

COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL LIFE *COMUNICACIÓN Y VIDA SOCIAL*

STUDIES IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR
ESTEBAN LÓPEZ-ESCOBAR

Maxwell McCombs / Manuel Martín Algarra
(Eds.)

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EUNSA

EDICIONES UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA, S.A.
PAMPLONA

THE FIRST SCIENTIFIC MASS COMMUNICATIONS'
STUDY IN LATIN-AMERICA.

THE BRAZILIAN SURVEY, FEBRUARY-MAY 1941

*El primer estudio científico de la comunicación de masas en América
Latina: La encuesta de Brasil, febrero a mayo de 1941*

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1. 1939: "NEEDED RESEARCH IN COMMUNICATION"

American mass communication and propaganda activities were not new in Latin America when the Second World War broke out. The most important precedent was the Committee of Public Information (CPI). Established in 1917 by President Woodrow Wilson, the CPI was headed by George Creel and took responsibility for domestic and international propaganda¹. Notwithstanding its intensive work in Latin America, communication activities were done randomly and devoid of scientific grounds. Twenty years later, despite a significant social science literature on propaganda and persuasion from the interwar period, empirical research on communication effects was so inadequate that a group of communication experts titled a report as: "Needed Research in Communication"².

The abovementioned report was written in by a dozen of leading American social scientists participants in a monthly Communications Seminar organized by the Rockefeller Foundation in its New York offices since September 1939. Initially, the participants discussed communication research and the type of

1. Cfr. MOCK, James R., "The Creel Committee in Latin America", in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII/2 (May, 1942), 262-79. MOCK, James R. and LARSON, Cedric, *Words That Won the War: the Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1939. CREEL, George, *How we Advertised America. International Propaganda and Communications*, Arno Press, New York, 1972.

2. Cfr. GARY, Brett, *The Nervous Liberals. Propaganda Anxieties from World War I to the Cold War*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1999, p. 105.

projects eligible for funds, but when World War II broke out, they focused on how the American Government could benefit from communication research in the new international context. This idea, says Sproule, “was indistinct and only tentatively recognized in the years before World War II. Faint harbingers of such a data-policy connection had come in the form of Lazarsfeld’s gratifications research for CBS and Cantril’s polling for FDR”³.

The Rockefeller Foundation and John Marshall, responsible for the Communication Seminar, played, according to Rogers, “a crucial role in launching the field of communication, acting as a powerful catalyst to the birth of communication research”⁴. Long before the United States could imagine that it would be a belligerent in the Second World War, Marshall considered that communications research was “essential for national security purposes and that the Roosevelt Administration was unequipped and politically indisposed to carry out that work”⁵.

Among the regular members of the Seminar, – “a truly fascinating episode in the sociology of knowledge”⁶– were Hadley Cantril and Lloyd A. Free: both would play an important role in the seminal development of mass communication research in Latin America through the “Office of Inter-American Affairs” [OIAA]⁷.

2. THE OFFICE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The origins of empirical survey researching in Latin America emerged as a result of the objectives of the OIAA, an agency created in August 1940 by the U. S. Government and chaired by Nelson A. Rockefeller. Aimed to increase and strengthen hemispheric solidarity and combat Axis propaganda, the Coor-

3. SPROULE, Michael J., *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 207.

4. ROGERS, Everett M., *A History of Communication Study: A Biographical Approach*, The Free Press, New York, 1997, pp. 219-22. Prior to the Seminar, which met until June 1940, the words “communication research” were not commonly used, and it was Marshall himself who coined the term “mass communication”.

5. GARY, Brett, op. cit. p. 125.

6. POOLEY, Jefferson, “The New History of Mass Communication Research”, in *The History of Media and Communication Research: Contested Memories*, PARK, David W. and POOLEY Jefferson (eds), Peter Lang, New York, 2008, p. 52.

7. ROGERS, Everett M., op. cit., pp. 220-22.

dinator realized that his program required an in-depth knowledge of the field conditions in Latin America⁸.

Probably influenced by the discussions in the Communication Seminar, Rockefeller firmly believed that social communication research could lend a helping hand to the State Department in developing more effective political operations in the other American Republics. Consequently, Rockefeller decided to gather relevant information about Axis activities, attitudes toward the United States and communication habits in Latin America. To obtain this information in a reliable way, Rockefeller contacted Dr. George Gallup to conduct public opinion surveys in the countries below the Rio Grande. A \$250,000 contract was signed under which Hadley Cantril, an associate of Gallup's and Director of the "Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research", would lead the project.

3. HADLEY CANTRIL'S SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

After graduating in 1928 from Dartmouth College and receiving a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1931, Cantril moved to Princeton University in 1936 to start a prolific twenty-year career. His work was recognized as "the first time that academic social science took survey research seriously, and it was the first attempt to collect and collate systematically survey findings"⁹.

Cantril caught the attention of the Roosevelt administration after successfully predicting voting behavior in gubernatorial and other elections using small samples. He also experimented with surreptitious techniques for interviewing people. "The interviewers had to memorize the questions, ask them in casual conversations, make no written notes during the interview, but record the answers as soon as possible after they had left the respondent"¹⁰. This

8. The name of this agency changed in 1941 and in 1945 when it became "Office of Inter-American Affairs" (OIAA). ROWLAND, Donald W., *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Historical Reports on War Administration*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1947, pp. 1-7. We will use the abbreviation OIAA because it is the one used at the National Archives Inventories in referring to the Office.

9. SIMPSON, Christopher, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare 1945-1960*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, pp. 80-81. BARNOUW, Erik et al. *International Encyclopedia of Communications* (Vol. 1), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989, p. 233.

10. GLANDER, Timothy, *Origins of Mass Communications Research During the American Cold War: Educational Effects and Contemporary Implications*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 2000, p. 88

methodology was to be used during World War II in some Latin American countries, especially in Mexico.

Other well known communication scholars such as Leonard Doob (from Yale University), Bailey Diffie (professor at Princeton, specialized in the Portuguese Empire) and Lloyd A. Free (editor of *Public Opinion Quarterly*) were hired to work under the Cantril's orders by a bogus company: "American Social Surveys, Inc". (ASS). After some weeks of paperwork, these agents started their work on September 15, 1940¹¹. The U. S. Cultural Relations program covered the expenditures, that amounted \$2,000,000¹².

At the end of October 1940, James Young, Chief of the Communication Division of the OIAA, had several meetings with Laurence Duggan, head of the South American desk at the Department of State, to coordinate the strategy for surveying public opinion in the other American Republics. They decided to start by dispatching Lloyd A. Free "to set up a local unit there, and give the plan a 'road test' [...] before extending it further"¹³. In a second meeting, both picked Brazil for the first complete test because it was considered "perhaps the most difficult country in Latin America in which to do such a survey". It was also felt that further work of this nature would be considerably easier to carry on in other countries. Unlike Brazil, where "could not be used for fear of their political implications", in the other Republics they could also get information about public opinion matters¹⁴. Prutsch adds more reasons for choosing this country:

Brazil stood out in its significance for the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) above all other Latin American nations: it was a geopolitical springboard to North Africa and Europe, a seemingly inexhaustible source of raw materials and foodstuffs, an important experimental field for healthcare and technology, as well as a huge potential market for (mass) consumption. In no other country

11. "From George Gallup to Carl Spaeth", September 25, 1940. In Records of the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), Record Group 229, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD, Entry 1, General Records, Central Files, Commercial and Financial Regional Reports and Surveys, Surveys. American Social Surveys Export Information Bureau. File: ND Car-1, ND Car-11, ND Car-35. (Hereafter: NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF), # 14, Box 138.

12. "From C. B. Spaeth to S. Sherwood", n.d, ca. October 1940. NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

13. "From J. W. Young to Nelson Rockefeller and Dr. Caldwell", 28 October, 1940, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

14. "From Hadley Cantril to Shelley Tracy", 29 May, 1941, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

of Latin America did the OIAA carry out so many and such diverse activities as in Brazil¹⁵.

Duggan and Young agreed on three basic ideas to be projected in the work of the Communication Division: activities which would imply that the U. S. admired and appreciated things in the Latin American culture; unity in the common desire of all countries for freedom and independence to work out their destinies, and the conviction that the United States could and would defend the Hemisphere with the participation of the other countries¹⁶.

Few months later, the OIAA set up a Research Department whose main purpose was "to do systematic surveys of Latin American countries to study the opinions, tastes and habits of the people"¹⁷. The State Department consented to do the trial survey in Brazil. To avoid suspicions from foreign governments, the operation was handled under a contract with the "American Association of Advertising Agencies" (usually called "4A's") through an alleged Research Division of its Export Information Bureau with representatives in the main cities of Latin America. Lloyd A. Free was the first to use these false credentials.

4. LLOYD A. FREE MAKES IN BRAZIL THE FIRST GALLUP-TYPE SURVEY IN LATIN AMERICA

Lloyd A. Free made his survey in Brazil between February and May, 1941. He constructed a national representative sample of 2,342 people, and hired, trained, transported and supervised the interviewers¹⁸. He gratefully acknowledged the assistance of Francis J. McCradle, Manager of the Sao Paulo office of J. Walter Thompson's (JWT) advertising office, which Free used as his headquarters. Hadley Cantril prepared the final report. In its introduction, he claimed:

15. PRUTSCH, Ursula. "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs in Brazil". En CRAMER, Gisela and PRUTSCH Ursula, (eds.) *Américas unidas! Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs. (1940-46)* Iberoamericana-Verveurt, Madrid/Frankfurt, 2012. p. 249.

16. "From J. W. Young to Nelson Rockefeller and Dr. Caldwell", 28 October, 1940, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

17. "From Hadley Cantril to Shelley Tracy", 29 May, 1941, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

18. CONVERSE, Jean, *Survey Research in the United States: Roots and Emergence 1890-1960*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987, p.153.

It is the first national survey, which can make any claim of completeness and reliability ever made in a Latin-American country. It describes their newspaper and magazine reading habits, and their domestic and short wave radio listening habits; it also reports their opinions regarding Brazilian-U.S. cooperation¹⁹.

For its survey, Free used a representative sample based on 2,342 interviews with Brazilian of all kinds from urban and rural areas across the country. First, the territory was broken up into six sections deemed fairly homogeneous internally. After that, they assigned to each section its proper proportion of rural and of urban interviews in accordance with the relative amount of Brazil as a whole. Within each section the urban interviewers were divided between populations of different sizes: "large cities" were over 50,000; "small towns", between 5,000 and 15,000. Anything below was "rural". Thereafter, a proper number of interviews were obtained from these people. They were classified into six different income classes and ages in eighteen urban localities and twelve rural areas scattered from Rio Grande de Sul in the South to Pará in the North. According to Free, this sample was "a small mirror" of Brazil's total residents.

To gain sufficient knowledge from listeners to short wave radio, Free added two samples of upper-class urban population. This group, which represented 14% of the country's urban population, was considered "the most influential civilian element in Brazil"²⁰.

The issues of the research covered in the field of the printed word included newspaper and magazine reading. In the case of radio broadcasting, the study was divided into domestic and short wave listening²¹.

5. THE USES OF THE FIRST SURVEY OF COMMUNICATION FOR THE U. S. GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA

In words of Hadley Cantril, who prepared for the State Department the report of the survey made by Free, this accomplishment was "worth more than any number of impressions sent on by observers no matter how competent they may be"²². The Brazilian study stood out as the most compelling evidence

19. "A Survey of Communications in Brazil. Confidential Report. From Hadley Cantril. American Social Surveys, Inc. Princeton, New Jersey". NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 9, Box 135.

20. *Ibíd.*

21. *Ibíd.*

22. "From Hadley Cantril to Shelley Tracy", 29 May, 1941, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 14, Box 138.

of social research utility for the U. S. Government interests in the region. The Department of State, however, did not seem too willing to believe it.

On August 15, 1940, John McClintock, the Chief of Operations of the OIAA, and Laurence Duggan discussed the opinion surveys made by Cantril's men and the next steps to be taken. Duggan confessed that he and other people in the Department of State were at a loss to what to say, as they had not received "sufficient word from the field to give them a basis upon which to make a decision, and there was a division of opinion in the State Department on the subject". The decision was postponed until the matter was checked both with the Ambassadors and with the local Coordinators whom the OIAA proposed to set up²³.

By March 1941, the ASS had sent "observers" to the main cities in Latin America. Some of them, as Harald Corson in Mexico, immediately made surveys of public opinion under Cantril's surreptitious techniques providing very interesting information to the Ambassadors²⁴. On March 3, 1942, however, the Department of State dismantled the ASS²⁵. In many countries the Embassies contracted the observers to help the "Coordination Committees". They kept working on tasks related to communication research, content analysis, mass media uses and gratifications and even espionage²⁶. Public opinion polling was strictly forbidden until some American advertising agencies were used as a front²⁷.

6. THE BEGINNING OF MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA: A BALANCE

In spite of all the obstacles, the link between foreign policy and communication research had been established in Latin America and elsewhere before

23. "From John McClintock to Nelson Rockefeller", 16 August, 1941, NACP-OIAA, ASSEIF # 21, Box 139.

24. For A Thorough Account Of The Surveys Undertaken In Mexico, And Some References To The Other American Republics, See: ORTIZ GARZA José Luis, *Ideas en Tormenta. La opinión pública en México en la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, Ruz, México, 2007, pp. 111-167.

25. NARA, RG 229, Box 139, from Edward E. Robbins to Nelson Rockefeller et al. March 9, 1942

26. Harald J. Corson was immediately hired by the American Embassy in Mexico, Ibid, from Joseph F. McGurk to Secretary of State, circa February 1942.

27. ORTIZ GARZA, José Luis, *The Early* [...] op. cit., p. 148.

the end of World War II. As Sproule concluded: "Washington policy makers understood that research data could facilitate policy development and implementation and, at the same time, enhance public acquiescence"²⁸.

The experiment undertaken by the OIAA in 1941 in Brazil marks a watershed in the history of scientific communication research. As the head of the project, Hadley Cantril can rightly claim credit for being the forerunner of scientific communication research in Latin America. Surveys of public opinion would become customary for the U.S. propaganda and public diplomacy policies during the Cold War and until today²⁹.

APPENDIX

A Survey of Communications in Brazil³⁰

Confidential Report

From Hadley Cantril

American Social Surveys, Inc.

Princeton, New Jersey

Foreword: This survey was conducted by Lloyd A. Free working from the Sao Paulo Office of the J. Walter Thomson Company. Mr Free was sent to Brazil for the specific purpose of doing a survey in a country where, for various reasons, it was anticipated that many unusually difficult technical problems

28. SPROULE, Michael J., *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 207.

29. The legacy of Cantril would be seen in one of his closest colleagues, Lloyd A. Free. Working for the Institute for International Social Research, Free prepared two studies in 1960 and 1962 on how people regarded the situation in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Cfr. MISOVIC, Ján, "Hadley Cantril's Theoretical and Methodological Legacy in Current Public Opinion Research", in HANNES, Hass, JERABEK Hynek and PETERSEN Thomas (eds.) op. cit., p. 95.

30. We have chosen to leave this final report practically as Hadley Cantril himself wrote it, so that other researchers may profit from this information. This reason explains also why we kept the information written in present tense. The report contains 15 well-detailed tables preceded with a summary of its results. For the sake of conciseness we have left out the tables and kept the summaries.

would arise. To Mr Free should go all the credit for constructing the sample, hiring, training, and transporting the interviewers, and writing a preliminary report, which was submitted to this office, and upon which this final report is based.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Newspaper Reading. Roughly half of the population (49.3%) claims to read at least one newspaper regularly, while all but 23.7% read it at least sometimes. Regular readers are concentrated chiefly in urban districts, and among those of higher economic status. The newspaper with the largest national circulation, *Estado de Minas*, finds most of its readers among the very poor people and small town and rural dwellers. *Estado de São Paulo* is read chiefly by well to do and urban people.

Magazine Reading. Just under half the sample (46.7%) claim to read them at least sometimes, and of those 18.0% say they read them regularly. Magazine reading It is almost negligible in rural and lowest economic group; increases rapidly with economic status, until at top 60% regular readers and only 14.5% that never read. *Noite Ilustrada* is the most popular magazine in the country (mentioned by over a fifth of the respondents) seems to appeal especially to the poorer people. *Eu Sei Tudo* appeals to people in moderate circumstances and to those living in medium sized towns.

RADIO

Domestic

Radio Listening. Of sample representing general population, about three-fourths listen to domestic radio at least sometimes, while 38.3% state they listen frequently; concentrated in cities and large towns, and among financially above average. No one in wealthiest group states he never listens to radio; 37.7% of poorest say they never do.

Radio Set Ownership. 47.8% of population say they own radios; 75.3% listen at least sometimes. Many Brazilians, especially those in small towns and among poorer, do not own radio sets, but listen to radio in cafes, friends' homes, etc.

Local Radio: Listening Hours. Some listen all day, but peak is during evening from 6 PM to midnight, with high point from 9 to 10 P.M., Brazil time, two hours later than Eastern War (Standard) Time, U.S.

Program Preference. News ranks second to music in all groups except lowest economic, where it is third, after music and sports.

Audiences to Individual Stations. It is clear that there are about four leading radio stations in Brazil, with Mayrink Vieira (from Rio) well in the lead. PRA8 (from Pernambuco), Nacional and Tupi (both from Rio) follow in popularity.

Short Wave

Radio Listening. Nearly a quarter of the population says they have radios equipped to receive short wave. About one ninth of the population listen regularly, and are distributed chiefly in cities and medium-sized towns; they consist almost entirely of wealthy and middle-class people. Eleven% of national population listens regularly to short wave – brought up to 19.4% by including two special upper income group: listening directly proportioned to economic status.

Reception of Broadcasts. Broadcasts from England, Germany and U. S. seem to be received in Brazil satisfactorily; those from Italy and Spain considerably less so.

Preferred Listening Hours. The favorite hours on shortwave are during the evening, just as happens with domestic listening. Owing to the two-hour difference in time, their peak listening period appears earlier, between 7 and 8 PM, Eastern Standard Time. At that hour 69% of those who listen to short wave are listening in.

England, United States and Germany. These three are by far the most popular countries to listen to, with England far in the lead (61.0% in national totals), followed by U.S. (30.1%) and Germany (22.6%). This order is maintained in cities and towns, but in rural areas Germany takes second place, with United States running third. Roughly the same order is maintained in economic classes, though in the lower middle class Germany slightly surpasses U. S. again.

Frequency of Listening to Different Countries. England, U. S. and Germany in that order are heard most frequently. A small number listen to Italy, and it appears practically no one listens to Spain.

Reasons for listening. Of primary importance among reasons for listening to short wave broadcasts is the desire for news. This holds true no matter what

class or district is considered, and is still true when the listeners are grouped by the country they prefer to listen. Both classical music and dance music are popular in Brazil, both more so in the upper economic classes than in the lower.

The Shortwave News Audience. Nearly half of those who listen to short wave listen regularly to news broadcasts, while over 90% listen at least occasionally. By far the largest number of these listens to (and have confidence in) the BBC news broadcasts (88.3%). Germany ranks a poor second on the list (49.1%), and the U. S. follows closely in third place (45.5%).

Confidence in Shortwave News. British news reports are accepted in Brazil as being far more accurate than those of any other country (56.1%). In fact, over twice as many people mention them as mention those from the United States, the second country on the list (with 27.5%). The third country, Germany, ranks below, but very close to the United States (22.2%). The occupational breakdown gives too small groups to be significant, but its results are shown in number of cases, as being of some interest.

Audience Confidence in U. S. Shortwave News. Only 27.5% of those who listen to short wave broadcasts have confidence in the accuracy of U. S. news broadcasts, as compared to 56.1% who believe the BBC news broadcasts. Again, only 45.5% listen to these news broadcasts, a figure which is nearly doubled by BBC's 88.3% and is exceeded by Germany's 49.1%. What factors may be the cause of this lack of confidence in the United States' newsgathering and news dissemination facilities is not known. However, they seem to have made less of an impression on Brazilians than that made by the major foreign broadcasters.

Audiences to Individual U. S. Broadcasting Companies. NBC's two stations, WRCA and WNBI are far in the lead among U. S. stations broadcasting to Brazil. General Electric stations, notably WGEA, follow in second place. The remaining broadcasting companies divide among them a very small audience.

Reception of Short Wave Broadcast from U. S. Stations. The number of listeners to each station is so small that it is difficult to draw any valid conclusion from the sample here, but it would appear that on the whole reception is satisfactory.

Best Hours for Short Wave Reception. Best period for short wave reception is from 5 to 10 P. M., Eastern Standard Time. These are also given as most popular hours for listening.

Audiences to Different Types of U. S. Shortwave Programs. The most popular type of program on United States short wave is news and news interpretation (82.5%). Following news, music of various sorts is most popular, with dance music in the lead (58.5%).

Brazilian Audience to Programs in English. Broadcasts in English reach a good many upper class city-dwellers, but few even of them refuse to listen to Portuguese broadcasts. Consequently, a broadcaster would be missing a good-sized potential audience unless he staged his program in the native tongue.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD AFFAIRS

throughout the country as a whole, newspapers (73.1%) and conversations with friends (72.8%) rank about equally high as sources of information about world affairs. Following them come local radio (55.4%), newsreels (32.4%) and short wave radio (2.0), in that order.

However, the breakdowns show that there is a good deal of difference between newspapers and conversations. Newspapers are more popular sources of information among the wealthier classes and in the more urban districts; poorer people in more rural districts rely on conversations. The occupational breakdown shows much the same thing, where the professional people, government employees, and businessmen tend to get information from newspapers, whereas farmers, laborers, etc. get their information from conversations.

Finally, those who believe the United States is interested in Brazil exceed those who do not, in their reliance on all the sources of information except conversation: Newspapers: 91%; Local Radio: 74.8%; Conversations: 58.1%; Newsreels: 54.3%; Shortwave 43.9%).

BRAZILIAN OPINION TOWARD UNITED STATES

Are the American People Interested in Brazil? Of those who have an opinion, the great majority believes that Americans are interested in Brazil and Brazilians. Proportionately more urban dwellers and those in the upper economic brackets believe this, while those who believe German news reports to be most accurate, are less inclined to believe that Americans are interested in Brazil than are those who place greater confidence in Britain and U. S. news. There is a very large "Don't know" group throughout, especially in the rural districts, and in the lower economic classes. This suggests that, though few believe the U. S. to be entirely disinterested, there are many who are not willing to agree that the U. S. is really interested.

Is American Interest Sincere? Those who said that Americans are interested in Brazil and Brazilians were asked: "Do you believe that this interest is sin-

cere?" The results on these two questions combined were: It appears that when given the opportunity to qualify their "Yes," quite a few people prefer to do so. Particularly the young, the well to do, and Italians are inclined to question our sincerity, or to qualify it in some way.

It is interesting that the district of Rio Grande do Sul, where most of the Germans are concentrated, gives a very low report on "Yes, sincere". However, this is made up, not in the "No" or "Not sincere" categories, but in the "Don't know"; suggesting perhaps a group which has not yet made up its mind in the face of rival propagandas, or a group which realizes that it may be held suspect for Pan-Germanic views and consequently attempts to conceal them by refusing to comment.

SHOULD BRAZIL COOPERATE WITH THE U. S.?

Although only a little over half of the population favor cooperation, very few oppose it, the large difference being made up from the "Don't know and No answer" group. This holds true, with only minor variations through the breakdowns. The "don't know" group increases, as it usually does in rural districts and among poor classes, but despite that recognized trend the "No opinion" group is large in all groups.

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE A GOOD THING FOR BRAZIL IF THERE WERE A BETTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES?

From National Totals, 53.8% answered "Yes"; 8.4%, "No"; and 37.8%, "Do not Know", or "No Answer". According to economic groups, the answers were "Yes" in 79.7% of cases in class A, ranging down to 40.7% in class F. "Don't know" and "No" answer ranged from 11.6% in A, to 52.9% in F. In occupational groups the "Yes" reply came from 35.1% of laborers, with a tiny answer "No", but with 59.5% in the "Don't know" and "No answer". As individuals rose in economic status, the "Yes" increased up to 63.4% among businessmen, 76.1 among Government employees, and 76.4% of professional men.

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

most important reasons given for not wanting to cooperate with U. S. center around fear that U. S. will dominate the relationship, or take advantage of Brazil. Other reasons derive from a nationalistic isolationism and a distrust of foreigners in general. It is perhaps worth adding that among the "others", "commerce with Germany is more important" and "fear of international Judaism" each score only 0.1 in the national totals plus special sample column.

WHY BRAZILIANS FAVOR COOPERATION WITH THE U. S.?

By all odds the most important reasons given for cooperating with the United States are related to enlightened self-interest. It would be, it is thought, to Brazil's advantage, commercially, industrially, defensively, and financially. Relatively few put the emphasis on ideological grounds, Pan-Americanism, Good Neighbor policy, or spirit of cooperation.

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