

Research Article

# Why Did They “Choose” to Stay?

## Perspectives of Hurricane Katrina Observers and Survivors

Nicole M. Stephens,<sup>1</sup> MarYam G. Hamedani,<sup>1</sup> Hazel Rose Markus,<sup>1</sup> Hilary B. Bergsiekker,<sup>2</sup> and Liyam Eloul<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Stanford University and <sup>2</sup>Princeton University

**ABSTRACT**—Models of agency—powerful implicit assumptions about what constitutes normatively “good” action—shaped how observers and survivors made meaning after Hurricane Katrina. In Study 1, we analyzed how 461 observers perceived survivors who evacuated (leavers) or stayed (stayers) in New Orleans. Observers described leavers positively (as agentic, independent, and in control) and stayers negatively (as passive and lacking agency). Observers’ perceptions reflected the disjoint model of agency, which is prevalent in middle-class White contexts and defines “good” actions as those that emanate from within the individual and proactively influence the environment. In Study 2, we examined interviews with 79 survivors and found that leavers and stayers relied on divergent models of agency. Leavers emphasized independence, choice, and control, whereas stayers emphasized interdependence, strength, and faith. Although both leavers and stayers exercised agency, observers failed to recognize stayers’ agency and derogated them because observers assumed that being independent and in control was the only way to be agentic.

explained, “Officials called for a mandatory evacuation. Some people chose not to obey that order. That was a mistake on their part” (CNN Transcripts, 2005). Brown and Chertoff assumed that survivors who stayed “chose” not to evacuate and were therefore to blame for their suffering. We suggest that these common reactions to survivors were grounded in and legitimized by a powerful, yet often tacit, set of assumptions about what constitutes normatively “good” action—a *model of agency*. As Brown’s and Chertoff’s comments suggest, this implicit model led observers to interpret action in a context-specific way that fostered a lack of empathy for survivors who stayed.

Attribution theory and system-justifying tendencies—such as victim blaming, stereotyping, and belief in a just world—provide useful frameworks for understanding observers’ responses to survivors (Adams, O’Brien, & Nelson, 2006; Napier, Mandisodza, Andersen, & Jost, 2006). Attribution theory predicts that observers will locate the causes of survivors’ divergent outcomes in their individual attributes (Ross & Nisbett, 1991), but it does not answer the question of why observers’ perceptions took the particular forms they did. Highlighting another important feature of the explanatory sequence, the research we report here addresses not observers’ explanations of the causes of survivors’ behavior (i.e., attribution), but instead how observers perceive and make sense of survivors’ actions. In two studies, we contrasted observers’ and survivors’ perspectives to illuminate the contextually derived models of agency that shape how people make sense of behavior and what people perceive as sensible, culturally appropriate action.

We suggest that observers’ responses to Katrina survivors were predominantly grounded in the *disjoint* model of agency—the most prevalent model in mainstream middle-class White contexts (Markus, Uchida, Omoregie, Townsend, & Kitayama, 2006). The disjoint model assumes that agency emanates from within the individual and defines “good” actions as those that influence the environment according to individual motives,

(Savani, Markus, & Conner, 2008).

Etched in Americans’ collective memory of Hurricane Katrina are images of survivors standing on rooftops awaiting help. With these images came the claim that survivors failed to take appropriate actions. Responding to the rising death toll in New Orleans, Federal Emergency Management Agency Director Michael Brown said, “That’s going to be attributable a lot to people who. . . chose not to leave” (CNN Weather, 2005). Similarly, Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff

Address correspondence to Nicole Stephens, Stanford University, Department of Psychology, Stanford, CA 94305-2310, e-mail: nstephen@stanford.edu.

goals, and preferences (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). According to this model, a good Hurricane Katrina survivor should have influenced the situation, overcome situational constraints, and—through independence, choice, and control—found a way to evacuate.

The disjoint model is not the only model of agency. As a growing literature on culture and agency has revealed, there are many ways to act in and respond to the world (Holland & Quinn, 1987; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002; Morris, Mcnon, & Ames, 2001). Defined in a socioculturally neutral manner, agency is acting in the world (Markus & Kitayama, 2003) and need not—as is often assumed in Western middle-class contexts—involve influence or a commitment to an individualist model of the person in which agency is a force that derives from within the individual (Gould, 1999). Agency can also involve adjusting the self to the world. Prior research has identified a *conjoint* model of agency, which assumes that agency is “responsive to obligations and expectations of others, roles, and situations” (Markus & Kitayama, 2003, p. 7) and defines “good” actions as those that adjust to the environment and promote interdependence with other people. Although the conjoint model is often associated with East Asian contexts (Miller, 2003), some elements of this model, such as an emphasis on connecting with others, also pervade working-class American contexts (Markus, Ryff, Curhan, & Palmersheim, 2004; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007).<sup>1</sup>

### SOCIAL CLASS AND AGENCY

Contexts that are stratified by social class and race, and that vary substantially in their resources, provide one important source of models of agency (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Survivors who evacuated prior to Katrina (*leavers*) lived in primarily middle-class White contexts, whereas survivors who stayed (*stayers*) lived in primarily working-class Black contexts (Dyson, 2006). Compared with stayers, leavers had more education and income, greater access to news, more reliable transportation, and more geographically extended social networks (Lieberman, 2006).

Given the influence-enabling resources (i.e., material advantages and cultural capital, including knowledge, skills, and advantages based on societal status) associated with middle-class White contexts (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/1992), we hypothesized that leavers’ firsthand accounts of their experiences would emphasize choice, independence, and control—themes associated with a disjoint model. By contrast, people in working-class Black contexts often lacked the necessary resources to evacuate and effectively enact a disjoint model. Despite these constraints, we hypothesized that stayers were not passive but *agentic* (i.e., acting in the world), in ways that were appropriate to their contexts. Building on prior research, we

<sup>1</sup>Models of agency are not fixed properties of people. They derive from the context and change upon exposure to contexts where other models are prevalent (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999).

anticipated that narratives of stayers would reflect elements of a conjoint model, including an emphasis on interdependence and connection with others (Nobles, 1991; Stephens et al., 2007), as well as emphases on being strong and maintaining faith in God (Ryff, Singer, & Palmersheim, 2004; Snibbe & Markus, 2005).

Hurricane Katrina provides an opportunity to examine how people in different contexts make meaning in response to the same historically significant event. We present two studies that illuminate Katrina observers’ and survivors’ models of agency. In Study 1, we analyzed how two samples of observers—relief workers and lay observers—perceived leavers and stayers. Given the prevalence of the disjoint model in mainstream American contexts, we predicted that both samples of observers would rely on the disjoint model, and thus perceive leavers as influencing agents and stayers as lacking agency.

In Study 2, we examined survivors’ accounts of their own experiences. Because stayers’ and leavers’ contexts differed substantially in resources and opportunities for action, we predicted that leavers’ accounts would emphasize themes associated with disjoint agency, and stayers’ accounts would emphasize themes associated with conjoint agency. Thus, we expected to find that leavers and stayers were both agentic, but in different ways, and that observers derogated stayers because they assumed that influencing the environment was the only way to be agentic.

### STUDY 1

For Study 1, we recruited observers to complete an on-line survey. If observers view survivors through the disjoint model, they should view leavers, who conformed to this model, as sensible and influencing agents, and they should view stayers, who deviated from this model, as not sensible and lacking agency.

#### Method

##### *Participants*

To examine whether direct contact with survivors affected observers’ perceptions of them, we selected two samples of observers. First, we recruited 144 relief workers who had direct contact with survivors and spent an average of 3.5 weeks in the hurricane-threatened area. To obtain a diverse sample, we recruited participants through Red Cross Listservs, as well as through forums and advertisements on Web sites for Katrina relief workers. This sample included employees and volunteers from nonprofit and governmental organizations (e.g., Salvation Army), doctors, counselors, firefighters, and police officers. Second, we recruited lay observers (161 adults and 156 students) who had no direct contact with survivors and observed the consequences of the disaster from afar. We recruited adult lay observers through on-line ads and student lay observers through dorm Listservs. Because the adult and student samples did not differ in any analyses, we present results of analyses in which

these two groups were combined. Table 1 presents demographic information about the Study 1 participants.

### Procedure

We used responses on two within-subjects tasks as our primary dependent variables. After completing these tasks, participants also reported demographic information and answered questions about their political orientation and religious views.

First, a *person-description task* assessed observers' perceptions of survivors. We asked participants to provide three words describing people who evacuated from the hurricane-affected area and three words describing people who stayed in the hurricane-affected area. We counterbalanced the order of these two questions.

Second, a *vignette task* assessed whether participants perceived survivors' actions as sensible. Each participant read two vignettes, one about a leaver and one about a stayer (in counterbalanced order). Personal characteristics and family structure were consistent across the vignettes (i.e., a "friendly, responsible, and hardworking" survivor "lives with two kids and a spouse"). In the leaver vignette, survivor "K" had resources and evacuated (i.e., went to another state to "stay with a friend until the hurricane passed"). In the stayer vignette, survivor "D" lacked resources and stayed (i.e., "didn't have any close friends or family to stay with who lived outside of the hurricane-threatened area"). Participants were asked, "Given the situation, to what extent did the survivor's behavior make sense?" The response scale ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*a lot*).

## Results

### Person-Description Task

Two research assistants who were blind to our hypotheses coded each word for valence (positive or negative) and thematic con-

tent (mean  $\kappa = .93$ ). To capture the thematic content of the person descriptions, we created a code for each distinct theme that occurred in at least 5% of responses.

Although observers described stayers as lacking resources and leavers as having resources (see Table 2), they still viewed leavers as influencing agents and stayers as lacking agency. As hypothesized, descriptions of leavers were more likely than descriptions of stayers to include positive attributes that reflect the cultural ideals of a disjoint model of agency. For example, leavers were described as independent (e.g., self-reliant, in control) and responsible (e.g., hardworking, conscientious). Descriptions of leavers were also more likely than descriptions of stayers to refer to high-arousal emotions (e.g., angry, agitated) and action-requiring states (e.g., being prepared, planning). By contrast, observers were more likely to describe stayers as having negative attributes that together connote inaction and lack of agency. For example, stayers were described as passive (e.g., lazy, dependent), irresponsible (e.g., careless, negligent), and inflexible (e.g., stubborn, uncompromising). Descriptions of stayers were also more likely than descriptions of leavers to refer to low-arousal emotions (e.g., sad, depressed) and inactive states, such as being unprepared (e.g., disorganized, ill-equipped) and defeated (e.g., hopeless, devastated).

To assess whether participants' perceptions were moderated by their experience as either a relief worker or a lay observer, we used the valence coding to create a positivity index. For each response (comprising three descriptors), we subtracted the number of items coded as negative from the number coded as positive. As expected, observers described leavers more positively ( $M = 0.72$ ) than stayers ( $M = -1.75$ ),  $t(460) = 19.83, p < .001$ . A repeated measures analysis of variance with between-subjects factors revealed a significant interaction between sample (relief worker vs. lay observer) and survivor group

**TABLE 1**  
*Demographic Characteristics of Observers in Study 1*

Variable	Relief workers ( $n = 144$ )	Lay observers	
		Adults ( $n = 161$ )	Students ( $n = 156$ )
Gender	52% female, 48% male	81% female, 19% male	73% female, 27% male
Age (mean)	39.9	36.0	20.8
Race-ethnicity			
White	86%	63%	44%
Latino	4%	7%	6%
Asian	2%	12%	19%
Black	1%	5%	10%
Other	7%	12%	21%
Middle class <sup>a</sup>	99%	98%	85%
Annual household income (median; thousands of dollars) <sup>b</sup>	\$50–75	\$50–75	\$100–200
Number of children (mean)	2.5	1.6	0.0

<sup>a</sup>Middle class was defined as having some college education (for relief workers and adult lay observers) or as having at least one parent with a college education (for students).

<sup>b</sup>Household income was assessed on a categorical scale.

**TABLE 2**  
*Categories Coded in Study 1 and Percentage of Descriptions of Leavers and Stayers Coded for Each Category*

Coding category (%)	Examples	Leavers (%)	Stayers
<b>Positive attributes</b>			
Smart	Intelligent, sensible, wise	28	0
Responsible	Responsible, cautious, conscientious	13	0
Independent	Independent, in control, self-reliant	9	2
<b>Negative attributes</b>			
Stupid	Dumb, ignorant, foolish	0	15
Irresponsible	Irresponsible, careless, negligent	0	7
Passive	Dependent, helpless, lazy	3	9
Inflexible	Uncompromising, stubborn, strong-headed	6	27
<b>Active states</b>			
High-arousal emotions	Angry, stressed, agitated	26	14
Prepared	Prepared, planned, organized	21	0
<b>Inactive states</b>			
Low-arousal emotions	Sad, depressed, grateful	21	31
Unprepared	Ill-equipped, uninformed, disorganized	0	10
Immobilized	Isolated, cramped, trapped	3	12
Defeated	Defeated, devastated, hopeless	12	18
<b>Luck</b>			
Good luck	Lucky, fortunate, good luck	18	0
Bad luck	Unlucky, unfortunate, bad luck	2	7
<b>Resources</b>			
Have resources	Well-off, rich, privileged	26	0
Lack resources	Poor, broke, no transportation	11	52
<b>Demographics</b>			
White race	White, Caucasian, European American	10	0
Non-White race	Black, African American, minority	5	18
Poor health	Sick, dying, ill	2	7
Other demographics	Elderly, female, male	2	7

Note. McNemar's tests of homogeneity between percentages of leavers' and stayers' descriptions coded for a given category were all significant at the  $p < .001$  level, except in the case of "defeated,"  $p < .05$ , and "bad luck,"  $p < .01$ .

(leaver vs. stayer),  $F(1, 459) = 16.18, p < .001$ . Relative to lay observers, relief workers viewed stayers less negatively,  $t(306) = 2.34, p = .02$ , and leavers less positively,  $t(239) = 3.13, p = .002$  (see Fig. 1). In follow-up analyses, we found that

participants' liberalism, conservatism, and religiosity were not significant covariates.

*Vignette Task*

For the vignette task, we compared observers' ratings of the extent to which each survivor's actions made sense. A paired-samples  $t$  test revealed that both relief workers and lay observers perceived leavers' actions as making more sense ( $M = 3.87$ ) than stayers' actions ( $M = 2.65$ ),  $t(460) = 25.91, p < .001$ . Vignette order did not affect responses.

**Discussion**

As hypothesized, both samples of observers portrayed leavers as influencing agents and stayers as lacking agency and saw stayers' actions as less sensible than leavers' actions. We suggest that these perceptions arose because observers assumed that influencing the environment through independence and control was the only way to be agentic. Thus, stayers' actions, which deviated from the disjoint model, were viewed as not making

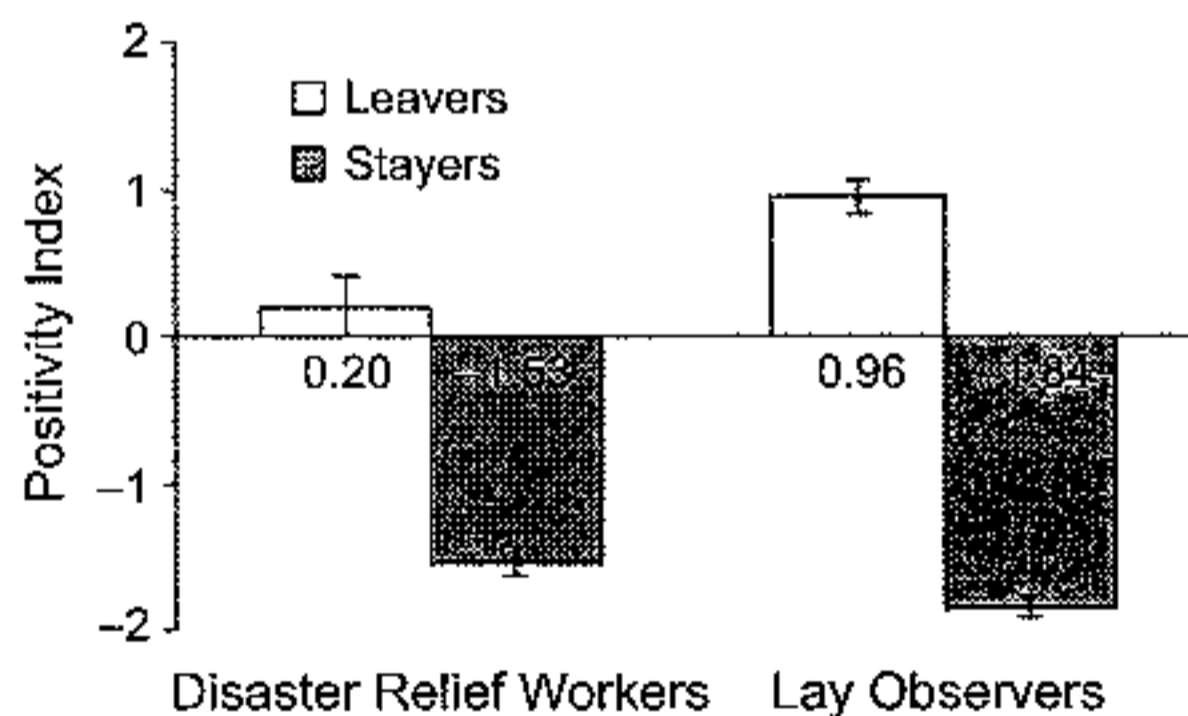


Fig. 1. Mean positivity of relief workers' and lay observers' perceptions of Katrina survivors as a function of whether survivors stayed in New Orleans or left. Error bars denote  $\pm 1$  SE.

sense and as lacking agency. Notably, observers derogated survivors who stayed as stupid and passive, despite clearly recognizing reasons why stayers could not evacuate (e.g., lack of money or transportation).

Relief workers, like lay observers, derogated stayers as lacking agency. The convergent perspectives of these different populations underscore the power and prevalence of the disjoint model of agency in mainstream American contexts. In their person descriptions, however, relief workers derogated stayers somewhat less than lay observers did. This divergence could have occurred because relief workers and lay observers had different views (e.g., racial attitudes) prior to the hurricane. Our theory, however, suggests that exposure to the contexts of survivors shaped relief workers' models of agency and their perceptions of survivors.

Observers' derogation of stayers is consistent with the assertion that psychological biases, such as prejudice and belief in a just world, shaped responses to Katrina. Our purpose, however, is to take a broader sociocultural perspective by illuminating the disjoint model that underlies observers' perceptions and contributes to these more specific biases. Numerous psychological theories predict that observers would locate the cause of stayers' unfortunate outcomes in stayers' own individual attributes and thus view stayers negatively. Models-of-agency theory predicts more specifically how stayers will be derogated—that they will be judged on the basis of whether their actions deviated from the disjoint model's assumptions about what constitutes normatively good action. Given the pervasive negative representations of African Americans (Oyserman & Harrison, 1998), observers could have derogated stayers in myriad ways, such as by describing them as immoral, crazy, dangerous, or devious. However, guided by the assumption that normatively good actions are those that influence the environment, observers in our study derogated stayers using a socioculturally specific subset of terms (e.g., *lazy*, *passive*, and *careless*) that together connote inaction and the absence of agency.

## STUDY 2

Moving beyond observers, Study 2 examined firsthand accounts of Katrina survivors. Three months after Katrina, we asked survivors to describe their hurricane-related experiences, hypothesizing that leavers' and stayers' narratives would reflect divergent models of agency.

### Method

#### Participants

Seventy-nine participants were interviewed for 1 hr and compensated \$50. To obtain a diverse sample, we sent study invitations to survivors on a Department of Housing and Urban Development mailing list and posted flyers in New Orleans and San Antonio, Texas. We also used on-line advertisements and

Listservs to recruit survivors who evacuated before Katrina. Our samples of stayers and leavers (see Table 3) were demographically comparable to the overall populations of Katrina survivors who stayed and evacuated, respectively (Center for American Progress, 2005). We conducted 57 interviews in person and 22 over the telephone. All interviews were audio-taped with permission and transcribed.

In this study, we contrasted the perspectives of leavers and stayers. We did so for two reasons. First, such a focus allowed us to compare the results of Study 1 (observers' perceptions of leavers and stayers) with survivors' understandings of themselves. Second, because most middle-class White participants were leavers and most working-class Black participants were stayers, the experiences of leaving and staying provided a conceptually meaningful proxy for social class and race. Further, our focus on leavers and stayers helped to specify some of the social experiences that produce the divergent life outcomes tied to the categories of social class and race (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Markus, 2008). It is these differential social experiences that shape and maintain models of agency.

### Procedure

We matched the race of interviewers and survivors to help participants feel comfortable sharing their experiences (Schaeffer, 1980). The interviewers asked participants to describe their experiences by saying, "Start from the beginning. I'd like to hear what happened to you before, during, and after the hurricane." Participants subsequently provided demographic information and answered questions about their well-being and mental health.

### Coding

Three coders who were blind to our hypotheses read the transcripts and identified explicit agency-related themes present in survivors' descriptions of what they did and why. Thirteen

**TABLE 3**  
*Demographic Characteristics of Leavers and Stayers in Study 2*

Variable	Leavers ( <i>n</i> = 38)	Stayers ( <i>n</i> = 41)
Gender	71% female, 29% male	73% female, 27% male
Age (mean)	40.3	45.8
Race-ethnicity	78% White, 22% Black	29% White, 71% Black
Middle class <sup>a</sup>	90%	39%
Annual personal income (mean)	\$35,000	\$19,500
Number of children (mean)	1.4	2.8
Born in New Orleans	49%	78%
Has flood insurance	40%	18%
Owens a vehicle	100%	54%

<sup>a</sup>Middle class was defined as having some college education.

non-mutually exclusive codes that each required minimal inference and occurred in at least 10% of narratives were included in the coding scheme (see Table 4; mean  $\kappa = .90$ ).

**Results**

To learn about leavers' and stayers' models of agency, we contrasted their narratives (see Table 4). The two groups were equally likely to refer to family, engage in downward comparison, mention race or class, and describe their attachment to home. Beyond these similarities, survivors' narratives revealed different models of agency.

*Themes Among Leavers*

The themes more common among leavers than stayers supported our hypotheses. Consistent with observers' perceptions, leavers' narratives emphasized choice, independence, and control, reflecting a disjoint model of agency. Enabled by the resources available in middle-class White contexts, leavers generally described themselves as agents who sought to influence and exert control over their environments. Compared with stayers, leavers more often placed an emphasis on choice in describing

their efforts to control the situation. One leaver explained, "I wanted to beat the hurricane, so we decided to leave early to beat traffic." Leavers also described assessing the risk related to the hurricane and focusing on the future more often than stayers. Revealing this future focus, one leaver said, "I started making plans. I immediately got on the phone and called hotels." Finally, compared with stayers, leavers more often emphasized a fear of losing independence in the hurricane's aftermath. As one leaver said, "Being away from home means you've lost your independence and feel totally dependent on others."

*Themes Among Stayers*

As hypothesized, and in stark contrast to observers' perceptions, stayers' narratives emphasized interdependence with others, faith in God, and strength, suggesting that stayers had a different way of acting in the world than leavers did. Given the limited material resources available in working-class Black contexts, stayers more often than leavers emphasized the importance of connection to and caring for others. Highlighting the value of interdependence, one stayer said, "We're all in this world together, and we're stronger together." Stayers also more often placed an emphasis on strength and not giving up than leavers

**TABLE 4**  
*Percentage of Interviews Coded in Each Category in Study 2*

Code	Sample responses	Leavers (%)	Stayers (%)
Shared themes			
Reference to family	I always try to be with my family during emergencies.	92	85
Attachment to home	I'm not used to going nowhere. I'm a homebody, period, you know. I like to stay at home.	26	17
Downward comparison	We had savings that could help us to evacuate. A lot of people don't have anything.	55	61
Attention to race-class	For the government to treat people different by class and race is a disgrace in this country.	30	48
Themes significantly more common among leavers than among stayers			
Emphasis on choice**	You've got to make choices and it's hard . . . I'm stuck with a decision or here or there. 'Cause I made a decision.	50	22
Assessing risk***	After experiencing Hurricane Betsy, I was fearful of what would happen to me. I didn't feel like I was safe there.	79	32
Future focus***	We began making plans to evacuate the area. We contacted family and friends to find someone to stay with.	84	27
Fear of losing independence**	Being away from home meant that I lost my independence.	45	12
Themes significantly more common among stayers than among leavers			
Emphasis on strength*	I try not to let it get me down. I just let it make me stronger . . . 'cause I had to take care of my two sons.	21	49
Caring for others*	We had a good community. All the people here help one another.	16	37
Having faith*	Whatever that was going on it has nothing to do with you being a bad or good person; it's just an act of God.	24	51
Connection to others***	I was worried and not only for myself, but for a lot of the people.	21	66
Underestimated hurricane**	We thought the storm wasn't going to come. We really were underestimating the storm. It always passes through.	58	88

Note. For each theme, a chi-square test ( $df = 1, N = 79$ ) was used to test the significance of the difference between the percentages of leavers and stayers whose interviews were coded as including that theme.  
\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

did. One stayer explained, "You have to be so strong-minded to survive. You do the best you can do, and if you fail, you get up again. That's all you can do." Additionally, stayers more often adjusted to their limited options by having faith and by actively maintaining hope despite hardship. One stayer stated, "Through much prayers and faith in God, that's how we made it."<sup>2</sup>

### *Well-Being and Mental Health*

Leavers and stayers did not differ on measures of mental health (Prime-MD mood, anxiety, and alcohol- and substance-abuse scales: Spitzer et al., 1994) or well-being (life and self satisfaction, positive and negative affect: Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), all  $p$ s > .15. These results suggest that survivors' divergent responses to Katrina did not reflect differences in well-being, but rather were conditioned by and appropriate to survivors' contexts.

### Discussion

Leavers' and stayers' divergent ways of making meaning in response to Hurricane Katrina reveal different models of agency. Among leavers, the disjoint model's focus on independence, choice, and control was likely afforded by the influence-enabling resources (e.g., money, transportation) that are available in middle-class White contexts and that enabled people to evacuate. Most stayers, however, lacked these resources and could not effectively enact a disjoint model. Instead, they needed to adjust to the constraints of their contexts by enacting a different model of agency—one that involved connecting to others, being strong, and maintaining faith in God. The different models of agency observed in leavers' and stayers' narratives were likely reinforced and further amplified by the experiences of evacuating from or staying in the hurricane-threatened area.

The agency observed among stayers focused on adjusting the self to the world and maintaining interdependence with other people.<sup>3</sup> Labeling this form of agency will require further analysis. We suggest that stayers' agency reflects some elements of conjoint agency and that it may also reflect compensatory secondary control (Heckhausen & Schulz, 1999), hard indi-

vidualism (Kusserow, 2004), or emotion-focused coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). What is clear is that stayers' agency diverged markedly from the disjoint model, the model of agency that is pervasive in middle-class White contexts and that is the most well documented in the psychological literature.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

### Theoretical Contributions

Our studies are the first to analyze both observers' and survivors' meaning making in response to Katrina. With a models-of-agency analysis, we have gone beyond an analysis of people's understandings of why people behave as they do (i.e., attribution) to illuminate how people in different sociocultural contexts make sense of behavior and what people perceive as culturally appropriate action. Our studies demonstrate that although stayers were agentic (i.e., acting in the world), two different samples of observers—relief workers and lay observers—derogated stayers as lacking agency. They did so by evaluating survivors using one particular set of assumptions about the culturally "right" way to act—a disjoint model of agency.

Observers assumed that disjoint agency—being independent and in control—was the only right way to act, presumably because this model was most prevalent in their own middle-class White contexts. Unlike explicit racism or classism, derogating people on the basis of one's own implicit cultural norms may not be experienced or identified as prejudice, but may instead seem like a straightforward logical inference from the facts of the situation. However, because disjoint agency is often possible only for people in contexts with an abundance of resources (e.g., middle-class Whites), devaluing other forms of agency may be a powerful mechanism for prejudice or discrimination against people in contexts with limited resources (e.g., working-class Blacks), who lack the resources to be the "right" kind of agent. Notably, this type of unintended cultural discrimination may be even more potent and pernicious than traditional forms of prejudice because it is built into and legitimized by the cultural fabric of American society and is thus particularly difficult to recognize. (Adams, Biernat, Branscombe, Crandall, &

Like all models of agency, the disjoint model is promoted by a Wrightsman, context arranged in specific ways. However, the disjoint model 2008; Fryberg, in particular fosters a form of double blindness that limits individuals' ability to understand people in different cultural contexts. First, with respect to the self, the basic tenet of the model—that actions derive from within the individual—can prevent people from recognizing that their own perspectives and actions are indeed contextually afforded, thereby hindering their ability to acknowledge other sensible ways to be a person. Second, with respect to other people, the disjoint model can conceal the relationship between others' actions and the resource structure of the environment. Notably, understanding survivors' actions requires realizing that what can be done is contingent on the resources that people have available to them

Wrightsmann, 2008; Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008).

<sup>2</sup>Despite limitations of using race and social class as predictors, we tested whether these social distinctions could account for additional variation in survivors' models of agency. We created a dependent measure of agency by subtracting the sum of indicators of disjoint agency (emphasis on choice, assessing risk, future focus, and fear of losing independence) from the sum of indicators of conjoint agency (emphasis on strength, caring for others, having faith, and connection to others). A two-way analysis of variance revealed main effects of survivor group (stayer vs. leaver),  $F(1, 51) = 14.54, p < .001$ , and of race and class (working-class Black vs. middle-class White),  $F(1, 51) = 4.15, p < .05$ , but no interactions. Narratives of leavers and of middle-class Whites contained more indicators of disjoint agency than narratives of stayers and of working-class Blacks, respectively. These findings support the claim that models of agency are associated with social experiences attached to race and class.

<sup>3</sup>Although survivors lacked material resources, their focus on interdependence with others suggests that they were not without social resources (e.g., family, community), as is often the case in extreme poverty (Steele & Sherman, 1999).

(e.g., leavers were able to plan, stayers were able to maintain strength).

(Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007).

### Future Directions

Future research should examine how models of agency in other contexts shape individuals' ways of understanding other people. In contexts where the disjoint model is less prevalent, are people more likely to empathize with others and less likely to engage in victim blaming? Our sample of observers did not include enough working-class Whites or Blacks for us to address this question. Nevertheless, we predict that observers outside of middle-class White contexts would be more likely to view stayers using a conjoint model of agency and thus less likely to blame them for negative outcomes. In East Asian and Asian American contexts, the conjoint model is more prevalent than in European American contexts, and people more readily explain other people's actions by referring to situations and past experiences (Choi & Nisbett, 1998; Cohen, Hoshino-Browne, & Leung, 2007).

### Conclusion

Why did the stayers "choose" to stay? Grounded in a disjoint model of agency, this question framed the American public's initial response to the Hurricane Katrina tragedy and implied that survivors were "free" agents who were unconstrained by their contexts. The studies presented here, however, demonstrate that survivors' agency was powerfully shaped by the resource structure of their environments. If relief efforts are intended to help as many people as possible, questions about choice, which locate agency as the private property of individual actors, are the wrong place to start. Rather than ask why stayers made bad "choices" or inquire what was wrong with stayers, relief workers should perhaps have asked, "What actions were possible in the resource-limited contexts of stayers?" This alternate question acknowledges that all action is—and should be understood as—a product of what the individual can do given the resources of the sociocultural context. Understanding that many people who stayed in the hurricane-affected area could not simply choose to evacuate could have promoted a more timely and effective disaster-prevention and relief effort.

**Acknowledgments**—This research was supported by National Science Foundation Research Grant 0555157. The authors would like to thank Camille Johnson, Dale Miller, Jeanne Tsai, Greg Walton, and the rest of the Culture Collaboratory of Stanford University for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

### REFERENCES

Adams, G., O'Brien, L.T., & Nelson, J.C. (2006). Perceptions of racism in Hurricane Katrina: A liberation psychology analysis. *Analysis of Social Issues and Public Policy, 6*, 215–235.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.C. (1992). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Sage. (Original work published 1977)

Center for American Progress. (2005). Who are Katrina's victims? Retrieved September 7, 2008, from the Center for American Progress Web site: [http://www.americanprogress.org/kl/katrina\\_victims.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/kl/katrina_victims.pdf)

Choi, I., & Nisbett, R.E. (1998). Situational salience and cultural differences in the correspondence bias and actor-observer bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 24*, 949–960.

CNN Transcripts (2005). Interview with Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, Retrieved April 30, 2009, from <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0509/01/ltm.03.html>

CNN Weather. (2005). *FEMA chief: Victims bear some responsibility*. Retrieved April 30, 2009, from <http://www.cnn.com/2005/WEATHER/09/01/katrina.fema.brown/>

Cohen, D., Hoshino-Browne, E., & Leung, A.K.-y. (2007). Culture and the structure of personal experience: Insider and outsider phenomenologies of the self and social world. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 39, pp. 1–67). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Dyson, M.E. (2006). *Come hell or high water: Hurricane Katrina and the color of disaster*. Cambridge, MA: Basic Civitas.

Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R.S. (1980). An analysis of coping in a middle-aged community sample. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 21*, 219–239.

Gould, S.J. (1999). A critique of Heckhausen and Schulz's (1995) lifespan theory of control from a cross-cultural perspective. *Psychological Review, 106*, 597–604.

Heckhausen, J., & Schulz, R. (1999). The primacy of primary control is a human universal: A reply to Gould's (1999) critique of the lifespan theory of control. *Psychological Review, 106*, 605–609.

Heine, S.J., Lehman, D.R., Markus, H.R., & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological Review, 106*, 766–794.

Helms, J.E., Jernigan, M., & Mascher, J. (2005). The meaning of race in psychology and how to change it: A methodological perspective. *American Psychologist, 60*, 27–36.

Holland, D., & Quinn, N. (1987). *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Kusserow, A.S. (2004). *American individualisms: Child rearing and social class in three neighborhoods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lieberman, R.C. (2006). "The storm didn't discriminate": Katrina and the politics of color blindness. *The Du Bois Review, 3*, 7–22.

Markus, H.R. (2008). Of pride, prejudice, and ambivalence: Toward a unified theory of race and ethnicity. *American Psychologist, 63*, 648–651.

Markus, H.R., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J.J. Berman (Eds.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Vol. 49. Cross-cultural differences in perspectives on self* (pp. 1–57). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Markus, H.R., Ryff, C.D., Curhan, K.B., & Palmersheim, K.A. (2004). In their own words: Well-being at midlife among high school-educated and college-educated adults. In O.C. Brim, C.D. Ryff, & R.C. Kessler (Eds.), *How healthy are we? A national study of well-being at midlife* (pp. 273–319). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Markus, H.R., Uchida, Y., Omoregie, H., Townsend, S.S.M., & Kitayama, S. (2006). Going for the gold: Models of agency in Japanese and American contexts. *Psychological Science, 17*, 103–112.

- Miller, J.M. (2003). Culture and agency: Implications for psychological theories of motivation and social development. In V. Murphy-Berman & J.J. Berman (Eds.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation: Vol. 49. Cross-cultural differences in perspectives on self* (pp. 76–116). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Morris, M.W., Menon, T., & Ames, D.R. (2001). Culturally conferred conceptions of agency: A key to social perception of persons, groups, and other actors. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5, 169–182.
- Napier, J.L., Mandisodza, A.N., Andersen, S.M., & Jost, J.T. (2006). System justification in responding to the poor and displaced in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 6, 57–73.
- Nobles, W.W. (1991). African philosophy: Foundations of Black psychology. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), *Black psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 47–64). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry.
- Oyserman, D., & Harrison, K. (1998). Implications of cultural context: African American identity and possible selves. In J.K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 281–300). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Ross, L., & Nisbett, R.E. (1991). *The person and the situation: Perspectives of social psychology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Ryff, C.D., Singer, B.H., & Palmersheim, K.A. (2004). Social inequalities in health and well-being: The role of relational and religious protective factors. In O.G. Brim, C.D. Ryff, & R.C. Kessler (Eds.), *How healthy are we? A national study of well-being at midlife* (pp. 90–123). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schaeffer, N.C. (1980). Evaluating race-of-interviewer effects in a national survey. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 8, 400–419.
- Snibbe, A.C., & Markus, H.R. (2005). You can't always get what you want: Educational attainment, agency, and choice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 703–720.
- Spitzer, R.L., Williams, J.B.W., Kroenke, K., Linzer, M., Degruy, F.V., Hahn, S.R., et al. (1994). Utility of a new procedure for diagnosing mental disorders in primary care: The PRIME-MD 1000 Study. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 272, 1749–1756.
- Steele, C.M., & Sherman, D.A. (1999). The psychological predicament of women on welfare. In D.A. Prentice & D.T. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural divides: Understanding and overcoming group conflict* (pp. 393–428). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Stephens, N.M., Markus, H.R., & Townsend, S.S.M. (2007). Choice as an act of meaning: The case of social class. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 814–830.
- Watson, D., Clark, L.A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 1063–1070.

(RECEIVED 6/20/08; REVISION ACCEPTED 11/25/08)

