WorkShift Methods Supplement

FRAME WORKS

WORK/SHIFT

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Introduction

This supplement provides detailed information on the research that informs the first release of FrameWorks' WorkShift project on reframing work and labor in the United States.[1] Below, we outline the research conducted with researchers, advocates and practitioners, and with members of the public that provides the evidence base for the brief, describing the methods used and sample composition.

The Core Ideas of Work and Labor, Care Work, and Manufacturing

To develop an effective strategy for communicating about an issue, it's necessary to identify a set of key ideas to get across. For this project, these ideas were garnered from researchers and advocates working on work and labor issues, including academics, policy experts, and worker advocates. FrameWorks researchers conducted 24 interviews, each lasting between 60 and 90 minutes, via Zoom, along with a review of the relevant literature on the issue. Interviews were conducted between December 2022 and February 2023 and, with participants' permission, were recorded and transcribed for analysis. To refine these core ideas for the different strands of work, FrameWorks conducted four 90-minute feedback sessions, and an additional hour-long roundtable with researchers, advocates, and partners in March 2023.

Interviews with researchers and advocates consisted of a series of probing questions designed to capture their understanding about current challenges workers face, the nature and source of structural oppression, and visions for a better system. Interviews were semi-structured in the sense that, in addition to preset questions, FrameWorks researchers repeatedly asked for elaboration and clarification and encouraged members of the sector to expand on concepts they identified as particularly important.

Analysis employed a basic grounded theory approach.[2] A FrameWorks researcher identified and inductively categorized common themes that emerged in each interview and across the sample. This procedure resulted in a refined set of themes, which researchers supplemented with a review of materials from relevant literature. This literature review covered academic and gray sources, particularly focused on the types of structural changes that are needed for work and labor in the United States, with a secondary focus on gathering existing research on mindsets and public perceptions.

Media Coverage of Work and Labor Issues

We analyzed media coverage of work and labor issues, with a focus on how the media talk about the balance of power between corporations and workers and how the media present issues of equity and structural oppression in the workplace. We did this through two methods—first, a roundup of existing published research on media framing of key labor issues and second, a media content analysis of news sources.

For the media content analysis, we focused on coverage of *unions*, *strikes*, and *the great resignation*. We searched for coverage in the top US newspapers in terms of circulation: the *Daily News* (New York), the *San Francisco Chronicle* (California), the *Star-Ledger* (Newark, NJ), the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the *New York Post*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Chicago Tribune*, the *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), *Wall Street Journal* abstracts, the *Washington Post*, the *Houston Chronicle*, the *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), the *Boston Globe*, *Los Angeles Times*, the *Detroit News* (Michigan), the *Denver Post*, the *Dallas Morning News*, and the *New York Times*.

Articles were retrieved from LexisNexis using the terms *union* and *strike* (with wildcards). The date range for the sample was January 1, 2022–October 30, 2023. This search yielded a sample of 2,887 articles. Articles were sorted by relevance, and then every first and fiftieth article was sampled for qualitative coding. A relevance check excluded 8 articles, leaving 42 to analyze. A separate search was conducted using the term *great resignation*. This yielded a sample of 162 articles. The list was sorted by relevance and every first and fifth article was chosen until reaching 20 articles for qualitative coding. This analysis supplemented the literature review to provide us with key themes in US media coverage of work and labor issues.

Public Understanding of Work, Care Work, and Manufacturing in the United States

To identify the cultural mindsets that the public uses to think about work, including care work and manufacturing, we conducted both qualitative and quantitative research methods. First we ran a series of in-depth interviews, and then we conducted three large nationally representative surveys. We describe each of these methods in turn.

Cultural Mindsets Interviews

FrameWorks researchers conducted 50 one-on-one, two-hour, in-depth, semi-structured cultural mindsets interviews from May 1 to July 5, 2023, with people across the United States. Of these interviews, 20 were about work and labor in general, 15 focused on care work, and 15 on manufacturing. Interviews were conducted over Zoom and were recorded with participants' written consent.

All participants were recruited by a professional marketing firm and selected to represent variation along several dimensions: race and ethnicity, residential location, age, gender, educational background, income, political views (as self-reported during the screening process), and family situation (e.g., married or single, with or without children). See Table 1 below for full demographic information. To ensure we captured a breadth of perspectives and were able to examine thinking across racial identity, we interviewed people representing each of four broadly defined racial-ethnic groups: Black, Hispanic/Latine, Native American, other (e.g., Asian American/Pacific Islander [AAPI]), and white. Across all 50 interviews, we had 10 Black participants, 12 Hispanic/Latine, 6 other, and 22 white. All the quotas we had at the full sample level were preserved to the extent possible in the three sets of interviews: on work and labor, on care work, and on manufacturing. See Table 2 below for breakdown of demographic information across groups of interviews.

Cultural mindsets interviews are one-on-one, semi-structured interviews lasting approximately two hours. They are designed to allow researchers to capture broad sets of assumptions, or cultural mindsets, that participants use to make sense of a concept or topic area—in this case, issues related to work and labor in general, care work, and manufacturing. Interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions covering participants' thinking on those topics in broad terms. Researchers approached each interview with a common set of topics to explore but allowed participants to determine the direction and nature of the discussion.

To analyze the interviews, researchers used analytical techniques from cognitive and linguistic anthropology to examine how participants understood issues related to work and labor in general, care work, and manufacturing.[3] First, researchers identified common ways of talking across the sample to reveal assumptions, relationships, logical steps, and connections that were commonly made but taken for granted throughout an individual's dialogue. The analysis involved discerning patterns in both what participants said (i.e., how they related, explained, and understood things) and what they did not say (i.e., assumptions and implied relationships). In many cases, participants revealed conflicting mindsets on the same issue. In such cases, one conflicting way of understanding was typically found to be dominant over the other in that it more consistently and deeply shaped participants' thinking

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

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

As we describe below, we primarily relied on large-sample surveys to explore variations between groups, rather than looking at variation within our interview sample, as generalizations based on small numbers of participants would be inappropriate. However, in analyzing cultural mindsets interviews, researchers noted whether specific mindsets appeared more frequently in some racial/ethnic groups and used the qualitative data to generate possible interpretations of such differences. Where differences in mindset salience were borne out by the surveys, researchers returned to these interpretations from the cultural mindsets interviews to help make sense of these results.

Table 1: Cultural mindsets interviews—Demographic information across all 50 interviews

Demographic Variable	Number of Participants
Race/Ethnicity	
Black or African American	10
Hispanic or Latine	12
White	22
Other (e.g., Asian/AAPI)	6
Political Party	
Democrat/Lean Democratic	19
Republican/Lean Republican	16
Other/Independent/Does not lean	15
Residential Location	
Rural	16
Suburban	15
Urban	19
Gender	
Male	24
Female	25
Nonbinary/Other	1

Age	
18–29	7
30–44	17
45–59	16
60+	10
Educational Attainment	
High school or less	20
Some college	16
College degree	11
Post-college	3
Income	
$0–39,999	12
$40,000–69,999	15
$70,000–99,999	15
$100,000–149,999	5
$150,000+	3
Parental Status	
Has children	36
No children	14
Marital Status	
Single	17
Married	24
Divorced	6
Widowed	3

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

Demographic Variable	Number of Participants		
Race/Ethnicity	**Overall Work**	**Care Work**	**Manufacturing**
Black or African American	4	4	2
Hispanic or Latine	5	3	4
White	8	6	8
Other (e.g., Asian/AAPI)	3	2	1
Political Party			
Democrat/Lean Democratic	8	5	6
Republican/Lean Republican	7	6	3
Other/Independent/Does not lean	5	4	6
Residential Location			
Rural	4	6	6
Suburban	8	3	4
Urban	8	6	5
Gender			
Male	11	7	6
Female	9	7	9
Nonbinary/Other		1	

Age			
18–29	2	3	2
30–44	6	5	6
45–59	8	5	3
60+	4	2	4
Educational Attainment			
High school or less	10	6	4
Some college	7	4	5
College degree	2	5	4
Post-college	1		2
Income			
$0–39,999	4	5	3
$40,000–69,999	6	4	5
$70,000–99,999	7	4	4
$100,000–149,999	2	1	2
$150,000+	1	1	1
Parental Status			
Has children	15	11	10
No children	5	4	5
Marital Status			
Single	7	5	5
Married	7	10	7
Divorced	4		2
Widowed	2		1

Cultural Mindsets Surveys

Three online surveys were administered to gather data from a total sample of 3,741 participants (survey 1: N = 1,244; survey 2: N = 1,235; survey 3: N = 1,262) aged 18 and over and from the United States.

All surveys began with participant consent and a series of standard demographic questions, followed by batteries measuring the endorsement of various cultural mindsets and items measuring support for policy solutions. The first survey included mindsets that cut across fields of work and labor, the second survey included mindsets that were primarily related to care work, and the third survey included mindsets that were primarily related to manufacturing.

Each battery consisted of multiple questions, primarily using Likert-type items with nine-point response scales. Surveys 1 and 2 included several forced-choice items wherein participants were presented with statements representing two cultural mindsets and asked to rate which cultural mindset they agreed with more. All batteries within each section were randomized.

Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, gender, household income, education level, race/ethnicity, and political party affiliation. Most racial/ethnic groups were oversampled above national benchmarks to support subgroup analyses, with a minimum target of n = 200 for each racial/ethnic group. All analyses regarding race/ethnicity were conducted using the nationally representative sample and the oversample to ensure adequate power for stratified analyses. Full sample analyses were conducted using only the nationally representative sample. Data was collected in November 2023 by Dynata, who also hosted the survey. See tables 3-5 below for more information about the sample composition.

Exploratory factor analysis with oblique promax rotation was used to determine the psychometric quality of each battery. Items with rotated factor loadings below |.40| were dropped from each battery. Once finalized, Cronbach's alpha (a) was used to assess internal consistency among the items in each battery. Given that there are various heuristics for determining acceptable internal consistency, we determined that batteries with internal consistency scores approaching .60 or above would be considered acceptable.[4] After assessing internal consistency, items within each battery were combined into composite scores that indicated participants' average ratings of the target opinions or cultural mindsets measured by each battery.

Across both surveys, we ran correlations to determine the relationships between target opinions and cultural mindsets. A threshold of $p < .05$ was used to determine whether two variables were significantly correlated. A correlation coefficient within the range of .10–.30 was considered a small association; a correlation coefficient within the range of .30–.50 was considered a medium association; and a correlation of .50 or higher was considered a large association.[5]

We used analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine whether participants from various demographic backgrounds differed significantly in their endorsement of cultural mindsets. Further, we used Tukey HSD corrected pairwise comparisons to identify where significant differences between demographic groups occurred. An effect size within the range of .20–.49 was considered a small effect; an effect size within the range of .50–.79 was considered a moderate effect; and an effect of .80–1.09 was considered a large effect.[6] Additionally, we considered an effect of 1.1 or larger a very large effect.

Table 3: Survey 1 demographic information[7]

Demographic Variable	Main Sample (n)	Main Sample %	Total Sample (n)	Total %
Age				
18–29	114	11%	147	12%
30–44	241	24%	302	24%
45–59	260	26%	326	26%
60+	389	39%	469	38%
Gender				
Man	454	45%	567	46%
Woman	548	55%	674	54%
Trans Man	0	0%	0	0%
Trans Woman	0	0%	0	0%
Genderqueer	1	0%	1	0%
Other	1	0%	2	0%
Region				
Northeast	173	17%	216	17%
Midwest	213	21%	244	20%
South	399	40%	473	38%
West	219	22%	311	25%
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic Latine)	565	56%	565	45%
Hispanic/Latine	176	18%	202	16%
Black/African American	160	16%	204	16%
Asian	44	4%	203	16%
American Indian/Alaska Native	9	1%	9	1%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	2	0%	4	0%
Other/Biracial or multiracial	48	5%	57	5%
Income (USD)				
$0–24,999	199	20%	227	18%
$25,000–49,999	261	26%	308	25%
$50,000–99,999	321	32%	402	32%
$100,000–149,999	127	13%	173	14%
$150,000+	96	10%	134	11%
Education				
High school diploma or less	259	26%	296	24%
Some college or associate's degree	337	34%	404	32%
Bachelor's degree	241	24%	320	26%
Graduate/Professional degree	167	16%	224	18%
Political Party				
Republican/Closer to Republican Party	393	39%	454	37%
Democrat/Closer to Democratic Party	493	49%	623	50%
Neither	118	12%	167	13%

Table 4: Survey 2 demographic information

Demographic Variable	Main Sample (n)	Main Sample %	Total Sample (n)	Total %
Age				
18–29	139	14%	170	14%
30–44	269	27%	331	27%
45–59	270	27%	334	27%
60+	322	32%	400	32%
Gender				
Man	440	44%	551	45%
Woman	550	55%	674	55%
Trans Man	2	0%	2	0%
Trans Woman	1	0%	1	0%
Genderqueer	5	1%	5	0%
Other	2	0%	2	0%
Region				
Northeast	189	19%	224	18%
Midwest	206	21%	237	19%
South	398	40%	470	38%
West	207	21%	304	25%
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic Latine)	580	58%	580	47%
Hispanic/Latine	166	17%	199	16%
Black/African American	161	16%	205	17%
Asian	51	5%	200	16%
American Indian/Alaska Native	7	1%	10	1%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	1	0%	2	0%
Other/Biracial or multiracial	34	3%	39	3%
Income (USD)				
$0–24,999	200	20%	237	19%
$25,000–49,999	236	24%	284	23%
$50,000–99,999	348	35%	435	35%
$100,000–149,999	134	13%	165	13%
$150,000+	82	8%	114	9%
Education				
High school diploma or less	279	28%	314	24%
Some college or associate's degree	319	32%	372	30%
Bachelor's degree	246	25%	352	29%
Graduate/Professional degree	156	16%	197	17%
Political Party				
Republican/Closer to Republican Party	406	41%	465	38%
Democrat/Closer to Democratic Party	479	48%	609	49%
Neither	115	11%	161	13%

Table 5: Survey 3 demographic information

Demographic Variable	Main Sample (n)	Main Sample %	Total Sample (n)	Total %
Age				
18–24	74	7%	99	8%
25-34	156	16%	186	15%
35-44	206	21%	269	21%
45-59	262	26%	336	27%
60+	303	30%	372	29%
Gender				
Man	495	49%	623	49%
Woman	501	50%	633	50%
Trans Man	3	0%	3	0%
Trans Woman	0	0%	0	0%
Genderqueer	1	0%	1	0%
Other	1	0%	2	0%
Region				
Northeast	167	17%	212	17%
Midwest	206	21%	246	19%
South	414	41%	508	40%
West	214	21%	296	23%
Race/Ethnicity				
Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic Latine)	601	60%	601	48%
Hispanic/Latine	148	15%	201	16%
Black/African American	153	15%	202	16%
Asian	54	5%	201	16%
American Indian/Alaska Native	11	1%	11	1%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	3	0%	4	0%
Other/Biracial or multiracial	31	3%	42	3%
Income (USD)				
$0–24,999	195	19%	231	18%
$25,000–49,999	228	23%	278	22%
$50,000–99,999	331	33%	429	34%
$100,000–149,999	148	15%	193	15%
$150,000+	99	10%	131	10%
Education				
High school diploma or less	348	35%	397	31%
Some college or associate's degree	272	27%	351	28%
Bachelor's degree	241	24%	328	26%
Graduate/Professional degree	140	14%	186	15%
Political Party				
Republican/Closer to Republican Party	406	41%	462	37%
Democrat/Closer to Democratic Party	474	47%	615	49%
Neither	121	12%	185	14%

Evidence for Mindset Clusters

In our survey data, we found evidence for two broad clusters about work. One of which can be described as *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary*, and the other as *Collective, Structural and Designed*. Evidence for the existence of these clusters lies in the following patterns:

— Mindsets in one cluster tend to correlate with each other, usually to a moderate or large degree.

— Mindsets in one cluster tend to not correlate, or correlate weakly negatively, with models from the other cluster.

— *Collective, Structural and Designed* mindsets tend to be moderately positively associated with our policy outcomes of interest, whereas *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary* do not (they tend to be weakly negatively associated).

Below we lay out the data that supports this and the evidence for the patterns of group differences by political affiliation, gender, and race that we discuss in the reports. The data was collected over three survey waves, for reasons of length, so we show the data from each wave in turn and how they evidence these clusters.

Figures 1–3 below depict correlations between *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary* mindsets, *Collective, Structural and Designed* mindsets, and select policies. Correlations indicate relationships between variables and range from -1.0 to 1.0. Positive correlations signify a relationship where both variables move together in the same direction, either increasing together or decreasing together. Conversely, negative correlations indicate an inverse relationship where one variable increases as the other decreases. Effect sizes for correlations are categorized as follows: 0.10–0.29 indicate small correlations, 0.30–0.49 indicate moderate correlations, and 0.50 or higher indicate large correlations.

Figure 1 depicts correlations between mindsets and polices measured in survey 1. Mindsets we characterize as being *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary* include: individualism, unions as corrupt, and system is rigged - conservative. Mindsets we characterize as being *Collective, Structural and Designed* include: ecological thinking, structural thinking, government as protector, stronger together, and system is rigged - liberal. The following policies are also included: public child care, jobs guarantee, federal minimum wage, unions, climate job training, Medicare for all, and manufacturing labor standards.

Figure 2 depicts correlations between mindsets and policies measured in survey 2. Mindsets we characterize as being *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary* include: market naturalism, meritocracy, born to work, work gender essentialism, gender essentialism, gender is binary, and individualism.

Mindsets we characterize as being *Collective, Structural and Designed* include: opportunity, designed economy, designed labor systems, structural sexism shapes care work, care quality as context, and stronger together. The following policies are also included: public child care, jobs guarantee, federal minimum wage, unions, climate job training, and manufacturing labor standards.

Figure 3 depicts correlations between mindsets and policies measured in survey 3. Mindsets we characterize as being *Individualist, Naturalist and Reactionary* include: self-makingness, reverse racism is the new racism, cultural differences in work ethic, government is anti-business, and structural racism shapes work. Mindsets we characterize as being *Collective, Structural and Designed* include: stronger together, environmental racism, government as protector, and profit motive drives exploitation. The following policies are also included: public child care, jobs guarantee, federal minimum wage, unions, climate job training, and manufacturing labor standards.

Figure 1: Correlations between key mindsets and policy items from Survey 1

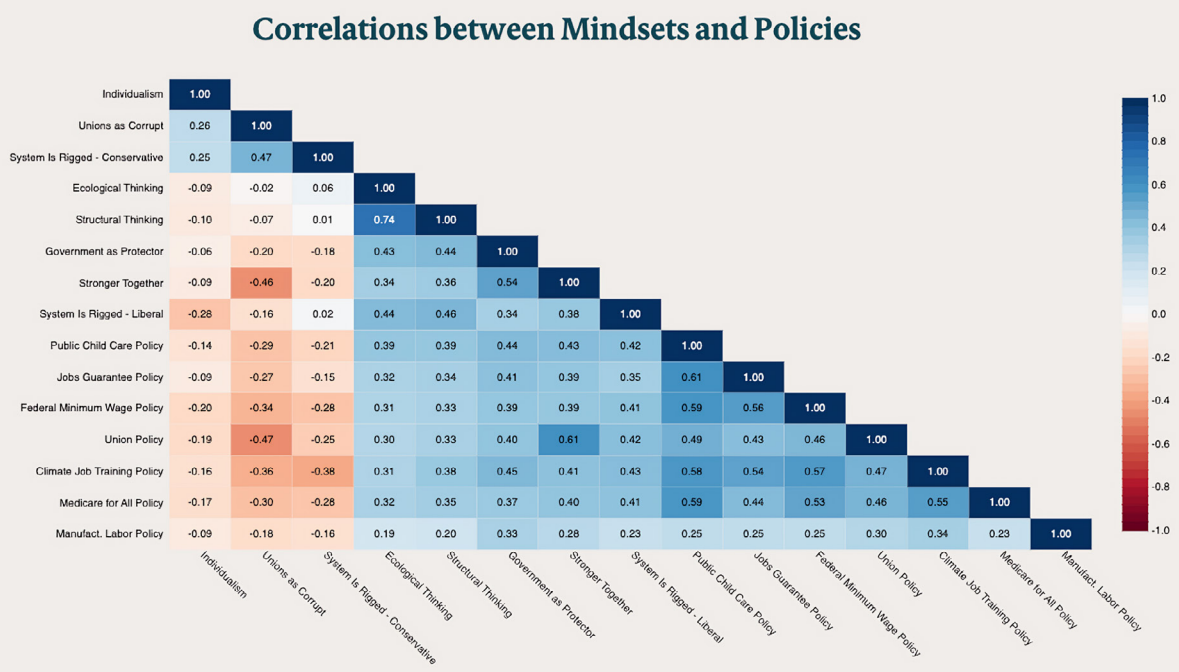


Figure 2: Correlations between key mindsets and policy items from Survey 2

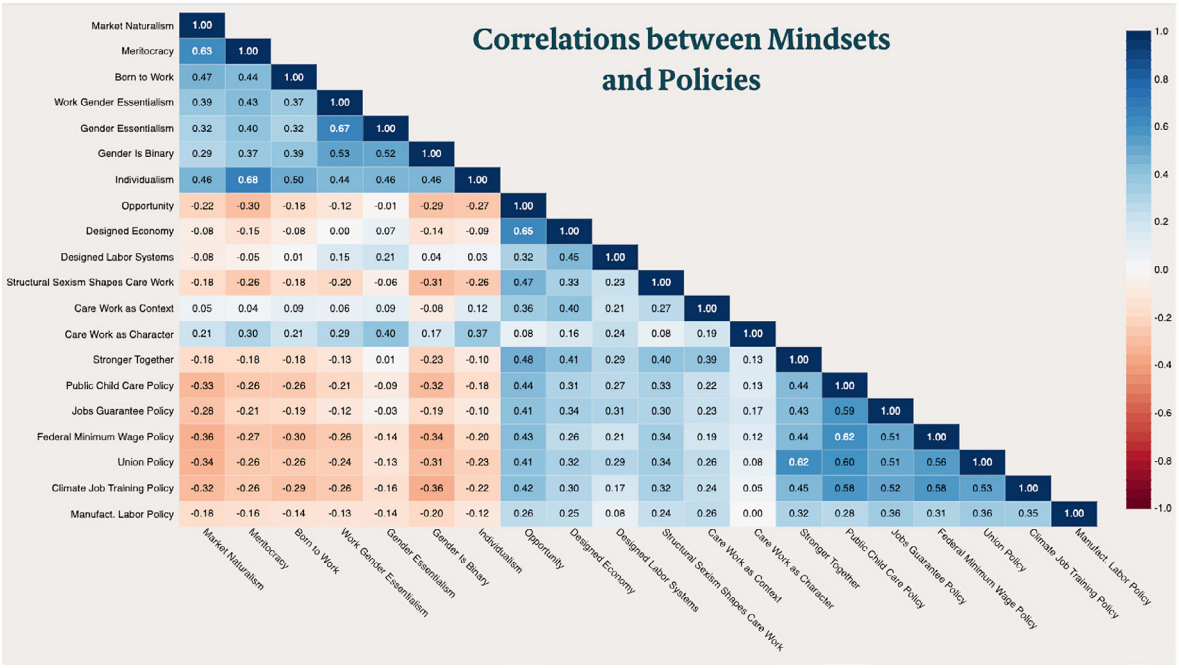
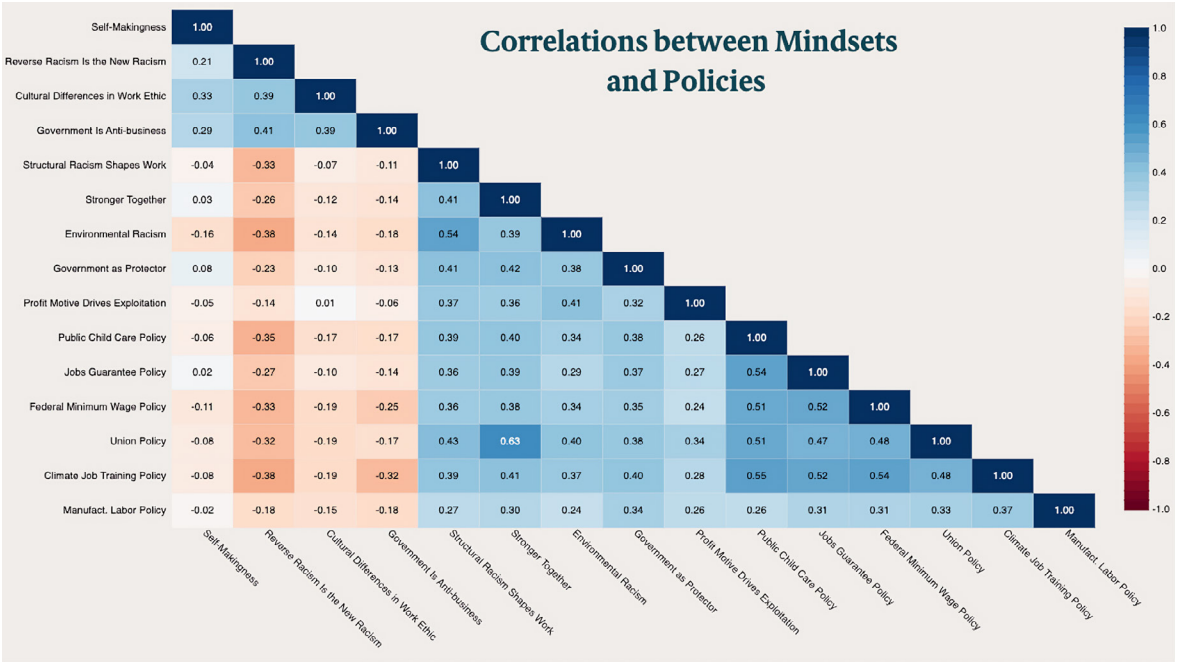


Figure 3: Correlations between key mindsets and policy items from Survey 3



Using Tukey HSD-corrected pairwise comparisons, we explored mean differences in the endorsement of key mindsets across political affiliation, gender, and race. Tables 5–7 depict average endorsement for each mindset, by group, alongside corresponding t-statistics and p-values.

Participants responded to all survey items on nine-point Likert-type scales. Mean scores have been transformed to a 100-point scale, with 50 representing the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). Scores approaching zero signify a stronger rejection of the mindset, while those nearing 100 indicate a stronger endorsement of the mindset.

Table 6: Group differences by political party

Mindset	Democrats	Republicans	t-Statistic	p-Value
Gender Essentialism	53.2	64.1	8.21	<.001
Work Gender Essentialism	46.2	63.8	11.59	<.001
Care Work as Character	59.8	61.0		n.s
Government is Anti-business	47.4	65.1	12.15	<.001
Cultural Differences in Work Ethic	47.2	57.9	7.85	<.001
Class Not Race	44.7	57.9	7.85	<.001
Self-Makingness	70.2	77.2	5.93	<.001
Born to Work	59.2	73.2	-11.65	<.001
Stronger Together	76.0	59.8	-10.72	<.001
Structural Sexism Shapes Care Work	60.7	44.5	10.71	<.001
Care Work as Context	78.0	74.2	-4.13	<.001
Structural Racism Shapes Work	67.6	51.1	11.12	<.001
Profit Motive Drives Exploitation	73.8	63.0	-10.88	<.001

n.s = nonsignificant

Table 7: Group differences by gender

Mindset	Men	Women	t-Statistic	p-Value
Individualism	74.7	69.6	3.12	.002
Gender Essentialism	61.5	55.6	4.71	<.001
Work Gender Essentialism	48.4	51.1	4.81	<.001
Care Work as Character	62.7	58.7	3.07	.002
Gender Is Binary	68.5	63.1	2.93	.004
Government is Anti-business	55.6	54.9		n.s
Cultural Differences in Work Ethic	54.4	50.3	3.10	.002
Reverse Racism Is the New Racism	50.1	48.2		n.s
Self-Makingness	75.3	71.1	3.76	<.001
Market Naturalism	60.8	50.9	8.97	<.001
Born to Work	69.0	63.4	4.55	<.001
Stronger Together	71.6	70.8		n.s
Structural Sexism Shapes Care Work	47.2	57.5	-7.03	<.001
Care Quality as Context	74.8	76.9	-2.26	.024
Structural Racism Shapes Work	58.0	61.0	-2.05	.041
Profit Motive Drives Exploitation	68.9	68.5		n.s

n.s = nonsignificant

Table 8: Group differences by race[8]

Mindset	Group 1	Group 2	t-Statistic	p-Value
Gender Essentialism	Black mean = 63.3 Black mean = 63.3 Asian mean = 61.8	Latine mean = 57.8 White mean = 56.4 White mean = 56.4	2.86 4.39 3.39	.022 < .001 .004
Work Gender Essentialism	Asian mean = 59.2	White mean = 53.3	3.39	.004
Care Work as Character	White mean = 57.8 White mean = 57.8 White mean = 57.8	Latine mean = 62.7 Asian mean = 63.9 Black mean = 66.0	-2.92 3.63 4.99	.019 .002 < .001
Government is Anti-business	White mean = 57.1	Latine mean = 52.2	2.67	.039
Cultural Differences in Work Ethic	Asian mean = 59.8 Asian mean = 59.8 Asian mean = 59.8	White mean = 52.3 Black mean = 51.2 Latine mean = 51.0	4.54 4.25 4.32	< .001 < .001 < .001
Reverse Racism Is the New Racism	White mean = 55.5 White mean = 55.5 White mean = 55.5 Black mean = 34.2 Black mean = 34.2	Asian mean = 43.4 Black mean = 34.2 Latine mean = 42.5 Asian mean = 43.4 Latine mean = 42.5	6.19 10.9 6.63 -3.84 -3.47	< .001 < .001 < .001 < .001 .003
Class Not Race	White mean = 50.2 Black mean = 40.5 Black mean = 40.5	Black mean = 40.5 Latine mean = 47.6 Asian mean = 49.3	7.06 -4.21 -8.79	< .001 < .001 < .001
Market Naturalism	White mean = 56.7 White mean = 56.7 Asian mean = 58.0 Asian mean = 58.0	Latine mean = 53.0 Black mean = 52.1 Latine mean = 53.0 Black mean = 52.1	2.60 3.28 2.87 3.43	.047 .006 .021 .004
Stronger Together	Black mean = 79.0 Black mean = 79.0 Black mean = 79.0	Asian mean = 70.9 White mean = 68.9 Latine mean = 73.1	3.71 5.67 2.72	< .001 < .001 .034
Structural Sexism Shapes Care Work	Black mean = 57.3	White mean = 51.3	3.23	.007
Structural Racism Shapes Work	White mean = 54.5 White mean = 54.5 White mean = 54.5 Black mean = 71.1 Black mean = 71.1	Black mean = 71.1 Latine mean = 66.1 Asian mean = 62.3 Asian mean = 62.3 Latine mean = 66.1	-9.33 -5.30 -5.56 3.07 3.29	< .001 < .001 < .001 .012 .006
Profit Motive Drives Exploitation	White mean = 66.8 White mean = 66.8	Black mean = 72.0 Latine mean = 71.5	-2.91 -2.64	.019 .042

Survey Items

I. Cultural Mindsets[9]

Cultural mindsets were primarily measured using batteries of items designed to capture the core assumptions or ideas of a mindset. All mindsets were measured on a nine-point scale, from *very strongly disagree* to *very strongly agree*.

A. Cultural Mindsets—Survey 1

Individualism

What happens to an individual in their life is primarily the result of the choices they make.
How well people do in life is mostly determined by how much willpower and drive they have.
If someone works hard enough, they'll succeed in life.
How we do in life is our own responsibility, and no one else's.

Ecological Thinking

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

Structural Thinking

How people do in life is our whole society's responsibility.
How successful people are in life is determined by how our society is structured.
The opportunities available in our communities shape our outcomes in life.

Fatalism - Capacity

No matter what our leaders do, they won't be able to fix our society's problems.
No matter what we do, our society's biggest problems can't be fixed.
The problems we face as a society are too big for us to overcome.
Our society has so many problems, there's no way for us to solve them all.

Fatalism - Choice

We aren't realistically going to do what is needed to fix our society's biggest problems.
We will never be able to agree on how to fix our society's biggest problems.
It's impossible for us to come together and fix our society's biggest problems.

System Is Rigged (General)

In our society, rich and powerful people control things in ways that benefit them and hurt ordinary people.

Our economy is rigged by rich and powerful people to enrich themselves at the expense of ordinary people.
In our country, the system is rigged against most people.
The way things work in this country leaves most people without a say over their own lives.
Our political system is rigged by large corporations.

System Is Rigged (Conservative)

In our society, liberal elites manipulate the system to undermine American values.
Liberal politicians are rigging the system to steal votes.
Our system is rigged against ordinary Americans.
In our society, the system is rigged against white working-class Americans.
The woke Left is stacking the deck against ordinary Americans.

System Is Rigged (Liberal)

In our society, the system is rigged so that corporations can put profits over people.
In our society, the system is rigged against Black and brown people.
Our system is rigged against workers.
The hard Right is manipulating the system to undermine our collective values.
Right-wing politicians are rigging the system to steal votes.

Zero-Sum Thinking

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

Voting as a Right

Voting is a right and the ability to vote should never be taken away.
Everyone has a right to vote, no matter what they've done in their lives.
There is nothing that justifies taking away a person's right to vote.
Voting is a privilege and the ability to vote should be taken away if someone has shown they don't deserve it.
If people are bad citizens, their ability to vote should be taken away. (*reverse-coded*)

Authoritarianism

Government is most effective when there are strong leaders to keep society in order.
When leaders demand respect and obedience, the government works better.
Society works better when there are powerful leaders who crack down on radical, immoral behavior.

Government as Protector

The government has an obligation to create policies that protect workers.
The government is responsible for making sure that workers are safe.
The government is responsible for protecting workers from discrimination and exploitation.
To protect workers, the government is obligated to regulate employers.

Stronger Together

Workers have more power when they band together in unions.
Workers are stronger when they come together in organizations like unions.
A group of workers in a union is more powerful than any individual worker.
Unions are the best way for workers to be heard.

Unions as Inept/Corrupt

Unions are more focused on their own interests than the interests of workers.
Unions get what they want through manipulation and fear.
Unions bully workers to advance their own agenda.
Unions are more interested in their profits than serving workers.

Work as Transactional

In our society, you need a job to live.
Jobs are meant to provide us with what we need to survive in society.
The money we earn at work is what allows us to live.
Having a job means trading effort for money.
All work is a transaction of time, in exchange for money.

Good Jobs as Self-Development

A good job is one that gives you a purpose in life.
Work helps us develop as human beings.
The best jobs are those that we find personally fulfilling.
Good jobs help us find meaning in life.

Work Brings Order to Society

Without work, society would collapse.
Work brings order to society.
Work keeps people out of trouble.
Work provides important structure for our society.

B. Cultural Mindsets—Survey 2

Government Market Naturalism

The economy is shaped by forces outside of the government's control.
The government doesn't control the economy.
Government can't fix the economy.
There isn't much the government can do to shape how the economy works.
The government has little influence over how the economy works.

Meritocracy

It's natural that some people are going to be much wealthier than others.
People who are financially successful are well-off because of their own talent and/or hard work.
Anyone who works hard enough can get ahead in American society.
People who work hard will naturally be more successful.

Opportunity

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

Designed Economy

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

Market Naturalism

Who benefits in our economy is determined naturally by the free market.
The free market just works well, naturally.
Our economy naturally generates wealth.
People do better in society when we allow business competition.
If the economy is left to work on its own, it will naturally produce what we need.

Care Quality as Character

The quality of care work depends primarily on the personality of individual care workers.
If you're a caring person, you'll be a good care worker no matter what.
As long as someone is a caring person, they'll do a good job as a care worker.

Caring Natural

Some people are naturally more caring than others.
Some people are born more nurturing than others.
Some people naturally have a caring personality, and others don't.

Care Quality as Context

The quality of care work depends primarily on the pay and working conditions provided to care workers.
Quality of care would improve if care workers were given better training.
When working conditions are poor, it's hard to provide high quality care.

When care workers work in stressful conditions, the quality of care is likely to suffer.
When people feel supported at work, they provide better quality care.

Work-Related Gender Essentialism

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

Designed Labor Systems

Government decisions determine what kinds of jobs are available in our society.
Public policy determines how much jobs pay.
The government ultimately determines wages in our society.
People's wages are shaped by the government.

Work Naturalism

What jobs are available should be determined by the labor market alone.
The jobs available in our society should be determined by companies and the job market, not the government.
The government shouldn't determine people's wages.
People's wages should be shaped by the job market, not the government.

Gender Essentialism

Women are naturally more nurturing than men.
Women are naturally more emotional than men.
Men are naturally more aggressive than women.
Men are naturally more decisive than women.
Personality differences between men and women are largely a result of biology.
There are natural differences in how men and women behave.

Gender Is Constructed

Upbringing influences men and women's behavior far more than biology does.
Differences between men and women are the result of what society expects and encourages.
During upbringing, some personality traits are encouraged more in girls than in boys.
Men and women are encouraged to behave differently.
Personality differences between girls and boys are primarily the result of upbringing.
Boys and girls behave in different ways because society treats them differently.

Gender Binary/Fluid

Everyone belongs in one of two gender categories: man or woman.
In nature there are two genders, no exceptions.
All children are either girls or boys.
It's possible for people to change genders. (*reverse-coded*)

Individualism

What happens to an individual in their life is primarily the result of the choices they make.
How well people do in life is mostly determined by how much willpower and drive they have.
If someone works hard enough, they'll succeed in life.
How we do in life is our own responsibility, and no one else's.

Ecological Thinking

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How people do in life is mostly determined by the neighborhood and community they live in.
Neighborhood design directly impacts how well people do in life.

Structural Thinking

How people do in life is our whole society's responsibility.
How successful people are in life is determined by how our society is structured.
The opportunities available in our communities shape our outcomes in life.

Structural Sexism Shapes Care Work

Care work is undervalued because it is considered "women's work."
Sexism against women explains why care workers don't earn a lot of money.
Because care workers tend to be women, their work is less valued by society.
Sexism in our society is the reason why care workers don't get paid well.

Gender Not Race

Care workers are more likely to face sexism than racism.
When care workers are treated unfairly, it is usually more because of their gender than their race.
In care work, gender influences who gets taken advantage of more than race does.

Care Work Enables Productivity

Child care workers allow parents to have careers.
Care workers are important because they enable family members to pursue other jobs.
Care work is important to the economy because it lets other people pursue careers.
Professional care workers do work that family members don't have time for.

Stronger Together

Workers have more power when they band together in unions.
Workers are stronger when they come together in organizations like unions.
A group of workers in a union is more powerful than any individual worker.
Unions are the best way for workers to be heard.

Class Not Race

A Black person will be better off in the workplace than a poor white person.
Being from a low-income family impacts work opportunities more than race does.
Poor white people face more disadvantages at work than Black people.
A person's class affects their work opportunities far more than their race.

C. Cultural Mindsets—Survey 3

Self-Makingness/Bootstraps

Anyone can succeed in life if they are disciplined enough.
If you don't work hard, you won't succeed in life.
If you have enough motivation, you can get a good job.
Hard work teaches us discipline.
Working hard helps develop our character.

Education as Investment

People invest time and money in their education so they can get better jobs.
People pay money into their education because they know they will get paid back with a good career.
If you invest in your education, you will be able to get a good job.
Getting an education doesn't guarantee a good job.
Even if you invest in an education, you might not be able to find a well-paying job.
These days, investing in higher education isn't worth the cost.

Credentialism

Employers exclude too many qualified people by requiring education credentials for jobs.
Employers often require education qualifications that aren't really needed for the job.
Education requirements make it harder for good workers to find jobs.
Education requirements are unnecessary for many jobs.

Workplace Prejudice Is Interpersonal

Discrimination at work happens when another person treats you unfairly.
Workplace prejudice is mostly the result of individuals having prejudiced thoughts toward others.
Workplace discrimination usually comes from the people in power favoring some workers over others.
Prejudiced behavior at work can usually be traced back to one or two bad individuals.

Structural Racism Shapes Work

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

Reverse Racism Is the New Racism

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

Cultural Differences in Work Ethic

People from different cultures have different beliefs about work ethic.
The reason why poor urban communities are poor is because they don't value hard work.

In America, some people come from cultures that value hard work and others don't.
We can tell a lot about someone's work ethic from their cultural background.

Profit Motive Drives Exploitation and Poverty

Corporate executives get rich by exploiting their workers.
Workers don't get paid well because their bosses want to make more money.
Big corporations care more about profits than their workers.

Class Not Race

A Black person will be better off in the workplace than a poor white person.
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Workers are stronger when they come together in organizations like unions.
A group of workers in a union is more powerful than any individual worker.
Unions are the best way for workers to be heard.

Manufacturing as Backbone of America

Manufacturing is the backbone of the American economy.
Manufacturing jobs are critical for our economy.
Without manufacturing, our society wouldn't be able to function.
US manufacturing provides the materials our society needs to function.

Environmental Racism

Corporations are more likely to build polluting factories in areas where Black and brown people live.
Local pollution from factories is disproportionately high in communities of color.
Factories are more likely to dump toxic waste in Black and brown communities.
Communities of color are most likely to be affected by factory pollution.

Government Regulation Is to Blame Model

Regulations make it difficult for the US manufacturing industry to succeed.
Manufacturing regulations cause businesses to leave the United States.
Corporate taxes make it hard for the US manufacturing industry to be profitable.
Government regulations on business hurt American manufacturing.

Government as Protector (Manufacturing)

The government has an obligation to create policies that protect manufacturing workers.
The government is responsible for making sure that manufacturing workers are safe.
The government is responsible for protecting manufacturing workers from discrimination and exploitation.
The government is obligated to regulate employers, to protect manufacturing workers.

Care Quality as Character

The quality of care work depends primarily on the personality of individual care workers.
If you're a caring person, you'll be a good care worker no matter what.
As long as someone is a caring person, they'll do a good job as a care worker.

Care Work Enables Productivity

Child care workers allow parents to have careers.
Care workers are important because they enable family members to pursue other jobs.
Care work is important to the economy because it lets other people pursue careers.
Professional care workers do work that family members don't have time for.

II. Policies

The following policies were included in the first survey, and subsets of this list were included in surveys 2 and 3. Support for each policy was measured on a four-point scale from *strongly oppose* to *strongly support*.

1. Do you support or oppose using race and ethnicity as a factor in college admissions decisions?
2. Do you support or oppose proposals for a universal basic income, that pays all Americans $1,000 per month?
3. Do you support or oppose proposals for a national health plan, sometimes called Medicare for All, in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?
4. Do you support or oppose proposals for the US government to make cash payments to Black Americans who are descendants of slaves?
5. Do you support or oppose proposals to create a new system of government-provided child care for all families?
6. Do you support or oppose a policy to provide all workers paid family and medical leave from a fund that employers and workers must contribute to?
7. Do you support or oppose a federal jobs program that guarantees public jobs for anyone who wants to work?
8. Do you support or oppose the government sending all or most people $2,000 per month during periods when the economy is nearing or in a recession?
9. Do you support or oppose raising the federal minimum wage to $15 per hour?
10. Do you support or oppose a tax proposal that would apply a 70 percent rate to reportable income over $10 million a year?
11. Do you support or oppose changing labor laws to make it easier for workers to form or join a union?

12. The US Senate's filibuster rule lets a minority of senators prevent voting on a bill unless 60 out of 100 senators vote to end the filibuster. Do you support or oppose maintaining the US Senate's filibuster rule?
13. Do you support or oppose changing the national school curriculum to teach US history with more emphasis on slavery and racism?
14. Do you support or oppose redirecting some police funding toward alternative strategies to address crime, like improved housing and mental health resources?
15. Do you support or oppose banning public school districts from teaching about gender identity?
16. Do you support or oppose protecting transgender people from discrimination in jobs, housing, and public spaces?
17. Do you support or oppose a federal "green jobs" program that would train workers for the skills needed in environmentally sustainable industries, such as renewable energy production?
18. Do you support or oppose expanding federal funding for programs that provide free skills training for young adults ages 16–24?
19. Do you support or oppose canceling all federal student loan debt for individuals earning less than $75,000 per year?
20. Do you support or oppose doubling federal Medicaid funding for home and community-based care services?
21. Do you support or oppose increasing penalties on US-based manufacturing companies that are found to violate labor standards?

About FrameWorks

The FrameWorks Institute is a nonprofit think tank that advances the mission-driven sector's capacity to frame the public discourse about social and scientific issues. The organization's signature approach, Strategic Frame Analysis®, offers empirical guidance on what to say, how to say it, and what to leave unsaid. FrameWorks designs, conducts, and publishes multi-method, multidisciplinary framing research to prepare experts and advocates to expand their constituencies, to build public will, and to further public understanding. To make sure this research drives social change, FrameWorks supports partners in reframing, through strategic consultation, campaign design, FrameChecks®, toolkits, online courses, and in-depth learning engagements known as FrameLabs. In 2015, FrameWorks was named one of nine organizations worldwide to receive the MacArthur Award for Creative and Effective Institutions.

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Endnotes

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7. Due to rounding, the total of some demographic groups may not add up to exactly 100%.
8. We conducted comparisons between all racial groups: Latinx and white, Black and white, Asian and white, Black and Latine, Asian and Latine, and Asian and Black. Due to space constraints, nonsignificant results are not included in the table.
9. Several key mindsets were measured across multiple surveys.

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WorkShift Methods Supplement

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Please follow standard APA rules for citation, with the FrameWorks Institute as publisher:

FrameWorks Institute (2024). *WorkShift Methods Supplement.* FrameWorks Institute.

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