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# MEASURING THE FREQUENCY OF REGULAR BEHAVIORS: COMPARING THE "TYPICAL WEEK" TO THE "PAST WEEK"

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Social scientists often measure the frequency with which people perform behaviors executed regularly throughout their daily lives, but there is no standard approach to this measurement task: some investigators have asked respondents about their behavior during a "usual" or "typical" day, week, or month, whereas others sought to describe the same sorts of behavior patterns by asking about the most recent day, week, or month. This paper compares the validity of "typical" week and "past" week reports for assessing habitual behavior patterns using data from the 1989 National Election Study Pilot, in which respondents were randomly assigned to report TV news program and newspaper exposure during either a typical week or the past week. The predictive validity of the measures was assessed using objective tests of current events knowledge and identification of political figures, as well as selfassessments of political knowledge. The typical week questions consistently manifested superior predictive validity, especially among the most educated respondents.

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For decades, academic studies, federal government surveys, and commercial researchers have routinely measured the frequency with which people performed particular behaviors in the course of daily life, including exercising (e.g., Koivusilta, Rimpelä, Rimpelä, and Vikat 2001), consuming foods (e.g., Briefel 1994), purchasing consumer goods (e.g., Urbany and Dickson 1991), recycling (e.g., Domina and Koch 2002), discussing politics (e.g., Gibson 2001), and much more. Reports of behavioral frequencies are often the bases of consequential aggregate statistics gauging unemployment and crime rates, the epidemiology of illnesses, neighborhood and community service provision, transport infrastructure effectiveness, consumer behavior, and government health resource allocation (for a review, see Conrad, Brown, and Cashman 1998).

Some studies of behavior frequency have asked respondents about a specific recent period (e.g., the past day or the past week) with an explicit interest in the behavior during that time period and no interest in generalizing those measurements beyond that time period (e.g., Noel and Cohen 1997; Stoeber and Bittencourt 1998). But another important goal of research has been to differentiate people who typically perform a behavior frequently from those who usually perform it only rarely, with an interest in identifying either the causes or the consequences of habitual, generalized behavior frequency (e.g., Koivusilta et al. 2001; Krosnick and Brannon 1993; Worden and Flynn 2002). Likewise, in the specialized literature on time use (e.g., Gershuny 2000; Robinson 1977; Robinson and Godbey 1997), some studies have asked respondents about a specific recent period (e.g., the past day or the past week) with an interest in that specific time period, but time use researchers also sometimes attempt to differentiate people who typically spend a lot of time performing a particular activity from those who usually spend very little time at it (e.g., see Robinson and Godbey 1997, especially chs. 12-15). This latter goal is our focus in the present paper—we explore how to maximize question validity when one seeks to differentiate respondents in terms of typical behavior frequency.

It might seem obvious that the best measurement approach given this goal would be asking people how often they typically or usually perform the behavior, as has been done in such long-term, highly-respected national surveys such as the General Social Surveys, the National Longitudinal Surveys, and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, as well as in numerous smaller-scale research studies (e.g., Koivusilta et al. 2001; Schuler, Richardson, Ochoa, and Wang 2001). However, some researchers have gauged long-term habitual behavior frequencies using data from other highly respected and long-running national surveys (e.g., the National Election Study and the NHANES) or smaller studies that asked people about behavior during a specific recent time period (e.g., Briefel 1994; Krosnick and Brannon 1993).

In this paper, we explore whether this latter approach is a reasonable technique for use if one's goal is to measure habitual behavior patterns and rank-ordering respondents from people who never perform a behavior to people who perform it most frequently. To do so, we analyzed data from an experiment embedded in a national survey, in which respondents were randomly assigned to answer questions about either a typical week or the past week, with a focus on television news program viewing and newspaper reading. We assessed the predictive validity of these two question formats and explored whether differences between them varied across multiple validity criteria and across subgroups of the population.

We begin below with a conceptual analysis of the potential advantages and disadvantages of the two question forms. Our conclusion is that neither questioning approach is clearly preferable on conceptual grounds alone. We therefore turn to a review of the limited body of existing evidence comparing these question forms and highlight the need for further work. Finally, we describe the methods and findings of our study.

### 1. A TYPICAL WEEK VERSUS THE PAST WEEK

A great deal of research has explored how people answer questions about behavioral frequencies (for a review, see Tourangeau, Rips, and Rasinski 2000). From this literature, we know that people typically use one of two strategies to estimate a behavioral frequency: episode enumeration (Sudman and Bradburn 1974) or rate-based estimation (Eisenhower, Mathiowetz, and Morganstein 1991; Menon 1993; Menon 1994). People tend to balance effort and accuracy in selecting response formulation processes, and perceptions of effort and accuracy are often determined by the relative accessibility of the information in memory (Blair and Burton 1987; Burton and Blair 1991). People are especially likely to retrieve and count episodes when the time frame is very short or very recent; otherwise, rate-based estimation is more common (Burton and Blair 1991; Eisenhower et al. 1991; Smith, Jobe, and Mingay 1991). People also tend to make rate-based estimates when they are asked to make frequency estimates of regular behaviors (Menon 1994).

For people who perform a behavior in a very regimented way, such as reading a daily newspaper every morning, whether a question asks about a typical week or last week is not likely to be especially consequential. Such people would presumably have an easy time enumerating their pattern of behavior and would provide identical reports of newspaper reading regardless of whether they were asked about a typical week or the past week (see Robinson and Gershuny 1994).

But for people whose behavior patterns are less regimented (e.g., see Robinson and Godbey 1997: 291), the choice of asking about a typical week versus the past week may be substantially more consequential. The more irregular the behavior pattern of interest is for an individual, the less likely an enumeration of the past week may be to accurately represent his or her typical frequency. The variation in a person's experiences from week to week would be real, of course, but this variation would constitute error variance if a researcher's goal is to measure people's usual or typical behavior patterns. The more people in a sample whose behavior patterns are irregular, the less likely a "past week" question may be to yield valid measures of average behavioral frequencies over long time periods (as is our interest here). This logic suggests an advantage of "typical week" questions over "past week" questions if a researcher's goal is to rank-order people in terms of such long-term average behavior frequencies, presuming that people can be equivalently accurate in describing their behaviors during both the past week and a typical week.

But this latter premise may be incorrect (see Robinson and Godbey 1997). Describing the last week may be relatively easy for many respondents to do, because they can think back and enumerate events that occurred recently. Describing a typical week may also be easy for people if they have a frequency rate for the behavior in question already stored in their memories. But for people without

such a pre-stored rate, describing a typical week may entail quite a bit of mental work, via one of multiple possible strategies. For example, a respondent could identify a week that he or she considers "typical" and then figure out what he or she did during that week. If a person concludes that the past week was typical, then the accuracy of his or her response to a typical week question would be identical to that of his or her description of the past week. But if the respondent concludes that the past week was not typical, then the volume of required cognitive work would presumably increase even more. He or she must make behavioral frequency estimates for one or more weeks that occurred longer ago in the past than simply a single week. And in the extreme, a respondent who cannot identify any single week as typical (given lots of behavioral variability) may think about the events that occurred during a series of weeks and average recalled behavior frequencies across them.

Regardless of which procedure a respondent uses, answering a typical week question may entail longer-term recall than does answering a question about the past week for many respondents. And decades of research in cognitive psychology have demonstrated that a longer interval between the behavior performance and the time of recollection is associated with less accurate recall (e.g., Baddeley 1999; Burton and Blair 1991). Therefore, the cognitive strategies executed to describe a typical week may yield a substantial amount of recall error. enough to make reports of the past week just as accurate or even more accurate for gauging typical action patterns. This logic led Babor, Brown, and Del Boca (1990) to argue that general time use patterns are better measured with questions about specific, recent, and short time periods than by questions about usual activity patterns. Belson (1981: 359) also warned against asking for descriptions of "usual" behavior, because he found that a majority of respondents in his think-aloud studies misinterpreted the intended meaning of the term "usual" in ways that compromised the validity of their answers. This logic underlies many time use researchers' preference for asking about recent, specific time periods (Lyberg 1989; Robinson 1977: 175; Robinson and Godbey 1997).

There is good reason to have confidence in measurement of a recent specific time period (e.g., the last 24 hours), because many studies attest both to the validity and reliability of data gathered thusly when they are used to generate aggregate figures regarding populations (for a review, see Robinson and Godbey 1997: 74–77). But Robinson (1977: 10) noted that "We are much less certain of the validity of time-use diary data at the level of the individual respondent," and even 25 years later, empirical justification for confidence in the individual-level data remains scant.

Interestingly, Belson (1986) himself produced cautionary evidence about people's reports of their behavior during specific time periods. When asked to describe their behavior during the last seven days, Belson's respondents routinely made interpretive errors, often reporting their "usual" behavior pattern instead of the specific one that occurred during the intended reference period. Therefore, it is not obvious *a priori* whether questions about recent time periods will yield more accurate reports of typical behavior frequency than questions asking directly about typical or usual behavior patterns.

We therefore conducted tests to explore this issue empirically. We also explored the possibility that differences between typical week reports and past week reports might vary with the cognitive skills of the respondent. Because typical week questions require more cognitive work than do past week questions, answering a typical week question effectively may require substantial cognitive skills. If a person lacks such skills, any advantage of the typical week question over the past week question may disappear, because the respondent may fail to correctly identify what weeks are typical or may make more recall errors in describing behavior patterns regarding time periods longer ago than simply the past week. So typical week questions may be especially effective among respondents with substantial cognitive skills and of less value among other respondents.

#### 2. EXISTING EVIDENCE ON VALIDITY

Only two past experimental studies have compared results obtained by questions asking about typical behavior and questions asking about a recent specific period (e.g., the past week). Jacob (1995) asked respondents to complete large sets of rating scales describing various characteristics of their families (e.g., cohesion, expressiveness) twice, once describing their families "in general" and again with reference to their families during the past week. Correlations between total scores of multi-item indices measuring the same construct in the two question formats averaged .74. The indices' coefficient alphas averaged .65, which suggests that after multi-item index construction and correction for random measurement error, the underlying constructs measured by the two question formats were nearly perfectly correlated with one another. Unfortunately, Jacob (1995) did not report separate coefficient alphas for the two question formats, so it was not possible to assess whether one format yielded more reliable measurements of that underlying construct than did the other. Respondents reported greater frequency of behaviors and endorsed more characteristics as descriptive of the family when answering the "in general" questions than when answering the "past week" questions, but Jacob (1995) offered no evidence to explain this gap.

Price (1993) analyzed data from an experiment embedded in a national survey, in which respondents were randomly assigned to be asked one of two question forms, measuring their news media exposure during a typical week or the past week. Respondents reported more television news program viewing and newspaper reading during a typical week than during the past week. To assess the validity of the "past week" versus "typical week" measures, Price (1993) examined whether people who reported more exposure to news through various channels could also more accurately describe recent events that had been covered by the news media. Stronger correlations between media exposure reports and news recall quiz scores were presumed to indicate greater validity of the former, because media exposure is presumably a primary cause of knowledge about recent public events. Typical week reports correlated slightly more strongly with news recall quiz score than did the past week reports, but this difference was not statistically significant, so Price (1993) concluded the difference was not meaningful and that the two question forms were of equivalent utility.

Although this conclusion may be correct, it is possible that Price's analyses were misleading. In general, data analysts recommend the use of unstandardized regression coefficients rather than standardized measures such as correlations for comparing associations between variables across groups of respondents (e.g., Blalock 1967; Duncan 1975) because across-group comparisons of standardized measures of association can be distorted by between-group differences in the variances of the variables involved. In fact, Price (1993) reported that there was more variance in answers to the past week questions than in answers to the typical week questions, which would misleadingly inflate the past week question's correlations in comparison to those involving the typical week questions. Therefore, true validity could have been lower for the past week questions than the typical week questions, but this would have been masked in Price's analyses. Consequently, it seems worthwhile to reconsider these data before reaching any conclusion.

#### 3. DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In this paper, we report findings from a reanalysis of the data Price (1993) examined, from the National Election Study's (NES) 1989 Pilot Study. Like Price (1993), we focused on the correlational validity of the two question forms, assessed using unstandardized regression coefficients rather than correlations.

The ideal criterion variable for assessing the validity of media exposure measures would be a pure and completely accurate assessment of media exposure. With such a measure, we could estimate the parameters of the following equations separately using two different measures of media exposure:

$$\Gamma_t = b_1(T) + s_t + e_t \tag{1}$$

$$\Gamma_p = b_2(T) + s_p + e_p \tag{2}$$

where  $\Gamma_t$  is a report of media exposure during a typical week,  $\Gamma_p$  is a report of media exposure during the past week, T is the true amount of media exposure a person usually experienced,  $b_1$  is the validity of  $\Gamma_t$ ,  $b_2$  is the validity of  $\Gamma_p$ ,  $s_t$  and  $s_p$  represent systematic measurement error in answers to each question<sup>1</sup> (such as a tendency for people to underreport media exposure, either intentionally or accidentally because of misremembering), and  $e_t$  and  $e_p$  represent random measurement errors in answers to each question. If  $b_1 > b_2$  and/or  $e_t < e_p$ ,

<sup>1</sup>A difference between the measures in terms of the magnitude of systematic measurement errors can also be reason to prefer one measure over another, but systematic measurement error could not be gauged in this study, so we focus on other elements in the equations.

that would suggest that the typical week question is a more valid and/ or reliable measure of true media exposure than the past week question. And if  $b_1 < b_2$  and/or  $e_t > e_p$ , that would suggest that the typical week question is a less valid and/or reliable measure of true media exposure than the past week question.

Unfortunately, no pure and completely accurate method for assessment of media exposure yet exists, and methods such as observation, diaries, and experience sampling all have advantages and drawbacks (for reviews, see, Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi 1990; Robinson and Godbey 1997: 61–62). And we have found no dataset containing the array of needed measures for estimating the parameters of equations (1) and (2).

We have therefore taken an alternative approach using a criterion variable that theory suggests should be correlated with news media exposure: knowledge about recent political events. That is, we have adopted an approach suggested by the American Psychological Association (1954) for gauging the validity of a measure: assessing construct validity, which focuses on the extent to which a measure (in our case, of media exposure) is related to measures of other constructs to which theory says it should be related (in our case, political knowledge; see also Messick 1989).

We posited the following model of the relation between measures of news media exposure and measures of political knowledge:

$$\Upsilon = b_3(\Gamma_t) + b_4 \ (\Phi) + s + e \tag{3}$$

$$\Upsilon = b_5(\Gamma_p) + b_4 \ (\Phi) + s + e \tag{4}$$

where  $\Upsilon$  is a measure of knowledge about politics that is presumably learned through exposure to the news media,  $\Gamma_t$  and  $\Gamma_p$  are the two different reports of the amount of news media exposure,  $b_3$  and  $b_5$  are coefficients estimating the associations of  $\Upsilon$  with  $\Gamma_t$  and  $\Gamma_p$ ,  $\Phi$  is a vector of other causes of assessed knowledge levels besides media exposure,  $b_4$  is a vector of coefficients reflecting the strength of impact of these other causes, s is systematic measurement error in assessments of political knowledge, and e is random error in measurements of political knowledge.  $b_3$  and  $b_5$  can be estimated in the two separate equations leaving  $\Phi$  and s out of the equations because the impact of other causes and systematic measurement error will be the same in both. Invalidity and random measurement error in the measures of media exposure will attenuate  $b_3$  and  $b_5$ . So if  $b_3 > b_5$ , that would suggest that the typical week question is a more valid and/or reliable measure of true media exposure than the past week question. And if  $b_3 < b_5$ , that would suggest that the typical week question is a less valid and/or reliable measure of true media exposure than the past week question.

We used the data set analyzed by Price (1993) to estimate  $b_3$ and  $b_5$  in order to make these comparisons. In addition to using the validity criteria Price (1993) used (quiz questions about current events administered later in the same interviews as the media exposure questions), we also used current event quiz questions administered during a subsequent interview with the same respondents, as well as quiz questions about the jobs or offices held by various political figures that had been asked of the respondents one year prior to the media exposure questions.

All of these indices of knowledge are what Bassili (1996) labeled "operative" measures, because they assess the presence of accurate knowledge in respondents' memories directly. Knowledge quantities can also be assessed "meta-attitudinally," by asking people how knowledgeable they think they are on a particular topic. Bassili (1996) argued that operative measures are advantaged in terms of validity, because they bypass respondents' potentially inaccurate perceptions and strategic efforts at self-presentation. However, quiz questions can also be misleading, because they reflect the accumulation of only the specific bits of information asked about and therefore may understate knowledge levels for some respondents. We therefore used meta-attitudinal knowledge questions included in the 1988 NES questionnaire as additional independent validity criteria in our analyses.

Furthermore, we went a step beyond Price's (1993) approach to assessing validity by recognizing that exposure to news media stories is not likely to translate directly into the accumulation of knowledge. Rather, information accumulation from the media is likely to be a joint product of exposure levels and attention levels (Chaffee and Schleuder 1986; Zaller 1990, 1992). That is, a person who is exposed to many news stories but pays only minimal attention to them (e.g., because the television serves as background accompaniment to making and eating dinner) may retain less information than a person who was exposed to fewer stories but paid close attention to them. Therefore, any attempt to gauge the validity of exposure measures must explicitly model an interaction: exposure and attention are likely to combine multiplicatively with one another to enhance knowledge gathering, so assessing such an interaction explicitly is the only effective way to investigate the effects of attention. We did just this.

## 4. METHOD

#### 4.1. Data

The National Election Studies are surveys of nationally representative samples of American adults conducted during even-numbered, national election years in the U.S. During every odd-numbered year between 1979 and 1997, a subsample from the prior year's national sample was selected for participation in a pilot study. Respondents in the 1989 NES Pilot Study were first interviewed as part of the 1988 National Election Study and were then interviewed twice in 1989, first between July 6 and August 1 (Wave I), and again between September 6 and October 6 (Wave II). A total of 614 people completed the Wave I interviews, 243 men and 371 women, 542 Caucasians and 72 non-Caucasians. A total of 494 of these respondents completed the Wave II interviews.

#### 4.2. Measures

*Media Exposure*. During the Wave I interviews in 1989, respondents were asked either typical week or past week questions assessing exposure to television news and newspapers:<sup>2</sup>

"How many days (in the past week/in a typical week) did you watch the news on TV?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The survey also measured exposure to radio news, but we focused on TV news and newspapers because respondents reported very little exposure to radio news programs. Questions asking about exposure to morning television shows and evening entertainment programs on television were also not used, because they presumably have little impact on people's knowledge about political events.

"How many days (in the past week/in a typical week) did you read a daily newspaper?"

Because exposure through either medium should contribute to knowledge accumulation, we summed respondents' two exposure scores and recoded the result to range from 0 (meaning no exposure to either television news or newspapers) to 1 (meaning 7 days of exposure to television news and 7 days of exposure to newspapers).

Attention. The amount of attention respondents paid to political news was measured by two follow-up questions. Respondents who received the past week form were asked: "How much attention did you pay to news on TV about national politics?" and "How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about national politics?" Respondents who received the typical week form were instead asked more generally phrased questions: "How much attention do you pay to newspaper articles about national politics?" Each of these questions was asked immediately after the corresponding media exposure item. Responses were made on a 5-point scale: "a great deal," "quite a bit," "some," "very little," and "none," coded 1, .75, .5, .25, and 0, respectively. An index of attention to political news was computed by averaging respondents' answers to these two questions.<sup>3</sup>

*Wave I Current Events Recall Questions.* During the 1989 Wave I interviews, all respondents were asked if they remembered hearing or reading anything about five current news events: the resignation of House Speaker Jim Wright, a Supreme Court ruling on the death penalty, a scandal involving the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the trials of Colonel Oliver North, and a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court on abortion.

For example, the first question asked about Jim Wright was: "Every day there are dozens of stories in the news. We are interested in how many of these stories people actually see or hear and how good a job the media does in covering the news. For example: Have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>News media exposure and attention were significantly correlated (r = .65, p < .001).

you read or heard any news stories about the resignation of Congressman Jim Wright?" If respondents said they did remember hearing or reading something on the topic, they were asked: "Do you happen to recall why he resigned?" Similar question sequences were asked about the other events.

The coding staff of the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Research coded answers into categories representing the amount of accurate information each respondent reported about each event. Respondents who said they did not read or hear anything about the event in question, or who gave incoherent answers, or said "don't know" were given a score of 0. All other answers were coded for level of detail and accuracy, such that smaller numbers indicated inaccurate or vague answers, while large numbers were assigned to answers reflecting both correct recollections about the events and detailed knowledge (for details, see http://www.umich. edu/~nes).

Codes for each news recall item were recoded to range from 0 (meaning no recall at all) to 1 (meaning the most accurate recall of extensive knowledge possible). A composite measure of current events recall was then computed by averaging each respondent's scores on the five questions. The reliability of this measure was satisfactory,  $\alpha = .76$  (N = 596), and all five items loaded significantly on a single factor (.46 <  $\lambda$  < .71) in a confirmatory factor analysis.

*Wave II Current Events Recall Questions.* Four current events recall items were asked of all respondents who were interviewed in the second wave of the 1989 NES Pilot Study, about the HUD scandal, the Oliver North trials, the Supreme Court ruling on abortion, and a scandal involving evangelist Jim Bakker. Coding of answers and index construction was done just as had been done with the Wave I data. The reliability of this measure was satisfactory,  $\alpha = .84$  (N = 431), and all four items loaded significantly on a single factor (.74 <  $\lambda$  < .82) in a confirmatory factor analysis.

*Political Figure Identification.* During the 1988 NES pre-election survey interviews (one year before the Pilot Study), respondents were asked if they knew the job or office held by prominent political figures: Ted Kennedy, George Shultz, William Rehnquist, Mikhail Gorbachev, Margaret Thatcher, Yasser Arafat, and Jim Wright. Each

respondent received a score of 1 for a question if he or she correctly identified the political figure and a score of zero if he or she gave an incorrect answer, said "don't know," or gave an irrelevant or incoherent answer. An index of recollection accuracy was computed by averaging the seven scores for the individual items. The reliability of this index was satisfactory,  $\alpha = .77$  (N = 609), and all seven of the items loaded significantly on a single factor (.47 <  $\lambda$  < .69) in a confirmatory factor analysis.

Self-Reported Knowledge Volume. During the 1988 NES pre-election interviews, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with two statements: "I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country" and "I think I am better informed about politics and government than most people." Responses were made on a 5-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree," which we coded to range from 0 (meaning "strongly disagree") to 1 (meaning "strongly agree"). The mean of these two scores was treated as a measure of self-reported knowledge volume. The correlation between the two items was .56, p < .001 (N = 613).

*Education.* To measure respondents' cognitive skills, we employed educational attainment as a proxy, because it is extremely strongly correlated with direct measures of cognitive skills (Ceci 1991). Respondents reported the highest year of school they attended and the highest degree they had received.

#### 5. RESULTS

As shown in Table 1, we replicated the frequency distributions of responses to the television news and daily newspapers questions that Price (1993) reported. Respondents answering the past week questions were more likely to report zero days of exposure, whereas respondents answering the typical week questions were more likely to report five days of exposure. These distributions were significantly different from one another for both television ( $\chi^2 = 30.97$ , p < .001) and newspapers

	Televisio	on News	Daily Newspapers			
Days per Week	Typical Week Question (%)	Past Week Question (%)	Typical Week Question (%)	Past Week Question (%)		
0	6	11	10	17		
1	4	8	10	11		
2	8	11	8	8		
3	11	13	10	13		
4	9	11	3	7		
5	22	10	11	6		
6	8	4	7	4		
7	32	33	42	33		
Standard deviation	.31	.36	.37	.39		
Ν	302	312	302	312		

 TABLE 1

 Distributions of Responses to News Media Exposure Questions

 $(\chi^2 = 24.72, p < .001)$ .<sup>4</sup> Tests of equality of variances confirmed that the variability of the past week reports was greater than that of the typical week reports of exposure to television news (p < .01) but not exposure to newspapers (p > .20).

#### 5.1. Associations Among the Key Variables

Exposure was significantly correlated with each of the four validity criteria (with Wave I current events recall r = .34, p < .001; with Wave II current events recall r = .26, p < .001; with political figure identification r = .32, p < .001; and with self-reported knowledge volume r = .29, p < .001). Attention was also significantly correlated with each of the four validity criteria (with Wave I current events recall r = .41, p < .001; with Wave II current events recall r = .38, p < .001; with political figure identification r = .44, p < .001; with self-reported knowledge volume r = .48, p < .001; and with self-reported knowledge volume r = .48, p < .001; and with self-reported knowledge volume r = .48, p < .001;

Not surprisingly, the operative measures of political knowledge were more strongly associated with each other (current events recall

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>All analyses were conducted using STATA controlling for design effects due to the cluster sampling done for the NES.

Wave I and Wave II: for r = .70, p < .001; Wave I current events recall and political figure identification: r = .67, p < .001; Wave II current events recall and political figure identification: r = .62, p < .001) than with the meta-attitudinal measure of political knowledge (Wave I current events recall: r = .49, p < .001; Wave II current events recall: r = .43, p < .001; political figure identification: r = .53, p < .001). The correlations' magnitudes suggest that the four criteria were related to one another as expected but were sufficiently nonredundant to permit useful replications for assessment of validity.

#### 5.2. Predictive Validity

An initial, simple assessment of predictive validity suggested that the typical week questions were superior to the past week questions (see Table 2, top panel). Across all four dependent variables, unstandardized regression coefficients indicated a stronger relation between reported media exposure and political knowledge for the typical week questions than for the past week questions. The differences between forms were statistically significant for Wave I current events recall (t=2.63, p < .05), political figure identification (t=2.71, p < .01), and self-reported knowledge volume (t=2.75, p < .01).<sup>5</sup> A meta-analysis combining across the four validity criteria using a technique that controls for correlations among the validity criteria (see Rosenthal and Rubin 1986) revealed significantly greater overall predictive validity for the typical week questions than for the past week questions in terms of the two-way interactions between exposure x form (d=.167, p < .01)

When we estimated the parameters of regression equations predicting the four knowledge measures with exposure, attention, and the interaction between exposure and attention, the results again suggested superiority of the typical week questions (see Table 2, bottom panel). Using the past week questions, the interaction was positive (as expected) and statistically significant for three criteria

<sup>5</sup>The difference between forms was tested by regressing each criterion on media exposure, question form, and the interaction of exposure x form and assessing the significance of the interaction. The same analyses were repeated after media exposure was (1) recoded into quartiles, and (2) subjected to a natural log transformation, and comparable results were obtained to those reported in the text.

	Typical Week Questions				Past Week Questions						
	Unstandardized Regression Coefficients					Unstandardized Regression Coefficients					Difference
Dependent Variable	Exposure	Attention	Exposure* Attention	R <sup>2</sup>	Ν	Exposure	Attention	Exposure* Attention	$\mathbb{R}^2$	N	Between Coefficients <sup>a</sup>
Current events recall, Wave I	.40**			.16	290	.26**			.10	306	.14*
Current events recall, Wave II	.31**			.10	210	.19**			.05	221	.12
Political figure identification	.40**			.14	302	.21**			.06	312	.19**
Self-reported knowledge	.32**			.12	302	.18**			.05	311	.14**
Current events recall, Wave I	14	.02	.65**	.25	290	09	.24*	.29*	.19	306	.36+
Current events recall, Wave II	10	02	.51**	.16	210	13	.47**	.10	.21	221	.41
Political figure identification	24+	06	.82**	.23	302	19*	.29**	.33*	.18	312	.49+
Self-reported knowledge	29**	.25*	.59**	.30	302	28**	.27**	.43**	.19	311	.16

 TABLE 2

 Regressions Predicting Political Knowledge with News Media Exposure, Attention, and the Interaction of Exposure and Attention

<sup>a</sup>In the top panel, these are differences between the main effect coefficients; in the bottom panel, these are differences between the interaction coefficients.

\*\*p < .01 \* p < .05  $^+p$  < .10

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(Wave I current events recall: b = .29, p < .05; political figure identification: b = .33, p < .05; self-reported knowledge volume: b = .43, p < .01) but was not significant for Wave II current events recall (b = .10, p > .30). In contrast, when using the typical week questions instead, the interaction was more than twice as strong for three of the four criteria and was significant for all four of them (Wave I current events recall: b = .65, p < .01; Wave II current events recall: b = .51, p < .01; Political figure identification: b = .82, p < .01; self-reported knowledge volume: b = .59, p < .01). The difference between the typical week and past week questions was marginally significant for Wave I current events recall (t = 1.78, p < .10) and political figure identification (t = 1.96, p < .10) and was not significant for Wave II current events recall (t = 1.43, p > .10) and self-reported knowledge volume (t = .67, p > .50).<sup>6</sup> A meta-analysis showed that overall predictive validity of the exposure x attention interaction was marginally significantly greater for the typical week questions than for the past week questions (d = .109, p < .10).<sup>7</sup>

#### 5.3. Explaining the Difference in Validity

One possible explanation for the poorer performance of the past week questions is variability in people's media exposure from week to week. The more people in the sample whose past week was atypical, the lower the predictive validity of the past week measures should be, whereas this sort of schedule variability would presumably not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The difference between forms was tested via the three-way interactions in regression equations predicting each criterion with media exposure, attention, question form, exposure x form, attention x form, exposure x attention, and exposure x attention x form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>To explore whether failure to reinterview some respondents at Wave II had any impact on the results, we compared the characteristics of people who were respondents and nonrespondents at Wave II. The two groups were not different in terms of age, race, gender, income, or employment status. Within the groups that received the two different question forms, respondents and nonrespondents did not differ in terms of media exposure, attention paid to news in media, current events recall in Wave I, political figure identification, or self-reported knowledge volume. Wave II respondents were slightly more educated than Wave II nonrespondents. Because similar results were obtained using only Wave I data, there is no reason to believe that the attrition at Wave II is responsible for the results obtained on the single criterion variable from Wave II.

handicap the typical week questions so directly. NES respondents asked the past week questions were also asked whether the past week was typical for them in terms of media exposure or not: "Was this a typical week for you with respect to the amount of news on TV you watched?", to which 70 percent of respondents replied in the affirmative, and "Was this a typical week for you with respect to how often you read a daily newspaper?", to which 79 percent of respondents replied in the affirmative.

When we repeated the predictive validity comparisons shown in Table 2 using only the respondents who were asked the past week questions and said their past weeks were typical, we found the gap between the question forms was somewhat diminished. Nonetheless, meta-analyses combining across the four validity criteria revealed significantly better overall predictive validity for the typical week questions than for the past week questions in terms of the main effect of news media exposure (d = .108, p < .05) and marginally significantly better overall predictive validity for the typical week questions than for the past week questions in terms of the exposure x attention interaction (d = .099, p < .10). As would be expected, both of these effect sizes are smaller than those generated using all respondents who were asked the past week questions. This suggests that the discrepancy between the results yielded by the two question forms may be partly but not completely attributable to atypicality of the prior week<sup>8</sup>

### 5.4. The Moderating Role of Education

Clear support for the moderating role of cognitive skills emerged when we estimated the three-way interaction of exposure x attention x question form separately for respondents with high school education or less and for respondents with some college education or more. Among respondents in the high education group, the three-way interaction was significant and positive (as expected) for Wave II current events recall (t = 2.23, p < .05), political figure identification (t = 2.30, p < .05), and self-reported knowledge volume (t = 2.06, p < .05), and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>This analysis would be best done eliminating people who were asked the typical week question and whose past week was atypical, but the NES did not ask the necessary question to permit this filtering.

in the same direction and nonsignificant for Wave I current events recall (t = .48, p > .20). Among respondents in the low education group, the three-way interaction was not significant for any of the four validity criteria (t = .73, p > .40 for Wave I current events recall; t = -.27, p > .70 for Wave II current events recall; t = .10, p > .90 for political figure identification; t = -1.17, p > .20 for self-reported knowledge volume). Meta-analyses of this three-way interaction between exposure x attention x question form, combining across the four validity criteria, revealed greater predictive validity for the typical week questions than for the past week questions among the high education respondents (d = .136, p < .05) but not among the low education respondents (d = .003, p > .90), and the contrast between these two effect sizes was statistically significant (g = .234, p < .001). This supports the conclusion that the typical week questions yielded greater validity only among the respondents most skilled at performing the required complex tasks.

#### 6. DISCUSSION

#### 6.1. Summary of Findings

People reported more television news and newspaper exposure when answering the typical week questions than when answering the past week questions, a finding in line with other evidence that total amount of time spent on various activities is greater for a typical or average week than for a recent week (Jacob 1995: Market Facts. Inc. n.d.; Price 1993; Robinson and Godbey 1997, p. 60; c.f. Eldridge, Barnard, and Bekerian 1994). It might be tempting for some readers to infer from this that typical week questions elicit more social desirability bias, on the assumption that reporting frequent news media exposure is socially admirable. Such a conclusion might seem consonant with evidence described by Marini and Shelton (1993) and Robinson and Godbey (1997) that estimates of typical behavior overestimate time spent doing housework and underestimate free time, in comparison to time diary data on the past 24 hours (assuming that housework is socially admirable and free time is not).

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However, people routinely overestimate time spent at all sorts of activities when asked about their typical behavior, because totals of time spent doing various things during a week routinely total up to well over the 168 hours available in a week (Verbrugge and Gruber-Baldine 1993). People may answer questions about a typical week's television viewing with reference only to a typical week when the person watches television, which would yield overstatement (Robinson and Godbey 1997: 60). Or people may undercharacterize time spent on various activities in a time diary because they can only report one activity at a time, even if they are doing multiple things at once (Juster and Stafford 1991). We know of no evidence showing that reports of news media exposure are subject to distortion due to social desirability bias, so we are hesitant to assume that the typical week question responses are necessarily less valid simply because they elicit higher rates of reported behaviors. In fact, the evidence we reported about correlational validity suggests that the past week question answers about media use may have been distorted downward, rather than the typical week question answers being distorted upward.

#### 6.2. The Attention × Exposure Interaction

Our findings point to the importance of considering the interaction between exposure and attention when studying information acquisition. Based on past research, we expected the effect of exposure to news media on the gaining of political knowledge to be moderated by the amount of attention paid to politics during exposure (Zaller 1990, 1992). And, in most cases, the interaction of exposure and attention was positive and significant. This finding attests to the importance and utility of considering attention when analyzing data involving media exposure (e.g., Chaffee and Schleuder 1986), reinforces the approach taken in some past investigations of media effects of examining interactions between exposure and attention (e.g., Krosnick and Brannon 1993), and suggests that past investigations that have looked at just simple effects of exposure alone (e.g., see Gilliam and Iyengar 2000) or separate effects of exposure and attention without an interaction (e.g., Chaffee and Schleuder 1986; Mastro and Atkin 2002) may have understated or mischaracterized media effects.

### 6.3. Meta-Attitudinal Measures

The present findings have implications for research comparing metaattitudinal measures with operative indices of psychological constructs. Research on attitude strength has demonstrated that people's perceptions of the operation of their attitudes may be discrepant from the actual operation of those attitudes. Therefore, concurrent examination of both meta-attitudinal and operative measures seems wise to preclude drawing incorrect conclusions from one type of measure alone (Bassili 1996; Visser and Krosnick 1998). The self-reported political knowledge volume questions and quizzes testing factual knowledge in this investigation are meta-judgmental measures and operative indices, respectively. And we generally obtained comparable results using both measures. This pattern is consistent with the findings of Krosnick et al. (1993), who reported exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses showing that operative and meta-attitudinal measures of knowledge volume reflected a single underlying common factor. All this suggests comparability of meta-attitudinal and operative measures of knowledge volume and suggests the value of further research exploring the conditions under which meta-attitudinal and operative measures of this and other constructs converge and diverge.

## 6.4. Explaining the Education Effect

One possible explanation for the apparent moderating role of education is suggested by the work of Eldridge, Barnard, and Bekerian (1994). These investigators showed that when people attempted to remember all the activities they performed during one day a week ago, their memorial representation of a typical day's activities (their "schemas") interfered: People forgot some or many of the events that actually occurred that day and instead misremembered that their activities were those of a typical day. This sort of interference might be especially likely among individuals with more limited cognitive skills. Therefore, our evidence that among low education respondents the typical week and past week questions were equally valid may have occurred because these individuals' typical week schemas overrode recollections of the past week. As a result, these people may have described their typical week, regardless of whether they were explicitly asked about it or the past week.

#### 7. CONCLUSION

Although the typical week questions performed better in this context, the past week questions were not totally invalid. The past week questions yielded significant correlations with most of the dependent variables, just not as strong as those for the typical week questions. Therefore, existing data sets that were generated using past week questions are certainly worth analyzing. But for researchers planning future studies with the goal of differentiating people with chronically high and low levels of news media exposure, the typical week questions seem preferable.

The typical week questions may have performed better than the past week questions here because news media exposure involves a regular behavioral pattern for most people. Hence the differences demonstrated in this study may not appear when measuring other behaviors that people perform in more erratic ways and for which estimating typical patterns may be quite a bit more cognitively taxing and error-prone. We therefore look forward to future studies exploring these measurement issues in domains other than news media exposure.

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