A Survey on Economic Policy Preferences

Our survey was run in June 2021 on a panel maintained by Kantar, a large international polling firm. People are contacted by email by the company, and respond online, until quotas are satisfied. We sample size is 2,000 in France, Germany and the U.S. First drafts of questions were designed by us in French, and then refined and simplified with polling specialists at Kantar and the PR firm Taddeo. The goal was to make the language easy to understand to a representative cross-section of the general population. Questions were originally written in French but translated into English and German with the help of native speakers.[2]

Besides the questions decribed in the main text, we ask different questions about topics related to identity and culture and budget allocation. We describe them here.

A.1 Identity and Culture

There a four questions on this topic. We first ask a question about the willingness to use private funds (of three possible types) to fund a large renovation of a large museum:

> *A prominent museum needs to be renovated. The renovation will cost about $500 million.*
>
> - *A foreign country proposes to finance the work, but in exchange, demands that naked statues be dressed or removed (1/3 of the sample);*
> - *An international foundation proposes to finance the work but in exchange demands that certain works that it considers to be racist be removed (1/3 of the sample);*
> - *A company in your country proposes to finance the work but in exchange demands to hang advertising posters in the museum (1/3 of the sample).*
>
> *To what extent do you agree with this initiative? Please give a score of 1 to 10 where 1 means that you do not agree at all and 10 means that you completely agree, with the intermediate scores being used to qualify your assessment.*

We also ask a question about the willingness to pay for a music festival:

> *A city hall is subsidizing a classical music festival in a poor neighborhood. This festival had a very small audience last year (almost empty auditoriums) and (one of the following two options):*

[2]We are indebted to Daniel Schmidt and Matthias Efing for their help with the German version of the survey.

- *it costs local taxpayers some $20 of taxes per year*
- *is fully funded by a federal grant*

The mayor holds a referendum and proposes three different options: Which options do you agree with most? Please select your answers in order of preference:

1. *Cancel the festival altogether*
2. *Replace the festival with a hip hop music festival that better fits the tastes of local inhabitants.*
3. *Maintain the classical music festival, but encourage local high schools to organize field trips to it.*

Finally, we ask two questions about immigration. First, a simple question about support for immigration, inspired by Johnson and Ballard (2016) and Haaland and Roth (2020), explosing half of the respondents to the consensus of economic experts:

A large number of jobs in agriculture, retail, hotels and restaurants, are held by immigrants.

- *Nearly all economic studies show that immigrant workers do not create unemployment or lower wages in the native population (50% of respondents)*
- *Nothing (50% of respondents)*

Are you in favor of allowing immigrants to come take these jobs? Please give a score of 1 to 10 where 1 means that you do not agree at all and 10 means that you completely agree, with the intermediate scores being used to qualify your assessment.

This question is followed by:

List the main reasons for your response:
Please select your answers in order of preference

- *Immigrants are too different from me*
- *Cultural diversity is a source of wealth*
- *Immigrants create safety issues*
- *Through their work, immigrants create wealth*

- *Immigrants take our jobs*
- *Immigrants cost our social services a lot*
- *It is our duty to welcome foreigners who are struggling in their country*
- *Immigrants take the jobs that employers have trouble filling*
- *Other (specify)*

A.2 Public policy and Government budget

We ask a simple question about health care finance:

- *Mr. X is 40 years old and he is seriously ill (50% of respondents)*
- *Mr. X is 85 years old and he is seriously ill (50% of respondents)*

There exists a treatment which would extend his life expectancy by 6 months and allow him to remain home. The treatment would cost:

- *10,000 dollars (1/3 of respondents)*
- *100,000 dollars (1/3 of respondents)*
- *1,000,000 dollars (1/3 of respondents)*

Please give a score of 1 to 10 where 1 means that you do not agree at all and 10 means that you completely agree, with the intermediate scores being used to qualify your assessment.

We then ask two questions about government budget. The first one consists of allocating an unexpected fiscal surplus:

The federal government just discovered that, this year, taxes have brought in tens of billions of dollars more than expected. How would you prefer these billions of dollars to be used? Please select your answers in order of preference

1. *A tax cut*
2. *Paying down some of the US government debt*
3. *A special check for struggling families*

4. *A $200 check for every citizen over the age of 20*
5. *Invest in research and education*
6. *Finance new hospitals in poor countries*

Finally, we ask households to construct their "ideal budget":

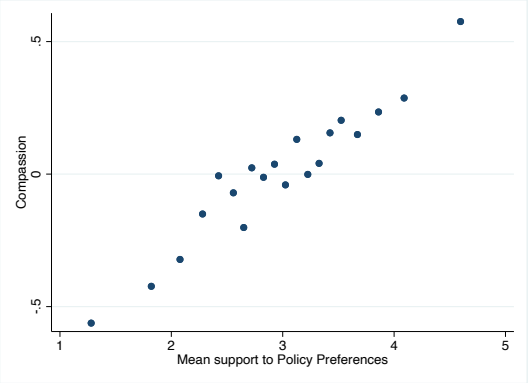
Imagine that you allocate public spending to various functions. By public spending, think federal, state and local spending altogether. Out of 100 dollars ....

1. *In your opinion, what would be your ideal allocation?*
2. *How do you think Americans would want allocate public spending?*
3. *And lastly, try to imagine, without worrying about making a mistake, what is the existing allocation of public spending in the USA?*

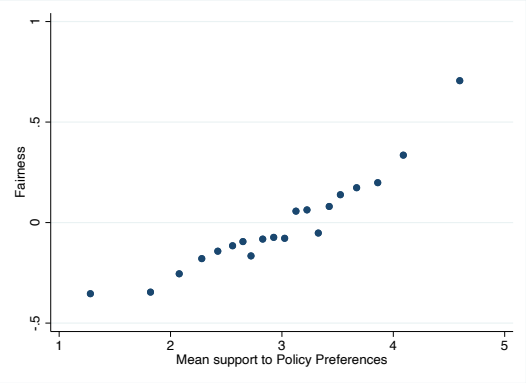
Major functions (as %)	Your ideal allocation	According to you Americans' ideal allocation? (in %)	In reality Federal Budget in 2019 (%)
1. Education	.	.	.
2. Research	.	.	.
3. Welfare	.	.	.
4. Defense	.	.	.
5. Law enforcement	.	.	.
6. Justice	.	.	.
7. Public Pensions	.	.	.
8. Health care	.	.	.
9. Other (specify)	.	.	.

B Appendix Figures

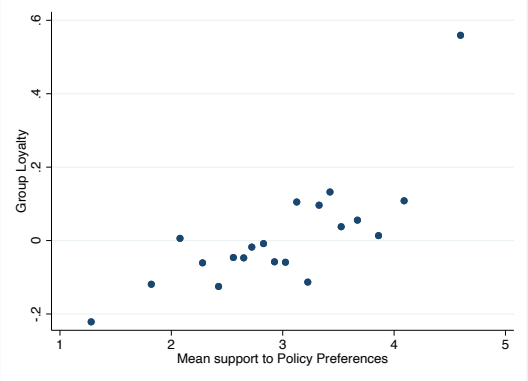
Figure A.1: Stated Moral Values and Mean Answer on Policy Preferences



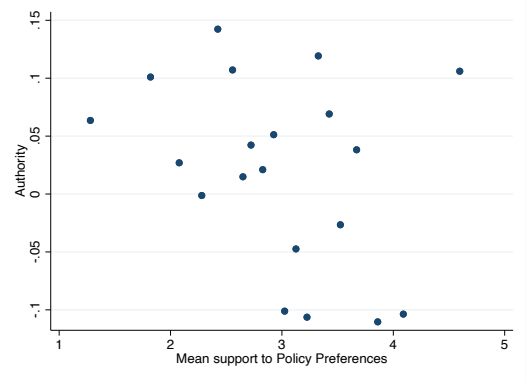
Panel A: Compassion ($R^2 = .06$)



Panel B: Fairness ($R^2 = .05$)



Panel C: Loyalty ($R^2 = .02$)



Panel D: Authority ($R^2 = .00$)

Note: We report here the same charts as in Figure 3. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. It appears that, even after adjustment, support for the "buy local policy" correlates strongly with compassion, loyalty and fairness, not so much with authority.

C Appendix Tables

Table A.1: Preference for Local Production & Values: Robustness

	LHS: Supports Buying Train Locally			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Increase in Ticket Price	-.21***	-.21***	-.21***	-.2***
	(-15)	(-17)	(-15)	(-15)
Individualist (baseline)	-.16***			
	(-12)			
Individualist (PCA)		-.17***		
		(-13)		
Individualist (adj. mean)			-.19***	
			(-14)	
Individualist (adj. PCA)				-.17***
				(-13)
Conservative (self report)	.021		.0028	
	(1.5)		(.2)	
Conservative (PCA)		.033***		
		(2.6)		
Conservative (adj PCA)				.04***
				(3.1)
High skill Occupation	.14***	.15***	.14***	.15***
	(4.1)	(4.7)	(4)	(4.6)
Age category	.03***	.024**	.04***	.036***
	(2.8)	(2.4)	(3.7)	(3.6)
Gender (1=female)	-.0082	-.053**	.012	-.036
	(-.29)	(-2.1)	(.42)	(-1.4)
Constant	-.075	-.02	-.13**	-.077
	(-1.2)	(-.35)	(-2)	(-1.3)
Observations	4,983	5,942	4,657	5,523
R^2	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08

Note: This table reproduces Table 2 using adjusted measures of policy and morals. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. t statistics in parentheses, clustered at the worker level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A.2: Preference for Protectionism & Values: Robustness

	LHS: Supports Protectionism Even if Costly			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Social standards	-.053***	-.052***	-.056***	-.056***
	(-3.3)	(-3.5)	(-3.4)	(-3.7)
Human Rights	.085***	.077***	.08***	.074***
	(5.3)	(5.2)	(4.9)	(4.9)
Individualist (baseline)	-.093***			
	(-6.7)			
Individualist (PCA)		-.09***		
		(-7)		
Individualist (adj. mean)			-.18***	
			(-13)	
Individualist (adj. PCA)				-.17***
				(-13)
Conservative (self report)	-.085***		-.1***	
	(-6.1)		(-7)	
Conservative (PCA)		-.054***		
		(-4.2)		
Conservative (adj PCA)				-.0013
				(-.096)
High skill Occupation	.18***	.21***	.17***	.19***
	(5.2)	(6.2)	(4.7)	(5.5)
Age category	.076***	.086***	.082***	.084***
	(7)	(8.5)	(7.4)	(8.1)
Gender (1=female)	-.022	-.036	-.00079	-.021
	(-.77)	(-1.4)	(-.027)	(-.77)
Constant	-.2***	-.25***	-.23***	-.25***
	(-3.2)	(-4.3)	(-3.6)	(-4.2)
Observations	4,957	5,907	4,657	5,523
R^2	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.06

Note: This table reproduces Table 3 using adjusted measures of policy and morals. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. t statistics in parentheses, clustered at the worker level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A.3: Retail subsidy & Values: Robustness

	LHS: Supports Subsidizing Downtown Retail			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Local tax increase	-.2***	-.2***	-.2***	-.19***
	(-15)	(-16)	(-14)	(-15)
Individualist (baseline)	-.15***			
	(-11)			
Individualist (PCA)		-.14***		
		(-11)		
Individualist (adj. mean)			-.2***	
			(-14)	
Individualist (adj. PCA)				-.19***
				(-14)
Conservative (self report)	-.047***		-.066***	
	(-3.4)		(-4.6)	
Conservative (PCA)		-.064***		
		(-5)		
Conservative (adj PCA)				-.0023
				(-.17)
High skill Occupation	.15***	.18***	.15***	.17***
	(4.2)	(5.3)	(4.1)	(5)
Age category	-.002	.0043	.013	.012
	(-.19)	(.44)	(1.1)	(1.2)
Gender (1=female)	.07**	.035	.088***	.052*
	(2.5)	(1.4)	(3)	(1.9)
Constant	-.095	-.097*	-.16**	-.15**
	(-1.5)	(-1.7)	(-2.5)	(-2.5)
Observations	4,976	5,933	4,657	5,523
R^2	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.08

Note: This table reproduces Table 4 using adjusted measures of policy and morals. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. t statistics in parentheses, clustered at the worker level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A.4: Fair Trade Chicken Breast & Values: Robustness

	LHS: Buys More Costly Fair Trade Chicken Breast			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Individualist (baseline)	-.12***			
	(-9)			
Individualist (PCA)		-.13***		
		(-9.8)		
Individualist (adj. mean)			-.17***	
			(-12)	
Individualist (adj. PCA)				-.15***
				(-11)
Conservative (self report)	-.12***		-.13***	
	(-8.8)		(-9.1)	
Conservative (PCA)		-.057***		
		(-4.4)		
Conservative (adj PCA)				.022
				(1.6)
High skill Occupation	.19***	.22***	.19***	.21***
	(5.4)	(6.4)	(5.3)	(6.1)
Age category	-.014	-.0066	-.0045	-.0045
	(-1.3)	(-.65)	(-.4)	(-.44)
Gender (1=female)	.16***	.15***	.17***	.16***
	(5.5)	(5.6)	(5.9)	(5.9)
Constant	-.19***	-.24***	-.24***	-.26***
	(-3.1)	(-4.1)	(-3.7)	(-4.2)
Observations	4,974	5,925	4,657	5,523
R^2	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.03

Note: This table reproduces Table 5 using adjusted measures of policy and morals. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. t statistics in parentheses, clustered at the worker level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A.5: Corporate Social Responsibility & Values: Robustness

	LHS: Supports Pro Bono Corporate Initiative			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Wage (not dividend) Freeze	-.25***	-.26***	-.25***	-.26***
	(-19)	(-21)	(-18)	(-20)
Individualist (baseline)	-.15***			
	(-11)			
Individualist (PCA)		-.13***		
		(-10)		
Individualist (adj. mean)			-.23***	
			(-17)	
Individualist (adj. PCA)				-.21***
				(-17)
Conservative (self report)	-.081***		-.1***	
	(-5.9)		(-7.5)	
Conservative (PCA)		-.14***		
		(-11)		
Conservative (adj PCA)				-.053***
				(-4.1)
High skill Occupation	.1***	.13***	.092***	.11***
	(2.9)	(4.1)	(2.6)	(3.4)
Age category	.011	.034***	.025**	.033***
	(1.1)	(3.5)	(2.3)	(3.3)
Gender (1=female)	-.044	-.072***	-.027	-.056**
	(-1.6)	(-2.9)	(-.94)	(-2.1)
Constant	.047	-.02	-.01	-.033
	(.76)	(-.36)	(-.17)	(-.57)
Observations	4,957	5,906	4,657	5,523
R^2	0.10	0.11	0.13	0.12

Note: This table reproduces Table 6 using adjusted measures of policy and morals. The only difference is now that all variables are adjusted for individual propensity to give large and variable answers on Likert scales. For each variable under consideration, we compute the average and s.d. of responses across *all other* questions (i.e. moral values, conservatism and policy attitudes) *within each individual*. We then substract the mean and divide by the s.d. of responses. This allows to adjust answers by individual propensity for choosing larger answers or using the full range of the scale. t statistics in parentheses, clustered at the worker level. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$