# **International Attitudes Toward Global Policies**

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# Questionnaires

### International surveys with a focus on the West

#### OECD survey (02/2021-02/2022):

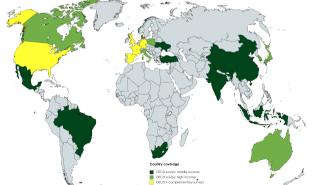
20 countries; 2,000 respondents per country; median duration: 28 min.

#### Complementary surveys (01/2023-ongoing):

Eu: 3,000 respondents from France, Germany, Spain, UK; 20 min. 85% of responses collected.

US1: 3,000 respondents from the U.S.; 14 min. 88% collected.

US2: 2,000 respondents from the U.S. Not yet collected.



# Eu questionnaire

#### Background of respondent

Socio-demographics, political views.

Global climate scheme (G) and National redistribution (R)									
Description, comprehension questions, support, second-order beliefs.									
List experimen									
Assessment of hidden support for the Global climate scheme (G), National redistribution									
G/C/O R/G/C/O	C/O R/C/O								
Conjoint analysis (a): support for C									
Preference between G+R+C vs. R+C,	support for G+R+C.								
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Conjoint analysis (b): support for G or C conditional on R Preference for  C+R vs. G+R G+R+C vs. R L G+R vs. G C+R vs. R C+R vs. G									
Conjoint analysis (c): influence of G endorsement on voting preference Among fictitious platforms, preference for									
Progressive vs. Conservative	Progressive (incl. G) vs. Conservative								
Petition									
G	R								
G's Pros and cor	s								
Closed question (matrix)	Open-ended question								
Donation lottery In case of a win, sl	pare given to a noor								
From own country	African								
Foreign aid in public s	anding								
Guess what share i									
Info about what it is	Ø No info								
Share that should go to fo	reign aid.								
If more (less) than actual, how to finance it (or use the spared spending)	If more (less) than guess, how to finance it (or use the spared spending)								
Realistic global redistribu									
Support for rich countries funding compensation, mitigation, adaptation, for global taxes or	fair-trade policies; should foreign aid increase or decrease (how and why).								
<u> </u>									

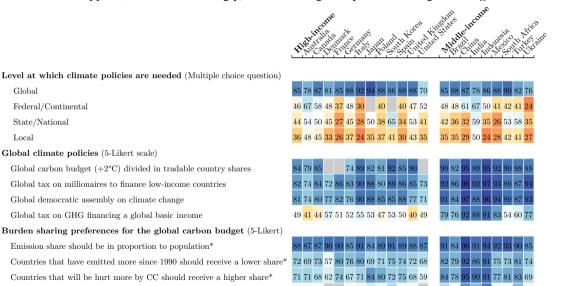
#### Values, conjoint analysis (d), prioritization of policies, ETS2, and feedback

Amount donated, interest in politics, vote in last election, universalistic vs. egoistic values, conjoint analysis, split of 100 points among 6 policies, questions on the ETS2, feedback.

# Stated support for global policies

#### **OECD:** Global policies are strongly supported.

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



54 55 53

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions

47 46 63 57 68 49 48

69 53 86 77 88 56 55 77 46

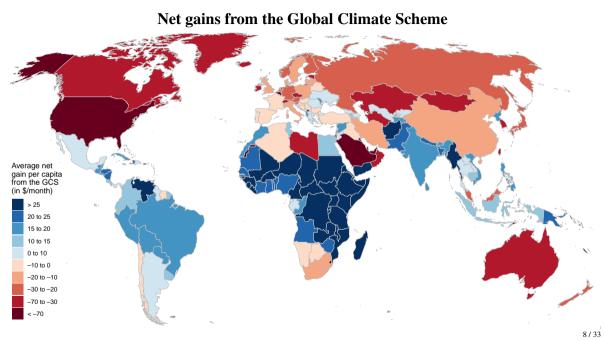
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#### The Global Climate Scheme (GCS)

Our main policy of interest is the GCS, a global cap-and-trade funding a global basic income:

At the Paris agreement in 2015, all countries have agreed 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. To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their emissions. Such a policy would make fossil fuel companies pay for their emissions and progressively raise the price of fossil fuels. Higher prices would encourage people and companies to use less fossil fuels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In accordance with the principle that each human has an equal right to pollute, the revenues generated by the sale of permits could finance a global basic income. Each adult in the world would receive \$30/month, thereby lifting out of extreme poverty the 700 million people who earn less than \$2/day.

The typical [American] would lose out financially [\$85] per month (as he or she would face [\$115] per month in price increases, which is higher than the \$30 they would receive). The policy could be put in place as soon as countries totaling more than 60% of global emissions agree on it. Countries that would refuse to take part in the policy could face sanctions (like tariffs) from the rest of the World and would be excluded from the basic income.



### **Support for the Global Climate Scheme**

To offset the losses of the median emitter, we design a National Redistribution Scheme (NR) funded by increased income taxes on the top 5% (US) / 1% (Eu).

We test understanding of the distributive effects of the GCS, NR, and both combined (and then give the expected answer) in an incentivized way after each policy description.

We also describe a national climate policy. US: Coal exit / Eu: Insulation plan (mandatory, subsidised).

Do you support...? Yes/No (Percentage of Yes)

	Uni	ied Stat	ope ope	uce Ger	many Spr	jin Unit	ed Kingdom
Global climate scheme (GCS)	53	75	81	71	81	75	
National redistribution scheme (NR)	54	72	77	66	80	75	
National climate policy + GCS + NR	51	73	80	69	81	71	

# Support for other global policies

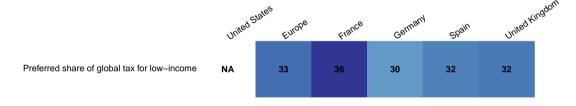
Do you support or oppose...? 5-Likert scake (Percentage of Support among non-Indifferent)

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	Jr.	iteC)	10/2	an Ge	KUIS	dilluite
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	54	70	71	68	80	72
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	67	82	83	81	87	79
ligh-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income countries adapt to climate change	59	76	77	78	78	74
Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt	45	52	54	42	62	63
Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting right proportional to its population	57	69	70	66	76	68
Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries	62	73	60	72	81	84
A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage	62	79	82	77	81	84
Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of all assets	61	87	91	85	92	86
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion (US) / €100 million (EU) for each human	46	62	60	62	66	68
National tax on millionaires	NA	85	81	87	92	90
Global tax on millionaires	NA	84	85	85	90	85

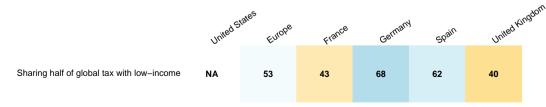
### Support for a global wealth tax

We describe a global tax on wealth in excess of  $f \le 5$  million and either ask:

Percent of wealth tax that should go to low-income countries (*mean*):



Whether half of the tax revenues should go to low-income countries (vs. none).



### Support for increased foreign aid Actual foreign aid is overestimated.

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

Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending) 0.4 1.3 1.7

Belief about foreign aid NA Preferred foreign aid (with info) NA 2.6

Supports increasing foreign aid (incl. with conditions)

Preferred foreign aid (no info) NA

3.3

2.8 2.9

2.5 3.2

54

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3.2

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

	Unit	ied Sur	obe obe	ince Ger	ways	in Unit
Preferred foreign aid is higher than current	NA	58	76	57	63	46

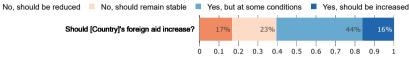
Preferred foreign aid is higher than perceived NA 36

#### Conditions for increased foreign aid

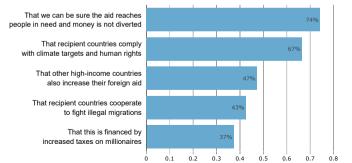
People want to help people (not oligarchs) and to foster climate action and human rights.

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

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



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



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### **Preferences over public spending**

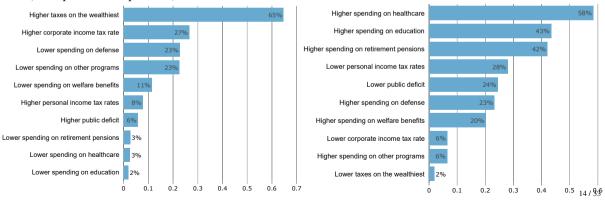
People want better public services and higher taxes on the wealthiest.

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.

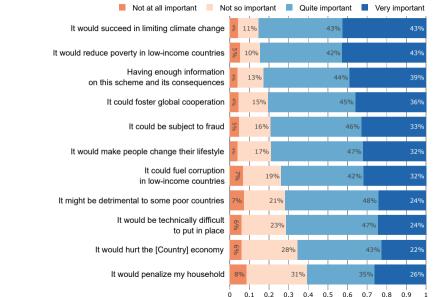
How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible)



# Sincerity of the support for the GCS

#### **Perceptions of the Global Climate Scheme** (*Eu results*)

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



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#### **Petition**

Willingness to sign a real-stake petition is generally (-2 to 5 p.p.) lower than stated support.

But this is not specific to GCS, and majorities are still willing to sign the petition.

Would you be willing to sign a petition for the [GCS / NR]?

As soon as the survey is complete, we will send the results to the [head of state] (...) Yes/No

	Uni	ied Stat	ope ope	uce Ger	many Spr	jin Unit	ed Kingdon
Petition for GCS	51	70	69	67	76	73	
Global climate scheme (GCS)	53	75	81	71	81	75	
Petition for NR	56	67	66	66	75	64	
National redistribution scheme (NR)	54	72	77	66	80	75	

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# List experiment

We ask Among the policies below, how many do you support?, randomly varying the list of policies.

The difference in mean number of supported policies for lists with and without the GCS should equal the support for GCS. If the tacit support is lower, it may indicate a social desirability bias.

⇒ Small social desirability bias for GCS and NR in the U.S. (tacit support is 5 p.p.\*\*\* lower), none in Europe.

	Number of s	upported policies
	US	Eu
List contains: GCS	0.479***	0.746***
	(0.051)	(0.047)
(Support for GCS)	0.533	0.753
List contains: NR	0.494***	0.748***
	(0.053)	(0.047)
(Support for NR)	0.544	0.724
List contains: GCS × NR	0.079	-0.107
	(0.089)	(0.076)
Mean	1.39	1.852
Observations	2,643	2,592
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.130	0.232

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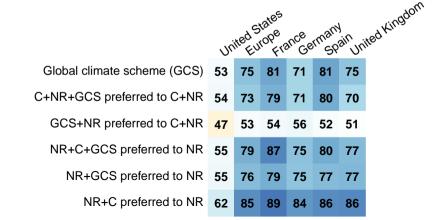
### Conjoint analyses: interaction with other policies

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?



# **Conjoint analyses: influence on electoral prospects**

A progressive candidate would not lose votes by endorsing the GCS, and could even gain 11 p.p.\*\* in France.

		•	U	,		_	1 1	
Table	1: Imagine if the [Democratic and Rep	ublican j	presidential c	andidates	in 2024] ca	mpaig	ned with t	the
follow	ying policies in their platforms. [Credib	le Progr	essive and Co	onservativ	e platforms	1		

owing policies in their platforms. [Credible Progressive and Conservative platforms]

Which of these candidates would you vote for? <i>A</i> ; <i>B</i> ; <i>B</i>	None of them				
[FR: second round of presidential; DE, ES, UK: two favorite candidates in one's constituency]					
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	••				
	Prefers the Progressive platforms				

		Prefers the Progressive platforms									
	All	United States	France	Germany	UK	Spain					
GCS in Progressive platform	0.025	0.029	0.111**	-0.006	0.003	-0.006					
	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.046)	(0.040)	(0.045)	(0.040)					

$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.001	0.001	0.013	0.00004	0.00001	0.0001
Observations	4,529	2,292	535	632	567	503
Mean	0.623	0.604	0.589	0.688	0.541	0.767

Note: The 14% of None answers have been excluded from the regression samples. GCS has no significant influence on them.

## Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform

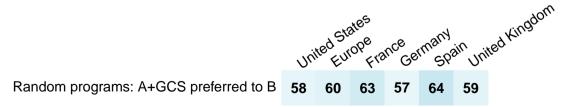
We ask the preference between two progressive platforms, where each measure is taken at random. The GCS is included in one of the platforms.

Majorities prefer platforms that include the GCS.

Imagine that a [Left or Center-left 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/Center-left] policies).

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

[FR: Left or center-left; DE: rot-rot-grüne; ES: PSOE; UK: Labour; US: Democratic primary (not asked to Republican)]

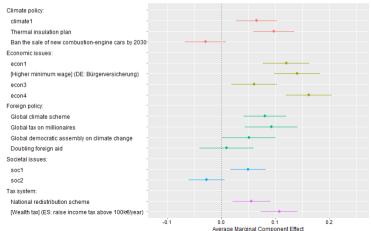


#### **Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Eu)**

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

The effect of GCS is among the highest (wealth tax, better public services, higher minimum wage).

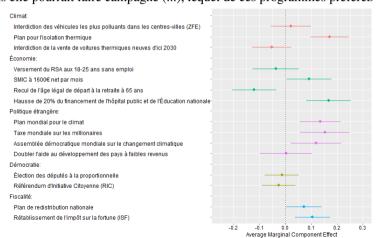
(...) Even if you do not support the Left, which of these platforms do you prefer?



### **Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (France)**

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 ?

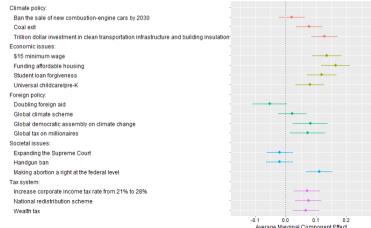


### Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (US)

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?



allocate to different policies. The more you give points to a policy, the more you support it. How do you allocate the points

"you have 100 points that you can

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 as prioritized as a national wealth

tax, if not more. Most prioritized are better public services and a higher minimum wage.

## **Prioritization**

# Mean number of points

econ1 14 21 10 14 34 31 econ2: [Higher minimum wage] (DE: Bürgerversicherung) 24 22 26 21 23 24 econ3 21 15 12 20 16 12

econ4 28 23 28 19 24 20 soc1 10 17 12 16 12 19 soc2 13 9 14 8 9 6

climate1 13 15 11 16 20 13 climate2: Thermal insulation plan (US: also transport) 20 18 21 19 15 16

climate3: Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030 10 9 8 8 8 12 tax1: National redistribution scheme 14 15 16 15 15 17

> foreign1: Global climate scheme 15 20 20 23 16 18 foreign2: Global tax on millionaires 20 21 21 23 21 20

> foreign4: Doubling foreign aid 9 11 12 14 9 8

tax2: Wealth tax (ES: raise tax on top incomes) 19 19 22 18 17 20

foreign3: Global democratic assembly on climate change 15 15 15 16 14 14

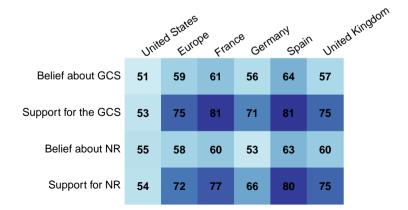
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# Second-order beliefs

### **Belief about the support**

Beliefs on the support for the GCS are relatively accurate: no evidence of pluralistic ignorance in the U.S. an underestimation by 15-20 p.p. in Eu.

According to you, what percentage of [Americans] answer *Yes* to the previous question? The three people who are closest to the true value get [\$50]. *Mean answer* 



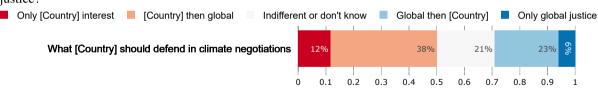
# Universalist values

### **International climate negotiations**

The typical answer is to defend one's country's "interests, to the extent it respects global justice."

Only one eigth wants to defend one's country's "interests, even if it goes against global justice."

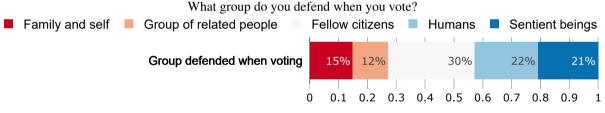
In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend [U.S.] interests or global justice?



### **Group defended**

The most defended group is one's fellow citizens.

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

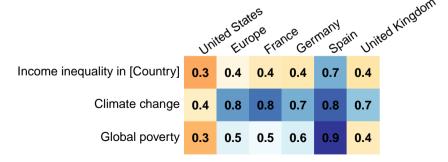


## **Biggest issues**

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

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

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



# Conclusion

#### **Key take-home messages**

- 1. Across the world, people are ready for international solidarity
  - ▶ Near consensus for a global tax on millionaires or a global financial register
  - ► Majorities support to channel 30-50% of global tax revenues to low-income countries
  - ▶ Majorities support global climate policies, including with transfers detrimental to their countries
  - Majorities support increased foreign aid if it really helps the poorest

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#### 2. The support for global redistributive policies is mostly sincere

- Majorities are willing to sign a real-stake petition for the GCS
- ► The global tax on millionaires is given high priority, the GCS average priority
- Progressive candidates would not lose vote by endorsing the GCS

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- 2. The support for global redistributive policies is mostly sincere
  - Majorities are willing to sign a real-stake petition for the GCS
  - ► The global tax on millionaires is given high priority, the GCS average priority
  - Progressive candidates would not lose vote by endorsing the GCS
- 3. The mismatch between support and absence of global policies in the public debate remains unexplained
  - ► Climate change and global poverty are seen as biggest issues than national inequality
  - ▶ Most people show some adherence to universalism
  - ▶ No evidence of pluralistic ignorance: most people correctly guess others' support for the GCS

#### Alternative explanations are needed to explain the mismatch

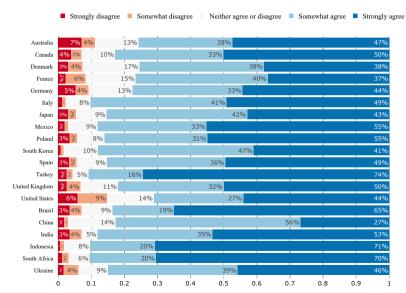
- ▶ Pluralistic ignorance of the elites? ⇒ Ongoing survey on Members of the European Parliament
- ▶ National bias due to national framing by elections, media, or even sport? ⇒ How to test that?
- ► Ideas whose time has come, and just lacked some advocacy? ⇒ Stay tune for the petition!

# Appendix

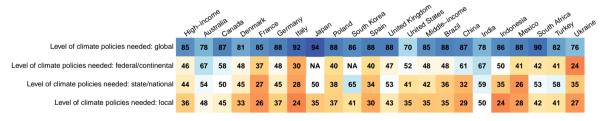
# Descriptive statistics

# **OECD**

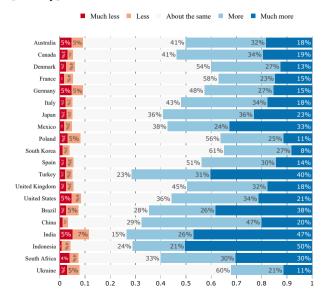
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "[country] should take measures to fight climate change." • Go back



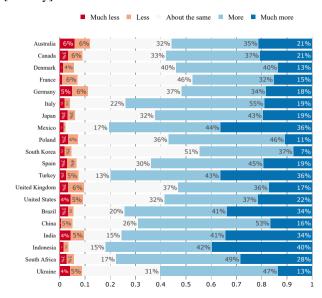
At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) • Go back



How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do? If other countries do more, [country] should do... • Go back

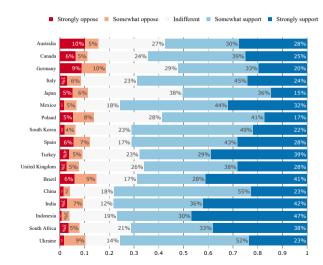


How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do? If other countries do less, [country] should do... • Go back



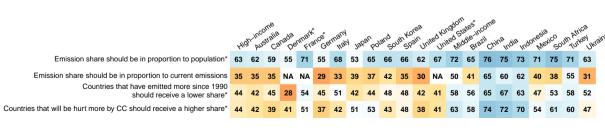
[Question non posée aux U.S., au Danemark et en France] All countries have signed the Paris agreement that aims to contain global warming "well below +2 °C". To limit global warming to this level, there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally, called the carbon budget. Each country 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? 
Goback

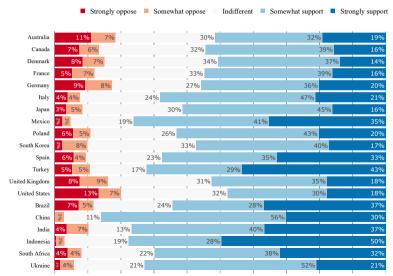


[\*Question not asked in the U.S., Denmark and France, answers to a similar question are displayed] Suppose the above policy is in place. How should the carbon budget be divided among countries? The emission share of a country should be proportional to its population, so that each human has an equal 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



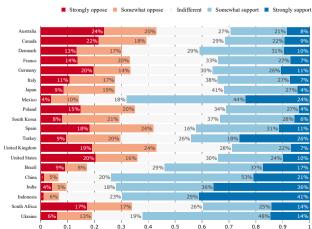
Do you support or oppose establishing a global democratic assembly whose role would be to draft international treaties against climate change? Each adult across the world would have one vote to elect members of the assembly. 
• Go back



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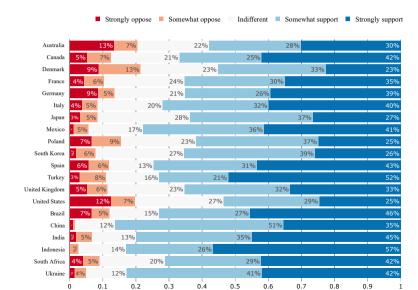
Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the first years). Higher prices would encourage people 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 ba



o 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



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#### Synthèse : Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable). Goback

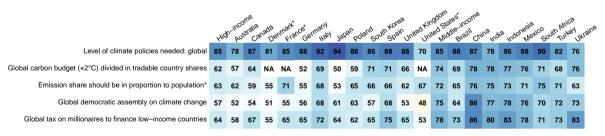
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Level of climate policies needed: global	85 85	78	87	81	85 85	88 v. Ge	92	94	88	86 86	88 88	88 Ju	70	85	88 88	zil <sub>Ch</sub> i 87	na <sub>Ind</sub> 78	86 100	88	ر 90	82	76
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental	46	67	58	48	37	48	30	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	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

		h-inco	ame Stralia	nada Der	nmark*	ince*	rmany	4 .	<sup>jan</sup> Pol	and .	"WKO	ea iir ii	ed Kir	igdom ited Str	ites*	come	na s		onesia Me	sxico So	uth Afri	ca vey is
Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	N Q <sup>©</sup>	***	88 v. Ge	92	94	88	86 86	88	88 JU	70	Mic 85	88 Pr Blo	zzil <sub>Ch</sub> i	ina Indi	86	88	90	82	76
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental		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

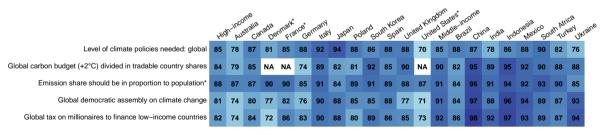
# Principales des attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable). • Go bacl



# Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable) parmi les non indifférents. • Go back



# Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

Moyennes des réponses, recodées en [-2; +2]. Go back

