



# NEWSLETTER

First Quarter

2004

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## UPCOMING ANNUAL CONFERENCE:

MAY 11-13, 2004  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA, USA

## *4<sup>th</sup> Regional Conference in Asia of the WAPOR* Manila, Philippines

## **WAPOR: Addressing the Public Interest**

The 4<sup>th</sup> WAPOR Regional Conference in Asia, with the theme *Opinion Research and the Public Interest*, was successfully held at the Asian Institute of Management in Manila, Philippines last February 22-24, 2004. This WAPOR conference was co-sponsored by Social Weather Stations (SWS) and the Marketing and Opinion Research Society of the Philippines (MORES).

WAPOR President Kathleen Frankovic, who was interviewed over ABS-CBN News Channel (ANC) on the evening of February 21 with Mahar Mangahas, led the conference. A total of 20 papers, 11 by foreign visitors and 9 by Filipinos, were presented and discussed in six sessions. The session on *Election Surveys and Freedom of Speech or "Who's Afraid of Election Polls?"* included **The Freedom To Publish Opinion Poll Results** by Fritz Spangenberg, **The Freedom to Publish Polls in Hong Kong SAR, Taiwan, and China** by Robert Chung, **Polling in Thailand** by Robert Albritton, and **Election Survey Freedom in the Philippines** by Mahar Mangahas. The session on *Cross-Country Opinion Research* included **How East Asians View Democracy** by Alfred Ko-Wei Hu, **The Australian Unity Wellbeing Index** by Robert Cummins, and **News Media and Opinion Polls Informing African Elite Perspectives and Policy-Making** by Hennie Kotze. *Opinion Research and Conflict Situations* included **Exploring Conflict Management in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao** by Carijane Dayag-Laylo, **How Willing Is The Sri Lankan Citizen To Compromise For A Just And Lasting Peace?** by Pradeep Peiris, and **Filipino Public Opinion on the US-led Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and on US Assistance Against Terrorism to the Philippines** by Vladymir Joseph Licudine. (Please see our website [www.wapor.org](http://www.wapor.org) for the entire program and additional photos.)

The session on *Opinion Research and the Business Sector* included papers on **Survey Evidence As The Basis For Court Decisions In Trademark And Anti-Trust Law** by Anne Niedermann, **Opinions of Enterprise Managers on Corruption in Government** by Aileen Rachelle Rabago, and **Filipinos Say Globalization Affects Them Positively: A Replication of the World Economic Forum Globalization Poll** by Leo Laroza. On *Opinion Polls as Contemporary Philippine History*, papers included were **Opinion Polling in the Philippines: An Encyclopedia Article** by Linda Luz Guerrero, **Listening to the Voice of Governed: The Bohol Polls** by Maria Paz Espiritu; **The Story Of The Downfall Of Pres. Estrada** by Christian Michael Entoma, and **Public Opinion on the**

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# Letter from the President

THE WAPOR COMMUNITY...

PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

***“Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.”***

— Corazon Aquino, on her oath-taking as Philippine President, February 25, 1986



*WAPOR President  
Kathleen Frankovic*

Those words were spoken almost exactly 18 years before the Fourth Regional WAPOR Conference in Asia – the second in the Philippines. It is rare when any meeting, not just a WAPOR meeting, takes place at such an appropriate time in just the right place.

Our meeting dates, February 22-24, coincided with the 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the four days of “People Power” I – the burst of Democratic activity in the Philippines that forced Ferdinand Marcos out of power and brought democracy back to the Philippines. And not only was the country celebrating that anniversary, but it was also in the middle of an exciting election campaign, with new public pre-election polls reported on the front pages of the Philippine newspapers while the conference was going on. And the Conference itself made news: television and newspapers covered it, underscoring the importance of opinion polling to the Philippine democracy.

WAPOR members Mahar Mangahas and Linda Luz Guerrero and the staff at Social Weather Stations organized this conference, in conjunction with MORES, the Market Research Society of the Philippines. There were more than 60 participants from five continents, with diverse perspectives on democracy building, using opinion research in conflict situations, and many papers about elections throughout the world. Many of the WAPOR members who came from outside the Philippines took the opportunity to visit the Social Weather Stations offices to learn more about the process of opinion polling in the Philippines.

As he did in Prague, Frits Spangenberg presented results of the WAPOR/ESOMAR study of the Freedom to Publish Opinion Polls, but this time the comments and expansion of the study were about the situation in Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand, adding to our understanding of opinion research in this part of the world.

But so much of the discussion was about the uses of opinion research and the movement towards polling freedom in the Philippines, and the papers showed how much can be learned from polling – and how important it can be to the entire society. The keynote address, given by Father J.G. Bernas, S.J., is reprinted in this newsletter. It is the story of how the first public polls were conducted, underscoring how important opinion polling is to the Philippine democracy.

The luncheon address by Justice Artemio V. Panganiban of the Philippine Supreme Court also affirmed the importance of election polls. Justice Panganiban was the author of the landmark 2000 decision that affirmed the right to conduct exit polls – a decision that WAPOR’s actions may have helped bring about.

Justice Panganiban underscored the importance of electoral polls to Philippines, and also commented on their accuracy. He said, “Our people have come to believe in [election polls], sometimes even more than the official count. In fact, one wag naughtily suggested the abolition of expensive elections and, in their place, the institution of what have proven to be accurate poll surveys.”

But he also issued a stirring defense of election polls: “The conduct of ... opinion polls, as well as the public dissemination of their results, is part of the right to free expression and is thus constitutionally protected as a unique mode of nurturing democracy. ...Exit polls form part of free expression and are entitled to constitutional protection.”

Justice Panganiban equated the publication of election polls with freedom of expression, which he described as a “*preferred*” right standing on a higher level than substantive economic freedom or other liberties. The lessons of history, both political and legal teach us that freedom of speech is an indispensable condition for nearly every other form of freedom... Freedom of expression is a means of assuring individual self-fulfillment, of attaining the truth, of securing the people’s participation in social and political decision-making, and of maintaining the balance between stability and change.”

*(President’s Letter continued on page 3)*

(Manila continued from page 1)

**July 27 Oakwood Mutiny** by Gerardo Sandoval. The session on *Opinion Research and Elections* included **The US Presidential Primaries: What The Polls Are Telling Us** by Kathy Frankovic, **How Can American Political Campaigning Techniques Be Transferred To The Political Context Of Asian And Latin American Countries?** by Louis Perron, and **Shift In Public Interest, Perception And Opinion From War To Peace, National To Local, And Macro To Micro Issues In Indian Elections** by Yashwant Deshmukh.

A special panel discussion on *Opinion Polling and Elections* was moderated by Fritz Spangenberg, with the panel consisting of Kathy Frankovic, Robert Chung, director of the University of Hong Kong polls, political analyst Tony Gatmaitan, and Junie Laylo, private pollster of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

The conference was keynoted by Ateneo Law School Dean Fr. Joaquin Bernas, S.J., who took part in the 1988-1992 opinion polls of Ateneo de Manila University (please see page 6 of this newsletter for the entire keynote address). Fr. Bernas spoke of the importance of survey freedom in the

promotion of democracy. Other guest speakers were Supreme Court Justice Artemio Panganiban, author of the ruling that exit polling is covered by freedom of speech, who spoke of the legality of polling, and Dr. Steven Rood of the Asia Foundation, who spoke of the importance of surveys to meaningful policy reforms.

A total of 61 participants attended, and for many of them, the conference was a new experience to meet other pollsters and survey research experts, and went home with a positive perception of WAPOR and with intentions to learn more about the association. To date, the conference has gathered 4 new WAPOR members from the participants

Anyone interested in getting a copy of any of the papers can contact Ms Jeanette Ureta <[jeanette.ureta@sws.org.ph](mailto:jeanette.ureta@sws.org.ph)> of SWS.



- Leo Laroza  
Social Weather  
Stations



*See page 12 for  
photos from  
Manila!*

(President's Letter continued from page 2)

He also noted what the Philippine Supreme Court itself has learned from opinion polls: "Like any democratic institution, our Court is sensitive to how the public perceives it, especially its credibility in deciding public interest cases." The SWS polls of public perception of major government offices, including the Court, have caused the Court to understand the importance of insuring long-term public acceptance of its actions and decisions, especially those that go against public opinion and perceptions – something that is possible "only if it enjoys the people's residual respect and esteem." The Court, he said, has now embarked on a program of transparency and accountability, to insure that the public understands its decisions.

A conference like this one in the Philippines made clear to me the importance of WAPOR's role in the world. We are the only international organization that focuses solely on the conduct of **opinion** polls throughout the world, and we now have the resource of members, in more than 60 countries throughout the world. It is an honor to represent WAPOR at events like this, to see how seriously one country's leadership takes our work.

May brings WAPOR's annual meeting – this time in Phoenix, Arizona, in conjunction with the American Association for Public Opinion Research. It will be a time to interact with colleagues from all over the world, and a chance to discuss how WAPOR can continue its mission – one that gives voice to Cory Aquino's clarion statement on the true voice of the people.

## WAPORNET

As a paid member of WAPOR, you have access to our listserv, which you can use to keep in touch with other WAPOR members on current happenings in public opinion research. Currently we are working on switching the listserv over to the University of Nebraska-Lincoln's server. We have encountered some glitches so **the service is temporarily suspended**. When we have successfully worked out the problems we will send out an email to all current members. At that time your email address will be activated and you can resume using this membership benefit. At that time, you may find it helpful to put the listserv email address into your address book for ease of use. You must have a current email address and membership on file with the WAPOR office in order to use this feature.

We will send you an email when this feature is back in use. When you receive the initial email, it will mean that you are already subscribed. There will be instructions on how to unsubscribe if you do not wish to be part of the list. Thank you for your patience while we work on getting this feature corrected.

# Don't Knock the Reviewer!

## On the future development of WAPOR publications

Thomas Petersen

About 230 years ago, the renowned German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, published a poem about an impudent fellow who first eats his fill and then carps about his host's food to his neighbor. Goethe's rage at this ungrateful freeloader culminates in the cry: "A thousand curses alight on his head! / 'Tis a critic, I vow! Let the dog be struck dead!"

What arrogance this poem belies! Of course, it is not that we cannot understand Goethe's tirade—especially if someone has, once again, taken special delight in trashing one of our own books in an elegantly written review. Yet Goethe could only afford to take this stance because he—as opposed to his equally famous friend and fellow writer, Friedrich Schiller—was not a journal editor. Otherwise, he would have recognized the importance of reviewers.

How different the situation is today for WAPOR's "publications chair." At present, WAPOR has three regular publications: the most demanding and respected of these is the *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* (IJPOR), which is attracting an ever expanding audience of professionals in the field, as evidenced by the *Journal's* increasing circulation and, especially, the growing number of articles submitted by authors around the world. The two other WAPOR publications, the Newsletter and WAPOR's Internet site, are hardly less important for WAPOR and should thus also receive just as much attention as IJPOR does—although this, unfortunately, is not the case at present. As WAPOR's new "publications chair," it is my job to change this.

For many of our colleagues, WAPOR's Web site is their first point of contact, their first source of information about WAPOR. The Web site is our organization's calling card. We have, therefore, decided to assemble a "publications committee" that will primarily focus on revamping the site in the upcoming months. Four colleagues from three continents have already agreed to work on the committee: César Aguiar (Uruguay), Maria Braun (Argentina), Robert Chung (Hong Kong) and Beatrice Hammer (France). Anyone else who is interested in this issue and would like to help would be most welcome. I would be grateful for any support and input you can give.

Above all, however, I would like to ask all WAPOR members to take the WAPOR Newsletter more to heart. We must all become more actively involved if the the Newsletter—like the Web site—is to become an interesting source of information. WAPOR is the association that brings together the most experienced and innovative survey researchers from around the world—and I think our Newsletter should reflect this. Therefore, we want to try to include brief reports in the Newsletter presenting interesting findings from our members' countries, such as Arne Modig's report on the Swedish euro referendum in this issue. Of course, the WAPOR Newsletter cannot be as up-to-date as many other publications, but it can provide information to which our members have exclusive access; information that is, by necessity, presented briefly, but which should at the same time be somewhat more in-depth than the snapshot survey findings commonly found in other publications. And for many, the Newsletter is a small door to the world, providing information about the research being completed by survey researchers around the world, which might otherwise be easily overlooked in our day-to-day work.

I would, therefore, like to encourage all WAPOR members to help make the WAPOR Newsletter an interesting source of information: Write to us about your most intriguing new findings, or perhaps you could send us press releases put out by your organization that you feel would be of interest to an international audience. Or you could write a review of an especially good book in our field. It is easy for you (we only need brief contributions), beneficial for all, and you would not be running any risk, since WAPOR members are certainly not going to knock the reviewer!

# *How did the murder of Anna Lindh affect the referendum on the Euro in Sweden 2003?*

by Dr Arne Modig

Senior consultant Temo/Univero and WAPOR National Representative for Sweden

## **Shifting attitudes towards the European Union**

The European Union was originally founded in the 1950's as the "European Community" by a small number of states. Sweden stayed out of this closer European integration for many years. In the 1960's the public opinion towards a Swedish membership was overwhelmingly positive. In the years to come, public opinion towards Sweden joining the European Union varied.

In the summer of 1991 Sweden applied for membership in the European Union. At that time the opinion in Sweden was clearly on the positive side. During the year following the application the general opinion towards the European Union in Sweden rapidly changed to a clear "no." This was at least partially due to a result of the debate on the Maastricht treaty in December 1991, dealing with the further development of the integration of the Union.

When a referendum was set out to the voters they still said "no" to a Swedish membership. In the beginning of 1994 the gap was clear. However, a couple of months before the referendum the "yes"-campaign managed to alter the attitudes. For a short period in the fall of 1994 this resulted in a majority in favor, and in the referendum in November 1994 the voters said "yes" to Sweden joining the European Union.

After the referendum the opinion again shifted to a more skeptical position. Years after that the opinion was rather stable but in the early 2000's it started to slowly change in a more positive direction.

## **The referendum on the Euro**

When a number of European Union member states formed the European Monetary Union Sweden did not join. As you can see from chart number one (*page 17*), the attitudes towards Sweden joining the EMU and introducing the Euro over the years, have varied to a large degree. The opinion was most positive in the beginning of 1999 when the Euro in its electronic form was introduced, and in the beginning of 2002 when the coins and bills were introduced. Swedes were most negative in late 2000 after the "no" in the referendum on the Euro in Sweden's neighboring country Denmark.

When the referendum on the Euro was announced in late 2002 the public opinion situation was in some ways similar to the situation the year before the referendum in 1994. Although the public opinion towards the Euro was changing in a negative direction, almost all actors in Swedish public debate presupposed that the "yes" campaign was going to be successful. Almost everyone seemed to think that the "yes" side, with the support of the establishment, would be able to change the opinion to if not a clear "yes" at least to a more or less balanced situation.

When the election campaign got into its more intensive phase in the last part of August the "no" side was much ahead of the "yes" side. At that time approximately 55 percent of the likely voters answered that they would vote "no" to the official referendum questing "Do you think that Sweden should introduce the Euro as a national currency?" and 44 percent that they would vote "yes." During the first ten days of September, the daily Temo opinion surveys indicated that a change was under way and that the advantage for the "no" side was slowly decreasing.

## **The murder of Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs**

Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs was one of the leading representatives of the "yes" campaign. On the afternoon of September 10, 2003 she was attacked in public and brought to hospital. On the morning of September

*(Sweden continued on page 6)*

11, 2003 her death was announced in the national media by a shocked Prime Minister. The murder sent a shock wave throughout the Swedish society. On that same day, campaign leaders on both sides jointly decided that the referendum was to be held as planned and that all campaign activities were to be stopped. Instead they formed a joint appeal to all voters to honor the memory of Anna Lindh by participating in the election.

All opinion researchers in Sweden that day asked themselves if it was possible to carry out interviews with the general public on such a night of national grief. At first, spontaneous reaction was that it would be unethical. Drawing mainly on the experiences of US researchers from September 11, 2001, Temo decided to stop all interviewing except a national opinion survey dealing only with the Euro opinion and the public's reactions to the murder. Most other Swedish research companies acted in more or less the same manner.

Of course our main professional interest was the possibility to trace what this extraordinary situation meant to the Euro opinion. A few direct questions regarding the murder (e.g. "Do you think the murderer had a political motive?") were added to make the questionnaire more relevant to the interviewees. We wanted the interview to be as short as possible and thus minimized the number of questions. Since all other interviewing activities were stopped, all of our interviewers were directed to this survey, which made it possible for us to heavily increase the sample. The fieldwork worked out very well and the interviewers reported that it was somewhat easier than on a normal night to get answers from the sample.

#### **How did the murder affect the outcome of the referendum?**

Being one of the most important leaders on the "yes" side, many analysts thought that the murder would increase the support for the "yes" side in sympathy towards Anna Lindh. This did not happen. As can be seen from chart number two (see page 18) the drift towards increased support for the "yes" side stopped after the murder. The surveys conducted on September 12 and 13 indicate that instead the opinion following the murder started to shift towards more support for the "no" side and less support for the "yes" side. This shift points directly to the final outcome of the election with 55.9 percent "no" and 42.0 percent "yes."

What is the conclusion? Before the murder some voters seemed to be on their way to re-evaluating their standpoint in favor of the "yes" side. After the murder this tendency stopped. A reasonable conclusion is that voters that were ready to re-evaluate their standpoint in this uncertain situation of national catastrophe, instead turned back to an earlier and more "safe" standpoint.

The murder did cause a rise in the turnout of the election, but this seemed to not be in favor of the "no" side. A Temo survey on September 9 and 10, 2003 indicated a turnout of 76 percent. During the two days following the murder, this figure rose to 80 percent and the actual turnout on September 14 was 81.4 percent. The willingness to participate in the election was, however, larger among the "yes" voters than among the "no" voters.

Stockholm February 15, 2004

*See inserts in this newsletter for charts number one and two*

# 57<sup>th</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Phoenix, Arizona (USA)

May 11-13, 2004

The World Association for Public Opinion Research will hold its annual conference in May 2004 in Phoenix, AZ (USA) in connection with AAPOR's annual meeting. As usual, we will begin the conference on the evening of May 11 with a Welcome Cocktail reception. The following day, sessions will begin at 9am and will continue through the day. That same evening, we will hold the traditional Dinerman Award Banquet and will announce the winners of the Dinerman Award and the Nelson, Turner and Worcester prizes. The conference will finish up on the 13th with half of a day of sessions and end mid-afternoon with the business meeting. Please check our website for the preliminary program and registration information.

Conference registrations will be collected by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). This year you have the option of registering on-line. Currently their website is ready to accept registrations ([www.aapor.org](http://www.aapor.org)). Instructions for registration are available for your convenience. Furthermore, you will be responsible for reserving your own hotel accommodations. You will also be able to do this online. Please see our website at [www.wapor.org](http://www.wapor.org) for hotel reservation information. You can also find registration forms in this newsletter and on our website.

In the meantime, please mark your calendars for May 11-13, 2004, with possible topics such as communication research, public opinion on social, economic and political issues, research methodology, public opinion theory and internet polling, this is sure to be an interesting and informative Annual Conference.

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## *Pointe Hilton Tapatio Cliffs Resort* *Phoenix, Arizona*

[WWW.POINTEHILTON.COM](http://WWW.POINTEHILTON.COM)

The Pointe Hilton Tapatio Cliffs Resort is the location that has been chosen to host the 57th Annual Conference being held May 11-13, 2004. Above you will find their web address. Please visit the site to see more about this fantastic location chosen for the upcoming years' conference. If you search around on their website, you can take a virtual tour or view the photo gallery which will showcase the beauty of the Phoenix landscape and the hotel/resort itself. We will have more information available soon regarding the conference and conference registration information. You can also check our website for more details as we have them. [www.wapor.org](http://www.wapor.org)



Tapatio Cliffs Resort  
Phoenix, Arizona

# How I Became an Opinion Pollster Too

Fr. J. G. Bernas, S.J.



*Fr. Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J. is Dean of Ateneo Law School of the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), and Commissioner, Feliciano Commission. He is also a columnist for Today Newspaper, and Of Counsel, Zambrano, Gruba and Associates.*

*Fr. Bernas has been Vice-Chairman of the Constitutional Convention Secretariat of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines in 1971, Commissioner of the 1986 Constitutional Commission, and legal consultant to the Office of the Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process from 1995 to 1998.*

*He also served as Dean of the Ateneo Graduate School and College of Arts and Sciences in 1970, and became President of the Ateneo de Manila University for nine years from 1984 to 1993. He was spokesman of the Ateneo de Manila University opinion polls in 1988-1992.*

“My story starts 20 years ago, in 1984; at the time I was President of the Ateneo de Manila University. The older ones here will recall the political context at that time – the assassination of Ninoy Aquino in August 1983 was the handwriting on the wall about the impending end of the Marcos dictatorship.

In 1984 I was a member of the Bishops’-Businessmen’s Conference for Human development (BBC), and I co-chaired its Program and Interdisciplinary Committee, which decided to undertake, for open publication, a scientific national survey of opinions about political conditions.

We had three reasons for feeling that such an ambitious and pioneering project would be feasible. First, my co-chairman was the banker Victor Barrios, who undertook the raising of funds from the business sector. Second, we had a committee member in mind for the technical work (Mahar Mangahas, who was absent from the meeting when the idea came up – maybe we purposely did not invite him to the meeting so he could not say no, I have forgotten). And third, we counted on the great prestige and influence of BBC National Co-Chairman Jaime Cardinal Sin to ward off the Marcos forces of censorship, when the time would come to publicize the BBC opinion poll.

And it came to pass that indeed the BBC was able to raise the funds, to do the research, and to publicly report the findings, of not only one but two national opinion polls, one in 1984 and another in 1985. The most assuring (but not the most publicized) findings, in both BBC polls, were that two out of every three Filipinos were opposed to Marcos’s power to legislate by decree, as well as opposed to his power to detain persons by fiat without right of judicial review.

Immediately after the two BBC surveys, the Ateneo formed a partnership with the just-established Social Weather Stations (SWS) to do a series of national opinion polls, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, which were meant to lead up to the Presidential election due in 1987. But Mr. Marcos beat us to the punch, by holding the famous ‘snap election’ of February 1986, a year and a half ahead of the original schedule. The rush of events led to Filipino People Power, whose 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary we celebrate this week on February 25<sup>th</sup>.

The joint Ateneo-SWS surveys were done in 1986-87, chronicling public opinion in the beginning years of the Aquino administration, rather than in the ending years of the Marcos period as originally planned.

(Keynote continued on page 7)



(Keynote continued from page 6)

After the Ford project, the Ateneo and SWS took separate paths in opinion research. The Ateneo conducted and published seven more national public opinion polls from 1988 to 1992, when lack of funds forced discontinuation. (We have never been as good fundraisers as the La Sallites!). Although I was, of course, not the technical director of those Ateneo polls, I found myself prevailed upon, for those five years, to be the one to orally report the Ateneo survey findings at media conferences.

Thus I must confess, not in a penitential sense, that in my little way you might say that I used to be an opinion pollster too. I was the spokesman for the Ateneo team of social scientists who took their opinion polling seriously. As a team we tried our best to draw out their implications for our young Philippine democracy. I had to cope with survey facts conflicting with my own expectations. But even worse was when they conflicted with the expectations of people in the media. Thus I can bear witness, from my own participation, to the close ties between the promotion of democracy and the open dissemination of public opinion polls. Democracy is a system in which basic political movements are decided through collective agreement, after open discourse and dissemination of all citizens' attitudes and points of view.

The freedom of speech, of expression, and of the press are essential to the system, and hence are constitutionally guaranteed. This guarantee, according to recent Philippine Supreme Court decisions, extends to the freedom to disseminate opinion polls at any time before elections, (this was the SWS case) as well as the freedom to conduct and publicize exit polls (this was the ABS-CBN case).

These freedoms were won through hard struggle and will not be easily surrendered.



**WAPOR Thematic Seminar**

**"Quality Criteria in Survey Research V"  
Cadenabbia, Lake Como, Italy  
June 24-26, 2004**

The dates are now set: from June 24 to 26, 2004, we shall be meeting again at the conference center at Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia on Lake Como Italy to discuss the latest developments and challenges in the area of ensuring quality in survey research. In the brilliant speech he gave on accepting the Helen Dinerman Award in 1995, Daniel Yankelovich lamented how difficult it is to convey the difference between good and bad survey research to the public, how difficult it is for journalists and politicians, for business clients and even for many scientists themselves to recognize quality in survey research. Thus, good and bad surveys are simply thrown together in the same pot with the bad surveys ultimately spoiling the good ones. The rule being, according to Yankelovich: "a poll, is a poll, is a poll."

Yankelovich's speech provided the impetus for the first Cadenabbia seminar in 1996. If even the experts themselves have difficulties defining quality in survey research, how are they supposed to succeed in conveying quality standards to the public? We resolved at that point to hold a seminar at least once every two years to discuss the question of how to recognize and improve quality in survey research.

The schedule will be almost identical to previous seminars: Arrival and get-together cocktail party followed by dinner on Thursday, June 24, with a full seminar day on Friday, and then morning sessions, a closing lunch and departure on Saturday, June 26. Participants are welcome to stay an additional day at extra cost.

The package for registration, accommodation for two nights (either at the foundation or a nearby 3-star hotel at the lakeside), breakfast, two dinners and two lunches will be \$470 for WAPOR members.

Space is limited at Cadenabbia, with room for only about 50 participants at the conference center. We would, therefore, advise you to note the dates in your calendar and make your reservation as soon as possible. Please insert in this newsletter or check our website at [www.wapor.org](http://www.wapor.org) for more details.

# WAPOR Seminar “Public Opinion, Polls, and Policies”

Zurich, Switzerland, June 26 - 28, 2003

The WAPOR seminar on “Public opinion, Polls, and Policies” took place high above the city of Zurich at the Hotel Zürichberg on June 26-28, and it was organized in cooperation with the “Swiss Association of Marketing and Social Research Professionals (SMS)”.

Participants from four continents spent two days discussing the use of public-opinion polls. They dealt with the goal of treating new question formulations, also focusing on aspects outside the election campaign and zeroing in on policy processes. New methodological applications and problems were also discussed.

The goal was unquestionably achieved and can certainly also be attributed to the well-known WAPOR effect (i.e., the fact that participants in this organization devote themselves to these topics from the standpoint of both the private sector and scholarly polling research). Accordingly, the discussion’s topical field was greatly expanded and ranged from questions on functional use of polls about democratization processes to sampling problems and practical issues dealing with intellectual property rights to polling data.

The impact of public-opinion surveys on the peacekeeping process was discussed in contributions from Yashwant Deshmukh ([Cvoter Foundation](#), New Delhi) and Collin Irwin (Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict, [Queen’s University Belfast](#)), stimulated through comments by the acting director of “Swisspeace”, Heinz Kruppenbacher. This quickly broke into a passionate discussion on the “new” options of demoscoping in conflict resolution and active involvement of pollsters in this process.

The paper by Michael Cohen (Michael Cohen Group, New York) on “Use of Research to Inform the Creation of Mental Health Policy and Interventions following the September 11th Terrorist Attacks in New York City” introduced us to a field of applied opinion research. That is actually in no sense new to psychologists within the WAPOR sphere but is still seldom discussed. This case study lays notable stress on action orientation and was intended to clarify needs and problems of various affected groups. Yet its differentiated designs also exploit the opportunity to conceptualize issue formulations. Ulrich Frick from the Addiction Research Institute was also able to present valuable comparative data in his discussion.

Many presentations either emphasized or discussed very prominent methodological problems. Hence the quality of results were discussed on the basis of a paper by Max Bergman (Swiss Information and Data Archive Service for the Social Science, SIDOS) on the influence of low coverage rates, while Maria Francesca Romano (Sant’ Anna School of Advanced Studies, Pisa) focused on the problem of response avoidance in exit polls. Piet van Montfoort (ASCoR & Research Network Amsterdam & Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) introduced the comprehensive concept of a monitoring tool to record public opinion for the Dutch Ministry for Education, Culture, and Science. Thomas Petersen (Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach), on the other hand, underpinned his plea for a “multi-method approach” in recording public opinion with exploratory surveys to gauge sympathy and image by politicians based on news media use of text and especially pictures. An interesting thesis on media impact derived from a primarily methodological issue. Fiona Chew (Newhouse School of Public Communication, Syracuse University) briefed the gathering on results of participatory observation testing the Internet’s efficiency in mobilizing political sympathizers. In this context, Web surveying methods also stirred up debate – an issue also posed in the “WAPOR meets SMS” panel.

Yet in this discussion between our president, Kathleen Frankovic, and Harald Amschler, the president of SMS, as well as Wolfgang Donsbach, the president of the ICA, standards on survey reports took center stage. It could be seen in the international comparison that Swiss standards represent a special case. From one standpoint (Donsbach), it is an overregulated one. But another one (Amschler) simply saw it fulfilling the duty to declare a special type of consumer good.

Obviously the view also zeroed in on various spheres of influence and effects of opinion surveys. Thus Galen Irwin and Joop van Holsteyn (Department of Political Science, Leiden University) introduced the effects of opinion polling within the Netherlands' multi-party system. This should clearly be distinguished from results owing mainly to a bandwagon effect. The authors and discussants placed it in the traditional line of "bounded rationality". But Hubert Roth (Department of Political Science, University of Zurich) insisted that research on bandwagon effects should not neglect that voters react psychologically, and may therefore be influenced by a confrontation with polling results, because they want to reduce disagreement. On the other hand, Murray Goot (Macquaire University) discussed the assumption of "poll following" with a sharp and sometimes malicious view of the literature. Here his co-presenter, Christine Rothmayr, took up his case for a stronger theoretical foundation of assumptions in the context of the representation theory and supplemented it with reflections on systematically comparable analyses.

The roundtable discussion summary led by Sibylle Hardmeier with Robert Eisinger (Lewis & Clark College, Portland Oregon), Kathleen Frankovic (CBS News, New York), Michael Traugott (Communication Studies, University of Michigan), and Hans Zetterberg (ValueScope AB, Bromma Sweden) aimed to create order within the broad spectrum of issues, analyses, and evaluations of gauging public opinion and crystallizing the event's essence.

While researching opinion surveys and their effects and functions was particularly confined in the past to the context of elections and issue-related campaigns, the seminar established that opinion polls play a more important role in the social system than generally imagined – and, depending on the cultural circle, a more varying one. Based on the totality of seminar insights, Michael Traugott determined that opinion surveys represent part of the communication flow within the citizenry as well as between citizens and the government. Yet media coverage of such polls represents a factor that should not be neglected. Hence public opinion polls provide a democratic function that should never be underestimated. This recognition led to the conclusion in the plenary session that for this reason too demands should also be increased for quality measurement and dissemination of public opinion polls. Therefore, it is relevant and vital to develop and implement further standards for opinion research and its output to the public. Continued efforts at the conceptual and methodological levels are also needed in recording public opinion. The works presented at this event make a valuable contribution to this point.

Another aspect that made this seminar an important experience was obvious in the co-presentations, which were both profound and committed. This manifested itself symbolically on Friday evening as the participants met for cocktails at a gathering sponsored by SMS on the Hotel Zürichberg's terrace. Given the idyllic setting overlooking sunny Lake Zurich, public-opinion research pioneers found themselves deep in personal conversation with the rising younger generation. No better image could represent the concept of a scholarly community.

--Andreas Sidler  
University of Zurich  
Institut für Politikwissenschaft



*Kathy Frankovic, Hans Zetterberg, Sibylle Hardmeier, Mike Traugott and Robert Eisinger*



*Murray Goot and Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann*

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## WAPOR Photos

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*Above:* Group picture with some of the participants



*Above:* Guest speaker and Supreme Court Justice Artemio Panganiban (second from left) with Mahar Mangahas, Fritz Spangenberg, and incoming MO-RES President Vivian Tin



*Above:* *Election Surveys and Freedom of Speech* session speakers Robert Albritton, Fritz Spangenberg, Mahar Mangahas, and Robert Chung, with Kathleen Frankovic as session moderator.

## Photos from Manila February 2004

*Below:* *Cross Country Opinion Research* session moderator Pradeep Peiries (left) with presenters Alfred Ko-Wei Hu, Robert Cummins, and Hennie Kotze



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## Calendar

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May 11-13, 2004

***Phoenix, Arizona, USA***  
57th Annual Conference

June 24-26, 2004

***Cadenabbia, Italy***  
“Quality Criteria in Survey Research”  
Thematic Seminar

***Please let us know your upcoming events.  
Deadline for 2nd quarter newsletter events or  
article submission is May 15, 2004.***

The WAPOR Newsletter is published by the  
World Association for Public Opinion Research

Please contact:

WAPOR Secretariat

UNL Gallup Research Center  
200 North 11th Street

University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
Lincoln, Nebraska 68588-0242, USA

phone: 1 402 458 2030

fax: 1 402 458 2038

email: [renae\\_reis@gallup.com](mailto:renae_reis@gallup.com)

Editor: Renae Reis

# REGISTRATION FORM

## 2004 Annual AAPOR/WAPOR Conference

Pointe Hilton Tapatio Cliffs Resort • Phoenix, Arizona • May 11-16, 2004

**Advance Conference Registration Deadline: April 26, 2004**

Forms and payment received after this date will be charged a \$50 late registration fee.

**Cancellation Policy:** Written notice of cancellation received **on or before April 10, 2004** will be refunded less a \$50 processing fee (*to be processed after the meeting*).

No refunds will be issued for cancellations received after April 10, 2004. Substitution of registrants is allowed. Questions? Call (913) 310-0118, fax (913) 599-5340, or email [aapor-info@goAMP.com](mailto:aapor-info@goAMP.com).

### Badge Information

Print or type name as you wish it to appear on your badge.

\*\* Full Name \_\_\_\_\_

\*\* Company \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\*\* City \_\_\_\_\_ \*\*State \_\_\_\_\_


Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*This information will appear on your name badge.

In case of emergency contact/relationship/phone: \_\_\_\_\_

 Please specify any special needs: \_\_\_\_\_

Please check here if you will be a first-time attendee of the AAPOR Conference.

If you are currently employed, please check your affiliation:

- Academic                       Not-For-Profit Organization  
 Commercial                       Other \_\_\_\_\_  
 Government

If you are registering for **BOTH** the AAPOR and WAPOR Conferences, you must fill out **BOTH** sections below.

### WAPOR Conference Registration Fees

May 11-13, 2004

Registration fees include all conference materials, welcome cocktail party and all breaks. Meal Package optional.

	On or Before April 26, 2004	After April 26, 2004
<b>Full Conference Fees</b>		

Please circle one of the following.

WAPOR Member . . . . .	\$200	\$250
*Non-WAPOR Member . . . . .	\$310	\$360
Student . . . . .	\$ 80	\$130
*Non-WAPOR Student. . . . .	\$130	\$180

**Total for WAPOR Conference Fees: \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

\*Non-member rate includes 2004 membership in WAPOR. Please notify us if you do not want to join WAPOR. The above non-member rate will still apply.

### AAPOR Conference Registration Fees

May 13-16, 2004

	On or Before April 26, 2004	After April 26, 2004
<b>Full Conference Fees Including Core Meals</b>		

Please circle one of the following.

Member . . . . .	\$375	\$425
*Non Member . . . . .	\$475	\$525
An AAPOR member who is a student and a previous conference attendee . . . . .	\$235	\$260
An AAPOR member who is a student AND will be a first-time attendee . . . . .	\$200	\$200
Honorary Life Member . . . . .	\$200	\$200

**Total for AAPOR Conference Fees and Core Meals: \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

\*Non-member rate includes association membership in AAPOR for the remainder of 2004 provided that you agree to the conditions established. You must complete and return the application provided onsite at the conference to the registration desk prior to the end of the conference in order to receive membership. Please notify us if you do not want to join AAPOR. The above non-member rate will still apply.

### Short Courses

Please indicate the courses you wish to take. Please only mark one box per time block.

**Thursday, May 13, 2004**

**8:30 a.m. – Noon**

- The Who, Why, and How of Survey Nonresponse and Nonresponse Reduction, Robert Groves, Includes Text – *Nonresponse in Household Interview Surveys* . . . . . **\$175.00**  
 The Psychology of Survey Response: Lessons for Questionnaire Design, Roger Tourangeau, Includes Text – *The Psychology of Survey Response* . . . . . **\$145.00**  
 Making Sense of Logistic Regression: An Introduction, Fred Pampel . . . . . **\$120.00**  
 Cognitive Interviewing, Gordon Willis **\$120.00**

**Thursday, May 13, 2004**

**2:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.**

- Questions for Standardized Measurement in Surveys, Nora Cate Schaeffer . . . . . **\$120.00**  
 A Researcher's Guide to Web Survey Implementation, Scott Crawford . . . . . **\$120.00**  
 Survey Quality, Paul Biemer and Lars Lyberg, Includes Text – *Introduction to Survey Quality* . . . . . **\$215.00**  
 Introduction to Survey Sampling, Colm O'Muircheartaigh . . . . . **\$120.00**

**Sunday, May 16, 2004**

**12:30 p.m. – 4 p.m.**

- Training Data Collectors in the Protection of Human Research Participants, Diane Burkom . . . . . **\$120.00**

**Total for Short Courses: \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

## AAPOR Menu Selections – Four Core Meals

Four Core Meals – **included in the AAPOR registration fee**  
Includes lunch and dinner on Friday and Saturday.  
See registration brochure for details.

- I will be eating vegan meals throughout the conference.  
Do not select entrees below.

Please select one entree from each meal below. If you do not select an entree, the default option noted by the \* will be selected for you. No substitutions will be made onsite.

### Friday, May 14, 2004

- LUNCH**       Pasta Primavera w/Shrimp\*  
                   Vegetarian Pasta Primavera
- DINNER**     Chicken Wellington\*  
                   Vegetarian Wellington

### Saturday, May 15, 2004

- LUNCH**       Chicken Breast Ranchero\*  
                   Grilled Vegetable Kabobs
- DINNER**     Tortilla-crust Halibut\*  
                   Grilled Bone-in Pork Chop  
                   Vegetarian Lasagna

## WAPOR Conference Meal Packages

Includes continental breakfast 5/12 & 5/13, lunch 5/12 & 5/13, awards banquet 5/12. **Meal Package Cost: \$200.00.**

- Vegetarian/Vegan Meal options available upon request.  
Please contact [Rena\\_Reis@gallup.com](mailto:Rena_Reis@gallup.com) for more information.

Please select one entree from each meal below. If you do not select an entree, the default option noted by the \* will be selected for you. No substitutions will be made onsite.

### Wednesday, May 12, 2004

- LUNCH**       Pesto Crusted Salmon  
                   Chicken with Orange Honey Glaze\*
- DINNER**     Seared Chilean Sea Bass  
                   Roasted Chicken Breast\*

### Thursday, May 13, 2004

- LUNCH**       Chili-Marinaded Top Sirloin\*  
                   Marinated Swordfish

Total # \_\_\_\_\_ of Meal Packages

Total for WAPOR Meals Package Fees: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## AAPOR Optional Meals

### THURSDAY, MAY 13

Special Evening at the Heard Museum

Transportation, entertainment, access to the entire museum, appetizers, and dinner buffet to include: Beef Tenderloin, Free Range Stuffed Chicken, Vegetarian Lasagna

- ..... \$89.00

Attendance is limited to the first 250 people who register.  
Cash bar available.

### OTHER MEALS

- Breakfast Buffet on Friday, May 14 ..... \$24.00  
 Breakfast Buffet on Saturday, May 15 ..... \$24.00  
 Breakfast Buffet on Sunday, May 16 ..... \$24.00  
 Boxed Lunch on Sunday, May 16 ..... \$24.00  
 Turkey and Cheese Sandwich  
 Ham and Cheese Sandwich  
 Vegetarian Sandwich  
 Vegan

If you're purchasing extra tickets for guests, please complete page 3.

Total for AAPOR Optional Meals: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## Conference T-shirt

The official 59th Annual AAPOR Conference T-shirt.  
Slogan: Public Opinion Research: Fighting the war against error

- \_\_\_\_ Medium    \_\_\_\_ Large    \_\_\_\_ XLarge. . . . \$18.00  
 \_\_\_\_ XXLARGE . . . . . \$20.00

Total for T-Shirts: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## Method of Payment

After April 26, bring your registration form and payment directly to the meeting. All fees must be paid in U.S. dollars, with checks drawn in U.S. funds on U.S. banks.

- Check # \_\_\_\_\_ enclosed payable to AAPOR in U.S. funds. Please print attendee name on check.

- Credit Card:  Visa     Mastercard     American Express  
Card No. \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration Date \_\_\_\_\_

Print Cardholder's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

## Conference Fees

Total WAPOR Conference Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total WAPOR Meal Package Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total AAPOR Conference Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total Short Course Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total AAPOR Optional Meal Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total AAPOR Guest Meal Fees (attach guest meal form) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total Conference T-shirt Fees \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

### MAIL REGISTRATION FORM AND PAYMENT TO:

AAPOR • P.O. Box 14263 • Lenexa, KS 66285-4263

For overnight service only mail to:

AAPOR • 8310 Nieman Rd • Lenexa, KS 66214

Phone: (913) 310-0118

FAX (913) 599-5340 – include all pages

**Quality Criteria in Survey Research V**  
**A WAPOR Thematic Seminar**  
**June 24- June 26, 2004, Villa La Collina, Cadenabbia,**  
**Lake Como, Italy**

**Registration**

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Organization/Institute:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Country:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Telephone:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Fax:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Email:** \_\_\_\_\_

	Price per person	Number of persons	Total
Participation in the seminar, including accommodations and meals, for WAPOR members .....	\$470 .....	_____	\$ _____
Participation in the seminar, including accommodations and meals, for nonmembers.....	\$570 .....	_____	\$ _____
Accompanying persons: accommodations and meals only .....	\$320 .....	_____	\$ _____
Extra day: departure on June 27, 2004 .....	\$170 .....	_____	\$ _____
 TOTAL AMOUNT			 \$ _____

When you register, your hotel accommodations will be arranged at either the Villa La Collina or another 3-star lakeside hotel. The price is the same for both hotels and includes all meals, with breakfast at participant's place of accommodation and lunch and dinner in the conference building, as well as the get-together on June 24. Participants will receive detailed information about the accommodations and ground transportation needs after registering.

Method of payment:  
 MasterCard or VISA number \_\_\_\_\_

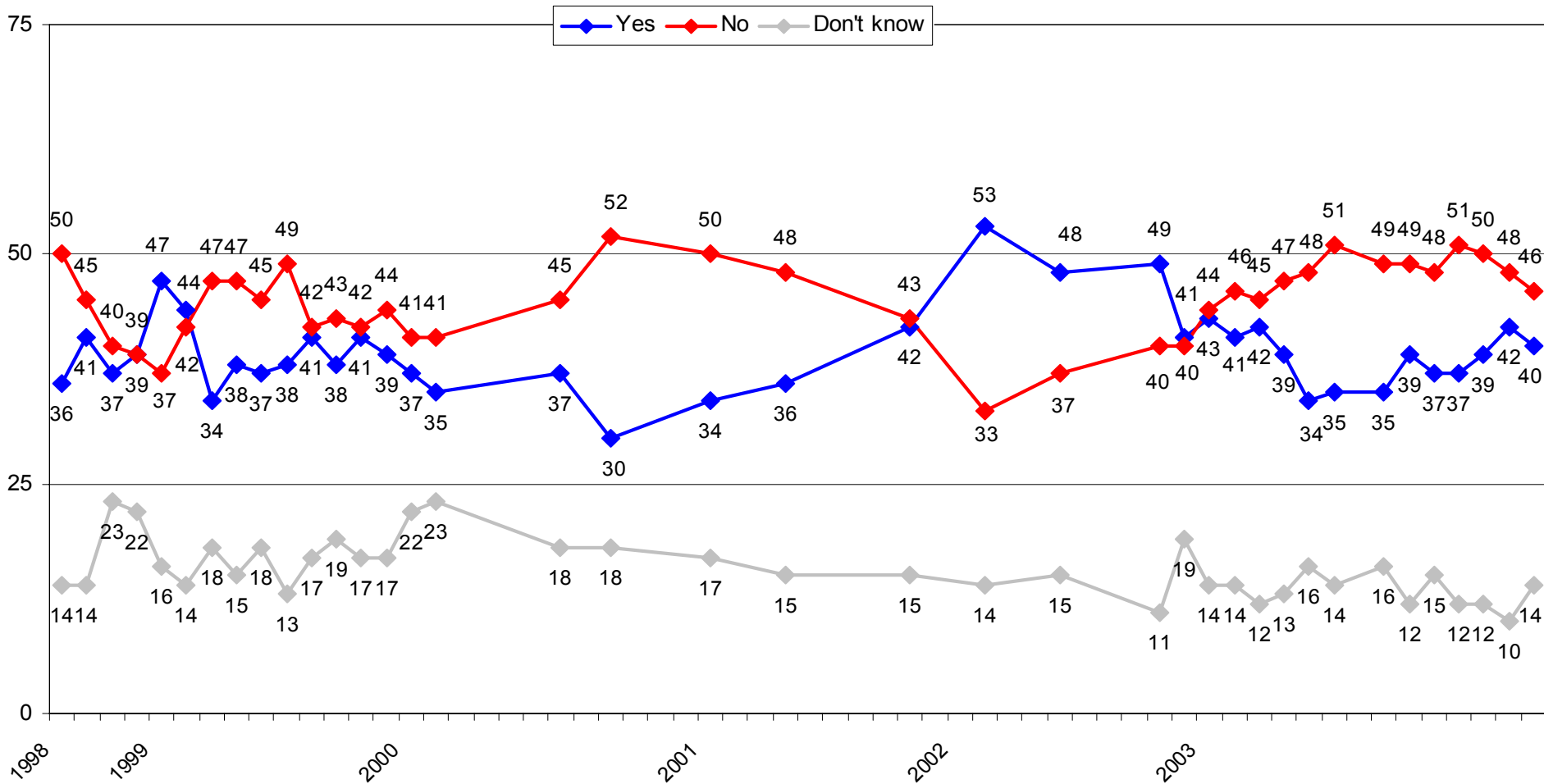
Expiration Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Check enclosed (please, no Eurocheques)

Please return to:  
 WAPOR  
 UNL Gallup Research Center  
 200 N Eleventh Street  
 Lincoln, NE 68588-0241, USA  
 Fax: 1 402-458-2038  
 Mailing Address: Renae\_Reis@gallup.com

# Chart no 1

## Euro-opinion in Sweden 1998 - 2003





**Chart no 2**  
**Euro-opinion in Sweden August 6th - Election September 14th**

