



Bringing Power Home

Reframing Place through the Lens of Class and Race Methods Supplement

SEPTEMBER 2026

Research Methods and Samples

To arrive at the recommendations in the brief, the FrameWorks Institute 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 FrameWorks research that involved interviews with members of the public and experts and advocates working on issues related to spatial justice, including issues of race, place, and their relationship, which are described in a [separate brief](#) with an appended methods summary.ⁱ

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 race, place, and power. These frames were tested in 2025–2026 and refined using two methods: survey experiments and peer discourse sessions (PDS), a type of focus group. In total, 10,436 people from across the United States were included in this research.

Frame Design

To identify effective ways of communicating about spatial injustice, FrameWorks researchers developed a set of tasks the frames needed to address, then brainstormed potential reframing strategies (for example, metaphors and issues) that might accomplish one or more of these tasks. After generating a list of candidate framing ideas to test, researchers solicited feedback from the advisory board and project partners to ensure the frames were both apt and usable for organizations advocating for spatial justice. Based on this feedback, researchers refined a set of frames and brought them into empirical testing.

Peer Discourse Sessions

We conducted PDS both before and after our survey experiments to better understand how issues of race, place, and power were discussed in a group setting and how participants responded to some of our frames. We ran 12 sessions with 72 participants total: The initial six sessions, conducted in October 2025 prior to the survey experiments, were exploratory and designed to investigate the possible effects of candidate frames. Three of these sessions focused on the social construction of race and three focused on community resistance to corporate pollution. The subsequent six sessions, conducted in April 2026 after the survey experiments, were designed to answer the remaining research questions about frames that had proven successful in quantitative testing. Three of these sessions focused on systemic racism, the social construction of race, and pollution. The other three sessions focused on systemic racism, the social construction of race, and extraction. All 12 sessions were conducted virtually over Zoom. The sample of participants was screened for direct lived experience with systemic injustice in their communities (see Appendix B for more information on the screener questions). Participants were recruited from across the United States and were diverse in terms of age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, education level, geographical location, and political party identification.

Each session was two hours long. Sessions included a variety of discussion prompts and activities designed to evaluate participants' responses to the frames in a social context and their usability during conversations with peers. We tested metaphors, explanatory examples, *System Is Rigged* frames, and historical explanations. The frames we tested in PDS are detailed in Appendix A.

Experimental Surveys

After analyzing how the candidate frames performed in the initial six exploratory PDS sessions, FrameWorks researchers refined the frames to bring forward for testing in the experiments. Four online surveys involving a total sample of 10,364 adults in the United States (Wave 1: $N = 2,037$; Wave 2: $N = 3,151$; Wave 3: $N = 2,025$; Wave 4: $N = 3,151$) were conducted between January and April 2026. The online surveys tested the effectiveness of frames on shifting public understanding and attitudes toward a more systemic understanding of race, place, and power, and on building support for racially just economic and political policies. We fielded two samples: a nationally representative sample and a screened sample. For the nationally representative sample, quotas were set to national benchmarks for age, sex, race/ethnicity, household income, education level, and political party affiliation. The screened sample required a "yes" answer to at least three of eight screener questions

(Appendix B) and a household income under \$200,000. Table 1 provides overall PDS demographic information; Tables 2 and 3 show key demographic variables for each sample and experiment. Data were not weighted.

Table 1. PDS Demographic Information

Variable	Level	Number of Participants
Gender	Male	36
	Female	34
	Nonbinary/other	2
Age	18–29	18
	30–44	13
	45–59	25
	60+	16
Income	\$0–\$39,999	20
	\$40,000–\$69,999	19
	\$70,000–\$99,999	15
	\$100,000–\$149,999	11
	\$150,000 or more	8
Education	High school diploma or less	19
	Some college	24
	College degree	24
	Post-college	7
Residential Area	Urban	27
	Suburban	14
	Rural	31
Race/Ethnicity	Caucasian/white (non-Hispanic/Latino)	19
	Hispanic or Latino	17
	Black/African American	20
	Other (e.g., Asian, American Indian/Alaska Native)	16
Political Views	Democrat/lean Democrat	41
	Republican/lean Republican	21
	Independent/other/do not lean	9

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics of Screened Samples (Waves 1 and 3)

Variable	Level	Wave 1 (%)	Wave 3 (%)
Gender	Male	49	51
	Female	50	48
	Nonbinary/other	<1	<1
Age	18–24	7	7
	25–34	17	16
	35–44	21	22
	45–59	25	24
	60+	29	32
Income	\$0–\$24,999	18	15
	\$25,000–\$49,999	24	24
	\$50,000–\$99,999	35	35
	\$100,000–\$149,999	16	18
	\$150,000–\$199,999	7	8
Education	High school diploma or less	32	22
	Some college or associate degree	30	33
	Bachelor's degree	23	27
	Graduate degree	15	18
Residential Area	Urban	40	38
	Suburban	40	40
	Rural	21	22
Race/Ethnicity	Caucasian/white (non-Hispanic/Latino)	57	60
	Hispanic or Latino	16	10
	Black/African American	16	17
	Asian	6	4
	American Indian/Alaska Native	1	1
	Southwest Asian/North African	0	0
	Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	<1	<1
	Other/biracial or multiracial	5	8

Political Party/ Party Leaning	Democrat/lean Democrat	50	52
	Republican/lean Republican	39	36
	Independent/other/neither	11	11

Note: Percentages listed may equal greater than 100% due to rounding.

Table 3. Demographic Characteristics of Nationally Representative Samples (Waves 2 and 4)

Variable	Level	Wave 2 (%)	Wave 4 (%)
Gender	Male	48	49
	Female	51	50
	Nonbinary/other	<1	<1
Age	18–24	6	4
	25–34	18	12
	35–44	20	23
	45–59	26	30
	60+	29	31
Income	\$0–\$24,999	16	14
	\$25,000–\$49,999	22	22
	\$50,000–\$99,999	34	34
	\$100,000–\$149,999	17	17
	\$150,00 or more	12	13
Education	High school diploma or less	30	27
	Some college or associate degree	29	28
	Bachelor's degree	25	28
	Graduate degree	16	17
Residential Area	Urban	33	31
	Suburban	50	52
	Rural	17	17

Race/Ethnicity	Caucasian/white (non-Hispanic/Latino)	61	57
	Hispanic or Latino	15	17
	Black/African American	15	16
	Asian	6	7
	American Indian/Alaska Native	1	1
	Southwest Asian/North African	<1	<1
	Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	<1	<1
	Other/biracial or multiracial	3	3
Political Party/ Party Leaning	Democrat/lean Democrat	49	50
	Republican/lean Republican	40	38
	Independent/other/neither	11	12

Note: Percentages listed may equal greater than 100% due to rounding.

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

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

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

After providing consent to participate, participants were randomly assigned to one of several experimental conditions. All frame treatments focused on increasing public understanding of issues relating to spatial injustice and support for collective political action. Tested frames can be found in Appendix A. Each experiment also included a null control condition. Participants assigned to the null control 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. Survey questions were designed to measure specific outcomes of interest. Each battery consisted of multiple questions and was primarily measured using Likert-type items with five- or seven-point response scales. To prevent order effects, the order of batteries shown to participants was randomized, and all survey items within each battery were also randomized. Halfway through the survey items, participants assigned to an experimental condition were re-primed with the message they read at the beginning of the survey. They were required to view the message for at least 20 seconds before continuing with the survey questions. Open-ended questions requiring free-text answers were also included in the survey but were not analyzed.

Prior to any inferential analysis, we conducted a series of randomization checks. Chi-square analyses indicated that all target demographics were evenly distributed across conditions. 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 $|\lambda_{.40}|$ were dropped from each battery. For scales that had been previously tested, we conducted a series of confirmatory factor analyses to test the expected dimensionality of our outcome scales. Survey items were specified to load onto their intended factors, with correlations among factors estimated freely using the marker method approach. We used maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors 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,² with thresholds of $< .050$ for close fit and $< .080$ for reasonable fit; the Comparative Fit Index,³ and the Tucker-Lewis Index,³ with thresholds of $> .900$ for acceptable fit and $> .950$ for excellent fit.

After concluding psychometric testing, Cronbach's alpha (α) and McDonald's omega (ω) were used to assess internal consistency among the items in each battery. Given that there are various heuristics for determining acceptable internal consistency, we determined that batteries with internal consistency scores approaching .60 or above would be considered acceptable.⁴ Internal consistency scores for each battery can be found in Appendix B. After assessing internal consistency, items within each battery were combined into composite scores that indicated participants' average level of agreement with the statements that articulated the core assumptions of each mindset, attitude, or opinion. All composites have been rescaled to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong disagreement with the statements. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong agreement with the statements.

After conducting the preliminary analyses described previously, we used multiple regression analysis to determine whether there were significant differences in the outcomes between each of the experimental frame conditions and the control condition. A threshold of $p < .05$ was used to determine whether the experimental frame conditions had any significant effects on mindsets,

attitudes, and opinions. Significant differences were understood as evidence that a frame 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 don't typically make recommendations based on marginal effects, we do consider these effects as part of a holistic approach to understanding broader patterns across results. The following example shows how we interpreted regression results for the strategic brief. Table 4 shows coefficients for two groups on systemic thinking about segregation: the control group and the *Spatial Injustice as an Issue of Wealth and Power* condition, both measured on a 0–100 scale. The control group's coefficient of 45.00 represents their average score on systemic thinking about segregation. The *Spatial Injustice* condition's coefficient of 9.22 represents how much higher that group scored than the control group, for an average of 54.22 ($45.00 + 9.22$). This difference is statistically significant ($p < .001$), meaning participants in the Spatial Injustice condition showed significantly higher systemic thinking about segregation than those in the null control group.

Table 4. Framing Effect on Systemic Thinking about Segregation

Systemic Thinking about Segregation

Condition	Coefficient	p-value
Null control	45.00	
<i>Spatial Injustice as an Issue of Wealth and Power</i>	9.22	<.001

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

APPENDIX A

Tested framing strategies

PDS Round 1 (Before experimental surveys)

Racism Is By Design

Our society is rigged to give wealthy white people power over Black, Native, and other people of color. Race is not natural. Race was invented by wealthy white slaveholders to justify slavery and divide poor European workers from Africans. Today, our economic system still depends on paying Black, Native, and immigrant people of color low wages for essential work like childcare, home care, and agricultural work. The United States was also built on land stolen from Native Americans, and the US continues to let corporations profit from this land by taking natural resources like oil.

We must unite across our differences to resist racism and demand a new social system. We can start by demanding that the government enforce anti-discrimination and voting rights laws. We can also tax inherited wealth and raise wages. We can create “baby bonds” that give all children a nest egg at birth. These changes will lay the groundwork for a new system in which all of us - Black, white, Native, and brown - can thrive.

XAI—Memphis

Boxtown Memphis, Tennessee is a mostly Black and working class community. Boxtown, along with many communities like it, has a large industrial site with high levels of air pollution. As a result, the community has very high asthma rates. In the past, Black neighborhoods like Boxtown were segregated. Residents had to live there, and industrial zoning permits made them toxic places to live. This continues in new forms today. Recently a tech corporation, run by a billionaire, decided to put a data center in Boxtown, with massive methane turbines for power. These are known to cause lung disease. Residents are already feeling the impact on their breathing.

But community members are fighting back, working together to make change. People organized their communities and campaigned. They attended public gatherings like city council meetings to share their stories and call for change. Larger organizations joined the effort. They are challenging the permit under the Clean Air Act. The decisions that shape a place, through design, policy, and planning, can harm people, especially when their communities don’t have a say. But, by working together, communities can fight back and make change.

PDS Round 2 (After experimental surveys)

Extraction part 1

No communities should have their resources taken away. But right now our laws and policies are set up so that a wealthy few can extract what they want from our communities without our consent. Every day, the natural resources in our communities are stolen for use by the wealthiest people and corporations. They mine, drill, and frack in our communities. They dam our rivers and divert our water.

Extraction part 2

But it's not just resources they take. They take away good-paying jobs, extracting our time and energy for low pay. They take away good housing options. And they deliberately pull quality healthcare providers out of our communities. Our systems allow the wealthiest and most powerful people to take what they want from our communities for their own benefit.

Pollution part 1

No communities should be polluted. But right now our laws and policies are set up so that a wealthy few can poison our communities without our consent. Every day, harmful things are put in our communities by the wealthiest people and corporations. Toxic chemicals from refineries and highways pollute our air. Factories and pipelines poison our water.

Pollution part 2

But it's not just chemicals they release into our communities. They dump low-paying or unstable jobs on us. They put substandard and deteriorating housing in our neighborhoods. And they deliberately concentrate low-quality healthcare providers in our communities. Our systems allow the wealthiest and most powerful people to put harmful things in our communities for their own benefit.

Programming Metaphor

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into races based on skin color. They programmed racial hierarchies into the code of our economy.

Our economy still runs on this old programming. It pays Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. The economic code was designed to take wealth made by workers of color and redirect it to a few wealthy white people.

But if racial hierarchies were programmed into our economy, we can reprogram it. We can rewrite the code to override these hierarchies.

System is Rigged (with opportunity language)

People of color face blocked opportunities everywhere. This is because in America, our political and economic systems concentrate power among a few wealthy white people at the expense of people of color. These same systems shape life in our local communities. They let wealthy white people push for laws that keep affordable housing out of their neighborhoods. This forces people of color into areas with low property values and underfunded schools.

System is Rigged (without opportunity language)

In America, our political and economic systems concentrate power among a few wealthy white people at the expense of people of color. These same systems shape life in our local communities. They let wealthy white people push for laws that keep affordable housing out of their neighborhoods. This forces people of color into areas with low property values and underfunded schools.

Survey Experiment

Wave 1 Screened Sample

Sites of Extraction

Nobody should be able to take resources from our communities without our consent.

No communities should have their resources taken away. But right now our laws and policies are set up so that a wealthy few can extract what they want from our communities without our consent.

Every day, the natural resources in our communities are stolen for use by the wealthiest people and corporations. They mine, drill, and frack in our communities. They dam our rivers and divert our water. But it's not just resources they take. They take away good-paying jobs, extracting our time and energy for low pay. They take away good housing options. And they deliberately pull quality healthcare providers out of our communities. Our systems allow the wealthiest and most powerful people to take what they want from our communities for their own benefit.

It doesn't have to be this way. The places we live could have more than enough to thrive without this extraction. By organizing with our neighbors, we can stop this theft. Together, we can make sure our resources and the wealth we create are shared by us, not extracted for the profit of a few.

Sites of Pollution

Nobody should be able to pollute and poison our communities.

No communities should be polluted. But right now our laws and policies are set up so that a wealthy few can poison our communities without our consent.

Every day, harmful things are put in our communities by the wealthiest people and corporations. Toxic chemicals from refineries and highways pollute our air. Factories and pipelines poison our water. But it's not just chemicals they release into our communities. They dump low-paying or unstable jobs on us. They put substandard and deteriorating housing in our neighborhoods. And they deliberately concentrate low-quality healthcare providers in our communities. Our systems allow the wealthiest and most powerful people to put harmful things in our communities for their own benefit.

It doesn't have to be this way. The places we live would have more than enough to thrive without this pollution. By organizing with our neighbors, we can stop this contamination. Together, we can make sure our resources and the wealth we create is shared by us, not degraded for the profit of a few.

Community Power

Nobody can take away our power to decide what happens in our communities.

We should have the power to decide what happens in our communities. Whether we have good affordable housing, green space, grocery stores, and clean air and water depends on how much power we have to decide and act for ourselves.

But our economic and political systems let wealthy corporations and politicians decide what happens in our communities. This is particularly true in communities of color and working-class communities. For decades, corporations and politicians have had the power to build factories that pollute our air and water. They do this instead of creating more parks and green spaces. They tear down our homes and neighborhoods to build highways or strip malls. They do this instead of investing in the good, affordable housing we need. What our communities look like today comes from choices like these. Choices made over time and without our say, to try and take our power.

We have always been strong in the face of decisions that try to take our power. But community power is our strength, and it cannot be taken away. If enough of us come together, we can force corporations and politicians to listen. When we organize as a community, we have the power to demand that corporate and political interests are never put above our needs.

Community Joy

Nobody can take joy away from our communities

Our communities should be happy and joyful. Much of our joy depends on whether we have good affordable housing, green spaces, grocery stores, and clean air and water to depend on.

But our economic and political systems are set up so that wealthy corporations and politicians decide what happens in our communities. This is particularly true for communities of color and working-class communities. For decades, corporations and politicians have tried to take our joy. They build factories that pollute our air and water. They do this instead of creating more parks and green spaces. They tear down our homes and neighborhoods to build highways or strip malls. They do this instead of investing in the good, affordable housing we need. What our communities look like today comes from choices like these. Choices made over time and without our say, to try and keep us down.

We have always been strong in the face of decisions that try to take our joy. But joy is our strength, and it cannot be taken away. If enough of us come together, we can force corporations and politicians to listen. When we organize as a community, we can demand that corporate and political interests are never put above our joy.

Corruption—Broad to Specific

The system is rigged to benefit a powerful few at our expense.

In America, we live in a system that is rigged to benefit a few people at our expense. Across the country, our system puts power and wealth in the hands of a few. They use this influence to make choices and plans for society that work for them, not us.

This same corruption we see across the country also plays out in our own communities. A wealthy few are allowed to buy influence over our local officials. This corruption means they get to decide what to build in our communities, and where. It lets them decide whether our schools and hospitals are fully staffed and funded, or whether they are made for-profit to benefit themselves instead of us. This rigged system means that we don't really have a say over what happens where we live. It affects communities of color and working-class communities most, whose needs have been ignored for a long time.

But we can unrig the system and make it work for our communities. If we come together in large numbers, we can fight corruption and increase our power to shape our own lives. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. By coming together at public events and town halls, we can hold our local officials accountable. And by organizing together with our neighbors, we can demand that nothing happens in our communities without our say.

Corruption—Specific to Broad

The system is rigged against us in our own communities.

In America, we live in a system that is rigged to benefit a few people at the expense of our communities. A wealthy few are allowed to buy influence over our local officials. This corruption means they get to decide what to build in our communities, and where. It lets them decide whether our schools and hospitals are fully staffed and funded, or whether they are made for-profit to benefit themselves instead of us. This rigged system means that we don't really have a say over what happens where we live. It affects communities of color and working-class communities most, whose needs have been ignored for a long time.

The same corruption we see in our own communities happens across the country. It puts power and wealth in the hands of a few. They then use this influence to make choices and plans for society that work for them, not us.

But we can unrig the system and make it work for us. If we come together in large numbers, we can fight corruption and increase our power to shape our own lives. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. By coming together at public events and town halls, we can hold our senators and representatives accountable. And by organizing together across the country, we can demand that nothing happens in our society without our say.

Emplacement (second person)

When we organize together, we can make major changes in the community.

Imagine it's the near future, and you are walking down a street in your neighborhood. Things look very different. A few years ago, your community banded together to demand major improvements. It took time, effort, and teamwork. But the work paid off.

Now, you walk on newly paved sidewalks where before there were none. The neighborhood school now has all the teachers and supplies it needs. It has just let out, and the kids are joining their newly funded after-school programs. New homes line the road because your community demanded better and more affordable housing. You can hear kids playing in the new park a few blocks away. It used to be an empty strip mall. The new public transportation system is free and easy to use, where before it was hard to get anywhere without a car. And the air you breathe is clean because the community demanded stricter limits on pollution.

Your community was able to achieve all this by organizing together. They demanded meetings with local officials. They spoke at town halls and community events. They pressured their elected representatives, and ousted those who didn't listen. They started petitions and campaigns so they could have more input in community planning and decision making. When we work together locally, this future can be a reality.

Abstract (third person)

When we organize together, we can make major changes across our communities.

Imagine it's the near future. Communities across the country have worked to demand major improvements. It took time, effort, and teamwork. But the work paid off.

Now, neighborhoods across the country are more walkable. Sidewalks have been added or repaired, where before they were falling apart or missing. Schools and students are doing well. Before, they didn't have enough teachers or funding for supplies and after-school programs. New homes are being built because communities demanded better and more affordable housing. Parks and green spaces are appearing where empty strip malls and unused space used to be. New public transportation systems are free and easy to use. Before, it was hard to get anywhere without a car. And the air we breathe is cleaner, all because communities came together to demand stricter limits on pollution.

Communities across the country were able to achieve all this by organizing locally. They demanded meetings with local officials. They spoke at town halls and community events. They pressured their elected representatives, and ousted those who didn't listen. They started petitions and campaigns so they could have more input in community planning and decision making. When we work together locally, this future can be a reality.

Wave 2 Nationally Representative Sample

Historical Explanation—Base

Racial hierarchies were made up and we have the power to unmake them.

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into categories or races based on skin color. Race gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. Since then, they made laws and policies to keep racial hierarchies in place.

In America, racial hierarchies started when Europeans took over the land. Laws let wealthy white people enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. Laws have changed over time, but racial hierarchies still affect how people live today.

Racial hierarchies were created to keep a few wealthy people in power at the expense of people of color. But, it doesn't have to be this way. If we come together, we can remake our society to work for all of us. We can restore wealth and land to harmed communities. And we can ensure everyone has income, housing, and healthcare. These changes get rid of racial hierarchies and create a society where everyone thrives.

Historical Explanation—Broad

Racial hierarchies were made up and we have the power to unmake them.

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into categories or races based on skin color. Race gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. Since then, they made laws and policies to keep racial hierarchies in place.

In America, racial hierarchies started when Europeans took over the land. Laws let wealthy white people enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. For decades after slavery ended, Black, Native and other people of color couldn't go to school past 8th grade and were blocked from getting good-paying jobs. Even now, our economy pays workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. Laws have changed over time, but racial hierarchies still affect how people live today.

Racial hierarchies were created to keep a few wealthy people in power at the expense of people of color. But it doesn't have to be this way. If we come together, we can remake our society to work for all of us. We can restore wealth and land to harmed communities. And we can ensure everyone has income, housing, and healthcare. These changes get rid of racial hierarchies and create a society where everyone thrives.

Systems—Broad to Local

As a society we can come together to ensure our systems work for all communities.

In America, our political and economic systems concentrate power among a few wealthy white people at the expense of people of color. These systems have let the wealthy few use their money to control politics. They started by creating laws that let white slaveholders profit from the work of enslaved Black people. For decades after slavery ended, people of color were blocked from getting good-paying jobs. Today, workers of color are still pushed into low-paying jobs.

These same systems shape life in our local communities. They let wealthy white people push for laws that keep affordable housing out of their neighborhoods. This forces people of color into areas with low property values and underfunded schools.

Our systems limit opportunities for people of color at every level—from wages to housing to education. But it doesn't have to be this way. When we organize together in our communities, we have the power to fight for better systems. We can start by demanding higher wages and affordable housing in neighborhoods of color. We can make sure that schools get the funding they need. Together, we can build systems that work for all communities.

Systems—Local to Broad

If we come together in our communities, we can make our systems work for us

In our communities, people of color face blocked opportunities everywhere. Wealthy white people push for laws that keep affordable housing out of their neighborhoods. This forces people of color into areas with low property values and underfunded schools.

The problems we see in our local communities come from our country's broader systems. In America, the wealthy few have used their money to control politics. They started by creating laws that let white slaveholders profit from the work of enslaved Black people. For decades after slavery ended, people of color were blocked from getting good-paying jobs. Today, workers of color are still pushed into low-paying jobs. These same systems concentrate power among a few wealthy white people at the expense of people of color.

Our systems limit opportunities for people of color at every level—from wages to housing to education. But it doesn't have to be this way. When we organize across the country, we have the power to fight for better systems. We can start by demanding higher wages for everyone and affordable housing in every neighborhood. We can make sure our schools get the funding they need. Together, we can build systems that work for all of us.

Divide and Rule

The system is rigged to divide and rule us

In America, the system is rigged to benefit a powerful and wealthy few at the expense of the rest of us. The powerful and wealthy few use race to divide and exploit us. They keep people of color in lower-wage jobs while putting white people in higher paying positions like management. Even with the same skills and experience, workers of color are paid less than white workers. This creates resentment between workers, keeping us divided while their profits get bigger and bigger. And while we blame each other, they buy influence with politicians to weaken workplace protections and the right to form unions. This expands their power and limits ours.

This rigged system keeps a few people wealthy and powerful by dividing us. But we can come together around our shared interests. No matter our race or background, we all want to live well. When we organize in large numbers, we have the power to fight for the things we all want—higher wages, better benefits, and safer working conditions. Together we can challenge the powerful and wealthy few and unrig the system they built to exploit us.

Divide and Rule—99% and 1%

The system is rigged to divide and rule the 99%.

In America, the system is rigged to benefit the wealthy 1% at the expense of the 99% of us who work to survive. The 1% use race to divide and exploit us. They keep people of color in lower-wage jobs while putting white people in higher paying positions like management. Even with the same skills and experience, workers of color are paid less than white workers. This creates resentment between workers, keeping us divided while their profits get bigger and bigger. And while we blame each other, the wealthy 1% buy influence with politicians to weaken workplace protections and the right to form unions. This expands their power and limits ours.

This rigged system keeps a few people wealthy and powerful by dividing us. But we can come together around our shared interests. No matter our race or background, we all want to live well. When we organize in large numbers, we have the power to fight for the things we all want—higher wages, better benefits, and safer working conditions. Together, as the 99%, we can challenge the 1% and unrig the system they built to exploit us.

Divide and Rule—Working People and Corporations

The system is rigged to divide and rule working people.

In America, the system is rigged to benefit a few wealthy corporations at the expense of working people. Wealthy corporations use race to divide and exploit us. They keep people of color in lower-wage jobs while putting white people in higher paying positions like management. Even with the same skills and experience, workers of color are paid less than white workers. This creates resentment between workers, keeping us divided while their profits get bigger and bigger. And while we blame each other, these corporations buy influence with politicians to weaken workplace protections and the right to form unions. This expands their power and limits ours.

This rigged system keeps a few corporations wealthy and powerful by dividing us. But we can come together around our shared interests. No matter our race or background, we all want to live well. When we organize in large numbers, we have the power to fight for the things we all want—higher wages, better benefits, and safer working conditions. Together, as working people, we can challenge wealthy corporations and unrig the system they built to exploit us.

Racial Hierarchies Are Constructed

We can tear down racial hierarchies to make a better society.

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into races based on skin color. This gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. They built hierarchies with Black, Native, and other people of color at the bottom, while a few wealthy white people were placed on top. And ever since then, our laws and policies keep racial hierarchies in place.

This structure is the foundation of our economy today. It was built to pay Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. Our economy takes wealth and labor from workers of color at the bottom and stacks power and resources with a few wealthy white people at the top.

But if racial hierarchies are built, we have the power to tear them down. When we come together, we can remake our economy to share wealth and resources. By doing this we can build a system that supports everyone.

Racial Hierarchies Are Programmed

We can reprogram our society to get rid of racial hierarchies.

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into races based on skin color. This gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. They programmed racial hierarchies into the code of our economy. This code blocks Black, Native, and other people of color from wealth and opportunities, while putting white people first.

Our economy still runs on this old programming. It pays Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. The economic code was designed to take wealth made by workers of color and redirect it to a few wealthy white people.

But if racial hierarchies were programmed into our economy, we can reprogram it. When we come together, we have the power to override these hierarchies and rewrite the code. By doing this we can create a system that supports everyone.

Place as Designed/Built

We should have the power to design our communities.

The places we live are designed—they are planned, mapped out, and built. They can be well designed to meet people's needs, or they can be designed poorly and without thinking about the community. Which communities have resources like parks, good affordable housing, and healthy food, air, and water are all the result of design choices.

How places are designed matters. Right now, our economic and political systems let people with the most wealth and power design what places look like, even if they don't live there. Without community involvement, places get designed to make a profit. They don't get designed to meet people's needs. This means that corporations and politicians can decide to build factories or data centers instead of parks or housing. This happens much too often in communities of color and working-class communities.

But we can come together and demand a role in designing our own communities. When we have a hand in design choices, we can make sure our communities have the support structures they need.

Choices/Decisions Affect Place—Literal

We should make the decisions that affect the places we live.

Decisions affect the places we live. These choices can either help meet people's needs, or they can harm the community. Which communities have resources like parks, good affordable housing, and healthy food, air, and water are all the result of specific choices that get made.

It matters how these decisions get made. Right now, our economic and political systems let people with the most wealth and power design what places look like, even if they don't live there. Without community involvement, places get used to make a profit. Choices are not made to meet people's needs. This means that corporations and politicians can decide to build factories or data centers instead of parks or housing. This happens much too often in communities of color and working-class communities.

But we can come together and demand that we make these choices for ourselves. When we are the ones who make the decisions, our communities are more likely to get the resources and services they need.

Spatial Injustice as a Government Policy Issue

Government policies should help our communities thrive.

When communities don't have the resources they need to thrive, it's because of government laws and policies. These laws and policies affect how places are designed and which communities get resources. Communities of color and working-class communities have been hurt most by these laws over time.

For decades, banks influenced government policies so they could label areas with more people of color as bad investments. This caused people and businesses to leave. Laws shaped by wealthy investors made it illegal to build smaller, more affordable homes. They did this by requiring large lot sizes, or only allowing expensive single-family homes in certain areas. This made housing too expensive for people with lower incomes. Laws and policies like these were meant to push working-class people and people of color into communities with fewer resources. Meanwhile, wealthier white people got to live in communities with more investment.

Today, too many policies keep these patterns going. But we can change this. We can organize to demand that laws and policies help our communities, not just banks or a wealthy few. We can pressure our elected officials to improve roads, healthcare, and education in the communities that need it most. This will create good jobs and local business opportunities. By coming together, we can demand that our laws and policies make sure that all our communities do well.

Spatial Injustice as an Issue of Wealth and Power

Wealth and power should be shared so that all communities can thrive.

When communities don't have the resources they need to thrive, it's because of how wealth and power work in our society. The powerful few have shaped how places are designed and which communities get resources. Communities of color and working-class communities have been hurt most by these powerful interests over time.

For decades, government policies allowed banks to label areas with more people of color as bad investments. This caused people and businesses to leave. Wealthy investors pushed for laws that made it illegal to build smaller, more affordable homes. They did this by requiring large lot sizes, or only allowing expensive single-family homes in certain areas. This made housing too expensive for people with lower incomes. The wealthy and powerful few meant to push working-class people and people of color into communities with fewer resources. Meanwhile, wealthier white people got to live in communities with more investment.

Today, the wealthy and powerful have found new ways to protect their interests. But we can change this. We can organize to demand that laws and policies help our communities, not just banks or a wealthy few. We can pressure corporations and wealthy individuals to invest in communities of color and working-class communities. This will create good jobs and local business opportunities. By coming together, we can build our own power in our own communities so that we can all do well.

Wave 3 Screened Sample

Prospect—Gain

There's So Much to Win, If We Act Together.

Across the country, communities are coming together. When we organize, we build the power to get the resources and services we need. Communities just like ours have won cleaner air, safer drinking water, and healthy soil to grow food. They have affordable homes in every neighborhood, and good-paying jobs that support families. And there are good hospitals and clinics nearby.

These wins happen because organized communities have the power to make our economic and political systems work for them. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. We can show up at public events and town halls to hold our local officials accountable. When enough of us work together, we get a say in the decisions that affect our communities.

Our communities have power. Organizing is how we use it. When enough of us act together, we don't just win resources—we win the power to shape our own communities.

Prospect—Loss

There's So Much to Lose, If We Don't Act Together.

Across the country, communities are losing what they need to survive. When we aren't organized, we lose the power to protect the resources and services we need. Communities like ours have lost clean air, safe drinking water, and healthy soil to grow food. They have lost affordable homes, good-paying jobs, and good hospitals and clinics nearby.

These losses happen because our economic and political systems were designed to benefit the wealthy and powerful few. When we don't demand financial transparency in our local elections, wealthy interests influence our politics. When we don't show up to public events and town halls, our local officials answer to wealthy interests, not us. And when we aren't organized, we lose our say in the decisions that affect our communities.

Our communities aren't as strong when we aren't organized. If we don't act together, we don't just lose resources—we lose the power to shape our own communities.

Past Wins

When We Organize, We Win.

Organized communities across the country have demanded better conditions where they live, and won. They won clean air, safe drinking water, and a say in what happens in their communities.

Our country has a long history of federal policies that removed land and rights from Native communities. In 1954, the federal government took away the Menominee Nation's land and tribal status. In response, the Menominee organized, went to Congress, and demanded change. It took

time, effort, and teamwork. But in 1973, Congress finally returned their tribal status and their land. What policy took away, organizing won back.

These wins happened because people organized with their neighbors and refused to be ignored. When we organize, we can win too. When we act together, we can win the resources we need and the power to control what happens in our communities.

Past Wins and Ongoing Struggles

We've Won Before, We Know How to Win Again.

Organized communities across the country have demanded better conditions where they live, and won. They won clean air, safe drinking water, and a say in what happens in their communities.

Our country has a long history of federal policies that removed land and rights from Native communities. In 1954, the federal government took away the Menominee Nation's land and tribal status. In response, the Menominee organized, went to Congress, and demanded change. It took time, effort, and teamwork. But in 1973, Congress finally returned their tribal status and their land. What policy took away, organizing won back.

But there is still much more to win. Right now, corporations are pushing to build massive data centers across the country. Data centers consume enormous amounts of water and energy. This strains local supplies and hurts the surrounding communities. This hits hardest in working-class communities and communities of color, where data centers are often built. But organized communities are pushing back. Communities in 24 states have already blocked or delayed \$64 billion worth of data center projects.

Communities across the U.S. are facing real obstacles, but we know how to overcome them. The past shows us that we can win when we organize with our neighbors and refuse to be ignored. When we act together, we can win the resources we need and the power to control what happens in our communities.

System Is Rigged and Past Wins

Our Society Is Rigged and We Know How to Unrig It.

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for working-class people and people of color.

But it doesn't have to be this way. Organized communities across the country have demanded better conditions where they live and started unrigging the system. They won clean air, safe drinking water, and a say in what happens in their communities.

Our country has a long history of federal policies rigged against Native communities, stripping them of their land and rights. In 1954, the federal government took away the Menominee Nation's land

and tribal status. But the Menominee organized, went to Congress, and demanded change. It took time, effort, and teamwork, but in 1973, Congress finally returned their tribal status and their land. What the rigged system took away, organizing won back.

Community members organized with their neighbors and refused to be ignored. They came together to unrig a system that was designed to benefit a powerful few at their expense. When we organize, we can win too. When we act together, we can win the resources we need and the power to control what happens in our communities.

Voice

If we make our voices heard, we can create real change in our communities.

Our communities should have a voice in the decisions that affect them. But our economic and political systems are set up to give that voice to a wealthy and powerful few. They get to decide what happens in our communities, and our voices are deliberately left out.

But it doesn't have to be this way. When we join together in large numbers, our voices carry weight. The wealthy and powerful few can't keep making decisions without us when enough of us demand to be heard.

If we organize together with our neighbors, we can demand a real voice in the decisions that shape our communities. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. By speaking up at public events and town halls, we can hold our local officials accountable. And when enough of us act together, we can demand a say in the decisions that affect our lives.

Fight/Battle

If we fight for what we need, we can create real change in our communities.

Our communities can win if we fight for what we need. But our economic and political systems are set up to give a wealthy and powerful few the advantage. They get to take control of our communities and make decisions for us, without us.

But it doesn't have to be this way. When we band together in large numbers, we can win the battle. The wealthy and powerful few will be forced to back down if we come together and fight.

If we organize together with our neighbors, we can win power over the decisions that shape our communities. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. By banding together at public events and town halls, we can hold our local officials accountable. And when enough of us fight together, we can win a say in the decisions that affect our lives.

Vision Contrast and Emplacement (second person)

When we organize together, a bright future is possible.

Imagine it's the near future, and you are walking down a street in your neighborhood. You pass the neighborhood school where kids are joining in their newly funded after school programs. You walk by storefronts with good-paying jobs. Affordable homes line the road, and you can hear kids playing in the new park a few blocks away. You know that if your family needs care, there is a fully staffed health clinic nearby. Your community organized together and made this happen.

But imagine instead that your community never organizes. You pass the same school knowing it's underfunded, short on teachers or supplies. You watch businesses close and take good-paying jobs with them. Rent keeps climbing and there are no parks for kids to play. You walk past the old healthcare clinic knowing it is understaffed and can't meet people's needs.

We can make a choice: a future where our community thrives or a future where we struggle. If we organize together with our neighbors, we can create real change. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. We can show up at public events and town halls to hold our local officials accountable. And if we act together, a bright future is possible—one where we have a real say in the decisions that affect our lives.

Vision Contrast, Emplacement (second person), and Sites of Extraction

When we organize together, nobody can take resources from our communities.

Imagine it's the near future, and you are walking down a street in your neighborhood. You pass the neighborhood school where kids are joining in their newly funded after school programs. You walk by storefronts with good-paying jobs. Affordable homes line the road, and you can hear kids playing in the new park a few blocks away. You know that if your family needs care, there is a fully staffed health clinic nearby. Your community organized together and made this happen.

But imagine instead that your community never organizes. You pass the same school knowing that funding keeps getting taken away. You watch businesses leave and take good-paying jobs with them. Outside investors buy up homes and drive up your rent. You see parks and green spaces bulldozed for big developments that make other people rich. You walk past the old healthcare clinic—good providers were stolen away and never replaced.

We can make a choice: a future where our community thrives or a future where our resources are extracted from us. If we organize together with our neighbors, we can stop this theft. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. We can show up at public events and town halls to hold our local officials accountable. And if we act together, a bright future is possible—one where our resources stay in our communities and we have a real say in the decisions that affect our lives.

Wave 4 Nationally Representative Sample

Community Joy—Adjusted

Nobody Can Take Joy Away from Our Communities.

Joy is part of how our communities survive and thrive. Our joy persists even though our economic and political systems are set up to give a wealthy and powerful few control over what happens in our communities. This is particularly true for communities of color and working-class communities.

For decades, corporations and politicians have tried to take our joy by hurting our communities. They build factories that pollute our air and water. They do this instead of creating more parks and green spaces. They tear down our homes and neighborhoods to build highways or strip malls. They do this instead of investing in the good, affordable housing we need. What our communities look like today comes from choices like these. Choices made over time and without our say, to try and undermine our joy.

But our joy persists. It is a way for us to keep going even when we face oppression and mistreatment. Our joy is a strength that cannot be taken away. When we come together as a community, that strength grows.

Community Joy and Power

Our Joy Gives Us Power to Decide What Happens in Our Communities

Joy is part of how our communities survive and thrive. Our joy persists even though our economic and political systems are set up to give a wealthy and powerful few control over what happens in our communities. This is particularly true for communities of color and working-class communities, where joy has always been a source of power.

For decades, corporations and politicians have tried to take our joy by hurting our communities. They build factories that pollute our air and water. They do this instead of creating more parks and green spaces. They tear down our homes and neighborhoods to build highways or strip malls. They do this instead of investing in the good, affordable housing we need. What our communities look like today comes from choices like these. Choices made over time and without our say, to try and undermine our joy. They do this because they know joy is the source of our power.

But our joy persists. It is a way for us to keep going even when we face oppression and mistreatment. Our joy makes us powerful. When we come together as a community, we can use this power to force corporations and politicians to back down. When we act together, we have the power to demand more control over what happens in our communities.

Disrupting the Process

If We Organize Together, We Can Disrupt the Processes That Keep Our Communities Down

Every community should have what it needs to thrive. But our economic and political systems are set up to work against working-class communities and communities of color. These processes were

put in place by a wealthy and powerful few, and they've been running ever since.

Decades ago, working-class people and people of color were pushed into neighborhoods with fewer resources. That separation let local governments route investments away from those communities. These processes haven't stopped. Our neighborhoods are still being passed over—no good-paying jobs nearby, no green spaces, no decent healthcare. For generations, those in power have kept these processes running against us.

But communities acting together can interrupt even the most powerful systems. When enough of us act together, we can make the people running these processes answer to us. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. We can show up at public events and town halls to hold our local officials accountable. And when enough of us work together, we can demand to have a say in the decisions that affect our lives. When we organize with our neighbors, we can force those in power to stop these processes. And we can set up new processes to help our communities thrive.

Building Momentum

If We Organize Together, We Can Build Momentum to Make Real Change in Our Communities

Every community should have what it needs to thrive. But our economic and political systems are set up to stall working-class communities and communities of color. This has been done deliberately, and for a long time, to keep us from gaining momentum.

Decades ago, working class people and people of color were pushed into neighborhoods with fewer resources. That separation let local governments drain momentum from those communities by redirecting investments elsewhere. We still face these headwinds today. Our neighborhoods are still being passed over—no good-paying jobs nearby, no green spaces, no decent healthcare. For generations, these systems have kept us from picking up speed.

But they can't stop whole communities in motion. When enough of us act together, we generate something that's hard to slow down. We can start by demanding financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. We can show up at public events and town halls to hold our local officials accountable. And when enough of us work together, we can demand to have a say in the decisions that affect our lives. When we organize with our neighbors we build a powerful momentum. We can use this momentum to make real change so our communities can thrive.

Racial Hierarchies Are Programmed—Adjusted

We Can Reprogram Our Society to Get Rid of Racial Hierarchies

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into races based on skin color. This gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. They programmed racial hierarchies into the code of our economy. This code blocks Black, Native, and other people of color from wealth and opportunities, while putting white people first.

Our economy still runs on this old programming. It pays Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. The economic code was designed to take wealth made by workers of color and redirect it to a few wealthy white people.

But if racial hierarchies were programmed into our economy, we can reprogram it. When we come together, we have the power to override these hierarchies and rewrite the code. By doing this we can create a system that supports everyone, not just a few at the top.

Racial Hierarchies Are Constructed—Adjusted

We Can Tear Down Racial Hierarchies to Make a Better Society

A few centuries ago, societies made up the idea of race. They claimed that people could be grouped into races based on skin color. This gave them a reason to treat Black, Native, and other people of color unfairly. They deliberately built racial hierarchies into the foundation of our economy. They designed it from the start to put Black, native, and other people on the bottom, and a few wealthy white people up top.

Our economy is still built on this foundation today. It was built to pay Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. The whole thing was constructed to take wealth from workers of color and stack it at the top—with a few wealthy white people.

But if our economy was built, we can rebuild it better. When we come together, we have the power to tear out the old foundation and lay a new one. By doing this we can build a system that supports everyone, not just a few at the top.

System Is Rigged—Base

Our Society Is Rigged to Benefit a Few at Our Expense

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for working-class people and people of color. To unrig the system, we must organize with our neighbors. When we act together, we can take back the power to shape our own lives.

System Is Rigged and Community Power

Our Society Is Rigged and We Know How to Unrig It

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for working-class communities and communities of color.

Our system is rigged to go against what most of us believe should happen in society. We believe people should have the power to decide what happens in their communities. Whether we have

good affordable housing, green space, grocery stores, and clean air and water depends on how much power we have to decide and act for ourselves.

But right now, our rigged systems let wealthy corporations and politicians decide what happens in our communities. They have the power to build factories that pollute our air and water instead of creating parks and green spaces. They tear down our homes to build highways or strip malls instead of investing in the affordable housing we need. What our communities look like today comes from choices like these. Choices made over time and without our say, to try and take our power.

But community power is our strength and it is always ours to use. To unrig the system, we must act together. When we organize, we can take decision-making power away from corporations and politicians. When we act together, we take back the power to shape our own lives.

System Is Rigged Zoomed-Out—Small Solutions

Our Society is Rigged Against People of Color by Design

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for Black, Native, and other people of color.

Our system was rigged from the start. Our Constitution was written by and for slaveholders. It gave them the power to enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. Laws have changed over time, but the system is still rigged. We can still see it today in our economic and political systems. Our economy still depends on paying Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. Our political system lets corporations buy influence over politicians. Then they make laws that protect their own wealth and power, at our expense.

We need to unrig the system so we have real power to shape our own lives. We can start by raising wages for essential workers. We can restore wealth and land to harmed communities, and make sure those neighborhoods have affordable housing. And we can demand financial transparency in our local elections and government, so wealthy interests stay out of our politics. If we act together and make these changes, we will lay the groundwork for a society where everyone—not just a wealthy few—can thrive.

System Is Rigged Zoomed-Out—Transformative Solutions

We Can Change a System Rigged Against People of Color and Create a Better One

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for Black, Native, and other people of color.

Our system was rigged from the start. Our Constitution was written by and for slaveholders. It gave them the power to enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. Laws have changed over time, but the system is still rigged. We can still see it today in our economic and political systems. Our economy still depends on paying Black, Native, and other workers of color low wages for essential work like childcare, domestic work, and farming. Our political system lets corporations buy influence over politicians. Then they make laws that protect their own wealth and power, at our expense. This history stripped people of color of land, wealth, and the ability to build thriving neighborhoods.

We need to make fundamental changes to unrig the system. We can cap extreme wealth with a maximum wage and a heavy tax on wealth. We can change our electoral system so more political parties can win seats and everyone has real representation in government. We need publicly funded elections so that wealthy interests stay out of our politics. Changes this big require all of us to work together. If enough of us act together, we have the power to unrig the whole system, for good.

System Is Rigged Zoomed-In—Housing

We Can Unrig a Housing System Built Against People of Color

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for Black, Native, and other people of color.

Our system was rigged from the start. Our Constitution was written by and for slaveholders. It gave them the power to enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. Laws have changed over time, but the system is still rigged. We can still see it today, in our housing system. For decades, banks and the government used redlining to block Black, Native, and other people of color from buying homes in certain neighborhoods. Banks gave them bad loans, or denied them altogether. This blocked people of color from building generational wealth through home ownership.

But we can unrig this part of the system. By making realistic changes that are in reach now, we can begin to take back the power to shape our own lives. We can enforce fair housing laws—laws that exist but are rarely used. And we can build community land trusts that let neighborhoods own their land together, keeping affordable housing in those communities. These changes are possible. And when we act together and push for them, we start to unrig the whole system.

System Is Rigged Zoomed-In—Environment

We Can Unrig a System That Harms Communities of Color

In America, we live in a system rigged to benefit a wealthy and powerful few at our expense. Our economic and political systems give these few the power to make decisions for the rest of us. Their choices work for them, not us. And they especially do not work for Black, Native, and other people of color.

Our system was rigged from the start. Our Constitution was written by and for slaveholders. It gave them the power to enslave Black people and take land from Native people. This let a powerful few build huge wealth by exploiting people of color. Laws have changed over time, but the system is still rigged. We can still see it today in the systems that shape our environment. These systems give wealthy corporations the power to drill, mine, and frack wherever they want. They can build factories that pollute the air, and dump chemicals into drinking water. These decisions hurt communities of color the most.

But we can unrig this part of the system. By making realistic changes that are in reach now, we can begin to take back the power to shape our own lives. We can better enforce existing environmental laws. We can require community approval for any new business developments. We can sharply raise penalties on corporations that cause pollution. We can restrict fracking or drilling in areas where people live. These changes are possible. And when we act together and push for them, we start to unrig the whole system.

APPENDIX B

Sample Survey Items

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

Sample Survey Items from Waves 1–4

Spatial Injustice Screener Questions (all waves)

1. Do you feel your neighborhood has significantly worse schools, healthcare, or job opportunities than other neighborhoods nearby?
2. Do you have to travel farther than 45 minutes (on any form of transportation) to reach your nearest grocery store or hospital?
3. In your neighborhood, are your public utilities regularly interrupted (for example, do you get frequent boil-water warnings or power cuts)?
4. Does unreliable or hard-to-access public transportation make it hard to get to your job, school, or healthcare services?
5. Do you believe the racial makeup of your neighborhood or the income level of your neighborhood negatively affects how much government money your neighborhood gets?
6. Have you ever been forced to move from a neighborhood due to new housing or business developments, or infrastructure like a new highway?
7. Are you regularly exposed to waste or pollution from nearby factories or other operations in your neighborhood?
8. Are there more encounters with police in your neighborhood than in other neighborhoods nearby (for example, more frequent arrests, more frequent stop and searches, or police enforced curfews)?

Open-Ended Questions (all waves)

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

Do you generally agree or disagree with what you read?

[7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

Place Is Designed (all waves), α/ω ranges = .79–.88

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. Our laws, policies, and institutions work together to advantage some neighborhoods over others.
2. Our laws and policies cause some communities to have disproportionately fewer resources than others.
3. Our country's past policies have shaped what our neighborhoods look like today.

Opportunity (all waves), α/ω ranges = .87–.91

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree," "Disagree," "Slightly disagree," "Neither agree nor disagree," "Slightly agree," "Agree," "Strongly agree"]

1. Our place in society shapes our opportunities in life.
2. Some people and groups do better than others financially because of differences in opportunities, not talent or effort.
3. The opportunities we are given shape how well we do in life.
4. Society is set up so that some groups have better access to opportunities than others.
5. The way society is designed results in some people having fewer options than others.
6. Society is set up so that some people don't have a real chance to do well.

Designed Systems and Contexts Shape Outcomes (all waves), α/ω ranges = .88–.91

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree," "Disagree," "Slightly disagree," "Neither agree nor disagree," "Slightly agree," "Agree," "Strongly agree"]

1. How successful people are in life is determined by how our society is structured.
2. How well we do is based on the resources available in our neighborhoods.
3. How people do in life is mostly determined by the neighborhood and community they live in.
4. Neighborhood design directly impacts how well people do in life.
5. What happens to an individual in their life is primarily the result of how our society is organized.

Pathologizing Black Culture (all waves), α/ω ranges = .80–.83

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: "Strongly disagree," "Disagree," "Slightly disagree," "Neither agree nor disagree," "Slightly agree," "Agree," "Strongly agree"]

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

Systemic Model of Segregation (all waves), α/ω ranges = .90–.94

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. When people of different races live in different neighborhoods, it's the result of intentional policies and laws meant to keep groups separate.
2. Our laws, policies, and institutions make it difficult for people of color to choose where they want to live.
3. Government policies cause people from different racial groups to live in separate neighborhoods.
4. Black people tend to live in separate neighborhoods from white people because of laws and policies intended to keep them apart.

Perceived Structural Disadvantage⁵ (Wave 1)

In your opinion, what is the main reason why some communities in this country don't have the resources they need to thrive?

1. Because the residents don't care about their communities (individualism)
2. Because the residents are lazy or lack willpower (meritocracy)
3. Because of injustice in our political and economic systems (systemic thinking)
4. Because our laws and policies are designed to benefit some communities over others (place as designed)
5. None of these

Affective Injustice (Wave 1), α/ω = .83

[5-point Likert scale: 1 = “not at all”; 2 = “a little bit”; 3 = “moderately”; 4 = “very”; 5 = “extremely”]

When you think about how well the needs of your local community are being met through things like government funding or investment, to what extent do you feel:

1. Angry
2. Disappointed
3. Worried

(Local) Internal Political Efficacy⁶ (All waves), α/ω ranges = .82–.84

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

How confident are you in your ability to...

1. State your political opinions openly in your community, even in clearly hostile settings.
2. Openly promote public programs that you believe are good for your community.

3. Actively promote the election of political candidates that you believe would help your neighborhood.
4. Organize locally to build support for community programs that you believe in.

(Local) External Political Efficacy⁷ (all waves), α/ω ranges = .82–.85

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. If we want to see community change, we need to coordinate and act together.
2. If we stay engaged with our local officials, we can create real community change.
3. The more we make our voices heard at local gatherings and town halls, the more change will happen in our communities.

(Local) Collective Efficacy (all waves), α/ω ranges = .91–.92

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. I am confident that people in my community can work together to make positive changes that would benefit all of us.
2. It is realistic to believe that people in my community can come together to make our town a better place to live.
3. I am optimistic that my community can come together and push for major changes that would benefit our neighborhoods.
4. I believe people in my community can work together to get the resources our neighborhoods need.

(Local) Collective Agency⁸ (Waves 1, 3–4), α/ω ranges = .89–.91

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-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 to work towards improving our neighborhoods and local community.
2. I enjoy contributing to collective efforts on local issues.
3. I feel like I can personally help create change in my community by working with the people around me.
4. I see value in contributing to large, collective efforts to improve my neighborhood and community.
5. I am willing to work with others to promote community change because it is the right thing to do.

Character Shapes Place (Waves 1, 3–4), α/ω ranges = .71–.74

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. What a neighborhood is like is a direct reflection on the character of residents.
2. If residents of a neighborhood care for each other, the community will do well, no matter what.
3. Good people will always take care of their properties.

Broken Windows Model (Waves 1–2), α/ω = .89

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. If Black people took better care of their neighborhoods, they would be better off.
2. Black people would do better if they started caring more about their communities.
3. If Black people want to improve their neighborhoods, they need to take better care of their properties.

Designed Economy (Wave 2), α/ω = .86

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly 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.

Race is Constructed (Waves 2 and 4) α/ω ranges = .87–.89

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. Race is not a natural category; it’s one that people made.
2. Race isn’t biological; society created it as a way to categorize people.
3. A person’s race is determined by society, not biology.

Constructed Racial Hierarchies (Waves 2–4) α/ω ranges = .93–.94

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. Race was invented by societies to enable some groups to hold power over others.
2. Racial categories were created so some groups could oppress others.
3. Race was created to enable Europeans to place themselves above other peoples.
4. The purpose of racial categories is to allow some groups to hold power over others.

Colorblind Racism (Waves 2–4) α/ω ranges = .85–.86

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Slightly disagree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Slightly agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
2. Talking about race only divides us.
3. If we just stopped focusing on race, we wouldn’t be so divided.

Systemic Model of Racism (Waves 3–4) α/ω = .94

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

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

System is Rigged—General (Waves 3–4) α/ω ranges = .91–.94

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. In our country, the system is rigged against most people.
2. In our society, the powerful few have rigged the system to benefit themselves.
3. Our economy has been distorted to favor a powerful few over the rest of us.
4. The basic rules of society have been twisted to benefit those with power.

Fatalism (Waves 3–4) α/ω = .91

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-point Likert scale: “Strongly disagree,” “Disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Neither disagree nor agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Agree,” “Strongly agree”]

1. No matter what we do, our community's biggest problems can't be fixed.
2. The problems we face in our community are too big for us to overcome.
3. Our society has so many problems, there's no way for us to solve them all.
4. We aren't realistically going to do what is needed to fix our society's biggest problems.
5. We will never be able to agree on how to fix our community's biggest problems.
6. It's impossible for us to come together and fix our society's biggest problems.

Profit Motive Drives Exploitation (Waves 3–4) α/ω ranges = .84–.86

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below: [7-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. Big corporations care more about profits than their workers.

APPENDIX C

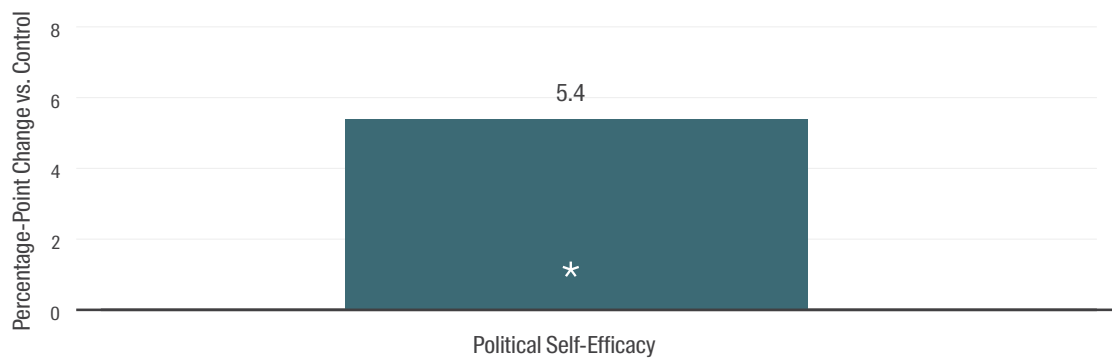
Data Supporting Recommendations

In this appendix we share the quantitative data supporting the recommendations in the brief.

RECOMMENDATION #1

Use the language of extraction—both literal and figurative—to explain how systems take from communities.

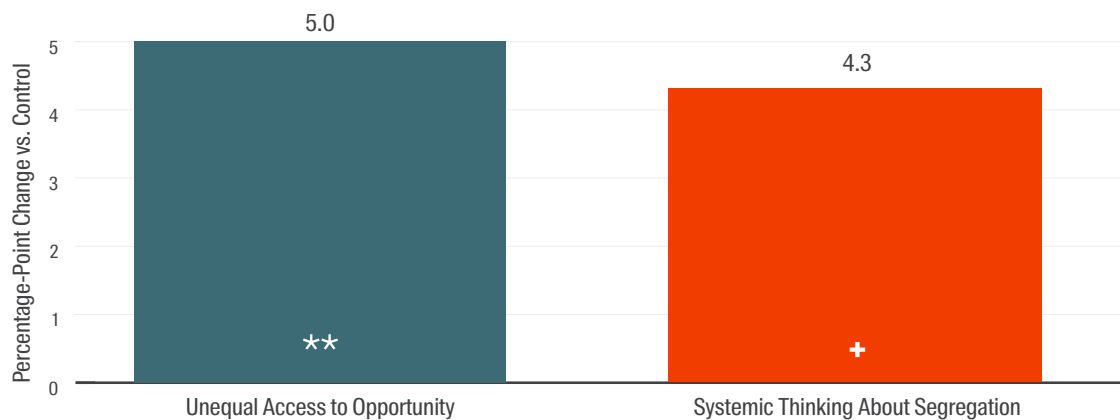
Figure 1. The *Extraction* frame increases the belief among people of color living in impacted communities that local political action will be effective at making change.



Results from the Wave 1 survey conducted in January 2026 | $n = 878$

* = $p < .05$

Figure 2. The *Extraction* frame helps people who live in impacted communities understand the way policy choices shape places, and it moves people toward understanding that segregation is the result of policy choices.



Results from the Wave 1 survey conducted in January 2026 | $N = 2,037$

** = $p < .01$, + = $p < .10$

RECOMMENDATION #2

Use history to explain how race is constructed and how it has been used to concentrate power.

Figure 3. The *Historical Explanation* frame builds the general public's understanding that policies have produced inequality in the opportunities available to people, and it helps people see that racial segregation is the result of policy.

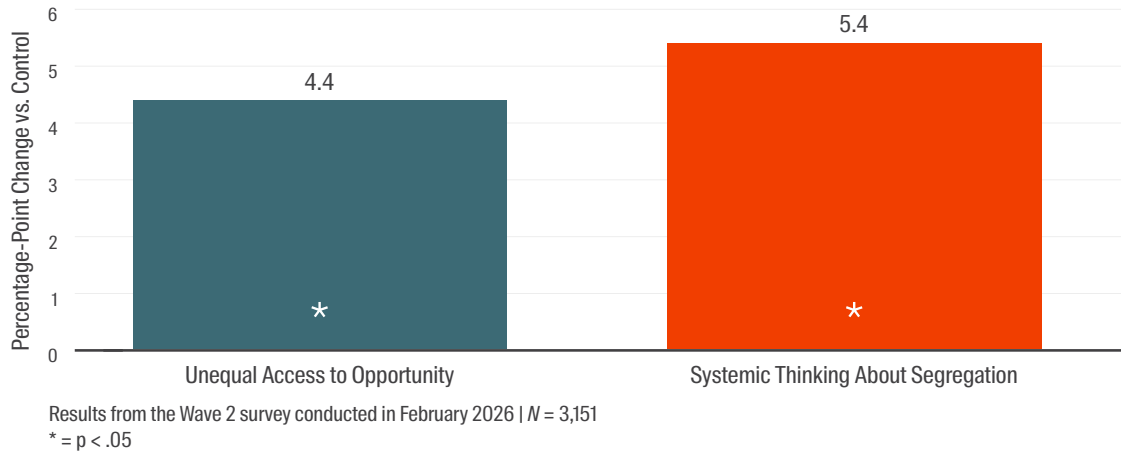
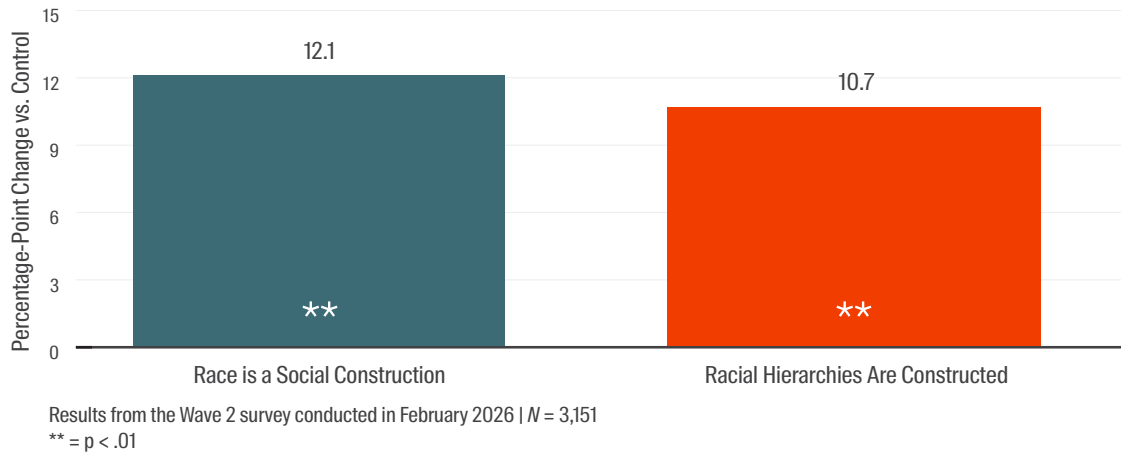


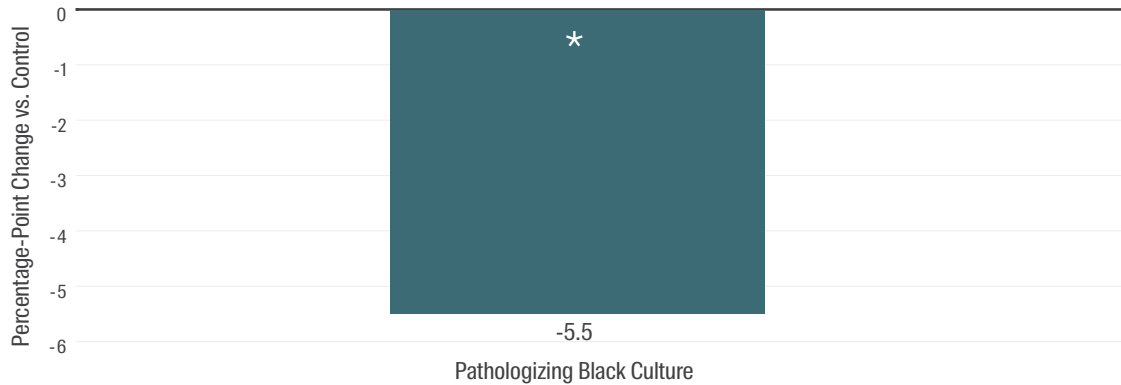
Figure 4. The *Historical Explanation* frame helps the general public understand that race is a social construction and was created to produce hierarchies between people.



RECOMMENDATION #3

Talk about community joy as a source of community power.

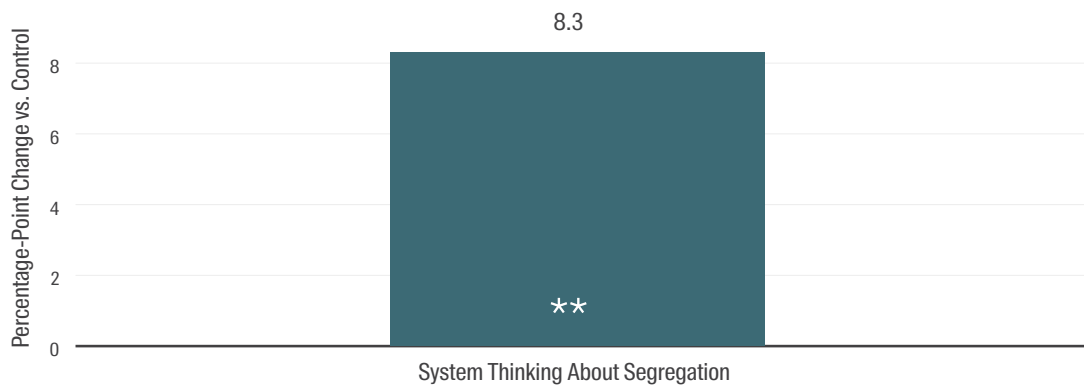
Figure 5. Paired together, the values of *Community Joy* and *Community Power* move people away from blaming Black communities for the injustices they experience.



Results from the Wave 4 survey conducted in April 2026 | $N = 3,151$

* = $p < .05$

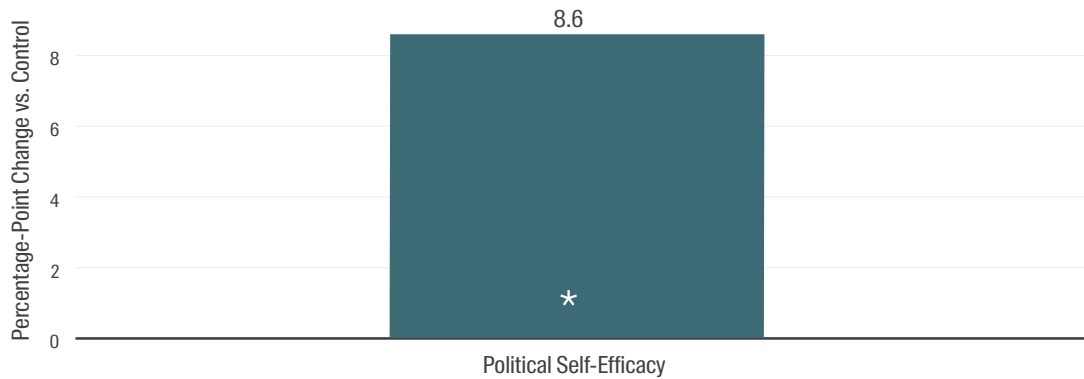
Figure 6. Paired together, the values of *Community Joy* and *Community Power* help people understand that policy choices have produced racial segregation.



Results from the Wave 4 survey conducted in April 2026 | $N = 3,151$

** = $p < .01$

Figure 7. For people in impacted communities, pairing the values of *Community Joy* and *Community Power* increases the belief that organizing locally is possible and can create change.



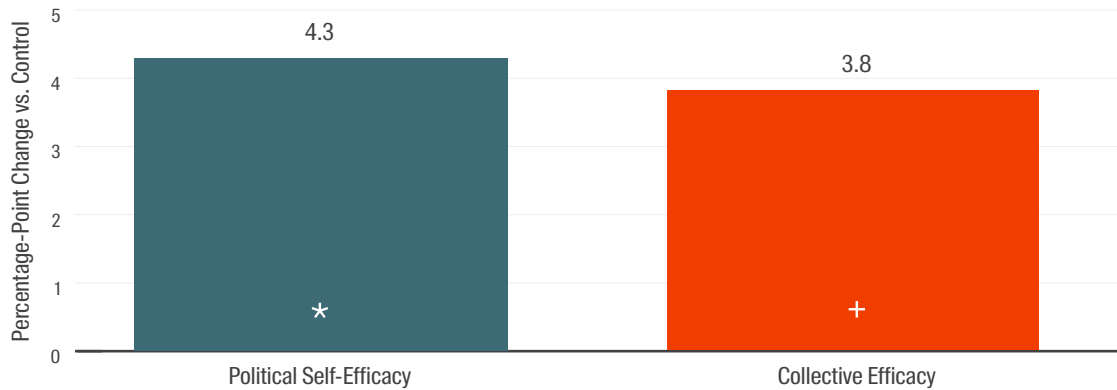
Results from the Wave 4 survey conducted in April 2026 | $n = 113$

* = $p < .05$

RECOMMENDATION #4

Use the Fight metaphor to show that organizing can win.

Figure 8. For people impacted communities, the *Fight* metaphor increases the belief that they can advocate and organize to make change in their community, even in hostile conditions.



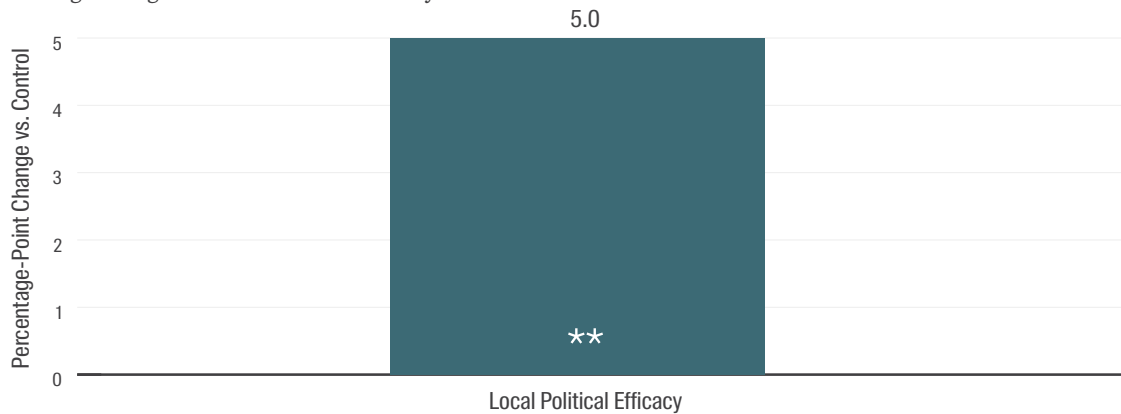
Results from the Wave 3 survey conducted in April 2026 | $N = 2,025$

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

RECOMMENDATION #5

Contrast positive and negative visions of the future to show why community action is both possible and necessary.

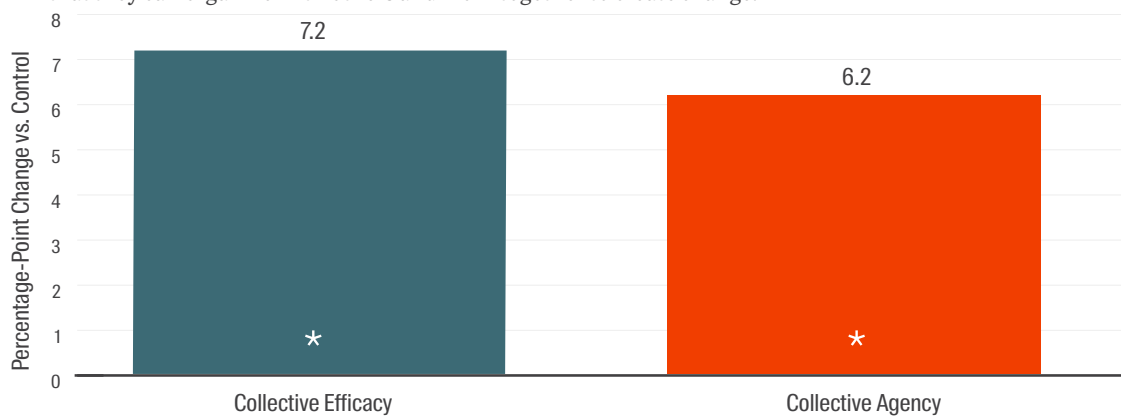
Figure 9. The *Future Visions* frame helped people living impacted communities feel more effective in local organizing to benefit their community.



Results from the Wave 3 survey conducted in April 2026 | $N = 2,025$

** = $p < .01$

Figure 10. For people of color living in impacted communities, the *Future Visions* frame increased the belief that they can organize with others and work together to create change.



Results from the Wave 3 survey conducted in April 2026 | $n = 812$

* = $p < .05$

Endnotes

1. Volmert, A., Lyew, D., John, J., Vierra, K., & Moyer, J. (2023). *The terrain of spatial justice: Cultural mindsets of race and place in the United States*. Frameworks Institute. <https://www.frameworksinstitute.org/app/uploads/2023/09/TerrainofSpacialJustice-Report.pdf>
2. 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>
3. Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107(2), 238. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.107.2.238>
4. Taber, K.S. (2011). The use of Cronbach's alpha when developing and reporting research instruments in science education. *Research in Science Education*, 48, 1273–1296. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11165-016-9602-2>
5. Adapted from Corcoran, K. E., Pettinicchio, D., & Young, J. T. (2015). Perceptions of structural injustice and efficacy: Participation in low/moderate/high-cost forms of collective action. *Sociological Inquiry*, 85(3), 429–461. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12082>
6. Adapted from Bromme, L., Rothmund, T., & Caprara, G. V. (2020). A translation and validation of the Perceived Political Self-Efficacy (P-PSE) Scale for the use in German samples. *Measurement Instruments for the Social Sciences*, 2(1), 6. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42409-020-00013-4>
7. Adapted from Diemer, M. A., & Rapa, L. J. (2016). Unraveling the complexity of critical consciousness, political efficacy, and political action among marginalized adolescents. *Child Development*, 87(1), 221–238. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12446>
8. Adapted from Delea, M., Sinharoy, S., Cheong, Y. F., Heckert, J., Seymour, G., Meinen-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. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4004711>

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Bringing Power Home

Reframing Place through the Lens of
Class and Race Methods Supplement

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