

# What does the U.K. Want for a Post-Brexit Economic Future?

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## **Abstract**

The resolution of Britain's exit from the European Union makes the multidimensional character of globalization an explicit and salient choice. The question before the country is what should the character and extent of integration of goods, services, people, and capital be with Europe and the rest of the world. This paper fields a conjoint survey experiment on a representative sample of UK residents to measure these preferences and evaluate their economic and cultural origins. We find strong evidence that UK citizens overwhelmingly support free trade not only with Europe but with the rest of the world and that there is consensus about this among those who voted for and against Brexit. Similar liberal agreement is found for the regulation of foreign investment and the service sector. On immigration, average preferences are broadly supportive of free movement for EU citizens though not for immigrants in the rest of the world. Moreover, opinions over all forms of immigration are highly polarized. Finally, we find on average respondents do prefer forms of integration that allow some degree of independence to the UK in setting its own regulations. The post-Brexit globalization future that Britain wants is one not so different from its deeply integrated present, though it is likely to be one with high degrees of political conflict about the heightened movements of people in modern Europe.

# 1 Introduction

Upon becoming the new Prime Minister, Theresa May coined the enigmatic phrase “Brexit means Brexit” to assure those who supported leaving the European Union that she would respect the results of the referendum without committing to anything in terms of what Britain’s relationship with Europe and the rest of the world would be going forward. Resolving what that future looks like and how to interpret the Brexit vote in light of the election of Donald Trump to the presidency in the U.S. as well as the apparent growing strength of right-wing populism across the developed world is the question of contemporary British politics and one with substantial consequences for all countries around the world. What is happening to the domestic political foundations of the liberal economic world order?

That liberal economic world order is a complex and multidimensional concept. There are at least four separate policy realms that inhabit this space: trade, immigration, investment, and regulation. The objective of this paper is to assess what public support and conflict is in the UK over these four dimensions of economic integration. While there exists a sizable body of work in international political economy that seeks to understand individual views on global integration, nearly all of it has focused on a single particular dimension of globalization at a time. Often, this is an inherently reasonable approach, especially since policy over global integration is usually negotiated in piecemeal fashion, for example over a particular trade deal, or immigration policy, or investment plan. However, the current discussion around Brexit is explicitly multidimensional: the U.K. simultaneously needs to determine its trade, immigration, investment, and regulatory policies moving forward. This provides a unique opportunity to investigate the relative trade-offs that individuals make when evaluating global integration across each of its dimensions. We have almost no existing research that identifies how individuals form their views over globalization as a function of multiple, potentially competing policy dimensions at the same time.

This paper implements a nationally-representative conjoint survey experiment that simultaneously estimates the elasticity of preferences over international integration across each of

the major dimensions of globalization: trade (separately in goods and in services), immigration, investment, and regulation. In addition, we also investigate the possibility of interactive effects across issue dimensions, such as whether trade preferences become more salient when immigration policies are more open, etc. We find—in contrast to a chorus of worries about the decline of liberal economic values—that there exists significant support across the British population for continued integration in the world economy. Average support for liberal trade and investment policies is high and there is little evidence of political conflict across different groups within society. However, we also uncover significantly polarized views over immigration policy, as well as over the proper role of British sovereignty in establishing independent regulation.

The specific patterns of polarization and agreement that we observe are useful in interpreting what Brexit was about and in identifying the determinants of policy preferences over economic integration. First, we find “Leave” and “Remain” voters have similar preferences about trade and foreign investment but very different preferences over immigration and regulation. This seems at least on first glance at odds with the interpretation of Brexit as a backlash against international trade and more consistent with accounts emphasizing the impact of increasing European migration and concerns about sovereignty over economic policymaking. Second, we find a similar pattern of agreement and divergence across individuals who score high and low on authoritarian and cosmopolitan attitude indexes. Setting aside the question of where authoritarian sentiments come from, this is consistent with accounts of immigration attitudes but not trade and investment policy preferences being determined at least in part by value orientations at odds with living in a diverse and open society. Third, we find some but less striking separation in opinions among groups who can arguably be identified as winners and losers from liberal economic policies.

These results are broadly consistent with interests and values shaping opinions about the form the U.K.’s post-Brexit economic future should take. This evidence, however, cannot clearly establish a causal role for any of these factors or for the idea that value orientations

may be endogenous to economic interests. To potentially provide this sort of evidence, the next iteration of this paper will follow a growing body of work that exploits institutional variation in China at the turn of the millennium to help identify the effects of trade shocks for particular industries in particular localities.<sup>1</sup> Doing so, we seek to identify whether local exposure to increased Chinese imports significantly increases the relative salience of the trade dimension of global integration or generates “economic anxiety” that makes individuals more concerned about immigration as well as possibly trade or activates value orientations that then lead to less liberal policy opinions. In so doing, we hope to help contribute to a new and growing body of work that emphasizes the “politics of place” as a crucial intersection between self-regarding and other-regarding preferences.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 describes the design of our conjoint survey experiment and Section 3 reports our main experimental results. Section 4 investigates whether our estimates vary across different types of respondents in ways that identify political conflict over different dimensions of globalization as well as allow the evaluation of alternative accounts of the origins of these policy preferences. Section 5 (yet to be completed) investigates the potential role that community-level trade shocks from Chinese imports have played in influencing policy preferences over the different dimensions of economic integration and its potential role in shaping cultural values which in turn influence policy opinions. Finally, Section 6 concludes with some observations about the implications of our findings for the political feasibility of various current approaches to Brexit.

## 2 Research Design

In order to assess how individuals evaluate different dimensions of globalization, we designed a choice-based conjoint survey experiment that varied attributes of proposed plans for Britain’s integration with the world economy following Brexit. This nationally-representative

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<sup>1</sup>Autor et al. 2013

<sup>2</sup>Franko 2016, Johnson et al. 2015

survey of 1,000 British adults was implemented by YouGov in December 2016.<sup>3</sup> As reported in the Appendix, the demographic characteristics of our sample matched closely the overall distribution of such characteristics in the British population.

For the post-Brexit conjoint experiment, respondents were presented with two hypothetical plans for Britain’s international economic integration. Each plan was composed of five attributes corresponding to the five main areas of integration that have been emphasized in recent popular and policy accounts: *trade*, *immigration*, *investment*, *services*, and *regulation*.<sup>4</sup> For each issue area, a possible value was drawn from an underlying set of potential values that ranged in terms of the degree of international integration on this dimension; for example, in the *trade* area, options could range from “Unilaterally remove all trade barriers” to “Limit trade with all countries,” with the more intermediate “No trade barriers with European countries (but limit trade with non-EU countries)” capturing the status quo under EU membership. Table 1 lists each possible value for each dimension.

Respondents were presented with randomly-generated pairs of potential policies for British international integration following Brexit, and were asked to choose which plan they would prefer to see implemented.<sup>5</sup> Using this style of forced-choice design, we are able to evaluate the relative emphasis individuals place on each dimension of globalization when determining their support for British international integration. Respondents were presented with six sets of policy pairs; for our primary outcome, we constructed a binary measure *Integration Plan Support* that equaled one if a respondent selected a particular policy proposal as their preferred choice, and zero otherwise.<sup>6</sup>

We estimate an ordinary least squares regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dichoto-

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<sup>3</sup>Note that this version is a pilot for the main study to be fielded in 2017.

<sup>4</sup>The ordering of these categories was randomized for each respondents, although was held constant within respondents for each presentation of new policy pairs.

<sup>5</sup>Note that, in the instructions for the conjoint (full text available in the Appendix), respondents were instructed to select their preferred policy “regardless if you think it is likely to be feasible given what other countries may or may not prefer.”

<sup>6</sup>In the pilot, we also asked respondents to rate each plan on a ten-point scale; our findings are very similar when taking this rating as our outcome variable (see Figures A-1 and A-2).

mous indicator variables for all treatment categories, with the exception of the baseline for each conjoint dimension. For the sake of consistency, we take the value that expresses the lowest degree of economic integration as our baseline for each dimension. This estimation yields the *average marginal component-specific effect* (AMCE) for each treatment group relative to the baseline. Standard errors are clustered on individuals because each respondent evaluates 12 integration plans (6 pairs).

Table 1: Post-Brexit Conjoint: Possible Values

ISSUE AREA	POSSIBLE VALUES
Trade	Unilaterally remove all trade barriers, No trade barriers with European countries (but limit trade with non-EU countries), Limit trade with all countries
Immigration	Free mobility for all immigrants, Free mobility for European immigrants (but limits on non-EU immigrants), Only permit immigrants based on their education/skills, Only permit immigrants based on their region of origin with preferences for immigrants from former British colonies, Block all new immigration
Investment	Free access to the UK economy for all international investment, Free access to the UK economy for European investment (but limits on non-EU investment), Disallow all foreign investment to the UK economy
Services	Free access to the service sector of the UK economy for all international providers, Free access to the service sector of the UK economy for European providers (but limits on non-EU services), Limit access to the service sector of the UK economy for all international providers (except for financial services), Limit access to the service sector of the UK economy for all international providers, Disallow access to the service sector of the UK economy for all international providers
Regulation	Retain EU regulations in the UK, Establish regulations in the UK independent from those required in the EU

### 3 Experimental Conjoint Results

Figure 1 reports our baseline findings for the conjoint survey experiment. To begin with, we note that, despite a common refrain from pundits, the British people do favor integration

with the international economy on average. Looking first at the trade dimension, relative to plans that would limit trade with all countries, respondents were significantly more likely to support plans that proposed either unilateral trade liberalization with all countries, or maintaining free trade with the European Union. Interestingly, while both free trade options are significantly more likely to be supported than the trade restriction option, respondents on average do not seem to differentiate between the two. This seems reasonable if respondents recognized the outsized role of the European Union in the U.K.'s trade relations, such that securing free trade with Europe is valued essentially evenly with world trade access.

A similar interpretation can be made for the investment dimension: respondents significantly favor allowing the flow of international investment into the U.K. compared to a plan that disallowed such investment; however, respondents again do not seem to differentiate between investment flow from "Europe" as opposed to "the world." Likewise with services: respondents prefer any option that permits some exchange of services to a plan that disallows access completely, although here respondents seem largely indifferent between complete freedom of services to limited access.

Turning to immigration, however, we discover that while integration in the world market still seems to be highly valued by respondents, it is clear that concerns do exist over control of the movement of people across borders. In fact, unlike the trade dimension (where fully free trade is preferred to limited trade with all countries), an immigration policy that provided free mobility for everyone significantly reduces support for an integration plan, as compared against a baseline policy that blocked all new immigration. This is not to say that British citizens prefer the complete cessation of migrant flows – indeed, maintaining free mobility for E.U. citizens is preferred to completely closed borders (although the substantive size of this difference is relatively small), and receives approximately equal support as a plan that would only allow immigrants based on their region of origin (with a preferences for former colonial areas). Among all immigration options, the most popular by far among the general public is one that permits migrants based on their education or skills.



Finally, the regulation dimension reinforces the notion that British citizens, despite valuing integration with the world market, do harbor concerns about national sovereignty. Compared to a policy that would establish an independent regulatory environment in the U.K. from that in the E.U., respondents on average decreased their support for a plan that retained E.U. regulations. Note that, from a perspective of maximizing market access, this preference is likely to be counter-productive: introducing rules and requirements in the U.K. that differ from those in Europe is likely to increase the costliness not only of goods imported from the E.U., but also those associated with exporting to a different regulatory environment on the continent. As such, we interpret this finding as one that captures heightened demands for sovereignty in a globalized world, and present additional evidence consistent with this interpretation below.

## 4 Correlates of Post-Brexit Policy Preferences

The results in Figure 1 demonstrate that, on average, the British population favors integration with the international economy, albeit with some increased control over the movement of people and sovereignty in law-making. In this section, we investigate whether our estimates vary across different types of respondents in ways that identify political conflict over different dimensions of globalization as well as allow the evaluation of alternative accounts of the origins of these policy preferences. Our conjoint design allows us to compare not only the ideal policies for different subgroups in the population, but also the relative salience of each dimension to these groups. We can assess not only different policy preferences in each dimension but how important those preferences are to each group in determining their preferred overall approach to the U.K.’s post-Brexit integration with the world economy.

We first describe preferences over post-Brexit integration plans for those individuals that self-identified as having voted either to “leave” the European Union, or to “remain” as a part of it, during the British referendum on integration with the E.U.<sup>7</sup> This analysis serves

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<sup>7</sup>Among our respondents, 85% reported that they had voted in the referendum, with 54%

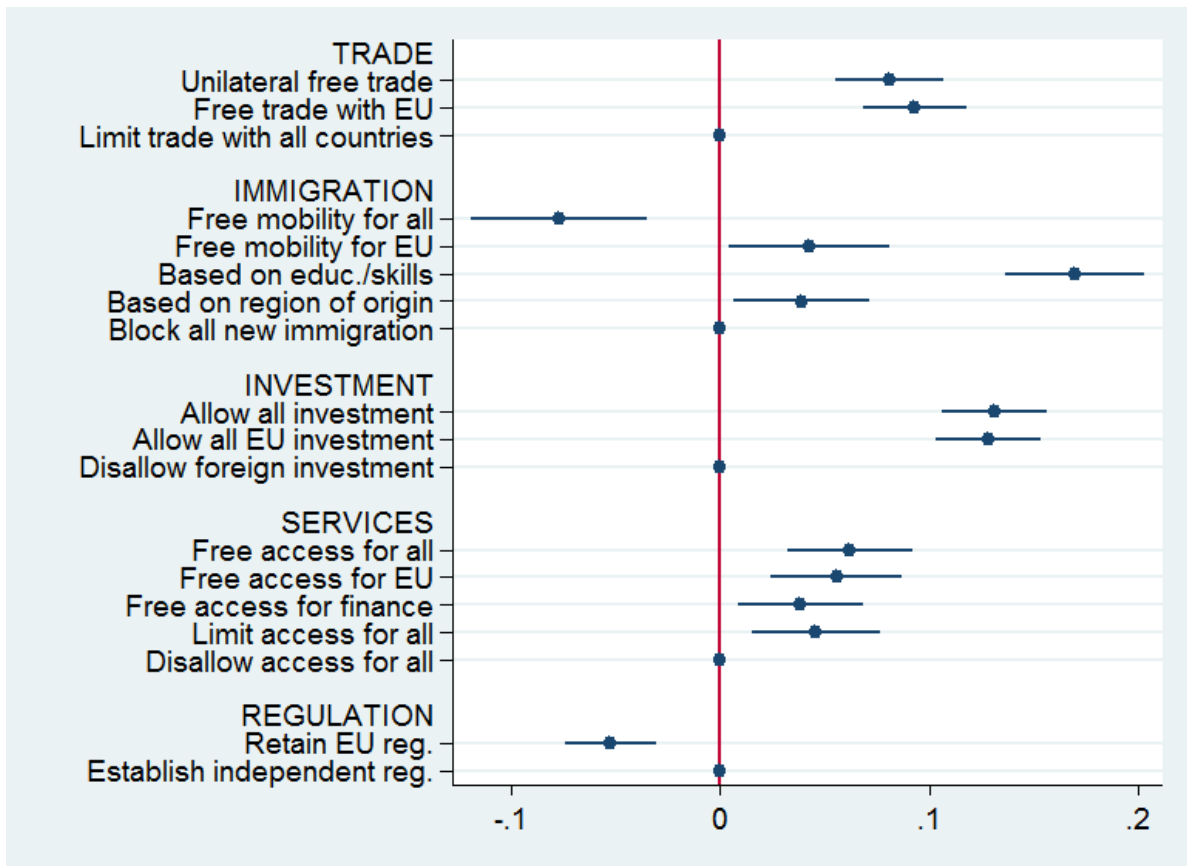


Figure 1: *Experimental Conjoint Estimates of Integration Preferences*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan (n=12,000 plans). Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

both to help interpret the referendum vote and to identify sources of agreement and conflict among these voters in determining Britain’s future integration with the world economy.

As reported in Figure 2, we identify three broad findings from this disaggregation. First, surprisingly, both Leave and Remain voters continue to express support for liberal trade policies, with each group favoring plans that do not limit trade with all countries. While neither group has significantly different support for trade with the E.U. as opposed to trade with the rest of the world, it is the case that Remain voters are more strongly in favor of these identifying as “Remain” voters, and 46% identifying as “Leave” voters.

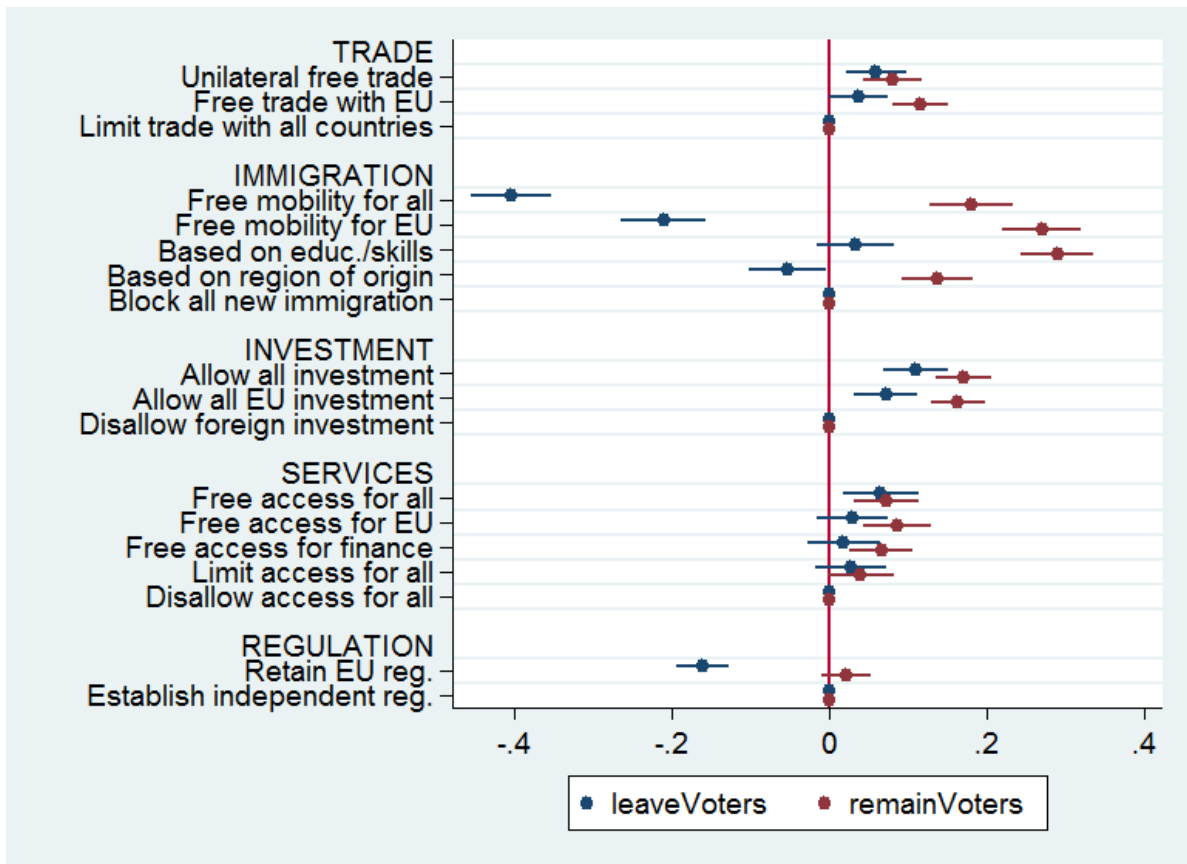


Figure 2: *Brexit vote*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals that voted to “remain” or to “leave” in the Brexit vote. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

of trade with the E.U. than Leave voters. Additionally, for both groups of voters we find continued support for integration with the world economy in the form of investment as well.

This finding is worth emphasizing, as it speaks against a current narrative that identifies backlash against international trade as a driving force of rising populism, with Brexit interpreted as an example of this phenomenon. This interpretation of Brexit does not seem to be borne out by the data. In addition, this helps to emphasize the advantages of our multidimensional approach to studying preferences over globalization: even those individuals who sought to remove the U.K. from the E.U. still tend to prefer plans that allow greater, rather

than less, integration with world markets.

Despite this general agreement among Leave and Remain voters over the importance of international trade and investment, disaggregation of views over immigration reveals striking asymmetries across the two groups. Indeed, in contrast to the “sample average” results presented in Figure 1, consideration of the preferences of individuals who preferred to remain a part of Europe reveals that such individuals would actually prefer a system of full mobility for immigrants against completely closed borders. Of course, Remain voters approve even more of plans that allow free mobility just for E.U. citizens or even one based on skills and education, so this finding should not be taken to suggest that Remain voters are, say, fully cosmopolitan with a preference for a borderless world.

These generally pro-mobility views stand in stark contrast to the preferences of “Leave” voters: compared to a plan that disallowed future immigration, support for a plan that allowed free mobility to members of all nations falls by nearly 40 percentage points. This decrease in support for greater mobility is equally evident (although of lesser magnitude) for plans that allow mobility only for European citizens, or based on regions of origin – only a plan based on skills or education is indistinguishable from fully closed borders for Leave supporters.

Finally, we find further support for the idea that different groups may prioritize different dimensions of global integration when determining their views when we turn to the regulation dimension. Here, we find that the “average” preference for independent regulation from the E.U. hides significant heterogeneity in preferences across groups, with maintenance of the existing E.U. regulations leading to significantly reduced support among Leave voters, but with Remain voters essentially indifferent between the two options. This is consistent with an interpretation of the leave voters as wanting to establish independence from the European Union on sovereignty grounds.

## 4.1 Value Orientations and International Integration

Next, we want to consider other potential dimensions of conflict over how Britain should integrate with the world economy and how these might indicate the determinants of policy preferences. We first consider whether preferences vary across respondents with different value orientations. We focus our attention on levels of authoritarian attitudes and cosmopolitanism.

To measure authoritarianism, we asked all respondents a series of five agreement/disagreement questions about whether “young people today don’t have enough respect for traditional British values,” whether “for some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence,” whether “schools should teach children to obey authority,” whether “censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards,” and whether “people who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.” Responses were recorded on a five-point scale for each question and then averaged across questions. Finally, we constructed a dichotomous indicator variable equal to 1 for individuals with above average responses on the index and 0 otherwise.

Figure 3 reports the results of this analysis. The estimates are striking in the extent to which they follow the analyses by vote in the referendum. “High” and “low” authoritarian respondents have broadly similar preferences about trade and investment but dramatically different preferences about immigration and regulation. While authoritarianism may itself have economic origins, the natural interpretation is that this value orientation while not particularly important for explaining trade and investment attitudes is central to understanding immigration and sovereignty related aspects of policy opinions over globalization.

To measure cosmopolitanism, we asked respondents to express their agreement with the statement “it is better for this country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions” and to indicate whether “would you say that British cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries.” These responses were averaged and then we constructed a dichotomous indicator variable equal to 1 for

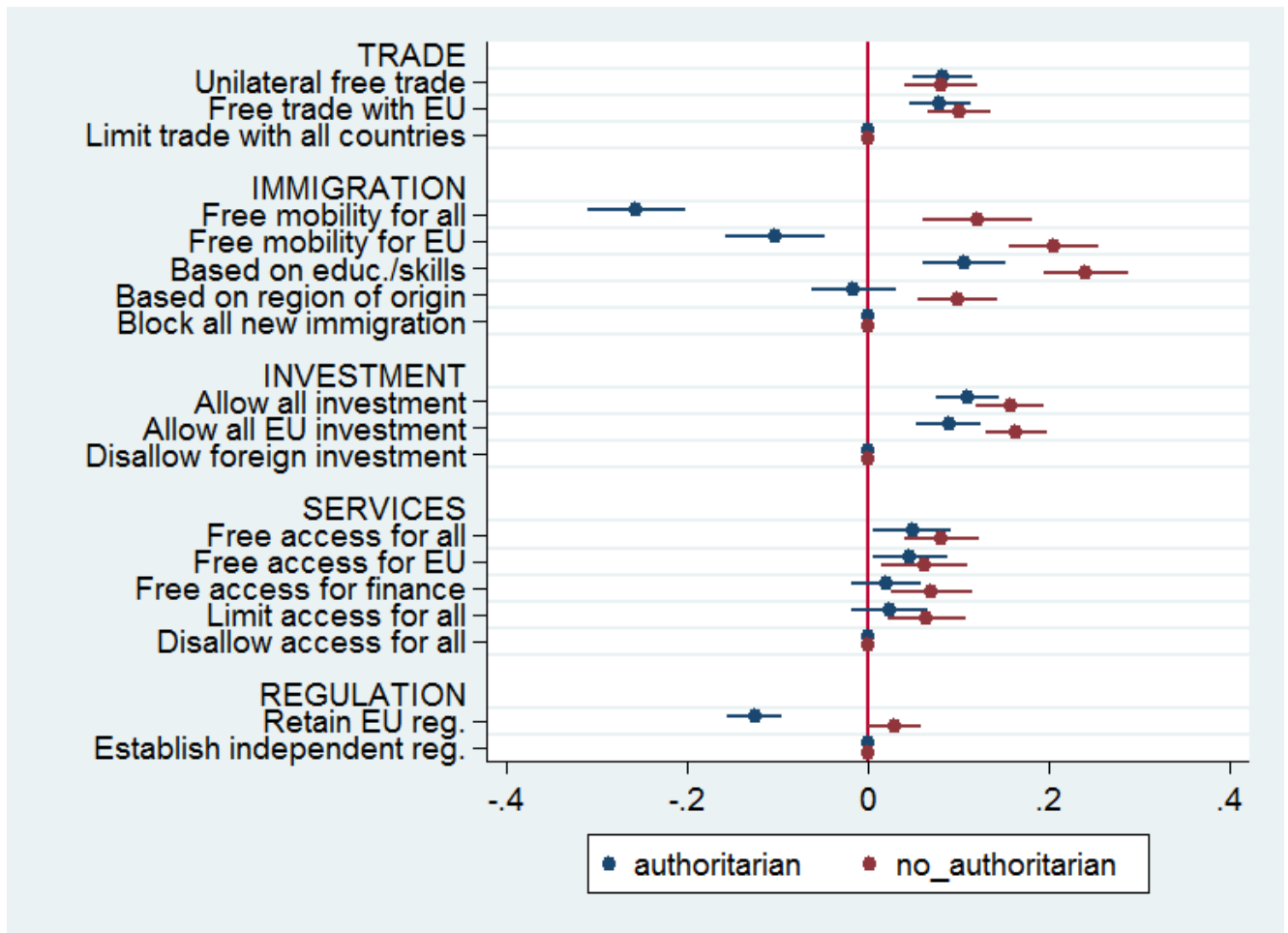


Figure 3: *Authoritarianism*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals that were above or below the sample average scores for an “authoritarian” scale. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

individuals with above average scores and 0 otherwise. It should be immediately clear that it is debatable whether cosmopolitanism is just another way to measure whether the respondent likes immigration or not which would undermine its usefulness as a meaningful explanatory variable.

Keeping that caveat in mind, Figure 4 reports the conjoint results by high and low cosmopolitanism. It is again rather striking how closely the estimates follow the Brexit

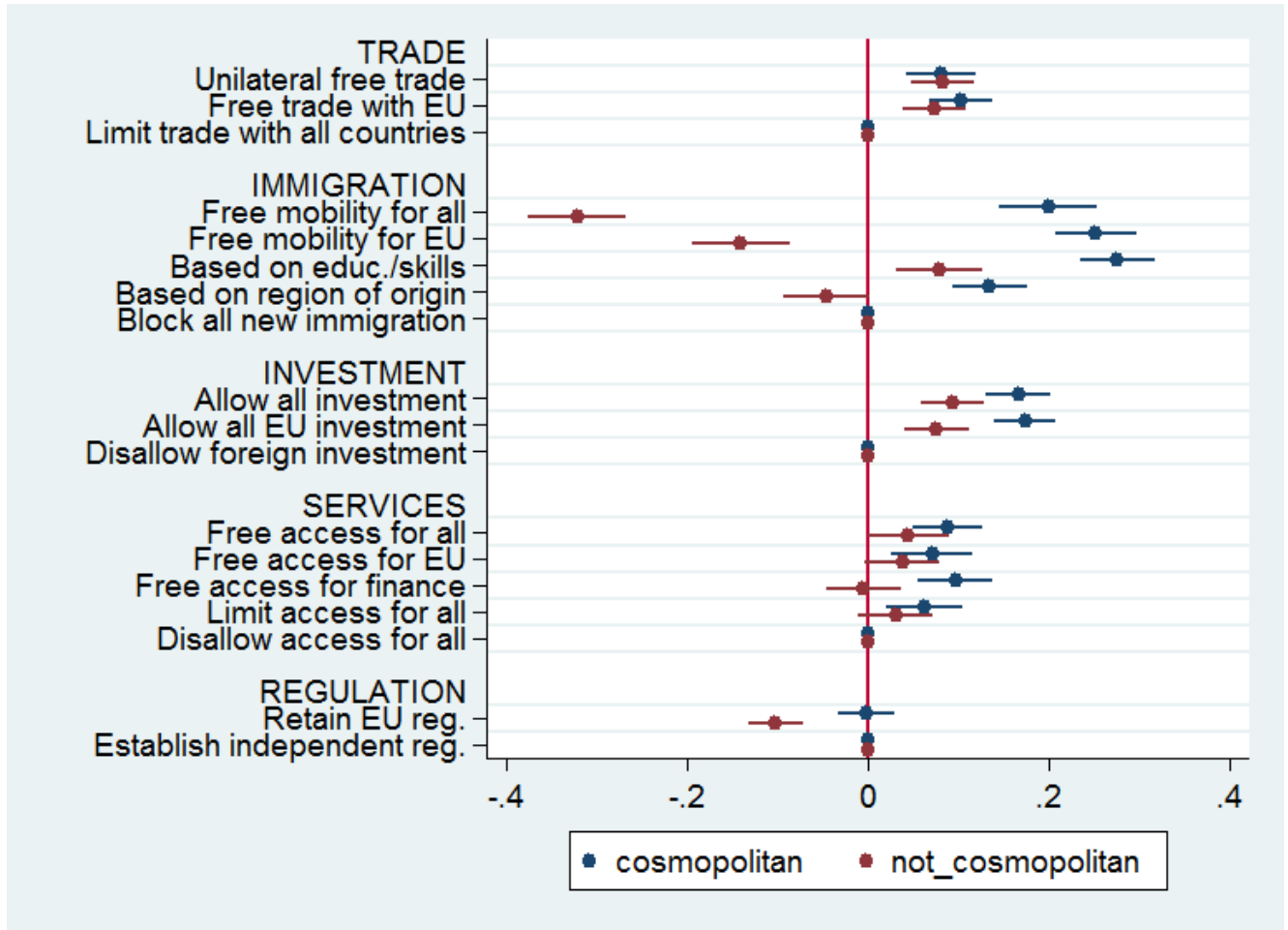


Figure 4: *Cosmopolitanism*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals that were above or below the sample average scores for a “cosmopolitan” scale. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

vote breakdown. There is little difference between high and low cosmopolitans on foreign investment and especially on trade while there are dramatic differences on immigration and regulation.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>We also considered efficacy as a value orientation that might influence opinions about Britain’s integration with the world economy. Figure A-3, reports these results. Generally, the differences were modest even on the regulation dimension for which it was expected to distinguish considerations among respondents most directly.

## 4.2 Economic Interests and International Integration

We now consider whether economic concerns affected views over post-Brexit integration. Of course, such interests could be affected by a host of potential factors, including considerations of how globalization affects their interests in the labor market, as a consumer, or as a taxpayer or a more diffuse sense of economic anxiety. Here, as a starting point, we focus on heterogeneity across education and income groups.

A great deal of prior work has emphasized that individual views over trade and immigration are likely to be correlated with education. In particular, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that more educated individuals are more supportive of free trade and liberal migration policies. Especially in developed countries like the U.K., factor-based models of trade's effects on labor market outcomes (i.e., the Heckscher-Ohlin model) predict that owners of the relatively abundant factor, such as high skill human capital that comes with more education, are likely to be the winners from trade. As regards immigration, labor market competition suggests that less educated individuals should be more concerned about inflows of low-skilled migrants driving down their wages. Even in cases like the UK with substantial amounts of high-skilled immigrants, these immigrants may be viewed more as complements rather than substitutes in production making even high-skilled natives more productive. Consequently, education, viewed as a measure of human capital is expected to be associated with greater support for various forms of economic integration.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 5 shows results from our conjoint experiment for individuals with or without a university degree. Here again we find that support for international trade and investment are similarly high across both groups, but find sharply divergent preferences over immigration, with less educated respondents strictly preferring cessation of all migrant flows to open borders and only increasing their support for plans that restrict immigration based on skills. In addition, we again discover significant heterogeneity in the perceived impor-

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<sup>9</sup>As in the case for value orientation, this interpretation comes with the caveat that education may be proxying other characteristics of individuals besides human capital.



tance of establishing an independent regulatory environment in the U.K., with less educated individuals demonstrating reduced support for plans that maintain E.U. regulations, in contrast to respondents that have attended university who do not differentiate their support for integration plans on this dimension at all.

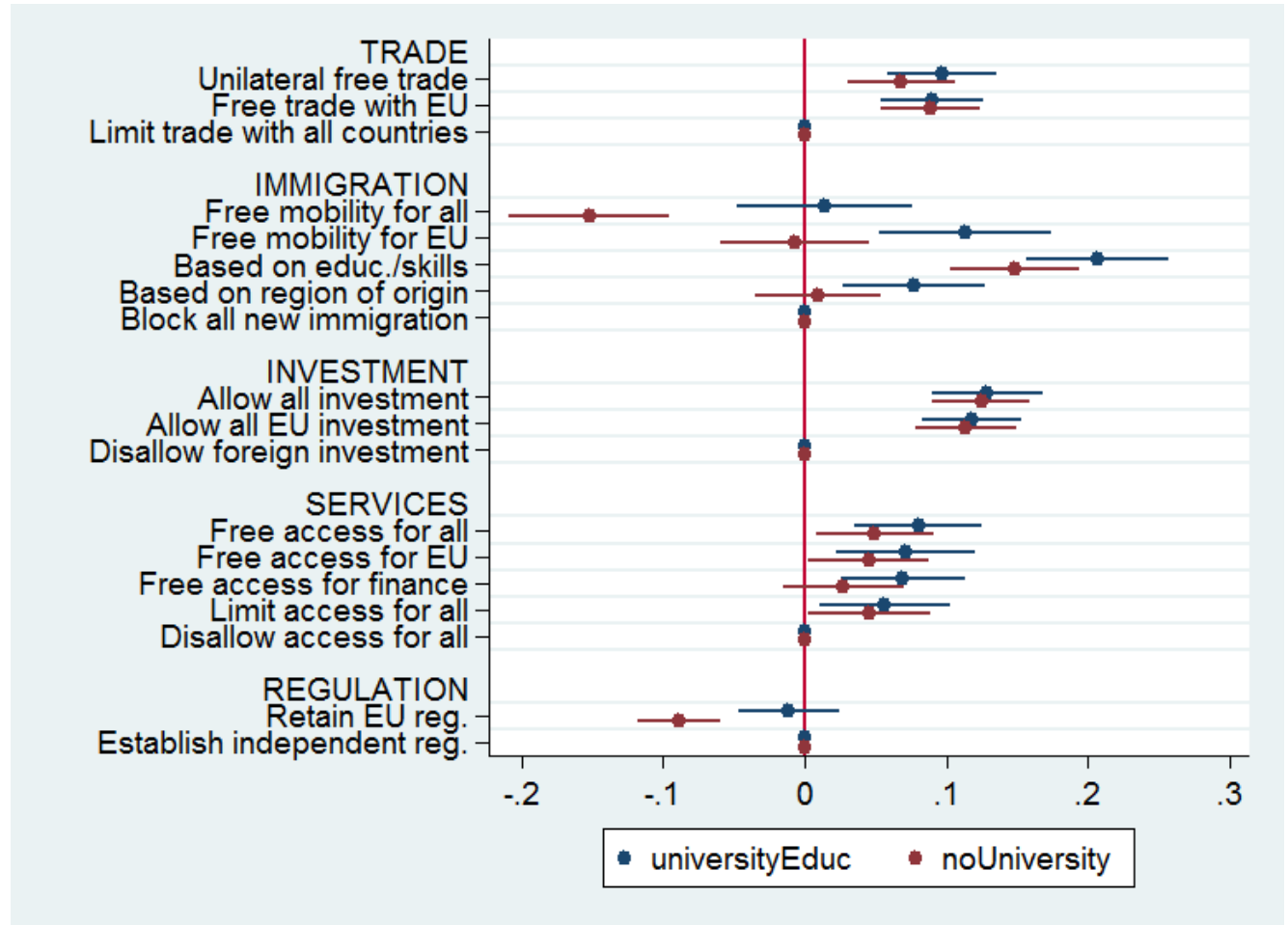


Figure 5: *Education*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals with or without a university education. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

Finally, we also consider variation in responses to our conjoint experiment by differentiating our respondents according to whether their household income was above or below the sample average level of income. If economic anxiety is expected to be concentrated

among the less well-off, then we might expect that poorer individuals will be particularly concerned about economic competition induced by integration, whereas more wealthy respondents should be more likely to be the “winners” from globalization. As shown in Figure 6, when differentiating our respondents by income levels, we do continue to find similar separation as above, with general agreement on the desirability of trade and investment, but greater dissonance in views over immigration and regulation. However, it should be noted that, while such differences are apparent for income, the substantive size of these differences is more muted.

## 5 China and the U.K.’s Post-Brexit Economic Future

The preceding discussion is descriptive of patterns of policy preferences. We are able to identify average policy preferences, agreement and conflict across social groups about these preferences, and correlations which are suggestive about the factors that may be driving these preferences. In this section, we investigate whether exogenous changes in globalization caused variation across our respondents in types of integration plans that they prefer. In the next iteration of this paper, we will estimate whether global integration preferences across dimensions are correlated with the size of import shocks from China’s integration with the world economy after 2000 in the communities in which our respondents live and work.

## 6 Preliminary Conclusions

How Britain shapes its post-Brexit future is one of the defining political challenges of the moment, and has implications for the maintenance of an open international system for a host of other countries. Despite some pundits claiming that the Brexit vote sounded the death knell for the liberal international order, in this paper we find significant popular support for global economic integration. Employing a conjoint survey experiment that forced respondents to identify their preferences for post-Brexit integration across several dimensions

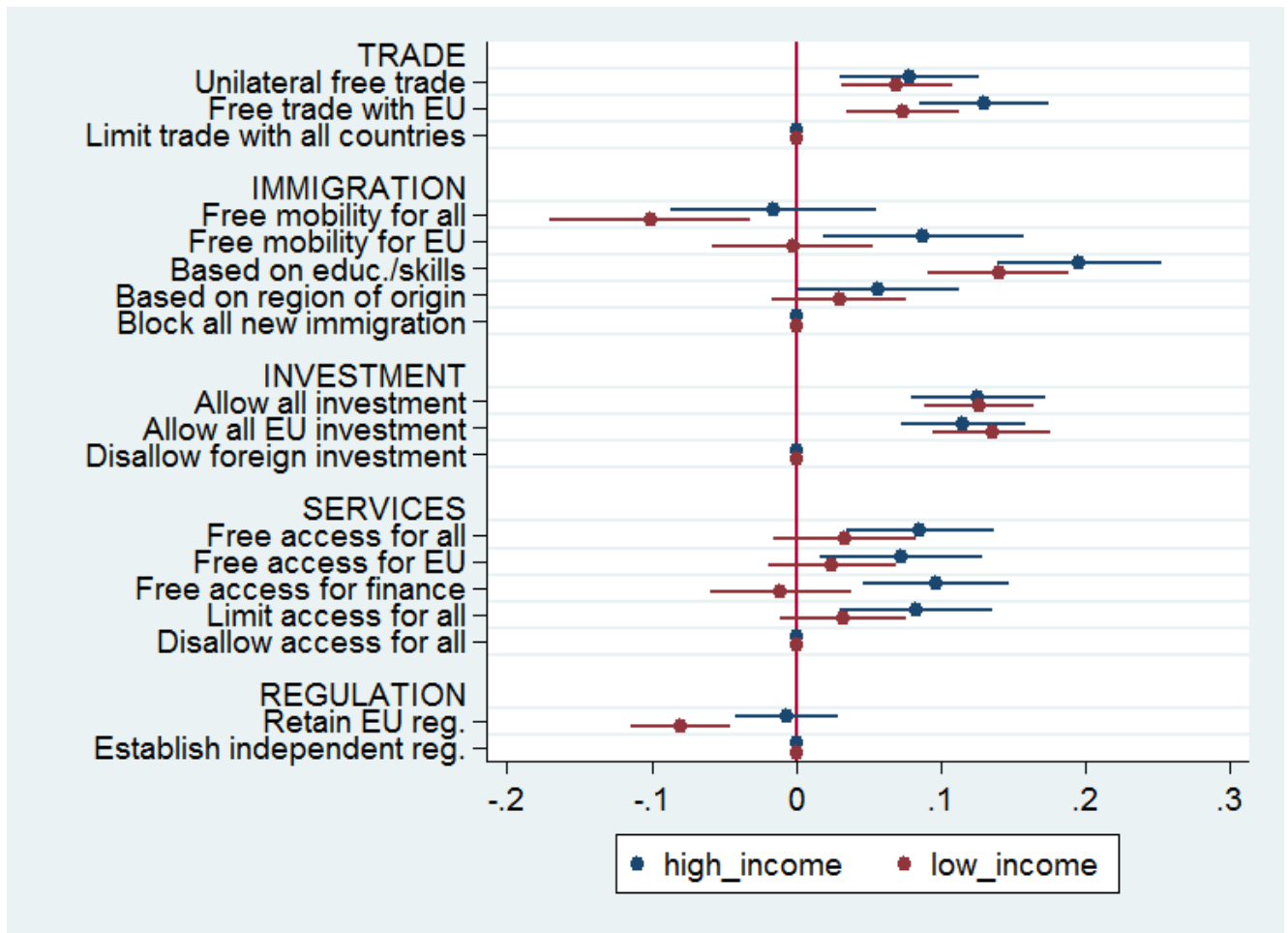


Figure 6: *Income*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals above or below the average income level for our sample. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

of globalization simultaneously, we demonstrate not only that the average British respondent favors greater trade and investment with the rest of the world, but that surprising agreement exists on these issues even across Remain and Leave voters. However, we also demonstrate that there exists substantial polarization among the British public over issues of migrant flows and sovereignty over law-making.

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## A Sample

The survey was conducted in December 2016 by YouGov. Respondents from their internet panel were subsequently matched down to a sample of 1,000 based on gender, age, race, education, party identification, ideology, and political interest. The matched set of respondents was then weighted to the marginal distributions of sociodemographics in the country's total population. Weights were applied to remove remaining imbalances after the matching procedure. Table XXX shows the distributions of the sociodemographics in the population, the weighted sample, and the raw sample.

TO BE COMPLETED

## B Conjoint Survey Question Wording

“Now we'd like to ask you some questions about current events in the U.K.

After the results of Britain's referendum on membership in the European Union, its economic and political relationships with Europe and the rest of the world must be renegotiated. These relations may change across a number of different dimensions, including trade, immigration, investment, services, and regulation.

We will provide you with several possible plans for Britain's integration with the world economy. We will always show you two possible proposals in comparison. For each comparison we would like to know which of the two plans you prefer. Please just tell us which one you like best regardless if you think it is likely to be feasible given what other countries may or may not prefer. You may like both or not like either one. In any case, choose the one you prefer the most. In total, we will show you six comparisons.

People have different opinions about this issue and there are no right or wrong answers. Please take your time when reading the potential plans.”

## C Additional Figures

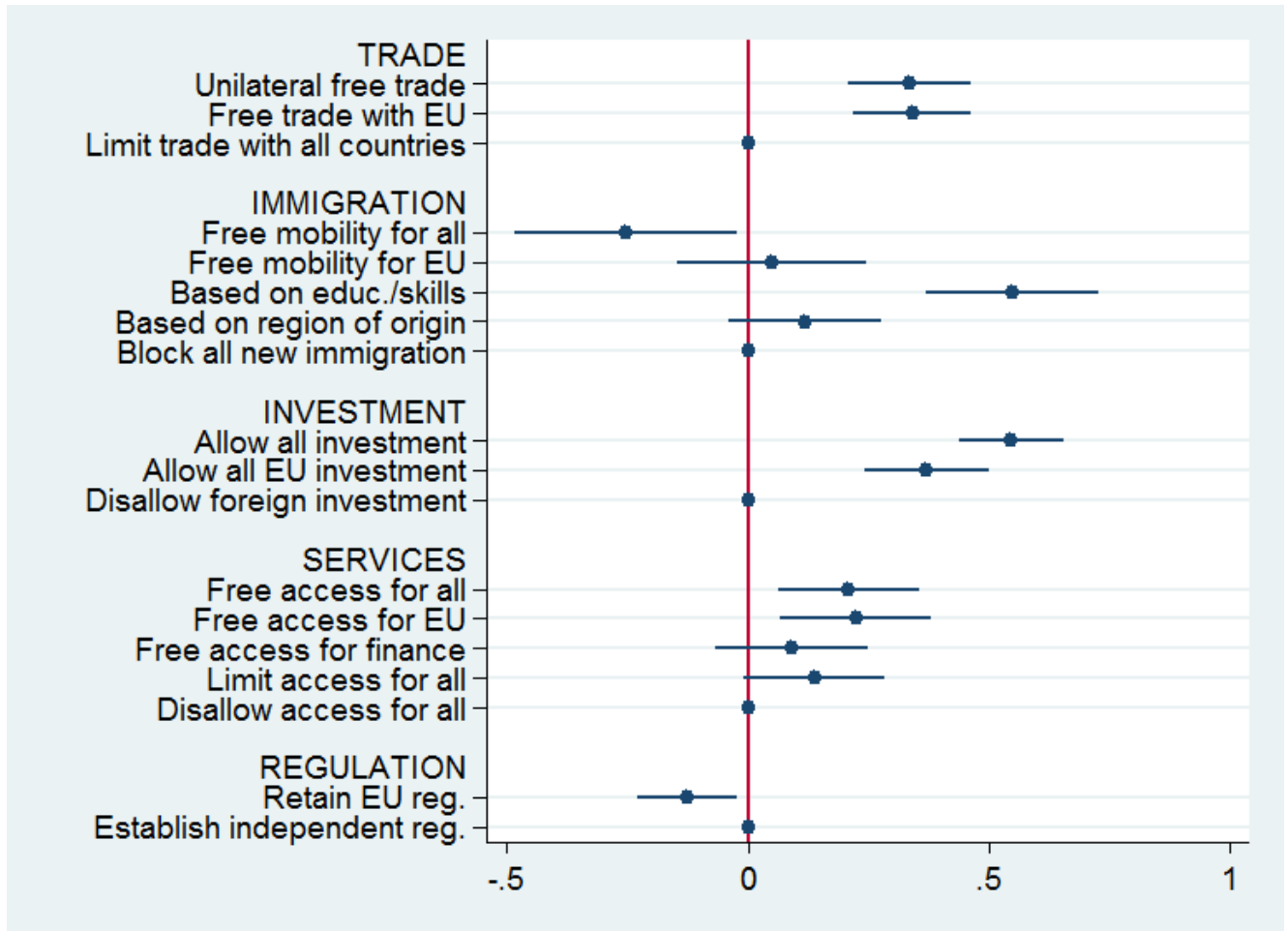


Figure A-1: *Baseline (using plan ratings)*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the respondent's rating indicating the strength of their opposition or support for the plan on a 10 point scale. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Rating* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

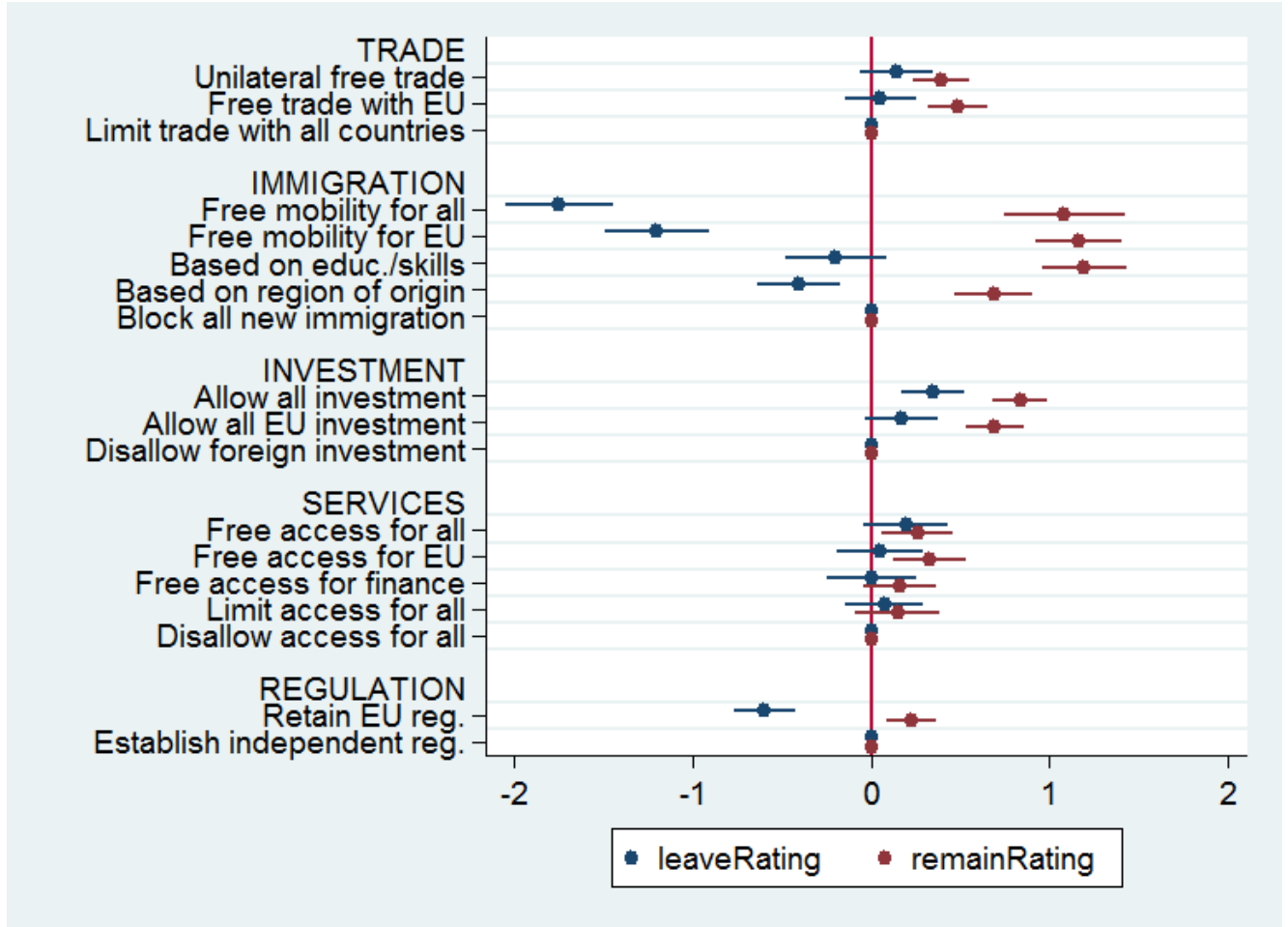


Figure A-2: *Brexit vote (using plan ratings)*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the respondent's rating indicating the strength of their opposition or support for the plan on a 10 point scale, estimated separately on individuals who voted for or against Brexit. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Rating* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.

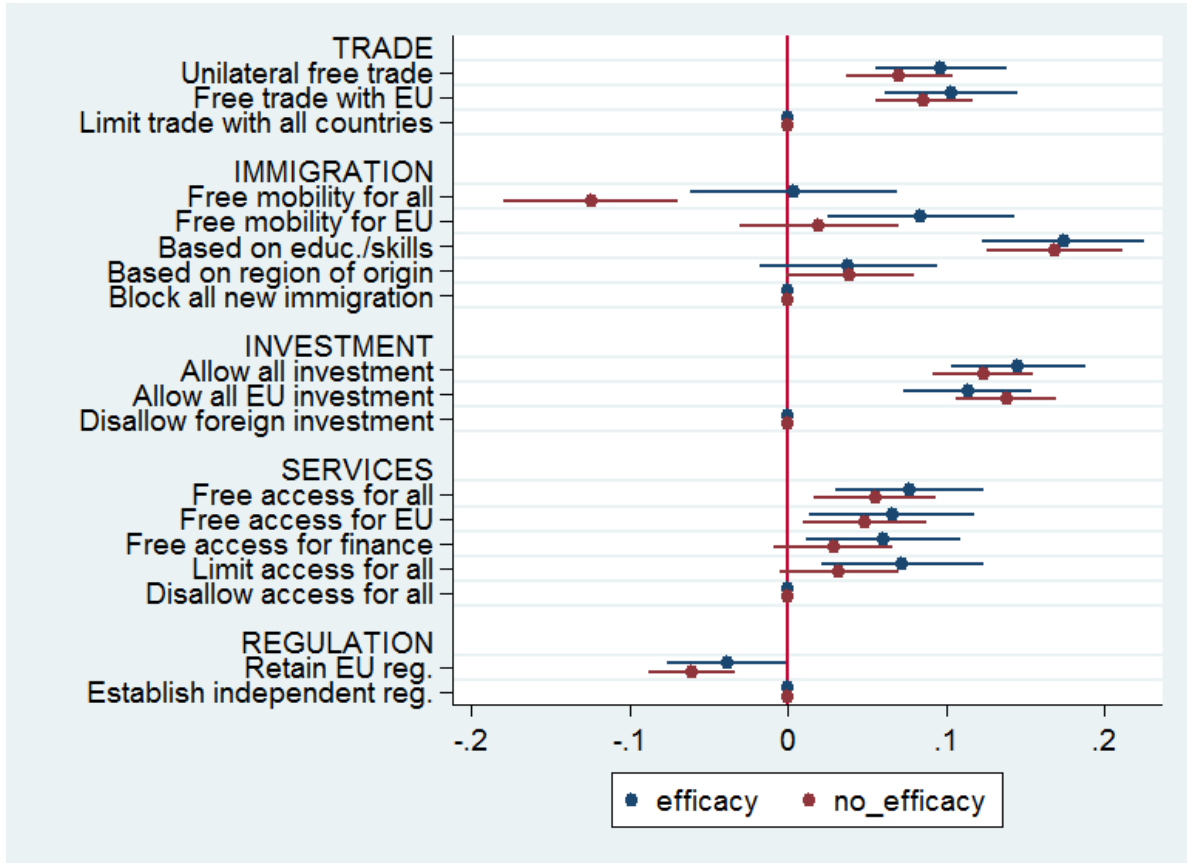


Figure A-3: *Efficacy*. This plot shows estimates of the effect of randomly assigned attribute values for different dimensions of global integration on the probability of supporting a plan, estimated separately on individuals with high and low efficacy scores. Estimates are based on the regression of *Integration Plan Support* on dummy variables for the values of the plan dimensions with SEs clustered by respondent. The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals and the points without bars indicate the reference category for a given plan dimension.