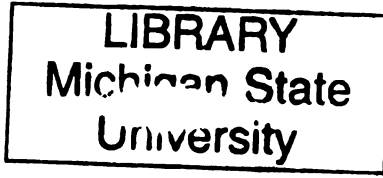


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REFRAMING RURAL AMERICA

presented by

AILEEN WEBB

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REFRAMING RURAL AMERICA

By

Aileen Webb

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to:

Michigan State University

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Mass Media

2005

ABSTRACT

REFRAMING RURAL AMERICA

By

Aileen Webb

This dissertation examines the way frames about rural America might be changed to increase support for a new policy agenda. The current frames around rural America, tend to portray it as place of simple, hard-working, virtuous people in a bucolic natural setting (Aubrun & Grady, 2004). Frame analysis helps us to understand the array of arguments and counter arguments that surround complex topics like rural America (Gamson, 1992, 1995, 2000; Schon and Rein, 1994). Once we understand the dominant frame, it is possible to test alternative frames and to engage in reframing to change the existing pattern of discourse.

The research was designed to test how support for a new rural policy agenda varies when different elements of the frame are introduced. A within-subjects experiment, using a 3,105-subject telephone survey, was designed. Support for a new rural agenda was measured after the introduction of three new frame value, fairness, cooperation and interdependence. Another frame element, a new rural metaphor called a simplifying model, was also tested. Additionally, the research also explored how geographic location and media use might vary levels of support for a new rural agenda.

One key finding was that when individuals were exposed to the fairness and interdependence values within the frame, their support for a new rural policy agenda was greater than the control group. The introduction of the new rural metaphor, however, did not change the level of support for the new rural agenda.

In the cooperation and fairness reframes, rural and urban respondents did not differ significantly in their support for rural policy. Urban people, exposed to the interdependence reframe, demonstrated significantly less support for the rural policy agenda than did rural people. Comparing rural and suburban groups in the fairness and cooperation frames, significant differences appeared in support for the rural agenda but not in the interdependence treatment condition.

This research provides guidance for rural advocates seeking to change the current policy discussion. Successful rural frames will illuminate fairness in addressing rural concerns, and will build on geographic interdependence to connect all people to these issues, wherever they live.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation would not have been possible without the loving support of my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No project of this size could be undertaken without the support of many people. I had the support of my colleagues, my professors and staff at Michigan State University. Special thanks must go to my committee, who always urged me to do my very best including Dr. Frank Fear, Dr. Hee Sun Park and Dr. Charles Atkin. The chair of my committee, Dr. Charles Salmon, admitted me to the Mass Media program and stayed with me through the entire process. I would not have made it through without his support.

It is also important for me to acknowledge the unfailing support I have received from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. Not only did they financially support my entire PhD program, they allowed me the flexibility of work schedule and the research funds necessary to complete this dissertation. I only hope that my work will advance many of the issues both my colleagues and I care about in rural America.

Finally, thanks must go to my family. Alfred De Leo, my mother's husband, never let me give on the statistics. My mother, Virginia, gave me continual moral support. My father, Richard, helped in every way he could, including editing. My deepest and abiding gratitude goes to my husband, Keith and my daughter, Emma. Without their love and devotion, none of this would be possible.

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CHAPTER ONE

REFRAMING RURAL AMERICA is a research project exploring how new and alternative frames around rural America might expand policy support for a different rural policy agenda (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994).

Issue Background

On a wide variety of indicators, life in the rural United States lags behind the rest of America (Hamrick, 2003). Most of the studies about rural decline make roughly the same point: that the legislative authority exists, but public will to implement necessary new policies does not (Browne et. al., 1992; Flora, Flora & Fey, 2003).

While many people have a positive image of rural life, according to previous research, the reality of living in rural America does not always match the perception (Greenberg, 2000). Rural areas in the United States have a disproportionate share of poverty. They are socially and spatially isolated and lack stable employment, opportunities for mobility, and diversity in their institutions (Tickamyer & Duncan, 1990; Davidson, 1996; Cloke, 1996; Filkins, Allen, & Cordes, 2000; Hamrick, 2003; Chambers, 1996; Flora, Flora, & Fey, 2003; Flora et al, 1992; Slack. & Jensen, 2002; Smith, 1996; Smith & Krannich, 2000; Skees, & Swanson, 1994). Rural towns are places where poverty, overcrowded schoolrooms, substandard housing and social upheaval prevail (Dalla & Baugher, 2001). How then might a new rural policy agenda be implemented to improve the conditions in rural America?

Political scientist Kingdon proposes a model of public policy change in which three streams—problems, policies and politics—exist side by side (1995). Each of these streams has a life of its own and runs along without connection to the other streams.

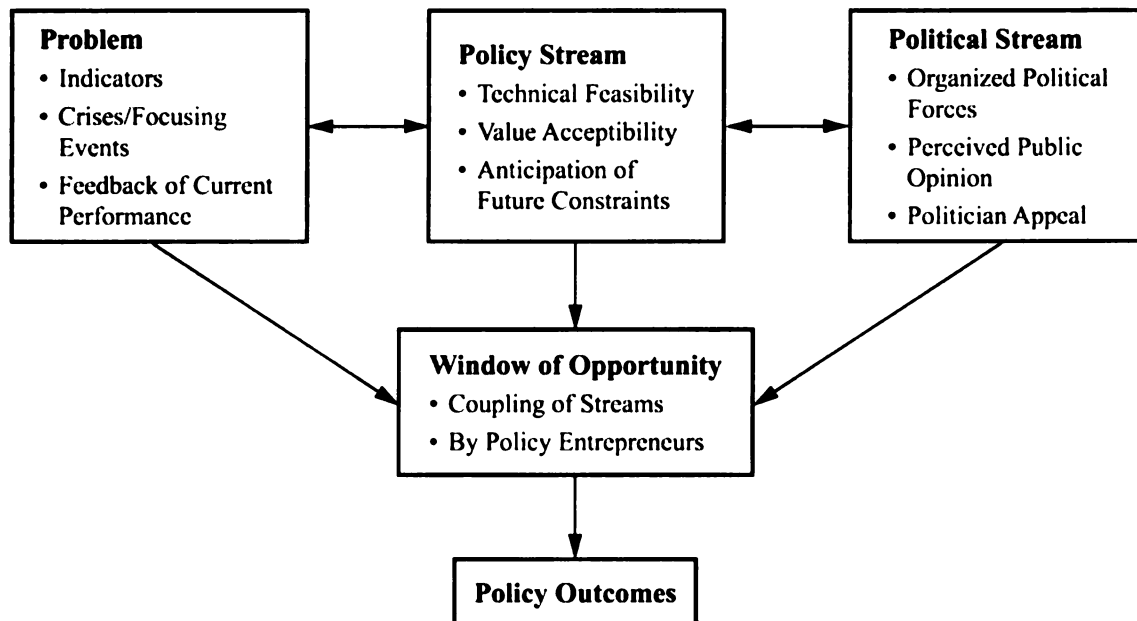
Through a process similar to agenda setting, certain problems become a focus within the first stream. In the second stream, solutions are created, and policy solutions are generated. In the third stream, political opportunity comes and goes, much like the change in a national administration.

“The proposals are generated whether or not they are solving a given problem, the problems are recognized whether or not there is a solution, and political events have their own dynamics” (Kingdon, 1995, 227). The greatest policy change occurs when the three streams join, as shown in the model (See Figure 1).

In looking at the challenges facing rural America, rural community development advocates continue to propose a range of solutions for the problems of rural communities. These solutions fill the policy stream. In the political stream, the dynamics of recent national elections (with its focus on rural voters) reflect the ebb and flow of politics within this model (Greenberg & Greener, 2003; Greenberg, Walker & Greenberg, 2005). In the stream of problem definition, however, the challenges of rural America seem invisible. One factor restricting change in policy systems is the power of the underlying ideas to limit creative thinking (Baumgartner & Jones, 2002, 302). In this way, the strength and appealing nature of the current frames around rural America tend to prevent critical analysis. This sets up a reinforcing loop, leading back to the same policies that have disadvantaged rural populations in the past.

Figure 1

Model of Policy Change



Note: From “Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies” by J.W. Kingdon, 1995. Copyright held by Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, Inc. Reprint permission requested.

Application of Framing Theory

If the ability to make different policy choices rests on “structures of belief, perception and appreciation, which we call frames,” then changing policy outcomes requires new frames for the rural United States (Schon & Rein, 1994, 23). As linguist George Lakoff states, “One of the fundamental findings of cognitive science is that people think in terms of frames and metaphors—conceptual structures...The frames are in the synapses of our brains—physically present in the form of a neural circuitry...Frames, once entrenched, are hard to dispel” (2003, 117).

As Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) suggest, based on their analysis of the frames used to advance public thinking about the women’s movement, “Interest groups that seek

to mobilize broad support should package their issues to appeal to the most commonly held societal values and avoid appeals to economic rights or group specific legislation” (1997, 893). This research tests an idea put forward by Terkildsen, Schnell and many others that the actual effect of framing is due to the specific language of the unique frame and that change in the frame may cause a shift in policy outcomes. This research builds on their work by specifically changing the value and the metaphor embedded in the frame. Another way to think of the process of policy change through frame manipulation is to paraphrase an old saying: “To the winner goes the frame.” The frames of effective social movements often become the foundations of new public policy and thereby enter into the cultural discourse (Zald, 1996).

While some social scientists assert that framing may be “one of the most powerful forces to determine public and private policy,” very little research has focused on understanding how alternative frames might be developed and tested (Hertog & McLeod, 2003, 160). Dominant frames of understanding are the result of a lifetime of conditioning by culture. Individuals tend to argue from their tacit frames to produce explicit policy solutions. This research tests alternative frames to better understand what happens to support levels for a new rural agenda (Schon & Rein, 1994). Changing an ingrained way of thinking, however, is far beyond the scope of one research project. This research merely provides a sense of direction about what might happen when frames elements are altered through the introduction of new values and metaphors (Shah, Domke & Wackman, 2003; Nelson and Wiley, 2003; Gandy, 2003; Hertog & McLeod, 2003).

Rural Frames

“Family farms and small farming communities dominate our images of rural America in part because politicians, lobbyists, and the media cultivate those rural icons, supporting the myth that agricultural policy is rural policy” (Flora, Flora & Fey, 2001, 23). This iconic view of rural America has not led to the kind of policy outcomes desired by rural advocates (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). Frames are grounded in the institutions that sponsor them; in the case of rural America, the most visible institutions come from our agricultural past and present.

Advocates have tried emphasizing rural assets that other Americans may not appreciate sufficiently, for example, the work ethic and ingenuity of rural residents. They also cite rural problems, such as poverty and unemployment, of which most Americans may also be unaware. If actual conditions of rural America are an indicator, however, representatives of rural interests have supplied analogies and imagery that effectively reinforce the current frames. The dominant frame reinforces the status quo and advocating a different frame is a political act, according to Gamson (2000). The pre-conceived images, narratives and understandings (which are typically reinforced through public discourse of all types) are often too powerful to be displaced even by well-chosen facts.

Rural groups may not be aware that they are battling frames that work against their cause. “Like a team playing on a steep slope, regardless of their effort or abilities, the outcome is preordained, the odds too long, the competition weighted too heavily against them” (Hertog & McLeod, 2003, 147).

Researchers have concluded that among the biggest communications challenges facing rural advocates are entrenched and invisible patterns of thought which are extremely difficult to bypass or to displace (Bales, 2003; Aubrun & Grady, 2004; Bostrom, 2004). These deeply held patterns of reasoning undermine support for new rural policies. As Susan Bales from the Frameworks Institute explains, “When the facts don’t fit the frames, the frames are kept and the facts ignored” (2004, 6). The frames that guide most Americans’ thinking about the rural United States equate small towns and the countryside with the natural order of things, creating an enduring metaphor with roots in the earliest American philosophers (Hofstadter, 1955, Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004; Bostrom, 2003, 2004; Bales, 2003; Greenberg, 2001).

Statement of the Problem

Through this brief discussion of conditions in rural America, frame theory and current dominant rural frames, evidence can be marshaled to support the hypothesis that altering the frame around rural America will lead to new policy solutions. The challenge, then, is what might a new, more successful frame look like? This research attempts to answer that question.

An underlying assumption of this project is that to develop a new rural agenda, rural advocates first must understand how their current messages cue a reasoning process that runs counter to their desired policy solutions. Rather than activate the existing frames, rural advocates need training to use alternative frames leading to a different type of reasoning and to more successful policy interventions. This research project treads the narrow path between theory and practice. At the broadest level, it is a marriage of basic

and applied research. The study draws from multiple applications of framing theory that exist across disciplines.

The research serves two masters: to extend and increase knowledge about framing effects theory, and to assist rural advocates in understanding how a new set of more effective rural messages might be constructed, using a different set of values and metaphors within the frames. The ultimate goal is to demonstrate that effective communications tools can be developed with the potential to change the dynamics of the public debate—if adopted and disseminated by rural advocates. By using alternative frames (and subsequent training in how to deploy those frames in their communications), advocates may be able to effectively define their problem and communicate their solutions to the political stream, thereby converging the three streams and initiating meaningful rural policy change (Kingdon, 1995; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988).

The key hypothesis posits that changing an element of the frame alters support levels for policy. The research design experiments with changing frame elements, such as values and metaphors, and measures empirically the degree of change in policy support. Support for a new rural agenda is the dependent variable. While many studies use frames as the independent variables (as is the case in this project), few, if any, studies could be found using support for policy as a measurement of the effect of a new frame.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized in four chapters following the introduction: the literature review; the methodology; the data analysis; and the discussion of results, conclusion and recommendations. The literature review focuses on the overall theory of

framing as well as its specific application to rural message development; this confluence of framing theory and its issue-specific application guides the research.

The literature review examines the current dominant frames associated in the public mind with rural America. The review also explores qualitative research that contrasts the effectiveness of alternative frames in advancing public understanding of public policies with responses to the current dominant frame. A brief discussion of the role of models and metaphors in frame analysis is included. The five hypotheses guiding the research conclude the chapter.

The next section describes the methodology of the study. The project uses an experimental methodology called Strategic Frame Analysis (SFA), which compares and contrasts different hypothetical presentations of an issue, in order to isolate what decreases or increases public support for specific policies (Bales & Gilliam, 2004, Gilliam & Bales, 2001).

The data analysis chapter compares the results of research against the five main hypotheses and six sub-hypotheses. The final chapter discusses the relevance of the research to the fields of framing literature and to rural development and provides recommendations to each area.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Given the large amount of framing research and literature available across multiple disciplines, the first section highlights, in broad strokes, framing effects theory. Gamson's (2003, ii) three-component model of framing analysis is used as a simple heuristic to organize the most relevant research. The three components that serve as an organizing framework for the chapter are frame production, examination of the text, and the interaction between the text and the audience (Gamson, 2003). The next section examines research that directly informs this study, beginning with the analysis of existing rural frames. It also explores various frame elements such as values and metaphors. The final section lays out the general research questions and describes the hypotheses.

How Framing Works

The word "frame," as both a noun and a verb, suggests both an active process and a result (Gamson, 2000; Reese, 2003; Nelson, Oxley & Clawson, 1997). The framing literature spans multiple disciplines and has been aptly called a "fractured paradigm" (Entman, 1993). Scholars argue about whether framing represents a paradigm at all, or is, instead, strengthened by its very flexible application across disciplines and situations. Overall, the evidence for one unified theory of framing is elusive (Entman, 1993; Reese, 2003; Gandy, 2003; Lee & Aaker, 2004). As researchers suggest, the conceptual grasp of framing seems to differ from researcher to researcher and discipline by discipline (Entman, 1993, 2004; D'Angelo, 2002).

Researchers from anthropology, psychology and sociology were among the first to examine communications using a framing lens. Framing is how these scholars describe the act of constructing social reality by individuals, groups or society as a whole. The

word, frame, as used by anthropologist and psychologist Gregory Bateson (1972), refers to cognitive models that allow an audience to understand and evaluate messages.

Embedded in frames are the cultural metaphors that offer shared understanding between people (Bateson, 1972; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Sociologist Erving Goffman was one of the first to elaborate on the frame process in *Frame Analysis* (1974). In this work, he describes frames as enabling an individual to “locate, perceive, identify and label” events in some way (1974, 21). Goffman also offers another important concept to this study—his definition of ‘reframing’ as a process that can occur any time a situation presents incongruent information and a more plausible explanation emerges (1974). Reframing, as defined in this study, is the systematic variation of framing elements.

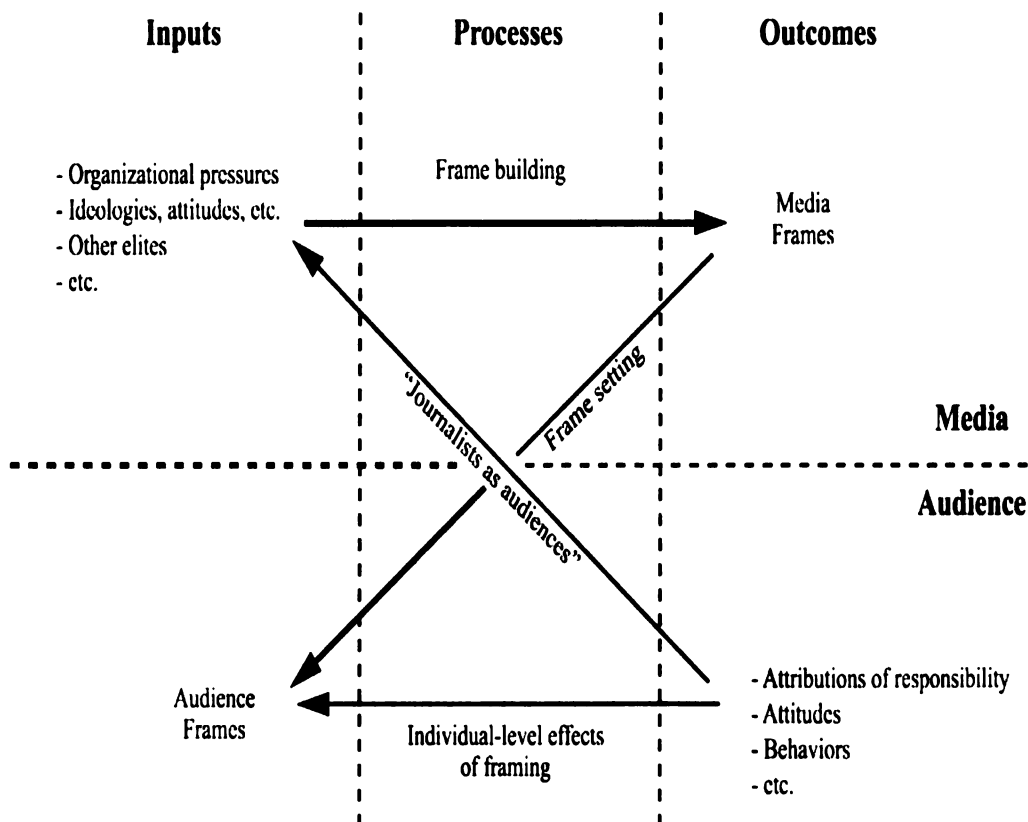
How do citizens make sense of “the swarming confusion of problems?” (Lipmann, 1925, 24). Frames may be one way that individuals make sense of their world by helping them judge which issues are central and which are peripheral, using cues contained within the frame. The capacity to frame issues, or in other words, to define the way an issue comes to be understood, is one of the most important and powerful communications strategies available to political elites, social movement activists and the media (Rochefort and Cobb, 1994; Stone, 1989). Schattschneider agrees that frames are important because “the definition of alternatives is the supreme instrument of power” (1960, 68).

Scheufele captures the dynamic course of framing in his model (See Figure 2). He conceptualizes framing as a continuous process, where the outcomes of one process serve as input for the subsequent process (1999). The four different, but connected activities, of

framing include frame building, frame setting, establishing individual level effects of framing, and providing a link between individual frames and media frames (1999, 115). While these processes are called different things by other researchers, they all describe the same basic activity of framing at a societal level.

Figure 2

Model of Framing



Note. From "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects" by D. A. Scheufele, 1999, *Journal of Communications*, p. 115. Copyright 2000 held by International Communications Association. Reprint permission requested.

Many definitions of framing have been offered: "Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (Reese, 2003, 11). Another often-quoted definition comes

from Gitlin, who views frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse” (1980, 7). The frame “determines whether most people notice or how they understand and remember a problem, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it” (Entman, 1993, 54). Any or all of these definitions describe the core process. The conceptual definition of framing in this study is “the way a story is told – the selective use of particular symbols, metaphors, and messengers and the way these cues, in turn, trigger the shared and durable cultural models that people use to make sense of their world” (Bales and Gilliam, 2004, 15).

“Swarming confusion” may also characterize how various researchers have categorized frames into typologies, seeking to bring an unruly expanse of literature into some semblance of order. While almost every researcher seems to have a different way to label frames, most useful to this research is Hallahan’s typology of the framing literature. He places framing into seven categories as they relate to public relations: the framing of situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility and news (1999). Each category attempts to pull together a certain characterization of framing and demonstrates the richness of the literature across disciplines. For example, the framing of situations involves relationships between people and draws on research from sociologists and anthropologists like Goffman and Bateson. Attributes frames accentuate the characteristics of objects and people and can be seen in much of the commercial application of framing used with products. The framing of risky choices is primarily based on work by Tversky and Kahneman and comes out of the prospect theory of decision-making (1981).

Of central interest to this research is the concept of issue frames or the explanations offered by groups about their preferred definitions. "Framing decisions are perhaps the most important strategic choices made in a public relations effort," Hallahan asserts (1999, 24), echoing many social movement, communications and political science scholars. Some frames are relatively stable cultural structures, while others are created and prompted by individuals or groups with the desire to influence public discourse (Hertog & McLeod, 2003). By deliberately framing an issue, advocates attempt to strategically participate and eventually win the contest over whose frame will prevail (Gamson, 1980, 1988, 1992, 2000; Pan & Kosicki, 2003; Snow & Benford, 1992; Zald, 1996).

Frame Production

According to Gamson (2003), frame production is the way in which people; groups and institutions create, promote and reproduce frames. Also called "frame building" (Scheufele, 1999), this is a process similar to agenda building (Cobb & Elder, 1972). The fields of sociology, political science and psychology offer abundant research in this area, while communications scholars seem to have been less focused on the relationships of power and the role of special interest groups and elites in the construction and promotion of frames.

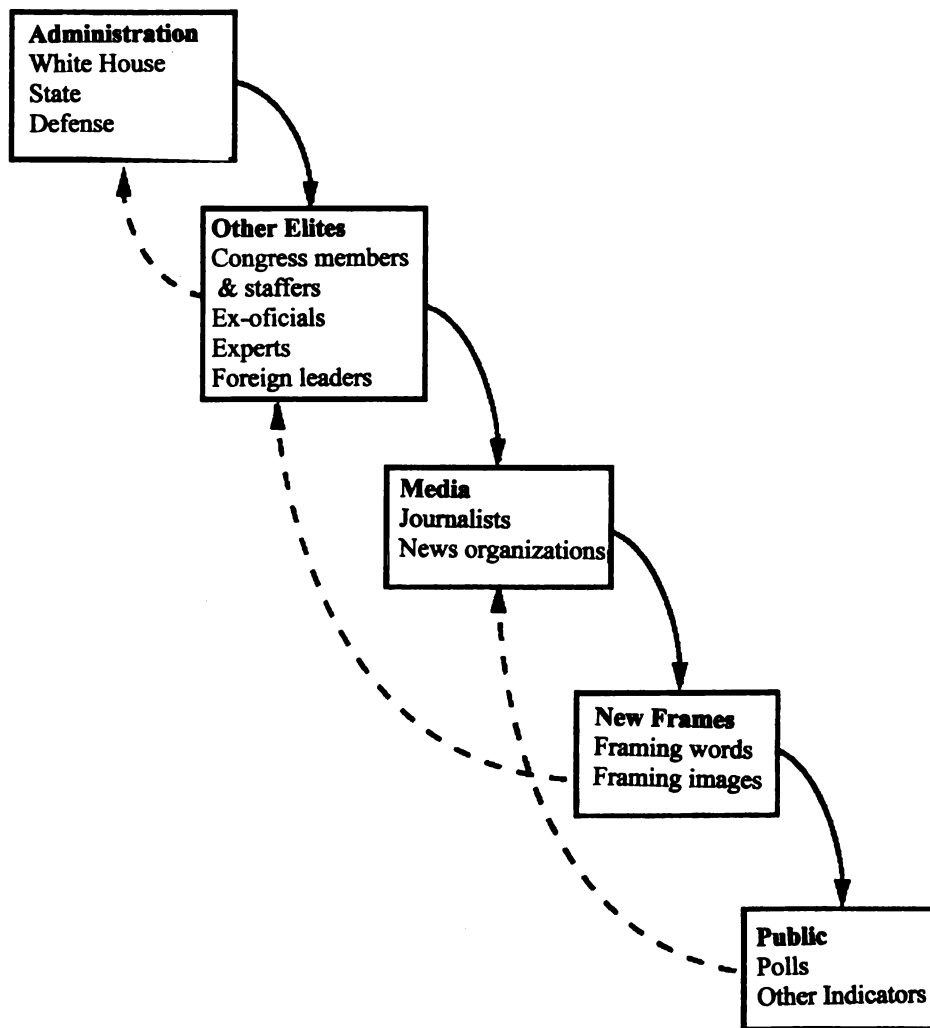
Frame production research, mostly based on a content analysis of print and television coverage of the specific issues, shows the framing process in action on a specific issue or topic and demonstrates how issue frames enter and leave public discourse over time (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). In their study of nuclear energy, Gamson and Modigliani track specific issue frames such as "progress", "public

accountability” and the “energy independence” over time. An individual might begin to understand an issue like nuclear power within a certain issue frame, such as progress, because it was the dominant frame available in the 1950s. After an event like the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island in the 1970s, however, a person’s frame would likely change (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Frame production provides a way to think about frames as evolving and contested battles over issue meaning.

Taking an individual level perspective into a systems view, Entman offers a model explaining how frames build on each other in what he calls “cascading network activation” (2004, 9). This model explains why the participation of issue advocates in the framing production process is a critical part of social change work. The research discussed in this paper provides a foundation for rural advocates to reframe their messages and increase their policy success.

Figure 3

Cascading Network Activation



Note. From *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy* (p.10) by R.M.

Entman, 2004, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Copyright 2004 by the University of Chicago.

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Examination of Text

How the text of a frame actually changes attitudes, belief importance, and attribution of responsibility has been a key question for many scholars. Gamson (2003, ii) suggests that a simple agreement between disciplines could be that frames act as central

organizing principles holding together, and giving coherence to a diverse array of symbols or idea elements.

The fractured nature of the framing effects literature is readily apparent when surveying the literature. Within the text of a frame, many researchers have examined framing effects using the decision-making framework established by Tversky and Kahneman (1981). Their work falls within the psychological theory about the subjective utility of gains and losses. Some communications scholars focus on how frame theory expands our understanding of media effects. Three major media effects theories—agenda-setting, priming and framing—converge around the idea of knowledge activation and use (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Other researchers suggest that framing should be understood as a second level process of agenda setting, while other scholars vehemently disagree with this premise (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003; Maher, 2003).

Other research has explored connections between world events and their method of priming and framing public opinion (Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Mutz & Soss, 1997). Priming refers to the level of attention drawn to a specific problem; framing is the method in which emphasis is placed on certain aspects while others are ignored (Cappella & Jamison, 1997; Iyengar, 1992; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Mendleberg, 1996; Stoker, 1997). The body of priming research suggests that the presentation of a stimulus with a certain meaning will prompt the recall of related concepts and ideas. The central idea underlying priming is cognitive accessibility theory. Under this theory, rather than inventorying every possible memory available, people look for mental shortcuts (Valentino, 1999).

To test claims about differences between framing and belief change, an experiment was devised to understand opinions towards welfare policy, with the hypothesis that sophistication about the welfare debate would moderate the impact of framing (Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997). The results of the experiment support the proposed psychological model of framing effects and reinforce the claim that framing is a process distinct from traditional persuasion-via-belief change. The framing effects in the experiment were stronger, rather than weaker, among respondents already familiar with the frame's content.

Central to this research is the idea that different values are embedded in frames and that variation in the frame value changes the meaning of the frame. Value hierarchies are negotiable and subject to influence from framing. Nelson and Wiley suggest that individuals often hold conflicting values on contentious political issues (2003). In their research about framing effects, they conclude that frames establish hierarchies among competing values and are subject to contextual forces (2003). In a laboratory experiment, a measure of value importance, added to the manipulation of frame elements, yielded data suggesting that a single frame may enhance the perceived importance of a single value. For example, a frame that labels a Ku Klux Klan controversy as a "free speech issue" was shown to move opinion in the Klan's direction, while the label "public safety issue" moved opinion in the opposite direction (Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997).

This concept is also confirmed in the "Great American Values Test," where a 30 minute television show significantly affected the beliefs and behaviors of large groups of people for several weeks (Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach & Grube, 1982). Values, according to Rokeach, are generally desirable personal and social conditions such as equality and

freedom (1960, 1973). Social psychologists and political scientists, among others, have demonstrated in their research that some values enjoy privileged status in the framing process (Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach & Grube, 1984; Rokeach, 1960, 1973). Value hierarchies are flexible and socially negotiated, and subject to influence from forces such as framing. In this context, values are the shared set of beliefs about ideal modes of behavior.

Researchers have developed a hierarchy of values, issues and policies representing three levels of thought within a frame (Morgan & Bales, 2004). Drawn from the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the first, or highest, level of thought is the values level, for example as the value of connection to others in the system. These values include ideas such as freedom, justice, and community. The second level of thought is the issue category level, such as the environment or childcare. Finally, the third level of thought is the policy level, such as schools.

Figure 4

Levels of Understanding Within Frames

Level One Values such as freedom, fairness, justice

Level Two Issue Type such as education, health, the environment

Level Three Specific Issues such as global warming, k-12 schools or health coverage

Note. From “A Five Minute Refresher Course in Framing ” Kids Count E-Zine, 8. Copyright held by Frameworks Institute. Reprinted with permission.

The priming of a certain level-one value may create differential thinking in respondents and may result in a different level of policy support. The idea of

manipulating the value in a frame comes from Rokeach's work on belief systems (1960, 1973).

The political science literature provides the most comprehensive testing of values within the framing literature. Elites and advocates struggle over the values contained in the issue frame; in what the social movement literature calls frame contests. It is in the political science literature that frame contests are shown to have an impact on public policy. The fight over whose frame will prevail shapes political evaluations (Shah, Domke & Wackman, 2003). The Shah, Domke and Wackman research created a typology of value frames, ethical and material, and then tested how these value frames shift perceptions. Ethical values were tied to moral judgments while material value were tied to economic self-interest and other non-morally related values.

One study tested the idea that values embedded in frames serve to establish hierarchies among those values (Nelson & Wiley, 2003). Two frames were used: a crime frame, including protection and security values, and a race frame, including fairness and equity. The data supported the hypothesis that framing has a statistically significant effect on opinion towards redlining, with respondents in the race condition expressing significantly greater opposition than did those in the crime condition.

A longitudinal content analysis of how the print media has covered the women's movement ascertained five unique frames (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). Using data from the content analysis, the researchers undertook a quantitative study about framing and political attitudes. The frames were built around unique core values drawn out of the content analysis and then tested against dependent variables such as issue important

measures and tangible behavioral support, women's roles and the feminist label, and political knowledge and ideology.

Frames are comprised of many elements including values, visuals and metaphors or simplifying models. "Metaphors allow us to understand abstract subject matter in terms of more concrete, familiar terms. In a technical sense, metaphors are 'mappings' across conceptual domains" (Lakoff, 1995, 245). Studies in the cognitive science report people are most likely to rely on analogies to learn complex, abstract concepts (Aubrun & Grady, no date).

Interaction and Negotiation between Text and Audience

In the third area delineated by Gamson, researchers have examined how groups contest and negotiate frames and the impact such contests have on the broader society. The literature of social movements informs this part of the framing effects theory and is important to the overall research.

Communications theories of agenda setting and priming tend to view this interaction as one where the audience is the passive receptor of messages from institutions such as the news media. Social movement theory looks at how various interests negotiate the text itself, within power dynamics and other societal and cultural conditions. Thinking about framing as a set of discourses interacting in complicated ways sets the stage for this research. This research focuses on one aspect of the discourse, the challenger's discourse or specifically the discourse about rural America from the perspective of challenging groups (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

The social movement literature demonstrates that framing is a strategic process that utilizes symbolic resources to create collective sense making (Gamson, 1996). In

current thinking about social movements, three broad factors have emerged: 1) the structure of opportunities and constraints; 2) the forms of organization; and 3) the collective process of interpretation, attribution and social construction of issues or the process of framing (McAdam, Zald & McCarthy, 1996).

This third factor, framing processes, can be understood as operating in five distinct areas (McAdam, Zald & McCarthy, 1996). An active process of frame construction happens both inside the social movement and outside, among the contestants. Movements and counter movements engage in framing contests to convince both authorities and bystanders of their causes (Zald, 1996). Such contests happen in face-to-face interaction and through the news media.

An essential task in a social movement is to frame social problems in a way that convinces a wide and diverse audience of the need for change. Movement frames generally have two components: the diagnosis of the problem and the strategy for its solution (McCarthy, Smith & Zald, 1996). Movements that are likely to succeed offer one or more collective action frames (Gamson, 1995). Snow and Benford (1992) define these frames as sets of common beliefs and meaning that both keep movements unified and inspire social change through action. Members of movements frame their issues in ways they hope will mobilize supporters and deter opponents.

While the literature across a wide range of disciplines is replete with studies about framing effects on a host of issues from nuclear energy to women's rights, the frames around rural people and places had not merited any study until the research discussed in the following section was undertaken. Understanding existing frames around rural

America is a necessary predicate to this research, and constructing and testing reframes relies on the knowledge of what currently exists in people's minds.

The Dominant Rural Frames

Hertog and McLeod (2003) outline a process for framing analysis that includes identifying preliminary models of as many frames and sub frames as possible. Dominant frames are widely shared among individuals in society and support major institutions. No research could be located that identified the existing frames around rural America. However, to fill that gap, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation sponsored a multi-year research project, lasting from 2001-2005, entitled "Perceptions of Rural America." Interviews with members of Congress, a survey of state legislators, and a content analysis of the media coverage of rural issues at two different times, as well as in-depth interviews with rural, urban and suburban citizens, comprised the first phase of the project (Greenberg, 2001, 2002; Lichter, Amundsen & Lichter, 2003, 2005; Greenberg & Greener 2002; Greenberg & McCreesh, 2003; Greenberg, Walker & Greener, 2005).

In the second phase, the Foundation sponsored focus groups and in-depth interviews to better understand the existing dominant rural frame and to identify possible ways to reframe rural America. The second body of research will be discussed in detail, because it provides an important foundation to the research of this dissertation (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004, Bostrom, 2003, 2004; Bales, 2003, 2004).

The Rural Perceptions research identified three general patterns of reasoning which guide Americans' thinking about rural issues at different moments, and in different proportions for different individuals (Aubrun and Grady, 2003, 2004).

- Rural utopia: The most often identified pattern of reasoning which associates rural areas with bucolic beauty; rolling farmland; hard-working, self-sufficient, happy people, and a very simple way of life, uncluttered by urban vices.
- Rural dystopia: Frequently used as a counterpoint to utopia, where rural areas are associated with the stereotypical uneducated and small-minded “hicks,” who lack the vision or ambition to transcend their marginal existences.
- Rural systems: A pattern of thinking where Americans see rural areas as more like life in other areas, structured by economic and social relationships and institutions, but also with their own unique shape, centering on small towns and farms. (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004).

Identified in the Rural Perception research, rural utopia is the most commonly appearing frame and is based on the historical and enduring way that Americans view themselves (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). While most Americans today would not identify with ‘yeoman farmers,’ this frame draws its story from the founding of the United States as an agrarian collection of states. Thomas Jefferson’s view of a strong America was of a nation of farmers, whose pastoral life produced the virtues of diligence, industriousness, physical strength and honesty. While Jefferson’s vision of distributing free land to small farmers was thwarted by Alexander Hamilton, his rhetoric has become part of the enduring American mythology upon which the rural frame is based.

The yeoman farmer mythology was later described by historian Richard Hofstadter (1955). His description of the myth states:

Its hero was the yeoman farmer, its central conception the notion that he is the ideal man and the ideal citizen. Unstinted praise of the special virtues of the farmer and the special values of rural life was coupled with the assertion that agriculture, as a calling uniquely productive and uniquely important to society, had a special right to the concern and protection of government. The yeoman, who owned a small farm and worked it with the aid of his family, was the incarnation of the simple, honest, independent, healthy, happy human being. Because he lived in close communion with beneficent nature, his life was believed to have a wholesomeness and integrity impossible for the depraved populations of cities. His well being was not merely physical, it was moral; it was not merely personal, it was the central source of civic virtue; it was not merely secular, but religious, for God had made the land and called man to cultivate it. Since the yeoman was believed to be both happy and honest, and since he had a secure propertied stake in society in the form of his own land, he was held to be the best and most reliable sort of citizen (1955, 24-25).

It is possible to trace the continuing power of the agrarian myth to present times. Lippman characterized each citizen's political world as a "pseudo environment" created for the most part by the mass media that gathers, organizes and filters the events of the day (1922). Lippman argued that the creation of pictures in our heads is the result of the interaction of diverse "... habits, tastes, capacities, comforts and hopes of each private citizen and the formal traditions of public and media discourse (1922, 14)."

Cultivation theory suggests a steady entrenchment of mainstream orientation for television viewers. Since television viewing is ubiquitous in today's world, various

frames are introduced and reinforced through this medium. The theory argues that viewing television gradually leads to the adoption of beliefs about the nature of the social world, conforming to the stereo-typical, distorted and very selective view of reality as systematically portrayed in television, entertainment and news (Gerbner et al., 1994).

Popular culture today reinforces existing rural frames, and in what researchers have identified as the rural utopia frame, continues to permeate American culture. In the 1960s, *The Andy Griffith Show*, set in mythical rural Mayberry, never dropped below seventh place in the seasonal Nielsen rankings during its seven years on the air. *The Andy Griffith Show* was the inspiration for a series of shows such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, *Petticoat Junction*, and *Hee Haw*, in the 1970s and 80s (Haggins, 2005). A host of popular and long running television shows like *The Waltons*, featuring a poor but happy family living on Walton Mountain, are based in rural locations. Another TV show, *Little House on the Prairie*, based on Laura Ingalls Wilder's historical novels, first aired in 1983 and is now scheduled for a mini-series reprise in 2005. Even in the newest television genre, the reality show, the frames of utopia and dystopia around rural life are reinforced. *The Simple Life* features two heiresses living and working on a farm in a rural community. The story of their experiences reinforces both frames.

It may be also the absence of hard rural news coverage in elite publications and on television news that contributes to the nostalgic view of rural America as a safer, simpler place in contrast to the urban world we read about in The New York Times and watch much more frequently on the nightly news (Lichter, Amundsen & Lichter, 2002). The dominant frames about rural America may be reinforced as a reaction to what Gerbner et al. call the "mean world" syndrome, where long-term exposure to television tends to

cultivate the image of the world as a scary place (1994). The most commonly appearing frame, rural utopia, paints the picture of a place apart from the mean streets of the city.

In the rural utopia frame, rural people are hard working, virtuous, simple, and have little money. Aubrun and Grady posit that intermittent and selective exposure of urban and suburban people to rural areas may also reinforce the existing frames, since people think nostalgically about growing up in rural areas but rarely visit there (2003). When rural people speak in terms of the utopia model, it may be because it makes them special and apart from their city cousins (2003).

The dark side of the utopia frame is what the researchers label rural dystopia, a place of “trailer trash,” poverty, hardship, and hopelessness. Aubrun and Grady conclude “just as the Rural Utopia model reinforces the ‘all-American-ness’ of rural America, the Rural Dystopia model tends to emphasize the ‘otherness’ of rural areas. “This countryside is populated by African-Americans, Appalachian Whites, Native Americans and others” (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 10).

A third cognitive perspective, labeled rural systems, was discovered in the Rural Perceptions research (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). When respondents, through the in-depth interviews, shifted to this perspective, they found it easier to understand both the causes of, and the solutions to problems facing rural America (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). The rural systems frame was often replaced by one of the two better-developed frames (Aubrun & Grady, 2003).

Consequences of the Rural Utopia/Dystopia Frames

One of the consequences of the Rural Utopia frame is that poverty becomes invisible (Aubrun & Grady, 2003; Bales, 2003). Aubrun and Grady report “poverty did

not fit with rural people and is associated with urban areas” (2003, 14). Another effect of the dominant frames relates to the values of freedom and choice. In effect, Americans believe that rural people choose to live in rural places, yet could choose to live elsewhere. With its glorification of the yeoman farmer, the rural utopia frame places virtue in living a simple life with little money and few possessions. People without much money in rural areas are often thought of as happier than poor people in the city (Aubrun & Grady, 2003).

Urban and suburban people process new information almost completely within the utopia frame (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). By contrast, rural people were able to move beyond the rural utopia frame and to think in terms of systems. As another study in the Rural Perceptions project concludes, “While respondents clearly recognize that many family farmers are poor and losing their farms, most non-rural respondents have difficulty explaining the underlying causes of the problems” (Greenberg, 2001, 10).

By contrast, rural people do understand the employment picture in rural areas. To the extent that rural economies are either misunderstood or viewed as somehow separate from the national economy as a whole, it is difficult for urban and suburban people to imagine what kind of changes might be necessary to repair rural economies (Bostrom, 2003; Aubrun & Grady, 2003).

Much like the myth of the yeoman farmer, the rural utopia frame focuses on the simple life. Respondents report that this simple world needs no government intervention. Self-sufficiency is also a condition of life in this frame. Within this frame, rural self-sufficiency is also a virtue. Aubrun and Grady assert a code of rural ethos:

- Do whatever you can do for yourself.

- When things are rough for you, sacrifice and make do with less.
- When truly necessary, help your friends, family, and neighbors (2003, 22).

The consequences of the rural utopia frame do not allow rural people to be in need of help from outside of the rural community (Bales, 2003). In other words, respondents don't want to "spoil" rural America with outside help. The idea of free choice is also embedded in this frame. Rural people choose to live there and can choose to move. This dimension of the frame minimizes rural problems and suggests that people should simply vote with their feet.

The rural frame research identified four conditions in current thinking about rural America (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004). These conditions create barriers to new thinking and new policy solutions and include:

- People in rural areas are essentially different from their urban and suburban neighbors. Both the utopia and dystopia frames have as one of their central premises that people in rural areas are different and special, either in positive or negative ways.
- Life in rural and urban/suburban areas is essentially different. Not only are the kinds of people different in rural areas (according to the Utopia and Dystopia models), but the nature of rural life, communities, economics, and so forth are fundamentally different, and simpler.
- Rural problems are the "price" of a lifestyle that is privileged in other ways. Living in rural areas involves giving up opportunities for material wealth and comfort that we associate with the American Dream, in exchange for a kind of spiritual and physical health.

- Life in rural America and the rest of the United States is essentially disconnected. Rural life seems to take place in a different dimension. What happens on one side of the divide seems to have no effect on the other. (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004)

The current dominant frames around rural America are bound up in the metaphor of the natural order. Incumbent in the natural order is a strong sense of individualism. In this powerful way of thinking, God or a divine being sets in motion laws and principles which give order to the universe, and our job is to discover and abide by this natural order. (*Monarchia, III*, xvi. as cited in D'entrèves, 1951). Historically enduring and tailored to the American landscape, the natural order approach makes the task of constructing successful alternative frames even more difficult.

Reframing Rural America

If the dominant frames yield current policy outcomes, what alternative values or metaphors embedded in frames might change the message exchange to support new policies? The Kellogg research project included two qualitative studies testing new frame elements. One project included focus group testing of different rural frame value elements (Bostrom, 2004). Each group was read three fictional editorials:

- “Rural America Falling Behind” was developed to reflect the best of the rural disparities frame that is dominant in the existing rural policy discourse.
- “Planning for Future Prosperity” presents rural policies through the lens of the national economy.

- “Strengthening Communities” discusses rural policies through the lens of community needs and the interconnectedness of communities.

One theme emerging from the focus groups results was that a sense of interdependence builds support for rural policies. Additionally, urban and rural residents already believe that their tax dollars are benefiting those in other geographical areas, a type of cooperation (Bostrom, 2004). The idea of rural disparities creates a competitive ‘us versus them’ mindset, but when added to a fairness value, the result is a better understanding of rural issues (Bostrom, 2003, 2004). When used in reframed messages about rural America, the values of interdependence, cooperation and fairness/competition resulted in more positive discussions about rural solutions.

Another qualitative study in the Kellogg project found that people don’t see themselves as actors in the type of large system where public problems exist (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). While people assume responsibility for everyday events, such as fixing a hole in the roof, the task of solving global warming, for example, does not fit into their “every day action scenario” (Aubrun & Grady, 2003). Problems need to be translated into concrete, human-scale and casual stories. This is best achieved by engaging what researchers call “the Responsible Mind” (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004). Engagement with this way of thinking comes through the use of simplifying models or metaphors. These models put the actor in the casual picture; they capture the essence of what experts see as the solution to these problems; they offer compelling explanations, and make sense on their face (Aubrun & Grady, 2004). This description of simplifying models fits in well with the idea of human beings as ‘cognitive misers,’ always looking to expend the least amount of energy to process information.

In this qualitative research (Aubrun & Grady, 2004), explanatory paragraphs were developed and tested, each explaining some aspect of rural problems, using a different simplifying model:

Stranded Regions: Experts feel that large areas of America are suffering from what they call the "Stranded Regions" problem. Less populated counties and smaller towns are being cut off from the rest of the country as factory jobs and small farms disappear. When the economic ties that link these regions to the rest of the country are broken, the normal flow of money, people, and services that keep these parts of the country alive is choked off, leaving these areas stranded and withering.

Tourniquet Effect: Experts feel that large areas of America are suffering from what they call the "Tourniquet Effect." Less populated counties and smaller towns are being cut off from the rest of the country, as factory jobs and small farms disappear. When the economic ties that link these regions to the rest of the country are choked off, the normal flow of money, people, and services that keep these vital regions alive is interrupted. This Tourniquet Effect is turning healthy areas into unhealthy ones.

Community Collapse: Experts feel that large regions of America are suffering from what they call "Community Collapse." In smaller towns and less populated counties, the connections and institutions that link people together are breaking down. The disappearance of factory jobs and small farms means that people are forced to leave these areas – and as they go, the local economies, educational systems, transportation systems, and social structures become weak and collapse.

This breakdown is self-perpetuating, because as community collapse continues, more people leave.

Community Breakdown: Experts feel that large regions of America are suffering from symptoms of what they call “Community Breakdown.” In smaller towns and less populated counties, the things that link people together are breaking down. As the disappearance of factory jobs and small farms forces people to leave these areas, a kind of sickness and breakdown sets in. The local economies, educational systems, transportation systems, and social structures become weak and collapse. Community Breakdown is self-perpetuating, because as communities collapse, more people leave.

In addition, a fifth paragraph, designed to approximate advocates’ current approaches, was included for comparative purposes:

Assets and Problems: America's rural communities possess many valuable assets. Prominent among them are hard-working people who understand and value the culture and environment of their native place. They combine America’s best traditions with its most impressive ingenuity. At the same time, people in rural areas face significant challenges that the rest of America often doesn’t recognize. These problems include widespread job loss; decline in personal income; the loss of young people moving out; and continuing persistent poverty.

The most general summary of the research results is that, while each of the tested models proved understandable, the “ ‘folk models’ of rural life (i.e. the commonplace understandings which structure everyday thought) are powerfully resistant to change,”

but that the “Tourniquet Problem” emerged as more memorable (Aubrun & Grady, 2004).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The overarching research question this project seeks to inform is: How might the elements of the rural frame be changed in order to evoke a different way of thinking, one that increases support for a new rural policy agenda? Four of the hypotheses explore whether changing elements of the frames, either with a new value or a different metaphor, significantly changes levels of policy support between the treatment and control groups. Another research question revolves around the idea that rural, urban and suburban people will react differently to alternative frames and will consequently have different levels of support for a new rural policy agenda. A third question seeks to understand what role media use might play within various alternative frames in terms of varying support for rural policy.

Demographic data allows us to see what impact geographic location has on support for the new rural policy agenda. Rural respondents are expected to react differently to the fairness reframe, because they see themselves as a disadvantaged group. On the other hand, urban and suburban respondents may see the fairness reframe as an attack on the status quo. The cooperation reframe is expected to move all groups, but may establish a sense of “us versus them,” which might limit support for an expanded rural agenda. The value of interdependence is expected to provide a way of reasoning that allows all respondents to see themselves as part of a larger system and that will result in greater support for new rural policy among urban and suburban respondents. Based on these ideas, the first three hypotheses and sub-hypotheses are proposed:

H1: Respondents who are exposed to a reframe with the value of fairness will have greater support for the new rural agenda than will members of the control group.

H1A: Rural people who are exposed to the fairness reframe will demonstrate higher levels of support for new rural agenda than will urban people.

H1B: Rural respondents who are exposed to the fairness reframe will demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than will suburban respondents.

H2: Respondents who are exposed to the reframe that stresses cooperation as a value will demonstrate greater support for the new rural policy agenda than will members of the control group.

H2A: Urban respondents who are exposed to the cooperation reframe will demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than will rural respondents.

H2A: Suburban respondents who are exposed to the cooperation reframe will demonstrate more support for new rural agenda than will rural respondents.

H3: Respondents who are exposed to the reframe that is built around the value of interdependence will demonstrate greater support for new rural agenda than will members of the control group.

H3A: Urban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe will demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than rural respondents.

H3B: Suburban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe will demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than rural respondents.

The fourth hypothesis adds the simplifying model as a new frame element in addition to the three value frame conditions. The addition of the simplifying model

should cue a different cognitive processing in the respondents, which causes them to see rural issues as concrete, human and increasing their support for the new rural agenda.

H4: Subjects exposed to the simplifying model will demonstrate greater support for new rural agenda than did the subjects not exposed to the model in any of the four conditions.

Since television is the predominant source of information for most Americans, another avenue of exploration in the study is to assess the impact of media use on policy support in different framing conditions (Gerbner et al.,1994). It is possible to surmise that heavy viewers of television will be the most invested in the dominant frame and less subject to the reframing process of any of the messages creating a differential level of support for the new rural agenda. The final hypothesis predicts that lighter television viewers will have a different level of support for the rural policy indicator than do heavy viewers in the control group and all the reframing conditions. The following hypothesis is proposed:

H5: Lighter television viewers will differ in their level of support for the new rural agenda from heavy television viewers across all conditions.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

A within-subjects experiment using a telephone survey was designed with a control group and three treatment conditions. The study manipulates two different frame elements, the value embedded in the frame and the metaphor. Three different framing statements are tested as is a secondary test of a “simplifying model,” or a new concrete metaphor to help propel respondents’ support for a new rural policy agenda (Aubrun & Grady, 2003, 2004).

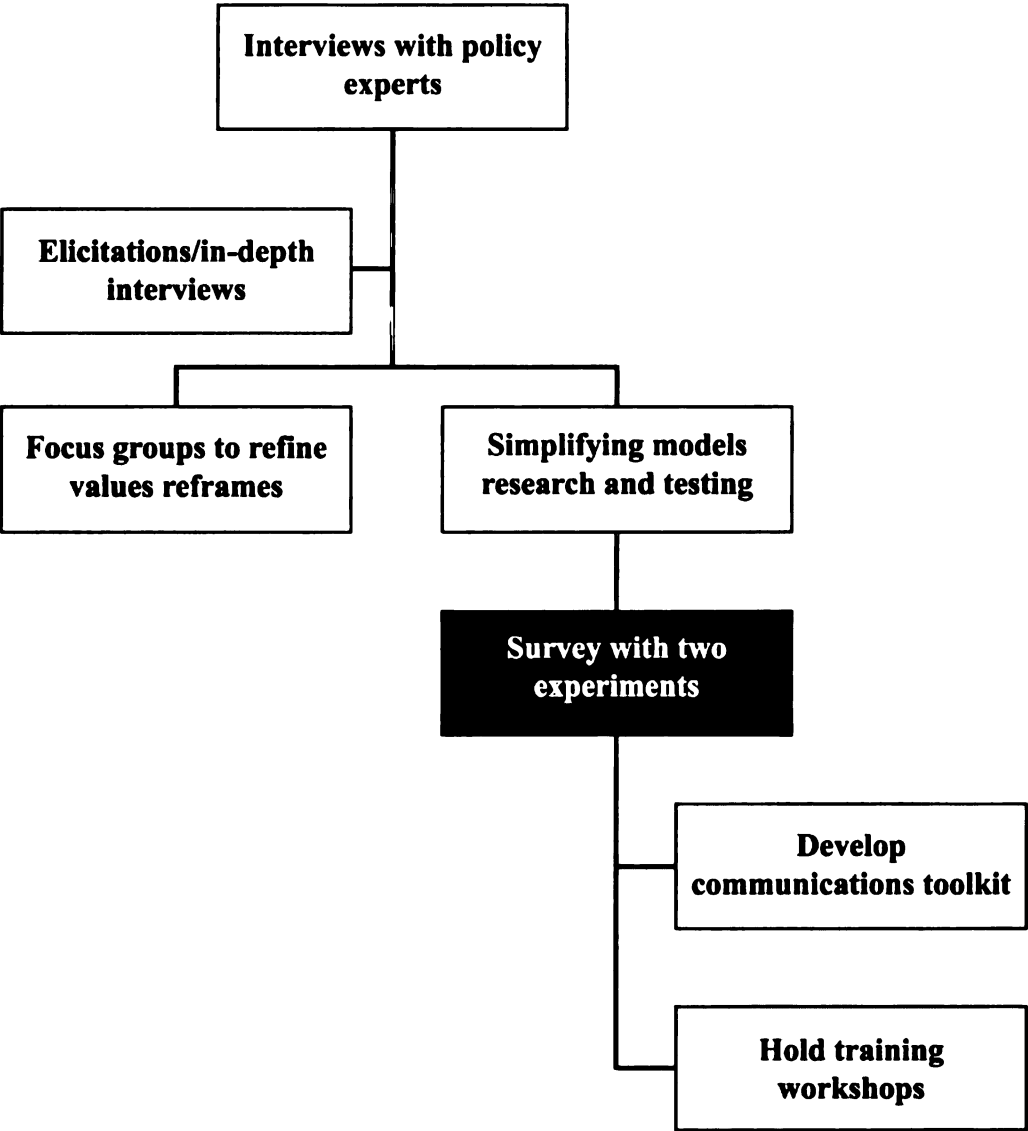
Overview of Strategic Frame Analysis

An applied research methodology called Strategic Frame Analysis (SFA) has previously been used to understand and test frames involving adolescents, global warming, and foreign policy, as well as other issues (Gilliam & Bales, 2001; Bales & Gilliam, 2004). SFA pulls together multi-disciplinary research strands, using multiple research methodologies to uncover the public’s deeply held assumptions, which influence specific issues using a kind of methodological pluralism. Strategic frame analysis relies on methods adapted from more traditional public opinion research, media studies, cultural and cognitive fieldwork including survey research, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, media content analysis, metaphor analysis and media effects tests. It looks to expand the field of knowledge developed by previous research about framing and social cognition theory (Rhee, 1997; Nelson, Oxley & Clauson, 1997). In the SFA process, new frame elements are created using qualitative methods, message reframes and the simplifying model, and then the elements are tested quantitatively to determine how they work across the population as a whole. Reframing involves the identification of

alternative frames of interpretation that, although weaker and less common than the dominant frame, can nevertheless promote support for different policies.

The following diagram lays out, in a simplified manner, the stages of the SFA method. The dark box is the focus of this research paper. The complete methodology, while part of a larger Kellogg Foundation project, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Figure 5
Strategic Frame Analysis Model



Note. Reprinted with permission of The Frameworks Institute, Washington, D.C..

Research Design

Through random dialing recruitment of subjects; random assignment of participants to conditions; and systematic manipulation of the independent variables, the experiment followed a completely randomized, between-subjects design with four manipulations. The survey included two experiments, which manipulated different frame elements.

The first experiment exposed three samples of adults to the first independent variables -- three different reframed statements -- and compared their level of support for the first dependent variable, the rural policy agenda variable. Thinking about frames as layers or levels helps understand the construction of reframes (Goffman, 1973).

Each reframe was constructed around a different fundamental American value; examples include freedom, social justice, and fairness, (Lakoff, 1980, 1987; Rokeah, 1960). A fourth control group received no prime at all, presumably allowing this group to “default” to the dominant frame available to them from media, personal familiarity or other sources. All groups were then queried about their support for the first battery of policies related to rural America, the new rural agenda 1 variable.

The second experiment added a new frame element to the value reframe conditions. The second experiment exposed half of each of the three treatment groups and the control group to the simplifying model, which was a new metaphor about rural America. All groups were then asked a second set of rural policy questions comprising the new rural agenda 2 dependent variable.

The survey concluded with a set of demographic questions including a question about media use. The media use question was: On average, about how many hours of television would you say you watch each day?

Measurement Units

New Rural Agenda Variables

Two related dependent variables were derived from reading rural development literature and through discussions with rural advocates (Davidson, 1996; Cloke, 1996; Filkins, Allen, & Cordes, 2000; Hamrick, 2003; Chambers, 1996; Flora, Flora, & Fey, 2003; Flora et al, 2002; Slack. & Jensen, 2002; Smith, 1996; Smith &. Krannich, 2000; Skees, & Swanson, 1994). A group of twenty-six policy statements were compiled and tested in the pilot study. Items were drawn from the original 26 to create two new rural agenda variables, new rural agenda 1 and new rural agenda 2. A set of policy questions was asked after the introduction of the first frame elements, the new values. A different set was asked after the introduction of the second new frame element, the new metaphor or simplifying model.

To shorten the length of the survey, 15 of the original policy questions from the pilot were used in the final instrument. The dependent variable in both experiments is a set of questions which asked respondents about their level of support for different rural policies, which taken together, comprise a new rural policy agenda. The items used to comprise new rural agenda 1 asked respondents to rank the importance of each of the following policies:

- Provide incentives for small businesses to start up or expand in rural areas
- Expand high-speed Internet connections and cell phone coverage in rural areas

- Offer college scholarships to those from any region who agree to teach in rural schools for at least five years
- Increase the availability of health care in rural communities, particularly preventive health care services
- Develop educational programs in rural areas that provide the high quality education that will be needed in the new economy
- Institute regional smart-growth strategies that restrict major development to those areas with existing infrastructure, and protect rural areas from sprawl
- Develop the biofuels industry which would provide a market for corn stalks and other agricultural by-products
- Target and develop a small number of rural areas with the potential to become regional anchors for jobs and economic development

Factor analysis of the eight questions confirmed that they did comprise one factor, the new rural agenda 1 variable. When using EQS, CFA results for unidimensionality were acceptable (NFI = .96, CFI = .98, GFI = .98, AGFI = .96 and average absolute standardized residuals = .019). These results were also consistent with Hunter's *Confirmatory Factor Analysis* (CFA). The CFA method involves computing a predicted correlation for each combination of items based on factor loadings, and then calculating the differences between predicted and observed correlations. Tests for internal consistency did not include any large deviation. Therefore, the eight items are internally consistent and unidimensional and can be used as a single measure. Reliability (Cronbach's α) was .837. The response format for each item was an 11-point scale (0 = not a priority, 10 = an extremely important priority, 11 = don't know or refused).

The second battery of policy questions included seven policies drawn from the same issue areas as the first battery, to create the new rural agenda 2 variable:

- Expand high-speed Internet connections in rural schools
- Invest in emerging industries in rural areas, such as agricultural biotechnology or wind power
- Locate more government contracts and government jobs in rural areas
- Offer medical school scholarships to those from any region who agree to practice in rural areas for at least five years
- Coordinate all national efforts for rural policy through one federal agency
- Address continuing environmental problems, including groundwater pollution from industrial farms and environmental degradation caused by mining and forestry
- Provide assistance for family farmers to transition to organic farming which is more profitable for farmers

Through factor analysis, new rural agenda 2 was also confirmed as unidimensional using EQS; CFA results were acceptable (NFI = .98, CFI = .99, GFI = .98, ADFI = .98 and average absolute standardized residuals = .010). These results were also consistent with Hunter's *Confirmatory Factor Analysis* (CFA). Tests for internal consistency did not include any large deviation. Reliability (Cronbach's α) was .86. The response format for the items was an 11-point scale (0 = not a priority, 10 = an extremely important priority, 11 = don't know or refused).

Independent variables

Value Reframes

The first set of independent variables in the study is three message reframes that vary the level one value for each treatment group. The three values selected for testing were: competition/fairness; cooperation; and interdependence, and they derive from the analysis of previous research, as discussed in the literature review.

These values are drawn from different metaphor families, and each expresses a different worldview (Morgan & Bales, 2003). They are also understood to be part of larger meta-cultural frames. When policies are proposed and enacted within the cooperation reframe, for example, the core members of the cooperation metaphor are family, friends, partners and the community. In this metaphor family, different sides of an issue choose to work together to attain a goal (Morgan & Bales, 2003). The outcome for rural policy choices, however, may be that rural is still seen as “the other” group by urban and suburban people. When reasoning within the frame of fairness, one thinks about acting equally to benefit of others, impartially and by rule, or according to some notion of rights (Lakoff,1995).

The issue areas identified in the message reframes are economy, education, and healthcare, and these areas were held constant across the three reframing statements. Operational definitions of the three alternatives frames were constructed using previous research. The following statements were used in the survey as the reframing messages:

- **Competition/Fairness:** In this country, we believe that all Americans should have the same opportunities. But the reality is that people in small towns and rural places are not enjoying the same benefits as the rest of the

nation. In fact, nearly all of the poorest counties in the nation are in rural America, and the divide between urban and rural prosperity is becoming greater. This happens because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas. People in rural areas have proven they have ingenuity and a desire to work hard; they just need the same resources to succeed. We need to level the playing field and make sure that those parts of the country that are at a disadvantage get their fair share of opportunities.

- **Cooperation:** In this country, we believe that any challenge can be overcome if we work together to solve it. Right now, there are a series of problems that require urban and rural areas to work together to make progress. The reality is that the nation's economic, educational, health, and community systems break down in inner cities as well as in small towns and rural areas. The only way we can strengthen the economy, improve education and healthcare, or enhance community well being, is to set aside our divisions, work together, and invest wherever the need and opportunity is most pressing. Each part of the country has different skills and resources to bring to address these issues. To seize the opportunities and surmount the challenges of the 21st century, we need unique cooperation among all regions in the country.

- **Interdependence:** In this country, we believe that what affects Americans in one part of the nation affects us all, and that we will only succeed when all parts of the nation are in good shape. We have a unique opportunity to move ahead as a country through creating good jobs and economic opportunity, improving education, reforming health care, and strengthening communities. Indicators of well being suggest that small towns and rural places are breaking down and the effect is spreading to the well being of the nation as a whole. This is happening because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas, which results in cutting rural places off from opportunities. We can prevent further damage by working together to reconnect the skills and resources that exist in the nation's heartland, which will then reverberate throughout the nation.

Simplifying Model

The second independent variable, the simplifying model, was introduced in the second experiment. Previous research found that certain ways of understanding rural areas created barriers to policy support, for example the public's belief that the decline of rural areas is inevitable and is caused by progress, and that the concerns of rural areas are separate and distinct from the needs of urban and suburban areas (Bostrom, 2003, 2004, Aubrun & Grady, 2003).

The language of simplifying model was:

Experts say that vast areas of America are suffering from what they call the "Tourniquet Effect." The loss of factory jobs, small farms and small businesses in rural areas has the effect of cutting off the normal circulation between those regions and the rest of the country. When the normal flow of money, people, and services that link urban and rural regions together is choked off, rural areas are left stranded and withering, and the Tourniquet Effect makes the country as a whole less healthy. When the tourniquet is loosened by the reestablishment of economic and other ties, the critical flow of money, people and services is restored and the whole country benefits.

Table 1

Test Language for Fairness Reframe

Question	Test Language
Job Rating	Thinking about “the problems facing small towns and rural places in America,” rate the job we are doing in “addressing the economic and social problems facing small towns and rural places in America”
Issue Concern	That small towns and rural places in America are being left behind because they are not getting the resources they need
Agree/Disagree	In this country, we believe that all Americans should have the same opportunities. But the reality is that people in small towns and rural places are not enjoying the same benefits as the rest of the nation. In fact, nearly all of the poorest counties in the nation are in rural America, and the divide between urban and rural prosperity is becoming greater. This happens because the efforts that enhance a community’s well being, like economic development, availability of healthcare programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas. People in rural areas have proven they have ingenuity and a desire to work hard; they just need the same resources to succeed. We need to level the playing field and make sure that those parts of the country that are at a disadvantage get their fair share of opportunities.
Satisfaction with Nation’s Efforts	To make sure that rural people enjoy the same benefits as people who live elsewhere

Table 2

Test Language for Interdependence Reframe

Question	Test Language
Job Rating	Thinking about “the well being of the nation as a whole in terms of its education, healthcare and economic systems,” rate the job we are doing in “making sure that all regions of the nation are functioning and contributing to the vitality of the nation”
Issue Concern	That unaddressed problems and untapped assets that exist in some parts of the country are holding back the nation’s progress
Agree/Disagree	In this country, we believe that what affects Americans in one part of the nation affects us all and that we will only succeed when all parts of the nation are in good shape. We have a unique opportunity to move ahead as a country through creating good jobs and economic opportunity, improving education, reforming healthcare, and strengthening communities. Indicators of well being suggest that small towns and rural places are breaking down and the effect is spreading to the well being of the nation as a whole. This is happening because the efforts that enhance a community’s well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas, which results in cutting rural places off from opportunities. We can prevent further damage by working together to reconnect the skills and resources that exist in the nation’s heartland, which will then reverberate throughout the nation.
Satisfaction with Nation’s Efforts	To make sure that all regions in the nation are in good shape and contributing to the nation’s progress

Table 3

Test Language for Cooperation Reframe

Question	Test Language
Job Rating	Thinking about “national issues like the economy, education, and healthcare that affect both rural and urban areas,” rate the job we are doing in “cooperating among different regions of the nation to address these kinds of major issues”
Issue Concern	That infighting and selfishness between regions is keeping us from addressing major national issues
Agree/Disagree	In this country, we believe that any challenge can be overcome if we work together to solve it. Right now, there are a series of problems that require urban and rural areas to work together to make progress. The reality is that the nation’s economic, educational, health, and community systems break down in inner cities as well as in small towns and rural areas. The only way we can strengthen the economy, or improve education and healthcare, or enhance community well being, is to set aside our divisions, work together, and invest wherever the need and opportunity is most pressing. Each part of the country has different skills and resources to bring to address these issues. To seize the opportunities and surmount the challenges of the 21 st century, we need unique cooperation among all regions in the country.
Satisfaction with Nation’s Efforts	To cooperate to address major issues shared by all parts of the nation

Pilot Survey

The pilot survey (Appendix A) included 150 randomly recruited subjects. It tested the full survey including both the values and metaphor reframing experiments. The pilot survey was conducted July 6-8, 2004. The pilot also included nine semantic differential questions designed to test the differences between the three reframes.

It was also hypothesized that certain word pairs would prime the selection of certain words. The semantic differential questions were placed following the second experiment to determine whether each of the three framing conditions would generate different word associations among respondents. Using a seven-point scale, respondents were asked, “which word comes closer to how you feel about more national investment in rural areas?” It was posited that the reframes would show the following word choices:

- Fairness – increase in fair and equal with an increase in competitive.
- Cooperation – increase in cooperative and helpful.
- Interdependence – increase in connected and interdependent.

After splitting the sample into those who received the model and those who had not, an independent samples test was conducted for each word set, comparing all pairs. The results reported in Table 4. The semantic differential question yielded results that were contrary to what had been imagined before the pilot.

Table 4

Pilot Survey: Means and Standard Deviations for Semantic Differential Questions

	Control		Fairness		Cooperation		Interdependence	
	Control	Model	Control	Model	Control	Model	Control	Model
Cooperative or Competitive	3.24 (1.92)	4.48 bf (1.92)	4.00 (1.71)	3.00 b (1.73)	4.06 (2.02)	4.13 i (2.39)	3.44 (2.34)	2.60 fi (1.68)
Fair or Unfair	3.21 a (1.67)	4.12 (1.99)	4.29 a (1.58)	2.94 g (1.88)	3.80 (1.78)	4.41 g (2.09)	3.27 (2.05)	3.86 (1.75)
Equal or Unequal	3.76 k (2.10)	4.64 cj (1.82)	4.29 k (2.14)	3.06 c (1.75)	3.44 (1.79)	4.06 (2.22)	3.36 (2.02)	3.31 j (1.93)
Important or Unimportant	2.54 (1.64)	3.00 e (1.92)	2.47 (1.51)	2.24 (1.44)	2.59 (1.77)	1.82 e (1.02)	1.75 (1.00)	2.38 (1.63)
Necessary or Unnecessary	2.92 f (1.66)	3.24 (2.01)	2.24 (1.20)	2.65 (1.70)	3.29 h (2.09)	3.35 (2.06)	1.88 fh (.96)	3.00 (1.86)
Connected or Disconnected	3.26 (1.79)	4.60 d (1.87)	4.06 (1.95)	2.94 d (2.08)	2.94 (1.57)	3.94 (2.11)	3.67 (2.13)	3.62 (2.02)
Ineffective or Effective	3.38 (1.93)	3.88 (2.07)	3.41 (1.84)	4.00 (2.45)	3.94 (1.89)	3.65 (2.18)	3.00 (1.65)	3.44 (2.07)
Helpful or Unhelpful	2.96 (1.58)	4.00 (2.23)	2.65 (1.62)	2.82 (1.72)	2.88 (1.54)	3.76 (2.05)	3.27 (1.98)	3.13 (2.13)
Interdependent or Dependent	3.82 (1.87)	4.00 (2.14)	4.29 (2.11)	3.40 (1.96)	3.33 (1.88)	4.41 (1.91)	3.63 (2.16)	3.79 (1.85)

Note. Letter indicates significance at .05 levels between pairs.

When comparing the treatment conditions against the control group and each other, two statistically significant word pair's differences emerge. With the word pair fair/unfair, the control group ($M = 3.21$) chose fair more than the fairness treatment group

($M = 4.29$) suggesting that the fairness value treatment was heightening a sense of unfairness ($t(39) = -1.25, p = .04$). With word pair, necessary/unnecessary, the cooperation treatment group ($M = 3.29$) was more likely to select unnecessary than the interdependence group ($M = 1.88$), suggesting that the idea of national policy for rural was less necessary under the cooperation frame than under the interdependence frame ($t(31) = 2.49, p = .02$). With the word pair, equal/unequal, the control group was more likely to select equal ($M = 3.76$) than the fairness group ($M = 4.29$), meaning the framing treatment of fairness was cuing up a sense of inequality.

In comparing the groups that had received the model, more differences appear in the data analysis. In the word pair cooperative/competitive, those in the control group who had received the model ($M = 4.48$) picked competitive more than those in the fairness group who had received the model ($M = 3.00$), suggesting that the model was cueing up competitiveness ($t(40) = 2.56, p = .02$). In the word pair important/unimportant, control group ($M = 3.00$) selected unimportant, than those in the cooperation group ($M = 1.82$), meaning the model might be moving people towards feeling that national rural policy was important ($t(40) = 2.32, p = .03$). In the word pair necessary/unnecessary, the control group ($M = 2.92$) was more likely to select unnecessary than the interdependence group ($M = 1.88$), indicating that the model might be moving respondents in the interdependence groups towards a sense that national rural policy was necessary ($t(39) = 2.29, p = .03$).

With the word pair cooperative/competitive, the control group who received the model ($M = 4.48$) was more likely to choose competitive than the interdependence group who received the model ($M = 2.60$), ($t(38) = 3.14, p = .00$.) In word pair equal/unequal,

the control group who had received the model ($M = 4.64$) was more likely to select unequal than the group with the model in the interdependence treatment ($M = 3.31$), $t(36) = 2.10$, $p = .04$. Those in the control group with the model were more likely to select disconnected ($M = 4.60$), than those in the fairness group exposed to the model ($M = 2.94$).

The interaction between the values statements and the model demonstrates interesting and distinctive patterns in reasoning. Those exposed to both the fairness value and the model were more likely than those exposed to the model alone to say: cooperative, equal, and connected. However, these respondents were also more likely than those exposed to the fairness value and model to say “unfair” and more likely than those exposed to the interdependence value and model to say “competitive.” The associations are different between those exposed to cooperation and the other two values, but the associations of those exposed to the cooperation value tip more negatively than those exposed to fairness or interdependence. The combination of fairness and model shifts respondents in a beneficial, positive direction, while the combination of cooperation and model shifts respondents in an unhelpful, negative direction.

The interdependence value alone, compared to the model, increases the response of the association with equal. When matched with the model, it increases associations with cooperative. Since the interdependence frame incorporates very similar patterns of reasoning as the model, it is not surprising that in this instance the values frame alone was able to make significant inroads in shaping opinion.

Based on these comparisons, it appears that the values frames cue different associations. Since the associations for each value were different, even though the model

stayed constant, it was posited that the distinctions in the word associations were due to the lingering effects of the values frames.

Selection of Subjects

The full survey results were based on telephone interviews with 3,105 adults nationwide, conducted July 20 – July 30, 2004. Each condition consisted of a national sample of adults drawn proportionately to population. Demographic characteristics (age, education, political party identification) were weighted, when necessary, to be consistent across conditions. The sample was drawn using the following definitions: urban residents will be defined as people living in the central city of a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA); any portion of an MSA county that is not in a central city is considered suburban; and all non-MSA counties are considered rural. Each cell in the design consists of a national sample of adults drawn proportionately to the population, compiled using a random digit dialing process. Random assignment of individuals to groups ensured at some level of probability that the differences between groups is attributable to stimuli and not exogenous factors.

Table 5

Number of Subjects in Each Condition

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence	Total
Urban	317	220	220	230	977
Suburban	498	350	350	220	1548
Rural	190	130	130	130	580
Total	1005	700	700	700	3105

The sample was drawn by Survey Sampling International (SSI). SSI analyzes Census Tract records and assigns every tract to a single designation based on plurality population. If the plurality of the population of a tract is in a Central City, that tract is designated as Urban. If the plurality is in an MSA or NECMA, but not in a Central City, it is designated as Suburban. If the plurality is not in an MSA or NECMA, it is designated Rural. Directory-listed records are coded as Urban, Suburban, or Rural based on the Census Tract of the address. In SSI's random digit database, exchanges are coded as Urban, Suburban, or Rural by converting tract-level codes to the exchange level based on plurality of directory-listed households. In this way, it will be possible to get a probabilistic sample that reflects the population distribution of the United States, across rural, urban and suburban populations.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In this chapter, the analysis of the data results will describe tests of the five main and six secondary hypotheses. Data analysis includes an omnibus analysis to check for interaction effects. The first four hypotheses and the six secondary hypotheses are analyzed using independent samples t tests. Additional analysis was undertaken to explore the impact of demographic variables on support for the rural agenda. The fifth hypothesis regarding media use is analyzed using a correlations test.

Results

To test for significant main and interaction effects, a Univariate ANOVA test was performed. Support for rural policy indicator was analyzed in a framing (control vs. fairness/competition vs. cooperation vs. interdependence) x geographic location (urban vs. suburban vs. rural) x TV viewing (light vs. heavy) between subjects factorial analysis of variance. Results showed a significant main effect of framing, $F(3, 3073) = 3.43, p < .05, \eta^2 = .003$, a significant main effect of geographic location, $F(2, 3073) = 8.27, p < .05, \eta^2 = .005$, and a significant main effect of TV viewing, $F(1, 3073) = 25.74, p < .05, \eta^2 = .008$. However, there are no significant interaction effects among these factors.

The first three hypotheses were organized around the main reframing test, i.e. whether the application of the specific reframe, fairness, cooperation or interdependence, resulted in a significantly different level of support for the new rural policy agenda than evidenced in the control group. Each main hypothesis was followed by two secondary hypotheses about the relationship between various geographies -- urban, suburban and rural -- against each other under the experimental conditions.

Table 6 shows the means of the new rural agenda 1 variable across geographic regions and by treatment condition.

Table 6

Means of Support for Rural Agenda 1 Across Treatment Conditions by Geographic Location

Treatments	Total	Urban	Suburban	Rural	N
					(3105)
Control	7.32ab	7.20	7.33	7.50	
Standard deviation	(1.59)	(1.66)	(1.54)	(1.59)	
Fairness	7.52a	7.57	7.37c	7.85c	
Standard deviation	(1.70)	(1.61)	(1.82)	(1.46)	
Cooperation	7.35	7.45	7.16	7.69	
Standard Deviation	(1.66)	(1.69)	(1.65)	(1.54)	
Interdependence	7.46b	7.29	7.49	7.67	
Standard Deviation	(1.66)	(1.82)	(1.52)	(1.71)	

Note. Letters indicate where significances were found between pairs at the .05 level.

Hypothesis One

H1 predicted that respondents exposed to the fairness/competition reframe would demonstrate greater support for rural policy than will members of the control group. The data were analyzed using an independent sample T test comparing the means of the fairness group to the control group. There was a significant difference between the fairness reframe and the control group, $t(1703) = 2.47, p < .05$. People exposed to the fairness/competition reframe ($M = 7.52$) demonstrated greater support for the rural agenda than people in the control group ($M = 7.32$).

H1a predicted that rural respondents exposed to the fairness/competition reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural policies indicator than will urban respondents exposed to the fairness/competition reframe. The data were analyzed using an independent sample T test. The expectation was that urban and suburban respondents

will focus on the competition aspect of the reframe and see rural areas as competing for 'their' resources, moderating their support. It was not supported, $t(348) = 1.63, p = .11$. Rural respondents ($M = 7.85$) did not demonstrate significantly a different level of support for the new rural agenda than urban respondents ($M = 7.57$) in the treatment condition of fairness/competition.

H1b predicted that rural respondents exposed to the fairness/competition reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural policies indicator than will suburban respondents who are exposed to the fairness/competition reframe. It was supported, $t(478) = 2.73, p = .01$. Rural respondents ($M = 7.85$) did demonstrate a significantly different level of support for the new rural agenda than suburban respondents ($M = 7.37$) in the treatment condition of fairness/competition.

Hypothesis Two

H2 predicted that respondents exposed to the cooperation reframe would demonstrate greater support for the rural policies indicator than will members of the control group. An independent sample t test was calculated, comparing the cooperation group with the control group. It was not supported, $t(3093) = .36, p = .72$. Respondents in the cooperation reframe ($M = 7.35$) did not demonstrate a significantly different level of support for the rural agenda than did respondents in the control condition ($M = 7.32$).

H2a predicted that urban respondents exposed to the cooperation reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural agenda than will rural respondents. The results of the t test showed that the hypothesis was not supported, $t(3093) = -1.35, p = .18$. Urban respondents ($M = 7.45$) in the cooperation treatment did not demonstrate a significantly

different of level of support for the rural agenda than rural respondents ($M = 7.69$) in the same treatment condition.

H2b predicted that suburban respondents exposed to the cooperation reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural policies indicator than will rural respondents. The same analysis was performed. Suburban respondents ($M = 7.16$) in the cooperation reframe did show a significantly different level of support for the rural agenda than rural respondents ($M = 7.69$) in the same condition but it was less support, rather than more support, than predicted, ($t(3093) = -3.14, p = .01$). The hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis Three

H3 predicted respondents exposed to the interdependence reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural policies indicator than will members of the control group. The data were analyzed using an independent sample t test. $t(1703) = 1.73, p = .08$. Since the hypothesis specified the direction of support, it is also possible to look at the result of the t test with one tailed significance, $p = .04$, Respondents exposed to the interdependence reframe ($M = 7.46$) did demonstrate more support for the rural agenda than did members of the control group ($M = 7.32$) as the hypothesis suggested.

H3a predicted that urban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural agenda than rural respondents. Urban respondents ($M = 7.29$) exposed to the interdependence reframe did demonstrate a significantly different level support for the rural agenda than rural respondents ($M = 7.67$) but it was less support rather than more support as predicted, ($t(348) = -1.94, p = .05$), so the hypothesis failed to be supported.

H3b predicted that suburban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe would demonstrate more support for the rural agenda than those rural respondents in the same condition. It was not supported ($t(478) = -1.08, p = .28$). Suburban respondents ($M = 7.49$) exposed to the interdependence reframe did not demonstrate more support for the rural agenda than those rural respondents ($M = 7.67$) in the same condition.

It is also useful to understand how various demographic conditions contribute to levels of support for the rural agenda, especially for the message targeting work planned outside this dissertation. Exploratory analysis, using one-way analysis of variance showed that support for the rural policy agenda did vary significantly in certain framing conditions when correlated with demographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, and race.

The gender of the respondents was significant in predicting support for the rural agenda across all conditions, with women more supportive than men ($F(1,3104) = 01.19, p = .00$). The race of respondents was also significant at the .05 level in predicting levels of support across all conditions ($F(6,3104) = 14.49, p = .00$).

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations by Gender in Support for Rural Policy

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Male	7.09(1.60)	7.20(1.84)	7.03(1.85)	7.15(1.76)
Female	7.54(1.55)	7.82(1.51)	7.65(1.39)	7.75(1.50)

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations by Race in Support for Rural Policy

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
White	7.30(1.57)	7.45(1.68)	7.27(1.64)	7.46(1.60)
Black	8.00(1.31)	8.30(1.30)	8.20 (1.26)	7.89(1.66)
Hispanic	7.81(1.56)	8.36(1.21)	7.97(1.45)	8.00(1.39)
Asian/Pacific Islander	6.94(1.54)	6.38(0.88)	8.09(1.02)	7.61(1.28)
Mixed	7.30(1.85)	7.68(1.62)	6.83(2.35)	7.01(2.24)
Don't know	7.08(1.46)	7.98(1.22)	7.49(1.61)	7.05(2.25)

Age, however, was not a significant predictor of support for the rural agenda, across all framing conditions ($F(73, 3104) = 1.12, p > .05$). Educational attainment was significant in the fairness condition ($F(6, 699) = 2.26, p < .05$) and the interdependence conditions ($F(6, 699) = 3.24, p < .05$).

An additional analysis was done to explore support for the rural agenda 1 variable by framing conditions within geographic place or urban, suburban and rural. A

contrast tests was undertaken (control group as 1, selected framing condition as -1 with other conditions as 0), within each geographic group. Urban respondents were significantly different in the control and fairness conditions, $t(.973) = -2.53, p < .05$.

Table 9 shows the means and standard deviations.

Table 9

Means of Geographic Place Within Framing Condition

	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Control	7.20a	7.33	7.50
Standard Deviation	(1.66)	(1.54)	(1.59)
Fairness	7.57a	7.37	7.85
Standard Deviation	(1.61)	(1.83)	(1.46)
Cooperation	7.45	7.16	7.69
Standard Deviation	(1.69)	(1.65)	(1.54)
Interdependence	7.29	7.34	7.67
Standard Deviation	(1.82)	(1.52)	(1.58)
Total	977	1548	580

Note. “a” denotes a significant difference at the .05 level between conditions within a geographic place.

Hypothesis Four

The second experiment concerned priming respondents with a new rural metaphor, or what SFA calls a simplifying model, followed by a set of questions comprising the rural agenda 2 variable. The simplifying model itself in the experiment represented a new concept for survey respondents – only 22% say they had heard anything about this before.

The data were analyzed using a contrast test with the second rural agenda variable as the dependent variable and the new simplifying model as one independent variable.

The sample was split into two groups, one exposed to the simplifying model and another that was not exposed to the model. The data were not consistent with the hypothesis that those exposed to the model would show an increase in support for the rural policy indicators in all four conditions. Exposure to the simplifying model did not result in any significant difference of support for rural policy between those exposed to the new model and those not exposed, $F(3, 3100) = 5.01, p > .05$.

The following table shows the means of both new rural agenda variables. In all conditions, support for the rural agenda 2 variable ($M = 7.29$) is less than for the rural agenda 1 variable ($M = 7.41$). There was a significant difference between the two variables when compared using a paired sample t-test, $t(3093) = -5.18, p < .01, sd = 1.20$. The addition of the simplifying model may have had a depressing effect on support for the new rural agenda.

Table 10

Means of Support for Rural Agenda 1 and 2 Variables by Condition and Experiment

Types of framing	Experiment 1 Rural Agenda 1	Experiment 2 Rural Agenda 2
Control	7.32	7.22
Standard deviation	(1.59)	(1.78)
Fairness	7.52	7.44
Standard deviation	(1.70)	(1.83)
Cooperation	7.35	7.22
Standard deviation	(1.66)	(1.90)
Interdependence	7.46	7.33
Standard deviation	(1.66)	(1.86)

Hypothesis Five

The final hypothesis looked at the variable of media use and its impact on policy support by framing condition. H5 predicted that there would be a difference in support between light and heavy television viewers on levels of support for the rural agenda. It was expected that media use would be positively related to support for the first rural policy agenda variable. When the relationship was examined, the correlation between media use and support for the first rural agenda variable was significant across all conditions, control and three framing treatments. Lighter television viewers overall ($M = 7.25$) demonstrated less support for rural agenda 1 than did heavy television viewers ($M = 7.59$).

Table 11

Correlation between Media Use and Rural Agenda 1

Conditions	Media use and Rural Agenda 1
Control	.13(**)
Fairness	.09(*)
Cooperation	.13 (**)
Interdependence	.09 (*)

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

A univariate between subjects analysis of covariance was calculated to examine the effects of heavy and light media use, using gender and race as fixed factors, while covarying out the effect of education and age. Gender was not significantly related to

media use ($F(1, 3056) = 3.35, p > .05$). Differences in what respondents indicated as their race also significantly differed in heavy and light media users, $F(6, 3056) = 10.65, p = .00$. Heavy media users ($M = 3.67$ years,) tended to have significantly less education than light media users ($M = 4.31$). Older respondents ($M = 52$ years) tended to be significantly heavier media users than lighter viewers ($M = 47$ years), $F(1, 3056) = 101.13, p = .00$.

In summary, in the fairness reframe and the interdependence reframe hypotheses support for the rural agenda differed significantly between the treatment condition and the control group. In all treatment conditions, geography mattered but not always in the direction predicted. In the fairness reframe, there was a significant difference in support for a rural policy agenda between rural and suburban people as predicted. In the cooperation frame, there was also a significant difference in the level of support between rural and suburban respondents but in the opposite direction predicted. In the interdependence condition, there was a significant difference between levels of support for the rural agenda between rural and urban people but also not in the direction predicted. Within the control group itself, the difference in support for the rural agenda differed significantly between urban and rural people ($t(505) = -2.06, p < .05$) while not differing between rural and suburban groups ($t(686) = 1.30, p > .05$). In the second experiment, exposure to the simplifying model did not cause any significant difference in support for the new rural agenda 2 variable. The last hypothesis about media use and support for the new rural agenda was supported, indicating that there was a significant correlation between support for the rural policy agenda 1 and media use. See Table 12 for a summary of all hypotheses.

Table 12

Summary of Hypotheses Results

H1: Respondents exposed to a reframe with the value of fairness would have greater support for the new rural agenda than will members of the control group.	SUPPORTED
H1A: Rural people who are exposed to the fairness reframe will demonstrate higher levels of support for the new rural agenda than will urban people.	NOT SUPPORTED
H1B: Rural respondents who are exposed to the fairness reframe would demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than will suburban respondents.	SUPPORTED
H2: Respondents who are exposed to the reframe that stresses cooperation as a value will demonstrate greater support for the new rural policy agenda than will members of the control group.	NOT SUPPORTED
H2A: Urban respondents who are exposed to the cooperation reframe would demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than will rural respondents.	NOT SUPPORTED
H2B: Suburban respondents who are exposed to the cooperation reframe will demonstrate more support for new rural agenda than will rural respondents.	NOT SUPPORTED
H3: Respondents who are exposed to the reframe that is built around the value of interdependence will demonstrate greater support for new rural agenda than will members of the control group.	SUPPORTED
H3A: Urban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe would demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than those respondents in rural condition.	NOT SUPPORTED
H3B: Suburban respondents who are exposed to the interdependence reframe would demonstrate more support for the new rural agenda than will those respondents in rural condition.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4: Subjects exposed to the simplifying model would demonstrate greater support for new rural agenda than did the subjects not exposed to the model in any condition.	NOT SUPPORTED
H5: Lighter television viewers will differ in their support for the new rural agenda from heavy television viewers	SUPPORTED

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter will briefly review the framing literature and ground the current project in framing effects theory. Then the major findings will be summarized. Methodological issues of concern and limitations will be discussed to improve future research using the Strategic Frame Analysis methodology. Recommendations for both communications and rural development audiences are included in this chapter. Finally, the chapter will conclude with some ideas about the expected utility of this research.

Summary of Framing Effects Literature

D'Angelo (2002, 873) offered what he calls the “hard core” of a framing research program focusing on four empirical goals that individual researchers pursue to various degrees:

- a) Identify thematic units called frames;
- b) Investigate the antecedent conditions that produce frames;
- c) Examine how frames activate and interact with an individual's prior knowledge;
and
- d) Examine how frames shape societal level processes such as public opinion.

The full research program undertaken by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation undertook study in each of these areas. This specific study is intended as a bridge between the third and fourth areas.

Strong empirical evidence confirms framing effects across several bodies of literature. In the prospect theory research, framing effects repeatedly occur when equivalent choices are offered but specific word choice differs. Researchers have looked

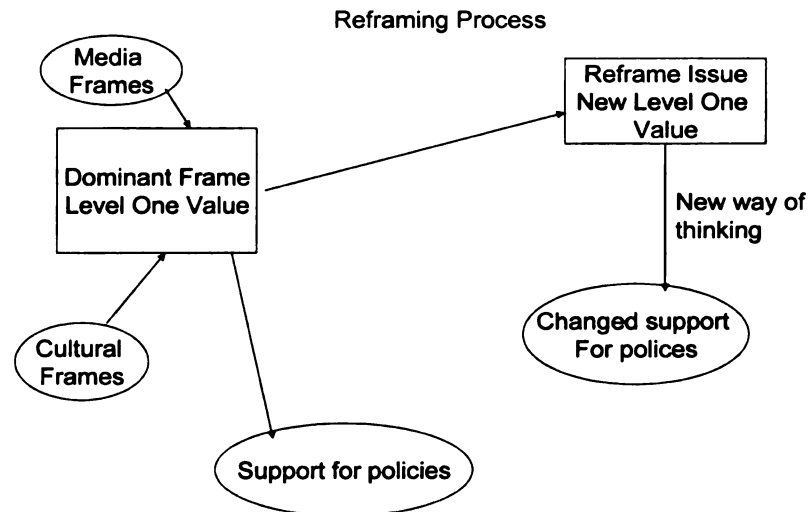
at conditions that mediate framing effects, for example, the addition of credible advice. Other researchers have focused on the cognitive aspect of framing, looking at issues such as accessibility and relationship to persuasion. Many researchers in the communications field have explored the effects of the news media acting as framing agents and the subsequent impact on attributions of responsibility and policy choice (Iyengar, 1992; Iyengar & Reeves, 1997; Valkenburg, Semetko & De Vreese, 1999; Gilliam, & Iyengar, 2000). Several researchers have experimented with changing the value of the frame to test its impact on issue knowledge and belief importance (Nelson & Oxley, 1999; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). For example, in the research on the women's movement, the values were selected from an analysis of historical data and were then tested (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997).

This research built specifically on previous research, first seeking to understand the current dominant frames and incumbent values, and then manipulating values and a metaphor in the alternative reframes. This research confirmed the basic finding that manipulating frame elements results in changed understanding.

This research, however, adds another dimension to the existing body of framing research because it seeks to test framing effects via support for a policy agenda. Individuals in this study report significantly different levels of support for policy choices when exposed to an alternative value frame. The simple diagram in Figure 5 represents reframing as suggested by this research. Changing the value of the dominant frame will result in a change in the level of support for a new rural policy agenda. No similar reframing model could be found in the existing literature.

Figure 6

The Reframing Process



Major Findings

One of the key findings of the research was that when individuals are presented with the fairness and interdependence reframes, their support for the rural policy agenda was higher than the control group. It is important to note, however, that the control demonstrated a very high level of support for what was essentially a rural policy manifesto. The high levels of support for rural policy across all groups may be attributed to a social desirability effect of some kind, since respondents were not offered any cost trade-offs or contexts in which to judge their actual level of support. If all Americans actually supported rural policy change at these levels, then this research would have been unnecessary.

While it is not surprising that the dominant frames around rural America are both entrenched and pervasive, it is useful to know that it can indeed be dislodged, however temporarily, by other values such as fairness and interdependence. Both values, it would appear, gave respondents another way to reason about their support for rural policy. One way to understand why cooperation failed to move support, would be to consider that this value has less centrality than the value of fairness and interdependence in this context. Elder and Cobb constructed a hierarchy of symbols (1983, 39), positing that higher order symbols have more potency than situational ones. They contend, for example, that the concept of “liberty” was acquired earlier in the socialization process than an idea like “deregulation” and is therefore more central to a person’s identity. It might be possible to theorize that fairness and interdependence, as values, are more proximate to our identity as Americans, than is cooperation.

It had been hypothesized that the fairness argument would heighten the competition between geography and result in less policy support for rural issues among urban and suburban people. It was also thought that the cooperation reframe, because of its metaphor family, would work on the enlightened self-interest of all. This was not the case.

The interdependence reframe was designed to reach into the larger ‘connection’ metaphor family that implies that the sum is greater than the parts and that all parts are important to the functioning of the whole (Morgan & Bales, 2003). The concept that rural America is part of the larger system that is America appeared to have lifted support for a rural agenda.

Support for rural policy varied by geographic location is equally interesting where the analysis showed both significant and insignificant differences between groups. In the cooperation and fairness reframes, rural and urban respondents did not differ significantly in their support for the rural agenda. When rural and suburban groups were compared, significant differences appeared in support for the rural agenda in the fairness and cooperation reframes but not in the interdependence treatment condition. The first two frames may have cued up an “us versus them” way of thinking that created differential support between suburban and rural audiences.

Urban people, exposed to the interdependence reframe, demonstrated significantly less support for the rural policy agenda than did rural people. This same reframe, however, did not create a significant difference in the level of support for the rural agenda between rural and suburban people.

For rural advocates, these findings provide interesting food for thought as advocates determine the role of urban and suburban voters with respect to the success of their policy campaigns. Rural people behaved according to their own self-interests, showing higher level of support for the rural agenda overall. Urban and suburban people, however, did support the rural agenda differently under the various reframing conditions, useful information in the creation of a communications strategy.

The failure of the simplifying model to cause different levels of support as posited by the fourth hypothesis, can be explained at least two ways, both of which will require further qualitative and quantitative testing to confirm. Either it is the wrong metaphor completely or it needs to be further refined. It may be the tourniquet as the metaphor invoked too vivid a picture. That the model may have, in fact, depressed policy support is

further evidence of the need for additional testing. The pilot test of the survey uncovered problems in the tourniquet language, which was changed in the full survey. Obviously, the changed language did not have any better success than it did in the pilot.

The fifth hypothesis departed from the value framing experiment in that it looked at how media use might influence support for rural policy. Support for the fourth hypothesis involving television viewing and the rural policy agenda showed another kind of influence at work. Heavy and light viewers did have significantly different levels of support for the rural agenda. Cultivation theory was the basis for the idea that heavy television viewing would serve to reinforce the dominant model; but the data does not support that idea (Gerbner et al., 1994). Less frequent viewers, showed less support for rural policy agenda than did heavy viewers. It has been suggested that heavy television viewing shapes viewers' beliefs and conceptions of reality (Hawkins & Pingree, 1981, 1990).

This idea that heavy television viewers most fully embrace the most general and stable dimension of shared values should have translated into less support among heavy viewers for the new rural agenda than light television viewers in the treatment conditions (Gerbner et al, 1994) but, it did not. Previous content analysis of news coverage of rural issues showed that television news coverage was rare and predominately episodic and failed to contextualize events in terms of broader issues (Lichter, Lichter & Amundsen, 2002, 2005). Consequently, it is unclear how much rural framing happens among television viewers coming from elite news coverage. Additional research is necessary to understand the role of news coverage and television viewing behavior in reinforcing the dominant model and its subsequent impact on support for a new rural policy agenda.

Future content analysis of rural news coverage would be a useful way to track whether advocates are successful in introducing an alternative rural frame that is then reinforced in media discourse.

Methodological Considerations

The methodology used in this study, Strategic Frame Analysis, is an only recently developed experimental, multi-method research approach. Every time SFA is used, learning takes place and the opportunity to hone the methodology occurs. This application was no exception.

Additional pre-testing of the reframes is suggested in the future, to make sure that these messages actually test the value that they are intended to test. The pilot survey weakly showed that the reframing statements cued up different word associations but not in the ways predicted.

Creating a typology of values and ways to test them would be useful for future SFA to assure continuity between studies in level-one values. The language of the reframes could have been strengthened, particularly in the cooperation and interdependence reframes based on what the semantic differential data in the pilot showed.

This could have been an artifact of the extremely small sample size ($N = 17$ per reframe) or the semantic differential question itself or the choice of word pairs that were used. It could also have meant that the reframed statements were not written in a way to strongly convey the level one value and should have been rewritten for the full survey. The results from the full survey would argue that the reframes were at least different from

one another. In the future, it would be useful to pretest the word scales qualitatively to ascertain whether they are cuing up the predicted associations.

As a result of the pilot survey, the simplifying model language was changed in the full survey. Given the results, the changes did not make any difference and the model still did not work as predicted. As suggested previously, the model still needs considerable testing to be useful in message development.

Limitations

The limitations of the research project are many. The complexity of issue frames requires that researchers use their own subjective viewpoint in delineating elements of frames (Gandy, 2003). Researchers have generated a virtual laundry list of frames without resulting in any single well-defined set of frames (Benford, 1997). The fractured paradigm of framing results in almost as many ways of understanding framing as there are framing studies (Entman, 2002), so no single, well-developed research methodology exists to help guide this project. To simplify the frame and to achieve greater reliability of measurement, much of the meaningful perspective that framing perspective might provide is often lost (Gandy, 2003).

The lack of clear definition of the values tested is a shortcoming in the SFA methodology. Future work should include development of a typology of values so that they can be tested across issues.

Another limitation included the timing of the survey, which was taken mid-July, 2004. The pilot test was conducted in early July and changes in the wording of the metaphor required additional human subjects approvals for the full questionnaire. This pushed the full survey even later than had been planned. Coming in a presidential

election year, when rural issues had received more news coverage than in previous years, may have influenced support for rural policies. A recent content analysis of elite news media stories showed that rural news coverage was up 57 percent during this time period compared to a similar time period in the previous year (Lichter, Amundsen & Lichter, 2005).

Recommendations

For communications scholars, this research extends and builds on framing effects theory. In addition to demonstrating the contributions of empirical communications research to the practice of communications, this study explores what factors influence how frames are developed and diffused to create changes in the policy environment (Gandy, 2003; Hertog & McLeod, 2003). This research opens a new landscape to exploration; specifically how do people reason within alternative frames that results in an increase in support for a policy agenda? It moves beyond the frequently researched idea that changing the frame does, indeed, result in meaning change and puts framing research into an action mode. Frames, in this research, are not viewed as what surrounds a central image, the frame, but instead as a verb, as in framing a house. This research did not seek to highlight the existing frame about rural America, as a communications campaign might do. Instead, this research sought to build a new house, framing a different argument, using different materials altogether.

The fairness and interdependence reframes, which moved support for the rural agenda, were designed to provide a rationale for why rural areas are struggling that triggers a new way of thinking. In so doing, both were able to compete with the Natural Order frame present in the current, dominant rural frames.

Whether the issue is rural America or childhood obesity, Strategic Frame Analysis is a methodology that should be subjected to further testing. Are there other frame elements, in addition to values treatments and the simplifying model, which could be added to the methodology? The Frameworks Institute sees the development of a new frame as part of a puzzle, as seen in Figure 7. Other puzzle pieces could be tested including the role of messengers, visuals and stories.

Future work on SFA should develop tighter definitions around expert policy solutions. Creating a policy agenda is more art than science at this point. Since using support for a policy agenda is a significant departure from traditional framing research, more explicit protocols need to be developed as to which and how many policies need to be included. The survey also includes a group of single item measures which could have provided useful guidance as to the effectiveness of frames had they been expanded into at least three item measurements.

One of the challenges facing issue initiators is that they often lack the skills necessary to package their issue into cultural terms that will appeal to large numbers of people (Cobb & Ross, 1997, 15). Agenda conflicts involve whether the government will seriously consider a grievance issue. Secondly, they are about competing interpretations of political problems. The last step of SFA, which is outside of the scope of this study, involves the dissemination and training process of rural advocates. The dissemination of the data to rural social movement actors, and the subsequent evaluation of whether those actors embrace alternative messages (and what those new message might mean for policy change) is where this research will receive validation. Frames and framing techniques are part of every communicator's toolkit of effects.

Much scholarly research in the social movement and political disciplines has focused on the importance of frames in communications efforts. Understanding frames and their effects can be seen as a strategic resource that can “direct attention and then guide the processing of information so that a preferred reading of the facts comes to dominate public understanding” (Gandy, 2002, 365).

One key to any successful effort to reframe rural America requires building or mobilizing organizations around particular issues and policies. The agenda setting literature helps to explain how reframed messages about rural America could lead rural advocates to get on the public or formal agenda (Cobb & Ross, 1997). For rural development advocates, the challenge is to take this research and create the social mobilization necessary to disseminate the most successful reframes. First, rural advocates must become adept at recognizing the current rural frames, utopia and dystopia, as they occur. If rural advocates continue to use messages of crisis or disparity, they will continue to cue up the existing frames. To be effective, rural advocates need to understand how the fairness frame might be incorporated into communication with constituencies, policymakers, and media. The interdependence frame is worthy of additional exploration by advocates, as part of their overall rural message development. Advocates must also think about offering solutions as part of their frames.

Reframing is a slow and uncertain process, particularly when the current frames are so deeply entrenched and so comfortable for most Americans. What this research tells advocates is that there is no easy way to dislodge the current frame, but

there is hope that new frames can change the way Americans think about rural people and places, and resulting in changed and better policies.

The Frameworks Institute suggests a seven-step program for advocates undertaking the difficult work of reframing social issues:

1. Denial, in which you can't believe that what you've done in the past doesn't work, even though you know better, and can only dimly see how you might do it differently.
2. Wonder and Ah-Ha!, in which suddenly everything you see is Framing!
Framing! Framing!
3. Paralysis, in which you are afraid to frame because you know the bad frames are in you.
4. Assimilation, in which you hunker down, read and think more, and try to learn how to get yourself unstuck.
5. Awkwardness, in which your frame has the head of a cat and the tail of a dog, but you recognize it and keep trying.
6. Integration, in which you successfully reframe a piece and it works, and you keep doing it, and it works better.
7. Conversion, in which you realize that you had better share your knowledge with your colleagues and coalitions, or their frames will undermine yours (Bales, 2005).

Rural advocates who want to apply this research to their current work can find some guidance in these results. First of all, rural advocates should avoid triggering the dominant frame by not painting rural America as a place apart from the rest of the

country. All the quaint and museum-like images of rural America lead audiences back to the dominant frame. Even with the best of motives, the ‘specialness’ of rural people and places, in either a positive or negative way, works against the kind of thinking that leads to new policy outcomes. In their messages, rural America should be connected to the rest of America, both physically (as one country) but also as a place that shares similar challenges and problems.

This research reinforces the way many advocates already tell their stories, using a fairness framework. Many advocates already embrace the idea that rural America is not getting its fair share of resources. They should continue to reinforce the idea of fairness but with great care not to engage in an “us versus them” message. Rural America deserves a fair share of opportunity and resources because we are all in this together as one country is an example of how the fairness message might be translated into a general appeal. In what may seem completely counter intuitive to many rural advocates, they may be more successful if they focus their messages less on the rural part of rural America and more on the America part.

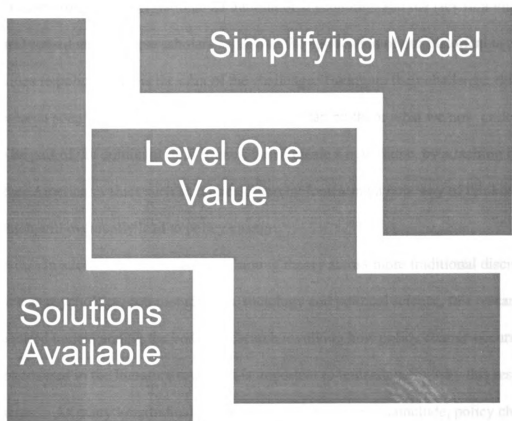
Current messages from rural advocates often focus on compelling single stories of one family or person. What we know from Iyengar’s work is that this kind of episodic story telling does not lead to attribution of responsibility for rural solutions outside of that family or that community (1992). Instead, messages should focus on telling stories in a thematic way, which places people within the context of the larger issue or system.

Another common message from advocates is the crisis or ‘sky is falling’ theme. While these can garner attention, they don’t lead to the kind of thinking that produces solutions, if the current policies for rural America are any indication. Messages should

instead focus on telling stories that highlight both the problems and the solutions. The Framing Puzzle in Figure 7 shows generally how the pieces of a new frame might come together.

Figure 7

The Framing Puzzle



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Conclusion

The power of the dominant frame around rural America is used to sell everything from soft drinks to political candidates. “This rural America of our dreams persists because it is wrapped up in our desire for ties to the land, economic

independence and community support” (Browne et al., 1992, 17). As rural scholars point out, altering the minimalist rural development of the past is a daunting task. The task has multiple dimensions including: the myth that farm policy is surrogate for rural policy; a lack of adequate data on rural areas; the pervasive assumption that little can be done to help rural areas left behind; the idea that rural America is treated in isolation from the larger national and international economy; and the lack of a unified rural constituency. These scholars argue that the application of our historical agrarian values to policy today is the crux of the challenge. Taking up their challenge, this research sought not to debunk the common agrarian myth, or what we now understand to be part of the dominant rural frames, but to create a new frame, by attaching it to other American values such as fairness, thereby fomenting a new way of thinking which will eventually lead to policy change.

In addition to understanding framing theory across more traditional disciplines, such as psychology, communications, sociology and political science, this research also required understanding the body of research involving how policy change occurs. While not covered in the literature review, it is important to understanding why this research matters. As many longitudinal studies of policy controversy conclude, policy change often requires that policy entrepreneurs look for ways to change the public and policy makers’ perceptions of their issue (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991, 2002). Changes in the image of the policy can lead to mobilization of the apathetic and movement in jurisdictional venues, all of which are necessary for policy change to occur.

Frame analysis is the first step in understanding the array of arguments and counter arguments that surround complex social issues (Gamson, 1988, 1992; Schon &

Rein, 1994). Once we understand the dominant frame, or the bundle of frames that comprise that frame, it is possible to test alternative frames, or to engage in a process of reframing in an attempt to change the existing pattern of discourse. The usefulness of this research is in the development of communication products that enter into the variety of discourses now ongoing about rural America. Whether it is the discussions of policy makers, or the coverage by the nation, state or local news media, the hope is when a critical mass of rural advocates all begin to use better crafted messages, based on the research and a new rural metaphor (once it is discovered), the way rural America is understood will slowly begin to change across a variety of discourses.

In the body of literature studying social movements, we see that social movement actors use frames to define their issues in ways to elaborate responsibility and to prescribe potential solutions. This research provides the first stepping-stone on that journey for rural social movement actors. When we deconstruct powerful frames like the ones identified in this dissertation and attempt to construct new ones, we seek to reveal or to illuminate what informs the frame. Frame construction is often more interpretative than strictly scientific process, peeling away layers of meaning to develop alternative frames which seem authentic to issue advocates.

The research in this dissertation will be judged successful if it serves as a gateway to further dialogue, policy action and change in rural America. Frame construction is not just a technique, a methodology or a part of framing effects theory, it is also part of a larger political project intended to have far reaching implications for rural Americans.

The challenge for rural advocates is neither to improve the public's views of rural people nor to develop a national fondness for Rural America. It is certainly also not a

short-term campaign to change the current dominant rural frame. Rather, building public will for policy change on behalf of Rural America will require a long term commitment to building a new communications frame across a wide range of rural advocacy groups. Ultimately, the new successful rural frame will illuminate the value of fairness in addressing rural concerns, and will build on a sense of geographic interdependence to connect all people to these issues, wherever they live.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Pilot Survey

Priming Survey – Pilot, July 2004

(n=150, in Percent)

i.	Survey ID #											
ii.	Phone #	() -										
iii.	Date (ENTER 6 DIGITS – MMDDYY)	/ /										
iv.	FIPS Code											
v.	U/S/R Code											
vi.	Interview Completion	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%;">Primary #</td> <td style="width: 60%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1st attempt</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1 callback</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2+ callbacks</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Substitute #</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> </table>	Primary #		1 st attempt	1	1 callback	2	2+ callbacks	3	Substitute #	4
Primary #												
1 st attempt	1											
1 callback	2											
2+ callbacks	3											
Substitute #	4											
vii.	Interviewer Initials											
viii.	Split 1											
	C1 Control1 (n=50)											
	F Fairness (n=34)											
	R Cooperation (n=34)											
	I Interdependence (n=32)											
ix.	Split 2											
	C2 Control2 (n=75)											
	M Model (n=75)											

Hello, I am calling for National Opinion Survey and the Kellogg Foundation. I would like to ask you a few questions facing our nation, state and local community. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can stop the interview at any point or you may refuse to answer any questions. I am not selling anything and I will not ask you for a donation.

The Kellogg Foundation is a non-profit organization, whose mission is to apply knowledge to solve the problems of people.

Your phone number was randomly selected and we do not know your name or address. While we will not ask you anything private or personal, we assure you that your responses will remain anonymous. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. The interview will last approximately 12 minutes.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, please contact Dr. Frank Fear at Michigan State University at (517)432-0734. If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact –

anonymously, if you wish –Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, e-mail: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Since this is a scientific study, we need a balance of men and women, may I speak to the youngest man 18 years or older who is at home right now.

(Repeat for new respondent if necessary)

By answering the questions you are consenting to be part of this study and have your answers included in the results. May I start the interview now?

RECORD RESPONDENT'S GENDER (DO NOT ASK).

Male 48%
Female 52

1. Think for a moment about (PHRASE 1). How would you rate the job we are doing in (PHRASE 2). Are we doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job in (PHRASE 2)?

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: 1: The problems facing small towns and rural places in America

2: Addressing the economic and social problems facing small towns and rural places in America

R: Cooperation: 1: National issues like the economy, education, and healthcare that affect both rural and urban areas

2: Cooperating among different regions of the a nation to address these kinds of major issues

I: Interdependence: 1: The well being of the nation as a whole in terms of its education, health care and economic systems

2: Making sure that all regions of the nation are functioning and contributing to the vitality of the nation

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Excellent	NA	-	-	-
Good	NA	28	33	46
Only fair	NA	29	44	39
Poor	NA	32	20	12
Don't know	NA	11	2	-

2. How concerned are you (ISSUE) – extremely concerned, very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not at all concerned?

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Extremely concerned	NA	19	15	13
Very concerned	NA	34	11	34
Somewhat concerned	NA	31	51	39

Not at all concerned	NA	14	17	11
Don't know	NA	3	7	3

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: that small towns and rural places in America are being left behind because they are not getting the resources they need

R: Cooperation: that infighting and selfishness between regions is keeping us from addressing major national issues

I: Interdependence: that unaddressed problems and untapped assets that exist in some parts of the country are holding back the nation's progress

3. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement. (FOLLOW UP)
And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Agree, strongly	NA	53	55	51
Agree, not strong	NA	26	20	27
Don't know	NA	6	11	7
Disagree, not strong	NA	9	5	6
Disagree, strongly	NA	6	9	9

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: In this country, we believe that all Americans should have the same opportunities. But the reality is that people in small towns and rural places are not enjoying the same benefits as the rest of the nation. In fact, nearly all of the poorest counties in the nation are in rural America, and the divide between urban and rural prosperity is becoming greater. This happens because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas. People in rural areas have proven they have ingenuity and a desire to work hard; they just need the same resources to succeed. We need to level the playing field and make sure that those parts of the country that are at a disadvantage get their fair share of opportunities.

R: Cooperation: In this country, we believe that any challenge can be overcome if we work together to solve it. Right now, there are a series of problems that require urban and rural areas to work together to make progress. The reality is that the nation's economic, educational, health, and community systems break down in inner cities as well as in small town and rural areas. The only way we can strengthen the economy, or improve education and healthcare, or enhance community well being, is to set aside our divisions, work together, and invest wherever the need and opportunity is most pressing. Each part of the country has different skills and resources to bring to address these issues. To seize the opportunities and surmount the challenges of the 21st century, we need unique cooperation among all regions in the country.

I: Interdependence: In this country, we believe that what affects Americans in one part of the nation affects us all and that we will only succeed when all parts of the nation are in good shape. We have a unique opportunity to move ahead as a country through creating good jobs and economic opportunity, improving education, reforming health care, and strengthening communities. Indicators of well being suggest that small towns and rural places are breaking down and the effect is spreading to the well being of the nation as a whole. This is happening because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas, which results in cutting rural places off from opportunities. We can prevent further damage by working together to reconnect the skills and resources that exist in the nation's heartland, which will then reverberate throughout the nation.

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority. (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

RANDOMIZE

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdep.
4. Provide incentives for small businesses to start up or expand in rural areas	6.8	7.9	7.9	8.2
5. Expand high-speed Internet connections and cell phone coverage in rural areas	6.5	6.9	6.6	7.1
6. Expand rural areas' access to federally insured mortgages, small business loans, and college loans	6.9	7.8	7.5	7.9
7. Offer college scholarships to those from any region who agree to teach in rural schools for at least five years	7.0	7.9	7.4	8.2
8. Increase the availability of health care in rural communities, particularly preventive health care services	8.1	8.7	8.3	8.1
9. Develop educational programs in rural areas that provide the high quality education that will be needed in the new economy	7.6	8.4	7.9	9.0
10. Institute regional smart-growth strategies that restrict major development to those areas with existing infrastructure, and protect rural areas from sprawl	6.5	6.8	6.7	7.3
11. Offer medical school scholarships to students who agree to practice for at least five years in underserved parts of the state	7.3	8.2	7.9	8.2
12. Provide	5.9	6.2	6.5	7.3

assistance for family farmers to transition to organic farming which is more profitable for farmers				
13. Develop the biofuels industry which would provide a market for corn stalks and other agricultural by-products	6.3	7.8	7.3	7.7

14. Would you say you are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the nation's efforts to (ISSUE):

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: 1: make sure that rural people enjoy the same benefits as people who live elsewhere

R: Cooperation: 1: Cooperate to address major issues shared by all parts of the nation

I: Interdependence: 1: Make sure that all regions in the nation are in good shape and contributing to the nation's progress

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Satisfied	NA	28	36	35
Dissatisfied	NA	69	56	62
Don't know	NA	3	8	3

How important is it for the nation to make the needs of each of the following areas a priority – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important? First, how important is it to prioritize the needs of (READ) – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important?

RANDOMIZE

15. Cities and urban areas

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Extremely important	12	14	15	22
Very important	41	23	40	32
Somewhat important	40	49	39	46
Not important	8	14	6	
Don't know				

16. Suburban areas

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Extremely important	12	8	10	19
Very important	28	36	47	25
Somewhat important	55	42	35	50
Not important	6	8	9	6
Don't know		5		

17. Small towns and rural areas

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Extremely important	11	31	14	32
Very important	36	33	52	39
Somewhat important	49	34	31	26
Not important	4	2	3	3
Don't know				

For each of the following, please tell me how much responsibility it should have for addressing the concerns of small towns and rural areas in the nation – a lot of responsibility, some, a little, or not much? When it comes to addressing the concerns of small towns and rural areas, does the (READ) have a lot of responsibility, some, a little or not much?

RANDOMIZE

18. Federal government

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
A lot of responsibility	24	36	18	32
Some responsibility	43	46	43	45
A little responsibility	12	9	9	15
Not much responsibility	19	9	30	9
Don't know	2			

19. State government

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
A lot of responsibility	38	58	46	53
Some responsibility	48	34	25	39
A little responsibility	8	9	21	6
Not much responsibility	6		8	3
Don't know				

20. Local governments in rural areas

	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
A lot of responsibility	58	69	62	68
Some responsibility	30	25	29	26
A little responsibility	4	3	6	-
Not much responsibility	6	3	3	6
Don't know	2			

NEW SPLIT**C2: Control2 (skip question)****M: Model**

21. Experts say that vast areas of America are suffering from what they call the “tourniquet effect.” When factory jobs and small farms are lost in rural areas, the effect is like cutting off the normal circulation between those regions and the rest of the country. When the normal flow of money, people and services that link urban and rural regions together is choked off, rural areas are left stranded and withering. This tourniquet effect is making the country as a whole less healthy. Had you heard anything about this before?

	Model
Yes	31
No	68
Don't know	-

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority. (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

RANDOMIZE

	Control	Model
22. Expand high-speed Internet connections in rural schools	7.2	7.1
23. Invest in emerging industries in rural areas, such as agricultural biotechnology or wind power	7.6	7.7
24. Locate more government contracts and government jobs in rural areas	6.8	7.0
25. Offer medical school scholarships to those from any region who agree to practice in rural areas for at least five years	7.7	7.9
26. Coordinate all national efforts for rural policy through one federal agency	5.3	5.4
27. Target and develop a small number of rural areas with the potential to become regional anchors for jobs and economic development	7.4	7.4
28. Plan economic development and targeted business incentives to bring good jobs that are appropriate for the area.	8.2	8.2
29. Address continuing environmental problems, including groundwater pollution from industrial farms and environmental degradation caused by mining and forestry	7.9	8.1
30. End government subsidies to corporate agribusiness	6.6	6.8
31. Adjust required minimum wage rates for all parts of the state to take into account the cost of living in an area	7.6	7.5

C2: Control2 (skip intro)

M: Model Still thinking about the Tourniquet Effect that is choking off the normal flow of money, people and services that link urban and rural regions....

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (FOLLOW UP) And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

RANDOMIZE ORDER

32. The challenges and opportunities in small towns and rural areas will affect the nation so we must address their issues together

	Control 1	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdep	Control 2	Model
Agree, strongly	52	57	50	59	53	54
Agree, not strong	34	39	34	24	38	28
Don't know					-	-
Disagree, not strong	12	2	12	6	7	10
Disagree, strongly	2	3	3	12	2	8

33. Small towns and rural areas are an important part of our heritage that should be preserved so we should save some in order to make sure that future generations remember them

	Control 1	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdep	Control 2	Model
Agree, strongly	64	59	60	71	63	63
Agree, not strong	23	26	23	24	22	25
Don't know			3		1	-
Disagree, not strong	9	7	8		6	7
Disagree, strongly	4	8	6	6	7	5

34. People in small towns and rural areas are capable of handling their own problems so outside interference should be discouraged

	Control 1	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdep	Control 2	Model
Agree, strongly	23	16	18	18	14	24
Agree, not strong	24	19	26	15	28	15
Don't know	4		2		1	2
Disagree, not strong	25	30	38	29	27	33
Disagree, strongly	25	35	15	39	30	26

35. Progress will inevitably destroy small towns and rural areas so there is little that can be done to help them now.

	Control 1	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdep	Control 2	Model
Agree, strongly	10	12	12	6	11	10
Agree, not strong	19	4	7	18	7	19
Don't know	2		2		-	2
Disagree, not strong	31	39	21	37	34	29
Disagree, strongly	38	45	57	39	49	40

Now I'm going to mention some groups in society. For each, I want you to tell me whether you think this group generally shares most of your values, some of your values, or hardly any. How about (read items)? (shares none = vol. response)

RANDOMIZE

		Most	Some	Hardly Any	None	DK
36. Rich people	Control 1	9	41	46	2	2
	Fairness	4	48	34	12	3
	Cooperation	5	34	42	12	7
	Interdep	20	44	26	4	6
	Control 2	8	39	38	8	7
	Model	10	44	38	6	2
37. Poor people	Control 1	24	61	10		4
	Fairness	15	72	9		4
	Cooperation	30	54	9		7
	Interdep	28	46	18	6	3
	Control 2	24	58	9	2	6
	Model	24	60	13	-	3
38. People who live in cities	Control 1	21	67	12		

or urban areas						
	Fairness	11	62	23		4
	Cooperation	11	63	17	3	7
	Interdep	34	56	6	4	
	Control 2	17	69	11	-	3
	Model	22	56	17	3	2
39. People who live in suburban areas	Control 1	36	55	9		
	Fairness	27	55	18		
	Cooperation	22	49	22		7
	Interdep	27	58	9		6
	Control 2	29	53	16		2
	Model	29	55	13		3
40. People who live in small towns or rural areas	Control 1	52	40	8		
	Fairness	53	38	10		
	Cooperation	52	36	3	3	7
	Interdep	63	32	3		3
	Control 2	47	45	4	1	2
	Model	62	28	8	-	2
41. People on welfare	Control 1	12	36	46	6	
	Fairness	3	38	48	10	2
	Cooperation	13	50	31		7
	Interdep	19	31	32	13	6
	Control 2	12	41	36	8	2
	Model	11	36	44	5	4
42. Older Americans	Control 1	64	28	8		
	Fairness	50	42	8		
	Cooperation	58	32	3		7
	Interdep	67	27	6		
	Control 2	60	32	6		1
	Model	60	32	6		2
43. Baby boomers	Control 1	41	42	15		2
	Fairness	36	41	24		
	Cooperation	50	38	6		7
	Interdep	36	46	12		6
	Control 2	38	47	11		4
	Model	44	36	17		3
44. Young people under the	Control 1	21	51	24	2	3

age of 30						
	Fairness	25	50	22		2
	Cooperation	19	61	16		3
	Interdep	27	43	21		9
	Control 2	19	63	15	-	4
	Model	27	41	27	1	4

In this survey, we've talked a lot about (INSERT)

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: small towns and rural places in America being left behind because they are not getting their fair share of the resources they need

R: Cooperation: the infighting and selfishness between regions that is keeping us from cooperating to address major national issues

I: Interdependence: making sure that all regions in the nation are in good shape and contributing to the nation's progress

I am going to read to you several pairs of words, and I'd like you to please tell me which word comes closer to how you feel about more national investment in rural areas. There's no right or wrong answer, just how you feel. Ok, so think about your feelings toward addressing issues in rural areas...here's the first pair:

RANDOMIZE ORDER

(Positive Value is Always Scored as Low on the Scale)

	Control		Fairness		Cooperation		Interdependence	
	Control	Model	Control	Model	Control	Model	Control	Model
Q45-Cooperative or Competitive	3.3	4.5	3.9	3.0	4.1	4.1	3.5	2.5
Q46-Unfair or Fair	3.2	4.1	4.1	2.9	3.8	4.4	3.3	3.8
Q47-Equal or Unequal	3.8	4.6	4.1	3.0	3.5	4.1	3.3	3.3
Q48-Important or Unimportant	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.2	2.6	1.8	1.7	2.4
Q49-Unnecessary or Necessary	2.9	3.3	2.3	2.5	3.3	3.2	1.8	2.9
Q50-Connected or Disconnected	3.3	4.6	4.0	3.0	3.0	4.1	3.6	3.6
Q51-Ineffective or Effective	3.5	3.8	3.4	3.8	4.0	3.8	2.9	3.4
Q52-Helpful or Unhelpful	3.0	4.0	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.8	3.3	3.2
Q53-Interdependent or Dependent	3.8	4.1	4.3	3.5	3.4	4.5	3.6	3.7

(Demographics are total figures for the entire sample.)

And now, just a few more quick questions for statistical purposes. This information will only be used for analysis of this study, and will be kept completely confidential.

54. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican or Independent? **(IF INDEPENDENT, DON'T KNOW)** Would you say you are closer to the Democrats or Republicans?

Democrat 30
 Lean Democrat 12
 Independent, no lean..... 14
 Lean Republican..... 7
 Republican..... 30
 Don't know / Refused..... 7

55. Are you currently registered to vote or not?

Yes 89
 No..... 10
 Don't know 1

56. If the election for president were held today, would you vote for (ROTATE ORDER)
George Bush, the Republican candidate OR John Kerry, the Democratic candidate? (IF
UNDECIDED) Well which candidate are you leaning toward?

George Bush/Republican	38
Lean Bush	3
Lean Kerry	1
John Kerry/Democrat.....	42
Ralph Nader (vol.)	
Can't vote.....	1
Won't vote	4
Don't know	10

57. In what year were you born? Average age = 50.2

58. What is your employment status?

Employed full time	48
Employed part time.....	5
Self employed	8
Not employed but looking	3
Homemaker.....	5
Student	2
Retired.....	23
Other, not working	4
Refused	2

59. Are you married, living with a partner, single, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Married	51
Living with a partner	1
Single, never married	19
Separated/divorced	12
Widowed	13
Refused	3

60. (IF MARRIED) Does your spouse work, part-time or more, outside the home or
would you say that your spouse's work is mainly at home?

Employed	66
At home	34
Refused	

61. Do you have any children?

Yes	73
No	25
Refused	2

62. (IF YES) In which of the following age groups do they belong? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

Under 2 years old	11
2-5 years old	12
6-11 years old	15
12-18 years old	15
Over 18 years old	70
Refused	

63. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

1 - 11th grade	6
High school graduate	24
Non-college post H.S. (e.g. tech)	2
Some college (jr. college)	28
College graduate	18
Post-graduate school/PHD	18
Don't know	3

64. What is your race?

White	83
Black	5
Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.)	3
Asian/pacific islander	1
Other	2
Mixed race	2
Don't know/refused	4

65. And are you of Spanish or Hispanic descent?

Yes	
No	97
Don't know/refused	3

66. On average, about how many hours of television would you say you watch each day?
.....2.7 average (enter # of hours)

67. And finally, which of the following best describes your personal experience with small towns and rural areas:

I currently live in a rural area	46
I used to live in a rural area	29
While I haven't lived there, I have spent a lot of time visiting rural areas.....	7
I have spent a limited amount of time in rural areas	12
I have never really been in rural areas	4
Don't know (vol.)	3

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME [TERMINATE]

Appendix B

Priming Survey – July 2004

July 20-30, 2004

N=3105, In Percent

viii. Split 1

C1	Control1	n=1005
F	Fairness	n=700
R	Cooperation	n=700
I	Interdependence	n=700

ix. Split 2

C2	Control2	n=1553
M	Model	n=1552

Hello, I am calling for National Opinion Survey and the Kellogg Foundation. I would like to ask you a few questions facing our nation, state and local community. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can stop the interview at any point or you may refuse to answer any questions. I am not selling anything and I will not ask you for a donation.

The Kellogg Foundation is a non-profit organization, whose mission is to apply knowledge to solve the problems of people.

Your phone number was randomly selected and we do not know your name or address. While we will not ask you anything private or personal, we assure you that your responses will remain anonymous. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. The interview will last approximately 12 minutes.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, please contact Dr. Frank Fear at Michigan State University at (517)432-0734. If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact – anonymously, if you wish –Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, e-mail: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Since this is a scientific study, we need a balance of men and women, may I speak to the youngest man 18 years or older who is at home right now.

(Repeat for new respondent if necessary)

By answering the questions you are consenting to be part of this study and have your answers included in the results. May I start the interview now?

RECORD RESPONDENT'S GENDER (DO NOT ASK).

Male	48
Female	52

45. Think for a moment about (PHRASE 1). How would you rate the job we are doing in (PHRASE 2). Are we doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job in (PHRASE 2)?

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: 1: The problems facing small towns and rural places in America

2: Addressing the economic and social problems facing small towns and rural places in America

R: Cooperation: 1: National issues like the economy, education, and healthcare that affect both rural and urban areas

2: Cooperating among different regions of the a nation to address these kinds of major issues

I: Interdependence: 1: The well being of the nation as a whole in terms of its education, health care and economic systems

2: Making sure that all regions of the nation are functioning and contributing to the vitality of the nation

	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Excellent	3	2	5
Good	21	25	34
Only fair	42	43	41
Poor	27	25	19
Don't know	7	5	3

46. How concerned are you (ISSUE) – extremely concerned, very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not at all concerned?

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: that small towns and rural places in America are being left behind because they are not getting the resources they need

R: Cooperation: that infighting and selfishness between regions is keeping us from addressing major national issues

I: Interdependence: that unaddressed problems and untapped assets that exist in some parts of the country are holding back the nation's progress

	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Extremely concerned	14	15	14
Very concerned	32	29	25
Somewhat concerned	41	36	45
Not at all concerned	11	17	13
Don't know	2	3	4

47. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement. (FOLLOW UP)
And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Agree, strongly	51	61	44
Agree, not strong	26	23	28
Don't know	4	3	6
Disagree, not strong	9	7	13
Disagree, strongly	10	7	10

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: In this country, we believe that all Americans should have the same opportunities. But the reality is that people in small towns and rural places are not enjoying the same benefits as the rest of the nation. In fact, nearly all of the poorest counties in the nation are in rural America, and the divide between urban and rural prosperity is becoming greater. This happens because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas. People in rural areas have proven they have ingenuity and a desire to work hard; they just need the same resources to succeed. We need to level the playing field and make sure that those parts of the country that are at a disadvantage get their fair share of opportunities.

R: Cooperation: In this country, we believe that any challenge can be overcome if we work together to solve it. Right now, there are a series of problems that require urban and rural areas to work together to make progress. The reality is that the nation's economic, educational, health, and community systems break down in inner cities as well as in small town and rural areas. The only way we can strengthen the economy, or improve education and healthcare, or enhance community well being, is to set aside our divisions, work together, and invest wherever the need and opportunity is most pressing. Each part of the country has different skills and resources to bring to address these issues. To seize the opportunities and surmount the challenges of the 21st century, we need unique cooperation among all regions in the country.

I: Interdependence: In this country, we believe that what affects Americans in one part of the nation affects us all and that we will only succeed when all parts of the nation are in good shape. We have a unique opportunity to move ahead as a country through creating good jobs and economic opportunity, improving education, reforming health care, and strengthening communities. Indicators of well being suggest that small towns and rural places are breaking down and the effect is spreading to the well being of the nation as a whole. This is happening because the efforts that enhance a community's well being, like economic development, availability of health care programs, and opportunities for a good education, have disproportionately benefited metropolitan areas, which results in cutting rural places off from opportunities. We can prevent further damage by working together to reconnect the skills and resources that exist in the nation's heartland, which will then reverberate throughout the nation.

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority. (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

RANDOMIZE

	Average on a 10-Point Scale			
	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
48. Provide incentives for small businesses to start up or expand in rural areas	7.5	7.8	7.5	7.7
49. Expand high-speed Internet connections and cell phone coverage in rural areas	6.7	7.0	6.6	6.7
50. Offer college scholarships to those from any region who agree to teach in rural schools for at least five years	7.5	7.7	7.5	7.6
51. Increase the availability of health care in rural communities, particularly preventive health care services	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3
52. Develop educational programs in rural areas that provide the high quality education that will be needed in the new economy	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3
53. Institute regional smart-growth strategies that restrict major development to those areas with existing infrastructure, and protect rural areas from sprawl	6.5	6.7	6.6	6.6
54. Develop the biofuels industry which would provide a market for corn stalks and other agricultural by-products	6.9	7.3	7.1	7.2
55. Target and develop a small number of rural areas with the potential to become regional anchors for jobs and economic development	6.9	7.1	6.9	7.0

56. Would you say you are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the nation's efforts to (ISSUE):

C1: Control1: skip question

F: Fairness: 1: make sure that rural people enjoy the same benefits as people who live elsewhere

R: Cooperation: 1: Cooperate to address major issues shared by all parts of the nation

I: Interdependence: 1: Make sure that all regions in the nation are in good shape and contributing to the nation's progress

	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
Satisfied	36	31	39
Dissatisfied	58	64	58
Don't know	7	5	3

How important is it for the nation to make the needs of each of the following areas a priority – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important? First, how important is it to prioritize the needs of (READ) – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not important?

RANDOMIZE

	% Extremely Important			
	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
57. Cities and urban areas	17	14	20	16
58. Suburban areas	11	11	11	11
59. Small towns and rural areas	18	22	21	21

For each of the following, please tell me how much responsibility it should have for addressing the concerns of small towns and rural areas in the nation – a lot of responsibility, some, a little, or not much? When it comes to addressing the concerns of small towns and rural areas, does the (READ) have a lot of responsibility, some, a little or not much?

RANDOMIZE

	% A Lot of Responsibility			
	Control	Fairness	Cooperation	Interdependence
60. Federal government	27	34	30	33
61. State government	51	59	54	55
62. Local governments in rural areas	65	69	65	70

NEW SPLIT**C2: Control2 (skip question)****M: Model**

19. Experts say that vast areas of America are suffering from what they Call the "Tourniquet Effect." The loss of factory jobs, small farms and small businesses in rural areas has the effect of cutting off the normal circulation between those regions and the rest of the country. When the normal flow of money, people, and services that link urban and rural regions together is choked off, rural areas are left stranded and withering, and the Tourniquet Effect makes the country as a whole less healthy. When the tourniquet is loosened by the reestablishment of economic and other ties, the critical flow of money, people and services is restored and the whole country benefits.

	M Split Only
Yes	22
No	76
Don't know	1

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority. (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

RANDOMIZE

	Average 10-Point Scale	
	Control	Model
20. Expand high-speed Internet connections in rural schools	7.4	7.5
21. Invest in emerging industries in rural areas, such as agricultural biotechnology or wind power	7.7	7.8
22. Locate more government contracts and government jobs in rural areas	6.8	7.0
23. Offer medical school scholarships to those from any region who agree to practice in rural areas for at least five years	8.0	8.0
24. Coordinate all national efforts for rural policy through one federal agency	5.4	5.5
25. Address continuing environmental problems, including groundwater pollution from industrial farms and environmental degradation caused by mining and forestry	8.3	8.2
26. Provide assistance for family farmers to transition to organic farming which is more profitable for farmers	7.2	7.2

C2: Control2 (skip intro)

M: Model Still thinking about the Tourniquet Effect that is choking off the normal flow of money, people and services that link urban and rural regions....

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (FOLLOW UP) And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

RANDOMIZE ORDER

	Strongly Agree	Agree Not Strong	Disagree Not Strong	Strongly Disagree
27. The challenges and opportunities in small towns and rural areas will affect the nation so we must address their issues together				
Control 2	50	36	9	4
Model	49	38	8	4
28. People in small towns and rural areas are capable of handling their own problems so outside interference should be discouraged				
Control 2	18	22	31	26
Model	15	18	35	29
29. Progress will inevitably destroy small towns and rural areas so there is little that can be done to help them now.				
Control 2	9	10	31	49
Model	10	9	33	45

And now, just a few more quick questions for statistical purposes. This information will only be used for analysis of this study, and will be kept completely confidential.

N=3105

30. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican or Independent? **(IF INDEPENDENT, DON'T KNOW)** Would you say you are closer to the Democrats or Republicans?

Democrat 32
Lean Democrat 9
Independent, no lean..... 15
Lean Republican..... 9
Republican..... 29
Don't know / Refused..... 7

31. Are you currently registered to vote or not?

Yes	89
No.....	10
Don't know	1

32. If the election for president were held today, would you vote for (ROTATE ORDER)
George Bush, the Republican candidate OR John Kerry, the Democratic candidate? (IF
UNDECIDED) Well which candidate are you leaning toward?

George Bush/Republican	39
Lean Bush	2
Lean Kerry	2
John Kerry/Democrat.....	41
Ralph Nader (vol.)	1
Can't vote.....	1
Won't vote	2
Don't know	12

33. In what year were you born?

18-29 years old	13
30-39 years old	14
40-49 years old	20
50-64 years old	31
65+ years	19
Refused	3

34. What is your employment status?

Employed full time	45
Employed part time.....	7
Self employed	8
Not employed but looking	4
Homemaker.....	5
Student	3
Retired.....	24
Other, not working.....	2
Refused	1

35. Are you married, living with a partner, single, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Married	58
Living with a partner	5
Single, never married	17
Separated/divorced	10
Widowed	8
Refused	2

36. **(IF MARRIED)** Does your spouse work, part-time or more, outside the home or would you say that your spouse's work is mainly at home?

Employed	66
At home	33
Refused	1

37. Do you have any children?

Yes	74
No	25
Refused	1

38. **(IF YES)** In which of the following age groups do they belong? **(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)**

Under 2 years old	6
2-5 years old	13
6-11 years old	17
12-18 years old	21
Over 18 years old	68
Refused	-

39. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

1 - 11th grade	4
High school graduate	23
Non-college post H.S. (e.g. tech)	2
Some college (jr. college)	24
College graduate	26
Post-graduate school/PHD	18
Don't know	2

40. What is your race?

White	80
Black	7
Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.)	6
Asian/pacific islander	1
Other	2
Mixed race	1
Don't know/refused	4

41. And are you of Spanish or Hispanic descent?

Included above

42. On average, about how many hours of television would you say you watch each day?
2.8 hours

43. And finally, which of the following best describes your personal experience with small towns and rural areas:

I currently live in a rural area	38
I used to live in a rural area	26
While I haven't lived there, I have spent a lot of time visiting rural areas.....	13
I have spent a limited amount of time in rural areas	17
I have never really been in rural areas.....	5
Don't know (vol.).....	2

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME [TERMINATE]

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