

Web Appendix of

How Elastic are Preferences for Redistribution? Evidence from Randomized Survey Experiments

By Ilyana Kuziemko, Michael I. Norton, Emmanuel Saez, and
Stefanie Stantcheva

A Detailed Description of the Experiment

A.1 Omnibus Treatment Description

This Section describes in detail the omnibus experiment. The omnibus treatment experiment was carried out in 4 separate rounds from January 2011 to August 2012. The structure of the experiment was as follows:

- (1) Background socio-economic questions including age, gender, race, marital status, children, state of residence, education, household income, work status, whether the respondent considers himself conservative or liberal on economic policy, voting choice in 2008 presidential election.
- (2) Randomized treatment showing information on inequality, the estate tax, and tax policy shown solely to the treatment group. Those treatments are illustrated through screenshots in appendix Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4.
- (3) Set of questions on inequality, taxes and transfers, policy views and 2012 voting plans. Those questions are listed in detail after the screenshots.

Surveys were openly posted on mTurk and their description stated that they would pay \$1.50 for approximately 15 minutes of survey time, i.e., a \$6 hourly wage. People were free to drop out any time or take up to one hour to answer all questions.

Round 3 was conducted with CT Marketing Group instead of mTurk at a cost of \$5 per respondent. The survey software remained exactly the same.

The link to this survey is: https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_77fSvTy12ZSBihh

List of all Outcome Questions

Note: Sentences in *italic* were not seen by the respondents. Bold fonts are just labels for each section. Sentences in normal font are exactly as they appeared in the survey. Text in bracket represents the answer choices given to respondents. Text in curly brackets are explanatory notes for the readers of this paper (not presented to respondents).

Tax rate questions:

1. *Choose the tax rate on the top 1%, next 9%, next 40% and bottom 50% (see screenshot).* [Slider with continuous percentage choices 0%-100% for each of the four income groups]
2. Do you think top income tax rates were higher in the 1950s and 1960s than they are today? [Yes, higher in the 1950s and 1960s/No, lower in the 1950s and 1960s]

3. As you may know, there have been proposals recently to decrease the federal deficit by raising income taxes on millionaires. Do you think income taxes on millionaires should be increased, stay the same or decreased? [Increased/Stay the same/Decreased]

4. The Federal Estate tax (also known as the Death Tax) is a tax imposed on the transfer of wealth from a deceased person to his or her heirs. Do you think the Federal Estate tax should be decreased, left as is or increased? [Decreased/Left as is/Increased]

First stage questions on knowledge and perceptions of inequality:

5. Do you think annual economic growth was faster in the period 1980-2010 than in the period 1933-1980? [Faster in 1980-2011/The same in both periods/Faster in 1933-1980]

6. Do you think inequality is a serious problem in America? [Not a problem at all/A small problem/A problem/A serious problem/A very serious problem]

7. Do you think income inequality in the US has increased or decreased in recent decades? [Decreased/Stayed the same/Increased]

8. Are you satisfied with your current income? [Very satisfied/Somewhat satisfied/Not too satisfied/Not at all satisfied]

9. Do you think that the very high earners in our society deserve their high incomes? [Most of the time/Sometimes/Rarely]

10. Which statement do you agree with most? [A: “One’s income and position in society is mostly the result of one’s individual effort” / B: “One’s income and position in society is to a large extent the outcome of elements outside of one’s control (for example, including but not limited to family background, luck, health issues, etc..)” ?]

Political Outcomes:

11. Which party do you plan to support in the 2012 presidential elections? [Democratic/Republican/Other/None] {note: the surveys were carried out before the 2012 elections}

12. How much of the time do you think you can trust government in Washington to do what is right? [Just about always/Most of the time/ Only some of the time/ Never]

13. Next, think more broadly about the purpose of government. Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic government functions, and 5 means you think the government should take active steps in every area it can to try and improve the lives of its citizens? [1/2/3/4/5]

14. What do you think the most important goal of the federal income tax should be? [Raise money for infrastructure projects such as roads and bridges/ Raise money for universal social services such as Social Security and Medicare/ Raise money from the wealthiest citizens to support programs that aid low-income citizens, such as Medicaid and Food Stamps)]

Poverty Reduction Policies Outcomes:

15. The minimum wage is currently \$7.25 per hour. Do you think it should be decreased, stay the same or increased? [Decreased/Stay the same/Increased]

16. Do you support or oppose the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) program? [Support/Indifferent/Oppose]

17. Do you support or oppose the Food Stamps program? [Support/Indifferent/Oppose]

18. In the next month, do you plan to donate any money to an organization that supports those in need? [Yes/No]

19. In the past month, have you donated any money to an organization that supports those in need? [Yes/No]

20. In the next month, do you plan to donate some of your time to an organization that supports those in need? [Yes/No]

21. In the past month, have you donated some of your time to an organization that supports those in need? [Yes/No]

Real Outcome: Petition for Estate Tax

22. Writing to the Senators of your state gives you an opportunity to influence taxation policy. Few citizens email their elected officials, therefore Senators and their staff take such emails from their constituents very seriously. If you would like to write to your Senator, go to the official US Senate list and click on your Senator's contact webpage. Two sample letters are provided below, one asking for higher estate taxes on the rich, one asking not to increase estate taxes on the rich. Feel free to cut-and-paste and edit the text before sending it to your Senator. Most Senators' websites ask for your name and address to avoid spam. We are not able to record what you write on the external (Senator's) website, so your letter and private information are kept fully confidential.

For the purpose of our survey, we would just like to know from you: I sent or will send an email to my Senator asking for higher estate taxes on the rich/ I sent or will send an email to my Senator asking to not increase estate taxes on the rich/ I do not want to email my Senator

Sample letter for higher estate taxes on the rich: Dear Senator, In the coming months as you debate the federal budget, one of the priorities for Congress should be raising estate taxes on the wealthiest Americans so that they pay their fair share to fund government programs and help solve our federal budget deficit problem.

Sample letter for not increasing estate taxes on the rich: Dear Senator, In the coming months as you debate the federal budget, one of the priorities for Congress should be keeping estate taxes on the wealthiest Americans low. The government should not punish people who are financially successful or well-off.

[I sent or will send an email to my Senator asking for higher estate taxes on the rich/I sent or will send an email to my Senator asking to not increase estate taxes on the rich/I do not want to email my Senator]

A.2 Estate Tax Experiment Description

The follow up estate tax experiment was conducted in March 2014 on a sample of 1800 respondents. Respondents were randomized into one of two treatment groups, or into the control group. The first treatment group saw the same screen as in the omnibus treatment (only the part regarding the estate tax), as in appendix Figure 4. The second group saw a plain explanation for the estate tax, as in appendix Figure 6.

The link to this experiment is: https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_0v0ecp2MDPBpInb

List of all Outcome Questions

Note: Sentences in italic were not seen by the respondents. Bold fonts are just labels for each section. Sentences in normal font are exactly as they appeared in the survey.

1. *Choose the tax rate on the top 1%, next 9%, next 40% and bottom 50% (see screenshot).* [Slider with continuous percentage choices 0%-100% for each of the four income groups]

2. Do you think income inequality in the United States has increased or decreased since 1980? [Decreased/Stayed the same/Increased]

3. Do you think inequality is a serious problem in America? [Not a problem at all/A small problem/A problem/A serious problem/A very serious problem]

4. The Federal Estate Tax is a tax imposed on the transfer of wealth from a deceased person to his or her heirs. What percentage of people who die have to pay the Federal Estate tax? If you don't know, just give your best guess. [Less than 1%/1%/10%/20%/40%/60%/100%]

5. Do you think poverty is a serious problem in America? [Not a problem at all/A small problem/A problem/A serious problem/A very serious problem]

6. Do you think that the very high earners in our society deserve their high incomes? [Most of the time/Sometimes/Rarely]

7. Do you think the federal estate tax should be decreased, left as is or increased? (Recall that the federal estate tax is a tax imposed on the transfer of wealth from a deceased person to his or her heirs.) [Decreased/Left as is/Increased]

8. As you may know, there have been proposals recently to decrease the federal deficit by raising income taxes on millionaires. Do you think income taxes on millionaires should be increased, stay the same or decreased?[Increased/Stay the same/Decreased]

9. Which of the tools below do you consider the best to address inequality in the United States? Please drag and drop the items to the box on the right and rank them in your preferred order. Your preferred method for addressing inequality should be at the top, your least preferred one at the bottom. [Education Policies, Private Charity, Progressive Taxes, Government Transfers (e.g., food stamps, Medicaid,..), Government regulation (e.g., min wage, caps on top compensation,...)]

10. Should the federal government increase or decrease spending on aid to the poor? [Significantly increase/Slightly increase/Keep at current level/Slightly decrease/Significantly decrease]

11. The federal minimum wage is currently \$7.25 per hour. Do you think it should be decreased, stay the same or increased? [Significantly increased/Slightly increased/Stay the same/Slightly decreased/Significantly decreased]

12. Should the federal government increase or decrease its spending on public housing for low income families? [Significantly increase /Slightly increase/Keep at current level/Slightly decrease/Significantly decrease]

13. Should the federal government increase or decrease its spending on food stamps? (Food stamps provide financial assistance for food purchasing to families and individuals with low or no income.) [Significantly increase/Slightly increase/Keep at current level/Slightly decrease/Significantly decrease]

14. *Petition for Estate Tax:* same as in A.1

15. Which party do you plan to support in the 2014 congressional elections? [Democratic/Republican/Other/None]

16. How much of the time do you think you can trust government in Washington to do what is right? [Just about always/Most of the time/Only some of the time/Hardly ever]

17. Next, think more broadly about the purpose of government. Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic government functions, and 5 means you think the government should take active steps in every area it can to try and improve the lives of its citizens? [1/2/3/4/5]

18. Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?" [Waste a lot of money we pay in taxes/Waste some of the money we pay in taxes/Don't waste much of the money we pay in taxes]

19. How do you feel about the following statement: "Currently, the federal government is very effective in limiting fraud, waste and abuse in the programs it administers"? [Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree]

20. How do you feel about the following statement: "Politicians in Washington work to enrich themselves and their largest campaign contributors, instead of working for the benefit of the majority of citizens"? [Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree]

A.3 Emotional Poverty Experiment

The emotional poverty treatment was conducted in March 2014 on a sample of 1200 respondents. Respondents were first as usual asked for their demographic information. Depending on their answers to the questions about their marital status and whether they have children living with them, they were redirected to a specific, customized branch. They were then randomized into treatment and control group. The treatment group saw information about poverty that was adapted to their family situation, without knowing that the information was actually customized. Each respondent estimated the basic expenses that a family of the configuration of his own family (living where the respondent lives) would have to incur for rent, utilities, transportation to work, food, and, depending on the family situation, expenses for children. Appendix Figure 9 shows the screenshot where respondents were asked to estimate the minimal budget of a family similar to theirs. Between this page and the next, the program computed the total expenses estimated. If those were above the actual poverty threshold for the family, the next page told respondents that given their estimates, the family would fall short by such and such amount. If the total was below the poverty threshold, the next page told respondents that given their estimates, the family would only be left with such and such amount for all other expenses.

The link to the survey is https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_1B8MczKSMIvWaqx

The outcome questions were the same as in section A.2, except that the question about how many people pay the estate tax was not asked. Instead the following three questions were added:

1. What percentage of Americans live in poverty? If you don't know, just give your best guess. (Poverty is officially defined as having monthly resources below \$970 for a single person, \$1310 for a two person family, \$1650 for a three person family, etc...) [Less than 5% / 9% / 16% / 24%].

2. What percentage of children under age 18 live in poverty in the US, approximately? If you don't know, just give your best guess. [10% / 20% / 30% / 40%].

3. How many workers in the US earn the minimum wage? If you don't know, just give your best guess. [2 million / 6 million / 10 million].

A.4 Policy Experiment

The policy experiment was conducted in March 2014 on a sample of 1300 respondents. Respondents were randomized into a control group or a treatment group. The treatment group was again redirected to a customized branch, depending on their answers to the questions about their marital status and whether they had children living with them. In the treatment screens, they were asked about and shown information about a family whose configuration was similar to theirs. First, respondents were asked to estimate the minimum expenses necessary for a family earning the minimum wage, for rent, utilities, transportation to work, food, and, if applicable, children expenses. That screen is shown in appendix Figure 10. Between this page and the next, the program computed the total expenses implied and informed the respondents either of the shortfall that the family living on a single minimum wage would have to face, or the surplus that would be left over, if they had to incur the expenses as estimated by the respondent. That second screen also showed information about the food stamps program, informing respondents that: “The Food Stamps program helps many low income families, such as those earning only one minimum wage. It provides \$150/month per person to help with food expenses.”

The link to the experiment is https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_1B8MczKSMIvWaqx.

The outcome questions were exactly the same as in section A.3.

A.5 Trust Experiment

The trust treatment was conducted in March 2014 on a sample of 1000 respondents. The treatment showed people information about how the United States is ranked in terms of corruption among a list of countries of similar income and development levels (the United States is ranked in the worst group of countries given income and development levels), as shown in appendix Figure 8.

The link to this survey is in: https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_bgEuJf11Y3UreKh

Respondents in the treatment group were asked questions designed to elicit negative reactions regarding the government. The full list of questions were:

1. What is your view of the “Wall Street bailout”, the legislation signed into law by President Bush in 2008 whereby the federal government lent \$700 billion to banks and other financial institutions that faced bankruptcy? [Strongly support this legislation/Support this legislation/Oppose this legislation/Strongly oppose this legislation]

2. Because of a recent Supreme Court decision, for the first time in decades there are now no limits on the amount of money that corporations and other special interests can give to political campaigns for President or Congress. Do you agree with the following statement: “Corporations and other special interests have far too much influence on politicians in Washington”? [Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree]

3. How do you feel about the following statement: “Currently, the federal government is very effective in limiting fraud, waste and abuse in the programs it administers”? [Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree]

4. How much confidence do you have in the federal government’s administering of economic and military aid to foreign countries (which totals over \$50 billion annually)? [A great deal of confidence/Some confidence/Little confidence/No confidence]

5. How do you feel about the following statement: “Politicians in Washington work to enrich themselves and their largest campaign contributors, instead of working for the benefit of the majority of citizens”? [Strongly agree/Agree/Disagree/Strongly disagree]

The outcome questions were the same as in section A.2, except that we did not ask any of the knowledge questions about poverty rates, child poverty rates, minimum wage earners, or how many people pay the estate tax.

A.6 List of all constructed variables

Below we provide a full definition of all variables used in the tables. In brackets, we provide the coding of the variable.

- “Ineq vs.” (or “Ineq. v. serious”) is a binary variable equal to 1 if the respondent replies that “inequality is a very serious problem.” [0/1]
- “Ineq. inc.” (or “Ineq. increased”) is a binary variable equal to 1 if the respondent replies that inequality has increased since 1980. [0/1]
- “Deserving” (or “Rich deserving”) is a binary variable equal to 1 if the respondent believes that the rich are deserving of their income “most of the time.” [0/1]
- “Top tax” (or “Top tax rate”) is the chosen average tax rate on the richest one percent. [0 to 100]
- “Mill. tax” (or “Increase Mill. Tax”) is an indicator variable for whether the respondent wants to increase the income tax on millionaires. [0/1]
- “Estate tax” (or “Increase Estate Tax”) is an indicator variable for whether the respondent wants to increase the estate tax. [0/1]
- “Petition” is an indicator variable for whether the respondent wants to send a petition to her State Senator to increase the estate tax. [0/1]
- “Min. wage” in the omnibus treatment indicates support for increasing the minimum wage. [0/1]
- “Min wage” in the follow up surveys indicates the strength of the support for increasing the minimum wage [0/1/2/3/4, increasing in support].
- “Aid” indicates support for expanding aid to the poor. [0/1/2/3/4, increasing in support].
- “Housing” indicates support for expanding funding for public housing. [0/1/2/3/4, increasing in support].

- “Food stamps” in the omnibus indicates support for expanding the food stamps program. [0/1]
- “Food stamps” in the followup surveys indicates the strength of the support for expanding the food stamps program [0/1/2/3/4, increasing in support].
- “EITC” indicators support for expanding funding for the EITC. [0/1]
- “Trust” or (“Trust govt”) is an indicator variable for whether the respondent believes the government can be trusted. [0/1]
- “Scope” (or “Govt scope”) is a categorical variable indicating how active the government should be in redistributing income. [1/2/3/4/5, 5 being the broadest scope of government].
- “Dem 2012” indicates that the respondent plans to vote for the Democrat (Obama) in the 2012 Presidential election. [0/1]
- “Dem 2014” indicates that the respondent plans to vote for the Democrat in the 2014 Congressional election. [0/1]
- “Taxes redistrib.” indicates that the respondent thinks that the role of income taxes is to redistribute income (as opposed to just financing infrastructure). [0/1]
- “Growth” indicates that the respondent’s reply to the question of whether growth was higher in 1933-1980 than in 1980-200 was correct. [0/1]
- “Tax 1950” indicates that the respndent’s reply to the question whether top income taxes were higher in the 1950s than today was correct. [0/1]
- “Satisfied” indicates whether the respondent is satisfied with his current income. [0/1]
- “Money charity” is a dummy variable for whether the respondent plans to give money to charity in the next month. [0/1]
- “Money given” indicates whether he has already given money in the past month. [0/1]
- “Time charity” is a dummy variable for whether the respondent plans to give time to charity in the next month. [0/1]
- “Time given” indicates whether he has already given time in the past month. [0/1]
- “Income mostly result of effort” is a binary variable indicating that the respondent believes that one’s income is mostly the result of one’s own effort. [0/1]
- “Tax on next 9%”, ”Tax on next 40 %” and ”Tax on Bottom 50%” are the respondent’s chosen tax rates for, respectively, people in the 90th to 99th percentile, in the 50th to 90th percentile and in the Bottom half of the income distribution. [0 to 100]
- “Diff tax top 1 and Bottom 50” is the tax differential between the preferred tax on the top 1% and that on the Bottom 50%.

- “Charities” refers to the ranking (from 1 to 5, with 1 being the highest ranking) that respondents attribute to private charities as a means to redistribute income. [1/2/3/4/5]
- “Educ. pol” refers to the ranking (from 1 to 5, with 1 being the highest ranking) that respondents attribute to education policies as a means to redistribute income. [1/2/3/4/5]
- “No waste” takes values from 1 to 3, with 1 representing that the government is wasting a lot of tax revenue and 3 indicating that the government is not wasting much tax revenue at all. [1/2/3]

B Methodological issues related to online survey experiments

In this section, we share what we have learned through our experience with these mTurk survey experiments to highlight both the advantages and disadvantages of using online surveys for research as well as provide advice for future researchers.

The most obvious advantage is the ease and speed of gathering relatively large samples. At a per-survey price of \$1.50 it typically took at most five or six days to gather a sample of 1,000 U.S. residents, and samples of 300-400 could usually be gathered within 24 hours. An important piece of advice for future researchers studying American domestic policy questions is to ask mTurk to limit the sample to U.S. residents (Amazon documents this information for tax purposes). In pilot surveys we conducted before becoming aware of this problem, over forty percent of our respondents turned out to have non-U.S. IP addresses (likely an ever greater share were foreign residents since respondents can connect through remote servers and appear to be in the US). Launching surveys at night (during the workday in Asia) exacerbates this problem.

B.1 How representative is the mTurk sample?

As noted earlier, respondents to our surveys are not representative of the U.S. population. However, this lack of representativeness does not appear substantially worse than in other surveys. For example, the mTurk sample is about 13 years younger and 13 percentage points more likely to have a college degree than the representative sample of U.S. adults in our national CBS sample (see Table 1). But that same CBS poll we use as a basis for comparison is itself weighted. The raw CBS sample is about nine years older than the weighted sample and, like our mTurk sample, about 13 percentage points more likely to have a college degree. It under-represents Hispanics to the same extent as our sample and is even worse than our sample in terms of the under-representation of men. As such, while the mTurk sample is not representative, neither are other standard polls (though some of the biases, such as age, are in opposite directions from standard polls).

As noted in the text, the American Life Panel is more representative than the mTurk sample. However, this sample is much smaller and roughly 30 times more expensive than mTurk.

B.2 How serious is attrition in the mTurk sample?

As noted earlier, for the omnibus treatment, we have an overall attrition rate (the share of respondents who start but do not finish the survey) of 22 percent: a 21 percent rate for the CT Marketing Group survey and a 22 percent rate for the mTurk surveys. In fact, when we compare surveys 4 and 5—which were in the field at the same time, with the former on mTurk and the latter on CT Marketing Group—attrition is actually lower on mTurk. Even Gallup has an attrition rate of nine percent on its 15-minute Daily Poll.¹ Given that our survey requires people to read through informational treatments, we suspect that a pure opinion survey conducted on mTurk would have a lower attrition rate.

The omnibus survey has differential attrition between treatment and control, probably because of the relatively long length of the treatment (respondents had to scroll through 6 treatment pages in the omnibus survey). Importantly, the follow-up surveys do not have such differential attrition because the treatment was much shorter (2 pages at most) so that there was no noticeable length difference between the treatment and control group.

A related point is that researchers using this methodology should ask background questions first. In settings with little to no attrition, background questions can ideally be asked at the very end to avoid priming, but given the importance of assessing non-random attrition, it may be preferable for online survey experiments to ask demographic and background questions at the outset.

B.3 How many unique observations can one collect on mTurk?

Although the exact number of workers registered on mTurk is not publicly reported, the pool is thought to be quite large, approximately 500,000.

However, the pool available for any given survey experiment is more limited. First, workers select into tasks voluntarily, choosing among types of tasks. As a result, the pool of workers interested in survey experiments is more limited. Indeed survey experiments are typically longer than a standard task on mTurk and might require more attention. Second, we filter workers based on past ratings: this is to avoid careless workers who consistently do not complete tasks properly and have been rated negatively by previous amazon mTurk requesters (i.e., employers on mTurk). Third, the pool of registered workers is not online all the time. Many workers could be working for a few weeks, then switch to another occupation, and potentially come back later or only work during some times of the year, month, or week. Finally, there is competition between tasks. Many tasks are posted simultaneously on the platform and workers have to search for each individual task. Large sample survey experiments sometimes fall lower in the list and are less visible to workers (although, one way to make it more visible and which we employ, is to stop and relaunch the survey several times so that it moves back up to the top of the list of tasks).

We always exclude workers who have already taken one of our survey experiments in the past to avoid any spillovers from previous treatments. Hence, we need a fresh sample every time. Accordingly, we noticed that when we launch a survey experiment several weeks after a

¹Email correspondence when Jeffrey Jones at Gallup, January 16, 2013. The nine-percent figure refers to all Daily Polls from 2012.

previous one, we easily get a large sample very quickly. However, when we repeatedly launch experiments one after the other, the rate at which we get workers slows down.

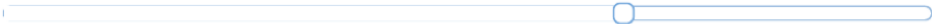
To mitigate the constraint of being unable to reach a sufficiently large sample of workers, researchers can do all of the following: a) leave sufficient times between survey dates, b) pay sufficiently high wages to make the tasks competitive relative to others, c) keep survey time short, d) choose more generic titles for the task, such as “Opinion Survey” rather than “Academic Research Survey in Economics.” However, researchers should be warned that even after taking these steps, survey samples are not unlimited in mTurk and if “fresh” respondents are needed for each survey date a large share of respondents clicking on the task will be screened out (or will need to be dropped ex-post based on repeated mTurk worker IDs).

Appendix Figure 1: Inequality Component: “Where are you in the income distribution?”

Please enter your annual household income* in the box below:

\$

39% of US households earn less than your household



We now encourage you to move the blue slider above (by clicking on the line) to explore the US income distribution on your own and to answer the questions below.

79% of households earn less than **\$73,000**.

Notes: This interactive slider allows people to explore the income distribution in the US and to determine their position in it. Available online at https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_77fSvTy12ZSBihh

Appendix Figure 2: Inequality component: “Where would you have been in the income distribution?”

Income Inequality has increased dramatically in the United States since 1980.
Incomes of poorer and middle-income families have grown very little while top incomes have grown a lot.

How would YOU be doing if inequality had not increased?

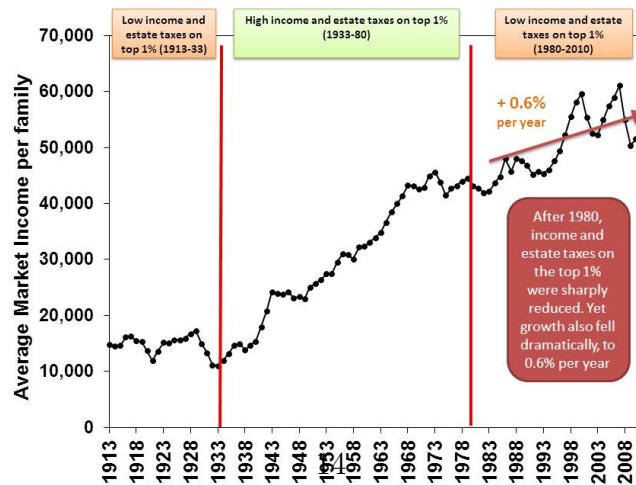
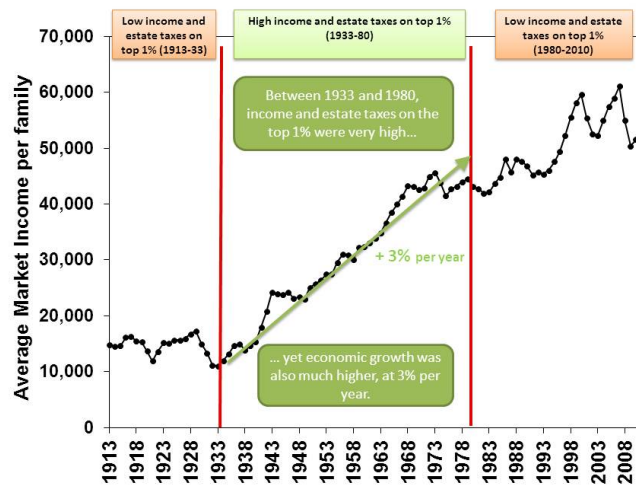
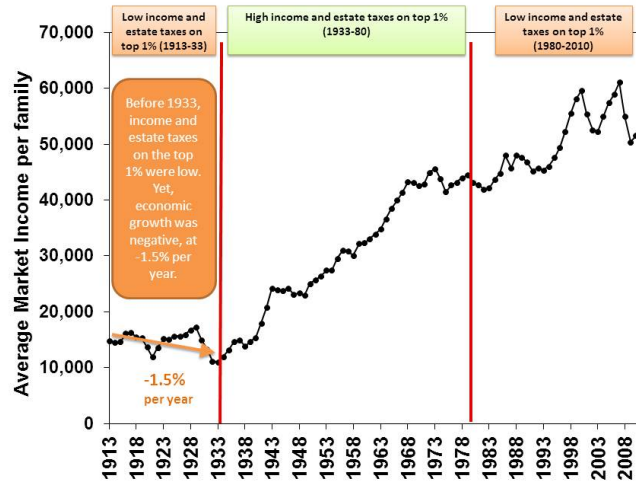
The slider below shows how much each group would make if incomes had grown by the same percentage since 1980 for all groups: the poor, the middle class, and the rich. Use the slider to answer the questions below.



A household making **\$25,800** today would instead be making **\$35,200** if inequality had not changed since 1980.
In other words, if growth had been evenly shared, this household would have earned **37% more**.

Notes: This interactive slider shows the “counterfactual” household income had income growth been shared equally since 1980. Available online at https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_77fSvTy12ZSBihh

Appendix Figure 3: Taxes component: Correlation between growth and top tax rates over time



Appendix Figure 4: Showing information about the estate tax

Besides the income tax, the government can also level the playing field with **the federal estate tax**.

The **Federal Estate Tax** (also known as the **Death Tax**) applies when a deceased person leaves **more than \$5 million** in wealth to his or her heirs. Wealth left to a spouse or charitable organizations is exempt from estate tax.



Only 1 person out of 1000 is wealthy enough to face the estate tax.

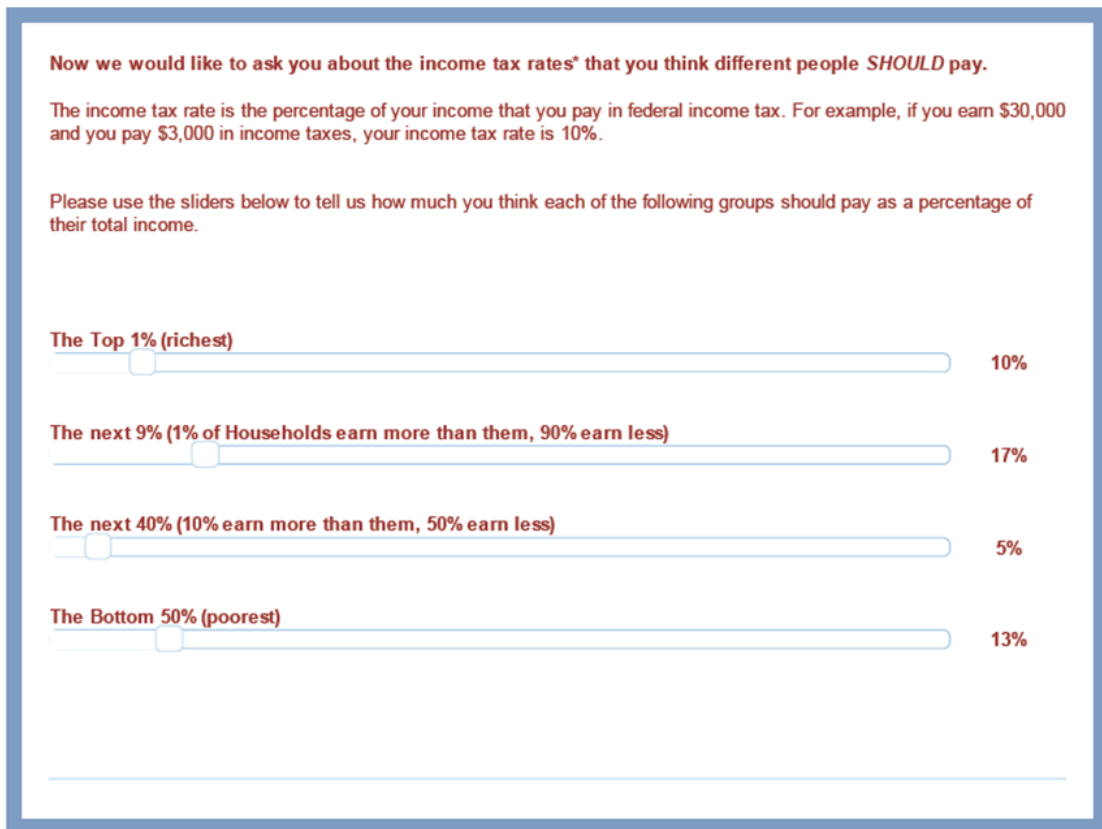
Average Americans do not have anything close to \$5 million in wealth, so the estate tax does not affect them and they can pass on their property to their children tax-free.

Eliminating the estate tax would allow the very richest families to pass down all of their wealth to their children tax-free. Hence, children of rich people would also start off very rich themselves.

Increasing the estate tax is a way to level the playing field between the children of wealthy parents and children of middle-class parents.

Notes: Available online at
https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_77fSvTy12ZSBihh

Appendix Figure 5: Preferred tax rates outcome



Notes: Available online at
https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_77fSvTy12ZSBihh

Appendix Figure 6: Neutral information about the estate tax

The **Federal Estate Tax** applies when a deceased person leaves **more than \$5 million** in wealth to his or her heirs. Wealth left to a spouse or charitable organizations is exempt from estate tax.

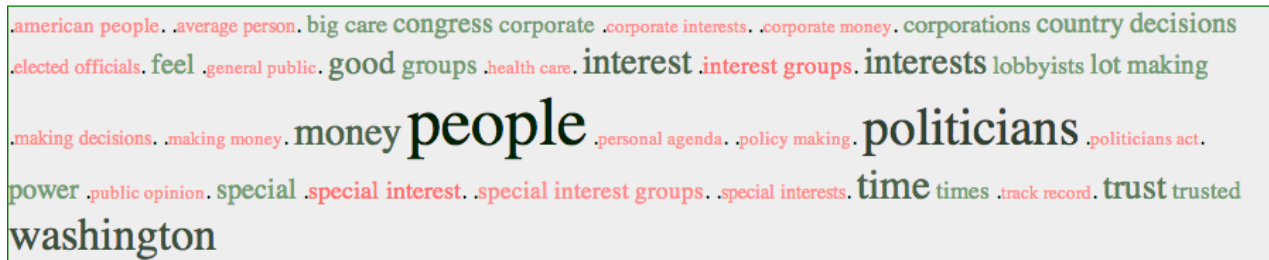
Only 1 person out of 1000 is wealthy enough to face the estate tax.

Average Americans have far less than \$5 million in wealth when they die, so the estate tax does not affect them and they can pass on their property to their children tax-free.

Notes: Available online at

https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_0v0ecp2MDPBpInb

Appendix Figure 7: A word cloud based on open-ended responses to the question “How much of the time can you trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”



Notes: Based on the pilot group survey on mTurk described in Section 4.2.

Appendix Figure 8: Negative information about corruption in the U.S.

Each year, the non-partisan organization Transparency International rates countries based on the amount of government corruption. When the US is compared to countries with similar levels of income and development how do you think it ranks?



The best 6 Better than average Worse than average The worst 6

Page Break

These are the actual results from the report:



The US is in the most corrupt group of countries among countries with similar levels of income and development.

Notes: Available online at https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_bgEuJf11Y3UreKh

Appendix Figure 9: Customized information about poverty

The picture of poverty in a rich country like the United States is striking.

16% of Americans live in **poverty**.

20% of American **children** live in poverty.

25% of the **disabled** Americans live in poverty.



Think about a family of four with two parents working full time at low pay and two kids.

What would be the minimal monthly expenses that such a family would have to make to afford living in your city?

Please enter numbers only, with no "\$" sign and no commas, e.g., 1000.

Rent	<input type="text"/>
Utilities (electric, heating, cable/phone)	<input type="text"/>
Car payment + car insurance + gas to go to work	<input type="text"/>
Food	<input type="text"/>
Child care while working	<input type="text"/>

Notes: Available online at https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_1B8MczKSMIvWaqx

Appendix Figure 10: Customized information about policies

Think about a family of four with one parent working full time at the minimum wage and two kids.

What would be the minimal monthly expenses that such a family would have to make to afford living where you live?

Please enter numbers only, with no "\$" sign and no commas, e.g., 1000.

Rent	<input type="text"/>
Utilities (electric, heating, cable/phone)	<input type="text"/>
Transportation (public transit fare and/or car payments, insurance, gas...)	<input type="text"/>
Food	<input type="text"/>
Expenses related to children	<input type="text"/>

Notes: Available online at https://hbs.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_1B8MczKSMIvWaqx

Appendix Table 1: Share of treatment respondents correctly answering basic comprehension questions

	(1) Percent that answered correctly
Pct of households earn less than 386,000	0.866
Pct of households earn less than 108,000	0.855
Pct of households earn less than 33,800	0.838
Household now making 386,000 would be making...	0.484
Household now making 108,000 would be making...	0.414
Household now making 33,800 would be making...	0.395
Observations	2417

Notes: This table displays the percent of respondents who answered the comprehension questions correctly during the treatment (see the treatment screenshots in the Appendix for the complete wording and outlay of these questions).

Appendix Table 2: Ability of covariates to predict whether respondents finish the survey

Variable	Coeff	P-val
Voted for Obama in 2008	0.014	0.227
Age	-0.003	0.000
Liberal policy view	0.002	0.676
Household income	0.001	0.449
Married	0.008	0.480
Education	-0.001	0.724
Male	0.018	0.105
Black	-0.006	0.765
Hispanic	0.072	0.007
Native	-0.011	0.624
Employed full time	-0.008	0.483
Unemployed	0.024	0.145
Not in labor force	-0.029	0.055
Student	0.023	0.137
Treatment Group	-0.113	0.000

Notes: For each row, the coefficient and p -value are from regressions of the form $Finished_{ir} = \alpha + \beta Covariate_i + \delta_r + \epsilon_{ir}$, where $Covariate$ is listed to the left in the row and δ_r are survey round fixed effects.

Appendix Table 3: Attrition by survey round

Survey	Attrition			Obs. (Completed)
	Control	Treatment	Differential	
Omnibus	0.09	0.21	0.11	4045
Estate Tax	0.06	0.03	-0.03	1760
Trust	0.03	0.02	-0.01	901
Poverty	0.03	0.02	-0.01	1003
Policy	0.06	0.04	-0.02	1114

Notes: Note that the attrition numbers count those respondents who started and continued long enough to be at least assigned a treatment status. Respondents could drop out before being assigned to treatment for a variety of reasons, including that they were not U.S. citizens (albeit U.S. residents) or did not agree with the consent form.

Appendix Table 4: Effect of omnibus treatment on all outcomes, part 1

	Ineq vs.	Ineq. inc.	Deserving	Top tax	Mill. tax	Estate tax	Petition	Min. wage	Food stamps	EITC	Trust	Scope
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treated	0.104*** [0.0144]	0.120*** [0.0128]	-0.0526*** [0.0114]	0.931* [0.549]	0.0502*** [0.0126]	0.357*** [0.0140]	0.0648*** [0.0156]	0.0325** [0.0141]	0.0149 [0.0141]	0.0212 [0.0151]	-0.0292** [0.0115]	0.132*** [0.0339]
Control mean	0.285	0.738	0.180	30.21	0.740	0.171	0.234	0.690	0.686	0.611	0.158	3.076
Scaled Effect	0.365	0.540	0.182	0.0914	0.111	2.043	0.394	0.0995	0.0369	0.0698	1.250	0.110
Obs.	3703	3704	3690	3741	3704	3673	3060	3690	3690	3690	3702	3704

Notes: The first three outcome variables are binary indicator variables, coded as one if the respondent says that “inequality is a very serious problem,” “inequality has increased,” and “the rich are deserving of their income,” respectively. “Top rate” is continuous (respondents’ preferred average tax rate on the richest one percent). “Mill. tax” and “Estate” indicate the respondent wants income taxes on millionaires and the estate tax to increase, respectively. “Petition” indicates she would write her Senator to increase the estate tax. “Min wage,” “Food st.” and “EITC” indicate support for increasing the minimum wage, and funding for SNAP and EITC, respectively. “Trust” indicates trust in government and “Scope” indicates the respondent favors a broad range of interventions by the government (1-5 categorical variable). “Covariates” and “scaled effects” are as specified in the notes to Table 4. The row “Control mean” reports the mean of the outcome variable in the control group. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 5: Effect of omnibus treatment on all outcomes, part 2

	Dem. 2012	Taxes redistribr.	Growth	Tax 1950	Satisfied	Money charity	Money given	Time charity	Time given
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Treated	0.0152 [0.0125]	0.0396*** [0.0132]	0.137*** [0.0160]	0.131*** [0.0158]	-0.0266 [0.0264]	0.00717 [0.0157]	0.00565 [0.0158]	0.00188 [0.0160]	-0.00655 [0.0157]
Control mean	0.529	0.199	0.437	0.556	2.881	0.559	0.523	0.480	0.378
Scaled Effect	0.0246	0.314	0.946	0.927	0.102	0.167	0.0823	0.0219	0.255
Obs.	3703	3700	3696	3619	3690	3681	3683	3684	3684

Notes: “Dem 2012” indicates the respondent plans to vote for the Democrat (Obama) in the 2012 Presidential election. “Taxes redistribr.” indicates that the respondent thinks the role of income taxes is to redistribute income. “Growth” indicates that the respondent correctly replied to the question of whether growth was higher in 1933-1980 than in 1980-2000. “Tax 1950” indicates that the respondent correctly replied to the question whether top income taxes were higher in the 1950s than today. “Satisfied” indicates whether the respondent is satisfied with his current income. “Money charity” (respectively, “Time charity”) is a dummy variable for whether the respondent plans to give money (respectively, time) to charity in the next month and “Money given” (respectively, “Time given”) indicates whether he has already given money (respectively, time) in the past month. “Covariates” and “scaled effects” are as specified in the notes to Table 4. The row “Control mean” reports the mean of the outcome variable in the control group. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 6: Effect of omnibus treatment on all outcomes, part 3

	Income due to effort	Tax on top 1%	Tax on next 9%	Tax on next 40%	Tax on Bottom 50%	Top 1% tax - Bottom 50% tax
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treated	-0.0571*** [0.0152]	0.931* [0.549]	-0.311 [0.380]	-0.593* [0.341]	0.304 [0.442]	0.628 [0.428]
Control mean	0.419	30.21	17.60	10.71	18.93	11.28
Scaled Effect	0.156	0.0914	0.195	0.232	0.0531	0.140
Obs.	3689	3741	3740	3721	3741	3741

Notes: “Income due to effort” is a binary variable indicating that the respondent believes that one’s income is mostly the result of one’s own effort. “Tax on top ‘%”, “Tax on next 9%”, ”Tax on next 40 %” and ”Tax on Bottom 50%” are the respondent’s chosen tax rates for, respectively, people in the 99th percentile, 90th to 99th percentile, in the 50th to 90th percentile and in the Bottom half of the income distribution. “Top 1 tax - Bottom 50 tax” is the tax differential between the preferred tax on the top 1% and that on the Bottom 50%. “Covariates” and “scaled effects” are as specified in the notes to Table 4. The row “Control mean” reports the mean of the outcome variable in the control group. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 7: Selection into the follow-up

Variable	Coefficient	P-value
Voted for Obama in 2008	-0.001	0.957
Age	0.002	0.029
Liberal policy view	-0.011	0.285
Household income	0.006	0.101
Married	0.056	0.014
Education	0.007	0.389
Male	-0.009	0.677
Black	0.041	0.348
Hispanic	0.079	0.177
Native	-0.059	0.216
Employed full time	0.003	0.897
Unemployed	0.004	0.901
Not in labor force	0.080	0.038
Student	-0.064	0.020

Notes: For each row, the coefficient and p -value are from regressions of the form $Followup_{ir} = \alpha + \beta Covariate_i + \epsilon_{ir}$, where $Covariate$ is listed to the left in the row. Those tests are used to detect selection into the follow-up survey.

Appendix Table 8: Effect of omnibus treatment one month later

	Ineq. v. serious		Ineq. inc.		Rich deserving		Top tax rate	
	(1) First	(2) Follow-up	(3) First	(4) Follow-up	(5) First	(6) Follow-up	(7) First	(8) Follow-up
Treated	0.00833 [0.0809]	0.102 [0.0770]	0.0732 [0.0716]	-0.0160 [0.0786]	0.0589 [0.0799]	0.0195 [0.0785]	2.440 [3.602]	2.674 [3.547]
Control mean	0.283	0.218	0.785	0.756	0.166	0.128	32.86	30.76
Obs.	145	145	145	145	145	145	144	144

Notes: All outcomes are as defined previously. For each dependent variable, Col “First” is the result from the first survey, while Col “Follow-up” is the result from the follow-up survey. All regressions include our standard controls. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

28

Appendix Table 9: Effect of omnibus treatment one month later (cont.)

	Mill. tax		Estate tax		Trust gov.		Govt scope	
	(1) First	(2) Follow-up	(3) First	(4) Follow-up	(5) First	(6) Follow-up	(7) First	(8) Follow-up
Treated	-0.00817 [0.0801]	0.0273 [0.0803]	0.337*** [0.0953]	0.195** [0.0910]	-0.122** [0.0611]	-0.0691 [0.0582]	0.259 [0.207]	0.364* [0.200]
Control mean	0.758	0.782	0.180	0.179	0.122	0.128	2.995	2.910
Obs.	145	145	145	145	145	145	145	145

Notes: All outcomes are as defined previously. For each dependent variable, Col “First” is the result from the first survey, while Col “Follow-up” is the result from the follow-up survey. All regressions include our standard controls. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 10: Bounding effects of attrition (using “liberal” and “conservative” values for outcomes)

	Ineq. v. serious		Increase Mill. Tax		Increase Estate Tax		Trust Gov	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L
Treated	0.0666*** [0.0129]	0.0980*** [0.0128]	0.00915 [0.0120]	0.0503*** [0.0117]	0.284*** [0.0122]	0.310*** [0.0121]	-0.0232** [0.00970]	-0.0221** [0.00970]
Control mean	0.267	0.293	0.709	0.743	0.170	0.192	0.159	0.159
Obs.	4547	4547	4546	4546	4519	4519	4546	4546

Notes: All outcomes are as defined previously. No controls are included. For each dependent variable, Col C assumes that all attritors gave the average answer among those who label themselves as conservative or very conservative. Col L assumes that all attritors would have given the average answer among those who label themselves as liberal or very liberal. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 11: Views on inequality and taxes for high- and low-attrition rounds in the omnibus surveys

	Ineq. v. serious		Ineq. increased		Rich deserving		Top tax rate		Increase Mill. Tax		Estate tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treated	0.0794*** [0.0248]	0.117*** [0.0219]	0.0849*** [0.0222]	0.138*** [0.0176]	-0.00327 [0.0199]	-0.0672*** [0.0169]	0.155 [1.031]	2.003*** [0.716]	0.0183 [0.0210]	0.0555*** [0.0187]	0.421*** [0.0247]	0.365*** [0.0212]
Control mean	0.276	0.289	0.767	0.780	0.160	0.180	34.40	28.88	0.794	0.754	0.179	0.178
Scaled Effect	0.278	0.387	0.475	0.615	0.0118	0.209	0.0131	0.203	0.0487	0.108	1.761	2.396
Differential attrition?	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Obs.	1260	1635	1260	1636	1254	1631	1271	1650	1260	1636	1250	1626

Notes: All outcomes are as defined previously. “Differential attrition?” separates observations according to whether they were in “Low” differential attrition round (round 4) or in “High” differential attrition rounds (rounds 1, 2 and 3). Otherwise, all terminology follows that in previous tables. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

30

Appendix Table 12: Opinions on other policies and views of government for high- and low-attrition rounds in the omnibus surveys

	Min. wage		EITC		Food stamps		Trust gov.		Scope	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treated	0.00695 [0.0244]	0.0408* [0.0210]	-0.0199 [0.0257]	0.0260 [0.0230]	0.0203 [0.0240]	0.0197 [0.0210]	-0.0630*** [0.0205]	0.000987 [0.0169]	0.0576 [0.0579]	0.248*** [0.0494]
Control mean	0.708	0.706	0.683	0.589	0.710	0.702	0.181	0.133	3.140	2.997
Scaled Effect	0.0227	0.129	0.0679	0.0808	0.0490	0.0451	5.724	0.0311	0.0441	0.195
Differential attrition?	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Obs.	1254	1631	1254	1631	1254	1631	1259	1635	1260	1636

Notes: See previous table. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 13: Effect of estate-tax-only treatments on outcome variables

	Ineq. vs.	Ineq. inc.	Estate corr.	Pov. vs.	Deserving	Top tax	Mill. tax	Estate	Petition	Charities	Educ. pol
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Treated (Emotional)	0.0381 [0.0258]	-0.00239 [0.0243]	0.316*** [0.0263]	0.0224 [0.0274]	-0.0247 [0.0206]	1.595 [1.121]	0.00123 [0.0243]	0.289*** [0.0258]	0.0313 [0.0208]	0.0421 [0.0699]	-0.0319 [0.0755]
Treated (Neutral)	0.0511** [0.0259]	-0.0501** [0.0244]	0.375*** [0.0264]	0.0191 [0.0276]	-0.0244 [0.0206]	2.280** [1.124]	-0.00456 [0.0244]	0.109*** [0.0259]	0.0239 [0.0209]	-0.0214 [0.0701]	0.0157 [0.0757]
Control mean	0.307	0.771	0.120	0.285	0.174	33.67	0.717	0.210	0.132	1.945	3.611
Scaled Emot. Effect	0.118	0.0106	3.386	0.0858	0.0984	0.142	0.00251	1.085	0.265	0.0329	0.0524
Scaled Neutral Effect	0.159	0.223	4.014	0.0732	0.0974	0.202	0.00934	0.408	0.202	0.0167	0.0257
Obs.	1777	1777	1773	1508	1777	1785	1764	1777	1762	1709	1732

Notes: The “emotional” treatment repeats the estate tax slide from the omnibus treatment, but eliminates the rest of the treatment. The “neutral” treatment is a version of the “emotional” estate tax treatment that attempts to remove any framing effects. All outcomes are defined as previously. “Charities” and “Educ. pol” refer to the ranking (from 1 to 5, with 1 being the highest ranking) that respondents attribute to private charities and education policies as means to redistribute income. The lower number of observations in column 4 is due to the fact that this question was not asked in one smaller wave (sample of 300). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 14: Effect of estate-tax-only treatment on outcome variables (cont.)

	<u>Min. wage</u>	<u>Aid</u>	<u>Food stamps</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Trust</u>	<u>Govt scope</u>	<u>No waste</u>	<u>Dem. 2014</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treated (Emotional)	0.0529 [0.0865]	0.109 [0.0837]	0.0982 [0.0861]	0.236*** [0.0824]	-0.0164 [0.0205]	0.0172 [0.0585]	-0.0281 [0.0303]	0.0344 [0.0213]
Treated (Neutral)	-0.0838 [0.0870]	0.0273 [0.0842]	0.0628 [0.0866]	0.127 [0.0829]	-0.00558 [0.0205]	0.0259 [0.0587]	-0.0587* [0.0303]	-0.00310 [0.0213]
Control mean	2.608	2.130	1.797	1.927	0.153	3.074	1.456	0.470
Scaled Emot. Effect	0.0913	0.0624	0.0534	0.140	0.235	0.0150	0.0896	0.0490
Scaled Neutral Effect	0.145	0.0156	0.0341	0.0755	0.0803	0.0225	0.187	0.00441
Obs.	1495	1495	1495	1495	1756	1756	1754	1756

Notes: See above. “No waste” takes values from 1 to 3, with 1 representing that the government is wasting a lot of tax revenue and 3 that the government is not wasting much tax revenue at all. Note that the only statistically significant effect for a poverty-related outcome is for increased public housing. We speculate that this effect is due to seeing the picture of the mansion in the “emotional” estate tax treatment (but not in the neutral treatment). The lower number of observations in columns 1-4 is due to the fact that these questions were not asked in one smaller wave (sample of 300). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 15: Effect of trust treatment on outcome variables

	<u>Ineq. v. ser.</u>	<u>Ineq. inc.</u>	<u>Pov. v. ser.</u>	<u>Deserving</u>	<u>Top tax</u>	<u>Mill. tax</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Petition</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treated	0.0547* [0.0311]	0.0119 [0.0289]	-0.00257 [0.0313]	-0.0555** [0.0239]	0.490 [1.326]	-0.0421 [0.0275]	-0.00168 [0.0266]	-0.0602** [0.0236]
Control mean	0.343	0.755	0.383	0.185	34.70	0.722	0.204	0.174
Scaled Trust Effect	0.182	0.341	0.00828	0.204	0.0452	0.0949	0.00728	0.580
Obs.	899	899	899	899	898	899	895	899

Notes: The negative trust prime treatment consists of several multiple-choice questions that made respondents reflect on aspects of government they dislike. All terms are defined as previously. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 16: Effect of trust treatment on outcome variables (cont.)

	<u>Min wage</u>	<u>Aid</u>	<u>Food st.</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Trust</u>	<u>Active</u>	<u>No waste</u>	<u>Dem. 2014</u>	<u>Charity</u>	<u>Educ. pol.</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treated	-0.00428 [0.0902]	-0.139** [0.0616]	-0.153** [0.0673]	-0.163*** [0.0614]	-0.0582*** [0.0203]	0.0236 [0.0688]	-0.0278 [0.0346]	-0.0462* [0.0258]	0.187** [0.0791]	0.0615 [0.0885]
Control mean	2.673	2.675	2.454	2.581	0.125	3.031	1.423	0.479	1.800	3.732
Scaled Trust Effect	0.00531	0.128	0.119	0.133	1.730	0.0170	0.109	0.0686	0.169	0.265
Obs.	899	899	899	899	899	899	898	899	850	874

Notes: See above. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 17: Effect of “emotional” treatment on outcome variables

	Ineq. v. ser.	Ineq. inc.	Pov. corr.	Childpov. corr.	Min wage corr.	Pov. vs.	Deserving	Top tax	Mill. tax	Estate	Petition
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Treated	0.0783*** [0.0292]	0.0410 [0.0258]	0.258*** [0.0314]	-0.0717** [0.0298]	0.0676** [0.0341]	0.0885*** [0.0313]	-0.0131 [0.0228]	0.484 [1.268]	0.0316 [0.0256]	0.0149 [0.0274]	-0.0000573 [0.0252]
Control mean	0.337	0.775	0.442	0.363	0.302	0.296	0.173	34.47	0.728	0.276	0.184
Scaled Poverty Effect	0.221	0.225	17.54	1.522	1.105	0.257	0.0413	0.0357	0.0589	0.0440	0.000390
Obs.	1002	1001	999	994	799	799	1002	1002	1001	999	1002

Notes: The “emotional” treatment aimed at creating empathy between the respondent and families living in poverty. Respondents were told about poverty rates and had to fill out a minimum budget for a family like theirs living in the same city. Respondents were then shown how their minimum budget compared to the poverty line. All outcomes are as defined previously. The lower number of observations in columns 5 and 6 is due to the fact that these questions were not asked in one smaller wave (sample of 200). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

34

Appendix Table 18: Effect of “emotional” treatment on outcome variables (cont.)

	Min wage	Aid	Food st.	Housing	Trust	Scope	No waste	Dem. 2014	Charity	Educ. pol.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treated	0.0469 [0.0989]	0.117* [0.0665]	0.177* [0.101]	0.0397 [0.0670]	-0.00979 [0.0211]	0.0537 [0.0626]	-0.0655* [0.0334]	0.0120 [0.0234]	0.0608 [0.0715]	-0.145* [0.0831]
Control mean	2.546	2.559	1.832	2.539	0.124	3.098	1.420	0.488	1.929	3.723
Scaled Poverty Effect	0.0449	0.0714	0.0866	0.0291	0.0931	0.0352	0.210	0.0181	0.0333	0.204
Obs.	799	799	799	799	1002	1002	1002	1002	963	981

Notes: See above. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Appendix Table 19: Effect of policy treatment on outcome variables

	<u>Ineq. v. ser.</u>	<u>Ineq. inc.</u>	<u>Pov. corr.</u>	<u>Childpov. corr.</u>	<u>Min wage corr.</u>	<u>Pov. vs. Deserving</u>	<u>Top tax</u>	<u>Mill. tax</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Petition</u>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Treated	0.0405 [0.0279]	0.0206 [0.0263]	0.0353 [0.0306]	0.0369 [0.0302]	0.228*** [0.0300]	-0.00637 [0.0272]	-0.00219 [0.0219]	2.023* [1.209]	0.0311 [0.0240]	-0.0217 [0.0258]	-0.0222 [0.0236]
Control mean	0.343	0.744	0.415	0.365	0.355	0.326	0.180	33.79	0.713	0.269	0.187
Scaled Policy Effect	0.108	0.0892	0.909	1.056	7.237	0.0196	0.00695	0.140	0.0536	0.0642	0.131
Obs.	1111	1111	1105	1107	1110	1111	1111	1111	1110	1110	1111

Notes: The policy treatment aimed at creating empathy between the respondent and families living on a minimum wage. Respondents had to fill out a minimum budget for a family like theirs living in the same city. Respondents were then shown how their minimum budget compared to the minimum wage and how food stamps adds \$150 per person/month to the budget of such a family. All outcomes are as defined previously. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

35

Appendix Table 20: Effect of policy treatment on outcome variables (cont.)

	<u>Min wage</u>	<u>Aid</u>	<u>Food st.</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Trust</u>	<u>Scope</u>	<u>No waste</u>	<u>Dem. 2014</u>	<u>Charity</u>	<u>Educ. pol.</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treated	0.323*** [0.0949]	0.133** [0.0638]	0.313*** [0.0970]	0.176*** [0.0636]	-0.0325 [0.0207]	0.0569 [0.0613]	-0.0428 [0.0308]	0.0248 [0.0223]	-0.137* [0.0709]	-0.117 [0.0797]
Control mean	2.546	2.559	1.832	2.539	0.149	3.097	1.394	0.484	2.025	3.699
Scaled Policy Effect	0.310	0.0811	0.153	0.129	0.654	0.0362	0.125	0.0354	0.0740	0.186
Obs.	806	806	806	806	1111	1111	1111	1111	1068	1085

Notes: See above. The lower number of observations in columns 1-4 is due to the fact that these questions were not asked in one smaller wave (sample of 300). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$