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To: "Dr. Baruch Fischhoff - Chair, National Academy of Sciences panel on improving intelligence" <baruch@cmu.edu>

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Subject: 9. Survey Research Methods; Restarting Donald Campbell's Research Program

Dear Dr. Fischhoff & panel members

Survey research methods and polling might be upgraded, and used in most countries and political systems of today's world, to improve a range of intelligence analysis and prediction tasks.

Survey methods have been used by US intelligence for decades, at least since the time of Castro when the CIA arranged for polls in Cuba re Castro's popularity. [The answer - that a substantial number of people in Cuba voiced enthusiastic support for Castro - was included in White House briefings for the President and NSC.]

Advances in Survey Research Methods

As you evaluate these methods, may I recommend Paul Sniderman's discussion of the sophisticated capability for forecasting inter-group violence, "When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and Its Discontents" on <http://uc.princeton.edu>. The talk was at the Royal Society in 2007 and summarizes Paul's impressive cross-national work (e.g., the Netherlands) - specifically affirmative action and unintended violent backlashes involving Muslims - the kinds of political outbreaks that might be expected as unemployment and social tensions rise in vulnerable countries. His methods, which could be adapted more widely, include new mathematical techniques via randomized experiments/components of his design to give better evaluations of the strength of prejudice.

The DNI and others probably are using polling/survey research methods - e.g., the www.zogby.com capabilities. Tho' you might note a caution from US social science researchers - e.g., Arnold Relman at Harvard who has studied American public opinion about health care pol-

icy and options for several decades. He says that it took about ten years, using results of many polls by his organization & others, for his Harvard project to really understand this issue. There are lots of variations in questions that give different results & that need to be interpreted. It takes more sustained commitment than a Beltway Bandit consulting project.

John Zogby's advice - and I think that you should ask him to meet with you - ought to be combined with the input from Andrew Kohut, who directs the Pew Global Attitudes Project (<http://people-press.org>). Also <http://www.worldpublicopinion.org> at the U of MD, with high-level national security advisers (e.g., Anthony Lake) and that probably has DNI/CIA etc. funds. I think the key point is that - as Sniderman points out - these global research capabilities for survey research can be refined & become more powerful tools than mere public opinion polls. There are - now - a steady flow of numbers about Iranian and Pakistani public opinion, etc. - and you might want to include a scientific assessment about where these stand. And how they can be improved scientifically (& quickly) for political forecasting, etc. alongside other methods: My impression is that may be especially useful to have better sub-group analyses of different constituencies of different key players - a superb political analyst like LBJ in his Senate Majority Leader years (Caro's book) has to know this about his world, and the DNI has to have maximum capability to do this from outside.

Campbell & LeVine's Survey Research Program & Violence

In this connection - since the US & the DNI are in this for the long run - I suggest a serious look at the *tour de force* research program, using survey research methods, that Robert LeVine and Donald Campbell designed in the early 1970s and published in Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior (1972). They developed sophisticated survey research methods to test these multiple theories and models. When I was a faculty member at MIT, Donald Morrison - a former student of Campbell's and one of our gifted graduate students - began the global research program via his thesis about Nigeria (which he knew at first hand, having developed the first university computer centers in the country). The broader research program derailed because of the amount of money involved and, then, the Reagan era cutbacks. Marc Howard Ross - political anthropology/psychology at Bryn Mawr - worked with Campbell in later years to rebuild momentum and a sustained commitment to answer the questions and I was involved as one of the supporters. At the time, tho', there was almost no interest in Islamic

fundamentalism, or deeper understanding of tropical African ethnic conflict & no money. But Marc knows the tradition and has moved it forward.

[Re ethnocentrism: It is still relevant. One forecast is that new communications technologies will have both universalizing and retribalization effects, and also make it easier for marginalized groups to organize. [In America, for example, cable television provided new channels (beyond ABC, NBC, and CBS) and opened the door to televangelists, fund raising, and organization by the Religious Right). We should not just accept a narrative of universal globalization and dismiss ethnicity and ethnocentrism as a vanishing phenomenon - it can re-emerge in new admixtures. Social change - and especially economic hardship - can produce anxieties and escalating threat. I think that developing the hardcore social science base will be the better investment.]

Public Datasets

Any survey research databases funded by the DNI - relevant to national security choices & rapid learning - should be public, available online, and easily merged. And good luck actually achieving this! ¹

Simulation Models & multi-method comparisons/convergences/divergences

As you might know, one of the most powerful use of computer simulation for political forecasting (Pool, Abelson & Popkin - the 1965 revised second edition of their Candidates, Issues and Strategies: A Computer Simulation of the 1960 and 1964 Presidential Elections) integrated public opinion and demographic data to produce N=480 voter types, issue attitudes and intensities, propensity to vote, etc. The theoretical model included empathy/dissonance reduction mechanisms - e.g., cross-pressure coefficients alongside rational choice - because Kennedy was a Catholic. I don't know how Bueno de Mesquita's expected utility, etc. math models compare - or the new election forecasting models of other people.

Pool, Abelson & Popkin created their prototype forty-five years ago when even MIT mainframes were limited and it was fiercely expensive (\$100,000 in 1960) to do this work - they did not continue to develop "maximum available data" simulation predictions. But Sam Popkin (now, UCSD) also worked with public opinion and violence issues (in Vietnam, for the

Simulmatics consulting projects that Pool organized) during the Vietnam War as a social science consultant and, since, has continued as a polling consultant and strategist for the Democratic Party. So he might help you to make a National Academy-level expert judgment about a range of forecasting & strategic planning methods + research programs for fast discovery R&D and improvement, especially if a new universe of sophisticated survey data are available (/can become available via your report) worldwide.

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¹ In the War on Cancer there is, as you may know, a "Culture Beats IT" baseline problem - i.e., the for-profit cultures and proprietary interests of drug companies restrict scientific rapid learning via public databases, e.g., merging & sharing of clinical trials data even for cancer drugs.