



# Claiming Contested Values

## Methods Supplement

JANUARY 2026

This supplement provides detailed information on the research that informs the FrameWorks Institute's Culture Change Project report on "Claiming Contested Values." In this supplement, we outline the research conducted with researchers, advocates, practitioners, and members of the public that provides the evidence base for the brief. We describe the methods we used, the composition of the samples, the frames we tested, and the data showing how these frames shifted outcomes in our survey experiments.

To arrive at the recommendations in this brief, we applied Strategic Frame Analysis®—an approach to communications research and practice that yields strategies for shifting the discourse around social issues. This approach has been shown to increase understanding of, and engagement in, conversations about scientific and social issues. These frames were tested between October 2024 and July 2025 in one pilot and three nationally representative survey experiments. Throughout all research methods, 10,591 participants from across the United States were included.

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# Consulting Advisors, Partners, and Experts

In July 2023, before we began this exploration of values, we held a session with the Advisory Board for the Culture Change Project, followed by a session with the FrameWorks Advisory Board. The purpose of both of these meetings was to gather feedback on which values we should focus on, including hypotheses about what values will move systemic thinking generally and on specific issues. Following this, in November 2023, we interviewed eight people with expertise in values-based communications. These conversations were conducted via Zoom, each taking an hour, and were designed to help us identify a set of relevant values to focus on in the project, formulate hypotheses to test in our research, and gain more clarity on the outcomes (e.g. the attitudes and mindsets) we wanted to shift with these values. We also sought to understand the current state of play in values-based communication and the challenges our partners faced in their own work to encourage effective framing with their audiences.

Alongside these interviews we conducted a literature review. This focused primarily on cataloging 25 years of previous FrameWorks research on *Fairness*, *Stability*, and *Freedom* as well as other values we were considering exploring in the project, namely *Justice*, *Interdependence*, and *Safety*. In this catalog we summarized the treatments we had tested and how they performed. We also conducted a brief review of academic and gray literature about the framing of freedom values. We did this to further inform ourselves on existing evidence-based recommendations on appealing to *Freedom* because *Freedom* was of particular interest to our partners and it was not a value we had tested often ourselves.

# Cultural Mindsets Interviews

To identify the cultural mindsets that the United States public uses to think about values—namely *Fairness*, *Stability*, and *Freedom*—we conducted a series of in-depth interviews. We ran 45 one-on-one, two-hour-long, in-depth, semi-structured cultural mindsets interviews from April 8–19, 2024, with people across the United States. Of these 45 interviews, 15 were focused on the value of *Freedom*; 10 on the value of *Fairness*; 10 on the values of *Stability* (including *Security* and *Safety*); and 10 on the value of *Benevolence* (including *Family*, *Love*, and *Community*). Interviews were all conducted over Zoom and were recorded with participants' written consent.

All participants were recruited by a professional marketing firm and selected to represent variation along several dimensions: race and ethnicity, residential location, age, gender, educational background, income, political views (as self-reported during the screening process), and family situation (e.g., married or single, with or without children) (see Table 1 for full demographic information). All the quotas we had at the full sample level were preserved to the extent possible in the four sets of interviews: on *Freedom*, *Fairness*, *Stability*, and *Benevolence* (see Table 2 for breakdown of demographic information across groups of interviews).

Cultural mindsets interviews are designed to allow researchers to capture broad sets of assumptions, or cultural mindsets, that participants use to make sense of a concept—in this case, values—and how those values connect with different issues like the economy, government, racism, and reproductive justice. Interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions covering participants' thinking on values in the abstract. Then, in the *Fairness* and *Freedom* interviews, we presented a few short phrases designed to signal different variants of fairness and *Freedom*, and asked people what immediately came to mind. For *Fairness*, we asked about: “Fair Opportunities,” “Fair Outcomes,” and “Fairness between Places.” In the *Freedom* interviews we asked about “Freedom from Domination,” “Freedom from Fear,” “Freedom to Thrive,” and “Freedom to be Ourselves.” We explored these value phrases briefly, asking what came to mind in association with the terms. Following this exploration of values as concepts, we then explored how people connected the value to a range of issues. Researchers approached each interview with a common set of topics to explore but allowed participants to determine the direction and nature of the discussion.

To analyze the interviews, researchers used analytical techniques from cognitive and linguistic anthropology to examine the mindsets people used to understand values and to connect them with different issues.<sup>1</sup> First, researchers identified common ways of talking across the sample to reveal assumptions, relationships, logical steps, and connections that were commonly made but taken for granted throughout an individual's dialogue. The analysis involved discerning patterns in both what participants said (i.e., how they related, explained, and understood things) and what they did not say (i.e., assumptions and implied relationships). In many cases, participants revealed conflicting mindsets on the same issue. In such cases, one conflicting way of understanding was typically found to be dominant over the other in that it more consistently and deeply shaped participants'

thinking (i.e., participants drew on this mindset with greater frequency and relied more heavily on it in arriving at conclusions). To ensure consistency, researchers met after an initial round of coding and analysis to compare and process initial findings, then revisited transcripts to explore differences and questions that arose through the comparison. As part of this process, researchers compared emerging findings to the findings from previous cultural mindsets research as a check to ensure they had not missed or misunderstood any important mindsets. They then reconvened and arrived at a synthesized set of findings.

Analysis centered on ways of understanding that were shared across participants, as cultural mindsets research is designed to identify common ways of thinking that can be identified across a sample. While there was no fixed rule or percentage used to identify what counts as “shared,” mindsets reported were typically found in a large majority of interviews. Mindsets found in a smaller percentage of interviews were only reported if there was a clear reason why they only appeared in a limited set of interviews (e.g., the mindset reflected the thinking of a particular subgroup of people).

**Table 1: Cultural mindsets interviews—demographic information across all 45 interviews**

Demographic Variable	Number of Participants
<b><i>Race/Ethnicity</i></b>	
Black or African American	6
Hispanic or Latine	10
White	22
Other (e.g., Asian/Asian American Pacific Islander [AAPI])	7
<b><i>Political Party</i></b>	
Democrat/lean Democratic	19
Republican/lean Republican	19
Other/independent/do not lean	7
<b><i>Residential Location</i></b>	
Rural	11
Suburban	23
Urban	11
<b><i>Gender</i></b>	
Male	20
Female	25
Nonbinary/other	0
<b><i>Age</i></b>	
18–29	8
30–44	15
45–59	12
60+	10
<b><i>Educational Attainment</i></b>	
High school or less	15
Some college	17
College degree	8

Post-college	5
<b><i>Income</i></b>	
\$0–\$39,999	7
\$40,000–\$69,999	11
\$70,000–\$99,999	9
\$100,000–\$149,999	11
\$150,000+	7
<b><i>Parental Status</i></b>	
Has children	26
No children	19
<b><i>Marital Status</i></b>	
Single	23
Married	22

**Table 2: Cultural mindsets interviews—demographic information in each group of interviews**

Demographic Variable	Number of Participants			
	Fairness	Stability	Freedom	Benevolence
<b><i>Race/Ethnicity</i></b>				
Black or African American	1	0	3	2
Hispanic or Latine	2	2	4	2
White	5	7	6	4
Other (e.g., Asian/Asian American Pacific Islander [AAPI])	2	1	2	2
<b><i>Political Party</i></b>				
Democrat/lean Democratic	5	4	6	4
Republican/lean Republican	4	4	7	4
Other/independent/do not lean	1	2	2	2
<b><i>Gender</i></b>				
Male	4	4	8	4
Female	6	6	7	6

<b>Age</b>				
18–29	2	1	2	3
30–44	3	4	7	1
45–59	2	3	3	4
60+	3	2	3	2

***Educational Attainment***

High school or less	2	3	5	5
Some college	5	4	6	2
College degree	2	2	2	2
Post-college	1	1	2	1



# Frame Development

Based on our cultural mindsets interviews and consultations with advisors, partners, and experts in the field of values-based communication, we decided to focus on three contested values of *Fairness*, *Stability*, and *Freedom*. FrameWorks researchers clarified what outcomes these values would be trying to shift, focusing namely on mindsets and attitudes that demonstrated structural and systemic thinking (such as the mindsets that racism is a structural problem and that the economy is a designed system), inclusive thinking (such as moral concern toward outgroups), as well as a range of progressive policies. We developed specific variants of *Freedom* and *Fairness* to test, drawing from promising findings in our cultural mindsets research, as well as our hypotheses about what might be best suited to shifting the outcomes of interest. Finally, we chose a range of issues to test these values with to establish whether there were patterns in how values performed across issues. These issues were intended to be broad enough to accommodate big, structural solutions and were chosen to cover areas that are of interest to a wide range of FrameWorks partners and allies, such as the economic system and the political system.

## Pilot Survey

Prior to beginning experimental work, we conducted a pilot survey to test a range of explanations about economic design. We varied explanations by length (short or long) and by valence (in terms of whether we focused on the negative impacts of bad economic design or the positive impacts of good economic design). The purpose of this test was to inform the standardized text we used on the economy across values in our experiments. The other purpose of this pilot was to check the validity of several new dependent variables so we could refine any items that needed work before fielding our first full survey experiment.

A total of 997 participants were recruited via Prolific, and the survey was hosted through the Qualtrics platform. Participant demographic data was not collected, and participants were paid \$2 for their time. First, participants were randomly assigned to read one of four descriptions about economic design, or no description (i.e., control group). Then, using an open-ended survey question, we asked the participants who read the economic design descriptions what were their top two takeaways. All participants, including the control group, were then asked a series of questions designed to measure strength of endorsement on outcomes of interest. Outcomes included mindsets about the economy, efficacy for systems change, and support for economic policies. Participants' responses were measured using a seven-point Likert scale. All descriptions and survey items from the pilot can be found in Appendix B.

After data collection was completed, we used a mixed-methods analytic approach. We conducted multiple regression analyses on the quantitative data to determine whether there were significant differences in the effects of different message types on outcomes. We found that generally the negative messages had more significant and marginal effects of decreasing endorsement on policy support compared to the positive messages.

We then used thematic analysis to analyze participants' open-ended responses of their top takeaways. There were four main themes that emerged from participants' responses:

1. **The economy isn't working.** A critique of the current economy with an emphasis on how it benefits the wealthy, not working people.
2. **The economy is designed and we can redesign it.** A focus on who the system is designed to benefit and that the system can be redesigned to meet the needs of working people.
3. **People over profit.** An emphasis on the negative effects of wealth inequality for working people and a call for a redistribution of wealth.
4. **The economy doesn't reflect our values.** An emphasis on how the current economy violates principles of fairness and a call for restructuring the economy to better align with these values.

In terms of theme prevalence, among participants who saw short messages, approximately 70% of their responses were coded into Theme 1, *The economy isn't working*, and approximately 20% of their responses were coded as "Other," either because their response did not fit into one of the four main themes or it was uninterpretable. A different pattern emerged among participants who saw long messages: Their responses were more evenly distributed across themes. For instance, for participants who saw long messages, approximately 30% of their responses were coded as Theme 1, about 30% of their responses were coded into Theme 3, *People over profit*, and about 20% of their responses were coded as "Other." For our experiments, we used a refined version of the short message.

# Experimental Surveys

After analyzing the pilot frames, FrameWorks researchers developed and refined frames to bring forward for testing in the survey experiment. Between December 2024 and July 2025, we fielded three online experimental surveys involving a total sample of 9,549 adults in the United States (Wave 1:  $N = 3,786$ ; Wave 2:  $N = 3,963$ ; Wave 3:  $N = 1,800$ ) to test the effectiveness of frames on shifting public understanding, attitudes, and support for programs and policies on a range of progressive issues. Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, sex, race/ethnicity, household income, education level, and political party affiliation. See Table 3 for more information about the sample composition for each experiment. Data were not weighted.

**Table 3<sup>2</sup>: Waves 1-3 Survey Demographic Information**

Variable	Level	Wave 1 (%)	Wave 2 (%)	Wave 3 (%)
<i><b>Gender</b></i>	Male	49	49	50
	Female	51	51	50
	Nonbinary/other	< 1	< 1	< 1
<i><b>Age</b></i>	18–24	11	11	9
	25–34	15	16	17
	35–44	20	19	20
	45–59	24	25	26
	60+	29	28	29
<i><b>Income</b></i>	\$0–\$24,999	17	15	15
	\$25,000–\$49,999	22	20	20
	\$50,000–\$99,999	32	31	32
	\$100,000–\$149,999	15	16	18
	\$150,000 or more	14	17	16
<i><b>Education</b></i>	High school diploma or less	29	30	29
	Some college or Associate degree	28	27	27
	Bachelor's degree	26	26	27
	Graduate or professional degree	17	18	17

<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>	Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic/Latine)	45	48	44
	Hispanic or Latine	17	16	17
	Black/African American	17	16	17
	Asian	17	16	17
	American Indian/Alaska Native	1	1	1
	Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	< 1	< 1	< 1
	Other/biracial or multiracial	2	2	5
	Middle Eastern/North African/Southwest Asian <sup>3</sup>	< 1	< 1	< 1
<b>Political Party</b>	Democrat	42	41	42
	Republican	33	33	32
	Independent	21	22	22
	Other	4	3	4
<b>Party Leaning</b>	Closer to the Republican Party	23	23	24
	Closer to the Democratic Party	28	29	31
	Neither	49	38	45

Participant recruitment and survey hosting was completed by Dynata. Participants were recruited from some combination of the following sources: proprietary loyalty panels, open invitation, or integrated channels that recruit from partnerships with external sources, such as publishers or social networks. All participants opted-in to complete the survey. Participants with Dynata earn points for completing surveys, which they can then exchange for various rewards. These rewards vary by panel and recruitment method but may include things such as airline miles or gift cards.

Participants with Dynata are required to verify their identity at multiple points during survey enrollment and routing. Dynata uses various methods, such as third-party validation and digital fingerprinting, to detect fraud, identify bots, and monitor and detect suspicious activity from participants.

Participants were not allowed to complete the survey more than once. Participants who did not fully complete the survey were removed from the data and were not paid. In addition, participant data was removed if they completed the survey within one-third of the median survey time, if they straight-lined, or if they provided nonsensical responses to the open-ended questions included in the survey.

After providing consent to participate, participants were randomly assigned to one of several experimental conditions. All frame treatments paired a value with an issue. All tested frames can be found in Appendix A. Each experiment also included a null control condition. Participants assigned to these conditions did not read any message, instead moving immediately to the survey questions.

Participants assigned to an experimental condition were asked to read a short message, which they were required to view for at least 30 seconds, before answering a series of survey questions. These questions were designed to measure specific outcomes of interest. Each battery consisted of multiple questions, which were primarily measured using Likert-type items with five- or seven-point response scales. To prevent order effects, the order of batteries shown to participants was randomized, and all survey items within each battery were also randomized. Halfway through the survey items, participants assigned to an experimental condition were re-primed with the message they read at the beginning of the survey. They were required to view the message for at least 20 seconds before continuing with the survey questions. Open-ended questions requiring free-text answers were also included in the survey but were not analyzed.

Prior to any inferential analysis, we conducted a series of randomization checks. Chi-square analysis showed that participants' education level was not evenly distributed across conditions in Wave 1. Hence, in the Wave 1 multiple regression analyses, we controlled for education level to hold constant any effect that it might have on outcomes.<sup>4</sup> In Waves 2 and 3, chi-square analyses indicated that all target demographics were evenly distributed across conditions. The final survey items from the experiments can be found in Appendix B.

Exploratory factor analysis with oblique promax rotation was used to determine the psychometric quality of each battery. Items with rotated factor loadings below  $|\mathbf{.50}|$  were dropped from each battery. For scales that had been previously tested, we conducted a series of confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) to test the expected dimensionality of our outcome scales. Survey items were specified to load onto their intended factors, with correlations among factors estimated freely using the marker method approach. We used Maximum Likelihood Estimation with Robust Standard Errors (MLR) to account for potential deviations from normality and model misspecifications. For model fit evaluation, we adopted an inclusive approach that considered multiple fit indices. Recognizing that chi-square is overly sensitive to sample size and minor model misspecifications, we used three approximate fit indices: the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)<sup>5</sup>, with thresholds of  $< .050$  for close fit and  $< .080$  for reasonable fit; the Comparative Fit Index (CFI)<sup>6</sup>; and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)<sup>5</sup>, with thresholds of  $> .900$  for acceptable fit and  $> .950$  for excellent fit.

After concluding psychometric testing, Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) was used to assess internal consistency among the items in each battery. Given that there are various heuristics for determining acceptable internal consistency, we determined that batteries with internal consistency scores approaching .60 or above would be considered acceptable.<sup>7</sup> Internal consistency scores for each battery can be found in Appendix B. After assessing internal consistency, items within each battery were combined into composite scores that indicated participants' average level of agreement with the statements that articulate the core assumptions of each mindset, attitude, or opinion. All composites have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong disagreement with the statement. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong agreement with the statement.

After conducting the preliminary analyses described above, we used multiple regression analysis to determine whether there were significant differences in outcome endorsement between each of the experimental frame conditions and the control condition. A threshold of  $p < .05$  was used to determine whether the experimental frame conditions had any significant effects. Significant differences were understood as evidence that a term influenced a particular outcome (e.g., collective efficacy). We also consider  $p < .10$  to determine whether the experimental frame conditions had any marginal effects. Though we don't typically make recommendations on marginal effects, we do consider these effects as part of a holistic approach to understanding broader patterns across results. Here we provide an example to illustrate how regression results were interpreted to inform the report. In Table 4 we provide the coefficient for the control group on designed thinking about the economy as well as the coefficient for the *unfair distribution of power in the economy* condition on designed thinking about the economy. The coefficient of 66.93 indicates that, when placed on a scale from 0–100, participants in the control condition scored an average of 66.93 on designed thinking about the economy. The coefficient of 4.96 indicates that participants in the unfair distribution of power in the economy condition scored an average of 71.89 ( $66.93 + 4.96$ ) on designed thinking about the economy. The p-value of  $< .05$  indicates that the coefficient for the unfair distribution of power in the economy condition is significantly different—in this case, significantly higher—than the coefficient of the control condition.

**Table 4: Framing Effect on Designed Thinking About the Economy**

***Designed Thinking About the Economy***

Condition	Coefficient (difference from control)	p-value
<i>Control</i>	66.93	
<i>Unfair Distribution of Power in the Economy Condition</i>	+ 4.96	<.001

As with all research, it is important to remember that results are based on a sample of the population, not the entire population. As such, all results are subject to margins of error.

## APPENDIX A:

# Tested Framing Strategies

## Survey Experiment

### Pilot

#### Short Message and Negative Impacts

Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and reflect our values. But, right now, that isn't the case, and it's hard for many of us to live well. Decades of public policies have created vast inequalities of wealth and power, resulting in too many of us struggling to make ends meet. We need to redesign the economy so it delivers what we care about.

#### Long Message and Negative Impacts

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and reflect our values. But, right now, that isn't the case and it is hard for many of us to live well. Decades of public policies have created vast inequalities of wealth and power, resulting in too many of us struggling to make ends meet. We need to redesign the economy so it delivers what we care about. That means implementing public policies that can change how our economy is structured—policies that break up big monopolies, redistribute wealth, and shape markets to put people over profit.

#### Short Message and Positive Impacts

Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and reflect our values. But, right now, that isn't the case, and it's hard for many of us to live well. We need to redesign the economy so it delivers what we care about. If we change how we structure the economy, we can raise standards of living for everyone and increase access to the opportunities and public services that people want and need.

#### Long Message and Positive Impacts

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and reflect our values. But, right now, that isn't the case and it is hard for many of us to live well. We need to redesign the economy so it delivers what we care about. That means implementing public policies that can change how our economy is structured—policies that break up big monopolies, redistribute wealth, and shape markets to put people over profit. If we change how we structure the economy, we can raise standards of living for everyone and increase access to the opportunities and public services that people want and need.

## Wave 1

### **The Economy Can Be Designed to Free Us All from Domination**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one should have a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and enable our freedom. But, right now, that isn't the case, and it's hard for many of us to be free from the control and influence of the more powerful.

If we want to be free from domination, we need to be able to set our own terms in the workplace through unions, so that large corporations can't dictate how we work. We need to strengthen institutions and laws so that we are free from discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing, so that no one is at the mercy of corrupt landlords. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—are free from domination.

### **The Economy Can Be Designed So We Are All Free to Thrive**

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should be able to develop and reach our full potential.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and enable our freedom. But, right now, that isn't the case, and many of us aren't free to live well.

If we want the freedom to thrive, we need to be able to set our terms in the workplace through unions. We need to strengthen institutions and laws so that we aren't held back by discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing, so that people have the healthy conditions they need to be well. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—can flourish.

### **The Economy Can Be Designed to Give All of Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom. This means each of us should be able to choose how we live, work, vote, and raise a family, without constraint. But freedom can only exist if society makes the right resources and opportunities available to everyone.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and enable our freedom. But, right now, that isn't the case, and it's hard for many of us to freely do as we choose.

If we want to be free, we need laws and public funding that can help make that freedom real and available for everyone. We need an economy that protects workers to set their own terms in the workplace through unions. We need strong laws and institutions that can free us from discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing, so we are free to live in a decent home. With changes to how we structure our economy, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—can make genuine, free choices in our lives.



### **Racial Justice Can Free Us All from Domination**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one should have a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other—whatever their racial identity.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable everyone's freedom and not advantage one group of people over any other. But, right now, racism is designed into society—from housing to health care—making it hard for communities of color to be truly free from the controlling influences of the more powerful.

If we want to be free from domination, we need to be able to organize across race and set our own terms through unions, so that large corporations can't dictate how we work. We need to strengthen institutions and laws so that we are free from racist discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing for communities of color, so that no one is at the mercy of corrupt landlords. With these kinds of changes, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our race—are free from domination.

### **Racial Justice Can Give Us All the Freedom to Thrive**

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should be able to develop and reach our full potential, whatever our racial identity.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable everyone's freedom and not advantage one group of people over any other. But, right now, racism is designed into society—from housing to health care—making it hard for communities of color to be truly free to live well.

If we want to be free to thrive, we need to be able to organize across race and set our own terms in the workplace through unions. We need to strengthen institutions and laws so that people aren't held back by racist discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing for communities of color, so that everyone has the healthy conditions they need to be well. With these kinds of changes, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our race—can flourish.

### **Racial Justice Can Give All of Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom. This means each of us should be able to choose how we live, work, vote, and raise a family, without constraint, whatever our racial identity. But freedom can only exist if society makes the right resources and opportunities available to everyone.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable our freedom and not advantage any one group of people over any other. But, right now, racism is designed into society—from housing to health care—making it hard for communities of color to be truly free to do as they choose.

If we want to be free, we need laws and public funding that can help make that freedom real and available for everyone. We need an economy that protects workers of all races to set their own terms in the workplace through unions. We need strong laws and institutions that can free us from racist

discrimination. We need better access to affordable and safe housing, so communities of color are free to live in decent homes. With changes to how we structure our society, we can raise standards of living for everyone and ensure that all of us—whatever our race—can make genuine, free choices in our lives.

### **We Can Work Together to Free Ourselves from Domination**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one should have a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. This is a key way we maintain freedom from the control and influence of the more powerful. But right now, it's hard for many of us to have a meaningful say, because the political system is designed to give some groups far more power than others.

If we want to be free from domination, we need a system that counts all votes equally and protects our freedom to demonstrate without retaliation. We need to reign in the power of large corporations and ultra-wealthy people so they can't sway big decisions in their own favor and against the public interest. We need to develop more options for citizen participation in local and national decisions so that we have a real say over our own lives. With these kinds of changes, we can create a political system where all of us—whatever our background, income, or race—are free from domination.

### **We Can Work Together So We All Have the Freedom to Thrive**

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should be able to develop and reach our full potential.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, such that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. This is a key way we exercise our freedom to advocate for what we need to thrive. But right now, it's hard for many of us to have a meaningful say, because the political system is designed to give some groups far more power than others.

If we want to be free to thrive, we need a system that counts all votes equally and protects our freedom to demonstrate. We need to reign in the power of large corporations and ultra-wealthy people so they can't sway big decisions in their own favor and against the public interest. We need to develop more options for citizen participation in local and national decisions, so that we get to decide how we live and thrive. With these kinds of changes, we can make this a political system where all of us—whatever our background, income, or race—can flourish.

### **We Can Work Together So All of Us Have Freedom Over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom. This means each of us should be able to choose how we live, work, vote, and raise a family, without constraint. But freedom can only exist if society makes the right resources and opportunities available to everyone.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, such that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. This is a key way we exercise our freedom to make important choices in our own lives. But right now, it's hard for many of us to have a meaningful say, because the political system is designed to give some groups far more power than others.

If we want to be free, we need laws and public funding that can help make that freedom real and available for everyone. We need a political system that counts all votes equally and protects our freedom to demonstrate. We need to reign in the power of large corporations and ultra-wealthy people so they can't sway big decisions in their own favor and against the public interest. We need to develop more options for citizen participation in local and national decisions, so that we are all free to make important choices about our own lives. When the political system is designed to give the people power, it means that all of us—whatever our background, income, or race—can be free.

### **Reproductive Justice Can Free Us All from Domination**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one should have a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable our freedom, not wield power over our lives. But right now, abortion bans are violating this freedom, because they allow other people to hold power over our bodies, our health, and our families.

If we want to be free from domination, we all need to be able to decide whether and how we have children, without fear of consequences. We need easy access to health care, including birth control and abortion, so that we can make decisions about what happens to our own bodies without interference from people in power. We need enough paid family leave for parents to be at home without worrying about how to pay their bills. We need healthy and safe houses to be able to raise children. With these kinds of changes, all of us—whatever our gender, sexuality, or background—can be free from domination.

### **Reproductive Justice Can Give Us All the Freedom to Thrive**

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should be able to develop and reach our full potential.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable our freedom, not hold us back from living well. But right now, abortion bans are violating this freedom, because they stop us from making the decisions about our bodies, health, and families that allow us to thrive.

If we want to be free to thrive, we all need to be able to make choices about whether and how we have children. We need easy access to health care—including birth control and abortion—that allows us to make decisions about how we want to be well in our own bodies and lives. We need enough paid family leave for parents to be at home without worrying about how to pay their bills. We need healthy and safe houses for the whole family to develop and grow. With these kinds of changes, all of us—whatever our gender, sexuality, or background—can flourish.

### **Reproductive Justice Can Give All of Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom. This means each of us should be able to choose how we live, work, vote, and raise a family, without constraint. But freedom can only exist if society makes the right resources and opportunities available to everyone.

The laws and policies we make determine how our society works and who it benefits. Our society should be designed to enable our freedom, not restrict the decisions we make about our own lives. But right now, abortion bans are violating this freedom, because they restrain the ability of individuals to make choices about their own bodies, healthcare and families.

If we want to be free, we need laws and public funding that can help make that freedom real and available for everyone. We all need to be able to make choices about whether and how we have children. We need laws that protect access to healthcare—including birth control and abortion, so that we can make our own choices about what happens to our bodies. We need enough paid family leave for parents to be at home without worrying about how to pay their bills. We need healthy and safe houses for families to live in. When society is designed along these lines, it means that all of us—whatever our gender, sexuality, or background—can be free.

## **Wave 2**

### **We Can Work Together to Design a Fair Economic System that Shares Power**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our economic system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, power must be shared in society, and everyone should have a fair say in policy decisions that affect their lives.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to share power, so that all of us have a say. But right now, that isn't the case. Our economy prioritizes a wealthy few so they have more options in their lives, like deciding what they do and where they live. But too many of us—and particularly those in low income communities and communities of color—don't have the power to make these decisions for ourselves. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair economy, we must redesign it so it's easier for people without power to have more say over the economy and their lives. That means giving people a fair chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. It means better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages. It means affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have more power over our own lives.

### **We Can Create a Fair Economic System That Responds to Our Needs**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our economic system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must recognize that everyone has different starting points and needs.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet us where we're at—regardless of where we start out. But right now, that isn't the case. Our economy prioritizes the desires of a wealthy few, making them richer and richer, while our needs are ignored. This means too many of us—and particularly those in low income communities or communities of color—aren't getting the resources and opportunities we need to do well. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair economy, we must redesign it so that our laws and policies are responsive to different people's needs, no matter where they start. That means giving people a fair chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. It means better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages. It means affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have fair access to what we need.

### **A Fair Economy Supports Us, Wherever We Live and Whatever Our Race**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our economic system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must ensure that the economic needs of all neighborhoods and communities are met. No-one should be treated unfairly because of where they live or the color of their skin.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs fairly, no matter what. But right now that isn't the case. Our economy only responds to the desires of a wealthy few, enriching their neighborhoods and communities, and ignoring our needs. This means too many of us—and particularly those in low- income communities and communities of color—are not getting the resources and opportunities we need because of where we live or who we are. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair economy, we must redesign it to work better across place and race. We need to give people in all neighborhoods a fair chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. It means better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages in all communities. It means affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation so that all communities are served well. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can ensure that all of us—wherever we live and whatever our race—have fair access to what we need.

### **We Can Design a Fair Economy That Gives Back to Us**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our economic system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must recognize that we all contribute to the economy we live in, and we deserve to be treated well in return.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to be mutually beneficial. We all help create the economy, and as

a result, the economy should play its part in supporting us. But right now this isn't the case. Our economy rewards a wealthy few, making them richer and richer, while the rest of us work hard and don't get the pay we deserve. And too many of us care for our families and neighbors, and contribute to our communities, but don't get the support we need from social policies. This is particularly true for low-income communities and communities of color. It isn't fair that we contribute to society, but don't benefit.

If we want a fair economy, we must redesign it so it starts giving back to us. That means giving people a fair chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. It means better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages. It means affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—benefit fairly.

### **We Can Create a Political System That Shares Power Fairly**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our political system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, power must be shared in society, and everyone should have a fair say in policy decisions that shape their lives.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. But right now, this isn't the case. Our political system prioritizes a wealthy few, allowing them to use money and influence to sway big decisions in their favor, without listening to the rest of us. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so our voices don't get heard at all. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair political system, we need to design one that makes it easier for people without power to have more say over what happens in their lives. We need to make it easier for people to vote and count all votes equally. We need to keep large corporations and the wealthy from influencing politics. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions, so that we get a fair seat at the table. With these kinds of changes, we can design a political system where all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have more power over our own lives.

### **We Can Create a Fair Political System That Responds to Our Needs**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our political system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must recognize that everyone has different starting points and needs.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. But right now, this isn't the case. Our political system prioritizes a wealthy few, allowing them to sway big decisions in their favor, ignoring our needs. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so our voices don't get heard at all. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair political system, we must redesign it so that our laws and policies are responsive to our needs. We need to make it easier for people to vote and count all votes equally. We need to keep large corporations and the wealthy from influencing politics. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions, so that we get a fair seat at the table. With these kinds of changes, we can design a political system that is responsive to our needs—whatever our background, income level, or race.

### **We Can Create a Fair Political System, Wherever We Live and Whatever Our Race**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our political system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must ensure that policy decisions consider the needs of all neighborhoods and communities. No one should be treated unfairly because of where they live or the color of their skin.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. But right now, this isn't the case. Our political system prioritizes a wealthy few, allowing them to sway big decisions in their favor, ignoring our needs. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so our voices don't get heard at all. This isn't fair.

If we want a political system that is fair across race and place, we need to redesign it so people from all neighborhoods can have their voices heard. We need to make it easier for people everywhere to vote, and we need to count all votes equally. We need to keep large corporations and the wealthy from influencing politics. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions, so that we get a fair seat at the table. With these kinds of changes, we can make this a political system where everyone's needs are fairly considered—wherever we live and whatever our race.

### **We Can Create a Fair Political System That Rewards the Contributions We Make**

Most of us believe in fairness. But our political system isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must recognize that we all contribute to the society we live in, and we deserve to be treated well in return.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. But right now, this isn't the case. Our political system rewards a wealthy few, allowing them to sway big decisions in their favor. But we all contribute to society—through work, caring for family or neighbors, or helping out in our communities. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so they don't get heard at all. It isn't fair that we contribute to society, but our voices aren't heard or respected.



If we want a fair political system, we must redesign it so it starts giving back to us. We need to make it easier for people to vote and count all votes equally. We need to keep large corporations and the wealthy from influencing politics. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions, so that we get a fair seat at the table. With these kinds of changes, we can design a political system where all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—benefit fairly.

### **Technology Can Be Designed to Benefit Us All More Fairly**

Most of us believe in fairness. But the way technology is developed and used isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, power must be shared in society, and everyone should have a fair say in how technology shapes their lives.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed to ensure that technology empowers people. But right now that isn't the case. A wealthy few are making huge profits from new tech. But they don't consider how those technologies affect the rest of us, or whether they benefit us at all. Too many of our communities—particularly low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech like biased crime prediction software and unfair banking algorithms. It isn't fair that we don't get a say over how these technologies affect us.

If we want fairness in society, we must design it so that people without power have a say over how technology affects their lives. We need to keep large tech corporations in check, so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech makes our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes to how we develop and use technology, all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have more say over how it shapes our lives.

### **Technology Can Be Designed Fairly, to Meet Our Needs**

Most of us believe in fairness. But the way technology is developed and used isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must be responsive to people's different starting points and needs.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed to ensure that technology is accessible and benefits us all. But right now that isn't the case. The benefits of new tech are hugely uneven. A wealthy few make huge profits from new technologies, while many of us struggle to access or use technology at all. And too many of our communities—particularly low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech like biased crime prediction software and unfair banking algorithms. When it comes to new technology, our needs aren't considered. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair society, we must design laws and policies to ensure that new technologies are developed in response to our needs. We need to keep large tech corporations in check so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech makes our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes to how we develop and use technology, all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have fair access to technology that meets our needs.



### **Technology Can Be Designed Fairly, to Benefit Us Wherever We Live and Whatever Our Race**

Most of us believe in fairness. But the way we develop and use technology isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must ensure that the technological needs of all neighborhoods and communities are met. No one should be treated unfairly because of where they live or the color of their skin.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed to ensure that technology fairly meets our needs. But right now this isn't the case. A wealthy few make huge profits from new tech. But many communities across the United States don't have access to basic technologies. And too many of our communities—particularly low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech like biased crime prediction software and unfair banking algorithms. This isn't fair.

If we want fairness across place and race, we must design laws and policies to ensure that technology is accessible and beneficial across all neighborhoods. We need to keep large tech corporations in check, so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech makes our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes, we can ensure that technology is developed and used to fairly meet everyone's needs – wherever we live or whatever our race.

### **Technology Can Be Designed Fairly to Benefit Us All, However We Contribute to Society**

Most of us believe in fairness. But the way we develop and use technology isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, we must recognize that we all contribute to the society we live in, and we deserve to be treated well by society in return.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed to ensure that technology benefits us all fairly, because we all play a part in enabling technological advancements. But right now, this isn't the case. A wealthy few are rewarded with huge profits from new technologies. But the rest of us work hard, care for our families and neighbors, and contribute to our communities. We help create the society that produces these innovations, but we don't benefit from them. And too many of our communities—particularly low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech like biased crime prediction software and unfair banking algorithms. This isn't fair.

If we want a fair society, we must design laws and policies to ensure that technology gives back fairly to all of us. We need to keep large tech corporations in check, so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech makes our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes to how we develop and use technology, all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—benefit fairly.

### **Technology Can Be Designed to Give All of Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one should have a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other. But right now, big tech dominates our society, controlling it without our permission.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed so that technology enables our freedom. But right now, this isn't the case. A wealthy few make huge profits from new technology, even if it hurts people. Too many of our communities—particularly low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech like biased crime prediction software and unfair banking algorithms. With unchecked power, the wealthy few use tech like AI to control and influence society, rather than using it to ensure our freedom.

If we want to be free from domination, we need to design laws and policies that restrict this type of power. We need to keep large tech corporations in check, so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech like AI can make our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes to how we develop and use technology, all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—can be free from domination.

## **Wave 3**

### **We Need an Economy That Creates Stability**

Most of us believe in the importance of stability. But because of how our economy is designed, many of us can't support ourselves and our families. If we want stable lives, we must ensure that our economy reliably delivers what we all need to live well.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to provide stability, so that we can all plan our lives and have what we need to thrive. But right now that isn't the case. Our economy prioritizes a wealthy few. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—are not getting the resources and opportunities we need. This creates uncertainty and disruption. And it puts us at the whim of a powerful few.

We must redesign our economy so we can all be stable and live well. That means giving everyone the chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. It means our communities have better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages. It means affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation. With these kinds of changes, we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have stability.

### **We Need a Political System That Creates Stability**

Most of us believe in the importance of stability. But because of how our political system works, many of us are left out of important decisions and experience uncertainty and disruption. If we want stability, we must have a meaningful say in the big decisions that affect us.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively. Having a say in major decisions would give us the stability we need to plan our lives and thrive. But right now this isn't the case. Our political system prioritizes the wealthy few, allowing them to sway big decisions in their favor. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so our voices don't get heard at all. This means we're at the whim of a powerful few.

We must redesign our political system to listen to us and deliver the stability we need. We need to make it easier for people to vote, and count all votes equally. We need to keep large corporations and the wealthy from influencing politics. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions. When we participate in politics, we can get what we need, even if that means making big changes. We can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have stability.

### **We Need to Use Technology to Create Stability in Society**

Most of us believe in the importance of stability. But the way we develop and use technology creates uncertainty and disruption to how we live and work. If we want stable lives, we must ensure that technology is helping to deliver what we all need to live well.

The laws and policies we make determine how new technologies are developed and who they benefit. These laws should be designed to ensure that technology benefits us all. But right now that isn't the case. The benefits of new tech are hugely uneven. A wealthy few make huge profits from new technologies that disrupt how we live and how we work. And too many of us—particularly in low-income communities and communities of color—are harmed by tech, like biased crime prediction software and banking algorithms. This means we're at the whim of a powerful few.

We need new technologies to deliver for us, rather than upending our lives. We need to keep large tech corporations in check, so they are doing us good rather than harm. We need to protect workers, so that new tech makes our jobs better, instead of replacing them. And we need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. With these kinds of changes we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—have stability.

### **Our Political System Can Be Designed to Give Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one has a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other. But right now, a powerful and wealthy few dominate our society, controlling it without our permission.

The laws and policies we make determine how our political system works and who it benefits. We should be able to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decision can be made without the people's participation. But right now, this isn't the case. The wealthy control our political system, swaying big decisions in their favor. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—face obstacles to voting, so our voices don't get heard. With unchecked power, the wealthy few take away our voice and our freedom.

If we want to be free, we need to design laws and policies that restrict the power of the wealthy few. We need to keep large corporations from dominating politics. We need to make it easier for people everywhere to vote, and we need to count all votes equally. We need to develop more options for people to participate in local and national decisions. With these kinds of changes, we can create a political system where all of us—whatever our background, income, or race—are free from domination.

### **Our Economy Can Be Designed to Give All of Us Freedom over Our Own Lives**

Most of us believe in freedom from any form of domination. This means that no one has a natural right to rule over someone else, and no group of people is above or below any other. But right now, a powerful and wealthy few dominate our economy, controlling it without our permission.

The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works and who it benefits. Our economy should be designed to meet our needs and enable our freedom. But, right now, that isn't the case. A wealthy few have designed the economy in their favor. And too many of us—particularly those in low-income communities and communities of color—are not getting the resources and opportunities we need. With unchecked power, the wealthy few hoard wealth and limit our freedom.

If we want to be free from domination, we need to design laws and policies that restrict the power of the wealthy few. We need to keep large corporations in check, and give everyone a chance to weigh in on policy decisions about the economy. We all need better access to resources, opportunities, and living wages. We need affordable and safe housing, and better roads and public transportation in all communities. With these kinds of changes to the economy, we can ensure that all of us—whatever our background, income level, or race—can be free from domination.

## APPENDIX B

# Survey Items

### Survey Items from Pilot

#### Open-Ended Question:

1. Please tell us your top two takeaways from the text you just read.

#### Designed Economy $\alpha = 0.88$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works.
2. Policy choices determine how the economy works and who it benefits.
3. Economic inequality exists because of choices our society has made about how our economy will work.
4. Our laws and policies determine how much power corporations have.
5. Economic inequality is the result of the laws and policies our government has put into place.
6. Our laws and policies are the reason why some people are much wealthier than others.

#### Market Naturalism $\alpha = 0.85$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. Who benefits in our economy is determined naturally by the free market.
2. The free market just works well, naturally.
3. Our economy naturally generates wealth.
4. If the economy is left to work on its own, it will naturally produce what we need.

#### Efficacy for Systems Change $\alpha = 0.93$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. It is realistic to think that we, as a society, can change for the better.
2. I am optimistic that we, as a society, can take steps to repair what isn't working in our society right now.
3. I am confident that we, as a society, can change our political system for the better.
4. I am confident that we, as a society, can change our economic system for the better.

**Fatalism  $\alpha = 0.89$** 

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

1. No matter what we do, our society's biggest problems can't be fixed.
2. The economic problems we face are too big for us to overcome.
3. Our society has so many problems, there's no way for us to solve them all.
4. We will never be able to agree on how to fix the problems with our political system.
5. It's impossible for us to come together and fix our economy's biggest problems.

**Zero-Sum Thinking/Win-Win Thinking—Climate or Economy  $\alpha = 0.89$** 

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

1. Policies to address climate change will harm the economy by taking away jobs.
2. Prioritizing solutions to reduce climate change will harm economic development.
3. What is good for the environment is bad for the economy.
4. It is possible to address climate change without hurting the economy. (reverse)
5. Policies that work to reduce climate change will also generate jobs. (reverse)
6. What is good for the environment is good for the economy. (reverse)

**Support for Policies  $\alpha = 0.88$** 

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

1. A federal "green jobs" program that would train workers for the skills needed in environmentally sustainable industries, such as renewable energy production.
2. Retire all U.S. coal-fired power plants and increase our use of wind and solar energy.
3. Legalize abortion in most circumstances.
4. Increase access to abortion in all 50 states.
5. Expand the number of polling places on American Indian reservations.
6. Get rid of the Electoral College so the presidential candidate with the most votes wins.
7. Automatically register all eligible citizens to vote.
8. Abolish the United States Senate so we only have the House of Representatives.

### Sample Survey Items from Experimental Waves 1–3

Most of the dependent variables across the three experimental surveys were the same. Some dependent variables were included in specific waves, and that is noted below in those dependent variable titles.

#### Designed Economy $\alpha = 0.85\text{--}0.87$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. The laws and policies we make determine how our economy works.
2. Policy choices determine how the economy works and who it benefits.
3. Economic inequality exists because of choices our society has made about how our economy will work.
4. Our laws and policies determine how much power corporations have.
5. Economic inequality is the result of the laws and policies our government has put into place.
6. Our laws and policies are the reason why some people are much wealthier than others.

#### Market Naturalism<sup>8</sup> $\alpha = 0.82\text{--}0.85$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. Who benefits in our economy is determined naturally by the free market.
2. The free market just works well, naturally.
3. Our economy naturally generates wealth.
4. If the economy is left to work on its own, it will naturally produce what we need.

#### Efficacy for Systems Change $\alpha = 0.89\text{--}0.90$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”*]

1. It is realistic to think that we, as a society, can change for the better.
2. I am optimistic that we, as a society, can take steps to repair what isn't working in our society right now.
3. I am confident that we, as a society, can change our political system for the better.
4. I am confident that we, as a society, can change our economic system for the better.

**Wave 1 Zero-Sum Thinking/Win-Win<sup>9</sup>  $\alpha$  = 0.89–0.90**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. When one group in society receives resources, this necessarily takes away from other groups.
2. When one group in society receives help, it necessarily harms other groups.
3. When one group in society is granted more rights, this necessarily means that other groups have less rights.
4. It is possible to give resources to one group in society without taking away from other groups. (reverse)
5. It is possible to provide help to one group within society without harming other groups. (reverse)

**Wave 1 Zero-Sum Climate and Economy  $\alpha$  = 0.81**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. Policies to address climate change will harm the economy by taking away jobs.
2. Prioritizing solutions to reduce climate change will harm economic development.
3. What is good for the environment is bad for the economy.
4. It is possible to address climate change without hurting the economy. (reverse)
5. Policies that work to reduce climate change will also generate jobs. (reverse)
6. What is good for the environment is good for the economy. (reverse)

**Popular Model of Democracy  $\alpha$  = 0.79–0.81**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. Democracy is government by the people.
2. Democracy is a political system in which the government does what the majority of people want.
3. In a democracy, decisions reflect the will of the people.



### **Systemic Model of Racism $\alpha = 0.93\text{--}0.94$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. Racial discrimination is the result of how our laws, policies, and institutions work.
2. Discriminatory policies continue to disadvantage Black people today.
3. Black people are affected by discriminatory laws and policies.
4. Though we have outlawed some racist practices like slavery, Black people are still affected by the lingering effects of these practices.

### **Pathologizing Black Culture $\alpha = 0.82\text{--}0.84$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. Black inner-city communities would do better if they took responsibility for their lives rather than relying on welfare.
2. The reason why poor urban communities are poor is because they don’t value hard work.
3. If poor families want to do better, they should stop having children that they cannot afford.

### **Self-Makingness/Meritocracy<sup>10</sup> $\alpha = 0.81\text{--}0.83$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. People who are financially successful are well-off because of their own talent and/or hard work.
2. Anyone who works hard enough can get ahead in American society.
3. People who work hard will naturally be more successful.

### **Limited Government $\alpha = 0.76$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. Government should limit itself to protecting human health and safety, and shouldn’t be in the business of providing for people’s other needs.
2. Receiving benefits from the government, like subsidized housing or food, makes people less likely to get a job or work hard.
3. Government should be hands-off when it comes to the economy.
4. Government should play a limited role in our lives.

### **Anti-Semitism $\alpha = 0.87-0.88$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

1. Jewish business people go out of their way to hire other Jews.
2. Jewish people have too much power in the business world.
3. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.
4. Jewish people chase money more than other people do.

### **Waves 2 and 3 Frame Agreement**

1. In one or two sentences, please summarize what you have just read.<sup>11</sup>
2. Do you generally agree or disagree with what you read? [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

### **Waves 2 and 3 Moral Expansiveness**

When you think of the following people, to what extent are you personally concerned about their wellbeing? [five-point Likert scale: "Not at all concerned"; "A little concerned"; "Moderately concerned"; "Concerned"; "Very concerned"]

1. A family member
2. A close friend
3. An American citizen
4. Somebody in your neighborhood
5. A coworker
6. An immigrant
7. Somebody with different religious beliefs
8. Somebody with different political views

### **Waves 2 and 3 Collective Agency<sup>12</sup> $\alpha = 0.89-0.90$**

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree"; "Disagree"; "Somewhat disagree"; "Neither disagree nor agree"; "Somewhat agree"; "Agree"; "Strongly agree"]

1. I can cooperate with others who want social change in order to advance our shared goals.
2. I enjoy contributing to collective efforts on social issues I care about.
3. I feel like I can personally help to change our public institutions by working with the people around me.
4. I see value in contributing to large, collective efforts to change our systems and institutions.
5. I am willing to work with others to promote major societal changes because it is the right thing to do.

### Wave 3 Support for Systemic Change $\alpha = 0.86$

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree”; “Disagree”; “Somewhat disagree”; “Neither disagree nor agree”; “Somewhat agree”; “Agree”; “Strongly agree”]

1. In general, our political system works as it should. (reverse)
2. Our economic system works well as it is. (reverse)
3. We don’t need to change anything about our society. (reverse)
4. Our society needs to be radically restructured.
5. We need to change our economic system to make things more equal.
6. We need to make major changes to our political system.
7. If we made fundamental changes to our constitution, our political system would work better for everyone.
8. If we made major changes to our economic system, everyone could have what they need to do well.
9. If we gave people the resources they needed, it would improve our whole society.

### Wave 1 Policy Support

How much do you favor or oppose the following policies? [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly oppose”; “Oppose”; “Somewhat oppose”; “Neither favor nor oppose”; “Somewhat favor”; “Favor”; “Strongly favor”]

1. Creating a federal program that would train workers for the skills needed in environmentally sustainable industries, such as renewable energy production.
2. Retiring all U.S. coal-fired power plants and increasing our use of wind and solar energy
3. Legalizing abortion in most circumstances.
4. Increasing access to abortion in all 50 states.
5. Expanding the child tax credit so that families get direct monthly payments, up to \$3,600 per child, per year.
6. Applying a 70% tax rate to reportable income over \$10 million a year.
7. Changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to form or join a union.
8. Implementing a federal jobs program that guarantees public jobs for anyone who wants to work.
9. Creating a new system of government-provided child care for all families.
10. Doubling federal Medicaid funding for home and community-based care services.

### **Waves 2 and 3 Policy Support**

How much do you favor or oppose the following policies? [*seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly oppose”; “Oppose”; “Somewhat oppose”; “Neither favor nor oppose”; “Somewhat favor”; “Favor”; “Strongly favor”*]

1. Expand federal funding for programs that provide free skills training for young adults ages 16–24.
2. Raise the federal minimum wage to \$20 per hour.
3. Prioritize infrastructure investment for better roads and public transportation in underserved communities.
4. Make all state and federal elections publicly funded, meaning that all candidates get public funding to run their campaigns.
5. Require elected senators and representatives to hold quarterly town halls with their constituents.
6. Prohibit “partisan gerrymandering,” the act of changing electoral districts to give an advantage to a particular political party.
7. Allow citizens to sue tech companies whose products cause harm.
8. Increase funding for new technologies that make people’s jobs safer and easier.
9. Enforce bans on racially biased AI products, like crime prediction programs that target low-income communities and communities of color.<sup>13</sup>

## APPENDIX C

# Quantitative Data Supporting Recommendations

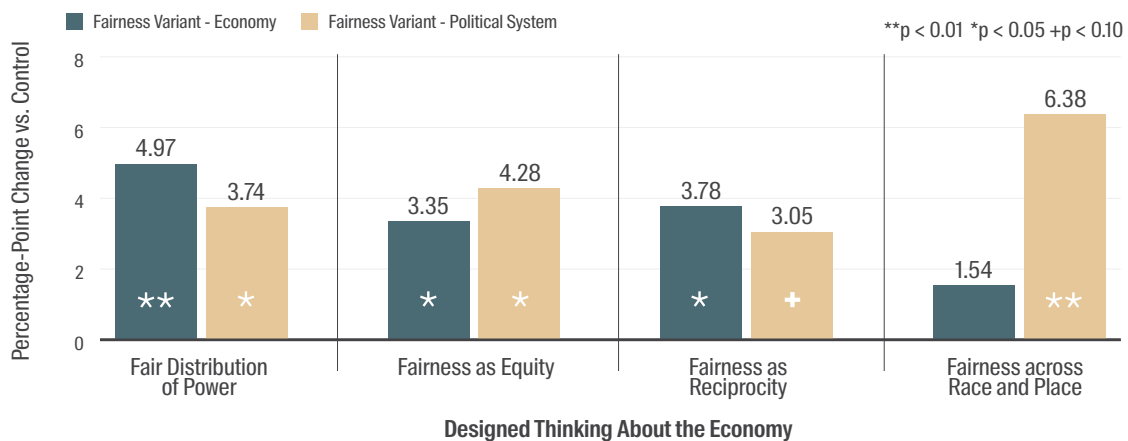
## Framing Strategies for Fairness

### RECOMMENDATION #1

***Foreground system design by talking about how systems are created and maintained through laws and policies.***

In the experimental survey, we tested a range of different fairness variants, paired with different issues. All of these frames stressed system design, and we found a general pattern that they increased people's endorsement of a mindset that the economy is designed, as well as support for a range of progressive policies. This indicates that foregrounding systems in fairness frames can boost systemic thinking. In Figure 1 we illustrate this movement on “economy is designed” with four variants of fairness when paired with the issue of the economy or the political system.

**Figure 1: To Boost *Designed Thinking about the Economy*, Talk about System Design across Variants of Fairness**

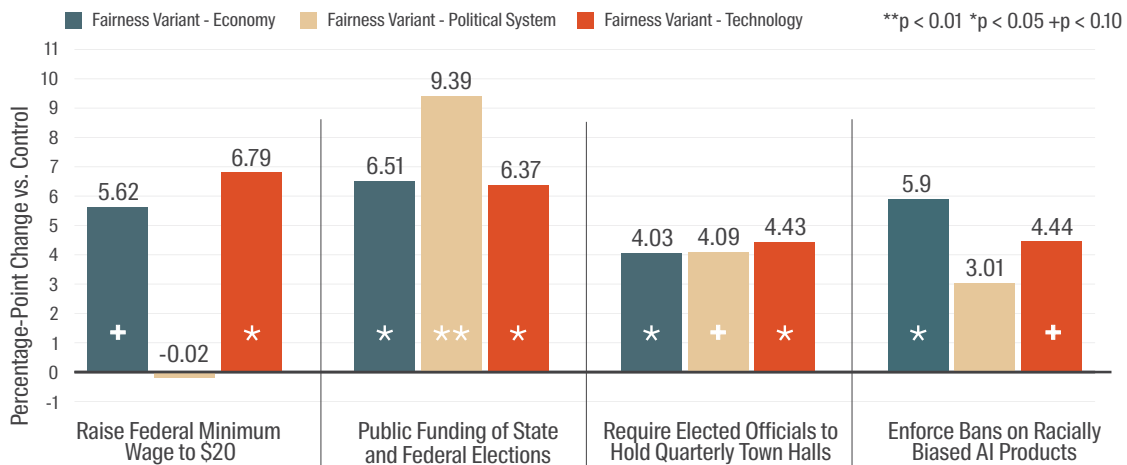


## RECOMMENDATION #2

### ***Talk about power in fairness frames—in terms of who has too much power and who should have more.***

In the experimental survey, *Fair Distribution of Power* helped boost support for a range of progressive policies, like increasing the minimum wage, prohibiting gerrymandering, and enforcing bans on racist AI products. This variant of fairness focused on where wealth and power goes in society and which groups are unfairly benefiting in the system. It was most effective at boosting policy support when it was paired with solutions that materially improve people's lives. For instance, it worked well in connection with the economy when we included solutions like living wages and affordable housing, and in connection with technology when we called for the need to make technology affordable and accessible for everyone. We didn't see as much good policy movement when using *Fair Distribution of Power* to talk about the political system, where the solutions focused more on participation in the process of democracy than material outcomes for people, as illustrated in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: To Boost Policy Support, Talk about *Fair Distribution of Power* in Connection with the Economy, Political System, and Technology**

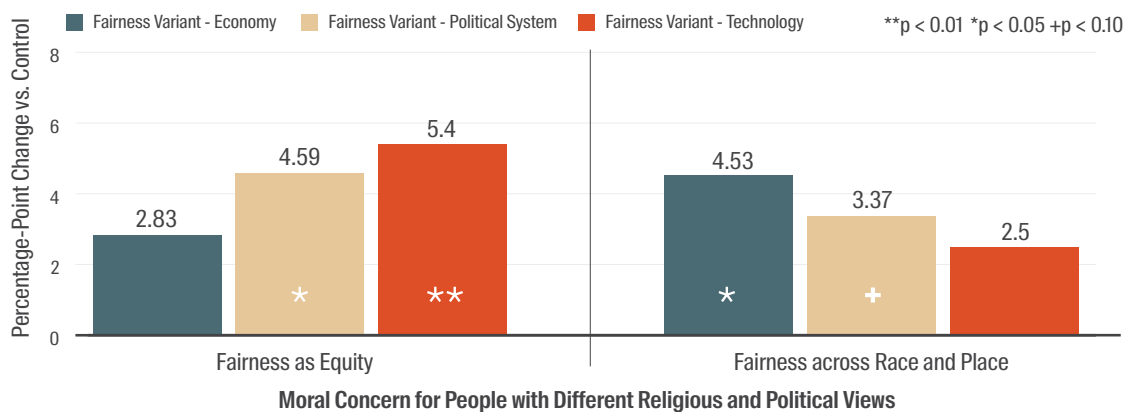


### RECOMMENDATION #3

***When using fairness to talk about inequitable race and class impacts, include an explanation of the causes of inequity.***

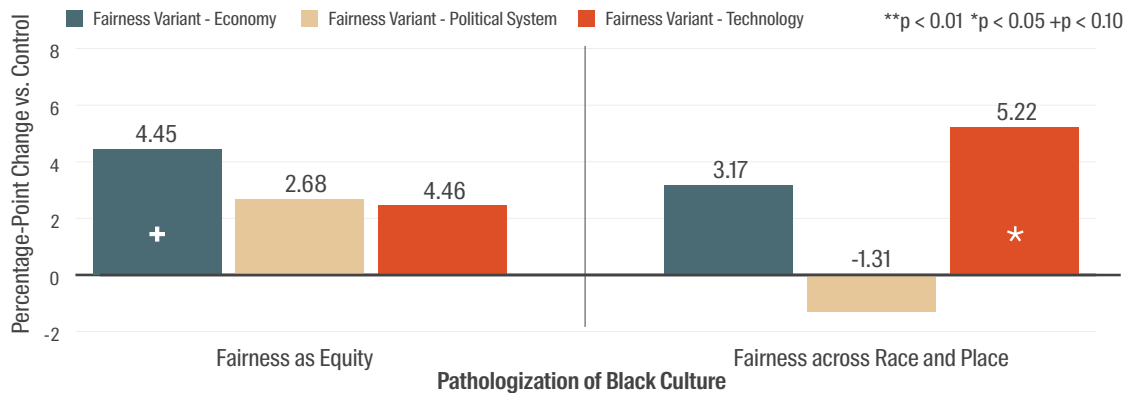
In the experimental survey, we found that the two variants of *Fairness* that emphasized inequities between groups—*Fairness as Equity* and *Fairness across Race and Place*—were both powerful in moving thinking. Like other variants of *Fairness*, they could boost the mindset that the economy is designed, extend moral concern to immigrants, and (sometimes) shift thinking helpfully on race. In Figure 3 we illustrate how these variants helped expand moral concern when paired with the issues of economy or the political system. (See Recommendation #1 for movement on the mindset that the economy is designed.)

**Figure 3: To Boost Concern for People with Different Religious and Political Views, Talk about the Value of *Fairness as Equity* and *Fairness across Race and Place* across Issues**



However, both of these variants of *Fairness* carried a small risk of cueing stereotypes that blamed Black communities for their experiences of racism. This risk depended on which issues these variants were paired with and was more present in connection with technology, as we show in Figure 4.

**Figure 4: When the Roots of Inequities Are Not Explained, *Fairness as Equity* and *Fairness across Race and Place* Can Increase *Pathologization of Black Culture***



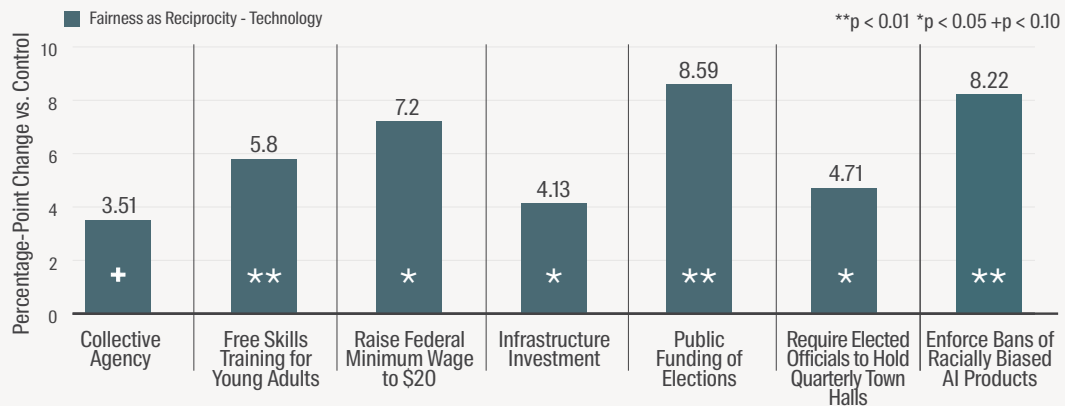
Our past research on equity shows that explanation of the causes of inequities can go a long way to mitigating this risk. For instance, in [Framing Racial Equity in Adolescence](#), we recommend avoiding talking about inequities without naming the cause. Similarly, in the [Place Matters](#) project, we recommend using *Fairness across Places* alongside explicit and consistent communication about the causal effects of racism on place (e.g., “Opportunities and risks are unfairly distributed across our city due to structural racism”) and including concrete examples of what is unfair (e.g., linking policy choices and lack of investment to adversity in Black and Latine communities, such as lead contamination in homes). Instead of simply *stating* that inequities exist, we should explain *how* these inequities come from policy decisions and system design.



## SPOTLIGHT ON FAIRNESS AS RECIPROCITY: A HELPFUL WAY TO MAKE THE CASE THAT WE ALL DESERVE GOOD TREATMENT IN SOCIETY.

In our survey experiment, *Fairness as Reciprocity* worked well across issues to encourage designed thinking about the economy (see Recommendation #1), increase moral concern for out-groups, and boost policy support. It worked particularly well on the issue of technology, building support for a wide range of policies connected to AI, labor, and political reform, and importantly, boosting the belief that we can collectively change systems – as shown in Figure 5

**Figure 5: To Boost Support for Progressive Policies and Increase Collective Agency, Talk about *Fairness as Reciprocity* in Connection with Technology**



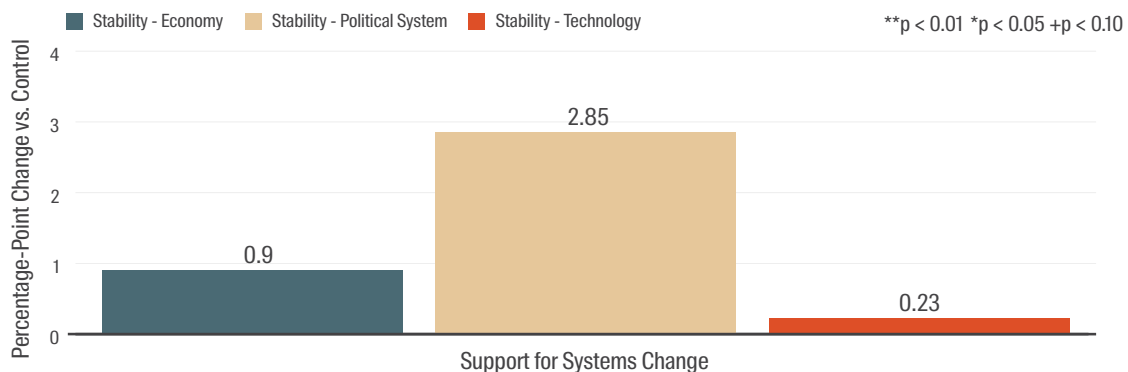
# Framing Strategies for *Stability*

## RECOMMENDATION #1:

### ***Frame Stability as being the goal of system change (rather than a reason to avoid change).***

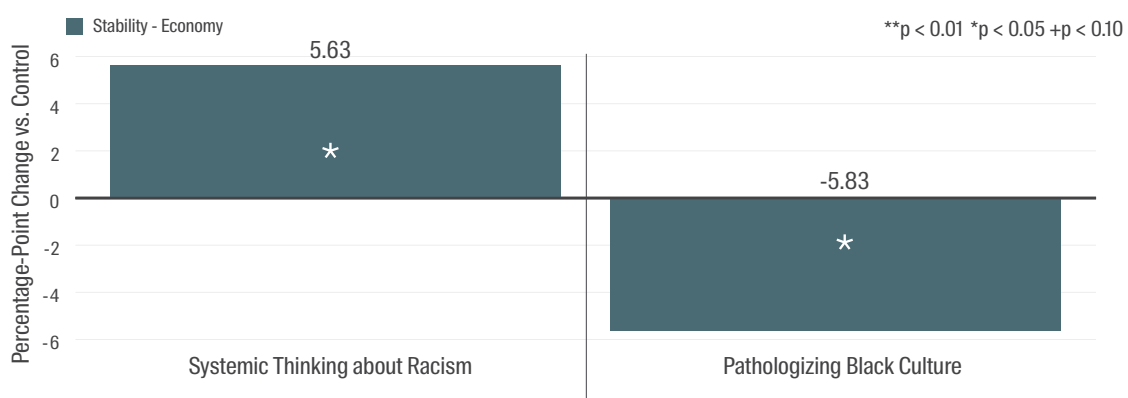
In the experimental survey, our *Stability* frames always emphasized the need for change through system redesign. When doing this, we avoided cuing unhelpful mindsets, like the idea that we don't need to make change in society. Figure 6 shows that *Stability* didn't backfire on support for systchange, and in connection with the political system, it modestly boosted this way of thinking, although this increase was not statistically significant in our sample.

**Figure 6: To Prevent Backfires on Support for Systems Change, Talk about *Stability* as Being the Goal of Change**



When using the value of *Stability* in connection with the political system, we also saw positive movement on key mindsets about race—boosting people's understanding of racism as a systemic problem and reducing the pathologization of Black culture.

**Figure 7: To Boost Systemic Thinking about Race and Reduce Pathologization of Black Culture, Talk about *Stability* in Connection with the Political System**

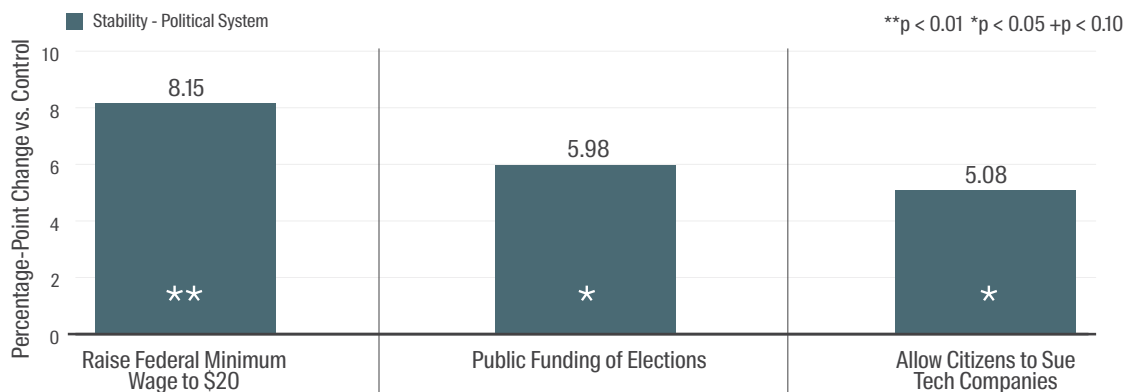


## RECOMMENDATION #2

### *Describe people's role in bringing about the changes needed to create Stability.*

In our experiment, when we paired *Stability* with the political system and talked about collective self-governance as the mechanism to change the system, we moved thinking across a number of variables. In addition to the productive movement on racism as a systemic problem and pathologization of Black culture (as illustrated in Figure 7), this frame also increased support for a range of policies – as shown in Figure 8.

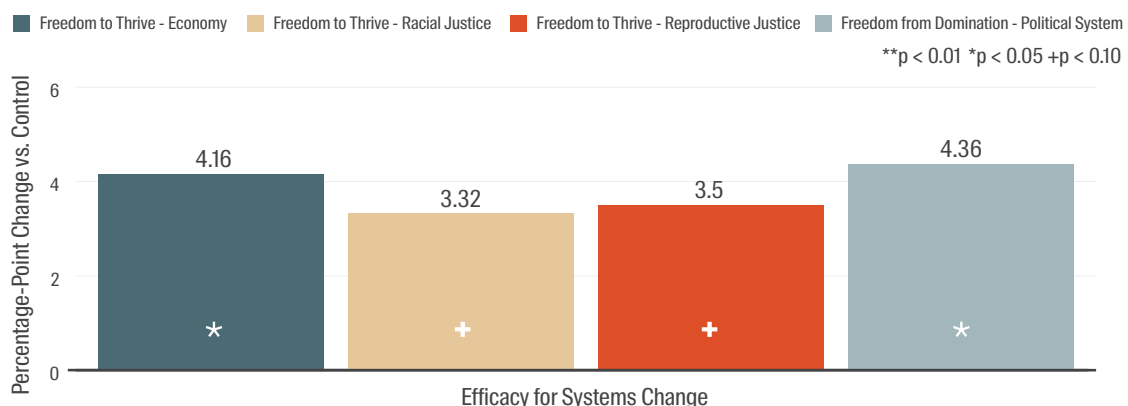
**Figure 8: To Boost Policy Support, Talk about the Need for Collective Self-Governance as a Way to Achieve Stability**



## Framing Strategies for *Freedom*

*Freedom* can be a powerfully motivating value. When framed well, it can boost people's belief that we can achieve systems change (see Figure 9)—an outcome that fairness and stability do not so easily shift. We have found this to be a strong and productive effect of freedom, both in our research to [frame rigged systems](#) and here in connection with a variety of different issues.

**Figure 9: Across Variants and Issues, the Value of *Freedom* Boosts Efficacy for Systems Change**



## RECOMMENDATION #1

### ***Unpack what Freedom means rather than just using the word.***

When we tested *Freedom* without a strong emphasis on system design, we had pronounced backfires for Republican-leaning participants, who became more likely to endorse the following mindsets: Market Naturalism, Self-Makingness, Limited Government, and Pathologizing Black Culture. We found this pattern across different variants of *Freedom* and across different issues, including the economy, the political system, racial justice, and reproductive justice.

**Figure 10: Among Republicans, *Freedom* without Strong Articulation of System Design Cues Unhelpful Mindsets**

	Market Naturalism	Self-Makingness	Limited Government	Pathologizing Black Culture
Freedom from Domination - Economy	10.30	4.83	5.94	6.36
Freedom to Thrive - Economy	5.00	3.49	3.57	1.70
Freedom as Liberty - Economy	6.63	4.16	0.38	-0.94
Freedom from Domination - Racial Justice	5.99	4.08	7.80	8.96
Freedom to Thrive - Racial Justice	7.64	5.84	6.24	5.74
Freedom as Liberty - Racial Justice	4.36	3.13	8.35	8.65
Freedom from Domination - Political System	8.70	6.84	3.05	5.09
Freedom to Thrive - Political System	3.50	4.41	3.76	4.39
Freedom as Liberty - Political System	6.57	5.00	4.80	9.30
Freedom from Domination - Reproductive Justice	7.03	5.39	7.58	5.36
Freedom to Thrive - Reproductive Justice	3.90	7.30	4.65	10.01
Freedom as Liberty - Reproductive Justice	5.79	4.79	5.25	3.17
Significance Level	marginal $p < .10$		$p < .05$	$p < .01$

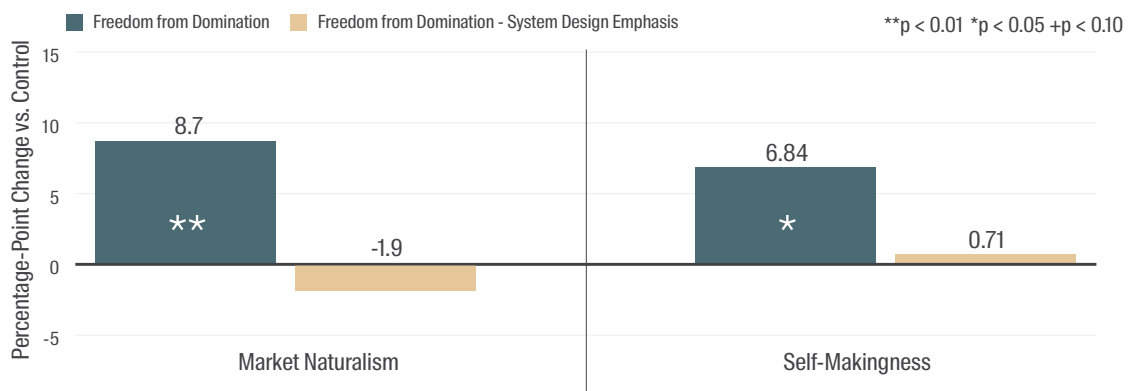
## RECOMMENDATION #2

### ***Always stress system design. Talk about how systems can be redesigned so that we all have more freedom.***

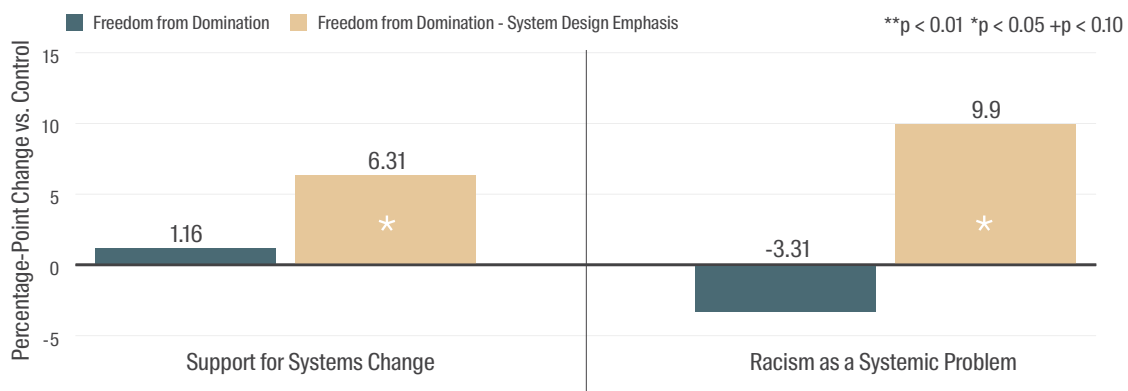
In our testing, we addressed some of the initial backfires we found (see Recommendation #1) by pairing *Freedom* with a stronger articulation of system design and redesign. In a frame about *Freedom from Domination* and the political system, we emphasized this by talking about the impact of system design on people not getting their voices heard—and by calling for new laws and policies to restrict the power of a wealthy few in politics. When we added this emphasis, the backfire pattern we had previously seen for Republican-leaning participants—on *Market Naturalism* and *Self-Makingness*—disappeared (see Figure 11a). Instead, the frame increased people's sense that racism is a systemic problem and built support for changing the political and economic systems to work better for everyone (see Figure 11b).



**Figure 11a: To Avert Backfires That Increase *Market Naturalism* and *Self-Makingness* among Republicans, Use *Freedom from Domination* with an Emphasis on System Design**

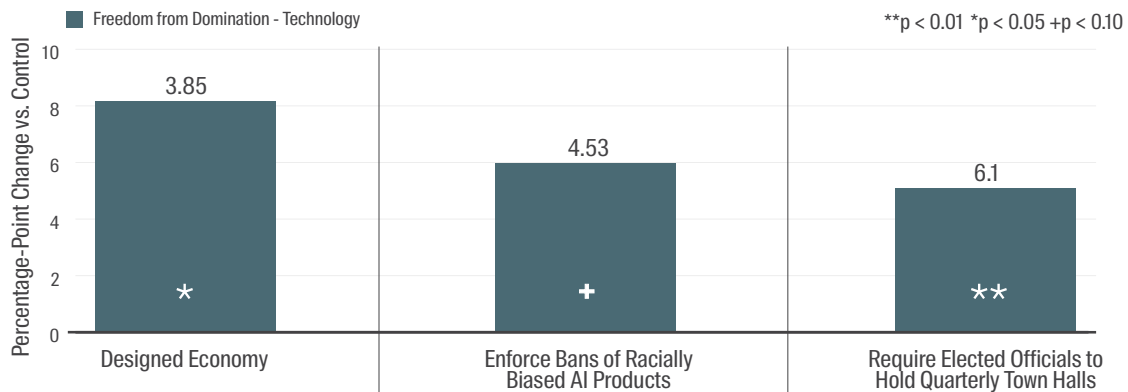


**Figure 11b: To Increase *Systemic Thinking about Racism* and *Support for Systems Change* among Republicans, Use *Freedom from Domination* with an Emphasis on System Design**



We had similar success in a frame where we paired *Freedom from Domination* with the issue of technology. Here, we emphasized the need for designing new laws and policies that restrict the power of large corporations. Again, we averted the pattern of backfires we saw initially with freedom, across variants and issues, in Republican participants. This frame didn't backfire for Republicans, and in the full sample it strengthened the mindset that the economy is a designed system and increased support for policies, like the policy to enforce bans on racially biased AI products or to require elected officials to hold quarterly town halls, as illustrated in Figure 12.

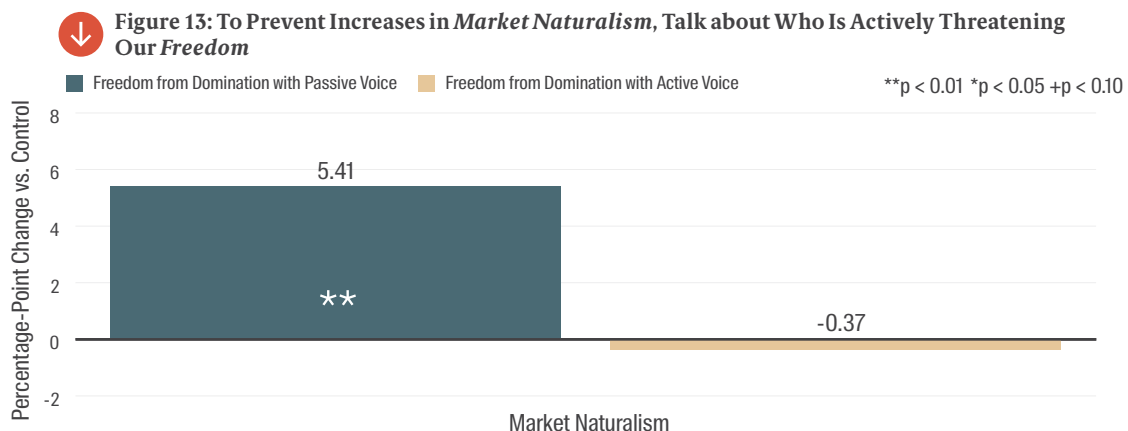
**Figure 12: To Increase *Designed Thinking about the Economy* and *Policy Support* across Issues, Talk about *Freedom from Domination* in Connection with Technology**



### RECOMMENDATION #3

#### ***When using Freedom from Domination, offer an explanation of how systems subject us to the rule of a powerful and wealthy few.***

- a. Locate the problem in a segment of society, like large corporations.** In our testing on the [System Is Rigged](#) project, we tested different ways of naming the actors who rig our systems, finding that “large corporations” boosted collective efficacy for systems change (i.e., the belief that change is possible). But when we named specific billionaires, the frames backfired on several key outcomes—decreasing support for systemic change, and increasing market naturalism and support for limited government.
- b. Be explicit about who is actively threatening our freedom.** When we first tested *Freedom from Domination* in connection with the economy, we talked about how it’s hard for us to be free from the influence of the powerful, but we didn’t use the active voice to describe what the powerful are doing. In the second test, we made the actions of the powerful clear—for example, “A wealthy few have designed the economy in their favor. They hoard wealth and limit our freedom.” When talked about the powerful, wealthy few in the active voice like this, *Freedom from Domination* did not cue the idea that the economy is a natural system, out of human control (see Figure 13).



- c. Explain how this group is threatening our freedom.** *Freedom from Domination* also shifts thinking much more effectively when the domination is explained. When we tested this value in connection with [system rigging](#), we found that it was an essential part of the framing strategy to explain how the system was rigged against the public interest. Frames with this explanation boosted support for a range of progressive policies and marginally reduced exclusionary attitudes, like xenophobia and authoritarianism. We didn’t include such an explanation in the present project, and this might explain the relative lack of positive movement on *Freedom from Domination* frames.

# Endnotes

1. Quinn, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Finding culture in talk: A collection of methods*. Palgrave Macmillan.
2. Percentages listed may equal greater than 100% due to rounding.
3. In Wave 3 the response option of Middle Eastern was removed and replaced with Southwest Asian in the demographic question about race/ethnicity.
4. Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2013). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Routledge.
5. Marsh, H. W., Wen, Z., & Hau, K.-T. (2004). Structural equation models of latent interactions: Evaluation of alternative estimation strategies and indicator construction. *Psychological Methods*, 9(3), 275–300. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1082-989X.9.3.275>
6. Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107(2), 238–246. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.107.2.238>
7. Taber, K. S. (2018). The use of Cronbach's alpha when developing and reporting research instruments in science education. *Research in Science Education*, 48, 1273–1296.
8. In Wave 3 an additional item was included in this variable (i.e., “People do better in society when we allow business competition”).
9. The Win-Win items were analyzed separately from Zero-Sum items in the analysis; the Spearman's correlation for these items was  $r = 0.66$ .
10. In Waves 1 and 3 an additional item was included as part of this dependent variable (i.e., “It's natural that some people are going to be much wealthier than others”).
11. Open-ended responses were used as a quality and comprehension check and were not analyzed.
12. Delea, M. G., Sinharoy, S. S., Cheong, Y. F., Heckert, J., Seymour, G., Meinzen-Dick, R. S., & Yount, K. M. (2021). The group-related collective agency scales (GCAS-23 and GCAS-12) – Full and short form scales for construct measurement. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4004711>
13. In Wave 3 this item was slightly modified: “Enforce bans on racially biased AI products, like crime prediction programs and banking algorithms.”



# About FrameWorks

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Methods Supplement



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