

Talking about the rule of law and access to justice: methods supplement

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Charlotte Shaw, Senior Researcher,
FrameWorks UK

Jen John, Director for Quantitative Research,
FrameWorks Institute

Tamsyn Hyatt, Director of Evidence,
FrameWorks UK

The Law Society in partnership
with FrameWorks UK



This supplement provides detailed information on the research that informs Hyatt, T. (2025) *‘Talking about the rule of law and access to justice’*. Here we outline the research conducted and detail the evidence that provides the basis for our recommendations.

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, social issues.

This brief builds on earlier research conducted that involved cultural mindset interviews with members of the public, as well as advocates working in the field of law and justice. The insights from this research are described in Hyatt, T and Stanley, K (2023) **‘How do people think about the rule of law and access to justice?’**

Below, we describe the research conducted throughout 2023–2024, including how we designed and tested frames to address the challenges and leverage the opportunities in public thinking about the rule of law and access to justice. These frames were tested in 2024 and refined using two methods: peer discourse sessions (PDS), a type of focus group, and survey experiments with a nationally representative sample. In total, 7,231 people from across England and Wales were participants in our research.

Core ideas

To develop an effective strategy for communicating about an issue, it’s necessary to identify a set of core ideas to get across. For this project, these key ideas were garnered from experts and advocates working on the issues of rule of law and access to justice. FrameWorks researchers conducted interviews (N=12) each lasting 60 minutes via Zoom, along with a review of the relevant literature on the issue. Interviews were conducted between January and May 2023 and, with participants’ permission, were recorded for analysis.

Interviews with advocates consisted of a series of probing questions designed to capture their understanding about the rule of law and access to justice, their role and function, pressing challenges, and prospective solutions. Interviews were semi-structured in the sense that, in addition to pre-set 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 approach¹. FrameWorks researchers identified and inductively categorised 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, including academic and grey sources. Members of the field then provided feedback on the core ideas that had been identified from the interviews and literature review, and adjustments to those ideas were made according to that feedback.

1. Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research (observations). Chicago: Aldine; Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cultural mindsets interviews

FrameWorks researchers conducted one-on-one, two-hour-long, in-depth, semi-structured cultural mindsets interviews (N=20) in June 2023 with a broadly representative sample of people across England and Wales. Interviews were conducted over Zoom and were recorded with participants' written consent. All participants were recruited by a professional third party recruiter and selected to represent variation along several dimensions: ethnicity, residential location, age, gender, educational background, income and political views (as self-reported during the screening process).

Cultural mindsets interviews are one-on-one, semi-structured interviews lasting approximately two hours. They are designed to allow researchers to capture the foundational sets of assumptions, or cultural mindsets, that participants use to make sense of a concept or topic area – in this case, issues related to the rule of law and access to justice. 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 analyse the interviews, researchers used analytical techniques from cognitive and linguistic anthropology to examine how participants understood issues related to

law and justice in general and then rule of law and access to justice specifically.² 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 some cases, participants revealed conflicting mindsets on the same issue. To ensure consistency, researchers met after an initial round of coding and analysis, comparing and processing initial findings, then revisited transcripts to explore differences and questions that arose through the comparison. They then reconvened and arrived at a synthesised set of findings.

Analysis centred 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.

As we describe below, we primarily relied on large-sample surveys to measure the strength and salience of, and correlations between, public mindsets, rather than looking at variation within our interview sample, as generalisations based on small numbers of participants would be inappropriate. However, in analysing cultural mindsets interviews, researchers noted whether specific mindsets appeared more frequently in some 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.

Field frame and media content analyses

Researchers sampled materials from both the field and media to examine the framing strategies used to communicate about rule of law and access to justice.

The analysis of these materials proceeded in three stages:

- 1 identification of important narrative or framing components of each document;
- 2 qualitative analysis to identify and code themes, trends, and patterns of meaning in the data;
- 3 interpretation against the background of the field's core story and emerging insights from cultural models interviews.

This analysis enables us to identify how frames embedded within materials are likely to affect public understanding of social issues – and identify challenges and openings. In the qualitative analysis, researchers used a grounded theory approach, developing codes inductively and organising them based on what emerges from the data, rather than imposing a pre-established coding scheme.

Cultural mindsets survey

An online survey was administered to gather data from a total sample of 1,408 participants, aged 18 and over, from England and Wales. All surveys began with participant consent and a series of standard demographic questions, followed by batteries measuring the endorsement of various cultural mindsets. Each battery consisted of multiple questions, primarily using Likert-type items with seven-point response scales. The survey also included two forced-choice items wherein participants were presented with statements representing two attitudes to lawyers and legal resources and asked to rate which statement they agreed with more. All batteries within each section were randomised.

Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, gender, household income, education level, ethnicity, and political party affiliation. Black, Asian, and Welsh participants were oversampled above national benchmarks to support subgroup analyses, with a minimum target of n = 200 for each of these groups. See **Table 1** for more information about the sample composition.

2. Quinn, N. (Ed.). (2005). Finding culture in talk: A collection of methods. Palgrave Macmillan.

Table 1³

Variable	Level	N (sample size)	%
Gender	Male	679	46
	Female	726	52
	Non-binary/other	3	0
Age	18-29	232	16
	30-44	372	26
	45-59	369	26
	60+	435	31
Income	0-20,800	339	24
	20,801 – 41,600	560	40
	41,601 – 62,400	284	20
	62,401 or more	225	16
Education	No formal qualifications	122	9
	GCSEs or equivalent (e.g., O levels)	336	24
	A level, apprenticeship, or equivalent	348	25
	Undergraduate or graduate degree	602	40
Ethnicity	White	951	68
	Asian/Asian British	200	14
	Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	200	14
	Mixed/multiple/other	57	4
Political Party	Conservative	342	24
	Labour	694	49
	Liberal Democrat	99	7
	Green Party	77	5
	Plaid Cymru	30	2
	Reform UK	97	7
	Other party	69	5
Country	England	1208	86
	Wales	200	14
Location	Rural	414	29
	Urban	994	71
England Location ⁴	North	335	28
	Midlands	160	13
	South	391	32
	London	322	27
Have you ever used a solicitor before?	Yes	822	58
	No	586	42
Are you, or have you ever been, a solicitor, barrister, magistrate, or judge?	Yes	49	3
	No	1,359	97

3. Percentages listed may not equal 100% due to rounding

4. Only asked to the 1,208 participants who indicated they lived in England Percentage indicates the proportion of participants out of the full sample (n = 1408), and will not add to 100%.

Prior to any analysis, we conducted a series of exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) to determine the psychometric qualities of our outcome scales. Generally, items with rotated factor loadings below |.50| were dropped from each battery. Once finalised, Cronbach’s alpha (α) was used to assess internal consistency among the items in each battery. Given that there are various heuristics for determining acceptable internal consistency, we determined that batteries with internal consistency scores of .60 or greater would be considered acceptable (higher scores indicate

higher internal consistency). After assessing internal consistency, items within each battery were combined into composite scores that indicated participants’ average ratings of the attitudes measured by each battery. These composite scores were then transformed onto 100-point scales for ease of interpretation, with higher scores indicating higher endorsement or agreement of the construct. **Table 2** below provides more information on these composite scores. Final survey items from the experiments can be found in **Appendix B**.

Table 2

Batteries	Number of items ⁵	Internal consistency (α)	Composite mean (out of 100)
Collective efficacy for equitable access to justice	5	.92	75.7
Government responsibility	5	.83	75.2
Government accountability	5	.90	92.1
Authoritarianism	5	.87	72.1
Symbolic racism	5	.89	49.4
Anti-immigrant attitudes	5	.95	48.3
Structural racism mindset	4	.85	56.7
Understanding the role of lawyers	5	.83	78.1
Social chaos mindset	5	.88	76.7
Rational actor mindset	5	.83	78.7
Justice is controlling and punishing crime mindset	4	.89	74.5
Justice is righting wrongs mindset	5	.83	75.1
Fairness is about outcomes mindset	3	.77	84.0
Fairness is a level playing field mindset	5	.88	87.2
Class power and privilege mindset	5	.88	73.0
Money moves everything (individual wealth) mindset	3	.75	85.0
Money moves everything (public funding) mindset	4	.80	75.8
Social harmony mindset	5	.82	76.6
Threat of multiculturalism mindset	4	.90	49.0
Moral breakdown mindset	5	.89	68.7

5. Indicates number of items remaining in the scale after item reduction

All analyses regarding ethnicity and country were conducted using both the nationally representative sample and the oversample to ensure adequate power for stratified analyses. Analysis of the full sample was conducted using only the nationally representative sample. Data was collected in August 2023 by Dynata, who also hosted the survey. Data was not weighted.

Frame design

To identify effective ways of communicating about the rule of law and access to justice, FrameWorks researchers developed a set of tasks the frames needed to address. Alongside members of the field of law and justice, researchers then brainstormed potential reframing strategies that might accomplish one or more of these tasks. After generating a list of candidate framing ideas to test, researchers solicited further feedback on these ideas from project partners to ensure the frames were both apt and usable for those working in the field. Based on this feedback, researchers refined sets of issue, explanation and metaphor frames and brought them into empirical testing.

Peer discourse sessions

FrameWorks researchers tested frames in peer discourse sessions (PDS) with 36 participants (6 sessions with 6 participants each). These sessions were conducted virtually over Zoom during April – May 2024. A diverse sample of participants was recruited from across England and Wales, across age, gender, ethnicity, household income, education level, geographical location, and political party identification. This demographic composition was broadly proportionate and representative of the larger English and Welsh populations.

The two-hour-long sessions included a variety of discussion prompts to establish default understandings of rule of law and access to justice. This was followed by activities designed to evaluate how the frames are taken up in social context and their usability during conversations with peers. The frames tested in PDS are itemised in [Appendix C](#).

Experimental surveys

After analysing how the candidate frames and metaphors performed in PDS, FrameWorks researchers refined the frames to bring forward for testing in the survey experiment. Two online experimental surveys of adults in England and Wales (Wave 1: Unweighted N = 2,815; Wave 2: N = 2,926) were conducted between August and October 2024 to test the effectiveness of frames on shifting public understanding, attitudes, and support for programs and policies to strengthen the rule of law and access to justice. Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, sex, ethnicity, household income, education level, and political party affiliation. See [Table 3](#) for more information about the sample composition for each experiment. Data for survey 1 did not meet target quotas and was weighted to more accurately reflect the national population; data for survey 2 better approached target quotas and was not weighted.



Table 3⁶

Variable	Level	Wave 1 N, unweighted	Wave 1 %, weighted	Wave 2 N	Wave 2 %
Gender	Male	1355	49	1412	48
	Female	1455	51	1502	51
	Non-binary/Other	5	0	12	0
Age	18-29	297	21	461	16
	30-44	722	25	637	22
	45-59	838	25	811	28
	60+	958	29	1017	35
Income	0-20,800	579	23	684	23
	20,801 – 41,600	1079	39	1082	37
	41,601 – 62,400	582	18	581	20
	62,401 or more	575	19	579	20
Education	No formal qualifications	121	18	322	11
	GCSEs or equivalent (e.g., O levels)	829	24	786	27
	A level, apprenticeship, or equivalent	712	23	715	24
	Undergraduate or graduate degree	1153	35	1103	38
Ethnicity	White	2364	80	2363	81
	Asian/Asian British	261	10	279	10
	Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	128	4	147	5
	Mixed/multiple/other	62	6	137	5
Political Party	Conservative	672	25	789	27
	Labour	1075	35	1186	41
	Liberal Democrat	319	12	242	8
	Green Party	210	7	188	6
	Independent	35	2	50	2
	Plaid Cymru	12	1	17	1
	Reform UK	413	15	92	3
	Other party	77	2	28	1
Country	England	2665	95	2780	95
	Wales	150	5	146	5
England Location ⁷	North	764	28	773	28
	Midlands	519	19	507	18
	East	321	11	329	12
	South	639	27	710	26
	London	422	16	461	17

6. Percentages listed may not equal 100% due to rounding.
7. Only asked to participants who indicated they lived in England. Percentage indicates the proportion of participants out of the full sample for each wave, and will not add to 100%.

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

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

Participants were not allowed to complete the survey more than once. Participants who did not fully complete the survey were removed from the data and were not paid. In addition, participant data was removed if they completed the survey within $\frac{1}{3}$ of the median survey time, or if they straightlined responses.

After providing consent to participate, participants were randomly assigned to one of several experimental conditions. All frame treatments focused on increasing understanding and support for a strengthened rule of law and/or increased access to justice. Tested frames can be found in [Appendix C](#).

Participants assigned to an experimental condition were asked to read a short message, which they were required to view for at least 30 seconds, before answering a series of survey questions. These questions were designed to measure specific outcomes of interest. Each battery consisted of multiple questions and were primarily measured using Likert-type items with five-or seven-point response scales. About halfway through answering the survey questions, participants assigned to an experimental condition were asked to re-read the message they saw. They were required to view the message for at least 20 seconds before continuing on with answering survey questions.

Prior to any inferential analysis, we conducted a series of randomisation checks. Chi-square analyses indicated that all target demographics were evenly distributed across conditions. We also employed a similar psychometric process to that described for the Cultural Mindsets survey, above. Final survey items from the experiments can be found in [Appendix D](#).

Table 4⁸

Batteries	Number of items ⁹	Internal consistency (α)	Composite mean ¹⁰
The rule of law: reduces bad everyday outcomes	6 – 7	.93 – .94	2.88 – 3.08
The rule of law: increases good everyday outcomes	6 – 8	.91 – .94	3.38 – 3.42
Government responsibility	4	.79 – .80	5.18 – 5.15
Government accountability	5 – 7	.77 – .89	6.29 – 6.36
Understanding the role of lawyers	5 – 8	.75 – .87	5.56 – 5.75
Level playing field	5 – 6	.73 – .87	5.88 – 6.20
Collective efficacy for equitable access to justice	5	.93	5.32 – 5.42
Government efficacy to uphold a functioning rule of law	5	.86 – .88	4.77 – 5.04
Anti-immigrant attitudes	5	.94	4.18 – 4.38
Support for public investment in the justice system	7	.75 – .78	4.92 – 5.13

After conducting the preliminary analyses described above, 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 term influenced a particular outcome (for example, government responsibility).

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.

Usability trials

After refining frames in response to the findings of the PDS and experimental survey, FrameWorks researchers conducted usability trials, another type of focus group, with 14 members of the sector. We conducted two sessions in November 2024, one virtually over Zoom and one in person. In these sessions, we had participants engage in structured activities and discussions to test the usability of the frames and test whether the frames were applicable to members of the field.

8. Ranges indicate variation between wave 1 to wave 2.
9. Indicates number of items remaining in the scale after item reduction.
10. Composite means are shown for control condition only.



Appendix A: quantitative data supporting recommendations

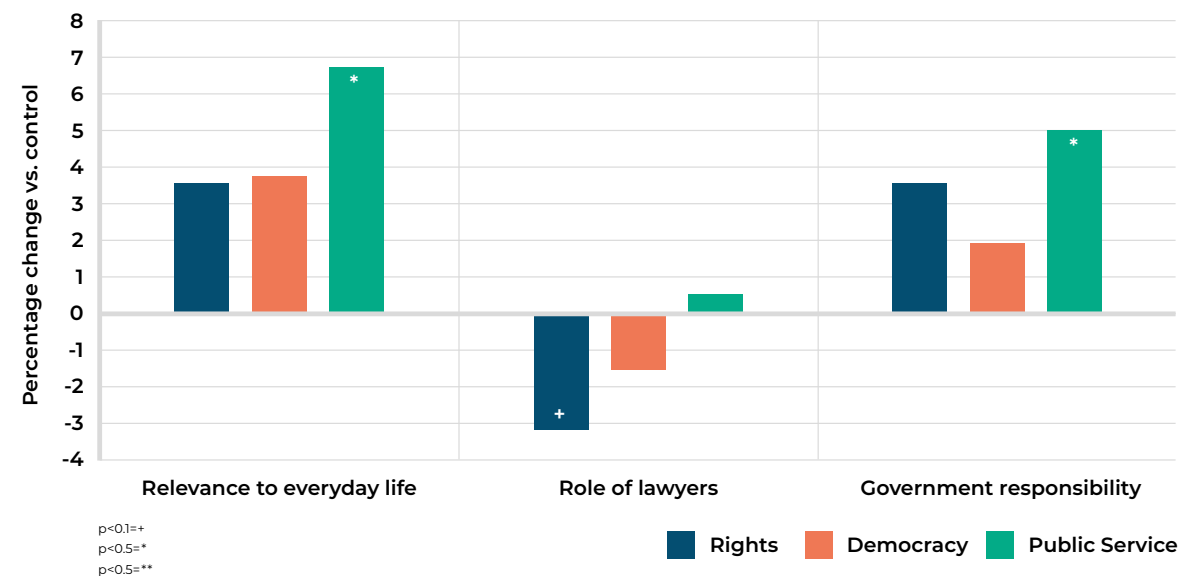
How to talk about the rule of law and access to justice:

1 Lead with public service

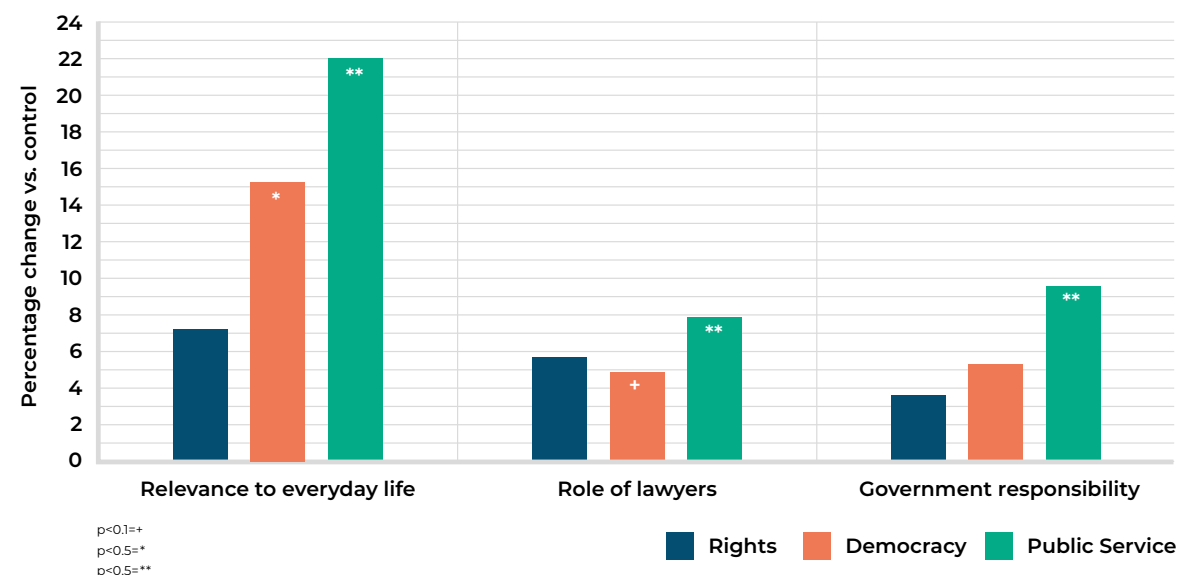
In the survey experiment, the public service frame worked well for increasing people's understanding of the relevance of the rule of law and access to justice for everyday life. The public service frame also increased understanding of our government's responsibility for the rule

of law and access to justice – and how affordable, high-quality lawyers help uphold and strengthen both. We see from this quantitative work that public service is able to shift thinking across England and Wales – and is particularly effective for Conservative voters.

Graph 1: public service (full sample)



Graph 2: public service (Conservative voters)

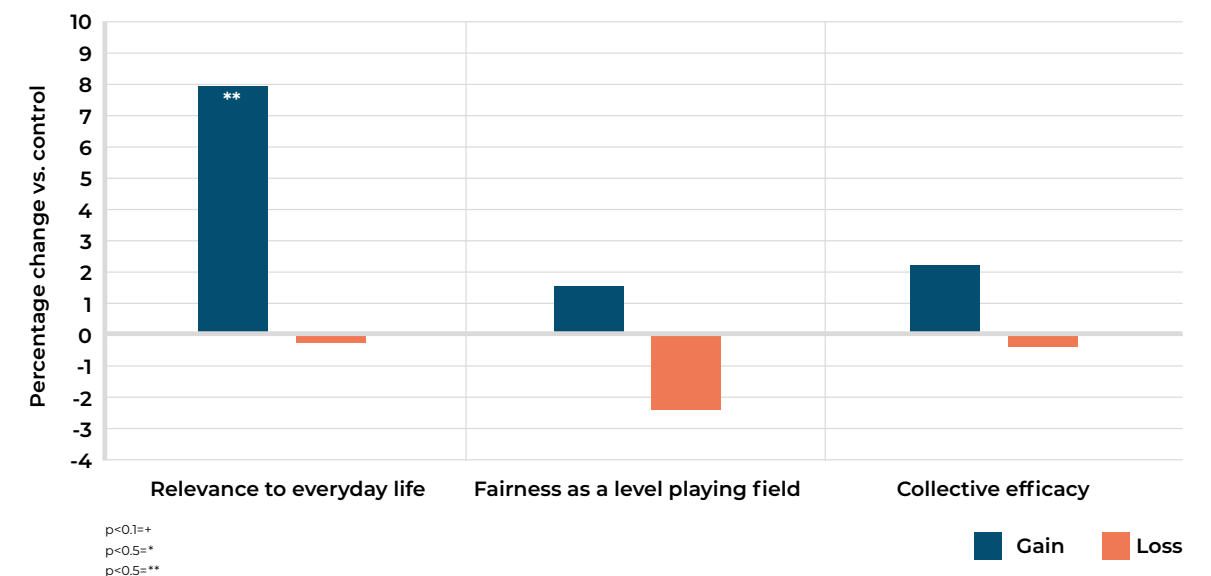


2 Focus on what we have to gain

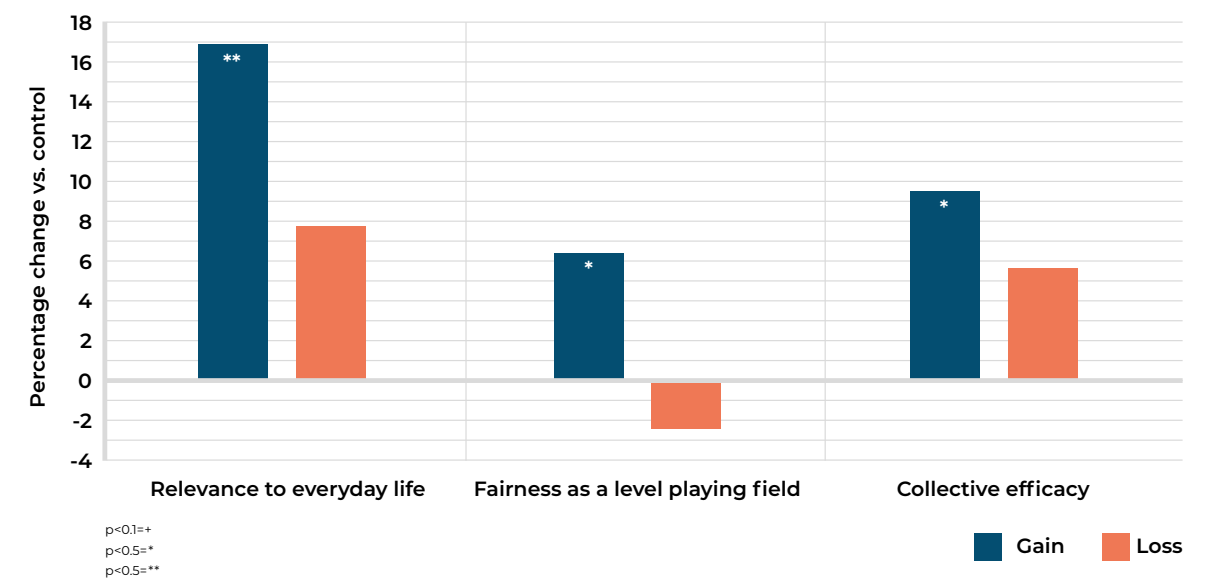
The experiment found that gain frames (i.e. driving attention to what we have to gain by taking action to strengthen the rule of law and improve access to justice) helped people understand the relevance of the rule of law and access to justice for everyday issues, when compared to loss frames. The experimental

surveys also found that, for Conservative voters, a gain frame was able to build a sense of collective efficacy: the belief that together, we can act to improve access to justice and strengthen the rule of law. Gain frames also increased understanding of fairness as a level playing field for Conservative voters.

Graph 3: gain versus loss (full sample)



Graph 4: gain versus loss (Conservative voters)

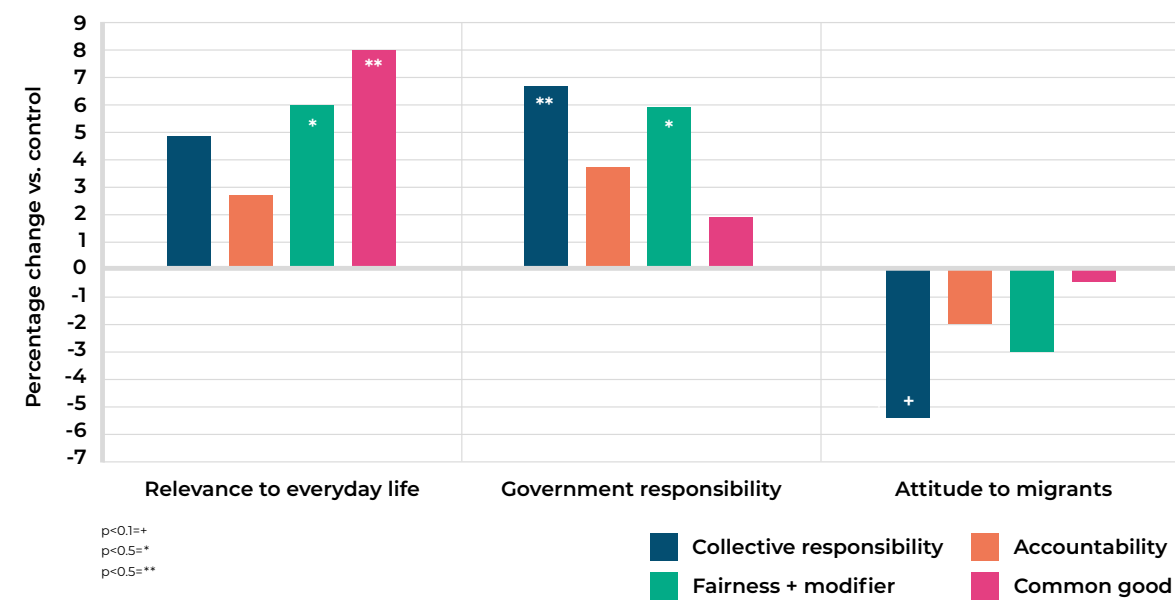


3 Appeal to our belief in fairness for the common good

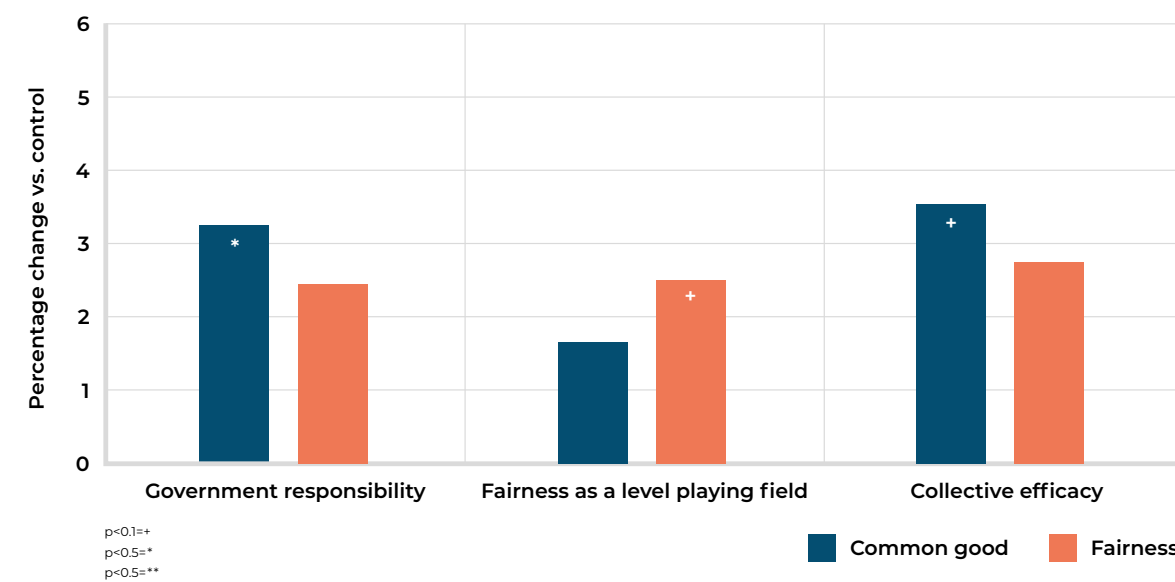
Our quantitative work found positioning the rule of law and access to justice as a shared societal good helps people see the government's responsibility to ensure our justice system functions well. In experimental surveys, the value of fairness for the common good increased

this understanding regardless of whether the message mentioned government explicitly or not. Fairness alone was unable to significantly shift thinking, though it did generally move attitudes in a productive direction.

Graph 5: values in action (wave 1)



Graph 6: values in action (wave 2)

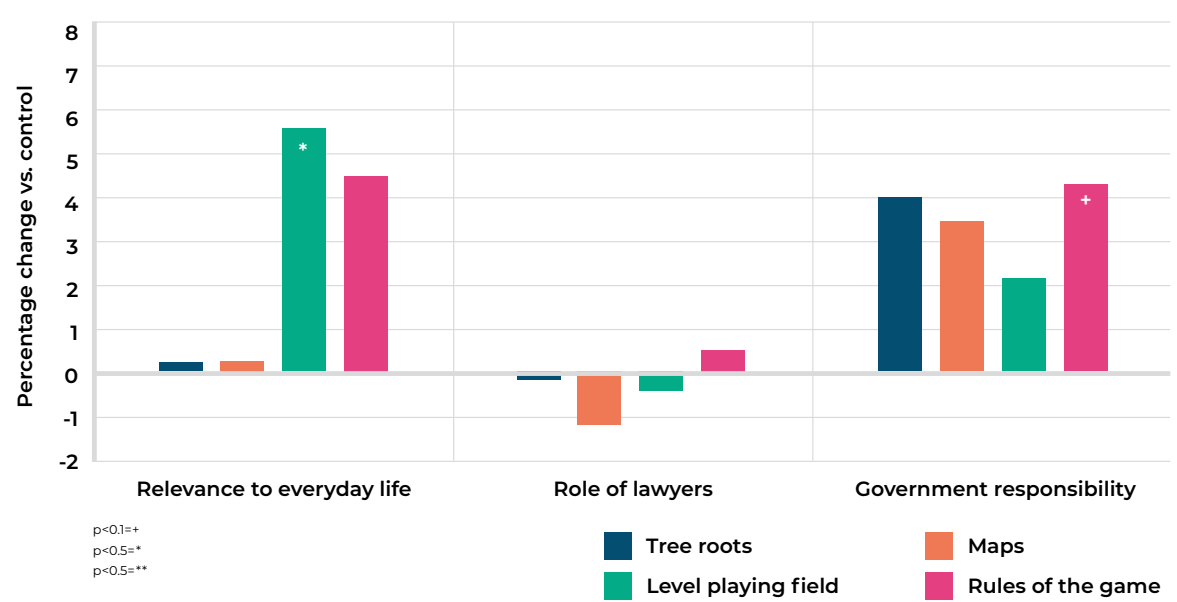


4 Use explanatory metaphor to show how the rule of law and access to justice work

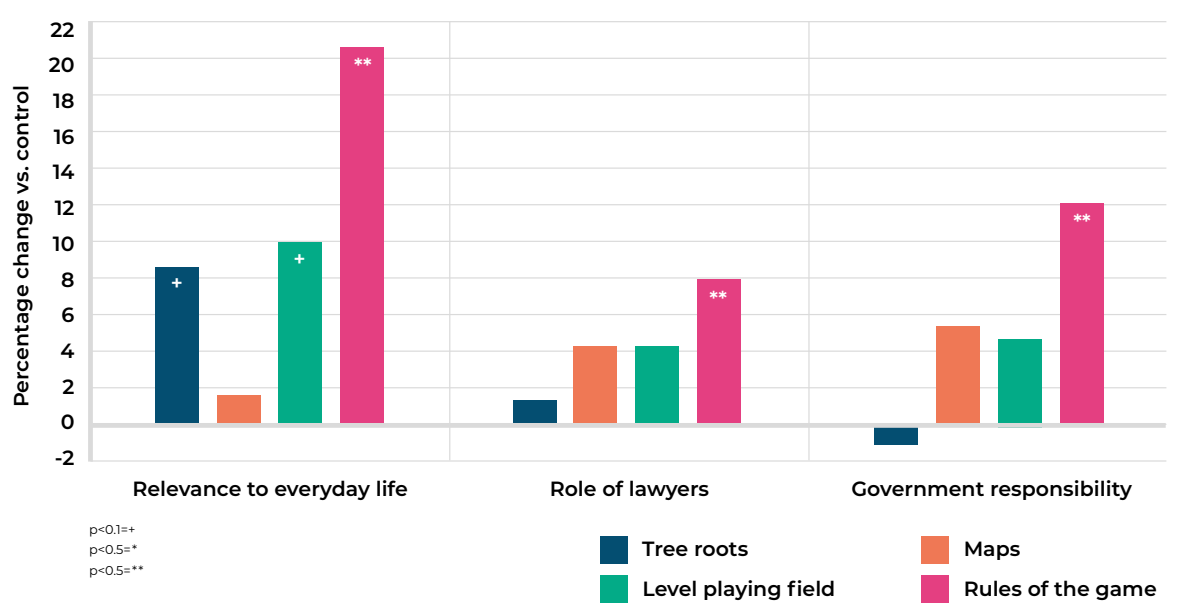
In the survey experiment, we see that using the 'rules of the game' and 'level playing field' metaphors help explain how the rule of law underpins and enables our social, political and economic systems – and what it means to have full access to justice. Both metaphors work to

shift thinking across England and Wales. Rules of the game is particularly effective for Conservative voters – and in experimental surveys, was able to boost understanding of our government's responsibility to ensure the justice system functions well.

Graph 7: metaphor (full sample)



Graph 8: metaphor (Conservatives voters)

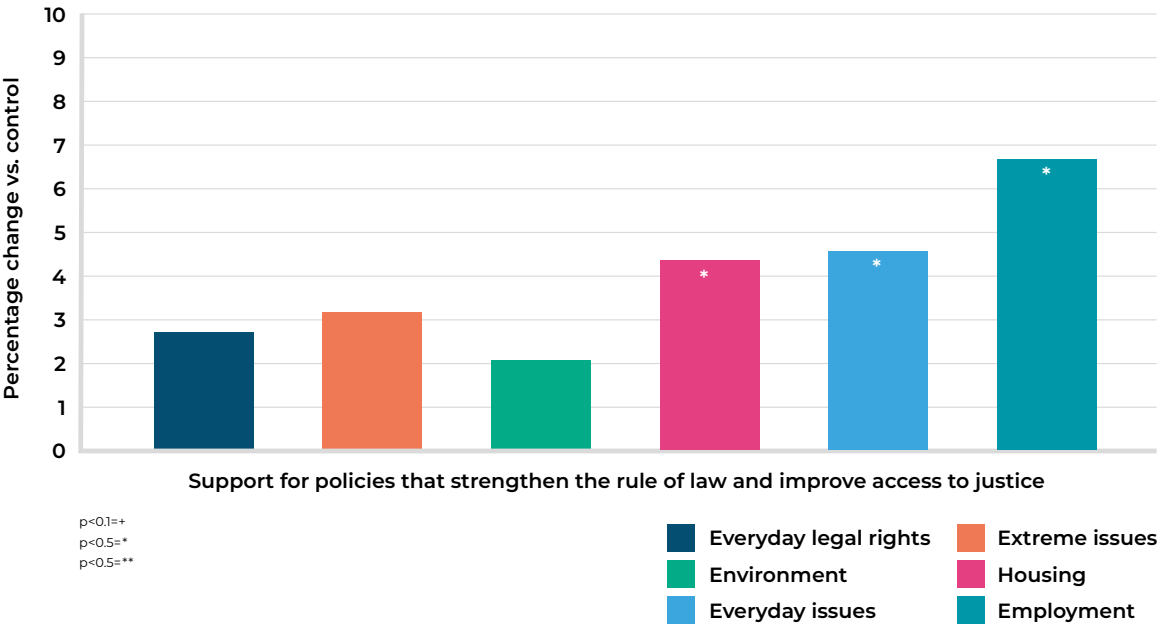


5 Name and explain connections to our everyday lives

The survey experiment found that it is helpful to connect the rule of law and access to justice to our everyday lives: from our homes and workspaces, to our travel and purchases. Providing specific examples fill gaps in

understanding – and can help concretise abstract, technical concepts. Examples from housing and employment are particularly effective for Labour voters.

Graph 9: routes into policy (Labour)



Appendix B: items from cultural mindsets survey

All pages of the survey showed the following text:

“For the purposes of this survey, please refer to the following definitions:

Rule of Law means that we all benefit from, and are answerable to, the same set of laws.

Access to Justice means that people have the legal resources they need (like good quality lawyers, access to courts) – no matter who they are, or what their status is.”

Collective efficacy for equitable access to justice

- 1. We, as a society, can increase access to justice for everyone in the UK
- 2. As a society, we are capable of improving our justice system so that it works for everyone.
- 3. We, as a society, can ensure that our laws are applied equally to everyone.
- 4. As a society, we can ensure that everyone has access to the same legal resources.
- 5. We, as a society, can make sure that everyone has access to high quality legal services.

Proxy responsibility

Subscale 1: government responsibility

- 1. Our government is to blame if people in the legal system do not receive timely hearings.
- 2. Government has an obligation to ensure that everyone in the UK has access to good legal counsel.
- 3. Educating the public about their legal rights is the government’s responsibility.
- 4. Our government is to blame if people in the UK don’t have access to legal resources or aid.

Subscale 2: government accountability

- 5. To maintain the British public’s trust, our government must be transparent and accountable.
- 6. Ministers should be held accountable to the same laws as the rest of us.
- 7. Government should be bound by the laws that it enacts.
- 8. Government is obligated to hold ministers and officials accountable to the same laws as everyone else.
- 9. No one in the government is above the law.

Authoritarianism

- 1. Our country needs a powerful leader who can destroy the radical and immoral currents in society today.
- 2. There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things, and society ought to stop them.
- 3. It is the duty of every true British person to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.
- 4. If we want to uphold law and order, we need to crack down on crime and immorality.
- 5. What our country really needs instead of more “human rights” is a good stiff dose of law and order.

The role of lawyers

1. Lawyers are essential for upholding the rule of law.
2. Lawyers help people understand the law.
3. Lawyers are critical for ensuring that everyone has access to justice.
4. Without affordable lawyers, access to justice would not be fair.
5. Without affordable lawyers, people would not be able to navigate the justice system.

Forced choice

1. **Please choose the option that best matches your opinion:**
 - a. Lawyers uphold the rule of law by providing legal advice to everyone who needs it.
 - b. Lawyers distort the rule of law by providing legal advice to bad actors and criminals.
2. **Please choose the option that best matches your opinion:**
 - a. Everyone in the UK should have access to legal resources and advice, even if they can't afford it.
 - b. People in the UK should only have access to legal resources and advice if they can afford to pay for it.

Social chaos cultural model (CM)

1. Without the rule of law, society would collapse.
2. The rule of law prevents disorder in society.
3. Without the rule of law, people would take matters into their own hands.
4. The rule of law keeps society safe and orderly.
5. The rule of law keeps people from behaving in ways that harm others.

Rational actor CM

1. People are more likely to behave as they should when there are consequences for breaking the rules.
2. The rule of law is meaningless without consequences like fines and imprisonment.
3. Without consequences, more people would break the law.
4. People ignore the law when they think they won't get caught.
5. People break the law because they believe they won't be punished.

Justice is controlling and punishing crime CM

1. The rule of law was designed to ensure that people who commit a crime are punished.
2. The rule of law was designed to control crime through punishment.
3. The primary purpose of the rule of law is to make sure that people who commit a crime are punished.
4. The rule of law exists primarily to punish people who commit crime.

Justice is righting wrongs CM

1. The justice system was created to ensure that people who break the law are punished.
2. Justice occurs when someone gets what's due to them.
3. When people are punished for committing a crime, the justice system has done its job.
4. Justice means that people who've had harm done to them get the compensation they deserve.
5. Justice is served when things are made right for the harm that's been done.

Fairness CM

Subscale 1: fairness is measured by outcomes

1. Fairness means that everybody faces the same consequences for breaking the same rules.
2. Fairness in the law means that people receive the same punishment if they commit the same crime.
3. It is not fair when some people break the law and get away with it, but others break the same law and get punished.
4. It is not fair when some communities are policed more than others.

Subscale 2: fairness is a level playing field

5. Under the rule of law, no person should have an advantage over another.
6. Everyone should have access to high quality legal counsel, even if they can't afford it.
7. When navigating the justice system, everyone should receive the legal resources they need.
8. Nobody should get preferential treatment in the justice system.
9. Under the rule of law, everyone should have a fair chance at justice.

Class power and privilege CM

1. Social class determines who gets access to legal resources, such as lawyers and legal advice.
2. It is easier for people with the right social connections to access good legal counsel.
3. Legal outcomes are often influenced by a person's social class.
4. People in higher social classes follow a different set of rules than people from the working class.
5. People with the right social connections aren't held to the same rules as ordinary people.

Money moves everything CM

1. Wealthy people often buy their way to a faster judicial process.
2. People with less money have a harder time accessing legal support.
3. People with more money have easier access to the best lawyers.
4. Government funding is critical to ensure that everybody has legal representation.
5. Cuts to government funding reduce the quality of the justice system.
6. If government funding increased, our legal system would be more effective.
7. When government funding is cut, poor and rural communities are left without access to courts.

Social harmony CM

1. The rule of law creates a more harmonious society.
2. The rule of law is good for society.
3. If we improve access to justice, our society will be more peaceful.
4. Our society will not be unified until everyone has access to justice.
5. We will never live in harmony if the rule of law is not upheld.

Threat of multiculturalism CM

1. The reason why some groups have more legal trouble than others is because some cultures respect the rule of law while others don't.
2. If Black and minority ethnic groups had more respect for British law, they would have less trouble.
3. Immigrants and other cultural groups are a threat to the existing rule of law.
4. Law enforcement is right to monitor immigrants and minority ethnic groups more than others.

Moral breakdown CM

1. Rising crime is due to society's declining morals.
2. People today have no respect for the law.
3. In the past, people better understood right from wrong.
4. Parents today don't do enough to teach their kids right from wrong.
5. In the past, people in our society had better morals.

Symbolic racism

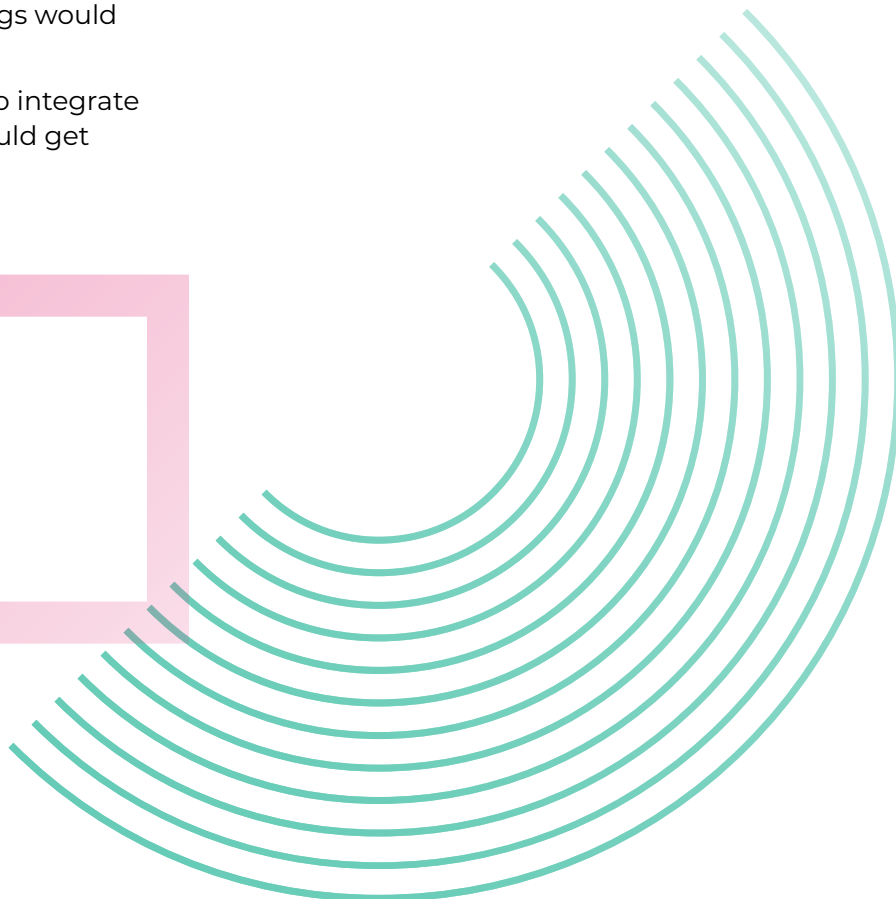
1. Black and minority ethnic groups should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
2. Many people have come to Britain and worked their way up. Black and minority ethnic groups should do the same.
3. If minority groups tried harder, they could be just as well off as everyone else.
4. If Black and minority ethnic groups would stop complaining so much, things would get better for them.
5. If minority groups tried harder to integrate within British society, things would get better for them.

Structural racism

1. Racism is present in our laws, policies, and institutions.
2. Our laws and policies work together to disadvantage Black and minority ethnic people.
3. Racial discrimination is primarily the result of how our society is designed.
4. Our institutions have historically worked together to advantage white people.

Anti-immigrant attitudes

1. Immigrants are a burden on taxpayers.
2. Immigrants are a threat to our national security.
3. Immigrants are a threat to law and order.
4. There are too many immigrants in the U.K.
5. Immigrants should be given the same rights as UK citizens. (reversed)



Appendix C: tested framing strategies

Peer discourse sessions

Values frames

- A)** ...because in a fair society, everyone plays by the rules – and has what they need to access justice (regardless of where they live, their ethnicity, or their socioeconomic class).
- B)** ...because law and justice are a reflection of who we are and how we want our society to be – so we have a collective responsibility to maintain and strengthen both.
- C)** ...because our community benefits from the rule of law and access to justice – so we have a collective responsibility to maintain and strengthen both.
- D)** ...because our society is stronger when we hold ourselves and others to account – the rule of law and access to justice are one way to do this.

Metaphors

The following source domains were mapped onto the target domains of rule of law and access to justice.

1. Hidden writing
2. Tree roots
3. Game
4. Choir
5. Playing Field
6. Maps

Issue frames

A) Public service

An issue of public service: The rule of law and access to justice exist to serve the needs of people in our communities, just like all public services. However, government cuts to Legal Aid (free legal support for people with low incomes) and political attacks on judges prevents the justice system from being available for, and able to serve, everyone. If the rule of law is not seen to serve communities, and people cannot access justice quickly and efficiently, the public will lose confidence that the law can help solve their legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. We can strengthen the rule of law and access to justice as a public service by improving funds for Legal Aid and public confidence in the legal and justice systems.

B) Rights

An issue of rights: The rule of law and access to justice mean all people have the same rights and receive the same treatment in our society. However, our government rapidly and repeatedly changing the law, and removing rights from specific groups, has created legal uncertainty, and undermined equality before the law. If not everyone benefits from, and is answerable to, the same set of rules, then people will not know, or be able to exercise, their rights. We can strengthen our rights through the rule of law and access to justice by improving funds for Legal Aid (free legal support for people on low incomes) and public confidence in the legal and justice systems.

C) Democracy

An issue of democracy: A well-functioning democracy depends on the rule of law and access to justice, which create legitimacy and accountability of a government for the people. However, government cuts to Legal Aid (free legal support for people on low incomes), and high-profile flaunting of the law by ministers, makes it harder to access legal services – and feeds the perception that the justice system does not hold the government to account. If it is harder for everyday people to get legal support, and if members of government appear to be above the law, then people will lose faith in the law representing them. We can strengthen the democratic role of the rule of law and access to justice by improving funds for Legal Aid and public confidence in the legal and justice systems.

Experiments

Wave 1

Metaphors

1. Tree roots

The rule of law: the roots that ground and nourish society

Like the roots of a tree, the rule of law should keep society grounded and provide the stability needed for growth. In order for a tree to grow tall and strong, the roots must be fed and watered. In the same way, our government can foster a strong society by maintaining the rule of law. This means that everyone is held accountable to the same laws, nobody is allowed to be above the law, and everyone has access to justice when they need it. Our society won't have the stability to thrive until the rule of law is maintained by our government.

2. Rules of a game

The rule of law: ensuring we all play by the rules

The rule of law functions a lot like the rules of a game. In order for a game to be played properly, coaches and referees must make sure that the rules are known in advance and understood by every player. In the same way, our government must ensure that the rules of the game are understood by everyone in society. This means making it clear that everyone will be held accountable to the same laws, nobody is allowed to be above the law, and ensuring that everyone has access to justice when they need it. Our society can't thrive until the rule of law is clear, and the government makes sure all of the players are playing by the same rules.

3. Level playing field

The rule of law: ensuring a level playing field for justice

Justice requires a level playing field so that people can get the legal resources they need no matter who they are or what their status is. Having access to justice is like having a well-maintained, level playing field, where every player has an equal chance at fair play – like with affordable legal representation and a fair trial. Our society can't ensure that everyone has access to justice until the government makes sure that the playing field is level and no one has to play uphill at a disadvantage.

4. Maps

The rule of law: ensuring everyone has a map to justice

Justice requires that people are provided with a roadmap to navigate the legal system and get the legal resources they need no matter who they are or what their status is. Having access to justice is like having a map with detailed directions for how to navigate the legal system, get affordable legal representation, and information about how to avoid obstacles along the way. Our society can't ensure that everyone has access to justice until the government makes sure that everyone has a roadmap to help them get on the best route for their legal needs.

Values

5. Fairness

Upholding fairness: how to strengthen the rule of law

As a society, we believe in fairness. In a fair society, the rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But recent governments have weakened the rule of law, and it's creating inequality in society.

It is unfair that politicians disrespect the law, attack judges and lawyers who try to hold them to account, and repeatedly change laws for their own benefit. These actions decrease public confidence that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And, cuts to legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes) make it harder for the public to access justice when they need it. This is unfair, and it goes against our values.

If we truly believe in fairness, we must guarantee that everyone – regardless of where they live, their ethnicity, or their class – has what they need to access justice. By ensuring that politicians can't change the law for their own benefit, and making sure that all people and institutions are held accountable to the same laws, we can strengthen the rule of law to ensure greater fairness in society. And, by funding legal aid and investing more into our justice system, we can ensure equal access to justice for everyone.

6. Collective responsibility

Upholding collective responsibility: how to strengthen the rule of law

As a society, we are all responsible for making our society how we want it to be. As part of this, we have a collective responsibility to uphold the rule of law, which means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But recent governments have weakened the rule of law, making it hard for us to create a society we can all be proud of.

Right now, politicians disrespect the law, attack judges and lawyers who try to hold them to account, and repeatedly change laws for their own benefit. These actions are irresponsible and

decrease public confidence that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And, cuts to legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes) make it harder for the public to access justice when they need it. This goes against our values, and it doesn't reflect who we want to be.

As part of our collective responsibility to uphold the rule of law, we must guarantee that everyone – regardless of where they live, their ethnicity, or their class – has what they need to access justice. By ensuring that politicians can't change the law for their own benefit, and making sure that all people and institutions are held accountable to the same laws, we can strengthen the rule of law. And, by funding legal aid and investing more into our justice system, we can live up to our responsibility by ensuring that everyone in our society has access to justice.

7. Common good

Upholding the common good: how to strengthen the rule of law

As a society, we believe in acting for the common good. The rule of law – which means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws – holds us all to a shared understanding of how to act for the common good. But recent governments have weakened the rule of law, and it's bad for all of us.

Politicians put their interests over the common good when they disrespect the law, attack the judges and lawyers who try to hold them to account, and repeatedly change laws for their own benefit. These actions decrease public confidence that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And, cuts to legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes) make it harder for the public to access justice when they need it. This hurts our society and goes against our values.

If we truly believe in acting for the common good, we must guarantee that everyone – regardless of where they live, their ethnicity, or their class – has what they need to access justice. We can work together for the common good and strengthen the rule of law by ensuring that

politicians can't change the law for their own benefit and making sure that all people and institutions are held accountable to the same laws. And, we can act for the good of our whole society by funding legal aid and investing more into our justice system, so that everyone has access to justice.

8. Accountability

Upholding accountability: how to strengthen the rule of law

As a society, we value accountability. The rule of law – which means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws – gives us a shared understanding of what it means to be held accountable. But recent governments have weakened the rule of law, and with it, structures that ensure accountability.

Right now, politicians are not being held accountable. They disrespect the law, attack judges and lawyers who try to hold them to account, and repeatedly change laws for their own benefit. These actions decrease public confidence that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And, cuts to legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes) make it harder for the public to access justice when they need it. This makes it hard to hold each other accountable, and it goes against our values.

If we truly value accountability, we must guarantee that everyone – regardless of where they live, their ethnicity, or their class – plays by the same rules and has what they need to access justice. By ensuring that politicians can't change the law for their own benefit, and making sure that all people and institutions are held accountable to the same laws, we can strengthen the rule of law. And, we can strengthen accountability in our society by funding legal aid and investing more into our justice system, so that everyone has access to justice.

Issues

9. Public service

We need to strengthen the rule of law to serve society

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. It exists to serve our society, just like all public services. But understaffed courts, ongoing government cuts to legal services, and attacks on judges and lawyers all weaken the rule of law and prevent the justice system from serving and benefiting everyone.

By changing laws to serve their own interests, our politicians weaken the rule of law and fail in their duty to serve the people. This decreases public trust that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And by cutting legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes), the government denies too many people access to legal support services based on where they live, their ethnicity, or their class, effectively denying them a public service.

We must come together and demand that the rule of law serves the needs of the public. By increasing funds for legal aid and investing more into our justice system, we can restore an important public service. These changes will increase public trust in the law, hold all people and institutions accountable to the same laws, and ensure that everyone has access to justice.

10. Rights

We need to strengthen the rule of law to protect legal rights

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. It means that we all have the same rights and receive the same treatment in our society. But understaffed courts, ongoing government cuts to legal services, and attacks on judges and lawyers all weaken the rule of law and undermine our legal rights.

By changing laws to serve their own interests, our politicians weaken the rule of law and create legal uncertainty. This decreases public trust that

the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And by cutting legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes), the government denies too many people access to legal support services based on where they live, their ethnicity, or their class, effectively denying them their legal rights.

We must come together and demand that the rule of law upholds our rights. By increasing funds for legal aid and investing more into our justice system, we can support people's legal rights. These changes will restore public trust in the law, hold all people and institutions accountable to the same laws, and ensure that everyone has access to justice.

11. Democracy

We need to strengthen the rule of law to protect democracy

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. Our democracy depends on the rule of law for ensuring accountability of a government to the people. But understaffed courts, ongoing government cuts to legal services, and attacks on judges and lawyers all weaken the rule of law, and our democracy.

By changing laws to serve their own interests, our politicians weaken the rule of law and make it harder for the justice system to hold the government to account. This decreases public trust that the law can help solve everyday legal problems, like housing and employment disputes. And by cutting legal aid (free legal support for people with low incomes), the government denies too many people access to legal support services based on where they live, their ethnicity, or their class. This isn't serving the people, and it's undemocratic.

We must come together and demand that the rule of law upholds our democratic principles. By increasing funds for legal aid and investing more into our justice system, our government will be more accountable to the people. These changes will restore public trust in the law, hold all people and institutions accountable to the same laws, and ensure that everyone has access to justice.

Valence

12. Gain

Strengthening the rule of law: a benefit for all

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. It benefits all of us when the rule of law is upheld.

When the rule of law is maintained, it means that all people are held accountable to the same laws. It means that the laws are clear to everyone, and people can easily access legal services when they need them, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. When the rule of law is strong, people can trust that the law will help with everyday legal issues, like making sure we have fair workplaces, safe housing, and legal accountability for things like fraud and false advertising. The rule of law is essential to a well-functioning society, and it will benefit all of us if the government takes steps to strengthen it.

13. Loss

Weakening the rule of law: a threat to us all

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. It's bad for all of us when the rule of law isn't upheld.

When the rule of law isn't maintained, it means that only some people are held accountable to the laws, but others aren't. It means that the laws aren't always clear, and people's ethnicity, class, or where they live determine whether they can access legal services. When the rule of law isn't strong, people can't trust that the law will help with everyday legal issues, like wrongful termination of a job, housing discrimination, or deceptive business practices like fraud and false advertising. Without the rule of law, our society can't function well, and it will hurt all of us if the government doesn't take steps to strengthen it.

Wave 2

Explanations

1. Field explanation of how rule of law and access to justice relate to extreme human rights abuses (multiple, negative)

A weakened rule of law allows human rights abuses to occur

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. The rule of law benefits us all by ensuring that our human rights are upheld and that we can access justice when we need it. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law.

When the rule of law is weak, it allows human rights abuses to occur. It means that if a person were detained for exercising their right to free expression or peaceful protest, they can't easily access high-quality legal assistance, and might experience discrimination based on their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws aren't easy to understand, so people don't know their legal options if they are being abused, trafficked, or neglected. And, it means that people who are suffering from human rights abuses don't always receive fair and timely treatment in the legal system.

If we continue to cut legal aid, reduce the number of judges and court staff, and run our legal system on old technology, our rule of law will become weaker and weaker, and expose us to human rights abuses like starvation, neglect, and violence.

2. Explanation of how rule of law and access to justice relate to extreme human rights abuses (multiple, positive)

A strong rule of law prevents human rights abuses

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. The rule of law benefits us all by ensuring that our human rights are upheld and that we can access justice when we need it. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law.

When the rule of law is strong, it prevents human rights abuses. It means that if a person were detained for exercising their right to free expression or peaceful protest, they could easily access high-quality legal assistance, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws would be easy to access and understand, so that people know their legal options if they were being abused, trafficked, or neglected. And, it means that people who are suffering from human rights abuses would receive fair and timely treatment in the legal system.

By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that all of us, as human beings, are protected against human rights abuses like starvation, neglect, and violence.

3. Explanation of how rule of law and access to justice relate to everyday legal rights (multiple)

A strong rule of law upholds our legal rights

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. The rule of law benefits us all by ensuring that our legal rights are upheld and that we can access justice when we need it. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law.

When the rule of law is strong, it protects our basic legal rights. It means we would all have the right – no matter our ethnicity, class, or where we live – to access high-quality legal services when we need them. It means we would all have the right to easily understand the law and know our legal options. And, we would all have the right to receive fair and timely treatment in the legal system.

By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone's legal rights are upheld.

4. Explanation of how rule of law and access to justice relate to extreme issues (multiple)

A strong rule of law helps us deal with major legal issues

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. The rule of law benefits us all by ensuring that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system, and that everyone has access to justice. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law, and this makes it hard to get help when we face major legal problems.

A strong rule of law means that if a person is falsely imprisoned, they can easily access high-quality legal assistance to make a claim, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws are easy to access and understand, so that people know their legal options if they find themselves as victims of domestic abuse or unlawful deportation. And, it means that we can trust the law to be on our side if we are dealing with issues of police violence or terrorism.

By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to justice if they face major legal problems.

5. Explanation of how rule of law and access to justice relate to everyday issues (multiple)

A strong rule of law helps us deal with everyday legal issues

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. The rule of law benefits us all by ensuring that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system, and that everyone has access to justice. But lately, policy and budget changes have weakened the rule of law, and this causes problems in our everyday lives.

A strong rule of law means that if a person is injured at work, they can easily access high-quality legal assistance to make a claim, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live.

It means that our laws are easy to understand, so that people know their legal options if they find themselves dealing with fraud or false advertising. And, it means that we can trust the law to be on our side when we face housing discrimination, or have been treated unfairly by a landlord.

By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to justice when they face everyday legal issues.

Issues

6. Rule of law and access to justice as an issue of housing justice

A strong rule of law can address housing issues

As a society, we have a housing problem. Evictions are on the rise, rents are too high, and there are serious building safety defects in thousands of buildings across the UK. A strong rule of law can help us address these housing issues. The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law, and this harms the quality and security of our housing.

A strong rule of law means that, if a person is facing eviction, they can easily access high-quality legal assistance, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws are easy to understand, so that people know their legal options if they find themselves in a dispute with their landlord or mortgage lender. And, it means that we can trust the law to be on our side when rent is unfairly raised, or when our homes don't meet health and safety standards.

A strong rule of law will benefit us all by ensuring our ability to access safe and quality housing. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to justice if they have housing issues.

7. Rule of law and access to justice as an issue of economic justice

A strong rule of law can address employment and workplace issues

As a society, we have an employment problem. Too many workers are dealing with unlawful wage deductions, bullying and discrimination, and unfair dismissals. A strong rule of law can help us address these employment issues. The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law, and this harms the quality and security of our employment.

A strong rule of law means that if an employer steals a person's wages, the employee can easily access high-quality legal assistance to make a claim, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws are easy to understand, so that people know their legal options if they find themselves in an employment dispute about unfair dismissal or workplace discrimination. And, it means that we can trust the law to be on our side to enforce equal pay and ensure safe working environments.

A strong rule of law will benefit us all by ensuring fair workplaces. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to justice if they have employment issues.

8. Rule of law and access to justice as an issue of environmental justice

A strong rule of law can address environmental issues

As a society, we have an environmental problem. Too much sewage is dumped into our rivers and seas, air pollution is increasing health problems for the public, and more frequent severe weather events are causing devastation in our communities. A strong rule of law can help us address these environmental issues. The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But lately, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law, and this harms our environment and ourselves.

A strong rule of law means that if someone is harmed by an extreme weather event, like flooding, they can easily access high-quality legal assistance to make a claim, no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live. It means that our laws are easy to understand, so that people know their legal options if sewage or waste is being dumped into their local water sources. And, it means we can trust the law to be on our side to make sure everyone has clean drinking water and clean air to breathe.

A strong rule of law will benefit us all by protecting our environment and our communities. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to justice if they have environmental issues.

9. Rule of law as the issue: "we have a problem with the rule of law"

We must strengthen the rule of law in the UK

As a society, we have a problem with the rule of law. The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws – no matter who we are, where we live, or how much money we make. But right now, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened the rule of law, and it's bad for everyone.

It benefits us all when the rule of law is upheld. When the rule of law is strong, everyone understands what the laws are, and everyone – no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live – can access high-quality legal services when they need them. A strong rule of law means that we can trust the law to help with everyday legal issues, like making sure we have fair workplaces, safe and affordable housing, and legal accountability for things like fraud and false advertising. And, when the rule of law is upheld, it means that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system, and everyone has access to justice.

The rule of law is essential to a well-functioning society. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure access to justice for everyone.

10. Access to justice as the issue: "we have problems with access to justice"

If we want access to justice, we must strengthen the rule of law

As a society, we have problems with access to justice. Access to justice is an essential piece of the rule of law, which means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws – no matter who we are, where we live, or how much money we make. But right now, policy changes and budget cuts have weakened our rule of law, and it means that people can't access justice when they need it.

When the rule of law is strong, everyone understands what the laws are, and everyone – no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live – can access high-quality legal services when they need them. A strong rule of law means that we can trust the law to help with everyday legal issues, like making sure we have fair workplaces, safe and affordable housing, and legal accountability for things like fraud and false advertising. And, when the rule of law is upheld, it means that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system, and everyone has access to justice.

The rule of law is essential for guaranteeing access to justice. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can strengthen the rule of law and ensure that everyone has access to the specific legal resources they need.

Values

11. Fairness (refined from W1)

A fair society requires a strong rule of law

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But lately, policy and budget changes have weakened the rule of law, and it makes our society unfair.

A strong rule of law makes our society fair. It means that anyone – no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live – can easily understand what the laws are, and access high-quality legal services when they need them. It means that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system. And, it means that we can trust the law to help with everyday legal issues, like making

sure we have fair workplaces, safe and affordable housing, and legal accountability for things like fraud and false advertising. A strong rule of law is vital to a fair society.

If we truly believe in fairness, we must strengthen the rule of law. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can ensure that everyone has fair access to justice.

12. Common good (refined from W1)

The common good requires a strong rule of law

The rule of law means we should all benefit from, and have to answer to, the same set of laws. But lately, policy and budget changes have weakened the rule of law, and it is hindering our ability to work towards the collective good of our society.

A strong rule of law supports the common good. It means that anyone – no matter their ethnicity, class, or where they live – can easily understand what the laws are, and access high-quality legal services when they need them. It means that nobody gets special treatment in the legal system. And, it means that we can trust the law to help with everyday legal issues, like making sure we have fair workplaces, safe and affordable housing, and legal accountability for things like fraud and false advertising. A strong rule of law is vital for the collective good of our society.

If we truly believe in acting for the common good, we must strengthen the rule of law. By supporting policies that expand legal aid, increase the number of judges and court staff, and set aside funds to update the technology used in our legal system, we can ensure access to justice and support the collective good of our society.



Appendix D: Experimental survey items

The rule of law: relevance to everyday life (reduces bad outcomes)

1. Unfair behaviour by landlords
2. Unjust evictions
3. Wrongful termination of workers
4. Discrimination at work
5. Unfair practices by travel agencies
6. Deceptive business practices

The rule of law: relevance to everyday life (increases good outcomes)

1. Access to safe and stable housing
2. Fair and safe workplaces
3. Fair pay for work, including overtime and benefits
4. Refunds for defective products
5. Legal accountability for fraud and false advertising
6. Access to safe transportation options

Government responsibility

1. Our government is to blame if people in the legal system do not receive timely hearings.
2. Government has an obligation to ensure that everyone in the UK has access to high quality legal counsel.
3. Educating the public about their legal rights is the government's responsibility.
4. Our government is to blame if people in the UK don't have access to legal resources or aid.

Government accountability

1. We must implement stricter rules and requirements around government transparency and accountability.
2. Government must always obey the laws that it enacts.
3. Government must be committed to the international legal agreements it makes.
4. It is never acceptable for ministers and government officials to be given preference under the law.
5. Ministers and government officials must always go through the same legal process as the rest of us.
6. In some cases, it is ok for our government to be held to different legal standards than the rest of us. (reverse)
7. Sometimes there are legitimate reasons for ministers and government officials to break the law. (reverse)

Role of lawyers

1. Lawyers are essential for ensuring that everyone is held accountable to the same laws.
2. Lawyers help people understand the law.
3. Lawyers are critical for ensuring that everyone, no matter their status, has access to justice.
4. Without affordable lawyers for everyone, access to justice will never be fair.
5. Without high quality lawyers, people cannot easily navigate the justice system.
6. Lawyers are essential for ensuring that immigrants have access to justice.
7. Without affordable lawyers for everyone, regardless of immigration status, the legal system will never be fair.
8. Lawyers are critical for helping everyone, regardless of their citizenship status, understand their legal options.

Level playing field

1. Under the rule of law, no person should ever have a legal advantage over another.
2. Everyone should have access to the same high-quality legal counsel, no matter how much money they make.
3. The rule of law must ensure that everyone, regardless of their background or status, has a fair chance at justice.
4. The legal resources that individuals receive should take into account each person's particular needs.

Collective efficacy for equitable access to justice

1. We, as a society, can increase access to justice for everyone in the UK.
2. As a society, we are capable of improving our justice system so that it works for everyone.
3. We, as a society, can ensure that our laws are applied equally to everyone.
4. As a society, we can ensure that everyone has access to the same legal resources.
5. We, as a society, can make sure that everyone has access to high quality legal services.

Government efficacy to uphold a functioning rule of law

1. I believe our government can take steps to ensure that the law is clear and easy to find for everyone.
2. I believe that the government can make sure all people and institutions are accountable to the same laws.
3. I am confident that our government will take steps to ensure no-one is above the law.
4. I am confident that when making laws, the government will follow set rules and procedures.
5. I believe it is possible for the government to make certain that all citizens are equal under the law.

Anti-immigrant attitudes

1. Immigrants are a burden on taxpayers.
2. Immigrants are a threat to our national security.
3. Immigrants are a threat to law and order.
4. There are too many immigrants in the UK.
5. Immigrants should be given the same rights as UK citizens. (reversed)

Support for public investment in the justice system

To what extent 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 local and national taxes.

1. Grant a 15% salary increase for lawyers that provide free legal representation to people who cannot afford to pay.
2. Provide free or low-cost legal aid to everyone in the UK, regardless of their immigration status, background, or income.
3. Increase the number of judges and court staff by 25% across the UK.
4. Offer more low-cost solutions, like third-party mediators, to resolve disagreements outside of court.
5. Allocate whatever funds are necessary for updating the technology used in justice system facilities.
6. Require regular independent evaluation of how well our government is upholding its commitments to international legal agreements.
7. Protect judges' and lawyers' independence to make legal decisions without attacks from the government.

About the Law Society

The Law Society is the professional body for solicitors in England and Wales.

For 200 years, we have championed solicitors working in the public interest and their role in protecting rights and promoting justice.

We're here to support solicitors at every stage of their career, from qualification through to retirement, and to advocate on the issues they have told us matter most, including the rule of law and access to justice.

Find out more at www.lawsociety.org.uk

About FrameWorks UK

FrameWorks UK is a not-for-profit, mission-driven organisation, specialising in evidence-based communication strategies that shift hearts and minds.

We help charities and other organisations communicate about social issues in ways that create progress, through practical guidance underpinned by our framing research.

We're the sister organisation of the FrameWorks Institute in the US, which has been conducting framing research for more than 25 years. FrameWorks started working in the UK in 2012. And we established FrameWorks UK in 2021.

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**The Law
Society**

113 Chancery Lane London WC2A 1PL
www.lawsociety.org.uk