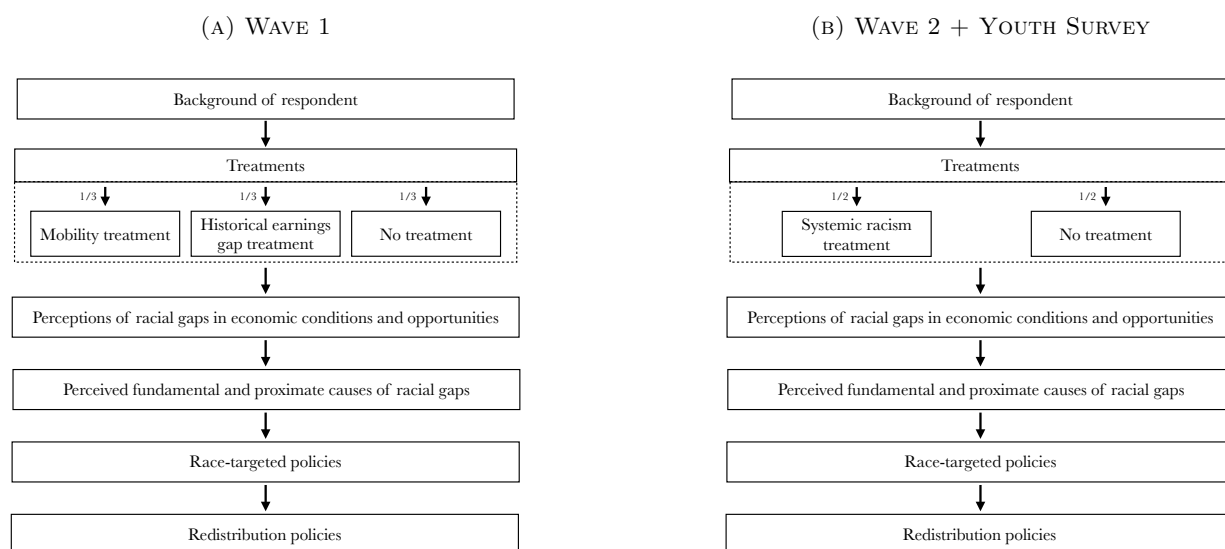


FIGURE A-18: SURVEY STRUCTURE - PREVIOUS WAVES



A-6 Adult Questionnaire

Block Randomization

To test for survey fatigue (discussed in Section A-3.4), we randomized the order of the question blocks appearing after the treatment. Half of our sample saw the questions in the following order: i) Perception of racial gaps in economic conditions and opportunities, ii) Perceived fundamental and proximate causes of racial gaps, iii) Race-targeted policies, and iv) Redistribution policies. The other half of our saw the questions in the following order: i) Redistribution policies, ii) Race-targeted policies, iii) Perceived fundamental and proximate causes of racial gaps, and iv) Perception of racial gaps in economic conditions and opportunities.

Consent

1. We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from Harvard University. No matter what your political views are, by completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

It is very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering. Anytime you don't know an answer, please give your best guess. However, be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the question. To ensure the quality of survey data, your responses will be subject to sophisticated statistical control methods. Responding without adequate effort may result in your responses being flagged for low quality and not used.

It is also very important for the success of our research project that you complete the entire survey, once you have started. This survey takes an average of about 20 minutes to complete.

At the end of the survey, if you wish, we will provide you with the correct answers to some of the questions. These answers are very hard to find in general, so this is a good opportunity for you to learn new facts about our society. Moreover, by completing the survey you will be automatically enrolled in a lottery to win \$1,000.

If you fully complete this survey, you will be invited to take another voluntary, paid, follow-up survey a week from now, if you wish.

Note: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded. Results may include summary data, but you will never be personally identified. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at economicandsocialsciences@gmail.com

Yes, I would like to take part in this study, and confirm that I AM A US RESIDENT 18 or older; No, I would not like to participate

Screening Questions

1. Were you born in the United States?
Yes; No
2. What is your gender?
Male; Female
3. What is your age?
4. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year?
\$0-\$9999; \$10000-\$14999; \$15000-\$19999; \$20000-\$29999; \$30000-\$39999; \$40000-\$49999; \$50000-\$69999; \$70000-\$89999; \$90000-\$109999; \$110000-\$149999; \$150000-\$199999; \$200000+
5. How would you describe your ethnicity/race?
European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Mixed race
6. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin; Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano; Yes, Puerto Rican; Yes, Cuban; Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.
7. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** What is your race?
White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Chinese; Vietnamese; Filipino; Korean; Asian Indian; Japanese; Other Asian; Native Hawaiian; Samoan; Chamorro; Other Pacific Islander; Some other race.
8. Which State do you live in?
9. Which ZIP code do you live in?
10. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Have you ever moved to a different city before you turned 20? *Yes; No*
11. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** [Inattention Question:] This is a question to check whether you are paying attention and reading the questions carefully. Please select both “1” and “4” to move to the next page of the survey.
1; 2; 3; 4; 5.

Background Questions

1. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 3]** Please indicate your marital status:
Never married; Married; Legally separated or divorced; Widowed
2. How many children do you have?
I do not have children; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more
3. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** How old were you when you had your first child?
4. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Were both of your parents born in the United States?
Yes; No
5. Which category best describes your highest level of education?
Eighth Grade or less; Some High School; High School degree/GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Master’s Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD, MBA)
6. What is your current employment status?
Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed; Small business owner; Unemployed and looking for work; Stay at home wife/husband; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree
7. *[If Employed:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Which category best described your main occupation?
Managers; Professionals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service and sales workers; Agricultural workers; Craft and related trades workers; Plans and machine operators, and assemblers; Elementary occupations; Armed forces occupations
8. On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?
Very liberal; Liberal; Moderate; Conservative; Very conservative

9. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat or an independent?
Republican; Democrat; Independent
10. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Did you vote in the last presidential election?
Yes; No
11. *[If Yes to Q10:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** In the last presidential election, you supported:
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson
- [If No to Q10:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who represents your views most closely.
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson
12. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Did you vote in the 2016 presidential election?
Yes; No
13. *[If Yes to Q12:]* **[Asked only in Wave 3]** In the 2016 presidential election, you supported:
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson
- [If No to Q12:]* **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for in 2016 or who represents your views most closely.
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson
14. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Did you vote in the 2020 presidential election?
Yes; No
15. *[If Yes to Q14:]* **[Asked only in Wave 3]** In the 2020 presidential election, you supported:
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Jo Jorgensen; Howie Hawkins
- [If No to Q14:]* **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for in 2020 or who represents your views most closely.
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Jo Jorgensen; Howie Hawkins
16. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Are you registered to vote?
Yes; No
17. *[If No to Q16:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Why are you not registered to vote?
I don't want to vote, so I don't need to register; It's not convenient; I don't know how to register; I don't want to register for privacy or security reasons; I intend to register, but haven't gotten around it; I do not have the ID or documentation required to register; I am not eligible due to a felony conviction; There has not been a candidate or issue that has inspired me to register
18. *[If No to Q16:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** The following are some reasons why someone would not want to vote. Please indicate which is a major reason, minor reason, or not a reason why you do not want to vote.
I'm not interested in politics; Voting has little to do with the way real decisions are made ; I just don't bother and doing it is not worth my time; I don't see a difference between the candidates or parties; I don't like any of the candidates on the ballot ; My one vote isn't going to affect how things turn out; I am afraid of being turned down at the voting pools ; I have been unable to vote due to a disability or language barrier
19. *[If Yes to Q16:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** There are many types of elections such as federal elections for president and members of Congress, primary elections where voters choose party nominees, local elections for city council and school board, and special elections when vacancies arise in between scheduled elections. Which best describes how often you vote, since you became eligible?
Every election without exception; Almost every election, may have missed one or two; Some elections; Rarely; Don't vote in elections
20. *[If Yes to Q16:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Did you vote in the 2018 midterms elections?
Yes; No
21. *[If Yes to Q20:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Which party did you vote for?
Republican Party ; Democratic Party; Other
- [If No to Q20:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Which party would you have liked to support?
Republican Party; Democratic Party; Other

22. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** What are your voting plans for the upcoming presidential election?
I plan to vote in person; I plan to vote by mail, if it is not possible I will vote in person; I plan to vote by mail, if it is not possible I will abstain; I do not plan to vote
23. *[If Plan to vote:]* **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Which candidate are you planning to support?
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Other; I'm still undecided
- [If Do not plan to vote:]* **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Even if you do not plan on voting, please indicate the candidate that you are most likely to support or who represents your views more closely
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Other
24. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** How often do you attend church, mosque, synagogue or another place of worship?
Every week; Almost every week; About once a month; Seldom; Never
25. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Were you or was anyone in your household covered by Medicaid by the end of 2019?
 If you are getting health insurance from your employer, you are not getting Medicaid.
 Medicaid is a joint federal and state program that helps with medical costs for some people with limited income and resources and offers benefits not normally covered by Medicare, like nursing home care and personal care services.
Yes; No
26. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Are you or is anyone in your household currently covered by Medicaid?
Yes; No
27. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Did you or is anyone in your household receive food stamps or use a food stamp benefit card at any time during 2019?
Yes; No
28. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Are you or is anyone in your household currently receiving food stamps or using a food stamp benefit card?
Yes; No
29. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** At any time during 2019, even for one month, did you or anyone in your household receive any cash assistance from a state or county welfare program such as welfare or welfare to work, TANF, General Assistance, diversion payments or refugee cash?
Yes; No
30. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** At any time during 2018, even for one month, did you or anyone in your household receive any cash assistance from a state or county welfare program such as welfare or welfare to work, TANF, General Assistance, diversion payments or refugee cash?
Yes; No
31. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Have you or has anyone in your household received in the last month any cash assistance from a state or county welfare program such as welfare or welfare to work, TANF, General Assistance, diversion payments or refugee cash (including assistance for COVID-19)?
Yes; No
32. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** When you were a child and a teenager, who were you living with most of the time?
With both of my parents; With my mother only; With my father only; With my mother and my stepfather; With my father and my stepmother; With my grandparents only; With family members other than my parents or my grandparents; Other (please specify)
33. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** When you were growing up, was one of your parents ever incarcerated for any amount of time? By incarcerated we mean inmates held in custody in state or federal prisons or in local jails.
Yes; No
34. *[If Yes to Q29:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Which parent was in prison or jail for some time?
Mother; Father; Both
35. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** When you were growing up, was one of your parents away from home for any extended period of time?
Yes; No
36. *[If Yes to Q31:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Which parent was away from home for extended periods of time?
Mother; Father; Both

37. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Have you ever been arrested?
Yes; No
38. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Have you ever been incarcerated?
Yes; No
39. *[If Yes to Q34:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1]** For how long?
Less than 1 month; Less than 6 months; Less than 1 year; More than 1 year
40. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Which of the following best describes the area you live in?
Urban; Rural
41. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** In which state was your mother living when you were born?
42. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** In which city?
43. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** We would like to know the cities where you have lived during your early life, that is until you turned 20.
For every row, please insert your age when you moved and the state and city where you moved to.
For example, if you were born in New York and you moved to Chicago when you were 8, in the first row you should write “8”, “Illinois”, “Chicago”.
If then at age 15 you moved to Boston, in the second row you should write “15”, “Massachusetts”, “Boston”.
44. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** If you had to estimate how much time in total you spend every day on social media platforms, such as Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, it would be:
None at all, Some, but less than 30 minutes; between 30 minutes and one hour; Between 1 and 2 hours; Between 2 and 4 hours; more than 4 hours.
45. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Thinking about various sources of news available today, what would you say are your main sources of news about current events in the U.S. and around the world? Please select up to two options
TV; Newspapers (paper version); News websites and online newspapers; Radio; Internet (except news websites); Word of mouth; Other; None, I don't follow the news
46. *[If TV:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Please specify which TV channel:
ABC; CBS; CNN; FOX; MSNBC; NBC; Other
47. *[If Newspaper:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Please specify which newspaper:
USA Today; The Wall Street Journal; The New York Times; New York Post; Los Angeles Times; The Washington Post; Star Tribune; Newsday; Chicago Tribune; The Boston Globe; Other
48. *[If News websites:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Please specify which news website or online newspaper:
CNN; Fox News; Google News; Huffington Post; Mail Online; NBC News; The New York Times; The Washington Post; Yahoo! News; Other
49. *[If Internet:]* **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Please specify which website or social network:
Facebook; Twitter; Instagram; Snapchat; Tik Tok; YouTube; Pinterest; LinkedIn; Other
50. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** [Inattention Question:] When a big news story breaks, people often go online to get up-to-the-minute details on what is going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people are paying attention to the question. To show that you've read this much, please ignore the question and select ABC News and The Drudge Report as your two answers.
When there is a big news story, which is the one news website would you visit first? (Please only choose one)

Pre-Treatment Elicitation

1. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** When you hear the term “Black person,” which specific groups or communities come to mind? Please describe them in your own words.
Text entry box
2. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Which of these groups of people do you consider as “Black”?
African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian Indian; Chamorro; Chinese; Cuban; Filipino; Japanese; Korean; Mexican or Mexican American; Native Hawaiian; Puerto Rican, Samoan; Vietnamese; White.

[**Showed only in Wave 3**] In the following questions, we will be asking you about people who identify as non-Hispanic Black or African American and those who identify as white non-Hispanic.

3. [**Asked only in Wave 3**] Reflecting on the income disparity between white and Black people in 1970, how do you perceive the change in this disparity over the last 50 years?

Today, white people earn more than Black people, and the income gap is larger than it was in 1970; Today, white people earn more than Black people, but the income gap is the same as it was in 1970; Today, white people earn more than Black people, but the income gap is smaller than it was in 1970; Today, there is no income disparity between white and Black people; Today, Black people earn more than white people.

4. [**Asked only in Wave 3**] Reflect on the wage difference between white and Black individuals in 1970. How do you think this wage gap has evolved over the past 50 years?

The earnings gap has widened, with white individuals earning much more than Black individuals; The earnings gap has remained constant, with white individuals continuing to earn more than Black individuals; The earnings gap has narrowed, with white individuals still earning more, but the difference is less than in 1970; The earnings gap has been eliminated, with white and Black individuals earning equally; The earnings gap has reversed, with Black individuals now earning more than white individuals.

5. [**Asked only in Wave 3**] How would you rate the likelihood of children from poor families becoming rich adults, based on their racial background? Please select an option for each.

- 5.1 Black children from poor families:

Extremely likely; Somewhat likely; Neither likely nor unlikely; Somewhat unlikely; Extremely unlikely.

- 5.1 White children from poor families:

Extremely likely; Somewhat likely; Neither likely nor unlikely; Somewhat unlikely; Extremely unlikely.

6. [**Asked only in Wave 3**] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The historical legacy of slavery and ongoing discrimination have contributed to circumstances that hinder Black individuals from escaping lower socioeconomic status.”

Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Randomized Treatment

Wave 1

1. Mobility Treatment
2. Historical Earnings Gap Treatment
3. Control Group

Wave 2

1. Systemic Racism Treatment
2. Control Group

Wave 3

1. Systemic Racism Treatment
2. Mobility Treatment
3. Historical Earnings Gap Treatment
4. Control Group

Perceptions and Attitudes Questions*

[**Showed only in Wave 2 and 3**] The next set of questions is about the different experiences of white and Black Americans in the United States. In order for your answers to be most helpful to us, it is really important that you answer these questions as accurately as you can. Although you may find some questions difficult, it is very important for our research that you try your best. Thank you very much!

1. [**Asked only in Wave 2 and 3**] In general, how would you compare the quality of schools that Black children and white children go to? Would you say that on average Black children go to:
Much lower quality schools than white children; Lower quality schools than white children; Schools of a similar quality to white children; Higher quality schools than white children; Much higher quality schools than white children.
2. [**Asked only in Wave 2 and 3**] Imagine a white and a Black person who both graduated from the same college, with the same major and the same GPA and who apply for the same jobs. Who do you think is going to get more job offers?
The white person is going to get many more job offers; The white person is going to get a few more job offers; The white and Black person are going to get the same number of job offers; The Black person is going to get a few more job offers; The Black person is going to get many more job offers.

[**Showed only in Wave 1**] As you probably know, the government and researchers gather a lot of statistical information about the economy. We are interested in learning whether this information finds its way to the general public. The next set of questions is about the different experiences of white and Black Americans in the United States. These are questions for which there are right or wrong answers.

In order for your answers to be most helpful to us, it is really important that you answer these questions as accurately as you can. Although you may find some questions difficult, it is very important for our research that you try your best. Thank you very much!

[**Randomized**] As a small reward for your efforts, the 10 people whose answers to this set of questions are closest to the true answer will each receive \$20. All questions for which there is a right or wrong answer and which count will show this banner at the top. Please note that consulting outside sources will disqualify you from this award. Moreover, these information are very hard to find online on your own. They are the result of a lot of careful research and you cannot easily find the correct answers.

Please answer on your own.

3. We would now like to ask you what you think about the life opportunities of children from very poor families. For the following questions, we focus on 500 families that represent the U.S. total population. We divide them into five groups on the basis of their income, with each group containing 100 families. These groups are: the poorest 100 families, the second poorest 100 families, the middle 100 families, the second richest 100 families, and the richest 100 families.
Imagine now 100 Black children born in one of the poorest 100 families. How will these white children do when they grow up? Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of 100 Black children coming from the poorest 100 families will grow up to be in each income group. Please note that your entries need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on to the next page.
4. Imagine now 100 white children born in one of the poorest 100 families. How will these Black children do when they grow up? Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of 100 white children coming from the poorest 100 families will grow up to be in each income group. Please note that your entries need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on to the next page.
Ladder figure.
5. [**Asked only in Wave 1 and 3**] Now we would like to ask you about the evolution of average earnings of Black and white men and women from 1970 to today. Earnings include all wages, salaries, and self-employed income among all those who work. For every hundred dollar \$100 that an average white man would earn in 1970, please tell us how much a white woman, a Black man, and a Black woman would be earning. For instance, if you write 50 dollars for a white woman in 1970, you would be saying that a white woman on average earned half as much as a white man in 1970. Please also do this for today's average earnings. As you enter the numbers, the chart will update to show you the numbers you have entered. You can update this as many times as you'd like before moving on to the next page.
6. [**Asked only in Wave 2 and 3**] Try to think how white and Black people lived in 1970, especially how much they earned. In 1970 white people earned more than Black people, but their earnings evolved in different ways over time.

*During Wave 1, half of the respondents were randomly allocated to Block A and the other half to Block B.

We would like to ask you to think about the difference that there is between what white and Black people earn today and try to compare it to the difference that there was 50 years ago.

What do you think happened to this difference over the years?

Today white people earn more than Black people and the difference is greater than it was in 1970; Today white people earn more than Black people but the difference is the same as it was in 1970; Today white people earn more than Black people but the difference is less than it was in 1970; Today there is no longer a difference between what white and Black people earn; Today Black people earn more than white people.

7. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** The red line represents the earning distribution of all individuals in the US. Earnings include all wages, salaries, and self-employed income among all those who work. At the top are the top 1% earners, the richest 1% individuals in the US. At the bottom are the poorest individuals in the US. At the center of the line is the “middle” earner. Half of all people in the US earn more than the middle earner and half earn less than him/her.

Please remember these concepts since they will be used in the following questions.

- 7.1 Consider such an earnings distribution, but only among all Black individuals in the US. How much do you think the top 1% richest Black individual earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.

Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.

- 7.2 How much do you think the Black “middle” earner earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.

Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.

- 7.3 Now consider the earnings distribution of all white individuals in the US. How much do you think the top 1% richest white individual earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.

Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.

- 7.4 How much do you think the white “middle” earner earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.

Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.

8. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** In the US today, who do you think earns more, on average, between a typical Black person and a typical white person?

A typical white person earns a lot more than a typical Black person; A typical white person earns a bit more than a typical Black person; A typical white and a typical Black person earn more or less the same; A typical Black person earns a bit more than a typical white person; A typical Black person earns a lot more than a typical white person.

9. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** We are still interested in the life opportunities of children from very poor families in the US, but we now focus on a different group of poor children. Let’s focus again on 500 families that represent the U.S. total population. Consider now 100 Black children coming from the poorest 100 families. These children are very determined and put in hard work both at school and, later in life, when finding a job and doing that job. Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of these 100 Black children will grow up to be in each income group. Please note that your entries need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on to the next page.

Ladder figure.

10. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** Consider now 100 white children coming from the poorest 100 families. These children are very determined and put in hard work both at school and, later in life, when finding a job and doing that job. Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of these 100 white children will grow up to be in each income group. Please note that your entries need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on to the next page.

Ladder figure.

11. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A) and 2]** Think of white Black currently growing up in your ZIP code. Consider for a moment the income of a household such that half of all households in the U.S. earn less and half earn more. Now, out of 100 Black children from your ZIP code whose family earns just about that income, how many do you think could be among the top 1% earners in the U.S. when they grow up?

Slider 0-100.

12. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A) and 2]** Now think of white children currently growing up in your zip code. Out of 100 white children from your zip code whose family earns just about that same income, how many do you think could be among the top 1% earners in the US when they grow up?

Slider 0-100.

13. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Think about the kids that are growing up in your neighborhood. How many of these kids do you think will be rich when adults?
Almost none; Some but not many; A good portion; Most of them; All of them.
14. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** Let's now think about the ZIP code where you live. How much do you think the Black "middle" earner in your ZIP code earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.
15. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** How much do you think the white "middle" earner in your ZIP code earns per year? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider \$0-\$10,000,000.
16. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** Think about white and Black people living in your ZIP code. Who do you think earns more on average? *A typical white person earns a lot more than a typical Black person; A typical white person earns a bit more than a typical Black person; A typical white and a typical Black person earn more or less the same; A typical Black person earns a bit more than a typical white person; A typical Black person earns a lot more than a typical white person.*
17. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A) and 2]** Would you say that in general in your ZIP code:
People are very poor, Most people are very poor, but a few are very rich, People are mostly average and almost no one is either very poor or very rich, People are quite well-off.
18. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A) and 2]** Out of every 100 Black people above the age of 25 in the U.S., how many do you think have a college degree? *By college degree we mean bachelor's degree, master's degree, professional degree and doctoral degree.*
Slider 0-100.
19. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A) and 2]** Out of every 100 white people above the age of 25 in the U.S., how many do you think have a college degree?
Slider 0-100.
20. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** Out of every 100 Black students enrolled in a 4-year bachelor's degree, how many do you think will complete their college education and get their degree in less than 6 years?
Slider 0-100.
21. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** Out of every 100 white students enrolled in a 4-year bachelor's degree, how many do you think will complete their college education and get their degree in less than 6 years?
Slider 0-100.
22. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** How much higher do you think the yearly income of a Black person with a college degree is compared with the annual income of a Black person without a college degree? The average annual income of non-college-educated Black people is \$24,800. Please, move the slider to give your best guess about the annual income of the average college educated white person:
Slider \$34,500-\$100,000.
23. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block A)]** Now please consider the same question, but for a white person with a college degree compared to a white person without a college degree. The average annual income of non-college-educated white people is \$34,500. Please, move the slider to give your best guess about the annual income of the average college educated Black person:
Slider \$24,800-\$100,000.
24. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 3]** Out of every 100 people living in the US, how many are Black?
Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider 0-100.
25. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 3]** Out of every 100 people living in your ZIP code, how many are Black?
Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider 0-100.

26. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** Please think of teenage women aged 15-19 in the US today. Out of 1,000 Black teenage women, how many do you think have had a child?
0-10; 10-20; 20-30; 30-50; 50-100; 100-200; 200-500; more than 500.
27. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** Out of 1,000 white teenage women, how many do you think have had a child?
0-10; 10-20; 20-30; 30-50; 50-100; 100-200; 200-500; more than 500.
28. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** How many Black children out of 100 live in a single parent family in the US?
By children we mean someone younger than 18 years old
Slider 0-100.
29. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** How many white children out of 100 live in a single parent family in the US?
Slider 0-100.
30. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 2]** Local, state and federal governments provide several programs to help low income families meet their needs.
SNAP is the largest program in the domestic hunger safety net. It offers food and nutrition assistance to millions of eligible, low-income individuals and families. Out of 100 families that receive benefits from the Food Stamp Program or SNAP, how many do you think are Black?
Slider 0-100.
31. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 2]** Medicaid is a joint federal and state program that helps with medical costs for some people with limited income and resources and offers benefits not normally covered by Medicare, like nursing home care and personal care services.
Out of 100 households that are currently covered by Medicaid, the program that provides health insurance for low-income individuals, how many do you think are Black?
Slider 0-100.
32. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 2]** Several more government programs provide a safety net to individuals and families to protect them from poverty.
Out of 100 households that receive such government assistance in the form of Supplemental Security Income, school lunches, housing assistance, energy subsidies, unemployment insurance, veteran or survivor benefits, disability benefits or welfare payments from the federal, state, or local government, how many do you think are Black?
Slider 0-100.
33. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 2]** Out of 100 adult Black women, how many would you say are not working? *By adult we mean someone aged between 25 and 64.*
Slider 0-100.
34. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B), 2, and 3]** Out of 100 adult Black men, how many would you say are not working?
Slider 0-100.
35. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B) and 2]** Out of 100 adult white women, how many would you say are not working?
Slider 0-100.
36. **[Asked in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B), 2, and 3]** Out of 100 adult white men, how many would you say are not working?
Slider 0-100.
37. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** Imagine two people who are looking for a home to purchase. A real estate agents shows them units for sale. One person is Black and one is white. The white person is shown on average 10 houses. How many houses do you think the agent will on average show the Black person?
38. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** At any given time, how many out of every 1,000 (one thousand) Black men are incarcerated? By incarcerated we mean inmates held in custody in state or federal prisons or in local jails.
0-10; 10-20; 20-30; 30-50; 50-100; 100-200; 200-500; more than 500.

39. **[Asked only in Wave 1 (Randomized Block B)]** At any given time, how many out of 1,000 (one thousand) white men are incarcerated?
0-10; 10-20; 20-30; 30-50; 50-100; 100-200; 200-500; more than 500.
40. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 3]** [Inattention Question:] We are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the instructions. To show that you are paying attention, please ignore the question below. Instead, simply write 333 in the box. Thank you very much.
 Out of 100 adults in the U.S., how many are currently in jail?
Slider 0-100.
41. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Thinking of your neighborhood, how would you rate the quality of the following:
- 41.1 Public service, such as street cleaning or garbage removals:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
- 41.2 Facilities, such as parks, sports facilities:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
- 41.3 Safety:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
- 41.4 Public schools:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
- 41.5 Public transportation:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
42. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** When you are in need, for instance, sick or unemployed, do you feel like you can rely on policies and provisions from your local, state, or federal government to help you?
Not at all; Not much; A fair amount; A lot.
43. *[In Wave 1 asked only if below 35 yo; in Wave 2 and 3 asked to everyone:]* Do you believe that your hard work and effort in life have paid off or not?
They have paid off a lot; They have paid off somewhat; They have not paid off at all.
44. *[In Wave 1 asked only if above 35 yo; in Wave 2 and 3 asked to everyone:]* Do you believe that your hard work and effort in life will pay off or not?
They will pay off a lot; They will pay off somewhat; They will not pay off at all.
45. *[If below 45 yo:]* Thinking of yourself, how likely do you think you are to ever make it to be among the top 20% richest households in the U.S., i.e., households which earn more than \$130,000[†] per year?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.
- [If above 45 yo and with children:]* Thinking of your children, how likely do you think you they are to ever make it to be among the top 20% richest households in the U.S., i.e., households which earn more than \$130,000* per year?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.
46. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** In your opinion, what is the minimum annual household income needed for a family like yours (with the same number of people) living in your area to be considered as having 'made it' financially? Please provide a specific amount that signifies financial success and stability according to your perspective.
47. In our society some people are poor, others are rich. The same holds for white and Black people. In your opinion, which has more to do with whether a person is poor?
Lack of effort, broadly defined on his or her part; Bad luck namely adverse circumstances beyond his or her control.
48. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** In your opinion, which has more to do with whether a Black person is poor?
Lack of effort, broadly defined on his or her part; Bad luck namely adverse circumstances beyond his or her control.
49. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** *[If Black:]* How important is being Black to your identity?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all.
- [Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** *[If White:]* How important is being white to your identity?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all.

[†]\$127,000 in Wave 1

50. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** *[In Wave 1 asked only if Black, in Wave 2 asked to everyone:]* How important is it that Black people work together to change laws that are unfair to Black people?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all.
- [Asked only in Wave 1]** *[If White:]* How important is it that white people work together to change laws that are unfair to white people?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all.
51. How often do you think that most Black people experience discrimination or have been hassled or made to feel inferior because of their race:
- 51.1 At school:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.2 In getting a job:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.3 At work:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.4 In getting housing:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.5 In getting medical care:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.6 On the street or in a public setting:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.7 By the police:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 51.8 In the courts and the judicial system.
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
52. *[In Wave 1 NOT asked to white men; in Wave 2 and 3 asked to everyone:]* How often have you experienced discrimination or been hassled or made to feel inferior:
- 52.1 At school:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.2 In getting a job:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.3 At work:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.4 In getting housing:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.5 In getting medical care:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.6 On the street or in a public setting:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.7 By the police:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 52.8 In the courts and the judicial system.
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
53. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** Do you feel that you can trust the police to help you and protect you?
Not at all; A little; Very much.
54. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Are you afraid of the police?
Not at all; A little; Very much.
55. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Have you been stopped or searched by the police in the last 12 months?
Yes; No.

56. Do you believe racism in the US is:
Not a problem at all; A small problem; A problem; A serious problem; A very serious problem.
57. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** How do you think that the problem of racism will be in 20 years?
Much worse; Worse; About the same; Better; Much better.
58. *[In Wave 1 asked only if white; in Wave 2 and 3 asked to everyone:]* How much discrimination is there in the United States today against white people? *A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all.*
59. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** We now want to ask you about how much you trust others. Generally speaking, would you say that most Black people can be trusted or that most of them cannot be trusted?
Most Black people can be trusted; Most Black people cannot be trusted.
60. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** What about white people? Would you say that most white people can be trusted or or that most of them cannot be trusted?
Most white people can be trusted; Most white people cannot be trusted.
61. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** *[If Black:]* How often do you socialize with white friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
- [Asked only in Wave 1]** *[If White:]* How often do you socialize with Black friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
62. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Before the pandemic made it difficult to socialize with other people, how often did you socialize with white friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
63. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** Before the pandemic made it difficult to socialize with other people, how often did you socialize with Black friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
64. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** In which kind of neighborhood do you prefer to live?
Only white people; Majority of white people; Slightly majority of white people; Roughly same share of white and Black people; Slightly majority of Black people; Majority of Black people; Only Black people.
65. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** To what extent would you be in favor of a close relative marrying a Black person?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
66. **[Asked only in Wave 2]** To what extent would you be in favor of a close relative marrying a white person?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
67. Please, tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
- 67.1 It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black people would only try harder, they could be just as well off as white people.
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
Source: Kinder and Sanders (1996).
- 67.2 Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Black people to work their way out of the lower class.
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
Source: Kinder and Sanders (1996).
- 67.3 **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Irish, Italian, and Jewish ethnicities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
Source: Kinder and Sanders (1996).
- 67.4 **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
Source: Kinder and Sanders (1996).

68. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** In the next question, we would like you to answer as carefully as possible based on what you think other people who took part in this survey answered to certain questions. (Note: This survey is taken by individuals all across the United States and those taking it are representative of the full U.S. population in terms of age, gender, race, income, and state of residence.) After you have completed the task, we will look at the choice made for all other people who took this survey. If your response is the same as the average response given by all other people taking the survey, then you will earn \$100.

In this survey, you and all other respondents were asked to tell us whether you agreed or disagreed with the following statement: *“Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Black people to work their way out of the lower class”*.

The answer options were: *Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree*.

Out of 100 other people who answered this survey, how many do you think answered agree or strongly agree?

69. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** [List Experiment] Please read the following list of statements carefully. After reading all the statements, please indicate how many of them you agree with, but do not specify which ones.
1. Investing in renewable energy sources is essential for the future of our planet.
 2. Universal healthcare should be a priority for the government.
 3. **[Randomize]** If Black people would only try harder, they could be just as well off as white people.
 4. I am cautious about trusting others, but I believe most people have good intentions.
 5. A strong national defense is essential to protect our country from external threats.

How many of these statements do you agree with? (Enter a number between 0 and [4;5]):

70. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 3 (Randomized in Wave 3)]** [Inattention Question:] We are interested in whether you are paying attention to the survey. To show that you are reading the instructions, just go ahead and select both strongly agree and strongly disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is.

Please, tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days.

Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Policy Questions

1. Some people say that, because of past discrimination, Black people should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of Blacks is wrong because it gives Black people advantages they haven't earned. Are you in favor or against preferential hiring of Black people?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
Source: American National Election Studies - 2016 Time Series Study (<https://electionstudies.org/data-center/2016-time-series-study/>)
2. Some people say that, because of past discrimination, Black people should be given preference in admission to colleges. Others say that this is wrong because it gives Black people advantages that they haven't earned. Are you in favor or against preferential admission procedures for Black students?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
Source: American National Election Studies - 1992 Time Series Study (<https://electionstudies.org/data-center/1992-time-series-study/>)
3. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified Black person gets one instead?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.
Source: American National Election Studies - 1986 Time Series Study (<https://electionstudies.org/data-center/1986-time-series-study/>)
4. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get admitted to a college or university program while an equally or less qualified Black person gets admitted instead?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.
Source: American National Election Studies - 1986 Time Series Study (<https://electionstudies.org/data-center/1986-time-series-study/>)

5. Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views?
Our country has made the changes needed to give Black people equal rights with white people; Our country needs to continue making changes to give Black people equal rights with white people.
Source: Pew Research Center - 2016 - "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"
(<https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2016/06/27/3-discrimination-and-racial-inequality/>)
6. As a way to make up for the harm caused by slavery and other forms of racial discrimination, do you think the United States should or should not pay reparations? That is, should or should not the U.S. pay money to African Americans who are descendants of slaves?
The United States should pay reparations; The United States should not pay reparations.
Source: Exclusive Point Taken - Marist Poll - 2016 - Table BM160427 (http://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/misc/usapolls/us160502/Point%20Taken/Reparations/Exclusive%20Point%20Taken-Marist%20Poll_Reparations%20Banner%201_May%202016.pdf#page=4)
7. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** To what extent do you support or oppose police reform and community policing as a means to address racial bias and excessive use of force?
Strongly oppose; Oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Support; Strongly support.
8. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** To what extent do you support or oppose strengthening and enforcing fair housing laws to prevent discrimination in housing markets, and promoting policies that increase access to affordable housing for minority communities? *Strongly oppose; Oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Support; Strongly support.*
9. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** To what extent do you support or oppose the government funding job training and career development resources specifically for underrepresented racial and ethnic groups? *Strongly oppose; Oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Support; Strongly support.*
10. Let's think about the role of the government when it comes to three social issues. For each of the following issues, rate them on a scale of 1 to 7, 1 meaning that the government should not concern itself with this issue, and 7 meaning that the government should do everything in its power to resolve this issue.
- 10.1 Unequal opportunities for children from poor and rich families.
On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means the government should not concern itself with making the opportunities for children from poor and rich families less unequal, and 7 means that the government should do everything in its power to reduce this inequality of opportunities) which score comes closest to the way you feel?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
- 10.2 **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** Unequal opportunities for Black and white children.
On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means the government should not concern itself with making the opportunities for white and Black children less unequal, and 7 means that the government should do everything in its power to reduce this inequality of opportunities) which score comes closest to the way you feel?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
- 10.3 Large income differences between rich and poor people.
On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means that the government should not concern itself with reducing income differences between rich and poor people, and 7 means that the government should do everything in its power to reduce income differences between rich and poor people) which score comes closest to the way you feel?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
11. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** How often do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?
Never; Only some of the time; Most of the time; Always.
12. Do you think that upper-income people are paying their fair share in federal taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?
Too much; Fair share; Too little.
13. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Do you think that middle-income people are paying their fair share in federal taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?
Too much; Fair share; Too little.
14. **[Asked only in Wave 1 and 2]** Do you think that low-income people are paying their fair share in federal taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?
Too much; Fair share; Too little.

15. Here are several things that the local, state, or federal government might spend more funds on. Please indicate if you favor or oppose them. Keep in mind that, in order to finance an expansion of any of these programs, other types of spending would have to be scaled down or taxes would have to be raised.
- 15.1 Increasing income support programs for the poor?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.2 Spending more money on schools in poor neighborhoods?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.3 Providing decent housing for those who cannot afford it?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.4 Improving the conditions of the poorest neighborhoods?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.5 Helping low income households pay for their health insurance and health care?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.6 Spending more on defense and national security?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
- 15.7 Spending more on infrastructure?
Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose.
16. **[Asked only in Wave 3 (Randomized)]** [Inattention Question:] We are interested in whether you are paying attention to the survey. To show that you are reading the instructions, just go ahead and select both strongly agree and strongly disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is.
- Please, tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days.
Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Real-Stakes Questions

1. By taking this survey, you are automatically enrolled in a lottery to win \$1000. In a few days you will know whether you won the \$1000. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your regular survey pay, so no further action is required on your part.
- In the event that you won, would you be willing to donate part or all of your \$1000 gain for a good cause? Below you will find 3 organizations which help people in the U.S. deal with the hurdles of everyday life. You can enter how many dollars out of your \$1000 gain you would like to donate to each of them.
- If you are one of the lottery winners, you will be paid, in addition to your regular survey pay, \$1000 minus the amount you donated. We will directly pay your desired donation amount to the organization or organizations of your choosing.
- Enter how much of your \$1000 gain you'd like to donate to each charity:
[Wave 1 Answers] *Feeding America; The Salvation Army.*
[Wave 2 and 3 Answers] *Feeding America; The Salvation Army; Black Lives Matter.*
2. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Now we would like to ask you about a petition that we will send to the federal government. When the survey is complete, we will send the results to Congress, informing them what share of people who took this survey were willing to support the following petition: *"We call of the Federal and state governments to take immediate and decisive policy action to address the persistent economic disparities between white and Black Americans. These disparities, deeply rooted in historical and systematic barriers, continue to undermine the fundamental principles of equality and justice in our nation."* Do you support this petition? (You will not be asked to provide your name and your answer will remain anonymous.)
Yes; No.
3. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** We will also inform Congress about what share of people who took this survey were willing to support this other petition: *"The wealthiest people in our country keep getting richer while working families struggle to make ends meet. Congress must raise the tax rate for high-income families to increase funding for programs that help low-income families. We need a more just tax system to build an economy that works for all of us."* Do you support this petition? (You will not be asked to provide your name and your answer will remain anonymous.)
Yes; No.

4. **[Asked only in Wave 1]** As we already mentioned, by taking this survey you are automatically enrolled in a lottery to win \$1000.

Are you are interested in learning the correct answers to all the questions about the U.S. economy and society that you answered? If you are, you can forfeit part of your gain (should you win the lottery) in exchange for the correct answers. If you select that option, you will be given the right answers on the next page. You will only pay the amount selected if you do, in fact, win the lottery.

Note: This information would be very hard to find online on your own. It is the result of a lot of careful research and you cannot easily find the correct answers.

- 4.1 In case you win the lottery are you willing to give up \$[1;2;5;10, randomized] to receive all the correct answers to the questions about U.S. economy and society?

No, I am not willing to pay anything (We will not provide you with the correct answers); Yes, I am willing to pay \$[1;2;5;10, randomized] (We will provide you with all the correct answers on the next page. You will only pay this amount out of your lottery earnings if you do win the lottery).

- 4.2 *[After seeing numbers]* Are you surprised by these numbers?

Yes; No.

- 4.3 *[If Yes to Q4.2:]* What did you find particularly surprising?

Racial Sympathy Questions

[Shown only in Wave 3] We are interested in your reactions to some things that happen in every day life. We will first describe the situation to you and then ask you a few question.

1. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Mrs. Lewis, a white woman with young children, posts advertisements for a nanny on community bulletin boards. She receives many inquiries and decides to interview all applicants over the phone. Mrs. Lewis is most impressed with a woman named Laurette, who has relevant experience, is an excellent cook, and comes enthusiastically recommended. Mrs. Lewis invites Laurette over for what she expects will be the final step of the hiring process. When Laurette arrives, Mrs. Lewis is surprised to see that Laurette is Black. After Laurette's visit, which goes very well, Mrs. Lewis thanks her for her time but says that she will not be offered the job. When Laurette asks why, Mrs. Lewis says that she doesn't think that her children would feel comfortable around her. Laurette is upset about Mrs. Lewis' actions. How much sympathy do you feel for Laurette?

A great deal of sympathy; A lot of sympathy; Some sympathy; A little sympathy; I do not feel any sympathy for her.

Source: Chudy (2021, 2023).

2. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Tim is a white man who owns a hair salon. His business is growing rapidly and so he decides to place an advertisement to hire new stylists. In the advertisement, he writes that interested applicants should come for an interview first thing next Monday. When he arrives at the salon on Monday, he sees a line of seven or eight people waiting outside the door, all of whom appear to be Black. He approaches the line and tells the applicants that he's sorry, but the positions have been filled. The applicants are upset; they feel they have been turned away because of their race. How much sympathy do you feel for the applicants?

A great deal of sympathy; A lot of sympathy; Some sympathy; A little sympathy; I do not feel any sympathy for them.

Source: Chudy (2021, 2023).

3. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Milford is a mid-sized city in the Northeast. The main bus depot for the city is located in the Whittier section of Milford, a primarily Black neighborhood. Whittier community leaders argue that the concentration of buses produces serious health risks for residents; they point to the high asthma rates in Whittier as evidence of the bus depot's harmful effects. The Milford Department of Transportation officials, who are mostly white, state that Whittier is the best location for the depot because it is centrally located and many Whittier residents take the bus. Furthermore, it would be expensive to relocate the bus depot to a new location. Whittier community leaders are very upset by the Department's inaction. How much sympathy do you feel for the residents of Whittier?

A great deal of sympathy; A lot of sympathy; Some sympathy; A little sympathy; I do not feel any sympathy for them.

Source: Chudy (2021, 2023).

4. **[Asked only in Wave 3]** Michael is a young Black man who lives in a midwestern city. One day Michael is crossing the street and jaywalks in front of cars. Some local police officers see Michael jaywalk and stop and question him. Michael argues that he was just jaywalking and is otherwise a law-abiding citizen. The police officers feel that Michael is being uncooperative and so they give him a pat down to see if he is carrying any concealed weapons. Michael is very upset by this treatment. Please indicate which statement best describes you. How much sympathy

do you feel for Michael?

A great deal of sympathy; A lot of sympathy; Some sympathy; A little sympathy; I do not feel any sympathy for him.

Source: Chudy (2021, 2023).

Concluding Questions

1. Do you feel that the survey was biased?
Yes, left-wing bias; Yes, right-wing bias; No, it did not feel bias.
2. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.
Text entry box

A-7 Youth Questionnaire

Intro

1. We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from Harvard University. No matter what your political views are, by completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

Please start by telling us your age:

[If adult:] Parent consent

1. For this study we will be asking for the collaboration of your child. We are interested in hearing his/her opinion on some aspects of our society. This survey will take him/her an average of about 15 minutes to complete.

Before that, we would like to ask you some questions on your background. It will take around 1 minute for you to answer. After these questions you will reach a page where we will ask you to let your child continue from there.

Please confirm that you understand and you consent for your child to participate.

Note: Yours and your child participation in this study are purely voluntary. Your name or the name of your child will never be recorded. Results may include summary data, but you and your child will never be personally identified. If you or your child have any question about this study, you may contact us at economicandsocialsciences@gmail.com

Yes, I agree and consent to my child to participate; No, I would prefer for him/her not to participate.

[If adult:] Parent questions

1. Do you have any children under the age of 18 in your household?
I do not have any children; I have a child/children under the age of 18; I have a child/children aged 18 or above.
2. *[If have children under 18:]* Of the children you have in your household under the age of 18, can you please tell us their age(s)? Please select all that apply:
Under 5 years old; 6-9 years old; 10-12 years old; 13-17 years old.
3. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year (2019)?
\$0-\$9,999; \$10,000-\$14,999; \$15,000-\$19,999; \$20,000-\$29,999; \$30,000-\$39,999; \$40,000-\$49,999; \$50,000-\$69,999; \$70,000-\$89,999; \$90,000-\$109,999; \$110,000-\$149,999; \$150,000-\$199,999; \$200,000+.
4. Which ZIP code do you live in?
5. Which category best describes your highest level of education?
Eighth Grade or less; Some High School; High School degree / GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Master's Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD, MBA).
6. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat or an independent?
Republican; Democrat; Independent.

[If adult:] Passing to child

1. *[If have child aged 13-17:]* Thank you for participating in our survey so far!

Now we would like your 13-17 year old child to complete the rest of the survey. From now on, the questions will be for your child to answer. It is very important for the success of our research that your child answers the questions on his/her own and that he/she does not ask for your help. Thank you for understanding and for your collaboration!

Please confirm that your child is now available to continue the survey.

If your child is not with you right now, please wait for him/her before moving forward. You can also reopen the link of the survey when your child is available.

I confirm that my child is available and he/she will be the one completing the rest of the survey

[If teenager:] Consent

1. Hello! We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from Harvard University. By completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

It is very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering. Anytime you don't know an answer, please give your best guess. However, be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the question.

It is also very important for the success of our research project that you complete the entire survey, once you have started. This survey takes an average of about 15 minutes to complete.

Thank you!

Note: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded. Results may include summary data, but you will never be personally identified. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at economicandsocialsciences@gmail.com

Yes, I would like to take part in this study, and confirm that I am 13-17 years old; No, I would not like to participate

Screening Questions

1. Were you born in the United States?
Yes; No.
2. What is your gender?
Male; Female.
3. What is your age?
4. How would you describe your ethnicity/race?
European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Mixed race; Other (please specify).
5. How much would you say your parents earn in total per year? (If you live with both of your parents, that would be the income of both of your parents combined. If you only live with one parent, that would be the income of that parent)
Less than \$20,000; \$20,000 - \$40,000; \$40,000 - \$70,000; \$70,000 - \$110,000; More than \$110,000; I don't know.
6. Would you say that your family is:
Very poor; Poor; Middle class; Rich; Very rich.
7. Which State do you live in?
8. In which city?
9. In which ZIP code?

Background Questions

1. Were both of your parents born in the United States?
Yes; No.
2. Did your mother graduate from college?
Yes; No; I don't know.
3. Did your father graduate from college?
Yes; No; I don't know.
4. What is your mother's job?
5. What is your father's job?
6. Are you currently a student? *Yes; No.*
7. *[If Yes to Q6:]* In September, will you be in:
Junior High or Middle School; High School; Trade or Vocational School; College or University.

8. *[If Yes to Q6:]* Is your school private or public?
Private; Public; Charter; I don't know.
9. *[If Yes to Q6:]* Before schools were closed because of the virus, how often did you miss school when you were not sick?
I never miss school; I rarely miss school; I frequently miss school.
10. *[If Yes to Q6:]* Do you feel safe at school?
I feel always safe; Sometimes I don't feel safe; I don't feel safe.
11. How often do you discuss politics with people?
Never; Rarely; Sometimes; Often.
12. Do you know what the Republican and Democratic Parties are?
Yes; No.
13. *[If Yes to Q12:]* In politics, do you think that your parents consider themselves Republicans, Democrats or Independents?
Republicans; Democrats; Independents; I don't know.
14. *[If Yes to Q12:]* In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat or an independent?
Republicans; Democrats; Independents; I don't know.
15. When you turn 18, do you expect you will vote regularly?
Yes; No; I'm not sure.
16. How often do you attend church, mosque, synagogue or another place of worship?
Every week; Almost every week; About once a month; Seldom; Never.
17. Who do you normally live with at home? [Can choose multiple options:]
My father; My mother; My step-mom; My step-dad; My dad's girlfriend; My mom's boyfriend; Friends; Brother(s); Sister(s); Step-brother(s); Step-sister(s); Grandparent(s); Foster parents; Others [please specify].
18. Has one of your parents (mother or father or step-mother or step-father) ever been in jail for some time?
Yes; No.
19. *[If Yes to Q18:]* Which parent was in jail for some time? [Can choose multiple options:]
My mother; My father; My step-mum; My step-dad.
20. How much time do you spend every day on social media platforms such as Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter or YouTube?
None at all; Some, but less than 30 minutes; Between 30 minutes and one hour; Between 1 and 2 hours; Between 2 and 4 hours; More than 4 hours.
21. Where do you get information about current events in the US and around the world? Please select up to two options [Can choose up to two:]
TV; Newspapers (online or paper version); Radio; Social Networks; Word of mouth; Other; None, I don't follow this kind of news.
22. *[If TV:]* Please specify which TV channel is your main source of news:
ABC; CBS; CNN; FOX; MSNBC; NBC; Other.
23. *[If News websites:]* Please specify which news website or online newspaper is your main source of news:
CNN; Fox News; Google News; Huffington Post; Mail Online; NBC News; The New York Times; The Washington Post; Yahoo! News; Other.
24. *[If Internet:]* Please specify which website or social network is your main source of news:
Facebook; Twitter; Instagram; Snapchat; YouTube; Pinterest; Tik Tok; Other.

Randomized Treatment

1. Systemic Racism Treatment
2. Control Group

Perceptions and Attitudes Questions

1. In general, how would you compare the quality of schools that Black children and white children go to? Would you say that Black children go to:
Much lower quality schools than white children; Lower quality schools than white children; Schools of a similar quality to white children; Higher quality schools than white children; Much higher quality schools than white children.

2. Imagine a white and a Black person who both graduated from the same college, with the same major and the same GPA and who apply for the same jobs. Who do you think is going to get more job offers?
The white person is going to get many more job offers; The white person is going to get a few more job offers; The white and Black person are going to get the same number of job offers; The Black person is going to get a few more job offers; The Black person is going to get many more job offers.

The next set of questions is about the different experiences of white and Black Americans in the United States. These are questions for which there are right or wrong answers. In order for your answers to be most helpful to us, it is really important that you answer these questions as accurately as you can. Although you may find some questions difficult, it is very important for our research that you try your best. Thank you very much!

3. We would now like to ask you what you think about the life opportunities of children from very poor families. Think about all the families that live in the U.S. As you may know, some families are rich and others are poor. Keeping this in mind, try to group all of the families in the United States into one of the following 5 groups: the very poor families, the poor families, the middle income families, the rich families and the very rich families. Consider a Black child born in one of the very poor families. Do you think the chances that this white child will grow up to be among the rich or very rich families are:
Close to zero; Low; Fairly low; Fairly high; High; Almost certain.

4. Now what do you think are the chances that this Black child, born in one of the very poor families, will still be among the very poor families once he/she grows up?
Almost certain; High; Fairly high; Fairly low; Low; Close to zero.

5. Consider now about a white child born in one of the very poor families. Do you think the chances that this white child will grow up to be among the rich or very rich families are:
Close to zero; Low; Fairly low; Fairly high; High; Almost certain.

6. Finally, what do you think are the chances that this white child, born in one of the very poor families, will still be among the very poor families once he/she grows up?
Almost certain; High; Fairly high; Fairly low; Low; Close to zero.

7. Let's try to think about how Black and white people lived in 1970, especially think about how much money they made. In 1970 white people were earning more than Black people but, as you may know, what people earn can change over time. Some groups of people can become richer while others poorer, or both can become richer but at different speeds. We would like to ask you to think about the difference that there is between what white and Black people earn today and try to compare it to the difference that there was 50 years ago. What do you think happened to this difference over the years?
Today white people earn more than Black people and the difference is greater than it was in 1970; Today white people earn more than Black people but the difference is the same as it was in 1970; Today white people earn more than Black people but the difference is less than it was in 1970; Today there is no longer a difference between what white and Black people earn; Today Black people earn more than white people.

8. Now we would like you to think about how much different kinds of people earn and then ask you to compare between these earnings. Let's start by thinking about white and Black people in the US today. Who do you think earns more?
A typical white person earns a lot more than a typical Black person; A typical white person earns a bit more than a typical Black person; A typical white and a typical Black person earn more or less the same; A typical Black person earns a bit more than a typical white person; A typical Black person earns a lot more than a typical white person.

9. In your neighborhood, how many children of your age do you think will be rich when adults?
Almost none; Some but not many; A good portion; Most of them; All of them.

10. Would you say that in general in your neighborhood:
People are very poor; Most people are very poor, but a few are very rich; People are mostly average and almost no one is either very poor or very rich; People are quite rich.

11. Out of every 100 Black people above the age of 25 in the U.S., how many do you think have a college degree? *By college degree we mean bachelor's degree, master's degree, professional degree and doctoral degree.*
Slider 0-100.
12. Out of every 100 white people above the age of 25 in the U.S., how many do you think have a college degree?
Slider 0-100.
13. Out of 100 adult Black women, how many would you say are currently not working? *By adult we mean someone aged between 25 and 64.*
Slider 0-100.
14. Out of 100 adult Black men, how many would you say are currently not working?
Slider 0-100.
15. Out of 100 adult white women, how many would you say are currently not working?
Slider 0-100.
16. Out of 100 adult white men, how many would you say are currently not working?
Slider 0-100.
17. Let's consider the people that are in prison in the US. Do you think that, in the prisons in the US, there are more white or Black people?
There are many more Black people than white people in prison; There are a few more Black people than white people in prison; There are a similar number of Black and white people in prison; There are a few more white people than Black people in prison; There are many more white people than Black people in prison.
18. Out of every 100 people living in the US, how many are Black? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider 0-100.
19. Out of every 100 people living in your city, how many are Black? Please, move the slider to give your best guess.
Slider 0-100.
20. How would you rate the quality of the following in your neighborhood:
 - 20.1 Public service, such as street cleaning or garbage removals:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
 - 20.2 Facilities, such as parks, sports facilities:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
 - 20.3 Safety:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
 - 20.4 Public schools:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
 - 20.5 Public transportation:
Very poor; Poor; Average; Good; Very good.
21. Do you believe that working hard at school and putting a lot of effort in what you do will help you to be successful in life or not?
It will help a lot; It will help somewhat; It will not help at all.
22. *[If still at school:]* How much do you feel like you are learning at school?
A lot; Something but not that much; A little; Nothing.

[If no longer at school:] How much do you feel like you learned at school?
A lot; Something but not that much; A little; Nothing.
23. Do you think you will graduate from college when older?
Yes; No; I don't know.
24. What is your dream job?
25. What kind of job do you expect to have when you will be around 30 years old?
26. How likely do you think it is for you to be rich when you grow up?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.

27. How likely do you think it is for you to be richer than your parents when you grow up?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all.
28. In our society some people are poor, others are rich. The same holds for white and Black people. In your view, which has more to do with whether a person is poor?
Lack of effort, laziness; Bad luck.
29. In your view, which has more to do with whether a Black person is poor?
Lack of effort, laziness; Bad luck.
30. *[If Black:]* How important is being Black to your identity?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all; I'm not sure.
[If White:] How important is being white to your identity?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all; I'm not sure.
31. In your view, how important is it that Black people work together to change laws that are unfair to Black people?
Extremely important; Very important; Moderately important; A little important; Not important at all; I'm not sure.
32. How often do you think that most Black people experience discrimination or have been hassled or made to feel inferior because of their race:
- 32.1 At school:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 32.2 In getting a job:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 32.3 At work:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 32.4 On the street or in a public setting:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 32.5 By the police:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
33. How often have you experienced discrimination or been hassled or made to feel inferior: At school; On the street or in a public setting; By the police; By other people of your age; Online
- 33.1 At school:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 33.2 On the street or in a public setting:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 33.3 By the police:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 33.4 By other people of your age:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
- 33.5 Online:
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never.
34. Are you afraid of the police?
Not at all; A little; Very much.
35. Have you been stopped or searched by the police in the last 12 months?
Yes; No.
36. Do you believe racism in the US is:
Not a problem at all; A small problem; A problem; A serious problem; A very serious problem; I don't know.
37. How do you think that the problem of racism will be in 20 years?
Much worse; Worse; About the same; Better; Much better; I don't know.
38. In your view, how much discrimination is there in the United States today against white people?
A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all; I don't know.

39. We now want to ask you about how much you trust others. Generally speaking, would you say that most Black people can be trusted or that most of them cannot be trusted?
Most Black people can be trusted; Most Black people cannot be trusted.
40. And what about white people? Would you say that most white people can be trusted or that most of them cannot be trusted?
Most white people can be trusted; Most white people cannot be trusted.
41. Before the virus crisis made it difficult to socialize with other people, how often did you hang out with white friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
42. Before the virus crisis made it difficult to socialize with other people, how often did you hang out with Black friends?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.
43. What kind of neighborhood do you prefer to live in?
Only white people; Majority of white people; Slightly majority of white people; Roughly same share of white and Black people; Slightly majority of Black people; Majority of Black people; Only Black people.
44. To what extent would you be in favor of a close relative marrying a Black person?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
45. To what extent would you be in favor of a close relative marrying a white person?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against.
46. In our society some Black people are poor, others are rich. The same holds for white people. But on average Black people are poorer than white people.
What do you think has more to do with why Black people are on average poorer than white people in the United States?
Because they don't put as much effort into their jobs as white people do; Because they have been discriminated against for a long time; I don't know.

Policy Questions

- Some people say that, because of past discrimination, Black students should be given preference in admission to colleges. Others say that this is wrong because it gives Black students advantages that they haven't earned. Are you in favor or against preferential admission procedures for Black students?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against; I don't know.
- What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get admitted to a college or university program while an equally or less qualified Black person gets admitted instead?
Very likely; Likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely; Not likely at all; I don't know.
- With which of these two statements do you agree more?
Our country has made the changes needed to give Black people equal rights with white people; Our country needs to continue making changes to give Black people equal rights with white people; I don't know.
- Some people say that, to make up for the harm caused by slavery and other forms of racial discrimination, the United States should pay money to Black people who are descendants of slaves. Do you agree or disagree with this?
I agree that the United States should pay money to Black people who are descendants of slaves; I disagree that the United States should pay money to Black people who are descendants of slaves; I don't know.
- Let's think about the role of the government when it comes to three social issues.
 - The first issue is the unequal opportunities for children from poor and rich families. As you may know, generally children from rich families have more opportunities in life compared to children from poor families, such as going to a better school, being able to go to college, and so on. Some people think that the government should do something to allow children from poor families to have the same opportunities in life as those of children from rich families. Others think that this is not a responsibility of the government. What do you think the government should do?
The government should do a lot to reduce this inequality of opportunities; The government should do a bit to reduce this inequality of opportunities; The government should not do much to reduce this inequality of

opportunities; The government should not concern itself with reducing this inequality of opportunities; I don't know.

5.2 The second issue is the unequal opportunities for Black and white children.

As you may know, generally white children have more opportunities in life compared to Black children, such as going to a better school, being able to go to college, and so on. Some people think that the government should do something to make sure that Black children have the same opportunities in life as white children. Others think that this is not a responsibility of the government.

What do you think the government should do?

The government should do a lot to reduce this inequality of opportunities; The government should do a bit to reduce this inequality of opportunities; The government should not do much to reduce this inequality of opportunities; The government should not concern itself with reducing this inequality of opportunities; I don't know.

5.3 The third issue is the large income differences between rich and poor people.

As you may know, in today's society rich people earn a lot more than poor people. Some people think that the government should do something to reduce the income differences between rich and poor people. Others think that this is not a responsibility of the government.

What do you think the government should do?

The government should do a lot to reduce income differences between rich and poor people; The government should do a bit to reduce income differences between rich and poor people; The government should not do much to reduce income differences between rich and poor people; The government should not concern itself with reducing income differences between rich and poor people; I don't know.

6. Do you think that rich people are paying their fair share in taxes, paying too much or paying too little?

Too much; Fair share; Too little; I don't know.

7. The money collected by taxing rich people is later used by the government in various ways. One of these ways is to spend it to help poor people.

Do you think that the government should spend more to help the poor, spend less, or spend the same as it is doing now?

Spend more money; Spend the same amount of money; Spend less money; I don't know.

8. How often do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?

Never; Only some of the time; Most of the time; Always; I don't know.

Concluding Questions

1. Do you feel that the survey was biased?

Yes, left-wing bias; Yes, right-wing bias; No, it did not feel bias.

2. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.

A-8 Survey and Treatment Links

Survey Links

The web interface of the survey can be experienced at the following links. The treatment randomization has been deactivated to allow every survey taker to watch the treatment. Screen outs and quotas have been deactivated as well to allow an easier survey experience.

- Adult Survey - Wave 1: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_e8yFk0vGpm3RQEe
- Adult Survey - Wave 2: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_eM9NKpqqQhwiJJI
- Adult Survey - Wave 3: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_55qQQIUfiCalq7k
- Adult Survey - Follow-Up: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_5bZMxTBOT4THM00
- Youth Survey: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_bDASU6hKEMTN6tg

Treatment Links

The treatment showed in the survey can also be directly reached through the following links.

- Systemic racism treatment:
https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/File.php?F=F_6JTUiNgBFVNChC4
- Intergenerational mobility treatment:
https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/File.php?F=F_SqnPpN6r0ea4rqY
- Historical earnings gap treatment:
https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/File.php?F=F_CgtKLZSFjXMmxQy