

A Fossil-Free Union

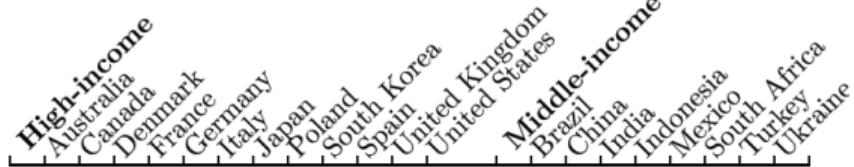
Adrien Fabre (CNRS, CIRED)

June 2024

Global survey: Global policies are strongly supported.

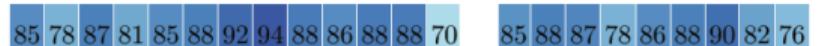
Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-*indifferent*.

► Absolute ► National

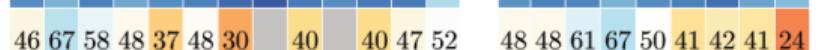


Level at which climate policies are needed (Multiple choice question)

Global



Federal/Continental



State/National

Local

Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

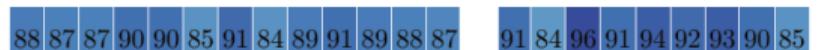
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares



Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries

Burden sharing preferences for the global carbon budget (5-Likert)

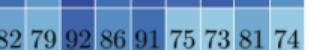
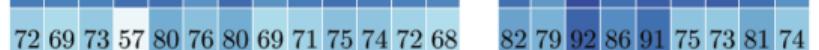
Emission share should be in proportion to population*



Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share*

Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share*

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions



A Global Climate Scheme

- ① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.
A steadily increasing carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂ to ensure decarbonization incentives.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂ to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the **benchmark** to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the **benchmark** to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A price of \$90/tCO₂ could finance a cash transfer of $\approx \$30$ per month (in nominal) for each human above 15 and lift out of extreme poverty the 700 million people with less than \$2.15 a day (in PPP).

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A price of \$90/tCO₂ could finance a cash transfer of ≈\$30 per month (in nominal) for each human above 15 and lift out of extreme poverty the 700 million people with less than \$2.15 a day (in PPP).

③ A climate union led by the Global South.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A price of \$90/tCO₂ could finance a cash transfer of $\approx \$30$ per month (in nominal) for each human above 15 and lift out of extreme poverty the 700 million people with less than \$2.15 a day (in PPP).

③ A climate union led by the Global South.

The first signatories could be China, the African Union, Brazil, and Mexico.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A price of \$90/tCO₂ could finance a cash transfer of ≈\$30 per month (in nominal) for each human above 15 and lift out of extreme poverty the 700 million people with less than \$2.15 a day (in PPP).

③ A climate union led by the Global South.

The first signatories could be China, the African Union, Brazil, and Mexico.

Provisions to accommodate subnational entities (like California) into the club.

A Global Climate Scheme

① A cap on emissions to meet the Paris target.

A carbon market, with emissions permits auctioned to fossil fuel companies at the international level.

A steadily increasing **carbon price floor starting at \$5/tCO₂** to ensure decarbonization incentives.

② Revenues allocated on a per capita basis (with some adjustments).

Benchmark carbon budget for a country given by **equal rights per capita** (using 2030 population).

Departures from the benchmark to account for peculiar needs and contexts:

Adjusted carbon budget for countries with **higher needs** or ambition:

China and **the EU** are **granted allowances corresponding to their decarbonization pathways**.

Given its carbon budget, a country's allowance trajectory is tailored to its emission needs overtime and converges to zero in 2080 at the latest.

A price of \$90/tCO₂ could finance a cash transfer of ≈\$30 per month (in nominal) for each human above 15 and lift out of extreme poverty the 700 million people with less than \$2.15 a day (in PPP).

③ A climate union led by the Global South.

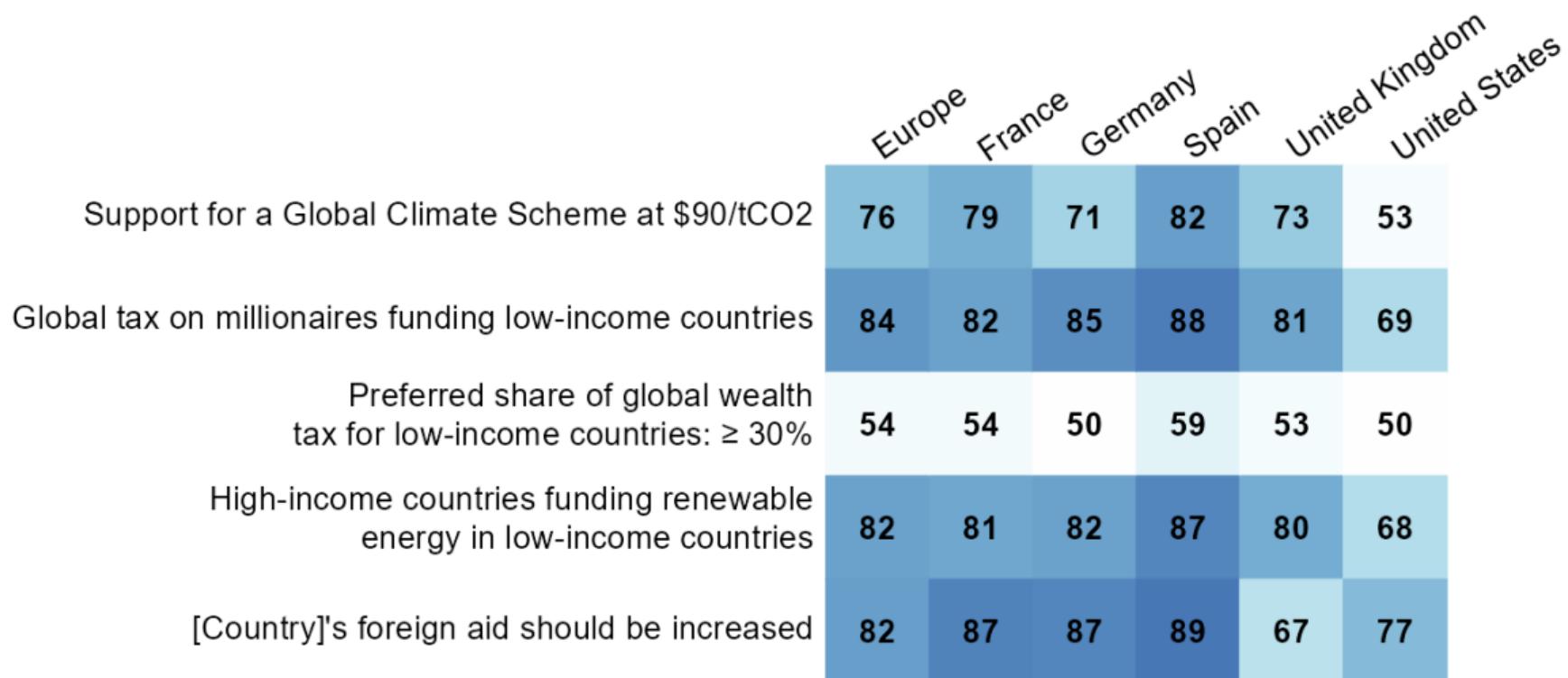
The first signatories could be China, the African Union, Brazil, and Mexico.

Provisions to accommodate subnational entities (like California) into the club.

A carbon border adjustment would prevent carbon leakage.

Strong support for global climate and redistribution policies

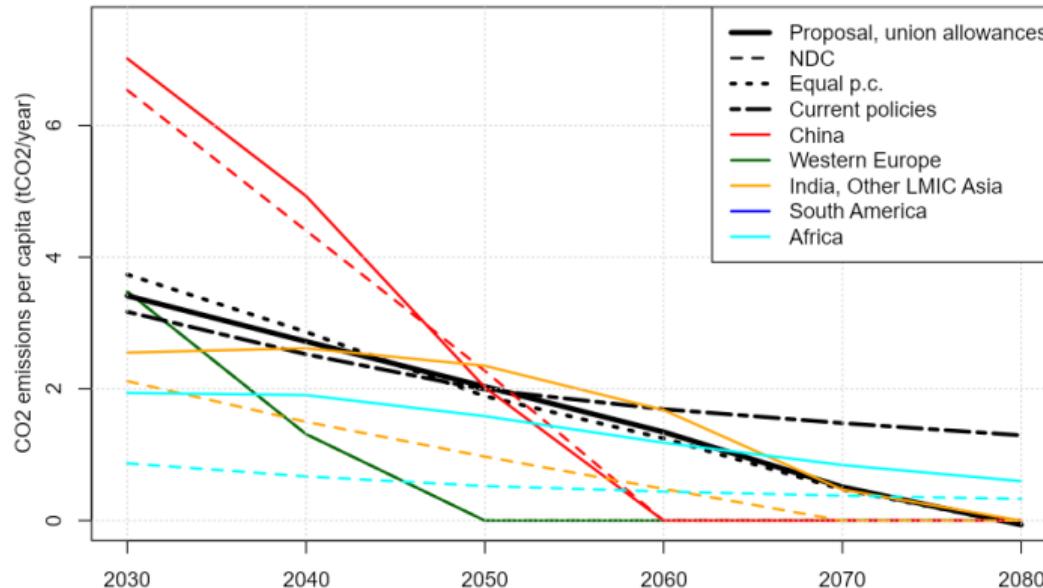
Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-*indifferent*.



The proposed allocation of emissions allowances

Table 1: Carbon budget over 2030–2080 for a 1.8°C trajectory (in GtCO₂)

	Africa	China	Latin America	India	Europe	Other Asia	Union	World
Equal p.c.	144	134	62	135	49	128	653	754
Proposal	144	154	62	135	23	128	647	748



Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

As allowances roughly correspond to the union's emissions needs, the **carbon price would be low**.

Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

As allowances roughly correspond to the union's emissions needs, the **carbon price would be low**.

China and the EU risk missing their targets (especially the EU). The union would **guarantee** that they **meet their target** by purchasing allowances at a low cost to the rest of the world.

Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

As allowances roughly correspond to the union's emissions needs, the **carbon price would be low**.

China and the EU risk missing their targets (especially the EU). The union would **guarantee** that they **meet their target** by purchasing allowances at a low cost to the rest of the world.

China would find a market for its low carbon products.

Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

As allowances roughly correspond to the union's emissions needs, the **carbon price would be low**.

China and the EU risk missing their targets (especially the EU). The union would **guarantee** that they **meet their target** by purchasing allowances at a low cost to the rest of the world.

China would find a market for its low carbon products.

LICs (in particular in **Africa**) **would obtain sizable transfers** by selling allowances.

Most countries would find an interest in joining the union

Emission allowances exceed Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and long-term targets.

As allowances roughly correspond to the union's emissions needs, the **carbon price would be low**.

China and the EU risk missing their targets (especially the EU). The union would **guarantee** that they **meet their target** by purchasing allowances at a low cost to the rest of the world.

China would find a market for its low carbon products.

LICs (in particular in **Africa**) **would obtain sizable transfers** by selling allowances.

Middle-income countries (India, Brazil, Indonesia) would **get allowances in line with their needs**, encouraging them to decarbonize with the **guarantee that the rest of the world also decarbonizes**.

Key characteristics of this Plan

Take stock that **universal agreement is out of reach**: move on with potential partners.

Key characteristics of this Plan

Take stock that **universal agreement is out of reach**: move on with potential partners.

Guarantee decarbonization in union countries with a cap enforced directly on firms using an ETS.

Key characteristics of this Plan

Take stock that **universal agreement is out of reach**: move on with potential partners.

Guarantee decarbonization in union countries with a cap enforced directly on firms using an ETS.

Embrace the consensus on **equal per capita shares** to **negotiate a common** price or quantity **target**.

Key characteristics of this Plan

Take stock that **universal agreement is out of reach**: move on with potential partners.

Guarantee decarbonization in union countries with a cap enforced directly on firms using an ETS.

Embrace the consensus on **equal per capita shares** to **negotiate a common** price or quantity **target**.

Break the deadlock of international negotiations by granting **resources to low-income countries**.

What do you think?

2-page policy note on: bit.ly/fossil_free_union

@adrien_fabre

Implementation

Need to monitor, report and verify emissions of industrial units.

Challenging to avoid fraud in countries lacking institutional capacity, but same for any climate policy.

The GCP would provide resources and assistance from experienced countries.

Distributing a global basic income is challenging: need to reach everyone and avoid fraud.

Most countries maintain electoral lists and already have social programs for isolated people.

Smartphones can provide biometric identification and means of transaction.

Satellite internet access might soon become cheap and ubiquitous (Hanson 2016).

Details

Ideal timeline: negotiation, consultations up to 2030, phase-in between 2030 and 2035.

Scope: ideally, all CO₂. Initially, CO₂ from fossil fuels and cement production in large industrial units, including shipping and aviation.

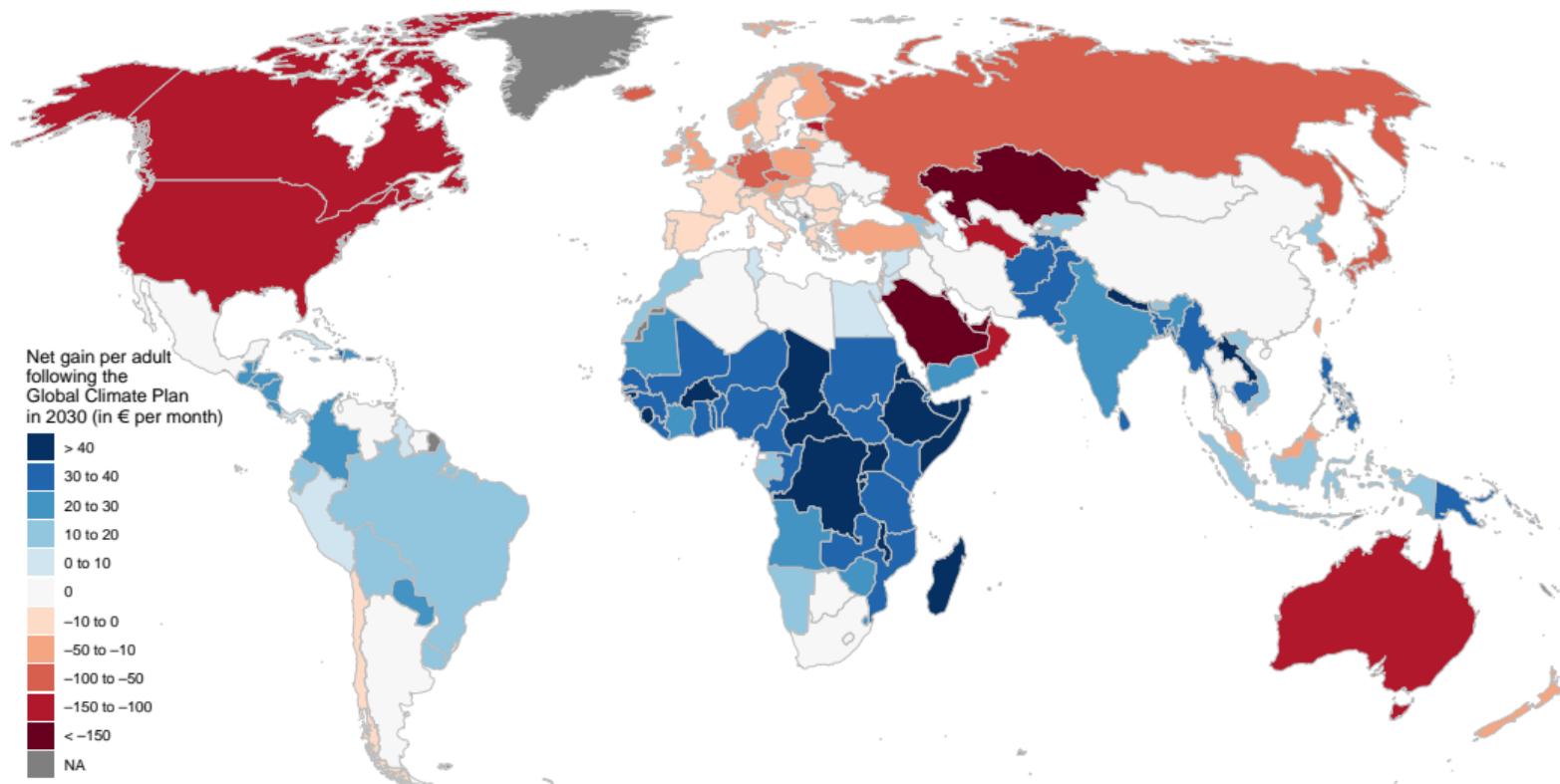
Framework: defines the scope, use of revenues, rules of governance, and [carbon budget](#) (e.g. 500 GtCO₂ ≈ < +1.5°C with 50% chance).

Governance: the governing body would choose the yearly emissions quota, the market design, and possible sanctions against non-participating or non-complying entities.

Market design: Carbon offsets should not be allowed. Borrowing and banking emissions permits should be limited.

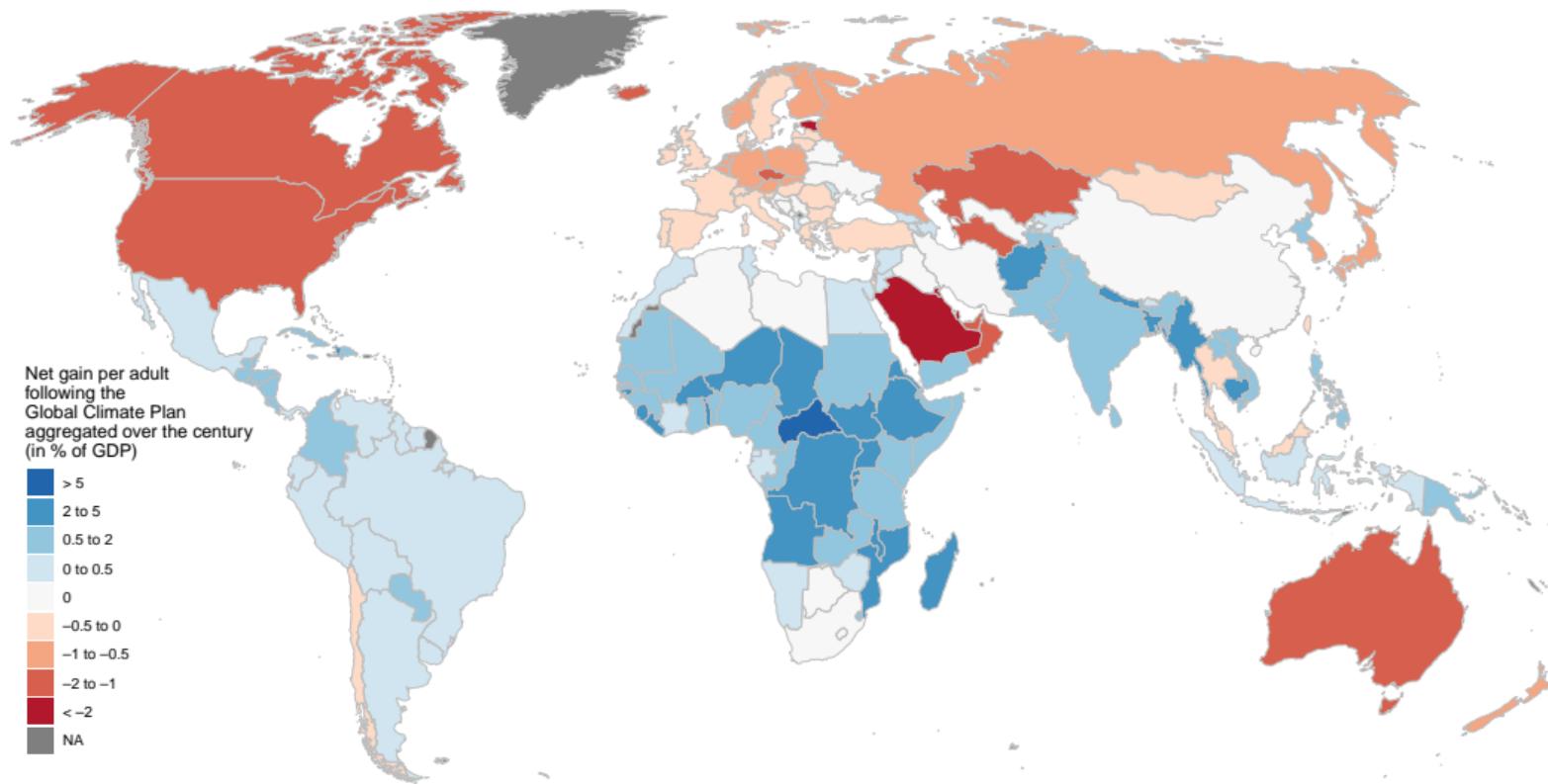
The distributive effects

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030. [► More maps](#)



The distributive effects

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century. [► More maps](#)



Scenarios with non-universal participation

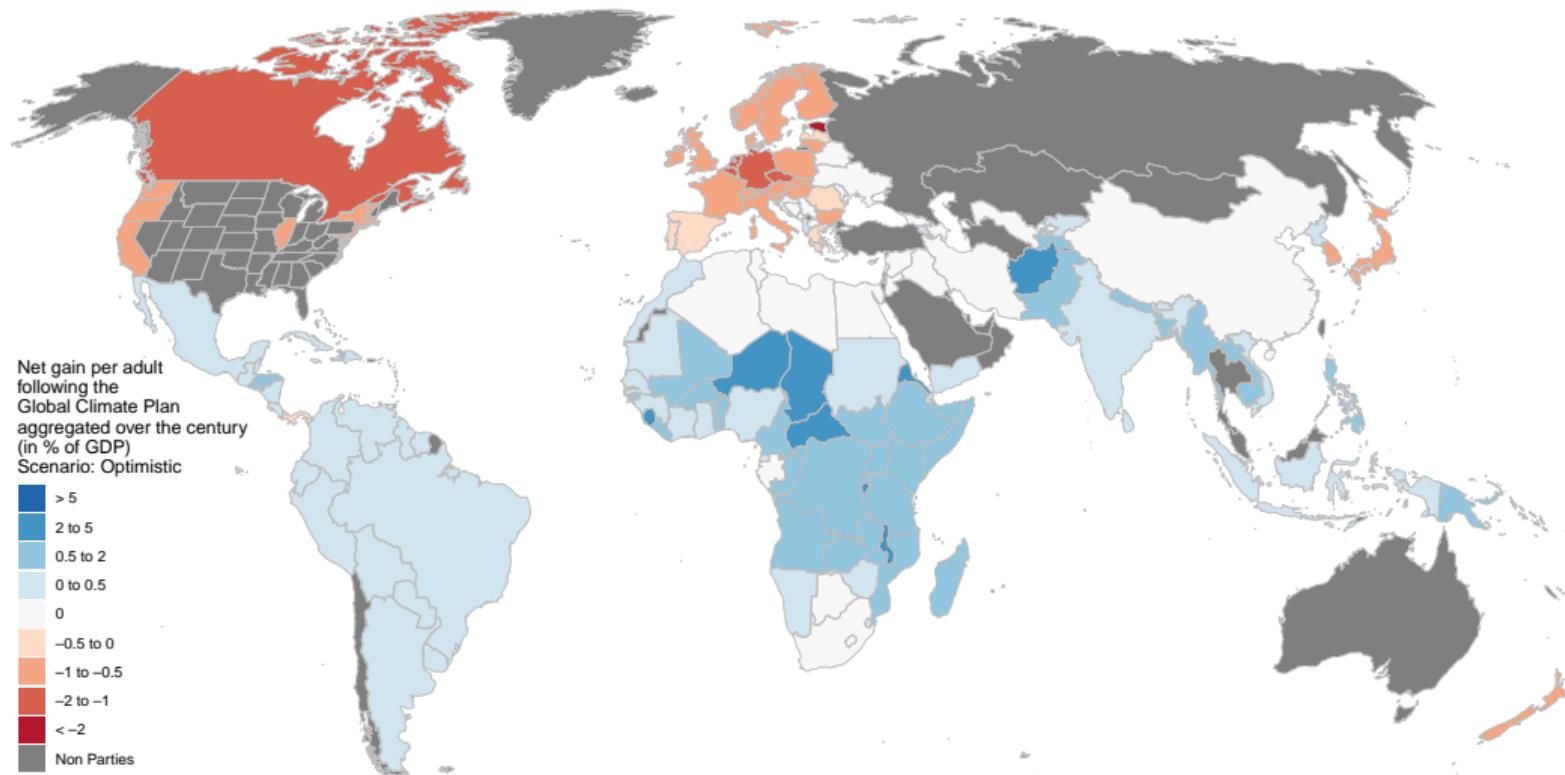
Table 2: Main features of different scenarios of climate union.

Union scenario	Emissions covered	Population covered	Basic income in 2040 (€/month)	EU loss in 2040 (share of its GDP)	Temperature increase in 2100 (in °C)
All countries	100%	100%	44	0.6%	1.8
All but OPEC	90%	97%	39	0.6%	1.9
Optimistic	74%	91%	28	0.8%	2.0
Central	67%	88%	23	0.9%	2.0
Prudent	63%	85%	20	0.9%	2.1
Africa EU	12%	23%	26	0.8%	2.5

Scenarios with non-universal participation

Optimistic scenario.

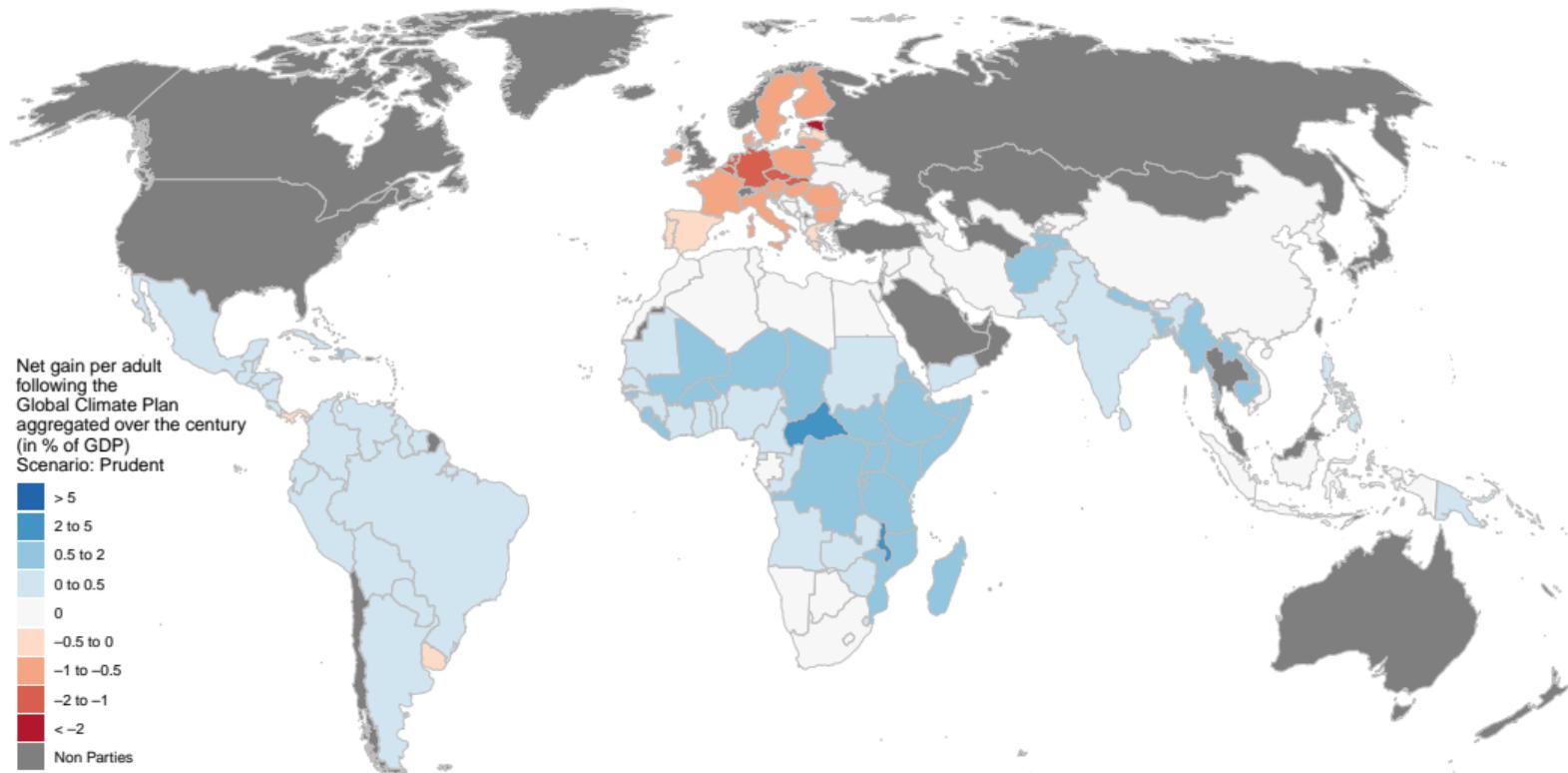
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century.



Scenarios with non-universal participation

Prudent scenario.

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century.



Appendix

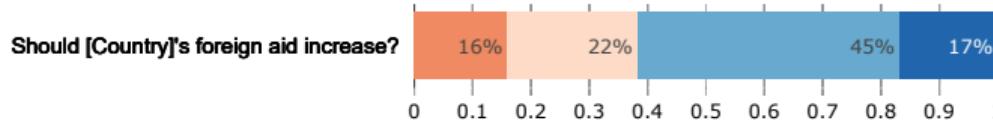
Additional results

Conditions for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

[Info on actual amount]. Do you support [the U.S.] transferring more money to low-income countries?

■ No, should be reduced ■ No, should remain stable ■ Yes, but at some conditions ■ Yes, should be increased

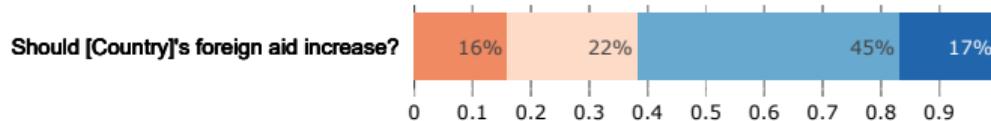


Conditions for increased foreign aid

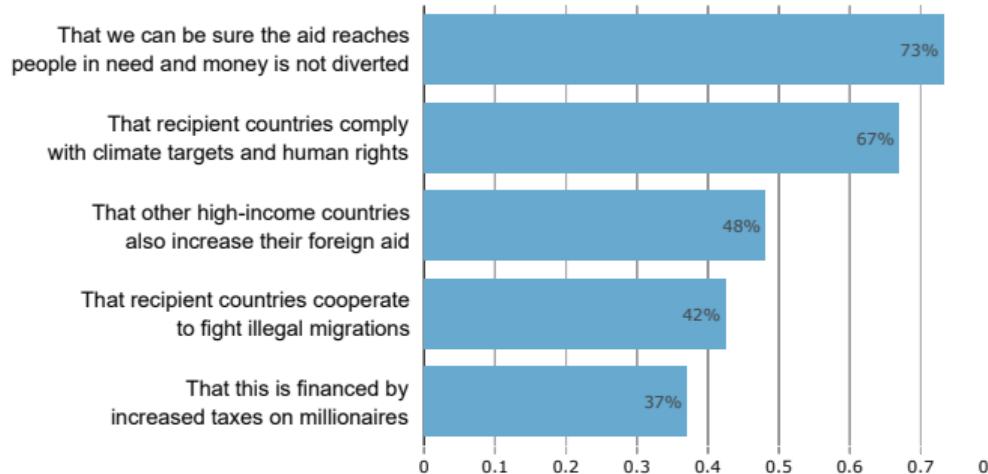
[» Go back](#)

[Info on actual amount]. Do you support [the U.S.] transferring more money to low-income countries?

■ No, should be reduced ■ No, should remain stable ■ Yes, but at some conditions ■ Yes, should be increased



[If *at some conditions*] What conditions should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid?

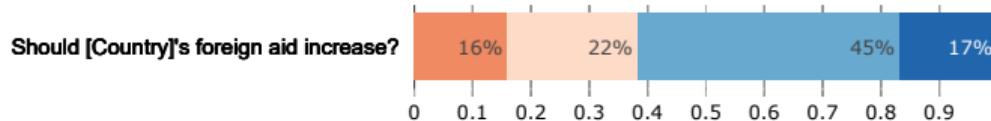


Conditions for increased foreign aid

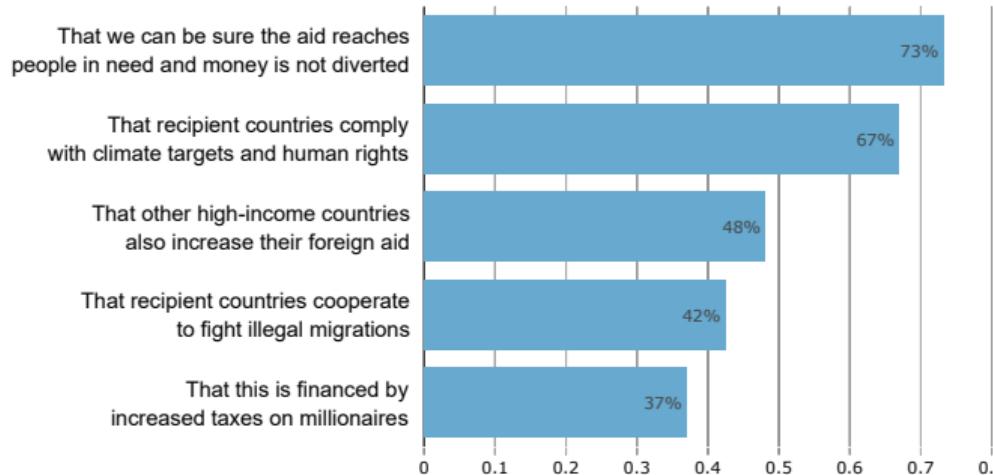
[» Go back](#)

[Info on actual amount]. Do you support [the U.S.] transferring more money to low-income countries?

■ No, should be reduced ■ No, should remain stable ■ Yes, but at some conditions ■ Yes, should be increased



[If *at some conditions*] What conditions should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid?



People want to help people (not oligarchs) and to foster climate action and human rights.

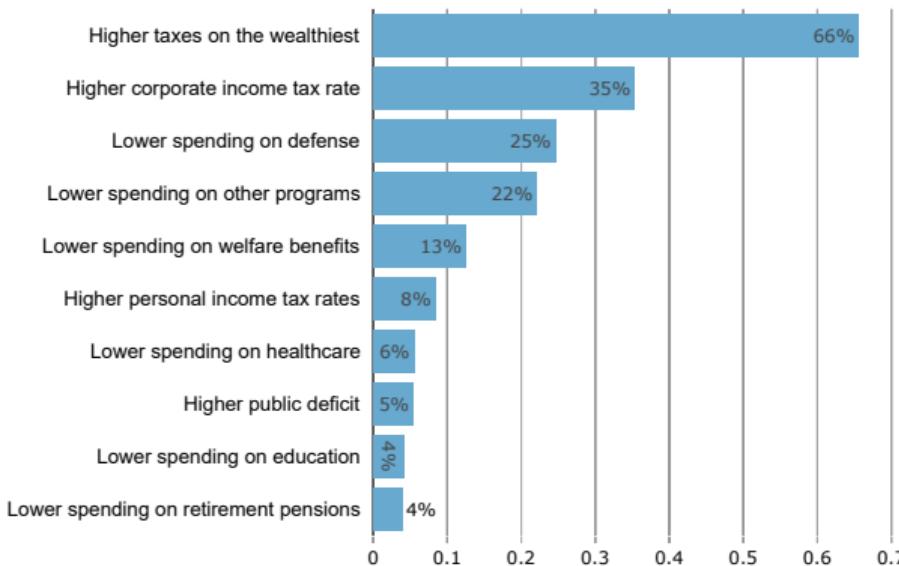
National preference is the main reason behind not wanting increased foreign aid.

Preferences over public spending

[» Go back](#)

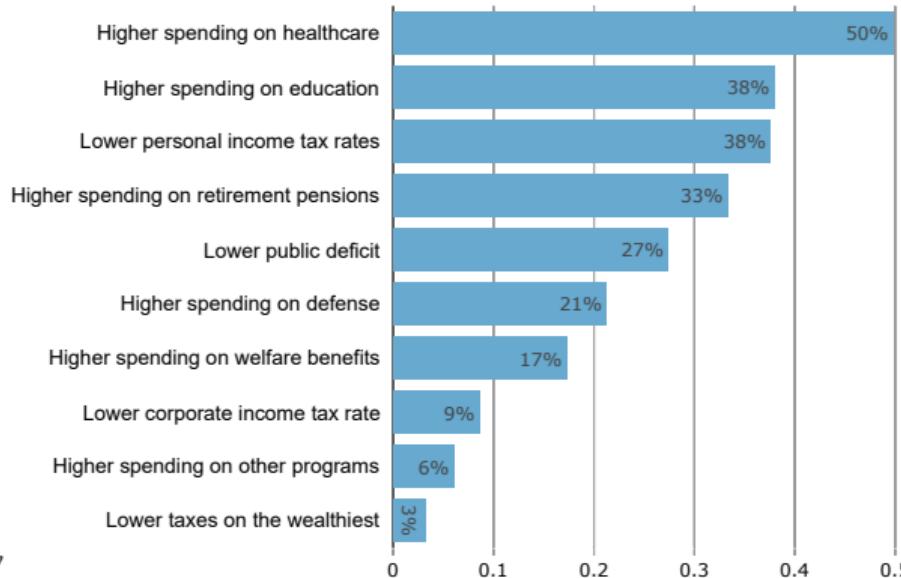
Your previous answer shows that you would like to increase [UK] foreign aid.

How would you like to finance such increase in foreign aid? (Multiple answers possible)



Your previous answer shows that you would like to reduce [UK] foreign aid.

How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible)



People want better public services and higher taxes on the wealthiest.

Support for increased foreign aid

[► Go back](#)

Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid, with random info (or not) on actual amount. (*Mean*)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending)	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.7
Belief about foreign aid	4.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.5
Preferred foreign aid (with info)	1.8	2.7	3.4	2.9	2.1	2.5
Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4

Support for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid, with random info (or not) on actual amount. (*Mean*)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending)	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.7
Belief about foreign aid	4.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.5
Preferred foreign aid (with info)	1.8	2.7	3.4	2.9	2.1	2.5
Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4

Support for increased foreign aid: from previous question, and directly asked (with info).

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Preferred foreign aid is at least as high as current	70	75	91	76	77	57
Preferred foreign aid is at least as high as perceived	57	74	83	79	77	58
Supports increasing foreign aid (incl. with conditions)	60	64	63	68	69	56

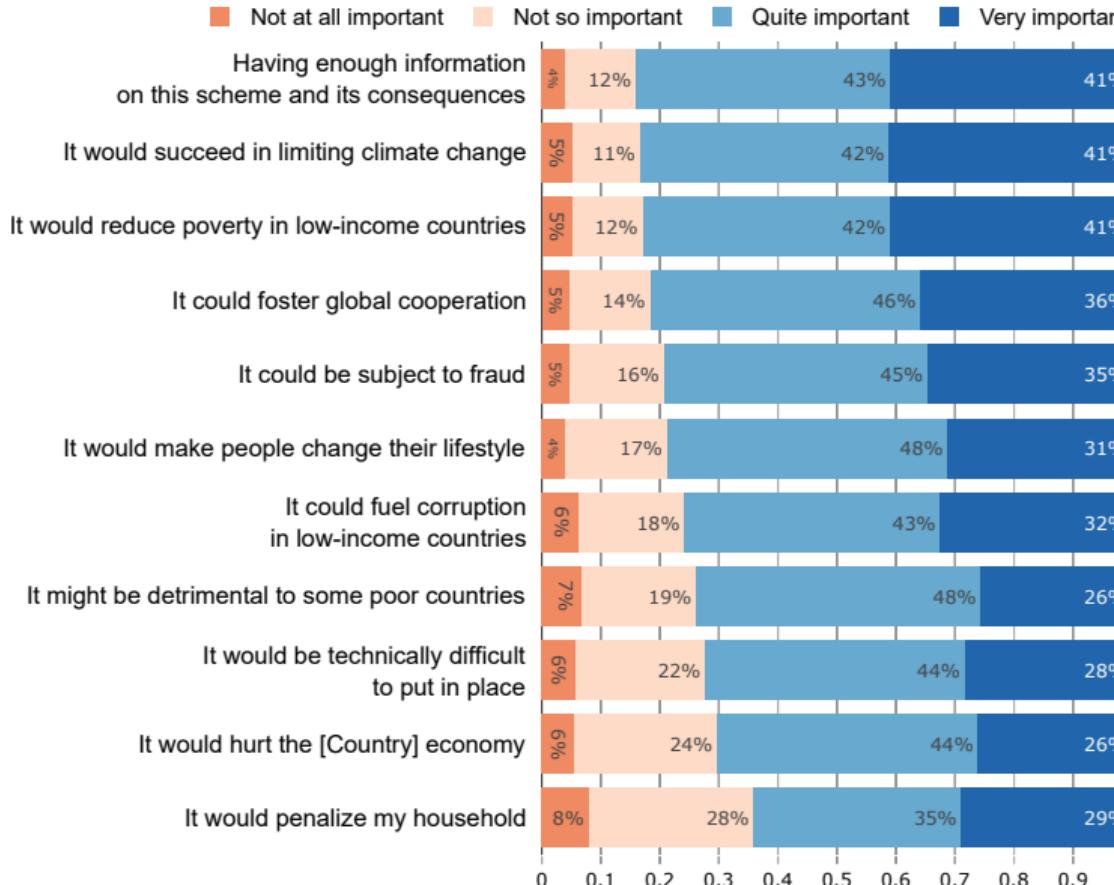
Actual foreign aid is overestimated.

Majorities support more foreign aid.

Perceptions of the Global Climate Scheme

[Go back](#)

When determining your support or opposition to the Global climate scheme, which points are important to you?



Conjoint analyses: interaction with other policies [» Go back](#)

National climate policy (C) is as supported as the GCS, but no substitute for it.

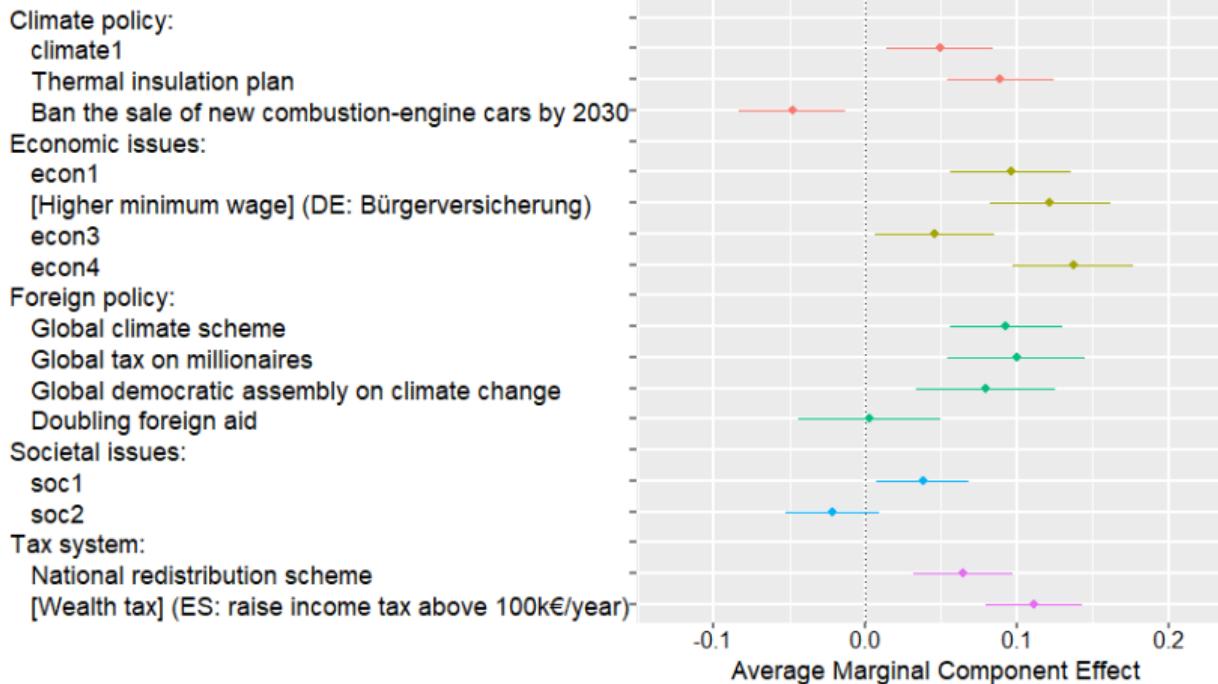
Support for the GCS does not increase when complemented by National Redistribution.

⇒ Confirms that the **monetary loss is not a primary concern** for one's attitude toward the GCS.
Among the two following bundles of policies, which one would you prefer?

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Global climate scheme (GCS)	54	76	80	71	81	74
NR+GCS preferred to NR	55	77	79	74	79	77
C+NR+GCS preferred to C+NR	55	74	79	71	78	68
NR+C preferred to NR	62	84	88	83	84	82
GCS+NR preferred to C+NR	47	52	53	53	49	52

Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Eu) [» Go back](#)

(...) Even if you do not support the Left, which of these platforms do you prefer?



Europeans prefer platforms that include the GCS and without the ban on thermal cars (a planned policy).

Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (France) [▶ Go back](#)

France shows that there can be a mismatch between preferred policies (insulation plan, public services, global tax, GCS) and enacted policies (higher retirement age and ban on thermal cars: the least preferred).

Imaginez que la gauche ou le centre gauche gagne les prochaines élections en 2027. Voici deux programmes possibles sur lesquels elle pourrait faire campagne (...), lequel de ces programmes préférez-vous ?

Climat:

- Interdiction des véhicules les plus polluants dans les centres-villes (ZFE)
- Plan pour l'isolation thermique
- Interdiction de la vente de voitures thermiques neuves d'ici 2030

Économie:

- Versement du RSA aux 18-25 ans sans emploi
- SMIC à 1600€ net par mois
- Recul de l'âge légal de départ à la retraite à 65 ans
- Hausse de 20% du financement de l'hôpital public et de l'Éducation nationale

Politique étrangère:

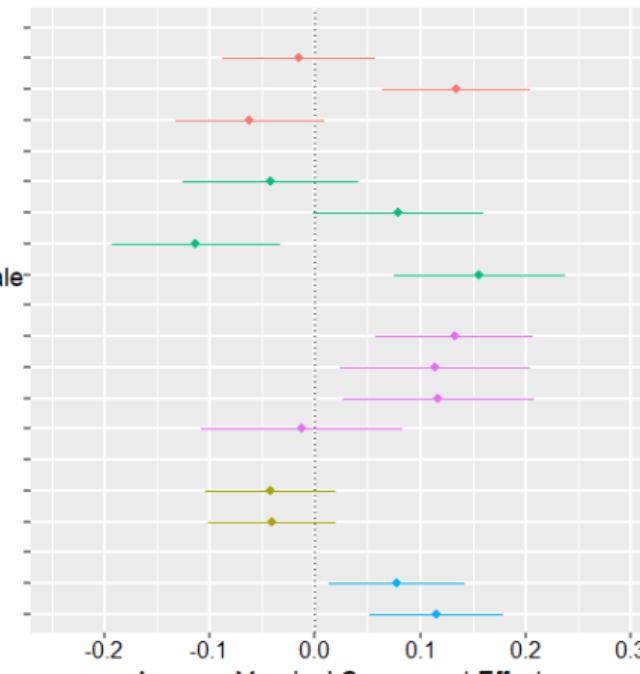
- Plan mondial pour le climat
- Taxe mondiale sur les millionnaires
- Assemblée démocratique mondiale sur le changement climatique
- Doubler l'aide au développement des pays à faibles revenus

Démocratie:

- Élection des députés à la proportionnelle
- Référendum d'Initiative Citoyenne (RIC)

Fiscalité:

- Plan de redistribution nationale
- Rétablissement de l'impôt sur la fortune (ISF)



Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (U.S.)

[Go back](#)

Endorsing the GCS is not determinant to gain the Democratic primary.

[Only on non-Republican] Imagine that at the 2024 Democratic party presidential primaries, the two main candidates campaign with the following key policies in their platforms.

Which of these candidates do you prefer?

Climate policy:

- Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030
- Coal exit
- Trillion dollar investment in clean transportation infrastructure and building insulation

Economic issues:

- \$15 minimum wage
- Funding affordable housing
- Student loan forgiveness
- Universal childcare/pre-K

Foreign policy:

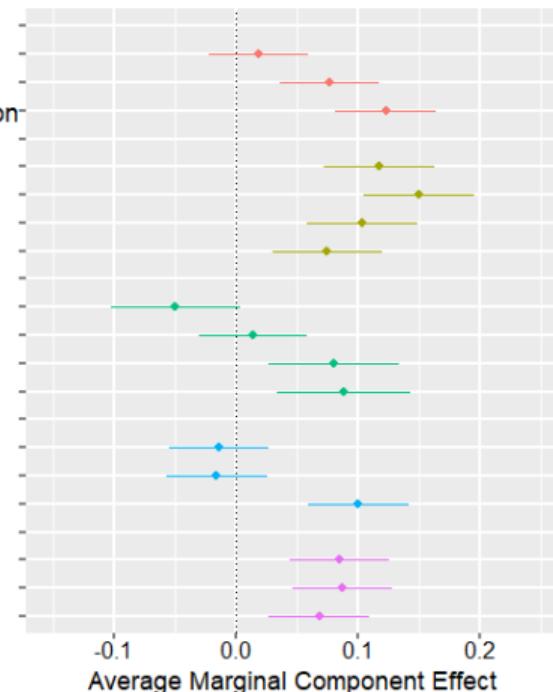
- Doubling foreign aid
- Global climate scheme
- Global democratic assembly on climate change
- Global tax on millionaires

Societal issues:

- Expanding the Supreme Court
- Handgun ban
- Making abortion a right at the federal level

Tax system:

- Increase corporate income tax rate from 21% to 28%
- National redistribution scheme
- Wealth tax



Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Germany)

[Go back](#)

Endorsing the GCS is not determinant to gain the Democratic primary.

Imagine that a Rot-Rot-Grüne coalition wins the next elections. Here are two possible platforms on which the coalition may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible left-wing policies).

(...) Even if you do not support the Left, which of these platforms do you prefer?

Klimaschutz:

- Verpflichtende Solaranlagen auf allen geeigneten Dächern
- Plan zur Wärmedämmung
- Verbot des Verkaufs von Neuwagen mit Verbrennungsmotor bis 2030

Wirtschaftspolitik:

- Erhöhung des Regelsatzes des Bürgergelds auf bis zu 600€ pro Monat
- Bürgerversicherung als gerechtere Sozialversicherung
- Staatschuldenquote auf unter 60% reduzieren
- Investitionen für Gigabit-Netzwerke bereitstellen

Außenpolitik:

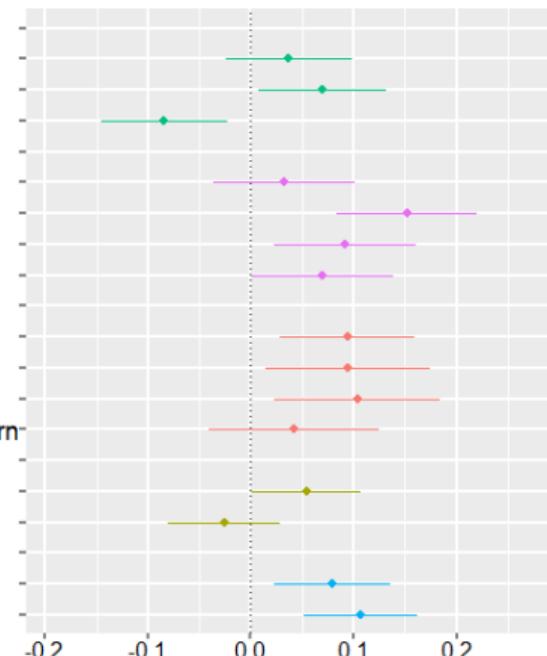
- Globales Klimaprogramm
- Globale Steuer auf Millionäre
- Globale demokratische Versammlung zum Klimawandel
- Verdoppelung der Mittel für die Entwicklungshilfe in einkommensschwachen Ländern

Gesellschaft:

- Volksentscheid auf Bundesebene
- Cannabis-Legalisierung

Steuerpolitik:

- Nationales Umverteilungsprogramm
- Die Vermögenssteuer wieder in Kraft setzen



Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Spain) [► Go back](#)

Endorsing the GCS is not determinant to gain the Democratic primary.

Imagine that the PSOE wins the next elections. Here are two possible platforms on which it may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible PSOE policies).

(...) Even if you do not support the PSOE, which of these platforms do you prefer?

Política climática:

100% de electricidad producida con energías renovables en 2040

Plan de aislamiento térmico

Prohibir la venta de coches nuevos con motor de combustión para 2030

Asuntos económicos:

Más necesidades sanitarias dentro del sistema público (cuidado dental, gafas, salud mental)

Ingreso Básico Garantizado de 600€ al mes

Jornada laboral de 34 horas semanales

Inversión en el sistema educativo y universalización de la educación preescolar

Política exterior:

Plan climático global

Impuesto mundial a los millonarios

Asamblea democrática mundial sobre el cambio climático

Duplicar la ayuda exterior a los países de renta baja

Asuntos sociales:

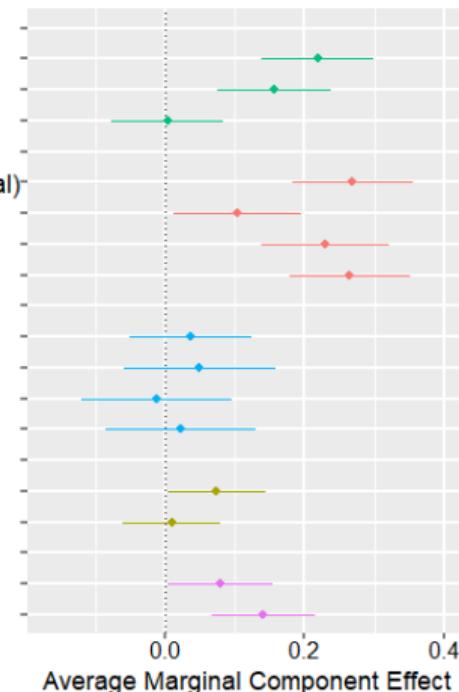
Reformar la ley electoral para hacer el Senado más proporcional

Abolición de la prostitución

Sistema fiscal:

Plan de redistribución nacional

Aumentar los impuestos sobre las rentas superiores a 100.000 euros anuales



“you have 100 points that you can allocate to different policies. The more you give points to a policy, the more you support it.

How do you allocate the points among the following policies?”

[6 policies taken at random]

GCS is as prioritized as the average policy, or even more in France and Germany.

It is more prioritized than some planned climate policies, like the ban on thermal cars.

The global tax on millionaires is among the most prioritized measures.

It is prioritized as a national wealth tax, if not more.

Prioritization [» Go back](#)

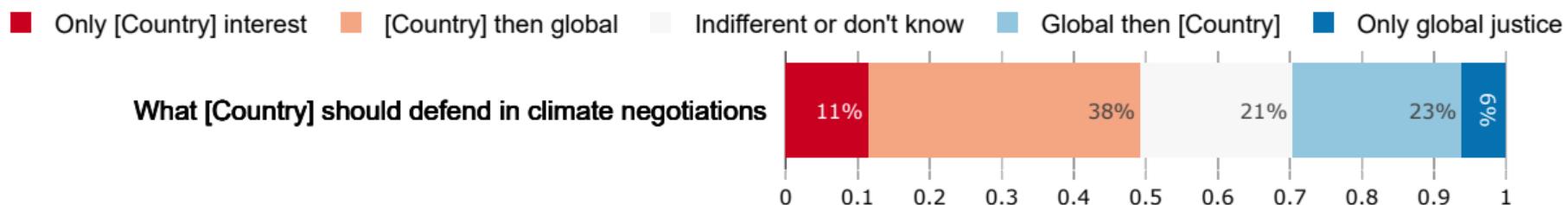
Mean number of points

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
econ1	13	21	10	14	35	31
econ2: [Higher minimum wage] (DE: Bürgerversicherung)	23	22	25	21	22	23
econ3	21	15	13	18	17	13
econ4	28	22	27	17	24	20
soc1	10	17	13	17	12	21
soc2	13	9	14	8	10	8
climate1	14	15	11	18	20	12
climate2: Thermal insulation plan (US: also transport)	20	18	22	19	15	17
climate3: Ban the sale of new combustion–engine cars by 2030	11	9	8	8	9	11
tax1: National redistribution scheme	14	15	16	15	15	15
tax2: Wealth tax (ES: raise tax on top incomes)	19	19	21	18	17	19
foreign1: Global climate scheme	15	20	20	23	16	17
foreign2: Global tax on millionaires	21	20	20	23	19	20

International climate negotiations

[» Go back](#)

In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend [U.S.] interests or global justice?

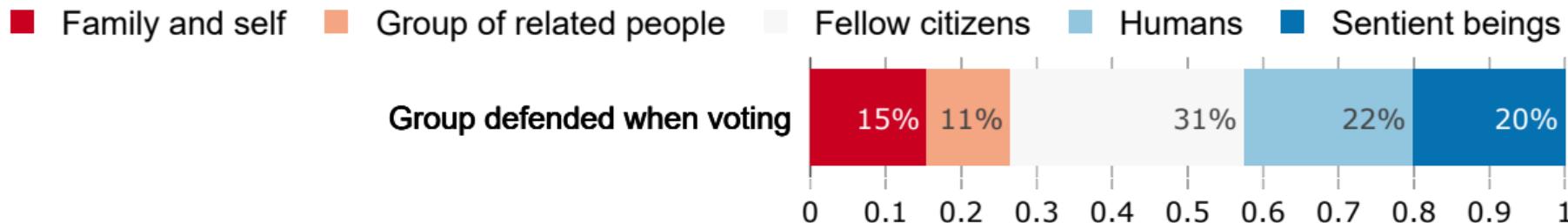


The typical answer is to defend one's country's “interests, to the extent it respects global justice.” Only one eighth wants to defend one's country's “interests, even if it goes against global justice.”

Group defended

[Go back](#)

What group do you defend when you vote?



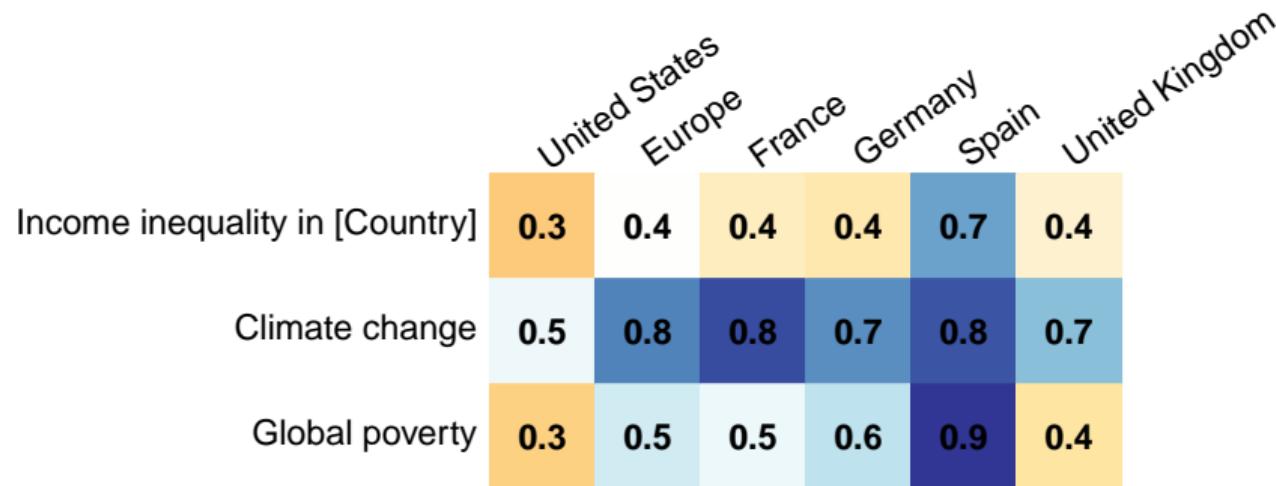
The most defended group is one's fellow citizens.

40% are universalist, i.e. defend all humans or sentient beings.

Biggest issues

[Go back](#)

To what extent do you think the following issues are a problem? *5-Likert scale*
(Mean of answers recoded in [-2, +2])

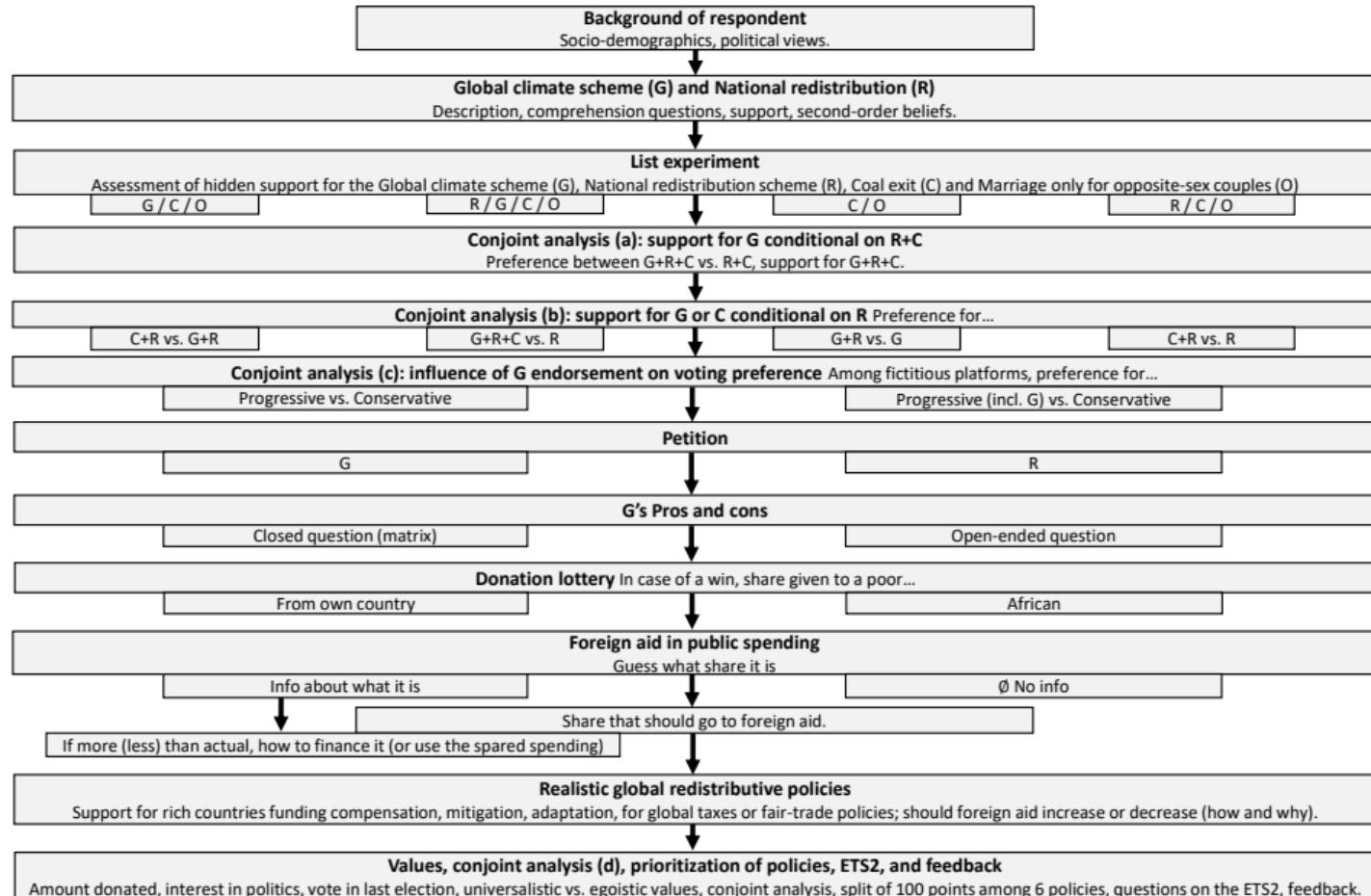


People rank these the importance of these 3 issues as follows:

1. Climate change
2. Global poverty
3. Income inequality in their country

Eu questionnaire

[Go back](#)



Descriptive statistics

Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

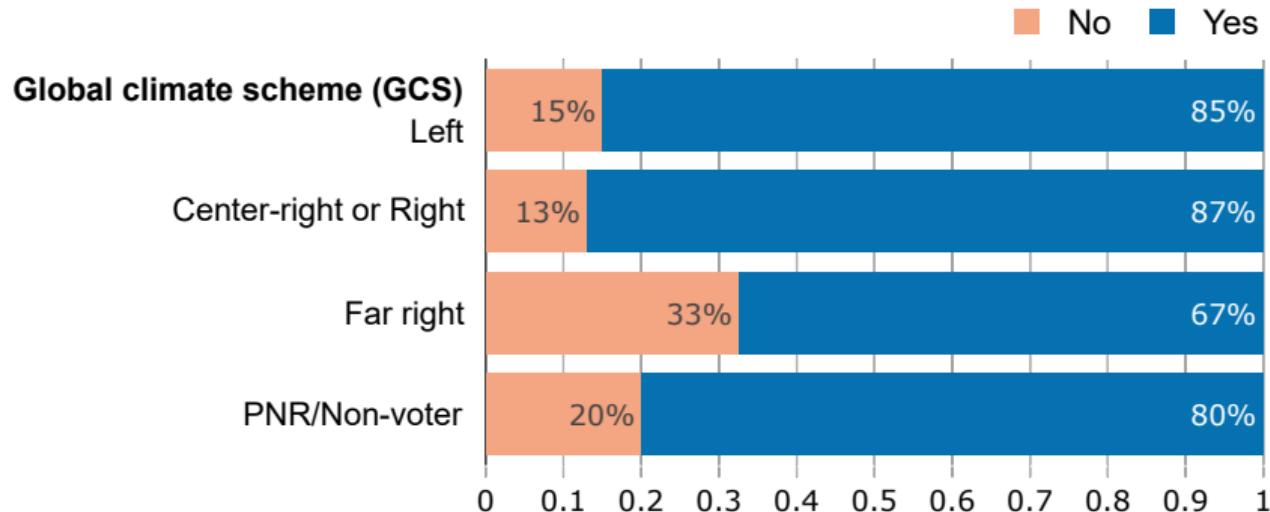
Main attitudes by vote (“Right” spans from Center-right to Far right). (Relative support in percent)

	Europe Left	Europe PNR/Non-voter	Europe Right	U.S. Left	U.S. PNR/Non-voter	U.S. Right
Support for the GCS	85	72	71	74	53	26
Global tax on millionaires	94	83	76	85	71	40
Sharing half of global tax with low-income countries	61	52	45	55	67	41
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion (US) / €100 million (Eu) for each human	73	65	52	62	49	23
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	93	79	74	87	70	38
[Country]'s foreign aid should be increased	93	83	72	92	81	48
Universalist	56	48	26	53	49	23

Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

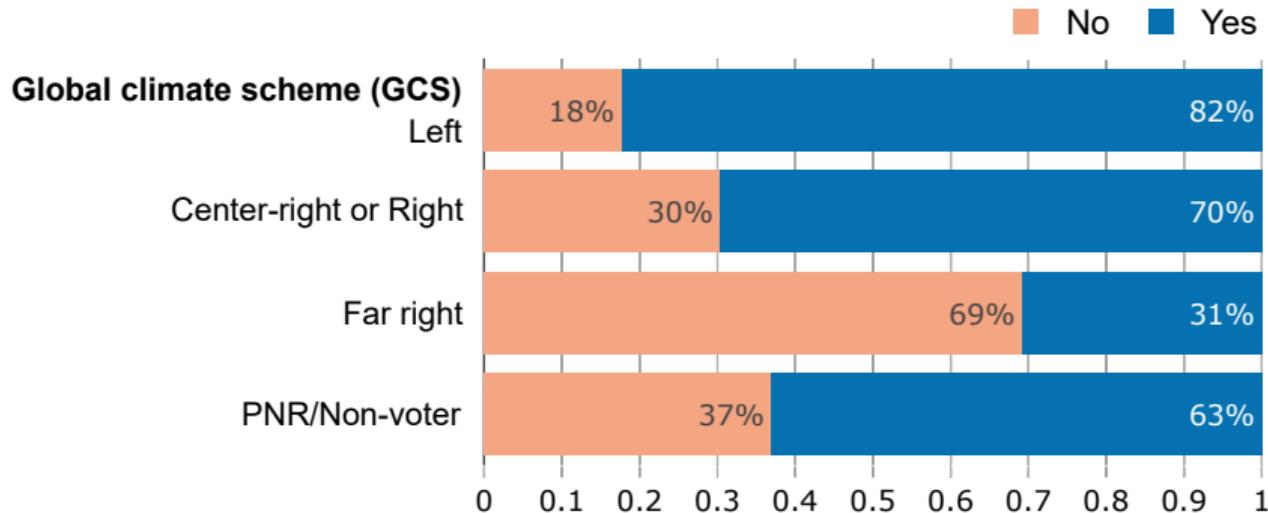
Main attitudes by vote in France



Main attitudes by vote

[» Go back](#)

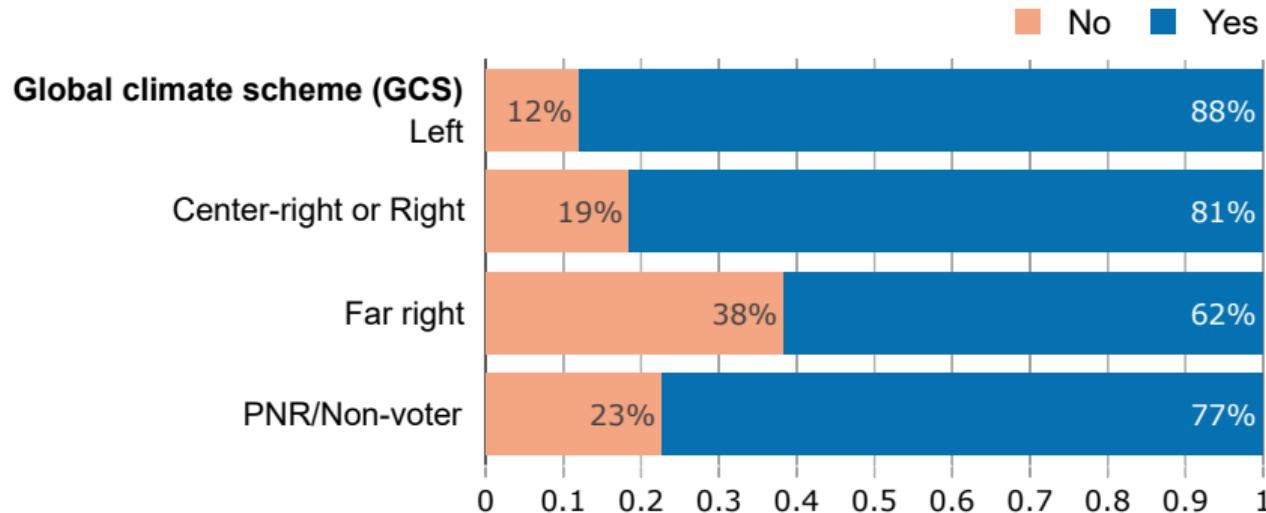
Main attitudes by vote in Germany



Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

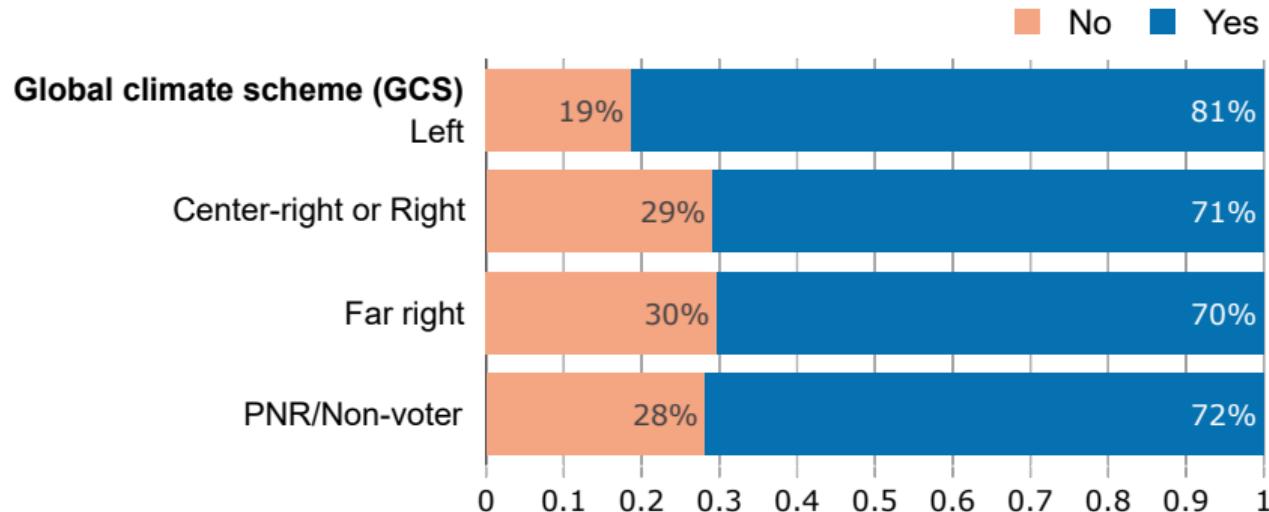
Main attitudes by vote in Spain



Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

Main attitudes by vote in the UK



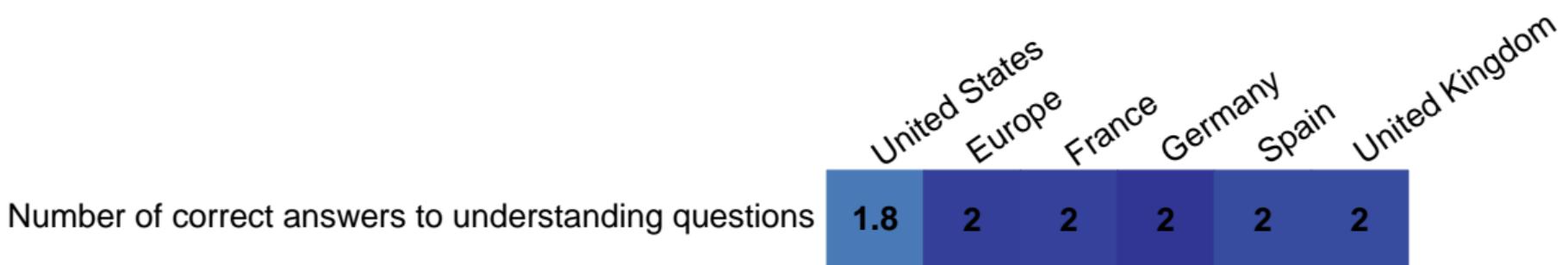
Comprehension of the policies

Correct answers to comprehension questions (in percent). [▶ Go back](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
With NR, typical [country] people win and richest lose	68	73	76	73	73	70
With GCS, typical [country] people lose and poorest humans win	60	68	62	72	67	67
With GCS+NR, typical [country] people neither win nor lose	54	60	63	59	57	61

Comprehension of the policies

Number of correct answers to comprehension questions (mean). [► Go back](#)



Number of correct answers to understanding questions

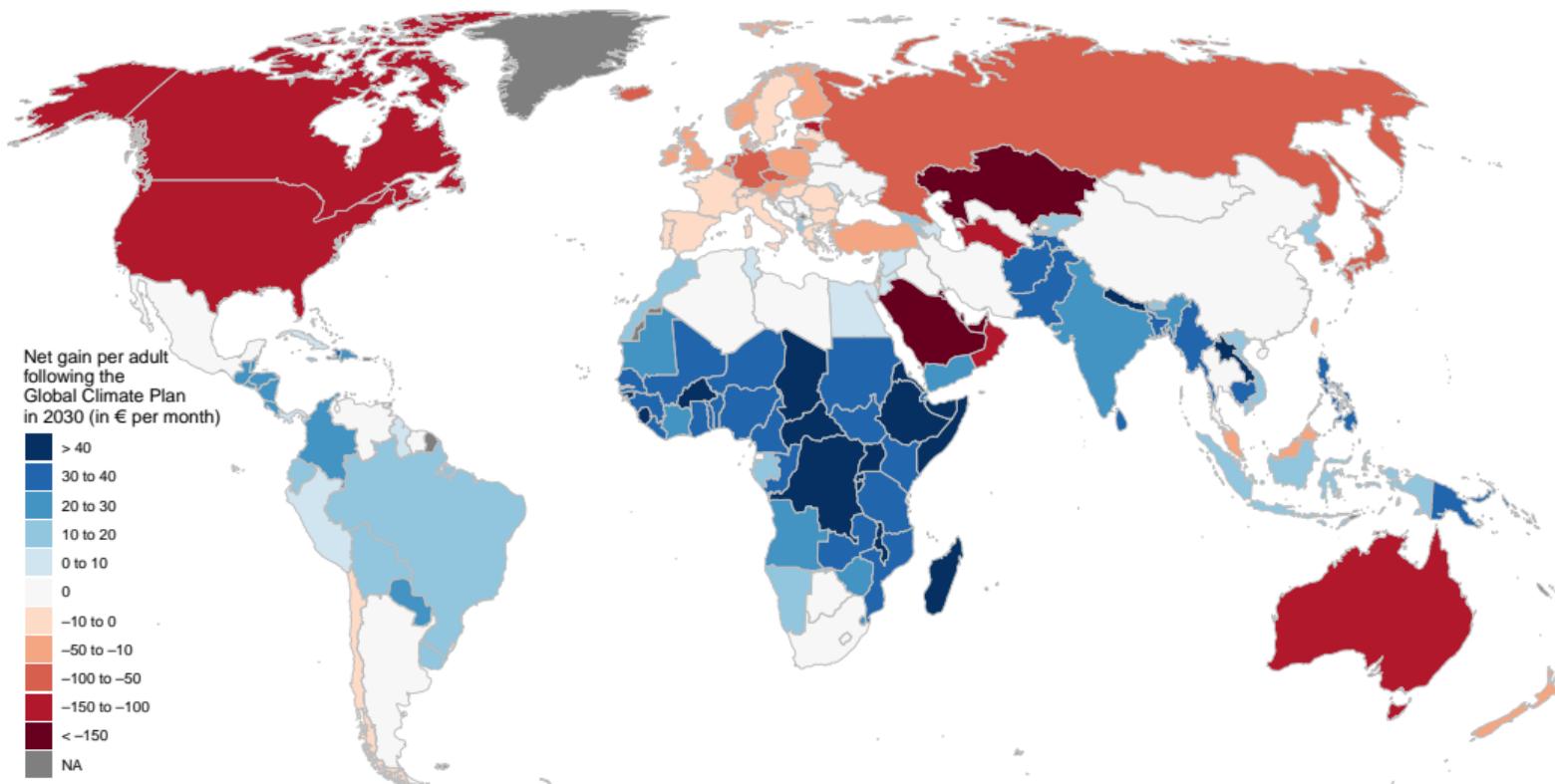
1.8 2 2 2 2 2

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

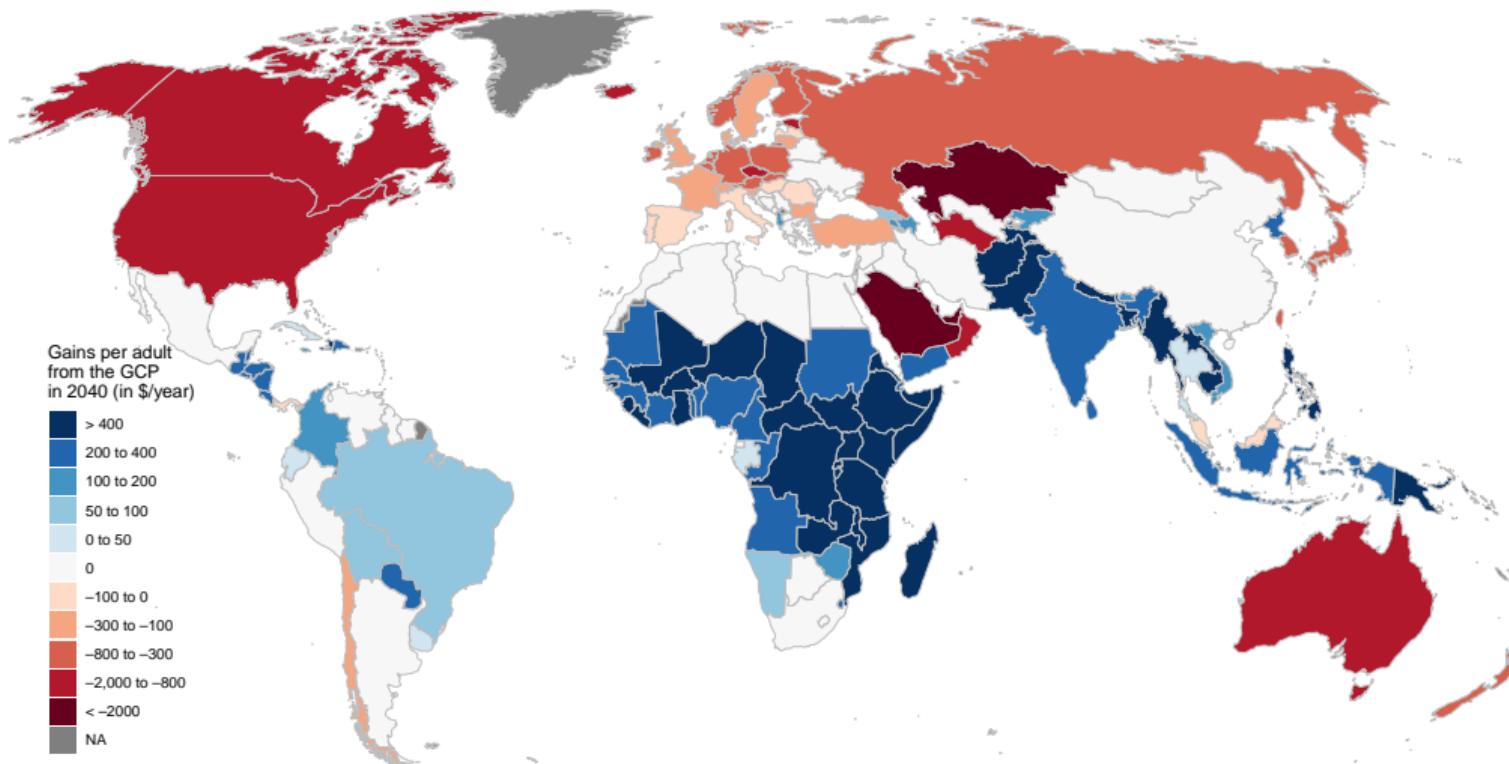
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

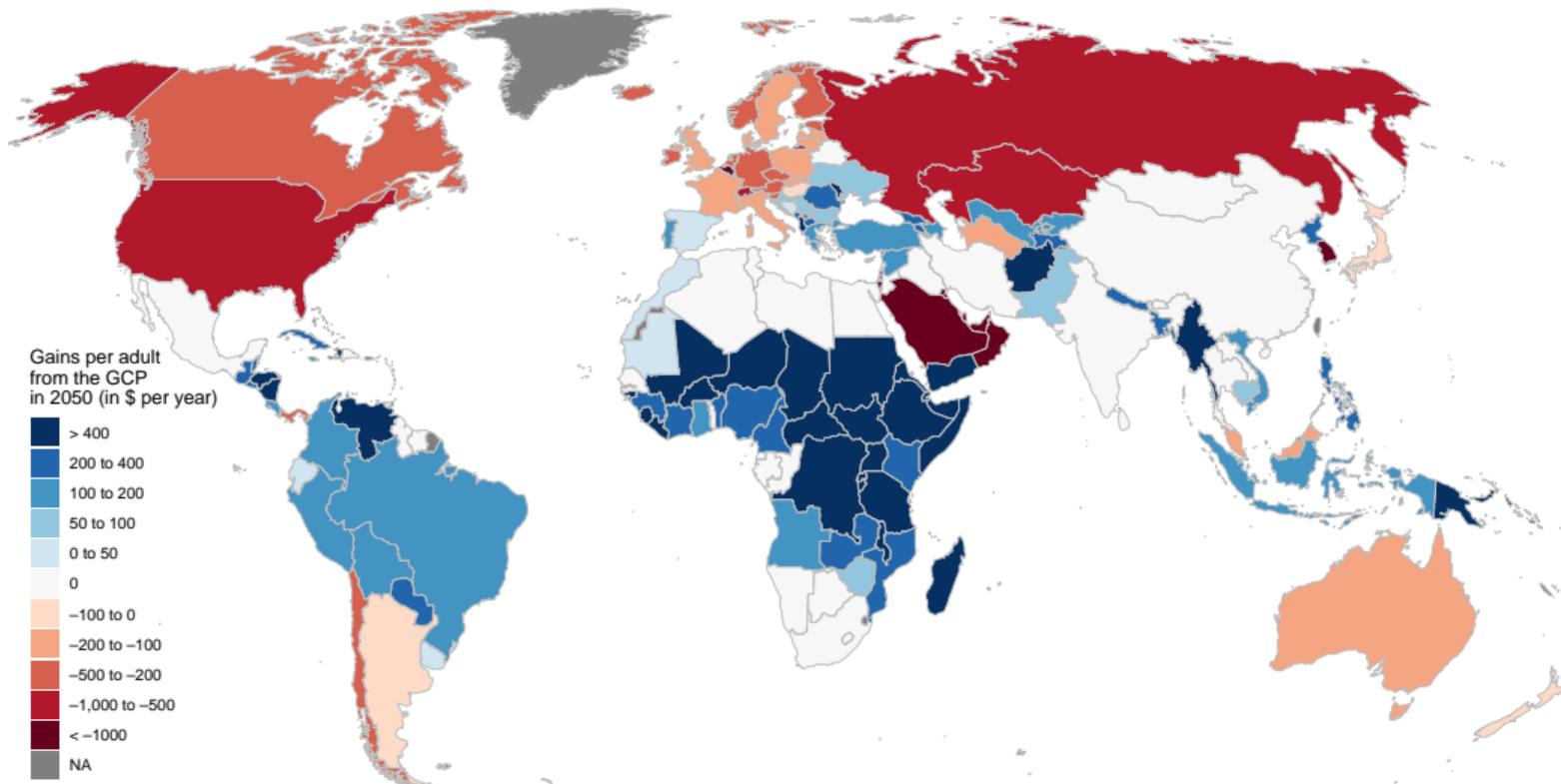
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2040.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

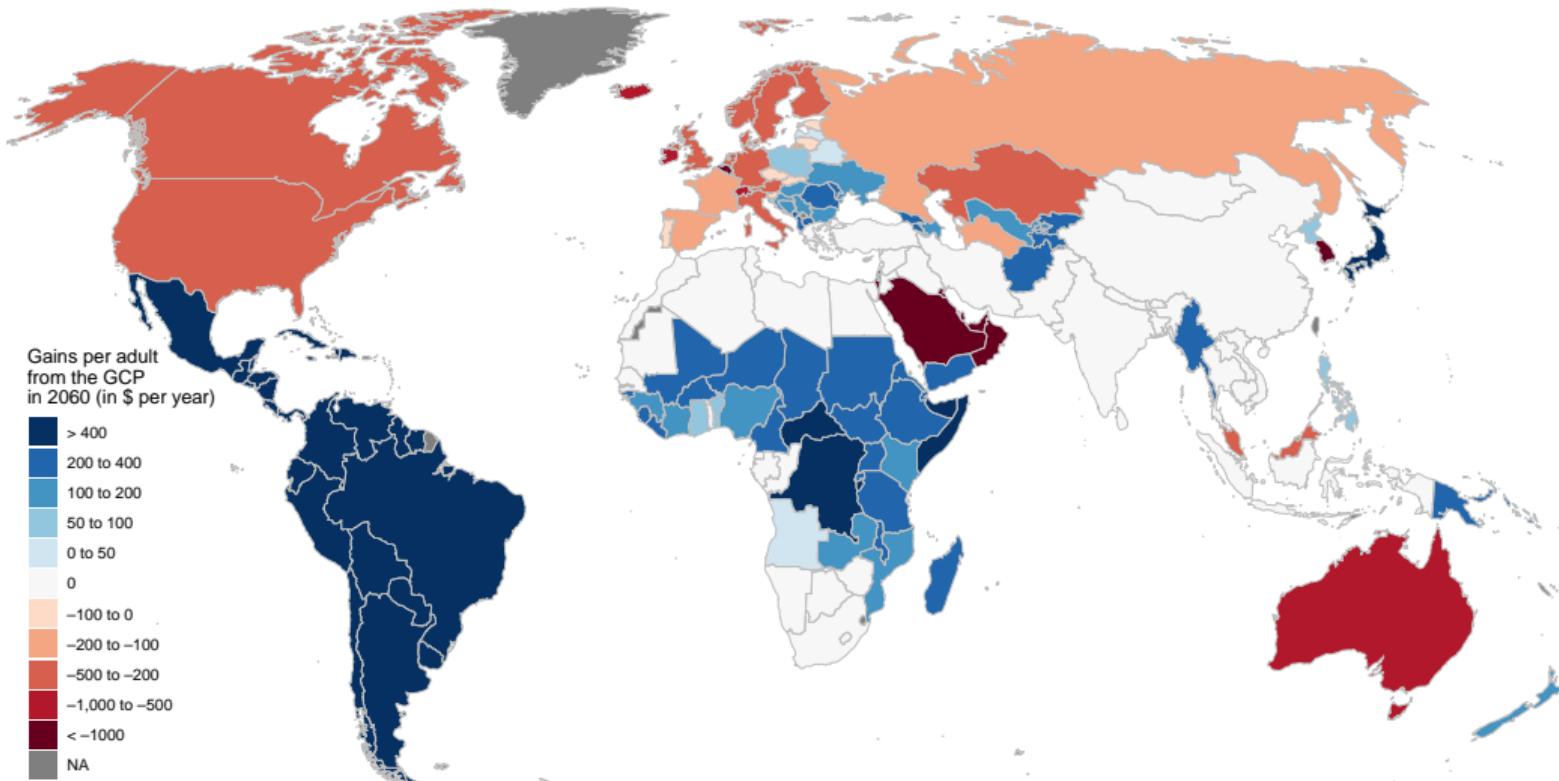
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2050.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

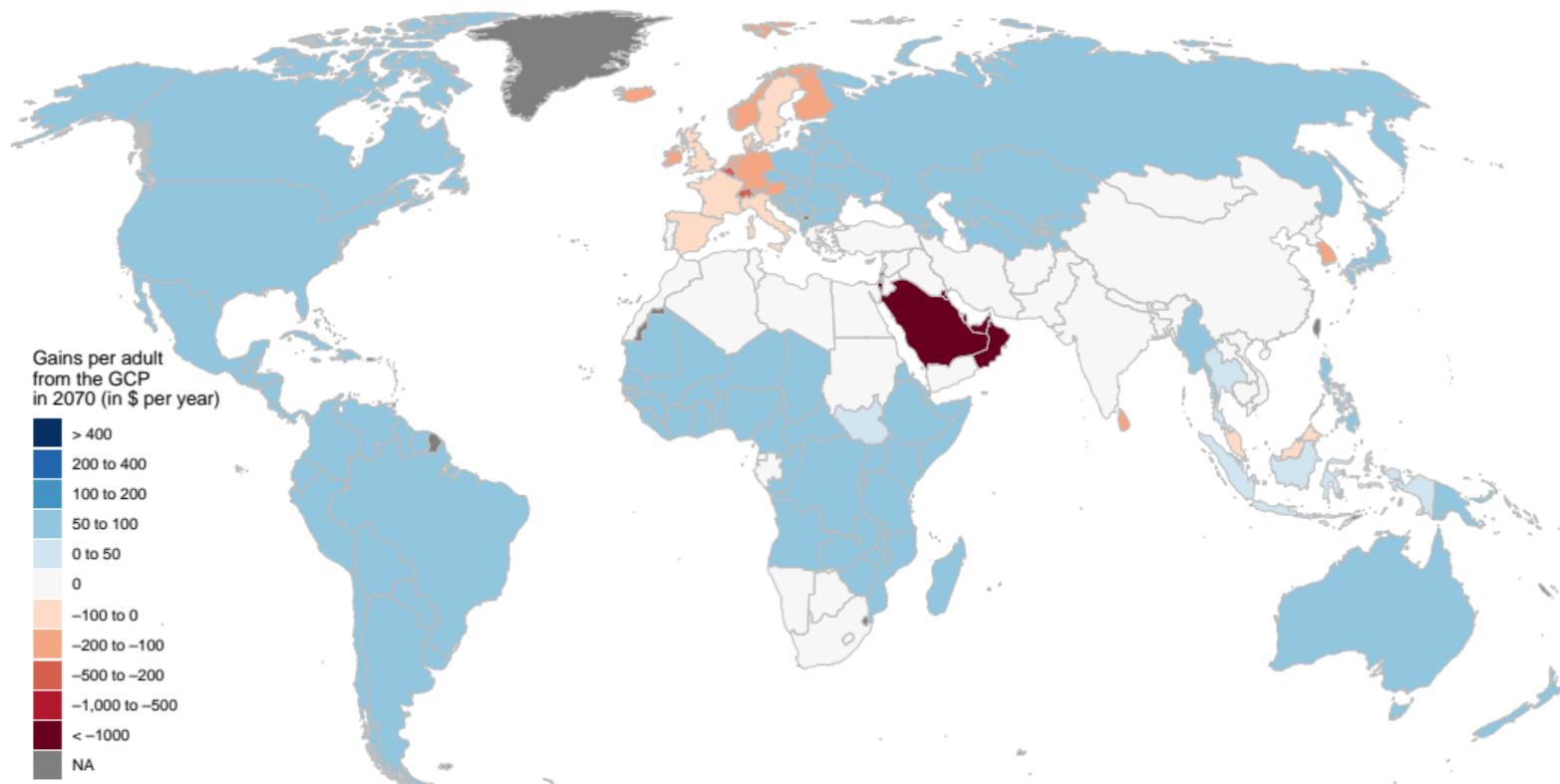
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2060.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2070.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

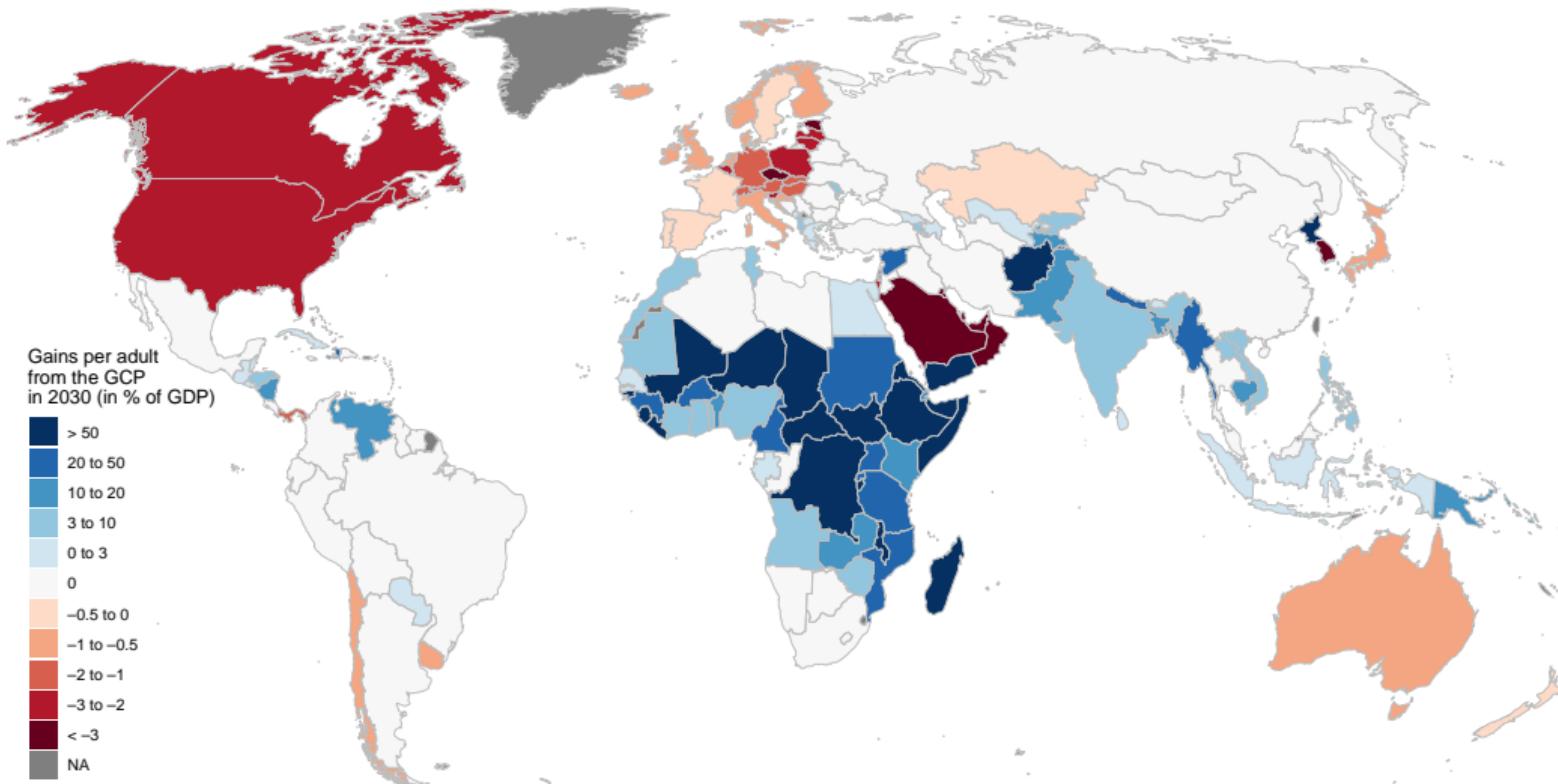
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2080.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

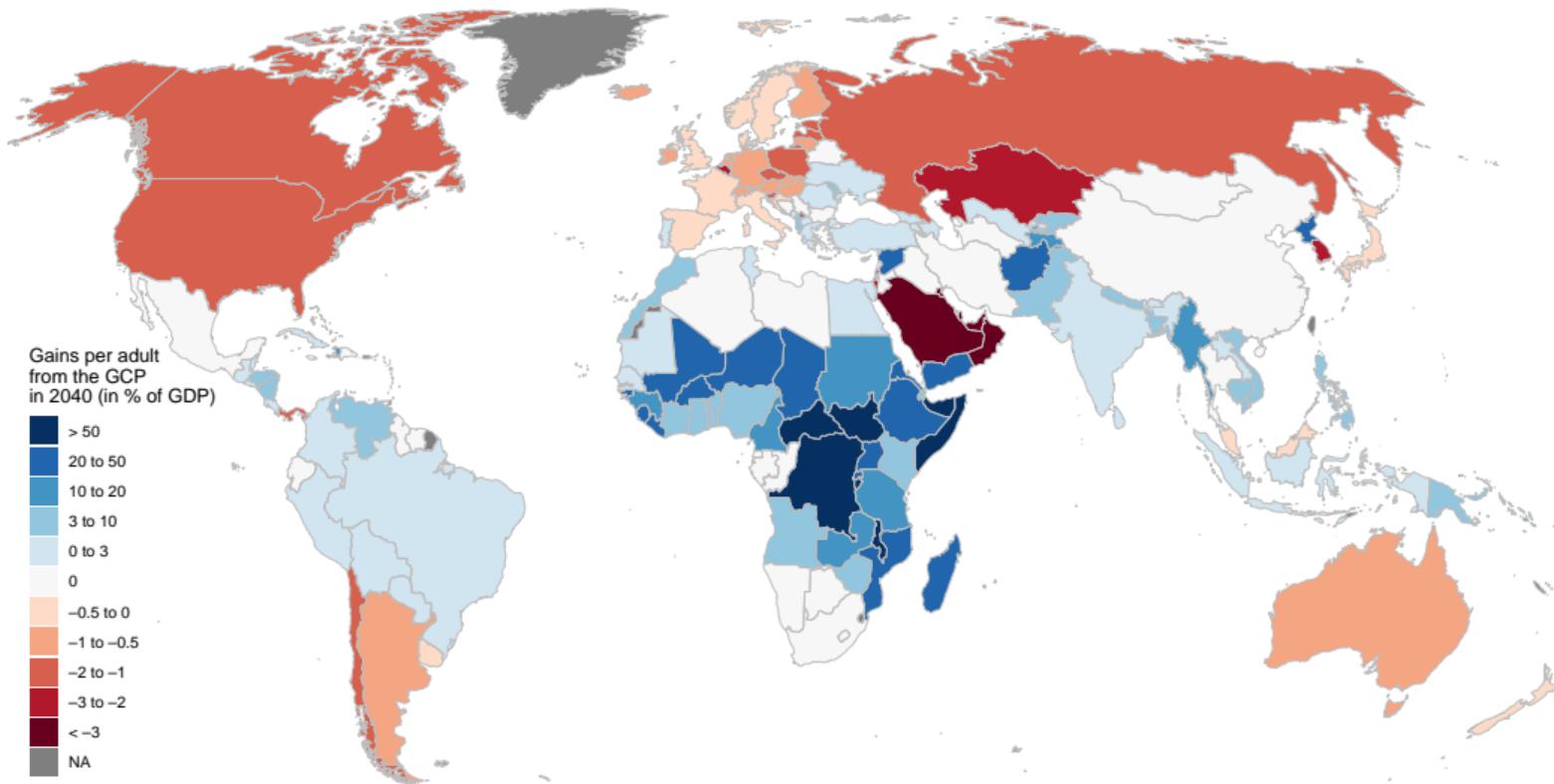
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

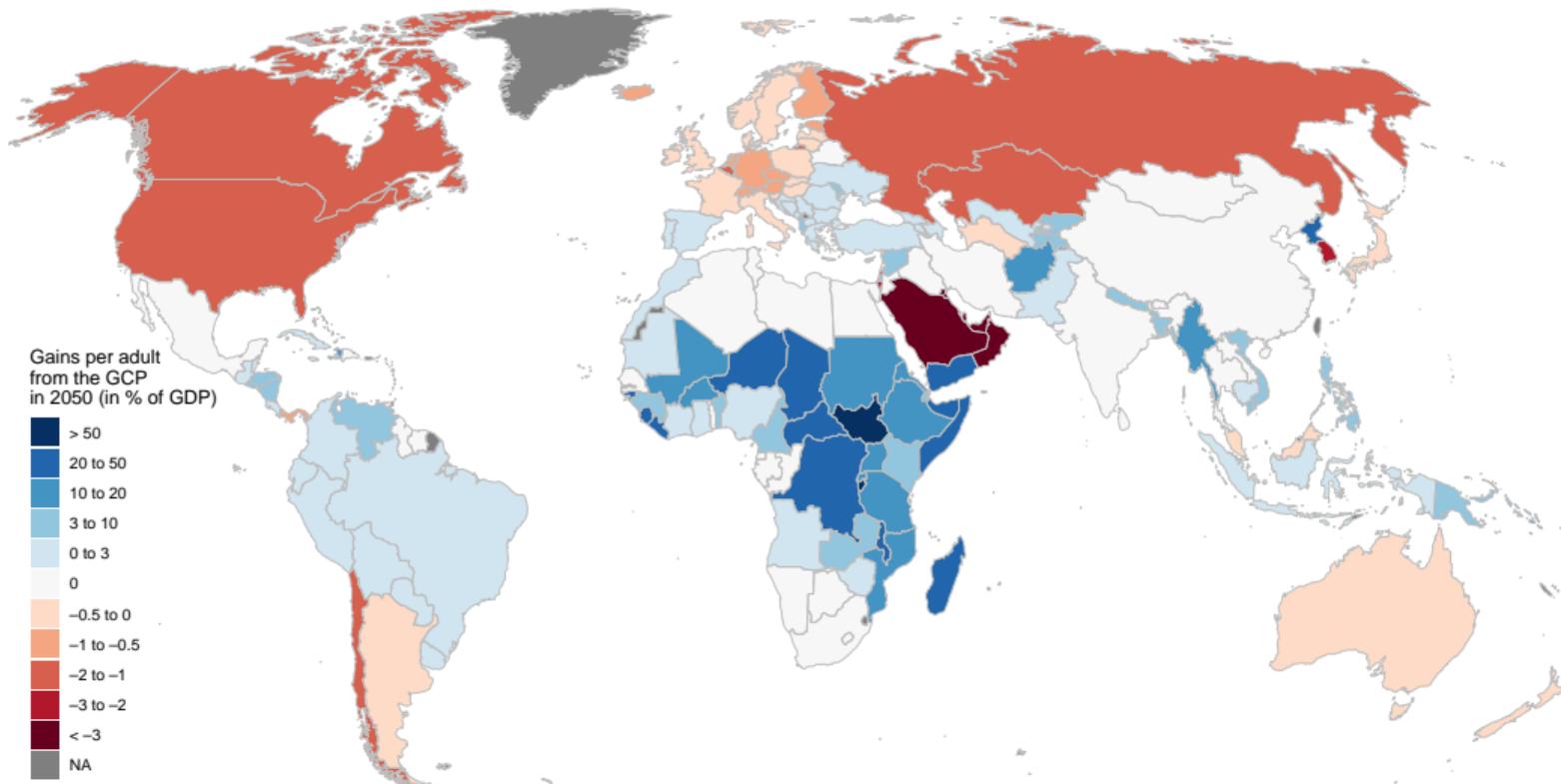
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2040.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

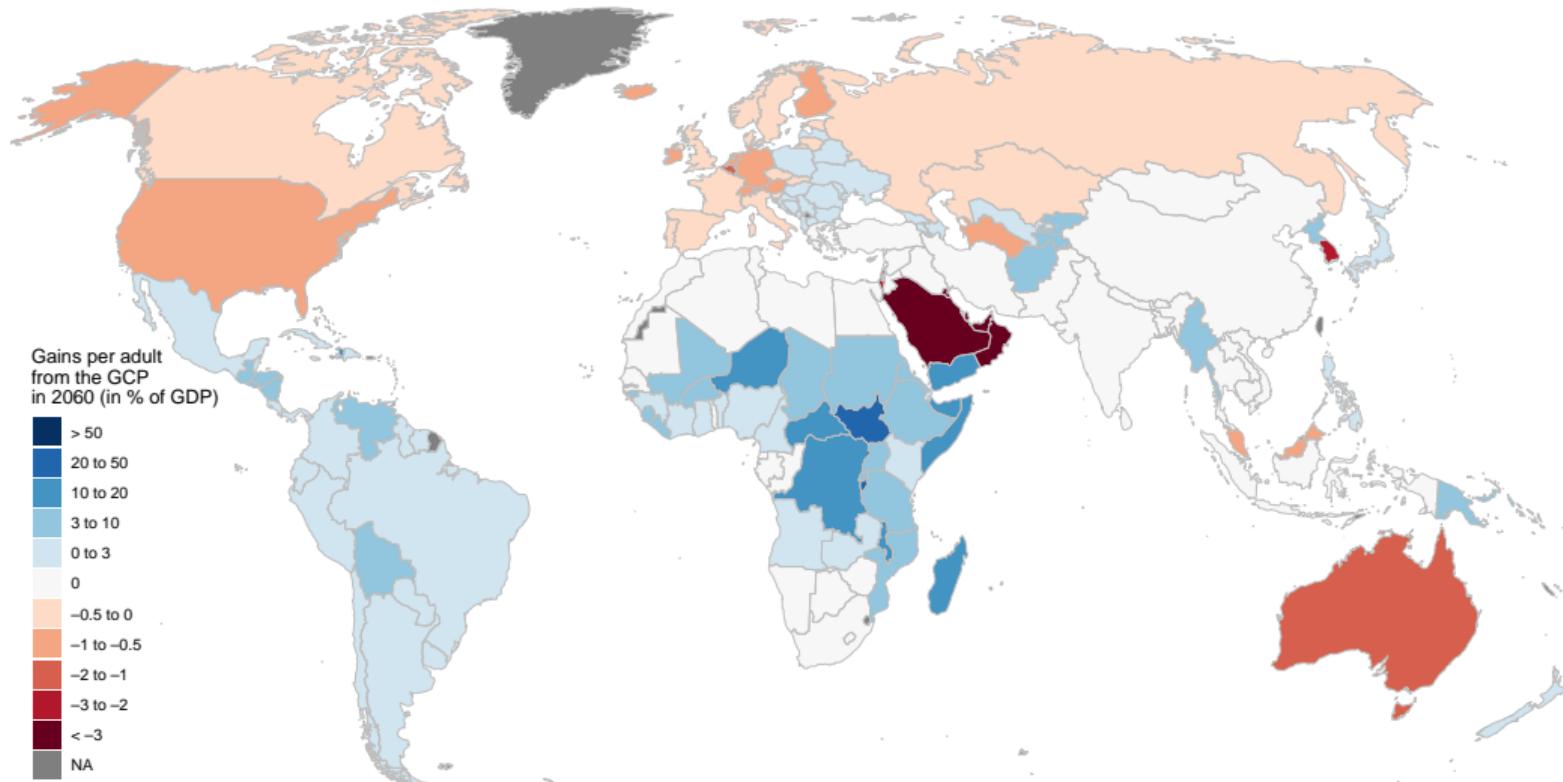
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2050.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

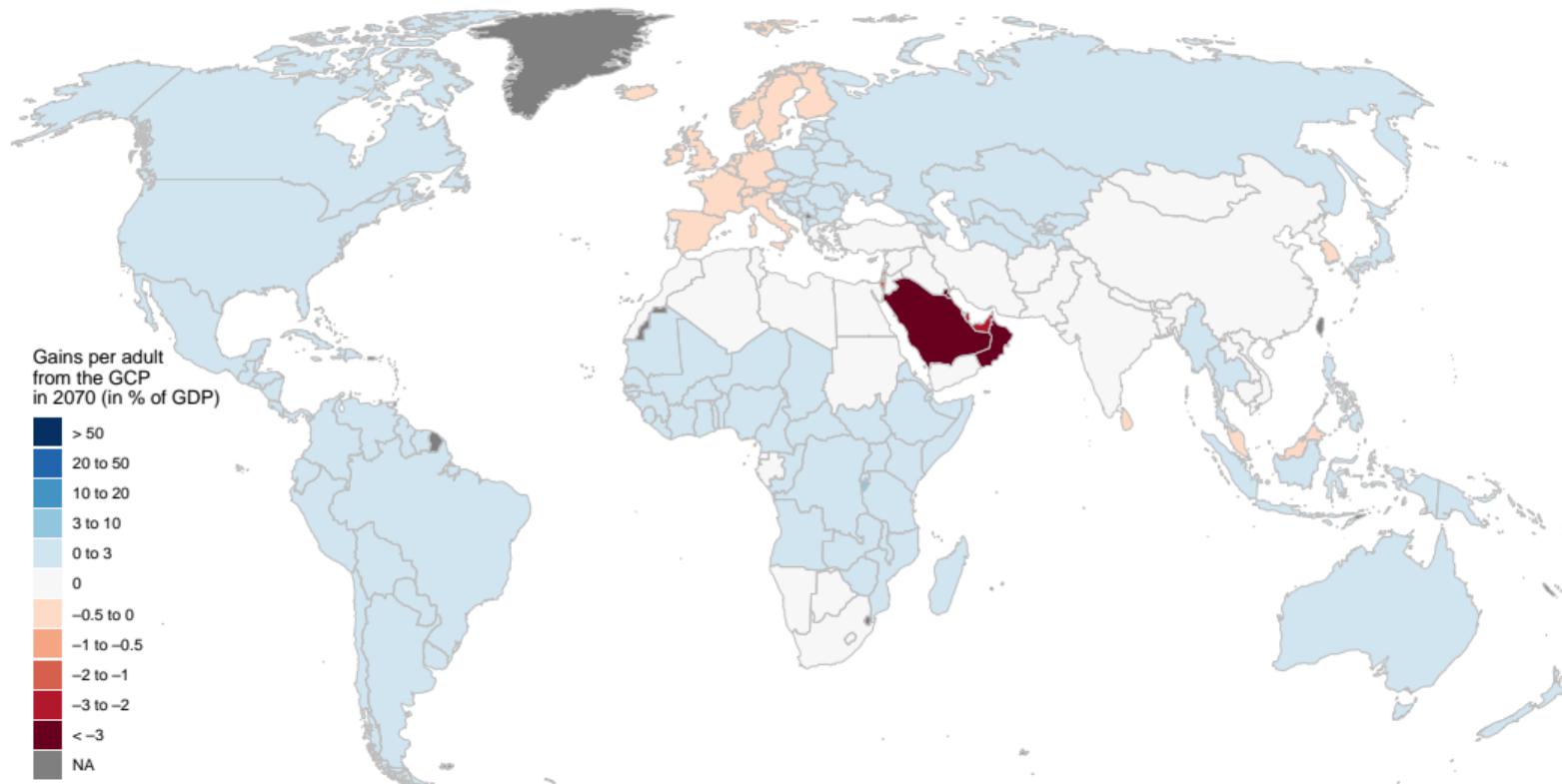
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2060.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2070.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

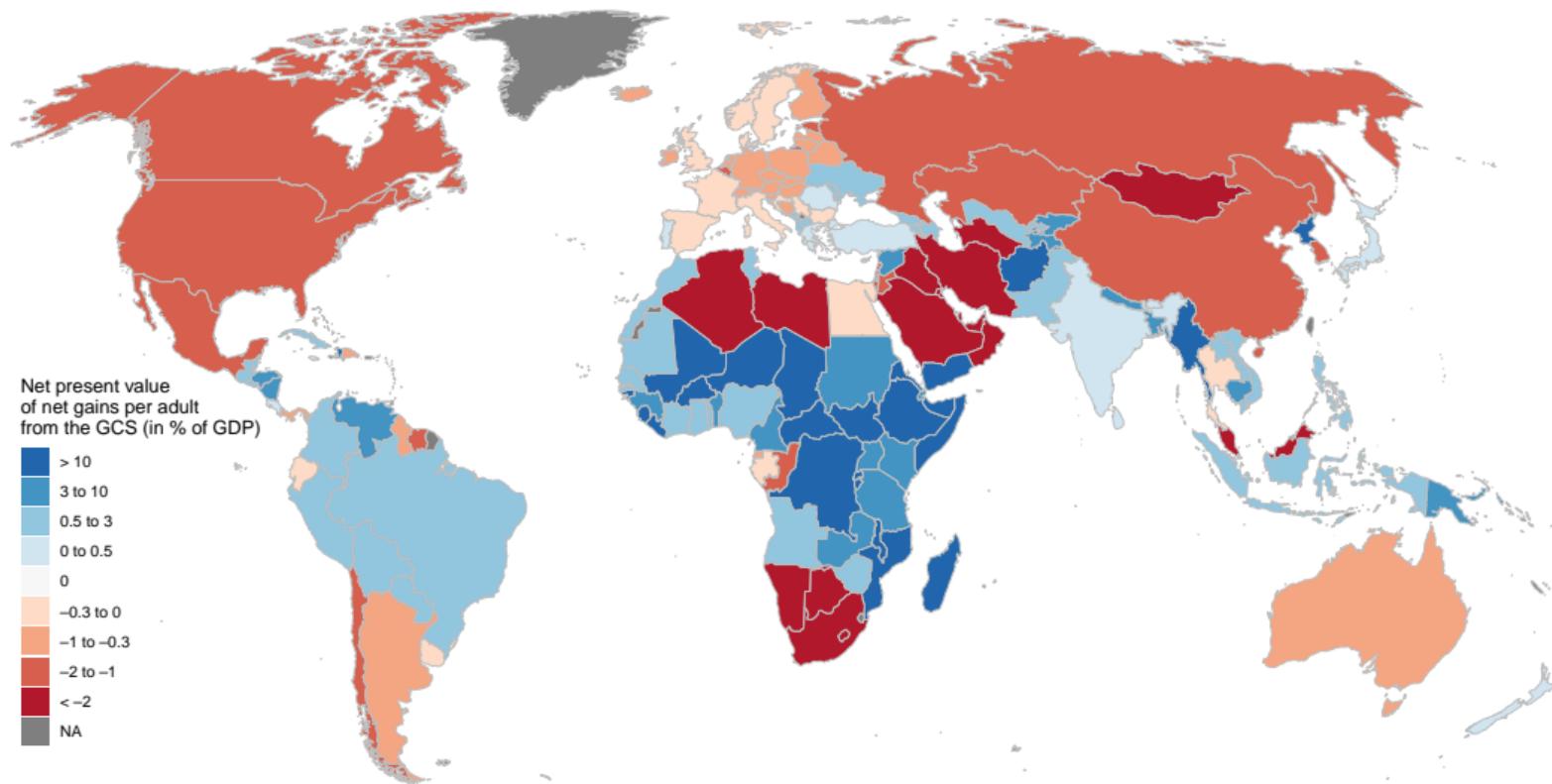
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2080.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

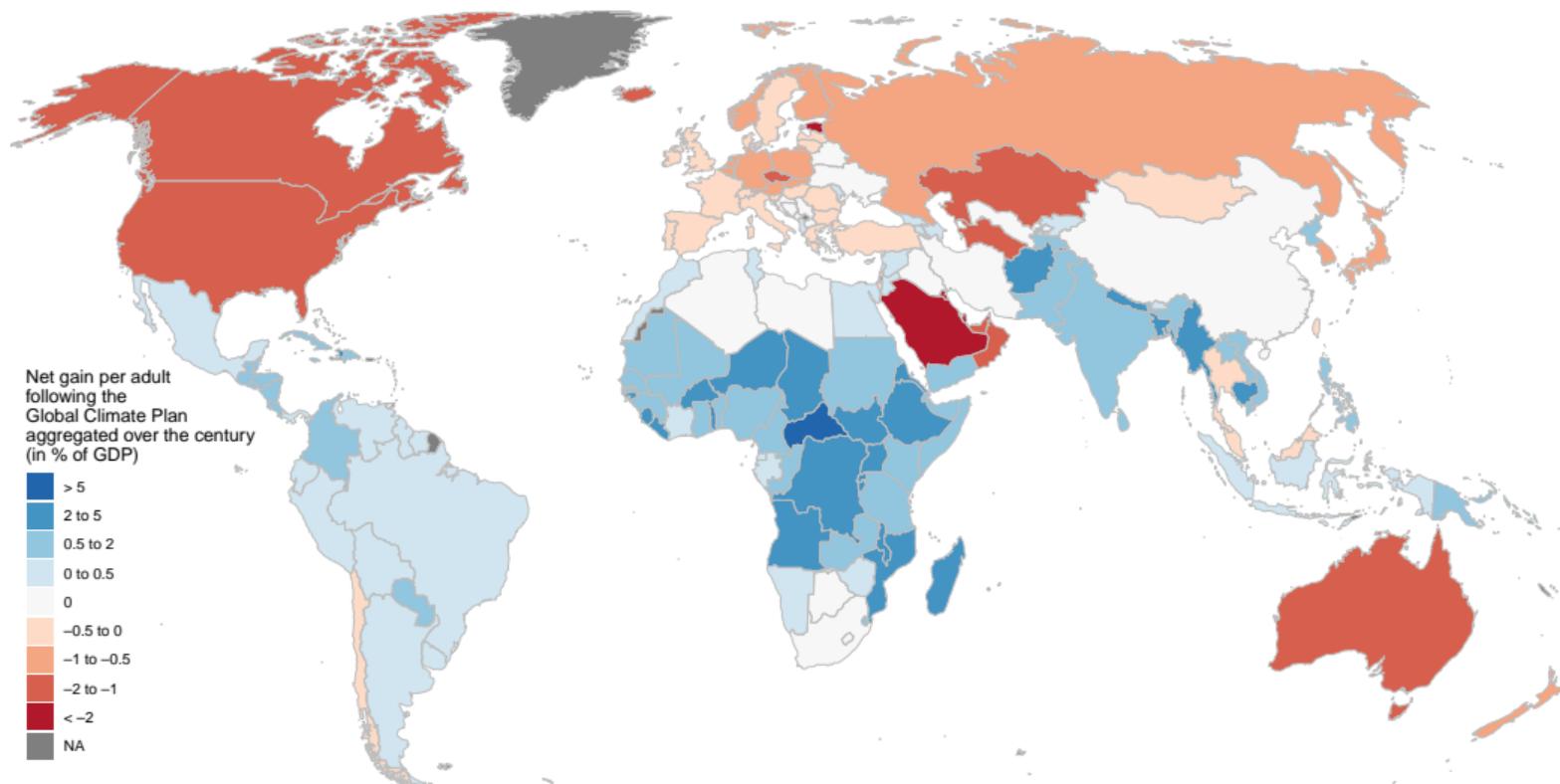
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Scheme.



Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan.



OECD

Relative support for national policies

[Go back](#)

	High-income										Middle-income									
	Australia	Canada	Denmark	France	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine

Support for Main Climate Policies

- Green infrastructure program
- Ban on combustion-engine cars
- Carbon tax with cash transfers

79	68	77	76	77	58	94	78	82	95	86	78	71	93	90	98	91	97	94	89	92	87
56	50	61	49	39	40	74	59	56	73	62	60	55	81	77	95	86	88	76	70	83	70
56	50	60	45	45	39	72	60	55	79	59	55	52	79	70	96	85	89	71	73	73	63

Support for Other Climate Policies

- Subsidies to low-carbon technologies
- Mandatory and subsidized insulation of buildings
- Ban on polluting cars in city centers
- Funding clean energy in low-income countries
- Ban on combustion-engine cars w. alternatives available
- Tax on flying (+20%)
- Tax on fossil fuels (\$45/tCO2)

87	82	86	89	76	84	96	91	91	93	87	90	78	90	86	94	84	94	87	93	90	90
84	86	83	84	81	77	90	83	88	95	86	89	71	85	78	93	87	96	85	82	72	78
75	70	76	78	69	67	89	85	78	71	73	80	65	89	77	93	88	93	92	90	83	91

Support for Carbon Tax With:

- Subsidies to low-carbon tech.
- Funding environmental infrastructures
- Reduction in personal income taxes
- Reduction in the public deficit
- Cash transfers to the poorest households
- Tax rebates for the most affected firms
- Cash transfers to constrained households
- Reduction in corporate income taxes
- Equal cash transfers to all households

85	80	67	84	83	88	94	92	89	97	86	87	75	92	93	98	87	97	91	92	88	89
85	80	68	83	88	83	92	90	87	94	88	85	77	92	92	96	89	96	92	94	89	90
79	73	66	60	80	80	92	88	87	88	83	76	69	87	86	95	84	91	86	85	85	87

Support for Cattle-Related Policies

- Subsidies on organic and local vegetables
- Ban of intensive cattle farming
- Removal of subsidies for cattle farming
- A high tax on cattle products, doubling beef prices

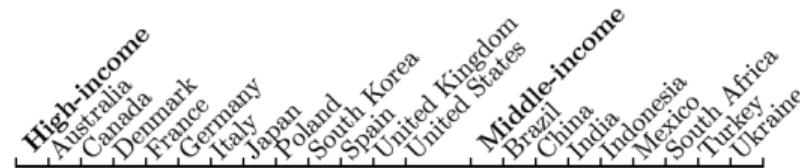
75	59	69	72	73	74	90	72	89	84	78	70	64	82	77	96	90	72	72	91	69
57	44	56	40	69	66	81	31	60	66	54	66	51	51	49	80	61	59	36	42	31
49	44	51	43	41	61	65	26	50	52	52	54	55	54	60	78	71	65	38	36	31

Support in high-income countries: Global tax and dividend \lesssim National tax and dividend < Global quota and dividend

Absolute support for global policies

[Go back](#)

Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-indifferent.

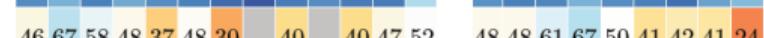


Level at which climate policies are needed (Multiple choice question)

Global



Federal/Continental



State/National



Local

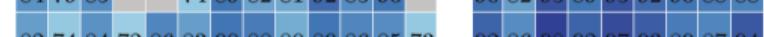


Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares



Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries

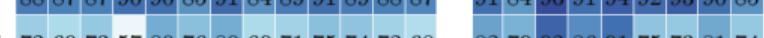


Burden sharing preferences for the global carbon budget (5-Likert)

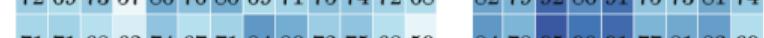
Emission share should be in proportion to population*



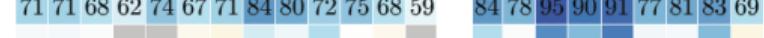
Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share*



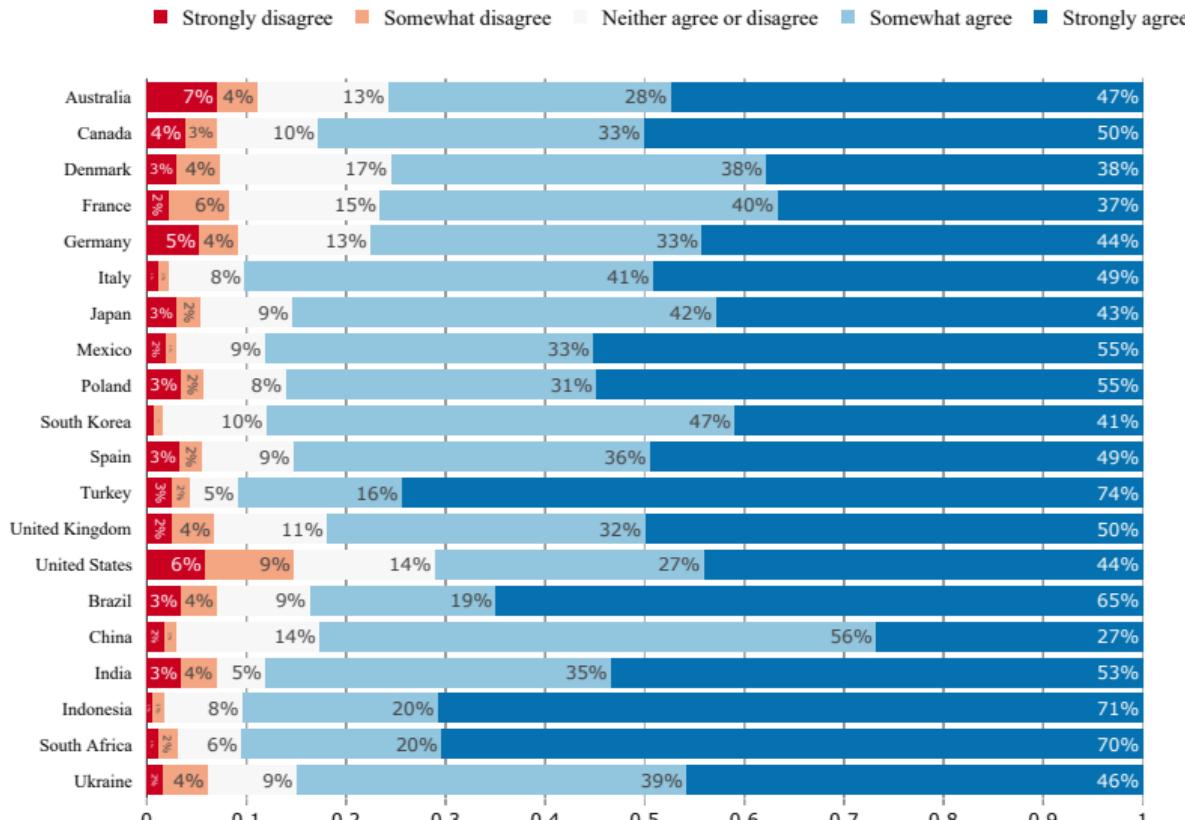
Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share*



Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions



Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “[country] should take measures to fight climate change.” [► Go back](#)

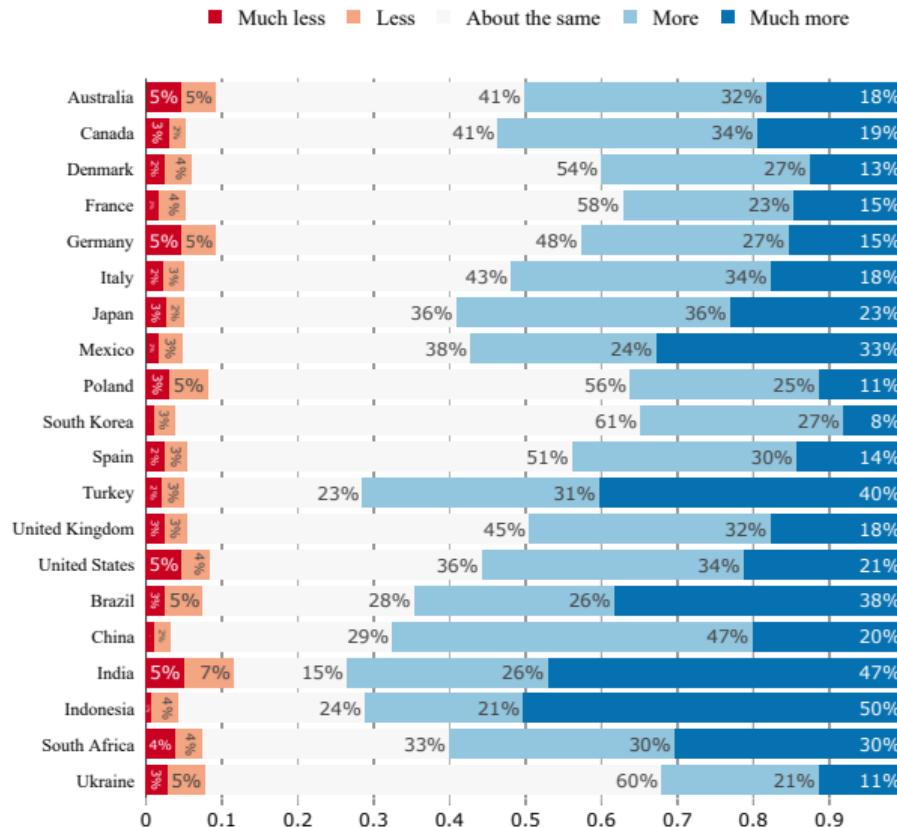


At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) [► Go back](#)

	High-income Australia	Canada	Denmark	France	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine	
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental	46	67	58	48	37	48	30	NA	40	NA	40	47	52	48	48	61	67	50	41	42	41	24
Level of climate policies needed: state/national	44	54	50	45	27	45	28	50	38	65	34	53	41	42	36	32	59	35	26	53	58	35
Level of climate policies needed: local	36	48	45	33	26	37	24	35	37	41	30	43	35	35	35	29	50	24	28	42	41	27

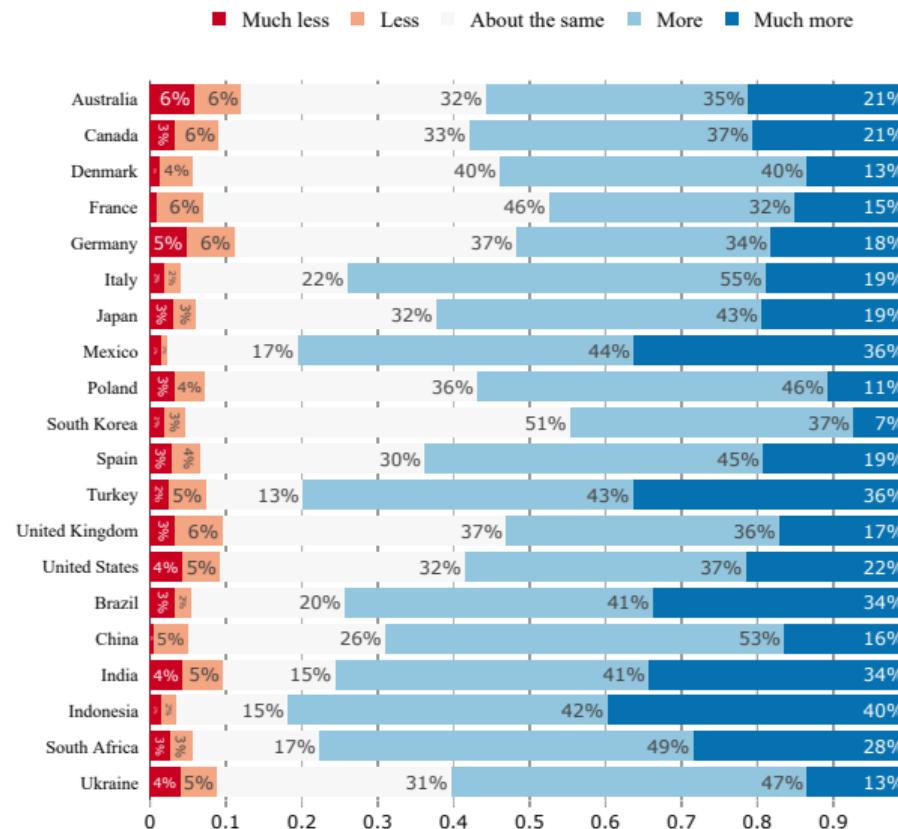
How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

If other countries do more, [country] should do... [▶ Go back](#)



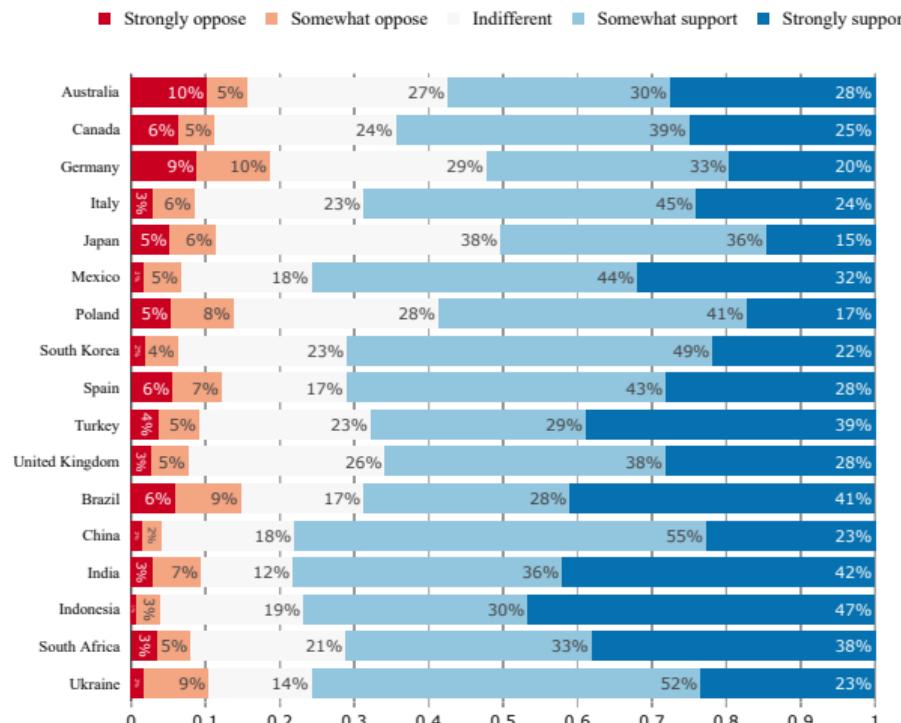
How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

If other countries do less, [country] should do... [▶ Go back](#)



[Question non posée aux U.S., au Danemark et en France] All countries have signed the Paris agreement that aims to contain global warming “well below +2 °C”. To limit global warming to this level, there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally, called the carbon budget. Each country could aim to emit less than a share of the carbon budget. To respect the global carbon budget, countries that emit more than their national share would pay a fee to countries that emit less than their share.

Do you support such a policy? [► Go back](#)

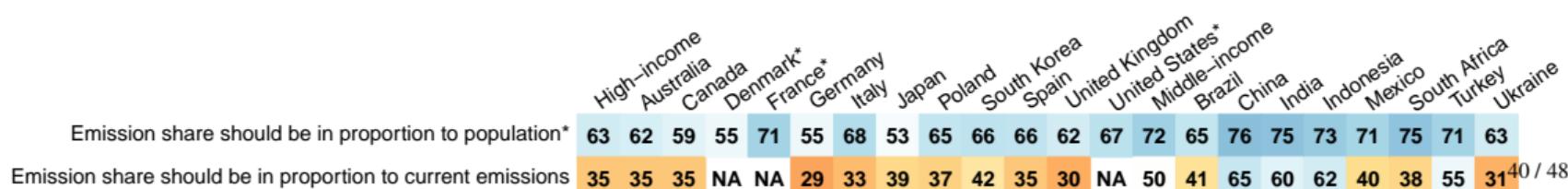


[*Question not asked in the U.S., Denmark and France, answers to a similar question are displayed]

Suppose the above policy is in place. How should the carbon budget be divided among countries?

The emission share of a country should be proportional to its population, so that each human has an equal right to emit.; The emission share of a country should be proportional to its current emissions, so that those who already emit more have more rights to emit.; Countries that have emitted more over the past decades (from 1990 onwards) should receive a lower emission share, because they have already used some of their fair share.; Countries that will be hurt more by climate change should receive a higher emission share, to compensate them for the damages.

Percentage of support (somewhat or strong) among: *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly support* ▶ [Go back](#)

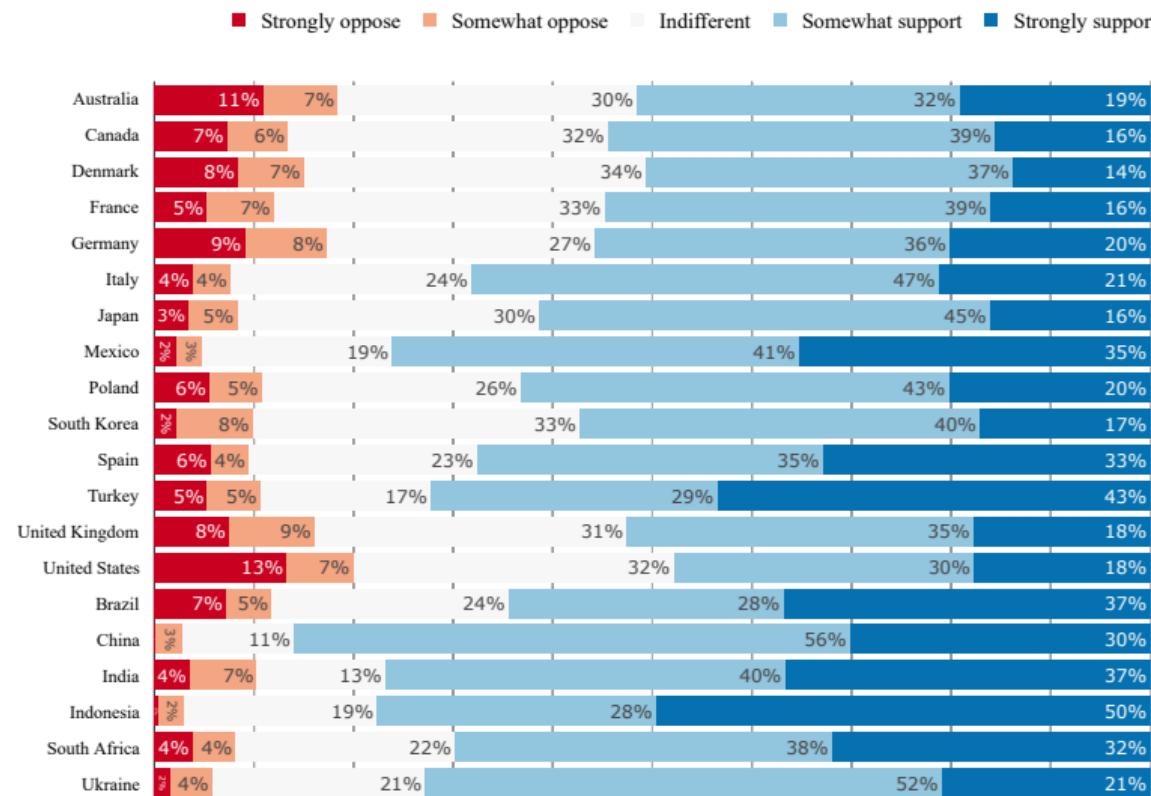


Emission share should be in proportion to population*

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions

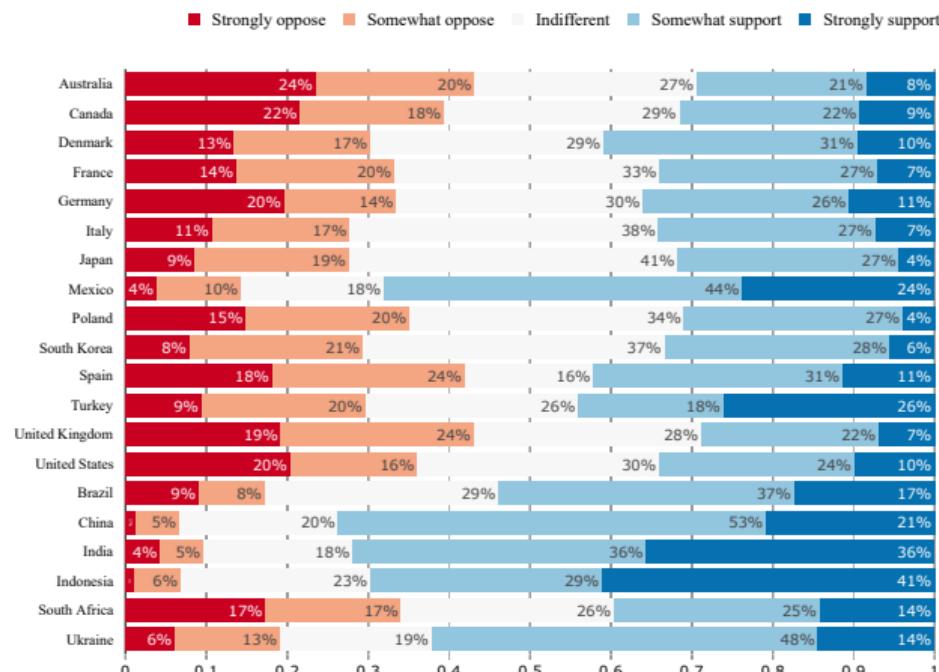
35 35 35 NA NA 29 33 39 37 42 35 30 NA 50 41 65 60 62 40 38 55 31 40 / 48

Do you support or oppose establishing a global democratic assembly whose role would be to draft international treaties against climate change? Each adult across the world would have one vote to elect members of the assembly. [► Go back](#)

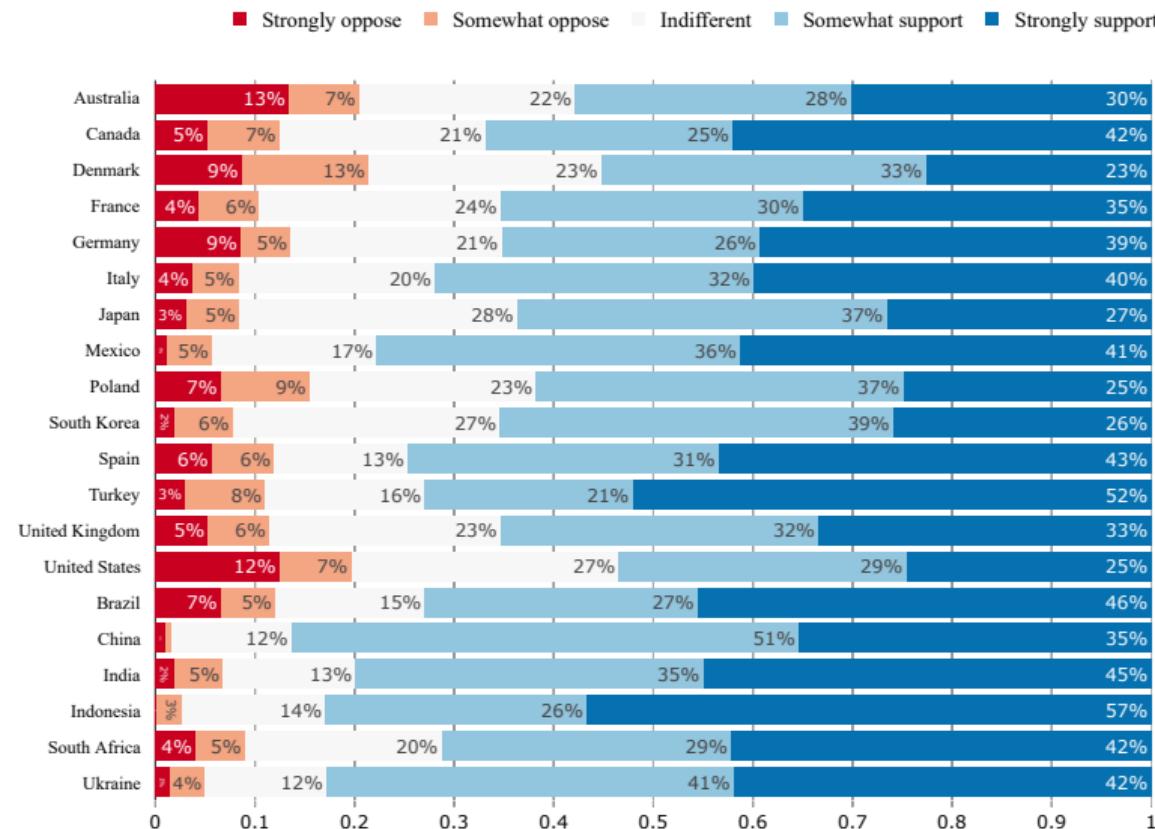


Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the first years). Higher prices would encourage people and companies to use less fossil fuels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Revenues from the tax would be used to finance a basic income of [\$30] per month to each human adult, thereby lifting the 700 million people who earn less than \$2/day out of extreme poverty. The average British person would lose a bit from this policy as they would face [\$130] per month in price increases, which is higher than the [\$30] they would receive.

Do you support or oppose such a policy? ▶ [Go back](#)



Do you support or oppose a tax on all millionaires around the world to finance low-income countries that comply with international standards regarding climate action? This would finance infrastructure and public services such as access to drinking water, healthcare, and education. ▶ Go back



Synthèse : Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable). ▶ Go back

	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	88	86	88	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76	
	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine															
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	88	86	88	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76	
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental	46	67	58	48	37	48	30	NA	40	NA	40	47	52	48	48	61	67	50	41	42	41	41	24			
Level of climate policies needed: state/national	44	54	50	45	27	45	28	50	38	65	34	53	41	42	36	32	59	35	26	53	58	35				
Level of climate policies needed: local	36	48	45	33	26	37	24	35	37	41	30	43	35	35	35	29	50	24	28	42	41	27				
If other do more, [country] should do more	46	50	53	40	37	42	52	59	36	35	44	49	55	63	65	67	73	71	57	60	71	32				
If other do less, [country] should do more	56	55	57	54	47	51	74	62	57	44	64	53	58	76	74	69	75	82	80	78	79	60				
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares	62	57	64	NA	NA	52	69	50	59	71	71	66	NA	74	69	78	78	77	76	71	68	76				
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	63	62	59	55	71	55	68	53	65	66	66	62	67	72	65	76	75	73	71	75	71	63				
Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions	35	35	35	NA	NA	29	33	39	37	42	35	30	NA	50	41	65	60	62	40	38	55	31				
Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share*	44	42	45	28	54	45	51	42	44	48	48	42	41	58	56	65	67	63	47	53	58	52				
Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share*	44	42	39	41	51	37	42	51	53	43	48	38	41	63	58	74	72	70	54	61	60	47				
Global democratic assembly on climate change	57	52	54	51	55	56	68	61	63	57	68	53	48	75	64	86	77	78	76	70	72	73				
Global tax on GHG financing a global basic income	34	29	32	41	34	36	34	32	31	33	42	29	34	61	54	74	72	70	68	40	44	62				
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries	64	58	67	55	65	65	72	64	62	65	75	65	53	78	73	86	80	83	78	71	73	83				

Synthèse : Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. *Plutôt/Très favorable*) parmi les non *indifférents*. [▶ Go back](#)

	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76	
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental	46	67	58	48	37	48	30	NA	40	NA	40	47	52	48	48	61	67	50	41	42	41	24
Level of climate policies needed: state/national	44	54	50	45	27	45	28	50	38	65	34	53	41	42	36	32	59	35	26	53	58	35
Level of climate policies needed: local	36	48	45	33	26	37	24	35	37	41	30	43	35	35	35	29	50	24	28	42	41	27
If other do more, [country] should do more	88	84	91	87	88	82	91	92	82	90	89	90	87	91	89	95	86	94	92	89	93	80
If other do less, [country] should do more	88	82	86	91	87	82	95	91	89	90	91	85	86	93	93	93	89	96	97	93	92	87
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares	84	79	85	NA	NA	74	89	82	81	92	85	90	NA	90	82	95	89	95	92	90	88	88
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	88	87	87	90	90	85	91	84	89	91	89	88	87	91	84	96	91	94	92	93	90	85
Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions	54	55	53	NA	NA	47	46	63	57	68	49	48	NA	69	53	86	77	88	56	55	77	46
Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share*	72	69	73	57	80	76	80	69	71	75	74	72	68	82	79	92	86	91	75	73	81	74
Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share*	71	71	68	62	74	67	71	84	80	72	75	68	59	84	78	95	90	91	77	81	83	69
Global democratic assembly on climate change	81	74	80	77	82	76	90	88	85	85	88	77	71	91	84	97	88	96	94	89	87	93
Global tax on GHG financing a global basic income	49	41	44	57	51	52	55	53	47	53	50	40	49	79	76	92	88	91	83	54	60	77
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries	82	74	84	72	86	83	90	88	80	89	86	85	73	92	86	98	92	97	93	89	87	94

Principales des attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable). [► Go back](#)

	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76	
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares	62	57	64	NA	NA	52	69	50	59	71	71	66	NA	74	69	78	78	77	76	71	68	76
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	63	62	59	55	71	55	68	53	65	66	66	62	67	72	65	76	75	73	71	75	71	63
Global democratic assembly on climate change	57	52	54	51	55	56	68	61	63	57	68	53	48	75	64	86	77	78	76	70	72	73
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries	64	58	67	55	65	65	72	64	62	65	75	65	53	78	73	86	80	83	78	71	73	83

Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. *Plutôt/Très favorable*) parmi les non *indifférents*. [► Go back](#)

	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares	84	79	85	NA	NA	74	89	82	81	92	85	90	NA	90	82	95	89	95	92	90	88	88
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	88	87	87	90	90	85	91	84	89	91	89	88	87	91	84	96	91	94	92	93	90	85
Global democratic assembly on climate change	81	74	80	77	82	76	90	88	85	85	88	77	71	91	84	97	88	96	94	89	87	93
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries	82	74	84	72	86	83	90	88	80	89	86	85	73	92	86	98	92	97	93	89	87	94

Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Moyennes des réponses, recodées en [-2; +2]. [► Go back](#)

	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine
Level of climate policies needed: global	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	
Global carbon budget (+2°C) divided in tradable country shares	0.7	0.6	0.7	NA	NA	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.8	NA	1	0.9	1	1.1	1.2	1	1	0.9	0.9	
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	1	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	1	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.9	1	1	0.7	
Global democratic assembly on climate change	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.3	1	0.8	1.1	1	1.2	1	0.9	1	0.9
Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.8	1	0.8	0.6	0.8	1	0.8	0.5	1.1	1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.1	1	1.1	1.2