Opinion | 15 July 2020

New Horizons Hub

VoxEU: The real cost of political polarisation: evidence from the Covid-19 pandemic

There is significant dispersion in beliefs about the pandemic and its economic implications. Our findings suggest that the macroeconomic effects of the pandemic on consumption may depend on behavioural factors like political affiliation, writes Christos Makridis and Jonathan Rothwell for VoxEU



Political beliefs about covid-19 and its economic implications

Using novel and high-frequency data between March and June on a nationally representative sample of roughly 500-1,000 respondents per day from the Gallup Panel, our recent research investigates the determinants of beliefs about the pandemic and its economic implications (Makridis and Rothwell 2020). Our survey contains a wide array of demographic characteristics and location-specific information, allowing us to quantify the role of country-specific factors, such as Covid-19 infections per capita and unemployment claims, against socio-economic factors, such as age, education, race, and political affiliation, among others.

We focus on six major outcomes and create the following variables: (i) an indicator for whether the individual expects the economic disruption to last at least until the end of the year, (ii) an indicator for being somewhat or very worried about contracting coronavirus, (iii) an indicator for practising social distancing very often or always in the past 24 hours, (iv) an indicator for mostly isolating and having little contact in the past 24 hours, (v) an indicator for wearing masks in the past week, and (vi) an indicator for visiting the workplace in the past 24 hours. These measures of the pandemic provide a strong complement to elicitations of expectations about the economy by Coibion et al. (2020).

A key quote from the article:

We find that political affiliation is the most important predictor (as measured by the t-statistic) of these beliefs. For example, Republicans are 18% less likely to believe that the Covid-19 disruption will last until the end of the year, whereas Democrats are 11% more likely, relative to independents or those who prefer an 'other' party. To put that in perspective with other correlates, we see that a 10% rise in the number of new infections per capita is associated with a 0.2% increase in the probability of expected disruption. Moreover, political affiliation is even more predictive of economic expectations than employment status (employed are 8% less likely to expect significant disruption), education (those with graduate degrees are 3% more likely), or even health (those with a medical condition are 5% more likely).

We see similar patterns when we look at other outcome variables. For example, Republicans are 5% less likely to report being somewhat or very worried about getting the illness, while Democrats are 6% more likely, relative to moderates. Again, we see that increases in actual local infections raise concerns about contracting the virus, but only a fifth to a sixth as much as political affiliation. Here, employment status matters relatively more: those employed in a job are 6% less likely to worry about getting sick, perhaps reflecting that many are working remotely. Not surprisingly, we see that those with serious medical problems are 8% more likely to worry about getting sick, which reflects not only a potential selection effect but also the possible heightened exposure to Covid-19.

The full and original article first appeared on VoxEU here on 10th July 2020.

Author

Amrita Naik Nimbalkar

Junior Economist, Global Macro amrita.naik.nimbalkar@ing.com

Mateusz Sutowicz

Senior Economist, Poland mateusz.sutowicz@ing.pl

Alissa Lefebre

Economist <u>alissa.lefebre@ing.com</u>

Deepali Bhargava

Regional Head of Research, Asia-Pacific <u>Deepali.Bhargava@ing.com</u>

Ruben Dewitte

Economist +32495364780 ruben.dewitte@ing.com

Kinga Havasi

Economic research trainee kinga.havasi@ing.com

Marten van Garderen

Consumer Economist, Netherlands marten.van.garderen@ing.com

David Havrlant

Chief Economist, Czech Republic 420 770 321 486 david.havrlant@ing.com

Sander Burgers

Senior Economist, Dutch Housing sander.burgers@ing.com

Lynn Song

Chief Economist, Greater China lynn.song@asia.ing.com

Michiel Tukker

Senior European Rates Strategist michiel.tukker@ing.com

Michal Rubaszek

Senior Economist, Poland michal.rubaszek@ing.pl

This is a test author

Stefan Posea

Economist, Romania tiberiu-stefan.posea@ing.com

Marine Leleux

Sector Strategist, Financials marine.leleux2@ing.com

Jesse Norcross

Senior Sector Strategist, Real Estate jesse.norcross@ing.com

Teise Stellema

Research Assistant, Energy Transition teise.stellema@ing.com

Diederik Stadig

Sector Economist, TMT & Healthcare <u>diederik.stadig@ing.com</u>

Diogo Gouveia

Sector Economist diogo.duarte.vieira.de.gouveia@ing.com

Marine Leleux

Sector Strategist, Financials marine.leleux2@ing.com

Ewa Manthey

Commodities Strategist ewa.manthey@ing.com

ING Analysts

James Wilson

EM Sovereign Strategist James.wilson@ing.com

Sophie Smith

Digital Editor sophie.smith@ing.com

Frantisek Taborsky

EMEA FX & FI Strategist <u>frantisek.taborsky@ing.com</u>

Adam Antoniak

Senior Economist, Poland adam.antoniak@ing.pl

Min Joo Kang

Senior Economist, South Korea and Japan min.joo.kang@asia.ing.com

Coco Zhang

ESG Research coco.zhang@ing.com

Jan Frederik Slijkerman

Senior Sector Strategist, TMT jan.frederik.slijkerman@ing.com

Katinka Jongkind

Senior Economist, Services and Leisure Katinka.Jongkind@ing.com

Marina Le Blanc

Sector Strategist, Financials Marina.Le.Blanc@inq.com

Samuel Abettan

Junior Economist samuel.abettan@ing.com

Franziska Biehl

Senior Economist, Germany <u>Franziska.Marie.Biehl@ing.de</u>

Rebecca Byrne

Senior Editor and Supervisory Analyst rebecca.byrne@ing.com

Mirjam Bani

Sector Economist, Commercial Real Estate & Public Sector (Netherlands) mirjam.bani@ing.com

Timothy Rahill

Credit Strategist timothy.rahill@ing.com

Leszek Kasek

Senior Economist, Poland leszek.kasek@ing.pl

Oleksiy Soroka, CFA

Senior High Yield Credit Strategist oleksiy.soroka@ing.com

Antoine Bouvet

Head of European Rates Strategy antoine.bouvet@ing.com

Jeroen van den Broek

Global Head of Sector Research jeroen.van.den.broek@ing.com

Edse Dantuma

Senior Sector Economist, Industry and Healthcare edse.dantuma@ing.com

Francesco Pesole

FX Strategist

<u>francesco.pesole@ing.com</u>

Rico Luman

Senior Sector Economist, Transport and Logistics Rico.Luman@ing.com

Jurjen Witteveen

Sector Economist jurjen.witteveen@ing.com

Dmitry Dolgin

Chief Economist, CIS dmitry.dolgin@ing.de

Nicholas Mapa

Senior Economist, Philippines nicholas.antonio.mapa@asia.ing.com

Egor Fedorov

Senior Credit Analyst egor.fedorov@ing.com

Sebastian Franke

Consumer Economist sebastian.franke@ing.de

Gerben Hieminga

Senior Sector Economist, Energy gerben.hieminga@ing.com

Nadège Tillier

Head of Corporates Sector Strategy nadeqe.tillier@ing.com

Charlotte de Montpellier

Senior Economist, France and Switzerland charlotte.de.montpellier@ing.com

Laura Straeter

Behavioural Scientist +31(0)611172684 laura.Straeter@ing.com

Valentin Tataru

Chief Economist, Romania valentin.tataru@ing.com

James Smith

Developed Markets Economist, UK <u>james.smith@ing.com</u>

Suvi Platerink Kosonen

Senior Sector Strategist, Financials suvi.platerink-kosonen@ing.com

Thijs Geijer

Senior Sector Economist, Food & Agri thijs.geijer@ing.com

Maurice van Sante

Senior Economist Construction & Team Lead Sectors <u>maurice.van.sante@ing.com</u>

Marcel Klok

Senior Economist, Netherlands marcel.klok@inq.com

Piotr Poplawski

Senior Economist, Poland piotr.poplawski@ing.pl

Paolo Pizzoli

Senior Economist, Italy, Greece paolo.pizzoli@ing.com

Marieke Blom

Chief Economist and Global Head of Research marieke.blom@ing.com

Raoul Leering

Senior Macro Economist raoul.leering@ing.com

Maarten Leen

Head of Global IFRS9 ME Scenarios maarten.leen@ing.com

Maureen Schuller

Head of Financials Sector Strategy <u>Maureen.Schuller@ing.com</u>

Warren Patterson

Head of Commodities Strategy Warren.Patterson@asia.ing.com

Rafal Benecki

Chief Economist, Poland rafal.benecki@ing.pl

Philippe Ledent

Senior Economist, Belgium, Luxembourg philippe.ledent@ing.com

Peter Virovacz

Senior Economist, Hungary peter.virovacz@ing.com

Inga Fechner

Senior Economist, Germany, Global Trade inga.fechner@ing.de

Dimitry Fleming

Senior Data Analyst, Netherlands <u>Dimitry.Fleming@ing.com</u>

Ciprian Dascalu

Chief Economist, Romania +40 31 406 8990 ciprian.dascalu@ing.com

Muhammet Mercan

Chief Economist, Turkey muhammet.mercan@ingbank.com.tr

Iris Pana

Chief Economist, Greater China iris.pang@asia.ing.com

Sophie Freeman

Writer, Group Research +44 20 7767 6209 Sophie.Freeman@uk.ing.com

Padhraic Garvey, CFA

Regional Head of Research, Americas padhraic.garvey@ing.com

James Knightley

Chief International Economist, US

james.knightley@ing.com

Tim Condon

Asia Chief Economist +65 6232-6020

Martin van Vliet

Senior Interest Rate Strategist +31 20 563 8801 martin.van.vliet@ing.com

Karol Pogorzelski

Senior Economist, Poland Karol.Pogorzelski@ing.pl

Carsten Brzeski

Global Head of Macro carsten.brzeski@ing.de

Viraj Patel

Foreign Exchange Strategist +44 20 7767 6405 viraj.patel@ing.com

Owen Thomas

Global Head of Editorial Content +44 (0) 207 767 5331 owen.thomas@ing.com

Bert Colijn

Chief Economist, Netherlands bert.colijn@ing.com

Peter Vanden Houte

Chief Economist, Belgium, Luxembourg, Eurozone peter.vandenhoute@ing.com

Benjamin Schroeder

Senior Rates Strategist benjamin.schroder@ing.com

Chris Turner

Global Head of Markets and Regional Head of Research for UK & CEE chris.turner@ing.com

Gustavo Rangel

Chief Economist, LATAM +1 646 424 6464

gustavo.rangel@ing.com

Carlo Cocuzzo
Economist, Digital Finance
+44 20 7767 5306
carlo.cocuzzo@ing.com