

**The American  
Association  
for Public  
Opinion  
Research**

**32 nd Annual  
Conference  
May 19 - 22,  
1977**

**Conference  
Program  
and  
Abstracts**



**The Inn at Buck Hill Falls, Pa.**

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32<sup>ND</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
 AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

The Inn at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania  
 May 19 through May 22, 1977

THURSDAY  
 EVENING

MAY 19

4:30-9:00  
 Main Lobby

REGISTRATION

4:00-6:00  
 West Lounge A

MEETING OF OLD AND NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

9:30  
 Upper Lobby

DUTCH TREAT PARTY

FRIDAY  
 MORNING

MAY 20

8:00-4:00  
 Main Lobby

REGISTRATION

8:00-9:30  
 Main Dining Room

BREAKFAST

FRIDAY  
 MORNING

MAY 20

9:30-11:00  
 West Lounge A

ACUTE AND CHRONIC ISSUES IN HEALTH SURVEYS

Chair: LEO REEDER, University of California, Los Angeles

Panel: KENT MARQUIS, Rand Corporation  
 CHARLES CANNELL, University of Michigan  
 EMIO BERKANOVIC, University of California,  
 Los Angeles  
 LUANN ADAY, University of Chicago  
 RON ANDERSEN, University of Chicago

FRIDAY  
MORNING

MAY 20

9:30-11:00  
West Lounge B

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH AND SOCIAL  
RESPONSIBILITY

Chair: MERVIN D. FIELD, The Field Institute

DANIEL MELNICK, Congressional Research Service -  
Library of Congress

*The Responsible Use of Survey Data for Policy  
Decisions*

ALFRED E. GOLDMAN, National Analysts, Inc.

*The Social Responsibility of the Survey Researcher:  
Priority of Professionalism or Profit*

CHARLES R. KNERR and JAMES D. CARROLL, University of  
Texas, Arlington, and Syracuse University

*Researchers and the Courts: Recent Developments*

9:30-11:00  
East Room

SOCIALIZATION EFFECTS OF THE MASS MEDIA

Chair: HAROLD MENDELSON, University of Denver

RON MILAVSKY, NBC

*The Effects of Exposure to Television Violence on  
Aggressive Behavior of Boys*

CHARLES ATKIN, Michigan State University

WALTER GANTZ, State University of New York, Buffalo  
*Political Socializing Effect of the Media*

11:15-12:30  
East Room

SHORT PAPERS ON RESEARCH RESULTS

Chair: THOMAS SEMON, BMD Consultants, New York

GERALD W. HOPPLE, University of Maryland

*Measuring Protest Attitudes in a Situational Context*

W. RUSSELL NEUMAN, Yale University

*Political Sophistication and Public Opinion*

HOWARD SCHUMAN and STANLEY PRESSER, University of  
Michigan

*Public Opinion and Legislative Action on Gun  
Registration*

LAWRENCE G. ULIN, Management Information Associates

*Opinion Research in Action: The Larkspur Experience*

FRIDAY  
MORNING

MAY 20

- 11:15-12:30 DISCUSSION GROUPS to be continued informally over  
lunch
- 11:15-12:30 ETHICAL PROBLEMS  
Seminar Room  
Chair: MICHAEL RAPPEPORT, RL Associates
- 11:15-12:30 EFFECTS OF THE 1976 DEBATES, PART I: NETWORK BIAS,  
West Lounge A POLITICAL ATTRIBUTION OR CANDIDATE PERFORMANCE?  
Chair: GEORGE F. BISHOP, University of Cincinnati  
LLOYD R. SLOAN, University of Notre Dame  
FREDERICK STEEPER, Market Opinion Research  
SAMUEL LONG, Yale University
- 11:15-12:30 THE MULTIPLE USES OF ONE DATA SET: THE 1976 CLEVELAND  
Terrace 1 AREA SURVEY  
Chair: SAUL D. FELDMAN, Case Western Reserve University
- 11:15-12:30 EVALUATION OF SURVEY MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS: THE TRADI-  
Terrace 2 TIONAL APPROACH VS. THE AUTOMATED SURVEY CONTROL SYSTEM  
Chair: CHARLES F. POWERS, Research Triangle Institute  
JAMES R. BATTS, Research Triangle Institute
- 11:15-12:30 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ADVERTISING RESEARCH  
Library  
Chair: WILLIAM D. WELLS, Needham, Harper & Steers  
Advertising, Inc.
- 11:15-12:30 LONGITUDINAL COMMUNITY STUDIES OF OPINION FORMATION  
Fountain Room  
Chair: PHILLIP J. TICHENOR, University of Minnesota  
PAUL YARBOROUGH, Iowa State University  
JANET ALEXANDER, Stanford University

FRIDAY  
AFTERNOON

MAY 20

12:30-1:30  
Main Dining Room

LUNCH





FRIDAY  
EVENING

MAY 20

6:30-8:00  
Main Dining Room

DINNER

8:30-10:30  
Amber Ballroom

PLENARY SESSION

WHAT COUNTED IN THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Chair: WARREN MITOFSKY, CBS News, New York

DONALD E. STOKES, Princeton Univeristy

PETER D. HART, Peter D. Hart Research Associates

WILLIAM BICKER, University of California, Berkeley



SATURDAY  
MORNING

MAY 21

8:00-9:30

Fountain Room

GENERAL MEETINGS OF LOCAL CHAPTERS

Chair: BILL NICHOLS

8:00-9:30

Library

POQ EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING

9:30-11:00

West Lounge A

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR INSTITUTIONS

Chair: ALLAN BARTON, Bureau of Applied Social  
Research, New York

EVERETT C. LADD, JR., University of Connecticut  
*The Matter of Public Confidence: Inadequate Data  
and Untested Theories*

JAMES LINDHEIM, Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.  
*The Individual and Institutions: The Shifting  
Rules of the Game*

WILLIAM WATTS and LLOYD FREEMAN, Potomac Associates  
*Trust and Confidence in Our Institutions*

Discussants: ARTHUR MILLER, University of Michigan  
BOGDAN DENITCH, CUNY and Columbia  
University

9:30-11:00

East Room

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME

Chair: ALBERT BIDERMAN, Bureau of Social Science  
Research

ROBERT M. FIGLIO, University of Pennsylvania  
*The National Survey of Crime Severity*

JAMES GAROFALO, Criminal Justice Research Center  
*Victimization and Public Attitudes toward Crime  
in Major Cities*

FRED DuBOW and TERRY DAUMER, Northwestern University  
*"Fear of Crime" in the Polls: What They Do and  
Do Not Tell Us*

Discussants: MORRIS ROSENBERG, University of Maryland  
College Park  
JEAN MARIE MAYAS, Lawrence Johnson &  
Associates, Washington, D.C.

SATURDAY  
MORNING

MAY 21

9:30-11:00  
West Lounge B

SURVEYS OF AND ABOUT CHILDREN

Chair: MIKE DENNEY, MIT Center for Policy Alternatives

NICHOLAS ZILL, Foundation for Child Development

*How American Children See Themselves and How Their  
Parents See Them*

KENNETH D. BAILEY, University of Arkansas

*Development of Political Orientations in Children*

GREG MARTIRE, Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.

*Parents and Children: Sex Role Attitudes and Views  
on the Role of Women*

Discussant: JUNE ESSERMAN, Child Research Service, Inc.

11:15-12:30  
East Room

SHORT PAPERS ON RESEARCH METHODS

Chair: SUZANNE PETERS, Westat

VINCENT BREGGIO, Decima Research

*Practical Aspects of Constructing A Comparison Group*

HANK BECKER and CHERYL ALEXANDER, Johns Hopkins  
University

*Experimental Designs for the Use of Vignettes in  
Survey Research*

GIDEON VIGDERHOUS, Bell of Canada, Montreal

*Response-Time Relationship in Mail Surveys*

JOEL ROSE, State University of New York, Buffalo

*A Method of Projecting Final Dispositions of Field  
Assignments*

EMANUEL H. DEMBY, MPI Marketing Research

*Putting More Art in the Science of Research*

11:15-12:30

DISCUSSION GROUPS to be continued informally over  
lunch

11:15-12:30  
Seminar Room

INFORMED CONSENT, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND PRIVACY

Chair: ELEANOR SINGER, Columbia University

KURT W. BACK, Duke University

11:15-12:30  
West Lounge A

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES AND PUBLIC OPINION

Chair: SIDNEY KRAUS, Cleveland State University

STEVEN CHAFEE, University of Wisconsin



SATURDAY  
MORNING

MAY 21

11:15-12:30  
Terrace 1

THE TRANSMISSION OF PUBLIC OPINION INTO PUBLIC POLICY

Chair: MARY BETH MERRIN, Georgia State University

HUGH L. LeBLANC, George Washington University

NORMAN R. LUTTBEG, State University of New York,  
Stony Brook

JAMES STIMSON, State University of New York, Buffalo

11:15-12:30  
Library

DRUG RESEARCH AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH: SHARED  
METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Chair: ANN F. BRUNSWICK, Columbia University

LINDA ROGGENBURG, Columbia University

11:15-12:30  
Terrace 2

CATASTROPHE THEORY: NEW MODELS FOR PUBLIC OPINION  
CHANGE

Chair: JACK E. ORWANT, The American University

11:15-12:30  
Fountain Room

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE USES AND EFFECTS OF  
TELEVISION NEWS

Chair: WALTER GANTZ, State University of New York,  
Buffalo

SATURDAY  
AFTERNOON

MAY 21

12:30-1:30  
Main Dining Room

LUNCH

2:00-3:30  
West Lounge A

WORKSHOP ON THE PRESENTATION OF SURVEY  
RESEARCH DATA

Directed by RONALD ANDERSON, University of Minnesota

SATURDAY  
AFTERNOON

MAY 21

2:00-3:30  
East Room

SOCIAL INDICATORS RESEARCH

Chair: MARCUS FELSON, University of Illinois at  
Urbana-Champaign

JOHN P. ROBINSON, Cleveland State University  
*How Americans Spend Time: 1965-1975*

JACK ELINSON, Columbia University  
*Insensitive Health Indicators*

ROBERT NATHAN MAYER, University of California,  
Berkeley  
*Social Indicators and Consumption*

JAMES A. DAVIS, National Opinion Research Center  
and Dartmouth College  
*Attitudinal Change in the General Social Survey,  
1972-1976*

MIKE CROTTY, Bureau of Social Science Research, has  
prepared graphic materials for this session.

3:45-5:15  
East Room

BUSINESS MEETING

SATURDAY  
EVENING

MAY 21

7:00-8:00  
Upper Lobby

DUTCH TREAT COCKTAILS

8:00  
Main Dining Room

BANQUET

Leader of the Ceremonial Dance: HOPE KLAPPER, NYU

Presidential Address: IRVING CRESPI, *Mathematica  
Attitude Measurement, Theory, and Prediction*

Presentation of AAPOR STUDENT AWARD

Presentation of AAPOR AWARD

10:30  
Upper Lobby

DUTCH TREAT PARTY



SUNDAY  
MORNING

MAY 22

9:00-10:30  
West Lounge A

METHODOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES IN TELEPHONE  
INTERVIEWING

Chair: JOHN COLOMBOTOS, Columbia University

ROBERT M. GROVES, University of Michigan  
*A Comparison of National Telephone and Personal  
Interview Surveys: Response and Nonresponse  
Differences*

JUTTA PHILLIPS and SEYMOUR SUDMAN, University of  
Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
*What Makes a Good Telephone Interviewer?*

JOHN L. CURRY, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.  
*Bell Ringing -- Survey Sampling and the Telephone  
Companies*

Discussant: PAUL SHEATSLEY, National Opinion Research  
Center

9:00-10:30  
East Room

CANDIDATE IMAGES IN THE 1976 ELECTION

Chair: ARTHUR MILLER, University of Michigan

ANDREW J. MORRISON and FREDERICK T. STEEPER, Market  
Opinion Research, and SUSAN C. GREENDALE, University  
of Michigan  
*The First Presidential Debate: The Voters Win*

DONALD KINDER, WILLIAM N. DENNEY, RANDOLPH G. WAGNER,  
Yale University  
*Media Impact on Candidate Image: A Fair Test*

ARTHUR H. MILLER and MICHAEL MACKUEN, University of  
Michigan  
*Who Saw What and Why: Media Effects in the 1976  
Election*

SUNDAY  
MORNING

MAY 22

10:45-12:15  
West Lounge A

NEWSPAPERS IN THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT: THE  
MANIPULATORS AND THE MANIPULATED

Chair: PHILIP MEYER, Knight Ridder Newspapers

DAVID PALETZ, Duke University  
*Freedom from Responsibility*

DAVID PHILLIPS, University of California, San Diego  
*Motor Vehicle Fatalities and the Mass Media: A  
Generalization of the Werther Effect*

DON HARRIS, Temple University  
*Structuring Newswork: An Analysis of Ninety  
Daily Newspapers in the United States*

MAXWELL McCOMBS, Syracuse University, and DAVID WEAVER,  
Indiana University  
*Voters and the Mass Media*

Discussants: BARRY SUSSMAN, Washington Post  
JAE-WON LEE, Cleveland State University

10:45-12:15  
East Room

AUTHOR MEETS THE CRITICS --  
THE SHIRLEY A. STAR MEMORIAL SESSION

Chair: JACK ELINSON, Columbia University

TORRE DALENIUS, Swedish Council for the Social Sciences  
*Personal Integrity and the Need for Data in the  
Social Sciences*

Discussants: NAOMI ROTHWELL, U.S. Bureau of the Census  
JOHN A. CLAUSEN, University of California  
Berkeley  
IRA H. CISIN, George Washington University



## 1977 AAPOR STUDENT AWARD COMPETITION WINNERS

The best of current papers being done by students at universities in the field of survey research.

### WINNER: HELEN S. DINERMAN PRIZE

FOSTER, TWILA; GOLDSTEIN, MICHAEL; MARTIN, TRUDY; AND ROGERS, J. MARK, University of California, Berkeley

#### *SYSTEM RESPONSIVENESS: A LINK TO ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION*

*This paper examines the relationship between public dissatisfaction with the responsiveness of government institutions and turnout in presidential elections. Previous research using a variety of measures of political alienation fails to show consistent connection between disaffection and apathy. This paper employs a new measure of support/disaffection, the Perceived Responsiveness Index, from questions included in the 1972 CPS National Election Study. The results show a significant relationship between turnout and positive perceptions of governmental responsiveness which persists after the imposition of multiple controls for social background and personal factors. The results also show that beliefs about the particular electoral choice specified the relationship between disaffection and apathy. These findings are interpreted in terms of Anthony Downs' model of rational voter behavior.*

### HONORABLE MENTIONS

HOLZ, JOSEPHINE, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*Watergate and Mass Communications: A Case Study in Public Agenda Setting*

McCULLOUGH, B. CLAIRE, University of Maryland

*The Relative Effects of Variables Using Panel Data: A Review of Techniques*

O'NEIL, MICHAEL J., Northwestern University

*Threats to External Validity in Survey Research: Measuring the Sampling Bias due to Nonresponse*





## THE RESPONSIBLE USE OF SURVEY DATA FOR POLICY DECISIONS

Daniel Melnick  
Congressional Research Service-Library of Congress

The expanding use of survey results for policy decisions raises several important issues regarding the kind of information needed to assess the appropriateness and worth of the data. Can the needs of policy makers be met with less precise information or is greater accuracy required? In this presentation I will contend that policy makers require more information about the quality of survey results than other users. Typically, their decisions have broader implications and effect than those of business, academic or other public users. This places a greater burden upon survey researchers whose work is used in the public forum.

From the perspective of a survey researcher who watches polls and surveys for the Congress, I will review several important areas where greater information is required, including:

1. funding of surveys
2. kinds of questions which have been asked
3. errors due to sampling
4. field procedures used
5. non-response
6. the analytical methods used

A greater focus on these aspects of survey results will lead to more rather than less support for professional surveys. It will build confidence in the social science profession. As users place a greater reliance on statistical decision rules their demands for quality data will increase. Our ability to withstand reality testing of results will also increase.

### THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SURVEY RESEARCHER: PRIORITY OF PROFESSIONALISM OR PROFIT

Alfred E. Goldman  
National Analysts

Exploration of this issue requires examination of the different roles played by survey research practitioners.

- The Technician implements the research objectives and design of his client as a vehicle of data collection and processing
- The Analyst interprets the meaning of the data in the context of the research problem
- The Consultant translates the analysis into strategic plans intended to achieve the client's marketing/program/political objectives

The responsibility to society increases as the survey researcher's role becomes more consultant and less technician, in that the consultant is an active advocate and functions with fewer constraints than the technician.

Survey researchers in all three roles, but especially the consultant, have the responsibility:

- To the consumer/constituent, not to contribute skills or resources in performance of assignments that may ultimately lead to injury to the consumer
- To the client, utilizing research skills with integrity
- To respondents, to respect their anonymity, privacy, and safety

#### RESEARCHERS AND THE COURTS: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Charles R. Knerr and James D. Carroll  
University of Texas, Arlington, and Syracuse University

A number of American researchers have been subpoenaed in recent years and ordered to breach confidences established with research subjects. In several of these incidents, the researchers obeyed the court order, and thus violated a vow to subjects. In other incidents the researchers claimed a "privilege" -- a legal right not to disclose confidential communications. The courts upheld some of these claims. However, in other incidents the arguments were rejected; at least five researchers have been held in contempt; at least three researchers have been imprisoned for refusal to comply with a subpoena.

The issues surrounding the confidentiality of researcher-subject communications have also been reviewed by legislatures and by administrative agencies. Federal and state statutes have been enacted protecting researchers from complying with court orders. These statutes are limited in coverage. Certain forms of research are protected -- drug, mental health, and criminal research. In other statutes, the "privileges" are administratively conferred upon specific types of researchers.

The authors review the known subpoena cases and the statutory and other protection which has been extended to researchers. A conclusion is reached that researcher-subject communications are now protected in some situations. The issue of whether further protection should be extended is also explored.

## THE EFFECTS OF EXPOSURE TO TELEVISION VIOLENCE ON AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF BOYS

Ron Milavsky  
NBC

This paper begins the reporting of results of NBC's three-year longitudinal panel study of the effects of exposure to violent television on elementary school boys' aggressive behavior. The study's design is described: location, data gathering time intervals, data collection methods, sampling, and attrition. Then the two central measures are introduced and their validity and reliability discussed. Cross-sectional correlations between the two are presented, posing the causal issues of direction and genuineness of effect.

We next discuss alternative models for the causal analysis of longitudinal data, and select a linear path model as most germane to the causal issue posed in the study. Model assumptions are discussed.

Finally, basic causal model data are presented. The paper concludes with an investigation of how attribution and model assumptions concerning curvilinearity, simple and complex measurement error affect the raw results.

Future papers will investigate the role of other variables in the causal process and will investigate television exposure in more detail. Subsequent reports are also planned on a sample of girls and a sample of teenage boys.

### POLITICAL SOCIALIZING EFFECT OF THE MEDIA

Charles Atkin, Michigan State University  
Walter Ganta, State University of New York, Buffalo

While early political socialization research focused narrowly on the family and school as major agents transmitting political orientations to children, recent studies demonstrate considerable learning from mass media. First, the investigations show unexpectedly high rates of exposure to political content such as newscasts, campaign ads, and newspaper articles. Self-report surveys asking young people to rank their primary sources of political information consistently indicate the pre-eminent role of the media, particularly between media exposure and political knowledge in several investigations. The affective and behavioral impact is less well documented.

Two survey investigations by the authors provide new evidence on this subject. A study of 700 elementary school children found a modest association between TV news viewing (network evening newscasts and Saturday morning mini-news segments) and political knowledge (identification of leaders, countries, and issues in the news) for older children. News exposure was mildly related to political interest and interpersonal discussion with parents and peers. A 1976 election survey of elementary student responses to televised political advertising found moderate to strong relationships between viewing these messages and both liking for the advertised candidates and knowledge about these men. Thus, campaign advertising directed at the adult electorate plays a significant role in socializing children to the political environment.



## MEASURING PROTEST ATTITUDES IN A SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

Gerald W. Hopple  
University of Maryland

The Protest Situational Attitude Scale (PSAS) is a semantic differential instrument which is similar to several recent measures in the domains of prejudice and sexism. The PSAS consists of two forms. Form A is the neutral or general form and Form B is a more specific or extreme version. Half of the members of a group respond to one form and half to the other form. Within groups, t tests can be employed to determine situational context effects. Between groups, analysis of variance can be used to estimate group and form effects.

The PSAS was administered to high school teachers, labor union members, and university students in 1974. The scale was also administered to university students in 1976. For all groups, statistically significant form differences emerged for a majority of the 33 protest scales. Generally, subjects responded favorably toward the situations in Form A and negatively toward the coercive or extreme situations in Form B. A comparison of the two university student groups indicates that protest attitudes did not change significantly between 1974 and 1976.

## POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

W. Russell Neuman  
Yale University

One would think that the opinions of those who are politically more sophisticated and knowledgeable would be more stable over time and perhaps more meaningfully organized into identifiable belief systems. Surprisingly, it turns out not to be the case.

Since these findings were contrary to expectations and the established wisdom in the literature, the analysis was rerun on seven American political attitude studies (1948-1972) to recheck the results. Different indicators of political knowledge and different political attitudes were tapped in each case. The initial results, however, were consistently confirmed.

It is true that the more sophisticated are more likely to express an opinion in the first place. But among those expressing opinions (and they are numerous at all levels on the knowledge continuum) the patterns of opinion stability and constraint appear to be the same.

Further analysis attempted to unravel this apparent anomaly. It seems there are different sources of attitude constraint and stability among the high-and-low sophistication segments of the electorate. The less sophisticated organize their belief systems around more concrete (and often non-political) objects or events in their environment. Thus among racial issues, the less sophisticated may organize their beliefs around a generally positive or negative opinion of blacks. The more sophisticated, in contrast, organize their beliefs around questions of federal involvement in racial issues rather than only a generalized opinion of a minority group. Also elements of response set and acquiescence may contribute to consistent belief patterns among the less sophisticated.



## PUBLIC OPINION AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION ON GUN REGISTRATION

Howard Schuman and Stanley Presser  
University of Michigan

The discrepancy between public support for gun registration as measured in national surveys and legislative inaction on the same issue leads to questions about the adequacy of traditional poll measures of public opinion. Hypotheses about three kinds of shortcomings are tested: (1) gun registration sentiment tends to vary appreciably with question wording, and therefore is less crystalized than survey data suggest; (2) anti-gun registration opinions are held with greater intensity than are pro-gun registration opinions, and therefore have different consequences for political action; (3) opposition to gun registration is located particularly among those who are most likely to participate in the political process, and thus has a disproportionate impact on legislators. Although there is some evidence in support of the first two hypotheses, it does not appear sufficient to explain the discrepancy. However, the study produces a valuable finding about the use of intensity indicators in opinion measurement, particularly the importance of designing such indicators for maximum sensitivity to non-linear relations.

## OPINION RESEARCH IN ACTION: THE LARKSPUR EXPERIENCE

Lawrence G. Ulin  
Management Information Associates

A survey conducted by the city of Larkspur, California, to measure opinions regarding publicly funded housing for senior citizens is discussed as a possible methodological prototype for situations where (1) a highly controversial issue exists; (2) local officials are in a position of having to act on it without much knowledge of how the public views the issue; and (3) there is no tradition of making funds available for surveys of local public opinion.

A method was developed for obtaining reasonably valid public opinion measurements at low cost by using volunteer workers, setting up their tasks in such a way that their lack of either professional training or objectivity would be unlikely to affect the results. Self-administered questionnaires were used, with followups that produced a return of over 80%.

A simultaneous survey among public officials showed that they did not have a good understanding of public opinion regarding the issue prior to the survey. Subsequent actions by the city council were in accord with public opinion as indicated by the survey.

Possible ways of stimulating the conduct of such surveys are suggested.

THE WORKING WOMAN -- AN OVERVIEW OF CHANGES  
DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Paula J. Schneider  
U.S. Bureau of the Census

At the turn of the century the size of the labor force was about 27.6 million -- of this number, only about 5 million, or 18 percent, were women. By 1976 the U.S. labor force had grown to nearly 97 million, and women accounted for about 40 percent of the total work force. The number of working women more than tripled during the first half of the century, and has more than doubled since 1950. These dramatic increases in the female labor force have been related to a variety of other developments. This paper provides a background summary of labor force growth and related developments in marriage and family relationships, fertility, education, occupational and industrial composition, and earnings.

NEWS FROM THE COMPOSING ROOM: PRINTERS' RESPONSE TO AUTOMATION

Nathalie Friedman  
Columbia University

In 1974 an eleven-year collective bargaining agreement was ratified by Local 6 of the International Typographical Union and the publishers of New York City's three major newspapers. This agreement gave the workers pay increases, job security, and dollar incentives to early retirement in exchange for management's right to automate the composing room and to determine job assignments within the shop.

In 1976 interviews were conducted with 408 printers, a 25 percent sample of the men covered by this agreement, to learn their response to the automation of their craft and to other provisions of what has been described as a landmark agreement between labor and management. The average age of these printers is 56. After completing a six-year apprenticeship, they have spent their entire working lives as journeymen, a designation which makes them members of a skilled and prestigious craft.

The printers' response to automation is conditioned somewhat by age, by occupational classification (e.g., operator, proof-reader), and by the number of years they intend to work before retiring. The crucial variable, however, is experience with the automated equipment. Although some who have yet to use the new machinery anticipate they will like work once the changeover is completed, it is those who have actually been using it who are most likely to be positive.

The data suggest, then, that when extrinsic conditions of work, such as job security, wages, and benefits have been guaranteed at a fairly high level, even older skilled craftsmen may adapt to the automation of their jobs without a reduction in intrinsic job satisfaction.

WORK ATTITUDES AND WORK EXPERIENCE: A SUMMARY  
OF FINDINGS FROM THE NLS

Paul J. Andrisani  
Temple University

The purpose of the study has been to explore the role of work-related attitudes, particularly job satisfaction, in the dynamics of labor market experience by way of data from the National Longitudinal Surveys (NLS). Having begun in 1966, the NLS is a 10-year longitudinal study of the work experience of 4 age-sex cohorts of the population, each of which consists of roughly 5,000 respondents. The samples were drawn and personal interviews conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research under separate contracts with the U.S. Department of Labor.

Essentially, the study examines whether individual differences in a number of work-related attitudes are systematically related to differences in subsequent labor market experience after controlling for a wide range of dimensions of skills, abilities, and demographic characteristics that are known to be related to labor market experience. In addition, the study also examines the respondents' attitudes toward the variety of aspects of work ascertained in the NLS and whether there are any apparent trends. More specifically, the study examines the actual reasons that workers offer at the beginning and end of the period for both their satisfaction and dissatisfaction with work.



## TECHNOLOGY, CONSUMPTION, AND THE FAMILY

Franco Nicosia and Robert Mayer  
University of California, Berkeley

One purpose of this paper is to share results of a recent review of the literature to find out what is known about the interface between consumers and technologies. The paucity of findings suggests several speculations.

The second purpose is to discuss two of those speculations, and preliminary findings from a survey bearing on them. The first question is the extent to which the family can deal with the ever-increasing complexity of the technologies embedded in household goods; the second concerns the ways in which consumers deal with malfunctions and breakdowns.

We shall argue that understanding the consumer-technology interfaces will yield constructive implications for policy-making by the private and public sectors.

## EMERGING BUYING STYLES

Melvin Prince  
The J. B. Williams Co., Inc.

Buying styles are defined as general orientations to buying decisions over a wide spectrum of product categories. Changes into the 1980's are forecast in persuasibility, cautiousness, and brand loyalty. Reasons for changes in buying styles are advanced. These include changes in the acceptance of selected positions, government/consumer releases, outlet, loyalty, etc. Consequences of these drifts for consumer perception and behavior are discussed -- i.e., the size of the evoked set, receptivity of communications, and the like.

All of this motivates a glimpse of market structure in the 1980's -- what will happen in such areas as life cycles, new product entries, and advertising strategies.

## LIFE STYLES AND BUYING BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH

Henry Senft  
Henry Senft Research Associates

Youthful consumers are an important segment of the market -- and a growing one. There are some indications that their new life styles lead to some types of buying behavior which is quite different from that of their parents. But there are other equally compelling indications that in some ways their buying behavior is remarkably similar to that of their parents.

This paper will examine both the quantitative and qualitative trends that may shape the emerging life style and buying behavior of both blue collar and white collar youth in the 1980's.



## WHAT COUNTED IN THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Warren J. Mitofsky  
CBS News

Speakers: Donald E. Stokes, Princeton University  
Peter D. Hart, Peter D. Hart Research Associates  
William Bicker, University of California at Berkeley

In the 1976 presidential campaign, both major parties replaced back room politics with meaningful primaries from the opening round in New Hampshire to the end of the marathon 15 weeks later in California, Ohio and New Jersey. Both parties wanted to shed their albatrosses -- Watergate for the Republicans, and the disastrous 1972 election for the Democrats. A one-term southern Governor, virtually unknown a year before the election, captured his party's nomination and the presidency, while his rival, the incumbent President, barely managed to get his party's nomination.

The speakers will present different views about these and other events. Attention will be given to providing a perspective for the myth and reality related to the events of this election, and for a comparison with other presidential elections. There will be discussion about what was learned from the polls about the candidates and the issues, and the role the polls played in the media coverage of the nominating campaign.



THE MATTER OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE:  
INADEQUATE DATA AND UNTESTED THEORIES

Everett C. Ladd, Jr.  
University of Connecticut

At least eight distinct depictions and explanations -- not all mutually exclusive, to be sure -- have been advanced as to public confidence, or the lack thereof, in the primary institutions and processes of American society. Serious examination of them has been held back by a number of factors.

1. The various interpretations have often been implicitly rather than explicitly stated, thus discouraging systematic assessment.
2. There has been extraordinary terminological imprecision. When one says the populace "lacks confidence" in X, this may mean that it is prepared to withdraw basic allegiance or simply that it is somewhat unhappy over some performance.
3. Much of the survey data collection in the area appears to have proceeded without guidance from any theoretical interpretation and there has been an absence of projects designed to test competing interpretations. As a result, some questions have been asked repeatedly in survey investigation without any chance of advancing understanding, while other questions of fundamental importance have not been pursued.
4. The various data which are available have not been systematically employed to test in a preliminary fashion the competing interpretations. As a result, the considerable effort which survey research has made to explore "public confidence" has yielded virtually no firm conclusions that could not as easily be advanced in the complete absence of survey data.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONS: THE SHIFTING RULES OF THE GAME

James B. Lindheim  
Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.

There are several different types of "confidence" that individuals can have in any institution: ideological confidence that the institution has a legitimate role to play; functional confidence that the institution is doing its job; and moral confidence that the institution is doing its job in an "ethical" fashion. Survey evidence suggests that the confidence problems faced by almost all American institutions fit into the latter two categories and not the former.

The emergence of these two types of confidence problems reflects, in fact, a change in the target of American notions of morality and responsibility. Clear evidence exists that growing numbers of Americans are shedding all kinds of moral strictures with regard to their own behavior and becoming increasingly tolerant of widely different life styles around them. But at the same time that people have tended to reduce moral expectations with regard to individual behavior, they have tended to raise these expectations with regard to institutional behavior. Similarly, as they have reduced their standards with regard to the individual's responsibility toward family, work, community, country, etc., they have raised their standards regarding institutional responsibility towards individuals.



What appears to have occurred is a change in the rules of the game, with institutions now subjected to new standards of conduct, particularly with regard to (1) honesty and openness; (2) fairness and equity; and (3) institutional responsibility towards individuals and towards the "public interest." In a sociological sense our polling results reveal the result of classic cases of institutional lag -- institutions not yet responsive to a major shift in the institutional environment.

#### TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR INSTITUTIONS

William Watts and Lloyd A. Free  
Potomac Associates

As part of Potomac Associates' continuing assessment of the public mood, periodically we have asked a national cross-section of Americans a series of questions designed to test levels of trust and confidence in various components of the American system. Our eighteen questions in 1976 covered local and state government, the three branches of the federal government (executive, legislative, and judicial), federal handling of domestic and international problems, politicians, government officials generally, the FBI, the CIA, military leadership, business and industry, labor unions, the mass media, young people, the American people, and the American system as a whole.

On a scale of 100, only two groups fell below the midpoint score of 50 in 1976, and only one of those -- labor unions -- by a significant amount (5 points).

There have been five significant decreases in trust and confidence since 1972 (labor unions, the federal government in handling both domestic and international problems, the federal legislature, and the federal executive), and only one significant increase (the federal executive, recovering in 1976 from a low point in 1974 during the Watergate investigation, albeit only halfway back to the 1972 level).

The public ratings in our surveys since 1972 have been, in most areas tested, markedly stable. Neither in 1974 nor in 1976 did we find any kind of across-the-board deterioration. And trust in the American system remains high, suggesting confidence on the part of the public that the performance of the federal government may be changed, if a change is desirable, by the democratic process.



## THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF CRIME SEVERITY

Robert M. Figlio  
University of Pennsylvania

In July of 1977 a 30,000 household national survey of the relative perceived severities of various crimes will be undertaken by the Bureau of the Census as part of the National Crime Survey. Findings from a national pretest of this survey (N-2700) are presented here to determine: (a) if a scale of perceived severities can be generated from population data gathered in the field by census interviewers, and (b) the national sentiment regarding crime severities.

Using the psychophysical scaling methods of S. S. Stevens, which were applied in the research of T. Sellin and M. Wolfgang in The Measurement of Delinquency, it was determined that the relative perceived severities of various thefts may be fitted by a power function having an exponent of .244. In addition, linear correlations in the range of .98 and slopes of 1.1 to 1.2 among subsets of the scale were produced as were three independent sample estimates approximating .244 for the exponent. The crime of intentional homicide was rated as 31 times more serious than a theft of one dollar, a finding similar to that found in previous research.

VICTIMIZATION AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES  
TOWARD CRIME IN MAJOR CITIES

James Garofalo  
Criminal Justice Research Center

The extent to which risk of and experience with criminal victimization are related to the fear of crime is investigated using attitude and victimization data collected in 13 American cities during 1975 by the Bureau of the Census.

The study concludes that variations in the fear of crime cannot be attributed to actual experiences with victimization or to objective risks of being victimized. Evidence is presented which inferentially supports the views that fear of crime is associated with particular social roles and that the officially communicated conception of crime has more influence on levels of fear than do actual changes in the nature and extent of crime.

## "FEAR OF CRIME" IN THE POLLS: WHAT THEY DO AND DO NOT TELL US

Fred DuBow and Terry Daumer  
Northwestern University

Over the past ten years, public opinion polls and surveys have often asked questions about respondents' "fear of crime." To a substantial degree, a core set of questions has been repeated in many of these interviews. This paper reviews the trend in these findings and then considers two important limits to the utility of these responses for understanding of perceptions and behavioral reactions to crime. A secondary analysis of survey data on the fear of crime reveals four dimensions of fear that are analytically separable. Most polls tap one or, at most, two of these. Further analysis of behavioral response data finds little association with responses to fear question. The latter finding suggests that caution must be exercised in inferring behavioral activities from fear question.



## HOW AMERICAN CHILDREN SEE THEMSELVES AND HOW THEIR PARENTS SEE THEM

Nicholas Zill

Foundation for Child Development

Children of ages 7-11 were asked to report their perceptions and feelings about themselves in a nationwide interview survey of more than 2,200 children in 1,700 households, conducted by Temple University's Institute for Survey Research during September-December of 1976. A parent (usually the mother) was also interviewed in each household.

Both children and parents were asked to give assessments of the child's health, how well the child is doing in school, and how well the child gets along with parents, siblings, and other children. The children were asked how often they feel bored, lonely, worry about things, get scared, and feel angry, and whether specific situations made them feel worried, ashamed, afraid, and angry. Questions on the child's emotional well-being were also asked of parents.

The qualities parents value in their children were assessed by asking the parents to name the child's "best or strongest points" and what the parent would like to change about the child. Children were also asked what they like best and what they would change about themselves.

This report examines the internal consistency of children's reports about themselves and presents developmental trends in the appraisal of self by age and sex. Children's responses are compared to those of their parents on parallel questions and to appraisals by the interviewers of the child's physical appearance, apparent intelligence, truthfulness in responding to the questions, and behavior during the interview.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS IN CHILDREN:  
A "TELESCOPED" LONGITUDINAL APPROACHKenneth D. Bailey  
University of Arkansas

The initial thrust of this study is the presentation of a research design within which continuity and change in childhood political orientations can be described, and where possible, explained. Our general hypothesis is that the formation of childhood political orientations is effected by variations in and the magnitude of political events (environment). This hypothesis (and others) is tested by the implementation of a semi-experimental design whereby the same children are interviewed over a specified period of time (March 1973-March 1976), i.e., longitudinally. In addition, grade-across-time (GAT) samples (third, sixth, and ninth grades at different points in time) are presented as possible controls for the impact of rapidly changing sociopolitical environments as opposed to the mere acquisition of knowledge due to physiological maturation, i.e., increased mental capacities.

Our initial findings lead us to conclude that there is considerable evidence of sequential development of political attitudes toward political authority and political institutions. Combined with our GAT controls, the evidence indicates that Watergate, at a minimum, increased the saliency of political authority and institutions for children and adolescents. Although we found less positive attitudes, we did not find widespread disaffection among our children but support for the regime, for following the rules of the game.



PARENTS AND CHILDREN: SEX ROLE ATTITUDES  
AND VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Greg Martire  
Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.

Based on a national sample of 1,230 interviews with parents (both fathers and mothers) and 469 interviews with children between the ages of 6 and 12, the present analysis focuses on the views of parents and their children about sex roles in general and the role of women in particular. It explores not only the attitudes of children and parents independently but also the relationship of parental attitudes and values to the attitudes and values of their children.

Parents are divided into liberal and conservative groups in terms of their sex role orientation with the liberals emphasizing sex role equality while the conservatives emphasize the differences between raising boys and girls. Men, Southerners, Blacks and lower income parents are found to be rather conservative in this regard; while women, residents of the West and college graduates are likely to be liberal. Not surprisingly, children of conservative parents tend to be more conservative themselves.

Age and sex of child are also found to be major determinants of children's sex role attitudes. Girls tend to be less traditional in their views than boys; also, as they approach adolescence (age 10-12) girls appear to develop a stronger sense of their own rights while adolescent boys give little indication of any growing appreciation for sex role equality.



## PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF CONSTRUCTING A COMPARISON GROUP

Vincent J. Breglio  
Decima Research

This paper evaluates the development of comparison groups for the Welfare Demonstration Project (WDP), an experimental program of public employment for welfare recipients conducted from 1972 through 1974, authorized by the Emergency Employment Act (EEA) of 1971. A total of 12 sites in four states received supplemental grants of federal dollars above their normal allocation to create some 5,280 jobs especially for this project in public agencies and private non-profit organizations during this period. These jobs were earmarked for a total of 7,250 welfare recipients who actually participated in this job creation experiment some time during its implementation. The evaluation of WDP began with a longitudinal design focusing on the pre-program, program and post-program experiences of nearly 2,000 randomly selected participants. No control or comparison groups were called for in the original study design.

The belated creation of matched comparison groups in four WDP cities became the subject of heated debate between advocates and opponents of experimentally controlled evaluation studies. The focus of this paper is on the practical and methodological issues encountered in the creation of matched groups for comparison purposes -- a compromise position partially acceptable to both sides of the methodological issue.

Comparison group members were selected from the non-participating welfare population in each city finally selected as a comparison site. Eligible non-participants were pre-screened from available records and stratified by socio-economic criteria relevant to employment experience and job performance. A matching algorithm was used to select comparison group members within each cell of a stratified sampling design. Those initially selected as comparison group members were interviewed in person to develop two-year employment histories. Employment history was then added as a criteria for final selection of the matched comparison group sample.

Results of the tests between experimental and comparison groups dispelled certain myths about employment programs for the disadvantaged and allowed an assessment of the success of the matching strategy. Overall, performance on outcome measures such as post-program employment and wages suggested a significant positive program impact in the lives of participants vis-a-vis their matched comparison cohorts.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS FOR THE USE OF VIGNETTES  
IN SURVEY RESEARCH

Hank Becker and Cheryl Alexander  
Johns Hopkins University

Directly questioning people regarding the criteria they use in making judgments or taking action often suffers from biases induced by the social desirability factor -- impression management on the part of respondents. One strategem that has been developed to meet this problem is the systematic use of vignettes. Vignettes are short descriptions of a social object or situation which contain many or most of the variables that are likely to be factors in the decision- or judgment-making process of respondents. By use of a fractional replication experimental design technique which is described here, estimates can be made concerning the



relative importance of different factors in people's judgments or behavior. In addition, estimates can also be made regarding the association of each criterion with background or other variables in the respondent population. Examples are given with regard to studies of physician responses to requests for abortion and police and nurse reactions to a victim of a rape.

#### RESPONSE-TIME RELATIONSHIP IN MAIL SURVEYS

Gideon Vigderhous  
Bell of Canada, Montreal

The general problem of the analysis of response patterns to mail surveys is a neglected area in survey research. The few studies concerned with this issue are of a descriptive nature, and their generalizability and practicality in solving administrative and methodological problems in survey research have not been demonstrated.

This paper analyzes patterns of response as measured by daily returns of mailed questionnaires. Thirty-nine social surveys which cover different subject matters, time periods, and populations surveyed have been utilized. The quantitative method applied to this problem area is known in demographic research as life table analysis. This method is described in detail and an empirical example is presented. Based on the empirical findings of 39 surveys, the relevance of this method in analyzing response patterns is discussed and demonstrated.

#### A METHOD OF PROJECTING FINAL DISPOSITIONS OF FIELD ASSIGNMENTS

Joel S. Rose  
State University of New York, Buffalo

The ability accurately to predict the relative frequencies of final dispositions (completions, refusals, etc.) at an early stage in the field work is often essential to smooth project management. Sample size determination, staffing, and scheduling can all be affected adversely by inaccuracies in these predictions. This ability is elusive, however, because at any given stage in the field work, only some of the assignments have received final dispositions. Others are still pending after one or more calls in which no one was at home, the selected respondent was not available, and so forth.

A method has been developed by the author for utilizing such partial information for projecting the ultimate final dispositions of field assignments. The basis for the projections is the observation that three key proportions (completions to final dispositions, final dispositions to in-sample dispositions, and in-sample dispositions to all dispositions), while varying from one call number to another, tend to vary as smooth functions of call number. These functions can be approximated through a series of non-linear regressions, and the resulting projected proportions can be used to calculate directly the projected numbers of assignments in each disposition category under varying assumptions about sample sizes and maximum number of calls.

This technique has been embodied in a computer program. The paper presents a discussion of the method, the use of the program, and some results from its application to a survey.

## PUTTING MORE ART IN THE SCIENCE OF RESEARCH

Emanuel H. Demby  
MPI Marketing Research, Inc.

Over the years, opinion and marketing researchers have been proudly proclaiming the development of survey research as a science -- in the way we sample, ask questions, computerize our findings, employ multi-variate analyses, etc.

In matter of fact, the more exciting findings that come out of survey research are dependent upon the amount of "art" invested before the questionnaire is ever written and the amount of "art" employed in the interpretation of data and in developing practical applications of findings.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to use case history materials to show how, by putting more art in the science of research, better research results.



## HOW AMERICANS SPEND TIME: 1965-1976

John P. Robinson  
Cleveland State University

While several social indicator studies have followed trends in public attitudes, few examine trends in behaviors. The time-diary approach, in which respondents report all their activities for a single day, generates a comprehensive social account of everyday behavior. The first complete national survey of time use in the United States, conducted in 1965, provided unique insights and challenged widely-shared beliefs about work and leisure habits of the American public.

A 1975 replication of this study will be discussed, with special emphasis upon work, household work, personal care and leisure, as well as media consumption. Reliability and validity of the diary method will be considered and social psychological meaning discussed.

## INSENSITIVE HEALTH INDICATORS

Jack Elinson  
Columbia University

The difficulties of measuring the health status of populations coupled with the easy availability of relatively insensitive mortality data have led some analysts to sweeping judgments as to the overall ineffectiveness of medical care. A clarion call for more sensitive health statistics was sounded by Moriyama a decade ago. Several efforts in this direction are reviewed and future needs discussed. It is hoped that newer sociomedical indicators will be able to measure the health of populations and their unmet medical needs more effectively than conventional indicators.

## SOCIAL INDICATORS AND CONSUMPTION

Robert Nathan Mayer  
University of California, Berkeley

Modern societies are increasingly described by phrases that imply something about consumption -- "affluent," "service-oriented," "post-industrial," and so forth. Yet only recently have social indicators researchers begun to conceptualize and measure consumption. Past efforts have measured consumption opportunity, as provided by institutions of production and distribution. An emerging area of research, the sociology of consumption, suggests possibilities for studying consumption per se and using it to reveal broader social changes.

## ATTITUDINAL CHANGE IN THE GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY, 1972-1976

James A. Davis  
National Opinion Research Center and Dartmouth College

Attitudinal trends are reported for the General Social Survey between 1972 and 1976. After comparing changes in attitudes to changes in demographic variables, the author considers variations among attitudes in their patterns of change.





## A COMPARISON OF NATIONAL TELEPHONE AND PERSONAL INTERVIEW SURVEYS: RESPONSE AND NONRESPONSE DIFFERENCES

Robert H. Groves  
University of Michigan

Two SRC national surveys of adults were concurrently administered in the Spring of 1976. Adults in all households were eligible for selection into a personal interview sample and those in telephone households were eligible for selection into a sample of randomly generated telephone numbers. Identical questions were asked of the personal interview sample by the SRC permanent field staff and of the telephone sample by telephone interviewers centralized in the Ann Arbor facilities.

Nonresponse to the two surveys is compared for the total samples and for individual domains within the sample with special attention given to differences between the two surveys in the components of nonresponse. Response differences of these two groups are estimated for questions utilizing show cards in the personal interview, factual items for which population parameters are known, and certain sensitive items where some pressure to provide a socially desirable answer might be felt by the respondent.

### WHAT MAKES A GOOD TELEPHONE INTERVIEWER?

Jutta Phillips and Seymour Sudman  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The very rapid increase in the amount of telephone interviewing in recent years has made the selection of good telephone interviewers an important problem. While good phone interviewers share many of the characteristics of good face-to-face interviewers, this paper stresses the differences between the two groups. The results are based on a comparison of face-to-face and telephone interviewers working for the Survey Research Laboratory, University of Illinois. These interviewers are evaluated on the basis of cooperation rates achieved, error rates and supervisor ratings. The variables affecting interviewer quality include, in addition to the usual demographic variables, self-confidence, need for achievement, attitudes toward the role of women in society, attitudes toward interviewing, social interaction with other interviewers, previous experience in interviewing and future career plans.

### BELL RINGING -- SURVEY SAMPLING AND THE TELEPHONE COMPANIES

John L. Curry  
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

The greater use of telephones for survey purposes each year, for economic and other reasons, is both a source of revenues and a cause for some concern on the part of the nation's telephone companies.

The telephone company itself relies on its product for many studies, for cost and efficiency. It would not like to do without access to the method for research purposes any more than others would. But the problems are there, chiefly arising from the greater use of the random digit dialing method in reaching respondents. Some customers with unlisted numbers regard this in the light of being an invasion of privacy.

As the greater use of telephone interviews continues, researchers at the telephone company feel that some things might be done -- such as better explanations when the interview is made -- to remove this objection.



## THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE: THE VOTERS WIN

Andrew J. Morrison and Frederick Steeper, Market Opinion Research  
Susan C. Greendale, University of Michigan

The Presidential debates of 1976 generated much media discussion about which candidate "won" and which candidate did the "better job" in each debate. Yet a major intended function of the debates was to inform voters of candidate positions on a variety of issues. The media concluded, however, that the debates revealed little new information about the candidates.

In this study, the cognitive effects of the first Presidential Debate were tested in terms of individual evaluations of candidate issue positions; assessments of the relative ability of candidates to handle certain issues; and the perception of candidate image attributes. These tests were derived from a United States national survey panel of 1,500 respondents interviewed 10-14 days before the first debate, with 757 respondents re-contacted during the four days after the debate.

The major findings from this study are as follows: (1) significant numbers of voters who "did not know" candidate positions on issues like "guaranteeing jobs through federal taxes" and solutions for reducing unemployment correctly identify candidate positions after the debate; (2) both candidates are perceived as "better able to handle" issues discussed during the debates with "don't know" responses decreasing in every instance; and (3) candidate Ford gains dramatically in perceptions of him as "a good speaker" and "decisive."

### MEDIA IMPACT ON CANDIDATE IMAGE: A FAIR TEST

Donald Kinder, William N. Denney, Randolph G. Wagner  
Yale University

Although it is quite evident that candidate image is politically significant, the processes by which an image of a public figure takes shape are not at all well understood. This is true despite an extensive literature on mass media and candidate image. The central message here is that mass media are not very important. Political communications reinforce and reassure, but they rarely convert. Two shortcomings characterize this literature, however: first, research has been concentrated on the impact of mass media on the evaluation of Presidential candidates assessed late in the campaign. Secondly, by any reasonable standard, the idea of image has been crudely measured.

We have attempted to explore the importance of mass media for candidates image formation in a fairer way, by investigating the impact of 1976 Vice-Presidential debate on citizen's images of the participants. It was expected (and corroborated in our findings) that prior to the debate, most people would know little about either Vice-Presidential candidate and would not yet have developed strong feelings toward them. Thus, the debate afforded a unique opportunity to examine the process of image formation.

Data for the study were obtained through a longitudinal survey design, involving personal interviews prior to and after the Vice-Presidential debate with a panel of 180 respondents from communities in and around New Haven, Connecticut.

## WHO SAW WHAT AND WHY: MEDIA EFFECTS IN THE 1976 ELECTION

Arthur H. Miller and Michael MacKuen  
University of Michigan

Voting behavior research has indicated an increasingly substantial impact of candidate evaluations on presidential electoral choice. Yet relatively little research has focused on either the cognitive content of candidate evaluations or explanations of variation in these assessments.

This study employs the Center for Political Studies 1976 national election survey of 2,800 respondents to determine if the media had an enduring impact on public assessments of the presidential candidates.

Media exposure is investigated as an explanation of cognitive content, informational richness and affective orientations toward the candidates. Special attention is given to the possible effects of the debates. A content analysis of the TV and newspaper coverage following the presidential debates is related to the survey respondents' perceptions and evaluations of the candidates.



## FREEDOM FROM RESPONSIBILITY

David L. Paletz  
Duke University

Virtually all the critics, of left and right alike, share the assumption that the press ought to become more socially responsible. The most famous example of such a call for responsibility is the 1947 report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press which, although greeted originally with hostility, is now accepted at least tacitly among academics, journalists, and media owners alike. The resultant posture adopted and internalized by newsmen is that of dispassionate observers of events, chroniclers of the times. An objective is to achieve and sustain credibility through objectivity.

The result of a responsible press is a surrogate theory of free expression in which the public may be growing to believe the claims of journalists to responsibility and, in turn, to believe less in its own individual responsibility to be vigilant in the search for "right" conclusions. This nascent disarming of the public may be dangerous because the press cannot fulfill such expectations and a disappointed public can become a vengeful public. For a free press simply cannot be responsible in the conventional sense of the term.

Not only can a free press not be responsible, it should not try to be. The "social responsibility" theory of the press developed across the past half-century should be deliberately repudiated. Needed, rather, is a movement toward freedom from responsibility (tentatively) an admixture of the values of "yellow journalism" and a partisan press culled from the American past.

### MOTOR VEHICLE FATALITIES AND THE MASS MEDIA: A GENERALIZATION OF THE WERTHER EFFECT

David P. Phillips  
University of California, San Diego

This paper demonstrates the existence of a phenomenon not previously mentioned in the literature. On the average, motor vehicle fatalities increase by 9.12% just after suicide stories have been publicized in the newspapers. The more publicity devoted to a suicide story, the greater is the rise in fatalities thereafter. The rise in motor vehicle fatalities appears only after the suicide story and lasts for about a week. These findings are statistically significant and are based on an examination of more than 17,000 California motor vehicle fatalities, 1966-1973. The findings persist after one corrects for weekday, monthly, and holiday weekend fluctuations in motor vehicle fatalities, and for the effects of linear trends over time.

Eight possible explanations of these findings are tested. The findings appear to result from two processes: (1) the publicized suicide story stimulates a wave of imitative suicides; (2) some of these imitative suicides are disguised as motor vehicle accidents and are recorded as such. As a result of these processes, motor vehicle fatalities rise just after a publicized suicide story.

STRUCTURING NEWSWORK: AN ANALYSIS OF NINETY DAILY NEWSPAPERS  
IN THE UNITED STATES

Don Harris  
Temple University

The relationship between the formal structure of newsrooms and newspaper coverage is examined for a representative sample of ninety daily newspapers in the United States. This relationship is examined in light of two distinctions for structural differentiation in newsrooms and for three dimensions of news coverage. The theory is logically derived from, and tested against, a probabilistic model of newswork based on system size. A strong positive relationship is found between variations in the organization of newswork and the breadth, depth, and volume of newspaper coverage. The implications for theory and policy are discussed.

VOTERS AND THE MASS MEDIA: INFORMATION-SEEKING,  
POLITICAL INTEREST AND ISSUE AGENDAS

Maxwell McCombs and David Weaver  
Syracuse University and Indiana University

Using data from a year-long series of interviews with voter panels in New Hampshire, Indiana and Illinois, this paper examines the relationship between the news medium most frequently used (newspaper, television, or both equally) and patterns of political interest, information-seeking on politics, and issue agendas during the election year. Both the year-long trends in each of these variables and the relationship of each to media use patterns are presented.

Preliminary examination of the data suggest distinct political roles for newspapers and television news. While the trends in use of both television and newspapers for information about political issues and the campaign are similar across 1976, there is some evidence that newspapers have more influence on issue agendas and that television has more influence on political interest.





