

Where Interests Trump Ideology: The Persistent Influence of Homeownership in Local Development Politics

William Marble
Clayton Nall¹

January 31, 2018

¹Corresponding Author: Clayton Nall is Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 616 Serra Street Room 100, Stanford CA 94305; Email: nall@stanford.edu. William Marble is a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 616 Serra Street Room 100, Stanford CA 94305; Email: wpmarble@stanford.edu. Thanks to Paul Sniderman, Steve Haber, Dan Butler, David Broockman, Eitan Hersh, Nathan Lee, and participants at the Vanderbilt Urban Political Economy Conference for helpful discussions and suggestions as the project was in its early stages. Thanks also to audiences at community groups including Livable Sunnyvale, the Mountain View Coalition for Sustainable Planning, and SAMCEDA.

Abstract

Under what circumstances can Americans be persuaded to vote against their self-interest? Previous research has found Americans often vote and adopt policy positions that seem to violate a narrowly conceived self-interest, but such studies often focus on federal politics, which often has marginal economic effects and is remote from Americans' daily experience. We focus on a local, and more salient example of self-interest: the reaction of homeowners to dense housing development. Such housing is needed in overpriced metropolitan housing markets, but threatens homeowner self interest on matters including home value. Using data from California and from the nation's largest metropolitan areas, we show that homeowner attitudes on local development are orthogonal to their ideology on both national and local redistributive policies, including those focused on housing. In a survey experiment designed to test cross-pressuring of liberal homeowners, we show that liberal homeowners' self-interest cannot be easily overcome through information about the need for housing construction, and can even be primed by such messages. Tying such messages to ideological appeals (particularly around the redistributive benefits of building more housing) only modestly mitigates the role of homeowner self-interest in local housing policy.

Political scientists have documented ample evidence that Americans do not always vote according to their self-interest in national elections. The relationship between income and partisanship is relatively weak compared to the predictions of canonical political economy models (Meltzer and Richard, 1981; Romer, 1975), despite the Democratic Party’s support for anti-poverty welfare state programs and progressive taxation. Household income is also a relatively poor predictor of Americans’ level of support for redistributive policies (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005; Bartels, 2005). This apparent violation is often discussed as if it is an example of “false consciousness” on the part of lower- and upper-income voters alike, as they adopt “incorrect” economic policy positions that are consonant with their standing party identification or ideology, but not their personal economic welfare (Levendusky, 2009; Sniderman and Stiglitz, 2012; Feldman, 1982). As a result, low-income conservative Republicans and affluent liberal Democrats alike are described as voting “against their own interests” out of ignorance, ethnocentrism, partisan identity, or, in the case of affluent liberal voters, because they are driven by altruistic preferences (Frank, 2004; Gelman et al., 2007; Gilens and Thal, 2017).

Most all of the conclusions reached about voters’ non-class-based voting focuses on national economic policies—such as redistributive taxation and welfare spending—that weakly impinge on individuals’ daily experience. As Citrin and Green (1990) note, even when personal ideological commitments exist, “the self-interest motive may hold sway only after a certain threshold of personal impact has been crossed” (10). Self-interest will sometimes be activated by a sufficiently strong policy threat to one’s industry programs (such as Social Security) that one uses on a daily basis (Citrin and Green 1990: 13–16; Campbell 2003: Ch. 3). However, whether on policy surveys or in the voting booth, federal policy changes rarely cross such a threat threshold. By contrast, state and local policies can directly affect matters that are of primary importance to households, often through mechanisms, such as local construction, schooling, and other street-level policy decisions that provide immediate personal impact, and past research has demonstrated that key measures of economic interest—especially homeownership—influence local political participation and engagement (Fischel, 2001*a*; Oliver and Ha, 2007). But Americans are rarely called upon to directly address the extent to which their national ideological commitments (such as support for redistribution) class with instances of self-interest that manifest themselves locally.

In this article, we assess whether homeowner interests trump liberal ideological commitments on a widely debated and currently salient local policy matter relevant to the expansion of local economic opportunity: high-density housing development. Economic research has demonstrated that development restrictions in high-productivity metropolitan areas have contributed to the persistence of income inequality between productive and unproductive regions (Ganong and Shoag, 2017; Hsieh and Moretti, 2017). Such restrictions are typically a result of homeowner demands for restrictions on the development of apartments and similar high-density housing forms that are occupied by lower- and middle-income workers. Studies of the American “homevoter” (Fischel, 2001*a,b*) have found that the local policy preferences of homeowners manifest themselves in a conservative approach to development, even among self-identified liberals (Hankinson, 2018). These restrictive policies serve the naively constructed self-interest of homeowners in two respects. First, by restricting development such policies reduce demand for public goods (from education to transportation systems), reducing average homeowner tax burdens, improving the average quality of the delivered services. Second, and related to the first set of effects, these restrictions increase home values (and housing prices) by restricting housing supply. While homeowners do tend to be more politically conservative (and Republican) than renters, homeowners who are otherwise committed to egalitarian policies are thus cross-pressured when it comes to housing development.¹ Local housing development policy is therefore a “most likely” case in which we should find that self-interest (narrowly defined) overcomes seemingly strong ideological commitments.

The politics of local housing policy allow partisans to maintain ideologically “correct” positions on redistributive policies (including those designed to address housing affordability) while opposing local and state policies that expand housing stock. While homeowners are, all else equal, more likely to adopt more conservative policy positions on national issues, we show that attitudes towards redistributive policies are, among homeowners and among renters alike, nearly uncorrelated with attitudes towards local housing development. Homeownership is associated with remarkably stable attitudes against policies

¹The effects of homeownership in the formation of conservative economic ideology have been noted since the 1870s. Engels (1872) criticized bourgeois housing construction programs to house the industrial working class in *The Housing Question*, criticizing such programs as a means to stimulate false consciousness on the part of workers who become attached to their housing.

that threaten homeowners' status and home values, regardless of homeowners' ideological positions on nationally significant issues.

To assess the extent to which homeownership cross-pressures liberals into adopting more conservative (restrictive) policies around local housing development, we adopt a survey-experimental approach to test whether Americans respond to messaging on associated price effects and the redistributive benefits of increasing the local housing supply. We present a study in the nation's 20 most populous metropolitan areas, many of them suffering severe housing price inflation. We find that messages designed to appeal to economic liberals by emphasizing the effects of additional housing development on local housing prices generally have a minimal effect, and, depending on how economic arguments are framed, can even reduce liberal homeowners' support of housing development. Additional messages that also emphasize the corresponding benefits of new housing on affordability for lower- and middle-income families generally offset this priming of homeowner interest. These results confirm that Americans do express substantial self-interested political behavior when the stakes are visible and consequential—even when this contradicts prior liberal commitments. Homeowners prioritize their interests as homeowners over their prior ideological commitments, though an appeal to such interest can somewhat mitigate homeowner interests.

Homeownership as a Strong Test of Economic Interest

Political scientists have long noted that income is weakly related to both partisan voting and economic issue attitudes. One explanation for this behavior has been that Americans attribute their economic welfare to their own actions and proximate economic forces, not the distant policy actions of federal or state governments (Sniderman and Brody, 1977; Feldman, 1982; Schlozman and Verba, 1981). Feldman (1982) dichotomizes Americans' attribution of their success into two different types of factors: personal, proximate influences (such as personal work ethic, ability to secure employment, and personal cost of living) on the one hand, and societal factors (such as macroeconomic concerns driven by federal fiscal and monetary policy and welfare program policies) on the other hand. The limitation of this dichotomy between distant state action and proximate economic forces — animates work examining the voters' response to economic interest — is that local government action is likely pass the necessary threshold

to activate self-interest, while also being seen as a nonpartisan, if not “non-political” proximate force. Neighborhood zoning, the drawing of school district lines, and decisions whether to build multi-family or low-income housing are thought to have large effects on household well-being. However, such locally significant policy decisions are so proximate to household interests that they may not be perceived as falling in the politically sphere, especially when a nonpartisan local government is involved.²

Uncertainty over local housing development policy activates risk-averse behavior among homeowners. Home equity is the primary means of net wealth accumulation for most middle- and high-income Americans (Belsky, Herbert and Molinsky, 2014). Local economic development policies, anti-poverty projects, and redistributive social programs may threaten this major investment, eliciting strong opposition from “homevoters” regardless of their partisanship and general ideology (Fischel, 2001*a*). This opposition may be driven explicitly by the threat to home values, though voters may not think about such concerns only in terms of their home values. Instead, they may manifest in perceived threats to indicators of quality of life — safe neighborhoods, good schools, low traffic congestion, and the physical state of neighborhoods. Homeowners may also be concerned with the racial composition of their neighborhoods as higher-density housing forms attracted more racial diversity. White flight and associated changes in home values indicate that concerns about racial composition have influenced housing markets either directly (through personal prejudice) or indirectly (through home value concerns) (Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor, 1999; Farley, Fielding and Krysan, 1997; Ellen, 2000; Mummolo and Nall, 2017). Homeowners may oppose local high-density housing not because it is an instance of redistributive welfare policy or because of biases against the groups being served, but because homeowners perceive such policies as a direct threat to quality of life or home values.³ As a result, we should expect homeownership to be a major cross-pressuring variable, inducing otherwise liberal homeowners and Democrats to oppose local policies that threaten their salient interests as homeowners.

²Fischel (2001*a*), for example, notes that local zoning, which largely dictates the level of economic exclusion in a community, is understood by homeowners as a locally collective property right (Fischel, 1987: Ch. 2) rather than external exercise of state authority. Homeownership is also sufficiently salient as an economic concern to drive concerns over tax policies that benefit homeowners. While the home mortgage interest deduction wins majority support regardless of home ownership status, Americans with a vested interest in the policy are substantially more supportive. Seventy-five percent of homeowners with mortgages believe that maintaining the home mortgage interest deduction is “very important,” while only 58 percent of renters do (CBS News and The New York Times, N.d.).

³To be sure, racial bias has driven both federal housing finance and locally restrictive housing policy (Rothstein, 2017).

While political scientists have exhaustively pursued the reasons for non-class-based voting, the disconnect between local and national ideological commitments is worthy of special focus. Impediments to both market-rate and affordable housing *development* are believed to reduce economic opportunity. In the case of market-rate housing, economic theory and indirect evidence suggests that land-use controls (including single-family residential neighborhoods) raise prices by restricting supply in high-demand housing markets (Glaeser and Gyourko, 2017). This denies lower- and middle-income households access to job opportunities in productive regions. Ganong and Shoag (2017) demonstrate that housing restrictions in regions such as the San Francisco Bay Area have contributed to the economic divergence of metropolitan areas by deterring migration of low-skill, low-income workers, pushing such workers into poorer and lower-opportunity metropolitan areas. Hsieh and Moretti (2017) conclude that this national “spatial mismatch” (Kain, 1968; Wilson, 1987) of workers and jobs as a result of housing restrictions has reduced national economic output by almost half over the past five decades. By contrast, more open housing and land-use policies in the South, combined with already low land values, have attracted more workers and development even though workers in the region are less productive. Local opposition to housing development also affects publicly subsidized housing development programs (such as the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program) that finance most low-income housing construction (Collinson, Ellen and Ludwig, 2015).

Local housing policy is therefore an ideal test for the claim that Americans will endorse egalitarian economic policies that are seemingly “against their personal interest” as long as the costs of such policies are diffuse, while adopting more conservative positions when policies’ redistributive impacts are more proximate. The remainder of the paper addresses this trade-off. We begin by presenting observational evidence on the structure of opinions towards different facets of housing policy. Across a range of policy questions pertaining to local development and other policies that influence home values, Americans’ attitudes are strongly related to homeownership status but only weakly associated with partisanship or with their stated attitudes towards redistribution. We then show that Democrats and liberals are more likely than Republicans and conservatives to support redistributive housing policies — such as rent control and

tax credits for renters. However, support for such policies is nearly perfectly uncorrelated with support for the local high-density housing development that would also benefit lower-income families.

We then present the results of an original survey of the voting-eligible population in the 20 largest U.S. metropolitan areas to assess whether voters' ideology around national economic issues extends to their more proximate interests as homeowners. In a survey experiment, we separately address how homeowners may be cross-pressured on local housing development issues. Drawing on messaging in ongoing campaigns, we presented respondents different messages regarding new housing construction's effects on local housing affordability. Each of these messages emphasized different aspects of development's effects. We expected economic liberals, including homeowners, would express support for more local, high-density housing development when reminded of its effects on prices and housing affordability. However, we find that liberal homeowners' responses to economic messaging are consistent with economic self-interest, and are only slightly offset by messages explicitly highlighting the potential redistributive effects of housing development. Our messages had no discernible effect on groups that had no reason to be cross-pressured: renters and conservative homeowners.

Observational Evidence on Cross-Pressured Attitudes Towards Housing Development

To understand cross-pressuring, we begin with previous survey evidence on attitudes towards local housing development. Because few published national polls have addressed local housing policy attitudes, we analyzed data from the Hoover Institution's April 2015 Golden State Poll ($N = 1,500$), a YouGov survey focused on the ongoing housing affordability crisis in California. The survey asked Californians about their personal experience with the housing crisis, their concern about affected groups, and their preferences for housing construction and housing-related policy reforms in the state and their local government (Hoover Institution, 2015). We use this survey for three reasons. First, it captures housing attitudes in a population that has personally struggled with the cost of housing: 42% of Californians list, "I'm being priced out of the area in which I currently live" as one of their three top concerns about housing. Similarly, about 49% expressed a concern that low-income residents cannot afford housing. Second, the

survey shows how Californians think about both redistributive and developmental approaches to housing. Third, because much of the sample consisted of coastal-area Californians who were both affluent and self-identify as liberal Democrats, the poll selects on a group that is very likely to be cross-pressured on these issues.

From this survey, we generate a two-dimensional typology of housing policy attitudes. On one axis are policies entailing *regulations and subsidies* targeted at renters. On the other axis are policies focused on *development* of new housing. Without enduring much personal economic impact, homeowners may endorse renter-focused affordable housing subsidies and regulations. Support for such non-geographically-targeted benefits need not be correlated with support for development of additional high-density housing. We use this typology to examine how housing policy questions are linked to both general political ideology and homeownership, ascertaining the extent to which liberal policy attitudes are tied (if at all) to support for construction of additional high-density housing. In a series of regression models, we present the link between homeownership, income, and partisanship and placement in this typology. We also report the extent to which such factors influence support for policies related to development.

Assembling a Typology of Housing Policy Attitudes

To operationalize voters' support for development-oriented and redistributive policy, we constructed a typology of support for housing subsidies and housing development that allows us to test support for different policy measures and to determine how voters link their general political ideology to the politics of housing. Survey respondents from the Golden State Poll were classified as "liberal" if they endorsed at least one of two redistributive, renter-focused policy items. The first was a proposal to increase the state income tax credit for renters. The second was a proposal to pass more rent control laws. Respondents were asked to answer on a five-point support scale, and those indicating "strongly support" or "somewhat support" were coded as positive responses. A positive response on either of the renter-benefits questions was counted as support for a more redistributive approach to housing policy.⁴

⁴The full question text, along with a copy of the survey instrument, can be found in the Online Appendix.

To capture attitudes towards *development* of more housing, we organized respondents according to their answers to the following questions: “Thinking about the possibility of more housing development in your area, do you support or oppose constructing more. . .”

- Apartment-only buildings
- Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces
- Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes or duplexes)
- Single-family houses in high-density subdivisions (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (large yards with neighboring houses far apart)

The response set for each item was a 5-point Likert scale with responses ranging from “strongly support” to “strongly oppose.”⁵ Respondents were coded as “pro-development” if they indicated that they strongly or somewhat supported at least two of the above items.⁶ One advantage of this question battery is that it did not compel respondents to express a preference *between* different types of housing. Respondents could state their support for more or less construction of any or all of the listed housing types. (In fact, low-density residential housing, a contributor to “residential sprawl,” received more support than any other item on the list.) However, 29% of respondents did not indicate support for any additional development “in their area,” regardless of the form of housing. While residential density is a dimension on which people may disagree, respondents who favored high-density development were also somewhat more likely to favor low-density development.

Table 1 displays the pairwise correlation coefficients for all five-point items used to assemble the housing typology, as well as a five-point liberal-conservative identity scale, and confirms that housing

⁵A possible concern is that responses to questions about “your area” pertain to a very localized area. In a separate survey on Amazon Mechanical Turk, we find that responses to this question are more similar to identical questions referring to “your county” than to “your neighborhood,” also suggesting that such attitudes were not driven exclusively by “not in my backyard” (NIMBY) concerns, but by general opposition to housing development in one’s area more generally.

⁶The final, low-density housing item elicited the most support, and appears to be least related to support for dense and multi-unit housing. However, we include it in the measure and set the pro-development threshold higher. Because of the modestly high correlation among all development-related items, inclusion or exclusion that item had a minimal effect on the proportion of respondents classified as pro-development.

	Lib/Con (5 pt.)	Renter Credit	Rent Control	Apts. Only	Mixed-Use Apts.	Townhomes/ Condos	Hi-Dens. SFR	Low-Dens. SFR
Lib/Con (5-pt.)	1.00	0.33	0.21	0.20	0.18	0.15	0.06	-0.05
Renter Credit	0.33	1.00	0.40	0.27	0.20	0.22	0.11	0.09
Rent Control	0.21	0.40	1.00	0.18	0.16	0.13	0.06	0.04
Apartments	0.20	0.27	0.18	1.00	0.69	0.68	0.46	0.20
Mixed-Use Apts	0.18	0.20	0.16	0.69	1.00	0.67	0.49	0.20
Townhomes/Condos	0.15	0.22	0.13	0.68	0.67	1.00	0.61	0.33
High-Density SFR	0.06	0.11	0.06	0.46	0.49	0.61	1.00	0.39
Low-Density SFR	-0.05	0.09	0.04	0.20	0.20	0.33	0.39	1.00

Table 1: Pearson correlation coefficients for survey items capturing general ideology and housing attitudes among California voters, all measured on five-point scales. The first three items — liberal-conservative ideology, renter tax credits, rent control — are associated with left-right economic ideology. The final five items indicate support for the following types of housing: apartments only, mixed-use apartment buildings, townhomes and condos, higher-density single-family residential, and lower-density single-family residential. Source: Golden State Poll, April 2015.

development and redistributive policy are distinct issue areas. Support for redistributive or regulatory housing policy was very weakly related to support for building more housing (regardless of housing type). The high-density housing development items were highly correlated with each other and slightly less correlated with support for low-density housing, though all the housing construction items were positively correlated. The three high-density, multi-unit housing options (mixed-use apartments, townhomes, and apartment-only buildings) had pairwise correlations of $r = .6$ to $r = .7$. High-density single-family housing were also correlated with support for apartments at $.5$, and with “townhomes and condos” at $.6$.⁷ The rent control and renter tax credit items were correlated at a reasonably high $r = .4$, but weakly correlated with support for high-density housing. For example, support for tax credits for renters was correlated with support for additional apartment construction at $r = .18$, and rent control was only slightly more correlated with support for apartments, at $r = .27$. The correlation with low-density housing types was even lower.

The Hoover poll results indicate that liberal self-identification has little relationship to attitudes towards high-density development, and is moderately related to support for the two renter protection items. Placement on the traditional five-point ideology scale was correlated at $r = .3$ with renter tax credits, and

⁷Support for low-density single-family homes is weakly, but still positively, correlated with support for apartments ($r = .2$), more correlated with support for townhomes and condos ($r = .33$), and only slightly more correlated with support for higher-density single-family homes ($r = .4$).

with support for rent control at a slightly weaker $r = .2$. Self-reported liberal-conservative ideology was correlated with support for high-density housing forms at $r = .2$ or less. Thus, while the stereotype of liberals who favor high-density cities and conservatives who favor low-density sprawl may correctly capture their residential preferences, in practice, people who support one type of housing development are likely to support others. These attitudes are only loosely related to liberal-conservative self-placement.⁸

The demonstrated orthogonality of housing issue dimensions supports the creation of a two-by-two typology based on support for development and redistribution in housing. Among people who support redistributive housing policies, we distinguish between those who support development (“development liberals”), and those who oppose it (“anti-development liberals”). Among those who oppose aid to renters and subsidies are a group that also oppose development (“anti-development conservatives”) and those who support it (“development conservatives”).⁹ While this typology is, of course, contingent on question wording and the included items, it sheds light on the likely ideological schema that Californians brought to pressing housing policy questions.

Descriptive Evidence of Cross-Pressuring Among Homeowners

Descriptive statistics (Table 2) capture membership in the four categories and reveal general support for housing aid. Across all categories besides self-identified conservatives, a majority of respondents favor some kind of housing aid, pointing to the relatively low stakes facing either homeowners or renters in backing such policies. However, homeowners and conservatives were much less likely than other groups to support development: 69% of homeowners and 71% of conservatives (who are also more likely to be homeowners) are opposed to development, compared to 51% of renters and 52% of liberals. Homeowners were twice as likely as renters to oppose any form of renter aid and development. While liberals are more likely than conservatives to support redistributive measures, housing attitudes among liberals and conservatives are asymmetric. Very few Californians opposed housing aid for renters while

⁸In a separate national survey discussed later in the paper, we found that support for tax credits for renters and nondiscrimination against Section 8 voucher recipients are correlated more highly with support for specific high-density housing (at $r = 0.3$) but were less correlated with any housing development question than the development questions are with each other.

⁹An alternative method of summarizing the correlations presented in Table 1, principal components analysis, also supports this interpretation. The redistributive and development questions load most highly onto separate dimensions.

Group	Anti-Development Conservatives	Development Conservatives	Anti-Development Liberals	Pro-Development Liberals
All	30%	11%	29%	29%
Republicans	34	13	25	28
Democrats	21	10	31	37
Homeowners	40	10	29	21
Renters	21	12	30	37
Cost-Burdened	27	9	31	34
Liberal	19	9	33	39
Conservative	45	11	26	18

Table 2: Percentage of Californians of various groups falling into the four housing-attitude categories. “Cost-burdened” individuals are those who report finding it difficult to afford housing in their area. Rows may not add to 100% due to rounding. Source: Hoover Institution Golden State Poll, April 2015.

embracing high-density development, while conservatives overwhelmingly opposed both high-density development and housing aid. That is, there were very few libertarian pro-development conservatives who disliked redistributive policies while endorsing a *laissez faire*, market approach to housing. Self-identified liberals displayed the most evidence of cross-pressuring. Those who supported aid for renters were split evenly on whether to embrace more housing development.

Of course, some of these subgroups overlap substantially, suggesting the benefit of additional regression modeling. Homeowners are more likely to be political conservatives and to live in areas where high-density development is atypical. Cross-sectional least squares regressions have substantial limitations, but one of the advantages is that we can observe the extent to which homeownership is a factor in policy attitudes above and beyond what is captured in partisanship (as a suitable contemporary proxy for ideology). We consider the extent to which the effect of homeownership varies with partisanship. While we cannot identify homeownership’s causal effect on attitudes, regression results at least indicate the extent to which liberal homeowners are likely to be cross-pressured. In Table 3, Columns 1 and 2 display the results of linear probability models intended to classify, respectively, whether a respondent is in the “anti-development conservative” category or in the “development liberal” category. Column 3 predicts the count of more dense housing options (from zero to four) supported. Column 4 captures

	Anti-Development Conservative	Development Liberal	Support Density (Count)	Loosen Zoning
Party: Ind.	0.09 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.27 (0.19)	-0.02 (0.06)
Party: Rep.	0.06 (0.04)	-0.12* (0.04)	-0.34* (0.14)	-0.08 (0.05)
Own Home	0.13* (0.04)	-0.11* (0.04)	-0.36* (0.14)	-0.11* (0.05)
Party: Ind × Own	0.11 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.01 (0.24)	-0.04 (0.08)
Party: Rep × Own	0.12 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.01 (0.21)	0.03 (0.07)
Income: \$50-100k	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.11)	0.01 (0.04)
Income: \$100k +	-0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.17 (0.13)	0.02 (0.04)
Race: Nonwhite	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.10)	0.02 (0.03)
Age: 35-54	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.40* (0.12)	-0.02 (0.04)
Age: 55-69	0.00 (0.04)	-0.16* (0.04)	-0.69* (0.13)	-0.10* (0.04)
Age: 70+	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.15* (0.05)	-0.77* (0.17)	-0.14* (0.05)
Educ: BA+	0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.14 (0.10)	0.02 (0.03)
Intercept	0.17* (0.04)	0.52* (0.04)	2.15* (0.13)	0.50* (0.04)
<i>N</i>	1072	1072	1087	1120
<i>R</i> ²	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.04
Resid. sd	0.44	0.45	1.47	0.48

Standard errors in parentheses

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

Table 3: Least-squares regression models of local housing policy attitudes as a function partisanship and homeownership. For the party variable, Democratic is the base category. For the income variable, the base category is income of less than \$50,000. Source: Golden State Poll, April 2015.

responses to a separate policy question asking whether people favored loosening zoning rules to allow more development.¹⁰

¹⁰The item in question was part of multi-item battery. “Some people have suggested making changes to public policies that affect housing in California. Considering six of these ideas, do you support or oppose . . . your local government changing residential and business zoning laws to allow for building more housing?” See the Online Appendix for the full survey text.

Californians who are more likely to be anti-development conservatives are Republican, own their home, and belong to an older age group (versus adults under age 35), and these factors are all less prevalent among pro-development liberals. After accounting for these factors, economic affluence (as measured by income) appears to be only weakly tied to these policy attitudes. Similar results are obtained when we examine the number of types of high-density development (0 to 4) supported by a respondent, or whether respondents favor “changing residential and business zoning laws to allow for building more housing. Partisanship has a modest single-digit effect on attitudes towards housing development, and the influence of homeownership is about the same regardless of party. At least descriptively, homeownership appears to more than offset the effect of Democratic identification in support for development-oriented and redistributive housing policy.

A Multi-City Study on Cross-Pressuring in Housing Attitudes

These results raise the question of whether Americans generally are cross-pressured around housing, in the sense that their interests as homeowners are inconsistent with their other ideological commitments. If so, can this tension be resolved through messaging emphasizing one set of concerns or the other? We conducted a survey experiment in which respondents were given additional information and persuasive message on the consequences of local housing development and its redistributive effects to ascertain the extent to which their attitudes change when competing interests and ideological commitments are primed.

To better understand how homeownership interacts with ideology to affect support for development, we conducted a survey of the 20 largest metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) in the United States in early 2017.¹¹ We collected an online sample of $N = 4,000$ citizens age 18 or older, quota-sampled within Census region with the intent of matching the demographic distribution of the Current Population Survey

¹¹These areas were: New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA; Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA; Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI; Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX; Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX; Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD; Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE; Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL; Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA; Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH; San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA; Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ; Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA; Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI; Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA; Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI; San Diego-Carlsbad, CA; Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL; Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO; and St. Louis, MO-IL.

November 2014 voting supplement (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 2014) The quota-sampling was administered by Qualtrics, which purchased survey responses from several different online survey vendors.¹²

This multi-MSA study includes two survey experiments to investigate potential explanations for the disconnect between pro-redistribution attitudes and support for housing development. The first of these studies, which was most pertinent to the idea of ideological cross-pressuring, primed respondents with expert statements regarding the economic and social welfare benefits of housing development, to determine whether appeals to economics and redistributive ideology influence support for additional local housing development. Respondents were then asked to indicate their level of support for additional building of the five different housing types (apartments, mixed-use apartments, condos and townhomes, dense single-family residential, and low-density single-family residential) in their area, exactly replicating the language used in the Golden State Poll. The second study, which tested “not in my backyard” (i.e., NIMBY) effects on support for housing projects as a function of proximity to one’s home, speaks only indirectly to the current question.¹³

First, to confirm that the development-redistribution typology applies in our sample, we examine a more extensive set of inter-item correlations. To measure economic ideology, we asked respondents a series of questions about redistribution, from which we constructed an index using principal components analysis. These questions included: whether the government should reduce income differences; whether people are better off under a free market; and whether wealth should be redistributed through heavy taxes on the rich. From the responses, we generated a “redistribution score” based on the first principal component and placed respondents.¹⁴ High scores indicate pro-redistribution attitudes.

¹²For the population living within all selected MSAs in each Census region, we matched the marginal distributions for each of the following variables, organized into quota categories: age (18-24, 25-44, 45-64 and 65+), sex, race/ethnicity (Asian only, black only, non-Hispanic white only, Hispanic, and multiracial/other), income (5 categories with a top code at \$75,000 per year), and MSA. The survey included up-front screening questions and included a “speed trap” question early in the survey to catch inattentive respondents. Comparison of the quotas and the demographics obtained in the sample appear in the Online Appendix.

¹³The second study was included in an earlier version of this paper. For full transparency, the text of that survey experiment can also be found in the survey instrument, which is attached in the Online Appendix.

¹⁴To address item nonresponse, we impute survey responses using Amelia II (Honaker, King and Blackwell, 2011), using respondents’ age, race, sex, income, party ID, and education as covariates for imputation.

	Party ID	Redist. index	Fed. housing	Rent control	Renter tax credit	Apt.-only bldgs	Mixed-use bldgs	Multi-family houses	High-density SFH	Low-density SFH
Party ID	1.00	0.51	0.37	0.21	0.23	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.07	-0.11
Redist. index	0.51	1.00	0.73	0.36	0.32	0.10	0.02	0.10	0.11	-0.09
Fed. housing	0.37	0.73	1.00	0.30	0.33	0.15	0.03	0.13	0.15	-0.03
Rent control	0.21	0.36	0.30	1.00	0.36	0.17	0.12	0.16	0.18	0.05
Renter tax credit	0.23	0.32	0.33	0.36	1.00	0.34	0.24	0.34	0.21	0.07
Apt.-only bldgs.	0.11	0.10	0.15	0.17	0.34	1.00	0.51	0.54	0.40	0.11
Mixed-use bldgs.	0.11	0.02	0.03	0.12	0.24	0.51	1.00	0.48	0.36	0.12
Multi-family houses	0.11	0.10	0.13	0.16	0.34	0.54	0.48	1.00	0.44	0.19
High-density SFH	0.07	0.11	0.15	0.18	0.21	0.40	0.36	0.44	1.00	0.12
Low-density SFH	-0.11	-0.09	-0.03	0.05	0.07	0.11	0.12	0.19	0.12	1.00

Table 4: Correlation of partisanship, redistribution attitudes, and building of different types of housing “in your area.” Only responses from the control group are used to construct this table. “Fed. housing” refers to a five-point question on whether the federal government should ensure housing for all Americans. Source: Authors’ Survey of Top 20 MSAs

In Table 4, we report a correlation matrix of the party, ideology, housing, and policy measures.¹⁵ The correlations are similar to those obtained in the California poll: partisanship, our redistribution index, and support for a federal guarantee of housing for all were highly correlated amongst each other, but not with support for high-density housing development. However, support levels for all four dense housing forms were correlated amongst each other at 0.36 to 0.54.¹⁶ In the national sample, support for low-density single-family housing, which was higher among both homeowners and renters, was loosely correlated with support for either high-density housing or redistributive housing policies. While a few differences appear, these results confirm the typology generated in the previous section.

Informational Treatment

To assess how respondents’ attitudes on local housing development shift in response to specific economic messages, we primed respondents with a direct statement about experts’ (economists’) beliefs about the influence of additional housing development on housing prices, with this expert message varied to emphasize (or omit) the benefits of additional housing development for low- and middle-income families. Respondents were randomly placed into one of four treatment conditions: a control (no-information)

¹⁵Because some questions were asked after the randomized informational intervention, the correlation matrix was constructed using data only from the control group, which did not receive any information about the relationship between housing supply and affordability.

¹⁶The one exception to this separation of redistribution attitudes and housing development attitudes was the question on support for the renter tax credit, which was correlated at 0.32 with the redistribution index and 0.34 with support for additional apartments.

group or one of three short messages at the start of the question, explaining that building more housing in an area can reduce local housing costs.¹⁷ Recipients of an active treatment viewed one of the following primes:

- *Expert*: “Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices.” This prime was meant to remind people of the association between increased housing supply and housing prices, without mentioning any other factors. We expected that this prime would increase support for housing development among renters, and possibly reduce support among homeowners.
- *Expert, with Escape Clause*: “Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices. Of course, housing prices are not the only issue affecting communities.” The added escape phrase was included in an attempt to offset experimenter demand effects (Zizzo, 2010) and give respondents permission to disregard the prime. In including this message as a treatment, we expected that the effect would be largest among economically liberal homeowners who might grapple with the inconsistency of their opposition to measures allowing more affordable housing. Respondents would receive information but the message “permits” them to give that information a lower weight.
- *Expert, with Equality Prime*: “Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices. This can make communities more affordable to low-income and middle-income families.” This prime is intended to connect the market effects of additional housing supply to respondents’ concerns for redistribution, explicitly appealing to both factors that might drive cross-pressing. We expected that the addition of the equality prime would boost support among pro-redistribution liberals, relative to the control condition and the basic *expert* condition.

As before, the outcome of interest is a binary variable indicating that the respondent supports (strongly or somewhat) each type of new housing development.

¹⁷Due to a survey coding issue, one-fifth of the sample did not receive a prompt or view the housing construction questions, but did answer all remaining questions on the survey.

Results

To examine the overall effect of these interventions, we first report the effect of informational interventions separately for homeowners and renters. Figure 1 plots the proportion of respondents indicating that they strongly or somewhat support different types of housing development in their area. We find little evidence that providing more information on the effects of new housing development offsets anti-development preferences associated with homeownership and indirect appeals to redistributive preferences similarly have little impact. Homeownership accounts for much of the variance in housing support. Varying the informational conditions does little to change the strong relationship between homeownership and support for high-density housing. In fact, to the extent the primes had a detectable and substantively important effect on attitudes, they sometimes worked contrary to our initial expectations, doing more to stimulate opposition to housing among homeowners, who were already more likely to oppose development.

While all housing items are correlated, people differ over support for the type of housing provided. Across all treatment conditions, a majority of renters support more of *all* housing types. In contrast, homeowners' support decreases with the density of housing type. Sixty to seventy percent of both renters and owners stated support for construction of additional low-density housing, but renters and homeowners substantially disagreed about the development of high-density housing. Renters were 15 to 20 percentage points more likely to support multi-family homes (such as condos), which were backed by only a slim majority of homeowners. Mixed-use apartment buildings (often, those with ground floor retail or offices) won support from around 50 percent of renters and nearly as much support from homeowners.¹⁸ But the biggest gap is over support for apartment-only buildings. Almost 60 percent of renters but only 30 percent of owners favor building more apartment-only buildings in their area.

Figure 1 also shows that providing additional information to respondents about the effects of additional housing supply do little to budge the relationship between homeownership and support for development. To the extent they have any effects, the informational treatments seem to weakly prime

¹⁸This result is surprising and suggests that multi-unit or apartment housing may be attractive to homeowners if it is integrated with other development forms, perhaps because of the high value placed on amenities in high-rent cities (Diamond, 2016).

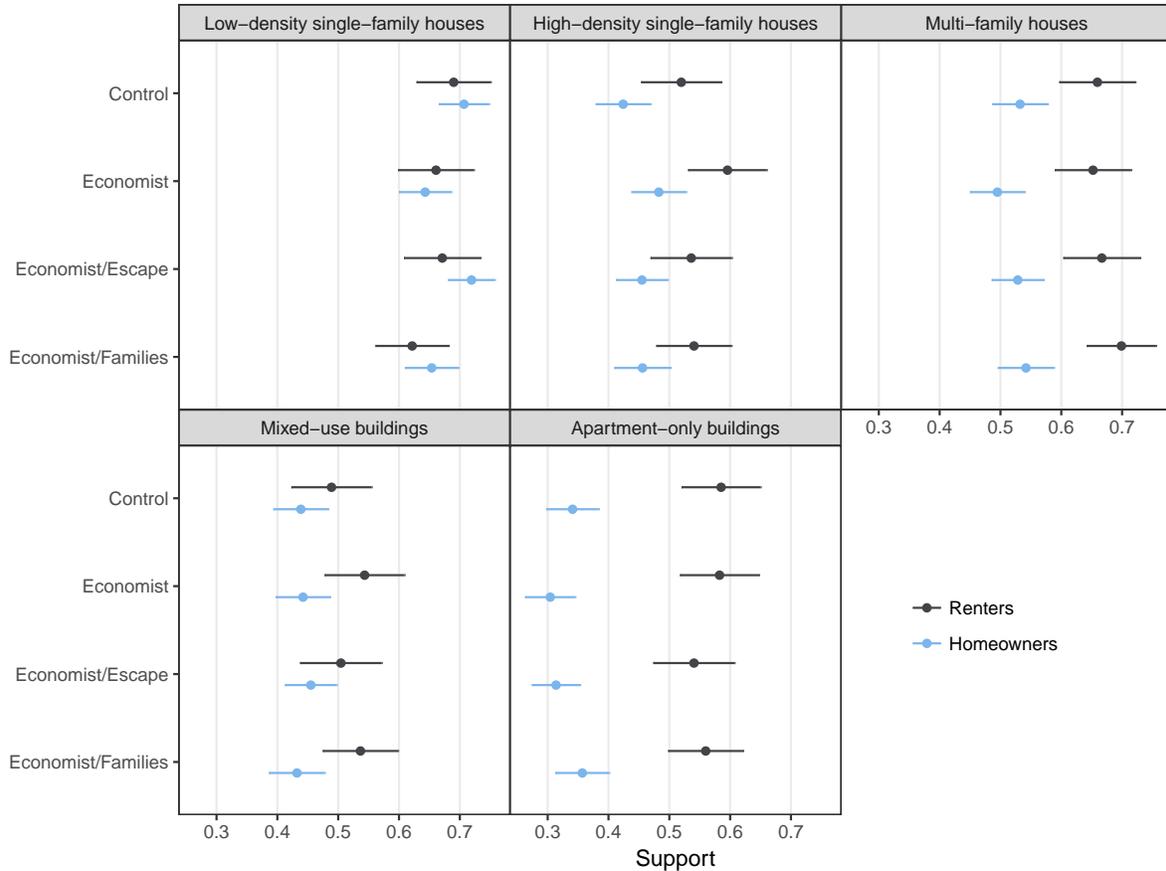


Figure 1: Effect of various housing supply primes on support for housing by housing type, among homeowners and renters, on a sample of voting-age citizens in the Top 20 metropolitan statistical area. Differences between homeowners and renters are large, and informational and persuasive messaging has only small average effects.

homeowners’ interests. For example, informing homeowners about the link between supply and prices reduces their support for additional low-density single-family housing — the housing segment occupied by most homeowners — by 6 percentage points compared to the control condition ($p = 0.03$, without covariate adjustment). Addition of the “escape clause” reduced the effect of the basic supply-and-demand information. Additional, weaker evidence suggests the equality prime reduces these homeowners’ support for additional single-family homes, by about 5 points relative to the control condition ($p = 0.08$). None of the other estimates are sufficiently precise to indicate that emphasizing the value of housing supply moves public opinion. While point estimates change under different treatments, these shifts are small relative to the large homeowner-renter differences.

	Support Density (Count)	
Treatment: Economist	0.028 (0.071)	0.047 (0.070)
Treatment: Escape	0.026 (0.070)	0.032 (0.069)
Treatment: Families	0.081 (0.071)	0.067 (0.070)
Homeowner		-0.310*** (0.061)
Party: Rep		-0.219** (0.068)
Party: Ind./Other		-0.310*** (0.060)
Redist. pref: Med.		-0.024 (0.062)
Redist. pref.: High		0.193** (0.066)
Income		0.0004 (0.001)
Income-squared		-0.00000 (0.00000)
Age: 25-44		-0.413*** (0.085)
Age: 45-64		-0.617*** (0.089)
Age: 65+		-0.671*** (0.095)
Race: Nonwhite		-0.005 (0.052)
Educ: BA+		0.187*** (0.054)
Constant	1.903*** (0.050)	2.538*** (0.099)
Joint test p -value	0.72	0.81
Observations	3,264	3,243
R ²	0.0004	0.061

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: Least-squares regression models of total number of high-density housing types supported by respondents (0 to 4). The mean of the dependent variable is 1.94 and the standard deviation is 1.43. The test p -value refers to an F -test that the treatment coefficients are all 0. Source: Authors' Survey of Top 20 MSAs.

Next, we estimate models that use as the dependent variable the count of dense housing types that respondents support (identical to the measure in Table 3). This variable ranges from 0 to 4. Given the high correlation among the different high-density housing items, this summary variable provides a simple summary measure of support. The results, both with and without basic covariates, are reported in Table 5, which shows that the informational messages have little effect on self-reported support for housing construction. The coefficients on the treatment variables are all small in magnitude and not significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, both individually and jointly. Even after controlling for age, income, redistributive preferences, and partisanship, homeownership remains the dominating factor explaining support for additional housing construction. All else equal, homeowners support 0.31 fewer types of high-density housing than renters, a difference of about one-quarter standard deviation. Of differences captured by additional covariates, only the age coefficients are of comparable magnitude (with older respondents indicating less support for all classes of development). Meanwhile, preferences for redistribution are mildly related to support for development. In the table, we break down the redistribution score into terciles. The most pro-redistribution respondents (top tercile) on average support about 0.19 more types of high-density construction than the least pro-redistribution respondents (bottom tercile), all else equal. This further demonstrates that liberal homeowners are likely to be cross-pressured on the question of housing development.

Cross-pressuring is also suggested by the experimental results in Figure 2, which plots support for apartment-only buildings by treatment condition, homeownership status, and the respondent's redistribution score. We had expected that providing additional information to economically liberal homeowners might increase their support for housing development, especially around the apartment-only buildings that are most vital to providing housing for lower and middle-income workers, yet induce the most local opposition. Thirty-nine percent of economically liberal homeowners in the control condition supported building more apartments in their area. Reminding economically liberal homeowners that additional housing would likely reduce housing prices reduced their support for development substantially. Those who were given the basic supply-and-demand *expert* prime were 11 points *less* likely to support apartments ($p = 0.06$), contrary to our initial expectations for that group. The *expert/escape clause* op-

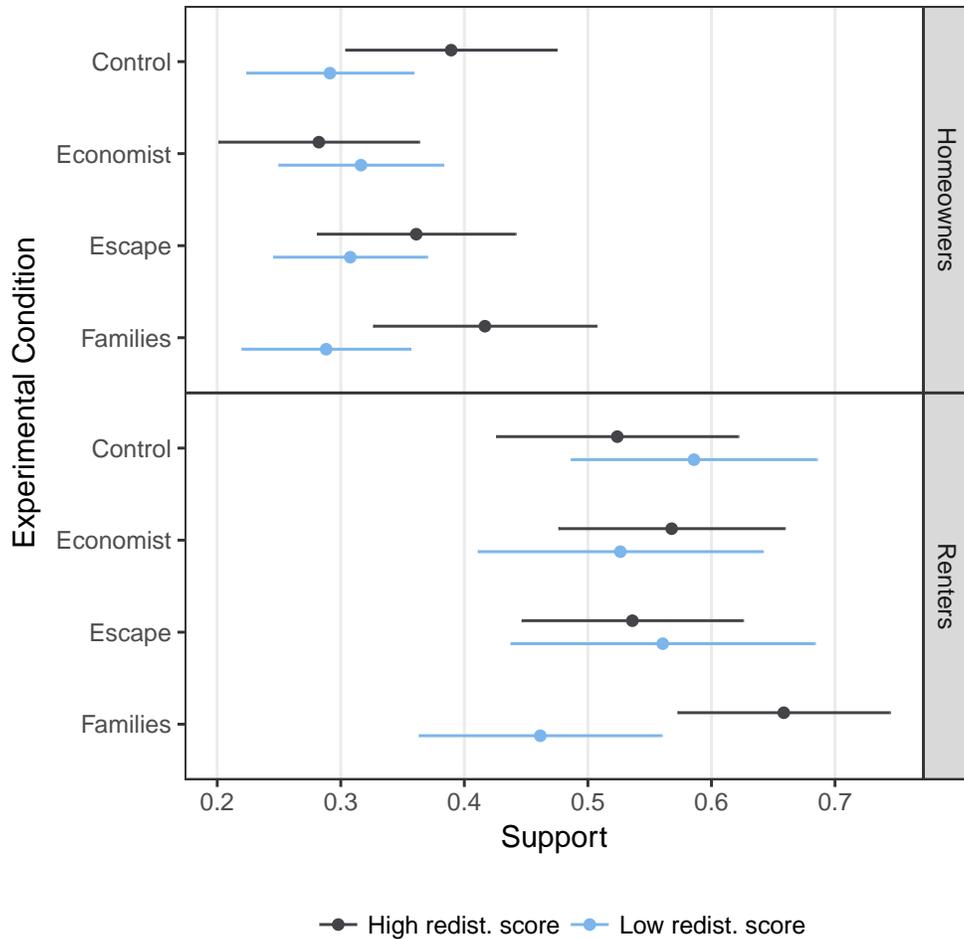


Figure 2: Effect of informational primes on support for apartments-only buildings among homeowners and renters, for pro- and anti-redistribution respondents. Pro-redistribution homeowners decrease their support of high-density apartment buildings when presented with information on the economic effects of increased housing supply, though support is higher when the message is paired with the escape clause or an equality appeal. Source: Authors’ Survey of Top 20 MSAs

tion restores support to 36 percent — a level indistinguishable from the control condition ($p > 0.6$) — showing that the negative effect of the supply-and-demand prime is potentially fleeting. Finally, adding an *equality* prime to the messaging restored economically liberal homeowners’ support for apartments to 41 percent, a level indistinguishable from support under the control condition. In brief, economically liberal homeowners are sufficiently cross-pressured that supply-side messages may yield results in various directions, depending on which considerations are emphasized. Such messages may activate their self-interest as homeowners, reducing support for high-density housing, while other messaging may activate liberal ideological commitments that may offset this self-interest motive (though we show that the net

effect of combining the two messages is indistinguishable from offering no information at all). Overall, however, such messaging does not overturn the effect of homeownership.

Discussion

Our results indicate that homeowners are not entirely self-interested, and are cross-pressured by concerns over the local redistributive effects of housing prices. However, even when homeowners are primed to think about either self-interest or the redistributive implications of housing development, their attitudes are not moved substantially. They are consistently more likely than renters to oppose local development of apartments and similar high-density buildings. Here, we discuss additional evidence indicating the motivations for this behavior, relying on additional surveys of online samples on Mechanical Turk. We address two possible concerns raised about our findings: that homeownership is merely aliasing for racist housing preferences as respondents believe that apartments are more likely to be occupied by racial minorities. The second concern is that our experimental results are an artifact of survey methodology: that respondents simply were not internalizing informational messages (a failure of the manipulation) or rejected the manipulation because they distrust experts (specifically, economists). We also discuss that opposition to high-density housing development is not, on average, tied to racial bias or racial homophily in residential preferences (Schelling, 1971; Farley, Fielding and Krysan, 1997; Farley, 1995). We also address how findings should be interpreted in light of voters' tendency to remain uninvolved in development disputes until they are in their own "backyard" (Hankinson, 2018).

In a followup study to address the role of trust in experts in respondent behavior and economic trust, and to better determine the strength of our intervention, we replicated important elements of our survey experiment on a sample of 1,200 Mechanical Turk (Turk) workers.¹⁹ On a battery of questions about trust in different groups, we asked respondents to evaluate their trust in a number of local institutions and interest groups, including "economists," "university professors," "government scientists," and "scientists working for corporations." We also asked respondents about whether they perceived bias on the part of

¹⁹While Turk workers differ from other online panels in key respects, we believed they were sufficiently similar to our other online panels that basic inferences on our two issues of concern still extend to our population of interest (Berinsky, Huber and Lenz, 2012).

“university-based experts” and “economists,” separately asking if each of those groups are “generally unbiased (accurate and objective),” or biased “for business reasons,” “for political reasons,” or “for some other reason.” These questions were asked before we introduce the informational interventions. To focus on whether our results were driven by attitudes towards experts, we adjusted the active informational messages to take one of two forms. The first design features the original “expert” informational prime without any other information, the second version features an additional short passage explaining the mechanism by which construction of additional housing units in a market reduces housing prices.²⁰

These results were analyzed by housing tenure and self-reported trust in economists. First, we confirmed that our intervention passes a reasonable manipulation check: at the end of the survey, respondents who had viewed either of the “expert” messages were ten points more likely to say that economists believed that building more housing would reduce housing prices. While imprecise, the estimates also suggest that being told economists’ views on the supply-and-demand nature of housing development increased the proportion of respondents who stated a personal belief that increased housing supply decreases housing. The full results of this robustness check appear in the Online Appendix.

Our supplementary Turk results on housing development support largely align with the treatment effects reported in the main analyses. As in the main national study, the simple expert treatment reduced their support for additional construction of high-density housing (by about 9 points), attitudes that may extend to other forms of housing as well. Explaining the basis of economists’ beliefs did not have an additional effect on support for housing. A direct appeal to experts alone appears to be reaching respondents and shaping their viewpoints as much as a more direct appeal to economic logic. In the Mturk sample, point estimates, while imprecise, suggest that renters responded even more favorably to high-density housing development when given either of the “expert” treatments, though these effects were not statistically significant relative to the control condition at a standard $p < 0.05$ level. As in the main research study, the simple expert treatment reduced homeowner support for additional construction of high-density housing (by about 9 points), and explaining the basis of economists’ beliefs did not have an additional effect on support for housing. To the extent that our appeal is being received, it appears

²⁰Full text of these questions appears in the Online Appendix.

that appeals to experts alone are reaching respondents and shaping their viewpoints as much as offering an explanation of the underlying economic logic.

We do find that responsiveness to primes may be driven, in part, by trust in economists. Those reporting any level of belief in the bias of economists were as likely to support high-density housing under the control condition, but did not exhibit an average response to the informational treatments. Those who said economists were generally unbiased did express an average response, and were more likely to disfavor housing as a result. (In our Turk sample, those who believed economists were unbiased were also about 14 points more likely to be Democrats.)

Another potential concern facing our study is that the attitudes of homeowners towards development generally may in fact be concealing racially discriminatory preferences for the composition of their neighborhoods. While the history of exclusionary zoning suggests that racial discrimination explains the origins of economically exclusionary zoning policies (Rothstein, 2017), we find minimal evidence that the cross-pressure facing homeowners is associated with racial attitudes or concerns. The first (though possibly weakest) evidence that race has a minimal role appears in Table 3: white race does little to explain support for dense housing development beyond what is already captured by homeownership, partisanship, and age. These findings are backed up in correlational data, as well. Self-reported support for state housing anti-discrimination laws has nearly zero correlation with support for high-density housing development. Finally, we asked respondents a battery of three standard questions on black racial stereotypes (Peffley, Hurwitz and Sniderman, 1997). Surprisingly, we find that willingness to agree with any anti-black stereotype is non associated with support for additional high-density development, in part because members of other minority groups that openly agree with such stereotypes (specifically, Latinos and Asians) are more supportive of high-density development. None of these findings refute the idea that racial prejudice has motivated restrictive housing policies, but if such concerns are driving local opposition to high-density development, they do not seem to be at the top of mind and are not revealing themselves in our available, more indirect measures of racial preferences.

A final objection to our research is that, at best, we measure latent public opinion that is only activated when people have an opportunity to respond to specific housing developments in their immediate area.

For instance, Hankinson (2018) suggests that public opinion on this subject is most likely to matter when projects are in close proximity, and that people are much less likely to support housing developments in their immediate vicinity. Similarly, previous research shows that “entrepreneurship” against development is likely to arise in areas that are under more population pressure or where long-term renters and homeowners are otherwise well organized (Schneider and Teske, 1993: 730). We regard the preferences outlined in our study as important measures of the ideological framework that people bring to these local development fights, as well as indicators of the type of public messaging that currently uninvolved voters may bring to development disputes. In the Online Appendix, we report preliminary results showing voters who self-reported a high level of involvement in local politics were, in fact, slightly more likely to state support for development and support for certain forms of higher density housing, including mixed-use apartments and high-density single-family homes. This result may reflect aspects of the composition of our metropolitan-area samples, which omits citizens who live in rural and minor metropolitan areas. However, it may be that usual biases in local political participation become even more severe, and focused on localized “not in my backyard” interests, once specific development disputes arise (Oliver and Ha, 2007; Schattschneider, 1960; Einstein, Palmer and Glick, N.d.). Our findings may indicate that localized NIMBY effects, while present, are small relative to the large differences in support for local housing development attributable to homeownership. (In an earlier survey fielded on Mechanical Turk, we varied question wording around support for housing development such that development in one’s “area” was specifically defined as one’s “county” or one’s “neighborhood.”) The results show that attitudes towards high-density housing development do vary with the location of specific projects, but the divide between renters and homeowners is substantial regardless of the selected geographic scale.²¹

Conclusion

An enduring puzzle in political economy is why economic class, as measured by household income, has been such a poor predictor of support for redistribution or partisan voting over decades of political science research. An explanation, suggested by Citrin and Green (1990), is that much survey research

²¹See the Online Appendix for more details.

has been examining attitudes in attitudes on policies that are removed from Americans' daily experience. Much of the work on this topic has argued that political ideology, closely tied to partisan identity, has become a dominant factor, if not the single dominant factor, driving policy attitudes. One interpretation of this broad set of null findings is that ideology, partisan motivated reasoning, and partisanship as a social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) are becoming so strong (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes, 2012; Iyengar and Westwood, 2015) that they are swamping the expression of self-interest. However, another reason for the apparently minimal role of economic self-interest is that the stakes in national economic legislation are low for the typical voter, and rarely manifest themselves in noticeable changes to Americans' class position or their relative well-being. A stronger test of the competition between economic ideology and self-interest can be found in cases in which self-interest is clearly manifested in daily personal experience (Strauss, 2009).

Examining the local politics of homeownership—and the threat to homeowner interests—sets up a “fairer” (or at least, a more closely contested) fight in the contest between self-interest and political ideology. To be sure, homeowners and other Americans do respond to sufficiently severe federal policy changes. For example, threats to the federal home mortgage interest deduction elicit strong opposition from homeowners, many of whom live in high-home-value and politically liberal areas. Threats to other programs, such as Social Security and Medicare, also elicit attention and protest from program beneficiaries (Campbell, 2003). However, many other policies deemed important by scholarship on the politics of redistribution—from TANF welfare programs and food stamps to the choice of marginal tax rate brackets—are felt only by those directly affected, and result in at most marginal adjustments to most Americans' income. The long-run effect of these widely debated policies may affect income and wealth inequality, but it is hardly surprising that Americans do not bring such considerations to their vote choice or stated policy preferences. Models of “homevoting,” by contrast, suggest that homeowners are sufficiently invested in protecting their home values (and factors, such as neighborhood safety and composition, that are linked to home values) that their behavior on local land use policy will be driven primarily by their self-interest (Fischel, 2001*a*). Because local policies that defend home values are not generally perceived as in line with standard political ideology (if they are seen as falling within the

political realm at all), homeowners of all political stripes adopt attitudes towards housing development that are independent of their partisanship and stated economic ideology. This result replicates across multiple surveys in multiple geographic settings (in California as well as in other metropolitan areas) and on national Mechanical Turk samples that tend to be weighted toward metropolitan Democrats.

As in previous studies, we find that interest-based attitudes towards housing development are generally, though not exclusively driven by housing tenure, with renters expressing greater support for new high-density housing construction (Hankinson, 2018). While homeowners are generally less likely to support pro-renter redistributive policies (such as rent control), their stated economic ideology is uncorrelated with their attitudes towards housing development.

We have tested the idea that people can be alerted to, or persuaded to ignore, their well documented reasons for acting on their naive self-interest. Informing people about the importance of housing development—and its benefits for area housing affordability—can prompt them to adjust their attitudes, especially when they are opposed to housing development but supportive of redistribution. To test the extent to which homeownership dominates ideology, we varied the framing of multiple messages designed to elicit additional support from liberal homeowners. Emphasizing housing development’s impact on prices had scant effects on support for more high-density housing, among both homeowners and renters, and even reduced liberal homeowners’ support for housing. Among the same liberal homeowners, additionally highlighting the possible benefits of new housing for low- and middle-income families increased their support for apartment development, but the two messages combined effectively cancelled each other out. The additive effect of the different treatments suggests that liberal homeowners, especially, are torn between their liberal commitments and interests, though these treatments do not induce homeowners to support high-density housing development as much as renters.

One possible explanation for the disconnect between housing as a local concern and national liberal politics is that elites have not signaled the importance of housing development as a national issue and because there are not competing messages from party elites on the issue. For example, on issues from abortion to taxation, cross-pressured voters will be faced with a choice between two parties, and the voter’s response to cross-pressuring will clearly result in a vote choice. The pro-life economic liberal

or the economically conservative social liberal has a choice based on clear party ownership and party positions on specific issues (Petrocik, 1996). The absence of any linkage between housing development and national party politics means that Americans lack useful heuristics to understand the “correct” ideological position on housing policy. Moreover, it is not simple to ascertain whether open development policies are more consonant with the Democratic or Republican party positions. Such policies tend to benefit the poor and working class — generally aligning with Democrats’ concerns — but they also involve an embrace and a trust of private commercial interests (including real estate developers) who tend to be associated with the Republican Party.

Our findings suggest that the politics of access to economic opportunity do not fit into the neat categories typically defined under the umbrella of “economic liberalism.” Nor does it seem as if Americans merely have one set of values that they apply nationally, and another that they apply when they are personally affected by housing development (i.e., NIMBY hypocrisy). On the question of allowing housing development, preferences for the *outcome* of housing for all only weakly correlate with support for the local programs necessary to pursue them. This runs counter to much of the conventional wisdom about liberals and their attitudes towards urbanism. While liberals are much more likely than conservatives to state a preference for dense neighborhoods (Pew Research Center, 2014), this does not mean that partisanship or liberal ideology result in support for *building* of more urban housing types in their communities.

Finally, our study develops insights for housing policy advocates seeking to support or oppose housing development. One logical implication that housing advocates have drawn from Americans’ seemingly inconsistent views over local (primarily development-oriented) and national (redistributive) housing policy is that Americans who favor solutions to the affordable housing problem are merely misinformed about the market effects of additional housing construction and that, if only they were educated about the merits, they would see the need for more housing construction in their area. We find evidence to the contrary. Our survey experiment in national metropolitan areas dispels the hope that exposing voters to more expert information or facts about housing markets will meaningfully shift attitudes to-

wards more support for housing development. In fact, such messaging can instead prime their economic self-interest in ways that impede public efforts.

References

- Alesina, Alberto and Eliana La Ferrara. 2005. "Preferences for Redistribution in the Land of Opportunities." *Journal of Public Economics* 89(5-6):897–931.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2005. "Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1):15–31.
- Belsky, Eric S., Christopher E. Herbert and Jennifer H. Molinsky. 2014. Is Homeownership Still an Effective Means of Building Wealth for Low-Income and Minority Households? In *Homeownership Built to Last: Balancing Access, Affordability, and Risk After the Housing Crisis*, ed. Eric S. Belsky, Christopher E. Herbert and Jennifer H. Molinsky. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Berinsky, Adam, Gregory Huber and Gabriel Lenz. 2012. "Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Experimental Research: Amazon.com's Mechanical Turks." *Political Analysis* 20(3):351–368.
- Campbell, Andrea L. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- CBS News and The New York Times. N.d. "CBS News/New York Times Poll: Economy/Housing Market/Recession [USCBSNYT2011-06C]." USCBSNYT2011-06C, Version 2, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper Express [distributor]. Accessed August 16, 2017.
- Citrin, Jack and Donald Philip Green. 1990. "The Self-Interest Motive in American Public Opinion." *Research in Micropolitics* 3(1):1–28.
- Collinson, Robert, Ingrid Gould Ellen and Jens Ludwig. 2015. Low Income Housing Policy. In *Economics of Means-Tested Transfer Programs in the United States*. Vol. 2 Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cutler, David, Edward Glaeser and Jacob Vigdor. 1999. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto." *Journal of Political Economy* 107(3):455–504.

- Diamond, Rebecca. 2016. "The Determinants and Welfare Implications of U.S. Workers' Diverging Location Choices by Skill: 1980-2000." *American Economic Review* 106(3):479–524.
- Einstein, Katherine Levine, Maxwell Palmer and David Glick. N.d. "Who Participates in Local Government? Evidence from Meeting Minutes." *Working Paper*. Forthcoming. Accessed January 29,2018.
- Ellen, Ingrid Gould. 2000. *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Engels, Friedrich. 1872. *The Housing Question*. Zodiac.
- URL:** <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/housing-question/>
- Farley, John E. 1995. "Race Still Matters." *Urban Affairs Review* 31(2):244–254.
- Farley, Reynolds, Elaine L. Fielding and Maria Krysan. 1997. "The Residential Preferences of Blacks and Whites: A Four-Metropolis Analysis." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4):763–800.
- Feldman, Stanley. 1982. "Economic Self-Interest and Political Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 446–466.
- Fischel, William A. 1987. *The Economics of Zoning Laws: A Property Rights Approach to American Land Use Controls*. Baltimore, MD: JHU Press.
- Fischel, William A. 2001a. *The Homevoter Hypothesis: How home values influence local government taxation, school finance, and land-use policies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fischel, William A. 2001b. "Why are there NIMBYs?" *Land Economics* 77(1):144–152.
- Frank, Thomas. 2004. *What's the Matter With Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. New York: Henry Holt and Co.
- Ganong, Peter and Daniel W Shoag. 2017. Why Has Regional Income Convergence in the US Declined? Technical report National Bureau of Economic Research.

- Gelman, Andrew, Boris Shor, Joseph Bafumi and David Park. 2007. “Rich State, Poor State, Red State, Blue State: What’s the Matter With Connecticut?” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2(345–367).
- Gilens, Martin and Adam Thal. 2017. “Preferences and Partisanship Among Affluent Americans.”
- Glaeser, Edward and Joe Gyourko. 2017. “The Economic Implications of Housing Supply.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* . Accessed February 17, 2017.
URL: <http://whr.tn/2qDB1Xf>
- Hankinson, Michael. 2018. “When Do Renters Behave Like Homeowners? High Rent, Price Anxiety, and NIMBYism.” *American Political Science Review* . Accessed March 4, 2017.
URL: <http://bit.ly/2pSnMQX>
- Honaker, James, Gary King and Matthew Blackwell. 2011. “Amelia II: A Program for Missing Data.” *Journal of Statistical Software* 45(7):1–47.
URL: <http://www.jstatsoft.org/v45/i07/>
- Hoover Institution. 2015. “Hoover Institution Golden State Poll, April 2015 [dataset].”. Accessed January 24, 2017.
URL: <http://hvr.co/2pRFK8y>
- Hsieh, Chang-Tai and Enrico Moretti. 2017. “Housing Constraints and Spatial Misallocation.” *NBER Working Paper Series* (21154).
URL: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w21154>
- Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. “Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(3). doi:10.1093/poq/nfs038.
- Iyengar, Shanto and Sean Westwood. 2015. “Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):690–707.
- Kain, John F. 1968. “Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82(2):175–197.

- Levendusky, Matthew. 2009. *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Meltzer, Allan H. and Scott F. Richard. 1981. "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government." *Journal of Political Economy* 89(5):914–927.
- Mummolo, Jonathan and Clayton Nall. 2017. "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation." *Journal of Politics* 79(1):45–59.
- Oliver, J. Eric and Shang E. Ha. 2007. "Vote Choice in Suburban Elections." *American Political Science Review* 101(3):393–408.
- Peffley, Mark, Jon Hurwitz and Paul M. Sniderman. 1997. "Racial stereotypes and whites' political views of blacks in the context of welfare and crime." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 30–60.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3):825–850.
- Pew Research Center. 2014. Political Polarization in the American Public. Technical report. Accessed July 1, 2017.
URL: <http://pewrsr.ch/2sdMAn0>
- Romer, Thomas. 1975. "Individual Welfare, Majority Voting, and the Properties of a Linear Income Tax." *Journal of Public Economics* 4(2):163–185.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. Liveright.
- Schattschneider, E E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Schelling, Thomas. 1971. "Dynamic Models of Segregation." *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1(2):143–186.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and Sidney Verba. 1981. *Insult to Injury: Unemployment, Class, and Political Response*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Schneider, Mark and Paul Teske. 1993. "The Antigrowth Entrepreneur: Challenging the 'Equilibrium' of the Growth Machine." *The Journal of Politics* 55(3):720–736.
- Sniderman, Paul M. and Jed Stiglitz. 2012. *The Reputational Premium: A Theory of Party Identification and Policy Reasoning*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton.
- Sniderman, Paul M. and Richard A. Brody. 1977. "Coping: The Ethic of Self-Reliance." *American Journal of Political Science* 21(3):501–521.
- Strauss, Aaron B. 2009. Political Ground Truth: How Personal Issue Experience Counters Partisan Biases Ph.d. dissertation Princeton University Princeton, NJ: .
- Tajfel, Henri and John C Turner. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *The social psychology of intergroup relations* 33(47):74.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 2014. "Current Population Survey, November 2014: Voting and Registration Supplement."
- Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: Chicago.
- Zizzo, Daniel John. 2010. "Experimenter Demand Effects in Economic Experiments." *Experimental Economics* 13:75–98.

Online Appendix

Contents

Correlations Among Survey Items	1
Additional Robustness Checks	1
Hoover Golden State Poll Survey Instrument	1
Top-20 MSA Survey	19
Mechanical Turk Survey for Manipulation Checks and Trust in Economists	58

Correlations Among Survey Items

In this section, we display the correlation among survey items on the Top-20 MSA survey, for renters (Figure A-1) and homeowners (Figure A-2). In both cases, respondents’ partisan affiliation, economic ideology, and support for housing aid are uncorrelated with support for high-density housing.

Additional Robustness Checks

Support for High-Density Development, by Local Government Involvement

Much research shows that homeowners, who are more likely to oppose high-density housing development, are also more likely to be involved in politics. However, homeowners who are involved in politics are not necessarily more likely to be opposed to high-density development. This may not apply nationally, but does apply in our sample of respondents from the Top 20 metropolitan areas. More involved homeowners in large metropolitan areas are more likely to support development of mixed-use apartments and high-density single-family housing (Figures A-3 and A-4).

Hoover Golden State Poll Survey Instrument

YouGov STAN0073_w2
Hoover Golden State Poll 2015 Wave 2 (HCAP.7)

03/24/15 – Hoover Internal Draft, tmf edit

Fielding period: April 2015
YouGov deliverables by: May 1, 2015, C.O.B.
Public release date: May 18, 2015

- I. Economic Prosperity Items (2 questions)
- II. CA Housing and Housing Policy Module
- III. Likely Voter Items (3) repeated from STAN0073_w1 (HCAP.6)

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

- * Sample specification: 1500 total adult respondents in Southern California, Bay Area, and Central Valley, using YouGov's standard sample specifications for these regions of California
- * Questions should each appear on new pages
- * Permit non-response for all questions
- * Randomize response items for all questions unless otherwise noted
- * Do **not** randomize question order
- * Please retain indicators for ALL randomizations

HCAP.7.1 [ZIP CONFIRM] – (same as STAN0073_w1, HCAP.6.1)

What is your current zip code?

[Use response box for 5-digit zip code entry by respondent]

[IF RESPONSE IS NOT A ZIP CODE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, BAY AREA, OR CENTRAL VALLEY, USING YOUNGOV'S STANDARD SAMPLE SPECIFICATIONS FOR THESE REGIONS OF CALIFORNIA, END SURVEY]

[RETAIN ZIP CODE FOR ALL RESPONDENTS FROM SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, BAY AREA, OR CENTRAL VALLEY**]**

I. ECONOMIC PROSPERITY ITEMS (2 questions)

HCAP.7.2A [EMPLOYMENT_SCREEN] - (same as STAN0073_w1, HCAP.6.4A)

SINGLE CHOICE - DO NOT RANDOMIZE RESPONSE ITEMS

Which of the following _best_ describes your current employment status?

- (A) Full-time employed
- (B) Part-time employed
- (C) Self-employed
- (D) Unemployed or temporarily on layoff
- (E) Retired
- (F) Permanently disabled
- (G) Homemaker
- (H) Student
- (I) Other

[If respondent answer is "Full-time employed," "Part-time employed," or "Self-employed," show HCAP.7.2B. For all other responses, jump to HCAP.7.5]

HCAP.7.2B [FIND_JOB_CONFIDENCE] - (same as STAN0073_w1, HCAP.6.4B)

SINGLE CHOICE FOLLOW UP TO HCAP.7.2A IF HCAP.7.2A RESPONSE IS

"FULL-TIME EMPLOYED," "PART-TIME EMPLOYED," OR "SELF-EMPLOYED"

If you left your current job, how confident are you that you could find a new job in California in the next 6 months that pays as much as you are making now? Are you:

- (A) Very confident
- (B) Somewhat confident
- (C) Somewhat unconfident
- (D) Not at all confident
- (E) Not sure

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or DCBAE]

CA HOUSING AND HOUSING POLICY MODULE BEGINS ON NEXT PAGE

II. CA HOUSING AND HOUSING POLICY MODULE

[ASK HCAP.7.3 AND HCAP.7.4 ONLY IF HCAP.7.2A RESPONSE IS "FULL-TIME EMPLOYED," "PART-TIME EMPLOYED," OR "SELF-EMPLOYED"]

HCAP.7.3 [COMMUTE_HOW]

SINGLE CHOICE

Most days, how do you travel most of the way from your home to where you work?

- (A) Car
- (B) Train (LA Metro, BART, CalTrain)
- (C) Bus
- (D) Bike
- (E) Walk
- (F) Street or trolley car
- (G) I work from home most days

[Fix (G) "I work from home most days" as last response item]

[If respondent answer is "I work from home most days," jump to HCAP.7.5. For all other responses, show HCAP.7.4]

HCAP.7.4 [COMMUTE_TIME]

Most days, how long does it take you to get from your home to where you work?

SELECTOR BOXES FOR HOUR(S) and MINUTES

HCAP.7.5 [OWNERSHIP]

SINGLE CHOICE

Thinking about the place you currently live most of the time, do you...

- (A) Own it
- (B) Rent it
- (C) Neither own or rent. I live with someone who is the homeowner or renter.

[FIX (C) AS LAST RESPONSE ITEM]

[If respondent answer is "Own it," show HCAP.7.6. If respondent answer is "Rent it," jump to HCAP.7.10 [RENTER_YEARS]. If respondent answer is "Neither own or rent," jump to HCAP.7.15 [HOUSING_VALUE]]

HCAP.7.6 [OWNER_PROPERTY]

SINGLE CHOICE

Again, thinking about the place you currently live most of the time, which of the following best describes it?

- (A) Single-family house in low-density subdivision (large yards with neighboring houses further part)
- (B) Single-family house in high-density subdivision (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- (C) Multi-family housing (for example, townhome or duplex)
- (D) Apartment

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCD or DCBA]

HCAP.7.7 [OWNER_YEAR]

In which year did you purchase or inherit this home in California?

SELECTOR BOX FOR YEAR

HCAP.7.8 [OWNER_MORTGAGE]

SINGLE CHOICE

Do you currently have a mortgage on your home?

- (A) Yes, I have a mortgage
- (B) No, I do not have a mortgage

HCAP.7.9 [OWNER_SECOND]

ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES UNLESS (E) "NO, I DO NOT OWN OTHER RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY" IS SELECTED

Do you currently own more than one residential property in California (not a time share)? Select all that apply.

- (A) Yes, single-family house in low-density subdivision (large yards with neighboring houses further part)
- (B) Yes, Single-family house in high-density subdivision (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- (C) Yes, multi-family housing (for example, townhome or duplex)
- (D) Yes, an apartment
- (E) No, I do not own other residential property

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

HCAP.7.10 [RENTER_YEARS]

How many years in a row have you been renting in California?

SELECTOR BOX FOR NUMBER OF YEARS

HCAP.7.11 [RENTER_SECOND]

ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES UNLESS (E) "NO, I DO NOT OWN OTHER RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY" IS SELECTED

Do you currently own residential property in California that you do not live in (not a time share)? Select all that apply.

- (A) Yes, single-family house in low-density subdivision (large yards with neighboring houses further part)
- (B) Yes, Single-family house in high-density subdivision (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- (C) Yes, multi-family housing (for example, townhome or duplex)
- (D) Yes, an apartment
- (E) No, I do not own other residential property

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

[If respondent answer is any "Yes" response item, show HCAP.7.14. If respondent answer is (E) "No," jump to HCAP.7.15]

HCAP.7.12 [RENTER_YEARBOUGHT]

In which year did you purchase or inherit the residential property in California that you own but do not live in? If you own more than one residential property in California, please select the year for the property you've owned the LONGEST.
SELECTOR BOX FOR YEAR

HCAP.7.13 [RENTER_OWNED]

ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES UNLESS (E) "NO, I HAVE NOT OWNED RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY" IS SELECTED

Have you ever owned residential property in California? Select all that apply.

- (A) Yes, single-family house in low-density subdivision (large yards with neighboring houses further part)
- (B) Yes, single-family house in high-density subdivision (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- (C) Yes, multi-family housing (for example, townhome or duplex)
- (D) Yes, an apartment
- (E) No, I have not owned residential property

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

[If respondent answer is any "Yes" response item, show HCAP.7.16. If respondent answer is (E) "No," jump to HCAP.7.17]

HCAP.7.14 [RENTER_LASTYEAROWN]

What is the last year in which you owned residential property in California?
SELECTOR BOX FOR YEAR

HCAP.7.15 [HOUSING_VALUE]

SINGLE CHOICE

Thinking about the housing market in California today, which of the following best describes what you think about the cost of purchasing a home in the part of California in which you live?

- (A) Very expensive for the housing you get
- (B) Somewhat expensive for the housing you get
- (C) Price is about right for the housing you get
- (D) Somewhat inexpensive for the housing you get
- (E) Very inexpensive for the housing you get
- (F) Not sure

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDEF or EDCBAF]

HCAP.7.16 [MARKET_COMPETITION]
GRID, 2 ROWS; 7 RESPONSE ITEM COLUMNS
ALLOW ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW
NO CAPS ON NUMBER OF RESPONSES FOR EACH COLUMN

Again, thinking about the housing market in California today, which of the following best describes the level of competition among buyers for homes in your price range?

For example, in a VERY COMPETITIVE housing market, there is usually more than one offer to buy the same home and these offers are for more than the price asked by the seller. In a VERY UNCOMPETITIVE housing market, a buyer is usually able to purchase the home of their choice for less than the price asked by the seller.

Please think about the housing market in the area in which you currently live AND the housing market in any areas of California in which you would prefer to live.

ROWS:

- (1) Area in which I currently live
 - (2) Area in which I would prefer to live
- [**FIX** ROW ORDER]

RESPONSE ITEM HEADINGS:

- (A) Very competitive
 - (B) Somewhat competitive
 - (C) Neither competitive or uncompetitive
 - (D) Somewhat uncompetitive
 - (E) Very uncompetitive
 - (F) Not sure
 - (G) No available homes are in my price range
- [Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDEFG or EDCBAFG]

RANDOMIZE THE APPEARANCE OF HCAP.7.17 [HOUSING_CONCERN] EITHER BEFORE HCAP.7.18 [HOUSING_DEV] OR AFTER HCAP.7.20 [COST_POLICY]

HCAP.7.17 [HOUSING_CONCERN]

RANKING WIDGET: ALLOW 3 RESPONSES

PRESENT (F) NOT SURE AND (G) I HAVE NO CONCERNS AS SINGLE CHOICE RESPONSE ITEMS BELOW THE RANKING WIDGET RESPONSE SET

What are your biggest concerns about the cost of purchasing a home in your area? Please rank your top three concerns.

- (A) Low-income individuals and families are being priced out of the area
- (B) Middle-income individuals and families are being priced out of the area
- (C) I'm being priced out of the area in which I currently live
- (D) I am forced to have a longer commute than I would like
- (E) Younger generations will have a difficult time ever owning a home
- (F) Not sure
- (G) I have no concerns

[Limit randomization of RANKING WIDGET response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

HCAP.7.18 [HOUSING_DEV]

GRID, 5 ROWS; 5 RESPONSE ITEM COLUMNS

ALLOW ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

NO CAPS ON NUMBER OF RESPONSES FOR EACH COLUMN

Thinking about the possibility of more housing development in your area, do you support or oppose constructing more...

ROWS:

- (1) Apartment-only buildings
- (2) Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces
- (3) Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes or duplexes)
- (4) Single-family houses in high-density subdivisions (small yards with neighboring houses close together)
- (5) Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (large yards with neighboring houses further part)

[RANDOMIZE ROW ORDER; Limit randomization of rows to 12345 or 54321]

RESPONSE ITEM HEADINGS:

- (A) Strongly support
- (B) Somewhat support
- (C) Neither support not oppose
- (D) Somewhat oppose
- (E) Strongly oppose

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

HCAP.7.19 [HOUSING_POLICY]

GRID, 6 ROWS; 5 RESPONSE ITEM COLUMNS

ALLOW ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

NO CAPS ON NUMBER OF RESPONSES FOR EACH COLUMN

Some people have suggested making changes to public policies that affect housing in California. Considering six of these ideas, do you support or oppose...

ROWS:

The state government in Sacramento: [BOLD AND/OR ITALICS]

- (1) Relaxing the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) to allow for building more housing
- (2) Subsidizing regional public transportation systems to make it easier for Californians to live further away from where they work
- (3) Increasing the state income tax credit for renters

Your local government: [BOLD AND/OR ITALICS]

- (4) Relaxing requirements for undeveloped open spaces to allow for building more housing
- (5) Changing residential and business zoning laws to allow for building more housing
- (6) Passing more rent control laws

[RANDOMIZE order of presentation of state & local groups; RANDOMIZE WITHIN each group]

RESPONSE ITEM HEADINGS:

- (A) Strongly support
- (B) Somewhat support
- (C) Neither support not oppose
- (D) Somewhat oppose
- (E) Strongly oppose

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or EDCBA]

HCAP.7.20 [COST_POLICY]

SINGLE CHOICE

There is a lot of talk of the high price of housing in California. Whether or not you support or oppose these changes to public policy, which of these do you think would do the most to reduce the cost of PURCHASING A HOME in the area where you live?

ROWS:

The state government in Sacramento: [BOLD AND/OR ITALICS]

- (1) Relaxing the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) to allow for building more housing
- (2) Subsidizing regional public transportation systems to make it easier for Californians to live further away from where they work
- (3) Increasing the state income tax credit for renters

Your local government: [BOLD AND/OR ITALICS]

- (4) Relaxing requirements for undeveloped open spaces to allow for building more housing
- (5) Changing residential and business zoning laws to allow for building more housing
- (6) Passing more rent control laws

[RANDOMIZE order of presentation of state & local groups; RANDOMIZE WITHIN each group]

RESPONSE ITEM HEADING: Would do most to reduce cost of PURCHASING A HOME in my area

HCAP.7.21 [MOVE_SELF]

ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES UNLESS (D) "NO, I HAVE NOT CONSIDERED MOVING OR (E) NOT SURE

Thinking about the last year, has the cost of housing in your area made you consider moving? Select all that apply.

- (A) Yes, to another home in this same area
- (B) Yes, to another area in California
- (C) Yes, to somewhere outside California
- (D) No, I have not considered moving
- (E) Not sure

[Limit randomization of response items to only ABCDE or DCBAE]

HCAP.7.22 [MOVE_OTHER]

SINGLE CHOICE

Thinking about the last year, did one of your family members or friends move out of the state mostly because of the housing market in California?

- (A) Yes
- (B) No
- (C) Not sure

[Fix (C) "Not sure" as last item"]

LIKELY VOTER ITEMS BEGIN ON NEXT PAGE

III. LIKELY VOTER ITEMS (3) REPEATED FROM STAN0073_w1 (HCAP.6)

UPDATE RESPONSE ITEMS FOR MIDTERM 2014 QUESTION (SEE BELOW FOR PROPOSED LANGUAGE)

#Items rotated so that first option is either 5 or 1 and order is retained.

[vote2014] {single varlabel="Vote in 2014" order=rotate} Which of the following statements best describes you?

<1> I did not vote in the Midterm Election on November 4th, 2014.

<2> I thought about voting this past November – but didn't.

<3> I usually vote, but didn't that time.

<4> I attempted to vote but did not or could not.

<5> I definitely voted in the Midterm Election on November 4th, 2014.

#Items rotated so that first option is either 10 or 0 and order is retained.

[likelyvote_grid] {grid varlabel="Likely Vote Nov 2016" order=rotate} Using the scale below, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that you will vote in the presidential elections in November, 2016?

<0> Very unlikely to vote

<10> Very likely to vote

Don't know #fixed

#Items rotated so that first option is either 1 or 5 and order is retained.

[votefreq] {single varlabel="Voting Frequency" order=rotate} Thinking back over the past four years, would you say that you voted in all elections, almost all, about half, one or two, or none at all?

<1> Every election

<2> Almost every election

<3> About half

<4> One or two

<5> None

<6> Don't know #fixed

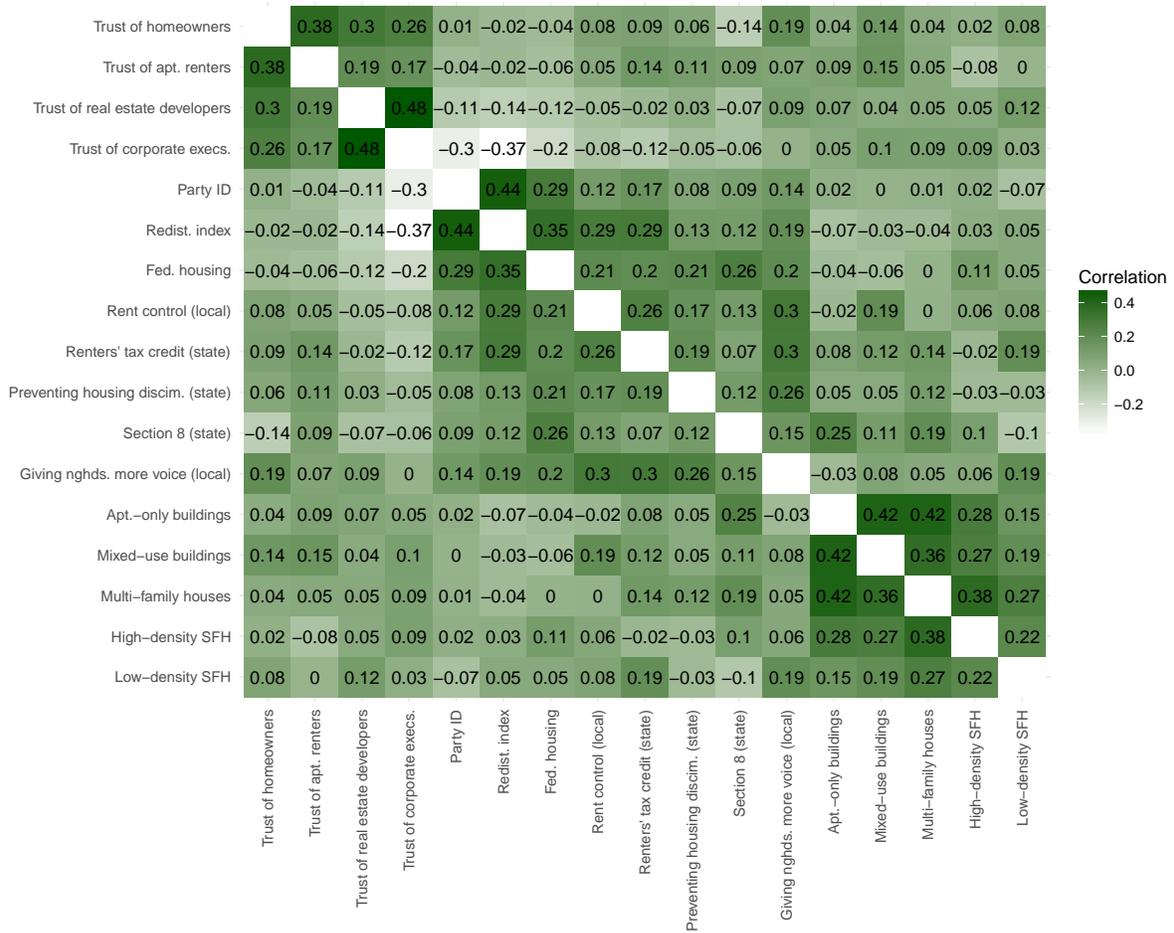


Figure A-1: Correlations among survey items, among renters. Source: Authors' Top-20 MSA Survey

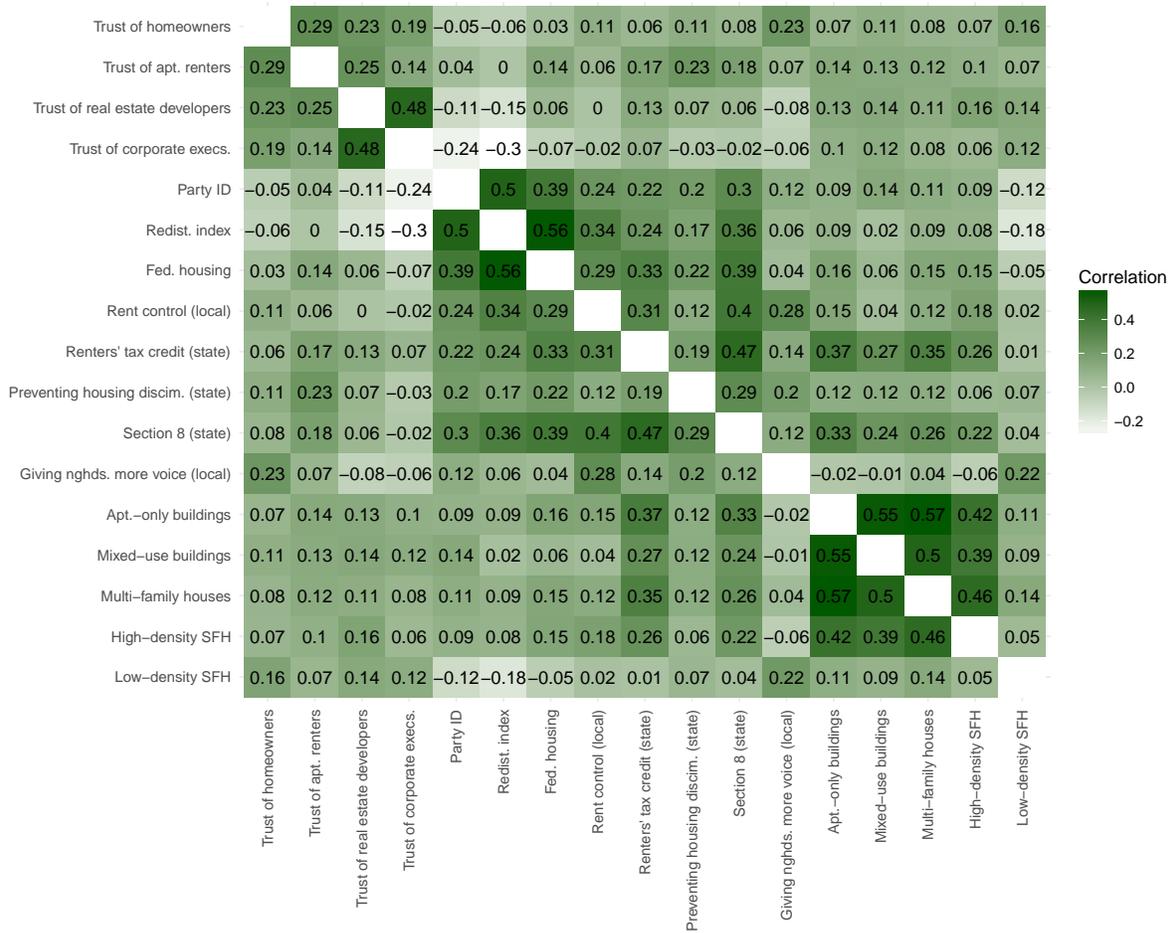


Figure A-2: Correlations among survey items, among homeowners. Source: Authors' Top-20 MSA Survey

GS Poll Experiment: Local gov. involvement

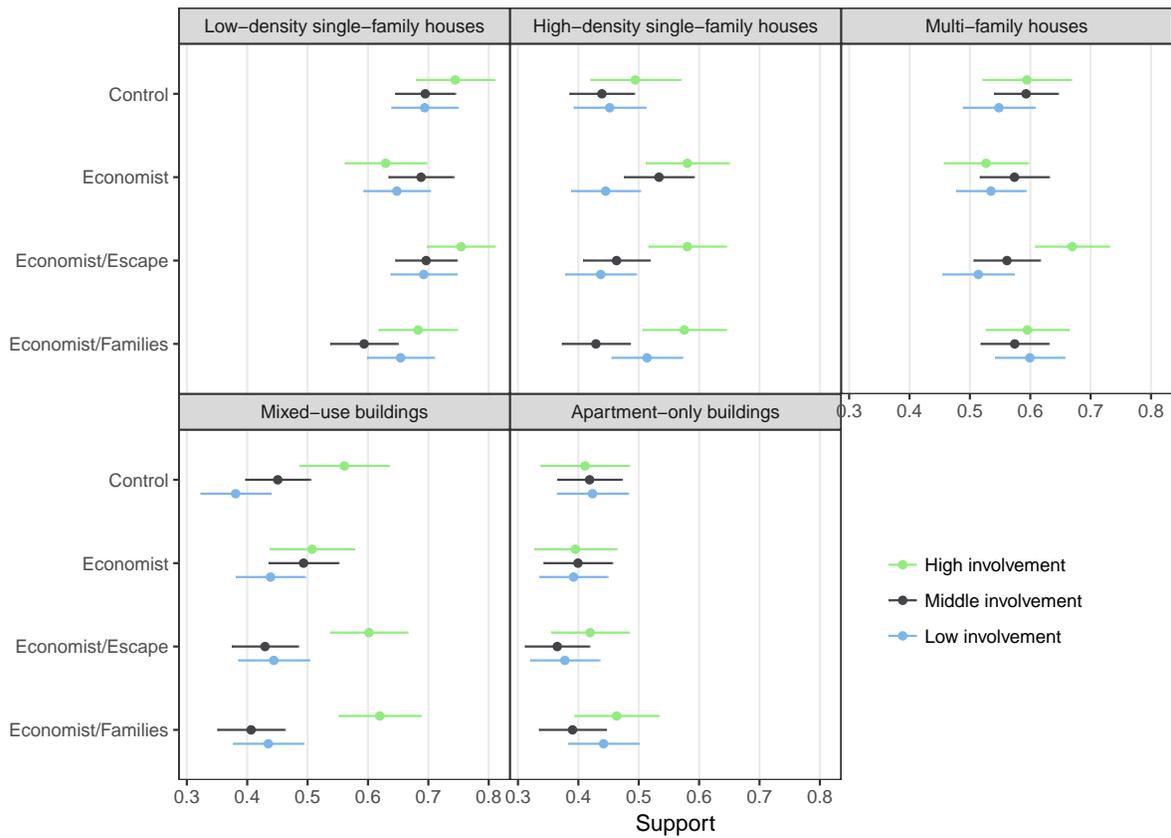


Figure A-3: Support for development of different housing forms, by self-reported levels of local government involvement. Source: Authors' Top-20 MSA Survey

GS Poll Experiment: Local gov. involvement

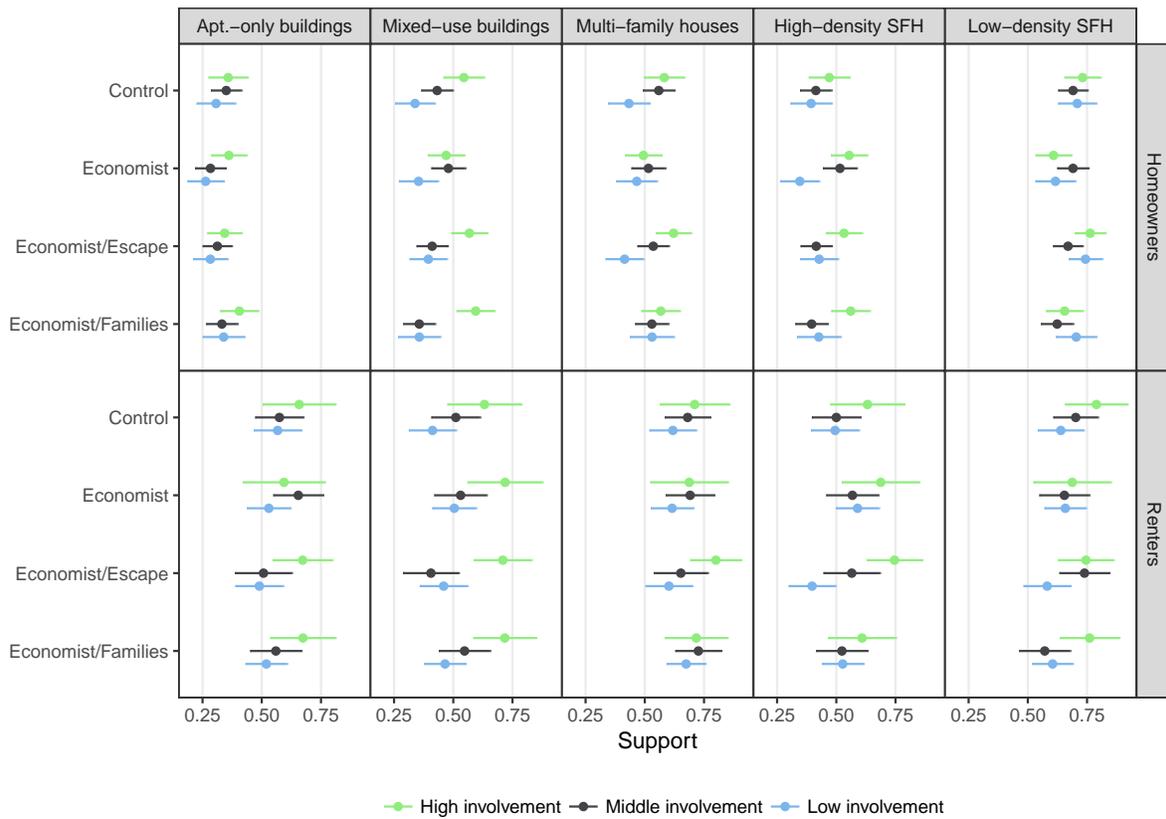


Figure A-4: Support for development of different housing forms, by housing status and self-reported levels of local government involvement. Source: Authors' Top-20 MSA Survey

Top-20 MSA Survey

Survey Instrument

Q1.1 Instructions This is a scholarly research study conducted by members of the Department of Political Science at Stanford University. It is not being conducted on behalf of any campaign or organization. You will see questions about local and national politics, and a few questions about yourself for statistical purposes. Your answers will be kept anonymous. We expect this survey will take approximately 10 minutes. Please read all instructions carefully. For more information about your rights under this survey protocol, please click here. `{e://Field/psid}`

Q1.2 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q2.1 Browser Meta Info

Browser (1)

Version (2)

Operating System (3)

Screen Resolution (4)

Flash Version (5)

Java Support (6)

User Agent (7)

Q2.2 First, what is your 5-digit ZIP code?

Q2.3 Are you a United States citizen?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Condition: No Is Selected. Skip To: End of Block.

Q2.4 In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, were sick, or just didn't have time. Which of the following statements best describes you?

I did not vote in the presidential election (1)

I thought about voting this time but decided not to (3)

I usually vote but didn't this time (2)

I wanted to vote but wasn't registered (6)

I am sure I voted in the presidential election (5)

Q2.5 What is your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Neither of these apply (3)
- I prefer not to answer (4)

Q2.6 What is your age group?

- Under 18 (106)
- 18-24 years (99)
- 25-34 years (100)
- 35-44 years (101)
- 45-54 years (102)
- 55-64 years (88)
- 65-74 years (89)
- 75 years and up (90)

Condition: Under 18 Is Selected. Skip To: End of Block.

Q2.7 Now, for statistical purposes only, we have a question about your income. Last year (in 2016), what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes.

- Less than \$15,000 (12)
- \$15,000 - \$24,999 (13)
- \$25,000 - \$34,999 (1)
- \$35,000 - \$49,999 (2)
- \$50,000 - 74,999 (4)
- \$75,000 - 99,999 (6)
- \$100,000 -119,999 (9)
- \$120,000-\$149,999 (10)
- \$150,000 or greater (11)

Display This Question:

If What is your combined annual household income (in dollars)? \$150,000 or greater Is Selected

Q2.8 We see you make over \$150,000. Can you tell us which best represents your total family income before taxes?

- \$150,000-\$199,999 (11)
- \$200,000-\$299,999 (12)
- \$300,000-\$399,999 (13)
- \$400,000 or greater (14)
- Prefer not to answer (15)

Q2.9 What is your race/ethnicity? (Please select all that apply.)

- White/Caucasian (1)
- Black/African American (2)
- Hispanic/Latino (3)
- Asian (4)
- Native American (5)
- Pacific Islander (6)
- Other (7)

Q2.10 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q3.1 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Other (4)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a: Democrat Is Not Selected

And Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a: Republican Is Not Selected

Q3.2 If you had to say, do you consider yourself to be closer to the Democratic Party or Republican Party?

- Democratic Party (1)
- Republican Party (2)
- Neither (3)

Display This Question:

If In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, were sick, or just didn't have time. Which of the following statement... I am sure I voted in the presidential election Is Selected

Q3.3 For whom did you vote in the 2016 presidential election?

- Hillary Clinton (Democrat) (1)
- Donald Trump (Republican) (2)
- Jill Stein (Green) (3)
- Gary Johnson (Libertarian) (4)
- Other (5)

Q4.1 Some people think the federal government should reduce income differences between the rich and the poor. Others say it should not involve itself in reducing income differences. On a 5-point scale, which comes closer to the way you feel?

- 1--The government ought to reduce income differences (2)
- 2 (8)
- 3 (9)
- 4 (10)
- 5--The government shouldn't concern itself with reducing income differences (11)

Q4.2 This is a question meant to see that you are paying attention. Please select "4."

- 1--Strongly disagree (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5--Strongly agree (5)

Condition: 4 Is Not Selected. Skip To: End of Block.

Q4.3 Do you think our government should or should not redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich?

- Yes, our government should redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich (1)
- No, our government should not redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich (2)
- No opinion (3)

Q4.4 Some people say the federal government should ensure that all Americans have housing. Others say that shouldn't be a concern of the federal government.

- 1--Yes, the federal government should ensure that all Americans have housing (1)
- 2 (4)
- 3 (5)
- 4 (6)
- 5--No, ensuring all Americans have housing should not be a concern of the federal government (2)

Q4.5 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor."

- Strongly agree (1)
- Somewhat agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Somewhat disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)

Q5.1 Now, we're going to ask you a few questions about your participation in local political matters.

Q5.2 In the past 12 months, have you attended a meeting of any local governmental board or council that deals with community issues, such as a city/town council, a school board, or a zoning board?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q5.3 In talking to people about politics, we often find that a lot of people don't vote in local elections, such as mayor, city council, and school board. In the past 5 years, how often have you voted in elections for local or city officials?

- Never (1)
- Rarely (2)
- Sometimes (3)
- Often (4)
- Always (5)

Q5.4 In the past 12 months, have you contacted any local elected officials, such as a mayor, town manager, or member of a city/town council, or someone on their staff?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q5.5 How often do you read a newspaper (online or in print) that covers local politics in your city/town?

- Never (1)
- About once a month (6)
- Once or twice a week (3)
- Three or four times a week (4)
- Every day (5)

Q6.1 In the next sections, you will answer a series of questions about a variety of groups. We will also ask about your experiences with and ideas about housing in your local area and state.

Q7.1 Generally speaking, how much do you trust the following groups or institutions?

	Trust a lot (1)	Trust somewhat (2)	Distrust somewhat (3)	Distrust a lot (4)
The police (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
President Trump (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your local government (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your state government (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The federal government (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Real estate developers (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Welfare recipients (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Corporate executives (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Home owners (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Apartment renters (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8.1 Thinking about the housing market in your metro area, which of the following best describes what you think about the cost of purchasing a home in your metro area?

- Very expensive for the housing you get (1)
- Somewhat expensive for the housing you get (2)
- Price is about right for the housing you get (3)
- Somewhat inexpensive for the housing you get (4)
- Very inexpensive for the housing you get (6)
- Not sure (5)

Q8.2 Thinking about the housing market in your state today, which of the following best describes what you think about the cost of purchasing a home in your part of the state?

- Very inexpensive for the housing you get (6)
- Somewhat inexpensive for the housing you get (4)
- Price is about right for the housing you get (3)
- Somewhat expensive for the housing you get (2)
- Very expensive for the housing you get (1)
- Not sure (5)

Q9.1 Which of the following, if any, are your biggest concerns about housing in your area? You may select up to three concerns.

- Low-income individuals and families aren't able to afford housing (1)
- Middle-income individuals and families aren't able to afford housing (2)
- I can't afford the area where I currently live (3)
- Prices force me to have a longer commute than I'd like (5)
- Younger generations can't afford housing in my area (6)
- I'm concerned that home values are too low (9)
- I'm not concerned about any of the above (7)
- Not sure (8)

Q9.2 Which of the following, if any, are your biggest concerns about housing in your area? You may select up to three concerns.

- Younger generations can't afford housing in my area (6)
- Prices force me to have a longer commute than I'd like (5)
- I can't afford the area where I currently live (3)
- Middle-income individuals and families aren't able to afford housing (2)
- Low-income individuals and families aren't able to afford housing (1)
- I'm concerned that home values are too low (9)
- I'm not concerned about any of the above (7)
- Not sure (8)

Q10.1 Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area, do you support or oppose constructing more...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Apartment-only buildings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes and duplexes) (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in high-density areas (small yards with neighboring houses close together) (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (larger yards with homes farther apart) (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10.2 Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices. Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area do you support or oppose constructing more...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Apartment-only buildings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes and duplexes) (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in high-density areas (small yards with neighboring houses close together) (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (large yards with homes farther apart) (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10.3 Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices. Of course, housing prices are not the only issue affecting communities. Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area, do you support or oppose constructing more...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Apartment-only buildings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes and duplexes) (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in high-density areas (small yards with neighboring houses close together) (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (large yards with homes farther apart) (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10.4 Economists have shown that building more housing in an area can reduce housing prices. This can make communities more affordable to low-income and middle-income families. Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area, do you support or oppose constructing more...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Apartment-only buildings (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Buildings that have both apartments and business spaces (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Multi-family housing (for example, townhomes and duplexes) (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in high-density areas (small yards with neighboring houses close together) (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Single-family houses in low-density subdivisions (large yards with homes farther apart) (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q10.5 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q11.1 Some people have proposed public policies that would affect housing in your state.

Considering a few of these ideas, do you support or oppose your state...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Relaxing environmental limits to allow building of more housing (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Financing regional public transportation systems to enable people to live farther from work (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Providing additional tax credits for renters (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Requiring landlords to accept tenants who use low-income (Section 8) vouchers to pay rent (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Requiring local governments to allow more apartment housing (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fining landlords and real estate agents that discriminate by race or ethnicity (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q11.2 Do you support or oppose your local government...

	Strongly support (1)	Somewhat support (2)	Neither support nor oppose (3)	Somewhat oppose (4)	Strongly oppose (5)
Allowing more housing to be built in undeveloped open space (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Changing residential and business zoning laws to allow more housing construction (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Passing rent control (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Supporting expansion of bus or rail service in my community (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Giving neighborhoods more voice over development proposals (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q12.1 Consider the following scenario: A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q12.2 Consider the following scenario:A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. About half of the units will be occupied by low-income housing voucher recipients. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q12.3 Consider the following scenario:A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. About half of the units will be occupied by low-income housing voucher recipients. The new building will be 1/4 mile from your home. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q12.4 A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. About half of the units will be occupied by low-income housing voucher recipients. The new building will be 2 miles from your home. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q12.5 Consider the following scenario:A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. The units will be rented at whatever price the local market supports. The new building will be 1/4 mile from your home. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q12.6 Consider the following scenario: A local group is proposing to build a 120-unit apartment building in your community. The units will be rented at whatever price the local market supports. The new building will be 2 miles from your home. Based on this information, would you support or oppose such a project?

- Strongly support (16)
- Somewhat support (17)
- Neither support nor oppose (18)
- Somewhat oppose (19)
- Strongly oppose (20)

Q13.1 Now we are going to ask you a few questions about different groups in the United States. Some of these questions will be difficult to answer, but please answer them with your own opinion as honestly as you can.

Q13.2 Would you rate white Americans as unintelligent or intelligent?

- Unintelligent (1)
- Intelligent (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q13.3 Would you rate white Americans as violent or peaceful?

- Violent (1)
- Peaceful (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q13.4 Would you rate white Americans as hardworking or lazy?

- Hardworking (1)
- Lazy (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q13.5 Would you rate black Americans as unintelligent or intelligent?

- Unintelligent (1)
- Intelligent (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q13.6 Would you rate black Americans as hardworking or lazy?

- Hardworking (1)
- Lazy (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q13.7 Would you rate black Americans as violent or peaceful?

- Violent (1)
- Peaceful (2)
- Prefer not to answer (3)

Q14.1 Finally, we would like to ask you for some basic information about yourself.

Q14.2 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Less than High School (1)
- High School / GED (2)
- Some College (3)
- 2-year College Degree (4)
- 4-year College Degree (5)
- Masters Degree (6)
- Doctoral Degree (7)
- Professional Degree (JD, MD) (8)

Q14.3 Which of the following best describes your employment status?

- Full-time paid employment (35+ hrs/wk) (1)
- Part-time paid employment (under 35 hrs/wk) (2)
- Self-employed full-time (35+ hrs/wk) (3)
- Self-employed part-time (under 35 hrs/wk) (4)
- Occasional employment (5)
- Other paid employment (6)
- Not currently employed (7)
- Full-time homemaker (8)
- Retired (9)

Q14.4 Are you currently a student?

- No, I am not currently in school (3)
- Yes, a full-time student on a campus (1)
- Yes, a part-time student on a campus (2)
- Yes, I go to school online (5)

Q14.5 Do you have children living at home?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q14.6 What is your current marital status?

- Single, Never Married (1)
- Married (2)
- Legal Domestic Partnership (3)
- Separated (4)
- Divorced (5)
- Widowed (6)
- Other (7) _____

Q14.7 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q15.1 Which of the following most closely describes your current housing?

- I own it (4)
- I rent it (5)
- I neither own nor rent it (live with a home owner) (6)

Q15.2 Thinking about the place you currently live most of the time, which of the following best describes it?

- Single-family house in low-density area (large yards with neighboring houses farther apart) (1)
- Single-family house in high-density area (small yards with neighboring houses close together) (2)
- Multi-family housing (for example, townhome or duplex) (3)
- Apartment building (whether you rent or own) (4)
- Other (please describe briefly) (5) _____

Q15.3 In what year did you move into your current home (YYYY)?

Q15.4 Which of these values comes closest to the average monthly housing cost for your entire residence, including things like rent, mortgage payments, and the property taxes you pay each year?

- \$200 (or less) (1)
- \$400 (2)
- \$600 (3)
- \$800 (4)
- \$1,000 (5)
- \$1,500 (6)
- \$2,000 (7)
- \$3,000 (8)
- \$4,000 (9)
- \$5,000 (10)
- \$6,000 (12)
- \$7,000 (13)
- \$8,000 or more (14)
- Not sure (16)
- Prefer not to say (11)

Display This Question:

If Own Rent I rent it Is Selected

Q15.5 Which of the following, if any, apply to you?

- I live in a below-market-rate apartment (1)
- I use Section 8 housing vouchers for a private rental (2)
- I live in publicly owned low-income housing (3)
- I live in group quarters (for example, dorms, barracks, or health facility) (4)
- None of the above (5)

Display This Question:

If In what year did you move into your current home (YYYY)? Text Response Is Greater Than or Equal to 2012

Q15.6 You said you moved into your current home in the last 5 years. What was the zip code of the place you moved from?

Q15.7 If you had to guess, will you move in the next five years?

- No (1)
- Yes, in the same city/town (2)
- Yes, to a different town in my metro area (5)
- Yes, to a different metro area (3)
- Yes, to a place not in a metro area (4)
- Yes, to a different country (6)

Display This Question:

If If you had to guess, will you move in the next five years? Yes, in the same city/town Is Selected

Or If you had to guess, will you move in the next five years? Yes, to a different metro area Is Selected

Or If you had to guess, will you move in the next five years? Yes, to a place not in a metro area Is Selected

Or If you had to guess, will you move in the next five years? Yes, to a different town in my metro area Is Selected

Q15.8 The next time you move, what do you expect you'll do?

- Buy a new home (1)
- Rent a different house or apartment (2)
- Move in with family or friends (neither buy nor rent)? (3)
- Other (specify) (5) _____

Q15.9 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Display This Question:

If Which of the following best describes your employment sta... I work in full-time paid employment (35 hours per week or more) Is Selected

Or Which of the following best describes your employment sta... I work in part-time paid employment (fewer than 35 hours per week) Is Selected

Or Which of the following best describes your employment sta... Self-employed full-time (35 hours per week or more) Is Selected

Or Which of the following best describes your employment sta... Self-employed part-time (fewer than 35 hours per week) Is Selected

Q16.1 Do you have a job that usually requires you to work outside your home?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you have a job that usually requires you to work outside your home? Yes Is Selected

Q16.2 What is the zip code of your place of work?

Display This Question:

If Do you have a job that usually requires you to work outside your home? Yes Is Selected

Q16.3 About how much do you spend getting to work in a typical month? This amount may include fuel and vehicle maintenance, parking, tolls, and transit fares, among other things. Commuting expenses, in \$:

Display This Question:

If Are you currently a student? Yes, a full-time student on a campus Is Selected

Or Are you currently a student? Yes, a part-time student on a campus Is Selected

Q16.4 What is the zip code of your school?

Display This Question:

If Do you have a job that usually requires you to work outside your home? Yes Is Selected

Q16.5 How long, in minutes, is your trip to work?

- Less than 10 minutes (1)
- 10-20 minutes (2)
- 21-30 minutes (3)
- 31-45 minutes (4)
- 46-60 minutes (5)
- 61-90 minutes (6)
- More than 90 minutes (7)

Display This Question:

If Are you currently a student? Yes, a full-time student on a campus Is Selected

Or Are you currently a student? Yes, a part-time student on a campus Is Selected

Q16.6 How long, in minutes, is your trip to school?

- Less than 10 minutes (1)
- 10-20 minutes (2)
- 21-30 minutes (3)
- 31-45 minutes (4)
- 46-60 minutes (5)
- 61-90 minutes (6)
- Over 90 minutes (7)

Display This Question:

If Which of the following best describes your employment status? Full-time paid employment (35 hours per week or more) Is Selected

Or Which of the following best describes your employment status? Part-time paid employment (fewer than 35 hours per week) Is Selected

Q16.7 How do you usually get to work?

- Private car, truck, or motorcycle (1)
- Rail (such as light rail, subway, or commuter rail) (11)
- Bus (2)
- Walking (8)
- Biking (3)
- Rideshare services (9)
- Taxi (4)
- Other (10)

Display This Question:

If Are you currently a student? Yes, a full-time student on a campus Is Selected

Or Are you currently a student? Yes, a part-time student on a campus Is Selected

Q16.8 How do you usually get to school?

- Private car, truck, or motorcycle (1)
- Rail (such as light rail, subway, or commuter rail) (11)
- Bus (2)
- Walking (8)
- Biking (3)
- Rideshare services (like Uber, Lyft) (9)
- Taxi (4)
- Other (10)

Q17.1 Please share any of your thoughts about the priorities and policies of local governments in your town or region. Please feel free to write about any topic relating to your local government, even if we did not include it on the survey:

Q17.2 Please offer any thoughts you might have about the survey instrument here:

Quota Tables Used to Define Sample

Region	Target	N	Pct	Target Pct	Target N	Difference	Diff (%)	Abs Diff (%)	Abs Diff (N)
Midwest	AGE: 18 - 24	84	12%	13%	87	-1%	-3	1%	3
Midwest	AGE: 25 - 44	245	35%	35%	237	0%	8	0%	8
Midwest	AGE: 45 - 64	244	35%	35%	239	0%	5	0%	5
Midwest	AGE: 65+	128	18%	18%	121	1%	7	1%	7
Midwest	INCOME: \$15,000 to \$24,999	60	9%	8%	55	0%	5	0%	5
Midwest	INCOME: \$25,000 to \$34,999	81	12%	11%	78	0%	3	0%	3
Midwest	INCOME: \$35,000 to \$49,999	94	13%	13%	91	0%	3	0%	3
Midwest	INCOME: \$50,000 to \$74,999	130	19%	19%	127	0%	3	0%	3
Midwest	INCOME: \$75,000 to \$99,999+	267	38%	38%	260	0%	7	0%	7
Midwest	INCOME: Under \$15,000	69	10%	11%	73	-1%	-4	1%	4
Midwest	MSA: Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL	350	50%	47%	323	3%	27	3%	27
Midwest	MSA: Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	144	21%	23%	154	-2%	-10	2%	10
Midwest	MSA: Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	127	18%	17%	113	2%	14	2%	14
Midwest	MSA: St. Louis, MO-IL	80	11%	14%	94	-2%	-14	2%	14
Midwest	RACE: asian only	41	6%	6%	39	0%	2	0%	2
Midwest	RACE: black only	113	16%	16%	110	0%	3	0%	3
Midwest	RACE: hispanic	69	10%	10%	67	0%	2	0%	2
Midwest	RACE: other/multiracial	12	2%	2%	11	0%	1	0%	1
Midwest	RACE: white only	466	66%	67%	458	0%	8	0%	8
Midwest	SEX: Female	363	52%	52%	354	0%	9	0%	9
Midwest	SEX: Male	334	48%	48%	330	-1%	4	1%	4
Midwest		4	1%			1%	4	1%	4
Northeast	AGE: 18 - 24	116	12%	12%	115	0%	1	0%	1
Northeast	AGE: 25 - 44	339	35%	35%	330	0%	9	0%	9
Northeast	AGE: 45 - 64	337	35%	35%	328	0%	9	0%	9
Northeast	AGE: 65+	176	18%	18%	172	0%	4	0%	4
Northeast	INCOME: \$15,000 to \$24,999	60	6%	7%	63	0%	-3	0%	3
Northeast	INCOME: \$25,000 to \$34,999	83	9%	10%	91	-1%	-8	1%	8
Northeast	INCOME: \$35,000 to \$49,999	124	13%	13%	120	0%	4	0%	4
Northeast	INCOME: \$50,000 to \$74,999	161	17%	17%	156	0%	5	0%	5
Northeast	INCOME: \$75,000 to \$99,999+	468	48%	44%	412	5%	56	5%	56

Region	Target	N	Pct	Target Pct	Target N	Difference	Diff (%)	Abs Diff (%)	Abs Diff (N)
Northeast	INCOME: Under \$15,000	72	7%	11%	102	-3%	-30	3%	30
Northeast	MSA: Boston-Cambridge-Newton	138	14%	13%	126	1%	12	1%	12
Northeast	MSA: New York-Newark-Jersey City	579	60%	56%	531	4%	48	4%	48
Northeast	MSA: Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington	251	26%	31%	288	-5%	-37	5%	37
Northeast	RACE: asian only	86	9%	9%	83	0%	3	0%	3
Northeast	RACE: black only	145	15%	15%	141	0%	4	0%	4
Northeast	RACE: hispanic	147	15%	15%	143	0%	4	0%	4
Northeast	RACE: other/multiracial	19	2%	2%	19	0%	0	0%	0
Northeast	RACE: white only	571	59%	59%	560	0%	11	0%	11
Northeast	SEX: Female	494	51%	52%	489	-1%	5	1%	5
Northeast	SEX: Male	468	48%	48%	456	0%	12	0%	12
Northeast		6	1%			1%	6	1%	6
South	AGE: 18 - 24	93	8%	12%	140	-4%	-47	4%	47
South	AGE: 25 - 44	481	41%	39%	469	2%	12	2%	12
South	AGE: 45 - 64	395	34%	32%	385	1%	10	1%	10
South	AGE: 65+	198	17%	16%	193	1%	5	1%	5
South	INCOME: \$15,000 to \$24,999	94	8%	8%	99	0%	-5	0%	5
South	INCOME: \$25,000 to \$34,999	121	10%	10%	118	0%	3	0%	3
South	INCOME: \$35,000 to \$49,999	151	13%	12%	147	1%	4	1%	4
South	INCOME: \$50,000 to \$74,999	208	18%	17%	203	1%	5	1%	5
South	INCOME: \$75,000 to \$99,999+	506	43%	42%	493	2%	13	2%	13
South	INCOME: Under \$15,000	87	7%	11%	127	-3%	-40	3%	40
South	MSA: Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell	177	15%	13%	159	2%	18	2%	18
South	MSA: Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington	232	20%	17%	201	3%	31	3%	31
South	MSA: Houston-The Woodlands-Spring	200	17%	16%	188	1%	12	1%	12
South	MSA: Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach	204	17%	16%	188	2%	16	2%	16
South	MSA: Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater	110	9%	7%	85	2%	25	2%	25
South	MSA: Washington-Arlington-Alexandria	244	21%	31%	365	-10%	-121	10%	121
South	RACE: asian only	73	6%	6%	71	0%	2	0%	2
South	RACE: black only	286	25%	23%	279	1%	7	1%	7
South	RACE: hispanic	251	22%	21%	244	1%	7	1%	7

Region	Target	N	Pct	Target Pct	Target N	Difference	Diff (%)	Abs Diff (%)	Abs Diff (N)
South	RACE: other/multiracial	30	3%	2%	29	0%	1	0%	1
South	RACE: white only	527	45%	48%	565	-2%	-38	2%	38
South	SEX: Female	630	54%	52%	614	2%	16	2%	16
South	SEX: Male	536	46%	48%	573	-2%	-37	2%	37
South		1	0%			0%	1	0%	1
West	AGE: 18 - 24	131	11%	0.1276	151	-2%	-20	2%	20
West	AGE: 25 - 44	456	38%	0.3749	444	1%	12	1%	12
West	AGE: 45 - 64	402	34%	0.3304	391	1%	11	1%	11
West	AGE: 65+	202	17%	0.167	198	0%	4	0%	4
West	INCOME: \$15,000 to \$24,999	108	9%	0.0774	92	1%	16	1%	16
West	INCOME: \$25,000 to \$34,999	134	11%	0.1149	136	0%	-2	0%	2
West	INCOME: \$35,000 to \$49,999	161	14%	0.1322	157	0%	4	0%	4
West	INCOME: \$50,000 to \$74,999	203	17%	0.167	198	0%	5	0%	5
West	INCOME: \$75,000 to \$99,999+	484	41%	0.3986	472	1%	12	1%	12
West	INCOME: Under \$15,000	101	8%	0.1099	130	-3%	-29	3%	29
West		2	0%	0		0%	2	0%	2
West	MSA: Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	90	8%	0.0769	91	0%	-1	0%	1
West	MSA: Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	455	38%	0.3639	431	2%	24	2%	24
West	MSA: Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	152	13%	0.1166	138	1%	14	1%	14
West	MSA: Riverside-San Bernardino-Costa Mesa, CA	142	12%	0.1174	139	0%	3	0%	3
West	MSA: San Diego-Carlsbad, CA	102	9%	0.0836	99	0%	3	0%	3
West	MSA: San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA	143	12%	0.138	163	-2%	-20	2%	20
West	MSA: Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	105	9%	0.1037	123	-2%	-18	2%	18
West	RACE: asian only	161	14%	0.1326	157	0%	4	0%	4
West	RACE: black only	76	6%	0.0624	74	0%	2	0%	2
West	RACE: hispanic	359	30%	0.2954	350	1%	9	1%	9
West	RACE: other/multiracial	58	5%	0.0472	56	0%	2	0%	2
West	RACE: white only	537	45%	0.4624	547	-1%	-10	1%	10
West	SEX: Female	621	52%	0.5108	605	1%	16	1%	16
West	SEX: Male	564	47%	0.4892	579	-2%	-15	2%	15
West		6	1%			1%	6	1%	6

Region Target

N	Pct	Target Pct	Target N	Difference	Diff (%)	Abs Diff (%)	Abs Diff (N)
				MEAN ABSOLUTE DIFFERENCE		1%	12.44

Mechanical Turk Survey for Manipulation Checks and Trust in Economists

Survey Instrument

Jan 2017 MTurk housing survey v0.3

Start of Block: Initial Test

Q1.1 Instructions

This is a scholarly research study conducted by members of the Department of Political Science at Stanford University. It is not being conducted on behalf of any campaign or organization.

You will see questions about local and national politics, and a few questions about yourself for statistical purposes. Your answers will be kept anonymous. We expect this survey will take approximately 5-10 minutes.

Please read all instructions carefully.

For more information about your rights under this survey protocol, please click here.

[\\${e://Field/psid}](#)

Q1.2 Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Page Break

End of Block: Initial Test

Start of Block: Zipcode

Q2.1 Browser Meta Info

Browser (1)

Version (2)

Operating System (3)

Screen Resolution (4)

Flash Version (5)

Java Support (6)

User Agent (7)



zipcode First, what is your 5-digit ZIP code?

End of Block: Zipcode

Start of Block: Instructions and Initial Demographics

citizen Are you a United States citizen?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Are you a United States citizen? = No



gender What is your gender?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Neither of these apply (3)
 - I prefer not to answer (4)
-



age What is your age group?

- Under 18 (106)
- 18-24 years (99)
- 25-34 years (100)
- 35-44 years (101)
- 45-54 years (102)
- 55-64 years (88)
- 65-74 years (89)
- 75 years and up (90)

Skip To: End of Block If What is your age group? = Under 18



faminc Now, for statistical purposes only, we have a question about your income. Last year (in 2016), what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes.

▼ Less than \$15,000 (12) ... \$150,000 or greater (11)

Display This Question:

If Now, for statistical purposes only, we have a question about your income. Last year (in 2016), wh...
= \$150,000 or greater



faminc150 We see you make over \$150,000. Can you tell us which best represents your total family income before taxes?

▼ \$150,000-\$199,999 (11) ... Prefer not to answer (15)



race What is your race/ethnicity? (Please select all that apply.)

- White/Caucasian (1)
- Black/African American (2)
- Hispanic/Latino (3)
- Asian (4)
- Native American (5)
- Pacific Islander (6)
- Other (7)

Q2.10 Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Page Break

End of Block: Instructions and Initial Demographics

Start of Block: Party



pid Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Other (4)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a != Democrat

And Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a != Republican



pidlean If you had to say, do you consider yourself to be closer to the Democratic Party or Republican Party?

- Democratic Party (1)
- Republican Party (2)
- Neither (3)

End of Block: Party

Start of Block: Economic Redistribution



redist_incdiff Some people think the federal government should reduce income differences between the rich and the poor. Others say it should not involve itself in reducing income differences.

On a 5-point scale, which comes closer to the way you feel?

- 1--The government ought to reduce income differences (2)
 - 2 (8)
 - 3 (9)
 - 4 (10)
 - 5--The government shouldn't concern itself with reducing income differences (11)
-

speedtrap This is a question meant to see that you are paying attention. Please select "4."

- 1--Strongly disagree (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (4)
- 5--Strongly agree (5)

Skip To: End of Block If This is a question meant to see that you are paying attention. Please select "4."
!= 4



redist_taxes Do you think our government should or should not redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich?

- Yes, our government should redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich (1)
 - No, our government should not redistribute wealth through much higher taxes on the rich (2)
 - No opinion (3)
-

redist_housing Some people say the federal government should ensure that all Americans have housing. Others say that shouldn't be a concern of the federal government.

- 1--Yes, the federal government should ensure that all Americans have housing (1)
 - 2 (4)
 - 3 (5)
 - 4 (6)
 - 5--No, ensuring all Americans have housing should not be a concern of the federal government (2)
-

Page Break

Start of Block: Perceptions Intro

Q6.1

In the next sections, you will answer a series of questions about a variety of groups. We will also ask about your experiences with and ideas about housing in your local area and state.

End of Block: Perceptions Intro

Start of Block: Trust in experts

trust_experts_univ

Which of the following statements best capture your view of university-based experts? You may select more than one.

- They're generally unbiased (accurate and objective) (1)
 - They're often biased for business reasons (4)
 - They're often biased for political reasons (5)
 - They're often biased for some other reason (6)
-

trust_econ_multi

Which of the following statements best capture your view of economists? You may select more than one.

- They're generally unbiased (accurate and objective) (1)
- They're often biased for business reasons (4)
- They're often biased for political reasons (6)
- They're often biased for some other reason (7)

End of Block: Trust in experts

Start of Block: Group Trust



trust Generally speaking, how much do you trust the following people or institutions?

Your local government (2)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Your state government (3)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
The federal government (4)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Real estate developers (5)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Corporate executives (6)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Homeowners (7)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Apartment renters (8)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Economists (14)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
College professors (15)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Government scientists (16)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)
Scientists working for corporations (17)	▼ Trust a lot (1) ... Distrust a lot (4)

End of Block: Group Trust

Start of Block: Housing cost concerns

Q46 Which of the following, if any, are your biggest concerns about housing in your area? You may select multiple answers.

- Low-income families aren't able to afford housing (1)
- Middle-income families aren't able to afford housing (4)
- I can't afford the area where I currently live (5)
- Housing prices force me to commute longer to find housing (6)
- Younger generations can't afford housing in my area (7)
- I'm concerned that too much new housing is being built (9)
- I'm concerned that home values are too low (8)
- I'm not concerned about any of the above (3)
- Not sure (10)

End of Block: Housing cost concerns

Start of Block: Housing Construction Golden State



build_control

Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area, do you **support** or **oppose** constructing more...

Apartment-only buildings (1)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Buildings with a mix of apartments and businesses (6)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Townhomes and duplexes (7)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single-family homes with small yards and homes close together (5)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single family homes with large yards and homes farther apart (4)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)



build_economist

Economists have concluded that building more housing in an area can reduce local housing prices.

Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area do you **support** or **oppose** constructing more...

Apartment-only buildings (1)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Buildings with a mix of apartments and businesses (6)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Townhomes and duplexes (7)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single-family homes with small yards and homes close together (5)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single-family homes with large yards and homes farther apart (4)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)



build_univ

Economists have concluded that building more housing in an area can reduce local housing prices by increasing housing supply, so there is less competition among buyers for available housing units.

Thinking about the possibility of more housing in your area, do you **support** or **oppose** constructing more...

Apartment-only buildings (1)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Buildings with a mix of apartments and businesses (6)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Townhomes and duplexes (7)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single-family homes with small yards and homes close together (5)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)
Single-family homes with large yards and homes farther apart (4)	▼ Strongly support (1) ... Strongly oppose (5)

Page Break

Q14.1 Finally, we would like to ask you for some basic information about yourself.

Page Break



educ What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Less than High School (1)
- High School / GED (2)
- Some College (3)
- 2-year College Degree (4)
- 4-year College Degree (5)
- Masters Degree (6)
- Doctoral Degree (7)
- Professional Degree (JD, MD) (8)

Page Break

employment Which of the following best describes your employment status?

- Full-time paid employment (35+ hrs/wk) (1)
- Part-time paid employment (under 35 hrs/wk) (2)
- Self-employed full-time (35+ hrs/wk) (3)
- Self-employed part-time (under 35 hrs/wk) (4)
- Occasional employment (5)
- Other paid employment (6)
- Not currently employed (7)
- Full-time homemaker (8)
- Retired (9)

Page Break

student

Are you currently a student?

- No, I am not currently in school (3)
- Yes, a full-time student on a campus (1)
- Yes, a part-time student on a campus (2)
- Yes, I go to school online (5)

Page Break



marital What is your current marital status?

- Single, Never Married (1)
 - Married (2)
 - Legal Domestic Partnership (3)
 - Separated (4)
 - Divorced (5)
 - Widowed (6)
 - Other (7) _____
-

Q14.7 Timing

First Click (1)

Last Click (2)

Page Submit (3)

Click Count (4)

Page Break _____

End of Block: Demographics

Start of Block: Manipulation Checks

manip_econ Which do you think comes closest to the view of most **economists** about building more housing in an area?

- Building more housing will decrease housing costs (1)
 - Building more housing will have no effect on housing costs (3)
 - Building more housing will increase housing costs (2)
-

manip_resp Which comes closest to **your own view** about building more housing in an area?

- Building more housing will decrease housing costs (1)
 - Building more housing will have no effect on housing costs (3)
 - Building more housing will increase housing costs (2)
-

End of Block: Manipulation Checks

Start of Block: Current Housing



ownrent Which of the following most closely describes your current housing?

- I own it (4)
 - I rent it (5)
 - I neither own nor rent it (6)
-



tenure_length In what year did you move into your current home (YYYY)?

housing_cost Which of these values comes *closest* to the average monthly housing cost for your entire residence, including things like rent, mortgage payments, and the property taxes you pay each year?

▼ \$200 (or less) (1) ... Prefer not to say (11)

Page Break

End of Block: Current Housing

Start of Block: Final Check

open_ended Please share any of your thoughts about the priorities and policies of local governments in your town or region. Please feel free to write about any topic relating to your local government, even if we did not include it on the survey:

svy_comments Please offer any thoughts you might have about the survey instrument here:

Q39 Your Mturk code is the following: [\\${e://Field/random}](#)

End of Block: Final Check

As noted in the main text, we conducted a follow-up survey on Mechanical Turk to assess two possible explanations for our mostly null results. First, it might have been the case that our treatment primes were not sufficiently strong. Second, respondents may be skeptical of experts, which would dampen the effects of our primes which appeal to experts.

To test the first possibility, we took two approaches. We replicated the main experiment with the original “economist” prime, along with an extended “explanation” prime that explained the economic logic of why increasing housing supply should decrease prices. We expected that this prime would be stronger than a mere appeal to experts. Additionally, we included explicit manipulation checks to assess the effect of the primes on (a) respondents’ own beliefs about the relationship between housing development and prices and (b) respondents’ beliefs about what economists say on the same question. If the treatment prime is weak, then we will not be able to reject the null hypothesis that the treatment has no effect on these manipulation check measures.

To test the second possibility, we included the following question prior to the experiment:

“Which of the following statements best capture your view of economists? You may select more than one. (a) They’re generally unbiased (accurate and objective); (b) They’re often biased for business reasons; (c) They’re often biased for political reasons; (d) They’re often biased for some other reason.”

Respondents who selected any of the bias answers are classified as “low-trust,” while those who selected that economists are generally unbiased are classified as “high-trust.”

First, in Table A-1 we report the results of the manipulation checks, for the full sample and by the trust variable. Generally, the treatments had a small effect on respondents’ own beliefs but had a relatively large effect on their beliefs about economists’ views. We take this as evidence the treatments are informative, but that respondents are resistant to updating their own views.

Second, we report the results of the replication. Figure A-5 shows the same patterns of response among homeowners and renters that we document in the main text. More importantly, Figure A-6 shows the results split by trust in economists. Among people who think that economists are biased, we again see mostly null results. Among people who think economists are unbiased, however, the treatments appear to have a stronger effect. In particular, the primes induce people to decrease their support of low-density

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Respondent's Own Beliefs			Beliefs about economists		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Economist treatment	0.060* (0.035)	0.031 (0.064)	0.074* (0.042)	0.101*** (0.034)	0.055 (0.059)	0.121*** (0.041)
Explanation treatment	0.036 (0.035)	0.073 (0.062)	0.017 (0.042)	0.102*** (0.033)	0.104* (0.056)	0.098** (0.041)
Constant	0.460*** (0.025)	0.504*** (0.046)	0.440*** (0.030)	0.602*** (0.025)	0.669*** (0.043)	0.571*** (0.030)
Sample:	Full	High trust	Low trust	Full	High trust	Low trust
Observations	1,223	385	838	1,223	385	838
R ²	0.002	0.004	0.004	0.010	0.009	0.012

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-1: The outcome variable is an indicator for whether respondents believe building more housing will reduce prices (columns 1-3) and whether respondents think that *economists* believe building more housing will reduce prices. The “low-trust” subsample includes people who said economists were biased in at least one way. The “high-trust” subsample includes people who did not indicate that they thought economists were biased. Models estimated via OLS.

housing relative to the controls. Interestingly, the vanilla “economist” prime has a negative effect on support for building apartment-only buildings, but the “explanation” prime has a positive effect. It also has a positive effect on support for mixed-use housing and townhouses.

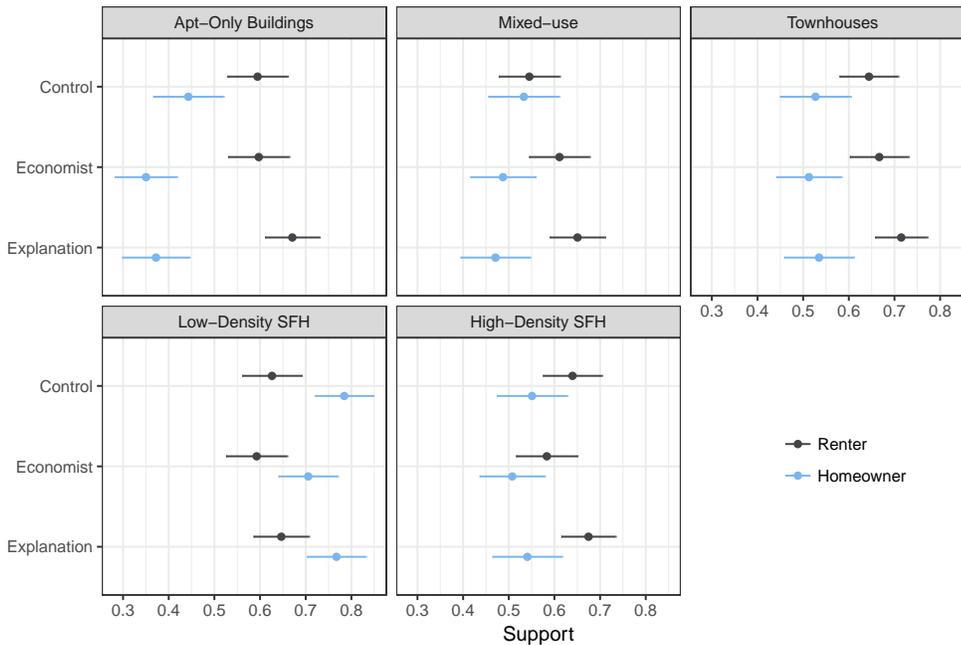


Figure A-5: Support for building additional housing, by homeownership status. Source: Authors’ January 2018 MTurk study.

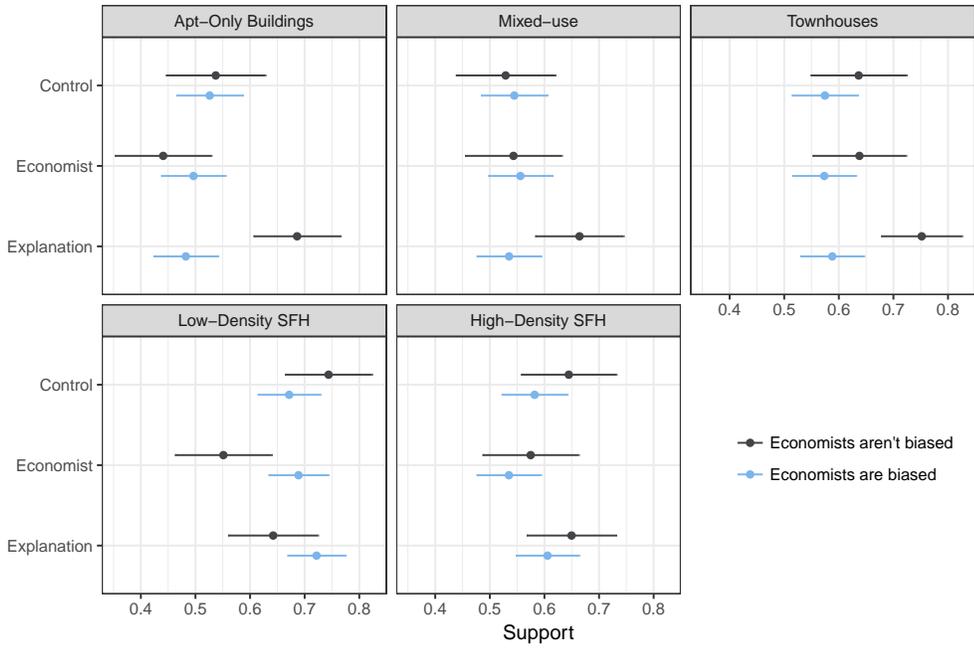


Figure A-6: Support for building additional housing, by trust in economists. Source: Authors' January 2018 MTurk study.