PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS

37TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN & WORLD ASSOCIATIONS FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

HUNT VALLEY INN
Hunt Valley, Maryland

MAY 20 - MAY 23, 1982

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MAY 20 ~ MAY 23, 1982

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PROGRAM AND ABSTRACTS

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

37TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
and
WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Hunt Valley Inn, Hunt Valley, Maryland
May 20 through May 23, 1982

THURSDAY, MAY 20

3:00-9:00 Main Lobby	REGISTRATION
2:00-5:30 Parlor B	MEETING OF OLD AND NEW EXECUTIVE COUNCILS
6:00-8:30 Maryland 1, 2 & 3	DINNER
8:45 Hunt Room	FIRST PLENARY SESSION: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT MEASURING SUBJECTIVE PHENOMENA

Chair: Seymour Sudman, University of Illinois

"Learning from the Past, Preparing for the Future: The Report of the National Academy of Science's Panel on Survey Measurement of Subjective Phenomenon"
Charles Turner, National Academy of Science
Elizabeth Martin, Bureau of Social Science Research

"Is it Time to Think of New Research Structures for Survey Research?"
Murray Aborn, National Science Foundation

"Is Item Order the Quota Sampling of the 80's?"
James Davis, Harvard University

FRIDAY, MAY 21

7:30-9:30 Hunt Room — BREAKFAST

9:15-10:45 Maryland 3 — TOPICS IN INTERVIEWING: NEW METHODS AND EFFECTS

Chair: Eleanor Singer, Columbia University

"A Comparison of Face-to-Face and Telephone Interviews for Conducting Local Household Health Surveys"
Michael F. Weeks, Richard A. Kulka and Judith T. Lessler, Research Triangle Insitute

"The Relationship Between Interviewer Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Study Response Rate"
Sanford M. Schwartz, WESTAT

"On the Manifest Designation of Key Items: A Cost-Effective Procedure for Improving the Collection and Processing of Survey Data"
Richard A. Kulka, Jennifer J. McNeill and Arthur J. Bonito, Research Triangle Institute

"An Experiemental Evaluation Study of Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)"
Gerald H. Shure and Craig M. Rogers, UCLA
Donald P. Trees, The Rand Corporation

Discussant: Charles D. Cowan, U.S. Bureau of the Census

9:15-10:45 Parlors C & D — SURVEY RESEARCH AND PUBLIC POLICY

Chair: Stanley Presser, University of Michigan

"The Use and Non-Use of Public Opinion Data in the Foreign Policy Process"
Robert G. Meadow, University of California, San Diego
John P. Robinson, University of Maryland

"Feasibility Study for a Survey of the Employers of Undocumented Aliens"
Barry R. Chiswick and Francis Fullam, University of Illinois

"Assumptions About Mass Media Effectiveness in Pre-Disaster Evacuation Plans"
Don Smith, University of Iowa

Discussant: Carol Weiss, Harvard University

FRIDAY, MAY 21

9:15-10:45 Parlor A

ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE OPINION: CASE STUDIES

Chair: Joan S. Black, General Electric Company

"Effects of Mode of Communication and Distraction on Opinion and Behavior Change"
V.J. Geller, Bell Laboratories

"The $250 Million Government Almost Nobody Pays Attention To: A Community Education Project in Montgomery County"
David A. Karns, Wright State University

"Despite the Odds: How to Wage and Project a Successful Write-in Campaign"
Timothy J. De Young and F. Chris Garcia, University of New Mexico

"What All Sorts of People Heard, Knew and Thought About the 1980 Census, How They Got That Way, and How It May Have Affected What They Did"
Jeffrey C. Moore, U.S. Bureau of the Census

11:00-12:30 Maryland 3

NEW TECHNOLOGIES, NEW TIMES: SHOULD AAPOR STANDARDS BE REVISED

Moderator: Deborah Hensler, The Rand Corporation

Panelists: Albert Cantril, Bureau of Social Science Research
Burns W. Roper, The Roper Organization
Daniel Horvitz, Research Triangle Institute

11:00-12:30 Parlors C & D

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF INCOME

Chair: Denton Vaughan, Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration

"The Consistency Among Measures of Income Evaluation"
Diane Colasanto and Mary Balistreri, University of Wisconsin at Madison

"A Test of a Theory of Preference Formation Based on Longitudinal Data"
Huib van de Stadt, Central Bureau of Statistics (The Netherlands)
Arie Kapteyn, Tilburg University (The Netherlands)

"A Technique for the Validation of Equivalence Scales"
Steven Dubnoff, University of Massachusetts-Boston

Discussants: Frank M. Andrews, University of Michigan
Jackques van der Gaag, World Bank

FRIDAY, MAY 21

11:00-12:30 Parlor A	WAPOR SESSION: THE EUROPEAN VALUE SYSTEM'S STUDY AND AN AMERICAN SURVEY COMPARISON Chair: Robert M. Worcester, Market & Opinion Research International (Great Britain) Introduction: Jean Stoetzel, Faits et Opinions (France) Participants: Andrew Kohut, Gallup International (USA) Gordon Heald, Gallup International (Great Britain) Gordon Henderson, CARA (USA) Discussant: Juan Linz, Yale University (USA & Spain)
12:30-1:45 Hunt Room	LUNCH
2:00-3:30	ROUND TABLE SESSIONS
Maryland 3	Forensic Polling Chair: I.A. Bud Lewis, *Los Angeles Times*
Parlor A	Life Styles, Longevity and the Quality of Life Chair: Jack Elinson, Columbia University
Parlors C & D	Demographics: Key to the 80's Chair: Fabian Linden, The Conference Board
Parlor B	Microcomputers and Survey Research Chair: Sheldon R. Gawiser, Survey Research Division, Computerworks
Chase Room	Audience Dynamics, A Necessary First Step in Communications Research Chair: William S. Reubens, NBC

FRIDAY, MAY 21

3:45-5:15 MEASUREMENT ISSUES

Maryland 3 Chair: William C. Eckerman, Research Triangle Institute

"Some Effects of Sequenced Questions Using Different Time Intervals on Behavioral Self-Reports: A Field Experiment"
James W. Swinehart, Public Communication Resources
Irving Crespi, Irving Crespi and Associates

"Are Some Question Order Effects More Enduring Than Others?"
George F. Bishop, Robert W. Oldendick and Albert J. Tuchfarber, University of Cincinnati

"The Construct Validity and Error Components of Survey Measures: Estimates From a Structural Modeling Approach"
Frank M. Andrews, University of Michigan

Discussant: Richard A. Kulka, Research Triangle Institute

3:45-5:15 MEDIA EFFECTS: LARGE, SMALL AND IMAGINED

Parlors C & D Chair: Mark R. Levy, University of Maryland

"Television's Impact on the Symbolic Environment: Evidence from Editorial Cartoon Labeling, 1948-1980"
James R. Beniger, Princeton University

"The Influence of New Media and Citizen Groups on the Knowledge Gap in an Inner-City Neighborhood"
Cecilie Gaziano, University of Minnesota

"Mass Media Scholars' Beliefs About the Impact of Television on Children"
Carl R. Bybee, State University of New York at Albany and Purdue University
Joseph Turow and James D. Robinson, Purdue University

Discussant: Mark R. Levy, University of Maryland

FRIDAY, MAY 21

3:45-5:15	THE OPINION FORMATION PROCESS AND AGENDA SETTING
Parlor A	Chair: Lutz Erbring, University of Chicago and National Opinion Research Center
	"Why They Think They Think That Way: Insights into Opinion Formation" Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois-Chicago Circle
	"Press Coverage and Public Response: A Theory of Agenda-Setting" Maxwell E. McCombs and Kandice L. Salomone, Syracuse University
	"Television News, Real-World Cues, and Changes in the Public Agenda" Ray Behr and Shantc Iyengar, Yale University
	"Implications of Contingent Conditions for Agenda-Setting Research" David Weaver, Indiana University
	Discussant: Michael MacKuen, Washington University
5:15-6:15 Parlors C & D	WAPOR BUSINESS MEETING
5:30-6:30 Maryland Foyer	RECEPTION FOR NEW ATTENDEES
7:00-8:30 Maryland 1, 2 & 3	DINNER
8:45 Hunt Room	SECOND PLENARY SESSION: SOCIAL RESEARCH: THE FEDERAL POLICY ENVIRONMENT
	Chair: Albert E. Gollin, Newspaper Advertising Bureau
	Speakers: Ronald H. Hinckley, The White House, Office of Planning and Evaluation Roberta Miller, Consortium of Social Science Associations
	Discussants: Philip Converse, University of Michigan David Gergen, The White House, Assistant to the President for Communications

SATURDAY, MAY 22

7:30-9:30 Hunt Room — BREAKFAST

8:00 Hunt Room — Breakfast Meeting for Informal Idea Exchange Among Local Chapter Officials

9:15-10:45 Maryland 3 — BEYOND RANDOM SAMPLING

Chair: Michael Rappeport, R L Associates

"The Normal Vote Model and Strategies for Predicting Whether a Citizen Will Vote"
Michael Traugott, University of Michigan
Clyde Tucker, CBS News

"Respondent Selection Procedures for Telephone Surveys; Must They Be Invasive?"
Dan E. Hagen and Charlotte Meier Collier, Chilton Research Services

"Selection Bias and the Inclusion Rule in Multiplicity Sampling"
George S. Rothbart, Michelle Fine and Seymour Sudman, Center for Policy Research

9:15-10:45 Parlors C & D — EXECUTIVES, THE MEDIA, AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

Chair: Fred Goldner, Queens College, C.U.N.Y.

"Executive Women: The Balance Between Professional and Private Roles"
Olivia Schieffelin Nordberg, American Demographics

"The CEO of the Eighties"
Richard N. Sawaya, Atlantic Richfield Company
Dale Steuble, Opinion Research Corporation

"Community Structure, Conflict and Source-Audience Similarity in Perception of Issues"
C.N. Olien, P.J. Tichenor and G.A. Donohue, University of Minnesota

Discussant: R.R. Ritti, Pennsylvania State University

SATURDAY, MAY 22

9:15-10:45
Parlor A

WAPOR SESSION: LEARNING FROM SPLIT-BALLOT EXPERIMENTS: A NOTE ON PROGRESS IN QUESTIONNAIRE METHODOLOGY

Chair: Howard Schuman, University of Michigan (USA)

"Split-Ballot Experiments in the Federal Republic of Germany"
Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, Institut fur Demoskopie Allensbach (Federal Republic of Germany)

"Testing Verbal Tags and Other Split-Ballot Experiments"
Robert M. Worcester, Market & Opinion Research International (Great Britain)

"Conditional Order Effects"
Tom W. Smith, National Opinion Research Center (USA)

Discussant: Stanley L. Payne (USA)

11:00-12:30
Maryland 3

ETHICAL AND UNETHICAL PRACTICES IN METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Chair: Barbara Bailar, U.S. Bureau of the Census

"Informed Consent: Ghost of the Past, Specter of the Future"
Sigmund Diamond, Columbia University

"A Critical Examination of Some Rules and Premises of Surveys"
Elizabeth Martin, Bureau of Social Science Research

"Voodoo Polling"
Barry Orton, University of Wisconsin

Discussant: Judith Tanur, State University of New York at Stony Brook

11:00-12:30
Parlors C & D

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF TECHNOLOGICAL RISK

Chair: Donald R. DeLuca, Yale University

"Research on the Public Perception of Technological Risks"
Donald R. DeLuca, Yale University

"Perceived Risk and Studies of Psychological Stress Associated with the Accident at Three Mile Island"
Pat Rathbun, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

"Local Siting and Risk Concern"
Robert Cameron Mitchell, Resources for the Future

Discussant: David L. Sills, Social Science Research Council

SATURDAY, MAY 22

11:00-12:30 Parlor A	ISSUES IN CROSS-NATIONAL RESEARCH
	Chair: Lorna Opatow, Opatow Associates, Inc.
	"Measurement Issues in Cross-National Attitude Surveys" Susan P. Douglas and Robert W. Shoemaker, New York University
	"Maybe It Will Work There: An International Agency's Approach to Multi-National Advertising" Jennifer Stewart, Ogilvy and Mather Advertising
	"Adapting International Survey Research to Government Needs" Francis S. Bourne, Research Consultant; former Near East, South Asia Research Chief, United States International Communication Agency
	Discussant: Lorna Opatow, Opatow Associates, Inc.
12:30-1:45 Hunt Room	LUNCH
2:00-3:30	ROUND TABLE SESSIONS
Maryland 3	The History of AAPOR Chair: Paul Sheatsley, National Opinion Research Center
Parlor A	Advertising Believability Chair: Bertram Gold, Hofstra University
Parlors C & D	Polling in a Gubernatorial Election: New Jersey 1981 Chair: Cliff Zukin, Rutgers University
Parlor B	Telephone Callback Strategies Chair: Diane O'Rourke, University of Illinois
Chase Room	Experience and Opinion Formation: Different Approaches to Measurement Chair: Kandice L. Salomone, Syracuse University
Tack Room	The 1980 Post-Election U.S. National Mood: The Final Report of Students Participating in a Cooperative Venture in Undergraduate Education by the Opinion Research Corporation and Princeton University Chair: Keating Holland, Princeton University
3:45-5:15 Maryland 3	AAPOR BUSINESS MEETING

SATURDAY, MAY 22

6:30-8:00 Maryland Foyer	PRE-BANQUET DUTCH TREAT COCKTAIL PARTY
8:00 Maryland Ballroom	BANQUET Presiding: Burns W. Roper, President Remarks: Seymour Sudman, Past President Presentation of AAPOR Student Award Presentation of Helen Dinerman Award (WAPOR) Presentation of AAPOR Award
After Banquet Maryland Foyer	PRESIDENT'S DUTCH TREAT PARTY

SUNDAY, MAY 23

7:30-9:30 Hunt Room — BREAKFAST

9:15-10:45 Maryland 1 & 2 — CHANGES IN POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND IDEOLOGY

Chair: Everett C. Ladd, The University of Connecticut

"Elections and the Level of Government Component of Party Identification"
Patrick R. Cotter, University of Alabama

"Particularization in Voting in Federal and State Elections, 1954-80, Connecticut: A Case Study"
Peter Tuckel, Hunter College, C.U.N.Y.
Kurt Schlichting, Fairfield University
Richard Maisel, New York University

"Probing the Liberal-Conservative Dimension"
Shirae Cho and William Spinrad, Adelphi University

Discussant: G. Donald Ferree, University of Connecticut

11:00-12:30 Maryland 3 — THE NEW RIGHT: SOCIAL CHANGE AND CENSORSHIP

Chair: James R. Beniger, Princeton University

"Dimensions and Determinants of Moral Majority Support"
Mitchel Cohen, The Gallup Organization
Robert Liebman and Robert Wirthnow, Princeton University

"Religious Fundamentalists: Their Numbers, Their Demographics, Their Attitudes"
Burns W. Roper, The Roper Organization

"Religious Fundamentalists' Involvement with Television Programs: Secular and Religious"
J. Ronald Milavsky, William S. Reubens and Horst Stipp, NBC

SUNDAY, MAY 23

11:00-12:30 Parlor A

TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC OPINION

Chair: David L. Sills, Social Science Research Council

"The Use of Survey Data in Basic Research in the Social Sciences"
Stanley Presser, University of Michigan

"Strong Arguments and Weak Evidence: The Open/Closed Question Controversy of the 1940's"
Jean M. Converse, University of Michigan

Discussants: Allen H. Barton, Columbia University
Richard W. Boyd, Wesleyan University
David L. Sills, Social Science Research Council

12:30 Hunt Room

LUNCH

TOPICS IN INTERVIEWING: NEW METHODS AND EFFECTS

A COMPARISON OF FACE-TO-FACE AND TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS FOR CONDUCTING LOCAL HOUSEHOLD HEALTH SURVEYS

Michael F. Weeks, Richard A. Kulka, Judith T. Lessler
Research Triangle Institute

This paper reports on a methodological study which compared the face-to-face (personal) interview mode and the telephone interview mode for the collection of health data from households. An area probability personal interview survey and a random-digit-dial telephone survey were conducted simultaneously during 1981 in the same area and utilizing the same interview schedule. Following completion of the surveys, a subsample of the respondents to each was selected and the medical providers reported in the interviews were surveyed in order to evaluate the validity of the data. This paper compares the two survey modes with respect to response rate, costs, validity, and mode effects. For each of these comparisions, the results are discussed in terms of both their relation to prior personal-telephone interview comparisons in the literature and their relevance for conducting health surveys in local areas.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERVIEWER SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND STUDY RESPONSE RATE

Sanford M. Schwartz
WESTAT

In this paper we seek to examine the relationship between several interviewer socio-demographic characteristics and interviewer performance on different types of telephone surveys. Specifically we will examine the relationship between interviewer sex, age, race, interviewing experience and educational attainment on the response rates achieved on different surveys. Separate analyses will be performed from surveys with list samples of employers, national random digit dialing samples of households, and list samples of household members in case/control epidemiological surveys. (An attempt is currently being made to include other studies in this paper that compare interviewer socio-demographic characteristics and respondents socio-demographic characteristics with response rates).

Our sample size is 106 interviewers who are distributed over the different studies. Statistical tests of significance will be computed (both at the bivariate and the multiple variate levels) between the independent variables (interviewer characteristics) and the one dependent variable (response rates). An analysis of the data will be presented along with a discussion of the study's research implications for survey practitioners.

ON THE MANIFEST DESIGNATION OF KEY ITEMS: A COST-EFFECTIVE PROCEDURE FOR IMPROVING THE COLLECTION AND PROCESSING OF SURVEY DATA

Richard A. Kulka, Jennifer J. McNeill and Arthur J. Bonito
Research Triangle Institute

A common procedure employed by many survey organizations to reduce the incidence of missing data is the designation of "key items" which are given special attention in editing and data processing. In general, however, interviewers are not made aware of which items are key or not, thereby limiting their capacity to improve the completeness and quality of response to such items.

In response to this apparent problem, an experiment was conducted within a survey recently conducted by RTI, in which key items were selected during questionnaire construction and conspicuously identified in the questionnaire by "bullets" in the margins for half of the interviewers, while the remaining interviewers conducted their interviews using a standard questionnarie with no key item designations either within the questionnaire or in their instructions. This paper reports the results of that experiment, including the effects of explicit key item designation on "fail edit" rates and the incidence of missing data on other non-key (and unedited) items, along with other information on the reactions of editors and "refusal conversion" interviewers to this procedure, and the production use of this method in another survey.

AN EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION STUDY OF COMPUTER-ASSISTED TELEPHONE INTERVIEWING (CATI)

Gerald H. Shure, UCLA
Donald P. Trees, Rand Corporation
Craig M. Rogers, UCLA

An evaluation study was conducted comparing computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) to traditional telephone interviewing (nonCATI). Data quality, cost, data collection and processing time, and interviewer preference were compared. Twenty interviewers were each randomly assigned to one of two sequences of twenty interviews, twelve CATI followed by eight nonCATI or twelve nonCATI followed by eight CATI. The questionnaire included items on selected sociodemographic information collected for members of the households over 18, items measuring attitudes toward crime and courtroom practices, and a systematically varied hypothetical murder case in which the respondent assumed the role of juror. Variations in item order, contingent and noncontingent branching, item formats and a household grid were incorporated to examine the interaction between structure and method. The results showed that on 14 measures of datat quality, CATI produced data of equal or higher quality at competitive costs, reduced processing time, and was preferred by interviewers. Furthermore, our findings demonstrate that CATI can accomodate interviewing complexities without error.

SURVEY RESEARCH AND PUBLIC POLICY

THE USE AND NONUSE OF PUBLIC OPINION DATA IN THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

Robert G. Meadow
University of California, San Diego

John P. Robinson
University of Maryland

This paper addresses questions concerning the use of public opinion data by public policy makers. These questions have plagued both political philosophers and policy practitioners alike. Focusing specifically on the use of polls in foreign policy decisionmaking, we first present the reasoning behind the arguments of those encouraging or discouraging the use of polling data in policymaking. Although many of the theoretical justifications for rejecting polls as inputs in the policy process are sound, limitations of survey data further limit their utility to policymakers. In the second portion of the paper, we offer evidence on the use of polls by policymakers. Extensive interviews with some thirty top level policymakers in the executive and legislative branches of government reveal the limited use of polls in the policymaking process, althouth there is some evidence that polls are used to shape the presentation of policies already decided. Implications for pollsters and policymakers alike are offered in conclusion.

FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR A SURVEY OF THE EMPLOYERS OF UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS

Barry R. Chiswick and Francis Fullam
University of Illinois

Because of the large and apparently increasing number of undocumented aliens in the United States, important policy decisions will be made in the next few years regarding U.S. immigration law and its enforcement.

The question that had to be addressed prior to a large scale survey was whether it is feasible to interview employers on a subject that is potentially so very sensitive. In addition, the pilot survey tested the feasibility of using Immigration and Naturalization Service administrative records as a means of identifying employers of undocumented aliens.

The pilot study selected a small nonprobability sample of employers in the Chicago SMSA known to have employed at least one undocumented alien. Experienced interviewers were used to conduct 30 minute face-to-face interviews with the person in charge of hiring at the establishments.

Of the 40 eligible employers selected, 31 (78 percent) completed the interview during a three week field period in January - February of 1980. While this was a feasibility study some findings are particularly interesting and suggestive. Ninty percent of the employers said they required Social Security numbers from all workers whom they hire. About half the employers said they required citizenship or resident alien status of all workers while one-quarter said they require this for none of the workers and one-quarter required it for some.

When the questions shifted from hiring requirements to hiring practices, there was a greater admission of hiring workers without a legal right to work in this country. Employers appeared to have a poor understanding of their legal liabilities and in effect admitted that their practices were in violation of what they (incorrectly) believed to be the legal requirements.

ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE OPINION: CASE STUDIES

EFFECTS OF MODE OF COMMUNICATION AND DISTRATION ON OPINION AND BEHAVIOR CHANGE

V. J. Geller
Bell Laboratories

Attention to or comprehension of verbal messages may be enhanced or interfered with by the visual and vocal information contained in audiovisual or audio modes of communication, or by extraneous distractors. This research examined how these factors affect the success of persuasion attempts. Three modalitites (Written, Audio, and Audiovisual), ranging in available information from Verbal-only to Verbal/Vocal to Verbal/Vocal/Visual were examined with and without distracting stimuli. The persuasive communication urged donating blood, thus allowing assessment of both behavior and attitude change. Results indicate a lack of correspondence between the attitudinal and behavioral measures. While there was greatest positive attitude change in the Written modality, this attitude was not a good predictor of actual behavior. All individuals who subsequently donated blood received their persuasive message while being exposed to a distracting stimulus. Explanations for this effect are offered, based on analyses of attention and comprehension measures. These results suggest a re-evaluation of the many attitude change studies that examine only attitudinal measures and attempt to generalize to subsequent behavior.

THE $250 MILLION GOVERNMENT ALMOST NOBODY PAYS ATTENTION TO: A COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROJECT IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY

David A. Karns
Wright State University

In August, 1981, the Community Roundtable and League of Women Voters commissioned a study of citizen attitudes toward the government of Montgomery County with an eye to possible structural changes. The project had three planned phases: (1) a survey of 616 registered voters in the County during the last two weeks in September, (2) an educational "media effort" during the first week in October organized by a member of the Community Roundtable executive committee, and (3) a follow up survey with 371 voters interviewed in the first phase during the last two weeks in October. A post media effort survey of an additional 424 registered voters served as a control group.

The media effort failed to reach the proportions of a major blitz for a number of reasons. However, the comparison of the three surveys demonstrated that the survey contact itself produced a significant change in overall knowledge of County government. The experimental group did not manifest significant changes in their attitudes about the effectiveness of County government, attitudes toward structural change, and local political efficacy.

DESPITE THE ODDS: HOW TO WAGE AND PROJECT A SUCCESSFUL WRITE-IN CAMPAIGN

Timothy J. De Young and F. Chris Garcia
University of New Mexico

Very little is known about successful write-in campaigns and about appropriate survey methodology for write-ins. Successful write-in campaigns are few because of the psychological and institutional obstacles in the way of a candidate's attempting to win office through the write-in route. Opinion survey methodology must be modified in order to deal with these rare situations. This paper has a dual thrust: (1) it analyzes the factors that must be present in order for a successful write-in campaign to be waged, and (2) it suggests modifications in opinion survey methodology which can successfully measure and project electoral standings of write-in candidates.

First, a model of write-in success is developed. Elements included in the model are: (1) a critical situation creating a volatile political situation; (2) a write-in candidate with capabilities for maximizing the opportunity; and (3) an optimal environment for the voter.

The particular methodological problems of opinion surveys that are inherent in write-in campaigns are also described and analyzed. Opinion methodology must be devised which will simulate as closely as possible the actual situation encountered by voters when faced with the write-in candidacy.

WHAT ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE HEARD, KNEW AND THOUGHT ABOUT THE 1980 CENSUS, HOW THEY GOT THAT WAY, AND HOW IT MAY HAVE AFFECTED WHAT THEY DID

Jeffrey C. Moore
U.S. Bureau of the Census

The Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) project was developed to evaluate the effectiveness of the public information campaign for the 1980 Decennial Census. The project employed a non-overlapping, pre/post survey design (using a 50 PSU, multi-stage, national area probability household sample), with an accompanying record check of census mail response behavior. This design permitted analysis of the effectiveness of the campaign as measured by (1) penetration; (2) changes in knowledge about and (3) attitudes toward the census; and (4) effects on behavior. The guiding analytical strategy (primarily involving log-linear model fitting with jackknifed chi-square significance tests) was to investigate the possible differential effects of the public information campaign on different racial/ethnic and household income "publics." The evidence indicates that the campaign (1) was very effective at reaching American households; (2) produced greater knowledge about the census, especially among those who knew the least at the outset; (3) had minimal impact on people's already quite positive attitudes; and (4) elicited small but very cost-effective increments in census mail response.

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF INCOME

THE CONSISTENCY AMONG MEASURES OF INCOME EVALUATION

Diane Colasanto and Mary Balistreri
University of Wisconsin, Madison

This paper assesses the methodological properties of survey measures which elicit subjective judgments about income. The consistency among several differnt subjective measures of income evaluation is examined to answer the general question of how respondents approach the task of evaluation and to assess the validity of the measures. Examination of the ways in which these scales overlap is used to infer the cognitive concepts used by respondents to choose income amounts which represent different utility levels.

The data are from the Wisconsin Basic Needs Study (BNS). During each of five interviews, conducted at three-month intervals, respondents from 1,800 participating households provided detailed information about household economic circumstances and their subjective assessments of the utility of different amounts of income.

A TEST OF A THEORY OF PREFERENCE FORMATION BASED ON LONGITUDINAL DATA

Huib van de Stadt
Central Bureau of Statistics (The Netherlands)

Arie Kapteyn
Tilburg University (The Netherlands)

The paper provides the most advances test yet of a preference formation (PF) theory proposed by Kapteyn. The measure of preferences used in the paper is the so-called individual welfare function of income (WFI) developed by Van Praag. The data are drawn from two waves of a panel of 800 family heads interviewed at annual intervals and include two observations of the WFI, after tax income, family composition, and various socio-economic characteristics.

LISREL is used to estimate the model's parameters and to test its fit to the data. Changes in WFI's between the two periods appear to be in accordance with the predictions of the theory. The results allow for the construction of family equivalence scales and make it possible to predict both the short and long run welfare effects of changes in the income distribution.

A TECHNIQUE FOR THE VALIDATION OF EQUIVALENCE SCALES

Steven Dubnoff
University of Massachusetts, Boston

This paper presents a technique for the validation of family size income equivalence scales which follows from the economic definition of a true cost of living index, that is, a transformation of income such that utility is equalized in two different situations. On the assumption that the direct Andrews/Withey income satisfaction measure provides a plausible measure of utility, the strategy is to compare the multiple partial R^2 of family size, controlling for income, under varying transformations of income. A perfectly valid equivalence scale should have a multiple R^2 of zero. Using data from a national sample, various published scales will be evaluated and compared.

MEASUREMENT ISSUES

SOME EFFECTS OF SEQUENCED QUESTIONS USING DIFFERENT TIME INTERVALS ON BEHAVIORAL SELF-REPORTS: A FIELD EXPERIMENT

James W. Swinehart
Public Communication Resources

Irving Crespi
Irving Crespi and Associates

As part of an evaluation of a TV series on health, four national surveys were conducted over a period of seven months. Each survey involved personal interviews with an independent probability sample of 1,500 adults and included a set of items on personal health actions (e.g., having blood pressure checked, dieting to lose weight, increasing exercise).

In the first two surveys, respondents were asked which of the specified actions, if any, they had taken in the past two months. In the final two waves, a split-sample design was used: half of the sample received the same question used previously, and the other half received this question after first being asked which of the actions they had taken in the past six months.

When the six-month question was asked first, affirmative responses to the two-month quesiton averaged 12% less than when the two-month question was used alone. This result is discussed in relation to the general problem of possible bias in behavioral self-reports resulting from memory error or "telescoping" of socially desirable responses.

ARE SOME QUESTION ORDER EFFECTS MORE ENDURING THAN OTHERS?

George F. Bishop, Robert W. Oldendick, and Alfred J. Tuchfarber
University of Cincinnati

Previous research has shown that differences in question order and context can dramatically affect survey results. In this report the authors will extend that research with data from recent split-ballot experiments designed to answer several questions: (1) Can question order effects that are known to exist be eliminated simply by separating the affected items from each other in the questionnaire--e.g., by "splicing in" questions on unrelated topics? (2) Are there some topics on which order and context effects will occur regardless of how much the affected items are separated from one another in the interview schedule? (3) Are there also certain respondents for whom question order effects can be eliminated by merely separating the contaminated items, but others for whom this will not work? And (4) What are the cognitive processes which mediate such effects?

THE CONSTRUCT VALIDITY AND ERROR COMPONENTS OF SURVEY MEASURES: ESTIMATES FROM A STRUCTURAL MODELING APPROACH

Frank M. Andrews
University of Michigan

Measurement errors can have profound effects on statistical relationships, and better information on the quality of measures seems needed. This study uses a new technology--structural modeling of data from special supplements to regular surveys--to generate estimates of (a) construct validity, (b) method effects (a major source of correlated error), and (c) residual error (mainly random error) for a broad set of measures obtained from 5 national surveys and an organizational survey (total respondents = 7,642). Measurement quality was estimated for 106 survey items as answered by approximately 20 (sometimes overlapping) respondent groups to produce 2,115 sets of quality estimates. Analysis of these estimates suggested a typical survey item, when administered by a respected survey organization to a general-population sample, can be expected to yield 50-80% valid variance, 0-7% method effects variance, and 14-48% residual variance. Multivariate analysis showed that over two-thirds of the variation in measurement quality could be explained by 13 survey design characteristics; characteristics of respondents explained a small additional portion. Results provide: (a) information on design conditions associated with better (or worse) measurement quality, (b) empirically based suggestions for improving measurement quality in future surveys, and (c) a set of coefficients for predicting the quality of measures not studied here. In addition, this study demonstrates a feasible new technology for estimating measurement quality in future surveys.

MEDIA EFFECTS: LARGE, SMALL AND IMAGINED

TELEVISION'S IMPACT ON THE SYMBOLIC ENVIRONMENT: EVIDENCE FROM EDITORIAL CARTOON LABELING, 1948-1980

James R. Beniger
Princeton University

With the rapid diffusion of television in the United States between 1950 and 1955, and the subsequent rise in average household viewing, the visual environment shared by Americans might be expected to have enlarged. This would have meant an increase in the number of public figures recognized on sight, as well as in the pervasiveness of shared political and social symbols. These two hypotheses are assessed by means of a content indicator, the use of labeling in editorial cartoons. Time series data were collected since 1948 on 1,154 cartoons appearing in five leading U.S. metropolitan newspapers; 14 staff artists, including seven Pulitzer Prize winners, are represented. Both the proportion of actual persons labeled and the mean number of labeled symbols per cartoon declined during the period, the former by almost two-thirds, the latter by more than one-half. In terms of least squares fits, the former declined .16 every ten years, the latter .25; both slopes are negative at the .0025 significance level. The resistant smoothed curves both begin to decline in the late 1950's, during and immediately following television's most rapid diffusion, with the proportion of actual persons labeled now beginning to level off, but the number of labeled symbols continuing to decline at an increasing rate. This evidence for the general hypothesis is weighed in terms of three alternative explanations: that trends in cartoon labeling reflected mere whims of fashion, that the changes were due to an increasingly educated population, and that they reflected changes in artistic tradition or schools of artists. Indirect inferences indicating the importance of television's role stand up well against these alternatives. This conclusion, and the importance of symbols in national politics and the promotion of economic and social policy, suggest that communications researchers would do well to analyze further the impact of television on the shared symbolic environment.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW MEDIA AND CITIZEN GROUPS ON THE KNOWLEDGE GAP IN AN INNER-CITY NEIGHBORHOOD

Cecilie Gaziano
University of Minnesota

This paper focuses on knowledge of four public affairs issues important to the residents of a Midwestern inner-city neighborhood, which has one of the highest concentrations of low-income, elderly, and minority groups in that city. The purpose of the study is to examine the potential impact of new types of neighborhood newspapers (two examples of which circulate widely in the neighborhood), which report mainly on public affairs issues. The study compares their impact with that of organized citizens' groups active on the issues, in terms of the relative contributions of the newspapers and the organizations to neighborhood residents' knowledge of these issues.

Three major conclusions are drawn: 1) the less educated had higher knowledge scores and larger proportions of knowers for the issues with high group activity, and neighborhood papers played a role in enhancing knowledge. 2) Although knowledge gaps were found, they were not very large. 3) Several influential variables other than education are revealed.

The knowledge disparity problem is less severe than it was decades ago, and it is part of a larger inequality between social classes.

MASS MEDIA SCHOLARS' BELIEFS ABOUT THE IMPACT OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN

Carl R. Bybee
SUNY-Albany and Purdue University

Joseph Turow and James D. Robinson
Purdue University

A national study of mass media scholars (N=486) was conducted to answer the question "What impact do you believe television has on children?" This question is quite distinct from the standard academic and industry question "What are the effects of television on children?" which implies not only that there is a consensus among researchers but that the answer will be unbiased.

The results were provacative. The scholars' degree of certainty about television's impact varied considerably. The most important effect scholars perceived television to have on children was a positive one while the contribution of television to children's aggressive behavior was believed to be comparatively unimportant. The results are discussed in terms of media policy and agendas for future research.

THE OPINION FORMATION PROCESS AND AGENDA SETTING

WHY THEY THINK THAT WAY: INSIGHTS INTO OPINION FORMATION

Doris A. Graber
University of Illinois at Chicago

In-depth research on individual opinion formation is an area of political knowledge that has remained pretty much virgin territory. This paper reports findings from such research. The study was undertaken to explore adult political information processing and opinion formation about a variety of contemporary concerns. The paper focuses on the patterns that emerge when adults are asked to trace their sources of information for a wide array of current issues and to provide reasons for forming particular opinions or failing to form opinions.

The data base for the paper consists of roughly 400 hours of taped, in-depth interviews with a randomly selected panel of registered voters. The panelists were interviewed ten times over the course of a year. Questions were open-ended, with a great deal of probing for reasons for specific answers. The research is unique in the degree of depth in which it explores the opinion formation process and in the application of cognitive theories to the findings.

PRESS COVERAGE AND PUBLIC RESPONSE: A THEORY OF AGENDA-SETTING

Maxwell E. McCombs and Kandice L. Salomone
Syracuse University

The concept of agenda-setting asserts that the news media influence public awareness of issues. To validly measure this effect researchers must determine empirically, not just intuitively, the process which brings an issue to the attention of the media and subsequently to the public.

The diversity of research findings, heretofore believed to be a methodological problem, is, in fact, a substantive problem. For example, recent agenda-setting research has documented indirectly the differential effect of individual issues. Both the nature and natural history of each issue accounts for the diverse research findings observed thus far. Specific issue attributes such as the kinds of personal experiences linked to an issue, influence issue salience. Public opinion, as expressed in the press and in conversation, is simultaneously a rational and emotional response.

Explanation of the agenda-setting concept also must include detailed analyses of the natural history of public issues, how their definitions change over time both in press coverage and the public mind.

TELEVISION NEWS, REAL-WORLD CUES, AND CHANGES IN THE PUBLIC AGENDA

Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar
Yale University

The public's concern with a given issue rises and falls with remarkable speed. What forces drive this surge and decline? Communication researchers suggest that the mass media are the primary source of citizens' political concerns: those issues that receive more extensive or sustained attention in the media are deemed more important by the media audience. But the public is not entirely dependent on the media for its information. Personal experiences and real-world conditions can penetrate individuals' political cognitions, and specifically, their level of concern with particular issues.

This paper assesses the relative influence of television news coverage and real-world cues on the public agenda. Bimonthly changes in the public's concern with three issues--inflation, unemployment, and energy--are modeled over a seven year period covering 1974 through 1980. Using a polynomial-distributed lag model, we are able to identify both the impact of current conditions and coverage, and the lingering effects of past conditions and coverage.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINGENT CONDITIONS FOR AGENDA-SETTING RESEARCH

David Weaver
Indiana University

This paper argues that after a decade or so of empirical studies on media agenda-setting, debate is centered not so much on whether there _is_ media influence on public agendas (there seems to be considerable support for such an influence, at least at the group level), but rather on the _contingent conditions_ that make for more or less of this influence.

The paper discusses three positions emerging from studies conducted thus far:
1) The media are both necessary and sufficient in setting public agendas.
2) The media are necessary, but not sufficient, in setting public agendas.
3) The media are neither necessary nor sufficient in setting public agendas.

The paper concludes that there is most support from the research for the position that the media are often both necessary and sufficient for increasing the salience of already emergent, largely unobtrusive issues for _groups_ of the general public; considerable support for the position that the media are necessary, if not sufficient, in generating _new_ issues; and least support for the position that media are neither necessary nor sufficient in setting public agendas. The implications of these conclusions for media performance and the political system are discussed briefly, along with suggestions for future research.

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

SOCIAL RESEARCH: THE FEDERAL POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Research programs and information-gathering activities of the federal government have been undergoing significant changes as a result of new Administration policies. What is the current relationship between knowledge production and the shaping of public policies? What implications do these changes have for the future of social, opinion, and policy research?

BEYOND RANDOM SAMPLING

THE NORMAL VOTE MODEL AND STRATEGIES FOR PREDICTING WHETHER A CITIZEN WILL VOTE

Michael Traugott
University of Michigan

Clyde Tucker
CBS News

A frequent topic of discussion among those interested in public opinion research has been the estimation of electoral outcomes. A theoretical approach to estimation based upon the normal vote model is developed. This approach departs from the traditional normal vote analysis and uses current rather than historical data. Another purpose of this paper is to develop a strategy for predicting whether a citizen will vote in a particular election. This strategy is useful for estimating turnout rates employed in the normal vote model. Both the 1980 CPS National Election Study conducted by the University of Michigan and the 1980 CBS News/New York Times Pre-election Poll are used.

RESPONDENT SELECTION PROCEDURES FOR TELEPHONE SURVEYS; MUST THEY BE INVASIVE?

Dan E. Hagen and Charlotte Meier Collier
Chilton Research Services

Two respondent selection procedures are compared in a in a combination telephone and mail survey involving a national probability sample of over 2,500 telephone households. The first technique, proposed by Troldahl and Carter in 1964, asks two household composition questions in order to randomly select a respondent. The alternative procedure asks no preliminary questions. Two hypotheses are proposed: (1) The alternative approach will result in fewer refusals at the respondent selection phase because no obtrusive household composition questions are asked and (2) the integrity of the demographic profile of the resulting sample will not be compromised. Both hypotheses are accepted. The alternative procedure results in significantly fewer refusals and the demographic profiles of the two groups are statistically indistinguishable. The results are analyzed so as to maximize their applicability to a standard telephone survey. An interpretation and theoretical framework are provided.

SELECTION BIAS AND THE INCLUSION RULE IN MULTIPLICITY SAMPLING

George S. Rothbart, Michelle Fine and Seymour Sudman
Center for Policy Research

In a previous retport the authors analyzed their experience with the sampling of Vietnam veterans from kinship networks. The procedure constituted a probability sample when the end product was weighted by the multiplicity of the veteran's kin. This high yield procedure was shown to make the sampling of rare population routinely practical. An issue of selection bias was raised by finding that the less the presumed intimacy or knowledge associated with a kin category, the less the tendency to nominate a linked veteran. Such bias is best studied by means of the relative yield ratio, which compares the estimated kinship distribution to acutal kin nominations. The three kin categories constituting our inclusion rule were parents, siblings, and aunts and uncles. We hypothesize that a series of characteristics will affect relative yield by impinging upon the intimacy and continuity of the typical relationship within the above kin categories. Data are presented upon the effect of the following variables: (1) region and urban concentration, (2) visibility associated with veteran status, and (3) characteristics of kinship network including overall size, stability of family of origin, and social class. Procedures for reducing selection bias are considered.

EXECUTIVES, THE MEDIA, AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

EXECUTIVE WOMEN: THE BALANCE BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL AND PRIVATE ROLES

Olivia Schieffelin Nordberg
American Demographics

Contrary to past trends in female labor force participation, an elite group of working women shows no variation by maritial or parental status in objective measures of work behavior, such as type of work, hours worked, time spent commuting, travel frequency, and earnings. Subjective measures of work behavior, however, vary by such statuses. Job satisfaction, for example, is lowest for singles and highest for mothers with children under 18 at home. Happiness in love and overall contentment, as other studies have shown, is greatest for married working women with no children under 18 at home. For all groups, overall contentment is strongly and directly related to job satisfaction. High proportions of all groups report feeling they have not had enough time in the last year for such leisure activities as exercise and keeping in touch with friends. The data are based on a self-administered mail questionnaire returned by 2,492 subscribers to Savvy magazine, randomly selected from the 10,000 who completed the "Savvy Survey of Executive Behavior" in August 1981.

THE CEO OF THE EIGHTIES

Richard N. Sawaya
Atlantic Richfield Company

Dale Steuble
Opinion Research Corporation

Since the end of World War II, chief executive officers of major corporations have faced a variety of public opinion "climates," from the business phase of the Fifties to the social change phase of the Sixties and Seventies, to the challenge phase of the Eighties. Following an elaboration of this historical synopsis, we examine the contemporary factors that condition the challenges to CEOs in the Eighties. We conclude with an exploratory description of the CEO of the Eighties, stressing (a) his public embodiment of his corporation's role in, and responsibilities to, society, and (b) his need to articulate, within his enterprise, a coherent corporate philosophy adhered to by employees. To support our argument, we offer public opinion poll data relative to current public perceptions of what a CEO is and what he ought to be, particularly with respect to mass media, the government, corporate executives, and the communities in which a corporation conducts major operations.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE, CONFLICT, AND SOURCE-AUDIENCE SIMILARITY IN PERCEPTION OF ISSUES

C. N. Olien, P. J. Tichenor, G. A. Donohue
University of Minnesota

Data from four Minnesota communities are analyzed to test the structural hypothesis that news sources in more traditional homogeneous systems may be more divergent from the general population in their views about conflict-relevant issues than are news sources in more urban systems. This hypothesis is derived from the premise that decision-making in more homogeneous community structures is based largely on consensus processes, with leadership occurring in marginal roles that involve maintaining linkages between the larger society and the local structure. These circumstances may lead to a definition of issues by leaders which may not be shared by the local citizenry even though leadership decisions may go unquestioned. Results indicate that audience-source similarity in perceptions is a joint product of conflict and basic community characteristics which produce that conflict. Furthermore, media organization is clearly a principle factor. While similarity is low in the most homogeneous community, as hypothesized, it is equally low in a suburb having a diverse media mix including a local weekly which is secondary in audience attention and preference to metropolitan center media.

WAPOR SESSION: LEARNING FROM SPLIT-BALLOT EXPERIMENTS: A NOTE ON PROGRESS IN QUESTIONNAIRE METHODOLOGY

TESTING VERBAL TAGS AND OTHER SPLIT-BALLOT EXPERIMENTS

Robert M. Worcester
Market & Opinion Research International (Great Britain)

For obvious reasons, the researcher in the real world rarely enjoys the opportunity to test different question techniques simultaneously in a quantitative study. This perhaps explains a relative lack of discussion about the effects of questionnaire construction, compared to the attention given to, for instance, significance tests and sampling error.

MORI's large-scale regular surveys--especially the annual Corporate Image survey --have enabled us to examine by means of split-samples the effects of verbal tags, and of scales both verbal and non-verbal. Among other examples this paper looks at Likert scales compared with other measurements; semantic effects ("nationalised" as opposed to "controlled by the government"); and a recent four-way experiment testing satisfaction with Britain's Prime Minister as expressed in a bipolar scale, a numerically-labelled ladder, and two variations of the "Stapel scale."

CONDITIONAL ORDER EFFECTS

Tom W. Smith
National Opinion Research Center (USA)

Seeking to better understand the causes of order effects, this paper examines whether such effects depend on the response given to the initial question(s). It finds that order effects are often conditional on particular responses given to the initial question, but that general as well as conditional order effects occur. These findings are used to help specify causes and types of order effects.

ETHICAL AND UNETHICAL PRACTICES IN METHODS AND ANALYSIS

VOODOO POLLING

Barry Orton
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Examining the controversial issue of "pseudo polls," this paper examines the history of straw polls and relates them to recent media audience balloting methods. The use of AT&T's "900" DIAL-IT service and Warner-Amex cable TV's "Qube" system have generated protests from survey researchers and journalists alike, with The New York Times calling them "Voodoo Polling" and the AAPOR standards committee calling for reservation of the terms "public opinion survey" and "poll" for more systematic sampling.

While DIAL-IT and Qube have recently been the objects of most public attention, other audience response technologies now being developed and marketed will probably be even more widely utilized in the near future. This paper will examine the history and recent applications of pseudo-polling techniques, with particular emphasis on their use by the media. Issues such as sample validity, response bias, and the demographics of respondents will be discussed, and new electronic devices involving cable television, telephones, portable transmitters, and personal computer systems will be outlined.

After an exploration of the essential differences between "pseudo-poll" techniques and standard probability-based practices, the paper concludes with an appeal to the public opinion research community to take these pseudo-polling techniques as a serious challenge to the credibility of scientific opinion research. Experimentation with these electronic technologies and with governmentally sponsored regional straw polls is expected to accelerate, and the issues raised here to intensify in the future.

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF TECHNOLOGICAL RISK

RESEARCH ON THE PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL RISKS

Donald R. DeLuca
Yale University

Research on the public perception of technological risks are briefly reviewed with emphasis on its contribution to policy decisions related to technology assessment. The research design and analysis strategy of a survey research project on this topic currently in progress at the Roper Center, Office for Teaching and Research at Yale University, will be described.

PERCEIVED RISK AND STUDIES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ACCIDENT AT THREE MILE ISLAND

Pat Rathbun
Nuclear Regulatory Commission

On January 7, 1982, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, upheld a petition by People Against Nuclear Energy (PANE) calling for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to consider the impacts of psychological stress when deciding whether to restart the undamaged reactor, TMI-1, at Three Mile Island.

In response to the court decision, the NRC has begun preparing an environmental assessment on the effects of a proposed TMI-1 restart on the psychological health of the residents and on the well-being of the communities in the TMI vicinity.

Studies regarding perception of the risks of nuclear power provide the research community with the range of methodological and substantive issues. This paper will discuss the research carried out on the concept of perceived risk and on studies of psychological stress associated with the accident at Three Mile Island.

LOCAL SITING AND RISK CONCERN

Robert Cameron Mitchell
Resources for the Future

This paper examines public concern about the prospective local siting of a coal fired power plant, a nuclear power plant and a toxic waste dump. Using dáta from the Resources for the Future national environmental survey for the Council on Environmental Quality, the paper compares the level of opposition to each installation and its determinants. Among the explanatory factors, whose role is estimated using a simultaneous equation model, are confidence in government, environmental concern, technological optimism, and knowledge.

ISSUES IN CROSS-NATIONAL RESEARCH

MEASUREMENT ISSUES IN CROSS-NATIONAL ATTITUDE SURVEYS

Susan P. Douglas and Robert W. Shoemaker
New York University

This paper offers a discussion of technical issues with regard to measurement and sampling equivalence in cross-national attitudinal surveys. Illustrations from specific studies will be presented.

MAYBE IT WILL WORK THERE: AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY'S APPROACH TO MULTI-NATIONAL ADVERTISING

Jennifer Stewart
Ogilvy & Mather Advertising

Focusing on the use of communications research, this presentation includes guidelines to when and what advertising approaches can be "borrowed" for use in other countries. A review of the issues and some surprising facts and illustrations of advertising around the world for such multi-national clients as American Express, Avon, Shell, General Foods and others are presented.

ADAPTING INTERNATIONAL SURVEY RESEARCH TO GOVERNMENT NEEDS

Francis S. Bourne
Research Consultant

This is a revealing look at how survey research is modified to accomodate political and bureaucratic sensibilities within both surveying and surveyed countries. Examples of these and other problems related to conducting international surveys for government will be presented.

CHANGES IN POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND IDEOLOGY

ELECTIONS AND THE LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT COMPONENT OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Patrick R. Cotter
University of Alabama

Researchers recently have begun to examine the different dimensions and components which make up an individual's party identification. The results of this research suggest that individuals may have different party identifications at different levels of government.

The level of government component of party identification may help explain why, within a particular geographic area, a party can consistently do better in, for example, national elections than it can do in state and/or local elections. Such discrepancies have occurred in the outcome of national and state/local elections in the South for a number of years.

The purpose of this study is to examine the ability of the level of government component to explain discrepancies in election outcomes, and specifically election discrepancies in the South. This is done by examining three topics. First, this study investigates the extent to which Southerners have different party identifications at different levels of government. Second, the distribution of party identifications at different levels of government is examined. Finally, how Southerners use their different party identification is explored in this study.

PARTICULARIZATION IN VOTING IN FEDERAL AND STATE ELECTIONS, 1954-80 CONNECTICUT: A CASE STUDY

Peter Tuckel
Hunter College, C.U.N.Y.

Kurt Schlichting
Fairfield University

Richard Maisel
New York University

Recent analyses of American voting behavior have provided strong evidence of a decline in partisanship among the electorate. The majority of these analyses have been carried out in the context of presidential and congressional races. This paper explores changes in party voting in state races.

The data base consists of voting statistics for federal and state offices for each of the 169 towns in Connecticut in each biennial election year from 1954 to 1980.

Paralleling the decline in party voting in federal races, there has been an erosion of party voting in state races. This decline is more pronounced during the presidential election years than during the midterm election years. Furthermore, the reduced impact of party on the vote has not been uniform across all races. The results of the analysis indicate that voters defect most from partisan allegiances when ballotting for offices at the top <u>and the bottom</u> of the ticket. Party exerts less of an influence on vote choice for governor at the top of the ticket and state senator or state assemblyman at the bottom of the ticket than on vote choice for middle-level offices such as secretary of state, treasurer, or sheriff.

One explanation offered for the above finding is the greater level of voter attentiveness shown contests at the top and the bottom of the ticket. In higher-level contests, this attentiveness derives from mass-media exposure and in lower-level contests, stems from concern with local issues. By contrast, races at the middle of the ticket do not generate mass-media attention nor are the outcomes of these races perceived to be related to local concerns.

PROBING THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE DIMENSION

Shirae Cho and William Spinrad
Adelphi University

While political rhetoric and political analysis emphasize the "liberal"-"conservative" distinction (with the intermediary "moderate" typically added), surveys which contain a self-identification question along these lines indicate less of a relation with specific opinions than is commonly assumed. The authors utilized the 1980 NORC General Social Survey data for a further exploration of this phenomenon, from which several preliminary findings have emerged. Examining only the respondents who saw themselves as "liberal" or "conservative", differences in responses were noted, but were rarely dramatic. Furthermore, also in agreement with the findings from previous surveys, both groups revealed, in different proportions, the same general tendency, i.e., a majority in each group similarly in favor or opposed on specific questions. Thus, only a small minority from either group exhibited any "great confidence" in major institutions. Attitudes towards amount of government expenditures on particular programs illustrated the same tendency, with some significant exceptions. This was also true for "life orientation" questions--attitudes towards job, estimates of personal happiness, etc.--and most of the social issues. The most striking relationship observed was with the 1976 presidential vote. Apparently, political self-identification was more meaningful for directing electoral behavior than for structuring opinions on issues.

Examination of demographic variables yielded results which were also in line with previous findings. Various indices of class and ethnicity exhibited little relation to the liberal-conservative distinction, while the associations with age and education were very marked.

THE NEW RIGHT: SOCIAL CHANGE AND CENSORSHIP

REGLIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISTS' INVOLVEMENT WITH TELEVISION PROGRAMS: SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS

J. Ronald Milavsky, William S. Reubens, and Horst Stipp
NBC

A nationally representative survey commissioned by NBC and conducted by the Roper Organization examines religious fundamentalists' reactions to secular television programs and viewing of the electronic church. A "fundamentalism" scale will be presented, and social, behavioral and attitudinal characteristics of those scoring high on the scale will be reported. Special attention will be given to who watches TV preachers, who donates money to them, and to the relationship between watching them and attending church. Watching a TV preacher on Sunday morning before coming down to breakfast will provide useful background but is not required.

TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC OPINION

THE USE OF SURVEY DATA IN BASIC RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Stanley Presser
University of Michigan

This paper analyzes the place of the survey in four social science disciplines (economics, political science, sociology, and social psychology) during the past three decades. The paper documents the degree to which the use of surveys has grown over time; describes some of the factors associated with this growth; examines the uses to which surveys have been put; and evaluates the ways surveys have been drawn upon.

STRONG ARGUMENTS AND WEAK EVIDENCE: THE OPEN/CLOSED QUESTION CONTROVERSY OF THE 1940's

Jean M. Converse
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Debate on the proper design of survey questionnaires had become spirited enough by 1944 that Paul Lazarsfeld published an article in PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY that has become a classic exegesis of the uses of open and closed questions, "The Controversy over Detailed Interivews: An Offer for Negotiation." Neither the article nor other published materials make it entirely clear, however, just why a truce was in order, or exactly where the battle was raging.

Certain unpublished materials clarify that Lazarsfeld's offer of negotiation was meant to resolve some intellectual issues and also some competition for funds and influence between certain federal agencies that were conducting surveys during World War II, notably Rensis Likert's Division of Program Surveys and Elmo Wilson's Polling Division. Likert's group advocated open questions as a scientific advance; Wilson's group relied more heavily on closed questions as a practical matter.

In this paper we will reconstruct the origins and the course of the open/closed debate from an intellectual, administrative, and institutional standpoint; and consider some longer-term effects on survey research methodology and organization.

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