provides a diverse representation of our members.

The Roper and Student Travel Awards Subcommittee is comprised of the MCR Chair, Associate Chair, and the Subcommittee Chair and several volunteers. The Roper and Student Travel Awards Subcommittee solicits and reviews all Roper and Student Travel Award applications. Since 2018, the Subcommittee has worked with the AAPOR Diversity Committee to help target their efforts toward students and early career person who are historically under-represented in AAPOR.

III. [Membership Types](#)

While the original constitution included only one type of membership, today AAPOR accounts for five types of membership: (1) Individually paid membership (with rates varying by income); (2) Employer paid membership; (3) Student membership, limited to full-time students at an accredited college or university; (4) Joint membership, available to one individual living in the same household as a regular member; and (5) Honorary life membership, for which AAPOR members are eligible when they attain the age of 65, provided they have held membership in AAPOR for at least 25 years and have relinquished full-time employment (see Table 1). The data used for all tables and figures in this chapter were compiled using a combination of archived membership reports, the membership survey, and the membership database.

Table 1: AAPOR Membership Types

Membership Type	2005	2010	2015	2018
Individually Paid Membership	43.74%	38.01%	36.44%	39.54%
Employer Paid Membership	41.74%	44.93%	46.65%	46.95%

Student Membership	9.01%	12.84%	11.21%	7.31%
Joint Membership	1.70%	0.70%	0.50%	0.50%
Honorary Life Membership	3.90%	3.61%	5.31%	5.81%
N	1,980	2,418	2,392	2,444

Employer and individually paid memberships were set apart, with a sliding scale provided for individually paid memberships, to make the cost of membership more affordable for those paying out of pocket.

Joint memberships were set up in the late 1960s to accommodate members of the same household involved in AAPOR activities, allowing two members to share one *POQ* subscription, but allowing both members to vote and otherwise participate individually in association activities. This privilege was originally limited to married couples, but the language was broadened in 1981 to include parent-offspring, sibling, and other same-household relationships.

Student memberships were designed to encourage involvement in the organization early on, and were seen as a win-win situation for the student and the organization since this provided students with the opportunity to network, and facilitated a pathway for newer members to access and to become involved with the organization right away. The student paper competitions provide a source of candidates for these nonvoting introductory members. The number of student members in 2018 was 178.

The honorary life membership was also created in the formative years before incorporation to recognize those who contributed to the early and continued development of AAPOR and the field it represents. To qualify, one originally had to be sixty-five years old, retired, and an active AAPOR member for ten years. To keep the proportions manageable in an aging population, the requirements were later tightened to those cited above. Honorary life members pay no dues, receive a free subscription to *POQ*, and can also vote and hold office. The first honorary life member was Oscar Riegel, who was given this status by a vote of the Executive Council on February 27, 1969. In 2018, there were 141 honorary life members on the AAPOR rolls.

IV. Membership Community

a. Membership Directory

In its early years, AAPOR did not publish a membership directory. In order to improve membership communication, Joseph Bachelder volunteered in 1952 to publish and distribute a list of members and Louise Franzen compiled it.

The early directories, however, were just consolidated mailing lists, which reproduced the addresses where people wanted receive their mail—more often than not, their home addresses rather than their work addresses were used. In 1974, AAPOR produced its first formal membership directory, proving a general directory with member names, professional addresses, telephone numbers, and a geographical index. The directory was prepared laboriously by hand, by Dorothy Crossley, and even included company groupings within cities. This index made it much easier for members working or living in adjacent areas to make contact with each other,

and led directly to the formation of the first four regional chapters. The directory was also expanded to include the names of outgoing and incoming Council members and committee chairs, as well as the code of ethics and lists of honorary life members, former officers, and AAPOR Award winners. The last directory was printed in 2006.

In the early 2000s, AAPOR began to publish an online membership directory on its website. Access to the online directory was restricted to members. The AAPOR website is now the central resource for members, providing information on membership, publications/media, conference/events, standards/ethics, and education.

b. AAPORnet Listserv

In addition to the AAPOR website and online membership directory, the AAPORnet listserv was started in 1994, in order to connect members electronically (see Figure 1). Originally hosted at the University of Southern California, with the help of former President Jim Beniger, the listserv was later moved to Arizona State University, supported by Shap Wolf, before eventually being transitioned to AAPOR's professional management team.

Date: Tue, 22 Nov 1994 18:36:34 -0800
From: James Beniger
Subject: AAPOR Welcomes You to AAPORNET!

"As you should have just learned from the automatically-generated message immediately preceding this one, your Internet address has been added to AAPORNET, a news and discussion list available only to members of the American Association for Public Opinion Research."

Figure 1

V. Membership Growth & Recruitment

Over the last seventy-two years, AAPOR's membership has grown ten-fold, from 194 founding members at Williamstown in 1947 to 2,465 in 2018. As the organization continues to grow, the membership remains united in scholarship and research, and continues to meet annually at the national conference, and more frequently at the regional level. Since 1986, AAPOR has almost doubled in size. Between 2002 and 2010, AAPOR saw a fairly steady increase in membership; however, over the last decade membership has fluctuated, with new and renewing membership depending on the annual conferences location at times (see Figure 2).

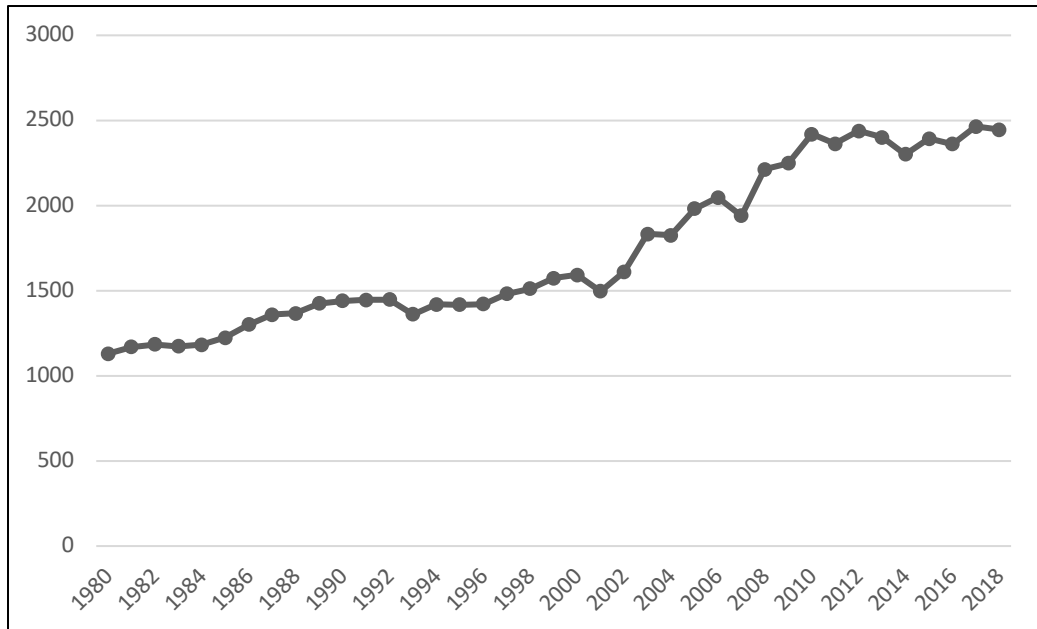


Figure 2: AAPOR Membership from Over Time from 1980 to 2018

VI. Membership Engagement

AAPOR members tend to be active and engaged, whether through the annual conference, local chapter activities, or service to the Association. According to the membership database, overall committee participation has quadrupled since 2010, with over one-fifth of AAPOR members serving on various AAPOR committees (see Table 2). And while it may appear that the percentage of AAPOR members who are chapter members has decreased since 1986, the overall number of national members who are also regional members has increased, just at a slightly slower rate than the organization itself, but even there we have seen an uptick over the last five years (see Table 3: AAPOR Chapter Membership).

Table 2: AAPOR Committee Participation Rates

	2010	2012	2018
Committee participation rates	6%	16%	21%
N	2,420	2,439	2,446

Table 3: AAPOR Chapter Membership

	1986	2010	2014	2018
Overall Chapter Participation	66%	44%	41%	48%
Midwest (MAPOR)	16%	6%	6%	9%
New England (NEAAPOR)	3%	2%	2%	9%
Pennsylvania - New Jersey (PANJAAPOR)	2%	2%	2%	4%

New York (NYAAPOR)	5%	6%	5%	6%
Pacific (PAPOR)	9%	4%	4%	7%
Southern (SAPOR)	6%	3%	2%	5%
Washington-Baltimore (DC-AAPOR)	26%	17%	16%	20%
Total AAPOR Members	1,256	2,420	2,302	2,446

VII. Membership Characteristics

The charts and graphs that follow present valuable information about membership trends over the years. However, the data should be viewed within the context of significant data missingness issues that are described in detail in Section g “Limitations & Challenges.” Item missingness for membership characteristics is due not only to item nonresponse, but also, and perhaps more significantly, by database deficiencies in transfer and storage of member-reported statistics over the years. At the time of this publication, an MCR subcommittee is examining these issues, and future updates of this chapter will include edits to address item missingness where feasible (e.g., data entry from scanned archival documents).

a. **Professional Affiliations**

From 2005 to 2010, academics made up the largest percentage of AAPOR members, with commercial and for-profit making up the second largest percentage; however, in 2016, we saw a shift with the rise of commercial/for-profit sector, which now represents the largest percentage of AAPOR members for the first time since about 1992, according to the AAPOR directory. While the number of academic members has held steady since 2016, we have seen a rise in members working in nonprofit and government sectors (see Figure 3). In 2016, a working group was formed to brainstorm and enact strategies for increasing government membership. In 2017, past president, Roger Tourangeau, worked with the MCR Committee, the Education Committee, and the Washington DC/Baltimore regional chapter (DC-AAPOR) to offer a weighting course in the DC area March 16-17, 2017, that was targeted to survey methodologists working in the government. The course was taught by David Haziza and included the cost of both national and local membership. The course, in which 75 enrolled, was very successful, and led to an increase in government members that has continued to grow since.

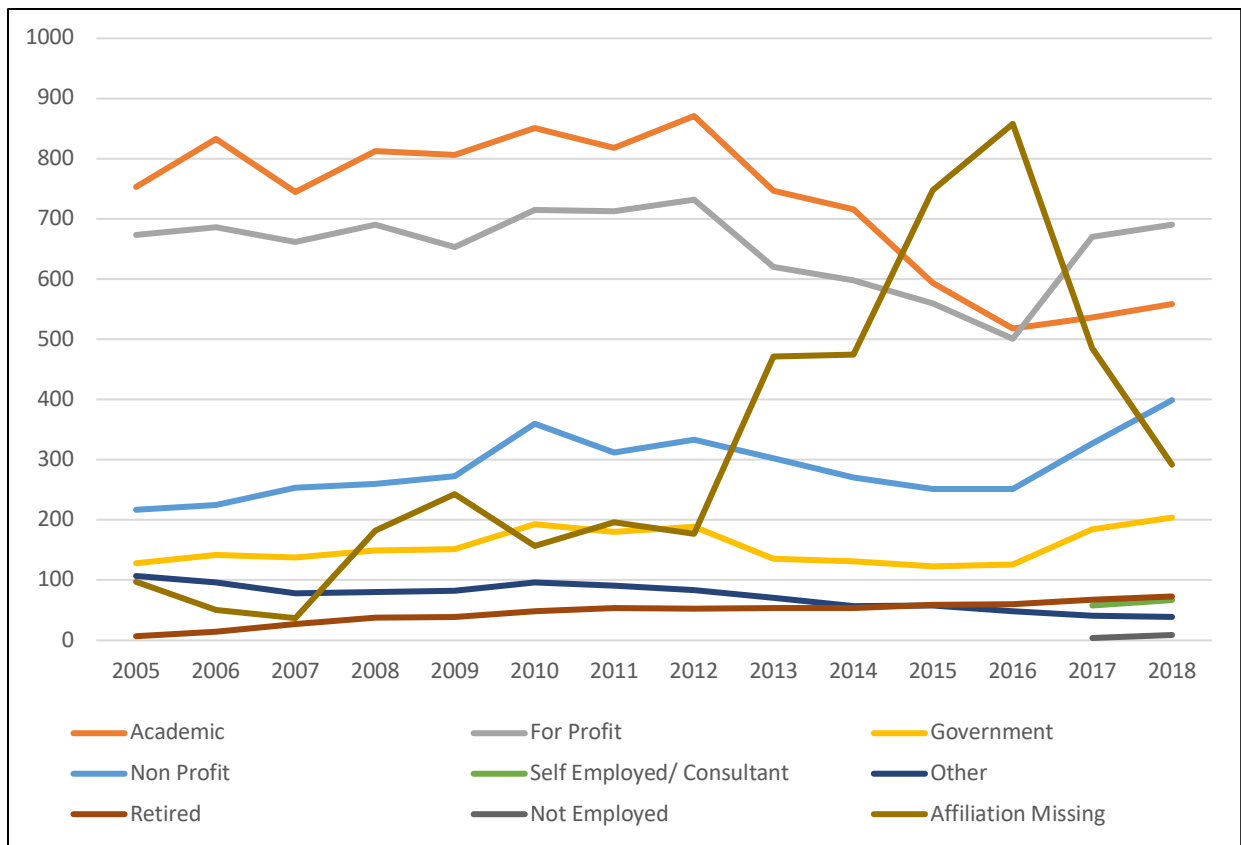


Figure 3: Membership Affiliation from 2005 to 2018

b. Gender

Over the last decade, the male-to-female member ratio appears to have remained fairly consistent; however, the number of overall members refusing to report their gender has almost quadrupled, going from 11 percent in 2010 to 42 percent in 2018. While there is less missing gender data for committee members serving on committees, the amount of missing data for gender has increased from 2 percent in 2010 up to 26 percent 2017 (see Table 4). In 2017, AAPOR added a non-binary gender category, but this did not appear to affect the amount of missing gender data.

Table 4: Reported Gender & Missing Gender by Overall Membership & Committee Membership

	2010		2012		2017		2018
	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM
Female	47%	39%	46%	49%	44%	46%	46%
Male	53%	61%	54%	51%	56%	54%	54%
Non-Binary	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.07%	0%	0.07%
Missing	11%	2%	28%	21%	41%	26%	42%
N	2,420	259	2,439	788	2,465	1,152	2,446

Overall Membership (OM)

Committee Members (CM)

Committee Membership flags were completely missing for 2018

c. Race

While race representation appears to have remained fairly consistent over the years, we also see the same increase in members refusing to report their race as we see with gender, with missing rates increasing from about 16 percent in 2010 up to 42 percent in 2018; again, there is less missing data for committee members, but even their missing rates have increased from about 7 percent to 23 percent (see Table 5). With such high missing rates, it is difficult to assess whether diversity has increased or decreased over time.

Table 5: Race by Overall Membership & Committee Membership

	2010		2012		2017		2018
	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM
American Indian / Alaskan Native	0.5%	0.8%	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%	1.6%	0.6%
Asian	7.8%	7.5%	8.2%	14.6%	7.1%	10.2%	8.4%
Black / African American	3.5%	3.7%	3.5%	2.9%	3.6%	5.2%	3.4%
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	0.1%	0.8%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%	0.2%
Other	2.0%	3.0%	2.8%	5.5%	2.6%	3.9%	2.6%
White / Caucasian	86.1%	84.3%	84.6%	76.0%	86.0%	78.5%	84.8%
Missing Race	16.2%	6.9%	29.9%	18.1%	42.6%	23.5%	42.3%
N	2,420	259	2,439	788	2,465	1,152	2,446

Overall Membership (OM)

Committee Members (CM)

Committee Membership flags were completely missing for 2018

d. Ethnicity

Similar to gender and race, ethnicity appears to have remained fairly consistent over the years, with increasingly more members refusing to report ethnicity. Ethnicity missing rates have increased from about 31 percent in 2010 up to 48 percent in 2018 (see Table 6). As with gender and race, there is less missing data for committee members, but even their missing rates have increased from about 2 percent in 2010 to 34 percent in 2017. With such high missing rates for ethnicity, it is difficult to assess whether the percentage of Hispanic members has increased or decreased over time.

Table 6: Ethnicity by Overall Membership & Committee Membership

	2010		2012		2017		2018
	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM	CM	OM
Hispanic	5%	8%	5%	10%	6%	7%	5%
Missing	31%	2%	41%	30%	49%	34%	48%
N	2,420	259	2,439	788	2,465	1,152	2,446

Overall Membership (OM)

Committee Members (CM)

Committee Membership flags were completely missing for 2018

e. Other Demographics

Age

The average age of AAPOR members has become increasingly younger over the last decade, decreasing from 54 years to 50 years old (see Table 7); however, the percent of members missing age has grown from 19 percent to 47 percent.

Table 7: Average Age of Members by Year

	2010	2012	2017	2018
Average Age	54	53	51	50
Missing	19%	36%	48%	47%
N	2,420	2,439	2,465	2,446

Education

The percentage of members with doctoral- and masters-level degrees has remained consistent over the last decade, with at least 75 percent of members holding a graduate level degree (see Table 8). Education is one of the few areas where AAPOR has been effective at reducing the amount of missing data.

Table 8: Average Age of Members by Year

	2010	2012	2017	2018
Doctoral Degree	41%	42%	42%	42%
Master's Degree	36%	34%	38%	38%
Bachelor's Degree	18%	17%	15%	16%
Other	5%	7%	5%	4%
Missing Education	14%	29%	23%	15%

g. Limitations & Challenges

In order to study and understand significant shifts in the AAPOR membership, an undergraduate student scanned archival documents at the University of Chicago, and the editors of this chapter reviewed both archived and online membership survey results and membership history reports. While the authors have done their best to provide an updated history, there is unfortunately a great deal of missing archival and electronic data across and within years. While in some cases,

entire years or even decades of information are missing, within years (even recent years) entire variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, and committee participation are missing.

To compound this problem, AAPOR has not only been fighting issues of nonresponse externally, but also internally. Over the years, our membership database has faced increasing item nonresponse rates when it comes to key demographics that we use as an organization to better understand our members. Unfortunately, while AAPOR has been asking members to update their demographic information over the years when they renew, demographics were not included on new membership in take forms for several years, neither through the AAPOR website nor when new membership was lumped with conference registration. As a result, variables such as gender and race are increasingly missing for newer and younger members, and today almost half of our members are missing data on gender and race.

We are not only missing information at the member level, but we are also missing data at the organization level. Between 1995 and 2005, we are missing information as basic as total number of members. Even before 1995 and after 2005 we are missing years of information on certain if not all membership metrics. While the survey results have been published consistently over the last seven years, they are widely missing prior to 2013, and have response rates ranging between thirty and forty percent. Most of our quantitative comparisons focus on the years for which we have data, and also try to be very transparent about the fact that our estimates are made using only a portion of the actual membership.¹⁷³

VIII. Student- & Early-Career- Recruitment & Retention

AAPOR has long served as a welcoming gathering place and professional home for many in our field, and has gone out of the way to focus on inclusion efforts for those who are students and early-career professionals. One way AAPOR coordinated inclusion efforts for student and early-career members and conference attendees was through the MCR.

In the early 2010s, under volunteer Clarissa Steele, MCR developed and expanded a subcommittee first focused on students to include early-career professionals (those who had completed their schooling in the last five years or so). The new efforts of the Student and Early-Career subcommittee (SEC) included providing targeted information around attending the conference both in terms of acculturation (e.g., when to arrive, ‘not-to-miss’ sessions, and how to dress professionally at a conference) via a specifically and carefully crafted guide to the conference. This conference guide became so popular and widely used, it is now available online, via Smartphone application, or in print.

Realizing that many SEC conference attendees attended the Annual Conference with fewer established connections, Steele and the SEC subcommittee instituted an early-arrival luncheon just for these group members on the Thursday before the conference began. This informal off-

¹⁷³ The missing data issues identified while working on this report, have been well documented and shared with the 2019-2020 AAPOR Executive Council. The current AAPOR President Nora Cate Schaefer, and the Chair of the MCR Committee, Tamara Terry proposed a new working group under MCR to focus on improving and maintaining the membership database. The Improving Membership Database Working Group includes, Morgan Earp, Adam Safir, Karen Goldenberg, and Tom W, Smith.

site meetup allowed these members to start to get to know each other and learn more about the conference and organization at the same time. Soon additional activities were added including an off-site dinner Friday night, during the traditional “night off” during the AAPOR conference.

As each year passed, the members and attendees relying on the SEC grew in both number and diversity of age, experience, and other factors. In addition to serving students and early-career professionals, folks new(er) to either the organization or the conference began to rely on the guides and events this group put together. To begin, additional events were added, such as a Wednesday night meetup for those arriving earlier to participate in short courses and other activities.

As the numbers of these new(er) folks grew even greater, the SEC adapted its focus to include not just students and those in the first years of their career in the field, but also those in their first five years (or so) of AAPOR membership or conference attendance. To meet the needs of this growing group more effectively, additional events were added including a meetup after the Saturday banquet and reserved shared tables during AAPOR meals.

To present a truer picture of the changing dynamics and focus of this group of AAPORites, the group renamed itself the AAPOR Welcoming Committee (AWC), which better reflected those it served. Under the current Chair, Justine Bulgar-Medina, the AWC was formally launched during the 2019 AAPOR conference. In addition to an expanded conference guide better serving the members of this group, the AWC launched an annotated day-by-day guide to the conference helping new(er) folks navigate and make the most of their conference attendance.

The list of at-conference events also grew to include reserved tables at all AAPOR meals hosted by veteran AAPORites, more self-directed roommate matching, and a more collaborative effort with the Conference Support Subcommittee (which coordinates the docent and speed networking programs popular with many members of this group). To help new(er) AAPORites get and stay connected beyond the conference itself, and thanks to a wonderful team of volunteers, the AWC has established and maintained several social media accounts to keep these members engaged and informed throughout the year.

Looking forward, the AWC seeks to continue building the professional community and welcoming those to both the organization and conference, regardless of their experience and background, and continuing to offer unique and meaningful introductions to being an AAPORite!

IX. Membership Diversity

a. Diversity Initiative

In 2016, AAPOR adopted a diversity initiative (see Appendix 1) to help increase diversity within the organization as well as in the field of survey research. Subsequently, in 2017, Mollyann Brody’s presidential speech focused on the topic of diversity both within AAPOR and our profession. She highlighted that while there is a great amount of diversity in our research backgrounds and fields of study, that we still have quite a way to go both as an organization and

as a field in terms of gender, ethnic, racial, and sexual orientation inclusion. While the membership is approximately fifty-fifty men and women, the leadership of AAPOR as an organization has not always reflected that. Today, only about one in every four AAPOR presidents is a woman,¹⁷⁴ and when it comes to other diversity metrics such as ethnicity, race, and/or sexual orientation, AAPOR has been historically less diverse (See Appendix 1).

According to the 2018 Membership Conference Attendee Survey, more than half of AAPOR members consider it very to extremely important for AAPOR to support the inclusion of women, racial/ethnic minorities, LGBTQ, retirees, and international members (see Table 9). At least half of AAPOR members think it is extremely important to support the inclusion of small organizations employees, students, and those early in their career (see Table 9).

Table 9: How important do you think it is that AAPOR supports inclusion and diversity in each of the following groups?

	Not at all important	A little important	Somewhat important	Very important	Extremely important	Missing	N
Racial/Ethnic Minorities	2%	3%	7%	25%	63%	12%	815
Women	3%	3%	7%	26%	61%	12%	815
LGBTQ	4%	5%	11%	24%	56%	12%	815
Retirees	5%	12%	29%	25%	28%	12%	815
International	3%	5%	20%	34%	37%	12%	815
Small Organizations	1%	2%	13%	34%	50%	12%	815
Nonprobability	3%	7%	21%	32%	37%	12%	815
Students	0%	2%	9%	34%	54%	12%	815
Early Career	1%	1%	8%	32%	58%	12%	815

b. Women in AAPOR Leadership

Originally, women represented 15 percent of the AAPOR membership. While at least one woman has always been included in the Executive Council of AAPOR since 1949, except for two years in the early 1960s, they have typically been under-represented. It has been only in the last decade that the Executive Council has begun to reflect the proportion of female



Pictured: Diane Colasanto, Kathy Frankovic, Nancy Mathiowetz, Nancy Belden, Nora Cate Schaeffer, and Mollyann Brodie

Photo contributed by Kyley McGeeney

¹⁷⁴ The list of female AAPOR presidents includes: Hope Lunin Klapper (1977-78), Helen J. Kaufmann (1980-81), Laure M. Sharp, (1983-84), Eleanor Singer (1987-88), Joan S. Black (1990-91), Kathleen A. Frankovic, (1992-93), Diane Colasanto (1996-97), Elizabeth (Betsy) Martin, (2003-04), Nancy Belden (2004-05), Nancy A. Mathiowetz (2007-08), Mollyann Brodie (2015-16), and Nora Cate Schaeffer (2019-2020)

members both on Executive Council and the presidential level.



Pictured: 2019 AAPOR Womxn in Research dinner attendees.

Photo contributed by Kyley McGeeney

The more recent rise of women in AAPOR leadership can be seen all the way from the presidential level, down to the Executive Council, and even in conference panels and events.

For example, the 2019 AAPOR Womxn in Research dinner was held after the Annual Conference All Chapter Reception on Thursday, May 16, 2019. It included approximately 40 women from across the field of survey research, from various sub-disciplines and stages in their career. It was such a success, that planning for the 2020 Womxn in Research gathering at the annual conference is now underway.

c. Affinity Groups

AAPOR Affinity Groups are voluntary associations of AAPOR members who want to share ideas, information, and experiences with other AAPOR members with similar affinities or interests. As of 2019, there are four active affinity groups: the Cross-cultural and multilingual research affinity group, Gay AAPOR (GAAPOR), the Hispanic/Latino/Latinx affinity group (HISP-AAPOR), and Qualitative Research AAPOR (QUALPOR). On the basis of reports from most affinity group heads, here is an abbreviated history and description of each.

Cross-cultural and multilingual research affinity group¹⁷⁵

Launched in 2016, the cross-cultural and multilingual research affinity group welcomes everyone who shares a vision of cultivating an environment where cross-cultural and multilingual research is visible and important to all survey and public opinion researchers. In 2017, it became the first affinity group formally recognized by AAPOR. As of 2019, it is the largest affinity group of public opinion and survey researchers based on the size of their in-person meetup. Follow their news at the [group's webpage](#).

With the motto of “*We can do it! We can do more! We can do more together!*”, the affinity group collaborators support the mission of connecting researchers and leaders to facilitate a regular dialogue about improved methods, measurement, and research and publication opportunities.

The three key activities are to:

- Create publication and conference presentation opportunities.
- Engage public opinion and survey researchers, practitioners, and students through Annual Conference meetup, communications, and support.
- Have fun collaborating!

¹⁷⁵ Submitted by Mandy Sha

Special acknowledgement: AAPOR’s 2002-2008 special interest group on multicultural and multilingual issues in surveys served as inspiration for the group, who finds strength in AAPOR President Mollyann Brodie’s “Call to Action” for greater diversity and inclusion.

GAAPOR¹⁷⁶. GAAPOR is an AAPOR affinity group for LGBTQ AAPOR members and allies. The roots of GAAPOR stretch back many years, starting with an annual dinner organized by past-president Murray Edelman and long-time members Brad Edwards and Jeff Henne (among others across the years). In 2012, GAAPOR gained its name at the annual conference in Orlando. Several new AAPOR members gathered in the lobby on Friday night in response to a mysterious AAPORnet email inviting LGBTQ members and friends to dinner. The new AAPOR members met with the existing organizers of the annual dinner and lasting friendships were made. Over the course of the evening, the group decided to become more “official,” keep in touch throughout the year, and to continue the annual dinner. A Facebook group was created after the 2012 conference and has been used to plan social events, panel discussion, and paper presentations for the annual conference. The group also shares information important to LGBTQ researchers in our field and related disciplines. GAAPOR continued its trek toward official status in 2017 by formally registering as an AAPOR affinity group with the goal of increasing the visibility of LGBTQ researchers, their work, and any work related to LGBTQ issues. And, of course, sharing a friendly meal.

HISP-AAPOR¹⁷⁷. The Hispanic/Latino/Latinx affinity group of AAPOR was formed in 2016 by Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Rob Santos (AAPOR’s president in 2013-14). Its creation responded to a need identified during meetings of AAPOR’s Membership and Chapter Relation’s Diversity Subcommittee for member-sponsored affinity groups that helped increase the presence of ethnic or racial minority groups in survey research. HISP-AAPOR’s stated purpose is to increase Hispanic presence in the survey research field and raise the visibility of Hispanic-origin members at AAPOR. It is important to note that not all HISP-AAPOR members are of Hispanic or Latino origin, but rather have an affinity for conducting research of the Hispanic/Latino population and value the perspectives of Hispanics in the design, conduct and interpretation of survey research results. Since its inception, HISP-AAPOR has hosted three informal happy hours and two networking and research meetings at AAPOR annual conferences. In the coming years, the group will continue working to raise the visibility of and appreciation for Hispanics by helping its members submit proposals for AAPOR’s annual meetings, by mentoring and supporting Hispanics in other ways to increase the presence of young U.S.-born researchers in the field.

QUALPOR¹⁷⁸. Since the early 2000s, AAPOR and AAPOR members have increasingly utilized qualitative methods and demonstrated the value of these methods by way of presentations and courses given at the annual conferences as well as articles published in *Public Opinion Quarterly* that discuss the supporting role of qualitative in mixed-methods research or stand-alone qualitative studies. It was this growing attention to qualitative methods, and the important role of qualitative research in public opinion research, that served as the impetus for the creation of an

¹⁷⁶ Submitted by Gretchen McHenry

¹⁷⁷ Submitted by Ana Gonzalez

¹⁷⁸ Submitted by Margaret R. Roller

affinity group for AAPOR members who manage, conduct, or otherwise have an interest in qualitative research. This group – QUALPOR – was established in 2018.

The purpose of this group is to advance the discipline of qualitative research within AAPOR by offering a forum by which AAPOR members can share best practices, exchange resources, discuss new approaches to qualitative research design, and disseminate their knowledge to AAPOR members, including ways to improve on the quality of qualitative designs and usefulness of the outcomes. QUALPOR achieves its objectives through various activities, such as: (1) creating ad hoc committees to explore and contribute new understanding to qualitative topic areas of interest to members; (2) encouraging and helping QUALPOR members to become involved as presenters and/or short course instructors at the AAPOR conference and in the AAPOR webinar series; (3) holding bi-annual meetings with members as well as an annual meeting at the AAPOR conference; and (4) establishing a QUALPOR protocol for the AAPORnet listserv by which members can directly ask questions, exchange information, and engage other AAPOR members in discussions relevant to qualitative research.

As the newest of the AAPOR affinity groups, QUALPOR, plans to continue to grow and respond to the needs of its membership. Margaret R. Roller and Paul J. Lavrakas serve as QUALPOR's founding chair and co-chair, respectively. New leadership and governance structure are anticipated in 2020.

IX. Regional Chapters

In addition to being active at the national and international level, AAPOR has regional chapters. As of 2019, the seven active regional chapters of AAPOR are: Metropolitan New York (NYAAPOR), Midwest (MAPOR), New England (NEAAPOR), Pacific (PAPOR), Pennsylvania/New Jersey (PANJAAPOR), Southern (SAPOR), and Washington-Baltimore (DC-AAPOR).

Membership in AAPOR's regional chapters provides additional opportunities for education and networking with professionals in their own geographic area. For its first 30 years, AAPOR offered most of its members few ways to contact other members beyond the annual national conference. AAPOR members in the Washington, DC area stimulated local interest with some meetings, and the relatively isolated members on the West Coast established a formal group early on, but it was not until the publication of geographic membership lists in the 1974 directory that chapter growth really took off.

New standards for the official status of regional chapters were incorporated in the by-laws in 1976. These required applicant groups to: (1) agree to uphold and abide by the purposes of AAPOR; (2) adopt by-laws consistent with AAPOR's; (3) ensure that all officers and voting members were national AAPOR members; and (4) submit an annual report to the Executive Council on chapter members, finances, and representatives who meet at the annual AAPOR conference to share ideas. Despite these contacts, however, the chapters are quite distinctive, each with its own way of organizing and promoting its activities.

All the chapter councils meet with the AAPOR MCR Chair quarterly by telephone to share



The DC-AAPOR Council at the All Member & Chapter Reception in 2015

Pictured: Morgan Earp, Casey Tesfaye, Robin Kaplan, & Carl Ramirez

Photo taken by Steve and Lori Everett

opportunities and challenges across chapters and with AAPOR national. Once a year at the Annual Conference, AAPOR hosts the All Member and Chapter Reception, where each of the regional chapters hosts a table with information and giveaways for the members. It has become tradition the chapters to co-sponsor an off-site party after the AAPOR banquet for AAPOR members to unite within and across chapters.

While we have seen lower regional chapter participation rates than we did in 1986, participation rates have been on the rise since 2014 for all regional chapters. As of 2018, almost half of the entire AAPOR membership belonged to a regional chapter, according to the membership database. On the basis of reports

from the most current chapter heads, here is an abbreviated history and description of each.

Metropolitan New York City ([NYAAPOR](#))¹⁷⁹

In the 1950s, Manny Manfield set up a New York Chapter, which struggled for several years. The current chapter was organized under the leadership of Mort David with its first meeting in September 1978, attended by some 80 persons. As of 2019, NYAAPOR has grown to 155 members, of whom 82 are national AAPOR members.

Each year the New York chapter develops an extensive schedule of educational and networking events—providing its membership and the greater New York City research community at least one professional development opportunity each month. NYAAPOR’s programming reflects the diversity of research and analytics interests of its membership. Evening sessions have covered topics such as measuring advertising effects, social media analysis, questionnaire design, public policy, and election polling. NYAAPOR also offers several in-depth workshops each year. Recognizing the impact of new data sources and data science on traditional survey research, recent workshops have focused on new research methodologies and technologies including user experience (UX) testing, data visualization, natural language processing for text analysis, multi-level regression and post-stratification, and neuroscience for marketing.

Midwest ([MAPOR](#))¹⁸⁰

Interest in the establishment of a Midwest AAPOR chapter was expressed to the national Executive Council as early as 1967, but it was not until 1975 that the chapter became active, after much work by an organizing committee including Donna Charron, George Bishop, Eugene Telsler, Doris Graber, and several others. While the MAPOR's geographic coverage ranges from Ohio to Colorado, MAPOR has national and international membership coverage which contributes to its motto, “Midwest is a state of mind.” MAPOR held its first annual conference

¹⁷⁹ Submitted by Randal Ries

¹⁸⁰ Submitted by Ipek Bilgen

in Chicago on October 24 and 25, 1975. MAPOR annual conferences, held in November at downtown Chicago each year, provide paper, panel, methodological brief, and poster sessions for members and other interested practitioners. Attendance at the annual conference regularly exceeds 200 persons and consists of students, academics, survey professionals, and other researchers. MAPOR has published annual conference programs since 1985 as well as periodical newsletters since 2002 on its [website](#). MAPOR also regularly hosts webinars and mixers, at times in conjunction both with AAPOR and other regional chapters.

New England ([NEAAPOR](#))¹⁸¹

The New England chapter was recognized by AAPOR in 1995 and granted full status as an independent organization in October of 2013. Members live and work in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. There are a variety of industry sectors represented including market research, higher education, public health, political polling, and public policy. NEAAPOR events include pre- and post-election roundtable discussions, discussions focusing on issues facing the industry, an annual winter mixer, and student research events including poster and paper competitions.

Pacific ([PAPOR](#))¹⁸²

The Pacific Chapter of AAPOR was initially founded around 1959 by Charles Glock of the Survey Research Center at Berkeley, but became a much more active chapter in 2001 when Susan Pinkus served as president. Today, the PAPOR region spans the ten westernmost states, including Hawaii and Alaska. PAPOR hosts many events throughout the year, including a miniconference summarizing key panels from the AAPOR Annual Conference, a half-day short course, several socials throughout the year, a student paper competition, and the PAPOR Annual Conference, usually held in San Francisco each year. Members stay updated by the quarterly PAPOR Trail newsletter. These events help local members, both public opinion research professionals and students newly entering the field, stay connected and develop professionally.

Pennsylvania/New Jersey ([PANJAAPOR](#))¹⁸³

The Pennsylvania/New Jersey chapter was formed in 2012 after a dedicated group of survey researchers were pulled together by the common belief that a region so rich in both history and industry presence should have its own unique chapter. Since its inception, it has held bi-annual meetings alternating between locations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and has featured presentations on topics ranging from conducting surveys following natural disasters, to election-related polling difficulties, to an overview of the challenges facing survey research. These meetings provide educational and professional development opportunities for students and younger researchers who are not able to attend the national AAPOR conference, as well as continuing education opportunities for more experienced researchers. Additionally, PANJAAPOR has attempted to bring more young researchers into the fold by offering student paper competitions. Meetings are usually held in the fall (late November/early December) and spring (April). Light refreshments and a chance to connect with friends and colleagues precedes the formal presentation. PANJAAPOR is always looking to increase its membership and welcomes ideas for events that will further the pursuits and interests of its members.

¹⁸¹ Submitted by Jennifer Dineen

¹⁸² Submitted by Mira Rao

¹⁸³ Submitted by Krista Jenkins

Southern (SAPOR)¹⁸⁴

SAPOR was originally organized by Charles Powers of RTI International. SAPOR was officially accepted by the AAPOR Executive Council in 1978 and SAPOR's first conference was held in November that same year in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. At that time, SAPOR consisted of 90 members from nine states. Now the chapter covers 14 states in the southern United States. SAPOR has held an annual conference every year since 1986. The annual conference includes over 30 research presentations, a panel and/or round table discussion, an evening social event and a keynote speech. Approximately 120 individuals from universities, survey research establishments and polling organizations are currently involved with SAPOR and attend our conference annually.

Washington/Baltimore (DC-AAPOR)¹⁸⁵

The oldest regional group of AAPOR members to have local meetings is in the Washington-Baltimore area, where they began in the early 1950s, shortly after AAPOR was founded. In April 1953, Martin Kriesberg wrote to then-President Archibald Crossley requesting a charter for a DC chapter. Presumably because national AAPOR as yet had no provision for local chapters, no charter was granted, but the group continued to meet on an informal basis for the next twenty years. It surged up and down in enthusiasm and membership was "reactivated" in 1966, and finally, in the mid-1970s, ratified formal by-laws acceptable to the Executive Council, which in 1977 proudly welcomed its "newest" member!

In its early years, Washington chapter meetings were held in the evening, often at the Brookings Institution. With so many members living in suburbia, however, luncheon meetings attracted larger groups. Meetings originally included a preliminary get-together, a speaker, and a question period covering topics such as current political attitudes, social programs, communications, methodology, and potential or existing government regulations. In recent years, the DC-AAPOR has held a variety of events ranging from evening sessions on polling, public opinion research, and advances in survey methodology to day-long seminars and conferences. DC-AAPOR also holds evening networking events to help its members connect with others in the field.

DC-AAPOR had no formal dues for many years, as expenses were met by tacking on a small fee to the luncheon fee. In the mid-1980s, an annual mailing fee of \$3 was instituted due to the rising costs of events. As of 2019, regular membership is \$30 and students can join for \$6. These membership fees go toward the costs associated with hosting DC-AAPOR events.

Frank Bourne was the founding chapter President in 1977. DC-AAPOR has developed into a thriving chapter with hundreds of members under the leadership of 43 Presidents since its formalization in 1977 through 2019.

¹⁸⁴ Submitted by Nicole Lee and Tamara Terry

¹⁸⁵ Submitted by David Kashihara

j. Membership Satisfaction and Summary

According to the 2018 membership survey, overall membership satisfaction remains high: at least 75 percent of members reported that they are very to extremely satisfied with their membership. Over the last five years, we have seen the percent reporting that they are extremely satisfied grow from 16 percent to 19 percent (see Table 10).

Overall, AAPOR is an organization made all the richer by the contributions and active engagement of its members. Members from a diverse set of professional affiliations and backgrounds regularly participate in the community of AAPOR through committees, the Annual Conference, the listserv, affinity groups, and regional chapters, reflecting a realization of the vision expressed over 70 years ago in Central City, Colorado – to provide a productive meeting place for practitioners, hailing from a diverse array of interdisciplinary fields of study, and we continue even after seventy-four years to share a professional interest in the methods and applications of public opinion and social research.

Table 10: Overall, how satisfied are you with your membership in AAPOR?

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Not at all satisfied*	3%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
A little satisfied*			3%	2%	3%	2%
Somewhat satisfied	23%	23%	24%	22%	24%	20%
Very satisfied	59%	58%	58%	59%	55%	58%
Extremely satisfied	16%	17%	14%	17%	18%	19%
N	1,005	655	657	651	873	812
Missing	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	2%	0%

* “Not at all” and “a little” satisfied were combined into a single either or option in 2013 and 2014.

Appendix 1. Diversity Initiative

In 2016, AAPOR adopted the following diversity initiative to help increase diversity within the organization as well as the field of survey research:

As a multidisciplinary organization, AAPOR has had a long commitment to diversity. This commitment to diversity is stated in Article VI, Section 5 of AAPOR's Bylaws, in which the "breadth and diversity of its membership" are to be reflected in the appointments to AAPOR's committees; in the AAPOR 2025 Strategic Vision, in which AAPOR commits to promote our core values across its membership regardless of employment, geographic, and social and demographic characteristics (including as specified in the Statement on Diversity and Inclusion their sex, gender, gender identity, age, race, religion, ethnic background, nationality, sexual orientation, or disability status); and in the 2013-2014 Strategic Plan in which diversity is identified as an important driver for the future direction of the organization. AAPOR's commitment to diversity is also demonstrated by the requirement that key leadership positions such as President, Conference Chair and Councilor-at-large are rotated between individuals from for-profit and nonprofit organizations. In early 2016, AAPOR reaffirmed and deepened its commitment to diversity by adopting its first formal diversity statement.

Across these documents, AAPOR recognizes that increasing and valuing diversity at all levels of the organization are necessary to maintain the "big tent" nature of the organization. By having a diverse membership and leadership, AAPOR can:

- *Identify and promote new ideas to benefit members and advance the profession;*
- *Strengthen and grow the membership base;*
- *Serve the wide range of researchers who use the tools that AAPOR is uniquely positioned to provide (such as Standard Definitions for Response Rates);*
- *Quickly respond to issues that may arise within the research industry; and*
- *More effectively represent the many constituencies served by AAPOR.*

Despite a written commitment to diversity, recent analyses of characteristics of individuals in existing leadership roles, committee compositions, and the membership at large have raised concerns that AAPOR has fallen short of implementing its commitment to diversity. For example, the 2016 Presidential Address identified that the share of AAPOR Presidents who are women is far lower than the share of members who are women, and a report to Executive Council in 2015 from the Membership and Chapters Relation Committee showed that many of the AAPOR Committees were unrepresentative in terms of committee member characteristics compared to membership characteristics. In June 2016, AAPOR Executive Council created a working group to develop a comprehensive plan for Executive Council that would lay out AAPOR's next steps to enhance diversity in the long term for the organization and more broadly for our industry.

The work group was chaired by Past President Mollyann Brodie, and included Councilor-at-Large Rich Morin, MCR chair Anna Wiencrot, MCR Diversity Subcommittee chair Ana Gonzalez, former MCR chair Kristen Olson, and former AAPOR President Rob Santos. The work group met by phone over the summer and fall of 2016 to explore what AAPOR is already doing; the group already had considered what other similar organizations have done in this arena. It

also identified and discussed new approaches, including the resources required for each and the likelihood of success, as well as some of the institutional challenges that may need to be addressed to ensure success.

Because of the robust nature of this plan, the workgroup concluded that the tasks should not be left to AAPOR Executive Council to manage annually. Like the Transparency Initiative, the workgroup proposed a Diversity Coordinating Committee (DCC) to track, implement, and amend this plan as necessary for success. The DCC membership is still being finalized, however Executive Council has already appointed Dianne Rucinski as Chair and committee membership includes workgroup members Rob Santos and Mollyann Brodie.

This report [the Diversity Initiative Report] and the DCC is the culmination of those discussions. It is an ambitious, multidimensional implementation plan with short, medium and long term action items and was adopted by Executive Council in March, 2017. Each piece of this plan will be overseen by the DCC, and includes delegation of the tasks to AAPOR committees and staff. Appendix A of the report lists briefly some ideas that were left out of the recommendations and an explanation of why they aren't included.

At the outset, it is important to recognize that AAPOR has taken substantial strides toward implementing its commitment toward diversity. The proposed steps below are designed to build upon this strong foundation. First, the Membership and Chapter Relations committee (MCR) established a diversity subcommittee, providing data analysis of the membership and committee structure for the Executive Council, identifying what other organizations do to implement their commitment toward diversity, and other diversity-related tasks.

Second, AAPOR's first diversity statement, initially drafted by MCR's diversity subcommittee, was adopted in early 2016 ([AAPOR Diversity Statement](#)). This statement publicly reaffirms AAPOR's commitment to a diverse membership on a wide range of dimensions, and states AAPOR leadership's responsibility in ensuring diversity in all facets of the organization.

Third, starting with work by Councilor-at-large Cliff Zukin in 2014, AAPOR has adopted a set of term limits for committee members, is now regularly tracking committee membership and characteristics of committee members, and developed a set of guidelines for committee chairs to use when selecting new committee members to assist in meeting AAPOR's diversity goals.

Finally, AAPOR developed a set of guidelines for establishing affinity groups, which are subsets of members who want to share experiences and ideas around a similar theme or affinity. AAPOR also specified what the organization would do to support these groups. Therefore, the new guidelines reflect the shared responsibilities by both the Executive Council and the leaders of the affinity groups.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ From <https://www.aapor.org/About-Us/Who-We-Are/Diversity.aspx>

14. Communications Committee

Jennifer Hunter Childs

As documented in the original manuscript of *The Meeting Place*, at the inception of AAPOR, the Publications and Public Relations Committees were appointed roles to “simply execute the policies set by the Executive Council.” Nearly 75 years later, the Communications Committee serves the same role. This chapter will walk through the history of the committee currently known as the Communications Committee with a focus on the time since *The Meeting Place* was published.

1. History and Scope

The very earliest drafts of an AAPOR Constitution include both Public Relations Committee and Publications Committee (AAPOR, 1992). These two committees operated until the bylaws revision in 1982, at which time the Public Relations Committee was dissolved and the Publications and Information Committee was formed. In 2006, the proposal was made to change the name of the Publications and Information Committee to the Communications Committee. At this time, it was also recommended to hire a full-time Communications Director who would work under the direction of the AAPOR president. In early 2007, the management company, AMP, hired a Communications Director for AAPOR. At the annual conference in May 2007, the committee name was officially changed to the Communications Committee.

From the 2015 By-laws:

The Committee on Communications shall be responsible for oversight of AAPOR communications strategy. This committee shall establish and maintain relations between AAPOR and the public and shall assist the President and the Executive Council in the dissemination of information relating to public opinion and survey research, and the policies and activities of AAPOR. The Committee shall be responsible for oversight of publications and online content, excluding journals, whether peer-reviewed or not.

As of 2019:

The Communications Committee is charged with all matters concerning the public face of AAPOR. This committee assists the President and the Executive Council in disseminating information relating to public opinion and survey research, and the policies and activities of AAPOR. The newsletter, website, and social media presence all fall under the Communications Committee. The Communications Committee is a volunteer committee invited by the Communications Chairs and approved by Executive Council.

Although the charge focuses on the public face of AAPOR, the role of the Communications Committee is really two-fold. The committee communicates with the external world (i.e., the public, the press, potential members, via press releases, public statements, and a media relations program), but also, importantly, with its members.

2. External Communications

External facing communications give AAPOR the opportunity to inform and educate journalists and the public about our trade. It gives AAPOR the opportunity publicly to correct misperceptions about the nature of polling and engage the public in the conversation about the role of public opinion in democracy.

Press Releases and Statements

AAPOR issues press releases and statements as part of its effort to help educate the public on how to read and interpret polls and survey research. In general, press releases are specifically issued to the media and placed on the website for the public record. Press releases bring attention to AAPOR Task Force Reports on important and timely topics, like recent white papers on Spam Flagging and Call Blocking, Big Data, and Social Media. Press releases also bring news of AAPOR award winners and new Executive Councils. Appendix A chronicles the press releases from 1997 through the 2019. During that time, any given year could see no press releases, up to a maximum of eight releases in 2007.

Official statements also highlight important issues in the field. For example, AAPOR regularly issues statements supporting the cause of federal statistical agencies like the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and addressing high-profile news events that impact the survey research and polling world. These statements are made either generally, to the external world, or specifically, towards a part of the government. Importantly, statements also proclaim to members the official stance of the Association on certain events. Appendix B shows recent Statement titles and dates for reference of scope. The AAPOR website¹⁸⁷ chronicles statements from 2010 through the present, and shows that every year has seen at least one statement, with several years seeing up to three.

Media Relations

AAPOR embraces the principle that public opinion research is essential to a healthy democracy, providing information crucial to informed policymaking and giving voice to the nation's beliefs, attitudes and desires. To live this principle effectively, AAPOR regularly participates in journalist education and media relations. In order to be responsive to media inquiries, particularly with media deadlines, Executive Council agreed that the President, President Elect and Past President would be the spokespeople of AAPOR to media requests, thus ensuring both a timely and coordinated response.

Throughout the years, AAPOR has worked on journalist education to help the journalists, as gatekeepers, sort through the deluge of survey and polling data.

In 2004, Nancy Belden and Cliff Zukin proposed an “aggressive” campaign about the societal value of public opinion research. In 2005, Belden and Zukin successfully presented the first seminar for journalists. In 2007, AAPOR partnered with the Poynter Institute and NewsU to create and release a free, self-directed online course entitled “Understanding and Interpreting

¹⁸⁷ <https://www.aapor.org>

Polls,” aimed to help journalists accurately portray poll and survey results.¹⁸⁸ This course was updated and rereleased in 2012 accompanied by a webinar on the same topic. An international version of this course was created by AAPOR, WAPOR and ESOMAR in 2016.¹⁸⁹

In addition to these paramount courses, AAPOR regularly (especially in presidential election years) updates and releases “Cheat Sheets” about reporting on polls for journalists, “Key questions to ask when writing about polls,” and various other Election Polling Resources. These resources are available on AAPOR’s Website.¹⁹⁰ Leading up to the 2020 presidential elections, the website had information on “Identifying Likely Voters,” “Sampling and Sub-Groups,” “Nonresponse Effects and Measurement,” and “Exit Polls,” as well as other special issues, such as herding, push polling, and poll aggregation. This web page, available to members and nonmembers alike, provides free access to AAPOR technical papers, such as the “Evaluation of 2016 Election Polls in the U.S.” and *Public Opinion Quarterly* articles specifically addressing election polling.

In 2016, an Election Response Team was created to assist the Executive Council in responding to reporter inquiries. This included an update of the education materials offered on the website and the creation of an Ad Hoc Task Force to evaluate 2016 pre-election polling¹⁹¹.

3. Internal-Focused Communications

Turning inward, toward member-focused communications, newsletters have been published by AAPOR for the membership since 1973. Since newsletters became a formal product in 1974, they have included updates from regional chapters and a “president’s column” among other segments. The newsletters provide current information on Executive Council priorities, Annual Conference updates, and memorials to members who have passed and other information that may be of interest to members. It has been published anywhere from two to six times a year. In 2008, newsletters became exclusively electronic and are available electronically (from 2010) on the AAPOR website. For newsletters prior to this, paper copies are available at the AAPOR archives at University of Chicago. In 2016, the format of the newsletter again changed to a web-based format where the reader clicked through the email teasers to the full articles. This new format increased the open rate by 47 percent and increased click-throughs by 300 percent.

In the 2013-2014 timeframe, AAPOR convened a Member-Council Communication Ad Hoc Committee, led by Rob Santos, to evaluate how to facilitate communication between the members of the association and the Executive Council. This included calling for suggestions via the Newsletter, a special Town Hall and questions on the annual member survey. Town Halls were conducted for a few years at the Annual Meetings, but eventually reverted back to the Annual Business Meeting as the forum for Member-Council communication.

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.poynter.org/shop/self-directed-course/understanding-and-interpreting-polls/>

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.poynter.org/shop/self-directed-course/understanding-and-interpreting-polls-international/>

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Election-Polling-Resources.aspx>.

¹⁹¹ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/An-Evaluation-of-2016-Election-Polls-in-the-U-S.aspx>

AAPORnet

One could argue that AAPORnet, the member list-serve, is the hidden gem of AAPOR. Where else might you find cutting-edge research and a knock-down, drag-out fight all in the same day, or even in the same post? AAPORnet was started in November 1994, intended to “launch AAPOR's 50th Anniversary celebrations and to explore new means of communication and other benefits for members as AAPOR moves into its second half-century and on into the new millennium.” At the time, an email to AAPORnet would go to “each of the 300-some members.” An email to the same listserve, twenty-five years later, will reach about seven times that number.

The very first version of “AAPORNETIQUETTE” was posted soon after its launch (November 1994):

Do not post to AAPORNET (currently 350+ members) messages intended for individuals.

Acceptable postings to AAPORNET include announcements and general questions. Replies to such postings, however, ought to be sent to the person who posted them (sender's address).

Try to keep all postings as brief as possible--fitting your entire message to a single screen is always appreciated.

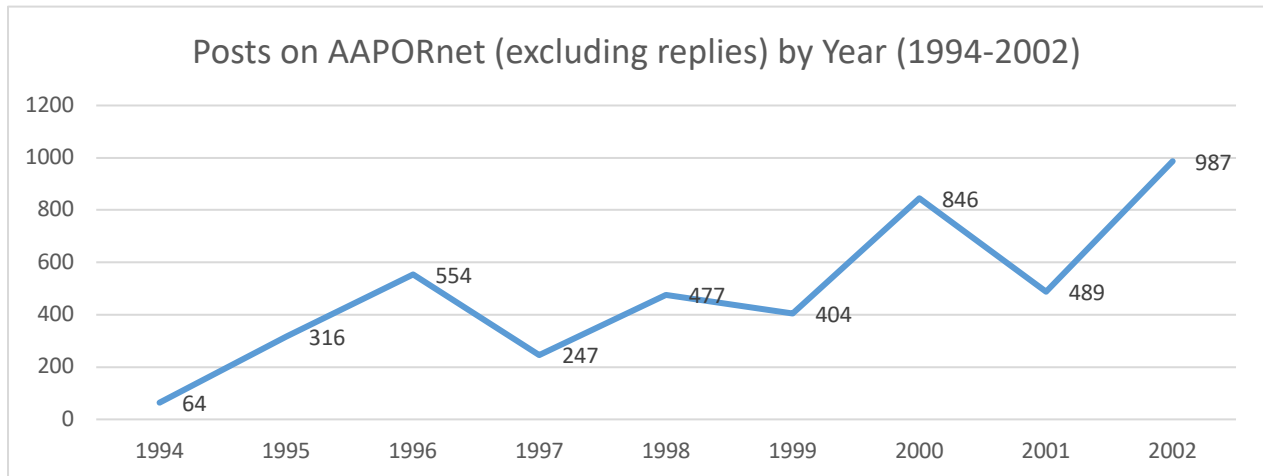
If you think someone has violated AAPORNETiquette, send your complaint to the individual offender--posting such messages to AAPORNET only compounds the offense.

Treat everyone on AAPORNET as you would someone you will see regularly for the rest of your life because--since we are all AAPOR members--you probably will.

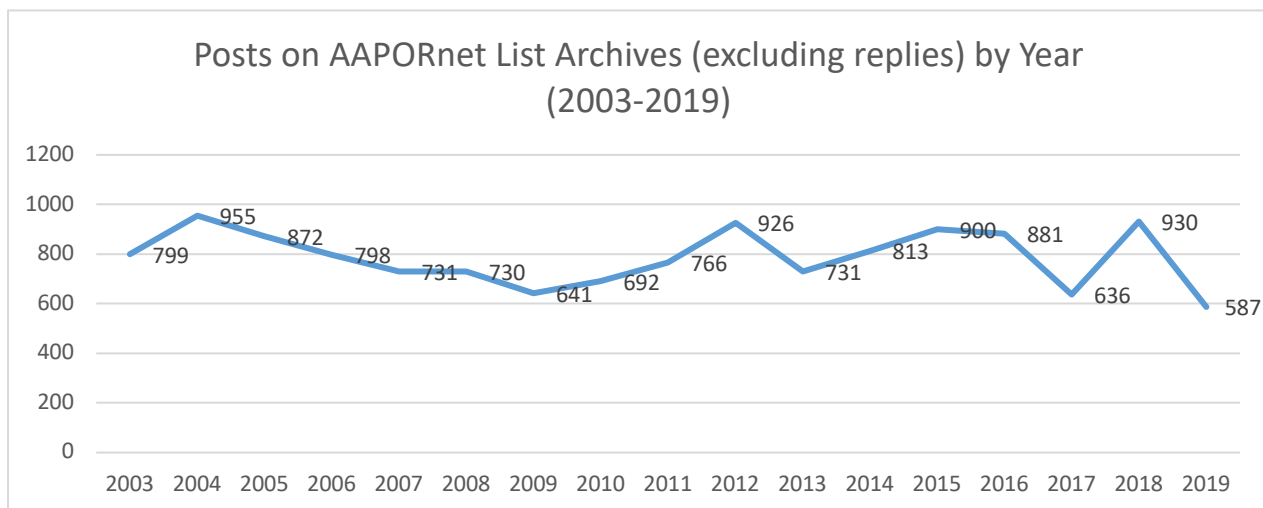
As you know, if you have been a member for any amount of time, this type of message resurfaces periodically, and for good reason. Although AAPORnet is a great resource for constructive criticism, as with any similar group of experts, a reminder to be constructive is sometimes useful. Periodically through the years, Executive Council has debated having a moderated list-serve, including filtering out profanity, but has ultimately decided to leave it unmoderated with periodic reminders to behave in a professional manner.

Jim Beniger, USC Professor, future AAPOR president (1997-1998) and member of the AAPOR 50th anniversary committee, proposed creating this listserv and facilitated it for the first eight years. The Executive Council then asked Shap Wolf to host AAPOR-net at Arizona State University and he did so from 2002-2011. In 2011, Colleen Porter led a group of volunteers to examine alternatives, select, and test a new system, eForums, now hosted on AAPOR's own servers, managed by AAPOR's management company. In 2019, AAPOR once again moved platforms and is now hosting AAPORnet with a tool called “Simplelists.”

Research into the AAPORnet archives yielded two archives, one from each platform. Matt Virgile and Sabin Lakhe from the U.S. Census Bureau produced descriptive statistics about new topics posted to AAPORnet shown in Figures 1 and 2. Each of these exclude topic replies. For the first six years, AAPORnet saw up to approximately 500 unique posts per year. The year 2000 brought a peak in posts, marking a record at that time of 846 posts in a year. The next two decades saw average posts of about 785 per year.



Source: AAPORnet archives on www.aapor.org



Source: AAPORnet archives on www.aapor.org

Website

The original AAPOR Website was built by Steve Everett. Under Dan Merkle’s leadership, in 2004, AAPOR adopted its first logo. A contest was held in which 31 entries for a new logo design were received. The winner was Doug Lonnstrom of Siena College, with Sergio Sericolo providing the art work. As has been the general consensus for the Communications Committee, the goals for the website are to further the work of AAPOR and its members. During the first website redesign in 2003, a Website Coordinator was named to help keep the website up to date.

Westat agreed to do pro bono usability testing of the website in 2006. In 2007, the redesigned public website was launched.

In 2009, the next comprehensive review of the website was undertaken, but a redesign was postponed for budget purposes. The redesign was budgeted for 2010 and was completed in 2011. During 2013, the process was started for an overhaul of the website to allow for responsive design for mobile devices. AAPOR's management company, the Sherwood Group, was selected for the website redesign and it was launched in December of 2014. Though it was planned to have "communities" to support the Executive Council and the Chapters, none of this came to fruition in the new website. In early 2015, Executive Council noted considerable problems with the website redesign, including capabilities for membership renewal and conference registration. SSRS and later the full Communications Committee thoroughly tested the website reporting issues to the Sherwood/Kellen Management group. It was deemed fully functional by June 2015. In 2016, the Communications Committee began regular evaluation of and updating to each section of the website. Most recently, in 2018, Kellen proposed another website redesign which is currently under consideration.

Social Media

At the end of 2008, the Communications Committee established an AAPOR presence on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and LinkedIn to communicate with members about the annual conference and to maintain communication between conferences. The Chair and Associate Chair of the Communications Committee handled most of the social media communication until in 2014, when a Social Media Subcommittee was formed.

Shortly after the establishment of the AAPOR Twitter account, "live tweeting" was conducted from the 2009 annual conference. In 2015, AAPOR launched its first #AskAAPOR or Twitter Q&A session hosted by Jennifer Agiesta featuring Mario Callegaro. This was followed by other methodological Q&A sessions as well as conference-specific Q&A time where the conference chairs answer questions about the upcoming event. In 2019, AAPOR hosted its first Reddit Q&A.

The Communications Committee enlisted volunteers to contribute as the "AAPOR Twitter-Team" starting in 2016, which included a contest and prize for the person who tweeted the most at the conference. The Communications Committee discussed and debated hosting video blogs at the conference as early as 2009, but this didn't actually come to fruition until 2016. The Twitter Team began to introduce live streaming from the conference that year with "man-on-the-street"-type interviews.

More broadly in social media, AAPOR has had a Facebook page since December of 2008, a LinkedIn Group since about 2010, and a LinkedIn Page since 2017. AAPOR more recently joined Instagram in 2016. Observing Communications Reports since 2010, in the table below you can see the growth in social media likes/followers/members over the years. Though Facebook and LinkedIn began with a higher number of followers in 2010, Twitter gained in popularity and surpassed both platforms in more recent years.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
<i>Facebook likes</i>	580	747	990	1277	1469	2538	2965	3279	3345	3458
<i>Twitter followers</i>	318	534	1092	1578	2065	2636	3088	~3600	4582	5269
<i>LinkedIn group</i>	589	917	1750	2427	2873	3974

*These data were drawn from Communications Committee Annual Reports, thus generally reflect users as of May of each year, with the exception of 2019, which is accurate of December. Missing data indicate years where the data were not present in the Annual Reports.

4. The Future of AAPOR Communications

In 2006, the Executive Council entertained the idea of hiring a Communications Director. In 2007, the Council did so through the management firm. In 2008, the Council authorized spending to retain the PR firm, PRISM to help with communications specifically around messaging related to the New Hampshire primaries and Super Tuesday in 2008. By the fall of 2008, the Communications Director had left and the Executive Council again began to discuss how to fill the void. A Strategic Marketing Ad Hoc Committee was formed and at the same time, the Council was re-evaluating association management needs. When AAPOR changed management companies to Sherwood (later acquired by Kellen), the Communications Director position was again obtained through the management services contract.

In late 2018, the idea of hiring a PR firm resurfaced and one was hired in 2019. As of this writing, Stanton Communications is working on journalist outreach and education to improve journalist, and thus public, understanding of the polling process and how to interpret polling results.

Since the early 90s, and the writing of the original *The Meeting Place*, AAPOR has made great strides with communication and education for journalists, specifically and the public, more broadly. Journalist Education and Media Relations remains an area of concentration for AAPOR because, as a group largely comprised of survey researchers and pollsters, the media is our connection with the public and consumers of our data. As we approach the 2020 election, AAPOR has the opportunity, once again, to advance communication strategies with the media and the public and, thus, have a bigger and broader impact on Americans' participation in and understanding of the democratic process.

Appendix A: Press releases by AAPOR

- [8/12/19 - Partisanship, Polling, and the Affordable Care Act](#)
- [5/18/19 - Paul J. Lavrakas Honored with 2019 AAPOR Award](#)
- [4/25/19 - AAPOR Announces 2019 Award Winners](#)
- [4/10/19 - AAPOR Elects 2019-2020 Council](#)
- [4/17/18 - AAPOR Elects 2018-19 Council](#)
- [10/30/17 - Insights and AAPOR File FCC Petition Seeking Legal Differentiation for Marketing and Research](#)
- [5/20/17 - Peter Miller Honored with 2017 AAPOR Award](#)
- [5/4/17 - AAPOR Releases Report: An Evaluation of 2016 Election Polls in the U.S.](#)
- [4/11/17 - AAPOR/WAPOR Statement Regarding Intervention Against Pollsters in Ecuador](#)
- [4/4/17 - AAPOR Elects 2017-18 Council](#)
- [3/23/17 - 2017 AAPOR Awards Announced](#)
- [11/9/16 - AAPOR to Examine 2016 Presidential Election Polling](#)
- [5/10/16 - New International Online Course for Journalists](#)
- [4/4/16 - AAPOR Elects 2016-2017 Executive Council](#)
- [3/21/16 - 2016 AAPOR Awards Announced](#)
- [1/28/16 - AAPOR Releases Election Polling Resources for 2016 Elections](#)
- [4/20/15 - AAPOR Releases Latest Edition of *Standard Definitions*](#)
- [4/7/15 - AAPOR Announces 2015 Award Winners, Honoring Public Opinion and Survey Research Industry Leaders](#)
- [4/6/15 - AAPOR Elects Leaders in Public Opinion and Survey Research for 2015-2016 Council](#)
- [2/12/15 - AAPOR Releases Big Data Task Force Report](#)
- [9/8/2014 - AAPOR Releases New Report: Current Knowledge and Considerations Regarding Survey Refusals](#)
- [6/3/2014 - Public Opinion Research Group's Lifetime Achievement Award Presented to Stanford Professor, Jon Krosnick](#)
- [5/12/2014 - AAPOR Releases New Report: Mobile Technologies for Conducting, Augmenting and Potentially Replacing Surveys](#)
- [5/6/2014 - AAPOR 2014: Latest Public Opinion Trends and Research Methodologies to be Presented by the Nation's Leading Experts](#)
- [4/10/2014 - AAPOR Elects Leaders in the Public Opinion and Survey Research Industry to 2014-2015 Executive Council](#)
- [3/17/2014 - 2014 AAPOR Awards Announced](#)
- [5/27/2013 - AAPOR Honors Industry Leaders, Announces 2013-2014 Leadership](#)
- [4/12/2013 -- AAPOR Elects Leaders in the Survey Research Industry to 2013-2014 Executive Council](#)
- [11/12/12 -- AAPOR's Statement on 2012 Presidential Election Polling](#)
- [10/8/2012 -- Understanding a "Credibility Interval" and How it Differs from the "Margin of Sampling Error" in a Public Opinion Poll](#)
- [9/5/2012 -- Survey Statistics and Methodology Journal Being Launched by AAPOR and ASA](#)

- [5/23/2012 -- AAPOR Honors Industry Leaders, Announces 2013-2014 Leadership at 2012 Annual Conference](#)
- [1/19/2012 -- Poynter's News University and AAPOR to Host Webinar on How to Understand and Report on Public Opinion Polls](#)
- [5/18/2011 -- AAPOR Honors Industry Leaders and Announces 2012-2013 Leadership at 2011 Annual Conference](#)
- [10/27/10 -- AAPOR Releases 2010 Cell Phone Task Force Report](#)
- [5/17/2010 -- AAPOR Revises Code of Ethics: Focus on Transparency and Disclosure](#)
- [4/25/2010 -- AAPOR Releases Report on Online Survey Panels](#)
- [9/23/2009 -- AAPOR Raises Objections to Actions by Atlanta-Based Strategic Vision LLC](#)
- [9/4/2009 -- The Greek Ban on Publishing Pre-Election Polls Undercuts Healthy Democracy](#)
- [3/30/2009 -- Report of the AAPOR Ad Hoc Committee on the 2008 Presidential Primary Polling](#)
- [3/18/2009 -- Federal Court Upholds Respondent Confidentiality - AAPOR & CASRO File Joint Amicus Brief](#)
- [2/4/2009 -- AAPOR Finds Gilbert Burnham in Violation of Ethics Code](#)
- [9/9/2008 -- Good Poll? Bad Poll? Webinar to Help You Judge Accuracy of Election Polls](#)
- [5/12/2008 -- AAPOR Announces 2008 Award Winners](#)
- [4/30/2008 -- AAPOR Announces 2008-2009 Leadership Team](#)
- [1/31/2008 -- AAPOR Names Members of Special Committee on 2008 Presidential Primary Polling](#)
- [1/25/2008 -- Ad Hoc Committee Releases Mission Statement](#)
- [1/14/2008 -- AAPOR Announces Ad Hoc Committee to Evaluate New Hampshire Primary Polls](#)
- [12/18/2007 -- Election Polling Sections Added to NewsU Course](#)
- [11/16/2007 -- AAPOR Provides Clarification on "Push Poll" Issue](#)
- [11/7/2007 -- AAPOR Applauds NASA Decisions](#)
- [9/14/2007 -- NewsU and AAPOR Announce New Polling Course](#)
- [5/21/2007 -- 2007 AAPOR Awards for Public Opinion Research Innovation, Lifetime Achievement, Book](#)
- [5/1/2007 -- 2007 Annual Conference to Highlight Relationship Between Polls and Policy](#)
- [4/23/2007 -- Executive Council 2007-2008 Press Release](#)
- [3/6/2007 -- AAPOR Calls MSNBC on Workplace Survey](#)
- [10/20/2000 -- AAPOR Clarifies Focus Group Criticism](#)
- [10/16/2000 -- Focus Groups Misused Following Presidential Debate](#)
- [9/28/2000 -- Web Surveys Unlikely to Represent All Views](#)
- [4/23/1997 -- AAPOR Finds Frank Luntz in Violation of Ethics Code](#)

AAPOR Statements

AAPOR Joint Statement on BEA

Released on October 21, 2019

AAPOR/ASA Response to SCOTUS decision on 2020 Census citizenship question

Released June 28, 2019

AAPOR Joint Statement on BEA Funding

Released May 1, 2018

AAPOR Statement Regarding 2020 Census

Released April 2, 2018

AAPOR Joint Statement of Support for Andreas Georgiou

Released January 10, 2018

AAPOR Joint Statement on BLS Funding

Released August 18, 2017

AAPOR Statement on Thompson Resignation

Released May 10, 2017

AAPOR Statement on Trump/Pence Campaign Web Survey

Released February 23, 2017

AAPOR Statement on Use of Incentives in Survey Participation

Released October 24, 2016

AAPOR Response to Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM) Questions

Released December 22, 2015

AAPOR Protecting Respondent Confidentiality in Litigation Surveys

Released December 2, 2015

AAPOR Response to *New York Times* / CBS News poll

Released August 1, 2014

AAPOR Supports Obama's nomination of AAPOR member John H. Thompson as Director of U.S. Census Bureau

Released July 8, 2013

Understanding a “credibility interval” and how it differs from the “margin of sampling error” in a public opinion poll

Released October 7, 2012

AAPOR joins more than 40 other organizations in support of the 2012 U.S. Census Bureau

Budget

Released July 6, 2012

AAPOR endorses ISO Standard 20252 - Market, Opinion and Social Research and ICC/ESOMAR Code

Released February 25, 2011

AAPOR supports Efficiency and Management Reform Act of 2010

Released December 10, 2010

AAPOR responds to Civic Council

Released February 8, 2010

AAPOR Letter to the RNC

Released January 25, 2010

15. AAPOR's Task Force and Ad Hoc Committee Reports since the 1990s

Rob Daves

Introduction

The decades that bookended the change of the century saw many changes in American society. With the rise of the Internet, AAPOR used these technological changes to its advantage. One example: AAPOR launched a listserv in the 1990s that provided a great communication tool to help members seek advice, post jobs, get official AAPOR notices, and generally just stay better in touch. But the Internet was just one thing in the whirlwind of change in the burgeoning information age.

As in the 1970s, the way survey researchers collected data was changing. Then, face-to-face surveys in households faded in frequency; sampling households with telephone landlines became common for general population and other survey data collection. As Internet access neared saturation,¹⁹² web surveys became more commonplace as they are generally less expensive than phone surveys.

The rise of the Internet and cell phone technologies began changing the communications and survey research landscape dramatically. Researchers worried – and still do – about the tradeoffs between a higher proportion of cell phones to a sample, which increases costs, versus a higher proportion of landline phone that keep costs down but may have deleterious effects on research quality. Each year the proportion of cell phone-only households increases, and interviewing respondents on cell phones is more costly than on landlines. Cell-only households are the U.S. mode as this is written, with landline-only households in the diminishing minority.¹⁹³

Mass communication was changing rapidly as well. Cable news channels, once a rarity, now help define news. Streaming services, unknown in the 1990s, blossomed as 2020 dawned, as content providers took advantage of broadband. But more importantly, the increased number of avenues for electronic news distribution has enabled channels to develop self-selected audiences that tune in what they agree with and tune out the news with which they disagree. Many suggest that this has fueled increased political polarization.¹⁹⁴ Polarization is not new to AAPOR. While polarization has always been around in the U.S., an AAPOR conference in the late 1990s featured a panel on “pummeling the pollsters,” showing examples of how partisans conduct *ad hominem* attacks on researchers whose findings they disagree with, or do not find politically useful. Social media became a political tool, as the intelligence community found after the 2016 election.

¹⁹² Pew Research Center, “Internet/Broadband Fact Sheet.” <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/fact-sheet/internet-broadband/>. Last accessed Nov. 25, 2019.

¹⁹³ Stephen J. Blumberg and Julian V. Luke, “Wireless Substitution: Early Release of Estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, January-June 2018.” National Center for Health Statistics. <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhis/earlyrelease/wireless201812.pdf>. Last accessed Dec. 13, 2019.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Levendusky, Matthew and Neil Malhotra, “Does Media Coverage of Partisan Polarization Affect Political Attitudes?” *Political Communication* 33, no. 2 (2018): 283-301.

Some of this discourse led to *Polling and Democracy: Report on the AAPOR Task Force on Public Opinion and Leadership*, published Sept. 1, 2013.¹⁹⁵ The task force reviewed “philosophical and theoretical literature relating to public opinion and democracy, and ...the empirical research on the relationship between public opinion and policymaking.” It acknowledged that AAPOR “traditionally focused more on process or methods of public opinion research than it has on the ways in which resulting research data are used....”¹⁹⁶ It came up with a number of recommendations, including:

- AAPOR arguing more publicly for the importance of public opinion in a democracy using scientific research;
- Having a central clearinghouse for public opinion data on specific topics;
- Meta-analyses and meta-reviews of public opinion on key policy areas;
- Sponsoring forums (live or on the web) to discuss these topics, or AAPOR-sponsored sessions with policy makers about these areas;
- Establishing an online “wiki” about such opinion;
- Adapting AAPOR’s Transparency Initiative to more directly provide leaders with the ability to use public opinion research; and
- Forming a committee to focus on facilitating the recommendations above.¹⁹⁷

AAPOR has had a long history of practitioner-scholars contributing to knowledge about public opinion research. Much of that appears in public opinion research-related papers, panels, and publications in various disciplines. In fact, the organization sponsors the *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology*, launched in 2013; *Public Opinion Quarterly*, which first published in 1937; and *Survey Practice*, AAPOR’s electronic journal, which was launched in 2008. (AAPOR also serves on the governing board of *The Journal of Consumer Research*.)

However, the organization appears to have published little itself for general consumption prior to the 1990s, outside of ethics and standards-related materials, and its own by-laws.¹⁹⁸ That is not to say AAPOR was not attending to these public issues, but it was often in concert or support of other industry groups. For example, in 1992, Al Gollin told members that AAPOR’s executive council had endorsed a Research Industry Council position paper on “so-called 1-900 call-in polls.” The RIC recommended the news media use the following disclaimer: “These polls represent the opinion only of those people who have called or written, and not the general public.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ The American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2013. “Polling and Democracy: Report of the AAPOR Task force on Public Opinion and Leadership.” <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Polling-and-Democracy.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 4, 2019. Frank Newport and Robert Y. Shapiro chaired the task force, which also included Whit Ayres, Nancy Belden, James Fishkin, Archon Fung, Susan Herbst, Celinda Lake, Benjamin Page, Susan Page, James P. Pinkerton, J. Ann Selzer and Mark Warren.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ The author searched the non-sealed AAPOR archives at the University of Chicago Library for any mention of ad hoc committee or task force reports. He also examined conference programs beginning in the early 1990s for any mention of sessions dealing with such reports. The 1997 Best Practices was the first he found. Most of those in the list in the appendix can be found only on the AAPOR website; some are in the archives; a few are in private collections.

¹⁹⁹ Albert E. Gollin, *AAPOR News* (1992), p. 1.

Beginning in the late 1990s, AAPOR began creating task forces and ad hoc committees to address specific public opinion research issues. This chapter will review those publications, which are mostly in the form of white papers published online that directly address some specific issue related to a known concern in survey or other public opinion research.

The first section in the chapter deals with publications about sampling and survey quality issues. (AAPOR first published its *Best Practices for Survey and Public Opinion Research and Survey Practices AAPOR Condemns* in May 1997 in a 12-page burgundy-colored booklet.) The next section deals with AAPOR's publications that generally looked at election polling results. The penultimate section reviews three white papers that take on big data, social media, and mobile platforms for collecting public opinion research data. The final section summarizes these reviews and looks at the effects of the reports. It also addresses the future by looking at a final AAPOR white paper on future of telephone general population surveys.

Sampling and Survey Quality Issues

Standard Definitions

In 1998, after much work by many scholars and practitioners, AAPOR published the first edition of *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*.²⁰⁰ Based on a paper laying out the basics of case codes and outcome rates from a committee led by Tom W. Smith, the booklet was one of the early AAPOR publications intended reach a wider audience. This chapter's author was the 1997-1998 AAPOR publications committee chair, and he and Paul J. Lavrakas edited the 28-page booklet.

The booklet followed the format of several other previous publications – about five inches by eight inches, with AAPOR's organizational content (ethics and practices) printed with a burgundy cover; *Standard Definitions* appeared in various colors, differing with each edition. The first edition, printed with a green cover, established the general format found in today's web-based editions at AAPOR.org. Each edition was constructed with background and introduction material, final disposition codes, definitions and calculation formulas for the various outcome rates, conclusions, references, and tables listing the outcome disposition codes.

That first edition covered outcome rates for telephone surveys and for in-person surveys of households. Daves also edited the second “green” edition (2000) and chaired a committee that included Janice Ballou, Lavrakas, David Moore, and Smith. It also covered outcome rates for one additional mode, mail surveys of specifically-named persons. It incorporated updated definitions for the major types of case dispositions, tables delineating final disposition codes, operational definitions and formulas, and a bibliography. On its last page, it contained an

²⁰⁰ The American Association for Public Opinion Research. (1998). *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for RDD Telephone Surveys and In-Person Household Surveys*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: AAPOR. Standard Definitions was based on preliminary work of a group headed by Tom W. Smith of the National Opinion Research Center and the University of Chicago, and included Barbara Bailar, Mick Couper, Don Dillman, Robert M. Groves, William D. Kalsbeek, Jack Ludwig, Peter V. Miller, Harry O'Neill, and Stanley Presser.

AAPOR press release that underlined the need for standard definitions and how these standards were linked to AAPOR's Code of Professional Ethics and Practices.

Smith edited the 2004 edition, which included new material on Internet surveys written mainly by Couper, with Lavrakas, Smith, and Tracy Tuten Ryan. The larger book received direction from Couper, Daves, Lavrakas, and Daniel M. Merkle. Smith led the effort for the fourth edition (2006), chairing a committee of Couper, Daves, Lavrakas, Nancy Mathiowetz and Shap Wolf. Couper, Lavrakas, Smith and Ryan directed the writing for the new material on the Internet.

The fifth edition (2008) also had Smith as editor with new material mainly relating to the handling of cell phones in surveys. He chaired a group that included Couper, Daves, Lavrakas, Mary Losch, and Michael Brick. In 2009, Smith edited a new version in which Lavrakas updated the section on postal codes. The new material dealing with mixed-mode surveys and methods for estimating eligibility rates for unknown cases also had writing directed by Reg Baker, Jon Cohen, Couper, Daves, and Lavrakas. A seventh edition (2011), also edited by Smith, with committee member Mick Couper, led the effort to update the section on Internet surveys; Sara Zuckerbraun drafted the section on establishment surveys. Couper, Daves, Timothy Johnson, Lavrakas, and Richard Morin contributed to that edition's writing.

Smith served as editor of the eighth edition (2015), which saw a revision of the section on establishment surveys develop by Zuckerbraun and Katherine Morton. This edition also addressed the complex issue of calculating outcome rates for dual-frame random-digit-dial surveys, a section developed by a committee Daves led that included Smith, David Dutwin, Mario Callegaro, and Mansour Fahimi. Couper, Johnson and Lavrakas also contributed to the edition.

Smith led the committee for the ninth (2016) edition, aided by Couper, Daves, Dutwin, Johnson, and Lavrakas. The new section on mail surveys of unnamed persons was written by Dutwin, with Couper, Daves, Johnson, Lavrakas, and Smith as members. At this writing, the last update, at 80 pages, was in 2016, with addenda addressing methods of calculating eligibility rates (2009), and outcome rates of mail surveys of unnamed persons (2016).

Outcome Rate Calculator

The early editions of *Standard Definitions* specified the operational formulas used to calculate the four major outcome rates: overall response rate, cooperation rate, refusal rate, and contact rate. This proved to be quite cumbersome, especially for those who were responsible for calculating outcome rates for many polls or surveys during the year. As director of the Minnesota Poll sponsored by the *Star Tribune*, Daves, along with staff from a field agency, developed an Excel workbook in 2001 that enabled researchers to plug in the number of various final dispositions – household refusals, individual refusals, completed interviews, etc. – and the spreadsheet would then calculate the four outcome rates.

The calculator underwent four major revisions as various modes were added to each edition of *Standard Definitions*. The most recent version, 4.0, is found at AAPOR.org. The workbook contains spreadsheets for each of the various survey modes, included dual-frame random-digit-dial phone surveys. A group that included Dutwin, Stephanie Eckman, and Courtney Kennedy, along with Daves, developed that version.

Sampling and Survey Quality Task Force Reports

In the early 2000s, AAPOR began in earnest educating journalists about polling and poll reporting. While not exactly called a task force, a group of researchers who had polling and journalism backgrounds developed a curriculum to help journalists better understand and write about polls. Sponsored by AAPOR and the Annenberg School for Communication, the inaugural presentation was at the Humphry Institute for Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota. Cliff Zukin led the group that included the *L.A. Times*' Susan Pinkus and the *Star Tribune*'s Rob Daves. Zukin went on to deliver more presentations to journalists that year.²⁰¹

A day-long search of AAPOR's records archived at the University of Chicago turned up no task force or ad hoc committee reports. Apparently, it wasn't until AAPOR's website became available for publication that it published these reports, except for *Best Practices* and *Standard Definitions*. In 2008, the first web site report dealt with the new problem of using cell phones in survey research. This chapter's author, in his 2007 AAPOR presidential address, cited cell phones as a thorny issue that he was confident AAPOR could address, much as survey research practitioners figured out how to deal with the transition from in-person household interviews in the 1970s to telephone interviews.²⁰² While many task force reports included cell phones as topics, there are two specific reports AAPOR issued.

The first was issued in April 2008. Paul Lavrakas, chair, and Charlotte Steeh, AAPOR's Standards Committee chair, worked with 14 other task force members after it was formed shortly after the 2007 conference. Its goal was to provide practitioners information they needed when doing cell phone surveys. The white paper²⁰³ contained considerations dealing with coverage and sampling in random-digit-dial surveys, nonresponse in cell phone surveys, legal and ethical issues, measurement, and weighting. Named *2008 Cell Phone Task Force Report*, it recommended three best practices:

- Disclosure should include whether the sample included only landline numbers, only cell phone numbers, or both, and how they were selected from their respective frames.
- All RDD telephone surveys with samples that contain cell phone numbers should fully disclose how any weights have been constructed and what population estimates have been used to post-stratify, recognizing that many such parameters are not available at sub-national levels.
- RDD telephone surveys targeting subgroups in the U.S. with substantial percentages of adults who live in cell phone only households (e.g., 18 – 29 year olds; renters; and those below the poverty threshold) should sample cell phone numbers or, if this is not feasible, discuss how excluding cell phone numbers may affect the results.

Fast forwarding to 2010, AAPOR council commissioned and the second group revised and updated the 2008 report. Lavrakas chaired that group, also operating under the auspices of the

²⁰¹ Cliff Zukin, et al. *A Journalist's Guide to Survey Research and Polls*. AAPOR, 2006.

²⁰² Robert P. Daves, "Presidential Address: Gladly Would We Learn and Teach – And Gladly Should We Gather and Preach." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71 (2007): 491-98.

²⁰³ https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Cell-Phone-Task-Force-Report-2008.aspx#_TOC_250006.

In addition to the two chairs, members included Stephen Blumberg, John Boyle, Michael Brick, Mario Callegaro, Howard Fienberg, Anna Fleeman, Donna Gillin, John Hall, Scott Keeter, Courtney Kennedy, Michael Link, Linda Piekarski, Chuck Shuttles, and Trevor Tompson.

AAPOR Standards Committee, which released its white paper in October.²⁰⁴ The *2010 Cell Phone Task Force Report* decided that it was premature to establish standards for the various “methodological, statistical and operation issues.” The group established working subcommittees to deal with coverage and sampling, nonresponse, measurement, weighting, legal and ethical issues, operation issues, and costs. Each of those topics had its own section in the report.

With respect to sampling and coverage, it concluded that good RDD cell phone samples are available, and enables practitioners to reduce potential coverage error, especially among certain demographic groups. It drew no conclusions about how and if mixing landline and cell phone frames should be done, cautioning that best practices may arise in the coming years. It recognized that cell phone response rates were somewhat lower than comparable landline rates but that the size of the gap was closing. The measurement group found no compelling evidence that cell phone survey data was lower in quality than landline data.

The weighting group recognized that there was no single approach to weighting, recognized that weighting a national sample was likely easier than non-national samples because of lack of population parameters at non-national levels, and urged disclosure. The legal and ethical group “affirmed” that U.S. cell phone numbers should be manually dialed, and to consider respondent safety and privacy issues, as well as remuneration as an incentive. The operations group urged review of screening scripts, interviewing training and assignment to cell phone samples. The cost group recognized that cell phone interviewing costs were an order of magnitude higher than landline interviewing; it also cautioned researchers about the costs of weighting, design effect, and sample proportions in dual frame samples. Finally, recommendations included a number of points about disclosure, which it said furthered two goals already “explicit” in AAPOR’s standards and best practices guidelines.

In 2018, AAPOR addressed another thorny issue in survey research that uses cell phones, the development of spam flagging and call blocking software for cell phones. *Spam Flagging and Call Blocking and Its Impact on Survey Research* recognized that various parties – including cell phone carriers – began providing features for cell phone owners to block incoming calls. Ostensibly, the technology arose to help cell phone users from getting so many unwanted calls from telemarketing and outright scammers – all under the label of “spam.” That technology could be an anathema for survey researchers, as it has the potential to increase coverage and nonresponse error.

The goal of the report was to provide the current relevant information about flagging and blocking “to inform AAPOR members about the full scope of the issue.”²⁰⁵ David Dutwin led the

²⁰⁴ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Cell-Phone-Task-Force-Report.aspx>. Last referenced Dec. 11, 2019. In addition to Lavrakas, task force members included many of those on the 2008 committee. Additionally, Michael Battaglia, Trent Buskirk, Charles DiSogra, David Dutwin, Mansour Fahimi, Thomas M. Guterbock and Randall ZuWallack served in 2010.

²⁰⁵ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Spam-Flagging-and-Call-Blocking-and-Its-Impact-on.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 13, 2019. In addition to Dutwin, the committee included Micheline Blum, Kennon Copeland, Howard Fienberg, Chris Jackson, Eric Jodts, Olga Koly, David Malarek, Gerry Holzbaur, Stephanie Marken, Joe Matuzak, Carol Pierannunzi, Jamie Ridenhour, David Sheppard, Michele Ernst Staehli, Lynn Stalone, John Thompson and Sanjay Vrudhula.

ad hoc committee – not a stated “task force” – that published the report. It went into some depth explaining how flagging and blocking work, and used graphics to show readers various aspects of the software. It delineated how survey researchers could be affected, and the federal government’s involvement.

It concluded by admitting that flagging and blocking techniques had a “reasonable goal: to limit the amount of illegitimate spam calls and illegal telemarketing calls....” It reported that AAPOR was considering action to encourage cell phone technology developers to modify their techniques “to avoid harm to legitimate businesses.” It also concluded that researchers need to check the numbers they use for outbound calling to see if they become blocked or flagged, and encouraged research companies to retire those numbers and acquire new, “clean” numbers.

Opt-in Panels and Nonprobability Samples

The *2010 AAPOR Report on Online Panels*²⁰⁶ was published differently than other white papers coming from task forces: It appeared as a research synthesis in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, the organization’s flagship journal. In 2008, AAPOR’s executive council charged the group with “reviewing the current empirical findings related to opt-in online panels utilized for data collection and developing recommendations for AAPOR members.” Council appeared to be responding to dual pressures. From the industry side, opt-in online panels were less expensive than RDD phone surveys, phone survey nonresponse was increasing, penetration of the Internet was rising, and web surveys afforded cheaper and quicker turnaround time than phone surveys. From a methodological point of view, opt-in panels typically were viewed as not probability samples – or in lay terms, “non-scientific” – and therefore may not provide sample data that could be inferred accurately to some larger population.

The task force recognized that web surveys were not a mature mode, but in the white paper responded to those pressures, citing five objectives:

- To educate the AAPOR membership about how online panels of all kinds are constructed and managed.
- To evaluate online panels from the traditional total survey error (TSE) perspective.
- To describe the application of some newer techniques for working with nonprobability samples.
- To review the empirical literature comparing online research using nonprobability volunteer online panels to traditional methods.

²⁰⁶ Reg Baker, “Research Synthesis: AAPOR Report on Online Panels.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 711-81. <https://academic.oup.com/poq/article/74/4/711/1832222>, last accessed Dec. 11, 2019. Task force members included Reg Baker, Stephen J. Blumberg, J. Michael Brick, Mick P. Couper, Melanie Courtright, J. Michael Dennis, Don Dillman, Martin R. Frankel, Philip Garland, Robert M. Groves, Courtney Kennedy, Jon Krosnick, Paul J. Lavrakas, Sunghee Lee, Michael Link, Linda Piekarski, Kumar Rao, Randall K. Thomas, Dan Zahs. The report said that Doug Rivers, originally part of the group, asked that his name be removed from the report because of his disagreement with the findings.

- To provide guidance to researchers who wish to understand the tradeoffs involved when choosing between a nonprobability online panel and a traditional probability-based sample.

Its lengthy conclusions and recommendations in general met those objectives. One key conclusion was that researchers should avoid nonprobability online panels when a research goal is to estimate some population value accurately. Another was that there are times when a nonprobability panel is an appropriate choice, including examining relationships among variables inside the survey. It also pointed out that panels differ and those differences could affect survey results. It also recommended that research about how to use online panels continue, and that disclosure about methods would be helpful in examining research quality.

AAPOR was not done with addressing the pitfalls of nonprobability samples. It remained concerned about traditional surveys' coverage, rising costs, and nonresponse driving research clients to using nonprobability samples. AAPOR followed the 2010 white paper with a task force that council appointed in the fall of 2011 to “examine the conditions under which various survey designs that do not use probability samples still might be useful for making inferences to a target population.”²⁰⁷ The task force produced a white paper entitled *Non-probability Sampling*.

The report began with background on the industry's use of probability and nonprobability methods. It reviewed the challenges of nonprobability sampling, focusing on the problems with inferring from nonprobability samples to some target population. It reviewed the most frequently used nonprobability methods that practitioners encounter (e.g., sample matching, including quota sampling; weighting; and network sampling).

It tackled the task of measuring quality, recognizing that nonprobability samples violate key assumptions of probability samples: a viable frame for all units in the population, and that each unit has a known, non-zero chance of being selection. It discussed in detail the errors delineated with the total survey error (TSE) paradigm associated with violating those key assumptions: coverage error, sampling error, nonresponse error, and measurement error. It also discussed external validity problem, including how it may not be practical because often external measures for constructing validity tests often do not exist, or are problematic, such as administrative records. It concluded that the “lack of well-defined measures for assessing the quality of non-probability samples” needs to be developed if practitioners want to embrace nonprobability methods.

One of the most useful things the task force developed was the term “fit for purpose,” with survey quality being defined as “fit for the purpose for which decisions might be made.” After reviewing several different sets of fit-for-purpose guidelines, it settled on a five-variable framework. They are required accuracy/precision, depth of detail in the data, practical and ethical constraints, time when the data are needed, and budget (cost).

²⁰⁷ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Non-Probability-Sampling.aspx>, last referenced Dec. 11, 2019. Reg Baker and J. Michael Brick chaired the task force, and members included Nancy A. Bates, Mike Battaglia, Mick P. Couper, Jill A. Dever, Krista J. Gile, and Roger Tourangeau.

After *Standard Definitions* and the Excel outcome rate calculator were published, and as subsequent editions allowed researchers to calculate outcome rates with more survey modes than just landline phone surveys, it became easier for researchers to calculate outcome rates, including refusal rates. In September 2014, a task force on survey refusals co-chaired by David Dutwin and John Loft under the auspices of the Standards Committee published *Current Knowledge and Considerations Regarding Survey Refusals*, which began at the beginning – defining what a survey refusal is. The task force’s intention was to serve “as a resource for survey researchers interested in learning about the current state of knowledge about refusals . . . , their impact, techniques to minimize them, and ethical considerations for the rights of respondents with regard to survey refusals.” It also was aimed at institutional review boards and others that wanted to know more about these technical survey topics.²⁰⁸

The task force grew out of a concern with rising refusal rates, which potentially contributes to nonresponse bias in surveys. Additional concerns included the rising costs to deal with refusals, along with the ethical concerns mentioned above. The report examined what a refusal actually was, who is likely to refuse, refusal aversion strategies researchers use, and refusal conversions. In addition to a call for further research (as with virtually all task force reports), the white paper developed recommendations centered on each of those sections:

- What is a refusal: The report called for more research and better ways to deal with refusals where there is little information about why a respondent refused. It called for better understanding about the point of diminishing returns, and voice mail effects in phone interviews. It also cautioned against attempting to convert “hard” refusals.
- Who refuses: The report called for more research into potential for nonresponse bias between refusers and nonrefusers, and to improve techniques that lead to completed interviews, not refusals
- Refusal aversion and conversion: The report called for a meta-analysis or review of current research in mixed-mode surveys to disentangle refusals and noncontacts. It also recommended looking at effects of advance letters, voice mail messages and answering machines, incentives optimization of calling rules and patterns, and efficacy of refusal conversion attempts. In addition to these, it called for more research on interviewer effect on cooperation, effect on TSE, and cell phone refusals.

This white paper has many things in common with other white papers including explaining the topic and the reasons for the focused look at it, and providing information needed to understand the topic. But unlike other white papers, it didn’t extensively discuss best practices; rather, it focused on key areas that beg for further research.

²⁰⁸ https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Current-Knowledge-and-Considerations-Regarding-Sur.aspx#_Toc393959655. Last accessed Dec. 12, 2019. In addition to the co-chairs, the task force also included Jill Darling, Allyson Holbrook, Timothy Johnson, Ronald E. Langley, Paul J. Lavrakas, Kristen Olson, Emilia Peytcheva, Jeffrey Stec, Timothy Triplett, and Andrew L. Zukerberg.

In 2016, AAPOR released two task force reports. One dealt specifically with address-based sampling (ABS) and the other was a more global look at evaluating survey quality in a complex environment. The *Task Force Report on Address-based Sampling* was the first on the website to imbed a webinar at the top of the report, enabling web viewers to see Rachel Harter, the task force chair, and other task force members provide nearly an hour of video detailing the results.²⁰⁹ The goals of the task force were to inform about ABS basics and terminology, discuss ABS sample design, data collection methods, and special issues with case definitions (especially in mixed-mode surveys), and quality and cost issues. In addition to pointing out limitations of the mode, it also wanted to recommend methods for weighting and computing response rates. It cautioned readers that it was a “current review,” and might not stand the test of time due to a rapidly changing field.

One of the more useful aspects of the white paper was to review how the U.S. Postal Service uses its Address Management System and how it works with vendors whom it licenses to provide samples. This is reminiscent of what the authors of *Standard Definitions* had to deal with when developing an outcome classification system based on USPS delivery codes. Like many white papers in other professions and unlike some other AAPOR white papers, this one provided a helpful checklist of questions to ask sample vendors, and reviewed issues dealing with sampling within households, attaching data from auxiliary variables to the sample, incentives to increase response rates, weighting, reporting guidelines, and other salient aspects of ABS.

Unlike most AAPOR task force reports, this white paper did not summarize a list of recommendations at the end. Rather, it imbedded them section by section. For auxiliary data, the recommendations dealt with limitations, e.g., don’t exclude addresses on the basis of auxiliary variables such as name, phone numbers, etc., to prevent coverage bias. For the sampling section, it recommended a number of data collection approaches, and recommends the use of incentives (money works!). It also stressed the need for further research to understand how well second incentives work. It stressed that weighting for other types of surveys do not necessarily apply to ABS studies. It also reviewed reporting requirements that would meet AAPOR’s disclosure standards; those requirements are more detailed than other modes, especially RDD. For example, the report says the name of the vendor type of ABS frame should be specified.

Also in 2016, AAPOR issued a much more global task force report than the ABS white paper. *Evaluating Survey Quality in Today’s Complex Environment* grew out of a confluence of the public’s appetite for more surveys (this was a presidential election year), and the growth of new technologies, data sources and methods.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Address-based-Sampling.aspx>. Last accessed on Dec. 12, 2019. In addition to Harter, task force members included Michael P. Battaglia, Trent D. Buskirk, Don A. Dillman, Ned English, Mansour Fahimi, Martin R. Frankel, Timothy Kennel, Joseph P. McMichael, Cameron Brook McPhee, Jill Montaquila, Tracie Yancey, and Andrew L. Zuckerberg.

²¹⁰ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Evaluating-Survey-Quality.aspx>. Last referenced Dec. 12, 2019. In addition to the co-chairs, the task force included Scott Keeter, Paul Biemer, Courtney Kennedy, Frauke Kreuter, Andrew Mercer, and George Terhanian.

The white paper took a different format than other AAPOR white papers. Rather than setting out the problem, discussing the intricacies of it, then offering recommendations or best practices, this white paper first cites the TSE paradigm and stresses the importance of transparency. Then, using the TSE outline, it organized a series of questions to highlight any red flags about the research. This was reminiscent of the 2006 *Journalist's Guide* AAPOR published, and the National Council on Public Polls' *20 Questions a Journalist Should Ask about Poll Results*.²¹¹ Unlike *20 Questions*, the report went into detail about its 17 questions, providing background for each one that includes positive characteristics that readers should look for and characteristics that should raise red flags.

Pre-election Poll Task Forces

AAPOR.org has published three reports dealing with pre-election polling, one dealing with the 2008 pre-election polls in the New Hampshire Primary, another with the 2008 pre-election primary polls, and the most recent that dealt with the 2016 general election polls. All attempt to address why the final polls before the election do not appear to reflect the outcome of the election.

In 2008, fresh from an Iowa caucus win, Barack Obama was hoping to win the New Hampshire and subsequent primary elections as he did in Iowa, defeating Hillary Clinton. Although Real Clear Politics currently doesn't appear to have data for this election, a Wikipedia article cited RCP as showing that Obama had a 13-point lead over Clinton in January after being tied with her in December. Clinton eventually beat Obama by 2.6 percentage points.²¹²

A short release on Jan. 9, 2008 and updated the day after (and not really a "task force" report like others) cautioned election watchers that the disparity between the polls and the election outcome could be from many reasons: event history, social desirability bias, the role of undecideds, likely voter models and nonresponse. *Pre-Election Polling in New Hampshire: What Went Wrong* said the discrepancies should be examined to understand more about the disparity, and called for pollsters to disclose their methods and measures so scholars could analyze what happened. Nothing more was posted on its website.

Much of that analysis appeared not to have been done. At the 61st Annual Conference in New Orleans that year, there were many of the usual papers on sampling, methods, measures and questionnaire design present at the conference, and many dealt with measuring public opinion after the catastrophic hurricane Katrina. But only one panel on primary pre-election polls in general specifically dealt with the issues AAPOR cited in its January 2008, releases. And only one paper²¹³ addressed the effect of survey methods and electoral conditions in the primary election but excluded New Hampshire from the analysis for reasons the author does not recall.²¹⁴ Another paper looked at undecided voters in the New Hampshire primary election and suggested that current measures "concealed voters' lack of decisiveness"; it suggested a different way of

²¹¹ <http://www.ncpp.org/?q=node/4>. Last accessed Dec. 12, 2019. The author understands that NCPP is no longer active and the web site will be taken down.

²¹² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_New_Hampshire_Democratic_primary. Last accessed Dec. 10, 2019.

²¹³ Chase Harrison. 2008, "Methods, Contests and Multi-Party Races: The Impact of Survey Methods and Electoral Conditions in U.S. Presidential Primary Elections." Paper abstracted in the 2008 AAPOR conference program, p. 130.

²¹⁴ Chase Harrison 2019. Personal communication. Dec. 10, 2019.

measuring support, rather than examining the cause of the disparity between the final polls and the election outcome.²¹⁵

In 2016, the election of Donald J. Trump as president took many by surprise, as the national popular vote polls consistently showed Hillary Clinton ahead by single digits. The final Real Clear Politics averages of all polls showed her with a 3.2-point lead in the popular vote over Trump.²¹⁶ AAPOR's *An Evaluation of the 2016 Election Polls in the U.S.* termed the 2016 election "jarring."²¹⁷ The report was based on an examination of the 2016 pre-election polls by an ad hoc committee led by the Pew Center's Courtney Kennedy and included a host of nationally known practitioners and methodologists from universities and commercial polling companies.

The white paper concluded that the national polls were generally correct: Collectively, polling showed Clinton ahead by about three percentage points; she won the popular (national) vote by 2.1 percentage points. The white paper termed that "good performance by historic standards." However, the report concluded that state polls, which are important in understanding the electoral college vote, had a "historically bad year" with the underestimation of Trump's support, especially in the pivotal states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. It cited real late changes in voter choices for Trump, especially in states where he narrowly won. The committee found little backing for the "shy Trump" hypothesis, which posited that respondents would find it socially unacceptable to say they would vote for Trump. Rather, the report found, pollsters in those state polls failed to weight by education to correct for overrepresentation of college-educated voters in their samples, who were more likely to support Clinton. The committee also found little support for nonresponse bias, and found no partisan favoritism in U.S. polling. The committee looked at various other reasons, but either found no data with which to use in an analysis, or little support for the reasons.

The committee shook its collective finger at poll aggregators and estimators for helping "crystalize belief that Clinton was a shoo-in..." It also took to task those who used polls to forecast elections, rather than viewing them as a snapshot in time. Its last conclusion was a caution that the 2016 election polls were "not an indictment on all survey research or even all of polling."

Human Subjects Protection

Most AAPOR task forces were commissioned to deal with technical issues such as sampling, the innards of polling problems during elections and the like. Nearly all of the white papers include sections – or at least give a nod – to ethical considerations such as privacy. Only one focused solely on human subject protection.

²¹⁵ Andrew Smith, and David A. Moore (2008), "Voter Decision Making." Paper abstracted in the 2008 AAPOR conference program, p. 172.

²¹⁶ https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2016/president/us/general_election_trump_vs_clinton-5491.html. Last accessed Dec. 11, 2019

²¹⁷ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/An-Evaluation-of-2016-Election-Polls-in-the-U-S.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 11, 2019. In addition to Kennedy, the ad hoc committee members included Mark Blumenthal, Scott Clement, Joshua D. Clinton, Claire Durand, Charles Franklin, Kyley McGeeney, Lee Miringoff, Kristen Olson, Doug Rivers, Lydia Saad, Evans Witt, and Chris Wlezien.

In 2000, the National Institutes of Health told the research community that beginning that October, the NIH would require human subject protection training for proposals for any projects NIH funded. *Status of Human Subjects Protection Training Requirements* stated that the implications for clinical researchers was clear, but for survey and other social and behavioral researchers there remained a lot of uncertainty.²¹⁸

Although the report was under the auspices of AAPOR's standards committee, there were no task force members or authors listed. The short (less than 1,000 words) report delineated a training that survey researchers and research companies were doing to meet NIH requirements. It concluded that the safest approach was that "all personnel who have contact with human subjects" receive the training.

Social Media, Mobile Platforms, and Big Data

Even before the revelations that the Russians were using social media – Facebook, Twitter, and the like – to try to influence the outcome of the 2016 presidential election – AAPOR published a white paper about these emerging technologies' use in public opinion research.²¹⁹ The paper was the result of the investigation of a 2012 executive council decision to form the Emerging Technologies Task Force. The task force had the initial goal of looking at what it considered "interconnected areas" – social media as platforms and data sources, and Smartphones as data collection devices.²²⁰ Now, of course, that would extend to other "smart" devices such as tablets and larger devices that near the computing power of a laptop. The task force resulted in two white papers, one on social media and another on mobile platforms. A third, independent white paper, focused on big data, and is reviewed at the end of this section.

Mobile Technologies for Conducting, Augmenting and Potentially Replacing Surveys jumped right into the purpose of the paper: Mobile devices with all their integrated video, telephony, text, GPS and their other applications, "opened the door to a new generation of measurement tools for those who study public opinion." It documented the rise toward saturation of mobile devices, and admitted that even though the devices could be used for data collection, much was unknown in 2013 when the report was released about how they worked, and how that could be leveraged for survey researchers. It also acknowledged how quickly the technology changed, another barrier to researchers, which remains today.

The report reviewed early experiments doing surveys with mobile devices that looked at traditional issues – mode effect, question option effects, and nonresponse effects. It also addressed ethics and privacy, especially in a world where regulating privacy is difficult as innovation occurs in technology. Privacy concerns expressed in this paper are familiar today: security of personal data storage, informed consent, and different modes (SMS compared with

²¹⁸ <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Status-of-Human-Subjects-Protection-Training-Require.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 13, 2019.

²¹⁹ Murphy, Joe, and Link, Michael, et al. May 28, 2014. AAPOR. Social Media in Public Opinion Research: Report of the AAPOR Task Force on Emerging Technologies in Public Opinion Research. <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Social-Media-in-Public-Opinion-Research.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 9, 2019. This section draws from this online report.

²²⁰ Link, Michael, and Murphy, Joe, et al. Mobile Technologies for Conducting, Augmenting and Potentially Replacing Surveys. <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Mobile-Technologies-for-Conducting,-Augmenting-and.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 26, 2019.

video). It also addressed “passive data collection,” such as the ability of Smartphones to “identify respondents’ location and track their movements.” It cautioned researchers to follow, develop, and use designs to follow the “do no harm” philosophy to ensure that respondents would not be “harmed” or “adversely affected.”

The report delineated a set of suggestions for researchers, admitting that was more suitable than recommending best practices. It suggested:

- Matching the tools and task to the respondents, i.e., which respondent populations were most likely to be accessed by specific types of devices;
- Following established guidelines for contacting cell phones;
- Recognizing that if researchers are conducting online surveys, respondents would be using mobile devices as well;
- Keeping things short and simple – always good traits in a survey --- applied even more for length, layout, and format for mobile device questionnaires;
- Understanding the devices limits and nuances (e.g., one could collect location data via GPS applications on the device);
- Pretesting: Again, as with traditional modes, pretesting is essential. The paper specifically acknowledged that while many devices are similar, there is enough diversity to test user interface, quality, and completeness of the data.

The report concluded with recommendations for future research, such as minimizing coverage, sampling, and measurement error. Time has shown – in just these few years since the report was issued – that the fear of mobile technology becoming a niche methodology – is unfounded. It also stressed the need for future best practices.

Just a year and a half later, in May of 2014, AAPOR released the white paper on *Social Media and Public Opinion Research*. The paper acknowledged that with access to different “publics,” social media could have a profound effect on traditional survey research. It postulated that “the ways in which people both access and share information about opinions, attitudes and behaviors have gone through perhaps a greater transformation in the last decade...” than ever before. But despite those dramatic changes, it pointed out in some ways it is just another set of tools – qualitative and quantitative – that researchers can use in a cost-effective way in a scientific effort to collect data to test hypotheses and answer research questions.

It first defined social media, reviewed how it was used, and the type of information that could be captured as data from various platforms. It reviewed quality considerations, including a caution that “specific point-estimates” may not be generalized to a broader population and a directive to look at and document social media’s advantages and potential error sources, including incomplete information. One of those problems, the paper suggested, was how to use social media to construct a sampling frame and recruit respondents. However, because of the textual nature of much social media, the paper suggested that the growing sophistication of text analysis software would contribute to understanding public opinion contained in social media. Current uses cited in the paper include actively identifying, locating, and interacting with study participants, passively monitoring as an early-warning or forecasting system, or as a supplement to traditional survey research.

The paper also discussed legal and ethical considerations, advising researchers to self-regulate in the absence of federal or international regulations and be aware of individual sites' terms of use. It made a fascinating distinction between public and private space, and the implications for research subject protection. Public space, it argued, implied informed consent, while private space social media content implied more privacy protection for subjects. It recommended that privacy and ethics issues needed continued refinement.

Looking at “the road ahead,” the paper raised the issues of validating social media data (i.e., do posts on Facebook mean what we think they mean?), addressing coverage, sampling and differential access challenges, integrating social media with survey research, and leveraging social media's unique features, such as the prescient “glimpse into the social network of individuals,” as in President Donald Trump's use of Twitter to set policy and attempt to chastise those who disagree with him.

In February 2015, AAPOR's task force on “big data” issued its report, *AAPOR Report: Big Data*.²²¹ The task force, co-chaired by Lilli Japac (Statistics Sweden) and Frauke Kreuter (Joint Program at the University of Maryland and University of Mannheim's Institute for Employment Research (IAB)), took a considered look at another yield of expanding technology – the ability to collect and analyze far greater amounts of data than ever before. The task force detailed four objectives: AAPOR member education, big data potential, big data challenges, and possible solutions and research needs. The report sprung from a “pressing need” for examining how its researchers could profit by better using surveys and their findings by understanding more about new data developments.

The report met its education objective by attempting to define “big data.” That early attempt was cursory, saying that it is “an imprecise description of a rich and complicated set of characteristics, practices, techniques, ethical issues, and outcomes all associated with data.” It implied, but did not specifically mention amounts or sizes of data in the definition. It gave examples from big data's origin in the physical sciences (physics and astronomy), and cited more recent examples ranging from massive pricing data that helps estimate inflation more quickly than the traditional Consumer Price Index to the vast amount of text in social media. Contrast that to Oxford's later definition: “Extremely large data sets that may be analyzed computationally to reveal patterns, trends, and associations, especially relating to human behavior and interactions.”²²²

However, the report went on to detail key characteristics of big data: volume (left out in the first definition), velocity, variety, variability, veracity (or lack of it), and complexity. It also mentioned the “found data” aspect of large-scale datasets, and how secondary analysis is used for observation. One of the fascinating threads in this report is how it graphically showed how science paradigms had changed over the millennia from describing natural phenomena to current data exploration using theory, experimentation, and simulation.

²²¹Japac, Lilli and Frauke Kreuter. 2015. AAPOR. AAPOR Report: Big Data. In addition to Japac and Kreuter, the task force members included Marcus Berg, Paul Biemer, Paul Decker, Cliff Lampe, Julia Lane, Cathy O'Neil, and Abe Usher. <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports/Big-Data.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 26, 2019.

²²²https://www.lexico.com/definition/big_data. Last accessed Dec. 9, 2019.

A key aspect of the report is the “so what” factor. The report shows how analysis of big data can benefit businesses in productivity and suggests that society can better understand and reduce crime and improve health delivery by offering “entirely new ways to measure behaviors.” Specifically addressing the “so what” factor, the report made six recommendations: AAPOR should:

1. Take advantage of the complementary survey and big data sources;
2. Develop standards for the use of big data in survey research;
3. Begin educating members by working with the private sector and other professional organizations;
4. Inform the public of big data risks and benefits;
5. Help remove the barrier associated with different uses of terminology; and
6. Take a leading role in working with federal agencies in developing the infrastructure for the use of big data in survey research.

Summary and Conclusions

With the advent of desktop and laptop computer technologies, which rose in use beginning in the late 1980s and now is ubiquitous, those without formal training in survey methodology can launch surveys without having to depend on mainframe machines, then located mainly at universities, the federal government or large corporations, to do their tabulations and analysis.

AAPOR has had to grapple with these changes. President Murray Edelman forecasted one change – that more communication would be moved away from print and to the newly designed web site.²²³ AAPOR President Don Dillman reported to members in 2001 that the executive council was grappling with its increased responsibility to have an “effective voice in our areas of expertise...”²²⁴ At the same time, AAPOR members were grappling with the definition of a “scientific survey.” The effort rose from the perceived need to differentiate scientific surveys from those clearly nonscientific, such as 1-900 “call in” polls.²²⁵

In 2004, President Nancy Belden demonstrated how the organization was beginning to look outward by advising fellow practitioners to confront polling naysayers. She reported that the executive council had endorsed a program to work on a “campaign to help change the [negativism about polling] climate in which we operate.” She said council envisioned a campaign aimed “initially at opinion leaders and journalists.”²²⁶ That would come to fruition in 2006 with a seminar for journalists at the Center for the Study of Politics and Governance at the Humphry Institute at the University of Minnesota and future seminars in various parts of the country. The seminars were accompanied by a loose-leaf binder crafted specifically for journalists called *A Journalist’s Guide to Survey Research and Polls*, written by Cliff Zukin with Susan Pinkus of the *L.A. Times* and this chapter’s author, who then was the director of polling

²²³ Murray Edelman, “The President’s Column.” *AAPOR News*, Summer, 2000, p. 5.

²²⁴ Don A. Dillman, “The President’s Column.” *AAPOR News*, Summer, 2001, p. 2

²²⁵ Rob Santos, “AAPOR Members Grapple with the Definition of a ‘Scientific Survey,’” *AAPOR News*, Summer, 2001, p. 3

²²⁶ Nancy Belden, “President’s Column.” *AAPOR News*, Summer, 2004, p. 2

and news research at the *Star Tribune* in Minneapolis-St. Paul. The guide was sponsored by AAPOR and the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School.

But overall, AAPOR still looked inward in the mid-2000s. In March 2005, AAPOR's executive council commissioned a long-range planning committee to focus its efforts on education, public communication, membership and conference.²²⁷ Despite the nod to public communication, which contained direction for the AAPOR communications director to look externally, many of the long-range planning objectives were internally focused. As Zukin said, "The Long Range Planning Committee focused mainly on our membership and didn't do much to look outward until the late 2000s."²²⁸

It was not until 2008 that AAPOR released its short statement on the polling problems in the wake of the New Hampshire primary election polling.²²⁹ While that is the first posting of a report on AAPOR's website dealing with methodological or polling issues, other short press releases dealing with methods and measures began in 2000 with a statement that web surveys were unlikely to represent all views.²³⁰

That first actual task force report on the AAPOR web site was in 2008, which dealt with cell phones. Since those days of "episodic releases, mostly around elections," as Zukin describes it, AAPOR has addressed – and published for everyone, not just members, academics and practitioners – tough topics in the polling and survey research world, including the Clinton-Trump election in 2016. The results have been insightful and authoritative analyses posted on AAPOR's website to ensure that the large community of survey practitioners, members of the academy, the media, and the public has the up-to-date science about the key survey issues of the day.

²²⁷ Cliff Zukin, et al., "Report of the Long Range Planning Committee to the Executive Council." 2006, p. 3.

²²⁸ Cliff Zukin, Personal communication. Dec. 12, 2019.

²²⁹ "Pre-Election Polling in New Hampshire: What Went Wrong?" <https://www.aapor.org/Education-Resources/Reports.aspx>. Last accessed Dec. 6, 2019.

²³⁰ "Web Surveys Unlikely to Represent All Views." <http://www.aapor.org>. Accessed Dec. 6, 2019. Note: That followed another year in which the New Hampshire pre-election primary polls did not reflect the outcome of the election. See David Moore, "'Poleaxed' in New Hampshire?" *AAPOR News*, Winter, 2000, p. 1, 4.

Appendix

Reports from ad hoc committees and task forces included in this chapter:

Spam Flagging and Call Blocking and Its Impact on Survey Research, released February 12, 2018

An Evaluation of 2016 Election Polls in the U.S., released May 4, 2017

The Future of U.S. General Population Telephone Survey Research, released April 25, 2017

Evaluating Survey Quality in Today's Complex Environment, released June 23, 2016

Task Force Report on Address-based Sampling, released January 12, 2016

Task Force Report on Big Data, released February 12, 2015

Current Knowledge and Considerations Regarding Survey Refusals, released September 8, 2014

Social Media and Public Opinion Research, released May 30, 2014

Mobile Technologies for Conducting, Augmenting and Potentially Replacing Surveys, released May 12, 2014

Polling and Democracy, released September 2, 2013

Non-Probability Sampling, released June 22, 2013

2010 Cell Phone Task Force Report, released October 28, 2010

Opt In Online Panel Task Force Report, released June 2010

Report to the AAPOR Standards Committee on the Status of Human Subjects Protection Training Requirements, released May 16, 2009

An Evaluation of the Methodology of the 2008 Pre-Election Primary Polls, released March 30, 2009

2008 Cell Phone Task Force Report, released April 2008

Pre-Election Polling in New Hampshire: What Went Wrong?, released January 1, 2008

A Journalist's Guide to Survey Research and Polls, completed February 2006

Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys, published in 2000

Best Practices for Survey and Public Opinion Research and Survey Practices AAPOR
Condemns, published May 1997

16. AAPOR Education

Melissa J. Herrmann

While AAPOR members represent a diverse mix of organizational affiliations, educational background, research methodologies, and demographics, they share a common interest in learning and sharing knowledge. This interest has been expressed throughout the years in well-attended conferences and a growing body of impactful publications. For nearly five decades, AAPOR has also recognized its membership's demand for extended learning and teaching opportunities. To answer this demand, AAPOR council, back in 1971, founded an ad hoc education subcommittee, which 45 years later would become a part of council, as the Education Committee. What started as an ad-hoc committee has since evolved into a standing Council member with a three-pronged mission aimed at continual education of both membership and the public at-large. AAPOR's Education Committee now provides AAPOR members year-round learning opportunities, alongside public-facing teaching opportunities aimed at the news media. This chapter tracks the evolution of education and the Education Committee, as a part of AAPOR's commitment to its membership and to public opinion consumers. We look at the increasing roles assigned to the committee through the past decades, namely short courses, journalist education, and online education, and the path the committee took to become a full-fledged part of council.

The Education Committee is a reflection of AAPOR membership. In spite of its focus on teaching, it is a place where educators work together with survey professionals from the private sector and the nonprofit realm to create a curriculum for their fellow researchers to advance the field's collective knowledge. This comes to fruition as hundreds of AAPOR conference attendees spend an extra day at the conference attending a wide range of short courses, in the ongoing education efforts taking place through monthly webinars, through AAPOR conference offerings such as Professional Development events and ResearchHack, and through outreach by AAPOR to journalists covering the public opinion beat. The importance of the Education Committee's mission is now formally recognized by the organization in giving the committee and its chair a seat at the Council table.

Short Courses

In 1996, the education committee was tasked by AAPOR Executive Council with planning and implementing an expansion of short-course offerings at the Annual Conference. Between 1994 and 1997, there were one or two short courses offered at the annual meeting. This number kept growing and fluctuating until the committee settled on about five courses each conference. Since 2008, this number has been gradually increasing. During the 2020 conference, which was offered in a virtual format, five short courses were presented.

The beginnings of the short-course platform were humble enough: up until 1996, short courses were two-to-three-hour offerings that were free of charge. The instructors were not offered honoraria (or other forms of compensation) in exchange for teaching a course. This changed in 1996 when AAPOR began to professionalize the short-course program, providing instructors an honorarium, standardizing the half-day courses at 3.5 hours each, and charging attendees for attending the courses. Over time, the courses became a draw to the conference, being offered the

day before the conference begins (typically Wednesday), on the morning before the official conference start (Thursday), and on the conference's final day (Sunday).

The courses also became a source of revenue for AAPOR. In order to cover the costs of instructors' compensation (honorarium, registration, and some of their lodging costs), a minimum number of registrants was necessary for each course. This number was typically in the teens. However, nearly all courses exceeded these minimum thresholds of attendance, with some courses' attendance nearing a hundred. Responding to the evident demand, AAPOR's education committee regularly suggested, and was authorized by Council, to expand the number of courses offered. In this way, short courses benefited membership and AAPOR's desire to expand its collective knowledge of best and most current practices.

As the short courses became a staple of the Annual Conference, the Education Committee formed the short-course subcommittee that worked year-round on the upcoming conference's slate of short courses. Starting in 2007, key changes took place with regard to how short courses were implemented in the Education Committee. First off, the Education Committee sought to establish more regular course offerings. The Education Committee began collecting from attendees' evaluations of each short course and instructor, analyzing this feedback, and using this as a mechanism for choosing future courses and instructors. In addition to collecting feedback from course attendees, the committee also solicited course suggestions in the annual member survey to both attract new course registrants and also better represent the continuing education needs of the entire membership. To that end, a course and program evaluation system was implemented.

The workings of the short-course subcommittee were simultaneously structured, and data-driven to some extent, and unstructured or nearly improvised as far as the process by which each year's course-lineup was set. To decide on courses and instructors, the subcommittee was informed by two formal sources: (1) the recurring AAPOR membership survey that included questions on the types of courses and topics members wished to be taught; (2) feedback given at the end of each short course that included an evaluation of the course, as well as suggestions for future courses. Informed by these two sources, conversations with peers, and discussions on AAPORNet, subcommittee members would map out what they thought was in demand each year.

As a rule of thumb, the subcommittee sought a mix of beginning, mid-level, and advanced courses, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Courses would cover basics such as sampling, weighting and survey statistics, questionnaire design, or cognitive interviewing for example, as well as very specific methods or analytical tools. The course lineup, mapped over time, also told the story of developments in survey research: gradually, courses focused more on online research, how to reach cell phone users, the rise of Address-Based Sampling, and application and issues with nonprobability samples.

The next step in the formalization of the Education Committee also saw the short-course subcommittee formalize the process of proposing and selecting short courses. Rather than subcommittee members reaching out to prospective instructors or fielding informal suggestions from them, instructors now submit proposed courses through a dedicated portal. The subcommittee then discusses the various courses offered by the instructors and produces the annual slate of courses.

Throughout its evolution, the Education Committee has been able to draw quality instructors from within the ranks for AAPOR membership. The success of the AAPOR short courses depends upon this. The Education Committee continues to seek out new instructors while still reaching out to established AAPOR instructors to fulfill this role.

Online Education

The Education Committee established the use of webinars as another educational outlet. AAPOR offered its first webinar, “Address Based Sampling (ABS) Theory and Operationalization,” presented by David Dutwin, in June 2011. The following year, AAPOR offered four webinars, covering topics such as the use of paradata to improve surveys and weighting for dual-frame RDD surveys. These webinars were so successful that AAPOR expanded to offering eight webinars in 2013, including the first free professional development webinar, “Thoughts on Working Across Research Sectors During One's Career.”

As of 2020, AAPOR was offering eight to eleven webinars a year. Similar to the Short Course Subcommittee, in its first few years, Online Education Committee selected its webinars for the year by evaluating responses to the annual membership survey and feedback provided at the end of each webinar and then reaching out to potential presenters. In 2018, AAPOR also began offering institutional subscriptions to provide large organizations with multiple members the opportunity to purchase webinar access for all of their employees, as a continuing education benefit. The Online Education Committee also offers webinar subscriptions for members. While renewing their AAPOR membership, members can elect to subscribe to the full year of webinars at a deeply discounted rate. With the start of the subscription offering, the committee also began to solicit proposals for webinars once a year in the late summer. The committee then convenes to determine the program for the following year.

The Online Education program each year seeks to provide a wide variety of topics, both methodological and substantive, with a balanced mix of beginner, intermediate, and advanced programs. Examples of webinars throughout the years include: “Accuracy in Election Polling” (Courtney Kennedy and Emily Guskin, 2020), “Data Visualization in R” (Brady West, 2018), “Why Do a Mixed-Mode Survey?” (Don Dillman, 2017), “Extending the Total Survey Error Perspective to Multiple-Surveys and Big Data” (Tom W. Smith, 2016), “The Elephant is Still in the Room: Racial Attitudes and Public Opinion” (Maria Krysan and David Wilson, 2015), “Public Opinion on the Affordable Care Act” (Mollyann Brodie, 2014), “Survey Coding: Best Practices for Coding Open-Ended Survey Data” (John Krosnick, Arthur “Skip” Lupia, and Matt Berent, 2013), and “Improving Surveys with Paradata: Making Use of Process Information” (Frauke Kreuter, 2012).

With a large depth of webinar topics, the Online Education Committee also started to offer webinar “AAPOR Webinar Kits” where select topics were grouped together for researchers to dive deep into one method by watching a series of on-demand webinars. For example, the Surveys 101 kit includes webinars as follows: “Questionnaire Design” (Allyson Holbrook, 2013), “Non-probability Sampling for Finite Population Inference” (Jill Dever and Richard Valliant, 2016), “Design and Weighting for Dual Frame Surveys” (Michael Brick, 2015), “The Usage of Incentives in Survey Research” (Paul Lavrakas, 2014), “Improving Surveys with Paradata: Making Use of Process Information” (Frauke Kreuter, 2012), “A ‘How To’ Course on

AAPOR Response Rate Calculations, and Practical Examples from the Field” (David Dutwin, 2016).

Journalist Education

Beyond its membership, AAPOR’s Education Committee also specifically targets educating journalists. There are two main goals for AAPOR in that regard: The first goal is to provide journalists with opportunities to learn about public opinion polls and surveys. The second goal is to establish AAPOR as an information source for journalists regarding public opinion polls and surveys, including understanding methodology, controversies in polling, and skillful interpretation of data.

To meet these goals, AAPOR created a “cheat sheet” for journalists to better understand and cover polls. It lays out simple explanations and has tools specifically created for journalists in a one-page format for easy reference.

AAPOR has a partnership with the Poynter Institute (poynter.org), an organization with an online educational platform. AAPOR developed an online curriculum for Poynter that is available called “Understanding and Interpreting Polls.” There are both U.S. and international versions of the self-guided online curriculum.

Additionally, AAPOR created online Election Polling resources, including detailed fact sheets explaining various aspects of election polling for a lay audience and free access on the AAPOR website to election polling-related articles from *Public Opinion Quarterly* (POQ), AAPOR’s peer-reviewed journal.

In preparation for each presidential election cycle, the Journalist Education Committee reviews and updates all the materials in the Poynter course as well as the fact sheets.

Members of the Journalist Education Subcommittee lead webinars for journalists and others who are interested in polling to provide guidance for coverage and introduction to the materials AAPOR offers.

The chair of the Journalist Education Subcommittee works with other AAPOR committee chairs to share the committee’s materials as widely as possible. Separately, the committee alerts committee chairs to egregious errors in poll coverage in order for the AAPOR team to effectively respond and provide journalists with appropriate AAPOR resources.

The committee also engages with journalism schools to educate future journalists about the basics of polling and how to use polling and data in their reporting.

Professional Development

The AAPOR Education Committee also established a Subcommittee on Professional Development. This committee organized professional development breakfasts and panels at the Annual Conference. At these events, this subcommittee brings together speakers/presenters on topics beyond research per se but about career development. Topics have included things like “How to Write Effective Grant Proposals for Survey Projects,” presented by Cheryl Eavey, Jon

Krosnick, and Quin Monson, “Building a Career in Survey Research,” presented by Betsy Martin, Peter Miller, Geri Mooney, and Mark Schulman, and “Talking about Polls: How to EFFECTIVELY Communicate with Journalists, Clients, and Other Non-Scientists,” presented by Nancy Belden, Mike Mokrzycki, and Rich Morin.

In addition to the professional development panel at the Annual Conference, the subcommittee also coordinated one free professional development webinar each year, which included “Thoughts on Working Across Research Sectors,” moderated by Michael Link, with Gillian SteelFisher, John Thompson, Ali Mokdad, and Paul Lavrakas as panelists. This subcommittee was disbanded due to overlapping initiatives from the Membership and Chapter Relations Committee and the Conference Committee, who assumed the activities of this subcommittee.

ResearchHack

The first ResearchHack was held at the 2014 conference in Anaheim, CA. The goal of this activity, based on traditional hackathons, was to enhance early career and student engagement and experience at the conference with a challenging survey/public opinion experience. In just over 24 hours, ResearchHack participants worked in teams to solve a problem presented by Feeding America: how to use Instagram to collect and analyze data. In this initial event, 33 “hackers” participated and were supported by ten judges and advisors who were established AAPOR members providing their time and insight.

In 2015, the program was expanded to include new conference attendees and “ResearchHack 2.0” participants worked in teams to develop innovative research methods to eradicate polio globally. After taking a one-year hiatus, eligibility criteria were further expanded in 2017, where ResearchHack was opened to all members to identify possible use of the U.S. Census Bureau’s Planning Database (PDB), which provides selected 2010 Census and American Community Survey demographic and socioeconomic estimates at various levels of geography and includes area-level Low Response Score (LRS) estimates.

Although the program was popular among participants and sponsors of the event, the number of participants each year dwindled due to the time commitment required during the conference. As a result, the ResearchHack was rebranded as “AAPOR’s Got Talent” at the 2018 conference to open up participation to all members and also have the preparation of the research plan done prior to the conference. Participants submitted a research idea in one of three topic areas for a chance to win \$3000.

Diversity

As part of AAPOR’s renewed focus on making sure diversity and inclusion priorities are weaved into all aspects of AAPOR’s operations and programming, the Education Committee created a separate standing subcommittee to execute the education-related activities for this effort. The subcommittee chair sits on AAPOR’s Diversity Coordinating Committee and makes sure that throughout education activities, AAPOR’s goals of ensuring diversity and inclusion are met. The subcommittee has also taken charge of launching “Survey Fest,” a program modeled on ASA’s StatFest. The program brings survey professionals to college campuses to expose students—

particularly those from disadvantaged and underrepresented groups—to careers in survey research. The first such program was held in 2018 and it has continued since.

Education Council Leadership

In March 2005, AAPOR Executive Council established a Long Range Planning Committee (LRPC). In June 2005, AAPOR Council and the LRPC met in Montreal determined that the LRPC should “focus its efforts in the functional area of education, public communications, membership and conference.”

Through its first twenty years in existence, the modern-day Education Committee was not represented through an elected chair on AAPOR Council. The committee was closely modeled after Conference Operations, which allowed for continuity year after year, with a chair elected for a three-year term. The Education Chair was nominated through a motion and then that motion was approved by Council.

By 2014, the Education Committee’s activities were a vital part of both the mission of AAPOR and of AAPOR’s revenue. With that, the question of whether the Education Chair should be a member of the Executive Council was raised in the 2013-2014 Strategic Plan:

Continuing education is a central function of AAPOR. Regardless of the nature of their initial training and activity in the field, all of the members of AAPOR can benefit from continuing exposure to developments, new procedures and techniques, challenges, opportunities, and research relating to their profession or discipline. The Educational Committee Chair’s function would be to 1) help members convert research, new knowledge, and new theories in the areas of public opinion/survey knowledge into practice, and 2) in so doing, increase the value of AAPOR membership.

In January of 2015, the Bylaws Review Ad Hoc Committee, co-chaired by Paul Lavrakas and Jennie Lai, recommended to Council that Education be made a Standing Committee, with elected positions for Chair and Associate Chair. Dan Merkle moved to approve this change (in addition to the other By-law changes proposed) and was seconded by Dawn Nelson. The motion carried unanimously. The decision was made to add the position of Education Associate Chair to the ballot. Sarah Cho was elected Associate Education Chair for the 2015-16 AAPOR Executive Council.

AAPOR’s commitment to Education has been unwavering since its inception, but those efforts have grown dramatically in the past two decades and have become a core component of members’ experiences. AAPOR owes a debt of gratitude not only to all the Education Committee members over the years who have dedicated their time and efforts to grow these offerings and opportunities, but also to all the experts who have given their time to teach short courses and webinars, attend Survey Fests and all around offer their specific knowledge back to their colleagues and the industry as a whole.

Contributions by: Eran Ben-Porath, Mollyann Brodie, Sarah Cho, and Anna Wiencrot

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Eran Ben-Porath, Mollyann Brodie, Sarah Cho, and Anna Wiencrot for their contributions to this chapter. I was fortunate enough to work with each

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