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The Potency of Potential:

Values to Bring Jacksonville
Together to Support Children

A FRAMEWORKS RESEARCH REPORT: AUGUST 2014

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Executive Summary

This report represents one part of a larger, multi-year, multi-method effort to reframe children's issues in the city of Jacksonville. Building on an extensive body of social science research that has been conducted in Jacksonville over the past two years, the report presents results from an experimental survey, using rigorous random assignment methods, of 653 residents of the Jacksonville metropolitan area who were recruited to match the demographic make-up of the city.¹

The goal of the experiment was to explore how values — broad orientational statements of objectives and priorities — can be used to shift attitudes about children's issues in Jacksonville and increase support for proposed solutions.

The results of this experiment indicate that *Civic Potential*, *Human Potential*, and *Civic Responsibility* are effective values for communicating about children's issues in Jacksonville, but that each value has particular strengths in relation to certain issues.

Based on these findings, FrameWorks recommends that communicators:

1. Build their messages around statements that emphasize the *potential* of the city and its children;
2. use the value of *Civic Potential* to generate a sense of community and foster the recognition that public goods and services are key aspects of improving the lives of children;
3. use the value of *Human Potential* to talk about the needs of particular children and the importance of System of Care principles;
4. use the value of *Civic Responsibility* to frame a discussion of child rights; and
5. clearly frame the community as the agent of change.

Introduction

As Jacksonville is in the midst of an effort to improve child outcomes, it also is in the midst of an effort to better understand how to communicate about children's issues and services — in particular, those that relate to children's mental health. The FrameWorks Institute is partnering in this mission by developing and testing communications strategies with the power to mobilize residents and gain buy-in and commitment for important children's initiatives.

Gaining public support will be no easy matter. From a series of rigorous studies conducted in Jacksonville, FrameWorks has found that residents share a sense of fatalism about the city's future, as well as deep assumptions that the fates of Jacksonville's different communities are separate, unrelated and irreconcilable.² This research has been extensive, including multiple qualitative and quantitative research methods conducted over the last two years with samples representing the diversity of the Jacksonville's population. Understanding this research, and its implications for communications on children's issues in Jacksonville, is essential to building public engagement and will. For the systems transformation underway to be sustainable, the initiative depends on the recognition by Jacksonville residents that the trajectory of the city, and that of the children living in it, are amenable to change — if the city comes together, and if the requisite investments in children and children's services are made. Fatalism must be countered with optimism; individualist patterns of thinking must be pushed back, and a more collective view pulled forward.

Effective communication and rigorous communications research are vital parts of this effort. The way an issue is framed strongly influences the likelihood that the public will embrace new ideas and solutions. Frames shape the way people attribute responsibility, understand how an issue works, and endorse specific solutions. Appealing to shared values is, therefore, a key part of framing. Effective values motivate engagement, generate a sense that problems can be solved, and increase people's receptivity to solutions by helping them see the purpose of specific policies and programs. In Jacksonville, they have the potential to diffuse the perspective that it is desirable and possible to promote the well-being of *all* of Jacksonville's children — if the city comes together.

The research presented in this report was sponsored by the Northeast Florida Children's Mental Health Coalition and its grantees and partners, including the Jacksonville Children's Commission and the Partnership for Child Health, as part of the System of Care Initiative.

This research, about the role of values in communicating about children's issues in Jacksonville, is part of a larger story that FrameWorks, in concert with our partners, is building to reframe children's issues in the city. In this report, we present the findings of a survey experiment that tested the ability of four values to orient people toward taking communal action to address children's issues and increase support for the policy and programmatic solutions needed to improve the lives of children in the city. The findings from this research provide evidence-based recommendations that communicators and practitioners can use to motivate engagement with, and increase understanding of, the work being done in the city.

About The Experiment

To understand how values can be used to shift attitudes about children’s issues in Jacksonville and increase support for proposed solutions, FrameWorks conducted an experimental survey of 653 residents of the Jacksonville metropolitan area, recruited to match demographic baselines provided by the United States Census.³

Survey respondents were randomly assigned to one of five groups. The first group — referred to here as the “control group” — received no message before being asked to evaluate a set of statements and policies, thus serving as a baseline against which to measure the effects of the value messages. The other four groups each received one of the value messages before evaluating the same statements and policies.

The values tested were derived from FrameWorks’ extensive research on successful children’s advocacy, and from pilot work on possible messages.⁴ The following values were tested (see the Appendix for exact message wording):⁵

- *Civic Potential* — This value forwards the idea that supporting children and families is crucial for Jacksonville to reach its full potential. The value frames the idea of potential in collective terms — as “our city’s” potential.
- *Human Potential* — This value focuses on the need to invest in the city’s children so they can reach their potential and contribute to the city down the road. The value centers on the potential of *children*, with the collective benefit to the city as a secondary component.
- *Civic Responsibility* — This value focuses on Jacksonville’s collective obligation to support children and their families.
- *Pragmatism* — This value asserts that Jacksonville must take common-sense, practical steps to fix the problems facing children and families.

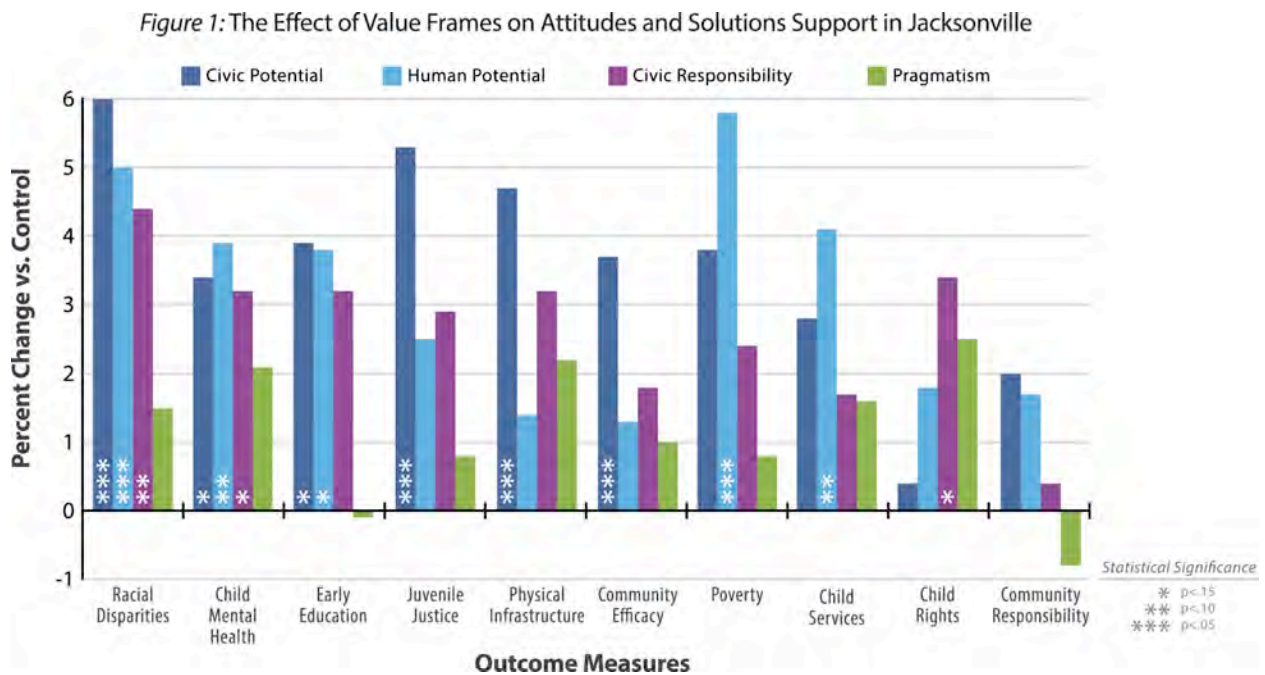
Respondents were asked a common set of questions designed to measure attitudes and support for relevant policies and programs. These questions were developed by analyzing expert interviews conducted in an earlier phase of the project,⁶ a review of relevant literature and materials from the field, and consultations with partners. The questions were presented in random order. The questions were organized into the following ten

scales, each of which measured a specific set of attitudes, intentions or beliefs (see the Appendix for the exact wording of the questions):

- *Racial Disparities Scale* — Measured receptivity toward programs designed to narrow gaps between white and minority communities.
- *Child Mental Health Scale* — Charted respondents' support for steps to improve children's mental health.
- *Early Education Scale* — Assessed support for measures to improve the quality of, and access to, early childhood education.
- *Juvenile Justice Scale* — Evaluated support for treating minors involved with the criminal justice system in age-appropriate ways.
- *Civic Physical Infrastructure Scale* — Charted support for public investment in the built environment in order to promote well-being.
- *Community Efficacy Scale* — Measured respondents' level of confidence in the ability of the people of Jacksonville to improve the well-being of residents by acting together.
- *Poverty Scale* — Evaluated respondents' support for policies targeted at improving outcomes for low-income families and children.
- *Child Services Scale* — Assessed support for programs directed at school-age children.
- *Child Rights Scale* — Measured support for children's rights, and for collective, public steps to ensure and protect those rights.
- *Community Responsibility Scale* — Gauged willingness to attribute responsibility to the city of Jacksonville for improving services and promoting the well-being of its residents.

Findings

Question: Which values are most effective in shifting opinion on children’s issues and increasing support for effective policies and programs?



Finding No. 1: Potential is an effective underlying value. Civic Potential and Human Potential, which are grounded in a common underlying value of Potential, generated significant increases in the outcome scales and, in general, outperformed the other values.

- Civic Potential produced large, statistically significant increases on six of the outcome scales.
- Human Potential produced large, statistically significant increases on five of the outcome scales.
- Both Civic Potential and Human Potential increased support for policies designed to narrow gaps between whites and minorities, improve children’s mental health, and provide early education.

Previous FrameWorks research in Jacksonville suggests an explanation for the effectiveness of these two values. Qualitative research in Jacksonville has found that beneath the more dominant shared understandings — or what anthropologists “cultural models”⁷ — of individualism, separate fates and fatalism, there are more recessive cultural models that recognize the role of the community in ensuring children’s well-being.⁸ Put another way, underneath the widespread assumption of separateness and pessimism about the city’s ability to come together lies a shared aspirational belief that the city can build a more united community in which all children thrive.

Civic Potential and *Human Potential* pull forward and expand this recessive thinking in two ways. First, by framing community success as something that *can* happen, these values help to overcome pessimistic and fatalistic views that normally shape thinking about the city’s future. Talking about the potential of the city and its children helps people see that coming together to improve the well-being of children is a genuine, realizable possibility. Second, by linking the potential of the city to the well-being of *all* of its children, both values help overcome the dominant assumption that the fates of different neighborhoods and groups within the city are separate. This aspect of the values productively inoculates against the “separate fates” assumption, and helps motivate support for taking steps to improve the well-being of *all* children.

In sum, messaging about the *potential* of the city and its children helps to convince the Jacksonville public that they *can* and *must* come together to better support *all* children.

Finding No. 2: *Civic Potential* and *Human Potential* are complementary values with slightly different strengths. In addition to being effective in several common outcome areas, each of these values proved uniquely effective in particular areas.

- *Civic Potential* was the only value that produced statistically significant increases in the *Juvenile Justice*, *Physical Infrastructure* and *Community Efficacy* outcome scales. This means that the value increased support for age-appropriate treatment within the justice system and for investing public money to improve the built environment, and, most notably, boosted confidence that the people of Jacksonville can, in fact, enhance the well-being of the city’s residents by acting together.
- *Human Potential* was the only value that produced statistically significant increases on the *Poverty* and *Child Services* outcome scales. This means that the value was uniquely effective in increasing support for policies targeted toward improving outcomes for low-income families and school-age children.

That each value was effective in moving different outcomes can be traced to the different ways in which they frame the idea of potential — specifically the *entity or agent* that has potential.

Civic Potential focuses directly on the potential of the *city*, framing support for the city's children as crucial to realizing the shared potential of the broader community. By focusing at the level of the city, the value increases support for measures that people inherently understand at the city or collective level. In this way, making the city the agent of potential boosts people's confidence that the city can, and should, come together and actually improve outcomes for children, increasing support for the *Community Efficacy Scale*. Similarly, in establishing the city as the actor or agent of potential, the *Civic Potential* value helps people recognize the need to improve community spaces — clearly a collective issue for a city — and produces gains on the *Physical Infrastructure* scale. The value's effectiveness on the *Juvenile Justice* scale also likely stems from the fact that *Civic Potential* evokes city-level perspective that taps into people's underlying understanding of public safety issues as affecting the entire community.

While *Human Potential* similarly links the success of the city to the well-being of its children, the focus of this value is squarely on children themselves. In other words, while the agent in *Civic Potential* is the city, the agent in the *Human Potential* value is children. This explains the value's effectiveness on the *Poverty* and *Child Services* scales, which focus on services that benefit particular groups of children. By helping people see the importance of investing in *each and every child* in order for the city to succeed, the value helps people see the importance of services that target specific groups of children. Importantly, the value remains collectivized — this is not about an individual child, which might well redirect responsibility to individual parents, but, rather, about children in general.

Finding No. 3: *Civic Responsibility* is an effective value for communicating about child rights. *Civic Responsibility* was the only value to produce statistically distinguishable impacts on respondents' recognition of the rights of children and their support for measures to ensure and protect these rights.

The effectiveness of *Civic Responsibility* on the *Child Rights* outcomes scale can be explained by the close connections between rights and responsibility in people's thinking. As our cultural models research demonstrated,⁹ Jacksonville residents are of two minds about child rights. On one hand, they frequently express skepticism about the idea that children have rights at all. However, alongside this skepticism lies a positive, if not unproblematic, cultural model of child rights that presumes a community responsibility to protect children

and meet children's basic needs. *Civic Responsibility* is likely effective because it activates and expands this second model of children's rights, and leverages it to boost support for collective action to ensure that children's rights are protected.

Question: *Which values are ineffective in shifting opinion on children's issues and generating support for reforms?*

Finding No. 4: Pragmatism is ineffective in shifting people's opinions and attitudes.

Pragmatism was the only value that, when used to prime the conversation, failed to produce any statistically distinguishable impacts on respondents' beliefs and opinions.

The ineffectiveness of *Pragmatism* is likely due to its failure to overcome the assumption that different communities in Jacksonville have separate fates. Whereas *Civic Potential* and *Human Potential* help people think of the city as a unified whole — a “we” — *Pragmatism* lacks this collectivizing capacity. It seems that *Pragmatism* is too concerned with *how* the city must act, and not sufficiently directed toward helping residents understand the city as a *who* that can act together for truly common benefit. In this respect, any utility it may have is likely in a subservient role to these more effective values, helping direct practical actions that realize the goals put forward by the more potent values.

Question: *Which areas of opinion are hardest to shift using value messages?*

Finding No. 5: Values did not lead respondents to attribute greater responsibility to the city of Jacksonville for improving services and ensuring well-being. None of the four values created a statistically distinguishable impact on the *Communal Responsibility* scale relative to the control condition.

This lack of impact may reflect respondents' skepticism toward government, as government is mentioned more prominently in this scale than in other scales. Ingrained skepticism about the capacity of government to solve problems and to act as a responsible agent is hard to overcome. The difficulty of moving this scale suggests that, while Jacksonville residents can, with the right value messages, recognize the city as a “we,” this collective identity is more likely to be located in community institutions than in city government.

If the interpretation offered here is correct, it suggests the need for caution when discussing city government. Although government may be a necessary means of reform, Jacksonville residents are more willing to locate responsibility for that reform in the public

than in the government itself. It may also direct communicators to FrameWorks' framing strategies on government and budgets and taxes.¹⁰

Question: *Which values are most effective in generating support for the principles behind the Jacksonville System of Care Initiative?*

Finding No. 6: *Human Potential* and *Civic Responsibility* are effective in boosting support for System of Care principles.

To examine the values' ability to move public opinion regarding the specific principles behind the System of Care Initiative, FrameWorks identified four questions from the original scales that reflect these principles (marked with asterisks in the Appendix), and conducted a secondary analysis to determine effectiveness of the values in moving this composite scale.

- *Human Potential* produced a 5 percent gain on this *System of Care* composite scale; this increase was highly statistically significant.
- *Civic Responsibility* caused a lower, but still statistically significant, gain of 3.4 percent in support on this composite scale.

This finding is consistent with the interpretations offered above. The *System of Care* questions center on the needs of particular children, and, as we discuss above, *Human Potential* helps people see the importance of investing in each and every child. The *System of Care* questions also focus on the need to treat children as rights-bearers, which explains why *Civic Responsibility* performs well on the scale.

Recommendations

On the basis of these findings, we recommend that communicators:

1. **Build communications around the *potential of the city and its children*.** Talking about potential in these terms helps people recognize that they can, and should, come together to help Jacksonville's children, and that doing so will promote the city's success.
2. **Use *Civic Potential* to talk about public goods and to generate a sense of community.** This value fosters a sense of Jacksonville as a unified community that shares common interests.
3. **Use *Human Potential* to talk about the needs of particular children, child services, and System of Care principles.** This value helps people understand the importance of the city investing in each and every one of its children.
4. **When talking about child rights, use the value of *Civic Responsibility*.** This value activates and expands the more productive cultural models of children's rights within the Jacksonville public.
5. **Locate agency in the community, not the government.** Messages should frame the community as the agent of change, and the government as merely the means for carrying out the community's directives. Depicting city government as the ultimate agent is likely to depress people's support for proposed reforms.

These recommendations supplement those emerging from earlier stages of research. Previous research found other values to be effective — in particular, *Prevention/Ingenuity* and *Fairness Between Places* — which we recommended for particular tasks. The current recommendations are not intended to replace, but rather to add to, these previous recommendations.

Appendix

Value Frames

Civic Potential

Jacksonville is coming together to make good things happen. One thing our city must do to reach its full potential is support our children and families, recognizing that we can only accomplish our goals for Jacksonville by ensuring that all of our city's children have the opportunity to learn and develop. Realizing our potential, and becoming the city that we know we can be, should be our top priority. Together, we — all of Jacksonville's residents and leaders — can create strong systems that provide education, child health care, and support for parents. On the other hand, if we don't strive to meet our city's potential, the problems that our children face will get worse. When all children are given their best chance for a strong start in life, we take a big step toward realizing our potential and making Jacksonville the place that we know it can be.

Human Potential

Jacksonville is coming together to make good things happen. One thing the city is doing is investing our resources in our children and families, recognizing that when we ensure that children have the opportunity to learn and develop, they become our city's biggest assets. Developing the health, skills and abilities of the city's children's should be our top priority. Together, we — all of Jacksonville's residents and leaders — can invest resources in strengthening the systems that provide education, child health care, and support for parents. On the other hand, if we fail to make this investment, our children will not be able to fully contribute to our city when they become adults. Making investments in people by assuring that all children are given their best chance in life is the best way to build a strong city.

Civic Responsibility

Jacksonville is coming together to make good things happen. One thing our city is doing is taking responsibility for supporting our children and families, recognizing that we share a duty to ensure that all of our city's children have the opportunity to learn and develop. Meeting our obligation to Jacksonville's children should be our top priority. Together, we — all of Jacksonville's residents and leaders — can do our duty to the city by strengthening the systems that provide education, child health care, and support to parents. On the other

hand, if we fail to do our part and don't live up to our responsibility to the city, the problems that our children face will get worse. Meeting these shared obligations to our city's children can make Jacksonville a place where all children are given their best chance to grow, thrive and become responsible citizens themselves.

Pragmatism

Jacksonville is coming together to make good things happen. One thing our city is doing is taking practical steps to support our children and families, recognizing that we need to focus on solutions and take a step-by-step approach to ensure that all of our city's children have the opportunity to learn and develop. Adopting solutions that have the best chance of helping Jacksonville's children should be our top priority. Together, we — all of Jacksonville's residents and leaders — can find and implement sensible ways of strengthening the systems that provide education, child health care, and support to parents. On the other hand, if we fail to take practical and proven steps, the problems that our children face will get worse. Implementing common-sense solutions can make Jacksonville a place where all children are given their best chance to realize their talents and take their place in our community.

Outcome Measures

Racial Disparities

- We should move programs to ensure that children of color receive high-quality childcare and early learning opportunities, to set them up for success in school and life, to the top of our city's budget.
- Jacksonville should provide better health care, healthier foods and safer places to play in minority neighborhoods.
- More of Jacksonville's resources should go toward making sure that all of its schools have small class sizes and well-trained teachers.
- We should change property and real estate taxes in Jacksonville so all schools have enough funding to provide high-quality education.
- There should be more funding for programs that provide summer learning opportunities in communities where many children are struggling academically.

- We should not provide extra programs and resources to children from minority groups because it's unfair to other children. *[Reverse Code]*
- Increasing funding for public services is the right way to address disparities in outcomes like health and education.
- * *(System of Care)* Programs that serve children from diverse racial or ethnic groups should take culture and language into account, rather than taking a “one-size-fits-all” approach.

Child Mental Health

- All parents, caregivers and children who need them should have access to affordable mental health and substance abuse services.
- Jacksonville should increase city funding for mental health treatment to help victims of child abuse and child neglect and other trauma.
- We should spend public money on programs to encourage collaboration between doctors, parents, other caregivers and teachers to promote children’s mental health.
- Our city should make sure that everyone is aware of the fact that young children can have mental health problems.
- We should make sure that teachers, coaches and all adults who work with children are trained to refer children for mental health screenings if necessary.
- Jacksonville should invest resources in coordinating systems that provide services to children with mental health problems, to make sure screenings actually lead to referrals and treatments.
- Mental health problems in children are not a major issue facing Jacksonville. *[Reverse Code]*
- * *(System of Care)* Children and youth undergoing mental health treatment should be educated about their treatment and have some say in the decisions that affect them.

Early Learning and Education

- We need to put more of our resources toward improving the quality of childcare and early childhood education across all neighborhoods of Jacksonville.
- The city should fund activities for young children that foster healthy brain development.
- We should devote more of the city's resources to expand access to licensed early education and care for all children before kindergarten.
- * *(System of Care)* The city should work to integrate services available to parents with young children and provide information about them at delivery.
- We should use more of the city's resources to expand access to licensed early education and care for all children before kindergarten.
- * *(System of Care)* The programs that the city provides for families should be flexible enough that they can adapt to meet the unique needs of each family situation.

Juvenile Justice

- In order to grow up successfully, young people need safe and supportive communities.
- We need to ensure that youths in the system receive services and treatment appropriate for their age.
- The criminal records of young people convicted of crimes should not follow them into adulthood.

Civic Physical Infrastructure

- Building spaces that make it easy and safe to walk, bicycle and exercise should be a priority for the city.
- Jacksonville should invest in public transportation to decrease congestion, improve air quality and increase physical activity.

- Jacksonville should be doing more to limit exposure to pollutants that cause harm and illness.
- We should devote more of our city's resources to building public parks and recreation centers.
- Jacksonville needs to be doing more to make sure that everyone in the city has access to healthy and nutritious food.
- When making decisions about city planning and civic infrastructure, Jacksonville should consider what is in the best interests of children.

Community Efficacy

- Setting up or enhancing programs will improve the health and development of young children in Jacksonville.
- We can make sure that all Jacksonville's children receive the support they need to develop into productive citizens.
- Providing more resources to programs that support young children and their families will lead to a better life for all Jacksonville residents.
- There are things that we can do to strengthen the sense of community in Jacksonville.
- Even programs with the best intentions do little to increase the chances that young children will succeed later on in life [*Reverse Code*].

Poverty

- We need to increase the amount of support the city of Jacksonville provides to low-income families, so that all children can succeed.
- We need to ensure that Jacksonville provides services that help children overcome the negative effects that poverty can have on their development.

- The city should provide more services to address the needs of teen parents, like programs that help them complete high school, so they can raise their children successfully.
- We should provide public funds to increase the number of childcare spaces available for parents who have less income, in order to make sure everyone who meets the requirements can enroll their kids.

Access to Children's Services

- Jacksonville should set aside whatever resources are necessary for summer, afterschool and out-of-school programs that keep older children engaged in learning.
- Jacksonville's schools need to become the primary place where all children with mental health issues can be identified and treated by trained professionals.
- City agencies, including the education system, should make sure that all children who have health or mental health problems that might affect their learning are identified and referred for services.
- Jacksonville should invest resources in expanding hours of operation for social services and cutting wait times.
- As children get older, the city should make sure there are programs in places to help them transition to adulthood.
- The city should not be involved in supervising children's medical care. *[Reverse Code]*

Children's Rights

- It is important for the city of Jacksonville to recognize that every child in the city has the right to be cared for and protected from harm.
- The city of Jacksonville should take measures to ensure that all children in the city have the food, clothing and shelter they need to be healthy and learn.

- City officials are not responsible for safeguarding children’s rights — that’s the family’s responsibility. *[Reverse Code]*
- Children should not have to do anything special in order to have their rights protected.
- Every child has certain rights — like the right to be cared for and protected from harm — that cannot be withheld, even if they behave badly.
- Every child should have the right to quality health care, including the services needed to prevent illness, and treatment when they are sick or injured.
- When making decisions, the city of Jacksonville should always stop to consider how the decision will affect children, and whether it is in the best interests of children.
- It is a good idea for there to be “youth representatives” who play a role in city decisions — for example, a youth seat on the school board — to ensure that minors’ perspectives are included in decisions that affect them.

Community Attribution of Responsibility

- Jacksonville should play a bigger role in strengthening the bonds between groups in the community.
- For Jacksonville to be successful, the city must invest in policies that expand opportunity and create prosperity for all.
- In order to improve education in Jacksonville, we need citywide reform rather than addressing each school one at a time.
- It is not an appropriate role for government to make sure children have access to life’s necessities. Instead, religious organizations, charities and neighborhood groups should be responsible. *[Reverse Code]*
- Private companies can be helpful when providing services, but the city of Jacksonville must take the responsibility for meeting the challenges we face.

Endnotes

¹ Specifically, the respondents fell into these categories:

Age: 18-49 60.3%; 50-64 32.6%; 65+ 7%. Gender: Male 34%; Female 66%. Partisanship: Democrat 29.6%; Independent/Other 36.1%; Republican 34.3%. Ethnicity: White 79.5%; Black 11.9%; Asian 3.2%. Education: Less than High School 2.5%; High School/Some College 64%; College Graduate 24%; Advanced Degree 9.3%.

² Haydon, A., Lindland, E., & Volmert, A. (2014). *Stuck in a tale of two cities: Mapping the gaps on child development and well-being in Jacksonville*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute; Lindland, E., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2013). *"If you've got a good harness on your kids ...": Models of child well-being and learning among Jacksonville residents*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

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⁴ See <http://frameworksinstitute.org/children.html>.

⁵ All of the value messages tested were roughly the same length, employed the same syntactic structures, and contained similar semantic elements, such as "Jacksonville is coming together to make good things happen," and "should be our top priority" to tie the value's substantive content together. This parallelism (coupled with random assignment and experimental control) allows us to attribute effects on the outcome measures to the value content, rather than the variable wording of the messages.

⁶ Haydon, A., Lindland, E., & Volmert, A. (2014). *Stuck in a tale of two cities: Mapping the gaps on child development and well-being in Jacksonville*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute; Lindland, E., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2013). *"If you've got a good harness on your kids ...": Models of child well-being and learning among Jacksonville residents*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

⁷ Holland, D., & Quinn, N. (1987). *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

⁸ Lindland, E., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2013). *"If you've got a good harness on your kids ...": Models of child well-being and learning among Jacksonville residents*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

⁹ Haydon, A., Lindland, E., & Volmert, A. (2014). *Stuck in a tale of two cities: Mapping the gaps on child development and well-being in Jacksonville*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute; Lindland, E., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2013). *"If you've got a good harness on your kids ...": Models of child well-being and learning among Jacksonville residents*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

¹⁰ To read more about the Institute's work on government and budgets and taxes, follow this link: <http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/government1.html>.