

Methods supplement

Talking about homes: the foundation for a decent life

Appendix A: Research methods and samples

To arrive at the recommendations in this brief, we applied Strategic Frame Analysis® – an approach to communications research and practice that yields strategies for shifting the discourse around social issues. This approach has been shown to increase understanding of, and engagement in, conversations about scientific and social issues.

This work builds on earlier research we conducted that involved interviews with members of the public and experts and advocates in the housing sector, which are described in a separate brief and methods appendix.

Below, we describe the research we conducted in which we designed and tested frames to address the obstacles in public thinking about housing in the UK and leverage the openings. These frames were tested in 2021–2022 and refined using three methods: on-the-screen (OTS) interviews, survey experiments with a nationally representative sample, and peer-discourse sessions (PDS), a type of focus group. In total, 7,069 people from across the UK were included in this research.

Frame design

To identify effective ways of talking about homes in the UK, FrameWorks researchers developed a set of tasks the frames needed to address and then brainstormed potential reframing strategies that might accomplish one or more of these tasks (for example, metaphors, values and issue frames). After generating a list of candidate framing ideas to test, researchers solicited feedback on these ideas from project partners to ensure the frames were both apt and potentially usable for those working in the housing sector. Based on this feedback, researchers refined a set of frames and brought them into empirical testing.

On-the-screen interviews

Frame design was followed by a set of OTS interviews conducted to explore potential framing tools with members of the public. FrameWorks researchers conducted 48 brief one-on-one interviews over Zoom in July 2021. A diverse sample of participants was recruited in terms of geographical location in the UK (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland), age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, education level and political party identification.

We first asked participants to respond to open-ended questions about housing. Participants were then presented with different metaphors and asked questions that explored the frames' abilities to open new ways of thinking and give people productive language to use in discussing housing. The candidate metaphors we tested are itemised in Appendix B.

Experimental surveys

After analysing how the candidate frames performed in OTS interviews, FrameWorks researchers refined the frames to bring forward for testing in the survey experiment. Two online experimental surveys involving a total sample of 6,985 (Wave 1 N = 3,828; Wave 2 N = 3,157) adults from the UK were conducted between October 2021 and January 2022 to test the effectiveness of frames on shifting public understanding, attitudes and support for programmes and policies. Table 1 provides demographic information about the participants from the two experiments.

Table 1: National survey experiments – participant demographic information*

Demographic variable	Wave 1 Frequency	Wave 1 Percentage	Wave 2 Frequency	Wave 2 Percentage
Age				
18–29	574	15%	659	21%
30–44	864	23%	701	22%
45–59	1,099	29%	762	24%
60+	1,291	34%	1,035	33%
Sex				
Male	1,986	52%	1,603	51%
Female	1,834	48%	1,549	49%
Nonbinary/Other	8	0%	5	0%
Country				
England	3,200	86%	2,656	84%
Wales	192	5%	159	5%
Scotland	339	9%	263	8%
Northern Ireland	0	0%	79	3%
England location				
North	926	29%	741	28%
Midlands	488	15%	492	19%

* Percentages may exceed 100% due to rounding.

South	1,286	40%	992	37%
London	500	16%	431	16%
Ethnicity				
White	3,339	87%	2,739	87%
Asian/Asian British	283	7%	235	7%
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	114	3%	120	4%
Mixed/Multiple/Other	92	2%	63	2%
Income				
Less than £15,600	867	23%	692	22%
£15,601–£31,200	1,286	34%	1,088	34%
£31,201–£46,800	767	20%	629	20%
£46,801+	908	24%	748	24%
Education				
No formal qualifications	407	11%	445	14%
GCSEs or equivalent (e.g., O-Levels)	1,249	33%	1,013	32%
A level, apprenticeship, or equivalent	854	22%	621	20%
Undergraduate or graduate degree	1,318	34%	1,078	34%
Party				
Conservative	1,414	37%	1,112	35%
Labour	1,464	38%	1,330	42%
Liberal Democrat	271	7%	282	9%
Scottish National Party	141	4%	125	4%
Green Party	164	4%	84	3%
Democratic Unionist Party	25	1%	10	0%
Sinn Fein	9	0%	11	0%
Plaid Cymru	12	0%	10	0%
Other party	328	9%	193	6%
Ideology				
Extremely left	78	2%	75	2%
Fairly left	352	9%	290	9%
Slightly left	458	12%	385	12%
Centre	1,608	42%	1,347	43%
Slightly right	674	18%	561	18%
Fairly right	433	11%	364	12%
Extremely right	225	6%	135	4%

In Wave 1 of the experiment, participants were randomly assigned to one of 16 experimental frame treatments or a control condition. In Wave 2 of the experiment, participants were randomly assigned to one of 13 experimental frame treatments or a control condition. Between the two waves, frame treatments tested metaphors, issues, values and a variety of other frames that were aimed at understanding the best ways to talk about housing in the UK. All experimental frames tested in both waves can be found in Appendix B.

Participants assigned to an experimental frame condition were asked to read a short message before answering a series of survey questions. Participants assigned to the control condition were directed to answer the survey questions without reading any message. All respondents answered an identical series of questions designed to measure outcomes of interest, including knowledge, attitudes and policy preferences relating to housing in the UK. Each battery consisted of multiple questions and was primarily measured using Likert-type scales with five- or seven-point scales. Several open-ended questions requiring free-text answers were also included in the survey but were not included in the current analysis. Examples of survey items from each battery are provided in Appendix C.

We used multiple regression analysis to determine whether there were significant differences on 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. Significant differences were understood as evidence that a frame influenced a particular outcome (for example, policy support).

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.

Peer discourse sessions

After an analysis of both waves of the survey experiment was conducted, FrameWorks researchers retested and refined frames that tested well in the experiment in PDS with 36 participants (six sessions with six participants each). These sessions were conducted virtually over Zoom in March 2022. A diverse sample of participants was recruited from across the UK in terms of geographical location, age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, education level and political party identification.

These two-hour-long sessions included a variety of discussion prompts and activities designed to evaluate how the frames were taken up in social context and their usability during conversations with peers. We tested issue frames, policy explanations and values. The frames we tested in PDS are itemised in Appendix B.

Appendix B: Tested framing strategies

On-the-screen interviews

Candidate metaphors

Clean air:

Having decent housing is like having clean air to breathe. It's not enough for people to be able to breathe any kind of air: to function well and be healthy, they need clean air that's free of pollutants. In the same way, it's not enough for people to have any roof over their head; to live active, fulfilling lives, they need decent housing that is warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people don't have the oxygen they need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone can breathe in the fresh air of decent housing by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Clean water:

Having decent housing is like having clean water to drink. It's not enough for people to be able to drink any kind of water: to function well and be healthy, they need clean water that's free of toxins. In the same way, it's not enough for people to have any roof over their head; to live active, fulfilling lives, they need decent housing that is warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people are missing a resource they really need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone can benefit from the clean water of decent housing by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Food:

Having decent housing is like having nutritious food to eat. It's not enough for people to be able to eat any kind of food: to function well and be healthy, they need nutritious food. In the same way, it's not enough for people to have any roof over their head; to live active, fulfilling lives, they need decent housing that is warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people don't have the nourishment they need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone's lives can be sustained by decent housing by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Health:

Having decent housing is like having good health. Good health is a state of physical, mental, and social wellbeing. And just like health needs to be good for people to live fulfilling lives, housing needs to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – for people to thrive in all areas of life. Yet right now in the UK, many people don't live in decent housing, which means that they aren't in the state they need to be in to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone can do more than just survive, and actually live full lives in decent housing by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Heart:

Housing is the heart of people's lives. The heart is connected to all the organs of our bodies and pumps blood, oxygen, and nutrients into them. And just like hearts need to be strong to sustain active lives, housing needs to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to pump energy and stability in all areas of people's lives. When people have decent housing, they can get to work and school safely, they are less stressed and can breathe more easily, and they can sustain their goals and their relationships with others in the community. Yet right now in the UK, many people don't live in decent housing, which means that they don't have what they need to keep their lives going and do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone's lives in the UK can be sustained by the strong heart of decent housing by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Runway:

Housing is a runway for people's lives. A runway gives planes the space they need to safely take off and land no matter the conditions outside. And just like a runway needs to be well-made and functional to get planes where they need to go in all kinds of weather conditions, housing needs to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to ensure people can take off towards their goals and have a safe place to land even when life gets rough. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people don't have what they need to rise towards their goals and land on their feet in most circumstances. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK can rely on the runway of decent housing throughout their lives, by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Safe harbour:

Housing is the safe harbour of people's lives. A safe harbour is a place for ships to dock before and after their journeys and offers them protection from rough weather. And just like harbours need to be well-maintained and functional for ships to be safely moored there, housing needs to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to anchor people's lives and give them the security and stability they need when seas are stormy. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people don't have the moorings they need and

are more likely to be roughed about in rough waters. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK can anchor their lives in the safe harbour of decent housing, by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Foundation:

Housing is the foundation of people's lives. Strong foundations make sure that buildings stay intact and can be safely used for life, work, and play. And just like foundations need to be sturdy and strong to support a building, housing needs to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to give people's lives a stable and secure basis and lay the groundwork for them to do well. Yet right now in the UK, there isn't enough decent housing available for everyone, which means that many people don't have the strong foundation they need to thrive in their lives. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK has the foundation of decent housing to build up their lives, by regulating the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing.

Survey experiment

Wave 1

1. Air

Having decent housing is like having clean air to breathe. It's not enough for people to be able to breathe any kind of air. To function well and be healthy, they need clean air. In the same way, it's not enough for people to have simply any roof over their head. To live active, fulfilling lives, they need a decent home that is stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks.

And just like we should all be able to get clean air, we should all be able to get decent housing. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that many people don't have what they need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone can breathe in the fresh air of having a decent home. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

2. Water

Having decent housing is like having clean water to drink. It's not enough for people to be able to drink any kind of water: to function well and be healthy, they need clean water that's free of toxins. In the same way, it's not enough for people to have any roof over their head; to live active, fulfilling lives, they need a decent home that is stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks.

And just like we should all be able to get clean water, we should all be able to get decent housing. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that many people don't have what they need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone can benefit from the clean water of a decent home. We need to regulate the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

3. Foundations

Housing is the foundation of people's lives. Strong foundations make sure that buildings stay intact and can be safely used for life, work, and play. In the same way, homes also need to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to give people's lives a stable and secure basis and lay the groundwork for them to thrive.

And just like foundations need to be sturdy and strong to support a building, people need homes they can afford so they can build a good base for their lives. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that many people don't have what they need to do well in life. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK has the foundation of a decent and affordable home to build up their lives. We need to regulate the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

4. Safe harbour

Housing is the safe harbour of people's lives. A safe harbour is a place for ships to dock before and after their journeys and offers them protection from rough weather. In the same way, homes also need to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to anchor people and give them the security and stability they need when seas are stormy.

And just like harbours need to be well-maintained and functional for ships to be safely moored there, people need homes they can afford so that they have reliable shelter. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that many people don't have what they need to do well in life, and are more likely to be roughed about in choppy waters. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK can anchor their lives in the safe harbour of a decent home. We need to regulate the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

5. Runway

Housing is the runway for people's lives. A runway gives planes the space they need to safely take off and land no matter the conditions outside. In the same way, homes also need to be decent - stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to ensure people can take off towards their goals and have a safe place to land even when life gets rough.

And just like a runway needs to be well-maintained and functional to get planes where they need to go, people need homes they can afford so they have a reliable home base from which they can take off and land. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that many people don't have what they need to rise towards their goals and land on their feet. As a society, we need to ensure everyone in the UK can rely on the runway of a decent home throughout their lives. We need to regulate the private rented sector and building more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

6. Heart

Housing is the heart of people's lives. The heart is central to the body's ability to function well. It is connected to all the organs of our bodies and pumps blood, oxygen, and nutrients into them. In the same way, homes also need to be decent – warm, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – to support all areas of people's lives.

And just like hearts need to be strong to sustain healthy lives, people need homes they can afford so that they can breathe easy. Yet right now in the UK, high costs put decent housing out of reach for many people. This means that too many people don't have what they need to keep their lives going. As a society, we need to ensure everyone's lives in the UK can be sustained by the strong heart of a decent home. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

7. Health

Housing is a health issue. When people don't have access to decent housing or their housing costs too much, their physical and mental health suffers. Right now in the UK, there are too many people living in poor housing or housing they can't really afford, which means that they don't have what they need to live a healthy life.

In order for people to live healthy lives, they need a home that is decent – stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and that costs a reasonable amount. When people are left without decent housing, their health suffers. When people live in unsafe spaces – riddled with mould or structural issues – their physical health suffers. When people's homes make it hard for them to connect with others, this harms their mental health. And, if people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent or worry that they might be evicted for no reason, this creates stress and can also harm health.

Having a safe, stable, and affordable place to live contributes to better physical and mental health. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to ensure that everyone in the UK has a home that supports their health.

8. Economy

Housing is an economic issue. When people don't have access to decent housing or their housing costs too much, they don't have flexibility with their income. This means that they can't spend or help strengthen the economy. Right now in the UK, there are too many people living in poor housing or housing they can't really afford, which means that they don't have any money left to spend, and it slows the economy down.

In order for people to contribute to the economy, they need a home that is decent – stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and that costs a reasonable amount. When people don't have decent housing or their housing costs too much, all their money is spent on trying to make ends meet. This means that they have no money left over to spend in other ways that help keep the economy moving.

Having a safe, stable, and affordable place to live means that people have enough money left over to contribute to the economy through spending. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to ensure that everyone in the UK can keep our economy moving.

9. Poverty

We can't talk about housing without talking about poverty. When people don't have decent housing or their housing costs too much, they can easily fall into poverty. Right now in the UK, there are too many people living in poor housing or housing they can't really afford, which means that they are at high risk of falling into poverty.

In order for people to stay out of poverty, they need a home that is decent – stable, safe and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and that costs a reasonable amount. When people don't have decent housing that is close to their job or public transport, they are more likely to miss work and lose their income, which means they can't pay rent. And when private landlords are allowed to increase rent or evict tenants for no reason, people are forced into unstable situations that cause financial hardship.

Having a safe, stable, and affordable place to live gives people the security they need to stay out of poverty. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to ensure that everyone in the UK has a home that helps them thrive.

10. Homelessness

We can't talk about housing without talking about homelessness. When people don't have decent housing or their housing costs too much, they can easily become homeless. Right now in the UK, there are too many people living in poor housing or housing they can't really afford, which means that they are constantly on the edge of homelessness.

To prevent homelessness, people need homes that are decent – stable, safe, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and that cost a reasonable amount. When people don't have decent housing or their housing costs too much, any income they have is spent on trying to make ends meet. This means they don't have any money left over to save for an emergency if they fall on hard times. And, when private landlords are allowed to increase rent or evict tenants for no reason, people who are already struggling to make ends meet are forced into unstable situations that lead to homelessness.

Having a safe, stable, and affordable place to live means that people can get through difficult times without falling into homelessness. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to ensure that everyone in the UK has a home that helps them thrive.

11. Historical policies – right to buy

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now in the UK there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of bad government policies that have been in place for decades, like the right to buy scheme from the 1980s.

The right to buy scheme allowed people to buy their council homes. While this allowed some tenants to benefit from homeownership, these homes have never been replaced. This, combined with not building enough new social housing, means that too many people are on long waiting lists for council

housing, trapped in temporary accommodations that are often of poor quality. It also means that people across the country are stuck in privately rented homes they cannot afford. The private rented sector is unaffordable for so many because private landlords can charge excessive amounts for rent, or unreasonably increase people's rental costs.

Over many years, our government has created the current housing crisis. Therefore, the government should also be responsible for fixing it. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

12. Historical policies – deregulation

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now in the UK there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of bad government policies that have been in place for decades, like the introduction of Section 21 in the Housing Act of 1988.

Section 21 made it easier for private landlords to evict tenants even when they hadn't done anything wrong. Today, this policy means that a private landlord can give a tenant two months' notice to leave at any time, for any reason. This deregulation of the private rented sector, when combined with the current shortage of social housing, contributes to financial instability, housing insecurity, and rising rates of homelessness in the UK.

Over many years, our government has created the current housing crisis. Therefore, the government should also be responsible for fixing it. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

13. Historical policies – Local Housing Allowance cuts

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now in the UK there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of bad government policies, like cuts to the Local Housing Allowance (LHA).

The LHA is a benefit paid to tenants on low incomes to help them cover their housing costs. But, LHA has been cut several times in recent years, leaving people to deal with rising housing costs without the stability of a safety net to help keep a roof over their heads. Inadequate support through LHA means that too many people in the UK are struggling to afford decent housing that meets their needs. These cuts to LHA, combined with the current shortage of social housing and unreasonable costs of the private rented sector, contributes to financial instability, housing insecurity, and rising rates of homelessness in the UK.

Over many years, our government has created the current housing crisis. Therefore, the government should also be responsible for fixing it. We need to regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

14. Neutral tone

According to a recent survey, 8 million people across the UK are struggling to find decent housing for a reasonable cost. Without enough decent homes that people can afford, they are forced to rent housing that isn't well-kept or safe. And, with the current shortage of social housing, many people are renting from private landlords who can overcharge, discriminate, or evict tenants for no reason. This contributes to financial instability, housing insecurity, and rising rates of homelessness in the UK.

15. Crisis tone

Right now, we're facing a national housing emergency. According to a recent survey, a staggering 8 million people across the UK are struggling to find decent housing for a reasonable cost. Without enough decent homes that people can afford, they are forced to rent housing that isn't well-kept or safe. And, with the current shortage of social housing, many people are renting from private landlords who can overcharge, discriminate, or evict tenants for no reason. This contributes to financial instability, housing insecurity, and rising rates of homelessness in the UK. The lack of decent, affordable housing is a national emergency: if we don't act now, the consequences will be catastrophic for our country.

Ultimately, the current housing crisis is threatening our country. We must address this national emergency before it's too late.

16. Crisis tone + solutions

Right now, we're facing a national housing emergency. According to a recent survey, a staggering 8 million people across the UK are struggling to find decent housing for a reasonable cost. Without enough decent homes that people can afford, they are forced to rent housing that isn't well-kept or safe. And, with the current shortage of social housing, many people are renting from private landlords who can overcharge, discriminate, or evict tenants for no reason. This contributes to financial instability, housing insecurity, and rising rates of homelessness in the UK. The lack of decent, affordable housing is a national emergency: if we don't act now, the consequences will be catastrophic for our country.

The good news is that this is a problem we can solve. Housing shortages are not inevitable, and it's within our ability as a country to fix this problem. We can solve it by regulating the private sector and building more high-quality social housing. Doing this would fix the housing crisis and ensure that everyone in the UK can get a decent home they can afford.

Wave 2

1. Rights

In our society, we believe that people have fundamental rights. Yet right now, our country is not protecting these rights. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. This represents a profound violation of people's rights to housing, health, and safety.

We need to live up to our obligations and make sure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost. To make sure we uphold people's fundamental rights, we need to ensure that all housing in the UK is decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and costs an amount that is reasonable. Right now, we are violating these rights by allowing people to live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, that cause their physical health to suffer. Many people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent, which creates chronic stress that harms mental health. And, at the moment, people can be evicted for any reason, which violates their right to safe and stable housing.

If we truly want to uphold our commitment to people's fundamental rights, we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. If we do, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, which will protect their rights to housing, health, and safety.

2. Human rights

In our society, we believe in fundamental human rights. Yet right now, our country is not protecting these rights. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. This represents a profound violation of people's rights to housing, health, and safety.

We need to live up to our obligations and make sure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost. To make sure we uphold people's basic human rights, we need to ensure that all housing in the UK is decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and costs an amount that is reasonable. Right now, we are violating these rights by allowing people to live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, that cause their physical health to suffer. Many people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent, which creates chronic stress that harms mental health. And, at the moment, people can be evicted for any reason, which violates their right to safe and stable housing.

If we truly want to uphold our commitment to human rights, we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. In doing so, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, which will protect their human rights to housing, health, and safety.

3. Moral responsibility

We, as a society, have a moral responsibility to make sure that everyone is treated with dignity and respect. Yet right now, we aren't living up to this obligation. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. When we fail to make sure that people have safe and stable homes, we fail in our most basic responsibility to promote dignity and prevent harm from coming to others.

We need to do the right thing and make sure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost. To live up to this responsibility, we need to ensure that all housing in the UK is decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and costs an amount that is reasonable. Instead, we allow people to live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, that which cause their physical health to suffer. Many people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent, which creates chronic stress that harms mental health. And, at the moment, people can be evicted for any reason, which makes their housing unstable. This is wrong, and we have a responsibility to fix it.

If we truly want to live up to our responsibilities, we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. In doing so, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, and it will ensure that we fulfil our moral responsibility to provide everyone with a safe and stable place to live.

4. Prosperity for all

In the UK, we believe that our prosperity comes from drawing on our combined skills and strengths. Yet right now, our housing situation is undermining our prosperity. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. When people's time and attention are spent trying to meet their basic need for shelter, they can't make their full contribution to society, and it hurts all of us.

To ensure our country's future success, we need to make sure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost. This means ensuring that all housing in the UK is decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – and costs an amount that is reasonable. Instead, we allow people to live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, that cause their physical health to suffer. Many people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent, which creates chronic stress that harms mental health. And, at the moment, people can be evicted for any reason, which makes their housing unstable.

If we truly want to see prosperity for the UK, we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing. In doing so, we can help millions of people in the UK find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, which will allow them to fully participate in society and contribute to our shared success.

5. Compassion

In our society, we believe in showing compassion towards others. Yet right now, we aren't doing our best to care for each other. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. We must do better if we truly believe in taking care of one another.

It's a matter of basic kindness to make sure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost. To make sure that everyone is treated with dignity and respect, we need to ensure that all housing in the UK is decent – safe, stable and well connected to work, school and social networks – and costs an amount that is reasonable. Instead, we carelessly allow people to live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, that cause their physical health to suffer. Many people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent, which creates chronic stress that harms mental health. And, at the moment, people can be evicted for any reason, which makes their housing unstable.

If we truly want to be a compassionate society, we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. In doing so, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, and it will demonstrate that we truly care for everyone in our society.

6. Economic prevention

Housing is an economic issue. When people don't have safe or stable housing, this harms our economy. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced to spend a large portion of their income on rent. This means they can't spend on other goods and services, which hurts businesses. And when people are forced into housing that isn't well-kept or safe, this causes higher stress and more health problems, which pulls people out of jobs and undermines productivity. The high costs and poor quality of housing across the UK is undermining our economy and hurting all of us.

If we ensure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost, we can significantly improve their finances and health outcomes, which will reduce the current strains on our economy. By reducing housing costs, people won't have to spend so much of their income on rent. This means they will have more money left to spend, which puts money into our economy and helps local businesses thrive. And by ensuring that all homes are decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – we can prevent people from getting sick or injured and ensure that everyone has what they need to be productive and contribute to our economy.

A broken housing system has negative effects for our economy. But, if we better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, and it will also keep our economy strong.

7. Health and wellbeing

Housing is an issue of health and wellbeing. When people don't have safe or stable housing, their physical and mental health suffers. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford. Without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into housing that isn't well-kept or safe, which means they don't have what they need to live a healthy life. The high costs and poor quality of housing across the UK is causing poor health and harming wellbeing.

If we ensure that everyone in the UK has decent housing at a reasonable cost, we can guarantee that people have what they need for good health and wellbeing. By reducing housing costs, we can prevent people from worrying about how they will afford their rent or whether they will be able to keep their home. This will reduce chronic stress and improve mental health. And by ensuring that all homes are decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – we can prevent people from getting sick or injured, and ensure they have what they need to live healthy, happy lives.

A broken housing system has negative effects on people's health and wellbeing. But, if we regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK, we can help millions of people find decent homes that cost a reasonable amount, which will also give people what they need to live long, healthy lives.

8. Positive

Making sure that everyone can get decent housing at a reasonable cost would have major benefits for our society. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. Fixing this problem has major benefits. When people have decent and affordable housing, they have better physical and mental health, more job and educational opportunities, and greater economic success.

When people have housing that is both a reasonable cost and decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – it is easier for them to get to work or school and spend time with their loved ones, which improves job and educational success, as well as mental health. When people don't have to deal with things like mould or structural issues in their homes, their physical health improves. And, when people don't have to worry about being able to afford their rent or worry that they could be evicted for no reason, they have lower stress, which is also good for health. When people have decent homes that they can afford, it frees up income and allows them to fully contribute to our economy.

This is why we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. If we do, more people will have healthier, successful lives, and it will help our whole country.

9. Negative

Our failure to make sure that everyone can get decent housing at a reasonable cost has negative impacts on our society. Across the UK, there is a shortage of homes that people can afford, and without decent housing at a reasonable cost, people are forced into homes that aren't well-kept or safe. There are major drawbacks if we don't fix this problem. When people don't have decent and affordable housing, they have worse physical and mental health, fewer job and educational opportunities, and less economic success.

When people don't have housing that is both a reasonable cost and decent – safe, stable, and well connected to work, school, and social networks – it is harder for them to get to work or school and spend time with their loved ones, which is bad for job and educational outcomes, and harms mental health. When people live in unsafe spaces, like those riddled with mould or structural issues, their physical health suffers. And, when people are constantly worried about being able to afford their rent or worry that they could be evicted for no reason, they have higher stress, which also harms health. When people don't have decent homes that they can afford, most of their income is tied up in housing costs, which means they don't have as much to contribute to the broader economy.

This is why we need to better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing in the UK. If we don't, people will have worse health and less economic success, and it will hurt our whole country.

10. Good policy – defining affordability

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. Luckily, this is a problem that can be addressed with better government policies, like setting a clear definition of 'housing affordability' and ensuring that housing does not cost more than one-third of household income.

Right now, rent prices are based on market rates, but this means that too many people are left spending a massive portion of their income on rent. Experts agree that housing is only affordable when it costs less than one-third of a household's income. Yet, there are millions of tenants who pay more than a third of their income on rent. Instead of using market rates to set rent, affordability should be determined based on household income and circumstances like family size. Creating a clearer definition of 'affordable housing' that keeps housing costs below one-third of local household income will create intermediate rents that are below market rents but above social rents. This will ensure that housing is genuinely affordable for the people who need it most.

Practical policies can fix the current housing crisis. To make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost, the government must agree on a clear definition for 'affordable housing' and ensure that no household is spending too much of their income on rent for a decent home.

11. Good policy – ending Section 21

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent, stable homes that people can afford. Luckily, this is a problem that can be addressed with better government policies, like ending Section 21.

Section 21 allows private landlords to end a tenancy for any reason, often called a 'no fault' eviction. This means that people who rent from private landlords don't feel secure in their homes because they might be evicted at any time, despite paying their rent on time and looking after the property. And many private renters in the UK worry that they won't be able to find another decent or affordable home if they are evicted.

Other countries have successfully ended no fault evictions. For example, Scotland banned the equivalent of Section 21 in 2017. Since then, tenants in Scotland report higher confidence that they will be able to keep their tenancy and they feel more secure in their homes.

Practical policies can fix the current housing crisis. Ending Section 21 will ensure that nobody in the UK is evicted without reason, and it will also mean that decent and affordable housing is secure for all renters.

12. Unfair policy – help-to-buy

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of policies, like the help-to-buy scheme, which doesn't actually help those in need. In fact, this scheme unfairly advantages people who can afford to buy their homes and disadvantages people who cannot.

Help-to-buy is a government scheme that was intended to assist first-time homebuyers with purchasing a new build home using a 5% deposit. Unfortunately, it is riddled with loopholes that advantage the better off and hurt people who cannot afford to buy a home. The design of the scheme means that better-off applicants who do not need help purchasing a home can use the scheme to their advantage. And, because the programme has increased the number of people purchasing homes, the cost of homes has also increased, meaning that many people who were on the cusp of purchasing a home are now unable to do so.

Unfair policies have created the current housing crisis, and policies like the help-to-buy scheme are benefitting the better off while doing nothing to increase housing stock or reduce housing costs. Instead of continuing unfair policies that do nothing to solve the housing crisis, the government should better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

13. Unfair policy – stamp duty holiday

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of policies, like the stamp duty holiday, that unfairly advantage people who already own their homes and fail to help people who cannot afford to buy

The recent stamp duty holiday waived the stamp duty land tax on the first £500,000 of a home's value. This holiday gave tax cuts to people who could already afford to purchase a home and, by stimulating home purchases, contributed to growing home prices throughout the pandemic. In addition to costing the government nearly £3 billion in lost revenue, the stamp duty holiday also pushed homeownership out of reach for many people who were on the cusp of purchasing a home, ultimately deepening the wealth inequality between homeowners and renters.

Unfair policies have created the current housing crisis, and policies like the stamp duty holiday are benefitting the better off while doing nothing to increase housing stock or reduce housing costs. Instead of continuing unfair policies that do nothing to solve the housing crisis, the government should better regulate the private rented sector and build more high-quality social housing to make sure that all housing is decent and available at a reasonable cost.

Peer discourse sessions

Issue frames

The housing for health and wellbeing project. This will make sure that people have access to decent and affordable housing that supports their physical and mental health. By providing housing that is well-kept, safe, and stable, this project will prevent people from becoming ill or injured, reduce chronic stress, and improve mental health.

The housing for a strong economy project. This will make sure that people have access to decent and affordable housing, which will strengthen our economy. By providing housing that is well-kept, safe, and stable, this project will improve people's finances and health outcomes and ensure everyone has what they need to be productive and help our economy thrive.

Policy explanations

Positive valence – affordability:

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. Luckily, this is a problem that can be addressed with better government policies. Creating a governmental definition of 'affordable housing' as below one-third of local household income will ensure that housing is genuinely affordable for the people who need it most, that housebuilders must build housing that's more affordable, and that no household is

spending too much of their income on a decent home. Practical policies like creating a governmental definition of 'affordable housing' can fix the current housing crisis.

Negative valence – affordability:

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of bad government policies, like failing to create a governmental definition of 'affordable housing' as below one-third of local household income. Without this definition in place, housing isn't affordable for the people who need it most, housebuilders aren't required to build housing that's more affordable, and many households are struggling to afford decent housing that meets their needs. Without policies like creating a governmental definition of 'affordable housing,' the current housing crisis will never be fixed.

Positive valence – housing benefits:

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. Luckily, this is a problem that can be addressed with better government policies, like providing housing benefits to tenants on low incomes to help them cover their housing costs. This will ensure that housing is affordable for the people who need it most, that many renters can afford decent housing that meets their needs, and that no household is spending too much of their income on a decent home. Practical policies like governmental housing benefits can fix the current housing crisis.

Negative valence – housing benefits:

Everyone in the UK should be able to get decent housing at a reasonable cost, but right now there is a shortage of decent homes that people can afford. This shortage is the result of bad government policies, like cutting housing benefits paid to tenants on low incomes to help them cover their housing costs. Cutting housing benefits has meant that housing isn't affordable for the people who need it most, that many renters can't afford decent housing that meets their needs, and that many households are struggling to afford a decent home. Without policies like governmental housing benefits, the current housing crisis will never be fixed.

Values

Moral responsibility: In our society, we have a moral responsibility to treat everyone with dignity and respect

Compassion: In our society, we believe in showing compassion and kindness towards others

Appendix C: Sample survey items

Battery A: Cultural models

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below. [7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]

Subscale 1: Housing as a consumer good

1. Housing is just like any other product – you get what you pay for.
2. The purpose of owning a home is mostly to build personal wealth.

Subscale 2: Housing as a right for all

3. Decent housing should be provided for any person who needs it.
4. Housing should be guaranteed for everyone, no matter their income.

Battery C: Principles of social housing

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below. [7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]

Subscale 1: Social housing should be decent and affordable

1. Rented social housing should be both high-quality and affordable for tenants.
2. High-quality social housing should not require higher rent.

Subscale 2: 'Beggars can't be choosers'

3. People living in social housing shouldn't expect their homes to be high quality.
4. People who need help paying for their housing shouldn't expect to live in high quality homes.

Battery D: Effects of housing on outcomes

Please rate how much of an effect you believe having decent quality, affordable housing has on the following outcomes. [5-point Likert scale; 1 = no effect, 2 = small effect, 3 = moderate effect, 4 = strong effect, 5 = very strong effect]

1. Physical health
2. Employment opportunities
3. Educational achievement
4. Mental health

Battery E: Factors shaping the housing market and inequalities

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below. [7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree or agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]

1. The current housing shortage stems from government under regulation of the private rented sector.
2. The current housing shortage stems from bad government policies.
3. The government's failure to build more social housing has contributed to the current housing shortage.

Battery F: Collective efficacy

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below. [7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree or agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]

Subscale 1: Decent housing

1. I am optimistic that the government can make decent housing more available in the UK.
2. It is realistic to believe that that the government can make decent housing more available in the UK.

Subscale 2: Affordable housing

3. I am optimistic that the government can make housing more affordable in the UK.
4. It is realistic to believe that that the government can make housing more affordable in the UK.

Battery G: Specific policies

How much do you favour or oppose the following policies? In considering these policies, please keep in mind that putting these policies in place might in some cases involve raising taxes. [7-point Likert scale: 1 = strongly oppose, 2 = oppose, 3 = somewhat oppose, 4 = neither favour nor oppose, 5 = somewhat favour, 6 = favour, 7 = strongly favour]

1. Create a national landlord registry to help tenants avoid irresponsible landlords.
2. Pass a law limiting rent for social housing to a maximum of one-third of the tenant's household income.
3. Renovate the existing social housing stock to make sure that modern fire, infrastructure, and health safety standards are met.

Appendix D: Data supporting recommendations

Evidence supporting recommendation 1: Talk about homes as a source of health and wellbeing to build understanding of why access to decent and affordable homes matters (p. 4–6)

We recommend using a *Health and Wellbeing* issue frame to talk about why decent and affordable homes matter. In the full Wave 1 sample of the experiment, the *Health* issue frame significantly increased participants' understanding of the effects of housing on life outcomes when compared to the control condition ($p = .002$). Results are illustrated in Graph 1.

In the full Wave 2 sample of the experiment, we refined the *Health* frame to become a *Health and Wellbeing* frame (see Appendix C). The *Health and Wellbeing* frame marginally moved people towards a higher sense of collective efficacy for both decent and affordable housing when compared to the control ($p = .055$). For people who identified as centrist, the *Health and Wellbeing* frame significantly reduced consumerist thinking about housing ($p = .031$) and increased collective efficacy for affordable housing ($p = .037$) when compared to the control. For left-leaning people, the *Health and Wellbeing* frame significantly increased agreement with the idea that housing should be both decent and affordable ($p = .026$) when compared to the control. Results are illustrated in Graph 2.

In peer discourse sessions, we found that the *Health and Wellbeing* frame helped participants think about housing as essential to life, helped them think about systemic solutions, and was particularly 'sticky' (i.e., the language of health and wellbeing easily stayed in conversation throughout the session). Additionally, we found that talking about mental health was especially useful in helping participants understand how decent and affordable housing has positive effects on people's lives.

Evidence supporting recommendation 2: Use an explanatory metaphor to show how decent homes should be an essential priority (p. 7–9)

We recommend using the *Clean Air* metaphor to talk about decent and affordable homes as essential. In the full Wave 1 sample of the experiment, the *Clean Air* metaphor significantly increased participants' understanding of the effects of housing on life outcomes when compared to the control condition ($p = .047$). *Clean Air* also marginally increased understanding of the factors shaping the housing market when compared to the control ($p = .051$). Results are illustrated in Graph 1.

We recommend using the *Foundations* metaphor to talk to people on the right of the political spectrum about decent and affordable housing as fundamental to people's lives. For people who identified as being on the political right, the *Foundations* metaphor significantly decreased consumerist thinking about housing ($p = .022$) and increased participants' understanding of the effects of housing on life outcomes ($p = .001$) and factors shaping the housing market ($p = .004$). *Foundations* also significantly increased agreement with the idea that housing should be both decent and affordable ($p = .011$), and it built both a sense of collective efficacy ($p = .045$) and support for housing policies ($p = .012$) when compared to the control. Results are illustrated in Graph 3.

Evidence supporting recommendation 3: Invoke people's sense of moral responsibility to build the case for making decent and affordable housing available to everyone (p. 9–10)

To help people understand why decent and affordable homes matter, we recommend invoking people's sense of moral responsibility. In the full Wave 2 sample of the experiment, the *Moral Responsibility* value frame marginally increased collective efficacy for affordable housing when compared to the control. For people who identified as being on the political right, *Moral Responsibility* significantly increased overall support for housing policies ($p = .028$). Results are illustrated in Graph 3.

In PDS, we tested the *Moral Responsibility* value frame and compared it with a *Compassion* value frame. The *Moral Responsibility* frame helped participants understand the importance of making decent housing affordable, especially for the most marginalised in society (such as people living in poverty and people with disabilities). It also helped invoke a sense of collective responsibility – that as a society, we need to take steps to make decent and affordable housing more accessible. In contrast, the *Compassion* frame received significant pushback from participants and was not able to shift thinking in productive directions.

Evidence supporting recommendation 4: Combine a critical tone with explanations of systemic solutions to build a sense of urgency and efficacy (p. 10–11)

We recommend pairing a critical tone with explanations of specific policy solutions. In the full Wave 1 sample of the experiment, using a *crisis tone* significantly increased participants' understanding of the effects of housing on life outcomes ($p = .025$), as well as an understanding of the factors shaping the housing market ($p = .023$), when compared to the control condition. Results are illustrated in Graph 1.

In the full Wave 2 sample of the experiment, the policy frame talking about cuts to the LHA built a greater sense of collective efficacy ($p = .05$) than did the control. Talking about cuts to the LHA also significantly increased participants' understanding of the factors shaping housing market ($p = .010$). In addition, talking about affordability increased support for limiting social rent to one-third of a person's income ($p = .019$) when compared to the control. Results are illustrated in Graph 4.

In PDS, we found that pairing a sense of urgency with specific policy solutions (changing the governmental definition of affordability and expanding LHA benefits) helped people understand that something can and should be done to make decent and affordable housing more accessible for all.

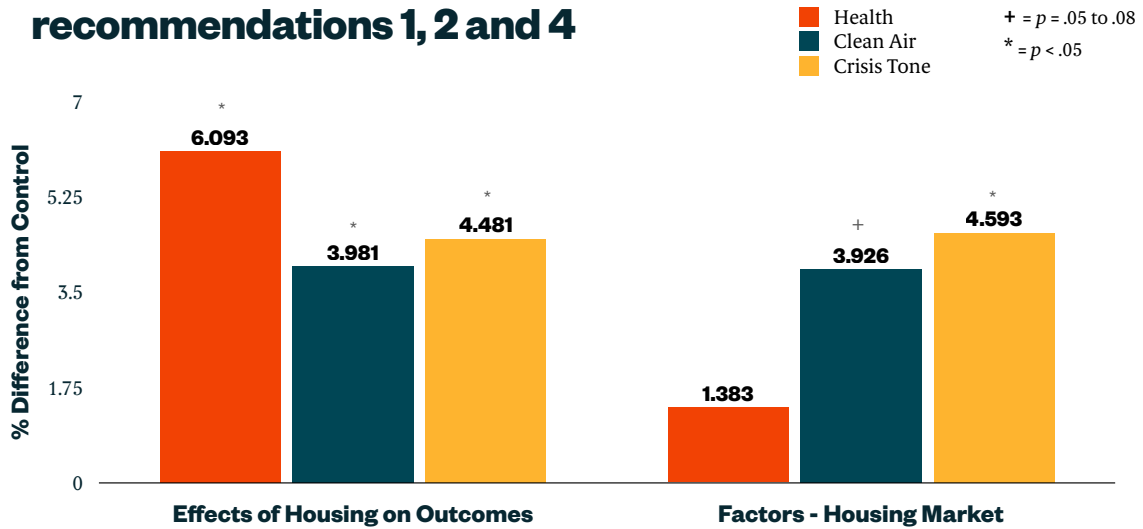
Evidence supporting recommendation 5: Put individual stories in context to bring systemic changes to the housing system to life. (p. 12–14)

Combining individual narratives with narratives about broader systems has consistently been found in FrameWorks' research to increase people's sense of collective efficacy and reduce fatalism. Placing individual stories in their broader context, and linking that context to specific systemic solutions, helps people understand that change is possible and that there are specific policies and practices that can be done to effect that change.

The tone of stories also matters. We found that in the full Wave 2 sample of the experiment, using a positive valence to talk about housing issues significantly reduced consumerist thinking about housing ($p = .034$) and increased collective efficacy for affordable housing ($p = .043$) when compared to the control condition. Results are illustrated in Graph 4.

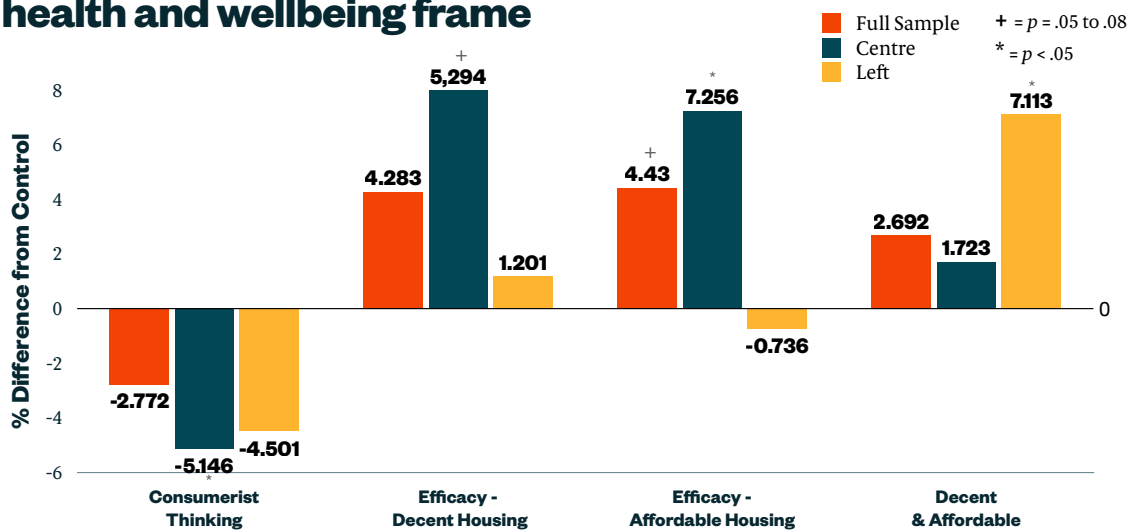
In PDS, we combined both positive and negative valence frames with explanation of specific policies (changing the governmental definition of affordability and expanding LHA benefits). Both the positive and negative valence frames helped people think about systemic solutions to make decent and affordable housing more accessible, but the negative valence frame added a sense of urgency around addressing the housing crisis that can help build a sense of collective responsibility and efficacy. The negative valence frame's 'crisis'-type tone was particularly effective to build support for systemic change, such as providing housing benefits and building more social housing. The urgency of this frame helped participants understand that we're all responsible to address housing inequality and that the government can and should do something about it now, given the urgency of the situation.

Graph 1: Data supporting recommendations 1, 2 and 4



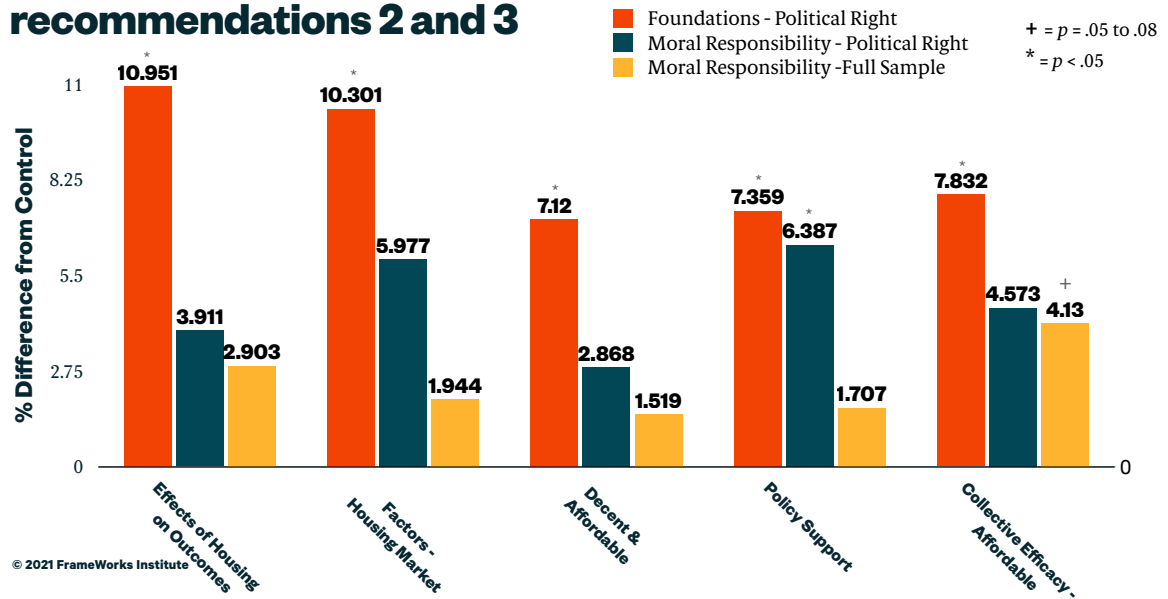
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Graph 2: Data supporting recommendation 1, health and wellbeing frame



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Graph 3: Data supporting recommendations 2 and 3



Graph 4: Data supporting recommendations 4 and 5

