

THE INTERACTION OF PRIMING AND FRAMING IN THE MASS MEDIA: THE CASE
OF HURRICANE KATRINA

by

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(Under the Direction of Audrey Haynes)

ABSTRACT

This research examines the influence of framing and priming theories of the mass media taken together, asking whether the two phenomena can interact to produce different outcomes. Most extant research on media effects looks at the theories independently without recognizing the potential for an interactive effect. Priming theory states that news attention to a particular issue increases the salience of it, encouraging the incorporation of that subject into judgments of public officials; framing theory argues that the content of a story influences the effect that it has on the audience. To date, however, little work has been conducted incorporating the ideas of the theories with one another. In this work, I ask whether the media's frame influences public opinion of policy issues and encourages the incorporation of the issue into evaluations of public officials. That is, do differing portrayals of the same story influence individuals' judgments of public figures?

INDEX WORDS: media, priming, framing, Hurricane Katrina

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On the morning of August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina slammed into the American Gulf Coast with top wind speeds of 125 miles per hour, making it a category three storm on the Saffir-Simpson scale¹. Wind speeds were estimated to be significantly lower in the city of New Orleans at the height of the storm than further east along the Gulf Coast (Knabb, Rhome, and Brown 2005). However, discussion of wind speeds tells only a miniscule portion of the storm's potential; Hurricane Katrina's true devastation was a testament to the power of water. The storm surge (a rise in ocean waters that accompanies the storm) was estimated at twenty-eight feet along the Mississippi coast and reached as far as twelve miles inland; in addition, the levees surrounding the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, failed. A wall of water pummeled the Mississippi Gulf Coast shortly before a deluge of water filled the basin of the Big Easy (Knabb, Rhome, and Brown 2005).

The humanitarian crisis on the Gulf Coast developed before a captivated audience who tuned into television news programs around the clock. Because of the vivid images of the continuing disaster and the large scale of the crisis, many news outlets focused on the storm's aftermath in New Orleans. Over sixty thousand individuals who had chosen not to evacuate were stranded when the flood waters rose; many were dramatically rescued from the roofs of houses by helicopters while television cameras rolled film. Reports of crime, including looting, vandalism, murders, and rapes, began to appear in

¹ For purposes of comparison only, Hurricane Hugo in 1988 made landfall in South Carolina as a category four storm, and 1992's Hurricane Andrew was a category 5 with maximum sustained winds of 175 when it hit Homestead, Florida. Hurricane Camille (1969) was estimated to have maximum sustained winds of 205 miles per hour just prior to landfall along the Gulf Coast (National Hurricane Center, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration).

the news, although many reports were later shown to be based on rumors rather than factual accounts (Rosenblatt and Rainey 2005). In addition, the seemingly lackluster response from the Bush administration formed the basis of many news reports in the immediate aftermath of the storm. Because of the high percentage of African-Americans in New Orleans (67% in 2000 Census), cries of racism in reaction to the federal government's response became common.

The mass media's response to Hurricane Katrina provides an opportune moment to test two theories of media influence – media priming and media framing – because of high exposure of the issue and the vastly different ways in which it was portrayed. Priming theory is primarily concerned with *how often* the media repeat a message rather than *what* the media say. Priming theory is inspired by agenda-setting theory, which suggests that the media's coverage of a topic increases the salience that audience members attach to it (McCombs and Shaw 1972; MacKuen 1984; McCombs 1981). Priming theory goes further, refining the agenda-setting hypothesis to state that as the salience of an issue increases, individuals are more likely to use that issue as an important criterion when judging public figures (Iyengar and Kinder 1987). Following the Hurricane Katrina disaster, priming theory suggests that, regardless of whether the media focus on the larger picture or the smaller illustration, individuals exposed to high levels of news coverage of the crisis are more likely to incorporate the issue when judging public officials.

While priming theory is concerned with the overall topic of media reporting, framing theory is more interested in the manner in which the topic is presented. Framing theory suggests that the way the story is presented by the media influences the audience's

beliefs about the issue, what should be done to help solve it, and who is responsible for this action (Iyengar 1987, 1990b, 1991; Druckman 2001, 2002; Fischhoff, Slovic, and Lichtenstein 1980). Two general categories of frames have been suggested by Iyengar (1990b, 1991) as being diametrically opposite in the opinions and values they elicit: thematic and episodic frames. Thematic frames are present when the media presents the “big picture” rather than highlighting a single component. Thematic frames in relation to Hurricane Katrina included crime rates, devastation and destruction, and governmental response. Iyengar (1990b) has shown that thematic frames tend to engender evaluations of societal responsibility for both causing and correcting the social problem. In contrast, episodic frames highlight a single part of a larger picture. Episodic frames dealing with Hurricane Katrina tended to follow the struggles of a surviving family. In other research, these episodic frames have been shown to elicit more individualistic attitudes about the issues, and societal or governmental responses tend to take a back seat to self-improvement to fix the problem.

The notion of blame attribution also influences the ultimate effect that a particular frame has on subsequent policy opinions. Research on poverty has shown that respondents are more likely to attribute blame to the victim for poverty when the victim is a single mother, nonwhite, and/or has a high education (Iyengar 1990b). However, societal blame attributions are elicited when the victim is described as married, white, and/or has little formal education (Iyengar 1990b). In general, then, media frames can elicit individual or societal attributions of responsibility not only if the story is framed thematically or episodically but also if the individuals in the story are blamed – either explicitly or implicitly – for their situation. In the case of Hurricane Katrina, not only

were a high percentage of victims African-American, the sensationalized media coverage portrayed numerous instances of looting throughout the city of New Orleans.

While both priming and framing theories are extremely powerful tools for examining the process of media influence, very little work has focused on the intersection of the two phenomena. Both priming and framing theories are concerned with opinion development. Priming theory argues that simply focusing on a topic impacts the issues used to formulate an opinion of public officials; research on framing theory insists that the focus of news stories related to an issue influences an individual's perception of the issue. It seems entirely plausible, therefore, that if different frames elicit different causal and treatment responsibilities for issues depicted in the media, that these varying frames will influence public approval of officials. This intersection forms the research question to which I turn my attention. Do media frames that elicit societal responsibility – thematic and no blame conditions – have different effects on the perception of public performance than frames that invoke individualistic responsibility attributes – episodic and blame conditions?

The remainder of this research will proceed as follows. First, I will summarize the theories of priming and framing and highlight significant developments in the academic literature. Chapter 2 will focus on the context of Hurricane Katrina and the aftermath of the storm, and Chapter 3 will fully explain the theoretical model and the methodology used in the research plan. Chapter 4 presents the results from the statistical analysis. The research concludes with a discussion of the implications of these results and proposes future direction for research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Although early research posited the role of the media as reinforcing rather than creating political opinions (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1944), contemporary researchers in political science, communications, and psychology have hypothesized that the media's influence is more nuanced than a simple direct relationship (Joslyn and Ceccoli 1996). Thus, investigations about the role of the mass media have focused on the cognitive processes through which the media encourage the development of knowledge. Literature from cognitive psychology suggests that the development and use of knowledge occur through two separate yet related processes. First, information for an idea must become accessible. Second, the information must be applied to the situation at hand. This basic formulation accurately portrays the relationship between priming and framing. Media priming makes information easily accessible in forming opinions, while media framing directs the receiver as to how to apply the information.

Accessibility and Applicability

Priming² occurs when the media's attention to an issue increases the accessibility of that information in forming and articulating opinions. As a general rule, individuals are cognitive misers (Taylor 1981) and do not access all information available when formulating judgments.

When faced with a judgment or choice, people ordinarily do not take all plausible considerations into account, carefully examine and weigh all their implications, and then integrate them all into a summary decision. People typically forego such

² Priming theory is built off agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting theory insists that as the media focus on particular issues, the salience of those topics increases. Priming theory furthers this idea and suggests that media attention to a subject encourages the audience to incorporate their opinions about the issue into their evaluations of public figures.

exhaustive analysis and instead employ intuitive shortcuts and simple rules of thumb. (Krosnick and Kinder 1990, 499)

Priming theory insists that opinions and judgments are biased by the most accessible information (Fazio 1987; Fischhoff, Slovic, and Lichtenstein 1980). By highlighting specific issues, the news media increase the accessibility of information about that issue. The increased information may then be used to formulate opinions about issue importance or candidate evaluations (Aldrich and Alvarez 1994). Fazio's (1986) model of information accessibility is perhaps the most developed of the attitude accessibility models and argues that attitudes that are both available and accessible are more likely to influence judgment formation than latent knowledge. He suggests that information lies on a continuum of accessibility, ranging from dormant to permanently accessible. More accessible information, the theory goes, is less susceptible to priming because it is based on more direct experience (Fazio 1986; Lenz 2003). In addition, information about issues personally important to individuals is more accessible than information about more distant topics (Lavine et al. 1996).

Framing is characterized by "changes in judgment engendered by subtle alterations in the definitions of judgment or choice problems" (Iyengar 1987, 816). Alterations in the context of a story will change the audience's perception of that story. The media signal to the audience which aspect is the most important through their portrayal of the story. That is, different frames of the same story indicate that varying aspects of the issue are important. While priming works by increasing the accessibility of particular issues, framing "passively [alters] the accessibility of different considerations" in applying them to evaluating that issue (Druckman 2001, 1043). Price and Tewksbury (1997) contend that framing is the psychological process of applying specific information

to a situation. “The terms of ‘frames’ embodied by a stimulus subtly direct attention to particular reference points or considerations” (Iyengar 1990b, 20). Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) argue against the passive theory of framing. Rather, they suggest that framing encourages an active psychological process of thought and deduction about the issue and the frame. That is, individuals think about “the relative importance of different considerations suggested by a frame” (Druckman 2001, 1043). This active process encourages individuals to think about the issue, decide whether or not the new information is important, and choose whether to accept or reject the new information. Whether framing is an active or passive process, both sets of theorists acknowledge that the ease of accessing and applying specific information to a situation affects an individual’s judgment of it. Framing aids in the application of information to the event.

Level of Exposure

The level of exposure to stories on a particular topic influences the level of accessibility of that issue. Thus, extensive coverage of an issue will increase the priming effects of a particular story. “The more attention the news pays to a particular domain – the more frequently it is primed – the more citizens will, according to the theory, incorporate what they know about that domain into their overall judgment” (Krosnick and Kinder 1990, 500). Citizens also begin to view issues as more salient as news coverage increases (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Romer, Jamieson, and Aday 2003). Since human knowledge is shaped by the aspects of information that is most accessible, media attention that increases the accessibility of specific information has a great power to shape public opinion about the issues they cover – and those they choose to omit.

Framing theory is not concerned with the amount of coverage to which individuals are exposed; these theorists do not study the effects of repeated exposure to stories. Rather, the theory maintains that the number of stories is less important than a consistent frame. Frames that contradict each other tend to cancel each other out, allowing individuals to maintain their previous convictions (Sniderman and Theriault n.f.). When exposed to two contradictory frames in the media, audiences tend to ignore both and do not alter their opinions. “The [political or media] elite framing effect disappears among participants exposed to both frames [about free-speech or public-safety for a hate-group rally]; these individuals return to their original (unframed) opinions” (Druckman and Nelson 2003, 731). Framing a story along compatible frames, however, eases the development of opinions that conform to the presentation (Druckman and Nelson 2003).

Criteria for Evaluation and Explanation

By priming specific issues, the media can change the criteria used for evaluation in public figures or issues. “By focusing on some issues more than others, media increase the importance attached to these issues in evaluating political figures” (Mutz 1992, 500). As the media focus on specific issues, those topics become increasingly important in evaluations of public figures. The issues highlighted in the media are created both by current societal conditions (Krosnick and Kinder 1990) and public figures themselves (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994). Priming departs from agenda setting by arguing that the increased salience of the issue encourages audience members to incorporate the issue into their evaluation of elected officials (Iyengar and Kinder 1987) and political candidates (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994; Mendelsohn 1996). Because media priming

influences evaluations of public figures and issues, these same issues impact the public's voting decisions (Iyengar 1990a; Iyengar and Ottati 1993; Mendelsohn 1996).

Framing also influences the criteria used in evaluations about both public policy and perceived personal options. The frame utilized in stories of poverty, race relations, and political demonstrations influences individual's opinions about the issue (Iyengar 1996; Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997; Druckman 2001). When an economic choice is described as a potential gain, individuals opt for the safer option. If the same situation is positioned as a potential loss, individuals go for the riskier of the choices (Kahneman and Tversky 1984; Tversky and Kahneman 1981). McNeil, Parker, Sox, and Tversky (1982) discovered a difference in surgery decisions when the potential outcomes were discussed as mortality rates versus survival rates.

While priming theory does not attempt to provide an explanation for the events presented by the media, framing theory maintains that different frames can alter the criteria used in explanation of events. Explanation is vitally important to human knowledge because "to explain events or outcomes is to understand them: to transform the 'blooming, buzzing confusion' of today's world into orderly and meaningful patterns" (Iyengar 1987, 815). Weiner (1985) further notes that explanations are simply extensions of a psychological need for exploration in the face of unknown circumstances. These explanations then help to inform human perceptions of societal events (Nisbett and Ross 1980). Ultimately, attitudes about the world, including the political arena, are shaped by the knowledge gleaned from these explanations.

Theory Assumptions

Both priming and framing theories operate under the assumption that the media indirectly affect attitudes by activating different thought processes. That is, researchers in both schools of thought assume that different news content may elicit varying attitudes and ideas about the issues. Price and Tewksbury (1997) call this the “information-processing perspective” (175). They contend that media exposure significantly impacts the audience’s retention and judgment of issues. Priming theory maintains that the number of stories about an issue affects the criteria used in evaluation, while framing theory holds that the content of a story effects assessments of the issue. While both theories contend that the media are important factors in shaping public opinion, they differ as to which aspect of the media’s role in opinion formation is of primary importance.

Contrary to “the well-worn dictum that media tell people what to think about, rather than what to think” (Mutz 1992, 484), both theories maintain that the media can tell audiences “what to think”. Exposure to media reports on unemployment changes an individual’s perception of unemployment from a personal problem to a societal one, effecting the not only the subject but also the direction of opinions (Mutz 1992). Media priming can aid in opinion generation rather than issue concentration (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994). “News coverage can also contribute to electoral success indirectly, by affecting the persuasiveness of campaign advertising” (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994, 336). By highlighting specific issues also being discussed during a campaign, the media can help to establish or discredit a candidate’s reputation, effectively telling their audiences what to think about in addition to what to think.

Methodological Issues

Theoretical evaluations of both broad theories of media effects – priming and framing – are abstract and need empirical evidence to bolster their validity. In studying each set of theoretical processes, researchers in many different fields of the social sciences (including political science as well as psychology, sociology, and journalism) have employed a variety of methodological tests to demonstrate these psychological processes.

Priming has been tested using both experimental data and survey research. Survey data from the National Election Studies was used to examine whether opinions about foreign affairs are more susceptible to priming effects than domestic issues. The analysis demonstrated that priming effects for foreign affairs are only strong in elections where peace and prosperity is a major campaign theme (Aldrich, Sullivan, and Borgida 1989). Diana C. Mutz (1992) used two surveys of 300 Indiana residents to study the relationship between media coverage of unemployment and the perception of unemployment as either a social or personal problem and the use of unemployment in evaluations of public figures. Her results indicate that media coverage of unemployment depersonalizes one's experience with joblessness and encourages individuals to incorporate the issue into evaluations of public figures. Mutz successfully displays both the agenda setting and priming power of the media.

Krosnick and Kinder (1990) provide support for priming theory using a quasi-experimental research design in an effort to demonstrate the theory's importance utilizing a different method. The Iran-Contra Affair became public roughly midway through the 1986 National Elections Study (NES). Krosnick and Kinder divided the NES sample

according to whether the respondent was interviewed prior to or after the announcement that “funds obtained from the secret sale of weapons to Iran had been channeled to the Contras fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua” (498). By dividing the sample, Krosnick and Kinder were able to produce a natural experiment demonstrating that individuals interviewed following the revelation of the Iran-Contra Affair had significantly different evaluations of President Reagan, particularly on foreign policy issues, than voters surveyed prior to this announcement.

Laboratory experiments have demonstrated strong framing effects, particularly related to causal and treatment responsibility for larger social problems. Iyengar (1987, 1990b, 1996) conducted a series of studies in the Three Village area of Brookhaven Township, Suffolk County, New York, from June 1985 to September 1987. Individuals exposed to largely thematic stories were more likely to hold society responsibility for both causing and correcting poverty, whereas participants exposed to stories with episodic frames were more likely to place the blame for poverty on the individual. Experimental designs have demonstrated that framing effects are limited both by the credibility of the source (Druckman 2001) and subsequent interpersonal conversations about the topic (Druckman 2004; Druckman and Nelson 2003).

Framing effects have also been demonstrated via survey research. Iyengar (1990b) employed the 1986 General Social Survey (GSS) to look at the effects of poverty frames in question wording. The GSS varied scenarios of individuals in poverty and then asked respondents to state a dollar amount which the individual ought to receive. In general, information that differentiates a family’s need is likely to elicit a societal response than poor family. In addition, characteristics may subconsciously cue

individualistic attributes for poverty; these include being a single parent, being African-American, and being more highly educated (Iyengar 1990b). Baum's (2002) analysis of soft news' effect on the salience of foreign policy crisis utilizes a combination of content analysis and survey methodology to connect attentiveness to the humanitarian drama frames of soft news programs laden with attentiveness to and salience of foreign crises. The dominant frame in soft news programming is a thematic frame focusing on the human drama, tragedy, and suffering (Baum 2002).

Priming and framing effects in the media are particularly difficult to empirically test. These two theories predict changes in individual opinion through particular psychological processes. Much of the research generated to support priming and framing, especially the studies utilizing survey research, provides little more than correlational evidence of the theory, since causal relationships are more difficult to establish using cross-sectional rather than longitudinal data (Johnson and Reynolds 2005). However, evidence of these theories appears across research designs – laboratory and natural experiments, telephone surveys, and content analysis – leading to stronger support for them.

Similar and Distinct Findings

Evaluation of Public Figures

Political researchers have provided extensive support that priming, and to a lesser extent framing, influence public opinion about political figures. Respondents, particularly political novices, are much more likely to negatively evaluate the president's job performance and, to a lesser extent, his competence and integrity following stories of a foreign affairs scandal (Krosnick and Kinder 1990). Newspaper coverage of

unemployment directly effects approval on political incumbents at the state level (Mutz 1992). “Perceptions of unemployment at the social level have a consistently significant effect on approval of incumbents” (Mutz 1992, 495-496). Interestingly, even reports of public opinion can prime evaluations of public figures. Hardy and Jamieson (2005) found a relationship between initial coverage of voters describing Bush as “stubborn” in a public opinion poll and the subsequent public opinion of Bush as being “stubborn” in repeated polling.

Likewise, framing effects are seemingly present in evaluations of public figures, although researchers have not directly made the comparison. The content of newspaper coverage of presidential candidates influences the public perceptions of each candidate, producing public perceptions that are a “sharply diluted and somewhat distorted reflection of press images” (Graber 1974, 85). Public perceptions of presidential candidates are based on the stories presented in the press (Graber 1971). In other words, which aspects of the campaign that the press cover affect the perceptions of the candidates and the criteria used to judge them. After viewing the CBS documentary “Selling the Pentagon,” individuals perceive the military as “more likely to lie about the War in Vietnam, more likely to get involve in politics, and more likely to seek special political advantage” than they had once believed (Robinson 1976, 414). While neither Graber nor Robinson specifically cites framing theory as the basis for their respective research, each work strongly suggests that the content of news stories influences voters’ perceptions and evaluations of public figures.

Cappella and Jamieson (1996) highlight the importance of the media’s tone in the electorate’s judgment of political actors and institutions. In a series of five studies, they

demonstrate that media reports of campaigns and elected officials have become more negative and increasingly focused on logistical information and performances of a campaign. This change in media reports has led to increased cynicism of institutions of government. “The framing of news about politics has direct effects on the public’s cynicism about government, policy debates, and campaigns” (Cappella and Jamieson 1996, 83). They cite the process of framing and reframing in the news media and the media’s focus on self-interested political figures as influencing the political cynicism. They also note a high correlation between media cynics (those who believe that the mass media warp the political process) and political cynics (voters highly untrusting of the government and its institutions).

Evaluation and Explanation of Issues

Explanations of issues and events vary based on the frame employed by the newscast (Iyengar 1987). “Individuals are quite sensitive to contextual cues when they reason about national affairs. Their explanations of issues like terrorism or poverty are critically dependent upon the particular reference points furnished in media presentations” (Iyengar 1987, 828). Likewise, thematic versus episodic coverage of poverty elicits different responses of who is responsible for causing and treating poverty issues. Individuals exposed to thematic coverage are more likely to view society as the cause and solution for poverty issues, while episodic coverage engenders attitudes of personal responsibility (Iyengar 1990b). The introduction of racial issues, however, somewhat negates the framing effects on poverty and encourages individuals to think of issues of racial inequality more than class differences. Causal and treatment responsibility

for terrorism also becomes more individualistic when framed as episodic; thematic coverage encourages a societal role in terrorism (Iyengar 1996).

The particular frame used in episodic stories about poverty also elicits different responses. Information about a family's current level of income, their economic need (based on the number of children in the household), the motivation to work, and indicators of moral behavior are all significant in the amount of public assistance respondents are willing to provide for families (Iyengar 1990b). Opinions regarding free speech and humanitarian issues (Druckman 2001), campaign finance reform (Druckman and Nelson 2003) and racial tolerance (Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997) are influenced by the frame employed by the information source.

Prior Political Knowledge

Priming and framing theory both predict differing effects among political novices, those who do not know much about politics or government, than among experts, those who routinely follow politics and government. However, a consensus does not exist whether prior knowledge inhibits or encourages these media effects. Krosnick and Kinder (1990) maintain that political novices are more susceptible to direct priming effects, while any priming effects noticed in experts are likely to be indirect and more abstract. "Novices appear to be primed on those aspects most directly and concretely implicated by the news coverage while experts, insofar as they are primed at all, are influenced at a more abstract level" (Krosnick and Kinder 1990, 508). Likewise, Kinder and Sanders (1990) and Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2001) demonstrate more powerful framing effects on political novices than political experts. "Experts seem generally less susceptible to priming" (Krosnick and Kinder 1990, 508). These novices are presumed to have less

informed or concrete opinions about politics or political figures, whereas political experts are more likely to hold strongly formed opinions. Politically novices are more susceptible to opinion change due to framing effects because their prior opinions are less strongly held (Kinder and Sanders 1990; Haider-Markel and Joslyn 2001).

Other researchers maintain that priming and framing mandate prior political knowledge. “In order to cull from a news story the implication that its focus is nationally important, a person must have enough cognitive resources available to think beyond the explicit content of the story” (Miller and Krosnick 2000, 303). Political experts are the most likely to employ this more abstract thought. They are also more likely to understand the story and recall it in the future (Krosnick and Brannon 1993). In addition, political knowledge is related to media exposure, and increased attention to the news media is likely to enhance the overall priming effect while diluting the effect of each individual news story (Miller and Krosnick 2000; McGraw and Ling 2003). Other researchers (Hill 1985; Krosnick and Brannon 1993) have found higher priming effects among better educated citizens. “Priming occurred reliably *only* among people who both knew a lot about politics and trusted the media” (Miller and Krosnick 2000, 308, emphasis added). Likewise, Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson (1997) argue that media framing is the most potent on the politically knowledgeable because these individuals are the best able to apply the information supplied to their previously-formed opinions while considering the relative importance of the new knowledge.

Limits of Media Effects

Media effects are neither automatic nor universal; their influences are limited. Audiences must trust the media sources as being honest in order for priming to occur;

thus, the effects are predicted to be most pronounced among those who trust the media. Miller and Krosnick (2000) maintain that only those who are politically knowledgeable and trusting of the media are influenced by media priming of drug and economic-related issues. “Readers and viewers who trust the judgment of news personnel may be most inclined to accept their beliefs about national problem importance, whether conveyed implicitly or explicitly by their stories, and may therefore be more likely to manifest...priming” (Miller and Krosnick 2000, 303). This is not to imply, however, that only traditional news sources have demonstrated priming or framing effects. Baum (2002) demonstrated that shows he defines as “soft news” are effective at increasing the salience of foreign affairs to otherwise uninterested parties. Specifically, framing foreign crises as humanitarian dramas increases the salience of the issue. Priming effects have been demonstrated to stem from viewing *Fahrenheit 9-11* (Holbert and Hansen 2006), *The West Wing* (Holbert et al. 2003), prime-time television dramas (Holbert, Shah, and Kwak 2003), and science fiction dramas (Pfau, Moy, and Szabo 2001).

Subsequent events or non-events can negate media events. Future evaluations of public figures are only influenced by media reports if the issue is directly related. “Priming requires a close correspondence between the news stories that do the priming and the opinions that are primed” (Krosnick and Kinder 1990, 505). For example, a plethora of news stories about the war in Iraq is unlikely to alter the approval rating of President George W. Bush’s domestic policies, although the stories may affect public opinion about his administration’s foreign policies.

Prior independent judgments of the importance of the issue are significant to priming effects. “The mediator at work in past studies was in front of our noses all along:

judgments of the national importance of issues” (Miller and Krosnick 2000, 311). Agenda setting effects are the most salient in those issues already deemed as important by the general public. Behr and Iyengar (1985) argue that agenda setting is mediated by real world cues; that is, real world conditions impact not only the salience of a particular issue but also the amount of media coverage devoted to it. Likewise, Miller and Krosnick (2000) contend that the media can only prime an issue once it has appeared on the public’s issue agenda. The media cannot simply create an agenda out of whole cloth and serve as an agenda builder rather than creator (Graber 1997).

Filling the Gaps: A Research Agenda

While much research has been done on the effects of both priming and framing, very little, if any, research exists to bridge the gap between the two effects. McCombs (1997) has attempted to theoretically combine priming and framing under the general umbrella of agenda setting theory, although his efforts have been discounted as misunderstanding vital components of the theories (Scheufele 2000). Others (Price and Tewksbury 1997) have attempted to formulate an overarching theory of the effects of both priming and framing but have operated from the notion that the two effects cannot influence one another. In addition, while they do a nice job in forming a comprehensive theory, they do not attempt to empirically test it.

Very little work has been done on the interactive effects of the two phenomena. To date, researchers have not looked at the possibility that news stories covering the same event with different frames will produce different effects. To wit, a news story about the destruction of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina may influence evaluations of elected officials in Louisiana more than a story profiling an individual survivor of the

storm. Framing theorists would simply look at the differences between these two groups, without considering a control group exposed to news reports on the economy. Priming theorists would combine these two groups and ignore the differences in the story. However, a more suitable approach would consider both the general issue area (i.e., the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina) and the specific story content (i.e., destruction or human interest story) to explain how the different frames alter the priming effect³ of the stories.

Iyengar (1990b) highlights the differences between thematic and episodic news frames and argues that these two presentations significantly impact the explanations individuals give to surrounding phenomena. No one, however, has looked at the differences between thematic and episodic news frames related to their priming effects. That is, does a thematic news story have an increased or decreased priming effect than an episodic story on the same issue? Does the interaction between priming and a thematic frame produce a more sensitized or critical perspective of public figures than the interaction between priming and an episodic frame?

In addition, researchers studying the framing effects of the media have not empirically connected causal explanations of events to evaluations of public figures and ultimate voting decisions. While many have shown that differing frames produce differing opinions about the issue in question, to date little work has been done to test whether these different opinions are then applied to evaluations of public officials. If, indeed, thematic stories after Hurricane Katrina produce different causal explanations about poverty in general, do these differing causal explanations produce different evaluations of the job performance of public officials in the state?

³ While the term priming has taken on many different meaning in the extant literature of media effects, I operationalize the term to indicate the incorporation of a news story on evaluations of public figures.

Chapter 3: The Context of Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina's winds reached a maximum of 125 miles per hour when it made landfall on the border of Louisiana and Mississippi; the category three force winds did not extend all the way to the city of New Orleans, which experienced winds ranging in the category one to two range. Originally, the Crescent City was believed to be spared the wrath of the storm, which had devastated entire communities further east down the Gulf Coast. After the winds had died down and the storm passed, residents in New Orleans breathed only a short sign of relief. While the low scale winds had originally spared the city, combined with the strong storm surge, they were too much for the levees protecting the city. Three of the four levees surrounding the city were overcome by the rise in water in the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain, and water began to flow into the city. These flood waters surpassed the capacity of the city's legendary pumps, which were unable to staunch the onslaught on water. By August 31, 2005, at the height of the floodwaters, approximately 80% of the city was six feet underwater (Knabb, Rhome, and Brown 2005; Murphy 2005).

This devastation was not entirely unpredicted; to the contrary, newspaper reports filed as much as four years prior to Katrina warned about the potential for damage (Wilson 2001; Fischetti 2001; Berger 2001). The levees were built to withstand a category three storm. The storm itself was only a category three at its strongest when it made landfall, the storm surge accompanying the storm reached levels normally associated with category five cyclones. In addition, the storm moved relatively slowly, lengthening the time that Katrina was able to wage its wrath on the city. Even had the levees withstood the onslaught of water, the natural barriers to flooding that traditionally

protected the city had deteriorated due to the city's expansion throughout the twentieth century. The dredging of canals for large cargo ships eroded the deposit of silt at the basin of the Mississippi River, which had originally protected the city (Bourne 2004). Subsequent investigations into the failure of the levees pointed away from direct damage from storm surge; rather, it was a shift in the soil underpinning the levees that toppled them (Warrick and Grunwald 2005).

Residents who had been unable or unwilling to flee the city prior to the storm were trapped in their homes by the rising flood waters. Many individuals were forced into their attics and onto their rooftops. The emergency personnel in the city were overwhelmed by the sheer number of individuals in need to rescue from their underwater homes.

In addition, the twenty to twenty-five thousand residents who had fled to the relative safety of the Superdome, billed as the emergency shelter of last resort for the city's residents, were less than thrilled with their status. At the height of the storm, the arena's roof was peeled away by the winds, allowing water into the Superdome. In addition, the number of individuals who fled to the Superdome surpassed the preparations and provisions given to the shelter. Citizens in the shelter were not informed of the situation outside of them, only that they were unable to leave and go home.

As deplorable as the conditions in the Superdome were, they actually were an improvement over the New Orleans convention center. More evacuees arrived at the Superdome than the structure could house. As they arrived, evacuees were sent across the street to the Ernest N. Morial Convention Center, where buses were expected to pick them up to drive them to other shelters throughout the city. However, these buses never

arrived, and the center was crowded with twenty-thousand individuals, for which authorities had no food, no water, and no supplies. A rioting crowd broke into the building prior to the storm. The only law enforcement personnel stationed in the building were National Guard engineering units, who remained barricaded in their location. Arriving evacuees were not searched for weapons; alcohol stores in the convention center were broken into (Haygood and Tyson 2005).

Very soon after the storm, both the Superdome and the convention center were deemed unsafe and unsanitary. On August 30, Louisiana Governor Blanco ordered the evacuation of the overcrowded and damaged Superdome; the convention center was evacuated beginning September 3. Evacuees were transported via Greyhound buses out of the city to unaffected areas surrounding New Orleans, particularly Houston, Texas, where they were housed in the Astrodome (Rourke 2005; Anderson and Moller 2005).

In addition to the catastrophic damage inflicted by the storm, individual response to the disaster continued to dog the city. Looting, vandalism, and other criminal activity became almost commonplace. The police force was woefully unprepared to deal with the spike in crime. Not only were they preoccupied with the deteriorating situation in the Superdome and convention center, police officers were unable to communicate with or travel to all segments of the city (Fisher 2005; Dwyer and Drew 2005). Although some of the looters were normally peaceable citizens truly looking for food, others were armed gangs who used sniper fire as resistance to forced evacuation from their homes (Jonsson 2005). Perhaps the most famous example of the crime was the police shooting of six individuals on the Danziger Bridge; the individuals were reportedly attacking members of

the US Army Corps of Engineers grappling with the 17th Street Canal levee (Sabludowsky 2005).

The Response

Prior to the storm's landfall, arguments occurred among the various levels of government involved in the potential disaster – the city and parish of New Orleans, the state of Louisiana, and the federal government. The National Weather Service's August 28, 2005, bulletin predicted catastrophic damage to New Orleans, including the destruction of all wooden-framed buildings, which predominated the apartment communities in the city ("Urgent Weather Message"). The bulletin also predicted large amounts of standing water in the city, tainted by spills from neighboring oil and petrochemical refinement plants (Galle 2005). The National Weather Service also predicted a lack of clean drinking water and food shortages following the storm (Whittell 2005).

Worried by this dire prediction, Max Mayfield, the head of the National Hurricane Center, contacted both President Bush and Mayor Nagin to encourage a mandatory evacuation of the New Orleans. On August 27, 2005, Nagin issued a voluntary evacuation order of the city, only to replace it with a mandatory order early the next morning. Nagin made televised appeals that the storm would destroy the city and urged residents to flee (Lush 2005; Hauser 2005; Nolan 2005). Because of the large number of residents unable or unwilling to evacuate, New Orleans began using city buses to transfer people from around the city to shelters of last resort, such as the Superdome; although school buses were also available, they remained unused during the mass preparation for the impending disaster (Olsen 2005; Kovacs 2005).

In assessing the response of the various levels of government to the hurricane disaster, it is important to remember the disaster process from the Federal Emergency Management Association (FEMA). The local government's emergency services provide the first response to any disaster; nearby municipalities, as well as state and volunteer agencies, are expected to help affected city governments. Following a damage assessment conducted by organizations at the local, state, and federal level, the governor of the effected state can request that the federal government declare a major disaster area, which would infuse the local area with federal resources for assistance in search and rescue, electrical power restoration, and provisions of food, water, and other human needs. In requesting federal aid, the governor must also commit high levels of state funds and resources for recovery effort. Once the request is made, FEMA evaluates the request and recommends action to the White House, and the president makes the ultimate decision (FEMA "The Disaster Process and Disaster Aid Programs").

At the time of the disaster, President Bush was nearing the end of his annual vacation at his ranch in Crawford, Texas (Brooks 2006). Upon hearing the news, he opted to attend an event commemorating V-J Day in Coronado, California, prior to returning to the White House (Kucher and Baker 2005). Bush gave no indication that he was fully aware of the developing crisis in New Orleans. To the contrary, his September 1 speech about the disaster was characterized as causal and careless (Gumbel 2005). Bush's first assessment of the damage was conducted while aboard Air Force One traveling back to Washington, DC, and he did not visit the area until the Friday following the storm. During this visit, the President's enthusiasm for the rebuilding of the Gulf Coast was

overshadowed by his empathy that Senator Trent Lott had lost his house (White House Press Release September 2, 2005).

If the response of Bush was lackluster, that of his administration was even worse. Vice President Dick Cheney asked the manager of the Southern Pine Electric Power Association to divert power crews to restore power to Collins, Mississippi. Collins, Mississippi, is vital to the Colonial Pipeline that carries gasoline and diesel fuel from Texas to New England. Although the power crews were originally working to restore power to local hospitals, they were ordered to concentrate instead on the electrical substations in Collins, Mississippi (Maute 2005). Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff did not declare the Hurricane Katrina disaster an incident of national significant for thirty-six hours, even though the FEMA disaster response process can be completed in a matter of hours (Landay, Young, and McCaffrey 2005).

The response from FEMA was largely criticized for hindering rescue operations rather than helping them. FEMA Director Michael Brown asked local fire and emergency services departments not to respond to effected areas without being dispatched by state and local authorities (FEMA Press Release August 29, 2005). At one point, both Chertoff and FEMA director Michael Brown denied knowledge that evacuees were in the Superdome and Convention Center (*CNN* 2005). Local officials on the ground in New Orleans saw little assistance from FEMA. “This is not a FEMA operation. I haven’t seen a single FEMA guy. FEMA has been here for three days, yet there is no command and control. We can send massive amounts of aid to tsunami victims, but we can’t bail out the city of New Orleans” (Terry Ebbert quoted in *Palm Beach Post* 2006). FEMA commandeered buses that the Astor Hotel had hired to evacuate its 500 guests; guests

were told to report to the Ernest N. Morial Convention Center (WKMG-TV). FEMA also stymied the delivery of emergency supplies including Wal-Mart trucks filled with water, Coast Guard vehicles filled with diesel fuel for emergency vehicles (Shane 2005). In addition, FEMA prevented hospital aircraft from landing to evacuate patients to hospitals unaffected by the storm (Stuver 2005).

The response from the state government of Louisiana was not much better than that of the federal government. Blanco seemingly ignored the developing disaster until August 31, at which time she sent in the Louisiana National Guard to control the growing violence. At the time of their deployment into the city, the troops were instructed to use lethal force, if necessary, to squash the violence (Breen 2005; Barringer and Longman 2005). The failure of the Louisiana National Guard to squash the violence was, in a large part, out of their control. Materials that would have normally been used to aid the city – high water vehicles, refuelers, and generators – were in Iraq at the time. Over one-quarter of the Louisiana National Guard troops were stationed not in the state but in Iraq at the time the storm hit (Berger 2005). However, the Louisiana National Guard did not receive assistance from the federal government. Under federal law (the Posse Comitatus Act), federal troops cannot be used for law enforcement within US borders (The Insurrection Act [10 U.S.C § 331-335]). The president can assume control of both federal and state troops by invoking the Insurrection Act, which is typically done only at the request of the state governor. Not only did Blanco not make the request for federal assistance in law enforcement, she rejected the suggestion that she do so (Roig-Franzia and Spencer 2005). Although Blanco requested assistance with shelter, counseling, and emergency supplies

from FEMA, she made no petition for federal aid in the evacuation of the city, potentially increasing the number of residents who were unable to leave New Orleans.

Neither did the city of New Orleans provide much assistance to the victims of the crisis. Mayor Nagin was criticized for waiting to issue a mandatory evacuation order until the day before the storm; critics claim that fewer people would have stayed in New Orleans had the evacuation order come earlier. In addition, Nagin failed to utilize the city's emergency disaster plan, which would have employed school buses to help evacuate residents. The buses remained unused, were flooded, and eventually destroyed (Olsen 2005; Kovacs 2005). In addition, Nagin declined the use of a special Amtrak train to evacuate the city's residents. (Glasser and Grumwald 2005). The actions of the local government following the storm were further condemned. Rather than utilizing a properly staffed Emergency Operations Center, the city first used a hotel ballroom as the command center for the crisis. The phone system at the hotel ultimately failed, causing further complications in communicating the city's needs to the state.

The city's police officers, rather than assist victims in the crisis, exacerbated the crisis, furthering the perception of a lackluster governmental response. Many police officers evacuated the city prior to the storm in their department vehicles and did not immediately return following the storm. Of those who stayed in the city, officers not only turned a blind eye to looting and vandalism, in many instances they contributed to it. One tourist reports asking for help from an officer, only to be told "Go to hell, it's every man for himself" (Parry 2005). Members of the New Orleans police force were seen stealing vehicles from car dealerships (United States Congress 2006). The mayhem continued for two days before Mayor Nagin ordered the police force to ignore search and rescue

operations in favor of mob control. At the same time, Nagin initiated a curfew and pleaded for federal assistance.

The Media

The media prepared for Hurricane Katrina much in the same manner that they prepare for any tropical storm. Meteorologists and weather reporters were dispatched to areas likely to be affected by the storm, with the assumption that more crews would follow should the storm cause as much damage as expected. Not until after the storm did the news media, or the rest of the country for that matter, realize the horrific humanitarian crisis that would develop along the country's Gulf Coast.

In many ways, the reporting of the damage of Hurricane Katrina was an example of how journalists ought to behave. Knowing that communications infrastructure was inoperable, reporters for several news outlets used their satellite uplinks to inform authorities where groups of victims were stranded. For example, Fox News reporter Geraldo Rivera stood outside the convention center, begging authorities to send help for the evacuees or let them leave (*Fox News* September 3, 2005). At one point, Michael Brown and Michael Chertoff admitted to learning of both the presence of the evacuees at the convention center and the conditions of the Superdome and the convention center via media reports. The *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, unable to use its printing presses, utilized an internet blog website to connect rescue personnel with victims. In addition to aiding authorities locate and rescue victims, the news media also assisted individuals locate family members. Clips of evacuees on the television media afforded family members around the country and world the opportunity to see loved ones in areas without stable communications system.

In other ways, however, the broadcast news following Hurricane Katrina was a deplorable example of media bias. Sensationalism among the media ran rampant, and journalists seemed all too eager to pass along rumors of deplorable conditions at the Superdome, including not only a lack of supplies but also a lack of running water, filthy and squalid conditions due to a shortage of adequate restroom facilities, and unchecked crime due to a lack of law enforcement officers (Thevenot and Russell 2005). Although not completely unfounded (one of four deaths at the convention center was attributed to homicide), the rumors served no purpose other than to exacerbate the human tragedy. News journalists spoke of sighting dead bodies floating in the flood water or simply lying unclaimed in the streets. Reports from New Orleans showed individuals waving from the roofs of their homes, desperate to be seen and rescued from the rising flood waters.

Media sensationalism was joined by differential treatment of subjects based on race. African-American families were depicted as “looting”, whereas whites engaged in the same behavior were portrayed as “foraging for food” (Mikkelsen and Mikkelsen 2005). However, journalists neither acknowledged the difference nor noted that most Americans would search for food, even from boarded up shops, in the same situation (Shafer 2005). That the reporters failed to note the similarities between these looters and other Americans nor the differences between searching for food and stealing non-food items from Wal-Mart is further evidence for some that the journalists produced biased coverage of the disaster. An analysis of photographs used in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* following the storm primarily showed black victims and white rescuers, invoking common stereotypes: blacks as savages, as lazy, and as deviant (Baynes 2006).

Some journalists claimed that their reporting was simply based on firsthand reporting because of the lack of communication with outside sources; if the coverage highlighted more crime by African-Americans, they say, it was simply because more African-Americans were seen committing illegal acts (“Katrina Media Coverage” 2005). Other bystanders claim that the racial undertones were originally too tacit, that reporters did not fully explore the racial divide between those who evacuated and those who were unable to (Shafer 2005).

The crisis in New Orleans, more so than other devastated areas along the Gulf Coast, became racially charged. This stemmed from several different sources. First, the racially loaded reporting increased the salience of race to the audience. Audience members were then more inclined to interpret the slow response from the Bush administration as a racial response to high level of African-Americans in New Orleans. This bent was helped further by Kanye West, who declared that “George Bush doesn’t care about black people” during a live benefit for Katrina victims. Reverend Jess Jackson explicitly stated that racism guided the government’s response to the disaster (Gonzalez 2005). Overall societal response to Hurricane Katrina has been as racially polarized as affirmative action and housing integration (Huddy and Feldman 2006).

Social class issues were also infused into the interpretation of the disaster and the response. More than one-quarter of New Orleans residents (including almost half of the city’s children) live at or below the poverty line (US Census Bureau). These poor residents mainly live in the sections of the city most prone to flooding. For example, the Lower Ninth Ward consisted almost entirely of African-American residents, one-third of whom live in poverty (US Census Bureau). These residents depend on public assistance

checks, which are distributed on the first of each month, which was the Thursday following the storm. Several reports stated that these poor individuals refused to flee not only because they had no resources to do so but also a fear of missing their September checks. First Lady Laura Bush callously stated that “This is what happens when there’s a natural disaster of this scope. The poorer people are usually in the neighborhoods that are the lowest or the most exposed or the most vulnerable. Their housing is the most vulnerable to natural disaster. And that is just always what happens” (quoted in Grieve 2005). Mrs. Bush’s press comments helped little to alleviate the perception that the response was mired by issues of race and class, so intertwined within the city.

In all, the storm, its aftermath, and governmental response, combined with media coverage of all three, provided the American public with an ongoing spectacle of human tragedy unfolding on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. The news reports available to individuals following the catastrophe undoubtedly had the opportunity to influence the public’s interpretation of the situation and their response to it. I now turn to empirical tests of the potential for this coverage to do that.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Hypotheses

Exposure to different frames in the media influences the ways in which individuals interpret the world and their explanation for the story. These differing explanations, in turn, help to shape opinions about attributions of the cause of the problem and assignment of who is responsible to correct it. More specifically, thematic frames elicit societal attributions of causal and treatment responsibility, whereas episodic frames evoke individualistic explanations of the problems. In addition, frames that include cues that the individual is blameless bring to mind larger, societal ascriptions of the problem, while those that include hints that the individual is at fault draw out individualistic explanations. These different causal and treatment responsibilities, ultimately caused by the frame employed in the news presentation, may influence the perception of politician's job performance in handling the issue.

This model is easily applied to the media situation surrounding Hurricane Katrina. Like other issues, media reports following the disaster were presented in a variety of frames – devastation and destruction of the Gulf Coast, criminal activity in the city of New Orleans, individualistic profiles of those impacted by the storm, critiques on the government's response to the storm. According to framing theory, these different frames should elicit distinct responses to questions about poverty in general and federal aid to Katrina victims in general. Priming theory would argue that simply concentrating on Katrina encourages individuals to incorporate it into their evaluations of President Bush, Louisiana Governor Blanco, and New Orleans Nagin. The model presented in this research asks whether the different frames presented by the media alter the likelihood that

individuals will incorporate their evaluations of Hurricane Katrina into their opinions of Bush, Blanco, and Nagin. See Figure 1 for a schematic presentation of this larger model.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

To test this model, I will use experimental data from the Stanford University Communications Lab. The experiment was conducted May 1 through May 9, 2006, and utilized a simple post-test design with multiple treatment groups. This design involves random selection of participants into different treatment groups and allows researchers to assume the dependent variable was measured after the treatment. In addition, randomly assigning the participants into the treatment groups allows researchers to presume that differences between the two groups stem from the treatment rather than external factors for which the experiment cannot control.

A total of 2,287 participants were exposed to one of three news stories – an episodic story that focused on the plight of a family in New Orleans, a thematic story that highlighted the vast devastation in the city, or a thematic story that stressed the extent of the looting by victims of the storm. The episodic frame was manipulated to vary the race, skin tone, gender, occupation, and marital status of the victim profiled in the story. Respondents were then asked a series of questions related to responsibility for poverty in general and responsibility for financial response to the Hurricane Katrina disaster in particular. Finally, participants were asked to evaluate the Katrina-related job performance of President George W. Bush, Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco, and New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin.

The experiment participants are not representative of the general population. A little more than half (55%) are male, and roughly the same percentage (58%) are between

the ages of 18 and 49. While all races and ethnicities are represented in the sample, the overwhelming majority (84%) are white. In addition, the sample is highly educated (84% with at least a bachelor's degree) and skewed away from the Republican Party (12% identify as Republican). The sample is highly interested in politics (75% "very interested") and tends to watch news quite frequently (60% view television news at least four times a week).

In many ways, experimental data involving the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina is a difficult test for this theory. Very few Americans were unaware of the natural disaster, and an even smaller number had no opinion about the federal government's handling of the crisis. In addition, the unrepresentativeness of the sample that participated in the experiment may lead to biased results. A high percentage of respondents are Democrats, who are already more predisposed to connect societal forces with social welfare as well as have a proclivity against President Bush. Finally, all experimental data face the same questions of external validity; that is, the results from this experiment may not be generalized to other populations, times, or issues. Solid statistical evidence across methodologies, rather than simply via an experimental research design, is needed to truly provide evidence of the relationships hypothesized in this study.

In addition, this research design suffers from the one of the overarching pitfalls of similar framing experiments. All participants were assigned to experimental treatment groups with no regard for a base control group. The lack of a base control group allows only in-group comparisons between the experimental groups but does not permit the research to state that the results come from the differences in the Katrina-related story rather than from exposure to any information connected with the 2005 disaster. That is, I

am unable to state definitively that the preferences for federal assistance to survivors of the disaster result from the experimental conditions; it could be, indeed, that the issue is so highly salient that individuals' opinions are too entrenched to be influenced by a single story. The possibility also remains that *any* exposure to information about the disaster invokes strong opinions about the federal government's response, and the presentation is not enough to alter these beliefs. Preferably, the experiment would have proceeded with a randomly selected control group who read a story about an issue completely unrelated to the disaster on the Gulf Coast – for instance, the No Child Left Behind Act. However, I am inherently limited by the research design of the Stanford University Political Communications Lab. While I cannot demonstrate that the results stem directly from the differing stories, I hope to show that statistical differences exist between the experimental groups.

Dependent Variables

This model will analyze a series of separate dependent variables: the importance of various potential causes of poverty, preferences for level of federal funding for survivors of Hurricane Katrina, and the job approval rating of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin⁴. Respondents were explicitly asked how important a series of factors was in creating poverty. These factors include the perpetual existence of poor people, lack of effort by poor people, lack of thrift and proper money management by poor people, a decline in values and morals, low wages, and failure of society to provide a decent education for all Americans. These variables can be categorized into two categories – societal causes and individualistic causes. The perpetual existence of poor

⁴ Please see Appendix C for question wording and operationalization of variables.

people, low wages, and failure of society to provide adequate education to all are societal in nature, whereas a lack of effort by poor people and lack of thrift and proper money management by poor people are more individualistic in nature. These variables serve as the dependent variables for the first stage of the analysis and as independent variables in the second and third steps.

Federal assistance to Katrina victims was measured in relation to the amount of money the federal government should provide to victims for housing and the amount for living expenses. Participants were given six choices for the monthly amount to provide to Katrina victims; the options ranged from \$200 to \$1200, increasing by increments of \$200. Housing subsidies and living expenses were asked separately from one another. In addition, participants were asked how long the federal government should provide assistance – three, six, nine, twelve, fifteen, or eighteen months. Again, this question was asked separately for assisting with housing expenses and living expenses. These four variables serve as dependent variables for the second stage of analysis and as independent variables in the final step.

Respondents were asked "How would you rate the job that President George W. Bush has done in dealing with the Hurricane Katrina crisis?" on a five point scale, ranging from "very poor" to "very good." All participants were then asked to rate the job performance of Louisiana Governor Kathleen Blanco and New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin. All of the variables used as dependent variables are ordinal in nature.

Independent Variables

The primary independent variable included in analysis is the general overall frame to which the participants were exposed. This measure is coded into a set of three dummy

variables, one each for the episodic, devastation, and looting frames. In addition, dichotomous measures were included to indicate the gender, race, skin tone, marital status, and occupation of the individual portrayed in the episodic story; used in the analysis of blame attribution, these variables indicate an episodic story with a victim possessing specific demographic qualities. Taken together, these measures provide a series of dummy variables to capture whether the frame was thematic or episodic as well as the amount of victim blame insinuated by the story.

Control Variables

The experiment participants were randomly assigned to each of the experimental conditions. In addition to the theoretic benefits of random selection, I attempt to control for the effects of education, party identification, race, gender, age, political interest, and media exposure. Education is coded as a series of dummy variables (one for less than a college education, another variable for a bachelor's degree, and a base category of individuals with an advanced degree). Party identification is denoted as two dummy variables, one each for Republicans and Democrats, with political Independents and members of third parties serving as the base category. A dummy variable serves to control for the race of respondent (1 denoting white, 0 otherwise); likewise, a dummy variable for gender is included. Age is separated into a series of dummy variables, one for participants under the age of 40, one for those between the ages of 40 and 60, and a category for participants over the age of 60. This last category serves as the baseline for comparison. In addition, I include a scale, ranging from 1 to 5, to denote the amount of sensationalism the respondent perceived in the media's coverage of Katrina. Finally, I have included a dummy variable to indicate whether the respondent reports watching

television news daily⁵. Removing participants with missing values for any variable leaves 988 cases for analysis; 1309 cases were excluded.

Procedure and Hypotheses

The analysis proceeds in several steps. First, I relate an individual's opinions about the nature and cause of poverty with the frame presented in the news story. This first test is one of classic framing theory. Thus, I expect that those participants exposed to thematic stories will have more societal responsibility attributes for poverty, while participants exposed to the episodic frame will espouse individualistic responsibility attributes⁶.

H1: Exposure to the thematic frame will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

H2: Exposure to the episodic frame will increase the likelihood of espousing individualistic causes of poverty.

The first part of analysis also provides the opportunity to test hypotheses of victim blame. I expect that the thematic frame presenting the story of destruction will elicit more societal attributes for poverty, whereas the thematic frame portraying massive looting will evoke more individualistic attitudes. In addition, characteristics about the individual portrayed in the episodic story are expected to evoke differing opinions about the cause of poverty.

H3: Exposure to the thematic frame depicting the criminal activity of looters will increase the likelihood of espousing individualistic causes of poverty.

⁵ I had originally wanted to include a measure of political interest into the analysis. However, the bulk of participants (75%) stated that they were very interested in politics and government, leaving too little variation for analysis.

⁶ The analysis presented here uses each cause of poverty as a separate variable. However, the models were also run using two indices – one for the societal causes of poverty (the perpetual existence of poverty, low wages, and an inadequate education system), the other for individualistic causes (lack of a work ethic and poor money management or financial planning) – rather than the cause of poverty as individual variables. The results for both sets of analysis are highly similar; the results using the indices rather than the separate variables are presented in Appendix B.

H4: Exposure to the episodic story profiling a female victim will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

H5: Exposure to the episodic story profiling a white victim will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

H6: Exposure to the episodic story profiling a victim with a light skin tone will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

H7: Exposure to the episodic story profiling a married victim will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

H8: Exposure to the episodic story profiling a victim in a traditional white collar profession will increase the likelihood of espousing societal causes of poverty.

In this first section, I will use each question about the cause of poverty as a separate dependent variable. Because all of these variables are ordinal in nature, an ordered logistic regression model is the most appropriate for the analysis.

While this first section of analysis explores the relationship between frames and responsibility for poverty, the second connects these opinions with policy preferences. Specifically, this section explores the relationship between frames, poverty attributions, and assistance to the victims of Hurricane Katrina. I expect that the same frames that elicit societal attributions of poverty will also evoke more generous opinions regarding the amount of financial assistance the federal government should provide victims as well as the duration the assistance should last. The dependent variables in this section are the amount of federal funding that should be available to victims for housing and for other living expenses and the length of time this assistance should be available. All of the dependent variables in this segment of the analysis are ordinal level measures; thus, I will employ ordered logit to establish the relationship.

- H9: Exposure to the looting story will decrease the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*
- H10: Exposure to the story profiling a female victim will increase the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*
- H11: Exposure to the story profiling a white victim will increase the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*
- H12: Exposure to the story profiling a victim with a light skin tone will increase the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*
- H13: Exposure to the story profiling a married victim will increase the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*
- H14: Exposure to the story profiling a victim with a traditional white-collar profession will increase the likelihood of preferring high amounts of federal assistance to victims, both in terms of monthly dollar amounts and the months of duration.*

The first two steps in the full analysis follow the basic procedure of classic framing theory. I expect that the analyses will show that the frame to which the experiment participants were exposed will influence their opinions about the causes of poverty and their preferences about federal aid to the survivors of the storm. The final stage in the analysis incorporates ideas from priming theory; this step tests differences in participants' judgments about the job performance of public officials differs amongst the experimental groups in the study.

- H15: Exposure to the looting story will not significantly impact opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.*
- H16: Exposure to the episodic story with a female victim will have lower opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.*

H17: Exposure to the episodic story with a white victim will have lower opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.

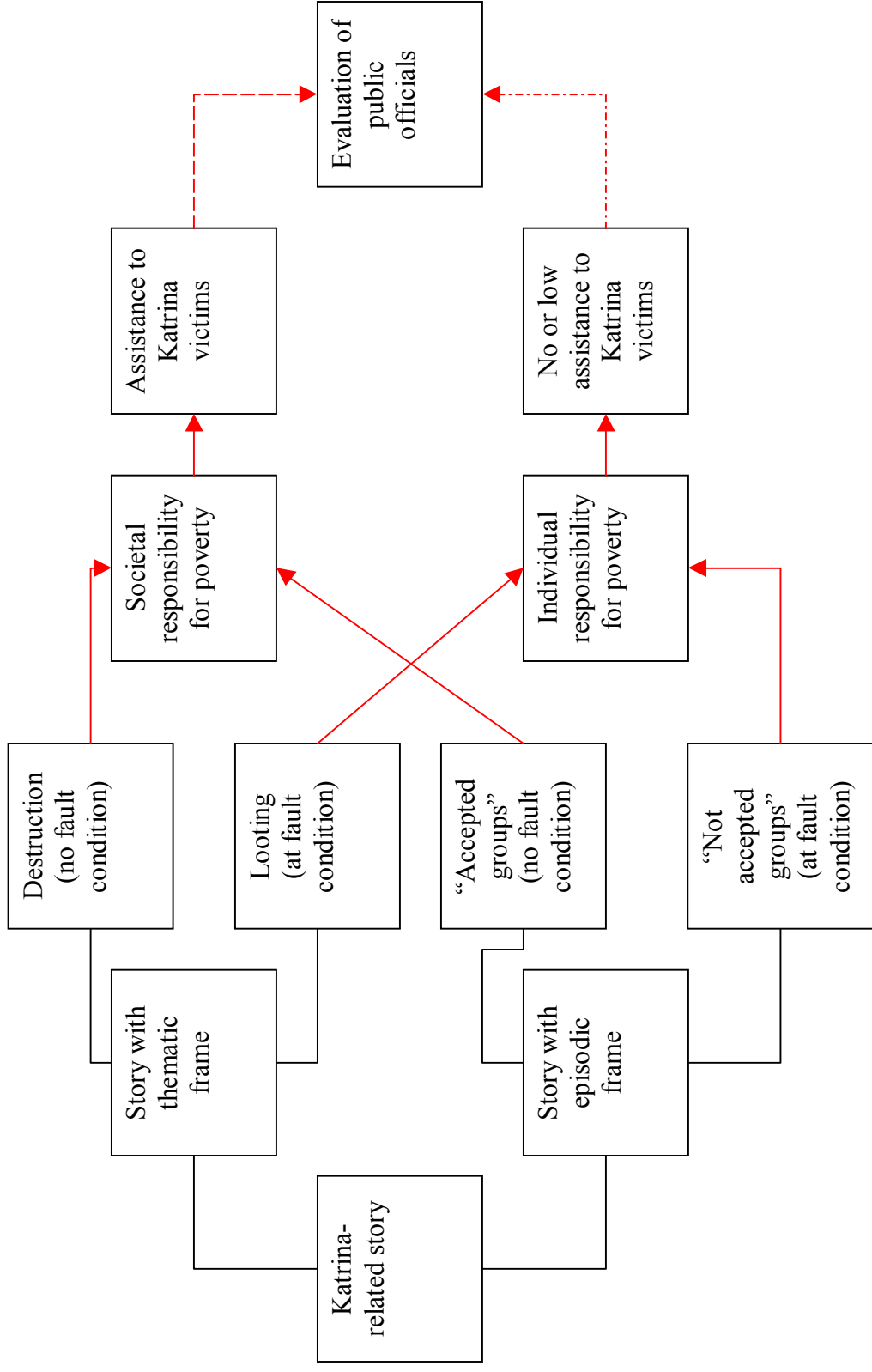
H18: Exposure to the episodic story with a victim with a light skin tone will have lower opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.

H19: Exposure to the episodic story with a married victim will have lower opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.

H20: Exposure to the episodic story with a victim in a traditional white-collar profession will have lower opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin.

These hypotheses are easily summarized. The frames involving the devastation of the city of New Orleans and the episodic story depicting a female, white, fair skinned, married, or white collar victim are expected to elicit beliefs about society's role in creating poverty. In turn, these frames are believed to evoke policy preferences for generous federal financial aid to the survivors of Hurricane Katrina. Finally, these same frames are thought to negatively influence the individual's opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, and Mayor Nagin. On the flipside, the thematic frame describing the massive looting in the city and the episodic story profiling a male, non-white, single, and blue-collar victim are expected to bring to mind individual attributes for the causes of poverty and less generous aid to Katrina survivors; these frames are not expected to influence opinions about the job performance of the public figures related to the disaster.

Figure 1: Schematic Overview of Model



Chapter 5: Results

Thematic versus Episodic Frames

As a first cut for this research, I analyzed all individuals exposed to a thematic story (ignoring, for the time being, potential differences between the destruction and looting stories) compared to those who read an episodic one. Figures 2 and 3 both present a simple comparison of the means for the amount and duration for assistance in housing and living expenses.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

These initial bivariate comparisons are not encouraging. The average amount of dollars that individuals believe the federal government should provide to hurricane survivors does not differ much between the thematic and episodic groups. In addition, the duration for both housing assistance and aid for living expenses is slightly *higher* among the group exposed to the episodic story, contrary to expectations.

I utilized a series of ordered logit models to estimate the relationship between the overall frame of a story related to Katrina with opinions about the causes of poverty, the role of the federal government in assisting victims, and opinions about public officials involved in the disaster. I tested each model for the parallel regression assumption, which was met by each regression equation. The results from the first part of the analysis are presented in table 1, below.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

These results provide only suggestive support for the hypothesis that exposure to thematic frames increases the probability of an individual believing societal causes of poverty are important. Participants who read a thematically framed story significantly differ from their counterparts exposed to the episodic story in terms of the importance of a poor work ethic, bad financial planning, low wages, and a poor education system in creating poverty. However, respondents who read the thematic story are no more or less likely than respondents exposed to the episodic story to view a decline in values, as important in creating poverty. In addition, the two groups do not have significantly different views on the notion that poor people will always exist.

The likelihood ratio test for the appropriateness of including the frame of the news story that rejected the null hypothesis was the importance of work ethic in creating poverty ($\chi^2=4.32$, significant at 0.05 level)⁷. The models overall correctly predict between 43% and 55% of the observations used. Using the models presented here decreases the error by 3% to 11% over predictions based solely on the modal category.

The next phase in the analysis presents the relationship between the frame utilized in the news story, opinions about the causes of poverty, and preferences for the amount of assistance the federal government should provide to victims of Hurricane Katrina. These results are presented in table 2.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]]

The models present mixed results for the hypothesis that individuals exposed to thematic frames will differ significantly from those exposed to episodic ones. Not only do

⁷ A likelihood-ratio test provides statistical support for including a variable or a series of variables into a model. It compares two models – the unconstrained model that includes all variables and the restricted model that omits primary independent variables – under the assumption that the estimates will be

the models not correctly predict a high percentage of individuals (the range is 30% to 46%), the reduction of error over prediction based solely on the modal category ranges from 6% to 14%. Exposure to a thematic frame does not alter participants' beliefs about the amount of money the federal government should provide to Katrina victims for either housing expenses or more general living expenses. However, individuals who read a thematically framed story differ significantly from those exposed to an episodic story in relation to the number of months that the federal government should provide assistance. I performed a likelihood ratio test for each model; the models examining the amount of federal assistance yielded no significant results. However, I rejected the null hypothesis in the likelihood ratio tests for the appropriateness of including the frame of the news story for the duration of assistance for housing ($\chi^2=7.05$, significant at 0.01 level) and the duration for other living expenses ($\chi^2=5.95$, significant at 0.02 level).

Figures 4 and 5 present the predicted probabilities of the duration of federal assistance to victims for housing expenses for a non-white male with no college education under age 40 who identifies with the Democratic party but does not watch the news every day. The importance of a poor educational system in creating poverty is allowed to vary. As is evident, believing the inadequacy of the public schools causes poverty increases the probability that this individual wants the federal government to provide assistance for a year and a half; the probability of desiring assistance for a year for these victim increases and then slightly decreases as the perceived importance of the education system increases. The probability of wanting the assistance to last for under a year decreases as the importance of the education system increases. This pattern is

statistically similar if the independent variables have no effect. A statistically significant result indicates that the variables in question have a combined statistically significant effect on the model.

apparent for individuals exposed to both frames; however, the probability of preferring a lengthier assistance period begins at a higher point for those exposed to a thematic frame.

[FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

Figures 6 and 7 present the predicted probability that a young, non-white male with no college education who identifies himself as a Democrat would prefer each duration for assistance to Katrina victims for living expenses (excluding housing costs). The same pattern is apparent in these relationships as in the relationship comparing beliefs about the importance of the decline in values in creating poverty and the probability of preferring each time length for assistance. As in the duration of federal assistance for housing expenses, the probability for a year or more assistance with living expenses is higher for those exposed to thematic frames than those exposed to a story that utilized an episodic frame.

[FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE]

The final step in the analysis connects the frame of the story with opinions about the causes of poverty, the amount of federal assistance to hurricane victims, and evaluations of public figures. The results are presented in Table 3.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

The results provide mixed support for the hypothesis that individuals exposed to a thematic frame will significantly differ from those exposed to an episodic frame in relation to approval ratings for President Bush, Louisiana Governor Blanco, and New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin. The model performs well for approval for Bush (74% correctly predicted, an 11% proportional reduction in error), but its performance for Blanco (46% correctly predicted) and Nagin (45% correctly predicted) is less than stellar. For fewer than half the respondents in the experiment, the model is able to identify their opinion about the job performance of these officials. Put another way, the model incorrectly predicts over half of all respondents! In addition, the overall frame utilized in the news story about the Katrina disaster is significantly only in relation to evaluations about Governor Blanco. This result, ironically, seems to support both sides of the debate about the role of political information and priming and framing effects. Participants are assumed to have the most information about President Bush and the least information about Ray Nagin; Governor Blanco would presumably fall between these two on the knowledge spectrum. Thus, these results provide support that framing and priming effects are absent for issues and individuals about which participants have a wealth of information and a dearth of it.

Figures 8 and 9 present the relationship between a decline in values and the probability of judging Governor's Blanco as very poor, poor, fair, good, or very good for a young non-white male with no college education who identifies himself as a Democrat yet does not read the news paper daily. Figure 8 presents the probabilities for participants exposed to a thematic frame, and figure 9 depicts those for the individuals who read an episodically framed story. The probability of judging her performance as "very good" or

“good” is quite low and does not move across the spectrum of the importance of the decline in values in causing poverty. The probability of evaluating Blanco’s job performance as “fair” increases as the importance of a decline in values as a cause of poverty declines. The probability of a “poor” evaluation rises slightly across the spectrum of the importance of the decline in values, and the probability of judging her performance as “very poor” drops dramatically. While this pattern holds for individuals in each treatment group, those exposed to thematic stories are different from participants who read the episodic story.

[FIGURE 8 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 9 ABOUT HERE]

Blame Attribution in Frames

Simply comparing thematic and episodic frames has provided mixed support for the hypotheses that frames influence an individual’s perceptions about the causes of poverty, the federal government’s role in assisting people in need, and ultimate evaluations about public figures. At each stage, individuals exposed to a thematic story both differed from and were similar to participants who read a news story with an episodic frame. As previously stated, the demographic profile of experiment participants and the highly salient nature of the Hurricane Katrina disaster make this a difficult test for the theoretical model. However, perhaps the results presented in the previous section are also due to the differences among the news stories to which the participants were exposed. Thus, the next block in the analysis will differentiate among the two thematic stories and the various demographic characteristics of the victim in the episodic story.

Figures 10 and 11 present comparisons for the average amount and duration for federal assistance to Katrina victims for housing and living expenses.

[FIGURE 10 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 11 ABOUT HERE]

As was the case with the simple thematic and episodic comparison, these bivariate statistics are not encouraging for any of the hypotheses in question here. The amount for housing and those for other living expenses does not seem to differ much amongst the groups (the largest difference is about \$25 per month). While the duration for aid for housing does differ, the group we would expect to be the most generous (the destruction story) has, in fact, the lowest average at 12.25 months. To better analyze the effect that the news frame has on opinions related to poverty, federal assistance to Katrina victims, and ultimate evaluation of public figures, I again employed an ordered logistic regression. The results from the first step in this second process are presented in Table 4.

[TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Overall, the models perform only at a mediocre level. They correctly predict only around half of the participants of the experiment (45%-54%) and reduce the error by less than 10% (3%-9%). In addition, the results provide sporadic and mixed evidence for framing effects on opinions about the causes of poverty. Reading a story about a female or married victim slightly increases one's belief in the idea that the poor will always exist. The importance of the decline of value in causing poverty is slightly decreased by an episodic story profiling a male victim yet increased by one that highlights the plight of a survivor working a traditional blue-collar job. The frame of the story did not influence opinions about the importance of a lack of a proper work ethic on the part of the poor,

bad financial planning, low wages, or a lack of an adequate education system in creating poverty. Not surprisingly, the only model for which the likelihood ratio test was statistically significant was the idea that a decline in values has created poverty ($\chi^2=14.38$, significant at the 0.03 level). While table 4 uses the destruction and devastation frame as the base category for comparison, table 5 presents all possible frame comparisons⁸.

[TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

These additional comparisons only reinforce the findings from the original comparison. The support for the hypothesis that the differences exist between the groups exposed to differently framed stories is weak and sporadic. Individuals exposed to an episodic story with a male victim are less inclined to say that the poor will always exist than are respondents who read a story profiling a married victim. In turn, married victims are more likely to evoke feelings that the poor will always exist than a victim in a traditional blue collar profession. However, the variables taken together do not significantly alter the model; the χ^2 statistic for the likelihood ratio test for the complete model is 10.73, which carries a p value of 0.10.

Some statistically significant differences also surface with relation to the importance of the work ethic of the poor in creating poverty. Individuals exposed to a story profiling a white victim are more likely to say the poor's work ethic is important than are the individuals who read a story highlighting the plight of a male victim or a victim in a traditionally blue-collar profession. However, the variables taken together do

⁸ These comparisons utilize both one-tailed and two-tailed tests. One-tailed tests are utilized for comparisons between a group that would theoretically induce blame attributions and a group that theoretically would not. Two-tailed tests are used for comparisons between two groups that should elicit blame attribution or two that should not elicit blame attribution.

not significantly affect the model; the likelihood ratio test's χ^2 statistic (10.96) carries an insignificantly p values of 0.09.

The belief in the importance of the decline of values in creating poverty is more strongly affected by the frame employed in the story. Participants exposed to the destruction story are less likely to say that decline in values is an important cause for poverty than the story about a male victim; respondents who read the episodic story profiling a victim in a blue collar profession see the decline in values as more important in creating poverty than the destruction experimental group. In addition, those exposed to a story involving a male victim differ significantly from those exposed to a story involving a married victim, a white victim, or a victim working a traditionally blue collar job. The story about a victim in a blue collar profession increases the importance attached to the decline in values than the story about victims with a light skin tone. Those who read a story about the looting frame are more likely to say a decline in values is important in creating poverty than those who read an episodic story profiling a male victim. Overall, the framing variables are highly statistically significant to this model. The χ^2 statistic for the likelihood ratio test is a statistically significant 14.38.

The idea of an inadequate education system in creating poverty also shows more differences amongst the individuals exposed to the various frames. Those exposed to an episodic story profiling a male victim or a victim working a traditional blue collar profession are more likely to say the education system is important than are those who read a story about a married victim. However, the variables as a whole are not significant to the model. The χ^2 statistic for the likelihood ratio test is 5.38, which carries a p values of 0.50.

I now turn to the investigation of the relationship between the more specific frames and the preferred amount of assistance for victims of Hurricane Katrina. The results of the ordered logit are presented in table 6.

[TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE]

At first glance, the performance of these models is less than stellar, as was true of the other models considered thus far. These four models correctly predict fewer than half the cases in analysis (30%-46%) and reduce the error by only a small amount (7% to 13%). However, for the individual level of analysis, correctly predicting even this small amount is somewhat remarkable, considering the high number of personality traits not accounted for here. A framing variable is statistically significant in only two models – an episodic story of a white victim elicits a longer preferred time for housing duration than a thematic story about the destruction of New Orleans. In addition, a profile of a white victim increases the preferred duration for assistance for living expenses. The likelihood ratio tests for the framing variables do not approach statistical significance for any model. Indeed, the results would be statistically similar if the variables were omitted.

Figures 12 and 13 graph the relationship between the importance of an inadequate educational system and the probability of preferring each duration for housing assistance for a young non-white male with no college education who identifies himself as a Democrat yet does not read the news paper daily. The individual was exposed to an episodic story with a light-skinned female, non-married victim working a traditional white-collar profession. Figure 12 represents a story with a white victim, while Figure 13 graphs a story profiling a non-white hurricane survivor.

[FIGURE 12 ABOUT HERE]

[FIGURE 13 ABOUT HERE]

While table 6 uses the destruction and devastation frame as the base category for comparison, table 7 presents alternative combinations.

[TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE]

As in the case of causes for poverty, the results presented here provide little evidence that the more specific frame influences the preferred amount and duration of federal assistance to Hurricane Katrina victims. Statistically significant differences exist between participants exposed to a thematic story about the looting in New Orleans and those who read a profile of a white survivor; in addition, those who read a story about a white victim are different from participants who were exposed to a story profiling a victim in a traditionally blue-collar profession. Thus, I fail to reject the null hypothesis that there are no differences between the treatment groups in this experiment.

The final step in this analysis is to examine a possible relationship between the frame employed in the story and the evaluation of the job performance of Bush, Blanco, and Nagin. The results of this ordered logit are presented in table 8.

[TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE]

The model predicting the evaluation of President Bush performs rather well, correctly predicting almost three-quarters of the experiment's subjects and reducing the error by 10%. Because of high exposure of the presidency, the model's performance is perhaps due to variables that traditionally predict approval of the president, such as partisanship, rather than any exposure to any news story about Hurricane Katrina. The model does not fare quite as well for Governor Blanco and Mayor Nagin. For both of these public figures, the analysis correctly predicts about half of the participants (48%

and 47%, respectively). The reduction in error for Blanco is similar to that for Bush (approximately 13%), while the model reduces the error for Nagin by approximately one-fifth (21%). However, the framing variables are not significant, either individually or as a whole. There are no differences in approval of these federal, state, and local officials' handling of the Katrina disaster. As shown in table 9, no frame significantly alters the participants' opinions about the job performance of these three public figures.

[TABLE 9 ABOUT HERE]

None of these comparisons provides support for the hypothesis that real differences exist among the participants exposed to each experimental treatment. For no combination of experimental groups is the resulting coefficient statistically significant. Thus, I cannot reject the null hypothesis that no differences exist based on the frames provided in the initial story.

Table 1: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Poor will always exist (n=988)	Poor work ethic (n=988)	Poor financial planning (n=988)	Decline in values (n=988)	Low wages (n=988)	Poor education system (n=988)
	β	β	β	β	β	β
	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $
Thematic frame	0.19	0.29	0.23	-0.05	-0.24	-0.24
Respondent is male	-0.38	-0.12	-0.22	-0.03	0.35	0.10
Respondent is white	-0.28	0.09	-0.01	0.43	0.17	0.68
Respondent is Democrat	0.49	0.56	0.53	0.53	-0.69	-0.69
Respondent is Republican	-1.71	-1.56	-0.98	-1.36	1.53	1.41
Respondent has no college education	-0.05	0.02	0.03	-0.19	-0.35	-0.38
Respondent has a college degree	-0.15	-0.10	0.18	-0.10	-0.14	-0.10
Respondent watches news daily	0.11	-0.22	-0.14	-0.16	-0.18	-0.27
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	0.13	0.10	0.19	0.10	-0.09	-0.09
Respondent is under age 40	-0.05	0.35	0.05	0.49	-0.02	-0.42
Respondent is age 40-60	0.07	0.04	0.20	0.14	-0.30	-0.17
τ_1	-3.45	-2.77	-2.44	-2.12	-0.78	-0.25
τ_2	-1.44	-0.40	0.08	-0.28	1.61	1.83
τ_3	-1.06	2.15	2.22	1.22	3.92	3.00
τ_4	0.85	--	--	--	--	--
Percent correctly predicted	43%	54%	48%	46%	52%	55%
Proportional reduction in error	6%	6%	6%	5%	11%	3%
Log-Likelihood	-1223.61	-1059.82	-1119.02	-1130.09	-945.87	-953.81
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	1.98	4.32	2.76	0.11	2.93	2.69
	0.16	0.04	0.10	0.74	0.10	0.05

* One-tailed test

Table 2: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)	Number of months for housing (n=988)	Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)	Number of months for living expenses (n=988)
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Thematic frame	-0.10	0.23*	-0.37	0.01*
Poor will always exist	0.24	0.01	0.25	0.01
Poor work ethics	0.19	0.06	0.41	0.01
Poor financial planning	0.26	0.01	0.32	0.01
Decline in values	0.01	0.87	0.11	0.17
Low wages	-0.47	0.01	-0.43	0.01
Poor education system	-0.46	0.01	-0.48	0.01
Respondent is male	0.27	0.03	0.40	0.01
Respondent is white	-0.60	0.01	-0.47	0.01
Respondent is Democrat	-0.47	0.01*	-0.13	0.18*
Respondent is Republican	-0.06	0.39*	-0.21	0.18*
Respondent has no college education	-0.08	0.65	0.07	0.71
Respondent has a college degree	-0.17	0.20	-0.01	0.99
Respondent watches news daily	0.24	0.05	0.09	0.48
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.03	0.54	0.14	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	-0.35	0.05	-0.40	0.04
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.10	0.54	-0.07	0.69
τ_1	-3.92		-2.48	
τ_2	-2.43		-0.15	
τ_3	-1.00		0.36	
τ_4	0.15		2.49	
τ_5	1.40		2.80	
Percent correctly predicted	30%		46%	
Proportional reduction in error	8%		14%	
Log-Likelihood	-1521.88		-1276.81	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	0.58	0.45*	7.05	0.02
			1.02	0.31
			-1608.57	
			44%	
			13%	
			-1373.46	
			5.95	0.02

* One-tailed test

Table 3: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Thematic frame	-0.11	0.28*	0.28	0.02*	0.19	0.08*
Poor will always exist	-0.30	0.01	0.16	0.01	0.27	0.01
Poor work ethics	-0.28	0.05	0.15	0.16	0.21	0.05
Poor financial planning	-0.27	0.04	0.03	0.76	-0.06	0.53
Decline in values	-0.39	0.01	0.30	0.01	0.23	0.01
Low wages	0.57	0.01	-0.19	0.07	-0.44	0.01
Poor education system	0.46	0.01	0.15	0.12	0.06	0.57
Amount per month for housing	-0.05	0.55	-0.06	0.37	0.08	0.21
Number of months for housing	-0.05	0.61	0.07	0.39	0.17	0.03
Amount per month for living expenses	-0.08	0.30	0.07	0.21	-0.02	0.77
Number of months for living expenses	0.10	0.33	0.11	0.15	-0.01	0.99
Respondent is male	-0.28	0.10	-0.31	0.02	-0.22	0.08
Respondent is white	0.10	0.68	0.45	0.01	-0.17	0.32
Respondent is Democrat	-0.50	0.01*	0.23	0.06*	0.08	0.30*
Respondent is Republican	1.44	0.01*	0.05	0.42*	-0.09	0.35*
Respondent has no college education	-0.01	0.98	-0.05	0.76	-0.09	0.64
Respondent has a college degree	0.20	0.27	-0.06	0.67	0.04	0.79
Respondent watches news daily	0.35	0.04	0.01	0.95	-0.15	0.25
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.24	0.01	0.25	0.01	0.23	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	0.19	0.44	-0.20	0.30	0.02	0.92
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.13	0.57	-0.12	0.50	-0.01	0.99
τ_1	-2.06		2.28		1.76	
τ_2	-0.48		4.33		3.43	
τ_3	0.90		6.64		5.39	
τ_4	2.50		8.28		7.32	
Percent correctly predicted	74%		46%		45%	
Proportional reduction in error	12%		11%		20%	
Log-likelihood	-680.56		-1162.31		-1217.97	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	0.34	0.56	4.08	0.04	1.97	0.16

* One-tailed test

Table 4: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Poor will always exist (n=988)	Poor work ethic (n=988)	Poor financial planning (n=988)	Decline in values (n=988)	Low wages (n=988)	Poor education system (n=988)
	β	β	β	β	β	β
	$p> z $	$p> z $	$p> z $	$p> z $	$p> z $	$p> z $
Looting frame	0.02	0.45*	0.19	0.17*	-0.19	0.18*
Male victim	-0.25	0.03*	-0.12	0.20*	0.06	0.33*
White victim	-0.06	0.33*	0.14	0.16*	-0.01	0.48*
Victim with light skin tone	0.07	0.30*	-0.15	0.12*	-0.14	0.16*
Married victim	0.28	0.02*	0.12	0.20*	-0.08	0.28*
Victim in blue-collar job	-0.22	0.06*	-0.03	0.41*	0.08	0.29*
Respondent is male	-0.38	0.01	-0.22	0.08	0.33	0.01
Respondent is white	-0.29	0.09	-0.02	0.92	0.18	0.33
Respondent is Democrat	0.49	0.01*	0.53	0.01*	-0.70	0.01*
Respondent is Republican	-1.69	0.01*	-1.01	0.01*	1.53	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	-0.05	0.81	0.04	0.84	-0.36	0.07
Respondent has a college degree	-0.13	0.32	0.18	0.19	-0.16	0.27
Respondent watches news daily	0.10	0.42	-0.15	0.24	-0.18	0.18
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	0.13	0.01	0.19	0.01	-0.09	0.08
Respondent is under age 40	-0.08	0.68	0.06	0.76	-0.02	0.91
Respondent is age 40-60	0.09	0.65	0.21	0.23	-0.31	0.09
τ_1	-3.64	-3.07	-2.52	-2.04	-0.78	-0.17
τ_2	-1.62	-0.69	0.01	-0.19	1.60	1.91
τ_3	-1.24	1.88	2.16	1.33	3.92	3.09
τ_4	0.69	--	--	--	--	--
Percent correctly predicted	45%	54%	48%	46%	48%	54%
Proportional reduction in error	9%	6%	5%	5%	5%	3%
Log-Likelihood	-1219.24	-1056.51	-1117.84	-1122.95	-946.02	-952.46
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	10.73	10.96	5.13	14.38	2.63	5.38
	0.10	0.09	0.53	0.03	0.85	0.50

* One-tailed test

Table 5: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Poor will always exist (n=988)		Poor work ethic (n=988)		Poor financial planning (n=988)		Decline in values (n=988)		Low wages (n=988)		Poor education system (n=988)	
	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z
Looting frame – male victim	0.27	0.24	0.22	0.35	0.31	0.18	0.45	0.05	-0.25	0.29	-0.14	0.57
Looting frame – white victim	0.08	0.36*	-0.17	0.24*	0.05	0.41*	-0.04	0.43*	-0.19	0.22*	0.08	0.38*
Looting frame – married victim	-0.26	0.13*	0.08	0.37*	0.07	0.37*	-0.05	0.42*	-0.11	0.33*	0.23	0.17*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	0.25	0.24	0.18	0.41	0.22	0.29	-0.26	0.22	-0.27	0.22	-0.13	0.57
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	-0.05	0.44*	0.16	0.24*	0.35	0.06*	0.30	0.09*	-0.05	0.44*	0.21	0.19*
Male victim – white victim	-0.19	0.29*	-0.39	0.04*	-0.26	0.11*	-0.49	0.01*	0.07	0.37*	0.21	0.17*
Male victim – married victim	-0.52	0.01*	-0.14	0.26*	-0.23	0.13*	-0.50	0.01*	0.15	0.25*	0.37	0.05*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.02	0.92	-0.04	0.85	-0.08	0.69	-0.71	0.01	-0.02	0.94	0.01	0.97
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.32	0.06*	-0.05	0.40*	0.04	0.43*	-0.15	0.22*	0.20	0.17*	0.35	0.06*
White victim – married victim	-0.34	0.10	0.25	0.22	0.02	0.91	-0.01	0.98	0.08	0.71	0.15	0.49
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.17	0.21*	0.35	0.05*	0.17	0.20*	-0.22	0.14*	-0.09	0.34*	-0.21	0.17*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.13	0.52	0.33	0.11	0.29	0.15	0.34	0.10	0.13	0.53	0.13	0.54
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.50	0.01*	0.10	0.33*	0.15	0.24*	-0.21	0.15*	-0.16	0.22*	-0.36	0.05*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	0.21	0.30	0.08	0.69	0.27	0.18	0.34	0.09	0.06	0.79	-0.02	0.94
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	-0.29	0.08*	-0.01	0.48*	0.12	0.28*	0.56	0.01*	0.22	0.16*	0.34	0.06*

* One-tailed test

Table 6: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)		Number of months for housing (n=988)		Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)		Number of months for living expenses (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame	-0.15	0.22*	0.16	0.22*	-0.02	0.46*	-0.25	0.11*
Male victim	-0.10	0.23*	0.19	0.09*	-0.13	0.17*	0.01	0.48*
White victim	0.05	0.35*	0.28	0.03*	-0.01	0.46*	0.23	0.05*
Victim with light skin tone	-0.07	0.30*	-0.03	0.41*	-0.03	0.40*	0.03	0.42*
Married victim	0.02	0.43*	0.10	0.25*	0.17	0.10*	0.06	0.32*
Victim in blue-collar job	-0.07	0.30*	0.01	0.48*	-0.05	0.36*	-0.11	0.22*
Poor will always exist	0.24	0.01	0.26	0.01	0.13	0.03	0.21	0.01
Poor work ethics	0.18	0.08	0.42	0.01	0.15	0.14	0.44	0.01
Poor financial planning	0.26	0.01	0.30	0.01	0.21	0.02	0.36	0.01
Decline in values	0.01	0.87	0.12	0.15	0.10	0.18	0.07	0.37
Low wages	-0.47	0.01	-0.43	0.01	-0.44	0.01	-0.44	0.01
Poor education system	-0.45	0.01	-0.47	0.01	-0.33	0.01	-0.36	0.01
Respondent is male	0.26	0.03	0.39	0.01	0.23	0.05	0.35	0.01
Respondent is white	-0.61	0.01	-0.50	0.01	-0.61	0.01	-0.43	0.02
Respondent is Democrat	-0.47	0.01*	-0.14	0.17*	-0.24	0.05*	-0.08	0.38*
Respondent is Republican	-0.07	0.38*	-0.25	0.13*	-0.17	0.22*	-0.14	0.26*
Respondent has no college education	-0.08	0.63	0.03	0.88	0.06	0.74	0.06	0.72
Respondent has a college degree	-0.17	0.21	-0.01	0.92	-0.09	0.51	-0.04	0.75
Respondent watches news daily	0.24	0.05	0.09	0.49	0.12	0.35	0.24	0.06
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.03	0.50	0.14	0.01	0.01	0.88	0.08	0.11
Respondent is under age 40	-0.36	0.05	-0.42	0.03	-0.56	0.01	-0.50	0.01
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.10	0.57	-0.11	0.54	-0.23	0.17	-0.10	0.58

(continued)

Table 6: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance (*continued*)

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)	Number of months for housing (n=988)	Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)	Number of months for living expenses (n=988)
	β	β	β	β
	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $
τ_1	-4.04	-2.23	-2.69	-1.74
τ_2	-2.55	0.11	-1.08	0.30
τ_3	-1.11	0.62	0.11	0.95
τ_4	0.03	2.72	1.13	2.86
τ_5	1.28	3.06	2.05	3.17
Percent correctly predicted	30%	46%	30%	43%
Proportional reduction in error	7%	13%	7%	12%
Log-Likelihood	-1521.33	-1276.13	-1607.72	-1372.89
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	1.68	8.42	2.72	7.10
	0.95	0.21	0.84	0.31

* One-tailed test

Table 7: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)		Number of months for housing (n=988)		Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)		Number of months for living expenses (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame – male victim	-0.06	0.80	-0.03	0.88	0.11	0.60	-0.25	0.26
Looting frame – white victim	-0.21	0.18*	-0.12	0.30*	-0.01	0.49*	-0.48	0.02*
Looting frame – married victim	-0.18	0.21*	0.06	0.40*	-0.19	0.19*	-0.31	0.08*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	-0.09	0.68	0.15	0.50	0.03	0.88	-0.14	0.50
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	-0.08	0.35*	0.19	0.21*	-0.05	0.41*	-0.28	0.11*
Male victim – white victim	-0.15	0.22*	-0.09	0.33*	-0.12	0.26*	-0.23	0.13*
Male victim – married victim	-0.12	0.27*	0.09	0.33*	-0.30	0.06*	-0.06	0.39*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.03	0.89	0.18	0.40	-0.08	0.69	0.11	0.59
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.03	0.45*	0.22	0.14*	-0.17	0.20*	-0.02	0.46*
White victim – married victim	0.03	0.88	0.18	0.38	-0.19	0.35	0.17	0.39
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.12	0.27*	0.27	0.10*	0.04	0.43*	0.34	0.05*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	0.12	0.27*	0.31	0.07*	-0.05	0.40*	0.20	0.16*
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.09	0.32*	0.09	0.34*	0.22	0.13*	0.17	0.20*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	0.09	0.62	0.13	0.53	0.14	0.48	0.03	0.86
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	0.01	0.50*	0.04	0.43*	-0.08	0.33*	-0.14	0.26*

* One-tailed test

Table 8: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

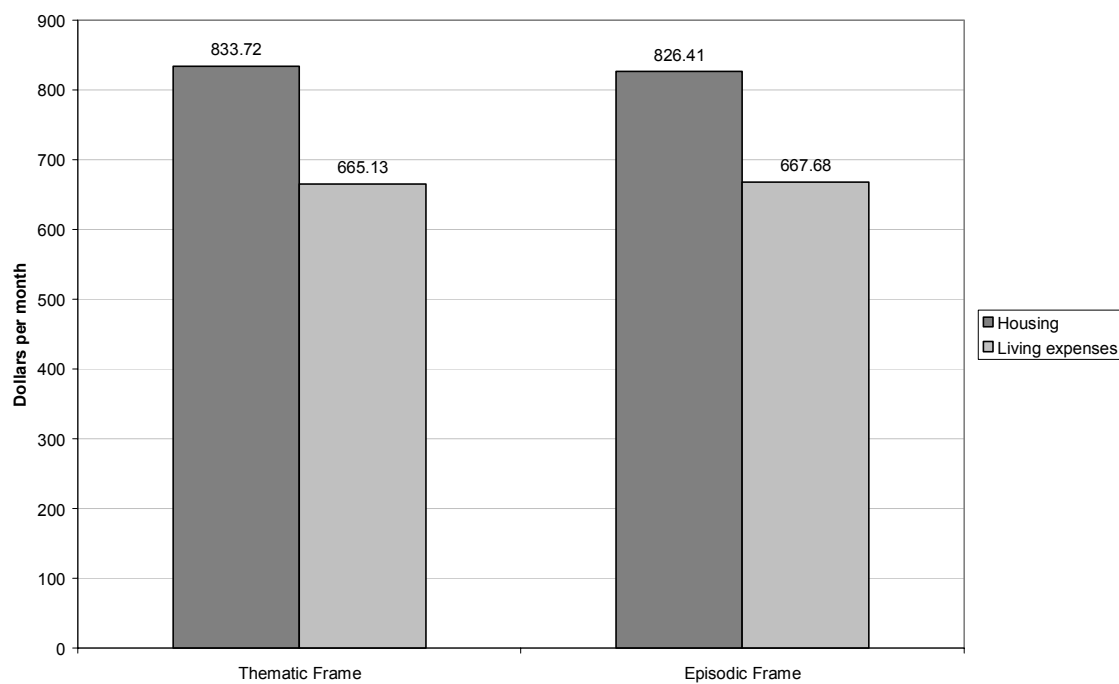
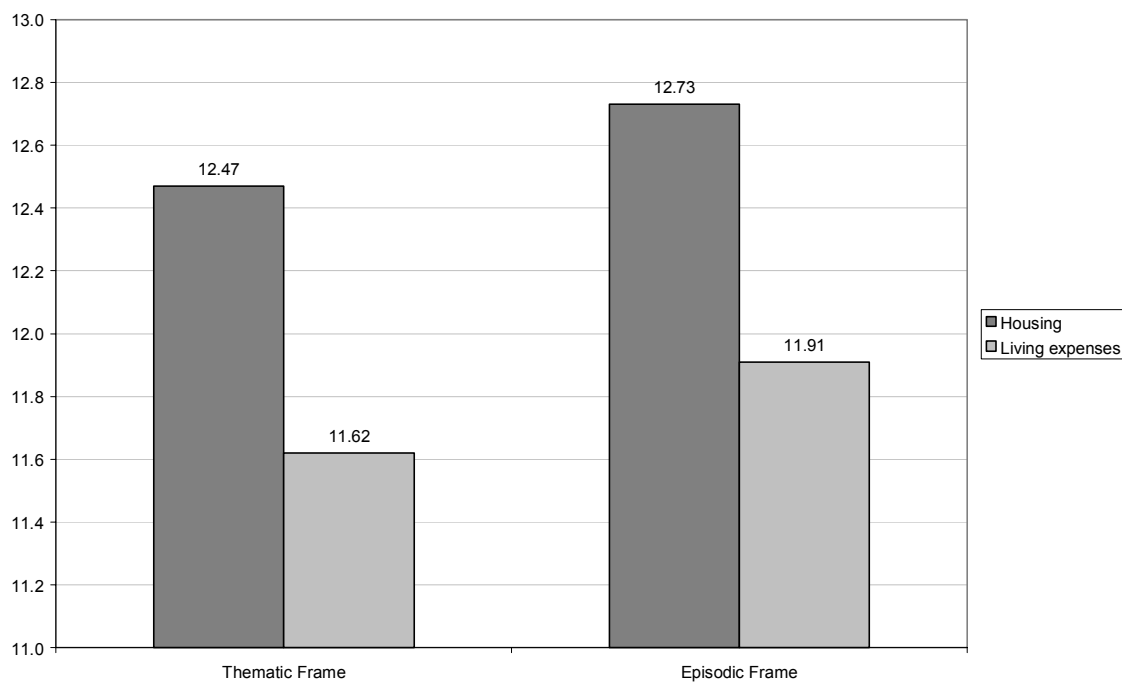
	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame	-0.16	0.29*	0.04	0.42*	0.03	0.45*
Male victim	0.08	0.33*	-0.18	0.10*	-0.03	0.42*
White victim	0.05	0.40*	-0.22	0.06*	-0.15	0.14*
Victim with light skin tone	0.04	0.41*	-0.05	0.37*	-0.07	0.30*
Married victim	-0.22	0.12*	0.04	0.38*	0.10	0.23*
Victim in blue-collar job	-0.05	0.41*	-0.04	0.40*	-0.16	0.12*
Poor will always exist	-0.30	0.01	0.15	0.02	0.26	0.01
Poor work ethics	-0.30	0.04	0.15	0.18	0.20	0.06
Poor financial planning	-0.26	0.05	0.04	0.69	-0.05	0.57
Decline in values	-0.37	0.01	0.30	0.01	0.24	0.01
Low wages	0.57	0.01	-0.19	0.06	-0.45	0.01
Poor education system	0.46	0.01	0.15	0.12	0.06	0.56
Amount per month for housing	-0.06	0.50	-0.06	0.39	0.08	0.21
Number of months for housing	-0.04	0.69	0.07	0.36	0.17	0.03
Amount per month for living expenses	-0.08	0.35	0.06	0.28	-0.02	0.70
Number of months for living expenses	0.09	0.36	0.11	0.14	0.01	0.97
Respondent is male	-0.29	0.09	-0.30	0.02	-0.21	0.09
Respondent is white	0.10	0.69	0.47	0.01	-0.17	0.31
Respondent is Democrat	-0.50	0.01*	0.22	0.07*	0.07	0.31*
Respondent is Republican	1.45	0.01*	0.05	0.42*	-0.08	0.36*
Respondent has no college education	-0.01	0.98	-0.02	0.92	-0.06	0.72
Respondent has a college degree	0.20	0.26	-0.06	0.69	0.03	0.84
Respondent watches news daily	0.36	0.04	0.01	0.96	-0.15	0.23
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.24	0.01	0.25	0.01	0.23	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	0.21	0.41	-0.20	0.32	-0.01	0.99
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.13	0.59	-0.11	0.54	-0.01	0.95
τ_1	-2.03		2.03		1.53	
τ_2	-0.46		4.08		3.20	
τ_3	0.92		6.40		5.16	
τ_4	2.53		8.04		7.09	
Percent correctly predicted	74%		48%		46%	
Proportional reduction in error	13%		13%		21%	
Log-likelihood	-679.75		-1160.73		-1216.42	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	1.96	0.92	7.24	0.30	5.07	0.53

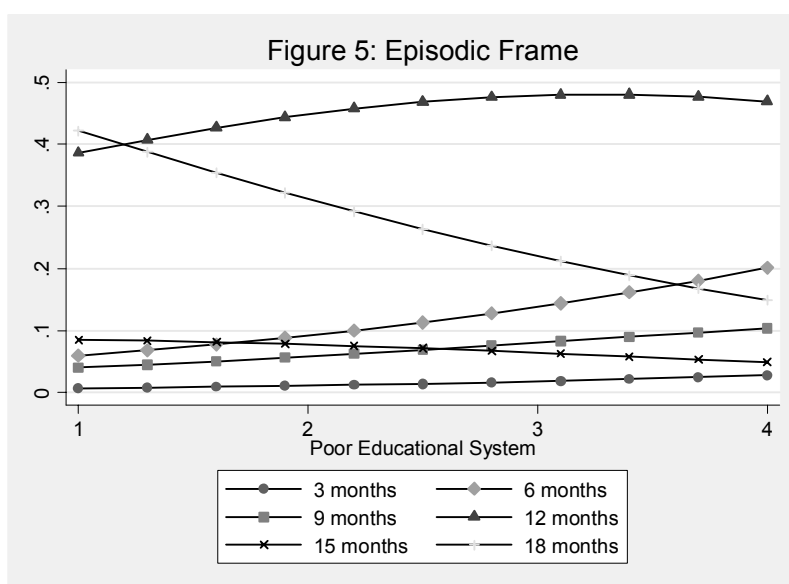
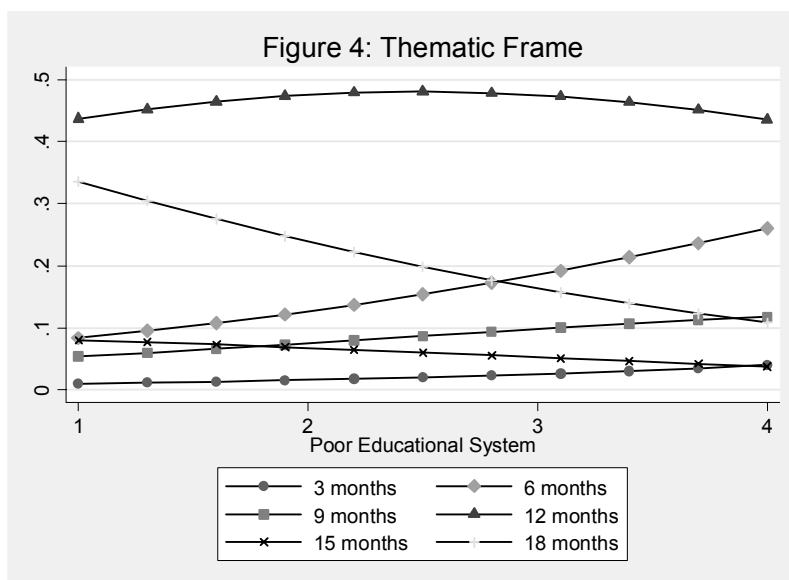
* One-tailed test

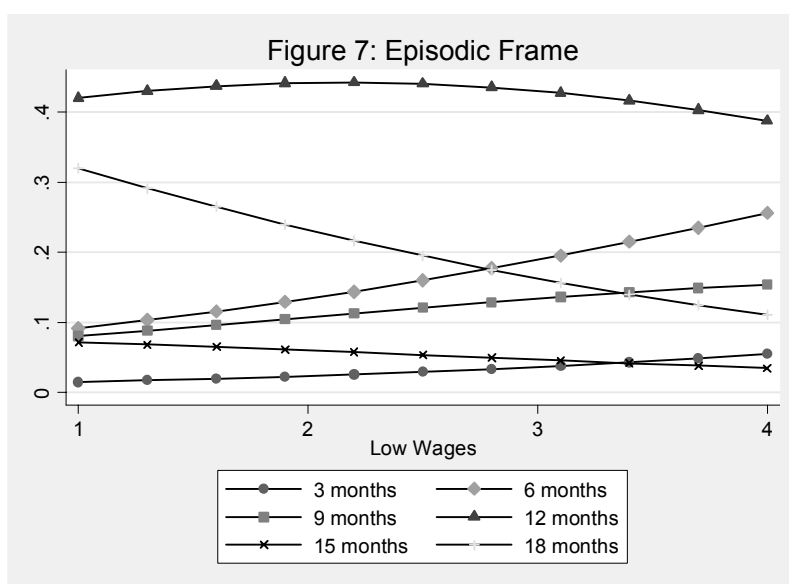
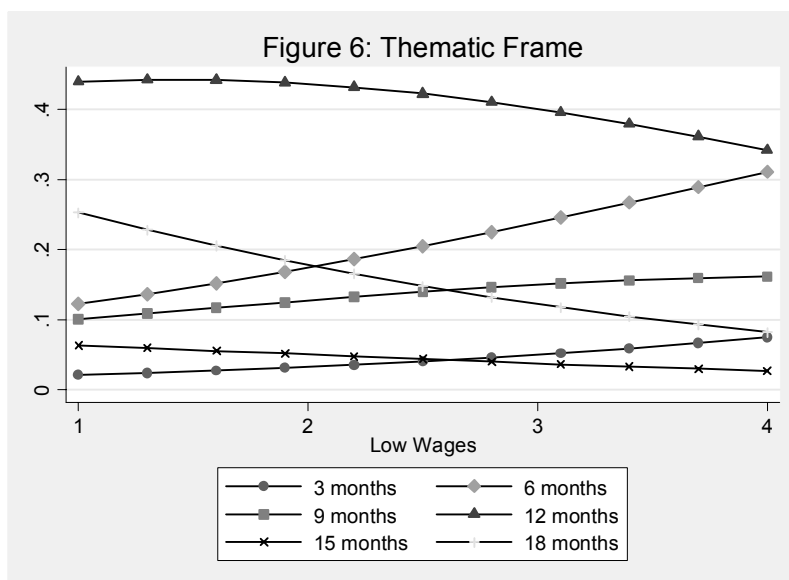
Table 9: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame – male victim	-0.24	0.44	0.22	0.34	0.05	0.81
Looting frame – white victim	-0.20	0.26*	0.26	0.13*	0.18	0.22*
Looting frame – married victim	0.06	0.42*	-0.01	0.50*	-0.08	0.37*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	-0.11	0.70	0.08	0.71	0.19	0.38
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	-0.20	0.26*	0.09	0.35*	0.10	0.33*
Male victim – white victim	0.03	0.45*	0.04	0.42*	0.12	0.28*
Male victim – married victim	0.30	0.14*	-0.22	0.15*	-0.13	0.26*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.13	0.66	-0.14	0.51	0.13	0.53
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	0.04	0.44*	-0.13	0.26*	0.04	0.42*
White victim – married victim	0.27	0.32	-0.26	0.20	-0.26	0.21
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.09	0.37*	-0.18	0.18*	0.01	0.49*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	0.01	0.99	-0.17	0.39	-0.08	0.70
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.17	0.27*	0.08	0.35*	0.27	0.10*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.26	0.32	0.09	0.65	0.18	0.38
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	-0.09	0.38*	0.01	0.48*	-0.09	0.34*

* One-tailed test

Figure 2: Mean Amount for Assistance (Dollars per Month)**Figure 3: Mean Months for Assistance**





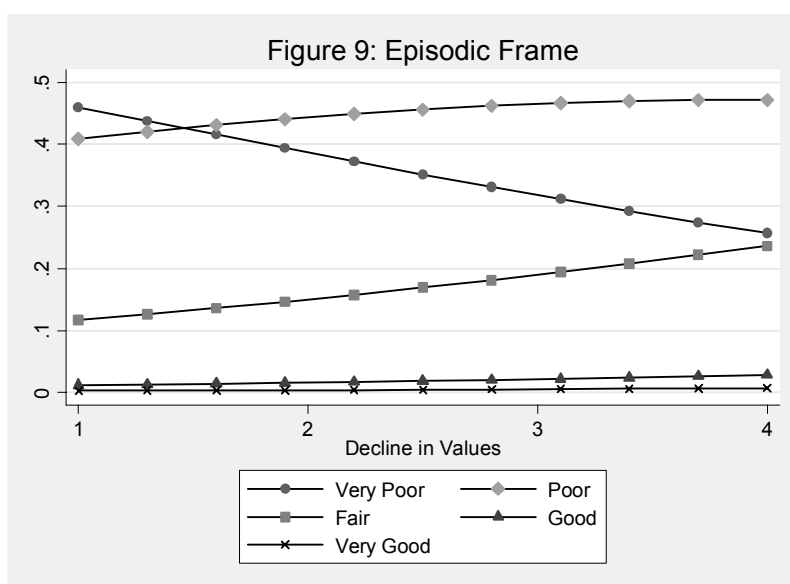
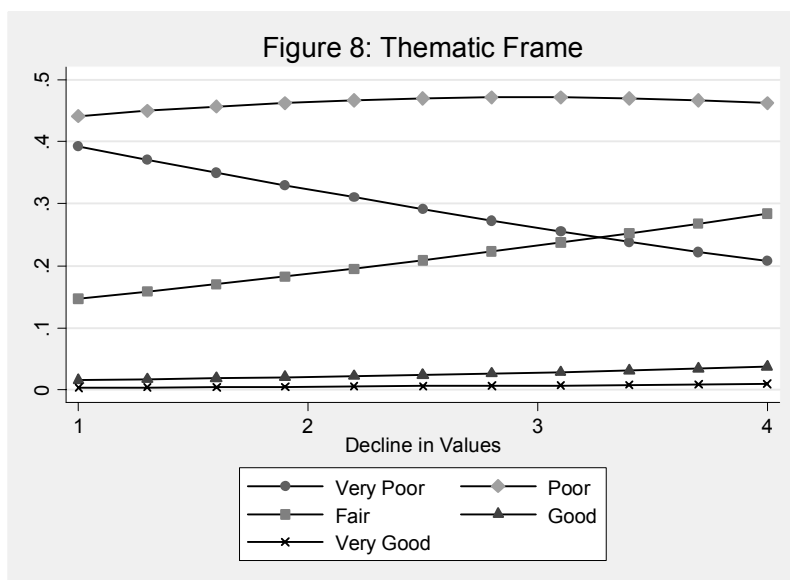


Figure 10: Mean Amount for Assistance (Dollars per Month)

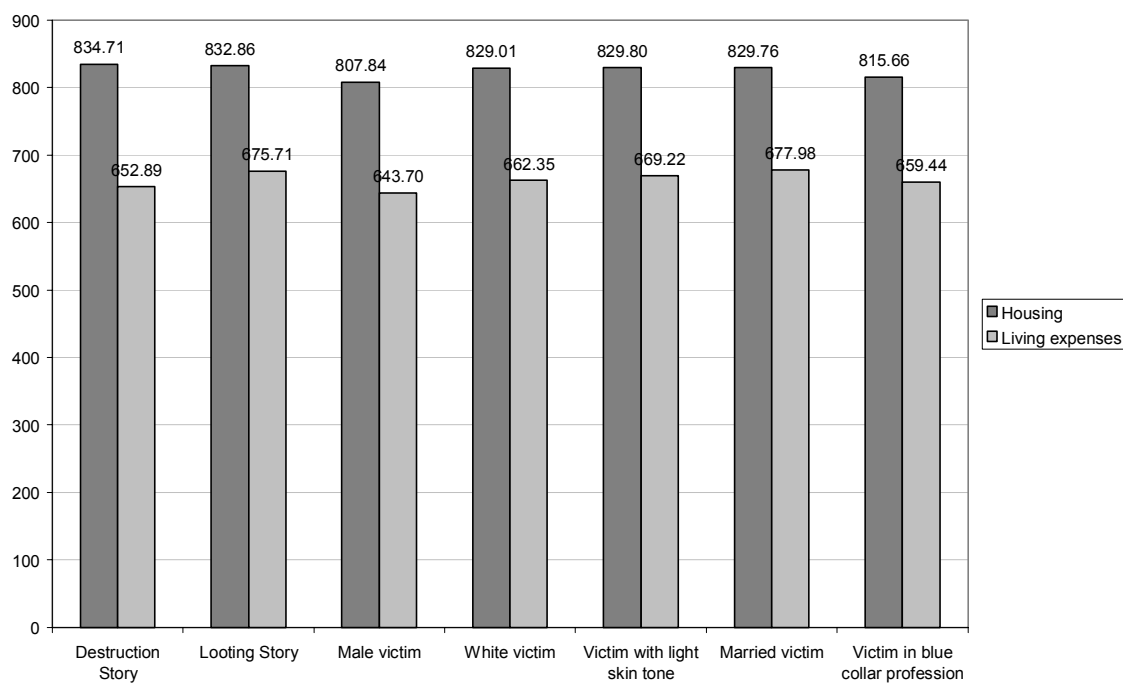
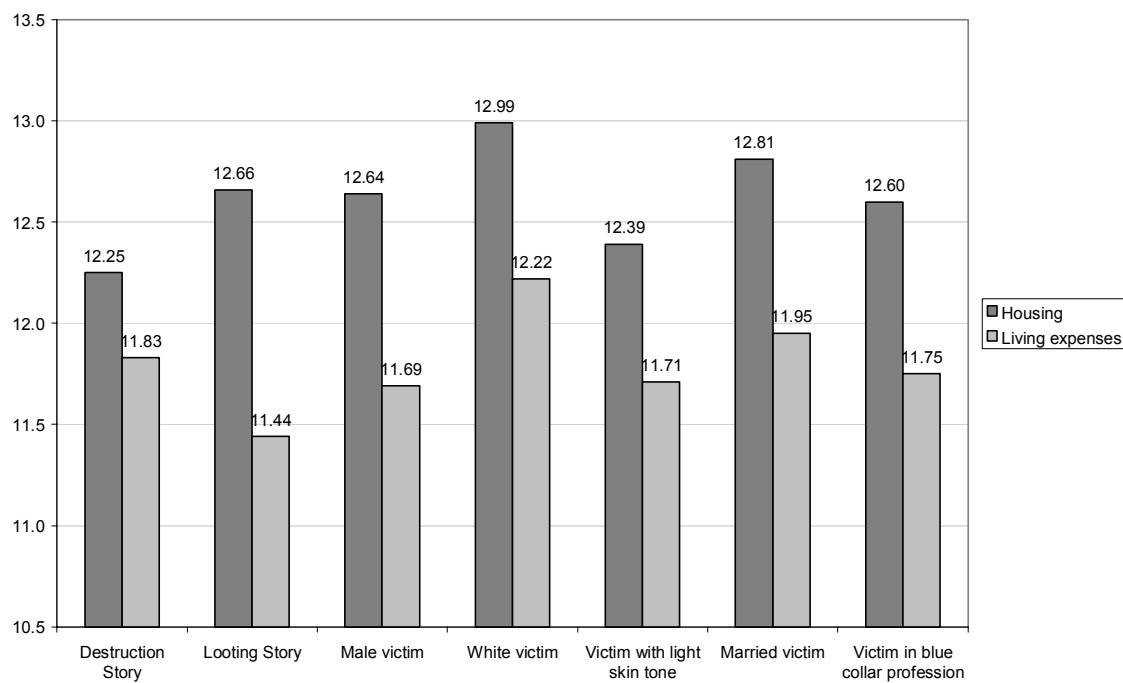
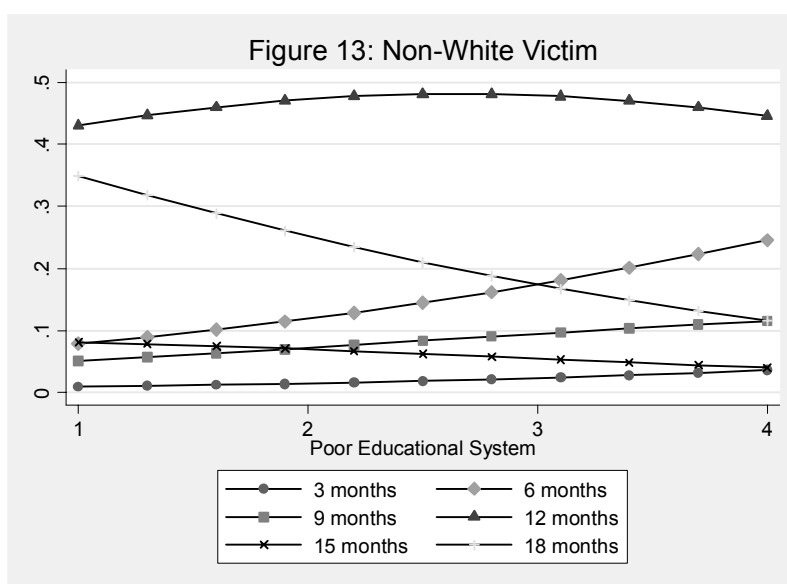
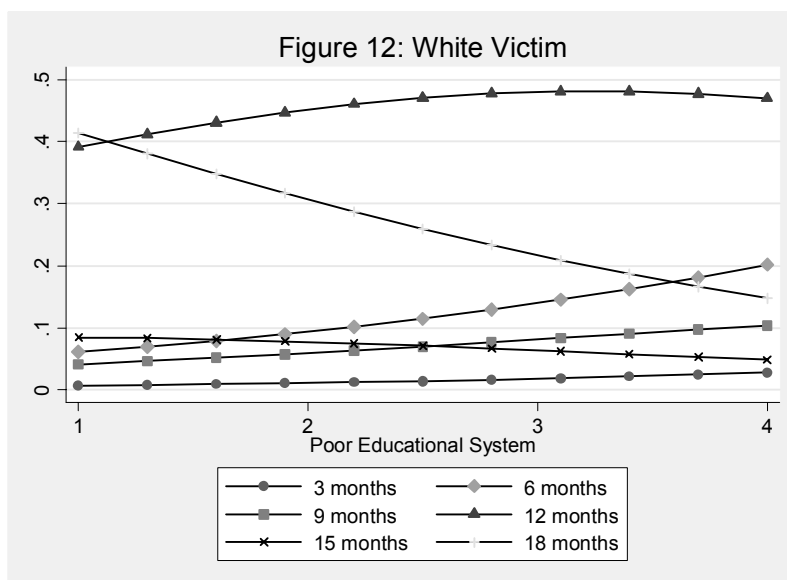


Figure 11: Mean Months for Assistance





Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications

The research reported here provides little evidence that differences exist in terms of perceptions on the causes of poverty or preferences for the federal government's role in assisting survivors of Hurricane Katrina based on the overall presentation of information following the disaster. In addition, the theoretical idea that the varied frames in the news stories will yield statistically significantly different opinions about the job performance of President Bush, Governor Blanco, or Mayor Nagin.

When comparing the groups exposed to thematic and episodic stories, differences emerge with respect to the importance of a poor work ethic, poor financial planning, low wages, and a poor education system in creating poverty. The two groups were equally likely to say that the poor will always exist. In addition, their beliefs about the relative importance of a lack of a decline in values were statistically indistinguishable. When asked the extent to which the federal government should support survivors of Hurricane Katrina, participants in each group responded relatively similar in terms of the desired amount for housing and living expenses. However, the groups differed with respect to the duration of this assistance. Finally, in terms of the evaluation of the three public figures under study here, the groups only differed in their approval of Governor Blanco's performance. The group exposed to a thematic story was slightly more likely to approve of Blanco's execution of her duties than the group who read the episodic story. However, the assessment of Bush and Nagin were indistinguishable between the groups.

The story does not get much better when the idea of blame attribution is considered. The importance of the causes of poverty does not vary consistently amongst the experimental groups; that is, no one experimental group differs from the others in the

same manner for each potential cause of poverty. In addition, the experimental groups as a whole influence the model in its entirety for one cause of poverty – the importance in the decline of values in creating poverty. Preferences for the amount and duration of federal assistance to survivors of the hurricane also do not consistently among the groups. While there is sporadic evidence that one experimental group differs significantly from the others, there is no apparent pattern in these differences. In addition, the differences amongst the groups as a whole do not significantly influence the results of the model. Finally, no differences exist between the groups in relation to the evaluation of the job approval of Bush, Blanco, and Nagin.

While these results are seemingly not encouraging, there is a ray of optimism with relation to the theoretical possibility that the effects of priming and framing interact to create a more nuanced effect of the media on opinion formation. The lack of control group in this study makes any conclusions about a causal relationship, particularly with relation to priming theory, tenuous at best. While I observed no real differences in the evaluation of public figures among the different groups, I cannot state that no priming effects occurred within this study. It is entirely plausible that both groups incorporated their judgments about the disaster into their evaluations of the troika of officials and that more substantial differences would have emerged with a control group for comparison.

In addition, this study was a difficult test for the hypothesis that the phenomena interact to form a more potent and insidious effect of exposure to the mass media. The participants are extremely unrepresentative of the population as a whole; they are generally white, educated, politically interested, and heavily Democratic. In addition, the experiment attempted to show evidence of media effects in the processing of information

following a highly publicized and criticized natural disaster; thus, one would expect opinions about Hurricane Katrina to be extremely salient and accessible. These results support the thread of literature that argues that high levels of information dampen the effects of both priming and framing (Krosnick and Kinder 1990; Kinder and Sanders 1990; Haider-Markel and Joslyn 2001).

The results presented here potentially take on two interpretations. On the one hand, it is surprising that I found no evidence of framing effects in a traditional framing study. A constant and growing literature has presented support for the argument that framing effects are almost universal. This phenomenon has been seen in participants of varying ages, both genders, different races, and differing ideologies and partisanship. Framing effects have been shown in traditional news media as well as nontraditional sources. That they are all but absent here can be interpreted as a major non-finding that runs contrary to the established wisdom of the discipline.

On the other hand, however, that any differences emerge whatsoever can be interpreted as evidence of the power of the theory behind framing and, to some extent, the hypothesis that framing and priming phenomena can interact with one another. Here we have a population that may be predisposed to think about social problems in terms of societal responsibility, to prefer high levels of federal government involvement in social issues, and to dislike the Republican President Bush. In addition, the issue presented in the experiment is one of very high salience. Wouldn't common sense – and to some degree, a normative belief in the power of human opinions – dictate that highly educated, politically interested people who watch the news almost nightly would not be altered by one news story of a decidedly politicized and significant event?

If this second interpretation is, indeed, correct, it provides a larger sense of optimism for the theoretical foundation of this research. If the small and sporadic results presented in this work are the best possible outcome for this particular test, it does not completely invalidate the idea that the same story, framed in differing manners, may produce distinctive priming effects. In other words, the reason for null results is not due to an inadequate or incorrect theoretical foundation but from the particular data involved in this test. Future research with different data may uncover stronger evidence of the interaction between these two phenomena.

If, indeed, future work provides evidence that differently framed stories can produce different priming effects, the implications for candidate choice and election returns cannot be overstated. Research into the overall presentation of information by the media, as well as intuitive knowledge, has shown that episodic frames dominate news coverage. Reporters are more likely to discuss an individual car bomb in Baghdad than the overall political instability in Iraq. If these episodic stories are not incorporated into the public's evaluation of the leading political figures, can these officials then escape public scrutiny? Does a focus on the smaller events, rather than the big picture, permit elected officials to avoid their philosophical duty to answer to the electorate, simply because the voters do not demand answers?

From an intuitive standpoint, candidates and campaign organizations are well aware of media effects. Barack Obama is attempting to place the war in Iraq high on the agenda for the 2008 Democratic presidential race because he knows his stance is most favorable to the party's base of supporters; having not supported the war from the beginning, he is perhaps a more credible foe than the candidates who voted to authorize

the use of troops in 2003. Meanwhile, John Edwards is attempting the place health care on the agenda to accomplish several feats. First, he reminds the country of Hillary Clinton's failed attempt at nationalized healthcare in 1994. In addition, he is trying to focus attention away from the war in Iraq, which he initially supported.

The 2004 election cycle saw the emergence of same sex marriage as a hot button issue. While it is questionable how the issue came onto the agenda, it is not debatable that both opponents and proponents of the issue were attempting to frame the debate. Both sides knew that the side who won the framing debate would be in a stronger position to win the policy debate. Opponents discussed the issue in terms of morality and traditional definitions of what it means to be married. Meanwhile, proponents of same sex marriage tried to frame the issue as one of equality and endeavored to continue the redefinition of family beyond the nuclear family. Proponents for gay marriage also contended that the sole reason the issue was on the agenda in the first place was to sway voters; in other words, opponents to gay marriage set the agenda and framed the issue in such a way as to prime voters to support candidates with conservative values. Whether this theory is, indeed, correct, is almost beside the point for the purposes of this research. That one side of the gay marriage debate was accusing the other of engaging in agenda setting, framing, and priming *simultaneously* is evidence that politicians understand that neither priming nor framing acts alone. Rather, they appreciate that the two psychological theories of opinion formation act in concert.

Ultimately, this is the direction that research into media priming and framing must advance. While preferences for public policy are undoubtedly important in a representative democracy, vote choice is a more basic and fundamental aspect of a

people-centered government. Not only will an understanding of candidates and organizations' use of the media advance the respective theories of media effects, it will also further the academy's knowledge of campaigns, vote choice, and election outcomes.

Appendix A: Summary Statistics

Table 10: Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std Dev.	Min	% at min	Max	% at max
Approval of George Bush	1.57	1.04	1	70%	5	3%
Approval of Kathleen Blanco	2.22	0.91	1	23%	5	1%
Approval of Ray Nagin	2.26	1.01	1	27%	5	2%
Thematic frame*	--	--	0	74%	1	26%
Destruction story*	--	--	0	88%	1	12%
Looting story*	--	--	0	86%	1	14%
Episodic story, male victim*	--	--	0	64%	1	36%
Episodic story, white victim*	--	--	0	67%	1	33%
Episodic story, victim with light skin tone*	--	--	0	63%	1	37%
Episodic story, married victim*	--	--	0	66%	1	34%
Episodic story, victim in blue-collar profession*	--	--	0	50%	1	50%
Poor will always exist	3.80	1.21	1	5%	5	34%
Poor work ethics	2.84	0.79	1	5%	4	19%
Poor financial planning	2.81	0.81	1	5%	4	20%
Decline in values	3.12	0.93	1	6%	4	43%
Low wages	3.30	0.75	1	2%	4	45%
Poor education system	3.35	0.83	1	5%	4	53%
Amount per month for housing	4.14	1.38	1	4%	6	20%
Number of months for housing	4.21	1.50	1	3%	6	31%
Amount per month for living expenses	3.33	1.48	1	11%	6	11%
Number of months for living expenses	3.94	1.54	1	5%	6	26%
Respondent is male*	--	--	0	42%	1	58%
Respondent is white*	--	--	0	14%	1	86%
Respondent is Democrat*	--	--	0	41%	1	59%
Respondent is Republican*	--	--	0	86%	1	14%
Respondent has no college education*	--	--	0	85%	1	15%
Respondent a college degree*	--	--	0	70%	1	30%
Respondent watches news daily*	--	--	0	55%	1	45%
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	2.83	1.27	1	17%	5	13%
Respondent is under age 40*	--	--	0	62%	1	38%
Respondent is age 40-60*	--	--	0	55%	1	45%

* Because the mean and standard deviations are somewhat meaningless for dichotomous variables, I have provided the percentage of the sample in each of the categories for these variables.

Appendix B: Results from Analysis with Indices

Table 11: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Importance of societal causes for poverty (n=988)		Importance of individual causes for poverty (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Thematic frame	-0.10	0.23*	0.29	0.02*
Respondent is male	-0.13	0.26	-0.15	0.19
Respondent is white	0.15	0.38	0.04	0.83
Respondent is Democrat	-0.33	0.01*	0.62	0.01*
Respondent is Republican	0.09	0.34*	-1.37	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	-0.48	0.01	0.05	0.80
Respondent has a college degree	-0.24	0.07	0.04	0.77
Respondent watches news daily	-0.05	0.68	-0.20	0.10
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.02	0.63	0.16	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	-0.11	0.55	0.22	0.23
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.12	0.47	0.14	0.39
τ_1	-5.33		-3.29	
τ_2	-4.01		-2.26	
τ_3	-3.03		-0.72	
τ_4	-1.61		0.41	
τ_5	0.06		1.90	
τ_6	1.61		3.07	
τ_7	3.15		--	
τ_8	4.13		--	
τ_9	5.05		--	
T_1	6.44		--	
Percent correctly predicted	38%		34%	
Proportional reduction in error	0%		3%	
Log-Likelihood	-1582.95		-1615.11	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	0.55	0.45	4.69	0.05

* One-tailed test

Table 12: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)		Number of months for housing (n=988)		Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)		Number of months for living expenses (n=988)	
	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z	β	p> z
Thematic frame	-0.02	0.45*	-0.27	0.03*	-0.08	0.27*	-0.27	0.03*
Importance of societal causes for poverty	-0.15	0.01	-0.16	0.01	-0.16	0.01	-0.14	0.01
Importance of individual causes for poverty	0.40	0.01	0.57	0.01	0.34	0.01	0.57	0.01
Respondent is male	0.16	0.17	0.26	0.04	0.13	0.26	0.25	0.04
Respondent is white	-0.70	0.01	-0.59	0.01	-0.66	0.01	-0.50	0.01
Respondent is Democrat	-0.27	0.03*	0.09	0.27*	-0.06	0.33*	0.12	0.20*
Respondent is Republican	-0.64	0.01*	-0.76	0.01*	-0.63	0.01*	-0.64	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	0.01	0.99	0.08	0.65	0.08	0.63	0.11	0.54
Respondent has a college degree	-0.17	0.20	-0.02	0.86	-0.10	0.45	-0.05	0.69
Respondent watches news daily	0.30	0.02	0.14	0.26	0.15	0.22	0.28	0.03
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.01	0.98	0.16	0.01	0.04	0.41	0.11	0.03
Respondent is under age 40	-0.33	0.06	-0.36	0.05	-0.53	0.01	-0.46	0.01
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.05	0.76	-0.04	0.82	-0.18	0.28	-0.07	0.68
τ_1	-3.07		-1.96		-2.26		-1.35	
τ_2	-1.69		0.20		-0.72		0.59	
τ_3	-0.35		0.68		0.42		1.21	
τ_4	0.73		2.63		1.41		3.02	
τ_5	1.92		2.95		2.30		3.32	
Percent correctly predicted	28%		45%		30%		42%	
Proportional reduction in error	6%		12%		6%		10%	
Log-Likelihood	-1570.42		-1328.62		-1640.58		-1412.50	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	0.02	0.90	3.98	0.05	0.37	0.54	3.98	0.05

* One-tailed test

Table 13: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Thematic frame	-0.22	0.12*	0.27	0.03*	0.22	0.05*
Importance of societal causes for poverty	0.14	0.02	0.07	0.16	0.02	0.67
Importance of individual causes for poverty	-0.50	0.01	0.19	0.01	0.19	0.01
Amount per month for housing	-0.15	0.07	-0.04	0.54	0.13	0.03
Number of months for housing	-0.20	0.04	0.10	0.18	0.23	0.01
Amount per month for living expenses	-0.11	0.14	0.09	0.14	-0.01	0.99
Number of months for living expenses	0.11	0.25	0.10	0.15	0.01	0.92
Respondent is male	-0.05	0.76	-0.36	0.01	-0.33	0.01
Respondent is white	0.11	0.63	0.53	0.01	-0.10	0.56
Respondent is Democrat	-0.77	0.01*	0.31	0.02*	0.22	0.06*
Respondent is Republican	1.90	0.01*	-0.21	0.17*	-0.54	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	0.04	0.87	-0.06	0.73	-0.09	0.63
Respondent has a college degree	0.17	0.32	-0.08	0.55	0.01	0.96
Respondent watches news daily	0.25	0.13	0.01	0.93	-0.14	0.26
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.26	0.01	0.25	0.01	0.23	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	0.01	0.99	-0.12	0.54	0.08	0.70
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.17	0.46	-0.07	0.70	0.03	0.86
τ_1	-3.00		2.22		2.15	
τ_2	-1.61		4.22		3.75	
τ_3	-0.40		6.51		5.66	
τ_4	1.09		8.15		7.58	
Percent correctly predicted	73%		45%		43%	
Proportional reduction in error	9%		9%		17%	
Log-likelihood	-729.27		-1175.34		-1247.94	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=1)	1.41	0.23	3.81	0.05	2.73	0.10

* One-tailed test

Table 14: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Importance of societal causes in creating poverty (n=988)		Importance of individual causes in creating poverty (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame	-0.02	0.46*	0.09	0.33*
Male victim	-0.08	0.27*	-0.21	0.06*
White victim	-0.06	0.33*	0.15	0.13*
Victim with light skin tone	-0.10	0.23*	-0.17	0.09*
Married victim	0.01	0.49*	0.03	0.41*
Victim in blue-collar job	0.01	0.48*	-0.10	0.23*
Respondent is male	-0.15	0.22	-0.16	0.18
Respondent is white	0.15	0.36	0.03	0.84
Respondent is Democrat	-0.35	0.01*	0.62	0.01*
Respondent is Republican	0.08	0.34*	-1.39	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	-0.47	0.01	0.06	0.73
Respondent has a college degree	-0.25	0.06	0.05	0.71
Respondent watches news daily	-0.05	0.66	-0.21	0.08
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.02	0.64	0.16	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	-0.12	0.53	0.24	0.19
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.14	0.41	0.18	0.30
τ_1	-5.42		-3.50	
τ_2	-4.14		-2.46	
τ_3	-3.12		-0.92	
τ_4	-1.69		0.21	
τ_5	-0.02		1.71	
τ_6	1.53		2.88	
τ_7	3.07		--	
τ_8	4.05		--	
τ_9	4.97		--	
τ_{10}	6.36		--	
Percent correctly predicted	39%		34%	
Proportional reduction in error	1%		4%	
Log-Likelihood	-1582.37		-1613.06	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	1.73	0.94	8.77	0.19

* One-tailed test

Table 15: Ordered Logit for Causes of Poverty

	Importance of societal causes for poverty (n=988)		Importance of individual causes for poverty (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame – male victim	0.06	0.78	0.29	0.18
Looting frame – white victim	0.04	0.43*	-0.06	0.39*
Looting frame – married victim	-0.02	0.46*	0.06	0.40*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	-0.03	0.89	0.18	0.37
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	0.08	0.37*	0.26	0.11*
Male victim – white victim	-0.02	0.46*	-0.36	0.04*
Male victim – married victim	-0.09	0.33*	-0.24	0.11*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.09	0.66	-0.12	0.58
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	0.01	0.47*	-0.03	0.43*
White victim – married victim	-0.06	0.74	0.12	0.54
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.07	0.37*	0.25	0.10*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	0.04	0.86	0.32	0.10
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.01	0.50*	0.13	0.26*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	0.10	0.61	0.20	0.28
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	0.10	0.31*	0.08	0.35*

* One-tailed test

Table 16: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)		Number of months for housing (n=988)		Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)		Number of months for living expenses (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame	-0.07	0.36*	0.17	0.29*	0.01	0.48*	-0.22	0.14*
Male victim	-0.15	0.13*	0.11	0.21*	-0.19	0.07*	-0.04	0.38*
White victim	0.01	0.46*	0.22	0.05*	-0.05	0.34*	0.21	0.06*
Victim with light skin tone	0.01	0.46*	0.02	0.45*	0.08	0.26*	0.08	0.27*
Married victim	0.09	0.24*	0.17	0.11*	0.25	0.03*	0.13	0.16*
Victim in blue-collar job	-0.11	0.20*	-0.03	0.43*	-0.07	0.28*	-0.14	0.15*
Importance of societal causes for poverty	-0.15	0.01	-0.15	0.01	-0.16	0.01	0.14	0.01
Importance of individual causes for poverty	0.40	0.01	0.56	0.01	0.34	0.01	0.56	0.01
Respondent is male	0.15	0.20	0.25	0.05	0.13	0.27	0.24	0.05
Respondent is white	-0.71	0.01	-0.62	0.01	-0.68	0.01	-0.55	0.01
Respondent is Democrat	-0.28	0.03*	0.08	0.29*	-0.08	0.28*	0.12	0.20*
Respondent is Republican	-0.64	0.01*	-0.80	0.01*	-0.63	0.01*	-0.63	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	-0.01	0.97	0.05	0.78	0.08	0.65	0.07	0.71
Respondent has a college degree	0.17	0.21	-0.04	0.77	-0.10	0.45	-0.05	0.70
Respondent watches news daily	0.30	0.02	0.14	0.29	0.14	0.24	0.28	0.03
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.01	0.94	0.16	0.01	0.04	0.41	0.10	0.04
Respondent is under age 40	-0.34	0.06	-0.39	0.04	-0.55	0.01	-0.48	0.01
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.04	0.80	-0.07	0.67	-0.17	0.30	-0.06	0.71

(continued)

Table 16: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance (*continued*)

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)	Number of months for housing (n=988)	Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)	Number of months for living expenses (n=988)
	β	β	β	β
	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $	$p > z $
τ_1	-3.21	-1.80	-2.33	-1.32
τ_2	-1.82	0.37	-0.78	0.62
τ_3	-0.48	0.85	0.37	1.24
τ_4	0.59	2.80	1.36	3.06
τ_5	1.79	3.13	2.26	3.36
Percent correctly predicted	30%	44%	30%	43%
Proportional reduction in error	8%	12%	6%	11%
Log-Likelihood	-1569.09	-1327.35	-1637.62	-1410.73
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	2.68	0.85	6.30	7.52
		0.37	0.39	0.28

* One-tailed test

Table 17: Ordered Logit for Federal Assistance

	Amount per month for housing (n=988)		Number of months for housing (n=988)		Amount per month for living expenses (n=988)		Number of months for living expenses (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame – male victim	0.08	0.37*	0.06	0.39*	0.20	0.18*	-0.17	0.22*
Looting frame – white victim	-0.09	0.35*	-0.05	0.44*	0.07	0.38*	-0.43	0.03*
Looting frame – married victim	-0.17	0.22*	0.01	0.48*	-0.24	0.14*	-0.35	0.06*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	0.04	0.85	0.20	0.35	0.09	0.67	-0.07	0.73
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	-0.09	0.34*	0.16	0.25*	-0.07	0.37*	-0.29	0.09*
Male victim – white victim	-0.16	0.20*	-0.11	0.29*	-0.14	0.24*	-0.25	0.11*
Male victim – married victim	-0.24	0.11*	-0.05	0.40*	-0.45	0.01*	-0.17	0.20*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.04	0.85	0.14	0.51	0.12	0.56	0.10	0.62
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.16	0.20*	0.09	0.32*	-0.27	0.08*	-0.12	0.27*
White victim – married victim	-0.08	0.68	0.06	0.77	-0.30	0.12	0.08	0.68
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.13	0.26*	0.25	0.11*	0.02	0.46*	0.36	0.04*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	0.01	0.99	0.21	0.31	-0.14	0.48	0.13	0.50
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.20	0.15*	0.19	0.18*	0.32	0.05*	0.28	0.09*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	0.08	0.68	0.15	0.45	0.17	0.38	0.05	0.78
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	-0.13	0.26*	-0.04	0.42*	-0.16	0.21*	-0.22	0.14*

* One-tailed test

Table 18: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	B	$p> z $
Looting frame	-0.27	0.16*	0.05	0.41*	0.03	0.45*
Male victim	0.18	0.16*	-0.22	0.06*	-0.11	0.42*
White victim	0.06	0.36*	-0.22	0.05*	-0.18	0.10*
Victim with light skin tone	-0.04	0.41*	-0.05	0.36*	-0.04	0.39*
Married victim	-0.25	0.07*	0.06	0.32*	0.13	0.17*
Victim in blue-collar job	-0.06	0.26*	0.01	0.48*	-0.15	0.14*
Importance of societal causes for poverty	0.14	0.01	0.06	0.21	0.02	0.75
Importance of individual causes for poverty	-0.50	0.01	0.19	0.01	0.20	0.01
Amount per month for housing	-0.15	0.06	-0.04	0.57	0.13	0.03
Number of months for housing	-0.19	0.05	0.10	0.17	0.23	0.01
Amount per month for living expenses	-0.11	0.18	0.08	0.20	-0.01	0.88
Number of months for living expenses	0.11	0.28	0.11	0.14	0.01	0.90
Respondent is male	-0.07	0.67	-0.35	0.01	-0.33	0.01
Respondent is white	0.12	0.63	0.54	0.01	-0.11	0.53
Respondent is Democrat	-0.77	0.01*	0.29	0.03*	0.21	0.08*
Respondent is Republican	1.91	0.01*	-0.19	0.19*	-0.52	0.01*
Respondent has no college education	0.03	0.90	-0.02	0.90	-0.06	0.72
Respondent has a college degree	0.17	0.33	-0.08	0.57	0.01	0.98
Respondent watches news daily	0.25	0.13	0.01	0.94	-0.15	0.25
Level of substantial coverage of Katrina	-0.26	0.01	0.25	0.01	0.23	0.01
Respondent is under age 40	0.02	0.94	-0.12	0.55	0.05	0.79
Respondent is age 40-60	-0.18	0.45	-0.06	0.74	0.03	0.87
τ_1	-3.00		1.99		1.90	
τ_2	-1.59		4.00		3.50	
τ_3	-0.36		6.29		5.41	
τ_4	1.12		7.93		7.33	
Percent correctly predicted	73%		47%		44%	
Proportional reduction in error	10%		11%		18%	
Log-likelihood	-727.93		-1173.27		-1246.21	
Likelihood ratio statistic (df=6)	4.08	0.67	7.95	0.24	6.19	0.40

* One-tailed test

Table 19: Ordered Logit for Approval of Public Figures

	Approval of George Bush (n=988)		Approval of Kathleen Blanco (n=988)		Approval of Ray Nagin (n=988)	
	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $	β	$p> z $
Looting frame – male victim	-0.45	0.14	0.26	0.25	0.14	0.55
Looting frame – white victim	-0.33	0.14*	0.27	0.12*	0.20	0.19*
Looting frame – married victim	-0.01	0.48*	-0.02	0.47*	-0.10	0.33*
Looting frame – victim in blue-collar job	-0.20	0.48	0.04	0.86	0.17	0.41
Looting frame - victim with light skin tone	-0.22	0.23*	0.10	0.34*	0.07	0.39*
Male victim – white victim	0.12	0.33*	0.01	0.49*	0.07	0.37*
Male victim – married victim	0.44	0.05*	-0.28	0.09*	-0.24	0.12*
Male victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.25	0.38	-0.23	0.28	0.04	0.85
Male victim – victim with light skin tone	0.22	0.19*	-0.17	0.20*	-0.07	0.37*
White victim – married victim	0.32	0.22	-0.29	0.16	-0.31	0.13
White victim – victim in blue-collar job	0.13	0.31*	-0.23	0.12*	-0.03	0.44*
White victim – victim with light skin tone	0.11	0.68	-0.17	0.39	-0.14	0.49
Married victim – victim in blue-collar job	-0.19	0.24*	0.06	0.40*	0.28	0.09*
Married victim – victim with light skin tone	-0.21	0.41	0.11	0.56	0.17	0.40
Victim in blue-collar job – victim with light skin tone	-0.02	0.47*	0.06	0.39*	-0.11	0.30*

* One-tailed test

Appendix C: Correlation Matrices

Thematic versus Episodic Frames

	male	white	democrat	republ~n	thematic	nocoll~e	college	age4060	under40	always~r	noeffort
male	1.0000										
white	-0.0120	1.0000									
democrat	-0.1804	-0.0360	1.0000								
republican	0.1272	0.0589	-0.4896	1.0000							
thematic	0.0450	0.0133	0.0487	-0.0096	1.0000						
nocollege	-0.0162	-0.0107	-0.0097	-0.0402	0.0163	1.0000					
college	-0.0014	0.0053	-0.0599	0.0379	0.0318	-0.2667	1.0000				
age4060	-0.0388	0.0354	-0.0269	-0.0026	0.0457	0.0276	-0.0579	1.0000			
under40	0.0357	-0.1252	0.0418	0.0029	0.0032	-0.0834	0.1373	-0.7125	1.0000		
alwayspoor	-0.1788	-0.0648	0.3213	-0.4134	0.0401	0.0042	-0.0490	0.0361	-0.0339	1.0000	
noeffort	-0.0835	-0.0074	0.2948	-0.3606	0.0753	0.0063	-0.0253	-0.0454	0.0721	0.4489	1.0000
nothrift	-0.1179	-0.0074	0.2556	-0.2762	0.0596	-0.0045	0.0336	0.0453	-0.0287	0.3847	0.5832
novalues	-0.0725	0.0554	0.2801	-0.3315	0.0108	-0.0332	-0.0084	-0.0559	0.0942	0.3716	0.4864
lowwages	0.1646	0.0388	-0.3373	0.3737	-0.0622	-0.0567	-0.0015	-0.0623	0.0497	-0.4474	-0.3935
noeduc	0.0812	0.1123	-0.3218	0.3684	-0.0592	-0.0562	0.0007	0.0270	-0.0553	-0.4528	-0.4120
housef	0.0020	-0.1280	0.0950	-0.2000	0.0117	0.0353	-0.0492	0.0408	-0.0684	0.3299	0.2853
housem	-0.0177	-0.0906	0.2114	-0.2985	-0.0250	0.0362	-0.0245	0.0418	-0.0731	0.4077	0.4108
assistf	-0.0036	-0.1158	0.1110	-0.1898	-0.0038	0.0495	-0.0441	0.0525	-0.0943	0.2810	0.2499
assism	-0.0238	-0.0818	0.2067	-0.2798	-0.0280	0.0539	-0.0387	0.0521	-0.1022	0.3781	0.4001
dvbush	0.0952	0.0466	-0.4325	0.5995	-0.0408	-0.0077	0.0357	-0.0025	-0.0058	-0.4978	-0.4801
dvblanco	-0.1370	0.0856	0.1952	-0.2051	0.0579	0.0108	-0.0377	0.0302	-0.0752	0.2703	0.2504
dvnagin	-0.1206	-0.0314	0.1992	-0.2426	0.0437	0.0103	-0.0161	0.0168	-0.0225	0.3552	0.2892
daily	-0.0764	-0.0320	0.0055	0.0486	-0.0120	0.1070	0.0062	0.0566	-0.2172	0.0164	-0.0730
presscov	-0.1149	0.0656	0.2142	-0.2330	-0.0134	0.0450	-0.0331	0.0203	-0.1420	0.2023	0.1454

Blame Attribution in Frames

	male	white	democrat	republ~n	looting	malevic	whitevic	married	bluevic	light	nocoll~e
male	1.0000										
white	-0.0120	1.0000									
democrat	-0.1804	-0.0360	1.0000								
republican	0.1272	0.0589	-0.4896	1.0000							
looting	0.0257	-0.0213	0.0091	0.0456	1.0000						
malevic	-0.0239	0.0002	-0.0723	0.0555	-0.3056	1.0000					
whitevic	0.0236	0.0564	-0.0446	0.0419	-0.2838	0.2286	1.0000				
married	-0.0195	0.0180	0.0074	0.0066	-0.2917	0.2383	0.2039	1.0000			
bluevic	0.0049	-0.0196	-0.0243	0.0259	-0.4096	0.3247	0.2186	0.2634	1.0000		
light	-0.0172	0.0351	-0.0231	-0.0224	-0.3097	0.2134	0.2324	0.1930	0.2773	1.0000	
nocollege	-0.0162	-0.0107	-0.0097	-0.0402	-0.0093	0.0162	0.0703	-0.0079	-0.0495	0.0588	1.0000
college	-0.0014	0.0053	-0.0599	0.0379	0.0212	0.0312	-0.0538	0.0281	-0.0097	-0.0781	-0.2667
age4060	-0.0388	0.0354	-0.0269	-0.0026	0.0913	0.0401	-0.0285	-0.0430	0.0028	-0.0221	0.0276
under40	0.0357	-0.1252	0.0418	0.0029	-0.0495	-0.0124	-0.0280	0.0710	-0.0230	-0.0136	-0.0834
daily	-0.0764	-0.0320	0.0055	0.0486	0.0022	0.0159	-0.0011	0.0099	-0.0054	-0.0167	0.1070
presscov	-0.1149	0.0656	0.2142	-0.2330	-0.0427	-0.0656	0.0411	-0.0150	-0.0237	0.0226	0.0450
alwayspoor	-0.1788	-0.0648	0.3213	-0.4134	0.0226	-0.0776	-0.0497	0.0207	-0.0585	0.0068	0.0042
noeffort	-0.0835	-0.0074	0.2948	-0.3606	0.0273	-0.0937	-0.0170	-0.0416	-0.0886	-0.0453	0.0063
nothrift	-0.1179	-0.0074	0.2556	-0.2762	0.0298	-0.0590	0.0026	0.0085	-0.0454	-0.0430	-0.0045
novalues	-0.0725	0.0554	0.2801	-0.3315	-0.0108	-0.0885	0.0046	0.0335	0.0208	-0.0263	-0.0332
lowwages	0.1646	0.0388	-0.3373	0.3737	-0.0168	0.0428	0.0155	-0.0057	0.0437	-0.0195	-0.0567
noeduc	0.0812	0.1123	-0.3218	0.3684	0.0041	0.0570	0.0151	-0.0335	0.0536	-0.0292	-0.0562
housef	0.0020	-0.1280	0.0950	-0.2000	0.0066	-0.0559	0.0017	0.0037	-0.0463	-0.0098	0.0353
housem	-0.0177	-0.0906	0.2114	-0.2985	0.0005	-0.0034	0.0515	0.0245	-0.0127	0.0074	0.0362
assistsf	-0.0036	-0.1158	0.1110	-0.1898	0.0120	-0.0592	-0.0110	0.0266	-0.0258	0.0105	0.0495
assistsm	-0.0238	-0.0818	0.2067	-0.2798	-0.0346	-0.0239	0.0584	0.0172	-0.0194	0.0189	0.0539
dvbush	0.0952	0.0466	-0.4325	0.5995	-0.0129	0.0769	0.0180	-0.0208	0.0462	0.0010	-0.0077
dvblanco	-0.1370	0.0856	0.1952	-0.2051	0.0218	-0.0824	-0.0526	-0.0113	-0.0355	-0.0297	0.0108
dvnnagin	-0.1206	-0.0314	0.1992	-0.2426	0.0290	-0.0663	-0.0430	0.0096	-0.0639	-0.0321	0.0103

	college	age4060	under40	daily	presscov	always-r	noeffort	nothrift	novalues	lowwages	noeduc
college	1.0000										
age4060	-0.0579	1.0000									
under40	0.1373	-0.7125	1.0000								
daily	0.0062	0.0566	-0.2172	1.0000							
presscov	-0.0331	0.0203	-0.1420	0.1269	1.0000						
alwayspoor	-0.0490	0.0361	-0.0339	0.0164	0.2023	1.0000					
noeffort	-0.0253	-0.0454	0.0721	-0.0730	0.1454	0.4489	1.0000				
nothrift	0.0336	0.0453	-0.0287	-0.0212	0.1935	0.3847	0.5832	1.0000			
novalues	-0.0084	-0.0559	0.0942	-0.0783	0.1540	0.3716	0.4864	0.4156	1.0000		
lowwages	-0.0015	-0.0623	0.0497	-0.0552	-0.1792	-0.4474	-0.3935	-0.2937	-0.2714	1.0000	
noeduc	0.0007	0.0270	-0.0553	-0.0278	-0.1758	-0.4528	-0.4120	-0.2738	-0.3196	0.4932	1.0000
housef	-0.0492	0.0408	-0.0684	0.0727	0.0906	0.3299	0.2853	0.2525	0.1856	-0.3345	-0.3489
housem	-0.0245	0.0418	-0.0731	0.0412	0.2093	0.4077	0.4108	0.3597	0.3049	-0.3898	-0.4230
assistf	-0.0441	0.0525	-0.0943	0.0639	0.1060	0.2810	0.2499	0.2337	0.1912	-0.3092	-0.2946
assistm	-0.0387	0.0521	-0.1022	0.0760	0.1773	0.3781	0.4001	0.3553	0.2728	-0.3796	-0.3742
dvbush	0.0357	-0.0025	-0.0058	0.0559	-0.2932	-0.4978	-0.4801	-0.3959	-0.4548	0.4944	0.5131
dvblanco	-0.0377	0.0302	-0.0752	0.0426	0.2397	0.2703	0.2504	0.2294	0.2543	-0.2342	-0.1506
dvnagin	-0.0161	0.0168	-0.0225	-0.0083	0.2155	0.3552	0.2892	0.2253	0.2685	-0.3424	-0.2490
	housef	housem	assistf	assistm	dvbush	dvblanco	dvnagin				
housef	1.0000										
housem	0.4427	1.0000									
assistf	0.6979	0.4510	1.0000								
assistm	0.4583	0.8401	0.4963	1.0000							
dvbush	-0.2988	-0.3846	-0.2730	-0.3430	1.0000						
dvblanco	0.1276	0.2520	0.1645	0.2553	-0.1718	1.0000					
dvnagin	0.2241	0.3052	0.2047	0.2750	-0.2713	0.6191	1.0000				

Thematic versus Episodic Frames – Analysis with Indices

	male	white	democrat	republ~n	thematic	nocoll~e	college	age4060	under40	indivi~1	society
male	1.0000										
white	-0.0120	1.0000									
democrat	-0.1804	-0.0360	1.0000								
republican	0.1272	0.0589	-0.4896	1.0000							
thematic	0.0450	0.0133	0.0487	-0.0096	1.0000						
nocollege	-0.0162	-0.0107	-0.0097	-0.0402	0.0163	1.0000					
college	-0.0014	0.0053	-0.0599	0.0379	0.0318	-0.2667	1.0000				
age4060	-0.0388	0.0354	-0.0269	-0.0026	0.0457	0.0276	-0.0579	1.0000			
under40	0.0357	-0.1252	0.0418	0.0029	0.0032	-0.0834	0.1373	-0.7125	1.0000		
individual	-0.1135	-0.0083	0.3089	-0.3570	0.0756	0.0009	0.0052	0.0009	0.0233	1.0000	
society	-0.0189	0.0351	-0.1058	0.0704	-0.0376	-0.0665	-0.0470	0.0150	-0.0389	-0.0357	1.0000
housef	0.0020	-0.1280	0.0950	-0.2000	0.0117	0.0353	-0.0492	0.0408	-0.0684	0.3019	-0.1136
housem	-0.0177	-0.0906	0.2114	-0.2985	-0.0250	0.0362	-0.0245	0.0418	-0.0731	0.4324	-0.1212
assistsf	-0.0036	-0.1158	0.1110	-0.1898	-0.0038	0.0495	-0.0441	0.0525	-0.0943	0.2716	-0.1096
assistsm	-0.0238	-0.0818	0.2067	-0.2798	-0.0280	0.0539	-0.0387	0.0521	-0.1022	0.4240	-0.1112
dvbush	0.0952	0.0466	-0.4325	0.5995	-0.0408	-0.0077	0.0357	-0.0025	-0.0058	-0.4914	0.1567
dvblanco	-0.1370	0.0856	0.1952	-0.2051	0.0579	0.0108	-0.0377	0.0302	-0.0752	0.2694	0.0192
dvnagin	-0.1206	-0.0314	0.1992	-0.2426	0.0437	0.0103	-0.0161	0.0168	-0.0225	0.2885	-0.0288
daily	-0.0764	-0.0320	0.0055	0.0486	-0.0120	0.1070	0.0062	0.0566	-0.2172	-0.0524	-0.0354
presscov	-0.1149	0.0656	0.2142	-0.2330	-0.0134	0.0450	-0.0331	0.0203	-0.1420	0.1909	-0.0293
	housef	housem	assistsf	assistsm	dvbush	dvblanco	dvnagin	daily	presscov		
housef	1.0000										
housem	0.4427	1.0000									
assistsf	0.6979	0.4510	1.0000								
assistsm	0.4583	0.8401	0.4963	1.0000							
dvbush	-0.2988	-0.3846	-0.2730	-0.3430	1.0000						
dvblanco	0.1276	0.2520	0.1645	0.2553	-0.1718	1.0000					
dvnagin	0.2241	0.3052	0.2047	0.2750	-0.2713	0.6191	1.0000				
daily	0.0727	0.0412	0.0639	0.0760	0.0559	0.0426	-0.0083	1.0000			
presscov	0.0906	0.2093	0.1060	0.1773	-0.2932	0.2397	0.2155	0.1269	1.0000		

Blame Attribution in Frames – Analysis with Indices

	male	white	democrat	republ~n	looting	malevic	whitevic	married	bluevic	light	nocoll~e
male	1.0000										
white	-0.0120	1.0000									
democrat	-0.1804	-0.0360	1.0000								
republcan	0.1272	0.0589	-0.4896	1.0000							
looting	0.0257	-0.0213	0.0091	0.0456	1.0000						
malevic	-0.0239	0.0002	-0.0723	0.0555	-0.3056	1.0000					
whitevic	0.0236	0.0564	-0.0446	0.0419	-0.2838	0.2286	1.0000				
married	-0.0195	0.0180	0.0074	0.0066	-0.2917	0.2383	0.2039	1.0000			
bluevic	0.0049	-0.0196	-0.0243	0.0259	-0.4096	0.3247	0.2186	0.2634	1.0000		
light	-0.0172	0.0351	-0.0231	-0.0224	-0.3097	0.2134	0.2324	0.1930	0.2773	1.0000	
nocollege	-0.0162	-0.0107	-0.0097	-0.0402	-0.0093	0.0162	0.0703	-0.0079	-0.0495	0.0588	1.0000
college	-0.0014	0.0053	-0.0599	0.0379	0.0212	0.0312	-0.0538	0.0281	-0.0097	-0.0781	-0.2667
age4060	-0.0388	0.0354	-0.0269	-0.0026	0.0913	0.0401	-0.0285	-0.0430	0.0028	-0.0221	0.0276
under40	0.0357	-0.1252	0.0418	0.0029	-0.0495	-0.0124	-0.0280	0.0710	-0.0230	-0.0136	-0.0834
daily	-0.0764	-0.0320	0.0055	0.0486	0.0022	0.0159	-0.0011	0.0099	-0.0054	-0.0167	0.1070
presscov	-0.1149	0.0656	0.2142	-0.2330	-0.0427	-0.0656	0.0411	-0.0150	-0.0237	0.0226	0.0450
society	-0.0189	0.0351	-0.1058	0.0704	0.0142	-0.0111	-0.0282	-0.0057	0.0054	-0.0242	-0.0665
individual	-0.1135	-0.0083	0.3089	-0.3570	0.0321	-0.0854	-0.0079	-0.0180	-0.0748	-0.0496	0.0009
housef	0.0020	-0.1280	0.0950	-0.2000	0.0066	-0.0559	0.0017	0.0037	-0.0463	-0.0098	0.0353
housem	-0.0177	-0.0906	0.2114	-0.2985	0.0005	-0.0034	0.0515	0.0245	-0.0127	0.0074	0.0362
assistentf	-0.0036	-0.1158	0.1110	-0.1898	0.0120	-0.0592	-0.0110	0.0266	-0.0258	0.0105	0.0495
assistentm	-0.0238	-0.0818	0.2067	-0.2798	-0.0346	-0.0239	0.0584	0.0172	-0.0194	0.0189	0.0539
dvbush	0.0952	0.0466	-0.4325	0.5995	-0.0129	0.0769	0.0180	-0.0208	0.0462	0.0010	-0.0077
dvblanco	-0.1370	0.0856	0.1952	-0.2051	0.0218	-0.0824	-0.0526	-0.0113	-0.0355	-0.0297	0.0108
dvnagin	-0.1206	-0.0314	0.1992	-0.2426	0.0290	-0.0663	-0.0430	0.0096	-0.0639	-0.0321	0.0103

	college	age4060	under40	daily	presscov	society	indivi~1	housef	housem	assistf	assistm
college	1.0000										
age4060	-0.0579	1.0000									
under40	0.1373	-0.7125	1.0000								
daily	0.0062	0.0566	-0.2172	1.0000							
presscov	-0.0331	0.0203	-0.1420	0.1269	1.0000						
society	-0.0470	0.0150	-0.0389	-0.0354	-0.0293	1.0000					
individual	0.0052	0.0009	0.0233	-0.0524	0.1909	-0.0357	1.0000				
housef	-0.0492	0.0408	-0.0684	0.0727	0.0906	-0.1136	0.3019	1.0000			
housem	-0.0245	0.0418	-0.0731	0.0412	0.2093	-0.1212	0.4324	0.4427	1.0000		
assistf	-0.0441	0.0525	-0.0943	0.0639	0.1060	-0.1096	0.2716	0.6979	0.4510	1.0000	
assistm	-0.0387	0.0521	-0.1022	0.0760	0.1773	-0.1112	0.4240	0.4583	0.8401	0.4963	1.0000
dvbush	0.0357	-0.0025	-0.0058	0.0559	-0.2932	0.1567	-0.4914	-0.2988	-0.3846	-0.2730	-0.3430
dvblanco	-0.0377	0.0302	-0.0752	0.0426	0.2397	0.0192	0.2694	0.1276	0.2520	0.1645	0.2553
dvnagin	-0.0161	0.0168	-0.0225	-0.0083	0.2155	-0.0288	0.2885	0.2241	0.3052	0.2047	0.2750

	dvbush	dvblanco	dvnagin								
dvbush	1.0000										
dvblanco	-0.1718	1.0000									
dvnagin	-0.2713	0.6191	1.0000								

Appendix C: Question Wording

How would you rate the job that PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH has done in dealing with the Hurricane Katrina crisis?

- 1: Very Poor
- 2: Poor
- 3: Fair
- 4: Good
- 5: Very Good
- 80:Can't Say [coded to missing]**

How about the job that GOVERNOR KATHLEEN BLANCO has done in dealing with the crisis?

- 1: Very Poor
- 2: Poor
- 3: Fair
- 4: Good
- 5: Very Good
- 80:Can't Say [coded to missing]**

And what about NEW ORLEANS MAYOR RAY NAGIN? How would you rate his performance in dealing with the Katrina crisis?

- 1: Very Poor
- 2: Poor
- 3: Fair
- 4: Good
- 5: Very Good
- 80:Can't Say [coded to missing]**

Katrina story shown (random)

- 1: Personal Story
- 2: Looting
- 3: Destruction

For thematic versus episodic comparison, coded into thematic (categories 2 and 3) and episodic (category 1)

Original ethnicity of photo (random)

- 1-4: white
- 5-8: non-white
- 9: Indian
- 80: not applicable (story > 1)

Coded into story with white victim (categories 1-4) and story without white victim (categories 5-9 and 80)

Gender of photo/person in story (random)

- 1: male
- 2: female
- 80: not applicable (story > 1)

Coded into story with male victim (category 1) and story without male victim (categories 2 and 80)

Shade of photo (random)

- 1: Light
- 2: Dark
- 80: not applicable (story > 1)

Coded into story with victim with light skin tone (category 1) and story without victim with light skin tone (categories 2 and 80)

Married status in story (random)

- 1: unmarried
- 2: married
- 80: not applicable (story > 1)

Coded into story with married victim (category 2) and story without married victim (categories 1 and 80)

Occupation in story (random)

- 1: school custodian
- 2: factory worker
- 3: real estate agent
- 80: not applicable (story > 1)

Coded into story with victim with traditional blue collar profession (categories 1 and 2) and story without victim with traditional blue collar profession (categories 3 and 80)

Please indicate how much you Agree or Disagree with the following statement.

There will always be millions of very poor people in the US and there is very little the government can do about it.

- 1: Strongly Agree
- 2: Agree
- 3: Not Sure
- 4: Disagree
- 5: Strongly Disagree
- 80: Can't Say [coded to missing]**

Here are some reasons some people give to explain why there is so much poverty in this country. For each, please indicate whether you consider this is an extremely important,

very important, not very important, or not at all important explanation for why there are poor people in this country?

LACK OF EFFORT BY POOR PEOPLE

1: Extremely Important

2: Very Important

3: Not Very Important

4: Not At All Important

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

LACK OF THRIFT AND PROPER MONEY MANAGEMENT BY POOR PEOPLE

1: Extremely Important

2: Very Important

3: Not Very Important

4: Not At All Important

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

DECLINE IN VALUES AND MORALS

1: Extremely Important

2: Very Important

3: Not Very Important

4: Not At All Important

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

LOW WAGES

1: Extremely Important

2: Very Important

3: Not Very Important

4: Not At All Important

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

FAILURE OF SOCIETY TO PROVIDE A DECENT EDUCATION FOR ALL AMERICANS

1: Extremely Important

2: Very Important

3: Not Very Important

4: Not At All Important

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, FEMA has provided temporary housing assistance to the displaced individuals. We are interested in your opinion concerning the appropriate level of government housing assistance. Using the scale below, please indicate how much money per month should be awarded to Katrina victims.

1: \$200

2: \$400

3: \$600

- 4: \$800
- 5: \$1000
- 6: \$1200

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

For how many months should people be eligible for housing assistance?

- 1: Three Months
- 2: Six Months
- 3: Nine Months
- 4: Twelve Months
- 5: Fifteen Months
- 6: Eighteen Months

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

What about supplemental assistance to cover living expenses other than housing. How much do you think the government should provide per month?

- 1: \$200
- 2: \$400
- 3: \$600
- 4: \$800
- 5: \$1000
- 6: \$1200

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

And for how long should people receive supplemental assistance payments?

- 1: Three Months
- 2: Six Months
- 3: Nine Months
- 4: Twelve Months
- 5: Fifteen Months
- 6: Eighteen Months

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

What is your gender?

- 1: male
- 2: female

80:decline to state [coded to missing]

What is your race or ethnic origin?

- 1: White
- 2: Black
- 3: Hispanic
- 4: Asian
- 5: Other

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

Coded into dichotomous variable – white respondent (category 1) and non-white respondent (categories 2-5)

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

- 1: Strong Democrat
- 2: Not So Strong Democrat
- 3: Independent
- 4: Not So Strong Republican
- 5: Strong Republican
- 6: Other Party
- 7: No Preference

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

Coded into three-category variable: Democrat (categories 1 and 2), Republican (categories 4 and 5) and Independent (categories 3 and 6-7).

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- 1: Some High School
- 2: High School
- 3: Some College
- 4: College
- 5: Post College

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

Coded into three-category variable: no college education (categories 1-3), college degree (category 4), and post-baccalaureate education (category 5)

Generally speaking, how interested would you say you are in politics?

- 1: Very Interested
- 2: Somewhat Interested
- 3: Not Very Interested
- 4: Not At All Interested?

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

Coded into dichotomous variable: very interested (category 1) and not very interested (categories 2-4)

During the last week, how many days did you watch the news on TV?

- 1: Every Day
- 2: Four or Five Times
- 3: A Couple of Times
- 4: Not at All

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

Coded into dichotomous variable: watched news daily (category 1) and did not watch news daily (categories 2-4).

Using the scale shown below, how would you characterize press coverage of Katrina?

1: Generally Sensationalized

2

3

4

5: Generally Substantive

80:Can't Say [coded to missing]

What is your age?

1: 19 or younger

2: 20-29

3: 30-39

4: 40-49

5: 50-59

6: 60-69

7: 70 or greater

80:Can't Say

Coded into three-category variable: under age 40 (categories 1-3), age 40-60 (categories 4-5), and age 60 or over (categories 6-7).

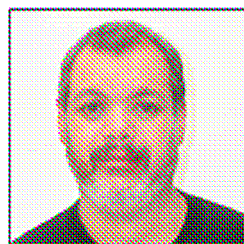
Appendix D: Example of Episodic Story

Katrina Victims Adjusting to New Lives

LOUISVILLE - To ease their sense of homesickness, Terry Medina fixes Cajun favorites for his children in his new Kentucky home.

"I'm going to make some of my jambalaya and my gumbo to make it feel like home," said Medina, a real estate agent who lost everything after Hurricane Katrina slammed into New Orleans.

Medina and his two children were among about 3,000 Katrina evacuees who migrated from the Gulf Coast to Louisville, where many are settling into new lives.



Medina

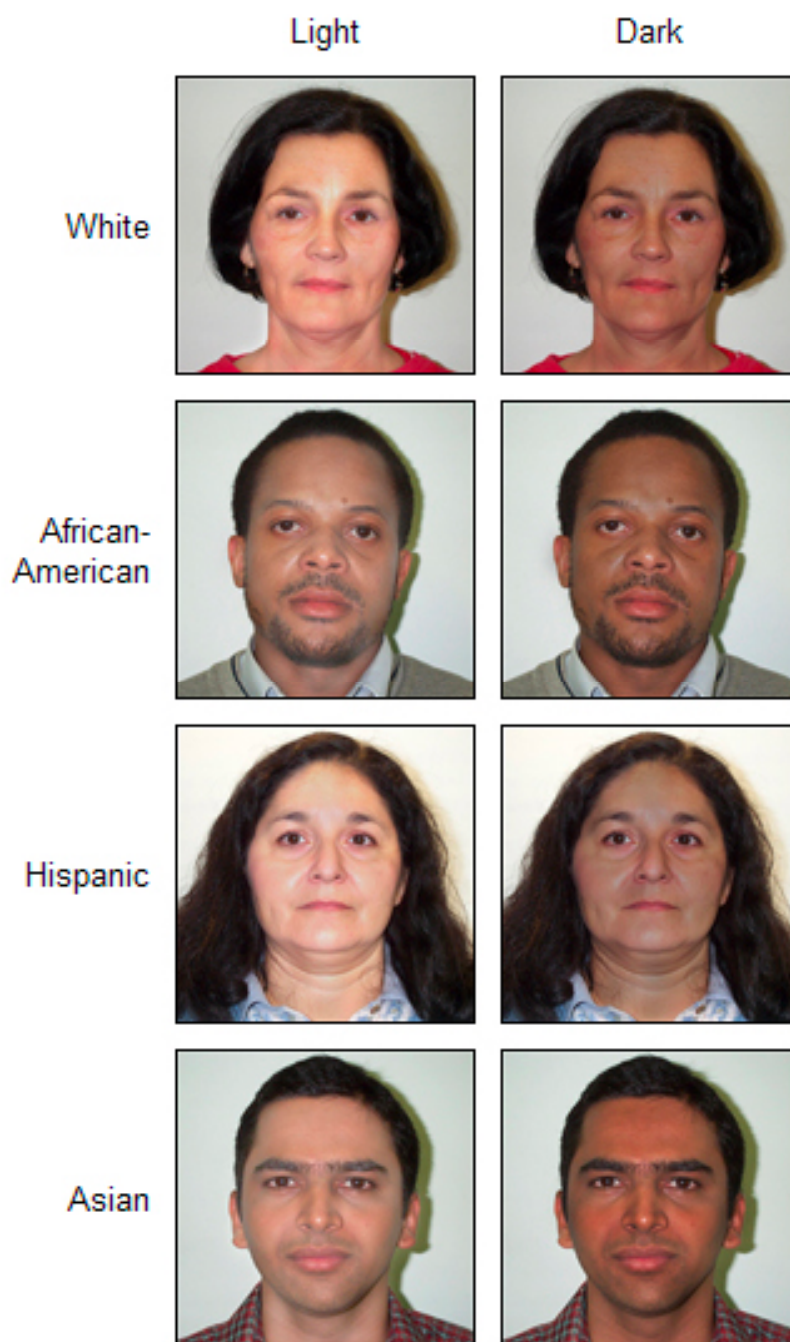
The Medinas lived in Lakeshore, on the south shore of Lake Pontchartrain. In the days following the hurricane he could only reach the house by boat, as the flood waters in the neighborhood were 10 to 12 feet.

Medina's 11 year-old son and 6-year-daughter are enrolled in school and have made new friends. The family has settled, at least temporarily, into a three-bedroom house. Medina has no car or job, and gets by on unemployment benefits, food stamps and the kindness of others.

"It feels like my life's been turned up in the air and I have to catch all the pieces to it now," Terry said recently. "But I'm glad I have my kids and we're safe."

"We're trying to get through day by day," Terry said.

Appendix E: Skin Tone Manipulation



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