

Appendix H. Survey questionnaire

By default, the questions were asked in all survey waves. Brackets indicate variations in the questions between survey waves, where [WX] means that a given question or answer choice was used in the survey wave X and [WX-WY] means it was used in survey waves X to Y.

Consent

1. **We are a group of non-partisan academic researchers.** Our goal is to understand how the external environment of an individual and their ancestors influences their views on policies. By completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. The survey also gives you an opportunity to express your own views. If you do not feel comfortable with any question, you can skip it.

Please note that it is very important for the success of our research that you **answer honestly** and **read the questions very carefully** before answering. Please be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding each question. To ensure the quality of survey data, your responses will be subject to sophisticated statistical control methods, which can detect incoherent or rushed answers. **Responding without adequate effort or skipping many questions may result in your responses being flagged for low quality and you may not receive your payment.** It is also very important for the success of our research project that you **complete the entire survey** once you have started. This survey should take (on average) about 25 minutes to complete.

Notes: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded by researchers. Results may include summary data, but you will never be identified. The data will be stored on Harvard servers and will be kept confidential. The collected anonymous data may be made available to other researchers for replication purposes. Please print or take a screenshot of this page for your records. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at socialsciencestudies@gmail.com. For any question about your rights as a research participant you may contact cuhs@harvard.edu.

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

Basic Demographics

2. What is your gender?
Male; Female; Other gender identity
3. What is your year of birth?
[text box]
4. What was your **TOTAL household income, before taxes**, last year (2021)?
 - \$0 - \$14,999
 - \$15,000 - \$24,999
 - \$25,000 - \$39,999
 - \$40,000 - \$54,999
 - \$55,000 - \$74,999
 - \$75,000 - \$99,999
 - \$100,000 - \$149,999
 - \$150,000+
5. In which U.S. state do you currently live?
[dropdown menu]
6. Which one of these best describes your ethnicity/race?
European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; American Indian or Alaska Native; Other [text box]
7. [W5-W7] Would you describe the area in which you live as:
Urban; Suburban; Rural

Own demographics: location questions

8. Were you born in the United States?
Yes; No

9. (If "No" to Q8) In what country were you born? Note: to use this dropdown menu, simply type the first letters and the country will appear automatically.
[dropdown menu]
10. (If "Yes" to Q8) In which US state were you born? Note: to use this dropdown menu, simply type the first letters and the state will appear automatically.
N.B. For all questions where a respondent is asked where they or a family member "primarily" lived, the question is followed by the statement: "*If you lived in multiple locations, please choose the location where you lived for the longest period of time.*"
11. Between the age of 0 and 9, did you primarily live in the United States?
Yes; No
12. (If "No" to Q11) In what country did you primarily live between the age of 0 and 9?
[dropdown menu]
13. (If "Yes" to Q11) In which state did you primarily live between the age of 0 and 9?
[dropdown menu]
14. (If "Yes" to Q11) In which town did you primarily live between the age of 0 and 9?
[text box]
15. Between the age of 10 and 19, did you primarily live in the United States?
Yes; No
16. (If "No" to Q15) In what country did you primarily live between the age of 10 and 19?
[dropdown menu]
17. (If "Yes" to Q15) In which state did you primarily live between the age of 10 and 19?
[dropdown menu]
18. (If "Yes" to Q15) In which town did you primarily live between the age of 10 and 19?
[text box]
19. (If ≤ 1999 to Q3) Did you primarily live in the United States in your 20s?
Yes; No
20. (If "No" to Q19) In what country did you primarily live in your 20s?
[dropdown menu]
21. (If "Yes" to Q19) In which state did you primarily live in your 20s?
[dropdown menu]
22. (If "Yes" to Q19) In which town did you primarily live in your 20s?
[text box]
23. [W1-W4] (If ≤ 1989 to Q3) Did you primarily live in the United States in your 30s?
Yes; No
24. [W1-W4] (If "No" to Q23) In what country did you primarily live in your 30s?
[dropdown menu]
25. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q23) In which state did you primarily live in your 30s?
[dropdown menu]
26. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q23) In which town did you primarily live in your 30s?
[text box]
27. [W1-W4] (If ≤ 1979 to Q3) Did you primarily live in the United States in your 40s and after?
Yes; No
28. [W1-W4] (If "No" to Q27) In what country did you primarily live in your 40s and after?
[dropdown menu]
29. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q27) In which state did you primarily live in your 40s and after?
[dropdown menu]
30. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q27) In which town did you primarily live in your 40s and after?
[text box]

Own demographics, cont.

31. [W5-W7] How many children did your parents have?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 or more

32. Are/were your parents divorced?
Yes; No
33. (If "Yes" to Q32) How old were you when your parents divorced?
[text box]
34. (If "Yes" to Q32) With whom were you primarily living after your parents divorced?
Mother; Father; Other
35. Please indicate your marital status.
Never Married; Married; Legally Separated or Divorced; Widowed
36. How many children do you have?
0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 or more
37. What is your ancestry or ethnic origin? For example: Italian, Jamaican, African Am., Cambodian, Cape Verdean, Norwegian, Dominican, French Canadian, Haitian, Korean, Lebanese, Polish, Nigerian, Mexican, Taiwanese, Ukrainian, and so on. You should indicate all that apply.
[text box]
38. Which category best describes your highest level of education?
No high school; Some high school; High school degree/GED; Some college; 2-year college degree; 4-year college degree; Master's degree, MBA; PhD, JD, MD
39. What is your current employment status?
Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed or small business owner; Unemployed and looking for work; Unemployed and not looking for work (including student)
40. (If "Unemployed and not looking for work (including student) to Q39") What is your current status?
Student; Retired; Full-time parent; Stay-at-home wife/husband; Disabled
41. [W6-W7] What is/was your occupation?
[text box]
42. [W6-W7] Which category best describes your occupation?
- *Farmer or agricultural laborer, rancher, fisher*
 - *Manual laborer (e.g. factory worker, miner)*
 - *Tradesperson (e.g. mechanic, welder, painter, railroad worker, plumber, tailor)*
 - *Service worker (e.g. driver, waiter, cook, retail worker, cashier, barber, janitor, housekeeper)*
 - *Clerical worker (e.g. secretary, bookkeeper, receptionist, telephone operator)*
 - *White-collar worker (e.g. manager, executive, businessperson, salesperson, accountant, banker)*
 - *Professional (e.g. doctor, lawyer, engineer, IT/computer programmer)*
 - *Medical or social worker (e.g. nurse, EMT, pharmacist)*
 - *Protective service worker (e.g. police, fire)*
 - *Educational service worker (e.g. teacher, professor)*
 - *Public servant (e.g. bureaucrat, politician, military)*
 - *Homemaker/stay-at-home parent*
 - *Self-employed/small business owner (excluding farm owners)*
 - *Other (please specify) [text box]*
 - *Don't know*
43. [W5-W7] What is your present religion, if any?
- *Protestant (for example, Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, etc.)*
 - *Roman Catholic*
 - *Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)*
 - *Orthodox (such as Greek, Russian, or some other Orthodox church)*
 - *Jewish*
 - *Muslim*
 - *Buddhist*
 - *Hindu*
 - *Atheist (believes God does not exist)*
 - *Agnostic (does not know whether God exists or not)*
 - *Other [text box]*
44. [W5-W7] How important is religion in your life?
Very important; Somewhat important; Not too important; Not at all important

Political views

45. In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent?
Strong Democrat; Moderate Democrat; Independent; Moderate Republican; Strong Republican; Other [text box]
46. Who did you vote for in the 2016 election?
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Other [text box]; I did not vote
47. (If "I did not vote" to Q46) Who would you have voted for in the 2016 election if you had voted?
Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Other [text box]
48. [W4-W7] Who did you vote for in the 2020 election?
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Other [text box] I did not vote
49. [W5-W7] (If "I did not vote" to Q48) Who would you have voted for in the 2020 election if you had voted?
Joe Biden; Donald Trump; Other [text box]
50. On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?
Very liberal, Liberal, Moderate, Conservative, Very conservative

Parents' demographics

N.B. The brackets indicate that we asked the demographic questions in this section for the respondent's father and mother.

*Now we'd like you to think of your [father/mother]. We are going to ask you questions about [him/her]. Please answer as best as you can. If you have **absolutely** no idea about the answer, you can leave it blank. Otherwise, please answer as accurately as you are able to.*

51. [W4-W7] Is your [father/mother] currently alive?
Yes; No; Don't know
52. [W4-W7] (If "Yes" to Q51) What is the age of your [father/mother]?
[text box]
53. [W4-W7] (If "Yes" to Q51 and no response to Q52) What is the year of birth of your [father/mother]?
[text box]
54. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q51) In what year did [he/she] die?
[text box]
55. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q51) How old was he when [he/she] died?
[text box]
56. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q51 and no response to Q54 or Q55) What is the year of birth of your [father/mother]?
[text box]

N.B. For all following questions that ask about where a person spent their time, the respondent is presented the instruction to select the location where the person spent most of their time.

57. [W1-W4] Was your [father/mother] born in the United States?
[Yes; No; Don't know]
58. [W1-W4] (If "No" to Q57) In what country was your [father/mother] born?
[dropdown]
59. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q57) In which state was your [father/mother] born?
[dropdown]
60. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q57) In which town was your [father/mother] born?
[text box]
61. Did your [father/mother] primarily grow up (age 7-17) in the United States?
Yes; No; Don't know
62. (If "No" to Q61) In what country did you [father/mother] primarily grow up?
[dropdown menu]
63. (If "Yes" to Q61) In which state did your [father/mother] primarily grow up?
[dropdown menu]
64. (If "Yes" to Q61) In which town did your [father/mother] primarily grow up?
[text box]
65. Which category best describes your [father's/mother's] highest level of education?
No high school; Some high school; High school degree/GED; Some college; 2-year college degree; 4-year college degree; Master's degree, MBA; PhD, JD, MD; Don't know

66. What was/is the occupation of your [father/mother] as an adult?
[text box]
67. [W5-W7] Which category best describes your [father's/mother's] occupation?
- Farmer or agricultural laborer, rancher, fisher
 - Manual laborer (e.g. factory worker, miner)
 - Tradesperson (e.g. mechanic, welder, painter, railroad worker, plumber, tailor)
 - Service worker (e.g. driver, waiter, cook, retail worker, cashier, barber, janitor, housekeeper)
 - Clerical worker (e.g. secretary, bookkeeper, receptionist, telephone operator)
 - White-collar worker (e.g. manager, executive, businessperson, salesperson, accountant, banker)
 - Professional (e.g. doctor, lawyer, engineer, IT/computer programmer)
 - Medical or social worker (e.g. nurse, EMT, pharmacist)
 - Protective service worker (e.g. police, fire)
 - Educational service worker (e.g. teacher, professor)
 - Public servant (e.g. bureaucrat, politician, military)
 - Homemaker/stay-at-home parent
 - Self-employed/small business owner (excluding farm owners)
 - Other (please specify) [text box]
 - Don't know
68. **Before proceeding to the next set of questions, we want to ask for your feedback about the responses you provided so far.** It is vital to our study that we only include responses from people who devoted their full attention to this study. This will not affect in any way the payment you will receive for taking this survey. In your honest opinion, should we use your responses, or should we discard your responses since you did not devote your full attention to the questions so far?
- Yes, I have devoted full attention to the questions so far and I think you should use my responses for your study.
 - No, I have not devoted full attention to the questions so far and I think you should not use my responses for your study.

Grandparents' demographics

N.B. For the demographic questions below, the brackets indicate that we asked these questions for the paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, and maternal grandmother, and that each of these was defined. For example, "maternal grandmother" was defined as the "mother of your mother."

Now we'd like you to think of your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]. We are going to ask you questions about [him/her]. Please answer as best as you can. If you have **absolutely** no idea about the answer, you can leave it blank. Otherwise, please answer as accurately as you are able to.

69. [W4-W7] Is your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother] ([father/mother] of your [father/mother]) currently alive?
Yes; No; Don't know
70. [W4-W7] (If "Yes" to Q69) What is the age of your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother] ([father/mother] of your [father/mother])?
[text box]
71. [W4-W7] (If "Yes" to Q69 and no response to Q70) What is the year of birth of your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother] ([father/mother] of your [father/mother])?
[text box]
72. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q69) In what year did [she/he] die?
[text box]
73. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q69) How old was he when [she/he] died?
[text box]
74. [W4-W7] (If "No" to Q69 and no response to Q72 or Q73) What is the year of birth of your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother] ([father/mother] of your [father/mother])?
[text box]
75. Did your [paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother] ([father/mother] of your [father/mother]) primarily grow up (age 7-17) in the United States?
Yes; No; Don't know

76. (If "No" to Q75) In what country did your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]** ([father/mother] of your [father/mother]) primarily grow up?
[dropdown menu]
77. (If "Yes" to Q75) In which state did your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]** ([father/mother] of your [father/mother]) primarily grow up?
[dropdown menu]
78. (If "Yes" to Q75) In which town did your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]** ([father/mother] of your [father/mother]) primarily grow up?
[text box]
79. Which category best describes the highest level of education of your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]** ([father/mother] of your [father/mother])?
No schooling; Some primary school; Completed primary school; Some high school; High school degree/GED; Some college or more; I don't know
80. What was the occupation of your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother]** ([parent of your parent]) as an adult?
[text box]
81. [W5-W7] Which category best describes your **[paternal/maternal] [grandfather/grandmother's]** occupation?
- *Farmer or agricultural laborer, rancher, fisher*
 - *Manual laborer (e.g. factory worker, miner)*
 - *Tradesperson (e.g. mechanic, welder, painter, railroad worker, plumber, tailor)*
 - *Service worker (e.g. driver, waiter, cook, retail worker, cashier, barber, janitor, housekeeper)*
 - *Clerical worker (e.g. secretary, bookkeeper, receptionist, telephone operator)*
 - *White-collar worker (e.g. manager, executive, businessperson, salesperson, accountant, banker)*
 - *Professional (e.g. doctor, lawyer, engineer, IT/computer programmer)*
 - *Medical or social worker (e.g. nurse, EMT, pharmacist)*
 - *Protective service worker (e.g. police, fire)*
 - *Educational service worker (e.g. teacher, professor)*
 - *Public servant (e.g. bureaucrat, politician, military)*
 - *Homemaker/stay-at-home parent*
 - *Self-employed/small business owner (excluding farm owners)*
 - *Other (please specify) [text box]*
 - *Don't know*
82. How many children did your [paternal/maternal] grandparents (your [father's/mother's] parents) have?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 or more; Don't know

Family's veteran status

83. Have you, or have any of your parents, grandparents or children ever served in the U.S. Armed Forces as either an active duty or reserve member (including the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Army Air Corps, National Guard, and Coast Guard)? Check all that apply.
Myself; My spouse; My father; My mother; My paternal grandfather (father of my father); My paternal grandmother (mother of my father); My maternal grandfather (father of my mother); My maternal grandmother (mother of my mother); My son/daughter; None; Don't know
84. [W1-W4] (If "None" or "I don't know" is not selected for Q83) Do you, or does anyone in your family have veteran status? If yes, check all that apply.
Myself; My father; My mother; My paternal grandfather (father's father); My paternal grandmother (father's mother); My maternal grandfather (mother's father); My maternal grandmother (mother's mother); My son/daughter; None; I don't know
85. [W1-W4] (If "None" or "I don't know" is not selected for Q83) Did any of your grandparents serve on active duty in World War II? If yes, check all that apply.
My paternal grandfather (father's father); My paternal grandmother (father's mother); My maternal grandfather (mother's father); My maternal grandmother (mother's mother); None; I don't know
86. [W1-W4] (If "None" or "I don't know" is not selected for Q83) Did any of your grandparents serve on active duty in the Korean War? If yes, check all that apply.
My paternal grandfather (father's father); My paternal grandmother (father's mother); My maternal grandfather (mother's father); My maternal grandmother (mother's mother); None; I don't know

87. [W1-W4] (If "None" or "I don't know" is not selected for Q83) Did any of your grandparents serve on active duty in the Vietnam War? If yes, check all that apply
My paternal grandfather (father's father); My paternal grandmother (father's mother); My maternal grandfather (mother's father); My maternal grandmother (mother's mother); None; I don't know
88. [W1-W4] (If "None" or "I don't know" is not selected for Q83) Did anyone in your family serve on active duty in the Iraq and/or Afghanistan War? If yes, check all that apply
My father; My mother; My paternal grandfather (father's father); My paternal grandmother (father's mother); My maternal grandfather (mother's father); My maternal grandmother (mother's mother); My son/daughter; None; I don't know

Veteran details

N.B. We ask the questions below about veteran status and service history for the respondent and every family member except for son/daughter (i.e., the spouse, father, mother, paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, and the maternal grandmother) for whom the respondent indicated that they served in the military. In the brackets, "person" indicates that the question was asked for the respondent and a given family member. The pronoun "they" in brackets means that the appropriate pronoun was used for the person in question (i.e., it stands in for "you," "she," or "he").

89. (If "None" or "Don't know" is not selected to Q83) What is/was [person's] affiliation? Check all that apply.
Army; Army Reserve; Navy; Navy Reserve; Marine Corps; Marine Corps Reserve; Air Force; Air Force Reserve; Coast Guard; Coast Guard Reserve; National Guard
90. For how many years did [person] serve/have [they] served on active duty? If none, please enter "0", if less than 1 year, enter "1."
[text box]
91. (If "National Guard" or a "Reserve" to Q89) For how many years did was/has [person] been in the Reserve or National Guard?
[text box]
92. (If > 0 to Q90) In which year did [person's] active duty status begin?
[text box]
93. Did [person] serve in any of the following conflicts?
World War I [for parents and grandparents only]; World War II; Korean War; Vietnam War; Persian Gulf War (Kuwait, Iraq, Operations Desert Storm/Desert Shield); Global War on Terrorism (Afghanistan/Iraq Wars); Other [text box]
94. (If "World War II," "Korean War," or "Vietnam War" to Q93) Was [person] drafted or did [they] volunteer?
Drafted, Volunteered, Don't know [for other family members only]

Enslavement history

95. Thinking about your recent ancestors (say the last 6 or 7 generations), were any of them enslaved at any point in their life?
Yes; No; Don't know
96. [W1-W4] (If "Yes" to Q95) Which of your ancestors were enslaved at some point in their life?
[textbox]
97. [W5-W7] When thinking about historical episodes of enslavement, the following examples often come to mind. Which, if any, apply to your own ancestors? Check all that apply.
Enslavement of African descendants; Holocaust; Indentured servants; Internment of Japanese-Americans; Native American enslavement; War prisoner; Other [text box]; None; Don't know

Relative income

N.B. The brackets for Q98 indicate that we ask the about the relative income for the respondent, their mother, father, paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, and maternal grandmother.

98. **When [person] was growing up** (age 7-17), compared with other families in [person's] country back then, would you say [person's] household income was:
Far above average; A little above average; Average; A little below average; Far below average; I don't know
99. **Right now**, compared with other families in America, would you say your own household income is:
Far above average; A little above average; Average; A little below average; Far below average; I don't know

Perceptions of fairness and mobility

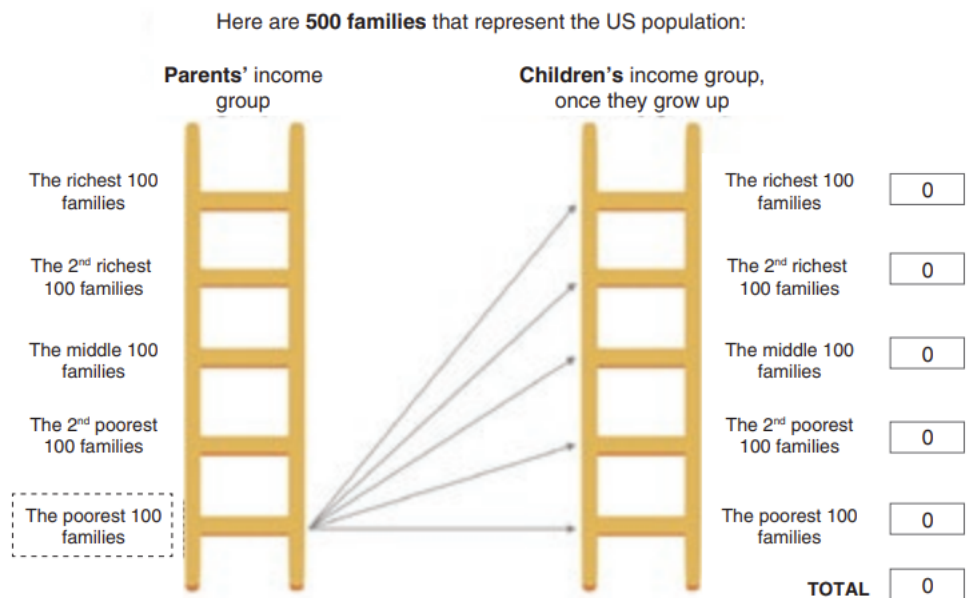
100. Please tell us whether you agree with the following statement: "Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
101. Please tell us whether you agree with the following statement: "In the United States everybody has a chance to make it and be economically successful."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
102. Which has more to do with why a person is poor?
Lack of effort on their own part; Circumstances beyond their control
103. [W1-W4] Which has more to do with why a person is rich?
the person worked harder than others; The person had more advantages than others
104. **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. 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.

Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of 100 children coming from the **poorest** 100 families will grow up to be in each income group.

From our experience, this question takes some time to answer.

Please note that your entries need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on to the next page.

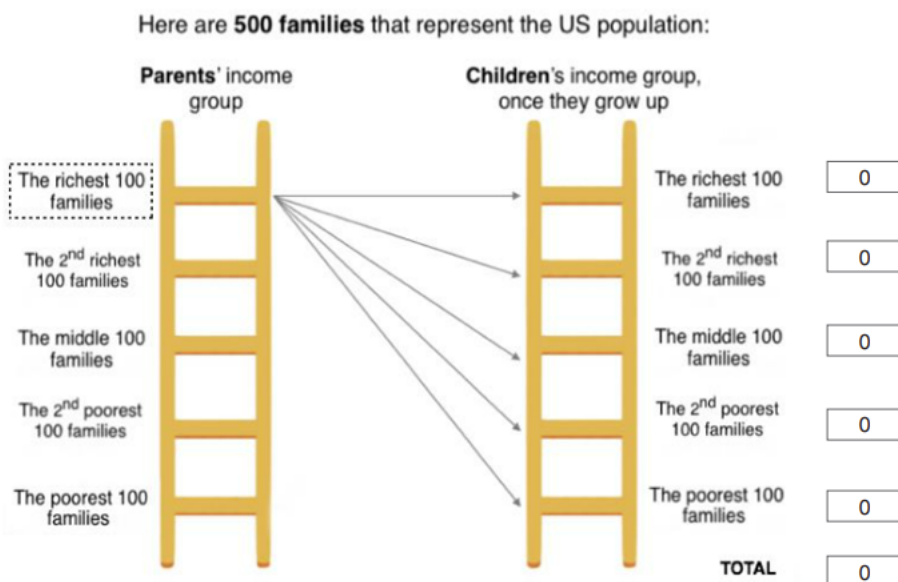


105. [W1-W4] Do you think that a child from the **poorest** 100 families will grow up to be among the **richest 100 families** are:
Close to zero; Low; Fairly low; Fairly high; High
106. [W1-W4] Do you think that a child from the **poorest** 100 families will grow up to be among the **second richest 100 families** are:
Close to zero; Low; Fairly low; Fairly high; High
107. [W1-W4] **We are still interested in your opinion about the life opportunities for children from different backgrounds, but now we focus on children from very rich families.**

From our experience, this question takes some time to answer.

Consider 100 children coming from the richest 100 families.

Please fill out the entries to the right of the figure below to tell us, in your opinion, how many out of these 100 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.



108. Please tell us whether you agree with the following statement: "People should be allowed to accumulate as much wealth as they can even if some make millions while others live in poverty."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
109. Thinking about your past achievements, 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
110. [W1-W4] Thinking about your future achievements, do you believe that your hard work 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]
111. [W1-W4] (If ≥ 1975 to Q3) Thinking of yourself, how likely is it that you will ever be among the top 20% richest household 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
112. [W1-W4] (If < 1975 to Q3 and < 0 to Q36) Thinking of your children, how likely is it that they will ever be among the top 20% richest household 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

Views about redistribution

113. Let's think about the role of the government when it comes to **large income differences** between rich and poor people. Think of a scale where:
- 1 means that the government **should not concern itself** with reducing income differences between rich and poor people
 - 7 means that the government **should do everything in its power** to reduce income differences between rich and poor people

What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?

1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7

114. Some people think that the government should not concern itself with making the **opportunities for children** from poor and rich families more equal. Others think that the government should do everything in its power to make the opportunities for children from poor and rich families more equal.

Think of a scale where:

- 1 means that the government **should not concern** itself with making the opportunities for children from poor and rich families more equal
- 7 means that the government **should do everything in its power** to reduce this inequality of opportunities

What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?

1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7

115. Please tell us if 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
116. Please tell us if 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
117. 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.**

	Strongly favor	Favor	Indifferent	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Increasing income support for the poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] Improving the conditions of the poorest neighborhoods	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] Helping low income households pay for their health insurance and health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spending more on defense and national security	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spending more on infrastructure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Petition

118. [W7] 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:
 “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

Views

Now we'd like you to tell us your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

119. [W5-W7]
- *Left:* It **is** important to follow the traditions and customs that are passed down by one's community or family over time.
 - *Right:* It **is not** important to follow the traditions and customs that are passed down by one's community or family over time.
- 1 (agree with left); 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 (agree with right)*
120. [W5-W7]
- *Left:* People can only get rich at the expense of others
 - *Right:* Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone.
- 1 (agree with left); 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 (agree with right)*
121. [W5] In the last decade, the salaries of CEOs have grown much faster than the salaries of average workers.

- *Left:* These gains in CEO salaries **have been** at the expense of the salaries of average workers.
- *Right:* These gains in CEO salaries **have not been** at the expense of the salaries of average workers.

1 (agree with left); 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 (agree with right)

122. [W5] Since the 1960s, the average wages of women have risen relative to the wages of men.

- *Left:* Women's wage gains **have been** at the expense of men's wages.
- *Right:* Women's wage gains **have not been** at the expense of men's wages.

1 (agree with left); 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 (agree with right)

Views about government

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

Never; Some of the time; Most of the time; Always

124. [W5-W7] Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

Most people can be trusted; Need to be very careful; Don't know

125. *We are interested in whether you are paying attention to the survey. To show that you are reading the full set of 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 with the following statement:

"It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days".

Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree

Views about race

126. *Please tell us whether you agree with the following statement: "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

127. 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

128. *Please tell us whether you agree or disagree 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."*

Strongly agree, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree

129. [W1-W4] Please, tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Today's immigrants should do the same without any special favors"

Strongly agree, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree

130. [W1-W4] How often do you think that Black people experience discrimination or are hassled or made to feel inferior because of their race?

[Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never]

131. [W1-W4] During interactions with the police, how often do you think that Black people experience discrimination or are hassled or made to feel inferior because of their race?

Often; Sometimes; Never

Donation

132. [W7] **By taking this survey, you are automatically entered into a lottery to win a \$1,000 bonus, which is 1,000,000 points.** A few days after the survey is complete, you will know whether you have been selected in the lottery. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your compensation for this survey, so no further action is required on your part.

You can donate a part of this bonus payment (should you be selected in the lottery) to **three nonprofit organizations** working to advance racial equality and civil rights for people of color: Black Lives Matter, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), and Color of Change. These organizations are dedicated to fighting against racial injustice.

Should you win the lottery, please enter the amounts you would like to donate **to each group**. The total amount you donate can be any number between 0 and \$1,000 and the rest of the bonus would be paid to you. **The amounts you choose to donate do not affect your chance of winning the lottery.**

- [text box] *Black Lives Matter*
- [text box] *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)*
- [text box] *Color of Change*

Views about migration

133. What do you think will happen as a result of more immigrants coming to this country? Is each of these possible results very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not too likely	Not at all likely
Higher economic growth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Higher unemployment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making it harder to keep the country united	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Higher crime rates	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making the country more open to new ideas and cultures	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People born in the US losing their jobs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

134. Some people think that the government (at the local, state, or federal level) should only support people who were born in the U.S. Others think that the government should care equally about all the people living in the country, regardless of their country of origin and regardless of whether they are born in the U.S. Think of a scale where:

- 1 means that the government should focus on supporting people **born in the U.S.**
- 7 means that the government should care **equally about everyone.**

What score between 1 and 7 comes closest to the way you feel?
 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7

135. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?
Increased a lot; Increase a little; Same sa now; Decreased a little; Decreased a lot

Views about gender

136. Some people say that because of past discrimination, women should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of women is wrong because it discriminates against men. What about your opinion – are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of women?
Strongly in favor; In favor; Neither in favor nor against; Against; Strongly against

137. How often do you think that women experience discrimination or are hassled or made to feel inferior because of their gender?
Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never

Views about gun ownership

138. In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of firearms should be made more strict, less strict, or kept as they are?
More strict; Less strict; Kept as they are

Views about universal health care

139. Do you favor/oppose publicly supported universal health insurance for all Americans (with the possibility to still purchase extra private insurance)?
Favor a great deal; Favor moderately; Favor a little; Oppose a little; Oppose moderately; Oppose a great deal

Views about patriotism

140. Some people say the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you consider each of the following?

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not important at all
To have been born in America	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] To have American citizenship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] To have lived in America for most of one's life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] To be able to speak English	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To be a Christian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

141. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
[W1-W4] I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There are some things about America today that make me feel ashamed of America	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[W1-W4] People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

142. [W1-W3] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Somewhat important	Not too important
Freedom is having a government that doesn't control me or interfere in my life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Freedom is having the right to participate in politics and elections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Freedom is having the power to choose what I want in life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Freedom is being able to express unpopular ideas without fearing for my safety	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Zero-sum mentality

Please tell us whether you agree with the following statements:

143. "In the United States, there are many different ethnic groups (Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, etc.). If one ethnic group becomes richer, this generally comes at the expense of other groups in the country."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
144. "In international trade, if one country makes more money, then it is generally the case that the other country makes less money."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
145. "In the United States, there are those with American citizenship and those without. If those without American citizenship do better economically, this will generally come at the expense of American citizens."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree
146. "In the United States, there are many different income classes. If one group becomes wealthier, it is usually the case that this comes at the expense of other groups."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

Happiness

147. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?
10 (Completely satisfied); 9; 8; 7; 6; 7; 5; 4; 3; 2; 1 (Completely dissatisfied)

Mental health

148. [W1-W4] Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by the following problems?

	Not at all	Several days	More than half the days	Nearly every day
Not been able to stop or control worrying	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Experienced feeling down, depressed or hopeless	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Universalism

For the following questions, imagine that you are given \$100 to split between two people. You must give away the full amount and you cannot keep any for yourself. Please note that the two values need to add up to 100 or you will not be able to move on.

149. [W5-W7] How would you split \$100 between a member of one of your past or current organizations (local church, club, association, etc.) and a randomly-selected person who lives in the United States?
- [text box] A member of one of your organizations;
 - [text box] A randomly-selected U.S. person
150. [W5-W7] How would you split \$100 between a randomly-selected person who lives anywhere in the world and a randomly-selected person who lives in the United States?
- [text box] A randomly-selected person from anywhere in the world;
 - [text box] A randomly-selected U.S. person

Open-ended questions

151. [W1-W4] In your view, what are America's strengths?
[text box]
152. [W1-W4] In your view, what are America's weaknesses?
[text box]

QAnon and Capitol riots

153. [W3] How many of the following things do you believe in:
- UFOs
 - Vaccinations make more harm than benefit
 - The principles of QAnon [A random selection of respondents was shown this option]
 - Life after death
 - Spirits
 - Karma
 - Global warming due to humans
- o; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; [7]
154. [W3, W6] Do you think that QAnon contains some truths about US politics?
Yes, it definitely does; Yes, probably does; Uncertain one way or the other; No, probably does not; No, definitely does not; I don't know what QAnon is
155. [W3, W6] On a scale of 1 to 10, how sympathetic do you feel towards those who were charged for entering the U.S. Capitol building on January 6, 2021?
1 (Not sympathetic at all); 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10 (Very sympathetic); Don't know

Abortion

156. [W5-W7] Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?
Legal under any circumstances; Legal only under certain circumstances; Illegal in all circumstances

Two-statement zero-sum questions

157. [W5-W7] *The following question shows two statements that represent opposing points of view. Please choose the option that indicates which statement you agree with most and how strongly you agree.*
Now we'd like you to think about the different ethnic groups (Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, etc.) in the United States.

- **Statement 1:** If one ethnic group becomes richer, this generally **does not come at the expense of** other ethnic groups in the country
- **Statement 2:** If one ethnic group becomes richer, this generally **comes at the expense of** other ethnic groups in the country

Strongly agree with 1; Agree with 1; Agree with 2; Strongly agree with 2

158. [W5-W7] *The following question shows two statements that represent opposing points of view. Please choose the option that indicates which statement you agree with most and how strongly you agree.*
Now we'd like you to think about international trade.

- **Statement 1:** If one country makes more money, this generally **does not come at the expense of** other countries
- **Statement 2:** If one country makes more money, this generally **comes at the expense of** other countries

Strongly agree with 1; Agree with 1; Agree with 2; Strongly agree with 2

159. [W5-W7] *The following question shows two statements that represent opposing points of view. Please choose the option that indicates which statement you agree with most and how strongly you agree.*
Now we'd like you to think about those with American citizenship and those without.

- **Statement 1:** If people without American citizenship do better economically, this generally **does not come at the expense of** American citizens
- **Statement 2:** If people without American citizenship do better economically, this generally **comes at the expense of** American citizens

Strongly agree with 1; Agree with 1; Agree with 2; Strongly agree with 2

160. [W4-W7] *The following question shows two statements that represent opposing points of view. Please choose the option that indicates which statement you agree with most and how strongly you agree.*

- **Statement 1:** Most of the wealth of the rich was created **without taking it** from others
- **Statement 2:** Most of the wealth of the rich was obtained **by taking it** from others

Strongly agree with 1; Agree with 1; Agree with 2; Strongly agree with 2

Incentivized zero-sum question

161. [W7] **If your answer to this question is accurate, you will be entered in a second lottery to win a \$1,000 bonus, which is 1,000,000 points.** Only those who answer correctly will be part of this lottery. In a few days, you will know whether you have been selected in the lottery. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your compensation for this survey, so no further action is required on your part.

Over the last 50 years, the income of the richest 1% of individuals in the U.S. (the top 1%) has increased more than four times (400%). A recent academic study examined how much of the increase in income of the top 1% came at the expense of the income of the poorest 50% of individuals in the U.S. (the bottom 50%). We want to know your best guess about the finding of this study.

Please select the statement that best summarizes the finding of this study:

Some of the increase in the income of the top 1% over the last 50 years has come at the expense of the income of the poorest 50% in the U.S.; None of the increase in the income of the top 1% over the last 50 years has come at the expense of the income of the poorest 50% in the U.S.

Perceptions of others' zero-sum thinking

162. [W7] **In the next task, you will have the opportunity to earn a \$100 bonus, which is 100,000 points.** A few days after the survey is complete, you will know whether you have earned this bonus. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your compensation for this survey, so no further action is required on your part.

You will be shown a question which you have already seen in the survey. We will then display the possible choices. We would like you to evaluate each choice and determine **how likely it is that each response is chosen by those taking this survey**. (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.) We would like you to answer as carefully as possible based on what you think others will answer. After you have completed the task, we will look at the choices made by all other people who took this survey. If your response matches the answers given by all other people taking the survey, then you will earn the 100,000 point bonus. We now turn to the question.

Please tell us whether you agree with the following statement:

"In the United States, there are many different income classes. If one group becomes wealthier, it is usually the case that this comes at the expense of other groups."

Out of 100 respondents who took the survey, how many do you think selected each of these choices? Your answers must add up to 100.

- [text box] *Strongly agree*
- [text box] *Agree*
- [text box] *Neither agree nor disagree*
- [text box] *Disagree*
- [text box] *Strongly disagree*

Feedback

163. [W6-W7] Please feel free to give us any feedback regarding this survey.
[text box]