

that all selection methods, regardless of their validity in theory, are limited in practice by inaccurate or untruthful reporting by the respondents. Some interviewers in this study suspected that people answering the phone (who are predominately female) occasionally did not really have the next birthday but completed the interview to save themselves the trouble of figuring out who did have the next birthday. Of course, the problem of inaccurate reporting by respondents is not unique to the next-birthday method.

Finally, data collected from samples that are derived using methods in which household units are a sampling stage often should be weighted before generalizing the data to a larger population. Thus, the data from the next-birthday method should be weighted by household size when there is a possibility that demographic characteristics are not distributed randomly among the various-sized households.

### Conclusions

Four methods of selecting telephone survey respondents within a household unit—Troidahl-Carter, male/female alternation, next-birthday, and whoever answers—were compared in a small-sample survey. Considering the representativeness of the sample selected, there is no statistically significant justification for not using the next-birthday method, and indeed, general comparisons indicate that the next-birthday method was matched or exceeded only by the unrepresentative no-selection method. In sum, the next-birthday method appears to be a relatively efficient procedure for selecting a sample that is representative of all household members.

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## The Polls: American Attitudes Toward the Soviet Union and Communism

TOM W. SMITH

DURING the first half of the 1970s détente warmed Soviet-American relations. A series of major treaties from the SALT I accords in 1972 to the Helsinki Agreements in July 1975 raised the promise of peaceful coexistence and normalized relations. Since then Soviet-American relations have chilled in the face of the huge Soviet arms buildup, Russian-Cuban adventurism in Africa, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and Communist repression in Poland, and commentators are talking of a second cold war.<sup>1</sup>

The change in Soviet-American relations can be charted in American public opinion as clearly as in official diplomatic announcements and news stories. From intense dislike of the Russians during the peak of the Cold War of the 1950s, American favorableness toward the Soviets increased until in 1973 a majority of Americans had rather neutral feelings and nearly a fifth liked the Soviets. Since 1973 favorable opinion of the Soviet Union has fallen sharply, reaching a low point in the immediate aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan. Likewise, negative ratings of Communism as a form of government and concern about Russia and Communism have increased monotonically since the early 1970s. The public has also judged that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have deteriorated since the early 1970s. The public evaluated President Carter's approach as tending to be too soft, and at least initially has voiced much more satisfaction with President Reagan's harder line toward the Soviets.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bruce Russett and Donald R. Deluca, "'Don't Tread on Me': Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in the Eighties," *Political Science Quarterly* (1981) 96:381-399. Daniel N. Nelson and Pamela Johnston Conover, "The American Public and a 'Second Cold War,'" *Co-existence* (1981) 18:141-61.

<sup>2</sup> Tom W. Smith, "Red in the Morning: Trends in American Attitudes Towards the Soviet Union and Communism," unpublished NORC report, Nov., 1982. John P. Robinson and Robert Meadow, *Polls Apart*, Cabin John, MD.: Seven Locks Press, 1982.

Tom W. Smith is Senior Study Director at the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

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The public has also grown increasingly concerned about the balance of power between the Soviets and the Americans. During the 1960s the public thought American power was more likely to increase than Soviet power. The perceived American edge declined, however, and in 1974 Soviet power was rated as more likely to rise than American. This Soviet advantage was seen as persisting throughout the 1970s, but with the margin declining until in 1980 momentum was finally seen as returning to America. Similar trends were indicated by items on power and importance and being a vital force in the world. In the military sphere the public in the late 1970s saw the United States as already inferior to the Soviets and tending to sink further. Some expressions that the United States had begun to redress the balance have begun to appear in the 1980s. Since the American public is firmly committed to the military superiority of the United States, concern about Soviet military strength contributed to a rise in support for defense spending from 1973 to 1978 and a tremendous surge in support following the Afghanistan invasion. By 1982, however, support for more defense spending had fallen back to 1978 levels.<sup>3</sup> In response to the widely publicized (but actually rather modest) increases in the defense share of the federal expenditures, the public no longer sees the military as being drastically shortchanged.

The public has also become more willing to oppose the spread of Communism.<sup>4</sup> In the early 1970s, during the zenith of détente and the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the public was unwilling to oppose Soviet expansionism even while expecting it to continue. From then until 1980, support for the defense of key allies such as Western Europe and Japan rose steadily, and minority backing for military intervention in such areas as Yugoslavia also enlarged. There is some indication, however, that support for military action may have ebbed slightly by 1982, and is still very limited in many areas. For example, in El Salvador the assignment of a small contingent of military advisors is supported by only a little over a third of the public. Many Americans fear a repetition of the Vietnam War and are unwilling to back even token military involvement. Similarly in Poland, support for strong action is limited. When asked to choose among various options, the use of troops to oppose Soviet invasion is endorsed by less than 10 percent of the public, and a quarter or more of the public wants the United States to stay completely out of the confrontation.<sup>5</sup>

The growing unfavorable opinion of the Soviet Union and concern about Soviet goals, actions, and its military might also have led to increased caution about the type of mutual ties and bilateral agreements that were the heart of détente. While still in principle in favor of a host of commercial, cultural, political, and diplomatic ties, growing minorities began to doubt the mutual advantage and actual benefits of such links during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Similar changes have occurred in the crucial area of disarmament. Large

<sup>3</sup> Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Marilyn Potter, Linda Basileck, Sally Daniels, and Dana Suszkin, "The Polls: Taxing and Spending," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1979) 43:126-35. Louis Kriesberg and Ross Klein, "Changes in Public Support for U.S. Military Spending," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1980) 24:79-111.

<sup>4</sup> John M. Benson, "The Polls: U.S. Military Intervention," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (1982) 46:592-98; Lloyd Free, and William Watt, "International Comes of Age . . . Again," *Public Opinion* 3 (April/May, 1980): 46-50; and Russett and Deluca, "Don't tread."

<sup>5</sup> Smith, "Red in the Morning."

majorities of the public have backed the principle of arms control and the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. The case of SALT II, however, clearly indicates that the public is not willing to endorse any proposed arms settlement. When the outlines of the SALT II treaty were becoming clear and at the time of signing in June 1979, a plurality of informed Americans backed the pact. (But a majority of Americans either were uninformed or had no opinion on the matter.) As opinion crystallized during the summer and early fall, a plurality came to oppose the treaty. This reversal appears to have come from the publicizing of significant Senate opposition to the treaty and the brouhaha over the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba that broke in the early fall of 1979. Recent upsurge in disarmament activity centering around the nuclear freeze movement does not vary from the earlier pattern—strong support for the principle and goal of arms reduction and the hoped-for lessening of the threat of nuclear war, but major requirements that the reductions be equitable and verifiable.

On the domestic front some differences show up from the postdétente trends on the international level. American Communists are apparently seen as less dangerous now than in the 1950s and are accorded more civil liberties, but they are still seen as undesirable and are ranked at or near the top of various lists of harmful groups and at about the middle among a list of problems. However, there has been no increase in intolerance towards Communists during the 1970s and early 1980s as concern about Communism grew, dislike of Russia soared, and in general Soviet-American relations deteriorated across the board. This lack of connection was not because Americans' attitudes toward domestic and international Communism were unrelated. There are moderate to substantial associations between being tough on Communism (disliking Russia, opposing Communism as a form of government, and supporting defense spending) and opposing civil liberties for Communists. Despite this connection, the increase in international hostility to Communism did not cause a growth in intolerance of domestic Communists.

As far as the public is concerned, we are neither in a period of détente nor in a cold war period like the 1950s. We are, rather, in an armed truce maintained by a balance of power.

The data were compiled with the assistance of the archival staffs of the Roper Center, University of Connecticut; Louis Harris Data Center, University of North Carolina; and the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. These archives supplied data from the following survey organizations:

- ABC/WP—American Broadcasting Corporation/Washington Post
- CBS/NYT—Columbia Broadcasting System/New York Times
- GALLUP—Gallup Polls/American Institute for Public Opinion
- GALLUP-CCFR—Gallup for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
- GALLUP-POTOMAC ASSOCIATES—Gallup for Potomac Associates
- HARRIS—Louis Harris and Associates
- HARRIS-CCFR—Harris for Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
- LATIMES—Los Angeles Times
- NBC/AP—National Broadcasting Company/Associated Press
- NORC—National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago
- NORC-GSS—NORC's General Social Survey
- RESPONSE ANALYSIS—Response Analysis Corporation
- ROPER—Roper Organization
- YANKELOVICH—Yankelovich, Skelly, and White

For access to these data the individual organizations or their archives should be contacted. The dates given for the surveys are the months the surveys were fielded. Sample sizes were typically around 1,500.

#### General Attitudes Toward Communism/Russia

**GALLUP/NORC-GSS:** You will notice the boxes on this card go from the highest position of "plus 5" for a country which you like very much, to a position of "minus 5" for a country you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following countries?

	Oct 1953	Aug 1954	Sep 1954	Dec 1956	Dec 1966	May 1972	Apr 1973 <sup>b</sup>	Jul 1973
Favorable	0.9%	1.7%	0.4%	1.9%	16.6%	18.9%	15.7%	19.3%
Mixed	10.6	10.8	8.5	11.7	30.0	38.0	43.9	51.0
Unfavorable	88.5	87.5	91.1	86.4	63.4	43.1	40.4	29.7
	Mar 1974	Mar 1975	Jun 1976	Mar 1977	Feb 1979	Jan 1980 <sup>b</sup>	Mar 1982	
Favorable	19.1%	18.7%	8.0%	12.4%	13.5%	4%	7.3%	
Mixed	45.3	45.2	33.9	40.1	37.6	23	31.7	
Unfavorable	35.6	36.1	58.1	47.5	48.9	73	61.0	

<sup>a</sup> NORC-GSS for points in March of 1974, 1975, 1977, and 1982. Wording varies slightly between Gallup and NORC-GSS surveys.

<sup>b</sup> You will notice that the 10 boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus 5—for a country you have a very favorable opinion of—all the way down to the lowest position of minus 5—for a country you have a very unfavorable opinion of. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following nations? Soviet Union.

**GALLUP-POTOMAC ASSOCIATES:** Now I'd like to find out how worried or concerned you are about some of the international problems we face: a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or not at all. If you really aren't concerned with some of them, don't hesitate to say so.

The problem of the Soviet Union	1964	1972 <sup>a</sup>	1974	1976
Great deal	—	24%	32%	50%
Fair amount	—	38	36	25
Not very much	—	27	20	18
Not at all	—	6	8	5
Don't know	—	5	4	3
The threat of Communism				
Great deal	—	41%	46%	50%
Fair amount	—	29	21	25
Not very much	—	19	21	18
Not at all	—	7	9	5
Don't know	—	4	3	2
Composite score <sup>b</sup>	86	67	69	74

"The problem of Soviet Russia" and "The threat of communism at home and abroad."

<sup>a</sup> Composite score: great deal = 100, fair amount = 67, not very much = 33, not at all = 0.

#### THE POLLS: ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION

**NORC-GSS:** Thinking about the different kinds of governments in the world today, which of these statements comes closest to how you feel about Communism as a form of government?

	Mar 1973	Mar 1974	Mar 1976	Mar 1977	Mar 1980	Mar 1982
It's the worst kind of all	44.2%	50.5%	52.3%	53.6%	58.6%	61.0%
It's bad, but no worse than some others	27.5	27.1	26.4	24.9	27.1	25.3
It's all right for some countries	25.1	19.3	20.1	20.1	13.3	12.2
It's a good form of government	3.1	3.1	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.5

**ROPER:** In your opinion, which of the following best describes Russia's primary objective in world affairs?

	Jun 1978	Oct-Nov 1979	Feb 1980	Nov 1980	Sep 1981
Russia seeks only to protect itself against the possibility of attack by other countries	7%	9%	5%	5%	6%
Russia seeks to compete with the U.S. for more influence in different parts of the world	25	30	18	21	18
Russia seeks global domination, but not at the expense of starting a major war	34	37	34	38	35
Russia seeks global domination and will risk a major war to achieve that domination if it can't be achieved by other means	23	18	39	28	34
Don't know	11	6	4	8	7

#### Soviet/American Relations

**HARRIS:** Do you feel relations between the United States and Russia are improving, getting worse, or are about what they have been?

	Jul 1968	Oct 1968	Nov 1968	Aug 1970	Jun 1971	Feb <sup>a</sup> 1972	May 1972	Jun 1973
Improving	33%	18%	24%	27.9%	37.4%	39.5%	28%	66%
Getting worse	8	14	7	6.5	4.0	6.7	10	2
About the same	52	63	63	57.6	52.2	47.8	57	24
Not sure	7	5	6	7.9	6.4	6.0	5	8

<sup>a</sup> "The same as" replaces "what."

**GALLUP-POTOMAC ASSOCIATES:** Now, I'm going to mention some of the problems we face in the international field and ask whether from your own point of view the United States has made much progress, some progress, stood still, lost some ground, or lost much ground in handling each of them during the last year or two.

And what about relations with the Soviet Union?

	1972 <sup>a</sup>	1974	1976
Made much progress	10%	10%	4%
Made some progress	59	49	35
Stood still	18	24	34
Lost some ground	3	7	14
Lost much ground	1	2	2
Don't know	9	8	11

<sup>a</sup> Omits "of the," substitutes "12 months" for "year or two," and "Soviet Russia" for "the Soviet Union."

**ROPER:** There are many problems facing our nation today, all of which the federal government must be concerned with. But at certain times some things are more important than others, and need more attention from our federal government than others [card shown respondent]. I'd like to know for each of the things on this list whether you think it is something the government should be making a *major effort* on now, or something the government should be making *some effort* on now, or something not needing any particular government effort now: Trying to improve relations between the United States and Russia.

	Jun <sup>a</sup> 1974	Jun 1975	Jun 1976	Jun <sup>b</sup> 1977	Jun <sup>b</sup> 1978	Jun <sup>b</sup> 1979	Jun <sup>b</sup> 1980	May-Jun <sup>b</sup> 1981
Major effort	33%	38%	37%	42%	42%	41%	47%	46%
Some effort	44	44	45	43	40	43	38	39
No particular effort	18	12	13	10	13	11	11	11
Don't know	4	6	6	5	5	5	3	4

<sup>a</sup> Omits "federal" from "our federal government."

<sup>b</sup> Omits "all of which . . . with."

#### Soviet/American Power and Importance

**GALLUP:** Which of these do you think is likely to be true in 19\_\_? A year when America will increase her power in the world or a year when American power will decline?

	1960 <sup>a</sup>	1963	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1974	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Increase	72%	84%	64%	74%	66%	63%	62%	29%	42%	58%	42%	53%	58%
Decrease	10	6	19	14	10	22	21	50	44	24	26	32	30
Don't know	18	10	17	12	14	15	17	21	14	18	8	15	12
Same	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—

A year when Russia will increase her power in the world, or a year when Russian power will decline?

	1960 <sup>a</sup>	1963	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1974	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Increase	53%	37%	38%	42%	49%	56%	58%	55%	63%	63%	53%	61%	56%
Decrease	23	45	33	36	26	22	19	14	18	16	16	19	22
Don't know	24	18	29	22	25	22	23	31	19	21	11	20	22
Same	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—

<sup>a</sup> Year referred to in questions. Surveys are usually conducted in December of the previous year. Introductory sentence varies slightly.

**ROPER:** Now here is a list of different countries [card shown respondent]. For each one will you tell me whether you think it is likely to be a more vital force in the world 10 years from now, a less vital force, or about the same as it is now?

	Mar-Apr 1974	Apr 1975	Mar 1976	Mar 1979	Mar 1982 <sup>a</sup>	
Russia	More vital	66%	58%	57%	66%	52%
	Less vital	4	4	6	4	6
	About the same	19	26	25	22	34
	Don't know	10	12	13	9	8
United States	More vital	59	53	49	68	62
	Less vital	8	10	11	7	3
	About the same	27	29	32	20	30
	Don't know	6	8	8	5	5

<sup>a</sup> "Now would you read down the list once more and for each one tell me . . ."

**GALLUP-POTOMAC ASSOCIATES:** Here is a picture of a ladder. I'd like you to show me on the ladder how much power and importance you feel each of the countries I am going to mention has today. A very great power you consider to be in the very strongest class would be at the top of the ladder; a very small, weak power at the bottom. Naturally, if you think two countries are of equal rank you can put them on the same step.

	<i>Today</i>		<i>10 Years Ago</i>		<i>10 Years Ahead</i>	
	1974	1976	1974	1976	1974	1976
United States	8.8	8.5	9.2	8.9	8.0	8.4
Soviet Union	7.8	8.2	—	6.9	7.9	8.6

#### Military Balance of Power and Defense Spending

**CBS/NYT:** Right now, would you say the United States is superior in military strength to the Soviet Union, is about equal in strength, or is not as strong as the Soviet Union?

	Jun 1978	Jun 1979	Jan 1980	Jan 1981	Jun 1982
USA superior	12%	11%	14%	11%	9%
About equal	32	30	34	39	37
USA inferior	42	43	42	42	44
No opinion	14	16	10	8	10

**CBS/NYT:** Right now, would you say the United States is superior in nuclear strength to the Soviet Union, or is about equal in strength, or is not as strong as the Soviet Union?

	May 1982
USA superior	9%
About equal	33
USA inferior	47
No opinion	11

**ROPER:** At the present time do you think the United States is ahead of Russia in terms of nuclear arms capability, about even with them, or behind Russia in nuclear military strength?

	Nov 1977	Jun 1978	Jan 1979	Sep-Oct 1980	Oct 1981	Apr 1982
U.S. ahead	18%	17%	18%	15%	16%	12%
About even	38	36	38	29	35	32
U.S. behind	28	31	31	43	41	41
Don't know	15	16	12	13	9	15

**NBC/AP:** As of now, do you think the United States is stronger militarily than Russia, do you think that Russia is stronger than the United States, or are both countries about equal in military strength?

	Jun 1978	Apr-May 1979	Jan 1980a	Jan 1980b	Jul 1980 <sup>a</sup>	Feb 1981	Sep 1981	Dec 1981 <sup>b</sup>	Mar 1982 <sup>b</sup>
U.S. stronger	17%	17%	15%	12%	6%	10%	14%	13%	14%
Russia stronger	37	37	40	47	58	49	36	38	38
About equal	35	39	38	32	28	33	41	39	38
Not sure	11	7	7	9	8	8	9	10	10

<sup>a</sup> Likely voters.

<sup>b</sup> "Soviet Union" instead of "Russia."

**CBS/NYT:** Do you think the military strength of the United States should be superior to the Soviet Union, should be about equal in strength, or doesn't the United States need to be exactly as strong as the Soviet Union?

	Jun 1978 <sup>a</sup>	Jun 1979	Aug 1980	Sep 1980 <sup>b</sup>	Sep 1980 <sup>b</sup>	Oct 1980 <sup>b</sup>	Feb 1981
USA superior	46%	42%	51%	51%	61%	56%	52%
About equal	47	45	42	41	32	35	39
Doesn't need to be as strong	2	7	2	4	4	5	4
No opinion	5	6	5	4	3	4	5

<sup>a</sup> Omits "exactly."

<sup>b</sup> Registered voters.

**NBC/AP:** Do you think that the United States should be stronger in military terms than Russia, about equal in military strength, or not as strong?

	Jun 1978	Apr-May 1979 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 1980 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 1980 <sup>b</sup>
Stronger	52%	57%	67%	64%
Equal strength	39	38	29	31
Not as strong	4	2	2	3
Not sure	5	3	2	2

<sup>a</sup> Substitutes "militarily" for "in military terms."

**ROPER:** Do you think it is necessary that the United States be stronger than Russia in conventional non-nuclear arms capability, or just as strong as Russia, or doesn't the United States need to be as strong as Russia in conventional arms as long as it has enough nuclear arms to knock Russia out?

	Feb 1981
Stronger	47%
Just as strong	42
Doesn't need to be as strong	7
Don't know	4

**NORC-GSS/ROPER:** We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount: The military, armaments and defense.

	Jul 1971	Mar 1973	Dec 1973	Mar 1974	Mar 1975	Mar 1976	Mar 1977	Mar 1978	Mar 1979	Mar 1980	Mar 1982
Too little	18.1%	11.9%	17.0%	18.1%	17.8%	25.8%	25.2%	29.2%	60.2%	30.9%	
About right	40.2	47.8	47.7	48.6	49.0	45.0	48.5	47.1	27.5	37.6%	
Too much	41.7	40.3	35.3	33.3	33.2	29.2	26.2	23.6	12.3	31.6	

<sup>a</sup> Roper surveys for 1971 and December 1973.

#### Soviet/American Agreements

**ROPER:** The United States has formed ties of varying degrees with different nations in the world. Here is a list of a few countries [card shown respondent]. Would you read down that list and tell me for each country what you think would be best for us in the long run—to strengthen our ties with them, or to continue things about as they are, or to lessen our commitments to them?

	Jan 1974	Jan 1975	Jan 1977	Jan 1981
Strengthen ties	33%	36%	36%	30%
Continue as now	29	31	28	29
Lessen commitments	25	22	22	30
Don't know	13	11	14	11

#### THE POLLS: ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION

**NBC/AP:** For the past few years, the United States and Russia have had a policy of trying to reach agreements which will relax tensions between them. Do you think the Russians can be trusted to live up to such agreements or don't you think so?

	Aug 1978	Oct 1978	Mar 1979	Sep 1979
Can be trusted	21%	24%	26%	21%
Cannot be trusted	69	66	64	71
Not sure	10	10	10	8

**HARRIS:** Do you think it is possible for the United States and Russia to reach long-term agreements to help keep the peace or do you think (that) this is not possible?

	Aug 1970 <sup>a</sup>	Jun 1970 <sup>b</sup>	Feb 1971 <sup>c</sup>	Jun 1972 <sup>c</sup>	Jun 1973	Nov 1973	Dec 1974 <sup>d</sup>	Dec 1975 <sup>e</sup>
Can reach agreements	34%	51.8%	53.6%	55.6%	59	69.2%	59.1%	44.9%
Not possible	50	32.2	33.4	33.9	22	19.7	26.1	38.8
Not sure	16	16.1	13.0	10.5	19	11.1	14.8	16.3

<sup>a</sup> Do you feel the U.S. (United States) and Russia can reach long-term agreements to help keep the peace, or do you think that is not possible?

<sup>b</sup> Do you think it is possible for the United States and Russia to come to a long-term agreement to control wars in the world which will work, or do you feel it is not possible for that to happen?

<sup>c</sup> Do you think it is possible for the United States (U.S.) and Russia to come to a long-term agreement in the world which will work, or do you feel it is not possible for that to happen?

<sup>d</sup> Substitutes "keep peace" for "help keep the peace."

<sup>e</sup> Russia one country on list. Omits "help."

**HARRIS:** Would you favor or oppose agreement between the U.S. (United States) and Russia on [read list]?

	Aug 1970	Jun 1971	Feb 1972
Limiting anti-missile (ABM) systems	69.0%	71.5%	73.6%
Favor	15.9	13.7	13.0
Oppose	15.1	14.8	13.4
Not sure	10.8	11.5	10.7
Exploring outer space	62.0	63.8	66.5
Favor	27.3	24.8	22.8
Oppose	13.8	13.8	12.4
Not sure	11.6	10.8	12.6
Expanding trade between the two countries	74.6	75.4	75.1
Favor	13.8	13.8	12.4
Oppose	11.6	10.8	12.6
Not sure	9.5	9.5	8.8
Exchanging scholars and cultural groups	79.5	79.7	82.3
Favor	11.0	10.8	9.0
Oppose	9.5	9.5	8.8
Taking joint action if another nation threatens to use nuclear weapons	74.1	67.5 <sup>a</sup>	68.7 <sup>a</sup>
Favor	12.1	14.8	14.2
Oppose	13.8	17.7	17.1
Joint action to keep Communist China from starting wars	77.5	69.4	—
Favor	10.4	14.0	—
Oppose	12.1	16.3	—

**Getting European countries to pledge not to go to war against each other**

Favor	78.8	78.2	80.7
Oppose	8.4	9.6	7.3
Not sure	12.6	12.2	12.0

**Joint exploration of the oceans**

Favor	70.2	70.5	73.6
Oppose	15.4	14.4	11.9
Not sure	14.4	15.2	14.4

**Bringing about a settlement in the Middle East**

Favor	—	81.5	82.2
Oppose	—	8.4	7.2
Not sure	—	10.1	10.6

**Reducing the number of American troops in Western Europe**

Favor	—	70.6	76.4
Oppose	—	16.9	8.7
Not sure	—	13.6	15.0

\* Omits "joint."

**HARRIS:** Now let me read some proposals which have been made for possible agreements between (Russia and the United States/the United States and the Soviet Union). For each, tell me if you would favor or oppose such an agreement [read list and record below].

	Nov 1973	Dec 1974	Dec 1975
--	-------------	-------------	-------------

**Expanding trade between the U.S. and Russia**

Favor	71.9%	68.2%*	—
Oppose	16.1	20.9	—
Not sure	12.0	10.9	—

**Give Russia favored nation status in trade as most Western nations have with us now**

Favor	49.1	62.9%*	56.4%*
Oppose	32.1	23.6	23.2
Not sure	18.8	13.5	20.4

**Undertaking joint efforts to curb air and water pollution**

Favor	88.6	81.2	75.2%
Oppose	5.4	11.7	9.0
Not sure	6.0	7.1	15.9

**Undertaking joint efforts to solve the world energy shortage**

Favor	89.8	82.3	—
Oppose	4.9	9.0	—
Not sure	5.3	8.7	—

**Bringing about a Middle East settlement**

Favor	90.7	84.2%*	77.6%
Oppose	3.1	9.3	6.8
Not sure	6.2	6.5	15.6

**Reducing the number of American and Russian troops in central and western Europe**

Favor	75.1	72.6%*	—
Oppose	11.2	12.3	—
Not sure	13.7	15.1	—

**Exchanging scientists and other technical missions**

Favor	73.4	64.8	51.3% <sup>b</sup>
Oppose	13.8	23.9	27.7
Not sure	12.8	11.3	21.0

**Undertaking joint space missions**

Favor	—	82.3	46.0 <sup>d</sup>
Oppose	—	9.0	33.8
Not sure	—	8.7	20.2

\* Substitutes "Soviet Union" for "Russia."

<sup>b</sup> Giving the Soviet Union the same trade treatment that we give other countries.

<sup>c</sup> Give the Soviet Union the same trade treatment that we give other countries.

<sup>d</sup> "Undertake" instead of "undertaking."

\* Bringing about peace in the Middle East.

\* Reducing the number of American and Russian troops in Europe.

\* Exchange scientists and other technical missions.

\* Undertake more joint space missions.

**Arms Control and SALT**

**NBC/AP: Do you favor or oppose a new agreement between the United States and Russia which would limit nuclear weapons?**

	Jan 1978	Jun 1978	Aug 1978	Oct 1978	Nov 1978*	Feb 1979	Mar 1979	Apr 1979	Jul 1979	Sep 1979	Oct 1980
Favor	74%	67%	71%	70%	71%	81%	71%	68%	65%	62%	70%
Oppose	19	22	22	21	17	14	18	22	25	30	21
Not sure	7	11	7	9	12	5	11	10	10	8	9

\* Voters.

**"Do you favor or oppose agreements between the United States and Russia which limit nuclear weapons?"**

**NBC/AP: Do you think the United States should move towards nuclear disarmament on its own . . . only if the Soviet Union agrees to disarm as well . . . or don't you think the United States should move towards nuclear disarmament at all?**

	Dec 1981	Mar 1982	May 1982
Disarm on own	12%	14%	14%
Disarm along with Soviet Union	51	50	50
Not disarm	27	26	28
Not sure	10	10	8

**ROPER: The United States and Russia are trying to come to a new agreement limiting each country's nuclear weapons. This agreement would replace the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, called SALT, that ran out last October. Are you in favor of, or opposed to signing a new SALT agreement with Russia, or haven't you been paying much attention to this issue?**

	Nov 1977	Jun 1978	Aug 1978
In favor of	43%	45%	41%
Opposed to	10	11	16
Not paying attention	29	30	29
It depends (vol.)	8	6	8
Don't know	10	8	6

In June of 1979, President Carter for the U.S. and President Brezhnev for Russia signed a new SALT treaty. The treaty, which would last until 1985, limits each country to a maximum of 2,250 long-range nuclear missiles and bombers. As you know, there's a good deal of controversy about this proposed treaty. Do you think the U.S. Senate should vote for this new SALT treaty or against it?

	Oct-Nov 1978 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 1979 <sup>a</sup>	Apr-May 1979 <sup>a</sup>	Jul 1979	Sep 1979	Oct-Nov 1979	Jan 1980	Nov 1980
For	42%	40%	33%	31%	30%	30%	22%	26%
Against	20	21	24	29	39	35	42	36
Mixed feelings (vol.)	17	19	20	21	15	19	17	20
Don't know	20	20	23	19	17	17	18	19

\* The U.S. and Russian negotiators have about reached agreement on a SALT treaty. The treaty, which would last until 1985, limits each country to a maximum of 2,250 long-range nuclear missiles and bombers. As you know, there's a good deal of controversy about this proposed treaty. Do you think the U.S. Senate should vote for this new SALT treaty or against it?

LATIMES: Do you approve or disapprove of the SALT II nuclear weapons agreement?

	Nov 1980	Apr 1981
Approve	34%	35%
Disapprove	38	36
Not sure	27	27
Refused	1	2

HARRIS: Now let me read you some statements that some people have made about the U.S. and Russia coming to a new SALT arms agreement. For each, tell me if you agree or disagree.

Jan 1979      Apr 1979      Oct 1979      Nov 1980

At a time when (it is) it's possible for the U.S. and Russia to blow each other up with nuclear weapons, it is vital for the two countries to reach an agreement to limit nuclear arms

Agree	86.2%	86.0%	86.8%	83.9%
Disagree	10.0	10.9	10.3	13.7
Not sure	3.7	3.2	3.1	2.4

Because the chances are that we will keep our end of the bargain and the Russians will not, we should not sign an agreement (with them) limiting nuclear weapons

Agree	41.5	42.2	49.3 <sup>b</sup>	47.3
Disagree	50.2	50.7	40.5	47.7
Not sure	8.4	7.2	10.2	5.1

If our military and Defense Department leaders say the SALT agreement with the Russians is a good deal for us, then the U.S. Senate should ratify such an agreement

Agree	67.0	70.2 <sup>b</sup>	—
Disagree	21.8	19.8	—
Not sure	11.3	10.0	—

Refusal by the U.S. Senate to ratify a new SALT arms agreement could lead to a serious nuclear arms build-up both in this

#### THE POLLS: ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION

country and Russia which could bring us dangerously close to a nuclear war

Agree	—	66.5	54.7	51.2 <sup>c</sup>
Disagree	—	25.0	37.5	42.8
Not sure	—	8.5	7.8	5.9

\* Because the chances are that we will keep our end of the bargain and the Russians will not, the U.S. Senate should not ratify the SALT treaty President Carter signed in Vienna last June.

<sup>b</sup> The U.S. Senate should ratify the SALT treaty, if our military and Defense Department leaders say that the U.S. has adequate inspection devices to monitor a Russian nuclear arms buildup.

<sup>c</sup> Refusal by the U.S. to agree to a new SALT arms agreement. . . .

#### Domestic Communism

YANKELOVICH: How great a danger do you feel that American Communists are to this country at the present time—a great danger, some danger, hardly any danger, or no danger at all?

	Mar 1974	Sep 1974	May 1975	Jan 1976	Apr 1976 <sup>a</sup>
A great danger	28.6%	29.3%	29.5%	30.0%	26.6%
Some danger	35.6	37.0	31.9	38.0	41.2
Hardly any	19.6	18.3	19.6	17.6	19.6
No danger	11.9	10.6	14.1	9.3	12.6
Don't know	4.3	4.9	5.0	5.0	—

\* Registered voters.

NORC/AIPO: How great a danger do you feel 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?

Summer 1954

Very great danger	19%
Great danger	24
Some danger	38
Hardly any danger	9
No danger	2
Don't know	8

GALLUP: How much danger do you think the Communists right here in America are to this country at the present time—a very great deal, a good deal, not very much, or none at all?

Sep 1964

Very great deal	13.6%
Good deal	63.3
Not very much	18.9
None at all	0.9
Don't know	3.4

**HARRIS:** Now let ask you about some specific groups of people in this country. For each tell me if you feel they should or should not be put under surveillance by any government authority.

	% Should	
	Mar 1974	Jan 1976
1. American Communist Party	74.9%	75.6%
2. John Birch Society	47.2	46.5
3. Vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)	74.7	73.4
4. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)	33.1	31.2
5. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	30.6	30.5
6. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	36.5	33.8
7. Ralph Nader's Consumer Action group	24.2	26.4
8. Common Cause	17.8	19.5
9. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)	30.4	27.0
10. Welfare Rights Organization	39.9	39.1
11. The Democratic Party	35.2	31.9
12. The Republican Party	37.0	32.3
13. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	39.3	36.8
14. Congressmen who support radical causes	47.1	46.7

**NORC/GALLUP/NORC-GSS/RESPONSE ANALYSIS:**<sup>a</sup> Now, I should like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist. Suppose this admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?

	Mar-									
	Sum.	Mar	Mar	Apr	Mar	Mar	Mar	May	May	Mar
	1954	1972	1973	1973	1974	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Allowed	28.2%	53.7%	61.2%	53%	59.6%	55.8%	56.6%	62.3%	56.6%	57.5%
Not allowed	71.8	46.3	38.8	30 <sup>b</sup>	40.4	44.2	43.4	37.5	43.4	42.5

Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired?

	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar	Mar
	1954	1972	1973	1973	1974	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Fired	93.6	65.4	58.5	55.6	56.4	59.5	—	56.8	53.8	—
Not fired	6.4	34.6	41.5	30 <sup>b</sup>	44.4	43.6	40.5	—	43.2	46.2

Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests that the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it or not?

	Mar									
	1954	1972	1973	1973	1974	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982
Favor removing	71.1	44.5	40.1	—	39.3	41.8	43.3	35.9	40.5	40.6
Not favor	28.9	55.5	59.1	—	60.7	58.2	56.7	64.1	59.5	59.4

<sup>a</sup> The 1954 survey was jointly conducted by GALLUP and NORC, the March-April 1973 survey was by Response Analysis, and the 1978 survey by NORC. The remaining points are NORC-GSS.

<sup>b</sup> Don't knows are included in the base.

#### THE POLLS: ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION

**RESPONSE ANALYSIS:** Here is a list of topics which have been discussed in the papers recently. Which ones do you remember talking about with your friends or relatives in the last few weeks or so? Do you think it represents a serious or moderate threat to the United States, or is not a threat to the United States?

	Mar-Apr 1973			
	Serious Threat	Moderate Threat	Not a Threat	Don't Know
Drugs	78%	15%	4%	3%
Crime	75	19	3	3
High prices	75	18	5	6
High taxes	58	27	9	6
Pollution	51	31	11	7
Juvenile delinquency	39	38	16	7
Poverty in the United States	39	36	17	8
Racial problems	33	43	17	7
Communists in the United States	29	33	26	13
Urban problems	25	36	23	16
Population increase	22	35	34	9
Hippies	15	26	51	8
Danger of World War III	14	35	37	13
Radical college students	10	32	46	12
Revolution	10	29	48	14
Right-wing groups	8	27	45	20
Women's liberation	6	18	65	11

**NORC:** Here is a list of groups in politics. As I read the list, please follow along: Socialists, Fascists, Communists, Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, Black Panthers, Symbionese Liberation Army, Atheists, pro-abortionists, and anti-abortionists. Which of these groups do you like the least, or if there is some group that you like even less than the groups listed here, please tell me the name of that group.

	May 1978
	% Least Liked
Socialists	1%
Fascists	5
Communists	29
KKK	24
John Birch Society	1
Black Panthers	6
Symbionese Liberation Army	8
Atheists	8
Pro-abortionists	4
Anti-abortionists	2
Other	2
Don't know	10

YANKELOVICH: How do you feel about some of the organizations which take stands on these and other issues? Do you feel that [name of organization] is good for the country or not that good for the country; or aren't you familiar enough to say?

	Jan 1981
National Rifle Association	
Good for country	31.6%
Not good for country	22.3
Not familiar	46.1
National Organization for Women (NOW)	
Good for country	52.4
Not good for country	17.7
Not familiar	29.9
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	
Good for country	70.8
Not good for country	12.3
Not familiar	16.9
The Communist Party	
Good for country	8.1
Not good for country	81.6
Not familiar	10.2
American Civil Liberties Union	
Good for country	41.8
Not good for country	21.4
Not familiar	36.8
Nader's Raiders	
Good for country	41.8
Not good for country	21.4
Not familiar	36.8
Moral Majority	
Good for country	29.4
Not good for country	26.4
Not familiar	44.2
Nic-Pac	
Good for country	2.7
Not good for country	6.1
Not familiar	91.2
Ku Klux Klan	
Good for country	2.7
Not good for country	91.1
Not familiar	6.2

## Book Reviews

MARC B. GLASSMAN, EDITOR

HOWARD SCHUMAN AND STANLEY PRESSER, *Questions and Answers in Attitude Surveys: Experiments on Question Form, Wording, and Context*. New York: Academic Press, 1981, 392 pp., \$29.50

This volume reports on the sort of program of research we all constantly advocate and that most of us rarely achieve. It is large-scale, systematic, and cumulative in that it generates fresh experiments to test hypotheses suggested by earlier ones. Further, it is careful—especially in its use of replication, both of the experiments repeated in identical form and of what should, if theory holds, be parallel experiments using differing operationalizations. Finally, it is comprehensive in its coverage of issues important for survey practice and its use of both cross-sectional and panel designs. Over 200 experiments were conducted, using some 30 surveys (most of the national population), especially NORC's General Social Survey and SRC's Omnibus Survey. The book is chock-full of details and careful generalizations leaving a reader informed and dazzled, and rendering the reviewing task almost impossible. Hence, rather than trying to match the authors' comprehensiveness, I shall focus only on a few features that struck me as particularly remarkable.

Most of the topics covered are the

familiar ones that have received past research attention—though rarely as systematic as here attempted—and are the substance of the art of questionnaire construction. Included are matters such as question order, response order, and more general context effects; the lack of overlap between respondent-generated categories for open-ended questions and the closed categories generated by a researcher, even with extensive pre-testing with open questions; the effects of explicitly offering respondents a "don't know" or a middle opinion alternative; the effects of balancing questions formally or through the inclusion of a counterargument; acquiescent responses—by whom they are given and to what sorts of questions; attitude strength and its relation to reliability; and issues of wording tone.

The general strategy is to ask three related questions about the effect of any variation in question form: Does it change the univariate distribution of the item concerned? (For the introduction of explicit DK and MA options the surprising finding is that while the margins do reflect movement into the newly offered category, the relative sizes of the originally offered categories remain remarkably stable.) Does the variation in form affect the relation between the question at issue and background variables? (Attention is restricted to