



Hard work, privilege or luck? Exploring people's views of what matters most to get ahead in life

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- New data collected across 27 OECD countries offer insights into people's attitudes towards equal opportunities and what factors they consider important to get ahead in life.
- On average, two in three respondents believe that more or much more should be done to promote equal opportunities.
- A majority of respondents (60% on average) believe that hard work is essential or very important in determining one's social position. However, of this majority, only one-fifth believe that hard work is the only key factor to success, while most believe that other circumstances are equally or even more important to get ahead in life.
- Socio-economic factors, such as being born in the country where they live or having well-educated parents, are perceived as key determinants of one's success by up to 43% of respondents. Similarly, individual characteristics, such as ethnicity, sex, or religion, are essential or very important factors for up to one in four respondents.
- Circumstances beyond people's control are perceived to be more important in shaping bad rather than good outcomes. 80% of respondents believe that low income is the result, at least in part, of bad luck, while only 67% believe that higher earners stroke it lucky.
- The belief that effort matters to get ahead in life is more widespread in more unequal and less mobile societies, as those valuing hard work over other circumstances may be more likely to accept income disparities as rewards for effort.
- Respondents who are confident that they will be better-off in the near future are more likely to consider effort more important and downplay the role of other factors. Conversely, those who support greater redistribution from the rich to the poor tend to place greater importance on individual and background factors beyond one's control.
- People's views of the determinants of social mobility are also influenced by people's characteristics and identity traits. For instance, individuals with a minority background tend to attribute more importance to individual characteristics and socio-economic factors. Age also plays a role, with older individuals prioritising the role of hard work and younger generations that of socio-economic characteristics.

Amidst persistent challenges to social mobility, people ask for enhanced opportunities

Promoting social mobility and equality of opportunity remains an important challenge for OECD countries. Inequality in opportunities across children and adults from different socio-economic backgrounds is stark (OECD, 2018^[1]). OECD research shows that across European OECD countries socio-economic disadvantages in childhood translate to lower incomes in adulthood, with children who face the greatest socio-economic disadvantages growing up to earn as much as 20% less than those who experienced more favourable childhoods (Bonnet et al., 2022^[2]). **Recent economic shocks have highlighted, and often amplified, the disparities in opportunities that exist across segments of our society.** During the COVID-19 pandemic, disadvantaged students suffered more from school closures and had greater trouble with the switch to online learning (OECD, 2021^[3]). People in rural areas, while being initially less affected by the pandemic, struggled with the compounding challenges of limited access to health care, schools and high-speed internet (OECD, 2021^[4]).

As OECD economies emerged from the COVID-19 crisis, Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine heightened economic uncertainty and put pressure on household's living standards. Soaring energy and food prices have spurred a cost-of-living crisis whose impact is hitting the most vulnerable households the hardest (Caisl et al., 2023^[5]; OECD, 2023^[6]). But the impact of high inflation reaches far beyond the lowest-income households alone, as rising mortgage costs, for example, further burden middle-class homeowners. In the medium and longer run, there is a real risk that high inflation will further undermine equality in opportunities and hinder upward social mobility by reducing lower- and middle-income households' ability to invest in their children's future (APA, 2022^[6]; Citroner, 2022^[7]). **Furthermore, megatrends such as digitalisation and automation, demographic change and the green transition are influencing the distribution of opportunities across people and places** (OECD, 2021^[8]).

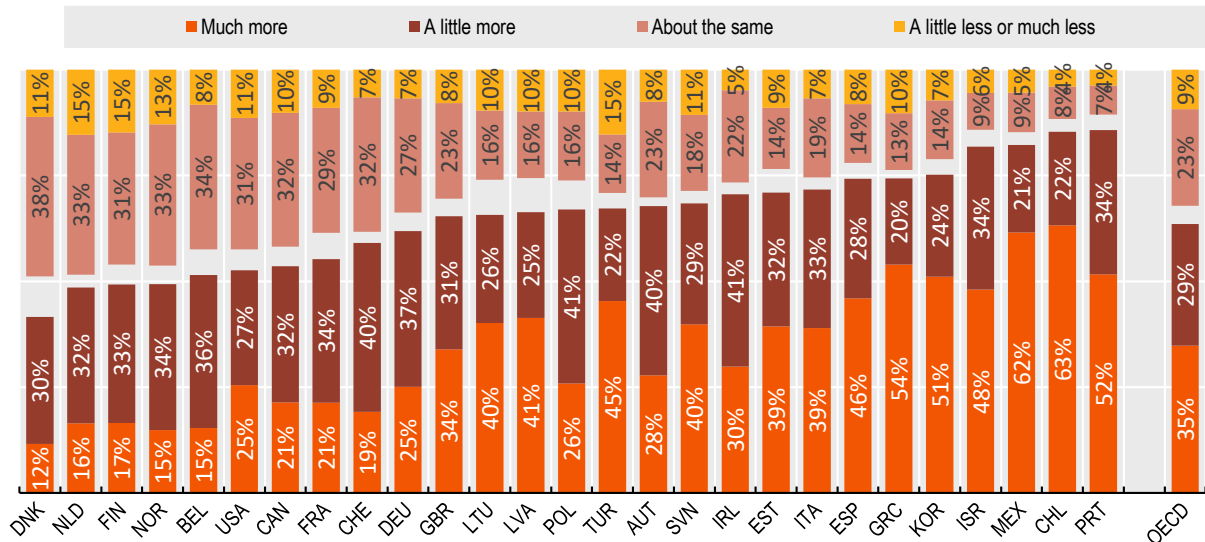
Against this backdrop, people across OECD countries perceive a slim chance to climb the social ladder. Thinking about themselves, nearly 65% of working-age individuals in OECD countries are concerned about being less financially secure than their parents and an almost equal share fear their children will have comparatively lower living standards (OECD, 2021^[9]). Thinking about society as a whole, on average, people believe that six out of ten poor children will grow up as poor adults (Balestra and Ciani, 2022^[10]). These beliefs matter and it is important to understand the complex ways in which they affect people's views about society, attitudes towards others and preferences for policies. On the one hand, beliefs in social mobility may help strengthen the social contract, notably by mitigating the negative effects that perceived loss of status can have on the subjective well-being of individuals and on the cohesion of society as a whole through increased polarisation between groups. On the other hand, however, strongly held views on the role of individual effort in determining success in life can also contribute to diminishing support for policies designed to promote greater opportunity for vulnerable populations and reduce inequality. Understanding people's beliefs of social mobility is hence key to designing and implementing policy mixes that address structural disparities and widespread lack of opportunity and garner broad public support. Communicating widely on people's perceptions and beliefs of social mobility and equal opportunities can also provide meeting points in the national debate as regards to required action and responsible actors.

Perceptions of limited social mobility translate into widespread support for levelling the playing field and ensuring everyone has a fair chance to do well in life. The Opportunities module of the 2022 wave of OECD Risks that Matter survey (hereafter, the Opportunities module, see Box 2, at the end of this brief, for further details), designed with the support of Amundi, shows that a large majority of working-age individuals (18- to 64-year-old), across the 27 OECD countries in the survey, report that a little more or much more should be done to promote equal opportunities for all. On average, two out of three respondents ask for step up action, with support levels varying greatly across countries and ranging

from below 50% in Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, and Norway, to 80% and above in Israel, Mexico, Chile, and Portugal (Figure 1).

Figure 1. On average, almost two-in-three respondents think that more should be done to promote equal opportunities for all

Distribution of responses to the question “How much should be done to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to get ahead in life?”, by country, 2022

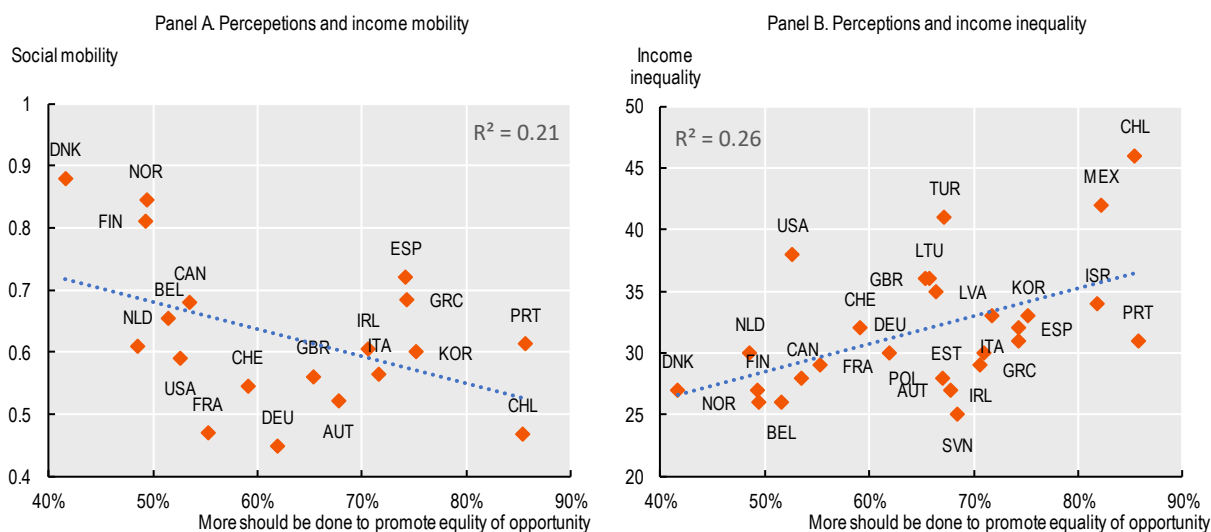


Note: The blank area indicates the percentage of respondents who selected ‘can’t choose’. Countries are ranked in ascending order of the cumulative share of respondents reporting that much more or a little more should be done to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to get ahead in life. Data from the Opportunities module include respondents aged 18-64. The OECD average refers to the weighted average of the 27 OECD countries for which data are available.

Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtm>.

At country level, support for strengthening equal opportunities tends to be lower in more unequal countries (OECD, 2021_[11]). Consensus is larger in countries with limited social mobility (Figure 2, Panel A) and comparatively higher income inequality (Figure 2, Panel B). However, the pattern is not always cut and dried. For instance, in the United States where, according to standard measures, social mobility is moderate and income inequality is high, only half of the respondents support further action to foster equal opportunities. Conversely, despite low levels of income inequality, around 70% of Slovenian respondents think that more should be done to level the playing field. The large cross-country variation between inequality and social mobility, on the one hand, and the public support to foster equal opportunities, on the other hand, reflects the interplay of a variety of additional factors, including the influence of people’s beliefs about whether inequalities are legitimate and under what circumstances they can be. For instance, a growing body of literature has identified in attitudes towards meritocracy, i.e. the idea that outcomes are determined by effort, may lead individuals to legitimise existing disparities (OECD, 2021_[12]).

Figure 2. Support for enhancing equal opportunities is stronger in less socially mobile and more unequal countries



Note: Respondents were asked the question: “How much should be done to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to get ahead in life?”. Social mobility is proxied by 1 minus the intergenerational earnings elasticity of fathers with sons and income inequality is measured by the Gini coefficient at disposable income.

Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtm>; OECD Income Distribution Database, <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=IDD>; and OECD (2018^[1]), *A Broken Social Elevator? How to Promote Social Mobility*, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301085-en>.

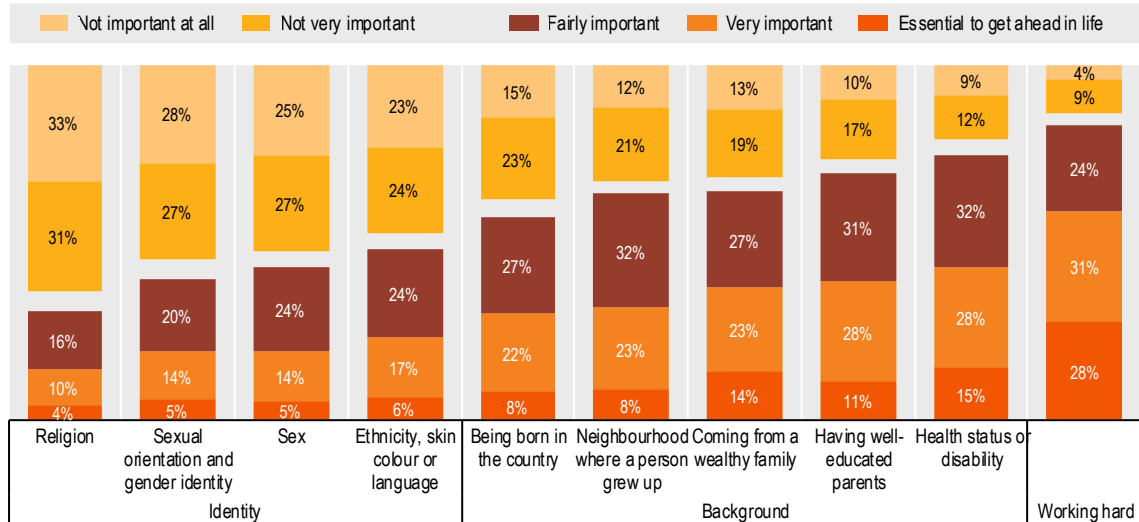
For most people, one’s success is the result of a combination of factors, which are in large part beyond individual control

The Opportunities module asked about people’s views of what counts most to get ahead in life among various factors, including socio-economic background and endowments (i.e. coming from a wealthy family; having well-educated parents; being born in the country where a person lives; the neighbourhood, town or territory where a person grew up, and a person’s health status or disability); individual characteristics (i.e. a person’s ethnicity, skin colour or language, religion, sex, sexual orientation and gender identity); as well as working hard.

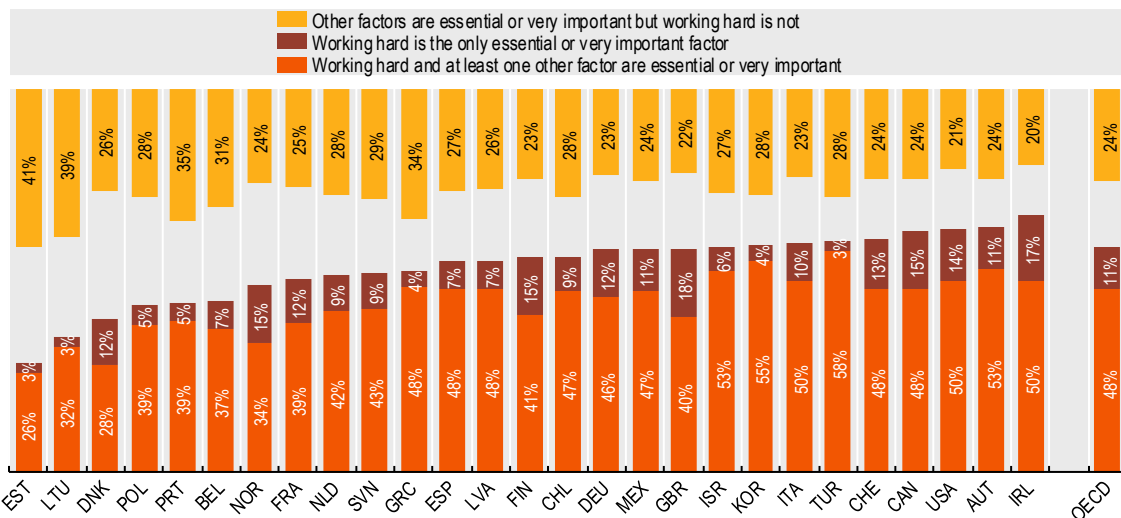
While a majority of respondents regard hard work as key to getting ahead in life, only a small share think that effort is the only factor behind success. On average, around 60% of respondents believe that hard work is essential or very important in determining one’s chance to get ahead in life (Figure 3, Panel A). Moreover, only one-fifth of those who report that working hard is essential or very important to get ahead in life (11% of respondents) consider it is the only key factor to success (Figure 3, Panel B). Nonetheless, in some contexts, such as English-speaking and Nordic countries, this rate is higher, reaching almost 20% in the United Kingdom.

Figure 3. People strongly believe that working hard alone is not sufficient to get ahead in life

Panel A. Responses to the question: “In your country, nowadays, how important do you think each of the following factors is for an individual to get ahead in life?”, OECD 27, 2022



Panel B. Clustered distribution of responses to the question: “In your country, nowadays, how important do you think each of the following factors is for an individual to get ahead in life?”, by country, 2022



Note: In Panel A, the blank area indicates the percentage of respondents who selected ‘can’t choose’. In Panel B, the blank area indicates the percentage of respondents who did not select any of the factors displayed in Panel A as essential or very important to get ahead in life. Data from the Opportunities module include respondents aged 18-64. The OECD average refers to the weighted average of the 27 OECD countries for which data are available. Panel B: Countries are ranked in ascending order of the cumulative share of respondents reporting that hard work is very important or essential.

Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtm>.

On average, for a large share of respondents, circumstances beyond people’s control are as important as (48%) or even more important than (24%) working hard. This belief matches compelling evidence of a strong link between social mobility and socio-economic background or individual characteristics. For instance, Figure 3, Panel A shows that across the countries in the survey, more than

two-fifths of respondents believe that health status or lack of disability is essential or very important to get ahead in life (see Box 1 for further details at country level). These perceptions are in line with observed disability gaps in education, income and employment, with people with disabilities being more likely to be early school leavers and 40% less likely to be in employment compared to people without disabilities (OECD, 2022^[12]). Socio-economic factors, such as coming from a wealthy family or having well-educated parents, are considered a key driver of upward mobility for more than one-in-three respondents (Figure 3, Panel A). As with disability, this belief is consistent with the case of a large body of evidence showing that unequal starting points have a lasting impact on a wide range of well-being outcomes later in life (Bowles and Gintis, 2002^[13]; D’Addio, 2007^[14]; Causa and Johansson, 2009^[15]; Corak, 2013^[16]; OECD, 2018^[1]). For example, across the OECD, children whose parents have a tertiary degree are 45 percentage points more likely to graduate from university themselves compared to those whose parents had less than a secondary degree (Balestra and Ciani, 2022^[10]). This gap, despite the extensive expansion of education among younger generations, has endured across decades (OECD, 2018^[17]). The quality of local areas during childhood also plays a key role, as households with lower socio-economic status often live in neighbourhoods that are more affected by exposure to pollution and noise or with higher violent crime rates (Clarke and Thévenon, 2022^[18]). Correspondingly, 30% of respondents, on average, report that the neighbourhood where a person grew up is essential or very important in determining their chance to get ahead later in life (Figure 3, Panel A).

Individual factors and identity traits are often an obstacle to upward mobility. Despite progress in gender equality, women still fare worse than men in a number of economic and social areas (OECD, 2023^[19]). Evidence also points to pervasive inequalities by race and ethnicity (Holder, 2021^[20]; Derenoncourt et al., 2022^[21]) and by sexual orientation and gender identity (OECD, 2019^[22]; OECD, 2020^[23]). **A notable share of respondents (between 14% and 23%) believe that individual characteristics beyond people’s control are essential or very important to move up the income ladder.** While OECD countries generally exhibit a common pattern when it comes to the relevance of background factors and individual characteristics in explaining people’s achievements, there is also some cross-country variation (Box 1).

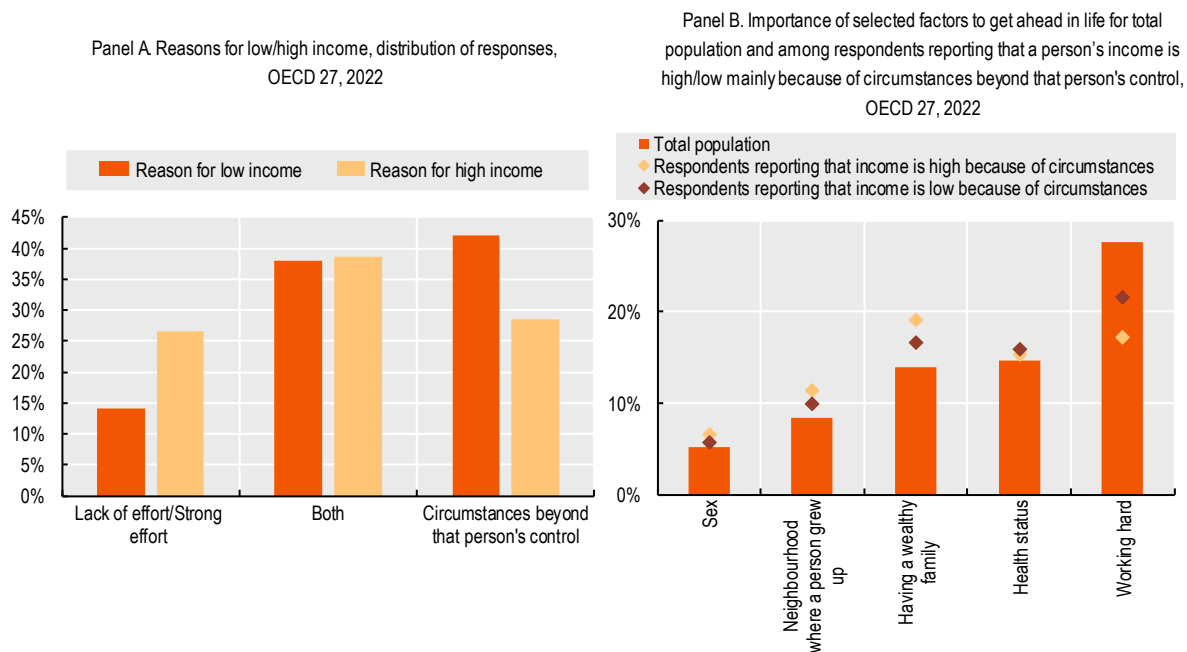
Box 1. Geographical differences in the perceived role of background factors and individual characteristics

Beliefs about social mobility vary across countries:

- Health status is considered an essential or very important determinant of social mobility by 40% to 50% of respondents in most countries. However, this proportion drops to about one-third in Nordic countries and the United Kingdom, while it surges to nearly two-thirds in Greece and Korea.
- A significant share of respondents in most countries (ranging from 20% to 40% of survey participants) perceive the remaining background factors as key to getting ahead in life. However, consensus tends to be comparatively lower in Nordic countries (i.e. Denmark, Norway, and to a certain degree, Finland), and higher in Greece, Israel, Korea, Türkiye and to some extent in Italy. Notably, more than half of respondents in Korea and Türkiye believe that family status, i.e. having a wealthy family or well-educated parents, is a key factor to success.
- Across all the 27 OECD countries covered in the survey, individual characteristics are regarded as of lesser relevance, compared to other factors. Ethnicity, skin colour or language is the perceived most important identity trait, except in Lithuania, Greece, and Türkiye where sexual orientation ranks first. Other factors such as religion, gender and sexual orientation are typically viewed as essential or very important by fewer than one-in-five respondents. The only exceptions are Israel (in the case of religion), the United States (for gender and sexual orientation), and Greece and Türkiye (for all three factors), where rates exceed 20%.

Many consider bad luck as the primary driver of low achievements, but fewer believe that high achievements depend only on hard work. On average, more than two-fifths of respondents (42%) believe that low income is primarily due to unfortunate circumstances, while only one-in-seven believe it is mainly the result of insufficient effort. In contrast, more than a quarter of respondents (27%) believe that high income is most often due to hard work alone. Almost 40% of respondents report that both low and high incomes are the results of a combination of effort and external circumstances (Figure 4, Panel A). Those who attribute both low and high achievements mainly to factors that transcend people’s control are less likely than the average respondent to say that working hard is essential to getting ahead in life, and more likely to underscore the relevance of socio-economic background, such as family status and environmental factors. In the case of low income, greater importance is also attached to (poor) health status (Figure 4, Panel B).

Figure 4. On average, two-fifths of respondents believe that low income is mainly due to factors that transcend people’s control, such as a disadvantaged background



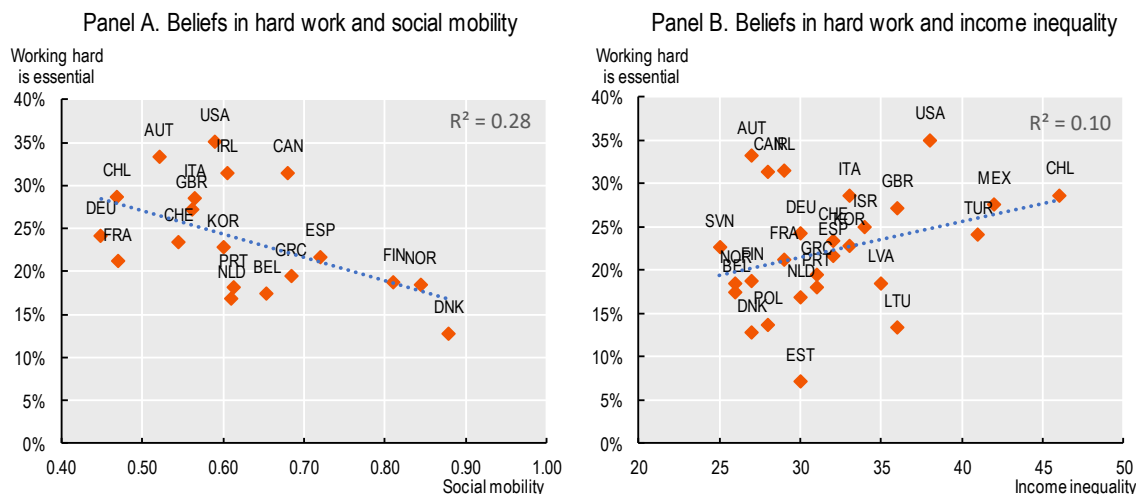
Note: Panel A: Respondents were asked the following questions: “In your opinion, if in your country a working-age person’s income is low, which is most often the reason?”, with option categories “lack of effort”, “circumstances beyond that person’s control”, “both” and “can’t choose”; and “In your opinion, if in your country a working-age person’s income is high, which is most often the reason?”, with option categories: “strong effort”, “circumstances beyond that person’s control”, “both” and “can’t choose”. Panel B: Respondents were asked the question: “Thinking about your country nowadays, how important do you think each of the following factors is for an individual to get ahead in life?”. Factors included: a person’s ethnicity, skin colour or language, a person’s religion, a person’s sex, a person’s sexual orientation or gender identity, coming from a wealthy family, having well-educated parents, being born in the country where you live, the neighbourhood, town or territory where a person grew up, a person’s health status or disability and working hard. For each factor, respondents could select between the following options: “essential to get ahead in life”, “very important”, “fairly important”, “not very important”, “not important at all to get ahead in life” and “can’t choose”. The different factors were randomly ordered across respondents. For each factor, bars represent the share of respondents who selected “essential to get ahead in life”. Data from the Opportunities module include respondents aged 18-64. OECD average is population-weighted. Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtrm>.

Beliefs that work pays off are more widespread in countries with high inequality and low social mobility

In countries with higher inequality and lower social mobility, a larger share of respondents tend to view hard work as essential for getting ahead in life (Figure 5, Panels A and B), a result that holds true when using alternative metrics of income distribution, both objective or subjective, and even after controlling for individual socio-economic characteristics. These findings are in line with previous OECD analysis (OECD, 2021^[11]), which discussed how the perceived importance of hard work for getting ahead in life, and its increase between the early 1990s and the global financial crisis, may partly explain people’s tolerance of increased inequality. A growing body of research has shown that people who believe that hard work matters more than sheer luck or other circumstances beyond an individual’s control for getting ahead in life are more accepting of income inequality, because they believe that high earning disparities are the reward for differences in individual effort (Alesina and Giuliano, 2011^[25]; Piketty, 1995^[26]). Meritocratic beliefs may legitimise highly competitive societies where an elite reaps the most rewards and secure their children’s advantages, through private schooling, influential networks, and economic opportunities, while upward mobility becomes out of reach for large segments of the population. (Sandel, 2020^[24]; Markovits, 2019^[25]).

On the other hand, data from the Opportunities module also reveal that in countries with tight labour markets, i.e. where labour market insecurity and long-term unemployment are lower, or where the perceived risk of job loss is less of a concern, the belief that effort leads to success is more widespread, as individuals may anticipate greater employment opportunities and hold prospects of upward mobility (as discussed later).

Figure 5. The belief that working hard is an essential ingredient for success is higher in more unequal and less mobile societies



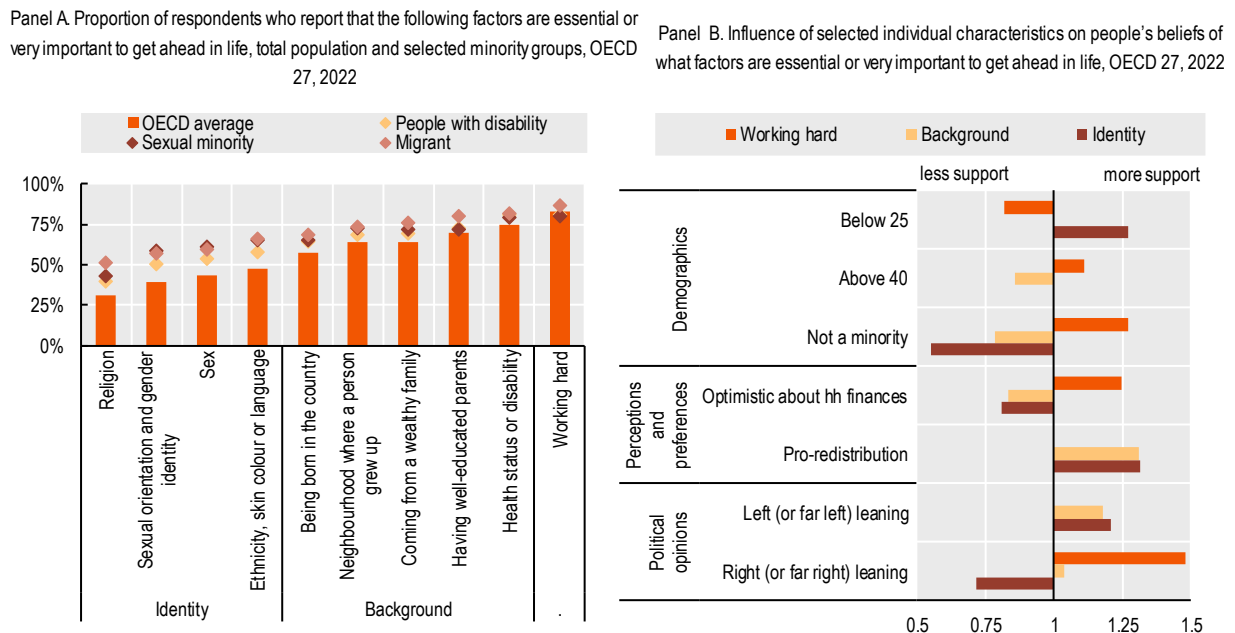
Note: Respondents were asked the question: “Thinking about your country nowadays, how important do you think each of the following factors is for an individual to get ahead in life?”. Factors included: a person’s ethnicity, skin colour or language, a person’s religion, a person’s sex, a person’s sexual orientation or gender identity, coming from a wealthy family, having well-educated parents, being born in the country where you live, the neighbourhood, town or territory where a person grew up, a person’s health status or disability and working hard. For each factor, respondents could select between the following options: “essential to get ahead in life”, “very important”, “fairly important”, “not very important”, “not important at all to get ahead in life” and “can’t choose”. The different factors were randomly ordered across respondents. Social mobility is proxied by 1 minus the intergenerational earnings elasticity of fathers with sons and income inequality is measured by the Gini coefficient at disposable income.

Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtm>; OECD Income Distribution Database, <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=IDD>; and OECD (2018^[11]), *A Broken Social Elevator? How to Promote Social Mobility*, <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301085-en>.

Age, minority status and prospects of upward mobility shape people’s view of what matters most to get ahead in life

Individual characteristics affect people’s views of the drivers of social mobility. Respondents who report being part of a minority tend to place greater value on factors beyond people’s control. For instance, respondents with a migrant background are close to 70% more likely to report that religion matters to get ahead in life, while sexual minorities are 50% more likely to consider that sexual orientation is key. However, this does not automatically translate into considering work less important. While minority groups are generally slightly less likely to regard hard work as a key determinant of one’s success, migrants are more likely than the average respondent to believe that hard work pays off (Figure 6, Panel A). This may suggest that, while acknowledging the existence of systemic barriers that hold them back, migrants still believe in a merit-based economy where their efforts will be rewarded.

Figure 6. Young respondents and those with a minority background are more likely to believe that individual characteristics are key in determining one’s success, while effort is prioritised by older respondents and those holding prospects of upward mobility



Note: Respondents were asked the question: “Thinking about your country nowadays, how important do you think each of the following factors is for an individual to get ahead in life?”. Factors included: a person’s ethnicity, skin colour or language, a person’s religion, a person’s sex, a person’s sexual orientation or gender identity, coming from a wealthy family, having well-educated parents, being born in the country where you live, the neighbourhood, town or territory where a person grew up, a person’s health status or disability and working hard. For each factor, respondents could select between the following options: “essential to get ahead in life”, “very important”, “fairly important”, “not very important”, “not important at all to get ahead in life” and “can’t choose”. The different factors were randomly ordered across respondents. Panel A: Minority status is self-reported. Respondents were asked the question “Would you consider yourself as being part of a minority group based on your ...” options included 10 categories among which “disability”, “sexual orientation or gender identity” and “migrant status”. For each factor, bars and diamonds represent the share of respondents who responded “very important” or “essential to get ahead in life”. Panel B: The dummy variable “Optimistic about household finances” is derived from the question: “Looking ahead to five years from now, do you think that your household’s financial situation will be better than, the same as, or worse than it is today?”. The dummy variable “Pro-redistribution” is derived from the question: “Should the government tax the rich more than they currently do in order to support the poor?”. Bars represent the coefficients of a logistic regression of the perceived importance of the different factors to get ahead in life on socio-economic and perceptions indicators. The dummy variable to assess political opinion is derived from the question: “If a national election were held tomorrow, for which party would you vote?” Data from the Opportunities module include respondents aged 18-64. The OECD average refers to the weighted average of the 27 OECD countries for which data are available.

Source: Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter Survey 2022, <http://oe.cd/rtm>.

When controlling for additional individual characteristics, such as age, household structure or income, econometric analysis confirms the patterns described above and offers additional insights. For example, compared to the average respondent, young generations are more likely to report that individual factors matter more while effort matters less. Conversely, older respondents tend to attach relatively more importance to hard work and relatively less importance to socio-economic background (Figure 6, Panel B). These differences in beliefs may stem from a growing interest in and openness to the concept of identity among the youth – for instance, data from the Opportunities module reveals that younger generations are significantly more likely to identify themselves as part of a sexual or ethnic minority compared to their older counterparts. Furthermore, research in this field has showed that individuals' perceptions of social mobility are influenced by their own individual trajectories (Mijs et al., 2022^[26]). Therefore, the reduced emphasis on hard work among the youth may also be linked to a (naturally) lower level of social mobility experienced at a younger age. The disparity between age groups may also reflect a shift in opportunities over time. If equality of opportunity has declined, each generation's beliefs may capture different realities.

The role of income in shaping beliefs about social mobility is still debated in the literature. According to some studies, people embrace the idea that hard work leads to success regardless of their social position: for higher earners this validates their fortunate situations (e.g. Bénabou and Tirole (2006^[27])), while for lower earners it offers a promise of future advancement (e.g. Morris et al. (2022^[28])). Another strand of research postulates instead that lower social classes may be more inclined to reject a narrative that places the emphasis on individual effort to succeed and blames them for their low achievements (e.g. Roex, Huijts and Sieben (2019^[29])). While lower-income respondents to the Opportunities module are slightly more likely to report that hard work is important to get ahead in life, the evidence of an income effect on beliefs about social mobility becomes inconclusive when controlling for other socio-economic factors.

Additional factors, such as prospects of upward mobility, attitudes towards the role of the government in reducing inequality shape people's views of the determinants of social mobility.

Compared to the average, respondents who are confident that they will be better-off in the near future are more likely to consider effort more important and downplay the role of other factors. The expectation of climbing up the income ladder can reinforce 'individualistic' perspectives on inequality, which attribute future success to personal efforts and abilities. The reverse is true for respondents who support greater redistribution from the rich to the poor and who seem to place greater importance on individual and background factors (Figure 6, Panel B). These findings are in line with previous national studies. For instance, Alesina and Ferrara (2005^[30]) showed that, in the United States, individuals who hold the belief that success is primarily shaped by hard work and merit tend to oppose redistributive policies. Conversely, those who perceive barriers to equality of opportunities, such as limited access to education or the advantage of having affluent parents, tend to endorse redistribution as a way to foster social mobility.

The factors that people perceive as key to getting ahead in life also reflect respondents' political views. Respondents who express their intention to vote for a right (or far right) wing party in an upcoming election tend to think that effort is more important to get ahead while placing less importance on the role of individual characteristics. On the other hand, those leaning toward the left (or far left) are more likely to attribute success to factors beyond people's control.

The present note discussed how people view the role of effort and factors beyond one's control in getting ahead in life. Additional analysis, published as part of a series of Policy Insights dedicated to the Opportunities module, will delve into the perceived role of different actors in reducing economic inequality as well as into public support for concrete policy options and actions promoted by the private sector to reduce inequality and foster opportunities.

Box 2. The Opportunities module of the OECD Risks that Matter (RTM) survey

The OECD RTM survey is a cross-national survey examining people's perceptions of social and economic risks, how well they think their government addresses those risks and their preferences for social protection and policy intervention going forward. Since 2018, RTM has been conducted every two years (OECD, 2019^[34]; 2021^[10]).

The 2022 wave covers 27 OECD countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Türkiye, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Most of the questions in RTM have been asked in prior waves, to allow reporting on changes in the overall views of the general public. Other questions are part of ad hoc modules that can be replaced to prioritise topical issues or emerging concerns. For instance, the 2020 wave of RTM included questions on individuals' experiences during the pandemic. In 2022, three ad hoc modules were introduced, focusing on the cost-of-living crisis (OECD, 2023^[6]), climate change, and social mobility and equal opportunities (i.e. the Opportunities module).

The Opportunities module focuses on four main thematic areas identified as lacking comparable information: *i)* the relative importance of different aspects of inequality; *ii)* people's views of the factors shaping equality of opportunity; *iii)* people's views of the role different actors play in reducing inequality and of the type of policies and actions to prioritise; and *iv)* experienced and perceived discrimination and support for pro-inclusion policies. Evidence from the Opportunities module will also contribute to the data collection effort of the [OECD Observatory of Social Mobility and Equal Opportunity](#) and to additional projects of the WISE Centre (e.g. measuring equity and discrimination).

The 2022 RTM questionnaire was developed by the OECD Secretariat in collaboration with OECD member country Delegates and stakeholders participating in a technical workshop in April 2022, and subsequently translated into national languages. Consistent with similar surveys, RTM is implemented online using non-probability samples recruited via internet and over phone. The survey contractor is Bilendi Ltd (formerly Respondi Ltd). Respondents are paid a nominal sum of two euros per survey. Sampling is conducted through quotas, with sex, age group, education level, income level, and employment status (in the last quarter of 2019) used as the sampling criteria. Survey weights are used to correct for any under- or over-representation based on these five criteria. The target and weighted sample is around 1 000 respondents per country. Financial support for the 2022 survey was provided through voluntary contributions by participating OECD member countries, the OECD Secretariat, Amundi (which sponsored the development of the Opportunities module), Kings College London, and the University of Stavanger.

Further reading

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