

October 30, 1950

To: Department of State.

From: O. W. Riegel.

Subject: Report on a Survey of Public Opinion Research and Training in West Germany, June-September, 1950.

My mission in Germany, according to the project description, was to "survey German educational and other institutions to ascertain where and in what manner academic sponsorship of public opinion training and public opinion research can best be established."

It became at once apparent that I could not report adequately on the topic suggested without considering (a) the evolution of all kinds of public opinion research in Germany, and (b) the political, social, and educational climate of West Germany as it is now affecting public opinion research and as it will probably affect it in the future. As a matter of fact, the number of educational institutions which have shown an active interest in this field is very limited. The central problem, indeed, may be not so much the educational institutions themselves as the conditions and circumstances which influence the character and activities of those institutions, including any activity in the field of public opinion research, a point which I shall endeavor to develop later in this report. Moreover, the mission of trying to "ascertain where academic sponsorship can best be established" has been made somewhat unrealistic by the fact that, to a considerable degree, such sponsorship has been and is evolving without the benefit of my advice or even of that of the American authorities in Germany.

It may appear from this introduction that I am about to perpetrate another tome on The German Problem. The temptation to do so is one which, because of the shortness and many happy distractions of life, I find not at all difficult to resist. The bulkiness of this report derives chiefly from its appendices, and this may be an appropriate place to indicate the general nature of the report's organization and contents:

1. General observations.(Page 1).
2. Recommendations--A brief, specific list of suggestions as to what we should do to assist the development of public opinion research and training in West Germany. (Page 32).

3. Appendix A--A concise directory of all public opinion research activities and agencies which I was able to discover in Germany, and which I considered worth mentioning, including a descriptive evaluation of each. (Page 35)
4. Appendix B--A list of Market Research agencies. (Page 103).
5. Appendix C--A list of academic agencies for the study of communications media. (Page 104).
6. Appendix D--A list of members of an organization for the advancement of empirical social science in Germany. (Page 106).

It is my hope that you will find in these appendices most of the basic data which my mission was supposed to provide. However, I assume that the engagement of a consultant at considerable expense to the Federal Government is not justified by the more reportorial aspects of this report, with special reference to the appendices, much of the information in which could be obtained by anyone with enough stamina and stomach for hard travel. I assume that you were also engaging as much judgment and competence in evaluation as I am capable of, and I am therefore passing on to you in this section of the report those personal impressions and judgments which I have formed during a summer of attentive consideration of the public opinion problem in Germany, including conversations with several hundred persons in all walks of life, among them public opinion specialists, teachers, editors, politicians, labor leaders, and ordinary citizens.

It is quite possible that many persons who read this report, or who have it available to read, will disagree with many of my impressions and conclusions. It is for this reason that I have separated the more factual data in the form of appendices, and begun this section of the report by calling attention to its personal and subjective character.

It goes without saying that this report is too brief for complete discussions of the various topics and issues mentioned. I have sought merely to call attention to the problems as they emerged in my own thinking about public opinion research in Germany, in the hope that solutions will be provided by those who are charged with the responsibility of formulating policy and initiating programs of action.

Definition: Public Opinion Research

For the purposes of this survey, I have limited the definition of public opinion research to those aspects of empirical social science which have to do with the systematic study of attitudes, tastes, preferences, and opinions of relatively large numbers of people, especially with the use of modern methods of sampling, interviewing, coding, and statistical interpretation, along with such auxiliary techniques as intensive interviewing and guided discussion. I have included general social attitude and opinion polling, studies of reader-interest and radio-listening preferences, and such market or consumer research studies as are of special interest for their methodology. I have not included studies of individuals such as occurs in intensive interviewing of the psychiatric variety, or social welfare case studies, or educational testing, or market and consumer research which is mainly concerned with the acquisition of statistical data or data regarding commodity preferences.

Value of Public Opinion Research: The Ideological Argument

The ideological argument for public opinion polling as an expression of democratic life, or as a valuable aid in the development of democratic attitudes, motivated the survey project which this report concerns. In the words of the project description, "Public opinion polling in Germany can be a strong bulwark against the return of totalitarian forms of government. People who grow accustomed to expressing their opinion and who grow interested in learning about the opinions of others are likely to be more resistant to authoritarian dictates. However, unless polling is established on a sound basis of objective methods and responsible utilization of results, the whole enterprise can be discredited as a variety of the 'informant' with which, unhappily, Germany is all too familiar."

Another way of saying this is that the ordinary man being interviewed, Hans Schmidt, the German man-on-the-street, acquires a sense of dignity and importance from the deference implicit in asking for his opinions, as if what he thought counted. The experience will also fire him with a new curiosity to know how his opinions compare with the opinions of other Germans, from all walks of life. At the same time the experience has a wholesome affect upon the interviewer, who, by gaining insight into the attitudes and problems of others, their fears, hopes, frustrations, and wants, becomes more tolerant and understanding. By proper publicity and use, the polling experience, along with the impulses stirred in both interviewer and respondent, infuse and democratize the political life of the country and make it resistant to the imposition of ready-made opinions from above.

According to this argument, the relative success of objective public opinion polling in any country is in a sense an index to the relative degree of democracy which that country enjoys. We point to the fact that public opinion polling is widely employed in the United States, for instance, while it is practically unknown in authoritarian states, such as the USSR and Spain. Whether public opinion polling follows the evolving of a democratic condition, or is itself a means of creating a democratic condition, may be as difficult to determine as the answer to the question of which comes first, the chicken or the egg. The passage quoted in the first paragraph above implies that public opinion polling may be a positive force in bringing about the democratic condition of which it is itself a symptom.

The special problems which this ideological argument raises in Germany will be referred to again under "Conditions for Effective Polling" below.

Value of Public Opinion Polling: The
Utilitarian Argument

At the same time, public opinion polling has functional uses which may or may not further the ideological cause described above. Polling in one form or another is used by governments, politicians, business, employers, radio stations, newspapers, and others, to acquire special information from which they hope to profit. Sometimes the results of such polling are made available to the public, as a public service or for other reasons, but more often the special value of such polls resides in their secrecy; that is, the fact that the client is in possession of information which other persons, including competitors or political rivals, do not have. This kind of polling is in a sense a form of private espionage. Even in the democratic United States, the greatest amount of polling, supplying the main financial support of the polling industry or science, is done on behalf of the private interests of clients rather than in the public interest, so that the polling structure in the United States somewhat resembles an iceberg whose greatest bulk is hidden.

Unfortunately, such polling is not only usually a private rather than a public service, but also is sometimes used for ends which are the opposite of democratic. In this situation, we find the machinery of an essentially democratic technique being exploited for non-democratic ends. This means that public opinion research is not democratic per se, although it should be added that polling for private ends is not likely to succeed except in a situation where "democratic" public service polling can and does successfully operate. The pertinence of this fact to the situation in West Germany will be referred to later.

Value of Public Opinion Research:
Reliability

Volumes have been written, and will be written, on this subject. A comment is necessary here because there are many doubting Thomases among both Germans and Allied personnel in Germany who have no confidence in the results of public opinion polling. Obviously polling will never become firmly established as a democratic technique if there is strong and widespread skepticism as to its reliability.

It may be said that there is much greater skepticism regarding the reliability of public opinion polling in continental Europe than there is in the United States, and more in Germany than in many other countries, in part because knowledge of polling is so recent. In Germany, for instance, it was widely believed (and still is, by many) that Germans could not be interviewed at all, because of their fear of questionnaires (Fragebogen), that had been used by the Nazis as an arm of police control. When it was found that Germans could be interviewed, it was then claimed that their Nazi experience and present political fears and anxieties made them, of necessity, covert and dishonest in their answers. There is also a deep suspicion of the adequacy of small samples for a population of the size and complexity of Germany's.

Pollers, American and German, are of course fully aware of this skepticism and are doing what they can to establish an aura of reliability around their work. They do this by constantly trying to refine and improve their scientific methods and by judicious publicity.

The question of reliability must be met head-on, because it is crucial. The German population today is for the most part poor and hard-pressed, with many anxieties, and with little leisure or resources for the luxury of playing with interesting or amusing academic theories. Polling must appeal to the practical side of the German character, which can be very practical indeed, especially in such times as these. How reliable (and therefore, useful) are public opinion polls? The question must be given at least a tentative answer in order to throw light on the possible limits of development in present-day Germany. An answer is also necessary to make clear this writer's own attitude toward the field he is surveying.

The "democratic" value of the process of inquiry into the attitudes of others (the tolerance argument) is conceded. There is also little question as to the reliability and usefulness of sampling methods as applied in the obtaining of information regarding factual, non-political situations, such as how many people smoke cigars, read in bed, or prefer the color green.

The argument is over the reliability of research into the political, economic, and social attitudes of people, whether this research is done for democratic self-knowledge and insight, or for utilitarian ends. At one extreme are the public opinion research specialists, with their elaborate apparatus for control experiments of increasing sophistication and refinement, and at the other extreme are the skeptics who either object to all polling techniques in principle, or to polling of specific topics with specific people in specific situations.

The argument will probably continue as long as polling. Nevertheless, as a necessary frame of reference for the consideration of the public opinion research problem in Germany, the writer feels compelled to set down the following propositions:

1. Polling of attitudes toward complicated political and social problems gives no final answers. To cite the German example, practically everyone wants to know what Germans are thinking. If there in fact existed confidence in the ability of any polling agency to report German thinking accurately and finally, we could save the hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars now being spent on a host of intelligence specialists, monitors, scrutinizers, analysts, and journalists, and the problem of policy-making would be enormously simplified. Actually, of course, the many variables of public opinion research, such as the impact of new events, latent personality traits, psychological blocks, and the mobility of modern society in general, prevent any such utopian result. Unfortunately, some polling results in Germany are being published with the implication that they are conclusive, and this practice, in my opinion, is a great disservice to the cause of polling.

2. On the other hand, public opinion polling has proved itself a useful tool, among other tools, for gaining knowledge and insight. It is an instrument against which other instruments of observation may be measured. It has established its utility for this function so well in Germany that agencies dealing with the tensions and aspirations of large heterogeneous populations, such as the Office of the American High Commissioner, dare not risk abandoning its use.

Conditions for Effective Polling

Certain conditions are essential for effective, valid public opinion and attitude polling, and the degree to which these conditions are present constitutes the basic problem of public opinion research in Germany. Among these conditions are:

1. A "public opinion." This means the existence of a population which has, first, opinions on significant public questions; and, second, the ability to project or communicate those opinions so that they have a degree of influence upon communal life.

The Germans obviously have a "public opinion" in this sense. At the same time, there is reason for saying, I think, that this public opinion is only imperfectly developed, and that there are many factors which have retarded and which now retard the development of a healthy public opinion. One of these factors is the authoritarian form of government under which Germans lived for nearly twenty years, and which for a whole generation accustomed Germans to the discouragement of individual opinions or any effort to project such opinions into the political life of the nation. Another retarding factor is ignorance, which derives in part from the systematic effort of the Nazis to deny to the population access to certain kinds of information and ideas, accomplished by the methods of suppression, insulation, and propaganda. This experience has left curious blind spots, such as an almost complete lack of knowledge of political developments in the rest of the world, and even, for that matter, of the true significance of political events in Germany during the Nazi period, or German history before 1933. In spite of the opening up of free inquiry in western Germany, many of these blind spots remain, and will remain for a long time. There are simply not enough informed teachers and writers to fill in the gaps. One example of this is the parochialism of the German press, with its preoccupation with the immediate local problems of Germany and its notable lack of a European or world or historical perspective. Much of this parochialism may result from the simple unfamiliarity of journalists with the rest of the world or their own German past. The same difficulty exists in connection with efforts to introduce political education into German universities and schools; there are not enough informed and competent German political scientists to fill university chairs even if more were established.

Equally discouraging is the slowness of Germans to try to make their individual opinions a force in German life. This behavior can't be blamed entirely on the Nazis, as the habit of discipline is deeply ingrained in the German character, and German society has long been structured in rigid groups under authoritarian leadership, as in the case of political parties, religious groups, and labor unions. Valiant efforts have been made recently, especially by American-sponsored organizations, to encourage

truly public discussion and debate and a sense of participation in political life by the individual German man and woman, but as long as the German government remains "they" to the individual German, and as long as private opinions are over-ridden by the authoritarianism, for instance, of party and union discipline, a healthy climate for the development of "public opinion" does not exist.

2. A corps of public opinion research workers who are devoted to the development of objective, scientific research tools, and who make use of the latest and best research techniques, from whatever source.

The necessity for competent scientific workers is self-evident. Nothing could more quickly discredit public opinion research, and destroy it, than incompetence and irresponsibility. The problems are how to find and train competent workers, how to provide them with adequate resources and tools, and how to assure them careers that will be rewarding both to themselves and to German society.

These problems will be dealt with below in the treatment of the general problem of sponsorship.

3. Public respect for public opinion research. Prestige is essential to obtain public cooperation, as well as to obtain the specific support of clients, sponsors, and patrons. Prestige derives from a variety of sources. It arises, for instance, from respect for the integrity, objectivity, and competence of the research group as a whole. It arises from the dedication of a significant part of the results of opinion research to the public, in the public interest. It arises from appreciation of the general relevance of opinion research to the real needs and experiences of people.

Prestige is injured by the misuse of public opinion research for narrow partisan or selfishly personal ends. It is injured by identification with alien or hostile forces.

The problem of prestige will also be dealt with below in connection with the discussion of past polling in Germany and the problem of sponsorship.

4. A political climate which encourages the free expression of opinion. Stated the other way around, this means that polling will not be successful if, it threatens individuals with punishment, even if quite remote or indirect, for the harboring or utterance of unorthodox or unpopular opinions. It makes little difference whether the threat is to physical security, livelihood, or to general esteem or respect within the community.

It is this threat which, along with other factors, would have drastically reduced the validity of polling in the Third Reich and which

makes polling practically impossible in such authoritarian states as the USSR and Spain today. Valid polling results cannot be obtained in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion. Even in the supposedly confidential relationship of interviewer and respondent, real attitudes will remain hidden, or will be shaded and modified to make them more socially or politically acceptable than they really are.

Reference is made below, in the section on historical background, to ambivalent attitudes toward military government interviewers during the first months of American occupation. The early fears and suspicions of Germans were doubtless greatly reduced as they became accustomed to American polling and gained confidence in the disinterestedness and integrity of interviewers.

One of the objectives of American polling in Germany, indeed, has been to show Germans the value of forthright opinions freely expressed, without the inhibiting fear of punishment, as one of the essential conditions of American-style freedom and democracy. In this sense it has been an integral part of the reorientation program, along with efforts to establish freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and other basic freedoms. American polling has been a kind of showcase of democratic procedure.

It is undoubtedly true, as stated above, that confidence in the benign motives of American-sponsored polling greatly increased after the first polling under military auspices. To test the influence of American sponsorship, especially in respect to inhibitory influences, Reactions Analysis (HICOG) has conducted control experiments in which the same questions are asked on behalf of the American polling agency, Reactions Analysis, and another (fictitious) agency posing as entirely German. The results show to the satisfaction of the American pollers, not surprisingly, that there is little difference in answers in the two cases except in respect to certain questions directly relating to American behavior and interests.

Assuming that the respondents did not suspect that the "German" polling agency might not be something else in disguise, which is a fairly large assumption, the question still remains as to how inhibited Germans are in their responses to questions asked by any polling agency, German or foreign, in the present political climate. Recently pollers in Germany have reported a marked increase in "No Response" answers to questions. In the absence of definite proof, pollers are reluctant to assign a specific reason for this phenomenon. However, the recent intensification of conflict and pressure in the so-called "cold war" cannot be overlooked as a possible inhibiting influence.

The stepping up of anti-Communist psychological warfare by the Allies has been accompanied in Western Germany by the suspension of Communist newspapers, police action against Communist gatherings, and a general

tightening of controls against pro-Communist and dissident political elements. Moreover, Germans are well aware of such developments in the United States as the disloyalty and un-American cases and various efforts, official and unofficial, to stamp out political unorthodoxy, some of which may not seem to harmonize entirely with the doctrines of freedom of speech and conscience advocated by American representatives in Germany as part of the reorientation program.

At the same time, pressure is exerted by the opposition in the cold war, by threats of punishment and reprisals emanating from the Communist-dominated East zone. These threats, along with the thought in the back of the mind of most Germans that the Russians may march at any time and that Allied occupation might become Russian occupation overnight, undoubtedly produces a certain degree of caution, and a desire on the part of many Germans not to stick their necks out farther than expediency requires.

At any rate, these pressures from West and East, plus a resulting intensification of various inter- and intra-group conflicts in Western Germany, do not help to establish a climate conducive to the free, uninhibited expression of opinion, especially in those political areas that are of the most vital interest. On the contrary, the climate is already becoming unfavorable to democratic public opinion polling, and there is every indication that inhibiting influences will increase rather than diminish in strength in the predictable future.

Public Opinion Research in Germany:
A Brief Background Summary

Few public opinion studies were made in Germany prior to 1945. Some beginnings in attitude research had been made in the Weimer Republic, as, for example, the studies of attitudes of workers made by the Institute of Social Science at the University of Frankfurt, but the authoritarian state of Adolf Hitler put an end to any objective polling of public opinion and exiled or suppressed the men in Germany who might have been fitted by temperament and talent to develop the new science. In a state dominated by the Fuehrer Prinzip, any research which sought to elicit personal and particularized opinion necessarily had an aura of subversion.

The Allied armies in 1945 therefore entered a Germany that had no experience with, and little knowledge of, the traditions and methods of public opinion research which had developed with such rapidity in the western nations, and particularly in the United States, during the years of Hitler's Third Reich. Each of the three western occupation powers began polling operations in their respective zones. A polling unit accompanied the American army into Germany and was ultimately established as the Opinion Surveys Branch of Military Government, under the direction of Frederick Williams. Polling in the British zone was directed by James Stevenson White, and in the French zone by Bernard Lahy.

This is not the place to discuss the history and problems of Allied polling agencies in Germany except to point out that their effect upon the development of German public opinion research has been very great. They were living exhibits of the new foreign polling techniques, and the basis of all-important first impressions, although these first impressions were modified, of course, by later developments. Leaders in German society, such as politicians, journalists, and educators, formed their first judgments on the character and utility of polling by observation of the Allied agencies. Allied polling was also the first major determinant of attitudes of the general public toward the new technique, insofar as the public came into contact with interviewers, or heard about polling by word of mouth, or read about polling in newspapers.

The Allied polling agencies directly stimulated and influenced German public opinion research efforts in a variety of ways. They awakened many Germans to the possibility of adapting the techniques to Germany for scientific or commercial purposes. The few Germans who already knew something about polling, and began polling operations as soon as possible after the occupation, were provided with examples of up-to-date methodology and a measuring rod by which to test their own efforts. Moreover, by hiring German employees, the foreign agencies have been training a corps of research workers in their traditions and methodology, and brought into existence a

reservoir of potential workers for German enterprises in the field. Some of these employees have already embarked on independent operations.

It was not an entirely favorable circumstance, however, that public opinion research was introduced into Germany as an adjunct of the military, with the primary function of gathering intelligence. This was not the best way to impress Germans with the value of public opinion polling as an instrument of freedom and democracy, especially since questionnaires evoked memories of the Nazi Fragebogen. The early experiences of interviewers indicated that many German respondents looked upon the polls as military investigations. Germans were meticulously punctual in meeting interviewers when requested, and, of course, showed a desire to put their best foot forward in their responses to questions.

As time passed, and as the emphasis in occupation policy changed from military control to reorientation and then to observation and guidance, German attitudes toward Allied polling operations also changed, with an increase of confidence in the objectives of polling and the integrity of the pollers. However, the problem of Allied polling as an intelligence function has by no means been resolved, as will be pointed out below.

Viewing polling as of primary value as an intelligence operation, all of the western occupation powers looked forward to its eventual abandonment when military control relaxed and western Germany moved into a phase of substantial self-government. The French were the first to abandon any official connection with polling. The abandonment of polling by the British was hastened, in 1949, by the arrest of the director of the official polling agency, James White, on charges of illegal use of government funds and black marketing. From the evidence presented, it appears that White got into trouble in part because of his efforts to finance the establishment of a German concern which would carry on polling after the eventual discontinuance of his agency. White's misfortunes brought an end to all British official polling in Germany. Incidentally, White, at the time of his arrest, was president of the International Association for Public Opinion Research. The episode, it is scarcely necessary to add, did not enhance the prestige of public opinion polling in German eyes.

The story of American polling in Germany is complex. It has been, of course, the largest, most expensive, and most productive of the Allied polling undertakings. The attitude of Military Government toward the polling operation was mixed; some officials looked upon it as a useful instrument in the reorientation program, while others apparently thought of it as primarily an intelligence operation which ought to be abandoned, at considerable saving to the budget, at the first opportunity. The operation went through many organizational changes, and once was actually abolished, (fall of 1949), at the time of the change-over of occupation control from Military Government to the Department of State. It was quickly reinstated, however,

and subsequently detached from the Information Services Division of the Office of Public Affairs (HICOG) and attached directly to the office of the director of the Office of Public Affairs, as part of the staff for policy and planning, where at the moment it appears to be enjoying considerable favor.

The vicissitudes and controversies over the official American polling operation are important to this survey for two main reasons; first, for their influence upon German attitudes toward polling; and, second, for the manner in which they call attention to the difficulties of any polling operation by an occupation power.

One aspect of controversy revolves around the question as to whether such a polling agency can carry on an intelligence function and at the same time serve as an example of democratic procedure as part of the reorientation program. The cold war has emphasized this problem, as it is questionable whether there would now be any official American polling in Germany if the issues of the cold war had been resolved. Stated somewhat crudely, the question is this: Does the dominant polling operation in Germany impress the Germans as an object lesson in democratic procedure, or does it impress them primarily as an object lesson in how governments can use scientific methodology for intelligence in support of political objectives?

I can only pose the question; I can't answer it. I think I can guess, however, what would be the reaction in the United States to polling on political questions by the Federal Government, to provide intelligence for the administration. I think an even more unfavorable reaction could be expected if the government were a foreign one. Public reaction would naturally depend somewhat upon what use was made of the findings.

This leads to a second and more serious aspect of the problem, which is the use made of official American polling results in Germany. The main use is informational, to throw light on German opinions and attitudes, for the benefit of anyone interested in the problem of Germany. A more specialized use of results, for the more or less confidential information of occupation personnel, is to show the strength or weakness of American activities and policies, such as the popularity of publications or radio programs, attitudes toward occupation troops, etc.. This is an aspect of the intelligence function, and is presumably useful for improving American services and policies, or to justify requests for appropriations. A third use of results, and the most controversial one, is the publicizing of findings for their political usefulness.

During the summer a number of articles appeared in various periodicals published in Germany which revealed that, according to the American polling agency, Germans show this or that attitude congenial to American policy, or this or that attitude hostile to anti-American policy.

I am, of course, pleased with these findings. At the same time, however useful this kind of polling and publicity may be from the standpoint of psychological warfare, I wonder whether it is not a disservice to the cause of scientific public opinion research.

This is not written in any criticism of the American pollers in Germany, who are well aware of the problem and of the dangers of exploiting polling results for political purposes. The problem is one for top policy consideration, as the use of polling results is determined at high level and the polling staff is merely following its directives.

In other terms, the American dilemma arises from the anomaly of trying, on the one hand, to further the cause of scientific, objective, disinterested public opinion research, and, on the other hand, using polling for political objectives. It is difficult to ride two horses at the same time. The dilemma is confounded by the fact that the intelligence and political functions of American polling seem, at the moment, to provide the main justification of the expenditures upon it; were these functions to be abandoned, support would probably be withdrawn, and the operation expire.

It seems to me important, out of respect for the principle of responsibility in the use of polling results, and for the sake of the future of public opinion polling in Germany, that the American polling agency ride one horse or the other, but not both. One option would be to become strictly an intelligence agency, and covert as far as findings are concerned. Another option would be to publish all findings regularly and impartially, regardless of their congeniality in terms of American policy, making certain with appropriate publicity that Germans realize that all findings are being so published in the interests of spreading knowledge and providing an example of democratic procedure.

Other solutions of this problem may recommend themselves to the policy makers of the State Department. The present split personality of Reactions Analysis may easily, it seems to me, lead to an increase in German cynicism regarding public opinion research, not to mention possible effects upon the German members of the staff of Reactions Analysis, who might come to regard public opinion research as a matter of politics as much as of science.

This criticism of political exploitation does not apply so far to any of the other public opinion research projects in Germany sponsored or subsidized by HICOG, at least not to my knowledge.

As I have said above, the staff of Reactions Analysis is devoted to the principle of scientific objectivity; indeed, it has always had a strong sense of mission in this regard, if only by setting an example to

Germans of how good public opinion polling can be. Both Frederick Williams, the first head of the operation, and Leo Crespi, the present head, have given much thought to the problem of how German polling activities could be furthered on a sound basis, so that the cause of polling would not be discredited by incompetence or improper manipulation. Technical advice has been extended to some German pollers, generally those engaged on American-sponsored projects. In the summer of 1950, four German pollers, including two research assistants from Reactions Analysis, an interviewer for DISMA, and the head of EMNID, were sent to the United States for three months under the exchange program of HICOG and upon nomination of Reactions Analysis. Further grants of this kind are contemplated.

Reactions Analysis has also given thought to the support or encouragement of German polling or public opinion research training agencies which might be the heirs, in a sense, of American research tradition and know-how. Such a legatee, for example, might be a private polling agency organized by Germans trained by Reactions Analysis, or an approved German polling agency already in existence to which business could be given on a contract basis in the event that official American polling activities were curtailed or abandoned. James White, the former head of British polling, apparently had some such plan in mind for a successor German agency that would make use of the experience and knowledge of his staff. American thinking along this line has so far resulted in no specific plans or projects, and it may be too late now to affect a development of polling agencies which has been taking place without American intervention. However, my own mission, which is to recommend "where and in what manner academic sponsorship of public opinion training and research can best be established," indicates that there is still some intention of trying to influence the development of research, at least on the academic level.

Public Opinion Research in Germany:
The Present Situation

Appendix A contains a brief description and evaluation of public opinion research agencies in Western Germany. The Index at the end of this report indicates type of sponsorship of each agency, such as academic and non-academic, as well as the degree of American support. In brief, the main facts regarding the present situation may be summarized as follows:

Excluding the official American agency, Reactions Analysis, there are four active general polling and market research agencies in Germany, Demoskopie, EMNID, DISMA, and Unsere Meinung, of which the most successful seems to be Demoskopie. All are operated for private profit. These agencies have had only casual contacts with American polling experts in Germany, or, as in the case of Demoskopie, practically none at all. None has a research training program of its own or in connection with any academic institution, other than the training of members of its own staff. An exception to this statement is a program for student interns, during their vacations, recently inaugurated by Demoskopie in cooperation with two or three universities.

The two major social survey projects which employ public opinion research techniques are the Office of Social Research in Dortmund and the Darmstadt Community Survey. Both have nominal academic sponsorship, although the latter is entirely subsidized by American funds, and the former receives considerable American support for its attitude studies. Both projects have American advisers. Neither has a systematic program for research training, aside from the training of members of its own staff, although both hope to inaugurate such a program.

Research training in universities and other academic institutions is practically nonexistent, although there are many plans and projects. The most promising and ambitious program for research training is being developed by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt. This Institute has some private endowment funds, is receiving American financial aid, and has prospects of a large grant from UNESCO. It is the only academic institution in Germany today which has a staff of sufficient size, competence, and experience to undertake a substantial and sound training program. This staff is composed mainly of emigres who have worked in the United States for many years and who retain their American citizenship.

This summary does not include all agencies (See Appendix A), but it mentions the largest and most influential. A notable fact about all public opinion research and training activity in Germany, with the exception

of the German private polling agencies, is its heavy dependence upon American financial support and American advisers. Both may be considered ephemeral, or at least non-indigenous. It is significant, I think, that I found no naturalized American of German origin now working in the public opinion field in Germany who has any intention of surrendering his American citizenship and settling permanently in Germany.

The opinion of American experts on German competence in the public opinion research field ranges from lukewarm to highly derogatory. The general feeling is that if American advisers were withdrawn, whatever scientific competence has been built up so far would succumb sooner or later to academic dogmatism or German prejudice and opportunism. While there is some respect for certain of the private pollers, the general attitude is that the best of them are relatively inexperienced and unscientific as compared with their American opposite numbers, and that the conditions under which they work make it impossible for them to carry out experimental programs of sufficient scope and merit to assure healthy progress in research methodology.

To what extent such judgments are accurate estimates of ability or indications of a patronizing superiority complex is difficult to say. In the case of the private German polling agencies, some suggestive evidence on the subject might be obtained, if it is really desired, by commissioning the agencies to do identical studies with Reactions Analysis, preferably some kind of predictive survey which would be followed by corroborative action, such as voting, or the publication of census figures. At a cost no greater than that of sending a German specialist to the United States under the exchange program, Reactions Analysis could check the results of the various polling agencies against each other, against the results of Reactions Analysis, and against actual public behavior. Several studies of this type might not be conclusive in their totality, but they might provide some useful tentative answers to the question of scientific know-how and reliability.

Another notable feature of the present situation is the lack of resources in Germany for noncommercial research and training. With a deficit economy, with so many demands for money for reconstruction and the minimum physical needs of life, where is Germany to find the money for training and experimentation in public opinion research? Or stated in other words, with so many pressing problems such as housing, unemployment, and now, possibly, rearmament, what legislative body or government official will appropriate money for an expansion of research in this new field? As one German professor said regarding a foreign appropriation for polling refugee opinions, "Think of the number of houses that could be built with that money to give refugees decent shelter."

The last but not the least notable feature of the present situation in Germany is the lack of career opportunities for public opinion research specialists. What is the use of public opinion research training

if it leads only to personal frustration? Because of the rigor of life for most Germans, and the difficulty of young people to obtain a foothold in economic life, the mood of students, in general, is to obtain, as quickly as possible, an education that will be most likely to obtain jobs for them. Jobs for public opinion research experts simply do not exist now except in the limited number required for the agencies listed in this report, and many of those agencies have little hope of permanence. The jobs do not exist in the universities, or in government, or in business. The wholesome educational and democratizing value of public opinion research training is granted, but under present conditions it is a luxury which young Germans can ill afford.

From the foregoing pages it will be seen that in my opinion the basic problems of public opinion research and training in Germany are the problem of sponsorship, which involves the related problems of prestige and public acceptance, and the problem of financial support, to which is related the problem of finding positions for public opinion research scientists in German society so that they can usefully exercise their skills with adequate personal rewards.

In the following section I will list some of the leading institutions of German economic, political, and social life, with a brief comment on the suitability of each for the sponsorship and support of public opinion research.

German Institutions Considered as Possible
Sponsors or Supporters of
Public Opinion Research

1. Universities

The prospects for academic sponsorship of public opinion research and training are gloomy in the extreme. So many reports have been written on the conservatism and general backwardness of German universities that only the main facts need to be summarized here. No substantial reform has been made in the German university system in the western zones. The general tone of universities ranges from conservative to reactionary. They are state supported and controlled, and professors are government employees. Currents of nationalism and authoritarianism are still running strong. Professors are strongly entrenched, jealous of their prestige and privileges, and have complete power to make or break their assistants, so that new professors tend to resemble their patrons. Predominant faculties are law, because it leads to jobs in the government bureaucracy; economics and business and administration, because they lead to jobs in business and industry; and philosophy, because it leads to jobs in the state educational system.

The social sciences are poorly developed. Sociology has been dominated by theory and dogma. Political science virtually disappeared in the Third Reich except as a form of indoctrination. Efforts are being made to revive it, but few competent teachers are available, and it is still viewed with suspicion as a kind of propaganda vehicle instead of a "pure" science. There is fear that teachers will creep into the universities who are practical men and not "scholars." Political science is a subject for advanced specialization and research only at the University of Cologne. Social psychology is taught only in a few places. Such courses as those offered in American universities on pressure groups and propaganda techniques are practically unknown.

Empirical social science research of the type utilized in public opinion studies runs into special difficulties. In the first place, professors are afraid of losing caste by too close a contact with "real life" processes, such as occurs in empirical research. An actual interview by a professor with an anonymous man-on-the-street is practically inconceivable. On the other hand, German academics seemed to have accepted one kind of empirical research, that represented by the kind of deep probe employed by Freud and the psychiatrists. What is necessary, apparently,

to legitimize public opinion research is the formulation of some kind of philosophical rationale of "inductive reasoning," or some other academically acceptable catch-phrase, promulgated by someone of professorial rank with fulsome academic prestige.

This opposition has another result of making it extremely difficult to obtain funds from legislative bodies, which, on the whole, are satisfied with the university system as it is, and have no zeal to antagonize the old-line departments. As a consequence, training in empirical social science is rare, and training in public opinion research even rarer. The University of Frankfurt is an exception, for special reasons described elsewhere. The Office of Social Research of the University of Muenster receives no financial support from the university, is located in another city, and is unpopular with other faculties, which are dominated by the ecclesiastical authoritarianism which exists in so many of the universities. Some progress has been made at Cologne, as previously mentioned, and at Hamburg, which is "advanced," although the efforts there are still largely in the planning stage.

HICOG has tried to meet the situation by sponsoring the Hochschule for Politik at Berlin and Munich, with their emphasis upon empirical social science, as a kind of "Third Force" independent of the opposition and lethargy of the university system. Unfortunately, these institutions have not yet found permanent German nongovernmental sources of support.

One solution of the problem might be in the support of academic institutes by private wealth, which might give empirical research activities a degree of autonomy and independence of action. Unfortunately, there is no tradition of private giving for such purposes in Germany, and no indication that the new wealthy class of Germany is considering any revolutionary experiments along this line.

There is one important German organization for the financial assistance of research, the so-called Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, with offices at Buecherstrasse 55, Bad Godesberg. However, the last annual report (March, 1949, to March, 1950) reveals that of 560 research projects given financial help totaling 1,3 million DM, only two were in the empirical social science field. Dr. K. Zierold, the executive vice-president of the Gemeinschaft, explained that among the reasons for this state of affairs were the lack of German experts in the public opinion field, the absence of a German bibliography that would demonstrate that public opinion research is indeed a science, the slightly leftish aura of studies in this field, and the endless arguments as to which university faculty should have jurisdiction.

I am not neglecting consideration of possible development of public opinion research in such institutions as the labor academies at Frankfurt, Dortmund, and Hamburg, and some of the pedagogical institutes, which are relatively progressive. These institutions are also poor, however, and without competent staffs for research in the field.

2. Business and Industry

I am inclined to believe that any permanent developments in any genuinely "German" public opinion research and training must depend largely upon the direct sponsorship and support of German business and industry. The emerging dominant force in the West German state, in terms of ultimate political power, appears to be a hierarchy of industrial and commercial interests, which exercise their control through the political parties, as well as through employment, and the control of credit. Political power per se, represented by the political parties, appears to play a secondary role, which is a reversal of the relative positions of political and economic power in the Nazi regime after the middle 1930's. How long the present power relationships will continue is difficult to predict, but it would be safe to say, I think, that the present situation is not particularly stable.

From many points of view, the emergence of a strong and wealthy commercial and industrial group in western Germany is a favorable circumstance for public opinion research. German business has always been "progressive" in the sense that it has been aggressive and competitive, and hence receptive to any new ideas or techniques which might serve its interests. It is only natural, therefore, that it would make use of the modern sampling techniques of public opinion and market research.

Up to this time, the only substantial German financial support of public opinion research has come from German business and industry for studies by three of the private German polling agencies, plus some support given to the Office of Social Research at Dortmund by the Ruhr mining industry. A good illustration of patronage of public opinion research by "progressive" German business interests is the case of the Wirtschafts-politischen Gesellschaft von 1947 described under "Demoskopie" in Appendix A. Other clients of German polling agencies are listed under polling agency titles in the appendix.

On the unfavorable side is the fact that the number of concerns which can afford full-scale surveying at the present time is limited. Also, German business is notably disinterested in any kind of public service, or in science, except insofar as it advances the private interests of business leaders and increases profits. Both business men and heads of polling agencies have pointed out to me that industries and commercial concerns are reluctant to spend any money on attitude polling until they are in trouble, as when they are faced with labor unrest or excessively stiff competition.

The critical problems of management-labor relations in Western Germany have provoked much interest in the fields referred to in the United States as public relations or industrial relations. More and more leaders

of business and industry appear to be awakening to the fact that their success depends upon long-term programs and policies which win public consent and approval, or at least prevent active public hostility or upheavals in the labor force. The German business group referred to above, for instance, is deeply concerned with problems of public and industrial relations, and sends out a regular bulletin to members with information about new methods and practices in this field. It should also be mentioned that many of the universities have relatively advanced and scientific courses and institutes in the area of business management.

Increase of interest in public, industrial, and consumer relations will undoubtedly be reflected in increased use of the facilities and know-how of the German polling agencies. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance to the future of public opinion polling in Germany, in my opinion, that the growth of such interest be encouraged in any feasible way. A gratifying development, noted this summer, was a considerable increase in the number of business men and plant managers who visited German polling agencies to find out what the new attitude polling techniques were all about and how they could serve their special needs. Many of these visits may result in future contracts for surveys.

While this source of sponsorship and financial support is indispensable to German public opinion research at the present time, it will not be adequate to advance the larger cause of experimental, scientific progress in empirical social research if it serves only private ends. As pointed out earlier, public esteem and prestige demands that some part of research be dedicated to the public, or that the public interest in the science be clearly demonstrated. The best way to do this, it seems to me, would be for German business and industry to support an educational training agency dedicated to objective, experimental, scientific, public opinion research. This would only be enlightened self-interest.

The main obstacle to such a move on the part of German commercial interests appears to be the lack of any tradition for the support of independent educational agencies by the endowment of private funds. All schools look to the state for support. I don't know how the old habits can be changed, or how German business can be convinced that such a departure as that suggested above is advisable in its own interests, but I believe that the effort should be made to win much greater commercial and industrial support. (See Recommendation 1.)

3. Government

How much sponsorship and support should be given to public opinion research by government is a thorny problem. In view of the tendencies in Germany toward centralization and authoritarianism, my own judgment is that government intervention in this field would not be, on the whole, a healthy development. Government at the state level already has too much control over research through the budgetary appropriations to educational institutions by the Kultus Ministeriums.

A few politicians have made use of German private polling agencies to obtain information, mainly for personal political or party purposes. There is always great danger that government will use polling for control, reprisal, or propaganda, thereby discrediting it both as a science and as a useful democratic tool.

Government profitably could, however, stop hiring so many lawyers and employ a few young men trained in public opinion research. There are many positions in government for which such training would be extraordinarily useful, if only for the insight such specialists might have into the real problems and attitudes of people. Such experts could also do much to encourage attitude research by academic and private agencies, for instance by making intelligent use of their results.

Government should, I believe, order more surveys from the polling agencies, academic and private, but for public, and not partisan, purposes. It should also appropriate more money to academic public opinion research institutes.

4. Labor Unions

The labor unions have shown a disappointing lack of interest, so far, in public opinion research, although there has been some peripheral support of research through the labor academies and the Office of Social Research at Dortmund. American observers tend to attribute this apathy mainly to the authoritarian tinge of unionism in Germany, with its indifference to the attitudes of the rank and file, although there are doubtless other reasons. The current survey of German youth which the DGB is undertaking with the encouragement and support of HICOG (See Deutscher Gewerkschaft Bund, JugendAbteilung, in Appendix A), may stimulate further activity in this field.

The labor unions should definitely sponsor and support some kind of effective scientific research into public opinion, either in one of their own educational institutions, or, even better, in an independent scientific institute, in cooperation with business and industry.

5. Political Parties

No political party in Germany has so far undertaken public opinion polling, although individual politicians have had surveys made, and the Social Democratic Party once ordered a pre-election poll which could not be completed because of a lack of funds (See Demoskopie, Appendix A).

The objections to government polling cited under (3) above, apply with even greater force to the political parties. The reasons offered by the Social Democrats for not polling apply to all political parties: (1) The expense; (2) The greater objectivity of an outside polling agency; there would always be a suspicion that party-sponsored surveys were rigged, either intentionally or unintentionally; (3) The ease with which polling could be perverted to intra-party policing, as was done by the Nazis for playing in-party politics, denunciation, etc.

Most political parties claim to have their own machinery for determining party, if not public, opinion. The Social Democrats, for instance, probably the most tightly organized party after the Communists, claim 9,000 local organizations at the grass-roots level; opinions are presumably passed along in the form of resolutions or reports to district and then to national headquarters.

Political parties should encourage the development of scientific polling in every possible way, as the techniques and results of polling are vital to them. But they do not seem to be themselves appropriate agencies for the sponsorship of polling.

6. Mass Media;
Radio, Film, Press

a. Radio

Radio has probably been the chief financial support of private German polling agencies so far, after business and industry. Radio constitutes one of the bright spots in the public opinion research situation, as radio stations are relatively wealthy, compared with the other mass media, and a constant check on set use and listener reactions is vital to their success. All German radio stations employ or have employed some form of scientific polling of listener preferences and attitudes with the exception of Frankfurt, which appears to rely mainly upon the solicitation of fan mail.

A continuing danger is that German radio will become the victim of political manipulation and eventually succumb to the control of Land (state), and then Federal, government. German radio is now organized on a Land (in the American zone) and zonal basis (in the British and French zones), with control in the hands of state-chartered public service boards made up of representatives of various social and cultural groups in German life. Independence is threatened by the desire of Land governments to have more decisive authority in radio matters, and both independence and decentralization are threatened by a growing interest of the Post Office department and the Bonn government in controlling all West German stations. If Allied influence is completely withdrawn, there is grave doubt that German radio will be able to resist the pressure for authoritarian control centralized in the Federal government. At the present time, Allied control is technically limited mainly to "scrutiny" and "advice," although sterner control measures are available in emergencies, such as a provision of the charter of the High Commission for Germany permitting intervention to ensure the protection, prestige, security and immunities of the Allied forces of occupation.

Any increase of centralization and authoritarian control would be bound to have harmful effects upon the use of listener-preference and public attitude studies by the various Land radio systems. Stations should continue to promote listener research, if only to assure closer rapport with regional audiences as a means of forestalling centralization.

Moreover, the concept of radio as a public service designed to satisfy the real cultural needs and interests of ordinary people is not firmly established in Germany. German radio staffs sometimes show a lack of social consciousness which leads them to engage in more or less dogmatic programming based more upon their own prejudices and pre-conceptions than upon public interest and need. Public opinion polling can be extremely helpful in overcoming this state of mind.

Radio should therefore be encouraged to sponsor and support as much public opinion research as possible. Not only should listener-preference studies be continued, but public radio corporations should also assist in the sponsorship of educational agencies devoted to the experimental development of objective, scientific public opinion research and the training of experts in this field. Positions should also be established on radio station staffs for such experts.

b. Film

Practically nothing has been done in Germany to study systematically audience reactions and public attitudes toward motion pictures, although there are almost limitless possibilities for research in this important field. DISMA occasionally pre-tests an Eagle-Lion (British) film with a selected audience (see DISMA), and distributors frequently ask theater patrons to fill out cards as they leave the theater indicating their reaction to the film they have just seen, but there have been no general studies of attitudes toward motion pictures, to my knowledge, nor any studies of the psychological effects of particular films or types of films, with the exception of a current survey in Berlin (see Institut fuer Publizistik, Berlin). It would appear that even Reactions Analysis has done little in this field, although the effect upon German audiences of such films as "Nuernberg" and many other American documentaries and feature films should be of considerable interest and importance.

The lack of interest of American film companies in research is explained very simply. They are interested in profits, and the only kind of public opinion survey they appear to care about is represented by the number of Germans who will pay out their marks and pfennigs at the box office.

The attitude of the German film producers is similar, although they have greater justification, perhaps, because of their poverty. The low state of the film industry in West Germany is in considerable part the result of the manner of its financing. Producers have little money, so that most of the financing of films is done by distributors, with the assistance of banks and industry. This kind of financing demands a financially "safe" film that is cheap to produce and has a sure-fire appeal to a mass audience. The typical result is a light, cheap comedy. Meanwhile, I am informed, East Zone Germans are producing a number of films of considerable artistic interest or merit.

This is a deplorable situation, and the only comment I can think of is the obvious one that something should be done to place the German film industry on a sounder financial basis. When this happens, the industry should become a client of polling agencies and join in the sponsorship and support of an institute of public opinion research and training. Such sponsorship and support might not only stimulate studies of real interest and value to the industry, but might also have considerable prestige value in the industry's public relations.

c. Press

The West German press has already given considerable support and encouragement to public opinion research agencies, both by contracting for reader-interest studies, and by purchasing and publishing news releases based upon results of surveys made by polling agencies in Germany (specific data in Appendix A). They should do much more.

The attitude toward polling of most editors with whom I talked consisted of a curious combination of cynicism and opportunism. Some of the skepticism of editors undoubtedly derives from the feeling of editors everywhere that they are themselves the greatest experts on the public pulse, and that the so-called "scientific" pollers are poaching on a private domain. At the same time, the more progressive editors are careful to make use of modern research methods for reader-interest surveys. They also buy and publish articles based on the findings of polling agencies, because of reader interest in such articles.

This use of polling results mainly for their attention value leads to abuses. Pollers complain that editors frequently edit releases so as to retain only the most sensational findings, so that the true results of surveys are distorted. Moreover, most editors find the methodological data on the poll, so often essential for proper interpretation of results, a waste of limited newspaper space, and cut it out. This means that readers have no opportunity to appreciate the prudence and care of the polling agency with the result that the prestige of polling as a science is not enhanced.

The main reason advanced by editors for not giving more effective support to polling operations is the familiar one of lack of money. The financial strain upon German newspapers is indeed serious, and few of them are in a position to indulge in luxuries. The field of both newspaper and magazine publishing is highly competitive, with relatively low mass purchasing power, and limited advertising possibilities. The total number of daily newspapers published in West Germany and Berlin, with a total population of about 40,000,000, stood at 1,678 on October 1, 1950, compared with only about a 100 more daily papers published on the same date in the United States, with a population of 150,000,000. A good many papers which began publication after the abolition of licensing have already disappeared, and more may be expected to suspend publication. While the previously licensed newspapers have retained a high percentage of total German newspaper circulation, the financial situation of many of them is precarious, and some are bedeviled by the possibility that owners of the printing plants they are using will not renew their leases. Many newspapers are being subsidized by political parties, industrialists, banks, or other special interests.

This is not a healthy situation, and yet there are many compelling reasons why the newspapers should support public opinion research even at the cost of sacrifice in other directions. A democratic condition in society is of first importance both to newspaper freedom and to financial success. The newspaper has a vital function in a democratic society of discovering and expressing the main currents of public interests, beliefs, and aspirations. Unfortunately, the generally low professional quality of German newspapermen, their blind spots of ignorance, and old habits of journalistic arbitrariness, have prevented newspapers from coming into close rapport with large sections of the public. They need to know a great deal more about how to attract readers, especially the masses of working people.

Many editors are aware of the problem and are trying to do something about it. One evidence of this is the "Vox Pop" and "Inquiring Reporter" features, recording the views of the man-on-the street, which appear in some newspapers. Another indication is the reader-interest survey; several surveys are noted under various polling agencies in Appendix A.

All of these interests might be given great effect if the newspapers would take a greater interest in the sponsorship of scientific attitude studies and in the responsible publicizing of survey results. Such developments require that newspaper workers learn a great deal more about public opinion research methods than they know now. They must take a critical interest in German polling agencies, and study their techniques. There must be more cooperation between editors and pollers in the planning of surveys, interpretation of results, and techniques of presentation. Newspapers should be a dependable source of reader-interest survey business for pollers, and a dependable market for the sale of polling results.

All mass media, press, radio, and motion pictures, should contribute to the sponsorship and support of one or more institutes for public opinion research and training. Encouragement should be given especially to training agencies which specialize in the study of mass media and which have professional training interests. I have in mind such agencies as the Institut fuer Publizistik at Berlin, although this particular institute may not at the moment have the most desirable location or resources. Such an agency, however, serving as a liaison between the practical professions of mass communication and social science, have the dual capacity of providing research facilities for the benefit of the media and also of training recruits who have some understanding of the public, and public opinion, and of the potentials and effects of mass communication.

R e c o m m e n d a t i o n s

The first section of this report and Appendix A contain many references to academic and other institutions that, in my opinion, should be "encouraged." This means very little unless vague encouragement can be implemented by a specific action of some kind capable of accomplishment by Americans under the conditions which now exist in Germany. This thought has considerably limited my specific recommendations below, which are intended to be within the realm of the practical. Also, it should be clear by this time that I am not convinced that large grants of money to worthy institutions are necessarily a desirable form of encouragement for the long-range progress of public opinion research in Germany. Many of my recommendations call for an expenditure of money, but generally for some catalytic function, on the theory that sound progress must be based primarily upon German initiative and German resources.

The following recommendations are expressed as concisely as possible. Many of them may therefore be unintelligible, or only partially intelligible, without reference to the first part of this report, which provides the background and rationale which prompted them:

1. Exchanges. Sponsorship by HICOG of visits to Germany of representatives of American large and small business and industry who have personal experience with public opinion research in the role of client, to consult with leaders of German business and industry on such subjects as the following: Importance of public opinion research in industrial and public relations; advantages of supporting scientific, academic training agencies by private endowment. Or/and sponsorship by HICOG of visits to the United States of representatives of German large and small business and industry to consult with leaders in American business and industry on the same subjects.

2. Exchanges. Sponsorship by HICOG of visits to Germany of representatives of American communications media, schools of journalism, or other communications research agencies, who have personal experience with public opinion research as applied to the press, radio, or film industries, to consult with leaders in German press, radio, and film industries on such subjects as the following: Importance of public opinion research for increasing the effectiveness of mass media; advantages of supporting scientific, academic training agencies by private endowment for good public relations and for initiating studies of practical value to communications enterprises. Or/and sponsorship by HICOG of visits to the United States of representatives of German communications enterprises to consult with leaders of American press, radio, and film enterprises which use research, and with schools of journalism and other agencies, on the same subjects.

3. Exchanges. Continuation by HICOG of the policy of sending German public opinion pollers to the United States for study and practical experience. Specific suggestions as to candidates: Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (see Demoskopie), Wolfgang Ernst (see Hoererforschung Ernst), Otto Neuloh or one of his assistants (see Office of Social Research, Dortmund), Werner Hildebrandt (see DISMA), Christine Totten (see Institut fuer Publizistik, Heidelberg). Additional suggestions can be provided.

4. Exchanges. Sponsorship by HICOG of visits to Germany, on one-year assignments, of American experts in public opinion research, preferably German-speaking, to consult with persons in German academic institutions seeking to build up research programs. Suggested order of priority for the services of such experts: University of Hamburg, University of Cologne, Berlin Institut fuer Politische Wissenschaft, University of Frankfurt.

5. Invitation by Reactions Analysis, HICOG, to German private polling agencies to send key personnel to RA to work as temporary employees for a long enough time to become acquainted with techniques and procedures.

6. A similar invitation to academic agencies, to provide temporary employment on the staff of Reactions Analysis for professors, assistants, and graduate students. In the case of both (5) and (6), an exchange arrangement with permanent employees of Reactions Analysis might be considered.

7. Assignment of some American polling to German private or academic agencies on contract. At the beginning such assignments could be made to supplement RA surveys with additional cases, or to conduct experiments regarding the relative reliability of all agencies doing polling in Germany.

8. Initiating or encouraging formation of a permanent organization of public opinion research experts and students in Germany, with regular meetings at which American polling experts would set an example of full and free discussion of methodology and problems. A code of minimum standards of principle and practice might be presented to this organization for suitable action.

9. Material American assistance for a project to publish regularly all findings of polling agencies in Germany, as well as scientific papers and reports on public opinion research experiences and problems in Germany. Such publication might take the form of an additional department in the already existing journal, "Soziale Welt," or a new journal might be established, possibly under the auspices of the Institute for Social Science at the University of Frankfurt, which appears to be the logical agency in Germany at this time to serve as a clearing house for public opinion research data.

10. Establishment of a committee by the suggested public opinion research organization to survey the problem of placement of public opinion experts in Germany, and to promote so far as possible the employment of such experts by government, academic institutions, business, industry, and others.

11. Promotion of closer relations with the press and other communications media by inviting editors to visit American and German polling agencies, inviting them to attend sessions of the public opinion research organization, and acquainting them with minimum standards of ethical and scientific practice.

12. Production of a popular and effective motion picture, with a German milieu and characters, to explain the methods, principles, and democratic uses of public opinion research. Such a film might be made either by the American film unit or by a German concern, for as wide a distribution as possible, both commercial and noncommercial, in Germany.

13. Abandonment by HICOG of the occasional appearance of using public opinion research for political purposes within Germany. This can be done either by releasing all polling results in a routine fashion, or by releasing none.

14. Adoption of a policy by HICOG to assign public opinion research projects to the most reliable existing academic and private agencies instead of setting up new agencies solely for such surveys.

Appendix A

Descriptive Directory of Public Opinion Research Activities
in Western Germany

The activities summarized in the following pages are those about which I was able to obtain information during a relatively brief visit to Germany. In most instances I personally visited the institutes and agencies listed.

There are doubtless omissions, as I was not able to go everywhere during the limited time available. Moreover, the universities were in recess during part of my stay in Germany, and some persons who might have been able to contribute data to this report were on vacation and inaccessible.

I have omitted activities which appeared to me too minor or unscientific to be worth consideration by serious students of public opinion. In several instances I have included activities which are only in the discussion or planning stage at this time, but I have only done so when the individuals or circumstances concerned seemed to promise the actual future performance of significant work.

There are doubtless errors of both fact and interpretation in the following summaries. I should have liked to check all data with the agencies concerned, but again, lack of time and my return to the United States precluded the possibility of doing so. It should also be pointed out that some agencies were reluctant to disclose certain kinds of information, either because they felt such information fell under the head of "trade secrets," or perhaps to hide situations which they felt might not give favorable impressions of their work. In such instances I have tried to make personal estimates, which, of course, should also be submitted to the agencies concerned for verification or comment.

In brief, I have tried to do the best I could with the limited time and means available. I hope that the notes which follow will serve as a useful preliminary survey, and that it will be possible for someone to check the data in due course with the various agencies concerned. The judgments expressed are, of course, entirely my own, and do not in any way reflect the views of the United States Government or any of its agents or employees.

I n d e x

This geographical index includes all agencies which are subjects of descriptive summaries in Appendix A.

Key.

- A --- Academic agency.
- P --- Private agency.
- AP --- Mixed academic and non-academic sponsorship.
- G --- Governmental sponsorship.
- M --- Miscellaneous sponsorship.
- US --- Agency wholly or mainly supported by United States funds.
- USA --- Agency given limited or occasional United States financial aid, usually through HICOG grants or contracts.

	Page
<u>American Zone</u>	
Bad Nauheim	
Catholic Affairs Section (HICOG, G-US).....	39
Reactions Analysis (G-US).....	40
Bremen	
Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer wissenschaftliche Markt- und Meinungsforschung (P).....	42
Frankfurt	
Institut zur Foerderung oeffentlicher Angelegenheiten (M-US).....	43
Institut fuer Sozialforschung (A-USA).....	44
International Institute for Social Science (UNESCO)- (See Institut fuer Sozialforschung)	
Social and Housing Project (G-US).....	48
Darmstadt	
Institut fuer Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung (AP-US)..	49
Munich	
Hochschule fuer Politische Wissenschaften (A-US).....	53
Hoererforschung Ernst (P).....	56
Institut zur Erforschung der Oeffentlichen Meinung (A)...	59
Nuernberg	
Institut fuer Absatz- und Verbrauchsforschung (AP).....	60
Regensburg	
DEM (P).....	61
Wiesbaden	
Unsere Meinung (P-USA).....	63
<u>British Zone</u>	
Bielefeld	
EMNID (P).....	68
Cologne	
Forschungsinstitut fuer Sozial- und Verwaltungswissenschaften (A).....	70
Sozialpolitisches Seminar (A).....	71

	Page
<u>British Zone cont'd</u>	
Dortmund	
Sozialforschungstelle an der Universitaet	
Muenster (AP-USA).....	72
UNESCO Project (M-USA).....	77
Duesseldorf	
Deutscher Gewerkschaft Bund (M-US).....	79
Hamburg	
Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft (A).....	81
DISMA (P).....	82
Psychologisches Institut (A).....	85
Seminar fuer Strafrecht und Kriminalpolitik (A).....	86
Sozialwissenschaft Arbeitsgemeinschaft (AP).....	87
Hannover	
Institut fuer Empirische Sozialogie (G).....	88
Kiel	
Statistisches Landesamt (G).....	89
<u>French Zone</u>	
Allensbach	
Demoskopie (P).....	90
<u>Berlin</u>	
Deutsche Hochschule fuer Politik (A-US).....	98
Institut fuer Politische Wissenschaft	
(See Deutsche Hochschule fuer Politik)	
Institut fuer Publizistik (A-US).....	101
Studiengruppe Gewerkschaftspresse	
(See Deutsche Hochschule fuer Politik)	

Catholic Affairs Section, Education and Cultural Relations Division
Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany

The Catholic Affairs Section of HICOG is sponsoring a survey of current religious trends and attitudes in Germany in the light of general living conditions.

Leaders of the project are two professors from the University of Nijmegen, Holland, Dr. Antoine Oldendorff, Professor of Psychosociology, and Dr. George Zeegers, Lecturer on Sociology.

At the time of writing, a team including ten German assistants had completed 100 interviews in West Berlin. More interviews were to follow in West Germany. The survey began in August, 1950, and was to have been completed by the end of October.

United States Government
Reactions Analysis Staff
Bad Nauheim

(Note—While this is a report on German agencies, a brief description of the official American public opinion polling operation is included here (a) for purposes of comparison with the German agencies, and (b) to complete the directory of public opinion research agencies in Germany at this time. A discussion of the impact and significance of Reactions Analysis in connection with the evolution of public opinion research in Germany will be found in the first section of this report.)

Address—Deutsche Kurheim, Goethestrasse, Bad Nauheim. Telephone Bad Nauheim Military 503. It is planned to move the operation this fall to HICOG headquarters in Frankfurt.

Founded—American polling operations in Germany began with the military occupation, under the immediate auspices of the Information Control Division of the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF. The polling unit subsequently became the Opinion Surveys Branch of the Information Services Division, OMGUS. In the fall of 1949, following the change-over from military government to the State Department, the unit became the Reactions Analysis Staff, attached to the office of the director of the Office of Public Affairs, HICOG.

Type of enterprise—Official government agency.

Kinds of studies made—General political, social and economic attitude surveys; some studies of communications media habits and preferences.

Staff—Home office staff of 35, including eight Americans, plus three American supervisors in the field.

Interviewers—Reactions Analysis has a staff of 125 full-time interviewers.

Methodology—Stratified probability sample. Stratification is determined by Laender (States), Regierungsbezirke (Districts) and by size of community, based upon census figures and the best available statistical reports. There is also a religious affiliation stratification by communities. Selection of actual respondents is done by the random method; until recently selections were made from lists of ration-card holders, but with the growing obsolescence of these lists increasing use is being made of Einwohneramt lists (police lists of inhabitants). Respondents are notified by postcard of the interviewer's projected visit. For a technical description of the standard sampling design, see "Trends in German Public Opinion, 1946 thru 1949," published by HICOG, 1950. The quota system is used for small "quickie" surveys. Hollerith machines are used.

Size of sample--The standard sample for the United States zone is 3,000 cases, plus 500 cases for the western sectors of Berlin and 300 in Bremen-Bremerhaven. The split-ballot technique is used, however, so that the actual number of respondents to many questions is about half the number indicated above. The size of the Berlin and Bremen samples is to be increased. A 500 case sample is used for the "quickie" quota surveys. Extension of surveying operations to all west German zones is now being discussed.

Specific operations--More than 200 mimeographed reports have been issued since March, 1946, plus a good many memoranda and special reports. Major surveys are initiated at the rate of about two a month, each questionnaire averaging between 20 and 30 main questions plus between 12 and 20 statistical questions. Frequent "quickie" surveys are in addition to this schedule.

Personal appraisal--As I have stated above, a study of this American agency was not part of my assignment. However, it is my impression that Reactions Analysis is doing a highly professional job in its field. Its financial and man-power resources are of course enormous in comparison with those of German polling agencies. The impact and problems of American polling in connection with German public opinion research are discussed in the body of this report.

Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer wissenschaftliche
Markt- und Meinungsforschung
(Society for Scientific Market and Opinion Research)
Bremen

Address--Haus des Reichs, Room 325, Bremen.

No information was obtained about this agency, which, from its address, appears to be an extracurricular activity of members of the interviewing staff of the Bremen office of Reactions Analysis, HICOG.

Institut zur Foerderung oeffentlicher Angelegenheiten e. V.
(Institute for the Advancement of Public Affairs)
Frankfurt am Main

Address--Bockenheimer Anlage 45.

This Institute was established to further public interest in Germany in public affairs, which it does through the organization of meetings and conferences, through publications, by maintenance of a library, by furthering the formation of organizations for discussion of public affairs, and by encouraging and servicing such organizations already in existence. It is supported by the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany.

It does not itself conduct public opinion research, and is only included here because of efforts it has made, as a part of a larger program, to encourage interest in public opinion research and to serve as a catalytic agent in establishing stimulating contact among public opinion research specialists in Germany.

It has sponsored two conferences on public opinion research. The first was held in Frankfurt on March 16, 1950. Scientific papers were presented by Dr. Friedrich Lenz, of EMNID, Bielefeld, and Dr. Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, of Demoskopie, Allensbach.

A second all-day conference was held on September 16, 1950, especially for the purpose of discussing polling problems with George Katona, of the opinion research center of the University of Michigan, who was in Germany at the time as a consultant for the Office of Political Affairs, HICOG. Representatives of the leading polling organizations attended the conference, at which there was a review of polling developments in the United States by Katona, and discussion of general and technical polling problems in Germany. Other topics discussed were the problem of obtaining better treatment of polling reports by the press, and the desirability of establishing some kind of a journal for the reporting of polling results, experimental studies, and similar material, for the mutual benefit of German pollers and others interested in public opinion research.

Institut fuer Sozialforschung
(Institute of Social Research)
University of Frankfurt

Address—Senckenberg Anlage 34, Frankfurt am Main. Telephone 70091, Extension 39.

Founded—1925.

Type of enterprise—The Institute is attached to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Frankfurt. It is one of the few privately endowed university institutes in Germany. Endowment funds, provided by a German industrialist, were transferred to the Netherlands before the Nazis took over the German government, and then to the United States. With the advent of Hitler, the leaders of the Institute, Prof. Max Horkheimer, and his assistant, Dr. Theodore Adorno, left Germany and set up the Institute in exile in New York and Los Angeles. The Institute in Frankfurt was abolished in 1933. Work of the Institute in the United States includes the notable "Studies in Prejudice" series. After the war Horkheimer and Adorno were invited to resume their professorships at Frankfurt, and the Institute of Social Research was formally re-established in the summer of 1950. It is temporarily housed in the Kuratorium of Frankfurt University, but a new building is to be constructed for it with the help of the City of Frankfurt. The Institute has received a grant of 200,000 DM from the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany for the training of social psychologists, and it has also been designated by UNESCO as the seat of an International Institute for Social Sciences (see below).

Kinds of surveys made—The activities of the Institute are just beginning, and research so far has been limited largely to some preliminary experiments in attitude study through guided group discussion. However, attitude studies of all kinds are projected.

Staff—The staff is in the process of organization. Dr. Horkheimer, Professor of Social Philosophy at Frankfurt University, is Director, and Dr. Adorno, Assistant Director. Frederick Pollock, of the Institute of Social Research in the United States, has joined the staff, and Diederich Osmer, a German, will be in direct charge of experimental work-programs. Use will be made of students, especially of members of the Horkheimer-Adorno university seminar, Besprechung empirischer Forschungsarbeiten (Discussion of Methods of Empirical Social Science Research), which was inaugurated with the 1950 Summer Session of the university.

Specific operations—The leaders of the Institute emphasize their desire to promote cooperation between faculties and between institutions in attitude research projects. They also emphasize the point that they are not so much interested in "results" as in the value of the experience with empirical research to students, especially to the future teachers who are enrolled in Philosophical faculties.

At a meeting called by the Institute in late June for a discussion with invited representatives of other social science institutes of a proposed cooperative attitude study, the following values were emphasized: The usefulness of participation by institutes in various regions of Germany in a common study; the familiarizing of students with new (foreign) research techniques; the insight and tolerance derived from the probing of other people's ideas and problems; the wholesome effect of such experience for future teachers, journalists, and other kinds of professional workers.

Incidentally, the cooperative project proposed was a pilot study of German attitudes toward the various occupying powers. The stimulus was to be recordings of selected radio programs representative of each power, and there was to be special study of the effectiveness of, and attitudes toward, the Voice of America. The specific methodology proposed was organization of small groups of listeners representative of the German social structure, with the eliciting of attitudes through both free and guided discussion.

Some progress has already been made with a project of this type. In a study of attitudes toward occupying powers, the stimulus of a fictitious letter presumably written by an American GI has been presented to four discussion groups in Frankfurt. Two of these groups were homogeneous (members of the Kleingarten Verein), and two were miscellaneous, but selected and invited on the basis of a quota sampling of the stratification of Frankfurt society. Discussion was recorded on tape, which is now being transcribed and evaluated.

Two groups have been organized and financed by the Institute to conduct the identical experiment elsewhere. One group is in Augsburg, under the direction of Dr. Clemens Sauermann, and the other in Hamburg, under the direction of Dr. Erich Herzog of the University of Kiel.

Projected is the translation and revision for Germany, by students, of the "Studies in Prejudice." It is believed that the adaptation of this work to German conditions will in fact constitute a new laboratory study.

Also projected is a study of the problem of authoritarianism in German pedagogy.

* * * * *

International Institute for Social Sciences (UNESCO)--In the summer of 1950, the Executive Board of UNESCO, on recommendation of the German UNESCO Committee, approved a project for establishment of an International Institute for Social Sciences at the University of Frankfurt. Two other German projects were approved at the same time, an International Center for Pedagogy, and an International Institute for Youth Activities.

The plan for the International Institute for Social Sciences calls for a budget of \$629,000 for five years, of which \$80,000 is for a building, furnishings, and research equipment. The Director of UNESCO is authorized to seek \$549,000 for operating expenses for five years. The \$80,000 for building and furnishings is to be raised from other sources.

The prospectus describes the basic objectives of the Institute as (1) to further studies into factors most influential in perpetuating attitudes which have brought Germany into conflict with other nations; (2) practical studies to indicate the methods and techniques most likely to succeed in dealing with the many serious social problems Germany now faces; (3) training of a new generation of young social scientists in research techniques.

The following examples are given as the kind of research projects which the Institute might undertake (all of them are more or less directly concerned with attitude studies): Personality factors and political ideology; Historical and sociological analyses of the German resistance movement; Case studies in political ideology; German attitudes toward other nations; A study of "in-between-culture" (less obvious sources of German chauvinism, such as popular writing); Synthesis of research studies on prejudice. The building of a library is envisaged, as well as teaching activities.

Control of the Institute is to reside in a Board of eleven members including the Director of the Institute as chairman, the Director-General of UNESCO or his representative, the Assistant Director of the Institute, Rector of the University of Frankfurt, one member of the Senate of the University of Frankfurt, one representative of the Society for Social Research in Frankfurt (legal parent society controlling the funds of the Institute of Social Research), and five members chosen from international, non-governmental organizations, chiefly learned societies. Four members of the Board are to be German. Non-German members are to be chosen from members of not less than three nations other than Germany. The Director of the Institute may be either German or non German.

It may be assumed that the leadership of the International Institute would be the same as that of the Institute of Social Research. Presumably the two Institutes would occupy the same building, with a considerable pooling of program and personnel.

Personal appraisal—Professors Horkheimer and Adorno are undoubtedly outstanding in Germany today as far as a comprehensive understanding of empirical social science research is concerned. They have had more experience, especially with modern "foreign" methodologies, and probably have more know-how, especially with the more subtle refinements of attitude research than any other social scientists in Germany. It is also obvious that they plan on a large scale, and that they are energetic and skillful in promoting their projects. Their Institute of Social Research

gives promise of becoming the leading academic agency for empirical research in Germany, especially in the field of experimental attitude studies. Should the necessary money be raised for the UNESCO Institute, it seems safe to predict that the combined institutes would dominate the field in Germany, if only because of the sheer magnitude of their resources, personnel, and operations.

Whether the close identification of these enterprises with foreign influences, and their extensive subsidy from foreign sources, will prove in the long run to be a help or a hindrance depends upon political developments. Both Horkheimer and Adorno left Germany in 1933. They are both American citizens, and apparently have no intention at this time of giving up their citizenship or their plans to return eventually to the United States. It is possible, of course, that support of the Institute may be transferred eventually to Germans, but this depends upon a number of unknown factors, including not only the future political and economic situation in Germany but also the acceptance of its studies by Germans, and the ability of its students and collaborators to find careers in German academic and other professions.

In connection with German acceptance of its work, it is apparent that the leaders of the Institute are deeply concerned with problems of German prejudice, especially regarding racism, and that they wish to use empirical social research as a means of re-orientating or reforming Germans. This objective is implicit in the plans for the UNESCO Institute. The goal is of course entirely laudable, but there remains the unpleasant possibility that Germans, unless a general revolution in German character occurs, may come to view the Institutes as propaganda arms of foreign principals and as agencies for the promotion of "un-German" ideas.

The beginnings, however, are encouraging. Horkheimer and Adorno have been welcomed with great warmth, and their students have been apparently enormously stimulated by the new vistas of social investigation and understanding which have been opened to them. The plans for the Institutes have received generous support so far, at least in the Frankfurt area. It would be unwise to anticipate an unfavorable evolution which may not occur (I hope).

Social and Housing Project
City of Frankfurt

This project, to be conducted by Director Grossmann of the Siedlungsbau of the City of Frankfurt am Main, is primarily a housing and city planning study. However, such related problems as employment and recreation are to be considered, and it is possible that some work will be done with pertinent attitude surveys of the Frankfurt population.

The project is to be financed by the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany. Work on the project was ready to begin on July 1, 1950, but up to September no money had actually been released by HICOG.

There has been some consultation with the leaders of the Darmstadt Community Survey and with Dr. Horkheimer of the Institute of Social Research, Frankfurt. American advisers are desired, but apparently no money will be available to pay for them.

Institut fuer Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung
(Darmstadt Community Survey)

Address--75 Hornewegstrasse, Darmstadt.

Founded--February, 1949.

Type of enterprise--The Institute is officially sponsored by the Academy of Labor (Akademie der Arbeit) of the University of Frankfurt, although all funds for its support come from American sources and are expended by the Academy under contract. The project was initiated by Dr. Nels Anderson, formerly of the Manpower Division, OMGUS, and now Deputy Chief of the Labor-Management Techniques Branch, Office of Labor Affairs, HICOG. The original contract was authorized by Military Government. A supplementary appropriation was made by the Civil Affairs Division, OMGUS, for a study of administrative procedures in Darmstadt.

Kinds of surveys made--The Darmstadt project comprises a comprehensive social survey of the city of Darmstadt (population 85,000) and its hinterland, somewhat along the lines of the "Middletown" study. In comprehensiveness of plan the survey is unique in Germany and probably in the world. Areas of study include family life in Darmstadt, youth problems, education, school and church, organizations, work relationships, cultural life of Darmstadt, "moral relationships," public opinion on important issues, rural social life in the Darmstadt hinterland, rural-urban relationships, and administrative procedures.

The vast amount of historical and statistical information collected for the project, especially in the early stages of "structural analysis," lie outside the scope of this survey. The following types of research are undertaken in the field of attitude study: General attitude surveys; intensive interviewing of group leaders; guided group discussion; projective essays written by school children; self-administered questionnaires for older school children; participant observation.

Staff--Director of the project and the German research staff is Dr. Hans C. Schachtschabel, a young German economist and social scientist who was formerly Dozent at the University of Marburg and is now Professor at the School for Advanced Economic Studies (Wirtschaftshochschule) at Mannheim and Visiting Lecturer at the University of Heidelberg. The home office staff, including scientific, clerical and administrative workers, is composed of ten men and seven women. There are three "research assistants," Irma Kuhr, Anneliese Mausolf, and Dieter Rackebrand, all of whom have Doctor of Philosophy degrees in a social science field from a German university. Other scientific workers are mainly students specializing in one of the social science fields.

American advisers include Henry J. Meyer and Ashley Weeks, both Associate Professors of Sociology at New York University, who spent three months with the project in 1949, beginning in mid-July; and S. Earl Grigsby, an agricultural sociologist on leave from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, who joined the project in July, 1949, and is still with it. Dr. Weeks re-joined the project as an adviser during the summer of 1950.

Interviewers--Aside from its own staff, the project has had the volunteer services of student interviewers from several educational institutions. For example, approximately thirty agricultural students from the Justus Liebig Hochschule at Giessen have served as interviewers in the rural survey. Two advanced students from this Hochschule were made research assistants for the survey. Sixteen students from the state-recognized Welfare School (Wohlfahrtsschule) in Darmstadt have served as interviewers for the family survey. Small groups of students from the Frankfurt Academy of Labor have come to the project as volunteer workers for a week at a time.

Methodology--Random sampling. Approximately 500 cases for the Darmstadt family survey, with names drawn from the Housing Office (Wohnungsamt). Approximately 500 cases for the Darmstadt labor survey, with names drawn from the Public Labor Office (Arbeitsamt). For the rural survey, four communities were selected for representativeness on the bases of kind of farm economy, social structure, transportation facilities to Darmstadt, and other factors. There was complete enumeration of all households in one of these communities; a 25% random sample of households in the second; and a 35% random sample of households in the third and fourth. Length of interviews averaged one hour for non-farm households and two hours for farm households. The project uses punch cards and Hollerith machines. Training of Interviewers is stressed. The director and four senior staff members visited the Opinion Surveys Branch of OMGUS for instruction in polling techniques. Detailed instructions are given to student interviewers and their questionnaires carefully checked; in the case of inadequate or contradictory answer, the interviewers are sent back to respondents on recalls.

Specific operations--The general scope and character of attitude surveying are indicated above. The Institute projects a study of youth attitudes by asking pupils to write on staff-selected theme topics designed to bring out the attitudes, worries and problems of school children. Considerable work has already been done with guided group discussion designed to elicit basic attitudes of members of different social groups.

Personal appraisal--The Darmstadt Community Survey has been much criticized for its slowness, fumbling, scientific inexperience and

general ineptitude, as well as for the meagerness and inconclusiveness, so far, of its results. Its American advisers admit the validity of some of this criticism but maintain that the main purpose of the survey is not to produce neatly packaged "results," but rather to educate as many Germans as possible in scientific methodology in empirical social research. The main interest of the Darmstadt project for this report, as a matter of fact, is precisely this educational purpose, as it is unlikely that the project itself will survive in any form after the eventual end of American financial support.

The American advisers claim that the project is run by Germans, and that many of its shortcomings, especially in the early stages, arose from the fact that the advisers wanted the German staff to learn empirical social research by trial and error, through their own efforts and mistakes. While I believe that the American advisers may have sincerely tried to follow this policy, it appears to me that their influence nevertheless has been considerable. The following question is even more pertinent to ask regarding the Darmstadt Survey than it is about the Dortmund Office of Social Research: What would happen if the American advisers should be withdrawn? Has the educational process been so thorough that the Germans working on the Survey are unlikely to forget the new methods and slip back into the old ponderous, dogmatic and arbitrary ways of traditional German scholarship?

By asking these questions I am implying that my own answers would tend to be negative. However, it would be unfair to say that the Darmstadt Survey has not been an important catalytic agent for stirring up interest in empirical social science. I am listing below some of the ways it has performed, or plans to perform, this function. To what extent any of the activities or effects listed below give promise of permanence is difficult to say, but the matter is one for some investigator to follow up in the future. I have observed the following catalytic values of the Darmstadt Survey:

1. The acquainting of the German staff, including student interviewers, with modern methods of empirical social research, including the interest and feasibility of questionnaire attitude surveys in the German milieu. The Institute has also provided an example of how the rigid lines of academic specialization can be crossed in a cooperative social survey employing the talents of various kinds of social scientists. The Institute has also sought to break down the old authoritarian relationship between leader or teacher and employees or students, in a democratic staff organization where there is actual discussion of problems on the basis of relative equality of all participants.

2. The Institute has done a great deal to acquaint other Germans with the nature and possible usefulness of social surveys and attitude research. It has done this through meetings with government officials and group leaders in Darmstadt and its hinterland, through personal calls on Buergermeister of the Gemeinden, through interviews with Germans on the street and more than a thousand homes, and through professional conferences.

3. The Institute appears to be exerting an influence on German academic life. Most of the two or three hundred Germans who have had direct contact with its operations so far, as volunteers or observers, have been students. The project has attracted the attention and interest of professors from a number of hochschule; it may indeed provide further impetus for the development of courses in empirical social science and public opinion research methods in universities and labor academies. There is talk of using the project for in-training of young social science instructors from German universities. These developments are putative, however, and it may be a long time before they are realized, for reasons set forth in the first section of this report.

Crucial questions are what will happen to the Darmstadt project after American support is withdrawn, and, much more important, what will happen to the Germans it has trained? If the Darmstadt-type of social survey is continued in Darmstadt or elsewhere, or if the German personnel finds career opportunities in academic life or elsewhere for the use of its experience and know-how, the Darmstadt project will have served a useful purpose indeed. If there are no suitable careers open for these young people, it appears likely to me that the Darmstadt Survey will quickly become a memory of an essentially foreign and, to Germans, not very meaningful experiment.

Hochschule fuer Politische Wissenschaften
(High School for Political Sciences)
Munich

Address---Friedrichstrasse 17, Munich 13. Lectures at the University of Munich, Ludwigstrasse 17.

This Institution is sponsored by the Political Affairs Division of the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany in Bavaria. The moving spirit behind the enterprise is Dr. Harold J. Clem, chief of the Civil Liberties Branch of the Political Affairs Division, HICOG Bavaria. It represents an effort to provide an independent center for the objective study, by adults, of political problems, for which there is great need in Germany after the years of suppression of political discussion in the Third Reich.

Rector and active director of the Hochschule is Dr. Franz Fendt. The organizing committee includes representatives of city and state government, Munich Chamber of Commerce, HICOG, and University of Munich, as well as one private industrialist. Main financial support comes from HICOG, although some aid has been received from private sources. There is close cooperation with the University of Munich, especially through the employment of university professors as lecturers and the use of university lecture rooms.

The Hochschule began operations this summer with a Vorsemester lasting from June 5 until July 21. Lectures courses were offered on a variety of subjects pertaining to contemporary political, economic and social problems in Germany and elsewhere, with guest lecturers, German and foreign.

According to Dr. Clem, a basic objective of the new independent Hochschule is inquiry into how public opinion is formed, how to make public opinion effective, and how to give it expression. The Institution hopes to serve as a bridge between practical people and academic experts for the purpose of spreading knowledge of democratic processes and methods useful in the solution of political and social problems.

The main interest of the Hochschule in connection with the present survey is the fact that a public opinion research institute is planned. Apparently such an institute has been under consideration for a long time, but it is only recently that the decision was made to combine the research project with the larger plan of the political Hochschule. A leader has been designated to develop the research institute, Dr. Fritz Hesse, a former employee of the German Foreign Office and a member of the organizing committee of the Hochschule.

Dr. Hesse has a very low opinion of public opinion polling as it has been practiced in Germany up to this time. He feels that samples of, say,

2,000 cases are entirely inadequate for West Germany. In regard to American polling operations, he claims that the ration cards from which samples have been drawn are twenty years old and 50 per cent wrong, and that an adequate sample can only be drawn after publication of the 1950 census figures. He says that the American-type questions asked are alien to German thinking and therefore unintelligible.

His argument is that enlightenment must precede polling. It is necessary to find out first how much people know about a subject, and how much education is necessary before a true public opinion can be formed capable of being polled. He wants to set up committees of experts which will first survey all information available on a subject, and then survey the public to determine whether it is well enough informed to be polled. If the public is not sufficiently well informed, the committees will publish booklets for the instruction of the public, after which a poll will be conducted with appropriate questionnaires.

Before actual polling is undertaken, however, it will also be necessary to investigate technical questions, to determine what methods of polling will be most effective in Germany.

Hesse hopes to begin the Institute with the winter semester of the Hochschule. A series of lectures is planned on such subjects as the importance of the domestic and foreign press, public relations, etc., to be followed by another series of lectures on the psychology of public opinion, how public opinion is formed, public opinion institutes and research methods, etc., followed by another series of lectures on propaganda, radio, films, etc. He does not specify when actual public opinion research will be undertaken, but presumably there will eventually be a seminar in which scientific public opinion research methods will be taught and field studies undertaken.

Personal appraisal--It is difficult to have an opinion about an institute that is still in the discussion and planning stage. Dr. Hesse presented a plan for a fairly attractive school of journalism or communications, more or less resembling Dr. Dovifat's Institut fuer Publizistik in Berlin. He indicated, by the way, that the Sud-Deutscher Zeitung and the Werner Friedmann Institute for training journalists, among others, will send students. Hesse's arrogant and condescending attitude toward all other public opinion research people in Germany, however, doesn't speak well for either his knowledge of what is going on in this field, or his good sense. Nor is it clear that he will have either the personnel or the financial support necessary to carry on public opinion research of any significant scope. Moreover, his blueprint places so much stress on educating the public and studying the tools of research that actual research work may not begin for a very long time.

The fate of the Institute also depends upon the success of the Hochschule of which it is a part. The objectives of the Hochschule are

admirable; the question is whether it will ever be able to stand on its own feet as an independent educational agency if and when American subsidy is withdrawn.

Hoererforschung Ernst
(Ernst's Listener Research)

Address--Schellingstrasse 103, Munich 13.

Founded--1949.

Type of enterprise--Private, commercial agency for public opinion research.

Kinds of surveys made--At present the activity of this agency is confined almost exclusively to listener studies for Radio Munich, on a contract basis. An early study of receiving set ownership and listening habits in Bavaria was made both for radio set manufacturers and Radio Munich. The agency wants to extend its activities to other kinds of polling and consumer and market research, if it can find the business. It has made a study on its own account to find out what classes of people bet in the state football lottery (Toto).

Staff--Head of the concern is Wolfgang Ernst, whose business partner is his wife, Dr. Renata Ernst. Both are former students of Karl d'Ester, professor of Zeitungswissenschaft at the University of Munich. Mrs. Ernst wrote her doctoral thesis under d'Ester on radio listening preferences, and Ernst is at present working on a doctoral dissertation on polling methods. There are five persons on the staff besides the Ernsts. The concern has a suite of rooms in a small office building not far from the university.

Interviewers--About 200 interviewers are claimed. Surveys are normally made in 27 districts (Kreis) out of a total of 182 in Upper and Lower Bavaria. Leaders are trained for two weeks in the office, and Mr. and Mrs. Ernst travel into the field to train new interviewers. Ernst states that he pays interviewers from 1 to 2.50 DM per interview, with questionnaires averaging from 7 to 12 questions. About 20 pre-testers receive 5 DM per interview.

Methodology--Random and combination random-quota sample. The survey with the largest number of cases (15,000) was made with the random system, with selection of names from ration cards (in September, 1949). The usual system employed is to go to the police resident lists (Wohnungsamt) and at every n-th centimeter extract 1 centimeter of cards; the quota is filled from the first name in each extracted group of cards which meets quota needs.

Two pre-tests are claimed, taking about ten days' time, one with a group of 50 cases, and the second with a group of 150 cases. In listener studies a normal sample of from 1,000 to 2,000 cases for all Bavaria is claimed, although no written report was seen which mentioned more than 1,300 cases. A report is issued about every five or six weeks.

An interesting experiment in methodology was conducted in connection with the 15,000 random sample survey. The cases were divided into nine control groups, and it was found that the results for the 5,000 case group were practically the same as for the total of 15,000 cases.

The concern also does some studio pre-testing of programs with a listener panel. It is interested in obtaining further information about the Program Analyzer, radar system of checking on listening, and other new research devices and techniques.

Size of sample—See above.

Specific operations—The survey of 15,000 cases mentioned above was designed primarily to discover set use in Bavaria and the number of black (schwarz) or illegal listeners (that is, set owners who haven't paid the license fee on receiving sets, which provides the income for radio broadcasting). At the time of the survey there were about 4,000,000 licensed receiving sets in Bavaria. Before the survey, radio people estimated the existence of about 50,000 black listeners; according to the survey there were actually about 500,000. Since the survey about 100,000 additional sets have been licensed. All radio stations in Germany, by the way, are concerned about the black listening problem. It is claimed that a good deal of listener surveying pays its way because of the number of black listeners who hear about the surveys and take out licenses because of a fear that interviewers may report them, or that the survey may be related in some way to a government investigation. To the best of my knowledge, however, no polling agency ever reports listeners to the authorities.

Following are summaries of typical reports:

1. Die Sendungen fuer Heimatsvertriebene (Programs for Refugees). This is a survey of the effectiveness of programs of Radio Munich and other stations designed for refugees residing in Bavaria. Radio Munich has two special programs for Fluechtlinge, one of news and popular folk songs on Sunday afternoon, and a more cultural program on Tuesday afternoon. Two questionnaires were used, one for a sample of 750 refugees, the other for a sample of 1,000 native Bavarians.

2. Untersuchung der Hoerermeinung ueber Hoerspielprobleme (Listener attitudes toward radio plays), based on 300 interviews in Munich and 1,000 elsewhere in Bavaria.

Other survey subjects have included women's programs, radio advertising, sport programs, and Sunday listening. Currently a survey is being made of what stations, domestic and foreign, can be heard in Bavaria, in what areas, and in what strength.

As stated above, the Ernsts would like to acquire other clients, and expand their operations into all West Germany. They believe they can make surveys in all of West Germany, using a 3,000-case sample, for between 7,000 and 8,000 DM each.

Personal appraisal—The operation seems to me to be essentially sound, although severely limited in scope, experience, and professional know-how. Good professional advice is needed. It would be useful for Ernst to have an opportunity to work with research agencies in the United States.

Institut zur Erforschung der Oeffentlichen Meinung
(Institute for the Investigation of Public Opinion)
University of Munich

Address--Ludwigstrasse 17, Munich.

This institute is one of the activities of Dr. Karl d'Ester, professor of Zeitungswissenschaft (newspaper science) at the University of Munich. Work is severely limited by lack of money and lack of experienced personnel, so that efforts so far appear somewhat amateurish. d'Ester, who is a veteran journalism teacher and a somewhat controversial figure politically, appears to be sincerely and deeply interested in learning new techniques and developing a program of public opinion research. It is evident that he is stimulating student interest, as, for example, in the case of the Ernsts (See Hoererforschung Ernst).

The most important work of the institute currently is being done in cooperation with the Munich Pedagogische Arbeitsstaette (Pedagogical Work-Center) which is supported by the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany. A mail questionnaire asking opinions on such subjects as co-education, school reform, and teaching methods, has been sent out to a sample of 700 Munich school teachers. In cooperation with the pedagogical institute, d'Ester is now working on a questionnaire designed to reveal differences between book and newspaper readers, apparently for the purpose of suggesting improvements in newspaper content. This survey will also be made by mail.

Students of d'Ester's university seminar have been working on small projects which may have some educational value but which are chiefly interesting only as evidence of a desire to develop research activities. There has been some desultory polling of radio listeners for program preferences. Eight or ten students have been engaged in polling of reactions of patrons to motion pictures. These students spend about an hour at a time at local theaters and interview patrons after they have seen the film. They are paid 2 DM for each interview by the distributors, and this money is apparently being pooled in a fund for further research studies. There has also been some polling of students by students for field practice.

Personal appraisal--My personal estimate is indicated above. My impression is that d'Ester would like to try to keep abreast of new developments but is gravely frustrated by lack of experience and lack of support. He does not appear to enjoy American favor, presumably in part because he remained in good standing throughout the Nazi regime; nor does he appear to desire American aid. This is not the place for comment on his professional journalism training program, but that too seems somewhat amateurish and ineffective by American standards.

Institut fuer Absatz- und Verbrauchsforschung
(Institute for Market and Consumer Research)
Nuernberg

Address--Findelgasse 7, Nuernberg. Telephone 2 63 10.

This Institute is attached to the Nuernberg Hochschule fuer Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften (High School of Economic and Social Science), which lists it in the catalog as an "Ausseinstitut" of the Hochschule.

The director of the Institute is Dr. Wilhelm Vershofen, who has a staff which includes an assistant, Dr. Paul W. Meyer, and eleven others, plus student helpers. The enterprise seems to lead a kind of double life; another agency headed by Dr. Vershofen, but which has no connection with the Hochschule, the Gesellschaft fuer Konsumforschung, makes contracts with business concerns but the actual research appears to be done by the Institute. Dr. George Bergler is the business manager of the Gesellschaft, the address of which is Bauerngasse 11, Nuernberg; Telephone 6 21 64.

This survey is not concerned with market and consumer research enterprises in Germany which are mainly engaged in collecting statistical data or product preferences, besides listing such concerns as an appendix. The Nuernberg Institute is included because of interesting differences from usual methodology in interviewing.

Vershofen is opposed to direct questioning, which he feels produces unreliable results. His 400 part-time interviewers in Germany, using a quota-type sampling system, memorize the questions to be asked and then make casual contacts with individuals, and put their questions over coffee or in similar informal situations. Questionnaires are filled out later.

This method of operation may help to account for the rumor in some circles that the Institute was a spying organization for the Nazi regime during the war, as indeed it may have been, at least in a sense. It apparently reported on consumer trends, for the purpose, for example, of predicting the probable consumption of metal for household utilities. It continued its activities during the war until 1944 or 1945.

Recent surveys have been made on the market for rubber foam seats, for Dunlap; an inquiry for candy manufacturers as to why peppermint is mainly sold only in summer; and a survey for the Volkswagen concern on the probable market for half-ton trucks.

DEM

Deutsches Institut zur Erforschung der Oeffentlichen Meinung
(German Institute for the Investigation of Public Opinion)
Regensburg

Address--Regensburg (Lower Bavaria). Telephone 3947.

DEM, which is not now active, was organized approximately three years ago by Germans then employed as interviewers by the Opinion Surveys Branch of OMGUS (now Reactions Analysis). The leaders in the enterprise were Erich Lippoldt, Wolfgang Schaeffer, and Dr. Jurgen Weisker, who obtained technical-scientific advice from Max Ralis, an American specialist employed by Opinion Surveys (See Sozialforschungstelle an der Universitat Muenster).

It appears that there was considerable encouragement of this venture by individual Americans, although an official policy line adopted at the time held that employees of the official American polling agency could not at the same time carry on a private business in the polling field. The German organizers and the American friends interested in the project apparently had in mind the thought that since German polling agencies had already entered the field, and other agencies would doubtless be formed, it was time to establish an agency which was American-trained and which would carry on American ideals and methods in public opinion research after the eventual disappearance of the official American agency. There was also a good deal of discussion at that time regarding the possibility of turning over surveying for American military government to German agencies on a contract basis, and the organizers of DEM may have been hopeful that they would eventually obtain some of this work.

However, the organization immediately ran into financial difficulty. The coup de grace was delivered by the currency reform of August, 1948, which caused DEM a heavy financial loss, partially recouped by the sale of the concern to James Stevenson White, the head of the official British polling agency in Germany, who was at that time engaged in building up a private German polling network under his own auspices.

Wolfgang Schaeffer went to work for White but eventually returned to Reactions Analysis; Lippoldt and Weisker continued as interviewers for Reactions Analysis.

With the disappearance of White and his proteges from the field (described elsewhere), and a change in official American attitude toward polling activities of employees on their own time, it would seem that DEM is again showing signs of life. The leader now is Lippoldt, who is head of the Regensburg regional office of Reactions Analysis. Dr. Weisker is an interviewer attached to this office. DEM has no office; its telephone number is Lippoldt's private residence.

Lippoldt has available a panel of interviewers who have no connection with Reactions Analysis. Recently he completed a quota sample in the area for Esso on sub-contract from DISMA. Small surveys have also been done for Radio Stuttgart, Radio Munich, a Bavarian brewery (100 interviews in 80 places), and a readership study for Die Neue Zeitung.

At this writing Lippoldt has a skeleton organization and is apparently extremely eager to develop business, if he can find it. A promotional leaflet in print, aimed at prospective commercial clients, stresses consumer and market research as an indispensable means of getting the jump on the competition and increasing profits. Incidentally, Reactions Analysis considers Lippoldt one of its best interviewers. He is an advocate of the probability sample for German polling, with names drawn from Einwohneramt lists, and is extremely critical of the accuracy of the quota system employed by DISMA and other German agencies. The superiority of the random sample is urged in the promotional leaflet referred to above ("Our Methods, Tested Abroad, Are New to Germany").

DEM is chiefly interesting at the moment for its potential. Its leadership is intelligent, and experienced in American methods. It is waiting for a favorable opportunity to enter the field with a full-scale operation.

Unsere Meinung
Forschungsstelle fuer Volkpsychologie
(Our Opinion/Office of Research into National Psychology)
Wiesbaden

Address--Nerotal 34, Wiesbaden.

Founded--1948.

Type of enterprise--Private, commercial agency for market and opinion research. It does not seem accurate to say that the agency has actually achieved this status so far (see below).

Kinds of studies made--Unsere Meinung advertises its business as market and opinion analysis, and psychological studies for management. Surveys made so far appear to be confined to general attitude studies (see below).

Staff--The head of the organization is Dr. Franz Lorenz, a Sudeten German Sociologist (Volkskunde) who emigrated from Prague to Constance. The real moving spirit of the enterprise, however, appears to be Bernard Lahy, whose career is outlined below. The business manager and chief salesman is a lawyer, Hans Hellwag, who has an office at 95 Sophienstrasse, Frankfurt am Main. Charlotte Maierfels, of Austrian origin, is in charge of the staff of interviewers. Unsere Meinung occupies one large room in a building in the residential section of Wiesbaden. An office staff of seven women and one man was observed here.

Interviewers--Unsere Meinung claims a staff of 374 part-time interviewers.

Methodology--Quota system, based upon the 1946 census, supplemented by current data from provincial statistical offices. Quotas are distributed under two main classifications, ethno-geographic and urban vs. rural, and six sub-classifications, sex, age, occupation, religion, educational level, and socio-economic level (high, medium, below average, poor, and unemployed). Pre-testing is conducted in the Wiesbaden area, and occasionally in Munich.

Size of sample--Unsere Meinung claims that its surveys are based upon samples for West Germany (Berlin is not included in its surveys) ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 cases. All reports examined indicated samples of 3,000 cases.

History and specific operations--Unsere Meinung stems from French polling operations in Germany and is largely the creation of Bernard Lahy, a French psychologist who is Chef de Travaux of the youth psychological laboratory of l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris. Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, Lahy's institute undertook attitude surveying

in Germany for the Deuxieme Bureau of the French army. Subsequently, beginning in July of 1947, psychological attitude studies of German youth and German teachers in the French zone were made under contract for the Division des Affaires Culturelles of French military government. The agency was then known as the Institut fuer psychologische and soziometrische Forschungen, with headquarters at 2 Konradigasse, Constance. During this period Lahy's collaborator was Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (see Demoskopie). Following the monetary reform, polling was extended to all the western zones. In August of 1948, following the departure of Noelle-Neumann, Lahy, in cooperation with Dr. Lorenz, established the present Unsere Meinung, and the office was moved, early in 1950, to Wiesbaden. This move ostensibly created a wholly German concern, with Dr. Lorenz as its head, although a loose connection continued through Lahy with the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. The situation appears to be somewhat as follows: Lahy has no official office in Unsere Meinung but he continues as adviser and guide, and has been instrumental in obtaining most of its financial support up to now. Lahy's services cost Unsere Meinung nothing, as he is a member of the staff of l'Ecole Pratique, which pays him. Also, he obtains subventions from l'Ecole Pratique for surveys in which it is interested. It would appear that there are no direct ties any longer with the French occupation administration, although some work continues to be done, on a client basis, for the Division des Affaires Culturelle.

So far as I could determine, Unsere Meinung so far has done practically no commercial work. Aside from the previously mentioned studies done for the French High Commission and for l'Ecole Pratique, the only client I could discover was the American High Commissioner for Germany. The Community Affairs Branch of the Education and Cultural Relations Division of HICOG has given Unsere Meinung 30,000 DM for a survey of German youth attitudes, with special attention to the effectiveness of East Zone appeals, such as summer trips and camps, educational stipends, etc. A series of reports on this survey are to be completed this fall.

The work of Unsere Meinung reflects Lahy's psychological interests. The "why" of all answers is sought, either by using open-end questions or by pressing the respondent for explanations of his "yes - no" answers. Lahy believes that only by such devices can essential psychological insights be obtained. Coding and sorting are done by hand, and the answers to open-end questions are typed by the staff. The final sorting is done by Lahy and Lorenz, who stress interpretation of motives in their reports. Lahy says that the stress upon interpretation of psychological motivation reduces the need for Hollerith equipment, although he would use machines for more extensive collating of results if the concern could afford them. Reports generally include a good many direct quotes from answers to questions, with identification of the respondent by age, sex, vocation, and residence.

Lahy also expresses a great interest in his interviewers and interviewing problems. He strongly urges the necessity of finding interviewers who

are neutral and who belong to substantially the same social class as the respondents interviewed. Unsere Meinung apparently gives considerable thought to interviewer training, and group meetings with interviewers are held from time to time in the field for training purposes. Lahy would like to build two interviewer staffs of approximately 500 each, but states that the task of finding that number of suitable interviewers is formidable.

Lahy believes that questionnaires on political and economic attitudes should not include more than 10 or 12 questions, or take more than 20 minutes to answer. Interviewers are paid 1 DM for each interview of this length. Incidentally, Unsere Meinung estimates the cost of a survey, based on a 10-question questionnaire to 3,000 respondents, at 10,000 DM, with no profit at this figure.

Income from newspapers and other periodicals is sought through a so-called "UM Korrespondenz" service, which consists of an occasional report, generally on one or two questions, offered for sale at fixed prices. Following are descriptions of two sample releases:

1. A report on color associations of West Germans with the political and economic outlook, based on the "language of color" theory of Goethe. 3,000 persons were asked whether Germany's future in the year 1950 looked gray, black, streaked with silver, rosy, or some other color. The report, signed by Dr. Lorenz, consists of five mimeographed pages and a page of bar graphs breaking down the color choices by Laender. Publications rights are offered for 50 DM, and editors are asked to return the matrices of the bar-graphs if the release is not purchased.

2. A report on two questions, the first asking whether it is right to call, as East Zone spokesmen do, the Oder-Neisse line a "peace frontier," and the second asking for opinions on worker participation in management decisions at the plant level. Publication rights are priced at 20 DM for each of the two parts of the six-page mimeographed report.

A report of August, 1949, on voters' attitudes, and a report on the status of German nationalism, were offered for 150 DM each.

The following two publications may also be of special interest:

"Die Persoenlichkeit in der Volksmeinung," by Dr. Franz Lorenz. This study of German attitudes toward leading political figures in Germany was published at Constance as a printed 32-page booklet in December, 1949.

"Application of Psychological Methods to the Analysis of Opinions," by Bernard Lahy. This 10-page mimeographed paper is an explanation by Lahy of his theory and methods of polling, with an illustration of the psychological importance of finding out the "reason-why" of answers to

questions. The illustrative case relates to answers to the following question, asked of 2,000 respondents in May, 1949: "Do you think it necessary for a German government to be established as speedily as possible?" The report breaks down reason-why answers into six categories, and interprets the results for indications of nationalism, etc.

Personal appraisal—Lahy claims that Unsere Meinung is more interested in scientific research than any other polling organization in Germany. In all of its publications, and in the public utterances of its leaders, great stress is laid upon polling "science," especially as a tool for psychological research. This stress is obviously used as a prestige factor in the promotion of the organization. Lahy, incidentally, is a frequent contributor to psychological and other scientific journals.

I don't doubt the sincerity of the serious interest in scientific polling expressed by Lahy and Lorenz. Incidentally, Lahy is now working on a project to establish scientific cooperation between France and Germany by doing comparative surveys in the two countries. He has organized a staff of 200 interviewers in France which is currently working on two youth surveys similar to those undertaken by his staff in Germany. He hopes to interest American and other foreign polling agencies and commercial clients in what he believes to be a unique arrangement for cooperative international polling.

Nevertheless, the work of Unsere Meinung up to the present time impresses me as being somewhat amateurish and unrealistic. I have already mentioned the fact that practically all of its income-producing work so far (as nearly as I was able to determine) has been done for French or American official agencies or a French educational institution, aside from some sales to newspapers. It has not so far succeeded in obtaining a commercial foothold. I do not mean to imply that lack of commercial success is proof of scientific deficiency, although there is a very close connection, of course, between financial means and the ability to carry on scientific work. I do mean to imply, however, that in my opinion the actual accomplishments of Unsere Meinung up to this time have not entirely kept pace with its pretensions.

The organization is handicapped by inadequate and uncertain financial backing, and by a lack of skilled personnel. The fact that it has been supported so far largely by foreign money may have something to do with its failure to recommend itself to German clients. The prospect is not hopeful if and when the subventions from foreign sources are no longer obtainable. What is needed is a firm backlog of German business, or some other source of income which has the promise of a fair degree of permanence.

The heads of Unsere Meinung are, of course, aware of the problem, and are trying hard (a) to build up the agency as "German" and (b) to acquire commercial clients. The ambition of the leaders apparently is to build up a bread-and-butter commercial business which will give them the possibility of continuing scientific and experimental studies, including the fortnightly publication of brochures on current social problems.

In brief, Unsere Meinung seems to me to be motivated by the most laudable ideals, including objective, scientific research in the service of German democratic life, and service to international intellectual cooperation. Unfortunately, its present performance is not impressive, and its prospects, for reasons mentioned above, are not especially promising.

EMNID

Institut fuer Marktforschung und Marktbeobachtung
(Institute for Market Research and Market Observation)
Bielefeld

Address--Ravensbergerstrasse 30, Bielefeld. Telephone 6 01 30.

Founded--1945.

Type of enterprise--Private, commercial agency for market and opinion research.

Kinds of surveys made--Consumer and market studies, general attitude surveys.

Staff--Dr. Karl von Stackelberg, head of the concern; Professor Dr. Friedrich Lenz, scientific director; Dr. Friedrich Klobs, head of the market research department; Mrs. Lenz. Emnid has a half dozen rooms on the second floor of an office building in Bielefeld, and a staff of about twenty (estimated).

Interviewers--Emnid claims a staff of 300 interviewers.

Methodology--Quota system, using factors of size of community, sex, occupation, age, and income level, along with geographical distribution on a land basis. Emnid is proud of its population data, which it began to accumulate in 1945 in the absence of reliable census figures. It claims to have acquired reliable income stratification data from a 10,000 sample survey.

Size of sample--3,000 cases are claimed, maximum, for West Germany, although the last survey reported (On Full Employment, June, 1950) claimed a sample of 10,000. Most Reports examined fail to state the number of respondents interviewed, with the exception of one report on attitudes toward the Bonn government; in this case 2,000 respondents were cited.

Specific operations--Emnid stresses a general information service designed for industrial and business clients. It regularly publishes a mimeographed information bulletin which contains such material as summaries of consumer and general political and social attitude polls, business news, current economic statistics, and occasional economic or political commentaries.

Sample consumer studies observed include the following: Consumer tastes and judgements in respect to cigarettes, cigars, and tobacco, for the tobacco industry; consumer study of chocolate, pralines, bonbons, and drops, for the chocolate industry; consumer study for the automobile industry; same for the soap industry.

Presumably these studies were made under contract for a fee, although it is interesting to note that Emnid offers copies of reports on such surveys to its "friends" at "reduced" prices.

At the same time, Emnid asks many questions in the broad field of political and social attitudes. The Institute estimates such questions as constituting about 20 per cent of its questionnaires, but my impression is that the percentage is greater. The findings from such questions are put out in the form of mimeographed information bulletins, usually with only one question reported in each bulletin. In April of this year, four such bulletins were released, and thirteen in May. Typical subjects are the bettering or worsening of personal economic situation, shall Germany be a national state or a part of a European federation, voluntary labor service, confidence in the D mark, military service, race attitudes, ability to identify political leaders, vocation plans, greatest personal deprivations, attitudes toward the different occupation powers, etc.

These releases are offered to newspapers for a fee, and many of them have been observed in print.

Personal appraisal—Emnid tries to combine business information service activities with a bid for prestige leadership in the broad field of scientific polling of political and social attitudes. According to report, Baron Stackelberg started with a mailing list business, and later utilized his mailing list agents in various places as the nucleus of a consumer research service for commercial clients. The concern has been extremely active in trying to promote and sell its services through publicity and personal calls on business people in Germany. It is not clear, however, that the scientific know-how of the staff is adequate for the role Emnid is trying to play. The staff has had no special training in the field, and has not been in very direct contact with other pollers or with current literature in the field. Little is known about interviewer competence, but I have the impression that there is not much interviewer training. Professor Lenz has spoken of his farm interviewers as including "farm machinery salesmen" and "a former big estate manager in Eastern Germany;" types of persons who may not be especially suitable for the job. "Rural" is defined in the stratification sample as places with a population up to 10,000, which may be another example of a possible lack of sophistication in methodology. On the other hand, Stackelberg was sent to the United States this summer by Reactions Analysis, HICOG, to study American polling methods, and Professor Lenz appears to have a real interest in scientific problems of polling, although his writings on the subject are somewhat theoretical and derivative. See Friedrich Lenz, "Meinungsforschung in Deutschland," (Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag, Stuttgart, 1950).

Forschungsinstitut fuer Sozial - und Verwaltungswissenschaften
(Research Institute for Social and Administrative Science)
University of Cologne

Address—Albertus-Magnus Platz, Koeln-Lindenthal. Telephone
5 68 61.

This is the institute of the distinguished German sociologist, Leopold von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau, who is retiring this year. The institute conducts empirical social research studies of the social survey type, but no evidence could be found of attitude studies based on modern sampling techniques. Under von Wiese's leadership, a group of advanced students is currently working on a study of social processes, refugee, and family questions in several lower Rhine border towns. In general, von Wiese represents relatively traditional methods in German sociological research; he has expressed doubts as to the feasibility of public opinion polling, citing the fear of Germans of questionnaires, lack of technical equipment, and poverty.

His successor, Dr. Rene Koenig, of the University of Zurich, who is a specialist on the sociology of the family, appears to be a man of more advanced views and methods. He is offering a course at Cologne in American Sociology, in which the importance and value of empirical research are stressed. According to report, his advice to Cologne students that they do their research on the street and in homes and factories instead of in books is a novelty to them which is stimulating considerable interest. No information was obtainable as to whether Koenig plans any specific research projects in the field of public opinion or attitude research at this time.

Sozialpolitisches Seminar
(Seminar for Social Politics)
University of Cologne

Address—Albertus-Magnus Platz, Koeln-Lindenthal.

This seminar, which is directed by Ludwig Heyde, professor of Sozialpolitik, is beginning to undertake some work in attitude research. Under Heyde's general supervision, and the immediate direction of his assistant, Winkmann, a group of students is making a small but systematic survey of the attitudes of workers toward sharing in management (Mitbestimmungsrecht), women workers, and other matters. Students are also taken to industrial establishments for interviews with management and labor representatives.

Sozialforschungstelle an der Universitaet Muenster
(Office of Social Research of the University of Muenster)
Dortmund

Address—Rheinlanddamm 201 Dortmund (Main offices); Telephone 2 29 79.
Am Knappenberg 138, Dortmund (Dozentheim, or work-home); Telephone 2 26 66
or 2 24 65.

Founded—1946.

Type of enterprise—The Office of Social Research is unique in Germany for the scope of its activities, the degree of cooperation it has attained among diverse academic specialties, and the nature of its sponsorship and financial backing. It was founded by Professor Heinrich Weber of Muenster as a work center for empirical social science, and is theoretically a part of the University of Muenster, although the University contributes little to the Office except its name and the names of a few of its professors, mainly for prestige purposes. The Office is physically located in the Ruhr industrial city of Dortmund, about thirty miles from Muenster.

The board of directors includes representatives of the State government (Nordrhein-Westfalen), city of Dortmund, German Trade Union Federation (GDB), and the Ruhr mining and manufacturing industries. Financial support, providing a current budget of 260,000 DM, comes from the states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, city of Dortmund, chambers of industry and trade, labor unions, German mining industry, and individual business concerns. The Office is especially fortunate in its sponsorship, which seems to rise above politics. For example, the Office was started with the help of a CDU mayor of Dortmund, who continues as chairman of the board of directors, although Dortmund is now run by Social Democrats, who, incidentally, have continued city support of the Office of Social Research.

The active director of the Office is Dr. Otto Neuloh (the titular director is Professor W. Hoffmann of the University of Muenster), who had a good deal to do with the establishment of the Office, and who has guided its program, business affairs, and public relations since its inception. The Office has seven divisions, as follows: 1. Economic and social history; 2. Sociology and social politics; 3. Social law; 4. Social psychology; 5. Social pedagogy; 6. Statistics; 7. Publications. This report is primarily concerned with the work of the second division (Sociology and social politics, which is led by Dr. Neuloh himself), because this division is the one which is currently utilizing sampling and interviewing techniques in attitude research. Before describing its work, a few more preliminary remarks should be made about the Office as a whole, to suggest some of its atmosphere and spirit.

Of special interest and importance from the standpoint of German empirical social science research is the extent to which the Office has succeeded in creating a "work-group" of specialists in diverse social sciences (psychology, law, sociology, economics, etc.), and bring them together to work on common or related problems which are in turn real social and economic problems of the Ruhr. Moreover, studies and research are conducted in close collaboration with city, state, industry, and labor. There is also very close collaboration with such agencies as the Social Academy in Dortmund, a two-year labor school financed by city, state, and trade unions, and the Max Planck Institute in Dortmund (the former Kaiser Wilhelm Institut), which is concerned with medical and socio- and psycho-medical research. Some of the offices of the Office of Social Research are located, as a matter of fact, in the same building that houses the Academy and the Max Planck Institute. Members of the staff of the Office of Social Research are often instructors in the Academy, and there is considerable mutual assistance in other ways, such as in the sharing of library facilities. This kind of cooperative research for the solving of real community problems exists elsewhere in Germany (See, for example, University of Hamburg), but the Dortmund activity seems at the moment to be the largest in scope, with the greatest amount of outside support, the largest budget, and with the most impressive accomplishments.

In this connection, the Office has organized its own publishing house; under the editorial direction of Dr. Wilhelm Brepohl, publication of "Soziale Welt," a quarterly devoted to problems of empirical social science, began in October of 1949, and a considerable number of special monographs has been issued. The Office was also the moving force behind the organization of the Association of Social Science Institutes (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialwissenschaftlicher Institute--see list attached), and has sponsored conferences such as the one on in-plant research (Neue Wege in der Betriebs Soziallogische Forschung), held at Witten (near Dortmund), on July 21 and 22, 1950.

As mentioned above, the attitude research studies conducted by the Sociology division of the Office of Social Research, under the direction of Dr. Neuloh, are of special interest in this survey. A major project of the division is research into the social bases for an increase of the average general productivity of the Ruhr. Specific methods of investigation will be described below, but in general they seek by sample interviews, participant observation, and other devices, to discover everything possible about the attitudes of miners, of miners' wives and families, of mine foremen, etc. in an effort to clarify social relationships and throw light upon possible sources of friction, maladjustment, frustration, and inefficiency. In September, 1949, a two-year grant was received from the Rockefeller Foundation to provide two technical advisers, Dr. C. M. Arensburg, professor of sociology at Columbia University (part-time), and Max Ralis (full time), an experienced researcher who was formerly a member of the staff of the Opinion Surveys branch of OMGUS. A money grant of 50,000 DM for this study of human relations in the Ruhr coal industry has been made by the Labor-Management Division of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG).

Specific operations and methodology—The studies of the Ruhr miners and their environment are of various kinds and represent considerable sophistication in methodology. Some of the main sub-projects are the following:

1. Interviews (about 100, selected by the random method) with miners, conducted at the work-site; that is, in the coal seams, usually a thousand or two thousand feet underground. This underground polling is probably unique; the reasons for polling below rather than above ground, and some of the special problems of such polling, make an interesting story, which is unfortunately too long to include in this report. The standard questionnaire for this underground poll includes 125 questions, of which 14 are statistical. The non-statistical questions, most of which are of the probing type to evoke full explanations of attitude, concern such subjects as conditions of work, personal relations with fellow workers, mining machinery and methods, accidents and health, relations with foremen, work councils, etc.

2. Interviews (about 100) with a sample cross section of miners' families, to uncover data on such subjects as family pressures, conditions of work as seen through the eyes of wives, the role of farming activities in the family economy of miners, etc. The questionnaire includes 55 questions.

3. A supplementary control survey of ten pairs of "above-ground" and "below-ground" interviews with miners to reveal the extent of the bias, if any, resulting from "below-ground" interviewing.

4. An interview study of foremen (in preparation) to determine their attitude and status; this study is related to the premise that while foremen may be losing some of their authority on the job to work councils and management, they may develop a greater role in social relations.

5. Participant observation activities:

- a. One researcher works as an assistant to the doctors in a mine dispensary and studies attitudes of the dispensary staff.
- b. Another researcher lives with young unmarried miners in their home, a converted bunker (air-raid shelter).
- c. Researchers also participate in the weekly meetings of the works council, the meetings of the works council with management, and meetings of the so-called Aeltestenrat of senior workmen.

Staff—The research "team" for the attitude studies now includes Dr. Neuloh, as director; Dr. Arensberg (occasionally), as senior adviser; Max Ralis, as technical adviser; Dr. Brepohl (part-time); and five part-time

graduate students as follows: Mitze and Paul, from the psychology division of the Office of Social Research; Schmitz, an economics student from the University of Goettingen; and Breilmann, an economics student from the University of Bonn.

A unique feature of the Office of Social Research is the so-called "Dozent House;" here the members of the team work, eat, and in some cases, sleep. The "team" not only represents an experiment in cooperative research by scholars, young and old, drawn from different academic disciplines, but is also an experiment in communal living, the focus of which is empirical social research. It would appear that the close association of the members of the team has been a stimulus to interest and work, and of considerable importance to morale, especially during the hard times which preceded the money-reform of 1948.

Personal appraisal--From many points of view the Office of Social Research is unusually promising. Its sponsorship and support at the moment are on a sufficiently wide base to assure it a considerable degree of independence, without a preponderance of influence from the university, political groups, industry, labor, or foreign patrons. It has done a good deal to bridge the gap between academic research and the real problems of industry, labor, and government. It has succeeded to a degree in cutting across the lines of academic compartmentalization.

It also has aggressive and capable leadership. One indication of this is the ability of the Office to win and maintain support from diverse sources. Incidentally, Dr. Neuloh appears to be succeeding in obtaining underwriters for a new home that will house all the branches of the Office; 200,000 DM and a building site have been subscribed by the city of Dortmund, 100,000 DM by the Ministry of Reconstruction, and 200,000 DM by the Ministry of Culture. It is hoped that an additional 250,000 DM needed to carry out present building plans can be obtained from HICOG. Another indication of the favorable reception of the work of the Office is the fact that the Ruhr steel industry has asked the Office to undertake a project similar to its study of the mining industry. The Office apparently is not able to undertake the steel industry study at this time, because of inadequate facilities and personnel.

Also on the favorable side is the notable influence the Office has had in stimulating interest in empirical social science research, not only through its own labors, but also through its publications, the organization of an association of social science institutes, and the training opportunities it offers.

In this connection, the Office hopes to obtain funds, possibly from Rockefeller or HICOG sources, to enable it to train more graduate students. Some of the problems involved in such a program for trainees are discussed in the first part of this report; the nub of the problem is whether graduate

students can hope to obtain any practical value from their training besides material for possible doctoral theses, as there are at present virtually no career opportunities available to young empirical social scientists in either industry or the universities.

The Office has also had a useful influence upon many visitors, especially German professors and students who come to the Dozent House in considerable numbers to study its research methods. Another interesting evidence of the Office's role as a center of research activity is the fact that the UNESCO project for the study of authoritarian attitudes in German youth (see UNESCO) has its office in the Dozent House.

One question that must be raised in regard to the Office of Social Research is the extent of its dependence upon foreign advisers for guidance. According to these advisers, the Germans on the staff are inadequately trained in scientific methodology and objectivity, and need constant supervision to prevent old prejudices and habits from detracting from the validity of their work. What would happen if and when this supervision is removed? The Office might easily, it seems to me, fall quickly under the heavy hand of traditional German sociological scholarship.

At the same time there is a possibility that it may become too deeply involved in programs based primarily upon expediency. The close association of the Office with various economic and governmental interests in the Ruhr, while a source of strength in one sense, may also be a source of danger, in the event that its research would continue to be confined entirely to the local region and designed exclusively to produce practical results rather than to advance the techniques and insights of objective social science. There appears to be some evidence of a preoccupation of the German staff with results; for example, with reports which will lead to drastic reorganization of the Ruhr coal industry. I am not objecting to the revolutionizing of the German coal industry, if the surveys indicate that such would be a wise course, but at this moment in the evolution of German social science it would appear wise to give a primary emphasis to the learning of scientific methods, and the refinement of these methods through considerable experimentation in the German milieu. In other words, I conceive of the possibility that the Office of Social Science Research might become a research department of Ruhr industry or local government rather than an agency of national scope and importance for objective, experimental social science studies and the training of experts in this field.

UNESCO Project
"Youth and Authority"

Address—Am Knappenberg 38, Dortmund ("Dozent House" of the Office of Social Research of the University of Muenster).

Founded—1949.

Type of enterprise—A special project of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the study of German youth and authoritarian attitudes. The project is receiving 60,000 DM from UNESCO and 100,000 DM from HICOG. The original UNESCO appropriation called for completion of the project in one-and-a-half years, but it now appears that more time will be required, and an additional appropriation.

Kinds of surveys made—Activity is confined to a general attitude survey of German youth, as part of the UNESCO Tensions Projects.

Staff—The UNESCO Steering Committee for this project includes Einar Tegen, Stockholm, chairman; Prof. Rudolf Sieverts, University of Hamburg; and Prof. Rene Koenig, University of Cologne. The active field staff, which so far has consisted of three persons, is headed by Knut Pipping, a Finn who has spent a year working with Rensis Lickert at the survey research center at the University of Michigan.

Methodology and operations—At this writing, a questionnaire has been completed consisting of 44 questions with provision for four degrees of response, two positive and two negative. There has been some intensive pre-test interviewing. It is my understanding that the survey will be conducted in three selected German communities, with locally recruited German interviewers. Dr. Pipping has developed a program of interviewer training.

Personal appraisal—This is an ephemeral undertaking, the impulse and support for which come from non-Germans. It is included here because a certain number of Germans are involved in its operations, and because the project must be mentioned in an inventory of attitude research activities in Germany.

From the standpoint of the development of public opinion research in Germany, the project doubtless has some value, if only by calling attention to the possibilities of investigating the authoritarian attitudes of German youth, including the sources and various outward manifestations of such attitudes. It may also have some educational value in acquainting a limited number of Germans on its staff with modern research techniques. On the other hand, its operations so far have appeared to be somewhat slow, cumbersome, and inefficient. More than six months were spent in preparation of the questionnaire, for instance, and apparently

an excessive amount of time and energy were spent on background documentation and statistical research. It seems unlikely that any permanent organization or activity will survive the immediate project, nor, in my view, is it an impressive example for Germans of skillful public opinion research.

Deutscher Gewerkschaft Bund, Jugend Abteilung
(German Trade Union Federation--Youth Section)
Duesseldorf

Address--Stromstrasse 8, Duesseldorf.

The Youth Section of the German Trade Union Federation is undertaking a comprehensive attitude study of West German youth. The initiative for the project comes from the Labor-Management Techniques Branch of the Labor Affairs Division, Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany. The sum of 25,000 DM a month for one year has been appropriated by HICOG to finance the survey.

According to Nels Anderson, Deputy Chief of the Labor-Management Techniques Branch, who also inspired the Darmstadt Community Survey, a major objective of the project is to stimulate the interest of labor leaders in modern techniques of attitude research and at the same time increase their knowledge of the real problems and anxieties and frustrations of German youth. An auxiliary objective, he says, is to provide some kind of balance or corrective in present research activities of the Trade Union Federation, which are devoted mainly to the justification of Marxist theses.

The survey will probe such problems as unemployment, the difficulty of youth in West Germany to obtain a foothold in the labor market, attitudes toward and experiences with schools and other public agencies, personal and family frustrations, and authoritarian impulses.

Staff--Although the project is American inspired and financed, an effort is being made to have as much of the work as possible done by Germans under German direction. The survey is under the general supervision of Willi Ginhold, leader of the Youth Section of the DGB, who has an American technical adviser, Harold Hurwitz. One other American adviser, a State Department trainee without public opinion research experience, is attached to the staff. Four or five Germans have already been hired, none with any public opinion research experience.

According to Anderson, an effort is being made to avoid the early mistakes of the Darmstadt project. Staff discussions are being held to clarify research objectives and methods, and it is planned to add one or two seasoned research experts to the staff.

At this writing, work is proceeding on the questionnaire. A sample of about 5,000 cases is contemplated, with stratification based upon such factors as sex, politics, rural vs. urban, geographical location, bombed vs. unbombed communities, and type of industry in the community. For control purposes, some questions may be included from the UNESCO questionnaire on youth and authoritarian attitudes (See UNESCO Project) and the

Darmstadt Community Survey. Coding, sorting and analysis will be done with the help of the Darmstadt machines and facilities.

The project leaders will select their own interviewing staff. The use of students from such institutions as the Labor Academy in Hamburg, Free University of Berlin, etc., is being considered. A system of training interviewers for uniformity in procedure is now being worked out.

Personal appraisal—A disappointment of the summer survey was to find almost a total lack of interest on the part of labor leadership in objective public opinion studies. The DGB has a research division (Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften, Am Morsdorfer Hof 26, Koeln-Braunsfeld), but labor research activity there and elsewhere appears to be devoted almost entirely to statistical economic documentation designed for the promotion of labor politics or negotiation. If the project described here can stimulate interest in the human problem of German labor, in the wants, hopes and frustrations of individuals in the working force or in the general population, it will have served an enormously useful function. The project is American inspired, advised, and financed, and may very well turn out to be an ephemeral effort. Everything possible should be done to encourage a continuing activity of this kind somewhere in the trade union organization.

Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft
(Academy of Cooperative Economy)
Hamburg

Address--Mollerstrasse 10. Telephone 44 27 92.

The professor of sociology and former director, Helmut Schelsky, has initiated a study of refugee families in Germany. Field work has started, with ten students from the Academy interviewing sample families during the students' summer vacations. The Institute of Psychology and other members of the Sozialwissenschaft Gemeinschaft of Hamburg plan to cooperate on this survey.

The Akademie was established in 1948 by the City of Hamburg in cooperation with the trade unions. Institutions of a similar character in Germany are the Sozialakademie in Dortmund and the Akademie der Arbeit, Frankfurt. Dr. Karl-Hermann Capelle is the present director.

DISMA
Deutsches Institut fuer Statistische Markt- und Meinungsforschung
(German Institute for Statistical Market and Opinion Research)
Hamburg

Address--Poststrasse 10, Hamburg 36. Telephone 35 30 44.

Founded--1949.

Type of enterprise--Private, commercial agency for market and opinion research.

Kinds of surveys made--Consumer and market studies, reader-interest surveys, radio-listening surveys, motion picture pre-testing, some general attitude studies.

Staff--Werner Hildebrandt, head of the concern; Erich Nachtigall, assistant. The home office staff includes six persons in all, and is housed in one room of a downtown office building.

Interviewers--DISMA claims a staff of 350 interviewers, including six field supervisors. This staff is paid at the rate of up to 1.50 DM per interview. DISMA claims that interviewers earn up to 200 DM a month.

Methodology--The quota system is mainly used, based upon the 1946 census figures supplemented by later statistical data from state and local statistical bureaus. However, random-type (probability) sample is used in radio and newspaper surveys (see below), and an occasional random sample is taken from Einwohnermeldeamt lists. DISMA has also made coincidental telephone calls (random-type) in radio surveys, and appears to be the only agency which has used this method in Germany. Its motion picture pre-testing is also unique in Germany (see below). No punch-card facilities. Lists of persons interviewed (sent in by interviewers) are retained for clients' inspection. Quota sample is based upon age, education, religion, occupation, and income level, plus size of place and geographical distribution. Refugee status is a quota factor in some surveys.

Size of sample--It should be noted that most DISMA surveys up to this time have been confined to the British Occupation Zone, with a good many in Hamburg. A sample of 350 is considered adequate for Hamburg, and 2,500 for the British zone (quota system). Random samples in radio studies have ranged between 3,400 and 4,000 cases for the British zone.

Specific operations--DISMA claims an average schedule of about one questionnaire a week.

Examples of work--

Radio--Basic data (set ownership and use, preferences, etc.) for Northwest German Radio, covering the British zone, with random sample (3,400 to 4,000 cases) based on every 1,000th name, drawn from Post Office lists of radio license holders. Surveys on radio preferences of women, and of children's programs, based on a random sample of 1,000 housewives in the British zone. Coincidental telephone surveys of 100 calls in Hamburg, to be increased to 300 calls. Seven studies have been made to date for NWDR.

Newspapers--Random sample from subscriber lists of Hamburg Abendblatt to compare economic, educational, and social circumstances of readers with those of the whole Hamburg population. A similar study has been made for the Kieler Nachrichten.

Motion pictures--DISMA pre-tests Eagle-Lion films for possible adaptation for the German market. An effort has been made to build a panel of English-speaking Germans from which a representative cross section of at least fifty persons can be drawn for each film. Viewers are asked to fill out a questionnaire after a private screening.

Miscellaneous--

Consumer study for Esso, quota sample, for all West Germany, about 3,000 cases. Study of attitudes toward heavy industry, big business, and socialization.

Survey for a medical journal, Hamburger Aertzeblatt, on attitudes on the adequacy of medical insurance. Split-ballot used, with some questions for doctors, some for public, and some for both. Quota sample.

Quota sample of German attitudes toward the war in Korea, for Der Spiegel, weekly news magazine.

A consumer study has been made for the furniture industry, as well as a study of the attitudes of farmers in Schleswig-Holstein toward private enterprise.

Survey for Totogesellschaft, to determine public preference in regard to the number of football games that should be included on the weekly betting form. Random sample, from Einwohnermeldeamt lists, supplemented by personal interviews with spectators at football games.

Personal appraisal--It will be noted that this concern confines itself mainly to commercial-type surveys, with little undertaken in the broad field of political and social attitude study. This is in striking contrast to other German polling agencies, which undertake such studies for prestige and advertising purposes, if for no other reason. DISMA is small, under-

staffed, and without adequate facilities for serious experimental work. On the other hand, it appears to have avoided over-extending itself and acquiring a costly overhead. The director is serious, ambitious, and seems to understand the problems and hazards of his work. He shows great interest in his interviewers, and visits them whenever possible, although he has neither the time nor the facilities for much interviewer training. Incidentally he describes his interviewer corps as including "students, journalists, and unemployed doctors." One of his interviewers, Hans Sittenfeld, of Kiel, has been sent to the United States for training under the auspices of Reactions Analysis, HICOG. My general impression is that in spite of its limitations in staff, equipment, experience, and type of work done, it is operating on a fairly sound basis. If it can keep and expand its commercial business, it should be able to develop a program of attitude studies of wider interest and value.

Psychologisches Institut
(Institute of Psychology)
University of Hamburg

Address--Bornplatz 2, Hamburg. Telephone 44 88 41.

Curt Bondy, professor of psychology at the University of Hamburg, was forced to leave Germany in the late 1930's. He emigrated to the United States, where he was head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, until he accepted an invitation in the spring of 1950 to return to his professorship at Hamburg and become director of the Institute of Psychology. A number of research projects of the Institute in progress or projected involve public opinion and attitude studies.

Two students are studying attitudes of prisoners in the prison for first offenders at Wolfenbuettel, Lower Saxony.

Two students are undertaking a participant-observation study at a youth refugee camp at Uelzen.

A large project is planned for next year on attitudes of German youth. A start has been made with a sample questionnaire relating to the major problems of university students. Eventually it is planned to have groups of ten to fifteen students work with different youth groups, using uniform questionnaires, systematic interviews, and perhaps intelligence tests.

The Institute is cooperating with the Schelsky study of refugee families (See Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft).

The Institute plans to participate in the Horkheimer study of German attitudes toward the occupying powers (See Institut fuer Sozialforschung, University of Frankfurt).

The staff of the Institute of Psychology is still in the process of organization. An assistant, Gerhard Maletzke, completed a doctoral dissertation in 1950 on the psychology of radio listeners (Der Rundfunk in der Erlebniswelt des Heutigen Menschen / Untersuchungen zur psychologischen Wesenseigenart des Rundfunks und zur Psychologie des Rundfunkhoerens). An American assistant, Mrs. Francis Hardesty, is expected to join the staff this fall.

Personal appraisal--With his American experience, Bondy has an unusual opportunity to further American techniques and standards in empirical research. He enjoys great personal popularity; his lectures are the best attended at Hamburg University. He has already done a great deal to stimulate student interest in "American" methods, and the plans for his institute give promise of significant studies in the field of attitude research. These studies are, however, still largely in the future.

Seminar fuer Strafrecht und Kriminalpolitik,
(Seminar for Criminal Law and Criminal Policy),
University of Hamburg.

The director of the seminar, Rudolf Sieverts, is planning a large-scale study of youth delinquency. Using questionnaires and intensive interviews, undergraduates (referendare) will make a sample survey to gather data on such subjects as sex offenders, habitual offenders, youth major criminals, and careers of youth criminals after release from prison.

(See Sozialwissenschaft Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Hamburg)

Sozialwissenschaft Arbeitsgemeinschaft
(Society for Cooperative Social Science Studies)
Hamburg

This informal work-group, which held its first meeting on June 19, 1950, was organized to further cooperation between various academic faculties and governmental agencies in Hamburg in studies of important community social problems.

The motives and objectives of the Hamburg group resemble those of the Office of Social Research at Dortmund, although the Hamburg group has only begun its first discussions, and has no formal organization, staff, or funds.

For the immediate future it is planned to have members of the society report to the group on their respective research projects. A journal is contemplated. Eventually it is hoped that the loose cooperative association can be strengthened by the establishment of a central office (Soziale Forschungstelle Hamburg), for applied social science research.

Leading figures behind the organization of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft include three University of Hamburg professors, Curt Bondy, psychology; Rudolf Sieverts, criminology; and Hans Harmsen, Hygiene; and the professor of sociology and former director of the Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft, Hamburg, Helmut Schelsky.

Members of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft are either currently engaged in empirical public opinion studies or plan work in that field. Specific data regarding some of these programs will be found in this report under the following heads:

Psychologisches Institut, University of Hamburg (Curt Bondy).
Seminar fuer Strafrecht und Kriminalpolitik, University of Hamburg
(Rudolf Sieverts).
Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft, Hamburg (Helmut Schelsky).

Personal appraisal--At this writing the Arbeitsgemeinschaft is little more than an idea. However, its backers are able men, Hamburg University and the city administration are relatively progressive, and the location of the endeavor in the largest city of West Germany seems to hold promise of unusual opportunities for research and financial support.

Institut fuer Empirische Sozialogie
Institute for Empirical Sociology

Formerly the Institut fuer Begabtenforschung
(Institute for Aptitude Research)

Address--Bismarckstrasse 35, Hannover.

Type of enterprise--The Institute was established after the war by the Kultus Ministerium of Land Niedersachsen as an educational research agency to survey the endowments of the school children of the Land and to determine their aptitudes for the various types of schools in the German school system. The Institute subsequently has undertaken other youth and refugee studies. The director of the Institute, which has several technical assistants, is Dr. K. V. Mueller, formerly professor at the German university in Prague.

Specific operations--In 1947 data was obtained on about 250,000 school children in Niedersachsen. Most of the data consisted of teachers' estimates, although sample testing of 10,000 pupils, for control purposes, is claimed. A typical refugee survey is a study of the amount of intermarriage between refugees and the indigenous population, with data on the social and economic status of the subjects.

Personal appraisal--This report is not concerned with educational research and testing of the kind conducted by the Hannover Institute, a good deal of which is going on in Germany. The justification for mentioning the Institute here is that it is typical of many similar agencies which might conceivably develop sample attitude surveying of the school-age population if there were sufficient interest and know-how. In the case of the 10,000-case control test mentioned above, it would seem that the children were tested for aptitudes only, and not for attitudes. The test was not conducted on any scientific sampling basis, and apparently less weight was given to it than to the subjective estimates of teachers.

On the basis of this example, one might conclude that attitude study is an almost totally undeveloped field of research so far as German educational research bureaus are concerned. I also gathered the impression that the elaborate and ponderous statistical studies of this institute, which are in an old German tradition, are designed to justify the discriminatory and undemocratic public school system of Germany and preserve approximately the status quo, but that observation is beside the point of this study.

Statistisches Landesamt, Schleswig-Holstein
(Statistical Office for Land Schleswig-Holstein)

Address—Kiel-Wik.

Dr. Horn, the director of the Statistical Office of Land Schleswig-Holstein, is interested in the statistical problems of sampling as well as in sampling for statistical and attitude data.

In an experiment with random sampling, Dr. Horn mailed a questionnaire to every person in Land Schleswig-Holstein born on November 11. The questionnaire asked for each person's year of birth, sex, occupation, and dwelling. To encourage response, two prizes of 50 DM were offered, the winners to be determined by lot from the replies received.

Response was 93 per cent. Dr. Horn multiplied returns by 400 and compared the break-downs of age, sex, etc. with the 1946 census figures. Relatively minor differences were found between the census figures and the results of the random sample.

Land government officials have prevented Dr. Horn, for political reasons, from undertaking attitude polls up to this time, but he believes that he may soon be permitted to do so. One objection has been that government officials know what public attitudes are, or they wouldn't have been elected to office. There is also a fear that polling by the statistical office would be interpreted as a use of government facilities and personnel for partisan political purposes.

Institut fuer Demoskopie
Gesellschaft zum Studium der Oeffentlichen Meinung M. B. H.
(Society for the Study of Public Opinion)
Allensbach

60. Address—Radolfzellerstrasse 8, Allensbach am Bodensee. Telephone

Founded—1948.

Type of enterprise—Private, commercial association for market and opinion research.

Kinds of surveys made—General attitude surveys; consumer and market studies; reader-interest surveys; radio listening studies; industrial surveys.

Staff—Dr. Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, scientific director, Erich Peter Neumann, business manager; with a staff of 28. The Institute occupies a renovated building on the main street of Allensbach, a country village about ten miles from Konstanz on the main highway to Radolfzell.

Interviewers—A panel of 1,200 interviewers is claimed, with about 400 used on each standard survey.

Methodology—Quota system, on standard bases of age, sex, size of community, occupation, etc., geographically distributed. One employee, Dr. Stuetzer, gathers statistical data and charts quota structures. Specific selection of locations and respondents is delegated to five local supervisors, under home office control. A random sample is occasionally used. Punch cards and Hollerith machines are used.

Size of sample—An average of 2,400 respondents in West Germany is claimed. However, a summary for the information of interviewers on surveys made during 1949 lists about an equal number of 1,000 and 2,000 samples, and none over 2,000.

Specific operations—The Institute polls with a regular monthly "main" questionnaire as well as with special questionnaires for clients or for "house" studies. Sample surveys:

Survey of German political and social attitudes made for the so-called "Wirtschaftspolitischen Gesellschaft von 1947" (a society of business men and industrialists), reported in mimeographed form in August of 1949. The questionnaire was prepared by the client. 2,000 respondents, 422 interviewers.

Das Dritte Reich, a study of the effects today in Germany of National Socialism (issued in April, 1949). This study has been much criticized for being based on only 100 cases. However, it is a "house" experimental study, and the inadequacy of the sample is acknowledged in the preface on methodology.

Die Abgeordneten von Bonn, a study of knowledge of, and of attitudes toward, members of the West German parliament, 1950. Sample of 2,000.

Survey of sex attitudes of German men and women, 1,000 sample, 1949. Undertaken for "Wochenend," a weekly illustrated newspaper. This is the much-criticized so-called "Demoskopie Little-Kinsey Report." The report has been attacked on the grounds of inadequate sample, unreliability of answers to kinds of questions asked, and over-sensationalized treatment in publication. Noelle-Neumann recognizes some validity in the last criticism, and says that she asked for elimination of attribution to Demoskopie after appearance in "Wochenend" of the first of a series of articles based on the report.

Survey of the readership of "Constanze," Hamburg weekly for women, May and June, 1950. An elaborate promotional brochure based on the findings has been issued by "Constanze" under the title, "Constanze Wurde Geroentgt."

Survey of the listenership of the Sueddeutscher Rundfunk. 1,000 sample, Feb., 1950. Mimeographed report in two volumes.

Other commercial clients have included Reemstma cigarettes (consumer study); Esso (public relations study); Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk (radio listening study); German cancer society (attitudes toward cancer); Maggi soups (consumer study); textile factory at Singen (labor force attitudes); agricultural implement manufacturer (consumer study); cosmetic concern (on effectiveness of advertising appeals); readership surveys for "Die Welt" (Hamburg newspaper); the "Revue" (magazine). A readership study of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is projected.

Work for government and political clients includes a pre-election prediction poll (secret) on the question of creation of a new Sud-West German state, done for Wohleb, Minister - President of Baden; and a survey of attitudes toward financial aid to Berlin, done for Prime Minister Adenauer. An anti-semitic study, said to have cost 15,000 marks, was sold after nine months of selling effort to the Bonn government for 5,000

marks. Demoskopie began a series of pre-election polls in connection with the 1950 Rhein-Westfalen elections, for the Social Democratic party. It is reported that the SDP could find no money for the work, which was dropped after the first wave of polling. The first survey is said to have predicted election results only 2.9% different from the actual vote.

Demoskopie reports appear to be comprehensive and usually include many direct quotations from respondents' answers. Demoskopie stresses comment by respondents more than any other German polling agency. It is claimed that such comment is essential for the interpretation of statistical data, and provides keys to motivation and strength of conviction. Quotes are also of high interest to clients.

Personal appraisal—Demoskopie, in my opinion, is the leading German polling agency. The following notes are offered in justification of this opinion:

Morale - Demoskopie gives every indication of being indeed a "gesellschaft," a society of enthusiastic young people who are absorbed in their work and eager to experiment and learn. The physical situation, relative isolation in a village, may be a favorable circumstance; it is reminiscent of the morale situation in the Dozenthaus at the Dortmund Office of Social Research, where a group of research enthusiasts also live and work together in relative isolation.

Relations with interviewers - Demoskopie obviously gives much thought to the competence, training, and morale of its panel of 1,200 interviewers. Before being hired, applicants are put to work on a series of test questionnaires of the type designed to reveal their understanding, reliability, integrity, interest, and general suitability for interviewing work. For optimum interview performance, the Institute claims to rotate interviewing among its 1,200 interviewers, using about 400 at a time. It also claims to limit interviewers to 10 or 12 interviews with any one questionnaire, on the grounds that it has found that the quality of interviewing declines beyond that number. It claims to pay its interviewers from 1 to 5 marks per interview, depending upon the difficulty (random or quota), with an average payment of 2 marks.

A Herr Kulkier in the so-called "Interviewer Bureau" is in charge of relations with interviewers. Correspondence is encouraged with full comment on interviewing experiences and problems. A monthly bulletin is distributed to interviewers telling about Demoskopie's activities and summarizing poll results.

Economic situation - Demoskopie claims that it is not now making money and probably won't for another four or five years. What is meant by "making money" is not clear. The Institute was not able to pay its staff for a while after currency reform, but this period apparently lasted only a short time. Money is being invested continually in further construction and renovation of the home office building, to provide more work rooms.

Noelle-Neumann estimates the cost of a complete survey at about 14,000 DM, with one question costing about 500 DM. She complains that the trouble with market research in Germany is that businesses consider the survey costs too high and often succeed in driving the price down to an uneconomic 10,000 or 12,000 DM. She claims that the best return she can get from newspapers is 10 to 12 purchases of any report at about 10 or 15 marks each, or about 200 marks in all. While this business is unprofitable financially, it is very important for publicity. One employee spends most of his time writing releases for the so-called Demoskopie "Pressedienst." (Several newspaper editors, by the way, told me that they paid more for Demoskopie newspaper releases than the average fee reported by Noelle-Neumann; one said he had paid 70 DM for a release). My impression from reading German newspapers is that there are a good many sales, which helps to account for the fact that Demoskopie is the best known of the polling agencies in Germany. Interesting fact: A new verb, "demoskopieren," (to survey public attitudes with sampling methods) has turned up several times in newspaper articles.

Noelle-Neumann states that a few questions inserted for commercial clients, who don't wish to invest in complete surveys, defray a good part of the cost of the regular monthly main ("haupt") or omnibus questionnaire. This questionnaire usually contains about 20 attitude questions (including from 3 to 6 for commercial clients), plus about 30 statistical questions about respondents.

Experimental Studies--Of special importance is Demoskopie's undoubted interest in studying and improving research techniques, however limited these efforts may appear in comparison with the work of contemporary American researchers. Noelle-Neumann complains of the difficulty of doing any experimental polling because there is no one to pay for it, but the fact is that her Institute is apparently doing more experimentation than any other commercial polling agency in Germany. Such work is more or less in the nature of a by-product, such as re-collating and re-interpreting data obtained in the bread-and-butter work of the Institute. Demoskopie's constant study of its staff of interviewers and their comparative performance should be mentioned in this connection. An up-to-date card catalog is maintained of all questions asked by German pollers as well as of all questions used in foreign polls which might be applicable

to Germany. An effort is made to keep up with current book and periodical publications in the field. Noelle-Neumann has developed an original and effective visual system for studying poll results for significant correlations. The edge of a long, narrow card is divided into segments, each segment representing one question. The different responses to each question are coded with crayon marks in various colors on the edge of the card. All the cards of the sample are then arranged in a tray according to any columnar alignment desired permitting a visual observation of correlations in other columns. The system is said to turn up correlations which might never be observed by machine methods. The coloring is done by two women in the village, who can prepare the cards of a 2,000 sample overnight.

Demoskopie is also beginning to cooperate with academic agencies. The "little Kinsey" returns, for example, have been made available to Dr. Robert Heiss, professor of philology and psychology at Freiburg University, for a study of neuroticism. One of Heiss's students was working with the material at Demoskopie this summer.

The Institute has made arrangements with several academic institutions to accept students for training periods of eight weeks, usually during university vacation periods. The plan is already in operation with Walter Hagemann, professor of journalism at Muenster University, and Wenke, professor of psychology at Tuebingen University; it is hoped to extend the plan shortly to include students of Professor Dovifat's Institut fuer Publizistik in Berlin and from Heidelberg University.

Lastly, Demoskopie has undoubtedly been a potent force in promoting interest in public opinion research in Germany. Reference has already been made to its publicity and promotion, which are skillful. Also, it appears that the Institute is much visited, especially by German business men and academicians. It is a favorable sign that Demoskopie welcomes and encourages such visits, and explains its operations with apparently complete candor.

Some insight into Noelle-Neuman's scientific interests and competence may be gained from an address delivered at a conference on public opinion research at the Frankfurt Institute for the Advancement of Public Affairs in March, 1950 (reproduced in mimeographed form by the Institute). The address dealt with such problems as the effect upon respondents' answers of preceding questions in a questionnaire (with specific comparisons drawn from studies of Demoskopie and other polling agencies), influence upon answers of the place or situation in which the interview takes place, and a critical examination of the problem of quota versus random sampling in Germany, with special emphasis on the additional cost factor with the random system.

The political question—This is not a security report, and it is certainly unfair to comment on the politics of the leaders of Demoskopie without doing the same for the other public opinion researchers of Germany, many of whom are just as controversial. However, the storm of suspicion and

invective which rages around the Neumanns is impossible to ignore in a report such as this, in part because Demoskopie is at present perhaps the leading German polling organization, and in part because this controversy very directly concerns the whole problem of the development of public opinion research in Germany.

The Neumanns are probably criticized more violently than any other German pollers, and the charges are in confusing variety, including Naziism, Communism, and even spying. I have spoken earlier in this report of the notable lack of charity of pollers in Germany toward each other, and undoubtedly much of the criticism of the Neumanns stems from the fact that they have pushed themselves forward in a highly competitive field at a time when denunciation and back-biting are commonplace in German life. On the other hand, some of the American critics of the Neumanns are sincere individuals whose judgment I respect. These persons are honestly disturbed by ideological considerations. Shortcomings in Noelle-Neumann's methodology and philosophy of polling are also mentioned, but I have always felt such criticisms were secondary to political objections and to antagonisms of a personal nature. In regard to the latter, it is undoubtedly true that Noelle-Neumann is, to most people, an attractive and plausible young woman; but it is my impression that these qualities have created envy and suspicion, especially among Americans, about as much as they have influenced people in her favor. That she is a good salesman, especially among Germans, there can be little doubt.

What are the facts? It is especially difficult in this case to distinguish fact from rumor, and I am not certain, as I shall point out later, that it is particularly relevant to try to do so. However, in order to explain the nature of the controversy, a brief summary of the main facts and speculations may be useful.

Elizabeth Margarete Noelle was born in Berlin on December 19, 1916. According to the questionnaire which she filled out for the French military government in 1947, she had no affiliation with any Nazi organization until 1935, when she served briefly in the Arbeitsdienst. She joined the NSD Studentenbund in the spring of 1936, but she says she did so on the advice of her professor of Zeitungswissenschaft, Dr. Emil Dovifat (See Free University of Berlin), as the only means of obtaining a scholarship abroad. In 1937 she became an exchange student at the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, where she became interested in the new science of public opinion polling.

She had travelled previously, to Finland and Yugoslavia in 1936, and to Italy and France in 1937, and had written travel articles for newspapers in Koenigsburg and Cologne. She returned from the United States in 1938 by way of the Orient, and subsequently made trips to Egypt (1938), Switzerland (1939), and France (1941). Her journalistic career continued meanwhile with contributions to the Berliner Tageblatt, Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, and

Frankfurter Zeitung. In October of 1940 she finally became a "Schriftleiterin" on the editorial staff of "Das Reich," a Goebbels organ in Berlin.

According to Mrs. Neumann, she was in continuous difficulties with the Propaganda Ministerium because of her writing, and finally lost her job (in November of 1942) because a piece she wrote on Franklin D. Roosevelt was not considered sufficiently derogatory. Four months later she went to work for the Frankfurter Zeitung, which was abolished within five months. There is no record of any occupation, journalistic or otherwise, after that date.

Her doctoral dissertation on the Gallup polling methods, "Meinungs- und Massenerforschung in USA—Umfragen ueber Politik und Presse," (Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt am Main), was published in 1940.

Following the war, Mrs. Neumann first applied for work with the polling organization of American military government. She was not hired, chiefly, it would seem, because of her background, although there was also some dissatisfaction with her attitude toward polling. In 1947, however, she was hired by Bernard Lahy in Constance for his Institut fuer Psychologische und Soziometrische Forschungen, which made attitude surveys under contract for the Deuxieme Bureau of the French occupation army (See "Unsere Meinung"). This connection lasted for a year. I don't know the details of the circumstances which led to the break, but it is obvious that Lahy bears an extreme animosity toward Mrs. Neumann as the result of their association. Shortly thereafter, Noelle-Neumann and her husband established their independent Institut fuer Demoskopie.

The interpretation given her career by her critics is that she must have been a Nazi or she could not have become a "Goebbels exchange student" in the United States, or travelled as widely as she did, or worked as a journalist in Germany, especially for the Goebbels newspaper, "Das Reich." According to one rumor, she attended a "spy" conference in Washington under Party auspices during her American sojourn. Passages have been pointed out in her published writing which are anti-American or which have anti-Semitic implications. Lahy especially criticizes her scientific work for him, stating that her samples were poorly selected and inadequate in number, etc.

I have neither competence nor authority to pass out a judgment on this case, especially as the whole problem of relative guilt or innocence in the more minor echelons of German life are baffling in the extreme. My personal opinion is that the passages complained of in her writings were mild and few in number when compared with the usual publications of the Nazi era. That there is evidence of opportunism is obvious. How much opprobrium is attached to this opportunism depends obviously upon one's sense of values, emotional attitudes toward Germans, and the temper of the times.

The case of the husband is chiefly a matter of rumor. He is said to have, or to have had, associations with Communists, and to have spied

for various of the Allies. I was unable to uncover any evidence to support any of these charges, which seem, on the surface, to be somewhat mutually contradictory, unless this innocent appearing man has extraordinary depths of duplicity. Neumann is also a journalist by profession.

Both of the Neumanns are well aware of the talk about them and obviously worried and angered by it. Their talk and writing now, so far as I have been able to discover, is irreproachably "democratic." In fact, I would say that they are unusually eloquent on the subject. Whether this is also opportunism I have no way of knowing. Actually, of course, practically everyone is "opportunistic;" the test is one of degree and for what goals.

I think it is significant, however, that practically all of the hostility toward them stems from foreigners (American and French), and not from Germans. Lahy's hatred is so great that he refused to attend a recent conference of public opinion pollers because he didn't want to be in the same room with Noelle-Neumann. Of equal significance is the fact that Noelle-Neumann is well-known and respected in Germany, and that her agency is leading the field. This suggests the obvious comment that however shady her political past may seem to Americans or to Frenchmen, she is certainly not persona non grata to her own countrymen. In fact, I suspect that part of her success may be due to the fact that she is considered a "good German," whether we like it or not.

Practically, then, American opinion seems somewhat irrelevant, as she is making her own way and there appears to be no likelihood of any change in occupation policy which would lead to interference with her work. American policy, realistically speaking, has made the whole issue somewhat obsolete, as the present program is no longer interested in punishing Nazis but in enlisting Germans in the cold war against the Soviet Union. From the point of view of the architects of the present policy, Noelle-Neumann should be worth cultivating.

The doubts regarding Noelle-Neumann's political past have had this practical result: She was not cleared for an exchange fellowship sponsored by Reactions Analysis (HICOG) to study American polling techniques. The situation is somewhat ironical, that one of the leading German pollers, who has a good chance of dominating the field, is given no American assistance and practically no American attention. She is, in a fairly complete sense, self-made, having developed whatever skill she possesses by trial and error and from books. This may be healthy for German public opinion research, in the long view, but it does not seem particularly favorable for an enlargement of American influence or example in the field of German polling.

Deutsche Hochschule fuer Politik
(German High School for Politics)
Berlin

Address--Albrecht-Achilles-Strasse 65, Berlin-Halensee. Telephone 97 66 11.

The Berlin High School for Politics was established in 1948 with the objectives of furthering political education, providing prospective workers in political vocations with useful tools for their work, and conducting research in the field of political science. While relations are close with the Free University of Berlin, especially through professors who teach in both institutions, the high school has more of the character of an institution of adult education. "High school" is, of course, a literal translation of a word which in Germany does not connote secondary education, as it does in the United States. Other institutions in Germany which are patterned along the Berlin Hochschule and have similar objectives are the High School for Politics, Economics, and Public Administration at Wilhelmshaven, and the High School for Politics in Munich.

As the Berlin High School is now organized, students are eligible for a diploma after successful completion of six semesters of work. At present the High School has about 500 young students, and about 300 older students who are already working in government, journalism, and other occupations, and who attend night courses. A good many of the students are refugees from the East zone.

Director of the High School is Dr. Otto Suhr, Deputy Mayor of West Berlin. The board of governors includes representative leaders in Berlin academic and public life. Financial support comes from the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany.

Departments of instruction, each of which offers lecture courses and seminars, are history and geography, philosophy and sociology, law (especially constitutional and administrative), economics, social organization and politics, domestic politics and communications, and foreign affairs.

This report is concerned only with the activities of the Hochschule which concern more or less directly public opinion research. Such activity has appeared in the following connections:

1. Discussion of polling techniques by Dr. Otto Heinrich von der Gablentz, leader of the department of social organization and social politics.

2. The program of public opinion studies, including reader interest and listener preference surveys, being developed by Dr. Emil Dovifat in the department of domestic politics and communications. (See Institut fuer Publizistik).

3. Student activities.

The various activities and plans in the field of public opinion research are now to be brought together in the new Institut fuer Politische Wissenschaft (Political Science Institute), which was founded on July 28, 1950, under the joint sponsorship of the Hochschule fuer Politik and the Free University of Berlin, with a special allocation of 200,000 DM from the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany to assist the project in its initial stages.

Director of the new Institute is Dr. von der Gablentz, and the advisory committee consists of Dr. Alfred Weber, of the University of Heidelberg; Dr. Franz Neumann, professor of political science at Columbia University, New York; Professor T. H. Marshall, of London, present head of the education division of the Office of the British High Commissioner for Germany; and Dr. Robert Redslob, of Strassburg. Dr. Neumann, by the way, has just completed a semester as guest lecturer at the Free University. He is said to be trying to interest the Rockefeller Foundation in aiding a program in public opinion research.

No specific research activities have been started by the new Institute at this writing. It is planned to house Dr. Dovifat's communications institute in the same building with the Political Science Institute, and presumably there will be collaboration between the two agencies (See Institut fuer Publizistik).

Student Activity--An unusual phenomenon at the High School for Politics is a student association for experiments in public opinion polling. Apparently the initiative for this organization was voluntary, reflecting a high degree of interest of students in modern polling methods, although there has doubtless been some faculty encouragement and advice. The association has taken the ingenious name of ADAM, after the first man; the letters in the name stand for the first letters of the words of the title of the association, Arbeitsgemeinschaft die allgemeine Meinung (Society for the Study of General, or Public, Opinion), or, in a lighter vein, Alles durch allgemeine Meinung (loosely, Everything Through Public Opinion). Members of this association have been chiefly polling other students; a recent survey undertook to investigate attitudes of students from the East Zone.

Studiengruppe Gewerkschaftspresses (Trade Union Press Study Group)--Students from the Hochschule fuer Politik have also worked on a study of the labor press.

This project was apparently inspired by Mrs. John Holt, wife of an officer of HICOG, Berlin element, and was paid for by a special appropriation from the Office of Labor Affairs. Specifically, one part of the project

surveyed attitudes of members of the Gewerkschaft der kaufmaennischen, Buero- und Verwaltungsangestellten (Labor Union of Sales, Office, and Government Workers) and of the Gewerkschaft der Techniker und Werkmeister (Trade Union of Technical Workers and Foremen) toward their newspaper, "Freiheit."

A committee from the trade unions planned the questionnaire with the technical advice of two members of the Reactions Analysis (HICOG) staff in Berlin, Ernst-G. Riemschneider and Heinz A. Koenig, who also advised on sampling and interviewing procedures. The random sampling system (Wahrscheinlichkeits, or probability, method was used, with 500 names, plus a 30% reserve, drawn from the membership cards of the two unions. The survey was made between July 6 and 21, 1950, by volunteers from the Hochschule and labor unions. Actually 353 respondents were interviewed. The survey has been reported in mimeographed form.

An earlier survey in the same project was made of the membership of the metal workers union in West Berlin to determine their attitudes toward their union publication, "Eisen und Metal," as well as toward union leaders and policies. Three groups were surveyed, metal workers in the union, metal workers not in the union, and white-collar workers in the metal industry.

Plans have been made for a conference of labor editors in Berlin this fall to discuss the results of the surveys and consider ways of improving the labor press, union radio programs, and similar topics. The project is especially interesting as an indication of the interest of unions in finding out what types of articles or information are of greatest interest or value to union members and how labor editors can best serve their clientele. Western zone and foreign labor editors were expected to attend the conference.

Personal appraisal--There is undoubtedly a great deal of ferment and planning in the public opinion research field in Berlin, centered in the Hochschule fuer Politik and its associated institutes. There is indication of the same initiative, alertness, progressiveness and drive which appear to be characteristic of other phases of Berlin life. All of this is admirable, but other factors are not so propitious, such as the scarcity, so far, of any really trained experts in the field of public opinion research; the habitual bankruptcy of the city, with dependence upon American financial support; the limitation of the research area to the west sectors of Berlin; and a possible lack of confidence of West Germans in the future of Berlin, which makes it unlikely that there would be much desire to proceed with a large investment in facilities and personnel in that place.

Institut fuer Publizistik
(Institute for Communications Media)
Free University of Berlin

Reference has been made to the work of Dr. Emil Dovifat in the description of the program of the Berlin High School for Politics (See Hochschule fuer Politik, Berlin). Dr. Dovifat was formerly director of the Deutsches Institut fuer Zeitungskunde of the University of Berlin, which was probably the leading institution in the world for the scientific study of the press until it came under the control of the Nazis. Dovifat, a man of the Center party, was out of favor with the Hitler regime, although he was allowed to retain a professorship at the University of Berlin.

He continued as professor at the University of Berlin after the war until Russian interference with his courses forced him to retire. In the process, most of his library, probably the most complete in Germany for journalistic documentation, was confiscated from his university quarters in the East sector of Berlin. Subsequently Dovifat joined the faculty of the Free University of West Berlin.

His major activity since then has centered around his Institut fuer Publizistik at the Free University. "Publizistik," by the way, is the word he has adopted to cover the whole field of mass media study and problems and techniques of communication, a field roughly equivalent to that of progressive schools of journalism in the United States. No English equivalent of the word exists, although one is badly needed.

At the Free University lecture courses are offered as well as seminars on such subjects as pictorial journalism, film journalism, political use of radio, and media research. About 120 students, from all faculties, take work in the department. He now has two assistants, one specializing on the press and the other on radio; he hopes to add another assistant for film.

Public opinion studies so far have mainly concerned preferences of radio listeners and film patrons. During November and December, 1949, fifty of his seminar students made a study of radio listener habits and preferences in respect to the Berlin stations, RIAS (American), Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk (British Zone German), and Radio Berlin (Communist), with a sample of 4,000 listeners. A combination random-quota sample was used, with names drawn from lists of ration card holders. An extensive survey is now in progress (to be completed by January, 1951) to gather data on such subjects as the popularity of motion pictures in various age groups, public attitudes toward newsreels, and tastes in feature films. A quota sample is being used. Student interviewers are receiving money for their work from the film industry, through the organization of film exhibitors in Berlin.

Another special interest of Dovifat is the systematic analysis and debunking of propaganda devices in mass media. He is trying to encourage the introduction of this kind of analysis into the curriculum of the secondary schools, but has made little progress so far.

As explained elsewhere, the Institut fuer Publizistik, beginning this fall, will be housed with the new Institut fuer politische Wissenschaft, where apparently more funds and personnel will be available for research. Dovifat hopes to extend his research program, with special attention to the effects of mass media and public attitudes toward them.

During the 1950 Summer Semester, Dovifat offered two courses at the Hochschule, a lecture course in general Publizistik (psychology and techniques of political opinion formation and their materials), and a laboratory course on communication techniques in the press and radio.

Personal appraisal--Dovifat is a man of unusual personality and vigor, progressive in his thinking, with an exceptional background in research and general experience. His personal influence is considerable. He is, by the way, chairman of the governing board of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk. He is no longer young, but he has already set the pattern, at least, for the kind of research program which can be of enormous value to Germany through a continuing study of the all-important mass media, their political behavior, and their effects upon the public. The unfavorable factors for the Institute are the same as those mentioned in connection with the Hochschule fuer Politik. It would be well to encourage Dovifat in every possible way, or be certain that a realistic program of similar scope, character, and stature is developed in the western zones.

Appendix B

Agencies for Market Research

No special effort was made to survey agencies whose chief activity is the gathering of statistical market data or data on consumer preferences and trends in respect to commodities. Such agencies are of peripheral interest to this survey, however, particularly from the point of view of sampling methodology and interviewing techniques. Below are listed a representative sample of marketing research institutes, one of which is described under a separate heading elsewhere in this report. The list makes no claim to completeness. No survey has been made of academic agencies conducting market research. Nor does the list include public opinion research agencies which do general attitude polling; such agencies are listed under separate headings elsewhere. There are doubtless many other private marketing research agencies that could be added to the list below, as the aggressiveness and competitiveness of German business men encourage the proliferation of this type of research agency.

1. Deutsches Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung. President, Burgomaster Dr. F. Friedensburg. Address, Berlin-Dahlem, Pacelli Allee 6.

2. Forschungsstelle fuer allgemeine und textile Marktwirtschaft, Head, Professor Mueller-Armack. Address, Muenster.

3. Gesellschaft fuer Marktforschung. Head, Dr. J. E. Schwenzner. Address, Alter Markt 12, Hamburg.

4. Gesellschaft fuer Konsumforschung, Nuernberg. (See Institut fuer Absatz- und Verbrauchsforschung).

5. Gesellschaft fuer Wirtschaftsanalyse und Markterkundung. Head, Dr. Chlodewig Kapferer. Address, Gertrudenkirchhof 10, Hamburg.

6. Institut fuer landwirtschaftliche Marktforschung. Head, Dr. Arthur Hanau. Address, Braunschweig-Voelkenrode.

7. Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung. Head, Dr. Wagner, of the Bayerisches Statistisches Landesamt. Address, Rosenheimerstrasse 138, Munich.

8. Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Institut fuer praktische Wirtschaftsforschung. Dr. Daebritz. Address, Bismarckstrasse 62, Essen.

9. Lintas. House-owned market research agency for the Unilever company (soaps). Leader, Steinberg. Address, Thoerl Haus, Harborg.

Appendix C

-104-

Agencies for the Study of Mass Media, Including Schools of Journalism

The interest of these agencies in public opinion research ranges from very much to none at all. Those which have undertaken, or plan, a significant amount of work in the field are described under separate headings in this report. A complete list, with a few critical notes, is included here for reference purposes, as all of these agencies have at least a potential importance to public opinion research.

1. Free University of Berlin. Institut fuer Publizistik. (Separately listed).

2. University of Munich. Chair of Zeitungswissenschaft. (Separately listed).

3. University of Hamburg. Institut fuer Rundfunk und Fernsehen (Institute for Radio and Television). This institute, the first of its kind in Germany since the war, was established this summer with Egmont Zechlin, a professor of history at the University of Hamburg, in charge. I understand that the Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk will support the institute financially. The institute will prepare students for careers in radio, and the study program will include radio psychology, use of radio for education, and engineering.

4. University of Heidelberg. Institut fuer Publizistik. Address, Hauptstrasse 126, Telephone 2251. Director, Dr. Hans von Eckhardt; assistant, Dr. Christine (Schmidt-Rohr) Totten. This school of journalism is handicapped by opposition of conservative departments of the university and of the conservative state government, lack of money and personnel, and the fact that its director is a theoretical sociologist who is not much interested, apparently, in the practical problems of training students for careers in the communications professions. However, Dr. Totten, who has just returned from a year of study at the University of Chicago and Harvard University, is writing a study of public opinion in the United States, and plans to introduce a course this year on public opinion research techniques.

5. University of Muenster. Institut fuer Zeitungswissenschaft. Address, Gorresstrasse 23. Director, Walter Hagemann, who was editor of the Catholic periodical, "Germania," before the war. Zeitungswissenschaft is a full examination subject, and more doctoral candidates are reported than for any other course in the philosophical faculty. The emphasis appears to be upon practical training for newspaper careers.

6. University of Hamburg. Lectures on Zeitungswissenschaft, in the philosophical faculty. The lecturer is Dr. Frankenfeld, formerly of the Frankfurter Zeitung.

7. Nuernberg, Hochschule fuer Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften. Institut fuer Zeitungswissenschaft. Address, Findelgasse 7. Leader, Dr. Ernst Meier; assistant, Wilhelm Bierfelder. This institute, which resumed activity during the winter semester 1949-50, offers work in social, professional, and business problems for students seeking careers in journalism.