Whose preferences matter for redistribution: Cross-country evidence

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Abstract

Using cross-sectional data from 93 countries, we investigate the relationship between the desired level of redistribution among citizens from different socioeconomic backgrounds and the actual extent of government redistribution. Our focus on redistribution arises from the inherent class conflicts it engenders in policy choices, allowing us to examine whose preferences shape policy formulation. Contrary to prevailing assumptions regarding political influence, we find that the preferences of the lower socioeconomic group, rather than those of the median or upper strata, are most predictive of realized redistribution. This finding contradicts the expectations of both leading experts and regular citizens.

JEL Classifications: H23; D72; D78.

Key words: Elite Capture; Median Voter Theorem; Preferences for Redistribution

There are two dominant views of whose preferences drive policymaking. Most prominently, the median voter model posits that policies will reflect the preferences of the average citizen (Hotelling, 1929; Black, 1948; Downs, 1957). An alternative view is that the preferences of the economic elite — who possess the resources to have disproportionate influence — have greater impact on policy outcomes, whether through a stronger impact on public opinion, direct access to policymakers, or greater political participation.[1] The narrative of elite capture has gained particular prominence in both academic and mainstream discourse, and populist politicians have exploited it to attract disaffected voters (Guriev and Papaioannou, forthcoming).

These theories, in turn, have shaped political economists' views on income redistribution, for which there is at least some inherent class conflict over preferred policies. In particular, the canonical model of Meltzer and Richard (1981) builds on the median voter framework, arguing that the preferences of median-income voters dictate the extent of taxation and redistribution. This has given rise to a rich empirical literature testing the central tenets of the median voter model (e.g., see Meltzer and Richard, 1983; Benabou, 1996; Perotti, 1996; Borge and Rattsø, 2004; Mulligan *et al.*, 2004; Karabarbounis, 2011; Acemoglu *et al.*, 2015; Fujiwara, 2015).

Approaches to testing theories of government redistribution usually assume that voters' preferences are determined by their economic circumstances, which then interact with political institutions to determine policy (e.g., Iversen and Soskice, 2006; Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006). Regardless of the political system, however, less redistribution is assumed to reflect more weight on the preferences of the rich and, conversely, more redistribution implies more weight on the preferences of the poor.

In this paper, we take a different approach by directly evaluating whose preferences are most predictive of actual redistribution. We do so by relating redistributive preferences (as captured by survey responses) to realized redistribution in a cross-section of 93 countries

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[1]See, e.g., Bullock (2011) for a discussion of the elite's influence via public opinion, Teso (2020) on the direct influence of corporate elites, and Schlozman *et al.* (2012) on unequal political activism.

representing roughly 87 percent of the world's population. We leverage two main datasets. First, to measure *preferences* for redistribution, we use a combination of data from the European Values Study and the World Values Survey for the years 1995 to 2014. Specifically, we use responses to a standard income inequality question that asks respondents where they lie on the spectrum of, "We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort" to "Incomes should be made more equal".[2] We then construct a preference measure for different socioeconomic status (SES) groups, focusing on the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% in each country, in line with theories of political influence. Second, to capture *actual* government redistribution, we follow Solt (2020) and use the difference between net and gross Gini coefficients from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID).[3]

We find that the preferences of the *lowest* SES group are most predictive of realized redistribution. When we control for this measure, neither the median nor the top SES group's preferences have any incremental explanatory power. This pattern persists even when we analyze the preferences of each group separately, as the preferences of the highest SES group are not a significant predictor of realized redistribution. Including a range of country-level controls (e.g., GDP, pre-tax income inequality, population size, and democracy), or defining SES groups differently (e.g., 10% ranges or terciles instead of 5%) does not meaningfully change the results. The pattern also holds for both democratic and nondemocratic countries, alternative measures of government redistribution and preferences for redistribution, and it is stable over time.

The aim of this paper is not to test a particular model, such as the median voter model, but to introduce a new empirical perspective that could potentially challenge commonly held views of policy influence, thereby stimulating further empirical and theoretical research. While we cannot pinpoint the exact mechanism underlying the observed pattern, additional

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[2] See, e.g., Shayo (2009); Gorodnichenko and Roland (2011); Langsæther and Evans (2020); Margalit and Shayo (2021) among many others for work that also relies on this measure.

[3] As a robustness check, we explore alternative measures of redistribution, including post-tax Gini as a broad indicator, as well as taxes and social security expenditures from the latest version of the Relative Political Capacity dataset (Arbetman-Rabinowitz *et al.*, 2020).

analyses that we describe after presenting our main results help to narrow down the potential explanations.

Our work contributes to the vast literature on the determinants of government policy, particularly as they pertain to redistribution. In response to the apparent conflict between the Meltzer and Richard (1981) model and observed empirical facts, a large theoretical literature has proposed various explanations for muted demand for redistribution in the face of high or rising inequality. While too vast to survey here, notable theoretical contributions include Piketty (1995), Benabou (2000), Benabou and Ok (2001), Alesina and Angeletos (2005), and Benabou and Tirole (2006). In parallel, an ever-growing literature has explored the institutional and individual determinants of redistributive preferences, and also the determinants of actual redistributive policies, often guided by theoretical frameworks that build in either median-voter or elite capture models. Karabarbounis (2011), for example, revisits the Meltzer-Richard in a panel of 14 OECD countries, employing a framework that uses wealth as the unit of political influence ("one dollar, one vote"), and finds that this is a better fit for the data than the standard median voter framework. Iversen and Soskice (2006) instead consider, in a sample of 17 countries, how different electoral systems impact the extent of redistribution, because of the resultant political coalitions that may emerge. Rather than looking at variation amongst democratic institutions, a more basic implication of Meltzer-Richard is that democracy should increase redistribution by giving more political voice to poor citizens. As Acemoglu *et al.* (2015) point out, however, democracies may be co-opted by the elites, and autocrats may also be responsive to lower-income citizens to maintain stability.

Our paper is distinct from these earlier efforts in that we look at the link from class preferences — rather than making assumptions of a direct link from own-income to redistributive preferences — to realized redistribution. Several single-country studies consider this relationship. Most notably, Gilens and Page (2014) provide a "preliminary and tentative" test of which income groups' preferences are most correlated with policy realizations in

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the U.S. context. By comparing stated preferences of individuals at the median versus 90th percentile of the income distribution to actual policy realizations, they conclude that, while both groups agree on many issues, the preferences of wealthier Americans are more strongly correlated with policy outcomes (a finding that aligns with the broader literature discussed in the review article by Erikson, 2015). However, the U.S. setting may not be reflective of policy deliberation more generally — for example, the specifics of American politics may make it particularly susceptible to the influence of the affluent relative to other democratic countries. More recent work, again focused on single countries, uses a similar approach to document the link from preferences to policies in the Netherlands (Schakel, 2020), Germany (Elsässer *et al.*, 2020), and Norway (Mathisen, 2022). The last of these in particular finds that the preferences of lower-income individuals are correlated with policy outcomes (as are the preferences of the affluent), indicating at least the possibility of the less well-off influencing policy in some countries. Our study goes beyond these single country analyses by linking preferences to policy outcomes on a global scale.

We conclude the introduction by noting that, although our analysis does not provide a direct test of any particular theory, the strong and robust relationship between the bottom 5%'s preferences and realized redistribution nonetheless poses a challenge to the most straightforward notions of political influence. At the very least, these findings are surprising and at odds with the notion of elite capture in policy formation. In addition to the main analysis, we present the results of an incentivized prediction survey which we conducted with two samples: leading academic economists and regular citizens. Both groups, when presented with our empirical exercise, are most likely to predict that either the top or median group's preferences will be most correlated with realized policies — responses that align with median-voter or elite-capture intuitions. We hope that our findings will inspire researchers to develop theories and conduct further empirical tests to better understand and explain our results.

1 Data

We first describe the data selection as well as data cleaning process for the different datasets used in our analysis below. The sources and descriptions of each variable are summarized in Appendix C.

Preferences for Redistribution

We derive our country-level measure of redistributive preferences based on 237,986 observations from the Integrated Value Surveys (IVS), which combines data from the World Values Survey and the European Values Study for the years 1995-2014.[4]

Specifically, respondents were asked to locate their preferences for redistribution in the 1-10 range, where 1 indicates agreement with the statement, "Income should be more equal" and 10 indicates agreement with, "We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort." We coded answers such that higher values represent a stronger preference for redistribution (with a scale ranging from 0 to 9).

Since we are interested in how these preferences differ by socioeconomic status, we construct an SES index which combines the following variables: relative household income (from 1 "lowest group" to 10 "highest group" in a given country); education (from 1 "inadequately completed elementary education" to 8 "university/higher degree"), and self-reported social class (from 1 "upper class" to 5 "lower class"). We rank respondents based on the first principal component of these three variables, and aggregate SES preferences for each country over all waves. In our main analysis, we define SES groups based on 5% ranges in this distribution. For example, *top 5%* reflects the average preferences for inequality of all respondents from a given country with an SES index above the 95th percentile. We similarly define the *middle 5%* and *bottom 5%*.

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[4]See   https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp?CMSID=intinfo&CMSID= intinfo. We do not use data from waves 1 and 2 (pre-1995), nor from wave 7 (2016 and later), since the earlier waves do not include information on social class and/or income, and the most recent wave employs different coding for education relative to earlier waves.

To provide a clearer sense of what it means to rank in the top or bottom 5% of the SES index, we regress various socioeconomic indicators on dummy variables for belonging to those groups, while including country and wave fixed effects (see Appendix Table B.1). The IVS contains data for a subset of the sample on households' (country-specific) income brackets in absolute terms. In the U.S., for example, the lowest and highest income brackets correspond to an annual household income of $12,500 or less and $175,000 or more, respectively. We show that top 5% respondents are 35 percentage points more likely to be in the highest income bracket (column 1), and that bottom 5% respondents are 38 percentage points more likely to fall in the lowest income bracket (column 2). We further show that the top 5% are 27 percentage points more likely to have a supervisory role at work (column 3), and that they are also 4.5 percentage points more likely to be a member of a political party (column 4). Appendix Table B.2 provides additional descriptive statistics of the background characteristics of the three SES groups.

A natural concern with our data on the preferences of the rich — as with earlier efforts at measuring elite preferences — is that those with very high incomes generally do not respond to surveys.[5] We do have information on the redistributive preferences of the very wealthy for the U.S., using data from Cohn *et al.* (2020). In Appendix D we show that the redistributive preferences of the very rich (annual incomes above $750,000) are very similar to those of the merely very well-off (incomes between $150,000 and $200,000), and that the monotonic decline in desired redistribution continues in higher income brackets. While not conclusive, these findings suggest that the preferences of the highest ventile group in our data is a reasonable proxy for the preferences of the true elites.

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[5]As noted above, the IVS data only provide us an income range for each respondent; for the U.S., for example, the highest category is "above $175,000" and while we cannot say for certain, we believe that it is unlikely that many respondents have incomes too far above this cutoff.

Measures of Redistribution

Our measure of actual redistribution comes from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID; see Solt, 2020 for more details).[6] For our main analyses, we use a measure of relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini (our results are robust to using the absolute difference between pre- and post-tax Gini, see Appendix Table B.3). This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. Since our preference data end in 2014, we focus on the SWIID data from the year closest to 2015, i.e., the first year following the end of our preference data.[7]

We consider several alternative approaches to measuring redistribution. Our main alternative is the post-tax Gini, which is an all-encompassing measure of a society's efforts to reduce income inequality. The post-tax Gini incorporates the consequences of progressive taxation, as well as any pre-distribution policies like minimum wage or unionization. The disadvantage of using the post-tax Gini is that it incorporates an array of considerations, including, e.g., factor endowments, that impact the pre-tax Gini but are unrelated to redistribution. We also use the updated Relative Political Capacity dataset to create several other measures of redistribution (see Arbetman-Rabinowitz *et al.*, 2020, and also Acemoglu *et al.*,

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[6]The SWIID dataset is not without controversy. For example, Jenkins (2015) criticized the complicated and opaque imputation procedure that was used to construct the SWIID dataset. Some issues have been fixed in newer versions of the dataset (e.g., by adding external data as it becomes available) or represent inaccurate descriptions of the imputation procedure (e.g., whether all observations are imputed or only observations for which external data is missing). Other issues of imputation, such as adjustments that need to be made when data are drawn from multiple sources or when there is a change in the data compilation process, have been addressed in recent versions of the SWIID (Solt, 2020). As such, we believe that the SWIID offers the most comparable data for the most country-years of any cross-national dataset on income inequality. Nonetheless, in order to probe the robustness of our results, we use alternative measures of redistribution that either do not rely on imputed values (WIID) or originate from other data sources (Relative Political Capacity dataset).

[7]To increase the sample size we use imputed values for pre- and post-tax Gini provided by Solt (2020). Appendix Table B.8 shows that the results do not meaningfully change when we exclude imputed observations.

2015). In particular, we use data on taxes and social security expenditures scaled by GDP, as well as a principal component analysis to combine all four measures of redistribution (relative redistribution, post-tax Gini, taxes, social security) into a single redistribution index. Finally, we also use data on average tax rates for different income levels from the World Tax Indicators (Andrew Young School of Policy Studies, 2010).

Control Variables

Our basic controls include the log transformation of GDP per capita and population size, as well as a dummy variable for democratic countries, following the approach of Acemoglu *et al.* (2019).[8] We further include pre-tax Gini to control for initial differences in income inequality.

Basic data properties

Before proceeding to our main analyses, we provide a brief overview of the data and its properties. Appendix Figure A.1 displays average preferences for redistribution across all countries by SES ventile. There is a clear, near-monotonic decline across all ventiles, with higher SES groups preferring less redistribution. Moreover, the standard errors are very similar across all ventiles, suggesting that we measure redistributive preferences equally precisely across SES groups. Appendix Figure A.2 demonstrates that this association also holds true across the majority of the countries in our sample. In most countries, the bottom SES group displays the strongest preference for redistribution, while the top SES group displays the weakest preference for redistribution.

There is nonetheless a substantial country-specific component to redistributive preferences, as further shown in Appendix Figure A.3. Each panel of the figure depicts the pairwise relationship between average redistributive preferences for each pairing involving the

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[8]As an alternative, we use the Polity IV data to classify countries as democratic (see Appendix Table B.9).

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bottom, middle, and top SES groups. There is a strong positive correlation for each pair; as expected, the relationship is weakest for the bottom-top comparison ($\rho = 0.535$, $p < 0.001$); the pairwise correlation is 0.781 ($p < 0.001$) for the bottom-middle and 0.697 ($p < 0.001$) for the middle-top comparison.[9]When we take the average preference across all SES groups by country, we see a strong positive correlation between redistributive preferences and realized redistribution ($\rho = 0.419$, $p < 0.001$). This provides further support for the validity of our survey measure of attitudes toward redistribution.

In Appendix Table B.4, we show that preferences for redistribution are relatively stable over time. Specifically, we regressed the most recently available inequality preference measure on the first inequality preference measure available (a gap of as much as 18 years) and observe a remarkably strong correlation for all SES groups between preferences expressed in early and late survey waves. Moreover, splitting the data into two periods (1995-2004 and 2005-2014) further suggests that our findings are robust over time (see Appendix Table B.5). These results suggests that it is reasonable to aggregate data on redistributive preferences across all available years.

2   Results

Our main results, presented in Table 1, are based on the following equation:

$$Redistribution_c = \alpha + \beta * Preferences_{g(c)} + X_c + \epsilon_c, \tag{1}$$

where Redistribution is a relative measure of government redistribution in country c and Preferences are the average redistributive preferences of group g (bottom, middle, and top

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[9]These relationships emphasize the utility in focusing on redistributive policies specifically, since even for this area for which there is natural class conflict, there is nonetheless considerable concordance across income groups in desired policy. As Gilens and Page (2014) note, there is broad agreement across socioeconomic groups on policy outcomes, which makes it challenging to identify the excess influence of any particular group when one considers, as they do, policy making across many domains.

5% SES groups). We include a set of country-level controls X_c, as described in section 1, and report bootstrapped standard errors from 1,000 replications throughout.

Table 1: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution

	Relative redistribution					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 5%	2.284			-4.293**	-3.195*	-2.655
	(1.709)			(1.929)	(1.804)	(1.834)
Middle 5%		5.622***		1.529	0.355	-0.747
		(1.416)		(2.425)	(2.226)	(2.314)
Bottom 5%			6.575***	7.277***	5.904***	6.052***
			(0.917)	(1.605)	(1.366)	(1.414)
ln(GDP per capita)					2.330*	2.536**
					(1.244)	(1.250)
ln(Population)					-1.923**	-1.760**
					(0.758)	(0.700)
Democracy					7.476***	5.761**
					(2.693)	(2.724)
Gini pre-tax						0.517**
						(0.257)
Constant	9.033	-6.619	-14.656***	-9.441*	-21.525*	-43.923***
	(6.032)	(5.555)	(4.145)	(5.707)	(11.388)	(15.433)
F-stat p-val	0.181	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.019	0.148	0.301	0.332	0.479	0.529
N	94	93	94	93	91	91

Notes: This table reports OLS estimates with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables Top 5%, Middle 5%, and Bottom 5% reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Missing values for realized redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

In columns (1) to (3) of Table 1, we look at the bivariate correlation between Redistribution and each of the average redistributive preferences of the top, middle, and bottom 5% SES groups. The correlation is positive and significant for both the middle and bottom 5% ($p < 0.001$). Even in this bivariate comparison, preferences of the top 5% are not significantly correlated with actual redistribution, despite the sizable within-country correlation

among SES groups as documented in Appendix Figure A.3. We provide a visual representation of the data in Figure 1, where we show the scatterplot of each group's preferences and Redistribution. As evident in the figure, the bottom 5% exhibit the strongest link between redistributive preferences and realized redistribution. The correlation coefficients for the bottom and middle 5% are significantly larger than the coefficients for the top 5% ($p = 0.006$ and $p = 0.010$, respectively). The coefficients for the bottom and middle 5% do not differ significantly ($p = 0.294$).[10] Overall, this set of bivariate relationships present a challenge to the elite capture view of policy determination.

In column (4), we include all three preference variables simultaneously, and in column (5) we add our basic set of controls (i.e., the log of GDP per capita, the log of population size, and a dummy for Democracy). In the first case, only the coefficient of the bottom 5% preferences remains positive and significant, whereas the coefficient of the top 5% actually changes sign ($p = 0.026$).[11] With the addition of basic controls in column (5), preferences of the bottom 5% remain a significant positive predictor ($p < 0.001$). Finally, we include pre-tax Gini as a control in column (6) to account for differences in initial levels of inequality. Neither top nor middle 5% preferences are significant predictors of Redistribution, whereas the coefficient of the bottom 5% remains largely unchanged. These differences are unlikely to be the result of greater variability of redistributive preferences in the middle and top SES groups compared to the bottom 5%, as Appendix Figure A.1 shows that preference variability is similar along the entire income distribution.

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[10]The relative redistribution measure is negative for the Ukraine, Tanzania, and Indonesia. The results remain qualitatively the same if we exclude those three countries from the analysis (see Appendix Table B.10).

[11]The within-country overlap in preferences across SES groups should be taken into consideration when interpreting these results. However, it is crucial to investigate the conditional patterns captured in these specifications precisely because of the overlap.

Figure 1: Correlation between Preferences and Actual Redistribution
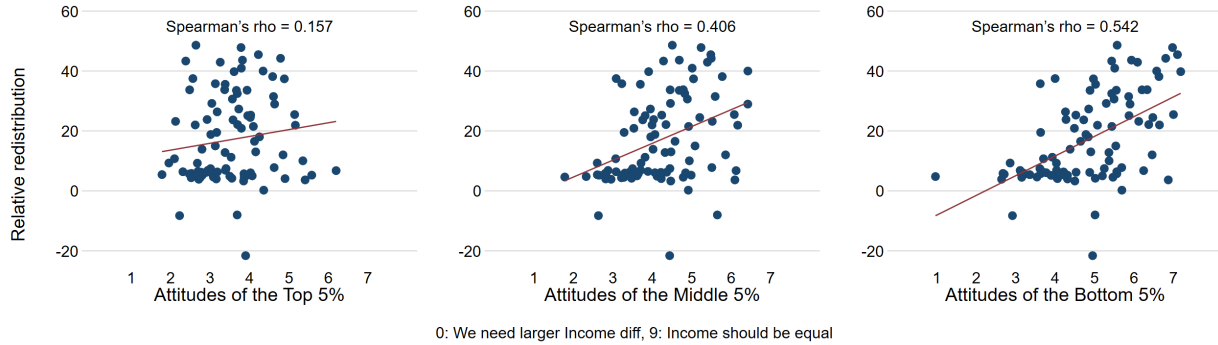
Notes: The figure shows the country-level correlations between redistributive preferences and actual redistribution for different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index.
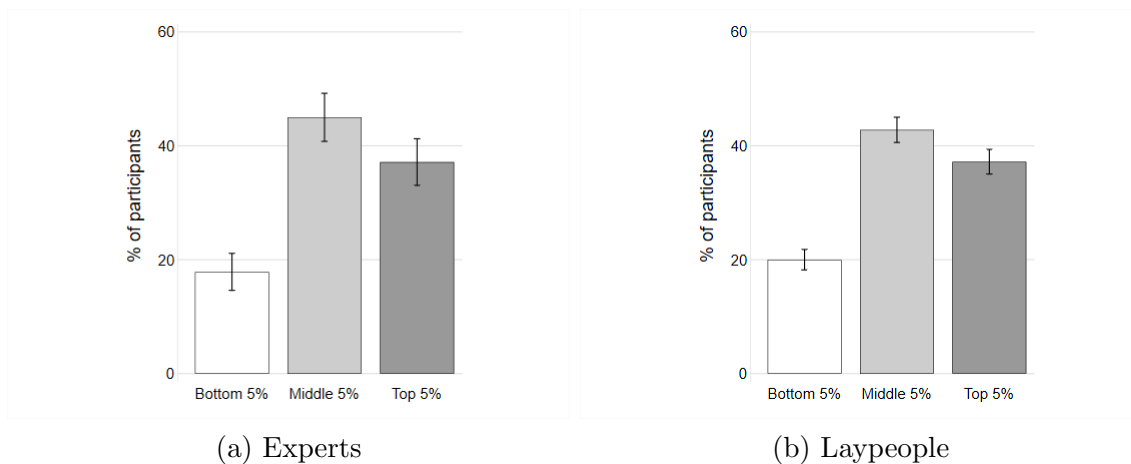
2.1 Prediction study

To emphasize that the patterns in Table 1 run counter to intuitions on whose preferences matter for redistribution, we conducted a prediction study with two distinct groups: "experts" and "lay people." Specifically, we asked 140 experts (drawn from the top 5% academic economists based on the `repec.org` ranking) and 500 lay people (a representative sample of U.S. citizens with respect to age, gender, and ethnicity) to predict the results of our study (DellaVigna *et al.*, 2019). We described our empirical design to participants in intuitive terms, and then asked them to rank (i) which SES group's preferences for redistribution are most correlated with actual redistribution, and (ii) which SES group's preferences for redistribution are most correlated with one another. Participants could earn money depending on the accuracy of their predictions. Details of the sample collection procedures as well as a copy of the survey instruments can be found in Appendix E.

Figure 2 presents the main finding of the prediction study. Panel (a) shows that 45% of the experts predicted that the median respondent's preferences would be most correlated with realized redistribution, whereas 37% predicted that the top 5% would be. In contrast, only 18% of the experts predicted that the bottom group's preferences are most strongly correlated with actual redistribution. The results from the general population sample, shown

in Panel (b), are virtually the same as for the experts.[12] Thus, the prediction study highlights that both experts' and lay people's intuitions are guided by median-voter and elite-capture reasoning.

Figure 2: Predictions: Ranking SES Groups According to Correlation between Preferences and Actual Redistribution

(a) Experts   (b) Laypeople

Notes: Results from the prediction study with top economists (N=140) and lay people (N=500). The figure shows for each SES group the share of experts and lay persons, respectively, who predicted the relationship between preferences and actual redistribution would be strongest. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean. See Appendix E for more details about the prediction study.

2.2 Robustness checks

To recap, we document a strong positive correlation between the bottom 5%'s redistributive preferences and actual redistribution. While we reiterate that the results are based on cross-country correlations and thus warrant appropriate caution in their interpretation, we also want to stress that the patterns are unexpected, as reflected in the incentivized prediction study with both expert economists and the general population. Next, we explore the robustness of our main result with respect to (i) alternative proxies for redistributive preferences, (ii) alternative measures of realized redistribution, and (iii) broader definitions of the SES groups.

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[12]We also find similar results when we analyze the general population sample's predictions separately by socioeconomic status (see Appendix Figure A.4).

Alternative measures of preferences. The question in the IVS may be interpreted by respondents as reflecting desired changes in redistribution rather than absolute levels. While the IVS does not contain any question that is framed in more absolute terms, we can use data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) to examine how relative versus absolute framing might impact our results. The ISSP has four questions related to redistribution, two framed as preferences over the desired level of redistribution and two over desired changes relative to current circumstances. This allows us to assess the extent to which the patterns we observe in the IVS data are sensitive to the exact question wording. In particular, the ISSP data permits exploring the robustness of our main results when we use measures of redistributive preferences that are more straightforwardly absolute in nature. Moreover, we can examine whether in the ISSP data subjects' responses to questions about desired levels versus changes in redistribution capture similar or distinct notions. The downside of the ISSP data is that it shrinks our sample size to 41 countries (as compared to 91 for comparable specifications when using the IVS data).

Appendix Table B.11 replicates our main analysis with the four ISSP measures. The first two measures are based on questions about income differences and taxation, where the benchmark is explicitly set as relative to the current level in the respondent's own country ("Differences in income in <country> are too large 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Generally, how would you describe taxes in <country> today for those with high incomes? 0: Much too high, 4: Much too low"). The other two measures correspond more closely to desired levels of redistribution as the questions ask about redistributive concerns in absolute terms ("It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share? 0: Much smaller, 4: Much larger"). It is reassuring to find the same pattern in the ISSP data as in the IVS data; the correlation between stated preferences and realized redistribution is almost always more positive for the

bottom 5%, relative to the middle or top 5%. This pattern is similar regardless of whether we use preferences for redistribution in levels or changes. Given the consistency of the results across all four questions, this raises the question of whether respondents approach questions about relative versus absolute judgments in similar ways. Perhaps unsurprisingly, responses to these questions are highly correlated. We illustrate this in Appendix Table B.12, where we present, for each of the bottom, median, and top 5%, the correlations across countries in responses to each of the four ISSP questions. For all three groups, we observe very high correlations amongst these four measures. Focusing on the most relevant pair of questions that ask directly about income distribution, the correlation is approximately 0.8 in all three cases. This is remarkably high, particularly given that there are distinctions between the two questions beyond relative versus absolute: one question asks whether income inequality is too large relative to the current level, while the question on absolute preferences invokes government intervention explicitly in reducing income differences, which may differently color how some survey participants respond. Overall, we take these results as some indication that respondents treat these types of questions — which resemble the one we use from the IVS — as asking broadly about their attitudes toward societal inequities. As such, it is less surprising that the two types of preference measures generate similar patterns in the data.

Alternative measures of redistribution. Our main alternative outcome measure is the post-tax Gini, which is an all-encompassing indication of a society's efforts to reduce income inequality. The post-tax Gini incorporates the consequences of progressive taxation, as well as any pre-distribution policies like minimum wage or unionization.[13] For example, it could be that the rich prefer to reduce inequality through pre-distribution policies, whereas the poor may favor redistribution based on taxes and transfers.[14] We also consider proxies for redistribution that are not included in the SWIID dataset. In particular, we use two measures of a country's taxation from the updated Relative Political Capacity dataset

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[13]The disadvantage of using the post-tax Gini is that it includes an array of considerations, including factor endowments etc., that impact the pre-tax Gini but are unrelated to redistribution.

[14]However, a recent study by Kuziemko *et al.* (2022) suggests that it is the other way around, at least in the U.S. Low SES individuals appear to prefer pre-distribution to redistribution policies.

(Arbetman-Rabinowitz *et al.*, 2020): total taxes (Taxes) and social security taxes (Social Security), both as a fraction of GDP. We further compute a redistribution index using the first principal component of the two taxation measures, post-tax Gini, and our measure of relative redistribution. The results using each of these alternatives measures are presented in Table 2, both with and without controls. Overall, we find a similar pattern as with our main outcome measure: the bottom 5%'s preferences significantly predict actual redistribution, whereas the other SES group's preferences do not (note, the sign on the coefficient for the bottom 5%'s preferences flips for post-tax Gini because less inequality means a lower Gini coefficient). The results also do not change meaningfully when we focus on non-mineral taxes, or when we use absolute redistribution as the dependent variable (see Appendix Tables B.13 and B.3).

Broader definitions of SES groups. We further consider broader definitions of the SES groups, based on 10% and tercile groupings of the SES index. We thus re-estimate our main regressions using these alternative grouping schemes (see Appendix Tables B.6 and B.7). The results are similar to those based on the 5% groupings, except that the coefficients of the top SES groups are actually negative and significant in our preferred specification that includes all controls ($p = 0.071$ and $p = 0.030$, respectively). This may reflect the higher level of collinearity between the preferences of the different SES groups when we have nearly-overlapping groupings.

2.3 Potential mechanisms

While our empirical setting does not allow us to identify a specific mechanism that accounts for the findings, we can provide some evidence on the plausibility of certain classes of explanations by bringing in additional data and examining heterogeneity (or lack thereof) in the correlation between the bottom 5%'s preferences and realized redistribution. We begin by considering a possible version of reverse causality, whereby high inequality leads low-income individuals to accept inequality as just. We next examine the role of voice and political partic-

Table 2: Alternative Measures of Redistribution

	Gini post-tax		Taxes		Social security		Redistribution index	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Top 5%	1.293	1.306	-1.842	-0.181	-1.128	-0.850	-0.430*	-0.221
	(1.304)	(0.850)	(1.540)	(1.169)	(0.695)	(0.637)	(0.259)	(0.197)
Middle 5%	1.205	0.274	0.611	-0.325	0.116	-0.100	0.011	-0.104
	(1.256)	(0.999)	(1.927)	(1.346)	(0.753)	(0.719)	(0.264)	(0.215)
Bottom 5%	-3.396***	-2.764***	3.343***	1.688**	2.326***	1.820***	0.857***	0.618***
	(0.880)	(0.656)	(1.160)	(0.851)	(0.470)	(0.434)	(0.174)	(0.141)
ln(GDP per capita)		-1.226**		4.546***		0.855*		0.511***
		(0.587)		(0.848)		(0.456)		(0.127)
ln(Population)		0.747**		-1.116**		-0.142		-0.195***
		(0.334)		(0.450)		(0.294)		(0.074)
Democracy		-2.956**		2.066		2.122**		0.759***
		(1.152)		(1.641)		(0.999)		(0.270)
Gini pre-tax		0.669***		-0.049		-0.018		-0.028
		(0.099)		(0.104)		(0.077)		(0.021)
Constant	43.625***	24.982***	10.509***	-18.947***	-2.007	-7.208	-2.900***	-5.114***
	(3.675)	(6.439)	(4.026)	(7.307)	(2.089)	(5.040)	(0.686)	(1.434)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.171	0.590	0.194	0.556	0.296	0.383	0.348	0.574
N	93	91	88	88	87	87	87	87

Notes: This table reports OLS estimates with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (1000 replications). The dependent variable in columns 1 and 2 is the post-tax Gini, in columns 3 and 4 the dependent variable is taxes in percent of GDP, and in columns 5 and 6 the dependent variable is social security taxes in percent of GDP. The dependent variable in columns 7 and 8 is a redistribution index, computed as the first principal component of the post-tax Gini, taxes, social security taxes, and our measure of relative redistribution. The variables Top 5%, Middle 5%, and Bottom 5% reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. *Taxes* is missing for Andorra, Hong Kong, Palestinian Territories, Puerto Rico, and Taiwan, *Social security* is further missing for Vietnam. *Taxes* exclude social security contributions. *Social security* are actual revenues receivable by social security schemes organized and operated by government units, for the benefit of the contributors to the scheme. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

ipation as a potential explanation. Finally, we consider whether — as suggested in particular by Iversen and Soskice (2006) — a coalition of lower- and higher-income individuals might together influence redistributive policies.

First, we examine the possibility of reverse causality. In particular, in countries where there is relatively little redistribution, the bottom 5% may — consistent with the psychological phenomenon of "learned helplessness"(Hiroto, 1974) — convince themselves that distributional outcomes lie beyond their control and that they are fated to be poor. In other words, due a lacking sense of control, their stated preferences for redistribution might simply reflect back their living circumstances.[15] To explore this hypothesis we split the countries in our sample by the extent to which the bottom 5% feel they are in control of their own fate.[16] If there is reverse causality, we should observe a stronger association between the bottom 5%'s preferences and actual redistribution in countries where the bottom 5% think they have relatively less control and are more likely to accept their current circumstances. However, as shown in Appendix Table B.14, we do not find evidence that supports this hypothesis. The results look similar across countries, regardless of how much control low SES individuals think they have ($p = 0.742$). Thus, these findings are inconsistent with the reverse causality mechanism invoked by low SES individuals accepting their fate.

A second possibility is that policymakers are, on average, more responsive to the bottom 5%'s preferences than the preferences of the middle or top 5%, at least when it comes to redistribution, because lower SES individuals are more vocal in (redistributive) politics. For example, it could be that the bottom SES group is more likely to participate in demonstrations and protests relative to the middle or upper SES group. However, we see no confirmatory

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[15]A similar argument can be made about the top 5%, but in the form of a backlash effect. The top 5% may have particularly unfavorable opinions on redistribution in countries with relatively high redistribution. This could explain the negative correlation between the top 5%'s preferences and realized redistribution.

[16]Specifically we use the following question from the IVS as a measure of locus of control: *Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them (0: No choice at all; 9: A great deal of choice)*

evidence for this hypothesis when we look at political activism in the IVS data. Appendix Table B.15 shows that it is the top 5% who are more politically active: they are more likely to join boycotts, go on strike, attend peaceful demonstrations, and sign petitions; these results that are consistent with the findings of Cicatiello *et al.* (2015) and Botero *et al.* (2013), among others. Moreover, our main results are virtually unchanged when we add controls for each SES group's level of political participation, as shown in Appendix Table B.16. We also examine whether our results generalize across democratic and nondemocratic countries, as policymakers in democracies may be more responsive to the needs and preferences of the less well-off. Based on the classification from Acemoglu *et al.* (2019), we split the sample into democratic and nondemocratic countries. Table 3 reveals that the correlation between the bottom 5%'s preferences and realized redistribution is similar for democratic and nondemocratic countries ($p = 0.784$). At first glance, this might be surprising given the notion that democracy provides more direct accountability. Yet, as has been well documented, autocrats have a similar need to minimize dissent (Knutsen and Rasmussen, 2018; Kammas and Sarantides, 2019), and thus they may be similarly responsive to the needs and preferences of the less well-off, at least in the countries included in our sample.[17]

Finally, it could be that the top SES group forms a coalition with the bottom SES group to redistribute income to the bottom and top at the expense of middle income voters (Iversen and Soskice, 2006). Such a coalition could account for the more pronounced correlation between the bottom 5%'s preferences and actual redistribution, and it would still be consistent with the elite capture view. To explore this possibility, we use data from the World Tax Indicators on the average tax rates for different income levels (normalized in terms of multiples of GDP per capita) in 2005 (Andrew Young School of Policy Studies, 2010). In particular, we focus on the average tax rate for households with an income of one, two, three, and four

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[17]See also Acemoglu *et al.* (2015) for a fuller discussion of why democracy may only lead to a limited increase in influence of lower income groups. Note that their discussion largely takes as a point of departure that higher-income groups have more influence in autocracies, which we do not find in our data.

Table 3: Split Sample Analysis by Democracy

	Democratic		Nondemocratic	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Top 5%	-8.146***	-4.512*	-1.254	0.024
	(3.108)	(2.577)	(2.109)	(2.398)
Middle 5%	2.746	-1.698	0.248	-1.722
	(3.066)	(2.822)	(2.828)	(3.173)
Bottom 5%	7.447***	6.238***	4.274**	5.529***
	(2.151)	(2.151)	(2.041)	(2.027)
ln(GDP per capita)		6.608***		-1.143
		(1.951)		(1.026)
ln(Population)		-2.010**		-2.390***
		(0.994)		(0.863)
Gini pre-tax		0.584*		0.352
		(0.320)		(0.281)
Constant	1.348	-67.080***	-6.271	-7.299
	(8.500)	(22.695)	(6.704)	(14.285)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.078	0.003
R-squared	0.320	0.549	0.241	0.456
N	58	57	35	34

Notes: This table reports OLS estimates with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (1000 replications). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. We split the sample into democratic and nondemocratic countries, following Acemoglu *et al.* (2019). Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

times the GDP per capita. For example, a household in the U.S. that earns four times the GDP per capita has an annual income of \$252,000 in 2018.[18] If the above hypothesis is true, we should see a stronger relationship between the bottom 5%'s preferences and the tax rate for average income earners compared to the tax rate for top income earners. However, Appendix Table B.17 reveals a different pattern: the bottom 5%'s preferences are more strongly correlated with the top income tax rate than the tax rate for the middle class. The bottom 5%'s preferences still predict the tax rate for average incomes, but to a lesser extent. Thus, the data are inconsistent with the view that lower and upper SES groups form a coalition to tax the middle class.

Overall, the results are at odds with the most straightforward and common views of political influence, such as the median voter and elite capture views. While we cannot offer a definite causal interpretation of the results, we can narrow the set of plausible explanations for the observed pattern. The data seem to be more consistent with explanations based on policymakers responding more to the needs and preferences of the less well-off than the middle or upper class, at least in terms of redistributive concerns.

3   Conclusion

This paper documents the relationship between citizens' preferences for redistribution and realized redistribution in a cross-section of 93 countries. We focus on redistribution because it is an outcome for which there is inherent conflict in desired policies across groups of different socioeconomic status, and thus affords an opportunity to examine whose preferences matter more for policymaking. Our main finding is that the lowest SES group's preferences are most predictive of redistribution. Controlling for preferences at the bottom of the SES distribution, neither the middle nor the top SES group's preferences have any additional explanatory

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[18]According to the Survey of Consumer Finances, which is widely regarded as the government's most reliable source on national income data, households with an annual income of \$290,000 in 2018 belong to the top 5% of the income distribution. See `https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/scfindex.htm`; accessed on September 9, 2021.

power. This finding stands in contrast to the dominant notions of policy influence and also to the predictions of both expert economists and lay people.

We see two natural directions for this research. First, given the gap between existing theories and patterns in the data (and relatedly, economists' expectations of these patterns), we hope our results will spur the development of theoretical frameworks that can accommodate the observed relationships. Second, as we acknowledge throughout, we see our analysis as a step toward understanding the drivers of redistributive policy and government intervention more generally. We hope that future work will use more fine-grained data and causal inference methods to explore the underlying reasons for the robust correlation between lower SES preferences and policy outcomes.

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Appendices

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A   Figures

Figure A.1: Attitudes towards Redistribution and SES index
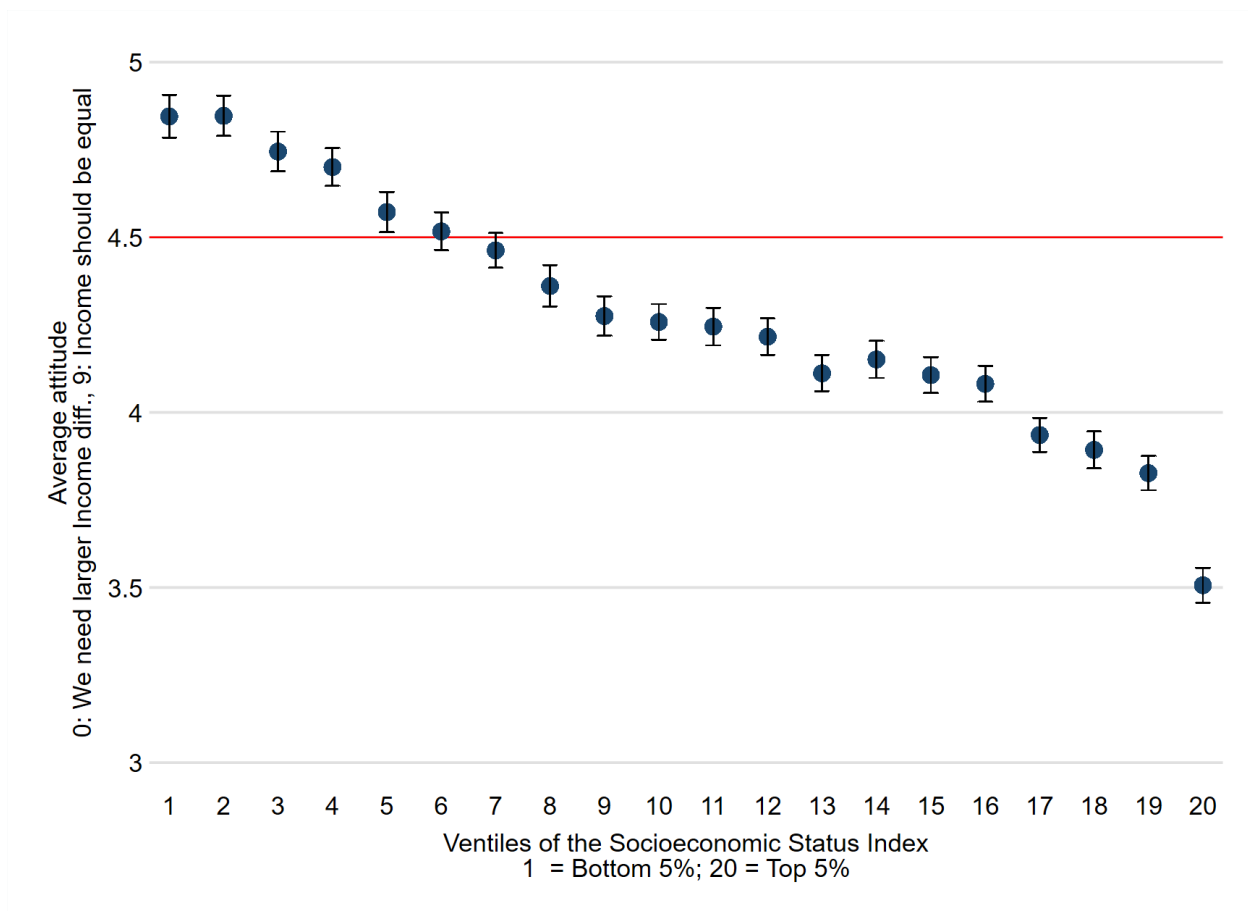
Notes: The figure shows the average preference for redistribution by ventile of the socioeconomic status index. The red horizontal line at 4.5 indicates the midpoint of the attitude scale. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.

Figure A.2: Country-level Attitudes towards Redistribution by SES Group
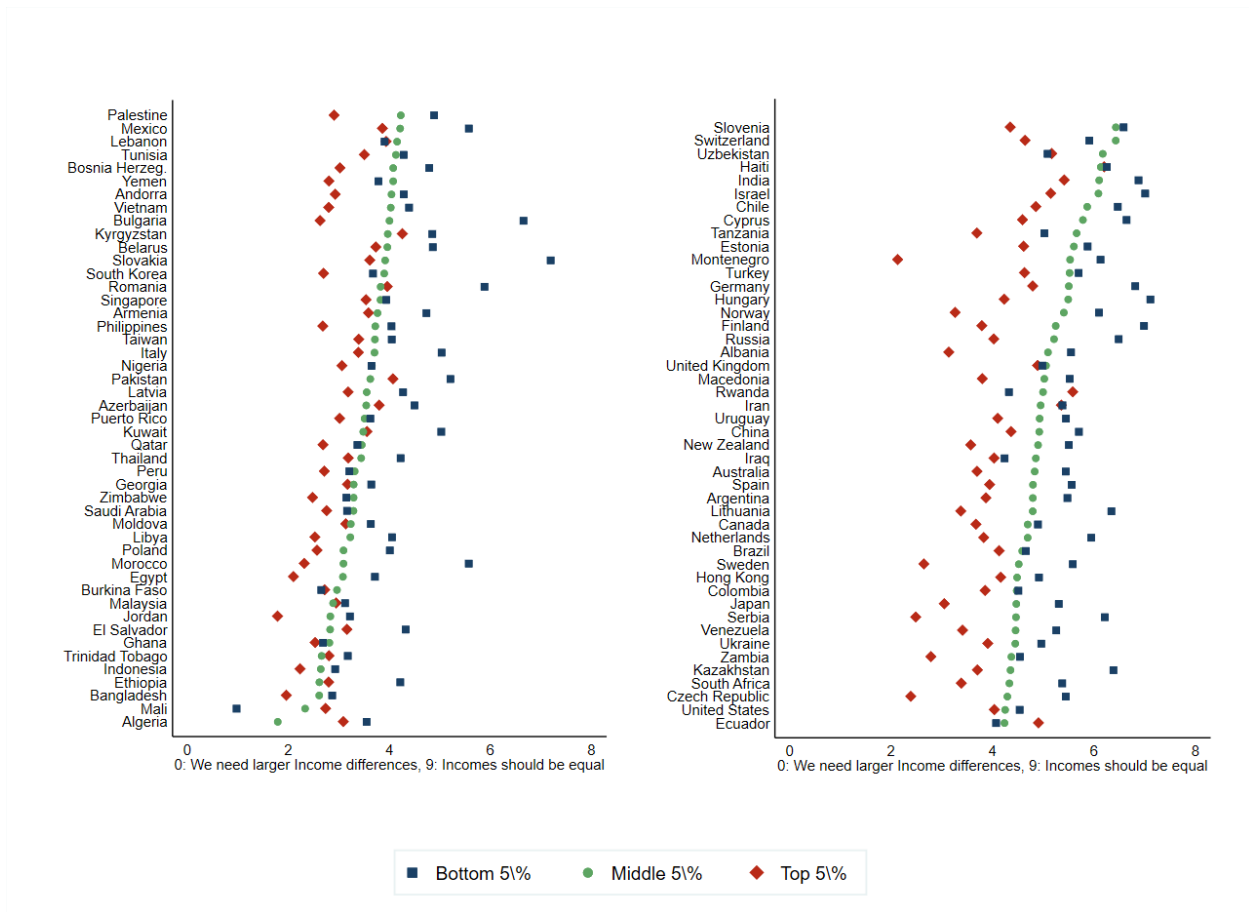
Notes: The figure shows the average preference for redistribution by SES group for each country in our main sample.

Figure A.3: Correlation of Attitudes between SES Groups

Spearman's rho = 0.535

Spearman's rho = 0.697

Spearman's rho = 0.781

0: We need larger Income diff, 9: Income should be equal
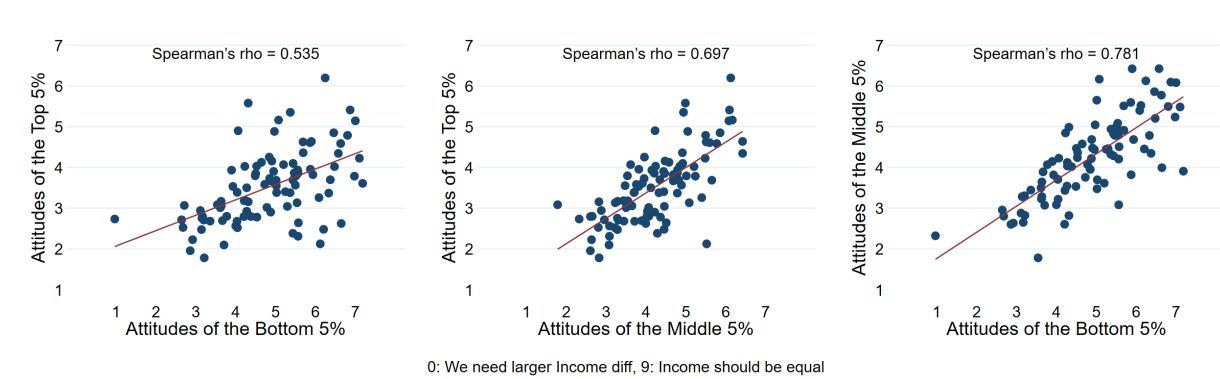
Notes: The figure shows the country-level correlations of redistributive preferences between the different socioeconomic status groups.

Figure A.4: Predictions by SES of Laypeople
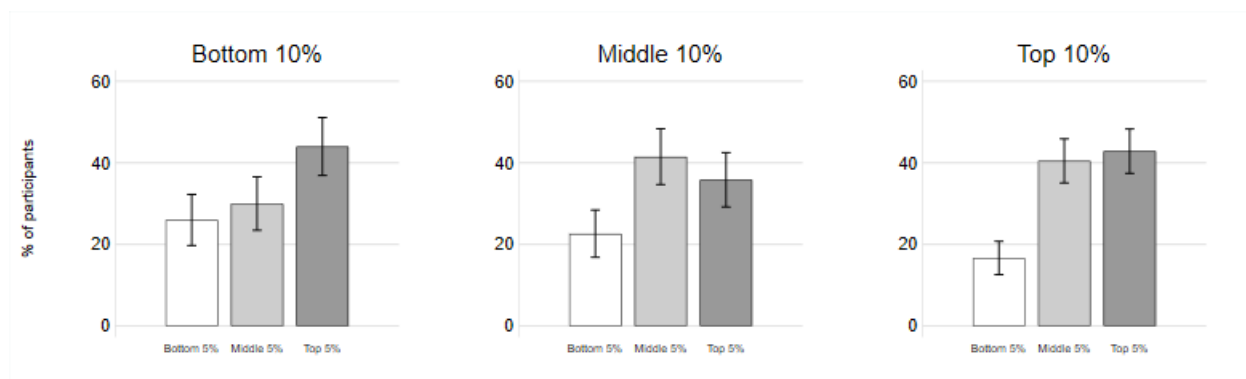
Notes: The figure shows results from the prediction study with lay people, splitting the full sample into the bottom 10%, middle 10% and top 10% of the socioeconomic status index of respondents (N=187). The socioeconomic status index was computed in the same way as in our main study. We used the same survey items as in the WVS to elicit education, income, and self-reported social class. The figure indicates the share of individuals for each social class who indicated that the relationship between that social class and actual redistribution is the strongest. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean. See Appendix E for a detailed description of the prediction studies.

B   Tables

Table B.1: Correlates of the SES Index

	(1) Top income	(2) Bottom income	(3) Supervisor	(4) Pol. party membership
Top 5%	0.354***		0.267***	0.045***
	(0.055)		(0.013)	(0.009)
Bottom 5%		0.383***		
		(0.046)		
Country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reference category mean	0.026	0.060	0.314	0.146
R-squared	0.215	0.135	0.090	0.141
N	43908	43908	106648	225728
Countries	32	32	77	89

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (robust standard errors in parentheses). The dependent variables are household income brackets (columns 1 and 2), being in a supervising role at work (column 3), and membership in a political party (column 4). *Top 5%* and *Bottom 5%* are dummy variables for an individual belonging to the top 5% or bottom 5% regarding the socioeconomic status index of a given country. *Top income* and *Bottom income* are dummy variables referring to the top and bottom income bracket, respectively. The measure of income used for the socioeconomic status index and the measure of income brackets in a given country are different variables. *Supervisor*, and *Pol. party membership* are dummy variables for being in a supervising role at work and being member of a political party. *Reference category mean* shows the sample mean of the dependent variable for the bottom 95% (in columns 1, 3, and 4) and the top 95% (in column 2), respectively. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Table B.2: Descriptive Statistics of the SES Groups

	Bottom 5%	Middle 5%	Top 5%	N	Countries
Male	0.44	0.49	0.53	42,519	94
	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.50)		
Age	47.92	39.31	38.58	42,488	94
	(17.47)	(15.35)	(14.06)		
Married	0.61	0.65	0.65	41,968	94
	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.48)		
Children	2.63	1.81	1.51	41,211	93
	(2.09)	(1.73)	(1.52)		
Employed	0.35	0.56	0.70	41,382	94
	(0.48)	(0.50)	(0.46)		
Unemployed	0.16	0.09	0.04	41,382	94
	(0.37)	(0.29)	(0.20)		
Manual work	7.07	5.07	2.53	17,295	77
	(2.56)	(2.93)	(2.68)		
Routine work	6.86	5.52	3.79	17,283	77
	(2.62)	(2.73)	(2.93)		
Immigrant parent	0.09	0.10	0.10	20,273	72
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)		
Political left	4.36	4.30	4.12	30,556	88
	(2.62)	(2.35)	(2.41)		

Notes: This table shows the mean and standard deviation (in parentheses) of different background characteristics separately for each SES group. Higher values for manual work and routine work indicate that the tasks at work are more manual than cognitive and more routine than creative, respectively (measured on a 10-point scale). Immigrant parent is a dummy variable indicating that at least one parent is an immigrant. Political left measures self-reported political views using a 10-point scale, where higher values indicating political views more to the left.

Table B.3: Attitudes and Absolute Redistribution

	Absolute redistribution					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 5%	1.161			-2.095**	-1.652*	-1.306
	(0.828)			(0.922)	(0.863)	(0.850)
Middle 5%		2.796***		0.949	0.432	-0.274
		(0.684)		(1.144)	(1.032)	(0.999)
Bottom 5%			3.175***	3.389***	2.669***	2.764***
			(0.453)	(0.797)	(0.673)	(0.656)
ln(GDP per capita)					1.095*	1.226**
					(0.602)	(0.587)
ln(Population)					-0.852**	-0.747**
					(0.378)	(0.334)
Democracy					4.055***	2.956**
					(1.260)	(1.152)
Gini pre-tax						0.331***
						(0.099)
Constant	3.958	-3.740	-7.277***	-4.970*	-10.623*	-24.982***
	(2.930)	(2.671)	(2.041)	(2.761)	(5.731)	(6.439)
F-stat p-val	0.161	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.021	0.157	0.301	0.332	0.484	0.572
N	94	93	94	93	91	91

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is the measure for absolute redistribution. Missing values for absolute redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.4: Persistence of Preferences for Redistribution

	Preferences for redistribution								
	(1) Top5%	(2) Mid5%	(3) Bot5%	(4) Top10%	(5) Mid10%	(6) Bot10%	(7) Top33%	(8) Mid33%	(9) Bot33%
First year	0.545***	0.584***	0.677***	0.615***	0.609***	0.611***	0.694***	0.707***	0.608***
	(0.122)	(0.123)	(0.101)	(0.114)	(0.126)	(0.108)	(0.125)	(0.111)	(0.112)
Time gap	0.057***	0.047***	0.056***	0.060***	0.054***	0.052***	0.063***	0.057***	0.048***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Constant	1.526***	1.669***	1.430***	1.319***	1.567***	1.742***	1.060**	1.136***	1.678***
	(0.409)	(0.501)	(0.496)	(0.394)	(0.510)	(0.505)	(0.450)	(0.433)	(0.490)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.305	0.324	0.460	0.369	0.367	0.449	0.432	0.493	0.431
N	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is the measure redistributive preferences in the last available survey year for the socioeconomic group indicated in the column header. *First year* measures redistribution preferences in the first available survey year. *Time gap* is the number of years between the first and last available survey year. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.5: Split Sample Analysis by Waves

	1995-2004 (Wave 3 & 4)		2005-2014 (Wave 5 & 6)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Top 5%	-2.017	-1.318	-7.556***	-4.785**
	(3.192)	(2.618)	(2.066)	(1.918)
Middle 5%	-1.542	-3.420	5.105**	2.692
	(3.811)	(2.984)	(2.199)	(2.169)
Bottom 5%	6.606***	5.553***	6.019***	4.827***
	(2.336)	(1.864)	(1.779)	(1.723)
ln(GDP per capita)		4.690***		2.861*
		(1.773)		(1.623)
ln(Population)		-2.409**		-1.934***
		(0.946)		(0.738)
Democracy		4.616		2.349
		(3.929)		(3.254)
Gini pre-tax		0.476		0.595**
		(0.313)		(0.299)
Constant	-0.453	-49.642**	-7.155	-49.615**
	(7.391)	(22.155)	(5.485)	(20.037)
F-stat p-val	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.186	0.459	0.358	0.548
N	62	62	76	74

Notes: This table reports OLS estimates with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses (1000 replications). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. We show the main results only using survey data from waves 3 and 4 in column 3. The time period of the measure of relative redistribution (2005) and the control variables (1994) is chosen accordingly. We show the main results only using survey data from waves 5 and 6 in column 4. We again choose the corresponding time period for the measure of relative redistribution (2015) and the control variables (2004). Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.6: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution: 10% Groups

	Relative redistribution					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 10%	2.925*			-7.299***	-4.569**	-4.022*
	(1.669)			(2.408)	(2.192)	(2.200)
Middle 10%		6.404***		4.699	1.462	0.276
		(1.340)		(3.226)	(2.806)	(2.792)
Bottom 10%			6.728***	7.000***	6.464***	6.679***
			(1.105)	(2.029)	(1.727)	(1.671)
ln(GDP per capita)					2.592**	2.808**
					(1.126)	(1.134)
ln(Population)					-2.132***	-1.962***
					(0.744)	(0.699)
Democracy					5.938**	4.371*
					(2.523)	(2.528)
Gini pre-tax						0.518**
						(0.256)
Constant	6.418	-10.144*	-14.963***	-9.857*	-24.026**	-46.704***
	(5.964)	(5.270)	(4.809)	(5.205)	(10.223)	(14.854)
F-stat p-val	0.083	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.030	0.177	0.270	0.336	0.475	0.526
N	95	95	95	95	93	93

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 10%*, *Middle 10%*, and *Bottom 10%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 10%, middle 10%, and top 10% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.7: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution: Terciles

	Relative redistribution					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 33%	4.389***			-10.545***	-7.424**	-7.416**
	(1.652)			(3.362)	(3.210)	(3.367)
Middle 33%		6.160***		-0.253	-2.448	-3.097
		(1.406)		(5.052)	(4.866)	(4.876)
Bottom 33%			7.215***	15.113***	13.109***	13.233***
			(1.195)	(3.161)	(3.102)	(3.116)
ln(GDP per capita)					2.231**	2.445**
					(1.077)	(1.073)
ln(Population)					-2.128***	-1.889***
					(0.702)	(0.674)
Democracy					6.319***	4.527*
					(2.335)	(2.327)
Gini pre-tax						0.541**
						(0.250)
Constant	0.241	-8.679	-15.743***	-10.345**	-21.715**	-45.377***
	(5.988)	(5.367)	(4.945)	(5.049)	(9.510)	(14.110)
F-stat p-val	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.069	0.162	0.258	0.367	0.503	0.559
N	95	95	95	95	93	93

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 33%*, *Middle 33%*, and *Bottom 33%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 33%, middle 33%, and top 33% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.8: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution: Non-imputed Values

	Relative redistribution (non-imputed)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 5%	-2.647			-9.732***	-5.330*	-4.878*
	(2.638)			(2.991)	(2.752)	(2.656)
Middle 5%		4.245*		4.335	-1.115	-0.823
		(2.256)		(3.228)	(3.084)	(3.059)
Bottom 5%			6.823***	7.286***	7.734***	6.574***
			(1.655)	(2.463)	(2.097)	(2.031)
ln(GDP per capita)					7.786***	7.531***
					(2.966)	(2.431)
ln(Population)					-2.129**	-2.306**
					(1.085)	(0.985)
Democracy					2.492	2.466
					(5.894)	(5.238)
Gini pre-tax						0.850**
						(0.364)
Constant	32.600***	3.217	-14.044	0.236	-61.151**	-94.322***
	(10.177)	(10.311)	(8.904)	(10.433)	(28.988)	(24.719)
F-stat p-val	0.316	0.060	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.018	0.054	0.197	0.331	0.538	0.660
N	50	50	50	50	50	50

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is the measure for relative redistribution reported in the SWIID, i.e., missing values are not imputed. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significane levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.9: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution: Polity IV
Democracy Measure

	Relative redistribution		
	(1) Full sample	(2) Democ.	(3) NonDemoc.
Top 5%	-1.919	-1.995	1.206
	(2.023)	(2.794)	(2.709)
Middle 5%	-1.279	-3.888	-2.247
	(2.314)	(3.700)	(2.987)
Bottom 5%	5.727***	5.066**	5.385***
	(1.428)	(2.167)	(1.878)
ln(GDP per capita)	2.956**	8.306***	-0.649
	(1.256)	(1.872)	(1.116)
ln(Population)	-1.772**	-2.365**	-1.817*
	(0.725)	(1.138)	(0.947)
Gini pre-tax	0.570**	0.706**	0.314
	(0.266)	(0.322)	(0.251)
Democracy	5.841**		
	(2.778)		
Constant	-48.310***	-79.753***	-12.458
	(15.820)	(22.071)	(14.748)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.012
R-squared	0.545	0.586	0.371
N	89	53	36

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. We show the main results using the Polity IV score as an alternative measure for democratization in column 1. We classify a country as democratic if the Polity IV score is equal or larger than 6. We split the sample using this measure of democracy in columns 2 and 3. Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.10: Attitudes and Relative Redistribution: Excluding Negative Redistribution

	Relative redistribution					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 5%	2.143 (1.699)			-4.808** (1.994)	-3.729** (1.816)	-3.399* (1.849)
Middle 5%		5.943*** (1.281)		2.911 (2.065)	1.439 (2.082)	0.701 (2.149)
Bottom 5%			6.460*** (0.952)	6.437*** (1.379)	5.468*** (1.324)	5.591*** (1.373)
ln(GDP per capita)					1.880 (1.181)	2.064* (1.205)
ln(Population)					-1.531** (0.727)	-1.471** (0.704)
Democracy					7.527*** (2.420)	6.431*** (2.437)
Gini pre-tax						0.297 (0.220)
Constant	10.490* (5.888)	-6.981 (5.106)	-13.238*** (4.241)	-8.488 (5.624)	-18.520* (10.740)	-31.715** (14.352)
F-stat p-val	0.207	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.019	0.183	0.329	0.370	0.499	0.515
N	91	90	91	90	88	88

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. We exclude countries with negative relative redistribution (Indonesia, Ukraine, and Tanzania). Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.11: Alternative Measures of Preferences

	Attitude inequality (change)		Perception top taxes (change)		Attitude redistribution (level)		Attitude top taxes (level)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Top 5%	-23.371***	-17.940***	-21.386***	-12.170**	-27.620***	-14.852***	-39.258***	-22.787**
	(5.605)	(4.719)	(6.866)	(5.030)	(7.684)	(4.737)	(11.788)	(11.240)
Middle 5%	10.059	14.272*	-16.947*	3.615	7.014	5.449	-17.621	-7.481
	(11.112)	(7.716)	(8.860)	(7.595)	(11.194)	(8.722)	(17.480)	(11.195)
Bottom 5%	16.942*	9.139	30.885***	18.761***	22.861**	15.611*	30.427**	23.924***
	(9.686)	(6.005)	(8.852)	(6.816)	(9.583)	(8.724)	(13.587)	(9.006)
ln(GDP per capita)		7.253**		9.719***		7.746**		10.979***
		(3.049)		(3.570)		(3.911)		(3.220)
ln(Population)		-2.799***		-2.405***		-2.419***		-2.201*
		(0.843)		(0.876)		(0.908)		(1.224)
Democracy		-2.643		-2.023		1.555		0.020
		(4.845)		(5.285)		(5.443)		(5.314)
Gini pre-tax		1.049**		1.301***		0.775*		0.738
		(0.458)		(0.461)		(0.456)		(0.469)
Constant	5.483	-103.844***	31.288	-147.859***	0.153	-105.059**	93.909**	-93.280*
	(29.616)	(36.392)	(22.668)	(42.046)	(20.501)	(41.531)	(45.225)	(53.589)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.384	0.752	0.357	0.761	0.494	0.740	0.373	0.733
N	41	41	39	39	41	41	41	41

Notes: This table reports OLS estimates using different measures of redistributive preferences from the ISSP data (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The first two measures (Attitude inequality and Perception top taxes) are based on questions about income differences and taxation ("Differences in income in <country> are too large 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Generally, how would you describe taxes in <country> today for those with high incomes? 0: Much too high, 4: Much too low"). The other two measures (Attitude redistribution and Attitude top taxes) correspond more closely to desired levels of redistribution as the questions ask about redistributive concerns in absolute terms ("It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share? 0: Much smaller, 4: Much larger"). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Table B.12: Correlation of Alternative Preference Measures

	Att. inequality	Perc. top taxes	Att. redistribution	Att. top taxes
Panel A: Top 5%				
Att. inequality	1			
Perc. top taxes	0.417**	1		
Att. redistribution	0.768***	0.363*	1	
Att. top taxes	0.416**	0.430**	0.492***	1
Panel B: Middle 5%				
Att. inequality	1			
Perc. top taxes	0.322*	1		
Att. redistribution	0.849***	0.207	1	
Att. top taxes	0.693***	0.369*	0.599***	1
Panel C: Bottom 5%				
Att. inequality	1			
Perc. top taxes	0.300	1		
Att. redistribution	0.801***	0.324*	1	
Att. top taxes	0.508***	0.384*	0.539***	1

Notes: This table reports the correlation coefficients of the different preference measures across countries using the ISSP data. Panel A shows the correlation of preferences for the top 5%, Panel B for the middle 5%, and Panel C for the bottom 5%. The first two measures (Attitude inequality and Perception top taxes) are based on questions about income differences and taxation ("Differences in income in <country> are too large 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Generally, how would you describe taxes in <country> today for those with high incomes? 0: Much too high, 4: Much too low"). The other two measures (Attitude redistribution and Attitude top taxes) correspond more closely to desired levels of redistribution as the questions ask about redistributive concerns in absolute terms ("It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share? 0: Much smaller, 4: Much larger"). Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.13: Alternative Measures of Redistribution

	Tax non-mineral		Redistribution Index 2	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Top 5%	-2.096	-1.828	-0.436*	-0.299
	(1.393)	(1.271)	(0.252)	(0.217)
Middle 5%	1.975	1.286	0.081	-0.022
	(1.584)	(1.392)	(0.263)	(0.238)
Bottom 5%	3.561***	2.348**	0.855***	0.640***
	(1.153)	(0.921)	(0.178)	(0.149)
ln(GDP per capita)		0.914		0.327**
		(0.929)		(0.154)
ln(Population)		-0.185		-0.145*
		(0.486)		(0.086)
Democracy		7.670***		1.014***
		(1.707)		(0.289)
Gini pre-tax		0.135		-0.017
		(0.136)		(0.023)
Constant	1.870	-8.485	-3.176***	-4.498***
	(3.745)	(8.482)	(0.682)	(1.533)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.300	0.482	0.363	0.521
N	88	88	87	87

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). In columns 1 and 2, the dependent variable is non-mineral taxes in percent of GDP. The dependent variable in columns 3 and 4 is a redistribution index, computed as the first principal component of the post-tax Gini, non-mineral taxes, social security taxes, and our measure of relative redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. *Social security* is missing for Vietnam. *Taxes non-mineral* exclude taxes from mineral revenues and social security contributions. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Table B.14: Split Sample Analysis by Locus of Control

	Low LOC (Bottom 5%)			High LOC (Bottom 5%)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 5%	-3.326	-2.037	-1.903	-6.683**	-4.433	-3.417
	(2.304)	(2.496)	(2.596)	(3.164)	(3.098)	(3.034)
Middle 5%	-1.949	-3.483	-4.511*	4.383	4.408	2.888
	(2.856)	(2.557)	(2.719)	(4.414)	(3.840)	(3.992)
Bottom 5%	7.272***	5.649***	5.713***	8.742**	5.921*	6.705**
	(1.838)	(1.794)	(1.869)	(3.476)	(3.149)	(3.147)
ln(GDP per capita)		2.989*	2.928		4.123**	4.128*
		(1.767)	(1.977)		(2.093)	(2.118)
ln(Population)		-3.250***	-2.734***		-0.875	-1.094
		(1.126)	(1.052)		(0.969)	(0.995)
Democracy		8.122**	7.413**		6.002*	3.197
		(3.549)	(3.690)		(3.453)	(3.549)
Gini pre-tax			0.462			0.575*
			(0.372)			(0.329)
Constant	2.259	-8.805	-26.831	-21.295***	-55.067***	-79.101***
	(8.348)	(15.250)	(21.827)	(6.515)	(20.283)	(22.020)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.294	0.503	0.558	0.473	0.634	0.668
N	46	46	46	45	43	43

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. We split the sample into countries where the bottom 5% have a low average locus of control (columns 1 to 3) and a high average locus of control (columns 4 to 6). Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.15: SES Groups and Political Participation

	(1) Boycotts	(2) Strike	(3) Demonstration	(4) Petition
Top 5%	0.047***	0.022***	0.061***	0.102***
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Middle 5%	-0.003	-0.000	-0.004	-0.004
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Bottom 5%	-0.039***	-0.023***	-0.054***	-0.079***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
R-squared	0.052	0.040	0.046	0.243
N	214491	162881	218046	219430
Countries	87	80	88	90

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (clustered standard errors in parentheses). The dependent variables are dummy variables for joining boycotts (column 1), joining strikes (column 2), attending peaceful demonstrations (column 3), and signing a petition (column 4). *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* are dummy variables for an individual belonging to the top 5%, the middle 5%, or the bottom 5% regarding the socioeconomic status index of a given country. Significance levels: ***$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.1$

Table B.16: SES Groups and Political Participation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Top 5%	-4.293**	-3.678*	-3.097	-3.035
	(1.929)	(2.139)	(2.050)	(2.008)
Middle 5%	1.529	-1.494	-2.518	-3.060
	(2.425)	(2.813)	(2.351)	(2.253)
Bottom 5%	7.277***	7.708***	6.854***	6.822***
	(1.605)	(1.672)	(1.453)	(1.441)
Polit. part. Top 5%		3.044	1.558	-0.102
		(3.873)	(4.237)	(4.224)
Polit. part. Middle 5%		6.982	3.714	1.989
		(7.030)	(6.598)	(6.797)
Polit. part. Bottom 5%		3.269	5.842	7.234
		(6.490)	(6.083)	(5.786)
ln(GDP per capita)			1.900	2.865
			(1.743)	(1.780)
ln(Population)			-2.834***	-2.578***
			(0.836)	(0.809)
Democracy			4.805	3.903
			(3.133)	(3.012)
Gini pre-tax				0.487*
				(0.282)
Constant	-9.441*	-0.149	-4.423	-31.901
	(5.707)	(6.976)	(15.875)	(22.165)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
R-squared	0.332	0.438	0.574	0.614
N	93	78	77	77

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable is relative redistribution, defined as the difference between pre-tax and post-tax Gini index, scaled by pre-tax Gini. This measure can be interpreted as the percentage change in income inequality caused by government intervention (i.e., taxes and transfers), with higher values indicating more redistribution. The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Missing values for relative redistribution are imputed using the estimates for pre-tax and post-tax Gini coefficients. Political participation is the first principal component of the four variables shown in Table B.15. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

Table B.17: Attitudes and Average Tax Rates

	Avg. tax rate for incomes = 4x GDP p.c.		Avg. tax rate for incomes = 3x GDP p.c.		Avg. tax rate for incomes = 2x GDP p.c.		Avg. tax rate for incomes = GDP p.c.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Top 5%	-2.113	-2.247	-2.103	-2.117	-1.720	-1.804	-1.136	-1.204
	(1.914)	(1.624)	(1.746)	(1.495)	(1.520)	(1.333)	(1.083)	(1.037)
Middle 5%	2.428	0.798	2.080	0.498	1.768	0.517	1.314	0.390
	(2.232)	(2.281)	(2.090)	(2.137)	(1.826)	(1.877)	(1.289)	(1.387)
Bottom 5%	2.894**	2.274*	2.776**	2.218*	2.169*	1.664	1.414*	1.050
	(1.324)	(1.289)	(1.241)	(1.191)	(1.118)	(1.046)	(0.854)	(0.796)
ln(GDP per capita)		3.751***		3.420***		2.911***		1.968***
		(1.142)		(1.074)		(0.950)		(0.752)
ln(Population)		0.820		0.518		0.407		0.208
		(0.628)		(0.621)		(0.600)		(0.503)
Democracy		5.763**		5.365**		4.940**		3.980**
		(2.345)		(2.178)		(1.926)		(1.557)
Gini pre-tax		0.151		0.114		0.043		0.014
		(0.154)		(0.146)		(0.138)		(0.127)
Constant	-2.633	-38.897***	-2.568	-33.990***	-2.252	-26.683**	-2.241	-17.865**
	(4.728)	(11.997)	(4.564)	(11.357)	(4.121)	(10.490)	(2.967)	(8.921)
F-stat p-val	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.002
R-squared	0.210	0.395	0.200	0.374	0.163	0.327	0.121	0.254
N	76	76	76	76	76	76	76	76

Notes: This table reports OLS coefficient estimates (bootstrapped standard errors from 1000 replications in parentheses). The dependent variable are the average tax rates for incomes equivalent to 4-times the GDP p.c. (columns 1 and 2), incomes equivalent to 3-times the GDP p.c. (columns 3 and 4), incomes equivalent to 2-times the GDP p.c. (columns 5 and 6), and incomes equivalent to the GDP p.c. of a country (columns 7 and 8). The variables *Top 5%*, *Middle 5%*, and *Bottom 5%* reflect the redistributive preferences of different socioeconomic status groups. Socioeconomic status groups are defined as the bottom 5%, middle 5%, and top 5% of respondents based on our socioeconomic status index. Tax rate data is from 2005. The average tax rate variables adjust for allowances/deductions, tax credits, significant local taxes and other main rules of the tax code. They do not adjust for deductions, exemptions, and credits that depend on taxpayer specific characteristics (for example, no adjustment is made for child credits). The rates do not account for evasion/avoidance. See Appendix C for a detailed description of the control variables. Significance levels: $^{***}p < 0.01$, $^{**}p < 0.05$, $^{*}p < 0.1$

C   Data

Preferences for Redistribution and Socioeconomic Status Index. To measure preferences for redistribution and socioeconomic status (SES), we use the Integrated Values Survey (IVS), which combines data from the World Value Survey (WVS) and the European Value Study (EVS). The IVS contains survey data from seven waves covering the years 1981 to 2020. We dropped data from wave 1 and wave 2, since there are no observations on income in wave 1 and no observations on social class in wave 2. We dropped wave 7 because the education variable is coded differently than in previous waves. This results in 419,299 observations covering the time period from 1995 to 2014.[19] We measure socioeconomic status using relative household income, education, and self-reported social class. To measure relative household income, respondents had to indicate to which income group their household belongs to on a 10-point scale (1: "lowest group", 10: "highest group"). Highest attained educational level is measured on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 "no formal education" to 9 "university-level education with degree". Self-reported social class is measured on a 5-point scale (1: "upper class", 5: "lower class"). We combine the three variables into an SES index using the first principal component. We rank respondents in each country based on the SES index and define bottom, middle, and top SES groups using the 5% ranges, 10% ranges, and terciles in the distribution of the index. In our main analysis, we focus on the 5% ranges (e.g., the top 5% consist of respondents ranking above the 95th percentile of the SES index).

To measure preferences for redistribution, respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes on a 10-point scale (1: "Incomes should be made more equal", 10: "We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort".) We coded answers to this question so that higher values indicate a stronger preference for redistribution (with a range from 0 to 9). We compute the average preference for redistribution for respondents from the bottom, middle, and top SES group for every country over all waves. We exclude countries for which redistributive preferences of a given SES group is based on less than 30 observations (we lose

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[19]There are 1,996 observations for Haiti from the year 2016.

observations for the Dominican Republic for all social SES groups and the observation for Uganda for the middle 5% SES group).[20]

This results in a main sample of 93 countries: Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Haiti, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Korea, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Libya, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Puerto Rico, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Government Redistribution. Our measure of government redistribution comes from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID; see Solt, 2020 for an overview). The SWIID contains cross-national estimates of the Gini index of inequality in household disposable income (post-tax, post-transfer; $Gini_{postTax}$) and of the Gini index of inequality in household market income (pre-tax, pre-transfer; $Gini_{preTax}$). We compute our measure of relative redistribution as follows:

$$Relative\ Redistribution = 100 \times \frac{Gini_{preTax} - Gini_{postTax}}{Gini_{preTax}}$$

Relative Redistribution indicates the percentage reduction in market-income inequality due to taxes and transfers. Alternatively, we also use a measure of absolute redistribution,

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[20]The median number of observations per country and SES groups are 107, 123, and 111 if we define SES groups based on 5% ranges.

which captures the reduction in market-income inequality (in Gini-index points) that is reduced due to taxes and transfers:

$$Absolute\ Redistribution = Gini_{preTax} - Gini_{postTax}$$

The SWIID provides estimates for both, *Relative Redistribution* and *Absolute Redistribution*. These estimates are missing if estimates of $Gini_{preTax}$ and $Gini_{postTax}$ are based on the same observations in the source data, and the difference between them only reflects information derived from other countries. For these cases (44 out of the 94 countries), we impute *Relative Redistribution* and *Absolute Redistribution* using the estimates for $Gini_{preTax}$ and $Gini_{postTax}$. As displayed in Table B.8, our main results are robust when we do not use imputed SWIID data. Since our preference data was collected until 2014, we focus on the SWIID data from the year which is closest to 2015. For 82% of the observations the SWIID data is from 2015, 95% of the observations are after 2009, and the oldest observation is from 1998 (Kuwait).

Alternative Measures of Redistribution. As alternative measures of redistribution, we use the updated Relative Political Capacity dataset of Arbetman-Rabinowitz *et al.* (2020) (which has also been used by Acemoglu *et al.*, 2015). In particular, we use their 2015 data on taxes (both with and without taxes from mineral revenues) and social security taxes scaled by GDP (i.e., $100 * Taxes/GDP$). Tax data is missing for Andorra, Hong Kong, Palestine, Puerto Rico, and Taiwan; social security taxes data is also missing for Vietnam.

Alternative Measures of Preferences for Redistribution. To measure preferences for redistribution and socioeconomic status (SES), we use the Social Inequality module of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). We use data from the 1992, 1999, and 2009 wave as this most closely matches the time span of the IVS data. We measure socioeconomic status using relative household self-reported social group, education, and self-reported so-

cial class. To measure social group, respondents had to indicate to which social group they belong to on a 10-point scale (1: "bottom group", 10: "top group"). Highest attained educational level is measured on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 "no formal qualification" to 5 "university-degree completed". Self-reported social class is measured on a 6-point scale (1: "lower class", 5: "upper class"). We combine the three variables into an SES index using the first principal component. We rank respondents in each country based on the SES index and define bottom, middle, and top SES groups using the 5% ranges, 10% ranges, and terciles in the distribution of the index. In our analysis, we focus on the 5% ranges (e.g., the top 5% consist of respondents ranking above the 95th percentile of the SES index).

The ISSP has four questions related to redistribution, two framed as preferences over the desired level of redistribution and two over desired changes relative to current circumstances. The first two measures are based on questions about income differences and taxation ("Differences in income in <country> are too large 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Generally, how would you describe taxes in <country> today for those with high incomes? 0: Much too high, 4: Much too low"). The other two measures correspond more closely to desired levels of redistribution as the questions ask about redistributive concerns in absolute terms ("It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 0: Strongly disagree, 4: Strongly agree"; "Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share? 0: Much smaller, 4: Much larger"). We coded answers to this question so that higher values indicate a stronger preference for redistribution (with a range from 0 to 4). We compute the average preference for redistribution for respondents from the bottom, middle, and top SES group for every country over all waves. We exclude countries for which redistributive preferences of a given SES group is based on less than 30 observations (we lose observations for Canada for the middle 5% SES group).

This results in a main sample of 41 countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bul-

garia, Chile, China, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela.

Average Tax Rates. We use the World Tax Indicators to get data on average tax rates by income groups (`https://icepp.gsu.edu/what-we-do/research/world-tax-indicators/`). Since our preference data was collected until 2014, we use the most recent tax data from 2005. Tax data is missing for Andorra, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Belarus, Colombia, Palestine, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, Uzbekistan, and Yemen.

Control Variables. We control for a set of country characteristics in our analysis. Because our preference data was collected from 1995 onwards, we use data from the year which is closest to 1994.

- *ln(GDP).* To control for the natural logarithm of GDP per capita, we use data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). 92% of the observations are from 1994, the most recent observation is from 2003 (Iraq). GDP data is missing for Andorra and Palestine.

- *ln(Population).* To control for the natural logarithm of population, we use data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). 93% of the observations are from 1994, the most recent observation is from 2003 (Iraq). Population data is missing for Andorra and Palestine.

- *Democracy.* We follow Acemoglu *et al.* (2019) to measure the democratization of a country. Acemoglu *et al.* (2019) use Feedom House and Polity IV as the main sources to construct a dummy variable which indicates if a country is democratic (*Democracy*

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= 1). A country is coded as democratic in a given year if Freedom House regards it as "free" or "partially free" and Polity IV gives it a positive democracy score (the Polity IV index ranges from -10 to 10). For countries for which the Polity IV index is missing, they use Cheibub *et al.* (2010) (CGV) and Boix *et al.* (2013) (BMR) as secondary sources and code a country as democratic if Freedom House regards it as 'free" or '"partially free", and either CGV or BMR consider them to be democratic. Acemoglu *et al.* (2019) provide data on democratization for 90 countries in our main sample in 1994. We impute the democracy measure for the 4 countries for which data is missing (Andorra, Hong Kong, Palestine, and Puerto Rico). We code Andorra as democratic using information from Freedom House, CGV, and BMR. We code Hong Kong as democratic since Freedom House regards it as "partially free" (in 1994-1995). We code Palestine as not democratic, since Freedom House regards it as "not free" (in 1996-1997). We code Puerto Rico as free since Freedom House regards it as "free" (in 1994-1995).

- *Confidence in government.* To control for the average level of confidence in the government, we use data from the IVS. Respondents were asked to indicate their confidence in the government on a 4-point scale (4: "None at all", 1: "A great deal".) We coded answers to this question so that higher values indicate a stronger confidence (with a range from 0 to 3).

- *Share of population older than 65.* To control for the share of the population that is older than 65, we use data from the World Bank for the year 1995. Population share data is missing for Taiwan.

- *Ethnic fractionalization.* To control for ethni fractionalization, we use data from the Historical Index of Ethnic Fractionalisation Dataset for the year 1995. The ethnic fractionalization index ranges from 0, when there is no ethnic fractionalization and all individuals are members of the same ethnic group to 1, where each individual

belongs to his or her own ethnic group. Ethnic fractionalization data is missing for Andorra, France, Hong Kong, Iceland, India, Kosovo, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro, Palestine, and Puerto Rico.

- *GDP growth.* To control for GDP growth, we use data from the Penn World Table (version 10.0) for the year 1995. GDP growth data is missing for Andorra, Kosovo, Libya, and Puerto Rico.

- *Legal origin.* To control for the legal origin of a country, we use data from La Porta *et al.* (2008). We distinguish between English, French, German, and Scandinavian legal origins. Data on legal origin is missing for Andorra, Kosovo, Montenegro, and Serbia.

D   Preference Data from America's Top 5%

Data

Our data on redistributive preferences of the very wealthy come from YouGov's Affluent Perspective Global Study; we access the U.S. data via Cohn *et al.* (2020). This dataset allows for a more precise coding on income and includes a substantial number of households with incomes above $750,000 and assets over $5 million. The top 5% is classified as the individuals with an annual household income of above $250,000 or gross liquid assets of $1 million or more (according to the Survey of Consumer Finances, the top 5% earners in the U.S. have an annual incomes of at least $260,000 in 2016). For comparison, the survey also includes a representative sample of Americans from the bottom 95% of the income distribution. The total sample consists of 882 individuals (top 5%: N = 465, bottom 95%: N = 417).

In looking at the YouGov data, our measure of redistributive preferences is based on respondents' answers to two questions: (i) whether they would prefer a higher or lower effective top income tax rate, and (ii) whether they would prefer a higher or lower effective estate tax rate (both measured on a five-point scale).

Results

We do observe a lower level of support for redistribution amongst the ultra-rich (income of $750,000 or more) relative to the merely well-off (incomes of $150,000-200,000), as illustrated in Figures D.1 and D.2 below. However, the differences are small. Moreover, the data points for very high incomes merely extend the pattern we observe in Figure A.1 — there is a clear monotonic decline in preferences for redistribution over the entire income distribution.

While this finding does not rule out the possibility that the redistributive preferences of the very wealthy might be positively correlated with realized redistribution, it does make this a harder argument to make, as the preferences of the very rich are most similar to those of the well-off, and most dissimilar from the very poor.
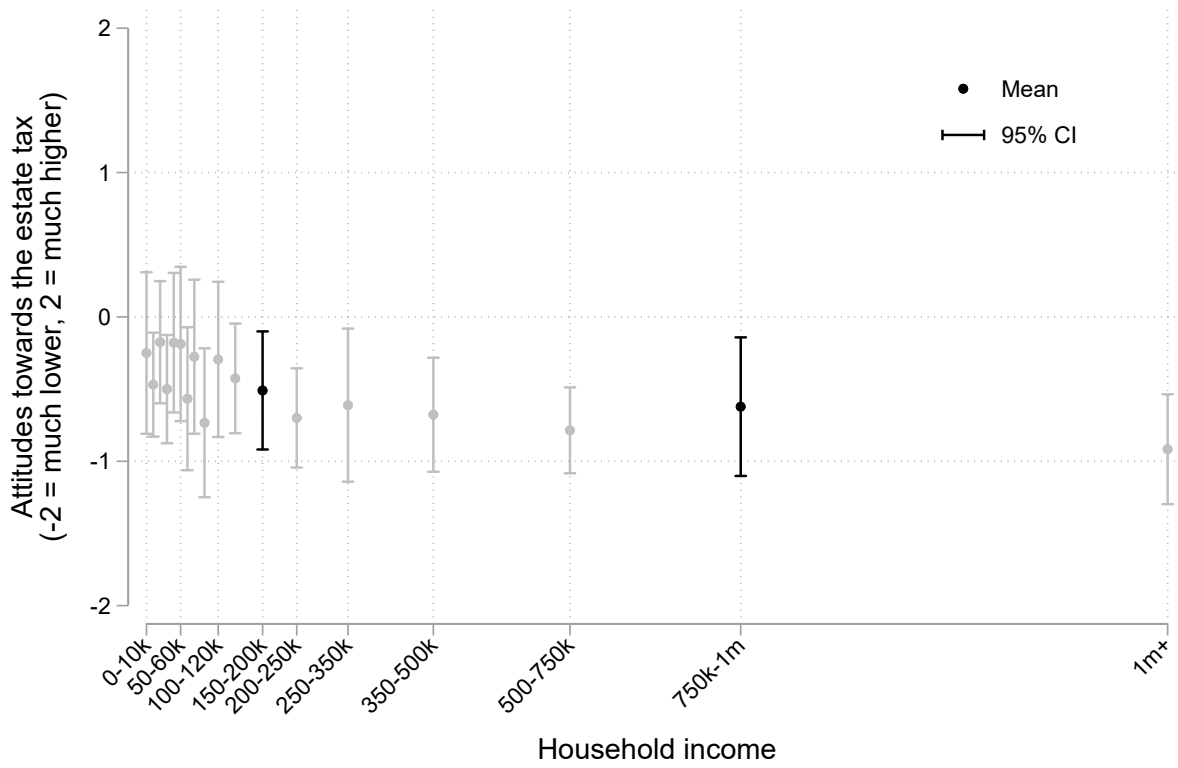
Figure D.1: Attitudes towards top income tax of the ultra-rich
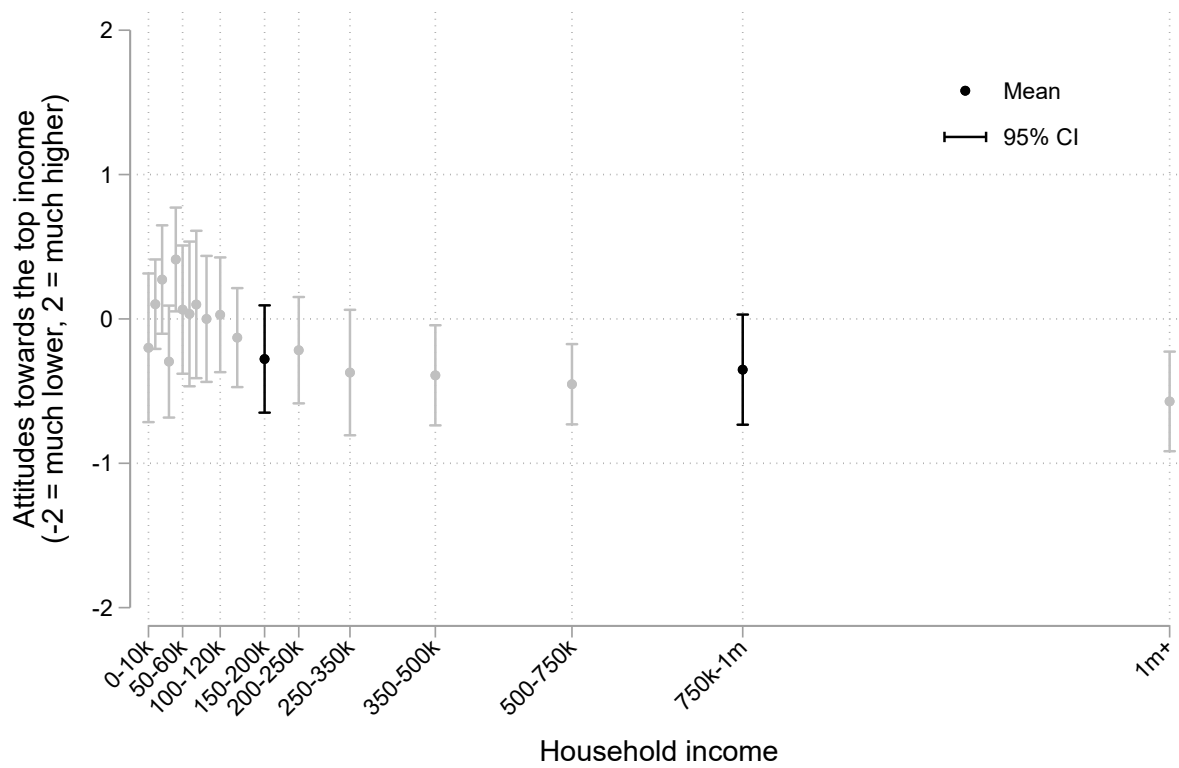
Notes: The figure shows the average attitudes towards the top income by income group. Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval.

Figure D.2: Attitudes towards estate tax of the ultra-rich

Notes: The figure shows the average attitudes towards the estate tax by income group. Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval.

E   Prediction Study

We provide an overview of the sample collection procedures and design below, followed by the text of the complete survey instrument in Section E.3.

E.1   Lay people Sample

We conducted an online prediction study in the U.S. to investigate lay people's beliefs about the relationship between redistributive preferences and actual redistribution across different SES groups. We collected a sample of 500 adults from the panel provider Prolific. Our sample is representative of the general U.S. population in terms of age, gender, and ethnicity (49% male, 51% female; M age = 46.36, SD = 16.41; White/European American: 69%, Black/African American: 14.%, Asian/Asian American: 7%, Hispanic/Latino: 7%). Participants could only complete the survey if they passed a simple attention check. Participants received a participation fee of US$1.59, along with the opportunity to earn an extra payment of up to US$4.00.

Participants were told that they had to guess the findings of a recent scientific study, which investigates how much redistribution people from different countries want and how much governments actually redistribute. We then briefly described the key features of the study: we gave participants a definition of government redistribution and information on the data we used, and we explained how we (i) measured people's attitudes toward government redistribution, (ii) computed SES groups, and (iii) measured actual government redistribution.

We then asked participants to make their predictions and informed them that they should try their best, as the 10% most accurate participants would receive a bonus payment of US$3.00. First, participants had to rank the three SES groups (bottom SES, middle SES, and top SES group) according to how much their attitudes correspond to actual government redistribution (e.g., they would place the top SES group at the top of the ranking if they

thought their attitudes correspond most closely to actual redistribution). Second, participants had to rank the pairs of SES groups according to how similar their attitudes toward government redistribution are. Participants could report their rankings using drag and drop. For both predictions, the initial order of SES groups and pairs of SES groups was randomized between participants. We also asked participants to indicate how certain they are about the accuracy of their answers on a 7-point scale ("completely uncertain" to "completely certain"). Afterwards, participants could earn an additional payment of US$1.00 if they correctly answered two comprehension questions about the scientific study. Finally, participants provided basic demographic information including their age, gender, ethnicity, educational level, employment status, household income, social class, and political orientation. To measure educational level, household income, and social class, we used the survey items from the World Value Survey. This allowed us to compute an SES index for the participants of the prediction study in the same way as in our main study.

E.2   Expert Economists Sample

We also collected predictions from experts. To do so, we surveyed a group of top academic economists whose email addresses were publicly available on the Research Papers in Economics repository website (http://repec.org). We culled email addresses for economists who published in the last five years, and who ranked in the top 5% in at least one of the following dimensions on the website: "average rank," "citations," "citations, discounted by age," "h-index," "abstract views," and "downloads." We excluded economists who were familiar with our project. This procedure yielded 3,179 email addresses. We randomly selected 1,000 email addresses to which we sent out an invitation to participate in the study, and received 140 completed responses (89% male, 10% female, 1% Other; M age $= 53.60$, SD $= 11.04$). Around two thirds of the participants were full professors and only 9% indicated that they were not professors (e.g., research economists and economic advisors). Participants were given the same instructions and were asked to make the same predictions as in the prediction study

with the lay people. We did not include any attention check and comprehension questions in the expert prediction study. Participants did not receive a participation fee, but they were informed up front that the three most accurate respondents would receive a US$100 gift card, with the option of donating that money to a charity of their choice. At the end of the survey, we asked respondents to report their gender, age, and current academic status/ranking.

E.3   Full survey instrument (Lay person version)

Consent Form

This is a survey being conducted by researchers at the Boston University, the University of Michigan, and University of Zurich. All data collected in this survey are for research purposes only.

Task and Duration: We will ask you to make predictions about citizens' attitudes towards redistribution and the government's redistribution policies. It should take 10 minutes or less to complete the survey.

Compensation: For your participation, you will be paid a participation fee. You may receive additional money based on your choices and attention during the study (up to $4). It is therefore important that you read the instructions carefully. Any additional money you earn will be paid as a bonus at the end of the study once all responses have been collected.

Risk and Benefits: The risks to your participation in this study are those associated with basic computer tasks, including boredom, fatigue, or mild stress. The benefit to you is that you contribute to the advance of scientific knowledge.

Confidentiality: We will not ask any personally identifying information about you. The data may be published in aggregate form in scientific articles or academic presentations. Your personal identity will not be revealed.

Subject's Rights: Your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time during the study. However, if you withdraw, you will not receive any money. For additional questions about this research, you may contact Jeffrey Yusof at jeffrey.yusof@econ.uzh.ch.

Please indicate, in the box below, that you are at least 18 years old, a resident of the United States of America, have read and understood this consent form, and that you agree to participate in this study.

- I agree to participate in this study, and am at least 18 years of age and a US resident, and have read the consent form.

Attention Check

This study should take 10 minutes or less to complete. It is important that you take the time to read all instructions and that you read questions carefully before you answer them. Previous research has found that some people do not take the time to read everything that is displayed. To show that you read our questions carefully, please choose both 'Monday and 'Tuesday as your answer in the first question and type 'dart' into the 'Other' field of the second question.

Given the above, what are your preferred days to do sports? (Click all that apply)

- Monday

- Tuesday

- Wednesday

- Thursday

- Friday

- Saturday

- Sunday

Given the above, what is your favorite sport?

- American football

- Baseball

- Ice hockey

- Ice hockey

- Tennis

- Golf

- Wrestling

- Soccer

- Other:

Bonus payments

We want you to **guess the findings of a recent scientific study.**

- You can earn a **bonus of $3** depending on the accuracy of your guesses.

- In addition, you can earn an extra bonus of $1 if you answer correctyl two questions about the details of the scientific study.

Study details

The scientific study is about how much redistribution people from different countries want and how much governments actually redistribute. Governments have many policies that aim to redistribute income from better-off citizens to less well-off citizens. These include direct cash transfers (i.e., welfare payments), and free or subsidized goods and services like food, housing, or healthcare. This assistance is paid for by taxes on better-off citizens.

First, we used international survey data on **people's opinions about government re-distribution** (that is, how much they think the government should redistribute). Overall, 237,138 respondents from 93 countries participated in the surveys (World Values Survey and European Values Study). The map below shows the countries (in blue) represented in the survey:
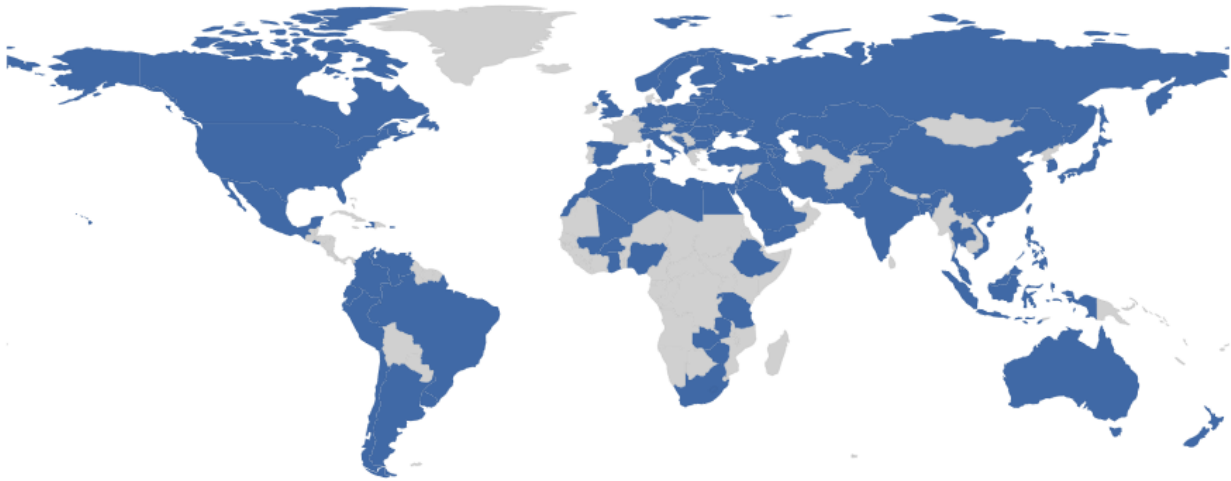
The study focused only on those respondents who belong to the bottom 5%, middle 5%, or top 5% in terms of income, education, and self-reported social class in their country. From now on, we will refer to these respondents as the bottom class, middle class, and upper class in a given country.

Here is an example of the three social classes (in red) for a fictive country with 100 survey respondents:
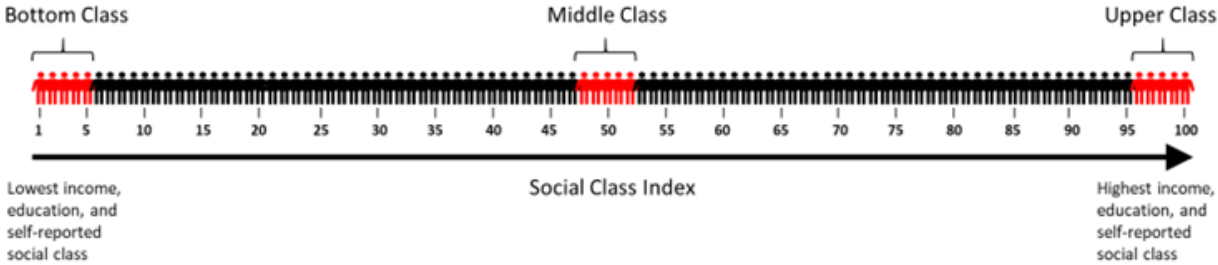
We then computed **for each social class how much redistribution people want.**

Finally, we linked the international survey data with data on **actual government redistribution** (from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database or SWIID). This allowed us to compare **how much redistribution people want** with **how much governments actually redistribute**, separately for each social class.

Your task

Now we want you to guess the results of this scientific study. Try your best to be accurate: **the 10% most accurate participants will receive a bonus payment of $3.**

Guess 1: Which social class's opinion corresponds most closely to how much the government redistributes?

Please rank the three social classes according to how much their opinions correspond to actual government redistribution. That is, you should place the social class whose opinions correspond most closely to actual redistribution at the top of the ranking and the social class whose opinions correspond the least to actual redistribution at the bottom of the ranking.

Use the left mouse button to drag and drop and guess the ranking.
(Drag and drop ranking: Bottom class, Middle class, Upper class)

Certainty:
How certain are you about the accuracy of your answer?
(7-point Radio buttons: "Completely uncertain" to "completely certain")

Guess 2: Which social classes are the most similar in terms of how much redistribution they want?

Please rank the pairs of social classes according to how similar their opinions about government redistribution are. That is, you should place the pair whose opinions are most similar to one another at the top of the ranking and the pair whose opinions are least similar to one another at the bottom of the ranking.

Use the left mouse button to drag and drop and guess the ranking.

(Drag and drop ranking: Bottom and middle class, Bottom and upper class, Middle and upper class)

Certainty:

How certain are you about the accuracy of your answer?

(7-point Radio buttons: "Completely uncertain" to "completely certain")

You now have another opportunity to earn extra money:

We will now ask you two questions about the details of the scientific study. If you answer both questions correctly, you will earn \$1 in addition to what you have already earned.

Question 1: Which characteristics do we consider in this study to divide participants into bottom class, middle class and upper class? (Check all that apply, only one is wrong)

- Income

- Education

- Self-reported social class

- Neighborhood quality

Question 2: How did we measure actual levels of government redistribution?

- We used international data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

- We used international data from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID).

- We hired a consulting company that conducted an audit of the financial statements.

Although the study focused only on government redistribution, we are also interested in what you think these relationships would look like for other public policies. Since we did not analyze data on other policies, we cannot pay an accuracy bonus for these guesses.

For each government policy described below, please rank the three social classes according to how much their opinions correspond to what the government actually does. That is, you should place the social class <u>whose opinions correspond most closely to actual government policy at the top of the ranking</u> and the social class <u>whose opinions correspond the least to actual government policy at the bottom of the ranking.</u>

Use the left mouse button to drag and drop and guess the ranking.
(Drag and drop ranking: Bottom class, Middle class, Upper class)

- Immigration: Controlling borders and imposing restrictions on immigration.

- Environment: Protecting the environment (e.g., reducing CO_2 emissions) through regulation.

- International Trade: Protecting domestic jobs from international competition and promoting domestic products.

Demographics

Please tell us about yourself so we can put your other replies in greater context:

- What is your age?

- Waht is your gender?

  - Male

  - Female

  - Other:

- What is the primary ethnicity or race you identify with?

  - Asian/Asian American

  - Black/African American

  - White/European American

  - Hispanic/Latino

  - Other

- Were you born in the United States? (Yes, No)

- What is the highest educational level that you have attained?

  - No formal education

  - Incomplete primary school

  - Complete primary school

  - Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type

  - Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type

  - Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type

  - Complete secondary: university-preparatory type

  - Some university-level education, without degree

  - University-level education, with degree

- We would like to know in what income group your household is in your country on a scale from 1 (lowest income group) to 10 (highest income group). Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. (10 Categories: 1 Lowest income group – 10: Highest income group)

- People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the:

- Upper class

- Upper middle class

- Lower middle class

- Working class

- Lower class

• What is your current employment status?

- Full-time employee

- Part-time employee

- Self-employed or small business owner

- Unemployed

- Student

- Not in labor force (for example: retired, or full-time parent)

• In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking? (10-point Scale: 1: Left to 10: Right)

End of Survey

Thank you very much for participating in this study! How well did you understand the instructions for the prediction tasks?

(7-point Radio buttons: "Did not understand them at all" to "fully understood them")

Do you have any comments or suggestions you would like to share with the researchers who designed this study? Is there anything you found unclear or confusing? Are there questions you had wished we asked? Please let us know what you think.