



Summary Research Memo: FrameWorks' Analysis of Frame Effects on PCAA Policies and Implications for Messaging

Background

In April 2004, the FrameWorks Institute completed and published its analysis of a body of qualitative research to guide Prevent Child Abuse America (PCA America) in framing issues related to child abuse and neglect to inform better public thinking. Over the course of 2003, FrameWorks had completed: (1) a meta-analysis of previous public opinion research on related topics, (2) a series of 22 cognitive interviews with ordinary Americans, (3) a set of 6 focus groups with community influentials, and (4) an evaluation of frames in the news and frames in advocates' materials. In addition to this research devoted specifically to PCA America's policy and program interests, FrameWorks drew from a more extensive research base on how Americans view a public role in supporting children and families and in supporting healthy child development, both for very young children and for adolescents.

Situation Analysis

It was as a result of this research that FrameWorks recommended a two-pronged approach to reframing issues related to child abuse and neglect:

- First, FrameWorks urged PCA America to spend more time in explaining how child development works and what practices – both societal and interpersonal – derail healthy development. This recommendation arose from the observation that many informants made consistent cognitive mistakes in their understanding of what contributes to resilience and what undermines development. For example, the idea that children can get over exposure to abuse or neglect, or even triumph over it without lasting biological effects was widely expressed.
- Second, FrameWorks urged greater attention to Community Frames, focusing public attention on what is available in communities to support children and families. This recommendation represented a fundamental shift away from Community as the locus of danger and toward Community as a shaping force for both good and ill, depending upon the quality of public structures and programs in those communities. When people see Community merely as a threat to children, they cannot logically look to Community as a solution to those threats. Thus, by repositioning Community and public solutions as counter-forces to abuse and neglect, we are able to redirect the conversation beyond the Family Bubble of narrow, behavioral change.

Early Recommendations

In the course of harvesting research findings from FrameWorks' work with the National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (now at Harvard University's Center on the Developing Child), we recommended a set of "Simplifying Models" to help plug these cognitive holes:

- Brain Architecture as a way to capture the material nature of the developmental foundation;
- Interaction, as a way to elevate the dynamic process between child and environment; and
- Stress-Related Chemicals in the Brain, as a way to make vivid the damaging effects of exposure to stress.

Since this research was conducted for PCA America in 2003, FrameWorks has tested all three Simplifying Models in both qualitative and quantitative research and has improved the latter two models:

- Interaction has been updated to Serve and Return, in which the interactive nature of the child and his environment is equated with a game of tennis.
- Stress-Related Chemicals in the Brain has been expanded to differentiate between positive, tolerable and toxic stress in order to help people understand the buffering effects of caring adults and the deleterious effects of unrelieved exposure.

All three of these Simplifying Models are included in Appendix A.

New Research Findings

It is important to note that the 2003 research conducted for PCA America by FrameWorks stopped short of a quantitative phase, due to cost constraints. Thus, it had been impossible to further validate the frame recommendations that emerged from the qualitative research. In 2007, however, FrameWorks conducted an experimental survey of 2,000 registered voters to test the frame effects of a series of early child development messages on an array of public policies and programs. Among the policies and programs of interest to FrameWorks in this research were a number that coincide with PCA America's interests. We selected six policies and conducted a subsequent analysis of the effects of various frames on support for these, as a proxy for a fully-developed PCA America agenda. Subsequently, an expanded set of policies related to child abuse and neglect was developed and included in a second experimental survey, fielded in late 2008 and also reported below. Together, these two experimental surveys offer confirmatory evidence of the power of the child development story to advance support for child abuse and neglect prevention policies. We explain the findings of both reports, in chronological order, below.

The First Experimental Survey

For this experiment, conducted in 2007, we collaborated with Stanford University's Political Communications Laboratory (under the direction of Dr. Shanto Iyengar) and Polimetrix (under the direction of Dr. Douglas Rivers) at Stanford University to sample from national research panels. The sample is built on two million online panelists who are incentivized (through

various lottery-based awards) to participate in research studies. FrameWorks Senior Fellow Franklin D. Gilliam, Ph.D., served as Project Director.

The experiment was administered to a total of 2,000 people recruited from a panel of more than 2 million participants through YouGovPolimetrix and matched to a national sample. Participants completed a post-stimulus survey which asked a number of questions about the salience of children's issues as well as their preferences regarding a number of developmental policies and programs.

Participants were exposed to a set of early child development-oriented frames (see Appendix A for full text), that were drawn from the Core Story of Development (see Appendix B) that FrameWorks has created in partnership with the Harvard Center on the Developing Child. The key research question was: does exposure to frames that convey baseline information about early child development work effectively to advance support for child abuse and neglect policies?

To test this question, the effects of the child development frames were analyzed in comparison to a group which received no frame or treatment (the null condition) and evaluated for their ability to lift support for a set of child abuse and neglect-related policies, as part of a secondary analysis of data secured for the Harvard Center. It is important to note that the policies selected were not developed explicitly for PCA America but were selected after-the-fact as those most germane to PCA America's interests from those policies of interest to the Harvard Center. The full set of policies is listed in Appendix C.

From this quantitative research (see Appendix D for detailed findings), we find the following:

- In 4 of the 6 policy questions to which survey participants responded, the developmental story expanded support for policies in statistically significant ways.
- Only Intensive Home Visits by Professionals and Providing Mechanisms for Unregulated Childcare failed to achieve statistical significance.
- Brain Architecture and Serve and Return have the most consistent positive effects on the child abuse and neglect-related policies.
- Can't Do One Without the Other – in which the intertwined nature of social, emotional and cognitive skills is explained – also shows promise in contributing to policy thinking, lifting 2/6 policies.
- Skill Begets Skill and Evaluation Science have the least effects on these policies.

In sum, there was some preliminary reason, based on the quantitative validation of earlier findings, to believe that the child development frames are having the intended effects on these policies and on a child abuse and neglect prevention agenda, to the degree that these policies can be said to approximate that agenda. This is consistent with the overall research findings which looked across a broader array of policies and found that exposure to the core story of development enhanced policy support. For more on the overall conclusions from this research, see reports posted in the Early Childhood Development section at www.frameworksinstitute.org/ecd.

This makes sense, furthermore, in light of the qualitative findings: when people are made smarter about how development happens, what supports it and what derails it, and how society can intervene in this process to support healthier outcomes, policy support is enhanced.

The main take away here for PCA America is that the framing recommendations which are included in the MessageBrief on Early Child Development, that FrameWorks developed for PCAA in June of 2008 (see Appendix E), are likely to work to lift policies related to child abuse and neglect. More specifically:

- Brain Architecture should be used to explain that exposure to stressors in a child's environment has a lasting biological effect, and that interventions in the lives of children who are experiencing toxic stress should not be delayed.
- The explanatory power of Serve and Return – the importance of reliable, consistent, engaged interaction with a child – may prove especially helpful in getting at the thorny issue of neglect, i.e. when environments are not reliably and supportively interactive, the child does not offer up the interactive invitation, the circuits are undeveloped and future development must work overtime to catch up in building a strong foundation.
- Can't Do One is also a story element of potential power, as it may serve to overcome people's apparent inability to discern how abuse and neglect might impair other (mental, physical and cognitive) functions in the developing child. The inability of Skill Begets Skill to lift policy support may indeed be the other side of this coin; put another way, people have little reason to think that emotional or physical damage from abuse or neglect are connected to a wider range of impairments.

These principles are further explained in the numerous working papers of the Harvard Center on the Developing Child (www.developingchild.net).

The Second Experimental Survey

This survey, conducted in late 2008, expanded the list of policies relevant to child abuse and neglect against which frame effects were measured. By contrast to the previous experiment, the child abuse neglect and prevention policies were pretested for internal coherence and collapsed as a single variable. In sum, they tested the ability of a series of frames to elevate support for the following policy proposals:

- Provide additional resources to community programs that work to prevent child neglect;
- Conduct more research and program evaluation to make existing child abuse prevention programs more effective;
- Make life education part of every school's curriculum, including information on age-appropriate child development, as well as child abuse and neglect prevention;
- Ban physical punishment in all schools and institutions that serve kids;
- Make it easier for judges and courts who deal with family issues related to abuse and neglect or custody of young children to order intervention programs as early as possible;
- Forgive student loans for students who become trained and work for five years as child

- welfare workers; and
- Improve foster care and adoption services by minimizing multiple placements and disruptions in relationships for very young children.

Because these policies were shown to be highly inter-correlated, they are reported as a single variable, unlike in the previous report. The abuse and neglect policy battery is complemented in this survey by distinct policy batteries that address: mental health interventions, early child care, poverty and work supports and health and nutrition. A full report on these findings is available as “Framing Child Abuse and Neglect: Effects of Early Childhood Development Experimental Research: A FrameWorks Research Report,” February 2009.

- As FrameWorks’ asserted, based on its qualitative inquiry for PCA America, framing child abuse neglect and prevention in terms of early child development has statistically significant and consistent positive effects on policy support.
- Indeed, of all the policy clusters tested – child and family mental health interventions, child abuse and neglect, child health/nutrition, child care, as well as child and family poverty and work supports – it was the child abuse and neglect policies that showed the most frame effects; 9 of 17 frames moved support and, in 6 of the 9 cases, it was in this cluster where we observed the strongest effects.
- A wide array of Values derived from FrameWorks’ research on early child development – including Prosperity, Ingenuity, Future and Responsible Manager – significantly lift support for the kinds of policies that PCA America wishes the public to endorse.
- By contrast, several Values currently associated with general child advocacy in general and child abuse and prevention advocacy in particular – Fairness or Health as societal values – do not advance support for child abuse and neglect preventions and policies.
- More specifically, framing child abuse and prevention as an important investment in a healthy society, even when emphasizing that early experiences have life-long health consequences, does little to advance child abuse and neglect policies. Put simply, the task of reframing child abuse is more complex than a simple translation to physical health.
- Another popular framing strategy that appears unsupported by research is the popular trope of the “Vulnerable Child,” which typically combines some information about child poverty as a risk factor with an appeal to level the playing field for young children by providing them with access to the same high quality childhood programs that wealthier families can afford. This Value showed no effects on the child abuse and neglect policy battery – nor did it affect any other set of policies in the FrameWorks study. Put simply, an appeal to fairness based on risk does not advance the cause.
- Some of the same Values that serve to lift support for child abuse and neglect policies also lift the other policy batteries, suggesting that PCA America is well poised to benefit from consistent messaging across child advocacy issues. Prosperity lifts 4 of the 5 policy

batteries, while Ingenuity lifts all of them. To the degree that PCA America can export its framing strategy to other child-oriented groups, it stands to gain ground in public understanding and support by capitalizing on their cognitive successes.

- Among the Simplifying Models tested, Toxic Stress proves highly significant in advancing policy thinking. It should become a staple of the child abuse and prevention story.
- Brain Architecture is further validated in this study; it clearly deserves acceptance in the pantheon of child abuse and neglect framing elements.
- While Health as a Value did little to advance these policies, and Health as a Principle had little effect, the addition of physical health consequences to the Simplifying Model of Pay Now or Pay Later made it more potent than it was without the health information. It is possible that, by reinforcing the prevention message and tying it to an issue currently in public debate (health care reform), the cost-benefit message is enhanced. It should be noted that other models (Toxic Stress and Brain Architecture) lost some effects when coupled with a health message, so one can reasonably surmise that it is something about the direct alignment with the prevention and cost message that allows Pay Now to achieve these results.
- Return on Investment also showed significant effects on the policy battery, further demonstrating that an explicit assertion of the prevention message in terms of later benefits to society may be warranted. The child abuse neglect and prevention battery was one of only two in this experiment to show effects from this frame element, the other being early child care.

Key Communications Challenges and Opportunities Based on Insights from Research

The core story of early child development, as articulated by the Harvard Center on the Developing Child, is of enormous utility to child abuse neglect and prevention advocates. By providing people with the key cognitive building blocks for understanding the impact of neglect and abuse and, by contrast, the buffering effects of interaction and caring adults, Prevent Child Abuse America may well be able to plug some of the key cognitive holes in public understanding and to move a broader agenda forward. However, the core story for these advocates is a slightly refined and edited version of the broader developmental story. It begins with the same assertions of societal value in addressing these issues, but it culls from the larger array of principles and models to explain more precisely why abuse and neglect “fit” within this story and warrant specific interventions and remedies.

With the results of the latest experimental survey, we are able to suggest a research-based answer to the question “what kind of story should we tell people about child abuse and neglect” at least insofar as the developmental aspect of the story has been confirmed.

FrameWorks’ answer is based on an application of narrative theory to the empirically tested

frame elements.ⁱⁱ The result is as follows:

Narrative Devices

Frame Elements

Orientation

Prosperity, Ingenuity

The goal here is to give people a lens on the subject, an orientation that reminds them of things they already know, such as Values (Prosperity) that can be used to interpret an unfamiliar area. This is where you establish what's at stake and deflect the default to individual level of responsibility.

Main Plot

Brain Architecture, Serve and Return, Can't Do One

This is the place to introduce Simplifying Models and Principles of development (Brain Architecture as a material effect of early child development) that can serve to define and anchor the ensuing narrative in their mind. Here you answer the question, "What is this about?" by focusing on what gets developed and how it happens. Serve and Return explains the process by which Brain Architecture gets built, and Can't Do One establishes the inter-related nature of the building blocks.

Complicating Action

Toxic Stress

The goal in this part of the story is to explain what can go wrong, or why the process is not "automatic." Put simply, Toxic Stress is the "bad guy" in this narrative. By explaining the difference between the three levels of stress (positive, tolerable and toxic) with reference to duration, severity and the presence of buffers in the child's environment, advocates stand to provide a key missing piece of information in public thinking. This sets up a standard by which the subsequent introduction of policies can be evaluated.

Evaluation

Pay Now or Pay Later (with or without Health)
Return on Investment

This is the part of the story where you are able to circle back and show how the developmental story you have just enumerated will accrue value to society in general, not merely to individuals. This amplifies and explains the "road not taken" vs. the way things are.

Resolution

Policies Go Here

If we want the above process to go well, and to yield these benefits to society and our communities, then what must we do to enact reasonable policies? What do we know about solutions that work? While policies will have been introduced as examples earlier in the narrative, here is where the addition of causal chains to explain how they connect to the values and principles you have established will provide the inexorable logic advocates need in order to advance policies.

Moving Forward

In FrameWorks' estimation, there is ample evidence – across method, across time – to demonstrate that the core story of early child development offers significant advantages over current communications practice in lifting support for PCA America's policy agenda. The story that emerges is congruent with that put forward by experts (as represented by the Harvard Center on the Developing Child), but nuanced to focus more directly on the subset of Simplifying Models and Principles that directly advance the child abuse and neglect policies. This means that every time experts tell the Core Story of Early Child Development, they are doing the groundwork for PCA America's subsequent story about how child abuse and neglect "work." That opportunity is lost, however, if the story PCA America and the child abuse field put forward is dissonant with the expert story. Moreover, the framing research further confirms the potential for child abuse and neglect prevention advocates to make common cause with other issue sponsors by agreeing to promote a similar values-based message.

The research reported here strongly confirms one of the two recommendations that emerged from the 2003 research. The other recommendation, related to community, remains to be explored. There is some useful research that emerges from FrameWorks' research on community health (see www.frameworksinstitute.org/communityhealth.html for research reports, a message memo, toolkit, and an eWorkshop). There are two specific recommendations that emerge from this body of work that we feel warrant PCA America's attention, even in the absence of further research:

- *Encourage advocates to stop vilifying the village.* Much of the action in child abuse neglect and prevention materials remains devoted to recognizing the perpetrators, turning them in, and protecting the child from the larger community where perpetrators lurk. When advocates do this, they undermine community as the locus for solutions and also distract from the main action of development that you wish to put forward. By differentiating the different types of Stress, advocates can set the stage for the idea that buffers in environments – such as access to caring adults and the diminution of poverty and violence – can make a difference. PCA America has a leadership role to play in making the case for this frame transformation with collegial groups.
- *Model ways to explain exposure to environments.* By focusing on the stressors to which children are exposed and how society can do a better job of addressing and reducing them, advocates can begin to make community a positive actor in the developmental story. Further, by showcasing communities that are making that difference, and detailing how systems have been changed to buffer young children from exposures that would derail development, you integrate community into the larger story. Finally, by widening the lens through which people see your issue, you engage a wider coalition of people who want their community to function as it should for all children. PCA America can model these forms of narrative and call attention to them with collegial groups, essentially enlarging the field's narrative capacity.

At this juncture, PCA America can rely with confidence on a communications strategy that, if

widely implemented, can advance its cause. The next challenge lies in helping advocates incorporate these strategies into everyday practice, omit those that are discordant, and make common cause with other child-focused communicators whose own policy agendas can be supported by adopting similar strategies.

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April 2009

About FrameWorks Institute: The FrameWorks Institute is an independent nonprofit organization founded in 1999 to advance science-based communications research and practice. The Institute conducts original, multi-method research to identify the communications strategies that will advance public understanding of social problems and improve public support for remedial policies. The Institute’s work also includes teaching the nonprofit sector how to apply these science-based communications strategies in their work for social change. The Institute publishes its research and recommendations, as well as toolkits and other products for the nonprofit sector at www.frameworksinstitute.org.

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ⁱ For more about Simplifying Models, see EZine#19: “Opening Up the Black Box: A Case Study in Simplifying Models” at www.frameworksinstitute.org/ezine19.html and EZine #37: “Can’t I Just Invent My Own Metaphors? Why Research Matters in Developing Metaphorical Models” at www.frameworksinstitute.org/ezine37.html.

ⁱⁱ See W. Labov, “The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax” in W. Labov (Ed.), *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1972:354-396; W. Labov. “Speech Actions and Reactions in Personal Narrative” in D. Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing discourse: Text and Talk*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 1982: 219-247; and C. K. Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. 1993: 41, 59.

Appendix A

Frames as Executed in First Experimental Survey

Prosperity

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in the society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. *For example, some people believe that child development is important for community development and economic development. According to this view, society's ability to build capacities that are developed during childhood becomes the basis of a prosperous and sustainable society -- from positive school achievement to work force skills to cooperative and lawful behavior.*

Pay Now or Pay Later

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in the society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. *For example, some people believe trying to change behavior or build new skills on a foundation of brain circuits that were not wired properly when they were first formed requires more work and is less effective. According to this view, remedial education, clinical treatment, and other professional interventions are more costly and produce less desirable outcomes than the provision of nurturing, protective relationships and appropriate learning experiences earlier in life.*

Can't Do One without the Other

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in the society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. *For example, some people believe that paying attention to young children's emotional and social needs as well as to their mastery of literacy and cognitive skills has the maximum impact on child development. According to this view, because the brain is a highly integrated organ and its multiple functions operate in a richly coordinated fashion, you cannot focus on developing just one part of the child without paying equal attention to the other capacities.*

Skill Begets Skill

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in the society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. *For example, some people believe that children's brains are built "from the bottom up," with simple circuits and skills providing the scaffolding for more advanced circuits and skills over time. According to this view, the circuits that underlie the ability to put words together to speak in phrases form a foundation for the subsequent mastery of reading a written sentence in a book.*

Evaluation Science

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. *For example, some people believe*

that by requiring the application of the most rigorous program evaluation science to services for children we can make smarter decisions among competing programs and we can replicate the successes. According to this view, constantly updating our understanding of what works for children at different stages of development provides the best long-term return on society's short-term investments in children.

Brain Architecture

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. For example, some people believe that *the basic architecture of the brain is constructed through an ongoing process that begins before birth and continues into adulthood. Much like the construction of a home, the architecture of the developing brain begins with laying the foundation, framing the rooms, and wiring the electrical system; and continues with the incorporation of distinctive features that reflect increasing individuality over time.* As it emerges, the quality of that “brain architecture” establishes either a sturdy or a fragile foundation for all of the development and behavior that follows.

Serve and Return

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. For example, some people believe that *the interactive influences of genes and experience shape the developing brain. The active ingredient is the “serve and return” relationships with their parents and other caregivers in their family or community. Like the process of serve and return in games such as tennis and volleyball, young children naturally reach out for interaction through babbling and facial expressions. If adults do not respond by getting in sync and doing the same kind of vocalizing and gesturing back at them, the child's learning process is incomplete. This has negative implications for later learning.*

Toxic Stress

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. For example, some people believe that *“toxic stress” in early childhood is associated with such things as extreme poverty, abuse, or severe maternal depression and damages the developing brain. It is important to distinguish among three kinds of stress. We do not need to worry about positive stress (which is short-lived stress, like getting immunized). Tolerable stress is made tolerable by the presence of supportive relationships, like a strong family when a loved one dies. But toxic stress lasts longer, lacks consistent supportive relationships and leads to lifelong problems in learning, behavior, and both physical and mental health.*

Effectiveness Factors

Lately there has been a lot of talk about the role of children in society. In particular, people have offered various explanations of why it is important to devote societal resources to children at the very earliest stages of life. For example, some people believe that *we can measure “effectiveness factors” that often make the difference between programs that work and those that don't work to support children's healthy development.*

For 3 and 4 year olds, these would include the level of teacher training, a language-rich environment, and a safe and regulated place that supports a variety of learning experiences. Without these effectiveness factors, some children can spend just as many hours in a program, but not show many positive outcomes.

Appendix B

The Core Story of Early Child Development

1. Child development is a foundation for community development and economic development, as capable children become the foundation of a prosperous and sustainable society (Prosperity).
2. The basic architecture of the brain is constructed through an ongoing process that begins before birth and continues into adulthood (Brain Architecture).
3. Brains are built from the bottom up (Skill Begets Skill).
4. Interaction of genes and experience shapes the developing brain and relationships are the active ingredient in this Serve and Return process (Serve and Return).
5. Cognitive, emotional, and social capacities are inextricably intertwined, and learning, behavior and physical and mental health are inter-related over the life course (Can't Do One Without The Other).
6. Toxic stress damages the developing brain and leads to problems in learning, behavior, and increased susceptibility to physical and mental illness over time (Toxic Stress).
7. Brain plasticity and the ability to change behavior decrease over time and getting it right early is less costly, to society and individuals, than trying to fix it later (Pay Now or Pay Later).
8. By requiring the application of the most rigorous program evaluation science to services for children, we can make smarter decisions among competing programs and we can replicate the successes (Evaluation Science).
9. We can measure “effectiveness factors” that often make the difference between programs that work and those that don't work to support children's healthy development (Effectiveness Factors).

Appendix C

Policies Used to Evaluate Frames in the First Experimental Survey

Supports

Decades of scientific research suggests that persistent poverty in the early years of life is a powerful predictor of lifelong disparities in educational achievement and health. Policymakers and private employers have offered several potential solutions to this problem. For each of the following, please tell us if you strongly favor, favor, do not favor, or strongly do not favor the particular solution:

- Assure that all pregnant women, mothers, and children have basic health insurance and access to health care.

Settings

Access to high quality settings for infants and toddlers - environments that provide individualized nurturing and rich learning experiences - is a particular hardship for working class families whose incomes exceed the eligibility threshold for programs such as Early Head Start, as well as for low income families who do not have access to higher-quality child care or early intervention programs. Policymakers and private employers have offered several potential solutions to this problem. For each of the following, please tell us if you strongly favor, favor, do not favor, or strongly do not favor the particular solution:

- Providing mechanisms for unregulated child care settings, such as those in relatives' homes, to be incorporated into regulatory systems.
- Insuring that all public funds allocated for early care and education are invested in environments that meet baseline standards for health and safety, particularly in the first three years of life.

Standards

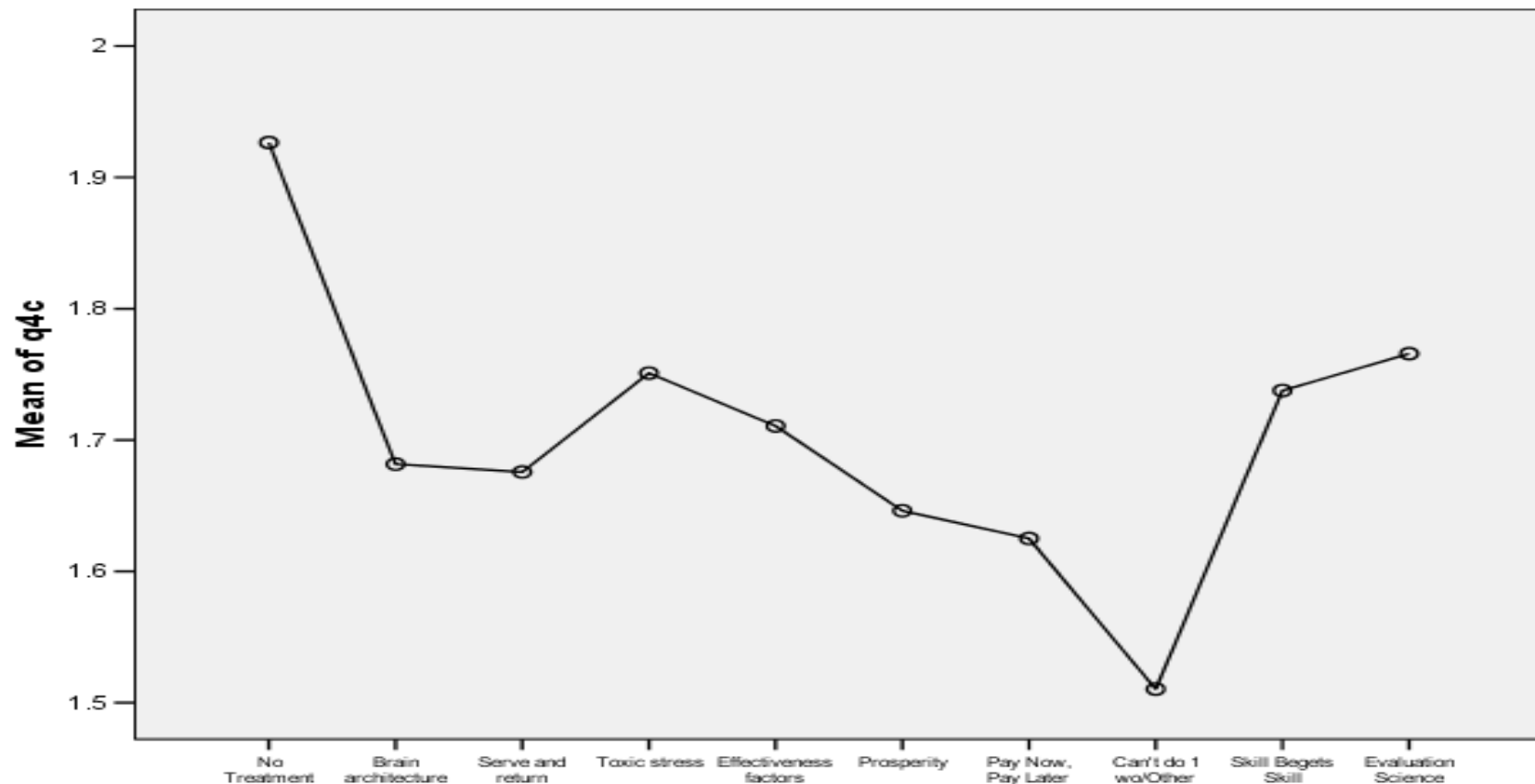
Neuroscience makes it very clear that excessive stress in early infancy can disrupt the development of the brain in ways that lead to long-term and costly problems in learning, behavior, and both physical and mental health. Below are several strategies to reduce children's stress hormone levels. For each of the following, please tell us if you strongly favor, favor, do not favor, or strongly do not favor the particular intervention:

- Intensive home visiting by highly trained professionals when needed.
- Skilled counseling for mental health problems.
- High quality support services for parents in group, parent-child, or individual settings.

In all charts, the goal is to reduce opposition to the stated policy.

All sig except: toxic stress, skills begets, evaluation science

Ensure Women Have Health Insurance

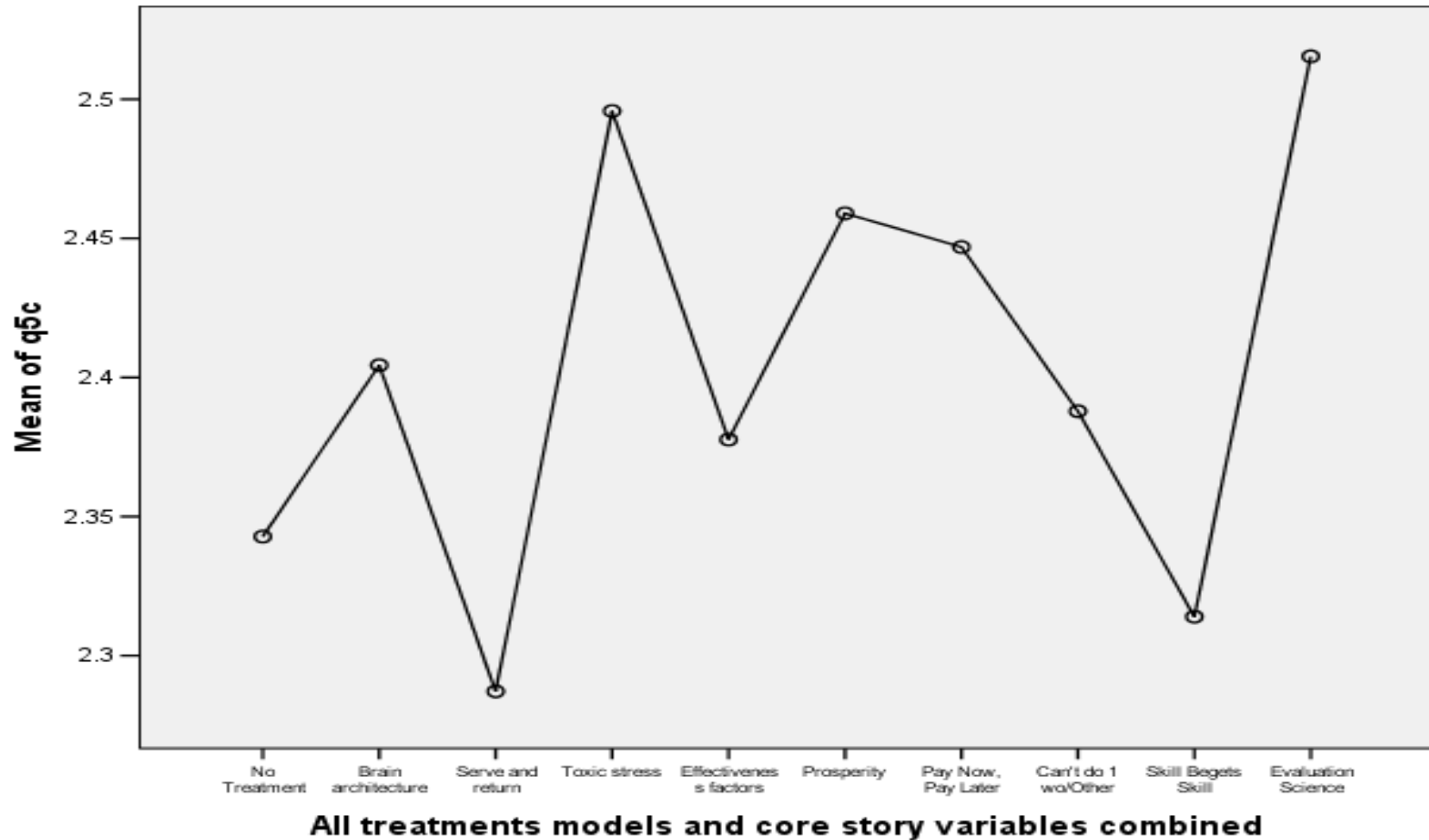


All treatments models and core story variables combined

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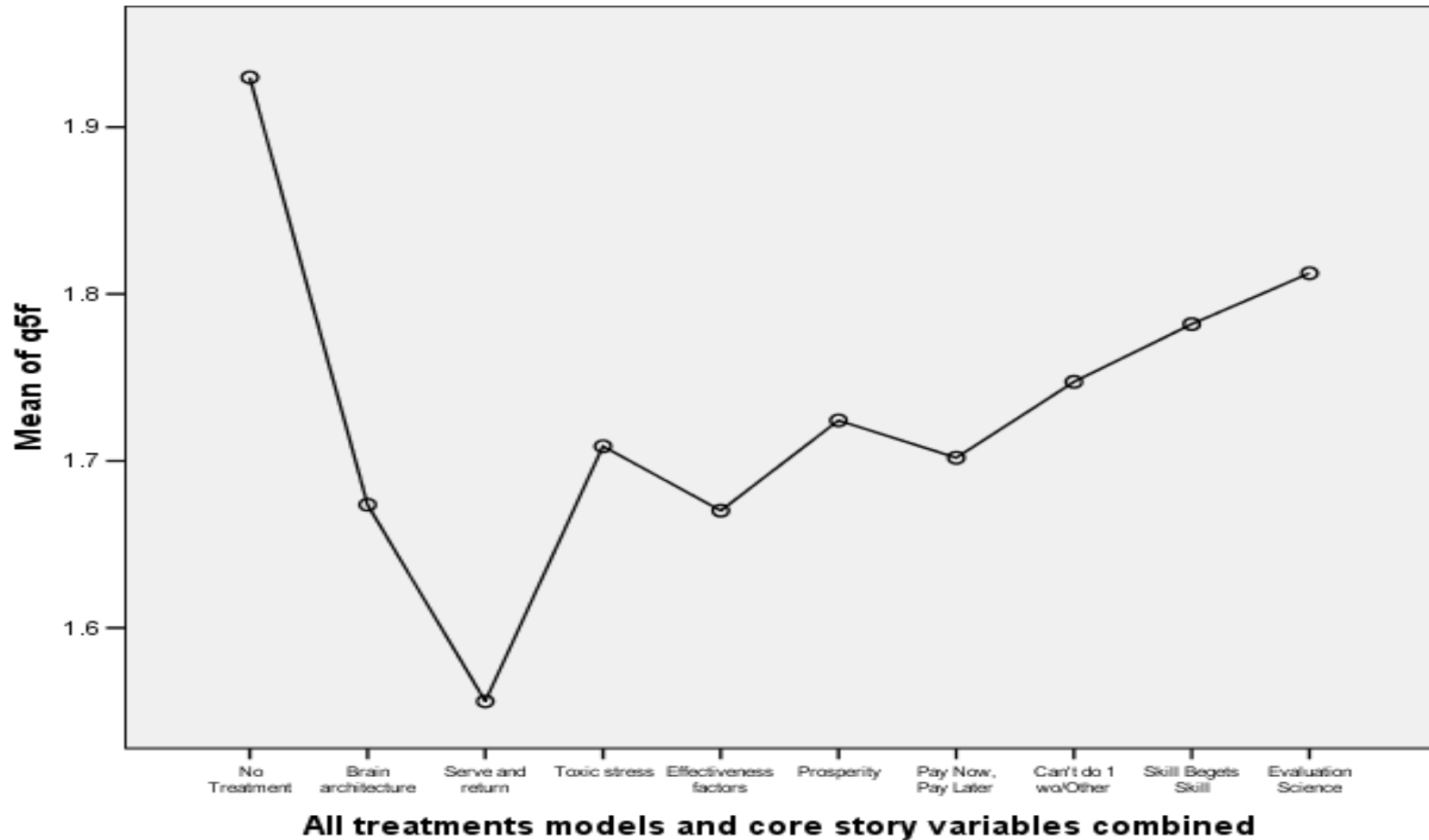
Providing Mechanisms for Unregulated Childcare

No Sig. Differences



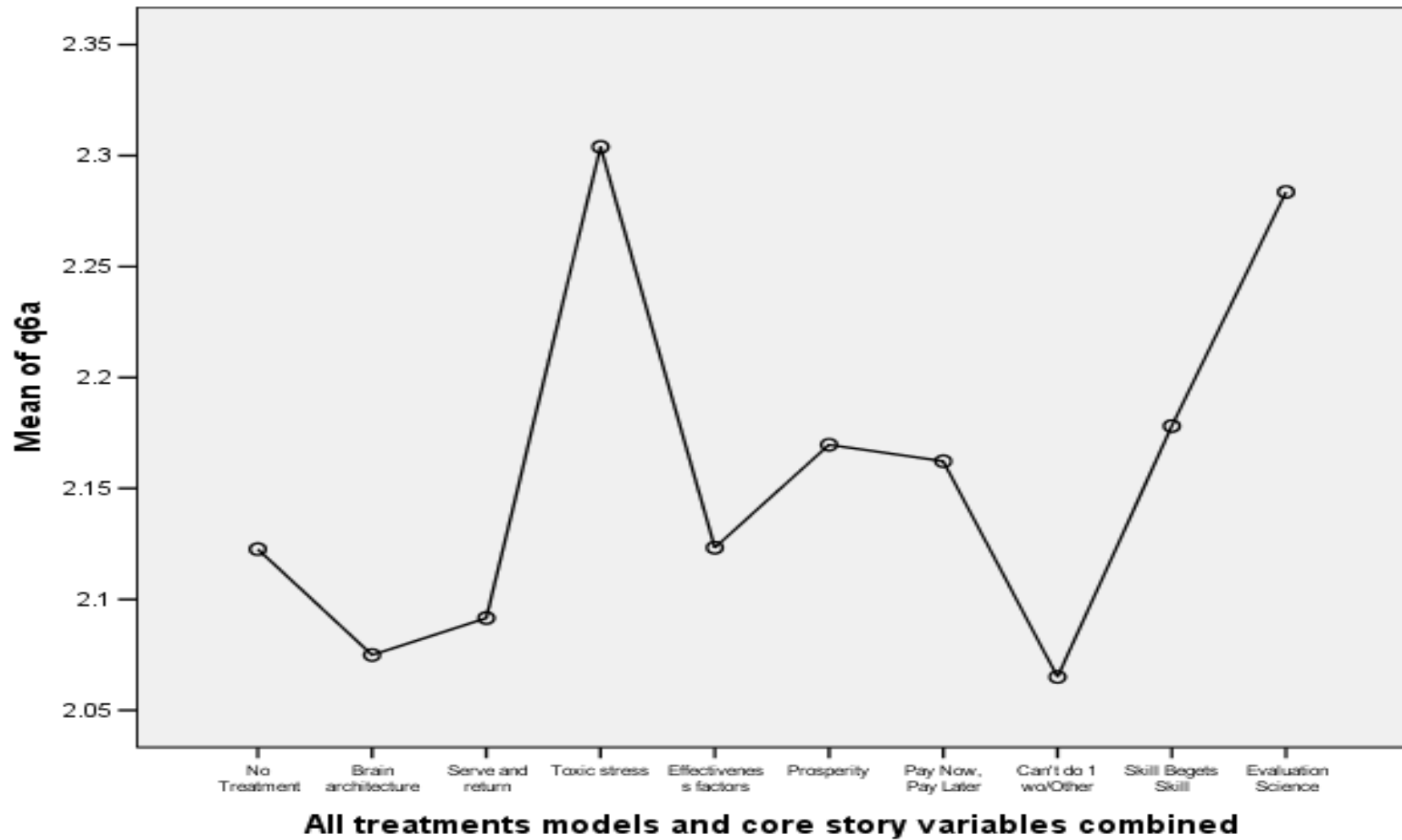
Insuring Public Funds Allocated to Meet Standards

All sig except: skill begets, eval science



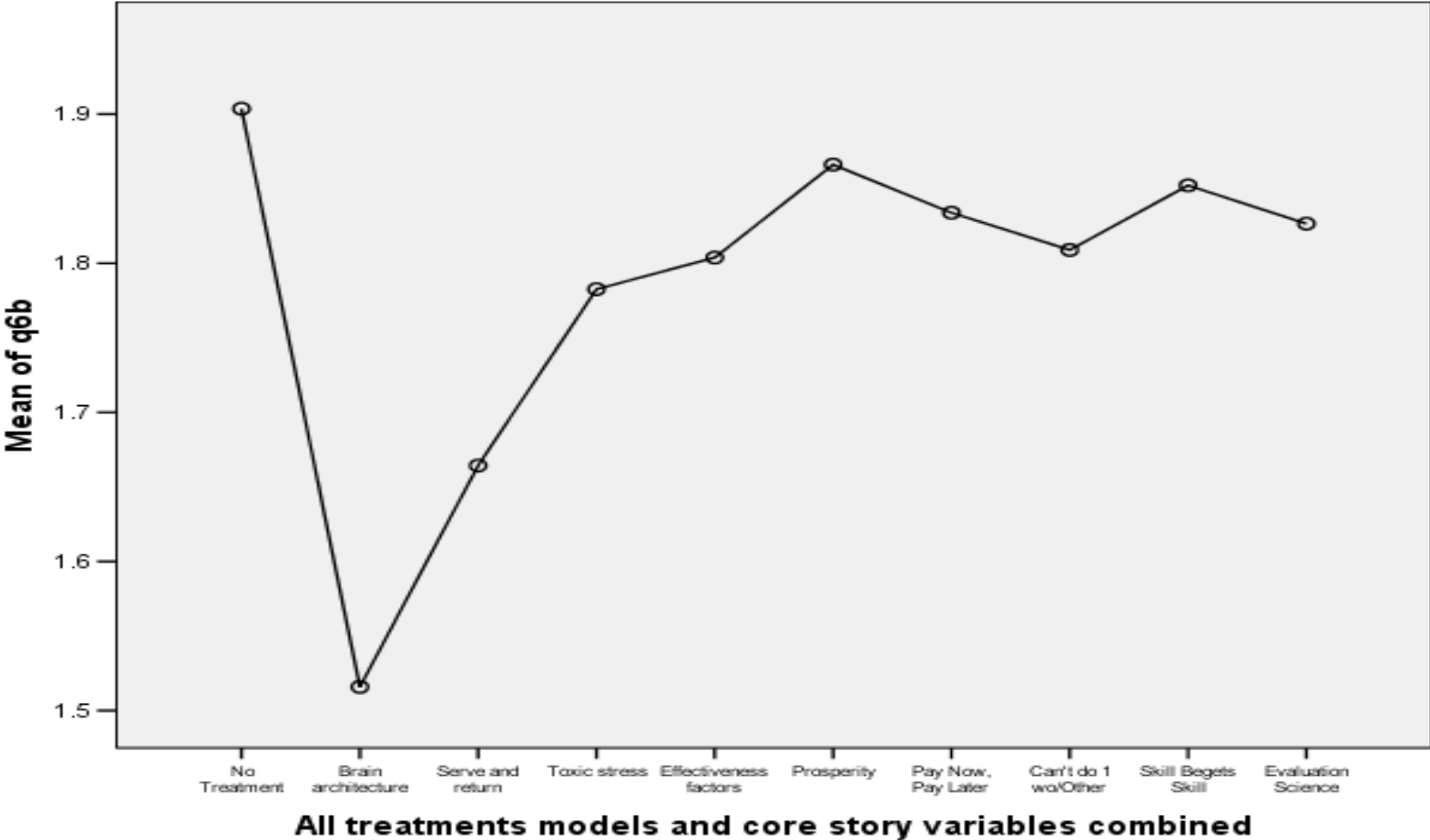
Intensive Home Visits by Professionals

No sig variables



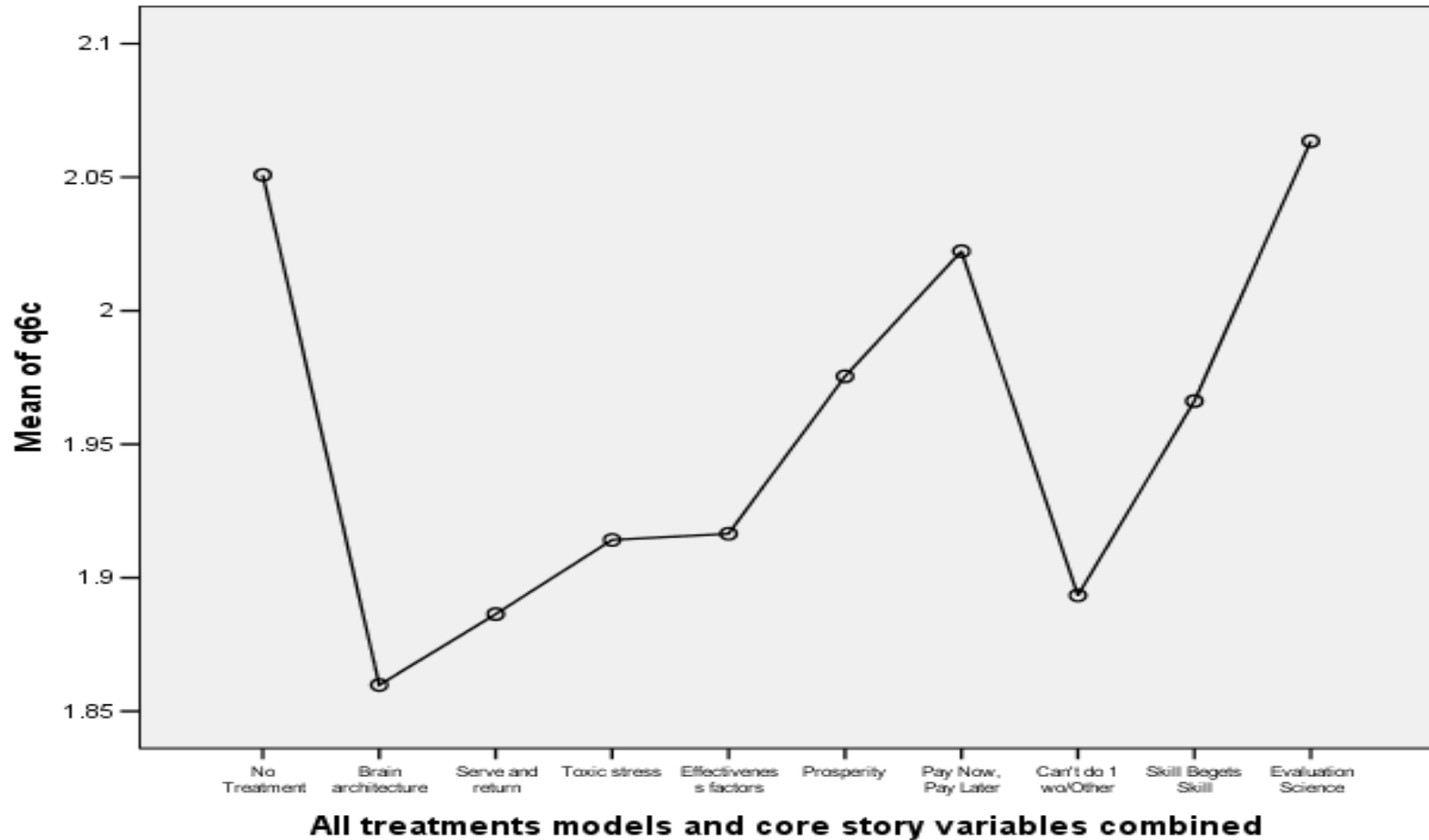
Skilled Counseling for Mental Problems

Only 2 sig: Brain Arch, Serve and Return



High Quality Support for Parents

Only 2 sig: Brain Arch, Serve and Return



Create Direct Linkages in Intervention Services

Three sig variables: Brain Arch, Serve and Return, Can't Do One

