# Supplementary Material for: Public Preferences over Changes to the Composition of Government Tax Revenue <sup>\*</sup>

Lucy BarnesUniversity College LondonJulia de RomémentUniversity College LondonBenjamin E LauderdaleUniversity College London

### Contents

Table of Tax Levers	2
Statistics on Respondent Attention	7
Model Specification, Identification, and Estimation	9
Robustness Checks	12
Estimated Preference by Covariates	15

<sup>\*</sup>**This version**: February 16, 2024.

## Table of Tax Levers

Tax lever (short)	Tax lever (long)	Description of status quo	Statement of change to increase revenue	Statement of change to cut revenue
A&T duties	Alcohol & tobacco	Taxes are paid on the purchase of wine, spirits, beer, cider,	An 8.7% increase in alcohol and tobacco duties,	An 8.7% decrease in alcohol and tobacco duties,
	duties	cigarettes, and so on. The level of the tax depends on the amount of	to new rates of £2.42, £8.47, £0.48 and £7.14, for	to new rates of £2.04, £7.11, £0.4 and £6, for wine,
		alcohol and the type of drink or tobacco product. The current tax	wine, spirits, beer, and cigarettes, would	spirits, beer, and cigarettes, would cut tax
		rates are £2.23 per bottle of wine, £7.70 per bottle of spirits, 44p per	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		pint of beer or cider, and £6.57 per pack of cigarettes.		
CGT rates	Capital gains tax	Capital gains taxes are paid on profits from the sale of assets (like	A 17 percentage point increase in capital gains	A 17 percentage point decrease in capital gains
	rate	stocks and investment properties), by individuals. No tax is due on	tax rates, to new rates of 27% and 37%, for basic	tax rates, to new rates of 0% and 2%, for basic
		the first £12,300 per year, and the tax is only applied to profits above	and higher rate tax payers, would increase tax	and higher rate tax payers, would cut tax
		this allowance. The current tax rate is 10% for basic rate income	revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		taxpayers and 20% for higher rate income tax payers.		
Council Tax	Council tax	Council taxes are paid on the value of residential property, by	A 3.3% increase in council tax rates, to a new	A 3.3% decrease in council tax rates, to a new
		households. The exact amount depends on the assessed value of	rate of £1,961 per year for an average Band D	rate of £1,835 per year for an average Band D
		the property and the local council responsible for the area it is in.	property, would increase tax revenue by £1	property, would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per
		The current average tax rate for an average (Band D) property is	billion per year.	year.
		£1,898 per year.		
CT rate	Corporation tax	Corporation taxes are paid on profits, by companies. There is no	A 0.3 percentage point increase in corporate	A 0.3 percentage point decrease in corporate
	rate	tax-free allowance, but all business expenses are excluded, and	income tax rates, to a new rate of 19.3%, would	income tax rates, to a new rate of 18.7%, would
		there are some other deductions (such as capital allowances and	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		various forms of relief). The current tax rate is 19%.	A 3.4 percentage point increase in corporate	A 3.4 percentage point decrease in corporate
			income tax rates, to a new rate of 22.4%, would	income tax rates, to a new rate of 15.6%, would
			increase tax revenue by £10 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £10 billion per year.
Fuel duties	Fuel duties	Fuel duty is paid on the purchase of petrol, diesel, and other fuels.	A 3.3 pence increase in fuel duty, to a new rate of	A 3.3 pence decrease in fuel duty, to a new rate
		The tax depends on the type of fuel, and is set as a fixed amount	60p per litre, would increase tax revenue by £1	of 55p per litre, would cut tax revenue by £1
		per litre. The current tax rate for petrol and diesel fuel is 57.95 pence	billion per year.	billion per year.
		per litre.		

Tax lever (short)	Tax lever (long)	Description of status quo	Statement of change to increase revenue	Statement of change to cut revenue
IHT rate	Inheritance tax rate	Inheritance taxes are paid on the value of an estate (property,	A 6.9 percentage point increase in inheritance	A 6.9 percentage point decrease in inheritance
		money and possessions) at death, if it is above a certain allowance	tax rates, to a new rate of 47%, would increase	tax rates, to a new rate of 33%, would cut tax
		limit and not left to a spouse or civil partner. No tax is due on	tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		estates worth less than £500,000 including residential property, and		
		the tax is only applied to the value of the estate above this		
		allowance. The current tax rate is 40%.		
IHT threshold	Inheritance tax	Inheritance taxes are paid on the value of an estate (property,	A 16.5% decrease in the value of the inheritance	A 16.5% increase in the value of the inheritance
	threshold	money and possessions) at death, if it is above a certain allowance	tax allowance, so that only the first £422,000 of	tax allowance, so that the first £578,000 of the
		and not left to a spouse or civil partner. The tax rate above the	the value of the estate is untaxed, would	value of the estate is untaxed, would cut tax
		allowance is 40%. No tax is currently due on estates worth less than	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		£500,000 including residential property, and the tax is only applied		
		to the value of the estate above this limit.		
NI rate -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 0.2 percentage point increase in employee	A 0.2 percentage point decrease in employee
Employees > PT	contributions:	individuals and their employers. No tax is due from employees on	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate
	main employee	earnings below £797 per month, and the tax is due only on earnings	of 12.2%, would increase tax revenue by £1	of 11.8%, would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per
	rate	above this allowance. The main contribution rate for employees is	billion per year.	year.
		currently 12%.	A 2.2 percentage point increase in employee	A 2.2 percentage point decrease in employee
			National Insurance contributions, to a new rate	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate
			of 14.2%, would increase tax revenue by £10	of 9.8%, would cut tax revenue by £10 billion per
			billion per year.	year.
NI rate -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 0.9 percentage point increase in employee's	A 0.9 percentage point decrease in employee's
Employees > UEL	contributions:	individuals and their employers. The main contribution rate for	National Insurance contributions above the	National Insurance contributions above the
	higher employee	employees is 12%, but there is a lower rate applied to earnings	upper earnings limit, to a new rate of 2.9%,	upper earnings limit, to a new rate of 1.1%, would
	rate	above £4,189 per month. The contribution rate for employees'	would increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		earnings above this upper limit is currently 2%.		
NI rate - Employers	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 0.15 percentage point increase in employers'	A 0.15 percentage point decrease in employers'
> ST	contributions:	individuals and their employers. No tax is due from employers on	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate
	main employer rate	employees' earnings below £737 per month, and the tax is due only	of 14%, would increase tax revenue by £1 billion	of 13.6%, would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per
		on earnings above this allowance. The contribution rate for	per year.	year.
		employers is currently 13.8%.		

- 1	~	n n	++	n		h a
						~
- 1	~				u .	

Tax lever (short)	Tax lever (long)	Description of status quo	Statement of change to increase revenue	Statement of change to cut revenue
			A 1.5 percentage point increase in employers'	A 1.5 percentage point decrease in employers'
			National Insurance contributions, to a new rate	National Insurance contributions, to a new rate
			of 15.3%, would increase tax revenue by £10	of 12.3%, would cut tax revenue by £10 billion
			billion per year.	per year.
NI rate -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 3.6 percentage point increase in Class 4	A 3.6 percentage point decrease in Class 4
Self-employed	contributions:	individuals and their employers. For the self-employed, the main	National Insurance contributions for the	National Insurance contributions for the
class 4	main	class of contributions ("Class 4") are due on profits above £9,568 per	self-employed, to a new rate of 12.6%, would	self-employed, to a new rate of 5.4%, would cut
	self-employed rate	year, and this tax is applied only to profits above this allowance. The	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		Class 4 contribution rate is currently 9%.		
NI threshold -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 4.1% decrease in the tax allowance for	A 4.1% increase in the tax allowance for
Employees PT	contributions:	individuals and their employers. No tax is due on employees'	employee contributions, so that only the first	employee contributions, so that the first £830 of
	employee	earnings below a certain level. Employees pay at a rate of 12% on	£760 of earnings per month is untaxed, would	earnings per month is untaxed, would cut tax
	allowance	earnings above the allowance. The current tax allowance is £797 per	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		month.		
NI threshold -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 5.4% increase in the earnings threshold for	A 5.4% decrease in the earnings threshold for
Employees UEL	contributions:	individuals and their employers. The main contribution rate for	lower rate contributions, so that the 2% rate	lower rate contributions, so that the 2% rate
	higher employee	employees is 12%, but a lower rate of 2% applies above a certain	applies to earnings above £4,420 per month,	applies to earnings above £3,960 per month,
	rate threshold	earnings threshold. The current threshold for the lower rate is	would increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		£4,189 per month.		
NI threshold -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 3.2% decrease in the tax allowance for	A 3.2% increase in the tax allowance for
Employers ST	contributions:	individuals and their employers. No tax is due on employees'	employer contributions, so that only the first	employer contributions, so that the first £760 of
	employer	earnings below a certain level. Employers pay contributions at a	£710 of earnings per month is untaxed, would	earnings per month is untaxed, would cut tax
	allowance	rate of 13.8% on earnings above the allowance. The current tax	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		allowance is £737 per month.		
NI threshold -	Social insurance	National Insurance contributions are paid based on earnings, by	A 43.5% decrease in the tax allowance for	A 43.5% increase in the tax allowance for
Self-employed LPL	contributions:	individuals and their employers. For the self-employed, the main	self-employed profits, so that only the first	self-employed profits, so that the first £13,730 of
	self-employed	class of contributions ("Class 4") are due on profits above a certain	£5,410 of profits per year is untaxed, would	profits per year is untaxed, would cut tax
	allowance	allowance, at the rate of 9%. The current tax allowance is £9,568 per	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.
		Vear		

Tax lever (short)	Tax lever (long)	Description of status quo	Statement of change to increase revenue	Statement of change to cut revenue
PIT rate -	Income tax: top	Personal Income Tax is paid on most forms of income (like earnings,	A 6.1 percentage point increase in the additional	A 5 percentage point decrease in the additional
additional	rate	pensions, rental income, and benefits), by individuals. The	rate of income tax, to a new rate of 51%, would	rate of income tax, to a new rate of 40%, would
		additional rate of income tax applies to income above £150,000 per	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		year. The current tax rate is 45%.		
PIT rate - basic	Income tax: main	Personal Income Tax is paid on most forms of income (like earnings,	A 0.2 percentage point increase in the basic rate	A 0.2 percentage point decrease in the basic rate
	rate	pensions, rental income, and benefits), by individuals. No tax is due	of income tax, to a new rate of 20.2%, would	of income tax, to a new rate of 19.8%, would cut
		on the first £12,570 per year, and the basic rate is applied only to	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
			A 1.7 percentage point increase in the basic rate	A 1.7 percentage point decrease in the basic rate
			of income tax, to a new rate of 21.7%, would	of income tax, to a new rate of 18.3%, would cut
			increase tax revenue by £10 billion per year.	tax revenue by £10 billion per year.
PIT rate - higher	Income tax: higher	Personal Income Tax is paid on most forms of income (like earnings,	A 0.7 percentage point increase in the higher	A 0.7 percentage point decrease in the higher
	rate	pensions, rental income, and benefits), by individuals. The higher	rate of income tax, to a new rate of 40.7%, would	rate of income tax, to a new rate of 39.3%, would
		rate of income tax applies to income above a threshold of £50,270	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		per year (and below the additional rate band). The current tax rate		
		is 40%.		
PIT threshold -	Income tax: higher	Personal Income Tax is paid on most forms of income (like earnings,	A 2.7% decrease in the income threshold for	A 2.7% increase in the income threshold for
basic rate limit	rate threshold	pensions, rental income, and benefits), by individuals. The main	higher rate taxation, so that the 40% rate	higher rate taxation, so that the 40% rate
		income tax rate is 20% above the tax-free personal allowance but	applies to income above £49,130 per year, would	applies to income above £51,647 per year, would
		below the higher rate threshold, and 40% above the threshold. The	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	cut tax revenue by £1 billion per year.
		current higher rate threshold is £50,270 per year.		
PIT threshold -	Income tax:	Personal Income Tax is paid on most forms of income (like earnings,	A 1.1% decrease in the personal income tax	A 1.1% increase in the personal income tax
personal allowance	personal allowance	pensions, rental income, and benefits), by individuals. The main	allowance, so that only the first £12,430 per year	allowance, so that the first £12,707 per year is
		income tax rate is 20%, and applies to income above the tax-free	is untaxed, would increase tax revenue by £1	untaxed, would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per
		personal allowance (and below the higher rate threshold). The	billion per year.	year.
		current personal allowance is £12,570 per year.		
SDLT rates	Property	Residential Stamp Duty Land Tax ("Stamp Duty") is paid on the	A 0.9 percentage point increase in all the Stamp	A 0.8 percentage point decrease in all the Stamp
	transaction tax	purchase of residential property. No tax is due on properties worth	Duty rates, to new rates ranging from 2.9% to	Duty rates, to new rates ranging from 1.2% to
	rates	less than £125,000, and the tax is only applied to the value of the	12.9%, would increase tax revenue by £1 billion	11.2%, would cut tax revenue by £1 billion per
		property above this allowance. The current rates range between 2%	per year.	year.
		and 12%, with higher rates for more expensive properties.		

Tax lever (short)	Tax lever (long)	Description of status quo	Statement of change to increase revenue	Statement of change to cut revenue	
SDLT threshold	Property	Residential Stamp Duty Land Tax ("Stamp Duty") is paid on the	A 9.1% decrease in the tax allowance for Stamp	A 9.5% increase in the tax allowance for Stamp	
	transaction tax	purchase of residential property. Stamp Duty rates are on a sliding	Duty, so that only the first £114,000 of the	Duty, so that the first £137,000 of the property	
	threshold	scale between 2% and 12%, with higher rates for more expensive	property purchase price is untaxed, would	purchase price is untaxed, would cut tax	
		properties. No tax is currently due on properties worth less than	increase tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.	
		£125,000, and the tax is only applied to the value of the property			
		above this limit.			
VAT standard rate	VAT standard rate	Value Added Tax (VAT) is paid on the purchase of most goods and	A 0.2 percentage point increase in the standard	A 0.2 percentage point decrease in the standard	
		services. No tax is due on some items (like food and children's	VAT rate, to a new rate of 20.2%, would increase	VAT rate, to a new rate of 19.8%, would cut tax	
		clothes), and some goods and services are taxed at a reduced rate.	tax revenue by £1 billion per year.	revenue by £1 billion per year.	
			A 1.4 percentage point increase in the standard	A 1.4 percentage point decrease in the standard	
			VAT rate, to a new rate of 21.4%, would increase	VAT rate, to a new rate of 18.6%, would cut tax	
			tax revenue by £10 billion per year.	revenue by £10 billion per year.	

## Statistics on Respondent Attention

Response Time by Response Category

Answer	Median Response Time (in seconds)
Option A	54.67
Option B	55.84
Neutral	54.73
Don't know	29.33

Response Time and Share of Neutral Responses by Tax Lever

	Median respon	se time (seconds)	Share of		
Tax Lever	All responses	Excluding DK's	Neutral	Don't know	
A&T duties	48.60	51.23	0.26	0.13	
CGT rates	49.50	53.41	0.27	0.20	
Council Tax	50.92	54.22	0.27	0.15	
CT rate	46.44	50.19	0.26	0.16	
Fuel duties	45.57	47.48	0.30	0.16	
IHT rate	49.36	55.76	0.29	0.16	
IHT threshold	52.67	56.44	0.30	0.19	
NI rate - Employees > PT	48.82	52.36	0.33	0.18	
NI rate - Employees > UEL	51.89	56.43	0.33	0.22	
NI rate - Employers > ST	51.99	54.29	0.34	0.17	
NI rate - Self-employed class 4	50.03	54.11	0.34	0.20	
NI threshold - Employees PT	56.98	62.80	0.30	0.20	
NI threshold - Employees UEL	59.87	62.80	0.35	0.20	
NI threshold - Employers ST	56.45	60.58	0.31	0.20	
NI threshold - Self-employed LPL	55.42	61.92	0.32	0.22	
PIT rate - additional	51.84	55.82	0.30	0.18	
PIT rate - basic	52.31	56.64	0.28	0.17	
PIT rate - higher	52.15	56.64	0.30	0.17	
PIT threshold - basic rate limit	58.58	62.54	0.32	0.19	
PIT threshold - personal allowance	53.17	58.81	0.28	0.19	
SDLT rates	46.07	50.84	0.30	0.17	
SDLT threshold	53.75	59.52	0.28	0.19	
VAT standard rate	47.81	50.28	0.28	0.13	





Figure 1: Share of neutral and don't know responses by tax lever.

#### Model Specification, Identification, and Estimation

#### Specification

Each respondent *i* makes a choice between two alternative two proposals  $j \in A, B$ , with an option to to give a neutral response if they are not sure or view both alternatives as equally attractive/unattractive.

- $Y_i = 1$  if Respondent prefers A
- $Y_i = 0.5$  if Respondent gives neutral response
- $Y_i = 0$  if Respondent prefers B

Following a generalized Bradley-Terry model framework, we model the expected value of  $Y_i$  as a function of the competing "popularities"  $\pi_j$  of different tax change proposals *j*. With proposals *A* and *B*, this can be written formally as:

$$E[Y_i] = \alpha + \pi_{iA} - \pi_{iB}$$

where  $\alpha$  is the expected value of  $Y_i$  when the two proposals are equally popular, i.e. if  $\pi_{iA} = \pi_{iB}$ .<sup>1</sup>

Within this framework, we can specify the popularities  $\pi_{ij}$  as a function  $f(X_i, Z_j)$  of the experimentally varied features of the proposals  $Z_j$ , and observational characteristics of the respondents  $X_i$ . This yields a probability-scale model where additive forms of  $f(X_i, Z_j)$  can be interpreted as the additive effects on the net support for a proposal with a given feature versus an alternative feature, or for one group of respondents relative to another group, averaging over the opposing proposals. The difference between  $\pi_{iA}$  and  $\pi_{iB}$  is the predicted difference between the proportion of respondents preferring A over B and the share of those preferring B over A.<sup>2</sup>

Many of our models additionally involve a variable  $S_i$  which describes the sign of the proposed tax change:

•  $S_i = 1$  if prompt describes a choice between tax increases

 $<sup>^{1}\</sup>alpha$  can be thought as the order effect 'advantage' of a proposal being presented as option A vs option B, irrespective of their content. If  $\alpha = 0.5$ , there is no advantage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Because the modelled probabilities are not close to 0 or 1 for any A or B, the results are not sensitive to this choice of a linear functional form. Similar results can be obtained using an ordered logistic/probit framework with equivalent specifications of the deterministic component.

•  $S_i = -1$  if prompt describes a choice between tax cuts

Models that incorporate  $S_i$  in different ways enable us to either (a) combine responses from choices over increases and choices over cuts to estimate which tax levers the respondent would generally prefer to use to raise marginal revenue or (b) to disaggregate responses from choices over increases and choices over cuts to consider possible patterns of asymmetry in how respondents would prefer to raise marginal revenue.

Our initial analysis defines  $\pi_{ij} = S_i \nu_j$  where  $S_i = 1$  for tax increase prompts and -1 for decrease prompts, pooling our data such that greater values of  $\nu_j$  correspond to taxes j that tend to be preferred as a source of revenue. The model presented in Figure 2 in the paper plots  $\nu_j$  parameter for each tax lever j estimated using the model equation:

$$E[Y_i] = \alpha + S_i \nu_A - S_i \nu_B$$

under the identification assumption that  $\nu_j \sim N(0, \sigma)$ , where  $\sigma$  is the estimated standard deviation of the lever popularities around their mean.

The models presented in Figures 3 and 4 in the paper, plot  $\nu_j$  parameter for each tax lever *j* estimated using the model equation:

$$E[Y_i] = \alpha + S_i \left(\beta_A X_i\right) - S_i \left(\beta_B X_i\right)$$

where we estimate a vector of  $\beta_j$  per tax lever and define  $X_i$  matrices that have an intercept (column of ones) plus some number of features k of the respondent giving response i. We regularize the coefficients with a normal prior  $\beta_{jk} \sim N(0, \sigma_k)$  that shrinks all tax-specific coefficients towards zero according to their common variance by feature k. This avoids spuriously large differences due to limited samples and the number of comparisons being considered.

We use this same model setup for the analyses presented in appendix figures. In the figure comparing preferences in tax increase versus tax decrease prompts, we use  $S_i$  as our  $X_i$  variable, which creates an interaction between levers and the tax change direction, yielding separate estimates for both tax change direction for each lever.

#### Identification

By assuming that  $\nu_j \sim N(0, \sigma)$ , we set the zero point for our interval-level quantity of interest as the average of the popularities for the tax levers we tested. As noted in the main text, this kind of experimental design cannot yield estimates of absolute popularity of tax levers. Our identification restriction here is analogous to the one used in "random effects" models, as opposed to the "fixed effects" restriction of setting a single level to zero and estimating all others relative to that one. Thus, the interval estimates in our figures should be understood as describing uncertainty about a given lever relative to the average level, which is presented as a dotted vertical line in each plot.

#### Estimation

We estimate our models using Stan (Carpenter et al., 2016), with full code available in our replication package.

#### **Robustness Checks**



Preferences over Tax Increases Versus Decreases

Relative Popularity of Tax in Cut Prompt

Figure 2: Relative popularity of a given tax in tax increase prompts as a function of the relative popularity of the same tax in tax cut prompts. Text labels provided for tax levers where 95% intervals for the differences exclude zero.

Preferences for Larger versus Smaller Tax Changes



Relative Popularity of Tax - £1 billion

Figure 3: Relative popularity of changing a given tax lever in a given direction, to change revenue by £1 billion (x-axis) versus £10 billion (y-axis). There are no tax levers where 95% intervals for the differences exclude zero.

#### Sensitivity to Arguments



Relative Popularity of Tax - No Argument

Figure 4: Relative popularity of changing a given tax lever in a given direction, in the baseline condition (x-axis) versus with pro or con argument texts provided (y-axis). Text labels provided for tax levers where 95% intervals for the differences exclude zero.

#### Estimated Preference by Covariates

In this appendix, we report estimates examining tax lever preferences by EU referendum vote, 2019 general election turnout, gender, income and degree status.



Preferences by EU Referendum Vote

#### Relative Popularity of Tax Levers

Figure 5: Relative public preference for tax levers for Leave (blue squares) versus Remain (yellow circles) voters in the 2015 EU Referendum, in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others in pairwise comparisons of revenue-equivalent increases and decreases. Solid points and black label text indicate tax levers where the 95% interval for the difference excludes zero.

#### Preferences by 2019 Voter Turnout



**Relative Popularity of Tax Levers** 

Figure 6: Relative public preference for tax levers for 2019 non-voters (grey circles) versus 2019 voters (blue squares) voters, in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others in pairwise comparisons of revenue-equivalent increases and decreases. Solid points and black label text indicate tax levers where the 95% interval for the difference excludes zero.

## Preferences by Party Choice (additional categories)



Relative Popularity of Tax Levers

Figure 7: Relative public preference for tax levers for Conservative (blue squares), Labour (red circles), Liberal Democrat (yellow triangles) voters, voters of other parties (dark gray diamonds) and non-voters (light gray inversed triangles) in the 2019 General Election in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others in pairwise comparisons of revenueequivalent increases and decreases. Solid points and black label text indicate tax levers where the 95% interval for the party difference excludes zero.

#### Preferences by Income (additional categories)



Relative Popularity of Tax Levers

Figure 8: Relative public preference for tax levers for respondents with household incomes above 60k (blue circles), between 25k and 60k (purple circles), below 25k (red circles), and those who did not answer the income item (grey circles), in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others.

#### Preferences by Gender



**Relative Popularity of Tax Levers** 

Figure 9: Relative public preference for tax levers for men (pink circles) versus women (blue squares), in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others in pairwise comparisons of revenue-equivalent increases and decreases. Solid points and black label text indicate tax levers where the 95% interval for the gender difference excludes zero.

#### Preferences by Education Level



**Relative Popularity of Tax Levers** 

Figure 10: Relative public preference for tax levers for respondents without (blue circles) versus with university degree (purple squares), in units of probability of supporting taxation via a given lever versus others in pairwise comparisons of revenue-equivalent increases and decreases. Solid points and black label text indicate tax levers where the 95% interval for the difference excludes zero.

## Preference Multivariate Analysis

tax	intercept	over45k	refused	degree	female	leave	lab	ld	other	none
A&T duties	0.120	0.009	0.001	-0.004	0.005	0.005	-0.010	0.012	0.002	-0.007
CGT rates	0.049	-0.009	-0.008	0.050	0.005	-0.002	0.031	0.017	0.002	0.000
Council Tax	-0.125	0.032	-0.009	0.010	-0.004	-0.004	0.001	0.022	-0.006	0.005
CT rate	0.111	0.022	-0.003	0.054	-0.005	-0.008	0.008	0.025	0.003	0.000
Fuel duties	-0.043	0.014	-0.007	0.002	-0.002	0.001	0.042	0.034	0.005	-0.001
IHT rate	0.022	-0.017	-0.001	-0.013	-0.002	-0.018	0.044	-0.011	0.017	0.008
IHT threshold	0.025	-0.004	0.000	0.019	-0.001	-0.021	0.045	0.039	0.002	0.001
NI rate - Employees > PT	-0.050	-0.009	0.013	-0.046	0.002	0.014	-0.062	0.006	-0.008	-0.008
NI rate - Employees > UEL	0.032	-0.019	0.000	-0.003	0.001	0.013	-0.038	-0.012	0.007	-0.001
NI rate - Employers > ST	-0.009	-0.001	-0.003	0.012	0.000	0.004	-0.009	-0.038	-0.009	0.001
NI rate - Self-employed class 4	-0.009	-0.007	-0.002	-0.008	-0.006	0.007	-0.024	0.013	-0.003	-0.003
NI threshold - Employees PT	-0.057	0.003	0.008	-0.043	-0.001	0.013	-0.046	-0.051	-0.002	0.002
NI threshold - Employees UEL	-0.005	-0.017	-0.002	0.038	0.002	-0.001	0.028	-0.030	-0.014	-0.001
NI threshold - Employers ST	-0.054	-0.002	0.003	0.010	0.001	-0.006	-0.023	-0.020	-0.006	0.007
NI threshold - Self-employed LPL	-0.030	-0.001	-0.001	-0.030	0.000	0.005	-0.051	-0.005	-0.004	0.000
PIT rate - additional	0.063	0.003	0.006	0.024	0.002	0.004	0.074	0.049	0.012	-0.002
PIT rate - basic	-0.051	-0.025	0.000	-0.012	0.002	0.000	-0.025	-0.024	-0.004	0.001
PIT rate - higher	0.102	0.018	-0.003	0.026	-0.002	-0.011	0.016	0.042	0.004	-0.005

tax	intercept	over45k	refused	degree	female	leave	lab	ld	other	none
PIT threshold - basic rate limit	-0.008	0.017	0.010	0.012	0.001	-0.001	-0.002	-0.007	-0.004	-0.004
PIT threshold - personal allowance	-0.108	-0.002	0.002	-0.031	0.006	0.020	0.009	-0.040	-0.001	0.002
SDLT rates	0.024	0.000	-0.003	-0.007	-0.001	-0.005	0.012	0.024	0.007	0.001
SDLT threshold	0.013	-0.009	-0.005	-0.012	-0.005	-0.009	-0.003	-0.030	0.004	0.002
VAT standard rate	-0.047	0.002	0.005	-0.039	0.003	-0.002	-0.017	-0.015	-0.001	0.004
Correlation with bivariate estimates		0.964	0.995	0.989	0.993	0.865	0.993	0.987	0.997	0.988

## References

Carpenter, Bob, Andrew Gelman, Matt Hoffman, Daniel Lee, Ben Goodrich, Michael Betancourt, Michael A. Brubaker, Jiqiang Guo, Peter Li and Allen Riddell. 2016. "Stan: A probabilistic programming language." *Journal of Statistical Software*.