

# Understanding economic policies: What do people know and learn?\*

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[*FIRST DRAFT – COMMENTS VERY WELCOME!*]

## Abstract

I study how well people understand, reason, and learn about four economic policies: i) Personal income taxation, ii) Estate taxation, iii) Health insurance, and iv) Trade. To that end, I run large-scale online surveys and experiments on representative U.S. samples to elicit not only respondents' factual knowledge about policies and the underlying economic phenomena, but also their understanding of the mechanisms of each policy and their reasoning. The detailed survey questions are designed to address the three main factors that can shape support for or opposition to various policies: efficiency effects, distributional implications, and fairness considerations. To extract people's first-order considerations that come to mind when they are prompted to think about a given policy, its shortcomings, and goals without priming them, open-ended questions are used and then evaluated with text analysis methods. There are partisan divergences of varying magnitudes and significance, not just in the final policy views, but also in reasonings about the underlying mechanisms. Respondents are in many cases likely to think of themselves as responding differently and facing different consequences from other people. Women in particular tend to consider themselves and other women as less responsive to income and estate taxes. Health insurance considerations are also intertwined with gender considerations and views on female health concerns and services are starkly divided. I experimentally show people instructional videos that explain the workings and consequences of each policy from three different perspectives. The "Distributional" perspective focuses on the distributional consequences of each policy; the "Efficiency" perspective focuses on the efficiency costs; the "Economist" perspectives focuses on the trade-off, combining both the distributional and efficiency perspectives together. Respondents do change some of their views about the mechanisms and the desirable design of some policies after seeing the instructional videos. The possibility to influence at least the perceived mechanisms of and sometimes even support for given policies suggests that perhaps explanations (rather than the provision of simple facts) can be useful as a first step in elevating the policy debate.

**Keywords:** Redistribution, Survey, Perceptions, Immigration, Taxation, Online Experiment, Fairness.

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# 1 Introduction

People hold starkly different views on many policies, but the reason for these differing views is not always apparent. Conflicts may be based on the perceived economic effects of these policies, as individuals may disagree on which policy will be most effective at achieving a given goal. Alternatively, it could be that people assess the benefits and costs to them and those they care about in contrasting ways. Yet another reason may be divergent views on what is “fair” or “just.”

Take the example of income taxes. Different views about the “right” level of taxes could come from the perceived behavioral or efficiency effects of it (“Will people stop working if taxes are higher?”), from the perceived distributional impacts (“Who benefits if taxes are cut?” “What is the underlying income distribution?”), and from the fairness criteria people apply when weighting winners and losers (“How much more is a dollar of a transfer from a higher to a lower-income person worth?” or “How fair is it that children born in wealthy families inherit more?”). The assessment of most other policies also involves these three central factors: efficiency, distribution, and fairness. Variation in policy views could be traced to one or more of these primary considerations, with the perception of and weight assigned to them differing across groups of people, e.g., based on political affiliation, income, education, or gender.

In this paper, I explore what people know and, most importantly, how they reason about four major policies in the U.S.: income taxation, estate taxation, health insurance, and trade policy. What are the considerations people have in mind when thinking about a given policy? These may – rightly or wrongly – not be in line with the ones economists are thinking about. I examine the mechanisms that people think each policy operates through and how they trade-off the different considerations. Do people focus more on policies’ distributional implications or rather on their efficiency costs? What fairness criteria do they employ? How do the answers to these questions differ by the socio-economic and political characteristics of respondents? I also study whether people learn about the economic policies and change their views about them if one provides simple, but nuanced explanations of their distributional and efficiency consequences, perhaps the way one might do in an introductory economics class.

There are at least three crucial reasons for understanding how people’s mental maps determine support for or opposition for policies. First, it is akin to adding the benefits of *structural* approaches to those of the reduced form evidence we already have. Previous work has shown that people hold different views on policies and that various (experimental) pieces of information or (actual) economic phenomena change their minds and voting in one way or another. But by going to the more primitive level of reasoning about each mechanism, we can learn about people’s structural mental models and parameters. As is the case with structural models in other settings, these can then be used to generalize, predict, and analyze counterfactual changes. Second, identifying gaps in knowledge about the actual policy or phenomena allows to pinpoint where information is needed, perhaps for certain groups in particular. Third, it is critical to disentangle different (even correct) perceptions of economic facts (efficiency costs or distributional impacts) from different value judgements or fairness criteria. The former could possibly be corrected or changed with better information, at least to some extent. Even though many of these facts are still uncertain for economists, better data and progress in research are shedding light on them. Fairness considerations, however, may be more immutable and may need to (and perhaps even should) be taken as given and respected by policy makers. In any case, understanding the sources of disagreement or the parts of agreement can help better manage political divergences.

To this end, I run four large-scale Social Economics surveys and experiments on representative samples of

the U.S. population. The questions that comprise these surveys are designed to elicit not only respondents' factual knowledge about various policies and the underlying economic phenomena of each, but also their understanding of the mechanisms of each policy and its efficiency and distributional implications. I also extract people's first-order considerations that come to mind when they are prompted to think about a given policy and its goals or shortcomings. To avoid priming respondents about a particular effect or another, this is done primarily through open-ended questions, which are subsequently evaluated through text analysis methods

I randomized the formulation of many of the questions in each survey. The same root question is asked in three different ways: generic and impersonal (e.g.: "If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for the middle class, to what extent would it encourage them to work less?"). The second formulation is focused directly on the respondent themselves ("If your federal personal income tax rate were to increase for the middle class, to what extent would it encourage you to work less?"). The third is specifically about women ("If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for women in the middle class, to what extent would it encourage them to work less?"). The goal is to elicit whether respondents think differently about a generic person, women, or themselves, but without asking the same person different versions of the same question.

To better understand how respondents learn and how the presentation of a policy affects perspectives, I experimentally show people instructional videos that explain the workings and consequences of each policy from three different perspectives. The "Distributional" perspective focuses on the distributional consequences of each policy, while the "Efficiency" perspective zeroes in on the efficiency costs. Finally, the "Economist" perspective presents issues in light of trade-offs, combining both of the previous perspectives.

Regarding the income tax, respondents tend to think that individuals with high-income earners are more responsive to taxes than middle class households, and the main channels of response are increased tax evasion, higher likelihood of moving to a different state, and being less entrepreneurial. Within this overarching theme, however, substantial partisan gaps are prevalent even in the perceived behavioral responses and distortionary impacts of income tax changes. Republicans believe that taxes drive larger distortions in behavior, particularly with regards to reduced entrepreneurship and labor supply, whereas Democrats tend toward the opinion that income tax changes will not have as substantial of an effect. When it comes to the estate tax, respondents across the political spectrum perceive the wealthy to be significantly more responsive. People tend to believe that higher estate taxes drive increased tax evasion and moving across state lines, with less common perceived responses being saving less, being less entrepreneurial, and having one's spouse stop working to decrease overall income. As the effects move from specific (i.e., the effect on individual taxpayers) to broad (i.e., the overall effect on the economy), partisan disagreement increases sharply on income and estate taxes. Issues such as whether income and estate tax cuts induce trickle-down effects that benefit everyone or whether they carry Laffer effects (i.e., increase tax revenues on balance) tend to vary across distinct party lines. The most significant contrasts between political groups lie in opinions about fairness issues on income and estate taxes, the causes and impacts of income distribution, and the mechanisms of wealth transmission. Because partisan gaps occur on virtually all aspects of tax policy, it is not surprising that they result in substantial discrepancies in the final support for tax policy and government intervention through taxation.

When asked about themselves, respondents consider themselves as similarly responsive to income taxes as the middle class, but less responsive than higher incomes. This is true regardless of a respondent's own

income. Respondents believe that the estate tax impacts their behavior; less so than the behavior of the wealthy, but similarly to how they perceive young people to react. Women consider themselves as less responsive to income and estate taxes than a generic middle class person, and they also consider other women as less responsive to taxes. Paradoxically, however, respondents believe that income or estate tax cuts on “families like theirs” will have the largest Laffer effects. Regardless of their own income, Republicans tend to think their own gains and losses from income or estate tax cuts are more in line with those of higher incomes and the wealthy. This is consistent with another of my findings, namely that even conditional on income, Republicans tend to self-report a higher social class than Democrats do.

When video courses on income and estate taxes were introduced, both the Distribution and Economist treatments increased measured support for progressive taxation. Because the latter also shows the economic costs from taxation, it appears that distribution concerns tend to dominate efficiency arguments in the case of income and estate taxes.

On health insurance, when respondents are left to freely write about their main considerations on the issue, “costs” are by far the biggest concern across the board. The driving factor behind the cost concern diverged along party lines, with Democrats worrying more about the affordability for everyone and Republicans focusing on the costs of existing health plans, regardless of coverage. Coverage is a main concern mainly on the left. There is agreement on the positive benefits of more health insurance: respondents on both sides believed that higher coverage rates would increase preventative care use, decrease emergency room activity, and reduce job-lock. Although there are clear partisan gaps, on the whole, respondents believed that more health insurance coverage would lead to better overall health, less spread of contagious diseases, and that, to a large extent, health outcomes are outside of one’s control. There is much higher disagreement about whether low-income households should be helped to afford health insurance.

Views on final policy outcomes, such as support for a single-payer insurance system or expanded coverage, tend to be highly polarized. Democrats want increased access to healthcare and indicate dissatisfaction with the current health insurance system, believing it to be unfair. Republicans find it less unfair for women than for men to pay more for health insurance if their health is worse or if they have pre-existing conditions (Democrats do not make gender-based distinctions on this issue). There is significant disagreement regarding how generously certain services should be covered, with most of these centering around maternity, family planning, and women’s health. On these issues, gender is subordinate to political affiliation: Republicans tend to have cohesive views, regardless of their gender; the same goes for Democrats.

Given this large polarization on policy views, despite agreement on many positive effects of health insurance, it is unsurprising that the video treatments did not shift views on broader access to health insurance or a single-payer system, even though they strengthened belief in the positive effects of insurance.

Trade policy sees the highest disparity between opinions of opposing sides: on many dimensions, answers are split almost evenly between polar opposites. However, these disagreements do not occur along political party lines and instead seem to signal lack of understanding of what is perhaps the more technical policy issue and uncertainty about its impacts. Beliefs are often shaped by personal circumstances, with those who feel like they have lost from trade policies perceiving the impacts on themselves as more negative and extrapolating these beliefs to how they feel about the broader economic picture. For example, they are less likely to say that trade has made firms more competitive, increased innovation, or stimulated GDP growth than other respondents with a more neutral or positive personal experience.

In this case, the Economist video treatment improved the perceived positive effects of trade, such as

price reductions, improved competitiveness, and innovation. The video also raised support levels for policies other than trade restrictions as better ways to help workers hurt by trade, as well as support for increased taxation to fund retraining programs and direct assistance. Republicans were more positively inclined to the Economist treatment that focused specifically on the U.S. rather than a generic country, while Democrats responded equally to either scenario.

To sum up, respondents do change some of their views about the mechanisms and the desirable design of the policies after seeing the instructional videos. On some highly-polarized issues, such as health insurance, final policy choices were not affected by the video courses. However, the possibility to influence the perceived mechanisms of and sometimes even support for given policies suggests that perhaps explanations (rather than the provision of simple facts) can be useful as at least a first step in the policy debate.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the design of the four policy surveys and the data collection. It also walks through the main methods of analysis. The following three sections each focus on a different survey, with income and estate tax being treated together, followed by health insurance, and trade policy. Each of these three sections has a similar structure, describing in order the results on respondents' knowledge about the policy, their main considerations and topics raised, perceived behavioral responses and distortionary effects associated with the policy, perceived distributional and fairness effects, views on policy and government, and the effect of providing information about the policy.

Two additional resources complement the paper: the extensive Online Appendix which gathers many additional figures and tables and details on the methodology (accessible [here](#)) and a website ([here](#)). Targeted at a non-economist audience, this website allows to select a given topic, question, and group and plots the distribution of answers across the different categories of these groups. Additional figures on open-ended questions are also available.

**Related Literature:** This work is related to recent papers who explore perceptions and misperceptions of various economic variables using survey data. Perceptions of inequality and mobility have received increased attention over the last few years (Gimpelson and Treisman (2018), Hauser and Norton (2017), Kraus et al. (2017), Niehues (2014), and Alesina et al. (2018)). Views of the broader economy have been studied in Blinder and Krueger (2004) who show the importance of television as a source of information and the dominant role of ideology rather than pure self-interest in shaping economic views. Abramowitz and Saunders (2008) find widespread lack of even minimal economic knowledge among consumers in Germany.

Some papers specifically investigate the divergence in understanding between the general public and economists Blendon et al. (1997) show that the public seems to be more pessimistic on the economy than economists are, provide different reasons for why the economy is faring poorly, and are more strongly influenced by personal experiences. Sapienza and Zingales (2013) compare the answers given to questions on a range of economic issues of the “Economic Expert Panel at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business” with those provided by a representative sample of the U.S. population and find that economists and the broader public hold starkly different views on most issues. In all these studies, the focus is either on basic factual knowledge or on final policy views, with no tracking of the intermediate steps of reasoning, which are explored in the current paper.<sup>1</sup>

Taxation is probably the economic policy area in which perceptions have been studied the most, perhaps because of the natural relation between knowledge about taxes and their incentive effects. Perceptions of tax

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<sup>1</sup>My paper on economic literacy also relates to the many empirical studies conducted on financial literacy (see e.g. Hastings et al. (2013) for a recent review), which find similarly low levels of information among the general public.

rates have notably been studied in De Bartolome (1995), Gideon (2017) and Ballard et al. (2018). All three papers report that households systematically underestimate their marginal tax rates, which seems at least in part to be due to a widespread misunderstanding of the distinction between marginal and average tax rates, and of the progressive nature of the federal income tax system. “Schmeduling”, i.e. approximation heuristics along the income tax rate schedule, has recently been investigated extensively in Rees-Jones and Taubinsky (2018). Furthermore, Gideon (2017) show that these mistakes worsen when taxes on other sources of income, in particular dividends, are considered.

The economic effects of tax misperceptions have also been examined in recent papers, notably by Chetty et al. (2013) on the EITC and by Feldman et al. (2016) on “taxpayer confusion” around the child tax credit : both papers find strong behavioral responses to misunderstood tax mechanisms. Eriksen and Fallan (1996) study the effects that knowledge of tax mechanisms has on individual attitudes towards taxation, and in particular tolerance for tax evasion.

Health policy is perhaps the area in which public understanding – as opposed to policy views– have been studied the least. Extensive surveys have been conducted about satisfaction with healthcare systems, views on health care reforms, as well as attitudes on health care spending (see e.g. Mossialos (1997)). Preferences on resource allocation in health care by the public have also been investigated, including recently in Baker et al. (2014).

However, less work has been conducted about the general public’s understanding of health care mechanisms or policies: a notable exception is Loewenstein et al. (2013), in which the authors study misunderstandings of the health insurance market. In particular, they find evidence that consumers often misunderstand complex insurance plans, but only weak evidence that simpler plans would appeal to consumers or change their healthcare choices.

Concerning trade policy, most research has been devoted to analyzing preferences, but recent work has increasingly focused on perceptions as well. Policy preferences on international trade and in particular support for protectionism have been analyzed in-depth since Scheve et al. (2001), which first showed evidence of a “globalization backlash” among the U.S. public and driven by concerns about its impact on labor markets. Hendrix et al. (2016) confirm these findings, as Mayda and Rodrik (2005) do for other countries. The latter also examines the determinants of protectionism across countries and individuals. Rho and Tomz (2017) describe a gap between trade preferences and economic self-interest, which they explain by “economic ignorance:” giving respondents information about the effects of trade on inequality increased their concern for the welfare for others, but also their support for self-serving policies.

## 2 Survey Design

### 2.1 Data Collection and Final Sample

I conducted large-scale surveys of around 2,000 respondents each on four major policies: i) income taxation; ii) estate taxation; iii) health insurance; and iv) trade policy. The surveys were conducted between February 2019 and October 2019 on U.S. residents between 18 and 70 years of age. The surveys were designed using an online platform and the survey links were then distributed by the commercial survey company *Respondi* (<https://www.respondi.com/EN/>) and its U.S.-based partners.

**How were participants enrolled?** The Online Appendix provides more details on how survey participants were recruited. In brief, the commercial survey company has “panels” of respondents (i.e., email lists) to whom they send out survey links via email. Respondents were only told the length of the survey, but neither the topic nor the sender. After clicking on the link, respondents were channeled to a consent page (see Appendix Figure A-1) that informed them that they were about to take an academic research survey, destined solely for research purposes run by non-partisan researchers. They were asked to respond accurately to the best of their knowledge and are assured that participation was entirely voluntary. Respondents were then guided through some screening questions that ensured that the final sample was nationally representative along gender, age, and income dimensions. Thus, if respondents decided to drop out at some point during the survey – e.g., upon learning the topic of the survey – all their demographic and background information would be known and I could check for differential attrition by observable characteristics such as political affiliation. Respondents were paid only if they fully complete the survey. Compensation for each completed survey was around \$3. The median time for completion of the survey was 35 minutes.

**Final Sample.** The final samples for each of the four policy surveys are close to representative of the U.S. population. Table 1 shows the characteristics of the sample for each policy topic relative to the U.S. population. Population statistics come from the Census Bureau as described in the table notes. By construction, we are almost perfectly representative along the dimensions of age, gender, income (arranged into five brackets to mimic the way the quotas were imposed during the surveys). In addition, the sample is also broadly representative on non-targeted dimensions such as the share of respondents who are married and those who are employed and unemployed. However, there are some small imbalances for the health insurance and trade surveys in which the sample was more likely to be employed and less likely to be unemployed. Overall, in all four surveys, respondents were also more likely to have completed high-school and be college-educated than the general population. African-American and Hispanic minorities are also underrepresented.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.2 The Survey Structure

The full survey for the Income Tax survey is available in Appendix A-4, with a link which leads to the web interface of the survey. Below, text in *italic* represents actual survey text. *Italic* text in square brackets represents the answer options provided to the respondents, if any. Some of the subsections of the survey are the same across all four policy modules (marked as “general” and are thus directly comparable) while others are similar, but adapted to the policy under consideration (these are marked as “specific”).

The survey is structured as follows:

1) *Background socio-economic questions about the respondent (general):*

Employment status, family situation, highest education level achieved, household income, political orientation, sector of employment, zip code, voting behavior, whether registered to vote, media consumption and major sources of information, major of study if has attended college, etc.

2) *Own exposure to the policy under consideration (specific):*

In this part, we asked the respondent whether they felt personally exposed to and directly affected by the policy under consideration.

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<sup>2</sup>To address these small imbalances, one can re-weight the sample so that it is representative along the employment, education, and race dimensions as well. This was done for all results as checks, and no result was changed in a non-negligible way. However, including tables with the re-weighted sample would be overwhelming. These results can be generated and sent out on demand.

TABLE 1: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

	US Population	Income Tax Survey	Estate Tax Survey	Health Insurance	Trade
Male	0.48	0.48	0.46	0.45	0.50
18-29 years old	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.18	0.23
30-39 years old	0.18	0.20	0.21	0.21	0.21
40-49 years old	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.20
50-59 years old	0.21	0.20	0.19	0.22	0.18
60-69 years old	0.16	0.17	0.19	0.19	0.18
\$0-\$19,999	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.13	0.15
\$20,000-\$39,999	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.18
\$40,000-\$69,999	0.21	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.23
\$70,000-\$109,999	0.19	0.19	0.20	0.20	0.19
\$110,000+	0.25	0.23	0.20	0.24	0.25
Four-year college degree	0.22	0.33	0.31	0.29	0.28
High-school graduate or less	0.39	0.18	0.19	0.19	0.19
Employed	0.58	0.57	0.61	0.66	0.68
Unemployed	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.05
Married	0.49	0.54	0.54	0.56	0.56
White	0.61	0.76	0.76	0.80	0.78
Black/African-American	0.13	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06
Hispanic/Latino	0.18	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.06
Asian/Asian-American	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.06
Sample size		2784	2360	1826	1771

This table displays U.S. representative statistics (in the first column) from the Census Bureau and Current Population Survey alongside summary statistics from our surveys (the following four columns).

3) *Open-Ended Questions: (specific)*

Several free text-entry boxes were used to ask respondents about their main considerations, perceived goals and shortcomings about the policy, as well as the effects they anticipates (e.g., which groups would gain or lose from a tax increase or would benefit from more international trade).

4) *Knowledge about the policy (specific)*

This part asked respondents about specific knowledge on the parameters and functioning of the policy under consideration (e.g., what the levels of the top income taxes are; what the exemption threshold for the estate tax is, etc.)

5) *Knowledge about the underlying economic phenomenon (specific)*

This part elicited respondents' knowledge of the underlying phenomenon that the policy is addressing. For instance, in the income tax module, questions centered around income inequality and its evolution, the composition of top incomes, and the tax system. For the estate tax module, I asked about the wealth distribution, the sources of wealth inequality, and the estate tax system.

6) *Information Treatments (specific):*

For each policy module, a randomly chosen subsample of respondents was shown one of three versions of a

video with voice-over that provided information about the policy.

7) *Mechanisms (specific):*

In this section, respondents were asked to think through the mechanisms of the policy, i.e., what behavioral responses or distributional consequences it may have.

8) *Policy Outcomes (general and specific):*

Here, respondents were asked for their opinions regarding concrete policy outcomes, such as support for increasing a tax. These outcomes are broken into two groups: some are general, i.e., common across all policy modules, while others are specific to the policy under consideration.

9) *Views of Government (general and specific):*

In this section, respondents expressed their views about the role and capacity of the government to deal with the issue at hand (in the specific portion of this part) For instance, in the income tax module they are asked to what extent they think the government has the tools and ability to reduce income inequality. They were also asked about their general attitudes towards government (unrelated to the specific policy) such as whether they tend to trust the government and what the scope of government intervention should be.

10) *Final Questions:*

By entering the survey, respondents were informed that they were automatically enrolled in a lottery to win \$1000. In the final part of the survey, respondents were asked whether they were willing to forfeit part of their lottery gain in order to receive the accurate answers to all the knowledge questions. They had to commit to forfeiting that amount before they knew whether they had won the lottery or not. The amounts they were asked to forfeit were randomized between \$1, \$2, \$5, and \$10, allowing me to extract a willingness to pay for information. After seeing the information they were also asked whether they were surprised by that information. Finally, they were also asked whether they feel the survey was biased (left-wing biased or right-wing biased) and to leave open-ended feedback in a text-entry box.

I now provide more details on some of these survey blocks.

## **Background socio-economic questions**

I collected information on respondents' gender, age, income, highest level of education achieved, sector of occupation, employment status, marital status, number of children, place of residence, and political orientation. I investigated the latter category in three ways. First, I asked respondents to classify themselves in terms of their views on economic policy, along a spectrum ranging from "very conservative" to "very liberal."<sup>3</sup> Second, I asked them what they consider their political affiliation to be (*Republican / Democrat / Independent / Other / Non-Affiliated*). Third, I asked them for whom they voted in the 2016 presidential elections; and, if they did not vote, for whom they would have voted. I also dug deeper into their political participation by asking whether they were registered to vote, and why not, if they are not; and whether they regularly vote, or why they do not. In some of the Figures and Tables, I refer to four finer political groups that are defined by the combination of the answers to the question of which candidate the respondent voted for and where they see themselves on economic policy issues: Clinton Liberals (those who voted for Clinton and see themselves as "liberal" or "very liberal" on economic policy issues); Clinton Moderates (those who

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<sup>3</sup> "On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?" With options [*Very liberal, Liberal, Center, Conservative, Very Conservative*].

voted for Clinton and see themselves as “moderate” on economic policy issues); Trump Moderates (those who voted for Trump and see themselves as “moderate” on economic policy issues); and Trump Conservatives (those who voted for Trump and see themselves as “liberal” or “very liberal” on economic policy issues). The remaining categories (Trump Liberals and Clinton Conservatives) are very small.

In addition, I collected information on the respondent’s sector of employment and, if they are currently unemployed, on the sector in which they last worked. I also asked respondents about their main source of economic news; whether they try to stay informed; their overall medial and social media consumption; and their major field of study in college.

### **Open-Ended Questions**

Open-ended questions are important to elicit first-order, intrinsic concerns that people have, before they are prompted to think of a particular aspect with the more directed survey questions. Thus, respondents are not influenced by the particular effects or particular issues that economists are used to thinking about and are free to focus on efficiency issues, fairness considerations, and other particular effects of the policy that are important for them. These questions are kept as similar as possible across the different surveys and ask people, about: i) Their immediate “main considerations” that come to their minds when they think about a particular policy; ii) what a “good” policy might mean, including its goal; and iii) the main shortcomings of the policy as it currently is in the U.S. Finally, some more targeted questions ask about the effects on the U.S. economy and on different groups of people if the policy were changed (e.g., if taxes on high earners were increased, if a single-payer health insurance was introduced, etc.). The responses to the open-ended questions are evaluated using detailed text analysis methods, described below.

### **Knowledge about the Policy**

Questions about factual knowledge are carefully designed to be intuitive and easy to understand. For instance, I ask for a number “out of 100” rather than for a percentage. I first explain what a “share” is, and how post- and pre-tax income are related for a given tax rate with the use of a figure and worked-out examples. For each policy, there are up to ten such factual questions about the overall parameters of the policy. For instance, for income taxes, the questions refer to the level of the top federal or top state tax, the threshold for the top tax bracket, the top tax rate in the 1950s, the share of households in the top bracket, the share of households paying no income tax, and the average tax rate for the median household or the top household.

### **Knowledge about the Underlying Phenomenon:**

When analyzing why people support some policies rather than others, it is important to also assess their knowledge of the underlying economic phenomenon. In the income and estate tax surveys, respondents are for instance asked about the share of total income or wealth that goes to the top 1%, the share of wealth inherited, or the occupational composition of the top 1% of earners. In the health insurance module, questions include listing the different types of insurance there are in the U.S., what share of people is affected by them, and how much the U.S. spends on health relative to other developed countries. For trade, respondents are asked about the major importers from and exporters to the U.S. These questions are important to identify where the gap in knowledge lies: is it rather about the policy itself or is it at a more fundamental level a lack of knowledge about this particular aspect of the economy?

## The information treatments

The information treatments are videos (with images, text, and sound) that explain the functioning of each policy. They come in three versions: i) the “Redistribution” treatment focuses on the distributional impacts of the policy; ii) The “Efficiency” treatment emphasizes its efficiency implications; iii) The “Economist” treatment brings together both the distributional and the efficiency considerations and highlights the trade-offs, much like a simple introductory, and very concise economics course on the issue might do.

Screenshots from these videos are in Figures 1-12. Each video can be seen by following the links below the screenshots.

## Mechanisms:

In this section, respondents are asked to think in more detail about how each policy works. What behavioral responses, price effects, and impacts on the broader economy will it trigger? What are the distributional consequences for different groups and how should these be weighted and taken into account? To give a concrete example, in the income tax module, respondents are asked to what extent they believe people will engage in the following behaviors of their taxes were to increase: save less, work less, stop working altogether, evade taxes, etc. They are also asked which income groups will gain most or least if income taxes on high-income earners are increased and whether taxing away the income of different groups is fair or unfair. This part is important because it concretely lets people think about the effects of the policy at the micro and macro levels and combine the distributional and efficiency implications, rather than simply asking about the support for the policy.

**Three randomized formulations:** When asking about these mechanisms, respondents are randomized into one of three branches, which feature a different formulation of these questions. The first branch sees the formulation of the questions in a “neutral” way (e.g.: “If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for the middle class, to what extent would it encourage them towards the following behaviors?”) with an impersonal formulation, that is gender neutral. Below, the terminology used will be that of the “neutral” formulation that asks about a “generic” (i.e., non-gender specified) person or people from a given income group. Respondents in the second branch receive a personal formulation of the questions that asks them about themselves, or about people or households similar to themselves along the relevant dimension. For instance, on the behavioral responses to taxes, respondents may be asked “If your federal personal income tax rate were to increase, to what extent would it encourage you towards the following behaviors?.” In cases in which an individual-level question does not make sense, the question is asked about “households similar to yours” or “people with similar incomes to yours” or “people working in your sector.” For instance: “What effects do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on the estates of households similar to yours would have on economic activity?” This personalized formulations branch will be called the “Me” treatment. In the third branch, questions are formulated to be explicitly about women rather than a generic, non-gender specified person. For instance, “If the federal income tax rate were to increase for women in the middle class, to what extent would it encourage these women towards the following behaviors?” or “If women have health insurance through their employer, do you think this would discourage them from quitting a bad job or switching job from fear of losing their health insurance?” The goal is to see whether the mechanisms that people have in mind for different policies depend on the gender of the people considered.

In addition, some of the specific outcome questions were also randomly formulated to be about women. However, this is not systematic and when it is the case, it is marked clearly in the Tables.

Taken together, the Question formulation randomizations and the Video courses will be called “Treatments.”

### 2.3 Ensuring High Quality Answers

I employed several methods to ensure the highest possible quality of answers. In the survey’s landing page – the consent page, respondents are warned that low quality responses will be flagged and their payment possibly withheld. I also attempt to make them feel involved and socially responsible by emphasizing that we are non-partisan academic researchers seeking to advance social studies. I highlight that it is “very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering.”

Questions are also designed so as to prevent careless answers: for instance, percentages are constrained to add up to 100% and respondents are alerted with a pop-up message if there is an inconsistency. Often, rather than using data entry boxes, I let respondents selecting numbers using sliders.

I also keep track of and check the time spent by the respondent on the survey as a whole, as well as on individual pages and questions, which permits flagging respondents who spend too little time on questions. For the benchmark sample, I drop respondents in the bottom 5% of the survey time distribution. None of our results are affected by trimming these outliers.<sup>4</sup>

A randomized subsample of respondents was also provided with financial incentives for correct responses to the policy knowledge questions. This is expected to encourage respondents to pay more attention. In addition, three screening questions are interspersed in the survey. They ask respondents to ignore the question and select a given or several given answer options. This checks for whether respondents are reading the questions carefully – a respondent who simply rushes to click through the answers is unlikely to read and understand the instructions.

Finally, respondents are asked whether they thought the survey was biased more in favor of left-wing or right-wing opinions.

### 2.4 Methods of Analysis

I briefly summarize the different methods of analysis used in the paper here, before diving into the results for each topic. All variables are comprehensively defined in Appendix A-3 and in a summary fashion in the Table and Figure notes. Not all questions in the survey are represented in the figures or tables due to space constraints. However, the comprehensive set of results, on all topics and questions, and split for different subgroups is in the Online Appendix.

#### Effects of Question Formulation and Video Courses

To assess whether there is an effect of the question formulation (“Me,” “Women,” or Neutral) and of the video courses on the answers, I run regressions that control for the array of personal characteristics and include dummies for all randomized branches of the survey. These results are represented in large tables that separate outcomes by topic, such as the “Perceived behavioral responses” or the “Policy Outcomes.” The layout of the tables is always similar, but the exact panels shown differ depending on the topic.

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<sup>4</sup>These results are available on demand.

In all tables, different panels represent the results from different regression specifications. All regressions include controls for respondent’s gender, age, race, income class, having children, education, having an economics-related major, employment status, self-reported policy knowledge, self-reported social class, political affiliation, and dummies for all treatments (question formulations and video courses). All variables are further detailed in the Appendix A-3. Two panels show the main effects of each treatment ( video courses or question formulation); the treatment branches are denoted by “Me,” “Women,” “Redistribution,” “Efficiency,” or “Economist.” The bottom panels provide descriptive statistics, such as the average response in the control group. The control group is taken to mean respondents who did not receive any video course and who saw the neutral question formulation. The average is also shown for subgroups of respondents in the control group, e.g., male or Democrats.

To test for differential effects by gender or political affiliation, treatment dummies for the video courses or question formulation are interacted with dummies for being “Female” or “Republican” (with omitted categories, respectively being “Male” and “Democrat”).<sup>5</sup> To save on space, not all interacted regressions are shown in the main paper, but all are available systematically in the Online Appendix. The main effects and interaction terms with the dummy for political affiliation “Independent and Others” are always included, but not shown in the tables. Tables that focus on the mechanisms of the policy (efficiency effects, distributional impacts, or fairness considerations) and that were asked with the different formulations typically include the main effects of the treatments, and the interactions of the question formulation with gender and political affiliation. Tables that show policy outcome questions (which are not asked with different formulations unless exceptionally indicated) instead focus more on the interactions of the video treatments with political affiliation. Again, the full set of results with all interactions on all topics and questions is in the Online Appendix.

In some cases, it is useful to summarize a set of variables on the same topic into a single index. For instance, I consider a “fairness index” that aggregates several questions on the fairness of the income distribution and the tax system into a uni-dimensional measure. To construct these summary indices, I follow the methodology in Kling et al. (2007). Each index consists of an equally-weighted average of the z-scores of its components with signs oriented consistently within domain (e.g. the higher the distortion index, the higher the belief of the respondent in the distortionary nature of taxes). Variables are transformed into z-scores by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation, so that each z-score has mean 0 and standard deviation 1 for the control group.

## Identifying Types of Respondents

Can types of respondents be identified based on their responses? Do responses to certain questions about different aspects of the policy correlated and appearing in clusters? To answer this, I apply an unsupervised, clustering machine learning algorithm based on the Latent Dirichlet Allocation machine learning algorithm. Such a method was recently used by Draca and Schwarz (2019) to identify ideologies in survey data. I apply this algorithm to the set of multiple-choice questions in the survey (the open-ended questions are analyzed separately as described below). The algorithm identifies probability distributions over answers and assigns them to respondent “profiles” based on the frequency: a high probability of a given answers indicates an answer is very salient for this profile. The list of answers with the highest probabilities (“top answers per

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<sup>5</sup>Since different panels represent different regressions, the coefficients on the main effects of the treatments or covariates can vary between panels, depending on whether interaction terms are included or not.

profile”) correspond to answers that frequently occur together. Respondents are then sorted into either of these profiles. While there can be many profiles, the focus in the text is on two major ones that are clearly defined.

Figure 13 shows the average share of respondents in each of the groups listed on vertical axis (sex, race, political views, etc..) that belong to profile II (which is defined below each panel). The dots represent the mean in each group and the lines are the 90% confidence intervals around the mean. The “average” dotted line is the sample average. The coefficients listed next to the characteristics represent the partial correlations with that characteristic and the outcome variable. They come from a regression of the outcome on all personal characteristics included jointly. Their standard errors are in parentheses.

## Text Analysis

The text analysis methods are described in greater technical detail in section 2.4 of Online Appendix. Here, I provide some background and overall description that applies to all four policy surveys.

**Word Clouds:** The simplest text analysis consists in plotting “word clouds.” To prepare the data for this purpose – as well as for the rest of the text analysis described below– I first parse the answers by removing punctuation, excess spaces, numbers, misspelled words and so-called “stopwords,” which are common words that carry no intrinsic meaning such as “and,” “the,” etc. The remaining words in each answer are then lemmatized, i.e., all inflected forms of a word are grouped together. For instance, “policies” becomes policy, “were” becomes “be.” Words that appear in the question (and are thus often naturally repeated in the responses) are also removed, as are extra words related to the structure of the answer. E.g.: for the question “What are your main considerations about trade policy?,” the words “main,” “considerations,” “trade,” “policy” are removed from the answers, as are the words “think,” “believe,” “should” etc. These steps reduce the number of distinct text elements. Subsequently, each answer is encoded into a vector in which each element is 2-gram, i.e., a set of two words which were separated by no or one word in the original text.<sup>6</sup> 2-grams that correspond to the same set of two words in a different order are treated as identical. 2-grams which are duplicates or do not make grammatical sense are removed. For instance, consider the answer “Politicians should tax the wealthy more and tax the poor less.” After parsing, lemmatization, and removal of extra words, the answer becomes “politician tax wealthy more tax poor less.”<sup>7</sup> The word clouds and keyness figures are based on the package by [Benoit et al. \(2018\)](#). The transparency and font size are proportional to the frequency of each group of words relative to the total (the max frequency is indicated in the notes of each graph).

**Keyness and Keywords Analysis:** The keyness analysis is based on a relative frequency analysis. The latter compares the use of sets of words identified in the answers of two groups, called a reference and a target group. In the paper, the benchmark groups are defined by political affiliation. The reference group is Republicans and the target group is Democrats. The Online Appendix shows the splits for people of different incomes, ages, or genders. To establish the “keyness score” of a given set of words, the frequency of the latter is computed among all the words used in the answers of the target and reference groups. These

<sup>6</sup>In some cases, 2-grams contain three words because two of the words always go as a pair. This is the case for instance with “too many” in the 2-gram “too many loopholes” below.

<sup>7</sup>The encoding and elimination of meaningless 2-grams yields a vector where some example entries would be “tax wealthy” = 1, “tax more” = 1, “wealthy more” = 0 (because it does not make grammatical sense), “tax poor” = 1, “poor people” = 0 (because it does not appear in the sentence, but may appear in another answer).

frequencies are cross-tabulated and a  $\chi^2$  test is conducted to test whether the use of the set of words is the same across the two groups. A given set of words is significant and considered a “keyword” when the independence hypothesis is rejected. A negative  $\chi^2$  indicates that the word is significantly more frequent in the reference group (Republicans).

**Topic Analysis:** The topic analysis is based on a keywords-count model. Topics are defined by sets of keywords that capture a particular aspects of the policy. The complete list of keywords for each topic is reported in each figure. The topic indicator variable is equal to one if the document contains at least one of the keywords defining this topic. Documents can thus contain more than one topic if the respondent used keywords belonging to different topics. The bar charts in the Figures represent within-group distribution of the topics in a given question. In the benchmark figures in the paper, the groups are defined by political affiliation: Clinton liberals, Clinton Moderates, Trump Liberals, and Trump Conservatives. In the Online Appendix the split is shown for different groups too, such as by income or age brackets. For each group, the ratio of the number of times a given topic is mentioned to the total number of topic mentions by the members of the group is computed. This permits taking into account the fact that some groups (e.g. respondents aged 50+) systematically write longer answers and are therefore mechanically more likely to mention more topics. In the paper, due to space constraints, the focus is mainly on one of the open-ended question, namely “*What are your main considerations about [policy]..?*” The Online Appendix provides topic distributions for all the open-ended questions, as well as for different groups (gender, income, age) and unconditional topic distributions (probability of a topic appearing in any given answer, without regard of the total number of mentions, which does not account for question length).

## Analysis Outline

In the sections below, the survey data for each policy issue is analyzed following the methods just outlined. Each section starts by describing the findings from the knowledge questions and then turns to the text analysis. Then, the perceived mechanisms (efficiency, distribution, and fairness) are examined, with a focus on the effect of question formulation (“Me” versus everyone else; or “Women” versus a generic person). Here, the attention is on the underlying channels and mechanisms that could be informing people’s views, not on broad statements such as whether the policy overall is good or fair. The overall support for policy and the different profiles of respondent that emerge are then described. Finally, the effects of the video courses on the perceived mechanisms and policy outcomes are investigated.

## 2.5 Exposure, Knowledge, and Willingness to Pay for Information on the Policies:

A few brief remarks on respondents’ overall feeling of being personally affected by the four different policies, their knowledge, and their willingness to pay. These results are summaries of the more extensive results in the Online Appendix.

**Share of respondents who feel personally affected by policies:** Just around half of respondents feel that the income tax has *very important direct effects* in their lives (52%), but 94% feel it has at least some effects on their life. Fewer respondents (32% on average) feel that the estate tax *has very important direct effects* on their life. By contrast, 77% feel that *U.S. trade policy has important, direct effects* on their own

life. On health insurance, the survey instead asked respondents a series of questions to gauge their personal impacts from health insurance, the results of which are shown in Panel (B) of Figure 25. In brief, 91% have health insurance of any sort. 41% declare having delayed medical treatment recently because of cost concerns and, among those, 61% say that the illness was serious.

Some groups perceive themselves as more directly impacted by these policies. Higher income respondents feel naturally more affected by the income tax than the average respondent or lower income ones (56%); the same goes for the estate tax. Higher income respondents also consider themselves to be more directly impacted by trade policy. Those who feel most affected by the income tax are Republicans; the gap is largest between Democrats and Republicans on how many feel affected by the estate tax: 40% of Republicans, as contrasted with 25% of Democrats feel affected. Republicans feel only a bit less affected by trade policy. Respondents aged 50 or more are more likely to consider themselves personally impacted by all the policies, but the difference is only significant for trade policy. There isn't a big gender gap along this dimension either, with men believing they are more affected by only trade policy.

**Share of Respondents who say they don't know about the policy:** The share of respondents who answered some variation of "I don't know" in any of the open-ended questions in the survey questionnaire is higher for the estate tax than for the income tax (32% relative to 28%). Fewer respondents (around 18-19%) say they do not know enough about health insurance or trade policy. Women, those who report to be less knowledgeable and the young are more likely to say they don't know. There is no partisan gap except that Republicans are slightly less likely to say they don't know about the estate tax.

**Willingness to pay for information by policy:** The share of respondents who agree to pay the randomized amount proposed in exchange for accurate truthful information on each policy is on average 38%, regardless of the policy. More knowledgeable people are consistently more willing to pay for information. There is no partisan gap on the estate tax and trade, but there is a significant gap in the health Insurance (see the regression coefficients and standard errors marked) and income tax surveys, with Democrats having a higher willingness to pay for information.

### 3 Income and Estate Taxes

This section focuses on the income tax and estate tax surveys, following the methods and presentation outlined in Section 2.4. When we think of the optimal level of taxation as economists, we usually have in mind the trade-off between efficiency – the efficiency cost of taxes and the distortions in economic behaviors these may induce – and redistribution concerns. People may or may not have similar concerns. The behavioral effects of income or estate taxes can occur through several possible channels, such as reductions in productive activities (e.g.: working, saving), tax avoidance (e.g.: moving states), or outright evasion. In addition, there are broader effects on both tax revenues and on the economy as a whole, the perceptions of which should affect the views on optimal tax policy. Often discussed is, for instance, a "Laffer effect" for income and estate taxes. This is the phenomenon whereby a tax cut could ultimately lead to an increase in tax revenues by stimulating economic activity so much that this positive effect outweighs the direct loss in revenue from decreasing the tax. "Trickle-down economics" is the idea that tax cuts at the top of the income or wealth distribution could also benefit lower-income households too through general equilibrium effects. For instance, top earners could be perceived as "job creators" whose economic activity benefits even those with lower incomes through

increased employment and career opportunities. These are the behavioral response and distortionary effects explored in Section 3.3.

These efficiency costs are balanced against the possible redistribution benefits of taxes. The perceived distributional implications (i.e., who gains and loses from certain tax changes) are important factors in determining support for higher or lower taxes. Finally, the way that distributional implications and efficiency costs are weighted depends on people's fairness criteria. For the income tax, the essential fairness concern is whether inequality is considered to be a serious issue and whether ultimately people are entitled to their income or not. For the estate tax, thorny fairness issues revolve around two conflicting concerns, namely whether parents should be able to freely pass on wealth to their children, or whether children should start from a level playing field. The distributional implications of income and estate taxes and the corresponding fairness issues are covered in Section 3.4.

### 3.1 Knowledge about Income and Estate Taxes

I start by presenting the main perceptions and knowledge about the income tax and the income distribution. In Figure 15, the average perception, the median perception (the dashed line), and the real value for all the statistics respondents are examined. Respondents slightly underestimate today's top tax rate: they believe it is 29% when it is 37%. They believe on average that the top tax rate in the 1950s was similar to today's (31.5%) when it was, in fact, much higher (91%). The perception of the median-income household's and the top-tax bracket household's average taxes are compressed, implying that the level of progressivity of the tax system is misunderstood (panel B). Respondents smooth out the tax schedule in their mind and over-inflate by a factor of two the tax paid by the median household while slightly underestimating the tax paid by the top bracket household.

Respondents also greatly underestimate the top tax bracket's threshold, placing it at around \$ 174,000 annual income instead of the actual \$ 600,000 annual income (Panel D). Accordingly, respondents believe that the top tax rate applies to many more households (19%) than it actually does (0.70%) (Panel C). Again, respondents tend to compress towards each other the share of households in extreme tax brackets: they underestimate the share of households that do not pay income taxes (believing it is 24% when the reality is 44%) but overestimate the share of households in the top bracket.

Turning to the misperceptions about the underlying income distribution, we can see that respondents strongly overestimate the share of income going to the top 1% by 25 percentage points on average. The same may be seen below for wealth in the top 1%. Finally, respondents' beliefs about which professions compose the top 1% richest people in the U.S. is not in line with reality. For different professions, Figure 15 Panel F plots their actual share among all top 1% people ranked by income in the U.S. and the respondents' average perceived share. Respondents tend to think that, among the top 1% richest people, there are more entrepreneurs; and arts, media and sports personalities; or teachers and scientists than there truly are. This could be because these professions are more often seen in the media. Conversely, respondents tend to underestimate the share of executives/managers and physicians in the top 1%.

Figure 16 shows how knowledgeable respondents are about the estate tax and the underlying wealth distribution. Panel A highlights that respondents slightly underestimate the tax rate above the exemption threshold today; however, they very starkly underestimate the 1950s tax rate because they seem to extrapolate from today, even though the estate tax was much higher back then. Panel B however shows that people over-estimate the average rate paid effectively, perhaps because they do not realize the extent to which the

estate tax can be avoided. Panel C shows that people are relatively inaccurate in their perception of the share of estates that are unrealized capital gains that have never been taxed (46% relative to 55% in reality). Respondents also believe – again close to current estimates– that 42% wealth is inherited. There is considerable uncertainty around this number in reality, with estimates by economists ranging from 34-45% (Kopczuk and Lupton, 2007) to 56%-64% (Alvaredo et al., 2017). Respondents believe that the average share is 364 out of 1,000 households and that the median share is 300 out of 1,000 households, when the reality is below 1 out of 1,000 households. Qualitatively (but not quantitatively) consistent with this is that respondents believe that the estate tax exemption threshold is much lower than it actually is: the average perception is \$2 million (the median is lower than \$0.5 million) while the reality is 11 million per person (Panel (E)). Turning to wealth inequality, Panel F shows that respondents believe on average that the top 1% wealth share is 53% (as opposed to the 42% estimated in recent work, which is itself subject to considerable debate) and that the bottom 50% holds 12% of wealth (which is much higher than the actual 2%). Respondents thus inflate the two extremes of the wealth distribution.

## 3.2 Text Analysis

### 3.2.1 Income Tax

The word clouds for the three open-ended questions on the income tax are shown in Figure 17; the keyness graphs and topic distribution are in Figure 18. Recall that the three main open-ended questions concern i) the main considerations of the respondent when it comes to the income tax system; ii) what the goal of a good tax system should be; and iii) what the main perceived shortcomings of the income tax system are.

Words that appear more often in the answers to each question are written in larger font in the wordclouds. The main considerations include both “lower tax” and “higher tax,” suggesting split views and different concerns depending on whose taxes those refer to (higher versus lower income people). The term “middle class” is also very prevalent, implying that people express first and foremost some concern about the taxes of the middle class. When it comes to the perceived goal of a good income tax system, the views crystallize around either a “flat tax” or a “fair tax.” The predominance of the former term is due in part to the fact that there is a non-ambiguous, single term to designate such a tax system, whereas there are many more ways to refer to a progressive tax system. Overall, a significant cluster of respondents are strong proponents of a flat tax (around 10% of the full sample). Finally, the shortcomings perceived by respondents center around the disadvantages faced by the “middle class” and – to a lesser extent– the “working class.” Very preponderant are considerations about tax avoidance or evasion (“too many loopholes” and “too many breaks”).

Panel A of Figure 18 looks at the distribution of keywords by political groups and by question type (main considerations, goals, or shortcomings). The keywords on the Democrat side center around issues of fairness (“fair share”) and distribution (“rich,” “lower class,” “middle class,” and “tax wealthy”). In the shortcomings, Democrats tend to mention “too many avoidance” opportunities, “loopholes” and “too many breaks” for the wealthy and high-income earners. Republicans tend to emphasize government spending, government waste, and the “hard work” of people (i.e., implying that income that is earned through hard work should not be confiscated through high taxes).

Panel B shows the distribution of topics within political affiliations, ranging from Clinton Liberals to Trump Conservatives (recall that these groups were defined based on the combination of the answers to the questions which candidate the respondent voted for in the last presidential election and their stance on

economy policy issues, as explained in Appendix A-3 and Section 2). There are eight topics that appear in the answers to the main considerations question: Distribution, Fairness, Government Spending, Social Insurance, Efficiency, Loopholes, Flat Tax, Public Goods. The final category depicted, labeled “Don’t Know,” tabulates the share of respondents who in some way answer that they do not know enough about the policy to give a meaningful answer. The keywords that define each of these topics are listed below the figure. For instance, the Distribution topic contains keywords such as “middle class,” “low income,” “millionaire.” The Fairness issue contains the words “fair” and “unfair.” Public goods captures “Infrastructure,” “education,” and “health care.” Efficiency is represented by words such as “hurt economy,” “work less,” “competition,” and “spend less” among others. Appendix A-2 lists example answers that contain these topics. For instance, the answer *“That the rich and wealthy do not pay their fair share of taxes”* would appear in the “Distribution” topic and in the “Fairness” topic. The answer *“Current tax rates being raised are a result of government mismanagement of funds and over spending without appropriate oversight. Taxes really can’t effectively be lowered until government spending is properly controlled”* is classified under the “Government Spending” topic. The “Efficiency” topic is illustrated with answers such as *“I am concerned about the push to raise taxes on persons with higher incomes. I do believe in trickle down economics and that government should pretty much keep their hands off.”* Examples for the “Loopholes” topic include *“We need to close the loopholes that are there to make sure that those who make more actually pay more.”*

There are clear political differences in the frequency of the distribution, government spending, flat tax, and loopholes topics. Among all topics mentioned by Clinton Liberals, the distribution topic makes up close to 50% of mentions. For Trump Conservatives, it only makes up 25% of all mentions. Government spending represents less than 4% of topic mentions for Clinton Liberals, but 22% for Trump Conservatives. Efficiency, Social Insurance, Public Goods and the Flat Tax are not as frequently mentioned topics. “Fairness” is highly-mentioned and evenly distributed across the political spectrum. But while everyone cares about fairness, the meaning of this concept greatly differs across respondents.

### 3.2.2 Estate Tax

Figures 19 and 20 focus on the text analysis of the estate tax open-ended questions. In the wordclouds, the words that appear for the main considerations are quite diverse, from “middle class” to “double tax” and “family.” When it comes to the goals of a good estate tax system, people tend to mention “fair taxes” and give various thresholds above which the estate tax should kick in, but overwhelmingly mention the issue of double taxation that should be avoided (“already tax”). Similarly, on the shortcomings of the estate tax, the key consideration is by far double taxation.

The keyness graphs in Panel A of Figure 20 show that keywords on the Democrat side are again centered around distribution issues (“middle class,” “rich”) as well as particular numbers for the exemption threshold. On the Republican side, keywords mostly concern double taxation, the government, and the family.

This first impression is confirmed in Panel B, which shows the distribution of topics across political groups. The keywords for the different topics are similar to those from the income tax survey, but some topics are particular to the estate tax. For instance, the Double tax topic is represented through words such as “already taxed/paid,” “twice” that appears combined with “tax” or “pay” and the Grieve topic, which is captured by terms such as “grieve,” “bury,” and “funeral.” The latter is included because the estate tax is often pejoratively called the “Death tax.” Some example answers are as follows. The answer “There shouldn’t be a federal estate tax because it’s kind of unfair to have to pay taxes on money that already

belongs to your family and has most likely had taxes paid on it already” would appear under the Fairness and Double Taxation topics. The answer “I believe in smaller government, so all taxes should be lower” appears under Government Spending; while the answer “I would like higher taxes to pay for more domestic spending such as education, healthcare, etc” is classified under Public Goods. “Lower taxes mean I have more disposable income to spend therefore more products can be made and more jobs created” goes to the Efficiency topic. The Grieve topic contains answers such as “You’re taxing a family member for the death of their loved one? That’s messed up.” Finally, answers such as “The wealthy don’t usually pay these taxes, they find a loophole” are part of the Loopholes topic.

Distribution issues are most prevalent among Clinton Liberals and diminish rapidly and monotonically as one moves towards Trump Conservatives. The Double Tax issue on the other hand is extremely prevalent among Trump Conservatives, but quite rare among Clinton Liberals. The mentions of “fairness” are again evenly distributed across the political spectrum, but clearly mean different things for different political groups. Much rarer topics are government spending, efficiency considerations, loopholes, family concerns (“grieve”) or public goods. The share of answers that mention some variation of “Don’t know” is larger for the estate tax than for the income tax, which is in line with the policy knowledge findings and suggests that the estate tax is less well-understood than the income tax.

### 3.3 Perceived Behavioral Responses and Distortionary Effects of Taxes

Tables 2 through 9 present the behavioral, distributional, and fairness effects of income and estate taxes in greater detail. Figures 21 through 24 represent these results visually and in a condensed way.

#### 3.3.1 Income Taxes

Table 2 shows the perceived behavioral responses to income taxation.<sup>8</sup> The dependent variable in this table, as well as in Figure 21 panels A, C, and D, are dummy variables equal to one if respondents say that the taxes will change the listed behavior by a “moderate amount” to a “great deal.”

In general, respondents perceive behavioral responses to taxes to be stronger for higher-income earners than for middle-class earners, especially when it comes to the margins of evasion, having one’s spouse stop working, or moving states. Thus, 80% of respondents from the control group believe that high-income earners are likely to evade more taxes if their taxes were increased, 43% believe high earners will have their spouse stop working, and 78% think high-income earners are likely to move states in search of lower taxes. The corresponding perceptions for middle class taxpayers are 60%, 32%, and 64%, respectively.

Overall, respondents think that the margins that respond most strongly to taxes are evasion, moving states, and entrepreneurship. It is interesting that these are among the less studied responses in the empirical literature and, for the latter two at least, only recently incorporated into the core tax theory models. However, these are the response margins on which respondents seem to think people have more choice. 50% of respondents believe higher-incomes are less likely to be entrepreneurial if their taxes increase (the corresponding number for the middle class is 45%). Working less is also a widely considered consequence, but is believed to be less prevalent: 48% of respondents believe that high earners will work less in response to taxes and 39% believe middle class earners will work less. The perceived likelihood of the higher income

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<sup>8</sup>Recall that respondents were asked about these behavioral responses in different, randomized ways. One group of respondents was asked about the effects of taxes on high-income earners and the middle class; the other about the effects of taxes on high-income women and middle class women (the “Women” treatment); the final group about the effects of taxes on respondents themselves (the “Me” treatment).

or middle class stopping work altogether or having their spouse stop working are much lower. The work responses – on the intensive or extensive margins– are typically the core ones in the optimal tax literature.

Table 4 shows additional perceptions on the mechanisms through which income taxes act. Column 1 in Table 4 considers whether respondents believe in “trickle-down” economics, i.e., in whether lowering rather than increasing income taxes will do more to reduce income inequality than increasing them. Overall, only 32% of respondents believe in the idea of trickle-down effects. Column 2 shows responses to the question whether taxes on higher incomes will hurt the economy: only around 31% of respondents think they will. Columns 3 and 4 consider, respectively, whether there is a “Laffer” effect from taxes on the high-incomes and the middle class respectively, i.e., whether reducing tax rates on these groups can, in fact, boost tax revenues and decrease the deficit. Interestingly, quite a few respondents believe such Laffer effects exist, mostly when it comes to middle-class taxes (65% of respondents think a Laffer effect can occur for the middle class; 48% think so for high-income earners). Column 5 sums up all the perceived behavioral responses and distortionary effects of taxes into a “Distortion index.”

**Me and others:** Respondents who are randomly asked about how they themselves would react were their taxes to increase seem to think they are much less likely to respond to taxes along any of the margins when compared to high-income earners. 28% say they would evade taxes, 33% that they would work less, 23% that they may stop working altogether, 25% that their spouse may stop working, 55% that they may move states, and 39% that they would be more entrepreneurial.

Relative to the middle class, respondents mostly believe they will evade less; their own perceived responses are only marginally significantly different from the average middle-income person along the working and entrepreneurship margins. Broadly speaking, respondents consider their responses comparable to those of the middle class and weaker than those of high-income earners.<sup>9</sup> When thinking about which tax cut would have stronger stimulating effects on the economy, respondents believe – somewhat inconsistently– that it will be tax cuts on households like theirs rather than on high-income earners. Thus, Laffer effects on households like theirs are considered stronger than on high earners, but similar to those on middle-class households.

**Women and others:** Respondents are less likely to say that high income women will evade taxes and move state as compared to a generic (unspecified gender) higher-income person. They also think that middle-class women will evade taxes less than a generic middle-class person. However, when comparing the perceived responses along the margins of “moving states,” “having spouse stop working,” or stopping work of middle-class women and a generic middle-class person, it is only female respondents who believe other women would respond less. Women thus believe other women are less responsive to taxes, especially relative to a middle class person.

**Women on themselves:** While women consider other women as less responsive than men to taxes, they believe they are themselves even less responsive relative to other middle-class people: The difference in response to the “Me” treatment between men and women is strong when it comes to comparing themselves to middle-class people and weaker when respondents are asked to compare themselves to high-income households, which makes sense since most respondents think they are less responsive than the high-income earners in the first place. Overall, women more than men believe they respond less to taxes than a generic middle-class person along all margins except evasion. For the latter, men and women alike say that they themselves

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<sup>9</sup>The perceived lower response along the “move states” or “having your spouse stop working” margins in the “Me” treatment as compared to the middle class is entirely driven by women, and is explained in more detail below.

are much less prone to evading taxes. Only women consider themselves as less responsive than others on the “moving state” or “having your spouse stop working” margins when compared to the middle class; men do not.

**Republicans versus Democrats:** Consistently, Republicans perceive behavioral responses to taxes as 30-50% stronger than Democrats do both for high-incomes and for the middle class. The one exception is the perceived evasion of high-income earners, which is slightly weaker among Republicans.<sup>10</sup> 55% and 46% of Republicans believe that, respectively, high-income and middle-class earners will work less in response to increased taxes, compared to 45% and 34% of Democrats. Another large difference is on the entrepreneurship margin with 63% of Republicans believing high-incomes will be less entrepreneurial (as compared to 41% of Democrats) and 54% believe the same of the middle class (relative to 39% of Democrats). Yet, Republicans and Democrats are not significantly different in how they view their own behavioral responses. This means that Republicans perceive a bigger gap between themselves and everyone else when it comes to responses to taxes than Democrats do.

Turning to Table 4, Republicans are much more ardent believers in “trickle-down” effects from taxes: 60% of Republicans compared to only 10% of Democrats believe in them. More Republicans (52%) than Democrats (15%) perceive negative effects on the economy from taxing high-income earners. Accordingly, Republicans also think there are more powerful Laffer effects for high-income earners. The two political groups are not significantly different when it comes to Laffer effects for the middle class: 61% of Democrats and 70% of Republicans believe that tax cuts on the middle class will pay for themselves.

### 3.3.2 Estate Tax

Table 3 shows the perceptions on behavioral responses to the estate tax. Here, respondents are asked about the effects on wealthy individuals, as well as on currently young people who are not necessarily yet wealthy, but have time to adjust to the estate tax. This question is to gauge how respondents think about anticipation effects that are so often included in economic models. Again, there are three possible randomized formulations: “Me,” Wealthy “women” or young “women,” and the (generic) “wealthy” or “young” people. Table 5 highlights additional efficiency and fairness effects related to the estate tax. The first two columns respectively depict whether respondents believe that a higher estate tax would hurt the economy and whether there are Laffer effects for the estate tax, i.e., whether an estate tax decrease would increase tax revenues. Figure 22 depicts some of the main results visually.

Respondents tend to perceive behavioral responses to the estate tax as stronger for the wealthy than for the currently young for some margins only, and in ways that are in line with economic theory. The currently wealthy are considered on average more likely than the young to evade (a striking 88% of respondents believe so for the wealthy and 78% believe so for the currently young), more likely to have their spouse stop working (57% versus 46%), and much more likely to move state (83% versus 73%). On the other hand, the currently young are perceived as only slightly more likely to work less, be less entrepreneurial, or save less. The strongest perceived responses to an estate tax increase overall are, again, evasion and moving states, followed closely by saving less, being less entrepreneurial, and having one’s spouse stop working.

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<sup>10</sup>As the corresponding Appendix table shows, there is a clear monotone progression from Clinton Liberals to Trump Conservatives in terms of stronger perceived behavioral responses.

**Me and others:** Respondents consider themselves less responsive than the wealthy.<sup>11</sup> As for the income tax, respondents mostly think they are different from the wealthy along the margins of evasion, having their spouse stop working, and moving states (as the Online Appendix shows, being a high-income respondent does not significantly change these patterns). Bear in mind that respondents still believe themselves to be responsive to taxes to some extent: on average, 38% say they would evade taxes significantly following an estate tax increase; 32% say they would reduce their labor supply; and 49% say they would move states.

However, respondents again believe that increasing the estate tax on families like theirs is more likely to hurt the economy than increasing it on the wealthy, despite the fact that they think their behavioral responses are weaker. They also believe Laffer effects would be stronger on households with similar wealth to theirs rather than on wealthy households in general, which is paradoxical given their perceived stronger behavioral effects for wealthy households.

**Women and others:** On average female respondents believe that they themselves and other women will respond less to estate taxes along all margins, especially evasion, working less, stopping work, and being less entrepreneurial. The “Me” effect is still very significant for women, i.e., even if they think that other women will respond less to taxes than men, they believe that they themselves will respond to taxes even less than other women. Men only believe women to be less responsive along the evasion margin.

**Republicans versus Democrats:** In the third panel of Table 3, Republicans and Democrats are in line in their perceived (large) behavioral responses for the wealthy. Republicans, however, perceive youth responses to be on average stronger along working less, having their spouse stop working, and being less entrepreneurial.

Republicans believe that they themselves will respond more to the estate tax than Democrats think they themselves will along the margins of tax evasion, movement across states, entrepreneurship, and savings. On balance, they still think they will respond less than a generic currently wealthy person.

Republicans are much more likely to believe that a higher estate tax will hurt the economy (37% compared to 23% of Democrats) and that there are Laffer effects from decreasing the estate tax (56% of Republicans versus 33% of Democrats).

### 3.4 Perceived Distributional and Fairness Effects of the Tax System

Before considering people’s perceived distributional and fairness effects, Figure 14 shows the self-reported social class for Democrats (in blue) and Republicans (in red) as a function of their actual income class (below \$39K, between \$40 and \$110K, and above \$110K of annual household income). Conditional on the actual income class bin, Republicans tend to report a higher social class than Democrats do. For instance, 23% of Republicans in the bottom income class label themselves as “Lower class,” and 43% label themselves as “Working class.” The corresponding numbers for Democrats are 28% and 45%. In the highest income bracket (above \$110K), 11% of Republicans label themselves as upper class, in contrast to only 6% of Democrats. This phenomenon is confirmed by a regression (shown in Panel B) where perceived social class is regressed on the full set of individual characteristics, actual income class, and political affiliation. The political affiliation matters even after controlling for other factors. Of course, class labels are somewhat subjective, and may not be used in the same way across the political spectrum. Nevertheless, it could influence people’s narratives

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<sup>11</sup>The difference in responses about the current young and about oneself is exclusively driven by women except for the evasion margin and is discussed below.

about their social standing and can help explain why, in this section, right-wing respondents will perceive their own gains and losses as being more in line with higher incomes than do Democrats.

### 3.4.1 Income Tax

The last three columns of Table 4 summarize some of the views on the fairness implications of the income tax. Column 6 show that 30% of respondents agree with the statement that high-income individuals are entitled to keep their income. Column 7 highlights that 25% of respondents believe that hard workers should pay less taxes. In the final column, a “Redistribution” index captures the respondent’s support for the redistributive policies mentioned in the survey and for increased taxation with the purpose of reducing inequality and funding public services. Unsurprisingly, Republican respondents exhibit a much lower overall support for redistribution.

Table 6 focuses on the perceived distributional gains and losses from either cutting the income tax on high earners (columns 1-5) or increasing overall taxes (columns 6-10), showing the share of respondents who think that each of the following groups will mostly gain from these tax changes: lower class, working class, middle class, upper-middle class, and upper class households. 32% of respondents believe that lower class households will benefit from a tax cut on high earners, in line with the “trickle down” idea explored above, and 82% believe so about the upper class. 65% believe that the lower class will benefit from overall tax increases and this share decreases monotonically to 41% for the upper class.

**Me and others:** Respondents believe they are more entitled to keep their full income than high-income earners; 53% of respondents say so about themselves, while only 30% say so about high-income earners. On the other hand, respondents believe that whether they work hard or not should not be as relevant for the tax they pay as for the tax paid by a generic person.

Respondents believe they themselves will gain more than the lower, working, and middle classes if taxes on high earners are cut, but less than the upper-middle or upper classes. They also believe they will gain the same as almost all groups, but less than the lower class from an overall tax increase. There is only a small difference in responses for higher-income respondents (those making more than \$70K). The latter believe they would gain even less than the lower and working classes from an overall tax increase, and gain marginally more from a high-earners tax cut than the upper-middle or upper classes. This suggests that the perceived gains and losses of a respondent are not very highly significantly related to their actual income.

**Republicans versus Democrats:** Republicans are more likely than Democrats to think that all groups below the upper-middle class will benefit from tax cuts on high earners, but agree with Democrats on the perceived gains of the upper class. They are also starkly more likely to believe that all groups will lose (or gain less) from an overall tax increase. 55% of Republicans as opposed to 10% of Democrats believe that high-income earners are entitled to keep their income.

When asked about themselves, Republicans tend to believe their own loss from a tax cut on high earners is closer to that of the upper-middle and upper classes. They also think that they are even more likely to lose from an overall tax increase than any of the groups considered, including the upper class. Overall, thus, Democrats perceive their gains and losses as closer to that of the middle class, while Republicans perceive them as closer to those of higher incomes.

### 3.4.2 Estate Tax

Columns 3 through 7 of Table 5 show in-depth fairness considerations about the estate tax. The normatively complex question that societies encounter when thinking of the estate tax is that, from the point of view of the parents, being able to pass on wealth to their children seems relatively fair, as it seems fair to allow people to purchase other types of goods with their money. However, from the point of view of the children, many people would feel it is unfair that children receive very different wealth transfers from their parents through no fault or merit of their own. The latter is an equality of opportunity argument. How do respondents view this thorny normative issue?

The table shows that 61% of respondents believe it is unfair to tax the estate of wealthy people who have worked hard to accumulate their wealth and 47% of respondents believe it is unfair to do so if wealthy people themselves had inherited their wealth in the first place. Only 32% of respondents believe it is fair that children from wealthy families have access to better amenities, but 53% agree it is fair that those children inherit more. The last fairness question makes respondents explicitly think about the trade-off between fairness from the point of view of the children and that of the parents. Just slightly more than half (58%) of respondents agree more with the statement that wealthy parents should be able to pass all of their wealth onto their children, even if that means that “some children will start their own life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born in a richer family” than with the statement that “children should not start their life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born in a richer family,” and that wealth passed on should be taxed even if some parents have worked hard to build it. Hence, there is a lot of disagreement between respondents whether the fairness arguments regarding parents’ rights to transfer wealth dominate those regarding children’s rights to inherit wealth. Table 7 focuses on the perceived distributional gains and losses from cutting the estate tax. 75% of respondents believe the upper class would benefit and this share decreases to 42% for the lower class.

**Me or Families similar to mine:** Respondents seem to believe that they would gain more than the lower-class, working-class and middle-class households from an estate tax cut, about the same as upper-middle class households, and less than upper class households. As was the case for the income tax, this pattern is not significantly different for higher income respondents.

Respondents who are asked about whether it is unfair to tax their estates if they have worked hard are more likely to agree than respondents who are asked about the estates of wealthy families. Respondents also believe it is more unfair to tax the estate of families wealthier than their own who have inherited a lot of wealth than it is to tax the estate of (generic) wealthy families. Additionally, respondents believe that it is fairer for children born in families wealthier than theirs to inherit more than children born in generic wealthy families. This is an extension of the “Me” effect: respondents consider families with wealth higher than theirs as a reference group more anchored and related to them than the “wealthy” in general. Of course, those families are likely to be imagined as less wealthy than what one may normally imagine as the generic “wealthy.” The “index of fairness of inheritance” summarizes these effects and shows that, on average, when it comes to themselves or families closer to theirs, respondents believe the transmission of wealth from parents to children is fairer.

**Republicans versus Democrats:** Republican respondents believe they will gain from an estate tax cut more than generic upper-middle class and upper class households. Thus, it is again apparent here that

Republicans perceive their gains and losses to be much more aligned with the upper echelons of the income and wealth distribution.

When it comes to fairness, there are large partisan gaps – much larger than for the efficiency concerns. Republicans are strikingly more likely than Democrats to say it is fair that wealthy families pass on wealth to their children tax-free if they worked hard for it (73% relative to 51%) or if they inherited it (56% relative to 38%); that children from wealthy families have access to better amenities (44% versus 19%) or inherit more (70% versus 36%); and support on balance tax-free wealth transmission (71% versus 49%).

## **3.5 Views on Tax Policy and Government**

### **3.5.1 Income Tax**

The respondent profile clustering algorithm described in Section 2.4 identifies two major profiles of respondents. Profile I believes in redistribution, sees inequality as a serious issue, and emphasizes the unfairness of the economic and tax system. Typical responses for Profile I include: “The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people,” “a person is rich because she or he had more advantages than others,” and “the share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. increased a lot over the past 30 years.” Profile II does not believe in the unfairness of the system and the seriousness of inequality. Typical answers here include “A person is wealthy because she or he worked harder than others,” “The share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. increased somewhat over the past 30 years.” They also downplay the importance of the federal income tax system in their own lives: “The federal income tax policy has some direct effects on my own life” as contrasted with “very important direct effects” for Profile I. By far the biggest predictor of being in Profile II is political affiliation, with Republicans much more represented in that profile. Two other weak but significant factors correlated with Profile II are higher income and age below 29.

Table 8 describes some of the main policy outcomes of the income tax survey. There are large partisan gaps in these policy views. Only around one third of all respondents believe that the current income tax system in the U.S. is fair or are satisfied with it: the share is one fifth for Democrats and around 45% for Republicans. Thus, Republicans are overall more favorably inclined to the current system, perhaps because of the tax reforms implemented by the current administration. Only 22% of the sample thinks that high-income earners pay more than their fair share; this share is only 9% among Democrats versus 38% among Republicans. On the contrary, 64% believe the middle-class pays more or much more than its fair share and there is broad agreement on the middle-class’s tax share across the political spectrum. 92% of Democrats believe that wealth and money should be more evenly distributed in the U.S. while only 42% of Republicans do. 69% of Democrats perceive inequality to be a serious or very serious issue, as compared with 25% of Republicans. 84% of Democrats believe a progressive income tax to be an important tool to reduce income inequality, while only 48% of Republicans do. When it comes to the role of government, 63% of Democrats, 23% of Republicans, and 43% of all respondents believe the government should have a responsibility in reducing inequality.

### **3.5.2 Estate Tax**

On the estate tax, the two main profiles identified by the respondent profile clustering algorithm were, on the one hand, a respondent who does not feel concerned by the estate tax and focuses on the severity of inequality

and, on the other hand, a respondent who feels that most people are badly affected by the estate tax and that the estate tax system is unfair. Example answers in the first profile include “I do not feel personally affected by the federal estate tax,” “There should be a federal estate tax in the US,” and “The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people.” Very common answers for the second profile are “The federal estate tax is mostly taxing assets that have already been taxed and thus leads to “double taxation,” “I do not know what the stepped-up cost basis at death is,” “Every individual’s estate is subject to the federal estate tax at death,” and “There should not be a federal estate tax in the US.” Again, the most important predictor of belonging to Profile II is being a Republican. Also predictive of this profile is having completed at most a highschool education.

Table 9 focuses on the main policy outcomes for the estate tax survey. At first glance, around 40% of all respondents believe that the estate tax system is currently fair and are satisfied with it, with no significant differences by political views. However, the underlying considerations seem quite different across political affiliations. Around 85% of Democrats and 36% of Republicans believe that wealth is distributed unfairly and that wealth inequality is a serious issue. When asked to think more normatively, as well as whether the estate tax should exist and whether it should be increased, Republicans are significantly less likely to agree. 65% of Democrats against 37% of Republicans believe the estate tax is a good tool to reduce inequality, and 76% and 38% respectively believe the government is somewhat responsible for reducing intergenerational wealth transmission. Hence, while similar shares of respondents on both sides of the political spectrum are satisfied with the current estate tax system, the way in which the non-satisfied ones want to modify it differs substantially by political affiliation.

## 3.6 Effects of Providing Information about the Policies

### 3.6.1 Income Tax

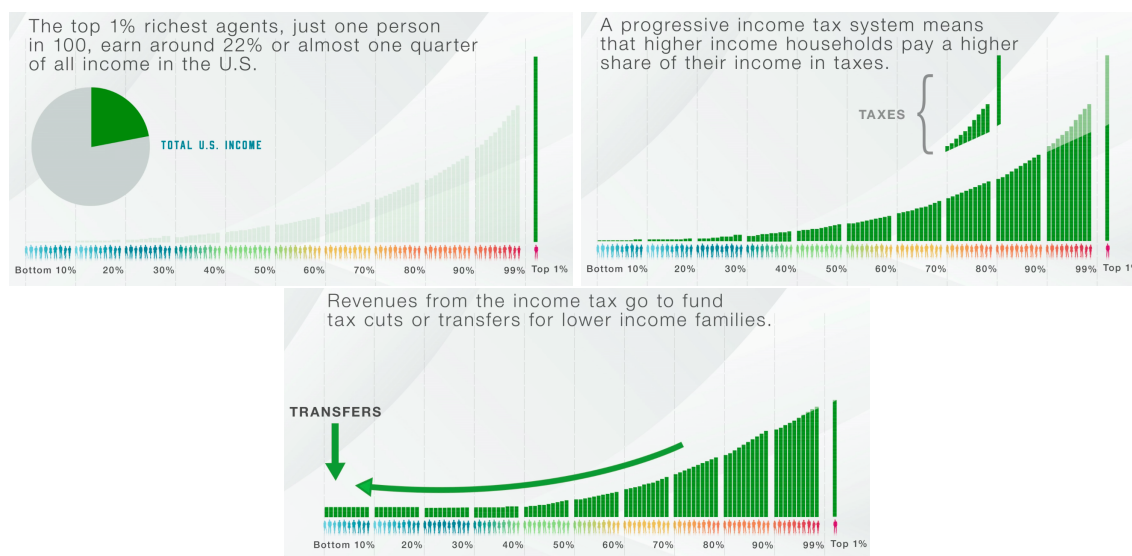
**The treatment video courses** The Redistribution video for the income tax starts by showing respondents facts on the distribution of income in the U.S: the share of earnings of the top 10%, the bottom 90%, and the top 1%. It then describes how a progressive tax system can reduce income inequality by taking income from the higher incomes and redistributing it to lower incomes. It also stresses that in general this could be a beneficial from the point of view that *“one dollar taken from a rich person is not really hurting them much, but that same dollar can really help a poorer person.”* The Efficiency treatment focuses on the distortionary effects of taxes. It stresses the possible costs in terms of reduced economic activity and suggests different channels through which this can happen, such as i) people working less (the video shows the example of John, who decides to not take a second job); ii) people hiding more of their income from the tax authorities; iii) people deciding to stop looking for a new job (the video shows the example of Martha, who may consider stopping her job search because working may no longer be worth the lower post-tax pay; and iv) people deciding to move to a state with lower taxes. The video then sums up: *“To sum up, all taxes have an economic cost and higher taxes can discourage economic activity. The more revenues we try and raise, the more likely there will be a negative impact on total income.”* The Economist treatment appends these two videos and shows a concluding screen, where a scale weights on the one side the benefits from taxation (less inequality and more revenues) against the economist costs. The scale moves from one side to the other, while the respondent is shown that the right tax system is the one that balances these benefits and costs. The video states: *“All taxes have an economic cost and too high taxes can discourage economic activity. But there are also benefits. Progressive taxes make the income distribution more equal and fair by redistributing*

some income from richer to poorer people. The ideal income tax system will be the one that balances these costs and benefits.”

**Effects of the courses:** Are perceptions and policy views affected by the video courses? The perceived mechanisms are certainly very malleable to information (Tables 2 and 4). The Efficiency and Economist treatments increase the perceived behavioral responses to taxation; they also strengthen the view that taxes on high incomes hurt the economy. The Distribution and Economist treatments increase the view that inequality is a serious issue. When it comes to policy support (Table 8), the Distribution and Economic courses have significant effects as well. They both increase the belief that a progressive income tax system is an important tool to reduce inequality, and also that the government has a responsibility to reduce inequality. The effects are economically meaningful: the Distribution treatment increases these two beliefs by around one third of the gap in beliefs between Democrats and Republicans. Equivalently, it increases the view that a progressive tax system is an important tool to reduce inequality by 16% of the control group mean and the belief that the government has a responsibility in reducing inequality by 20% of the control group mean. The Economist treatment increases the two beliefs by around a fifth of the Democrat-Republican belief gap and, respectively, by 9% and 16% of the control group mean. Thus, despite the heightened awareness of efficiency costs from the Economist treatment, respondents end up focusing more on the distribution considerations.<sup>12</sup>

Republican respondents are particularly sensitive to the balanced, Economist treatment. Republican respondents who see this video course believe less in trickle down and in Laffer effect for the middle class. They are less likely to say that high-income earners are entitled to their income. They are also convinced by the treatment that the wealth distribution is more unfair.

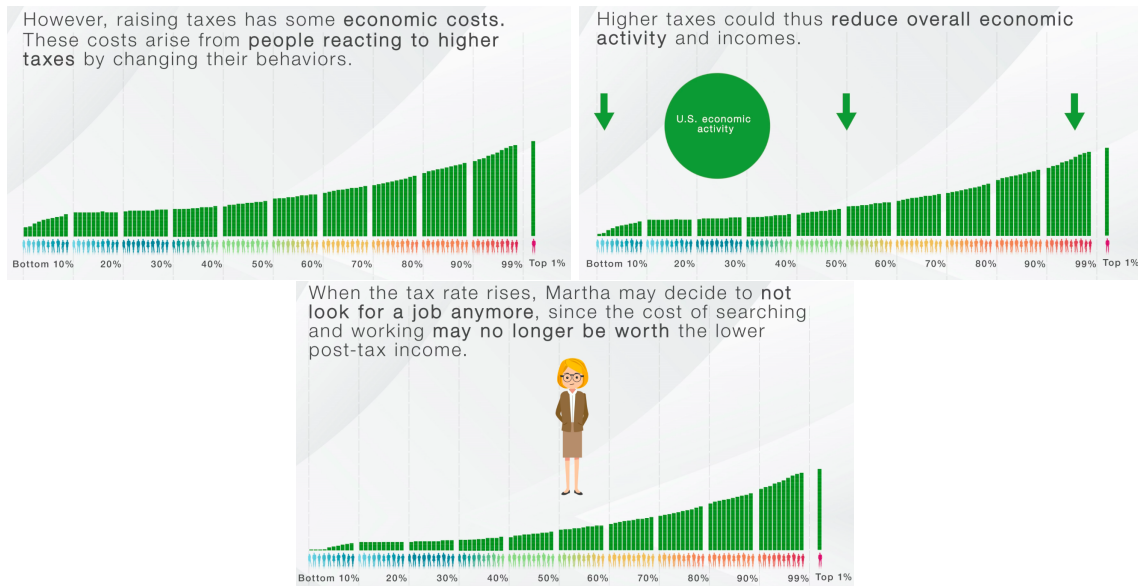
FIGURE 1: REDISTRIBUTION TREATMENT (INCOME TAXATION SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

<sup>12</sup>As can be seen in the Online Appendix, the Distribution treatment also increases the overall preferred involvement of the government and reduces the perceived cents wasted per dollar in the government’s hands.

FIGURE 2: EFFICIENCY TREATMENT (INCOME TAXATION SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

FIGURE 3: ECONOMIST TREATMENT (INCOME TAXATION SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

### 3.6.2 Estate Tax

**The treatment video courses:** For the estate tax survey, the Redistribution treatment video course also starts by showing facts about the distribution of wealth across the U.S. population, for the top 10%, the bottom 90%, and the top 0.1%. The video then shows how wealth transmission from parents to their children can shape the opportunities and wealth of children regardless of their own merit and that wealth transmission can occur for many generations. It then states that the wealth tax could “reduce the transmission of wealth

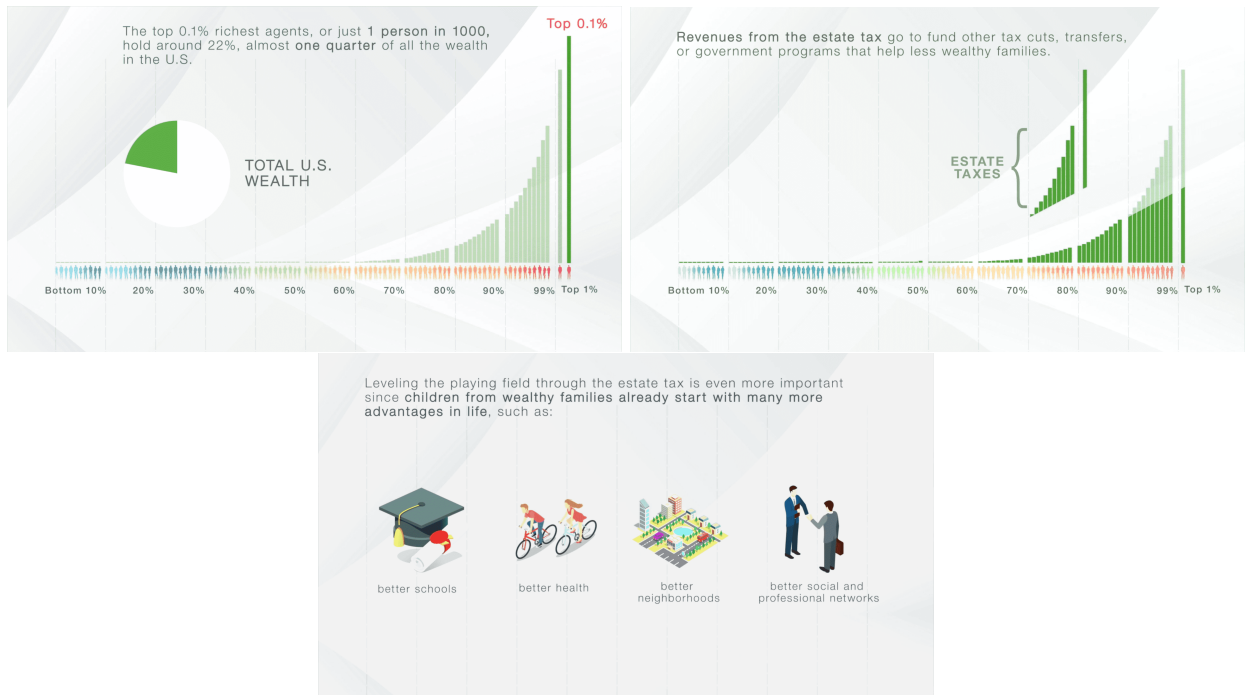
and level the playing field between children from poor and wealthy families.” The revenues raised from the wealth tax can help fund programs for lower-income families. The video also explains that leveling the playing field is even more important since children from wealthy families already start with many more advantages in life, such as better schools, networks, or amenities. The Efficiency video course focuses on the efficiency implications of the estate tax. It starts by stating that an estate tax would reduce wealth inequalities between families, but that it entails economic costs and benefits that arise because people change their behaviors in response to it. It reviews several possible economic costs: i) “Wealthy parents may decide to work less or start fewer businesses”; ii) Wealthy people could also decide to save less and instead spend more; and iii) Wealthy people could decide to evade or avoid estate taxes more. It then turns to the possible efficiency benefits from an estate tax, which are: i) Children from wealthy families will possibly work more as they will inherit less wealth on net and ii) Spreading wealth more equally could improve opportunities of children from poorer families who could make good contributions to society such as starting businesses. These opportunities may otherwise be lost. The Economist treatment brings the efficiency costs and benefits and the distributional implications together; furthermore, as for the income tax, it shows that the right level of the estate tax would balance these costs and benefits.

**Effects of the courses:** The Efficiency and Economist videos significantly increase the perceived behavioral responses for the wealthy and, to a much lower extent, for the young (Table 3, Panel B). The Distribution and Economist treatments both decrease the perceived fairness of higher inheritances for children in wealthy families (the effect is significant overall but loses power when interacted with political affiliation).

On policy (Table 9), all three treatments significantly increase the view that increasing estate tax is a good way to reduce inequality. The effects are large, especially for the Distribution and Economist treatments, which are equivalent to roughly one half of the gap in support between Democrats and Republicans in the control group, or just below one third of the control group mean. It is noteworthy that even the efficiency treatment does so, perhaps because of the possible beneficial effects of leveling the playing field emphasized. The Distribution and Economist treatment both increase perceived role of government in reducing wealth transmission and the effect is equivalent to one fifth of the gap between Republicans and Democrats or 13% of the control group mean. Respondents who see these two treatments are also more likely to say that the estate tax should be increased, and the effect is equivalent to a fourth of the control group mean and one third of the gap between Republicans and Democrats. This is true regardless of political affiliation.

The effects of the Efficiency and Economist treatments on the perceived behavioral effects to the estate tax are weaker for Republicans who already perceive them to be higher to start with. The Efficiency treatment has very different effects across political affiliations. Republican respondents who see the Efficiency treatment become more convinced that wealth transmission is fair, and that it is unfair to tax parents’ bequests if those parents either have worked hard to make the bequest or if they have themselves inherited a lot. They also become less likely to say an estate tax should exist, and – only marginally significantly – that it should be increased or that the government should be responsible for reducing wealth transmission. The Efficiency treatment has no such negative effects on Democrats: if anything, it strengthens in a marginally significant way their view that the estate tax should exist and be increased.

FIGURE 4: REDISTRIBUTION TREATMENT (ESTATE TAX SURVEY)



Link to the video [here](#).

FIGURE 5: EFFICIENCY TREATMENT (ESTATE TAX SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

FIGURE 6: ECONOMIST TREATMENT (ESTATE TAX SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

## 4 Health Insurance

Economists typically study both the positive and negative behavioral and efficiency effects from increasing health insurance coverage. Immediate positive effects may include less crowding in the emergency room for non-emergency conditions that are better treated by a primary care provider or specialist, and higher use of the recommended preventive care (e.g. immunizations or screenings at the recommended frequency). More generous health insurance could improve health overall, which could in turn have positive effects on the economy. More preventive care may on balance reduce overall health costs if medical problems are caught early or if it prevents the spread of infectious diseases. Moreover, there are broader implications of health insurance beyond simple health outcomes. First, labor market concerns are intrinsically involved with health insurance since around 49% of Americans are insured through their employer. The “job-lock” effect from health insurance linked to one’s employer – i.e., the difficulty in switching jobs for fear of losing one’s health insurance or receiving worse coverage through the new employer–have been shown to exist (Madrian, 1994). Second, if lack of health insurance causes financial stress on low-income households, there may be broader ramifications due to the suboptimal decisions made to deal with these financial shocks. Third, there could be overuse of medical care in response to more generous health insurance.

People may also reason differently about different types of conditions or care (e.g. maternity-related services versus specialist non-essential care). In particular, coverage for family planning services such as birth control or abortion-related services can be sensitive issues. In addition, there is the question of whether individuals should be required to have health insurance (i.e. whether there should be an individual mandate for health insurance) so as to avoid both individual behavioral failures and negative social spillovers from lack of insurance. Distributional and fairness considerations could also play a role in personal reasoning regarding healthcare and have to be balanced against the efficiency costs of health insurance. In the survey, individuals can express views on whether it is justifiable to discriminate based on certain personal characteristics such as e.g. age, gender, or pre-existing conditions; whether worse health is the outcome of mostly individual actions or rather a matter of bad luck; and whether it is fair to help low-income households afford their health insurance. All these views ultimately determine whether respondents are satisfied with the current health system, whether they support a “Medicare-for-all”-type universal health insurance, whether low-income households’ premiums should be subsidized, and how much coverage they believe should exist for different types of situations and health conditions. These policy views are further explored in this section.

### 4.1 Knowledge of and Exposure to Health Insurance and Health Care

Figure 25 starts by analyzing respondents’ overall knowledge of U.S. health care, as well as their exposure to it. Panel A highlights that respondents are mostly aware of the share of people who rely on different modes of insurance, but underestimate by 20 percentage points the share that is insured through their employer. Perhaps because of the focus on both the uninsured and Medicare subscribers in the media, respondents overestimate by 5 percentage points the share of uninsured Americans and by close to 10 percentage points the share of Americans insured through Medicare. Panel B emphasizes that 90.7% of our sample are insured and 34.9% of these are on either Medicare or Medicaid. Just above a quarter of the sample pays their health insurance entirely independently, while the remainder shares the cost with an employer or government program. 40.6% declare having delayed medical treatment recently because of cost concerns and, among those, 60.9% say that the illness was serious. Just around 59.4% are satisfied with their healthcare costs

overall, and 76.3% with the quality of their healthcare. Panel C shows how respondents think about the costs and quality of US health care relative to other rich countries. Most respondents (correctly) believe that the U.S. spends more on healthcare; 41% believe that the quality of U.S. healthcare is worse or much worse than other countries; while only 26% believe it is better or much better.

Figure 26 shows results on some of the more precise knowledge of health insurance policies. Panel A focuses on the share of respondents who can correctly answer questions about Medicare and Medicaid. Just around half of respondents are able to describe what Medicaid is; close to 70% are able to describe Medicare. Slightly more than half of respondents correctly know whether the Affordable Care Act (ACA) made changes to Medicaid eligibility in their state, with the correct answer naturally dependent upon the state of the respondent). In Panel B, we can see that many respondents are aware that there was an individual mandate in 2018 and that a penalty had to be paid by those without insurance. However, while 57.3% seem to be aware that there was some change to the individual mandate in 2019, only 9.3% know that the change made was the reduction of the penalty for being uninsured to zero. Finally, around half of respondents understand that there is an employer mandate but that small employers are exempted. Panel C summarizes answers to the question of whether insurance premia are allowed to depend on various factors. Most people are aware that premia are allowed to depend on age and tobacco use. However, much fewer are aware that premia are allowed to depend on location (62.1%), but not on gender (53.5%). Perhaps because of the potentially confusing current policy debate about pre-existing conditions, 32.4% of respondents only correctly say that premia are not allowed to depend on pre-existing conditions. Panel D shows that the distribution of perceived income limits for Medicaid eligibility and the actual limits in the respondent’s state (on the horizontal axis) are entirely uncorrelated. The average perceived eligibility income limit is basically identical across states regardless of their true thresholds. In addition, close to 70% of respondents underestimate the eligibility income limit (as a share of the Federal Poverty line) for a household like theirs in their state. In other words, they believe that fewer households are eligible for Medicaid than actually are.

## 4.2 Text Analysis

Following the text analysis methods outlined in Section 2.4, the main words that appear in the answers are depicted in the word clouds in Figure 27. The main considerations about universal health insurance (Panel A) are relatively dispersed, but lack of affordability and the long time it takes to get care seem predominant (represented by “can’t afford”, “long wait”, “wait time”, and “high tax”). Regarding the goal of a good health insurance system (Panel B), respondents mostly mention universal coverage: “cover everyone” and “cover all”, as well as affordability of coverage (“low cost”, “everyone afford”, and “afford cover”). Finally, the shortcomings of the current U.S. health insurance system are very clearly the high costs (represented by “high cost” and “can’t afford”).

Figure 28 Panel A provides the keyness graphs for health insurance by political affiliation (for the splits by age group, gender, and income groups, see the Online Appendix). The main considerations on the left are clearly affordability for everyone and extent of coverage, with recurring words such as “everyone”, “all”, and “universal” combined with “cover” and “afford” or “pay.” On the Republican side, words also concern costs, but in different and more individual-centered ways rather than for “everyone”. They focus more on the details of the insurance plans and their costs (e.g. “low premium”, “low deductible”, and “premium cost”), the wait times, anti-government sentiments (“against government”), or doctors and hospitals.

Panel B highlights the distribution of topics that appear in answer to the question about “the main goals”

of a good health insurance system for different political groups, ranging from Clinton Liberals to Trump Conservatives. There are six main topics here, represented by the keywords listed below the figure. Some examples of these are, for each topic, as follows: Affordability (“affordable price” “pocket cost’/expense”); Coverage (“Full coverage,” “single payer,” “universal coverage”); Efficiency (“competition,” “free market,” “hurt economy”); Taxation (“taxpayers,” “who pays,” “debt”); Pharma (“company abuse,” “big company,” “greed,” “drug company”), and Quality (“quality”). Some example answers from these topics can be informative to read. *“Affordable premiums, affordable prescriptions costs to patients, cap on how much patient has to pay out of pocket, discounts for maintenance medications like insulin.”* clearly fits into the “affordability” topic. *“It would be to provide some type of affordable coverage to all including coverage for pre-existing conditions, regular checkups and life-long conditions.”* goes into both affordability and coverage. Efficiency-related answers are, for instance, *“Letting the marketplace dictate rather than government regulations. Competition, especially across state lines, will bring about more competitive rates and higher quality of services for policy holders.* On the topic Pharma, an example reads: *“One that actually benefits the one paying for the insurance and not the lion’s share of the money going to the CEO’s of the insurance companies, hospitals and big pharma. We now pay ‘extortion’ fees to get insurance which many, many cannot even afford to use after all the deductibles and copays and insurance premiums. Completely useless to have, only benefits the insurance companies.”*. This answer would also go under the affordability topic. Finally, on the Quality topic, an example answer is: *“To me it is very important that health insurance systems provide high quality service to every individual regardless of their financial capacity.”*

As could be expected from the word clouds, the issues of “affordability” and “coverage” are prevalent. Affordability is more represented on the right of the political spectrum, while coverage takes precedence on the left. Efficiency concerns are overall less frequent, but predominantly represented among Trump Conservatives. Concerns about taxation is evenly split, as are concerns about big pharma or the quality of health care.

Panel C highlights the distribution of topics mentioned in answer to the question *“What do you personally see as the biggest problem with health insurance in the U.S. today?”*. It shows that, by far, issues related to “Costs” compose around 80% of all topic mentions across the political spectrum. Worries about “big pharma” are the second most flagged issue, especially among Democrats. As the keywords indicated, although worries about costs are very widespread, they may not mean the same thing to people on different ends of the political spectrum, with some worried about how “everyone” will afford healthcare and coverage, and others worried about the costs of existing health plans.

Panel D analyzes the results of the open-ended question *“Which groups would gain if a single-payer system were introduced in the U.S.?”* It depicts the frequency of mention of different groups for Democrats and Republicans. Groups which are more frequently mentioned as beneficiaries of a single-payer system among Democrats are, in order of mentions and in respondents’ own words, the poor, “everybody,” the middle class, and the working class and families. Groups mentioned more frequently by Republicans are “Government & Politicians,” “Illegals,” the unemployed, immigrants, or the “Lazy.” Thus, when it comes to a single-payer system, views are very split on who would benefit.

### 4.3 Perceived Efficiency and Fairness Implications of Health Policy

**Efficiency considerations:** Table 10 considers the perceived behavioral responses to increased health insurance coverage; Table 11 analyzes in more detail additional efficiency mechanisms. In Table 10, the dependent variables are the shares of respondents who think that – in response to more generous health insurance – people would be encouraged to adopt the behaviors listed in each column. The extent to which people would be encouraged to adopt these behaviors is measured on a spectrum ranging from “a moderate amount” to a “great deal.” In sum, it represents the strength of behavioral responses to a more generous health insurance system as perceived by respondents. The fourth column shows the share of respondents who believe that employer-provided insurance discourages people from “*quitting a bad job or switching job from fear of losing their health insurance.*” Again, respondents are asked either about a generic person, about themselves (“Me”), or specifically about women (“Women”). The last column summarizes all behavioral responses in a “Behavioral Index.”

The responses that are most expected to occur are related to the job-lock phenomenon and the use of the emergency room. 48% believe there would be less use of the emergency room if health insurance were more generous; only 36% think this would induce a higher use of overall medical services (which could be overuse and impose a strain on the medical system) and preventive care (which could be considered a positive effect, as people follow recommendations on preventive care). 79% of respondents believe that employer-provided insurance discourages people from quitting bad jobs or switching jobs, suggesting that more generous health insurance overall could relax the job-lock constraint. Overall, negative behavioral responses do not seem to be a prime concern.

In Table 11, Column 1 shows that 75% of respondents agree that less generous health insurance in the U.S. would lead to worse health outcomes overall. 81% of respondents believe that an increase in insurance coverage for preventive care would reduce overall healthcare costs (Column 2); 84% believe that it is important to ensure that everyone can afford proper healthcare to avoid negative spillovers on others and contagion (Column 3).

**Equity and fairness considerations:** When it comes to fairness and equity considerations, 86% of respondents agree that more generous health insurance could reduce financial stress on families (Column 4 of Table 11) and 78% believe it is important to help low-income families afford medical care (Column 5). The share of respondents who believe it is unfair to pay more for healthcare due to pre-existing conditions is 75% overall; 82% believe it is unfair to pay more because of worse health. 66% think health issues are outside of one’s control. There is thus widespread belief in the positive efficiency and equity effects of better health insurance, and a view that present health outcomes are largely unfair.

Finally, Columns 9 and 10 build indices that aggregate answers from the two open-ended questions about the reasons for or against an individual mandate<sup>13</sup> and the multiple-choice questions from this same table. The ‘Equity Index is higher for respondents who use fairness and equality-related arguments in favor of the individual mandate, which are detected using text analysis tools, or who answer the multiple-choice questions favorably when they are related to fairness (e.g. agree that it is important to help low-income families afford medical care.) The Efficiency Index flags efficiency-related arguments in favor of the individual mandate and

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<sup>13</sup>The exact questions are the following: “In your view, what is the main reason for having an individual mandate?” “Would you say that an individual mandate is beneficial or detrimental? Please explain your reasoning.”

more generous health insurance (e.g. arguments stating that it is important to grant access to healthcare to reduce contagion risks).

**Me versus everyone else:** Respondents think they are themselves less responsive to increased health insurance than others. 39% of respondents believe they themselves will make less use of the emergency room, as compared to 48% when asked about others. 26% of respondents think they themselves will make larger use of medical service, but 36% say so about others. The one exception is that they think they will substantially increase their own preventive care: almost double the share of respondents (62%) say so about themselves as compared to others. Thus, overall, respondents believe they themselves are already engaging in a responsible use of health services with little slack and overuse, and, hence, will not significantly increase their use of broader services or further reduce emergency room use. Finally, a sizable share – 68% – believe they are disincentivized to quit their job or switch jobs due to fear of losing health insurance, which is nevertheless less than the share who believes the same about everyone else. Respondents also believe that affordable healthcare for themselves rather than for others is more important in order to reduce contagion; however, this effect is entirely driven by women thinking about their own situation (though they do not think the same about women in general).

**Views about women:** A larger share of respondents believe that women will increase their use of preventive care than when asked about a generic person. 82% of respondents also agree that women’s health issues are more outside of their control, as compared to 66% who agree with this statement for a generic person. When prompted to think about women, respondents overall are also more likely to mention efficiency issues in support for the individual mandate or health insurance in general.

However, there appears to be a significant partisan gap when it comes to judgments about women’s health situations (this will be also true about supporting women-specific health services coverage). Panel A in Table 11 shows that Republicans are much more likely to think it is fair if women with worse health pay more for healthcare than when confronted with the same question about a generic person (42% versus 24%). On the other hand, Democrats make no distinction between men and women and also find it more unfair that those of worse health pay more: 85% believe this is unfair, regardless if men or women.

**Women’s views:** Women are more likely to use equity arguments in favor of health insurance; one third more women than men say that it is unfair to pay more for health insurance because of pre-existing conditions and more than one third say that it is unfair to pay more for insurance or care overall because of worse health. Hence, on health care issues, women are more prone to fairness and equity concerns (but no clear patterns appear for income or estate taxes).

**Women on themselves and other women:** Women believe they will increase their preventive care by much more than others think; and they also think other women (but not a generic person) will do the same. Women thus perhaps consider themselves and other women as constrained in terms of preventive care and in need of more. Women also believe that other women are more likely to be discouraged from quitting their jobs due to employer-provided health insurance. Yet, like male respondents, female respondents believe they themselves are not as unlikely to quit their job due to health insurance.

**Republicans vs. Democrats:** Republicans are more likely to believe that the positive effects of more generous health insurance (less use of emergency room, less discouragement of job switches due to the lock-in effect) will be weaker, while the negative effects (increased use of overall medical services) will be stronger.

Regarding preventive care, Republicans believe more strongly that it will increase, but that is not per se a negative effect. Republicans are less likely to provide arguments, whether centering on equity or efficiency, in favor of the individual mandate or health insurance.

However, although there are large and significant partisan gaps in the other efficiency and fairness considerations, the level of positive beliefs about the effects of health insurance among Republicans remains relatively high, as it is already astronomical among Democrats. For instance, 89% of Democrats believe that less generous health insurance can reduce positive health outcomes in the U.S., and although the share of Republicans who believe the same is lower by 19 percentage points, it is still sizable. 91% of Democrats and 72% of Republicans believe that more coverage for preventive care can decrease overall health costs and 98% of Democrats relative to 72% of Republicans think that healthcare is important to prevent contagious diseases from spreading. When it comes to fairness and equity concerns, 84% of Democrats and 76% of Republicans find it unfair that someone must pay more for health insurance due to worse health overall, while 84% and 66% find it unfair to do so because of pre-existing conditions. 74% of Democrats versus 65% of Republicans believe that health issues are mostly outside of one's own control. 94% of Democrats compared to 81% of Republicans believe that more generous health insurance could reduce financial stress on families. There is a sizable partisan gap on whether low-income families should be helped when it comes to affording healthcare, with 91% of Democrats but only 66% of Republicans in favor of helping low-income households.

Republicans think they themselves are less likely than others to increase their use of overall medical care and preventive care in response to more generous coverage. Since they do not believe these behavioral effects to be generally weaker than Democrats do, Republicans perceive a bigger gap in their behavioral response relative to others than Democrats perceive.

#### 4.4 Views on Health Policy

**Two profiles of respondents** The results from the respondent profile clustering analysis described in Section 2.4 are represented in Panel C of Figure 13. Profile I is in favor of broader coverage for more people, is aware of current changes in policy, and believes that insurance companies currently discriminate against people based on pre-existing conditions (as well as based on factors that are currently used, such as age, tobacco use, or place of residence). Typical answers for this profile include that *“access to health care should be improved for many families,”* *“insurance companies are allowed to set different premia based on age/tobacco use/where the person lives/pre-existing conditions,”* as well as that *“an ideal health insurance should include full coverage for preventive care/pediatric care/catastrophic situation.”*

Profile II believes that they are personally well-insured, are not aware of recent policy changes, and are more in favor of generous coverage for different types of conditions than Profile I (but do not support covering more people). Example answers are: *“Within the last twelve months, me or a member of my family have not put off any sort of medical treatment because of the cost,”* *“I have health insurance,”* and *“I receive good quality care.”* Related to policy knowledge, typical responses are *“The Affordable Care Act (ACA) made no change to the eligibility for Medicaid in my state,”* *“there was no change to the individual mandate in 2019,”* and *“an ideal health insurance should include full coverage for primary care/generous coverage for emergency room care/specialist visits and non-essential care”* The two profiles are almost evenly represented in the sample. The strongest predictors of being in Profile II are being Republican and being high income.

Being of age 50 and above is also marginally predictive.

**Support for full coverage for specific services:** The first two panels in Figure 29 show the support for full insurance coverage for specific services, for which respondents believe that people should have no out-of-pocket costs, split by political views (Panel A) and gender (Panel B). The bottom two panels show respondents' attitudes towards birth control and abortion policies, again split by political views (Panel C) and gender (Panel D). Table 12 highlights other policy support for health insurance, such as support for a Medicare-for-all system. This particular policy was described as a *“single-payer health insurance program that would be administered by the federal government and financed through taxes.”*

There is bipartisan agreement on some issues. Overall, between one half and three quarters of respondents support full coverage for preventive care. Fewer—between one quarter and one half—support full coverage for primary care visits, and very few (around one quarter) support such generous coverage for specialist non-essential care. On some issues, Republicans and Democrats are more divided: for catastrophic situations and emergency room use, around one half of respondents support full coverage and there is a significant, close to 15-percentage-point partisan gap in support. Furthermore, there are strong disagreements regarding certain health services. For example, nearly three quarters of Democrats support full coverage for maternity-related services and pediatric care, while just around one third of Republicans do. There is barely any gender gap in these views. The only exception is that women are slightly more likely to support full coverage for maternity-related care. Overall, the political affiliation is much more critical in informing these views than is gender.

**Birth control and abortion-related services:** There are very large partisan gaps when it comes to coverage for birth control policies and abortion-related services. 86% of Democrats but only 56% of Republicans agree that employers with personal religious objections should be required to provide birth control coverage in their employer-provided health insurance plan. Close to three quarters of Democrats, but just above one quarter of Republicans, agree that it is unfair that women who use birth control pay for the cost on their own. When asked whether women using birth control should not have higher copays, almost 89% of Democrats agree, but only 62% of Republicans do. A support gap of around 50 percentage points between Republicans and Democrats also appears when asked whether health providers should be allowed to opt out from abortion-related treatments and whether insurance providers should have to cover abortion-related treatments.

Perhaps most strikingly is the complete lack of a gender gap on these issues. The one exception is that women are much more likely than men to say that it is unfair that they themselves must pay for the cost of birth control on their own.

**Health Insurance, Medicare-for-All and Mandates:** 73% of respondents (89% of Democrats and 59% of Republicans) believe access to healthcare should be improved; 64% (77% of Democrats and 45% of Republicans) believe the current healthcare system is unfair; and 61% (73% of Democrats and 48% of Republicans) are dissatisfied with the system overall. Just around 43% of respondents support Medicare-for-all (65% of Democrats and only 23% of Republicans), but 17% declare they do not know enough about it to share an opinion. Republicans are less likely to say they do not know enough about the Medicare-for-all considerations to share an opinion. There are very large partisan gaps – consistently around 30 percentage points – on all these policy dimensions. Overall, the policy implications drawn by people on both sides of the

political aisle differ significantly, despite the fact that the underlying mechanisms of actions did not exhibit that much disagreement.

Women are more likely to say the current healthcare system is unfair, that they are dissatisfied with it, and that access to healthcare should be improved. However, they are less likely to support a Medicare-for-all-type system as well as to say that they do not know enough about the topic. The lack of support does disappear, however, for female respondents who are prompted to think about themselves (the “Me” treatment) in the mechanisms questions. They also support the individual mandate and transfers to low-income households for health insurance less strongly, but the employer mandate more strongly.

#### 4.5 Effect of Providing Information about Health Policy

**Video Courses** As with the income and estate tax video treatments, the health video treatments also come in three versions: The Efficiency, the Redistribution, and the Economist versions. In each case, the first part of the video considers the corresponding arguments (redistributive or efficiency-based) for universal coverage, while the second part considers how such coverage could be provided (private sector versus single-payer). The Redistribution treatment starts by stating that health insurance can greatly improve people’s lives and provides several arguments as to why: i) people can afford to be treated, ii) it can improve their health, and iii) it can reduce financial stress and worries about the costs of care. It provides the examples of a bad accident that requires the protagonist to have an expensive surgery, and a protagonist with a serious medical condition. The video then presents two ways of providing health insurance: private insurance or a government-run, single-payer system financed through general taxation. It then details the advantages of the single-payer system, the first of which is that such a system could pool all risk and cover everyone; this is in contrast to the current system, wherein if private companies are left to their own devices, only the sickest people will remain in the scheme and these companies will be forced to raise premia and insurance costs. Other advantages of a single-payer system include helping poor families by reducing their out-of-pocket costs and severing the ties between insurance and employment, which would make switching jobs or looking for a better job easier.

The Efficiency treatment again starts by stating that health insurance can greatly improve people’s lives and that they would then have to worry less about being able to afford treatment. It then focuses on how broader coverage can lower total healthcare costs in the U.S.: i) it allows people to get preventive care, which makes it easier to detect problems before they escalate; ii) it leads to less overcrowding of emergency rooms, as non-emergency conditions would be treated elsewhere; and iii) there would be less untreated and contagious diseases, resulting in less transmission and negative spillovers on others. The treatment then focuses again on the two ways of providing insurance (private and single payer) and details the efficiency advantages of the single-payer system: i) there would be less distortion from people being unable to switch jobs due to fears of losing health-insurance, which could improve economic activity overall; and ii) there could be lower insurance costs as the government has more bargaining power with pharmaceutical companies and providers to obtain lower prices. The Economist video combines these two videos into one.

**Effects of the video treatment courses:** Regarding health insurance, the video treatments are able to shift views only to some extent. The Efficiency treatment increases the perceived responses to more generous health insurance along most dimensions and in quantitatively large ways: as a share of the control group mean, the perception of overall medical use responses increases by 25%, the perception of emergency

room use decreases by 40%, and the perception of more preventive care increases by 25%. The Economist treatment is effective in convincing respondents that people will use the emergency room less in response to more generous health insurance—the effect is 30% of the control group mean. Both these treatments increase the likelihood of giving efficiency arguments in favor of more generous health insurance. The Efficiency treatment also increases overall support for the individual mandate by 30% relative to the control group mean, and support for full coverage of non-essential specialist care. The Economist treatment is effective in convincing respondents that health issues are outside of one’s control. The Distribution treatment has no effects. Hence, it is mostly efficiency arguments that work in the case of health insurance.

In fact, when it comes to healthcare, efficiency arguments are by far those that work best on Republicans. Indeed, the Efficiency treatment is quite effective in convincing Republicans that more generous health insurance could improve health in the US, and that it can reduce financial stress on low-income families. In both cases, the magnitude of the effects corresponds to almost one half of the belief gap between Democrats and Republicans. Following the Efficiency treatment, Republicans also believe that people will use more preventive care following more generous health insurance (by 60% more, relative to the control group mean).

But while these treatments can generate a change in views on the effects of more generous health insurance and more support for the individual mandate, there are no real effects on supporting broader access to healthcare, a “Medicare-for-all” single payer system, or more help for low-income families to be able to afford health insurance. This is possibly due to strong polarization and the fact that people fall into two groups: those who are already strongly convinced about the need for broader access to health insurance and for support for low-income families (best represented by Democrats), and those who are very much against an expansion of government into the health insurance realm (best represented by Republicans). The videos are already telling the former group information with which they strongly agree, while the latter remain unconvinced even after watching the videos. With respect to Medicare-for-all, although not all Democrats support it (65%), views are nevertheless quite entrenched and people may not understand this policy in the same way. These results make sense in light of earlier findings that, even if there was not as much partisan disagreement about underlying mechanisms, policy views were nevertheless quite divided along political lines. Overall, the partisan gap on health insurance issues is very large and, when it comes to broadening access to healthcare via a single-payer system, the videos are not able to change the negatively-inclined people’s views on these matters.

FIGURE 7: REDISTRIBUTION TREATMENT (HEALTH INSURANCE SURVEY)

With health insurance, people **can afford medical care** when needed.

Health insurance ensures that when these bad things happen, people don't need to **worry about their financial security** in addition to everything else.

It can also **help poor families afford health care** by providing them with more generous insurance with **less out-of-pocket costs**.

[Link to the video here.](#)

FIGURE 8: EFFICIENCY TREATMENT (HEALTH INSURANCE SURVEY)

Making sure that everyone has health insurance can, perhaps surprisingly, **lower total health costs in the U.S.**

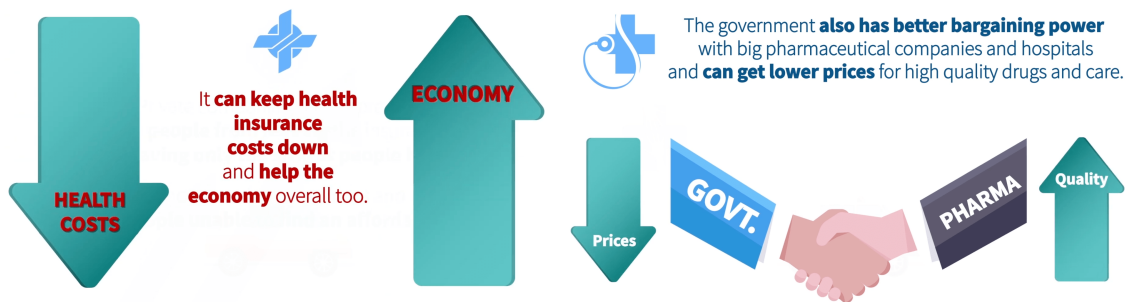
With more insured, fewer people get untreated contagious diseases, which can be transmitted to others.

This also **lowers total health care costs**.

As a single payer, **the government can economize on all the overhead costs** of many private insurers.

[Link to the video here.](#)

FIGURE 9: ECONOMIST TREATMENT (HEALTH INSURANCE SURVEY)



[Link to the video here.](#)

## 5 Trade Policy

On trade, economic models also consider both the efficiency gains from trade and its distributional implications. The efficiency gains are widespread in the form of lower prices for consumers of imported goods. Longer-term effects on competitiveness, innovation, and growth could also arise. While the winners from trade are widespread and dispersed, there are typically losers who lose much from their industries declining due to international competition. There are different policy tools either to directly restrict or regulate trade (such as tariffs or quotas) or to indirectly mitigate the effects from trade (such as retraining programs or direct assistance to workers). This section explores all these mechanisms and channels as perceived and interpreted by respondents. On trade policy, traditional party views have been overturned and are now more mixed. As a result, in contrast to other policies, regarding trade there aren't as large partisan gaps either on the mechanisms perceived or on policy views.

### 5.1 Knowledge of and Exposure to Trade Policy

I asked respondents a series of questions on the main imports, exports, and trading partners of the U.S. Some select responses are shown in Figure 30. 71% of respondents correctly answer that the country from which the US imports the most is China. Non-negligible shares of respondents (between 4% and 7%) answer Mexico, Japan, Canada, or the UK. When asked which country the US exports most to, 44% of respondents answer China again, and 19% chose the correct answer, Canada. Mexico is a close third with 14% of respondents choosing it. Close to 80% of respondents know what an import tariff is, but less than half know what a quota is.

When it comes to personal exposure to trade, 33% of respondents say that their own job is affected by trade as compared to 70% who say that *most* jobs are affected by trade. Respondents who are in the “Me” randomization are asked whether they feel like, overall, trade has made them better off or worse off. 39% say that it has made them worse. These respondents will be denoted by the indicator variable “Worse off from trade” in the tables; the others will be denoted with “better off from trade.”

### 5.2 Text Analysis

Figure 31 depicts the wordclouds from the trade analysis. The main considerations reflect concerns with prices and the effects on the broader economy (“consumer cost,” “high price,” “increase price”). The goals of a good trade policy appear to be mutual cooperation (“benefit both sides,” “fair both sides,” “benefit both.”), and the shortcomings are clearly dominated by concerns with “Trump,” “tariffs,” and “China.”

The keywords analysis for this topic yields few terms compared to tax policy or health insurance. Keywords that differentiate respondents on the left include concerns with prices (“high price,” “consumer pay,” “fair price”) and the President (“Donald Trump”). On the right, patriotic language is most distinctive (“buy American,” “product USA,” “make USA.”)

The four topics that appear in Panel (B) of Figure 32, with some select keywords that distinguish them are: (i) Geopolitics (with keywords being, among others, “Mexico,” “enemy,” “Iran,” and “retaliation”); (ii) Efficiency (“Price,” “competitive,” “innovation,” “efficient”); (iii) Jobs (“labor,” “unemployment,” “jobs,” “wage,” “outsource”); and (iv) Fairness (“fair,” “imbalance,” “level play field,” “take advantage”). Some example answers are as follows. “Restrictions on China will eventually backfire. China has a long-term plan and will not be bullied by the United States” is categorized as “Geopolitics.” “Free trade is good due to

specialization of labor and fostering efficiency markets” is part of the Efficiency topic. “Keeping jobs in America and punishing companies that outsource” goes into the Jobs topic. In the Fairness category are answers such as “I feel as though other countries, especially China, have had a free ride for too long, and we are not getting a fair deal with them, so I think due to countries taking advantage of us and not buying enough of our goods, we should impose tariffs until we are on an even playing field.”

Geopolitical topics make up between 15% (for Clinton Liberals) and 22% of all mentions (for Trump Conservatives) with a small political gradient rising to the right. The Efficiency concerns in this case are predominant on the left and make up more than 60% of all mentions. On the other hand, jobs are mentioned more to the right (up to 15% of all mentions) and Fairness is much more prevalent at 30% for Trump Conservatives. Thus, on trade, traditional views may have shifted, with the right more concerned about jobs and the impacts on labor in the US and the left more convinced of the efficiency benefits of trade.

For trade, another open-ended question that respondents received was to ask *What would be the effects on the US economy if barriers to trade, such as tariffs, were increased?* Responses come in two main strains. One emphasizes the “boosting effects” on the economy, with keywords such as “good,” “positive,” “strengthen,” and “beneficial”; the other highlights the “recessive effects” on the economy, with keywords such as “destroy,” “bad,” “detrimental,” “recess,” and “depress.” The answers from this question are analyzed in Panel C. There is a deep political divide in the answers. On the left, only 35% of both Clinton Liberals and Clinton Moderates mention potential positive, economy-boosting effects of trade barriers; on the right, 70% of Trump Moderates and Trump Conservatives do. Conversely, complementary respondents mention negative words (around 65% for the left and below 30% for the right), suggesting that no respondent views the effects as neutral or benign.

Finally, Panel D in Figure 32 plots the frequency with which various groups, people, or entities are mentioned in response to the open-ended question *Which groups of people do you think would gain if trade barriers such as tariffs were increased?* Democrats tend to often mention the “Rich,” “Government and Politicians,” “Big Companies,” and “Nobody” (suggestive of the view that, ultimately, everyone loses from trade barriers). On the right, beneficiaries are the “U.S.” as a whole, “everyone,” “workers,” “manufacturers,” and “domestic businesses.”

### 5.3 Perceived Efficiency and Distributional Effects of Trade and Trade Policy

Table 13 focuses on the efficiency implications of trade. Views on this topic are clearly divided, though not along political lines. 52% of respondents believe that international trade has decreased the prices of goods in the U.S. (column (1)), 60% that it has made firms more competitive (column (2)), 66% that it has increased innovation, and 61% that it has increased GDP growth. Views are also evenly split on the effects of trade on currency, with 49% of respondents perceiving a decrease in the value of the dollar.

Table 14 considers some distributional impacts of trade. In each column the dependent variable is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that the groups listed in the column titles have gained from trade. There is overall political agreement about the clear gains of some groups, such as large corporations or high-income people (90% and 94% of respondents agree, regardless of political affiliation). Just around half of all respondents believe small businesses have gained, and there is a very small partisan gap along this dimension. There is some disagreement about whether the middle class has gained from trade (55% of Democrats as compared with 70% of Republicans believe so) and whether low-income earners have gained (40% of Democrats and 57% of Republicans believe so). Thus, overall, Republicans are slightly more

positive about the benefits of trade on the less well-off.

Table 15 considers additional distributional mechanisms of trade. In column 1, I show an indicator variable equal to 1 if the respondent believes that it is impossible to compensate losers from trade. 38% of respondents believe so, with Republicans being more likely than Democrats to think so. Views are very evenly split on whether workers overall are hurt or helped by trade in the U.S. (column 2) and there is no partisan gap on this question. Columns 3 and 4 show the responses to the question of whether it is easy for, respectively, low-skilled and high-skilled workers to change sector of work if their jobs are displaced. Respondents believe that high-skilled workers would have a harder time shifting sectors. This could be because they are implicitly considered more “specialized” while low-skilled people are considered to have more general (albeit, lower) skills. Republicans believe it is harder for low-skilled workers to shift jobs than Democrats do. Finally, columns 5 and 6 summarize whether respondents believe that trade is a major reason for unemployment and inequality in the U.S. 45% of respondents believe it is a major cause of unemployment and 38% believe it is a major cause of inequality. There is a negligible partisan gap here.

**Me versus everyone else:** When asked about themselves more specifically, respondents have very different views depending on whether they have gained or lost from trade overall. If they label themselves as losers from trade, they are less likely to say that international trade has decreased the price of the goods they buy and that it has made firms in their sector more competitive.<sup>14</sup> In addition, simply having seen the “Me” formulation for some questions makes respondents who feel worse off from trade significantly more likely to say that trade has done less to increase innovation or GDP growth in the US overall. Thus, while it makes sense that one’s individual experience with trade affects one’s own perceived channels of gains or losses (e.g. that prices of the goods one buys have not decreased as much), what is more surprising is that it also taints the respondents view of reality for the U.S. as a whole.

When asked about their own gains from trade, respondents who were made better off by trade naturally perceive higher gains for themselves than those who feel they have been made worse off. The former believe they have gained more than middle-class and low-income households and about the same as high-income households. The latter believe they have gained only a little more relative to low-income households, with no difference relative to the middle class and large losses relative to high-income earners. Once again, we can see the same effect noticed in the income and estate tax surveys, namely that Republicans tend to think that their own gains are closer to those of the upper classes. While respondents on average say they gain less from trade than high-income earners, Republicans are less likely to agree.

The “Me” randomization on the question of whether it is possible to compensate losers from trade (Table 15, column 1) shows that respondents who feel they have been made worse off from trade, are more likely to agree with the statement that *“Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate people like me who may lose from it.”* Those who feel they have been made better off from trade are equally likely to answer that *“Even if certain people may lose from international trade, appropriate policies can enable them to be compensated through the sufficient gains made by people like me”* than people in the generic formulation are to answer that trade *“creates sufficient gains so that even those who lose from it can be compensated.”* In addition, simply having been primed to think of one’s own situation makes respondents who have been made worse off by trade more likely to say that workers overall are hurt. Regarding adapting to trade, respondents tend to answer that it would be easier for them than high-skilled people to entirely switch sectors, but say that it would be harder for them to do so than it would be for low-skilled people.

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<sup>14</sup>Only the questions represented in the first three columns were randomized with the “Me” formulation.

Furthermore, fewer respondents believe that trade with other countries is a *major reason for unemployment in [their] sector* than that it is a major reason for unemployment in *some sectors* in the U.S. Finally, simply having been in the “Me” treatment makes respondents who were made better off from trade slightly less likely to say that trade is a major reason for inequality in the U.S.

Thus, when it comes to trade, respondents tend to view themselves as benefitting less, specially if they feel that they been made worse off by trade. The latter also negatively shapes views even of the macro-level effects of trade, such as its effects on GDP growth or innovation in the US as a whole.

### 5.3.1 Case Study: A “problem set” for respondents

To explore in greater detail people’s understanding of the many different effects of trade, respondents were walked through a concrete case study akin to a short problem set. The case study presented two industries: the car and the laptop industry. It stated that *the U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops (meaning that it sells more laptops abroad than it purchases from abroad and that U.S. laptops are a large share of all laptops sold in the world), and a large net importer of cars (meaning that it purchases more cars from abroad than it sells abroad and that cars purchased by customers in the U.S. are a large share of worldwide car purchases). The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper abroad, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S.*

Respondents were then asked to imagine what happens in several scenarios. Figure 33 shows the responses, split by political affiliation. What is striking here are the very different views of respondents about the price and wage effects. In many answers, respondents are almost evenly split between the two opposite effects, but there is no partisan gap in the answers to these more technical responses about the mechanics from trade.

Based on the car industry hypothetical, if the U.S. started importing more cars and producing less cars domestically, around half of respondents believe the price of cars in the US would increase and that wages in the US car sector would decrease. 40% of respondents consequently believe that US households would not be better off with this change.

Regarding the laptop industry scenario, if the U.S. started exporting more laptops, 60% of respondents believe the price of laptops abroad would not decrease. The same share also thinks that the wages of the high-skill workers in the laptop sector would not increase. Finally, if some of the displaced low-skilled workers found new jobs in the laptop sector, around half of respondents believe their wages would not increase. Essentially, respondents are very uncertain and divided on the effects of trade, but the gap is not partisan.

There is more agreement about the effects of tariffs and export taxes. Around 70% of respondents agree that an export tax on US laptops would increase prices abroad and that a car import tariff would increase prices of cars in the US. Nevertheless, there is still one third of respondents who foresee no such negative effect of the import tariffs.

The top row in the figure asks respondents to consider a scenario in which the U.S. was better at producing cars than the foreign country, meaning it can produce them at a lower price. They were then asked whether under some circumstances it would still make sense to import cars from abroad. Only 30% of respondents believe it does not make sense under any circumstance. This suggests that respondents either understand the concept of comparative advantage or have in mind some love-for-variety or quality differential.

## 5.4 Views on Trade Policy and Government

**Two types of respondents:** Applying the respondent profile clustering analysis from Section 2.4 to the trade survey answers, there are two main types of respondents that can be distinguished. Profile I is clearly in favor of free trade, with answers such as “*When there is more trade between the US and other countries... most people gain, but a few people lose a lot,*” “*the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the U.S.,*” “*When two countries trade with each other, both are made better off,*” “*I think that international trade has increased the growth of the GDP in the U.S.*” and many other positive effects (see Section A-1 in Appendix for the full list of answers). Profile I is suspicious of free trade, highlights the role of China in international trade policy, and likes the current trade policy (more protectionist). Typical answers here include “the U.S. imports the most from China/exports the most to China,” “Providing more production subsidies in the food sector is the best policy tool to ensure national food security,” “International trade has hurt U.S. workers,” “The current U.S. trade policy is somewhat fair” and “I am somewhat satisfied with the current U.S. trade policy.” They also tend to view less benefits to free trade, answering the question *If exports from your sector to other countries increase,..*” with “*my wage would remain the same.*”. Additionally, they do not believe that households who purchase cars in the U.S. are better off after an increase in imports of cars. In the case of trade, political affiliation is not strongly predictive of being in either profile. This could be because traditionally the Republican party was more pro-trade, but has now implemented more protectionist policies, blurring some traditional political lines. What is striking, however, is that being a woman is a strong predictor of being in Profile II: close to 60% of women, as opposed to 35% of men, are in Profile II. Being of a lower-income background, having a high school education or less, and -to a lesser extent- being in the younger 18-29 year age range are also predictive of being in Profile II.

**Views on design of trade policy:** Tables 16 and 17 summarize the key policy outcomes in the trade survey. Table 16 starts by assessing what the design of trade policy should be and what compensating tax and transfers people may support; Table 17 concerns the best policies to help workers in industries declining due to trade and what the government should be responsible for. Overall, most people are relatively supportive of free trade, and few believe it is fundamentally unfair. However, there are partisan gaps and specific opposition to some dimensions of free trade. Only 20% of Democrats, as contrasted with 37% of Republicans, believe the US should not aim for free trade; 23% of Democrats and 35% of Republicans believe that the current US trade policy is unfair. Democrats are more dissatisfied with current trade policy (55% compared to 33% of Republicans). The idea of restricting food imports to ensure food security (as opposed to providing subsidies for the food sector) resonates substantially on both sides of the aisle, with 42% of Democrats and 53% of Republicans supporting it. Democrats are equally pessimistic about the retaliatory effects of the US imposing tariffs, with around 90% fearing retaliation from a foreign government. The infant industry argument – namely that it makes sense to protect relatively new industries from competition until they become sufficiently competitive to stand on their own – is supported by around 51% of all respondents, regardless of political affiliation. Thinking of tax and transfer instruments to mitigate some effects of trade, between 36% and 40% of Democrats support higher taxation to fund transfers to the unemployed, retraining programs, and wage subsidies. The share of Republicans who support such measures is consistently between 16 and 24 percentage points lower.

In Table 17, respondents are asked about what they think would be the best policy to help workers in declining industries: restricting imports (40% agree), direct assistance and retraining (49% agree), or

subsidies for production (only 11% agree). Republicans are relatively more supportive of restricting imports than providing direct assistance or retraining. The last three columns show that many respondents believe the government should be responsible for regulating trade and ensuring the stability of the financial system. Republicans are less likely to believe so, but the partisan gap is not very large given the baseline levels. Fewer respondents believe the government should ensure the stability of the dollar.

Overall, trade policy is not a very polarized issue. People disagree on some of the efficiency gains and distributional implications, but disagreements are not clear-cut along political lines. For this survey, education, income, and even gender seem to be relatively more predictive of policy views.

## 5.5 Effect of Providing Information about Trade and Trade Policy

**The video course treatments:** The trade survey has four videos instead of three. Both the distribution and efficiency treatment videos take the example of two countries, called A and B. A produces cars for cheaper and B produces clothing for cheaper.

The distribution video then starts by stating that openness to trade can increase exchanges, but that there may be winners and losers from trade. When there is more trade in country A, the imported goods (clothing) become cheaper and the variety of goods is increased. The workers in the car sector that exports goods abroad see their earnings rise. More jobs are created in the car sector as a result. On the other hand, the sectors threatened by foreign imports (clothing) may shrink and workers from those sectors may see their wages fall. Jobs in those sectors could be lost. Turning to households, the video shows that households who consume the imported goods gain thanks to the price decreases: they can now buy the goods for cheaper. The winners are thus generally a large group. Those who lose are often a small, yet concentrated and more visible, group. Finally, respondents are shown that the government can help workers in the sectors hurt by trade by providing more generous unemployment benefits until they find new jobs, as well as with training programs to help them acquire new skills and find those new jobs.

The efficiency treatment video instead starts by stating that trade openness increases exchanges and that it will impact the productivity and competitiveness of the country. It takes the example of two countries, again called A and B. A produces cars for cheaper and B produces clothing for cheaper. If the countries open up more to trade, then in country A, the car sector will export more, and profits will increase. But the contrary will happen in the clothing sector, leading companies there to close down. The video then informs respondents that trade can also increase knowledge and technological diffusion, as well as lead to productivity gains in both countries. The market sizes for both countries increase, forcing industries to be more efficient in order to remain competitive. The video also emphasizes that the government may *“temporarily choose to shelter young firms who needs to grow from foreign trade.”* When they are big enough, they can be left to face foreign competition. Thus, overall, trade can increase economic productivity.

The economist treatment comes in two variations. The first is a “generic” version that simply talks about countries A and B. It appends the Redistribution and Efficiency treatment videos into a longer, more comprehensive video. In the “US” version, the content is the same, but the countries are explicitly labeled as the U.S. (country A) and some foreign country (country B). The goal is to see whether there are particular narratives or feelings involved when it is about the US specifically. The two versions will be called the Generic Economist and the Economist-US treatments.

**Effects of the video treatment courses:** The distributional treatment convinces people that the middle

class has gained more from trade and that losers from trade can be compensated. It increases the likelihood of saying that restriction of imports is not a good way to help workers in declining sectors and increases the view that direct assistance and training are. It also increases support for money spent for i) transfers to people out of work, ii) retraining, and iii) wage subsidies. Among Democrats, it also increases the view that trade leads to a reduction in prices and reduces support for food restrictions to ensure food security. The Efficiency treatment has only very moderate effects. It improves respondents' belief that losers from trade can be compensated with appropriate policies, decreases the view that current trade policy is unfair and that U.S. should not aim for free trade, and increases support for retraining and direct assistance to workers displaced by trade.

The Economist-US treatment has the strongest, economically significant effects. This treatment convinces people that the middle class has gained more from trade and that losers from trade can be compensated. It also makes people less likely to say that US workers have on balance been hurt by trade. It strongly increases the perception that trade leads to a reduction in prices, that it makes firms more competitive, and that it increases innovation. The Economist-US treatment also increases the likelihood of a respondent saying that restriction of imports is not a good way to help workers in declining sectors (the effect is larger than the partisan gap on this issue and equal to one third of the control group mean). Additionally, it increases view that direct assistance and training are good ways to help workers in declining sectors (an effect three times as large as the partisan gap and equal to one half of the control group mean). It also increases support for increasing taxation to fund retraining programs—the effect is 60% of the control group mean. For Democrats only, the Economist-US treatment also manages to decrease the view that the U.S. should not aim for free trade and that trade policy is currently unfair. For Republicans only, the Economist-US treatment increases support for the protection of infant industries.

The generic Economist treatment has a qualitatively similar, but dampened (less significant) effects of around 40-70% the magnitude of the Economist-US treatment. In particular, it works less well overall because it is equally effective on Democrats, but less effective on Republicans than the Economist-US. Republicans are thus especially responsive when the treatment is specifically about the US. However, on Democrats, the generic Economist treatment works as well as the Economist-US (and both are a bit stronger than on Republicans) to increase perceptions that firms are made more competitive, that there is more innovation in US, and more GDP growth in the US. On Democrats only, the generic Economist treatment strongly reduces view that government should be regulating trade or stabilizing dollar for democrats.

In sum, a balanced economist treatment works to make people perceive the benefits from trade more favorably and leads some groups to support less protectionist methods to deal with its fallouts. Specifically making the treatment about the U.S. has stronger effects overall, but especially on Republicans.

## FIGURE 10: REDISTRIBUTION TREATMENT (TRADE POLICY SURVEY)

There are often both **winners** and **losers** from trade.

When there is more trade, all **households who consume** the imported goods can gain from it. The benefits from increased trade can be perceived by a **large group**, throughout the country.



The losers from trade are generally a **smaller group**, often concentrated in one place or industry.

However, their losses can be very large, and therefore more **visible**.



[Link to the video here.](#)

## FIGURE 11: EFFICIENCY TREATMENT (TRADE POLICY SURVEY)

When there is more trade between the two countries, companies in the car sector from country A will be able to **export more** of the goods and services they produce and increase their profits.

Firms in the clothing sectors will not be able to export much because they cannot produce as cheaply as the firms in country B. In these sectors, companies may **close down** because of the new foreign competition.



More trade can also increase **learning** between firms and people in countries A and B as well as the diffusion of **knowledge and technology**. This can make all firms and people more productive.

In a larger market, domestic industries have to be more efficient to remain competitive.



[Link to the video here.](#)

## FIGURE 12: ECONOMIST TREATMENT (TRADE POLICY SURVEY)

Imagine that the U.S. starts trading more with a foreign country, called country X.

Imagine that a country, that we call country A, starts trading more with a foreign country, called country B.

A



U.S.



In a larger market, domestic industries have to be more efficient to remain competitive.

This can raise U.S. firms' **productivity** and spur long-run **economic growth**.



The government can try and reduce the losses by **helping U.S. workers** in the sectors hurt by trade such as the clothing sector.



Link to the generic video [here](#).  
Link to the US specific video [here](#).

## 6 Conclusion

This paper explored how people reason about the efficiency effects, distributional impacts, and fairness considerations of four policies: income taxes, the estate tax, health insurance, and trade policy. The use of large-scale, representative Social Economics surveys in the U.S. permits going beyond simply asking about support for or opposition to policies: we can understand people's mental maps better, identify gaps in information or logic, and disentangle entrenched fairness considerations from efficiency or distributional concerns, each of which has different implications. Many partisan gaps of varying sizes exist not just in policy views, but also in the reasonings about one or several dimensions for each policy: the perceived efficiency effects, distributional implications, and views on fairness.

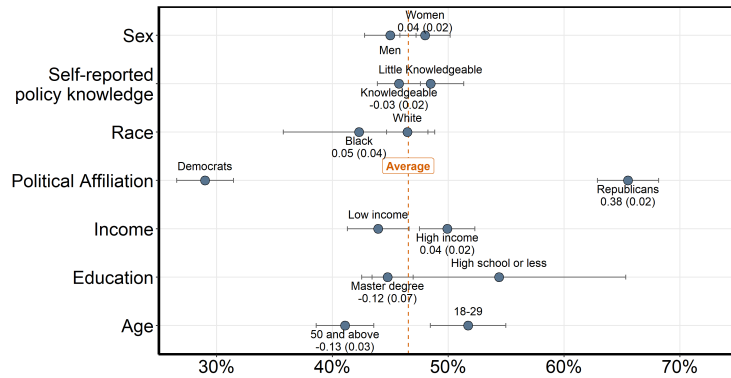
In the experimental part of the survey, instructional video courses explained to people the workings and consequences of each policy from three different perspectives, focusing on either efficiency, distribution, or putting the two together. In response to some of the video courses, respondents do adjust some of their policy views and perceptions of the mechanisms of some of the policies, suggesting that explanations that are balanced and non-partisan may be useful as a first step in elevating the policy debate.

Future research could shed light on additional important policies. It would also be fruitful to consider the interaction in the understanding and support for different policies. Fairness considerations among others do not arise in a vacuum and are very context-specific. For instance, a given policy may be considered fairer if it co-exists with another one and, to the contrary, a new reform may be deemed unfair if it comes on top of a series of other reforms. In addition, it would be very valuable to keep exploring ways in which citizens can learn more about economic policy issues, importantly, in a way that explains the functioning of these policies rather than simply giving factual information. Indeed, as highlighted in this paper, factual knowledge about the exact numbers and statistics of a given policy may be more or less accurate, but the reasoning about it may still be very different across people, especially across political groups.

## FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURE 13: RESPONDENT PROFILE CLUSTERING - SHARE OF RESPONDENTS OF PROFILE-II

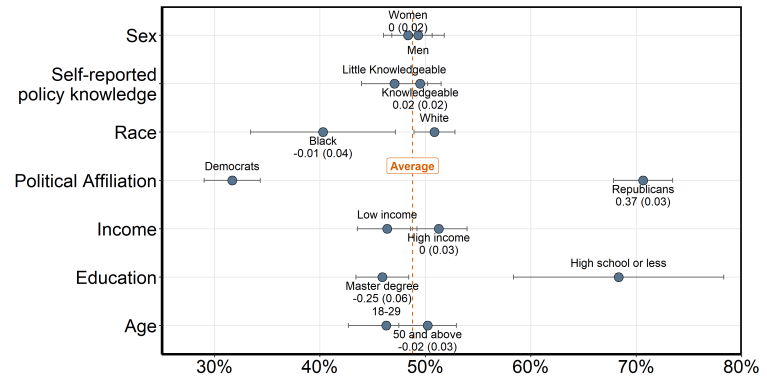
(A) INCOME TAX



Profile I: Unfair system; highlight inequalities; pro-redistribution

Profile II: Fair system; downplay inequalities

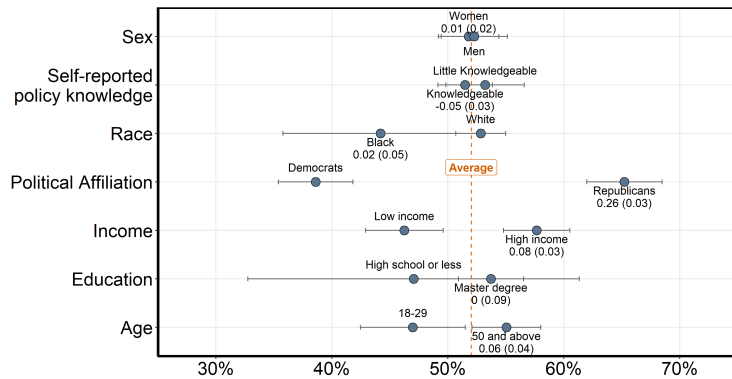
(B) ESTATE TAX



Profile I: Not concerned by estate tax system; highlight inequalities

Profile II: Concerned by estate tax system; unfair system

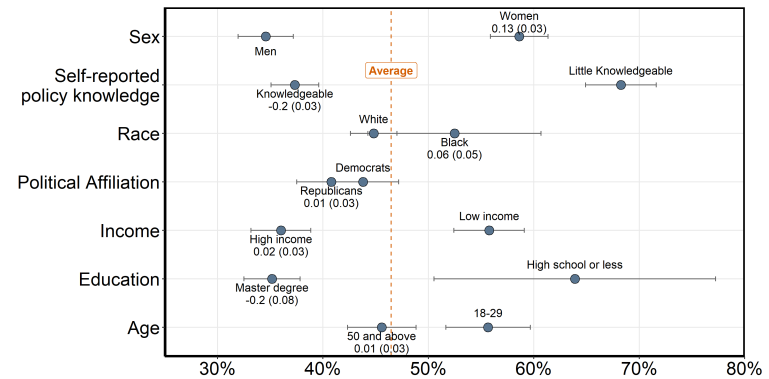
(C) HEALTH INSURANCE



Profile I: In favor of broader coverage for more people; aware of current policy changes; believes insurance companies discriminate against people based on pre-existing conditions

Profile II: Well-insured; not aware of recent policy changes; in favor of generous coverage for different condition types than type 1 (but not for more people)

(D) TRADE

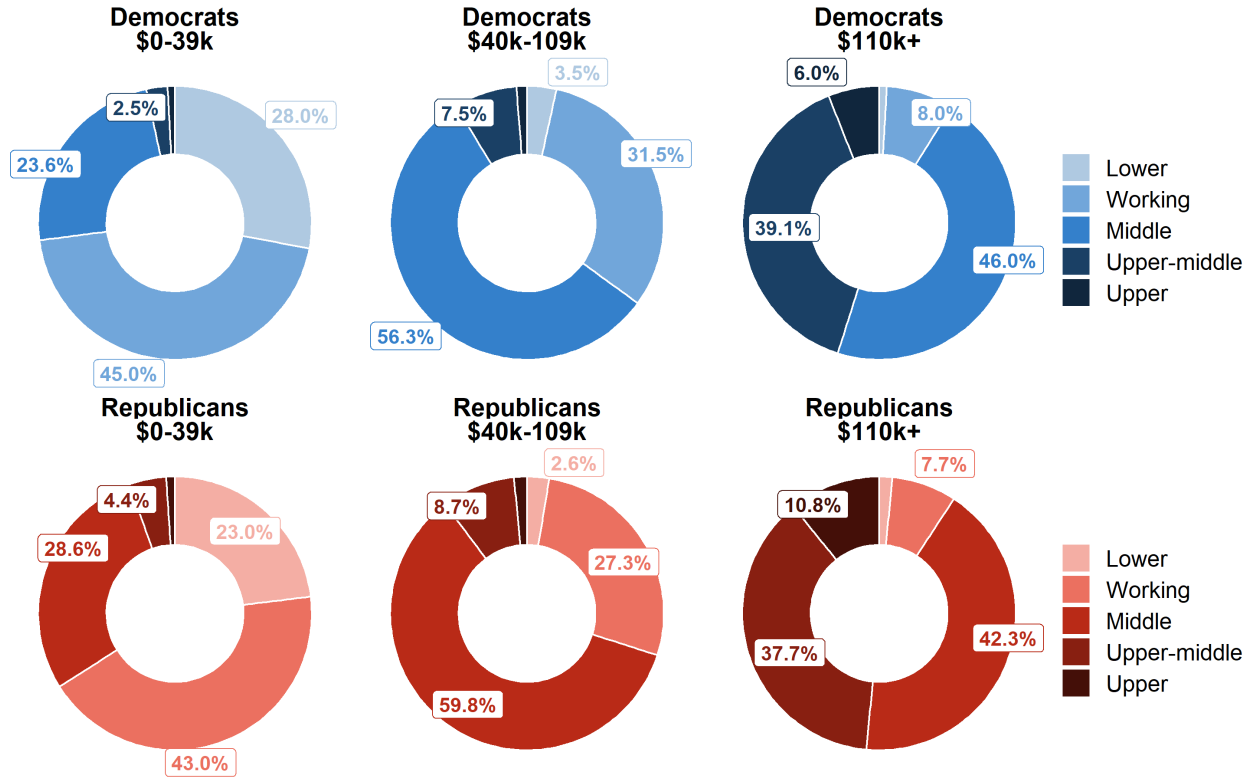


Profile I: In favor of free trade

Profile II: Suspicious of free trade; highlight the role of China; like current trade policy

*Notes:* The figure presents, for each survey, the share of respondents categorized as *Profile-II-respondents* by the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) machine learning algorithm. *Low income* (*High income*) corresponds to respondents who report a pre-tax household income below (above) 39,000 (70,000) U.S. dollar. *Knowledgeable* (*Little Knowledgeable*) corresponds to respondents who consider themselves *highly knowledgeable* or *somewhat knowledgeable* (*not very knowledgeable* or *not knowledgeable at all*) on economic policies and issues. Intervals are based on a 90% level of confidence. The algorithmic process draws upon 12 (income taxation)/16 (estate tax)/35 (health insurance)/ 32 (trade) survey-specific, closed-ended questions. Coefficients originate from a linear regression that controls for a set of other characteristics. Omitted categories in the regression: White, Low income, Age 18-29, Democrat, Student, Less than high school. Standard errors in parenthesis. A detailed explanation of the algorithmic process and the complete regression table are presented in the Online Appendix.

FIGURE 14: SOCIAL CLASS AND INCOME GROUPS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



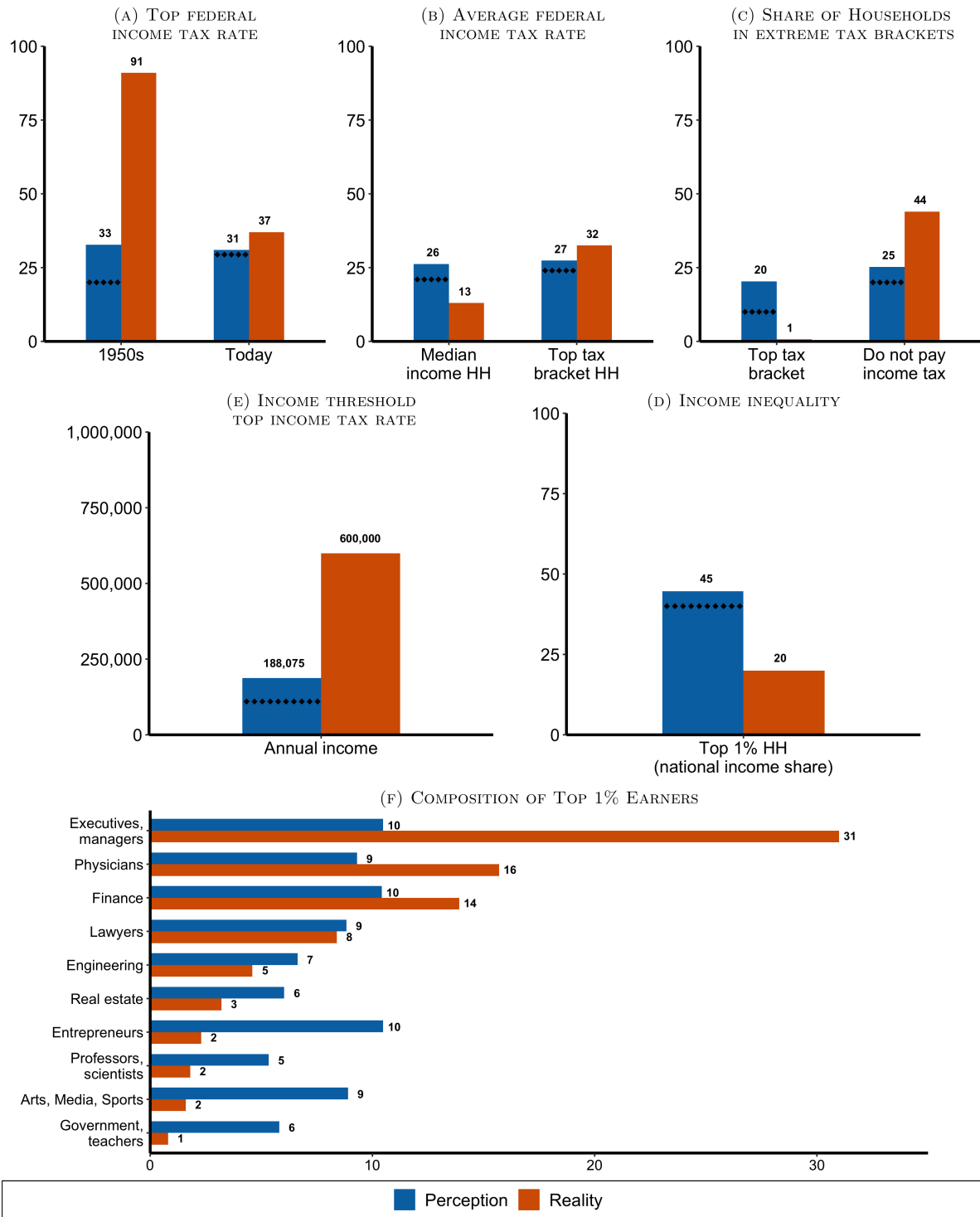
Notes: The figure presents the perceived social class of survey respondents for three income groups by political affiliation (Republicans in red, Democrats in blue). Labels below 2% omitted.

PANEL (B): PERCEIVED SOCIAL CLASS

Republican	0.024** (0.01)
40k-109k	0.042*** (0.01)
110k+	0.371*** (0.01)
Sample Mean	0.14
Observations	5143

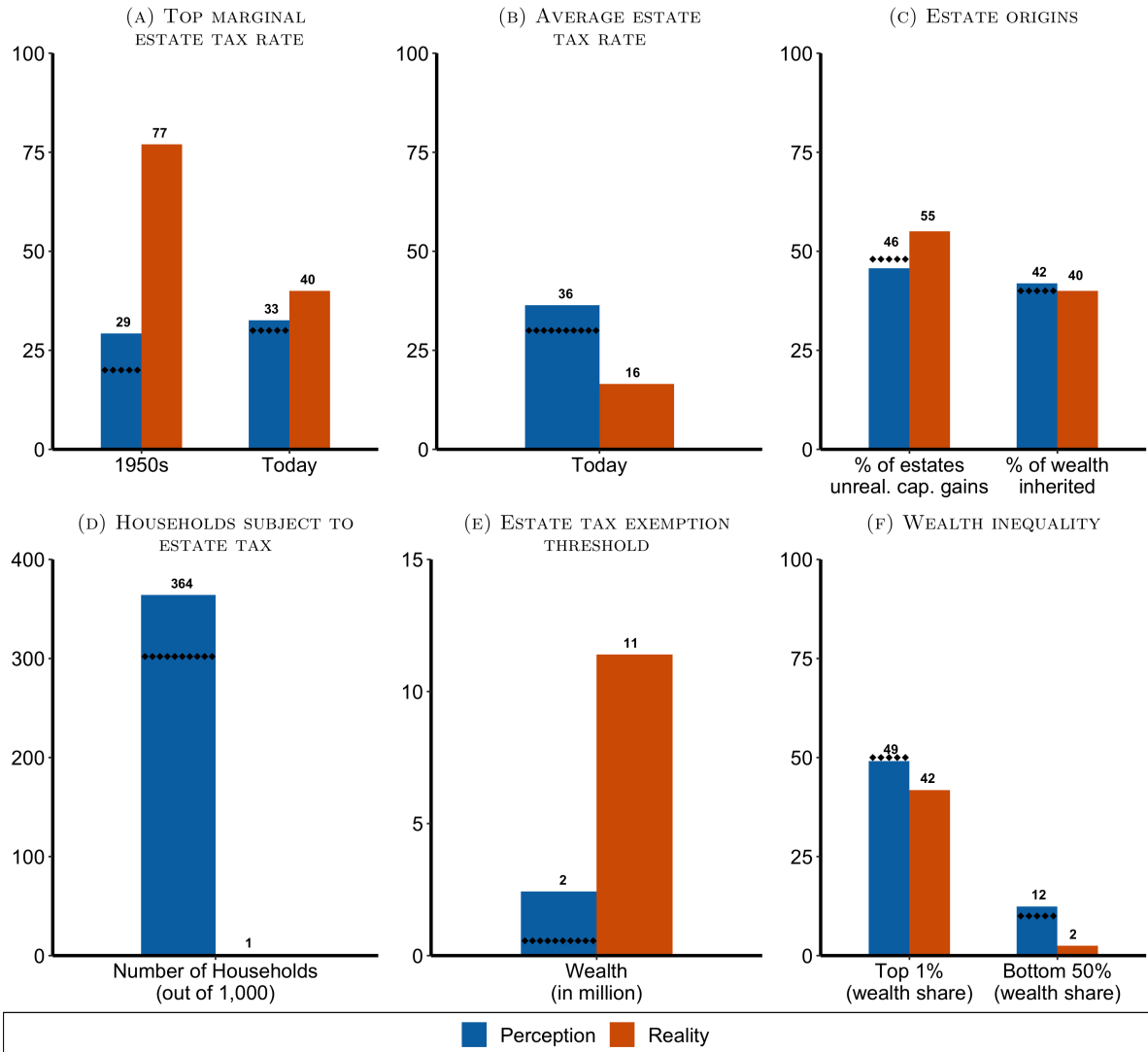
Notes: The dependent variable is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent's self reported social class is upper-middle or upper. The regression include controls for sex, age, race, having children, education, having an economics-related major, employment status and self-reported policy knowledge. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

FIGURE 15: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE INCOME TAX



Notes: The figure presents, for nine income tax knowledge questions, the average and median (dotted line) response of survey participants (in blue). Correct answers are depicted in orange. A comprehensive list of sources used to determine the correct responses is provided in the Online Appendix.

FIGURE 16: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ESTATE TAX

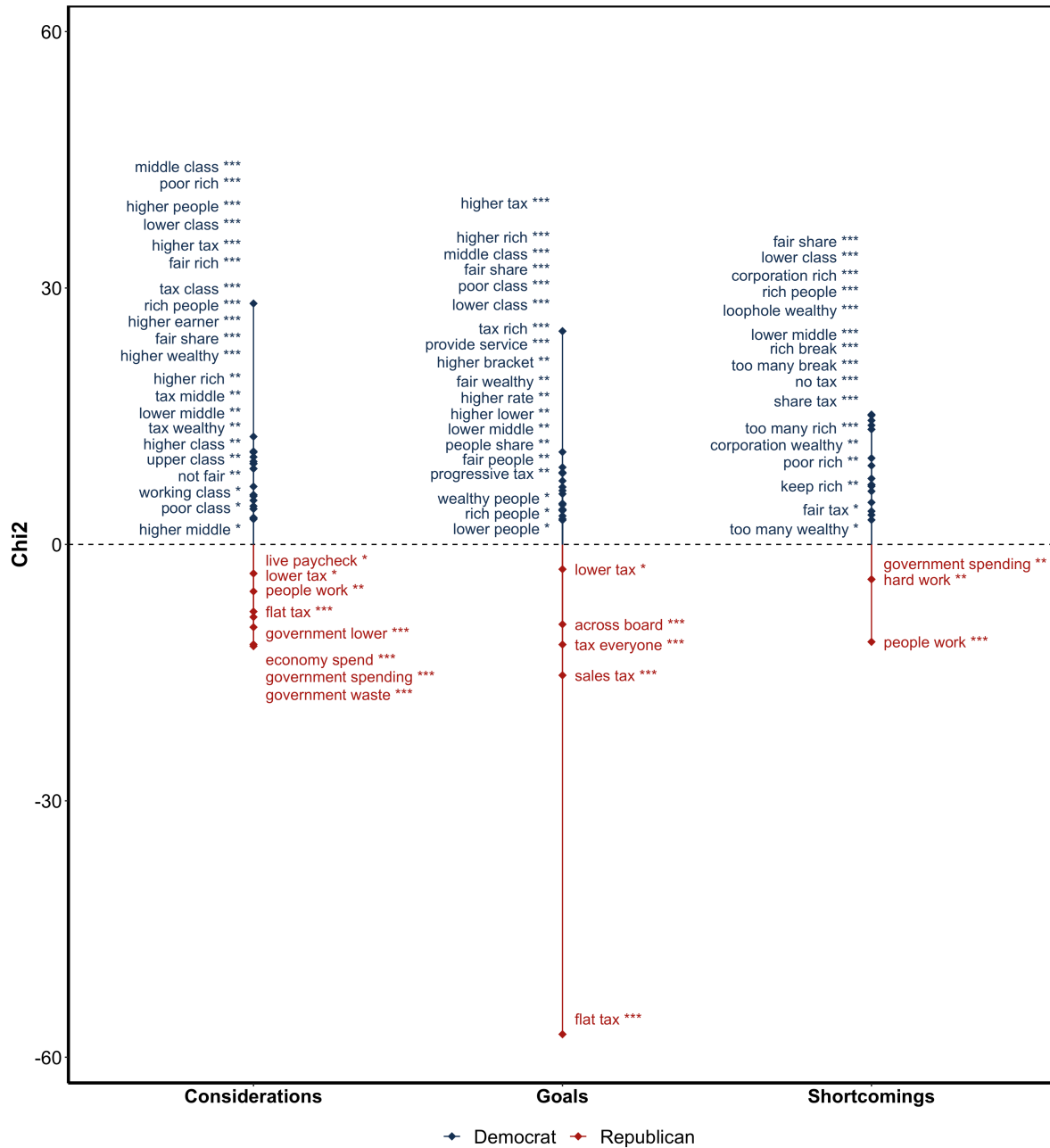


Notes: The figure presents, for nine estate tax knowledge questions, the average and median (dotted line) response of survey participants (in blue). Correct answers are depicted in orange. The sample used for Panel F “Wealth Inequality” includes just responses according to which the wealth owned by 99-50 percentiles of the wealth distribution is strictly greater than the wealth owned by the bottom 50 percentiles. A comprehensive list of sources used to determine the correct responses is provided in the Online Appendix.

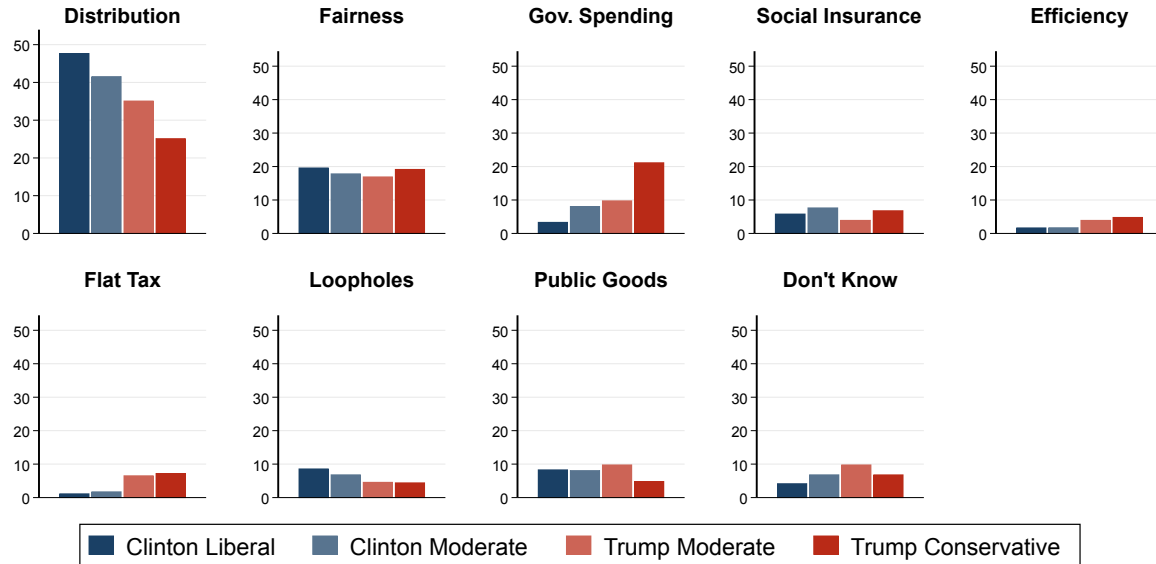


FIGURE 18: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF INCOME TAX BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

(A) KEYWORDS OF INCOME TAX BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



(B) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ON THE INCOME TAX? TOPICS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



**Keywords**

<u>Distribution:</u>	<i>Middle class; working class; low income; wealthy; millionaire; rich; billionaire; corporations &amp; pay/tax</i>
<u>Fairness:</u>	<i>Fair; unfair</i>
<u>Government spending:</u>	<i>Government spending &amp; high; government spending &amp; cut; deficit; debt; government &amp; waste; balance &amp; budget; government &amp; budget; government &amp; control &amp; spend</i>
<u>Social insurance:</u>	<i>Social services; governmental services; governmental program &amp; fund; governmental program &amp; cover; help &amp; poor; pay &amp; poor; social program; poor work; live &amp; paycheck; provide &amp; family</i>
<u>Efficiency:</u>	<i>Hurt &amp; economy; work hard; work less; work more; create &amp; job; depress; trickle down; negative/detrimental/destroy/damage &amp; economy; competition; innovation; create &amp; business; boost &amp; economy; discourage; spend less</i>
<u>Flat tax:</u>	<i>Flat tax</i>
<u>Loopholes:</u>	<i>Loopholes; lawyer; account; tax evasion; evade; avoid taxes</i>
<u>Public goods:</u>	<i>Infrastructure; education; healthcare</i>
<u>Don't know:</u>	<i>Not know; knowledgeable enough; idk; not sure; know enough; unsure</i>

*Notes:* The figure shows results from the topic analysis of open-ended income tax questions. Panel (A) reports a keyness graph which shows the differential associations of keywords by political affiliation for three questions: *Considerations:* When you think about federal personal income taxation and whether the U.S. should have higher or lower federal personal income taxes, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?; *Goals:* What would be the goal of a good tax system?; *Shortcomings:* What do you think are the issues with or shortcomings of the U.S. federal income tax system? The score reported for a set of n words is  $\chi^2$ -test statistic, testing the null hypothesis that the occurrence of the given set of n words is equal across groups. Panel (B) shows the within political affiliation distribution of the topics. The topics are indicator variables based on a keywords-count model, which equal 1 if respondents mention in their response one of the topic-defining keywords.

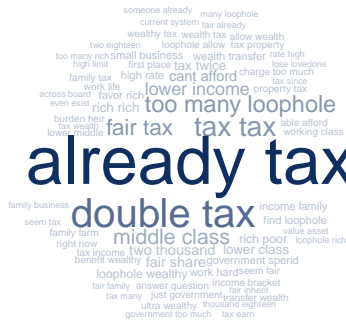
FIGURE 19: WORD CLOUDS FOR ESTATE TAX

(A) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE ESTATE TAX?

(B) WHAT WOULD BE THE GOAL OF A GOOD ESTATE TAX SYSTEM?



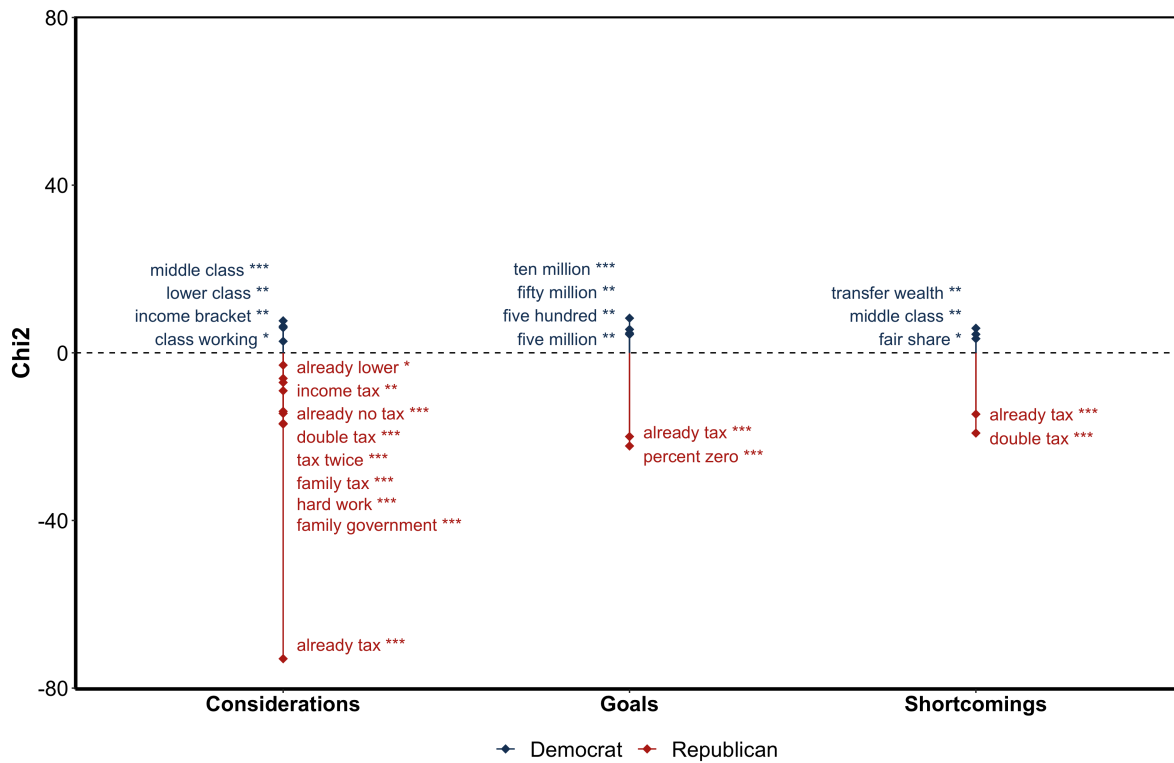
(C) WHAT ARE THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE ESTATE TAX SYSTEM?



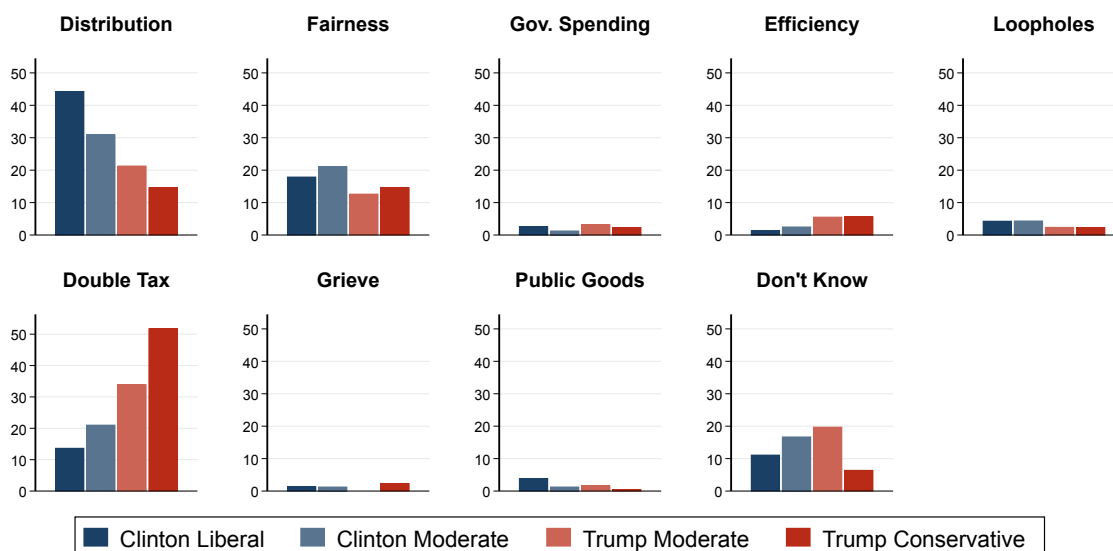
Notes: The figure shows word clouds based on the text analysis of the open-ended estate tax questions in the survey. The largest label, *already tax*, appears in 4.6% of responses. See the notes of Figure 17 and Section 2.4.

FIGURE 20: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF ESTATE TAX BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

(A) KEYWORDS OF ESTATE TAX BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



(B) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ESTATE TAX? TOPICS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



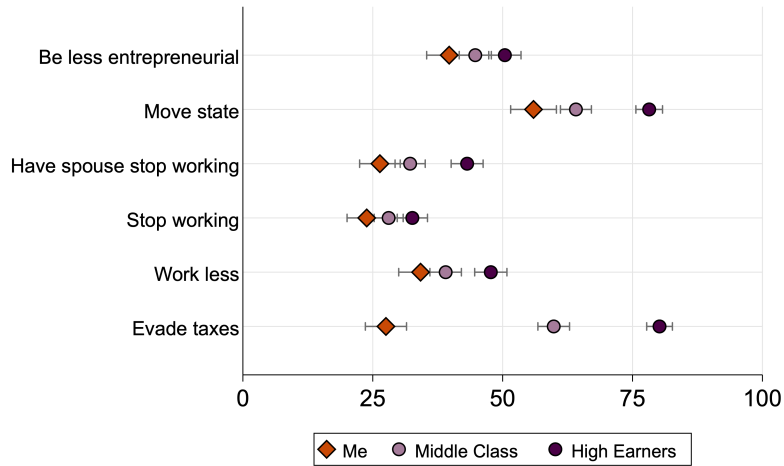
**Keywords**

<u>Distribution:</u>	<i>Middle class; working class; low income; wealthy; millionaire; rich; billionaire; corporations &amp; pay/tax; poor; inequality</i>
<u>Fairness:</u>	<i>Fair; unfair</i>
<u>Government spending:</u>	<i>Government spending &amp; high; government spending &amp; cut; deficit; debt; government &amp; waste; balance &amp; budget; government &amp; budget; government &amp; control &amp; spend</i>
<u>Efficiency:</u>	<i>Hurt economy; work hard; flat</i>
<u>Loopholes:</u>	<i>Loopholes; lawyer; account; tax evasion; evade; avoid taxes</i>
<u>Double tax:</u>	<i>Already taxed/paid; twice &amp; tax/pay</i>
<u>Grieve:</u>	<i>Grieve; bury; funeral</i>
<u>Public goods:</u>	<i>Infrastructure; education; health care</i>
<u>Don't know:</u>	<i>not know; knowledgeable enough; idk; not sure; know enough; unsure</i>

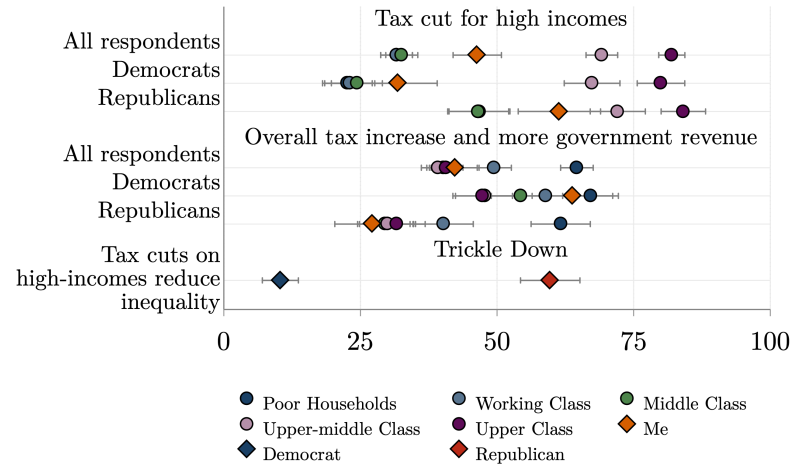
*Notes:* The figure shows results from the topic analysis of open-ended estate tax questions, by political affiliation. See the notes of figure 18 for more details. See also Section 2.4 for a summary on the methods of analysis and Section 3.2.2 for details on the topics.

FIGURE 21: BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO INCREASE IN INCOME TAX

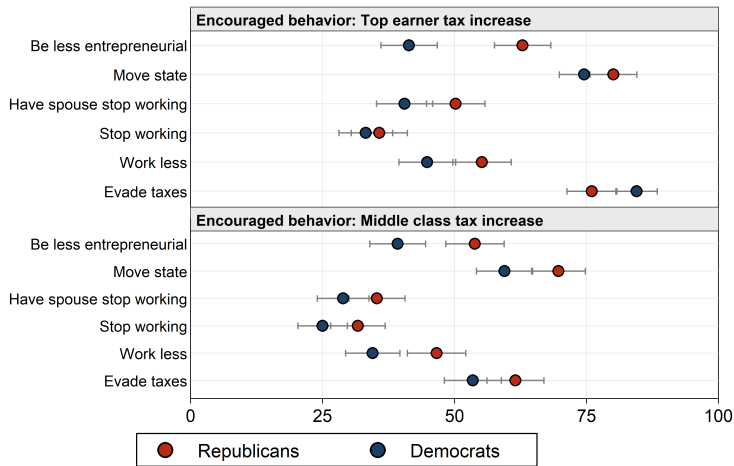
(A) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF INCOME TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR ME/MIDDLE CLASS/TOP EARNERS



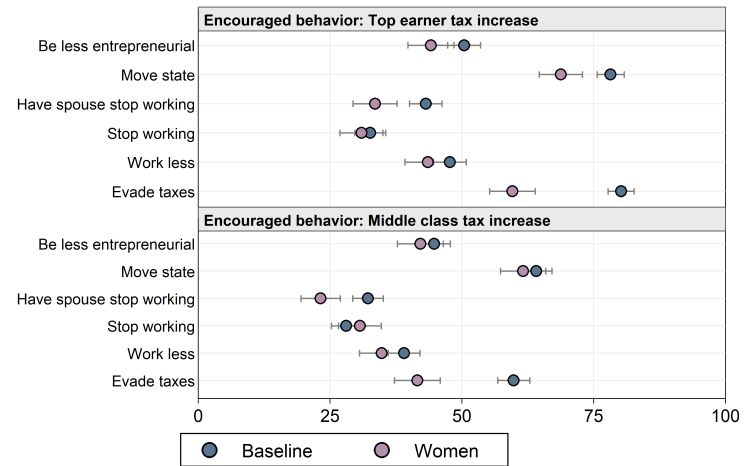
(B) WOULD THE FOLLOWING GROUPS/YOU WIN IF THE INCOME TAX WERE TO CHANGE? - BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



(C) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF INCOME TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR MIDDLE CLASS/TOP EARNERS - BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



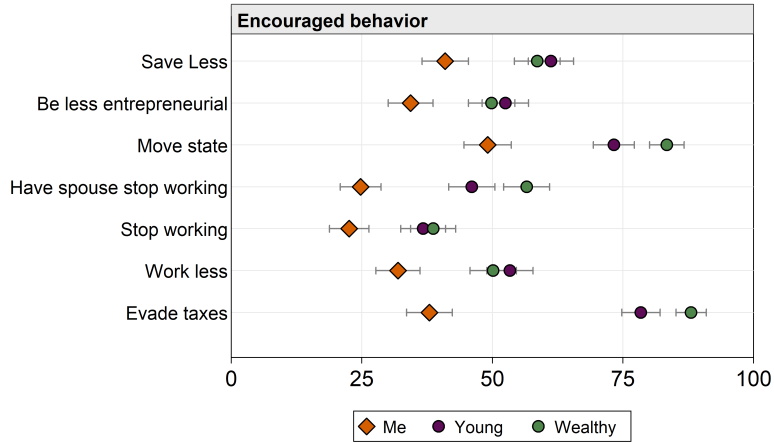
(D) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF INCOME TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR MIDDLE CLASS OR TOP EARNERS (FOR PEOPLE/WOMEN)



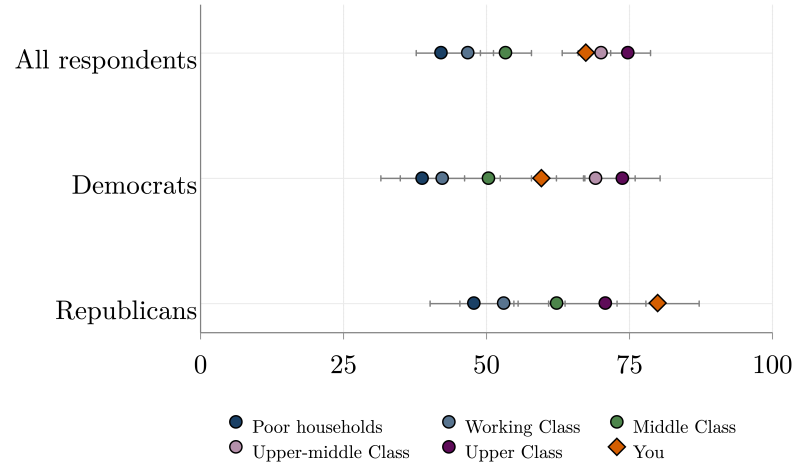
Notes: Panel (A), (C) and (D) present the share of respondents who believe a given behavioral response by a certain group would be encouraged (either a *great deal*, *a lot*, or *a moderate amount*) if the federal personal income tax rate for said group were to increase. Panel (A) asks about tax increases for the respondents themselves (Me), the middle class (Middle Class) or the richest people in the economy (Top Earners). Panel (C) asks about tax increases for the richest people in the economy in the top panel (Top Earners) or the middle class in the bottom panel (Middle Class), but displays the responses of Republicans and Democrats separately. Panel (D) asks about tax increases for the richest people in the economy (Top Earners; Baseline) versus a woman among the richest people in the economy (Top Earners; Women) in the top panel and about tax increases for the middle class (Middle class; Baseline) versus a woman in the middle class (Middle class; Women) in the bottom panel. Panel (B) presents the share of respondents, by political affiliation, who believe a given social group or they themselves (Me) would typically *mostly* win when the top federal income tax rate on high earners is cut (upper panel) or when overall taxes are raised and there are extra revenues to spend on government programs (lower panel). Intervals are based on a 90% level of confidence. The graph only includes respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses.

FIGURE 22: BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO INCREASE IN ESTATE TAX

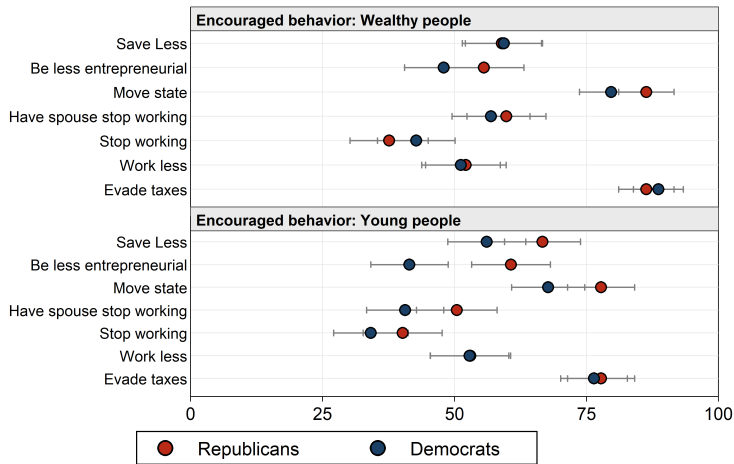
(A) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF ESTATE TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR ME/YOUNG/WEALTHY



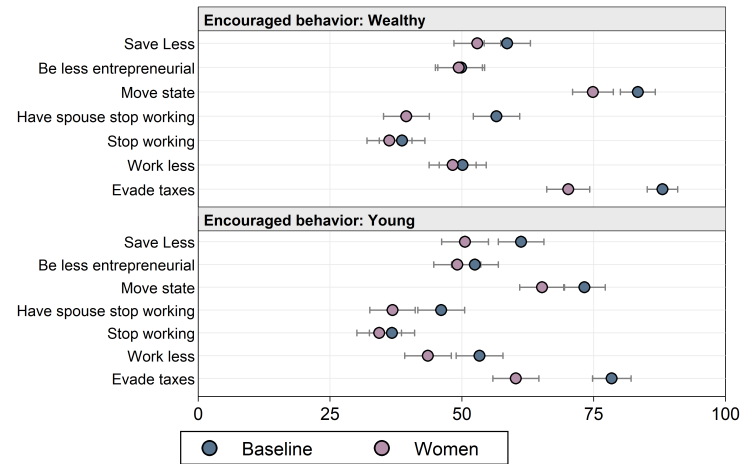
(B) WOULD THE FOLLOWING GROUPS/YOU WIN IF THE ESTATE TAX WERE CUT? - BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



(C) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF ESTATE TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR WEALTHY/YOUNG - BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



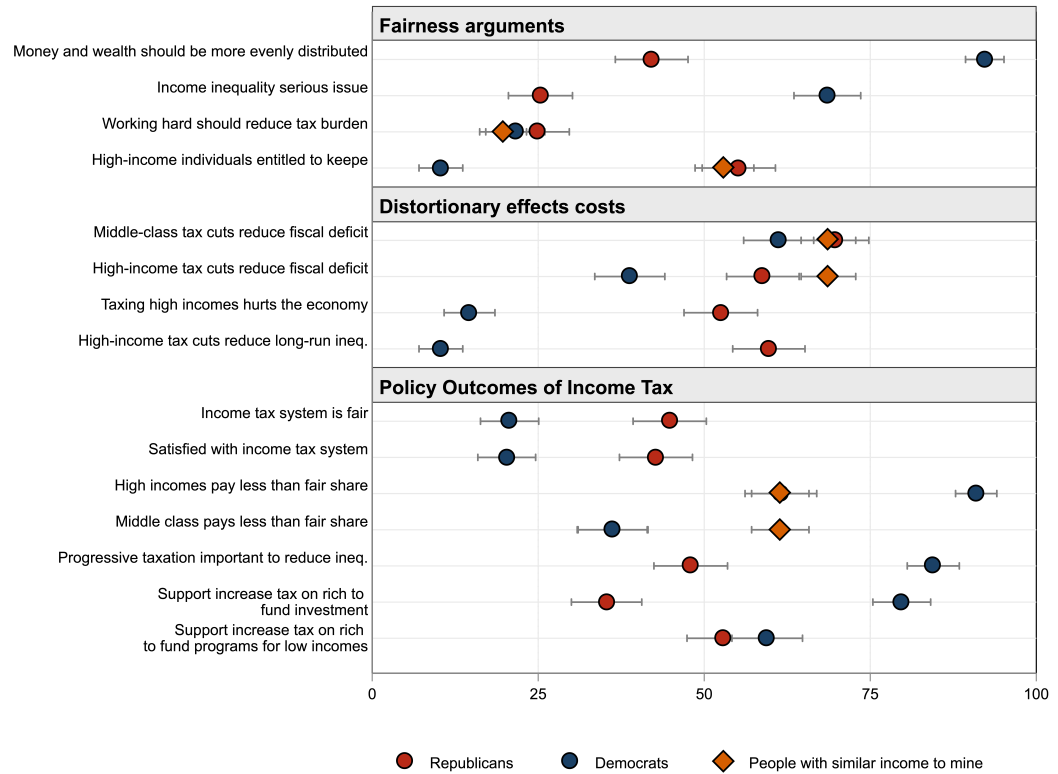
(D) ENCOURAGED BEHAVIOR IF ESTATE TAX WERE TO INCREASE FOR WEALTHY OR YOUNG (FOR PEOPLE/WOMEN)



66

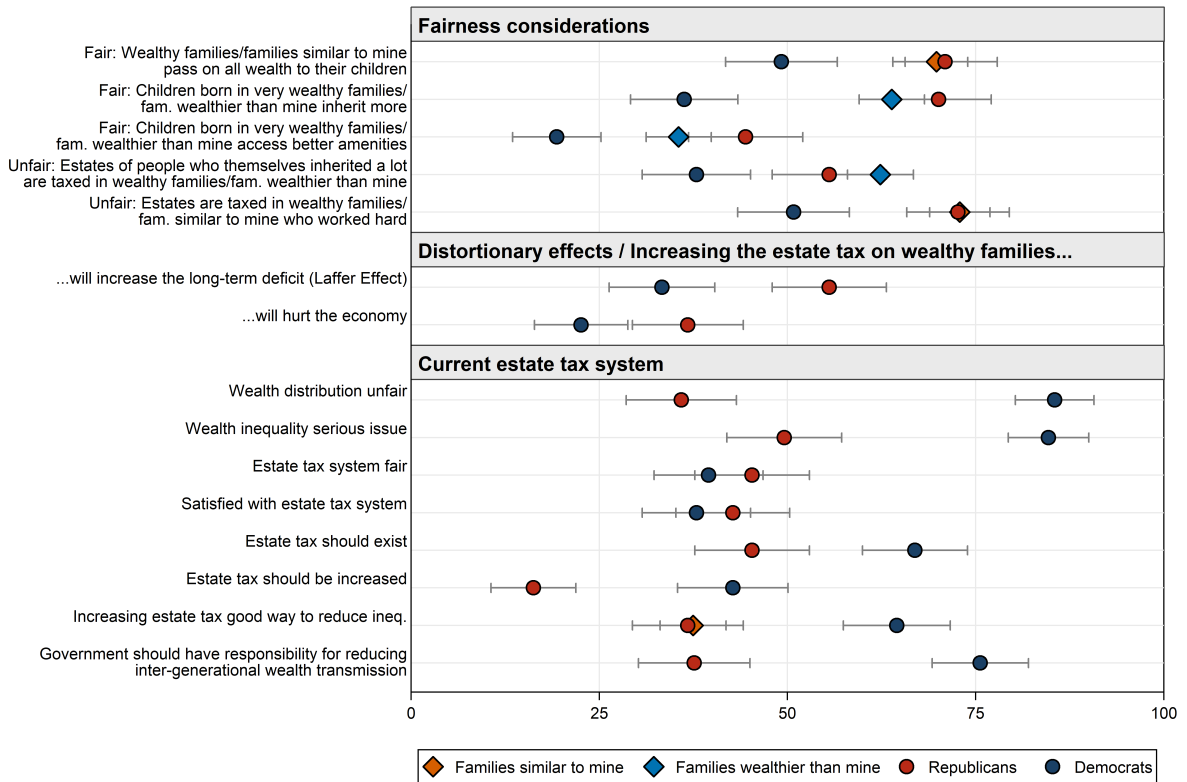
Notes: Panel (A), (C) and (D) present the share of respondents who believe a given behavioral response by a certain group would be encouraged (either a *great deal*, *a lot*, or *a moderate amount*) if the federal estate tax rate for said group were to increase. Panel (A) asks about tax increases for the respondents themselves (Me), the currently young and not yet rich (Young), or very wealthy individuals (Wealthy). Panel (C) asks about tax increases for the currently young and not yet rich (Young) and very wealthy individuals (Wealthy), but displays the responses of Republicans and Democrats separately. Panel (D) asks about tax increases for very wealthy individuals (Wealthy; Baseline), women among the richest in the economy (Wealthy; Women), the currently young and not yet rich (Young; Baseline) or women who are currently young and not yet rich (Young; Women). Panel (B) presents the share of respondents, by political affiliation, who believe a given social group or they themselves (Me) would *mostly* win if the federal estate tax were to be cut. Intervals are based on a 90% level of confidence. The graph only includes respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses.

FIGURE 23: VIEWS ABOUT THE CURRENT INCOME TAX SYSTEM



Notes: The graph shows, for three subgroups, the share of respondents who agree with the given statement in the income tax survey. Intervals are based on a 90% level of confidence. *Democrats* and *Republicans* refers to the political affiliation of the respondent. *People with similar income to mine* refers to respondents who were randomly assigned to the “Me” question formulation. The graph includes only respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses. The exact wording of questions is presented in the note of table 8 and 4, and in the survey questionnaire.

FIGURE 24: VIEWS ABOUT THE CURRENT ESTATE TAX SYSTEM



Notes: The graph shows, for four subgroups, the share of respondents who agree with the given statements in the estate tax survey. Intervals are based on a 90% level of confidence. *Democrats* and *Republicans* refers to the political affiliation of the respondent. *Families with similar income to mine* and *Families wealthier than mine* refers, if applicable, to respondents who were randomly assigned to the “Me” question formulation. The graph includes only respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses. The exact wording of questions is presented in the note of table 5 and 9, and in the survey questionnaire.

TABLE 2: PERCEIVED BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES TO INCOME TAXATION

	Evade Taxes		Work less		Stop working		Spouse stop working		Move state		Be less entrepreneurial	
	High earners	Middle class	High earners	Middle class	High earners	Middle class	High earners	Middle class	High earners	Middle class	High earners	Middle class
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>												
Me	-0.52*** (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.23*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)
Women	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Me	-0.48*** (0.04)	-0.30*** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Women	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Female	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Me × Female	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.06)	-0.13** (0.06)
Women × Female	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.13** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)
Me	-0.54*** (0.04)	-0.26*** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.28*** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)
Republican	-0.05** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.09 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>												
Redistribution T	0.00 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)
Efficiency T	0.08*** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)
Economist T	0.07*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.04* (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>												
Control mean	0.80	0.60	0.48	0.39	0.33	0.28	0.43	0.32	0.78	0.64	0.50	0.45
Male control mean	0.84	0.66	0.50	0.40	0.33	0.31	0.42	0.32	0.80	0.63	0.52	0.46
Democrat control mean	0.84	0.53	0.45	0.34	0.33	0.25	0.41	0.29	0.75	0.59	0.41	0.39
Observations	2782	2782	2783	2781	2781	2781	2783	2781	2783	2782	2782	2782

Notes: The dependent variables in each column are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent thinks that the extent to which an increase in the federal personal income tax would encourage the middle class/themselves/middle class women or the richest people/themselves/richest women in the economy towards the behaviors listed ranges from a moderate amount to a great deal. All questions are asked randomly with one of the three formulations described in the text: the generic, the “me” or the “women” formulation. Regressions in all panels include controls for sex, age, race, income class, having children, education, having an economics-related major, employment status, self-reported policy knowledge, self-reported social class, political affiliation, and dummies for all treatments (question formulations and video courses). All variables are further detailed in the appendix A-3. Panel (A) reports the effects of the “me” and “women” question formulation relative to the generic formulation. The second panel shows the effects of the question formulation interacted with the respondent’s gender. The third panel shows the effects of question formulation interacted with a political affiliation indicator (*Republican*), relative to the omitted category (*Democrat*.) Indicators and interactions for *Independent and others* are included as controls, but not reported in the main tables (see the Online Appendix). Panel (B) reports the treatment effects of the video courses relative to the omitted category (*no video*). Panel (C) reports the mean of the dependent variables for respondents who saw the generic question formulation and no video (“Control mean”), and separately for male respondents (“Male control mean”) and Democrats (“Democrat control mean”). Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 3: PERCEIVED BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO THE ESTATE TAX

	Evade Taxes		Work less		Stop working		Spouse stop working		Move state		Be less entrepreneurial		Save Less	
	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young	Wealthy	Young
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>														
Me	-0.50*** (0.03)	-0.40*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.32*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.34*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.04)
Women	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.04)
Me	-0.39*** (0.03)	-0.30*** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.13*** (0.05)	-0.29*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.09** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)
Women	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
Female	0.03* (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Me × Female	-0.20*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.06)	-0.24*** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.17*** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.16*** (0.06)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.17*** (0.06)	-0.17*** (0.06)	-0.18*** (0.06)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.16*** (0.06)
Women × Female	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.09* (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.15*** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.09* (0.06)
Me	-0.52*** (0.04)	-0.42*** (0.05)	-0.19*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.32*** (0.05)	-0.16*** (0.05)	-0.40*** (0.04)	-0.29*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.21*** (0.05)
Republican	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.15*** (0.05)	0.13* (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.20*** (0.06)	0.18*** (0.07)	0.15** (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.15** (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>														
Redistribution T	0.05* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.07** (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Efficiency T	0.04* (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.27*** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.06* (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.24*** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
Economist T	0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.26*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>														
Control mean	0.88	0.78	0.50	0.53	0.39	0.37	0.57	0.46	0.83	0.73	0.50	0.52	0.59	0.61
Male control mean	0.88	0.74	0.52	0.51	0.44	0.39	0.58	0.47	0.85	0.74	0.53	0.51	0.60	0.59
Democrat control mean	0.89	0.76	0.51	0.53	0.43	0.34	0.57	0.41	0.80	0.68	0.48	0.41	0.59	0.56
Observations	2357	2356	2356	2356	2357	2355	2355	2355	2356	2357	2356	2356	2356	2356

Notes: The dependent variables in each column are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent thinks that the extent to which an increase in the federal estate tax would encourage the very wealthy individuals/themselves/women among the richest in the economy or young and not yet rich people/themselves/young and not yet rich women towards the behaviors listed ranges from “a moderate amount” to a “great deal.” See the notes of table 2 for details. Standard errors in parentheses.

$p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 4: DISTORTIONARY AND FAIRNESS EFFECTS OF THE INCOME TAX

	Trickle down (1)	↑ Taxes high-inc. hurt economy. (2)	Laffer effect high-inc. (3)	Laffer effect middle class (4)	Distortion index (5)	High-inc. entitled to keep (6)	Hard workers should pay less taxes (7)	Redistribution index (8)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>								
Me	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.28*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.04)
Women	0.07*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
Me	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.29*** (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.26*** (0.06)	0.22*** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.06)
Republican	0.42*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.36*** (0.03)	0.36*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.73*** (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.06 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.19*** (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.14 (0.09)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>								
Redistribution T	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.06)
Efficiency T	0.06 (0.05)	0.14*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.22*** (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)
Economist T	0.03 (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)
Republican	0.47*** (0.03)	0.36*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.35*** (0.04)	0.41*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.77*** (0.04)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.09)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.15* (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)
Economist T × Republican	-0.12** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.12** (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.15** (0.07)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>								
Control mean	0.32	0.31	0.48	0.65	0.00	0.30	0.25	-0.00
Male control mean	0.36	0.35	0.46	0.63	0.04	0.32	0.25	-0.02
Democrat control mean	0.10	0.15	0.39	0.61	-0.14	0.10	0.22	0.37
Observations	2781	2782	2780	2781	2773	2780	2781	2773

*Notes:* The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Trickle down:* the respondent thinks that lowering taxes on wealthy people/women, and corporations to encourage more investment in economic growth would ultimately do more to reduce the income differences between poor and rich families/women; *↑ Taxes on high-inc. hurt economy:* the respondent believes that increasing income taxes on high-income households/women would hurt economic activity in the U.S.; *Laffer effect high-incomes/middle-class:* the respondent believes that tax cuts on high-income households/women or on middle class/women from the middle class would decrease the deficit in the long run because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government; *High-inc. entitled to keep:* the respondent believes that high-income individuals/individuals with a similar income to that of the respondent/high-income women are entitled to keep a very large share of their income and should not have to pay high taxes, even if that means less government revenue is available to help low-income families make ends meet; *Hard workers should pay less taxes:* the respondent believes that people/women who have worked hard for their income should be taxed less than those who have not worked hard for it, even if that means that people with the same income/with the same income as the respondent will end up paying different taxes; *Distortion index:* index that captures the respondent’s belief in the distortionary nature of the federal income taxation. The higher the index, the higher the perceived distortion of taxes; *Redistribution index:* index that captures whether the respondent supports redistributive policies and increased taxation to reduce inequality and to fund public services. The questions in columns (3), (4), (6) and (7) are asked with three different formulations: “Me,” “women,” and the generic formulation; in column (1) and (2), questions are asked with the “women” and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 for details on Panel (A) and (C). Panel (B) reports the treatment effects of the video courses interacted with a political affiliation indicator (*Republican*), relative to the omitted category (*Democrat*). Indicators and interactions for “Independent and others” are included as controls, but not reported in the main tables (see the Online Appendix). Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 5: DISTORTIONARY AND FAIRNESS EFFECTS OF THE ESTATE TAX

	↑ Tax hurt economy (1)	Laffer effect (2)	Unfair tax estates of hard workers (3)	Unfair tax estates of wealthy heirs (4)	Fair that wealthy children access better amenities (5)	Fair that wealthy children inherit more (6)	Support wealth transmission (7)	Distortion index (8)	Fairness of Inheritance index (9)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>									
Me	0.16*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.04)	-0.49*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)
Women	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
Me	0.21*** (0.05)	0.12** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)	-0.49*** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.07)
Republican	0.16*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.03)	0.29*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.66*** (0.04)
Me × Republican	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.12 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>									
Redistribution T	0.02 (0.05)	0.12** (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)
Efficiency T	-0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.15** (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)
Economist T	0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.12** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)
Republican	0.12*** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.04)	0.24*** (0.05)	0.60*** (0.05)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.24*** (0.08)	0.05 (0.07)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.10)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.13* (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.15** (0.07)	0.24*** (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.18** (0.07)	0.02 (0.09)	0.20** (0.09)
Economist T × Republican	0.08 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.12** (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.13* (0.07)	0.07 (0.08)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>									
Control mean	0.28	0.46	0.61	0.47	0.32	0.53	0.58	0.00	-0.00
Male control mean	0.31	0.43	0.60	0.45	0.36	0.53	0.55	0.02	-0.00
Democrat control mean	0.23	0.33	0.51	0.38	0.19	0.36	0.49	-0.10	-0.30
Observations	2358	2356	2358	2358	2357	2357	2356	2352	2356

*Notes:* The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: ↑ *Tax hurt economy*: the respondent believes that increasing the federal estate tax on wealthy households/households similar to the one of the respondent themselves/on wealthy women would hurt economic activity; *Laffer effect*: the respondent believes that cuts to the estate tax of wealthy households/households similar to that of the respondent themselves/households of wealthy women would decrease the deficit in the long run because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government; *Unfair tax estates of hard workers*: the respondent believes that it is somewhat unfair or very unfair to tax the estate of wealthy people/the estate of the respondent themselves/the estate of wealthy women who have worked hard and saved a lot in order to pass on wealth to their/her children; *Unfair tax estates of wealthy heirs*: the respondent believes that it is somewhat unfair or very unfair to tax the estate of people who are wealthy because they have inherited a lot/ the estate of people who are wealthier than the respondent themselves because they have inherited a lot more from their own parents /the estate of a wealthy woman who is wealthy because she has herself inherited a lot from her parents; *Fair that wealthy children access better amenities*: the respondent believes that it is somewhat fair or very fair that children born in very wealthy families/that people born in wealthier families than that of the respondent themselves/that a girl born to a very wealthy mother have access to better amenities; *Fair that wealthy children inherit more*: the respondent believes that it is somewhat fair or very fair that children born in very wealthy families inherit much more than children born in less wealthy families/that people born in wealthier families than that of the respondent themselves inherit much more than the respondent themselves/that a girl born to a very wealthy mother inherits much more than a girl born to a less wealthy mother; *Support Wealth Transmission*: the respondent believes that wealthy parents/individuals with similar levels of wealth to that of the respondent themselves/a wealthy mother should be able to pass on all of her wealth to her children; *Distortion index*: index that captures the respondent’s belief in the distortionary nature of the federal estate tax. The higher the index, the higher the perceived distortion of the tax; *Fairness of inheritance index*: index that captures respondents’ belief that the passing on of wealth is fair. The higher the index, the higher the perceived fairness. The questions in columns (3), (4), (6) and (7) are asked with the three different formulations: “Me,” “women,” and the generic formulation; in column (1), (2) questions are asked with the “women” and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 and table 4 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 6: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS MOSTLY WIN FROM THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN INCOME TAXATION?

	Taxes on high-earners were cut					Overall taxes were increased				
	Poor households (1)	Working class (2)	Middle class (3)	Upper-middle class (4)	Upper class (5)	Poor households (6)	Working class (7)	Middle class (8)	Upper-middle class (9)	Upper class (10)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>										
Me	0.12*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.10*** (0.04)	-0.27*** (0.04)	-0.39*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Me × 70k+	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.11* (0.06)	0.10* (0.05)	-0.13** (0.06)	-0.11** (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
Women	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Me	0.15*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.11*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.33*** (0.04)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Women	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Female	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Me × Female	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)
Women × Female	0.02 (0.05)	0.12** (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)
Me	0.08* (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.35*** (0.05)	-0.49*** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)
Republican	0.21*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.24*** (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.08 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.24*** (0.07)	0.30*** (0.06)	-0.30*** (0.07)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.12* (0.07)	-0.20*** (0.07)	-0.23*** (0.07)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>										
Redistribution T	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Efficiency T	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)
Economist T	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.05** (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>										
Control mean	0.32	0.32	0.33	0.69	0.82	0.65	0.49	0.40	0.39	0.41
Male ontrol mean	0.36	0.35	0.36	0.67	0.81	0.62	0.51	0.42	0.39	0.39
Democrat control mean	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.67	0.80	0.67	0.59	0.54	0.48	0.47
Observations	2762	2756	2746	2743	2765	2774	2757	2759	2757	2762

Notes: The dependent variables in each column are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent believes that the listed group/the respondent themselves/a women from the listed group would *mostly* win if the top federal income tax rate on high earners were cut, in columns (1)-(5), or if overall taxes were raised and the extra revenues were spent on government programs, in columns (6)-(10). See the notes of table 2 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 7: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS MOSTLY WIN IF THE ESTATE TAX WERE TO BE CUT?

	Poor households (1)	Working Class (2)	Middle Class (3)	Upper-middle Class (4)	Upper Class (5)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>					
Me	0.22*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)
Me × 70k+	0.09 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)
Women	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Me	0.33*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)
Women	0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Female	0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Me × Female	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.10* (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)
Women × Female	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)
Me	0.21*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.05)	0.11** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.14*** (0.05)
Republican	0.08*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.11 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.21*** (0.07)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>					
Redistribution T	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)
Efficiency T	-0.10*** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)
Economist T	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>					
Control mean	0.42	0.47	0.53	0.70	0.75
Male control mean	0.37	0.43	0.50	0.75	0.82
Democrat control mean	0.39	0.42	0.50	0.69	0.74
Observations	2329	2314	2306	2312	2304

Notes: The dependent variables in each column are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent believes that the listed group/the respondent themselves/a women from the listed group would *mostly* win if the federal estate tax rate were to be cut. See the notes of table 2 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 8: POLICY OUTCOMES OF THE INCOME TAX

	Income tax fair (1)	Satisfied income tax (2)	High-inc. pay less than fair (3)	Middle Class pay less than fair (4)	Wealth distrib. unfair (5)	Inequality serious issue (6)	Progressive tax important tool to ↓ inequality (7)	Government responsible to ↓ inequality (8)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>								
Me	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Women	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>								
Redistribution T	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
Efficiency T	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Economist T	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)
Redistribution T	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	0.12** (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.11** (0.05)
Efficiency T	0.05 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Economist T	0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
Republican	0.24*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.47*** (0.03)	-0.38*** (0.03)	-0.34*** (0.03)	-0.36*** (0.03)
Redistribution T × Republican	0.07 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.13* (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.13** (0.06)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
Economist T × Republican	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.14*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>								
Control mean	0.31	0.30	0.78	0.36	0.70	0.48	0.67	0.43
Male control mean	0.34	0.32	0.76	0.36	0.68	0.49	0.66	0.44
Democrat control mean	0.21	0.20	0.91	0.36	0.92	0.69	0.84	0.63
Observations	2782	2781	2782	2781	2781	2781	2783	2779

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Income tax fair*: the respondent believes that the current U.S. federal income tax system is somewhat fair or very fair; *Satisfied income tax*: the respondent is somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with the current U.S. federal income tax system; *High-inc. pay less than fair*: the respondent believes that high-income households/themselves/high-income women pay their fair share, less than their fair share, or much less than their fair share in income taxes; *Middle class pay less than fair*: the respondent believes that middle class households/themselves/middle class women pay their fair share, less than, or much less than their fair share; *Wealth distrib. unfair*: the respondent thinks that money and wealth in the US should be more evenly distributed; *Inequality serious issue*: the respondent believes that income inequality is a serious or very serious issue; *Progressive tax important tool to ↓ inequality*: the respondent believes that a progressive tax system in which people/women with higher incomes pay a higher share of income in taxes than people/women with lower incomes is an important tool to reduce income inequality; *Government responsible to ↓ inequality*: the respondent thinks the government has a responsibility to reduce income differences between the rich and the poor. The questions in columns (3), (4) are asked with the three different formulations: “Me,” “women,” and the generic formulation; in column (7) it is asked with the “women” and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 and 4 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

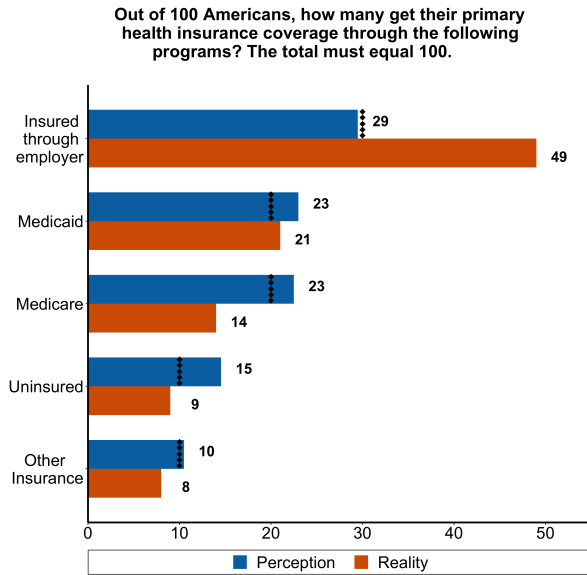
TABLE 9: POLICY OUTCOMES OF THE ESTATE TAX

	Wealth distrib. unfair (1)	Wealth ineq. serious issue (2)	Estate tax system fair (3)	Satisfied with estate tax (4)	Estate tax should exist (5)	Estate tax should be increased (6)	↑ Estate tax good way to ↓ inequality (7)	Government responsible to ↓ wealth transm. (8)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>								
Me	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)
Women	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.06* (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>								
Redistribution T	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.07** (0.04)
Efficiency T	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.08** (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)
Economist T	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)
Redistribution T	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Efficiency T	-0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.12** (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Economist T	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.10** (0.05)
Republican	-0.42*** (0.03)	-0.36*** (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.27*** (0.04)	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.26*** (0.04)	-0.31*** (0.04)
Redistribution T × Republican	0.14* (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.12 (0.07)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.04 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.13* (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.13* (0.07)
Economist T × Republican	0.06 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>								
Control mean	0.64	0.71	0.40	0.36	0.56	0.31	0.53	0.56
Male control mean	0.62	0.71	0.43	0.41	0.62	0.36	0.54	0.60
Democrat control mean	0.85	0.85	0.40	0.38	0.67	0.43	0.65	0.76
Observations	2358	2358	2358	2356	2359	2359	2357	2355

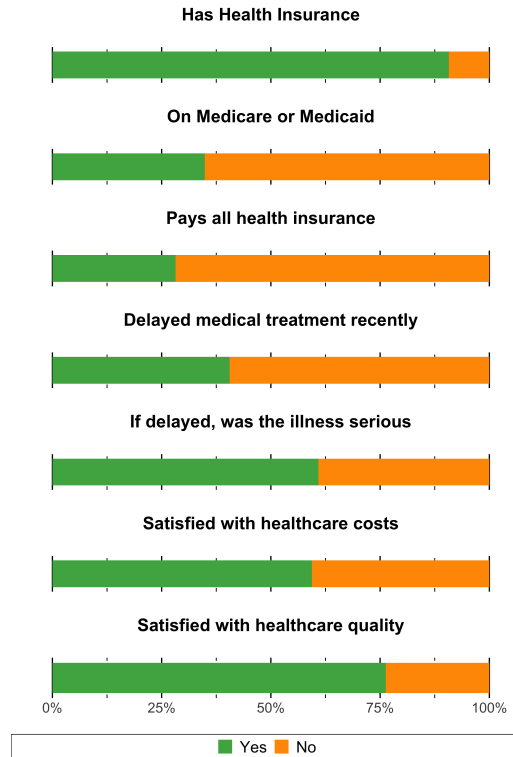
Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Wealth distrib. unfair*: the respondent believes that money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the population; *Wealth ineq. serious issue*: the respondent believes that wealth inequality in the U.S. is a problem or a serious/very serious problem; *Estate tax system fair*: the respondent believes that the current U.S. federal estate tax system is somewhat fair or very fair; *Satisfied with estate tax*: the respondent is somewhat satisfied or very satisfied with the current U.S. federal estate tax system; *Estate tax should exist*: the respondent believes that there should be a federal estate tax in the U.S.; *Estate tax should be increased*: conditional on believing that there should be a federal estate tax (see previous variable), the respondent thinks that the federal estate tax should be increased; ↑ *Estate tax good way to ↓ inequality*: the respondent believes that increasing the estate tax/increasing the estate tax on the estates of households similar to that of the respondent themselves/increasing the estate tax on the estates of wealthy women is a good way or it is one of the best ways to reduce wealth inequality; *Government responsible to ↓ wealth transm.*: the respondent thinks the government should have responsibility in reducing inter-generational wealth transmission. The question in column (7) is asked with the three different formulations: “Me,” “women,” and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 and 4 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

FIGURE 25: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE HEALTH INSURANCE SYSTEM

(A) MISPERCEPTION ABOUT SHARE OF PEOPLE RELYING ON DIFFERENT MODES OF INSURANCES

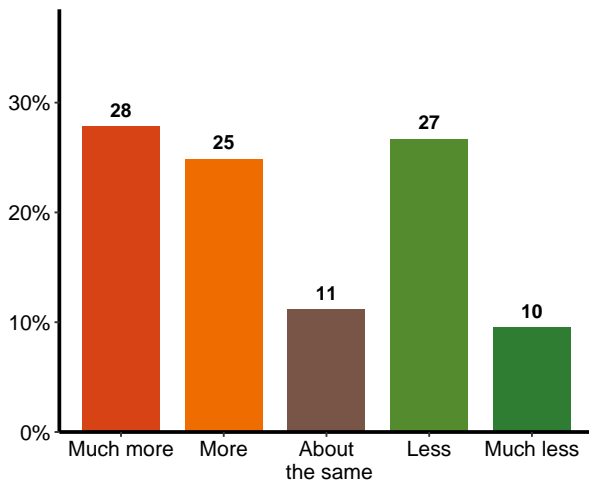


(B) PERSONAL EXPOSURE TO HEALTH INSURANCE

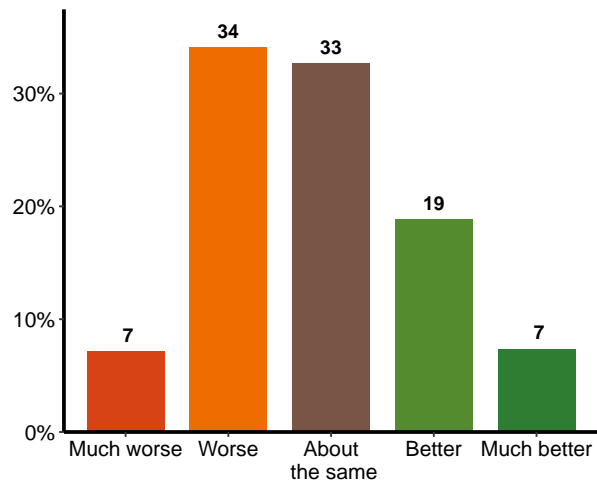


(C) U.S. HEALTH CARE SYSTEM COMPARED TO OTHER RICH COUNTRIES

Compared to other rich countries, the U.S. spends...



Compared to other rich countries, the quality of U.S. healthcare is...

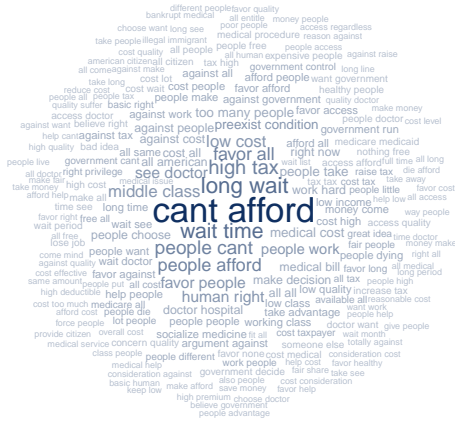


Notes: Panel (A) compares the average and median (dotted line) perception among respondents of the prevalence of different health insurance programs across the U.S. population to the actual program distribution. Panel (B) shows statistics about the respondents' personal exposure to and knowledge about the current health insurance system. Panel (C) shows the distribution of answers to questions about the quality and total cost of the U.S. health care system compared to other rich and developed countries.



FIGURE 27: WORD CLOUDS FOR HEALTH INSURANCE

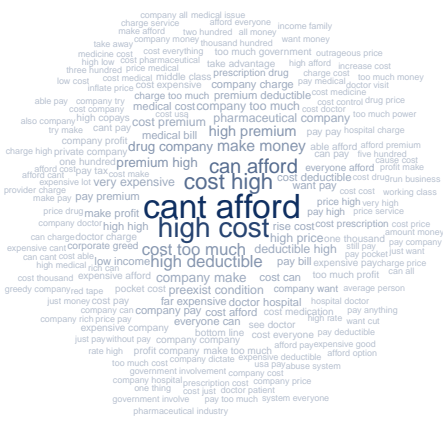
(A) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT UNIVERSAL HEALTH INSURANCE AND WHETHER THE U.S. SHOULD HAVE UNIVERSAL HEALTH INSURANCE?



(B) WHAT WOULD BE THE GOAL OF A GOOD HEALTH INSURANCE SYSTEM?



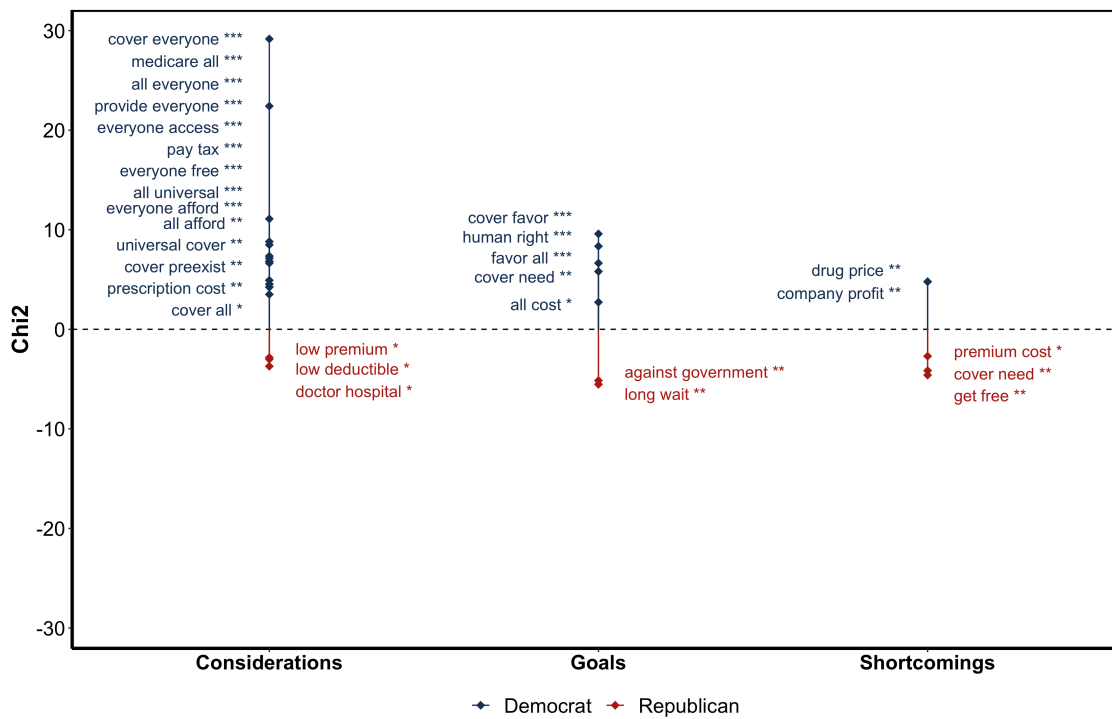
(C) WHAT IS THE BIGGEST PROBLEM WITH HEALTH INSURANCE IN THE U.S.?



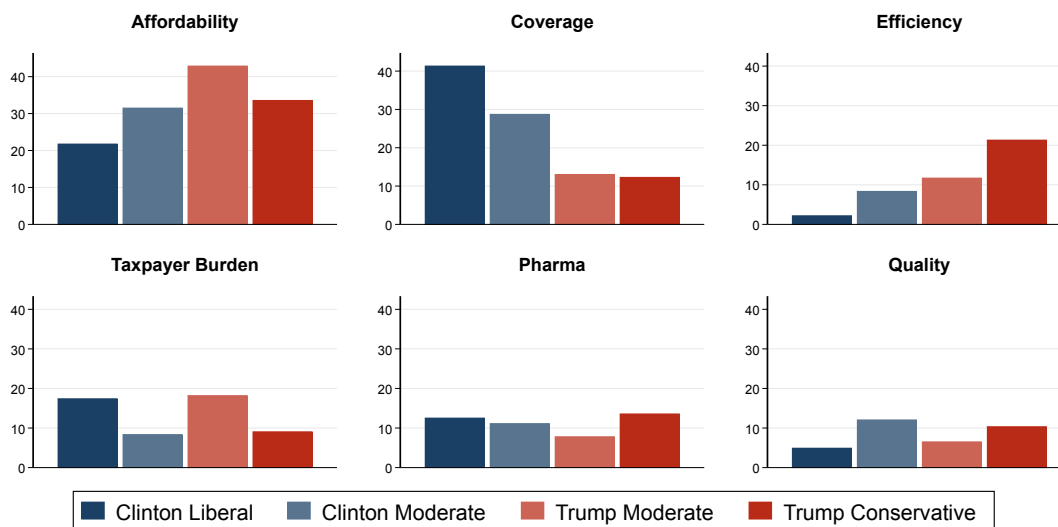
Notes: The figure shows word clouds based on the text analysis of the open-ended health insurance questions. The largest label, *cover everyone*, appears in 7.6% of responses. Labels for panel (A) and (B) labels were increased by 10% to improve legibility. See the notes of figure 17 and Section 2.4.

FIGURE 28: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF HEALTH INSURANCE BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

(A) KEYWORDS OF HEALTH INSURANCE BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



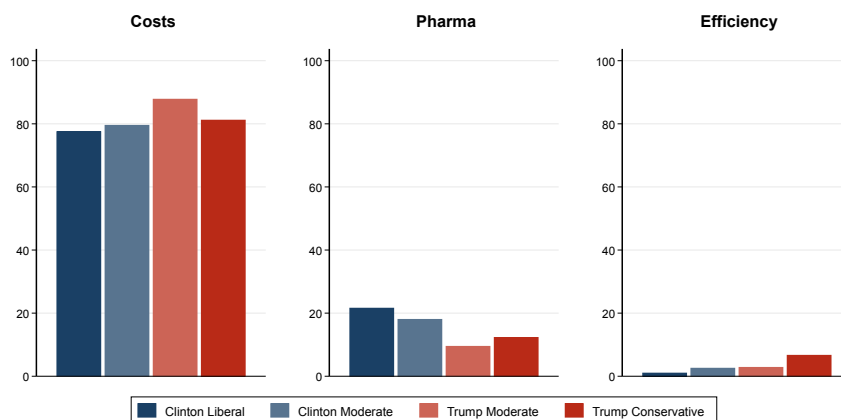
(B) WHAT WOULD BE THE GOALS OF GOOD HEALTH INSURANCE SYSTEM? TOPICS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



**Keywords**

- Affordability: *Affordable price; reasonable price; reasonable cost; pocket cost; affordable coverage; affordable/high/low premium; no/low/high deductibles; low copays; pocket expense*
- Coverage: *Full coverage; single payer; universal coverage; universal healthcare; access & everyone; preventive care; preexisting conditions*
- Efficiency: *Competition; free market; marketplace; long time/wait/line; wait & time; waiting list; pay-check; emergency room (ER); abuse; work hard; inefficient; negative effect; hurt & economy; more productive; cost effective*
- Taxpayer Burden: *Tax; taxpayers; where & money & from; who pays; debt*
- Pharma: *Company abuse; big company; pharma; greed; profit; drug company; private company; big business*
- Quality: *Quality*

(C) WHAT DO YOU PERSONALLY SEE AS THE BIGGEST PROBLEM WITH HEALTH INSURANCE IN THE U.S. TODAY?



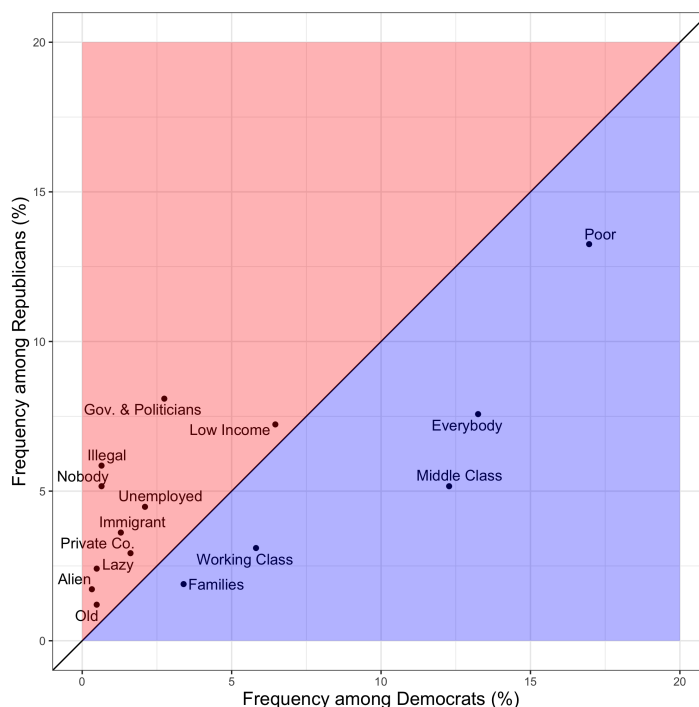
**Keywords**

Cost: Cost; expense; afford; price

Efficiency: Competition; free market; marketplace; long time/wait/line; wait & time; waiting list; paycheck; emergency room (ER); abuse; work hard; inefficient; negative effect; hurt & economy; more productive; cost effective

Pharma: Company abuse; big company; pharma; greed; profit; drug company; private company; big business

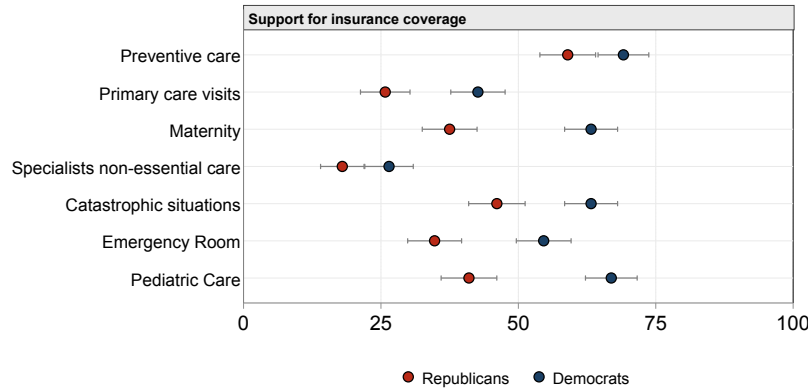
(D) WHICH GROUPS WOULD GAIN IF A SINGLE-PAYER SYSTEM WERE INTRODUCED IN THE U.S.?



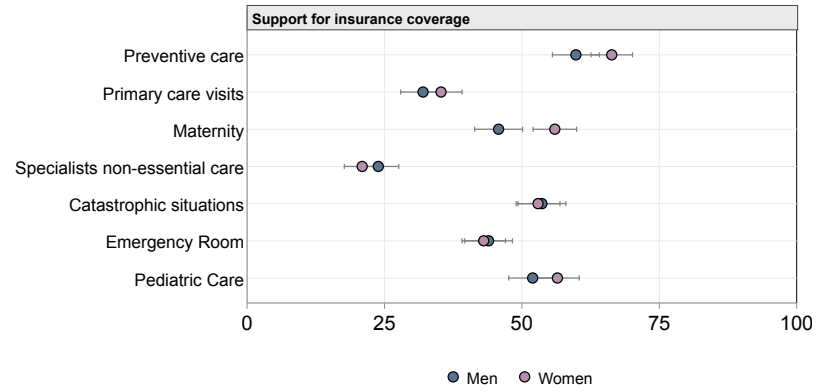
Notes: The figures show results based on the topic analysis of the open-ended health insurance questions, by political affiliation. See the notes of figure 18 for more details on panel (B) and (C). Panel (D) reports raw frequencies of the groups mentioned by the respondents when asked which groups of people would win, if any, should barriers a single-payer system be introduced in the U.S. See also Section 2.4 for a summary on the methods of analysis and Section 4.2 for details on the topics.

FIGURE 29: SUPPORT FULL INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR SPECIFIC SERVICES AND VIEWS ON BIRTH CONTROL AND ABORTION

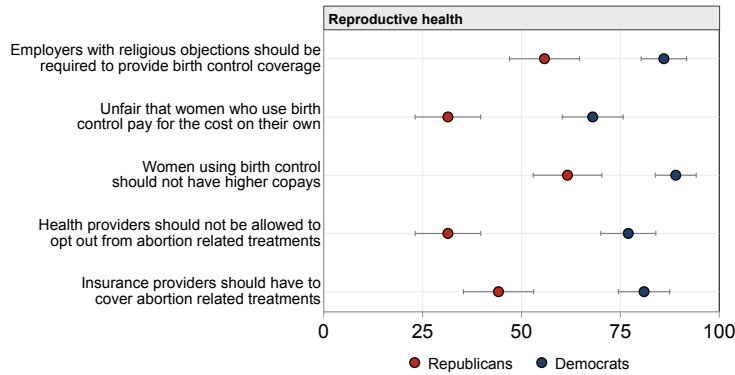
(A) BY POLITICAL VIEWS



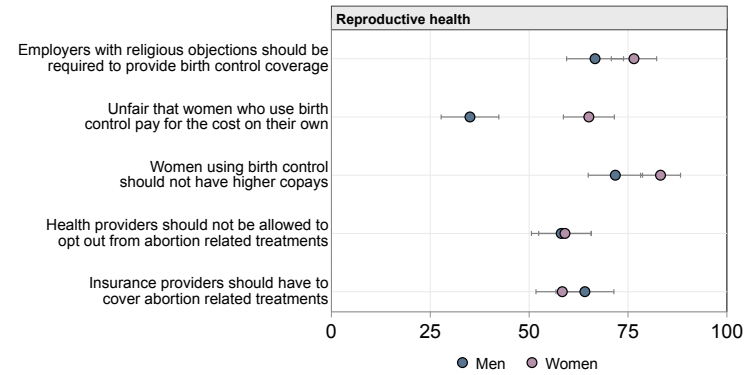
(B) BY GENDER



(C) BY POLITICAL VIEWS



(D) BY GENDER



Notes: Panel (A) and (B) show the share of respondents, with 90% confidence intervals, who support full insurance coverage for the given medical treatment, by political affiliation and by gender respectively. Panel (C) and (D) show views and attitudes towards birth control and abortion policies among survey participants who were randomized in the “women” branch, by political affiliation and by gender respectively. The graph only includes respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses.

TABLE 10: PERCEIVED BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO MORE GENEROUS HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE

	Less use of Emergency rooms (1)	Higher use of Medical Services (2)	Higher use of preventive care (3)	Employer-Insurance discourage quit job (4)	Behavioral index (5)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>					
Me	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.26*** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.06)
Women	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.37*** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.18*** (0.06)
Me	-0.13** (0.06)	-0.14*** (0.05)	0.10* (0.06)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.34*** (0.08)
Women	0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.23*** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.16** (0.08)
Female	0.01 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.04)
Me × Female	0.08 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.30*** (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)	0.29*** (0.09)
Women × Female	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.12** (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)
Me	-0.08 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.09)
Republican	-0.14*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.05)
Me × Republican	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.24*** (0.08)	-0.24*** (0.08)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.39*** (0.11)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>					
Redistribution T	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)
Efficiency T	0.20*** (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.16*** (0.06)
Economist T	0.14*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.10** (0.05)
Redistribution T	0.00 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.09)
Efficiency T	0.21*** (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)
Economist T	0.15*** (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.07 (0.07)
Republican	-0.13*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.06)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.04 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.21** (0.09)	-0.12 (0.08)	0.09 (0.12)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.02 (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.21** (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)	0.14 (0.12)
Economist T × Republican	-0.02 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.12* (0.07)	-0.08 (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>					
Control mean	0.48	0.36	0.36	0.79	0.00
Male control mean	0.45	0.46	0.46	0.75	0.06
Democrat control mean	0.56	0.35	0.35	0.82	0.05
Observations	1824	1822	1823	1825	1822

Notes: The dependent variables in columns (1) to (3) are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent thinks that the extent to which more generous health insurance would encourage people/themselves/women towards the behaviors listed ranges from a moderate amount to a great deal. *Employer insurance discourage quit job*: the dependent variable is an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent thinks that health insurance through the employer would discourage people/respondents themselves/women from quitting a bad job or switching job out of fear of losing their health insurance. *Behavioral index*: summary index for the behavioral response to more generous/employer-provided health insurance. It combines questions of columns (1)-(4). See the note of table 2 for more details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 11: MECHANISMS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

	Health in US worse if ↓ insurance (1)	↑ preventive healthcare, ↓ costs (2)	Healthcare to all important bc of contagion (3)	↑ insurance, ↓ financial stress (4)	Important to help low-incomes (5)	Unfair to pay more if Pre-existing conditions (6)	more if: Worse health (7)	Health issue out of own control (8)	Arguments for Health Insurance Equity (9)	Efficiency (10)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>										
Me	-0.07* (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.05)	-0.13*** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.14** (0.07)	0.05 (0.05)
Women	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)
Me	-0.09* (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.05)	-0.15** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.19** (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)
Women	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.08* (0.05)	0.12** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.18** (0.07)
Female	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
Me × Female	0.04 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)	0.05 (0.06)	0.13 (0.12)	0.16* (0.08)
Women × Female	0.10* (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)
Women	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.04 (0.07)	0.23*** (0.08)
Republican	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.02)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.27*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)	-0.54*** (0.04)	-0.30*** (0.04)
Women × Republican	0.03 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.13* (0.07)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.10)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>										
Redistribution T	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Efficiency T	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)
Economist T	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.17*** (0.05)
Redistribution T	0.04 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)
Efficiency T	-0.09 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Economist T	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.10** (0.04)	0.09* (0.05)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)
Republican	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.20*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.33*** (0.04)	-0.23*** (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.57*** (0.06)	-0.34*** (0.06)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.12 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.04 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.11)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.08 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.13 (0.08)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)
Economist T × Republican	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>										
Control mean	0.75	0.81	0.84	0.86	0.78	0.75	0.82	0.66	0.00	0.00
Male control mean	0.72	0.78	0.80	0.84	0.78	0.66	0.71	0.68	-0.11	-0.02
Democrat control mean	0.89	0.91	0.98	0.94	0.91	0.84	0.84	0.74	0.24	0.17
Observations	1824	1825	1824	1825	1823	1672	1671	1824	1661	1815

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Health in US worse off if ↓ insurance*: the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that with less generous health insurance, health in the U.S./their own health/women’s health would be worse since they could not afford appropriate medical care; *↑ preventive healthcare, ↓ costs*: the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that more generous insurance coverage for preventive care can lead to a reduction in total medical costs/to a reduction of their own medical costs/more generous coverage for preventive care *for women* can lead to a reduction in total medical costs; *Healthcare to all important bc of contagion*: the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that it is important that everyone/the respondent themselves/all women can afford proper health care because people who become sick with a contagious disease could have negative effects on others too; *↑ insurance, ↓ financial stress*: the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that more generous health insurance can help people/the respondent themselves/women deal with unexpected large medical costs, reducing financial stress; *Important to help low-incomes*: the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that it is important to financially help low-income families/families like that of the respondent themselves/low-income women so that they can afford medical care. *Unfair to pay more if pre-existing conditions*: the respondent believes that it is unfair or very unfair that that people with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than people without pre-existing conditions/the respondent themselves had to pay more for his own health insurance than people with fewer pre-existing conditions than them/women with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than women without pre-existing conditions; *Unfair to pay more if worse health*: the respondent believes that it is unfair or very unfair that that people born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than people born with better health/the respondent themselves had to pay more for their own health insurance than people born with better health than themselves/if women born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than women born with better health; *Health issue out of own control*: the respondent believes that health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of one’s control/that the respondent’s own health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of their own control/that women’s health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of their control; *Arguments for health insurance, equity/efficiency*: index that captures whether the respondent supports equity/efficiency arguments in favor of having health insurance. The questions in columns (1) to (8) are asked with the three different formulations: “Me,” “women,” and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 12: POLICY OUTCOMES FOR HEALTH INSURANCE

	Access to healthcare should improve (1)	Insurance system unfair (2)	Dissatisfied health insurance (3)	Medicare for all: Support (4)	Medicare for all: Don't know enough (5)	Support transfers to low-inc. (6)	Support Individual mandate (7)	Support Employer mandate (8)
<b>Panel A: Question formulation</b>								
Me	0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Women	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Me	0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.05)	0.08** (0.04)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Women	0.02 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Female	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)
Me × Female	-0.00 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.16** (0.06)	-0.09* (0.05)	0.09 (0.06)	0.12* (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
Women × Female	0.00 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)	0.13*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)
Me	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Republican	-0.28*** (0.03)	-0.28*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)	-0.37*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.03)	-0.28*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.03)
Me × Republican	-0.00 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
<b>Panel B: Video treatment effects</b>								
Redistribution T	-0.00 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)
Efficiency T	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Economist T	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Redistribution T	0.04 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.00 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
Efficiency T	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)
Economist T	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Republican	-0.27*** (0.04)	-0.28*** (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.04)	-0.35*** (0.04)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.04)	-0.25*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.04)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.05 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	0.00 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.08 (0.06)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)
Economist T × Republican	0.00 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.10** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)
<b>Panel C: Descriptive statistics</b>								
Control mean	0.73	0.64	0.61	0.43	0.17	0.60	0.29	0.71
Male control mean	0.66	0.58	0.53	0.50	0.10	0.63	0.31	0.65
Democrat control mean	0.89	0.77	0.73	0.65	0.18	0.78	0.48	0.81
Observations	1824	1825	1825	1824	1824	1825	1824	1824

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Access to healthcare should improve*: the respondent believes that access to healthcare should be improved for many families; *Insurance system unfair*: the respondent believes that the U.S. insurance system is somewhat unfair or very unfair; *Dissatisfied health insurance*: the respondent is somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the health insurance in the U.S.; *Medicare for all: support*: the respondent supports or strongly supports Medicare-for-all. *Medicare for all: don't know enough*: the respondent answers that they do not know enough to say if they support or oppose Medicare-for-all; *Support transfers to low-inc.*: the respondent supports or strongly supports providing additional transfers or subsidies to low-income families to help them with the costs of their health care; *Support individual mandate*: the respondent supports or strongly supports having an individual mandate; *Support Employer mandate*: the respondent supports or strongly supports having an employer mandate whereby every large employer is obliged to offer health insurance plans for employees. See the notes of table 2 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

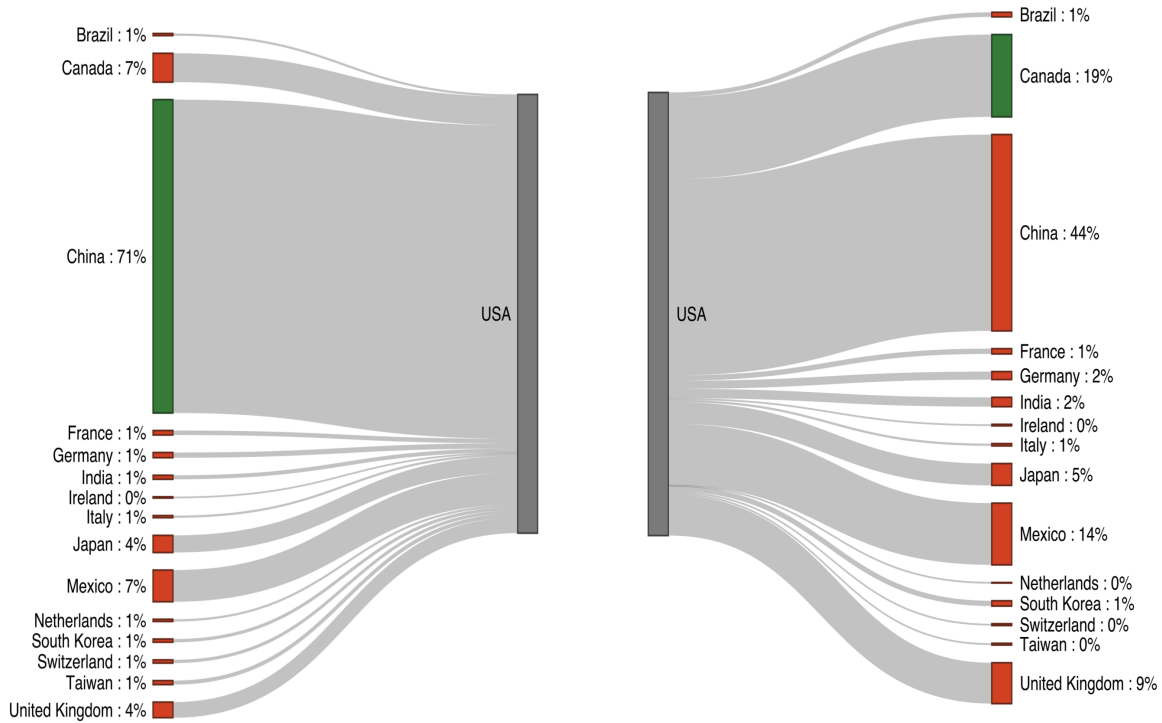
FIGURE 30: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE POLICY

(A) FROM WHICH COUNTRY DOES THE U.S. IMPORT THE MOST?

(B) TO WHICH COUNTRY DOES THE U.S. EXPORT THE MOST?

Correct answer: China

Correct answer: Canada

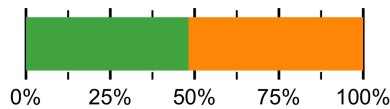


(C) KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE BARRIERS

Do you know what an import tariff is?



Do you know what an import quota is?



Notes: Panel (A) and (B) show, respectively, the distribution of responses to the question: *From which country does the U.S. import the most?* and *To which country does the U.S. export the most?* Wrong answers are marked in red, correct answers are marked in green. Panel (C) shows the share of respondent who self-report to know what an import tariff and an import quota are. A comprehensive list of sources used to determine the correct responses is provided in the Online Appendix.

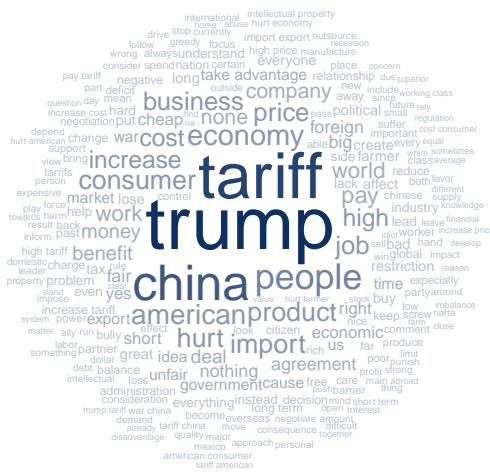
FIGURE 31: WORD CLOUDS FOR TRADE

(A) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT TRADE POLICY?

(B) WHAT WOULD BE THE GOAL OF A GOOD TRADE POLICY?



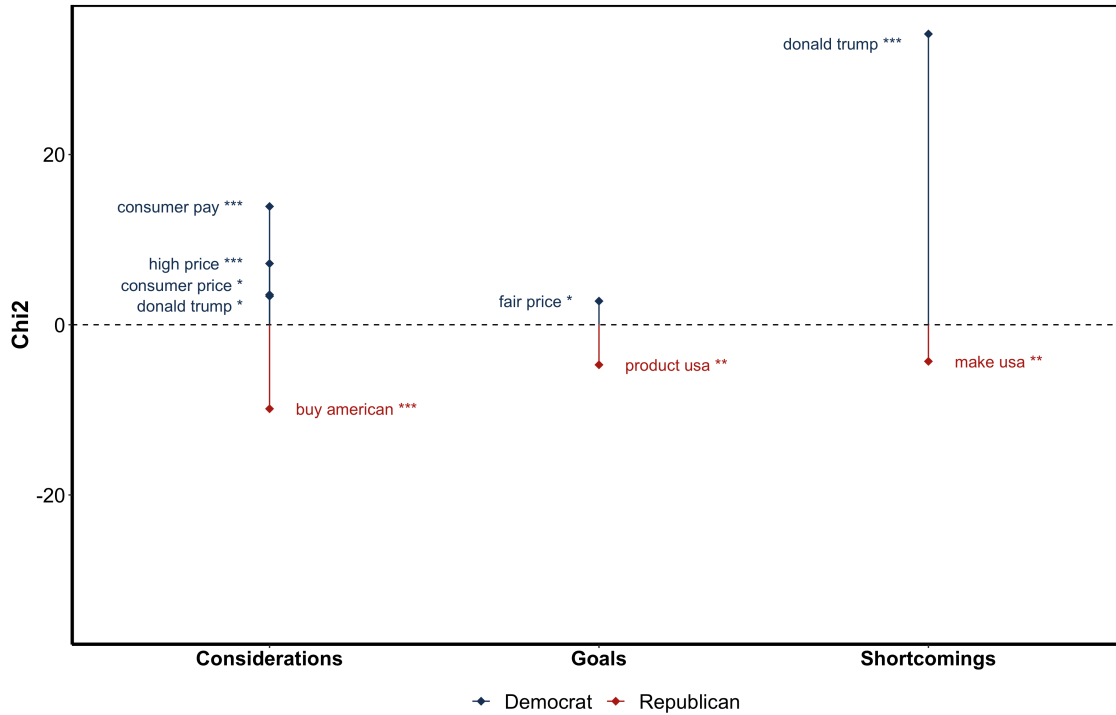
(C) WHAT ARE THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE TRADE POLICY?



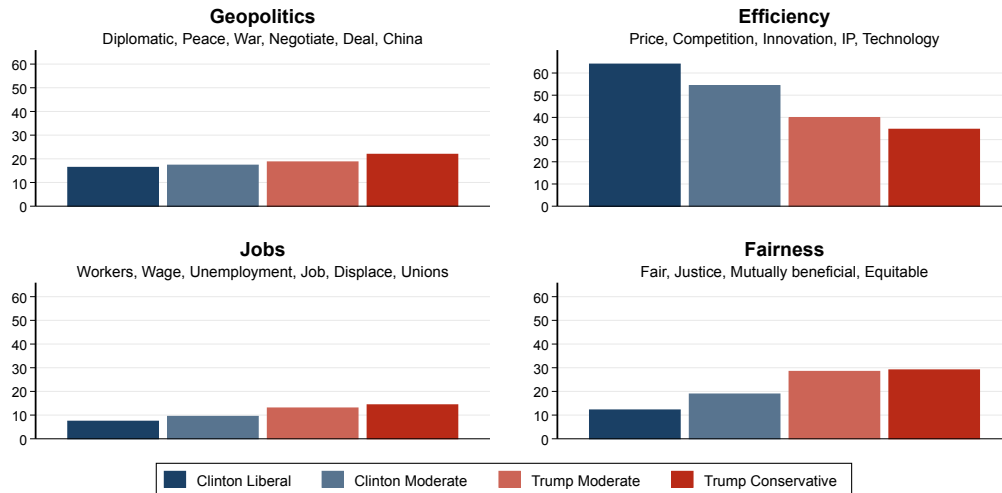
Notes: The figure shows word clouds based on the text analysis of the open-ended trade policy questions. The largest label, *trump*, appears in 10.8% of all answers. For panels (A) and (B), the maximum label size is increased by 10% to improve legibility. Each panel refers to the open-ended question indicated in the caption. See the notes of figure 17 and Section 2.4.

FIGURE 32: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF TRADE BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

(A) KEYWORDS OF TRADE POLICY BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



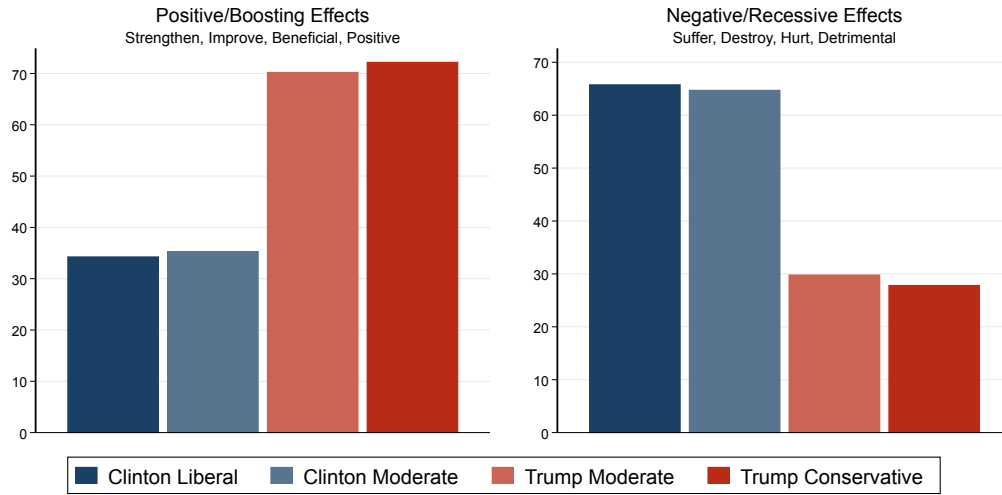
(B) WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT TRADE POLICY? TOPICS BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



**Keywords**

- Geopolitics: Mexico; enemy; negotiate; war; Iran; China; terrorist; immigration; retaliation; politician
- Efficiency: Price; cost; expensive; affordable; tax; efficient; competitive; innovation; intellectual; innovation; technology; recessive; depress; economic & growth; debt; budget; stock & market; decline
- Jobs: Labor; job; unemployment; salary; union; wage; outsource; workers; employ; retrain
- Fairness: Fair; unfair; imbalance; justice; equal; even & share/value; reciprocal; cooperation; mutual; equity; take advantage; level & play & field

(C) WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE EFFECTS ON THE U.S. ECONOMY IF BARRIERS TO TRADE, SUCH AS TARIFFS, WERE INCREASED?

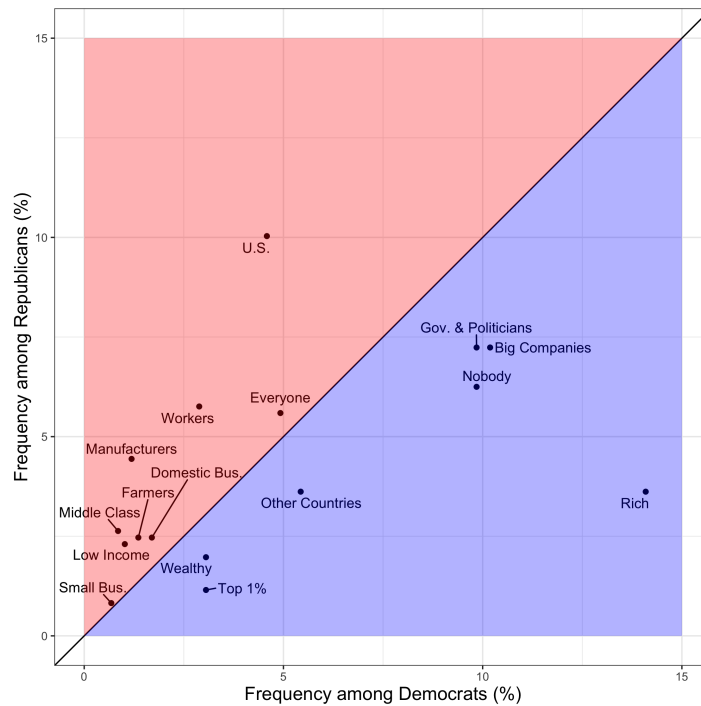


**Keywords**

Boosting effects: Good; positive; benefit; beneficial; better; thrive; strengthen; improve; stronger

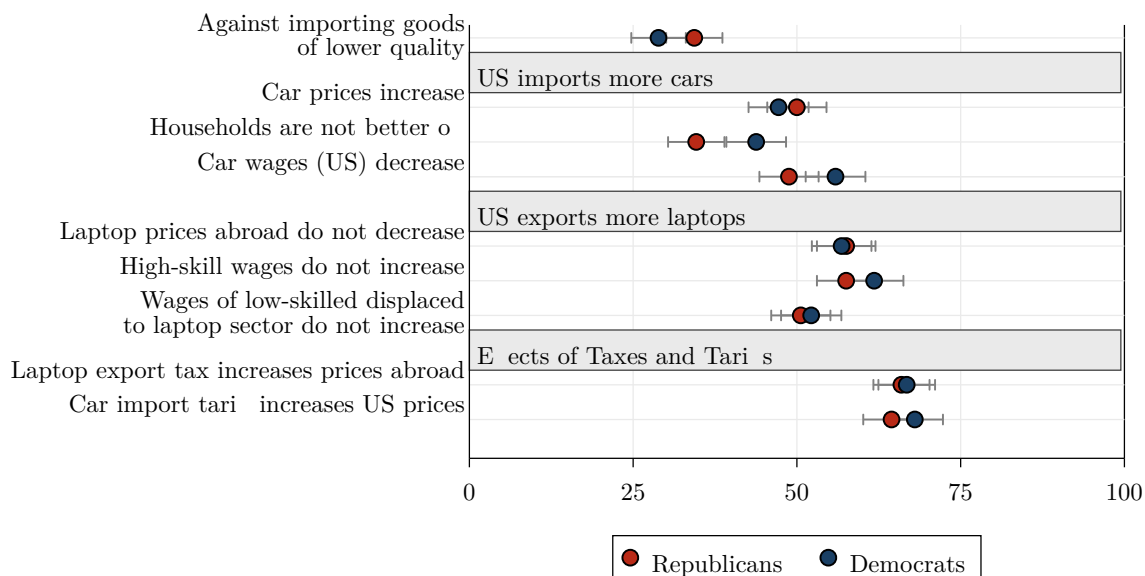
Recessive effects: Destroy; bad; negative; suffer; disastrous; downfall; detrimental; recess; depress; trouble; unhappy

(D) WHICH GROUPS OF PEOPLE DO YOU THINK WOULD GAIN IF TRADE BARRIERS SUCH AS TARIFFS WERE INCREASED?



Notes: The figure shows results based on the topic analysis of the open-ended trade policy questions, by political affiliation. See the notes of figure 18 for details on panel (A), (B) and (C). Panel (D) reports raw frequencies of the groups mentioned by the respondents when asked which groups of people would win, if any, should barriers to trade be increased, by political affiliation. See also Section 2.4 for a summary on the methods of analysis and Section 5.2 for details on the topics.

FIGURE 33: TRADE CASE STUDY - BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION



*Note:* The figure reports average responses by political affiliation, with 90% confidence intervals. Survey participants were presented the following case study: *The U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops and a large net importer of cars. The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper abroad, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S..* The average shares in the graph are based on indicator variables, which are equal to one if: *Against importing goods of lower quality:* the respondent believes that the U.S. should not import cars from abroad if it is better at producing them; *Car prices increase:* the price of cars would increase or stay the same should the U.S. import more cars from abroad; *Households are not better off:* the respondent believes American households would not be better off should the U.S. import more cars from abroad; *Car wages (U.S.) decrease:* the respondent believes the wages of low-skilled workers in the car sector would decrease or stay the same should the U.S. import more cars from abroad; *Laptop prices abroad do not decrease:* the respondent believes that the price of U.S. laptops abroad would increase or stay the same should the U.S. produce and export more laptops; *High-skill wages do not increase:* the respondent believes that the wages of high-skilled workers working in the laptop sector would increase or stay the same should the U.S. produce and export more laptops; *Wages of low-skilled displaced to laptop sector do not increase:* the respondent believes the wages of low-skilled workers who were able to quit their job in the car sector and find new jobs in the laptop sector would decrease or stay the same; *Laptop export tax increases prices abroad:* the respondent believes the price of U.S. laptops abroad would increase if the U.S. were to impose an export tax on laptops; *Car import tariff increases U.S. prices:* the respondent believes that the price of cars in the U.S. would increase if the U.S. were to impose an import tariff on cars sold in the U.S. The graph only includes respondents who were not assigned to any of the video courses. Regression tables about this case study are presented in the Online Appendix.

TABLE 13: EFFICIENCY MECHANISMS OF TRADE

	Decreased prices (1)	Made firms more competitive (2)	Increased innovation (3)	Increased GDP growth (4)	Retaliatory tariffs likely (5)	Both countries better off from trade (6)	Efficiency index (7)
<b>Panel A: Personal characteristics</b>							
Female	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.07*** (0.03)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.03)
Age 30-49	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.04)
Age 50-69	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.07* (0.04)
Middle-Income	0.04 (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.06* (0.04)
High-Income	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)
<b>Panel B: Question formulation</b>							
Me × Better off from trade	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.12*** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.05)
Me × Worse off from trade	-0.26*** (0.05)	-0.36*** (0.05)	-0.28*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.51*** (0.06)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>							
Redistribution T	0.15** (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)	0.09 (0.09)
Efficiency T	0.01 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.09)
Economist T	0.10 (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)	0.15** (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.09* (0.05)	0.25*** (0.09)
Economist T - US	0.16** (0.07)	0.15** (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)	0.13* (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.04)	0.21** (0.08)
Republican	0.00 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.10*** (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.02)	0.03 (0.05)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.17** (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.11)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.04 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)	0.07 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.11)
Economist T × Republican	0.04 (0.09)	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.25** (0.11)
Economist T - US × Republican	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.11)
<b>Panel D: Descriptive statistics</b>							
Control mean	0.57	0.61	0.69	0.62	0.68	0.89	0.00
Democrat control mean	0.58	0.60	0.66	0.61	0.72	0.91	0.02
Observations	1768	1768	1769	1769	1767	1768	1770

*Notes:* The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Decreased prices*: the respondent believes that international trade has decreased the price of goods sold in the U.S./the price of goods the respondent themselves buys regularly; *Made firms more competitive*: the respondent believes that international trade has made firms in the US/the firm of the respondent's sector more competitive and improved their productivity; *Increased innovation*: the respondent believes that the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the US; *Increased GDP growth*: the respondent believes that the competitive pressure from international trade has increased the growth of GDP in the U.S.; *Decreased value dollar*: the respondent believes that the value of the U.S. dollar will decrease or will remain the same should the U.S. export more goods. Questions in columns (1) and (2) are asked with two formulations: "Me" and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 and table 4 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 14: HAVE THE FOLLOWING GROUPS GAINED FROM TRADE?

	Large Corporations (1)	Small Businesses (2)	High Incomes (3)	Middle Class (4)	Low Incomes (5)
<b>Panel A: Personal characteristics</b>					
Female	0.01 (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Age 30-49	0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Age 50-69	0.05** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)
Middle-Income	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)
High-Income	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Question formulation</b>					
Me × Better off from trade	0.08*** (0.03)	0.54*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.33*** (0.04)	0.57*** (0.04)
Me × Worse off from trade	-0.31*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.05)	-0.36*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.24*** (0.05)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>					
Me	-0.17*** (0.04)	0.36*** (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.05)	0.43*** (0.05)
Republican	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Me × Republican	0.15*** (0.04)	0.07 (0.06)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>					
Redistribution T	0.10** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.07 (0.04)	0.13** (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)
Efficiency T	0.04 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)
Economist T	0.04 (0.05)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Economist T - US	0.06 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.07* (0.04)	0.13** (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)
Republican	0.07*** (0.02)	0.09** (0.04)	0.05** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.15** (0.06)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.00 (0.09)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.08)	0.08 (0.09)
Economist T × Republican	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.18** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)
Economist T - US × Republican	-0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.13** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.09)
<b>Panel D: Descriptive statistics</b>					
Control mean	0.90	0.43	0.94	0.64	0.47
Democrats control mean	0.90	0.39	0.96	0.55	0.40
Observations	1768	1768	1768	1768	1768

Notes: The dependent variables in columns (1)-(4) are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent believes that the listed group/the respondent themselves have gained from trade (defined as assigning a score greater or equal to 3 on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 corresponds to *lost a lot* and 5 to *gained a lot*). See the notes of table 2 and of table 4 for more details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 15: DISTRIBUTIONAL MECHANISMS OF TRADE

	Most jobs affected by US trade policy (1)	Trade overall helped US workers (2)	Change sector easy for: Low skilled (3)	Change sector easy for: High Skilled (4)	Trade reason for: Unemployment some sectors (5)	Trade reason for: Rise of inequality (6)	Redistribution index (7)
<b>Panel A: Personal characteristics</b>							
Female	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)
Age 30-49	0.05 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.03)
Age 50-69	0.03 (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.09*** (0.03)
Middle-Income	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
High-Income	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Question formulation</b>							
Me × Better off from trade	-0.42*** (0.04)	0.08* (0.05)	0.25*** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.14*** (0.05)	0.38*** (0.04)
Me × Worse off from trade	-0.51*** (0.05)	-0.23*** (0.05)	0.15*** (0.05)	-0.17*** (0.05)	-0.19*** (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.24*** (0.04)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>							
Redistribution T	0.08 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.12 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.06)
Efficiency T	0.00 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)
Economist T	0.07 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.08)	0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.06)
Economist T - US	0.03 (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)
Republican	-0.08** (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	0.07** (0.03)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.02 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.09)	0.05 (0.09)	0.20** (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
Economist T × Republican	-0.08 (0.09)	0.11 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.08)
Economist T - US × Republican	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.15* (0.09)	0.00 (0.07)
<b>Panel D: Descriptive statistics</b>							
Control mean	0.70	0.50	0.37	0.63	0.45	0.38	0.01
Democrat control mean	0.72	0.49	0.32	0.60	0.48	0.46	-0.06
Observations	1769	1769	1769	1768	1768	1768	1770

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Impossible compensate losers*: the respondent believes that it is impossible to compensate those who lose from trade/it is impossible to compensate people, like the respondent themselves, who may lose from trade (given the respondent reported that trade has made them worse off) or that it is impossible to compensate people, unlike the respondent themselves, who may lose from trade (if the respondent answered that trade has made them better off); *Workers overall hurt*: the respondent believes that, overall, international trade has hurt U.S. workers; *Change sector easy for low-skilled*: the respondent believes that for low-skilled workers/for the respondent themselves it would be easy to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in; *Change sector easy for high-skilled*: the respondent believes that for high-skilled workers/for the respondent themselves it would be easy to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in; *Trade reason for unemployment in some sectors*: the respondent believes that the extent to which trade is a major reason for unemployment in some sectors/in the respondent's sector ranges from a great deal to a lot; *Trade reason for rise of inequality*: the respondent believes that the extent to which trade is a major reason for inequality in the US ranges from a great deal to a lot. The questions in columns (1), (3), (4) and (5) are asked with two formulations: "Me" and the generic formulation. See the notes of table 2 and 4 for details. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE 16: POLICY OUTCOMES OF TRADE POLICY - I

	US should not aim for trade (1)	Trade policy unfair (2)	Dissatisfied trade policy (3)	Restrict food imports (4)	Protect infant industries (5)	Support higher taxation to fund: Transfer to people out work (6)	Retraining programs (7)	Wage subsidies (8)
<b>Panel A: Personal Characteristics</b>								
Female	0.12*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Age 30-49	-0.00 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Age 50-69	0.05 (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Middle-Income	-0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
High-Income	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Underlying reasonings</b>								
Republican	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.03)	-0.25*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)
Redistribution index	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.22*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.03)
Efficiency index	-0.20*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Knowledge index	-0.05* (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.17*** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.03)	-0.05** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Government trust index	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>								
Redistribution T	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.10** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Efficiency T	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)
Economist T	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.14*** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Economist T - US	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.07* (0.04)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Redistribution T	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.16** (0.07)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.18*** (0.06)	0.28*** (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)
Efficiency T	-0.12* (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.16** (0.08)	0.08 (0.07)
Economist T	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)
Economist T - US	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.18** (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)
Republican	0.14*** (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.24*** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.04)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.01 (0.08)	0.11 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.13 (0.09)	-0.14* (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)
Efficiency T × Republican	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.16* (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.09)
Economist T × Republican	-0.02 (0.08)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	0.05 (0.10)	0.00 (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)	0.07 (0.09)	0.15 (0.09)
Economist T - US × Republican	0.12 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)	0.16* (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.09)
<b>Panel D: Descriptive statistics</b>								
Control mean	0.31	0.41	0.45	0.43	0.50	0.26	0.33	0.34
Democrat control mean	0.23	0.53	0.55	0.42	0.51	0.36	0.44	0.42
Observations	1770	1769	1770	1766	1767	1766	1764	1764

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *US should not aim for trade*: the respondent neither agrees nor disagrees, disagrees or strongly disagrees that the U.S. should increase trade with other countries and reduce barriers to trade; *Trade policy unfair*: the respondent believes that US trade policy is somewhat

TABLE 17: POLICY OUTCOMES OF TRADE POLICY - II

	Best policy to help workers in declining industry			Government should be responsible for:		
	Restrict imports (1)	Direct assistance, retraining (2)	Subsidize production (3)	Regulating trade (4)	Financial syst. stability (5)	Dollar stability (6)
<b>Panel A: Personal Characteristics</b>						
Female	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.06** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)
Age 30-49	0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Age 50-69	0.08** (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.04)	0.07** (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)
Middle-Income	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
High-Income	0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
<b>Panel B: Underlying reasonings</b>						
Republican	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.07*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Redistribution index	-0.06** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.18*** (0.03)
Efficiency index	-0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)
Knowledge index	-0.12*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)
Government trust index	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
<b>Panel C: Video treatment effects</b>						
Redistribution T	-0.06 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)
Efficiency T	-0.04 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)
Economist T	-0.05 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)
Economist T - US	-0.07 (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)
Redistribution T	-0.07 (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)	-0.10** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.07)
Efficiency T	-0.12* (0.07)	0.11 (0.08)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)
Economist T	-0.03 (0.07)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.25*** (0.08)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
Economist T - US	-0.17** (0.07)	0.21*** (0.07)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.13* (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)
Republican	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.10*** (0.03)
Redistribution T × Republican	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.09)	0.14** (0.06)	0.14 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)	0.14* (0.08)
Efficiency T × Republican	0.11 (0.09)	-0.16* (0.09)	0.05 (0.06)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)
Economist T × Republican	-0.06 (0.09)	0.04 (0.10)	0.03 (0.06)	0.24** (0.09)	0.09 (0.09)	0.14* (0.08)
Economist T - US × Republican	0.07 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)	0.12 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)
<b>Panel D: Descriptive statistics</b>						
Control mean	0.40	0.49	0.11	0.60	0.68	0.74
Democrat control mean	0.27	0.58	0.15	0.72	0.78	0.81
Observations	1770	1770	1770	1765	1766	1765

Notes: The dependent variables are indicator variables equal to one if: *Best policy to help workers in declining industry: Restrict imports/Direct assistance, retraining/Subsidize production*: the respondent ranks restricting imports/providing more generous transfers and direct assistance to workers, such as retraining programs/subsidize production in the sector as the best policy to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition/in the respondent's industry against the threat of foreign competition; *Government should be responsible for - Regulating trade/Stable financial system/Stable dollar*: indicator equals one if the respondent thinks the government should be responsible for regulating trade to and from the U.S. to protect American producers and consumers/maintaining a stable financial system and ensuring credit markets work/ensuring a stable U.S. dollar. The questions in columns (1) to (3) are asked with the two different formulations: "Me" and the generic

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# APPENDIX

## A-1 Latent Dirichlet Allocation: Top answers per profile

### Income tax survey profiles: Top 6 answers

#### Profile 1: pro-redistribution, highlights inequalities, unfair system.

- “The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people.”
- “A person is rich because she or he had more advantages than others.”
- “People with higher incomes pay a lower share of their income in taxes than those with lower incomes.”
- “People pay very different shares of their incomes in taxes.”
- “The federal income tax policy has very important direct effects on my own life.”
- “The share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. increased a lot over the past 30 years.”

#### Profile 2: fair system, downplays inequalities.

- “The federal income tax policy has some direct effects on my own life.”
- “The government has some ability/tools to reduce income differences between rich and poor people.”
- “A person is wealthy because she or he worked harder than others.”
- “People pay somewhat different shares of their income in taxes.”
- “The share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. increased somewhat over the past 30 years.”
- “People with higher incomes pay a higher share of their income in taxes than those with lower incomes.”

### Estate tax survey profiles: Top 6 answers

#### Profile 1: not concerned by the estate tax, highlights inequalities.

- “I do not feel personally affected by the federal estate tax.”
- “The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people.”
- “a person is rich because she or he had more advantages than others.”
- “there should be a federal estate tax in the U.S.”

- “the share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. increased a lot over the past 30 years.”
- “Not every individual’s estate is subject to the federal estate tax at death.”

**Profile 2: Unfair estate tax system, everyone is concerned.**

- “The federal estate tax is mostly taxing assets that have already been taxed and thus leads to ”double taxation.”
- “I do not know what the stepped-up cost basis at death is.”
- “Every individual’s estate is subject to the federal estate tax at death.”
- “there should not be a federal estate tax in the U.S.”
- “I am somewhat dissatisfied with the current U.S. federal estate tax system.”
- “The current U.S. federal estate tax system is somewhat unfair.”

**Health insurance survey profiles: Top 10 answers**

**Profile 1: In favor of broader coverage for more people, is aware of current changes in policy, and believes that insurance companies currently discriminate people based on pre-existing conditions.**

- “Access to health care should be improved for many families.”
- “Insurance companies are allowed to to set different premia based on age.”
- “Insurance companies are allowed to to set different premia based on tobacco use.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include full coverage for preventive care.”
- “Insurance companies are allowed to to set different premia based on where the person lives.”
- “In 2018, you receive a penalty if you have no insurance.”
- “There was a change to the individual mandate in 2019.”
- “Insurance companies are allowed to to set different premia based on preexisting conditions.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include full coverage for pediatric care.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include full coverage for catastrophic situations.”

**Profile 2: Believes that they are personally well-insured, are not aware of recent policy changes, and are in favor of generous coverage for different types of conditions than profile 1 (but not for more people).**

- “Within the last twelve months, me or a member of my family have not put off any sort of medical treatment because of the cost.”
- “I am not on Medicare or Medicaid.”

- “I have health insurance.”
- “Insurance companies are not allowed to to set different premia based on gender.”
- “The Affordable Care Act (ACA) made no change to the eligibility for Medicaid in my state.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include full coverage for primary care.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include generous coverage for emergency room care.”
- “I receive good quality health care.”
- “An ideal health insurance should include generous coverage for specialist visits for non-essential care.”
- “There was no change to the individual mandate in 2019.”

### **Trade policy survey profiles: Top 10 answers**

#### **Profile 1: In favor of free trade.**

- “When there is more trade between the US and other countries... most people gain, but a few people lose a lot.”
- “I know what an import tariff is.”
- “the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the U.S.”
- “When two countries trade with each other, both are made better off.”
- “I think that international trade has increased the growth of the GDP in the U.S.”
- “It would still make sense under some circumstances for the U.S. to import cars from Germany.”
- “I feel that U.S. trade policy has important, direct effects on my own life.”
- “households who purchase cars in the U.S. are better off.”
- “the wages of low-skilled workers working in the car sector decrease.”
- “If the U.S. exports more goods abroad, the value of the dollar would increase.”

#### **Profile 2: Suspicious of free trade, highlights the role of China, likes the current trade policy.**

- “The U.S. import the most from China.”
- “Provide more production subsidies in the food sector is the best policy tool to ensure national food security.”
- “I don’t know what an import quota is.”
- “International trade has hurt U.S. workers.”
- “The current U.S. trade policy is somewhat fair.”
- “The U.S. export the most to China.”
- “If the U.S. starts imposing tariffs on many goods that it imports, it is likely that other countries follow suit and also impose tariffs.”

- "households who purchase cars in the U.S. are not better off."
- "If exports from your sector to other countries would increase, my wage would remain the same."
- "I am somewhat satisfied with the current U.S. trade policy."

## A-2 Sample of Answers to the Open-ended Question "What are you Main Considerations about the Policy?"

### A-2.1 Income Taxation

#### **Distribution:**

*"That the rich and wealthy do not pay their fair share of taxes."*

*"Everyone, including the rich and corporations should pay their fair share."*

*"I would want working class and middle class people to get tax cuts and I'd be willing to pay more in taxes for that to happen."*

#### **Fairness:**

*"I have trouble with the concept of tax brackets that punish an individual for being successful."*

*"I believe Everyone should be taxed fairly and the most wealthy should not escape carrying their weight."*

#### **Government Spending:**

*"Current tax rates being raised are a result of government mismanagement of funds and over spending without appropriate oversight. Taxes really can't effectively be lowered until government spending is properly controlled."*

*"I am okay with raising personal income tax to reduce deficit but not for entitlement programs."*

#### **Social safety net:**

*"What are the taxes going towards? I strongly believe in funding going towards education and infrastructure."*

*"Cut government spending on social welfare programs for lower taxes and privatize most government services for lower taxes e.g. mail, law enforcement, parks, schools..."*

#### **Efficiency:**

*"I am concerned about the push to raise taxes on persons with higher incomes. I do believe in trickle down economics and that government should pretty much keep their hands off."*

*"I want the US to be competitive for businesses, but also know there needs to be an appropriate amount of money to fund the government necessities."*

#### **Flat Tax:**

*"We need a flat tax. Tax forms are complex."*

*"I think tax Rates are not fairly representative for most taxpayers. I support a flat tax rate for all except the totally disabled and indigent."*

**Loopholes:**

*“I think the more you make, the more you should pay. We need to close the loopholes that are there to make sure that those who make more actually pay more.”*

*“The wealthy oligarchs who own this country will never allow their taxes to be raised, or will hire tax lawyers to get out of paying them, so any raise in federal personal income taxes will fall on the middle class.”*

**Don't know:**

*“I don't know much about this topic.”*

**A-2.2 Estate Tax****Distribution:**

*“It can help keep the ultra wealthy accountable for their wealth.”*

*“Passing wealth from one generation to the next contributes to wealth inequality. Federal estate tax should be much higher.”*

**Fairness:**

*“I don't think there should be a federal estate tax because it's kind of unfair to have to pay taxes on money that already belongs to your family and has most likely had taxes paid on it already.”*

**Government spending:**

*“I believe in smaller government, so all taxes should be lower. I actually think we should have a flat tax for income - period. Then estate taxes wouldn't even be an issue.”*

**Public goods:**

*“I would like higher taxes to pay for more domestic spending such as education, healthcare, etc.”*

**Efficiency:**

*“Lower taxes mean I have more disposable income to spend therefore more products can be made and more jobs created. I feel it is wrong to penalize people for increased wealth.”*

**Loopholes:**

*“The wealthy don't usually pay these taxes, they find a loophole. Why should my children have to pay taxes on things I've already paid taxes on during my lifetime?”*

**Double taxation:**

*“I think it is ridiculous, you pay taxes twice.”*

**Grief:**

*“I don't think we should have one at all. You're taxing a family member for the death of their loved one? That's messed up.”*

## A-2.3 Health Insurance

### 1. Affordability:

*“Affordable premiums, affordable prescriptions costs to patients, cap on how much patient has to pay out of pocket, discounts for maintenance medications like insulin.”*

*“A system where high quality care was provided at a reasonable cost. Decisions on health were based on the best available care. Care would not be based on ability to pay.”*

### 2. Coverage :

*“It would be to provide some type of affordable coverage to all including coverage for pre-existing conditions, regular checkups and life long conditions. It should include dental, vision, hearing and all other health related issues as well as mental health and drug or alcohol dependency treatment. It should also cover reasonably priced options for necessary medications.”*

### 3. Efficiency:

*“Letting the marketplace dictate rather than government regulations. Competition, especially across state lines, will bring about more competitive rates and higher quality of service for policy holders.”*

*“Putting healthcare decisions back in the hands of the patients - a free market solution that allows for competition and choice and that everyone pays for their own insurance.”*

### 4. Taxation:

*“One that is paid for by our taxes and covers everyone.”*

*“Government sponsored healthcare paid by taxing the wealthy.”*

### 5. Pharma :

*“A system that pharmaceutical companies and business managers are not responsible for the price and forms of care available to the average citizen.”*

*“One that actually benefits the one paying for the insurance and not the lion’s share of the money going to the CEO’s of the insurance companies, hospitals and big pharma. We now pay ‘extortion’ fees to get insurance which many, many cannot even afford to use after all the deductables and copays and insurance premiums. Completely useless to have, only benefits the insurance companies.”*

### 6. Quality:

*“To me it is very important that health insurance systems provide high quality service to every individual regardless of their financial capacity.”*

## A-2.4 Trade

### 1. Geopolitics :

*“This needed to be handled diplomatically. Restrictions on China will eventually backfire. China has a long term plan and will not be bullied by the United States.”*

**2. Efficiency:**

*“Free trade is good due to specialization of labor and fostering efficient markets. Trade wars are difficult to win due to the economic dead weight loss they create. Tariffs, in my view are generally bad because they often get passed to the consumer.”*

**3. Jobs:**

*“Keeping jobs in America and punishing companies that out source.”*

*“I think its about time the United States starts taking care of us first. Jobs moving out of the country, people out of work. I would love to be able to see Made In America on the label of everything I buy.”*

**4. Fairness:**

*“I feel as though other countries especially China have had a free ride for too long, and we are not getting a fair deal with them, so I think due to the countries taking advantage of us and not buying enough of our goods, we should impose tariffs until we are on an even playing field.”*

**5. Recessive effects:**

*“Catastrophic. An increase in unemployment and eventually a recession.”*

*“I think if tariffs were increased it would raise prices on goods for everyone, which will hurt the economy because people won't be able to purchase everything they want or need to.”*

*“I feel that a recession would happen. People would not buy products and services would be less. There would be an increase in unemployment because businesses would be reluctant to expand.”*

**6. Boosting effects:**

*“Make us stronger.”*

*“We'd be more self reliant and forced to create more domestic goods and jobs.”*

*“Not as bad as the media says. If done right, it can boost jobs here in America and improve the economy by putting more Americans to work.”*

## **A-3 Variables Definition**

### **Core Respondents' Characteristics:**

*Women:* respondent is female.

*Men:* respondent is male.

*Age 18-29:* respondent's age is between 18 and 29 years.

*Age 30-49:* respondent's age is between 30 and 49 years.

*Age 50-69:* respondent's age is between 50 and 69 years.

*White:* respondent's ethnicity is European American/White .

*Black:* respondent's ethnicity is African American/Black .

*Hispanic:* respondent's ethnicity is Hispanic/Latino .

*Low Income:* respondent's household income is below \$39 000.

*Middle Income:* respondent's household income is between \$40 000- \$69 000.

*High Income:* respondent's household income is above \$70 000.

*Upper Class (self-reported):* respondent's self-reported social class is upper-middle class or upper class.

*Republican:* respondent's political affiliation is republican.

*Democrat:* respondent's political affiliation is democrat.

*Independent and others:* respondent's political affiliation is independent or other or he is non-affiliated.

*Trump Conservative:* respondent supported Trump in the last presidential elections and has "conservative" or "very conservative" views on economic policy matters.

*Trump Moderate:* respondent supported Donald Trump in the last presidential elections and has "moderate views" on economic policy matter.

*Clinton Moderate:* respondent supported Hillary Clinton in the last presidential elections and has "moderate" views on economic policy matters.

*Clinton Liberal:* respondent supported Hillary Clinton in the last presidential elections and has "liberal" or "very liberal" views on economic policy matters.

*Economics related major:* respondent has a college degree with an economics-related major.

*College degree:* respondent has a college degree .

*Policy knowledge:* respondent self-reports being "highly knowledgeable" or "somewhat knowledgeable" on economic policies and issues.

*No policy knowledge:* respondent self-reports being "not very knowledgeable" or "not knowledgeable at all" on economic policies and issues.

*Newspaper reader:* respondent's main source of news about current events is newspapers (print or online).

*Social Media User:* respondent's main source of news about current events is social media.

*Low skilled* the category that best describes the respondent's main occupation is: clerical support workers, service and sales workers, agricultural workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers, elementary occupations; armed forces occupations (as opposed to managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals).

*“ME” randomization:* respondent was randomized to see the mechanisms questions personally formulated.

*“WOMEN” randomization:* respondent was randomized to see the mechanisms questions formulated about women rather than people in general.

*Redistribution T:* respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on the distributional impacts of the policies.

*Efficiency T:* respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on the efficiency costs of the policies.

*Economist T:* respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on both efficiency costs and distributional impacts of the policies.

The summary indexes that aggregate information over the same domain are constructed following the methodology in Kling, Liebman, and Katz (2007). Each index consists of an equally weighted average of the z-scores of its components with signs oriented consistently within domain (e.g. the higher the distortion index, the higher the belief of the respondent in the distortionary nature of taxes). Variables are transformed into z-scores by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation, so that each z-score has mean 0 and standard deviation 1 for the control group.

### **Mechanisms and Outcomes (Income Taxation)**

*All dependent variables in the perceived behavioral response to income tax:* indicator variables equal to one if the respondent thinks that the extent to which an increase in the federal personal income tax would encourage the middle class/themselves/middle class women or the richest people/themselves/richest women in the economy towards the behaviors listed ranges from *a moderate amount to a great deal*.

*“Which of the following groups mostly win if taxes on high earners were cut?”:* indicator variables equal to one if the respondent believes that the given group (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), a women from the given group (in the “WOMEN” randomization) mostly wins if taxes on high-earners were cut.

*“Which of the following groups mostly win if overall taxes were increased?”:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that the given group (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), a women from the given group (in the “WOMEN” randomization) mostly wins if overall taxes were increased.

*Trickle down:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent thinks that lowering income taxes is a better way (than increasing them) to reduce income differences between poor and rich families (in the control group and in the “ME” randomization) or between poor and rich women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) .

↑ *Taxes on high-inc. hurt economy:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that

taxes on high-income households (in the control group and in the “ME” randomization) or on high income women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) would hurt the US economy (as opposed to help or not have an effect on US economy).

*Laffer effect high-incomes/middle-class*: indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that tax cuts on high-income/middle-class households (in the control group), on households with the respondent themselves level of income (in the “ME” randomization), on high-income/middle class women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) would eventually decrease the US deficit because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government.

*High-inc. entitled to keep*: indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that high-income individuals (in the control group), individuals with a similar income to that of the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), high-income women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) are entitled to keep a very large share of their income and should not have to pay high taxes, even if that means less government revenues available to help low-income families.

*Hard workers should pay less taxes*: indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that people who have worked hard for their income should be taxed less than those who have not worked hard for it, even if that means that people with the same income will end up paying different taxes (in the control group) or even if that means that people with the same income as the respondent themselves will end up paying higher taxes than him because they worked less hard for their income (in the “ME” randomization). In the “WOMEN” randomization dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that we should tax less women who have worked hard for their income.

*Distortion index*: index that captures respondents’ belief in the distortionary nature of income taxes. The higher the index, the higher the perceived distortion. Specifically, the index combines all the variables on the behavioral responses to increased taxation, the variable “Trickle down”, the variable “↑ taxes on high-incomes hurt economy”, and finally the variable “Laffer effect” for high-income households and middle class.

*Redistribution index*: index that captures whether the respondent supports redistributive policies and increased taxation to reduce inequality and to fund public services. Specifically, the index combines the variables: “progressive tax important tool to ↓ inequality”, “high income individuals should not be entitled to keep”, “wealth distribution unfair”, “income inequality serious issue”, “favor tax increase to support low-income individuals”, “support higher taxes to increase funding to: transfers and income support programs to those out of work; better schools for children from low income families; income support and retraining programs for workers displaced by international competition; subsidies for low-income households to help them with the cost of the health insurance; wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages.”

*Income tax fair*: indicator variable equal to one if the if the respondent believes that the current U.S. federal income tax system is fair or very fair.

*Satisfied income tax*: indicator variable equal to one if the if the respondent is satisfied or very satisfied with the current U.S. federal income tax system.

*High-inc. pay less than fair*: indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that high-

income households (in the control group), themselves (in the “ME” randomization), high-income women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) pay their fair share or less than their fair share or much less than their fair share in income taxes.

*Middle class pay less than fair:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that middle class households (in the control group, themselves (in the “ME” randomization), middle class women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) pay their fair share or less than their fair share or much less than their fair share in income taxes.

*Wealth distrib. unfair:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent think that money and wealth in the US should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people.

*Inequality serious issue:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believe that income inequality is a serious or very serious issue.

*Progressive tax important tool to ↓ inequality:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that a progressive tax system in which people with higher incomes pay a higher share of income in taxes than people with lower incomes (in the control group and in the “ME” randomization), in which women with higher incomes pay a higher share of their income in taxes than women with lower incomes (in the “WOMEN” randomization) is an important tool to reduce income inequality.

*Support ↑ taxes on high incomes to expand programs for low incomes:* the respondent supports or strongly supports raising federal income taxes on higher income households to expand programs that support lower-income individuals/lower-income women.

*Support ↑ taxes on high incomes to increase investment:* the respondent supports or strongly supports raising federal income taxes on higher income households to increase investment in the U.S.

### **Mechanisms and Outcomes (Estate Tax)**

*All dependent variables in the perceived behavioral response to estate tax:* indicator variables equal to one if the respondent thinks that the extent to which an increase in the federal personal income tax would encourage the middle class/themselves/middle class women or the richest people/themselves/richest women in the economy towards the behaviors listed ranges from *a moderate amount to a great deal*.

*Which of the following groups mostly win If the estate tax were cut?:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the given group (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), a women from the given group (in the “WOMEN” randomization) mostly wins if the estate tax were cut.

*↑ Tax hurt economy:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that the federal estate tax on wealthy households (in the control group), on the estates of households similar to that of the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), on the estates of wealthy women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) would hurt the US economy (as opposed to help or not have an effect on US economy).

*Laffer effect:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that cuts to the estate

tax of wealthy households (in the control group), of households similar to that of the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), of wealthy women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) would eventually decrease the US deficit because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government.

*Unfair tax estates of hard workers:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that it is “somewhat unfair” or “very unfair” to tax the estate of wealthy people who worked hard (in the control group), the estate for which the respondent themselves has worked hard (in the “ME” randomization), the estate of a wealthy woman who has worked hard (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Unfair tax estates of wealthy heirs:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that it is “somewhat unfair” or “very unfair” to tax the estate of people who are wealthy because they have inherited a lot of wealth (in the control group), the estate of people who are wealthier than the respondent themselves because they have inherited a lot more wealth from their own parents (in the “ME” randomization), the estate of a wealthy woman who is wealthy because she has herself inherited a lot of wealth from her parents (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Fair that wealthy children access better amenities:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that it is “somewhat fair” or “very fair” that children born in very wealthy families have access to better amenities (in the control group), that people born in wealthier families than that of the respondent themselves have had access to better amenities (in the “ME” randomization), that a girl born to a very wealthy mother has access to better amenities (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Fair that wealthy children inherit more:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that it is “somewhat fair” or “very fair” that children born in very wealthy families inherit much more than children born in less wealthy families (in the control group), that people born in wealthier families than that of the respondent themselves inherit much more than the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), that a girl born to a very wealthy mother inherits much more than a girl born to a less wealthy mother (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Support Wealth Transmission:* indicator variable equal to one if the respondent believes that wealthy parents (in the control group), individuals with similar levels of wealth to that of the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), a wealthy mother (in the “WOMEN” randomization) should be able to pass on all of her wealth to her children.

*Distortion index:* Index that captures respondents’ belief in the distortionary nature of the estate tax. The higher the index, the higher the perceived distortion. Specifically, the index combines all the variables on the behavioral responses to an increase in the estate tax, the “Laffer effect” variable, the variable “↑ Tax hurt economy” and finally the variable “↑ Estate tax good way to ↓ inequality”.

*Fairness of inheritance index:* Index that captures respondents’ belief that the passing on of wealth is fair. The higher the index, the higher the belief in the fairness. Specifically, the index combines the two fairness arguments from the perspective of the parents and the two fairness arguments from

the perspective of the children; the variable “Support wealth transmission”, the variable “wealth distribution fair”, the variable “Inequality not an issue”, and finally the variable “Estate tax should not exist”.

*Wealth distrib. unfair:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people.

*Wealth ineq. serious issue:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that wealth inequality in America is a problem or a serious problem or a very serious problem.

*Estate tax system fair:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the current U.S. federal estate tax system is fair or very fair.

*Satisfied with estate tax:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent is satisfied or very satisfied with the current U.S. federal estate tax system.

*Estate tax should exist:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that there should be a federal estate tax in the U.S.

*Estate tax should be increased:* conditional on believing that there should be a federal estate tax (see previous variable), dummy equals 1 if the respondent thinks that the federal estate tax should be increased.

↑ *Estate tax good way to ↓ inequality:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that increasing the federal estate tax (in the control group), increasing the estate tax on the estates of households similar to that of the respondent’s themselves (in the “ME” randomization), increasing the estate tax on the estates of wealthy women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) is a good way or is one of the best ways to reduce wealth inequality.

### **Mechanisms and Outcomes (Health Insurance)**

*Less use of emergency rooms:* dummy equals one if the respondent believes that more generous insurance would encourage a lot or a great deal people (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) to make less use of the emergency room for conditions that do not warrant it.

*Larger use of medical services:* dummy equals one if the respondent believes that more generous insurance would encourage a lot or a great deal people (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) to use more medical services they do not really need simply because they do not have to pay the full cost of them.

*Larger use of preventive care:* dummy equals one if the respondent believes that more generous insurance would encourage a lot or a great deal people (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) to use more preventive medical care such as regular screenings and check-ups.

*Employer-Insurance discourage quit job:* dummy equals one if respondent believes that employer-provided health insurance would discourage people (in the control group), the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) from quitting a

bad job or switching job from fear of losing their health insurance

*Behavioral index:* index that combines the answers to the behavioral responses to more generous insurance and employer-provided insurance following the methodology in Kling et al. (2007).

*Arguments for health insurance, equity:* Index that captures if the respondent is in favor of having a health insurance for equity reasons. It combines both open-ended questions on the reasons to have an individual mandate and and multiple-choice questions on the reasons for having health insurance in general. Specifically, it combines the variables: “More generous health insurance can help people deal with large medical costs and reduce their financial stress;” “Unfair that people with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for health insurance;” “Unfair that people born with worse health have to pay more for health insurance;” “Health issues and medical conditions are mostly result of circumstances outside one’s control;” “Important to help low-income families afford medical care by subsidizing insurance;” “Support providing additional transfers or subsidies to low-income families for costs of health care.”

*Arguments for health insurance, efficiency:* Index that captures if the respondent is in favor of having a health insurance for efficiency reasons. It combines both open-ended questions on the reasons to have an individual mandate and and multiple-choice questions on the reasons for having health insurance in general. Specifically, it combines the following variables “more generous insurance encourages to make less use of the emergency room;” “more generous insurance encourages to use more preventive care;” “More generous health insurance coverage for preventive care can lead to a reduction of the total costs;” “Important that everyone afford health care because contagious diseases can have negative effects on the other people.”

*Health in US worse off if ↓ insurance:* dummy equals 1 if respondent agrees or strongly agrees that with less generous health insurance, health in the U.S. (in the control group), the respondent own’s health (in the “ME” randomization), women’s health (in the “WOMEN” randomization) would be worse since they could not afford sufficient and appropriate medical care .

↑ *preventive healthcare*, ↓ *costs*: dummy equals 1 if the respondent agrees or strongly agrees that more generous health insurance coverage for preventive care can lead to a reduction in total medical costs (in the control group), to a reduction of the respondent own total medical costs (in the “ME” randomization), more generous health insurance coverage for preventive care for women can lead to a reduction in total medical costs (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

↑ *insurance*, ↓ *financial stress*: dummy equals 1 if respondent agrees or strongly agrees that more generous health insurance can help people (in the control group), the respondent themselves deal with (in the “ME” randomization), women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) deal with unexpected large medical costs reducing the financial stress.

*Unfair to pay more if pre-existing conditions:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that it is very unfair or unfair that that people with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than people without pre-existing conditions (in the control group), if the respondent themselves had to pay more for his own health insurance than people with fewer pre-existing con-

ditions than him (in the “ME” randomization), if women with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than women without pre-existing conditions (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Unfair to pay more if worse health:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that it is very unfair or unfair that that people born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than people born with better health (in the control group), if the respondent themselves had to pay more for his own health insurance than people born with better health than him (in the “ME” randomization), if women born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than women born with better health (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Health issue out of own control:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of one’s control (in the control group), that his own health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of his own control (in the “ME” randomization), that women’s health issues are mostly the result of circumstances outside of their control (in the “WOMEN” randomization).

*Healthcare to all important bc of contagion:* dummy equals 1 if respondent strongly agrees or agrees that it is important that everyone (in the control group), that the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), that all women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) can afford proper health care because people who become sick with a contagious disease could have negative effects on others too.

*Important to help low-incomes:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent strongly agrees or agrees that it is important to financially help low-income families (in the control group), families like that of the respondent themselves (in the “ME” randomization), low-income women (in the “WOMEN” randomization) so that they can afford medical care.

*Access to healthcare should improve:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that access to healthcare should be improved for many families.

*Insurance system unfair:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the US insurance system is somewhat unfair or very unfair.

*Dissatisfied health insurance:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent is somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the health insurance in the U.S.

*Medicare for all: support:* dummy equals 1 if respondent supports or strongly supports Medicare-for-all. *Medicare for all: don’t know enough:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent answers that he does not know enough to the question about whether he supports or opposes Medicare-for-all.

*Support transfers to low-inc.:* dummy equals 1 if respondent supports or strongly supports providing additional transfers or subsidies to low-income families to help them with the costs of their health care

*Support individual mandate:* dummy equals 1 if respondent supports or strongly supports having an individual mandate.

*Support Employer mandate:* dummy equals 1 if respondent supports or strongly supports having an employer mandate whereby every large employer, with more than 50 employees, is obliged to

offer health insurance plans for their employees.

### **Mechanisms and Outcomes (Trade Policy)**

*Have the Following Groups Gained from Trade?:* for each group, the respondent is asked to assign a score from 1 to 5 that indicates whether he believes the given group has lost or gained from trade. In the “ME” randomization, the respondent is asked to rate themselves. Dummy equals 1 if the score assigned to the group or to themselves is greater or equal to 3.

*Impossible compensate losers:* Dummy equal 1 if the respondent believes that it is impossible to compensate those who lose from trade. In the “ME” randomization dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that it is impossible to compensate people, like him, who may lose from trade (if the respondent answered that trade has made him worse off) or that it is impossible to compensate people, unlike him, who may lose from trade (if the respondent answered that trade has made him better off).

*Most jobs affected by trade policy:* dummy equal 1 if the respondent believes that most American job/his own job are being affected by U.S. trade.

*Workers overall hurt:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that overall international trade has hurt U.S. workers.

*Change sector easy for low-skilled:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that for low-skilled workers it would be easy to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in (in the control group), that it would be easy for themselves to find a job in a different sector from the one he is currently working in.

*Change sector easy for high-skilled:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that for high-skilled workers it would be easy to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in (in the control group), that it would be easy for themselves to find a job in a different sector from the one he is currently working in.

*Trade reason for unemployment in some sectors:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the extent to which trade is a major reason for unemployment in some sectors (in the control group), in the respondent’s sector (in the “ME” randomization) is a great deal or a lot.

*Trade reason for rise of inequality:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the extent to which trade is a major reason for inequality in the US is a great deal or a lot.

*Decreased prices:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that international trade has decreased the prices of goods sold in the U.S. (in the control group), the prices of goods that the respondent themselves buy regularly (in the “ME” randomization).

*Made firms more competitive:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that international trade has made firms in the U.S. (in the control group), the firms in the respondent’s sector (in the “ME” randomization) more competitive and improved their productivity.

*Increased innovation:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the U.S.

*Increased GDP growth:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the competitive pressure

from international trade has increased the growth of GDP in the U.S.

*Decreased value dollar:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the value of dollar will decrease or will remain the same should the US exports more goods abroad.

*Just one country gains:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that when two countries trade with each other, in general, one country gains, the other one loses or both countries lose.

*Against importing goods of lower quality:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the U.S. should not import cars from Germany if it's better at producing them.

*Car prices increase:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the price of cars would increase or stay the same should the US import more cars from Germany.

*Households are not better off:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that American households would not be better off should the US import more cars from Germany.

*Car wages (US) decrease:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the wages of low-skilled workers working in the car sector would decrease or stay the same should the US import more cars from Germany.

*Laptop prices abroad do not decrease:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the price of US laptops abroad would increase or stay the same should the US produce and export more laptops.

*High-skill wages do not increase:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the wages of high-skilled workers working in the laptop sector would increase or stay the same should the US produce and export more laptops.

*Wages of low-skilled displaced to laptop sector do not increase:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the wages of low-skilled workers who were able to quit their job in the car sector and find new jobs in the laptop sector would decrease or stay the same.

*Laptop export tax increases prices abroad:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the price of US laptops abroad would increase if the US were to impose an export tax on laptops.

*Car import tariff increases US prices:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that the price of cars in the US would increase if the U.S. were to impose an import tariff on cars sold in the U.S

*Effects of trade in my sector: Export  $\uparrow$  my wage  $\downarrow$ :* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that his own wage would decrease or stay the same should exports from his own sector to other countries increase.

*Effects of trade in my sector: Import  $\uparrow$  my wage  $\downarrow$ :* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that his own wage would decrease should the US start to import more of the goods produced in the respondent's sector.

*US should not aim for trade:* dummy equals one if respondent neither agrees nor disagrees, disagrees or strongly disagree that the US should increase trade with other countries and reduce barriers to trade.

*Trade policy unfair:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that US trade policy is somewhat unfair or very unfair.

*Dissatisfied trade policy:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent is dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with US trade policy.

*Restrict food imports:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent believes that the best policy tool to ensure national food security is restricting food imports from abroad (as opposed to providing more production subsidies in the food sector).

*Retaliatory tariffs likely:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that it is likely or very likely that if the U.S. starts imposing tariffs on many goods that it imports, other countries follow suit and also impose tariffs.

*Protect infant industries:* dummy equals 1 if respondent believes that it makes sense to protect for a while a relatively new industry in which other countries are currently able to produce goods for cheaper than American firms (in the control group), the goods or services currently produced in the respondent's sector or industry that can actually be produced in a cheaper way in another country (in the "ME" randomization).

*Best policy to help workers in declining industry: Restrict imports:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent ranks restricting imports as the best policy to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition (in the control group), your industry against the threat of foreign competition ( in the "ME" randomization).

*Best policy to help workers in declining industry: Direct assistance, retraining:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent ranks providing more generous transfers and direct assistance to workers, such as retraining programs as the best policy to help workers in an industry that's declining and threatened by foreign competition (in the control group), your industry against the threat of foreign competition ( in the "ME" randomization).

*Best policy to help workers in declining industry: Subsidize production:* dummy equals 1 if the respondent ranks subsidize production in the sector as the best policy to help workers in an industry that's declining and threatened by foreign competition (in the control group), your industry against the threat of foreign competition (in the "ME" randomization).

*Number of industries to protect:* Number of items selected, out of 10, in the list of industries that should be protected from foreign competition.

*Number of goods to protect:* Number of items selected, out of 17, in the list of goods that should be protected from foreign competition.

### **General Policy Outcomes**

*Pay less than their fair share in taxes - High income HH:* dummy equal one if respondent thinks high income households pay less or much less than their fair share in taxes.

*Pay less than their fair share in taxes - Middle class HH:* dummy equal one if respondent thinks middle class households pay their fair share or less or much less than their fair share in taxes.

*Support higher taxation for - Transfers to people out of work :* dummy equal to one if respondent supports increased funding for transfer and income support programs for those out of work even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas (as opposed to services and taxes as now or less of the service and reduced tax).

*Support higher taxation for - Better schools :* dummy equal to one if respondent support increased

funding for better schools for children from low-income families even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas (as opposed to services and taxes as now or less of the service and reduced tax).

*Support higher taxation for - Retraining programs* : dummy equal to one if respondent support increased funding for income support and retraining programs for workers who are displaced by international competition and trade even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas (as opposed to services and taxes as now or less of the service and reduced tax).

*Support higher taxation for - Healthcare subsidies* : dummy equal to one if respondent support increased funding for subsidies for low-income households to help them with the costs of health insurance premiums and health care even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas (as opposed to services and taxes as now or less of the service and reduced tax).

*Support higher taxation for - Wage subsidies* : dummy equal to one if respondent support increased funding for wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas (as opposed to services and taxes as now or less of the service and reduced tax).

## **General Government**

*Trust*: dummy equal to one if respondent believes that he can trust the government doing the right thing almost always or a lot of the time.

*Purposes*: dummy equal one if respondent thinks the government should do more to solve the country's problems.

*Involvement*: dummy equal to one if the respondent thinks the government should take active steps to improve the lives of its citizens (defined as answering 4 or 5 on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means the government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic government functions, and 5 means the government should take active steps).

*Cents Wasted*: cents wasted of every tax dollar that goes to the federal government in Washington, D.C.

*Satisfaction*: dummy equal to one if the respondent is very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the way the federal government in Washington is dealing with the country's problems.

*Government should be responsible for - Reducing income inequality*: dummy equal one if respondent thinks the government should have responsibility in reducing income inequality between the rich and the poor (defined as answering 4 or 5 on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "no responsibility at all" and 5 means "total responsibility").

*Government should be responsible for - Reducing wealth transmission*: dummy equal one if respondent thinks the government should have responsibility in reducing inter-generational wealth transmission (defined as answering 3, 4 or 5 on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means "no responsibility at all" and 5 means "total responsibility").

*Government should be responsible for - Health care*: dummy equal one if respondent thinks the government should have responsibility in making sure Americans have adequate health care (defined

## A-4 Full Questionnaires

FIGURE A-1: CONSENT PAGE

**Academic Research Survey** We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from the Economics Department at Harvard University. Our goal is to learn about people's attitudes on several issues. Please read the information below before consenting to begin the research study.

- This survey is voluntary. You have the right to not answer any question, and to stop the survey at any time or for any reason (to exit the survey, simply close this window). We expect that it will take about 20 minutes. You will likely learn a lot!

- 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.

- You will be compensated for this interview conditional upon (i) completing the survey and (ii) passing our survey quality checks, which use sophisticated statistical control methods to detect incoherent and rushed responses. **Responding without adequate effort may result in your responses being flagged for low quality and you may not receive your payment.**

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. If at any time you don't know an answer, please give your best guess **without consulting any external sources**. However, please be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the questions.

You are encouraged to print or take a screenshot of this page for your records. If you have any questions about this study, you may contact us at [studysocialsciences2018@gmail.com](mailto:studysocialsciences2018@gmail.com).

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (617) 496-2847 or [cuhs@harvard.edu](mailto:cuhs@harvard.edu) if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Yes, I would like to take part in this study, and confirm that I LIVE IN THE U.S., and I am 18 or older

No, I would not like to participate

#### A-4.1 Background questions (same for all surveys)

1. What is your gender?

*Male; Female*

2. What is your age?

3. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year?

*\$0-\$9999; \$10000-\$14999; \$15000-\$19999; \$20000-\$29999; \$30000-\$39999; \$40000-\$49999; \$50000-\$69999; \$70000-\$89999; \$90000-\$109999; \$110000-\$149999; \$150000-\$199999; \$200000+*

4. Were you born in the United States?

*Yes; No*

5. In which ZIP code do you live?

6. Please indicate your marital status

*Single; Married; Legally separated or divorced; Widowed*

7. How many children do you have?

*I do not have children; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more*

8. *Screening Question 1.* Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both strongly agree and strongly disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days."

*Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree*

9. How would you describe your ethnicity/race?

*European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Mixed race; Other (please specify)*

10. Which category best describes your highest level of education?

*Primary education or less; Some High School; High School degree/GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Master's Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD, MBA)*

11. (If highest level of education superior to "High School" to 10) What is/was your field of study in college? If multiple degrees apply, please select the field corresponding to your last degree.

*Accounting/bookkeeping; Administrative science/public administration; Advertising; Agriculture/ horticulture; Allied health; Anthropology; Architecture; Art; Aviation/aeronautics; Biology; Business administration; Chemistry; Child/human/family development; Comm. disorders; Communications/speech; Computer science; Counseling; Criminology/criminal justice; Dance; Dentistry; Economics; Education; Educational administration; Electronics; Engineering; English; Environmental science/ecology;*

*Ethnic studies; Fashion; Finance; Fine arts; Food science/nutrition/culinary arts; Foreign language; Forestry; General sciences; General studies; Geography; Geology; Gerontology; Health; History; Home economics; Human services/human resources; Humanities; Industrial relations; Industry and techn; Information technology; Journalism; Law; Law enforcement; Liberal arts; Library science; Marketing; Mathematics; Mechanics/machine trade; Medicine; Music; Nursing; Other; Other vocational; Parks and recreation; Pharmacy; Philosophy; Physical education; Physics; Political science/international relations; Psychology; Public relations; Social sciences; Social work: Sociology; Special education; Statistics/biostatistics; Television/film; Textiles/cloth; Theater arts; Theology; Urban and regional planning; Veterinary medicine; Visual arts/graphic design/design and drafting; Other*

12. What is your current employment status?

*Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed or small business owner; Unemployed and looking for work; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree*

13. (If “Full-time employee”, “Part-time employee”, or “Self-employed or small business owner” to 12) Which category best describes your main occupation?

*Managers; Professionals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service and sales workers; Agricultural workers; Craft and related trades workers; Plant and machine operators, and assemblers; Elementary occupations; Armed forces occupations*

14. *[For health and trade surveys only]* (If “Full-time employee”, “Part-time employee”, or “Self-employed or small business owner” to 12) Are you employed in one of the following sectors? Check the one that applies. If you have multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

*Agriculture, plantations, other rural sectors; Basic metal production; Chemical industries; Commerce; Construction; Education; Financial services, professional services; Food, drink, tobacco; Forestry, wood; Health services; Hotels, tourism, catering; Mining; Mechanical and electrical engineering; Media, culture, graphical; Oil and gas production, oil refining; Postal and telecommunications services; Public service; Shipping, ports, fisheries, inland waterways; Textiles, clothing, leather, footwear; Transport (including civil aviation, railways, road transport); Transport equipment manufacturing; Utilities (water, gas, electricity); None of the above*

15. (If “Unemployed and looking for work”, “Not currently working and not looking for work”, or “Retiree” to 12) Even if you are not currently working, which category best describes your latest occupation? Check the one that applies. If you have had multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

*Same options as above*

16. *[For health and trade surveys only]* (If “Unemployed and looking for work”, “Not currently working and not looking for work”, or “Retiree” to 12) Even if you are not currently working, in what sector does your latest occupation fall into? Check the one that applies. If you have multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

*Same options as above*

17. Are you covered by Medicaid, Medical Assistance, or Medicaid?

*Yes; No*

18. Did you, or anyone in your household, receive food stamps or use a food stamp benefit card at any time during 2018?

*Yes; No*

19. At any time during 2018, even for one month, did you or anyone in your household receive any cash assistance from a state or county welfare program such as welfare or welfare to work, TANF, general assistance, diversion payments or refugee cash?

*Yes; No*

20. If you had to use one of these five commonly-used names to describe your social class, which one would it be?

*Lower Class or Poor; Working Class; Middle Class; Upper-middle Class; Upper Class*

21. On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?

*Very liberal; Liberal; Moderate; Conservative; Very conservative*

22. What do you consider to be your political affiliation, as of today?

*Republican; Democrat; Independent; Other; Non-Affiliated*

23. (If respondent answered “Other” to previous question) Please specify your political affiliation.

24. Did you vote in the last presidential election?

*Yes; No*

25. (If “Yes” to 24) In the last presidential election, supported:

*Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson; Other*

(If “No” to 24) Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who represents your views more closely.

*Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson; Other*

26. Are you registered to vote at your current address?

*Yes; No*

27. There are many types of elections such as federal elections for president and members of Congress, primary elections where voters choose party nominees, local elections for city council and school boards, and special elections when vacancies arise in between scheduled elections.

Which best describes how often you vote, since you became eligible?

*Every election without exception; Almost every election, may have missed one or two; Some elections; Rarely; Don't vote in elections*

28. Did you vote in the November midterms elections?

*Yes; No*

29. (If “Yes” to 28) Which party did you vote for?

*Republican Party; Democratic Party; Other*

30. (If “No” to 28) Which party would you have liked to support?

*Republican Party; Democratic Party; Other*

31. Thinking about various sources of news available today, what would you say is your main source of news about current events in the U.S. and around the world?

*TV; Newspaper (print); Magazine; Radio; Internet; Word of mouth; Other; None, I don't follow the news*

32. Please specify

33. (If respondent gets their news mostly from online newspapers) Would you say that you access most of the articles you read through a social media like Facebook or Twitter or by going directly on the website of the newspaper?

*Mostly through social media; Mostly through the newspaper's website*

34. In general, how important do you think it is to stay informed about economic policy?

*Very important; Somewhat important; Not very important; Not important at all*

35. (If “Very important” or “Somewhat important” at 34) What would you say are the main reasons why you wish to be well informed about economic policy?

You may select several options.

*Affects personal finances; Affects business or profession; Relevant to stock market and investments; Economic issues are important politically and might affect my vote; To be a responsible citizen, I like to keep informed*

36. How knowledgeable do you consider yourself on economic policies and issues?

*Highly knowledgeable; Somewhat knowledgeable; Not very knowledgeable; Not knowledgeable at all*

37. For the following sources of information, how often would you say you use them to stay informed about economic policy?

*Often; Regularly; Occasionally; Rarely; Never*

- TV
- Newspapers (print)
- (online)
- Magazines
- Radio
- Internet
- Word of mouth

#### **A-4.1.1 Trade Survey specific**

1. How proud are you to be an American?

*Extremely proud; Very proud; Moderately proud; Only a little proud; Not at all proud*

2. How important do you believe it is to have been born in the United States or to have an American family background to be truly American?

*Very important; Somewhat important; Not important at all*

3. Do you agree with the following statement: “Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others”?

*Completely agree; Mostly agree; Mostly disagree; Completely disagree*

#### **A-4.2 Open-ended questions**

We now want to ask you a few broader questions. Please use the text boxes below and write as much as you feel like. Your opinion and thoughts are important to us! There is no right or wrong answer.

##### **A-4.2.1 Income Taxation Survey**

1. When you think about federal personal income taxation and whether the U.S. should have higher or lower federal personal income taxes, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?
2. What would be a “good” federal tax system in your view? What would be the goal of a good tax system?
3. What do you think are the issues with or shortcomings of the U.S. federal income tax system?
4. Which important aspects of the U.S. federal income tax system would you say are not discussed enough in the current policy debate?
5. What do you think would be the effects on the U.S. economy if the federal personal income taxes were increased?
6. Which groups of people do you think would gain if federal personal income taxes on high earners were increased?
7. Which groups of people do you think would lose if federal personal income taxes on high earners were increased?

##### **A-4.2.2 Estate Tax Survey**

1. The Federal Estate tax is a tax imposed on the transfer of wealth from a deceased person to his or her heirs.

When you think about the federal estate tax and whether the U.S. should have a higher or a lower federal estate tax, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?

2. In your view, what would be a “good” federal estate tax that you would be satisfied with? What would be the goal of a good estate tax system?

3. What do you think are the shortcomings of the U.S. federal estate tax?
4. What do you think would be the effects on the U.S. economy if the federal estate tax were increased?
5. Which groups of people do you think would gain if the federal estate tax were increased?
6. Which groups of people do you think would lose if the federal estate tax were increased?

#### **A-4.2.3 Health Insurance Survey**

1. What would be a “good” health insurance system in your view? What would be the goal of a good health insurance system?
2. When you think about health insurance and whether the U.S. should have universal health insurance for all, what are the main considerations — in favor or against it — that come to you mind?
3. What do you personally see as the biggest problem with health insurance in the United States today?
4. A single-payer health insurance system is one in which the government operates a tax-funded health insurance plan for all U.S. residents. The government acts as the main insurer and everyone is included in the universal health insurance scheme.

What do you think would be the effects on the U.S. economy if a single-payer health insurance system were introduced?

5. Which groups of people — if any — would gain if a single-payer health insurance system were introduced in the U.S.?

#### **A-4.2.4 Trade Survey**

1. When you think about trade policy and whether the U.S. should put some restrictions on trade with other countries such as tariffs, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?
2. What would be a “good” trade policy in your view? What would be the goal of a good trade policy?
3. What do you think are the issues with or shortcomings of the current U.S. trade policy?
4. What do you think would be the effects on the U.S. economy if barriers to trade, such as tariffs, were increased?
5. Which groups of people do you think would gain if trade barriers such as tariffs were increased?

### **A-4.3 Personal Exposure**

#### **A-4.3.1 Income Taxation Survey**

1. Do you feel that U.S. federal income tax policy has important direct effects on your own life?

*Yes, it has very important direct effects on my own life; It has some effects on my own life; No, it has no direct effects on my own life*

#### **A-4.3.2 Estate Tax Survey**

1. Do you feel personally affected by the federal estate tax? *Yes; No*
2. Why? / Why not?
3. How likely do you think it is that your estate will be subject to the federal estate tax in the future?  
*Very likely; Somewhat likely; Somewhat unlikely; Very unlikely*

#### **A-4.3.3 Health Insurance Survey**

1. Do you currently have health insurance?  
*Yes; No*
2. (If “No” to 1) Which of these are reasons why you stopped being covered or do not have health insurance?  
You may select several options.  
*Lost job or change in employment; Change in marital status or death of parent; Ineligible due to age or left school; Employer didn't offer or insurance company refused; Cost; Medicaid stopped; Other (includes moved, self-employed, never had coverage, did not want or need coverage, and other unspecified reasons)*
3. (If “Yes” to 1) Are you on Medicaid or Medicare?  
*Yes; No*
4. (If “Yes” to 1 and “No” to 3) Who pays for the cost of premiums on your health insurance? Do you or someone in your household pay the total costs, does an employer or other organization pay the total cost, or is it the cost shared between the employer or some other organization and you or someone in your household?  
*Self/Household pays all; Employer or organization pays all; Costs are shared*
5. Within the last twelve months, have you or a member of your family put off any sort of medical treatment because of the cost you would have to pay?  
*Yes; No*
6. (If “Yes” to 5) When you put off this medical treatment, how serious was the condition or illness?  
*Very serious; Somewhat serious; Not very serious; Not at all serious*
7. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the total cost you pay for your healthcare?  
*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*
8. Overall, how would you rate the quality of health care you receive?  
*Excellent; Good; Fair; Poor*

#### **A-4.3.4 Trade Survey**

1. Do you feel that U.S. trade policy has important, direct effects on your own life?  
*Yes; No*

## A-4.4 Knowledge about policy

In this section, all respondents will receive the following screening question.

- In order to facilitate our research on decision making we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the decision maker. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the instructions, please ignore the question below. Instead, simply put the slider to 98. Thank you very much.

Out of 100 adults in the U.S., how many are currently paying any income tax at all?

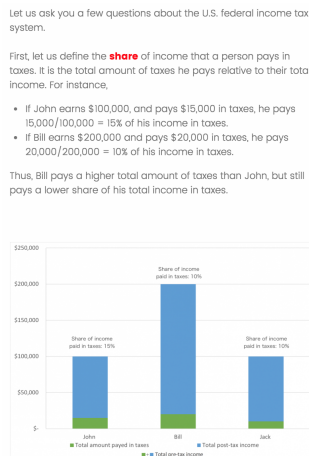
### A-4.4.1 Income Taxation Survey

1. As you probably know, the government and researchers gather a lot of statistical information about the economy. We are interested in learning whether this information finds its way to the general public. The next set of questions is about some economic policies in the United States. These are questions for which there are right or wrong answers.

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

2. See Figure A-1

FIGURE A-4-1: SHARE OF INCOME PAID IN TAXES



3. Do you think that, broadly speaking, everyone in the U.S. currently pays approximately the same share of income in federal personal income taxes or do you think people pay very different shares of income in federal personal income taxes?

*Everyone pays more or less the same share; People pay somewhat different shares of their income in taxes; People pay very different shares of their incomes in taxes*

4. (If not “Everyone pays more or less...” at 3) Do you think that people with higher incomes pay a higher or lower share of their total income in federal personal income taxes than people with lower

incomes?

*People with higher incomes pay a higher share of their income in taxes than those with lower incomes.;  
People with higher incomes pay a lower share of their income in taxes than those with lower incomes.*

5. A share of the respondents see Figure A-2

FIGURE A-4-2: INCENTIVES TO ANSWER CORRECTLY

For the next set of questions, **we will award additional survey pay** for respondents whose answers are closest to the true answer. All questions which are subject to this additional award are clearly marked with a green text at the top of the page. **Please note that consulting outside sources will disqualify you from this award. Please answer on your own.**

6. How high is the threshold of total annual income for a married household above which the top tax rate applies?

*Lower than \$99,999; Between \$100,000 and \$499,999; Between \$500,000 and \$999,999, Between \$1,000,000 and \$1,999,999; Higher than \$2,000,000*

7. Please specify the exact threshold.

8. Out of 100 households in the U.S., how many are in the top federal personal income tax bracket?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

9. What is the top federal personal income tax rate in the U.S.?

10. What share of their total income do people in the top federal personal income tax bracket pay in taxes?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

11. Can you guess what the top federal personal income tax rate used to be in the 1950s in the U.S.?

12. Out of 100 U.S. households, how many pay no federal income taxes?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

13. Imagine a middle class household that is right at the middle of the income distribution, such that half of all households in the U.S. earn more than this household and half earn less. What share of their income do you think such a household pays in federal income taxes?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

14. If you compare the U.S. to other rich countries such as Canada or Western Europe, do you think the U.S. has, on average, higher federal personal income taxes, similar levels of federal personal income taxes, or lower federal personal income taxes than these countries?

*Higher income taxes; Comparable levels of income taxes; Lower income taxes*

15. States can also levy income taxes. What is the top personal income tax rate in your state that applies (in addition to whatever people are paying in federal taxes)?

16. What share of total national income do you think goes to the top 1% richest households?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

17. What professions come to your mind when thinking about who the highest earners in our country are?  
Please list them here:

18. Imagine 100 of the top 1% highest-earning taxpayers in the U.S.. What share of them would you say are: (these numbers should NOT sum up to 100, as there are other professions that we do not mention here: the total should be lower than 100).

- Executives, managers, supervisors (non-finance)
- Physicians and medical professionals
- Financial professions, including management
- Lawyers
- Computer, math, engineering, or technical professionals (excluding finance)
- Real estate professionals
- Entrepreneurs
- Professors and Scientists
- People who work in Arts, Media, and Sports
- People who work in government, or social services, or teachers

19. Which has more to do with why a person is rich?

*Because she or he worked harder than others; Because she or he had more advantages than others*

20. How has the share of total U.S. income that goes to the top 1% in the U.S. evolved over the past 30 years?

*It has increased by a lot; It has increased somewhat; It has remained the same; It has decreased somewhat; It has decreased by a lot*

#### **A-4.4.2 Estate Tax Survey**

As you probably know, the government and researchers gather a lot of statistical information about the economy. We are interested in learning whether this information finds its way to the general public. The next set of questions is about some economic policies in the United States. These are questions for which there are right or wrong answers. In order for your answers to be most helpful to us, it is really important that you answer these questions as accurately as you can. Although you may find some questions difficult, it is very important for our research that you try your best. Thank you very much!

1. A share of the respondents see Figure A-2

2. Is every individual's estate subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*Yes; No*

3. Out of 1000 people, how many would you say pay the federal estate tax at death?

*Less than 1 out of 1000; Between 1 and 10 out of 1000; Between 10 and 50 out of 1000; Between 50 and 100 out of 1000; Between 100 and 200 out of 1000; Between 200 and 300 out of 1000; Between 300 and 400 out of 1000; Between 400 and 500 out of 1000; Between 500 and 600 out of 1000; Between 600 and 700 out of 1000; Between 700 and 800 out of 1000; Between 800 and 900 out of 1000; More than 900 out of 1000*

4. Please specify the exact amount of people, out of 1000, who pay the federal estate tax at death.

5. The federal estate tax in the U.S. features an exemption threshold per person. This means that every person is allowed to pass on to their children or heirs an amount of estate up to that threshold free of tax. Above the exemption threshold, a tax rate applies on every dollar of the estate left by a person above this threshold.

How high is the current threshold for exemption per person?

*Less than \$100,000; Between \$100,000 and \$500,000; Between \$500,000 and \$1 million; Between \$1 million and \$5 million; Between \$5 million and \$10 million; Between \$10 million and \$20 million; Higher than \$20 million*

6. Please specify the exact threshold.

7. At what rate is each dollar of estate that is passed on and falls above the exemption threshold taxed?

8. Let's compare this to how things used to be in the U.S. in the past. At what rate was each dollar of estate that is passed on and falls above the threshold taxed in the 1950s?

9. Do you think that many or few small business or small farm owners are subject to the federal estate tax?

*Almost all are subject to the estate tax; Many are subject to the estate tax; Few are subject to the estate tax; Almost none are subject to the estate tax*

10. Do you think that the federal estate tax is mostly taxing assets that have already been taxed and thus leads to "double taxation" or do you think that it is mostly taxing assets that have not been taxed before during the life of the owner?

*It's mostly double taxation; It mostly taxes assets that have not been taxed before*

11. A capital gain is an increase in the price of an asset, such as real estate, stocks, or even an art collection. Capital gains are called realized when the asset is sold at a higher or lower price and a capital gains tax is due on the gain from the increase in price of such sold assets. A capital gain is called unrealized if the asset is not sold. Under the current U.S. tax system, only realized capital gains are taxed. This means that the increase in value of the asset can, in principle, completely escape any capital gains tax if the owner holds on to the asset until death.

If you think of all the large estates that will be subject to the federal estate tax, what share of those estates would you say is made up of unrealized capital gains that have never been taxed before?

12. Consider the total value of all estates that are passed on and subject to the federal estate tax. In total, what fraction of the total value of these estates is paid in taxes?

13. Do you know what the stepped-up cost basis at death is?
14. (If “Yes” at 13) Please explain briefly what it is.
15. Let’s work through a concrete example about the federal estate tax now. Jack inherits a house from his father. His father paid \$50,000 for the house 30 years ago. This house is now worth \$350,000 at the time of the father’s death. But Jack manages to sell the house for \$400,000.
- What is the amount that the IRS will consider as capital gains that Jack made and that will be taxed at the capital gains tax rate?
- \$50,000; \$300,000; \$350,000; \$400,000; Other*
16. Imagine now that the father had sold the house for \$350,000 before his death.
- What is the amount that the IRS will consider as capital gains that Jack’s father made and that will be taxed at the capital gains tax rate?
- \$50,000; \$300,000; \$350,000; \$400,000; Other*
17. What share of all of the wealth in the U.S. do you think is currently owned by the following groups?
- The top 1% wealthiest households
  - The bottom 50% least wealthy households
18. How has the share of total U.S. wealth that is held by the top 0.1% evolved over the past 30 years?
- It has increased by a lot; It has increased somewhat; It has remained the same; It has decreased somewhat; It has decreased by a lot*
19. What share of total wealth owned by households in the U.S. today is inherited from their parents?
20. Which has more to do with why a person is wealthy?
- Because she or he worked harder than others; Because she or he had more advantages than others*
21. See figures [A-3](#) and [A-4](#)

### FIGURE A-4-3: MOBILITY QUESTION 1

**We would now like to ask you what you think about the life opportunities of children from very poor families.**

For the following question, 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.

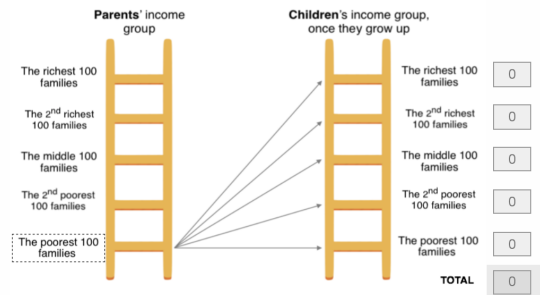
In the following question, we will ask you to evaluate the chances that children born in one of the poorest 100 families, once they grow up, will belong to any of these income groups.

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 will take you at the very least 1 minute 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.

### FIGURE A-4-4: MOBILITY QUESTION 2



#### A-4.4.3 Health Insurance Survey

1. Can you think of the different ways in which Americans today obtain health insurance? Please list all you can think of.

*Text box*

2. What is Medicaid? Who is eligible for Medicaid?

*Text box*

3. What is Medicare? Who is eligible for Medicare?

*Text box*

4. If an elderly person is in need of long-term care, which program(s) will pay for that? Select all correct answers from the list below (several answers can be correct):

Note: Long-term care means assistance with the basic personal tasks of everyday life for elderly people. *Medicare will pay for all of long-term care for all elderly above 65; Medicare supplements will pay for all of long-term care for elderly who purchase them; Medicare with or without supplements will only pay for short periods of long-term care for all the elderly above 65; Private long-term care insurance plans will only pay for long-term care for all elderly who purchased them; Employer health insurance plans will pay for the long-term care of retired employees; Medicaid will pay for all of long-term care for all elderly; Medicaid will pay for all of long-term care only for elderly who have a low income and low assets; Medicaid will pay part of the long-term care for all the elderly*

5. Medicaid is a federal and state program that helps people with low income pay for their health insurance. Medicare is a federal program that provides health insurance for Americans aged 65 and older, as well as younger people with disability status.

Out of 100 Americans, how many get their health insurance coverage through the following programs? The total must equal 100.

Important note: Individuals can be enrolled in several programs at once. Here, we are interested in the primary insurer. An individual who has Medicaid and any other type of insurance is counted in the Medicaid category and an individual who has both Medicare and employer-based coverage is counted in the employer-based category.

- Medicaid
- Medicare
- Group health insurance through employer
- Other insurance (policies purchased directly from an insurance company, military, other public. . .)
- Uninsured

6. Out of 100 American children, aged below 18, how many are enrolled in Medicaid?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

7. Are insurance companies currently allowed to set different premiums based on the following characteristics?

*Yes; No*

- Gender
- Age
- Tobacco use
- Where the person lives
- Preexisting conditions (such as having diabetes, obesity, or being pregnant at the time of purchase of the insurance)

8. In 2018, was there an individual mandate, whereby everyone was obligated to buy health insurance?

*Yes; No*

9. (If “Yes” to 8) What happened if you did not have health insurance?

*A penalty had to be paid; You were forced to buy insurance; You received a warning; Nothing happened*

10. Were any changes made to the individual mandate in 2019?

*Yes; No*

11. (If “Yes” to 10) How did the legislation on the individual mandate change in 2019?

*The penalty was increased; The penalty was decreased; The penalty was reduced to zero; The individual mandate was canceled; Other*

12. Is there currently an employer mandate, whereby employers have to provide health insurance to their employees?

*Yes, all employers are required to provide health insurance to their employees; Yes, but small employers are excluded from this requirement; No, employers are not required to provide health insurance to their employees*

13. To be eligible for Medicaid, a family’s income needs to be below a certain percentage of the Federal Poverty Level for a family of that size. How high is that percentage in your state for a family like yours to be eligible for Medicaid?

*Under 50% of the FPL; Between 50 and 90% of the FPL; Between 130 and 160% of the FPL; Between 160 and 200% of the FPL; Higher than 200 of the FPL;*

14. Please specify the percentage

15. Did the Affordable Care Act (ACA) make any changes to the eligibility for Medicaid in your state?

*Yes, it expanded eligibility; No, it remained the same; Yes, it reduced eligibility*

16. Comparing the U.S. to other rich countries such as France, Germany, or the U.K., how much do you think the U.S. spends on health care as a share of its GDP?

*Much more; More; About the same; Less; Much less*

17. Comparing the U.S. to other rich countries such as France, Germany, or the U.K., how good do you think that important and common measures of health outcomes, such as life expectancy or infant mortality are in the U.S.?

*Much better; Better; About the same; Worse; Much worse*

#### **A-4.4.4 Trade Survey**

1. Do you know what an import tariff is?

*Yes; No*

2. Do you know what an import quota is?

*Yes; No*

3. The U.S. imports both industrial (i.e., non-agricultural) and agricultural goods. What share of the goods that the U.S. imports do you think are agricultural goods?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

4. Of all the goods that the U.S. imports, what share do you think is subject to a tariff or import duty?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

5. To which country does the U.S. export the most, in terms of the net dollar value?

*Brazil, Canada; China; France; Germany; India; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Mexico; Netherlands; South Korea; Switzerland; Taiwan; United Kingdom*

6. From which country does the U.S. import the most, in terms of the net dollar value?

*Brazil, Canada; China; France; Germany; India; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Mexico; Netherlands; South Korea; Switzerland; Taiwan; United Kingdom*

7. Over time, do you think trade between the U.S. and other countries has decreased, stayed more or less the same, or increased?

*It has decreased; It has stayed more or less the same; It has increased*

## **A-4.5 Videos Treatments**

Randomized groups of respondents see one of three videos. In each case, the videos introduced by the following:

- Recent academic research has studied what the effects of income taxation/the federal estate tax are. We will now show you one short video that summarizes some key ideas of these studies. Please pay attention to the information provided as you will be asked questions about it later. Do not skip forward or close the page while the video is running.

Please proceed to the next page when you are ready. Not that you will not be able to move forward with the survey before the end of the short video.

### **A-4.5.1 Income Taxation Survey**

- Links to the videos can be found here: [Redistributional treatment](#), [Efficiency treatment](#), or [Economist treatment](#).

### **A-4.5.2 Estate Tax Survey**

- Links to the videos can be found here: [Redistributional treatment](#), [Efficiency treatment](#), or [Economist treatment](#).

### **A-4.5.3 Health Insurance Survey**

- Links to the videos can be found here: [Redistributional treatment](#), [Efficiency treatment](#), [Economist treatment](#).

#### A-4.5.4 Trade Survey

- Links to the videos can be found here: [Redistributional treatment](#), [Efficiency treatment](#), [Economist treatment](#), [US-specific economist treatment](#).

### A-4.6 Mechanisms

#### A-4.6.1 Income Taxation Survey

1. *CONTROL GROUP*. If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for the richest people in the economy, to what extent would it encourage them towards the following behaviors?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. If your federal personal income tax rate were to increase, to what extent would it encourage you towards the following behaviors?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for a given woman among the richest people in the economy, to what extent would it encourage this woman towards the following behaviors?

*A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all*

- Evade taxes
- Work less
- Stop working altogether
- Have their/your/her spouse stop working
- Move to a state with lower taxes
- Be less entrepreneurial and create fewer businesses

2. *CONTROL GROUP*. If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for the middle class, to what extent would it encourage them towards the following behaviors?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal personal income tax rate were to increase for a given woman in the middle class, to what extent would it encourage this woman towards the following behaviors?

*Same options as above*

3. *CONTROL AND “ME”*. What do you think would ultimately do more to reduce the income differences between poor and rich families?

*“WOMEN”*. What do you think would ultimately do more to reduce the income differences between poor and rich women?

*Lowering taxes on wealthy people/women and corporations to encourage more investment in economic growth.; Raising taxes on wealthy people/women and corporations to expand programs for the poor.*

4. *CONTROL GROUP*. Typically, when the top federal income tax rate on high earners is cut, which of these groups would you say mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*Mostly Lose; Mostly Win*

- Lower Class or Poor
- Working Class
- Middle Class
- Upper-Middle Class
- Upper Class

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Typically, when the top federal income tax rate on high earners is cut, would you mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*Mostly Lose; Mostly Win*

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Typically, when the top federal income tax rate on high earners is cut, which of these groups would you say mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*Mostly Lose; Mostly Win*

- Lower Class or Poor Women
- Lower Class or Poor Men
- Working Class Women
- Working Class Men
- Middle Class Women
- Middle Class Men
- Upper-middle Class Women
- Upper-middle Class Men
- Upper Class Women
- Upper Class Men

5. *CONTROL GROUP.* When overall taxes are raised and there are extra revenues to spend on government programs, which of these groups would you say mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* When overall taxes are raised and there are extra revenues to spend on government programs, would you mostly win or mostly lose from the increase in government tax revenue?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* When overall taxes are raised and there are extra revenues to spend on government programs, which of these groups would you say mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*Same options as in previous question.*

6. *CONTROL GROUP AND “ME”.* Do you think that increasing income taxes on high-income households would hurt economic activity, not have an effect on economic activity, or help economic activity in the U.S.?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you think that increasing income taxes that high-income women have to pay would hurt economic activity, not have an effect on economic activity, or help economic activity in the U.S.?

*Hurt economic activity in the U.S.; Not have an effect on economic activity in the U.S.; Help economic activity in the U.S.*

7. *CONTROL GROUP*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that tax cuts on high-income households may have on the federal budget deficit?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that tax cuts on households with your level of income may have on the federal budget deficit?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that the cuts on taxes that high-income women have to pay may have on the federal budget deficit?

*The tax cuts would increase the deficit in the long run because the government would take in a lot less money that it won't be able to recover; The tax cuts would decrease the deficit in the long run because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government*

8. *CONTROL GROUP*. What about the long-term impact that tax cuts on the middle-class may have on the federal budget deficit?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. What about the long-term impact that cuts on taxes that women from the middle-class have to pay may have on the federal budget deficit?

*Same options as in previous question.*

9. *CONTROL GROUP AND “ME”*. Do you think that a progressive federal income tax system, in which people with higher incomes pay a higher share of income in taxes than people with lower incomes is an important tool to reduce inequality?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Do you think that a progressive federal income tax system, in which women with higher incomes pay a higher share of their income in taxes than women with lower incomes is an important tool to reduce inequality?

*Yes; No*

10. Why?/Why not?

11. Which statement do you agree with most? (Please pick the one closest to your views, even if it does not match your view perfectly.)

*CONTROL GROUP*. *High-income individuals are entitled to keep a very large share of their income and should not have to pay high taxes, even if that means less government revenues available to help low-income families make ends meet.; It is important to ensure enough government revenues to fund programs that help low-income families make ends meet, even if that means that high-income individuals will have to pay higher taxes on their high incomes.*

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. *Individuals with a similar income to mine are entitled to keep a very large share of their income and should not have to pay high taxes, even if that means less government revenues available to help low-income families make ends meet.; It is important to ensure enough government revenues to fund programs that help low-income families make ends meet, even if that means that individuals with a similar income to mine will have to pay higher taxes on their high incomes.*

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. *High-income women are entitled to keep a very large share of their income and should not have to pay high taxes, even if that means less government revenues available*

*to help low-income families make ends meet.; It is important to ensure enough government revenues to fund programs that help low-income women make ends meet, even if that means that high-income individuals will have to pay higher taxes on their high incomes.*

12. *CONTROL GROUP AND “ME”*. When thinking about how much to tax higher income individuals, do you think we should take into consideration how their income was earned? Please explain

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. When thinking about how much to tax higher income women, do you think we should take into consideration how their income was earned? Please explain

13. Which statement most closely reflects your view?

*CONTROL GROUP*. People with the same income should pay the same level of federal income taxes, regardless of how they earned their income and whether they worked hard for it.; People who have worked hard for their income should be taxed less than those who have not worked hard for it, even if that means that people with the same income will end up paying different taxes.

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. People with similar incomes to mine should pay the same level of federal income taxes as me, regardless of whether they earned their income the same way as I did and whether they worked as hard for it as I did.; People who have worked hard for their income should be taxed less than those who have not worked hard for it, even if that means that people with the same income as me will end up paying higher taxes than me because they worked less hard for their income.

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Women with the same income should pay the same level of federal income taxes, regardless of how they earned their income and whether they worked hard for it.; We should tax less women who have worked hard for their income, even if that means that people with the same income will end up paying different taxes.

#### **A-4.6.2 Estate Tax Survey**

1. *CONTROL GROUP*. If the federal estate tax increases, to what extent would it encourage the very wealthy individuals towards the following behaviors?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal estate tax were to increase, to what extent would it encourage you towards the following behaviors?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal estate tax were to increase for women among the richest in the economy, to what extent would it encourage these women towards the following behaviors?

*A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all*

- Evade taxes and hide part of their/your wealth from the tax authorities
- Work less during their/your lifetime in anticipation of a higher estate tax
- Stop working altogether
- Have their/your spouse stop working
- Move to a state (to take advantage of no or lower state estate taxes in other states)
- Be less entrepreneurial and create fewer businesses during their/your lifetime in anticipation of a higher estate tax

- Save less for their/your children and instead spend more

2. *CONTROL GROUP AND “ME”*. Imagine some people who are currently young and not yet rich, but could possibly expect to get rich and face a higher federal estate tax when they are old. If the federal estate tax were to increase, to what extent would it encourage these people towards the following behaviors?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Imagine women who are currently young and not yet rich, but could possibly expect to get rich and face a higher federal estate tax when they are old. If the federal estate tax were to increase, to what extent would it encourage these women towards the following behaviors?

*A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all*

- Evade taxes and hide part of their/your wealth from the tax authorities
- Work less during their/your lifetime in anticipation of a higher estate tax
- Stop working altogether
- Have their/your spouse stop working
- Move to a state (to take advantage of no or lower state estate taxes in other states)
- Be less entrepreneurial and create fewer businesses during their/your lifetime in anticipation of a higher estate tax
- Save less for their/your children and instead spend more

3. *CONTROL GROUP* If the federal estate tax rate is cut, which of these groups would you say mostly win or lose from this change?

*Mostly lose; Mostly*

- Lower Class or Poor
- Working Class
- Middle Class
- Upper-middle Class
- Upper Class

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal estate tax rate is cut, would you mostly win or mostly lose from this change?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. If the federal estate tax rate is cut, which of these groups would you say mostly win or lose from this change?

- Lower Class or Poor Women
- Lower Class or Poor Men
- Working Class Women
- Working Class Men
- Middle Class Women

- Middle Class Men
  - Upper-middle Class Women
  - Upper-middle Class Men
  - Upper Class Women
  - Upper Class Men
4. *CONTROL GROUP*. What effect do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on wealthy households would have on economic activity?
- “*ME*” *RANDOMIZATION*. What effect do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on the estates of households similar to yours would have on economic activity?
- “*WOMEN*” *RANDOMIZATION*. What effect do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on the estates of wealthy women would have on economic activity?
- Hurt economic activity; Have no effect on economic activity; Help economic activity*
5. *CONTROL GROUP*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that cuts in the federal estate tax for wealthy households may have on the federal budget deficit:
- “*ME*” *RANDOMIZATION*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that cuts in the federal estate tax on the estates of households similar to yours may have on the federal budget deficit:
- “*WOMEN*” *RANDOMIZATION*. Which comes closer to your view about the long-term impact that cuts in the federal estate tax on the estates of wealthy women may have to pay may have on the federal budget deficit:
- The tax cuts would increase the deficit in the long run because the government would take in a lot less money that it won't be able to recover; The tax cuts would decrease the deficit in the long run because they would stimulate the economy and bring in more money for the government*
6. *CONTROL GROUP*. Do you think that increasing the federal estate tax is a good or bad way to reduce wealth inequality?
- “*ME*” *RANDOMIZATION*. Do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on the estates of households similar to yours is a good or bad way to reduce wealth inequality?
- “*WOMEN*” *RANDOMIZATION*. Do you think that increasing the federal estate tax on the estates of wealthy women is a good or bad way to reduce wealth inequality?
- It is one of the best ways to reduce wealth inequality; It is a good way to reduce wealth inequality, but there are better ways; It is a bad way to reduce wealth inequality; It is one of the worst ways to reduce wealth inequality*
7. Why?
8. *CONTROL GROUP*. Would you say that it is fair or unfair that the estate of wealthy parents who have worked hard and saved a lot in order to pass on wealth to their children is subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Would you say that it is fair or unfair that the estate for which you have worked hard and saved a lot in order to pass on wealth to your children will be subject to the federal estate tax at your death?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Would you say that it is fair or unfair that the estate of a wealthy woman who has worked hard and saved a lot in order to pass on wealth to her children is subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*Very unfair; Somewhat unfair; Somewhat fair; Very fair*

9. *CONTROL GROUP.* Imagine now wealthy parents who are wealthy because they have themselves inherited a lot of wealth from their own parents. Would you say that it is fair or unfair for their estate to be subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Imagine now parents wealthier than you, who are wealthier than you because they have themselves inherited a lot more wealth from their own parents than you. Would you say that it is fair or unfair for their estate to be subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Imagine now a woman who is wealthy because she has herself inherited a lot of wealth from her parents. Would you say that it is fair or unfair for her estate to be subject to the federal estate tax at death?

*Very unfair; Somewhat unfair; Somewhat fair; Very fair*

10. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is fair or unfair that children born in very wealthy families have access to better schools, better medical care, better neighborhoods, and better professional and social networks than children from less wealthy families?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you think that it is fair or unfair that people born in wealthier families than yours have had access to better schools, better medical care, better neighborhoods, and better professional and social networks than you have had?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you think that it is fair or unfair that a girl born to a very wealthy mother has access to better schools, better medical care, better neighborhoods, and better professional and social networks than a girl born to a less wealthy mother?

*Very unfair; Somewhat unfair; Somewhat fair; Very fair*

11. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is fair or unfair that children born in very wealthy families inherit much more than children born in less wealthy families?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you think it is fair or unfair that people born in wealthier families than yours inherit more than you?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you think that it is fair or unfair that a girl born to a very wealthy mother inherits much more than a girl born to a less wealthy mother?

*Very unfair; Somewhat unfair; Somewhat fair; Very fair*

12. Which statement do you agree with most?

(Please pick the one closest to your view, even if it does not match your view perfectly)

*CONTROL GROUP.* *Wealthy parents should be allowed to pass on all of their wealth to their children. As a result, some children will start their own life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born*

*in a richer family.; Children should not start their life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born in a richer family. Part of the wealth passed on by parents to their children should therefore be taxed, even if that means that some parents who have worked hard will be taxed.*

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION. Individuals with similar levels of wealth to mine should be allowed to pass on all of their wealth to their children. As a result, some children will start their own life with larger wealth just by virtue of being born in a richer family than others.; Children should not start their life with larger wealth just by virtue of being born in a richer family. Part of the wealth passed on by parents with wealth similar to mine to their children should be taxed, even if I and some of those other parents have worked hard for it.*

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION. A wealthy mother should be able to pass on all of her wealth to her children. As a result, some children will start their own life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born with to richer mother.; Children should not start their life with much larger wealth just by virtue of being born to a richer mother. Part of the wealth passed on by wealthy mothers to their children should be taxed, even if some mothers have worked hard for it.*

#### **A-4.6.3 Health Insurance Survey**

1. An individual mandate for health insurance means that everyone has to buy health insurance that covers some essential health benefits. This can go hand in hand with some subsidies for low-income households who couldn't afford plans on their own.

In your view, what is the main reason for having an individual mandate?

*Text box*

2. Would you say that an individual mandate is beneficial or detrimental? Please explain your reasoning.

*Text box*

3. *CONTROL GROUP.* If people have health insurance through their employer, do you think this would discourage them from quitting a bad job or switching job from fear of losing their health insurance?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* If you have or had health insurance through your employer, do you think this would discourage you from quitting a bad job and switching job for fear of losing your health insurance?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* If women have health insurance through their employer, do you think this would discourage them from quitting a bad job or switching job from fear of losing their health insurance?

*Yes; No*

4. *CONTROL GROUP.* If health insurance were to be made more generous, to what extent would it encourage people towards the following behaviors?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* If your health insurance were to be made more generous, to what extent would it encourage you towards the following behaviors?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* If health insurance were to be made more generous, to what extent would it encourage women towards the following behaviors?

*A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all*

- Make less use of the emergency room for conditions that do not warrant it
- Use more medical services they do not really need simply because they do not have to pay the full cost of them
- Use more preventive medical care such as regular screenings and check-ups

5. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

*CONTROL GROUP.* “With less generous health insurance, health in the U.S. would be worse since many people could not afford sufficient and appropriate medical care.”

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* “With less generous health insurance, my health would be worse since I could not afford sufficient and appropriate medical care.”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* “With less generous health insurance for women’s health issues, health in the U.S. would be worse since many women could not afford sufficient and appropriate medical care.”

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

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

*CONTROL GROUP.* “More generous health insurance coverage for preventive care can lead to a reduction in total medical costs, since medical issues would be caught early on before they turn into more serious and expensive health conditions and because many medical problems could be avoided altogether.”

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* “More generous health insurance coverage for preventive care can lead to a reduction of my total medical costs, since it would allow me to catch medical issues early on before they turn into more serious and expensive health conditions and because many medical problems could be avoided altogether.”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* “More generous health insurance coverage for preventive care for women can lead to a reduction in total medical costs, since women’s medical issues would be caught early on before they turn into more serious and expensive health conditions and because many medical problems could be avoided altogether.”

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

7. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

8. *CONTROL GROUP.* “More generous health insurance can help people deal with unexpected large medical costs. It can thus reduce financial stress and debt built up to pay the medical bills for families.”

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* “More generous health insurance could help me deal with unexpected large medical costs. It can thus reduce my financial stress and I won’t have to build up debt to pay the medical bills for my family.”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* “More generous health insurance can help women deal with unexpected large medical costs. It can thus reduce women’s financial stress and debt built up to pay the medical bills for women’s health issues.”

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

9. *CONTROL GROUP*. Would you say that it is fair or unfair that people with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than people without pre-existing conditions?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. “Would you say that it is fair or unfair if you had to pay more for your health insurance than people with fewer pre-existing conditions than you?”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that it is fair or unfair that women with pre-existing conditions have to pay more for their health insurance than women without pre-existing conditions?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

10. *CONTROL GROUP*. Is it fair or unfair that people born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than people born with better health?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. Is it fair or unfair if you had to pay more for health care or insurance than people born with better health than you?

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Is it fair or unfair that women born with worse health have to pay more for health care or insurance than women born with better health?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

11. *CONTROL GROUP*. Would you say that health issues and medical conditions are mostly the result of circumstances outside of one’s control or mostly the result of one’s own actions?

*Mostly the result of circumstances outside of one’s control; Mostly the result of one’s own actions*

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that your own health issues and your own medical conditions are mostly the result of circumstances outside of your control or mostly the result of your own actions?

*Mostly the result of circumstances outside of my own control; Mostly the result of my own actions*

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that health issues and medical conditions that arise for women are mostly the result of circumstances outside of their control or mostly the result of these women’s own actions?

*Mostly the result of circumstances outside of women’s control; Mostly the result of women’s own actions*

12. Let us consider the following statement about health care and health insurance. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with it.

*CONTROL GROUP*. “It is important that everyone can afford health care because people who become sick with a contagious disease that is not treated can have negative effects on others too.”

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION*. “It is important that I am able to afford health care because if I became sick with a contagious disease that is not treated, I can have negative effects on others too.”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION*. “It is important that all women can afford proper health care because women who become sick with a contagious disease that is not treated can have negative effects on others too.”

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

13. Let us consider the following statement about health care and health insurance. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with it.

*CONTROL GROUP.* “It is important to help low-income families so that they can afford medical care by subsidizing their insurance premiums or by giving them transfers for medical care.”

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* “It is important to help families like mine so that they can afford medical care by subsidizing our insurance premiums or by giving us transfers for medical care.”

*“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* “It is important to help low-income women so that they can afford medical care by subsidizing their insurance premiums or by giving them transfers for medical care.”

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

14. *“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* If you had to choose, which comes closest to your view?

“Employers who have religious objections to the use of birth control should be...

... *able to refuse to provide it in health insurance plans for their employees.*”; ... *required to provide it in health insurance plans for their employees just as other employers are required to do.*”

15. *“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Would you find it fair or unfair that women who use birth control methods pay for the cost of birth control on their own?

*Very fair; Fair; Unfair; Very unfair*

16. *“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Should women who are planning on using birth control methods have increased insurance copays because they might cost more for their insurers?

*Yes; No*

17. *“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you favor or oppose a law allowing pharmacists and health providers to opt out of providing medicine or surgical procedures that result in abortion?

*Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose*

18. *“WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION.* Should insurance providers have to cover medicine or surgical procedures that result in abortion?

*Yes; No*

#### **A-4.6.4 Trade**

1. *CONTROL GROUP.* As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it? Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being “lost a lot” and 5 “gained a lot”.

- Large corporations
- Small businesses
- High-income households
- Middle-income households
- Low-income households

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following firms have lost or gained from it? Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being “lost a lot” and 5 “gained a lot”.

- Large corporations
- Small businesses

2. *“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* On balance, would you say that trade between the U.S. and other countries has made you better off or worse off?

*Better off; Worse off*

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Please specify the extent to which you think you have lost or won as trade with other countries has increased, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being “lost a lot” and 5 “gained a lot”).

3. Which statement comes closest to your view?

*CONTROL GROUP.* More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if some people lose from it, it creates sufficient gains so that even those who lose from it can be compensated through appropriate policies; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate those who lose from it.

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* (If “Worse off” to 2) More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if people like me may lose from it, it creates sufficient gains so that even we who lose from it can be compensated through appropriate policies; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate people like me who may lose from it

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* (If “Better off” to 2) More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if certain people may lose from it, appropriate policies can enable them to be compensated through the sufficient gains made by people like me; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate people who, unlike me, may lose from it

4. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you feel that most American jobs are being affected by US trade policy?

*“ME” RANDOMIZATION.* Do you feel that your own job is being affected by U.S. trade policy?

*Yes; No*

5. Overall, has international trade helped or hurt U.S. workers?

*Helped U.S. workers; Hurt U.S. workers*

6. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is easy for low-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in?

*Yes; No*

7. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is easy for high-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in?

*Yes; No*

8. “ME” RANDOMIZATION. Would it be easy for you to find a job in a different sector from the one you are currently working in?

*Yes; No*

9. To what extent do you think that trade with other countries is a major reason for:

*A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all*

- *CONTROL GROUP.* Unemployment in some sectors and the decline of some industries in the U.S.
- “ME” RANDOMIZATION. Unemployment in your sector and the decline of some industries in the U.S.
- A rise of inequality in the U.S.

10. *CONTROL GROUP.* Overall, has international trade decreased the prices of goods sold in the U.S.?  
“ME” RANDOMIZATION. Overall, has international trade decreased the prices of goods that you buy regularly?

*Yes; No*

11. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think that international trade has made firms in the U.S. more competitive and improved their productivity?

“ME” RANDOMIZATION. Overall, has international trade made the firms in your sector of work more competitive and improved their productivity?

*Yes; No*

12. Do you think that the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the U.S.?

*Yes; No*

13. Overall, do you think that international trade has increased the growth of the GDP in the U.S.?

*Yes; No*

14. If the U.S. exports more goods abroad, what do you think will happen to the value of the dollar?

*It will increase; It will not change; It will decrease*

15. When two countries trade with each other, would you say that, in general, both are made better off from the trade or that one gains at the expense of the other one?

*In general, both countries are better off; In general, one country gains, the other one loses; In general, both countries lose*

16. Imagine the U.S. was better at producing cars than Germany, meaning that it is able to produce better cars at a lower price. Would it still make sense under some circumstances for the U.S. to import cars from Germany?

*Yes, it makes sense for the U.S. to import cars from Germany under some circumstances; No, the U.S. should not import cars from Germany if it's better at producing them*

17. Let us now consider the following simplified example of what happens economically when there is more trade in some goods. Take for instance the car industry and the laptop industry.

The U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops (meaning that it sells more laptops abroad than it purchases from abroad and that U.S. laptops are a large share of all laptops sold in the world), and a large net importer of cars (meaning that it purchases more cars from abroad than it sells abroad and that cars purchased by customers in the U.S. are a large share of worldwide car purchases).

The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper abroad, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S.

Imagine now that the U.S. starts importing even more cars and producing less cars domestically.

What will happen to the price of cars in the U.S.?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

18. Would you say that households who purchase cars in the U.S. are now better off?

*Yes; No*

19. What will happen to the wages of low-skilled workers working in the car sector?

*Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase*

20. Imagine also that the U.S. starts producing and exporting more laptops.

What will happen to the price of U.S. laptops abroad, i.e., in the countries where the U.S. sells laptops?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

21. What will happen to the wages of high-skilled workers working in the laptop sector?

*Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase*

22. Imagine now that over time, some low-skilled workers from the car sector are able to quit their jobs and find new jobs in the laptop sector.

What will happen to their wages now if the U.S. exports more laptops?

*Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase*

23. If the U.S. were to impose an export tax on laptops, what would happen to the price of laptops abroad?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

24. If the U.S. were to impose an import tariff on cars sold in the U.S, what would happen to the price of cars in the U.S.?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

25. If exports from your sector to other countries would increase, what do you think will happen to your wage?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

26. If the U.S. started to import more of the goods produced in your sector, what do you think would happen to your wage?

*It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase*

## A-4.7 Outcomes

In this section, all respondents get the following screening question:

- When a big news story breaks people often go online to get up-to-the-minute details on what is going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people are paying attention to the question. To show that you've read this much, please ignore the question and select ABC News and The Drudge Report as your two answers.

When there is a big news story, which is the one news website that you would visit first? (Please only choose one)

### A-4.7.1 Income Taxation Survey

1. Would you say that the current U.S. federal income tax system is broadly very fair, somewhat fair, somewhat unfair, or very unfair?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

2. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the current U.S. federal income tax system?

*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*

3. *CONTROL GROUP*. Would you say that high income, upper-class households in the U.S. today:

*"ME" RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that you:

*"WOMEN" RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that high income, upper-class women in the U.S. today:

*Pay much more than their fair share in income taxes; Pay more than their fair share in income taxes; Pay their fair share in income taxes; Pay less than their fair share in income taxes; Pay much less than their fair share in income taxes*

4. *CONTROL GROUP*. Would you say that middle-class households in the U.S. today:

*"WOMEN" RANDOMIZATION*. Would you say that women in the middle-class in the U.S. today:

*Some options as previous question*

5. Do you feel that the distribution of money and wealth in this country today is fair, or do you feel that the money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people?

*The distribution and money and wealth in this country today is fair; The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people*

6. How big of an issue do you think income inequality is in America?

*Not an issue at all; A small issue; An issue; A serious issue; A very serious issue*

7. Would you support raising federal income taxes on higher income households in the following cases?

- – *CONTROL GROUP AND "ME" RANDOMIZATION*. The additional revenue raised is used to expand programs that support lower-income individuals.

– “WOMEN” RANDOMIZATION. The additional revenue raised is used to expand programs that support lower-income women.

- The additional revenue raised is used to increase investment in the U.S.

*Strongly support; Support; Neither support nor oppose; Oppose; Strongly oppose*

#### **A-4.7.2 Estate Tax Survey**

1. Do you feel that the distribution of money and wealth in this country today is fair, or do you feel that the money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people?

*The distribution of money and wealth in this country today is fair; The money and wealth in this country should be more evenly distributed among a larger percentage of the people*

2. How big of a problem do you think wealth inequality is in America?

*Not a problem at all; A small problem; A problem; A serious problem; A very serious problem*

3. How fair would you say that the current U.S. federal estate tax system is?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

4. How satisfied are you with the current U.S. federal estate tax system?

*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*

5. Do you think there should be a federal estate tax in the U.S.?

*Yes; No*

6. (If “Yes” at 5) Do you think the federal estate tax should be increased, left at the current level, or lowered?

*Increased a lot; Increased somewhat; Left at the current level; Lowered somewhat; Lowered a lot*

#### **A-4.7.3 Health Insurance Survey**

1. Do you feel that access to health care in the U.S. today is fair for everyone, even for low-income families, or do you feel that access to healthcare should be improved for many families?

*Access to health care is fair even for low-income families; Access to health care should be improved for many families*

2. How fair would you say the current U.S. health insurance system is?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

3. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with health insurance in the U.S.?

*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*

4. As you may know, some have proposed a “Medicare-for-all” single payer health insurance program that would be administered by the federal government and financed through taxes. Please tell us if you favor or oppose this proposal, or if you don’t know enough to say?

*Strongly support; Support; Neither support nor oppose; Oppose; Strongly oppose; Don’t know enough to say*

5. Do you support or oppose providing additional transfers or subsidies to low-income families to help them with the costs of their health care?

*Strongly support; Support; Neither support nor oppose; Oppose; Strongly oppose*

6. Do you support or oppose having an individual mandate whereby every individual is obliged to buy health insurance?

*Strongly support; Support; Neither support nor oppose; Oppose; Strongly oppose*

7. Do you support or oppose having an employer mandate whereby every large employer, with more than 50 employees, is obliged to offer health insurance plans for their employees?

*Strongly support; Support; Neither support nor oppose; Oppose; Strongly oppose*

8. Imagine it were up to you to design Americans’ health insurance plans such that they are most cost-effective and that patients get the best care while having to pay the lowest insurance premiums.

For the following types of medical care, please say which ones should receive: full coverage (the patient pays no costs out of pocket); generous coverage (the patient has only minimal copay or deductibles); low coverage (costs are shared and the patient bears a significant share of total costs); no coverage (meaning the patient has to pay the full costs out of pocket). Bear in mind that the more generous coverage is, the higher health insurance premiums can be expected to be.

- Preventive care (e.g.: annual physical examinations, recommended cancer screening, or immunizations)
- Primary care visits for non-life threatening conditions (e.g.: for a cold, flu, or stomach bug)
- Maternity and newborn care (pre-natal screenings and check-ups, birth and delivery, newborn screening and care)
- Specialist visits for non-essential care (e.g.: elective hip replacement, hearing aids)
- Medical care for catastrophic situations (e.g.: long-run medical care after bad accidents or serious injuries once one leaves the emergency room; intensive treatment for cancers; management of serious, long-term heart and liver conditions)
- Emergency room care (emergency, short-term care after accidents, severe illness, life-threatening conditions that require immediate attention)
- Pediatric care (medical care for children)

#### **A-4.7.4 Trade Survey**

1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

“Increasing trade with other countries and reducing barriers to trade is something the U.S. should aim for.”

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

2. How fair would you rate the current U.S. trade policy?

*Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair*

3. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the current U.S. trade policy?

*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*

4. Do you think some industries should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions? Select all that apply:

*Dairy products; Agricultural products (fruit, vegetables, plants); Beverages and tobaccos; Minerals and metals; Petroleum; Chemicals; Animal products (meat, fish); Textiles, clothing leather and footwear; Machinery, transport, equipment and cars; Manufactured goods*

5. Do you think particular goods should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions? Select all that apply.

*Cars; Washing machines; Solar panels; Shoes; Machinery; Oil; Vegetables; Fruits; Toys; Meat; Fish; Milk; Steel; Textiles; Clothing; Coffee and tea; Chemicals*

6. CONTROL GROUP: In your view, what is the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that’s declining and threatened by foreign competition? Please rank the following options from best (1) to worst (3).

*Restrict imports in that industry; Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs; Subsidize production in the sector*

“ME” RANDOMIZATION: In your view, what is the best policy tool to help workers in your industry against the threat of foreign competition? Please rank the following options from best (1) to worst (3).

*Restrict imports in your industry; Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs; Subsidize production in your sector*

7. What do you think is the best policy tool to ensure national food security?

*Restrict food imports from abroad; Provide more production subsidies in the food sector*

8. If the U.S. starts imposing tariffs on many goods that it imports, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that other countries follow suit and also impose tariffs?

*Very likely, likely; Unlikely; Very unlikely*

9. CONTROL GROUP: Let us consider a given relatively new industry in which other countries are currently able to produce goods for cheaper than American firms.

In your opinion, does it make sense to protect the American firms in this industry by using tariffs or import restrictions (even if this means higher prices for consumers) or is it better to let the American firms immediately face foreign competition, forcing them to become more competitive?

*It makes sense to protect for a while; It makes sense to let these firms face foreign competition to become more competitive*

“ME” RANDOMIZATION: Imagine that the goods or services currently produced in your sector or industry can actually be produced in a cheaper way in another country.

In your opinion, would it make sense to protect the American firms in your sector or industry by using tariffs or import restrictions (even if this means higher prices for consumers) or would it be better to let the American firms in your sector or industry immediately face foreign competition, forcing them to become more competitive?

*It makes sense to protect for a while; It makes sense to let the firms in my sector face foreign competition to become more competitive*

## A-4.8 Outcomes (General)

1. (This question is not repeated in the Income Taxation Survey) For these different groups, please tell me if you think that they're are paying their fair share in federal taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?

*... pay much more than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay more than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay their fair share in income taxes; ... pay less than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay much less than their fair share in income taxes*

- High-income households...
- Middle-class households...

2. Take the following government services. For each of them, say if would you like it to receive increased funding (even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas), decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere) or would you like for its funding to be left unchanged?

- Transfers and income support programs for those out of work
- Better schools for children from low-income families
- Income support and retraining programs for workers who are displaced by international competition and trade
- Subsidies for low-income households to help them with the costs of health insurance premiums and health care
- Wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages

*More of this service, more taxes; Service and taxes as now; Less of this service, reduced taxes.*

## A-4.9 Government Questions (Specific)

### A-4.9.1 Income Taxation Survey

1. To reduce income differences between rich and poor people, the government (at the local, state, or federal level) has the ability and the tools to do:

*Nothing at all; Not much; Some; A lot*

#### **A-4.9.2 Estate Tax Survey**

1. To reduce differences in wealth between rich and poor people, the government (at the local, state or federal level) has the ability and the tools to do:

*Nothing at all; Not much; Some; A lot*

2. To improve opportunities for children from low-income families, the government (at the local, state, or federal level) has the ability and the tools to do:

*Nothing at all; Not much; Some; A lot*

#### **A-4.9.3 Health Insurance Survey**

1. To improve access to health care for all Americans, rich or poor, the government (at the local, state, or federal level) has the ability and the tools to do:

*Nothing at all; Not much; Some; A lot*

#### **A-4.9.4 Trade Survey**

1. Which groups of people do you think oppose free trade?

*Text Box*

2. Which statement comes closest to your views about more trade between the US and other countries?  
“When there is more trade between the US and other countries...

*... most people gain, but a few people lose a lot.”; ... most people lose, but a few gain a lot.”*

#### **A-4.10 Government Questions (General)**

1. How much of the time do you think you can trust our federal government to do what is right?

*Almost always; A lot of the time; Not very often; Almost never*

2. Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that government should do more to solve our country’s problems. Which come closer to your own view?

*Government is doing too much; Government is doing just the right amount; Government should do more*

3. Next, we’d like you to think more broadly about the purposes 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?

You may use any number from 1 to 5.

*1; 2; 3; 4; 5*

4. Of every tax dollar that goes to the federal government in Washington, D.C., how many cents would you say are wasted?

*Slider going from 0 to 100*

5. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way the federal government in Washington is dealing with the problems the country is facing today?

*Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied*

6. Consider now a list of functions the federal government could serve.

On a 1 to 5 scale, please say how much responsibility you think the government should have for each — with 1 meaning the government should have no responsibility at all and 5 meaning the government should have total responsibility in this area:

- Reducing income differences between the rich and the poor
- Reducing the transmission of wealth from one generation to the other
- Making sure Americans have adequate health care
- Reducing the differences in opportunities between children from wealthy and poor families
- Regulating trade to and from the U.S. to protect American producers and consumers
- Maintaining a stable financial system and ensuring that credit markets work
- Ensuring a stable dollar
- Providing a minimum standard of living for all

#### **A-4.11 Willingness to pay for information**

By taking this survey, you are automatically enrolled in a lottery to win \$1000. In a few days you will know whether you won the \$1000. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your regular survey pay, so no further action is required on your part.

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

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

In case you win the lottery are you willing to give up (\$1 / \$2 / \$5 / \$10 <sup>1</sup>) to receive all the correct answers to the questions about trade policy in the U.S.?

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

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<sup>1</sup>Note: the amount is randomized among participants

#### **A-4.12 Self-reported questions**

1. It is vital to our study that we only include responses from people that devoted their full attention to this study. Otherwise years of effort (the researchers' and the time of other participants) could be wasted. You will receive credit for this study no matter what, however, please tell us how much effort you put forth towards this study.

*I put forth almost no effort; I put forth very little effort; I put forth some effort; I put forth quite a bit of effort; I put forth a lot of effort*

2. Also, often there are several distractions present during studies (other people, TV, music, etc.). Please indicate how much attention you paid to this study. Again, you will receive credit no matter what. We appreciate your honesty!

*I gave this study almost no attention; I gave this study very little attention; I gave this study some of my attention; I gave this study most of my attention; I gave this study my full attention*

#### **A-4.13 Feedback**

1. Do you feel that this survey was biased?

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

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