April 29th, 2024

Dear Editor,

I am hereby submitting the paper, "International Attitudes Toward Global Policies," co-authored with Thomas Douenne and Linus Mattauch.

Redistributive policies coordinated at the global level, including climate and taxation measures, remain understudied. Except for Carattini, Kallbekken & Orlov (2019),¹ published as a Comment in *Nature*, and Beiser-McGrath & Bernauer (2019),² published in *Science Advances*, little research delves into these critical areas. The first study is barely representative and purely descriptive, while the second one is limited to Germany and the U.S. and does not test policies involving global redistribution. Our study addresses these gaps using representative surveys in 20 countries over 48,000 respondents, and conducting various experiments to understand why people answer the way they do. In particular, we test different hypotheses that could explain away stated support by a lack of sincerity, context dependency, or inconsistency with core values.

Our surveys reveal strong *and genuine* support for global redistributive policies worldwide. It points to an overlooked property of climate policies or taxation at the global level: they can be supported by majorities, even in countries bearing the burden.

These findings have far-reaching implications for global policy dialogues, such as the upcoming UN Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (i.e., COP negotiations), the G20, and the Summit of the Future, all happening in the Fall of 2024. These research results could potentially reshape international policy discussions.

By studying in depth the support for global policies, we are making an ambitious shift in the methodological approach of attitudinal surveys. In general, academic surveys focus on studying effect sizes of some treatment on political attitudes, or the socio-demographic factors that correlate with attitudes. The magnitude of support for a given proposal is often regarded as problematic to estimate satisfactorily. The measure of support is usually left to non-academic pollsters, who rarely apply all the academic best practices: transparency, representative sampling, neutral and precise wording of questions, comparison with existing literature, use of multiple questions and complementary methods to correctly interpret the results. Although it is challenging to estimate the extent of support, this question seems too important not to be addressed using scientific methods. Absent large scale measurements of public opinion like referenda, surveys remain the best method to assess support or opposition to given policies. In this paper, after a worldwide assessment in the Global survey, we use Complementary surveys

¹ Carattini, S., Kallbekken, S. & Orlov, A. How to win public support for a global carbon tax. Nature (2019).

² Beiser-McGrath, L. F., & Bernauer, T. *Could revenue recycling make effective carbon taxation politically feasible?* Science Advances. (2019).

to carefully measure the support for global policies in Western countries. We inquire the support for various policies, approach the question from diverse angles, and run a battery of pre-registered tests to check whether stated support estimates are reliable.

Our results consistently point out to strong and genuine support for global climate and redistributive policies, as our experiments confirm the stated support found in direct questions. This suggests that carefully administered surveys can be used to measure the level of support for a given policy. Our results contribute to the literature on attitudes toward climate policy, confirming that climate policy is preferred at a global level, where it is more effective and fair. Therefore, contrary to national carbon taxes which are opposed by a majority of respondents, it seems unlikely that global climate policies would face major protests. Our diverse approaches also help understand what drives the support. For instance, the evidence indicates that one key reason why increasing foreign aid is not as popular as global policies lies in its unilateral nature.

Sincerely,

Dr. Adrien Fabre