Zero-Sum Thinking and the Roots of U.S. Political Divides

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Background

- 'Image of Limited Good' developed by anthropologist George Foster (in 1960s) to explain the 'worldview' of small-scale pre-industrial societies.
 - In such societies, resources are scarce and there is little economic growth.
 - In these settings, for some to be gain, others must lose.
 - The world is (perhaps, correctly) perceived as being 'zero-sum.'
- Although Foster believed that a 'zero sum worldview' was special to 'peasant societies,' there's evidence for wider applications than this (Carvalho et al., 2023).
- This paper considers the determinants and political importance of zero-sum thinking within the United States.

Variation in zero-sum perceptions in the U.S.



Remembering Steve Jobs: A Visionary Leader Who Changed The World

10 Ways Bill Gates Is Saving The World



Zero-sum thinking and U.S. political & policy views

Question 1. Does zero-sum thinking explain differences in views about policy?

- 1. Greater support for government redistribution
 - In a ZS world, gains of rich came from the poor.
- 2. Greater support for affirmative action
 - In a ZS world, poverty of one racial group is connected to the success of another.
- 3. Policies promoting gender equality
 - In a ZS world, shortfall of one gender is connected to the success of the other.
- 4. Support more restrictive immigration policies
 - In a ZS world, gains of migrants come at the expense of native-born.

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The roots of zero-sum thinking

Question 2. What are the determinants of differences in zero-sum thinking?

• Focus not only on one's **own experiences** but also those of one's **ancestors** (e.g., parents, and grandparents).

- Measure both direct experiences and those due to characteristics of the locations of past residence.
- Focus on key aspects of U.S. history:
 - 1. Economic mobility
 - 2. Immigration
 - 3. Enslavement

Large-Scale Survey on ZS, Policy Views, & Ancestry

- Completed online
- Representative sample
- *N* = 20, 400 people
- Oct 2020-July 2023
- 7 completed waves
- 20–30 minutes

Respondent Background										
Demog	raphics		Political Views							
Gender, age, household inc immigration history, e	ome, race mploymer	, family situation, it, education	Party affiliation, voting record							
		Ance	estry							
Demographics of parents and grandparents	Owr grandµ	n, parents', and parents' residence	Ancestors' histo enslavemen	ory of nt	Own, parents', and grandparents' relative					
Age, education, occupation, number of children	and n Respon reside growing 30s, a reside grandp and res	nigration history ident's birthplace, ence place while up and during 20s, and 40s, current nce; parents' and arents' birthplace idence place while growing up	Enslavement episodes incl. enslavement of African descendants, Holocaust, indentured servitude, Native American enslavement, war imprisonment		income Current income compared to others; relative income compared to others while growing up					
		Policy	Views							
Perceptions of fairness and in Factors contributing to eco status, mobility opportunit children, attitudes toward accumulation, role of ef	Views about / Desired levels of intervention for in and equality of children, fairness of status, level of sup of governme	edistribution of government ncome inequality opportunity for of taxes by income port for expansion nt programs	distribution Views about g f government and politic come inequality opportunity for taxes by income gender, gun owne ord for expansion the potential to rograms univers							
		Zero-Sum	Mindset							
V	ews on wł	ether one group's ga	ins imply another g	oup's losse	25					
 Ethnic: "If one ethnic gi Citizenship: "If non-U.S. Trade: "In trade, if one Incomp. "If one incomp." 	Ethnic: "If one ethnic group becomes richer, this comes at the expense of other groups." Ethnic: The one ethnic group becomes richer, this comes at the expense of the groups." Citizenship: "If non-U.S. citizens do better economically, this comes at the expense of U.S. citizens." Trade: "In trade, if one country makes more more,", then another country makes issee more,"									

Balance

Measuring zero-sum thinking

Elicit beliefs in zero-sum relations between following groups:

- 1. [Between ethnic groups] "In the United States, there are many different ethnic groups (Blacks, Whites, Asians, Hispanics, etc). If one ethnic group becomes richer, this generally comes at the expense of other groups in the country."
- 2. [Between immigrants & non-immigrants] "In the United States, there are those with American citizenship and those without. If those without American citizenship do better economically, this will generally come at the expense of American citizens."
- [Between countries] "In international trade, if one country makes more money, then it is generally the case that the other country makes less money."
- 4. [Between income groups] "In the United States, there are many different income classes. If one group becomes wealthier, it is usually the case that this comes at the expense of other groups."

1 =strongly disagree, 2 =disagree, 3 =neither, 4 =agree, 5 =strongly agree.

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Distributions of ZS beliefs







Checking for and creating a measure of generalized zero-sum thinking

Question	1st PC (Eigenvalue: 2.30)	2nd PC (Eigenvalue: 0.77)
If an ethnic group becomes richer, this comes at the expense of other groups	0.55	-0.26
If non-U.S. citizens do better economically, this is at the expense of citizens	0.40	0.89
In international trade, if one country makes more money, then the other makes less	0.52	-0.03
If one income class becomes wealthier, it is at the expense of others	0.52	-0.38

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• Validate with "real-stakes" questions.

Incentivized question Donation Petition

Averages by state of residence



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ZS and economic characteristics



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Zero-sum thinking and political leaning

Zero-sum thinking is not mainly a partisan issue



Zero-sum thinking and policy views

Zero-sum thinking correlated with more support for redistribution, policies for gender and racial equity, & restrictive immigration policies.



PCA loadings for policy views PCA loadings for ZS indices

Zero-Sum is a Distinct Dimension

Effect remains when accounting for other cultural values and beliefs



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Gelbach decomposition

Zero-sum in a global context

- There is a measure of zero-sum thinking across the world available from the WVS.
 - Available for approximately 192,000 individuals from 72 countries.
- Respondents are given two opposing statements and asked to choose a point on a ten-point scale that best summarizes their view:

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- 1. People can only get rich at the expense of others
- 2. Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone

Validating the WVS zero-sum question

WVS question and our index are positively, albeit imperfectly, correlated



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Zero-sum thinking & political views across the world

Mildly correlated with left-leaning political affiliations



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Zero-sum thinking and policy views across the world

Correlated with more support for redistribution and restrictive immigration policies



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Zero-sum thinking and within-party divisions

- Views about government and policy tend to be aligned with political affiliation.
- However, there is important individual variation (and differences) within parties.
 - See e.g., 2019 PEW report: In a Politically Polarized Era, Sharp Divides in Both Partisan Coalitions.

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- An example is Republicans who support government redistribution (Drutman et al., 2019).
- Does variation in zero-sum thinking help us understand within-party variation?

Support for government redistribution highest among most zero-sum Republications



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Support for universal healthcare highest among most zero-sum Republicans



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Share Voting for Trump in 2016 highest among most zero-sum Democrats



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ZS and favoring policies against one's economic self-interest

- **1.** Why do the **young** tend to **support government programs** even though they bare more of the future costs?
 - They are more zero sum.
- 2. Why do the **elderly** tend to **dislike government redistribution** even though they benefit more from current support and bare less of the future costs?

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• They are less zero sum.

But...why are the young more zero-sum?

- In models of cultural evolution (e.g., Rogers, 1988), younger generations tend to have beliefs that are better matched to the current environment.
- The U.S. was less zero-sum in the past.
 - In the mid-1800s, the U.S. had exceptionally high rates of economic mobility (Long & Ferrie, AER, 2013).
 - Since this time, mobility has steadily declined (Chetty et al., 2017; Feigenbaum, EJ, 2018, Song et al., PNAS, 2020).

Zero-sum and income growth (bottom 50% of the U.S.) during first 20 years of life



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How general is this relationship? Global evidence from the WVS

(Accounting for birth-year FE, country-by-wave FE, etc)



Determinants of zero-sum thinking in the U.S.



Relevant aspects of the country's history:

1. Economic mobility

2. Immigration

3. Race & enslavement

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1. Economic mobility and zero-sum thinking



- With economic stagnation, one can only gain at the expense of others.
 - The world is zero-sum.
- With economic growth, everyone can be made better off.

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Measuring economic mobility at different generations

Elicit relative economic standing among families at that time.

- 1. **Respondent:** Right now, compared with other families in America, would you say your own household income is:
 - (1) Far below average; (2) A little below average; (3) Average;
 (4) A little above average; (5) Far above average.
- 2. Parents: When you were growing up (i.e., age 7-17)...
- 3. Grandparents: When your father was growing up...
- 4. Great Grandparents: When your grandfather was growing up...

Upward mobility is measured as the change in the score between each generation.

Economic mobility and zero-sum thinking: Raw data



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Ancestral upward mobility: OLS estimates

			Zero-sum in	dex (0 to 1)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0216***	-0.0218***	-0.0217***			
	(0.0016)	(0.0016)	(0.0016)			
Grandparents to parents mobility	-0.0249***	-0.0249***	-0.0246***			
	(0.0019)	(0.0019)	(0.0019)			
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility	-0.0187***	-0.0184***	-0.0188***			
	(0.0023)	(0.0023)	(0.0022)			
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility				-0.0218***	-0.0219***	-0.0219^{***}
				(0.0014)	(0.0014)	(0.0013)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	· √	· √ ·	√ .
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark
Observations	13,137	13,137	13,137	13,355	13,355	13,355
R ²	0.120	0.126	0.134	0.119	0.125	0.133
Dependent variable mean	0.529	0.529	0.529	0.529	0.529	0.529
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.222	0.222	0.222	0.221	0.221	0.221
40+ Separately U.S. only Im		ved control	Occup. in	come Bv	gender N	/laternal

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2. Immigration and zero-sum thinking





- Immigrants had an improved quality of life, particularly for their children.
- This generally did not come at the expense of others.
 - Immigrants tended to make those around them better off (Sequeira et al., ReStud, 2020).

Immigrant ancestry and zero-sum thinking: Raw data



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Immigrant ancestry and zero-sum thinking: OLS estimates

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)						
Respondent immigrated	-0.0499*** (0.0058)	-0.0524*** (0.0059)	-0.0459*** (0.0067)						
Parent immigrated	-0.0324*** (0.0047)	-0.0353*** (0.0049)	-0.0311*** (0.0053)						
Grandparent immigrated	-0.0046 (0.0041)	-0.0047	-0.0011 (0.0042)						
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark						
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark						
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark						
Race fixed effects			\checkmark						
Observations	18,696	18,696	18,696						
R ²	0.078	0.084	0.092						
Dependent variable mean	0.512	0.512	0.512						
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.212	0.212	0.212						

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Separately

Growing up in 'Age of Mass Migration' counties: OLS estimates

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
Respondent's county foreign share	-0.0033	0.0166	0.0147								
	(0.0308)	(0.0269)	(0.0278)								
Parents' counties foreign share				-0.0448	-0.0499**	-0.0355					
				(0.0286)	(0.0248)	(0.0236)					
Grandparents' counties foreign share							-0.0548***	-0.0654***	-0.0392***		
							(0.0205)	(0.0095)	(0.0106)		
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark		
Observations	17 520	17 520	17 520	15 801	15 801	15 801	12 486	12 486	12 486		
R ²	0.056	0.062	0.072	0.065	0.072	0.082	0.065	0.075	0.085		
Num. clusters	1,969	1,969	1,969	2,164	2,164	2,164	2,002	2,002	2,002		
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.509	0.509	0.509	0.511	0.511	0.511		
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.211	0.211	0.211		

3. Race, enslavement, and zero-sum thinking





- Plantation slavery was an extremely zero-sum form of production.
- After abolition, coercion, oppression, and racism persisted in places that had slavery (Archarya et al., 2018).

Race and zero-sum thinking: Raw data



Race and zero-sum thinking: OLS estimates

		Zero-	sum index (0	to 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
African American/Black	0.0620***	0.0594***	0.0594***	0.0555***	0.0552***
	(0.0047)	(0.0048)	(0.0048)	(0.0048)	(0.0059)
American Indian or Alaska Native	-0.0087	-0.0079	-0.0078	-0.0106	-0.0033
	(0.0151)	(0.0152)	(0.0152)	(0.0151)	(0.0182)
Asian/Asian American	-0.0217***	-0.0227***	-0.0197***	-0.0198***	-0.0266***
	(0.0066)	(0.0069)	(0.0069)	(0.0069)	(0.0097)
Hispanic/Latino	0.0022	-0.0005	0.0004	-0.0015	-0.0078
	(0.0049)	(0.0051)	(0.0051)	(0.0051)	(0.0065)
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0.0046	0.0108	0.0126	0.0105	-0.0156
	(0.0260)	(0.0268)	(0.0267)	(0.0270)	(0.0310)
Other race	-0.0034	-0.0038	-0.0046	-0.0068	-0.0047
	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.0090)	(0.0090)	(0.0103)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Education fixed effects			\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Household income fixed effects				\checkmark	\checkmark
Birth town fixed effects					\checkmark
Observations	20,282	20,282	20,282	20,280	18,857
R ²	0.082	0.086	0.092	0.094	0.272
Dependent variable mean	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.517
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211
•					

Enslaved ancestor controls

Enslavement and zero-sum thinking: OLS estimates

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)									
	Black	k only	Latino, In	dig., Asian, other	Whit	e only	Full s	ample		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		
Enslaved ancestor	0.0162* (0.0083)	0.0168** (0.0083)	0.0523*** (0.0118)	0.0519*** (0.0120)	0.1574*** (0.0088)	0.1562*** (0.0088)	0.0873*** (0.0056)	0.0872*** (0.0055)		
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Race fixed effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	\checkmark	\checkmark		
State fixed effects		\checkmark		\checkmark		\checkmark		\checkmark		
Observations	2,419	2,419	4,205	4,205	13,650	13,650	20,274	20,274		
R ²	0.030	0.053	0.057	0.068	0.118	0.124	0.095	0.100		
Dependent variable mean	0.576	0.576	0.511	0.511	0.503	0.503	0.514	0.514		
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.198	0.198	0.204	0.204	0.213	0.213	0.211	0.211		
Indep. variable mean	0.400	0.400	0.091	0.091	0.058	0.058	0.105	0.105		
Indep. variable std. dev.	0.490	0.490	0.288	0.288	0.233	0.233	0.307	0.307		

- Marginal effect of enslaved ancestor weakest for Black respondents
- Black respondents are more zero-sum even after controlling for enslaved ancestry.

Episodes of enslavement

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)				
Enslavement of African descendants	0.0460 ^{***} (0.0071)									
Holocaust	. ,	0.0145 ^{**} (0.0072)								
Indentured servants			0.0297*** (0.0085)							
Internment of Japanese-Americans				0.0695 ^{***} (0.0112)						
Native American enslavement					0.0462 ^{***} (0.0077)					
War prisoner						0.0103 (0.0089)				
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	√ .				
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
Observations	8,807	8,807	8,807	8,807	8,807	8,807				
R ²	0.124	0.119	0.120	0.124	0.123	0.119				
Dependent variable mean	0.521	0.521	0.521	0.521	0.521	0.521				
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.215	0.215	0.215	0.215	0.215	0.215				
Indep. variable mean	0.161	0.110	0.084	0.048	0.101	0.072				
Indep. variable std. dev.	0.368	0.313	0.277	0.214	0.301	0.258				

Living in counties that had slavery: Raw data



Living in counties that had slavery: OLS estimates

					Z	ero-sum in	dex (0 to	1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Respondent's county enslaved share	0.0471***	0.0528***	0.0353***	0.0364***								
	(0.0124)	(0.0135)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)								
Parents' counties enslaved share					0.0811***	0.0923***	0.0552***	0.0544***				
					(0.0121)	(0.0142)	(0.0145)	(0.0146)				
Grandparents' counties enslaved share									0.0821***	0.0971***	0.0509***	0.0449***
									(0.0131)	(0.0140)	(0.0119)	(0.0111)
Demographic controls	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
Wave fixed effects	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
State fixed effects		~	~	~		~	~	~		~	~	~
Race fixed effects			~	~			~	~			~	~
Enslaved ancestor				~				~				~
Observations	18,310	18,310	18,310	18,303	16,295	16,295	16,295	16,289	12,852	12,852	12,852	12,851
R ²	0.058	0.063	0.072	0.079	0.068	0.076	0.084	0.093	0.069	0.078	0.086	0.101
Num. clusters	2,087	2,087	2,087	2,087	2,235	2,235	2,235	2,234	2,060	2,060	2,060	2,060
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.512	0.512	0.512	0.512
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211
Indep. variable mean	0.066	0.066	0.066	0.066	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.076	0.076	0.076	0.076
Indep. variable std. dev.	0.147	0.147	0.147	0.147	0.145	0.145	0.145	0.145	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.153

Fathers and grandfathers

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Diffusion of zero-sum thinking from the U.S. South

- The values created by plantation slavery were transmitted by migrants who moved from the South to other parts of the U.S.
 - The 'other great migration' (Bazzi, Ferrara, Fiszbein, Pearson & Testa, QJE, forthcoming).

- This is in addition to the 'great migration,' where Black individuals moved from the South to other parts of the U.S.
 - See e.g., Derenoncourt (AER, 2022).

Living in counties with white Southern migrants, 1900-40

Non-South counties only

				Zero-	sum index	(0 to 1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Respondent's county southern white share	0.0989	0.1549**	0.1498**						
	(0.0771)	(0.0759)	(0.0739)						
Parents' counties southern white share				0.2030***	0.2560***	0.2379***			
				(0.0618)	(0.0655)	(0.0629)			
Grandparents' counties southern white share							0.3026***	0.3371***	0.3080***
							(0.0855)	(0.0767)	(0.0765)
Demographic controls	√	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	√ .	√ .	√ .
Wave fixed effects	√	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	√
State fixed effects		\checkmark	√		√	\checkmark		\checkmark	√
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark
Observations	13,134	13,134	13,134	12,249	12,249	12,249	9,446	9,446	9,446
R ²	0.060	0.068	0.080	0.068	0.079	0.089	0.073	0.088	0.098
Num. clusters	1,240	1,240	1,240	1,555	1,555	1,555	1,462	1,462	1,462
Dependent variable mean	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.502	0.502	0.502
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.208	0.208	0.208	0.212	0.212	0.212

Share of Southern Blacks + enslaved ancestor controls Fathers and grandfathers

Living in counties with stronger 'Confederate culture'

		Zero-sum index (0 to 1)										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)			
Respondent's county CCI (0 to 4)	0.0073***	0.0075***	0.0056***									
	(0.0014)	(0.0017)	(0.0018)									
Parents' counties CCI (0 to 4)				0.0114***	0.0109***	0.0081***						
				(0.0016)	(0.0018)	(0.0018)						
Grandparents' counties CCI (0 to 4)							0.0146***	0.0145***	0.0109***			
							(0.0023)	(0.0025)	(0.0025)			
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark			
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark			
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark			
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark			
Observations	18,168	18,168	18,168	16,130	16,130	16,130	12,685	12,685	12,685			
R ²	0.059	0.064	0.072	0.070	0.076	0.085	0.073	0.081	0.089			
Num. clusters	2,051	2,051	2,051	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,023	2,023	2,023			
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.512	0.512	0.512			
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.212	0.212	0.212			

Confederate culture index is from Bazzi et al. (2023): lynchings, 2nd KKK chapter, confederate street name, UDC chapter.

Enslaved ancestor controls Fathers and grandfathers

Conclusions

- Fundamental question: Do gains come at the expense of others? How zero-sum is the world?
- One's implicit view of this has important implications for U.S. policy and politics.
 - Has the potential to help us better understand the complex set of political and policy relationships that exist.

- We find that variation in zero-sum thinking can by explained by one's own experience, as well as the experience of one's ancestors.
 - 1. Economic mobility
 - 2. Immigration
 - 3. Enslavement

Appendix

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Summary Statistics

	U.S. Population	Survey Sample
Male	0.49	0.49
18-29 years old	0.20	0.20
30-39 years old	0.18	0.18
40-49 years old	0.16	0.18
50-59 years old	0.16	0.18
60+ years old	0.30	0.26
\$0-\$14,999	0.09	0.09
\$15,000-\$24,999	0.07	0.09
\$25,000-\$39,999	0.11	0.13
\$40,000-\$54,999	0.11	0.11
\$55,000-\$74,999	0.12	0.13
\$75,000-\$99,999	0.12	0.13
\$100,000-\$149,999	0.16	0.20
\$150,000+	0.22	0.12
4-year college degree or more	0.35	0.48
High-school graduate or less	0.39	0.21
Employed	0.61	0.55
Unemployed	0.02	0.09
Self-employed	0.07	0.07
Married	0.52	0.51
White	0.62	0.67
Black/African American	0.12	0.12
Hispanic/Latino	0.17	0.11
Asian/Asian American	0.06	0.06
Democrat	0.31	0.42
Republican	0.29	0.30
Independent	0.39	0.28
Voted for Clinton in the 2016 presidential election	0.48	0.48
Voted for Trump in the 2016 presidential election	0.46	0.44
Voted for Biden in the 2020 presidential election	0.51	0.60
Voted for Trump in the 2020 presidential election	0.47	0.37
Sample size		20,356

Attrition

-		
Wave	Started survey	Completed
1	3,622	0.82
2	3,738	0.79
3	3,735	0.79
4	3,856	0.74
5	4,471	0.67
6	4,700	0.63
7	3,149	0.95
Overall	27,271	0.76

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Predictors of Attrition

	Completed survey (1)
Constant	0.6695*** (0.0388)
Age 30-39	-0.0152** (0.0072)
Age 40-49	-0.0317*** (0.0074)
Age 50-59	-0.0440*** (0.0074)
Age 60+	-0.0286*** (0.0071)
Missing age	0.2810* (0.1584)
Male	0.0215*** (0.0044)
Other gender	-0.0071 (0.0323)
American Indian/Alaska Native	0.0317 (0.0236)
Asian/Asian American	0.0716*** (0.0107)
White	0.0449*** (0.0077)
Hispanic/Latino	0.0286*** (0.0096)
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	-0.0036 (0.0410)
Other race	0.0042 (0.0156)
Missing race	-0.0445*** (0.0088)
\$15.000-\$24.999	0.0351*** (0.0111)
\$25.000-\$39.999	0.0498*** (0.0101)
\$40.000-\$54.999	0.0620*** (0.0103)
\$55.000-\$74.999	0.0605*** (0.0100)
\$75,000-\$99,999	0.0666*** (0.0102)
\$100.000-\$149.999	0.0780*** (0.0098)
\$150.000+	0.0899*** (0.0106)
Missing income	-0.1799 (0.1583)
Some high school	0.0121 (0.0406)
High school degree/GED	0.0707* (0.0377)
Some college	0.0881** (0.0377)
2-year college degree	0.1078*** (0.0380)
4-year college degree	0.1220*** (0.0377)
Master's degree, M.B.A.	0.1288*** (0.0379)
Ph.D., J.D., M.D.	0.1320*** (0.0389)
Reached education guestion but did not answer	0.0636* (0.0380)
Did not reach education question	0.0730* (0.0377)
Moderate Republican	0.0178** (0.0086)
Independent	0.0003 (0.0079)
Moderate Democrat	0.0106 (0.0084)
Strong Democrat	0.0354*** (0.0081)
Other party	-0.0497*** (0.0158)
Reached party question but did not answer	-0.0955 (0.1316)
Did not reach party question	-0.7311*** (0.0104)
Wave 2	-0.0147* (0.0076)
Wave 3	-0.0212*** (0.0079)
Wave 4	-0.0374*** (0.0083)
Wave 5	-0.0947*** (0.0082)
Wave 6	-0.1193*** (0.0083)
Wave 7	0.0919*** (0.0070)
Observations	27,271
R ²	0.336
Dependent variable mean	0.758

Balance Table for Missing Ancestors' Information

	Parents' location	Grandparents' location	Father's income	Grandfather's income
Proportion missing	0.008	0.074	0.143	0.338
Male	0.09 (0.027)	0.06 (0.000)	-0.06 (0.000)	-0.11 (0.000)
18–29 years old	0.26 (0.000)	0.08 (0.000)	0.06 (0.000)	0.02 (0.000)
30–39 years old	0.05 (0.102)	0.02 (0.027)	-0.02 (0.001)	-0.05 (0.000)
40–49 years old	-0.03 (0.308)	-0.01 (0.359)	-0.03 (0.000)	-0.03 (0.000)
50–59 years old	-0.08 (0.001)	-0.03 (0.004)	-0.01 (0.054)	0.00 (0.411)
60+ years old	-0.20 (0.000)	-0.06 (0.000)	0.01 (0.302)	0.06 (0.000)
\$0-\$14,999	0.21 (0.000)	0.10 (0.000)	0.12 (0.000)	0.06 (0.000)
\$15,000-\$24,999	0.06 (0.037)	0.04 (0.000)	0.06 (0.000)	0.03 (0.000)
\$25,000-\$39,999	-0.03 (0.156)	0.01 (0.209)	0.04 (0.000)	0.04 (0.000)
\$40,000-\$54,999	-0.05 (0.023)	0.00 (0.985)	0.00 (0.501)	0.01 (0.006)
\$55,000-\$74,999	-0.04 (0.073)	-0.02 (0.062)	-0.02 (0.002)	-0.00 (0.856)
\$75,000-\$99,999	-0.05 (0.012)	-0.03 (0.001)	-0.04 (0.000)	-0.03 (0.000)
\$100,000-\$149,999	-0.07 (0.011)	-0.05 (0.000)	-0.10 (0.000)	-0.06 (0.000)
\$150,000+	-0.02 (0.321)	-0.05 (0.000)	-0.07 (0.000)	-0.05 (0.000)
4-year college degree or more	-0.10 (0.009)	-0.15 (0.000)	-0.21 (0.000)	-0.14 (0.000)
High-school graduate or less	0.18 (0.000)	0.14 (0.000)	0.16 (0.000)	0.08 (0.000)
Employed	-0.09 (0.022)	-0.03 (0.012)	-0.16 (0.000)	-0.16 (0.000)
Unemployed	0.08 (0.006)	0.04 (0.000)	0.06 (0.000)	0.04 (0.000)
Self-employed	0.03 (0.182)	0.00 (0.908)	0.00 (0.519)	0.01 (0.145)
Married	-0.22 (0.000)	-0.09 (0.000)	-0.17 (0.000)	-0.11 (0.000)
White	-0.28 (0.000)	-0.08 (0.000)	-0.11 (0.000)	-0.02 (0.017)
Black/African American	0.07 (0.029)	0.07 (0.000)	0.09 (0.000)	0.02 (0.000)
Hispanic/Latino	0.09 (0.003)	0.01 (0.096)	0.01 (0.083)	-0.01 (0.082)
Asian/Asian American	0.02 (0.350)	-0.02 (0.003)	-0.01 (0.003)	-0.01 (0.104)
Democrat	-0.09 (0.026)	-0.01 (0.354)	-0.02 (0.030)	-0.02 (0.001)
Republican	-0.12 (0.000)	-0.08 (0.000)	-0.07 (0.000)	-0.04 (0.000)
Independent	0.21 (0.000)	0.09 (0.000)	0.09 (0.000)	0.07 (0.000)

PCA Factor Loadings for Index Variables

Index	Variable	1st PC	2nd PC
Anti-immigration index	Important for being American: Born in U.S.	0.71	-0.71
	Disagree with increasing immigration	0.71	0.71
Luck more important than effort	In the U.S. everybody can be economically successful	0.66	-0.23
	Hard work and effort have paid off	0.65	-0.29
	Disagree with success in life is outside one's control	0.37	0.93
Perceived mobility	Poor family to 1st quintile	0.55	0.46
	Poor family to 2nd quintile	0.35	-0.33
	Poor family to 3rd quintile	-0.11	-0.74
	Poor family to 4th quintile	-0.52	0.05
	Poor family to 5th quintile	-0.54	0.36
Race attitudes index	Racism is a problem	0.71	0.71
	Slavery makes it hard for Blacks to escape poverty	0.71	-0.71
Pro-redistribution index	Gov. should equalize outcome	0.45	0.32
	Gov. should equalize opportunity	0.45	0.30
	Universal healthcare	0.43	0.16
	Gov. should spend on income support for poor	0.42	0.16
	Rich pay too little tax minus poor pay too little	0.34	-0.63
	Disagree with allowing wealth accumulation	0.34	-0.60
Universalist morals	Money to non-U.S. person	0.50	0.50
	Money to non-member of organization	0.50	-0.50
	Money to member of organization	-0.50	0.50
	Money to U.S. person	-0.50	-0.50
Gender attitudes index	Women should be given hiring preference	0.71	0.71
	Women experience discrimination	0.71	-0.71
Zero-sum index	If an ethnic group becomes richer, this comes at the expense of other groups	0.55	-0.26
	In international trade, if one country makes more money, then the other makes less	0.52	-0.03
	If one income class becomes wealthier, it is at the expense of others	0.52	-0.38
	If non-U.S. citizens do better economically, this is at the expense of citizens	0.40	0.89

PCA Factor Loadings for Zero-Sum Indices

	Zero-sum	Minus	Minus	Minus
	index	ethnic	citizenship	income
Ethnic Citizenship Trade Income	0.55 0.40 0.52 0.52	0.52 0.62 0.59	0.60 - 0.56 0.57	0.60 0.51 0.61

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Gelbach Decompositions of Policy Views

Zero-sum coef. (baseline)

 Zero-sum coef. (all controls)

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Ancestral Economic Mobility: 40 and Older

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0231***	-0.0233***	-0.0237***				
	(0.0020)	(0.0020)	(0.0020)				
Grandparents to parents mobility	-0.0214***	-0.0215***	-0.0215***				
	(0.0024)	(0.0025)	(0.0024)				
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility	-0.0137***	-0.0137***	-0.0147***				
	(0.0030)	(0.0030)	(0.0030)				
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility				-0.0210***	-0.0212***	-0.0216***	
				(0.0017)	(0.0017)	(0.0017)	
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	√ .	· √	√	
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark	
Observations	7,682	7,682	7,682	7,797	7,797	7,797	
R ²	0.110	0.116	0.128	0.108	0.114	0.126	
Dependent variable mean	0.492	0.492	0.492	0.492	0.492	0.492	
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.216	0.216	0.216	0.216	0.216	0.216	

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Ancestral Economic Mobility: Variables Included Individually

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0124***	-0.0125***	-0.0123***						
	(0.0012)	(0.0012)	(0.0012)						
Grandparents to parents mobility				-0.0100***	-0.0100***	-0.0096***			
				(0.0014)	(0.0014)	(0.0014)			
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility							-0.0072***	-0.0069***	-0.0075***
							(0.0021)	(0.0021)	(0.0021)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	\checkmark
Wave fixed effects	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	~
State fixed effects		√	√		√	√		√	~
Race fixed effects			~			\checkmark			\checkmark
Observations	19,522	19,522	19,522	17,255	17,255	17,255	13,247	13,247	13,247
R ²	0.077	0.083	0.093	0.083	0.090	0.100	0.099	0.105	0.115
Dependent variable mean	0.513	0.513	0.513	0.516	0.516	0.516	0.529	0.529	0.529
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.215	0.215	0.215	0.222	0.222	0.222

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Ancestral Economic Mobility: U.S. Only

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0215***	-0.0217***	-0.0220***				
	(0.0019)	(0.0019)	(0.0019)				
Grandparents to parents mobility	-0.0276***	-0.0276***	-0.0276***				
	(0.0023)	(0.0023)	(0.0022)				
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility	-0.0232***	-0.0232***	-0.0237***				
	(0.0027)	(0.0027)	(0.0027)				
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility				-0.0233***	-0.0234***	-0.0237***	
				(0.0016)	(0.0016)	(0.0016)	
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark	
Observations	9,735	9,735	9,735	10,087	10,087	10,087	
R ²	0.119	0.131	0.140	0.119	0.131	0.139	
Dependent variable mean	0.537	0.537	0.537	0.539	0.539	0.539	
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.222	0.222	0.222	0.222	0.222	0.222	

Ancestral Economic Mobility: Enslaved Ancestors and Immigrant Generation Controls

	Zero- (1)	to 1) (3)	
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility	-0.0219***	-0.0217***	-0.0214***
Enslaved ancestor	(0.0013)	(0.0013) 0.0965*** (0.0063)	(0.0014) 0.1013^{***} (0.0064)
Respondent immigrated		(0.0003)	-0.0429***
Parent immigrated			-0.0300*** (0.0066)
Grandparent immigrated			0.0062 (0.0051)
Demographic controls Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Observations R ² Dependent variable mean Dependent variable std. dev.	13,355 0.133 0.529 0.221	13,350 0.150 0.529 0.221	12,724 0.155 0.527 0.222

Ancestral Economic Mobility: Enslaved Ancestors and Occupational Mobility

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Father to resp. occ. mobility	-0.0295*	-0.0317*	-0.0342**				
	(0.0169)	(0.0172)	(0.0159)				
Grandfather to father occ. mobility	-0.0168	-0.0190	-0.0194*				
	(0.0119)	(0.0118)	(0.0113)				
Grandfather to resp. occ. mobility	. ,	. ,	. ,	-0.0216*	-0.0238**	-0.0253**	
				(0.0112)	(0.0113)	(0.0105)	
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	` <i>√</i> '	` √ `	` √ ´	
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark	
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark	
Observations	3,408	3,408	3,408	3,517	3,517	3,517	
R ²	0.125	0.140	0.145	0.126	0.141	0.147	
Num. clusters	266	266	266	269	269	269	
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.510	0.510	0.510	
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.226	0.226	0.226	0.226	0.226	0.226	

Ancestral Economic Mobility: By Respondent Gender

	All		Zero-sum in Mi	dex (0 to 1) ale	Female	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0225*** (0.0016)		-0.0254*** (0.0024)		-0.0175*** (0.0022)	
Grandparents to parents mobility	-0.0262*** (0.0019)		-0.0317* ^{**} (0.0029)		-0.0174*** (0.0025)	
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility	-0.0200*** (0.0022)		-0.0208* ^{**} (0.0033)		-0.0165*** (0.0030)	
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility	. ,	-0.0229*** (0.0013)	. ,	-0.0260*** (0.0020)	. ,	-0.0174*** (0.0018)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	· √ ´	\checkmark	` √ ´	\checkmark	` √ ´
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Observations	13,137	13,355	6,895	7,001	6,242	6,354
R ²	0.122	0.121	0.150	0.147	0.107	0.107
Dependent variable mean	0.529	0.529	0.553	0.553	0.502	0.503
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.222	0.221	0.234	0.234	0.204	0.204



Ancestral Economic Mobility: Maternal Line

	All		Zero-sum index (0 to 1) Male		Female	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Parents to respondent mobility	-0.0199*** (0.0016)		-0.0239*** (0.0024)		-0.0149*** (0.0020)	
Grandparents to parents mobility	-0.0168*** (0.0018)		-0.0207***		-0.0116***	
Great-grandpar. to grandparents mobility	-0.0147*** (0.0021)		-0.0184*** (0.0032)		-0.0098*** (0.0027)	
Great-grandpar. to respondent mobility	()	-0.0177*** (0.0013)	. ,	-0.0215*** (0.0020)	,	-0.0126*** (0.0017)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	· √ ´	\checkmark	· √ ´	\checkmark	` √ ´
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Observations R ² Dependent variable mean Dependent variable std. dev.	13,901 0.109 0.525 0.220	14,099 0.108 0.526 0.220	7,031 0.139 0.551 0.234	7,113 0.137 0.551 0.234	6,870 0.095 0.499 0.202	6,986 0.094 0.500 0.202

Immigrant Ancestry: Variables Included Individually

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
Respondent immigrated	-0.0473***	-0.0482***	-0.0382***								
	(0.0056)	(0.0057)	(0.0062)								
Parent immigrated				-0.0254***	-0.0265***	-0.0187***					
				(0.0045)	(0.0046)	(0.0048)					
Grandparent immigrated							0.0042	0.0056	0.0072*		
							(0.0041)	(0.0041)	(0.0041)		
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	· √	√ .	√ .		
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark		
Observations	20,282	20,282	20,282	20,123	20,123	20,123	18,717	18,717	18,717		
R ²	0.073	0.078	0.086	0.072	0.077	0.087	0.073	0.078	0.089		
Dependent variable mean	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.512	0.512	0.512		
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.212	0.212	0.212		



Race: Enslaved Ancestors Controls

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)				
African American/Black	0.0595***	0.0301***	0.0542***	0.0260***	0.0325***				
,	(0.0048)	(0.0052)	(0.0073)	(0.0078)	(0.0081)				
American Indian or Alaska Native	-0.0087	-0.0178	-0.0067	-0.0161	-0.0058				
	(0.0153)	(0.0155)	(0.0188)	(0.0189)	(0.0189)				
Asian/Asian American	-0.0226***	-0.0222***	-0.0179	-0.0185*	-0.0168				
	(0.0069)	(0.0068)	(0.0111)	(0.0111)	(0.0111)				
Hispanic/Latino	-0.0003	-0.0002	-0.0032	-0.0024	-0.0034				
	(0.0051)	(0.0051)	(0.0071)	(0.0070)	(0.0071)				
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0.0109	-0.0018	0.0778***	0.0639**	0.0797***				
	(0.0268)	(0.0279)	(0.0294)	(0.0306)	(0.0297)				
Other race	-0.0037	-0.0151*	0.0029	-0.0093	-0.0032				
	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.0130)	(0.0132)	(0.0131)				
Enslaved ancestor		0.0872***		0.0853***					
		(0.0055)		(0.0080)					
Enslavement of African descendants					0.0461***				
					(0.0071)				
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark				
	00.074	00.074	0 700	0 700	0 700				
Ubservations	20,274	20,274	8,799	8,799	8,799				
R ^e	0.086	0.100	0.118	0.132	0.123				
Dependent variable mean	0.514	0.514	0.521	0.521	0.521				
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.211	0.211	0.215	0.215	0.215				

Historical Enslavement: Fathers and Grandfathers

					Ze	ro-sum ind	dex (0 to 1	.)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Respondent's county enslaved share	0.0471***	0.0528***	0.0353***	0.0364***								
	(0.0124)	(0.0135)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)								
Father's county enslaved share					0.0772***	0.0809***	0.0474***	0.0449***				
					(0.0131)	(0.0136)	(0.0140)	(0.0138)				
Grandfather's county enslaved share									0.0590***	0.0708***	0.0377**	0.0295*
									(0.0143)	(0.0151)	(0.0156)	(0.0156)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	~	1	1	~	~	~	1	~	~	~	1
Wave fixed effects	~	~	~	~	\checkmark	~	~	~	\checkmark	\checkmark	~	~
State fixed effects		~	~	~		~	~	~		\checkmark	~	~
Race fixed effects			√	√			~	~			~	~
Enslaved ancestor				~				~				~
Observations	18,310	18,310	18,310	18,303	14,522	14,522	14,522	14,518	9,153	9,153	9,153	9,152
R ²	0.058	0.063	0.072	0.079	0.071	0.079	0.087	0.097	0.076	0.089	0.096	0.113
Num. clusters	2,087	2,087	2,087	2,087	2,256	2,256	2,256	2,255	2,059	2,059	2,059	2,059
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.509	0.509	0.509	0.509	0.518	0.518	0.518	0.518
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.210	0.210	0.210	0.210	0.216	0.216	0.216	0.216



Southern Migrants: Enslaved Ancestor Controls

						Zero-sum	index (0 to	o 1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Respondent's county southern white share	0.0362	0.0669	0.0935	0.0978								
	(0.0780)	(0.0814)	(0.0829)	(0.0810)								
Respondent's county southern Black share	1.099***	0.9319***	0.5977*	0.5633*								
	(0.3109)	(0.3066)	(0.3393)	(0.3205)								
Parents' counties southern white share					0.1386**	0.1967***	0.2135***	0.2132***				
					(0.0686)	(0.0692)	(0.0692)	(0.0679)				
Parents' counties southern Black share					0.6927***	0.5151**	0.2129	0.1783				
					(0.2563)	(0.2177)	(0.2464)	(0.2306)				
Grandparents' counties southern white share									0.2424***	0.2907***	0.2943***	0.2907***
									(0.0938)	(0.0800)	(0.0794)	(0.0779)
Grandparents' counties southern Black share									0.5216***	0.3523**	0.1036	0.0654
									(0.1881)	(0.1642)	(0.1655)	(0.1553)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
State fixed effects		~	~	~		~	~	~		~	~	√
Race fixed effects			~	~			~	~			~	√
Enslaved ancestor				~				~				~
Observations	13,134	13,134	13,134	13,129	12,249	12,249	12,249	12,245	9,446	9,446	9,446	9,445
R ²	0.064	0.071	0.081	0.088	0.070	0.080	0.089	0.097	0.074	0.088	0.098	0.112
Num. clusters	1,240	1,240	1,240	1,240	1,555	1,555	1,555	1,555	1,462	1,462	1,462	1,462
Dependent variable mean	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.502	0.502	0.502	0.502
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.208	0.208	0.208	0.208	0.212	0.212	0.212	0.212

Southern Migrants: Fathers and Grandfathers

				Zero	-sum inde>	(0 to 1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Respondent's county southern white share	0.0989	0.1549**	0.1498**						
Father's county southern white share	(0.0771)	(0.0759)	(0.0739)	0.1637*	0.2040***	0.1896***			
				(0.0836)	(0.0718)	(0.0707)			
Grandfather's county southern white share							0.4260***	0.4917***	0.4675***
							(0.1285)	(0.1102)	(0.1088)
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	` √ ´	` √ ´	` 🗸 ´
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark								
State fixed effects		\checkmark	~		~	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark
Observations	13,134	13,134	13,134	10,493	10,493	10,493	6,278	6,278	6,278
R ²	0.060	0.068	0.080	0.073	0.084	0.094	0.087	0.108	0.116
Num. clusters	1,240	1,240	1,240	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,218	1,218	1,218
Dependent variable mean	0.500	0.500	0.500	0.499	0.499	0.499	0.509	0.509	0.509
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.210	0.210	0.210	0.215	0.215	0.215



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Confederate Culture: Enslaved Ancestor Controls

	Zero-sum index (0 to 1)											
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Respondent's county CCI (0 to 4)	0.0073***	0.0075***	0.0056***	0.0053***								
	(0.0014)	(0.0017)	(0.0018)	(0.0018)								
Parents' counties CCI (0 to 4)					0.0114***	0.0109***	0.0081***	0.0077***				
					(0.0016)	(0.0018)	(0.0018)	(0.0017)				
Grandparents' counties CCI (0 to 4)									0.0146***	0.0145***	0.0109***	0.0099***
									(0.0023)	(0.0025)	(0.0025)	(0.0024)
Demographic controls	~	~	~	~	\checkmark	\checkmark	√	~	√	√	~	~
Wave fixed effects	~	~	~	~	\checkmark	\checkmark	√	~	√	√	~	~
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		~	~	~		~	~	~
Race fixed effects			\checkmark	\checkmark			~	~			~	~
Enslaved ancestor				\checkmark				~				~
Observations	18,168	18,168	18,168	18,161	16,130	16,130	16,130	16,124	12,685	12,685	12,685	12,684
R ²	0.059	0.064	0.072	0.079	0.070	0.076	0.085	0.094	0.073	0.081	0.089	0.103
Num. clusters	2,051	2,051	2,051	2,051	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,199	2,023	2,023	2,023	2,023
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.510	0.512	0.512	0.512	0.512
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.209	0.212	0.212	0.212	0.212

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Confederate Culture: Fathers and Grandfathers

		Zero-sum index (0 to 1)										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)			
Respondent's county CCI (0 to 4)	0.0073***	0.0075***	0.0056***									
	(0.0014)	(0.0017)	(0.0018)									
Father's county CCI (0 to 4)				0.0103***	0.0093***	0.0068***						
				(0.0017)	(0.0019)	(0.0019)						
Grandfather's county CCI (0 to 4)							0.0133***	0.0128***	0.0103***			
							(0.0024)	(0.0026)	(0.0026)			
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark			
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	√	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark			
State fixed effects		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	\checkmark			
Race fixed effects			\checkmark			\checkmark			\checkmark			
Observations	18,168	18,168	18,168	14,351	14,351	14,351	9,004	9,004	9,004			
R ²	0.059	0.064	0.072	0.072	0.079	0.088	0.081	0.092	0.100			
Num. clusters	2,051	2,051	2,051	2,205	2,205	2,205	2,005	2,005	2,005			
Dependent variable mean	0.507	0.507	0.507	0.509	0.509	0.509	0.518	0.518	0.518			
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.206	0.206	0.206	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.216	0.216	0.216			



Real Stakes: Incentivized Zero-Sum Question

	Zero-sum index		Pro-redistri	bution index	Race attitudes index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Correct on incentivized ZS question	0.0973*** (0.0099)	0.0916*** (0.0100)	0.1572*** (0.0112)	0.1110*** (0.0099)	0.1470*** (0.0137)	0.0885*** (0.0120)	
Demographic controls	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Party fixed effects		\checkmark		\checkmark		\checkmark	
Observations	2,984	2,982	2,984	2,982	2,985	2,983	
R ²	0.104	0.109	0.185	0.404	0.197	0.422	
Dependent variable mean	0.490	0.490	0.656	0.656	0.609	0.609	
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.199	0.199	0.223	0.223	0.282	0.282	

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Real Stakes: Donation to Racial Injustice Charities

	Zero-su	m index	Pro-redistri	bution index	Race attitudes index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Donated	0.0334*** (0.0072)	0.0253*** (0.0075)	0.1407*** (0.0075)	0.0820*** (0.0069)	0.1870*** (0.0094)	0.1152*** (0.0087)	
Demographic controls	√	\checkmark	√	√	√	\checkmark	
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Race fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
Party fixed effects		\checkmark		\checkmark		\checkmark	
Observations	2,980	2,978	2,980	2,978	2,980	2,978	
R ²	0.081	0.087	0.215	0.403	0.266	0.444	
Dependent variable mean	0.490	0.490	0.656	0.656	0.608	0.608	
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.199	0.199	0.223	0.223	0.282	0.282	

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Real Stakes: Petition to Raise Tax Rate

	Zero-sum index Pro-redistribution index Race attit		Race attit	udes index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Supports petition	0.1243***	0.1241***	0.3214***	0.2517***	0.2782***	0.1721***
Demographic controls	(0.0000)	(0.0031)	(0.0000) √	(0.0003)	(0.0103)	(0.0103)
Wave fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
State fixed effects	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark
Party fixed effects		\checkmark		\checkmark		\checkmark
Observations	2,989	2,987	2,989	2,987	2,990	2,988
R ²	0.133	0.134	0.438	0.540	0.311	0.458
Dependent variable mean	0.490	0.490	0.656	0.656	0.609	0.609
Dependent variable std. dev.	0.199	0.199	0.223	0.223	0.282	0.282

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