

ONE

Survey research design – then and now

On almost a daily basis, individuals are confronted with survey research – either as potential participants or as recipients of results. Survey research projects are carried out or commissioned by companies, newspapers, school districts, and other organizations and are administered by individuals, governments, university researchers, polling organizations, and survey research firms. The results of survey research are reported regularly in vehicles such as scholarly research papers or government reports, or in the media ranging from the *New York Times* to *Cosmopolitan* magazine. Today, we read about the results of survey research with the purpose of informing our decisions about a range of activities such as buying a car or adopting a new fitness regime. Conversely, consumers of survey research may have been invited to participate in a survey research project because they had recently purchased a car or engaged in a particular fitness regime. According to Igo (2007: 5), today ‘the public is simultaneously object, participant, and audience’ of survey research.

In general, there are two major types of survey research. Large-scale surveys such as national censuses, opinion polls, or research projects are carried out by institutions equipped with vast resources in terms of money, staff, and access to databases that are not normally available to an individual researcher. Smaller-scale surveys are carried out by institutions such as schools, post-secondary institutions, hospitals, and other organizations and individuals with the goal of gathering facts about or learning more about the demographic characteristics, behaviours, and attitudes of their students, employees, patients, clients, or members.

These large-scale ‘sample’ surveys – that is, those based on a representative sample of a larger population – tend to employ standardized questionnaire formats with the goal of generating statistics in order to generalize to a larger population. Such surveys and their related designs are privileged in most survey methods books. Sometimes, other types of survey formats and sampling strategies are not

addressed at all. Other times, a sort of schizophrenic approach is employed in survey methods books in that the topics of interviewing, non-probabilistic sampling, and open-ended questions are introduced or touched upon, but are not fully developed to the same extent as studies that are based on probabilistic designs (those employing random samples). For example, authors of many survey texts consider the group administration of a survey, for example within a classroom setting, as legitimate. However, the same authors either do not include or are critical of the convenience sample (again, students conveniently located within a classroom) as a legitimate sampling strategy. As such, these alternative approaches are usually relegated to an 'inferior' status or condemned – what Weisberg (2005: 237) calls 'usual textbook injunctions against [non-probability sampling]'. Examples of survey research in many existing texts are based on large probability samples that are (1) not feasible for the small-scale researcher to carry out, and (2) not particularly instructive when trying to learn how to conduct survey research. The word 'interview' in many textbooks means highly structured interviews and does not embrace the full range of uses of interviews in survey methods.

Few researchers have the privilege, ability, or desire to collect data through some form of probability sample. Access to lists of potential respondents is often restricted; only large data collection centres have the resources and political clout to gain access to such lists and carry out large-scale projects. Although the survey instrument and sample are integral and interrelated dimensions of survey research, the former does not need to be limited exclusively to a set of standardized questions presented to a sample with the intention of generalizing to larger populations. Within both of these dimensions there are many options.

In reality, most real-world survey research is conducted on a much smaller scale, to specifically targeted audiences. This book is designed to help those – for example, senior undergraduate and graduate students, small business owners, institutional researchers – to design meaningful surveys through the skilful crafting of questions that are posed to the audience or audiences best suited to answering the questions.

Many texts on survey research design are grounded solidly in the positivistic paradigm and related notions of objectivity and parsimony. However, because the social science world that we investigate is full of subjectivities and objectivities, survey research need not be limited to a tight set of rules that limit our ability to capture life as experienced by our respondents. The phrase 'survey research' provides a rubric for many types of approaches, ranging from self-administered to interviewer-administered approaches. Because we can maintain rigour through strong design, data collection from different perspectives should be encouraged.

In addition, survey research can be carried out in a myriad of ways to ask questions ranging from open-ended interviews to those that are closed-ended



and strictly standardized. Many types of approaches, ranging from pen-and-paper mail-out surveys to face-to-face interviews conducted via webcam can be employed. Surveys can be free-standing or can be embedded in larger research designs such as ethnographies, case studies, or experimental research.

Questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, and focus groups all belong to the rubric of survey research. In addition, either probabilistic (based on random samples), non-probabilistic techniques (purposive or not based on random samples), or combinations of both types of sampling designs can be employed. Statistics can be generated from surveys, text can be analysed qualitatively from interviews or open-ended survey questions, or these methods can be combined by, for example, quantifying interview data by reading codes and data stored in qualitative software programs into statistical software programs. The goal of survey research may be to generalize to larger populations *or* it may be intended to be *transferable* – that is, the ‘findings will be useful to others in similar situations, with similar research questions or questions of practice’ (Marshall and Rossman, 2006: 201). In other words, survey research can and should be conducted from both quantitative *and* qualitative perspectives.

This is not a new idea. In the past many approaches to data collection were included under the label ‘survey research’. The ‘paradigm wars’ that were prominent at the end of the twentieth century have not been resolved but rather have ‘agreed to a détente’ (Bergman, 2008b: 2). In terms of survey research, the quantitative–qualitative divide remains in that quantitative researchers continue to resist the idea that open-ended interviewing is a valid form of survey research (see Fowler, 2009) and qualitative researchers are surprised to learn that when they interview people to make statements that extend beyond the sample, they are actually conducting survey research! In many instances, by informing themselves of some of the key tenets of survey research design, qualitative researchers could strengthen their research projects which would, in turn, be more rigorous and hence more credible, and quantitative researchers could expand the results of their findings by enlivening them with the voices of respondents. In 1944, Paul Lazarsfeld, a leading figure in twentieth-century American sociology and survey research, addressed what he described as ‘two philosophies of research ... one wedded to so-called in-depth interviewing, and the other content with more objective methods of research’ (Lazarsfeld, 1944) and concluded that a combination of methods (p. 60) would result in improving research design, analysis, and interpretation. In his 1962 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Lazarsfeld said that early in his academic career he was assigned the task of analysing the occupational choices of young people. While it was relatively straightforward to conduct analyses to portray relationships among choices, social stratification, and age differences, problems arose in trying to interpret the reasons for choices. He noted that ‘reasons’ provided were contradictory and led to ambiguous responses that defied meaningful analysis. He





concluded that ‘an investigator’s lack of skill in the art of asking “why” questions led to meaningless statistical results’ (1962: 758). ‘Ever since’, he asserted, ‘I have continued to search for sound ways for making empirical studies of action’ (p. 758).

Surveys that are more quantitatively oriented will include more closed-ended questions, and those that are more qualitatively oriented will include more open-ended questions. However, considerable advances in *mixed methods research* design invite us to consider including both types of question and to use different types of survey format, such as mail-out questionnaires and interviews. In fact, the variety of data collection formats and ways of posing questions to respondents makes survey research a naturally occurring mixed methods design. Survey research, in and of itself, is a large, heterogeneous family of methods which do not fit tidily into either a quantitative or qualitative box.

TEXT BOX 1.1

The movie *Kitchen Stories*, directed by Bent Hamer, provides a delightful example of research paradigm wars.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kitchen_Stories

Trying to separate the two approaches and to downplay or dismiss the latter does indeed hamper (Bergman, 2008c) the creative ways that survey research alone, or in combination with other types of research, can produce rich findings. Often, the choice of survey method is based on the researcher’s training, too often in one or other of the methodological camps. As a result, studies are designed not according to the research questions at hand, but rather to conform to the researcher’s analytical skill set(s). As we shall see in Chapter 9, advances in analytical software programs have broken down the barriers between quantitative and qualitative analysis, rendering combinations of the various data collection methods no longer problematic. As such, ‘specific data collection and analysis [may] now be connected far more directly and explicitly to a research focus, research context, and research design’ (Bergman, 2008c: 18).

Historically, survey research embraced a wide variety of data collection methods. In the next section, I provide a brief overview of the history of survey research.

A short history of survey research

Gathering data on individuals has a long history, with various censuses dating back to antiquity. The first documented census occurred in China more than





4000 years ago (<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0020060>). Several references to census-taking in relation to taxation occur in the Christian Bible. Originally, data on individuals were collected primarily for reasons of taxation and military service. The Domesday Book of 1086, commissioned by William the Conqueror, documented the land holdings and livestock of most of the English population for the purpose of levying taxes. The male census in Norway in the 1660s was conducted for a similar purpose. The oldest documented complete nominal census – that is, containing the names of the members of the population – was in Iceland in 1703, where the following data were collected: name, age, and position in the household, along with health information and whether the person was a pauper without abode (Garðarsdóttir and Guðmundsson, 2005; Tomasson, 1977).

TEXT BOX 1.2

A description of world censuses can be found in Wikipedia:

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Censusnsus>

Sweden stakes claim to the first comprehensive endeavour in population statistics, the *Tablellverket* in 1749 (Sköld, 2004). Today, Sweden remains a leader in gathering data on its population. Eventually censuses became more all-encompassing by first linking commercialism with economic growth and then extending to the physical and moral health of the population (Thorvaldson, 2007).

Nominal censuses began in Great Britain in 1801, Denmark in 1834, Sweden in 1860, and Norway in 1865. The first national census was undertaken in the USA in 1790, Canada in 1871, and Australia in 1881. Simultaneously, other non-state organizations in Britain, Germany, France, the USA and elsewhere began collecting ‘vital statistics’ data for purposes such as monitoring disease and creating insurance tables. As Igo (2007: 7) points out, ‘Western countries in the nineteenth century witnessed a wave of surveying by private citizens and philanthropists, producing a veritable “avalanche of numbers” in the service of industrial and social reform’. In addition, there is evidence that in the 1800s surveys were being conducted within academic circles. For example, Max Weber, a sociologist and political scientist most famous for his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, took part in six data collection endeavours involving the administration of questionnaires to individuals. The first, carried out in 1890, included the study of workers’ attitudes (Lazarsfeld and Oberschall, 1965).

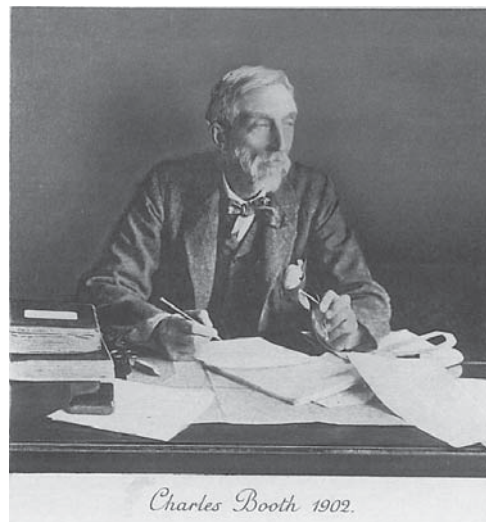
However, the notion of *survey* in these early studies meant something quite different to what it does today. This is best exemplified by the research of Charles



Booth at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in London. Booth has been called the ‘founding father’¹ (Converse, 1987: 1) of the empirical tradition in the social sciences, and it is worth taking a few minutes to examine his accomplishments.

Shortly after moving to London in 1875, the shipping magnate Charles Booth became passionately interested in the problems of poverty and unemployment plaguing the city that ‘politically and administratively ... had scarcely advanced beyond the Middle Ages’ (Fried and Elman, 1968: xv). He engaged in debates and discussions with politicians, socialists, and social workers who were unable to adequately answer his key concern: ‘exactly how the poor lived, exactly how discontented they were, how concretely they might be helped’ (Fried and Elman, 1968: xvi). By creatively piecing together available information such as census data and drawing on a plurality of data gathering approaches, Booth set out to answer this question and focused his attention initially on the East End of London.

TEXT BOX 1.3



Visit the Charles Booth Online Archives at the London School of Economics:

<http://booth.lse.ac.uk/>

Courtesy of Senate House Library, University of London, Goldsmiths Library, MS797/11/96/2.

¹Lazarsfeld (1961) points out that this distinction more accurately belongs to Frederic LePlay for his empirical work on European families.



He collaborated with London School Board visitors who were able to provide detailed accounts of all families with children of preschool age. In order to gather information about the poor who did not have children, Booth extended his data collection endeavours to include sources such as Poor Law statistics, registered lodging houses documented in police reports (Fried and Elman, 1968: xviii), and what we might today call 'focus groups' with colleagues of diverse political persuasions (Englander and O'Day, 1995). Through a detailed analysis of the data, Booth and his small team of colleagues and staff constructed an eight-category economic classification system and eventually created a definition of the 'poverty line'. Booth and his team set out to conduct a massive endeavour interviewing members of households and lodging residences. The collected data were used to create colour-coded poverty maps corresponding to his economic levels.

In the resulting four volumes comprising the *Poverty Series*, Booth concluded that one in three East Londoners lived in abject poverty, well in excess of the figure of one in four reported a few years earlier in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which, at the time, he thought was grossly exaggerated. Over the next several years, his investigations extended to the study of industry (the five-volume *Industry Series*) and religion (the seven-volume *Religious Series*). Together with a final summary volume, a total of 17 volumes had been produced. In addition, his observations on the relationship between old age and poverty eventually led to the passing of the 1908 Old Age Pensions Act in Britain (Fried and Elman, 1968: xxxiii–xxxiv).

Booth's ability to carry out such a monumental study can be summarized by his statement in the final volume: 'The root idea with which I began ... was that every fact I needed to know was known to someone and that the information had simply to be collected and put together' (quoted in Pfautz, 1967). Without tools such as computers and related statistical and qualitative data analysis programs, Booth employed multiple methods of data collection – a mixed methods design employing methodological *triangulation* in today's language – including analyses of existing census data, qualitative topographical descriptions, detailed qualitative descriptions of the people's behaviours, and their habits within the societal contexts in which they were affected. Booth even had first-hand experience of the living conditions of poor families by occasionally renting a room in their homes.

He also grappled with common methodological dilemmas of interviewee bias and non-compliance, and challenges in data comparability which he sought to remedy through large-scale data collection and the construction of structured interview schedules and reports (Englander and O'Day, 1995: 34). His work has been credited with leading to the development of modern-day sampling methods (Lazarsfeld, 1962: 761). However, over the course of the twentieth century, instead of embracing complexity, survey research as envisioned and enacted by Booth narrowed dramatically in scope.





After having received favourable reviews in American media and scholarly journals, Booth's work served as a model for many American studies of communities, including examinations of the slums of Chicago and the black population in Philadelphia. Those engaged in such research embraced the 'social survey in the style of Booth' and employed 'omnivorous' approaches (Converse, 1987: 3) to data collection in order to produce detailed vivid descriptions of the lives and living conditions of their study populations. Often the research was undertaken by social movement groups and 'amateur' social surveyors who wanted not only to describe but also to improve social conditions, and funded by philanthropists and municipal governments. Eventually, however, such research would become located in the more professional settings of the university and government agencies and would move toward disinterested 'objective' research and away from research with the goal of enacting social change (Igo, 2007).

According to Igo (2007), "scientific" surveyors elevated scholarly neutrality as a badge of honor, marginalizing the kind of knowledge that could be gained through "value-laden" social activism' (p. 28) and 'what united the diverse practices given the imprimatur "social science" was not a resolve to alleviate social problems but an embrace of certain techniques: objective observation, intense fact-collecting, and quantification. This perspective on social life, and the kind of knowledge that flowed from it, were considered uniquely modern scientific achievements' (p. 28).

Curiously, the first social science study to gain best-selling status did so based on an 'objective' scientific approach that was based on 'facts'. The study *Middletown* which documented an apparently 'typical' American city, was conducted by Robert and Helen Lynd (1929) who made it even more typical by excluding the black and immigrant population and the influence of the Ku Klux Klan from their research. According to Igo (2007: 74–75), 'the technical apparatus of social science and its particular style of reportage ... could trump the conditions of its creation'. This study marked the beginning of the shift to the protean (Converse, 1987) social survey. However, this approach seems more procrustean in nature, where the multi-methodological limbs of survey research design were severed and only the emaciated torso of 'objective scientific facts' remained. Employment of "the" scientific method' to gather only 'the facts', 'rather than ... slippery opinions' (Converse, 1987: 31), became the goals of the social surveyor. Well into the 1940s 'the "survey" was still a number of things – almost anything empirical' (p. 39), including contextual descriptions of communities, individual and aggregate data collected in the field, and detailed data collected on individuals through, for example, school records. Steadily, the focus of survey research shifted to that of the individual record, the standardization of questionnaire wording,



probability theory based on random samples, which led to the use of the term 'sample survey' (Converse, 1987). By the end of the twentieth century, 'social scientific methods, findings, and vocabularies were omnipresent. What had been quite unfamiliar several generations earlier had become as natural – and invisible – as the air the Americans breathed' (Igo, 2007: 13).

Definition of survey research

Over the course of the last century, the definition and related practice of survey research has moved away from the idea of conducting a broad *overview* or a 'comprehensive vision of the whole' (Converse, 1987: 19) while simultaneously *overseeing* in the sense of 'examining in detail, scrutinizing close up, inspecting' by employing 'a *mélange* of techniques – the more the better' (p. 18) to collect data. Data employed in such studies ranged from existing aggregate population data to detailed household budgets which documented the amount of meat consumed by a family in a given week. Eventually the definition of a social survey was narrowed, but it still encompassed the following: (1) data collected in the field, as opposed to in a laboratory setting; (2) organization of the data by the individual record but still employing a multitude of methods to gather data on the individual; and (3) a means to establish the value or extent of the phenomena under investigation, by either counting or measuring some or all of the information gathered. Also, 'a patchwork of different kinds of data, collected by different means and processed in different ways', was employed (Converse, 1987: 33).

Eventually, survey research morphed into the *sample survey* and related notions of 'scientific', 'objective', and 'standardized' gathering of the 'facts' through 'probability sampling'. The term *survey method* began to be used 'to refer rather grandly to the surveyors' use of "the" *scientific method* as they gathered "the facts". The context here was that of a science as a form of knowledge, constructed of hard, objective measurements rather than slippery opinions, private emotions or intuitions, or exaggerated political hopes' (Converse, 1987: 32), with an increasing focus on measurement. Yet, the 'facts' gathered in survey research are what Cantril (1951: x) suggests most often refer to 'an individual's assumptive world' – a world constructed and reported by an individual in a way that allows one to characterize oneself as a human being. As Sudman and Bradburn (1982) point out, whereas some 'facts' about an individual – for example birth date or occupation – in principle are verifiable, the ethical, practical, and often the only way of gathering most information on behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions most efficiently is through asking individuals through survey research. As such, individuals' responses are for the most part unverifiable.



Today, it is not uncommon to find the following definitions of survey research:

The purpose of the survey is to produce statistics – that is quantitative or numerical descriptions of some aspects of the study population. (Fowler, 2009)

Sample surveys are typically conducted to estimate the distribution of characteristics in a population. (Dillman, 2000: 9)

At the root of sample survey research is the discipline of statistics The ultimate goal of sample survey research is to allow researchers to generalize about a large population by studying only a small portion of that population. (Rea and Parker, 2005: xii, 4)

Although all of these definitions are correct, they only pertain to one type of survey research – the *sample* survey. Often, *sample* survey research is precisely the most appropriate approach to a given project. However, not all surveys require that a smaller sample of the population be drawn. Sometimes, the entire population is easily accessible, eliminating several sources of error. Sometimes, the target population is elusive and other sampling methods (e.g., snowball sampling) must be employed. Sometimes, there is no intention to generalize the findings (e.g., in an in-house research project designed to improve a company's competitive advantage). Sometimes, the goal is not generalizability, but to invite readers to determine whether the findings of a particular study conducted with a specific group of people in a particular context can be transferable to other settings. In other words, survey research is not limited to a probability sample onto which questions are superimposed.

Moreover, while most survey research produces statistics with the goal of 'convert[ing] people into questionnaires and finally into cross-tabulations' (Lazarsfeld, 1962: 759), the words of respondents can also be employed to assess the value of a given phenomenon and, if it is desirable to do so, can indeed be quantified by counting their frequency of occurrence. At minimum, more qualitative questions incorporated into survey research can be used for various purposes, including pretesting new ideas by checking assumptions behind and refining these ideas (Lazarsfeld, 1962: 767), clarifying respondents' answers to a question, or helping to clarify or interpret a statistical relationship (Lazarsfeld, 1944). Survey data collected qualitatively can be free-standing in analyses or combined with quantitative findings.

The goal of this book is to put all of the dimensions that belong under the rubric of survey research on an equal playing field, so that the focus becomes one of asking questions of the right people to elicit meaningful answers that will advance our understanding of a given topic with the goal of improving practice, policy, research, and theory. This book draws particularly on the wisdom of Charles Booth, Paul Lazarsfeld, Stanley Payne, Seymour Sudman, and Norman Bradburn who understood that survey research is as much an art as it is a science. In other words, the



purpose of this text is to return to the art of asking questions, or, to use Bingham and Moore's (1959) definition, to start from the vantage point of having a 'conversation directed to a definite purpose' from which the other components of survey research – including sampling, modes of administration – follow. I do, however, agree that in the early twentieth century, 'the word *survey* [was] sometimes used so vaguely and broadly to cover almost the whole empirical waterfront of social science, and it is confusing to stretch the definition so far' (Converse, 1987: 20). This book will be limited to survey research that engages in asking questions of individuals with the intention of extending the results beyond the individual study respondents. Also, I will emphasize the necessity of a systematic approach to survey research design – however, this must be appropriate to the purpose, research questions, and conceptual framework(s) of the study. Survey research is in harmony with mixed methods approaches as promoted by mixed methods researchers (Bergman, 2008a; Cresswell et al., 2008; de Leeuw and Hox, 2008; Plano Clark and Cresswell, 2008; Plowright, 2011; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2008, 2010).

I do not start out from the vantage point of objectivity. I agree with Cantril that the notion of the 'objective scientist' is a myth. As he asserts, 'real scientific research of any kind is rooted in value judgments' (1951: x), beginning with the formulation of the problem through to implications of the finding and recommendations for policy, practice, theory, and further research. The art of survey research is the ability to shape value judgements into a meaningful and powerful survey research design. According to Daston and Galison (2007: 16), historically the quest for scientific objectivity 'was about that new form of unprejudiced, unthinking, blind sight'.

And I concur with Stanley Payne that a good survey researcher needs to be a jack- or jill-of-all-trades, and not simply a statistician, to be able to follow through with all of the tasks involved in survey research as specified in each of the chapters in this book and beyond. Rather than starting from the premise that the purpose of survey research is to produce statistics and then to contort the design to produce 'objective' and parsimonious results, I side with Payne (1951: 6) in that there is no 'magic way of reducing a complex matter of people's attitudes, wishes, aspirations to some simple wording which will not bias the returns', with Katz (1946) in that good survey design 'must approach the problem from many angles, ask the dependent questions, explore the reasons why, seek the relevant background material and personal data', and with Lazarsfeld (1962: 767) in that new generations of social science researchers should have the courage to embrace complexity by the 'interweaving of quantitative and qualitative technique, of simultaneous research on individual and organizational levels'. As Bergman (2008b: 2) points out, many researchers – myself included – have avoided or disregarded the constraints of the methods camps and have been employing mixed methods designs throughout the last century, suggesting that 'apparently mixed methods research works far better in practice than in theory'.



Survey research and ethics

As with all research, survey researchers must ensure that they follow the tenets of ethical conduct in each phase of a survey research study. Survey research belongs to the category of behavioural research and hence is guided by the policies, guidelines, and practices of behavioural ethical review boards.

Also, research granting agencies provide extensive guidelines and specify requirements regarding the ethical conduct of research which are implemented through institutional ethical review boards at, for example, post-secondary or medical institutions. Other institutions such as schools or indigenous communities may have their own ethics protocols.

Respect for human dignity is central to the ethical conduct of research. Respect for human dignity revolves around the following core principles: 'respect for persons, concern for welfare, and justice' (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2010: 8). Because survey research design is multifaceted, the implications in terms of ethics are complex. Rather than devoting a single section or chapter to ethics, throughout each of the chapters of this book I have addressed the topic of ethics as it arises. A text box with the heading **Ethics Alert!** such as the one below will signal to the reader that ethical issues are at hand.

TEXT BOX 1.4

Ethics Alert!

Watch for this alert throughout the book.

TEXT BOX 1.5

Ethics Alert!

Ethical guidelines are specified by professional associations such as the following:

Social Research Association in the UK <http://www.the-sra.org.uk/documents/pdfs/ethics03.pdf>

Australian Psychological Society <http://www.psychology.org.au/about/ethics/>

Canadian Sociological Association <http://www.csa-scs.ca/code-of-ethics>

American Sociological Association <http://www.asanet.org/about/ethics.cfm>



Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of survey research design, to present a brief history of survey research, and to specify a definition of survey research from which subsequent chapters will unfold. Finally, an introduction to the topic of ethics was provided. In the next chapter, I map out the process of survey research design, beginning with the identification of the research problem and related questions through to preparation for analysis. In each of the remaining chapters, each facet, as presented in Chapter 2, will be explicated further.

Exercises

- 1 Describe your research problem in general terms. The problem should focus on a specific issue that interests you.
- 2 Using the information presented in this chapter, can survey research be employed to address your research problem? If so, why? If not, why not?
- 3 Consider whether your research problem can be best addressed through a self-administered survey (e.g., pen-and-paper survey or web-based survey) or an interview-administered survey (e.g., telephone survey or face-to-face interview).
- 4 Envision whether a mixed methods design could be employed to enhance the richness of the research findings.

Further reading

- Booth, C. (1891). *Labour and Life of the People in London*. London: Macmillan.
- Converse, J. M. (1987). *Survey Research in the United States. Roots and Emergence 1890–1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Denzin, N. K. (1989). *The Research Act. A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Igo, S. E. (2007). *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the making of a Mass Public*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.