

Mixing It Up:

Reframing Neighborhood Socioeconomic Diversity

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A FrameWorks MessageMemo

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Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Gaps in Understanding.....	6
A Core Story of Socioeconomic Mixing.....	13
Putting It Together.....	40
Conclusion.....	42
About the FrameWorks Institute.....	43
Appendix A: Expert Story	44
Endnotes	51

Introduction

In the 1960s, John F. Kennedy defended his economic policies with a now-famous seafaring metaphor: "a rising tide lifts all boats." Some two decades later, Ronald Reagan appropriated the metaphor to build support for the supply-side economics theory that low tax rates spur the wealthy to invest their capital, which creates jobs and lowers prices on consumer goods and thus ultimately benefits the middle and working classes. He also used another metaphor—the “trickle-down” effect—to build support for “Reaganomics.” The evidence shows that as a result of these conservative economic policies, economic inequality is widening, class segregation is intensifying, and the effects have far-reaching implications for people across society.

The evidence also shows that when affluent people are geographically isolated, people in lower economic strata lose out. Wealthier communities with large tax bases fund higher-quality schools and better health care services—but these investments do not spill over to other, less affluent communities. In addition, people who live in segregated income groups are less likely to interact and socialize with people in other income groups. In turn, as sociologists Sean Reardon and Kendra Bischoff have demonstrated, affluent people who live in isolation have less empathy for people who struggle economically and are more willing to support policies that disproportionately punish the poor.² In addition to these impacts on lower-income people, the effects of economic segregation reverberate across society and diminish the quality of life for everyone.

Advocates for socioeconomic mixing—the comprehensive integration of social groups and classes in the economic life of a given location—have the research on their side, but they still face significant communications challenges. FrameWorks researchers found that the American public is not aware of the harmful effect that economic segregation has on society and has difficulty thinking about socioeconomic mixing. When they consider the processes that lead to mixed-income communities, they tend to equate them with “gentrification.” This is a problematic term because of its associations with the displacement of existing community members, who are, more often than not, people of color. These dominant understandings obscure the importance and collective benefits of socioeconomic mixing and the fact that it can be carried out responsibly—and equitably—in ways that do not marginalize disadvantaged groups.

The first part of this MessageMemo lays out these and other communications challenges in detail. It shows that the US public views economic segregation as a normal, natural phenomenon; does not understand its negative impact on individuals, communities, and society as a whole; and has little information about how policymakers or others can address it responsibly and equitably.

The second part of the report offers a framing strategy for building support for the policies that foster a more sensible, equitable approach to socioeconomic mixing. The strategy involves an overarching narrative that makes the harms of economic segregation visible, clearly explains the process of fostering socioeconomic diversity, and foregrounds its shared benefits. FrameWorks refers to this type of “explanatory narrative” as a core story. A core story provides a shared communications foundation replete with tested, reliable tools that advocates can use to coalesce around a common language and craft coordinated messages about socioeconomic diversity.

Both the description of the communications landscape and the prescribed strategy for navigating to higher ground are based on a Strategic Frame Analysis®, an investigation that combines theory and methods from different social science disciplines to arrive at reliable, research-based recommendations for reframing a social issue. Figure 1 describes the base of research that underlies the recommended narrative.

Figure 1: The Research Base

What communications research does a field need to reframe an issue?

WHAT DOES THE RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC INTEGRATION SAY?

To discern and distill expert consensus on economic integration, FrameWorks conducted expert interviews in September and October 2015 with nine leading researchers in the field of economic integration. This data was supplemented by a review of relevant academic and advocacy literature and was refined during a series of feedback sessions with leaders in the field.

HOW DOES THE PUBLIC THINK?

To document the cultural models that Americans draw on to make sense of topics like economic success and mobility, inequality, and residential integration and segregation by race and class, FrameWorks conducted in-depth interviews with members of the public and analyzed the resulting transcripts to identify the implicit, shared understandings and assumptions that structured public opinion. Twenty interviews were conducted in San Jose, Nashville, St. Paul, and Philadelphia in July and August of 2015.

WHAT FRAMES CAN SHIFT THINKING?

To systematically identify effective ways of talking about socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods and the policies that create them, FrameWorks researchers developed alternative messages and tested them with ordinary Americans. Two primary methods were used to explore, winnow, and refine possible reframes:

- On-the-street interviews involve rapid, face-to-face testing of frame elements for their ability to prompt productive and robust understandings of a topic. Two sets of interviews—a total of 85—were conducted in 2015 and 2016.
- A series of experimental surveys, involving a representative sample of 6,000 respondents, were conducted to test the effects of exposure to a variety of frames on public understanding, attitudes, and support for programs and policies.

All told, more than 6,100 people from across the United States were included in this research.

Gaps in Understanding

Before designing communications on a complex social issue, it is helpful to anticipate how and why those communications might go awry. A systematic analysis of where public thinking differs from expert consensus is an incredibly informative tool, as it can point to strategic priorities for reframing. Bridging the gaps creates a more informed citizenry that is more equipped to participate productively in public conversations and more likely to work toward solutions.

The American public understands inequality and socioeconomic mixing differently from experts on the issue. In this section, we enumerate these gaps, which involve different understandings of the causes, consequences, and policy corollaries of economic segregation. (For a fuller exposition of the expert view, see Appendix A.)

Why aren't people economically mobile? *Individual effort and “culture” vs. structures and systems*

Public thinking about economic success and mobility is dominated by *Individualism*, a model that attributes economic success, struggle, and failure to personal choice and willpower. When thinking with this model, the public assumes that anyone who has sufficient drive, ambition, self-discipline, and will can accumulate wealth in this country. By the same reasoning, economic failure is attributed to poor choices and lack of effort. The public draws on *Individualism* to explain why poor urban neighborhoods are, in fact, poor: because the people who live there have made, and continue to make, bad choices.

A related, but more specific, model that derives from *Individualism* is a model of *Inner City Pathology*. This pattern of thinking blends faulty assumptions about willpower with toxic deficit-based assumptions about race to yield a distinctive diagnosis of low-income Black urban communities as places saturated with poor individual choices and “bad values.” In this model, inner city “ghettos” are assumed to be the locus of a distinctive form of poverty, one that demonstrates the inferior moral character of poor Black people, who fail to take education seriously or work hard at legitimate jobs, choices that ensure a continued state of poverty.³ Surrounded by these poor examples and conditions, more and more Black people get “stuck” in this culture of poverty. Reasoning this way, Americans arrive quickly at fatalistic attitudes about addressing poverty in urban communities. By assigning responsibility for poverty to individuals, this pattern also saps public concern for people who live in economically segregated neighborhoods, as they are assumed to be responsible for the consequences of their own decisions.

These individualistic modes of thinking contrast starkly with the view of experts, who highlight the role of institutional racism and legal systems in producing differential levels of mobility and economic inequality in the United States. Experts stress institutionalized racism in our legal and economic systems, explaining how structural conditions and policies marginalize low-income Black people and have resulted in concentrated areas of urban poverty. For experts, economic and racial disparities are *not* the exclusive product of differences in individuals' drive, character, or values, but rather are primarily driven by systemic and structural factors. Experts and the public thus hold fundamentally different top-of-mind understandings about economic inequality, particularly where agency and power are located.

However, there is evidence that this wide gap can be bridged, or perhaps circumnavigated. While public thinking is dominated by individualistic models, there are more ecological ways of thinking that are available and that people can use to think about economic inequality. These more ecological ways of thinking are thin and recessive—that is, people are unlikely to spontaneously draw on these models but can and will if prompted to do so.

The first of these more ecological ways of thinking is the *Place Matters* model. When thinking with this model, Americans can easily appreciate that physical surroundings shape economic prospects, as some communities have greater access to resources than others. In particular, the public understands that children who grow up in affluent communities have opportunities and advantages that are absent for children in lower-class communities.

Another ecological cultural model involves a view of the economy as a system that is unfairly biased in favor of upper-income people—what might be called the *System is Rigged* model. When drawing upon this way of thinking, people are open to seeing that inequality and lack of economic mobility are the result of a system that makes it easier for some to get ahead than others. Yet, as a recessive model, *System Is Rigged* thinking lacks depth and detail. People find it difficult to offer examples that demonstrate exactly *how* the system is set up to produce unequal outcomes.

These more ecological ways of thinking—the *Place Matters* and the *System Is Rigged* models—generally align with experts' focus on systems, structures, and the role of place in shaping outcomes, and thus provide a useful starting point for communications. They do have limitations. People tend to apply the *Place Matters* model primarily to children, and they have a narrow understanding of the mechanisms by which environments shape economic outcomes. In addition, the *System Is Rigged* model can lead to a powerful sense of fatalism—that nothing can be done to fix systems, and therefore poverty and economic inequality are largely insolvable problems. Communicators must be careful to counter this fatalistic part of the model by providing clear explanations of how policies can work to reduce economic inequality and

improve outcomes. Despite these limitations, expanding upon these more productive recessive models is the key to overcoming gaps in understanding around the sources of economic inequality and immobility.

Why is there economic segregation? *Natural order of things vs. product of policies*

One of the most troubling findings from our research is that the American public sees inequality and economic segregation as an unchangeable status quo. This conclusion results from a set of interrelated assumptions. The public often understands economic inequality as a normal, expected, and perhaps even desirable aspect of a free market economy. Differential access to goods and services is a defining characteristic of the economic system, and is thus immutable. We call this the *Natural Order* model. A related model focuses on the “natural” state of individual choices, a *Consumerism* model that involves assumptions about voluntary, personal choices about how to allocate individual resources. In this model, economic and racial segregation are not imposed but freely chosen. The public assumes that residential patterns are driven by two factors in consumer behavior: what people can afford and what people “like.” People naturally choose the “best neighborhood they can afford,” which leads to economic sorting. And, according to this line of thinking, people also want to live near people who are like themselves. In other words, people *choose to cluster* with other people of their own class and race. Both the *Natural Order* and the *Consumerism* cultural models obscure the role of policy in producing economic and racial segregation in the United States.

Contrary to public assumptions, experts argue that economic and racial segregation are the result of policies instituted at federal, state, and local levels. These policies shape systems that segregate people by residence and income and, in turn, predetermine economic mobility. These perspectives are decidedly difficult for the public to consider when their thinking is shaped by the *Natural Order* and *Free Choice* models.

What is socioeconomic mixing? *Cognitive hole vs. key concept*

The idea of encouraging socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods is largely absent from public thinking: It is a “cognitive hole” which, empty of a robust concept, is filled in with miscellaneous detritus of discourse. In this case, the public relies on its awareness of different ways that socioeconomic mixing has happened in America, though they are unlikely to consider socioeconomic diversity as the end goal of these routes. These include *gentrification*, or the movement of higher- and middle-income people into low-income neighborhoods, and *affordable housing programs*, or policies that enable low-income people to move into more affluent areas. Both routes are, in the public mind, fraught with negative associations. People equate

“gentrification” with the disruption of low-income communities and the displacement of their former residents. In the public definition of gentrification, affluent people are the “winners” and low-income people are the “losers.” On the other hand, they assume that *affordable housing programs* only benefit the low-income residents who are eligible for spots in price-controlled developments or who receive other forms of subsidies. People reason that the surrounding, presumably affluent, neighborhood is negatively impacted, expressing worries that the influx of low-income residents lowers the quality of life and creates social conflict. While there are important differences between these two routes to economically diverse neighborhoods, there is a common thread in the way Americans think about them: In neither case are mixed neighborhoods understood to be a worthy goal in their own right. People recognize that segregation exists along socioeconomic lines but don’t consider it a problem. The problem emerges only when market pressures or public policy try to change pre-existing residential patterns.

Again, on this point, there are important differences in thinking between the public and experts. Experts argue that socioeconomic mixing—comprehensive integration of economic life in a given location across socioeconomic class—is critical for ensuring widespread economic opportunity and mobility. For the public, this concept is almost wholly foreign.⁴ Experts stress that, if handled with the right policies, the movement of affluent residents into low-income communities need not lead to displacement and, in fact, can produce desirable social, civic, and economic shifts that benefit everyone. The public, however, might not know much about policies that move rich and poor closer together, but based on their associations with gentrification and affordable housing programs, assumes that such efforts won’t go well.

To bridge this gap, advocates for socioeconomic mixing must find ways to build understanding of what they mean by socioeconomic mixing. A communications strategy should foreground the explanation of socioeconomically mixed communities as places where people of different wealth and income levels interact regularly in everyday life, as they work, study, worship, shop, and play in common spaces.

What are the potential impacts of socioeconomic mixing? *Separate fates vs. shared benefits*

Because of the way the public thinks—and doesn’t think—about socioeconomic diversity in residential areas, many of the possible benefits of socioeconomic mixing are obscured. The public can point to specific groups that stand to gain in certain scenarios, but they are more apt to reason from a *Separate Fates* model that holds that the circumstances, experiences, and trajectories of the “haves” and “have-nots” are distinct and disconnected. What affects one group is of little consequence to the other, in this pattern of thinking.

FrameWorks researchers pushed ordinary Americans to think about the potential benefits of socioeconomic mixing—only to find that, even with prompting, the public struggled to understand why socioeconomic mixing would be valuable across social groups or to society as a whole. The two benefits that the public could see further illustrated the underlying *Separate Fates* modeling of lower- and upper-income groups as culturally distinct, subject to very different effects from similar experiences. One way that the public thought about the potential benefits of socioeconomic mixing was *Inspiration*, or the thinking that regular interaction with affluent neighbors would motivate poor or working-class people to work harder in order to gain a similar quality of life. The second benefit of socioeconomic mixing in the public mind, the *Spice of Life*, was modeled as accruing to more affluent members of a diverse community. This model involved the thinking that interactions with people of different backgrounds afforded more interest and texture to the lifestyles of affluent people.

When reasoning from a *Separate Fates* model, the public is unlikely to see how the negative consequences of economic segregation might be felt beyond those isolated neighborhoods. They are even less likely to consider that more integrated, more equitable arrangements might offer collective benefits.

These patterns of public thinking differ substantially from the views of those who have studied outcomes associated with socioeconomically diverse residential areas. In the experts' telling, socioeconomic mixing both enhances economic mobility for lower-income people and has civic benefits for the entire community. Experts point out that when lower-income people live near the affluent, they have greater access to the resources and services that have been built up over time through the political clout and buying power of the affluent. Socioeconomic mixing increases economic mobility not through increased motivation but through enhanced access to the infrastructure that supports economic participation, such as better schools, libraries, parks, retail options, public safety, and transportation.

Experts further assert that when residential areas include a diverse mix of income levels, there are shared benefits that accrue to the collective. They note that the civic body of a democracy is stronger when social cohesion and cooperation are present and that economically mixed communities are a means of achieving this. Socioeconomic mixing brings opportunities for engagement and collaboration across class lines, which builds the community cohesion and cooperation necessary to solve shared problems. Finally, experts point out that the costs of economic segregation are borne not only by the individuals and families who live in communities with lacking or low-quality infrastructure but also by society at large, in the form of a weaker economy and a more fragile, fractious democracy.

To bridge this gap, advocates for socioeconomic mixing must find effective ways to explain *how* this approach affects mobility (by shifting access to resources and opportunities), and *why* this approach is worthy of consideration (because it offers benefits that are quintessentially shared: namely, stronger communities, a stronger economy, and a stronger society).

What should be done to promote socioeconomic mixing? *Nothing vs. changes to public policy*

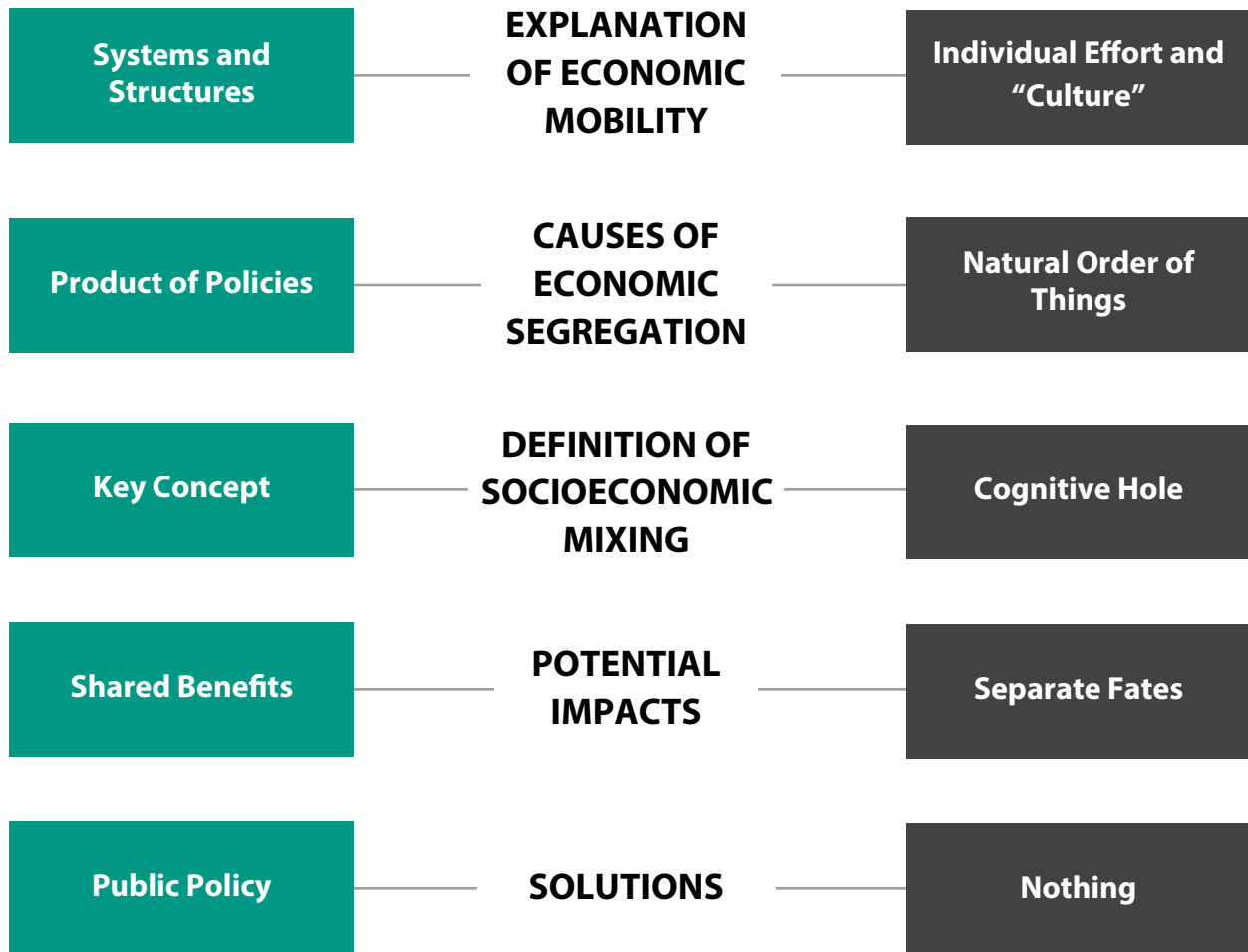
Because the public lacks an understanding of what socioeconomic mixing involves and what collective benefits might be realized by it, they have little reason to even think about policies to actively promote socioeconomic mixing, let alone make these policies a priority. Moreover, FrameWorks research suggests that even if this topic were more salient, the public might still conclude that policy interventions were inappropriate or impossible. Dominant models of poverty will invariably shape the public's thinking about possible solutions to economic segregation. First, ordinary Americans share an assumption that both the problem and the solution lie at the level of personal choice: Poverty is caused by poor personal choices or an individual's lack of effort and is solved through more self-discipline, better choices, and greater effort. This *Individualism* model feeds into *Fatalism*: The public reasons that poverty is intractable because human nature is such that some people can't or won't change, and therefore, they remain in perpetual poverty. Together, these cultural models are likely to lead people to conclude that there are no ways to meaningfully address the existence of poor communities. The poor shall always be with us—and they have to live somewhere.

The public's sense that there's nothing to be done stands in sharp contrast to experts' call for bold action. They say that the time is right to place socioeconomic mixing high on the public policy agenda, and that there are strategic ways to facilitate the conditions for socioeconomic mixing and structure residential patterns in ways that ensure everyone benefits. They propose a range of new and specific public policies related to zoning, fair housing, taxes, anchor institutions, job growth, and other areas. Together, they argue, these policies would promote socioeconomic mixing, boost upward mobility for lower-income people, and produce socially and economically vibrant communities that benefit all residents.

Given the distance between public and expert thinking about what's to be done, it is no surprise that this topic has been a difficult one to move into the public square and onto the policy agenda. To bridge the gap on solutions, framing strategies must foster a shared understanding of the problems, build awareness of how proposed policies would work, and shift attention from selective benefits to collective benefits.

Figure 2 summarizes the gaps between public and expert thinking about socioeconomic mixing.

Figure 2:
Mapping the Gaps



A Core Story of Socioeconomic Mixing

To dislodge dominant, unproductive models and open up new, more productive ways of thinking, communicators need a coherent and memorable narrative that they can share easily and disseminate widely. Given the challenges posed by public understandings of economic inequality and socioeconomic mixing, reframing these issues will require multiple tools that are integrated into a narrative strategy; no single frame element will be able to meaningfully and durably shift thinking on this complex set of issues. A successful strategy will require persistently and consistently filling the gaps in understanding with a story that sticks and can be told in flexible ways.

Figure 3 summarizes strategies communicators should use to advance the public discussion on socioeconomic mixing as well as frames they should avoid. We discuss each of these strategies in detail below.

Figure 3:
Framing Strategies

DO:	DON'T:
Tell a consistent story, regardless of political affiliations of the audience.	Don't feed into ideological divides by using partisan cues.
Use the terms "socioeconomic mixing" and "socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods."	Don't assume that renaming is reframing.
Use the value of <i>Interdependence</i> to bring collective benefits and systems solutions into view.	Don't dilute the power of an effective, tested values frame with competing messages.
Rely on a tested explanatory metaphor— <i>Neighborhood Ground</i> —to communicate the importance of place and its effect on socioeconomic outcomes.	Don't zoom in on individual stories to illustrate the role of place on life trajectories.
Use the <i>Resources That Stick</i> metaphor to explain how socioeconomic mixing helps distribute resources more equitably.	Don't expect that stacks of statistics can take the place of explanation.

Acknowledge people’s concerns about unchecked gentrification, and use facts to explain well-planned socioeconomic mixing.	Don’t allow “smart mixing” to be confused with the disruptive, displacing effects of unchecked gentrification.
Take the time it takes to introduce race in the most powerful, productive way.	Don’t assert the impact of race and racism on socioeconomic outcomes without explanation.

To develop this strategy, we conducted mixed-methods research that included qualitative interviews and large-scale experimental surveys. In the experimental surveys, each respondent read a message with a particular frame element (a *value*, *explanatory metaphor*, or *explanatory chain*) in isolation or in combination or was assigned to a control group that received no message. All respondents were then asked the same series of questions to measure their understanding of and support for various aspects of socioeconomic mixing.⁵ Figure 4 contains more information about these outcome measures.

Figure 4:
Outcome Scales

Scales	Sample Questions
Individualistic Explanations for Economic Success	An individual’s drive is the main thing that determines how successful they are in life. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)
Systemic Explanations for Economic Success	People’s opportunities are determined by systems outside their control. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)
Effects of Place on Economic Outcomes	How much of a role does a person’s neighborhood play in determining how successful he or she is in life? (<i>No role, a small role, a moderate role, a pretty big role, a really big role</i>)
Collective Efficacy	As a society, how able are we to bring about neighborhoods that include both lower-income and higher-income people? (<i>Not at all able, a little able, moderately able, quite able, very able</i>)

Attitudes Toward High-Income People Moving to Low-Income Neighborhoods	We should adopt policies that encourage high-income people to move into low-income neighborhoods. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)
Attitudes Toward Low-Income People Moving to Affluent Neighborhoods	We should adopt policies that make it possible for low-income people to move into high-income neighborhoods. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)
Desirability of Socioeconomic Mixing	In your opinion, how beneficial is it to society to have neighborhoods that include people of all income levels? (<i>Not at all beneficial, slightly beneficial, somewhat beneficial, moderately beneficial, highly beneficial</i>)
Policies that Promote Socioeconomic Mixing	Public money should be used to fund higher-end commercial development in low-income neighborhoods. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)
How Policy Affects Residential Patterns	In your opinion, which of the following is the <i>most important</i> reason why low-income and high-income people tend to live in different neighborhoods? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Government policies have encouraged this. b. People choose to live around other people who are like them. c. This is just how the housing market works.
Effects of Socioeconomic Mixing	What happens when low-income people move into higher-income neighborhoods? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. This improves low-income people’s opportunities without having a negative effect on higher-income people. b. This improves low-income people’s opportunities but has negative effects like reducing property values or increasing rates of crime. c. This disrupts the lives of both low-income and high-income people and is bad for everyone.
Racial Discrimination	Racial discrimination is an important reason why people of color are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods. (<i>Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neither disagree nor agree, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree</i>)

In this study, FrameWorks researchers controlled for a wide range of demographic variables using multiple-regression analysis and looked at the differences in support for outcome measures that resulted from exposure to each of the messages. This allows researchers to pinpoint how exposure to different frames affect people’s understanding of and attitudes toward socioeconomic mixing and their support for relevant policies. Below, we discuss the recommendations that emerged from this research and present the data that support these recommendations.

DO: Tell a consistent story, regardless of political affiliations of the audience.

Conventional wisdom advises advocates to “tailor” communications to their audience. While this advice may hold merit when it comes to communications style, it often leads to counter-productive effects in terms of communications substance. For a field’s point of view to affect the public, a disciplined approach to advancing a core set of ideas helps tremendously. A rich body of scholarship on social movements suggests that when a field coalesces around a unified framing strategy, it is better positioned to attract new supporters, more able to counter opposing messages, and more likely to increase its ability to mobilize the public to action.⁶

The research that informs this MessageMemo illustrates this point, finding that even though people who identified as Democrats and Republicans had very different initial attitudes, those differences could be muted by using consistent frames across political parties.

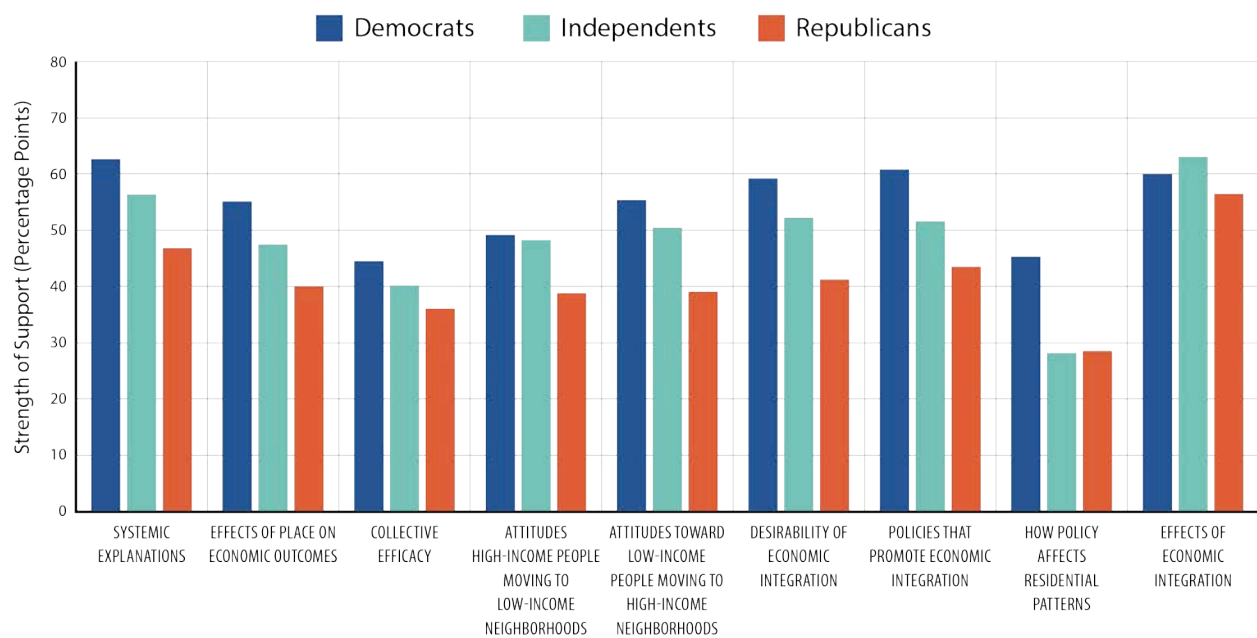
Analysis of baseline attitudes revealed that political party affiliation had a large effect on the public’s baseline attitudes toward socioeconomic mixing and related policies. Republicans were more likely than Democrats to attribute economic success to individual “hard work,” less likely to believe that neighborhoods shape economic outcomes, and had less favorable attitudes toward policies designed to promote socioeconomic mixing. Democrats were more likely to agree that policies, not individual choice, shaped residential patterns, and more likely to agree that socioeconomic mixing was a desirable outcome and should be promoted through policy. People who self-identified as Independents tended to land “in the middle” on all of the above.

Despite these initial differences along partisan lines, FrameWorks found that similar frames “worked” with Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. Researchers ran analyses that separated Democrats, Republicans, and Independents to ascertain whether effects were similar or different across these groups and found that, for the frame elements recommended here, results were highly consistent across parties. Data on specific frame elements are provided as those reframes are introduced, but the general point bears restating: The messages recommended here were found to be effective in building understanding, shifting attitudes, and boosting policy support regardless of the political affiliation of respondents. Advocates for socioeconomic mixing

should therefore feel confident in meeting partisan diversity and divisions with communications consistency.

In light of these findings, the tactic of varying arguments according to audience in hopes of “resonating” more strongly yields little benefit—yet comes with considerable disadvantages. Disseminating multiple messages sacrifices the power of repetition, which is one of the most important considerations in diffusing a new frame. It also leaves a field open to accusations of inauthenticity; in today’s world of social media, it is only too easy for critics or opponents to document and share evidence of message multiplicity, which is readily equated to messenger duplicity.

Figure 5:
Differences in Baseline Attitudes and Policy Support by Party



DON'T: Feed into ideological divides by using partisan cues.

Public debates about complex social issues are increasingly polarized along ideological and political lines, and some communications strategists recommend using partisan rhetoric to “energize the base.” Ironically, strongly worded or overtly partisan rhetoric is an ineffective tool for moving most Americans toward solutions-based thinking on specific issues, such as socioeconomic mixing. Partisan language activates the public’s model of public affairs as *Politics As Usual*. This cultural model involves the assumption that “politics” is a cynical, manipulative game, where messengers will say (or do) anything to win. Communicators are likely to be viewed

as inauthentic, and their topics are likely to be written off as insolvable or irrelevant, just one more manifestation of intractable partisan debate. Cognitive connection made. End of opportunity for policy learning.

Because the topic of socioeconomic mixing isn't firmly on the public agenda, it would be unwise for advocates to use an argumentative tone, or any other strategy that could preclude opportunities for learning and civic dialogue. A tone and overall strategy that cuts across partisan and ideological divides is more likely to help the issue gain traction, as this approach allows the issue to steadily build a diverse set of supporters. It can appeal not just to those who are already engaged or ready to be mobilized, but also to bystander publics who, with the right communications and outreach, can be led to see their stake in the issue. Meaningful progress on a "new" public policy issue requires expanding the constituencies that align with it—which can't be accomplished by narrow strategies like singing to the choir.

DO: Use the terms “socioeconomic mixing” or “socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods.”

The American public lacks ways to think about comprehensive integration of economic life in a given location across socioeconomic class. When working to fill in this “cognitive hole,” it helps to use a term that the public can grasp intuitively. Having a well-framed name is one thing that can make it easier for an issue to gain traction. FrameWorks research found that the field's current preferred umbrella term—*economic integration*—is easily misunderstood, and that the alternative *socioeconomic mixing* works to build support for policies to foster communities that include residents of multiple income levels.

Analysis of interview data revealed that Americans were generally unfamiliar with the term “economic integration”—the name that many experts use. Moreover, people misunderstood the term, assuming that “economic” referred to *national* economies rather than to individual or community wellbeing. Building on this understanding, respondents frequently assumed that “economic integration” refers to bringing together economies through trade or policy.

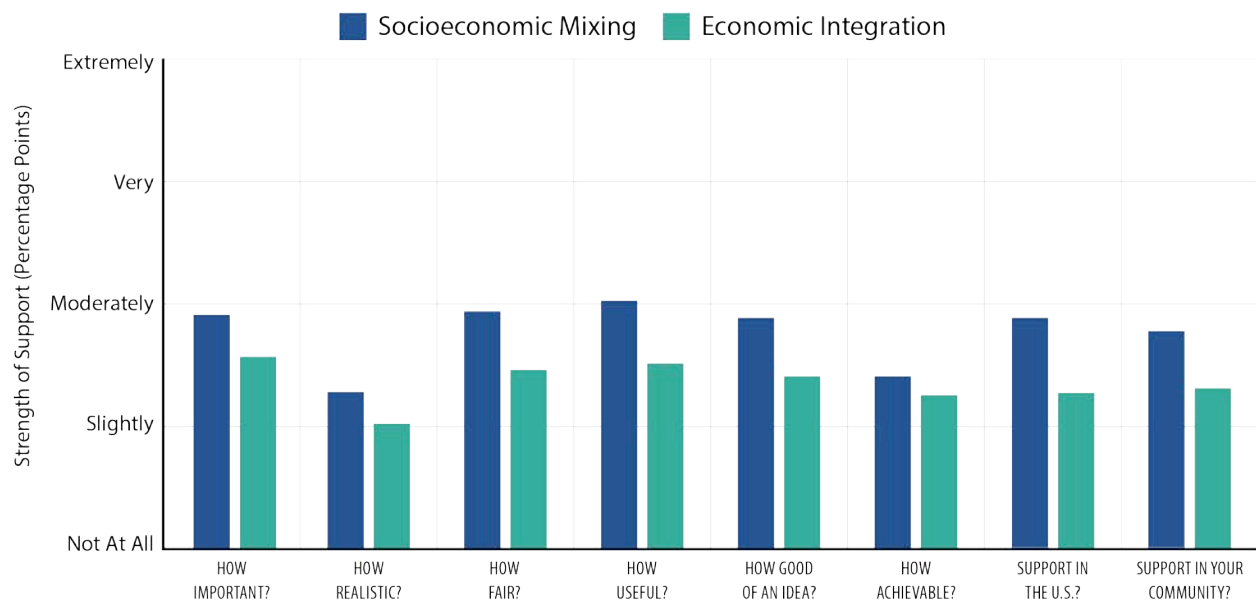
A follow-up experiment tested alternative names. The experiment's design crossed four terms relating to money (*economic*, *socioeconomic*, *income*, and *class*) with four terms relating to diversity (*integration*, *mixing*, *blending*, and *diversity*), resulting in 16 different potential names for the concept (“economic integration,” “socioeconomic integration,” “income integration,” “class integration,” etc.). After participants offered their initial impressions in response to an open-ended question, they read a short passage that used the name in context, then responded to a series of closed-ended questions (e.g., “When you think about [*name inserted*], how important do you think it is?).

Analysis of the responses revealed that the name used had strong effects on people’s attitudes. As Figure 6 shows, people were much more supportive of “socioeconomic mixing” than “economic integration.” Respondents who were asked about “socioeconomic mixing” rated it more highly than respondents who were asked about “economic integration.” In addition, open-ended responses revealed that the term “socioeconomic mixing” both helps people understand what is being discussed *and* makes people more inclined to support it as a goal.

Communicators should feel confident in deriving related terms from the base words tested (*socioeconomic* and *mixing*). That is, the results support using terms like *socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods* or working the words into sentences, as in *Our organization is promoting neighborhoods with a wider socioeconomic mix of residents.*

Figure 6:

Effects of Two Names (*Socioeconomic Mixing* and *Economic Integration*) on Attitudes



DON'T: Assume that renaming is reframing.

The experimental results reported above lead to a clear recommendation that communicators should give up the term “economic integration” in favor of the term “socioeconomic mixing.” The cultural models research outlined earlier also suggests that communicators should avoid word pairings that reinforce or tap into the idea of *Separate Fates*. For example, constantly contrasting *rich* with *poor* or *higher-income* with *lower-income* may prove counterproductive in advancing mixed-income communities, as pairs of semantic opposites may trigger thinking that

these groups are, in reality, opposites. It may be more effective to reword and restructure communications so that the end goal is foregrounded (*neighborhoods where people of different economic backgrounds live near each other*) or the undesirable state is contrasted with the preferred one (*economically homogenous neighborhoods versus places where people of different economic backgrounds live, learn, worship, and work near each other.*)

Yet renaming an issue isn't equivalent to reframing it, even if and when terms indicate a profound shift in perspective. Names matter, yes—but a fuller set of frame elements is needed to define what's at stake, explain how the proposed approach works and why, and to spark a more robust, more productive conversation regarding policies that promote mixed-income communities. Read on for recommendations for advancing a strong, fully-developed frame.

DO: Use the value of *Interdependence* to bring collective benefits and systems into view and increase support for socioeconomic mixing.

Values are cherished cultural ideals that guide individuals' attitudes and behaviors. People draw on values to evaluate social issues and reach decisions.⁷ As framing devices, values help people understand why an issue matters.

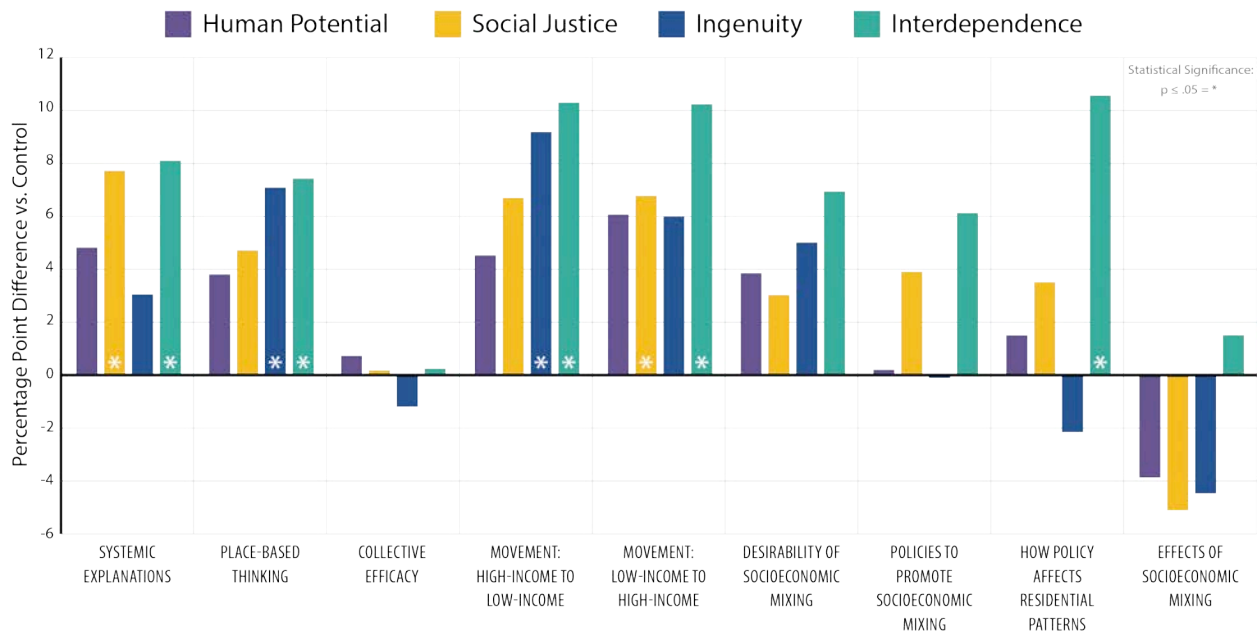
In a controlled experiment that investigated whether values frames would work to cultivate systemic, place-based thinking and build support for socioeconomic mixing, the answer was a resounding “yes.” In fact, three values—*Interdependence*, *Ingenuity*, and *Social Justice*—were broadly effective. Of these, *Interdependence*—the idea that people of different class backgrounds are mutually reliant on each other and mutually benefit from interactions with each other—rose to the top. An *Interdependence* message produced the largest average gains, yielding large, statistically significant increases on seven of 10 outcome scales (see Figure 7).⁸ *Ingenuity* and *Social Justice* both produced statistically significant gains on six outcome scales. By contrast, *Human Potential* performed considerably worse, yielding significant results on only three batteries.

Figure 7:
Effects of Values on Attitudes and Understandings



While the top three values performed relatively well, *Interdependence* was most consistent in its performance across the political spectrum. Among self-identified Republicans, *Interdependence* produced large, statistically significant increases on five of 10 batteries including support for *Systemic Perspective*, *Place-based Thinking*, *High-Income Movement to Low-Income Neighborhoods*, *Low-Income Movement to Affluent Neighborhoods* and a greater understanding of *Policy Impacts on Residential Patterns*.⁹ By contrast, among Republicans, *Ingenuity* and *Social Justice* each had significant positive effects on only two batteries. *Interdependence* also performed well with Democrats and Independents, producing significant gains on four and five batteries respectively.

Figure 8:
Effects of Values with Republicans



Given these results, we strongly recommend that communicators consistently use the value of *Interdependence*. If the field coalesces around this value and finds resonant and authentic ways of using it in communications and outreach to groups across the political spectrum, this will, over time, help shift public thinking about socioeconomic mixing away from default individualistic modes and toward a more collective and systemic perspective.

We encourage communicators to be creative within this value frame, finding unique and novel ways of using the value that reflect their organization’s mission, voice, concerns, and constituencies. The following excerpt shows one way that communicators could elaborate on the frame element of *Interdependence* to advocate for socioeconomic mixing.

“Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.” These seven words, written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., more than a half century ago, reflect a timeless truth: People’s fates are interwoven, through threads both visible and invisible, tangible and intangible. We humans depend on each other to live, learn, and grow.

The connecting threads that make up the fabric of our nation can be strengthened when we take and make opportunities to interact and cooperate with people from different backgrounds. Instead of closing ourselves off in places where we only encounter people whose incomes are similar to ours, we need to create open communities that include people

of all economic levels. We need places where people of different means can still share common ground—communities where they live together, learn together, work together, and grow together.

DON'T: Dilute the power of an effective, tested values frame with competing messages.

There are many reasons that any sound policy direction “matters”—that is, the research backing an evidence-based approach will typically point to multiple benefits. Likewise, in any field, there are many NGOs working from different perspectives, on different aspects of the issue, and perhaps even from different organizational values. In FrameWorks’ observation, advocates tend to pull from the values themes articulated through one or both of these means. Over the years, and through the course of many studies testing the values frames already in use in a field, FrameWorks has found that sometimes the field’s favored values work with the public, and sometimes they don’t. One implication is that insider intuition is insufficient for arriving at framing strategies that work with the broader public.

When an effective value is found through empirical research, it is important to coalesce communications around it. Frames are most effective when repeated—in part because repetition makes it easier for the public to call an idea to mind. From a communications perspective, a consistent “dose” of a single value is stronger than a long list of every value that advocates associate with the topic. And in the case of the present research—which found that *Ingenuity* and *Social Justice* worked well with some segments of the public and on most aspects of the issue—the field is still better served by uniting around *Interdependence*. Repetition of this value makes it easier over time for people to access a productive answer to the question, “Why does socioeconomic mixing matter?”

DO: Rely on a tested explanatory metaphor—*Neighborhood Ground*—to communicate the importance of place and its effect on socioeconomic outcomes.

Americans default to a cultural model of *Individualism* that attributes success or failure to personal choice—a dominant pattern of thinking that makes it difficult to advance any policy approach that considers the role of place as a driver of outcomes. To shift the policy climate around socioeconomic mixing, advocates need effective ways to show the public how residential location structures access to economic opportunity.

Explanatory metaphors are linguistic devices that help people think about and talk about a complex concept in new ways. By comparing an abstract or unfamiliar idea to something concrete and familiar, explanatory metaphors can make information easier to understand—and have a particular power to change the way a topic is understood.

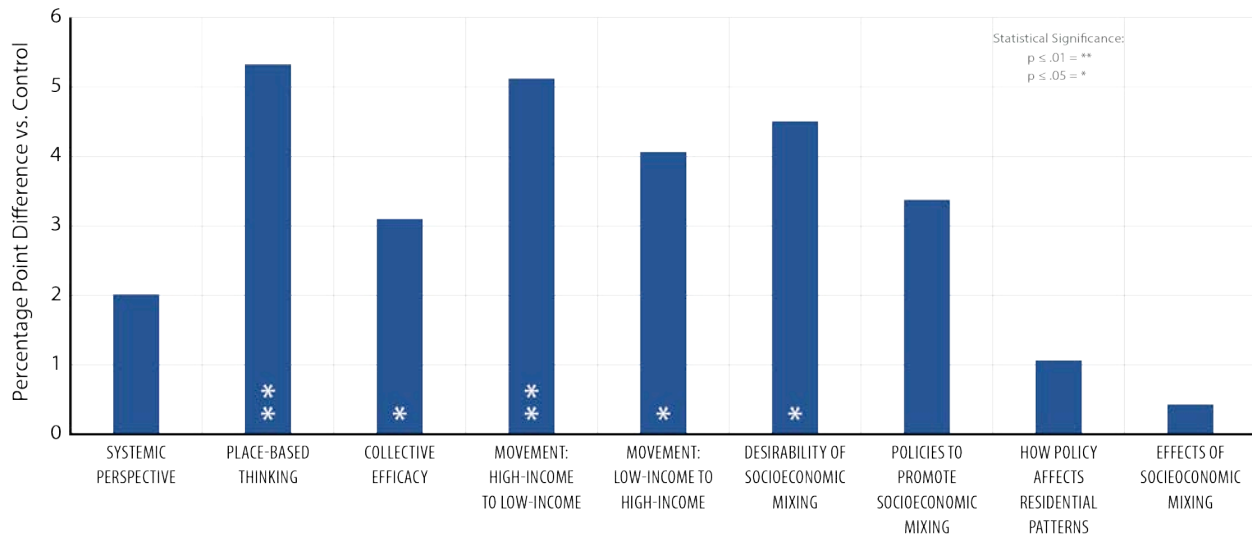
To arrive at comparisons that can help a field better explain key concepts, FrameWorks researchers use multiple methods to develop explanatory metaphors and then test them for their ability to communicate new ideas, their usability in communications materials, and their ability to be incorporated into the public discourse.

The research revealed that comparing neighborhoods to “the soil in which we grow” was an effective way to engender public understanding of the effects of place on economic outcomes. The following is an example of this *Neighborhood Ground* metaphor. We encourage communicators to develop versions of this message that resonate for their particular audiences and align with their organizational goals and mission.

Our neighborhoods are the earth in which we grow. As any gardener can tell you, good soil has an abundance of different nutrients. Poor soil, on the other hand, has too much of some things and too little of others. In the same way, when our neighborhoods have a mix of people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, the diversity promotes healthy growth. When people who earn different incomes live near each other, they end up with common ground: They send their children to the same schools, go to the same libraries, parks, or community spaces, and share neighborhood experiences. The result is a community with a fertile mix of resources, experiences, and opportunities. Economically homogenous neighborhoods—where everyone is in the same socioeconomic class—have poorer-quality soil. They tend to be missing some of the things that people need to thrive. To make sure that all neighborhoods are places where everyone in the community can grow, we need policies that make socioeconomic mixing easier and more common, creating places alive with opportunities.

Figure 9 below shows the ways in which the *Neighborhood Ground* metaphor affects public thinking. The results show that the *Neighborhood Ground* metaphor was not only effective at increasing understanding of the effects of place on economic outcomes, but also improved attitudes toward socioeconomic mixing and boosted the sense that it could be achieved.

Figure 9:
Effects of *Neighborhood Ground* Metaphor on Knowledge and Attitudes



The comparison of neighborhood resources to fertile soil helps people recognize that place matters and offers them a way to understand *how* place matters. The analogy’s power derives, in part, by foregrounding a contextual influence on outcomes—namely, the presence of “abundance” and “diversity.” In so doing, it pushes the more familiar, dominant explanation of *Individualism* to the background. By equating diversity and balance with quality, the comparison also offers an alternative to the *Inner City Pathology* cultural model that holds that the “problem” with areas of concentrated poverty lies with the residents themselves. Finally, the metaphor offers communicators a way to navigate the public’s assumption that economic segregation is the *Natural Order* of things. By emphasizing that there are policies and actions that can “enrich” or “fertilize” the conditions for healthy growth, communicators can reduce *Fatalism* and boost the public’s sense of efficacy.

Within a broader framing strategy, explanatory metaphors can play an especially valuable role. They are designed, and tested, to disrupt unproductive cultural models and reroute attention to more productive thinking. They are also designed to be easily remembered and repeated. Because of this “sticky” quality, they are readily adopted by journalists and advocates. With each repetition of the *Neighborhood Ground* metaphor, the power of place is reinforced.

DON'T: Zoom in on individuals to illustrate the role of place on life trajectories.

To build support for policies that change the mix of resources and people in neighborhoods, advocates must find effective ways to show the public how place matters. Given the power of narrative, it seems eminently plausible to find and tell the stories of individuals or families whose experiences were strongly shaped by where they live. The more emotionally compelling the story, the thinking goes, the more strongly it will affect hearts and minds. Don't fall for this trap. American policy thinking is not ready for your close-up.

The assumption that outcomes are a function of personal choices and individual willpower is deeply lodged in American thinking, extremely difficult to displace, and easily activated. The *Individualism* cultural model is readily recruited as the default explanation for the causes and consequences of almost any social issue, and for economic outcomes in particular. As a result, when people hear stories of individuals, they attribute the ending *to* the individuals, viewing outcomes as the result of the protagonists' personal choices rather than as the influence of the setting or systems. Stories that "zoom in" on the tale of an individual thus inadvertently reinforce notions of personal responsibility and willpower and dampen people's support for public policies and programs that shape the social context. Instead of zooming in for a portrait, communicators should zoom out for the panorama view, telling systems-level stories rather than isolated examples of individuals' trials and tribulations.¹⁰

DO: Use the *Resources That Stick* Metaphor to explain how socioeconomic mixing helps.

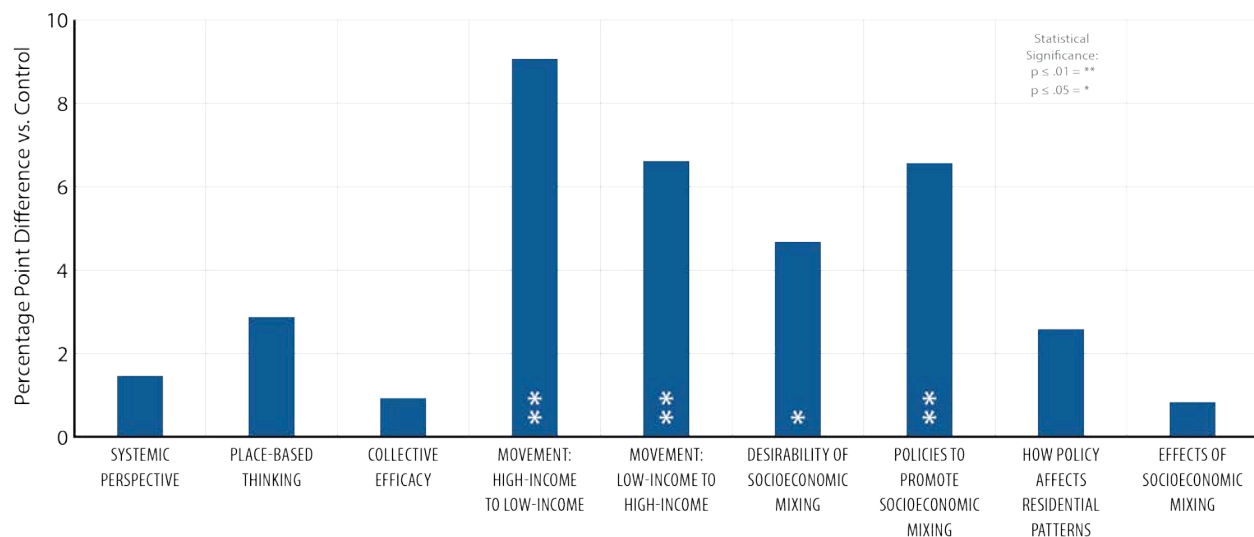
Establishing that place matters is necessary, but not sufficient, for building support for policies that shape residential patterns so that neighborhoods include people of different social classes. Given that FrameWorks cultural models research found that people lack a ready way to think about such policies, a strong frame will also advance understanding of how, specifically, socioeconomic mixing can help ensure that sound community resources are available to everyone.

Again, an explanatory metaphor provides a way for people to think about unfamiliar ideas. To help connect the placement of people to the distribution of resources, FrameWorks research found that the concept of *adhesion* was helpful. The resulting recommended metaphor is *Resources That Stick*:

There are many kinds of resources in a vibrant community: tangible resources like strong schools, good jobs, and reliable public transportation, and also intangible resources, like civic energy, memories of the community’s past, and diversity of thought and opinion. These resources “stick” to people—not just individuals, but socioeconomic groups. The resources that stick to one group or another benefit the entire community. The best way to make sure that all people have access to the resources they need is to create mixed neighborhoods, where people of varying income levels live, learn, and grow together.

A controlled experiment showed that the *Resources That Stick* Metaphor was highly effective in helping people understand the ways in which socioeconomic mixing leads to positive outcomes, increasing support for mixing and for policies that promote it (see Figure 10 below).

Figure 10:
Effects of *Resources that Stick* on Knowledge and Attitudes



The *Resources That Stick* explanatory metaphor produced statistically significant increases on four of 10 outcome scales—with large effects on people’s attitudes toward policies designed to foster *Movement of High-Income People to Low Income Neighborhoods*, and notable effects for the *Movement of Low-Income People to Affluent Neighborhoods* battery.¹¹ Given people’s default models about the likely outcomes of socioeconomic mixing—that there must be winners and losers in a zero-sum contest between the haves and have-nots—these results are all the more striking. Importantly, *Resources that Stick* worked across political parties, with similar effects for Republicans, Democrats, and Independents.

Resources that Stick is a powerful, memorable, and effective way to spark people’s thinking about how socioeconomic mixing improves outcomes. By helping people understand that the presence of people influences the presence of resources—both tangible and intangible—this frame element helps people think more expansively about the possible benefits of socioeconomic mixing. It helps communicators open a conversation about how and why socioeconomic mixing works, which may help to change the nature of the debate from an argument about whether socioeconomic mixing is a worthwhile goal to one considering how best to achieve it.

To make the most of the *Resources That Stick* metaphor, communicators should take care when elaborating from the base metaphor. Descriptions of different socioeconomic classes are fraught with framing hazards. It is only too easy to reinforce a narrow discourse that assumes that the affluent and powerful are inherently better and smarter than those with less wealth or access to influence; or the deeply problematic understanding that poor communities or communities of color are entirely devoid of any resources worth valuing. *FrameWorks* offers two cautionary points in this regard. First, offer specific explanations for how and why certain resources have historically been associated with higher-income people, such as political influence and buying power. Second, be sure to always offer examples of positive resources that can “stick” to people and communities regardless of income—such as civic energy or linguistic or cultural diversity.

DON’T: Expect that stacks of statistics can take the place of explanation.

Advocates and experts have a tendency to simply assert that socioeconomic mixing enhances economic mobility, citing studies and providing data without offering an explanation of how socioeconomic mixing restructures opportunities. Because the public lacks productive ways of understanding how the composition of a neighborhood affects the prospects of its residents, people have no way of processing these assertions and, in turn, such messages are likely to have little persuasive power and even less staying power. “If the facts don’t fit the frame, the frame stays and the facts go.” This isn’t to suggest that data has no place in a well-framed communications—as the next recommendation will show, numbers can add power to a message. Rather, it is to remind communicators to explain *how* socioeconomic mixing can make a difference. Using the explanatory frame elements recommended throughout this MessageMemo can help provide the public with cognitive tools for making sense of the data, connecting the “what” to the “how.”

DO: Acknowledge people’s concerns about unchecked gentrification, and use facts to explain well-planned socioeconomic mixing.

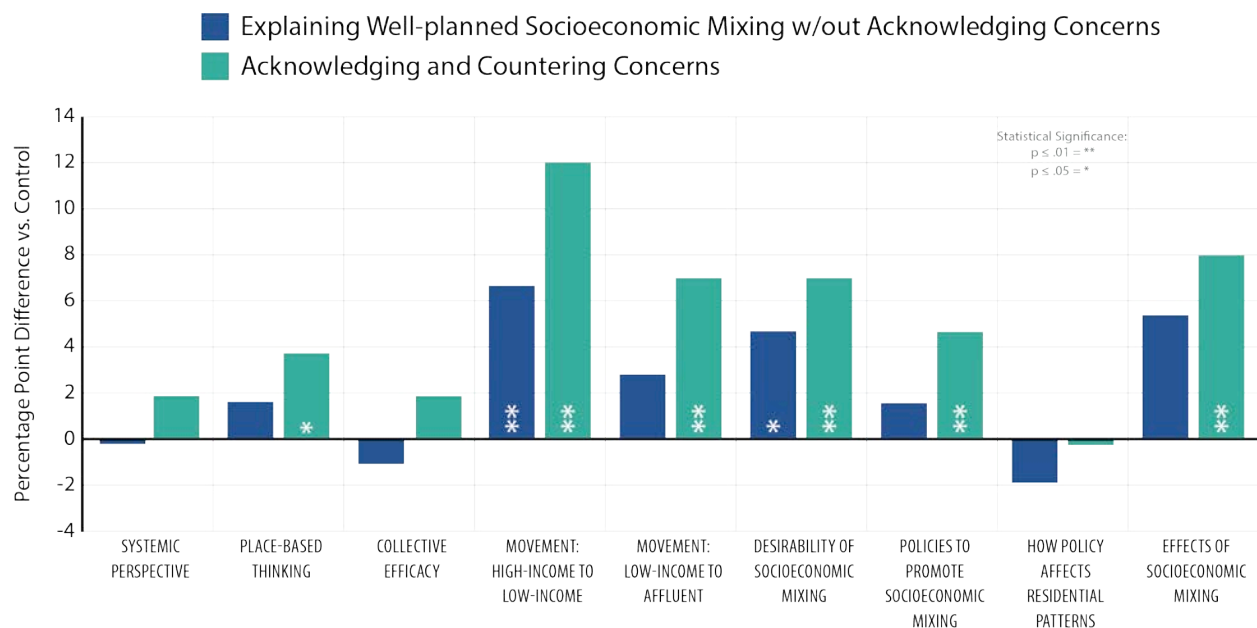
Members of the public are rightfully skeptical about unchecked gentrification, equating it with the displacement of low-income residents and assessing it negatively as a result. Given the

strength of people’s negative associations with gentrification, it is vital that advocates for policies to attract higher-income residents to lower-income neighborhoods are prepared to communicate in a contested message environment. Here, a tactical question emerges. Is it better to simply stick to an affirmative case that focuses on the benefits of well-planned initiatives to promote mixed-income communities? Or is it more effective to acknowledge concerns about gentrification and displacement, and then go on to offer evidence that socioeconomic mixing, if planned properly, can be beneficial to both lower- and higher-income residents?

To resolve this dilemma with evidence, FrameWorks researchers conducted an experiment that tested these two potential framing strategies for their effects on public support for related policies.

The results show that messages that acknowledged and countered concerns about gentrification and displacement performed better than those that focused exclusively on benefits. The more explanatory message showed much larger effects on support for policies involving *Movement of High-Income People to Low-Income Neighborhoods*—yielding an 11.9 percentage point change on the battery, compared to a still large but notably smaller effect (6.5 percentage points) from the message that focused solely on benefits. In addition, the message that acknowledged and countered concerns about gentrification had statistically significant effects on five other outcome scales, compared to only one additional scale for the benefits-only message (see Figure 11).

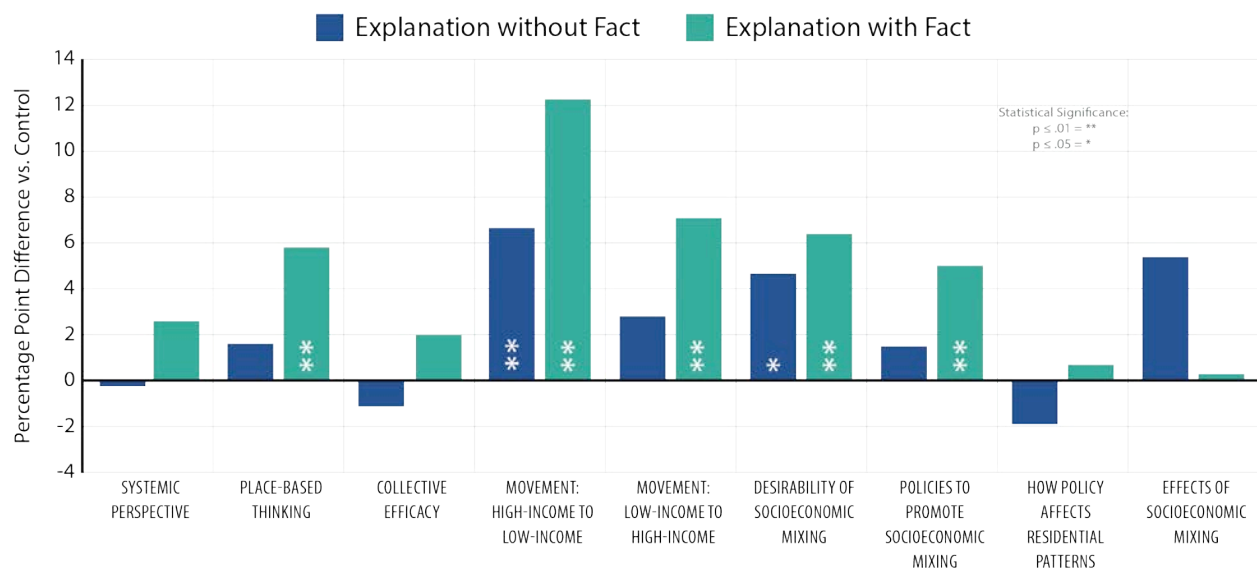
Figure 11:
Effects of Acknowledging Concerns About Unchecked Gentrification



Researchers also tested the difference between a benefits-only message and a message that added supporting facts. Strong evidence of benefits to lower-income residents were drawn from a recent study from New York University indicating that public housing residents in socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods have higher incomes than people who live in public housing in low-income neighborhoods, and that children in public housing in socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods earn higher scores on standardized tests of student achievement.¹² The experiment showed that including this type of fact makes a difference. The message that included the facts performed better than the benefits-only message, producing a 12.1 percentage point increase on the *Movement of High-Income People to Low-Income Neighborhoods* battery (compared to 6.5 percentage points) and statistically significant effects on four other batteries (compared to one) (see Figure 12).

Figure 12:

Explanations of Well-Planned Socioeconomic Mixing: Messages With and Without Supporting Facts



These results yield a clear, actionable framing strategy: Communicators should acknowledge people’s concerns about the potential displacing impacts of gentrification, counter them by explaining how “smart mixing” can benefit everyone if handled properly, and support this claim of benefits with strong facts that help to address people’s concerns that low-income residents will necessarily be negatively affected by the addition of higher-income residents to their communities.

DON'T: Allow “smart mixing” to be confused with the disruptive, displacing effects of unchecked gentrification.

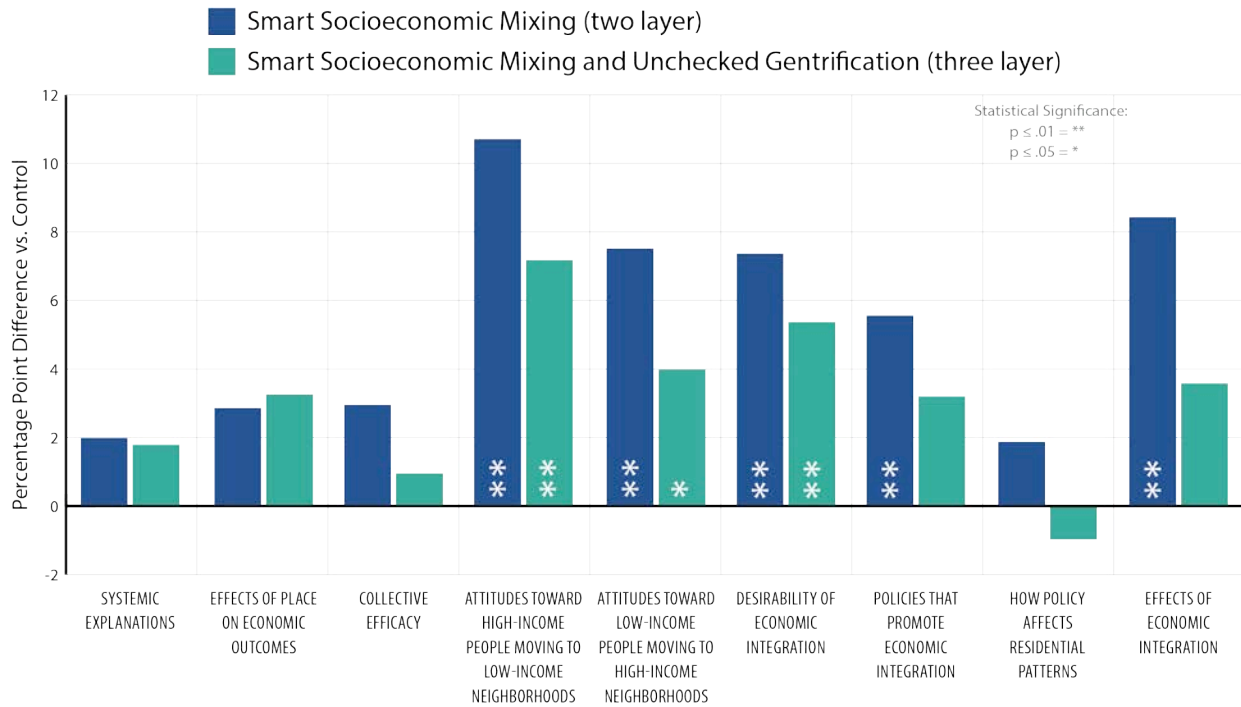
Because the public associates “gentrification” with a disruptive, undesirable approach to economic development, advocates for more effective approaches to socioeconomic mixing must take special care to distinguish “smart mixing” proposals from their more familiar, less equitable kin.

Building on the finding that it is better to directly address concerns about gentrification than to ignore them, FrameWorks conducted an additional experiment to identify additional ways to address people’s reasonable concerns that socioeconomic mixing will inevitably lead to displacement of prior residents. The experiment tested a “two layer” message against a “three layer” message. The “two layer” message acknowledged concerns about gentrification and then explained how “smart mixing” initiatives take care to include policies that help keep existing residents in their homes—for instance, by freezing property taxes for long-time residents. The “three layer” message acknowledged concerns about gentrification and displacement, elaborated on the effects of policies that allow displacement to occur, and then moved into information about how “smart mixing” initiatives can include policies to keep existing residents in their homes.

The results, provided in Figure 13, lead to the recommendation to acknowledge concerns about the possible negative consequences of unchecked gentrification, but to not use a lot of communications space describing the potential harms of unchecked gentrification. The “two-layer message” produced larger effects on all but one scale. The three-layer message actually led to a *decrease* in attitudes and policy support on the *Impacts of Policy on Residential Segregation* outcome scale, although this difference was not statistically significant.

Figure 13:

Effects of Messages about Socioeconomic Mixing with and without Concerns on Knowledge and Attitudes



These findings indicate that it is important to both acknowledge people’s concerns about unchecked gentrification and to take steps to distinguish initiatives to support mixed-income neighborhoods from unchecked gentrification that displaces low-income residents. To accomplish this, communications should include examples of specific policies that show *how* mixing can be managed productively, and emphasize the shared benefits accrued by communities created through such policies.

The following is an example of how to incorporate these recommendations in communications about initiatives to attract higher-income residents to low-income neighborhoods. The message structure starts by acknowledging and elaborating on the problems associated with unchecked gentrification, then offers new information that shows that low-income residents can benefit from socioeconomic mixing. This sets up a dilemma—how can we get the good stuff without the bad?—that the communication resolves through specific policy proposals that characterize effective approaches to promoting socioeconomic mixing in low-income areas.

In recent years, we've seen cities experiment with promoting economic development by working to attract higher-income residents into lower-income neighborhoods. This tends to raise property values—but we now know that there are clear winners and losers when the “gentrification” process is unmanaged or unchecked. Low-income residents in socioeconomically mixed communities are forced out by higher housing costs, while the newcomers reap the benefits of buying low and selling high.

It's possible for the movement of affluent people into less affluent areas to serve as a social good. When this sort of socioeconomic mixing is promoted in thoughtful and deliberate ways, entire communities can benefit. In one study, public housing residents in socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods earned an average of \$3,000 more in household income than their counterparts in low-income neighborhoods. That's a lot more money to cover basic needs and a lot less struggle to make ends meet. The gains didn't end there, though. Kids in these neighborhoods scored higher on standardized tests of reading and math than their peers in low-income neighborhoods.

The moral here: When neighborhoods have a mix of people from different socioeconomic backgrounds, the diversity promotes healthy growth and improves opportunities for low-income individuals and families.

This leads us to an important question. How do we create well-managed and well-planned initiatives to diversify neighborhoods by socioeconomic status? When a neighborhood starts to attract a wider mix of residents and new businesses start to follow, how can we make sure that low-income residents in these communities are able to stay and benefit from the changes? The answer is: We have to take affirmative steps to maintain a mix of income levels in a neighborhood, over time. For example, city officials can require property developers to build units that are specifically reserved for low-income residents. Cities can also do things like reduce or freeze property taxes for long-time residents, making it easier for them to continue to afford to live in their neighborhoods.

With these sorts of steps, we can promote and maintain socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods, creating vibrant, inclusive cities that offer opportunities for all residents, regardless of income level.

DO: Take the time it takes to introduce race in the most productive way.

Conversations about economic segregation and integration are also conversations about racial segregation and integration, so it is wise for advocates to be prepared to discuss race in their communications and outreach about socioeconomic mixing. When doing so, is it more effective to mention race briefly as one of many factors at play, or are there benefits to “leaning in?” Which ways of talking about race can open the public’s mind to policies aimed specifically at building race equity and inclusion, and which communications strategies could close it?

To investigate these kinds of questions, FrameWorks researchers conducted an experiment that tested three different ways of framing the connection between race and place, and showed their effects on people’s attitudes and policy preferences about socioeconomic mixing. The first message, *Mentioning Disproportionate Impact*, included a brief mention of race, asserting that “the negative effects of concentrated poverty are especially likely to affect African Americans and Latinos, who are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods.” The second message, *Discriminatory Policies Then and Now*, listed examples of both historic and contemporary policies in housing, banking, and employment that contribute(d) to racial segregation and concentrated poverty. The third message, *How Policies Create Racial Disparities*, used the same examples of discriminatory policies as above, but took the additional step of connecting the policy to tangible outcomes, creating an explanatory chain that links underlying causes to immediate consequences to larger effects. Put another way: The first message tested an assertion of racial disparities; the second included the assertion plus examples of discriminatory policies; and the third message included the assertion, the examples of discriminatory policies, and explanations of the cascading effects of those policies. The difference between the architecture of these messages is illustrated in Figure 14.

Figure 14:

How many layers of framing does it take to
create an effective message on race and place?
Architecture of a framing experiment

ASSERTION:

The negative effects of concentrated poverty are especially likely to affect African Americans and Latinos, who are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods. This is the result of legal and social discrimination against people of color.

ASSERTION + EXAMPLE:

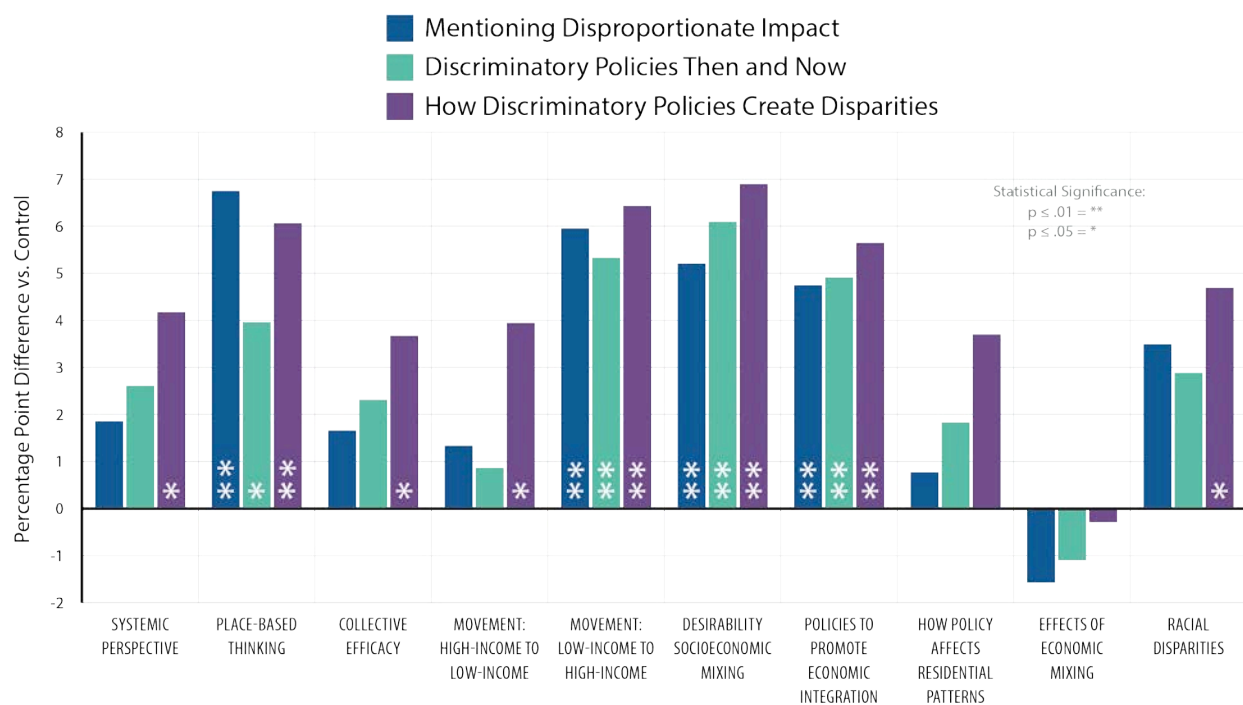
The negative effects of concentrated poverty are especially likely to affect African Americans and Latinos, who are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods. This is the result of legal and social discrimination against people of color. **For example, African Americans are more likely to receive a subprime loan than white applicants are, even if they have the same financial background.**

ASSERTION + EXAMPLE + EXPLANATORY CHAIN:

The negative effects of concentrated poverty are especially likely to affect African Americans and Latinos, who are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods. **This is the result of legal and social discrimination against people of color. For example, African Americans are more likely to receive a subprime loan than white applicants are, even if they have the same financial background.** Because these loans have higher interest rates and bigger payments, it is more difficult for people to save money. It also makes it harder to pay the loans, which makes it more likely people will be foreclosed on and lose their home. And when communities have a large number of foreclosed homes, this pushes down property values, which harms everyone's wealth. As a result, these loan practices prevent African Americans in these neighborhoods from moving and keep these neighborhoods in poverty. These are examples of how our society's practices keep people segregated by race and income.

The results, provided in Figure 15, are illuminating. All three messages had positive effects on all the outcome scales, indicating the importance of bringing race explicitly into the conversation on socioeconomic mixing. Framing race by *Mentioning Disproportionate Impact* and by giving examples of *Discriminatory Policies Then and Now* both generated statistically significant positive effects on the same four outcome scales: *Place-Based Thinking*, *Movement of Low-Income People to Affluent Neighborhoods*, *Desirability of Socioeconomic Mixing*, and *Policies to Promote Socioeconomic Mixing*. The third message, *How Policies Create Racial Disparities*, had significant effects on these four scales *plus* four more scales: *Systemic Perspective*, *Collective Efficacy*, *Movement of High-Income People to Low-Income Neighborhoods*, and *Racial Disparities*. Importantly, the study found that only when the communication connected discriminatory policies to negative outcomes did the messages move the public to support policies specifically designed to address racial disparities.

Figure 15:
Effects of Three Types of Messages about Race on Knowledge and Attitudes



Advocates for socioeconomic mixing can strengthen their appeals to the public by simply asserting that race plays a role in the issue and can bolster their case even more by offering a supporting example—but neither of these brief nods is as effective as a fully articulated explanation. The strongest frame lays out an explanation of how structural racism creates disparate economic outcomes, tracing the steps from the underlying cause of racial

discrimination to their instantiation in specific policies to their contemporary, cascading consequences.

These are important results for the larger narrative strategy that emerges from this work, as they have implications not just for framing race but also for the general importance of an explanatory approach. The strategy embodied in the *How Policies Create Racial Disparities* message can be described as specifying the mechanisms and the outcomes of racial and economic segregation. To understand why this strategy works, the insights of Daniel Kahneman's *Thinking Fast and Slow* can be helpful. Step-by-step, plain-language explanations push the public into "slow thinking," a deliberate, rational mode of cognition and processing in which new information can be absorbed. This short-circuits the default mode of "fast thinking" that quickly interprets communications according to a readily available mental model of some sort. When the topic is racial disparities in residential patterns, fast thinking calls up dominant models that ultimately place blame on poor Black communities for negative outcomes: *Individualism* and *Inner City Pathology*. There is little in these models to motivate the public to support socioeconomic mixing. To invite slow thinking, on the other hand, invites deliberation. In this mode, ecological thinking is activated and expanded. Slow thinking allows people to follow a new chain of logic rather than sticking to the short cuts that seem to have served them well in the past. In this case, it allows people to see how policy choices—not personal choices—shape residence patterns, and, in turn, weaves society's inequalities into the fabric of our neighborhoods. From this understanding, people can also reason their way to a wider range of possible solutions.

Connecting Race and Place:
Sample Communication

The negative effects of concentrated poverty are especially likely to affect African Americans and Latinos, who are more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods. This is the result of legal and social discrimination. For example, for much of the 20th century, real estate brokers encouraged racial segregation of neighborhoods by only showing African American homebuyers or renters properties in particular neighborhoods. This reinforced racial segregation by steering people of color toward certain neighborhoods while white homebuyers were directed to other neighborhoods. Other discriminatory practices pushed these African American neighborhoods into poverty. For example, banks made it extremely difficult for those living in African American neighborhoods to borrow money, get a mortgage, or gain access to credit. This meant that African Americans in these neighborhoods were unable to start businesses, buy houses, or invest in their communities. This limited people's opportunities, which limited financial success and increased rates of poverty.

And while many discriminatory policies have changed, people of color today are still discriminated against in housing. For example, African Americans are more likely to receive a subprime loan than white applicants are, even if they have the same financial background. Because these loans have higher interest rates and bigger payments, it is more difficult for people to save money. It also makes it harder to pay the loans, which makes it more likely people will be foreclosed on and lose their homes. And when communities have a large number of foreclosed homes, property values plummet, which harms everyone's wealth. As a result, these loan practices prevent African Americans in these neighborhoods from moving and keep these neighborhoods in poverty. These are examples of how our society's practices keep people segregated by race and income.

DON'T: Simply describe racial inequity

Experts and advocates who wish to discuss the role of race, racism, and racial segregation in shaping where people live and how this effects outcomes should make a point of not simply *describing* racial disparities. FrameWorks research has shown that the American public frequently conflates race and class—and, furthermore, that they attribute disparate outcomes to the poor choices or poor character of people of color. When communicators do not explain underlying causes and their connections to consequences, the public is likely to blame individuals or communities of color—not systems and policies—for disparate outcomes.

Putting It Together

In sum, multiple frame elements can be recruited to reliably and productively expand Americans' conceptual repertoire for thinking about the policies that shape the social and economic character of our neighborhoods. Assembling these various recommendations into a coherent narrative is yet another way to help the public get smarter about the possibilities of smart socioeconomic mixing. An effective narrative on a social issue doesn't select the beginning, middle, and end on a whim, or merely for a pleasing literary effect. Rather, it fills in the chapters strategically, anticipating in particular where and why the story will be difficult to tell. It builds on knowledge of where people get stuck when they attempt to follow experts' logic, where they are likely to dismiss or misinterpret evidence, and where they are missing key concepts that allow them to develop informed positions on the issue. This sort of narrative is what FrameWorks terms a core story. The research in hand yields the following narrative template.

A CORE STORY FOR SOCIOECONOMIC MIXING

Why does this matter to society?

Interdependence: We are mutually reliant and our fates are connected. What affects one directly affects us all indirectly.

What's getting in the way of socioeconomic mixing and economic equality?

How Policies Create Racial Disparities: Discriminatory policies create racial segregation, with cascading consequences on economic outcomes.

How do residential patterns affect outcomes?

Neighborhood Ground: A fertile mix of income levels promotes healthy growth.

Resources That Stick: Tangible and intangible benefits "stick" to people and their neighborhoods.

Mixed Incomes, Shared Benefits: Research shows that mixed-income neighborhoods benefit both lower-income and higher-income residents.

What can we do to promote social and economic equality?

Socioeconomic Mixing

Avoid Unchecked Gentrification

Adopt Policies that Maintain the Mix

The following is an example of a blog post that demonstrates how this narrative template can be used flexibly to answer general questions about socioeconomic mixing.

An old proverb has it that a butterfly that flaps its wings in one part of the world can cause a hurricane in another. We are, in other words, connected to each other and dependent on one another. One person's success or failure has the potential to affect everyone. Why is it, then, that we make it hard for some people in our society to succeed when we would all benefit if they did well? Why do we prevent some people from accessing the resources they and their families need to do well? Why do we ignore the butterfly effect?

We shouldn't. We need to recognize that we live in an interconnected world, and we need to create a society that reflects that reality. One way to do that is to build communities where people of all socioeconomic backgrounds live, work, learn, and play. Doing so will ensure that the resources that tend to stick to certain groups and that concentrate in certain communities benefit others, too. High-quality schools, strong public transportation systems, and good-paying jobs tend to follow people with higher incomes. Lower- and middle-income groups attract other kinds of resources, like civic energy, diversity of thought and experience, and a strong work ethic.

How can we make sure that everyone benefits from all types of resources? By changing the way we set up our neighborhoods. Instead of living near people in the same income bracket and walling our communities off to everyone else, we need to create diverse communities in which all people, no matter their socioeconomic background, live together. We can do that by providing affordable housing in affluent neighborhoods and tax benefits to encourage socioeconomic mixing. Diverse neighborhoods will help ensure that all kinds of resources stick to all kinds of people.

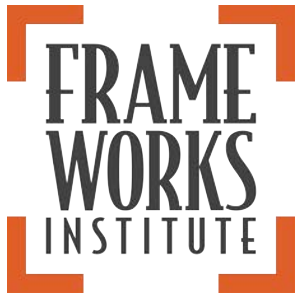
Conclusion

Economic segregation is accelerating in the United States.¹³ We know that this growth in income segregation is a powerful mechanism by which social inequalities are sustained and reproduced. The history of social movements strongly suggests that harnessing the unifying power of a meta-narrative, or core story, is part of addressing this deeply problematic trend in American society. Sharing and telling a common story is part of what it takes to enact long-term social change.¹⁴

What is less well understood is the power of a core story to unify a field of practice and to avoid the splintering effect of frame competition. FrameWorks research and the work of other social scientists have shown that an effective core story can dissolve framing rivalries and harness the full power of a field's multiple voices and institutional capital.¹⁵ To overcome the well-worn patterns in American thinking, experts and advocates need to use all the tools available to them—and especially their communications with the public and policymakers—to build public support for socioeconomic mixing. If the strongly-held and pervasive folk understandings we have documented here are to be pushed to the cognitive and cultural background and replaced by new ways of thinking, experts and advocates need to come together around, share, and tell a common story.

Effectively deploying this narrative framework will take time and practice. It will also require that communicators use their skills and experiences to craft versions of the narrative that resonate with and connect to particular audiences and groups. This is the challenge the field faces.

In this MessageMemo, we offer an evidence-based story that builds on and expands the public's existing, ecological ways of thinking and helps people understand why socioeconomic mixing is not only critical to addressing the problem of concentrated poverty but can also benefit all Americans. We offer this work as an important asset in the struggle for a more equal society.



About the FrameWorks Institute

The FrameWorks Institute is a national nonprofit think tank devoted to framing public issues to bridge the divide between public and expert understandings. Its work is based on Strategic Frame Analysis[®], a multi-method, multidisciplinary approach to empirical research. FrameWorks designs, commissions, publishes, explains, and applies communications research to prepare nonprofit organizations to expand their constituency base, to build public will, and to further public understanding of specific social issues—the environment, government, race, children’s issues, and health care, among others. Its work is unique in its breadth—ranging from qualitative, quantitative, and experimental research to applied communications toolkits, eWorkshops, advertising campaigns, FrameChecks[®], and Framing Study Circles. Learn more at www.frameworksinstitute.org.

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Volmert, A., O’Neil, M., Kendall-Taylor, N. and Sweetland J. (2016). *Mixing It Up: Reframing Neighborhood Socioeconomic Diversity*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

Appendix A: Expert Story

Below, we present a detailed account of themes that emerged from the analysis of nine interviews conducted by phone and revisions based on an expert feedback session webinar.

1. WHAT IS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION?

- **Variable Usage.** The *term* “economic integration” has not had consistent uptake among experts, and there were variations in emphasis in how experts defined and deployed it. Some identified the term primarily with mixed-income residency patterns, while others emphasized other domains where people with diverse incomes come to rely on and make use of common infrastructures and services, in employment, transportation, education, and commerce. Several experts prefer alternate terms, including “income mixing,” “class integration,” and “socioeconomic integration.”
- **Consensus Understanding.** While there is variability in usage of the term, experts have consensus around the broader concept of economic integration. They understand it as the *comprehensive integration of economic life in a given location across socioeconomic class*, wherein the economic lives of families of diverse wealth and incomes are increasingly interwoven as they live, work, study, shop, commute, and access common services in proximity with each other. In this model, *residential* integration across incomes is understood as a key driver of a broader pattern of economic integration as people from across the income scale use and rely on a common system of services and infrastructure.
- **Grounded in place.** Expert understanding of economic integration is premised in a recognition that the characteristics of the place a person lives in fundamentally shape his or her access to resources and opportunities, and economic relations with others, which structure prospects for upward economic mobility.
- **Diverse patterns.** Experts note that economic integration plays out in various ways on the ground, with important implications for how it should be understood and developed. There are important distinctions between *urban* and *suburban* locations (for example, in access to viable public transportation and to family and social support networks) and between contexts where *lower-income people move into low-poverty neighborhoods* and where *higher-income people move into high-poverty neighborhoods*. State and community leaders, city-planners, and human services organizations must be attuned to these distinctions as they work to foster greater economic integration and pursue investments

and policies that attend to the specific needs and circumstances of low-income residents in diverse communities.

2. WHY ARE MANY COMMUNITIES NOT ECONOMICALLY INTEGRATED?

Experts emphasized that economic segregation is *not* the natural order of things. Instead, it is the result of a range of structural and systemic trends—both historical and ongoing—that have driven segregated patterns of residency, income distribution, and economic mobility in the United States. The most prominent trends outlined by experts are the following:

- **Land-use and zoning segregation.** Many US counties and municipalities have land-use and zoning plans that compartmentalize single-family dwellings from multi-family ones and restrict where Section 8 vouchers can be used, essentially segregating more affluent home owners from less affluent ones in the residential marketplace. The capacity for developers to set square footage and lot-size minimums for new housing developments accentuates this trend, allowing for the legal segregation of people by income.
- **Home mortgage interest deduction.** Since 1913, the home mortgage interest deduction of the Internal Revenue Code has subsidized housing for middle- and upper-income people and incentivized the purchase of bigger homes. As there is no comparable support for lower-income people, many of whom are renters, the deduction works to exasperate residential segregation by class.
- **Historical and ongoing racial discrimination.** While residential segregation by race has been on the decline since the Civil Rights era, the country has a long and ongoing history of racial discrimination, against African Americans in particular, in housing, employment, lending, and other areas of economic life. This has resulted in overall higher rates of poverty among African Americans and created areas of concentrated poverty populated mostly by African Americans. Experts noted that poor Black people are much more likely than poor white people to live in poor *neighborhoods*, where most of their neighbors are also poor. These economically segregated neighborhoods typically have subpar infrastructure and services, and lower quality employment, education, and opportunity structures.
- **Job movement to suburbs.** The movement of many well-paying jobs away from cities and into the suburbs in the post-World War II era—in conjunction with racially discriminatory housing policies—resulted in a pattern of disparity and segregation in the employment sector, with many African Americans in particular excluded from well-paying jobs. This artificially reduced earning capacity by Blacks exasperated patterns of residential segregation by income.

- **School funding.** The funding of public schools through property taxes results in substantial inequality in resourcing for schools in affluent and non-affluent neighborhoods. The result is that students from upper-income communities have better educational achievements and future employment outcomes than their counterparts in less affluent communities. Thus, an initial pattern of residential segregation becomes manifest as educational and employment segregation, a trend that compounds across generations.

3. WHY SHOULD ECONOMIC INTEGRATION BE A GOAL?

Experts explained that economic integration brings a range of shared benefits to communities and families across the class spectrum.

- **Drives upward economic mobility.** For lower-income people, economic integration drives upward mobility both within the individual life course and across family generations, especially for those who have historically lived in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. This includes upward mobility in income, education, occupational status, and overall wealth.
- **Strengthens civil society.** Experts point to the ways that *economic* integration creates opportunities for *social* integration, as people live, work, study, and shop side-by-side. Mixed-income neighborhoods can facilitate regular interaction across socioeconomic levels within a community context, which brings new opportunities for mutual engagement, collaboration, and respect. This can reduce people's discomfort relating to people across class lines and undermine social divisions and stratification. In so doing, it opens a space for people to better understand and empathize with each other, and to find common cause for solving shared social and public challenges.
- **Combats disparities.** The larger patterns of residential, employment, and educational segregation described above have driven disparities across class and race: in differential exposure to neighborhood crime and violence; in disparate access to social networks and social capital; in unequal access to quality services; and in physical health outcomes for families and children. Economic integration will help reduce these disparities by bringing people from diverse incomes into common residential locations and shared participation in local services and infrastructure.
- **Improves the quality of people's lives across all income levels.** Experts emphasized that economic integration is not a zero-sum game. Gains to disadvantaged families in education, employment, and income do not come at the expense of those already advantaged. Instead, research shows that affluent neighborhoods where affordable housing was introduced experience no decline in property values, no increase in crime rates, and no

increase in tax burdens, even as diversity was enhanced and burdens on the welfare system were reduced.

4. HOW DOES ECONOMIC INTEGRATION LEAD TO UPWARD MOBILITY?

Experts explained that economic integration facilitates upward mobility for lower-income people through a variety of mechanisms, including:

- **Improved access to quality services.** People moving from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods, generally through access to subsidized housing, experienced improved access to better schools, libraries, parks, retail options, public safety, and other amenities and services, both public and private. Children from disadvantaged families, in particular, benefit, as evidence shows that children who grow up poor in mixed-income neighborhoods have better educational, employment, and health outcomes than children who grow up poor in high-poverty neighborhoods.¹⁶
- **Enhanced political and market power.** In cases where higher-income people move to historically lower-income neighborhoods—a process often referred to as “gentrification”—the newcomers bring high levels of market and political power with them to locations that have otherwise often been marginalized. With that comes improved infrastructure, better schools, more public safety, and other resources and services that can benefit neighborhood residents across the income scale. Likewise, lower-income people can benefit by moving to more affluent neighborhoods where political and market power is already more firmly established.
- **Restructured expectations and aspirations.** Low-income people living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty often witness challenging life circumstances around them on a daily basis across a broad spectrum of metrics: incarceration rates, life expectancies, employment status, health outcomes, exposure to violence, etc. This daily exposure, especially for children, can lower expectations and aspirations for what is achievable in life. Exposure to people in more favorable circumstances, who have had different opportunity structures available to them, can change what becomes imaginable in a child or youth’s thinking for their own life-course.

5. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION?

Experts agree that there is an important window of opportunity currently open to advance an economic integration agenda, as the importance of neighborhood and place has been brought with new focus into the national conversation about economic inequality, segregation, and mobility. At the same time, they cautioned against a simplistic model that assumes that residential proximity alone translates directly into positive economic and social integration

across income levels. Instead, they called for a strategic yet bold effort by policy makers and local leaders to facilitate the conditions for integration, including via the following measures:

- **Continue the recent enforcement and implementation of the Affirmative Mandate of the *Fair Housing Act*.** The mandate dictates that the US Department of Housing and Urban Development has to manage its programs and affairs so as to promote housing integration on the basis of race and class by, for example, using Community Development Block Grants and other programs to incentivize communities to advance and expand affordable housing and other infrastructure improvements. Experts emphasized that the implementation of this mandate must be flexible and constructive in allowing for creativity and innovation at the community level, and must encourage involvement and leadership by low-income residents in crafting solutions and strategies.
- **Build more affordable housing and remove exclusionary zoning barriers** that make it difficult to build multi-family or affordable housing in some communities. All residential zones should be opened to affordable housing, and developers should be compelled to include set-asides for affordable and multi-family housing in new housing developments. This will help distribute low-income housing across neighborhoods in a locality, rather than concentrated in pockets.
- **Equalize educational opportunities across income levels** by restructuring how public schools are funded in order to provide a more equitable distribution of resources to K-12 schools across localities. This will help address the segregation of educational opportunity by class, which is one of the root sources of disparity in our national economic and social life.
- **Promote and anticipate private-sector investments in historically low-income neighborhoods** so that localities are best positioned to leverage changes to benefit lower-income residents. This involves actions by municipalities like purchasing buildings or properties early on in the reinvestment process, working to help locals become home owners, upgrading the number and quality of affordable housing options, being strategic about the kinds of retail outlets that are allowed entrance, and designing public spaces to facilitate social interaction across income levels. More generally, it means promoting community development, acting early to expand the affordable housing supply, and building and improving services and amenities to ensure their accessibility by low-income residents.
- **Facilitate economic ties between universities and hospitals and the communities that surround them.** Many large educational and medical campuses are situated in urban

contexts and surrounded by high-poverty neighborhoods. These “anchor institutions” can work to redeploy their substantial economic impact on a closer geographical footprint, integrating their economic enterprises with the neighborhoods around them through local hiring, local research, community outreach, and incentivizing staff from across the income scale to reside nearby.

- **Improve public transportation** so low-income people can access good jobs from a broad range of residential locations. Many low-poverty, high-opportunity neighborhoods have poor public transportation, which prevents low-income people from living there. These neighborhoods need the infrastructure to better link working people to them.
- **Build and design public spaces** that encourage people from across the income spectrum to share those spaces and “rub elbows” and interact with each other. These spaces are typically mixed-use, easily accessible, and part of the ebb and flow of daily life.
- **Expand the availability of middle-class jobs and create more economic security for lower-wage jobs.** Experts argued that there are not enough good middle-wage jobs available in the economy overall, which depresses opportunities for upward mobility, strengthens income inequality, and undermines economic integration. Likewise, low-skill and lower-wage jobs are a permanent feature of the economy, yet the people who hold them are often marginalized and disempowered. Experts argue for a range of steps to improve conditions for lower-wage workers so they can integrate more fully into national economic life, including a higher minimum wage, better sick and parental leave policies, access to affordable childcare, and more flexible work schedules. All would give people an opportunity to advance through extra training and education and more time to integrate more fully into community life.

Untranslated Expert Story of Economic Integration

What is economic integration?

- **Variable usage of the term.** Term is not widely used by experts and is understood in varied ways.
- **Consensus about the concept.** The comprehensive integration of economic life in a given location across socioeconomic status as people live, work, study, shop, commute, and access common services side-by-side.
- **Grounded in place.** Residency is the key driver, as place shapes relations, access to opportunities, and prospects for upward mobility.

- **Diverse patterns.** Important distinctions between urban and suburban locations; and between mobility of people and the revitalization of place.

Why are many communities not integrated?

- **Land-use and zoning plans** that separate single-family from multi-family dwellings and restrict use of Section 8 vouchers.
- **Home mortgage interest deduction** that subsidizes housing for higher-income people and incentivizes purchases of bigger homes.
- **History of racial discrimination** in housing, employment, and lending, which concentrated poverty in areas with poor services and opportunities.
- **Job movement to suburbs** post-World War II, in conjunction with discriminatory hiring and housing policies.
- **School funding** through property taxes, leading to disparity in educational and employment outcomes by location and income.

Why should economic integration be a goal?

- **Drives upward economic mobility** for lower-income people by improving access to quality services, enhancing political and market power, and raising expectations and aspirations.
- **Strengthens civil society** by creating opportunities for engagement and collaboration across incomes, and for the cultivation of mutual respect.
- **Combats disparities** in health outcomes, exposure to crime, access to social capital, and access to quality services.
- **Improves quality of life across all income levels.** Not a zero-sum game, as gains to low-income families do not cost more affluent families.

What can be done to promote economic integration?

- **Expand the availability of affordable housing** in middle- and upper-income neighborhoods.
- **End exclusionary zoning barriers** to allow low-income housing to be distributed across neighborhoods.
- **Restructure how public schools are funded** to equalize educational opportunities across income levels.
- **Anticipate private-sector investments in low-income neighborhoods** (“gentrification”) so localities can leverage changes to benefit lower-income residents.
- **Facilitate economic ties** between anchor institutions and lower-income communities that surround them.
- **Improve public transportation** so lower-income people can access good jobs from more residential locations.
- **Expand availability of middle-class jobs** and increase economic security for lower-wage jobs.

Endnotes

¹ Marissa Fond, Daniel Busso and Eric Lindland also contributed to the research presented in this report.

² Reardon, Sean F., and Kendra Bischoff. "Income inequality and income segregation." *American Journal of Sociology* 116.4 (2011): 1092-1153.

³ It is important to note that this model was operative even among Black participants who also spoke about “deficient values” in poor Black communities.

⁴ We use the term “socioeconomic mixing” here and throughout, because, as we discuss below, this name has empirically proven advantages over alternatives. It is important to note, however, that experts use a range of different terms to refer to the same concept, including “economic integration,” “income mixing,” “class integration,” and “socioeconomic integration.”

⁵ An effective reframe overcomes the public’s unproductive, default ways of thinking about an issue. To capture the messages’ ability to shift people away from unproductive cultural models, some of the questions in the survey were written in multiple-choice format. Survey respondents were given answer options that reflected unproductive default assumptions. In addition to these options, respondents were given answer options that reflect reformers’ target positions. In this way, results from the survey show the messages’ ability to overcome default understandings and channel thinking in ways that make people more receptive to economic integration.

⁶ Benford, R., & Snow, D.A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639.

⁷ Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

⁸ We left off a battery on individualism in these graphs, because results for that battery are counterintuitive—for these questions, a *decrease* is desired, since the goal is to move people *away* from attributing outcomes solely to individual choice and effort. While the messages tested in the experiment generally produced negative movement on this battery, none of these differences were statistically significant, so we have left results off the graph for ease of interpretation.

⁹ Statistical significance is affected by sample size. That is why the apparently large increases on additional batteries do not reach significance—limiting analysis to Republicans shrinks the sample under consideration.

¹⁰ FrameWorks Institute: *Wide Angle Lens*. Washington, DC: The FrameWorks Institute.

¹¹ On the *Gentrification* battery, the Metaphor produced a 11.5 percentage point increase for Republicans, a 6.9 percentage point increase for Democrats, and a 8.5 percentage point increase for Independents. On the *Movement of Low-Income People to Affluent Neighborhoods* battery, the Metaphor generated a 9.3 percentage point increase for Republicans, a 4.5 percentage point increase for Democrats, and a 5.8 percentage point increase for Independents. All results were significant at the level of $p < .10$ or less.

¹² This basic explanation of benefits is the same message as the message titled *Focus on Benefits w/o Acknowledging Concerns* in the first gentrification graph. This explanation of benefits was the base condition for the two comparisons described here.

¹³ Reardon, Sean F., and Kendra Bischoff. "Income inequality and income segregation." *American Journal of Sociology* 116.4 (2011): 1092-1153.

¹⁴ Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639.

¹⁵ Lorick-Wilmot, Y. (2011). *Speaking a common language: Building a community of effective framers in Alberta, Canada*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

¹⁶ This is true for children younger than age 13 at the time of the move. The work of Chetty, et.al. has shown that children older than 13 can suffer from the disruption of the move. [Chetty, Raj, Nathaniel Hendren, and Lawrence F. Katz. *The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment*. No. w21156. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2015.]