COMMUNICATING CULTURAL RISKS:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE SAVE ELLIS ISLAND INC. AND FRIENDS OF THE HUNLEY INC. HISTORIC PRESERVATION CAMPAIGNS

By

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A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN MASS COMMUNICATION

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2009

To my mother and father

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Foremost, I thank my family for all of their love and support. I thank Florida Power & Light Company for introducing me to the field of public relations, specifically risk communication. At the University of Florida, I thank my thesis committee chair, Dr. Spiro Kiousis, and committee members, Dr. Debbie M. Treise and Dr. Youjin Choi, for all of their expertise and guidance. Finally, I thank my classmates for their advice and friendship.

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May 2009

Chair: Spiro K. Kiousis
Major: Mass Communication

This study explored the concept of the social definition of risk, proposing that if current social risk literature is correct, non-physical risks, like cultural risks, can be treated the same as physical risks – benefiting from the same risk communication, specifically risk amplification, strategies used to communicate physical risks. Using historic preservation campaigns to represent cultural risk campaigns, this study investigated the presence of risk messaging and/or amplification in the campaigns as well as media framing of the preservation effort. A literature review examined risk communication research, specifically the theory of the social amplification of risk, and framing research. Both a checklist for risk message content and the social amplification of risk framework were used to create a coding structure to identify risk communication elements, risk amplification elements and media frames in the tactics and media coverage of the preservation effort. A content analysis of the campaigns of Save Ellis Island Inc. and Friends of the Hunley Inc. revealed that the threat of losing a historic site or artifact not only is communicated as a risk by the preservation organizations but also is viewed as a risk by the media. However, the strength of the risk amplification attempt and its success at influencing media framing depends on the overall state of the preservation campaign.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, "risk" was defined as the simple and objective threat of physical harm to a public or environment. Risk management and communication, therefore, traditionally focused on the technical aspects of a risk, such as the statistical probability of occurrence and how many people could be affected. But as innovation produced more complex and more contradictory risks to compete for society's limited amount of attention, public demand for greater risk management to evaluate and rank each new risk increased. From a sociological perspective, the need for risk management has defined today's modern/post-development society so much that German social theorist Ulrich Beck coined the term "risk society" to describe it (1992). Complex technological advances changed the nature of risk from being understandable, knowable and controllable – such as a hurricane – in historic/pre-development society to incomprehensible, unknowable and uncontrollable – such as mad cow disease – today (Beck, 1992). Accordingly, the challenge presented to risk communicators is to meet the "rising public expectations for risk containment and reduction in the face of the growing pace and complexity of risk generation" (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996, p. 105). In world of risks, people "need to define criteria that allow them to prioritize their actions and to neglect those risks that appear trivial" (Renn, 1992, p. 54). As a result, a multidisciplinary field of risk study has developed that broadens the debate about risk "beyond the technical considerations" to "explain the divergence between public and expert views of risk" (Krimsky & Golding, 1992, p. 355). In other words, why do some people view something as a risk, while others do not?

The "study of risk draws upon contributions from both the natural and social sciences" (Krimsky, 1992, p. 6). Most risk researchers today agree that in a world full of potential risks, the definition of risk is based on perception. Therefore, risks are subjective. They are socially

and not technically defined. Socio-political structures and processes can alter the perception of risk to be different than the technical or scientific understanding of experts (Slovic, 1992). Furthermore, social and cultural constructs can amplify or increase the perception of a risk (Slovic, 1992). The theory of the "social amplification of risk" was developed in the late 1980s by Roger E. Kasperson and researchers at Clark University and Decision Research (Kasperson et al., 1988). The theory established a framework that integrates the different dimensions of risk, such as technical, social, cultural and psychological dimensions, into a single model of risk construction. Since then, "the framework has been widely shared in the risk community as well as with other social scientists" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 154). The social amplification of risk framework is viewed as "the most promising effort to date for integrating cognitive and sociological approaches to risk" (Krimsky & Golding, 1992, p. 359).

The social construct of risk implies that risk communicators must work to define risk by their own standards favorable to their cause. To achieve their organizations' goals, risk communicators can "heighten or attenuate perceptions of risk and shape risk behavior" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 158). For example, public health campaigns often attempt to amplify the risk of a health issue to motivate target publics to take proper precautionary measures. Environmentalists also amplify the risk of global warming to raise support for environmental protection legislation. In general, communicators working for an issue that is not perceived as a risk by the target public can amplify the target public's perception of the risk to encourage specific behavior.

The social construct of risk also implies that risk can involve "threats of harm to people and nature but also to other things or ends that people value, such as community or political freedom" (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996, p. 96). Therefore, threats to cultural values can be

perceived as risks just like physical risks and, accordingly, can be appropriate subjects for risk management and communication. Furthermore, risk amplification strategies theoretically can be used beyond physical risk campaigns, like nuclear power or health communication campaigns, to more culturally based issue campaigns.

Research Problem

Although risk researchers agree that risks are socially defined concepts that do not have to be physical threats to a people or environment, there is practically no research examining the construct and management of a risk that threatens solely a cultural value. Most risk communication research has been conducted with physical risks as subjects. Even the social amplification of risk framework was created using physical risks, like nuclear power, as examples (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996). If the theory of the social amplification of risk holds true, threats to values, just like physical threats, should be able to be perceived as risks by target publics and should benefit from risk management and communication strategies. Risk scholars need to expand the body of knowledge, examined in the following literature review, concerning the communication and amplification of non-physical risks.

Study of historic preservation campaigns is an ideal starting point to advance this area of research. Historic preservation campaigns work to preserve culturally relevant sites or artifacts that hold some kind of value to society. Therefore, the loss of the item in question should be deemed as a cultural risk. A look at historic preservation campaigns in the U.S. reveals that these campaigns may try to heighten public concern over the cultural threats of losing historical sites and artifacts in order to raise funds and support for the preservation efforts. This strategy, although probably not intentional, is a prime example of amplifying risk to shape the desired risk behavior. This study investigated to what extent risk communication and/or amplification messages are used in historic preservation campaigns and the media framing of the preservation

efforts by conducting a content analysis of the work of two prominent historic preservation organizations.

The first organization is Save Ellis Island Inc., a nonprofit organization implementing a national campaign to raise funds to preserve historic buildings on Ellis Island in New York City. This campaign's tactics can include risk strategies that amplify the risk of losing the historical buildings by emphasizing the potential loss of cultural identity, as illustrated by the campaign's "We Are Ellis Island" ads (We Are Ellis Island, 2008). The second organization is Friends of the Hunley Inc., a nonprofit in South Carolina implementing a campaign to raise funds to preserve and exhibit the H.L. Hunley, the world's first successful combat submarine, which sank during the United States Civil War. This campaign's tactics can include strategies that amplify the risk of losing a piece of South Carolina culture (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008).

Definitions

Before any review of the literature, clarity calls for definitions of the key research terms. The original, technical definition of risk focused "narrowly on the probability of events" and "the magnitude of the consequences" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 155). The current social definition of risk states that risk is made up of "undesirable outcomes, probability of occurrence, and state of reality," and "all risk perspectives provide different conceptualizations of these three elements" (Renn, 1992, p.58). For example, Kasperson defines risk as "in part the threat of direct harm that happens to people and their environments regardless of their social constructs, and in part the threat associated with the social conceptions and structures that shape the nature of other harms" (1992, p. 161). Risk communication is defined as "part of the science of risk assessment and the process of risk management" (Lundgren, 1994, p. 1). Risk assessment is determining the nature of the risk, and risk management is creating and implementing solutions to mitigate the risk. The theory of the social amplification of risk is defined as "the cultural, social, and individual

structures and processes that shape the social experience with risk" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 161). Amplification is the enlargement and attenuation the reduction of the "risk burden to society" or the threat to society (Kasperson, 1992, p. 161). Media framing will be considered as a result of an organization's attempts to position the risk and shape the media's frame of the risk. Finally, historic preservation can be scholarly defined as an effort to preserve the ability of places, buildings or objects to communicate a cultural or social meaning.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review aims to provide a context in which to analyze the communication and social amplification of a cultural risk, specifically the risk of losing historic sites or artifacts. First, the review looks at the basics of risk communication to determine what constitutes a risk communication message, with Regina Lundgren's (1994) checklist for written risk messages as the main reference. Second, the review considers the social amplification of risk, specifically Kasperson and Kasperson's (1996) framework, to determine what factors and agents explain the construct of risk and the outcomes of risk amplification. Third, the review examines framing to analyze how risk communication is used to position risk and shape the media frame. Fourth, the review briefly summarizes the history of historic preservation campaigns in the United States and highlights the two organizations for study. Finally, this study's research questions are presented.

Risk Communication Basics

Renowned risk communication consultant Lundgren states that risk communication in professional practice begins with the risk assessment, which is "the process that characterizes the risk and assesses the probability of occurrence and outcomes" (1994, p. 5). Next, the information from the risk assessment is used to create a risk management plan that is then communicated to target publics, those people who could be affected both directly and indirectly by the risk. The purpose of risk communication can be to simply inform and build a consensus or to motivate a target public to action (Lundgren, 1994). Lundgren divides risk communication into three types according to function: care communication, to deal with "risks for which the danger and the way to manage it have already been well determined;" consensus communication,

to “inform and encourage groups to work together to reach a decision about how the risk will be managed;” and crisis communication, to deal with “extreme, sudden danger” (2004, p. 4).

Risk communicators must work to get their message out about a risk before any competitors because “whoever controls the definition of risk controls the rational solution to the problem at hand” (Slovic, 1999, p. 1). Palmlund states that “societal evaluation of risk must be seen as a contest, where the participants offer competing views of reality” (1992, p. 199). To produce an effective message, Lundgren (1994) provides a checklist, Figure 2.1, for information that should be included in a basic risk communication message. The “nature of the risk” refers to what the risk is and who is affected (Lundgren, 1994, p. 109). “Alternatives” refers to possible alternative actions that could be taken instead of the action that is causing the risk (Lundgren, 1994, p. 109). “Uncertainties” refers to the accuracy of the risk assessment (Lundgren, 1994, p. 110). “Risk management” refers to how the risk will be managed (Lundgren, 1994, p. 110). “Risk benefits” refers to any positive effects of the presence of the risk (Lundgren, 1994, p. 110). “Audience actions” refers to the actions the audience can take to manage the risk (Lundgren, 1994, p. 111). “Goals and content,” “contact information,” “glossary,” “metric conversion table,” “‘helpful hints’,” “index,” and “list of related information” all refer to the basic informative content about the risk and the organization producing the message (Lundgren, 1994, p. 111).

As with any communications message, risk communication messages must fit the target publics, so risk communicators must research the target audience before creating any messaging. Risk messages will be more effective if they address the audience’s needs, but they will fail if they do not address key audience concerns or account for existing beliefs, no matter how factually inaccurate they may be (Lundgren & McMakin, 2004, p. 17). As Slovic states, “The

issue is not whether these are legitimate, rational considerations, but how to integrate them into risk analyses and policy decisions" (1992, p. 150). Through their studies on risk messages, White et al. found that "trust was greatest for messages congruent with people's prior attitudes" (2003, p. 724). Therefore, if something is "not perceived as being particularly risky to begin with," then "risky messages tend to be trusted less because they are incongruent with the prior attitudes" (White et al., 2003, p. 724). Risk communicators must "remember that perception is reality" (Lundgren, 1994, p.54).

Risk communicators also must fit a credible, as defined by the target public, source for the message to the audience. As Perloff explains, credibility is a complex "psychological or interpersonal communication construct," with expertise and trustworthiness as the two key attributes (2003, p. 159). Covello is credited with idea that "when people perceive themselves to be at risk, they understand and put into practice only those messages that come from sources they perceive as trustworthy and credible" (Lundgren & McMakin, 2004, p. 25). Kasperson states that "membership in social groups shape the selection of information that the individual regards as significant" (1992, p. 159). Lundgren and McMakin propose that "the single biggest contributor to increasing trust and credibility is the organization's ability to care or show empathy" (2004, p. 25). When selecting a spokesperson for risk communication, Lundgren (1994) suggests three types and their situations: an expert when the audience is technically minded and not hostile, a risk manager when the audience is interested in accountability and is hostile, and a communications specialist when the audience is interested in relaying the information to others and is not hostile.

Other factors that influence the effectiveness of a risk message are the nature of the risk and the risk management. Risk communications fail to persuade target publics to act if there is

no clear message, no perceived benefits to the audience, no specific call for action, and too much emphasis on the organization instead of the audience (Wilcox, 2005). Studying emergency response planning, Heath and Palenchar (2000) found that when people believe that a risk event is likely to occur, they are more willing to seek and accept information about risk management to create a greater sense of control. In addition to poorly designed communication messages, audience outrage and disagreements on the magnitude of the risk can also constrain effective risk communication (Lundgren, 1994). To help make sure that risk messages will be accepted, "the audience must be allowed to participate in the risk management" development process (Lundgren, 1994, p. 51).

The Social Amplification of Risk

All communication "occurs as a structured process within evolving systems of related components and activities" (Cutlip et al., 2006, p. 202). Accordingly, risk is "in part an objective threat of harm to people and in part a product of culture and social experience" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 158). As Slovic states, "danger is real, but risk is socially constructed" (1999, p. 1). The theory of the social amplification of risk is based on "the thesis that events pertaining to hazards interact with psychological, social, institutional, and cultural processes in ways that can heighten or attenuate perception of risk and shape risk behavior" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 157-158). Social groups "need to define criteria that allow them to prioritize their actions and to neglect those risks that appear trivial" (Renn, 1992, p. 54).

The social amplification of risk framework is based on the definition that "risks are interactive phenomena that involve both the biophysical and social worlds" (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996, p. 96). This study used the revised 1996 version of the framework by Kasperson and Kasperson, shown in Figure 2-2. The framework shows how sources of information; information channels; social stations or major agents; individual stations or personal

considerations; and institutional, group, and individual behavior or actions interact to either amplify or attenuate a risk (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996). Then, the "degree of amplification or attenuation will affect the extent to which risk ripple effects accompany the risk" (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996, p. 99). The ripple effects show that the social construct of risk enables risks to affect more groups than just those traditionally considered to be directly affected by the risk. The implication of this ripple effect for risk communicators is "to actively plan for and respond to such ripples" (Lundgren & McMakin, 2004, p. 24). Finally, the framework shows how risk amplification is manifested through different impacts.

Many researchers have used this framework to explore ideas about the social amplification of risk, showing the framework's value. For example, renowned risk researcher and consultant Peter Sandman (1987) defines risk as the sum of hazard and outrage. The hazard is how much harm the risk can do, and the outrage is how upset people the risk can make people. Sandman argues that "the public responds more to outrage than to hazard," or, in other words, outrage has a more "substantial impact on people's perception of risk" than the does the technical detail of the hazard (Sandman, 1987 & Sandman et al. 1993). Therefore, as social theories of risk suggest, the definition of risk depends more on people's perception of the risk than the actual risk itself. Experimental studies show that when the risks are identical, subjects report much higher perceived threat and action intentions in the high-outrage, low-risk situation than in the low-outrage, low-risk situation (Sandman et al. 1998).

The main factors of outrage are voluntariness, control, fairness, familiarity, memorability, and dread (Sandman, 1987). A person will consider a risk to be more acceptable if the risk is voluntary, if he or she has control over the risk prevention, if the risk is spread equally among the population, if the risk is familiar, if there is no memorable incident of the risk occurring, and if

there is no stigma attached to the risk (Sandman, 1987). Lundgren also addresses audience control over the risk when talking about the appropriate language to use for written risk communication messages, stating "Avoid any kind of language that might give your audience the feeling that they have no control" (1994, p. 113). But if a communicator wishes to amplify a risk, he or she should do the opposite. When a target public is under-reacting to a risk, Sandman (2004) recommends what he calls the "activist solution" of mobilizing the target public's outrage. To amplify the target public's perception of risk, communicators will work to make a hazard more outrageous (Sandman, 1987). For example, the safety advocacy group Mothers Against Drunk Driving creates commercials that use dread (of death) and memorability (gruesome or emotional visuals) factors to amplify the risk of drunk driving.

Krimsky points out that the framework "is causal, not in the sense of positing laws of causality, but rather in the sense of outlining a causal process" (p. 12). The social amplification of risk concept is "dynamic, taking into account the continuing learning and social interactions resulting from social experience with risk" (Kasperson, 1992, p. 160). Most studies testing the framework have considered how the framework explains physical risks. For example, through a study involving genetically modified foods, Fewer et al. found that "changes in the volume and content of risk reporting about a particular hazard" can produce attitude changes consistent with those suggested by the social amplification of risk framework (2002, p. 708).

Although risk communication study over the years has justified the general concept of Kasperson and Kasperson's framework, the theory is still being perfected. The different opinions about risk and the value of the social amplification of risk framework within the social science community center on the "relative importance of different factors" influencing risk construct (Krimsky & Golding, 1992, p. 356). Testing the framework from the perspective of

government agencies in the United Kingdom, Breakwell and Barnett (2001) found that to improve the predictive power of the framework, critical points when the social image of the hazard changes need to be included. In other words, the framework needs to address how and when turning points in the public perception of risk can occur. Studying eco-industrial development in Canada, Masuda and Gavin (2002) found that place also can be inserted into the framework to help the understanding of the influence of culture in the social amplification of risk.

To conclude the literature review of the social amplification of risk, clarity calls for a look at how communicators for historic preservation campaigns may use the social amplification of risk framework to amplify the cultural risk of failing to preserve the historic site or artifact. In this case, the risk event to start out the campaign would be the imminent deterioration of the historic site or artifact. Next in the framework, the sources of information would be a first-hand experience with the preservation effort, the preservation organization for direct communication or the news media for indirect communication. The information channels would be the same as for any risk, either first-hand accounts, professional media channels or social networks. The social stations for historic preservation campaigns also would be the same as for any other risk, as opinion leaders, cultural/social groups, government agencies, voluntary organizations, and the news media all may have interests in the preservation and wish to amplify the cultural risk to encourage more support of the preservation. But just a with any other type of risk, the influence of the individual stations depend on the individual and his or her involvement with the historic preservation. In the institutional and social behavior section of the framework, the promoted behavior in response to the cultural risk could involve attitude changes, political/social action, organizational responses and social protest that promote the preservation. The ripple effects

from this feedback and interaction process could cause the historic preservation effort to reach not only those in the immediate vicinity of the site or artifact but also people and organizations further away, especially if the preservation is of national cultural significance. Finally, the impacts of the social amplification of the cultural risk could involve an increase in the public perception of the cultural risk, heighten community concern, or regulatory action to support the preservation.

Framing

The social amplification of risk framework's emphasis on signals for amplification has enabled the framework to "integrate media analysis into a theory of risk" (Krimsky & Golding, 1992, p. 359). Framing is the selection and treatment of information to maximize a certain understanding about a topic. Like the social theories of risk, the concept of framing is based on the idea that an issue in the public arena is defined by the influence of not only the media but also by other groups as well, such as opinion leaders and organizations (Kiousis et al., 2007). For example, Zoch and Molleda state that "culture or a social grouping is the origin for many commonly accepted frames" (2007, p. 281). To frame a risk and the desired risk behavior, communicators must build the media agenda with information subsidies.

Creating a model of media relations, Zoch and Molleda state that "framing and information subsidies are just tools media relations practitioners can use to participate in the building process of the media agenda" (2007, p. 290). Agenda building relates to issue salience, or how much prominence the issue has with the audience and how well it resonates, and cognitive priming, or the connection the audience has with the issue (Cutlip et al., 2006). According to numerous studies, "about half of the content found in mass media today is supplied by public relations sources" (Wilcox, 2005, p. 42).

Most people learn about risks through information systems rather than personal experience, so the mass media are major agents of risk amplification (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996). But researchers have different opinions about just how powerful of agents the media are. Lundgren and McMakin state that "the news media in particular has been credited with amplifying risk messages" (2004, p. 24). On the other hand, Wilcox (2005) argues that the media may set the agenda in terms of what people think about, but they have limited influence in telling people what to think. According to the sociocultural model of persuasion, "messages presented via the mass media may provide the appearance of consensus regarding orientation and action with respect to a given object or goal of persuasion" (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach 1982 as cited in Cutlip et al., 2006). Studying media coverage of risk in the U.K., Petts et al. found that the "media are not transmitters of official information on risk as suggested by the linear SARF framework, but dynamic interpreters and mediators" (2001, p. ix). Furthermore, the media do not act as a single unit, so media outlets should be treated as different agents with different amounts of influence on the risk construction process.

Historic Preservation Campaigns

Historic preservation in the U.S. is generally agreed to have begun when the country's first preservation group, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, was founded in 1853 to save Mount Vernon, George Washington's deteriorating estate. In 1949, the U.S. National Trust for Historic Preservation, a privately funded non-profit organization, was established to provide "leadership, education, advocacy, and resources to save America's diverse historic places and revitalize our communities" (NTHP, 2008). The trust helped pass the landmark National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 that established the National Register of Historic Places, which today recognizes more than 80,000 historic districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects. A National Register designation qualifies property for "financial assistance from governmental

funds for historic preservation when these funds are available" (NTHP, 2008). The act also authorized the ability to create legislation to fund preservation activities and encouraged the establishment of state historic preservation offices. But government funds are limited, and the competition for the available funding is difficult.

Accordingly, historic preservation campaigns, usually run by nonprofit organizations, must raise funds from private and business sources. Nonprofit organizations working in historic preservation are not really controversial in their mission, but they still must "compete for public support in the form of volunteers, donations and public funding" (Cutlip et al., 2006, p. 463). Nonprofits have come to rely on public relations campaigns to confront the "challenges of attracting individual volunteers and obtaining funding from donors and other public and private sources" (Cutlip et al., 2006, p. 463). Public relations practitioners in nonprofit organizations work to define the organization, develop channels of communication with target publics, create a "favorable climate for fund-raising," develop and support the organization's public policy, and motivate internal stakeholders (Cutlip et al., 2006, p. 449).

Most historic preservation campaigns are conducted at the state or local level where target publics have strong connections to the local culture represented by the building or artifact. But some campaigns to save historic sites or artifacts of federal significance are conducted at the national level. Generally, the outrage at the threat of losing a historic site or artifact is low until the threat of teardown or complete deterioration is imminent. But outrage is always high after a historic preservation effort fails and the structure is destroyed, especially if the demolition is unexpected and beyond the control of the target public (Sandman, 1987). For instance, the New York City public was shocked and outraged after the demolition of the famous Pennsylvania Station in 1964, resulting in a city landmarks preservation law (The Municipal Art Society of

New York, 2008). Therefore, historic preservation has the potential for motivating inactive publics to become motivated publics, a key ingredient of risk amplification.

Two campaigns were selected for this study to represent the two main types of historic preservation campaigns: for historic sites and for historic artifacts. The campaigns also were chosen for this study based on the amount of campaign tactic information and news coverage accessible for analysis. The following sections explain the background of each campaign.

Save Ellis Island Inc.

Save Ellis Island Inc. was included in this study as an example of an ongoing historic preservation campaign for the preservation of a historic site. Between 1892 and 1954, more than 12 million immigrants passed through Ellis Island (Save Ellis Island Inc., 2008). The island was closed in 1954, and the buildings were left to deteriorate. The National Park Service was given legal title to the island in 1965 when it was declared part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. During the 1990s, the buildings on the island's north side were restored, and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum was opened. But lack of funds prevented a complete restoration of the island, and the remaining 30 buildings on the south side were still left to deteriorate. In 1996, the World Monuments Fund named Ellis Island's south side one of the world's most threatened culturally significant sites, and in 1997, the National Trust for Historic Preservation's placed the south side on the list of "America's Most Endangered Historic Places" (Save Ellis Island Inc, 2008).

To raise the funds necessary to restore and beneficially reuse the remaining buildings on Ellis Island, Save Ellis Island Inc., a nonprofit organization, was founded in February 2001 in Mt. Olive, New Jersey. In a partnership agreement with the National Park Service, Save Ellis Island Inc. was recognized as the primary nonprofit for this preservation effort and promised to conduct fundraising campaigns with goals of raising at least $1 million and that are "national in

scope and highly visible in nature - to benefit the rehabilitation and eventual reuse of Ellis Island" (Save Ellis Island Inc., 2008). The organization goals are to establish the Ellis Island Institute and Conference Center, maintain and grow the partnership with the National Park Service, develop a comprehensive fundraising plan, plan and implement a national awareness campaign, and plan and implement a national capital fundraising campaign (Save Ellis Island Inc., 2008). The organization's board of directors is made up of leaders in business, philanthropy, government, historic preservation, history and education.

The Save Ellis Island Inc. campaign had a slow start. Right after the organization's establishment in early 2001, the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in New York City put government efforts toward the south side preservation on hold. To date, the U.S. Congress, the State of New Jersey and the National Park Service have supplied $8.6 million for the restoration, and two Save America's Treasures grants matched with money from the State of New Jersey and private sources have totaled $4.9 million, for a total of $ 13.5 million for the south side buildings (Save Ellis Island Inc. 2008). But the organizations says the south side restoration is only half complete. To help boost donations to finish the remaining half of the restoration, Save Ellis Island Inc. together with Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation, which gave a $500,000 donation, launched the national "We Are Ellis Island" campaign to raise the awareness and donations needed to meet a goal of completing the restoration and reuse of Ellis Island's remaining buildings within 10 years (Save Ellis Island Inc., 2008).

The historic preservation effort has support from various national and local non-profits, but this national campaign focuses on individuals of all backgrounds. The campaign

> aspires to capture the essence of Ellis Island by sharing the stories of the immigrants who arrived here seeking equal rights, overcoming challenges and enduring life's many struggles, all to create new opportunities for themselves and generations to come (We Are Ellis Island, 2008).

Celebrities like Olympic swimmer Michael Phelps as well as average Americans are encouraged through TV and magazine ads to visit the campaign's Web site to share their family stories, read others', and donate to the preservation effort (We Are Ellis Island, 2008).

Friends of the Hunley Inc.

Friends of the Hunley Inc. was included in this study to represent a historic preservation campaign for an artifact. The H.L. Hunley was a Confederate submarine in the U.S. Civil War and the world's first successful submarine, having completed her mission to sink the Union's USS Housatonic on Feb. 17, 1864 in Charleston, South Carolina (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008). But minutes after her historic feat, the Hunley sank, drowning all eight crew men. The submarine was finally discovered in May 1995 by archeologists. In 1995, the Hunley Commission was created by the State of South Carolina to acquire, recover, and preserve the Hunley for public display. The Hunley was finally raised in August 2000 and transported to its permanent home at the Warren Lasch Conservation Center in Charleston. There, archeologists began to invent cutting-edge techniques to preserve the submarine (Friend of the Hunley Inc., 2008).

The State of South Carolina appropriates funding to the Hunley Commission for the preservation of the submarine (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008). To supplement this funding and provide public outreach, the Hunley Commission created Friends of the Hunley Inc., a nonprofit organization, in 1997. The Hunley Commission appoints members of Friends of the Hunley Inc. The goals of Friends of the Hunley Inc. are

> to recover the remains of the brave men who gave their lives and honor them with the proper burial that they earned; to solve the mystery of that first ever submarine attack in 1864; and to conserve one of the greatest, most sought-after artifacts in the history of naval warfare (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008).

The organization also runs the conservation center and museum that houses the Hunley and conducts educational programs for elementary to college students.

To achieve its goals, Friends of the Hunley Inc. conducts a fundraising and awareness campaign mainly in the southern United States, although it has received donations from around the world. Almost immediately after its establishment, the organization received enough donations from people and other organizations to meet the funding requirements to raise and restore the submarine for five years (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008). Since then, Friends of the Hunley Inc. has never been at a loss for funding. Today, the organization has about 35 sponsors, both corporate, like Bellsouth and Duke Energy, and non-profit, like the National Geographic Society and the University of South Carolina, and continues to receive funding from the Hunley Commission. The Hunley Commission has also reached an agreement with Clemson University to construct a new conservation facility for the submarine and other naval artifacts, further emphasis the preservation's impact on advancing preservation technology (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008).

Research Questions

To motivate donations, practitioners in historic preservation organizations may emphasize the cultural value of the historic building or artifact and then attempt to amplify threat of the cultural loss if the preservation fails. In order to determine the accuracy of this proposition, this study proposed the following research questions.

RQ1: How are risk communication and/or amplification messages used in historic preservation campaigns?

The first research question aims, first and foremost, to determine how prominent risk communication and/or amplification messages are in historic preservation campaigns. In other words, do historic preservation campaigns use risk communication to communicate their

campaign? Before any statements about the framing of cultural risks can be made, the use of risk communication, specifically risk amplification, to handle a cultural risk first must be confirmed to exist at all. Review of the literature on the social amplification of risk and personal exposure to historical preservation campaigns suggests that preservation failure can be and is presented as a cultural risk and that historic preservation communicators use risk communication to conduct their campaigns. The content included in Lundgren's checklist for what should be included in written risk messages (Figure 2-1) and Kasperson and Kasperson's factors that influence risk construction ("Sources of Information," "Information Channels," "Social Stations," Institutional and Social Behavior," and "Impacts" as shown in Figure 2-2) in their social amplification of risk framework can help identify any risk communication and/or amplification elements present in the campaign tactics and news coverage. To answer this research question, this study stated that if the items on the checklist or the factors in the framework are found in the historic preservation campaign tactics or media coverage, then the historic preservation campaigns use risk communication and/or risk amplification.

RQ2: What are the impacts of these risk communication and/or amplification messages on media framing of the historic preservation campaigns?

The second research question aims to determine the media framing of the cultural risk that the campaigns present with their risk amplification messages. This study compared the frame of the historic preservation presented by the preservation organization to the frame of the historic preservation presented by the media. If the campaigns frame the loss of the historic site or artifact as a risk, do the media do so as well? The "Impacts" portion of the social amplification of risk framework (Figure 2-2) can help identify the frames in both the tactics and the news coverage of the campaigns.

The written risk communication message includes information on

- ☐ the nature of the risk
- ☐ alternatives
- ☐ uncertainties
- ☐ risk management
- ☐ risk benefits
- ☐ contact information
- ☐ audience actions
- ☐ goals and content
- ☐ glossary
- ☐ metric conversion table
- ☐ "helpful hints"
- ☐ index
- ☐ list of related information.

Figure 2-1. Checklist for written risk messages. [Adapted from Lundgren, R.E. (1994). *Risk Communication: A Handbook for Communicating Environmental, Safety, and Health Risks.* (Pages 117-118, Checklist for Written Messages). Columbus: Battelle Press.]

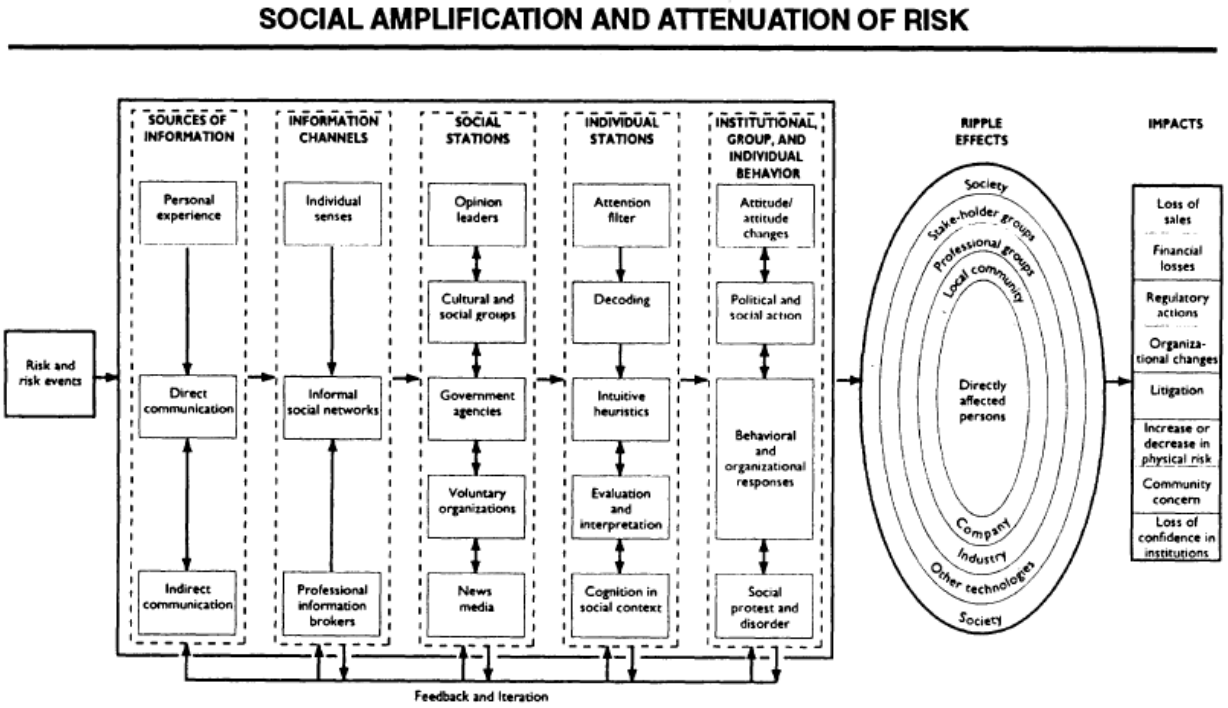

Figure 2-2. The social amplification of risk framework [Reprinted with permission from Kasperson, R.E. & Kasperson, J.X. (1996). The Social Amplification and Attenuation of Risk. (Page 97, Figure 1). *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 545*, 95-105.]

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Content analysis enables researchers "to identify what exists" by cataloging "the characteristics of a given body of communication content at one or more points in time" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, pg. 152). As the proposed research questions seek to identify risk amplification messages and media framing of historic preservation, content analysis is the ideal methodology to address these research questions. When conducting a content analysis, Wimmer and Dominick recommend developing the research questions, defining the population, selecting an appropriate sample, defining the unit of analysis, creating the coding construct, establishing a quantification system, training coders, conducting a pilot study, coding the content, analyzing the data, and drawing conclusions (2006).

Sample

For population, this study considered the campaign tactics and news coverage of the Save Ellis Island Inc. and Friends of the Hunley campaigns since the organizations' creations, in 2001 and 1997, respectively, to encompass all of the organizations' efforts at historic preservation over time. In this study, a campaign tactic was defined as any communication, such as an ad, press release or Web page, intended to promote support for the historic preservation effort. Strictly informative communications, such as Web pages explaining what the H.L. Hunley and Ellis Island buildings are or the sponsorships of the campaigns, were not considered campaign tactics as they do not promote the historic preservation. News coverage was defined as any news item in U.S. newspapers or wire sources. Messaging of the campaigns was examined mainly through the campaign tactics, and framing was examined mainly through the news coverage.

Rather than select a finite sample, the researcher conducted a census of all the available campaign tactics and news coverage of both campaigns, as the amount of information available

is not overwhelming for coding. Overall, 32 campaign tactics and 75 news items for Save Ellis Island Inc.'s campaign were coded, and 39 tactics and 263 news items for Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s campaign were coded.

Save Ellis Island Inc. Sample

To gather campaign tactics of Save Ellis Island Inc.'s campaign, information available on the organization's Web site as well as the We Are Ellis Island campaign Web site was used. The 32 tactics included:

- 16 press releases from July 2002 to February 2008 on the Save Ellis Island Inc. Web site (Out of the 18 press releases available, only those that mention the historic preservation effort, not just about facts about the buildings, were selected for coding)
- Five newsletter issues from 2005 to 2008 on the Save Ellis Island Inc. Web site
- Five magazine ads on the We Are Ellis Island Web site
- Scripts from two TV ads on the We Are Ellis Island Web site
- "Join Save Ellis Island," a Web page to sign up to donate on the Save Ellis Island Inc. Web site
- "Renew Your Membership," a Web page to renew your donation membership on the Save Ellis Island Inc. Web site
- "The Cast" Web page featuring the personal stories from celebrities and average U.S. citizens supporting Ellis Island on the We Are Ellis Island Web site
- "The Cause" Web page explaining the campaign's cause on the We Are Ellis Island Web site

To gather news coverage of Save Ellis Island Inc.'s campaign, a LexisNexis news search of U.S. newspapers and wire sources for "Save Ellis Island" and "Ellis Island, south side" from 2001 to the present was conducted and produced 171 items. Only those that were clearly about the historic preservation (whether Save Ellis Island Inc. is mentioned explicitly or not) and not just facts about the buildings were coded, resulting in 74 items. One news article listed on the Save Ellis Island Inc. Web site was also coded, bringing the total to 75 items.

Friends of the Hunley Inc. Sample

To gather the campaign tactics of Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s campaign, the information available on the organization's Web site was used. The 39 tactics include:

- 34 press releases from January 2001 to October 2008 (Out of the 96 press releases available, only those that address the preservation effort, and not just facts about the Hunley or updates about what was discovered inside, were selected for coding)
- "Become a Member" Web page to sign up to donate
- "Conservation" Web page describing the historic preservation
- "Complete the Journey: Be a part of the Hunley's Fourth Crew" Web page encouraging visitors to help the preservation efforts
- "Obstacles to Finding the Hunley" Web page explaining the difficulties in preservation
- "A Plan Evolves" Web page describing the preservation

To gather news coverage of Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s campaign, the 138 new items posted on the Friends of the Hunley Inc. Web site were searched and a LexisNexis news search of U.S. newspapers and wire sources for "Friends of the Hunley" from 1997 to the present was conducted and produced 300 items. Repeats were removed and only those items clearly about the historic preservation (whether Friends of the Hunley Inc. is mentioned explicitly or not) and not just about facts about the Hunley or what was discovered inside were coded for a total of 263 items.

Measurement

Kaid and Wadsworth assert, "No step in content analysis is more crucial than the formulation of categories and their units of analysis" (1989, p. 203). This study's unit of analysis was each campaign tactic and news item. Each unit of analysis was assigned a reference number. This content analysis sought to determine the prominence of risk amplification messages in each unit of analysis (RQ1) and determine the overall frame of the historical

preservation in each unit of analysis (RQ2). Accordingly, the coding guide was divided into two foci – messaging and framing.

This study used the priori coding technique that establishes the coding structure based on theoretical concepts (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The coding structure takes factors from Lundgren's checklist for written risk messages (Figure 2-1) and Kasperson and Kasperson's social amplification of risk framework (Figure 2-2). The factors selected for use in this coding structure can describe the risk communication and amplification elements (RQ1) and framing (RQ2) present in the unit of analysis. For each factor, categories were constructed to classify the content. The categories were designed to be mutually exclusive and exhaustive, as Kaid and Wadsworth emphasize (1989). But because the same coding guide was to be used for the campaign tactics and news items, the factors and categories also had to be simple and applicable to each unit of analysis. Table 3-1 illustrates the coding structure, showing the factors used, what theoretical concept the factors were drawn from, and the factors' categories that the units will be coded into. The complete coding guide, including category descriptions can be found in Appendix A. For reference, the date of publication was also included for coding. To further explore the use of risk amplification language, the study also included for coding how frequently the word "save" and its synonyms "protect" and "rescue" were used in terms of the historic preservation.

Validity and Reliability

The researcher acted as the primary coder for the study. To assess the reliability or objectivity of the content analysis, a volunteer was recruited to act as a reliability coder for an intercoder reliability test, the "most commonly assessed reliability in content analysis" (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989, p. 208). The reliability test also helped identify any remaining problems with the coding guide, such as poorly defined or missing categories. Before conducting the reliability

test, the reliability coder was trained by the researcher to ensure understanding of the coding guide and definitions of the different categories. Training coders helps to produce a more reliable study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

For the reliability test, 10% of each organization's tactic and news sample was selected for the researcher and the reliability coder to code separately for a total of 38 units (N1=38 and N2=38). Holsti's formula for determining reliability: reliability = 2M / (N1 + N2), "where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively" was used (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 167). A reliability coefficient of about 70% or higher is acceptable for exploratory studies such as this study (Neuendorf 2002 as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The coding guide was reliable, as shown in Table 3-2. The coding question regarding the use of the word "save" and its synonyms was also reliable, with a reliability coefficient of 81.6% (M=31).

Face validity was used to assess the study. Face validity "assumes that an instrument adequately measures what it purports to measure if the categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and if the procedures of the analysis have been adequately conducted" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, pg. 171). The reliability test shows that this study's categories are rigidly and satisfactorily designed, and, therefore, are valid.

Analysis

All coders were asked to input their responses into spreadsheets for data analysis. The quantification of the data for this study involves just the nominal level of data measurement. Nominal data counts the "frequency of the units in each category" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 161). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used to run descriptive statistical analysis of the coding data, specifically frequency percentages. "Frequencies are obtained to show the occurrence" of particular elements or phenomena (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989, p. 210).

Table 3-1. Content analysis coding structure

Focus	Factor	Theoretical concept	Categories
Messaging (RQ1)	Channel	"Information Channel" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	News story, opinion story, press release, organization Web page, organization newsletter, print ad, or TV ad
	Source	"Sources of Information" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	Organization or media outlet (listed)
	Key influencer	"Social Stations" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	Opinion leaders, social/cultural group, government agency, organization, news media, individual, or no key influencer (ranked Top 3)
	Nature of risk	"The nature of risk" in written risk message content (Figure 2-1) (Lundgren 1994)	Cultural, educational, monetary, physical, or nonexistent
	Group targeted for behavior promotion	"Institutional and Social Behavior" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	Political, social, organizational, individual, or no group is targeted (ranked Top 3)
	Promoted behavior	"Audience actions" in written risk message content (Figure 2-1) (Lundgren 1994)	Supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so, supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so, or no promoted behavior
Framing (RQ2)	Uncertainty of risk assessment	"Uncertainties" in written risk message content (Figure 2-1) (Lundgren 1994)	Risk is valid and likely, risk is valid but not likely, risk is not valid but is likely, or risk is nonexistent (not valid and not likely)
	Confidence in promoted behavior	"Impacts" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	Preservation will definitely succeed, preservation will succeed only if more support is raised, or preservation will definitely fail
	Concern	"Impacts" in social amplification of risk (Figure 2-2) (Kasperson & Kasperson, 1996)	High concern for preservation effort, neutral, or low/no concern for preservation effort

Table 3-2. Reliability test results

Focus	Factor	Categories	Reliability
Messaging (RQ1)	Channel	News story, opinion story, press release, organization Web page, organization newsletter, print ad, or TV ad	100% (M=38)
	Source	Organization or media outlet (listed)	100% (M=38)
	Key influencer	Opinion leaders, social/cultural group, government agency, organization, news media, individual, or no key influencer (ranked Top 3)	Top influencer: 94.7% (M=36) second influencer: 81.6% (M=31) third influencer: 100% (M=38)
	Nature of risk	Cultural, educational, monetary, physical, or nonexistent	89.5% (M=34)
	Group targeted for behavior promotion	Political, social, organizational, individual, or no group is targeted (ranked Top 3)	Top group targeted: 79.0% (M=30) second group targeted: 79.0% (M=30) third group targeted: 100% (M=30)
	Promoted behavior	Supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so, supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so, or no promoted behavior	81.6% (M=31)
Framing (RQ2)	Uncertainty of risk assessment	Risk is valid and likely, risk is valid but not likely, risk is not valid but is likely, or risk is nonexistent (not valid and not likely)	94.7% (M=36)
	Confidence in promoted behavior	Preservation will definitely succeed, preservation will succeed only if more support is raised, or preservation will definitely fail	79.0% (M=30)
	Concern	High concern for preservation effort, neutral, or low/no concern for preservation effort	89.5% (M=34)

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS

Save Ellis Island Inc.

The findings on the use of risk communication and/or amplification by Save Ellis Island Inc. (RQ1) and the subsequent media framing of the preservation (RQ2) are presented in Table 4-1. The table is based on the coding structure described in Table 3-1. First, the findings table shows which research questions the factors are used to answer. Then, the table lists what categories the tactic and news units fell into and at what frequency percentage for each factor (refer to Figure 3-1 for the list of categories available for each factor and to Appendix A for category descriptions). Finally, results from a chi-square significance test show whether the results of the categories chosen depends on whether the unit is a tactic or news item ($p < .05$) or whether the differences in categories chosen occur by chance ($p > .05$).

Answer to RQ1 on Messaging

To answer RQ1 – how are risk communication and/or amplification messages used in historic preservation campaigns on messaging – the study revealed that Save Ellis Island Inc. does use risk communication in its campaign tactics. This question was answered first and foremost by the results of the nature of risk factor, which Lundgren's checklist (Figure 2-1) says should be included in written risk messages to describe the risk. In this study, the nature of risk factor determined how the loss of the historic site is presented in the units of analysis. The findings for this factor reveal that 90.6% of Save Ellis Island Inc.'s tactics fell into the category "cultural risk" (see question No. 7 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Similarly, 90.7% of the news items fell into the cultural risk category. Therefore, the Save Ellis Island Inc. campaign follows Lundgren's checklist by describing the threat of losing the buildings as a risk, specifically as a cultural risk.

The channel and source factors represent two factors in Kasperson and Kasperson's social amplification of risk framework (Figure 2-2). For the channel factor, the Save Ellis Island Inc. tactics fell mostly into the press release category (50%), and the news items fell mainly into the news story category (90.7%). For the source factor, 100% of the tactics fell into the organization category, and 100% of the news items fell into the media outlet category. Although they are pretty straightforward factors that simply describe the logistics of the communication, the channel and source factors do represent key elements of the risk communication process. Therefore, they can confirm risk communication is being used.

As in the social amplification of risk framework, the key influencer factor determines what party is talking the lead in defining the risk. Therefore, in this study, the key influencer factor not only confirmed the presence of risk communication but also determined what party is most influential in risk communication process. In this study, the group that seemed to provide the most information about the preservation effort was deemed the key influencer. Findings show that for both Save Ellis Island Inc.'s tactic and news units, the organization category had the highest percentage of units fall into it (84.4% and 41.3%, respectively; see question No. 6 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Also, the 40.0% of news units fell into the government agency category. This division of news units for the key influencer factor can be attributed to the fact that Save Ellis Island Inc., an organization, put out all the information in the tactics, but the news items also got information from the government agencies, specifically the National Park Service which created Save Ellis Island Inc. So the two key influencers in the risk communication are the organization and government.

The group targeted for behavior promotion factor represents a factor in the social amplification of risk framework, and the promoted behavior factor represents an item of on the

checklist for written risk communication messages. These factors can confirm the use of risk communication while also showing which specific group is targeted for action and how specific the action is. Findings for the group targeted for behavior promotion factor show that for the tactics, the organizational category had the highest frequency percentage (53.1%), and the individual category had the second highest (40.6%; see question No. 8 in Appendix A for category descriptions). For the news units, the organizational category also had the highest frequency percentage (44.0%), and the political category had the second highest (34.7%). Findings for the promoted behavior factor show that 87.5% of the tactics fell into the "supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so" category (see question No. 9 in Appendix A for category descriptions). For the news units, 54.7% fell into the category "supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so," and 38.7% fell into the category "supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so."

The findings for the key influencer and group targeted for behavior promotion factors show that the key influencers in the social amplification of cultural risk in the Save Ellis Island Inc. campaign are the organization and the government, which each support the preservation. Similarly, the groups targeted for behavior promotion – the organizational, the individual and the political– also support the preservation, or at least do not oppose the effort. Therefore, the Save Ellis Island campaign succeeds at boosting the voice of groups within the social amplification of risk framework that support the preservation while at the same time targeting those groups that are inclined to support the preservation for behavior promotion.

Answer to RQ2 on Framing

To answer RQ2 – what are the impacts of these risk communication and/or amplification messages on media framing of the historic preservation campaigns – the study revealed that the media accept the cultural risk frame presented by Save Ellis Island Inc. This question was

answered through the uncertainty of risk assessment, confidence in promoted behavior and concern factors. The uncertainty of risk assessment factor is based on a requirement in Lundgren's written risk communication message checklist that says risk messages should address the uncertainties about the risk and potential outcomes. This factor can confirm that risk communication is being used while determining whether the media view the loss of the historic site as a risk. Findings for this factor reveal that 93.8% of the tactics and 94.7% of the news units fell into the "risk is valid but not likely category" (see question No. 10 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Therefore, the media do view preservation failure as a cultural risk but just not as a risk that is likely to occur.

Following the social amplification of risk framework's section on the visible impacts of risk amplification, the confidence in promoted behavior and concern factors can determine how confidently and with how much concern the tactics and news units view the risk, if the risk is considered to exist at all. The less confident the tone of the unit seems and the more concern for the preservation effort the tone of the unit has, the more risky the threat of losing the historic site is framed, showing affects of successful risk amplification. For the confidence in promoted behavior factor, 59.4% of tactics fell into the "prevention will succeed only if more support is raised" category, and 40.6% fell into the "preservation will definitely succeed" category (see question No. 11 in Appendix A for category descriptions). For the news units, 65.3% fell into the "preservation will succeed only if more support is raised" category, and 28.0% fell into the "preservation will definitely succeed" category. For the concern factor, a majority of both the tactic and news units fell into the "high concern for preservation effort" category (100% and 94.7%; see question No. 12 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Therefore, the findings for these two factors confirm the effects of successful risk amplification.

Use of the Word "Save"

To explore the use of risk amplification language, the researcher also counted the number of times the word "save" or its synonyms "protect" and "rescue" appeared in the units, as shown in Table 4-2. For example, a Web page tactic features the risk amplification language,

> If we do not act now to save them, America will forever lose these buildings and the stories they tell about our nation and the immigrants who traveled through Ellis Island seeking freedom in the new world (Save Ellis Island Inc., 2008).

Most news units did not use the word "save" or its synonyms (69.3%). But the tactics had a mean of 1.06 for word use. A separate two-tailed independent samples t-test showed a significant difference between the mean of the tactics and news units, based on a .05 level of significance ($t = -2.943$, $df = 105$, $p < .05$). Therefore, the language did not carry over from the tactics to the media coverage, so communicators for the Save Ellis Island Inc. campaign should rethink the use of ineffective language.

Friends of the Hunley Inc.

The findings on the use of risk amplification by Friends of the Hunley Inc. (RQ 1) and the subsequent media framing of the preservation (RQ2) are presented in Table 4-3. The table is based on the coding structure described in Table 3-1. First, the findings table shows which research questions the factors were used to answer. Then, the table lists what categories the tactic and news units fell into and at what frequency percentage for each factor (refer to Figure 3-1 for the list of categories available for each factor and to Appendix A for category descriptions). Finally, the results of a chi-square significance test show whether the results of the categories chosen depends on if the unit is a tactic or news item ($p < .05$) or whether the differences in categories chosen occur by chance ($p > .05$).

Answer to RQ1 on Messaging

To answer RQ1 – how are risk communication and/or amplification messages used in historic preservation campaigns on messaging – the study revealed that Friends of the Hunley Inc. does use risk communication in its campaign tactics. This question is answered first and foremost by the results of the nature of risk factor, which Lundgren's checklist (Figure 2-1) says should be included in written risk messages to describe the risk. In this study, the nature of risk factor determined how the loss of the historic site is presented in the units of analysis (see question No. 7 in Appendix A for category descriptions). The findings for this factor reveal that 66.7% of Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s tactics fell into the category "cultural risk," and 25.6% fell into the category "educational risk." Similarly, 61.2% of the news items fell into the cultural risk category, and 27% fell into the educational risk category. Therefore, the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign follows Lundgren's checklist by describing the threat of losing the buildings as a risk, specifically as a cultural risk.

The channel and source factors represent two factors in Kasperson and Kasperson's social amplification of risk framework (Figure 2-2). For the channel factor, the Friends of the Hunley Inc. tactics fell manly into the press release category (87.2%), and the news items fell mainly into the news story category (97.0%). For the source factor, 100% of the tactics fell into the organization category, and 100% of the news items fell into the media outlet category. As stated earlier, although they are pretty straightforward factors that simply describe the logistics of the communication, the channel and source factors still represent necessary elements of the risk communication process. Therefore, they can confirm risk communication is being used.

As in the social amplification of risk framework, the key influencer factor can determine what party is taking the lead in defining the risk. Therefore, in this study, the key influencer factor not only confirmed the presence of risk communication but also determined what party is

most influential in risk communication process. Again, the group that seemed to provide the most information about the preservation effort was deemed the key influencer (see question No. 6 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Findings show that for both Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s tactic and news units, the organization category had the highest percentage of units fall into it (84.6% and 48.7%, respectively). Also, 31.2% of news units fell into the government agency category. This division of news units for the key influencer factor can be attributed to the fact that Friends of the Hunley Inc., an organization, put out all the information in the tactics, but the news items also got information from the government agencies, specifically the Hunley Commission which created Friends of the Hunley Inc. So the two key influencers in the risk communication are the organization and government.

The group targeted for behavior promotion factor represents a factor in the social amplification of risk framework, and the promoted behavior factor represents an item of on the checklist for written risk communication messages. These factors can confirm the use of risk communication while also showing which specific group is targeted for action and what the action is. Findings for the group targeted for behavior promotion factor show that for the tactics, the organizational category had the highest frequency percentage (64.1%), and the individual category had the second highest (30.8%; see question No. 8 in Appendix A for category descriptions). For the news units, the organizational category also had the highest frequency percentage (49.4%), and the individual category had the second highest (31.6%). Findings for the promoted behavior factor show that 56.4% of the tactics fell into the "supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so" category, and 41.0% fell into the "supporting the preservation with a clear means of how to do so" (see question No. 9 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Similarly for the news units, 49.8% of the tactics fell into the "supporting the

preservation but not clear as to how to do so" category, and 33.8% fell into the "supporting the preservation with a clear means of how to do so."

The findings for the key influencer and group targeted for behavior promotion factors show that the key influencers in the social amplification of cultural risk in the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign are the organization and the government, which each support the preservation. Similarly, the groups targeted for behavior promotion – the organizational and the individual– also support the preservation, or at least do not oppose the effort. Therefore, the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign succeeds at boosting the voice of groups within the social amplification of risk framework that support the preservation while at the same time targeting those groups that are inclined to support the preservation for behavior promotion.

Answer to RQ2 on Framing

To answer RQ2 – what are the impacts of these risk communication and/or amplification messages on media framing of the historic preservation campaigns – the study revealed that the media accept the cultural risk frame presented by Friends of the Hunley Inc. This question was answered through the uncertainty of risk assessment, confidence in promoted behavior and concern factors. The uncertainty of risk assessment factor is based on a requirement in Lundgren's written risk communication message checklist that says risk messages should address the uncertainties about the risk and potential outcomes. This factor can confirm that risk communication is being used while determining whether the media view the loss of the historic site as a risk. Findings for this factor reveal that 92.3% of the tactics and 72.6% of the news units fell into the "risk is valid but not likely category" (see question No. 10 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Therefore, the media do view preservation failure as a cultural risk but just not as a risk that is very likely to occur.

Following the social amplification of risk framework's section on the visible impacts of risk amplification, the confidence in promoted behavior and concern factors can determine how confidently and with how much concern the tactics and news units view the risk, if the risk is considered to exist at all. The less confident the tone of the unit seems and the more concern for the preservation effort the tone of the unit has, the more risky the threat of losing the historic site is framed, showing affects of successful risk amplification. For the confidence in promoted behavior factor, 84.6% of tactics fell into the "prevention will definitely succeed" category (see question No. 11 in Appendix A for category descriptions). For the news units, 78.7% fell into the "preservation will definitely succeed" category. For the concern factor, a majority of both the tactic and news units fell into the "high concern for preservation effort" category (100% and 83.3%; see question No. 12 in Appendix A for category descriptions). Therefore, the findings for these two factors show that although there is concern for the preservation effort, the confidence in successful risk prevention is high, so the risk amplification impacts were not as strong as they would be if confidence was low as well.

Use of the Word "Save"

To explore the use of risk amplification language, the researcher also counted the number of times the word "save" or its synonyms "protect" and "rescue" appeared in the units, as shown in Table 4-4. For example, a Web page tactic features the risk amplification language,

> Not only will her preservation save for all time this great chapter of courage an innovation, but it also will allow the Hunley to touch generations with the great American story that our people, in pursuit or defense of freedom, put aside the element of fear and answered the call of duty (Friends of the Hunley Inc., 2008).

Most news units and tactics did not use the word "save" or its synonyms (95.1 and 92.3%). A separate two-tailed independent samples t-test showed that there was no significant difference between the mean of the tactics and news units, based on a .05 level of significance (t = .439, df

= 300. p > .05). Therefore, media coverage matched the Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s language. Communicators for the campaign could increase their use of the language to see if the media still follows.

Table 4-1. Findings for Save Ellis Island Inc.

Focus	Factor	Categories of tactics (n = 32)	Categories of news (n = 75)	Chi-square test
Messaging (RQ1)	Channel	50.0% press releases 15.6% newsletters 15.6% print ads 12.5% web pages 6.3% TV ads	90.7% news stories 9.3% opinion stories	chi-square = 1.070E2 df = 6 p = .000
	Source	100% organization	100% media outlet	chi-square = 1.070E2 df = 19 p = .000
	Key influencer	84.4% organization 9.4% individual 6.3% government agency	41.3% organization 40.0% government agency 9.3% news media 8.0% individual 1.3% opinion leaders	chi-square = 19.673 df = 4 p = .001
	Nature of risk	90.6% cultural 6.3% nonexistent 3.1% educational	90.7% cultural 5.3% nonexistent 4.0% educational	chi-square = .080 df = 2 p = .961
	Group targeted for behavior promotion	53.1% organizational 40.6% individual 6.3% political	44.0% organizational 34.7% political 16.0% individual 5.3% no group targeted	chi-square = 14.849 df = 3 p = .002
	Promoted behavior	87.5% supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so 12.5% supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so	54.7% supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so 38.7% supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so 6.7% no promoted behavior	chi-square = 21.657 df = 2 p = .000

Table 4-1. Continued

Focus	Factor	Categories of tactics (n = 32)	Categories of news (n = 75)	Chi-square test
Framing (RQ2)	Uncertainty of risk assessment	93.8% risk is valid but not likely 6.3% risk is nonexistent	94.7% risk is valid but not likely 5.3% risk is nonexistent	chi-square = .036 df = 1 p = .850
	Confidence in promoted behavior	59.4% preservation will succeed only if more support is raised 40.6% preservation will definitely succeed	65.3% preservation will succeed only if more support is raised 28.0% preservation will definitely succeed 6.7% future not addressed	chi-square = 3.384 df = 2 p = .184
	Concern	100% high concern for preservation effort	94.7% high concern for preservation effort 2.7% neutral 2.7% no concern for preservation effort	chi-square = .882 df = 2 p = .644

Table 4-2. Save Ellis Island Inc.'s use of "save"

Count	Tactics (n = 32, mean = 1.06, standard deviation =1.216)	News (n = 75, mean = .47, standard deviation = .827)
0	46.9%	69.3%
1	18.8%	20.0%
2	18.8%	5.3%
3	12.5%	5.3%
4	3.1%	0%

Table 4-3. Findings for Friends of the Hunley Inc.

Focus	Factor	Categories of tactics (n = 39)	Categories of news (n = 263)	Chi-square test
Messaging (RQ1)	Channel	87.2% press releases 12.8% web pages	97.0% news stories 3.0% opinion stories	chi-square = 3.020E2 df = 3 p = .000
	Source	100% organization	100% media outlet	chi-square = 3.020E2 df = 31 p = .000
	Key influencer	84.6% organization 12.8% government agency 2.6% opinion leaders	48.7% organization 31.2% government agency 11.4% individual 4.6% news media 1.9% opinion leaders 2.3% social/cultural group	chi-square = 19.398 df = 5 p = .002
	Nature of risk	66.7% cultural 25.6% educational 7.7% nonexistent	61.2% cultural 27% nonexistent 10.6% educational	chi-square = 11.842 df = 3 p = .008
	Group targeted for behavior promotion	64.1% organizational 30.8% individual 2.6% political 2.6% no group targeted	49.4% organizational 31.6% individual 11.8% political 4.9% no group targeted 2.3% social	chi-square = 5.462 df = 4 p = .243
	Promoted behavior	56.4% supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so 41.0% supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so 2.6% no promoted behavior	49.8% supporting the preservation but not clear as to how to do so 33.8% supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so 16.3% no promoted behavior	chi-square = 5.227 df = 2 p = .073

Table 4-3. Continued

Focus	Factor	Categories of tactics (n = 39)	Categories of news (n = 263)	Chi-square test
Framing (RQ2)	Uncertainty of risk assessment	92.3% risk is valid but not likely 7.7% risk is nonexistent	72.6% risk is valid but not likely 27.4% risk is nonexistent	chi-square = 7.050 df = 1 p = .008
	Confidence in promoted behavior	84.6% preservation will definitely succeed 12.8% preservation will succeed only if more support is raised 2.6% future not addressed	78.7% preservation will definitely succeed 15.6% future not addressed 5.7% preservation will succeed only if more support is raised	chi-square = 7.637 df = 2 p = .032
	Concern	100% high concern for preservation effort	83.3% high concern for preservation effort 14.4% neutral 2.3% no concern for preservation effort	.022

Table 4-4. Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s use of "save"

Count	Tactics (n = 39, mean = .08, standard deviation = .270)	News (n = 263, mean = .06, standard deviation = .263)
0	92.3%	95.1%
1	7.7%	4.2%
2	0%	0.8%

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

In short, this study of the Save Ellis Island Inc. and Friends of the Hunley Inc. historic campaigns revealed that threat of losing a historic site or artifact is communicated as a risk by the preservation organizations (RQ1). Therefore, cultural risks are communicated like physical risks. But how strongly a preservation organization relies on risk communication depends on overall nature of the specific site/artifact and the financial status of the campaign.

For instance, most (96%) of Save Ellis Island Inc.'s campaign tactics presented the threat of losing the historic item as a cultural risk, whereas only a slight majority (66.7%) of Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s campaign tactics did (chi-square = 30.898, df = 3, p = .000). This difference can be attributed to the fact that the Hunley and the Friends of the Hunley Inc.'s preservation efforts also are valued for their contributions to naval archeology techniques, resulting in both the communication of the threat as an educational risk (25.6%) as well.

In addition to the nature of the preservation target, the financial status of the campaign also influences the preservation organization's use of risk communication. For example, in terms of the promoted behavior, the Save Ellis Island Inc. campaign met the written risk message checklist requirement of including a promotion to support the preservation with a clear means to do so for its tactics, but the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign did not, with most of its tactics falling into the category of promoting support for the preservation but without any clear means of how to do so. This can be attributed to the fact that the Hunley restoration was never in critical need of funding, having continued and adequate government support as well as private donations. Therefore, the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign had no need to make sure the promoted support behavior was clear.

Funding also explains how the media frame a preservation effort (RQ2). Unlike in the case of Save Ellis Island Inc., 27.4 percent of media coverage of the Friends of the Hunley Inc. labeled the preservation effort as a nonexistent risk (chi-square = 30.898, df = 3, p = .000). This result can be attributed to the fact that the Hunley restoration effort has always been well-funded. Therefore, the threat of losing the Hunley was never in any danger of coming true. Having enough funding also explains why the news items of Friends of the Hunley Inc. also were confident that the preservation would definitely succeed. On the other hand, Save Ellis Island Inc.'s news items were confident that the preservation would succeed only if more support is raised. This result gives evidence of Save Ellis Island Inc.'s current need for about half of the restoration project's total funding. Accordingly, the strength of the risk amplification attempt and its success at influencing media framing depends on the financial motivation of the preservation organization.

The use of risk amplification strategies in preservation campaigns is most clearly exemplified by this study's risk language findings. Coding of the language of risk amplification, as represented by the use of the word "save" and its synonyms, showed that the Save Ellis Island Inc. tactics used the language at least once (mean = 1.06), while their corresponding news units did not. In the case of the Friends of the Hunley Inc. campaign, both its tactics and corresponding news units rarely used the language. These findings show that Save Ellis Island Inc. made a greater attempt at using risk amplification language in its messaging than Friends of the Hunley Inc. Therefore, if the preservation effort needs more money or is in danger of being shut down, the attempt at risk amplification to encourage financial support will be stronger than if money or support were not issues. But the fact that Save Ellis Island Inc.'s language did not translate to media usage shows the disconnect in the perception of risk between the media and

the preservation organization. Accordingly, preservation communicators need to determine whether or not risk amplification language is appropriate and affective for their campaigns.

Despite the media's refusal to use the preservation organization's risk amplification language, this study revealed that the media do view the threat of the loss of a historic site or artifact also as a cultural risk. This connection between the preservation organizations' and media's view of the risks shows the success of both preservation organizations at agenda-setting and shaping the media's framing of their respective risks. Furthermore, both preservation organizations' news items also matched the organizations' high concern for the preservation effort. But the media's belief that the risk is not likely to occur shows that the media's risk perception and concern may not be permanent. The media confidence in the eventual success of the preservation effort can be attributed to the fact that public acknowledgement of the preservation shows that the effort is already succeeding by just continuing to exist. Therefore, the media frame would not have any reason to suggest that the preservation effort will fail in the future, unless explicit facts state otherwise.

In addition to showing preservation communicators how risk communication strategies can and are being implemented in their field, this study's findings may also help expand scholarly knowledge about the construct and treatment of cultural risks. This study revealed that risk communication strategies are used to encourage audiences to respond to threats to cultural values, especially when the cultural risk is very likely to occur. Yet little research has been conducted in the area of cultural risks. Lundgren's basic checklist for written risk communication messages and Kasperson and Kasperspon's social amplification of risk framework were created to address risk management only for physical risks in a world where risks are socially defined. But if a risk is socially defined, then anything can be a risk, whether

the threat is physical or not. So the checklist and framework should be applied to cultural risks as well. This study's findings show that cultural threats are being handled with communication strategies designed for physical threats. Hopefully, these results can inspire a discussion among risk communication scholars about how physical risk concepts can be applied to cultural risks.

Limitations

As this study only encompassed two historic preservation campaigns, the findings may generalized as to the extent as a case study's findings would be. This study only aimed to determine the presence of risk communication and/or amplification messages in historical preservation campaigns and the media framing of the historic preservation effort. Therefore, the main limitation of this study is that it did not measure the effects of any risk messages on the actual target publics' perception of the cultural risk or on intended donating behavior.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future studies could research the impact of risk amplification on the target publics' actual donating behavior, comparing historic preservation campaigns that use risk amplification with those that do not. Are historic preservation campaigns that use risk amplification strategies more effective than those that do not? Or do historic preservation campaigns that use risk amplification strategies receive more or better media coverage than those that do not? Future studies could also investigate how cultural risk communication campaigns compare with physical risk campaigns, like health communication campaigns. If risk literature proves correct, all risks are socially defined, so there should not be much difference between a cultural risk and physical risk nor much difference between a cultural risk campaign and a physical risk campaign.

APPENDIX A
CODING GUIDE

1. Coder ID: (1) Researcher (2) Reliability Test Coder

2. Unit number: start with 001

3. Channel
(1) news story
(2) opinion story
(3) press release
(4) organization Web page
(5) organization newsletter
(6) print ad
(7) TV ad

4. Source. Will be either one of the preservation organizations or a media outlet.
(1) Save Ellis Island Inc.
(2) Friends of the Hunley Inc.
(3) The Post and Courier (Charleston)
(4) Houston Chronicle
(5) The New York Times
(6) USA Today
(7) Florida Times-Union
(8) U.S. News & World Report
(9) PR Newswire
(10) Jersey Journal
(11) The Star-Ledger (Newark, NJ)
(12) Business Wire
(13) Herald News (Passaic County, NJ)
(14) The Record (Bergen County, NJ)
(15) The Virginian-Pilot
(16) The Associated Press
(17) The Post-Standard (Syracuse, NY)
(18) The New York Sun
(19) Education Week
(20) San Antonio Express-News
(21) Daily News (New York)
(22) The Boston Herald
(23) The Santa Fe New Mexican
(24) Chicago Sun Times
(25) The Advocate
(26) The Washington Post
(27) Morning Call (Charleston)
(28) Fresno Bee (California)
(29) The Press Enterprise
(30) The State (South Carolina)

(31) The Sun News
(32) The Augusta Chronicle
(33) The Free Press
(34) The Herald
(35) Vallejo Times Herald
(36) Atlanta Journal-Constitution
(37) News & Record
(38) The Richmond Times Dispatch
(39) Grand Rapids Press
(40) Chattanooga Times Free Press
(41) The Washington Times
(42) Contra Costa Times
(43) Plain Dealer
(44) The Charlotte Observer
(45) Times-Picayune

5. Date of publication: month, day, and year all in numbers. For example: January 10, 2005 would be stated as 01102005. Use 00 if no date is available.

6a, b, c. Key Influencer. Which group is the information about; which group is the main source of the information presented; which group takes the lead in defining the historic preservation; which group is being quoted? Rank the Top 3 influencers in order of dominance (those higher up in the story have more weight). If influencers are not clear, code 0.

(1) opinion leaders (ex. professors not associated with an organization)
(2) social/cultural group (ex. community groups)
(3) government agency (ex. Hunley Commission; National Park Service)
(4) organization (ex. Friends of the Hunley; Save Ellis Island; businesses, non-profits, or foundations)
(5) news media
(6) individual (ex. visitor to Hunley Museum or Ellis Island story contributor)

7. Nature of Risk. What type of risk is the failure to preserve the buildings/submarine presented as?

(1) cultural (ex. threat to the heritage or the culture of the South or the country)
(2) educational (ex. threat to history knowledge, preservation technology advancement)
(3) monetary (probably not likely)
(4) physical (probably not likely)
(5) nonexistent

8a, b, c. Group Targeted for Behavior Promotion. Which group is singled out to act in response to the need for historic preservation; who is donating; who should donate; who should work on the actual restorations; who should organize fundraisers; who should volunteer; should legislation be passed? Rank the Top 3 targeted groups. If none or not clear, code 0.

(1) political (government; ex. to make laws or regulations)
(2) social (clubs, communities)
(3) organizational (non-profits, businesses, foundations)

(4) individual (ex. “public;” Web pages target the individual reader)

9. Promoted Behavior. How clear is the behavior encouraged in response to the need for historic preservation?

(1) supporting the preservation with clear means of how to do so (example: “donate here to save…”)

(2) supporting the preservation, but not clear as to how to do so (example: “we need to save…”)

(3) no promoted behavior (no statement or overall tone about supporting the preservation)

10. Uncertainty of Risk Assessment. How does the unit view both the legitimacy of the risk of failing to preserve and also the likelihood of the risk occurring or likelihood of failing to preserve?

(1) risk is valid and likely (in other words, preservation is necessary but won’t succeed)

(2) risk is valid but not likely (preservation is necessary and will succeed either because of the nature of the preservation or the eventual success of the promoted behavior)

(3) risk is not valid but is likely (preservation is not necessary and won’t succeed)

(4) risk is nonexistent (risk is not valid and not likely; preservation is not necessary but will succeed anyway)

11. Confidence in Promoted Behavior. What is the tone of the unit when considering the preservation’s future?

(1) preservation will definitely succeed (because of the measures presented)

(2) preservation will succeed only if more support is raised

(3) preservation will definitely fail

(4) future not addressed

12. Concern. What is the tone of the unit in terms of concern for the success or failure of the preservation effort?

(1) high concern for preservation effort (this is an important cause)

(2) neutral (no mention of desirable outcome)

(3) no concern for preservation effort (this is not an important cause)

13. How many times is the word “save” and its synonyms (like rescue or protect) used in terms of the historic preservation effort? Example: “we need to save the H.L. Hunley” or “donations will help save the buildings.” But do not count the “save” in Save Ellis Island Inc. Count how many times the word appears.

APPENDIX B
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

This study relied heavily on the University of Florida George A. Smathers Libraries, particularly the Allen H. Neuharth Library in the College of Journalism and Communications, to conduct a literature review as well as news coverage sampling. Cited references include scholarly literature and practical texts addressing general risk communication, the social concepts of risk, framing, historic preservation, and content analysis. In addition to books on risk communication and public relations, academic journals of communication, public relations, risk management, social science, health communication, and science communication were consulted. Information about the specific historical preservation campaigns was found on the organizations' Web sites and the news database LexisNexis. For data analysis, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences program provided for student use in the college's research laboratory was used.

Faculty expertise at the University of Florida also contributed to this master's thesis. Committee chair Dr. Spiro Kiousis, associate professor and chair of the department of public relations, assisted with his expertise in the area of framing and agenda-setting. Committee member Dr. Debbie M. Treise, professor of advertising and associate dean of the division of graduate studies and research, aided with her expertise in risk communication for science issues. Committee member Dr. Youjin Choi, assistant professor of public relations, contributed with her expertise in strategic communications and public health campaigns.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Raised in Jupiter, FL, I graduated from Jupiter Community High School in 2004. While earning my bachelor's degree in journalism with a minor in business administration from the University of Florida, I worked as a nuclear communications intern at Florida Power & Light Company in Juno Beach, FL, for two summers. There, I cultivated an interest in public relations, specifically risk communication. After graduating with my bachelor's in May 2007, I stayed at UF to expand my knowledge of public relations by earning a master's degree in mass communication specializing in public relations in May 2009. I hope to have a long public relations career in Florida, preferably working in risk or crisis communication.