

HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL SURVEY ON U.S. COMPETITIVENESS (2019): METHODOLOGY

1. OVERVIEW

Abt SRBI and Dynata conducted the 2019 U.S. competitiveness survey on behalf of Harvard Business School (HBS). The HBS Survey of U.S. Competitiveness was administered to individuals in three populations: HBS alumni, HBS MBA students, and the general public. The web survey was designed by HBS faculty members and researchers of the U.S. Competitiveness Project. Abt SRBI, a leading survey research firm, programmed and administered the HBS alumni and the HBS MBA student surveys, while Dynata, an online market research firm, programmed and administered the general public survey.

The alumni survey was open from March 15, 2019 to April 24, 2019 in English only. The 5,713 participants were drawn from the HBS alumni list, and median survey length was 15 minutes 22 seconds. The student survey was open from April 4, 2019 to April 30, 2019 in English only. The 199 participants were drawn from the HBS registrar student list, and median survey length was 18 minutes 0 seconds. The general public survey was open from April 19, 2019 to April 22, 2019. A representative sample of 1,006 was built from Dynata's online sample stream with U.S. residents age 18 and older.

The survey asked questions about the U.S. business environment, the U.S. political system, the business community's current engagement in politics, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA), and immigration.

2. SAMPLE DESIGN

As described in the overview, the study consisted of three surveys of distinct populations: HBS alumni, HBS MBA students, and the general public.

2.1 Alumni Survey

The 2019 HBS Survey of U.S. Competitiveness was a census (i.e., all eligible alumni were selected).

Population

The target population for the alumni survey consisted of all HBS alumni. The definition of alumni includes holders of HBS degrees (e.g., MBA, DBA) and those who have completed qualifying executive education courses (e.g., AMP, PMD).¹ The HBS alumni population is located worldwide, with alumni in virtually every country and territory.

¹ Degrees: Doctor of Business Administration (DBA); Doctor of Commercial Science (DCS; no longer offered); Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.); Master of Business Administration (MBA). Programs: Advanced



Sample

The sampling procedures employed are described below.

Sampling Frame

The sampling frame consisted of the HBS alumni list ($N = 61,255$). Coverage of the target population is believed to be complete.

Response

The invitation email was sent to 61,255 alumni and 5,713 alumni responded, which indicated a response rate of 9.3%.

2.2 Student Survey

The student survey—like the alumni survey—was a census, with all eligible individuals being selected for the survey.

Population

The student survey population consisted of all MBA students attending HBS, including the class of 2019. The class of 2019 was not included in the alumni survey and there is no overlap between the sampling frames of the alumni and student surveys.

Sample

The sampling frame consisted of a list of MBA students provided by the registrar's office ($N = 1,871$). Coverage of the target population is believed to be complete. Due to FERPA (Federal Educational Rights and Privacy Act) restrictions, the only auxiliary information contained in the file was class year. The email addresses in the file were School-provided addresses that can be redirected by students to another address.

Management Program (AMP); Central and Eastern European Teachers' Program (ETP; no longer offered); General Management Program (GMP); Industrial Administrator (IA; no longer offered); International Teachers' Program (ITP; no longer offered); Middle-Management Program (MMP; no longer offered); Mid-Officer Certificate (MOC; no longer offered); Naval Supply Corps School (NSC); Owner/President Management Program (OPM); Presidents' Program in Leadership (PPL); Program for Global Leadership (PGL; no longer offered); Programs for Health Systems Management (PHSM; no longer offered); Program for Leadership Development (PLDA); Program for Management Development (PMD; no longer offered); Senior Executive Program for Africa (SEPSA; no longer offered); Senior Executive Program for the Middle East (SEPME; no longer offered); Senior Managers Program (SMP); Strategic Human Resources Program (HRP); The General Manager Program (TGMP; no longer offered); Veterans' Certificate (VC); Visitor for Individual Studies (VIS).



All students were eligible and invited to complete the survey.

The sampling file containing 1,871 students was then updated with AbtID and returned to HBS to be loaded into HBS's email system. No students opted out or refused to participate.

2.3 General Public Survey

The general public survey was a sample built with U.S. residents from Dynata's online sample stream. Participants were recruited via a variety of contact methods, including emails and online banners, to ensure that the sample was representative of the U.S. population.

A target of a minimum of 1,000 responses was set for the general population, and the final tally of responses came from 1,006 members of the general public.

3. DATA COLLECTION PROTOCOL

The various surveys were fielded as web surveys in English only.

3.1 Alumni Survey

HBS staff sent all invitations from HBS email accounts. It was felt that email from an HBS.edu address would be more likely to be opened than email sent from Abt Associates. Special email addresses were used depending on the sender of the communication: porterooffice@hbs.edu for those sent on behalf of Professor Michael Porter and rivkinoffice@hbs.edu for those sent on behalf of Professor Jan Rivkin. Abt Associates prepared sample files for each communication. Alumni who already completed the survey or emailed either an HBS study email account or the Abt Associates account to refuse to participate were removed from the files provided for reminders. The survey was open from March 15, 2019 to April 24, 2019.

Email Invitation

An email invitation was sent on March 15, 2019 on behalf of Profs. Porter and Rivkin to a small subset of the sample. The remainder of the sample was sent the invitation on March 18, 2019. The text of the invitation can be found in Appendix A on p. 14.

First Email Reminder

An email reminder was sent on March 27, 2019 on behalf of Prof. Rivkin, to alumni who (a) had started the survey and (b) had not started the survey. The text of the invitation can be found in Appendix A on p. 16.

Second Email Reminder

The second email reminder was sent on April 11, 2019 on behalf of Prof. Porter. The text of the reminder can be found in Appendix A on p. 18.

Final Email Reminder

The final email reminder was sent on April 19, 2019 on behalf of Profs. Porter and Rivkin. The text of the reminder can be found in Appendix A on p. 20.

3.2 Student Survey

HBS staff sent all invitations from HBS email accounts. It was felt that email from an HBS.edu address would be more likely to be opened than email sent from Abt Associates. The same email address was used for all communications: porterooffice@hbs.edu. Abt Associates prepared sample files for each communication. Students who already completed the survey or emailed either an HBS study email account or the Abt Associates account to refuse to participate were removed from the files provided for reminders. The survey was open from April 4, 2019 to April 30, 2019.

Email Invitation

An email invitation was sent on April 4, 2019 on behalf of Prof. Porter. The text of the invitation can be found in Appendix A on p. 22.

First Email Reminder

The first email reminder was sent on April 11, 2019 on behalf of Prof. Porter. The text of the reminder can be found in Appendix A on p. 24.

Final Email Reminder

The final email reminder was sent on April 22, 2019 on behalf of Prof. Porter. The text of the reminder can be found in Appendix A on p. 26.



4. QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT

Please see Appendix B for the survey instrument and Appendix C for examples of look and feel of the survey.

Main Section

The main questionnaire received several changes:

- Items EU1 and A1 were added for GDPR compliance;
- S5a (citizenship) was dropped and replaced with S6a (status) and S6b (life stages in U.S.);
- Wording of S9, S10, S11, S21, Q6, Q7, and Q8 was changed from “firm” to “company”;
- Two responses options were added to NS12 (industry) and NS19 (former industry) - 30 Public Administration /Government and 31 Non-profit;
- Response options for S21 were updated to include additional ranges;
- Items S22 (employ foreign workers) and S22a (foreign workers location) were added;
- Alternate wording for Q1_4 and NQ3_4 from 2016 experiment was removed. The wording used was: Corporate tax code *Tax code that attracts and retains investment*;
- Q1_14 and NQ3_14 were split into two items: Q1_14a/NQ3_14a (Protection of intellectual property rights) and Q1_14b/NQ3_14b (Lack of corruption);
- Q4 wording was changed from “Overall, over time is the U.S. business environment...” to “Over time is the overall U.S. business environment...”;
- Q6 question wording and response options were changed from “Three years from now, do you expect the ability of firms operating in the United States to compete successfully in the global marketplace to be... 1 Much worse than today, 2 Somewhat worse, 3 The same, 4 Somewhat better, 5 Much better than today, 9 Don’t know” to “Three years from now, do you expect companies operating in the United States to be... 1 Much less able to compete successfully in the global marketplace, 2 Somewhat less able, 3 Neither less nor more able, 4 Somewhat more able, 5 Much more able to compete successfully in the global marketplace, 9 Don’t know”.

Federal Government Policy Items

Items on federal government policy (P1 to P2) were removed.

Tax Policy Items

Items on tax policy (TX1 to TX8F) were removed.

Assessments of U.S. Political System, Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA), and Immigration Items

Alumni were asked either U.S. Political System (P3-P25) and TCJA (TCJA1-TCJA8) items or Immigration (I1-I13) items. The survey was programmed so that 60% of respondents received the U.S. Political System and TCJA items and 40% received the Immigration items.



- P3 wording and response options were changed from “Is the current U.S. political system... Supporting U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Neither supporting nor obstructing U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Obstructing U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Don’t know” to “The current U.S. political system... Supports U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Neither supports nor obstructs U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Obstructs U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Don’t know”;
- P3 response options were rotated;
- P4a and P4b wording and response options were changed from “Overall, are the actions of the Republican Party/Democratic Party... Supporting U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Neither supporting nor obstructing U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Obstructing U.S. economic growth and competitiveness, Don’t know” to “Overall, the actions of the Republican Party/Democratic Party... Support U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Neither support nor obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies, Don’t know”;
- P4a and P4b response options were rotated;
- P4c (statements about U.S. policy), P5a (statements about democracy), and P5b (statements about political reforms) were added;
- Your Company’s Current Engagement in Politics section (P8-P18) was added;
- The Business Community’s Current Engagement in Politics section (P19-P24) was added;
- P25 (A New Role for Business in Politics) was added;
- P6 and P7 (political identity) were moved to the end of the politics section;
- TCJA (TCJA1-TCJA8) items were added;
- Immigration (I1-I13) items were added.

Student Survey

Items regarding GDPR compliance (EU1, A1), employment (S2), retirement (S2a), firm business activities in the U.S. (S9, S10, S11), and firm size (S21) were dropped from the student survey as being inappropriate for students. Items S5 (primary place of residence), S6 (state of residence), and S7 (country of residence) had their wording altered to refer to place of residence prior to attending HBS. S6 (U.S. status) was not allowed to be asked of students, so S5a (Citizenship) was used as in 2016. Items regarding points in life have living in the U.S. (S6b) and business/employment items (S9, S10, S11, NS12, S21, S22, S22a, NS19) were also dropped from the student survey as being inappropriate for students.

Sections were shortened so that there was no need for a 60/40 section split.

General Public Survey

The general public survey instrument is found in Appendix E.

The general public was served all questions on the U.S. business environment and political system. The general public then answered questions on business’ engagement in politics, but not about their own companies’ engagement in politics. Finally, all members of the general public were asked a subset of questions on both taxation and immigration. There was no need for a 60/40 section split.



5. WEIGHTING

5.1 Alumni Survey

Two types of weights were developed: cross-sectional weights used in analyses of the 2019 data or longitudinal analyses using the multi-year pooled file and panel weights used in longitudinal analyses using the multi-year appended file.

Cross-Sectional Weights

Cross-sectional weights were created in the following three steps:

1. Base weights (wt_1) were set at 1 because the study was a census; i.e., all eligible alumni were included:

$$wt_1 = 1;$$

2. Weights were adjusted for nonresponse as follows:

$$wt_2 = wt_1 \times a_c;$$

where a_c is an adjustment factor calculated as the inverse of response propensity scores ($\Pr(\text{complete} | X)$) from the logistic regression of survey completion on HBS degree (degree vs. executive education), age (18–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65–74, 75+, missing on the frame), location (U.S., overseas), and gender (female, male) as main effects; and two-way interactions of degree with age. This model was selected as having the lowest Akaike information criterion (AIC) among the models that included all the main effects and all second-order interactions. Odds ratios are shown in Table 1, p. 9.

3. Weights were calibrated to control totals via raking. Control totals were calculated from the HBS alumni list (including alumni ineligible to participate in the survey due to lack of email address, prior refusals, or “do not contact” flags). The following control totals were used:
 - a. HBS degree \times age \times gender \times location. Due to collapsing of small or empty cells, this consisted of the following categories:

HBS degree
 Age 18–34
 Male
 Overseas
 U.S.
 Female (location collapsed)
 Age 35–44
 Male
 Overseas



U.S.
 Female (location collapsed)
 Age 45–54
 Male
 Overseas
 U.S.
 Female (location collapsed)
 Age 55–64
 Male
 Overseas
 U.S.
 Female (location collapsed)
 Age 65–74
 Male
 Overseas
 U.S.
 Female (location collapsed)
 Age 75+
 Male
 Overseas
 U.S.
 All other (females 75+ or missing age collapsed with all males missing age)

Executive education

Age 18–44
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Age 35–44
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Age 45–54
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Age 55–64
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Age 65–74
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Age 75+
 U.S. (gender collapsed)
 Overseas (gender collapsed)
 Missing age (gender and location collapsed);

b. Age × Gender;



- c. Degree × Location;
- d. Age × Degree.

Table 1. Odds Ratios of Logistic Regression of Survey Response on Selected Variables

Variable	Odds Ratio	S.E.
Variable	Odds Ratio	S.E.
HBS degree	1.164	0.353
Age range (base category = 18–34)		
35–44	1.480	0.455
45–54	2.049	0.621
55–64	1.608	0.488
65–74	1.765	0.536
75+	1.330	0.405
Missing or incorrect	1.081	0.326
Located in U.S.	1.051	0.036
Male	1.260***	0.049
Age range × Degree		
35–44 / HBS Degree	0.548	0.174
45–54 / HBS Degree	0.536*	0.167
55–64 / HBS Degree	1.101	0.342
65–74 / HBS Degree	1.240	0.385
75+ / HBS Degree	1.237	0.387
Missing age/HBS Degree	1.551	0.876

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Panel Weights

The panel weights were only defined for the 601 respondents to the 2019 wave who also responded in 2011, 2012, and 2016. Raking took the cross-sectional weights as inputs and used the variables and categories similar to those used for cross-sectional weights, but with a greater degree of collapsing:

- a. HBS degree \times age \times gender \times location. After collapsing small or empty cells, this consisted of the following categories:

HBS degree

- Age 18-34 (location and gender collapsed)
- Age 35-44 (location and gender collapsed)
- Age 45-54 (USA Male vs. all other)
- Age 55-64 (USA Male vs. all other)
- Age 65-74 USA Male vs. all other)
- Age 75+ or missing (location and gender collapsed)

Executive education

- Age 18-54 (location and gender collapsed)
- Age 55-64 (location and gender collapsed)
- Age 65-74 (location and gender collapsed)
- Age 75+ (location and gender collapsed)
- Age missing (location and gender collapsed)

- b. Age \times Gender:

Male

- Age 18-44
- Age 45-54
- Age 55-64
- Age 65-74
- Age 75+
- Missing age

Female

- Age 18-54
- Age 55+ or missing

- c. Degree \times Location;

- d. Age \times Degree:

HBS Degree

- Age 18-44
- Age 45-54
- Age 55-64
- Age 65-74
- Age 75+

Executive education

- Age 18-54
- Age 55-64
- Age 65-74
- Age 75+

Missing age (collapsed over degree).



5.2 Student Survey

Weights were created in the following two steps:

1. Base weights (wt_1) were set at 1 because the study was a census; i.e., all eligible students were included:

$$wt_1 = 1;$$

2. The only factor to which students could be weighted was class (2019 vs. 2020 or later). Treating class as stratum ($h = 1, 2$), weights were directly adjusted for nonresponse as follows:

$$wt_2 = N_h/n_h.$$

Note that absent corrections for the student demographic characteristics, the weights thus defined do not correct for potentially differential nonresponse.

5.3 General Public Survey

In the general public survey, the data were strategically sampled to be representative of the U.S. and were, therefore, not weighted.

6. DESIGN EFFECT AND MARGINS OF ERROR

6.2 Alumni Survey

Overall sample size achieved was 5,713. Weighting and survey design features that depart from simple random sampling tend to result in an increase in the variance of survey estimates. This increase, known as the design effect or DEFF, should be incorporated into the margin of error, standard errors, and tests of statistical significance. The overall design effect for a survey is commonly approximated as $1 + CV^2$, where CV is the coefficient of variation of the weights. For this survey, this apparent design effect is 1.115 for cross-sectional weights; as design effects are specific to a given analysis, a range of about 1.0 to 1.5 can reasonably be expected. The margin of error (half-width of the 95% confidence interval) incorporating the design effect for full-sample cross-sectional estimates at 50% is ± 1.37 percentage points.² For panel estimates, the sample size is 601, the apparent design effect is 1.805, and the margin of error for the full-sample panel estimates at 50% is ± 5.4 percentage points. Estimates based on subgroups will have larger margins of error. It is important to remember that random sampling error is only one possible source of the total error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as question wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional nonsampling error.

² Note that the applicability of margins of error to a census, such as the alumni survey and the student survey, is questionable given that there is no sampling error and that other types of error (e.g., coverage error, nonresponse error) are not accounted for in margins of error.



6.2 Student Survey

Overall sample size achieved was 199. Design effect due to unequal weighting can be ignored. The margin of error for a full-sample estimate at 50% is ± 9.0 percentage points.

6.3 General Public Survey

For the general public survey, sampling error does apply. With a sample size of 1,006, the 95% confidence interval for a proportion of 50% was estimated to be ± 3 percentage points. Analyses based on a subset of cases will have wider confidence intervals, while percentages above or below 50% will have narrower confidence intervals. The specific confidence intervals for any item may, however, deviate from these estimates.

Calculating Margins of Error Using Statistical Software

In statistical software that properly supports analysis of complex survey data, appropriate settings should include the final weights as probability weights. In Stata, this should be specified:

```
svyset [pweight=WtTotal]
```

and then data should be analyzed using the svy: prefix in front of the relevant commands. Analysis for subgroups should be conducted using `subpop()`:

```
svy, subpop(if Female==1): tab Q1_1
```

7. FINAL DISPOSITIONS AND OUTCOME RATES

Final dispositions and outcome rates are shown in Table 2 on p. 13. A completed interview was defined as any interview for which all questions had been answered. A partial interview was defined as any interview which had been started but not completed. American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) (2016) outcome rates are calculated. Overall outcome rates are weighted, following AAPOR standards.

8. REFERENCES

American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2016. "Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys." 9th ed. American Association for Public Opinion Research, Oakbrook Terrace, IL.

Overall response rates (AAPOR Response Rate 1) of 9.3% and 10.6% were achieved for the alumni and student surveys, respectively.

Table 2. Final Dispositions and Outcome Rates by Stratum of Alumni and Students

Code	Disposition	Alumni	Students
1	Interview	7,718	332
1.1	<i>Complete</i>	5,713	199
1.2	<i>Partial</i>	2,005	133
2	Eligible noninterview	1,302	74
2.1	<i>Refusal and break-off</i>	1,302	74
2.11	<i>Refusal</i>	1,258	70
2.111	<i>Explicit refusal</i>	27	0
2.112	<i>Implicit refusal</i>	1,231	70
2.1121	Logged on to survey, did not complete any items	1,231	70
3	Unknown eligibility	52,235	1,465
3.1	<i>Nothing known about respondent or address</i>	52,235	1,465
3.19	<i>Nothing ever received</i>	52,235	1,465
	Total All Cases	61,255	1,871
RR1	Response Rate 1	9.3%	10.6%
COOP1	Cooperation Rate 1	63.3%	49.0%
REF1	Refusal Rate 1	2.1%	4.0%
CON1	Contact Rate 1	14.7%	21.7%

Notes:

2.112 Implicit refusals are cases that opened the survey but did not respond to any questions;



Appendix A: Communications

Alumni Survey Invitation

Subject line: Your invitation to participate in the 2019 HBS survey on U.S. competitiveness



**HARVARD
BUSINESS SCHOOL**

Dear [INSERT NAME],

Since 2011, Harvard Business School's Project on U.S. Competitiveness has conducted extensive research on America's position in the global economy and, more recently, the impact of our political system on our economy's progress. Surveys of HBS alumni have been essential in guiding our research, and findings have influenced national discussions in both business and government. We see the Project as a way the School and our alumni can play a positive role in our communities.

As America is on the threshold of the next Presidential election cycle, we are writing to ask for your help with the 2019 survey. We invite all HBS alumni worldwide to participate, whether you are based inside or outside the U.S., and whether you are currently working or retired.

As always, responses are strictly confidential. Abt Associates, a leading business research company, is administering the survey. To complete the survey, please go to [UNIQUE URL]. If you encounter any difficulties with the web site, please email [Abt Associates](#) or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26414. Please include your ID number: [UNIQUE ID].

Your responses will make an important contribution to navigating these complicated times, and they will shed light on important issues facing the U.S. such as immigration, taxation, and political reform. We and our colleagues at HBS are very grateful for your time and support.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. R. ...'.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. W. ...'.



Michael E. Porter
Co-chair,
U.S. Competitiveness Project

Jan W. Rivkin
Co-chair,
U.S. Competitiveness Project

HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL
Teele Hall | Soldiers Field | Boston, Massachusetts 02163

Harvard Business School respects your privacy. Please see our [policies page](#) for more information.
Removal Instructions: If you no longer wish to receive survey emails, you may [unsubscribe](#). To further manage your HBS email subscriptions, log into your [alumni profile](#) using your HBS LEFA username.



Alumni First Email Reminder

Subject line: Survey on U.S. Competitiveness: Message from Jan W. Rivkin



**HARVARD
BUSINESS SCHOOL**

Dear [INSERT NAME],

I'm writing about the invitation you received last week to complete the HBS survey on U.S. competitiveness. If you have already filled out the survey, thank you very much for your support.

If not, I hope you will help us with this important study. Please click on the link below to begin the survey.

[UNIQUE URL]

In this year's survey, HBS faculty members are delving into subjects of deep importance for America and the world such as the reform of the U.S. political system, taxation, and immigration, among others.

Your views will shape our research. The insights of each and every alum matter. The survey is designed to solicit your input whether or not you are currently working and whether you are based in or outside of the U.S.

If you encounter any difficulties with the web site, please email our survey partners, [Abt Associates](#) or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26414. Please include your user ID: [UNIQUE ID]

My colleagues and I are very grateful for your time and thoughts.

Sincerely,

Jan W. Rivkin

C. Roland Christensen Professor of Business Administration
Senior Associate Dean and Chair, MBA Program



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Harvard Business School respects your privacy. Please see our [policies page](#) for more information.
Removal Instructions: If you no longer wish to receive survey emails, you may [unsubscribe](#). To further
manage your HBS email subscriptions, log into your [alumni profile](#) using your HBS LEFA username.



Alumni Second Email Reminder

Subject line: Please help assess U.S. competitiveness



**HARVARD
BUSINESS SCHOOL**

Dear [INSERT NAME],

We invite you to participate in the U.S. Competitiveness Project's 2019 alumni survey. If you have already filled out the survey, thank you very much for your support.

If not, I hope you will help us with this important study. Please click on the link below to begin the survey.

[UNIQUE URL]

In this year's survey, HBS faculty members are delving into subjects of deep importance for America and the world such as the reform of the U.S. political system, taxation, and immigration, among others. Your views will shape our research and inspire action.

The insights of each and every alum matter. The survey is designed to solicit your input whether or not you are currently working and whether you are based in or outside of the U.S.

If you encounter any difficulties with the web site, please email our survey partners, [Abt Associates](#) or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26414. Please include your User ID: [UNIQUE ID].

My colleagues and I are very grateful for your time and thoughts.

Sincerely,

Michael E. Porter
Bishop William Lawrence University Professor
Harvard Business School
Boston, MA 02163



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Harvard Business School respects your privacy. Please see our [policies page](#) for more information.
Removal Instructions: If you no longer wish to receive survey emails, you may [unsubscribe](#). To further manage your HBS email subscriptions, log into your [alumni profile](#) using your HBS LEFA username.



Alumni Final Email Reminder

Subject line: Last invitation to complete 2019 U.S. competitiveness survey



**HARVARD
BUSINESS SCHOOL**

Dear [INSERT NAME],

The HBS faculty team is very grateful for your help with the 2019 U.S. Competitiveness Project's alumni survey. Many HBS alumni worldwide have completed the survey. We thank you for your insights. Your views will shape our research and inspire action at a pivotal time, as America enters the next presidential election cycle.

To the many HBS alumni who are still filling out the survey, we hope you will take this last chance to complete the survey before it closes on Tuesday, April 23.

In this year's survey, HBS faculty members are delving into subjects of deep importance including the reform of the U.S. political system, taxation, and immigration. Especially on topics like these, the insights of each and every alum matter. The survey is designed to solicit your input whether or not you are currently working and whether you are based in or outside of the U.S.

If you have not yet completed the survey, please click on the link below to begin or continue the survey. If you have begun the survey, the first page of the survey will have a link to go to where you left off.

[UNIQUE URL].

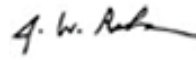
If you encounter any difficulties with the web site, please email our survey partners, [Abt Associates](#) or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26414. Please include your User ID: [UNIQUE ID].

My colleagues and I are very grateful for your time and thoughts.





Michael E. Porter
Co-chair,
U.S. Competitiveness Project



Jan W. Rivkin
Co-chair,
U.S. Competitiveness Project

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Harvard Business School respects your privacy. Please see our [policies page](#) for more information.
Removal Instructions: If you no longer wish to receive survey emails, you may [unsubscribe](#). To further manage your HBS email subscriptions, log into your [alumni profile](#) using your HBS LEFA username.



Student Survey Invitation

Subject line: HBS Survey on U.S. Competitiveness 2019



**HARVARD
BUSINESS SCHOOL**

Dear %%FIRSTNAME%%,

Since 2011, HBS's U.S. Competitiveness Project has surveyed alumni to understand what is really going on in the U.S. economy and what needs to be done to improve its trajectory. The Project's Competitiveness Survey has gained wide recognition and influenced the national dialogue.

In 2019, we hope to conduct the survey not only with HBS alumni but also with all current HBS MBA students. This will reveal how future business leaders (our students) perceive issues of U.S. competitiveness compared to current business leaders (alumni).

In the first part of the survey, we seek your views on the state and trajectory of basic elements of competitiveness. In the second part, we ask questions about efforts to reform the U.S. political system, recent changes to the U.S. tax system, and America's immigration system. (We ask each respondent only a subset of these questions, to keep the survey from being too long.)

The HBS faculty involved with the U.S. Competitiveness Project are grateful for your willingness to help HBS engage in some of the most important issues facing our society. Whether you have worked or grown up inside or outside the U.S., we are eager for your input.

To complete the survey, please go to: <%%NEWSURVEYLINK%%>



HARVARD | BUSINESS | SCHOOL

U.S. COMPETITIVENESS PROJECT

Note that individual responses are strictly confidential; data will be reported only in the aggregate. If you encounter any difficulties with the website, please email Abt Associates at HBS@abtassoc.com or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26596. Please include your ID number %%**ABTID**%%.



Michael E. Porter
Co-chair, U.S. Competitiveness Project



Student Reminder 1

Subject: Your invitation to participate in HBS's U.S. Competitiveness Project research



Dear [SALUTATION NAME],

This is a pivotal moment for the United States and the global economy, as America prepares for the next Presidential election cycle.

To ensure that the HBS community has a public voice at this moment, HBS's Project on U.S. Competitiveness is inviting HBS alumni and all current HBS students to participate in the 2019 Survey on U.S. Competitiveness.

In this year's survey, HBS faculty members are delving into subjects of deep importance for America and the world, including the reform of the U.S. political system, taxation, and immigration. Especially on matters like these, which shape the future, we want to make sure that the views of HBS students are heard. Whether you have worked or grown up inside or outside the U.S., we are eager for your input.

To the many students who have already completed the survey, we are very grateful for your insights. To those who would like to complete the survey before it closes on April 30, 2019, please go to [URL].

Note that individual responses are strictly confidential; data will be reported only in the aggregate. If you encounter any difficulties with the website, please email Abt

Associates at HBS@abtassoc.com or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26596. Please include your ID number: XXXXX.

Thank you for your help and your insights.



Michael E. Porter

Co-chair, U.S. Competitiveness Project

Student Final Reminder

Subject: Your invitation to participate in HBS's U.S. Competitiveness Project research



Dear [SALUTATION NAME],

This is a pivotal moment for the United States and the global economy, as America prepares for the next Presidential election cycle.

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In this year's survey, HBS faculty members are delving into subjects of deep importance for America and the world, including the reform of the U.S. political system, taxation, and immigration. Especially on matters like these, which shape the future, we want to make sure that the views of HBS students are heard. Whether you have worked or grown up inside or outside the U.S., we are eager for your input.

To the many students who have already completed the survey, we are very grateful for your insights. To those who would like to complete the survey before it closes on April 30, 2019, please go to [URL].

Note that individual responses are strictly confidential; data will be reported only in the aggregate. If you encounter any difficulties with the website, please email Abt

Associates at HBS@abtassoc.com or call them at +1-888-201-0993 and ask for study 26596. Please include your ID number: XXXXX.

Thank you for your help and your insights.



Michael E. Porter

Co-chair, U.S. Competitiveness Project

Appendix B: Alumni Survey Instrument

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[INSERT progress_start]

Welcome Page

Thank you for participating in Harvard Business School’s 2019 survey on U.S. competitiveness. The findings will help faculty gauge the state and trajectory of the United States in the global economy. Previous surveys of alumni have been influential in business circles, policy discussions, and the media.

HBS is inviting all alumni to complete the survey. We are grateful to everyone who participates: working or retired, based inside or outside the U.S., employed in a for-profit, nonprofit, or government organization, and from all industries. Your responses are confidential, and participation is entirely voluntary. At the end of the survey, you will be asked whether HBS researchers may contact you.

The survey is being conducted by Abt Associates, a leading business research firm. It will take approximately 15-20 minutes if you are based in the U.S. and 10 minutes if you are based outside the U.S. (because some questions will not apply to you). Many people find the questions very interesting.

You can leave the survey at any time and return to complete it. All of your responses will be saved up to the point at which you last pressed the “Continue” button.

For any words that appear in [blue](#) in the survey, hover your mouse over the word to see an explanation.

If you need to go back and change an answer, please use the “Go Back” button in the survey and not your web browser’s back button.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact:

Abt Associates
Valrie Horton
Senior Analyst
Researcher

Data Science, Surveys & Enabling Technologies U.S. Competitiveness Project

Phone: +1-888-201-0993

Email: HBS@abtassoc.com

Harvard Business School

Manjari Raman

Program Director and Senior

Phone: +1-617-495-6288

Email: mraman@hbs.edu

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

EU1 Are you located in one of the following European Economic Area countries?
Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark,
Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia,
Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal,
Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, or the United Kingdom.

(Due to General Data Protection Regulations, HBS requires an additional consent from you.)

- 1 Yes CONTINUE TO A1
2 No SKIP TO S2

A1

The researchers will collect information about you. This form calls such information your “Personal Information” and it will include your name, demographic information, your responses to any tests, surveys or procedures described in this informed consent form.

If you withdraw your permission, you will no longer be able to participate in the study. No new information will be collected about you or from you by the study team. Your withdrawal has no effect on the lawfulness of the data processing that occurred prior to your withdrawal.

Your Personal Information that has already been collected to the time of your withdrawal will be kept and used to guarantee the integrity of the study and/or for any other purposes permitted under applicable data protection and privacy laws.

Your Personal Information will not be used for further research. However, if permitted by applicable law, your Personal Information may be anonymized so that the information does not identify you personally, and such anonymized information may be used for further research.

Your Personal Information will be treated in compliance with applicable data protection laws. Harvard is the controller of your Personal Information collected for this study.

Harvard and some of the other people using your Personal Information may be based in countries other than your country, including the United States. The European Commission has determined that the data protection laws of the United States do not protect personal information to the same extent as those of the European Economic Area. By signing this consent form, you consent to the transfer of your information to the U.S. Harvard and those working with Harvard will take steps to maintain the confidentiality of your Personal Information.



Harvard and the IRBs will obtain and use your Personal Information to conduct and manage this study, and to comply with legal or regulatory requirements, including to:

- verify that the study is conducted correctly and that study data are accurate;
- answer questions from IRB(s), IEC(s), or government or regulatory agencies;
- contact you during and after the study (if necessary); and
- answer your data protection requests (if any).

Your Personal Information may also be used by the individuals and groups listed above to:

- Publish summaries of the study results in academic journals, on the internet or at educational meetings of other researchers. You will not be directly identified in any publication or report of the study. But, some journal representatives may need access to your Personal Information to verify the study results and ensure the research meets the journal's quality standards. Also, journals may require that certain data from the study that does not directly identify you (i.e., de-identified survey responses) be made available to other researchers for further research projects.
- Improve the quality, design and safety of this study and other research studies.
- Conduct additional studies with the data collected in this study to advance scientific research and public health. At this time, we do not know the specific details of these future research projects. If your Personal Information is used for additional studies, specific safeguards will be used to protect the data, which may include:
 - Using only information from which your direct identifiers have been removed instead of information that readily identifies you.
 - Limiting access to specific individuals who are obligated to keep the information confidential.
 - Using security measures to avoid data loss and unauthorized access.
 - Anonymizing the data by destroying the link between the information and your personal identifiers.
 - When required by applicable law, ensuring that the scientific research has the approval of IECs, IRBs, or other similar review groups.

Harvard will retain your Personal Information (including your Coded Information) for the period necessary to fulfill the purposes outlined in this informed consent form, unless a different retention period is required or permitted by law.



Your rights related to your Personal Information collected under the study are described below. If you wish to exercise any of these rights, you must contact EEAdatasubjectrequest@harvard.edu

- You have the right to see the information being collected about you in the study.
- You have the right to correct or update your Personal Information if it is inaccurate.
- You have the right to limit the collection and use of your Personal Information under certain circumstances (for example, if you think that the information is inaccurate).
- You have the right to receive your Personal Information in a structured, common computer format (for example, in a readable text electronic file or chart) for your own purposes or for giving it to others, as required by applicable data protection laws. You may not have the right to receive your Personal Information that has been used for public interest purposes or in the exercise of official authority vested in Harvard.
- You have the right to request the deletion of your Personal Information if you are no longer participating in the study. However, there are limits on your ability to request deletion of your Personal Information. Harvard may keep and use some or all of your Personal Information if deletion would seriously impair the study (for example, if deletion would affect the consistency of study results) or if your Personal Information is needed to comply with legal requirements.
- You have the right to make a complaint to a data protection authority within the EU (http://ec.europa.eu/justice/data-protection/article-29/structure/data-protection-authorities/index_en.htm).

Your Personal Information needed for the research will be saved, analysed and, if necessary, transferred outside of your Study Site. Before the Study Site transfers your Personal Information, the Study Site will replace your name with a unique code and remove information that directly identifies you. This is called your “Coded Information” in this form, and it is sometimes called “pseudonymised data” by data protection laws.

Harvard and some of the other people using your Personal Information, including your Coded Information, may be based in countries other than your country, including the United States. Data protection and privacy laws in these countries may not offer the same level of protection as those in your own country. Harvard, your study site, and those working with Harvard and your Study Site will take steps to maintain the confidentiality of your Personal Information.

If your Personal Information is transferred by the Study Site from the EU, EEA, and/or Switzerland to other countries that have not yet been found by European regulators to meet requirements for protection of Personal Information, the Study Site has in place standard EU data transfer agreements to protect your Personal Information. A copy of these standard data transfer agreements is available by contacting EEAsubjectrequest@harvard.edu

Your checking this box documents that you have freely given your consent to the use of Personal Information as described in this GDPR Addendum.



[IF A1=MISSING TERMINATE]

TERMINATE TEXT:

You have opted out of this survey. Thank you very much for considering to take part of this study. Faculty members will share the survey findings by email, via the U.S. Competitiveness Project's website www.hbs.edu/competitiveness, and in publications.

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[INSERT progress_1]

About You

S2 This section asks a brief series of questions about you so that we can examine whether individuals with different backgrounds and experiences have different perspectives on the questions that follow.

Are you currently employed?

An answer to this question is requested as it determines which questions you will be asked later.

- 1 Yes SKIP TO S5
- 2 No CONTINUE

IF S2=MISSING CONTINUE

[PAGE BREAK]

S2a Are you retired?

We are requesting this information so that we do not later ask retirees questions about their current employer.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[PAGE BREAK]

S5 Are you located in the U.S.?

An answer to this question is requested as it determines which questions you will be asked later.

- 1 Yes CONTINUE
- 2 No SKIP TO S7 (country)

IF S5=MISSING CONTINUE

[PAGE BREAK]



S6 In which state are you located?

1	Alabama	46	Vermont
2	Alaska	47	Virginia
3	Arizona	48	Washington
4	Arkansas	49	West Virginia
5	California	50	Wisconsin
6	Colorado	51	Wyoming
7	Connecticut		
8	Delaware		
9	District of Columbia		
10	Florida		
11	Georgia		
12	Hawaii		
13	Idaho		
14	Illinois		
15	Indiana		
16	Iowa		
17	Kansas		
18	Kentucky		
19	Louisiana		
20	Maine		
21	Maryland		
22	Massachusetts		
23	Michigan		
24	Minnesota		
25	Mississippi		
26	Missouri		
27	Montana		
28	Nebraska		
29	Nevada		
30	New Hampshire		
31	New Jersey		
32	New Mexico		
33	New York		
34	North Carolina		
35	North Dakota		
36	Ohio		
37	Oklahoma		
38	Oregon		
39	Pennsylvania		
40	Rhode Island		
41	South Carolina		
42	South Dakota		
43	Tennessee		
44	Texas		
45	Utah		



IF S5=MISSING (located in U.S.) & S6=MISSING (state) CONTINUE
ELSE SKIP TO S5a (citizenship)

[PAGE BREAK]

S7 In which country are you located?

- 1 United States
- 2 Afghanistan
- 3 Albania
- 4 Algeria
- 5 Andorra
- 6 Angola
- 7 Antigua & Barbuda
- 8 Argentina
- 9 Armenia
- 10 Australia
- 11 Aus. Overseas Territories
- 12 Austria
- 13 Azerbaijan
- 14 Bahamas
- 15 Bahrain
- 16 Bangladesh
- 17 Barbados
- 18 Belarus
- 19 Belgium
- 20 Belize
- 21 Benin
- 22 Bhutan
- 23 Bolivia
- 24 Bosnia & Herzegovina
- 25 Botswana
- 26 Brazil
- 27 Brunei
- 28 Bulgaria
- 29 Burkina Faso
- 30 Burundi
- 31 Cambodia
- 32 Cameroon
- 33 Canada
- 34 Cape Verde
- 35 Central African Republic
- 36 Chad
- 37 Chile



38	China
39	Colombia
40	Comoros
41	Congo, Democratic Republic
42	Congo, Republic of
43	Cook Islands
44	Costa Rica
45	Cote d'Ivoire
46	Croatia
47	Cuba
48	Cyprus
49	Czech Rep.
50	Denmark
51	Danish Overseas Territories
52	Djibouti
53	Dominica
54	Dominican Rep.
55	East Timor
56	Ecuador
57	Egypt
58	El Salvador
59	Equatorial Guinea
60	Eritrea
61	Estonia
62	Ethiopia
63	Fiji
64	Finland
65	France
66	French Overseas Territories
67	Gabon
68	Gambia
69	Georgia
70	Germany
71	Ghana
72	Greece
73	Grenada
74	Guatemala
75	Guinea
76	Guinea-Bissau
77	Guyana
78	Haiti
79	Honduras
80	Hong Kong
81	Hungary
82	Iceland



83	India
84	Indonesia
85	Iran
86	Iraq
87	Ireland
88	Israel
89	Italy
90	Jamaica
91	Japan
92	Jordan
93	Kazakhstan
94	Kenya
95	Kiribati
96	Korea, DPRK
97	Korea, Republic of
98	Kuwait
99	Kyrgyzstan
100	Laos
101	Latvia
102	Lebanon
103	Lesotho
104	Liberia
105	Libya
106	Liechtenstein
107	Lithuania
108	Luxembourg
109	Macao
110	Macedonia
111	Madagascar
112	Malawi
113	Malaysia
114	Maldives
115	Mali
116	Malta
117	Marshall Island
118	Mauritania
119	Mauritius
120	Mexico
121	Micronesia
122	Moldova
123	Monaco
124	Mongolia
125	Montenegro
126	Morocco
127	Mozambique



128	Myanmar
129	Namibia
130	Nauru
131	Nepal
132	Netherlands
133	Netherlands Overseas Territories
134	New Zealand
135	N.Z. Overseas Territories
136	Nicaragua
137	Niger
138	Nigeria
139	Niue
140	Norway
141	Oman
142	Pakistan
143	Palau
144	Palestinian Territory
145	Panama
146	Papua New Guinea
147	Paraguay
148	Peru
149	Philippines
150	Poland
151	Portugal
152	Puerto Rico
153	Qatar
154	Romania
155	Russia
156	Rwanda
157	St. Kitts and Nevis
158	St. Lucia
159	St. Vincent & the Grenadines
160	Samoa
161	San Marino
162	Sao Tome & Principe
163	Saudi Arabia
164	Senegal
165	Serbia
166	Seychelles
167	Sierra Leone
168	Singapore
169	Slovak Republic
170	Slovenia
171	Solomon Islands
172	Somalia



173	South Africa
174	South Sudan
175	Spain
176	Sri Lanka
177	Sudan
178	Suriname
179	Swaziland
180	Sweden
181	Switzerland
182	Syria
183	Taiwan
184	Tajikistan
185	Tanzania
186	Thailand
187	Togo
188	Tonga
189	Trinidad & Tobago
190	Tunisia
191	Turkey
192	Turkmenistan
193	Tuvalu
194	Uganda
195	Ukraine
196	United Arab Emirates
197	United Kingdom
198	U.K. Overseas Territories
199	United States
200	U.S. Minor Outlying Islands
201	Uruguay
202	Uzbekistan
203	Vanuatu
204	Vatican City
205	Venezuela
206	Vietnam
207	Western Sahara
208	Yemen
209	Zambia
210	Zimbabwe

[PAGE BREAK]



S6a What is your status in the U.S.? [SINGLE SELECT]

- 1 Natural-born U.S. citizen [SKIP TO S9]
- 2 Naturalized U.S. citizen
- 3 Permanent resident
- 4 H-1B visa holder
- 5 Temporary visa holder other than H-1B
- 6 Other

- 8 Prefer not answer

[PAGE BREAK]

S6b At what point(s) in your life have you lived in the U.S.? (Please check all that apply.)

- 1 Childhood and/or high school
- 2 Undergraduate study
- 3 Graduate study
- 4 For work
- 5 Retirement
- 6 None of these [SINGLE SELECT]

- 8 Prefer not answer

[PAGE BREAK]

[IF S2a=1 (retired) OR [S2=2 AND S2a=2], SKIP TO NS19 (sector formerly worked in)]

S9 Does your company have any business activities in the U.S.?

An answer to this question is requested as it determines which questions you will be asked later.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[PAGE BREAK]

S10 Does your company have any business activities outside the U.S.?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[PAGE BREAK]

[IF S9=2 OR MISSING, SKIP S11]



S11 Are your company's U.S. operations exposed to international competition?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[PAGE BREAK]



NS12 In which sector do you work?

- 1 Insurance
- 2 Financial Services
- 3 Accounting
- 4 Professional Services
- 5 Scientific Services
- 6 Technical Services
- 7 Media: Broadcast, Film, and Multimedia
- 8 Media: Print and Publishing
- 9 Telecommunications
- 10 Data Processing
- 11 Construction
- 12 Real Estate
- 13 Wholesale and Retail Trade
- 14 Manufacturing: Food and Beverage
- 15 Manufacturing: Textile and Apparel
- 16 Manufacturing: Wood, Paper, and Printing
- 17 Manufacturing: Petroleum, Chemicals, and Plastics
- 18 Manufacturing: Metal and Machinery
- 19 Manufacturing: Computer, Electrical, and Appliance
- 20 Other Manufacturing
- 21 Accommodation and Food Services
- 22 Health Care and Social Assistance
- 23 Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation
- 24 Transportation and Logistics
- 25 Mining and Oil & Gas Extraction
- 26 Utilities
- 27 Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing
- 28 Educational Services
- 29 Other Services
- 30 Public Administration/Government
- 31 Non-profit

[PAGE BREAK]



S21 How many people does your company employ?

Please include full- and part-time employees.

- 1 Sole proprietor/one, myself
- 2 2 to 4
- 3 5 to 9
- 4 10 to 19
- 5 20 to 49
- 6 50 to 99
- 7 100 to 249
- 8 250 to 499
- 9 500 to 999
- 10 1,000 to 2,499
- 11 2,500 to 4,999
- 12 5,000 to 9,999
- 13 10,000 to 49,999
- 14 50,000 or more

99 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

S22 Does your company employ foreign workers in its U.S. operations?

- 1 Yes [CONTINUE TO S22a]
- 2 No [SKIP TO Q1 (current aspects of competitiveness)]

- 9 Don't know [CONTINUE TO S22a]

[PAGE BREAK]

S22a Are there foreign workers in your office/at your location?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

- 9 Don't know

SKIP TO Q1 (current aspects of competitiveness)

[PAGE BREAK]



NS19 In which sector did you work?

- 1 Insurance
- 2 Financial Services
- 3 Accounting
- 4 Professional Services
- 5 Scientific Services
- 6 Technical Services
- 7 Media: Broadcast, Film, and Multimedia
- 8 Media: Print and Publishing
- 9 Telecommunications
- 10 Data Processing
- 11 Construction
- 12 Real Estate
- 13 Wholesale and Retail Trade
- 14 Manufacturing: Food and Beverage
- 15 Manufacturing: Textile and Apparel
- 16 Manufacturing: Wood, Paper, and Printing
- 17 Manufacturing: Petroleum, Chemicals, and Plastics
- 18 Manufacturing: Metal and Machinery
- 19 Manufacturing: Computer, Electrical, and Appliance
- 20 Other Manufacturing
- 21 Accommodation and Food Services
- 22 Health Care and Social Assistance
- 23 Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation
- 24 Transportation and Logistics
- 25 Mining and Oil & Gas Extraction
- 26 Utilities
- 27 Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing
- 28 Educational Services
- 29 Other Services
- 30 Public Administration/Government
- 31 Non-profit
- 32 Never worked

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[INSERT progress_2]

U.S. Competitiveness

This section focuses on the competitiveness of the United States and the U.S. business environment.

The next set of questions asks about the current status of the various elements of the U.S. business environment, elements that affect how well firms in the United States compete in the global marketplace. For each element, please rate the U.S. *compared to other advanced economies like Germany, South Korea, Japan, and Canada*.

- Q1_1 Logistics infrastructure
High-quality highways, railroads, ports, and air transport
- Q1_2 Communications infrastructure
High-quality and widely available telephony, Internet and data access
- Q1_4 Corporate tax code
Tax code that attracts and retains investment
- Q1_5 Education system through high school
Universal access to high-quality education; curricula that prepare students for productive work
- Q1_6 High-quality universities with strong linkages to the private sector
- Q1_7 Context for entrepreneurship
Availability of capital for high-quality ideas; ease of setting up new businesses; lack of stigma for failure
- Q1_8 Availability of skilled labor
- Q1_17 Flexibility in hiring and firing of workers
- Q1_9 Innovation infrastructure
High-quality scientific research institutions; availability of scientists and engineers
- Q1_10 Regulation
Effective and predictable regulations without unnecessary burden on firms
- Q1_11 Strength of clusters
Regional concentrations of related firms, suppliers, service providers, and supporting institutions in particular fields, with effective collaboration



- Q1_12 Quality of capital markets
Ease of firm access to appropriate capital; capital allocated to most profitable investments
- Q1_13 Macroeconomic policy
Soundness of government budgetary, interest rate, and monetary policies
- Q1_3 Effectiveness of the political system
Ability of the government to pass effective laws
- Q1_14a Protection of intellectual property rights
- Q1_14b Lack of corruption
- Q1_15 Efficiency of legal framework
Modest legal costs; swift adjudication
- Q1_16 Sophistication of firm management and operations
Use of sophisticated strategies, operating practices, management structures, and analytical techniques
- Q1_18 Quality of health care relative to cost
- 1 Much worse than average
 - 2 Somewhat worse than average
 - 3 About average
 - 4 Somewhat better than average
 - 5 Much better than average
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



Q2 Overall, compared to other advanced economies like Germany, South Korea, Japan, and Canada, would you say that the U.S. business environment is...

ROTATE DISPLAY ORDER AS 1,2,3,4,5,9 AND 5,4,3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER SHOWN. SAME ORDER SHOULD BE SHOWN IN Q2a

- 1 Much worse
- 2 Somewhat worse
- 3 About average
- 4 Somewhat better
- 5 Much better

- 9 Don't know

NO PAGE BREAK. BOTH Q2 AND Q2a ARE ON SAME PAGE

Q2a Overall, compared to emerging economies like India, China, Chile, and Poland, would you say that the U.S. business environment is...

ROTATE ORDER AS IN Q2

- 1 Much worse
- 2 Somewhat worse
- 3 About average
- 4 Somewhat better
- 5 Much better

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

This question seeks to understand the **trajectory** of each element of the U.S. business environment.

Over time, is each element deteriorating, staying the same, or improving?

[SET UP AS A GRID.]

NQ3_1 Logistics infrastructure
High-quality highways, railroads, ports, and air transport

NQ3_2 Communications infrastructure
High-quality and widely available telephony, Internet and data access

NQ3_4 Corporate tax code
Tax code that attracts and retains investment



- NQ3_5 Education system through high school
Universal access to high-quality education; curricula that prepare students for productive work
- NQ3_6 High-quality universities with strong linkages to the private sector
- NQ3_7 Context for entrepreneurship
Availability of capital for high-quality ideas; ease of setting up new businesses; lack of stigma for failure
- NQ3_8 Availability of skilled labor
- NQ3_17 Flexibility in hiring and firing of workers
- NQ3_9 Innovation infrastructure
High-quality scientific research institutions; availability of scientists and engineers
- NQ3_10 Regulation
Effective and predictable regulations without unnecessary burden on firms
- NQ3_11 Strength of clusters
Regional concentrations of related firms, suppliers, service providers, and supporting institutions in particular fields, with effective collaboration
- NQ3_12 Quality of capital markets
Ease of firm access to appropriate capital; capital allocated to most profitable investments
- NQ3_13 Macroeconomic policy
Soundness of government budgetary, interest rate, and monetary policies
- NQ3_3 Effectiveness of the political system
Ability of the government to pass effective laws
- NQ3_14a Protection of intellectual property rights
- NQ3_14b Lack of corruption
- NQ3_15 Efficiency of legal framework
Modest legal costs; swift adjudication
- NQ3_16 Sophistication of firm management and operation
Use of sophisticated strategies, operating practices, management structures, and analytical techniques
- NQ3_18 Quality of health care relative to cost



- 1 Deteriorating
- 2 Staying the same
- 3 Improving
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

Q4 Over time is the overall U.S. business environment...

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,9 AND 3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Deteriorating
- 2 Staying the same
- 3 Improving

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

Q5 Please think about firms operating in the United States—**whether or not they are U.S.-owned**. Overall, how successful are these firms today at competing in the global marketplace against firms operating in other advanced economies?

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,4,5,9 AND 5,4,3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Not at all successful
- 2 Not very successful
- 3 Somewhat successful
- 4 Very successful
- 5 Extremely successful

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



Q6 Three years from now, do you expect companies operating in the United States to be...

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,4,5,9 AND 5,4,3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Much less able to compete successfully in the global marketplace
- 2 Somewhat less able
- 3 Neither less nor more able
- 4 Somewhat more able
- 5 Much more able to compete successfully in the global marketplace

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT progress_3]

The next two questions are about the labor market. The first one focuses on wages and benefits and the second on employment.

Q7 Three years from now, do you expect companies operating in the U.S. to be...

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,4,5,9 AND 5,4,3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Much less able to support high wage rates and benefits
- 2 Somewhat less able
- 3 Neither less nor more able
- 4 Somewhat more able
- 5 Much more able to support high wage rates and benefits

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

Q8 Three years from now, do you expect a typical company operating in the U.S. to...

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,9 AND 3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Employ fewer people than it does today
- 2 Employ roughly the same number of people
- 3 Employ more people than it does today

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



[IF S5=2, SKIP TO R1]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[

CREATE VARIABLE SECTION WITH EQUAL PROBABILITY OF INTEGERS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, OR 10. IF SECTION =

- 1 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 2 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 3 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 4 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 5 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 6 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE Assessment of U.S. Political System AND Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA)
- 7 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE General Immigration
- 8 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE General Immigration
- 9 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE General Immigration
- 10 RESPONDENT SHOULD RECEIVE General Immigration

WITHIN SECTIONS 1-6, CREATE VARIABLE SECTION_ORDER WITH EQUAL PROBABILITY OF INTEGERS 1OR 2. IF SECTION_ORDER =

- 1 ASK Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA) AFTER Assessment of U.S. Political System
- 2 ASK Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (TCJA) BEFORE Assessment of U.S. Political System

]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Assessment of U.S. Political System

This section focuses on the functioning and reform of the U.S. political system.

P3 The current U.S. political system...

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,9 AND 3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Supports U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 2 Neither supports nor obstructs U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 3 Obstructs U.S. economic growth and needed social policies

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[ROTATE ORDER OF P4A AND P4B AND RECORD ORDER. BOTH ARE SHOWN ON SAME PAGE.]

P4A Overall, the actions of the Republican Party...

USE THE SAME ORDER AS P3 AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Support U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 2 Neither support nor obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 3 Obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies

- 9 Don't know

P4B Overall, the actions of the Democratic Party...

USE THE SAME ORDER AS P3 AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Support U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 2 Neither support nor obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies
- 3 Obstruct U.S. economic growth and needed social policies

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P4C To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about U.S. politics:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-E AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Democracy in America is at risk
 - B Politics is putting support for capitalism at risk
 - C To the extent we have political problems, they are primarily the result of not electing the right people
 - D To the extent we have political problems, they are structural and require reform to the political “rules of the game” (election rules, governing rules, campaign finance rules, etc.)
 - E To the extent we have political problems, they will be self-correcting
- 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[CREATE VARIABLE P_SECTION WITH EQUAL PROBABILITY OF INTEGERS 1 OR 2. P_SECTION =1 GETS THE FIRST SECTION - P5A (Support for Democratic Principles). P_SECTION =2 GETS THE SECOND SECTION - P5B (Support for Political Reforms).]

[ASK IF P_SECTION=1, OTHERWISE SKIP TO P5B]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Statements about Democracy

P5A Do you support or oppose the following statements about democracy?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-G AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Money should not be a deciding factor in elections
- B Politicians should not have the power to draw congressional districts to favor their party or create “safe seats” for incumbents
- C Party primaries, in which only a small fraction of the population who are party activists votes, should not play a central role in the election system
- D To win an election, a candidate should be required to receive support from a majority of voters (more than 50%), rather than the current system where candidates can win with less than 50% of the vote
- E The legislative process in the House and Senate should be fair and open to all representatives, not controlled by the majority party
- F Politicians should not be able to become lobbyists after retiring
- G Members of Congress should not be career politicians
 - 1 I oppose this statement
 - 2 I neither support nor oppose this statement
 - 3 I support this statement
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



[ASK IF P_SECTION=2, OTHERWISE SKIP TO P6]

Statements about Political Reforms

P5B Do you support or oppose the following reforms to the U.S. political system?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-G AND RECORD ORDER IN DATAFILE]

- A Enact **campaign finance** reform to limit party and campaign financing
- B Eliminate the practice of drawing **congressional districts** to favor one party or to create “safe seats” for incumbents (otherwise known as partisan gerrymandering), by moving to nonpartisan redistricting commissions
- C Reform the **primary system** by replacing separate party primaries with a single, open primary including all candidates in which the top four vote getters (regardless of party) advance to the general election ballot
- D Eliminate **partisan control of the legislative process in Congress**, such as the majority party’s power to withhold votes on bills in committee, withhold the reporting of legislation for a vote by the full House or Senate, and limit amendments to proposed legislation
- E Institute a **lifetime ban on lobbying** for members and former members of the House and Senate
- F Implement **term limits** for the House and Senate
- G Implement **ranked choice voting in the general election**, in which voters rank all candidates and the winner must achieve support from a majority of citizens in a series of instant runoffs

- 1 I oppose this reform
- 2 I neither support nor oppose this reform
- 3 I support this reform
- 9 Don’t know

P5H What other reforms, if any, would you support to make the U.S. political system more effective?

[TWO ROW TEXT BOX]

[PAGE BREAK]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[CREATE VARIABLE P_SECTION WITH EQUAL PROBABILITY OF INTEGERS 1 OR 2. P_SECTION =1 GETS THE FIRST SECTION - P8-P18 (Your Company's Current Engagement in Politics). P_SECTION =2 GETS THE SECOND SECTION (The Business Community's Current Engagement in Politics.)]

[ASK IF P_SECTION=1, OTHERWISE SKIP TO P19]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Your Company's Current Engagement in Politics

Companies currently interact with the political system through five practices: (1) lobbying government officials, (2) hiring former government officials, (3) election spending, (4) spending to influence direct democracy outcomes (ballot initiatives and referenda), and (5) making recommendations to company employees.

P8 Does your company lobby government on its own behalf (either directly with company staff or through a lobbying firm)?

- 1 Yes [CONTINUE TO P9]
- 2 No [SKIP TO P10]

- 9 Don't know [SKIP TO P10]
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company [SKIP TO P10]

[PAGE BREAK]

P9 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-B AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A My company's lobbying practices provide government with information that benefits overall public policy, and therefore citizens

- B My company's lobbying practices primarily aim to advance the company's interests, at times at the expense of the public interest

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree



- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P12 Does your company actively seek to hire former government officials?

- 1 Yes [CONTINUE TO P13]
- 2 No [SKIP TO P14]

- 9 Don't know [SKIP TO P14]
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company [SKIP TO P14]

[PAGE BREAK]

P13 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

[SET UP AS A GRID]

- A My company's hiring of former government officials allows my company to influence government policies
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P14 In which, if any, of the following ways does your company seek to influence elections?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-D AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

My company seeks to influence elections...

- A By communicating to employees how different candidates will impact the company (affect growth, profitability, employment, pay, etc.)
- B By encouraging employees to vote for the company's preferred candidates in elections
- C By election spending through its corporate Political Action Committee (PAC), which serves as a vehicle employees can use to contribute to candidates that the company supports
- D By encouraging employees to contribute directly to the company's preferred candidates in elections (rather than donate to the company's corporate Political Action Committee)
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

P15 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-C AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A I feel pressure to contribute to candidates my company supports
- B I feel pressure to vote for candidates my company supports
- C My company's spending on elections distorts the democratic process
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree



- 6 My company does not support candidates or spend money on elections
- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

P16 In which, if any, of the following ways does your company seek to influence **direct democracy** by affecting ballot measure outcomes?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-B AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

My company seeks to influence ballot measures...

- A By communicating to employees how different ballot measures will impact the company (affect growth, profitability, employment, pay, etc.)
- B By spending corporate funds to influence the outcome of ballot measures
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

P17 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

[SET UP AS A GRID]

- A My company's attempts to influence ballot measures undermine the purpose of direct democracy
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 6 My company does not attempt to influence ballot measures
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



P18 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-F AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

Overall, my company's engagement with politics...

- A Improves the political system
 - B Worsens the political system by increasing partisanship
 - C Worsens the political system by advancing policies benefiting special interests
 - D Improves my company's performance
 - E Improves the overall U.S. business environment
 - F Improves public trust in business
- 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[ASK IF P_SECTION=2, OTHERWISE SKIP TO P25]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

The Business Community's Current Engagement in Politics

Companies currently interact with the political system through five practices: (1) lobbying government officials, (2) hiring former government officials, (3) election spending, (4) spending to influence direct democracy outcomes (ballot initiatives and referenda), and (5) making recommendations to company employees.

P19 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-B AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

Lobbying

A Corporate lobbying provides government with information that benefits overall public policy, and therefore citizens

B Corporate lobbying primarily aims to advance companies' interests, at times at the expense of the public interest

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P20 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

[SET UP AS A GRID]

Hiring Government Officials

A Corporate hiring of former government officials allows companies to influence government policies

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

P21 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-C AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

Election Spending

A Companies should have corporate Political Action Committees (PACs) as a vehicle employees can use to contribute to candidates that the company supports

B Corporate spending on elections distorts the democratic process

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P22 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

[SET UP AS A GRID]

Influencing Ballot Initiatives

A Corporate attempts to influence ballot measures undermine the purpose of direct democracy

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P23 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-D AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

Communicating Messages to Employees

- A Companies should communicate to employees how different candidates or ballot measures will impact the company (affect growth, profitability, employment, pay, etc.)
- B Companies should encourage employees to vote for the companies' preferred candidates in elections
- C Companies should encourage employees to contribute directly to the companies' preferred candidates in elections
- D Many employees feel pressure to contribute to candidates their company supports
- E Many employees feel pressure to vote for candidates their company supports
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



P24 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-F AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

Overall, the business community's engagement with politics...

- A Improves the political system
- B Worsens the political system by increasing partisanship
- C Worsens the political system by advancing policies benefiting special interests
- D Improves company performance
- E Improves the overall U.S. business environment
- F Improves public trust in business

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[ASK ALL]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

A New Role for Business in Politics

The purpose of this section is to gauge support for a new role for business in politics.

P25 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-H AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Companies should engage with politics to help improve the overall business environment and advance the public interest
- B Companies should not spend corporate money on elections, regardless of whether they have a right to do so
- C Companies should not try to buy favorable outcomes in ballot measures
- D Companies should stop supporting the revolving door of government officials joining companies for lobbying purposes
- E The business community (both companies and trade associations) should spend less on lobbying
- F Companies should be more transparent about the nature of lobbying practices
- G Trade associations should focus more on improving the overall business environment, and less on advancing the particular interests of member companies
- H The business community should support reforms to the political system that would reduce partisanship and align practices (election rules, governing rules, campaign finance rules, etc.) with democratic principles
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



Political Identity

P6 The following question is asked to help us understand the context for your answers. Although your response is appreciated, you may skip to the next question by selecting “Prefer not to answer.”

Generally speaking, do you identify yourself as...

[ROTATE ORDER OF 1 AND 2 AND RECORD ORDER]

- 1 A Democrat
- 2 A Republican
- 3 An Independent
- 4 Something else (please specify) [TEXT BOX]

- 8 Prefer not to answer
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

P7 In describing your political views, do you generally think of yourself as...

[ROTATE ORDER AS 1-2-3-4-5-8-9 and 5-4-3-2-1-8-9 AND RECORD ORDER]

- 1 Very liberal
- 2 Somewhat liberal
- 3 Moderate or middle of the road
- 4 Somewhat conservative
- 5 Very conservative
- 8 Prefer not to answer
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA)

In December 2017, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act became law. The law featured significant changes to the taxation of individuals, corporations, pass-through entities and not-for-profits. More information about the TCJA can be found [here](#).

The following questions concern aspects of the TCJA and some new proposals for further reform. Please give your best answer based on what you have heard or read.

For any words that appear in **blue** in this section, hover your mouse over the word to see an explanation.

TCJA1 Compared to the past, how has the TCJA changed the competitive position of the U.S. as a destination for investment? [SINGLE PUNCH; DO NOT SOFT PROMPT]

- 1 Made it significantly less competitive
- 2 Made it slightly less competitive
- 3 No change
- 4 Made it slightly more competitive
- 5 Made it significantly more competitive

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



TCJA2 Please indicate the effect of each TCJA provision on U.S. competitiveness.

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-H AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE; SINGLE PUNCH PER ITEM; DO NOT SOFT PROMPT]

- A Expensing of investment
 - B Corporate tax rate reduction
 - C Shift to territoriality from worldwide taxation
 - D Pass through provisions
 - E New international provisions
 - F Limitations on losses
 - G Limitations on interest deductibility
 - H Overall effects of TCJA on federal deficits
-
- 1 Significantly decreases competitiveness
 - 2 Somewhat decreases competitiveness
 - 3 Neither increases nor decreases competitiveness
 - 4 Somewhat increases competitiveness
 - 5 Significantly increases competitiveness
-
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



TCJA3 What decisions have you or your company made or will make differently because of the TCJA? (Please select all that apply.) [MULTI PUNCH; DO NOT SOFT PROMPT]

- 1 Increased investment in the U.S.
- 2 Increased investment abroad
- 3 C-Corporation/Pass-Through Switches
- 4 Transfer pricing and profit allocation
- 5 Something else (please specify)
- 6 TCJA has no impact on decisions [SINGLE PUNCH]

- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable

[PAGE BREAK]

TCJA4 The TCJA included provisions that raise tax revenue from universities and not-for-profits, such as a tax on endowment income and a restriction on Unrelated Business Income Taxation (UBIT).

What statement best characterizes your view of these changes? [SINGLE PUNCH; DO NOT SOFT PROMPT]

- 1 These are very bad provisions
- 2 These are somewhat bad provisions
- 3 These are neither good nor bad provisions
- 4 These are somewhat good provisions
- 5 These are very good provisions

- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]



There have been two recent proposals in the U.S. that would significantly increase taxation on individuals with higher incomes and greater wealth.

TCJA5 In 2019, the highest marginal tax rate was 37% and was applied to incomes above \$612,350 per annum for married couples. More information about the tax brackets can be found [here](#).

What do you believe should be the top marginal tax rate and at what income level should it be applied?

- A. The highest marginal tax rate should be: (Please enter a percent between 0-100 in the space provided. Please do not use commas or decimals when entering a number between 0 and 100.)
[0-100 NUMERIC OPEN END]%
101 Don't know [SINGLE SELECT]
- B. The highest marginal tax rate should be applied to incomes above: (Please enter an amount between \$0-1,000,000,000 in the space provided. Please do not use commas or decimals when entering a number between 0 and 1,000,000,000)
\$[0-1,000,000,000 NUMERIC OPEN END]
101 More than \$1,000,000,000 [SINGLE SELECT]
102 Don't know [SINGLE SELECT]

[PAGE BREAK]

TCJA6 Currently, the U.S. does not have a wealth tax. More information about wealth taxes can be found [here](#).

Do you support or oppose a wealth tax in the U.S.?

- 1 I oppose a wealth tax in the U.S. [SKIP TO TCJA8]
2 I neither support nor oppose a wealth tax in the U.S. [SKIP TO TCJA8]
3 I support a wealth tax in the U.S. [CONTINUE]
9 Don't know [SKIP TO TCJA8]



- TCJA7 What do you believe should be the percent and at what wealth level should an annual federal wealth tax be applied?
- A. The annual federal wealth tax rate should be: (Please enter a percent between 0-100 in the space provided. Please do not use commas or decimals when entering a number between 0 and 100.)
[0-100 NUMERIC OPEN END]% on wealth about that level
101 Don't know [SINGLE SELECT]
- B. The annual federal wealth tax should be applied to wealth above: (Please enter an amount between \$0-1,000,000,000 in the space provided. Please do not use commas or decimals when entering a number between 0 and 1,000,000,000.)
[\$0-1,000,000,000 NUMERIC OPEN END]
101 More than \$1,000,000,000 [SINGLE SELECT]
102 Don't know [SINGLE SELECT]

- TCJA8 Should the U.S. change the extent of redistribution toward lower income individuals done through the tax system?

ROTATE ORDER AS 1,2,3,4,5,9 AND 5,4,3,2,1,9 WITH 50% PROBABILITY AND RECORD ORDER

- 1 Yes, the U.S. needs considerably more redistribution toward lower income individuals
- 2 Yes, the U.S. needs somewhat more redistribution toward lower income individuals
- 3 No, the level of redistribution is about right
- 4 Yes, the U.S. needs somewhat less redistribution toward lower income individuals
- 5 Yes, the U.S. needs considerably less redistribution toward lower income individuals
- 9 Don't know

[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]



[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Immigration

Definitions

- “Foreign skilled worker”: A worker with at least a bachelor’s degree who is living and working in the U.S. but is not a U.S. native. These workers can be in the U.S. on a temporary employment visa (like an H-1B or L visa) or be a permanent resident or naturalized citizen.
- “Foreign lower-skilled worker”: A worker with educational attainment below the level of a bachelor’s degree who is living and working in the U.S. but is not a U.S. native. These workers can be in the U.S. on a temporary employment visa or be a permanent resident or naturalized citizen.

For this next section, please focus on your organization’s operations in the U.S., rather than your organization’s global operations.

For any words that appear in **blue** in this section, hover your mouse over the word to see an explanation.

Immigration

I1 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-B AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A My organization’s U.S. operations would be harmed if denied access to foreign skilled workers.
- B My organization’s U.S. operations would be harmed if denied access to foreign lower-skilled workers.

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don’t know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company



[PAGE BREAK]

[SHOW I2 AND I3 ON THE SAME SCREEN]

I2 What percentage of your organization's U.S.-based **skilled** workforce is foreign-born?

- 1 None
- 2 Less than 5%
- 3 5-14%
- 4 15-29%
- 5 More than 30%
- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company

I3 What percentage of your organization's U.S.-based **lower-skilled** workforce is foreign-born?

- 1 None
- 2 Less than 5%
- 3 5-14%
- 4 15-29%
- 5 More than 30%
- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

I4 Which of the following does your company do for foreign skilled workers?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-F AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Recruits foreign students who graduate from U.S. universities
- B Recruits foreign skilled workers directly from abroad
- C Hires foreign skilled workers who are already permanent residents or naturalized U.S. citizens with employment authorization
- D Hires foreign skilled workers on company-sponsored employment visas like H-1B or L visas
- E Sponsors green cards for foreign skilled workers as part of the hiring process



- 1 Yes
- 2 No

- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]

I5 For the following levels of your company, please rate the importance of foreign skilled workers to your organization's U.S. operations:

[SET UP AS A GRID; DO NOT RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

- A Entry level
 - B Technology roles (e.g. scientist, engineer, coder)
 - C Non-technology operating roles (e.g. sales and marketing, accounting, production)
 - D Managerial roles (e.g. managers, department heads, VPs)
 - E C-level
 - F Overall (entire company)
-
- 1 Not important at all
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5 Very important
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



I6 How critical are foreign skilled workers for these functions in your organization's U.S. operations?

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-H AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Increasing the quantity of innovation (such as the number of patents your organization produces)
 - B Increasing the quality of innovation (such as breakthrough innovations)
 - C Reaching domestic customers
 - D Reaching international customers
 - E Improving company culture
 - F Lowering costs
 - G Developing better products and services
 - H Making better strategic decisions
-
- 1 Not critical at all
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5 Very critical
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



I7 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-H AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A My organization hires the best candidates for senior positions without considering whether an employment visa is required.
- B My organization hires the best candidates, including recent university graduates, for junior positions without considering whether an employment visa is required.
- C My organization actively recruits foreign skilled workers.
- D My organization only hires foreign skilled workers when there are no suitable domestic workers.
- E Foreign skilled workers provide access to skills that the domestic talent pool does not provide.
- F Foreign skilled workers are more expensive to hire than domestic workers.
- G The number of foreign skilled workers currently in my organization has increased compared to five years ago.
- H I expect that the number of foreign skilled workers in my organization will increase in five years' time compared to today.
 - 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



I8 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-D AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A The U.S. immigration system makes it easy for my organization to hire foreign skilled workers into our U.S. operations
- B The U.S. immigration system causes project delays by inhibiting our ability to recruit foreign skilled workers
- C The U.S. immigration system causes my organization to move work overseas
- D Current political rhetoric around immigration is harming my organization's ability to attract foreign skilled workers.

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Somewhat disagree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat agree
- 5 Strongly agree
- 9 Don't know
- 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



I9 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

[SET UP AS A GRID; RANDOMIZE ITEMS A-I AND RECORD RANDOMIZATION IN DATAFILE]

- A Foreign skilled workers harm wages for domestic high-skilled workers
 - B Foreign skilled workers harm the employment of older domestic skilled workers
 - C Foreign skilled workers have a positive effect on the U.S. economy
 - D Foreign skilled workers have a positive effect on my community
 - E More low-skilled immigrants should be allowed to move to the U.S. to work and live.
 - F More highly skilled immigrants should be allowed to move to the U.S. to work and live.
 - G My organization has been unable to hire foreign skilled workers due to the unavailability of visas.
 - H The U.S. should grant permanent residence for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients.
 - I The U.S. government should build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.
- 1 Strongly disagree
 - 2 Somewhat disagree
 - 3 Neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 Somewhat agree
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 9 Don't know
 - 10 Not applicable to me/my company

[PAGE BREAK]



In the 2016 fiscal year, 12 percent of foreigners granted permanent residency in the U.S. arrived through employment-based visa programs, 68 percent arrived through family-based visa programs, and 20 percent arrived through other visas like the diversity lottery and refugee / asylum programs. These percentages have not significantly changed over the past 10 years.

(Please note: Your total should sum to 100%.)

- I10 What share of total immigration to the U.S. do you think should be employment-based?
[NUMERIC TEXT]
- I11 What share of total immigration to the U.S. do you think should be family-based? [NUMERIC TEXT]
- I12 What share of total immigration to the U.S. do you think should be through other visas like the diversity lottery and refugee / asylum programs? [NUMERIC TEXT]

Total [INSERT NUMERIC TEXT SUM OF I10-I12]
[MUST SUM TO 100%]

[PAGE BREAK]

- I13 Please select the following changes that you would support for skilled immigration?
(Please select all that apply.) [MULTI PUNCH]
- 1 Increase the number of available H-1B visas by 50% or more. (The current annual quota is 85,000.)
 - 2 Rather than using a lottery system to select among H-1B applicants, use a ranking procedure that prioritizes applicants with higher salaries
 - 3 Set a \$100,000 minimum wage threshold for an H-1B holder
 - 4 Require companies that hire workers on H-1B visas to pay a small portion of their ensuing stock gains towards funding for U.S. community colleges
 - 5 Move from an employer-led immigration system to a points-based immigration system
 - 6 Establish an immigrant entrepreneur visa class
 - 7 None of the above [SINGLE SELECT]
 - 9 Don't know



[PAGE BREAK]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

[INSERT TIME STAMP]

Contacting You

R1 HBS faculty members may wish to follow up with some alumni to discuss their views further. May we contact you for this purpose?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

To complete the survey and submit your responses, please press the Continue button below. To review or change earlier responses, please press the Go Back button below—please **do not** press your browser's back button.

Termination

Your responses have been recorded. Thank you very much for participating in this important survey. Faculty members will share the survey findings by email, via the U.S. Competitiveness Project's website www.hbs.edu/competitiveness, and in publications.

[INSERT TIME STAMP]





Appendix C: Survey Look and Feel

Introductory Page

HARVARD | BUSINESS | SCHOOL
U.S. Competitiveness Project

Start Section 1 Section 2 Section 3 End

Thank you for participating in Harvard Business School's 2019 survey on U.S. competitiveness. The findings will help faculty gauge the state and trajectory of the United States in the global economy. Previous surveys of alumni have been influential in business circles, policy discussions, and the media.

HBS is inviting all alumni to complete the survey. We are grateful to everyone who participates: working or retired, based inside or outside the U.S., employed in a for-profit, nonprofit, or government organization, and from all industries. Your responses are confidential, and participation is entirely voluntary. At the end of the survey, you will be asked whether HBS researchers may contact you.

The survey is being conducted by Abt Associates, a leading business research firm. It will take approximately 15-20 minutes if you are based in the U.S. and 10 minutes if you are based outside the U.S. (because some questions will not apply to you). Many people find the questions very interesting.

You can leave the survey at any time and return to complete it. All of your responses will be saved up to the point at which you last pressed the "Continue" button.

For any words that appear in **blue** in the survey, hover your mouse over the word to see an explanation.

If you need to go back and change an answer, please use the "Go Back" button in the survey and not your web browser's back button.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact:

Abt Associates Valrie Horton Senior Analyst Data Science, Surveys & Enabling Technologies Phone: +1-888-201-0993 Email: HBS@abtassoc.com	Harvard Business School Manjari Raman Program Director and Senior Researcher U.S. Competitiveness Project Phone: +1-617-495-6288 Email: mraman@hbs.edu
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[Click here to resume where you left off](#)

First Question

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U.S. Competitiveness Project

Start Section 1 Section 2 Section 3 End

Are you located in one of the following European Economic Area countries? Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, or the United Kingdom.

(Due to General Data Protection Regulations, HBS requires an additional consent from you.)

Yes
 No