

# Public Opinion Research: The New Perspectives

41st Annual Conference

St. Petersburg, Florida

May 15-18, 1986



American Association for  
Public Opinion Research

World Association for  
Public Opinion Research



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## AAPOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

	1985-86	1986-87
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## 1985-86 CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

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**AAPOR AWARD COMMITTEE**

Chair: Howard Schuman

Leo Bogart  
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Daniel Katz  
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Eleanor Singer

**STUDENT AWARD COMMITTEE**

Chair: Lawrence Bobo

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Jacob Ludwig  
Jean-Marie Mayas  
Jeffrey Moore  
Nora Schaeffer  
D. Garth Taylor

**SITE SELECTION**

Charles D. Cowan

**AAPOR SECRETARIAT**

Diana Druker, Administrator (609) 924-8670  
Esmond Druker, Finance Administrator

**STUDENT PAPER AWARD WINNER**

Dorothy Watson, University of Wisconsin

**Honorable Mention**Jackie Scott, University of Michigan  
Ken Dautrich, Eagleton Institute**PARTICIPATING PUBLISHERS**

Ablex Publishing Corp.  
 Basic Books  
 The Brookings Inst.  
 Columbia University Press  
 Congressional Quarterly, Inc.  
 The Free Press  
 Harvard University Press  
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Analytica Computer Software, Inc.....	ACS Query
Graphic Communications, Inc.....	Graphwriter
IBM Corporation.....	PC Storyboard
Marketing Metrics, Inc.....	Verbatim Analyzer
Microtab, Inc.....	Microtab
Mycom, Inc.....	PC Data Entry
Orchard Associates, Inc.....	Answer-Tabs
Polaroid Corporation.....	Polaroid Palette
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**PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH: THE NEW PERSPECTIVES**

**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH**

**AND**

**WORLD ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH**

**41ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE**

The Don CeSar Beach Resort  
St. Petersburg Beach, Florida  
May 14 through May 18, 1986

**WEDNESDAY**

May 14

1:30-5:30

Executive Board  
Room

WAPOR COUNCIL MEETING

7:30-9:30

Lobby Bar

DUTCH TREAT WELCOME PARTY

**THURSDAY**

May 15

Hotel Lobby

REGISTRATION

9:00-10:30

Granada Hall

WAPOR Session 1:

**ELECTIONS AROUND THE WORLD**

**Chair: Hans Zetterberg**

*The Phillippine Elections of 1986*

*The French Elections of 1986*

*The Norwegian Elections of 1985*

Ottar Hellevik, Oslo

*The Swedish Elections of 1985 and the Political Preferences of the Publicly Employed*

Hans Zetterberg and Karin Busch, Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research, Ltd.

**THURSDAY AM**

10:45-12:15  
Granada Hall

WAPOR Session 2:  
**FAMILY SIZE AND FAMILY PLANNING**

**Chair: Frederick C. Turner, University of Connecticut**

*Culture, Economy, and Reproduction in Contemporary Europe: The Effect of Peoples' Values on Their Attitudes Toward Marriage and the Family*  
Gordon Heald, Gallup International; John Simons, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

*Influences on the Birth Rate in the Federal Republic of Germany*  
Renate Kocher, Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach

*Family Planning in Latin America: Attitudes and Practice*  
Francisco Di Blasi, International Planned Parenthood Federation

*Public Opinion and Abortion: A Cross-National Comparison*  
Bruce L. Peterson, NORC and University of Chicago

Discussant: John M. Paxman, the Pathfinder Fund

2:00-3:45  
Granada Hall

WAPOR Session 3:  
**SURVEY RESEARCH IN THE SOCIALIST STATES**

**Chair: Rudolf Tokes, University of Connecticut**

*United States Public Opinion as Seen From the Soviet Union*  
Nikolai I. Popov, USSR Academy of Sciences

*"Exit, Voice and Loyalty" Reconsidered: the Case of Hungary*  
Elemer Hankiss, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Discussant: Walter D. Connor, Boston University

3:00-6:00  
Buena Vista

**MEETING OF OLD AND NEW AAPOR EXECUTIVE COUNCILS**

4:00-6:00  
North Terrace

**DIDACTIC SESSION:  
VISUAL COMMUNICATION OF SURVEY RESEARCH DATA**

Organizer: Birgit Wassmuth, University of Missouri

**THURSDAY PM**

4:00-5:30  
Grenada Hall

WAPOR Session 4:  
**PEACE AND DISARMAMENT**

**Chair: Barry Levine, Florida International University**

*The Public Looks at Nuclear Weapons*

Scott Keeter, Daniel M. Johnson and Joseph A. Marola, Virginia Commonwealth University

*Public Opinion and the Nuclear Freeze Movement of 1980-84*

Ted J. Smith III, University of Virginia

*Knowledge Levels on a Public Issue: The Case of Nuclear Winter*

Edna F. Einsiedel, University of Calgary

*Soviet Public Opinion on Peace and Disarmament*

V. Korobeinikov, USSR Academy of Sciences

*West European Attitudes Toward Nuclear Weapons*

Kenneth P. Adler, U.S. Information Agency

7:00-8:30  
Ballroom

DINNER

8:45  
Del Prado

FIRST PLENARY SESSION:  
**NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STUDYING TELEVISION AUDIENCES:  
THE BRITISH EXPERIENCE**

**Chair: Timothy Joyce, Mediamark Research, Inc.**

*Watching Them Watching Us*

Robert Towler, Independent Broadcasting Authority

*Why the BBC Switched to People Meters*

Peter Meneer, British Broadcasting Company

*People Meters: Their Use Around the World*

Stephen Buck, AGB

Discussant: Jacob Wakshlag, Indiana University/CBS

Lobby Bar

C.O.D. MIXER

**FRIDAY**

May 16

7:30-9:30  
Ballroom

**BREAKFAST**

Hotel Lobby

**REGISTRATION**

9:00-10:30  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 1:  
**PEOPLE METERS: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

**Chair: Gale D. Metzger, Statistical Research Inc.**

*The AGB Test of People Meters in Boston: What We Learned*  
Joseph C. Philport, AGB Television Research

*Will People Meters Replace Diaries?: A.C. Nielsen's Plans*  
John Dimling, A.C. Nielsen Company

*The Network Viewpoint*  
Gerald Jaffe, National Broadcasting Company, Inc.

*The Advertising Agency Viewpoint*  
Barry Kaplan, Ted Bates & Company, Inc.

Discussant: Gale D. Metzger, Statistical Research, Inc.

9:00-10:30  
Buena Vista

AAPOR Session 2:  
**IN SEARCH OF HIGHER RESPONSE RATES**

**Chair: Reuben Cohen, Response Analysis Corporation**

*Stimulating Response Rates in Telephone Surveys*  
Michael W. Traugott, Robert M. Groves, and James M. Lepkowski,  
IRS University of Michigan

*Optimal Scheduling of Calls for a Telephone Survey*  
M.F. Weeks, R.A. Kulka, and S.A. Pierson, Research Triangle In-  
stitute

*Use of a Mailed Questionnaire to Augment Response Rates for a Personal Interview Survey*  
Deirdre Carroll, Reuben Cohen, and Charlotte Slider, Response  
Analysis Corporation; Wendel Thompson, Energy Information Ad-  
ministration

Discussant: William L. Nicholls II, Bureau of the Census

**FRIDAY AM**

9:00-10:30  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 3:  
**ISSUES RAISED IN THE SPIRAL OF SILENCE\***

**Chair: D. Garth Taylor, University of Chicago**

*If There is a 'Spiral of Silence,' How Might It Work? Some Speculations*  
George E. Marcus, Williams College

*The Spiral of Silence and the Process of Opinion Formation*  
Richard Maisel, Maria Grazia Aselle, Ronaldo Helal, and Milton  
Vickerman, New York University

*The Interviewees' Report of Looking-Glass Perception and the Spiral of  
Silence*  
H. 't Hart and B.A. Klem, State University of Utrecht, the  
Netherlands

Discussant: D. Garth Taylor, University of Chicago

10:45-12:15  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 4:  
**NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND NEW PERSPECTIVES**

**Chair: Herbert E. Krugman, H.E. Krugman & Associates**

*The Changing Media, the Changing Audience*  
W. Russell Neuman and Ann Crigler Fryling, Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology

*Watching Them Watching Us: Methodological Issues*  
Barrie Gunter, Independent Broadcasting Authority

*Eye Movement Methods for the Analysis of Dynamic Video Materials*  
Leonard F. M. Scinto and Barbara N. Flagg, Applied Science  
Laboratories

Discussant: Herbert E. Krugman, H.E. Krugman & Associates

10:45-12:15  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 5:  
**TERRORISM: MANIPULATING WORLD OPINION?**

**Chair: Warren J. Mitofsky, CBS News**

*Terrorism and Television — Symbiosis in Today's Warfare*  
Robert H. Kupperman, Georgetown Center for Strategic & Interna-  
tional Studies

*Media Reporting of Terrorism: A Critique*

*Terrorism and U.S. Public Opinion*  
Burns W. Roper, The Roper Organization, Inc.

*Public Perception of the Conflict in Central America, the Media's Role and  
the Effect of Its Biases on Reporting*  
Hans Mathias Kepplinger and Hans-Bernd Brosius, Johannes  
Gutenberg-Universitat Mainz

Discussant: Warren J. Mitofsky, CBS News

\* Joint AAPOR/WAPOR session

**FRIDAY**

10:45-12:15  
Buena Vista

AAPOR Session 6:  
**INDIRECT QUESTIONING: NEW FINDINGS AND NEW  
TECHNIQUES**

Chair: Ira H. Cisin, George Washington University

*A New Technique for Surveying Deviant Behavior: Item-Count Estimates of  
Marijuana, Cocaine and Heroin Use*

Judith D. Miller, U.S. General Accounting Office; Adele Harrell, In-  
stitute for Social Analysis; Ira A. Cisin, George Washington University

*Estimating the Prevalence of Certain Property Crimes Among Youthful  
Males Using 'Item-Count Paired Lists'*

Thomas F. Courtless, George Washington University; Judith D.  
Miller, U.S. General Accounting Office

*An Analysis of the Accuracy of Spousal Reports*

Tom W. Smith, NORC, University of Chicago

*The Effects of Proxy Reporting in a National Medical Expenditures Survey  
on Estimates of Use, Expenditures and Health Conditions*

Amy B. Bernstein and Samuel M. Meyers, National Center for Health  
Services Research and Health Care Technology Assessment

12:15-1:45  
Ballroom

LUNCH

2:00-3:45  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 7:  
**APPLICATIONS OF CHOICE MODELS**

Chair: Subrata Sen, Yale University

*Public Opinion as Repeated Decision Making: Possible Application of  
Discrete Attribute Choice Models*

J. Wesley Hutchinson, University of Florida

*Possible Applications of Discrete Attribute Choice Models*

Richard Batsell, Rice University

*A Marketing Perspective on Voter Choice Behavior in a High and Low In-  
volvement Election Setting*

Bruce I. Newman, The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

*Two Models to Predict Legislative Election Outcomes*

Cliff Zukin and Michael X. Delli Carpini, Rutgers

**FRIDAY PM**

2:00-3:45  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 8:  
**NEW ISSUES IN MAIL SURVEYS: PART I**

**Chair: Naomi D. Rothwell, Research Consultant**

*Respondent Problems with Self-Enumeration in the 1980 Census*  
Theresa J. DeMaio, U.S. Bureau of the Census

*Increasing Responses Rates in a Mail Questionnaire: Methods and Consequences*  
Fran Featherstone, U.S. General Accounting Office

*Survey Oriented Quality Control Procedures*  
Howard L. Magnas, Energy Information Administration

Discussant: Don A. Dillman, Washington State University

2:00-3:45

**ROUND TABLE SESSIONS — PART I**

Organizer: Robert L. Cohen, Yankelovich Skelly & White/Clancy, Shulman, Inc.

North Granada

*The Researcher as Entrepreneur: Consulting and Testifying*  
Herbert Abelson, Response Analysis Corporation; J. Richard Cohen, Morgan Associates, Chartered

North Terrace

*Information Collection and Dissemination: Public/Private Rights and Responsibilities*  
Katherine K. Wallman, Committee of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS); Kenneth Allen, Information Industries Association

Buena Vista

*The Interviewer/Respondent Dialogue: Interviewer and Respondent Interaction in Telephone Surveys*  
Shirley Hatchett, Institute for Social Research; Barbara G. Farah, The New York Times; Susan Cleary Westneat, Research Triangle Institute; Richard Day, Jeff Andreasen and John Ross, Richard Day Research, Inc.

West Granada

*The Reagan Revolution and the Public: Successes and Failures in Redefining the Nation's Social/Political Agenda*  
Hal Quinley, Yankelovitch, Skelly & White/Clancy, Shulman, Inc.; Celinda Lake, Women's Political Campaign Fund; Fred Steeper, Market Opinion Research; and others

**FRIDAY PM**

4:00-5:30  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 9:  
**NEW ISSUES IN MAIL SURVEYS: PART II**

**Chair: Don A. Dillman, Washington State University**

*Effects on Level and Quality of Response of Form Length, Type of Mail, Mode of Followup Interview, and Use of 'Don't Know' Boxes in Factual Questions*

Gail S. Poe and Isadore Seeman, National Center for Health Statistics

*Time Dependencies in Mail Survey Data*

Ernest R. Cadotte and Manfred F. Maute, University of Tennessee

*Mailed Questionnaire Response Rates: The Effect of Monetary Incentives and Salience of the Topic*

Robert M. Baumgartner and Thomas A. Heberlein, Heberlein-Baumgartner Research Services

Discussant: Naomi D. Rothwell, Research Consultant

4:00-5:30

**ROUND TABLE SESSIONS — PART II**

South Terrace

*Bridging CATI Chasms: Getting Started, Growing Pains, New Developments and Future Directions*

Christine A. Kooyman, Research Triangle Institute; Paul Biemer, U.S. Census Bureau; Johnnie Blair, University of Illinois; Ken Andersen, Maricopa County Human Resources Department (Arizona); Betsy Morton, University of California, Berkeley

North Terrace

*Realignment of Partisan Identification at the State Level*

Mark DiCamillo, Field Research Corporation; Bob Carter, The Eagleton Institute; Pat Cotter, University of Alabama

North Terrace

*Not on My Street You Won't: Attitudes Toward Shelters for the Homeless and Disabled*

Eugene Declercq, Merrimack College; Morris Hintzman, Metropolitan Ministries; and others

West Granada

*Focus Groups: Who Needs Them?*

Deborah MacMillan and Michael Rappoport, R. L. Associates; Susan A. Weisbrod



**FRIDAY PM**

4:00-5:30  
Buena Vista

AAPOR Session 10:  
**CRITICAL DECISIONS BASED ON SURVEY RESEARCH**

Chair: David L. Sills, Social Science Research Council

*Public Policy Decisions: The Role of GAO Survey Research*  
Thomas E. Slomba, U.S. General Accounting Office

*Critical Decisions Based on Research: Two Case Histories*  
Gary Siegel, DePaul University

*Survey Research and the Development of U.S. Drug Policy: The Peruvian Case*  
Joel Jutkowitz, Institute for the Study of Human Issues; Jack Elinson, Columbia University

Discussant: Robert W. Pearson, Social Science Research Council

5:30-6:30  
Pool

RECEPTION FOR NEW ATTENDERS

7:00-8:00  
Ballroom

DINNER

8:45  
Del Prado

SECOND PLENARY SESSION:  
**THE CREDIBILITY OF THE NEWS MEDIA**

Chair: Leo Bogart

Kristin McGrath, MORI  
Michael Robinson, George Washington University  
Andrew Barnes, St. Petersburg Times  
Laurence Grossman, NBC News

There will be two exhibits in the Ballroom Arcade for browsing from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday and Saturday:

*Demonstrations of Microcomputer Software: Interactive Interviewing, Data Analysis, and Presentation Graphics (See page v for contributors)*

Organizer: Robert S. Lee, Pace University

*New and Recent Books in Public Opinion, Communication, Survey Research, and Related Fields (See page v for contributors)*

Organizer: Phyllis Endreny, University of Illinois; D. Garth Taylor, University of Chicago

**SATURDAY**

May 17

7:30-9:30  
Ballroom

**BREAKFAST**

Hotel Lobby

**REGISTRATION**

9:00-10:30  
Del Prado

**AAPOR Session 11:  
SURVEY DESIGN AND COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY**

**Chair: Stanley Presser, National Science Foundation**

*Episodic Recall vs. Estimation: Applicability of Cognitive Theory to Problems in Survey Research*

Nancy A. Mathiowetz, Westat

*Theoretical and Practical Issues in Selecting Response Categories: How Often vs. How Much*

Nora Cate Schaeffer, University of Wisconsin, Madison

*How Do Respondents Answer Satisfaction Questions? A Judgement Model of Subjective Well-Being*

Norbert Schwarz, Universitat Heidelberg; Fritz Strack, Universitat Mannheim

*Question Length and Responses to Attitude Questions*

M. Kathryn Heizer and McKee J. McClendon, The University of Akron

Discussant: Elizabeth Martin, Bureau of the Census

9:00-10:30  
Buena Vista

**AAPOR Session 12:  
MEDIA AND COMMUNITY**

**Chair: Jane Brown, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill**

*Social Change and Gatekeeper Change: Opinions of Community Editors, 1965-1985*

Phillip J. Tichenor, Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue, University of Minnesota

*The Community Factor: The Missing Element in Media Research*

Michael V. Smith, University of Maryland

*Isolation and Integration of Newspaper Journalists*

Cecilie Gaziano and Kristin McGrath, MORI Research, Inc.

Discussant: Albert E. Gollin, Newspaper Advertising Bureau

**SATURDAY AM**

9:00-10:30  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 13:  
**POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS**

**Chair: Kathleen A. Frankovic, CBS News**

*An Empirical Examination of Two Theories of Political Perception*  
Donald Granberg, University of Missouri-Columbia

*Perceptions of Communication Use and Public Opinion Processes*  
Carroll J. Glynn and Joe D. Francis, Cornell University

*Political Campaigns and the Knowledge Gap Hypothesis*  
David W. Moore, University of New Hampshire

*Gender and Foreign Policy: The Centrality of Peace*  
Barbara Bardes, Loyola University of Chicago

Discussant: Kathleen A. Frankovic, CBS News

10:45-12:30  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 14:  
**COMPARATIVE NORTH AMERICAN STUDIES\***

**Chair: S.M. Lipset, Stanford University**

*Parties, Public Policy and Opinion in Canada and the United States*  
Mildred Swartz, University of Illinois-Chicago

*Canada versus United States: Differences with a Difference*  
Steven Mamarchev, Needham Harper of Canada; Martin Horne,  
Needham Harper World/Chicago

*Class Networks and Class Consciousness*  
Dorothy Watson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Discussant: Michelle Lamont, University of Texas, Austin

\* Joint AAPOR/WAPOR session

**SATURDAY**

10:45-12:30  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 15:  
**EXPERIMENTS IN QUESTION WORDING: ANOTHER LOOK**

**Chair:** Seymour Sudman, University of Illinois-Urbana

*Response Order Effects in the Measurement of Values*

Jon A. Krosnick and Duane F. Alwin, The University of Michigan

*Wording and Analysis of Survey Questions in a Policy Context*

Joseph E. Grush and Dorothy K. Davidson Nesbit, Northern Illinois University

*A Cross-National Comparison of Question Form Effects in Self-Administered vs. Telephone Surveys:*

*An Experiment in Germany*

Hans Jurgen-Hippler et al., Center for Survey Methods and Analysis, Mannheim

*A Replication in the U.S.*

George Bishop et al., Behavioral Sciences Laboratory, University of Cincinnati

**Discussant:** Lawrence D. Bobo, University of Wisconsin

10:45-12:15  
Buena Vista

AAPOR Session 16:  
**SURVEY OF INCOME AND PROGRAM PARTICIPATION (SIPP)**

**Chair:** William P. Butz, Bureau of the Census

*An Overview of the Survey of Income and Program Participation: Design and Content*

David B. McMillen, Bureau of the Census

*A Review of Research and Design Issues in Survey of Income and Program Participation*

Dan Kasprzyk, Bureau of the Census

*A User's View of the Acquisition and Use of SIPP Data*

Pat Doyle, Mathematica Policy Research

*Archiving and Releasing SIPP Data to the Public Sector*

Alice Robbin, University of Wisconsin Data Archives

**Discussant:** Diane Colasanto, The Gallup Organization

**SATURDAY**

12:30-1:45  
Ballroom

**LUNCH**

Presidential Address: **Howard Schuman, AAPOR President, 1985-86**  
*Ordinary Questions, Survey Questions, and Policy Questions*

2:00-3:30

**ROUND TABLE SESSIONS**

Organizer: Robert L. Cohen, Yankelovich Skelly & White/Clancy, Shulman, Inc.

North Terrace

*The Researcher As Entrepreneur: Start-Up Businesses*

Herbert Abelson, Response Analysis Corporation; Norman Michaels, Berk & Michaels, CPA

Del Prado

*In Tribute to Herbert H. Hyman: Recollections and Reminiscences*

Paul B. Sheatsley, National Opinion Research Corporation, with other friends and colleagues of Herb Hyman

North Granada

*Reflections on Election Research: Cross-National Comparisons*

Kurt C. Schlichting, Fairfield University; Nancy Belden, Belden Opinion Research; W. Wayne Shannon, The Roper Center

South Terrace

*Salient Issues in the Relationship Between Survey Research and Telemarketing*

Janice Ballou, Louis Harris & Associates; Cheryl A. Williams, AT&T Communications; Harry O'Neill, Opinion Research Corporation; Diane Bowers, CASRO; Robert E. Shaw, Burke Marketing Research/CASRO; Robert Borders, ADP/DMA Telemarketing Council

Buena Vista

*Setting Survey Standards: An Elusive But Necessary Goal?*

Peter Miller, Northwestern University; Robert M. Groves, University of Michigan; Stanley Presser, National Science Foundation

South Granada

*Alternatives in Radio Audience Measurement Systems*

Bernadette McGuire, National Association of Broadcasters; Richard V. Ducey, National Association of Broadcasters; Gale D. Metzger, Statistical Research, Inc.; James E. Fletcher, University of Georgia; Nicholas P. Schiavone, National Broadcasting Company

West Granada

*The Impact of Television Program Environment on Advertising Effectiveness*

David Lloyd, Yankelovich, Skelly & White/Clancy, Shulman, Inc.; Dale Wilson, Michigan State University

3:30-5:00  
Grenada Hall

**ANNUAL MEETING FOR AAPOR MEMBERS**  
(All AAPOR members urged to attend)

5:00-6:30  
South Terrace

Friends of Survey Research and SMIS

6:30-7:30  
Pool

**PRE-BANQUET COCKTAIL PARTY**

7:30  
Ballroom

**BANQUET**

Presiding: **Ronald Milavsky, AAPOR President, 1986-87**

**Presentation of AAPOR Student Award**  
**Presentation of AAPOR Award**  
**Presentation of Helen Dinerman Award (WAPOR)**

After Banquet  
Lobby Bar

**PRESIDENT'S DUTCH TREAT PARTY**

**SUNDAY**

**MAY 18**

7:30-9:30  
Ballroom

**BREAKFAST**

9:00-11:00  
Del Prado

**DIDACTIC SESSION:  
NEW PERSPECTIVES FROM PSYCHOLOGY**

Organizer: Roger Tourangeau, National Opinion Research Center

Recent findings about comprehension, retrieval, judgement, and framing effects may mean we have to revise the way we think about persuasion and the attitude change process. This session will review the recent work of cognitive and social psychologists and summarize the implications for survey research.

9:15-10:45  
South Terrace

**AAPOR Session 17:  
MASS MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION: CONVERGENCE AND  
CONFLICT**

**Chair: Gladys Lang, University of Washington**

*The Effect of the Press Ban on Opinion Toward South Africa*

Eleanor Singer, Columbia University; Jacob Ludwig, The Gallup Organization

*Who Rallies Around the President?*

Ken Dautrich, The Eagleton Institute

*A Cross-National Analysis of Communication in Social Conflict*

Eric W. Rothenbuhler, University of Iowa

*The Agenda-Setting Process*

Everett M. Rogers, The Annenberg School of Communication

Discussant: Kurt Lang, University of Washington

9:15-10:45  
North Terrace

**AAPOR Session 18:  
FINDING AND QUESTIONING RARE AND HARD-TO-REACH  
POPULATIONS**

**Chair: Allen H. Barton, Columbia University**

*Issues in Counting the Homeless*

Charles D. Cowan, Bureau of the Census

*Interviewing Vietnam Veterans: Random Sampling of a Hard-to-Reach Population*

Kenneth E. John, The Washington Post

*You'll Find the Kids in School*

Dorothy Guyot and Arnold Birenbaum, Albert Einstein College of Medicine

*Obtaining a Representative Data Set: The American Medical Association's Socioeconomic Monitoring System*

Lorayn Olson and Sara Thran, American Medical Association; Richard Strouse, Mathematica Policy Research

Discussant: Allen H. Barton, Columbia

**SUNDAY AM**

11:00-12:30  
South Terrace

AAPOR Session 19:  
**NEW IDEAS AND NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICS**

**Chair:** Everett C. Ladd, University of Connecticut

*Politics and the Search for New Ideas*

Judith N. Shapiro, General Electric Company

*The Prospect of a Major Party Realignment in the United States*

Helmut Norpoth, State University of New York, Stony Brook

*Explaining America's Ideological Shift of the Last Decade*

G. Donald Ferree, University of Connecticut

Discussant: Martin Plissner, CBS News

11:00-12:30  
Del Prado

AAPOR Session 20:  
**CHANGE OVER TIME: NEW INSIGHTS FROM TREND STUDIES**

**Chair:** Manfred Kuechler, The Florida State University

*Media Tenor and Public Opinion: A Longitudinal Study of Media Coverage and Public Opinion Regarding Chancellor Kohl*

Wolfgang Donsbach, University of Mainz

*The Reagan Polarization Phenomenon and the Continuing Downward Slide in Presidential Candidate Popularity*

Martin P. Wattenberg, University of California-Irvine

*Consumer Attitudes and Regional Economic Performance*

Kent D. Van Liere, University of Tennessee

*Changes in Public Opinion: A Case Study of Satisfaction with Democracy in West Germany, 1976-1985*

Manfred Kuechler, The Florida State University

11:00-12:30  
North Terrace

AAPOR Session 21  
**TELEVISION AND THE PUBLIC INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT**

**Chair:** Roy Peter Clark, Poynter Institute for Media Studies

*One Italian Equals 17 Filipinos: How U.S. Media Prioritize Human Lives*

William C. Adams, George Washington University

*Crowd Estimation*

Murray S. Edelman, CBS News

*Television News: Imagery and Perception*

Doris A. Graber, The University of Illinois at Chicago

*Television as the Public's Main News Source: A Reconsideration*

Mark R. Levy and John P. Robinson, University of Maryland

12:30  
Ballroom

LUNCH

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TO INSURE ITS FINANCIAL HEALTH BY GIVING CONTRIBUTIONS  
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Behavioral Sciences Laboratory  
Institute for Policy Research  
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Rockville, Maryland

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Westport, Connecticut



## ABSTRACTS

WAPOR Session 2:

### **FAMILY SIZE AND FAMILY PLANNING**

#### ***PUBLIC OPINION AND ABORTION: A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON***

Bruce L. Peterson, National Opinion Research Center

The similarities and differences in attitudes toward abortion in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany are analyzed using data obtained from a 1982 collaborative effort by the General Social Survey (GSS) and the Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden, and Analysen (ZUMA). Using the standard GSS seven-item abortion battery, it is found that German support for legalized abortion for hard, medical reasons is slightly higher than for Americans. The reverse is true for social or soft reasons. Only 29 percent of the German sample supported abortion for any reason compared to 41 percent in the United States. Multivariate analysis indicates that support for abortion is strongest among younger, urban, secular Germans. Similar to the United States, religious affiliation and religiosity are a strong influence on abortion attitudes. While feminist views and abortion attitudes are related in both countries, their association is lower in Germany, though the reverse is true for subjective ideological self-placement.

WAPOR Session 4:

### **PEACE AND DISARMAMENT**

#### ***THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS***

Scott Keeter, Daniel M. Johnson and Joseph A. Marolla, Virginia Commonwealth University

U.S. public opinion on issues of nuclear weapons policy is strongly related to evaluations of the presidency of Ronald Reagan, suggesting Reagan's influence upon both public perceptions of the relative capacities of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and the direction of U.S. policy. Public opinion on nuclear weapons is only weakly related to partisanship and other political issues. The relationship with religiosity is complex, and appears largely a function of other social characteristics of religious and nonreligious citizens. Data for the paper are drawn from a 1985 statewide survey of adult residents of Virginia, conducted by the authors, and from various national surveys.

#### ***PUBLIC OPINION AND THE NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT OF 1980-84***

Ted J. Smith III and J. Michael Hogan, University of Virginia

Initiated in early 1980 by a small group of peace activists, the Nuclear Freeze Movement rapidly achieved national prominence. In 1983 the House of Representatives passed a heavily amended freeze resolution and the issue of nuclear arms control was a major focus of the the 1984 Democratic primaries. Coverage by the national news media was extensive and highly favorable, painting a picture of a massive, nonpartisan grassroots movement composed of a cross-section of the American public. This image was reinforced by the results of numerous opinion polls which consistently found overwhelming public support (as high as 90 percent) for a nuclear freeze. Given this view, it is very difficult to understand the virtual disappearance of the Movement after 1984.

Some insight can be gained by examining the composition of the Movement, the nature of public opinion on the nuclear freeze, and the depiction of both by the national media. Following Garfinkle, this study suggests that the Movement was largely a product of the anti-Reagan "Professional Left." There is little if any evidence that it embraced a cross-section of the public. Following Ladd, it appears that public opinion on the freeze was static and heavily qualified. Unfortunately, coverage in some national media tended to be selective, shallow and sometime erroneous. In particular, views of Movement activists were conflated with those of the general public and the complexity of public opinion was seldom respected.

**KNOWLEDGE LEVELS ON A PUBLIC ISSUE: THE CASE OF "NUCLEAR WINTER"**

Edna F. Einsiedel, University of Calgary

Public opinion in a New York metropolitan community among registered voters prior to the 1984 presidential race revealed very low levels of knowledge on the issue of nuclear winter, a relatively specialized aspect of the nuclear arms debate. Less than a third had heard of the concept and of this number less than half could describe what its effects were. Higher knowledge levels were associated with greater consistency between beliefs and opinions, a finding that lends some support to the cognitive consistency model of public opinion. There was little support for the mainstream model suggesting that the greater the knowledge, the greater the degree of conformity of one's foreign policy opinions to official policy.

**WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

Kenneth P. Adler, U.S. Information Agency

West European publics tend to favor any proposed strategy of agreement likely to reduce the risk of nuclear war. This has led to widespread support for a nuclear freeze and for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. It also accounts for the overwhelming opposition to first use of nuclear weapons. While favoring a decrease in the number of nuclear weapons in the superpower arsenals, majorities want the U.S. to retain enough strategic nuclear missiles to serve as an adequate deterrent.

Opinions on the deployment of the INF — Pershings IIs and cruise missiles — and on SDI research depend largely on whether these actions are seen as increasing or decreasing the danger of nuclear war. If deterrence fails and war should break out, about half of the general public in West Europe would be willing to fight for their country. Fewer would resist a nuclear attack because most consider that suicidal. About four in 10 are "nuclear pacifists," who oppose any use of nuclear weapons, even as a last resort. Unilateral nuclear disarmament by the West is rejected except by the minorities who are confident that the Soviet Union would follow the Western example.

AAPOR Session 1

**PEOPLE METERS: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

**WILL PEOPLE METERS REPLACE DIARIES?: A. C. NIELSEN'S PLANS**

John A. Dimling, A. C. Nielsen Company

Nielsen's measurement of national television audiences currently uses a household meter to determine set tuning, combined with a diary to determine audience composition. Nielsen is currently testing a push-button People Meter that collects audience composition as well as set tuning information. This paper will describe the criteria being used to test the push-button People Meter as a substitute for the diary. The results to date of the test will be presented, and next steps to be taken in the test will then be discussed.

AAPOR Session 2

**IN SEARCH OF HIGHER RESPONSE RATES**

*STIMULATING RESPONSE RATES IN TELEPHONE SURVEYS*

Michael W. Traugott, Robert M. Groves, James M. Lepkowski, University of Michigan

While various methods have been employed to stimulate response rates in surveys of known populations, the use of Random Digit Dialing (RDD) techniques in telephone surveys has generally precluded such prior contact to increase cooperation. Using a dual frame design consisting of RDD respondents and a list of randomly selected purchased numbers, stimulus letters were sent to sample members for whom name and address information was available. The use of such a letter had a significant effect on response rates. A further experiment to test the effect of using the respondents' family name in the introduction to the survey had a negative effect on response rates. The use of the list resulted in substantial increases in efficiency during the survey. The cost and data-quality tradeoffs in such dual frame designs are discussed.

*OPTIMAL SCHEDULING OF CALLS FOR A TELEPHONE SURVEY*

M.F. Weeks, R.A. Kulka, S.A. Pierson, Research Triangle Institute

An important component of the management plan for a telephone survey is the strategy for scheduling calls so as to optimize the effort required to contact a respondent and secure the interview. Previous research into call-scheduling, however, has failed to produce consistent findings. This paper presents data from a large national telephone survey that should assist survey researchers in developing optimal calling schedules for similar telephone surveys. The effects of time of day and day of the week on call outcome are analyzed and the utility of these data are illustrated in optimizing a calling schedule for initial calls as well as callbacks or no answer cases. The data indicate that an optimal calling schedule can significantly reduce the number of calls required to complete the survey, thus reducing labor and telephone costs and improving interviewer morale.

*USE OF A MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE TO AUGMENT RESPONSE RATES FOR A PERSONAL INTERVIEW SURVEY*

Deirdre Carroll, Reuben Cohen and Charlotte Slider, Response Analysis Corporation; Wendel Thompson, Energy Information Administration

An unusual combination of procedures has been used in a series of Residential Energy Consumption Surveys: personal interviews are used as the first approach to a national sample of households; an abbreviated version of the personal interview content, adapted to a mail questionnaire format, is then used as a followup for nonrespondents to the personal interview.

The mailed questionnaire followup has served three main purposes:

- it augments an already respectable response rate at a point when continued personal contacts would be both costly and painful;
- it helps correct for some known biases that would otherwise be present;
- it increases the effective response rates to other followup phases of the study (particularly the collection of actual energy consumption data from fuel suppliers).

As a way to "complete" the abbreviated information in the mail questionnaire, each mailed questionnaire household is matched on key characteristics with a surrogate household selected from the personal interview file.

AAPOR Session 3:  
**ISSUES RAISED IN THE SPIRAL OF SILENCE**

***IF THERE IS A 'SPIRAL OF SILENCE,' HOW MIGHT IT WORK? SOME SPECULATIONS***

George E. Marcus, Williams College

In *Spiral of Silence*, Noelle-Neumann identifies an important pattern in the dynamic relationship between collective opinions and individuals' willingness to articulate and act upon their beliefs. Especially in societies that value liberty, and among democratic theorists, the reduction of the capacity for autonomous action in citizens is of central importance

The argument of this paper is that the analysis in *Spiral of Silence* is incomplete in two important ways. First, as recent events in the Philippines and in Haiti demonstrate, the spiral of silence is likely to have a parallel spiral, a spiral of mobilization. Second, mechanisms by which individuals communicate with and adjust to community convictions have not been identified. I suggest that the crucial information channels are emotional. The implications for public opinion research and for democratic theory are explored.

***THE SPIRAL OF SILENCE AND THE PROCESS OF OPINION FORMATION***

Richard Maisel, Maria Grazia Aselle, Ronaldo Helal, and Milton Vickerman, New York University

A computer simulation shows the Spiral of Silence hypothesis must be carefully formulated in the light of earlier findings. In particular, simulation suggests the effect of the Spiral of Silence is conditional on the distribution of opinion within social groups and the patterns of contact that exist within and between them. The effect of the Spiral of Silence may also be conditioned by the distribution of opinion among opinion leaders and high level of interest segments within the population. Finally, the simulation suggests the Spiral of Silence has important implications for a successful media strategy. In particular, the Spiral of Silence suggests that primacy in the delivery of messages may lead to great advantages in election campaigns.

***INTERVIEWEES' REPORT OF LOOKING-GLASS PERCEPTION AND THE SPIRAL OF SILENCE***

H. 't Hart and B. A. Klem, State University of Utrecht, Netherlands

In Nolle-Neuman's spiral of silence theory, fear of isolation is an important phenomenon. People hesitate from uttering opinions deviating from those of the majority of the public. The deviation is even more problematic when people believe their own opinions are losing ground with the general public. Moreover, people of minority opinions do not admit that their opinions are not shared by the majority. This leads to a looking-glass effect. Pressures on people with minority opinions to conform are more powerful when exerted by one's friends than when exerted by strangers.

Do people not speak when they believe most of their friends disagree with them? Do people admit to themselves that their views are not shared by their friends? What are the relationships between holding minority views, admitting there is a difference in one's own views and the majority, and admitting there is a decrease in the number of people adhering to one's opinions?

AAPOR Session 4:

**NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND NEW PERSPECTIVES**

***EYE MOVEMENT METHODS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF VISUAL MATERIALS***

Leonard F. Scinto and Barbara N. Flagg, Applied Science Laboratories

Eye movement data provide an objective continuous real-time record of a respondent's attention to and processing of visual materials. Such information can be a powerful diagnostic tool for maximizing the communication effectiveness of a visual message. Although eye movement monitoring has been practiced since early in this century, new hardware and software developments make the recording and analysis of viewing patterns more ecologically valid, more versatile in application, and more efficient and accurate. Applied Science Laboratories has developed different hardware/software configurations to analyze (1) viewer's responses to televised displays and (2) readers' responses while handling written materials. In the first application, a viewer watches television in a home-like environment while unobtrusive and hidden instrumentation monitors looking patterns. In the second application, a light-weight helmet mounted system allows the subject to handle naturally reading materials such as newspapers and magazines. Also unique data analysis and presentation techniques have been developed that show viewing pattern results in a meaningful way.

AAPOR Session 5:

**TERRORISM: MANIPULATING WORLD OPINION?**

***TERRORISM AND TELEVISION — SYMBIOSIS IN TODAY'S WARFARE***

Robert H. Kupperman, Georgetown Center for Strategic & International Studies

Successful television requires pictures and drama. Successful terrorism, which is intended to destabilize governments, requires instantaneous means of traumatizing liberal democracies. A potent international force emerges whenever the technological marvel of satellite television is combined with well choreographed terrorism.

After last June's airliner orgy (TWA 847), both government and media have become quite defensive. The networks are embarrassed, and government wants to blame someone for its own failures. There is a need to "decouple," allowing the media to report the news dispassionately and the government to cope effectively with an incident.

So long as the networks put specials on every five minutes and exaggerate the importance of terrorism, and so long as the United States bates the terrorists with Rambo-like statements of swift retribution, there will be many TWA 847's to come. Government has to take the lead, lessening tensions and placing incidents of terrorism in perspective. But, the electronic medium cannot escape its responsibilities either. Some practical "rules of the road" are needed. American needs to be informed of breaking news, but we must not provide an obscene stage to thugs and murderers.

***TERRORISM AND U.S. PUBLIC OPINION***

Burns W. Roper, The Roper Center

This paper deals with the public's perceptions of both the causes of and the cures for terrorism. It deals with the public's perception of the seriousness of the terrorism problem in the context of other kinds of issues facing the nation — crime and drugs, nuclear weapons, health care costs, the mounting deficit, inflation, and the foreign trade imbalance.

Public attitudes and appraisals of specific instances of terrorism are described such as TWA Flight 847 and the downing of the Egyptian airliner that carried the Achille Lauro hijackers. Finally, the paper will deal with public reactions to the U.S./Libyan confrontation and hostilities resulting from U.S. penetration below Libya's "line of death," whether increased terrorism on the part of Libya is a likely consequence and whether, on balance and after reflection, the confrontation with Libya was advisable.

***PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF THE CONFLICT IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE MEDIA'S ROLE AND THE EFFECT OF ITS BIASES ON REPORTING***

Hans Mathias Kepplinger and Hans-Bernd Brosius, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

Journalists generally report on events with high news value, but they concentrate their reporting on events which justify their own perception of the situation. The way conflicts are presented in the mass media usually influences people's opinions about those conflicts. If people are presented with information supporting one side in a conflict they generally endorse solutions in favor of that side.

These questions are explored using a content analysis of 2,745 news stories reported in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1984, interviews with 217 German journalists and interviews at four points in time with samples of the population.

AAPOR Session 6:

**INDIRECT QUESTIONING: NEW FINDINGS AND NEW TECHNIQUES**

***A NEW TECHNIQUE FOR SURVEYING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR: ITEM-COUNT ESTIMATES OF MARIJUANA, COCAINE, AND HEROINE***

Judith D. Miller, General Accounting Office; Adele V. Harrell, Institute for Social Analysis; Ira H. Cisin, The George Washington University

The item-count technique is an unobtrusive method of obtaining indirect reports. A half sample is shown a short list of relatively innocuous behaviors. Respondents report HOW MANY of these they have engaged in — not which ones. An equivalent half sample is shown a list containing the same items plus the deviant behavior. The difference in half-sample results (i.e., with and without the deviant item on the list) is the deviant behavior estimate.

Comparison of national sample item-count estimates with direct-report estimates indicates (1) that for heroin (ever use), item-count estimates are significantly higher than direct estimates among high-risk groups, i.e., young males living in metropolitan areas or lacking college experience; (2) that for marijuana and cocaine (past year use), item-count and direct estimates are very similar; (3) that among nonrespondents to marijuana direct SAQ questions, item-count estimates indicate a high percentage of users.

***ESTIMATING THE PREVALENCE OF CERTAIN PROPERTY CRIMES AMONG YOUTHFUL MALES USING "ITEM-COUNT PAIRED LISTS"***

Thomas F. Courtless, The George Washington University; Judith D. Miller, General Accounting Office

The newly developed estimation technique, "item-count paired lists" was originally used to estimate the prevalence of the use of certain drugs (heroin, marijuana and cocaine). This technique has now been extended to the area of victim-criminality, specifically to the property offenses, burglary and theft from autos.

Estimates of such criminal behavior based on official crime reports and victimization surveys fall far short of the mark in terms of accurately reflecting the prevalence of criminal behaviors in certain population groups.

The study procedures, including the selection of items for the paired lists and the double-blind pretest, differ significantly from those employed in the drug use estimation studies reported at this conference.

We recommend that the estimation technique be considered for use in other areas of criminal justice import such as child and spousal abuse, and rape.



## **AN ANALYSIS OF THE ACCURACY OF SPOUSAL REPORTS**

Tom W. Smith, University of Chicago

On basic demographics, spousal reports are as accurate as self-reports. While item non-response is higher on proxy reports by spouses than on self-reports, they are minuscule in both cases. For attributes that concern complex and less salient information, proxy reports are less complete than self-reports. This is especially true of reports of ethnicity. Self-reports indicate a more complex ethnic heritage than proxy reports. The distribution of ethnicities are however similar. Additionally, reports by husbands and wives tend to be equivalent about household and shared characteristics except for items that reflect traditional divisions of labor within the household. Thus husbands report higher levels of gun ownership and hunting than wives do.

## **THE EFFECTS OF PROXY REPORTING IN A NATIONAL MEDICAL EXPENDITURES SURVEY ON ESTIMATES OF USE, EXPENDITURES, AND HEALTH CONDITIONS**

Amy B. Bernstein and Samuel M. Meyer, National Center for Health Services Research and Health Care Technology Assessment

Data from the National Medical Care Expenditures Survey (NMCES) were used to examine the effects of proxy reporting on several dependent variables. Persons who had all five rounds of calendar year 1977 data reported by a proxy respondent were less likely to have had a physician visit reported for them than did persons who reported for themselves. They were also less likely to have had specific conditions reported for them, especially colds, skin conditions and arthritis. This difference persisted when factors associated with the use of medical care, such as age, sex and health status, were controlled for in a multivariate analysis. Therefore, there may be an underestimate of use of some medical services and the reporting of specific conditions, especially for specific socio-demographic subpopulations, if substantial amounts of data are obtained from proxy respondents.

AAPOR Session 7:

### **APPLICATIONS OF CHOICE MODELS**

#### **PUBLIC OPINION AS REPEATED DECISION MAKING: POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS OF DISCRETE ATTRIBUTE CHOICE MODELS**

J. Wesley Hutchinson, University of Florida

The American public can be viewed as a collection of individuals who are continually making decisions. Many of these decisions are repeated on various occasions. Repeated decisions include what to have for dinner, how to spend one's time at work and leisure, which magazines and books to read, what products to buy at the supermarket, and of particular interest, what opinions to endorse regarding the issues of the day. Marketing researchers have developed a rich base of mathematical choice models for repeated decision making about product and media alternative. These models should have interesting analogues in public opinion research. One way to make this analogy is to assume that each opinion about a given issue provides the individual holding that opinion with certain costs and benefits which maybe regarded as the "attributes" of the opinion. An analysis of the formal properties of certain discrete attribute models or repeated choice illustrates how opinion attributes can influence the patterns of change observed in public opinion.

## **POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS OF DISCRETE ATTRIBUTE CHOICE MODELS**

Richard R. Batsell, Rice University

Knowledge of inter-candidate substitutability can be strategically useful in a political campaign. Assume a primary race with five candidates; further assume you are candidate A and candidate C is pulling more votes from you than any of the other three candidates. Certain knowledge of this fact can have important strategic implications for: 1) media purchase and timing; 2) message design; 3) targeting voter subgroups; and endorsement strategy.

This paper describes a new class of market (voter) share models which scale the competitive effects political candidates have on each other. First, alternative approaches to the problem of measuring inter-candidate substitutability are described. Second, the paper offers a theorem and proof which guarantees the existence of the new class of models. Finally, data collected during the 1980 Presidential Primary is used to demonstrate an application of the new models.

## **A MARKETING PERSPECTIVE ON VOTER CHOICE BEHAVIOR IN A HIGH AND LOW INVOLVEMENT ELECTION SETTING**

Bruce I. Newman, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

An innovative theory of political choice behavior is used to make a comparative assessment of the motivational forces of voters in a high and low involvement election setting. The theory addresses the treatment of variety-seeking and situational contingencies in addition to the more traditional motivational forces of a voter in a single framework. The uniqueness of the theory is the result of its "marketing" approach, its basic premise being that political choice behavior is in many respects similar to consumer behavior. In marketing, a basic premise of consumer behavior is that different forces drive the consumer in high and low involvement settings. As a result, different strategies are called for in the development of promotional campaigns. In this study, the 1984 Presidential election and the 1985 Milwaukee School Board election are used as the high and low involvement settings, respectively. The results of the study suggest that variety-seeking serves as the primary motivational force in the low involvement election and party affiliation as the primary force in the high involvement election. The strategic implications of these results are discussed within a marketing context.

## **TWO MODELS TO PREDICT LEGISLATIVE ELECTION OUTCOMES**

Cliff Zukin and Michael X. Delli Carpini, Rutgers University

New Jersey held its gubernatorial and state assembly election in 1985. The race for governor was never close, resulting in a 40 percent margin of victory for the incumbent Republican. With this race a foregone conclusion, journalistic, political, and academic attention focused on the legislative races, and whether the Republicans would gain control of the Assembly. Using aggregate voting statistics from prior assembly and gubernatorial races, trend data in party identification from recent statewide surveys, and turnout and gubernatorial vote predictions from pre-election surveys in 1985, we developed two models predicting the outcome of each of the 80 legislative races. Both models accurately predicted that the Republicans would gain control of the Assembly, and both came surprisingly close to predicting the final party division of seats. Utilizing both pre-election and *post hoc* data, in this paper we present the structure and assumptions of the two models, demonstrate their sensitivity to the various components of turnout, division of the partisan base, coattail effects, etc., and work through the various decision points and tradeoffs involved in the methodology of election polling and predicting. We also examine in detail where (and why) the models succeeded and failed in predicting the outcome of specific districts.

AAPOR Session 8:

**NEW ISSUES IN MAIL SURVEYS: PART I**

***RESPONDENT PROBLEMS WITH CENSUS SELF-ENUMERATION IN 1980***

Theresa J. DeMaio, U.S. Bureau of the Census

The paper reports the results of several evaluations of the quality of response to the self-enumerative 1980 census. Data are presented to address four response issues (item nonresponse, response consistency, response accuracy and mail return), which reflect the unedited and unadjusted answers of respondents on their census forms. The results suggest that there were response problems on the self-enumerative portion population subgroups. These problems may have occurred because of misunderstanding of terminology in the questions, failure to follow skip patterns, lack of information to answer the question, and other sources of misunderstanding.

***INCREASING RESPONSE RATE IN A MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE: METHODS AND CONSEQUENCES***

Fran Featherston, U.S. General Accounting Office

In order to achieve higher response rates to its mail questionnaires, the General Accounting Office (GAO) often uses two followup mailings. In a study of the attitudes and behaviors of air traffic controllers, the GAO mailed 5,500 questionnaires to controllers and first-line supervisors. Two followup mailings were utilized: 1) a new procedure utilized a reminder letter to be posted on bulletin boards at the 74 facilities where the respondents worked, and 2) a standard second followup procedure provided a letter to each outstanding respondent with another copy of the questionnaire. The two followup procedures delineate three time periods for returned questionnaires. Response rates for the three time periods are examined to determine the effectiveness of the new followup procedure. The main thrust, however, is the differentiation in responses among respondents in the three time periods to determine whether followups are cost effective. It is hypothesized that respondents with the strongest opinions will be among the earlier respondents. Additionally, it is expected that those with negative opinions about the safety of the air traffic control systems will be the most likely to return the questionnaire before the followup procedures.

***SURVEY ORIENTED QUALITY CONTROL PROCEDURES***

Howard L. Magnas

This paper describes the results of an observational survey of quality control activities of a sample of private, university and government survey research institutions. The purpose of the observational survey was to identify and analyze the processes utilized in the quality control oriented activities performed by the institutions under study for potential application by the Energy Information Administration (EIA). Examples of survey processes examined are: questionnaire development, frames development and maintenance, log-in and receipt control, manual screening and respondent follow-up, computer keying and verification, automated edit procedures, performance statistics and imputation procedures. The paper will compare the quality control procedures of the various institutions and focus on the most effective and functional procedures. It will discuss current efforts at EIA to modify existing quality control procedures where relevant and to introduce new procedures based on findings of the project.

AAPOR Session 9:  
**NEW ISSUES IN MAIL SURVEYS: PART II**

***EFFECTS ON LEVEL AND QUALITY OF RESPONSE OF FORM LENGTH, TYPE OF MAIL, MODE OF FOLLOWUP INTERVIEW, AND USE OF "DON'T KNOW" BOXES IN FACTUAL QUESTIONS***

Gail S. Poe and Isadore Seeman, National Center for Health Statistics

In a large pretest (n = 1360) for a 1986 national survey of informants on death certificates, four experiments were included to determine the optimal procedures to use in the main survey. The first experiment involved form length. The second experiment looked at whether the use of certified mail in the second mailing would result in a higher *final* response rate after all followup attempts were made by an interviewer. The third experiment examined the effects of the use of the telephone in this survey. The final experiment explored the effects of using "Don't know" boxes on factual questions. One-half of the respondents received a questionnaire with almost all items having a "Don't know" box and the other one-half received a questionnaire with no "Don't know" boxes. The outcome measures examined for these experiments include overall response rate, item response rates, item response distributions, and reliability of responses.

***TIME DEPENDENCIES IN MAIL SURVEY DATA***

Ernest R. Cadotte and Manfred F. Maute, University of Tennessee

Mail surveys often require several weeks to complete. During this time period, many variables of interest could be affected by the passage of time due to history or maturation effects. Retrospective data may be particularly susceptible to response delays.

The relationship between response delay and data quality was investigated using a mail survey designed to measure the satisfaction, attitudes and behavior of customers who took lodging in two hotels in a southeastern city. Questionnaire recipients were randomly selected from the registration cards of the hotels. The date(s) of the visit to the hotel were reorded for each subject. Respondents were asked to indicate the date on which they completed their questionnaire. Response delay was measured as the difference between the date of visit and the date of questionnaire completion.

The effects of response delays were tested by comparing the length in responding to 1) the completeness of the information provided, 2) the variance in the responses given, and 3) the size of the correlations between theoretically linked variables. The results suggest a small but significant relationship between response delay and response patterns.

***MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE RATES: THE EFFECT OF MONETARY INCENTIVES AND SALIENCE OF THE TOPIC***

Robert M. Baumgartner and Thomas A. Heberlein, Heberlein-Baumgartner Research Services

A mail questionnaire response rate experiment examined the effect of prepaid monetary incentives ranging from 0 to \$5 under different levels of salience of the topic to respondents. The high salience group consisted of volunteers for a special electric rate program, while the low salience group was comprised of customers who had been contacted about the program but did not volunteer. The special electric rate program was referenced in cover letters to the high salience (volunteer) group.

Completed questionnaires were received from 86 percent of the high salience group and 72 percent of the low salience group, across all incentive levels. The size of the response incentive had a significant effect on the final response rate for the low salience group. Increasing the incentive from 0 to \$4 increased final response by 15 points. For the high salience group, however, the effect of incentives was insignificant. The same increase in incentive only increased final response by three points.

These data suggest that the relationship between prepaid monetary incentives and response rate is influenced by the salience of the topic to respondents, and that in surveys of highly salient topics, prepaid monetary incentives may not be cost effective.

AAPOR Session 10:

**CRITICAL DECISIONS BASED ON SURVEY RESEARCH**

***PUBLIC POLICY DECISIONS — THE ROLE OF GAO SURVEY RESEARCH***

Thomas E. Slomba, U.S. General Accounting Office

The General Accounting Office (GAO) is an agency of the U.S. Congress responsible for evaluating federal programs. Information resulting from GAO's work is used by Congress as it exercises its legislative functions. During the past 10 years, GAO has made increased use of survey research to obtain information needed for its program reviews and evaluations. In 1985, GAO conducted well over 150 surveys dealing with a wide variety of topics. The vast majority of these surveys were self-administered mail surveys. Results of almost every GAO survey are reported to Congress in the form of a written report or oral briefing or testimony. Two GAO surveys exemplify the role survey research plays on Congressional decision making. One is a survey of individuals dropped from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program as a result of program changes, conducted in 1983. A second is a survey of air-traffic controllers regarding various management issues such as workload, staffing levels, and training of new controllers, conducted in 1985. The AFDC survey had direct impact on legislation modifying earlier program changes. The air-traffic control study received wide media attention, and four Congressional hearings to date have focused on this survey and its findings.

***CRITICAL DECISIONS BASED ON SURVEY RESEARCH: TWO CASE HISTORIES***

Gary Siegel, DePaul University

Two case histories describe how survey research was used for policy making. The cases demonstrate that knowing what people think and feel about issues enables decision makers to better anticipate the consequences of alternative policy decisions and action strategies.

The first case concerns an organization's response to a Supreme Court decision that challenged a long-standing organizational rule. A membership survey revealed the intensity of opinion on the issue, the factors that explained the split in member opinion, and the intended actions of members. Survey results enabled decision-makers to clearly assess the strength of alternative positions they might take on the issue and the likely outcome of challenging the Court's decision.

The second case concerns a decision to initiate policy on an issue where the membership was evenly split as to the appropriate course of action. A membership survey revealed that opinion on the issue was extremely strong, and that the contemplated change in policy had potentially severe and damaging consequences for the organization. It enabled decision-makers to better anticipate the outcome of actions and thereby make a better decision.

***SURVEY RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF U.S. DRUG POLICY: THE PERUVIAN CASE***

Joel Jutkowitz, Institute for the Study of Human Issues; Jack Elinson, Columbia University

Studies of public opinion are often cited as justifications for policies previously formulated by politicians or bureaucrats. But studies can be and have been commissioned with the intent of utilizing the findings as the basis for testing policy assumptions and developing new policy approaches. This paper examines just such a situation, the formulation of a strategy for assisting in the prevention of drug abuse in Peru. That process began with a survey of opinion leaders regarding their definition of the problem — the first such data available to policy planners in Peru's history. We explore the context of the problem of drug abuse in Peru, the nature of the survey undertaken and the implications of the survey for the development of policy alternatives, relating those implications to the directions taken by the policy initiated.

## AAPOR Session 11

**SURVEY DESIGN AND COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY*****EPISODIC RECALL VS. ESTIMATION: APPLICABILITY OF COGNITIVE THEORY TO PROBLEMS IN SURVEY RESEARCH***

Nancy A. Mathiowetz, Westat, Inc.

The task of estimation (for example, how many times a respondent has been to a doctor during the last year) requires a very different set of skills on the part of the respondent than requesting the respondent to recall the specific dates of an event (episodic recall). Cognitive theory suggests that the estimation process, in general, is an easier task. A review of the relevant literature related to estimation and episodic recall is presented along with findings from a validation study designed to assess respondent's ability to report levels of unemployment for recall periods up to 30 months prior to the interview date. Respondents were asked both to estimate total annual unemployment for the two calendar years prior to the interview and (later in the interview) requested to date the individual unemployment spells. Responses were compared to company records to assess both the accuracy of the estimation task and the dating of specific episodes. Although the study was not designed to provide definitive tests of different psychological theories, several contradicting theories concerning respondent's ability to perform the two different memory tasks are assessed. Suggestions are provided for further research.

***THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES IN SELECTING RESPONSE CATEGORIES: HOW OFTEN VS HOW MUCH***

Nora Cate Schaeffer, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In framing survey questions about a domain of interest, such as conflict over childrearing practices, one frequently can choose among several possible response dimensions. One can ask, for example, about the frequency, duration, or intensity of conflict. The response dimensions just mentioned require different cognitive tasks of a respondent and elicit answers with different measurement properties. These response dimensions may be conceptually quite distinct and may refer to somewhat different aspects of a single domain; for example, "disagreement" may be a subjective state, but "disagreements" commonly entail interaction. Empirically the response dimensions may be relatively independent or highly correlated. Some consequences of the choice of a response dimension are examined in experiments in a telephone survey. These experiments compared parental reports of "how often" and "how strongly" parents disagree about several childrearing practices.

***HOW DO RESPONDENTS ANSWER SATISFACTION QUESTIONS? A JUDGMENT MODEL OF SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING***

Norbert Schwarz, Universität Heidelberg; Fritz Strack, Universität Mannheim

The cognitive and affective processes underlying reports of happiness and satisfaction with one's life as a whole and with specific life-domains are explored. Controlled experiments demonstrate that individuals form judgments of global life-satisfaction on the basis of their mood at the time of judgment but evaluate specific life-domains on the basis of comparison processes. The standard of comparison used depends on its salience at the time of judgment which is a function of the preceding questions and of the social context of the interview. Therefore, reports of well-being are not a function of the objective conditions of life per se but rather the result of complex but systematic interactions of objective conditions and judgmental processes. A model of these judgmental processes is outlined and its implications for public opinion research are discussed.

**QUESTION LENGTH AND RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE QUESTIONS**

M. Kathryn Heizer and McKee J. McClendon, The University of Akron

An experiment was conducted to investigate the effects of question length on responses to attitude questions. There were four versions of the questionnaire: short standard, long standard, short filtered, and long filtered. The nine items in the experiment were attitude questions regarding a number of issues, including mental health issues, religious beliefs, and opinions about sex roles. It was expected that the longer version of the standard questions would elicit different responses from those found on the short version of the same questions. It was also hypothesized that the length of the question would have a weaker effect on the filtered form than on the standard form. Question length effects were found for two of the nine items, but there were no significant differences in question length between the standard and filtered forms. Implications of the effects of question length on responses are discussed.

AAPOR Session 12:

**MEDIA AND COMMUNITY****SOCIAL CHANGE AND GATEKEEPER CHANGE: OPINIONS OF COMMUNITY EDITORS, 1965-1985**

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

A structural hypothesis about change in gatekeeper opinions is tested with a sample of editors of 78 Minnesota community newspapers interviewed in 1985, compared with interviews 20 years earlier among editors of the same papers. Results are generally supportive of the hypothesis that editor perceptions of the role of the press will reflect the division of labor in an increasingly pluralistic society, both within the press organization and the community. As hypothesized, newspaper organizations tended to grow and rely more on regular, specialized staff personnel, especially in more pluralistic, urbanized areas of the state. Also as hypothesized, editors in 1985 expressed more emphasis upon covering the strains and issues that are part of more urbanized, pluralistic structures. This includes more emphasis upon covering business, public controversies, and performing a "watchdog" role. Editors in 1985 were also more likely to mention business and finance topics in the "top stories" of their recent editions. They were *less* likely in 1985 to mention advertising and business promotion as community functions, a finding interpreted as a result of increasing role specialization which leads the professional gatekeeper to concentrate on the information product rather than on the business aspect of the newspaper.

**THE COMMUNITY FACTOR: THE MISSING ELEMENT IN MEDIA RESEARCH**

Michael V. Smith, University of Maryland

After two decades of extraordinary reliance by community daily newspapers on survey research, among the evident and well-documented developments are these: 1) Newspapers are conceptualized as "products" to be merchandized rather than as social institutions which also are agents of social and political participation. 2) Confidence in the efficacy of media research has grown as practitioners and academics alike increasingly have focused on how "community factors" or "community attachments" influence media preferences. In other words, the aggregate focus of media research is on sets of individuals as *communities of consumers* rather than as *of citizens*. Despite what they seem to say, the terms "community factors" and "community attachments" do not reflect the unique influence a community might have on its citizens — even though researchers, such as Janowitz, whose early work shaped this approach, emphasized the unique contribution of community to individual behavior. Using examples from a study of four communities, community-focused research is considered for its potential for 1) assessing a community's singular influence on media preferences and for 2) providing media operators insight into the potential editorial "product" changes have for enhancing — or damaging — community dynamics.

## **ISOLATION AND INTEGRATION OF NEWSPAPER JOURNALISTS**

Cecilie Gaziano and Kristin McGrath, MORI Research

Newspaper reporters are often criticized for being too isolated from the communities they cover, and publishers are often criticized for being too closely involved with their communities. What is an appropriate distance between journalism professionals and their communities? What role might differences and distance play in public trust in the press?

A national survey of the public's attitude toward the media showed that a key aspect of diminished newspaper credibility was the distance people felt between themselves and their newspapers. The results of that survey led the Associated Press Managing Editors Association to sponsor a national survey of newspaper journalists to assess their attitudes toward media credibility and their role in addressing this issue. This paper reports findings which relate isolation and integration of newspaper journalists to the credibility issue.

Although journalists differed from the general population on the whole, two groups of journalists, termed "younger transients" and "older natives," especially contrasted with each other in demographics, attitudes, and values. Together they accounted for about two-thirds of newspaper journalists surveyed. It is possible that "younger transients" contribute disproportionately to credibility problems perceived by the public because they are the most distant from their communities.

AAPOR Session 13:

### **POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS**

#### **AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF TWO THEORIES OF POLITICAL PERCEPTION**

Donald Granberg, University of Missouri-Columbia

Two theories of political perception, displacement theory and political cue theory, were examined by deriving five hypotheses from each theory and testing them using data from the five most recent U.S. presidential elections. The hypotheses from political cue theory, pertaining to deriving perception of candidate's positions from party's positions, the stability of perceptions of candidates and parties, and to the likelihood of not knowing the party's and the candidate's positions, were not supported. In support of displacement theory, assimilation of one's preferred candidate appears to occur regardless of preferred candidate and that candidate's party as taking the same positions. The degree of assimilation or contrast in placing a candidate or party varies as a function of the degree of attraction. Independent candidates were susceptible to displacement effects in the same manner as candidates representing a major party.

#### **Perceptions of Communication Use and Public Opinion Processes**

Carroll J. Glynn and Joe D. Francis, Cornell University

There is a common belief that public opinion surveys are able to indicate "what the public wants" on a wide range of subjects from foreign policy to birth control. Policy makers, it is felt, should not have the right to ignore what "the public" says it wants or does not want. Some people's lives may be significantly impacted by policy decisions and they may wish to communicate their own opinions about the issues to decision makers. It should be determined whether or not these publics know which communication sources decision makers use to learn about public opinions on these issues. It was found that the "special public" in this study, Adirondack community residents, perceive differential amounts of group influence on science policy decisions. They also perceive that different "information-seeking" groups use different communication sources when these groups wish to find out the public's opinions on specific issues.



## **POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND THE KNOWLEDGE GAP HYPOTHESIS**

David W. Moore, University of New Hampshire

The knowledge gap hypothesis suggests that a sudden infusion of information into a social setting serves to increase, rather than decrease, the gap in knowledge between high and low status voters. Political campaigns represent an especially appropriate setting to test this hypothesis, because of 1) the increased information that generally characterizes campaigns and 2) the important political consequences to lower status voters if the hypothesis is correct. This study uses a two-wave panel survey during the 1978 New Hampshire gubernatorial campaign to test the hypothesis, finding that on the two most important issues in the campaign, knowledge gaps existed at the beginning of the campaign; on only one, however, did the gap increase, while on the other (the less complex of the two issues), the gap remained constant. These findings are "explained" using an information diffusion model, suggesting that whether a knowledge gap appears to increase or remain the same during a campaign is probably mostly a function of the times at which the gaps are measured. The implication of these findings is that those states with longer campaign periods between the primary and the general elections (some states have eight weeks other have 24 weeks) may be helping the lower status voters to "catch up" with higher status voters in learning the relevant information needed to vote.

## **GENDER AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE CENTRALITY OF PEACE**

Barbara Bardes, Loyola University of Chicago

The gender gap between men and women on foreign policy issues has been expanding for the past decade. There is evidence that American women are not only more opposed to the use of force than are their male counterparts, but that they are becoming more isolationist and more concerned about protecting domestic interests. Factor analysis suggests that males and females organize their perceptions of the foreign policy issues differently and that these differences are more extensive among certain subgroups of the population. In general, American women are more likely to understand or evaluate foreign policy initiatives in terms of the risk of military involvement than are men.

AAPOR Session 14:

## **COMPARATIVE NORTH AMERICAN STUDIES**

### ***Class, Networks and Class Consciousness***

Dorothy Watson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Data for the study come from a cross-national survey on political beliefs and political action undertaken in the mid-1970s by a group of political scientists lead by Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase. The main findings are that the elements of class consciousness cannot be mapped onto structural class position in a straightforward manner and that the networks to which an individual belongs have an important impact on consciousness. These findings point to the usefulness of the concept of hegemony in understanding the way in which class attitudes are formed.

The other issue raised in the course of the analysis concerns the measurement of class consciousness. The different measures used here would have led to different conclusions both regarding the prevalence of class-related attitudes and regarding the impact of the network variables on these attitudes, if only one of them had been used. Also, forms of attitude measurement that require the spontaneous use of ideological concepts depend heavily on the level of education of the respondents. This indicates the usefulness of measures which tap several dimensions of an ideology and which involve the recognition of concepts as well as those designed to tap their spontaneous use.

AAPOR Session 15:

**EXPERIMENTS IN QUESTIONING WORDING: ANOTHER LOOK**

***RESPONSE ORDER EFFECTS IN THE MEASUREMENT OF VALUES***

Jon A. Krosnick and Duane F. Alwin, University of Michigan

Previous research has documented effects of the order in which response choices are offered to respondents using closed-ended survey items, but no theory of the psychological sources of these effects has yet been proposed. This paper offers such a theory drawn from a variety of psychological research. Using data from a split-ballot experiment in the 1984 General Social Survey involving a variant of Kohn's parental-values measure, we test some predictions made by the theory about what kind of response-order effect would be expected (a primacy effect) and among which respondents it should be strongest (those low in cognitive sophistication). These predictions are confirmed. We also test the "form-resistant correlation" hypothesis. Although correlations between items are altered by changes in response order, the presence and nature of the latent-value dimension underlying these responses is essentially unaffected.

***WORDING AND ANALYSIS OF SURVEY QUESTIONS IN A POLICY CONTEXT***

Joseph E. Grush and Dorothy K. Davidson Nesbit, Northern Illinois University

In survey research, it is axiomatic that the findings on any given issue will be a function of how the questions are worded and how the responses are analyzed. If the purpose of a survey is simply to gauge public sentiment at one point in time, then straightforward questions and simple analysis will suffice. However, if the purpose of the survey is to provide lawmakers with initiative, then a sequence of indirect followed by direct questions is warranted.

This approach was used in a survey of 800 Illinois residents to examine support for a longer school day. Results for the unobtrusive questions and the joint analyses of the perspective questions clearly show that most respondents want increased instructional time. Results for the standard questions, on the other hand, indicate that most respondents are opposed to more instructional time. Order effects do not readily explain the pattern of findings — support, opposition, then subsequent support. Persuasion-induced change does not explain the results because initial support for increased instructional time occurred on the unobtrusive measure, and the perspective questions contained no rational arguments to spur endorsement. Ostrum's (1970) theory of perspective-induced change offers a plausible account of the results.

***A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON OF QUESTION FORM EFFECTS IN SELF-ADMINISTERED VS. TELEPHONE SURVEYS***

George F. Bishop, University of Cincinnati; Hans Jurgen-Hippler, Center for Survey Methods and Analysis, Mannheim

Numerous experiments have shown that the results of surveys can be significantly affected by the way in which questions are worded, the form in which they are presented, and the order and context in which they are asked. Nearly all of this evidence, however, comes from survey interviews conducted either face-to-face or by telephone. None of the reported response effects have, to our knowledge, been replicated in a self-administered questionnaire. Identical field experiments conducted in Germany and the United States test whether response effects are the same when the data are collected through self-administered questionnaires as when collected through telephone interviews.

AAPOR Session 16:

**SURVEY OF INCOME AND PROGRAM PARTICIPATION (SIPP)**

***AN OVERVIEW OF THE SURVEY OF INCOME AND PROGRAM PARTICIPATION: DESIGN AND CONTENT***

David B. McMillen, Bureau of the Census

The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) is a longitudinal survey to assess the economic situation of persons in the United States. This survey will cover a larger number of income sources with greater frequency than any currently available source of data. The paper will present the history of this survey, including the motivation for a new income survey and the development of the program. Information will be provided on the technical aspects of the survey including: the sample design; interview schedules and reference period; the introduction of new panels of respondents; and procedures to follow persons who move. The survey content, publication, and data files to be produced from these data will also be discussed.

***A REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND DESIGN ISSUES IN THE SURVEY OF INCOME AND PROGRAM PARTICIPATION***

Daniel Kasprzyk, Bureau of the Census

The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) is a new ongoing nationally representative household survey program of the Bureau of the Census. The primary purpose of the SIPP is to improve the measurement of income and program characteristics. The SIPP accomplishes this goal through repeated interviews of sample individuals using a short reference period and a probing questionnaire. The multi-interview design of SIPP raises methodological and statistical issues of concern to all panel surveys of persons and families. This paper discusses these issues, reviewing for each topic work completed and work in progress.

***A USER'S VIEW OF THE ACQUISITION AND USE OF SIPP DATA***

Pat Doyle, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc.

The Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) is a complex longitudinal survey of civilian noninstitutionalized persons in the United States. It is intended to provide a superior data base for both cross-sectional analyses of public policy and longitudinal research into the behavior of the population. In order to meet that goal, a series of micro-data products have been and will be disseminated to the public for secondary analysis. Are these products useful for the intended research? Are they appropriately designed to facilitate a variety of users with a multitude of applications? Are they of high quality and available in a timely fashion? These and other questions of interest to potential SIPP users will be addressed in this presentation.

***ARCHIVING AND RELEASING SIPP DATA TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR***

Alice Robbin, University of Wisconsin

This paper first discusses the theoretical basis for archiving and releasing the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) data to the public and private sectors. SIPP ACCESS, the Research Network and Data Center for the Survey of Income and Program Development (ISDP) and SIPP, make use of and integrate theories in the social, information, and computer sciences. They offer new ways of thinking about complex longitudinal panel studies and the environment for data delivery. The paper then shows how SIPP ACCESS operates, reviews the progress made to date, and describes some of the unsolved problems.

AAPOR Session 17:

**MASS MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINIONS: CONVERGENCE AND CONFLICT**

***THE EFFECT OF THE PRESS BAN ON U.S. OPINION TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA***

Eleanor Singer, Columbia University; Jacob Ludwig, The Gallup Organization

"Two months after the South African Government imposed sweeping restrictions on the press, the vivid television images of protest and violent suppression that many believe helped galvanize sentiment on South Africa have become increasingly scarce," begins a page 1 story titled "South Africa and TV: The Coverage Changes," by Peter J. Boyer (NY Times, 12/29/85).

The drop-off in coverage is easy to document. But has it been followed by any change in American opinion on South Africa? We answer this question by means of trends in responses to a question on South Africa asked with identical wording in August and October, 1985, and again subsequent to the November 2 press ban. More generally, the results are relevant to the question of whether intensive media coverage of protest activities that readers and viewers cannot experience directly has an impact on either the size of the aware group or the direction of opinion.

***WHO RALLIES AROUND THE PRESIDENT?***

Ken Dautrich, Rutgers University

This paper examines a question which largely has been overlooked by public opinion researchers: "Who rallies around the president" in the event of a major international crisis? Using schema theory to study the dynamics of public opinion change, New Jersey residents are divided into several groups based on pre-existing levels of political information. From a psychological perspective, we demonstrate that those with different levels of stored political information will process new information differently, producing varying degrees of increased support for the president among different individuals in the population. Schema theory is also employed to trace changes in presidential support between partisan groups. In analyzing opinion changes, a statistical measure is used which corrects for the problem of the "ceiling effect." The data used to test our hypotheses were collected around the United States' invasion of Grenada in October of 1983. A time-series analysis is performed between a cross-section interviewed several days before the invasion and another cross-section interviewed a few days after the event. These unique data allow us to test hypotheses about the psychological processes underpinning changes in presidential support in the wake of a rally event.

***A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION IN SOCIAL CONFLICT***

Eric W. Rothenbuhler, University of Iowa

Communication media are tied to communities and so participate in both consensus and conflict processes. They do so differentially, however. Some media, such as radio broadcasting, involve heavy investments in plant but are relatively cheap in distribution; they tend to become associated with centralized power and administration over large territories including many smaller communities. Other media, such as newspapers are relatively inexpensive in terms of the technology of their plant but are heavy and expensive in distribution; they tend to become associated with single communities. To the extent these generalizations are valid, newspapers will tend to support community points of view and exacerbate between-community conflict. Radio, on the other hand, will tend to concentrate on the commonalities of the many communities within its broadcasting range and to mitigate conflict.

The ideas are supported by estimating a path model on a sample of less developed countries from Banks' cross-national indicators data set. The model relates political violence (the sum of the number of anti-government demonstrations, riots, and general strikes), the strength of the broadcasting system, the strength of newspaper publishing, the literacy rate, and the level of economic development across a two-decade panel. The amount of political violence among these less developed countries is shown to be dependent on the strength of newspaper publishing and on the amount of violence in the previous decade. The level of economic development decreases the level of violence.

## **THE AGENDA-SETTING PROCESS**

Everett M. Rogers

*Agenda-Setting* is the process through which the mass media communicate to the public the relative importance of various issues and news topics. A considerable body of communication research by a variety of scholars has examined how the mass media influence public opinion about the salience of different topics. Here we synthesize this research literature with a view toward learning important theoretical and methodological lessons. The trend in agenda-setting research has been toward over-time data-gathering and analysis, allowing improved understanding of agenda-setting as a process. The two traditions of research on the topic, by mass communication scholars and by political scientists, seem hardly aware of each other's work.

AAPOR Session 18:

## **FINDING AND QUESTIONING RARE AND HARD-TO-REACH POPULATIONS**

### **ISSUES IN COUNTING THE HOMELESS**

Charles D. Cowan

No one really seems to know how many homeless are in the United States. In fact, wide variations exist on the estimates of homeless populations in most major cities. The variation is due to the difficulty in counting this population. Definitional issues such as who should be counted and methodological issues such as sampling a population with no stable location both cause problems in executing such a research project. This paper attempts to catalog issues related to counting the homeless and presents some preliminary work on a research study that attempts to deal with these issues.

### **INTERVIEWING VIETNAM VETERANS: RANDOM SAMPLING OF A HARD-TO-REACH POPULATION**

Kenneth E. John, *The Washington Post*

The *Washington Post* and ABC News conducted a telephone survey of Vietnam veterans in March 1985. This poll was the first large-scale probability sample of Vietnam veterans based on telephone interviewing, and one of the few studies of this low incidence group.

Names of Vietnam veterans were obtained by contacting a national probability sample and asking for referrals of household members and immediate family members. More than 15,000 telephone numbers were collected, leading to interviews with 1,249 Vietnam era veterans, including 811 who served in the Southeast Asia theater. Fieldwork was conducted at the *Washington Post*.

Our sample was similar in many respects to a Louis Harris survey of Vietnam veterans based on personal interviewing. Harris screened 50,000 households door-to-door to obtain interviews with 2,464 Vietnam era veterans. Our experience indicates that telephone sampling of low incidence groups can yield quality samples at a relatively modest cost.

The poll found most Vietnam veterans have successfully reentered the mainstream of American life. However, many of those who survived heavy combat were bitter and continued to have personal problems.

A related methodological note: The *Post* and ABC News recently conducted a separate poll of black Americans using a random sample of telephone numbers derived from previous interviews with randomly selected black. That also served as an efficient, relatively inexpensive means of locating a random sample of a low incidence group.

### ***YOU'LL FIND THE KIDS IN SCHOOL***

Dorothy Guyot, Albert Einstein College of Medicine; Arnold Birenbaum, Einstein and St. John's College

How do researchers find subjects for a national study when their prevalence in the population is as low as .5 per 10,000? A little known census tape developed by the Bureau of the Census and the National Center for Educational Statistics is a useful frame for multistage cluster sampling of a number of rare populations of children (National Center for Education Statistics, 1983). The advantages of the frame are: 1) the 17,000 schools as primary sampling units cover all states and territories; 2) the demographics available on the PSUs include all data from the STF1 and STF3 tapes of the 1980 census of population and housing; and 3) the schools can provide complete enumerations of their students. The shortcomings of the frame are that it under-represents children enrolled in private schools and that school administrators control the process of obtaining informed consent for participation in any study using this frame.

The rich variety of variables available in the census data provide great opportunities for stratification of the frame in a manner appropriate to the subject of the study. In the use reported here, the frame was modified to include only 297 exceptionally large school districts containing 53 percent of the U.S. population and then stratified by four dichotomous variables.

### ***OBTAINING A REPRESENTATIVE DATA SET: THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION'S SOCIOECONOMIC MONITORING SYSTEM***

Lorayn Olson and Sara Thran, American Medical Association; Richard Strouse, Mathematica Policy Research

The American Medical Association's Socioeconomic Monitoring System (SMS) is an ongoing telephone survey program of physicians that collects data on characteristics of medical practice and health policy issues related to patient care. The eligible sample is limited to non-federal patient care physicians.

This study shows that participation in the SMS survey varies by demographic and practice characteristics that are related to key survey variables, with specialty being the most significant. This study also considers whether each of three special data collection efforts achieves its objective of obtaining responses from physicians who otherwise would not participate in the survey.

As a result of our examination of the SMS program, two decisions were made regarding data collection in the 1986 SMS program. Minimum response rates by specialty group will be specified and the three special data collection efforts will be continued.

AAPOR Session 19:

### ***NEW IDEAS AND NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN POLITICS***

#### ***POLITICS AND THE SEARCH FOR NEW IDEAS***

Judith N. Shapiro, General Electric Company

The consensus that has existed for almost forty years regarding the role played by private interests in helping to set and execute national political priorities is under attack. We see this in important policy areas like taxes, spending, defense and trade which are suddenly and simultaneously subjects of reform efforts linked by concern over the lopsided results of interest group politics.

Conservatives and liberals alike are groping for new ideas capable of imparting new meaning to our politics, ideas capable of closing the perceived gap between democratic theory and political practice. A realignment in political consensus is, therefore, very likely in the making.

What would be useful to know is the extent to which dissatisfaction with special-interest politics is shared, whether or not people think the current political rules need to be changed, and if so, how?

**THE PROSPECT OF A MAJOR PARTY REALIGNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES**  
Helmut Norpoth, State University of New York, Stony Brook

The basic partisan balance of the American electorate has proved remarkably resilient since the 1930s, unperturbed by Republican victories in presidential elections. In 1984, however, there were signs that the Democratic lead in party identification faced a more serious threat. The GOP gained the edge among young voters and has so far been able to maintain it, New York Times/CBS News polls show. This persistent generation gap suggests the making of a partisan realignment, with younger, more Republican cohorts of voters taking the place of older, more Democratic cohorts as time goes by. The exact timing of the shift among the young to the GOP, the dynamics of the shift and the prospect of it being durable are examined with data from Times/CBS polls.

AAPOR Session 20:

**CHANGE OVER TIME: NEW INSIGHTS FROM TREND STUDIES**

**THE REAGAN POLARIZATION PHENOMENON AND THE CONTINUING  
DOWNWARD SLIDE IN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE POPULARITY**

Martin P. Wattenberg, University of California, Irvine

This paper employs data from the 1952-1984 American National Election Studies to trace the decline in presidential candidate popularity and its meaning. Despite the magnitude of Reagan's two electoral victories, the data fail to show any reversal in the long-term decline in presidential popularity. Reagan's popularity is analyzed in depth through use of both open and closed-ended questions. Both sets of data demonstrate that many negatives did stick to Reagan in spite of the much vaunted "Teflon factor."

Most strikingly, it is found that Reagan, far more than any previous victorious presidential candidate in the time period, polarized his supporters from his opponents. The early election studies found that public opinion was largely polarized on the basis of attitudes toward the political parties. As partisan feelings moved away from polarization toward neutrality, candidate evaluations became more issue oriented, but until now did not become notably more polarized. With the occurrence of this phenomenon in 1984, American politics may have moved one step closer to a purely candidate-centered model of presidential elections.

**CONSUMER ATTITUDES AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE**

Kent D. Van Liere, Herberlein Baumgartner Research Services

Consumer attitudes or consumer-sentiment measures are frequently used in assessing national economic trends, but these measure have rarely been used to analyze regional differences in economic performance. This paper reports an exploratory analysis of the link between the Conference Board's measures of consumer confidence and regional economic performance. The study used data for the nine census regions for the period of January 1980 to August 1984. The results show that there are significant regional differences in consumer confidence and perceptions of the current situation. There are smaller differences in future expectations. The results also show that regional differences in consumer attitudes are associated with differences in the unemployment rate and retail sales per capita in the directions expected. Finally, an analysis of the lagged cross-correlations suggests that the present-situation index and the future-expectations index have different relationships with current measure of economic performance, but the functions appear relatively consistent across regions.

**CHANGES IN PUBLIC OPINION: A CASE STUDY OF SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY IN WEST GERMANY 1976-1985**

Manfred Kuechler, Florida State University

Using the "Politbarometer" surveys, detailed time series for various socio-political indicators can be established. With a long lasting, but largely speculative discussion on the crisis of democracy in Western industrial nations, a measure of satisfaction with democracy is of particular interest. This time series shows a drastic decline, starting in late 1980 with a subsequent recovery beginning in late 1981. The peculiar patterns are not paralleled in neighboring countries like France or the Netherlands. Rather a comparison with time series, for economic indicators (unemployment and inflation rates) suggests that the 'confidence crisis' in West German public opinion may be due to a simultaneous rise in both economic indicators. Moreover, the economic problems were exacerbated by an apparent lack of political leadership. This explanation implies that support for democracy in Germany (though in general on a much higher level than other European countries) may be less solid; reiterating the view expressed by Almond & Verba in "Civic Culture" some 25 years ago.

AAPOR Session 21:

**TELEVISION AND THE PUBLIC INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT**

**ONE ITALIAN EQUALS 17 FILIPINOS: HOW THE U.S. MEDIA PRIORITIZE THE WORLD**

William C. Adams, George Washington University

To what extent do American news media treat lives in developed nations as more newsworthy than those in Third World countries? Is loss of life in Asia, Africa, and Latin America given less attention than loss of life in Europe and North America? By contrasting the magnitude of lives lost in earthquakes and other natural disasters with the media's corresponding volume of coverage, it is possible to measure the worth U.S. journalists attach to human life in different parts of the globe. Analyzing ABC, CBS, NBC, and *Time* during 1972-85 shows, in terms of earthquake coverage, that one Italian equalled six Turks equalled 17 Filipinos equalled 6,700 Chinese.

**CROWD ESTIMATION**

Murray S. Edelman, CBS News

Mass demonstrations are one of the oldest forms used by the public to express its opinion. Crowds are visible symbols of movements that often lead to shifts in public policy. Yet, measurement of the magnitude of this opinion is unsystematic and frequently subject to bias.

Two methods of crowd estimation were developed by CBS News and used during live news reports at the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco. One method was to measure the area covered by the crowd and to estimate its density in different places. The other was to count a moving demonstration as it passed a point.

The use of these formal procedures provided an opportunity to investigate the biases inherent in the San Francisco Police estimates of crowd size. It was hypothesized that estimates of crowd size made by the police in two demonstrations, a labor union parade and a gay rights march, would reflect their biases. That is, the police would overestimate the size of the labor parade and underestimate the size of the gay rights march. The hypothesis was confirmed in a curious way.



**TELEVISION NEWS: IMAGERY AND PERCEPTION**

Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois at Chicago

Based on an extensive audio-visual content analysis of television news images, I will describe the type of imagery currently used by all networks (as well as the McNeil-Lehrer report) in reporting general political news. Discussion of images presented by television news will be followed by an analysis of the messages conveyed to different kinds of people by the pictures and words.

The audience data come from responses to open-ended questions gathered during intensive interviews with a purposive sample of 48 people who viewed 12 assorted television news segments. Each person alternately watched an audio-visual story presentation, preceded or followed by a similar genre of story for which the pictures were switched off. Following each news item, the subjects were asked what message the item would probably convey to average viewers and what message the item conveyed to them personally. They were also asked what they remembered about the pictures shown in the news segment. When they had not seen the pictures, they were asked what kinds of pictures were probably shown.

The findings presented in the paper contribute significant new information about the nature of the visual stereotypes represented by television news and the degree to which these messages are perceived in similar fashion by the audience. The findings also shed light on idiosyncracies in perception and the factors that explain them. Finally, the findings illustrate the separate contributions made by words and pictures to television news messages.

**TELEVISION NEWS AS THE PUBLIC'S MAIN NEWS SOURCE: A RECONSIDERATION**

Mark R. Levy and John P. Robinson, University of Maryland

The poll finding that the public claims TV news to be its main news source has been often replicated, and appears to be widely believed by journalists, policy makers, and the public. Nonetheless, in two recent representative surveys (one national, one local), we have found TV news viewers to be little or no better informed about specific stories that had been in the previous week's news than non-viewers. Moreover, we have found that virtually the same conclusion emerges from a literature review of 15 years of studies that have investigated more than 25 diverse measures of news information. Examination of the content and format of TV news stories that are poorly comprehended suggest several reasons for TV news' relatively poor performance as an information source. Some preliminary steps that might be taken to overcome these problems are suggested, drawing on recent developments in cognitive psychology.



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