# What Do Philosophers Believe? 

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#### Abstract

What are the philosophical views of contemporary professional philosophers? We surveyed many professional philosophers in order to help determine their views on thirty central philosophical issues. This article documents the results. It also reveals correlations among philosophical views and between these views and factors such as age, gender, and nationality. A factor analysis suggests that an individual's philosophical views factor into a few underlying factors that predict much of the variation in those views. The results of a metasurvey also suggest that many of the results of the survey are surprising: philosophers as a whole have quite inaccurate beliefs about the distribution of philosophical views in the profession.


Keywords: philosophy, metaphilosophy, disagreement, survey, correlations, factor analysis

## 1 Introduction

What are the philosophical views of contemporary professional philosophers? Are more philosophers theists or atheists? Physicalists or non-physicalists? Deontologists, consequentialists, or virtue ethicists? We surveyed many professional philosophers in order to help determine the answers to these and other questions. This article documents the results.

Why should the answers to these sociological questions be of interest to philosophers or to anyone else? First, they have obvious sociological and historical interest. Philosophy as practiced is a human activity, and philosophers have a strong interest in the character of this human activity, past and present. Historians of philosophy are interested in the dominant philosophical views of various eras, and in how these views changed over time. Contemporary philosophy can be seen as the leading edge of the history of philosophy, and a proper understanding of today's philosophical views can feed into an understanding of historical trends. Furthermore, today's
sociology is tomorrow's history, and one can reasonably hope that answers to these sociological questions will be of some use to the historians of the future.

Second, one could argue that these sociological facts can play an evidential role in answering philosophical questions. On this view, the prevalence of views among philosophers can serve as a guide to their truth. After all, philosophers had had the benefit of years of reflection on these questions and might be taken as experts on them. In science, we often take the prevalence of scientific views among experts as strong evidence about which views are correct (consider questions about evolution or climate change, for example). It could be suggested that expert views should play a similar role with respect to philosophical questions. Many will be skeptical about this analogy, however. It is arguable that there is less convergence over time in philosophy than in science, for example. So we do not make the evidential claim here.

Third, it is clear that sociological views play a methodological role within the practice of philosophy. In philosophical discussion it is inevitable that some views are presupposed, other views are the focus of attention and argument, while still others are ignored. At a given time in a given community, some views have the status of "received wisdom". These views are often used as premises of arguments, and if they are rejected, it is usually acknowledged that doing so requires argument. Other views are often ignored or set aside without argument. When they are acknowledged, they are rarely used as premises of arguments. To assert them requires considerable justification.

One might suggest that the received wisdom within a given community is determined by what most people in the community believe: views that are widely accepted require less argument than views that are widely rejected. A moment's reflection, however, suggests that received wisdom is more likely to be determined by what most people believe most people believe. If the members of a community mistakenly believe that most members believe $p$, then it is more likely that assertions of $p$ rather than assertions of $\neg p$ will receive default status. If most philosophers believe that most philosophers are physicalists when in fact most philosophers are dualists, for example, then the norms of the community will typically require that asserting dualism requires more argument than asserting physicalism.

Insofar as sociological beliefs play this role within philosophy, it is better for them to be accurate. For example: suppose that a philosopher accepts the analytic-synthetic distinction and thinks the arguments against it fail. Suppose that she is writing a paper in which she thinks that (sociology aside) an appeal to the distinction would strengthen the paper. Suppose that she nevertheless does not appeal to the distinction in the paper, solely on the grounds that
she thinks a large majority of philosophers reject the distinction. Suppose that in fact, a large majority of philosophers accept the distinction. Then her decision will have been grounded in a false sociological belief, and the paper will be weaker by her own lights as a result. True sociological beliefs would put her in a position to write a better paper by her own lights.

Spurred by this sociological, historical, and methodological interest, we conducted a survey of the views of professional philosophers in late 2009. The PhilPapers Survey surveyed professional philosophers worldwide about their views on thirty key philosophical questions. We also surveyed them on demographic questions concerning gender, age, nationality, and areas of specialization. This allows more reliable answers than previously available about the views of professional philosophers and about how they vary with the various demographic factors, yielding a richer picture of the philosophical character of the contemporary philosophical community.

We simultaneously conducted the PhilPapers Metasurvey, asking philosophers for their predictions about the distribution of answers to the PhilPapers Survey. This metasurvey allowed us to measure the accuracy of philosophers' sociological beliefs about views within the field. It also provides a measure of just how surprising or unsurprising are the results of the PhilPapers Survey. To foreshadow the results that follow, we found that many of the results are quite surprising, both on an individual and a community level. The sociological beliefs of individual philosophers are typically quite inaccurate, and the community as a whole substantially overestimates or underestimates the popularity of a number of important philosophical positions. By rectifying these inaccurate sociological beliefs, the PhilPapers Survey provides a useful corrective to those aspects of the practice of philosophy that are grounded in them.

## 2 Setup and methodology

The PhilPapers Survey was conducted online from November 8, 2009 to December 1, 2009. The Metasurvey begun immediately after the Survey and ended on December 8, 2009. We begin by describing the setup and methodology of the Survey and the Metasurvey. We will then describe and discuss the main results of the two surveys.

### 2.1 Survey population

Ideally, a survey such as this one would be sent to every professional philosopher in the world. However, it is not easy to determine just who is in this group and to gather contact details for this group. National philosophical associations typically do not give out contact details for their
members, for example.
Instead, we chose as a target group all regular faculty members in 99 leading departments of philosophy. These include the 86 Ph.D.-granting departments in English-speaking countries rated 1.9 or above in the Philosophical Gourmet Report. They also include ten departments in non-English-speaking countries (all from continental Europe) and three non-Ph-D.-granting departments. These thirteen departments were chosen in consultation with the editor of the Gourmet Report and a number of other philosophers, on the grounds of their having strength in analytic philosophy comparable to the other 86 departments. The overall list included 62 departments in the US, 18 in the UK, 10 in Europe outside the UK, 7 in Canada, and 5 in Australasia.

It should be acknowledged that this target group has a strong (although not exclusive) bias toward analytic or Anglocentric philosophy. As a consequence, the results of the survey are a much better guide to what analytic/Anglocentric philosophers (or at least philosophers in strong analytic/Anglocentric departments believe) believe than to what philosophers from other traditions believe. We conceived of the survey that way from the start, in part because that is where our own expertise lies. It is also not clear how much can be learned by requiring (for example) specialists in Anglocentric philosophy to answer questions drawn from Asian philosophy or vice versa. Furthermore, attempting full representation of philosophers worldwide from all traditions would require linguistic resources and contact details that were unavailable to us.

To determine the membership of the target group, we used faculty lists drawn from the Gourmet Report, supplemented with information from department websites. The final target group included 1,972 philosophers. A research assistant compiled e-mail addresses from departmental websites. Every member of the target group was sent an initial email invitation to take the survey, and additional email requests after one week and two weeks if they had not yet responded.

In addition to inviting the target group, we allowed anyone to take the survey, including professional philosophers from other departments, students, and others. The Survey was advertised to all registered PhilPapers users (approximately 15,000 users at the time) through one direct email announcement, and was also announced on the PhilPapers website and in other places on the web. This group is less well-controlled than the target group, however, so we concentrate mainly on results from the target group in what follows.

### 2.2 Main questions and survey interface



Figure 1: Example question screen

The main part of the PhilPapers Philosophical Survey consisted of thirty philosophical questions plus additional background questions. Each of the thirty philosophical questions was presented along with multiple choice answers as shown in Figure 1.

The thirty philosophical questions asked, and the answers proposed, were the following:

1. A priori knowledge: yes or no?
2. Abstract objects: Platonism or nominalism?
3. Aesthetic value: objective or subjective?
4. Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes or no?
5. Epistemic justification: internalism or externalism?
6. External world: idealism, skepticism, or non-skeptical realism?
7. Free will: compatibilism, libertarianism, or no free will?
8. God: theism or atheism?
9. Knowledge: empiricism or rationalism?
10. Knowledge claims: contextualism, relativism, or invariantism?
11. Laws of nature: Humean or non-Humean?
12. Logic: classical or non-classical?
13. Mental content: internalism or externalism?
14. Meta-ethics: moral realism or moral anti-realism?
15. Metaphilosophy: naturalism or non-naturalism?
16. Mind: physicalism or non-physicalism?
17. Moral judgment: cognitivism or non-cognitivism?
18. Moral motivation: internalism or externalism?
19. Newcomb's problem: one box or two boxes?
20. Normative ethics: deontology, consequentialism, or virtue ethics?
21. Perceptual experience: disjunctivism, qualia theory, representationalism, or sense-datum theory?
22. Personal identity: biological view, psychological view, or further-fact view?
23. Politics: communitarianism, egalitarianism, or libertarianism?
24. Proper names: Fregean or Millian?
25. Science: scientific realism or scientific anti-realism?
26. Teletransporter (new matter): survival or death?
27. Time: A-theory or B-theory?
28. Trolley problem (five straight ahead, one on side track, turn requires switching, what ought one do?): switch or don't switch?
29. Truth: correspondence, deflationary, or epistemic?
30. Zombies: inconceivable, conceivable but not metaphysically possible, or metaphysically possible?

The order in which the questions were presented was randomized for each respondent. The order in which the answer options were presented was also randomized.

Respondents could indicate that they "accept" or "lean toward" any of the options mentioned in the question (see Figure 1). They could also choose one of a number of other responses or could skip the question using a link provided. These additional possible responses were as follows (with minor variations for non-binary questions ${ }^{1}$ ):

- Accept both
- Reject both
- Accept an intermediate view
- Accept another alternative
- The question is too unclear to answer
- There is no fact of the matter
- Insufficiently familiar with the issue
- Agnostic/undecided
- Other

[^0]The questions and the response options were determined by three rounds of beta testing with about fifty philosophers from various fields in the weeks before the survey was conducted. The questions focus on widely discussed topics within analytic philosophy. (It was apparent from an early stage that continental philosophy does not lend itself easily to the survey format.) We decided on the format involving brief labels for three reasons. First, spelling out the views at more length would require many more arbitrary choices on the part of the survey designers. Second, although many of these labels are ambiguous, longer descriptions would introduce new ambiguities in turn. Third, it was inevitable that the results would be reported using brief labels (" $n \%$ of philosophers are Platonists"), and these reports would be least misleading if the labels themselves were used in posing the questions.

The questions focus especially in five "core" areas of analytic philosophy, in part because these appeared to be the most accessible to philosophers outside the area. There are five questions from each of epistemology, ethics, metaphysics, and the philosophy of mind, and three from the philosophy of language. There is also one question each from aesthetics, decision theory, logic, metaphilosophy, philosophy of action, philosophy of science, and political philosophy.

Of course there were numerous arbitrary decisions in deciding on both questions and options. The survey designers allowed themselves one "pet question" each (questions 21 and 30 respectively) on their own research areas. The wording for a number of questions (those on aesthetics, personal identity, and truth, for example) underwent considerable refinement in response to feedback during the beta testing process. It was particularly difficult to formulate a question within political philosophy: the most obvious questions involved "liberalism", but this term is too ambiguous in an international context to be useful. We would have liked to have included questions from the philosophy of gender and race and from the history of philosophy, but it proved difficult to find questions that worked in the survey format. For more discussion of the choice of questions, see the survey's web site. ${ }^{2}$

### 2.3 Orientation and background questions

Respondents were also asked to provide information on their philosophical orientation and on various background properties. They were asked the following questions about philosophical orientation:

- Areas of specialization. Respondents had to choose from the following list of areas (the primary areas in the PhilPapers category system): 17th/18th Century Philosophy, 19th

[^1]Century Philosophy, 20th Century Philosophy, Aesthetics, African/Africana Philosophy, Ancient Greek Philosophy, Applied Ethics, Asian Philosophy, Continental Philosophy, Decision Theory, European Philosophy, General Philosophy of Science, Logic and Philosophy of Logic, Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy, Meta-Ethics, Metaphilosophy, Metaphysics, Normative Ethics, Philosophy of Action, Philosophy of Biology, Philosophy of Cognitive Science, Philosophy of Computing and Information, Philosophy of Gender, Race, and Sexuality, Philosophy of Language, Philosophy of Law, Philosophy of Mathematics, Philosophy of Mind, Philosophy of Physical Science, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Social Science, Philosophy of the Americas, Social and Political Philosophy.

- Philosophical tradition. Respondents could choose either "analytic", "continental" or "other." When selecting "other" they could enter a tradition as free text.
- For which nonliving philosophers $X$ would you describe yourself or your work as X-ian, or the equivalent? List in order, and choose "other" to specify a new option. Respondents could choose from a list of well-known philosophers or select "other" to specify philosophers manually. The list was based on surveys, conducted on the Leiter Reports weblog, of the greatest philosophers of the last 200 years and of all time. The list included: Anscombe, Aquinas, Aristotle, Augustine, Berkeley, Carnap, Davidson, Descartes, Frege, Hegel, Heidegger, Hobbes, Hume, Husserl, Kant, Kierkegaard, Leibniz, Lewis, Locke, Marx, Mill, Moore, Nietzsche, Plato, Quine, Rawls, Rousseau, Russell, Socrates, Spinoza, Wittgenstein.

Respondents were also asked the following background questions:

- Year of birth
- Nationality
- Gender (male or female)
- Doctorate in philosophy (respondents could indicate that they hold a doctorate in philosophy, and specify the granting institution and year).
- Primary affiliation and secondary affiliation (respondents could specify the institution, discipline, and their role: undergraduate student, graduate student, postdoc, research staff, faculty, or administrator)

The Survey was anonymous. Under consent guidelines approved by the ANU Human Ethics Panel, respondents were told how their answers would be used, and at the end of the survey were asked to consent to the use of their answers.

## Question 1 of 30

## Background

## Original survey question:

Proper names: Millian or Fregean?
Note that both questions and possible answers were randomly ordered for each participant. Click here to view the original interface in a new window.

Question
What percentage of the target group (?) do you think will choose answers among the following sets:

Accept: Millian or Lean toward: Millian
$\qquad$
Accept: Fregean or Lean toward: Fregean


Other (one of: Accept both, Reject both, Accept an intermediate view, Accept another alternative, The question is too unclear to answer, There is no fact of the matter, Insufficiently familiar with the issue, Agnostic/undecided, Other, Skip)
77 \%

## Submit answer

Or: Skip this question
Figure 2: Metasurvey interface

### 2.4 Metasurvey questions and interface

In the Metasurvey, respondents had to estimate what percentages of respondents in the primary target population would either accept or lean toward any of the main positions mentioned in the Survey. For the question on a priori knowledge, for example (question \#1 above), respondents had to assign percentages to the following three sets of responses:

- Accept: yes, Lean toward: yes
- Accept: no, Lean toward: no
- Accept both, Reject both, Accept an intermediate view, Accept another alternative, The question is too unclear to answer, There is no fact of the matter, Insufficiently familiar with the issue, Agnostic/undecided, Other, Skip

Respondents therefore had to specify three percentages for each question. The Metasurvey interface is shown in Figure 2. Answer options were randomized wherever they appeared. Respondents were explained the nature and sampling method of the target group at the beginning of the Metasurvey.

## 3 Main Survey Results

931 of the 1,972 members of the target faculty group completed the Survey (a $47 \%$ response rate). Including the uncontrolled survey group, 3,226 individuals from all populations completed the survey. The following list summarizes the results for the target faculty group, collapsing answers that "accept" and "lean toward" for a given view and collapsing all "other" answers. More fine-grained results can be found in Appendix 1.

1. A priori knowledge: yes $71.1 \%$; no $18.4 \%$; other $10.5 \%$.
2. Abstract objects: Platonism 39.3\%; nominalism $37.7 \%$; other $23.0 \%$.
3. Aesthetic value: objective $41.0 \%$; subjective $34.5 \%$; other $24.5 \%$.
4. Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes $64.9 \%$; no $27.1 \%$; other $8.1 \%$.
5. Epistemic justification: externalism $42.7 \%$; internalism $26.4 \%$; other $30.8 \%$.
6. External world: non-skeptical realism $81.6 \%$; skepticism $4.8 \%$; idealism $4.3 \%$; other $9.2 \%$.
7. Free will: compatibilism $59.1 \%$; libertarianism $13.7 \%$; no free will $12.2 \%$; other $14.9 \%$.
8. God: atheism $72.8 \%$; theism $14.6 \%$; other $12.6 \%$.
9. Knowledge claims: contextualism $40.1 \%$; invariantism $31.1 \%$; relativism $2.9 \%$; other $25.9 \%$.
10. Knowledge: empiricism $35.0 \%$; rationalism $27.8 \%$; other $37.2 \%$.
11. Laws of nature: non-Humean $57.1 \%$; Humean $24.7 \%$; other $18.2 \%$.
12. Logic: classical $51.6 \%$; non-classical $15.4 \%$; other $33.1 \%$.
13. Mental content: externalism $51.1 \%$; internalism $20.0 \%$; other $28.9 \%$.
14. Meta-ethics: moral realism $56.4 \%$; moral anti-realism $27.7 \%$; other $15.9 \%$.
15. Metaphilosophy: naturalism $49.8 \%$; non-naturalism $25.9 \%$; other $24.3 \%$.
16. Mind: physicalism $56.5 \%$; non-physicalism $27.1 \%$; other $16.4 \%$.
17. Moral judgment: cognitivism $65.7 \%$; non-cognitivism $17.0 \%$; other $17.3 \%$.
18. Moral motivation: internalism $34.9 \%$; externalism $29.8 \%$; other $35.3 \%$.
19. Newcomb's problem: two boxes $31.4 \%$; one box $21.3 \%$; other $47.4 \%$.
20. Normative ethics: deontology $25.9 \%$; consequentialism $23.6 \%$; virtue ethics $18.2 \%$; other $32.3 \%$.
21. Perceptual experience: representationalism $31.5 \%$; qualia theory $12.2 \%$; disjunctivism $11.0 \%$; sense-datum theory $3.1 \%$; other $42.2 \%$.
22. Personal identity: psychological view $33.6 \%$; biological view $16.9 \%$; further-fact view $12.2 \%$; other $37.3 \%$.
23. Politics: egalitarianism $34.8 \%$; communitarianism $14.3 \%$; libertarianism $9.9 \%$; other $41.0 \%$.
24. Proper names: Millian 34.5\%; Fregean 28.7\%; other 36.8\%.
25. Science: scientific realism $75.1 \%$; scientific anti-realism $11.6 \%$; other $13.3 \%$.
26. Teletransporter: survival $36.2 \%$; death $31.1 \%$; other $32.7 \%$.
27. Time: B-theory $26.3 \%$; A-theory $15.5 \%$; other $58.2 \%$.
28. Trolley problem: switch $68.2 \%$; don't switch $7.6 \%$; other $24.2 \%$.
29. Truth: correspondence $50.8 \%$; deflationary $24.8 \%$; epistemic $6.9 \%$; other $17.5 \%$.
30. Zombies: conceivable but not metaphysically possible $35.6 \%$; metaphysically possible $23.3 \%$; inconceivable $16.0 \%$; other $25.1 \%$.

### 3.1 Demographics of target faculty

Figure 3 shows the distribution of ages among the 931 respondents from the target faculty group. $77.2 \%$ of respondents specified "male" as gender, $17.4 \%$ specified "female," and $5.3 \%$ did not specify a gender.

There are three geographical parameters in the survey: nationality, location of Ph.D. department, and location of current affiliation. For simplicity we group locations into six main groups: Australasia, Canada, (continental) Europe, UK, US, and Other. The 931 break down as indicated in Table 1.

|  | Australasia | Canada | Europe | United Kingdom | United States | Other |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nationality | 52 | 65 | 116 | 154 | 464 | 70 |
| Affiliation | 42 | 79 | 58 | 178 | 563 | 1 |
| PhD | 30 | 27 | 46 | 116 | 496 | 0 |

Table 1: Regions: nationality, PhD , affiliation


Figure 3: Years of birth and target faculty

### 3.2 Correlations

The surveys revealed a number of interesting correlations between answers to the 30 main questions and demographic factors such as gender, age, and geographical location. For each main view on each main question, we converted the answer to that question to a score ( +2 for accepting the view, +1 for leaning toward it, -1 for leaning toward another view, and -2 for accepting another view). "Other" answers were treated as indicated in Table 2.

| Choice | Value |
| :--- | :--- |
| Accept/reject both | Set to 2/-2 |
| Accept another alternative | Set to -2 |
| Accept more than one | Don't count |
| Reject one, undecided between others | Don't count |
| Skipped | Don't count |
| Other answers | Set to 0 |

Table 2: Conversion scheme for "other" answers

For the 21 binary questions, the scores for the two main views will be perfectly correlated (one is the negation of the other) so we need only focus on one view in each case. We summarize and discuss the correlations we found in what follows.

To illustrate the significance of the correlations reported, take the correlation coefficient between metaphilosophical naturalism and non-cognitivism about moral judgments, which is .204 . This coefficient is derived from the distribution of answers summarized in Table 3. Note that $70.2 \%$ of non-cognitivists are naturalists, while only $51.7 \%$ of cognitivists are naturalists. This illustrates the fact that a correlation coefficient of approximately .2 reflects a strong correlation. Contingency tables such as Table 3 are available for all answers pairs on the survey site. ${ }^{3}$

|  | Naturalism | Non-naturalism |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cognitivism | $51.7 \%$ | $34 \%$ |
| Non-cognitivism | $70.2 \%$ | $19 \%$ |

Table 3: Distribution of answers for Metaphilosophy: naturalism and Moral judgments: cognitivism

For those who are interested in statistical significance: a correlation of 0.2 over a body of 931 responses indicates a statistical significance ( p -value) of approximately $7 \times 10^{-10}$. Statistical significances of $0.001,0.01$, and 0.05 correspond to correlations of $0.107,0.084$, and 0.064 respectively. We did not set out to test hypotheses concerning correlations, however, so these analyses should be seen as exploratory, and claims about statistical significance should be interpreted

[^2]cautiously. There are 2023 potentially correlated pairs of main answers that are relevant to the following discussion, so we should expect about 20 significant results at the 0.01 level by chance alone and two at the 0.001 level. In what follows, all correlations displayed are significant at the 0.01 level, and the large majority are significant at well beyond the 0.001 level.

### 3.3 Correlations between philosophical views

The survey revealed many correlations between philosophical views. The highest correlations are summarized in Table 4. Many more correlations are available on the Survey site. ${ }^{4}$

### 3.4 Gender effects

Gender is strongly correlated with a number of views. The strongest correlations are shown in Table 5. Correlations between gender and background questions and philosophical orientation can be found on the survey's website. Most of these correlations were less than 0.1, except for a 0.22 correlation with Philosophy of Gender, Race, and Sexuality and a -0.10 correlation with Metaphysics.

### 3.5 Age effects

We found strong correlations between year of birth and philosophical views. The strongest correlations are summarized in Table 6. Correlations between year of birth and background questions and philosophical orientation can be found on the survey's website. The strongest positive correlations ( 0.1 to 0.15 ) are with UK affiliation, European nationality, USA PhD, identification with Lewis, and analytic tradition. The strongest negative correlations ( -0.1 to $-0.15)$ are with USA affiliation and nationality, identification with Aristotle and Wittgenstein, and a specialization in Continental Philosophy.

### 3.6 Geographic effects

In general, birth location, PhD location, and current location are strongly correlated in unsurprising ways, and all three exhibit fairly similar correlations with philosophical answers. We list results for current affiliation in Table 7; the other results can be found on the web.

[^3]| Answer A | Answer B | $r$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Moral judgment: cognitivism | Meta-ethics: moral realism | 0.562 |
| Metaphilosophy: non-naturalism | Mind: non-physicalism | 0.497 |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes | A priori knowledge: yes | 0.467 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | Aesthetic value: objective | 0.411 |
| Mind: physicalism | God: atheism | 0.393 |
| Science: scientific realism | External world: non-skeptical realism | 0.393 |
| Mind: non-physicalism | Free will: libertarianism | 0.386 |
| God: theism | Free will: libertarianism | 0.385 |
| A priori knowledge: yes | Knowledge: rationalism | 0.383 |
| Teletransporter: survival | Personal identity: psychological view | 0.375 |
| Truth: correspondence | Science: scientific realism | 0.362 |
| Metaphilosophy: non-naturalism | Knowledge: rationalism | 0.36 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | God: atheism | 0.351 |
| Metaphilosophy: non-naturalism | Free will: libertarianism | 0.343 |
| Epistemic justification: internalism | Mental content: internalism | 0.342 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | Abstract objects: Platonism | 0.335 |
| Moral judgment: non-cognitivism | Aesthetic value: subjective | 0.333 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | Laws of nature: non-Humean | 0.329 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Abstract objects: nominalism | 0.321 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | Science: scientific realism | 0.32 |
| Abstract objects: Platonism | Knowledge: rationalism | 0.307 |
| Abstract objects: nominalism | Laws of nature: Humean | 0.303 |
| Knowledge: empiricism | Mind: non-physicalism | -0.302 |
| Science: scientific anti-realism | Laws of nature: Humean | 0.299 |
| Truth: correspondence | Meta-ethics: moral realism | 0.294 |
| Meta-ethics: moral anti-realism | Metaphilosophy: naturalism | 0.288 |
| Truth: correspondence | Laws of nature: non-Humean | 0.287 |
| Moral judgment: non-cognitivism | Laws of nature: non-Humean | -0.286 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | Trolley problem: switch | 0.284 |
| A priori knowledge: yes | Metaphilosophy: non-naturalism | 0.276 |
| Time: B-theory | Free will: libertarianism | -0.271 |
| Laws of nature: non-Humean | Knowledge: rationalism | 0.268 |
| Abstract objects: Platonism | Knowledge claims: invariantism | 0.26 |
| Meta-ethics: moral anti-realism | Knowledge: empiricism | 0.258 |
| Moral judgment: cognitivism | Science: scientific realism | 0.257 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Aesthetic value: subjective | 0.257 |
| Science: scientific realism | Abstract objects: Platonism | 0.255 |
| A priori knowledge: yes | Laws of nature: non-Humean | 0.253 |
| Aesthetic value: objective | Abstract objects: nominalism | -0.253 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | Metaphilosophy: naturalism | 0.252 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | Mind: physicalism | 0.252 |
| Moral judgment: non-cognitivism | Abstract objects: nominalism | 0.249 |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | Mind: non-physicalism | 0.248 |
| A priori knowledge: no | Abstract objects: Platonism | -0.248 |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | Mind: physicalism | 0.247 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Laws of nature: Humean | 0.245 |
| Mind: physicalism | Abstract objects: nominalism | 0.244 |
| Time: B-theory | Metaphilosophy: naturalism | 0.243 |
| Moral judgment: non-cognitivism | Knowledge: empiricism | 0.243 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | Free will: libertarianism | 0.24 |

Table 4: 50 highest correlations between philosophical views.

| Answer | $r$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Truth: epistemic | 0.147 |
| Trolley problem: don't switch | 0.141 |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | -0.126 |
| Truth: correspondence | -0.123 |
| A priori knowledge: no | 0.116 |
| Science: scientific anti-realism | 0.116 |
| Knowledge: empiricism | 0.116 |
| Abstract objects: nominalism | 0.115 |
| Politics: libertarianism | -0.115 |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: no | 0.112 |
| Moral judgment: non-cognitivism | 0.111 |
| Laws of nature: Humean | 0.109 |
| External world: idealism | 0.101 |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | -0.098 |

Table 5: Highest correlations between gender and main answers.

| Answer | $r$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Laws of nature: Humean | 0.146 |
| Mental content: externalism | 0.145 |
| Time: B-theory | 0.143 |
| Teletransporter: survival | 0.136 |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | 0.12 |
| Knowledge claims: contextualism | -0.096 |

Table 6: Main correlations between year of birth and main answers.

### 3.7 Specialization effects

Table 8 shows the main correlations between areas of specializations and philosophical views. It is also interesting to compare the answers of individuals specializing in areas relevant to a question with those not specializing in these areas. We will refer to these groups as "specialists" and "nonspecialists," respectively. In comparing specialist and non-specialist answers, we ignore "other" answers and normalize the other answers so they sum to $100 \%$. This necessary because answers such as "insufficiently familiar with the issue" vary significantly between specialists and nonspecialists for reasons that are independent of what we want to measure. After normalization, the mean absolute difference between the percentages of specialist and non-specialist answers is $9.31 \%$ across all questions, with a standard deviation of $11.53 \%$. Table 9 shows the answers exhibiting differences greater than the mean. These results suggest that there is such a thing as specialist opinion in philosophy, whether or not specialists are more likely to be right.

Interestingly, specialists were more likely than non-specialists to reject the dichotomies posed. One might count the following "other" answers as rejecting dichotomies: "The question is too unclear to answer," "Accept another alternative," "Accept an intermediate view," "Accept both," "There is no fact of the matter," "Reject both," "Accept more than one," "Reject all." Across all questions, specialists reject dichotomies $15.4 \%$ of the time compared to $12.2 \%$ for non-specialists.

| Region \& view | $r$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| Australasia |  |
| Time: B-theory | 0.149 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | 0.132 |
| Normative ethics: deontology | -0.119 |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | 0.109 |
| Teletransporter: survival | 0.102 |
| Trolley problem: switch | 0.09 |
| Mind: physicalism | 0.087 |
| Canada |  |
| Free will: libertarianism | -0.106 |
| God: atheism | 0.086 |
| Europe |  |
| Proper names: Fregean | 0.146 |
| United Kingdom |  |
| Perceptual experience: disjunctivism | 0.203 |
| A priori knowledge: yes | 0.135 |
| Knowledge claims: contextualism | -0.116 |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes | 0.115 |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | 0.105 |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | -0.103 |
| Teletransporter: survival | 0.093 |
| United States |  |
| Proper names: Millian | 0.149 |
| Perceptual experience: disjunctivism | -0.142 |
| Normative ethics: deontology | 0.137 |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | 0.103 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | -0.093 |
| Epistemic justification: internalism | 0.087 |
| Teletransporter: death | 0.085 |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: no | 0.085 |

Table 7: Highest correlations between main answers and geographic affiliations

| View | Specialization | $r$ |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
| God: theism | Philosophy of Religion | 0.351 |
| Free will: libertarianism | Philosophy of Religion | 0.262 |
| Mental content: externalism | Philosophy of Language | 0.218 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Philosophy of Cognitive Science | 0.205 |
| Mind: physicalism | Philosophy of Religion | -0.193 |
| Politics: communitarianism | Normative Ethics | -0.191 |
| Metaphilosophy: non-naturalism | Philosophy of Religion | 0.19 |
| Perceptual experience: sense-datum theory | Philosophy of Mind | -0.19 |
| Knowledge: empiricism | General Philosophy of Science | 0.181 |
| Knowledge: empiricism | Philosophy of Biology | 0.176 |
| Normative ethics: virtue ethics | Ancient Greek Philosophy | 0.175 |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | Philosophy of Mind | -0.175 |
| Moral judgment: cognitivism | Continental Philosophy | -0.167 |

Table 8: Highest correlations between views and specializations

| Answer | Area | Non-specialists | Specialists | Abs. diff. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| God: atheism | Philosophy of Religion | $86.78 \%$ | $20.87 \%$ | $65.90 \%$ |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | Epis. \& Phil. of Language | $32.78 \%$ | $61.40 \%$ | $28.63 \%$ |
| Politics: egalitarianism | Social and Political Phil. | $56.49 \%$ | $77.27 \%$ | $20.79 \%$ |
| Aesthetic value: subjective | Aesthetics | $46.36 \%$ | $26.12 \%$ | $20.24 \%$ |
| Laws of nature: Humean | Phil. of Science | $28.22 \%$ | $45.91 \%$ | $17.68 \%$ |
| Epistemic justification: internalism | Epistemology | $35.29 \%$ | $51.32 \%$ | $16.03 \%$ |
| Abstract objects: Platonism | Metaphysics | $47.11 \%$ | $61.70 \%$ | $14.59 \%$ |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | Phil. of Mind | $34.71 \%$ | $20.20 \%$ | $14.51 \%$ |
| Normative ethics: deontology | Normative ethics | $36.08 \%$ | $50.07 \%$ | $13.99 \%$ |
| Knowledge claims: contextualism | Epis. \& Phil. of Language | $58.59 \%$ | $44.67 \%$ | $13.92 \%$ |
| Knowledge: rationalism | Epistemology | $42.04 \%$ | $55.72 \%$ | $13.68 \%$ |
| Moral motivation: externalism | Philosophy of Action | $45.39 \%$ | $57.63 \%$ | $12.24 \%$ |
| Politics: communitarianism | Social and Political Phil. | $25.68 \%$ | $13.64 \%$ | $12.05 \%$ |
| Truth: correspondence | Epistemology | $57.77 \%$ | $69.51 \%$ | $11.74 \%$ |
| Normative ethics: virtue ethics | Normative ethics | $28.65 \%$ | $17.30 \%$ | $11.34 \%$ |
| Newcomb's problem: two boxes | Decision Theory | $59.07 \%$ | $70.38 \%$ | $11.31 \%$ |

Table 9: Greatest differences between specialists and non-specialists

Nine questions have dichotomies rejected by more than $20 \%$ of specialists: objectivism vs subjectivism about aesthetic value (36.9\%), internalism vs externalism about epistemic justification $(25 \%)$ and about mental content (24\%), empiricism vs rationalism (38.8\%), classical vs non-classical logic (20.6\%), personal identity (22.7\%), politics (33\%), proper names (23.4\%), scientific realism $(22.4 \%)$. These high rejection rates suggest that finer or clearer distinctions may be especially useful in these debates.

### 3.8 Identification effects

The highest correlations between philosophical views and identification with past philosophers are listed in Table 10. Respondents were also asked whether they identify with the analytic tradition, the continental tradition, or another tradition. We converted these answers into an analytic/continental variable ( 1 for analytic, 0 for other, -1 for continental) in order to calculate correlations with other variables. The strongest relationships with philosophical views are as shown in Table 11.

### 3.9 Relative importance of demographic factors

Table 12 gives the ten highest average absolute correlation coefficients between background factors and main answers. Age, gender, and geography all exhibit correlations of roughly similar strength.

| View | Identification | $r$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Laws of nature: Humean | Hume | 0.31 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Hume | 0.242 |
| Meta-ethics: moral anti-realism | Hume | 0.228 |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes | Quine | -0.22 |
| External world: non-skeptical realism | Kant | -0.218 |
| Normative ethics: deontology | Kant | 0.215 |
| Normative ethics: virtue ethics | Aristotle | 0.214 |
| Knowledge: empiricism | Hume | 0.211 |
| Abstract objects: nominalism | Hume | 0.211 |
| A priori knowledge: yes | Quine | -0.21 |
| Science: scientific realism | Kant | -0.206 |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | Wittgenstein | -0.203 |
| Time: A-theory | Lewis | -0.202 |
| Time: A-theory | Aristotle | 0.195 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | Quine | 0.193 |
| Mind: non-physicalism | Plato | 0.184 |
| Mind: physicalism | Hume | 0.182 |
| Politics: communitarianism | Rawls | -0.181 |
| Abstract objects: Platonism | Plato | 0.174 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | Lewis | 0.173 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | Hume | 0.166 |

Table 10: Highest correlations between views and identifications

| View | $r$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| External world: non-skeptical realism | 0.238 |
| Science: scientific realism | 0.21 |
| Trolley problem: switch | 0.195 |
| External world: idealism | -0.192 |
| Truth: epistemic | -0.186 |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | 0.17 |
| Mind: physicalism | 0.169 |
| God: atheism | 0.163 |
| Truth: correspondence | 0.159 |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | 0.156 |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | 0.143 |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | 0.134 |
| Knowledge claims: contextualism | -0.13 |
| Mental content: externalism | 0.128 |
| Logic: classical | 0.114 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | 0.101 |

Table 11: Correlations between views and identification with the analytic tradition

| Factor | avg. $\|r\|$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Nationality: United.States | 0.091 |
| PhD region: United.States | 0.091 |
| Year of birth | 0.089 |
| Gender: female/male | 0.087 |
| Affiliation: United.States | 0.085 |
| Affiliation: Australasia | 0.084 |
| Year of PhD | 0.083 |
| Nationality: Europe | 0.083 |
| Nationality: Australasia | 0.083 |
| Affiliation: Europe | 0.075 |

Table 12: Highest average absolute correlations between background factors and main answers.

### 3.10 Factor analysis

To better understand these correlations, we performed exploratory factor analyses (Spearman 1904, Gorsuch 1983) and principal component analyses (Pearson 1901, Jolliffe 2002) on the target faculty responses using a range of methods. The aim of both of these types of statistical analyses is to isolate a relatively small number of factors or components (we will use these terms interchangeably) that can be used to predict as much as possible of the variation in a larger number of observed variables (in this case, answers to survey questions). Any given factor is a linear combination of the observed variables: it is determined by multiplying each variable by a numerical loading and adding the results.

|  | Comp 1 | Comp 2 | Comp 3 | Comp 4 | Comp 5 | Comp 6 | Comp 7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Anti-naturalism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Free will: libertarianism | 0.66 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mind: non-physicalism | 0.63 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| God: atheism | -0.63 |  |  |  |  |  | 0.27 |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | -0.57 |  | -0.33 |  |  |  |  |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | 0.47 |  |  |  |  |  | 0.26 |
| Personal identity: further-fact view | 0.48 |  |  |  |  |  | 0.26 |
| Objectivism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moral judgment: cognitivism |  | 0.74 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Meta-ethics: moral anti-realism |  | -0.72 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aesthetic value: objective |  | 0.66 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Abstract objects: Platonism |  | 0.38 | 0.28 |  |  |  | 0.3 |
| A priori knowledge: yes |  |  | 0.79 |  |  |  |  |
| Rationalism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes |  |  | 0.72 |  |  |  |  |
| Knowledge: rationalism |  | 0.26 | 0.57 |  |  |  |  |
| Truth: epistemic |  |  |  | 0.65 |  |  |  |
| Anti-realism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Science scientific: anti-realism |  | -0.28 |  | 0.6 |  |  |  |
| External world: idealism or skepticism |  |  |  | 0.53 |  |  |  |
| Laws of nature: Humean |  | -0.28 | -0.34 | 0.43 |  |  |  |
| Proper names: Fregean |  |  |  | 0.35 |  |  |  |
| Externalism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mental content: externalism |  |  |  |  | 0.66 |  |  |
| Epistemic justification: externalism |  |  |  |  | 0.64 |  |  |
| Perceptual experience: disjunctivism |  |  |  |  | 0.55 |  |  |
| Moral motivation: externalism |  | 0.27 |  |  | 0.5 |  |  |
| Teletransporter: death |  |  |  |  |  | 0.69 |  |
| PC6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Normative ethics: deontology |  |  |  |  |  | 0.52 |  |
| Trolley problem: don't switch |  |  |  |  |  | 0.47 |  |
| Time: A-theory | 0.28 |  |  |  |  | 0.41 |  |
| PC7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Newcomb's problem: one box |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.58 |
| Logic: classical |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.48 |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.48 |
| Politics: egalitarianism | -0.32 |  |  | 0.29 |  |  | 0.33 |

Table 13: Components extracted using principal component analysis with varimax rotation. Only loadings of a magnitude .25 or more are shown. The variables are grouped according to their main contributions to extracted components. The bold headings give our interpretations of the first five components.

Table 13 shows the components we extracted using principal component analysis. A varimax
rotation was applied. We restricted the analysis to 30 answers in total (one per question). Some answers were combined: relativism and contextualism were combined, as were idealism and skepticism. Otherwise, the number of answers was reduced by eliminating one or more answer per question. This was necessary in order to remove uninteresting dependencies between answers. The number of extracted components was restricted to seven. ${ }^{5}$

Similar results were obtained using five different factor analysis methods and other rotations. ${ }^{6}$ The first five factors extracted and the relative importance of their component variables were essentially the same in all cases except for small variations in the order of the factors. Factor analysis and principal component analysis yield different results only for the sixth and seventh factors, and the sixth and seventh factors extracted by factor analysis are still similar to those displayed in Table 13.

While interpreting the results of such analyses is inherently difficult, the first five components showed in Table 13 seem particularly well defined. The first component, dominated by theism, a rejection of naturalism, libertarianism about free will, and non-physicalism about the mind, seems to reflect a rejection of a naturalistic world view. The second component combines realism and cognitivism about moral judgements with objectivism about aesthetic values. It is also associated with Platonism and a non-Humean view of causation. It seems to reflect a propensity to acknowledge the objectivity of normative and evaluative facts and the reality of controversial entities in ontology. The third component combines a priori knowledge, analytic truths, and rationalism. The connection may be explained by the fact that a priori knowledge is typically associated with either analytic truths or rational intuition. The fourth component seems to be the kind of anti-realism associated with epistemic theories of truth, while the fifth component clearly captures a broadly externalist tendency. We will label the preceding components "anti-naturalism," "objectivism," "rationalism," "anti-realism," and "externalism."

Components six and seven must be interpreted with additional care because they differ between the analyses conducted. It is also harder to put a label on them. Component six groups the view that one dies in the teletransporter case with deontology, the A-theory of time, and the view that one should not switch in the trolley case. Not switching has a natural connection with deontology, but the connection between deontology, teletransporter death, and the A-theory of time is more mysterious. The seventh component is dominated by two-boxing on Newcomb's

[^4]problem, upholding classical logic, and invariantism about knowledge claims. Again, it is unclear exactly what this component captures. The correlations between our two last components and identification with certain philosophers may be useful in helping to interpret those components.

Table 14 shows the main correlations between background questions and the seven extracted components. The correlations between our two last components and identification with certain philosophers suggest that these components might reflect the views of these philosophers.

| (a) |  | (b) |  | (c) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $r$ |  | $r$ |  | $r$ |
| Anti-naturalism |  | Anti-naturalism |  | Anti-naturalism |  |
| Nat.: Australasia | -0.11 | Hume | -0.14 | Phil. of Religion | 0.3 |
| Objectivism |  | Tradition: analytic | -0.14 | Phil. of Cognitive Science | -0.18 |
| Nat.: Europe | -0.14 | Plato | 0.13 | Phil. of Mind | -0.17 |
| Rationalism |  | Lewis | -0.13 | Ancient Greek Phil. | 0.11 |
| Gender: female | -0.15 | Aristotle | 0.12 | Objectivism |  |
| Affil: UK | 0.12 | Quine | -0.12 | General Phil. of Science | -0.13 |
| Anti-realism |  | Leibniz | 0.1 | Phil. of Biology | -0.13 |
| Gender: female | 0.17 | Objectivism |  | Continental Phil. | -0.12 |
| Year of birth | 0.15 | Hume | -0.2 | Normative Ethics | 0.12 |
| Externalism |  | Carnap | -0.12 | Ancient Greek Phil. | 0.1 |
| Affil.: UK | 0.1 | Plato | 0.1 | Phil. of Religion | 0.1 |
| Year of birth | 0.1 | Rationalism |  | Rationalism |  |
| PC6 |  | Quine | -0.25 | Phil. of Biology | -0.14 |
| Affil.: Australasia | -0.18 | Frege | 0.18 | Metaphysics | 0.14 |
| Nat.: Australasia | -0.16 | Kant | 0.12 | Phil. of Cognitive Science | -0.1 |
| Affil.: USA | 0.13 | Hume | -0.12 | Anti-realism |  |
| Ph.D: Australasia | -0.12 | Mill | -0.11 | Metaphysics | -0.2 |
| Nat.: USA | 0.11 | Anti-realism |  | Normative Ethics | 0.16 |
| Year of birth | -0.1 | Kant | 0.23 | Social and Political Phil. | 0.16 |
| PC7 <br> None |  | Tradition: analytic | -0.17 | Phil. of Mind | -0.15 |
|  | - | Rawls | 0.14 | Phil. of Language | -0.14 |
|  |  | Russell | -0.11 | 17th 18th Century Phil. | 0.11 |
|  |  | Hume | 0.11 | 19th Century Phil. | 0.11 |
|  |  | Externalism |  | Externalism |  |
|  |  | None | - | 17th 18th Century Phil. | -0.13 |
|  |  | PC6 |  | PC6 |  |
|  |  | Lewis | -0.13 | None | - |
|  |  | Hume | -0.12 | PC7 |  |
|  |  | Tradition: analytic | -0.11 | Epistemology | 0.16 |
|  |  | PC7 |  | 19th Century Phil. | -0.12 |
|  |  | Tradition: analytic | 0.19 | Phil. of Language | 0.12 |
|  |  | Hegel | -0.12 | 17th 18th Century Phil. | -0.12 |
|  |  | Aristotle | -0.11 | Continental Phil. | -0.11 |
|  |  | Wittgenstein | -0.1 |  |  |
|  |  | Lewis | 0.1 |  |  |

Table 14: Main correlations between extracted components and (a) background, (b) philosophical identification, and (c) specialization.

## 4 Metasurvey results

Of the target group, 216 philosophers responded to the Metasurvey. The lower number is not surprising, as the cognitive load of the Metasurvey is much higher than that of the Survey. Of the overall group, 727 responded. We will present the results for the target group here.

| Answer | Mean estimate | Actual | Mean $\mid$ error | $\mid$ error $\mid>20 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| A priori knowledge: yes | $62.3 \%$ | $79.5 \%$ | $20.3 \%$ | $39 \%$ |
| Abstract objects: nominalism | $56.5 \%$ | $49.0 \%$ | $16.0 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| Aesthetic value: subjective | $67.7 \%$ | $45.7 \%$ | $24.4 \%$ | $63 \%$ |
| Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes | $50.0 \%$ | $70.6 \%$ | $23.2 \%$ | $58 \%$ |
| Epistemic justification: externalism | $54.7 \%$ | $61.8 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ | $20 \%$ |
| External world: non-skeptical realism | $76.7 \%$ | $89.9 \%$ | $14.9 \%$ | $27 \%$ |
| External world: skepticism | $13.6 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| Free will: compatibilism | $56.7 \%$ | $69.4 \%$ | $16.4 \%$ | $28 \%$ |
| Free will: libertarianism | $24.9 \%$ | $16.2 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
| God: atheism | $76.0 \%$ | $83.3 \%$ | $11.1 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
| Knowledge claims: invariantism | $43.4 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ | $14.1 \%$ | $25 \%$ |
| Knowledge claims: contextualism | $39.0 \%$ | $54.1 \%$ | $18.0 \%$ | $43 \%$ |
| Knowledge: empiricism | $66.5 \%$ | $55.7 \%$ | $15.4 \%$ | $30 \%$ |
| Laws of nature: non-Humean | $52.1 \%$ | $69.8 \%$ | $20.4 \%$ | $38 \%$ |
| Logic: classical | $72.4 \%$ | $77.0 \%$ | $13.4 \%$ | $18 \%$ |
| Mental content: externalism | $62.7 \%$ | $71.9 \%$ | $13.6 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism | $52.9 \%$ | $67.0 \%$ | $17.4 \%$ | $33 \%$ |
| Metaphilosophy: naturalism | $67.0 \%$ | $65.8 \%$ | $13.5 \%$ | $21 \%$ |
| Mind: physicalism | $72.4 \%$ | $67.6 \%$ | $11.7 \%$ | $17 \%$ |
| Moral judgment: cognitivism | $60.1 \%$ | $79.5 \%$ | $21.3 \%$ | $49 \%$ |
| Moral motivation: internalism | $54.0 \%$ | $54.0 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $22 \%$ |
| Newcomb's problem: two boxes | $60.0 \%$ | $59.6 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ | $32 \%$ |
| Normative ethics: consequentialism | $41.5 \%$ | $34.9 \%$ | $12.0 \%$ | $19 \%$ |
| Normative ethics: deontology | $34.4 \%$ | $38.3 \%$ | $10.9 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
| Perceptual experience: representationalism | $41.3 \%$ | $54.5 \%$ | $17.4 \%$ | $43 \%$ |
| Perceptual experience: qualia theory | $25.8 \%$ | $21.2 \%$ | $10.8 \%$ | $16 \%$ |
| Perceptual experience: disjunctivism | $20.4 \%$ | $19.0 \%$ | $9.0 \%$ | $6 \%$ |
| Personal identity: psychological view | $48.5 \%$ | $53.6 \%$ | $13.0 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
| Personal identity: biological view | $31.7 \%$ | $26.9 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $17 \%$ |
| Politics: egalitarianism | $50.1 \%$ | $59.0 \%$ | $14.9 \%$ | $28 \%$ |
| Politics: communitarianism | $26.0 \%$ | $24.2 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $11 \%$ |
| Proper names: Millian | $55.6 \%$ | $54.6 \%$ | $14.6 \%$ | $29 \%$ |
| Science: scientific realism | $67.0 \%$ | $86.6 \%$ | $20.3 \%$ | $41 \%$ |
| Teletransporter: survival | $54.5 \%$ | $53.7 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ | $33 \%$ |
| Time: B-theory | $58.5 \%$ | $63.0 \%$ | $12.9 \%$ | $16 \%$ |
| Trolley problem: switch | $70.5 \%$ | $89.9 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ | $42 \%$ |
| Truth: correspondence | $47.3 \%$ | $61.6 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ | $39 \%$ |
| Truth: deflationary | $34.6 \%$ | $30.1 \%$ | $11.5 \%$ | $18 \%$ |
| Zombies: conceivable but not m. possible | $41.0 \%$ | $47.5 \%$ | $15.3 \%$ | $30 \%$ |
| Zombies: metaphysically possible | $36.5 \%$ | $31.1 \%$ | $14.1 \%$ | $24 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Table 15: Community-level errors for Metasurvey answers

One consistent effect is that respondents greatly underestimate the number of "other" answers. This effect may have more to do with errors about others' survey-answering psychology than about their philosophical views. To eliminate this effect, we normalize both the Survey results and individual answers to the Metasurvey questions by eliminating the "other" category and normalizing the remaining categories so they sum to $100 \%$. In the results that follow, we compare individuals' normalized answers to the normalized Survey results.

Community-level results for specific answers are as indicated in Table 15.
As well as measuring community-level effects, we can also measure mean absolute errors by individuals. For all individuals across all questions, the mean absolute error is $14.79 \%$ ( $\sigma=12.4 \%$ ). Figure 4 shows the frequency of absolute error levels across all Metasurvey answers


Figure 4: Distribution of error levels across questions and target faculty
from the target faculty group (i.e. across all questions and respondents for this group).
The performance of professional philosophers outside the target faculty group was a little worse. This category includes all respondents to the Metasurvey who declared a faculty-level affiliation in philosophy or a PhD in philosophy, but were not part of the target group. The mean absolute error is 16.66 for this group ( $\sigma=14.11 \%$ ). The difference between the target group and this group is highly statistically significant ( $\mathrm{p}<0.001$ ).

### 4.1 Metasurvey analysis

It is striking that for many of the questions, Metasurvey results show a community-level error of around $20 \%$ (see Figure 5). For binary questions, an error of $20 \%$ corresponds to the difference between a $50 / 50$ distribution and a 30/70 distribution. $20 \%$ is a substantial error. Metasurvey questions with error levels of around $20 \%$ therefore show that the corresponding Survey results are surprising. The Metasurvey results themselves are also interesting and perhaps surprising, though in the absence of a Metametasurvey we cannot quantify just how surprising.

The Metasurvey results on the thirty questions break down into five types: In four cases, the population gets the leading view wrong: predicting subjectivism rather than objectivism about aesthetic value, invariantism instead of contextualism about knowledge claims, consequentialism instead of deontology about normative ethics, nominalism instead of Platonism about abstract


Figure 5: Questions per absolute normalized error rate
objects. In three cases, respondents predict a fairly close result when in fact a large majority support the leading view: the underestimated majority views here are the analytic-synthetic distinction, non-Humeanism, moral realism. In sixteen cases, significant support for a majority view is predicted but its degree is underestimated by $4-21 \%$ : the underestimated majority views here are scientific realism, switching on trolley problem, cognitivism, compatibilism, nonskeptical realism, a priori knowledge, representationalism, correspondence theory, egalitarianism, content and epistemic externalism, atheism, psychological view, B-theory, classical logic, and the view that zombies are conceivable but metaphysical impossible. In two cases, a minority view is underestimated by $4-11 \%$ : the underestimated minority views are rationalism and nonphysicalism. In five cases, the estimates are within $1.2 \%$ of the actual result: the issues here are naturalism, moral motivation, Newcomb's problem, proper names, and teletransportation.

It is possible to correlate individual's Metasurvey scores with their answers to other questions. Full results are on the web, but a high metasurvey accuracy correlates most strongly with: year of birth (0.286); a priori knowledge: yes (0.24); trolley problem: switch (0.22); PhD from the United States (0.21); year of $\mathrm{PhD}(0.204)$; moral judgment: cognitivism (0.196), analyticsynthetic distinction: yes (0.189); time: B-theory (0.178); meta-ethics: moral realism (0.158); science: scientific realism (0.141); knowledge: rationalism (0.141).

The overlap between the views best correlated with Metasurvey accuracy and the views that were most underestimated in the Metasurvey is striking. However, we did not find a significant
tendency to underestimate views opposed to one's own across the whole of the Metasurvey. On the contrary, we found a statistically significant tendency to underestimate the popularity of one's views ( $\mathrm{p}<0.001$ ). Across all answers, the mean error for participants' own views is $-2.52 \%$ ( $\sigma=13.08, \mathrm{n}=4600)$, while it is $1.37 \%(\sigma=12.11, \mathrm{n}=8474)$ for opposing views.

## 5 Summary of conclusions

There is famously no consensus on the answers to most major philosophical questions. Still, some of the questions on the survey came closer to drawing a consensus than others. In particular, the following views all had normalized positive answer rates of approximately $70 \%$ or more: a priori knowledge, the analytic-synthetic distinction, non-skeptical realism, compatibilism, atheism, non-Humeanism about laws, cognitivism about moral judgment, classicism about logic, externalism about mental content, scientific realism, and trolley switching.

The Metasurvey indicates that a number of the preceding positions were not expected to reach this level of agreement: a priori knowledge, the analytic-synthetic distinction, nonHumeanism about laws, cognitivism about moral judgment, scientific realism, and trolley switching were all predicted to achieve rates at least $15 \%$ lower. For most of these questions, respondents to the Metasurvey underestimated agreement on the leading positions. Two notable exceptions are subjectivism about aesthetic value (estimate: $67.7 \%$, actual: $45.7 \%$ ) and empiricism (estimate: $66.5 \%$, actual: $55.7 \%$ ).

The correlations and principal component analysis reported in the preceding sections suggest that philosophical views tend to come in packages. Our analysis reveals five major choice points in logical space: naturalism vs anti-naturalism, objectivism vs subjectivism, rationalism vs empiricism, realism vs anti-realism (of the kind associated with epistemic theories of truth), internalism vs externalism. Of course, the packages depend on the choice of questions, and different surveys may have yielded different packages. Still, much of one's position on the questions we asked appears to be determined by one's view on these five issues. Positions on these issues are significantly affected by respondents' professional backgrounds, their specializations, and their orientations as philosophers.

The Metasurvey suggests that philosophers often have highly inaccurate sociological beliefs. The Survey itself may contribute to the project of correcting these beliefs. Given the important roles that sociological beliefs sometimes play in philosophy, there may well be room for more surveys of the philosophical views of professional philosophers.

## Appendix 1: Detailed survey results

The following tables show the main answers of the 931 target faculty participants with a $95 \%$ confidence interval. We show the aggregate percentage of respondents for each of the main available position, with a breakdown of the specific options. Options that did not reach $2 \%$ are omitted.

A priori knowledge: yes or no?

| Yes | $71.1 \pm 1.7 \%$ | Accept (50.8\%), Lean toward (20.3\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No | $18.4 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Lean toward (12.1\%), Accept (6.2\%) |
| Other | $10.5 \pm 0.7 \%$ | The question is too unclear to answer (4.6\%) |

Abstract objects: Platonism or nominalism?

| Platonism | $39.3 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Accept (19.8\%), Lean toward (19.5\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nominalism | $37.7 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Lean toward (22.6\%), Accept (15.1\%) |
| Other | $23.0 \pm 1.0 \%$ | Agnostic/undecided (5.0\%), Accept another alterna- |
|  |  | tive (4.9\%), Reject both (3.7\%), Insufficiently familiar |
|  | with the issue (2.8\%), Accept an intermediate view (2.3\%), |  |
|  |  | The question is too unclear to answer (2.0\%) |

Aesthetic value: objective or subjective?

| Objective | $41.0 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Lean toward (27.1\%), Accept (14.0\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Subjective | $34.5 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (19.4\%), Accept (15.0\%) |
| Other | $24.5 \pm 1.0 \%$ | Accept an intermediate view (6.6\%), The question is too un- |
|  |  | clear to answer (4.5\%), Agnostic/undecided (3.2\%), Insuffi- |
|  | ciently familiar with the issue (3.1\%), Accept another alter- |  |
|  |  | native (2.6\%), Accept both (2.6\%) |

Analytic-synthetic distinction: yes or no?

| Yes | $64.9 \pm 1.6 \%$ | Accept (36.8\%), Lean toward (28.0\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No | $27.1 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Lean toward (14.6\%), Accept (12.5\%) |
| Other | $8.1 \pm 0.6 \%$ | The question is too unclear to answer (2.5\%) |

Epistemic justification: internalism or externalism?

| Externalism | $42.7 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Lean toward (26.7\%), Accept (16.0\%) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Other | $30.8 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Accept an intermediate view (6.9\%), Agnos- |  |
|  |  | tic/undecided (6.0\%), Insufficiently familiar with the |  |
|  |  | issue (4.7\%), Accept both (4.6\%), The question is too unclear |  |
|  |  | to answer (3.0\%), Accept another alternative (2.1\%) |  |
| Internalism | $26.4 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Lean toward (17.3\%), Accept (9.1\%) |  |


| External world: idealism, skepticism, or non-skeptical realism? |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| Non-skeptical realism | $81.6 \pm 1.8 \%$ | Accept (61.4\%), Lean toward (20.2\%) |
| Other | $9.2 \pm 0.6 \%$ | Accept another alternative (2.6\%) |
| Skepticism | $4.8 \pm 0.5 \%$ | Lean toward (3.0\%), Accept (1.8\%) |
| Idealism | $4.3 \pm 0.4 \%$ | Lean toward (2.7\%), Accept (1.6\%) |

Free will: compatibilism, libertarianism, or no free will?

| Compatibilism | $59.1 \pm 1.6 \%$ | Accept (34.8\%), Lean toward (24.3\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Other | $14.9 \pm 0.8 \%$ | Agnostic/undecided (4.1\%), The question is too unclear to |
|  |  | answer (2.8\%) |
| Libertarianism | $13.7 \pm 0.8 \%$ | Accept (7.7\%), Lean toward (6.0\%) |
| No free will | $12.2 \pm 0.7 \%$ | Lean toward (6.6\%), Accept (5.7\%) |

God: theism or atheism?

| Atheism | $72.8 \pm 1.7 \%$ | Accept (61.9\%), Lean toward (11.0\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Theism | $14.6 \pm 0.8 \%$ | Accept (10.6\%), Lean toward (4.0\%) |
| Other | $12.6 \pm 0.7 \%$ | Agnostic/undecided (5.5\%) |

Knowledge claims: contextualism, relativism, or invariantism?

| Contextualism | $40.1 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Lean toward (28.0\%), Accept (12.0\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Invariantism | $31.1 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (19.7\%), Accept (11.5\%) |
| Other | $25.9 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (9.0\%), Agnos- |
|  |  | tic/undecided (5.7\%), The question is too unclear to an- |
|  | swer (2.5\%) |  |
| Relativism | $2.9 \pm 0.4 \%$ | Lean toward (1.7\%), Accept (1.2\%) |

Knowledge: empiricism or rationalism?

| Other | $37.2 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Accept an intermediate view (11.4\%), The question is too |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | unclear to answer (9.8\%), Accept both (6.3\%), Reject <br> both (3.5\%), Accept another alternative (2.7\%) |  |
| Empiricism | $35.0 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (21.4\%), Accept (13.6\%) |
| Rationalism | $27.8 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Lean toward (17.2\%), Accept (10.6\%) |
| Laws of nature: Humean or non-Humean? |  |  |
| Non-Humean | $57.1 \pm 1.5 \%$ | Accept (29.2\%), Lean toward (27.9\%) |
| Humean | $24.7 \pm 1.0 \%$ | Lean toward (16.0\%), Accept (8.7\%) |
| Other | $18.2 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Agnostic/undecided (6.4\%), Insufficiently familiar with the is- |
|  |  | sue (5.5\%) |


| Logic: classical or non-classical? |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Classical | $51.6 \pm 1.5 \%$ | Accept (27.6\%), Lean toward (24.0\%) |
| Other | $33.1 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (12.0\%), Agnostic/undecided (5.6\%), Accept both (5.2\%), The question is too unclear to answer (3.4\%), There is no fact of the matter (3.2\%) |
| Non-classical | $15.4 \pm 0.8 \%$ | Lean toward (7.9\%), Accept (7.4\%) |
| Mental content: internalism or externalism? |  |  |
| Externalism | $51.1 \pm 1.5 \%$ | Lean toward (25.7\%), Accept (25.5\%) |
| Other | $28.9 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (5.7\%), Agnostic/undecided (5.6\%), Accept an intermediate view (4.4\%), Accept both (3.9\%), The question is too unclear to answer (3.0\%), Accept another alternative (2.3\%) |
| Internalism | $20.0 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Lean toward (12.6\%), Accept (7.4\%) |
| Meta-ethics: moral realism or moral anti-realism? |  |  |
| Moral realism | $56.4 \pm$ | 1.5\% Accept (32.2\%), Lean toward (24.2\%) |
| Moral anti-rea | lism $\quad 27.7 \pm$ | 1.1\% Lean toward (14.5\%), Accept (13.2\%) |
| Other | 15.9 | $0.8 \%$ The question is too unclear to answer (2.9\%), Accept another alternative (2.7\%), Agnostic/undecided (2.6\%), Accept an intermediate view (2.5\%), Insufficiently familiar with the issue (2.5\%) |

Metaphilosophy: naturalism or non-naturalism?

| Naturalism | $49.8 \pm 1.4 \%$ | Accept (30.5\%), Lean toward (19.3\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Non-naturalism | $25.9 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Accept (14.8\%), Lean toward (11.1\%) |
| Other | $24.3 \pm 1.0 \%$ | The question is too unclear to answer (9.7\%), Insufficiently |
|  |  | familiar with the issue (6.8\%), Agnostic/undecided (2.7\%) |

Mind: physicalism or non-physicalism?

| Physicalism | $56.5 \pm 1.5 \%$ | Accept (34.6\%), Lean toward (21.9\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Non-physicalism | $27.1 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Accept (14.2\%), Lean toward (12.9\%) |
| Other | $16.4 \pm 0.8 \%$ | The question is too unclear to answer (6.3\%), Agnos- |
|  |  | tic/undecided (2.5\%), Accept an intermediate view (2.4\%) |

Moral judgment: cognitivism or non-cognitivism?

| Cognitivism | $65.7 \pm 1.6 \%$ | Accept (40.5\%), Lean toward (25.2\%) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Other | $17.3 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (4.7\%), Accept an inter- |
|  |  | mediate view (4.0\%), Agnostic/undecided (2.1\%) |
| Non-cognitivism | $17.0 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Lean toward (11.3\%), Accept (5.7\%) |

Moral motivation: internalism or externalism?

| Other | $35.3 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (14.8\%), Agnos- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | tic/undecided (6.0\%), The question is too unclear to an- |  |
|  | swer (4.8\%), Accept an intermediate view (3.5\%), Skip (2.1\%) |  |
| Internalism | $34.9 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (22.0\%), Accept (12.9\%) |
| Externalism | $29.8 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Lean toward (16.5\%), Accept (13.2\%) |

Newcomb's problem: one box or two boxes?

| Other | $47.4 \pm 1.4 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (23.5\%), Agnos- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | tic/undecided $(13.3 \%)$, Skip (4.7\%), The question is too un- |  |
|  | clear to answer $(2.0 \%)$ |  |
| Two boxes | $31.4 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Accept $(20.5 \%)$, Lean toward $(10.8 \%)$ |
| One box | $21.3 \pm 1.0 \%$ | Accept $(11.7 \%)$, Lean toward $(9.6 \%)$ |

Normative ethics: deontology, consequentialism, or virtue ethics?

| Other | $32.3 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Accept more than one (8.4\%), Agnostic/undecided (5.2\%), |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Accept an intermediate view (4.0\%), Accept another alter- |  |
|  | native (3.5\%), Insufficiently familiar with the issue (3.3\%), |  |
|  | Reject all (2.7\%) |  |
| Deontology | $25.9 \pm 1.1 \%$ | Lean toward (16.0\%), Accept (9.9\%) |
| Consequentialism | $23.6 \pm 1.0 \%$ | Lean toward (14.0\%), Accept (9.7\%) |
| Virtue ethics | $18.2 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Lean toward (12.6\%), Accept (5.6\%) |

Perceptual experience: disjunctivism, qualia theory, representationalism, or sense-datum theory?

| Other | $42.2 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Insufficiently familiar with the issue (16.2\%), Agnos- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | tic/undecided (8.4\%), Accept another alternative (3.9\%), |  |
|  | Reject all (3.3\%), The question is too unclear to an- |  |
|  | swer (2.6\%), Reject one or two, undecided between oth- |  |
|  | ers (2.3\%), Skip (2.3\%) |  |
| Representationalism | $31.5 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (21.2\%), Accept (10.3\%) |
| Qualia theory | $12.2 \pm 0.7 \%$ | Lean toward (9.0\%), Accept (3.2\%) |
| Disjunctivism | $11.0 \pm 0.7 \%$ | Lean toward $(7.4 \%)$, Accept $(3.5 \%)$ |
| Sense-datum theory | $3.1 \pm 0.4 \%$ | Lean toward $(1.8 \%)$, Accept $(1.3 \%)$ |

Personal identity: biological view, psychological view, or further-fact view?

| Other | $37.3 \pm 1.3 \%$ | Agnostic/undecided (8.5\%), Insufficiently familiar with the is- |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | sue (6.2\%), There is no fact of the matter (4.2\%), Accept more |  |
|  | than one (4.0\%), Accept another alternative (3.9\%), The ques- |  |
|  | tion is too unclear to answer (2.8\%), Accept an intermediate |  |
|  | view (2.7\%), Reject all (2.6\%) |  |
| Psychological view | $33.6 \pm 1.2 \%$ | Lean toward (22.7\%), Accept (11.0\%) |
| Biological view | $16.9 \pm 0.9 \%$ | Lean toward (11.3\%), Accept (5.6\%) |
| Further-fact view | $12.2 \pm 0.7 \%$ | Lean toward (7.8\%), Accept (4.4\%) |

Politics: communitarianism, egalitarianism, or libertarianism?


Trolley problem: switch or don't switch?


## Appendix 2: Details of principal component analysis and

 factor analysis

Figure 6: Parallel Analysis Scree Plots

| SS Loadings: | 2.53 | 2.21 | 2.04 | 1.84 | 1.56 | 1.39 | 1.38 |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Proportion Variance: | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Cumulative Variance: | 0.08 | 0.16 | 0.23 | 0.29 | 0.34 | 0.39 | 0.43 |

Table 16: SS Loadings and variance explained by extracted principal components

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ In non-binary cases, these options were added: "Accept more than one," "Reject one, undecided between others."

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ http://philpapers.org/surveys

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ http://philpapers.org/surveys

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ http://philpapers.org/surveys

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ The number of components to extract (seven) was determined by using a parallel analysis (Horn 1965). See Appendix 2 for details. The number of components this analysis suggests also yields the more interpretable results and the simplest loading matrix.
    ${ }^{6}$ Minimum residuals, weighted least squares, weighted least squares, principal axis factoring, and maximum likelihood.

