

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR
PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
AND
THE WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR
PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

*Conference
Abstracts*

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WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
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1976
CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

EDITOR: Matt Hauck

EDITORIAL

For its 31st Annual Conference AAPOR is pleased to have available its "1976 Conference Abstracts." Through the years varied and significant papers have been presented on behavioral, political, and sociological as well as public and consumer opinion topics. Two years ago, the Conference Chairperson for 1974, John Robinson, initiated the plan of having abstracts available at the Conference. On the shoulders of that year's Editor, Bill Nicholls, fell the task of obtaining, editing, and publishing these abstracts. His conscientious efforts and detailed plans led the way for last year's abstracts, which were excellently prepared by Editor Donny Rothwell. In printed and booklet form the abstracts not only served as a quick reference at the Conference, but also proved to be a valuable source of information after the Conference.

In the past, abstracts of all presentations have been published in the Fall Issue of Public Opinion Quarterly. However, the abstract volume this year is the sole publication of the papers presented at the 1976 conference. This is due to budgetary constraints which prohibit publication in the Fall Issue of Public Opinion Quarterly. The abstracts will not only be available to those attending the conference but can also be obtained by those not at the conference through purchase from AAPOR.

This year, in the mode of innovation, the abstract volume has taken another step forward. Substantial effort was made to obtain abstracts for all presentations. Although not 100% successful, this year's volume does contain a larger percentage of abstracts than ever before.

In addition, this year's abstracts include the address of each speaker so those interested, in either the complete paper or further information on the topic, can write directly to the author.

The time spent in preparing this year's abstract volume has been especially gratifying to this year's Editor. The cooperation of the Council and all speakers has further substantiated the fact that AAPOR is an organization of dedicated and active public opinion researchers.

Matt Hauck, Editor
May 1976

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WHAT IS BEING DONE ABOUT RESPONDENT ACCESS PROBLEMS?

Chairperson: Lester Frankel, Audits and Surveys, Inc.

An overview of plans and actions being taken by various sister organizations to cope with problems that the survey field is facing with regard to access to respondents.

THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION EXAMINES SURVEY
INTERVIEWING PROBLEMS

Barbara Ballar, U.S. Bureau of the Census

A deep concern about the problems in survey interviewing caused the American Statistical Association to take at least two specific actions to gain a better understanding of the underlying reasons for these problems. With a better understanding, the Association hopes to be able to propose helpful recommendations, solutions, or, at the very least, clarify the situation.

The first action that the ASA took was the formation of a committee on privacy and confidentiality. This committee was charged with reviewing the issues that had been raised concerning respondents' rights to privacy and confidentiality and the impact of the Privacy Act on Federal statistical agencies. Some of the areas which the Committee is looking into are the effect of the Privacy Act on response rates to major surveys of the Federal Government, the balancing of freedom of information with the right to privacy, concern about record linkage, and many others.

The second action that the ASA took was to prepare a proposal which was subsequently funded by the National Science Foundation to look into the feasibility of assessing current survey practices and the quality of the data collected. In order for the survey community to develop effective programs to correct any problems in survey research, there must be some way of assessing survey practices, particularly as they affect the quality of the data gathered. Such an assessment would provide guidance on the contributions of survey research as well as the limitations and abuses.

THE MARKETING RESEARCH ASSOCIATION EXAMINES
RESPONDENT RESISTANCE - PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Nancy Flinn, Clairol

The Marketing Research Association presents results of a survey of 100 Field Services. The Field Services were questioned regarding problems of respondent resistance. They were asked to discuss the problems from their perspective - which problems were the most severe and which occurred most frequently. The Field Services were asked their opinions regarding possible action plans for addressing the problem of respondent resistance.

The problems mentioned could be classified into those that are controllable and others that are not controllable by the actions of researchers, i.e.,

Controllable - Introductory remarks to a respondent
Questionnaire design
Quality of Interviewers
Exposure of non-research activities marring
the character of research

Not Controllable - Changing social attitudes and structures
Increased away from home activity
Increased concern for privacy

The Marketing Research Association, the only organization primarily concerned about the issues related to data collection, is actively involved in the problem of respondent resistance. Our action plan includes:

- (1) An on-going commitment to education for all persons involved in data collection.
- (2) Development of a Public Relations effort on a joint basis with other research associations to foster positive attitudes among the public toward research.
- (3) Development of industry approved standards to improve and regulate data collection.

- (4) Direct involvement with other research associations to heighten awareness of research problems that could be affecting our relationship with respondents.

The Marketing Research Association believes a unified action plan for all research associations should be developed to consider ways and means of combating increasing respondent resistance.

THE ROLE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD SURVEY RESEARCH

Frank D. Walker, Walker Research, Inc.

The Joint Committee, organized in February of 1975, is composed of representatives of organizations concerned with the public's image of the marketing research industry. The Committee, which meets once each year, serves as a communication link between the organizations and associations represented. Stated objectives of the group include:

- (1) Coordination and exchange of information related to public attitudes toward survey research;
- (2) Monitors the abuse of survey research practices and attempts to influence violators to discontinue such practices.
- (3) Evaluates and proposes, if appropriate, legislation to protect the ethical practices of the industry.
- (4) Develops programs to educate the public to the activities and ethical practices of the industry.

The Committee has been successful in bringing to the attention of the industry several problems. Workshops and seminars concerning the problems of respondent cooperation have resulted from the activities of the Committee. Actions being accomplished or planned by the Committee include:

- (1) The encouragement for member organizations to establish performance standards.
- (2) The establishment of a national research information center where respondents may obtain information concerning the activities of legitimate organizations and report activities considered fraudulent or unethical.
- (3) The development and airing of public service commercials in cooperation with the Better Business Bureau and the National Ad Council.
- (4) The development and distribution of special materials describing the activities of the industry, i.e., film for civic organizations, portable displays for shopping centers, the publication of booklets describing how the industry serves consumers.

THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF MEDICAL CARE --
THE VIEWS OF PATIENTS AND PRACTITIONERS

Chairperson: Raymond Fink,
Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York

PHYSICIANS' VIEWS: PROJECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

John Colombotos and Corrine Kirchner,
Columbia University School of Public Health

Does the American Medical Association "represent" the medical profession? An answer to this question would distinguish among local, state and national levels of "organized medicine," analyze policy positions on health care issues taken by organized medicine, examine the relationship between policies and leaders' opinions, and explicate the concept of "representation." A related theoretical question would examine the conditions under which Michel's "Iron Law of Oligarchy" applies.

In this paper medical society "leaders," on the "grass-roots" state and local levels, members, and non-members are compared on:

- (1) Their personal and professional characteristics.
- (2) Their attitudes toward and interest in health care issues, and on their feelings of being represented by the AMA ("subjective representation"). The data came from a large 1973 national survey.

Non-members generally differ from members in their background characteristics and attitudes more than members differ from leaders. Some specifics: non-members are less likely than both members and leaders to be mainly in patient care, rather than in research, administration or teaching; if in patient care, they are more likely to be salaried and to earn less. Leaders and members do not differ in their main activity or in their specialty. Non-members are younger than members who, in turn, are younger than leaders, especially on the state level.

Non-members are more "liberal" than members on national health insurance and on other forms of government involvement in health care and in accepting peer reviews and large group practice arrangements, whereas leaders and members do not differ on these issues.

Greatest interest in health care issues is expressed by state leaders, followed by local leaders; members and non-members do not differ in their interest. As for "subjective representation," one-third of state-level leaders feel that the AMA represents their opinion on "most" health care issues, compared with about one-fifth of local-level leaders and members and only one-tenth of non-members.

Implications of these findings for the impact of organized medicine on national health care policies are discussed.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE -- IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONSUMER

Lu Ann Aday, Ronald Andersen and Odin W. Anderson,
University of Chicago

A variety of competing proposals for some form of national health insurance are currently before the Congress. The implicit or expressed goal of most of these proposals is to enhance the access of the U.S. population to high quality medical care at reasonable costs. This paper examines the experience and attitudes of the U.S. population toward the current medical care system in the light of this objective.

The unique advantages of a social survey for exploring these issues are:

- (1) Attitudes can best be elicited by asking respondents themselves.
- (2) Social surveys - unlike clinic record data - enable the non-users, as well as the users of the system, to be studied.

- (3) A profile of a consumers' total experience with the system can only be re-constructed by asking them.

Data from a 1970 national survey of health care utilization and expenditures document that:

- (1) Previous Federal initiatives in health care - Medicare and Medicaid - have substantially reduced the equity differentials in access by income.
- (2) Substantial barriers still exist for those who do not have regular source of medical care.
- (3) The inconvenience of services is more apt to affect levels of consumer satisfaction with care than their actual use of services.
- (4) Attitudes expressed toward proposed methods of re-organizing the system in response to national health insurance suggest some lack of acceptance by consumers.

WAPOR: CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON WORLD PROBLEMS

Chairperson: Bernard Roshco, U.S. Department of State

HOW OTHERS SEE US

Albert H. Cantril, Commission on the Operation of the Senate

This paper reports the results of surveys of general public and elite opinion in eight countries, conducted in late 1974 for the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans by Lloyd A. Free, President of the Institute for International Social Research.

The countries included were: Brazil, Great Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and Mexico. All research was subcontracted to local organizations.

Among the principal findings were:

- (1) The dominant theme in the worries and concerns expressed in all samples had to do with economic matters: inflation, unemployment, energy and business conditions.
- (2) Reference to matters of war and peace were at the lowest point in the two decades of the Institute's work abroad.
- (3) The U.S. and the Soviet Union are perceived as being of relatively equal power in world affairs -- a condition publics and elites tend to welcome.
- (4) A considerable degree of confidence was expressed in the ability of the U.S. to provide wise leadership internationally by all except the Brazilians and French.
- (5) The Soviet Union was not so clearly esteemed due largely to the perceived lack of mutuality of interests between the surveyed countries and the Soviets.

VIEWING THE WORLD FROM THREE CITIES

Robert Heyer, Field Research Corp.
John Robinson, Cleveland State University

In recent years, the United States has experienced unprecedented turmoil in its foreign affairs. Little attention has been focussed on public opinion toward foreign policy and the role that basic values play in the formation of these attitudes. The Department of State, in collaboration with local World Affairs Councils, is conducting a series of "town meetings" on foreign policy in various cities across the U.S. At present writing, three such meetings have been held: in Pittsburgh in February, in Portland, Oregon, in March, and in the San Francisco Bay Area in March. Prior to each of these conferences, a public opinion survey consisting of a cross section of approximately 300 respondents was made by telephone in each metropolitan area.

The findings of these surveys indicate that: there is relatively little "isolationist" sentiment in any city; feeding the world and keeping the peace are highly valued ideals; covert interventions in the internal politics of other countries is not acceptable to a large majority today; there is widespread distrust of the Russians, and most feel detente has worked more to Russia's advantage than to ours; nevertheless, they would advocate businesslike trade with Russia; U.S. military power should not be allowed to fall behind that of Russia; opposing communism is still an important goal to many people; secret spying is all right with a majority of people in all cities; many people impoverished countries. Comparisons among the three cities indicate that Portlanders and Pittsburghers are similar in most of their views, but that San Francisco Bay Area residents are consistently more internationally minded, more willing to trust Russia, less concerned with stopping communism, and less willing to tolerate spying and covert interventionism than are Portlanders and Pittsburghers.

INTENSIVE INTERVIEWING ON FOREIGN POLICY

Clifford W. Kelly and F. Floyd Shoemaker,
Cleveland State University

Two cross-section samples of residents of greater Pittsburgh were interviewed (40 in person and 300 by phone) about their attitudes toward current U.S. foreign policy. The purpose of the study was to illuminate vague public policy perceptions of:

- (1) The U.S. policy of detente with the Soviet Union,
- (2) U.S. relations with the "third world,"
- (3) The values underlying American foreign policy, and
- (4) Objectives of foreign policy.

The attitudes of the 40 persons chosen at random coincided remarkably well with the results from the larger telephone sample. Pittsburghers felt that the U.S. cannot afford to retreat to a policy of isolationism. There was general consensus among respondents that: (a) we cannot trust the Soviet Union; detente invariably yields greater benefits to the Russians (nonetheless, there was strong public support for expanded trade with the USSR), (b) the U.S. pays at least a "fair" price for goods purchased from third world countries, but nevertheless the United States has a commitment to help these countries, more on the basis of relative need than on the basis of self-sufficiency, (c) the U.S. should continue to spy upon, but not directly influence, governments of other countries, and (d) the major goals of American foreign policy should be economic and social development and world peace. The respondents perceived one major problem: "the U.S. has no clearly defined foreign policy objectives." The unique insights into foreign policy attitudes afforded by the in-depth personal interviews, compared to the telephone interviews, are discussed, along with differences between public attitudes and the attitudes of a leadership sample in Pittsburgh.

FOREIGN ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICS AND BUSINESS

Robert S. Frank,
University City Science Center, Philadelphia

This paper examines cross-national differences in attitudes toward politics and business and identifies regularities between subjective political culture and nation-state characteristics. Attitude data are drawn from An Atlas of Affective Meaning, a data bank of semantic differential ratings from quota samples of respondents in twenty-nine language/cultures around the world. The Atlas contains evaluative, potency, and activity ratings for 600+ concepts, a subset of which is examined in the present paper. Nation-state characteristics are obtained from World Handbook II.

Major conclusions are as follows:

- (1) There are regular and interpretable relationships between objective nation-state characteristics and affective attributions to selected Atlas concepts by respondents in the different nation-states.
- (2) There are significant differences between respondents from developed and developing nations in attitudes toward WAR, CONFLICT, PEACE, and other related concepts.
- (3) While there are some widely-shared (cross-culturally) attitudes toward some aspects of business, there are some important developed/developing countries differences between other aspects of business life.

CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN RESPONDENTS AND INTERVIEWERS

Daniel Melnick,
Congressional Research Service,* Library of Congress

The personal interview survey has been widely applied to the collection of data from various cultures. This technique can be viewed as a formalized and recorded conversation which produces data about articulated opinion. The search for equivalence in cross-national surveys has focused on the design of the interview schedule. Yet that schedule is only one of several factors controlling the quality of the information obtained. It must be placed alongside of the sampling techniques used, and the field procedures employed all of which control the cultural interaction between the interviewer and respondent.

This paper will report one attempt to control survey bias in a heirarchical culture (a north Indian rural district). It focuses on:

- (1) The language and question ordering of the survey instrument.
- (2) Observation and control over the field situation.
- (3) Selection, training and use of interviewers.

Drawing on this experience it presents a dilemma we all face when surveying culturally hetrogeneous populations: the design of procedures which are standardized yet truly comparable when applied to different cultures or different segments of the same culture.

* This paper does not present an official opinion of the Library of Congress. The views expressed are those of the author.

CHILDREN AS RESPONDENTS

Chairperson: Barbara Lee,
Office of Social Research, CBS, Inc.

This session deals with methods and concepts involved in conducting surveys with children.

INTERVIEWING CHILDREN ABOUT THE QUALITY OF THEIR LIVES

Nicholas Zill, Foundation for Child Development

Three hundred New York City children of ages 7-10 and their parents were interviewed at home. The purpose of the study was to explore the feasibility and value of child interviews as a source of social indicator data on the development and well-being of children. The children were asked to report their perceptions and feelings about themselves, their families, their schools, and the neighborhoods in which they live. Factual data about the children's daily routines, health, schooling, recreation, and family activities were collected from parents.

The pilot study showed that it is feasible to conduct survey-type interviews with 7-to-10 year olds. Children of this age can deal with a wide range of questions in a survey setting, provided that the interview is kept to about half-an-hour in length, the pace is varied, and the cognitive limitations of the child are not exceeded. Questions asking for reactions to specific situations and activities seem to be more useful with children than the kind of global judgments that are characteristic of adult satisfaction surveys.

Perhaps the most surprising substantive findings to those whose picture of life in New York is one of unrelenting gloom and crisis were the positive attitudes expressed by both children and parents about their lives in the City. At the same time, New York children do learn early to be wary of strangers and fearful of crime victimization.

BRIDGING THE LANGUAGE GAP--TECHNIQUES
FOR INTERVIEWING CHILDREN

June Easerman, Child Research Service, Inc.

In the course of many studies, new techniques for interviewing 4-11 year olds have been developed. Common problems in researching this age group are: getting children to say what they really believe and not what they think will please an adult interviewer; getting non-communicative children to express themselves; phrasing the question in children's language; and understanding the special meanings they give words.

Techniques for use in surveys and focus group interviews will be described and demonstrated. Among these will be:

- (1) Use of common children's games ("musical chairs," "telephone game," "statues," "charades").
- (2) Use of dramatic improvisation.
- (3) Role playing.
- (4) "Draw you idea."
- (5) "Tell a story."
- (6) Picture questionnaires.
- (7) Pictorial rating scales.
- (8) Visual aids.

Methods of structuring questions; the problem of question order; and children's capabilities with regard to rating, ranking, monadic versus comparative evaluation, and assessing time or frequency will be discussed.

THE CHILD'S CONCEPTION OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Val Burris, Queens College, CUNY

In previous studies, Piaget has examined the process of cognitive development with regard to the child's conception of the physical world and logical relations. This research suggests that intellectual development involves changes not only in the content, but also in the basic structures of thought, where the transformation from one structure to the next may be viewed as a progression through qualitatively distinct stages of intelligence.

Applying Piagetian techniques to the study of social concepts, we find evidence of similar structures in the development of the child's conception of social reality. The results of interviews dealing with children's understanding of economic relations and institutions are presented to illustrate this fact.

The implications of these findings for a general theory of cognitive socialization are discussed.

THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE--IMPLICATIONS
FOR SURVEY RESEARCH

Chairperson: Howard E. Freeman,
University of California, Los Angeles

An overview of recent trends in three disciplines-- Sociology, Psychology and Political Sciences. The presentations will cover important new concepts, findings, theoretical developments, research frontiers and controversies. Implications will be developed for the field of survey research.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

George W. Bohrnstedt, Indiana University

This paper reviews three recent developments which may have important implications for survey research. First, sophisticated structural equation and log-linear techniques have been developed which allow for more precise estimation and hypothesis testing than has previously been available. Potential uses for these techniques in survey research are presented. Second, the attacks on survey research by ethnomethodologists and grounded theorists are presented along with the discussion of their implications for survey research. Finally, the problem of increased costs for funding survey research is raised along with a discussion of likely sources for future funding and the implications this has for the kind of survey work done by survey research organizations.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SURVEY RESEARCH

John B. McConahay, Duke University

Psychology as a discipline has relied more upon the laboratory experiment, the classroom questionnaire and the in-depth interview than upon the sample survey as a data gathering technique. This was partially due to matters of economics and availability and partially due to the nature of many psychological (especially social psychological) theories. Those psychologists who have done sample surveys have differed from other social scientists in the types of items they have constructed, the kinds of research questions in the types of items they have constructed, the kinds of research questions they have addressed and in their uses of the data. In many specific instances, however, the psychologist - survey researcher and other social scientist - survey researchers differ very little. Examples of similarities and differences will be given in the context of studies of alienation and of urban violence.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SURVEY RESEARCH

J. Merrill Shanks, University of California, Berkeley

This discussion provides an overview of general design problems in developing survey-based social indicators. The arguments included are primarily based on a survey research center project in the area of political alienation, and focused on the design consequences of emphasizing subjective measures which are motivated by infrequent events or behaviors in the mass public which are quite infrequent or irregularly distributed. Conceptual survey studies of this kind of problem (which is illustrated by the alienation/protest relationships) are characterized by the following empirical difficulties: initial low frequencies of criterion behaviors, the existence of powerful interaction defects in series for combining these interactions and in predictive

models. Examples of these same kinds of empirical and/or design difficulties are reviewed in other areas of social and/or policy research. Recommendations are made which call for renewed emphasis on large scale sample designs based on random digit telephone sampling, on computer-assisted telephone interviewing, and on mailed questionnaire -- as well as more effective utilization of the conventional survey operations which are already in the field on a continuing basis.

WHAT GETS INTO THE NEWS AND WHAT OF IT

Chairperson: Sidney Kraus, Cleveland State University

BEATING AROUND CITY HALL:
TERRITORIAL ASSIGNMENT OF REPORTERS

Gaye Tuchman, Queens College, CUNY

Organizational flexibility is a requisite to news-week, since it is impossible to predict specifically when and where newsworthy events will occur. Yet, to anticipate newsworthy events and provide enough stories to fill a daily paper, news organizations cast a net around established institutions to capture the events they generate and handle them as news stories. This paper examines organizational flexibility at one location enmeshed in the news-net, New York's City Hall. It analyzes three contradictory and simultaneous methods of assigning responsibilities: geographic (by borough), institutional (e.g., City Council) and topical (e.g., fiscal). After examining the ways in which these seemingly stable assignments of responsibility are themselves flexible, the paper turns to the role of professionalism in stabilizing the seemingly contradictory demands upon the resources of news organizations.

PRESS AND PUBLIC AGENDAS OF COMMUNITY ISSUES

Maxwell McCombs, Syracuse University

The concept of an agenda-setting function of the press asserts that through its day-to-day selection of the news and decisions on the play of that news the press influences our perceptions of what are the important issues and topics of the day. Empirical research over the past eight years has documented that indeed the priorities of the press to a considerable degree become the priorities of the public.

One of the intriguing outcomes of this work is an emerging distinction between the public opinion role of newspapers and television. The evidence indicates that newspapers exert a long-term, four to six month cumulative influence on the composition of the public agenda, those issues regarded by the public as the most important. Television plays a short-term, but independent, influence role in the shaping of those agendas.

This differential role of the two media, coupled with other evidence that the media are far more than simple conduits for events and news sources, emphasizes the need for systematic inquiry into the agenda-setting process within news organizations. How is the agenda of each news organization set? Weaving together previous research on mass media gatekeeping and the constraints influencing the selection and flow of news, an outline of a theory of agenda-setting in the newsroom is presented along with some preliminary empirical evidence assessing the accuracy of this perspective.

A PUBLISHER'S VIEW

John Seigenthaler, Publisher, The Tennessean

News management is not the "dirty word" some politicians have sought to make it, but it is a fact of life.

Every day news executives "play God" with the news as they make value judgements about what they will and will not put into print. A few hours before deadline they are buried beneath a mountain of news copy from sources not only in their circulation area but from across the nation and around the world.

Their daily task is impossible: to cram all the news readers need into space which simply is inadequate.

Some news managers rely on some empirical data from opinion polls and readership surveys, but day-to-day they all are guided into subjective decisions by experience, instinct, judgement and dialogue among themselves. The result is a product, improved over past years, but imperfect.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Chairperson: Albert E. Gollin,
Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc.

In many ways, contemporary conceptions of public opinion were forged in ideological and political conflicts during the era of the Enlightenment. Appropriately, therefore, in this Bicentennial year, this session deals with some aspects of the history of public opinion reflected in the struggle for American independence.

REFLECTIONS OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS
ON THE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION

Gillian Lindt, Columbia University

The political and socio-economic developments which culminated in the American and French Revolutions also gave rise to a new concept -- public opinion. The relation of the attitudes of the masses to the exercise of authority -- a central issue in public opinion theory -- was a matter of both pragmatic and normative concern to the founding fathers of this nation. The writings of Jefferson, Hamilton and Adams while lacking in systematic and extended analyses of public opinion, nevertheless contain numerous references to its importance as a new and critical political factor in American life. As self-conscious shapers of the political institutions of a new nation each in his own way sought to understand and come to terms with this newly emergent phenomenon.

In this paper are brought together an array of empirical observations, political insights and normative reflections of three statesmen -- Jefferson, Hamilton and Adams -- as they bear upon the following questions:

- (1) Whose opinions constitute the public?
- (2) What is the nature of the opinion voiced by the public?
- (3) What is the role of public opinion in the newly evolving socio-political context of American government?
- (4) What should be the role of public opinion in political affairs?

FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: THE ROLE OF BEAUMARCHAIS

Janette Gatty, City College, CUNY

It is common knowledge that French public opinion strongly supported American Independence and that brave young Marquis de La Fayette participated in the American War for Freedom. But how many in this country are giving due credit to Beaumarchais who played a major, decisive part, in the thirteen Colonies' struggle against England? When they applaud The Barber of Seville and the pranks of Figaro, how many in the audience are aware that Beaumarchais the playwright, spokesman of human dignity, was also champion of the American Insurgents as early as 1775? That he shaped in their favor the course of public opinion, "Queen of the world"? That he personally, at first, subsidized the help sent to the rebels, that he engineered the French alliance which materialized in 1778, and led to the Treaty of Paris by which Great Britain acknowledged the Independence of the United States?

While in London for business during the Spring of 1775, he heard and diligently recorded the first rumblings of American discontent. He was quick to grasp their implications when no one took them seriously, and showed remarkable foresight long before anybody in France about this "quarrel between America and England which (was) going to divide the world and change the system of Europe..."

French public opinion was warmly sympathetic to the cause of American Liberty. However, it was not to be expected that the French Government, intent in maintaining peace with England, would encourage the rebels in any way. Against these odds, Beaumarchais directed the public's enthusiasm toward practical and efficient support of the Colonies, while he urged and finally convinced Louis XVI of the necessity to give assistance to the American forces. At the same time, he was supplying the Insurgents with muskets that turned retreat into victory at Saratoga, in October 1777.

MAINSTREAM OPINIONS IN THE ERA OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Ron Hoffman, University of Maryland

Public Opinion during the course of the American Revolution generally fell into three broad categories. Approximately 25 to 30% of the population were fervent patriots and a similar number were equally tenacious in their opposition. The remaining group, and by far the most numerous, was that element known contemporaneously as the "disaffected" (persons who were on neither side). By focusing on the rarely studied disaffected population some of the most prevalent attitudes of Revolutionary America's wartime citizenry can be assessed.

WHAT GETS RESEARCH USED

Chairperson: William D. Wells,
Needham, Harper, and Steers Advertising, Inc.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH BY DECISION-MAKERS

Carol H. Weiss and Laurie J. Bauman, Columbia University

In the course of interviews with decision-makers and social science researchers in the field of mental health, the 254 respondents were asked about barriers to effective use of research. This was part of an NIMH-funded study of the usability of social research for policy-making. Responses to 27 agree-disagree items showed high consensus about the potential usefulness of social science research for government decision-making. More than three-quarters of the federal, state, and local decision-makers, as well as researchers, believed social research should be used.

They also tended to agree on a range of factors that limited research use, with each group acknowledging its own limitations in the process. Decision-makers as well as researchers pointed to constraints stemming from political

processes, decision-maker beliefs, and agency philosophies. Researchers, as well as decision-makers, blamed the academic reward system, university disciplinary organization, and the lack of institutional recognition as impediments to responsive research.

There were differences between decision-makers and researchers as well, and these are discussed. One background variable that accounts for part of the variance is political radicalism/conservatism.

THE UTILIZATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS BY
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

George E. Brosseau, Jr., National Science Foundation

The Federal Government probably receives a poor return on much of its investment in social policy research. Among the several reasons for this are: poor research quality, inadequate problem definition, and frequent changes in funding program priorities. The barriers separating the researcher and the policy maker include: different perspectives and objectives, policy makers often see the researcher as irrelevant and abstract while researchers see policymakers as obtuse and unresponsive; failure to distinguish between viable and inviable policy options in setting research objectives; failure to ascertain when research and technology can be of use. Much social policy research is most useful at the policy planning stage but there is a tendency to want fast answers to immediate problems. The result often is disaffection on both sides.

The Research Applied to National Needs (RANN) program of the National Science Foundation has had a number of projects that have experienced good utilization. Some of the elements enhancing the utilization of research results are:

- (1) Strong involvement of the user in project design, including much interaction during proposal development and review (note that the RFP mechanism precludes this).

- (2) Adequate review of the proposal prior to funding and, especially, review of the products of the research. The review should include expertise outside the funding agency staff and that of other federal agencies.
- (3) Flexible management of the project. This requires good rapport and trust between researcher and project monitor.
- (4) Vigorous dissemination, including adequate identification of users and their needs. This often means that multiple products must be produced, tailored to specific user groups. The use of professional writers as "translators" is a potentially useful tool.

REDUCING WASTE IN MARKET RESEARCH

John S. Coulson, Leo Burnett U.S.A.

Market and opinion research is a fairly small industry, not over \$800 million in size. However, somewhat over half of this is wasted - probably about a half billion dollars and that is a lot of waste.

Most of the waste is not controllable. It is in the nature of the research process and in the nature of the institutions which use the research. Research is always on safari to unexplored territory and like the early explorers cannot always be expected to find anything useful. More importantly, the institutions which authorize the research are continually undergoing change. In one study of the usefulness of research, the author found that in one-fourth of cases, conditions changed to such an extent that the information provided became out-of-date or irrelevant to the decision once the information had been obtained.

However, there are many cases of waste that are clearly controllable. Mostly, these lie outside the research process but in the communications lacunae that surround the research organization. Within the research world there are many other sources of waste. Most of these are not in the research procedure but in the researcher - perhaps in his very nature. Ten of these are reported in some detail.

AMERICAN POLITICS IN TRANSITION
(Plenary Session--Panel Discussion)

Chairperson: Harold Mendolsohn, University of Denver

THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON THE
CHARACTER OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Harold Mendelsohn, University of Denver

HOW POLLS ARE CHANGING THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Irving Crespi, Mathematica Policy Research

THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE--ATTITUDES IN TRANSITION

Hal Bruno, Chief Political Correspondent, Newsweek

EXPLORING NEW COMMUNICATIONS PATHWAYS
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENCY AND THE PUBLIC

William Baroody, Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison, The White House

AAPOR/WAPOR: DO WE REALLY KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT
THE LONG-RANGE IMPACT OF TELEVISION
(Panel Discussion)

Chairperson: John P. Robinson, Cleveland State University

Panelists: George Gerbner, University of Pennsylvania
(Changing Our Patterns of Cultural Orientation)

Dennis Davis, Cleveland State University
(Changing Our Patterns of Political Behavior)

George Comstock, Rand Corporation
(Changing Our Patterns of Socialization of Children)

Herb Krugman, General Electric Corporation
(Changing Our Patterns of Consumer Behavior)

John P. Robinson, Cleveland State University
(Changing Our Patterns of Everyday Behavior)

Of all the technological innovations of the 20th century, time-use studies indicate none has affected everyday life as much as television. The rapid and almost complete diffusion of television has given social science researchers little opportunity to study its impact cumulatively and systematically. While there has been a great deal of research done on the impact of television over the last 25 years, most of it has been directed at television's short-run impact of a particular program or program series.

In this session, a panel of experts reflects on the dimensions of television's long-range impact on society. Particular attention is given to television's role in changing patterns. Each panelist will present a few straightforward propositions about the long-range impact of television from his reading of available literature and experiences. These propositions will, no doubt, stimulate discussion from the floor. Authors of "classic" studies of the television's impact have been invited for further comment and rebuttal.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY IN
CHURCH, STATE AND SOCIETY

Chairperson: Fred H. Goldner, Queens College, CUNY

LEGITIMATION OF REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY:
THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

Bogdan Denitch, Queens College, CUNY

This is a case study of the legitimation of a revolutionary elite in power to examine some of the general conditions under which the process of legitimation may be optimized. The stress is on both the means of achieving, consolidating, and legitimating power and on the interaction of these processes and social policy, the economy and society.

The Yugoslav case is examined because it poses a number of problems common to revolutionary elites in other societies. This elite had to cope with a traditional urban/rural split and carry out a policy of rapid industrialization and mobilization within a country characterized by vastly different levels of development and a variety of mutually antagonistic political cultures. To achieve political stability and legitimacy it had to cope with the problem of multi-nationalism and do so within a socialist political program which had to stress its uniqueness vis a vis the challenge of Soviet hostility. In responding to these challenges the Yugoslav communists developed a unique political culture based on the institutions of self-management creating a viable, dynamic model applicable to both developed and developing societies.

DELEGITIMATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Fred H. Goldner, Queens College, CUNY
R. Richard Ritti, Pennsylvania State University
Thomas P. Ference, Columbia University

One of the more important aspects of the crisis in the Roman Catholic Church is the struggle that has been taking place over the processes of authority. The struggle is important because the unity, universality, longevity, theological structure, and--hence--the characterizing uniqueness of the Church are attributable to its processes of authority.

The major challenge to the Church's authority structure has come from a direct attempt by many priests to gain a greater voice in diocesan policy and by their subsequent attempt to delegitimize parts of the present authority structure. Survey data indicate sharp changes in beliefs of priests about this authority.

As in any reform movement there are claims and counterclaims about the degree to which the various sides represent the public (in this case all the priests of the diocese). The tactics that are employed follow from these claims as well as from the suppositions by the leaders about the actions this public will or will not support.

GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT COPY RESEARCH

Chairperson: Valentine Appel,
W. R. Simmons and Associates

A group of copy research professionals representing the advertiser, the agency and the research supplier will discuss their experiences and beliefs regarding copy evaluation studies in both the United States and abroad.

FACING UP TO COPY RESEARCH OR ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD

Michael J. Naples, Lever Brothers Company

Using his definition of copy research as "That pretesting process directed at choosing the optimum advertisement or commercial executions and campaigns," the speaker will discuss the role of copy research and its application in the corporate environment.

His conclusion is that for most companies copy research is a struggle, a perpetual tug of war between what they would like to do and that which they feel can realistically be done. Most have, over the years, tried many approaches and the fortunate ones have settled on a system which they feel meets their needs and which they can apply consistently and learn from over time.

The speaker reviews his beliefs in what can and cannot be accomplished with the present state of copy research development.

COPY RESEARCH ABROAD

Edward J. Gray, Philip Morris International

Normal marketing research procedure requires statement of the problem then selection of the proper methodology to answer the questions posed. Outside of the United States non-research factors often have a dramatic influence and dictate methodological procedures. Three of the more important factors are: economic, cultural and philosophical. The economic problems force suppliers to rely on small-group interviewing and interviewing in high-traffic areas quite often with only rough guides for quota samples and frequently convenience samples. Cultural habit patterns often require that consumers not offend the interviewer or advertiser by saying anything derogatory about an ad. Within some cultures respondents over react to any stimulus while in others there

is little or no verbalized reaction. Philosophically some researchers approach problems from a scientific point of view while the majority seem to use some combination of clinical psychology, art and mysticism. To circumvent the myriad of problems on a multi-national basis, a development program of a standard methodology was begun 8 years ago. The methodology has evolved and been modified to solve new problems as they arose. The requirements of the system are that it be simple to administer, quick and easy to interpret, have applicability in any market and be relatively inexpensive. The system relies heavily on the use of non-verbal simple scaling methods using visual techniques such as the smiling-face scale and card-sorting procedures. Using data collected from markets outside of the United States, the reliability and versatility of the methodology is discussed. Data are also presented to demonstrate cultural differences even when such a simple method is employed.

WHAT CONSUMERS CAN TELL US ABOUT ADVERTISING--
OR THERE IS MORE TO LIFE THAN INTENT TO BUY

Deborah K. Johnson,
Needham, Harper & Steers Advertising, Inc.

From the advertiser's prospective, the main function of copy testing is predicting sales, usually by some objective score of memorability or intent to buy. From the agency's standpoint, however, copy testing can also serve as a tool for learning -- how best to communicate (to people) a strategy in a clear and believable manner. These two points of view are not in conflict. Instead, both can and should work together to produce the most effective advertising possible.

THE FALL OF RICHARD M. NIXON:
WHAT STUDIES REVEAL ABOUT THE MOVEMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION
(A Panel Discussion)

Chairperson: Kurt Lang, SUNY, Stony Brook

Panelists: Leo Bogart, Newspaper Advertising Bureau, Inc.

Albert E. Gollin, Bureau of Social Science
Research, Inc.

Gladys Engal Lang, SUNY, Stony Brook

William Spinrad, Adelphi University

What studies reveal about the movement of public opinion, its role in the political process and the state of public opinion research.

MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH--SOME ILLUSTRATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Chairperson: Don Cahalan, University of California, Berkeley

THE CULTURAL SPECIFICITY OF DEPRESSIVE MOODS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Beatrice R. Treiman, University of California, Berkeley

An exploratory methodological study was undertaken to ascertain the extent to which scale items utilized by the Center for Epidemiologic Studies (NIMH) to measure depressive mood in a general population are applicable to members of middle class urban ethnic groups who were screened for the comprehension of English.

The various items were administered to black, chinese, spanish-surname and white couples. The respondents were queried as to their understanding of sentences, phrases and words embodied in the precoded items they had answered. Members of both black and white groups showed more familiarity with meanings and informal usages. The findings suggest that items that are colloquial or idiomatic usages present problems of comprehension to some persons with a cultural background that is clearly different from that of the white middle class in the United States.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN
STUDYING ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE

Monica D. Blumenthal, University of Michigan

A number of methodological studies have been carried out to clarify understanding of a measure of attitudes toward the use of violence as a means of furthering social change. A first step in clarifying the measure was to investigate its criterion validity. A number of groups who might have been expected to have either high or low scores on this measure were shown to score in the expected direction in relation to comparison groups. Secondly, conceptual clarification was undertaken. The logical differences between the belief that violence is necessary to produce social change, approving of such violence, being willing to undertake it oneself, and actually having engaged in it are explored. Lastly, the effect of a moderating variable, the wish to avoid difficulty or remain neutral, on the relationship between the belief that violence is necessary to produce social change and personal willingness to engage in disruptive protest is explored. The effects of the variable on the indicated relationship are found to be profound.

MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH: IMPRESSIONS ON CURRENT TRENDS

Mitchell B. Balter, National Institute of Mental Health

Recent trends in mental health and services will be examined in relation to:

- (1) some of the more popular societal and disciplinary orientations toward health and illness;
- (2) theoretical notions about factors influencing the extent and nature of mental disorder; and
- (3) future projections about the incidence and prevalence of mental disorders.

Upcoming health information needs will be discussed as will the probably character and design of future studies in the realm of treatment assessment and epidemiology. Attention will be directed to the roles of the various scientific specialties in what promises to be an expanded and truly interdisciplinary approach to treatment evaluation. Specific examples will be developed for the purposes of discussion.

WAPOR: METHODOLOGICAL FREEWAYS AND CUL-DE-SACS

Chairperson: Bernard Portis,
University of Western Ontario

CHANGING SEXUAL STEREOTYPES:

A REVIEW OF THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S YEAR IN CANADA

John Gonder, Decision Marketing Research Ltd., Toronto

Nineteen seventy-five was International Women's Year. The Canadian Government implemented a number of programs designed to persuade Canadians that women and men should be given equal opportunities. This paper reports on the results of the survey research conducted to assist in the evaluation of the impact of these programs on Canadian's attitudes. In particular, it focuses upon the use of panels and of segmentation techniques.

The paper concludes that the attitude of Canadians did shift during The Year. The impact of The Year on a number of attitudinally defined segments of the population is examined. In addition to presenting positive results of The Year, the paper also discusses the segments which reacted negatively to The Year and isolates those attitudes which proved most resistant to change.

A TEST OF AMBIVALENCE FOR EXPLAINING
SHIFTS IN VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Gerhard Schmidtchen,
Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach, West Germany

One's attitude to political subjects, to parties, is measured with multi-component scales. This provides information on the affective shades of political perception, and on tendencies of arousal of affect when perceiving political events. The combined plotting of positive and negative affects permits the measuring of ambivalence. One's views on parties is tested at various levels of specificity. Scales of diffused orientation, of stereotyped and of specific orientation, are compared. The validity of this test of ambivalence for political change and engagement, and of the time required for someone to make up his mind about the party he is going to vote for, is empirically documented. The results hinge on election research conducted in West Germany in 1975 and 1976.

REFINING INSTRUMENTS TO MEASURE CHANGE
IN THE CLIMATE OF PUBLIC OPINION

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann,
Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach, West Germany

Using the concept of a climate of opinion which inescapably envelopes the individual, we have developed forms of survey questions to measure cognitive and behavioral effects of public opinion. Respondents are questioned not only about their own attitudes but also about their perception of the attitudes prevalent or increasing in their social environment. This kind of question has been found to show up changes in the climate of opinion earlier and more strongly than questions concerning the opinions of respondents themselves. Since empirical science must always aim at sensitizing and sharpening its instruments and procedures of measurement so as to proceed from rough to more and more detailed results, these more discerning forms of asking questions may lead to an advance in public opinion research.

In addition, we now ask questions about the readiness of individuals to stand up for their opinions in public settings. This second kind of question was developed according to the "spiral of silence" hypothesis which states: readiness to stand up for one's opinion increases or decreases depending on the perception of the general climate of opinion as supportive or antagonistic, while this behavioral tendency again influences which opinions are perceived as "in" our "out" in the social environment

THE USE OF SURVEYS IN JURY SELECTION

Chairperson: Richard Christie, Columbia University

Questions regarding the collaboration of social scientists and lawyers in jury selection will be discussed.

THE CASES OF JOAN LITTLE AND THE MENOMINEE INDIANS

Courtney Mullen, North Carolina State University

ETHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE
USE OF SURVEYS IN JURY SELECTION

Gordon Bermant, Battelle Research Institute

UNDERSTANDING THE DECISION PROCESS

Chairperson: Emanuel H. Demby, MPI Marketing Research, Inc.
(Note: He is also giving a paper, and is listed below.)

HOW THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS REALLY WORKS

Emanuel H. Demby, MPI Marketing Research, Inc.

Something about the candidate's last speech changed a voter's mind. . .In 95% of the cases, an expensive camera was not bought until the prospect had spoken to a "mentor," someone who seemed to know more about cameras than the future

purchaser. . .many men enjoy buying flowers, but the average florist is so structured that the store itself gets in the way of a purchase. . .Only a third of the population is 'in the running' for the purchase of many new products. This paper is a review of research projects where the decision-making process worked in a very special way, indicating that some of the models for decision-making processes are not universally applicable.

AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO BANDWAGON RESEARCH

Robert Navazio, University of North Carolina

Little empirical evidence documents whether exposure to opinion polls has any influence on opinion. Four studies suggest that exposure to early Eastern election returns has no influence on voting intentions of late-night California voters. But since opinions are strongly fixed on election day, bandwagon effects should be expected to be too weak to serve as subjects of study. An experimental approach will be used to study, under controlled conditions, the impact that exposure to polls has on opinion.

A random sample of adults living in Eden, N.C. was drawn and split into an experimental and control group. Both groups were asked in March of 1974 to respond to a mail questionnaire soliciting their opinions of Richard Nixon. The one difference between the experimental and control questionnaires was that preceding each question on the experimental questionnaire, recent national poll results on that question were reported.

Bandwagon psychology would predict that the experimental and control groups would differ in mean opinion if either a bandwagon or an underdog effect occurred. Neither expectation was realized. The two groups did not significantly differ in either opinion mean or variance.

Consistent differences did occur, however, between occupational counterparts within the two groups. The experimental questionnaire acted as a negative referent to blue collar workers, and as a positive referent to white collar workers. Blue collar workers in the experimental group were more favorable to Mr. Nixon than were blue collar workers in the control group, and they responded to their questionnaires at a significantly lower rate. White-collar workers in the experimental group were more critical of Mr. Nixon than were white collar workers in the control group, and they responded to their questionnaires at a significantly higher rate.

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH SURVEY NON-RESPONDENTS

Frederick Wiseman, Northeastern University

Marianne Schafer, Field Facts

Many researchers have noted that the non-response problem in sample surveys has intensified because increasing numbers of people are reluctant to be interviewed. To date, most of the attention in the literature has focused on what to do with the problem after it has occurred rather than determining its causes and possible cures. In order to obtain a better understanding of non-response, focus group sessions were conducted with recent non-respondents in personal interview and telephone surveys. Selected non-respondents from this population were first sent a letter on University letterhead explaining the general nature of the research study and why their cooperation was important. The letter was followed by a telephone call giving additional specifics and informing individuals that they would receive \$25 for participating in a 90 minute group discussion on surveys. Approximately 40% of the "non-respondents" agreed to take part.

The group sessions yielded a number of insights indicating the refusal problem is a function of many interacting factors, including an individual's (1) attitudes toward surveys in general, (2) past experiences as a respondent, (3) degree of self-confidence that meaningful replies can be given to survey questions and, (4) degree of fear and distrust of the interviewer. Additional factors are discussed along with suggested directions for future research designed to develop research strategies that will reduce refusals in sample surveys.

PURCHASES OF DURABLE GOODS AND CONFIGURATIONS OF BUYING
INTENTIONS: THE USE OF "LOGIT CONDITIONAL"

Robert Ferber, University of Illinois, Urbana
Ellen Liebman, University of California, Berkeley
Franco Nicosia, University of California, Berkeley

The main purpose of this paper is to describe the use of "logit conditional" analysis and to compare it with multiple regression analysis. The data used in the paper come from a panel of young and newly married couples, recruited immediately after their marriages in summer 1968 and reinterviewed every six months since then. Among the many observations collected so far, the panel has recorded in each wave purchases of thirteen durable goods and the subjects' likelihood of buying these thirteen durables.

The possible dynamic relationships among these purchases and likelihoods over nine waves are explored via multiple regression and logit conditional procedures. The results of the two procedures under different assumptions are presented, followed by a discussion of management considerations, psychological theory, statistical theory, and estimation methods.

NEW TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYZING CONTINGENCY TABLES:
A DIDACTIC REVIEW

Chairperson: James M. Davis, Dartmouth College

In the last few years "hierarchical models," "log linear effects" and "d-systems" have been advertised as revolutionary approaches to good old cross-tabulations. The presentation will review the major concepts and strategies involved so the listener can read the technical literature with more confidence.

Prerequisite: Total ignorance of these techniques.

LARGE SCALE SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS

Chairperson: David N. Kershaw,
Mathematica Policy Research

DESIGN ISSUES IN SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS: CONTRASTS BETWEEN
SUPPORTED WORK AND OTHER MAJOR EXPERIMENTS

Robinson G. Hollister, Swarthmore College

Fitting the testing of public policy into the traditional experimental paradigm creates numerous problems. The nature of the design problems vary quite substantially depending on the policy issue addressed. The initial income maintenance experiments came closest to the traditional experimental design in that they had random assignment to treatment and control groups (and among treatment groups) and careful direct control of treatment parameters by the experiment-research group. The two major experiments which have moved furthest from the traditional designs are the new Supported Work Experiment and the Housing Allowance Supply experiment. The Supported Work experiment does maintain random assignment to treatment and control groups but has considerably looser

control over the dimensions of the treatment - only a few dimensions of the work program are made uniform or systematic across the 12 city-sites. The Housing Supply Experiment is a saturation experiment in 2 city-sites, and, therefore, has no control group and no random assignment. The reasons for these departures from the traditional designs will be discussed and the strengths and weaknesses that result will be assessed.

OPERATIONAL ISSUES IN SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS:

THE NEW JERSEY AND RURAL NEGATIVE INCOME TAX EXPERIMENTS

D. Lee Bawden, The Urban Institute

The New Jersey and Rural Negative Income Tax Experiments, begun in 1968 and 1969, respectively, were the first large-scale social experiments of their kind. Besides the issues of behavioral response of the working poor to income-conditioned cash payments, which the experiments were designed to address, there was also a peripheral interest in:

- (1) whether social experiments involving human beings could be conducted in a scientific, unbiased manner.
- (2) whether a simplified, streamlined "welfare" program based on self-reporting of income by recipients was operationally feasible.

The answers to both of these questions turned out to be positive. Moreover, as welfare reform moved into the legislative arena in the form of specific proposals (FAP and H.R.1), the operational issues began to take on added importance. The experiments had a major influence on the administrative and operational provisions of the proposed legislation and on the planning by HEW for implementing a universal income maintenance program. Principal areas of interest were in accuracy of reporting by recipients, frequency of reporting, treatment of assets, the length of time income should be averaged for payment purposes, and treatment of the self-employed.

SURVEY RESEARCH ISSUES IN SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS:
THE DENVER AND SEATTLE INCOME MAINTENANCE AND THE
HEALTH INSURANCE EXPERIMENTS

Cheri T. Marshall, Mathematica Policy Research

The Seattle/Denver Income Maintenance Experiments (SIME/DIME) and the Health Insurance Study (HIS) provide a context in which to examine some classical issues in survey methodology. SIME and DIME are sister experiments which are designed to test the effects of a range of income maintenance plans and job counselling and training on labor force supply and family stability. The Health Insurance Experiment is designed to determine the elasticity of medical services demand in response to pricing variations.

Both experiments rely in measurement over a long panel lifetime of behaviors, characteristics and attributes which have been extremely difficult to obtain with precision. Problems arising from longer recall periods had to be weighed against possible distortions arising from learning effects induced by more frequent measurements. Both studies have devised internal experimental data collection efforts to measure the magnitude and nature of these problems.

Othe problems on the projects were potential experimental effects induced by the measurements, validating very detailed and innovative behavioral measures, and coping with various field problems such as high mobility rates, sample attrition, long term full time interviewing staffs and special confidentiality procedures.

A CRITIQUE: THE LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS

Peter Rossi, University of Massachusetts

While there is a good deal to recommend the continued use of social experiments to provide answers to policy issues, the cost, complexity and length of experiments suggests very careful attention to when they are appropriate, who should carry them out, and how they should be conducted. Four major points are raised:

- (1) The specific circumstances under which an experiment is appropriate should be established.
- (2) An institution should be developed for the funding and/or conduct of experiments which has a longer term outlook than government agencies currently performing that function. We need to look ahead so that experiments can provide answers when they are needed rather than having programs pass them by.
- (3) The treatments should be clearly defined and clearly delivered in order to increase the probability of solid results.
- (4) More attention should be paid by experimenters to questions of external validity. Past efforts have been too site-specific and generalization has been too difficult.

PRE-ELECTION POLLS-THEIR GOOD AND BAD
EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS
(Panel Discussion)

Chairperson: Burns W. Roper, The Roper Organization, Inc.

Panelists: Normal Miller, Washington Bureau Chief and Political Writer, The Wall Street Journal

Burns W. Roper, The Roper Organization, Inc.

George Gallup, Jr., American Institute of Public Opinion

This session will assess the social impact and political effects--good and bad--of both pre-primary and pre-election polls on the political process. Normal Miller will assess political polls as a trained political observer who has seen how politicians have used polls for their political ends, and how journalists (hence the reading public) have been both guided and misguided by poll results. He will approach the subject as a consumer and observer of polls. Burns Roper will approach the subject as a professional pollster and former election pollster. George Gallup, Jr., as the leading published practicing election pollster, will be given the right of reply and will relate the values he sees to political polls based on his organization's long history in the field, as well as the concerns he has with the abuses of election polls.

The panel will be concerned with the social implications of election polls, rather than election poll methodology or current candidate standings.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION GROUPS

SOCIAL INDICATORS AND SOCIAL INDICATOR MODELS

Kurt Back, Duke University
Marcus Felson, University of Illinois

HANDLING PROBLEMS IN A TELEVISION IMPACT STUDY:
PANEL EFFECT, SELF-SELECTION, AND FINDING THE RARE VIEWER

Morris Cohen, Response Analysis Corporation, Inc.
James Swinehart, Children's Television Workshop

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