

The Public Policy Preference Calculator (TriplePC): Developing a comprehensive welfare policy microsimulation

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Abstract

Welfare policies have often been assessed on their financial impacts, for example, their effects on net household incomes and marginal and average tax rates. However, welfare policies can also have a substantial effect on population health and wellbeing. In addition, politicians must consider the electoral implications of policies that would affect large sections of the population. In this article we describe a new microsimulation model with a public-facing user interface, the Public Policy Preference Calculator (TriplePC), which enables automated assessment of economic and health impacts as well as public preferences for particular, customisable welfare policies. The TriplePC uses data from, and regressions based on, major UK sources such as the Family Resources Survey, Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) and the Wealth and Assets Survey, alongside our own conjoint experimental surveys on public preferences. While the design of the conjoint survey necessitated relatively strong assumptions in some areas, the TriplePC's ability to simultaneously model the financial, health and political implications of a policy is, we believe, unique. TriplePC was developed over approximately four months as part of a project on income and health funded by National Institute for Health and Care Research. We view TriplePC as a highly promising prototype rather than the finished article; in this paper we will describe it 'warts and all', highlighting areas of particular uncertainty and the lessons learned we hope to apply to future, fuller developed versions.

Keywords: Welfare policy, polling, public user interface, conjoint analysis

1 Introduction

In this article, we describe the Public Policy Preference Calculator (TriplePC), a new microsimulation model that seeks to extend the microsimulation art in two ways.

First, as well as modelling the outcomes of a policy in the conventional way, our model uses Conjoint Analysis of public acceptability data to give an indication of the policy's popularity. This is novel and important. There are measures that might actually be popular with , but which policymakers have been unwilling to touch, because of uncertainty about their electoral consequences. Perhaps the best example from UK history is the SDP/Liberal Democrat's 'Dead Parrot' merger manifesto of January 1988 (Gourley, n.d.; Crewe & King, 1995), which proposed the abolition of Child Benefit and the imposition of a uniform rate of Value Added Tax (VAT) to raise money for an anti-poverty program. Although this had been modelled in detail, fear of the electoral consequences among Members of Parliament meant the manifesto was abandoned within a day. The resulting confusion and indecision arguably caused long-lasting damage to centrist politics in the UK (Crewe & King, 1995). The UK's zero-rating for food and children's clothing remains politically untouchable to this day despite the orthodox economic arguments in favour of a uniform rate (Crawford et al., 2010). But would VAT extension really be unpopular, especially if it was part of a package that used the money raised for poverty reduction or other appealing policies? Our approach allows us to address questions like this.

Second, we integrate health outcomes into the model. There is strong evidence that welfare policies can have a substantial effect on population health (Johnson et al., 2022). A stark reminder of

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