

**PROGRAM
and
ABSTRACTS**

**35th Annual
Conference**

**Kings Island Inn
Kings Island, Ohio**

**May 29-June 1
1980**

**AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION for
PUBLIC OPINION
RESEARCH**

**PROGRAM
and
ABSTRACTS**

**35th Annual
Conference**

**Kings Island Inn
Kings Island, Ohio**

**May 29-June 1
1980**

**AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION for
PUBLIC OPINION
RESEARCH**

AAPOR OWES MUCH TO THE AGENCIES WHICH HAVE HELPED
TO INSURE ITS FINANCIAL HEALTH BY GIVING CONTRIBU-
TIONS OF \$50 OR MORE DURING THE PAST YEAR.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE
Washington, D.C.

AUDITS & SURVEYS, INC.
New York, New York

BARDSLEY & HASLACHER, INC.
Portland, Oregon

BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, INC.
Washington, D.C.

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORP., RESEARCH DEPT.
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

CHILTON RESEARCH SERVICES
Radnor, Pennsylvania

D'ARCY-MacMANUS & MASIUS /deGARMO, INC.
New York, New York

DATATAB, INC.
New York, New York

DECISION MARKETING RESEARCH LIMITED
Toronto, Canada

de KADT MARKETING & RESEARCH, INC.
Greenwich, Connecticut

FIELD RESEARCH CORPORATION
San Francisco, California

GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY
Fairfield, Connecticut

GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION
White Plains, New York

GROUP ATTITUDES CORP. (SUBSIDIARY OF HILL & KNOWLTON, INC.)
New York, New York

WILLIAM R. HAMILTON & STAFF, INC.
Washington, D.C.

HOLLANDER, COHEN ASSOCIATES, INC.
Baltimore, Maryland

KAPULER & ASSOCIATES, INC.
Buffalo Grove, Illinois

BABETTE KASS CREATIVE RESEARCH
Sun City (Phoenix), Arizona

KENNEDY RESEARCH, INC.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

LIEBER ATTITUDE RESEARCH, INC.
New York, New York

LIEBERMAN RESEARCH, INC.
New York, New York

MANNING, SELVAGE & LEE, INC.
New York, New York

MATHEMATICA POLICY RESEARCH
Princeton, New Jersey

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
Chicago, Illinois

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
New York, New York

NEEDHAM, HARPER & STEERS ADVERTISING, INC.
Chicago, Illinois

OPATOW ASSOCIATES, INC.
New York, New York

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION
Princeton, New Jersey

OXTOBY-SMITH, INC.
New York, New York

STANLEY PETERFREUND ASSOCIATES, INC.
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

THE PROCTER & GAMBLE CO.
Cincinnati, Ohio

RANCHINO & ASSOCIATES, INC.
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

RESEARCH SERVICES, INC.
Denver, Colorado

RESEARCH STRATEGIES CORPORATION
New York, New York

RESPONSE ANALYSIS CORPORATION
Princeton, New Jersey

THE ROPER ORGANIZATION, INC.
New York, New York

SIMMONS MARKET RESEARCH BUREAU
New York, New York

STARCH INRA HOOPER, INC.
Mamaroneck, New York

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS & COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey

WESTAT, INC.
Rockville, Maryland

YOUNG AND RUBICAM, INC.
New York, New York

AAPOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

President: Helen J. Kaufmann

Past-President: Jack Elinson

Vice-President: Seymour Sudman

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>
Secretary-	G. Ray Funkhouser	G. Ray Funkhouser
Treasurer		
Associate Secretary-		Albert E. Gollin
Treasurer		
Standards	Donald A. Hughes	Michael Rappeport
Standards Associate		Burns W. Roper
Conference	Donald E. Payne	Fred H. Goldner
Conference Associate	Fred H. Goldner	Warren J. Mitofsky
Membership	Gloria Shaw Hamilton	
Membership and Chapter		Joan S. Black
Relations		
Membership and Chapter		Robert S. Lee
Relations Associate		
Publications and	June R. Christ	June R. Christ
Information		
Publications and		
Information Associate		
Public Relations	Donna S. Charron	
Editor	R. Richard Ritti	
Councillors-at-large	John S. Coulson	John S. Coulson
	Burns W. Roper	

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Chair: Donald E. Payne

Associate Chair: Fred H. Goldner

Kurt W. Back	Richard Maisel
George F. Bishop	Warren J. Mitofsky
Charles D. Cowan	Harry W. O'Neill
Barbara Snell Dohrenwend	Melvin Prince
Albert E. Gollin	Burns W. Roper
Carole R. Holden	Diane W. Schrayner
Dorothy Jessop	Howard Schuman
Sidney Kraus	Tom Smith
Herbert E. Krugman	Seymour Sudman
Robert S. Lee	Pearl R. Zinner

AAPOR AWARD COMMITTEE

Chair: Jack Elinson

Robert Bower
Harold Mendelsohn
Selma F. Monsky
Naomi D. Rothwell
Seymour Sudman

AAPOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING COMMITTEE

(Student Award)

Chair: J. Ronald Milavsky

Tom Coffin
Barry Cook
Albert E. Gollin
Eleanor Singer
Horst Stipp

PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS

Editor: R. Richard Ritti

SITE SELECTION

Michael Rappeport

EXHIBITS

Representative: Marty Garneret
Computer Marketing Representative

Company: Radio Shack Computing Center
9725 Montgomery Road
Cincinnati, Ohio 45252
phone: (513) 793-8688

Hardware: TRS-80 Home Computer
Model I & II with peripherals

Software: Complete line including
Word Processing, Statistical Package

Representative: Dennis Stramiello
Field Specialist - Northeast

Company: Texas Instruments
1 Huntington Quadrangle
Melville, New York 11747
phone: (516) 454-6600

Hardware: TI-99/4 Home Computer with peripherals

Software: Complete line including Statistical
Package

Representative: Bill Weaver
Marketing Manager

Company: Qyx "Intelligent Typewriters"
Central Trust Center
Cincinnati, Ohio

Hardware: Level 4 Product Line

Representative: Jerry Reinker
Computer System Sales Representative

Company: Hewlett-Packard
9920 Carver Road
Cincinnati, Ohio 45242
phone: (513) 891-9870

Hardware: System 45B

Software: Complete line including Statistical
Package

Representative: Henry Teller
President

Company: Mnenonics Inc.
280 Connecticut Avenue
South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854
phone: (203) 853-7511

Software: Market-Tab data analysis package

FRIDAY, MAY 30

7:00-9:00

BREAKFAST

9:15-10:45

PAPER SESSION:
PUBLIC RESPONSE TO DISASTERS AND CRISESMatterhorn
EastChair: Diane Schroyer
Response Analysis Corporation"Perceptual Shifts Regarding Swine Flu
Immunization and Adverse Reactions" (20)Walter J. Gunn
Center for Disease Control

"Crisis Response of the American Public" (1)

Raymond Suh
The Coca-Cola Company

"Changes in Public Response to Three Mile Island" (1)

Alfred Vogel
Response Analysis CorporationDiscussant: Herbert E. Krugman
General Electric CompanyPAPER SESSION:
IDEOLOGY AND THE ELECTORATEMatterhorn
WestChair: Bernard Roshco
U.S. Department of State"Proletarian Ideology and the Changing American
Voter" (2)John Holm and John Robinson
Cleveland State University

"Ideology and Foreign Policy Attitudes" (18)

Barbara Bardes
Loyola University of Chicago
andRobert Oldendick
University of Cincinnati

"Issues and Ideology in the 1980 Election"

Kathleen Frankovic
CBS News

FRIDAY, MAY 30

9:15-10:45 PAPER SESSION:
SURVEY RESEARCH AND STATE AND LOCAL DECISION-MAKING

Alpenhorn Room Chair: Michael J. O'Neil
Arizona State University

"Survey Research and Local Policy: The
Dayton Experience" (2)
Tim Reardon
City of Dayton

"The Use of Citizen/Client Surveys in State and
Local Government for Service Evaluation: State
of the Art" (3)
Harry Hatry
Urban Institute

"The Use of Surveys in Local Decision-Making:
State of the Art" (4)
Brian Stipak
Pennsylvania State University

11:00-12:30 DIDACTIC SESSION:
THE NON-RESPONSE PROBLEM (4)

Hospitality Suite #1 Chair: Fred Wiseman
Northeastern University

PAPER SESSION:
LINKING MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS WITH TIME SERIES
OF PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

Alpenhorn Room Chair: George F. Bishop
University of Cincinnati

"Distinguishing Events from Trends in Assessing
Social Effects of Media Reporting: The Case of
the Discontinuation of the Pill and IUD, 1970-75" (8)
James R. Beniger
Princeton University

"Media Monitoring and Models of Public Opinion
Dynamics"
Lutz Erbring
University of Chicago

"Agenda-Setting in American Presidential Politics" (8)
W. Russell Neuman
Yale University

Discussant: Chaim H. Eyal
Syracuse University

FRIDAY, MAY 30

- 11:00-12:30 PAPER SESSION:
LEARNING AND TELEVISION: SOME NEW PERSPECTIVES
- Matterhorn West Chair: William S. Rubens
National Broadcasting Company
- "Television as Teacher" (3)
Herbert E. Krugman
General Electric Company
- "The 'Scary World' of the Nonviewer and Other Anomalies: A Re-analysis of Findings on the Cultivation Hypothesis" (3)
Paul Hirsh
University of Chicago
- "Television and Children's Intellectual Development: Results from a National Sample of Youth"
Nicholas Zill
Foundation for Child Development
- "Absorbing Television News" (6)
Haluk Sahin, Dennis Davis and John Robinson
Cleveland State University
- "The Evaluative Protocol: An Approach to Qualitative Ratings for Television" (7)
Russell Neuman, Yale University and
Carol Keegan, Corp . for Public Broadcasting
- 12:30-1:45 LUNCH
- 2:00-3:30 ROUNDTABLES
- Co-Chairs: Pearl Zinner
National Opinion Research Center
and
Dorothy Jessop
Albert Einstein College of Medicine
- Alpenhorn Room "Changing Definitions of Sex Roles"
Barbara Lee
CBS
and
John A. Gonder
Decision Marketing Research, Ltd
- Hospitality Suite #1 "Federal Research Approval Policy: Understanding the Process, Avoiding the Pitfalls"
Katherine K. Wallman
U.S. Department of Commerce

FRIDAY, MAY 30

2:00-3:30 ROUNDTABLES (CONTINUED)

- Hospitality Suite #2 "Accessing the Hidden Blind: Implications for Sample Surveys"
Dina Nath Bedi
Bernard M. Baruch College
David A. Leuthold
University of Missouri
Samuel G. Ryan, Jr.
Bernard M. Baruch College
- Hospitality Suite #3 "Exploration of Methods of Interviewer Training"
William P. Mockovak
Bureau of the Census
Celia Homans
National Opinion Research Center
- Hospitality Suite #4 "Non-Sampling Errors in Data Collection, Reduction, and Processing: Strategies for Estimation, Identification, and Resolution"
Donald P. Trees
The Rand Corporation
- Hospitality Suite #5 "Attributes of the Effective Telephone Interviewer"
Mark A. Schulman
and
Michael Bucuvalas
Louis Harris & Associates
- Hospitality Suite #6 "A Role for Public Opinion: Is It Possible to be a Spokesman?"
Mary Tokheim
Iowa State Board of Medical Examiners
Don D. Smith
Florida State University
Jenene Gerrdes Karamon
Group Attitudes Corporation
- Indoor Pool "Research on Minority Populations: Methodological Dilemmas"
Elena Yu
National Center for Health Statistics

FRIDAY, MAY 30

3:45-5:15

JOINT WAPOR-AAPOR SESSION:
USE OF SURVEYS TO REDUCE INTERGROUP TENSIONSMatterhorn
EastChair: Bernard Portis
University of Western Ontario"Elite Survey in Northern Ireland" (11)
Jess Yoder
Cleveland State University"Quebec Referendum"
Yvan Corbeil
Crop Incorporated"Does Public Opinion Research Have a Role in
Solving Nationality Conflicts?"
W. Phillips Davison
Columbia UniversityPAPER SESSION:
POLLS, MEDIA, AND DEBATESMatterhorn
WestChair: Sidney Kraus
Cleveland State University"The Iowa Debate and Public Opinion: A Study of
Political Thinking" (9)
Billie Gaughan
J. Ann Selver
and
Deborah Petersen
University of Iowa"The 1980 Primaries: Volatility of Polls and
the Role of Debates"
Sidney Kraus
Cleveland State University"Presidential Politics and Pocketbook Issues:
The Role of Television" (10)
C. Anthony Broh
and
Steven Martin
Duke University"Agents of Public Opinion Formation"
Jae Won Lee
Cleveland State University

FRIDAY, MAY 30

3:45-5:15

PAPER SESSION:
EXPERIMENTS IN SURVEY METHODOLOGYAlpenhorn
RoomChair: Benjamin G. Davis
Applied Management Sciences"The Validity of Self-Reports of Academic
Achievement by Elementary and Secondary
School Students"John Hall
Mathematica Policy Research"Efficacy of Alternative Response-Generating
Techniques in Mail Surveys"Ted Bartell
and
Benjamin G. Davis
Applied Management Sciences"Gender Interaction Effects on Survey Measures
in Telephone Interviews"Janice Ballou
and
Frances K. Del Boca
Rutgers University

5:30-6:30

WAPOR BUSINESS MEETING

6:00-8:00

DINNER

9:00

PLENARY SESSION:
USERS' VIEWS OF SURVEY RESEARCHMatterhorn
RoomChair: Warren Mitofsky
CBS NewsSpeakers: William Covach
The New York Times

Howard Schuman
University of Michigan

Paul Jensen
U.S. Department of Labor

SATURDAY, MAY 31

7:00-9:00

BREAKFAST

9:15-10:45

PAPER SESSION:
THE 1980 OLYMPICSMatterhorn
WestChair: Burns W. Roper
The Roper Organization, Inc."West European Reactions to the Olympics Boycott"
Carolyn Hillyer
International Communications Agency"American Public Responses to the Olympics
Boycott: Part One"
Alvin Richman
International Communications Agency"American Public Responses to the Olympics
Boycott: Part Two"
Irving Crespi
and
Burns W. Roper
The Roper Organization, Inc.

PAPER SESSION:

SOCIAL INDICATORS: STATE OF THE ART

Alpenhorn
RoomChair: Tom Smith
National Opinion Research Center"Social Indicators: State of the Art" (11)
Tom Smith
National Opinion Research Center"TV Viewing as a Social Indicator" (12)
John P. Robinson
Cleveland State University"Using the Mass Media as Sources of
Social Indicators"
Edna F. Einseidel
Syracuse UniversityDiscussant: Charles F. Turner
National Academy of Sciences

SATURDAY, MAY 31

11:00-12:30 DIDACTIC SESSION:
MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALING IN PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Hospitality Suite #1 Chair: Myron Wish
Bell Laboratories

JOINT WAPOR-AAPOR SESSION:
POLITICAL POLLING IN EUROPE

Alpenhorn Room Chair: Robert M. Worcester
Market & Opinion Research Intl, Great Britain

"Political Polling in France"
Jean Stoetzel
Faits et Opinions, France

"Political Polling in Germany" (19)
Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann
Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, FRG

"Political Polling in Britain"
Robert M. Worcester
Market & Opinion Research Intl, Great Britain

PAPER SESSION:
THE "PUBLIC" IN THE PUBLIC OPINION PROCESS

Matterhorn West Chair: Gladys Engel Lang
State University of New York

"Policy Reasoning: Psychological Processes in
Opinion Formation" (13)
William M. Denny
University of Texas, Austin

"When Citizens Communicate to Elites"
Peter Clarke
and
William Bradshaw
University of Michigan

"Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling:
Some Reflections from Watergate"
Gladys Engel Lang
and
Kurt Lang
State University of New York

SATURDAY, MAY 31

12:30-1:45 LUNCH

2:00-3:30 ROUNDTABLES

Co-Chairs: Pearl Zinner
National Opinion Research Center
and
Dorothy Jessop
Albert Einstein College of Medicine

Hospitality Suite #1 "Surveying Hard-To-Reach Minority Populations:
The National Survey of Black Americans as a
Case Study"
Jean-Marie B. Mayas
Lawrence Johnson & Associates, Inc.
and
James S. Jackson
Phillip Bowman
Shirley Hatchett
Survey Research Center

Hospitality Suite #2 "Energy Consumption: Research Issues"
Lynn P. Handler
U.S. Department of Energy
and
Gloria Shaw Hamilton
Westat, Inc.

Hospitality Suite #3 "Techniques for Evaluating Telephone Interviewers"
Nancy A. Mathiowetz
Survey Research Center

Hospitality Suite #4 "Organizations as Respondents: Some Issues of
Sampling and Data Collection"
Corinne Kirchner
American Foundation for the Blind

Hospitality Suite #5 "Participants' Evaluation of a Three Year Survey"
Majorie Rosar Cunningham
United Presbyterian Church

Hospitality Suite #6 "Influence Analysis: A Model of Persuasion as
a Pure Power Game"
G. Ray Funkhouser
National Analysts

Alpenhorn Room "Adjusting the Census Counts: A Debate:
Sheldon R. Gawiser
National Opinion Research Center

Indoor Pool "Efficient Screening by Telephone: New Developments"
Johnny Blair
University of Illinois

SATURDAY, MAY 31

3:45-5:30 AAPOR BUSINESS MEETING

7:00-8:30 DUTCH TREAT COCKTAIL PARTY AND
RECEPTION FOR NEW ATTENDEES

9:00 BANQUET

Matterhorn Room Presiding: Helen J. Kaufmann
President

Remarks: Jack Elinson
Past President

PRESENTATION OF AAPOR STUDENT AWARD

PRESENTATION OF AAPOR AWARD

SUNDAY, JUNE 1

7:00-9:00 BREAKFAST

9:15-10:45 PAPER SESSION:
PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD ECONOMIC ISSUES

Alpenhorn Room Chair: Charles D. Cowan
Bureau of the Census

"Personal Stakes and Symbolic Politics: Energy
Policy in a Sun Belt City" (14)
W. M. Denney
J. Stephen Hendricks
University of Texas
and
Donald R. Kinder
Yale University

"A Study of Michigan Tax Limitation Proposals" (14)
Richard Curtin
University of Michigan

"The American Public Views World Hunger and the
U.S. Role in its Elimination"
Mitchell Cohen
Barbara Bryant
and
Sam Evans
Market Opinion Research

Discussant: Charles D. Cowan, Bureau of the Census

SUNDAY, JUNE 1

9:15-10:45

PAPER SESSION:
PIONEERS OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCHMatterhorn
WestChair: Albert E. Gollin
Newspaper Advertising Bureau"Paul F. Lazarsfeld"
Allen Barton
Columbia University"Bernard Berelson" (15)
David L. Sills
Social Science Research Council"Harold Lasswell" (21)
Richard M. Merelman
University of Wisconsin"Wilbur Schramm" (16)
Jack Lyle
East-West Center, HawaiiDiscussant: W. Phillips Davison
Columbia University

11:00-12:30

DIDACTIC SESSION:
THE NEW DYNAMICS OF INTERVIEWING: RECENT RESEARCH
ON IMPROVING DATA QUALITY IN SURVEYSAlpenhorn
RoomChair: Charles F. Cannell
University of MichiganPAPER SESSION:
THE THREE MILE ISLAND EXPERIENCEMatterhorn
WestChair: Barbara Snell Dohrenwend
Columbia University"Behavioral and Mental Health Effects on the
People Living Near Three Mile Island" (16)
Bruce P. Dohrenwend
Columbia University"Behavioral and Mental Health Effects
on the Workers at Three Mile Island" (17)
S. V. Kasl
Yale University"The Threat of Releasing Crypton-85: Behavioral
and Mental Health Effects on People Living
Near Three Mile Island" (18)
Ray Goldsteen
Columbia University

CRISIS RESPONSE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Roy G. Stout
Raymond Suh
The Coca-Cola Company

A number of studies were conducted in response to the negative publicity on soft drink products. Studies illustrated the conditioning of the American public to crisis after crisis in the '70's, and there is a great deal of stability in the thinking of the American public. With many issues publicized, one should be concerned, but one should not panic.

PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THREE MILE ISLAND

Alfred Vogel
Response Analysis

This paper presents the results of a longitudinal study to measure the impact of the Three Mile Island accident on public opinion toward nuclear power. Telephone interviews were conducted at three points in time -- June, August, and September, 1980 -- with both nationwide samples and samples of people living in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania area, the seat of the accident.

The research was based on several models of how people might react to an event like Three Mile Island. These models in turn are based on the theory that an event like Three Mile Island is a learning experience in which underlying motivations and anxieties, as well as what is communicated about the event, shape reactions to it. The paper discusses which model best fits the facts and tries to cast some light on why this is so.

In addition, the paper discusses some problems in conducting the research and some implications that arise out of it. For example, one of the needs was to estimate the state of public opinion toward nuclear power right before Three Mile Island; unfortunately no one was smart enough to have done a survey just then. How did we estimate it? Another example: the research touches on the relationship between perceived importance of an issue and the amount of ambiguity surrounding it, and this too is discussed.

PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL AND
THE CHANGING AMERICAN VOTER

John P. Robinson
John Holm
Cleveland State University

Research in the new academic field of political behavior shows that less than 20% of mass electorates could be classified as having sufficient ideological sophistication about politics to allow ideology to become an important factor in their vote decisions. In their most recent portrayal of the Changing American Voter, Nie and associates argued that 1972 had marked a high water point in the evolution toward more ideological voting and that in the less ideological presidential contest of 1976, party identification had reasserted its position as the overriding factor in people's voting behavior--in line with Converse's earlier prediction to that effect.

The present paper presents a somewhat different interpretation of these recent trends in mass voting patterns in the 1970s. It continues the argument raised in connection with our analyses of 1972 election results that issue-specific operational definitions of the liberal-conservative distinction failed to capture the full breadth of the role of ideological identification in public voting behavior. The point is particularly important in connection with the 1976 election because our analyses indicate that general ideological identification remained somewhat important in the same election that item-specific measures showed significant declines. Rather than fading in importance, then, we speculate that ideological identification may be retaining the important role it has had in voter thinking since the 1960s and attempt to identify some of the specific attitudes, beliefs and issues that need to be included to improve issue-specific measures of ideology.

SURVEY RESEARCH AND LOCAL POLICY:
THE DAYTON EXPERIENCE

Timothy H. Riordan
City of Dayton, Ohio

The City of Dayton, Ohio has conducted a public opinion survey annually for the past ten years. The current survey interviews approximately 1,000 of Dayton's 150,000 adult population. The interviews are conducted in clustered samples on a face-to-face basis. More than 70 questions are asked annually. The questions change slightly from year to year.

Each year the highlights of the survey are presented to the City Council in conjunction with the City budget. The Council discusses the results and suggests alternative items for consideration in the future.

The opinion research has been instrumental in influencing numerous public policy changes in Dayton. Samples are:

1. An alley cleaning program (\$300,000 per year) was eliminated after it was determined that the perception of alley cleanliness declined following the implementation of this program.
2. An arson prevention program was established after it was determined that vacant structures and arsons were a highly mentioned neighborhood problem.
3. A street sweeper replacement schedule was established after declines in the perception of street cleanliness occurred.
4. A crime prevention program was established after it was determined that burglary and fear were a great neighborhood problem.

Public opinion research was one of numerous inputs influencing each change in public policy. Public opinion research in Dayton is used as one of several key tools in determining public policy.

THE USE OF CITIZEN/CLIENT SURVEYS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO EVALUATE SERVICES

Harry Hatry
The Urban Institute

There has been an increasing use in recent years by state and local government of citizen/client surveys. This presentation will focus on surveys used to assess service performance (as distinguished from using them to ask for opinions on citizen preferences or what the government ought to do). A number of these applications will be described, including those both by state and local governments, both surveys of the general population of the jurisdiction and of clients of individual services (such as clients of recreation, library, or mental health facilities), and both repetitive surveys (i.e., those conducted perhaps annually using a basic core of question items), and those used for special, ad hoc, studies. Special conditions and problems of survey use for these levels of government will be discussed. Research questions particularly pertinent to these governments will be identified.

It is an underlying thesis of this presentation that the increasing use of survey methods by state and local governments represents both a major opportunity to the survey community and also presents numerous technical and practical problems that are only just beginning to receive adequate attention.

THE USE OF CITIZEN SURVEYS IN
LOCAL POLICY ANALYSIS

Brian Stipak
The Pennsylvania State University

This paper will examine the state of the art in using citizen survey data in local policy analysis. It will examine how local governments have used citizen surveys, and the different ways surveys have been used to derive policy implications. Recommendations will be made for improving current practices. Finally, the paper will identify issues concerning the use of citizen surveys that remain controversial and require further research or experience to clarify.

DIDACTIC SESSION: THE NON-RESPONSE PROBLEM

Frederick Wiseman
Northeastern University

This session will focus on a variety of issues concerned with the growing problem of nonresponse in sample surveys. Among the topics to be discussed are: (1) the lack of standardization within the industry regarding the interpretation and calculation of various response and nonresponse terms, (2) the magnitude of nonresponse in telephone surveys as found in a recent study involving 32 major U.S. research firms and manufacturing/service organizations, (3) the reasons for refusals and steps that can be taken to increase respondent cooperation, (4) the characteristics of nonrespondents and, (5) a discussion of a proposed methodological research study designed to assess the consequences of nonresponse and to identify specific cost-efficient data collection strategies for attacking the problem.

TELEVISION AS TEACHER

Herbert E. Krugman
General Electric Company

Interrelationships among three aspects of present-day television are discussed as guides to the more effective use of the new media technologies. These are the use of (1) pace, (2) the human face, and (3) interruptions.

The right brain hemisphere maintains a vigil, or surveillance of the environment, and nudges the left brain into alertness when and as needed. Thus, it is right brain characteristic that sustains long periods of viewing TV. The newspaper is potentially fatiguing because its physical format involves gross eye movements and highly selective choices of attention focus; i.e., left brain attention. However, as one turns the pages, skips around from topic to topic, or seeks the "continued story" in later pages, attention is rested and refreshed. The case with TV or movies is quite different. An interruption of a movie film is highly frustrating, and a major public complaint about TV is clutter and/or commercial interruptions. The frustration involved appears to be that the left brain has been "turned on" again thereby interrupting right brain relaxation.

Effective teaching is start and stop, with many rest periods along the way. Stopping to think is not necessarily an "interruption," but may be in sequence. An interruption is when the entire frame of reference changes, as in commercial interruption. Television can be an appropriate medium for great teachers who create opportunities for the audience to stop and think.

The networks do not yet accept that they have an important capacity or responsibility to teach.

THE "SCARY WORLD" OF THE NONVIEWER AND OTHER ANOMALIES:
A REANALYSIS OF FINDINGS ON THE CULTIVATION HYPOTHESIS

Paul M. Hirsch
University of Chicago Business School

This paper reports a reanalysis of the NORC dataset which Gerbner et al. claim provides much of the empirical support for their "Cultivation Hypothesis" - that television-viewing inculcates fear, anomia, and a perception by heavy viewers of the world as a "mean" place to live. The reanalysis finds remarkably little support for the hypothesis. It is especially weak when nonviewers and extreme

viewers are included in the analysis. Over 18 relevant items, nonviewers are consistently more fearful, alienated and favorable to suicide than "light" viewers, extreme viewers are less perturbed than heavy viewers. The relationship between TV-viewing and "television answers" to attitude items seems neither linear nor monotonic. Additional findings include: (1) what few bivariate relationships appeared in the analysis by Gerbner et al. are virtually wiped out by the addition of (virtually any two) multiple controls; (2) the attitudes of people in such victimized categories as blacks, females and the elderly are independent of their amount of television-viewing; (3) other nondemographic variables, such as amount of radio-listening and reported health are as statistically significant as TV-viewing in their (albeit weak) ability to predict attitudes about the world across the population; (4) respondents' astrological sign (as a proxy for a random number table) significantly predicts whether persons are heavy viewers; and finally (5) at least one previously unreported item from the NORC dataset goes directly counter (despite controls) to the cultivational hypothesis.

ABSORBING TELEVISION NEWS

Haluk Sahnin
 John P. Robinson
 Dennis K. Davis
 Cleveland State University

Findings from surveys in the U.S. and other countries suggest that people do not recall most of the stories they claim they have just seen on television. For more than two years we have been trying to develop a sensitive measure of how well specific items in television news are understood. Our strategy involves intensive probing of national news viewers using face-to-face, in-home interviews shortly after newscasts. Initial respondents' recall is triggered by means of neutral labels ("bullets" and then they are probed for all information learned from the newscast. This method enables us to make distinctions among various levels of comprehension, and relate them to story and viewer factors as well as to the characteristics of the viewing situation.

Our findings indicate that people do learn a great deal of what is presented on television news. A majority of viewers are able to grasp the "central point" of a good number of the stories in a night's newscast. The gradations of learning extend over a broad range, from those who can identify only a single pictorial element to those who can cite remarkable minute details. In many instances, various structural elements are absorbed along with the more straightforward verbal/visual informational content.

Sometimes the angle in which a story is presented is remembered without the proper information context. This suggests that news values and professional conventions not only determine the way a story is encoded but often the way it is decoded as well.

THE EVALUATION PROTOCOL: AN APPROACH TO
QUALITATIVE RATINGS FOR TELEVISION

W. Russell Neuman
Yale University

This report describes research in progress on the Evaluation Protocol--a structured, depth-interview technique for assessing viewers' responses to specific programming. This approach attempts to bridge the gap between the precision and rigor gained from experimental and survey designs and the richness and depth of more qualitative research. At the outset the interviews are loosely structured, inquiring, for example, simply what thoughts a program just seen brought to mind. The questions become increasingly structured and eventually cover twenty-one dimensions of cognitive and emotional response.

We conducted an exploratory study based on 123 depth-interviews with television viewers in southern Connecticut. The interviewing covered a random selection of 20 commercial and 10 PBS programs and generated a number of surprises: Level of education turned out not to be related to the amount of analytic and interpretive thinking exhibited by viewers. Whatever success liberal arts education has had in making students more attentive and alert to elite culture apparently has not carried across to such popularly oriented mass media as television.

We compared responses among viewers who were asked to carefully watch a particular program with those called at random and who had happened to see the program in question. Surprisingly, there were few differences between the two groups. We explored whether the public affairs programs and serious drama prominent in PBS programming might be especially successful in stimulating analytic and interpretive thinking in the mass audience. It wasn't. It turned out that commercial programming stimulated higher scores on the analysis and interpretation measures.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DISTINGUISHING EVENTS FROM
TRENDS IN ASSESSING THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF
MASS MEDIA REPORTING: THE CASE OF
DISCONTINUATION OF THE PILL
AND IUD, 1970-75

James R. Beniger
Princeton University

Previous research on the social effects of mass media coverage has been deficient in failing to treat separately two distinct types: reporting of discrete news events, and more general treatment of problems and trends, the latter not necessarily accompanying any particular events. In covering news events, the media mostly relay to their audiences the impact of the events themselves; such reporting can have an immediate but possibly short-lived effect on attitudes and behavior. More general and sustained media attention to a problem, usually arising from a succession of related news events, is likely to have a more general and lasting effect on social change. These distinctions and hypotheses are tested with discontinuation rates for the 72 months 1970-75 (calculated using multiple increment/multiple decrement life table procedures on data from the 1975 National Fertility Study), separately for the pill and IUD, with various measures of television, newspaper and periodical and medical journal treatment of contraception during the same period. Acutely adverse publicity (involving Congressional investigations, actions of the Food and Drug Administration, etc.) characterized coverage of both the pill and IUD at several points during 1970-75. Time series analysis reveals such events were followed by almost immediate (lagged 1-2 months) but short-lived (4-5 month increases in rates of discontinuation, while the cumulative effect of more general negative publicity had a highly positive relationship to continuing trends in discontinuation rates.

AGENDA-SETTING IN AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

W. Russell Neuman
Yale University

This paper reviews a content analysis of newspaper election coverage for each presidential election year 1952 to 1976 as well as parallel measures based on archived national opinion data for the same period. The parallel time series data allow us to study specific issues in the press and the public response to that coverage.

There are indeed parallel trends in attention to policy issues in the media and in public opinion, but the nature of the correspondence depends on the type of issue examined. Public order issues, economic issues and race relations issues correlate highly. Social welfare issues do not. Issues such as education, unemployment, welfare, health and the needs of the elderly move in and out of the rhetoric of politicians and in turn the political coverage of the media as the political climate in Washington changes. But the national citizenry has its own agenda concerning such matters which moves independently of media cues.

Surprisingly, attention to foreign affairs issues in the media and public opinion vary independently as well. In the early 1950's Korea was the center of attention and in the early 1960's Cuba took center stage to be followed, of course, by Vietnam. So the geographic focus of attention of the media and the public moves in tandem from one area of conflict to the next. But the level of public concern with foreign affairs issues as a whole does not reflect agenda-setting.

These results demonstrate that the nature of media-opinion dynamics are both more subtle and more complex than originally described in the agenda-setting studies based on single-time community studies.

THE IOWA DEBATE AND PUBLIC OPINION: A STUDY OF
MEDIA INFLUENCE ON POLITICAL THINKING

Billie Jean Gaughan
J. Ann Selzer
Deborah Petersen
University of Iowa

The authors see serious flaws in the way mass communication and political science scholars have attempted to measure the impact of political debates on public opinion. The paper explores new, and we believe more useful, measures of this impact. We also examine the televised debate as a political stimulus from which to find out more about the ways people are thinking about political candidates, issues, and elections these days.

One of the major questions of interest in this study is whether televised debates among presidential hopefuls influence the way people think and talk about the candidates. We are interested, for example, in people's perceptions of the similarities and differences among candidates and whether viewing the debate has any effect on these perceptions. We also attempt to identify the dimensions that people use to think about particular candidates and whether these dimensions are affected by the debate.

Several other hypotheses concerning consistency theory, effect the debate had on vote intention, interpersonal communication, perceptions of important campaign issues, perceptions of the Republican party, and public opinion concerning the Des Moines Register's sponsorship of the Republic debate.

This research project was a two wave panel survey, and consisted of an in-depth telephone interview and follow-up mail questionnaire of 80 respondents randomly sampled from Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, and Iowa City, Iowa.

PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS AND POCKETBOOK ISSUES:
THE ROLE OF TELEVISION

C. Anthony Broh
Steven Martin
Duke University

The issues of inflation and unemployment were of principle importance to voters in the 1976 presidential election, and television was an important contributor in conveying the major party positions on these macroeconomic problems. The data suggest the significance of television viewing in enhancing the salience of macroeconomic issues affecting voting behavior. All correlations between economic issues - specifically the government's handling of inflation, unemployment, and general economic problems - and voting increased with increasing amounts of television exposure. Indeed, this held true for three different sources of television information - television (generally) as a primary source of campaign information, network news, and the 1976 presidential debates. If in fact television is growing in its importance as a disseminator of political information, then these conclusions have valuable policy implications for television as a catalyst for the public discussion of major issues in presidential campaigns and for candidates being permitted to broadcast issue positions.

ELITE SURVEY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Jess Yoder
Cleveland State University

The conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland received international press attention on occasions such as the assassination of Lord Mountbatten or the decision of Pope Paul not to visit Armagh in Northern Ireland because of Protestant threats. However, in the Northern Ireland press not a single day passes without reporting on events related to the conflict. The conflict permeates every aspect of life in Northern Ireland. Though the issues of the conflict stem from differences in tradition, culture, education, political and economic power, religion is also one of the significant components of the conflict. Religion is central to the conflict in that it provides the identities of the conflicting parties and it is also fused into the traditions, cultures, education, politics, and wealth of each group. Thus, it seemed appropriate to survey the priests and clergy on their views and activities and the activities of the churches on matters pertaining to the conflict.

A mail survey was conducted during the fall of 1978 and the early part of 1979. Questionnaires were sent to seventy-five percent of the Catholic parish priests and the Protestant clergy (pastors). Thirty-five percent of the questionnaires were returned. While no attempt was made to assess the impact of the church leadership on the issues of the conflict, it is clear that the views of Catholic and Protestant churchmen differed. Both groups expressed a willingness to engage in dialogue. Many are already engaged in interfaith discussions.

SOCIAL INDICATORS: THE STATE OF THE ART

Tom W. Smith
University of Chicago

This paper briefly reviews the history and goals of the social indicators movement over the last two decades. While the movement has grown significantly with the development of time series like the General Social Survey and the appearance of major government publications like Social Indicators, 1973 and 1976, it has also become more modest and circumspect in its goals. Early "pie-in-the sky" goals such as social accounting, program evaluation, social forecasting, and prioritization have been recognized as unachievable or as separate from the uses of social indicators per se. Attention has not shifted to the core, practical goals of social monitoring, or the study of social change, and social reporting. This foresaking or at least postponing of important early goals has not weakened the social indicators movement,

however. By concentrating on what social indicators can do best, this has strengthened the value and empirical achievement of social indicators.

TELEVISION TIME AS A SOCIAL INDICATOR

John P. Robinson
Cleveland State University

Many of the most prominent "objective" social indicators involve the dimension of time--average life span, hospital days, length of workweek. Surveys provide other possible indicators including housework time, child care time and total amount of free time. While more child care time or free time are seen as "good," increased time devoted to television is usually seen as less desirable. Since increased TV time was the major activity shift in the 1970s, the issue is important.

The present paper examines this proposition through analysis of the behavioral correlates and the subjective responses associated with greater television viewing. Increased viewing is associated with decreased time in work, in social visiting, other socializing and personal care, and each of these activities is rated as significantly more enjoyable than TV viewing by most people. People are sacrificing more enjoyable (and energizing) activities for the time spent in front of the set.

Other psychological correlates or life-style orientations may be related to significantly more viewing; perceptions about personal health or illness, satisfaction with life, job or marriage; friendship networks; life ambitions; materialism; Type A personality traits; community participation; energy expended at work or while viewing; and perceptions of sufficient free time, feeling rushed, or wasted free time. While some of these perceptual states are related to increased viewing, not all of them are, and certain interpretations of the relative balance of results are discussed. As the uses and gratification approach to media research suggests, it may be less appropriate to focus on the types of activities people engage in than on their being able to derive some form of motivation or benefit from those activities.

POLICY REASONING: A NEW APPROACH TO THE
STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

William Michael Denney
University of Texas at Austin

This paper proposes a new theoretic perspective for the study of public opinion. The term "policy reasoning" is used to describe the processes by which ordinary citizens make sense of their personal experiences, social events, and public policy issues. The aim is to go beyond conventional opinion research that is grounded in static attitude theory, and to develop a better understanding of the underlying dynamics and flow in reasoning patterns about public problems and policies. From this perspective, attitudes are regarded as artifacts of underlying psychological processes which should be studied more directly.

The conceptual framework presented here was developed in the context of research on citizen reactions to the problems of energy and inflation in this country. Both the interconnections between these problems and their potential personal impact provide an especially cogent opportunity to investigate policy reasoning.

The key theoretic issues examined are: (1) locus-of-experience, pertaining to whether individuals perceive and encode specific social problems in a personal or a societal frame-of-reference (or both); (2) metaphorical reasoning, pertaining to the nature of images and constructs people may use to interpret their social world; (3) naive economics, which refers to the unofficial and often implicit personal theories the ordinary person may use to explain economic events (personal or societal); (4) causal attribution, drawn from the social psychology of attribution theory; (5) reasoning scripts, an extension of Abelson's script theory to deal with abstract interactions such as are typical in mass political participation.

PERSONAL STAKES AND SYMBOLIC POLITICS:
ENERGY POLICY IN A SUNBELT CITY

William Michael Denney
J. Stephen Hendricks
University of Texas at Austin

Donald R. Kinder
Yale University

Personal experience and perceived self-interest, especially economic interest, are commonly regarded as pivotal factors in public opinion formation and electoral behavior. Recent research, however, has cast serious doubt on the role of pocketbook issues in national politics. One important reformulation holds that citizens evaluate leaders and vote in both Congressional and Presidential elections not on the basis of personal stakes (egocentric response), but in accordance with perceived societal well being (sociotropic response).

The present study examines the relative importance of egocentric versus sociotropic opinion formation in the context of local, rather than national, politics. The test case is Austin, Texas, a rapidly growing sunbelt community with a history of controversy surrounding municipal electric utility policies and investment in a nearby nuclear energy project. Analysis of panel survey data reveals that even in the local setting, where personal stakes are more proximate and tangible, citizen evaluation of both public policies and local leadership is determined primarily by sociotropic mechanisms. In effect, symbolic politics prevails even in the community.

ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX LIMITATION:
THE 1978 MICHIGAN BALLOT PROPOSALS

Richard T. Curtin
The University of Michigan

In November 1978, following the June passage of California's Proposition 13, 22 proposals to lower or limit taxes were on the ballots in 17 states. Michigan's ballot listed three such proposals: one to limit the growth of state expenditures, one to lower property taxes, and one to change the form of payment for local schools to include a voucher. In a survey conducted just after the November 1978 election, a representative sample of Michigan adults were questioned about the election and about their preferences for state and local government expenditures. Voters were asked whether they voted for or against each of the tax proposals; nonvoters were asked whether they favored or opposed the passage of each. Respondents were also asked what results they expected from passage of each proposal, whether they

preferred increased or decreased government spending in several major program categories, and whether they preferred changes in overall government expenditures at the state or local level.

The results suggest that Michigan citizens were voting for tax limitation, not tax reduction. Distrust of government and belief that government was inefficient and wasteful played a central role in the determination of the vote. Although respondents did not generally favor expanded state and local budgets, many citizens did express unmet demands for public goods in specific areas.

BERNARD BERELSON: AN INNOVATOR IN PUBLIC OPINION,
COMMUNICATION, AND POPULATION RESEARCH

David L. Sills
Social Science Research Council

Bernard Berelson (1912-1979) was an internationally-renowned scholar who served as president of AAPOR in 1951-52 and who received the AAPOR Award in 1974. Trained as a librarian, Berelson published two classic books on reading and readers. He worked with Paul F. Lazarsfeld on The People's Choice (1944), of which he was a coauthor. He served as director of the Ford Foundation Program in the Behavioral Sciences and in effect created the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California. He was the senior author of Voting (1954), a book that is frequently cited today, as evidenced by the Social Science Citation Index. In 1961, he joined the Population Council, soon to become vice president and then president. He was the complete applied social scientist, impatient with theory if it seemed not to be relevant for research or policy. His 12 books and more than 90 articles are written in a direct, jargon-free style that is unmistakable; many provide evidence of his deep concern for the ethical implications of research in the social sciences. His relationships to Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Wilbur Schramm are reviewed as evidence of the unique role he played in the generation that created the contemporary social sciences.

WILBUR SCHRAMM: STILL PIONEERING

Jack Lyle
East-West Communication Institute

Breadth of vision is perhaps the most salient characteristic of Wilbur Schramm. It was that breadth of vision which enabled him to make the leap from the more traditional type of journalism program into establishment of a multi-disciplinary Institute of Communication at Champagne-Urbana. From this base he also stimulated the concept of using and studying the broadcast media as instructional tools.

It enabled him later to build at the Stanford Institute for Communication Research a unique strength in the general area of development communication. And it enabled him to make a "post-retirement" move to consolidate the development of a truly multi-national and interdisciplinary research and study program at the East-West Communication Institute.

Perhaps no other communication scholar is so widely known around the work as Schramm. Communication planners and scholars, particularly in the Third World countries, continue to look to him for fresh insights on their contemporary problems as typified in his 1979 paper for Unesco's McBride Commission.

Operating from Honolulu, Schramm continues to be a pioneer on the frontiers of communication study.

IMPACT ON HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND
MOTHERS OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

Bruce P. Dohrenwend
Columbia University

The study of household heads in the general population consisted of surveys of three different samples ranging in size from 50 to 380. The first sample was drawn in April, directly following the accident; the second was drawn in May; and the third and largest in July. The mothers of preschool children from the TMI area were first studied in a sampling in May and then in an additional sampling in July at the time that a control sample of Wilkes-Barre mothers with preschool children was added.

A core of similar measures of mental health, attitudes, and behavior were used in each study. Our main measures of objective threat were: Living within versus outside the five mile radius of TMI; and having preschool age children in one's family or not.

We found that demoralization was sharply elevated immediately after the accident but dissipated rapidly among most groups. We estimate that a substantial minority, about 10% of the household heads, showed severe demoralization (of a degree that is typical of severely disturbed mental patients) right after the accident that was directly attributable to the accident itself. These 10% are an increase of about two thirds over the 15% or so who would ordinarily show such a high level of demoralization for a variety of reasons other than the accident. The most demoralized persons were household heads living within five miles of TMI and mothers of preschool children. Other measures of effect also varied with these factors and some of them, like distrust, remained high at the time of our last measurements.

IMPACT OF THE THREE MILE ISLAND ACCIDENT
ON NUCLEAR WORKERS

Stanislav V. Kasl
Yale University School of Medicine

The study examines the reactions of a group of nuclear workers to an extreme crisis situation, the accident at the Three Mile Island (TMI). Subjects include a sample of full-time workers employed at the TMI plant when the accident occurred (N = 324) and a sample of workers from a similar nuclear plant (Peach Bottom, PB), located approximately 40 miles away (N = 298). Data were collected between August 20 and September 29 (5-6 months after the accident) by extensive telephone interviews, which were based on a detailed questionnaire. The participation rate at both locations was 61%; non-participants were both refusals as well as workers who could not be reached at home within the limited study periods. The major indicators of impact include: perceived damage to physical health, job-related tension, demoralization and its components, role conflict, perceived workplace hazards, certainty about occupational future, personal economic impact, and perceived hostility from the community. Results focus on the differences between TMI vs PB supervisory and non-supervisory employees.

THE THREAT OF RELEASING KRYPTON 85:
BEHAVIORAL AND MENTAL HEALTH EFFECTS
ON PEOPLE LIVING IN THE AREA

Raymond L. Goldsteen
Columbia University

This paper is a preliminary report of research in progress which focuses on the issues of community mental health. The connections between trust in public and utility company officials, perceived health danger and demoralization will be explored.

The present research was begun after the announcement that large amounts of radioactive krypton might be released in the TMI area, making it evident that TMI has become a chronic disaster with the potential for long-term mental health effects on the community. It builds upon two previous studies of psychological effects which were initiated after the original accident of March 28, 1979: 1) a study conducted for the President's Commission on the Accident at TMI and 2) a study conducted by Newberry Township, the population of which 70% lives within five miles of TMI. The present research uses 100 respondents from the general population sampled for the President's Commission and 100 people from the Newberry Township study. A comparison group of 50 was drawn from the general population of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, a community situated 100 miles north of TMI.

The previous studies utilized a questionnaire containing the same measures of demoralization (from Frank, Persuasion and Healing), trust in officials, perceived health danger, and desire to leave the TMI area. The present questionnaire uses these same core items as well as additional measures specific to the time of administration and other measures felt to be outcomes of a long-term environmental threat on community mental health.

IDEOLOGY AND THE WATER'S EDGE: A COMPARISON
OF ELITE AND MASS FOREIGN POLICY BELIEFS

Barbara A. Bardes
Loyola University of Chicago

Robert Oldendick
University of Cincinnati

Although there exists considerable theory about the differences between elites and the general public with regard to the formation of public opinion, there have been few empirical comparisons of the two groups, particularly with regard to foreign affairs issues. This study examines the foreign policy opinions of an elite sample and contrasts the structure of those opinions with

that found in a companion general national survey. Using the data collected for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in 1974, the authors factor-analyzed a subset of foreign policy questions for each of the two samples. The resulting factor solutions are compared with respect to the structure of the dimensions, the pattern of the variables loading on the factors and the substantive interpretation of the factors. Factor scores were computed for both the elite and the public samples and analyzed for their respective correlations with the political party affiliation and self-identified political philosophy of the respondents. The evidence from this study raises important questions about the nature of political ideology and the degree to which foreign policy opinions can be arrayed along a single well-integrated continuum. It also has implications for linkage theory both in terms of how elites influence the foreign policy opinions of the public and the building of support for specific foreign policy alternatives by decision-makers.

POLITICAL POLLING IN GERMANY

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann
 Institut für Publizistik der Universität Mainz and
 Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach

As an example of political polling in the Federal Republic of Germany, survey research counsel given to one of the major political parties, the Christian Democrats, in the 1976 Bundestag election campaign is outlined. In the process, seven new questioning and analysis techniques aimed at overcoming the use of results at fact value were used:

1. Selection of those issues as central election themes which, according to panel analysis, actually motivated people to swing to this party.
2. Control of effect by the same panel analysis technique - which issues and which persons actually motivated late deciders in favor of the one or the other party.
3. Selection of issues and effect control: development of new questioning techniques in order to probe the saliency of possible central themes, and, as a matter of effect control, to check whether the election campaign enhanced the saliency of these themes as well as the party's reputation of particular efficiency in these issues.
4. Long-term trend analyses to trace ground currents.

5. Trend analysis of the emotional quality of possible campaign key words: which of these words not only have a positive charge, but actually increase in positive charge? The same analysis is applied to the negative spectrum of attacks leveled at the opposing party.
6. Questioning techniques to facilitate the a priori appraisal of the cumulative effect with regard to candidates' photos and slogan tests as it occurs during the campaign.

PERCEPTUAL SHIFTS REGARDING SWINE FLU
IMMUNIZATION AND ADVERSE REACTIONS

Walter J. Gunn
Center for Disease Control

In August 1976, a series of 9 monthly national opinion surveys was initiated to track the attitudes of the American public regarding the Swine Flu Immunization Program.

Public awareness of the potential Swine Flu problem and the immunization program was quite high in August 1976 and rose steadily thereafter. Vaccine acceptance rose from August through October. It then fell significantly after the widely-publicized deaths of three elderly persons in Pittsburgh from 58% to 47%. Following reports of Guillain-Barre Syndrome in December, vaccine acceptance fell from 51% to 35%. The percentage of people who rejected immunization against Swine Flu increased at a slow but steady rate from 13% in August to 16% in October and jumped to 31% after the Pittsburgh publicity in November. Rejection rose to 36% by December and then jumped to 58% in January after publicity about the Guillain-Barre Syndrome. In December, 27% of those who had the shot said they had had some kind of reaction to the vaccine. The vast majority of these reported reactions were described as being quite mild. By February, only half as many people stated that they had had a reaction. While significantly fewer people remember having a reaction to the Swine Flu vaccine, those who do remember appear to be those who had the more severe reactions, as indicated by the significantly higher percentage of respondents reporting severe headaches, sore arms, and fever.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL'S POLITICAL WORLD:
COLD TEA FOR HARD TIMES

Richard M. Merelman
University of Wisconsin

This paper examines Lasswell's vision of instability in democratic regimes. Lasswell identified four major sources of such instability: the psychological characteristics of leaders and followers in democracies; the propensity towards symbolization among humans; the rise of new elites of skill in industrial societies; and the growth of propaganda. The paper analyzes and criticizes each of these four elements of Lasswell's view. The paper then examines Lasswell's attempt to control these disintegrative characteristics through the mechanisms of the "policy sciences of democracy." This aspect of Lasswell's theorizing is found to be particularly wanting. The paper concludes with an effort to see the unsatisfactory nature of Lasswell's theory of democratic instability in the contexts of Lasswell's time, intellectual history in American social science, and American national character.

NOTES

NOTES

NOTES

