

WorkShift Methods Supplement

APRIL 2026

Research Methods and Samples

This method supplement provides evidence for the findings and recommendations we report in the following outputs from the WorkShift project:

- [Reframing Work, Rebalancing Power: Three Framing Strategies That Connect Jobs with Economic Justice](#). A strategic brief outlining the central framing strategies we recommend for talking about work across sectors.
- [Producing Power: Applying Framing Recommendations about Work to the Manufacturing Sector](#). A strategic brief that outlines key challenges in communicating about manufacturing and how our recommendations for talking about work apply specifically to manufacturing.
- [Beyond the Factory Floor: Reframing Manufacturing Jobs for the Public Good](#). A mini-brief focused on frames that help boost the perception that manufacturing jobs are desirable now and build support for improvements to the sector.
- [Reframing Care Work: A WorkShift Toolkit](#). A selection of resources that help communicators talk more effectively about care work.

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.

This work builds on our research that involved interviews with members of the public and experts and advocates working on labor justice issues, including issues relating to care work and manufacturing, which are described in a separate [brief](#) and [methods appendix](#). Some recommendations are based on evidence from our Culture Change Project’s System Is Rigged experiments. Methods and sampling information for the System Is Rigged experiments can be found in the [Filling in the Blanks: Contesting What “the System is Rigged Means” Method Supplement](#).

In this supplement, we describe our research, in which we designed and tested frames to address the challenges and use the opportunities in public thinking about work, including care work and manufacturing. These frames were tested in 2025 and refined using two methods: survey experiments with a nationally representative sample, and peer discourse sessions (PDS), a type of focus group. In total, 15,238 people from across the US were included in this research.

Frame Design

To identify effective ways of communicating about work, FrameWorks researchers developed a set of tasks the frames needed to address, then brainstormed potential reframing strategies (for example, metaphors and values) that might accomplish these tasks. We conducted two sessions with creative professionals, including scriptwriters, filmmakers, comedians and cultural strategists, to critique our ideas and help us generate new ones. After generating a list of candidate framing ideas to test, researchers solicited feedback from the WorkShift Advisory Board and project partners to ensure the frames were both apt and usable for organizations advocating for workers. Based on this feedback, we refined a set of frames and brought them into empirical testing.

Peer Discourse Sessions

Before our survey experiments, we conducted PDSs to better understand how work issues were discussed in a social setting and how participants responded to some of our frames. We ran nine sessions with 53 participants in total: three about work issues in general, three about care work, and three about manufacturing. Each session had six participants, apart from one with five participants. These sessions were conducted over Zoom in October 2024. The sample of participants, recruited from across the US, was diverse in terms of age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, education level, geographical location, and political party identification.

These two-hour sessions included discussion prompts and activities designed to evaluate response to the frames in a social context and their usability during conversations with peers. We tested values, vision frames, unframed facts and explanations. The frames we tested in PDSs are itemized in Appendix A.

Experimental Surveys

After analyzing how the candidate frames performed in PDSs, FrameWorks researchers refined the frames chosen to be tested in the survey experiment. Four online experimental surveys¹ involving a total sample of 15,185 US adults (Wave 1: N = 3,230; Wave 2: N = 4,142, Wave 3: N = 4,430, Wave 4: N = 3,383) were conducted between March and October 2025 to test the effectiveness of frames on shifting public understanding, attitudes, and support for labor unions and progressive economic policies. Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, sex, race/ethnicity, household income, education level, and political party affiliation. See Table 1 for more information about the sample composition for each experiment. Data were not weighted.

Table 1²: Waves 1-4 Survey Demographic Information

Variable	Level	Wave 1 (%)	Wave 2 (%)	Wave 3 (%)	Wave 4 (%)
Gender	Male	49	49	48	50
	Female	51	51	52	50
	Non-binary/other	0	<1	<1	<1
Age	18-24	11	11	9	10
	25-34	14	18	19	20
	35-44	20	18	20	16
	45-59	25	25	24	25
	60+	30	28	27	29
Income	\$0-24,999	17	16	17	17
	\$25,000-\$49,999	22	21	23	21
	\$50,000-\$99,999	31	31	32	31
	\$100,000-\$149,999	14	17	17	17
	\$150,000 or more	16	15	12	14
Education	High school diploma or less	33	32	31	35
	Some college or associate's degree	29	26	29	27
	Bachelor's degree	23	25	25	23
	Graduate degree	15	17	15	14

Race/ Ethnicity	Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic/Latino)	58	44	36	56
	Hispanic or Latino	19	17	17	10
	Black/African American	17	17	17	15
	Asian	3	17	17	5
	American Indian/ Alaska Native	11	1	<1	1
	Southwest Asian/North African ³	<1	<1	<1	<1
	Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	<1	<1	<1	<1
	Biracial, multiracial, or some other race/ ethnicity	1	4	12	13
Political Party	Democrat	42	42	41	41
	Republican	35	31	30	36
	Independent	21	21	23	19
	Other	3	5	6	4
Party Leaning	Closer to the Republican Party	42	36	35	40
	Closer to the Democratic Party	47	49	49	47
	Neither	11	15	16	13
Have you ever done paid or unpaid care work?	Yes	-	-	-	52
	No	-	-	-	48
Has someone in your immediate family ever done paid or unpaid care work?	Yes	-	-	-	53
	No	-	-	-	47

<i>Have you ever done paid or unpaid (e.g., internships or apprenticeships) manufacturing work?</i>	Yes	-	-	-	26
	No	-	-	-	74
<i>Has someone in your immediate family ever done paid or unpaid (e.g., internships or apprenticeships) manufacturing work?</i>	Yes	-	-	-	36
	No	-	-	-	64

Participant recruitment and survey hosting was completed by Dynata. Participants were recruited from 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 rewards. These rewards vary by panel and recruitment method and may include airline miles or gift cards.

Participants with Dynata verify their identity at multiple points during survey enrollment and routing. Dynata uses 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 consenting to participate, participants were randomly assigned to one of several experimental conditions. All frame treatments focused on improving ways of addressing challenges about work, including care work and manufacturing. 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 outcomes of interest. Each battery consisted of multiple

questions that 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 on 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 randomization checks. Chi-square analyses indicated that all target demographics were evenly distributed across conditions. The table below provides more information on these composite scores. 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 $|\lambda_{0.40}|$ were dropped from each battery. For previously tested scales, we conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) to test their expected dimensionality. 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 (RMSEAⁱ), with thresholds of $< .050$ for close fit and $< .080$ for reasonable fit; the Comparative Fit Index (CFIⁱⁱ); and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLIⁱⁱⁱ), with thresholds of $> .900$ for acceptable fit and $> .950$ for excellent fit.

After concluding psychometric testing, Cronbach's alpha (α) 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 acceptableⁱⁱⁱ. 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 articulating 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"). Scores approaching zero indicate increasingly strong disagreement with the statements. Scores closer to 100 indicate increasingly strong agreement with the statements.

After conducting these preliminary analyses, we used multiple regression analysis to determine whether outcomes differed significantly between 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 (for example, collective efficacy). We also consider $p < .10$ to determine whether the experimental frame conditions had any marginal effects. Though we do not

typically make recommendations on marginal effects, we do consider these effects as part of a holistic approach to understanding broader patterns across results. An example is provided in Table 2 to illustrate how regression results were interpreted to inform the strategic guide. The table provides the coefficient for the control group on the *Designed Economy* mindset as well as the coefficient for the *Solidarity—99% Versus the 1%* condition on the *Designed Economy* mindset. The coefficient of 65.32 indicates that, when placed on a scale from 0 to 100, participants in the control condition scored an average of 65.32 on the *Designed Economy* mindset. The coefficient of 5.72 indicates that participants in the *Solidarity—99% Versus the 1%* condition scored an average of 71.04 (65.32 + 5.72) on the *Designed Economy* mindset. The p-value of < .01 indicates that the coefficient for the *Solidarity—99% Versus the 1%* condition is significantly different—in this case, significantly higher—than the coefficient of the control condition.

Table 2: Framing Effect on Designed Thinking about the Economy

Condition	Coefficient	p-value
Control	65.32	
Solidarity—99% Versus the 1%	71.04 (65.32 + 5.72)	<.01

As with all research, 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

PDS

1: PDS on Work in General

Worker Identity Labels

We asked people to vote on which terms they would MOST want to be described as, if someone was talking about them in connection with work:

- Worker / laborer
- Working person / working people
- Working mom / dad / parent / family
- Working class / middle class / upper class
- Co-worker / colleague
- Employee / employer / self-employed / unemployed
- Maker / entrepreneur / creative

Definition: Value of Work

Work is when we engage in physical, mental, or emotional activity in order to achieve a result. Sometimes work is paid, and sometimes it is not.

Values

Dignity. All work is valuable because it has dignity, whatever it is, and whether or not it is paid.

Common good. All work is valuable to the degree that it contributes to the common good, whether it is paid or not.

Issue Frames: Unions

Economy. Unions make our economy strong. Members of unions typically earn more than nonunion workers, and unions also help improve pay and conditions for large numbers of workers. Through mechanisms like securing better contracts, or organizing to change legislation, union members can raise working standards, make workplaces safer and increase standards of living for everyone.

Democracy. Unions make our democracy strong. Members of unions participate in elections, just like people vote to decide the president. Union leadership candidates have equal opportunities to campaign and there is a secret ballot so that people can vote freely. Unions also have a positive impact on political participation in the United States because they increase voter turnout in political elections. Making unions stronger is a key way to make our democracy stronger.

2. PDS on Manufacturing

Definition: Manufacturing

Manufacturing involves the production of goods through labor, tools and other processes. That can include, for instance, the manufacturing of cars, food (including meat), textiles, chemicals, petroleum products, metals, electrical equipment and furniture.

Unframed Fact: Occupational Segregation

In manufacturing, Black workers are more likely to work on the factory floor and less likely to be in management positions. This is reflected in differences in wages. Nearly 25% of Black workers in manufacturing earn less than \$30,000 per year, compared to 15% of white workers in manufacturing.

Explanation: Occupational Segregation

These patterns have come about by design rather than by accident, based on our country's long history of denying opportunities to people of color. These patterns continue to this day, with people of color still experiencing discrimination, wage disparities, and barriers to opportunity in manufacturing.

Historical Example: Manufacturing Unions

In the mid 1930s, manufacturing workers at General Motors' factories in Flint Michigan were making less than half of what was needed to support a family. Working conditions were terrible, with hundreds of deaths a year, and countless more injuries. When workers tried to form a union, they were met with intimidation and firings. But they were not deterred, and they organized a strike where they occupied multiple factories and refused to work until their demands were met. After 44 days of striking, they won a union contract and secured higher wages.

Vision: Just Transition

We can build a future where the air is clean and sustainable industries thrive, offering excellent manufacturing jobs. But right now many manufacturing workers are dealing with harsh conditions, low pay and pollution. That pollution hurts workers, communities, and the environment.

We need to transition away from fossil fuels like coal and create many new jobs in renewable energy and transportation systems. With more public funding we can manufacture the foundation of a green economy. And with good training programs, apprenticeships and strong unions, we can better support the workers that are helping build a better world.

3. PDS on Care Work

Issue Frame: Economy

Without care work, our homes, communities, workplaces, and whole economy would grind to a halt. We need people putting time, effort and resources into the essential activities of cooking, cleaning, washing and caring. The economy is a system we design with one key purpose - to deliver good lives for us all - and care work is central to this purpose. This means all forms of care work are foundational to our economy.

Unframed Fact: Occupational Segregation

Across workplaces and industries in the United States, we can see repeating patterns of ‘occupational segregation’ – where a particular group of people is more likely to do certain jobs, or finds it hard to get into others, based on factors like gender and race.

Explanation: Occupational Segregation

These patterns have come about by design rather than by accident, based on our country’s long history of denying opportunities to women and people of color.

Women of color and immigrants are over-represented in under-paid care jobs that offer minimal benefits. This has its roots in history. We can trace domestic work back to a time when Black enslaved women were expected to do care work with no pay under brutal conditions. In the 1930s, racist policies meant that domestic workers were also excluded from worker protections, like minimum wage, overtime laws and the 1935 Social Security Act.

Visions: Future of Care

Gender Justice. If we care about gender justice, then we need to transform systems of care. In the future, care work will no longer be considered “women’s work”. Unjust gender norms around caring will cease to exist, and it will be common to see care workers of all genders. Care workers will be fairly compensated, and receive support from employers and the government. Join CareOrg today to help make this future a reality!

Mutual Aid. If we care about community, then we need to transform systems of care. In the future, care work will be performed by everyone for everyone. People will have strong, connected communities, where neighbors care for each other like they would their family. Professional care workers will be needed as specialized experts in caring, but all of us will take part in systems of mutual care. Join CareOrg today to help make this future a reality!

Value Care. We need to transform systems of care so we fully value care and care workers. In the future, care work will be understood as a critical part of maintaining our society. Care workers will be fairly compensated, and receive support from employers and the government. Everyone will recognize the importance of care work. Join CareOrg today to help make this future a reality!

Survey Experiments

Wave 1

Historical Explanation of Occupational Segregation: Progress

Despite Progress in Society, Some Groups of People Are Still More Likely to Do Particular Jobs

Today, it is easier than it used to be for people to get the job they want, whatever their background or identity. This is because over time, people came together to win workplace protections, improve anti-discrimination laws, and reduce the wage gaps between groups.

But, despite the progress we have made, women and people of color are still over-represented in low-paying service sectors like childcare. And men of color are more likely to be on the factory floor – while white men are more likely to be in executive positions.

This ‘occupational segregation’ is the direct result of social biases and policy choices. In the past, laws severely limited the jobs available to Black people and women. We still feel this legacy in stereotypes about work that certain people can or cannot do. And even though we now have better laws in place, we could still be doing a better job. We can better enforce the laws designed to protect workers. And we can extend those protections to workers that are currently excluded – like agricultural workers, uber drivers and domestic care workers.

We have come leaps and bounds over the past decades. But if we want our progress to continue, we must work together for better workplace policies, laws, and practices.

Historical Explanation of Occupational Segregation: Continued Failure

Continued Failures in Society Mean That Some Groups of People Are More Likely to Do Particular Jobs

Throughout our history, it has always been the case that some people are more likely to be in certain jobs, because of their identity or background. This is partly because our society has made bad decisions about workplace protections, anti-discrimination laws, and wages.

Today, women and people of color are still over-represented in low-paying service sectors like childcare. And men of color are more likely to be on the factory floor – while white men are more likely to be in executive positions.

This ‘occupational segregation’ is the direct result of societal biases and policy choices. We are still feeling the harm of old laws that severely limited the types of jobs available to Black people and women. We feel this legacy in stereotypes about work that certain people can or cannot do. Today, we are also failing to properly enforce laws that were supposed to address these problems. And these laws often fail to protect particular groups of workers - like agricultural workers, uber drivers and domestic care workers.

We have taken some steps back in recent decades. To prevent more failure, we must work together for better workplace policies, laws, and practices.

Occupational Segregation: Freedom to Thrive

We Should All Have the Freedom to Thrive at Work

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should have opportunities to grow and develop in our jobs, and be happy and well in life. But right now, many of us are not able to get jobs where we can really flourish.

We abolished old laws that limited the jobs available to Black people and women, and we developed new laws that were meant to help all workers thrive. But today, women and people of color are still over-represented in low-paying service sectors like childcare. And men of color are more likely to be on the factory floor – while white men are more likely to be in executive positions. This type of ‘occupational segregation’ limits opportunities for people to thrive in their work.

If we want everyone to be free to live well and do well, we need to better enforce the laws that were designed to help all workers – no matter their background. And, by improving the laws and policies that shape the jobs people go into, we can make sure that everyone has the freedom to thrive.

Occupational Segregation: Fairness

We Should All Be Treated Fairly at Work

Most of us believe in fairness. In work, that means all of us should have the resources, opportunities and support that fits our level of need, whatever our starting place. But, right now, we don’t all have fair opportunities for jobs.

We abolished old laws that limited the jobs available to Black people and women. And we developed new laws that were meant to even out the playing field. But today, women and people of color are still over-represented in low-paying service sectors like childcare. And men of color are more likely to be on the factory floor – while white men are more likely to be in executive positions. This type of ‘occupational segregation’ means that we aren’t giving all groups of people fair and equal opportunities for work.

If we want fairness in work, we need to be responsive to the particular needs that different people have. This means better enforcing the laws that were designed to help all workers, across different backgrounds. By improving the laws and policies that shape the jobs people go into, we can make sure that opportunities for work are fair.

Occupational Segregation: Freedom to Thrive & Personal Agency

We Work Hard, and We Should All Have the Freedom to Thrive at Work

Most of us believe in the freedom to thrive. This means all of us should have opportunities to grow and develop in our jobs, and be happy and well in life.

The jobs we do depend on our interests and talents, how hard we try, and our desire to meet the expectations of our families and communities. But, right now, many of us are not able to get jobs where we can really flourish, for reasons out of our personal control.

We abolished old laws that limited the jobs available to Black people and women. And we developed new laws that were meant to help all workers thrive. But today, women and people of color are still over-represented in low-paying service sectors like childcare. And men of color are more likely to be on the factory floor – while white men are more likely to be in executive positions. This type of ‘occupational segregation’ limits opportunities for people to thrive in their work.

If we want everyone to be free to live well and do well, we need to better enforce the laws that were designed to help all workers – no matter their background. And, by improving the laws and policies that shape the jobs people go into, we can make sure that everyone has the freedom to thrive.

Explanation of Exploitation: Wages & Time

Our Economy Is Designed so That Working People Are Paid Less Than They Should Be

In the workplace, we are paid much less than the real value of our time. The people at the top pay us an amount that lets them keep most of the wealth, while overworking us so they can extract as much profit from our time as possible.

This happens because our economy is designed to help large corporations and the wealthiest people profit at our expense. Corporations turn a profit by keeping wages low. And, they intervene in the political process to weaken the laws and policies that protect us at work – like undermining labor unions and fighting against a 4 day work week.

We can change this. There are many other ways of designing our economy so we can do the valuable work that society needs without being exploited. That means changing laws and policies to put people first, rather than profit. When we come together to demand change, we can increase wages and improve worker protections. And we can shift towards employee-owned workplaces so that we all benefit from the wealth our work creates.

Explanation of Exploitation: Ownership & Power

Our Economy Is Designed so That Working People Have Less Power and Resources

In our economy, a wealthy few profit at our expense. Because they own so much of the land, resources and technology in society, they can force working people into a bargain that is bad for us and good for them. Most of us don’t get to own what we produce. This means our work goes into creating value for someone else.

This happens because our economy is designed to help corporations get bigger and the rich get richer. They do this by intervening in the political process to implement policies that benefit them at our expense – like taxing wages at higher rates than their investment income.

We can change this. There are many other ways of designing our economy so that working people own more resources and have more power. That means changing laws and policies to put people first, rather than profit. When we come together to demand change, we can increase wages and improve worker protections. And we can shift towards employee-owned workplaces so that we all benefit from the wealth our work creates.

Explanation of Exploitation: Workers-as-Victims

The Economy Is Designed to Underpay and Overwork Us

In our society, working people create value and wealth. We put our time, skills, and knowledge into making the things people need and providing the services people count on. But right now, many of us are underpaid and overworked. Our wages are calculated to pay us the minimum for our time, and we don't own what we produce.

This happens because right now, our economy is designed to help large corporations and the wealthiest people profit at our expense. They actively intervene in the political process to weaken the laws and policies that protect workers. For example, undermining labor unions and fighting against the 4 day work week. And, because they own so much of the land, resources and technology in society, they get to determine wages and working standards that work for them, not us.

We can change this. There are many other ways we can design our economy so we are treated well, and properly recognized for the value we create. When we come together to demand change, we can increase wages and improve worker protections. And we can shift towards employee-owned workplaces so that we all benefit from the wealth our work creates.

Explanation of Exploitation: Villains-in-Systems

The Economy Is Designed so That Corporations Can Benefit at Our Expense

In our society, the rich and powerful hoard value and wealth. They find ways to increase their profit margin whatever the consequence. They do this by systematically exploiting working people, keeping our wages low to turn a profit. And because they own what we produce, they benefit from the true value of our work.

This happens because right now, our economy is designed to help large corporations and the wealthiest people profit at our expense. They actively intervene in the political process to weaken the laws and policies that protect workers. For example, undermining labor unions and fighting against the 4 day work week. And, because they own so much of the land, resources and technology in society, they get to determine wages and working standards that work for them, not us.

We can change this. There are many other ways we can design our economy so that the rich and powerful can't exploit workers for their own gain. When we come together to demand change, we can increase wages and improve worker protections. And we can shift towards employee-owned workplaces so that we all benefit from the wealth our work creates.

Metaphor of Exploitative Economy: Machine

The Economy Is a Machine That Takes Advantage of Workers

Our economy is a machine that exploits working people. Corporations have engineered the economy to work for themselves by lobbying against higher wages, worker safety laws, and union protections.

In a corporate-engineered economy, workers are treated like fuel for profit. To keep the machine running, we have to work harder for less while corporations sit back and watch their profits grow.

The machine only works when it has workers as cogs to keep it going. But when workers come together in large numbers, we can stop the machine and re-engineer the economy to work for us. By joining together in unions, forming worker-owned collectives, and demanding better laws and policies, we can design a better economy that puts people over profit.

If profit comes first, the machine only runs by exploiting us. But when people come first, the machine can be redesigned to work for us all.

Metaphor of Exploitative Economy: Pyramid

The Economy Is a Pyramid That Puts Workers at the Bottom

Our economy is shaped like a pyramid, with corporations at the top and working people at the bottom. Corporations have built the economy this way by lobbying against higher wages, worker safety laws, and union protections.

In an economy built like a pyramid, corporations get to the top by standing on our work without compensating us what we're worth. To make more profit, corporations push our wages down and then climb on our backs to get to the top.

The pyramid only stands when it has a sturdy base of workers. But when workers come together in large numbers, we can topple the pyramid and rebuild the economy to work for us. By joining together in unions, forming worker-owned collectives, and demanding better laws and policies, we can design a better economy that puts people over profit.

If profit comes first, we are exploited at the bottom of the pyramid. But when people come first, the economy can be rebuilt to support us all.

Metaphor of Exploitative Economy: Parasitic

The Economy Is Designed so That Corporations Can Leech off Workers

Our economy is run by corporate parasites. They shape the economy by lobbying against higher wages, worker safety laws, and union protections – all so they can leech off working people.

In an economy dominated by corporate parasites, they feed off the work we do. They drain as much as they can from our wages, getting bigger and bigger on the profits of our work.

The economy can only be healthy when the workers are healthy. When workers come together in large numbers, we can take back our economic power and stop corporate greed. By joining

together in unions, forming worker-owned collectives, and demanding better laws and policies, we can design a better economy that puts people over profit.

If profit comes first, corporations feed off working people. But when people come first, we can thrive.

Wave 2

Value of Work: Inherently Meaningful

Work Is Valuable if It's Meaningful and Fulfilling

Work should be meaningful and enjoyable.

Work means using your body, brain or heart to do something – like manufacturing, teaching, or caring for loved ones. Some forms of work are paid, and others (like family care) are not. We should feel fulfilled by the work we do, whether or not it is paid. But at the moment, most of us have to work in order to survive. That means taking whatever we can that pays, even if we don't enjoy it.

This happens because our economy is designed to benefit the wealthy and powerful. Only a privileged few have the luxury of being able to treat work like a passion, while the rest of us do not.

We need to re-design our economy so that more of us can do what we love, and live well. That means coming together, through unions and in our communities, to demand change. We need the government to invest in good jobs in important industries, like manufacturing, technology, and clean energy. We need guaranteed paid family leave and an expanded Child Tax Credit. These benefits would provide support to people doing valuable unpaid work. With these kinds of changes, we all have the chance to do what we find meaningful.

Value of Work: Contributing to the Common Good

Work Is Valuable if It Helps People and Contributes to Society

Work should contribute to the common good.

Work means using your body, brain or heart to do something – like manufacturing, teaching, or caring for loved ones. Some forms of work are paid, and others (like family care) are not. We should all be part of something that benefits society, whether or not it is paid. But at the moment, most of us have to work in order to survive. That means taking whatever we can that pays, even if it doesn't contribute to society.

This happens because our system is designed to benefit the wealthy and powerful. They shape the economy so that our work promotes their individual interests, rather than what is good for everyone.

We need to re-design our economy so that far more of us can do work that matters, and live well. That means coming together, through unions and in our communities, to demand change. We need

the government to invest in good jobs in important industries, like manufacturing, technology, and clean energy. We need guaranteed paid family leave and an expanded Child Tax Credit. These benefits would provide support to people doing valuable unpaid work. With these kinds of changes, we all have the chance to make helpful contributions to our communities and our society.

Vision of Future: Doom Scenario

The Dark Future We Face if We Don't Change How We Work

If we don't take action, we'll face a future where working people and the planet are exploited until we have nothing left. In this future, more of us are over-worked and underpaid. We breathe polluted air and drink dirty water, and our natural resources are depleted. We experience never before seen inequality as large corporations hoard more power and wealth. They have become enormously rich from mining minerals, extracting oil, and burning through our forests – while not making the things we actually need, like renewable energy. They steer political decisions in their interests, deciding how the economy is run and how workers are treated. Our laws and policies won't support us if we're harmed at work, fall sick, or need to care for loved ones.

This is a dark future, but it doesn't have to be this way. If we come together, we can demand a better future for us and the planet. We need large-scale investment in industries like manufacturing, care work, and clean energy. We need good pathways for workers to train for these jobs. To ensure power and wealth are shared, we need to break up corporate monopolies, strengthen unions, and prioritize policies that protect us.

A dark future is avoidable if we act now.

Vision of Future: Dream Scenario

A Bright Future Is Possible if We Change How We Work

If we act now, we can create a future where working people and the planet thrive. In this future, our communities are happy and healthy. More of us are working good jobs, making the things we need – like renewable energy – and looking after one another. We breathe clean air and drink clean water, our cities are green, and we have abundant natural resources. We share wealth and power between us all fairly. This means we all have a meaningful say in political decisions, helping decide how our economy is run and how we are treated. We can strengthen the laws and policies that support us if we're harmed at work, fall sick, or need to care for loved ones.

This future is easily in reach if we come together and demand a better future. We can make changes to revitalize both our economy and our environment. We need more good jobs in industries which help people and the planet to thrive. That means large-scale investment in manufacturing, care work, and clean energy – and good pathways for workers to train. To ensure power and wealth are shared, we need to break up corporate monopolies, strengthen unions, and prioritize policies that protect us.

A bright future is possible if we act now.

Vision of Future: Contrast between Doom & Dream

The Future We Choose for How We Live and Work

Together, we can make decisions that lead to a future where people and the planet thrive. In this future, our communities are happy and healthy. More of us are working good jobs, making the things we need – like renewable energy – and looking after one another. We breathe clean air and drink clean water, and we have abundant natural resources. We share wealth and power between us fairly. We all have a meaningful say in political decisions, helping decide how our economy is run and how we are treated.

Yet a stark alternative looms. If we don't take action, working people and the planet will be exploited until there's nothing left. In this future, more of us are over-worked and underpaid, our communities are polluted, and our natural resources are depleted. Large corporations have become enormously rich from mining minerals, extracting oil, and burning through our forests. They steer laws and policies in their interests, rather than in ours.

We have a choice: a future where we thrive or where we struggle. If we don't act now, the future looks dark. But if we come together, we can demand a better future. We need more good jobs in industries which help people and the planet to thrive. That means large-scale investment in manufacturing, care work, and clean energy – and good pathways for workers to train. To ensure power and wealth are shared, we need to break up corporate monopolies, strengthen unions, and prioritize policies that protect us.

A bright future is possible, but we must act now.

Metaphor of Exploitative Economy: Pyramid

The Economy Is a Pyramid that Puts Corporations at the Top

Right now, the economy is being built like a pyramid, with a few large corporations at the top and working people at the bottom. Corporations are trying to keep it that way. They are paying our politicians to vote *against* higher wages, fairer taxes and worker protections.

In an economy built like a pyramid, corporations can push our wages down and then climb on our backs to get to the top.

But they underestimate our strength. All working people – whether we are Black, white or brown – are the foundation of power in this economy. It's our work that builds it. When workers come together in large numbers, we can topple the pyramid and rebuild the economy to work for us.

We can build an economy that puts people over profit. We can do that by coming together in unions, creating more worker-owned businesses, and kicking corporations out of our elections so we can demand better laws and policies. When profit is put above everything else, working people are exploited at the bottom of the pyramid. But when working people come together, we can rebuild the economy to support us all.

Metaphor of Exploitative Economy: Drain

Corporations Are Draining Our Economy

Right now, our economy is being drained by large corporations. They are depleting our economy by paying our politicians to vote *against* higher wages, fairer taxes and worker protections, so they can siphon more profit off of working people.

Corporations are extracting profit from the work we do. They drain as much as they can from our wages, our time, and our energy.

But they underestimate our strength. All working people – whether we are Black, white or brown – are the real source of power in this economy. When we come together in large numbers, we can renew the economy so it works for us.

We can stop this corporate drain, and put people over profit. We can do that by coming together in unions, creating more worker-owned businesses, and kicking corporations out of our elections so we can demand better laws and policies. When profit is put above everything else, working people are exploited and drained. But when working people come together, we can replenish our economy so it supports us all.

Perspective: Manufacturing Workers of the Past

A Message from the Workers of the Past

Throughout history, American manufacturing workers have brought about big changes to our society.

At the start of the 1900s, the Industrial Revolution quickly changed our economy. Many people came together to demand better living and working conditions. Responding to pressure, the government implemented the New Deal. This was designed to create millions of jobs, build critical infrastructure and strengthen workers' rights. Manufacturing workers became much more powerful. Through their unions, these workers quickly and effectively overhauled the entire economy.

If those workers had a message for us today, they would say: "You can win!" They would say we can demand good-paying jobs that keep us safe. They would tell us to push for the big shift our economy needs. Big changes like investing in the jobs we need to move away from dirty fossil fuels to clean energy.

Those workers would see that we have already started to do this. We have powerful unions – like the United Auto Workers, who recently secured historic protections for their manufacturing workers. We have fought for new laws – like the CHIPS Act, that invests in semi-conductor chip manufacturing, and the Inflation Reduction Act, that creates well-paying union jobs in clean energy industries.

The workers of the past know that we will win if we keep pushing for change.

Perspective: Manufacturing Workers of the Future

A Message from the Workers of the Future

People in the future will celebrate the big changes brought about by American manufacturing workers.

In the future, we will have good-paying jobs that keep us safe. The economy will be strong, clean and green. We will have made big investments in the jobs we need, so that we could shift away from dirty fossil fuels to clean energy.

If the workers of the future could send us a message, they would say: “You won!”. They would look back at right now and see how we quickly and effectively overhauled the entire economy.

Those workers will be inspired by the history of how we got there. They will see a pattern in people coming together to make change. They will look back at the Industrial Revolution in the early 1900s, when working people demanded better living and working conditions, and the government responded with the New Deal. To today, where unions like the United Auto Workers have secured historic protections for their manufacturing workers, and people have pushed for new laws. Laws like the CHIPS Act, that invests in semi-conductor chip manufacturing, and the Inflation Reduction Act, that creates well-paying union jobs in clean energy industries.

The workers of the future will know that we won because we kept pushing for change.

Metaphor of Care as Essential to the Economy: Infrastructure

Care Work Is the Infrastructure of Our Economy

Care work is vital infrastructure. We need care work to keep our economy going, just like we need our physical infrastructure – our roads, rails, bridges, and water systems.

We all need care throughout our lives. It is an everyday essential that we cannot do without. It is the very basis of wellbeing in our families and communities, and it should be treated as a public good. But right now, we're not investing in our care infrastructure.

Just like we invest in other public goods, like our roads, we need to invest in care work. We need to support all forms of care work, paid or unpaid – from stay-at-home dads to nursing home staff. In the same way that roads and bridges need to be well designed and maintained, so too does our care infrastructure.

Strengthening our care infrastructure means better wages and benefits for care workers. It also means guaranteed paid family leave and expanding the Child Tax Credit. This would make it easier for people to spend time looking after their loved ones at home.

If we look after our care infrastructure, our infrastructure looks after us.

Metaphor of Care as Essential to the Economy: Lifeblood

Care Work Is the Lifeblood of the Economy

Care work is a vital part of our economy. We need care work to keep our economy going, just like parts of our bodies do vital work to keep us alive.

We all need care throughout our lives. It is an everyday essential that we cannot do without. It is the very lifeblood of our families and communities, and it should be treated as such. But right now, we're not looking after the health of our care systems.

Just like we look after our bodies, we need to look after our society's care systems. We need to support all forms of care work, paid or unpaid – from stay-at-home dads to nursing home staff. Our economy needs this in order to function well, in the same way that our bodies depend on healthy circulation.

A healthy care system means better wages and benefits for care workers. It also means guaranteed paid family leave and expanding the Child Tax Credit. This would make it easier for people to spend time looking after their loved ones at home.

If we have healthy care systems, we have a healthy economy.

Metaphor of Care as Essential to the Economy: Foundation

Care Work Is the Foundation of Our Economy

Care work is the foundation of our economy. We need care work to keep our economy stable, just like we need solid ground to build our houses, schools, and communities.

We all need care throughout our lives. It is an everyday essential that we cannot do without. It is the very basis of wellbeing in our families and communities, and it should be treated as such. But right now, we're not maintaining our care systems.

In the same way that foundations need regular maintenance to support our homes and other buildings, care systems must also be reinforced to support our economy. All forms of care work, paid or unpaid – from stay-at-home dads to nursing home staff – are the foundation of the economy.

A strong care system means better wages and benefits for care workers. It also means guaranteed paid family leave and expanding the Child Tax Credit. This would make it easier for people to spend time looking after their loved ones at home.

If we support care work, we strengthen the foundation of our economy.

Metaphor of Care as Essential to Society: Social Fabric

Care Work Is the Social Fabric of Society

Care work is the social fabric of our society. When the threads of support are woven tightly, everyone is looked after and no one slips through.

We all need care throughout our lives. It is an everyday essential that we cannot do without. It is the weave of wellbeing in our families and communities, and it should be treated as such. But right now, we have gaping holes in our care systems.

In the same way that fabric must be tightly woven to be strong, our care systems must be able to support everyone. All forms of care work, paid or unpaid – from stay-at-home dads to nursing home staff – are the threads of support in our society.

Strengthening our social fabric means better wages and benefits for care workers. It also means guaranteed paid family leave and expanding the Child Tax Credit. This would make it easier for people to spend time looking after their loved ones at home.

If we support care work, we strengthen the social fabric of our society.

Wave 3

Authoritarianism & Unions: Freedom from Domination

Powerful Bosses and Political Leaders Are Taking Away Our Freedom

As a society, we believe that no one has a natural right to rule over others. We should all be free from domination by the powerful. This means having the freedom to shape our own lives, rather than being at the whim of a powerful few.

But the government and large corporations are taking control of more and more of our lives. They have unrestricted power to make decisions for us, and it takes away our freedom to decide what happens in our own lives. Too often, these decisions are made on a whim and cause widespread uncertainty. For instance, sudden changes in economic policies spike the cost of living and make it hard for us to plan our lives. And when profits start to dip, big corporations cut our wages for their own benefit. When the powerful few have this much control over us, it takes away our freedom.

It doesn't have to be this way. Unions give us a shared voice and the means to resist being under the thumb of a powerful few. When we join together in unions, we have the power to hold leaders in government and corporations to account. For instance, when we organize general strikes across industries we can force them to listen. We can demand better wages and benefits, and a government that actually serves us. Through unions we can resist being dominated, and take back the power to shape our own lives.

Authoritarianism & Unions: People Power

Powerful Bosses and Political Leaders Are Taking Away Our Ability to Govern Ourselves

As a society, we believe that the power lies with the people. We have the right to govern ourselves collectively, so that no major decisions are made without our consent.

But the government and large corporations are taking away our right to make decisions together. They have unrestricted power to make decisions for us, without considering what most of us want. This takes away our ability to govern ourselves. Too often, they make changes on a whim and cause widespread uncertainty. For instance, they make sudden changes in economic policies that spike the cost of living even though most of us don't want that. And when profits start to dip, big corporations cut our wages for their own benefit. We shouldn't be at the whim of a powerful few who ignore what most of us want.

It doesn't have to be this way. Unions give us a shared voice and the means to govern ourselves. When we join together in unions, we have the power to hold leaders in government and corporations to account. For instance, when we organize general strikes across industries we can force them to listen. We can demand better wages and benefits, and a government that actually serves us. Through unions we can reclaim our right to govern ourselves, and ensure that no major decision is made without our consent

Democracy & Unions: Freedom from Domination

Through Unions We Can Free Ourselves from Domination

As a society, we believe that no one has a natural right to rule over others. We should all be free from domination by the powerful. This means having many ways for us to participate in decisions that affect our lives, rather than being at the whim of a powerful few.

Right now, the government and large corporations are making decisions without us. This takes away our freedom to decide what happens in our own lives. But we can change our political and economic systems, so that we have a real say in important issues, like cost of living. This means elections with more parties, so we have real choices and have representatives who truly reflect our views. This means making it easier for people to vote and counting all votes equally. When we design the political system this way, the government is responsive to us, not just corporate donors. With these changes we can create an economy that works for us, and be free from domination by a powerful few.

Unions give us the collective power to push for these changes. By joining together, we can make those in power listen to us, instead of remaining under the thumb of a powerful few. We can organize general strikes across industries to force them to change the political and economic systems. And we can demand better wages and benefits, and a government that actually serves us. Through unions we can have a real say, and take back the power to shape our own lives.

Democracy & Unions: Freedom from Domination

Through Unions We Can Govern Ourselves at Work and in Society

As a society, we believe that power lies with the people. We have the right to govern ourselves collectively. This means having many ways for us to participate in decisions that affect our lives, so that no major decisions are made without our consent.

Right now, the government and large corporations are making decisions without us. This takes away our right to govern ourselves. But we can change our political and economic systems, so that we have a real say in important issues, like cost of living. This means elections with more parties, so we have real choices and have representatives who truly reflect our views. This means making it easier for people to vote and counting all votes equally. When we design the political system this way, the government is responsive to us, not just corporate donors. With these changes we can create an economy that works for us, and ensure the powerful few can't ignore what most of us want.

Unions give us the collective power to push for these changes. By joining together, we can make those in power listen to us, reclaiming our right to govern ourselves. We can organize general strikes across industries to force them to change the political and economic systems. And we can demand better wages and benefits, and a government that actually serves us. Through unions we can have a real say, and ensure that no major decisions are made without our consent.

Value of Solidarity: 99% Versus 1%

As the 99%, We Must Stand Together

When we run into challenges or people try to keep us down, it's by acting together that we can change things. As the 99%, we must recognize what we have in common. No matter our race, our background, or where we come from, we all want to live well and be treated fairly.

But right now, we live in an economy that is rigged to benefit a wealthy few at the expense of the majority. Our laws and policies allow the ultra-rich 1% to hoard money and power. Meanwhile, they pit us against each other, paying us low wages and making us compete for jobs and basic resources. This leads us to resent each other. This prevents us—the overwhelming majority—from coming together to take on the real problem: extreme wealth inequality. The ultra wealthy benefit when the rest of us are divided.

To un-rig the economic system, we must remember that we are the 99%. We make up the vast majority of this nation, and when we come together in large numbers, across race, we are powerful enough to take on the wealthy few. By uniting together, we can fight for each other, demand change, and make the economy that works for all of us.

Value of Solidarity: Workers Versus Bosses and Owners

As Working People, We Must Stand Together

When we run into challenges or people try to keep us down, it's by acting together that we can change things. As people who work for a living, we must recognize what we have in common. No matter our race, our background, or where we come from, we all want decent wages and to be treated fairly at work.

But right now, we live in an economy that is rigged to benefit big business owners and large corporations at the expense of working people. Our laws and policies allow large corporations and their owners to hoard money and power. Meanwhile, our bosses pit us against each other, paying us low wages and making us compete for jobs and basic resources. This leads us to resent each other. This prevents us—working people—from coming together to take on the real problem: extreme wealth inequality. Big business benefits when workers are divided.

To un-rig the economic system, we must remember that working people make up a big part of the population. When we come together in large numbers, across race, we are powerful enough to take on big corporations and their owners. By uniting together as working Americans, we can fight for each other, demand change, and make the economy work for all of us.

Unions and Fair Return in the Economy

Through Unions We Can Get a Fair Return in the Economy

As a society, we believe in fairness—in return for our contributions to society, we should all be able to live well. But our economic system isn't fair. Right now, our economy is designed to reward a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us don't get the pay or respect we deserve.

This can change. If we want a fair economy that works for us like we work for it, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can fight for a fair return. We can secure legally binding contracts for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands for respect heard. Our work makes the economy run, and when we stop, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to redesign the economy so we get the fair returns we deserve.

Unions and Justice in the Economy

Through Unions We Can Get Justice in the Economy

As a society, we believe in justice—it's only fair that we should all have what we need to live well. But our economic system isn't just. Right now, our economy is designed to reward a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us struggle to make a living. This is unjust.

This can change. If we want a just economy, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can right any wrongs that we or our coworkers suffer at the hands of our employers. We can secure legally binding contracts for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands for justice heard. Our work makes the economy run, and when we stop, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to redesign the economy so we have justice for all.

Unions and Freedom in the Economy

Through Unions We Can Get More Freedom in the Economy

As a society, we believe in the freedom to shape our own lives. But our economic system doesn't let us do this. Right now, our economy is designed to reward a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us struggle to create the lives we want for ourselves.

This can change. If we want an economy that gives us control over our lives, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can fight for this freedom. We can secure legally binding contracts for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands for freedom heard. Our work makes the economy run, and when we stop, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to redesign the economy so we have the freedom to create the lives we want.

Unions and Fair Return at Work

Through Unions We Get a Fair Return at Work

As a society, we believe in fairness—we work hard, and in return, we should have fair wages and working conditions. But right now, our labor rewards a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us don't get the pay or respect we deserve at work.

This can change. If we want fair workplaces that give back to us the way they should, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can fight to get a fair return from our jobs. We can secure legally binding contracts for

better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands heard. When we walk away from our jobs, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to get the fair returns we deserve for our labor.

Unions and Justice at Work

Through Unions We Get Justice at Work

As a society, we believe in justice—we work hard, and it's only fair that we should have good wages and working conditions. But right now, our labor rewards a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us struggle to make a living. This is unjust.

This can change. If we want fair workplaces, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can right any wrongs that we or our coworkers suffer at our jobs. We can secure legally binding contracts for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands for justice heard. When we walk away from our jobs, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to create fair and just workplaces that benefit all of us.

Unions and Freedom at Work

Through Unions We Get More Freedom at Work

As a society, we believe in the freedom to shape our own lives. This means having a say in how we work, ensuring we have good wages and working conditions. But right now, our labor rewards a wealthy few—making them richer and richer—while the rest of us struggle to create the lives we want for ourselves.

This can change. If we want jobs that help us create the lives we want, we must come together in large numbers. By joining together in unions—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can fight for jobs that give us this freedom. We can secure legally binding contracts for better wages, benefits, and working conditions. Other employers have to match these contracts in order to keep up, which raises standards across entire industries. And striking is a powerful tool to make our demands for freedom heard. When we walk away from our jobs, the wealthy and powerful have to listen.

When working people unite in organizations like unions, we can use our strength in numbers to create workplaces that give us the freedom to shape our own lives.

Artificial Intelligence and Collective Action: Value of Fairness

In a Fair Society, Working People Should Be Able to Decide How AI Is Used

As a society, we believe in fairness. But the way AI is developed and used isn't fair. If we truly believe in fairness, power must be shared in society, so that working people have more power to decide how AI is used in the workplace.

Right now that isn't the case. The powerful in society control the development and use of AI technology, and too many workers are being harmed by the way it's applied at work. For instance, when AI is used in the hiring process, good candidates can get overlooked because their resumes don't have specific keywords. And when AI is used to monitor and track workers, it raises concerns about privacy and erodes trust in the workplace. Working people don't have a say in this, because of the unfair distribution of power and opportunity in our society.

If we want fairness, we must push for laws and policies that give working people more say over how AI affects us at work. When we come together, we can use our strength in numbers to protect workers and keep large tech corporations in check. We can negotiate contracts with our employers that specify if and how AI is used in our workplace. By joining together—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can make sure that decisions about AI are made by us—not just a wealthy few.

Artificial Intelligence and Collective Action: Value of Freedom

In a Free Society, Working People Should Be Able to Decide How AI Is Used

As a society, we believe in the freedom to shape our own lives. But we don't get to choose how AI is developed and used. If we truly believe in freedom, workers should have a say over how AI is used in the workplace.

Right now that isn't the case. The powerful in society control the development and use of AI technology, and too many workers are being harmed by the way it's applied at work. For instance, when AI is used in the hiring process, good candidates can get overlooked because their resumes don't have specific keywords. And when AI is used to monitor and track workers, it raises concerns about privacy and erodes trust in the workplace. Working people don't give their consent, and are unable to control how this technology is being used.

If we want freedom, we must push for laws and policies that give working people more say over how AI affects us at work. When we come together we can use our strength in numbers to protect workers and keep large tech corporations in check. We can negotiate contracts with our employers that specify if and how AI is used in our workplace. By joining together—across our races, backgrounds, and zip codes—we can assert our freedom to shape how AI is used at work.

Wave 4

Worker Identity and Alienation: Individuals

We Should Be Able to Work in a Way That Reflects Who We Are and What We Care About

As working people, we generate ideas, make things, and nurture people. Whether we work in manufacturing plants, restaurants or daycare centers, we do something valuable.

But, right now, we don't have much control over how we work. We don't get to bring our own values and creativity to our jobs. Instead of working on our own terms, we are made to work on our employers' terms. Often, our jobs are repetitive, or broken up into tasks, based on how our employers want us to work. They set our wages, hours, and working conditions so that they can make bigger profits. But none of these profits come back to us—they go to a wealthy few who get richer and richer from our work.

In this labor system, we are disconnected and detached from the work we do. But when we join together—across our backgrounds, races, and zip codes—we can demand much better. Through unions, we can secure contracts to give us better wages and more control over our working conditions. Through worker collectives, we can cut out the big bosses completely, taking our work back into our own hands. When we come together, we can change how we work so our jobs are an expression of who we are and what we care about.

Worker Identity and Alienation: Family

We Should Be Able to Support the People We Love Through Our Work

As working people, we work to support our loved ones. Whether we work in manufacturing plants, restaurants or daycare centers, our labor puts food on the table and a roof over our heads.

But, right now, many of us are struggling to support our families. We don't have the flexibility, pay, and leave we need. Instead, we are made to work on our employers' terms. Often, they make us choose between a paycheck and our families. Our employers set our wages, hours, and working conditions so that they can make bigger profits. But none of these profits come back to our families—they go to a wealthy few who get richer and richer from our work.

In this labor system, we can't be there for the people we love. But when we join together—across our backgrounds, races and zip codes—we can demand much better. Through unions, we can secure contracts to give us better wages so that we can keep food on the table for our families. Through worker collectives, we can cut out the big bosses completely, allowing us to work on our own terms so that we can prioritize the people we care about. When we come together, we can change how we work so we can better support our families.

Worker Identity and Alienation: Working Class

We Should Be Able to Come Together for Our Common Interests at Work

As working people, we are part of something much bigger than ourselves. Whether we work in manufacturing plants, restaurants or daycare centers, we keep society going.

But, right now, working people are often isolated from each other. We don't have meaningful collaboration, connection and mutual support. Instead, we are made to work on our employers' terms—which usually means working separately or in competition with each other. Often, they divide the work between us, so that we do tasks in isolation. Our employers set our wages, hours, and working conditions so that they can make bigger profits. But none of these profits come back to working people—they go to a wealthy few who get richer and richer from our work.

In this labor system, we are disconnected and detached from each other. But when we join together—across our backgrounds, races, and zip codes—we can demand much better. Through unions, we can fight for our common interests, securing contracts to give us better wages and working conditions. Through worker collectives, we can cut out the big bosses completely, and work together to find ways for us all to live well. When we come together, we can change how we work so we can better support each other.

Just Transition and Metaphor of Repair

We Need to Repair Our Society so It Works for People and the Planet

Imagine a future where we've taken steps to repair our society. In this future, we have good jobs that take care of people, and we help our forests, oceans, and wildlife to recover. We make big decisions that prioritize the health and wellbeing of all living things.

Because of these decisions, we have clean water ways, better air quality, and regenerated soil. Industries like renewable energy and green technology thrive. They easily provide the energy and resources we need without hurting workers, or the environment.

Gone are the days when society was run for the profit of large corporations and a powerful few. They damaged our planet, through endlessly mining minerals and burning fossil fuels, like coal and gas, which polluted our air. They prioritized short term profit and hurt their workers with low wages and long hours.

To repair our society and create this future we must act now. We need to mend the practices of large corporations, so they cannot harm their workers or pollute our communities. We need big investment in the green industries. And we need good pathways for workers to train in the jobs these industries rely on.

If we act now, we can heal our society and take better care of people and the planet.

Just Transition and Metaphor of Rebalance

We Need to Rebalance our Society so It Works for People and the Planet

Imagine a future where we've taken steps to rebalance our society. In this future, we have good jobs that lift people up and bring down excessive corporate profits. We also help our forests, oceans, and wildlife stabilize. We make big decisions that prioritize the balance of our natural world and our economy.

Because of these decisions we have clean water ways, better air quality, and regenerated soil. Industries like renewable energy and green technology thrive. They easily provide the energy and resources we need without tipping the scales against workers, or the environment.

Gone are the days when society was skewed towards the profit of large corporations and a powerful few. They destabilized our planet, through endlessly mining minerals and burning fossil fuels, like coal and gas, which polluted our air. They favored short term profit over the well-being of their workers, exploiting their workers with long hours and low wages.

To rebalance our society and create this future we must act now. We need to reign in practices of large corporations, so they cannot exploit their workers or pollute our communities. We need big investment in the green industries. And we need good pathways for workers to train in the jobs these industries rely on.

If we act now, we can tip the scales in favor of people and the planet.

Just Transition and Metaphor of Rebuild

We Need to Rebuild Our Society so It Works for People and the Planet

Imagine a future where we've taken steps to rebuild our society. In this future, we have good jobs that support people, and we fortify our forests, oceans, and wildlife. We make big decisions that prioritize the reconstruction of our economy and the natural world.

Because of these decisions, we have clean water ways, better air quality and regenerated soil. Industries like renewable energy and green technology thrive. They easily provide the energy and resources we need without ruining the lives of working people, or the environment.

Gone are the days when society was built to maximize the profit of large corporations and a powerful few. They wrecked our planet, through endlessly mining minerals and burning fossil fuels, like coal and gas, which polluted our air. They prioritized short term profit and destroyed the well-being of their workers through low wages and long hours.

To rebuild our society and create this future we must act now. We need to reign in the destructive practices of large corporations, so they cannot exploit their workers or pollute our communities. We need big investment in the green industries. And we need good pathways for workers to train in the jobs these industries rely on.

If we act now, we can rebuild our society and provide a stronger foundation for people and the planet.

Value of Manufacturing Jobs: Shared Prosperity

Manufacturing Jobs Bring Shared Prosperity

As a society, we believe in creating shared prosperity, so that we can all live well. When we create good jobs that pay well, our economy thrives, and we all benefit.

Manufacturing is one type of work that can boost economic prosperity for everyone. No one benefits when the wealth in our economy is hoarded, and manufacturing jobs help to spread the wealth. They are the jobs that give back to us all. Manufacturing jobs that provide good wages and benefits help workers and their families live well. Establishing new manufacturing jobs can help local communities grow and flourish. And, in turn, whole regions benefit from new business and public services funded by tax revenues. Investing in manufacturing work can make our whole economy better.

When manufacturing thrives, prosperity spreads. If we truly believe in shared prosperity, our country needs to invest in a strong manufacturing base.

Value of Manufacturing Jobs: Economic Resilience

Manufacturing Jobs Make Our Economy More Resilient

As a society, we believe in resilience and the importance of being able to overcome setbacks. When we support industries that can stand up to challenges, our economy is more resilient.

Manufacturing is one type of work that can reinforce resilience in our economy. No matter what is happening in society, manufacturing jobs will always be needed. They help us bounce back from crises. Manufacturing jobs that provide good wages and benefits help workers and their families save for unexpected expenses. Establishing new manufacturing jobs can help local communities to be stable and secure. And in turn, whole regions benefit from new business and public services funded by tax revenues, which strengthens the economy. Investing in manufacturing work can make our whole economy more stable.

When manufacturing thrives, our economy remains steady. If we truly believe in resilience, our country needs to invest in a strong manufacturing base.

Value of Manufacturing Jobs: Economic Innovation

Manufacturing Jobs Support Innovation in Our Economy

As a society, we believe in innovation and economic progress. When we support innovation, our economy advances and thrives.

Manufacturing is one type of work that creates innovation and pushes our society forward. No innovation matters until someone builds it, and manufacturing jobs are where this happens. They turn big, creative ideas into realities. Manufacturing jobs that provide good wages and benefits help workers and their families improve their lives. Establishing new manufacturing jobs can help local communities develop and advance. And, in turn, whole regions benefit from new business and modernized public services funded by tax revenues. Investing in manufacturing work encourages economic progress.

When manufacturing thrives, innovation can happen. If we truly believe in economic progress, our country needs to invest in a strong manufacturing base.

Metaphor of Manufacturing as Essential to the Economy: Backbone

Manufacturing Is the Backbone of Our Economy

Just like our spine aligns and supports our body, we need manufacturing to bolster the economy. It is the backbone of the economy, providing central support for all our industries. But, right now, we're not looking after the strength of our manufacturing systems.

We need to support all forms of manufacturing work, from building everyday tools to creating life-saving medical devices. Our economy needs this vital work to function well, just like our bodies depend on good support.

A healthy manufacturing system means better wages, benefits, and safer workplaces for people. It includes benefits like paid family leave and an expanded Child Tax Credit, so people don't have to choose between work and family. It means making it easier for manufacturing workers to form unions. And it means investing in the manufacturing we really need—like clean energy, renewable materials, and technology.

If we have healthy manufacturing systems, we will have a healthy economy.

Metaphor of Manufacturing as Essential to the Economy: Life Force

Manufacturing Is the Lifeforce of Our Economy

Just like our bodies depend on healthy circulation, we need manufacturing to keep our economy going. It is the life force flowing through our economy, supporting all industries. But, right now, we're not looking after the health of our manufacturing systems.

We need to support all forms of manufacturing work, from building everyday tools to creating life-saving medical devices. Our economy needs this vital work to function well, just like our bodies depend on good circulation.

A healthy manufacturing system means better wages, benefits, and safer workplaces for people. It includes benefits like paid family leave and an expanded Child Tax Credit, so people don't have to choose between work and family. It means making it easier for manufacturing workers to form unions. And it means investing in the manufacturing we really need—like clean energy, renewable materials, and technology.

If we have healthy manufacturing systems, we have a healthy economy.

Metaphor of Care as Essential to the Economy: Lifeblood

Care Work Is the Lifeblood of Our Economy

Just like our bodies depend on healthy circulation of oxygen and nutrients to keep us alive, care work is the lifeblood that keeps our economy going. We all need care throughout our lives—it is a necessity we cannot do without. But right now, we're not looking after the well-being of our care workers and the systems they work in.

The laws and policies we make determine how well our care workers and the systems they work in function. The government decides where to invest and how to support care workers. They set minimum wages and create protections for care workers. We need to support all forms of care work, paid or unpaid—from stay-at-home dads to nursing home staff. Just like we look after our bodies, we need to look after the people who care for us. Our economy depends on this care work to function well, in the same way that our bodies depend on healthy circulation.

To keep our vital care work going, we need large public investment. This means investment in government funded childcare and paid family leave. Care workers need better training, wages, and benefits. We can also support family caregivers by increasing Medicaid payments and expanding the Child Tax Credit.

If we look after our care workers and their work, we have a healthy economy.

Young People and Work: Discovery and Exploration Metaphor

We Need to Support Young People to Discover and Explore at Work

Discovery and exploration is how we innovate at work and make things better in society. Young people are uniquely suited to do this, because discovery and exploration is a critical part of healthy transition into adulthood. When young people are able to test out new ideas, we all benefit. However, opportunities to explore are easier to find for some youth more than others.

This can change. By giving all young people the chance to experiment with different careers, we can support this period of discovery. We can expand apprenticeships so that young people can explore new experiences. We can use tax credits to encourage employers to hire and train young workers. And we can rethink how we provide support in the workplace. Things like flexible working hours, mental health support, or mentorship can help young employees develop the skills they need in adulthood.

If we support all young people's need to explore and discover, our workplaces, economy, and whole society will benefit.

Young People and Work: Steep Climb Metaphor

Some Young People Face a Particularly Steep Climb into Work

As young people journey into adulthood, they need the right kind of resources and support to find their footing in the workforce. When we equip every young person for this journey, we all benefit. However, pathways into the world of work can be a steeper climb for some youth more than others.

This can change. We can provide all young people with the resources they need on the path to adulthood. We can expand apprenticeships so that young people can gain real-world experiences that will help them on their journey. We can use tax credits to encourage employers to hire and train young workers. And we can rethink how we provide support in the workplace. Things like flexible working hours, mental health support, or mentorship can help young employees find their footing.

If we equip young people on their journey into the workforce, our workplaces, economy, and whole society will benefit.

Appendix B: Survey Items

Most dependent variables were included in all experimental waves. Any variables unique to a specific wave are identified as such in its title below.

Sample Survey Items from Waves 1-4

Open-Ended Question

1. In one or two sentences, please summarize what you have just read.

Frame Agreement

1. 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”]

Market Naturalism $\alpha = 0.81-0.86$

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. 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.

Designed Economy $\alpha = 0.78-0.86$

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. 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.

Self-Makingness $\alpha = 0.85-0.86$

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. 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.

Collective Efficacy for Systems Change $\alpha = 0.90-0.91$

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 your opinion, how realistic is it for our society to change for the better? [seven-point Likert scale: “Not at all realistic”; “Slightly realistic”; “Somewhat realistic”; “Moderately realistic”; “Very realistic”; “Extremely realistic”; “Totally realistic”]
2. How optimistic are you that we can take steps to repair what isn’t working in our society right now? [seven-point Likert scale: “Very pessimistic”; “Pessimistic”; “Somewhat pessimistic”; “Neither pessimistic nor optimistic”; “Somewhat optimistic”; “Optimistic”; “Very optimistic”]
3. How confident are you that our political system can be changed for the better? [seven-point Likert scale: “Not at all confident”; “Slightly confident”; “Somewhat confident”; “Moderately confident”; “Very confident”; “Extremely confident”; “Totally confident”]
4. How confident are you that our economic system can be changed for the better? [seven-point Likert scale: “Not at all confident”; “Slightly confident”; “Somewhat confident”; “Moderately confident”; “Very confident”; “Extremely confident”; “Totally confident”]

Racial Progress $\alpha = 0.85-0.94$

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. Racism is not a problem anymore in the U.S.
2. Racial discrimination isn’t a major problem anymore.
3. Racism isn’t an issue anymore because Black people have more opportunities now.

Union Impact $\alpha = 0.87-0.91$

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. Unions have a positive impact on the economy.
2. Unions balance out the power of big corporations.
3. Unions improve wages and benefits for their members.
4. All working people benefit from labor unions.
5. Unions cause more trouble than they're worth (reverse coded)
6. Unions were needed in the past, but are less relevant today⁴ (reverse coded)
7. Unions make things worse for workers (reverse coded)

Reverse Racism Is the New Racism $\alpha = 0.90-0.91$

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. White people experience racism at work too.
2. These days, white people face discrimination in hiring.
3. People of color now have advantages in the workplace over white people.
4. In many ways, Black people have more advantages in the workplace than white people now.

Survey Items from Waves 1, 2, and 4

Waves 1, 2, and 4 Work-Related Gender Essentialism $\alpha = 0.85-0.87$

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. Women and men are naturally suited for different kinds of jobs.
2. It's natural that men and women have different career interests.
3. Genetics can best explain why men and women have different talents.
4. Biologically, women just aren't meant for certain kinds of jobs.

Wave 1-2 Anti-Immigrant Attitudes $\alpha = 0.88-0.93$

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. Immigrants are a burden on American taxpayers.
2. Immigrants are a threat to our national security.
3. There are too many immigrants in the U.S.
4. Immigrants should be given the same rights as native citizens. (reverse coded)

Waves 1–2 Anti-semitism $\alpha = 0.88$

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. 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 2–4 Profit Motive Drives Exploitation System Subscale $\alpha = 0.87–0.90$

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. In our economy, workers get exploited because big companies need to maximize profits.
2. Corporations prioritize profit over their workers to reach short term financial goals.
3. Our economy is designed to let corporations maximize profits at the expense of workers.

Wave 2 and 4 Saliency of Care Work

Which one comes closer to your opinion?

- The quality of care work depends primarily on the personality of individual care workers.
- The quality of care work depends primarily on the pay and working conditions provided to care workers.

Waves 2 and 4 Care and Manufacturing Work Experience

Care work can be defined as labor required to love, feed, clothe, nurse, house, or provide safe conditions for people.

Have you ever done paid or unpaid care work?

Yes

No

Has someone in your immediate family ever done paid or unpaid care work?

Yes

No

Manufacturing work can be defined as labor required to take raw materials and transform them into goods (e.g., using metal and plastic to make computer parts).

Have you ever done paid or unpaid (e.g., internships or apprenticeships) manufacturing work?

Yes

No

Has someone in your immediate family ever done paid or unpaid (e.g., internships or apprenticeships) manufacturing work?

Yes

No

Waves 2 and 4 Desirability of Care Work $\alpha = 0.88$

[five-point Likert scale: “Very undesirable work”; “Somewhat undesirable work”; “Neither undesirable or desirable work”; “Somewhat desirable work”; “Very desirable work”]

To what extent do you consider the following forms of work to be desirable (i.e., well-regarded in society)?

1. Work that involves caring for loved ones at home.
2. Work that involves caring for children, such as in schools or day care centers.
3. Work that involves caring for older adults, such as in nursing homes or adult day care centers.
4. Work that involves caring for disabled people, such as in schools or adult day care centers.

Survey Items Waves 3 and 4

Waves 3 and 4 Support for Unions $\alpha = 0.85-0.86$

1. In general, do you support or oppose labor union strikes when they occur? [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly oppose”; “Oppose”; “Somewhat oppose”; “Neither oppose nor support”; “Somewhat support”; “Support”; “Strongly support”]
2. When you hear about a dispute between management and a labor union, which side do you generally tend to favor? [seven-point Likert scale: “Side much more with management”; “Side more with management”; “Side somewhat more with management”; “Side with neither”; “Side somewhat more with the union”; “Side more with the union”; “Side much more with the union”]
3. How likely are you to vote for a political candidate who has a record of supporting unions? [seven-point Likert scale: “Extremely unlikely”; “Unlikely”; “Somewhat unlikely”; “Neither likely nor unlikely”; “Somewhat likely”; “Likely,” “Extremely likely”]

Waves 3-4 Moral Expansiveness $\alpha = 0.86$ (adapted from Crimston et al., 2016)

When you think of the following people, to what extent are you personally concerned about their wellbeing?

1. A family member
2. A close friend
3. A co-worker
4. An American citizen
5. Somebody in your neighborhood
6. An immigrant
7. Somebody with different religious beliefs
8. Somebody with different political views
9. Somebody from a different racial or ethnic group

Survey Items Wave 1

Wave 1 Structural Racism Shapes Work $\alpha = 0.86$

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. Racism in the workforce takes the form of some groups routinely having less opportunities than others.
2. Structural racism shapes how much jobs are valued and paid.
3. Racial discrimination in the workforce is primarily the result of how our society is set up.

Wave 1 Support for Unions $\alpha = 0.91$

1. Imagine two candidates are running for office. Candidate A has a record of supporting policies that make it easier to form labor unions. Candidate B does not have a record of supporting these policies. How likely would you be to vote for Candidate A over Candidate B? [seven-point Likert scale: “Extremely unlikely”; “Unlikely”; “Somewhat unlikely”; “Neither likely or unlikely”; “Somewhat likely”; “Likely,” “Extremely likely”]
2. When you hear about a dispute between management and a labor union, which side do you generally tend to favor? [seven-point Likert scale: “Side much more with management”; “Side more with management”; “Side somewhat more with management”; “Side with neither”; “Side somewhat more with the union”; “Side more with the union”; “Side much more with the union”]
3. In general, do you support or oppose labor union strikes when they occur? [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly oppose”; “Oppose”; “Somewhat oppose”; “Neither oppose nor support”; “Somewhat support”; “Support”; “Strongly support”]

Wave 1 Profit Motive Drives Exploitation Individual Subscale $\alpha = 0.87$

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. Corporate executives get rich by exploiting their workers.
2. Workers don't get paid well because their bosses want to make more money.
3. CEOs of large companies care more about profits than their workers.

Wave 1 Profit Motive Drives Exploitation System Subscale Spearman's rho = 0.72

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 our economy, workers get exploited because big companies need to maximize profits.
2. Our economy is designed to let corporations maximize profits at the expense of workers.

Wave 1 Policies

To what extent do you support or oppose the following policies? [seven-point Likert scale: "Strongly oppose"; "Oppose"; "Somewhat oppose"; "Neither oppose nor favor"; "Somewhat favor"; "Favor"; "Strongly favor"]

Subscale: Progressive Economic Policies $\alpha = 0.67$

1. Do you support or oppose policy to provide all workers paid family and medical leave from a fund that employers and workers must contribute to?
2. Do you support or oppose increasing financial penalties on US-based companies that violate labor standards?
3. Do you support or oppose expanding federal funding for programs that provide free skills training for young adults ages 16-24?

Subscale: Conservative Economic Policies $\alpha = 0.72$

4. Do you support or oppose reducing government regulation on businesses?
5. Do you support or oppose making it easier for employers to discipline employees who participate in strikes?
6. Do you support or oppose lowering the corporate tax rate (currently 21%)?
7. Do you support or oppose increasing financial penalties for employers who violate equal pay laws?

Subscale: Policies to Mitigate Occupational Segregation and Discrimination $\alpha = 0.76$

8. Do you support or oppose enhancing protections for employees who file complaints against their employers?
9. Do you support or oppose expanding labor law protections so that more groups of workers (e.g. nannies, housekeepers, independent contractors) have the right to join unions?

Survey Items Wave 2

Wave 2 Zero-Sum Thinking $\alpha = 0.87$

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. 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. It is possible to address climate change without hurting the economy. (reverse coded)
4. Policies that work to reduce climate change will also generate jobs. (reverse coded)
5. What is good for the environment is good for the economy. (reverse coded)

Wave 2 Desirability of Manufacturing Work $\alpha = 0.74$

[five-point Likert scale: “Very undesirable work”; “Somewhat undesirable work”; “Neither undesirable nor desirable work”; “Somewhat desirable work”; “Very desirable work”]

To what extent do you consider the following forms of work to be desirable (i.e., well-regarded in society)?

1. Manufacturing work that requires on the job training or certification, such as a machine or forklift operator.
2. Manufacturing work that requires extensive on the job training or an apprenticeship, such as a maintenance technician.
3. Manufacturing work that requires advanced education (i.e., bachelor’s degree), such as an industrial engineer.

Wave 2 Support for Strikes

1. In general, do you support or oppose labor union strikes when they occur? [seven-point Likert scale: “Strongly oppose”; “Oppose”; “Somewhat oppose”; “Neither oppose nor support”; “Somewhat support”; “Support”; “Strongly support”]

Wave 2 Saliency of Public Funding for Care Work

Which one comes closer to your opinion?

- Caring for children, older adults, and disabled people should be done by their families.
- Caring for children, older adults, and disabled people should be a public service funded by the government.

Wave 2 Policies

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

Subscale: Progressive Economic Policies $\alpha = 0.74$

1. Do you support or oppose breaking up big corporations that hold monopolies?
2. Do you support or oppose raising the minimum wage to \$20 per hour?
3. Do you support or oppose changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to form or join a union?
4. Do you support or oppose increasing penalties on companies that block workers from forming unions?

Youth Pathway Policy

5. Do you support or oppose expanding federal funding for programs that provide free skills training for young adults ages 16-24?

Subscale: Just Transition Policies $\alpha = 0.68$

6. Do you support or oppose a federal ‘green jobs’ program that would train workers for the skills needed in environmentally sustainable industries, such as renewable energy production?
7. Do you support or oppose federal and private partnerships to develop green infrastructure, such as green building construction?

Subscale: Care Policies $\alpha = 0.81$

8. Do you support or oppose proposals to create a new system of government-provided childcare for all families?
9. Do you support or oppose doubling federal Medicaid funding for home and community-based care services?
10. Do you support or oppose expanding the child tax credit so that families get direct monthly payments, up to \$3,600 per child per year?

Survey Items Wave 3

Wave 3 Collective Agency $\alpha = 0.89$ (adapted from Delea et al., 2021^{iv})

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 Limited Government $\alpha = 0.71$

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.

Wave 3 Support for Authoritarianism $\alpha = 0.88$

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 facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going to preserve law and order.
2. What our country really needs is a tough, harsh dose of law and order.
3. Strong, tough government is what we need to get our country back on track.

Wave 3 Policies⁵

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

1. Do you support or oppose breaking up big corporations that hold monopolies?
2. Do you support or oppose raising the minimum wage to \$20 per hour?
3. Do you support or oppose a tax proposal that would apply a 70% tax rate to reportable income over \$10 million a year?
4. Do you support or oppose changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to form or join a union?
5. Do you support or oppose increasing penalties on companies that block workers from forming unions?
6. Do you support or oppose making it easier for employers to discipline employees who participate in strikes? (reverse coded)
7. Do you support or oppose making all state and federal elections publicly funded, meaning that all candidates get public funding to run their campaigns?
8. Do you support or oppose a constitutional convention to redesign our political system?
9. Do you support or oppose allowing citizens to sue companies whose AI products cause harm?
10. Do you support or oppose legally requiring companies to annually evaluate their AI products for bias?
11. Do you support or oppose increasing funding for new technologies that make people’s jobs safer and easier?

Survey Items Wave 4

Wave 4 Win-Win Thinking $\alpha = 0.79$

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 possible to address climate change without hurting the economy.
2. Policies that work to reduce climate change will also generate jobs.
3. What is good for the environment is good for the economy.

Wave 4 Policies

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

Subscale: Progressive Economic Policies $\alpha = 0.75$

1. Do you support or oppose breaking up big corporations that hold monopolies?
2. Do you support or oppose raising the minimum wage to \$20 per hour?
3. Do you support or oppose changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to form or join a union?
4. Do you support or oppose increasing penalties on companies that block workers from forming unions?

Subscale: Youth Pathway Policies $\alpha = 0.82$

5. Do you support or oppose expanding federal funding for programs that provide free skills training for young adults ages 16-24?
6. Do you support or oppose tax credits for companies that offer flexible work schedules that young workers want, such as part-time or evening hours?
7. Do you support or oppose federal funding for programs that would expand career exploration opportunities for young adults ages 16-24?
8. Do you support or oppose tax credits for companies that offer mental health benefits that appeal to young workers, like counseling and mental health leave?

Subscale: Just Transition Policies $\alpha = 0.67$

9. Do you support or oppose a federal ‘green jobs’ program that would train workers for the skills needed in environmentally sustainable industries, such as renewable energy production?
10. Do you support or oppose federal and private partnerships to develop green infrastructure, such as green building construction?

Subscale: Care Policies $\alpha = 0.79$

11. Do you support or oppose proposals to create a new system of government-provided childcare for all families?
12. Do you support or oppose doubling federal Medicaid funding for home and community-based care services?
13. Do you support or oppose expanding the child tax credit so that families get direct monthly payments, up to \$3,600 per child per year?

Wave 4 Desirability of Manufacturing Work $\alpha = 0.72$

[five-point Likert scale: “Very undesirable work”; “Somewhat undesirable work”; “Neither undesirable or desirable work”; “Somewhat desirable work”; “Very desirable work”]

To what extent do you consider the following forms of work to be desirable (i.e., well-regarded in society)?

1. Manufacturing work that requires on the job training or certification, such as a machine or forklift operator.
2. Manufacturing work that requires extensive on the job training or an apprenticeship, such as a maintenance technician or a welder.
3. Manufacturing work that requires advanced education (i.e., bachelor's degree), such as an engineer or a robotics technician.

Wave 4 Youth Work Stereotypes

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”]

Subscale: Negative Stereotypes $\alpha = 0.76$

1. Young workers are less dedicated to their jobs than other workers.
2. Young workers prioritize their social lives over work responsibilities.
3. Young workers let worries about mental health get in the way of their work.

Subscale: Positive Stereotypes $\alpha = 0.76$

4. Young workers instinctively come up with creative solutions to any problem at work.
5. Young workers easily adapt to new technology in the workplace.
6. Young workers are naturally curious and constantly innovate at work.

Appendix C: Data Supporting Recommendations

Following, we share the data that supports the recommendations across the range of briefs and toolkits from this phase of work. In many cases, the same recommendations cut across these products. For ease of navigation, we note the recommendations in each product, and where relevant link to graphs and evidence.

1. Reframing Work, Rebalancing Power: Three Framing Strategies That Connect Jobs with Economic Justice—[brief](#) and [toolkit](#)
 2. [Reframing Care Work: A WorkShift Toolkit](#)
 3. [Producing Power: Applying Framing Recommendations about Work to the Manufacturing Sector](#)
 4. [Beyond the Factory Floor: Reframing Manufacturing Jobs for the Public Good](#)
-

1. Reframing Work, Rebalancing Power: Three Framing Strategies That Connect Jobs with Economic Justice ([full strategic brief](#) and [toolkit](#))

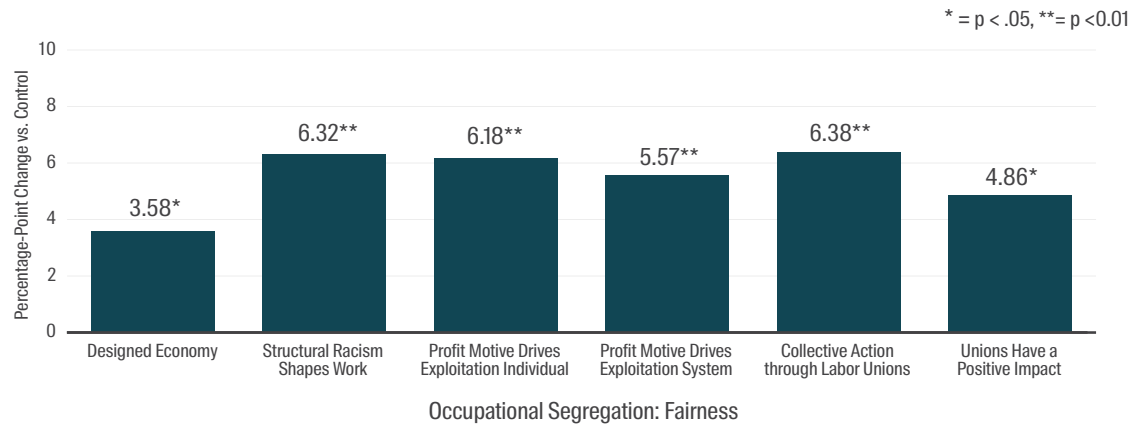
STRATEGY 1

Highlight how our systems shape opportunity and channel people into different jobs.

Recommendation: Lead explanations with the value of *fairness*.

In the survey, we found that an explanation of occupational segregation that led with the value of fairness—in terms of fair distribution of power—helps to boost several key mindsets. It boosts understanding that the economy is a designed system, that structural racism shapes work, and that the profit motive drives exploitation. It also helps us build support for collective action through labor unions and the belief that unions have a positive influence on society.

Figure 1. To boost productive thinking about the economy, work, and support for labor unions, open explanations of occupational segregation with the value of *Fairness*.



Recommendation: Explain, don't just state, the facts.

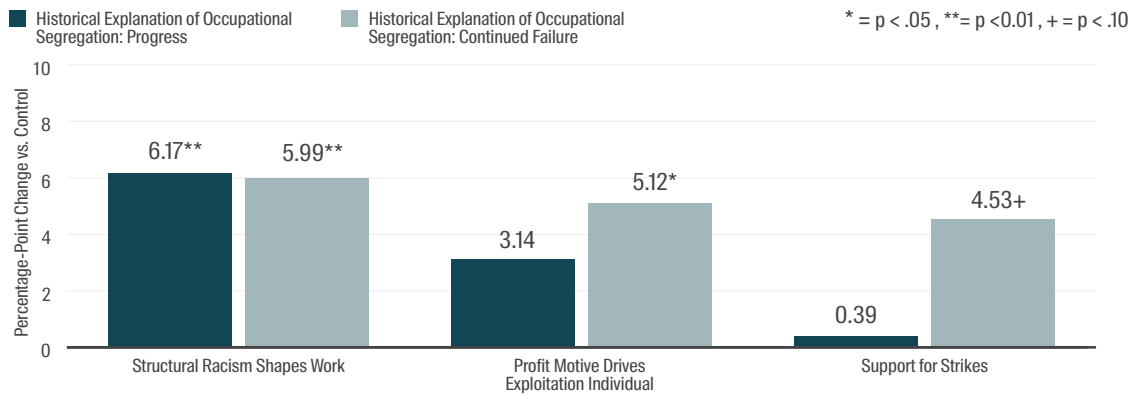
In the peer discourse sessions we tested unframed facts about occupational segregation, in connection with care work and with manufacturing. When we stated this pattern, without a full explanation, we often cued unproductive mindsets—like the *Racial Progress* and *Gender Progress* mindsets, which state that we have made sufficient progress on addressing racism and sexism, such that there is no longer a problem to address today. We also cued the mindset of *Self-Makingness*—that it is up to individuals to make their own success in life, rather than structural forces. These mindsets served to dismiss the structural problem of occupational segregation.

When we instead explain occupational segregation—as we do in the *Fairness* and the *Historical Explanations* frame—we can move thinking in helpful ways.

Recommendation: Use *historical explanations* to emphasize how structural racism and sexism shapes jobs, and what still needs to change.

We tested two types of historical explanations of occupational segregation. One emphasized how we have made *Progress* on racism and sexism in our society, but still have a long way to go, and the other emphasized the *Continued Failure* to address this over time. Both of these explanations strengthened the mindset that structural racism shapes work. Otherwise, the emphasis on ongoing problems did much better than the Progress frame. This frame helped build understanding of worker exploitation and increased support for strikes, and it helped people understand how structural racism shapes work.

Figure 2. To build an understanding of structural racism at work and boost support for collective action, explain occupational segregation referencing our continued failure to address inequities.



Spotlight on Youth: Talk about how some young people face a particularly *Steep Climb* into work.

In our quantitative research, we found that the *Steep Climb* metaphor can weaken the idea that men and women are naturally suited to different jobs. It also increases support for youth-focused policies like offering mental health benefits. While these variables were moved only marginally in the full sample, we found significant movement in Republican-leaning participants (illustrated in Figure 3a) and across age groups (illustrated in Figure 3b).

Figure 3a. In Republicans, the *Steep Climb* metaphor weakens gender essentialism and strengthens support for youth-focused policies.

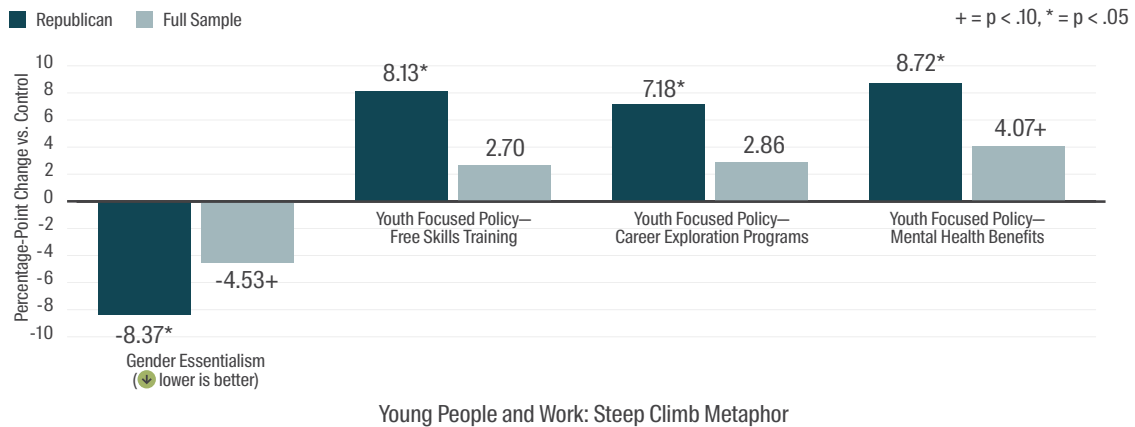
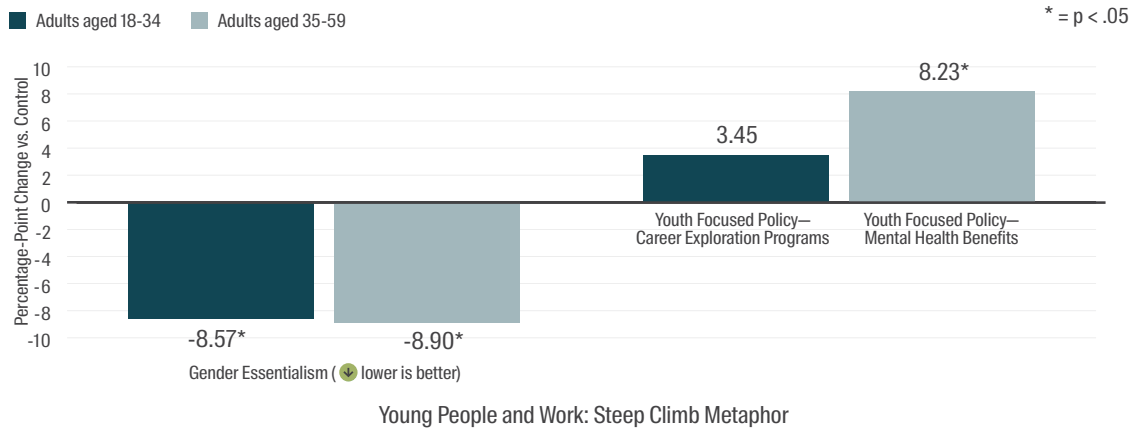


Figure 3b. Across Age Groups, the *Steep Climb* metaphor weakens gender essentialism and boosts support for mental health benefits at work.



STRATEGY 2

Name and explain exploitative forces.

Recommendation: Use the *Pyramid* metaphor to show that exploitation is a structural—and changeable—feature of the economy.

In our survey experiment, the *Pyramid* metaphor increased understanding that the profit motive exploits workers and marginally boosted support for strikes.

However, when we first tested this metaphor with Republican-leaning participants, it backfired on two key outcomes—boosting the unhelpful *Market Naturalism* mindset (that the economy is a natural system best left to its own devices) and the damaging *Reverse Racism* mindset (that it’s really white workers who are being discriminated against at work). We tested this metaphor a second time, successfully averting these backfires in Republicans with the following tweaks:

- More emphasis on how the system is actively designed—for instance, using the present continuous tense (“is being built”) rather than the simple present tense (“is built”).
- More detail on what solutions are needed—for instance, talking about the need for “workers to come together in unions, create more worker-owned businesses, and kick corporations out of our elections.”
- An explicit appeal to the need for working people to unite across race—for instance, “All working people—whether we are Black, white or brown—are the foundation of power in this economy.”

Figure 4a. To increase understanding of how profit motive is exploitive and build support for collection action through strikes, talk about the economy using a *Pyramid* metaphor.

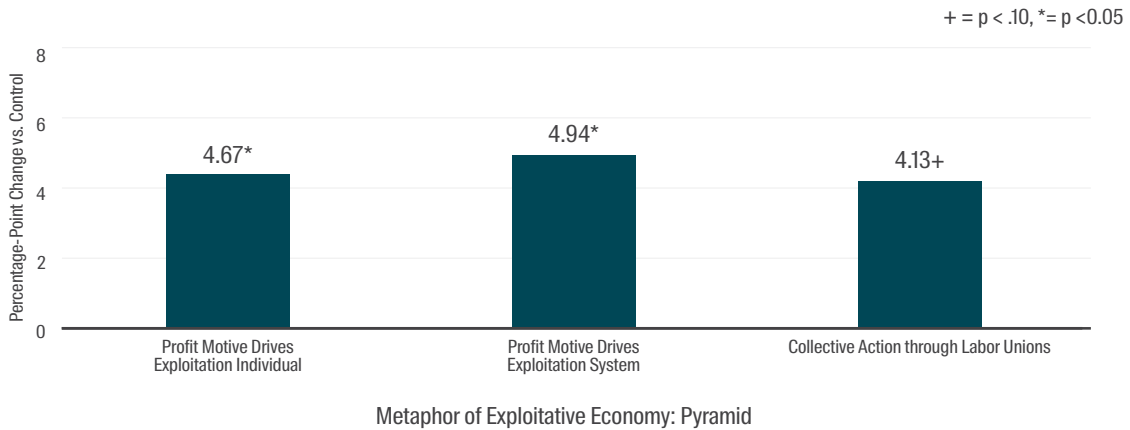
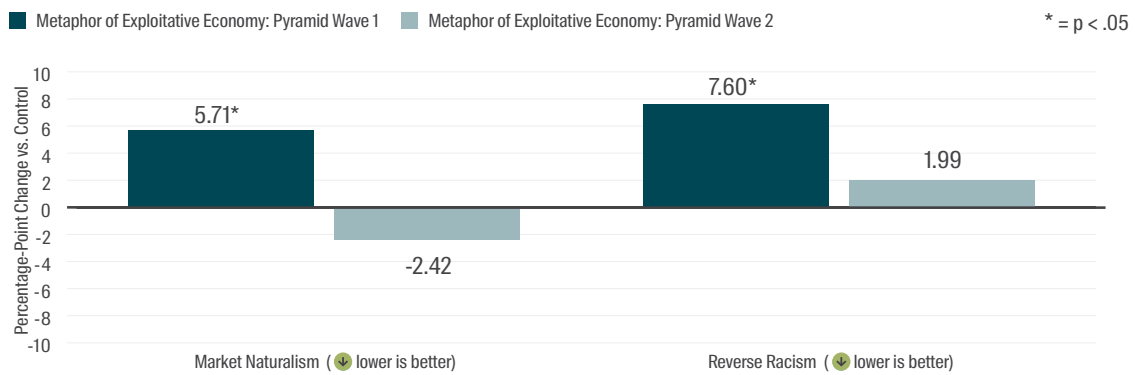


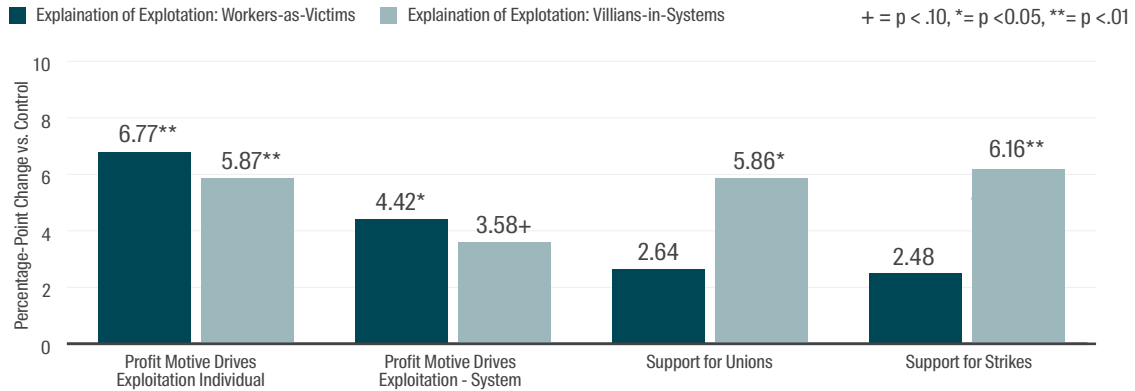
Figure 4b. To avoid market naturalism and reverse racism thinking among Republicans, use a *Pyramid* metaphor to talk about the economy and emphasize how the economic system is designed and how it can be changed.



Recommendation: Explain how wealth enables exploitation.

In the experiment, we tested two explanations of exploitation—one leading with a critique of *Villains-in-Systems*, and the other leading with *Workers-as-Victims* of exploitation. Both of these frames boosted understanding that the profit motive drives exploitation, but only the *Villains-in-Systems* explanation significantly increased support for unions and strikes.

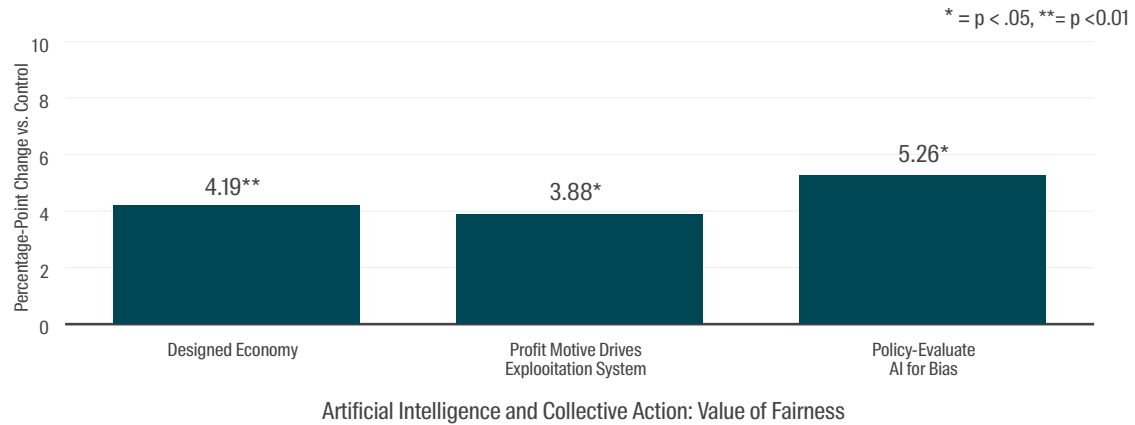
Figure 5. To build understanding of profit motive drives exploitation and increase support for unions and strikes, lead explanation of exploitation with villains and their role in systems.



Spotlight on Artificial Intelligence: Talk about the need for a *Fair Distribution of Power*, so that workers have more say over how AI is used.

In our survey experiment, talking about AI in connection with a *Fair Distribution of Power* metaphor boosted structural mindsets about the economy, such as the mindset that the economy is a designed system and that profit motive leads to exploitation. It also increased support for a policy to legally require companies to annually evaluate their AI products for bias.

Figure 6. Use Fair Distribution of Power framing to call for workers to have more say over how AI is used.



STRATEGY 3

Call for collective worker action as a response to a rigged system.

Recommendation: Talk about how the 99% can respond to a system rigged by the 1%.

In a test of different spheres of solidarity, a frame about “the 99% versus the 1%” is more effective than a frame about “workers versus bosses and business owners.” The *99% Versus 1%* frame strengthened the mindsets that the economy is designed and that the profit motive drives exploitation of workers, boosted support for a wide range of policies (including policies to reform the political system and to hold AI companies to account), and increased people’s sense of agency for being involved in collective change.

By contrast, a smaller sphere of solidarity focused on workers versus bosses was more mixed in its impact on thinking, working well for some groups, but backfiring in others—particularly with higher earners, where it increased reactionary thinking about race (the *Reverse Racism* idea that white people are now being discriminated against), naturalistic thinking about the economy (where economic outcomes are understood as natural and outside of human control), and support for limiting the scope of government.

Figure 7a. Talk about the solidarity of the 99% to increase structural thinking, build support for progressive policies, and increase collective agency.

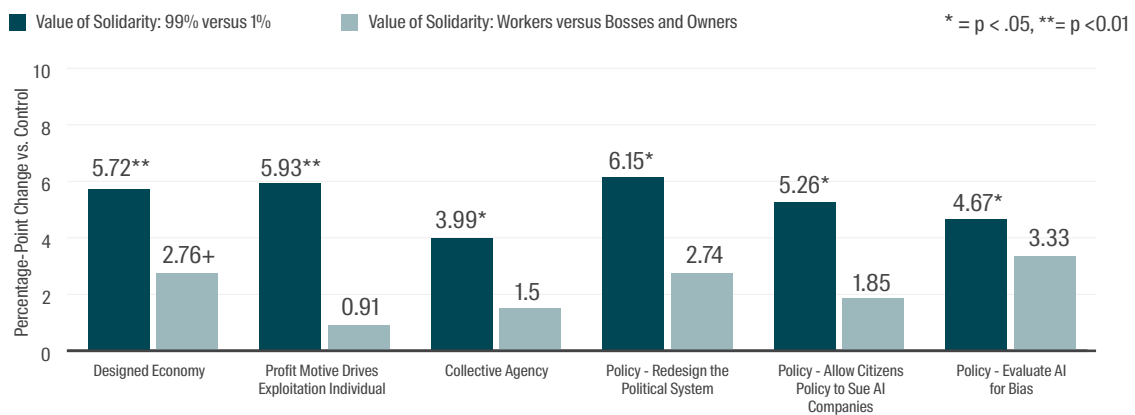


Figure 7b. Among high earners, a *Solidarity* frame focused on workers reinforces unhelpful mindsets of *Market Naturalism*, *Reverse Racism*, and *Limited Government*.

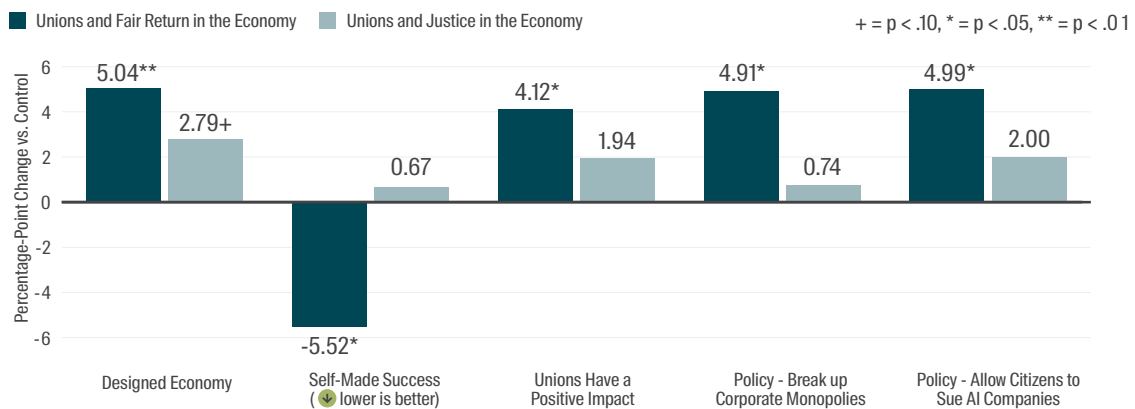


Recommendation: Talk about how workers should get a fair return in the economy.

Appealing to the value of *Fairness* in terms of how workers deserve a fair return in the economy strengthened the mindset that the economy is designed, and it weakened unhelpful individualistic thinking about self-made success. It increased support for labor unions and built support for policies, including a policy to hold AI companies to account, and a policy to break up corporate monopolies.

By contrast, we didn't see the same movement using the value of *Justice*. This frame didn't move any of these outcomes significantly.

Figure 8. Talking about workers getting a fair return in the economy works better than calling for justice in the economy.



Recommendation: Be specific about how workers can change the balance of power in a rigged system through unions.

In our System Is Rigged Survey, we found that talking about specific mechanisms—through strikes or contracts—moved thinking in consistent and predictable ways, boosting support for unions, the belief that unions have a positive impact on society, and a range of progressive economic policies (like breaking up corporate monopolies, increasing the minimum wage, and changing the law to make it easier to form or join a union). These frames also moved two forms of collective efficacy—the belief that systems change is possible, and the belief that we can achieve fair outcomes for everyone—but *Contracts* only moved these marginally, while *Strikes* moved them significantly (see Figure 9a).

Specific, concrete mechanisms tested much better than “worker power” and “worker voice” language. In our *Worker Power* frame, we said that working people can shift the balance of power through uniting in unions. In our *Worker Voice* frame, we elaborated on this organizing message with language about how, by joining together in unions, working people have more say over pay, benefits, and working conditions. Neither of these offered a specific mechanism for how unions build power, beyond people joining together.

The *Worker Power* and *Worker Voice* frames boosted support for unions, but did little else to shift thinking in any direction. We illustrate this below in Figure 9b on the outcome of believing that unions have a positive impact in society.

Figure 9a. Talk about *Contracts* and *Strikes* to boost support for unions, progressive economic policies, and collective efficacy.

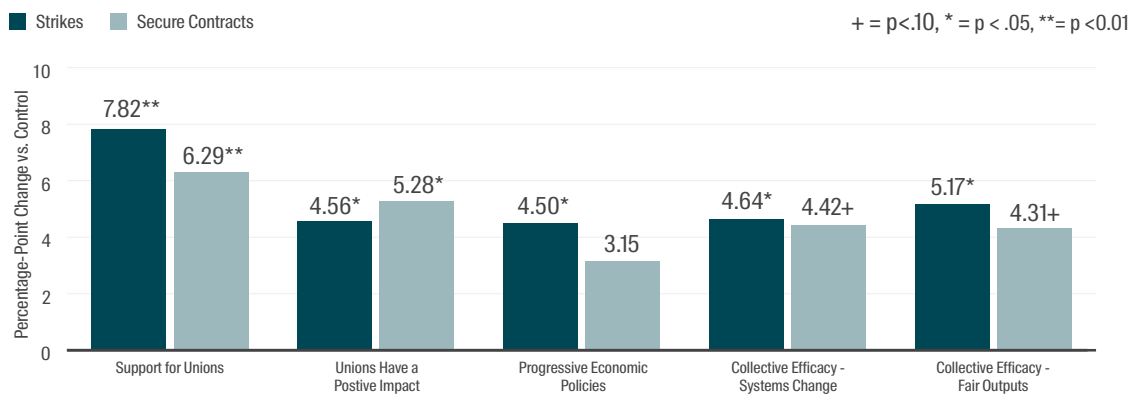
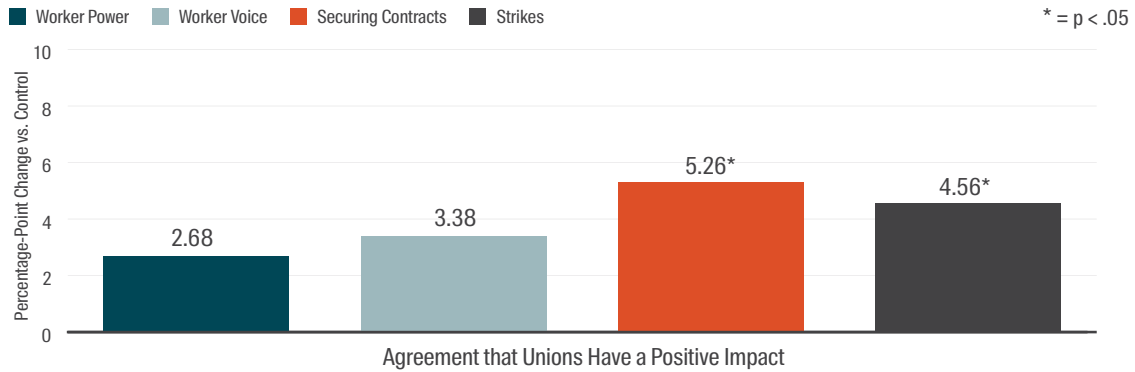


Figure 9b. Specific, concrete mechanisms boost thinking that unions have a positive impact, whereas “worker power” and “worker voice” language does not.



Spotlight on the Just Transition: Use the metaphor of *Rebalancing the System*, alongside a critique of the status quo.

In our experiment, the metaphor of *Rebalancing the System*, combined with a critique of how things are now, boosted support for a range of policy changes. This metaphor for the Just Transition did much better than the metaphors of *Repairing the System* or *Rebuilding the System*, which didn’t move these variables.

The *Rebalancing* metaphor was particularly effective at shifting thinking in Republican-leaning audiences—strengthening support for unions and weakening the *Reverse Racism* mindset that white workers are discriminated against, as well as boosting support for Just Transition policies like a federal “green jobs” program to train workers for environmentally sustainable industries.

Figure 10a. Use the metaphor of *Rebalancing the System*, rather than *Rebuilding* or *Repairing*, to talk about the Just Transition.

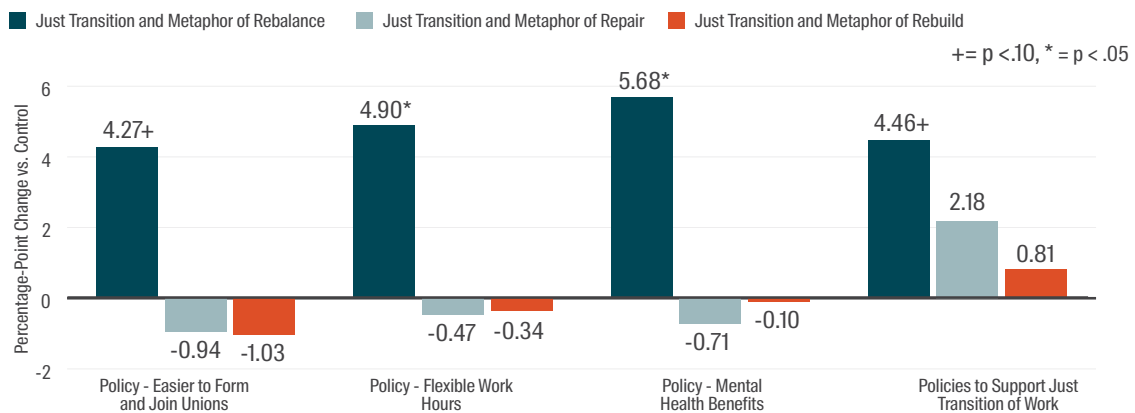
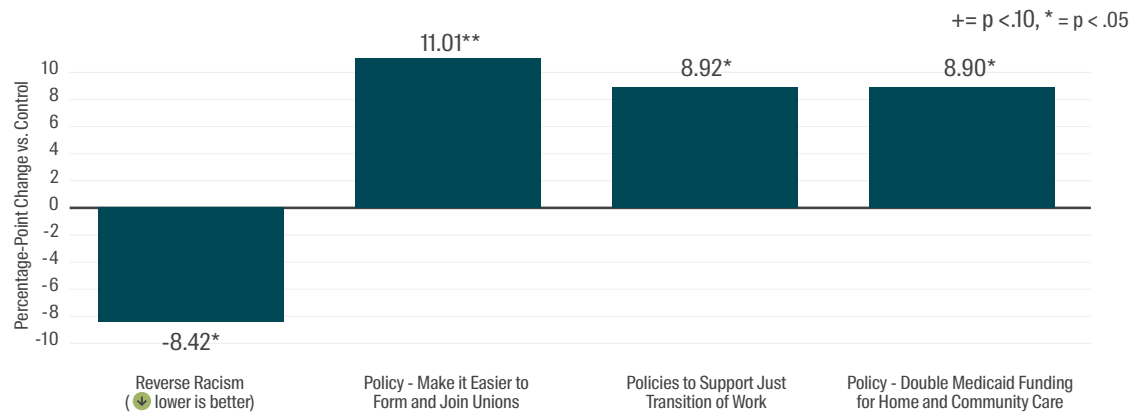


Figure 10b. The *Rebalancing* metaphor is particularly effective with Republican-leaning participants.



2. Reframing Care Work: A WorkShift Toolkit

STRATEGY 1

Explain how unfair systems shape care work.

Recommendation 1: Make it about fairness.

See recommendation above to “[lead explanations with the value of fairness.](#)”

Recommendation 2: Explain how, not just who.

See recommendation above to “[explain, don’t just state, the facts.](#)”

Recommendation 3: Connect past failures to present problems with historical explanations.

See recommendation above to “[use historical explanations to emphasize how structural racism and sexism shapes jobs, and what still needs to change.](#)”

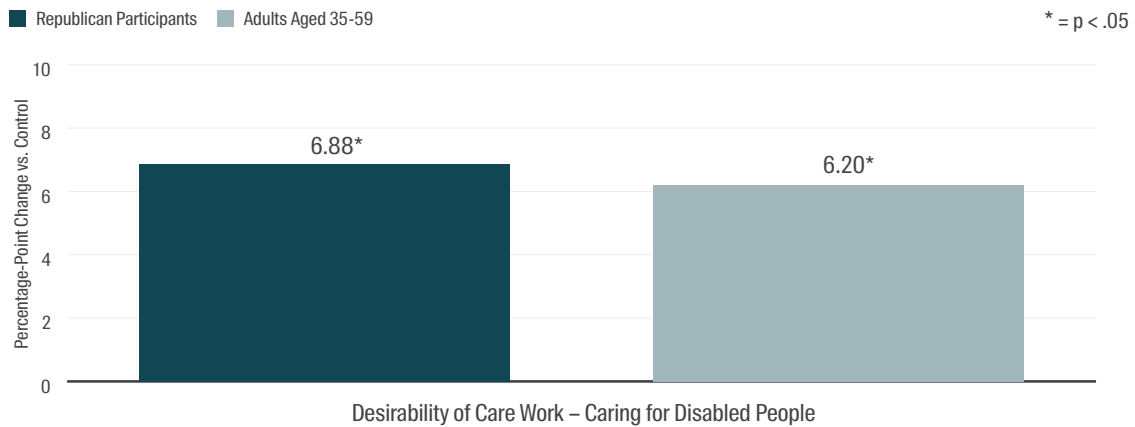
STRATEGY 2

Emphasize *context*, not care workers’ character.

Recommendation 4: Talk about how care work contributes to the common good.

In our survey experiment we found that a *Common Good* frame for talking about the value of work boosted the desirability of some types of manufacturing jobs and marginally boosted support for unions (see Figure 13). Among two demographic groups—Republicans and people aged 35–59—this frame also boosted the desirability of some types of care jobs—especially care of disabled people (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. Use a *Common Good* frame to boost the desirability of disabled care among Republicans and people aged 35–59.



Our tip to avoid being vague about “valuing care,” draws on two sources: our original [cultural mindsets research](#), and from our PDS testing of a frame on valuing care, where we found that people often interpreted this in terms of acts of gratitude, not structural change (for instance, saying thank you to care workers).

Recommendation 5: Show how job conditions shape care quality.

Recommendation 6: Highlight the skills required for quality care.

Recommendation 7: Avoid hero narratives that focus on personal sacrifice.

For these recommendations, we rely on our [original cultural mindsets research](#), where we found a strong reliance on the mindsets of *Care Work as Character* and *Caring Is Natural* to understand care work. We also refer to a large body of research that supports our [Features of Narratives](#) report on situating heroes in the context of systems and collectives, and the need to put the spotlight on [conditions of care](#).

Spotlight on the *Infrastructure Metaphor: Safe but Limited*

The metaphor of care as essential infrastructure in our economy was limited in its ability to change thinking. It only marginally increased the belief that unions have a positive impact in the full sample and among Republicans, boosted the desirability of care work among Republicans, and moved thinking on a range of outcomes in older adults.

Figure 12a. The *Infrastructure* metaphor is limited in its ability to move productive thinking about care work.

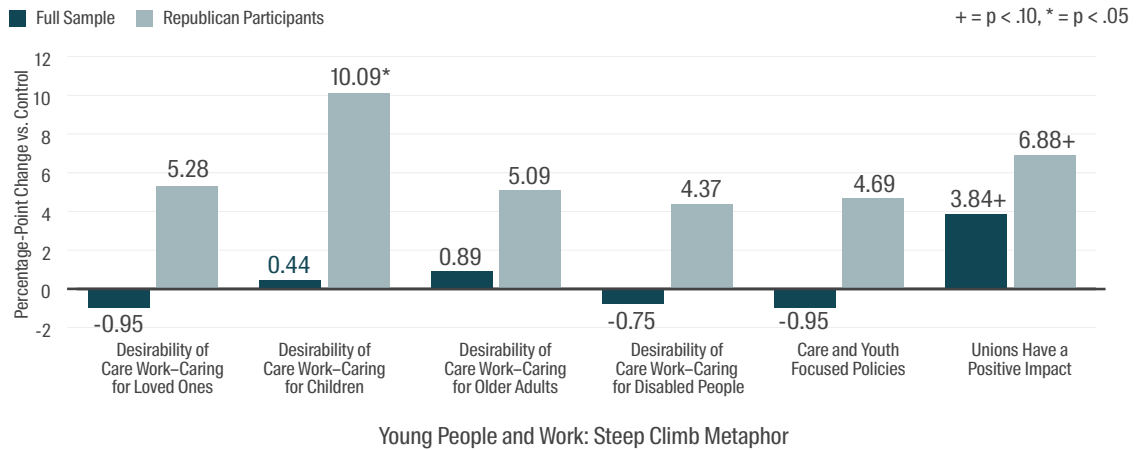
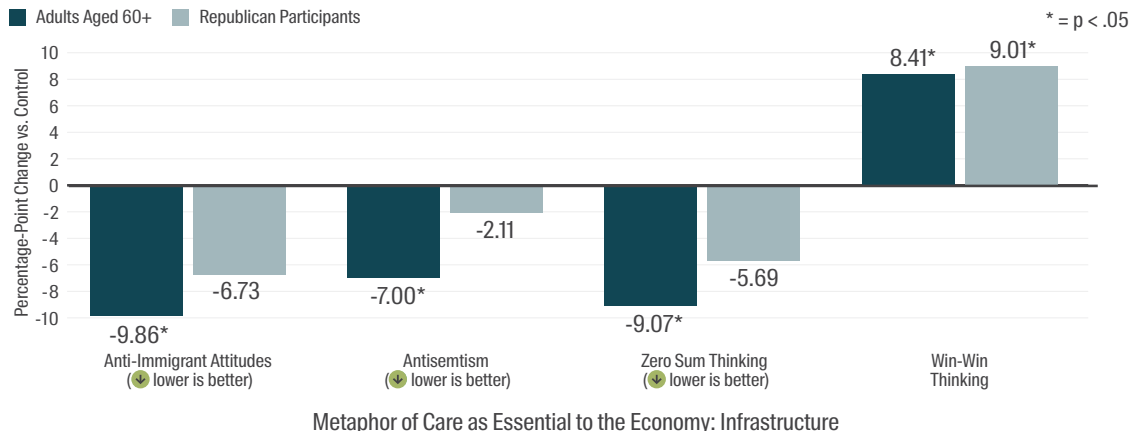


Figure 12b. Amongst older adults and Republicans, the *Infrastructure* metaphor can help people think more inclusively.



3. Producing Power: Applying Framing Recommendations about Work to the Manufacturing Sector

CHALLENGE 1:

Manufacturing Is Seen as Essential—but Not as a Part of the System That Can Be Redesigned

Recommendation: Make manufacturing a systemic issue by talking about how the 99% can respond to a system rigged by the 1%.

See recommendation above to [“talk about how the 99% can respond to a system rigged by the 1%.”](#)

CHALLENGE 2:

People Sometimes Deny That Racial and Gender Disparities Exist in Manufacturing or Think of Them as Natural

Recommendation: Explain the historical roots of occupational segregation, and lead these explanations with the value of *Fairness*.

See recommendation above to [“lead explanations with the value of fairness”](#) and to [“use historical explanations to emphasize how structural racism and sexism shapes jobs, and what still needs to change.”](#)

CHALLENGE 3:

People See That Profit Motive Drives Bad Working Conditions in Manufacturing, But Don’t See Exploitation as Central to Our Economic System

Recommendation: Use the metaphor of the economy as a pyramid to show how exploitation is structural and changeable.

See recommendation above to [“use the *Pyramid* metaphor to show that exploitation is a structural—and changeable—feature of the economy.”](#)

Recommendation: Start by explaining how corporations exploit workers—don’t just focus on the harms workers face.

See recommendation above to [“explain how wealth enables exploitation.”](#)

CHALLENGE 4:

**People Sometimes Understand That Manufacturing Pollutes Locally—
but Don’t See the Scale of the Problem Facing Workers
and the Planet**

Recommendation: Use the metaphor of *Rebalancing* to make the case for a Just Transition.

See recommendation above to “[use the metaphor of *Rebalancing the System*, alongside a critique of the status quo.](#)”

CHALLENGE 5:

**Unions Are Supported in Principle—but Seen as Outdated, or
Ineffective in Manufacturing Today**

Recommendation: Talk about how workers should get a fair return in the economy.

See recommendation above to “[talk about how workers should get a fair return in the economy.](#)”

Recommendation: Be specific about how manufacturing unions build and leverage power in a rigged system.

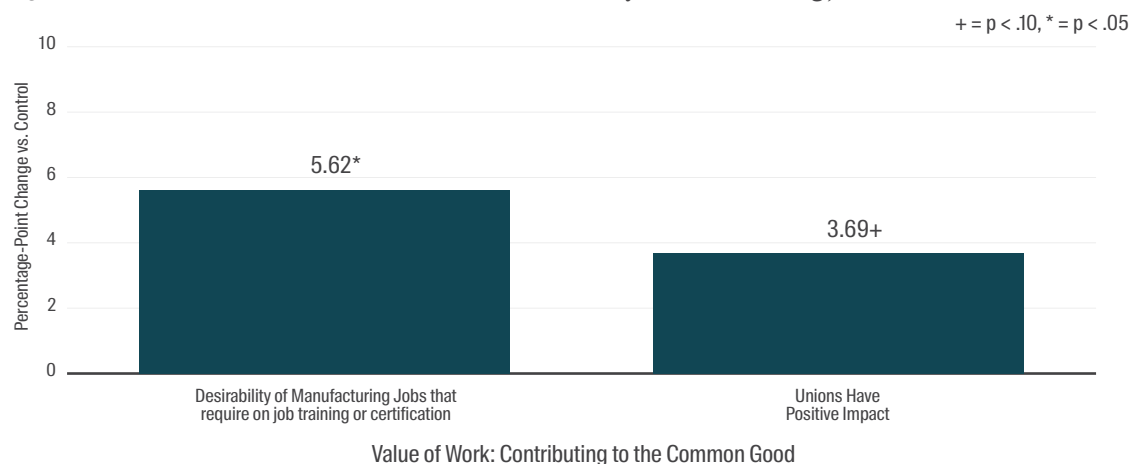
See recommendation above to “[be specific about how workers can change the balance of power in a rigged system through unions.](#)”

4. Beyond the Factory Floor: Reframing Manufacturing Jobs for the Public Good

1. Talk about how manufacturing helps contribute to the *common good*.

A *Common Good* frame boosts the desirability of some of the more stigmatized manufacturing jobs, for instance work that requires on-the-job training or certification, such as machine or forklift operation. It also marginally boosts the idea that unions have a positive effect on society.

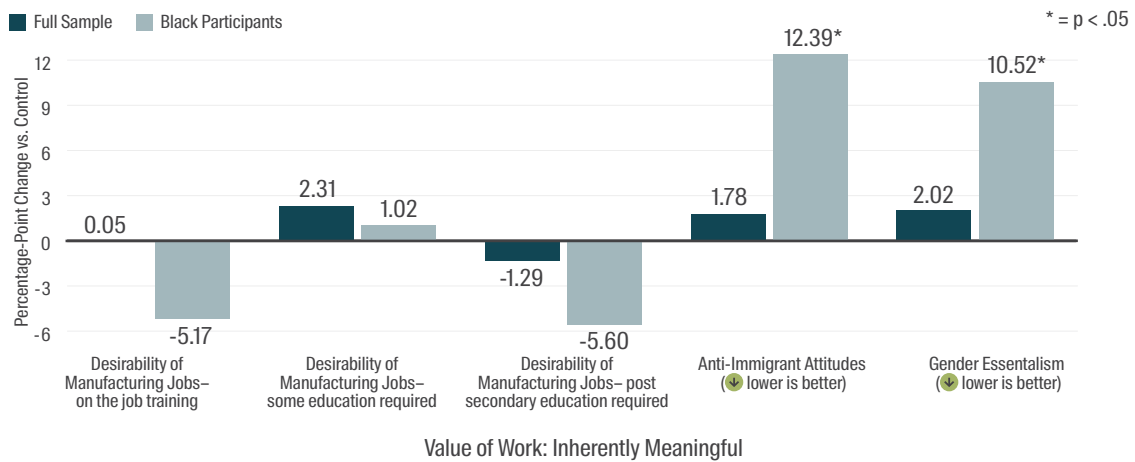
Figure 13. Use a *Common Good* frame to boost the desirability of manufacturing jobs.



Avoid talking about manufacturing as being inherently fulfilling.

When we talk about manufacturing as being valuable because it is inherently fulfilling, we don't boost its desirability. In our survey experiment, this *Fulfilling* frame sometimes backfired—for instance, among Black participants—on *Anti-Immigrant Attitudes* and the *Gender Essentialist* mindset that men and women are naturally and biologically suited for different types of work.

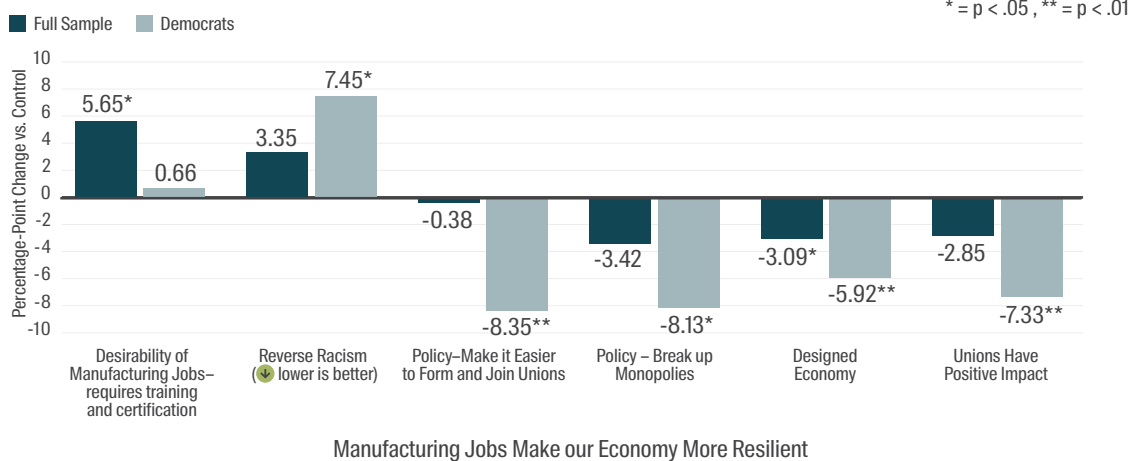
Figure 14. Avoid talking about manufacturing as inherently meaningful.



Avoid talking about manufacturing as making our economy more resilient.

Talking about how manufacturing is valuable because it makes our economy more resilient is unhelpful. While this did increase the desirability of manufacturing jobs, it also moved thinking in deeply unhelpful ways—weakening structural thinking about the economy and reducing support for unions. In Democratic-leaning participants, it additionally increased reactionary mindsets, like the *Reverse Racism* idea that it's white people that are being most discriminated against, and it reduced support for a wide range of policies, like policies to break up monopolies and policies to make it easier to join unions.

Figure 15. Avoid talking about how manufacturing makes our economy more resilient.



2. Use the metaphor of manufacturing as the backbone, or life force, of our economy—but be sure to name what policy changes are needed in manufacturing.

In our experiment, the *Life Force* frame boosted the desirability of manufacturing and was particularly effective with Republican audiences at shifting thinking in additional helpful directions—reducing reverse racism, increasing support for unions, and boosting support for a wide range of progressive policies, including policies on the Just Transition. The *Backbone* frame boosted the desirability of manufacturing with Republican-leaning audiences and did some helpful work to encourage more structural thinking and policy changes in younger people.

Figure 16a. Use the *Life Force* metaphor to increase desirability of manufacturing.

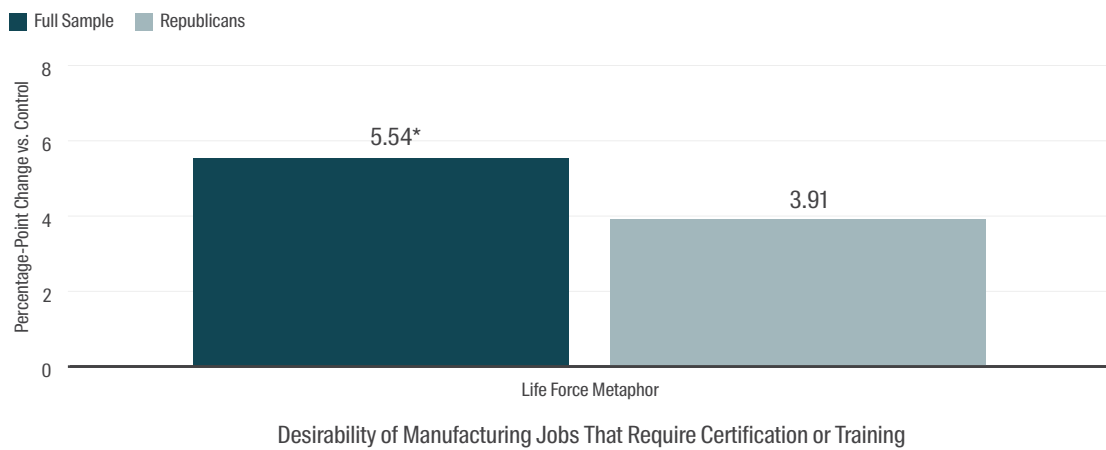


Figure 16b. Among Republicans, the *Backbone* metaphor increased desirability of manufacturing work.

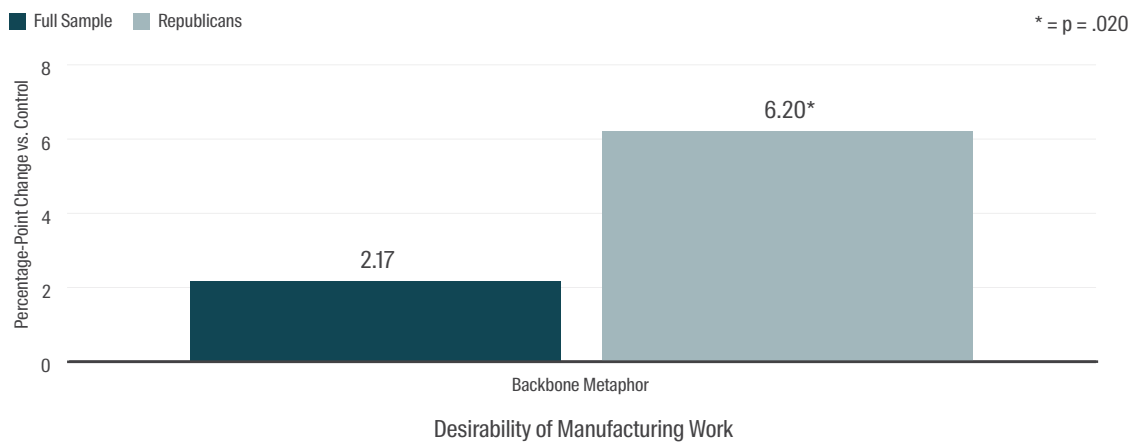


Figure 16c. The *Backbone* metaphor boosts structural thinking and support for youth-focused policies among young adults.

* = $p < .05$

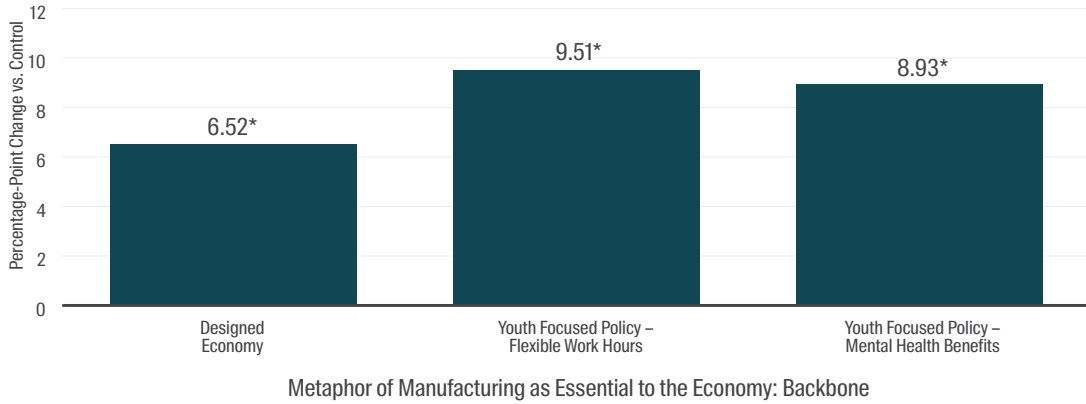
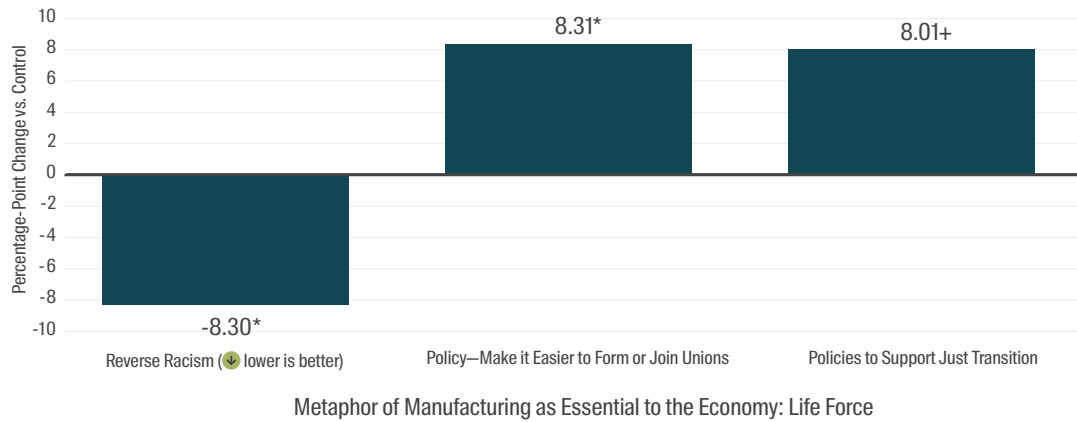


Figure 16d. Among Republicans, the *Life Force* metaphor is effective at boosting union supporting policy, reducing reverse racism and increasing support for Just Transition policies.

+ = $p < .10$, * = $p < .05$



Endnotes

1. 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. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1082-989x.9.3.275>
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4. Delea, M., Sinharoy, 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. *Available at SSRN 4004711*.

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WorkShift Methods Supplement

April 2026

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