P U B L I C   I N F O R M A T I O N   A N D   C I V I L   D E F E N S E

A report to the Federal Civil Defense Administration

on the planning phases of public information research

for the Milwaukee Target Area Survival Plan Project

In fulfillment of

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NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
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This is a report on the research planning aspects of the public information section of the Milwaukee Area Survival Plan. It covers, first, a review of such advisory program guidance as is already available in the previous research literature and, second, an examination of research possibilities and needs, together with detailed plans for further research. The report is based on a variety of sources including:

a. The accumulated body of research findings dealing with the process and effects of mass communication, with special emphasis on studies evaluating the effectiveness of various modes of communication in informing

b. All available research directly concerned with public information about and acceptance of civil defense.

c. Official and non-official reports impressionistically evaluating the success of specific civil defense programs both in Milwaukee and elsewhere.

d. Advisory materials prepared by the Public Affairs Division, FCDA.

e. Conferences and discussions with representatives of FCDA and with the Regional, State, County and City officials directly concerned with the Milwaukee Area Survival Plan.

f. Exploratory interviewing of members of the general public in the Milwaukee area. In the course of developing the proposals and detailed plans for further research in the Milwaukee area, NORC conducted 113 interviews, each averaging about two hours in duration, and covering about the same topics now included in the final questionnaire presented in Appendix II. These interviews were distributed among the city proper, its suburbs and more remote counties in its support area, as follows:

	Number of Interviews
Milwaukee City	57
Suburbs (Cudahy, Shorewood, South Milwaukee, Wauwatosa, West Allis, Whitefish Bay) .	30
Support Counties (Dodge, Jefferson)	26
Total	113

Although these interviews do not constitute a rigorous sample, they do provide considerable empirical evidence for our thinking and conclusions about the Milwaukee situation. Their results will, therefore, be referred to in this report from time to time, but, in view of their limited scope, no detailed, tabular presentation of the data contained in them is presented.

g. Miscellaneous information about the characteristics of the Milwaukee community, including histories, U. S. Census reports, commercial market analyses, and so on. It should be noted, however, that no attempt was made to gather, review and evaluate exhaustively all of the existing scattered data on channels of communication in Milwaukee. First, it was our understanding that these data on community communication resources potentially available for civil defense use were to be systematically collected at the local operations level and, having assisted FCDA in designing procedures for their local collection, we felt that further activity in this respect would be unnecessary duplication. While these materials have not been funded locally in time to permit their review and discussion in this report, we feel, second, that they would, in any case, have made little contribution to it. That is, exact data on available communications resources in the Milwaukee area and on the total extent and differential social and geographical distribution of use of, or reliance on, the various possible media of communication are of utmost significance in operating an information program, but they have a good deal less relevance for general program planning, especially in the absence--as is the case here--of any available knowledge of how effective such media have proved to be for civil defense purposes in the Milwaukee area. Since there is no reason to believe that Milwaukee differs markedly from other urban centers either in patterns of media usage or in the effectiveness with which these media inform or persuade, the general knowledge available on these topics, together with incidental information about the Milwaukee situation, will provide sufficient general guidance, without the duplication of effort, additional expense and greatly-increased expenditure of time that the collection of these materials for Milwaukee would have entailed.

The report is organized into two major sections and two appendices. The first section is an evaluative review of the problems of civil defense information programs, together with recommendations for meeting some of the problems and a discussion of the kind of research needed to implement these recommendations in the Milwaukee area. This section is supplemented by Appendix I, which contains a critical review of that portion of the general communications research literature of particular pertinence for civil defense information programs. It marshalls systematically the supporting evidence for many of the conclusions and recommendations stated summarily in the text of the report. The second section of the report is a detailed discussion of the further public information research proposed for the Milwaukee Survival Plan on a procedural level: the exact plan of the research, the techniques to be used, the research instruments developed, and comments on the adaptability of the research design to other Survival Plan areas. This section of the report is accompanied by Appendix II, which exhibits the research instruments prepared for the proposed study. Taken together, the latter section of the report and Appendix II form a kind of manual of procedures for the proposed Milwaukee public information research.

REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The success of Civil Defense Survival Plans involves, at base, only two fundamental elements: the plans must, in the first place, be technically sound, as adequate a defense against atomic attack as can be devised. But, regardless of their technical perfection, Survival Plans will fail of their objectives unless they are, in the second place, popularly implemented--understood, accepted and carried into practice by the general public.

There is, no doubt, little need to emphasize to the Federal Civil Defense Administration the crucial significance of the informational and educational aspects of its mission. FCDA has, in fact, repeatedly stressed their importance in setting forth the objectives of its information programs. As the Annual Report for 1955 puts it, the goals are:

1. to develop a general acceptance of civil defense as a necessary, permanent element of our total national defense...

2. to produce a sober, routine readiness in all American families, based on indoctrination and public exercises, to the point where prompt and effective survival action becomes automatic.

We are, however, faced with something less than the full realization of these goals to date, and a discussion of the reasons and remedies therefor can open in no better way than with a reiteration of the seriousness of the problems to which it is addressed.

The Status of Civil Defense Information Goals

General Observations

The series of public opinion studies conducted for the Federal Civil Defense Administration by the Survey Research Center provides periodic assessments of the status of civil defense information goals.* These studies repeatedly indicate that the first goal--public acceptance of the necessity for civil defense--has been largely achieved. The first study reported majorities in the neighborhood of 85-90 per cent accepting the importance of and need for civil defense programs (1950, pp. 91-92), while the 1952 study showed 80 per cent rejecting the notion that civil defense was unimportant (1952 pp. 8-9), and similarly large majorities endorsed the concept of civil defense in the 1954 study (1954, Section H).

It is, however, a long step from such general and impersonal acceptance of the legitimacy of civil defense activity to personal acceptance of responsibility for civil defense, with accompanying participation in civil defense preparatory training. Yet, it is this latter kind of personal commitment that the second civil defense goal of equipping the American population with a trained readiness to take effective survival action requires. It is in

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*The Survey Research Center reports of these studies will be referred to simply by the year in which the survey was conducted. Full references are:

Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Public Thinking about Atomic War and Civil Defense, January, 1951. /1950/

_____, The Public and Civil Defense, March, 1952 /1951/

_____, Civil Defense in the United States, 1952, October, 1952 /1952/

_____, Preliminary Report of a Survey on Civil Defense, April, 1954 /1954/

this area of translating bland and indifferent approval into conviction, moti-
vation and action that civil defense information programs have been a good
deal less successful.

It is true that Survey Research Center studies have reported a consist-
ent growth in information about the appropriate civil defense measures to take
under attack and after attack, but their figures take little account of either
the accuracy or the adequacy of the information possessed and, when it becomes
a question of knowing such elementary necessities as recognizing warning and
all-clear signals, the informed segment of the public reduces to a small min-
ority. In the words of the SRC preliminary report for 1954 (1954, Section F;
emphases ours):

> Whether the population realizes it or not, even though they may
> never have heard of CD as a program or organization, they have
> assimilated and are acquiring a large amount of CD information...
>
> Currently, 75 per cent of the nation has read or heard something
> about personal protection in event of attack. This is a real
> accomplishment. Also, more people mention more things, so that
> one can assume that individual knowledge is increasing. Only a
> few, however, report the latest campaign on evacuation informa-
> tion. Mostly, they report the older "shelter" information.
> Only a very few (6%) had done anything in terms of preparation.
>
> The number having information on what to do after an attack
> shows a phenomenal increase--from 29 to 55 per cent...However,
> about one-quarter felt they had received no information and
> almost another quarter felt their information was inadequate.
>
> On warning and all-clear signals notable improvement has been
> made. The number correctly reporting the warning signal has
> gone from almost 10 per cent to over 16 per cent. For those
> places where a warning signal is reported one-third know one
> or another of the signals. Sixteen per cent know both.

Implicit in this summary of popular levels of information about civil
defense are a number of suggestions that relatively few people have sufficient
information; that is, information adequate to survival of atomic attack.*
When it is observed, moreover, that almost no one has taken any of the practi-
cal steps needed to make their abstract information applicable in time of
emergency and that SRC finds no increase in the tiny fraction (two per cent
is reported for both 1952 and 1954 in 1954, Section G.) actively engaged in

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*As the Survey Research Center states, the data from their studies
unquestionably demonstrate that "individual knowledge is increasing." "In-
creasing" is, however, a relative term and does not in any way indicate wheth-
er or to what extent, knowledge is adequate, if adequacy be defined, perhaps,
as the minimum essentials an individual needs to know if he is to have a
reasonable chance of survival. In evaluating the degree to which civil de-
fense programs have accomplished their goals, it is, of course, the latter
concept of adequacy that is most relevant.

civil defense training or service, there is little reason to believe that civil defense has made much progress toward its goal of a fully-prepared population.

The Milwaukee Situation

There are almost no data directly relating to the achievements of civil defense information programs in the Milwaukee area that we could discover, and those we have seen are already known to FCDA.* Among these, the checklists used during Operation Alert, 1955, and a survey conducted through the schools obtained such incomplete returns that their results are unreliable and, possibly, misleading and should be ignored. (For example, the checklists returned by families showed far greater levels of both information and implementation than would seem plausible on the basis of either our exploratory interviewing in the Milwaukee area, or the systematic samples interviewed by the Survey Research Center in other areas, or the few questions put to a representative sample of Greater Milwaukee by the Consumer Research Bureau of the Milwaukee Journal.)

On the other hand, our impression--derived primarily from exploratory interviewing in the Milwaukee area and quite consistent with the few reliable items available in the Milwaukee Journal survey--is that the public position of civil defense in Milwaukee is not notably different from that found in other urban centers whose attitudes and levels of information and implementation with respect to civil defense have been systematically investigated by the Survey Research Center. The picture, in brief, seems, once again, to be one of widespread acceptance of the necessity and importance of civil defense, in the abstract, at least to the point of almost no expression of opinions directly opposed to or scornful of the idea of civil defense. (For instance, only five of the 113 people we talked to agreed with the statement that "civil defense is really a waste of time and money.") At the same time, levels of information about the local activities of civil defense organizations and about specific survival measures seem to be a good deal lower, and there appears to be almost no disposition to carry such information as people do have over into practice. (Again, by way of tentative illustration, 43 of the 113 people interviewed reported that they knew of something their local civil defense organization wanted "people like you to be doing now," but only 12 of the 113 reported actually having done something so they "would be prepared in case of an enemy air attack.") All in all, then, there appears to be little reason to regard the accomplishments of Milwaukee civil defense information as distinctive or their problems as markedly different from the problems of other areas.

Resistance to Civil Defense

The current situation of civil defense information programs may be regarded as a product of two forces: the nature of the resistance to personal involvement in civil defense and the tactics which have been used to counter that resistance. The techniques of information programs will be discussed in the next section, after a sketch of the sources of resistance.

All available sources indicate--and Milwaukee is no exception--that a majority of the American people recognize the possibility of another major war occurring within their lifetimes and most assume that such a war, if it

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*Memorandum from Eugene J. Sleevi, Emergency Information Division, FCDA, "Existing public opinion studies pertinent to Public Affairs phase of Milwaukee Survival Project," December 12, 1955.

eventuates, would entail the use of atomic bombs against the major cities of the United States. At the same time, this possibility of war seems remote and unreal to most people, more an abstract and superficial conclusion than a deeply-held conviction giving rise to immediate concern and determining in part the course of day-to-day activity.

By way of illustration, in their first national urban survey of civil defense problems, the Survey Research Center concluded: "Responses...indicated realization by more than half the people that danger does exist.... there is the general feeling that American cities are in some danger from military attack..." (1950, p. 61), but "...inconsistencies would seem to indicate that the long state of emergency had been isolated by many people and was no longer permitted to affect deeply their daily lives..." (1950, p. 34). In every survey since the 1950 one, SRC has reported successive declines in popular expectations of war, but NORC national surveys continue to indicate that a majority of the public believes that the nation will have to fight a major war sooner or later, even though they have no expectation of its immediate occurrence.

Results from our exploratory interviewing in the Milwaukee area do not have the reliability of the foregoing data, but they were explicitly focussed on the problems under discussion and, therefore, illustrate more pointedly the lack of immediate concern surrounding the threat of war. Of the 113 persons interviewed:

  64...thought there was some possibility of the United States'
    getting into another major war, and

  58...thought that this war, if it came, would happen within
    their own lifetimes, but only

  28...regarded this war as something that was likely to happen
    rather than merely possible, and only

  5...expected this war within the next two years.

And the possibility of atomic attack was still more widely accepted: 82 of the 113 thought atomic bombs would be dropped on the United States, if war did occur; 80 felt that the city of Milwaukee would be one of the targets in that event.

Yet, in this exploratory interviewing, the people talked to were frank in admitting that war and atomic bombing were not the problems that concerned them, even though it is both tempting and easy to present oneself in an interview as a person of broad social interests and concerns. Nevertheless, of the 99 persons who reported that any problems had bothered them or been on their minds in the past few weeks, 71 were referring to personal matters; 20 to problems on the local or national scene; and only eight to world problems, including threats of war. When asked to make a direct comparison, only 31 of the 113 persons said that they were, in general, more concerned about the possibility of war than they were about other problems or worries. These "other problems or worries" turned out, usually, to be the immediate--and often ephemeral--personal concerns of daily life: the children's behavior, making ends meet, the mortgage coming due, and so on. While we must repeatedly stress that the data based on our exploratory interviewing in Milwaukee are not derived from a representative sample and can be regarded only as suggestive of quantitative trends, they are, nevertheless, quite consistent with the findings of reliable samples in this respect. It was a very similar set of data, based on a large and representative national survey, that led Stouffer

to conclude that the overwhelming majority of Americans are not concerned with "problems outside the orbit of their immediate personal life--even the threat of war."*

Our own impression is--and here there are few systematic data either to confirm or to deny it--that in this area of war, atomic attack and civil defense there is more to public reactions than merely the indifference and lack of interest generally found to characterize public reactions to any problem of less than immediate, concrete, practical significance to people's lives. Our interviewers consistently reported and the interview records themselves are replete with expressions of extreme negative reactions to the nature of atomic war--horror, revulsion and, sometimes, flat refusal to contemplate or discuss its implications. True, there was sometimes happy optimism--the blithe assumption that "it can't happen here" or, at least, "can't happen to me." This disregard, perhaps, led to such unrealistic discussions as that of the otherwise well-informed woman who, having described the devastating effects of an atomic bombing of her city, went on to answer the question of the likely effects on her own family of an atomic attack only with the comment, "My husband would be without a car if it got blown up, and he would have trouble getting to work on time."**

Back of this ludicrous reduction of atomic warfare to the status of a domestic household crisis with "business as usual," there may be seen simply the failure of a human imagination to visualize in anything but familiar terms a situation with which the person has had no prior direct experience. In a nation whose civilian population has not been exposed to enemy attack, there is little wonder if those who are unfamiliar with second-hand accounts of the experience or who--familiar or not--lack the capacity for sympathetic identification with the experiences of others cannot stretch their imaginations to encompass a realistic image of what atomic war on this country would be like and arrive, as a result, at far more consoling--or "escapist"--versions.

It should, however, be equally obvious that people who can imaginatively visualize the death and destruction of atomic war are horrified by it and reluctant to linger on it. As our interviews led people to think and talk in concrete detail about the consequences of atomic war for their city, their families and themselves, it was this kind of disturbance, distress and even agitation that appeared to be the dominant reaction.*** In the face of such reactions, it seems plausible that at least part of the sense of war's remoteness is a result of the widespread conviction that war means atomic war

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*Stouffer, Samuel A., Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties: A Cross-section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955, p. 69.

**This excerpt is actually from a still more preliminary interview with a lower middle-class resident of Chicago. It seems unlikely, however, that the psychological factors which make the full implications of atomic war so unassimilable into people's thinking observe any city boundaries.

***Interviewers reported at least three instances where tears came to the eyes of the respondent as he thought about what might happen to his family.

and atomic war is emotionally unthinkable.

We are, of course, aware that the first Survey Research Center study attempted to determine the extent of such avoidance reactions by means of a direct question about wishing "there weren't so much talk" about atomic bombing, with the result that only a quarter of the population surveyed were classified as "escapist" (1950, pp. 164-5). In our judgment, however, this figure grossly underestimates the extent of the kind of underlying feelings we have been discussing, first, because these are impulses which people are not always aware of and able to report and, second, because direct questioning encourages rational responses. Our own impression that tendencies to avoidance--in the form of either the minimization techniques of the unimaginative or the distress reactions of the rest--are present in virtually everyone derives largely from the side comments, involuntary exclamations and non-verbal gestures of the people we talked to. The unanimous report to this effect from all NORC staff members who were involved in the interviewing is only reinforced by the results of one experimental projective question included in the exploratory interview.

At the conclusion of the interview, respondents were handed a picture and asked to invent a story about it. The picture showed a woman and two children looking up above themselves, with anomalous expressions on their faces. This picture (which is exhibited in Section C of Appendix II) had been carefully designed to convey no certain and definite event to the viewer, while being one which could plausibly be related to bombing if the viewer chose to. The rationale of its use is that any person who fails to connect the picture to war and bombing, after having given almost two hours of concentrated attention to the problems of bombing and civil defense in the prior portions of the interview, must certainly be motivated to avoid the subject. It should be added that, in view of the stimulus of the preceding interview content, association of the picture with the content of the interview is not a clear indication of an absence of escapist motivation.

The results of this experiment are most suggestive: Of the 111 people who were shown the picture, only 24 unqualifiedly associated it with wartime bombing; 30 qualified their perception of the air-raid possibility with a variety of devices that served to minimize the experience of threat; the majority--57--did not even refer to the possibility of war:

Nature of Theme Perceived	Number of Exploratory Interviews
Air raid, unqualified	24
Air raid, implications minimized	30
Non-Air raid	
Threatening situation	5
Non-dangerous, but unpleasant situation	25
Neutral or pleasant situation	25
Nothing perceived, rejection of question	2
Total	111

This outcome is, in fact, a far more conclusive confirmation of our belief that avoidance is a wide-spread reaction than we had anticipated, given our quite reasonable expectation that the interview, itself, would provoke a number of "war" responses which could not be regarded as spontaneous and unambiguous reactions.

To sum up, then, the public information programs of civil defense appear to us to have made as little progress toward the goal of a fully-trained population as they so far have because they have not so far found ways of overcoming either the general indifference of the public toward broad social concerns or the special unwillingness of the American public to contemplate the full implications of modern war.

The Tactics of Civil Defense Information Programs

At first glance, the civil defense programs of metropolitan areas appear logically to require a pattern of behavior beyond the realm of the psychologically possible. Stated extremely, the success of civil defense seems to depend on people's becoming (1) so interested in a possibility which they find both too remote and too horrifying to contemplate that they (2) acquire and apply in practice a good deal of information about defensive measures which they hope and believe they will never need and whose major function at the present time is to focus their attention on matters they prefer not to think about, and that they (3) continue to remember and practice this unwanted, unpalatable information indefinitely into the future without any foreseeable terminal point. Clearly, if all of these conditions were fixed and unalterable, civil defense would have no choice but to abandon all effort.*

The situation is, however, not without possibilities of directed change and, perhaps, by less drastic means than those proposed by the people who told us laconically (in answer to the question of what they thought could be done to overcome public apathy about civil defense), "Drop the bomb, I guess." This proposal, incidentally, was not intended as humor, but was made to underline the conviction of these particular persons that the threat of war would continue to appear to be psychologically too remote to awaken concern until the very moment that war broke out. Before any further discussion of the means by which the three requirements of interest, learning and sustained application might, despite the formidable conditions attached to them above, be achieved, however, it will be necessary to give some consideration to the modes of communication used by information programs. Since the themes, appeals and tactics most likely to overcome the obstacles to effective civil defense programs are not necessarily adapted equally to all media of communication, their discussion would be unintelligible without explicit specification of the media to be employed.

In the main, and in spite of vigorous efforts to overcome this weakness, civil defense information programs have relied primarily on the mass media of communication--TV, radio, newspapers, etc. Although it is true that almost everyone in the country is reached by one or another of these media for one or another purpose, it is equally true that information programs of a public service character have almost invariably failed to reach this vast

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*This entire discussion will assume the conditions of the present civil defense program, based largely on consent and volunteering. It should not be overlooked, however, that American public opinion would acquiesce in compulsory civil defense training. In a release dated September 13, 1956, the Gallup Public Opinion News Service reported that 64 per cent approved of "a plan to require every man and woman to spend an average of one hour a week in Civil Defense work."

potential audience with their messages whenever they have relied on mass media campaigns. It is not that mass media are ineffective in transmitting information to the people who use them for this purpose, but simply that most users of mass media do not attend to their informational content, particularly when it deals with subjects in which they are not interested or ideas with which they are in disagreement.*

These facts about mass media programs are so well-known that it seems almost redundant to dwell on them. Nevertheless, their repetition serves to stress the fact that, whatever title is given it, the civil defense "information" program must be, initially, a campaign of persuasion rather than a campaign of information dissemination. Even though the ultimate goal is a public trained in civil defense measures and training is, of course, a matter of the acquisition and practice of information, this ultimate goal cannot be achieved simply by distributing informational materials via the channels of communication known to reach most people. For the success of the program must, in the long run, be judged, not by the number of pamphlets distributed or the number of radio and television programs produced, and not even by the number of people who, upon quizzing, can recall discrete items of civil defense information, but by the number of people adequately trained to take effective survival action.

The achievement of this goal requires a series of steps which may be programmistically summed up as attention-conviction-action: that is, people's interest or attention must first be captured; the message that they attend to must be persuasive and produce conviction that it is necessary for them to do something; and, finally, people's convictions must be expressed in their actions, whether this be simply learning some facts, or the more active cooperation of taking a training course, making preparatory arrangements or participating in volunteer work. In this kind of a program, the mass media are singularly ill-adapted to the goals to be achieved and can play only an incidental, supplementary or supportive role.

There is, on the other hand, considerable evidence that a campaign relying basically on personal contacts with individuals and groups can achieve the kind of goals the civil defense program is working toward.** This, too, is not a novel suggestion in the civil defense field. As early as 1950, the

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*The general evidence for these observations appears in Appendix I, pp. 2-16. It should be pointed out, however, that survey findings specifically referring to civil defense are entirely in agreement with these conclusions. For example, in their first study for FCDA, the Survey Research Center reported that the people most likely to have information about civil defense were the people who wanted to have such information (1950, p. 143), and that the people whose lack of interest in civil defense was expressed in "escapism" neither had nor wanted to have information about civil defense (1950, p. 174). Similarly, people opposed to civil defense, in the sense that they saw no present need for it, were less likely to have acquired information than people who perceived its necessity (1951, p. 82 and 90). Although the Survey Research Center has reported that "the more sources through which a person is reached, the greater is the effectiveness of the information presented regardless of the source" (1952, p. 31), it is obvious from results like those preceding that the relationship between amount of exposure and effectiveness obtains just because the amount of exposure is, itself, largely an indication of the amount of interest.

**See Appendix I, pp. 16-20 and 31-45.

Survey Research Center concluded (1950, p. 217-8):

> But to a greater extent, two forces other than information
> and education will probably make a decisive difference
> /to participation in civil defense7. One involves the way
> in which the world situation itself evolves...The other in-
> volves the operation of the civil defense program itself
>
> --the training of local groups to carry the facts
> of civil defense and the atomic threat into
> every urban home
>
> --the training of local group leaders in ways of
> efficiently convincing members of their groups
> (and in turn the general population) that civil
> defense is necessary...
>
> --the training of local leaders in techniques of
> achieving democratic group participation
>
> --the prestige which is attached to civil defense
> work
>
> --the formation of cohesive work groups which
> understand their functions, and whose members
> find satisfactions in group activity.

This recommendation of concentrating on personal contact--essentially
the "volunteer-corps" approach--may seem ridiculous to a group whose concen-
trated efforts to promote CD volunteer corps have nowhere met with marked
success. Not only does the Survey Research Center routinely report no more
than two per cent of the adult population actively engaged in civil defense,
but our own observations in Milwaukee--a city generally believed to be more
than usually successful in civil defense activities--suggests no greater level
of success. That is, of the sample of 57 residents of Milwaukee proper whom
we interviewed, exactly one was presently taking a civil defense training
course, and none was actively engaged in any other sort of civil defense vol-
unteer work. Only three of these 57 people had ever received a home call from
a Home Defense Officer--Milwaukee's volunteer corps for carrying the civil
defense message into every home, and only one had ever been personally ap-
proached and asked to participate in civil defense.

Yet, there is evidence to suggest that the relative failure of civil
defense to establish an active and wide-spread volunteer program is not simply
further proof of public indifference but an indication of tactical errors.
Survey Research Center studies have consistently found that large sections of
the public report willingness to participate; in 1950 and 1951, marked majori-
ties of the residents of metropolitan areas expressed this sentiment; in later
years, willingness to participate was expressed by nearly half of these urban
dwellers (1950, pp. 180-1; 1951, p. 92; 1952, p. 44-5; 1954, Section G.).
We, too, found marked willingness to take part in civil defense in Milwaukee.
With about the same criteria of willingness as SRC used, we found that just
under half the city residents interviewed took this position and, when a
harder test was applied, close to two-fifths (21 of the 57) insisted that they
definitely would participate if approached. (Incidentally, by way of tactical
aside, 12 of the 36 who weren't definitely willing indicated that they would
definitely participate if the Mayor made an official appeal.) In the suburbs
of Milwaukee in which we interviewed, sentiment toward participation was even

more evident.

All of these figures must, of course, be regarded as markedly inflated, since it is a good deal easier to tell an interviewer that one is willing to participate than it is to get out and actually do the work. Nevertheless, whatever correction factor is assumed, what remains will be a good deal higher than the present achievement of two per cent, and, as over against the assumption that many of these potential volunteers were simply saying the easy, pleasant thing, there is the fact that many of these same people were not reluctant to express indifference or unconcern about the threats of war elsewhere in the interview.

An analysis of why civil defense has never successfully tapped this apparent potential source of support takes us back to the three requirements and the difficult conditions attached to them with which this section opened (p. 9), but it should be noted that in the volunteer aspects of civil defense there is, once again, direct evidence of the failure of mass media campaigns to substitute for personal contact. That is, the majority of metropolitan residents have, through the mass media, heard or read something about the need for volunteers in civil defense (1954, Section G.), but these same people do not feel that they have been asked to volunteer. That more personal approaches can succeed in recruiting volunteers is evidenced by the Mobile experience, even though this volunteer organization quickly disintegrated through failure to meet the other conditions of successful civil defense programs.*

The question that remains, then, is what may be done to remove what appear to be the major obstacles to effective civil defense programs. The possible courses of action are, for convenience, grouped under the headings of the three conditions originally posed:

1. Awakening interest in the face of remoteness and horror. Efforts to awaken interest in civil defense appear to have attempted, largely, to deal with this dilemma head-on. The tack generally taken has been to emphasize the necessity of civil defense as long as there is any possibility of war, while attempting to be both "middle-of-the-road" about the size of that possibility (to avoid any appearance of war-mongering) and matter-of-fact about the dangers implicit in atomic war (to avoid the boomerang effects of fear arousal). There is little question of the wisdom of avoiding appeals to fear either of another war or of the destructiveness of atomic bombs, but it is questionable whether the solution adopted--which is largely a rational appeal to intellect rather than an appeal to any positive emotions--does anything to decrease the remoteness of the topic.** It is doubtful, however, if any set of techniques can simultaneously decrease both the remoteness and the underlying emotional recoil from war. If, as we have suggested earlier, the sense of remoteness is at least in part a defense against

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*T. Ktsanes, et. al. A Report of Research on Community Structure, Organizational Structure, and Citizen Participation in Community-Wide Activities: A Study of Civil Defense in Mobile, Alabama. New Orleans: Urban Life Research Institute, Tulane University, November 1955; pp. 70-73.

**See Appendix I, pp. 20-24 for a more extended discussion of the use of emotional appeals. Survey Research Center results confirm the applicability of these general observations to the specific problems of civil defense in finding that persons who are excessively fearful of the threat involved in atomic bombs, tend to conclude that civil defense cannot be effective (1950, p. 110).

the full emotional impact of the implications of war, the one cannot be decreased without increasing the other.

Regardless of the effectiveness of this appeal, it is difficult to see what other appeals can be used in the formal, mass media. A campaign of personal contacts, however, is not equally handicapped by the public nature of its messages and can do much to solve the problem of interest by circumvention rather than direct assault. It may come as a surprise, but the one person most active on behalf of civil defense whom we interviewed--a woman then taking a CD course, who was so enthusiastic about it that she was, quite informally and quite effectively, persuading her friends and neighbors to enroll--firmly believed that there would never be another major war and that what she was learning would never be put to use in a war. Civil defense had caught her interest, not because of any rational considerations inherent in it, but because of a variety of appeals which, narrowly considered, had nothing whatsoever to do with civil defense. In this particular instance, our respondent had been asked to join by another woman particularly influential in another group our respondent was interested in, and the implicit appeal of this woman's ability to advance the respondent's interests if she were so inclined was reinforced by direct appeals to her leadership qualities, her community spirit and her civic pride. Most of the elements of a successful campaign can already be seen in this one instance: the abstract necessity for civil defense is already widely accepted, and people with a sense of civic responsibility and community service will enlist, if it is presented to them as a community enterprise requiring their participation by people of personal importance to or influence on them.

2. Achieving learning and implementation of unwanted, unpalatable information of a possibly useless character. This problem, too, is largely obviated by the approach just outlined. With a shift to the motivations involved in "community support of community programs," there will be positive factors counterbalancing the lack of interest in and even antipathy to civil defense information. It is, in fact, just because the community appeal relates the activities of civil defense to things much closer to people's concerns and interests than is the threat of war that it offers an opportunity of success.*

To the extent that this difficulty does have aspects separable from that of arousing interest, civil defense efforts appear to have been aimed at stressing the usefulness of the skills acquired in other, more recurrent situations. Thus, the obvious usefulness of a knowledge of first aid and the adaptability of this and other skills to civilian emergencies or natural disasters have been utilized in publicity for civil defense. There is, of course, a limit to the applicability of civil defense measures to other situations; it is difficult, for example, to find any more ordinary reason for storing uncontaminated water in air-tight containers. To the extent that it is possible,

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*Readers who doubt the practicality of this approach would do well to examine the recent competition between Wausau (a small city in central Wisconsin) and Highland Park (a suburb of Chicago) to achieve 100 per cent registration to vote in the Presidential election. In both cases, large numbers of people who do not ordinarily register, who had no real desire to do so nor any conviction that it was worth doing, were nevertheless persuaded to register in order to help prove that their community was better than its competitor.

however, this technique should be imaginatively extended, for relating specific civil defense measures to practices or precautions people may be interested in for reasons unrelated to civil defense will have much the same effect of broadening the motivational basis of civil defense support as does the preceding approach.

3. Sustaining interest and activity for an indefinite period of time. The entire weight of learning theory as well as everything that is known about motivation and morale is that sustained efforts require definite and concrete goals. In attempting to arrange mass-participation civil defense tests, civil defense agencies have not only selected what is probably the best mode of teaching, but have chosen what can also be a highly effective means of maintaining the involvement and morale of a volunteer corps.

We are aware that a great many obstacles have stood in the way of systematic, periodically-repeated, full-scale public civil defense exercises, as reported experience in Milwaukee and elsewhere attests.* Without in any way overlooking the complex difficulties, we must, nevertheless, emphasize that there is probably no other single device as effective for both direct and indirect public education as repeated, periodic mass-participation tests. Not only do such tests have the direct effect of requiring the public to learn and practice their roles in any future emergency, but they provide a dramatic periodic focus for civil defense activities. At one and the same time, this dramatic event involves everyone willy-nilly, creates interest and captures attention in the way needed to bring people to heed the less exciting informational materials, even while it furnishes the concrete goal for their activities so necessary to maintaining and giving a sense of purpose to a volunteer corps. Simultaneously, it permits appeals to a host of other motives--civic pride, competition with other areas, etc.--to secure maximum participation.

In conclusion, it is our belief that--short of legally compulsory participation in civil defense--only a program of extensive personal contacts for both recruitment and educational purposes coupled with a program of regular public civil defense exercises will meet the informational goals of civil defense, whether in Milwaukee or elsewhere. This conclusion does not, however, in any way imply that use of the mass media for civil defense information should be discontinued or even reduced. On the contrary, all the available evidence indicates that mass media campaigns are an essential background element in effective information programs.** That is, mass media campaigns provide an easy means of publicity; they create a stir and at least notify people that the topic is of sufficient importance to be getting a good deal of attention in the mass media, all of which serves as a kind of introduction for

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*Ktsanes, et al., op. cit.

Milwaukee City Civil Defense Administration, "Operation Alert, 1955: A Report of Participation by the City of Milwaukee in the National Civil Defense Test Exercise of June 15-16."

National Research Council, Committee on Disaster Studies, "Operations Walkout, Rideout and Scat: Studies of Civil Defense Dispersal Test Exercises in Spokane, Bremerton and Mobile."

**See Appendix I, pp. 25, 34-36, and 42-45.

the personal approach. Once people are enlisted in civil defense or interested in it by personal approach, they will attend more carefully to civil defense material in the mass media and, given attention, the mass media do transmit information effectively.* Moreover, continued attention to civil defense in the mass media serves to support and reinforce the favorable attitudes that have been created and, particularly, enhances the motivation and morale of volunteer workers.

In sum, civil defense needs a broadly-inclusive network of interpersonal influences, a repeated series of public exercises, and an extensive mass media coverage.

Next Steps

A reading of this brief review of the problems of civil defense information programs, together with the more extended discussion in Appendix I of current knowledge of communication programs generally, should indicate that there is a high degree of consensus about what needs to be done, but very little specific information about exactly how to do it.

With mass media materials, the transition from knowing what to do to doing it is not so uncertain. Once decisions respecting the content and style of presentation of the messages have been taken, there are well established procedures to follow in translating these decisions into actual radio scripts, posters, film strips, and so on. All of these mass media have the advantage of years of funded experience, out of which recognized techniques and technicians skilled in their application have developed.

Comparable experience and comparable skills in the management of interpersonal influences are lacking. Although everyone has at some time had occasion to influence someone else and has, therefore, some ideas about how to reach people effectively, the era of systematic and self-conscious application of intergroup and interpersonal principles to action programs is just beginning. When we begin to think, as we must, in terms of organizing networks of interpersonal contact that will reach in to every segment of society and, ideally, ultimately involve every person, there is simply no adequate systematic guidance available.

If social research is to be useful to the Milwaukee Survival Plan, it can do no better than to begin the large research task of discovering the best means of organizing such large-scale personal campaigns. Milwaukee is fortunate in having the beginnings of a personal campaign in its corps of Home Defense Officers. And, because there is an embryonic neighborhood civil defense organization, research aimed at evaluating and improving it is possible. In the next section of this report, detailed attention is given to the research we think is most needed for the Milwaukee Survival Plan.

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*Some principles of effective content presentation, not touched on here, are reviewed in Appendix I, pp. 20-31.

PROPOSED FURTHER RESEARCH

General Plan

The public information research proposed for the Milwaukee Target Area Survival Plan is designed to:

1. Test the validity of our major conclusion that a program based on active neighborhood civil defense organizations supplemented by consistent use of mass media is the most effective means of educating the public in civil defense concepts.

2. Assess the effectiveness of the Milwaukee Civil Defense public information program and, particularly, its neighborhood organization phase, with special reference to its greater or lesser success in certain geographic areas and the reasons therefor.

3. Formulate and test the validity of procedures for increasing public understanding of, and public participation in, civil defense activities, through the application of insights into the interpersonal networks of the community.

The research envisaged to implement these objectives has four stages:

Study a. First, a survey of the Milwaukee area on a scale large enough to permit the examination of (1) information and attitudes about civil defense and related topics and (2) patterns of communication and community participation in each of the Sectors, Areas and Districts into which civil defense in the area is organized.

Study b. An intensive study of a few neighborhoods selected to represent extremes of success and failure in civil defense public education in the area. These neighborhoods will be selected in the light of the results obtained in the preceding study, with the proviso that both successes and failures should represent about equal efforts in the judgment of the Milwaukee Civil Defense organization. This study will, thus, be concentrated on the local community-organization factors influencing the success or failure of neighborhood civil defense organization.

Study c. An intensive study of two contrasting groups of individuals--those most positive about, and active in, civil defense and those most opposed and inactive. The first study and Milwaukee Civil Defense lists of volunteers will be used to select the groups to be studied. This study will concentrate on those social and psychological factors influencing civil defense behavior which do not have a local community base.

Study d. An experimental study conducted in a neighborhood in which the civil defense program has not been particularly successful, as judged by the first study. This phase of the research will test the effectiveness in eliciting more active support of civil defense of a program designed in the light of the findings of the three preceding studies.

Because of the interlocking nature of this research plan, studies b and c cannot be designed in detail or executed until study a is completed, and, similarly, study d cannot be planned in detail until all three preceding studies are finished. Accordingly, this report incorporates detailed procedural plans only for study a, but it should be borne in mind that this study is but one step in the total research plan, not the research plan itself.

The Basic Survey

Area of Coverage: The planned research covers only the Milwaukee Target Area-- essentially, Milwaukee and its suburbs, rather than the entire Milwaukee Survival Plan Area. Two sorts of considerations entered into this restriction:

a. For much of the rural support area, there are no active civil defense organizations and no clear-cut program. Preliminary exploratory interviewing suggested that these areas stood ready to function in support of the target area, with no serious reservations, and, while their populations knew little about specific civil defense measures, it is by no means clear that it is necessary for them to possess the same kinds of information that urban populations need. The inclusion of these areas would require an entirely separate set of research instruments and, in the absence both of active civil defense programs in the areas and of clear definitions of the desirable content of rural civil defense programs, would yield little in the way of useful data.

b. The other major cities in the Milwaukee Survival Plan Area--Kenosha, Racine and Sheboygan--present a variable problem. To the extent that they may be regarded as functioning solely in support of Milwaukee in a war emergency, their problems of civil defense preparation are essentially akin to those of the rural support areas and would require an entirely separate set of research instruments, if research on the support phases of civil defense is needed. To the extent that they may be regarded as themselves targets or part of the target area, however, they would each require a separate study on the same equivalent scale as the current Milwaukee proposal. In this latter case, the research that would be needed is not particularly different from the research that may be undertaken in other survival plan areas, and the comments made below on adapting this Milwaukee research plan to other areas apply equally to them.

Sampling Plan: The basic design of this study rests on the organization of civil defense in the area. Since the City of Milwaukee is organized into somewhat more than one hundred civil defense districts (which in turn combine to form areas, which are further organized into sectors), the city is well adapted to analysis of the neighborhood functioning of civil defense organization. In order to carry out this analysis of local civil defense functioning, however, a large and unclustered sample is indicated. The present plan for this survey calls for interviews in 5,000 households--3,500 in the city itself and 1,500 in the suburbs. These sample households will be so drawn that every civil defense district in the city is represented (by an average of about 35 households per district), and a comparably small unit will be used in suburbs which do not have the district organization.

Once the basic unit of analysis is selected, the implementation of the sampling plan proceeds along well-established lines. In brief, every block in the city will be coded into its appropriate civil defense sector, area and

district. From each of these districts, a random sample of the blocks contained in it is chosen. For the random sample of blocks, every dwelling unit located within their boundaries is listed, and, finally, from these lists, a random sample of households is selected for interview.

Because of the possibility that a significant amount of time may intervene between the submission of this report and the execution of the planned research in Milwaukee, no attempt has been made to implement this sampling plan completely. Any major shifts in either the area of residence of the Milwaukee population or the boundaries of civil defense districts would render the sampling of blocks and of households obsolete, so their actual selection is postponed until as close to the date of undertaking the survey as possible. Procedures for selecting respondents within households are not affected, however, so these have been fully worked out. The materials needed for selection of respondents within households are presented in Appendix II. The form to be used--the "DU Enumeration Folder"--is exhibited in section A of this appendix, while full instructions for its use appear in pages 19-29 of the "Instructions for Interviewers," presented in section D.

Questionnaire and Instructions: These research instruments--the heart of this survey--are presented in full in Appendix II. The questionnaire is a carefully designed, fully tested instrument which requires about two hours for its completion in an interview. This length is a result of the variety of factors that must be simultaneously explored in order to uncover fully their complex interrelations. While its length creates some problems of field execution, the questionnaire has been carefully planned and pre-tested in the Milwaukee area and found to yield exactly the kinds of data needed. Because of its length and complexity, however, its successful field execution requires well-trained, experienced interviewers, who can grasp and apply accurately the detailed interviewing instructions which accompany the questionnaire. In the hands of experienced NORC interviewers, the questionnaire proved eminently satisfactory and created no insuperable problems of field administration, during its testing in the Milwaukee area.

The contents of the questionnaire may be sketched as follows:

A. Community Relations

    1. General orientation toward the community: Questions 2-5, 18

    2. Identification with the community: Questions 1, 6, 7, 9, 10

    3. Involvement and participation in community life: Questions 8, 11-17

B. Civil Defense Orientation

    1. Background of war-related concern, interest and resistance: Questions 19-28, 73

    2. Attitudes toward civil defense: Questions 29, 36, 38, 39, 45, 46, 57, 58, 61, 62

    3. Information about civil defense: Questions 30-35, 40, 41, 44, 47

4. Contact with civil defense: Questions 50-54, 59, 60 and an independent check of the Milwaukee Civil Defense records to determine whether the household has ever been visited by a Home Defense Officer (DU Enumeration Folder Item 4)

5. Actual and potential participation in civil defense: Questions 37, 42, 43, 48, 49, 55, 56

C. General Background of the Interviewee

1. Some psychological tendencies: Questions 63-67

2. Communication habits: Questions 68-72, Factual Item 7

3. Other social characteristics: Factual Items 1-6, 8, 9; DU Enumeration Folder Items 1-3, 6, 9

D. General Characteristics of the Neighborhood

1. Civil defense organization: DU Enumeration Folder Item 4 and a rating of neighborhood program activities to be derived from Milwaukee Civil Defense records

2. Other social characteristics: To be derived from Census data for the sampling unit recorded in Factual Item 10 and DU Enumeration Folder Item 1

This sketch can only suggest the wealth of information to be obtained, as does the questionnaire itself. Individual questions have, for example, been classified under only one heading, although a single question frequently bears on more than one topic. More important, however, the questions themselves cannot indicate the emphases and directions to be pursued in the free-answer kind of interviewing that is so largely employed. A full understanding of the material the questions will yield requires the reading of the section of "Instructions for Interviewers" that specifies in detail the objectives of each question and the direction and extent of exploration to be pursued; that is, pages 30-52. These specific instructions make clear, for instance, that the exact techniques by which people are enlisted in community activities will be fully explored (cf. p. 38, Question 16 of "Instructions for Interviewers"), although this intention may not be so readily apparent from the question itself.

Plan of Analysis: It is impossible to specify fully all of the relationships to be examined, since their full statement would be much like trying to write a report of the survey prior to the collection of the data. Nevertheless, it can be said that the data will do much to answer such questions as:

Who are the people in Milwaukee who consistently participate in community activities?

What are their motivations for participation and to what extent can these motivations be stimulated in others?

By what tactics are these people mobilized to participate in a particular community activity?

What are the best communicational channels and organizational lines for reaching these people for civil defense?

To what extent do opinions, feelings and ideas about war, atomic bombs and civil defense affect the tactics to be used for civil defense?

What sections of Milwaukee have experienced notable success or failure in organizing interpersonal relations for civil defense, and what appear to be the relevant factors in this outcome?

Because of the nature of the sample to be employed, many of these results can be presented in the form of maps, showing the distribution of interpersonal resources, formal media of communications, favorable or unfavorable predispositions toward civil defense or toward community activities, and relative success or failure of civil defense efforts to date.

Such findings as the foregoing will lead on to and guide the design of the two later informational studies--one which will further explore the problems of neighborhood organization for civil defense and one which will study more intensively any factors affecting the success of civil defense in Milwaukee which appear to cut across neighborhood organizational lines. Results of all three studies will, in turn, guide the conduct and testing of an experimental program to increase civil defense information and participation from which final recommendations for the operation of the public information program of the Milwaukee Survival Plan will be made.

Time Schedules and Costs: The study proposed is complex and difficult; it requires a large sample, lengthy and technically-demanding interviews and an elaborately detailed analysis. For all these reasons, its execution will be quite costly and time-consuming. We estimate that completion of this survey, on the scale specified through a final report will require 18-24 months and will cost about $154,000, as per the tentative budget below. These costs apply only to this one basic survey--the first step in the total research plan, and do not include the costs of studies b, c and d, each of which will probably require an additional $25,000, although their costs cannot be accurately estimated until their scope can be more exactly specified.

Tentative Budget for Study a

Sampling	$ 2,000
Field Work	103,000
Coding and Tabulation . . .	34,000
Analysis and Report	12,000
Miscellaneous	3,000
Estimated Total . . .	$154,000

Applicability to Other Survival Plan Areas

The question of whether the present research plan for the Milwaukee Survival Area can be adapted to use in other communities engaged upon Survival Plans requires, first, some consideration of the probable applicability of the findings of the Milwaukee studies to the problems of other areas. The present proposal is complex and difficult; its execution requires a large budget and a high level of professional social research competence. For these reasons alone, it is inconceivable that studies on the same scale can be carried out in every Survival Plan area and, irrespective of their feasibility, it is most questionable if it is advisable to do so.

The studies proposed for the Milwaukee Survival area constitute a coordinated research plan, based on an analysis of civil defense informational problems and aimed at determining how to utilize interpersonal relations effectively on behalf of civil defense. It is highly probable that the knowledge gained in the Milwaukee studies about the management of interpersonal relations would require only the testing of its generality in from two to six other communities and could, thereafter, be applied by all Survival Plans with only a minimum gathering of supplementary information. To illustrate the expected process of interaction, let us suppose that the Milwaukee research demonstrated that, in Milwaukee at least, attempting to reach people through neighborhood organizations was more effective than working with more formal, city-wide associations, and suppose further that this tentative conclusion was found, thereafter, to obtain in several other communities quite diverse in character from Milwaukee. We would then expect that FCDA would advise all Survival Plans to concentrate their efforts on the one kind of group rather than the other, without each local community's repeating the research to see if the recommendation held true for them. Each community would, however, have to carry out concrete local research or fact-finding to determine exactly what groups were in existence and available to them for this purpose, and each community might well want to evaluate periodically the effectiveness of its total program. For reasons of efficiency and economy, the more basic and more complex research on how to achieve or increase effectiveness would, however, not usually be conducted in this decentralized fashion.

The logic of this division of labor is quite analogous to that which obtains, de facto, with respect to the periodic series of national studies conducted by the Survey Research Center. As the earlier discussion made clear, their assessment of the status of civil defense in public opinion and of the kinds of factors found to influence popular thinking about war and atomic bombing provides ample general orientation to program planners. The results and conclusions they report prove to be not so geographically variable as to justify elaborate replication of their surveys in each Survival Plan area as an end in itself. Further research should be focussed on operational matters; local community research will be largely useless duplication of effort unless a few communities are utilized as a laboratory in which to develop basic program guidance along the lines of the present proposal, and the non-experimental communities limit their research efforts to the practical problems of implementation.

Beyond our conviction that the research plan we are proposing should not be routinely executed by every other Survival Plan area, there is little in the character of the research instruments included in Appendix II to prevent their application. In fact, with the thought in mind that the Milwaukee

research must be replicated in several other communities in order to test the generality of its conclusions, these research instruments have been deliberately designed to permit their adaptation to other areas with only minimum modifications. The modifications that will inevitably be needed are:

a. Substitution of the name of the other area for that of Milwaukee in all relevant questions. A list of questions that would be affected by this change appears in Appendix II, Section D, "Instructions for Interviewers," page 33.

b. Adaptation of questions referring to specific measures, policies or other aspects of the local civil defense program. Essentially this adaptation requires the deletion of such questions as may refer to practices or policies unique to the Milwaukee civil defense program and the addition of any needed questions about aspects of the other area's program not present in the Milwaukee area and not, therefore, included in the present questionnaire. Questions which might be affected by changes of this order are primarily those classed as B2-B5 on pages 18-19 above.

In this context, it must, however, be emphasized again that the research instruments in Appendix II are intended to implement only the initial phase of an integrated research plan. If they are utilized without a unifying and organizing principle, the result is likely to be merely the collection of a good deal of descriptive information largely duplicative of Survey Research Center findings and of little additional usefulness.

The potential usefulness of the information to be collected by means of these instruments derives entirely from two special characteristics: first, that the sampling scheme and plan of analysis for the initial phase of the Milwaukee Survival Plan public information research permits relation of the data collected to the actual organization and functioning of civil defense in the area; and, second, that there are clear-cut and definite plans for carrying over the research implications into action. In the present proposal, the later stages of the research plan--not yet implemented by research instruments --represent the mechanism through which research conclusions will be funneled back into the operation of the information program. Without this dual assurance that the research results will have practical implications for program operations and will actually be utilized in practice, there is little justification for embarking on the initial phase of the total research plan.

Finally, just because our research proposal is carefully tailored to obtain a practical answer to an operational problem in a concrete setting, a definitive judgment of the wisdom of adapting either the plan itself or any of its implementing instruments to research in another area can only be made in the light of full consideration of the concrete situation of that area-- its program, present problems and potential resources. Research is effective only when it is designed to solve a particular problem or answer a particular question, and the hasty application of research designs to problems for which they were never intended will benefit no one. Adaptation of any part of this proposal to other areas should, therefore, be contemplated only if careful reflection indicates that the present research formulation does in fact extend to the problems of the other areas. The costs of preparing or modifying research designs to fit the actual needs of an area will in the long run prove to be far less expensive than the waste of executing a ready-made but irrelevant research plan.

APPENDIX I.

Memorandum   on

the Effectiveness of Mass Communications

in Disseminating Information and Influencing Attitudes

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This memorandum is a selected summary and evaluation of significant researches on communications designed to impart information or affect attitudes, drawn from a variety of sources--experimental and social psychology, mass communications research and small groups research. Its principle of selection is to bring together those research findings whose generality appears to transcend their immediate subject matters and whose conclusions and implications seem immediately pertinent and applicable to the problems of civil defense information programs. Its intent is, thus, to organize what is generally known about communication in a manner that will lend itself to the formulation of tentative conclusions about civil defense communication. Until systematic experimental and evaluative research on the information programs of civil defense can be carried out, the research findings in this memorandum represent the best current knowledge available for guidance, but it should be borne in mind that their relevance is, at best, a matter of expert judgment and not a matter of demonstrated fact.

The effectiveness of the mass media as instruments for changing the level of information or the opinions of large numbers of people is affected by a multitude of variables which, for the purposes of the present memorandum, have been organized into four broad categories.

1. Studies of differences in media exposure among different segments of the population and of social and psychological variables predisposing individuals to favor or to avoid certain types of mass media content.

2. Studies of the differences in media effectiveness in imparting information and changing attitudes.

3. Studies of techniques of presentation that make for variations in the effectiveness of the mass media in influencing different segments of the population,

4. Studies of the effects of interpersonal relations and group memberships on responses to the mass media.

A bibliography, appearing at the end of this memorandum, includes all studies discussed in the text and annotations covering the design and results of other relevant studies that are referred to, but not discussed, in the body of the memorandum.

1. DIFFERENTIAL MEDIA EXPOSURE

A very considerable amount of the literature in the field of mass communications is devoted to the analysis of the characteristics of audiences of the various mass media, and with good reason. For, as Lazarsfeld has observed, "Effects, if any, of mass media come about in two steps. First, people have to be reached and after they are reached they have to be affected in some way. Common sense considerations as well as audience research make it appear likely that coverage is the most important factor." (47, p. 258)* As illustration of this point, he notes that laboratory experiments show that educational films or radio programs greatly increase the knowledge of lower educated groups. But the same people so affected by the experiments would not, ordinarily, be the ones to expose themselves to such programs in the real life situation. The direct effects of the various mass media

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*The first number appearing in parentheses refers to the bibliography appearing at the end of this memorandum, where citations are given in full.

can only be exercised upon those members of the public who expose themselves to such influences, so it is important to know what proportion of the population attend, at least minimally, to each of the media.

a. Taken together, the mass media reach into almost every home, but, with the single exception of the newspaper, those which require literacy--the printed word--tend to reach only the better-educated, upper-economic groups.

The two most widely used mass media, from all indications, are newspapers and radio. Lazarsfeld and Kendall, for example, report, in a survey of the communications behavior of a nationwide cross section sample of 3,529 adult respondents, that fully 90 per cent of the people interviewed usually read a daily newspaper; 74 per cent listen to the radio one hour or more on an average weekday evening; 61 per cent had seen one or more movies during the month of the survey; 61 per cent read at least one magazine regularly; but only 26 per cent had read a book during the month that the survey took place (50, pp. 2-4). Asheim reports similar usage of the various media (2, p. 424).

The foregoing figures provide a picture of the relative usage of the various mass media prior to the introduction of television on a mass scale. It is not yet clear to what extent the advent of this new medium has affected the use of the other mass media. For one thing, the purchases of TV sets have been increasing so rapidly that studies of its coverage become outdated almost before they appear. For example, an NORC study based on an area probability sample of 2,139 cases in the city of Chicago found that in 1951 57 per cent of the households contained television sets and that families who owned sets used them an average of five hours a day. A more recent (1954) study, based on a national probability sample of 2,871 households, reports the volume of TV ownership by city size and indicates that TV coverage has been greatly extended, particularly in metropolitan areas (75, p. 22):

		Per cent of Homes with Television Sets, Jan.-Feb., 1954
Metropolitan areas	: 500,000 and over	80.7
	: Under 500,000 . . .	68.3
Non-metropolitan areas:	10,000 and over . .	36.9
	: Under 10,000 . . .	29.3

It could also be anticipated that the initial impact of this new mass medium on established communication habits would be considerable, although its long-run effects might well be less extreme. From all indications the advent of TV has had the most effect on radio listening and movie attendance. All studies that were reviewed in this context report that TV owners listen significantly less to the radio and attend movies less than non-owners (15; 77; 80; 83). What effect TV is having on magazine and book reading is less clear. Some comparisons of TV owners and non-owners find little difference on this score (80; 88). Others find that TV owners spend somewhat less time reading (15), while another indicates that TV owners read more magazines and report having read a book recently more often than non-owners (77). Such inconsistencies may well arise from the fact that length of ownership of TV sets was generally not employed as a control in these analyses, and also from the strong possibility that the early buyers of TV may have differed in some significant respects from non-owners. Early buyers of TV may have been those who were heavy users of radio and the movies and light users of books and

magazines. We will, therefore, have to wait on more carefully designed studies of the impact of TV on the use of other mass media before we can say, with any degree of accuracy, just what these effects have been.

One would, however, hazard the guess that the same types of people who were heavy users of radio and the movies will become the heavy users of TV, but that this new medium will not make sharp inroads on the audiences for the ptinted media--newspapers, magazines and books. It seems likely that in the large urban centers TV and the newspapers will constitute the means for reaching the largest number of people, while in rural areas radio, along with the newspapers, will continue to offer the best means of achieving this objective for some time to come.

Although the vast majority of people watch TV or listen to the radio and read newspapers, there are wide variations among them in the amount of time they devote to these and to the other mass media. Obviously, all other things being equal, the chances are greater that a given communication will reach the individual who, say, listens to the radio three hours daily than the one who spends less than an hour a day doing so. Similarly, the individual who regularly exposes himself to two of the mass media is more likely to be reached by a given communication, all other things being equal, than the person who regularly attends only to one medium. It is, therefore, of great importance to the communicator, whether his objective be to sell a product or a set of ideas, to discover what the characteristics are that differentiate the "heavy user" from the "light user" of each of the mass media, and to ascertain whether there is any carry-over in the pattern of use of one medium to use of the other media.

As could be expected, the level of educational achievement of people is an important factor in exposure to magazines and books. Lazarsfeld and Kendall report, for example, that the proportion of book and magazine readers increases directly with educational level. Twice as many magazine readers and five times as many book readers are found among college educated respondents as among those with only a grade school education (50, p. 9). The ability to read with ease is, of course, a function of formal education, and people who lack this skill are not generally habitual readers. Furthermore, books and magazines are more expensive than newspapers and therefore, less available to the less educated, who are also more likely than better educated people to be of low socio-economic status. It has also been found that the audiences for these two media are overlapping. Virtually all those people who read books regularly also read magazines regularly (50, p. 4).

Radio, TV, and the movies differ from the printed media in that they require no specific skills. The audience need do little more than watch and listen, and consequently the appeal of these "spectator" media is far more widespread. Neither socio-economic status nor educational achievement is an important differentiating factor in the amount of usage of radio, TV and the movies.

There are, however, considerable differences between men and women in the amount of time they devote to listening to the radio. Since the majority of women are housewives they have more opportunity to listen to the radio during the daytime than do men, and they apparently listen no less than men to the radio during the evening hours. Consequently, they are usually heavier users of this medium than men (50, p. 135).

Still another factor--age--is important in determining the frequency of movie attendance. Younger people, as might be expected, attend motion pictures most frequently, and as people grow older movie attendance drops sharply.

Thus, Lazarsfeld and Kendall report that among respondents in their twenties, only 19 per cent had attended no movies during the survey month, but among people in their fifties this proportion becomes 51 per cent (50, p. 11). The advent of TV may affect this relationship between age and movie attendance but it is very doubtful that it will destroy it. Indeed, it may make for sharper differences in attendance between the younger and older groups for, as Lazarsfeld and Kendall point out, "The teens and twenties are age periods of relatively few personal and social responsibilities, and therefore those people have more 'free evenings.' ...Furthermore, movie going is a social activity (more than magazine reading, for example) through which the young people make social contacts which are important to them. Movie going is thus much more than mere entertainment." (50, pp. 11-12.)

Finally, area of residence conditions motion picture attendance. The amount and variety of movies are more limited in rural areas than in urban centers, and, as a result, one finds a higher proportion of non-attenders among people who live in rural communities and farms than among urban dwellers (50, p. 13). Similarly, TV ownership is least widespread in rural areas where reception facilities are more limited (75, p. 22).

b. Whatever medium of communication is considered, the more literate segment of the population—the better-educated, upper-income group—is more likely than the less literate segment to attend to serious informational features of its content and less likely to limit its attention to entertainment features.

The quantity of exposure to the various mass media constitutes only one of the dimensions by which the media habits of different segments of the population can be described. A second dimension deals with the differences in content preferences exhibited by various groups in the population. Two people may spend the same amount of time listening to the radio, but the types of programs they select may be totally different. Information programs may succeed with relative ease in reaching those people who enjoy and therefore are likely to listen to programs that carry discussions of public affairs or other educational fare. It will, however, be much more difficult to reach those people who are not interested, and therefore avoid, programs of an educational nature in the mass media.

It would seem, on first thought, that taste is a highly individual matter, that it has a great deal to do with the personality characteristics of people. Communications research, however, offers very little support for this view; indeed, the weight of evidence is against this conclusion. Thus, personality studies have been made of "fans and non-fans" of daytime radio serials, and thematic apperception tests were given to people who panicked and those who did not on hearing the "Invasion From Mars" program. These investigations failed to find any personality differences that distinguished these groups from one another (47, p. 242). The absence of any significant correlations between personality characteristics of individuals and their communication habits, on the one hand, and the presence of consistent and clear-cut correlations between demographic characteristics—socio-economic status, educational level, age and sex—and media habits of people leads to the conclusion, aptly summed up by Lazarsfeld, that "Perhaps what a person is interested in does not depend on his personality but on his position in the social system. People are interested in the things which the groups to which they belong believe to be worthwhile. Group stratification in our society is along economic, educational, sex and age lines; so perhaps it is

not surprising that these primary characteristics are related to a greater degree to communication habits than are personality traits." (47, p. 242.)

News broadcasts, sports programs, comedy programs, popular music and mystery stories in radio, cut across socio-economic lines, that is, exposure to these types of content occurs about equally among the various social strata. But their behavior with respect to programs that carry discussion of public issues or serious music differs considerably. Thus, NORC data show that such programs are favored approximately twice as often by higher socio-economic groups, or by the college-educated, than by the lower socio-economic groups, or by those having only a grade school education (50, p. 25 and p. 136). Beville (7) and Nafziger (60) also find that attendance to serious programs on radio varies directly with socio-economic status. Similarly, with respect to newspaper content, there is a direct correlation between the amount of news reading, the reading of public affairs items and editorials, and the socio-economic status and educational level of respondents (70, p. 419).

Age constitutes another factor making for selective exposure to public affairs content in the mass media. In general, younger people (under thirty) appear to use the mass media primarily for entertainment, and are less interested, and therefore less likely than people in older age groups to expose themselves to discussions of public issues on radio, or to articles dealing with public affairs and to editorials in the newspapers (50, p. 136; 70, p. 407).

Finally, sex plays an important role in program preferences. Although women listen more to the radio, for example, they are less likely than men to select news broadcasts or discussions of public issues as radio fare (50, p. 137). These sex differences in the selection of content also extend to newspapers. Women read fewer news items and fewer items dealing with topics having communal or social significance than men, and they attend more to content having human interest appeal or dealing with activities that are part of their daily life (9).

Students in the field of mass communications, although highly conversant with the findings just cited, have been slow to design research aimed at explaining the process by which these demographic factors--socio-economic status and education, age and sex--act upon the individual's interests and tastes to bring about conformity with the communication habits of others similarly situated in the social structure. We would like to suggest that one reason for this paucity of explanation is the failure of researchers in this subject area to study the communications habits of individuals within the social context in which they develop and persist. By this we mean simply that in all probability the selection of content in the mass media that adults make is strongly influenced by the people with whom they associate regularly. Consider, for example, the strong correlation that has been found between level of education and exposure to "serious" types of content in the mass media. If communications habits were rationally determined then it should be the less educated members of the audience who expose themselves to the educational offerings of the mass media, for this would constitute a relatively simple means for broadening their scope of knowledge. And, as was noted earlier, it is precisely these people with little formal education who, in experimental situations, do show the greatest relative information gains upon exposure to the communication media. But it would be a fallacy to assume that the less educated generally experience an overweaning need to broaden their scope of knowledge. People generally are not anxious to be different from their associates, and, from all indications, the friendships of most people are with others of like age, sex, and socio-economic status (59). To the extent

that this is the case, it could be anticipated that there is a great deal more opportunity and more social pressure exerted by his peer group on the higher class, better educated individual than on the lower class, poorly educated individual to familiarize himself with community and public affairs. There is a whole cluster of social behavior that differentiates higher socio-economic groups from lower ones, and which operates to stimulate interest in, and discussion about, public affairs. As a result, even the relatively un-interested person in the higher socio-economic groups is more likely than the one occupying a lower position to be exposed, in his interpersonal contacts, to information of this sort (60). This, in turn, enhances the liklihood that he will also expose himself more to such content in the mass media. A find-ing from an NORC study of the effectiveness of a campaign to stimulate inter-est in and support for the United Nations in Cincinnati serves as partial illustration for this point. It was found there that though a direct re-lationship exists between interest in the UN and the level of information about it, even better educated people who were uninterested in the UN were usually more informed than uninterested people with little formal education (61, p. 14).

c. Socio-economic and other demographic differentials in attention to the ser-ious informational features of mass media are only an instance of the general principle that people attend only to what interests them.

A major factor that produces selective exposure to serious content in the mass media is the level of interest that individuals hold with respect to a given issue. To be sure, those groups in the population that are generally less predisposed to attend to serious content in the mass media are also the ones who are generally less interested in and less informed about specific public issues. Thus, studies of voting behavior, for example, consistently find higher proportions of people with low interest in politics among the lower socio-economic groups, less educated, young people and women (6; 49). But, this relationship does not deny that the amount of specific interest in a particular issue also affects exposure to the mass media. Although certain groups in the population are generally less predisposed than others to attend to serious content in the mass media, within each of these broad groups, one usually finds considerable variations in the level of interest held by peo-ple with respect to any given public issue. And this variable of interest also plays an important role in exposure to particular content in the mass media. Whatever the issue, people who are more interested in it can be reached more easily through the mass media than those who have little inter-est in the issue.

The role that interest plays in selective exposure to the media has been most carefully documented in studies of political campaigns. In a study of the 1940 presidential campaign, for example, it was found that the respondents with high political interest attended twice as much as the less interested to newspapers and radio and three times as much to magazines during the period of the campaign (49, p. 51).* The important question here, of course, is

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*This study started with a representative sample of 3,000 persons in Erie County, Ohio, and was subsequently subdivided into four groups of 600 persons each; three of these groups were interviewed once each during the progress of the campaign, and the fourth group, the panel, was interviewed once each month during the period of the 1940 campaign. It represents the first systematic attempt to analyze what role the mass media play in voting behavior. Its importance also derives from its introduction of the panel design into survey research dealing with political behavior.

whether it is the higher level of initial interest which brings about greater exposure to campaign materials, or vice versa. This particular study, because it made use of repeated interviews with the same respondents, was able to provide an answer to this question. The authors started with pairs of groups which were alike in the amount of exposure to political campaign materials during the early months (May to August) of the campaign, but which differed in their level of interest--two were high, two medium high, two medium low, and two low. The question asked was, "What happened to their exposure for the two paired groups, alike in their previous exposure but different in interest?" during the later period (August to October) of the campaign. It was found that the initially more interested group in each pair read and listened more to campaign materials in the second period than did the initially less interested groups (49, pp. 79-80). This is perhaps the most convincing demonstration in the communications survey literature of the proposition that, once interest has been aroused in an issue, it operates to increase exposure to the mass media. While these data indicate clearly that level of interest exerts an independent effect on exposure, these two variables are, of course, reciprocally related to one another. In the words of the authors, "Propaganda leads to increased interest which in turn makes people more willing to expose themselves to further propaganda, and so on. But... in the course of this process not all people are reached by the same kind of propaganda." (49, p. 79.)

d. **In much the same fashion, people attend primarily to what they already agree
    with; they are not usually interested in opposing views.**

This brings us to still another factor that makes for selective exposure to the contents of the mass media, and which often acts as an impediment to their potential effectiveness. People vary not only in the amount of interest they have in a particular issue, but also in their attitudes toward it. Some people are in favor of the UN, while others oppose it; some people favor the Republican party, others, the Democratic party; some people are prejudiced against Negroes, others are not; some people favor Civil Defense preparation, while others are indifferent or opposed. Such attitude differences play an extremely important role in the selective exposure of audiences to the mass media.

One of the best documented propositions in the communications literature is that whatever the issue people expose themselves to information that is congenial to their existing attitudes, and avoid communications that fail to support or which oppose such attitudes (68; 69; 79). Thus, in the study of voting cited earlier the authors conclude (49, p. 89):

> ... Actual exposure does not parallel availability. Availability plus
> predispositions determines exposure--and predispositions lead people to
> select communications which are congenial, which support their previous
> position. More Republicans than Democrats listened to Wilkie and more
> Democrats than Republicans listened to Roosevelt. The universe of cam-
> paign communications--political speeches, newspaper stories, newscasts,
> editorials, columns, magazine articles--was open to virtually everyone.
> But exposure was consistently partisan, and such partisanship resulted in
> reinforcement of political predispositions of respondents."

This phenomenon of partisan exposure is not confined to politics. It is practically an adage in communications research that educational broadcasts are most successful in reaching those people who need them least.* Efforts to use

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*For a discussion of techniques for building audiences for educational programs see
Elmo Wilson (86) and Katz & Eisenberg (39).

the mass media for the reduction of ethnic prejudice are a case in point.
Cooper and Jahoda conclude, on the basis of their analysis of a number of
studies and experiments dealing with ethnic prejudice, that "it is diffi-
cult for a communication to reach those people not already in favor of the
view it presents....Many people evade points of view which are at odds with
their own by the simple expedient of not exposing themselves to such views."
And they go on to note that when prejudiced people are involuntarily con-
fronted with anti-prejudice messages in experimental situations, they evade
the issue by simply not understanding the message, or by distorting its mean-
ing to support their own preconceptions (16, pp. 15-25). A study by Kendall
and Wolf also furnishes careful documentation of this point (43).

Additional evidence that exposure to information occurs on a partisan basis
is provided by an analysis conducted by NORC of the relationships between ex-
posure to and information and attitudes about foreign affairs. Respondents
in a national sample (1,292 cases) were asked if they had heard or read about
a recent Anglo-American Committee report on Palestine, and about a joint
statement by England, France and the United States denouncing the government
of Franco Spain. The entire sample was then given a brief description of this
information, followed by some relevant attitude questions. Hyman and Sheatsley
report that "...in every case... the group who reported prior exposure to the
information had a different attitudinal reaction from those without prior ex-
posure." Those respondents who reported having prior information consistently
held more favorable attitudes toward these pieces of information than those
who had not previously exposed themselves (33, pp. 417-18).*

e. While the flow of information over the mass media will not in general receive
the attention of those groups who are least informed, uninterested or opposed
to the position taken, a heavy concentration of a particular subject matter
in the mass media will, through sheer ubiquity, result in some degree of
casual exposure by these groups. Casual exposure, in turn, may eventuate in
increased interest, if it succeeds in focussing attention on the issue.

We have discussed several factors that make for selective exposure to the
contents of the mass media. There is, however, also some evidence that not
all groups are equally selective in their exposure, and that certain patterns
of use of the mass media occasionally, at least, operate to modify the se-
lection of content.

A recent study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign--voting--while
in substantial agreement with the findings discussed as to the factors that
condition consistent and concentrated exposure to the mass media, also pro-
vides some evidence that a good many people who, during the period of the
presidential campaign, do not actively seek out political content do, never-
theless, "run across" such content in the mass media. Thus, data are present-
ed which show, in the words of the authors, that "people who pay general,
nonpolitical attention to newspapers, radios and magazines tend to see and
hear more political material, along with everything else. (These results hold
even when the variable of interest is controlled.) Thus the very accessibility
of the medium 'rubs off' a certain amount of political exposure. It would
take almost deliberate action to keep from some exposure to politics under

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*For a discussion of the relationship between informedness and attitudes in the
context of atomic warfare maneuvers among troops, see Schwartz and Winograd
(71).

such conditions."* (6, p. 244.) The same order of findings is reported by Berelson in his analysis of the effects of printed media in the 1940 presidential campaign (5).

Some earlier studies of daytime serial listening furnish an additional bit of evidence that, within limits, the availability of content in the mass media serves to stimulate interest and exposure. Two independent studies of listeners to daytime serials on radio found a clear-cut pattern of adjacent listening. Serials which come over the same station in a chain have a high overlapping audience, but overlapping decreases the further apart that two serials appear on the broadcasting schedule of the station (40). This pattern of adjacent listening also prevailed among listeners to a music program on radio (20). In other words, interest governs selection of a particular program in the mass media, but exposure makes other programs easily available, and availability, in turn, operates to increase the probability of exposure.

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (49) have also suggested that, while exposure to political campaign propaganda is primarily a function of interest in the issues, some interest, at least in the initial phases of the campaign, is also created by an increase in the sheer volume of propaganda. Thus the authors note that "As the campaign gains momentum, people who have not been interested begin to pay attention. At this stage it is the rising volume of propaganda which initiates the change....As people 'wake up' to the campaign, their aroused attention leads them to see and hear more out of the supply around them..." (49, p. 75-6.) In other words, in the initial phases of a campaign, before the attitudes of people toward the issues crystallize, a substantial increase in the volume of propaganda in the mass media can sometimes serve to generate interest and to focus the attention of people on given issues.

Nevertheless, the observation of Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee about the limitations of the mass media for bringing about widespread participation in politics would also seem applicable to public information programs:

> It is a credit to the agencies of communication (media and parties) that far more Americans participate in politics than are really interested. But there is a limit--reached fairly soon--to what availability without interest can do. Beyond that, only interest based on enduring social involvements can go. The most likely sources of heavy as opposed to superficial communication exposure are in the main independent of and prior to the communications themselves. If minimum or superficial exposure can be "manipulated" externally by such matters as the volume and the accessibility of media materials, the conditions for more concentrated or serious attention lie in the society and individuals themselves (6, p. 245).

2. DIFFERENTIAL MEDIA EFFECTIVENESS

Studies in this section deal with the relative effectiveness of the various mass media for imparting information, for persuasion and for retention of content. Since these studies primarily consider what happens when exposure occurs, they deal, for the most part, not with the actual effects of these media in practice but with the limits of their possible effects under ideal conditions.

In fact, the literature of experimental psychology with respect to the relative effectiveness of content presented by visual and aural means under ideal conditions is vast, and it would be impossible to cover all of it within the limits

of the present memorandum. We shall, therefore, discuss only a selected number of the important experimental studies in this field. We will also be concerned, however, with studies of the effectiveness of various mass media carried out in "real life" situations because it is felt that, even though such studies lack the precision of the experiment, their findings have more immediate relevance to the problems at hand. The well-considered conclusions of Klapper (44, Memo II, pp. 3-4) regarding the comparability of experimental and non-experimental media comparison studies help to explain why this may be the case:

Most of the investigations in which two or more media are compared were conducted under laboratory conditions which differ markedly from the situation in which the public at large listens to or looks at the products of mass media. Three differences between the laboratory and the social situations are of particular importance.

1. The controlled experiment ordinarily involves highly motivated attendance. Often the subjects are students who are compelled to read, listen or watch by faculty command....Their awareness and reactions are thus likely to be quite different from those of the housewife or worker who reads, watches, or listens to what he wishes, when he wishes, and where he wishes.

2. The controlled experiment ordinarily involves identical texts presented through different media. Outside the laboratory, however, one is not likely to hear over the radio the exact words of a magazine article or advertisement. Data pertaining to identical texts cannot be assumed to be valid in relation to vaguely similar texts.

3. The controlled experiment ordinarily controls the frequency and length of exposure. The subjects see, hear, or view the material a given number of times, which is ordinarily equal for the several media. In daily life, however, a man may read something in the paper once and hear similar material over the air, seven times, or twice, or not at all. In short, neither balanced exposure nor its results necessarily occur in the work-a-day world.

a. All media are effective devices for imparting information but, if it can be assumed that people are equally exposed to them, media that do not rely on the written word--radio, TV and movies--are superior to print in imparting information, especially to audiences of lower educational attainment.

Cantril and Allport (10, pp. 159-80) report a series of studies that used controlled laboratory conditions to compare the effectiveness of radio listening and reading for eliciting recognition, verbatim recall and attitude modifications. A typical one of these, from the standpoint of both procedure and findings, used equivalent sets of material on two groups designed to represent different populations. One group was supposedly typical of the non-college urban population, while the other group consisted of college students. Half of the subjects within each group heard the material that the other half read. Radio listening was found to be more effective than print in promoting recognition of content, verbatim recall, and "suggestibility."

These experimental results also suggest that the effectiveness of auditory presentation tends to vary inversely with the difficulty of the material presented and that it tends to be superior to visual presentation for subject

matter that is concrete and serial in nature. Print obviously has some advantages for the presentation of complex material and there are some indications that better educated subjects prefer to receive such material through the medium of print rather than radio. But since the poorly educated show a definite preference for listening as compared to reading it seems very possible that the advantages accruing from print would be offset by the greater reluctance of such people to expose themselves to material presented in this form. Experiments do not take this factor of selective exposure into account, of course, but the practitioner whose objective is to communicate specific information to the largest possible number of people cannot afford to overlook this consideration.

Another series of experiments which compared the effectiveness of the auditory and visual modes of presentation of content for commanding attention and for retention was carried out by Eliot (19). A number of advertisements about different products with fictitious trade names were presented to matched groups of students in three ways: a simulated radio program, a visual screen using slides, and both methods used simultaneously. Recall of the content was higher for the radio mode than for the screen mode of presentation, and it was highest when both modes of presentation were used together.

In the same article, Eliot reports another study which compared the effects of a dietary exhibit using posters alone, radio description alone, and both methods of presentation together. It was found that the use of both radio and poster simultaneously was most effective for commanding attention, that the use of radio alone was less effective, and the use of posters alone proved to be the least effective method of eliciting attention. If length of retention is considered the criterion, however, the order of effectiveness was radio, radio and posters used together, and posters alone. On the basis of his findings, Eliot concludes that the aural mode of presentation of content is more effective than visual modes of presentation. He found this to be the case more often for women than for men, and more often for subjects on low educational levels than for those on higher levels.

A more recent experiment, by Goldberg (21), compared the retention of content presented through the means of a telecast and a radio broadcast. This study involved 46 subjects, of which half watched a telecast of a popular program (Godfrey's Talent Scouts), and the other half listened to the radio version of the same program. Rating sheets were administered every five minutes during the program, and a content test was administered to all subjects one week after exposure. It was found that the group exposed to the telecast scored higher on every liking scale, and also retained more of the program content a week after exposure than the group that had listened to the radio broadcast. Similar effects of television, used as a device for classroom instruction, are reported by Rock, Duva and Murray (67).

An elaborate series of experiments designed to test the effects of movies on learning, retention, and attitudes, carried out under the auspices of the Payne Fund, are presented in the well known summary publication, Motion Pictures and Youth by W. W. Charters. None of these studies compare the effects of movies with those of other mass media, but they do represent the most intensive effort to date to measure the effects of commercial entertainment films on children and young people, and as such, they are worthy of attention. In the first set of experiments the objectives of the investigators, Holaday and Stoddard, were to "measure two effects of motion pictures on the memories of children: the retention of film content and the changes in quantity and accuracy of general information, including the direction and

duration of the changes." (23) Seventeen commercial films were shown, in the course of the experiments, to over 3,000 subjects. The procedure used was to administer a battery of information tests based on the content of the films to subjects the morning of the day on which exposure was to occur, and on the morning following the presentation. It was found that the general information of subjects was increased to a considerable extent by exposure to the films shown them--the average information gain was 12 per cent among superior adults and 28 per cent to 34 per cent among school children. Moreover, tests administered six weeks and three months after exposure showed a high degree of retention of content. For example, second and third grade school children remembered 90 per cent of what they knew the day following exposure six weeks afterward, and the same amount three months afterward. And, in the case of some films, for example in Tom Sawyer, they remembered more at the end of six weeks, and still more at the end of three months. This gain in retention of information is one variety of the phenomenon, observed in some other studies of information retention and attitude modifications, which has been termed the "sleeper effect." One possible explanation of this phenomenon, to which we will return later in another connection, is that exposure sensitizes the individual to cues which then serve to fix the content of the film. For example, children, after seeing the film of Tom Sawyer, may then discuss it with their friends, or even read the book after seeing the film. This latter possibility, incidentally, was apparently not controlled for in the retention test analysis.

b. Although the evidence is inconsistent and not entirely conclusive, the mass media appear to be relatively ineffective in changing the attitudes and opinions of adults, especially when the change is attempted by means of imparting information.

Three important experimental studies serve to demonstrate some major inconsistencies in the experimental literature with respect to the question of the effectiveness of the mass media in bringing about modifications in attitudes. Wilke, in a well-known experiment, compared the persuasive effectiveness of the same content when presented via personal address, radio, and the printed page (85). Twelve groups of students received lectures on four topics--war, the distribution of wealth, birth control, and the existence of God--on which the experiment sought to change attitudes. Each speech was delivered to one audience by a lecturer personally, to a second group via loudspeaker, and to a third via a mimeographed pamphlet. The attitudes of students on these topics were measured two weeks before and one week after the presentations. Wilke reports that in each case the message had a large and statistically significant effect in changing opinions. The lecture technique proved most effective, however; the loudspeaker was less effective, and the pamphlet turned out to be least effective in changing opinions.

In a second set of experiments Peterson and Thurstone (63) were concerned with the effects of commercial films on the attitudes of school children. They administered a battery of attitude scales to high school children prior to exposure to the films, and again about a day after. Differences in position on the scales before and after exposure constituted the measure of effect of the film on attitudes. About 4,000 children, mostly high school students, were the subjects in these experiments. The investigators set forth three major conclusions on the basis of their findings:

1) The attitudes of children can be measurably affected or changed by one exposure to a movie. For example, in the case of one film which portrayed Chinese persons in a favorable light, the mean attitude of the

test population shifted 1.22 steps in a favorable direction on the scale. A similar effect but in the opposite direction was observed with respect to Negroes following exposure to a film in which members of this ethnic group were portrayed unfavorably.

2) The effects of movies upon attitudes appear to be cumulative. It was found that two pictures of similar character were more effective than one, and three even more effective than two in modifying attitudes of children.

3) Such shifts in attitude which occurred as the result of exposure to films appeared to have a considerable degree of permanence. In several localities where attitude scales were readministered at varying intervals, it was found that these effects of films had not worn off in a year and a half. In one locality, however, there did occur a complete recession to attitudes held prior to exposure.

These findings with respect to the effects of films on attitudes are of particular interest because they are contradicted by the findings of later studies concerned with similar problems. For example, the use of films to modify the attitudes of prejudiced people toward ethnic minority groups has not met with notable success. Several studies have shown that films or posters designed to diminish prejudice often fail to affect the attitudes of prejudiced members of the audiences. Psychological mechanisms come into play which enable such individuals to "escape" the implications of the message: They misunderstand the message, or distort it to fit their own preconceptions (16; 17; 43; 64). To be sure, different types of films were used in the latter studies--specially prepared educational and documentary movies --than in the Peterson and Thurstone experiments in which commercial entertainment films were employed. Another, and perhaps more important, explanation of these contradictory findings may arise from the fact that the subjects for the Peterson-Thurstone experiments were children whereas the samples used in the prejudice studies and in the experiments of the Research Branch of the War Department, which will be discussed presently, were adults. It is generally believed that the attitudes of children can more readily be influenced than those of adults, and, if this is the case, then one must question the validity of generalizing experimental results obtained on children to the behavior of adults.

One would perhaps not be so inclined to question the findings of Peterson and Thurstone were it not for the fact that a far more systematic and sophisticated series of experiments and controlled studies on the effects of educational films, conducted by the Experimental Section of the Research Branch during World War II has produced results which are not consistent with their findings. One of the primary functions of the Experimental Section was to evaluate the effects of the films prepared by the Information and Education Division, and other divisions of the War Department. Among the tasks of this section were the experimental evaluations of four of the "Why We Fight" series of orientation films. Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield report that "the principle criteria of 'effectiveness' used in evaluating these films were whether they succeeded in imparting information, in changing opinions in the direction of the interpretations presented, and in increasing men's motivations to serve." (28, p. 247.) Different experimental designs and varying sample sizes were employed in the course of the experiments. In the study of the "Battle of Britain" film, for example, two types of design were employed in two different camps. An "after-only" design, so termed because measurements were not made for the same group before and after the film showing, was used on 1,200 men in one camp, and a "before-after" design, where "measurements were taken on the film and control groups both before and after the

introduction of the experimental variable," was employed with 900 men at another camp. An interval of about one week usually occurred before the administration of the "after" questionnaire. Effects of the films were measured in terms of the difference in the percentage of individuals knowing a particular fact or endorsing a particular opinion before and after exposure to the films.

It would be quite impossible in the space available to do full justice to the wealth of thoughtful and suggestive analysis contained in this work. Let us, therefore, simply present the brief summary of the research results prepared by the authors themselves (28, pp. 254-5):

> The films had marked effects on the men's knowledge of factual material concerning the events leading up to the war. The fact that the upper limit of effects was so large--as for example in the cases where the correct answer was learned and remembered a week later by the majority of the men--indicates that highly effective presentation methods are possible with this type of film.

> The films also had some marked effects on opinions where they specifically covered the factors involved in a particular inter- pretation, that is, where the opinion test item was prepared on the basis of film-content analysis and anticipated opinion change from such analysis. Such opinion changes were, however, less fre- quent and, in general, less marked than changes in factual know- ledge.

> The films had only a very few effects on opinion items of a more general nature that had been prepared independently of film con- tent, but which were considered the criteria for determining the effectiveness of the films in achieving their orientation objec- tives.

> The films had no effects on items prepared for the purpose of measuring effects on the men's motivation to serve as soldiers, which was considered the ultimate objective of the orientation program.

One possible explanation suggested by Hovland, Lumsdaine and Sheffield to account for the lack of effects of the films upon the general opinions and motivations of subjects is that "a single 50-minute presentation is too small an influence to produce noticeable changes in deep-seated convictions..." However, "a study in which the cumulative effects of two films were studied did not...show sizable effects on general opinions or motivations." The authors conclude that "...it was to be expected that the amount of men's motivation (to serve) which could be influenced by a film was very small in relation to the other motivational factors present in their immediate and total life situation."

In general, their findings challenge one very common assumption of mass in- formation or orientation programs; namely, that the attitudes and behavior of people are motivated primarily by rational considerations, and that the "facts" point inevitably to only one rational conclusion or course of action. The conviction is, therefore, that if the public is given the "facts" about issues, they will automatically conform to recommended views or courses of action:

The rationale of the orientation program--of which the orientation
films were a part--rested primarily upon two basic assumptions con-
cerning mechanisms for affecting motivation by means of 'orienta-
tion.' The first assumption was that giving men more information
about the war and its background would produce more favorable opin-
ions and attitudes. The second related assumption was that improve-
ment of opinions, attitudes, or interpretations about the war would
lead in some measure to higher motivation or greater willingness to
serve in the role of soldier.

The results ....cast considerable doubt on the first of these as-
sumptions. The films produced sizable increments in information
but effected almost no significant changes on the more general
opinion items designed to measure changes in the orientation
program's objectives. This negative conclusion was also supported
by data from other studies which indicated only a slight correlation
between scores on information tests and orientation opinions ...

No evidence was provided by the experimental studies of films bear-
ing on the second assumption, concerning the relationship between
changes in opinions and in motivation, since the films produced
almost no increments in the opinions considered significant (28,
p. 256).

It should be noted that the army's series of orientation films failed to
accomplish their intended objectives despite the fact that they were direct-
ed to a "captive" audience, and thus had an advantage not shared by infor-
mation campaigns which are directed to civilian populations. The same lack
of connection between increases in information and attitude change has been
noted in other researches such as the Cincinnati-United Nations study (61)
and Hyman and Sheatsley's analysis of information campaigns (33).

A few other findings of this monumental series of investigations deserve
mention:

In relation to imparting information, it was uniformly found that the sol-
diers with greater intellectual ability, whether measured by educational
level or AGCT score, learned more, on the average, from a given exposure
than those with less ability (28, p. 266). This outcome suggests, insofar
as educational programs are concerned, that a greater volume of information-
al materials may have to be directed to the less educated sectors of the pop-
ulation than to others in order to achieve the same amount of information
gain.

The relationship of intellectual ability to opinion changes, however, was
found to be far more complex and varied according to a number of intervening
factors, the most important of which is what the authors call "acceptance,"
which refers to the prevalence of a given opinion in a group. The films
tended to be more successful in promoting opinion changes among the better
educated in those items of opinion which were initially more prevalent among
the better educated members of the army population, but they were ineffect-
ive with this group in those areas of opinion which were initially least
prevalent among the better educated (28, p. 174). In other words--if we may
take the liberty of conceptualizing and generalizing this finding in socio-
logical terms rather than in the framework of experimental psychology--films
tend to be effective in changing opinions of individuals only in those areas

of opinion for which there exists group support, but they appear to be ineffective in doing so in instances where the opinion being promulgated in the film is generally not shared by others of like social status.

One final finding of the Experimental Section that merits mention is that having to do with the "sleeper effect." It will be recalled that Holaday and Stoddard, in their experiments dealing with the effects of movies on the information level of school children, found that, in some cases, a gain in information retention occurred with the passage of time. Hovland, Lumsdaine and Sheffield, however, report an opposite finding with respect to information gains over time. Their data show that subjects retained less of the information imparted by the orientation films nine weeks after exposure than one week after. But quite an opposite result was noted with respect to opinion changes over time, following exposure to the "Battle of Britain" film. Opinion changes, on the average, were somewhat larger after nine weeks than after one week, and in some cases they were very much larger. The authors observe that "Analysis indicated that the increases in opinion changes with passage of time were more likely to occur in the case of 'uninformed' opinions--i.e., opinions more prevalent among the less well educated--and that the changes occurred more frequently among the less well educated and among individuals who seemed predisposed to accept a particular opinion prior to the film showing." (28, p. 274.) The authors suggest several hypotheses to explain their findings, but these are, admittedly, only speculative. It will require a good deal more research on the phenomenon of the "sleeper effect" to explain the inconsistencies in observation in respect to it, and to understand just what significance it has for mass communications effects.

c. Such evidence as exists suggests that personal contacts play a more important role in helping people to make up or to change their minds than do the mass media, whose effectiveness, in turn, appears to vary with the degree to which they approximate personal contact.

A word of caution is in order before we turn to a discussion of some of the findings of studies of the relative effectiveness of various mass media in "real life" situations. The studies covered in this section deal primarily with the comparative effectiveness of various media in the realms of advertising and politics. To what extent such findings are generalizable to other realms of behavior is a moot question. Certainly it is known that it is more difficult to "sell" the American public on civic objectives than on a particular brand of soap.

The research staff of NBC has engaged in several studies which compare the effects of advertising carried on TV with those on radio. A typical study is one by Coffin (13) which covered a sample of 1651 individuals--half men and half women, half TV owners and half non-owners, one third from Metropolitan New York, and the rest from suburban areas. Owners and non-owners were matched with respect to a number of relevant variables including socioeconomic status, age and education. It was found that more TV owners than non-owners use brands advertised on TV and that no non-TV advertised brand had higher sales among owners than among non-owners; these results held for both big and small selling brands, and for both higher priced, durable goods and low-priced frequently purchased items. Persons who did not own sets but had seen TV recently bought more of TV advertised products than non-owners who had not seen TV. Those TV owners who like commercials buy more

than those who do not, but even disliked commercials were effective in stimu-
lating buying. Program commercials were more effective than spot commercials,
but even the latter showed positive results. Finally, those who watched two
programs by the same sponsor remembered more of the advertised brand than
those who watched one of the programs. Coffin concludes that there is a
direct "television effect" operating among consumers indicated by the fact
that brands advertised on TV have higher sales among set owners than among
non-owners, and brands not advertised on TV have lower sales among set owners
than among non-owners. A second survey covering the same sample four months
later indicates that the trends noted in this early study are steadily in-
creasing, and are consistent over time.

In a later study, using a New York Metropolitan area sample of 3163 respond-
ents, Coffin compared TV with other mass media in respect to its effective-
ness in eliciting recollection of advertising (14). He found that of those
products and brands that were recalled, advertising seen on TV was recalled
by 56 per cent, that on radio by 36 per cent, that in newspapers by 28 per
cent, and that in magazines by 21 per cent of the sample. For those report-
ing two sources of impact or more, recall was found to be highest for com-
bined TV and radio advertising, next highest for combined TV and newspaper
advertising, and lowest for combined TV and magazine advertising. Finally,
the content of TV advertisements is recalled most clearly, that carried over
radio less clearly, and that presented in newspapers least clearly.

The relative influence exerted by the various mass media on the vote deci-
sions of people is a major focus of The People's Choice. Since this report
covers the 1940 election, before the advent of TV, the only media compared
were radio, newspapers and magazines. Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet sum
up their findings with respect to radio and newspapers in the following
paragraphs (49, pp. 128-9):

> In sum, to the extent that the formal media exerted any influence
> at all on vote intention or actual vote, radio proved to be more
> effective than the newspaper. Differences in the way the campaign
> is waged in print and on the air probably account for this. In the
> first place, a considerable amount of political material appears
> in the press from the beginning to the end of the campaign with a
> few notable variations. In time, the claims and counter-claims of
> the parties as they appeared in cold print came to pall upon the
> reader who had been exposed to essentially the same stuff over an
> extended period. The campaign on radio, however, was much more
> cursory in its early phases and became vigorous and sustained only
> toward the close.

> Secondly, the radio campaign consists much more of "events" of
> distinctive interest. A political convention is broadcast, and
> the listener can virtually participate in the ceremonial occa-
> sion: he can respond to audience enthusiasm, he can directly ex-
> perience the ebb and flow of tension. Similarly, with a major
> speech by one of the candidates: it is more dramatic than the
> same speech in the newspaper the next morning.

> And thirdly, the listener gets a sense of personal access from
> the radio which is absent from print. Politics on the air more
> readily becomes an active experience for the listener than poli-
> tics in the newspaper does for the reader. It represents an

approach to a face-to-face contact with the principals in the
case. It is closer to a personal relationship, and hence more
effective.*

The authors then go on to a discussion of the role of magazines in the presi-
dential campaign. It was found that magazines were mentioned less often by
respondents as a source of influence than were either radio or the newspapers.
One important reason for this, of course, is that "the possibility of maga-
zine influence upon vote is limited at the outset by the relatively small
numbers of magazine readers...only 15 per cent to 25 per cent of the respond-
ents read magazine articles on the campaign at any time." (49, p. 134.)
Among those who did read magazines, however, it was found that the speci-
alized magazine designed for a special interest audience, despite its lesser
coverage, was relatively more effective in changing people's vote intention
than the general mass circulation magazine. The explanation for this find-
ing suggested by the authors is that (49, pp. 135-6):

> The specialized magazine already has a foot in the door, so to
> speak, because it is accepted by the reader as a reliable spokes-
> man for some cause or group in which he is greatly interested and
> with which he identifies himself. The general magazine tries to
> speak to everyone at once and as a result is less able to aim its
> shots directly at a particular target. In addition, the general
> magazine is ordinarily considered as an entertainment publication
> whereas specialized magazines are granted a serious turn. In Erie
> County in 1940, the Farm Journal was mentioned as a concrete in-
> fluence upon changes in vote intention as frequently as Collier's,
> despite their great difference in circulation, and the Townsend
> publication as frequently as Life or the Saturday Evening Post

Janowitz's findings regarding the role of the neighborhood newspaper, another
specialized medium, are also relevant in this connection (37).

Substantially the same findings with respect to the relative ranking of the
various mass media as sources of influence are reported in Personal Influence,
a recently published study of the "everyday flow of influence" in the commu-
nity of Decatur, Illinois, which inquired into four arenas of everyday de-
cisions--marketing, fashions, public affairs and movie going (38). This
study is based on 800 interviews with a cross-sectional sample of women in
Decatur, and on follow-up interviews with people mentioned by the original re-
spondents as having influenced them in the four realms of everyday decisions
mentioned above.

Although the primary focus of this investigation is on the role that personal
influence plays in these everyday decisions (the findings that deal with this
problem will be discussed in a later section), it also compares the role of
various mass media in specific contexts. For marketing decisions, the roles
of radio, newspapers and magazines were compared with that of personal con-
tacts; for movie decisions, the media discussed were magazines and newspapers;
in the realm of fashion changes, only magazines were mentioned frequently
enough to warrant statistical analysis. (Such comparisons were not, unfortu-
nately, carried into the realm of public affairs decisions.) This analysis
differentiates between the extent of exposure to a particular medium, and to
the "effectiveness" of such exposure. "Effective exposure," as distinguished
from "contributory exposure" and "ineffective exposure," refers to those

*For more extensive statements of the particular effects of radio, see the state-
ment issued by the Office of Radio Research (62), and another discussion by
Lazarsfeld (48).

instances where people claim that a given source was the most important
factor in their decision to shift to a particular product or to attend
a particular movie.

In the realm of marketing decisions, it was found that "the greatest con-
centration of 'effective exposure' is...among those exposed to personal
contacts....Exposure to radio advertising is next in importance to personal
contacts. While total exposure to radio does not exceed exposure to news-
papers, comparing the effectiveness of the two media with regard to shifts
in small consumer goods indicates that radio is the medium more often re-
ported as having been an 'effective' or a 'contributory' influence. Maga-
zines follow newspapers in reports of overall exposure but 'effective ex-
posure' to magazines is no greater than to newspapers." (38, pp. 177-8.)

It is worth noting that, although the measures used were less refined in
The People's Choice, the findings there regarding the relative effective-
ness of personal contacts, radio, newspapers, and magazines in the realm of
vote decisions are virtually identical to those in the realm of marketing
decisions.

With respect to the influences that respondents mentioned when they report-
ed how they made up their minds to see the last movie they attended, the
rank order of "effective exposure" was: personal contacts, newspapers, and
magazines. The "fact-feeding role" of newspapers, which present a list of
alternative films that a movie goer may go to see, and which announce where
a particular film is being shown, is offered by the authors as the explana-
tion for the superior effectiveness of newspapers in the single realm of
movie selections.

Although a fuller discussion of the role of informal personal influence in
relation to the mass media is reserved for a later section, a word should
be said here about the findings concerning the relative effectiveness of
personal address and the mass media for imparting information and persuasion.
A number of experimental findings are in agreement with the finding of
W. H. Wilke (85), discussed earlier in the present section, that the per-
suasive power of the same content is greater when presented by personal
address than when presented by radio or the printed page (26; 45; 46).

In addition, numerous studies report that the mass media used in conjunction
with personal address are more effective in imparting information and per-
suasion than when used alone. Thus, for example, Hovland, Lumsdaine and
Sheffield compared the effectiveness of a training film in map reading when
used alone, when supplemented by an introductory lecture, and when supple-
mented by a review lecture (28, p. 143). They found that the film used
alone was less effective as an instructional device than when it was sup-
plemented by either an introductory or review lecture.

On the basis of the evidence just cited, and on that which will be discussed
in a later section, the conclusion of Berelson that "The more personal the
media, the more effective it is in converting opinions" (4, p. 452) certain-
ly seems warranted.

3. TECHNIQUES OF PRESENTATION

It hardly need be said that the kinds of appeals employed, and the manner of their presentation may play an important role in the success or failure of campaigns of persuasion. Merton, some years ago, made the cogent observation that "...we can understand the social psychology of persuasion only when we analyze both the content of the propaganda and the responses of the audience to it." (56, p. 12.) In other words, merely to catalogue the kinds of themes or appeals that have been employed in attempts at mass persuasion, as some textbooks do, is not likely to prove very useful to anyone planning a campaign of persuasion. This discussion will, instead, deal with a selected number of studies which seek to assess the differential effects of various types of appeals and modes of presentation on different types of audiences, and which do so in a relatively systematic fashion.

a. Successful techniques of presentation and persuasion will vary with the general psychological objectives of the mass media campaign.

Any discussion of the role that specific themes and modes of presentation play in persuasion first requires a brief distinction among the various general objectives that a campaign of persuasion may be designed to achieve. For, the types of arguments employed to gain support and the resistances encountered would depend, in part at least, on whether persuasion is directed at channelizing existing behavior or attitudes, at converting people to beliefs and practices which they oppose, or at gaining widespread acceptance for new practices.

The first of these objectives has been labeled "canalization" by Lazarsfeld and Merton, who observe that (51, p. 477):

> Advertising is typically directed toward the canalizing of preexisting behavior patterns or attitudes. It seldom seeks to instil new attitudes or to create significantly new behavior patterns. "Advertising pays" because it generally deals with a simple psychological situation. For Americans who have been socialized in the use of a toothbrush, it makes relatively little difference which brand of toothbrush they use. Once the gross pattern of behavior or the generic attitude has been established, it can be canalized in one direction or another. Resistance is slight.

Where the object of a persuasion effort through the mass media, however, is the conversion of people from one pattern of belief or behavior to another, resistance has been found to be much more intense. In these instances, as we have already observed elsewhere, there is reason to believe that the mass media have not met with any great success. Indeed, as Merton and Lazarsfeld note, "...the successes of advertising...only highlight the failures of propaganda." (51, p. 477.)

Perhaps one major reason why the mass media are generally less effective in the realms of politics or ethnic relations than in that of marketing behavior is that the former types of attitudes are much more often "group anchored" than the latter. That is to say, the primary groups in which individuals participate do not, as a rule, exert any strong pressure toward conformity on their members in regard to the brand of cigarette they choose to smoke, or the brand of toothpaste they use, but conformity is enforced

in the areas of political and ethnic beliefs. And to the extent that people value their position in such groups they are likely to resist outside pressures to adopt attitudes not shared by members of their own social circle.

The problem of innovation--that is, of gaining widespread acceptance for new patterns of behavior--may very well be different from those entailed in the canalization or conversion processes. The problems involved in innovation--whether it be getting people to accept gas-rationing during war time or gaining acceptance for the Community Chest concept or for a program of mass innoculations--are, in some respects, identical. They are alike, for example, in that all these programs have had the sanction of the institutional agencies of government* but have lacked, initially, at least, widespread support from the face-to-face groups in the community that play so important a role in molding and controlling opinion. This is not to say that such groups generally oppose the introduction of such programs of innovation but neither do they assume responsibility for enforcing conformity to them.** As a result, it could be anticipated that an initial obstacle to the success of such innovating programs is not the active opposition of individuals but rather a widespread lack of interest and concern. The major job of the mass media in campaigns of this sort would then be to create and sustain interest among individuals and groups strategically placed in the community. That the mass media can be instrumental in commanding widespread attention for new issues around which there has, as yet, been no crystallization of group opinion is indicated by the finding of Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet that (49, p. 98):

> Insofar as mass media led to conversion at all, it was through a redefinition of the issues...issues about which people had previously thought very little or had been little concerned, took on a new importance as they were accented by campaign propaganda.

b. While it is not entirely clear whether appeals to emotion or to reason are generally more effective, there is some reason to believe that appeals to emotion are more successful than rational appeals when the audience is initially unconvinced or opposed.

One dimension along which various types of appeals can be ranged is whether they are designed to play upon the emotions and sentiments of the audience or to convince people rationally that their interests will best be served

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*The problem of innovating practices, on a wide scale, without such sponsorship and sanction is, of course, a far more difficult and complex matter. But it is one which is beyond the purview of the present memorandum.

**It would be interesting, and we believe also fruitful, to classify various campaigns of persuasion along these two dimensions--whether or not they have institutional sanction and whether or not their programs have widespread support in primary groups--and to make a comparative study of the dynamics of such campaigns, and of the different functions that the mass media serve in these different contexts.

by accepting a recommended course of action. Appeals which seek to elicit strong sentiments--fear, anger, pity--are usually called "emotional" appeals; those that emphasize self-interest, that use facts or scientific knowledge to persuade are generally referred to as "rational" appeals.

There are several well-known experiments which have compared the relative persuasive effectiveness of rational and emotional appeals. Thus, Hartmann (22) compared these two types of appeals in terms of their efficacy in persuading people to vote for the Socialist Party. In one set of voting districts he distributed to every family a pamphlet employing a strong emotional appeal which stressed the implications of socialism for freedom from war, want and fear, and in another set of voting districts he distributed pamphlets using a "rational" approach--a quiz format in which arguments favoring socialism were stressed. A third set of wards served as a control. He found that the emotional pamphlet was considerably more effective. That is, a greater increase in Socialist votes over the previous election occurred in the districts where it was employed than in those where pamphlets employing the rational appeal were distributed.

Other studies, however, concerned with investigating similar problems have come up with different results. Knower (46), for example, who exposed groups of subjects to these two different types of appeals on the subject of prohibition, found that the rational and emotional approach were of approximately equal effectiveness. Those persons, however, who favored prohibition were more affected by the logical argument, and those opposed by the emotional argument.

Probably the most intensive analysis of the use of appeals in a campaign of persuasion over the mass media is that carried out by Merton on the Kate Smith war bond marathon broadcast over CBS in 1943 (56). This is a pioneering work in that it not only makes a careful content analysis of the broadcast, and ascertains the relative frequencies of the themes therein, but it also seeks to determine the differential effects of these various appeals on the people who heard the broadcast. This was done by intensive interviews with 75 persons who had responded to the program by telephoning in their war bond pledges to the radio station carrying the program. For comparative purposes interviews were also held with 25 persons who, though they had heard the broadcast, did not telephone in their pledges. For the purposes of statistical analysis, a questionnaire was also administered to 978 persons, a cross-sectional sample of the population of Greater New York.

Merton reports that Kate Smith dwelt almost exclusively on six major themes: nearly half of her broadcast time was devoted to the theme of sacrifice, sixteen per cent to the theme of participation in a common enterprise, the same amount of time was spent on the familial theme (which defined war bonds as a means of getting the boys back home), 12 per cent was devoted to the competition theme (which either urged people to help Smith surpass her previous sales records, or urged listeners to help their community outdo others), and about equal amounts of time were spent on the facilitation theme (reminding listeners of the ease with which they could phone in their pledges) and the personal theme (where Smith referred to her private feelings and aspirations). Merton identifies two groups among the listeners who responded to the broadcast by buying bonds, for whom the content of the broadcast had a different significance. The predisposed group--that is, those with a strong general emotional commitment to buy bonds--indicated a marked concern with the content of the Smith appeals only half as often as those who had had no prior intent to buy a bond--the susceptible group.

In other words, the only effect that the emotional appeals of Smith had on the first group was to convince them to buy a bond at that particular time and through Smith. It was only on the susceptible group that the emotional appeals that characterized the broadcast had a marked persuasive effect.

One of the noteworthy omissions from the themes stressed by Smith were appeals based on self-interest. She completely omitted mentioning the functions of bonds as means for accumulating personal savings or as a means of preventing inflation in the economy. In other words her attempts at persuasion relied exclusively on emotional appeals. For the majority of informants this tactic apparently proved to be successful. Indeed, for some the introduction of self-interest themes might have weakened the persuasive effects of the broadcast, as the comments of one informant indicate (56, p. 46):

> I don't think it's patriotic to buy bonds. What's patriotic
> in saving money and getting more for it? It's my duty. They're
> asking for little and giving us more in return. The boys are
> doing the noble work. We're just giving a few lousy dollars,
> if you'll excuse me.

However, for a minority of respondents--generally those with more education whose bond buying had been motivated by self-interest--her tactic of relying exclusively on emotional appeals backfired, and they did not respond to her recommendations.

c. Those emotional appeals which rely on fear arousal, however, tend to boomerang and fail of their basic objective.

One type of emotional argument--the fear appeal--has been a subject of investigation in several recent studies. Janis and Feshbach (35), for example, carried out an experiment designed to ascertain the effects of three different intensities of "fear appeal" in a standard communication on dental hygiene. A fifteen minute illustrated lecture which was prepared in three different forms contained the same information about the causes of tooth decay and the same recommendations regarding oral hygiene but differed in the amount of threat material used. Version I employed a strong fear appeal, that is, it emphasized the painful consequences of tooth decay both in the lecture and in the slides which portrayed diseased portions of the mouth. Version II used a moderate fear appeal in which the dangers of incorrect oral hygiene were portrayed in a milder form. In Version III most of the threat material was replaced by relatively neutral information. A battery of five questions was administered to the subjects--college students--concerning their dental hygiene practices one week before and again one week following exposure to the lectures. The results obtained showed that the greatest amount of conformity to the recommendations in the lecture occurred in the group which received the minimal amount of fear-arousing material. But the group that received the strong appeal did not differ significantly in their oral hygiene practices from the controls. Furthermore, a follow-up questionnaire administered to subjects a year later indicated that conformity to the recommended practices continued to be shown by a somewhat higher percentage of students in the minimal appeal group than in the one exposed to the strong appeal. The boomerang effects of the strong appeal occurred primarily among students who manifested "overt excitability and psychoneurotic complaints."

One question that arises in connection with this admirably designed experiment is to what extent these findings would hold for subjects drawn from a different population. And indeed, this query is relevant to all experimental studies that use college students as subjects. The results of experiments carried out by the Research Branch of the War Department on soldiers show very clearly that the level of education of subjects plays a role--often a crucial one--in their response to a large variety of experimental stimuli. It would, therefore, seem unwarranted to assume that the responses of college students in an experimental situation can be generalized to the population at large.

There is, however, some evidence from other sources which does tend to corroborate the findings of Janis and Feshbach about the relative ineffectiveness of fear appeals as a means for motivating people to follow a recommended course of action. For example, Sills (73, p. 62), in a recent study of the Polio Foundation,* reports that people who are concerned over the threat of Polio do not make contributions to the March of Dimes campaign significantly more often than those who are not concerned about the disease. And the same findings occur in connection with other health campaigns--TB, Heart, and Cancer.

A study of quite a different order, where rats served as the experimental subjects, also suggests that, in the long run, fear appeals are not likely to command enduring conformity. Hudson (31) reports that when rats are exposed to a series of strange objects, though each is different from the others, they respond with progressively less fear and curiosity, indicating that a generalized process of adaptation to fear stimuli tends to develop. Substantially the same process of adaptation has been reported by Janis (34) in the reactions of civilians in England and in Germany during bombings in World War II, and in this country among people living in areas where natural disasters take place. Hudson, as a matter of fact, spells out some of the implications that such findings have for civil defense programs (31, p. 59):

> For civil defense these processes of adaptation and rationalization make conduct of a program difficult. To expect that a population will continue to respond to appeals for support that was initially motivated by anxiety seems contrary to evidence.
> ...that dynamic force that stirs a population to action in the face of threat rapidly declines in the absence of reinforcement. These processes are inevitable and should be recognized as such. They are the result of learning processes that successfully reduce anxiety.

Finally, Hovland (24) notes another possible danger that may ensue from the use of fear appeals in campaigns of persuasion: "The more strongly anxiety is aroused about the dangerous consequences of failure to adhere to communications, the greater the motivation to accept competing ideas which reduce anxiety by minimizing the importance of the threat."

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*This study covers a sample of volunteers in the March of Dimes Campaign, a sample of chapter members in various localities, and a sample of contributors to the campaign.

d. <u>Communications are generally more effective when they are explicit about their conclusions and/or their specific action recommendations.</u>

A problem that often arises in preparing communications for purposes of persuasion is whether to state conclusions explicitly or to "let the facts speak for themselves." As indicated earlier, the factual communication of information appears to have little effect on attitudes and actions, and an experiment by Hovland and Mandell (29) directly confirms the superior effectiveness of including interpretative material. Two groups of college students were exposed to a transcribed talk on currency devaluation. In one group the appropriate conclusion was stated explicitly by the speaker, while in the other group it was omitted. It was found that the talk in which the conclusion was made explicit produced a significantly higher proportion of opinion changes. Two conditions, suggested by the authors, under which conclusion-drawing might be expected to be particularly effective are in the presentation of communications that deal with complex issues and in addressing less well educated audiences.

Just as the presentation of facts without explicit interpretation often fails of its objective, Wiebe suggests, in two articles discussing the question of whether the mass media can "sell" broad social objectives as successfully as they market commercial products (83; 84), that all too often campaigns concerned with civic objectives, in contrast to commercial campaigns, urge people to "support" their program without offering them any clear directives as to how they might implement their support. As a result, they oftentimes fail to generate anything more than "lip service" to their stated objectives among people who favor their program. Both Merton (56) and Wiebe (83) have noted that an important factor in the success of Kate Smith's bond-selling drive was the provision of an implementing mechanism. Throughout her broadcasts she repeatedly told the audience that all they had to do was to phone in their bond pledge to the radio station, which had provided extra phone lines for just this occasion. In this way her campaign served to activate a large number of people to follow her recommendations at that time who though favorably predisposed to buying bonds might otherwise have delayed or even neglected to implement their support of the war bond drive. In sum, the mass media are one potentially effective means of creating active support among the segments of the audience who already favor the objectives of a given campaign, provided that they are used to direct people, in a clear and unambiguous fashion, to readily accessible implementing mechanisms.

e. <u>With subjects about which there is disagreement or controversy, presentations that include a fair and full statement of the other side of the case as well as the position they advocate are more persuasive with people who are initially opposed to the position than are one-sided presentations, and opinions derived from such two-sided presentations survive subsequent exposure to counter-arguments better than do opinions induced by one-sided presentations.</u>

Several recent investigations have been concerned with ascertaining the relative effectiveness of the "one-sided" and "two-sided" method of presenting arguments. The general problem is to determine under what conditions it is advantageous to take into account both sides of an issue in order to gain support for an advocated position. In one such experiment reported by Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield (28, pp. 201-25), communications were presented to two experimental groups (of 214 soldiers each) and to a control

group (197 soldiers) dealing with the chances of an early end to the war with Japan following Germany's surrender. One of the experimental groups was given a talk dealing with only one side of the issue--arguments supporting the position that the war with Japan would be a long one, and stressing the advantages and resources of Japan. The other group received a slightly longer talk which stressed both the advantages possessed by the United States, and the weaknesses of Japan. Beliefs concerning the issue were tested before and immediately after exposure.

Two interesting findings emerged from this study. First, it was found that the effects of these two modes of presenting material differed, depending on the initial position held by subjects. The two-sided communication proved to be more effective with subjects initially opposed to the argument that the war with Japan would be a long one. For soldiers, however, who were initially in agreement with this position, the one-sided mode of presentation turned out to be more effective. Second, the effects of these two methods differed, depending on the educational level of subjects. The two-sided presentation was generally more effective with the better educated soldiers, while the less well educated were more likely to be influenced by the one-sided presentation.

A later experiment carried out by Lumsdaine and Janis (53), which also compared a one-sided and two-sided mode of presentation, revealed another condition under which the effects of these two types of communications differed. Here the subjects--high school students--were exposed to a message contrary to the initial communication after having heard either a one-sided or two-sided presentation. It was found that, prior to exposure to the counter-communication, both versions of the communication were about equally effect-ive in modifying opinions of subjects. For those subsequently exposed to counterpropaganda, however, the two-sided presentation proved to be clearly more effective in sustaining opinion changes. These findings imply that the two-sided method of advocacy has an "innoculating" effect against sub-sequent countercommunications.

While the two-sided argument seems to have the advantage of sustaining opin-ions in the face of countercommunications, the War Department studies, dis-cussed earlier, indicate that this mode of presentation can have a boomer-ang effect under certain conditions. This effect was specifically noted in the case of a two-sided communication which omitted an important argu-ment of the opposition. Subjects who favored the opposing position, and who noted the omission of the argument for "their side" were particularly resistant to persuasion (28, pp. 217-21). This suggests that the two-sided presentation must avoid the appearance of a manipulative technique; that is, it must take into account all of the arguments of the opposition of which the audience might be aware or else run the risk of stiffening, rather than reducing, resistance to the advocated position. This result suggests the advisability of pretesting the perceived fairness of such two-sided presentations on a sample of persons whose characteristics resemble those of the intended audience, a procedure that was, in fact, followed in subsequent studies of the Research Branch (28, pp. 271-2).

f. <u>Effective communication of one position appears likely to increase the dif-ficulty of persuading people to accept another, conflicting position.</u>

Hovland, Janis and Kelly note that "little is known about the conditions under which preparatory communications diminish or augment the psychologi-cal impact of later events (27, p. 273). Yet this is an area of research of

the utmost relevance for programs of information and indoctrination that may have to modify or change certain of their facts, conclusions and recommendations through time. Programs that are in the position of having to make public current recommendations which may at some subsequent time have to be withdrawn in favor of different, and perhaps conflicting, recommendations face the difficult question of what effects such shifts in policy will have on the generalized attitudes of the public toward its program. Do conflicting recommendations have the effect of undermining confidence in and support of the communicator? What mechanisms can be developed to minimize these dysfunctional consequences of policy shifts if they occur? What would be the short-run and long-run effects on public attitudes of letting it be known that present recommendations are subject to future changes? It is not possible, on the basis of existing research to furnish complete answers to these questions. The best that can be done at the present juncture is to examine the few studies that do exist in the general problem area of preparatory communications with an eye to their possible relevance to the questions raised above.

The previously mentioned investigation by Lumsdaine and Janis (53) which compared the effectiveness of a one-sided and two-sided presentation for preparing individuals to resist the influence of counterpropaganda is particularly relevant here. In brief, two versions of a recorded radio program advocating the opinion that it would be at least five years before Russia could produce A-bombs in quantity were presented to two groups of high school students. One group received a one-sided version, and the other a two-sided version of the issue. Half of the subjects in each group were subsequently given a second communication in which a different speaker advocated a position opposing that in the earlier communication. It was found, it will be recalled, that the two-sided version proved more effective in producing sustained opinion change. This result was interpreted by the investigators as an indication that familiarity with the opposing position served to innoculate the audience against subsequent countercommunications. In other words, the two-sided version, which produced opinion change more often than the other, also seemed to produce deeper conviction in that it also more often served to innoculate subjects against an opposing argument.

While this outcome suggests that opinions, once strongly established, will resist alteration, it is by no means clear, in this research, whether the two communications were perceived as emanating from the same or from different sources, and what differences, if any, these alternate perceptions would have made. It may be that public announcement of shifts in policy within an organization, even if they are inconsistent with earlier policy, can be made without as much public resistance as there would be to a contradictory policy urged by an entirely different source. This possibility is speculative, however, and its test would require an extension of this experiment, varying not only the method of presentation--one-sided versus two-sided--but also the source of the communication.

A follow-up experiment carried out by Janis, Lumsdaine and Gladstone (36), using some of the subjects who participated in the investigation just discussed, was concerned with the problem of how an "optimistic" communication prepares an audience for an unfavorable news event. In the first experiment, it will be recalled, the position advocated by the test communication was that it would be at least five years before Russia could produce the A-bomb in quantity. Three months after the first investigation, President Truman announced that Russia had exploded an A-bomb. After this announcement, the responses of those subjects who had been exposed to the earlier

optimistic communication were compared with the responses of the control subjects (those who had not been exposed to the first communication). It was found that the expectation that Russia would soon have a large supply of bombs and that war would then be imminent developed in a significantly higher proportion of persons in the group that had not received the earlier, optimistic communication than in the other group. The investigators interpret this finding as indicating that "once a belief is modified by an effective communication there will be a tendency for the newly acquired opinions to interfere with the subsequent acquisition of any incompatible opinions."

From these findings it might be anticipated--and let us emphasize again the highly tentative nature of this conclusion--that if an organization finds it necessary to abandon one policy in favor of another, it might encounter resistance to the new policy precisely among those groups in the population that had been persuaded of the desirability of the first policy. It will, however, require a good deal more research to ascertain whether or not this is a reasonable inference. In any case, it is evident that information agencies would stand to gain much from research directed to the problem of how people can be prepared in advance to accept necessary shifts in public policy.

g. <u>Little decisive information exists as to the best sequence of presentation of material within a single communication, but it has been suggested that placement of the most striking material first may help to capture the attention of an audience with a low level of interest.</u>

Several investigations have been concerned with the problem of how the impact of a communication is affected by the <u>sequence</u> in which arguments are presented. The results in this particular area of research are inconclusive. Thus, in one experiment by Sponberg concerning the desirability of war time marriages 92 college students in one group were exposed to a speech which dealt with the arguments in "climax" order, that is the most important arguments were presented at the end, while in another group of 93 students the arguments were presented in "anti-climax" order. Opinion questionnaires were administered to subjects immediately before and after the experiments, and again some two weeks after the experiment. It was found that opinion change on the most important argument in the communication occurred more frequently when it was presented in anti-climax order, that is at the beginning of the speech.

Another investigation carried out by Cromwell (18), however, obtained opposite results. Here four groups of college students (441 cases) were exposed to speeches on the desirability of Federal medical aid. One group of subjects listened to a "strong" affirmative speech, followed by a "weak" affirmative speech (the ratings of "weak" and "strong" were made by trained judges); a second group listened to the speeches in opposite order; and two other groups heard strong and weak speeches on the negative side of the question. Results showed that the mean shift in audience attitude was significantly greater in the groups that received the speeches in climax order than in those that received it in reverse order.

Hovland (25) suggests two variations in the experimental designs used by Sponberg and Cromwell that may account for the differences in their results. Sponberg compared two parts of a single speech, whereas Cromwell compared two different speeches on the same subject; and where in the former experiment the criterion of strength of argument was the amount of time devoted

to it, in the latter experiment the criterion employed was the relative persuasiveness of the arguments in each talk. In another publication, Hovland, Janis and Kelly (27) hypothesize that the "anti-climax" sequence of presenting controversial communications might prove particularly effective in instances where audiences have a low level of interest in the subject matter. However, the authors do not report any tests of this proposition in the area of persuasive communications, although they do note that this technique has been successfully used in learning situations.

h. <u>The source from which a communication emanates is not consistently related to its persuasiveness and, in any case, has only a short-run effect.</u>

A widely accepted proposition in the mass communications literature is that the effects of a communication will differ depending on who says it, that is, on the social characteristics of the communicator, as perceived by different members of the audience. This is one application of the more general theory of reference group* behavior which postulates that the attitudes and behavior of individuals are influenced not only by their objective position in a given social structure but also by the beliefs and behavior they perceive to prevail among social groups with which they identify or in which they aspire to attain membership. There are a number of empirical studies, dealing with various problems and various types of individuals, which lend support to this proposition by showing that differences in their social frames of reference help to account for variations in the self-attitudes and social beliefs among people who occupy an objectively similar social position.**

In the field of mass communications proper, there are virtually no studies which seek to relate the differential persuasive effectiveness of mass communications about specific issues with audiences composed of individuals oriented to different reference groups. The small number of communications studies, to date, that have dealt with the role of the communicator have been carried out with relatively homogeneous groups, such as high school or college students.

In one such study carried out by Hovland and Weiss (30) college students were given communications to read which were represented as excerpts from newspaper and magazine articles. Half of the messages were attributed, by the experimenters, to high credibility sources--that is, to sources determined beforehand to be considered trustworthy by students--and the other half were attributed to low credibility sources. For example, an article on the feasibility of developing an atomic submarine was attributed to Robert Oppenheimer in half the cases and to Pravda in the other half. Questionnaires to ascertain both attitudes and information were administered before and after exposure to the communications. It was found that, in three out of the four topics presented, a considerably higher proportion of subjects changed their opinions in the direction of the position advocated by the communication when it was attributed to the high, rather than the low, credibility source. Substantially the same results are reported by Tannenbaum (81). His investigation is concerned with the impact of communications on attitudes in terms both of initial attitudes of subjects toward

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*The term "reference group" was first coined by Herbert H. Hyman in his pioneering study, The Psychology of Status (32).

**Many of these are cited in the important paper by Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt (58).

the communicator and toward the opinions being advocated.

Hoveland and Weiss note that these differential effects were <u>not</u> the result of differences in the amount of attention or comprehension, since information tests showed that subjects learned the contents of the communications equally well whether they were presented as coming from high or low credibility sources. It is interesting, however, that re-tests administered four weeks later showed that there was a considerable <u>decline</u> in agreement in the group exposed to the trustworthy source and an <u>increase</u> in agreement in the group exposed to the same material presented by the untrustworthy source. The explanation that the investigators offered of this sleeper effect was that people initially resist accepting conclusions from a source they do not have confidence in but that with the lapse of time they cease to associate the conclusion with the source.

Kelman and Hovland (42) subsequently carried out an investigation to test this interpretation. Three different identifications were used to introduce a speaker to different groups of high school students. The content, which advocated a more lenient approach to the treatment of juvenile delinquents, was identical. But in one introduction the communicator was represented as a trustworthy communicator (a juvenile court judge), in the second as a neutral source (a member of a radio studio audience), and in the third as a negative source (a former delinquent still involved in shady enterprises). The results in this investigation were substantially the same as those obtained in the earlier Hovland-Weiss experiment: opinion was affected more by the positive than by the negative source, with the effects of the neutral source falling between them, but these differences tended to disappear by the time of re-tests three weeks following the experiment. When portions of the introductions were replayed to the subjects, however, the earlier differences reappeared; that is, reinstatement of the source again had the effect of increasing agreement with the positive source and decreasing agreement with the negative one. The authors conclude, on the basis of these findings, that one explanation of the delayed effects that communications have on opinions may lie in the absence of the communicator as a cue for the acceptance or rejection of arguments.

A third experiment by Hovland and Mandell (29), which had as its main purpose a comparison of the effects of conclusion-drawing by the communicator and by the audience, also compared these effects when presented by a partial and impartial source. The findings here are especially interesting, first, because they do not confirm the differential effectiveness of trustworthy and untrustworthy sources found in the two studies discussed above; and, second, their simultaneous control of the "source" variable <u>and</u> the "presentation-of-argument" variable permits a comparison of the <u>relative</u> influence of these two types of variables on opinion change.

Briefly, two versions of a tape-recorded talk dealing with the devaluation of currency--one drawing a conclusion explicitly and the other leaving it implicit--were presented to different groups of students accompanied by different introductions. In one version the communicator was introduced as a prominent importer, who would have something to gain by devaluation, and in the other as an economist from a specified large American university, who could be considered an impartial source. While considerable differences in the judgments of the adequacy and fairness of the presentations by these two sources were found, no significant differences were noted between the proportion of subjects influenced by the partial and by the impartial sources.

Furthermore, when the proportions of subjects changing their opinions on exposure to the partial and impartial source are compared and the method of argument presentation--explicit conclusion vs. implicit conclusion--is controlled, it is clear that the latter variable is far more important in opinion change than the former one. That is, a considerably higher proportion of subjects changed their opinion in the direction advocated by the message in which the conclusion was explicitly drawn by the communicator than in the one where this was not done, and this relationship was hardly at all affected by whether the source presenting the conclusion was partial or impartial. Another experiment by Weiss (82) reports a similar order of result, that is, that the response to communications is affected more by the tactics of persuasion than by the communication source.

In the face of this contradictory evidence regarding the effect that varying the source has on opinion change, and also considering the fact that such changes as have been noted to occur appear to be relatively impermanent, we must wait on further research, both in the experimental situation and in the natural environment, to specify the conditions under which the communicator does and does not affect the persuasiveness of mass communications.

4. THE ROLE OF INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCE

In a recent study of the role that people play in the flow of mass communications, Katz and Lazarsfeld* (38, p. 25) make the observation that:

> ...communications studies have greatly underestimated the extent
> to which an individual's social attachments to other people, and
> the character of the opinions and activities which he shares with
> them, will influence his response to the mass media. We are suggest-
> ing...that the response of an individual to a campaign cannot be
> accounted for without reference to his social environment and to
> the character of his interpersonal relations.

This section reviews a number of studies which, directly or indirectly, point up the diverse ways in which interpersonal relationships intervene in the effects of the mass media on people.

a. Interpersonal influence appears to be more effective than the mass media as a means of persuasion.

Traditional communications research has been predicated on the assumption that the effects of the mass media on individuals can be studied by means of the simple stimulus-response type of model which was taken over from the field of experimental psychology. According to this conception, the individuals who constitute the audience for the mass media are simply a conglomeration of "atoms" each privately responding to the stimuli sent over the mass media. The fact that people participate in interpersonal relations

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*The first part of this work, incidentally, examines a host of findings dealing with personal influence from diverse subject areas of sociology and social psychology and spells out some of their implications for the study of the effects of the mass media. It is undoubtedly the most systematic and complete codification, to date, of research bearing on the role that interpersonal influence plays in the flow of mass communications.

and social groups was not considered to enter into their behavior toward the mass media, and accordingly no attempt was made to take such factors into account in the laboratory situation. It was only after studies of the effects of the mass media were taken into the field, and carried out under "real-life" situations, that it became apparent that this research model was inadequate for understanding the differential effects of these media on various audiences.

The "discovery" in the realm of communications research of the crucial role that interpersonal influence plays in the responses of people to the mass media can be said to date from a study of the 1940 presidential campaign --The People's Choice--carried out by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (49), already mentioned. This study set out to find out how voters make up their minds in a presidential election, and, of course, the investigators expected that the mass media would play a crucial role in this type of decision. As it turned out, however, interpersonal influence was a more important factor in vote decision than any of the mass media. Indeed, in only a negligible proportion of the cases (8 per cent) was there any clear evidence that the mass media had played a decisive role in vote choice. The campaign through the mass media served largely to reinforce, activate or crystallize vote intentions. Despite the enormous volume of campaign material sent over the mass media, it was found that "on any average day at least 10 per cent more people participated in discussions about the election... than listened to a major speech or read about campaign items in a newspaper. And this coverage 'bonus' came from just those people who had not yet made a final decision as to how they would vote. Political conversations, then, were more likely to reach those people who were still open to influence." (49, p. 150.) The authors go on to note that less interested people relied more on personal conversations than on the formal media for information; the overwhelming majority of respondents who had not intended to vote and finally did so mentioned personal influence as the decisive factor in their behavioral change; and people who made a change in vote intention during the period of the campaign, more often than those who kept a constant vote intention, mentioned friends or family members as the most important factor. In other words, analysis showed that it is precisely those people who constitute the hard-to-reach groups via the mass media that are most amenable to the influence of family members, co-workers and friends.

Since the appearance of The People's Choice other studies have gone on to compare, in more systematic fashion, the effects of interpersonal relations and of the mass media on the decisions that people make in various realms of behavior. Indeed, in three such recent studies, one notes a significant shift away from the study of "the effects of the mass media" per se toward a more general formulation of the problem of mass persuasion so as to include an assessment of the role that the mass media play in relation to that of interpersonal relations and group affiliations.

Thus, in their study of marketing decisions, Katz and Lazarsfeld (38, p. 180) compared the impact of personal advice and various mass media on two types of decisions--brand and product shifts in small consumer goods, and movie selections--made by respondents. In regard to marketing decisions they conclude, on the basis of their analysis that:

> ... the impact of informal personal advice is greater than the impact of mass media advertising, and this is true in two respects... First, our respondents report more exposure to personal advice than to advertisements; and second, among those exposed to each source, "most important influence" is more often attributed to people than to formal advertisements.

In the selection of a motion picture, though a far higher proportion of people report exposure to a newspaper than to personal advice, among those exposed to both sources, the personal source was considerably more often mentioned as the most important factor in their selection. In other words, these findings indicate that the role of the mass media as a source of information is quite distinct from that as a source of influence, and that even when their coverage is wider than that of personal contacts their impact on decisions is often considerably less.

A finding of a similar order is reported by Menzel and Coleman (55) in a not yet published study of the process by which a new drug came to be adopted by the medical profession. In tracing the sequential flow of information following the introduction of a new drug on the market, the investigators found that drug house salesmen and publications constituted the first source of information about a new drug for a majority of physicians in the sample, but such initial exposure only rarely led to its adoption. The majority of doctors "relied heavily on professional contacts, particular fellow-physicians in the community, for their last sources /of information/ for adoption. These professional sources apparently reinforce the 'sales-oriented' information of the drug house material, and provide the kind of sanction which the physician requires for action." (55, III-16.) This analysis, incidentally, also allows a comparison of the influence exerted by two types of personal contacts--the "detail" man, a highly trained salesman of the drug company who visits doctors in their offices, and professional colleagues. The authors note that the detail man is an important source of information for the majority of doctors but they go on to say that "whatever the importance of the detail man it was not great enough by itself to make more than a few doctors use the drug in the first month or two after its introduction." (55, IV-37.) This result suggests that it is not simply personal contact but more particularly the social support furnished by interpersonal ties between the physician and his professional peers that accounts for the superior effectiveness of the latter type of personal influence.

Furthermore, Menzel and Coleman show in their analysis that interpersonal influence has a cumulative effect on the physician's readiness to adopt a new practice, that is, a new drug. Their data clearly indicate that doctors who participate in several networks of interpersonal relations--who, for example, both share an office with others and see more doctors socially--adopt drug innovations earlier than those who participate in only one social network of physicians. And those physicians who have neither office partners nor extensive social contacts with other physicians are the slowest to adopt innovations. The authors comment, "This result is all the more striking because it is not a matter of the doctor's orientation to medicine making him resist new techniques, nor of his medical background nor of his exposure to formal channels of information about new drugs. It is rather by the accident of his location in the social structure, his happening to be in an office alone and not much in contact with his colleagues on social occasions that he is so little likely to adopt new drugs." (55, V-38.)

In sum then, the findings of those communications studies that have taken the variable of interpersonal relations into account in their analysis-- and thus far, there are only a few such studies--strongly indicate that interpersonal influence is a more effective agent of persuasion than the formal mass media. The why and how of these differential effects will be discussed more fully below, but an observation by Katz and Lazarsfeld approaches the heart of the matter (38, p. 185):

Formal media will influence mainly by representation or by indirect attraction, that is, by what they tell. People, however, can influence both this way and by control. People can induce each other to a variety of activities as a result of their interpersonal relations and thus their influence goes far beyond the content of their communications.

b. The persons most influential in the decisions of others are, however, themselves highly exposed to mass media whose contents they transmit to others.

Another fruitful conception which emerged from the pioneering study The People's Choice was that "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population." (49, p. 151.) In the course of the study it became apparent that certain people in the community, those who were most concerned and most articulate about the issues raised in the presidential campaign, exposed themselves most heavily to the campaign materials in the mass media, and in turn, seemed to serve as transmitters of the information thus gained to the less active and interested segments of the community. Such individuals, termed "opinion leaders," were not identical with the socially prominent people or the civic leaders in the community nor were they confined to any particular sub-group. They were located in all occupational groups. The importance of such individuals in the flow of mass communications became apparent only after the study design had been set and the field work begun, and consequently only the crudest techniques for identifying them could be employed at the time. But these findings, crude and incomplete though they were, served to sensitize sociologists to the key role played by opinion leaders in the flow of information and influence in the community, and provided the impetus for additional research on this problem.

The Decatur study, reported in Personal Influence (38), which set out to trace the channels of influence that affect everyday decisions in the realms of marketing, fashion changes, movie selections and public affairs was designed, in large part, to permit a more systematic investigation of the phenomenon of opinion leadership in specific realms of decisions. Accordingly, the 800 women that constituted the original sample were asked a series of questions designed to detect the opinion leaders among them in each realm of decisions and to determine, as well, specific persons not in the sample who had influenced or been influenced by persons included in the sample in each of these areas of opinion, on some specific occasion. A total of 1,549 designations outside the sample were obtained, of which 634 persons were subsequently reached and interviewed.*

The findings of this study indicate that a number of characteristics differentiate opinion leaders in the realm of public affairs from non-leaders. First, with respect to their mass media habits, opinion leaders seem to read more books, magazines and a more varied assortment of magazines. They tend to be more information-oriented in their magazine reading, that is they

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*Space does not permit a detailed description of the complex procedure by which influentials outside the sample were chosen and interviewed. This information can be found in Chapter II of Personal Influence (38).

read more of the news and biographical content. Though they are not differ-
ent from non-leaders in the number of newspapers they read, they differ
from the latter in the greater extent of readership of metropolitan, as
distinct from local, newspapers.* Thus, in general, opinion leaders rely
more on the mass media as a source of information than non-leaders. Second,
opinion leaders in public affairs are more actively interested in and in-
formed about public issues. Katz and Lazarsfeld note, however, that there
tends to be a higher concentration of opinion leaders in the higher socio-
economic groups than in the lower ones.

Many of these findings regarding the characteristics of opinion leaders in
public affairs are replicated in Voting (6), a recently published study of
the 1948 presidential campaign carried out in Elmira, New York. This in-
vestigation, already referred to elsewhere, takes up, in a sense, where
The People's Choice (49) left off; that is, it investigates the voting be-
havior of people directly within the context of their interpersonal re-
lations and social groups. Additional characteristics that differentiate
opinion leaders from non-leaders in the realms of politics and public af-
fairs are reported here. For example, they belong to more organizations,
have more extensive personal contacts, and participate more in discussions
of politics, particularly outside the family, than non-leaders. In terms
of their location within the social structure, Berelson, Lazarsfeld and
McPhee present a somewhat different picture than the Decatur study. They
found that opinion leaders did not come disproportionately from the upper
/white collar/ occupational groups but within each occupational stratum,
opinion leaders were somewhat more likely to come from the better educated
members of the group. This difference between Elmira and Decatur, however,
may simply reflect the different measures used to define socio-economic
status in the two investigations.**

A noteworthy finding of both studies, which in both instances was not an--
ticipated by the investigators, is that opinion leaders not only rely more
than non-leaders on the mass media for information about public affairs
and politics but they are also more likely than non-leaders to seek the
advice of other people in these matters (6, p. 110; 38, pp. 260-3). In
other words, opinion leaders, those people who by definition are more often

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*An early case study of the place of mass communications in interpersonal in-
fluence carried out by Merton in a small town on the Eastern seaboard, sug-
gests that it is useful to distinguish between two types of opinion leaders;
the "local" influential whose generalized orientation toward and within the
local community is reflected in their greater reliance on local newspapers
and their greater liking for radio news presented in a "personalized" manner;
the "Cosmopolitan" influential, in contrast, is more oriented to the larger
society, a position reflected in his reliance on Metropolitan newspapers and
national magazines, and in his preference for analytical news commentaries
on radio (57).

**In the Decatur study the socio-economic status index was based on two factors
--rent and level of education--from which a trichotomy of status levels was
derived. In Elmira a dichotomy was employed, based on type of occupation.

consulted by others, are in turn the very people who are also most likely to consult others about public issues. And indeed, in the Decatur study where there were three waves of follow-up interviews with influentials outside the original sample, it was found that those people who were designated as influentials by others, were also more likely to designate still others who were influential for them, and these, in turn, were still more likely to designate others. In the light of these findings, Lazarsfeld Berelsen, and McPhee conclude that "there must be unending circuits of leadership relationships running through the community, like a nerve system through the body."

These findings reveal certain ambiguities in the concept of opinion leadership. It is, of course, to be expected that the chances of being consulted as well as of consulting others is greater for the person who, like the opinion leader, has more extensive interpersonal relations and group affiliations than for the one with relatively few social contacts. More gregarious people are in a better position to play a key communication role in their social groups, if they expose themselves more to the mass media and talk more with people about what they read and hear. But if their extensive social contacts increase their effectiveness as transmitters of mass communications it does not necessarily follow that these are the people who have the greatest impact on the opinions of their associates.

There is empirical evidence, based on systematic observation (8) and sociometric data obtained in interviews (55) that patterns of consultation and interpersonal influence tend to arise and persist between pairs of individuals similarly located within given social groups, and that thus much of the influence exercised in everyday affairs is a two-way affair between equals rather than simply a one-way flow of influence from an "opinion leader" or "star" to the less informed or less competent members of the group. We shall have to wait on further research to provide the answers to these problems before it will be possible to assess the theoretic and practical usefulness of the concept of opinion leader.

c. Differential exposure to mass media is primarily attributable to informal and formal group affiliations and to interpersonal influences exerted directly through individual associates.

It has already been pointed out that differential exposure to particular media and their contents is largely a function of interest, which is, itself, socially determined. The findings already reviewed in the sections dealing with the role of social position and of interest in differential exposure can be supplemented by a number of researches more directly focussed on the influence of interpersonal factors on the use of mass media.

In Suchman's study of the influence of radio on serious music listening (78), two groups of listeners to a serious music program--those who attributed their taste for serious music to radio and those whose interest in music had developed apart from radio--were asked how they first became interested in serious music. He found that nearly half of the people who credited their interest in serious music to radio, compared to only a quarter of the others, said that "friends" had motivated their initial exposure to serious music programs on radio.

The role that <u>organized</u> group affiliations play in the sustained exposure of people to serious content in the mass media is illustrated by the findings of at least two studies. Thus, McCandless (54) in a survey of a randomly selected sample of 600 women in an Iowa community analyzed some of the characteristics that differentiated listeners, ex-listeners, and non-listeners to a child guidance program sponsored by the PTA and other organizations in the community. He found that nearly two-thirds of the women who, at the time of the study, were "active" listeners reported that they had initially started listening to this program because the PTA or a similar organization sponsored it, but only slightly over a third of the "ex-listeners" reported that their initial exposure had come about through organizational ties. Yet, an identical proportion of women in both groups (three-fourths) said they listened to the program for the purpose of obtaining guidance in rearing their children. In other words, although ex-listeners were initially as interested as the active listeners in the content of the program, they lacked the impetus provided by organized groups to sustain their interest.

The same order of finding is reported by Robinson (66) in a study of rural radio-listening patterns; namely, that there is a high correlation between listening to serious programs on the radio and attendance at club meetings among rural women. And he goes on to note that "over half of the women belonging to these groups reported using the radio in connection with their club work." Riley and Riley (65) also show that children who are members of peer groups use the mass media to further their integration whereas non-members use the same content as forms of escape.

d. <u>Mass media are most likely to succeed in changing opinions or behavior when support for the advocated change already exists in the normal group associations of the individuals to whom the mass communications are addressed.</u>

Numerous findings in the field of communications research, implicitly or explicitly, indicate that the differential effects of the mass media on individuals cannot be understood without taking into account the context of opinion within the primary groups--families, friends, co-workers, etc.-- in which people hold membership. The finding of Hovland, Lumsdaine and Sheffield (28), for example--that opinion changes in the direction of acceptance of an opinion advocated in Army orientation films were more likely to occur among better educated soldiers, when initial acceptance of the advocated position was more prevalent generally among better educated soldiers, and was more likely to occur among less well educated soldiers, if the opinion advocated was initially more prevalent among the less well educated groups--constitutes one illustration of how the group context of opinion conditions the effects of the same communication on different individuals. In other words, opinion changes are not likely to be brought about by the mass media unless support for such opinions already exists among the people with whom individuals regularly associate.

Traditional researches in mass communications, by and large, have been distinguished by their failure to follow up the implications of findings of this kind and to design systematic studies aimed at discovering <u>how</u> and <u>to what extent</u> the various primary group affiliations of individuals affect their reception of various kinds of mass communications. In other areas of inquiry, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in how small face-to-face groups mold and control the opinions and beliefs of their members, and indeed "small groups" research has in recent years

achieved a quasi-independent status as a field of investigation within which social psychologists and sociologists have joined one another in seeking an understanding of group processes and their effects on participating individuals. Several such "small group" experimental investigations, although not directly concerned with the effects of mass communications, nevertheless furnish some clues to just what factors in the group situation operate to control the perceptions and beliefs of individuals.

There is, for example, the now classic experiment carried out by Sherif (72) some twenty years ago which shows how a group norm, once established, operates to bring about a common outlook on the part of the individual members of the group. Sherif constructed experiments using the auto-kinetic effect which is a term applied to the illusion of movement created by a stationary point of light when it is flashed in a completely dark room. He first asked his subjects (college students) individually to make judgments about the number of inches the light "moved" each time it was flashed, and thus obtained a measure of the personal norm for each subject--that is, the modal number of inches that he perceived the light to have moved. He then repeated the experiment bringing his subjects together in groups of two and three. Sherif found that in the group situation each individual at first based his estimate on his previously established personal norm but after awhile, being confronted by the dissenting estimates of the others in the group, each subject modified his estimate in the direction of others until a new group standard was established. Sherif then reversed the experiment on other groups--the group situation preceding the giving of estimates singly--and found that individuals carried over the group norm, initially established, in their subsequent judgments made privately. These results clearly suggest that out of the recurrent interaction between individuals--at home, at work, at play, etc.--group norms emerge which, once established, operate to bring about conformity to the opinions and beliefs prevalent in such groups. Accordingly, the chances that an opinion or course of action advocated through the mass media will be accepted by an individual can be expected to vary with the context of opinion prevailing within the groups in which he participates. A further implication of these findings is that the way in which individuals perceive and receive communications from outside the group is continuously colored by their group affiliations. These findings help to explain why the mass media have not been eminently successful, for example, in reducing ethnic prejudice and why, as has been found, prejudiced people distort the meaning of any anti-prejudice messages so as to maintain intact attitudes and beliefs that they share with others in the face-to-face groups in which they carry on their daily activities.

To be sure, groups vary in the extent of consensus that prevails among their members on any given issue, and there is a varying degree of consensus within any given group with respect to different issues. Thus, for example, in Voting (6, p. 98) where the vote intentions of respondents were analyzed in relation to the vote intentions of their three closest friends, it was found that the likelihood of an individual casting his vote for the Republican presidential candidate varied directly with the degree of consensus on vote intention in his friendship group. In those cases where all three friends intended to vote Republican 88 per cent of the respondents also planned to vote Republican, but this proportion declined to 74 per cent among people who had one Democratic friend (out of three) to 48 per cent among those who had two Democratic friends and to 15 per cent among those whose three friends planned to vote Democratic. In other words, the higher the degree of consensus in

the group on a particular issue the more difficult it becomes to persuade an individual to accept an opinion which is not in accord with the norms of the group.

A remarkable experiment carried out by Asch (1) has a direct bearing on this problem. The immediate object of his investigation was to study "the social and personal conditions that induce individuals to resist or to yield to group pressures when the latter are perceived to be contrary to fact." (1, p. 177.) The experiment consisted of the following procedure: using 50 college students as the experimental subjects and 37 as controls, Asch placed each experimental subject in a group of seven others who, unknown to the subject, had been given instructions by the investigator in advance. The members of the group were asked to match the length of a given line with three other lines, only one of which was the same length as the test line. All of the instructed members of the group were called on to render incorrect judgments before the naive subject was asked to state his estimate publicly. Though these intentional errors of the unanimous majority were large and obviously incorrect, fully one-third of the experimental subjects capitulated to the majority in one-half or more of their trials. However, the proportion of "pro-majority errors" dropped from 32 per cent to only five per cent when the naive subject had social support from even one other person in the group. Asch then went on to introduce other experimental variations. One set of these involved varying the size of majorities that confronted a naive subject with "wrong" judgments, the size of the unanimous majorities ranging from two to 16 persons. It was found that naive subjects confronted by the opposition of one instructed subject showed virtually no distortion of judgment; when opposition proceeded from a group of two, a small amount of distortion occurred; but the optimal amount of distortion occurred when the naive subject was confronted by a majority of three. Larger majorities did not produce effects greater than a majority of three. In still another variation the conditions of the basic experiment were reversed. Here the majority (a group of 16 subjects) were naive and in their midst was placed one subject who had been instructed to make a "wrong" judgment. In this situation the group reacted to the lone dissenter with amusement and disdain. But when the minority of dissenters was increased to three, the judgments of the deviants, though patently incorrect, were received seriously and with more respect.

These results suggest several things: first, they indicate how strong the pull of conformity to the group is even in situations where, as in the contrived laboratory set-up, there are no strong interpersonal ties between the group members; second, they indicate that it may require only a united majority of a few people to influence a group member to relinquish deviant opinions, even those having a strong basis in fact, in favor of those shared by others in the group; third, they serve to confirm the findings of non-experimental studies that much of the social control over opinions and beliefs is exercised in set or group relations rather than in pair relationships, and that consequently the target for changing opinions or gaining acceptance for new practices must be the group rather than the individual.

e. Mass media may, however, exert wider influence on individuals who are not strongly attached to groups having a position on the issue at hand.

The investigations discussed above have been concerned with some of the variables of group structure--the pressure toward conformity created by group norms and group consensus. However, the extent to which groups

succeed in exacting conformity from their members depends not only on the characteristics of the group but also on how much particular individuals value their group memberships. An experiment carried out by Kelley and Volkart (41) provides some evidence in support of this proposition. The investigators selected 18 Boy Scout troops representative of all Boy Scout organizations in a large New England industrial community in socio-economic status composition, troop sponsorship, and morale. The experimental groups (145 subjects) were given a questionnaire covering their evaluations of membership in the troop, sociometric ratings, activity preferences, and a scale designed to determine their attitudes toward camping and forest activities as compared with activities characteristic of city life. One week later the experimental group heard a talk delivered by an outside adult who attacked the emphasis placed by the Boy Scout organization on camping and forest activities; after his talk, the attitude scale was readministered. Results showed that opinion changes in the direction of the position advocated by the guest lecturer occurred significantly less often among the boys who highly valued their membership in the troop than among the boys who valued it less. These findings suggest that groups are successful in exacting conformity to their norms only to the extent that their members strongly value their membership. It might also be inferred from the results of this experiment that less cohesive groups--those in which there is a relatively high proportion of members without strong attachments--are less effective in exercising control over the opinions of their members, and therefore may be more open to influence outside the group than more cohesive ones.

f. Communications aimed at modifying attitudes and practices are, in general, more effective when addressed to individuals in group settings where perceptions of group support for the change can emerge rather than to individuals isolated from the "sense of the meeting."

Several studies suggest that opinion changes and acceptance of new practices can more readily be brought about when communications are aimed at individuals within the group context than when they are directed to individuals taken singly. For example, in an investigation carried out by Remmers and Morgan (64), 114 college students were exposed in different manners to a sympathetic account of the plight of Jewish people in Germany during the Hitler era, with the intent of creating more favorable attitudes toward Jewish people generally. Group I read the story outside of class and had no discussion about it in class; group II read the story outside of class and afterwards discussed it in class; Group III read the story in class but without a discussion. Attitude questionnaires were administered before and after the introduction of the test story. It was found that a significant change in attitudes favoring Jews occurred only in Group II, where there had been a group discussion of the contents of the story. In those situations where no group discussion occurred, students often misunderstood or distorted its meaning.

Findings of a similar order resulted from the well-known series of investigations carried out by Lewin and his associates (52). The first experiment, aimed at increasing consumption of glandular meats in connection with the war effort, was conducted with six Red Cross volunteer groups with from 13 to 17 members each. Three groups were given lectures which linked the problem of nutrition to the war effort, emphasized the health value and economy of these kinds of meat, and offered information about their preparation. The other three groups were also given a very brief

lecture in which glandular meat consumption was linked to the war effort
and general health, but a group discussion of some of the obstacles that
"housewives like ourselves" might encounter in changing to this kind of
meat consumption followed the lecture. After the group had become in-
volved in the discussion, the group leader offered suggestions for the
preparation of glandular meats. At the end of the test period a show
of hands indicated which of the women intended to serve these meats in
the future. Follow-up interviews revealed that 32 per cent of the women
who participated in the discussion groups, but only three per cent of the
women who received the lecture subsequently served one of the glandular
meats that they had never served before participation in the experiment.
Substantially the same results were obtained in two later investigations,
one designed to increase consumption of milk in fresh or evaporated form
and the other designed to persuade rural mothers to feed their new-born
infants cod liver oil and orange juice. Some conditions were varied in
these later experiments. For example, the subjects in the first investi-
gation were members of an organized group in which all the women were ac-
quainted with one another; the subjects of the second experiment were
housewives who lived in the same neighborhood, and a good proportion of
them knew one another; the subjects of the third experiment were rural
mothers of new-born infants who did not live in the same area and were not
acquainted with one another. Under all these conditions, however, the
group discussion method resulted in a higher proportion of enduring food
consumption changes in the advocated direction than the lecture method.
Lewin concludes his discussion with the following observation (52, p. 473):

> The present experiment approaches the individual as a member
> of a face-to-face group. Experience in leadership training
> and in many areas of re-education...indicates that it is
> easier to change the ideology and social practice of a small
> group handled together than of single individuals. One of
> the reasons why "group carried changes" are more readily
> brought about seems to be the unwillingness of the indi-
> vidual to depart too far from group standards; he is likely
> to change only if the group changes.

The investigations carried out by Lewin and his associates are open to
criticism on a number of counts, the most important of which is that they
do not specify the particular factors that make the group discussion
method a more effective medium of persuasion than the lecture method. A
recent study by Bennett (3) is of interest because its more rigorous de-
sign was aimed at isolating the factors in the group situation that make
it effective for purposes of persuasion. The subjects (473 college stu-
dents) were divided into 36 groups: 12 groups carried on group discussions,
12 groups were given lectures, and 12 groups were used as controls. The
criterion of effect was defined as the proportion of people within each
group who responded favorably to mailed requests to list themselves in a
central file of volunteer subjects for experimental purposes. Bennett
reports that "the factors of decision and perceived unanimity of such
decision were found to be significantly related to the carrying out of
the specified action. Group discussion, other things being equal, was not
more effective than lecture, nor did public identification of individuals'
decisions contribute appreciably to obtained differences." (3, p. 315.)

g. Programs of public information and education are most likely to succeed
when they employ mass media campaigns in support of simultaneous, large-
scale campaigns of personal contact with individuals and groups.

Some years ago Lazarsfeld made the observation that "For anyone intend-
ing to use radio for promotional purposes of any kind, nothing is more
important than to know that it is most effective when used in conjunction
with other stimuli for which radio provides, so to say, the background."
(48, p. 73.) The research results already reviewed go a long way toward
explaining why, as Lazarsfeld suggests, campaigns which rely solely on
the mass media to gain public support stand little chance of influencing
groups other than those who already favor the objectives being advocated.

There is some evidence, however, that a campaign's chances of success are
enhanced to the extent that the mass media are supplemented and supported
by face-to-face methods of persuasion. For one thing, the personal ap-
proach can succeed in reaching people who, though uninterested or even
opposed to given campaign objectives, feel constrained to listen to
campaign representatives who approach them directly. Thus one important
barrier encountered by the mass media, namely the selective exposure of
audiences, can be overcome, in part, by the personal approach. Further-
more, this means of persuasion allows for a kind of flexibility which it
is not possible to achieve through the use of the mass media. A campaign
representative can select from a wide range of appeals and tactics of
persuasion the particular ones which, in his judgment, are most apt to
prove effective with the particular persons whose support he is seeking
to enlist.

These increments in effectiveness that derive from face-to-face methods
of persuasion are illustrated in some findings reported by Cartwright (12)
in an analysis of factors that influenced the purchase of war bonds during
World War II. His analysis, based on a national cross-section sample of
2,336 respondents, shows that regardless of what reasons people offered
for buying war bonds, those who were personally approached considerably
more often bought bonds than those not so approached. In this same
article Cartwright also presents a table (12, p. 266) showing the pro-
portion of persons who bought bonds in each of a series of six bond
drives divided according to whether or not they had been personally
solicited. In each of the bond drives, as before, persons who were per-
sonally approached far more often purchased war bonds than others. The
most interesting aspect of the table is the indication that the series
of six bond drives, spaced six months apart, had a cumulative effect--
that is, the proportion of people who purchased war bonds increased di-
rectly with the number of drives among the group of respondents that had
been personally solicited. In the other group--those who had not been
personally approached--the proportion of people buying bonds did not in-
crease directly with the number of drives. One possible interpretation
of these findings is that personal solicitation at some time during a
series of campaigns serves to sensitize individuals to subsequent appeals
that they encounter in the mass media.*

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*The tentative nature of this interpretation must be stressed, since
Cartwright provides no information about the relative volume of personal
solicitations in each of the bond drives.

The supplementation of mass media campaigns by face-to-face discussions in organized groups seems to be another way in which the impact of mass campaigns can be extended. Although previously-discussed experiments of Lewin and his associates (52) did not directly involve the use of mass media, their results suggest that persuasion attempts directed at individuals through the medium of group discussion are likely to prove more effective than when they are directed at individuals taken singly. Similarly, Lazarsfeld and Merton have suggested that the propaganda successes of Father Coughlin during the thirties were not primarily due to the content of his radio talks. "It was, rather, the product of these centralized propaganda talks and widespread local organizations which arranged for their members to listen to him, followed by discussions among themselves concerning the social views he had expressed. This central supply of propaganda, the co-ordinated distribution of newspapers and pamphlets and locally organized face-to-face discussions among relatively small groups--this complex of reciprocal reinforcement by mass media and personal relations proved spec-tacularly successful." (51, pp. 477-8.)

The most practicable method for linking a mass media campaign to a campaign of personal solicitation is, of course, recruitment of a sizeable corps of volunteers. Some pitfalls in the recruitment process can be avoided if it is recognized beforehand that 1) the possibilities for extending the flow of information will be enhanced to the extent that efforts are made to attract volunteers from each sub-group in the community--well-to-do people and working class members, people from the various ethnic groups that con-stitute the population, people from different age and sex strata, and to select those people who are more integrated socially in their group--that is, people who have wide acquaintance, organizational affiliations, neighborhood affiliations, etc.--for these are the people who are in a strategic position both to spread the flow of information regarding the program and to per-suade others to become involved in it; 2) most volunteer programs tend to attract a disproportionate number of persons from higher socio-economic groups, and therefore special efforts are needed to involve persons of lower socio-economic status and with different ethnic backgrounds; and 3) volun-teers can more readily be recruited in face-to-face situations--direct per-sonal solicitation or in organized groups--than through the mass media.

Up to this point, little has been said about the function of the mass media in a joint campaign. They, however, can perform important services. It has already been indicated that mass media may contribute to some extent to arousing interest and can serve to channel existing support into specific courses of action. It may further be noted that large-scale mass media attention to a given issue has the very important effect of conferring status or importance to the topic. As Lazarsfeld and Merton have noted (51, p. 465):

> The mass media bestow prestige and enhance the authority of indi-viduals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies that one has arrived, that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice..The audiences of the mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief; "if you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention and, if you are at the focus of mass attention, then surely you must really matter." This status conferral function thus enters into organized social action by legitimizing selected policies, persons or groups which receive the support of the mass media.

From this legitimizing function of the mass media flows what is probably
the most frequent effect of mass communications, namely that of the reinforce-
ment of existing attitudes and beliefs. That the mass media serve largely
to reinforce and rarely to change opinions is largely a result of the process
of selective exposure through which people tend to listen to what they are
interested in, and are interested, as a rule, in those communications which
support their point of view. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet describe how
the political campaign in the mass media brings about the reinforcement ef-
fect (49, p. 88):

> The provision of new arguments and the reiteration of old argu-
> ments in behalf of his candidate reassure the partisan and
> strengthen his vote decision. Should he be tempted to vacillate,
> should he come to question the rightness of his decision, the
> reinforcing arguments are there to curb such tendencies toward
> defection. The partisan is assured that he is right; he is told
> why he is right; and he is reminded that other people agree with
> him, always a gratification and especially so during times of
> doubt.

In other words, mass media campaigns serve to maintain and stabilize favor-
able attitudes toward given issues and practices. This is a particularly
important function from the standpoint of any program that must not only
win supporters, but also sustain their adherence to its recommendations for
an indeterminate period of time.

Although there are virtually no systematic investigations of the cumulative
effects of mass communications, there is clearcut evidence from other fields
that the maintenance of levels of information and of desired opinions both
require periodic reinforcement--periodic repetition of facts in the case of
information and periodic renewed evidence of social support in the case of
attitudes.

Finally, mass media campaigns directly support the efforts of the devoted
inner corps of workers in any public service program and notably help to
maintain their commitment and morale. It is not merely that volunteers'
approach to less interested members of the public is made easier, if their
program is well publicized and, thus, somewhat familiarized and legitimated
to the people they deal with. Above and beyond this introductory function,
however, the workers, themselves--volunteer or otherwise--derive a new sense
of the importance and worthwhileness of what they are doing from the at-
tention given their program in the mass media. This motivating effect is
well-documented in a recent study carried out by Carlson (11) to evaluate
the effects of a series of information campaigns conducted by the Mississippi
State Board of Health. He found no evidence that these campaigns had raised
the level of information concerning health matters of the target population,
but they did have the important, though unanticipated, effect of raising
the morale, and thereby the efficiency, of the local public health workers.
Carlson describes how this effect came about (11, p. 247-8):

> They /local public health workers/ were made aware of the im-
> portance of their work in relation to the overall venereal dis-
> ease activities in their state. They were given concrete evi-
> dence that the State board of health and their superiors were
> personally interested in their work. Moreover, during the
> course of the intensive education campaign conducted in their
> county, these workers in the county health department clinics
> had their work brought to the attention of their neighbors
> and fellow citizens, often for the first time...

This effect resulted in "more vigorous efforts on the part of personnel in the local county health department to locate new pools of infection which they had hithertofore neglected" and this, in turn, was reflected by a higher incidence of syphilis being reported following each mass campaign.

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   three neighborhoods were interviewed. Eighty-four per cent read community
   press. Readers regard the community press as an auxiliary to the daily
   press, not a competing news source. It is generally not perceived as a
   commercial medium, although it carries advertising. It is generally not
   perceived as a political or partisan organ, but as an agent of community
   welfare. It is perceived as an extension of the individual's personal
   and social contacts. It is also seen as a democratic dispenser of pres-
   tige. No particular persons or groups are believed to get special or
   honorific attention.

38. Katz, Elihu, and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

39. Katz, Oscar, and Eisenberg, Philip. "Showmanship in Radio Educational Pro-grams," The Journal of Psychology, XX (1945), 135-45.

      Authors offer some principles of showmanship which might be applied to
   educational programs. Data and illustrative material used obtained from
   studies of audience reaction to several different educational programs
   conducted by program analysis division of CBS research department by
   means of Lazarsfeld-Stanton program analyzer. Their conclusions are:
         Education is preferred in entertaining form.
         Defects in presentation were criticized four times as frequently by
            audiences of an educational dramatic program as was the subject
            matter itself.
         Comparison of two broadcasts in same dramatic program series showed
            that program presented in interesting form enhances educational
            appeal.
         Entertainment facilitates learning.
         Listeners are more likely to learn material which they find entertain-
            ing, and more likely to retain it than material which they do not
            find interesting.
         In discussion programs comments of audiences indicate that the elements
            enhancing enjoyment and understanding are: A clear-cut structure;

a clear statement of problem to be discussed at beginning; speakers should confine themselves to topic; speakers should not interrupt one another; a summary by moderator at end of main points or lines of argument.

Another factor which affects listener reactions is the degree to which the practical current implications of the material is emphasized. Events set in unfamiliar distant places are not as meaningful to audiences as events set in familiar places and surroundings which are related to activities in which audience engages. E.g., audience of housewives reacted favorably to sequence concerning procedures of establishing honest weights in stores, a topic which had relevance for them in their role of shoppers.

40. Kaufman, Helen J. "The Appeal of Specific Daytime Serials," Radio Research, 1942-43, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1944. Pp. 86-107.

41. Kelley, Harold H., and Volkart, Edmund H. "The Resistance to Change of Group-Anchored Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XVII (August, 1952), 453-65.

42. Kelman, H. C., and Hovland, C. I. "'Reinstatement' of the Communicator in Delayed Measurement of Opinion Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVIII (July, 1953), 327-35.

43. Kendall, Patricia L., and Wolf, Katherine M. "The Analysis of Deviant Cases in Communications Research," Communications Research, 1948-49, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. Pp. 152-79.

One hundred and sixty white, non-Jewish working class men were interviewed intensively about their responses to a series of three cartoons designed to reduce ethnic prejudice. The central figure of these cartoons, "Mr. Biggott," is depicted as an unattractive middle-aged man who displays ethnic prejudice. The object of the study was to find out the process by which the messages of anti-prejudice communications are misunderstood. Three patterns of response to the cartoons were found: 36 per cent of the sample correctly understood the general message of the cartoons; 31 per cent did not recognize the reference to prejudice or the satire presented; and 33 per cent misunderstood the general message completely by believing that the cartoons were intended to create ethnic prejudice. The interpretation of these findings offered is that persons who were not prejudiced and who showed awareness of the problems created by prejudice were predisposed to understand the cartoons; subjects who were prejudiced were predisposed to misunderstand the cartoons for understanding constituted a threat to their self-images. Analysis of the deviant cases (the prejudiced who understood the message, and the unprejudiced who misunderstood) indicated that the prejudiced who correctly understood the cartoons were likely not to have guilt feelings about their attitudes and thus understanding constituted no threat to their self-images. A variety of factors were suggested to explain the other group of deviant cases.

44. Klapper, Joseph T. The Effects of Mass Media: A Report to the Director of the Public Library Inquiry. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1949. (Mimeographed.)

45. Knower, Franklin H. "Experimental Studies of Changes in Attitudes: I. A Study of the Effect of Oral Argument on Changes of Attitude," Journal of Social Psychology, VI (August, 1935), 315-47.

46. _____. "Experimental Studies of Changes in Attitudes: II. A Study of the Effect of Printed Argument on Changes in Attitude," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXX (January, 1936), 522-32.

47. Lazarsfeld, Paul F. "Communication Research and the Social Psychologist," Current Trends in Social Psychology, ed. Wayne Dennis. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948. Pp. 218-73.

48. _____. "The Effects of Radio on Public Opinion," Print, Radio and Film in a Democracy, ed. Douglas Waples. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 66-78.

49. _____, Berelson, Bernard, and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944.

50. _____, and Kendall, Patricia. Radio Listening in America. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948.

51. _____, and Merton, Robert K. "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949. Pp. 459-80.

52. Lewin, Kurt. "Group Decision and Social Change," Readings in Social Psychology, eds. G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt, 1952. Pp. 459-73.

53. Lumsdaine, Arthur A. and Janis, Irving L. "Resistance to 'Counterpropaganda' Produced by a One-sided Versus a Two-sided 'Propaganda' Presentation." Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (Fall, 1953), 311-18.

54. McCandless, Boyd R. "A Study of Non-Listeners," Radio Research, 1942-43, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. Pp. 407-18.

55. Menzel, Herbert, and Coleman, James S. On the Flow of Scientific Information in the Medical Profession: A Study of the Adoption of a New Drug by the Medical Profession. Unpublished study. Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1955.

56. Merton, Robert K. Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946.

57. _____. "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community," Communications Research, 1948-49, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. Pp. 180-219.

58. _____, and Kitt, Alice S. "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier," eds. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950. Pp. 40-105.

59. _____, West, Patricia, and Jahoda, Marie. *Patterns of Social Life*. (To be published.)

60. Nafziger, Ralph O., Engstrom, Warren C., and MacLean, Malcolm S., Jr. "The Mass Media and an Informed Public," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XV (Spring, 1951), 105-14.

A survey of characteristics of the poorly informed and well-informed audience, including 299 metropolitan readers of the evening newspaper in a large Minnesota city, 335 small city readers of the only daily paper, and 446 rural readers of a county seat weekly. The entire sample was tested for "areas of ignorance" by being asked to identify prominent personages in international, national and state news. Study done in 1948. Metropolitan readers obtained highest percentages on non-political figures in all three areas of informedness--international, national and state. Avid newspaper readers tended to be better informed in all three groups and in all three areas. Among farmers, a strong positive correlation found between amount of radio listening and level of information, but a somewhat negative correlation between these factors was found in the metropolitan and small city groups. Indeed, in small city group, top radio listeners were least informed. In all three groups strikingly positive correlation between magazine reading and informational level. Little relation found between movie attendance and informational level. Although smaller proportion in all three groups read books than listen to radio or read magazines, all readers of books tended to be better informed on both political and non-political figures in national and international news. The better educated at the higher socio-economic levels were better informed in all groups. However, the rural group was as well informed on many names as the other groups, despite a generally lower educational level. Men were better informed than women, particularly in national and international areas and political fields. Women were as well informed as men in non-political fields, particularly about other women. Sex differences were greater in urban than in rural groups, perhaps because women tended to have higher educational levels than men in rural group. Social participation showed a definite positive relationship to informational levels.

61. National Opinion Research Center. "Cincinnati Looks at the United Nations," and "Cincinnati Looks Again," Reports No. 37 and 37A. Chicago, 1947, 1948.

62. Office of Radio Research (Consulting Division), *Report on Radio*. New York: Columbia University, 1943.

A summary of findings from various studies regarding effective elements of radio. Radio is found in more homes than any other single commodity. Listening does not interfere with other activities and can therefore serve as a time-saver and a diversion for those occupied with other tasks. However, while this factor increases the number of people receiving information, it may reduce the number of people who digest and retain this information. The higher the educational level, the greater the preference for printed content; also the greater the difficulty of the content, the greater the reliance on print. However, the stronger the motivation for absorbing content, the more it is absorbed from either medium. While research has demonstrated that listeners are more suggestible than readers, this may be qualified by fact that less well educated audiences, who prefer spoken to written information, are more suggestible anyway. The power of radio as a social force may be accounted for in part by its cumulative effect. People become habituated to it, and over a period of time tend

to arrange other activities so as to include it in their daily or weekly schedule. Radio announcers and characters become part of the listener's world when attended to regularly, and the anticipation of encountering these people every day enhances their interest in the program. Since program preferences of different groups have been surveyed, sponsors can select the kinds of audiences they wish to attract by the kinds of program material, their choice of hour, and their choice of station. Sponsors may build audiences by newspaper advertising, direct mail to potential listeners, cross-announcing from other stations, and contacts with organizations and institutions. Assuming that the "voice has a kind of surplus value above and beyond the printed word," the announcer can inject the content of the commercial with additional emotional appeal. In addition... the human voice is more personal, thus more credible. As listeners become familiar with an announcer in a pleasant connection, they will tend unconsciously to adopt some of his attitudes. Through the products he advertises on the radio he may become associated with "prestige" personalities or organizations, thus furthering sales. On radio the commercial can be integrated into the entertainment, which cannot be done in printed media. An experiment has shown that retention is better for such sandwiched-in advertising than for isolated commercials. These indirect commercials are most effective with those who tend to resist exhortations to buy, and prefer to think they are making up their own minds after hearing "impartial evidence." Radio can be used to reinforce advertising in other media, and such tie-ins have been demonstrated to be beneficial to all media involved. Commercials most disliked and least effective are those employing jingles, demanding immediate purchase, those that are repetitious and those using loud sound effects. A strong dislike was also expressed for spot commercials, most people preferring advertising attached to a program. Commercials most liked and most effective are those woven into the script of the program, those describing in detail the uses and application of the product, and those employing dialogue rather than monologue.

63. Peterson, Ruth C., and Thurstone, L. L. Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. (As summarized in Charters, W. W. Motion Pictures and Youth. New York: Pt. I, pp. 1-63.)

64. Remmers, H. H. "Propaganda in the Schools--Do the Effects Last," Public Opinion Quarterly, II (April, 1938), 197-210.

65. Riley, Matilda White, and Riley, John W., Jr. "A Sociological Approach to Communications Research," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Fall, 1951), 445-60.

    Intensive interviews were held with 400 school children to ascertain how the variable of membership in peer groups influences choices and uses of the mass media. Major finding is that peer group members and non-members put same media content to different uses. Peer group members, oriented to the need to get along well with the group, tend to select and judge content in terms of their social utility; that is, in terms of their immediate relevance for group living. Non-members, on the other hand, use the same content as an escape from the real world.

66. Robinson, William S. "Radio Comes to the Farmer," Radio Research, 1941, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942. Pp. 224-94.

67. Rock, R. T., Jr., Duva, J. S., and Murray, J. E. Training by Television: A Study of Learning and Retention. New York: Special Devices Center, U.S. Navy, NAVEXOS P-850-3, n.d.

A group of 3000 army reservists were tested before and after seeing each of a series of 8 telecasts, to ascertain the effects of TV instruction on information gain and retention. All grades of officers and men made higher scores after viewing Telecasts. Men of different levels of intelligence and experience can benefit from a single level of TV instruction. Tests of retention showed that both officers and men retained a substantial amount of material over six weeks. The most effective teaching procedure included narration. Three quarters of subjects indicated preference for being taught by TV than by other classroom methods.

68. Rose, Arnold M. Studies in Reduction of Prejudice. Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947. (Mimeographed.)

69. Schramm, Wilbur. "The Effects of Mass Communications: A Review," Journalism Quarterly, XXVI (1949), 397-409.

This article constitutes a summary of findings in mass communications research based largely on Klapper's The Effects of the Mass Media and Hovland, Lumsdaine and Sheffield's Experiments in Mass Communications. On the basis of his summary, Schramm formulates a set of thirty-two hypotheses that reflect the present status of research in mass communications. They are grouped under five headings: General principles; effects of communications on individuals; persuasive effects; effects of different media; effects on public taste; effects on society. Also included is a bibliography of 63 items.

70. _____, and White, David M. "Age, Education, and Economic Status as Factors in Newspaper Reading," Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949. Pp. 402-12.

71. Schwartz, Shepard, and Winograd, Berton. "Preparation of Soldiers for Atomic Maneuvers," Journal of Social Issues, X (1954), 42-52.

The Human Resources Office of the Army did a series of three investigations the objective of which was to evaluate the effect of indoctrination of troops preceding field maneuvers in course of which atomic explosives are detonated in presence of participating troops. In the first two studies the design involved two groups of men drawn at random from battalions which participated in exercises. Before men were notified that they were to participate in these exercises, one group was given a base-line questionnaire. After course of lectures had been given to men questionnaires were administered to second group. In the third study the same men tested at base-line were tested again after indoctrination course. The questionnaires included two major groups of items (the questionnaires administered before and after were virtually identical): a group of questions designed to test men's information about atomic weapons and warfare, and a group of questions designed to test men's attitudes toward atomic weapons and warfare. In all three of the studies a substantial increase in information was observed following indoctrination. Some kinds of information, namely those dealing with "personal injury" were learned more readily than others dealing with "non-personal injury." The hypothesis that information dealing with personal injury increases to a greater extent than that about

non-personal injury was born out by third study, which had a panel design. A clear relationship was found between amount of information gained by troops and improvement in attitudes toward atomic weapons and warfare, i.e., attitude improvement was much more marked among men in group displaying a high gain of information than it was among men in low-gain group. However, even among men who did not materially improve their information levels, attitude improvement was considerable. For example, 51 per cent of the low gain group after indoctrination no longer indicated anxiety about the bomb or maneuver. This indicates that some factors other than information gain are responsible for relieved anxiety.

72. Sherif, Muzafer. "Group Influences upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes," Readings in Social Psychology, eds. G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt, 1952. Pp. 249-62.

73. Sills, David L. "The Volunteer Way." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1956.

74. Silvey, Robert. "The Intelligibility of Broadcast Talks," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Summer, 1951), 229-304.

    Armed forces educational broadcasts in Britain subject of study. Four thousand six hundred and thirteen army recruits asked to: assess broadcast as easy or difficult to understand (on a five point scale); to assess it as interesting or dull (five point scale); to write down as much as they could remember of the main points of what they had heard. Understanding of content of broadcasts strongly related to educational level: so important is dependence of understanding on level of education that a talk couched at level of difficulty appropriate to the top third of population can rarely convey much to people of even average educational achievement. Author suggests that perhaps only face-to-face instruction can hope to reach bottom 25 per cent of population in educational achievement and I. Q. However, the intelligibility of broadcasts tested was found to depend far more on their "interestingness" to subjects than upon any other factor. If a topic were interesting the task might be understood, even though it violated all the canons of good broadcasting. Analysis gave some clues as to what interests average or below average audiences: talks found most interesting were those "which dealt with concrete subjects of a practical kind which were familiar to listeners in their daily lives or which affected them personally." Qualities of broadcast talks that make for intelligibility were: limitation of the number of major teaching points, clear summaries, preferably at end or beginning and end, lucidity and liveliness of style, concreteness of both subject matter and treatment, concrete illustration of any abstract principles.

75. Simmons, W. R. and Associates, Research, Inc. Television's Daytime Profile. Report of a Survey for NBC. New York, 1954.

76. Sponberg, H. "A Study of the Relative Effectiveness of Climax and Anti-Climax Order in an Argumentative Speech," Speech Monographs, XIII (1946), 35-44.

77. Stewart, Raymond F. The Social Impact of Television on Atlanta Housewives. Division of Journalism, Emory University, Georgia, 1952.

A comparison of TV owning families with non-owning families, and of the family habits of owners before and after acquisition of TV based on 800 personal interviews with a random sample, using only adult heads of each household. Owners reported reading fewer magazines than non-owners, but had more magazines in their homes. Owners reported reading fewer books, but had read a book more recently than non-owners. Owners reported attending fewer movies than non-owners, but the same percentage in both groups had attended a recent film. Less daytime and evening radio listening in TV homes, but owners possessed more radios than non-owners. Radio appeared to be only medium seriously affected by TV competition. TV had been allowed to interfere more with habit patterns in lower income levels and among the less educated than in higher income, higher educated strata.

78. Suchman, Edward A. "An Invitation to Music," Radio Research, 1941, eds. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941. Pp. 140-88.

79. Swanson, Charles E., Jenkins, James and Jones, Robert L., "President Truman Speaks: A Study of Ideas vs. Media," Journalism Quarterly, XXVII (Summer, 1950), 251-62.

Aim of study was to discover whether the ideas or the media by which they reach the audience are more effective in determining what is remembered of a major speech by a prominent political figure. Eight trained observers were stationed in auditorium to record themes that evoked most applause, length and manner of applause. Two pairs of observers recorded effects of Telecasts in two bars, one frequented by "white collars" and the other by "blue collars." Content analysis was performed on stories about the speech in two newspapers and two major radio stations, to determine frequency of each theme in each medium. Interviews conducted by sociology students with a sample of 145 Minneapolis adults to determine exposure to speech in the various media. Amount and type of exposure was compared with number of speech items recalled, and with frequency with which items had appeared in the speech and in the media in order to ascertain whether recall was higher with multiple exposure. White collar and blue collar respondents' reactions indicated that both groups selected or rejected the speech in terms of how they related its content to their predispositions rather than in terms of the medium. Those exposed to the speech through more than one channel did not have higher recall than those exposed to one medium only. Frequency of mention by press or radio had little relation to recall of any theme. "Relationships between the theme and the needs and values of the individual were more significant in determining frequency of recall than was repetition by media."

80. _____, and Jones, Robert L. "Television Owning and Its Correlates," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXXV (October, 1951), 352-57.

Study of relation of TV ownership to use of other media, and to socio-economic levels. Four series of hour long interviews were conducted with a probability sample of Minneapolis adults in April and May, 1950. First series began with a base sample of 448 dwelling units. By last wave, this number had decreased to 202 households, 31 of them TV owners and 171 non-owners. In addition a readership survey was made of sample, covering governmental affairs, news and comics in one daily issue of Minneapolis Star.

No significant relationship was found in this survey between set ownership and income level, although there was a slight trend for owners to have higher incomes. TV owners attend 56 per cent less films, and spend 42 per cent less time listening to radio than non-owners. Little relationship was found between ownership and number of magazines read or amount of newspaper reading time. Conclusion: TV competes most directly with films and radio, least directly with newspapers and magazines.

81. Tannenbaum, Percy. "Initial Attitude Toward Source and Concept as Factors in Attitude Change Through Communication," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Summer, 1956), 413-25.

An experiment involving a before-after test of attitudes carried out on 405 college students. Test items consisted of three stories, each prepared in a pro and an anti version, dealing with legalized gambling, abstract art, and accelerated college programs. The sources designated were labor leaders, Chicago Tribune, and Senator Robert Taft. Experiment was designed to test two hypotheses: a) that the amount of attitude change in the direction of a communication is directly proportional to the degree of favorableness of the original attitude toward the communicator, and b) the amount of attitude change toward the communicator source in a favorable direction is directly proportional to the degree of favorableness of initial attitude toward the advocated position, and inversely proportional when the advocated opinion counters initial attitudes. Experimental results confirm both hypotheses. The attitudes that audience member brings into the communication situation toward the communicator and the opinions being advocated both are significant in determining the amount of attitude change that takes place. Furthermore, the susceptibility to change is inversely proportional to the intensity of the initial attitudes.

82. Weiss, Walter. Opinion Congruence with a Negative Source on One Issue as a Factor Influencing Agreement on Another Issue. Technical Report #4 NONR-492 (04). Washington: Office of Naval Research, n.d.

Experiment designed to test hypothesis that a "statement by a communicator of opinion congruence with the communicatees on an issue of importance to them will facilitate the opinion-change effectiveness of a following, persuasive communication on a different topic," and to ascertain effectiveness of this technique when used by an "untrustworthy" source. A before-after design was employed with a class of 120 students. The communicated statement of opinion congruence expressed a pro-academic freedom position (with which most of the audience agreed). The persuasive communication argued for an anti-fluoridation position. Most subjects had indicated favorable opinions on these issues in their before questionnaires, but had rated the former topic high and the latter low in importance to them. The point was to try and effect an attitude change with respect to the less salient opinion by tieing it to the academic freedom issue which held much salience. Four experimental groups were formed in communication session. Group 1 read an article in favor of academic freedom immediately followed by one opposing fluoridation, both with Daily Worker as source. Group 2 read an article on Uganda, followed by one opposing fluoridation, again with Daily Worker as source for both. Group 3 read an article on academic freedom with New York Times as source, and then the one on fluoridation with Daily Worker as source. Group 4 read articles on Uganda and on fluoridation with Daily Worker as sources for both. All subjects were given an immediate-after questionnaire. Findings: Major hypothesis

was confirmed. The communication of opinion congruence on a particular issue by an untrustworthy source did not lead to a boomerang effect. The author believes that this finding does not support the notion that popular support of a particular idea or opinion position can be radically diminished by the actual or imputed adherence to this viewpoint of an especially untrustworthy or suspect communicator. It was found that no differential regression to a less favorable position on academic freedom occurred following statements of opinion congruence by Daily Worker and New York Times. It may therefore be assumed that detrimental effects of a suspect communicator's statement of opinion congruence, may only occur under certain conditions, e.g., when issue is not of importance to audience, or when opinions have not yet crystallized (as in early period of discussion of an issue), it may have this effect among people who are uncertain with respect to given opinion or somewhat opposed.

83. Wiebe, C. D. "Merchandising Commodities and Citizenship on Television," Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Winter, 1951-52), 679-91.

84. _____. "Responses to the Televised Kefauver Hearings: Some Social Psychological Implications," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Summer, 1952), 179-200.

85. Wilke, Walter H. "An Experimental Comparison of the Speech, the Radio, and the Printed Page as Propaganda Devices," Archives of Psychology, XXV, No. 169 (June, 1934), 1-32.

86. Wilson, Elmo. "The Effectiveness of Documentary Broadcasts," Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Spring, 1948), 19-29.

Policy of CBS in effort to build large audiences for documentary broadcasts is 1) to schedule its documentaries in cream evening time; 2) extensive and expensive promotions undertaken by means of: a. special recorded announcements sent out by network to local stations to be spotted through broadcasting schedule days in advance of broadcast; b. local newspaper advertising in local areas; c. brochures, circulars, telegrams dispatched to thousands of organizations and to federal, state, and municipal authorities. Effectiveness studies indicate that documentaries do have considerable impact on certain attitudes, (that is giving test of attitudes before and after seeing documentaries), but they give no indication of the retention or stability of attitudinal shifts noted immediately after viewing or hearing. They provide no information on extent to which modifications in attitude noted affect actions of public.

87. Wright, Charles R. Evaluation of Mass Media Effectiveness. A Memorandum prepared for the International Social Science Council. Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1954. (Unpublished.)

88. Zorbaugh, Harvey W. and Mills, C. Wright. A Report on the Impact of Television in a Major Metropolitan Market. New York: Puck, The Comic Weekly, 1952.

APPENDIX II.

Recommended Research Instruments

A. Dwelling Unit Enumeration Form

B. Questionnaire

C. Auxiliary Materials for Use with Questionnaire

D. Instructions for Interviewers

A.

Dwelling Unit Enumeration Form

DU ENUMERATION FOLDER

PSU _____   Segment No. _____   Line No. on
                                                                Listing Sheet _____

1. Address (or description) of DU _____

2. Type of Structure DU is in: | 3. Race of Occupants: | 4. CD Classification
   Single family house   5- 8 | White . . . . 6- 0 | Sector _____ 7-
   Two-DU structure . . .   9 | Negro . . . .   X | Area _____ 8- 9
   Multiple DU Structure   0 | Other . . . .   y | District _____ 10-12
   Rooming house . . . .   X | | ER _____ 13-14
   Other (SPECIFY) . . .   y | | HDO _____ 15-

5. First we need a list of all the people who live here at this address. Who is
   the head of the household? (ENTER NAME, SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND AGE OF HEAD ON
   FIRST LINE, AND CONTINUE LISTING ALL RESIDENTS OF DU.)

6. Have we missed any children or babies, or anyone else who lives here--anyone
   away traveling, in a hospital, or visiting somewhere, or away on business or
   at school? (IF "YES," ADD TO LISTING.)

Full Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Marital Status	Age	Rank No.
	Head				
					16-
					17-

7. ENTER RANK NO. FOR ALL ADULTS 21 AND OVER, FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST; INTERVIEW
   PERSON WITH RANK NO: 18-

No. of adults in DU	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more	19-
Interview Rank No.	1						20-

8. PLACE AN "X" AT LEFT BEFORE NAME OF PERSON CHOSEN FOR INTERVIEW.   21-
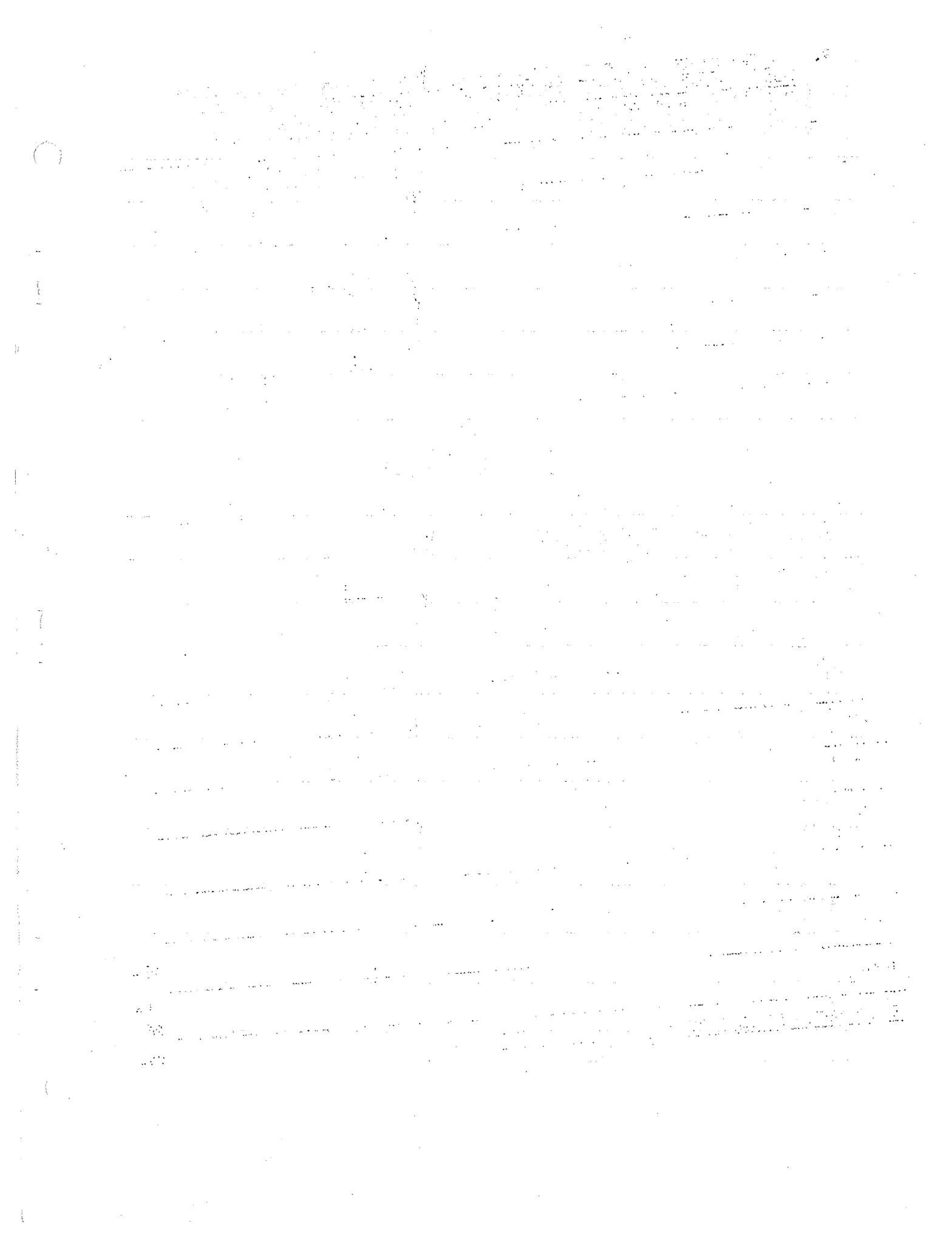
B.

Questionnaire

1. How long have you been living in this neighborhood (section or part of town)?

Less than one year	. . .5-	1*
One to five years	. . .	2*
Five to ten years	. . .	3*
Ten to 15 years	. . . .	4*
Fifteen to 20 years	. .	5*
Twenty years or more	. .	6*
All my life	. . . . . .	7

*A. (UNLESS "ALL MY LIFE") And how long have you been living in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB)?

Less than one year	. . .6-	1#
One to five years	. . .	2#
Five to ten years	. . .	3#
Ten to 15 years	. . . .	4#
Fifteen to 20 years	. .	5#
Twenty years or more	. .	6#
All my life	. . . . . .	7

#UNLESS "ALL MY LIFE," ASK (1), (2), (3), AND (4).

   (1) Where did you live before you moved to (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB)?

<div align="right">7-</div>

   (2) And how long did you live there?

Less than one year	. . .8-	7
One to five years	. . .	8
Five to ten years	. . .	9
Ten to 15 years	. . . .	0
Fifteen to 20 years	. .	X
Twenty years or more	. .	y

   (3) On the whole, did you like living there (PLACE NAMED IN (1)), or not?

Liked	9-	1
Disliked	. . . .	2
Don't know	. . . .	3

   (4) Which do you like better as a place to live--(Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB), or (PLACE NAMED IN (1))?

Present suburb	 10-	4
Place named in (1)	. .	5
About the same	. . . .	6
Don't know	. . . . .	7

2. A. What would you say is the biggest need or problem for (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) right now?

11-

12-

B. What other problems in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) strike you as pretty important? (Any others?)

13-

14-

---

3. Here is a list of problems that some communities have...(HAND R. CARD A)

A. Which one (of those on the list) do you think is most important here in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB)?

B. Which is next most important?

C. Which is least important?

		A Most	B Next	C Least
(1)	Improving roads, traffic, transportation	15-1	16-1	17- 1
(2)	Getting more and better public schools	2	2	2
(3)	Cleaning up slums and keeping neighborhoods from becoming slums	3	3	3
*(4)	Getting ready to take care of people in case of bombing	4	4	4
(5)	Preventing juvenile delinquency	5	5	5
	Don't know, can't choose one	6	6	6

*RECORD HERE ANY SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ABOUT ITEM (4), IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT IS CIRCLED FOR A, B AND C.

18-

4. Now I'd like to ask you to rate some of the community services here in
(Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB), considering what a community like this one
really should have in the way of services like these...

A. How about (EACH ITEM BELOW)? Would you say that the job is being done
here about as well as it should be, or is there room for improvement?

B. (IF "ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT") How much improvement is needed? (IF NEEDED,
PROBE: A little or a lot?)

| | WELL DONE | ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT | | | CAN'T RATE |
		Little	Some	Lots	
(1) (City) (Village) government	19- 1	2	3	4	5
(2) Schools	20- 1	2	3	4	5
(3) Police protection	21- 1	2	3	4	5
(4) Fire protection	22- 1	2	3	4	5
(5) Cleaning streets and alleys	23- 1	2	3	4	5
(6) Hospital facilities	24- 1	2	3	4	5
(7) Red Cross services	25- 1	2	3	4	5
(8) The United Fund or Community Chest	26- 1	2	3	4	5

5. Thinking about community problems and services like those we've been talk-
ing about, some people say it works better if all the communities in
Milwaukee County get together and set up unified services--I mean, to have
just one department in charge of a particular service for all the communi-
ties. Of course, other people think it's better for (Milwaukee) (NAME OF
SUBURB) and each of the other communities in the County to have its own
separate services...

A. Just in general, what would you say on that? (Do you think it's
better for all the communities in the County to get together and
set up unified services or is it better for (Milwaukee) (NAME OF
SUBURB) to have its own separate services?)

Unified county services 27- 1*

Separate but coordinated services   2*

Entirely separate services . . .   3*

Don't know   4

*(1) (UNLESS "DON'T KNOW") What are your reasons for favoring that?
(What other advantages do you see?)

5. (Continued) (ASK EVERYONE)

B. (HAND R. CARD B) Now, for the things on that list, which ones do you think all the communities in the County should get together on, and which should (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) keep separate on? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: How about (EACH ITEM BELOW)? Should there be just one for all the communities in the County, or should (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) have its own?)

	Unified County	Coordi- nated	Own Sep- erate	Don't Know
(1) City or village council	29- 6	7	8	9
(2) Public school system	30- 6	7	8	9
(3) Police department	31- 6	7	8	9
(4) Fire department	32- 6	7	8	9
(5) Department of streets and alleys .	33- 6	7	8	9
(6) Public transportation system	34- 6	7	8	9
(7) A Chapter of the Red Cross . . .	35- 6	7	8	9
(8) United Fund or Community Chest . .	36- 6	7	8	9

C. Are there any (other) things that you'd like to see all the communities in Milwaukee County get together on? (What are those?) (Any others?)

37-

D. Are there any (other) things that you'd like to see (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) keep separate on? (What are those?) (Any others?)

38-

6. On the whole, do you like living here in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB),
   or not?

   Like 39- 0

   Dislike X

   Don't know . . . . . . y

---

7. Do you think of (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) as your real home---the place
   where you really belong, or do you think of it as just a place where you
   happen to be living, or what?

   Really belong 40- 0

   Just a place X

   Don't know . . . . . . y

---

8. Do you feel you really have a say about what goes on here in (Milwaukee)
   (NAME OF SUBURB)?

   Yes 41- 0

   No X

   Don't know . . . . . . y

---

9. Have you ever thought that you might like to leave the Milwaukee area
   and go somewhere else to live?

   Yes 42- 0

   No X

   Don't know . . . . . . y

---

10. (If you had children), Do you think it would be better for (them) (your
    children) to settle and raise their families in the Milwaukee area, or
    would it be better for them to settle somewhere else?

    Milwaukee area 43- 0

    Somewhere else X

    Don't know . . . . . y

---

11. Do most of your friends live right around here in this neighborhood
    (a few minutes away), or do most of them live further away?

    Neighborhood 44- 1

    Half and half 2

    Further away 3

    Don't know 4

---

12. How often do you visit in the homes of people who live right around here
    in this neighborhood (a few minutes away)? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: Would you
    say very often, fairly often, or just once in a while?)

    Very often 45- 5

    Fairly often 6

    Just once in a while . 7

    Not at all 8

    Don't know 9

13. How do you usually get to know about things that are happening around here, in your part of town? (How else do you find out about things in your part of town?)

46-

---

14. Do you happen to belong to any organizations like church and school groups, labor unions, or social, civic and fraternal clubs?

Yes . . . . M*

No . . . . N

*IF "YES," ASK A AND B.

A. Which ones do you belong to? (Any others?)

B. (FOR EACH MENTIONED IN A) Do you take an active part in that, or don't you do very much besides belonging? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: When you say "active," do you mean that you go to meetings regularly or do you do more than that?)

A. RECORD NAME OF ORGANIZATION	B. CIRCLE PARTICIPATION		
	Active	Attend	Belong
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c
_____	a	b	c

47-

48-

49-

15. (IF OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD) How about the others (in your family here) (in your household)? Do any of them belong to any groups or organizations? (Who belongs?) (Anyone else who belongs to anything?) (How about the children?)

	Yes	No	DK	NIH
Husband, wife	M*	N	O	P
Son(s), daughter(s)	M*	N	O	P
Father, mother	M*	N	O	P
All other household members	M*	N	O	P

*IF "YES" TO ANY, ASK A AND B FOR EACH.

A. Which ones does (he) (she) belong to?

B. (FOR EACH MENTIONED IN A) Does (he) (she) take an active part in that, or doesn't (he) (she) do very much besides belonging? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: When you say "active," do you mean that (he) (she) goes to meetings regularly, or does (he) (she) do more than that?)

A. RECORD NAME OF ORGANIZATION

B. CIRCLE PARTICIPATION

	Active	Attend	Belong	DK
S _____	a	b	c	d
P _____	a	b	c	d
O _____	a	b	c	d
U _____	a	b	c	d
S _____	a	b	c	d
E _____	a	b	c	d
C _____	a	b	c	d
H _____	a	b	c	d
I _____	a	b	c	d
L _____	a	b	c	d
D _____	a	b	c	d
R _____	a	b	c	d
E _____	a	b	c	d
N _____	a	b	c	d
O _____	a	b	c	d
T _____	a	b	c	d
H _____	a	b	c	d
E _____	a	b	c	d
R _____	a	b	c	d
S _____	a	b	c	d
_____	a	b	c	d

50-
51-
52-
53-
54-
55-

16. Have you ever taken part in any kind of volunteer work in the Milwaukee area? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: I mean, anything at all— like helping with church bazaars, or collecting money for charity, or any kind of service work like that?)

   Yes . . . . M*

   No . . . . N

*IF "YES," ASK A, B AND C.

   A. What kinds of volunteer work have you done? (What else?)

                                                                56-

   B. (FOR EACH MENTIONED IN A) How did you happen to get into this?

                                                                57-

   C. When was the last time you did any work like that?

                                                                58-

---

17. (IF OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD) Has anyone else (in your family here) (in your household) ever done any volunteer work like that? (Who?) (Anyone else?) (How about the children?)

	Yes	No	DK	NIH
Husband, wife	M*	N	O	P
Son(s), daughter(s)	M*	N	O	P
Father, mother	M*	N	O	P
All other household members	M*	N	O	P

*IF "YES" TO ANY, ASK A FOR EACH AND RECORD ON NEXT PAGE.

   A. What kinds of volunteer work has (he) (she) done? (What else?)

17. (Continued) (IF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS HAVE DONE VOLUNTEER WORK, RECORD KINDS HERE.)

SPOUSE:

59-

- -

CHILDREN:

60-

- -

ALL OTHERS:

61-

18. If there were some sort of trouble or disaster around here, like a flood or a tornado or a big explosion or something like that, who are the groups and organizations who would help out? (Who else might help?)

62-

21. (Getting back to national affairs), here is a list of topics that have been in the news recently ... (HAND R. CARD C)

A. Which ones do you remember talking about with your family or friends in the last week or so? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

B. Which one on that list do you feel is most important for the country as a whole—whether you talked about it or not?

C. Which one is next most important?

D. Which one is least important?

	A. Talked	B. Most	C. Next	D. Least
(1) Communism in the United States	68- 1	69-1	70- 1	71- 2
(2) Crime and juvenile delinquency	2	2	2	2
*(3) Danger of another big World War	3	3	3	3
(4) Farm prices	4	4	4	4
(5) High prices of things you buy	5	5	5	5
*(6) Plans for surviving atomic attacks	6	6	6	6
(7) High taxes	7	7	7	7
(8) Negro-white problems	8	8	8	8
(9) Possibility of another depression.	9	9	9	9
(10) Graft and corruption in politics	0	0	0	0
All of them	X	X	X	X
None of them	y	y	y	y
Don't know, can't choose one	R	R	R	R

*RECORD HERE ANY SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ABOUT ITEMS (3) AND (6), IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT IS CIRCLED FOR A, B, C, AND D.

19. So far we've been talking about local things, but now I'd like to switch to national affairs...

    A. What would you say is the biggest problem for this country today?

                                                             63-

                                                             64-

    B. What other problems do you see as pretty important for the country as a whole? (Any others?)

                                                             65-

                                                             66-

---

20. What would you say has bothered you or been on your mind most in the past few weeks—personal things in your own life, local problems in the Milwaukee area, the way things have been going in this country, or the way things are going in the world generally?

Personal	67- 7
Local	8
Country	9
World	0
No concerns . . .	X
Don't know . .	y

22. Do you think it is <u>at all</u> likely that the United States will get into another big World War?

                                        Likely 5- 0*
                                        Not at all likely . . .   X**
                                        Don't know . . . .   y

*IF "LIKELY," ASK A AND B.

**IF "NOT AT ALL LIKELY," ASK C.

A. When do you think another big World War is likely to come--in the next year or two, not as soon as that but in your own lifetime, or not until after that?

                                        Next year or two 6- 5
                                        Own lifetime   6
                                        After own lifetime . . .   7
                                        Don't know   8

B. When you say that the United States is likely to get into another big war (in the next year or two) (in your lifetime) (sometime), do you mean that it's something that <u>will definitely</u> happen, something that's <u>pretty sure</u> to happen, or just something that <u>might</u> happen, or what?

                                        Definite 7- 9
                                        Pretty sure   0
                                        Might happen   X
                                        Don't know . . . .   y

C. What are your reasons for feeling that way (that the U. S. isn't likely to get into another big World War)? (What else?)

23. Would you say that you are more concerned about whether or not there will be another war than you are about anything else, or are there other problems or worries that you are more concerned about than war?

<div align="right">

War bigger . . 9- 0*

Others bigger   X**

Don't know . .   y

</div>

*IF "WAR BIGGER," ASK A.

**IF "OTHERS BIGGER," ASK B AND C.

   A. Why do you worry more about war than about other things? (Why is war worse?)

<div align="right">10-</div>

   B. What kinds of things worry you more than another war? (Others?)

<div align="right">11-</div>

   C. Why do you suppose people generally worry more about things like that than they do about another war? (Why does war seem less important?)

<div align="right">12-</div>

24. Suppose a person believes that the United States is definitely going
to get into another big war in the next few years... As you see it,
should a person like that change anything about his daily behavior
(the way he lives from day to day)?

Yes 13- 0*

No . . . . . . X**

Don't know . y

*IF "YES," ASK A.

**IF "NO," ASK B.

A. In what ways should a person who believes war is coming change
his life? (Others?)

B. Why do you feel that way (that a person who believes war is
coming should not change his life)?

25. A. Now, supposing the United States did get into another big World War
in the next year or two, what do you think it would be like? (I mean,
would it be pretty much like World War II for us, or would it be dif-
ferent?) (How would it be different?) (What else would be different
about it?)

16-

B. (If we did get into another World War) What do you think would
happen to you and your family?

C. (IF "DEATH" NOT MENTIONED IN B) What else do you think would
happen to you and your family?

17-

D. (IF NOT MENTIONED IN A) Who do you think would win the war?

U.S.	18- 8
Enemy	9
Neither	0*
Don't know	X

*(1) (IF "NEITHER" TO D) How do you mean that?

19-

26. If a World War were to break out, do you think Milwaukee would be attacked, or not?

                                                        Would be . . .20- 7*

                                                        Would not be .   8**

                                                        Don't know . .   9**

*IF "WOULD BE," ASK REST OF THIS PAGE, SKIP NEXT PAGE.

**IF "WOULD NOT BE," OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP THIS PAGE, ASK NEXT PAGE.

A. What do you think the attack would be like? (What else?)

                                                                    21-

B. (ASK ONLY IF NOT MENTIONED IN A, BUT CIRCLE IN ALL CASES AND ASK APPROPRIATE SUB-QUESTION) Do you think atomic (A- or H-) bombs would be dropped on Milwaukee, or not?

                                                        Would be . . .22- 0

                                                        Would not be .   X#

                                                        Don't know . .   y#

    #(1) (IF "WOULD NOT BE" OR "DON'T KNOW TO B.) Do you think atomic (A- or H-) bombs would be dropped on any other part of the country?

                                                        Would be . . .23- 0

                                                        Would not be .   X##

                                                        Don't know . .   y

        ##(a) (IF "WOULD NOT BE" TO (1)) Why do you feel that atomic bombs would not be used against us?

                                                                    24-

ASK THIS PAGE ONLY IF "WOULD NOT BE ATTACKED" OR "DON'T KNOW" TO 26

26. (Continued)

C. (If a World War were to break out), do you think the United States would be attacked, or not?

Would be attacked . 25- 7*

Would not be . . . 8**

Don't know 9

*IF "WOULD BE ATTACKED," ASK (1) AND (2)

**IF "WOULD NOT BE," ASK (3)

(1) What do you think the attack would be like? (What else?)

26-

(2) (ASK ONLY IF NOT MENTIONED IN (1), BUT CIRCLE IN ALL CASES AND ASK APPROPRIATE SUB-QUESTION) Do you think atomic (A- or H-) bombs would be dropped on this country or not?

Would be 27- 0

Would not be . . . X#

Don't know . . . . y

#(a) (IF "WOULD NOT BE" TO C(1) OR (2))

Why do you feel that atomic bombs would not be used against us?

28-

(3) Why do you feel that the U.S. wouldn't be attacked?

29-

27. A. Supposing there were an atomic attack on Milwaukee, what do you think would happen to you and your family? (What else would happen?)

30-

B. (IF NOT MENTIONED IN A) Do you think you and your family would be likely to live through it, or not?

Would live through it 31- 8

Would not 9

Some would, some wouldn't . . . 0

Don't know X

28. What if there were an atomic (A- or H-) bomb attack on Chicago? Do you think people here in the Milwaukee area would be in any sort of danger?

Yes 32- 8*

No 9

Don't know . . 0

*A. (IF "YES") What sort of danger would people in the Milwaukee area be in? (IF "WE'D BE BOMBED, TOO," PROBE: Well, if only Chicago were bombed, what sort ...?)

29. Do you think there is anything that should be done <u>now</u>, before an atomic attack, so in case there were an attack, more people would live through it?

Yes 34- 1*

No 2**

Don't know . . 3

*IF "YES," ASK A.

**IF "NO," ASK B.

    A. What sorts of things should be done now? (<u>IF NEEDED, PROBE</u>: How would that help?)

35-

    B. Why do you say that?

36-

30. About how far do people have to be from where an H- bomb hits in order to be fairly safe from being killed? (How close can you be to an H-bomb before you're likely to be killed?)

37-

31. A. From what you've heard, what causes most of the deaths in an atomic (A- or H-) bomb attack? (<u>GET R. TO NAME ONE; RECORD OTHERS IN B</u>)

38-

    B. What else about an atomic bomb attack causes a good many deaths?

39-

32. As far as you know, is there anything you can do to protect yourself
from the blast (explosion) and heat (fire) of an atomic bomb attack?

Yes, can do something . . 40- 4*

No, can do nothing . . . 5

Not sure 6

*A. (IF "YES") What can you do? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: What about a
person who stayed in the city? What could he do to protect him-
self?) (What else?)

41-

---

33. How about fall-out, or radiation, or atomic dust (in an atomic bomb
attack)? (Is there anything you can do to protect yourself from that?)

Yes, can do something . . 42- 7*

No, can do nothing . . . 8

Not sure 9

*A. (IF "YES") What can you do? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: What about a
person who stayed in the city? What could he do to protect him-
self?) (What else?)

43-

---

34. Do you happen to know what the warning signal is that tells people
that enemy planes are headed for this general area?

Yes, knows 44-A*

No, doesn't know 5

Not sure 6

*A. (IF "YES") How would you describe it?

35. A. What do you think you would do if you heard a warning of an
         enemy air attack in the next few days? (What else?)

                                                                    45-

     B. (ASK ONLY IF NOT MENTIONED IN A, BUT CIRCLE IN ALL CASES AND
         ASK APPROPRIATE SUB-QUESTIONS)
         Do you think you would try to get information about what was
         going on, what to do, and things like that?

                                              Yes 46- 7*

                                              No   8

                                              Not sure . . .   9

        *(IF "YES" TO B, ASK (1) AND (2)
          (1) How would you go about that?

                                                                    47-

          (2) (ASK ONLY IF NOT PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED, BUT CIRCLE IN ALL
               CASES AND ASK APPROPRIATE SUB-QUESTIONS)
               Would you try to use your radio?

                                              Yes . . . . 48- 0#

                                              No   X

                                              Not sure . . .   y

               #(a) (IF "YES" TO RADIO)
                     Where would you tune in?

                                                                    49-

36. Some people say that in order to save lives, there will have to be a
     plan to move most of the people out of the whole Milwaukee area, in
     case there's a warning of an enemy attack. What do you think of this
     idea?
                                              Good idea . . . 50- 0

                                              Bad idea . . .   X*

                                              Don't know . .   y

     *A. (IF "BAD IDEA") What do you think is wrong with this idea?

                                                                    51-

37. Suppose a practice test were held in the Milwaukee area, to see whether it would be possible to move people out of the area during an air-raid warning... Do you think your family would take part in a practice evacuation like this, or not?

All would 52- 1***

Some would 2*

None would 3**

Don't know 4

*IF "SOME WOULD," ASK A, B, AND C
**IF "NONE WOULD," ASK B
***IF "ALL WOULD," ASK C

A. Which ones would not take part?

53-

54-

B. Why wouldn't (you) (they) take part in a practice evacuation? (Any other reasons?)

55-

C. Suppose this practice evacuation was held in the middle of the night... Do you think any of you would get up and leave your home, or wouldn't you take part in the test, in that case?

All would 56- 5

Some would . . . . 6#

None would . . . . 7##

Don't know 8

#IF "SOME WOULD," ASK (1) AND (2)
##IF "NONE WOULD," ASK (2)

(1) Which ones would not take part in a night test?

57-

58-

(2) Why wouldn't (you) (they) take part in a practice evacuation at night? (Any other reason?)

59-

41. A. If there were an air-raid warning in the next few days, and you decided to take shelter--instead of leaving the area, where would you go? (GET EXACT LOCATION)

65-

B. Is there a public bomb shelter you could go to?

Yes 66- 1*

No 2

Not sure . . . 3

*(1) (IF "YES" TO B) Where is it located?

67-

42. (IF OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD) Have you ever talked it over with (your family) (the others in the household) what each of you would do if there were a warning of an enemy air attack?

Yes 68- 4*

No 5

*IF "YES," ASK A AND B.

A. What did you talk about, and what did you decide? (Anything else?)

69-

B. (IF NOT MENTIONED IN A) Have you ever talked about what you would do if you are in different places at the time of the warning?

Yes . . . . . . 70- 7#

No 8

#(1) (IF "YES" TO B) What did you decide?

71-

38. Well, here's another idea... Some people say that in order to save lives, public underground shelters should be built in the whole Milwaukee area, for use in case there's a warning of an enemy air attack. What do you think of this idea?

Good idea 60- 1

Bad idea 2*

Don't know 3

*A. (IF "BAD IDEA") What do you think is wrong with this idea?

61-

39. Which do you think would be the better idea for a big city area in case there's a warning that there may be an enemy air attack in two or three hours--to have people start moving out of the area, or to have public bomb shelters in the area for people to go to?

Evacuation 62- 4*

Bomb shelter . . . 5*

Both needed . . . 6*

No difference . . 7*

Don't know 8

*A. (UNLESS "DON'T KNOW") Why do you say that?

63-

40. A. If there were an air-raid warning, and you decided to move out of the area by automobile, what route would you take? (GET STREET NAME OR EVACUATION ROUTE NUMBER)

B. (IF NO REFERENCE TO EVACUATION ROUTES) Why would you take that one? (Any other reasons?)

64-

(Card 3)

43. Is there anything (else) you've done, so you'd be prepared in case of an enemy air attack?

Yes 5- 1*

No 2

*IF "YES," ASK A AND B.

A. What sorts of things have you done? (What else?)

B. (FOR EACH THING MENTIONED IN A) How did you first find out about doing that?

A.   B.

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

6-

44. Have you ever heard anything about a civil defense organization here in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB)?

Yes 7- 4*

No 5

Not sure . . . 6

*A. (IF "YES") In your own words, what is it supposed to do? (What else?)

8-

45. (Well, you know, there is a civil defense set up here in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB), that's supposed to get people ready and help to take care of them afterwards, if there should be an enemy attack...)

Considering what a community like this one <u>really should have</u> in the way of civil defense, would you say that the job is being done here about as well as it should be, or is there room for improvement?

Done well 9- 1

Room for improvement A*

Don't know 5

*IF "ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT," ASK A AND B.

   A. How much improvement is needed? (<u>IF NEEDED</u>, PROBE: A little or a lot?)

A little 2

Some 3

A lot 4

   B. What's the matter? (Why isn't civil defense doing better?)

10-

46. Do you think civil defense in (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) would be able to do a good job of taking care of people, if an atomic attack were to happen <u>right now</u>?

Yes 11- 7

No 8*

Don't know 9

  *A. (IF "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW") How about <u>a year from now</u>? (Do you think civil defense will be ready to do a good job of taking care of people, if an atomic attack were to happen then?)

Yes 12- 0

No . . . . X#

Don't know . . . . . y

    #(1) (<u>IF "NO" TO A</u>) What's the matter? (Why isn't civil defense moving ahead faster?)

13-

47. Do you happen to know of any things that the (Milwaukee) (NAME OF
SUBURB) civil defense organization wants people like you to be
doing now?

Yes 14- 1*

No 2

*A. (IF "YES") What does civil defense want people like you to do?

(What else?)

15-

48. Here is a list of some of the things that civil defense would like for
people to do... (HAND R. CARD D)

A. Would you look down that list and tell me if there are any of those
things that you have done or are planning to do? (IF NEEDED, PROBE:
How about (EACH ITEM BELOW)?) Are you planning to do that, or not?)

B. (FOR EACH ITEM MENTIONED AS "HAVE DONE") Is that something you did
specially for civil defense, or something you just do anyhow?

		A.				B. IF "DONE"	
		Have Done	Plan to	Not Sure	Don't Plan	CD	No
(1)	Learn where the Conelrad stations are on the radio	16- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(2)	Mark the Conelrad stations right on the radio	17- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(3)	Have a battery-operated portable radio in working order	18- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(4)	Store a seven-day emergency supply of food	19- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(5)	Store a seven-day emergency supply of water in air-tight containers	20- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(6)	Always have a first-aid kit handy	21- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(7)	Learn first aid or home nursing	22- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(8)	Build a home shelter	23- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(9)	Always keep the gas tank in the car at least half-full	24- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(10)	Learn your exact evacuation route	25- B*	1	2	3	4	5
(11)	Tell each member of the family what his special job will be in any emergency	26- B*	1	2	3	4	5

49. Have you ever done any civil defense work in the Milwaukee area?

<u>*IF "YES," ASK THIS PAGE, SKIP NEXT PAGE</u> Yes 27- 1*

<u>**IF "NO," SKIP THIS PAGE, ASK NEXT PAGE</u> No 2**

    A. What kind of civil defense work have you done?

                                               28-

    B. How did you happen to get into that?

                                               29-

    C. Are you doing any civil defense work now?

                                    Yes 30- 3

<u>#IF "NO" TO C, ASK (1) AND (2).</u> No . . . .   4#

      (1) How did you happen to stop doing civil defense work?
           (Any other reason?)

                                           31-

      (2) Do you think you will ever do any civil defense work again?

                                    Pretty certain to . 32- 5

                                    Might, but not sure   6##

                                    No, will not . . .   7##

      ##(a) (IF "NOT SURE" OR "DEFINITELY WON'T") Why do you
           feel you won't (might not)? (Any other reason?)

ASK THIS PAGE IF "NO CIVIL DEFENSE WORK" TO Q. 49

49. (Continued)

    D. Have you ever been asked to do any civil defense work in the Milwaukee area?

        Yes . . . . 34- 3#

        No . . . .   4##

#IF "YES," ASK (1), (2), (3), AND (4).

##IF "NO," ASK (4).

    (1) What were you asked to do?

        35-

    (2) How did you happen to be asked?

        36-

    (3) What kept you from doing that? (Any other reason for not doing it?)

        37-

    (4) Do you think you would do some civil defense work if you were to be asked now?

        Pretty certain to 38- 5

        Might but not sure   6###

        No, would not . .   7###

        ##(a) (IF "NOT SURE" OR "WON'T") Why do you feel you wouldn't (might not)? (Any other reason?)

        39-

50. (IF OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD) How about the other members of your (family) (household)? ...

    A. Are any of them doing any civil defense work in the Milwaukee area now? (Who)

    B. Have any of them done any civil defense work in the Milwaukee area in the past? (Who?)

    C. Have any of (those who have never done any) ever been asked to do any civil defense work in the Milwaukee area? (Who?)

(CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY)

	Spouse	Chil-dren	Others
Now doing	40- 1	41- 1	42- 1
Have done	2	2	2
Was asked	3	3	3
None of above apply	4	4	4
Inapplicable: not present in household	5	5	5

51. Have you or your family ever been visited here at home by a Home Defense Officer, or someone from the (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) civil defense organization?

                                       Yes 43- 1*

                                       No 2

                                       Don't know . . 3

    *A. (IF "YES") How well had you known the person who called, before (his) (her) visit? (Was it a close friend of yours, an acquaintance, or someone you'd never met before?)

                                    Close friend . 44- 4

                                    Neighbor . . . 5

                                    Acquaintance . 6

                                    Stranger . . . 7

                                    Don't know . . 8

52. Do you happen to know anyone else who is doing civil defense work in (Milwaukee)(NAME OF SUBURB)

                                    Yes 45- 8

                                    No 9

53. As far as you know, is there anything going on about civil defense where you or anyone in your family here works?

                              Yes, R's work 46- 9*

                              Yes, other's work 0*

                              No, nothing going on . . . X

                              No, don't know of anything y

    *A. (IF "YES") What's going on where (you) (he) (she) (they) work(s)? (Anything else you know of at work?)

                                                                    47-

54. Have you heard of anything the (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) schools
    are doing about civil defense?

Yes	48-	0*
No, not doing anything		X
No, haven't heard . . .		y

    *A. (IF "YES") As you recall it, what are the schools doing about
    civil defense? (Anything else?)

49-

---

55. Maybe you've heard of a course for civil defense training that is
    being given (here) in Milwaukee. It meets one hour a week for
    eight weeks...

    (MILWAUKEE ONLY) Would you be interested in taking a course like that?

    (SUBURBS ONLY) If (NAME OF SUBURB) started a course like that, would
    you be interested in taking it, or not?

Now taking	50-	6
Would be interested . .		7*
Would not be interested		8**
Not sure		9**

    *A. (IF "INTERESTED") Do you think you actually would take a course
    like that if you were asked to sign up for it within the next six
    months?

Definitely would . . .	51-	0
Would not		X**
Not sure		y**

    **UNLESS "NOW TAKING" OR "DEFINITELY WOULD" TO A. ASK B AND C

    B. Why wouldn't you take a course like that? (Any other reasons?)

52-

    C. Suppose that in the next few days (Mayor Zeidler) (the mayor or
    village president of NAME OF SUBURB) called upon all residents
    of (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) to take this course in civil
    defense training... Do you think you would actually take the
    course within the next six months, or not?

Definitely would . . .	53-	0
Would not		X
Not sure		y

56. Suppose you were asked to spend some of your free time calling on your neighbors and explaining to them what civil defense is all about... Assuming you'd be trained for it, do you think you would take a job like that, or not?

Now doing	54- 6
Definitely would do	7
Would not	8*
Not sure	9*

*A. (IF "WOULD NOT" OR "NOT SURE") What would keep you from doing it? (Any other reasons?)

55-

57. Now I'd like to read you some things that different people have said about bombings and civil defense. Will you tell me, for each one, whether you're inclined to agree or disagree with it...

		Agree	Dis-agree	DK
A.	If enemy planes tried to make a surprise attack on Milwaukee, the Army, Navy and Air Forces are strong enough to protect the city from heavy damage	56- 0	X	y
B.	People just aren't going to be very concerned about civil defense unless we're a lot closer to war than we are now	57- 0	X	y
C.	A strong civil defense will help keep Russia from attacking us	58- 0	X	y
D.	Civil defense work is patriotic and all that, but a person has to be a little peculiar to spend very much time on it now	59- 0	X	y
E.	All this talk about atom bombs and civil defense makes people more scared than they need to be	60- 0	X	y
F.	H-bombs are so powerful and destructive that there really isn't much that can be done to save people if there is an attack	61- 0	X	y
G.	There ought to be a law that makes everyone who is physically able to take part in civil defense tests, like practice evacuations	62- 0	X	y
H.	You can't really plan for civil defense, because things change so fast, with new weapons and things like that, that plans are out of date by the time people learn about them	63- 0	X	y
I.	Working for civil defense is one of the most important ways you can help your community now	64- 0	X	y

(Card 4)

58. All in all, do you think it would be better if all the communities in Milwaukee County got together and had just one civil defense set-up for the whole Milwaukee area, or is it better for (Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB) to have its own separate civil defense set-up?

Unified county-wide 5- 6*

Separate but coordinated . 7*

Entirely separate 8*

Don't know 9

*A. (UNLESS "DON'T KNOW") Why do you feel it should be that way? (Any other reasons?)

6-

59. A. Where have you gotten most of your information about civil defense in the last year or so? (Where else have you learned about civil defense?) (CIRCLE ALL MENTIONED IN "A" BELOW)

B. (FOR EACH ITEM NOT CIRCLED IN A) Have you (read) (seen) (heard) anything about civil defense in the last year or so ...

		A.	B.		
			Yes	No	DK
R	(1)...in the newspapers?	7- 6	7	8	9
E A	(2)...in magazines?	8- 6	7	8	9
D	(3)...in pamphlets or leaflets?	9- 6	7	8	9
S	(4)...on television?	10- 6	7	8	9
E	(5)...in newsreels?	11- 6	7	8	9
E	(6)...in other movies?	12- 6	7	8	9
N	(7)...in posters?	13- 6	7	8	9
H E	(8)...on the radio?	14- 6	7	8	9
A R	(9)...at lectures, meetings?	15- 6	7	8	9
D	(10)...from someone talking to you personally? . . .	16- 6	7	8	9
	(11)...in any other way or place? (SPECIFY)	17- 6	7	8	9

60. From your own experience over the past six months or so, would you say that information about civil defense has been put out very regularly, pretty often, or just once in a while?

18-

Very regularly . . . 19- 8

Pretty often 9

Just once in a while 0

Not at all X

Don't know . . . . y

61. How do you feel about the amount of information about civil defense that's been put out in the last year or so? (Would you say there's been too much, not enough, or about the right amount?)

<div align="right">

Too much 20- 9*

Not enough . . . . .   O**

About right   X

Don't know . . . . .   y

</div>

*IF "TOO MUCH," ASK A

**IF "NOT ENOUGH," ASK B AND C

  A. Why do you say that? (Any other reasons?)

                                                                           21-

  B. What sorts of things would you like to know more about? (Anything else?)

                                                                           22-

  C. (IF NOT MENTIONED IN B) How about things you could be doing <u>now</u> for civil defense? (Would you say there's been enough information on that, or not?)

<div align="right">

Too much 23- 9

Not enough . . . . .   O

About right   X

Don't know . . . . .   y

</div>

62. Just to sum things up, do you think you feel any differently about civil defense now than you did before we began the interview?

<div align="right">

Yes, changed . . . . 24- O*

No, not changed . .   X

Don't know . . . . .   y

</div>

  *A. (<u>IF "YES"</u>) What's changed? (Anything else?)

NOW I'D LIKE TO DROP ALL THIS TALK ABOUT WAR AND CIVIL DEFENSE, AND END UP WITH
A FEW GENERAL QUESTIONS... (RECORD SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS)

26-

63. Do you think people like you have much say in what the government does
about foreign policy and taxes and things like that, or are such things
pretty much decided regardless of your opinion?

Has a say 27- 0

Does not X

Don't know . . . . y

64. Some people feel they can make pretty definite plans for their lives
for the next few years; others feel they can only live from one day to
another at this time. How about you--do you feel able to plan ahead,
or not?

Plan ahead 28- 0

Live day to day . . X

Don't know . . . . y

65. By and large, do you take things pretty much as they come, or are you
more likely to be bothered when things don't go right?

Take as come . . .29- 0

Bothered X

Don't know . . . . y

66. Of course, everybody has some things he worries about, but would you
say that you worry more or less than other people?

More 30- 6

Less 7

About the same . . 8

Don't know 9

67. On the whole, do you think life will be better for you, or worse, in
the next few years, than it is now?

Better 31- 1

Worse 2

About the same . . 3

Don't know 4

68. A. Where do you get most of your daily news about what is going on in the Milwaukee area--from radio, TV, newspapers, or what? (IF NEEDED, PROBE: Which one do you use the most for that?)

   B. And how about daily news about what is going on nationally or in the world? (Which one do you use the most for that?)

	A Local	B Nat'l
Radio	32- 1	33- 7
TV	2	8
Newspapers	3	9
Other (SPECIFY AT LEFT)	4	0
None	5	X
Don't know, can't choose one . .	6	y

69. A. Do you read any daily newspapers regularly? (Which?)

34-

   B. Do you read any weekly newspapers regularly? (Which?)

35-

70. About how often do you go to the movies?

Twice a week or more	36- 5
Once a week	6
Two or three times a month .	7
Once a month	8
Less than once a month . . .	9
Never	0

71. On an average weekday, about how many hours do you (EACH ITEM BELOW) during the daytime--before six o'clock in the evening, that is?

   A. Listen to the radio . . . . _____ hours

   B. Watch television . . . . _____ hours   37-

72. And in the evenings? About how many hours do you (EACH ITEM BELOW) after six o'clock?

   A. Listen to the radio . . . . _____ hours

   B. Watch television . . . . _____ hours   38-

73. (HAND RESPONDENT PICTURE) I wonder if you'd take a look at this picture, just as if you were watching television, and tell me what you think it's about... (What do you think is happening? What do you think will happen next? What are the people doing? Why are they doing that, do you suppose?)

39-
40-
41-

AND NOW, JUST A FEW QUESTIONS TO CHECK MY SAMPLE, AND I'LL BE THROUGH...

1. What was the name of the last school you attended?

What was the last grade (or year) you completed in that school?

Completed 0-4 years	42-	6
Completed 5-6 years		7
Completed 7-8 years		8
Completed 9-11 years		9
Completed 12 years		0
Completed 1-3 years college		X
Completed 4 or more yrs. col.		y

2. What is your religious preference?

Protestant	43-	1*
Catholic		2*
Jewish		3*
Other (SPECIFY)		4*
None		5

*A. (UNLESS "NONE") How often do you attend church (synagogue) services?

Once a week or more	44-	6
1-3 times a month		7
Less than once a month		8
Never		9

3. A. In what country were you born?

B. In what country was your father born?

C. In what country was your mother born?

D. (IF "U.S." TO ALL) Where did your family come from originally?

45-
46-

4. Do you (or your family) own or rent the place where you live?

Own	47-	X
Rent		y

C.

Auxiliary Materials
for Use with
Questionnaire

Question 3

CARD A

1. Improving roads, traffic, transportation

2. Getting more and better public schools

3. Cleaning up slums and keeping neighborhoods from becoming slums

4. Getting ready to take care of people in case of bombing

5. Preventing juvenile delinquency

CARD B

Question 5 B

1. City or village council

2. Public school system

3. Police department

4. Fire department

5. Department of streets and alleys

6. Public transportation system

7. A Chapter of the Red Cross

8. The United Fund or Community Chest

CARD C

1. Communism in the United States

2. Crime and juvenile delinquency

3. Danger of another big World War

4. Farm prices

5. High prices of things to buy

6. Plans for surviving atomic attacks

7. High taxes

8. Negro-white problems

9. Possibility of another depression

10. Graft and corruption in politics

CARD D

Question 48

1. Learn where the Conelrad stations are on the radio

2. Mark the Conelrad stations right on the radio

3. Have a battery-operated portable radio in working order

4. Store a seven-day emergency supply of food

5. Store a seven-day emergency supply of water in air-tight containers

6. Always have a first aid kit handy

7. Learn first aid or home nursing

8. Build a home shelter

9. Always keep the gas tank in the car at least half full

10. Learn your exact evacuation route

11. Tell each member of the family what his special job will be in any emergency

Factual Item 6

CARD E

A. Under $1,000

B. $1,000 up to $2,000

C. $2,000 up to $3,000

D. $3,000 up to $4,000

E. $4,000 up to $5,000

F. $5,000 up to $7,500

G. $7,500 up to $10,000

H. $10,000 and over

D.
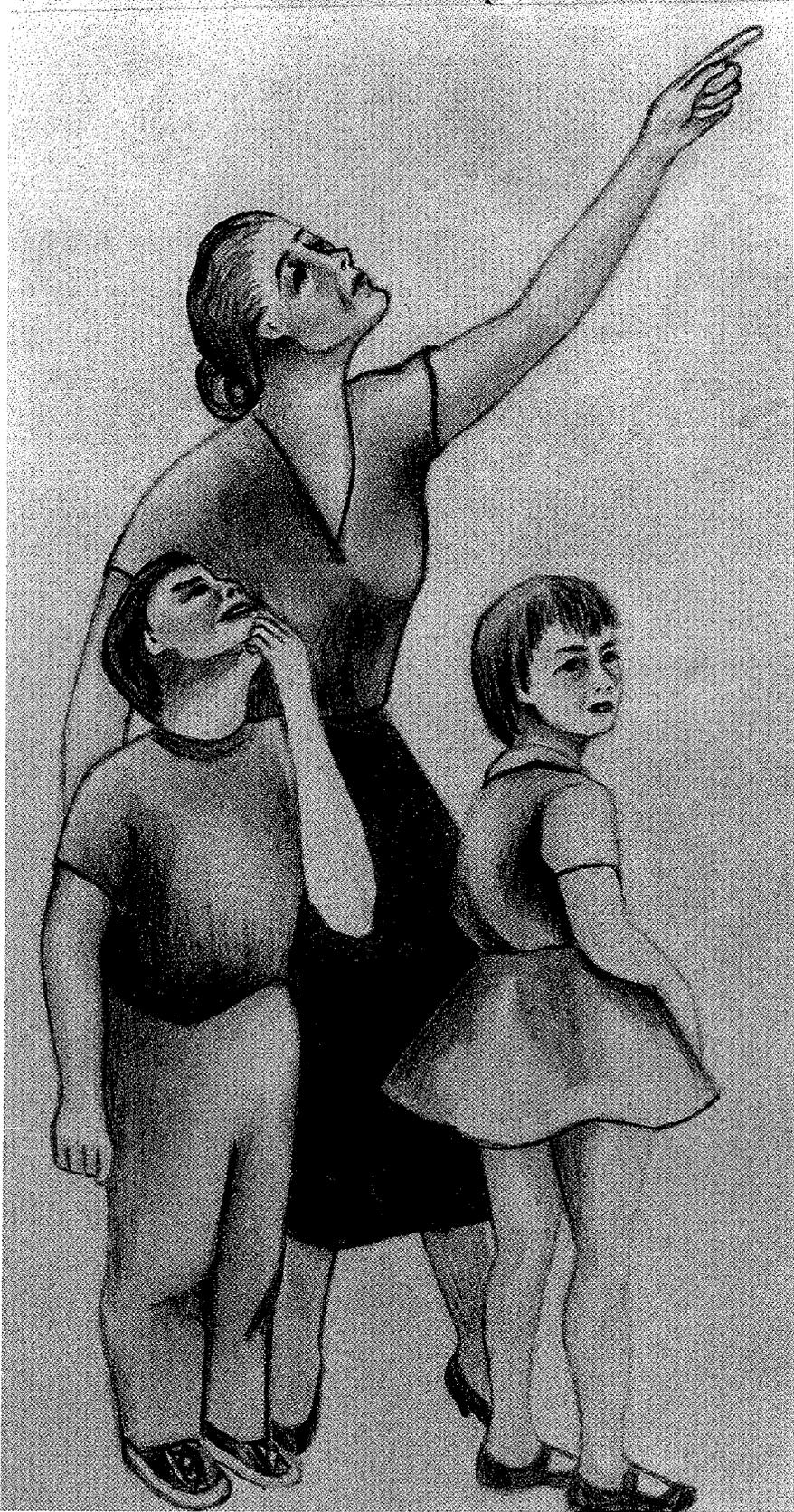
Instructions for Interviewers

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

This is a survey of some of the major problems of civil defense in the United States today. It deals with people's opinions and information about civil defense, and with a variety of other factors thought to have an influence on people's ideas and actions with respect to civil defense. The survey is sponspred by both local and Federal civil defense organizations, who--as you probably know--have been experiencing great difficulty in enlisting active public support for civil defense programs. This study will obtain the information needed to plan more effective public programs, and its results will directly affect the future policies and actions of civil defense organizations.

As you can see, this survey has tremendous practical importance in an area that --much as we all deplore the possibility--may prove to be vital for national survival. Just because of the importance and complexity of the problems of civil defense, the interview is a rather long one, running from one to two hours and, occasionally, even longer. The questionnaire has been very carefully designed and subjected to a good deal of preliminary testing and revision, but it proved to be impossible to make it any shorter without sacrificing extremely important information. You will find, though, that respondents, too, recognize the importance of the subjectmatter and, almost without exception, are quite willing to give the necessary time to the interview.

This sketch of the background and purposes of the survey is intended for your orientation. It is essential that you know what you are doing and why you are doing it, so you can do the work with the skill and devotion it requires. (As you will see, the kind of information we need to get depends to a large extent on "free-answer" interviewing, which will call for all the skill, care and patience you can muster.)

In talking with potential respondents, however, you must NEVER MENTION THE SUBJECT OF CIVIL DEFENSE OR THE AGENCIES SPONSORING THE SURVEY. The reason for this prohibition lies in the structure of the interview. Questions like 2, 3, 5 C and D, 14-19, and 21-29 are designed to see to what extent respondents spontaneously think in terms of civil defense, so, if you make any reference to civil defense beforehand, answers to these questions will be influenced by your explanation of the nature of the survey and will be utterly useless. Of course, as the interview proceeds, the respondent will become aware that a large part of it is devoted to civil defense, but even at this point or even after the interview is concluded, you should not reveal the sponsorship of the study. If a respondent became aware, during the interview, that the study was officially sponsored by the civil defense organization, he might well be influenced to speak more kindly of their activities than he otherwise would have. Even after the interview is over with one respondent, there will still be others in the same neighborhood who haven't been interviewed, and anything you say to the person already interviewed may be passed along by him to others you have not yet interviewed, with the same biassing result. You will find that the general suggestions (given below) for introducing yourself and the survey to respondents are all that you need, anyway, and there is really no reason to be more specific. So, remember: NEVER MENTION THE SUBJECT OF CIVIL DEFENSE UNTIL IT ARISES NATURALLY IN THE INTERVIEW, AND NEVER MENTION THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE SURVEY AT ANY TIME.

SOME GENERAL POINTS ON INTERVIEWING

A. THE ETHICS OF INTERVIEWING

The interviewer must ask many questions he would never dream of asking a close friend, questions one might regard as "too personal." But you will find the average person willing to answer questions--or even volunteering information-- he would never tell a close friend or relative. Just as a stranger on a train hears many confidences from people he will probably never see again, the inter- viewer has the great advantage of anonymity which encourages the respondent to confide in him.

The main reason survey research organizations are able to collect useful data is that our interviewers can and do assure their respondents that their replies will be completely confidential. We promise the people whom we interview that we will never reveal what they have told us, but simply publish summary state- ments to the effect that: "_____% of the people interviewed think such and such." IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY AS AN INTERVIEWER TO KEEP THAT PROMISE.

Survey questions frequently deal with subjects that are important issues today. Should you have any concern that this issue is "hot" or "dangerous" or that you will encounter a great deal of suspicion and hostility, we can tell you quite flatly: That is not at all true. Our interviewers have asked questions on this subject before with little or no trouble. The issues are "hot," in the sense that they are current, and of interest to almost everyone. Most people have thought about them to some extent, and many have strong opinions. And finally, they are obviously "opinion" questions to which there's no "right" or "wrong" answer.

Similarly, the factual data we seek on the last page of each questionnaire cover some questions that inexperienced interviewers may be reluctant to ask. Again, you need not be apologetic about asking people's income, voting behavior, reli- gion and the like. This information too is confidential and will never be di- vulged.

Once in a while a respondent may need reassurance that you're not a Communist or an FBI agent or an Internal Revenue agent; he may need occasional reminders that the interview is anonymous and that his friends or employer will never know his replies. Never divulge the opinions expressed by anyone you interview. While interviewers are entitled to their own opinions, whatever they are, they cannot let those opinions enter into the interview situation. Moreover interviewers must not report any suspicions about others which arise as a result of infor- mation they get from an interview.

The interviewer has a responsibility here much like that of the priest, doctor, or lawyer, none of whom may pass on to others what his clients have told him in private. The whole basis of opinion research rests on the respondent's confi- dence that what he says is off the record, and if these confidences were vio- lated the entire profession would suffer great harm.

These rules apply to the opinions you hear, and the information you receive, no matter what the subject. There can be no exceptions to CONFIDENTIALITY!

B. INTRODUCING YOURSELF

Always introduce yourself in the shortest possible way. Usually, the less ex- planation you give, the better. Most respondents don't need to be "sold" on being interviewed, and explanations may frighten some of them away from being interviewed. So, just explain that you're making a survey of public opinion

(or "taking a public opinion poll") and ask the first question. If you're starting with the Dwelling Unit Enumeration Folder, you'd say something like:

> Hello, I'm Mary Smith. I'm working on a survey of public opinion. Can you tell me how many people live in this household?

If you've completed the enumeration and are making your first approach to the designated respondent, you'd say:

> Hello, I'm Mary Smith. I'm working on a survey of public opinion and I'd like to get a few of your ideas. The first question is...

"The first question is..." is included to emphasize that you should get the interview started just as soon as you can. In this way, you avoid tedious explanations and the "too busy" reaction. If someone asks how long it will take, don't misrepresent, but avoid being too precise for the length of the interview does vary. Say something vague but reassuring like, "That's hard to say because it does vary from one person to another—probably about an hour."

On questions about the survey, talk to the respondent about the survey agency—its nature, location and the kind of work it does. (If you have been supplied with leaflets describing the survey agency, you can give one of these, if necessary.) For instance, when you're working for NORC, you say, "It's a non-profit organization that does surveys like this all the time all over the country." Don't talk about the content of the study, let the questions speak for themselves. One safe way of handling questions about content is to smile (with a puzzled look if you can manage it) and say, "That's hard to answer because we cover lots of different things, but I know you'll find most of the questions interesting—at least most people do." The furthest you should ever go, and then only if pressed, is to say, "It's about some current issues of the day."

If anyone questions the purposes of the enumeration or asks why he was picked for interview, you can say something general like, "The statisticians in the home office tell me where to go and whom to interview there." If that's not enough, you can continue your explanation with something like this (or the relevant part of it):

> You see, our sampling department figures out a random sample of the places in the United States, and then they pick some blocks from each place—almost like drawing numbers out of a hat. Then on each block they pick some houses the same way, and your house just happened to fall into our sample! Now, I have to pick one adult in your family to be interviewed. I have rules for doing this, so as soon as I know who all lives here, I can select the one who will get a chance to express his opinions in this survey.

> It's all done very carefully, so that we get a good cross-section of all the people. You see, we have to be sure that the people we interview include both rich and poor, people from the city and from the country, people from all walks of life. That's why it's important that I talk to you and not to your next-door neighbor (or someone else in the family). Of course, when they sent me to this house, they had no idea who lived here...

C. SETTING THE STAGE FOR GOOD INTERVIEWING RELATIONS

Controlling the conditions under which an interview is conducted is just as important as the way the interviewer does the other phases of his job. Ideally, the interview should be held (a) inside the respondent's home where both parties can be comfortably seated, and (b) with no other persons present except interviewer and respondent.

1. Get inside the house or apartment and sit down before you really get into the interview. Even though you've seen pictures of "pollsters" standing in the doorway, clipboard in hand, we want you to get inside your respondent's home, because you'll both be more relaxed and more comfortable and you'll get a better interview. If there seems to be some legitimate reason for not letting you inside, don't press the issue and do your interview on the stairs or in the yard, or wherever. But you'll find yourself seated inside seconds after you suggest something like, "Why don't we go inside and sit down—I don't want to keep you standing too long."

2. Avoid an "audience." An interview conducted in full hearing of a roomful of people may prove worthless. If you can't talk with a person alone, postpone interviewing him until you can. Try to make it clear from the outset that the interview must be conducted in private. The presence of a wife or adult child often interferes with the respondent's willingness to be candid.

   If others are present when you arrive, suggest to the respondent, "Could we sit in the kitchen or dining-room, so we don't disturb the others?" or "I wonder if we could sit in the dining-room? My office doesn't allow us to do an interview unless it can be done privately."

   If the respondent is alone when you arrive, you might anticipate later problems by remarking, "I'm glad to see that nobody else is around. We're not allowed to interview with somebody else sitting in."

   If a third person tries to "horn in" on the interview after you've started, make it clear that you can talk with only one person. You can say something like this, "I'm sorry, but this is supposed to be a confidential interview. Do you mind if (the respondent) gives me his ideas in private now? You can talk it over with him later."

   If there is no other place to go, and a third person must inevitably be in the same room with you, try to distract that person with the literature you carry describing your survey agency; discourage any comments or interruptions, and make clear to the respondent (and the audience) that you want the respondent's unprompted answers.

   If you should have more than one person to interview in the household, never under any circumstances allow someone you must interview later to overhear a prior interview.

D. ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING GOOD INTERVIEWING RELATIONS

Good interviewing relations exist when the respondent feels relaxed and at ease with the interviewer to the point where he feels free to say what he really thinks or feels about a given subject, without fear of criticism or disapproval. Creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of this kind requires that you have a sympathetic interest in people, and an ability to recognize and understand their feelings, and to respond to them in an encouraging, reassuring or supportive way, but without influencing or biassing the content of what they say. Assuming you have the basic conviction and sincerity necessary to good interviewing, you will rapidly become sensitized to the moments in an interview where encouragement or reassurance is needed, but some standard professional rules of procedure will help you both to minimize the need and to deal with it when it arises.

Generally, the approach to the respondent previously described is all that is needed to get the interview under way, and your conduct and bearing in the course of the interview will provide all the encouragement needed to talk comfortably and freely. So, remember these essential points:

a. Be friendly and informal but, at the same time, professional in your manner. Remember that you are a stranger, and everything you say or do should help to gain the respondent's confidence in you as well as in himself.

b. Be a sympathetic, interested and attentive listener. Encouraging nods, "uh-huh's," "I know how you feel," and similar gestures will convey to the respondent that he is understood and that his opinions are valued and appreciated. But don't overdo it! There is nothing quite so distracting to the average person who is expressing his feelings than the listener who keeps up a running stream of "uh-huh," "is that so," when it's not needed. A nod of the head or a sympathetic and interested expression are usually much more articulate techniques of showing your interest than a constant clucking in the background, which many respondents will feel is a camouflage for a lack of genuine interest in them and their problems.

c. Be neutral with respect to the subjectmatter. Do not express your own opinions either on the subjects being discussed by the respondent or on the respondent's ideas about those subjects. You must never betray feelings of shock, surprise, indignation or disapproval at what the respondent is saying either by word or involuntary gesture. Your job is to understand and to convey to the respondent that you understand and accept what he is saying, not to approve or disapprove of it, nor to agree or disagree with it.

d. Be observant. Watch for the way in which the respondent expresses himself and for the gestures he uses. These signs may serve as cues that the respondent is becoming uncomfortable and ill-at-ease or that he is not expressing what he really feels.

e. Last but not least, be at ease, yourself, in the interview situation. If you feel hesitant, embarrassed, hurried, or awkward, the respondent will soon sense this feeling and behave accordingly.

Beyond these standard points applicable to all interviews, there are some respondents or situations that require encouragement or reassurance either in getting the interview started or during its course. The cardinal principle in all of these cases is to put the respondent at his ease and to get him interested in the interview, so frequently you will know what to do simply by putting yourself in the respondent's position, and asking yourself how you would be feeling under those circumstances. Here are some of the more frequent types encountered and how they may be handled:

1. The respondent is embarrassed to be discovered in an unflattering situation. Take the situation in your stride, and let the respondent know that you understand and sympathize. For instance, if a housewife seems embarrassed because she looks untidy and unkempt or because the house "is in a mess," say something about knowing how busy she is or how impossible it is to keep a house clean with kids around, or some such reassuring comment, which both reduces her embarrassment and helps to establish your role as a person who understands and accepts her problems.

2. The respondent is irritated to be interrupted at what he is doing. Despite the advantages of interviewing in a situation where both you and the respondent can sit down and devote your full attention to the interview, sympathetic understanding of the respondent's situation may require that you offer to interview a housewife, while she proceeds with her ironing, or a man, while he washes the car, and so on. If the activity he is engaged in will not combine with interviewing, you may try to persuade him

to postpone it until after the interview, but persuasion should not be carried to the point of implying that what he is doing is not important. Before such a point is reached, you should accept his prior commitment and offer to come back at a more convenient time.

3. The respondent is intimidated by the whole idea of being interviewed or ill-at-ease with a stranger. Here, the important thing is to lighten the atmosphere and to let the respondent know that you are friendly. Perhaps a few casual remarks having nothing to do with the survey--about a child, or a piece of furniture, or a book lying on the table, or a sincere compliment, or even a comment about the weather or the ball-game--will relax the atmosphere and allow the interview to proceed.

4. The respondent is fearful that he will expose his ignorance. Some respondents will tell you that they really don't keep up with current issues and you should interview someone who knows more about them. This situation is particularly likely to arise with housewives who aren't used to thinking or talking about such subjects. These respondents can be reassured along the lines of "Your opinions are important too" or "Lots of people feel that way, but really all I want to know is just whatever you think--this isn't a test and there aren't any right or wrong answers to the questions I want to ask."

5. The respondent is suspicious or fearful of what will be done with his answers. Here you can give them an absolutely iron-clad guarantee of confidentiality.

6. The respondent wants to know what you think or whether you agree or disagree with his opinion on some question. This is actually a wonderful opportunity to underline your professional function. You can say something like, "I've heard so many different ideas on that, that I really don't know what I think"--stressing your being accustomed to hearing all kinds of opinions and willingness to accept his. Or, "What I think doesn't matter. What I'm interested in is what you think."

E. ASKING THE QUESTIONS

1. Read each question exactly as worded on the questionnaire: Do not trust to your memory. It is important that all respondents be asked the questions in identical form. Experience has shown that even small, seemingly minor alterations in wording can change the meaning of the question in the mind of the respondent.

2. Read the questions naturally: Be thoroughly familiar with the questionnaire so that you can read each question without hesitation or stumbling. If you hesitate or emphasize one word more than another you can change the meaning of a question. Occasionally certain words are italicized or underscored. These words are those on which you should place more stress when reading the question. Watch for italics or underscoring in order to obtain a consistency in emphasis.

3. Don't attempt to explain the questions. If the respondent does not seem to understand a question, repeat the question slowly and clearly. Give the respondent time to consider the meaning of the question. Do not elaborate on the wording or suggest an answer. The best answer to a query on what the question means is, "What does it mean to you?", followed by "How would you answer that?". NEVER EXPLAIN THE MEANING OF A QUESTION UNLESS THE SPECIFICATIONS PERMIT YOU TO DO SO.

4. Don't define terms used in the questions. Sometimes respondents may ask you to define the words used in a question. You should, of course, leave the matter of definition to the respondent, except where the Specifications clearly authorize a definition or alternative wording. If the respondent asks for a definition of a term used in your question--say, for instance,

"all-out-war," your reply might be "Whatever you think of as an all-out-war," or "Just whatever it means to you."

5. <u>Ask every question.</u> Never omit a question because you think it does not apply or because you think it has already been answered, unless the Specifications tell you to do so. If your respondent is talking freely, you may feel that he has already answered some of the questions before you get to them, even though these are questions to be asked of everyone. It is usually <u>not safe</u> to assume that the respondent has fully answered a subsequent question, however, for this tends to make the respondent sound more consistent than he actually is. Asking the question might have revealed some contradictions in his thinking. So, except where specified under the individual questions, <u>do not skip over any of the questions</u>, even though you guess there may be some repetition. If an occasional respondent should get a little annoyed and say something like, "I thought I just told you that," you can always say something pleasant like, "Well, the question is down here, and I just wanted to make sure that I had your full answer to that," or that "I got your answer to that down right," or "I didn't know whether you would have other things to say on the subject."

6. <u>Ask all questions in the order they appear in the questionnaire.</u> Never change the sequence of a question. Never let a respondent see the questionnaire so he can tell what question is coming next. Never go back and change a prior answer in the light of a later response. (The respondent's desire to change an earlier answer is relevant information and should be recorded when he mentions it, but the answer is <u>not</u> changed.) The order in which the questions are asked can easily influence the replies, so we must be certain that all the respondents hear the questions in the same order and with the same lack of information about what is coming next.

7. <u>Watch for dependent questions.</u> Dependent questions are the type of questions which follow specified answers to the previous question. For example, if the respondent says "yes" to the preceding question, you may be instructed to follow this response by asking "Why?" If the respondent answers "no," no further questioning is required. DO NOT OMIT THE APPROPRIATE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION. DO NOT ASK THE WRONG FOLLOW-UP QUESTION OR ASK ONE WHEN IT IS NOT REQUIRED.

F. <u>OBTAINING RESPONSES.</u>

Most surveys include two types of questions—"free-answer" questions and "pre-coded" questions. A "free-answer" question looks like this:

    1. When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first?

Such a question is followed by lots of blank space, with no code number to circle. It's your job to fill in that blank space with the respondent's own words—word for word with <u>no</u> "summaries." We want strictly verbatim recording.

A "<u>pre-coded</u>" question looks like this:

    2. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say the world situation is getting better, or getting worse?

                Getting better 6-1*
                About the same 2
                Getting worse 3*
                Don't know 4

    *A. IF "GETTING BETTER" OR "GETTING WORSE": In what way?
       (Why do you feel that way?)

With this kind of question, you circle the appropriate code number. If the code number is followed by a symbol, you ask the similarly keyed sub-questions. For instance, if the respondent answered "Getting better" to the above, circle the number 1 with a careful circle, then ask A to that question. If he answered "About the same" then circle 2, and so on. In addition to circling the right number, you are to write in whatever relevant volunteered comments are offered by the respondent. (In circling the code numbers, you can ignore the number and dash before the "1" in each group of codes. This simply tells the office where on an IBM card to punch the code you circled. If you cannot force an answer into one of the pre-coded categories, circle the "Don't know" code and write in what the respondent says word for word.

The main task in interviewing is to take every precaution to make sure that you get a clear, complete and unambiguous statement of your respondent's ideas. Before you can confidently circle a pre-coded response, you must ask yourself whether the respondent has given a complete answer. Don't accept vague and unclear answers here or in the free-answer questions. Before you can leave a free-answer question and go on to the next topic, you must ask yourself the same questions.

The primary difference between the correct way to handle pre-coded and free-answer questions is a difference in recording. In the pre-coded questions, you need only circle the appropriate code and record those spontaneous comments which add something relevant that would not be reflected by the pre-code alone. In the free-answer question, you are responsible for writing down--word for word --everything relevant that the respondent has to say.

Probing is important for both the pre-coded and the free-answer question. While you do not have to record the verbatim answer, you are still responsible for all the probing (continued neutral questioning) needed to get a satisfactory answer to pre-coded questions. You'll find, of course, that most pre-coded questions need less intensive probing than do the free-answer questions, but they will often need probing.

Most interviewers find the free-answer question somewhat more difficult--and therefore more challenging--than the pre-coded question. On every one of the free-answer questions, the general goal is to find out exactly what the respondent is thinking, both in relation to the general objectives of the survey and the specific purpose of that question. Your objective is to draw the person out, and to get him to express all of his ideas before leaving that question and going on to the next one. It is not enough simply to get an answer from the respondent. Instead, you must follow up what the respondent says, using probes to get him to expand and clarify his answer, until you are sure that you have the entire picture of the way the respondent thinks about the question.

Ten points to watch. Here are ten things you must do in order to get a good interview:

1. Keep in mind the purpose of each question:--that is, the kind of information we are trying to get by asking this particular question. (The Specifications always try to make this clear for each question.) Once you know your objective on any particular question, you will find it much easier to tell whether you have a satisfactory answer or whether you should probe further.

2. Beware of one-word replies. Generally speaking, in our surveys one word-- or even one sentence--will not completely meet the objectives of the question. Try the suggested probes and use probes of your own to get the respondent talking more fully. For instance, "Can you tell me more about that?", "Would you explain that a little?", "How do you mean?", etc., will often get the respondent to talk more freely.

3. <u>Be sure to use only neutrally-worded probes.</u> We have tried, both in the questionnaire itself and in the Specifications, to suggest helpful probes. These cannot, however, provide for every possible situation, so you will also be using probes of your own. When you use your own probes, remember never to suggest answers to your respondents. ALWAYS use probes like:

> How do you mean?
> Can you give me an example?
> What do you have in mind?
> Why do you say that?
> Could you explain that a little?
> Do you have any other things in mind?

Or, you can repeat the respondent's own words with a rising inflection, to suggest that you are not sure of exactly what he means.

DON'T SUGGEST ANSWERS. The new interviewer may find it hard not to suggest answers for in normal conversation we often do so without realizing it. While one may think of interviewing as a friendly conversation, it is a rather artificial one. In most conversations it's quite common for a person who is not certain what his partner means by an expression to suggest the meaning.

Several common conversational devices are undesirable interviewing techniques simply because they do suggest answers. For example: (1) Asking whether a person means A or B by a given term suggests one of two answers, even though there may be many other possibilities. (2) Summarizing what someone has said may suggest that your interpretation of his feelings is "the right answer," even though you may be interpreting his feelings inadequately. (3) Asking whether a term is used with a particular meaning suggests one answer, when another might have been intended. The more insecure your respondent feels about his opinions, the more likely he is to be affected by biased probing--thinking that there must be a "right" answer.

Here are some examples of remarks that an individual might make in response to the question of the most important problems facing this country. After each, we cite typical examples of the usual conversationalist's reply (not correct for interviewers) and appropriate probes the interviewer might use:

a. "Our biggest worry today is the economic situation."

   A friend: "Do you mean the possibility of a depression or of inflation?" (Bad interviewing technique because a respondent might have a third idea or NO idea.)

   Interviewer: "What do you have in mind when you say the economic situation?" or
   "Economic situation--how do you mean?"

b. "We've been having a lot of trouble in our foreign affairs, but you don't hear much about conditions in this country."

   A friend: "Then you feel that foreign affairs represents a more serious problem than domestic affairs?" (Bad interviewing technique, even though it appears to summarize what has already been said. His friend's interpretation may be correct, but the respondent may feel that domestic affairs represent an equally important problem even though he hears less about it; he may be saying that domestic problems are more vital <u>because</u> of the fact that such problems are not being discussed; or he may have some other idea in mind.)

   Interviewer: "Well, which of the various kinds of problems do you think are most important?" or "That's an interesting point of view--can you explain that a little?"

c. "The Communists are our number one problem."

    A friend: "You mean the communist leaders in this country?" (Bad interviewing technique because a respondent might be thinking of all communists in this country; he might be thinking of communist nations in other parts of the world; the term "communist" may be one which he uses frequently but which is a fuzzy term with no clear meaning for him.)

    Interviewer: "Could you explain that a little--in what way do you think that's true?" or
"When you used the term communist, what did you have in mind?"

4. Be on your guard against irrelevant answers. We all know how people can talk a good deal, but still be talking off the point. If what they are saying is relevant to one of the main objectives of the survey, you will want to get it down and explore it with the respondent, but no matter how much the respondent has said and you have written down, don't leave the question until you are sure that you have gotten an answer to that question.

The term "irrelevant" is used here in the most narrow sense. Often a respondent will answer one question with a discussion of a closely related subject, but we consider the reply "irrelevant" unless it answers the precise question asked. While these related data are often of great use to the study director, it is vitally important that the interviewer mentally tag it irrelevant and probe to the point of the question. The following are examples to illustrate this problem:

a. Interviewer: "If a World War were to break out, do you think the United States would be attacked, or not?"

    Respondent: "Oh pray God that never happens to us. I hope not."

A person's hopes may not coincide with his expectations, so the answer is inadequate. It's important to reassure such a respondent, but it's also essential to probe: "I suppose we all hope so--but what do you think?" or "I know just how you feel, but (and repeat the question)."

b. Interviewer: "Looking back over the last year or so, would you say the world situation is getting better, or getting worse?"

    Respondent: "Much, much better."

    Interviewer: "In what way?"

    Respondent: "Well unemployment has dropped sharply. I was reading the Federal Reserve bulletin the other day and the economic situation is excellent. Despite all the furor, I think the farmer of today is in a far better situation than he was. I believe this present administration has done a spectacular job."

It's very easy--in the heat of an interview--to be misled by the verbosity of some articulate respondents. But even intelligent people can forget the question asked and it's the interviewer's job to bring him back to the subject as tactfully as possible. For example: "That's very interesting. And how about the world situation? You said that the world situation was much, much better. Why do you feel that way?" or "And in what way is the world situation getting better?" Stress the word or phrase respondent seems to have missed.

c. Interviewer: "In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way the present officials in Washington are handling our foreign affairs?"

Respondent: "I think our President must be pretty satisfied or he'd have fired him."

An interviewer who has other evidence indicating the respondent's favorable attitude toward the President might be tempted to accept this answer, but it is clearly irrelevant. The question asks for the respondent's view, not for the President's, and it's possible that his approval of the President might not extend to his subordinates. In this situation, it would be important to probe: "I'm interested in your ideas...(and repeat the question)." Another good probe would be a simple repeat of the question stressing the word YOU.

5. Be on your guard against vague, general answers. Sometimes respondents find it difficult to verbalize what they mean; they are having difficulty expressing themselves, or can't find the words they need, and take refuge in vague generalities which might mean anything or nothing. It is very important to try to get the respondent to sharpen up his thinking, express himself more concretely. It may help, in such cases, to ask the respondent to give you an example.

The following illustrate frequent kinds of vague answers:

a. Interviewer: "How great a danger do you feel that American Communists are to this country at the present time--a very great danger, a great danger, some danger, hardly any danger, or no danger?"

Respondent: "I think they're a very great danger."

Interviewer: "Why do you think this?"

Respondent: "Well I just read somewhere that there's millions of 'em. That's why."

An interviewer who accepts this response without probing is making unwarranted assumptions about the nature of the danger as the respondent sees it. When a particular viewpoint is widely held, interviewers are most prone to assume that the respondent shares that view, and this tendency must be avoided. For instance, there are also millions of school teachers, but the respondent probably doesn't regard them as a danger. The interviewer in this example has no way of knowing why, except by unwarranted inference: Is the respondent concerned about possible sabotage by American Communists, does he fear a possible switch to a socialist economic system, is his concern based on a stereotype that communists are immoral and believe in free love, or does he see some other danger? To make this respondent's ideas explicit would require probing along these lines: "And why is that a danger?" or "And just what is the danger as you see it?" or "In what way are they a danger?"

b. Interviewer: "As far as you know, what is a nervous breakdown?"

Respondent: "It has to do with the mind."

While this answer distinguishes this respondent from those who associate nervous breakdowns with biological rather than psychological factors, it is a "fuzzy" kind of answer which must be probed. It is possible that the respondent can take the analysis no further, but an interviewer cannot make such an assumption and should probe for a more specific answer: "How would you describe a nervous breakdown?" or "What's it like?"

c. Interviewer: "Thinking of all the times you've been in a hospital, do you recall anything in particular about the care and treatment you got in any of the hospitals that you especially liked?"

Respondent: "Yes, those nurses were just wonderful to me. They were as nice as can be."

While the respondent probably has many examples to illustrate what she is saying, the interviewer has no way of knowing how demanding (or how submissive) the patient was, and just what constitutes being "wonderful" in this respondent's eyes. Useful probes might be: "What were some of the things you particularly liked about the nurses?" or "What kinds of things are you thinking of when you say they were wonderful?" or "Wonderful? In what way?"

d. Interviewer: "Why didn't you like your (BRAND OF CAR)?"

Respondent: "I didn't like the looks."

All this response tells us is that the appearance evoked negative feelings, but we don't know whether the respondent disliked the color, the size, the lines (and, if so, what about the lines), the upholstery or something else. To be sure, even good probing will not clarify every vague answer, for some respondents simply cannot verbalize certain of their ideas no matter how skillfully the interviewer probes nor how much the respondent tries to help. Here is an excerpt from an interview in which persistent probing simply convinced an experienced interviewer that the respondent could not make explicit the factors in styling that influenced him:

"What didn't you like about the looks?"

"It looked like _____ (another brand of car)."

"And what didn't you like about that?"

"I didn't like the back end."

"What didn't you like about the back end?"

"It looked like the front end."

"And why didn't you like that?"

"Because it looked like a _____ (same brand of car mentioned above)."

In this case, probing resulted not in clarifying the vague answer but in persuading the interviewer that the respondent could not break through a circular reasoning to clarify the initial vague response—but such assurance is a legitimate and acceptable result of probing.

6. Be on your guard against circular answers. A respondent can talk a great deal and still be just repeating his answer to the previous closed question or the information you have just given him in the question. Be very careful on this point. The following illustrate this problem:

a. Interviewer: "Why do you think that we can't count on Italy to cooperate with us?"

Respondent: "Italy is just the kind of country we can't count on. I think it's foolish to expect cooperation there!"

The response simply repeats the respondent's view (already given to a prior pre-coded question which led to the "Why?" probe) that Italy won't cooperate, but it fails to explain why. The probe needed here is "Why do you think so?" or "Can you explain that a little?" or "I'd be very interested in knowing the reasons behind that."

b. Interviewer: "Of all the cars you've ever owned, why did you like that one the least?"

Respondent: "It must have been a lemon from the beginning."

Describing a car as a "lemon" is simply another way of saying he didn't like it, which we already know. But the question is "Why?" He may have found the car physically uncomfortable, he may have been dissatisfied with its gas mileage, he may have had innumerable small repair jobs, the motor might have fallen out the first week he drove the car, or the term "lemon" may have some very different meaning for this respondent. To find out what is meant by such a circular answer, the interviewer should probe: "What kinds of things are you thinking of when you say it was a lemon?" or "A lemon--? In what way?" or "Can you give me some examples to help me understand exactly what you have in mind?"

c. Interviewer: "In what way do you feel the doctor service is poor?"

Respondent: "I've lived in almost every state in the union, I never saw anything as bad as the kind of doctor service you get here. Take it from me--it's bad!"

The answer reveals the respondent's conviction or intensity of feeling, but it merely repeats his poor opinion of doctor service. This response does not suggest whether these negative feelings are based on a shortage of doctors, the unwillingness of doctors to make house calls, inadequate training of doctors, or something else. The interviewer must probe: "What's bad about the doctor service? I'd be interested in all your ideas on that." or "What kinds of things are you thinking of when you say it's bad?" or "Why do you say that?" or "How do you mean?".

d. Interviewer: "If _____ is elected President, do you think our foreign affairs would be handled better than they are now, or not so well as now, or wouldn't there be much difference?"

Respondent: "I think it would be better."

Interviewer: "In what way would our foreign affairs be handled better if _____ is elected President?

Respondent: "Well, the Democrats would do better."

Again, the respondent is restating his initial answer that the Democratic candidate would do a superior job to the incumbent, but he fails to explain in what way the job would be better. Useful probes here might be: "Better--in what way?" or "What would be better about it--can you explain that a little?" or "Now I want to be sure I understand exactly what you have in mind when you say the Democrats would do better. Would you give me some examples?".

7. Be on your guard against ambiguous answers. Ask yourself: Are you sure you know what the respondent means by what he has said? And, are you sure that we in the office will know what the respondent means from what he has said? If you are not sure in either case, you should probe further. Ambiguities frequently occur when the respondent uses certain words or phrases without explaining what he means by them. If a person uses words which could be interpreted differently by different people, you must go back to this and ask him to explain the expression he used, by asking: "How do you mean?", "What do you have in mind?", etc., without suggesting anything to the respondent. The important thing is to recognize ambiguity when it occurs and ask other probes until you clear it up.

For example, if your husband reported at the dinner table that "That old stinker sure gave me a rough time today," you might know that he was referring to his boss. Now obviously, the woman who knows her husband knows who usually is labelled in this fashion. As an interviewer, you do not share her familiarity with this man's vocabulary and you would have to ask questions designed to get this man to expand his remarks. The interviewer must not assume that a term with several possible definitions means what it means to the interviewer.

A term like "labor" may connote union leaders to one person, but may mean all workingmen to another. The term "liberals" may be applied by some individuals to people who favor certain kinds of social legislation, while others may regard a liberal as a generous person! Praise for the way in which "foreign affairs" are handled may be directed at our participation in the United Nations, it may refer to aid to underdeveloped countries, or it may refer to some very minor phase of our diplomatic relations--or, again, the person who uses the term may have no clear idea to offer at all. In each case it is important to probe: "What do you mean when you use the term ____?" or to use some other neutral probe designed to clear up the ambiguity.

a. Interviewer: "Now talking about people who have these nervous conditions, without being out of their minds....who would help them with their problems?"

   Respondent: "Anyone who has the special training to understand their problem."

Does the respondent mean the family doctor, a psychiatrist, a neurosurgeon, or some other type of physician? Or is he thinking of a chiropractor or some other non-medical person? Obviously, in the interest of neutral probing, these questions cannot be addressed to the respondent but an answer may be obtained by probing: "Could you give me an example of who could help?"

c. Interviewer: "When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first?"

   Respondent: "The race problem."

Is the respondent concerned with "keeping Negroes in their place," with extending more privileges than are now available to northern Negroes, with integrating southern schools, or with some other phase of race relations? Most one or two word replies are ambiguous and must be probed, as this one. Perhaps the best probe in this case would be to repeat the respondent's words, "the race problem?" on a rising inflection with an implied question mark asking for clarification. Other useful probes might be: "How are you using the term, the race problem?" "The race problem--how do you mean?" or "Exactly what are you thinking of when you say the race problem?"

8. Never accept a "don't know" answer the first time it is offered as an answer to any question. Frequently, respondents who say "don't know" are people who regard opinion questions as dealing with matters of fact, having right and wrong answers, when, actually, for such questions, there are no "right" answers and even experts have different points of view about them. So if a respondent says, "That's a question for experts," or "I don't know what the facts are," etc., you should reassure the respondent that these are not factual questions and ask the question again, adding something like, "Just the way you look at it," or "Just what you think," or "Well, what's your point of view on that?"

Then, too, you've probably noticed your friends--and yourself--initially answering a question with "I don't know" and then answering it! This is what we refer to as the "lazy don't know"--it's simply a conversational tool to give us time to think of what we have to say. Don't be in too big a rush to code a reply as "don't know." If you sit quietly--but expectantly--your respondent will usually think of something further to say. A waiting silence is frequently your best probe for a don't know. You'll also find that other useful probes are: "Well, what do you think?", "I just want your own ideas on that." "Nobody knows, I suppose. But what's your opinion?".

9. Never accept a "Depends" or "Qualified" answer the first time it is offered as an answer to any question. We frequently provide an "escape" answer-- "Depends" or "Qualified"--for respondents who say, "Some people are one way, some are another," or "Sometimes it's this way, sometimes another," or "Under certain circumstances, yes, but under other circumstances, no." Before you accept such an answer from a respondent, you should first try to get a more meaningful response. Generally, there are two main types of problems to deal with:

   a. If the respondent is in the "some one way, some another" position, try to get him to generalize by repeating the question in the context of "Just generally speaking..." or "Most of the time..." or "In most cases....", is it one way or the other.

   b. If the respondent is in the "depends on future circumstances" position, try to get him to commit himself on what the future circumstances are likely to be, and then repeat the question in the context of "Under those circumstances...". For instance:

      Q. 17. On the whole, do you think life will be better for you, or worse, in the next few years, than it is now?

      Respondent: "Well, that all depends on whether or not we get into another war."

      Interviewer: "Just whatever you think about that...(repeating question)?"

      Respondent: "Well, like I say, it's all a question of whether there's a war."

      Interviewer: "What do you think about that--I mean, how would you answer the question of whether there'll be another war in the next few years?"

      Respondent: "Oh, I'm not expecting any war."

      Interviewer: "Well, if things go as you expect and there isn't any war, do you think life will be better for you or worse, in the next few years, than it is now?"

      Respondent: "Oh, in that case, I figure things will go along without much change."

10. Be sure to clarify one response before asking for additional factors. Often interviewers find that probes like "Anything else?" or "What else?" encourage respondents to add to a listing of factors (or of causes, of names, or whatever the question asks). It is often needed to exhaust all ideas a respondent can offer on a given subject. (Of course, it is not appropriate in a question asking for ONE answer.) This type of probe is excellent PROVIDING that what the respondent has already said is perfectly clear.

Perhaps an example is in order: The respondent who defines "What security means to me" as "a good home," should be asked something like, "And what do you mean by a good home?" before asking what else the term means. One respondent will reply in terms of financial considerations while another will think in terms of personal relationships, and it is important to find out precisely what is meant by each term, rather than to continue a "cafeteria" listing of unrelated, vague terms.

G. RECORDING RESPONSES

1. Be ready to write. Have your pencil poised--ready to write--when you ask your question. Start writing when your respondent starts talking. If you wait until your respondent completes a complicated thought, you may lose half of what he has to say. As you become more experienced, you will develop the knack of looking at your respondent with an interested expression while you are writing.

2. Circle codes carefully. When you circle a code, be sure that it's obvious which code is circled. (Sometimes, you'll find that your circle embraces two numbers when you intended to include only one.)

3. Use an "X" (without quotation marks) to indicate each probe. Throughout the Specifications we refer to the importance of probing certain kinds of responses. Every time you probe to clarify an ambiguous response or to encourage a respondent to express additional ideas, enter an X to show each point at which you probed. Don't bother to record the language of your probe--i.e., we don't need to know how you probed, but we do want to know where. Having this information often helps the coders to interpret responses more accurately. (You realize, of course, how important it is to use neutral probes. Don't try to interpret what the respondent has in mind. Instead, use probes that encourage the respondent to explain what he means.)

4. Beware of unpreceded or dangling probes. If a probe mark occurs without any words of the respondent preceding it or if a probe mark is the final entry in a respondent's answer to the question, we are forced to conclude either that you are not recording accurately or that you used a probe before the respondent said a word in answer to the main question (unpreceded probe) or went on to the next question without getting an answer to your last probe (dangling probe). The only time unpreceded or dangling probes can conceivably occur are in situations where the respondent made some non-verbal response--looked puzzled or shook his head, etc. But in such cases you should record the gesture in parentheses, as the first response you obtained, and then record the probe mark. For instance:

Q. 23. Do you approve or disapprove of American policy in the Middle East?

(Looked blank) X I don't have no idea on that. X (Shook his head, "No").

5. Always record "Verbatim"--write down everything relevant the respondent has said in the respondent's own words. Verbatim means "word-for-word" and should be interpreted literally, although we recognize that interviewers are not machines and may miss a few words. But don't paraphrase. Don't summarize. Don't polish the respondent's language. Don't report in the third person. For instance:

THE WRONG WAY	THE RIGHT WAY
Likes prestige, remuneration and feeling of social usefulness.	I think I'd like the fact that people look up to doctors--and they make good money. And one important reason is you feel you're doing a hell of an important job. X I mean you're helping people.

6. It isn't always necessary to write down everything the respondent says in answer to a pre-coded question. If a respondent's initial reply to a pre-coded question is clearly codeable, it is unnecessary to record the verbatim comments UNLESS these remarks will give us greater insight into the respondent's frame of reference or the intensity of his feelings. If you feel that the verbatim response will add something relevant that is not reflected by the pre-code alone, by all means record it. A good rule to follow is: When in doubt whether to record a comment, record it.

7. But, if an initial answer to a pre-coded question is not clearly codeable, you must write down everything that is said during the entire process of trying to obtain a clarified response. If the verbatim response is uncodeable--for instance, the respondent answers "don't know," "depends" or can't make a choice, you record verbatim this initial answer, then the probe symbol X to represent your first probe, then the response to the probe and so on. If the respondent still can't decide, after your attempts at clarification, you circle the "don't know" or "depends" code, but the entire record of the process leading to the code must also be written down.

8. Comments on pre-coded questions should generally be recorded in the space to the left of the list of pre-codes, but

9. Don't assume that all you have to record is whatever will fit in the space provided in the questionnaire for that question. Use the margins and backs of pages to continue recording, as long as the respondent has something to say. Just as long as we can read it, we don't care where it's written!

10. You'll save recording time if you remember:

    a. Quotation marks are unnecessary. We will assume that anything that is not enclosed by parentheses is a verbatim quote of the respondent. That's why we don't use quotation marks in recording verbatims on questionnaires.

    b. Use abbreviations. "DK" is a universal symbol for "Don't know." You can also use "Govt" for "Government" and any other abbreviations that can be interpreted later. Some common ones that won't require later interpretation by you, are:

        Th is think
        Just use the "g" from the "ing"--sayg is saying,
          hopg is hoping, etc.
        Thg for thing
        c is can; cd is could
        w is will; wd is would
        sh is shall; shd is should
        r for are
        u for you

    c. Omit articles--"a," "an" and "the"

d. **Cross out, instead of erasing.** Crossing out is faster than erasing and besides, it's just as neat.

11. **If necessary, you can get the respondent to slow down or wait until you catch up.** Respondents are usually flattered when you ask them to speak a little more slowly, or repeat something, or wait a minute until you catch up, because you "don't want to miss anything he is saying" or "want to get this all down."

12. **Take a couple of minutes right after you complete each interview to inspect and edit the questionnaire, before you conduct another interview.** In particular:

a. **Make sure you've recorded an answer for every question that applies.** When you're busy asking the questions, recording answers and trying to hold the respondent's interest, it's easy to forget to circle a code for a particular question or to make some other type of error. Because of the interrelated nature of the questions, the omission of a single item can make a whole interview worthless in various stages of the statistical analysis. So, check it while you can still recall what the respondent said.

b. **Make sure everything you've written is legible.**

c. **Add parenthetical notes at any point where you think they may help coders in the home office to understand and interpret what the respondent said.** Most especially, use parenthetical notes to:

   (1) **Explain the meaning of any non-standard abbreviations you may have used.**

   (2) **Define local terms or points of reference whose meaning may be quite clear in the locality where you are interviewing, but utterly unintelligible to the coders who will be reading the interviews.**

   (3) **Specify the referents of ambiguous pronouns.** Quite often interviewers record such replies as "They should get together on it like he said. Those fellows are always trying to upset things," etc.

   Sometimes the interviewer accidentally or deliberately substitutes the pronoun for the noun used by the respondent, but more often that's the way the respondent actually talked, and the interviewer probably knew at the time exactly what he meant by such words as "they," "it," "he," "those fellows," "things," etc.

   When we come to code the response, however, we are often completely in the dark. Is the respondent talking about our President, the Russians, the UN, the Chinese Communists, the Republicans, or what?

   Please be sure in recording free answers and comments, that you yourself understand whom the respondent has in mind when he uses pronouns; and then help us by writing in, in parentheses, the person or thing he is referring to.

   (4) **Tell us anything about the manner, reactions and non-verbal gestures of the respondent that may have a bearing on his answers.**

   (5) **Report anything about the interviewing situation--the presence of others, uncomfortable location, etc.--which may affect our interpretation of this interview.**

   (6) And, of course, anything else that you feel will prove helpful to us in analyzing the interview.

SPECIFICATIONS FOR THIS SURVEY

DU Enumeration Folder

As you probably know, an area-probability sample is selected in three successive stages:

a. A random sample of blocks is selected from all the blocks in the area--nation, state, city--being sampled.

b. All dwelling units located on these sample blocks are listed, and a random sample of dwelling units is selected from these lists.

c. All persons residing in these sample dwelling units are enumerated, and a random sample of people to be interviewed is selected from these enumerations.

Remember that correct sampling procedure is as important to survey accuracy as good interviewing is. The best interviewing job in the world is no good to us, if the respondent has been incorrectly selected. If you fail to interview the right person in a particular dwelling unit, or make other sampling errors, the reliability of the whole survey will suffer. If you follow these instructions exactly, however, we can be sure that we have a representative cross-section--one with the proper proportions of young and old, men and women, workers and management, white and Negro, educated and uneducated, informed and uninformed, and pro and con.

The DU Enumeration Folder is used for the third step in sampling: Enumerating residents of sample dwelling units, selecting respondents from among them and arranging interviews with these designated respondents.

You will be given a supply of DU Enumeration Folders, each of which is filled in across the top as follows:

a. PSU. This is the name of the city, town or county in which you will be interviewing.

b. Segment No. This is the identification of the particular sample block within the PSU, which was selected in the first stage above.

c. Line No. on Listing Sheet. This is the location of the particular dwelling unit the Enumeration Folder refers to, on the lists made during the second stage above.

d. Address (or Description) of DU. This is as exact a description of the geographic location of the dwelling unit in which an interview is to be obtained, as we are able to furnish you. It will usually be a numerical street address and, where more than one dwelling unit is covered by that address, some identification of the particular unit--"Apt. 207," "2nd Floor," "Left," "Front," etc. In occasional instances where there was no numerical address, a description of the location of the dwelling unit will appear.

You will also receive a supply of extra DU Enumeration Folders, which will not be filled in across the top. These are for use whenever an unlisted DU turns up, as will be explained more fully, below.

Now, here is what you do:

1. GO TO THE DWELLING UNIT SPECIFIED ON THE ENUMERATION FOLDER. Make sure you know the location of the specific addresses on your Enumeration Folders, then visit each one. Be absolutely sure that you call at the exact address given, for you are never permitted to make any substitution for a prescribed dwelling unit. Where you are given a description rather than a numerical address to go to, make doubly certain that you have found the right one.

If you find one and only one DU that fits the address or description given you, you are ready to proceed to the next steps in completing the Enumeration Folder. If there are any questions about which DU is assigned to you, here is the way they are handled, before going on to the next steps:

a. IF THERE IS NO STRUCTURE (BUILDING) OF ANY KIND AT THAT ADDRESS.. For instance, your DU Enumeration Folder says "6734 Broadview, Apt. 2, Rear." You go to this general location and discover that there is a one-family house at 6728 Broadview, then a vacant lot that looks like a structure has been torn down recently, and then 6738 Broadview, which is an apartment building. (Or maybe there's no obvious gap like this; the numbers just happen to run 6728, 6732, 6736.) In all cases like this, you do three things:

(1) On the bottom of the back page of the Enumeration Folder, under the heading, "IF INTERVIEW NEVER OBTAINED, EXPLAIN REASONS," just write, "No structure."

(2) Inside the Enumeration Folder, write out all the detail we may need about the structures on either side of the missing address to track down the listing error. In the illustration above, for instance, you'd write something like, "6728 Broadview--one family house, then a vacant lot that has recently been cleared, then 6738 Broadview--an apartment building with 16 units."

(3) Return the Enumeration Folder to your supervisor at once, without proceeding any further with the enumeration. If the address can be corrected, you may receive it back later, but this is all for now.

b. IF THERE IS A STRUCTURE AT THAT ADDRESS, BUT IT IS NOT A DWELLING UNIT.. To decide this, you need to know exactly how a dwelling unit is defined:

A dwelling unit is a room or group of rooms, occupied (or intended for occupancy) as separate living quarters by an individual, a family, or some other group of people living together.

In other words, all places where people live generally qualify as dwelling units, whether they are apartments, houses, trailers, back rooms of stores or shacks in alleys. But, for survey purposes, we do not count as dwelling units:

--Rooms, cells or wards in institutions, i.e., jails, prisons and hospitals. Our samples exclude the institutionalized population, while patients temporarily in hospitals are already counted in their homes (in Item 6 of the Enumeration Folder).

--Barracks and other purely military living quarters on the grounds of a military installation. Our samples include only the civilian population.

So, if you find that the DU address given to you refers to an institution or military installation, or to a business or industrial structure in which no one lives, you:

(1) Write on the bottom of the back page of the Enumeration Folder (in the same place as before) the words, "No DU," followed by a description of what the structure is--e.g., "Mental hospital," "Prison," "Warehouse," etc.

(2) Return the Enumeration Folder to your supervisor, with no further entries.

c. IF THERE IS MORE THAN ONE DWELLING UNIT THAT FITS THE ADDRESS.. For instance, you may have the address, "373 Main St.," but when you get there you find it is an apartment house, or a two-family house, and you don't know which DU you are supposed to enumerate. In fact, you may not discover this, in some instances, until after you have begun your enumeration, when, for instance, it may turn out that the supposedly one-family house has been converted or contains a separate basement or attic apartment. Regardless of when you discover the ambiguity of the address you have been given, you must:

(1) Correct your Enumeration Folder by adding a fuller description, so the address given is no longer ambiguous. When corrected, the dwelling unit now represented by your original Enumeration Folder for that address should be the unit which would have been listed FIRST, if all the units covered by that address had been listed. This means the unit on the lowest floor, and, if there are several of these, the unit on the right as you face the building from the outside, and, if there are several of these, the frontmost unit.

(2) Make out a new Enumeration Folder (using your extra supply) for EACH additional dwelling unit covered by the address given you. In doing this, you:

--Write down the complete address of each additional dwelling unit on separate blank Enumeration Folders.

--Copy onto each new Enumeration Folder for this address the PSU and Segment No. shown on the original folder.

--In the Space for the Line No. on Listing Sheet, write "Added" and follow this with the number of the added unit, and the total number of dwelling units covered by the ambiguous address. For instance, you might write, "Added, 2 of 6." This means that there are a total of six du's covered by the address, and this particular one is the second that would have been listed, if they had all been listed. Remember, in numbering the added du's, that listing proceeds from bottom to top, from right to left, and from front to back.

When you complete this, you should now have one Enumeration Folder for each dwelling unit at the assigned address.

(3) Proceed on to the next steps in enumeration for each of these Enumeration Folders. That is, all of the dwelling units covered by an ambiguous address fall into the sample, so you will complete the enumeration and conduct an interview for each Enumeration Folder.

2. INTRODUCE YOURSELF AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE. Handling the introduction has already been discussed on pages 2 and 3 of these instructions.

3. ENUMERATE ALL PERSONS LIVING IN THE DWELLING UNIT. At each dwelling unit assigned to you, you are to list on the DU Enumeration Folder all persons living in the DU ("household" is a synonymous term). A person is to be considered as "living in the DU," if:

This is his regular residence, or

He or she is staying here at the time of your call and has no regular residence elsewhere. For example: a woman who lives sometimes with one of her children, sometimes with another, and other times with a third, is to be considered as living wherever she happens to be at the moment. (Of course, if two of the children live in the same town and you meet her at the residence of one of these children where she is just visiting for the day and not staying overnight--i.e., she is staying with the other child--do not consider her to be living there.)

Do not consider as living at the dwelling unit any member of the family who has a regular abode elsewhere even though the family "saves" a room for him or her.

For example:

--A man in the armed forces is living at the barracks or army quarters where he regularly sleeps and not at the home of his family.

--A woman employed in another city who comes home to visit her family weekends and who has a regular room in the other city, lives <u>there</u> and <u>not</u> at her family's home. The same rule would apply to a man even <u>if</u> the man happens to be the head of the family.

--A person in a mental institution or other institution is to be considered as living at the institution and not with the family.

--A college student, even if home on a visit, is to be considered as living at the college if he or she has a room or other dwelling unit there.

--On the other hand, a student who is home for the summer and who has given up his (or her) room at the college, is to be considered as living at home, even though he (or she) plans to return to the college in the fall.

--Similarly, a traveling salesman who does not have a regular room or other dwelling unit, but travels from place to place, is to be considered as living with the family. The distinction is the rule stated above--maintenance of a "regular place of abode" in some other location.

In some cases, a DU assigned to you may turn out to be vacant. For such cases, enter "DU vacant" at the bottom of the back page of the Enumeration Folder and do nothing further about this DU. In other cases, there may be people <u>temporarily</u> staying in the DU, but no one who "lives" there--for instance, a cabin in a motel which happens to be occupied at the time of your call, but the people live elsewhere and are simply staying a day or two at the motel; or a room in a hotel which is currently occupied by a transient who has his regular abode elsewhere. (Permanent guests at a hotel--people for whom the hotel is their regular place of residence--<u>are</u>, of course, to be considered as "living" at the hotel.) For DU's occupied <u>only</u> by transients at the time of your call, enter "Occupied by Non-Residents" in the usual place, and do nothing further about that dwelling unit.

Assuming your DU has residents living in it, you proceed as follows:

a. <u>To begin your enumeration, you ask Item 5 on the Enumeration Folder.</u> Enter name, sex, marital status and age of Head on the first line, then continue listing all residents on the lines below. (For large households, you may have to continue your listing on the inside cover.)

In filling out the items covered by the enumeration, use the following abbreviations:

<u>Sex</u>: M....Male
F....Female

<u>Marital Status</u>:
M....Married, spouse resides in same household
MA...Married, spouse absent from household
W....Widowed
D....Divorced
S....Single

b. <u>Always check for possible omission of persons who are living in the DU</u>: Servants, in-laws, lodgers and other persons who are not related to the head of the household are often overlooked in the informant's first answer. Peculiarly enough, people also sometimes forget to report children, even their own children, and, particularly babies. Therefore, when you have been told the names, <u>always ask the additional question (Item 6) on the DU Enumeration Folder.</u>

Of course, sometimes the names you get in answer to this question may not actually be living in the DU, according to our rules. For instance, the informant may mention a son who is living at college, or a member of the family who is in a mental hospital. But, to make sure you get everybody who should be listed, it is better to obtain the name and status of each person and then decide whether the person should be listed, according to the rules. Note that a person in a hospital may or may not be "living in the DU," depending on the type of hospital and the length of his stay there--a person who is in a tuberculosis hospital or a mental hospital, where people stay for long periods, is <u>not</u> living in the DU, but a person in a regular hospital for a relatively brief stay--an operation, heart attack, etc.--should be enumerated as living in the DU.

In general, the data on the DU Enumeration Folder can be obtained from any person in the household who is mentally and physically competent to supply it. (Don't try to get it from a five-year old child.) If no one is at home at the time of your first call, you may try to obtain the data from a neighbor, but in such cases you should verify the information obtained when you call back for an interview. Similarly, in lodging houses or other addresses where the DU's contain single individuals living by themselves, the information for the individual may be obtained from the landlady or manager or even from a neighbor, provided the informant is acquainted with the person and can give you an approximate age. Of course, when you call back for an interview with that person, you should verify the information about him, making suitable corrections, if necessary.

Enumeration may sound somewhat complicated, but in practice it isn't so difficult. Here are some examples of the process of listing a household.

(1) You are interviewing a woman and get the following information--

Q. First, we need a list of all the people who live here at this address. Who is the head of this household?

A. My husband is.

Q. What is his full name?

A. Henry Thomas Phelps.

Q. And how old is your husband?

A. He's 29.

Q. And what is your full name?

A. Elizabeth Webster Phelps.

Q. And how old are you, Mrs. Phelps?

A. I'm 26.

Q. Do you have any children?

A. Yes, there's Henry Jr. and Nellie.

Q. How old is Henry Jr.?

A. Henry is 3.

Q. And how old is Nellie?

A. Nellie is 6.

Q. Is there anyone else living here at this address with you?

A. No.

Q. Have we missed anybody--any children or babies or anyone else who lives here--anyone away traveling, in a hospital, or visiting somewhere, or away on business or at school?

A. No, that's all of us.

On the basis of this response the entries on the Household Enumeration Sheet should be as follows:

	Full Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Marital Status	Age	Rank No.
X	Henry Thomas Phelps	Head	M	M	29	1
	Elizabeth Webster Phelps	Wife	F	M	26	2
	Nellie Phelps	Daughter	F	S	6	-
	Henry Thomas Phelps, Jr.	Son	M	S	3	-

ENTER RANK NO. FOR ALL ADULTS 21 AND OVER, FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST; INTERVIEW PERSON WITH RANK NO.:

No. of adults in DU	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Interview Rank No.	1	1	3	2	4	3

PLACE AN "X" AT LEFT BEFORE NAME OF PERSON CHOSEN FOR INTERVIEW.

(2) In another household the interview goes as follows: (You are again interviewing a woman.)

Q. First, we need a list of all the people who live here at this address. Who is the head of this household?

A. My father is.

Q. What is his full name?

A. Walter H. Kram.

Q. Is your mother living?

A. Yes, but she's out right now.

Q. How old is your father?

A. He's 67.

Q. And what is your mother's full name?

A. Elsie Mae Kram.

Q. And how old is she?

A. She's 62.

Q. Now how about the other people who live here? Do you have any unmarried brothers and sisters?

A. Well, Fred and Jane aren't married.

Q. Do they both live here?

A. Fred does. Jane works in St. Louis and comes home most weekends.

Q. Well, I'm not supposed to list Jane, since she lives elsewhere most of the time. How about yourself--are you married?

A. Yes, but my husband's in Japan in the Marines.

Q. Has your brother Fred ever been married?

A. Yes, but he's divorced now.

Q. How old is Fred?

A. He's 26.

Q. Do you have any other brothers or sisters living here?

A. My sister Louise lives here but she's married and you asked about unmarried brothers and sisters before.

Q. Yes, it's just easier to keep track of that way. How old is Louise?

A. She's 36.

Q. And how old are you?

A. Louise is older. I'm 32.

Q. Does Louise's husband live here?

A. Yes.

Q. What is his name?

A. Philip Tilden.

Q. And how old is he?

A. He's 44, I think. (Note: Enter 44 now, but if an interview is required with Philip Tilden, verify his age and correct if necessary.)

Q. Now, you already told me Louise's age--it's 36, isn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. Do your sister and her husband have any children?

A. Yes, just one--Julie. She's 7 years old.

Q. And what is your full name?

A. Mrs. Geraldine Hadley.

Q. And you're 32. Do you have any children?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Now is there anyone else who lives here?

A. Yes, there's my grandmother, but she's pretty old.

Q. Is that your mother's mother or your father's mother?

A. That's my mother's mother.

Q. And what is her full name?

A. Henrietta Schmidt.

Q. Is your grandmother widowed?

A. Yes.

Q. And how old is she?

A. She'll be 85 this September.

Q. Is there anyone else living here? Have we missed any children or babies or anyone else who lives here--anyone away traveling, in a hospital, or visiting somewhere--or away on business or at school?

A. Well, I mentioned my husband--he's in the Army--his brother stays here sometimes but he's on a construction project in Arizona and I don't know when he'll be back.

Q. Does he live here regularly?

A. No, just between jobs--when he's on the job he lives at the construction camp.

Q. Well, we won't need to list him. Is there anyone else?

A. No, that's all of us.

This is a somewhat more complicated one, but there shouldn't be too much difficulty making the entries, which should appear as follows:

Full Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Marital Status	Age	Rank No.
Walter H. Kram	Head	M	M	67	2
Eloie Mae Kram	Wife	F	M	62	3
Fred Kram	Son	M	D	26	7
Philip Tilden	Son-in-law	M	M	44	4
X Louise Tilden	Daughter	F	M	36	5
Julie Tilden	Granddaughter	F	S	7	-
Geraldine Hadley	Daughter	F	M A	32	6
Henrietta Schmidt	Mother-in-law	F	W	85	1

ENTER RANK NO. FOR ALL ADULTS 21 AND OVER, FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST; INTERVIEW PERSON WITH RANK NO:

No. of adults in DU	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Interview Rank No.	1	2	1	4	3	5

PLACE AN "X" AT LEFT BEFORE NAME OF PERSON CHOSEN FOR INTERVIEW.

4. RANK ALL ADULTS (PERSONS 21 AND OVER) IN ORDER OF AGE, FROM OLDEST TO YOUNGEST. After you have listed all residents of the household and recorded their relationship to the head of the household and their sex, marital status and age, assign a rank to each person, 21 and older. In the column labeled "Rank No." place a 1 on the line on which the oldest person is listed, a 2 on the line for the next oldest, and so on down to the youngest person classed as an adult.

By way of illustration, this column has also been filled in on the two previous illustrative listings.

5. SELECT THE PERSON TO BE INTERVIEWED. Notice the chart which appears as Item 7 on the DU Enumeration Folder. In the top row of this chart there are printed numbers from 1 to 6 for each size of family up to six adults.

   a. Find the number in the top row which corresponds to the number of adults you listed in the dwelling unit. This will, of course, be the highest number you entered in the "Rank No." column. The corresponding hand-written number in the bottom row is the rank number of the individual you should interview.

   b. Go back to your listing and pick out the one adult who has this rank order number. Place an "X" at the left, in front of the name of the person you are to interview.

This process is also illustrated in the two preceding listings. For instance, in the first example, you ranked only two adults. So, you find the printed number "2" in the top row of the chart. The written number below it happens to be a 1. This means you are to interview the person with rank number 1, so an "X" is placed in front of the name "Henry Thomas Phelps" to indicate that he is to be interviewed. In the second example, you ranked seven adults. Using the section of the chart for families containing six or more adults, you discover that you are to interview the person with rank number 5, so an "X" is placed in front of the name "Louise Tilden."

This procedure provides a scientific way of selecting the one individual whom you will interview. You will note that the hand-written numbers are different from folder to folder (except for one-adult households, where you always interview the only adult). They are deliberately varied in a random way to make sure that individuals are selected purely by chance.

ONLY THE PERSON SELECTED IN THIS MANNER IS TO BE INTERVIEWED. NO SUB-STITUTIONS CAN BE MADE.

6. COMPLETE THE OTHER ITEMS ON THE DU ENUMERATION FOLDER AT THIS POINT.

   a. Items 2 and 3 can be filled out by inspection, without asking any questions unless your informant is not a member of the household you are enumerating, in which case you will have to ask about Item 3. These items can actually be filled out at any time in the enumeration process. Just make sure at this point that you have not forgotten them.

   b. Item 4 is for office use only, where we will code in the civil defense classification of the neighborhood in which the DU is located. Some of your folders may be coded when you receive them, others will be blank; in either case, just ignore the item for your purposes.

c. When you know whom you are going to interview, Item 9 (on the back of the DU Enumeration Folder) must be completed. Here, we want to pick up information about any living children of any age that the designated respondent may have, in addition to those who are residents of the DU and listed in the first listing. The major possibilities are children away at school, in institutions, serving in the Army, or living in homes of their own.

(1) Fill out this listing for every designated respondent who has ever been married, entering "None" on the first line under "Name," if the respondent has no children other than those previously listed.

(2) Complete the other entries in the same fashion as before, except for the last column, in which the entries should be:

> A (or Army).......Child now in military service
>
> S (or Sch).......Child now away at school
>
> I (or Inst.).....Child now in an institution
>
> O (or Other).....Child now living in another private household--that is, living with other relatives or living in a home of his own.

Like the rest of the enumeration, this listing on non-household children of the respondent can be obtained from any qualified informant. It should, however, be checked with the actual respondent, along with the factual items at the end of the interview, if the actual respondent was not your informant.

7. OBTAIN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE DESIGNATED RESPONDENT. After you have determined whom you are to interview in the household, it is your job to locate that person and conduct an interview with him.

If your designated respondent is home at the time of your call, you can probably interview him right away.

If he is not at home or is not immediately available for an interview, try to find out when will be the best time for you to call again. If possible, make a definite appointment.

REMEMBER: In no event can any other member of this household or any other household be substituted for a designated respondent.

8. MAKE CALL-BACKS IN ORDER TO FIND THE DESIGNATED RESPONDENT, AND KEEP A RECORD OF YOUR CALLS. If no one is home when you call for the enumeration data and you cannot obtain the information from a neighbor, you will have to call back for it. Similarly, if your designated respondent is not at home, you will have to call back at another time for the interview.

For this study, three separate calls (including those made to obtain the enumeration) should be made on every dwelling unit assigned to you, unless you have either obtained the interview or been very flatly refused by the designated respondent himself on an early call.

Use all your skill and ingenuity to avoid wasting expensive calls. If no one is home the first afternoon you call, make your next call an

evening or weekend one, when you are more likely to find someone there. Inquire of neighbors concerning the habits of the family and the times you can most likely find your sample person at home.

Do not give up a single interview without a genuine effort to find and interview each intended respondent. If a person is reluctant to be interviewed, remember that he cannot be substituted for, and each such person lost decreases the representativeness of our sample. The suggestions made on pages 5 and 6 of these Instructions will help you overcome hesitancy about being interviewed. Never let another member of the family refuse for the designated respondent; speak to the person yourself. In general, persistance and ingenuity should enable you to obtain the interview.

Record all of the separate calls you make at each dwelling unit in the appropriate space on the back of the DU Enumeration Folder. (The spaces left for additional calls beyond three will only be used if your supervisor authorizes additional calls.) As you will note there, you record the date (month and day), the time of day, your name or initials, and the outcome. Under "outcome," you will enter such items as "Completed interview," "Enumeration completed," "Appointment made," "Nobody home," "Designated respondent not home," or whatever transpired as a result of the call. Space is also left for any "Remarks" that may be useful--such things as appointment times, times informants told you would be best for finding the respondent at home, and so on.

Note that "Separate" calls require the elapse of sufficient time between them, so that persons not at home at the earlier call could reasonably be expected to have returned home by the time of the later call. Several visits to the dwelling unit, all made during the same general time of day, on the same day, should be counted and recorded on your Enumeration Folder as one call. For instance, if you are spending the afternoon in one neighborhood, you may drop back several times at one dwelling unit, on the off-chance that someone will be home the next time you call. This is a wise practice, since you are in the vicinity anyhow and it doesn't take very much of your time, while it might save you a trip back to this vicinity. However, this all counts as one call, no matter how often you go back that afternoon, since you have every reason to believe that the residents are away for the afternoon. If, however, you make one call in the late afternoon and another in the early evening, at a time when people could reasonably be expected to have returned from work, this counts as two separate calls. If you make several visits that all count as one call, record all the visits on the DU Enumeration Folder, but place them all within the space for the appropriate call.

Finally, space is left at the bottom of the back page of the Enumeration Folder in which you should explain the reasons why you did not get the interview in those cases where you completed three separate calls without getting the interview and the rare instances where you gave up without making three calls. If the reason basically is that no one was ever at home, you can just write "NAH," but if there was a refusal, or some other special circumstances, explain in sufficient detail so that if another interviewer has to go back to this dwelling unit, he will know the situation he is walking into.

The Questionnaire: I. Some General Points

Some of the points referring to individual questions apply to so many of the questions that these Instructions would get extremely bulky and repetitious if we said them each time that they apply. Instead we will give you some points that refer generally to the entire questionnaire, before coming to the detailed discussion of each individual question. These instructions will not be repeated, so bear in mind that they apply whenever the particular situation arises during the interview.

A. Special Probing of Areas of Generic Significance for This Survey. You will find that certain themes run through people's thinking in the areas of war, atomic bombing and civil defense. Since these are of basic importance to the central objectives of the study, it is essential to get these ideas recorded, whenever they are expressed, and to probe them just as thoroughly as you can. The kinds of themes we are interested in can emerge as answers to many different questions in the survey, and they will very likely come up on different questions with different respondents. So, you must keep them firmly in mind, be on the alert for them, and explore them when they arise, no matter where it is in the interview. This last point means that it does not matter at all whether the particular ideas the respondent is expressing are relevant or irrelevant to the question you have asked. Explore them fully at that point and record them at that point; then return to the question which precipitated the discussion and probe for a relevant answer to that question.

In general, the material we want specially probed may be described as anything expressing underlying attitudes, emotional reactions and motivations, where the central objectives of the survey are concerned. Since this is rather vague, the main kinds of expressions to watch for may be summarized as:

1. Emotional recoil, escape, avoidance, distaste. If your respondent says, with reference to either war, possible bombing or civil defense, that it's an unpleasant subject and he'd rather not think about it, or it's terrible to think about, or he doesn't want to talk about it, or it's something to be put off as long as possible (e.g., "I'll think about that when it happens"), record it; then try to probe with something like, "I know how you feel, but why do you suppose it is that people feel that way about it?". This is rather touchy, and you may have to sacrifice the special probing in order to reassure the respondent sufficiently to get answers to the specific questions, but record it, even if you don't feel it should be probed at that point.

2. Expressions of unreality, disbelief, unwillingness or inability to accept the possibilities of war and atomic bombing. These are very similar to those just mentioned in 1) above, but would also include direct statements to the effect that it's hard to think of these things really happening, or that it doesn't seem real to talk about them. These should be probed in the same way as 1) and will generally be easier to probe than the recoil type.

3. Reference to public or individual apathy, lack of interest, failure to take civil defense seriously. Answers like these must always be followed up, whenever they occur, in two different directions: (a) Why do people feel this way about it and (b) What could be done to overcome it--that is, to change the way people feel about it. In talking to respondents, you'd say something like, "Why do you suppose it is people feel that way?" and

then, "What do you think it would take" (or "What do you think could be done" or "If it were up to you, how would you go about it") "to make people take civil defense more seriously" or "to get people more interested" or "to make people less apathetic?" (or whatever the respondent has just said is wrong).

4. Any reference to being "too busy," "not having time," "engaged in other things," as a reason why the respondent or other people aren't interested or willing to engage in civil defense activities. Actually, no one has time to do everything, but almost everybody does some things. Consequently, people choose what they will spend their limited time on, and the statement that one doesn't have time for something is simply another way of saying that one has chosen to do something else rather than this with one's time. If respondents aren't doing civil defense work and aren't interested in it, we already know that the respondents haven't chosen to do CD work, and the statement that they are too busy does nothing to explain why they did not choose CD. So, all such "easy" explanations must be probed further. You'll find these probes helpful: "How come?","Why do you suppose people don't take (or make) the time?", "Well, I suppose doing civil defense work would mean giving up doing other things, of course. But why do you suppose people find it so hard to make the time for civil defense?", "You know, I've heard so many people say that. I'm not sure I understand exactly why they feel that way. Why do you think it is that they have such a hard time finding the time for something like civil defense?" In the case of people who say they are "engaged in other things," probe: "Why do you suppose people do things like that instead of being active in civil defense?"

5. Any other direct or indirect expressions of attitudes unfavorable toward civil defense. Be sure to go thoroughly into the implications of things people may say about civil defense to the point where it is clear what the respondent's own attitude is. This can lead you in some surprising directions: for instance, a pretest respondent, talking about people who volunteer for CD, said "They're very patriotic," but a "How do you mean?" from the interviewer brought out the fact that he meant that they were stuffed shirts, full of fancy and meaningless speeches--not nearly so favorable as his original answer seemed to imply! So, as usual, don't assume you know what your respondent means by these "cliche" words. It works in both directions, though, and the respondent who said of CD work, "That's for people who don't have anything else to do with their time," was not necessarily being unfavorable to CD, and it shouldn't be assumed; instead he should have been asked to explain further what he meant.

Once you are clear that the respondent is saying something unfavorable to CD, then you should probe further to find out why he feels this way and, when it is relevant, what could be done to overcome feelings like that. For instance, with a respondent who says, "I just don't think CD is very important," you would first ask why and, when that was cleared up, you would ask, "What do you think could be done to get people to think of CD as important?".

B. Handling Hypothetical and Conditional Questions. Since many of the questions in this survey deal with the possibility of a future war, the use of atomic bombs in that hypothetical future war and the role of civil defense in this event, you will frequently find yourself asking either hypothetical questions (If this happens, what would it be like , or what would you do?), or conditional questions (Suppose this happens, then what else would happen?).

The first and most obvious point about questions like these is that nobody knows what will happen in the future and nobody knows for sure what something that has never happened would be like if it happened, so "Don't know" is not a very appropriate answer. It's a question of "just what you'd guess" or "the way things look to you now" or "the way you see it."

Second, however, you have to be on your guard against answer which explicitly or implicitly reject the condition specified in the question. For instance, a question like, "Suppose you were in the city when an atomic bomb fell on it...What would you do to protect yourself" might be answered, "I'd leave the city before it fell." This is probably a very wise course of action, but it denies the basic condition in the question--namely, that the person has not left but is in the city when the bomb falls--and is, therefore, "non-responsive" or irrelevant to your question. In a case like this, you'd probe by denying the respondent's assumption and repeating the assumption in the question: "Well, suppose you couldn't leave the city, but were in the city when the bomb fell...Then, what would you do....?" This is a rather simple example, but the basic principle is clear: always make sure that the answer is a relevant answer, given the conditions imposed by the question.

Then there is a much trickier kind of circumvention of the question, which essentially consists of the respondent's escaping into conditions of his own, which are not really logical concommitants of the condition in the question. The "escape into conditions of his own" is typically a "Depends" answer which comes about when you ask the question under one set of conditions and the respondent replies that it would be one way or the other, if some more conditions, not specified by the question, obtain. For instance, you ask a respondent whether he thinks he would live through it, if an atomic bomb fell on his city, and he answers "Not if it landed right on my house." (Or he might say, "That depends on where it lands.") The question didn't suggest that the bomb would fall right on his house, so the respondent is complicating things with added conditions of his own which simply disguise his failure to commit himself on your question. In cases like this, you proceed in two steps: first, you get the respondent to relate his condition to the basic condition in the question; then you repeat the question with the relationship between the two conditions specified. In the present example, you'd say, "Well if a bomb fell on the city, do you expect it would land on your house?" and then (assuming he says "No" to the first probe), "Well if a bomb fell on the city without landing on your house, do you think you would live through it or not?"

Finally, another tricky one is the "escape into all possible alternatives." The type form of this is that you ask what would happen, while the respondent replies that A or B or C might happen. Usually what the respondent is saying is very true and all very sensible, except that we already know that anything at all is possible when you're talking about what may happen in the future. So, this answer evades the question, which calls not for a factual statement of all possibilities but an opinion statement of what the respondent thinks will (i.e., is most likely to) happen. For instance, you ask a respondent what he thinks the next war would be like, and he tells you that "that depends on whether or not atomic bombs are used." This is undoubtedly true, but, since the use or non-use of atom bombs is part of what "the next war would be like," the respondent has so far dodged rather than answered your question. This kind of answer is always handled by just asking the respondent to choose among the possibilities he has mentioned and then asking him the basic question under the condition of the possibility he has chosen. For instance, in this illustration you'd say, "Well what do you think on that? Do you think atom bombs will be used in the next war, or not?" Then, when

you have his answer to this, you continue, "Well, assuming atom bombs are used (or aren't used, depending on what the respondent decided), what would the next war be like?"

C. Use of Community Names. The questionnaire includes questions referring to the locality in which you are interviewing in three different ways:

1. Questions referring to the specific community. In these questions, the name of the central city appears parenthetically, followed by another parenthesis containing the words "NAME OF SUBURB"--for example, Q. 1, in which you'll see "(Milwaukee) (NAME OF SUBURB)"--or its equivalent in some other city--for the first time. For these questions, you use the name of the city, when interviewing in the city, and the name of the suburb, when interviewing in a suburb.

   Questions of this type: 1-8, 44-47, 51-52, 54-55, 58.

2. Questions referring to the entire metropolitan area, including both central city and suburbs. These questions are always asked in terms of "the Milwaukee area" (or whatever central city is applicable), and you use the wording that appears in the questionnaire without making any changes or substitutions.

   Questions of this type: 9-10, 16-17, 20, 28, 36-38, 49-50, 68.

3. Questions referring only to the central city of the metropolitan area, but relevant to and asked of residents of both the central city and its suburbs. These questions will contain the name of the central city without parentheses around it, and are asked just as they are printed in the questionnaire.

   Questions of this type: 26, 27.

The Questionnaire: II. The Specific Questions

Question 1: This first question begins the section (Q's. 1-17) on attitudes toward and participation in the local community and its problems.

Notice that the term, "neighborhood," in this question refers to an entire section of town or part of town, as the respondent conceives it, and not just to the few blocks in the immediate vicinity of where he lives. This definition is supplied parenthetically, and you may use it if it appears that the respondent is defining "neighborhood" too narrowly.

Except for people who have lived all their lives in the same neighborhood, subquestion A is then asked, to determine the respondent's total length of residence in the city or suburb in which he now lives. In general, the answer to this question should be at least as many, if not more, years than the preceding answer, but there is one exception which should be noted carefully: The boundaries of cities and suburbs are constantly expanding to include territory which formerly was not a part of them, so that a person may have lived in a particular house for twenty years, but in the city for only one year! Since we are interested in length of residence in the community as an index of people's bonds to the community, you circle the code for the length of time the person has been living in the area, since it became a part of the city or suburb, but write in a statement of his total length of residence in the area, under its former name, and a brief explanation of the situation.

There is a series of four sub-questions under A, which are asked of everyone except those who have never lived anywhere else than in their present city or suburb. In (1), if the respondent has lived in more than one other place, take

the last one he lived in, before moving to his present community. In recording this item, write down both the name and the state in which it is located, except where this is obvious. For instance, you don't need to add "Ill." to "Chicago," but you do need to add "Wisc." to "Little Chute." Any comments which the respondent makes that will help us in locating it, like "It's 40 miles northwest of here," should also be recorded. The other three questions are straightforward.

Just as there was a special problem in handling A, with respondents living in recently annexed portions of cities and suburbs, the sub-questions under A must also be handled specially. For sub-question (1) you write in the name of the area, prior to annexation; in sub-question (2), you record the length of time the respondent lived in the area up to its incorporation into its present city or suburb; then, skip sub-questions (3) and (4).

Question 2: This question has two parts, both of which should be asked of everyone. If the respondent begins by listing off a whole series of problems, be sure to get him to choose the one he considers most important, and record only this under A; all other problems which he considers important are recorded under B.

Question 3: This question supplements Q. 2, by making sure that every respondent considers a standard list of problems in making his choices. It has three parts to be asked of everyone. It is the first of several card questions in this survey and is handled as card questions always are--that is, you hand the respondent the card, then ask the question, and watch to make sure that the respondent looks at all the possibilities before making his choice. The respondent continues to hold and look at the card, until you have completed all three parts. If any respondent has difficulty reading, then you will have to read the list of choices to him.

As people look down a list of items like this one, they often make comments about each of the individual items, indicating why they are choosing or not choosing them, or expressing some other opinion about them. Do not prompt the respondent in any way, but IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT YOU RECORD EVERYTHING THAT THE RESPONDENT SPONTANEOUSLY VOLUNTEERS ABOUT ITEM 4 ON THE LIST (the civil defense item). Once the respondent has said something about item 4, if he does, you should then use clarifying probes if needed to make his ideas clear, but do not start the subject yourself. Special space has been left below question 3, for recording these spontaneous comments about civil defense.

One problem that sometimes arises with a question like this one is that a respondent may feel that all the items on the list are important, or that none of them is as important as the one he mentioned in Q. 2 A. Actually, this is an absolute answer, while you want a relative one. So, in situations like these, agree with the respondent, then ask the question again--for instance, "I guess they are all pretty important, but which one do you think is most important?" or "Unhuh, but sticking just to the problems on that list there, which one of those is most important?", etc. If the respondent still cannot choose one after such probes, circle the code for "Don't know."

Question 4: This question calls for ratings from every respondent of eight aspects of community functioning. You first read the introductory sentence, then ask question A for the first item--"How about city government? Would you say...(etc.)" If the respondent says there is room for improvement you then ask question B, using the parenthetical probe if needed. Finally you circle one code on the first line and go on to the second item in the same way. Notice that, once the respondent has said there is room for improvement, there is no provision for him to say that he doesn't know how much room for improvement there is. If he cannot choose between "A little" and "A lot," code this answer under "Some."

The introductory sentence to this question is especially important, because many respondents start to answer this question, taking account of extenuating circumstances. For instance, a pretest respondent said, "Well considering how little money they have and how crowded they are, I'd say the schools are doing a wonderful job." This is not an answer to the question. What we want the respondent to consider is what schools ought to be like--specifically, in the terms of this respondent, considering how much money they ought to have and how much plant they ought to have, rather than how well they do considering their handicaps; or, in the terms of the question, "considering what a community like this one really should have in the way of schools." So, whenever you see that a respondent is slipping into the other way of thinking, repeat this phrase from the introduction using the specific item, and then repeat question A.

This question is so set up that even if a particular suburb does not have a particular service, the respondent should be able to answer the question. A note to the effect that this suburb doesn't have any hospitals, for instance, is not a sufficient answer to the question, because, considering what the respondent thinks the suburb really should have in the way of hospital facilities, he may unqualifiedly approve of the situation or believe that there is room for improvement.

On the specific items: (1) Some suburbs call their governments city governments; some call them village governments. Use the term that is appropriate in the suburb you are interviewing in. (6) Hospital facilities should be interpreted to include access to hospitals in other places, as well as hospitals located in the city or suburb the respondent lives in. If, for instance, a suburb is dependent on the hospitals of the nearby city, the question still is whether this does the job well or whether more (improvement) is needed.

Question 5: This question has four parts, each to be asked of everyone. The opening statement in this question, which is needed to make sure that every respondent has the same idea of the basic issue, is quite a mouthful, so read it slowly and distinctly and repeat it if necessary.

Question A asks for a general reaction to the whole idea; question B will take up specifics; so try to get the respondent to generalize on A. If he says, "Well, some things should be together, but other things shouldn't," repeat the question, stressing the "Just in general... " Notice that an answer is provided in the list of codes that is not mentioned in the question--"Separate but coordinated services." This code is to be circled whenever respondents volunteer the idea that services should be independent in each community, but they should get together to make joint plans, cooperate, or coordinate what they are doing. Notice also that if the respondent has any opinion on question A, sub-question A (1) is asked to obtain his reasons for favoring whatever he favors.

Question B, as indicated, covers the specifics by means of a card question, handled in the usual fashion. The same answers are provided for B as for A, and the "coordinated" code means the same thing as the longer but identical "Separate but coordinated services" code means on A. After the respondent has seen the list in B and gotten a clearer idea of what this question is talking about, you ask C and D, to give him a chance to add to the lists. Both C and D contain the word "other," parenthetically. You of course use the "other" if the respondent has selected some things in this category under B; otherwise you omit it.

Question 6: Straightforward.

Question 7: Straightforward.

Question 8: This question uses a colloquial expression to try to get a sophisticated concept of effective membership--a sense of determining events --in the community across to the respondent. Even so, many ambiguous answers

are given and require further probing. For instance, "Well, I have a vote"--
Probe: "Do you feel your vote gives you a say, or not?"; "As much as anyone
else"--Probe: "Do you feel most people have a say, or not?"

Question 9: Straightforward

Question 10: This question is asked of everyone, but if the respondent does not
            have children, the introductory parenthetical phrase should be used.
You will know, and make it a point to remember, whether or not the respondent
has children from the DU Enumeration Folder. If the respondent's grown children
have already settled in the area, change the tense to, "Do you think it is better
for your children to have settled..., or would it have been better...?". If the
respondent says that "It depends on them," or "That's up to the children to
decide," or "I don't think it's my job to tell them what do do," these answers
must be regarded as inadequate. Such answers must always be probed: "Even
though it's up to them to decide (or you won't try to tell them what to do),
which do you think would be better for them?"

Question 11: "Neighborhood" in this question means the immediate vicinity, as
            suggested by the parenthetical phrase, "a few minutes away." If
the respondent is not clear what you mean, you can define neighborhood as
"close at hand, five or ten minutes away (by car)." Try to get respondents to
generalize, but a middle answer, "Half and half," is provided for those who ab-
solutely cannot. Notice though, that a very common answer is "They're scat-
tered," and this, in general, does not mean "half and half." Probe again by
repeating the question, "Well, would you say then that....?", then, if the re-
spondent cannot choose one of the alternatives, circle the code for "Further
away."

Question 12: "Neighborhood," here, is defined the same as in Question 11. If
            the respondent's first answer is not clearly codeable, use the par-
enthetical probe.

Question 13: This question is intended to determine whether or not the respond-
            ent is "wired in" to informal, local networks of communication.
Consequently, your probing must be very thorough, so that if a person mentions
only the formal media of TV, radio and newspapers, we can be sure that he is out-
side the local, informal network. For the same reason, be sure to find out what
newspaper, whenever newspapers are read, since many communities have local neigh-
borhood newspapers as well as city-wide ones. When friends are mentioned as a
source of news, find out whether these are people living in the same area or in
other parts of the city or suburb. If other persons in the same household as
the respondent are mentioned as a source--for instance, "My wife tells me every-
thing that happens."--find out how that person gets his information. Don't
accept vague answers like "gossip" or "people." Probe for more specific replies:
"Where (or from whom) do you hear such gossip?" "Who do you have in mind when
you say people?"

Question 14: The question is to be interpreted broadly, to include any and all
            social organizations or clubs, however small and informal, as long
as they have a named identity--for instance, even the "West 47th St. Friday
Night Bridge Club" qualifies for inclusion. If the respondent belongs to any
organizations, you ask sub-questions A and B. In asking A, after the respond-
ent has volunteered some groups, and you have probed for "Any others," go back
and ask specifically about each type mentioned in the question that the respond-
ent has not volunteered--e.g., "How about church groups?", "How about labor
unions?", "Any fraternal organizations?", etc. In recording answers to A, write
down the name of the organization, including the city or suburb if that is a
part of the name. For instance, don't record, "improvement association," but

write, "West Allis Improvement Association." Where the group is so small or special that we might not know from its name what sort of organization it is, add to its name an explanation of the type of organization it is or what it does. Do not include any organizations the respondent no longer belongs to. And, incidentally, if a respondent does work with an organization in which the members are children (e.g., Scout Leader), he is doing volunteer work (Q. 15-16) but he is not a member, so don't record that here.

Question B classifies the person's membership in each group into three degrees of participation, for which the following definitions will help:

"Belongs"...Is a member, pays dues, but seldom or never attends meetings, holds no office, and does no work for the group.

"Attends"...Is a member, pays dues and generally attends meetings, but does no more than that—does not hold office or do any work for the group.

"Active"....Is a member, pays dues, generally attends meetings, and does something beyond that—holds office, serves on a committee, collects funds, or does some other kind of work that ordinary members do not do.

Many people consider themselves "active," though we do not, if they merely attend meetings, so a special probe is provided for use when needed. The distinction may seem difficult to make in the case of groups organized to do something active at each meeting—card-playing clubs, hiking clubs, bowling clubs, Boy Scouts, etc. But the test is whether the respondent's participation is beyond that of the ordinary member—if he bowls with his bowling club, but does nothing else for the club, he "attends"; if he makes arrangements with the bowling alley, does the checking to see that enough members will turn out to bowl that night, organizes a celebration, etc., he is "active."

Question 15: This question is asked if anyone else—adult or child—lives in the respondent's dwelling unit, another item which you know from the DU Enumeration Folder. If the other residents of the dwelling unit are unrelated to the respondent, you use the phrase, "the others in your household"; otherwise, you say, "the others in your family here," but with the understanding that it does not include family members outside the household. This same procedure is followed in all later questions that are asked only if there are others in the household, so it will not be repeated, but keep it in mind.

In recording answers to the main question, a code has been provided—"NIH"—meaning "not in household"—which you circle when the particular category of household residents is not applicable to the respondent. For instance, if a household consisted of head, wife and their children, the code for "NIH" would be circled for the third and fourth line, and some other code would be circled on the first and second lines, so that you end up with one code circled on each line. In the household resident categories on the second, third and fourth lines, there may be more than one person fitting the category in the household and their memberships may be different, but you still circle only one code for the category as follows: Suppose a respondent has three children and one belongs to some organization, one does not, and one he isn't sure about. Just circle the code for "Yes" (meaning that there is a son or daughter in the household who belongs); do not circle either the code for "No" or the code for "DK." In other words, if anyone in the particular category belongs to something, code "Yes"; if no one in the category belongs, code "No."

Sub-questions A and B, asked about each other person in the household who belongs to anything, exactly parallel sub-questions A and B of Q. 14. Proceed in exactly the same fashion, being especially sure to probe for specific types

of organizations not volunteered by the respondent--"Any labor unions?", etc.--
since these are not mentioned in this question. Also be sure to record the
other persons' memberships in the proper space for persons of that category.

Question 16: "Volunteer work," as indicated by the parenthetical probe which
                you can use as needed, is to be interpreted broadly. This probe
is intended to give the respondent some idea of what we are after, but you
should accept anything that the respondent himself regards as volunteer work.

With respondents who have done some kind of volunteer work, you ask the three
sub-questions, A, B and C. In A, find out and record exactly what the respond-
ent has done: Don't just write, "Salvation Army"; write, "Collected money on
street corners for Salvation Army Xmas collection" or "Baked doughnuts for
Salvation Army Mission," or whatever. In B, we do not want to know why the
respondent did volunteer work or what his motives for doing it are; you must
find out the chain of events which led to his doing it; how he got into it,
what tactics succeeded, rather than why. Be on your guard, especially, for
incomplete answers here; for instance, a respondent says, "Someone asked me to,
so I did." The immediate question is who was the person who asked and what was
his relationship to the respondent. The next question is whether there was
something about the requester (rather than about the cause) which led to the
respondent's agreeing to do so. Only when you have all these elements straight-
ened out--a kind of abbreviated specification of how this respondent can be
persuaded to do something--do you have a complete answer to B. In C, month and
year is a sufficient answer, but if the respondent has done several kinds of
volunteer work, indicate parenthetically which particular volunteer work the
date refers to. If you are not sure that the last thing the respondent did
really qualifies as volunteer work (e.g., Member of School Board, gave blood,
etc.), then get the date of the volunteer work just preceding that one, as well.

Question 17: The main question is handled in exactly the same fashion as Ques-
                tion 15. In recording the volunteer work of others in the house-
hold, proceed exactly as in Q. 16. The detail covered in 16 B and C is not
asked, however.

Question 18: Don't accept answers like, "Everybody would help," but continue
                to probe for the names of organized groups. Probe: "Can you
give me some examples of the kinds of groups that would help?" or "Everybody?
Who or what organizations, for instance?"

Question 19: This question has two parts to be asked of everyone, and introduces
                the section of the questionnaire covering the threats of war--
Q's. 19-28. In A, you should get the respondent to select the one single prob-
lem that is biggest; other important problems are covered in B. In both A and
B, be very careful to probe fully any answers referring to war, threats of war,
or international relations. Answers like "the Suez crisis," "Russia," "the
Hungarian situation," "Communism," obviously need the probe, "What about that?"

Question 20 Straightforward.

Question 21: Another card question, with four parts to be asked of everyone.
                As in Q. 3, special space is left for recording any spontaneous
comments the respondent may make about the two items in the list--Items 3 and
6--of special interest to this survey. Handle this just as in Q. 3; that is,
do nothing to indicate to the respondent your special interest in these items,
but follow up anything the respondent may spontaneously mention about them.

In A, circle as many codes as apply, unless the respondent reports talking about
everything on the list, in which case you circle the code for "All of them."
In B, C, and D, only one code is circled, but make sure that the respondent does
not feel that he has to choose from among items he mentioned in A. In these
three questions, the respondent may have some difficulty selecting only one; use
the same approach as explained for Q. 3 in these cases.

Question 22: "At all likely" means more than possible, but less than probable. If a respondent says, "It's possible," probe: "Well, would you say it's at all likely, or not?" Sub-questions A and B are asked, if the respondent considers war "at all likely"; sub-question C is asked, if the respondent does not consider war at all likely. In asking B, use the parenthetical phrase that most closely approximates the respondent's answer to A. In asking C, be on guard against circular answers like, "I just don't think there'll be a war" or "That's just the way I feel about it." Always probe for the reasons behind these vague feelings: "Why do you feel that way?" or "What makes you say that?" or "I'd be interested in hearing your reasons for feeling that way."

Question 23: Three sub-questions follow the main question. If respondents say they worry more about war than about other things, they are asked sub-question A; if they worry more about other things, they are asked sub-questions B and C. In B, try to get specific answers. If a respondent says something like, "personal problems," ask for an example of what he has in mind. Sub-question C is a particularly difficult and challenging question for you. It has been worded impersonally ("Why do ...people...?"), so you won't find yourself in the situation of asking someone who has just told you that he worries about his wife who is critically ill why that worries him more than war. But it is important that you recognize that this is still a valid question to ask him, although awkward when put so bluntly--that is, if a war really came, both he and his wife might be killed, so there remains a question of why he worries more about her illness than about that possibility. The major thing to watch is that people will tend to tell you why they worry about the other things (an answer in absolute terms), while you want to know why they worry about those things more than about war (an answer in relative or comparative terms), as suggested in the parenthetical probe. For instance, after mentioning personal financial concerns in B, a pre-test respondent said in answer to C, "I guess everybody thinks more about themselves." But, this still leaves unanswered the question of why financial problems seem to have to do with "themselves," while war does not. A probe here might be: "Why does that make war seem less important than these other things?" In other words, a complete answer to C will generally contain at least two elements--other problems seem this way, while war seems that way.

Question 24: Here we are interested in whether or not the respondent thinks people should act on their beliefs about war coming. The main question includes a parenthetical phrase, "the way he lives from day to day" which you may use if the respondent does not understand the phrase, "his daily behavior." If he says "Yes" to this, you ask sub-question A; if he says "No," you ask B. Both the main question and the sub-questions are "iffy" or hypothetical questions, so be very sure that neither you nor the respondent stray away from the conditions specified by the questions. For instance, if it becomes clear that the respondent is talking about the changes a person may have to make in his life, when and if a war comes, you'll have to make clear that the question refers to making changes beforehand--when the person only believes that a war is definitely coming. Especially in answer to A, you'll get some seemingly valid answers which actually contradict the conditions imposed by the question. Take the respondent who said in answer to A, "He should work as hard as he can for peace." This is interesting, and you should record it, but it is not an answer to the question being asked for, if the person is working for peace, it is hard to see how he can simultaneously be believing that war is definitely coming anyhow. So you should repeat the question, making sure that the respondent's qualification no longer fits--"Suppose he believes... definitely going to get into another big war..., even if he works as hard as he can for peace." A similar problem arises in A, with respondents who answer, "He should pray (or pray more)." First you have to find out what he is praying for: If he is

praying to prepare himself for possible death in the coming war, this is a valid answer, but if he is praying for peace, this raises exactly the same problem as the preceding example and should be handled similarly. Again in B, watch for vague answers and circular answers. Answers like "What's the point?" or "I just can't see what good it would do" merely repeat the "No" to the main question. Probe: "Why do you feel there's no point?" or "What do you have in mind when you say you can't see what good it would do?" A response like "The kinds of things he could do just aren't worth the bother" is far too vague and should be probed: "What kinds of things do you mean?" and then "And why do you feel they aren't worth the bother?"

Question 25: Another very "iffy" question, with four parts to be asked of everyone. Some respondents have difficulty answering A, off-hand, so a variety of prompting probes are suggested.

To give you some guide as to whether you have probed sufficiently in a given case, we need to get four things out of A, B and C, considered together:

(1) Whether or not the respondent expects any future war to involve an attack on the continental United States;

(2) Whether or not the respondent expects that attack to include or exclude atomic weapons and, particularly, atomic bombs;

(3) The extent to which the respondent visualizes the life of himself and his family disrupted or changed in such a war;

(4) Whether or not the respondent expects himself and his family to survive such a war.

You can never suggest any of these topics to the respondent or ask any questions about them until the respondent refers to them himself, and, thus, allows you to probe. Instead, you must continue using neutral probes until the above four questions can be answered from what the respondent has said. Because such extensive probing is required here, it is hard to predict exactly what will be said at which point; you may, therefore, omit questions C and D, if they have already been fully covered in A and B. Note, however, that there is a clarifying probe--D (1)--required if the respondent believes neither side will win the next war. If D has been answered in earlier parts, don't skip over this probe, unless it too has been fully answered.

In all these questions, don't fall for "Depends" answers. These sound very reasonable, but they actually are "escape" answers that evade the conditions of the question. We are trying to get the respondent's picture of what the next war will be like, without suggesting anything to him, so if he says, for instance, that what happens to his family will depend on whether or not the U.S. is attacked in it, it's up to the respondent to choose from among the possibilities he has mentioned. What you want to know is whether or not he thinks the U.S. will be attacked, and what he thinks will happen to his family under whatever conditions he chooses. Similarly, don't be stopped by "Don't know" answers-- of course, it's all hypothetical and "hard to say," but what does the respondent now imagine would happen. And, finally, it is a terrible thing to contemplate, nobody likes thinking about it and everyone hopes it won't happen, but, understandable as these reactions are, (and important as it is to record them fully), none of them are answers to the questions, so keep plugging.

On B and C, some respondents begin by talking about what they would do at the very moment of attack--take shelter or leave the city, etc. This is all right to begin with, but cover the ground by repeating the question, adding the phrase, "during the course of the war."

Question 26: This is another in the series of hypothetical questions about a future war, so you follow much the same procedure; that is: (a) "Depends" or "If" answers must be thrown back to the respondent; e.g., an answer that "If the enemy got through our defenses, Milwaukee would be bombed" cannot be coded "Would be." First, you have to determine whether the respondent thinks the enemy would or would not get through our defenses, and then ask the question about Milwaukee being bombed, under the conditions the respondent has just chosen. (b) Answers like "It could happen," "It might happen," "It's possible" are essentially DK responses, since anything in the hypothetical future is always possible; therefore, you must probe these carefully before accepting the DK. The indicated probe is: "Do you think it's likely to happen if a World War were to break out?"

Depending on his answer to the main question, you ask the respondent a rather complicated series of sub-questions. Respondents who say Milwaukee "Would be" attacked are asked A and B, which take up all of the rest of the page; respondents who answer anything else--"Would not be" or "Don't know"--are asked C, which means you skip all the rest of the page on which the main question appears and ask all of the following page.

If the respondent fully covers the question in A, you do not have to ask B, but notice that you must circle a code for B for every respondent who has said "Would be" to the main question, whether you ask it or not, in order to determine whether or not to ask further sub-questions dependent on B. Respondents who say to B that atomic bombs would not be dropped on Milwaukee or DK are asked (1). In asking both B and (1), remember points (a) and (b) above. Finally, you ask a respondent who does not think atomic bombs would be dropped on the U.S. sub-question (a) to determine the reasons for his belief.

Note that in B and in almost all questions involving atomic bombs, they are parenthetically equated with either A (atomic) or H (hydrogen) bombs. If a respondent thinks one would be used, but not the other, he thinks atomic bombs would be used. So, code "Would be," and note the distinction in the margin.

Sub-question C and the series of sub-questions (1), (2) and (3), under it exactly parallel the questions under A and B, but for respondents who answered the main question differently. All of the same points apply.

Question 27: The question has two parts which are asked of everyone, although question B may be omitted if it is fully covered in A. The same general points mentioned under Q. 26 with regard to "Depends" and "Maybe" answers apply. Note that a qualified code--"Some would, some wouldn't"-- is included for use when a respondent says something like, "Not the whole family." If the respondent's answer to question 26 A covered any phases of this question, 27 A must nevertheless be asked to insure complete coverage. You may find it advisable in such cases to introduce question 27 A with something like this: "You've already mentioned some things that answer this next question, but I want to be sure I get all your ideas on the subject. Supposing (and repeat the question)."

Question 28: Again watch the "Ifs" and "Maybes." If "Yes" to the main question, you ask A. In A, it may turn out that the danger the respondent has in mind is the risk of also being bombed. This is not what the main question is after, so use the parenthetical probe in such cases. If the answer to the parenthetical probe indicates that the respondent had only this danger of being bombed in mind, change the answer to the main question.

Question 29: This question begins the series (Q.'s. 29-43) on defense against
              atomic attack--civil defense, that is, but you are still not using
this phrase, unless the respondent spontaneously does so. The main question
should be interpreted to include both things that should be done that are cur-
rently being done and things that should be done that aren't now being done;
so, if a respondent says something like, "No, they're doing everything they
can" or "No, there's nothing more that can be done," code these answers as
"Yes," and ask the appropriate sub-question A. Of course, you may not find out
that this is what the respondent means until you have circled the code for "No,"
and asked the sub-question B; in such cases, change the code and go back and
ask A. In asking A of respondents like these, change the wording to "What sorts
of things are they doing (are being done)?"

You must probe answers to sub-question A, whenever it is not clear how the item
mentioned would be useful in case of atomic attack. A parenthetical probe is
provided for this. Answers like "Learn first aid," "Build a bomb shelter,"
etc. are self-evident and do not need the "How would that help?" probe. But
answers like "Learn about civil defense," "Get better informed about atomic
attacks," etc., do require the probe. Similarly it is not at all clear how
"Work for peace" or "pray for peace" would prove useful in case of atomic at-
tack--in fact, these answers contradict the assumptions made in the question,
so these too would be probed, adding to the basic probe the phrase, "In case
there were an atomic attack."

Question 30: You want to know the radius of the area within which the majority
              are killed outright by the bomb. If a respondent is obviously
talking about later effects of the bomb--fallout or radiation effects, repeat
the question, adding the phrase, "right away." Note also that this one question
deals specifically with Hydrogen bombs, since the area of destruction of A- and
H- bombs are radically different.

Question 31: The question has two parts asked of everyone. In A, be sure to
              get a single answer--the one single largest cause of death; ad-
ditional causes are recorded in B. In both parts, you want to get actual causes
of death and not reasons why people were exposed to these causes of death. So
you probe answers like "Unpreparedness," "Panic," "Fear," either by repeating
the question, inserting the word "actual," or by "How do you mean?" or by
"How would that cause (most of the) (a good many) deaths?"

Question 32: The main question is straightforward, with a sub-question for
              those who say "Yes." When a respondent answers the A sub-question
you may find out that he has in mind leaving the area to avoid exposure. This
is a legitimate answer, but we are interested in what people who are exposed
can do to protect themselves, so you ask the parenthetical probe in such cases.
The typography here is a little peculiar, so don't overlook the "What else?"
probe, which is intended for every respondent who is asked A.

Question 33: You handle this exactly the same as Q. 32.

Question 34: You will find that many respondents will have difficulty describ-
              ing a sound unambiguously, as the sub-question A, asked of re-
spondents who say "Yes" to the main question, requires. The only thing to do
is to learn ahead of time what the warning signal in the area you are inter-
viewing in actually sounds like. Then keep probing until you are sure that a
coder in the home office will be able to tell whether the person is or is not
correctly describing his community's signal.

Question 35: In this rather complicated set of related questions, you ask A and B of everyone, except that B may be coded without being asked if it is clearly covered in A. If you code the respondent "Yes" to B, you then ask (1) and (2), except that, again, (2) may be coded without being asked if it is clearly covered in (1). Finally everyone who is coded in (2) as "Yes" is asked (a). Answers to (a) may be either in call letters or wave length.

Question 36: Straightforward, with a sub-question asked only of those who disapprove of the plan mentioned in the main question. Again, in the sub-question, be on guard for vague or circular answers like: "I don't think it would work" or "It's an unrealistic idea." In such cases, probe: "Why do you feel it wouldn't work?" or "Unrealistic? In what way?"

Question 37: In asking the main question, change the "your family" to "you" when interviewing in a one person household or a household made up of unrelated individuals. In answer to this question, "might" is not "would," so you probe this sort of answer by asking, "Do you think you probably would, or not?" If the respondent still can't go beyond "We might," code DK. Various kinds of "Depends" answers must also be probed in much the same way. If the respondent is saying that it depends on the day of the week or the time of the day, you can specify, "Suppose the test were held in the daytime on a week day." Similarly, you may specify that the test should be thought of as in the immediate future--"Suppose it were held within the next six months," if that would clear up the "Depends" answer of respondents who say things like, "I would, if things began to look bad for us" (or "if it looked like a war was coming"). If this doesn't answer their "Ifs," then you proceed in the standard way--that is, ask them if they think "things will begin to look bad" or "it will look like a war was coming," within the next six months; then repeat the current question under the conditions implied by their answer. The list of codes also provides a middle category--"some would"--for respondents who volunteer things like, "I would, but not my husband," "We'd be glad to, but not the children," etc.

The main question leads into a rather complicated series of dependent questions. You ask sub-question C, if the respondent has said "All would"; sub-question B, if he said "None would"; and all three sub-questions, A, B and C, if he said "Some would." In sub-question A, list in terms of their relationship to the respondent those who would not take part. In B, use whatever pronoun is correct in referring to those who would not take part. Watch out in B for "easy" excuses, and probe these further. Answers like "I'm too busy," "Don't have the time," "Love my sleep too much to get up," indicate that the person would not take part in the test, but don't tell us very much about why. Probes like "How come?", "How do you mean?", "What, specifically, would keep you from taking part?", will probably lead to some activity (like sleeping in one of the examples) that the respondent considers more important than the test. Then, you ask, "Why does that seem more important to you than taking part in the test?", or "Why do you feel that's more important than...?", etc. On the other hand, answers like "Don't believe in civil defense" also need some more "Why not?" probing. In C, as in the main question, substitute "you" for "any of you," if the respondent has no family members in his household. Sub-question C leads you on to further sub-questions. You ask those who said "Some would" to C both sub-questions--(1) and (2)--and those who said "None would" to C sub-question (2) only. Sub-question (1) you handle just like A and sub-question (2), just like B.

Question 38: Straightforward, with a sub-question asked only of those who disapprove of the plan mentioned in the main question.

Question 39: Special codes are provided for respondents who volunteer answers other than the two specified in the question. If the respondent feels that one is as good (or as bad) as the other, you circle the code for "No difference"; if the respondent feels that the alternatives are not mutually exclusive and both are needed simultaneously, you circle the code for "Both needed." Note the sub-question asked of everyone who has an opinion of the question.

Question 40: Answers to this question may be in terms of local street names, US or State highway numbers, or local special evacuation route numbers. If the respondent has not clearly answered in terms of evacuation route numbers, ask B also, in order to determine whether he knows about evacuation routes.

Question 41: Ask both A and B of every respondent. In A, get precise answers, e.g., "The basement of this house," "The _____ school over on 34th St.," "The X factory over in the next block." An occasional respondent may reject this question, as in the case of a pretest respondent who said, "I wouldn't (take shelter), I'd just leave." Try to get an answer to this question by repeating, "Well, just suppose you decided to stay..." Similarly, respondents whose answers to A indicate that they are thinking in terms of taking shelter far outside the area--e.g., "I'd head for my cabin in the North Woods" --should be reminded of the condition mentioned in the question, "If you decided to (stay and) take shelter--instead of leaving the area..." Respondents who say "Yes" to B are also asked sub-question (1), to which you should get equally precise answers.

Question 42: You ask this question only if at least one other person resides in this household in addition to your respondent. (See notes on Question 15.) If the respondent says "Yes" to the main question, you ask sub-question A and, if he has not fully covered it in A, sub-question B. A "Yes" to B is also asked sub-question (1).

Question 43: In asking the question, use the parenthetical "else" if the respondent has at any time previously referred to doing something by way of preparation, either in Q. 42 (which should be interpreted as "doing something") or elsewhere. If your respondent answers "Yes" to this question, you ask A and B.

List each thing the respondent mentions in answer to A in the spaces provided; then, for each of them separately, ask B, and record in the corresponding space. In B, we are trying to find out whether people did these things specifically for civil defense or whether they are things done for other reasons which just happen to be useful for civil defense too. So probe sufficiently to make sure that this distinction can be made. For instance, answers like, "I read that it should be done" should be probed both for where ("Where did you read that?") and for why ("Why did you decide to do it?" or "What reasons did it give for doing that?"). Answers that mention the "where," usually still need the "why practice was adopted" kind of probing, e.g., "A friend told me about it," "I read it in a pamphlet," "There was an article in Collier's about that," etc.

Question 44: This question begins the series specifically on civil defense-- Q's. 44-62. An occasional respondent may answer this, "No, but I know (suppose) (imagine) there is one." Code answers like this as "Yes." If your respondent's answer is coded "Yes," you ask the sub-question A. In A, you may substitute the phrases, "What is its job?", "What was it set up to do?", "What is its purpose?" Your goal here is a general and inclusive statement of the functions assigned to civil defense, so if the respondent answers in terms of specifics--"Airplane spotting," or "Teach first aid," repeat the question,

"Then, in general, what would you say it's supposed to do?" If your respondent's answer does not include any reference to participation by the mass of people--e.g., "They're supposed to make plans to take care of people in case of bombing," as compared with "They're supposed to see that everyone knows what to do if there's ever an atom bombing"--probe to make sure that the respondent is excluding rank and file participation. For instance, you'd ask, "Who do you mean?" or "And then...?"

Question 45: The question begins with a parenthetical explanation of civil defense, which you should use if the respondent's own explanation in Q. 4 did not approximate this one; otherwise, omit it. The main question together with the sub-question A, which you ask if the respondent says "There's room for improvement," exactly parallel for civil defense the questions about other community services you asked in Q. 44. It should be handled in exactly the same way, with special attention to the problem of "They're doing very well, considering..." You also ask sub-question B of every respondent who thinks there is "room for improvement." Sub-question B is one of the many instances where the general comments on special probing for this survey (pages 30-31 of these Instructions) particularly apply.

Question 46: This is another one where you'll have to watch out for those "Depends" and qualifications. For instance, a respondent who answers the main question, "They're as good as could be expected" may mean good or bad, in absolute terms. A "How do you mean?" in this particular case discovered that the respondent meant that no one could do a really good job, since atomic bombs were too destructive, so the respondent was coded "No" to the main question, "No" to A, and his reasons were recorded under (1).

You ask the sub-question A, unless the respondent thinks that civil defense is already prepared to do a good job. Here, too, you'll run into the "If's": e.g., "Yes, if it picks up," or "Yes, if they really work at it." As usual, the question is, does the respondent think the "if" he is attaching is likely to be the case or not likely to be the case. If he thinks the condition will probably be true, his answer is "Yes"; if he thinks it's contrary to the fact, he's saying "No"; if he can't decide about his own condition, he's saying "Don't know." An answer of "No" to A requires that you ask the sub-question (1), which is another instance where the special probing for this survey is likely to be necessary.

Question 47: Straightforward, with a sub-question asked only of those who say "Yes" to the main question.

Question 48: Another card question, which you handle as usual. For each of the items to which the respondent says "Have done," you also ask B. When you have completed this question, you will have one code circled on every line in the "A" section of the coding space and, on every line where you have circled the "B" under "A," you will also have one code circled under "B." Note that a separate code is provided under "A" for respondents who have not done a particular thing and are not certain whether or not they will do it-- "Not sure."

You may find it easier, as the parenthetical probe suggests, to take the respondent down the list one at a time. You might say, "How about the first one? Are you planning to do that, or not?)", and, if the respondent indicates he has done that, ask B; after which you move on to the next item. You'll find that, in answering A, respondents will very often volunteer the answer to B--e.g., "Of course, we always do have a first aid kit around, but that's not something I did for civil defense." In such cases, you can code B, without asking it; in the example just given, for instance, you'd circle the code for "Have done" under A and the code for "No" (not civil defense) under B.

Question 49: A rather complicated series of sub-questions depend on the answer
                to this question. If a respondent says "Yes" to this--that is,
has done civil defense work at some time--you ask the three dependent questions,
A, B and C, on this page and then skip to Q. 50. If the respondent has not
done any civil defense work, you skip all the rest of page 28, and ask the de-
pendent question D on the next page, before going on to Q. 50.

Sub-question A requires a description of the respondent's duties, not just
vague, general references. Sub-question B should be handled just like sub-
question B of Q. 16, where you were given a detailed explanation of how to find
out the "how of it" rather than the "why of it." You may find that 49 A and
B are covering ground that the respondent already volunteered in Q. 16 A and B.
If so, and if they were thoroughly covered in 16 A and B, you may omit them
here, writing in "See 16," and just ask Q. 49 C, which was not covered in Q.
16.

Sub-question C is straightforward, but respondents who say "No" to C, indicating
that they are no longer doing civil defense work, are also asked (1) and (2).
In asking (1), keep in mind the general points on getting below superficial an-
swers. In (2) note that everyone who isn't pretty certain that he'll do civil
defense work again is asked (a). If a respondent says he "Might but not sure,"
the conditions under which he "might"--"If I have more time," "If another war
broke out," "If things got worse than they are now"--are relevant and should
be written down as part of your recording job, but they are NOT an answer to
(a). In (a) you should get the reasons why he wouldn't do it under present con-
ditions, again getting beneath the "Too busy's" and "Other things to do's."

In D, asked of respondents who have never done any civil defense work, you first
find out whether the respondent has ever been asked to do any. If he has, you
ask all of the sub-questions, (1), (2), (3) and (4). If he has not been asked,
then you ask only (4). As far as interviewing goes, handle (1) the same as A;
(2) the same as B; (3) the same as C (1); and (4) the same as C(2).

Question 50: Another question asked only if someone other than the respondent
                lives in the household. It has three parts, each to be asked of
every respondent to whom the question is applicable, and is handled in exactly
the same fashion as Q. 15.

Question 51: Omit the "or your family" if your respondent has no family members
                in his household. Sub-question A is asked of those who say "Yes."
In A, a special code "Neighbor" is provided for respondents who volunteer this
term and think of a neighbor as more than an "Acquaintance," but less than a
"Close friend."

Question 52: Straightforward.

Question 53: Omit the "or anyone in your family here," if your respondent has
                no family members in the household. For this question, you
should circle both codes, if there is "something going on" both where the re-
spondent works and where others in the family work. In the few instances where
you are talking to a respondent whose household family contains no one who is
employed, the question will be inapplicable; in these cases, write in "Inap."
If the respondent knows of something either at his own or some other family
member's place of work, you ask sub-question A.

Question 54: Straightforward, with a sub-question asked of respondents who
                answer "Yes."

Question 55: This is probably the most complicated set of dependent questions in the questionnaire. First, you read the introductory sentence to the question; second, you ask whichever one of the two questions given in the questionnaire fits the community you are interviewing in; then, you ask sub-question A only of those respondents who say they would be interested; finally, you ask sub-questions B and C of everyone except the very few respondents you will encounter who are taking the course at the time of interview and those respondents who say they "definitely would" take it, in answer to A. This means that you ask B and C both of people who say "Would not be interested" or "Not sure" to the main question and are, therefore, not asked sub-question A, and of respondents who say "Would not" or "Not sure" to A.

In asking the main question and sub-questions A and C, handle the "If's," "Maybe's" and "Might's" exactly as has been described for previous questions. None of these can be coded until you have probed to pin down the respondent's conditions. Sub-question C will require that you find out the correct title of the chief officer of the suburb you are interviewing in, in order to ask the question correctly.

Sub-question B deals with reasons why people wouldn't take the course under present conditions. Therefore, you handle the "Not sure" respondent exactly as explained for sub-question 49 C.

Question 56: Straightforward by now, since you've become expert at handling the "If's" and "Might's" both in the main question and in the sub-question asked of respondents who say "Would not" or "Not sure," as well as in digging your way under the polite "Too busy's."

Question 57: A set of nine "agree-disagree" items to be asked of everyone. First, read the introductory sentence; then, read each statement clearly, repeating if necessary. At the end of each statement, if the respondent has lost track of what he is doing, you may add: "Do you agree or disagree with that?"

Question 58: This question exactly parallels for civil defense the question you asked about other community services in Q. 5 B, and should be handled in exactly the same way. The sub-question, A, is asked of every respondent who has an opinion on the main question.

Question 59: This question has two parts to be asked of everyone. In A, you ask the respondent to volunteer his sources of information about civil defense, and you circle the codes for as many as he mentions in the first column. In B, you specifically probe, to make sure the respondent has not forgotten anything, every source in the list that the respondent has not volunteered. When you finish, you will have one (and only one) code circled for each item.

Question 60: Straightforward.

Question 61: Use the parenthetical probe, if the respondent's answer to the question is not clearly codeable. You ask A of respondents who say "Too much" and B and C of respondents who say "Not enough." C, however, may be omitted if the respondent has fully covered the point in B. In deciding this, remember that civil defense information may deal with what to do in case of attack (and if this is what the respondent wants to know, you ask C) or with what to do now to be prepared to take protective actions in event of attack (in which case you skip C). Please note that all respondents are asked this question, even though he indicates that he has no information about civil defense. It is quite reasonable, for example, for a respondent to feel that the fact that he hears nothing about civil defense indicates that inadequate information is available, but he may equally feel that none is enough. Of course, you must not suggest such an answer!

Question 62: This is a frankly experimental question in which we are trying to see if we can make explicit the feeling that many pretest interviewers got--specifically, that respondents ended the interview with a quite different attitude toward civil defense than the one with which they had begun. Therefore you ask Q. 62 and, if the respondent is aware of any change, you explore the change in sub-question A. If you have any feeling that the respondent changed in ways that he was not aware of or that he was not revealing these changes fully and frankly, be sure to write down YOUR ANSWER to the question--your impressions--when you edit the interview.

The civil defense section of the questionnaire ends with this question. BE SURE TO USE THE TRANSITIONAL SENTENCE (given at the top of page 35 of the questionnaire) AND TO RECORD ALL OF THE RESPONDENT'S REACTIONS TO IT.

The next questions running from here to the end of the questionnaire (Q. 63-73) are primarily designed (a) to tell us something about the respondent's psychology and communication habits, and (b) to lighten the atmosphere before terminating the interview.

Question 63: Since this is the same question as Q. 8, but extended to the national scene, you may encounter similar difficulties with "Have a say." See the notes to Q. 8 for details of how to handle these.

Question 64: Straightforward.

Question 65: Straightforward.

Question 66: Straightforward.

Question 67: Straightforward.

Question 68: The question has two parts to be asked of everyone. In each case, you must circle only one code, so probe to get the respondent to choose one.

Question 69: Again two parts, asked of everyone. Record the exact names of the papers, including name of town if not obvious from title.

Question 70: If your respondent hasn't been to the movies in over a year, code that as "Never."

Question 71: Again two parts, asked of everyone. If a respondent says something to the effect that she has the radio on all day (or some number of hours), but doesn't actually listen to it, record the number of hours the radio is on, but add "Not listening," in the space to the right of "hours."

Question 72: Exactly parallels Q. 71, but for the evening hours. If there's any question, you can specify a week-day evening. Otherwise, you handle it just like Q. 71.

Question 73: This is a "projective" question, designed to measure in an indirect way the impact of the interview. If a respondent thinks of it as a test of intelligence, you can honestly assure him that it is not. But don't try to go into technical explanations; if a respondent raises question, you can just say, "They just want to know what different kinds of people see in different kinds of pictures."--which is absolutely true, if somewhat vague.

"Projective's" call for extra-ordinarily careful interviewing, since the entire validity of the answer is destroyed if you have suggested anything to the respondent, even in the most indirect way. The kinds of answers needed to this question would be a great deal easier to obtain, if you could ask such direct questions as "Airplane...? Do you think it's a friendly plane or an enemy one?" or "Bombers...? Are they going to drop bombs or fly over?" or "Enemy attack? Do you suppose the people will get killed or come through it alive?"

or "Is this happening in the United States or some other country?" Direct questions are always easier, but in this case the answers to direct questioning are meaningless. So, you must use ONLY PROBES OF THE KIND SUGGESTED PARENTHETICALLY IN THE QUESTION—probes which are devoid of all reference to possible answers.

You will probably need all the probes suggested and a few more before you have obtained a complete response. You have gotten a complete response when we can answer (although you, of course, have never asked) all of the following questions:

a. Does the respondent associate this picture with war, other threatening situations or benign situations?

b. Are the pictured people in imminent danger or not?

c. If he sees any sort of danger, will the pictured people survive it or not?

d. If he sees any sort of danger, is it happening to people in this country, or people far off somewhere?

e. Does he see any possible alternative interpretations to the one he first advanced?

f. Does the respondent make any mention of the preceding portions of the interview influencing his response to the picture, or not?

Of course, some respondents will exhaust their imaginations before all of these points are covered, but do your best to get them all covered in every interview.

The Questionnaire: III. Factual Data

At the end of every questionnaire is a section usually titled "Factual Data"—a series of questions designed to provide personal information about the respondent. Answers to this series of questions are vital for two reasons:

1. By breaking down question results by factual data, we can make a more complete analysis of our findings. The bald results of a question—the percentages of persons for and against a proposition—become much more illuminating when we are able to show which groups favor each side and to reveal significant differences of opinion among persons of different ages, economic circumstances, educational backgrounds, etc.

2. These facts give us a means of checking the reliability of our cross-section. By tabulating the factual data we can find out whether we are getting the proper proportions of all the various population groups, particularly those not controlled automatically by our sampling procedures—educational, occupational, political preference, religious, and other groupings.

The number and nature of factual questions vary from survey to survey according to the demands of each particular study. On some assignments you will have to fill in only such standard information as age, sex, economic level, occupation, and education; on other assignments you may have a longer series of questions to ask.

Never be apologetic about seeking this information. Asking factual questions about the respondent himself is standard practice for all opinion polls, and the results of an interview are worthless without these data. If you make excuses or appear unduly inquisitive, the person is likely to think you have an ulterior motive for seeking such information about him. But if you ask the questions in an informal manner and in a matter-of-fact tone of voice, the respondent will answer them in the same way.

Don't be surprised, however, if some persons, before they answer, want to know why you desire such information. A great majority of the curious can be satisfied by the simple reply: "For statistical purposes, you know. I have to report whether you are a man or a woman, what city you live in, and so on." To the more persistent, you can explain that people's opinions often differ according to their occupation (or whatever you're asking about at the time), and therefore you need this information about each person you interview. Or you may go on to explain that we have to be sure we're interviewing the proper number of people in different occupations, age groups, nationalities, etc.—in order to make certain that our survey is accurate, that it fairly represents all kinds of people.

Item 1: Ask both the first and second questions. The first question is asked to counteract any tendency the respondent may have to exaggerate his educational attainment. In recording this item, count only years of formal schooling. Do not count trade schools, correspondence courses, vocational training, etc. Circle the one code representing the total number of years of formal schooling the respondent has had.

Item 2: Circle Code 1 if the respondent belongs to any non-Catholic, Christian sect. Circle Code 4 only for non-Christian sects other than Jewish, and specify the religion in such cases. If the respondent has any religious preference (code 1, 2, 3 or 4 circled), ask the sub-question A, about frequency of attendance, using "church" for Christians and "synagogue" for Jews. Attendance only at "high holidays," Christmas or Easter, etc., counts as "Less than once a month."

Item 3: In this question we wanted to know the national origins of respondents. You ask everyone the three parts--A, B, and C. If the answer to all three is "United States," then you ask D also, to determine the respondent's descent. D should also be asked in one other situation: where the respondent was born in some colonial or missionary area, and his parents were born either in similar areas or in the U. S., we will have no idea of his national descent, unless D is asked. For instance, if a white respondent was born in China, and his parents were born in the U. S., he is obviously not of Chinese descent, so ask D.

In recording answers to A, B, C and D, be sure to enter names of countries; answers like "Europe," "Eastern Europe," etc., aren't specific enough. If the respondent starts with an answer like this, ask, "Do you recall what country it was?" or "What nationality did your father consider himself?", etc.

In D, respondents may start by giving you more than one country. For instance, a respondent might say, "Well, my mother was of Scotch-Irish descent and my father was a mixture of French and Italian." Record all this, but then try to get a single answer by asking, "Do you consider yourself Scotch or Irish or French or Italian, in descent?", or questions to that effect.

Item 4: Circle the appropriate code to indicate whether respondent owns or rents the dwelling unit. If the respondent receives his dwelling unit as part of his salary or wages, as many ministers and janitors do, circle the code for "Rents" (the test is who pays the taxes), but note the special circumstances in the margin.

Item 5: First, circle whether the respondent or someone else in the household is the main earner. Circle only one code on this item, regardless of how many earners there are in the household. If respondent is unsure who should be considered the main earner, take the head of the house for the main earner.

Then, you ask A, to determine the main earner's occupation. This sub-question is asked in all cases, irrespective of who is the main earner. If the main earner is retired or unemployed and the family is living on his pension or

savings or unemployment benefits, etc., record his _former_ occupation in this space, but add a note about his present status--"Now retired," "Looking for work," etc.

In cases where the respondent is _not_ the main earner, sub-question B is asked in addition to A, to determine whether the respondent is presently employed and, if so, his _current_ occupation. Do not record an occupation for the respondent if he is _not_ the main earner and is not presently employed.

In reporting occupation in A and B, you must record two items. "Job" refers to the type of work a person does--his job title and, where this is not self-evident, a description of his duties. "Industry" refers to the type of business which employs him, not to the name of his firm. Both items are needed for a usable description. "Cook," for example, describes a person's job, but we can't classify him unless we know whether he works in a bakery, a candy factory, a private home, an army camp, or a restaurant. "Hotel" describes the person's industry, but it doesn't tell us his job, which might be anything from bellhop to owner of a chain of hotels.

The following illustrations show the type of information needed:

Occupation	Industry	Occupation	Industry
Agent	Real estate co.	Lawyer	Private practice
Attendant	Gas station	Machinist	Machine tools mfg
Bus boy	Cafeteria	Manager	Retail shoe store
Carpenter	Shipyard	Owner	Cotton farm
Cashier	Theater	Salesman	Insurance co.
Civil engineer	Dam construction	Secretary	Law office
Driller	Coal mine	Superintendent	Copper smelter
Electrical engineer	Radio station	Teacher	Public school
Foreman	Sewer construction	Truck driver	Transfer co.
Laborer	Street construction	Weeder	Beet field

Farm occupations require particularly careful description. "Farmer" lumps together people of the most diverse occupations: owner, tenant, paid superintendent, farm hand, irrigator, cowhand, etc. As an industry, "Farm" does not adequately distinguish general farm, cattle ranch, truck farm, dairy farm, etc. Always record whether the respondent owns, rents, manages, or merely works on the farm (and if the latter, in what capacity), and also what kind of farm it is.

Item 6: This item refers to _family_ income--that is, to the income of all the related members of the particular household. This item is a card question, so you hand the respondent Card E, read the question, and watch to see that he reads all the possible choices before he selects one. Notice that the question contains a parenthetical explanation, which you can use, if the respondent has any objection to answering the question. Do not read it as part of the question; use it only when it is needed. Respondents may answer this question by mentioning the letter assigned to the income group on the card; this is perfectly all right and just what the letters are there for, but please circle the code number at the right on the questionnaire, not the letter on the left.

Some people--particularly women who do not work outside the house--will be genuinely uncertain about what their family's income is. DON'T SUGGEST POSSIBLE FIGURES. Here are some probes you'll find useful in situations like these: "I just want your best guess," "About how much do you think it is--roughly speaking--I don't need it down to the last penny," "Well, take a guess --your guess will be much better than mine."

If a respondent doesn't know or won't tell you his family income, record your best guess and the notation, "Est." (estimated) in the margin below the question. For instance you might write, "F, est" (the letter is enough).

Item 7: This is a summary of some commonly owned major possessions. Ask each part of every respondent (except if a respondent says "No" to D, you obviously don't ask E), and circle the proper code for each item the respondent or others living in that household possesses. In other words, for this item, you should circle more than one code, whenever the respondent has more than one of these items. If the household has none of these items, then circle the code for "None."

Item 8: This is a straightforward item on previous military service. It refers to all persons living in the household, as this was defined for enumeration purposes, so it does not include boys absent now for their military service. "Armed Forces" includes all the regular military services, both men's and women's--Air Force, Army, Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, Army Nurses Corps, WAC, etc., but it does not include the Merchant Marine, National Guard or ROTC. If more than one person in the household has seen military service, circle each of the codes that apply.

Item 9: Another straightforward item on how the respondent voted in the last Presidential election (1956).

This is the last item that you ask the respondent, but remember that certain other factual items--age, sex, marital status and parental status (DU E.F. Items 6 and 9) were asked on the DU Enumeration Folder. IF YOU DID NOT GET THE INFORMATION FOR THESE ITEMS FROM THE RESPONDENT HIMSELF, BUT FROM SOMEONE ELSE, CHECK THEM WITH THE RESPONDENT NOW.

Item 10: Copy here the information about the Segment No. and the Line No. on the Listing Sheet that appears at the top of the DU Enumeration Folder that goes with this interview. You should, of course, put the questionnaire inside the Enumeration Folder as soon as you have completed it, but, if they ever get separated, these numbers are the only way we have of matching them up together again. So, be very careful to copy them accurately.

Item 11: Enter here, in hours and minutes, the total time this interview took, exclusive of the DU Enumeration Folder. For instance, "1 hr., 10 min."

Item 12: Sign your full name, and you are done.