

International Attitudes Toward Global Policies

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Abstract

We document majority support for policies entailing global redistribution and climate mitigation. Surveys on 40,680 respondents in 20 countries show strong stated support for an effective way to jointly combat climate change and poverty: a global carbon price funding a global basic income, called the “Global Climate Scheme” (GCS). Using complementary surveys on 8,000 respondents in the U.S., France, Germany, Spain, and the UK, we test several hypotheses that could reconcile strong stated support with a lack of salience in policy circles. The GCS is supported by three quarters of Europeans and half of Americans, even as they understand the policy’s cost to them. Using different experiments, we show that the support for the GCS is sincere and that electoral candidates could win votes by endorsing it. More generally, we document widespread support for other globally redistributive policies, such as a wealth tax funding low-income countries or increased foreign aid. In sum, we provide evidence that global policies are genuinely supported by majorities, even in wealthy nations that would bear the burden.

JEL codes: P48, Q58, H23, Q54

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22 Contents

23	Contents	2
24	1 Introduction	3
25	2 Results	5
26	2.1 Data	5
27	2.2 Stated support for global policies	6
28	2.2.1 Global support	6
29	2.2.2 Global Climate Scheme	9
30	2.2.3 Global wealth tax	10
31	2.2.4 Other global policies	11
32	2.2.5 Foreign aid	12
33	2.3 Robustness and sincerity of support for the GCS	14
34	2.3.1 List experiment	15
35	2.3.2 Petition	15
36	2.3.3 Conjoint analyses	16
37	2.3.4 Prioritization	21
38	2.3.5 Pros and Cons	22
39	2.4 Universalistic values	23
40	2.5 Second-order Beliefs	24
41	3 Discussion	25
42	Methods	26
43	Bibliography	28
44	A Literature review	42
45	A.1 Attitudes and perceptions	42
46	A.1.1 Population attitudes on global policies	42
47	A.1.2 Population attitudes on climate burden sharing	43
48	A.1.3 Population attitudes on foreign aid	45
49	A.1.4 Population attitudes on taxes on the rich	46
50	A.1.5 Population attitudes on ethical norms	47
51	A.1.6 Second-order beliefs	48
52	A.1.7 Elite attitudes	49
53	A.2 Proposals and analyses of global policy-making	49
54	A.2.1 Global carbon pricing	49
55	A.2.2 Climate burden sharing	51
56	A.2.3 Global redistribution	56
57	A.2.4 Basic income	57

58	A.2.5 Global democracy	57
59	B Raw results	59
60	C Questionnaire of the global survey (section on global policies)	82
61	D Questionnaire of the complementary surveys	85
62	E Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme	108
63	F Determinants of support	112
64	G Representativeness of the surveys	115
65	H Attrition analysis	117
66	I Balance analysis	120
67	J Placebo tests	121
68	List of Tables	122
69	List of Figures	122

70 **1 Introduction**

71 Major sustainability objectives could be achieved by global approaches to mitigating
 72 climate change and poverty involving transfers from high- to lower-income countries
 73 (Bauer et al. 2020; Budolfson et al. 2021; Cramton et al. 2017; Dennig et al. 2015; Franks
 74 et al. 2018; Soergel et al. 2021). Yet international negotiations have not led to ambitious
 75 globally redistributive policies. We examine a key condition for achieving sustainability
 76 objectives: the support of citizens for such global policies.

77 Recent surveys administered to 40,680 respondents from 20 high- and middle-income
 78 countries reveal substantial support for those policies, especially global climate policies
 79 and a global tax on the wealthiest aimed at financing low-income countries (other ques-
 80 tions from these surveys are analyzed in a companion paper, Dechezleprêtre et al. 2022).
 81 In particular, a global 2% tax on individual wealth in excess of \$5 million would effec-
 82 tively reduce poverty as it would mechanically increase low-income countries' national
 83 income by 50%, if merely 35% of the revenue were allocated for this purpose.¹ Interest-

¹Figures derived from Chancel et al. (2022), the WID wealth tax simulator, and the World Bank.

84 ingly, even in wealthy nations that would bear a significant burden, majorities of citizens
85 express support for such globally redistributive policies.

86 To gain insights into the factors shaping public support for global policies in high-
87 income countries, we conduct complementary surveys among 8,000 respondents from
88 France, Germany, Spain, the U.S., and the UK. The focus of our approach is a specific
89 policy aimed at addressing both climate change and poverty, referred to as the “Global
90 Climate Scheme” (GCS). It implements a cap on carbon emissions to limit global warming
91 below 2°C. The emission rights are auctioned each year to polluting firms and fund a
92 global basic income, alleviating extreme poverty.² In the wording of the question, respon-
93 dents are made aware of the cost to themselves of such global redistribution. The GCS is
94 supported by three quarters of Europeans and half of Americans. We test whether sup-
95 port of the expressed preference is sincere: a list experiment shows no evidence of social
96 desirability bias in survey responses, majorities are willing to sign a real-stake petition
97 (with the question results communicated to the heads of state), and global redistribution
98 ranks high in the prioritization of policies. Conjoint analyses reveal that a political plat-
99 form is more likely to be preferred if it contains the GCS or a global tax on millionaires.
100 Besides, we uncover strong stated support for other globally redistributive policies such
101 as increased foreign aid or the democratization of global institutions, and most respon-
102 dents express some degree of universalism in their underlying values.

103 These findings underscore a strong and genuine support for global climate and redis-
104 tributive policies. In our discussion we offer potential explanations behind the lack of
105 prominence of global policies in the public debate despite this strong support.

106 **Literature** Although international surveys have shown widespread support for costly
107 climate action (Andre et al. 2024; Dechezleprêtre et al. 2022; Leiserowitz et al. 2022), few
108 prior attitudinal surveys have examined policies for global redistribution. Exceptions in-
109 clude Carattini et al. (2019), who study global carbon taxes with international per capita
110 redistribution and find agreement close to 50% in high-income countries. In addition,
111 ISSP (2019) uncover near consensus that “present economic differences between rich and
112 poor countries are too large” (overall, 78% agree and 5% disagree) in each of 29 countries.
113 Fehr et al. (2022) show that, contrary to national redistribution, support for global redistri-
114 bution does not depend on one’s income relative to its fellow citizens but on its country’s

²Although the GCS may seem idealistic, we focus on this policy as its key features allow us to expose respondents in a concise and simple way with the key trade-off between the costs and benefits of globally redistributive climate policies.

¹¹⁵ income per capita. Ghassim et al. (2022) examine support for global democracy in a range
¹¹⁶ of countries and finds that, in countries governed by a coalition, voting shares would shift
¹¹⁷ by 8 (Brazil) to 12 p.p. (Germany) from parties that are said to oppose global democracy
¹¹⁸ to parties that supposedly support it. Appendix A contains a broader literature review
¹¹⁹ including further attitudinal surveys on global policies (A.1.1); prior work on attitudes to-
¹²⁰ ward climate burden sharing (Appendix A.1.2), attitudes toward foreign aid (Appendix
¹²¹ A.1.3); global carbon pricing (Appendix A.2.1), global redistribution (Appendix A.2.3),
¹²² basic income (Appendix A.2.4), and global democracy (Appendix A.2.5).

¹²³ 2 Results

¹²⁴ The presentation of results proceeds as follows: after briefly describing the survey
¹²⁵ data (2.1), we first document broad international support for global approaches to cli-
¹²⁶ mate policy that lead to global redistribution (2.2.1). Subsequently, we present specific
¹²⁷ findings from surveys in the U.S. and Europe that document support for the GCS, wealth
¹²⁸ taxes, and foreign aid in those countries (2.2.2-2.2.5). We proceed to study the support for
¹²⁹ the Global Climate Scheme in more detail, by means of a list experiment, petition, con-
¹³⁰ joint analyses, prioritization task, and by eliciting pros and cons (2.3). To understand the
¹³¹ gap between support for global policies and their appearance in public discussion, we
¹³² conclude by reporting results on underlying universalistic values (2.4) and beliefs about
¹³³ the support of others (2.5).

¹³⁴ 2.1 Data

¹³⁵ The study relies on two sets of surveys: the *Global* survey and the *Complementary* sur-
¹³⁶ veys (see Table S1).

¹³⁷ **Global Survey** The *Global* survey, conducted in 2021, involved 40,680 respondents from
¹³⁸ 20 countries, representing approximately 72% of global CO₂ emissions. This survey serves
¹³⁹ as the basis for measuring stated support for various global policies worldwide. Detailed
¹⁴⁰ information about the data collection process, sample representativeness, and analysis of
¹⁴¹ questions on national policies can be found in Dechezleprêtre et al. (2022).

Table S1: [For Supplementary Material] Summary of the surveys used in the analysis.

Survey	<i>Global survey</i>	<i>Complementary surveys</i>		
	<i>Global</i>	<i>Eu</i>	<i>US1</i>	<i>US2</i>
Country coverage	20 countries	FR, DE, ES, UK	U.S.	U.S.
Sample size	40,680	3,000	3,000	2,000
Main purpose	Stated support for global policies	Focus on GCS (sincerity, rationales, etc.) + Support for global redistribution + Universalistic values		

¹⁴² **Complementary Surveys** To delve deeper into the sincerity and rationales behind sup-
¹⁴³ port for the GCS and attitudes towards global policies, global redistribution, and univer-
¹⁴⁴ salistic values, complementary surveys were conducted in 2023. These surveys are based
¹⁴⁵ on a sample of 8,000 respondents from France, Germany, Spain, the UK, and the U.S. The
¹⁴⁶ European survey (*Eu*) comprises 3,000 respondents, while the U.S. sample was collected
¹⁴⁷ in two separate waves: *US1* with 3,000 respondents and *US2* with 2,000 respondents.
¹⁴⁸ The survey questions in both the European and U.S. surveys are identical, except for an
¹⁴⁹ additional question in *US2* that uses results from *US1* to assess the bandwagon effect.

¹⁵⁰ The complementary surveys ensured representativeness along key dimensions such
¹⁵¹ as gender, income, age, highest diploma, and degree of urbanization. The *Eu* survey is
¹⁵² also representative of its four countries in terms of population size, while the *US1* and *US2*
¹⁵³ surveys are representative in terms of region and ethnicity. Tables S9-S10 confirm that our
¹⁵⁴ samples closely match population frequencies. More detail on data collection is given in
¹⁵⁵ Section Methods. The questionnaires used in the surveys are provided in Appendices C
¹⁵⁶ and D.

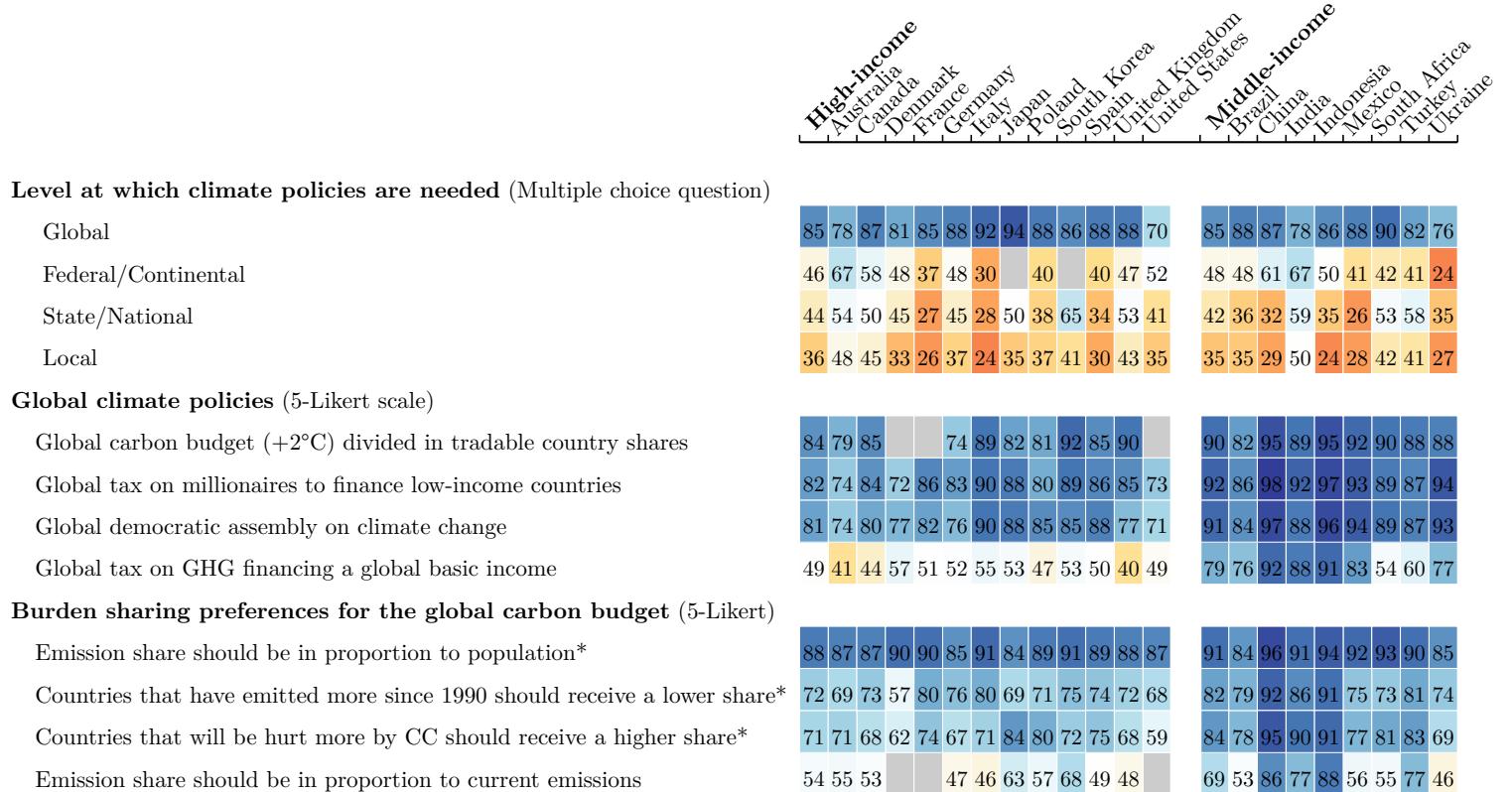
¹⁵⁷ 2.2 Stated support for global policies

¹⁵⁸ 2.2.1 Global support

¹⁵⁹ The Global survey shows strong support for climate policies enacted at the global
¹⁶⁰ level (Figure 1). When asked “At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle
¹⁶¹ climate change need to be put in place?”, 70% (in the U.S.) to 94% (in Japan) choose the
¹⁶² global level. The next most popular choice is the federal or continental level, favored by
¹⁶³ 52% of Americans and less than half of European respondents. Local policies receive the
¹⁶⁴ least support. This preference for climate policies implemented at the global scale is in

¹⁶⁵ line with Beiser-McGrath & Bernauer (2019b) and consistent with individuals' concerns
¹⁶⁶ for the fairness and effectiveness of such policies, which have been identified as two of
¹⁶⁷ the three key determinants of support, besides self-interest (Dechezleprêtre et al. 2022;
¹⁶⁸ Douenne & Fabre 2022; Klenert et al. 2018).

Figure 1: Relative support for global climate policies.



Note 1: The numbers represent the share of *Somewhat* or *Strongly support* among non-*indifferent* answers (in percent, $n = 40,680$). The color blue denotes a relative majority. See Figure S11 for the absolute support. (Questions A-I).

Note 2: *In Denmark, France and the U.S., the questions with an asterisk were asked differently, cf. Question F.

¹⁶⁹ Among the four global climate policies examined in the *Global* survey, three policies
¹⁷⁰ garner high support across all countries (Figure 1). These policies include a global demo-
¹⁷¹ cratic assembly on climate change, a global tax on millionaires to finance low-income
¹⁷² countries contingent on their climate action, and a global carbon budget of +2°C divided
¹⁷³ among countries based on tradable shares (or “global quota”), with the allocation of coun-

¹⁷⁴ try shares unspecified.³ The three policies garner a majority of absolute support (i.e.,
¹⁷⁵ “somewhat” or “strong” support) in all countries (except in the U.S. for the global assem-
¹⁷⁶ bly, 48% absolute support). In high-income countries, the global quota policy obtains 64%
¹⁷⁷ absolute support and 84% relative support (i.e., excluding “indifferent” answers).

¹⁷⁸ Following the support for the global quota, respondents are asked about their pref-
¹⁷⁹ erences for dividing the carbon budget among countries, as depicted in the third block
¹⁸⁰ of Figure 1. Consistent with the existing literature (see Appendix A.1.2), an equal per
¹⁸¹ capita allocation of emission rights emerges as the preferred burden-sharing principle,
¹⁸² garnering absolute majority support in all countries and never below 84% relative sup-
¹⁸³ port. Taking into account historical responsibilities or vulnerability to climate damages is
¹⁸⁴ also popular, albeit with less consensus, while grandfathering (i.e., allocation of emission
¹⁸⁵ shares in proportion to current emissions) receives the least support in all countries.

¹⁸⁶ A global quota with equal per capita emission rights should produce the same distri-
¹⁸⁷ butional outcomes as a global carbon tax that funds a global basic income.⁴ The support
¹⁸⁸ for the global carbon tax is also tested and its redistributive effects – the average increase
¹⁸⁹ in expenditures along with the amount of the basic income – are specified to the respon-
¹⁹⁰ dents explicitly (see box below and Appendix D, p. 90). The support for the carbon tax
¹⁹¹ is lower than for the quota, particularly in high-income countries, and there is no relative
¹⁹² majority for the tax in Anglo-Saxon countries.⁵ Two possible reasons for this lower sup-
¹⁹³ port are that distributive effects are made salient in the case of the tax, and that people
¹⁹⁴ may prefer a quota, perhaps because they find it more effective than a tax to reduce emis-
¹⁹⁵ sions. This interpretation is consistent with the level of support for the global quota once
¹⁹⁶ we make the distributive effects salient, as we do in the complementary surveys.

³The policies were all described with further details to make sure people understood them. Specifically, the policies were presented as follows: an international emissions trading system where “countries that emit more than their national share would pay a fee to countries that emit less than their share”; “a tax on all millionaires in dollars around the world to finance low-income countries that comply with international standards regarding climate action [which] would finance infrastructure and public services such as access to drinking water, healthcare, and education”; “a global democratic assembly whose role would be to draft international treaties against climate change [where] each adult across the world would have one vote to elect members of the assembly”.

⁴Similarly, a global quota with grandfathering is equivalent to a global carbon tax where each country keeps the revenues it collects.

⁵The levels of support are consistent with the findings of Carattini et al. (2019), the only previous study that tested a global carbon tax.

197 **2.2.2 Global Climate Scheme**

198 The complementary surveys (*US1, US2, Eu*) consist of a comprehensive exploration
199 of citizens' attitudes towards the GCS. We present to respondents a detailed description
200 of the GCS and explain its distributive effects, including specific amounts at stake (as
201 specified in the box below). Furthermore, we assess respondents' understanding of the
202 GCS with incentivized questions to test their comprehension of the expected financial
203 outcome for typical individuals in high-income countries (loss) and the poorest individ-
204 uals globally (gain), followed by the provision of correct answers (Figures S12-S13). The
205 same approach is applied to a National Redistribution scheme (NR) targeting the top 5%
206 (in the U.S.) or top 1% (in Europe) with the aim of financing cash transfers to all adults,⁶
207 calibrated to offset the monetary loss of the GCS for the median emitter in their country.
208 We evaluate respondents' understanding that the richest would lose and the typical fel-
209 low citizens would gain from that policy. Subsequently, we summarize both schemes to
210 enhance respondents' recall. Additionally, we present a final incentivized comprehension
211 question and provide the expected answer that the combined GCS and NR would result
212 in no net gain or loss for a typical fellow citizen. Finally, respondents are directly asked
213 to express their support for the GCS and NR using a simple Yes/No question.

214 The stated support for the GCS is 54% in the U.S. and 76% in Europe,⁷ while the
215 support for NR is very similar: 56% and 73% respectively (see Figure S1). Appendix F
216 examines the sociodemographic determinants of support for the GCS as well as the beliefs
217 correlated with the support for a global tax on GHG financing a global basic income. The
218 strongest correlates are political leaning, trust in the government and perceptions that the
219 policy is effective at reducing emissions or in one's self-interest.

⁶The wider base in the U.S. was chosen because emissions are larger in the U.S. than in Europe, and it would hardly be feasible to offset the median American's loss by taxing only the top 1%.

⁷The 95% confidence intervals are [52.4%, 55.9%] in the U.S. and [74.2%, 77.2%] in Europe. The average support is computed with survey weights, employing weights based on quota variables, which exclude vote. Another method to reweigh the raw results involves running a regression of the support for the GCS on sociodemographic characteristics (including vote) and multiplying each coefficient by the population frequencies. This alternative approach yields similar figures: 76% in Europe and 52% or 53% in the U.S. (depending on whether individuals who did not disclose their vote are classified as non-voters or excluded). Notably, the average support excluding non-voters is 54% in the U.S.

The Global Climate Scheme The GCS consists of global emissions trading with emission rights being auctioned each year to polluting firms, and of a global basic income, funded by the auction revenues. Using the price and emissions trajectories from the report by Stern & Stiglitz (2017), and in particular a carbon price of \$90/tCO₂ in 2030, we estimate that the basic income would amount to \$30 per month for every human over the age of 15 (see details in Appendix E). We describe the GCS to the respondents as a “climate club” and we specify its redistributive effects: The 700 million people with less than \$2/day [in Purchasing Power Parity] would be lifted out of extreme poverty, and fossil fuel price increases would cost the typical person in their country a specified amount (see Appendix D for details). The monthly median net cost is \$85 in the U.S., €10 in France, €25 in Germany, €5 in Spain, £20 in the UK.

220

Figure S1: [For Supplementary Material, except first row to be included in Figure 2] Support for the GCS, NR and the combination of GCS, NR and C.
(p. 90, Questions 20, 22, 35, 36, and 26).

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Global climate scheme (GCS)	54	76	80	71	81	74
National redistribution scheme (NR)	56	73	77	66	79	75
National climate policy + GCS + NR	52	74	79	69	81	70

221 **2.2.3 Global wealth tax**

222 Consistent with the results of the global survey, a “tax on millionaires of all countries
 223 to finance low-income countries” garners absolute majority support of over 67% in each
 224 country, only 5 p.p. lower than a national millionaires tax overall (Figure 2). In random
 225 subsamples, we inquire about respondents’ preferences regarding the redistribution of
 226 revenues from a global tax on individual wealth exceeding \$5 million, after providing in-
 227 formation on the revenue raised by such a tax in their country compared to low-income

Figure S2: [For Supplementary Material] Percent of global wealth tax that should finance low-income countries (*mean*). (Question 37)



²²⁸ countries.⁸ We ask certain respondents ($n = 1,283$) what percentage of global tax revenues
²²⁹ should be pooled to finance low-income countries. In each country, at least 88% of re-
²³⁰spondents indicate a positive amount, with an average ranging from 30% (Germany) to
²³¹ 36% (U.S., France) (Figure S2). To other respondents ($n = 1,233$), we inquire whether they
²³²would prefer each country to retain all the revenues it collects or that half of the revenues
²³³ be pooled to finance low-income countries. Approximately half of the respondents opt to
²³⁴ allocate half of the tax revenues to low-income countries.

²³⁵ 2.2.4 Other global policies

²³⁶ We also assess support for other global policies (Figure 2). Most policies garner rel-
²³⁷ative majority support in each country, with two exceptions: the “cancellation of low-
²³⁸income countries’ public debt” and “a maximum wealth limit” for each individual. The
²³⁹latter policy obtains relative majority support in Europe but not in the U.S., despite the
²⁴⁰cap being set at \$10 billion in the U.S. compared to €/£100 million in Europe. Notably,
²⁴¹climate-related policies enjoy significant popularity, with “high-income countries funding
²⁴²renewable energy in low-income countries” receiving absolute majority support across all
²⁴³surveyed countries. Additionally, relative support for loss and damages compensation, as
²⁴⁴approved in principle at the international climate negotiations in 2022 (“COP27”), ranges
²⁴⁵from 55% (U.S.) to 81% (Spain), with absolute support ranging from 41% to 62%.

⁸A 2% tax on net wealth exceeding \$5 million would annually raise \$816 billion, leaving unaffected 99.9% of the world population. More specifically, it would collect €5 billion in Spain, €16 billion in France, £20 billion in the UK, €44 billion in Germany, \$430 billion in the U.S., and \$1 billion collectively in all low-income countries (28 countries, home to 700 million people).

Figure 2: Relative support for various global policies (percentage of *somewhat* or *strong support*, after excluding *indifferent* answers). (Questions 44 and 45; See Figure S33 for the absolute support.)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	55	71	72	70	79	70
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	68	82	82	82	85	81
High-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income countries adapt to climate change	60	76	77	79	79	71
Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt	46	53	53	43	62	61
Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting right proportional to its population	58	71	69	69	78	72
Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries	62	73	58	73	80	83
A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage	63	80	80	78	81	83
Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of all assets	62	87	90	86	91	87
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion (US) / €100 million (Eu) for each human	46	62	58	62	65	67
National tax on millionaires funding public services	73	85	81	87	89	88
Global tax on millionaires funding low-income countries	69	84	84	84	87	83

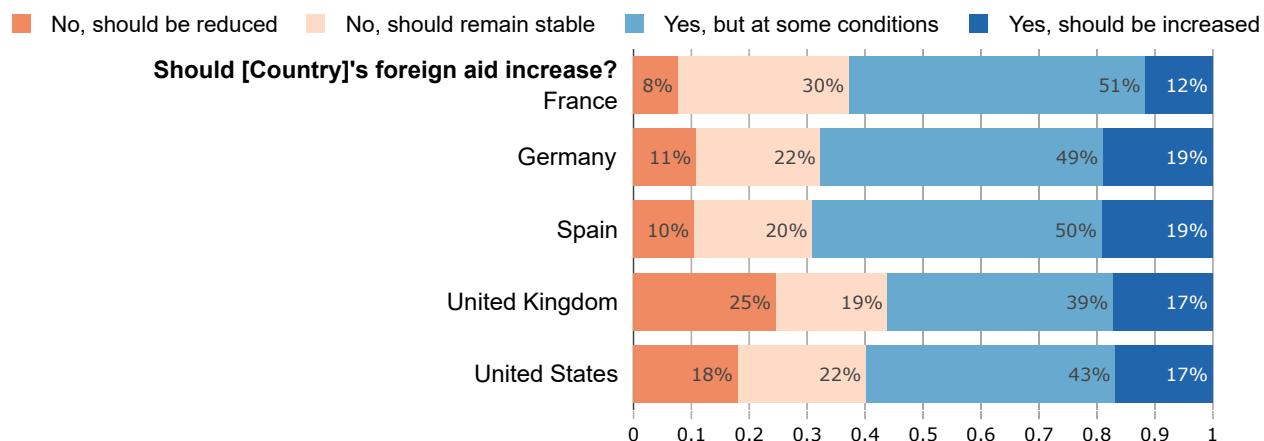
²⁴⁶ 2.2.5 Foreign aid

²⁴⁷ We provide respondents with information about the actual amount “spent on foreign
²⁴⁸ aid to reduce poverty in low-income countries” relative to their country’s government
²⁴⁹ spending and GDP. Less than 16% of respondents state that their country’s foreign aid
²⁵⁰ should be reduced, while 62% express support for increasing it, including 17% who sup-
²⁵¹ port an unconditional increase (Figure S3). Among the 45% who think aid should be in-
²⁵² creased under certain conditions, we subsequently ask them to specify the conditions they
²⁵³ deem necessary (Figure S4). The three most commonly selected conditions are: “we can
²⁵⁴ be sure the aid reaches people in need and money is not diverted” (73% chose this con-
²⁵⁵ dition), “that recipient countries comply with climate targets and human rights” (67%), and

256 “that other high-income countries also increase their foreign aid” (48%).⁹ On the other
 257 hand, respondents who do not wish to increase their country’s foreign aid primarily jus-
 258 tify their view by prioritizing the well-being of their fellow citizens or by perceiving each
 259 country as responsible for its own fate (Figure S5). In response to an open-ended ques-
 260 tion regarding measures high-income countries should take to fight extreme poverty, a
 261 large majority of Americans expressed that more help is needed (Figure S46). The most
 262 commonly suggested form of aid is financial support, closely followed by investments in
 263 education.

264 We also inquire about the perceived amount of foreign aid. Consistent with prior re-
 265 search (see Appendix A.1.3), most people overestimate the actual amount of foreign aid
 266 (Figure S27). We then elicit respondents’ preferred amount of foreign aid, after randomly
 267 presenting them with either the actual amount or no information. Most of the respon-
 268 dents who learn the actual amount choose a bracket at least as high as the actual one, and
 269 most of those without the information choose a bracket at least as high as the perceived
 270 one (Figures S25–S29). Finally, we ask a last question to the respondents who received
 271 the information. To those who prefer an increase of foreign aid, we ask how they would
 272 finance it: by far, the preferred source of funding is higher taxes on the wealthiest (Figure
 273 S30). To those who prefer a reduction, we ask how they would use the funds becoming
 274 available: In every country, more people choose higher spending on education or health-
 275 care rather than lower taxes (Figure S31).

Figure S3: [For Supplementary Material] Attitudes regarding the evolution of [own coun-
try] foreign aid. (Question 46)



⁹It is worth noting that these conditions align closely with the principles of the GCS.

Figure S4: [For Supplementary Material] Conditions at which foreign aid should be increased (in percent). [Asked to those who wish an increase of foreign aid at some conditions.] (Question 47)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
That recipient countries comply with climate targets and human rights	61	72	76	70	74	66
That recipient countries cooperate to fight illegal migrations	36	49	46	53	56	39
That other high-income countries also increase their foreign aid	45	51	52	51	49	49
That this is financed by increased taxes on millionaires	36	38	33	41	35	41
That we can be sure the aid reaches people in need and money is not diverted	68	77	79	80	72	76

Figure S5: [For Supplementary Material] Reasons why foreign aid should not be increased (in percent). [Asked to those who wish a decrease or stability of foreign aid.] (Question 48)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Aid perpetuates poverty as it makes people feel less responsible for themselves	29	30	31	35	31	24
Aid is not effective as most of it is diverted	40	53	48	57	60	49
Aid is a pressure tactic for high-income countries that prevents low-income countries from developing freely	16	16	15	14	23	13
[Country] is not responsible for what happens in other countries	45	30	28	30	20	37
Charity begins at home: there is already a lot to do to support the [country] people in need	63	63	51	62	71	69

²⁷⁶ 2.3 Robustness and sincerity of support for the GCS

²⁷⁷ We use several methods to assess the sincerity of the support for the GCS: a list experiment, a real-stake petition, conjoint analyses, and the prioritization of policies. All
²⁷⁸

²⁷⁹ methods suggest that the support is either completely sincere, or the share of insincere
²⁸⁰ answers is limited.

²⁸¹ **2.3.1 List experiment**

²⁸² By asking *how many* policies within a list respondents support and varying the list
²⁸³ among respondents, a list experiment allows identifying the tacit support for a policy of
²⁸⁴ interest. The tacit support is estimated as the difference in the average number of poli-
²⁸⁵ cies supported between two groups, whose list differ only by the inclusion of that policy
²⁸⁶ (Hainmueller et al. 2014). For example, say a first subsample faces the list of policies A,
²⁸⁷ B, and C, while a second subsamples faces the list A, B, C, and GCS. We do not need to
²⁸⁸ know which policies each respondent support to estimate the average (tacit) support for
²⁸⁹ the GCS, we simply need to compute the difference in the average number of supported
²⁹⁰ policies between the two random subsamples. List experiments have been used to reveal
²⁹¹ social desirability bias, silencing either racism in the Southern U.S. (Kuklinski et al. 1997)
²⁹² or opposition to the invasion of Ukraine in Russia (Chapkovski & Schaub 2022). In our
²⁹³ case, as shown in Table 1, the tacit support for the GCS measured through the list exper-
²⁹⁴ iment is not significantly lower than the direct stated support.¹⁰ Hence, we do not find a
²⁹⁵ social desirability bias in our study.

²⁹⁶ **2.3.2 Petition**

²⁹⁷ We ask respondents whether they are willing to sign a petition in support of either
²⁹⁸ the GCS or NR policy. We inform them that the petition results will be sent to the head
²⁹⁹ of state’s office, highlighting the proportion of fellow citizens endorsing the respective
³⁰⁰ scheme. Even when framed as a real-stake petition, both policies continue to receive
³⁰¹ majority support. In the U.S., we find no significant difference between the support in the
³⁰² real-stake petitions and the simple questions (GCS: $p = .30$; NR: $p = .76$).¹¹ In Europe, the
³⁰³ petition leads to a comparable lower support for both the GCS (7 p.p., $p = 10^{-5}$) and NR
³⁰⁴ (4 p.p., $p = .008$). While some European respondents are unwilling to sign a petition for
³⁰⁵ policies they are expected to support, this effect is not specific to the GCS, and the overall
³⁰⁶ willingness to sign a real-stake petition remains strong, with 69% expressing support for

¹⁰We utilize the difference-in-means estimator, and confidence intervals are computed using Monte Carlo simulation with the R package *list* (Imai 2011).

¹¹Paired weighted *t*-tests are conducted to test the equality in support for a policy among respondents who were questioned about the policy in the petition.

Table 1: Number of supported policies in the list experiment depending on the presence of the Global Climate Scheme (GCS) in the list. The tacit support for the GCS is estimated by regressing the number of supported policies on the presence of the GCS in the list of policies. The social desirability is estimated as the difference between the tacit and stated support, and it is not significantly different from zero even at a 20% threshold (see [Methods](#)).

	Number of supported policies		
	All	U.S.	Europe
List contains: GCS	0.624*** (0.028)	0.524*** (0.041)	0.724*** (0.036)
<i>Support for GCS</i>	0.65	0.542	0.757
<i>Social desirability bias</i>	-0.025	-0.019	-0.033
<i>80% C.I. for the bias</i>	[-0.06; 0.01]	[-0.07; 0.04]	[-0.08; 0.01]
Constant	1.317	1.147	1.486
Observations	6,000	3,000	3,000
R ²	0.089	0.065	0.125

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

³⁰⁷ the GCS and 67% for NR.

³⁰⁸ 2.3.3 Conjoint analyses

³⁰⁹ In order to assess the public support for the GCS in conjunction with other policies, we
³¹⁰ conduct a series of conjoint analyses. We ask respondents to make five choices between
³¹¹ pairs of political platforms.

³¹² The first conjoint analysis suggests that the GCS is supported independently of be-
³¹³ ing complemented by the National Redistribution Scheme and a national climate policy
³¹⁴ (“Coal exit” in the U.S., “Thermal insulation plan” in Europe, denoted C).¹² For the sec-
³¹⁵ ond analysis, we split the sample into four random branches.¹³ The outcome is that there

¹²Indeed, 54% of U.S. respondents and 74% of European ones prefer the combination of C, NR and the GCS to the combination of C and NR alone, indicating similar support for the GCS conditional on NR and C than for the GCS alone (Figure S15).

¹³Results from the first branch show that the support for the GCS conditional on NR, at 55% in the U.S. ($n = 757$) and 77% in Europe ($n = 746$), is not significantly different from the support for the GCS alone. This suggests that rejection of the GCS is not driven by the cost of the policy on oneself. The second branch shows that the support for C conditional on NR is somewhat higher, at 62% in the U.S. ($n = 751$) and 84% in Europe ($n = 747$). However, the third one shows no significant preference for C compared to GCS (both conditional on NR), neither in Europe, where GCS is preferred by 52% ($n = 741$) nor in the U.S., where C is

³¹⁶ is majority support for the GCS and for C, which are seen as neither complement nor substitute. A minor share of respondents like a national climate policy and dislike a global
³¹⁷ one, but as many people prefer a global rather than a national policy; and there is no
³¹⁸ evidence that implementing NR would increase the support for the GCS.
³¹⁹

³²⁰ In the third analysis, we present two random branches of the sample with hypothetical
³²¹ progressive and conservative platforms that differ only by the presence (or not) of the
³²² GCS in the progressive platform. Table 2 shows that a progressive candidate would not
³²³ significantly lose voting share by endorsing the GCS in any country, and may even gain 11
³²⁴ p.p. ($p = .005$) in voting intention in France. The effect is also positive at 3 p.p. ($p = .13$)
³²⁵ in the U.S., although not significant at the 5% threshold. Though the level of support for
³²⁶ the GCS is significantly lower in swing States (at 51%) that are key to win U.S. elections,
³²⁷ the electoral effect of endorsing the GCS remains non-significantly different from zero (at
³²⁸ +1.2 p.p.) in these States.¹⁴

Table 2: Preference for a progressive platform depending on whether it includes the GCS or not. (Question 28)

	Prefers the Progressive platform					
	All	United States	France	Germany	UK	Spain
GCS in Progressive platform	0.028* (0.014)	0.029 (0.022)	0.112*** (0.041)	0.015 (0.033)	0.008 (0.040)	-0.015 (0.038)
Constant	0.623	0.604	0.55	0.7	0.551	0.775
Observations	5,202	2,619	605	813	661	504
R ²	0.001	0.001	0.013	0.0003	0.0001	0.0003

Note: Simple OLS model. The 14% of *None of them* answers have been excluded from the regression samples. GCS has no significant influence on them. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

³²⁹ Our last two analyses make respondents choose between two random platforms. In
³³⁰ Europe, respondents are prompted to imagine that a left or center-left coalition will win
³³¹ the next election and are asked what platform they would prefer that coalition to have
³³² campaigned on. In the U.S., the question is framed as a hypothetical duel in a Democratic
³³³ primary, and asked only to non-Republicans ($n = 2,218$), i.e. the respondents who declare
³³⁴ as political affiliation *Democrat*, *Independent*, *Non-Affiliated* or *Other*. In the fourth analysis,

preferred by 53% ($n = 721$). The fourth branch shows that 55% in the U.S. ($n = 771$) and 77% in Europe ($n = 766$) prefer the combination of C, NR and the GCS to NR alone.

¹⁴We define swing states as the 8 states with less than 5 p.p. margin of victory in the 2020 election (MI, NV, PA, WI, AZ, GA, NC, FL). The results are robust to using the 3 p.p. threshold (that excludes FL) instead.

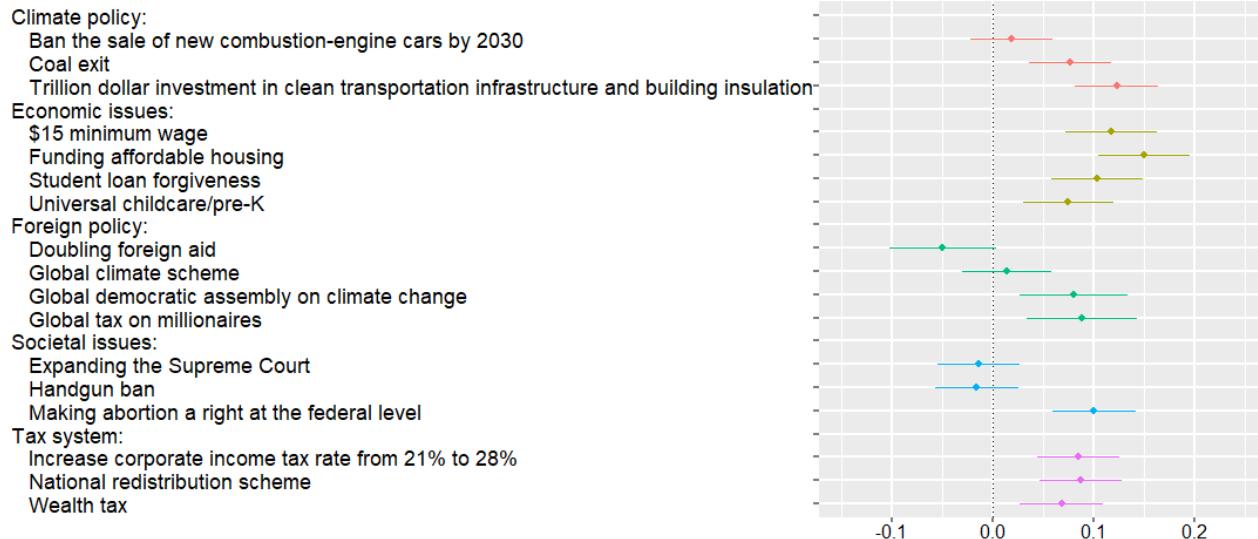
³³⁵ a policy (or an absence of policy) is randomly drawn for each platform in each of five
³³⁶ categories: *economic issues, societal issues, climate policy, tax system, foreign policy* (Figure S6).

³³⁷ Except for the category *foreign policy*, which features the GCS 42% of the time, the
³³⁸ policies are prominent progressive policies and they are drawn uniformly. In the UK,
³³⁹ Germany, and France, a platform is about 9 to 13 p.p. more likely to be preferred if it
³⁴⁰ includes the GCS rather than no foreign policy.¹⁵ This effect is between 1 and 4 p.p.
³⁴¹ and no longer significant in the U.S. and in Spain. Moreover, a platform that includes
³⁴² a global tax on millionaires rather than no foreign policy is 5 to 13 percentage points
³⁴³ (p.p.) more likely to be preferred in all countries (the effect is significant and at least
³⁴⁴ 9 p.p. in all countries but Spain). Similarly, a global democratic assembly on climate
³⁴⁵ change has a significant effect of 8 to 12 p.p. in the U.S., Germany, and France. These
³⁴⁶ effects are large, and not far from the effects of the policies most influential on the plat-
³⁴⁷ forms, which range between 15 and 18 p.p. in most countries (and 27 p.p. in Spain), and
³⁴⁸ all relate to improved public services (in particular healthcare, housing, and education).

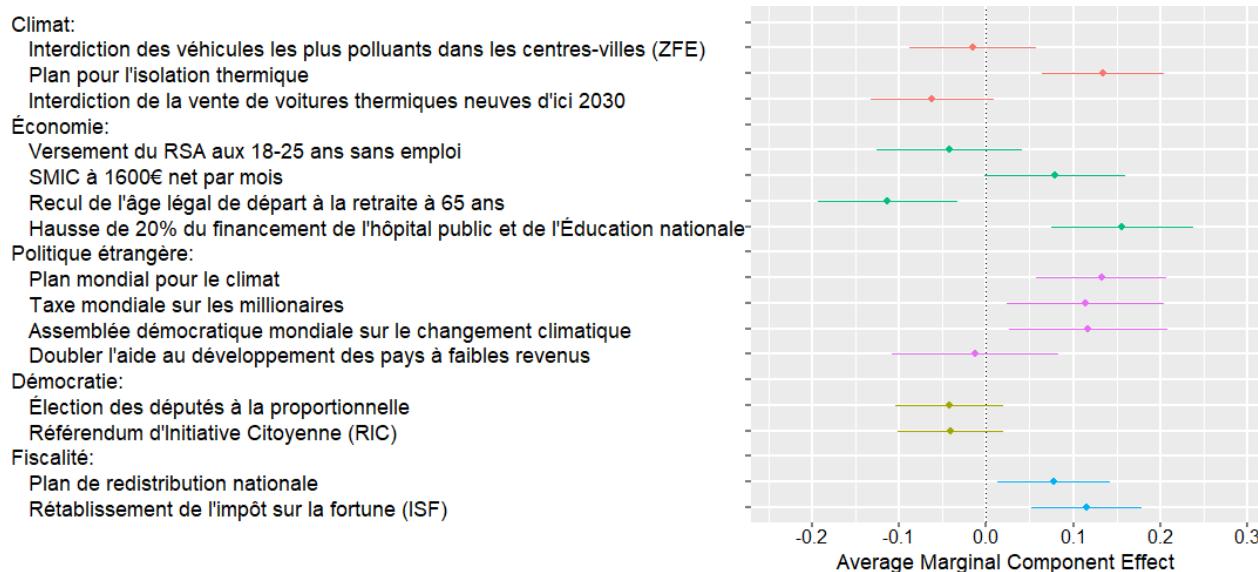
¹⁵This is the Average Marginal Component Effect computed following Hainmueller et al. (2014).

Figure S6: [For Supplementary Material] Effects of the presence of a policy (rather than none from this domain) in a random platform on the likelihood that it is preferred to another random platform. (See English translations in Figure S16; Question 29)

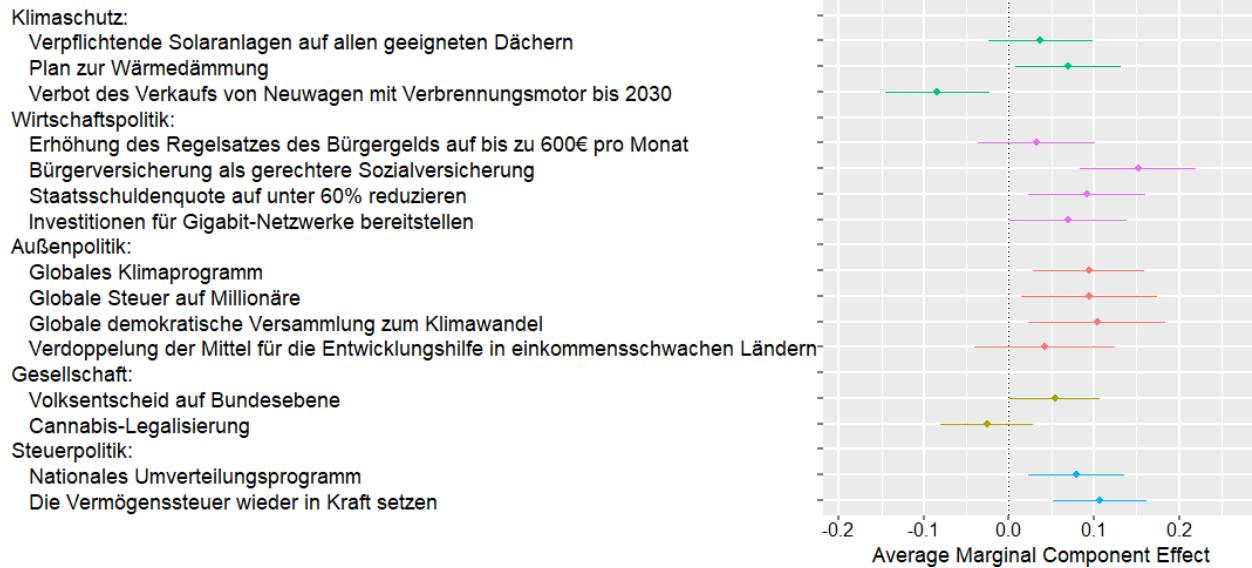
(a) U.S. (Asked only to non-Republicans)



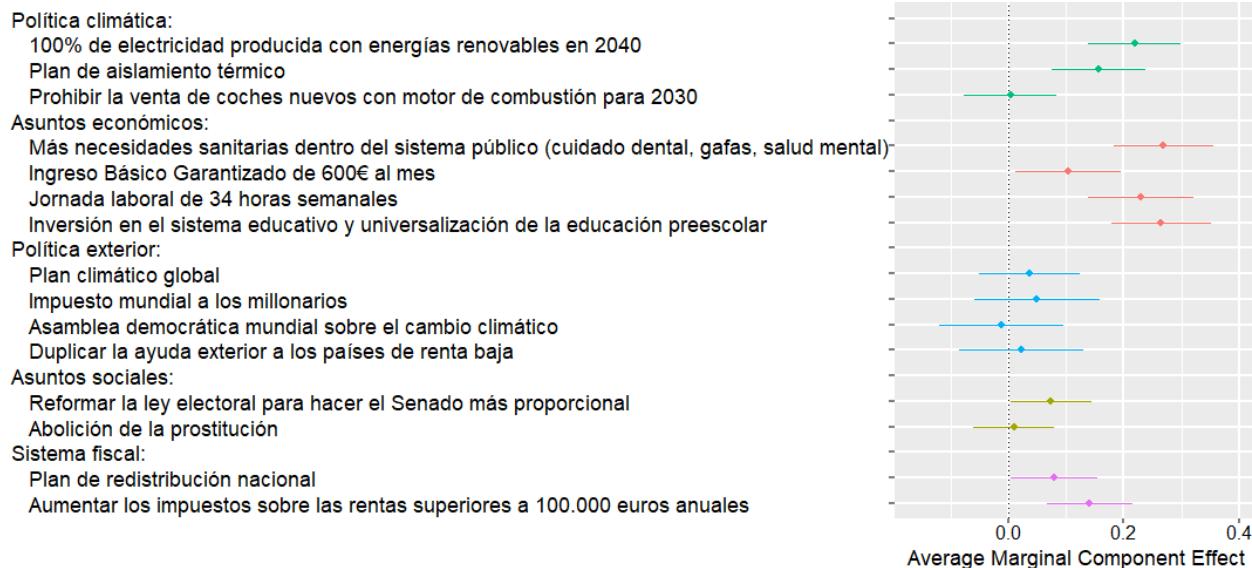
(b) France



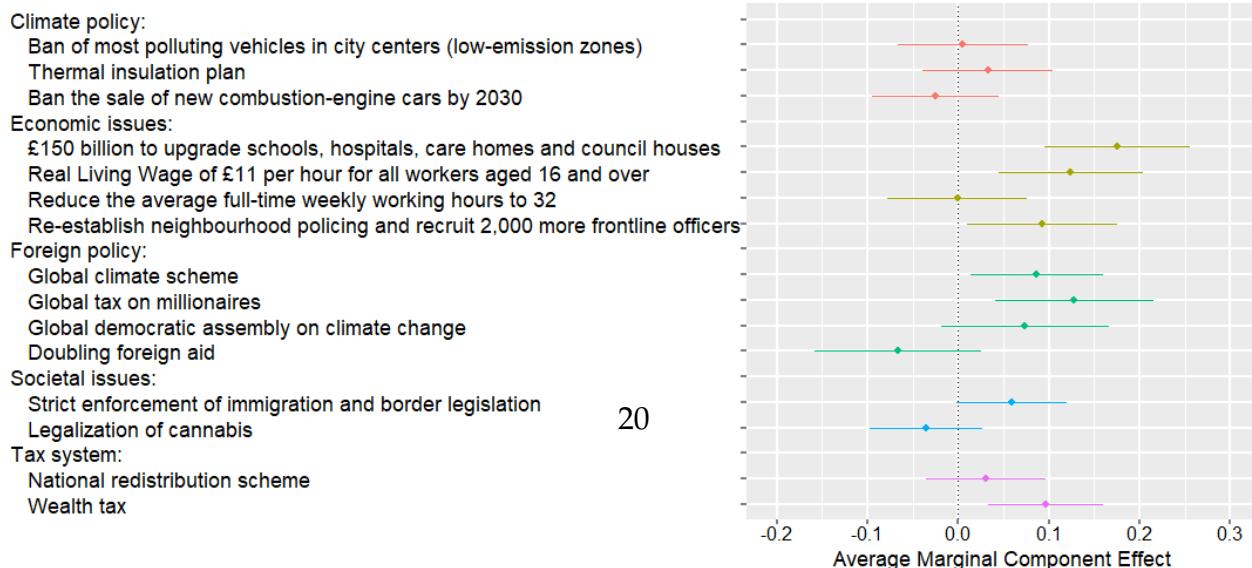
(c) Germany



(d) Spain

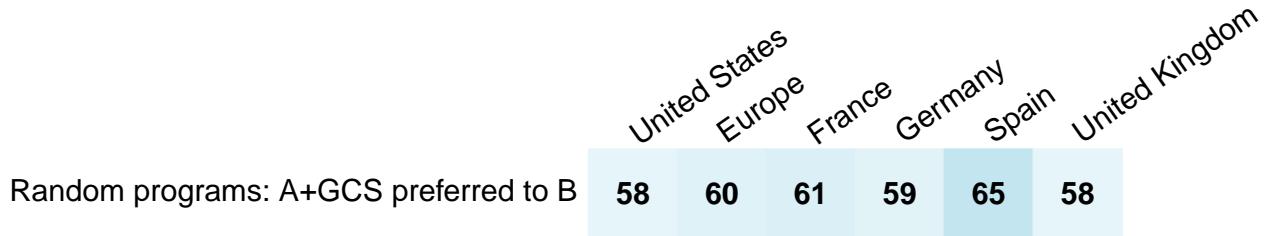


(e) UK



³⁴⁹ The fifth analysis draws random platforms similarly, except that candidate A's platform
³⁵⁰ always contains the GCS while B's includes no foreign policy. In this case, A is chosen by
³⁵¹ 60% in Europe and 58% in the U.S. (Figure S7). Overall, taking the U.S. as an example, our
³⁵² conjoint analyses indicate that a candidate at the Democratic primary would have more
³⁵³ chances to obtain the nomination by endorsing the GCS, and this endorsement would not
³⁵⁴ penalize her or him at the presidential election. This result reminds the finding that 12%
³⁵⁵ of Germans shift their voting intention from SPD and CDU/CSU to the Greens and the
³⁵⁶ Left when they are told that the latter parties support global democracy (Ghassim 2020).

Figure S7: [For Supplementary Material] Influence of the GCS on preferred platform:
Preference for a random platform A that contains the Global Climate Scheme rather than
a platform B that does not (in percent). (Question 30; in the U.S., asked only to non-
Republicans.)



³⁵⁷ 2.3.4 Prioritization

³⁵⁸ Towards the end of the survey, we ask respondents to allocate 100 points among six
³⁵⁹ randomly selected policies from the previous conjoint analyses, using sliders. The instruc-
³⁶⁰ tion was to distribute the points based on their level of support, with a higher allocation
³⁶¹ indicating greater support for a policy. As a result, the average support across policies is
³⁶² 16.67 points. In each country, the GCS ranks in the middle of all policies or above, with
³⁶³ an average number of points from 15.4 in the U.S. to 22.9 in Germany.

³⁶⁴ Interestingly, in Germany, the most prioritized policy is the global tax on millionaires,
³⁶⁵ while the GCS is the second most prioritized policy. The global tax on millionaires con-
³⁶⁶ sistently ranks no lower than fifth position (out of 15 or 17 policies) in every country,
³⁶⁷ garnering an average of 18.3 points in Spain to 22.9 points in Germany.

³⁶⁸ This question sheds light on a potential discrepancy between the policy priorities of
³⁶⁹ the public and those enacted by legislators. For instance, while the European Union and
³⁷⁰ California have enacted plans to phase out new combustion-engine cars by 2035, the pro-
³⁷¹ posal to “ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030” emerged as one of the

³⁷² three least prioritized policies in each country, with an average allocation of 7.8 points in
³⁷³ France to 11.4 points in the UK.

³⁷⁴ **2.3.5 Pros and Cons**

³⁷⁵ We survey respondents to gather their perspectives on the pros and cons of the GCS,
³⁷⁶ utilizing either an open-ended or a closed question. In the closed question format, re-
³⁷⁷ spondents tend to consider every argument as important in determining their support
³⁷⁸ or opposition to the GCS (see Figure S17). Notably, the least important aspect was the
³⁷⁹ negative impact on their household, with 60% in Europe ($n=1,505$) and 75% in the U.S.
³⁸⁰ ($n=493$) finding it important. The most important elements differ between Europe and the
³⁸¹ U.S. In Europe, the key factors are the GCS's potential to limit climate change and reduce
³⁸² poverty in low-income countries, both deemed important by 85% of respondents. In the
³⁸³ U.S., having sufficient information about the scheme ranks highest at 89%, followed by
³⁸⁴ its potential to foster global cooperation at 82%. However, due to the limited variation in
³⁸⁵ the ratings for each element, the closed question format is inconclusive (Figure S17).

³⁸⁶ The open-ended question provides more insights into what people associate with the
³⁸⁷ GCS when prompted to think about it. Analyzing keywords in the responses (automati-
³⁸⁸ cally translated into English), the most frequently mentioned topics are the international
³⁸⁹ aspect and the environment, each appearing in approximately one-quarter of the answers
³⁹⁰ (see Figure S19). This is followed by discussions on the effects of the GCS on poverty and
³⁹¹ prices, each mentioned by about one-tenth of the respondents. We also manually clas-
³⁹² sified each answer into different categories (see Figure S18). This exercise confirms the
³⁹³ findings from the automatic search: the environmental benefit of the GCS is the most
³⁹⁴ commonly discussed topic, while obstacles to implementation or agreement on the pro-
³⁹⁵ posal are relatively infrequently mentioned.¹⁶

³⁹⁶ In the US2 survey, we divided the sample into four random branches. Two branches
³⁹⁷ were presented the pros and cons questions (either in open or closed format) *before* being
³⁹⁸ asked about their support for the GCS or NR. Another branch received information on
³⁹⁹ the actual level of support for the GCS and NR (estimated in US1, see Section 2.5), and
⁴⁰⁰ one control group received none of these treatments. The objective of this "pros and
cons treatment" was to simulate a "campaign effect", which refers to the shift in opinion

¹⁶Moreover, around one in four respondents explicitly cites pros or cons. Few individuals explicitly express support or opposition, and misunderstandings are rare. Only 11% of the responses are empty or express a lack of opinion, though one-quarter are unclassifiable due to the rarity, nonsensical nature, or irrelevance of the conveyed idea.

402 resulting from media coverage of the proposal. To conservatively estimate the effect of
403 a (potentially negative) campaign, we intentionally included more cons (6) than pros (3).
404 Interestingly, the support for the GCS decreased by 11 p.p. after respondents viewed a
405 list of its pros and cons.¹⁷ Notably, the support also decreased by 7 p.p. after respondents
406 were asked to consider the pros and cons in an open-ended question. Although support
407 remains significant,¹⁸ these results suggest that the public success of the GCS would be
408 sensitive to the content of the debate about it, and subject to the discourse adopted by
409 interest groups.

410 2.4 Universalistic values

411 We also elicit underlying values, to test whether broad values are consistent with peo-
412 ple's support for specific policies. When we ask respondents which group they defend
413 when they vote, 20% choose "sentient beings (humans and animals)," 22% choose "hu-
414 mans," 33% select their "fellow citizens" (or "Europeans"), 15% choose "My family and
415 myself," and the remaining 10% choose another group (mainly "My State or region" or
416 "People sharing my culture or religion"). The first two categories, representing close to
417 one out of two people, can be described as universalist in their vote. Notably, a majority
418 of left-wing voters can even be considered universalist voters (see Figure S47 for main
419 attitudes by vote).

420 When asked what their country's diplomats should defend in international climate
421 negotiations, only 11% prefer their country's "interests, even if it goes against global jus-
422 tice." In contrast, 30% prefer global justice (with or without consideration of national
423 interests), and the bulk of respondents (38%) prefer their country's "interests, to the ex-
424 tent it respects global justice."

425 Furthermore, when we ask respondents to assess the extent to which climate change,
426 global poverty, and inequality in their country are issues, climate change is generally
427 viewed as the most significant problem (with a mean score of 0.59 after recoding answers
428 between -2 and 2). This is followed by global poverty (0.42) and national inequality (0.37).

429 Finally, we conduct a lottery experiment to elicit universalistic values. Respondents

¹⁷Surprisingly, the support for National Redistribution also decreased by 7 p.p. following the closed question about the GCS. This suggests that some individuals may lack attention and confuse the two policies, or that contemplating the pros and cons alters the mood of some people, moving them away from their initial positive impression.

¹⁸Despite some significant effects of pondering the pros and cons, approximately half of the Americans express support for the GCS across all treatment branches (see Table S2).

430 were automatically enrolled in a lottery with a \$100 prize and had to choose the proportion
431 of the prize they would keep for themselves versus give to a person living in poverty.
432 The charity donation is directed either to an African individual or a fellow citizen, de-
433 pending on the respondent's random assignment. In Europe, we observe no significant
434 variation in the willingness to donate based on the recipient's origin. In the U.S., the do-
435 nations to Africans are 3 p.p. lower (with an average donation of 34%), but the slightly
436 lower donations to Africans are entirely driven by Trump voters and non-voters (Table
437 S3).

438 Overall, answers to these broad value questions are consistent with half of Ameri-
439 cans and three quarters of Europeans supporting global policies like the GCS: people are
440 almost as much willing to give to poor Africans than to poor fellow citizens, find that
441 global issues are among the biggest problems, almost half of them are universalist when
442 they vote, and most of them wish that their diplomats take into account global justice.

443 2.5 Second-order Beliefs

444 To explain the strong support for the GCS despite its absence from political platforms
445 and public debate, we hypothesized pluralistic ignorance, i.e. that the public and policy-
446 makers mistakenly perceive the GCS as unpopular. As a result, individuals might conceal
447 their support for such globally redistributive policies, believing that advocating for them
448 would be futile. However, the evidence for pluralistic ignorance is limited based on an
449 incentivized question about perceived support (Figure S8).

450 In the case of Americans, their beliefs about the level of support for the GCS are rel-
451 atively accurate. The mean perceived support is 52% (with quartiles of 36%, 52%, and
452 68%), which closely aligns with the actual support of 53%. Europeans, on the other hand,
453 underestimate the support by 17 p.p. Nonetheless, 65% of them correctly estimate that
454 the GCS garners majority support, and the mean perceived support is 59% (and quar-
455 tiles of 43%, 61%, and 74%), compared to the actual support of 76%. Second-order beliefs
456 are equally accurate for NR in the U.S. and similarly underestimated in Europe. Finally,
457 consistent with Americans accurately perceiving the levels of support for the GCS or NR,
458 providing information on the actual level had no significant effect on their support in the
459 US2 survey.

Figure S8: [For Supplementary Material] Beliefs regarding the support for the GCS and NR. (Questions 21 and 23)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Belief about GCS	52	59	61	56	63	57
Support for the GCS	54	76	80	71	81	74
Belief about NR	55	58	60	53	62	59
Support for NR	56	73	77	66	79	75

460 3 Discussion

461 Our point of departure are recent surveys conducted in 20 of the largest countries, as
 462 they reveal robust majority support for global redistributive and climate policies, even
 463 in high-income countries that would financially lose from them. The results from com-
 464 plementary surveys conducted in the U.S. and four European countries reinforce these
 465 findings. We find strong support for global taxes on the wealthiest individuals, as well
 466 as majority support for our main policy of interest – the Global Climate Scheme (GCS).
 467 The GCS encompasses carbon pricing at a global level through an emissions trading sys-
 468 tem, accompanied by a global basic income funded by the scheme’s revenues. Additional
 469 experiments, such as a list experiment and a real-stake petition, demonstrate that the
 470 support for the GCS is real. Such genuine support is further substantiated by the prioriti-
 471 zation of the GCS over prominent national climate policies and aligned with a significant
 472 portion of the population holding universalistic values rather than nationalistic or ego-
 473 istic ones. Moreover, the conjoint analyses indicate that a progressive candidate would
 474 not lose voting shares by endorsing the GCS, and may even gain 11 p.p. in voting shares
 475 in France. Similarly, a candidate endorsing the GCS would gain votes in a U.S. Demo-
 476 cratic primary, while in Europe, a progressive platform that includes the GCS would be
 477 preferred over one that does not.

478 Having ruled out insincerity and underestimation of fellow citizens’ support as po-
 479 tential explanations for the scarcity of global policies in the public debate, we propose
 480 alternative explanations. The first two are variations of pluralistic ignorance, and the last

481 three represent complementary explanations.

482 First, there may be pluralistic ignorance *among policymakers* regarding universalistic
483 values, support for the GCS, or the electoral advantage of endorsing it. Second, people or
484 policymakers may believe that globally redistributive policies are politically infeasible in
485 some key (potentially foreign) countries like the U.S. Third, political discourse centrally
486 happens at the national level, shaped by national media and institutions such as voting.
487 National framing by political voices may create biases and suppress universalistic values.
488 Fourth, many individuals, including policymakers, may perceive global redistributive
489 policies as ill-defined or technically infeasible, ultimately dismissing them as unrealistic.
490 In particular, policymakers may have insider information about the technical feasibility of
491 such policies. Alternatively, the perception of unrealism may stem from an unawareness
492 of specific proposals. Fifth, just as policy is disproportionately influenced by the economic
493 elites ([Gilens & Page 2014](#); [Persson & Sundell 2023](#)), public debate may be shaped by the
494 wealthiest, who have vested interests in preventing global redistribution.

495 Confirmation of any of these hypotheses would lead to a common conclusion: there
496 exists substantial support for global policies addressing climate change and global in-
497 equality, even in high-income countries, and the perceived boundaries of political real-
498 ism on this issue may soon shift. Recent developments suggest that such a change might
499 be underway: the [African Union \(2023\)](#) calls for a global carbon taxation regime, a call
500 quickly endorsed by the President of the EU Commission;¹⁹ the [UN \(2023\)](#) is setting up a
501 Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation, where various countries want
502 to open discussions about a global wealth tax; Brazil uses its presidency of the G20 in 2024
503 to propose a global tax to finance sustainable development; the International Maritime
504 Organization is poised to adopt a global carbon levy on maritime fuel; etc. Uncovering
505 evidence to support the above hypotheses could draw attention to global policies in the
506 public debate and contribute to their increased prominence.

507 Methods

508 **Data collection.** The paper utilizes two sets of surveys: the *Global* survey and the *Complementary*
509 surveys. The *Complementary* surveys consist of two U.S. surveys, *US1* and *US2*, and one European
510 survey, *Eu*. The *Global* survey was conducted from March 2021 to March 2022 on 40,680 respon-
511 dents from 20 countries (with 1,465 to 2,488 respondents per country). *US1* collected responses
512 from 3,000 respondents between January and March 2023, while *US2* gathered data from 2,000

¹⁹Cf. this tweet by Ursula von der Leyen: twitter.com/vonderleyen/status/1700416700238225659.

513 respondents between March and April 2023. *Eu* included 3,000 respondents and was conducted
514 from February to March 2023. We used the survey companies *Dynata* and *Respondi*. To ensure rep-
515 resentative samples, we employed stratified quotas based on gender, age (5 brackets), income (4),
516 region (4), education level (3), and ethnicity (3) for the U.S. We also incorporated survey weights
517 throughout the analysis to account for any remaining imbalances. These weights were constructed
518 using the quota variables as well as the degree of urbanity, and trimmed between 0.25 and 4. By
519 applying weights, the results are fully representative of the respective countries. Results at the
520 European level apply different weights which ensure representativeness of the combined four Eu-
521 ropean countries. Appendix G confirms that our samples are representative of the population.
522 Appendix I shows that the treatment branches are balanced. Appendix J runs placebo tests of the
523 effects of each treatment on unrelated outcomes. We do not find effects of earlier treatments on
524 unrelated outcomes arriving later in the survey.

525 **Data quality.** The median duration is 28 minutes for the *Global* survey, 14 min for *US1*, 11 min
526 for *US2*, and 20 min for *Eu*. To ensure the best possible data quality, we exclude respondents who
527 fail an attention test or rush through the survey (i.e., answer in less than 11.5 minutes in the *Global*
528 survey, 4 minutes in *US1* or *US2*, 6 minutes in *Eu*).

529 **Questionnaires and raw results.** The questionnaire and raw results of the *Global* survey can be
530 found in the Appendix of the companion paper (Dechezleprêtre et al. 2022). The raw results are
531 reported in Appendix B²⁰ while the surveys' structures and questionnaires are given in Appen-
532 dices C and D. The questionnaires are the same as the ones given *ex ante* in the registration plan
533 (osf.io/fy6gd).

534 **Incentives.** To encourage accurate and truthful responses, several questions of the *US1* survey
535 use incentives. For each of the three comprehension questions that follow the policy descrip-
536 tions, we randomly select and reward three respondents who provide correct answers with a \$50
537 gift certificate. Similarly, for questions involving estimating support shares for the GCS and NR,
538 three respondents with the closest guesses to the actual values receive a \$50 gift certificate. In the
539 donation lottery question, we randomly select one respondent and split the \$100 prize between
540 the NGO GiveDirectly and the winner according to the winner's choice. In total, our incentives
541 scheme distributes gift certificates (and donations) for a value of \$850. Finally, respondents have
542 an incentive to answer truthfully to the petition question, as they are aware that the results for
543 that question (the share of respondents supporting the policy) will be transmitted to the U.S. Pres-
544 ident's office.

²⁰Country-specific raw results are also available as supplementary material files: [US](#), [EU](#), [FR](#), [DE](#), [ES](#), [UK](#).

545 **Data and code availability**

546 All data and code of the *Complementary* surveys as well as figures of the paper are available on
547 github.com/bixiou/global_tax_attitudes. Data and code for the *Global* survey will be made public
548 upon publication.

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915 **A Literature review**

916 **A.1 Attitudes and perceptions**

917 **A.1.1 Population attitudes on global policies**

918 Using representative samples in 125 countries covering 96% of the world's greenhouse
919 gas emissions, Andre et al. (2024) show that 69% of the global population express willing-
920 ness to contribute 1% of their income to fight global warming. Carattini et al. (2019) test
921 the support for six variants of a global carbon tax on samples in five countries, represen-
922 tative along gender and age. For a given variant, the sample size is about 167 respondents
923 per country. They find over 80% support for any variant in India, between 50% and 65%
924 in Australia, the UK and South Africa, and 43% to 59% in the U.S., depending on the
925 variant. Notably, the support for a global carbon tax funding an equal dividend for each
926 human is close to 50% in high-income countries (e.g., at 44% in the U.S.), consistently with
927 our results from the *Global* survey (see Figure 1). This is another piece of evidence that the
928 support is lower for a tax that would "only" reduce CO₂ emissions than for a quota that
929 would unambiguously achieve the climate target. Using a conjoint analysis in the U.S.
930 and Germany, Beiser-McGrath & Bernauer (2019b) find that the support for a carbon tax
931 increases by up to 50% if it applies to all industrialized countries rather than exclusively
932 to one's own country.

933 In surveys conducted in Brazil, Germany, Japan, the UK and the U.S., Ghassim (2020)
934 finds support ranging from 55% to 74% for "a global democracy including both a global
935 government and a global parliament, directly elected by the world population, to recom-
936 mend and implement policies on global issues". Through an experiment, he also finds
937 that, in countries where the government stems from a coalition, voting shares would shift
938 by 8 (Brazil) to 12 p.p. (Germany) from parties who are said to oppose global democracy
939 to parties that supposedly support it. For instance, when Germans respondents were told
940 that (only) the Greens and the Left support global democracy, these parties gained re-
941 spectively 9 and 3 p.p. in vote intentions, while the SPD and the CDU-CSU each lost 6
942 p.p. Ghassim (2020) also presents survey results showing strong majorities in favor of the
943 direct election of one's country's UN representative in all 18 surveyed countries. Simi-
944 larly, in each of 10 countries, there are clear majorities in favor of "a new supranational
945 entity [taking] enforceable global decisions in order to solve global risks" (Global Chal-
946 lenges Foundation 2018). Remarkably, already in 1946, 54% of Americans agreed (while

947 24% disagreed) that “the UN should be strengthened to make it a world government with
948 the power to control the armed forces of all nations” (Gallup 1946). Furthermore, in sur-
949 veys conducted in Argentina, China, India, Russia, Spain, and the U.S., Ghassim et al.
950 (2022) find majority support for UN reforms that would make United Nations’ decisions
951 binding, give veto powers to a few other major countries at the Security Council, or com-
952 plement the highest body of the UN with a chamber of directly elected representatives.

953 Relatedly, Meiland et al. (2023) find that both Americans and French people prefer an
954 international settlement of climate justice, even if it encroaches on sovereignty. In a 2013
955 survey conducted in China, Germany, and the U.S., Schleich et al. (2016) show that over
956 three-quarter of people think that international climate agreements reached so far are not
957 successful and that future agreements are important. In Finland, Sivonen (2022) finds that
958 that support for a carbon tax is higher if implemented at the global level (54%) rather than
959 at the national level (40%).

960 The results from these specific questions are in line with the answers to more general
961 questions. In each of 36 countries, ISSP (2010) find near consensus that “for environmental
962 problems, there should be international agreements that [their country] and other coun-
963 tries should be made to follow” (overall, 82% agree and 4% disagree). In each of 29 coun-
964 tries, ISSP (2019) uncover near consensus that “Present economic differences between rich
965 and poor countries are too large” (overall, 78% agree and 5% disagree). Leiserowitz et al.
966 (2021) reveal that 66% of Americans support providing “financial aid and technical sup-
967 port to developing countries that agree to limit their greenhouse gas emissions.” Fehr
968 et al. (2022) find that 90% of Germans want some degree of global redistribution.

969 A.1.2 Population attitudes on climate burden sharing

970 Despite differences in the description of fairness principles, surveys on burden-sharing
971 rules show consistent attitudes. Or at least, their seemingly contradictory results can be
972 made compatible with the following interpretation: Concerning emissions reductions,
973 most people want that every country engage in strong and collective decarbonization ef-
974 forts, with a global quota converging to climate neutrality in the medium run. Concerning
975 the financial effort, most people support high-emitting countries paying and low-income
976 countries receiving funding. The most supported rules are those perceived as equitable,
977 in particular an equal right to emit per person.

978 This interpretation helps to understand the apparent differences between articles that
979 approach burden sharing from different angles: cost sharing (in money terms), effort shar-

980 ing (in terms of emissions reductions), or resource sharing (in terms of rights to emit).
981 Existing papers adopt either the cost sharing or effort sharing approach, which preclude
982 any country from being a net receiver of funds. Also, by focusing on *either* the financial
983 or the decarbonization effort, these surveys miss the other half of the picture, which can
984 explain why some papers find strong support for the ability-to-pay principle while others
985 find strong support for grandfathering (defined as emissions reductions being the same
986 in every country). The literature follows these approaches to align with the notions used
987 by the UNFCCC. Yet, we argue that the resource sharing approach is preferable for un-
988 covering attitudes, as it unambiguously describes the distributive implications of each
989 rule while achieving an efficient geographical distribution of emissions reductions and
990 explicitly allowing for monetary gains for some countries.

991 Now, let us summarize the results of the different papers in the light of this clarifica-
992 tion. Schleich et al. (2016) find an identical ranking of support for burden-sharing prin-
993 ciples in China, Germany, and the U.S.: polluter-pays followed by ability-to-pay, equal
994 emissions per capita, and grandfathering. Note that the authors do not allow for emis-
995 sions trading in their description of equal *emissions per capita*, which may explain its rel-
996 atively low support. Yet, the relative support for egalitarianism also depends on how
997 the other rules are described. Indeed, Carlsson et al. (2011) find that Swedes prefer that
998 “all countries are allowed to emit an equal amount per capita” rather than options where
999 emissions are reduced based on current or historical emissions, for which it is explicitly
1000 stated that high-emitting countries “will continue to emit more than others”. Bechtel &
1001 Scheve (2013) find agreement that rich countries should pay more and historical emissions
1002 should matter, but that efforts should not be solely borne by wealthy nations. More pre-
1003 cisely, their conjoint analysis conducted in France, Germany, the UK, and the U.S. shows
1004 that a climate agreement is 15 p.p. more likely to be preferred (to a random alternative)
1005 if it includes 160 countries rather than 20, and 5 p.p. less likely to be preferred if “only
1006 rich countries pay” compared to other burden-sharing rules: “rich countries pay more
1007 than poor”, “countries pay proportional to current emissions” or “countries pay propor-
1008 tional to historical emissions”. In Germany and the U.S., Gampfer et al. (2014) also find
1009 stronger support for funding climate action in low-income countries when cost is shared
1010 with other countries. Using a choice experiment, Carlsson et al. (2013) find that the least
1011 preferred option in China and the U.S. is when low-emitting countries are exempted from
1012 any effort. Ability-to-pay is appreciated in both countries and is the preferred option in
1013 the U.S., though the preferred option in China is another one that accounts for historical

1014 responsibility. In the U.S. and France, [Meilland et al. \(2023\)](#) find that the most favored
1015 fairness principle is that “all countries commit to converge to the same average of total
1016 emissions per inhabitant, compatible with a controlled climate change”. Furthermore, in
1017 each country, 73% disagree with grandfathering defined as “countries which emitted a
1018 lot of carbon in the past have a right to continue emitting more than others in the future”.
1019 The study by [Meilland et al. \(2023\)](#) contains many other results: for instance, majorities
1020 prefer to hold countries accountable for their consumption-based rather than territorial
1021 emissions, and the median choice regarding historical responsibility is to hold a country
1022 accountable for its post-1990 emissions (rather than post-1850 or just their current emis-
1023 sions). Finally, in each of 28 (among the largest) countries, [Dabla-Norris et al. \(2023\)](#) find
1024 strong majority for “all countries” to the question “Which countries do you think should
1025 be paying to reduce carbon emissions?”. When asked to choose between a cost sharing
1026 based on *current* vs. *accumulated historic emissions*, a majority prefers *current emissions* in
1027 all countries but China and Saudi Arabia (where the two options are close to equally
1028 preferred).

(Back to Section [2.2.1](#))

1029 **A.1.3 Population attitudes on foreign aid**

1030 There is an extensive literature on attitudes towards foreign aid in donor countries.
1031 The key findings indicate that most people overestimate the amount of foreign aid and
1032 that only a minority wants a cut in foreign aid compared to actual amounts, especially
1033 once they become aware of them.

1034 For instance, [PIPA \(2001\)](#) shows that 83% of Americans support a multilateral effort
1035 to cut world hunger in half. [PIPA \(2008\)](#) shows that in each of 20 countries, a majority
1036 thinks that developed countries “have a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger
1037 and severe poverty in poor countries”, with an average agreement of 81%. In 7 OECD
1038 countries, the study finds that at least 75% of respondents are willing to pay for a program
1039 to cut hunger in half (at an estimated cost of, e.g., \$50 a year for each American).

1040 ? find that perceived aid is overestimated in each of the 24 countries they study, on
1041 average by a factor of 7. In most countries, desired aid is larger than perceived aid.²¹ They
1042 show that individuals in the top income quintile desire aid 0.13 p.p. lower than those in
1043 the bottom 40% – which is very close to what we find. By employing a theoretical model
1044 and examining correlations between lobbying and actual aid (controlling for desired aid),

²¹[Kaufmann et al. \(2012\)](#) offer the best results on desired aid because (as [Hudson & van Heerde \(2012\)](#) criticize), other studies did not take into account misperceptions of actual aid.

they argue that the gap between actual and desired aid stems from the political influence of the rich who defend their vested interests. In Kaufmann et al. (2012), the U.S. is an outlier: desired aid is at the other countries' average (3% of GNI), but as misperceptions are enormous, perceived aid is twice as large as desired aid. Indeed, Gilens (2001) shows that even Americans with high political knowledge misperceive actual aid, and finds that 17% fewer of them want to cut aid when we provide them specific information about the amount of aid. Similarly, Nair (2018) finds that the relatively low support for aid in the U.S. is driven by information on global distribution, as people underestimate their rank by 27 centiles on average and overestimate the global median income by a factor 10.

Hudson & van Heerde (2012) provide a critical review of the literature and show that the strong support for poverty alleviation largely stems from intrinsic altruism. They note that, according to DFID (2009) and PIPA (2001), 47% of British people find that the aid is wasted (mainly due to corruption), while Americans estimate that less than a quarter of the aid reaches those in need, with over half ending up in the hands of corrupt government officials. Despite these perceptions, most people still support aid, suggesting the presence of nonutilitarian motives. Consistent with Henson et al. (2010), Bauhr et al. (2013) find that support for aid is reduced by the perception of corruption in recipient countries. However, this effect is mitigated by the aid-corruption paradox: countries with higher levels of corruption often need more help. Bodenstein & Faust (2017) further show that right-wing Europeans, as well as those who perceive strong corruption in their country, are more likely to agree that recipient countries should "follow certain rules regarding democracy, human rights and governance as a condition for receiving EU development aid." Using a 2002 Gallup survey and the 2006 World Values Survey, and in line with Bayram (2017), Paxton & Knack (2012) show that the main determinants for wanting more aid are trust, left-wing ideology, interest in politics, and being a woman (all positively associated).

(Back to Section 2.2.5)

A.1.4 Population attitudes on taxes on the rich

We are not aware of any previous survey on a global wealth tax,²² though surveys consistently show strong support for national wealth taxes. In a comprehensive survey conducted in the UK, Rowlingson et al. (2021) show that a wealth tax is the preferred option for raising revenues. Only 8% of respondents state that total net wealth should not

²²We did not find any using the combination of "survey" or "attitudes" with "wealth tax" or "global wealth tax" in Google Scholar.

1076 be taxed (with little differences between Labour and Conservative voters). The study also
1077 finds that the preferred design would be a 1% or 3% tax on net wealth above £1 million. By
1078 asking how much taxes per year should a person with a certain income and wealth level
1079 pay, [Fisman et al. \(2017\)](#) finds that the average American favors a 0.8% linear tax rate
1080 on unspecified wealth up to \$2 million (the highest wealth level tested), and a 3% linear
1081 rate on inherited wealth. Through a conjoint analysis conducted in three high-income
1082 countries, [Schechtl & Tisch \(2023\)](#) find widespread support for a wealth tax (from 78% in
1083 the U.S. to 86% in Germany and the UK), with a preference for an exemption threshold
1084 set at \$/€1 million (rather than 500,000 or 2 million) with the tax rate and tax unit having
1085 little influence on the preferred design. In 21 OECD countries, the [OECD \(2019\)](#) uncovers
1086 strong majority support for higher taxes on the rich to support the poor, with nearly
1087 70% overall agreement and less than 20% disagreement. [Isbell \(2022\)](#) finds similarly high
1088 level of support in 34 African countries. In the UK, [Patriotic Millionaires \(2022\)](#) find 69%
1089 support (and 7% opposition) for a 1.1% tax on wealth in excess of £10 million. In the U.S.,
1090 [Americans for Tax Fairness \(2021\)](#) find that 67% to 71% of the respondents support to
1091 “raise taxes for those earning more than \$400,000 a year”, “raise the income tax rate for
1092 those earning over \$1 million a year by 10 percentage points”, or “apply a 2% tax on an
1093 individual’s wealth above \$50 million each year, and 3% on wealth above \$1 billion”.

1094 A.1.5 Population attitudes on ethical norms

1095 As argued by [Nyborg et al. \(2016\)](#), social norms can be the solution to the collective
1096 action problem. As such, universalistic values and free-riding attitudes are key.

1097 **Universalism** Various studies have examined the concept of global identity (see [Reysen](#)
1098 & [Katzarska-Miller \(2018\)](#) for a review). In the 2005-2008 wave of the World Values Sur-
1099 vey, [Bayram \(2015\)](#) notes that “78% of the participants in 57 countries see themselves as
1100 citizens of the world”, though the [2017-2022 wave](#) reveals that more people feel close to
1101 their town, region or country than to the world. [Enke et al. \(2023a\)](#) measure universal-
1102 ism at the U.S. district level using donation data, and find that a district’s universalism
1103 predicts electoral outcomes better than its income or education level. To measure uni-
1104 versalism at the individual level, [Enke et al. \(2023c\)](#) ask American respondents to split
1105 \$100 between a random stranger and a random person with the same income but closer
1106 to them. They distinguish different facets of universalism, and define *foreign universalism*
1107 as the inclination to give to a foreigner rather than a fellow citizen. They find a home bias

1108 for most people, which could partly be attributed to concerns about inequality, as the split
1109 involves two persons with the same income, with the foreigner most certainly living in
1110 a poorer country than the American and thus enjoying a higher social status. That being
1111 said, a home bias probably remains even after accounting for concerns about inequality,
1112 as 84% of Americans agree that “taking care of problems at home is more important than
1113 giving aid to foreign countries” (PIPA 2001). Enke et al. (2023b) also measure univer-
1114 salism and analyze its correlates in 7 countries, and Cappelen et al. (2022) deploy this
1115 method in 60 countries. In a lab experiment with students in the U.S., Cherry et al. (2017)
1116 show that a substantial share of people prefer policies detrimental to them due to their
1117 egalitarian worldview. Waytz et al. (2019) show that left-leaning people exhibit a wider
1118 “moral circle”. Jaeger & Wilks (2023) find that judgments of moral concern are equally
1119 well explained by characteristics of the judge and the evaluated target.

1120 **Free-riding** Despite the long-standing explanation of the lack of climate action as a re-
1121 sult of free-riding, surveys consistently show that people support climate mitigation ac-
1122 tion in their own country, even in the absence of such action in other countries. Bernauer
1123 & Gampfer (2015) show this for Americans and Indians, who both overestimate their
1124 country’s emissions at one third of the global total. Beiser-McGrath & Bernauer (2019a)
1125 show this in the U.S. and China using an experimental design. McEvoy & Cherry (2016)
1126 show that Americans mostly invoke leadership and morality to justify unilateral climate
1127 action. Using a range of methods, Aklin & Mildenberger (2020) show that the empiri-
1128 cal evidence for free-riding is not compelling, and that climate inaction can be equally
1129 well explained by distributive conflicts. Finally, review of the literature by McGrath &
1130 Bernauer (2017) shows that climate attitudes are largely nonreciprocal, and primarily
1131 driven by values and perceptions of the policies, rather than by considerations of what
1132 other countries do.

1133 A.1.6 Second-order beliefs

1134 Allport (1924) introduced the concept of pluralistic ignorance: a shared misperception
1135 concerning others’ beliefs. The concept became notorious when O’Gorman (1975) showed
1136 that, towards the end of the civil rights movement, 47% of Americans believed that a ma-
1137 jority of white people supported segregation, while only 18% did so. PIPA (2001) has
1138 shown that while 75% of Americans are willing to contribute \$50 annually to halve world
1139 hunger (the cost of the program), only 32% believed that the majority would share this

¹¹⁴⁰ willingness. Pluralistic ignorance regarding climate-friendly norms in the United States
¹¹⁴¹ has been documented by [Andre et al. \(2022\)](#), who further show that correcting the misper-
¹¹⁴² ceptions would be effective to enhance pro-climate behaviors. Relatedly, [Sparkman et al.](#)
¹¹⁴³ ([2022](#)) show that Americans underestimate the support for climate policies by nearly half,
¹¹⁴⁴ while [Drews et al. \(2022\)](#) document pluralistic ignorance of carbon tax support in Spain.
¹¹⁴⁵ Additionally, [Geiger & Swim \(2016\)](#) show that pluralistic ignorance regarding concern for
¹¹⁴⁶ climate change leads people to self-silence, resulting in reduced discussions on the topic.

¹¹⁴⁷ A.1.7 Elite attitudes

¹¹⁴⁸ In a survey of climate negotiators on their preferences in terms of burden-sharing,
¹¹⁴⁹ [Lange et al. \(2007\)](#) uncovers a mix of self-serving bias and support for the egalitarian
¹¹⁵⁰ principle. [Dannenberg et al. \(2010\)](#) elicit climate negotiators' equity preferences and find
¹¹⁵¹ that regional differences in addressing climate change are driven more by national inter-
¹¹⁵² ests than by different equity concerns. [Hjerpe et al. \(2011\)](#) indicate that voluntary con-
¹¹⁵³ tribution, indicated as willingness to contribute, was the least preferred principle among
¹¹⁵⁴ both negotiators and observers. Three of the four principles for allocating mitigation
¹¹⁵⁵ commitments were recognized widely across the major geographical regions: historical
¹¹⁵⁶ responsibilities, ability-to-pay, and equal per capita emissions. This result is confirmed
¹¹⁵⁷ by [Kesternich et al. \(2021\)](#), who observe tendencies for a more harmonized view among
¹¹⁵⁸ key groups towards the ability-to-pay rule in a setting of weighted burden sharing rules.
¹¹⁵⁹ [Mildenberger & Tingley \(2019\)](#) survey elites (Congress staffers and international relations
¹¹⁶⁰ scholars) as well as the population in U.S. and China. They document pluralistic igno-
¹¹⁶¹ rance of pro-climate attitudes, egocentric bias, and increasing support after beliefs are
¹¹⁶² updated.

¹¹⁶³ A.2 Proposals and analyses of global policy-making

¹¹⁶⁴ A.2.1 Global carbon pricing

¹¹⁶⁵ Global carbon pricing is widely regarded by economists as the benchmark climate
¹¹⁶⁶ policy, as it would efficiently correct the carbon emissions externality. For instance, [Hoel](#)
¹¹⁶⁷ ([1991](#)) shows that an international carbon tax can be designed to simultaneously achieve
¹¹⁶⁸ efficiency and accommodate any distributional objective. Concerning the distributional
¹¹⁶⁹ objective, [Grubb \(1990\)](#), [Agarwal & Narain \(1991\)](#) and [Bertram \(1992\)](#) were the first to
¹¹⁷⁰ advocate for an equal right to emit for each human. As [Grubb \(1990\)](#) states it: "by far the

1171 best combination of long term effectiveness, feasibility, equity, and simplicity, is obtained
1172 from a system based upon tradable permits for carbon emissions which are allocated on
1173 an adult per capita basis".²³ Support for such solution has been renewed ever since (Baer
1174 et al. 2000; Blanchard & Tirole 2021; Jamieson 2001; Rajan 2021).

1175 While many endorse the egalitarian allocation of emissions permits, economists also
1176 considered this outcome as politically unfeasible. Thus, to preserve the current level of
1177 inequalities and to preclude transfers between countries, they adjusted their (integrated
1178 assessment) models by assigning more weight to the interest of rich countries (Stanton
1179 2011).

1180 Gollier & Tirole (2015) synthesize the distributional decision with a *generosity* parame-
1181 ter which would allocate emissions permit to countries in proportion to their population
1182 if set to one, in proportion to their emissions (on the start date of the policy) if set to zero,
1183 and as a mixture of the egalitarian and grandfathering rules if set in between. Using a
1184 similar formula in the context of a tax, Cramton et al. (2015) (summarized in MacKay
1185 et al. 2015) propose that countries with emissions per capita around the average fix the
1186 generosity parameter, so that it is strategically chosen to maximize the tax rate, and to
1187 fix the tax rate at the minimum price proposed by participating countries. Negotiations
1188 would exclude countries with low ambition beforehand; and the treaty would impose
1189 trade sanctions on non-participating countries. van den Bergh et al. (2020) propose a
1190 "dual-track transition to global carbon pricing": an expanding climate club that would
1191 integrate existing and new emissions trading systems, and a reorientation of UNFCCC
1192 negotiations towards a global carbon price and burden-sharing rules. The IMF (2019)
1193 also supports global carbon pricing or, as a first step, a carbon price floor. They propose
1194 either differentiated prices among countries or international transfers, and estimate that
1195 a price of \$75/tCO₂ in 2030 would be compatible with a 2°C trajectory.

1196 Other authors have put forth more radical proposals. For instance, Weitzman (2017)
1197 envisions a World Climate Assembly with proportional representation at the global scale,
1198 so that the median (human) voter would choose the carbon price level. To finance an
1199 adaptation fund, Chancel & Piketty (2015) propose a global *progressive* carbon tax (or a
1200 progressive tax on air tickets as a first step), so that rich people (who are high emitters)
1201 contribute more to the public good. Fleurbaey & Zuber (2013) highlight that, given that
1202 current emitters are probably richer than future victims of climate change damages, cli-
1203 mate policies deserve a *negative* discount rate. In other words, we cannot dissociate the

²³By "adult per capita", Grubb (1990) means that permits would be allocated equally among adults.

1204 climate issue from global inequalities, and an ethical response to this issue requires global
1205 redistribution.

1206 A.2.2 Climate burden sharing

1207 The literature has discussed different burden-sharing principles ([Ringius et al. 2002](#)).
1208 While there is no agreement on their definitions as different approaches are used (cost
1209 sharing, effort sharing, or resource sharing, see Section [A.1.2](#)), we describe here the burden-
1210 sharing principles consistently using the resource sharing approach (i.e., allocating emis-
1211 sions rights). For other papers that define or compare different burden-sharing principles,
1212 see [Leimbach & Giannousakis \(2019\)](#); [Vaillancourt & Waaub \(2004\)](#); [Zhou & Wang \(2016\)](#).

1213 **Equal per capita.** The simplest principle is perhaps to allocate each year's global carbon
1214 quota based on an equal right to emit per capita, or an equal right to emit for each adult.
1215 Implementing this principle would result in large transfers from high-emitting to low-
1216 emitting countries.

1217 **Grandfathering.** In contrast, *grandfathering* entails allocating emissions rights in pro-
1218 portion to current emissions. From the perspective of allocating carbon pricing revenues
1219 between countries, grandfathering amounts to each country retaining the revenues it col-
1220 lects. Given that nations are sovereign and have not agreed to share emissions rights,
1221 this principle can be considered as the default option against which the other ones can be
1222 compared in terms of distributive effects.

1223 **Historical responsibilities.** At the opposite end of the spectrum is the principle of *his-
1224 torical responsibilities*, which assigns to each country a carbon budget proportional to its
1225 population. Countries that have emitted more than the average have accumulated a car-
1226 bon debt towards countries that have emitted less, which have a carbon credit.^{[24](#)}

1227 To fully specify this rule, one needs to define a start date for the responsibilities on
1228 past emissions and specify how to account for population size. 1990 is often chosen as
1229 a start year as it is the date of the first IPCC assessment report, marking the widespread
1230 acknowledgment of climate change, though variants include 1972, 1960, 1950 or 1850.^{[25](#)}

²⁴It is not clear how these debts would be settled. Approaches could involve carbon removal from the atmosphere, or using a conventional social cost of carbon to monetize them, by crediting (positively or negatively) emissions rights to countries in an international carbon market.

²⁵Climate equity monitor uses 1850 for example.

1231 Several solutions have been proposed to account for evolving populations, none of which
1232 is flawless. Matthews (2015) allocates emissions rights on a given year proportionally to
1233 the countries' populations in that year. An alternative is to use fixed populations, such
1234 as the populations at the chosen start year (Neumayer 2000), or at a future date such
1235 as projected when the global total population will reach 9 billion (Raupach et al. 2014).
1236 Fanning & Hickel (2023) convert the projected climate debt up to 2050 into monetary
1237 terms in a 1.5°C scenario.

1238 The rationale for using fixed populations is to prevent countries from intentionally
1239 increasing their population size to gain more emissions rights. However, this approach
1240 treats countries with different demographic trajectories similarly, effectively penalizing
1241 countries which grow more than others (if past populations are used) or grow more than
1242 expected (if future populations are used). Using current populations like Matthews (2015)
1243 also comes with its own problems. Consider two countries having contributed very little
1244 to cumulative emissions, with the same emissions per capita but different demographic
1245 patterns: country A's population has doubled in the last 30 years, while country B's pop-
1246 ulation has remained stable. Despite the similar present situation, country B would ac-
1247 cumulate more carbon credit than country A. Essentially, compensating country B more
1248 due to its past population size amounts to compensating the dead although it is future
1249 generations who will suffer. That being said, using current populations is likely a more
1250 viable solution than relying on fixed populations since, in practice, countries with similar
1251 emissions per capita tend to have relatively similar demographic trajectories.

1252 **Ability to pay.** Another prominent burden-sharing principle is the ability to pay whereby
1253 richer countries should contribute more to mitigation efforts. To operationalize this prin-
1254 ciple, Baer et al. (2008) define *capacity* as the share of global income above an exemption
1255 threshold. They use the threshold of \$7,500 per year (in 2005 PPP), which corresponds to
1256 the top 28% of the global income distribution. According to this principle, the effort of a
1257 country should be proportional to the revenues it would raise with a linear income tax on
1258 individual income above \$7,500.

1259 **Climate Equity Reference Framework** Baer et al. (2008) propose another effort-sharing
1260 method, the *Climate Equity Reference Framework* (CERF), which blends the ability to pay
1261 principle with their version of historical responsibilities. They define *responsibility* as fol-
1262 lows: they determine the mitigation requirement as the emissions gap between the Busi-

ness as Usual scenario from IEA (2007) and a 2°C (with 68-86% probability) scenario. The mitigation requirement is then allocated to countries proportionally to their cumulative emissions (starting in 1990). The emissions right of a country according to their responsibility are then determined by its Business as Usual emissions minus its mitigation requirement. A country's emissions right, dubbed its *greenhouse development right* (GDR), is defined using a combination of *capacity* (C) and *responsibility* (R) to allocate the mitigation requirement between countries. This allocation key is called the *Responsibility and Capacity Indicator* (RCI) and defined as $RCI = R^a \cdot C^{1-a}$, with $a = .4$.

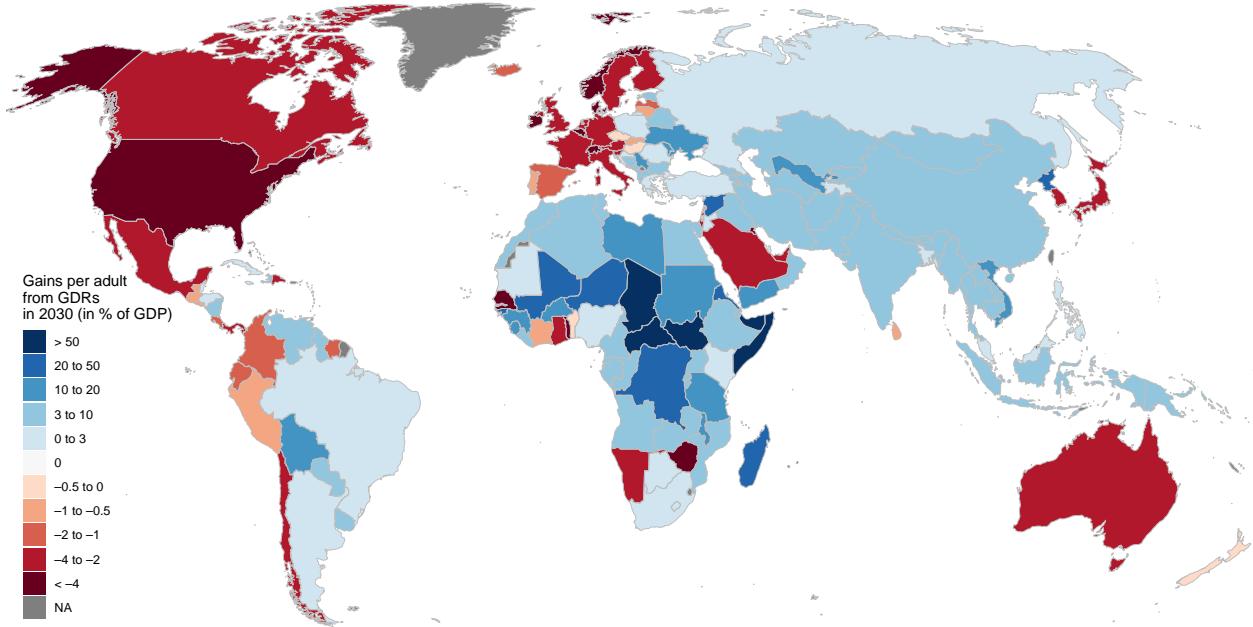
This choice of parameter may seem somewhat arbitrary, but the EcoEquity calculator allows for a customization all CERF parameters (Holz et al. 2018, 2019). The Climate Action Network has adopted the CERF as its *fair share* framework, though the different national chapters of the organization could not agree on a choice of parameters (Athanasios et al. 2022).²⁶

The CERF approach was adopted by a prominent network of climate NGOs because it operationalizes the principle of *common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities* recognized by the UNFCCC. However, this approach suffers from three drawbacks. First, its definition of historical responsibility as an effort sharing principle is inconsistent with the principle of an equal right of cumulative emissions per capita, which is a resource sharing principle. For instance, consider a fully decarbonized country that has exhausted *exactly* its cumulative carbon budget. According to the CERF notion of responsibility, this country would still be expected to contribute significantly to mitigation efforts due to its relatively high cumulative emissions. Yet, according to the usual definition of the historical responsibility based on an equal right of cumulative emissions p.c., this country would have no liability as it has not exceeded its carbon budget. Second, a country with moderate incomes²⁷ and low historical responsibility would be assigned a relatively low effort, even if its emissions per capita are high. In other words, the CERF approach favors countries that have experienced recent growth. Third, the poorest countries would be granted emissions rights close to the Business as Usual trajectory, as they

²⁶The U.S. Climate Action Network and the think tank EcoEquity (funded by Tom Athanasiou and late Paul Baer) choose the following parameters: an equal weight for R and C ($a = .5$), their own business as usual projections of CO₂ emissions based on trends of GDP growth and emissions intensity reduction, a 1.5°C (Low Energy Demand) pathway, 1950 as the start year for responsibility, a gradual inclusion of income to compute capacity (which adds complexity to the calculation) from a full exemption of the bottom 70% (\$7,500 per year) linearly to a full inclusion of the top 2% (\$72,211), the inclusion of non-CO₂ gases but not of emissions embodied in trade (i.e. imported emissions) nor LULUCF (land-use).

²⁷Using the above parameters, moderate incomes means few incomes above the global 70th. percentile.

Figure S9: Net gains from the CERF burden-sharing rule in 2030.

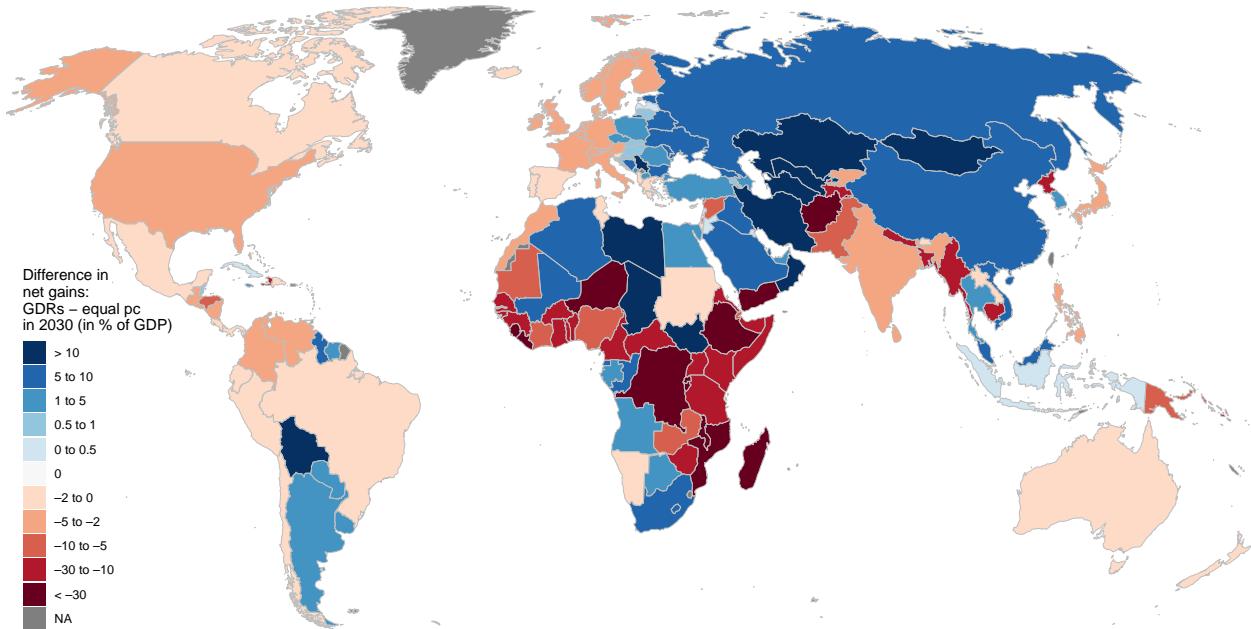


Note: GDRs are calibrated with the preferred parameters of the [U.S. Climate Action Network](#) ([Athanasios et al. 2022](#)) using the Efficiency scenario (2°C with >50% chance) of the Global Energy Assessment ([Johansson et al. 2012](#)) and a price of \$144/tCO₂.

would bear virtually none of the effort. But this trajectory carries the current (unfair) income distribution and amounts to grandfathering. For example, the baseline trajectory for emissions²⁸ in the DRC entail 0.8 tCO₂ p.c. in 2030, which is five times less than the world average emissions right per capita. In this framework, if the DRC were to grow faster than projected in the baseline, it would actually have to pay to the rest of the world for mitigation efforts. This is what is likely to happen to countries like Mexico or Senegal, from our simulation of the net gains of CERF compared to a situation without international transfers (see Figure S9). In contrast, a resource sharing approach based on equal per capita emissions would result in low-income countries receiving emissions rights exceeding their projected trajectories, leading to transfers from high-income countries. By construction, such transfers do not occur in an effort sharing approach like the CERF, implying lower transfers to low-income countries. Compared to an equal right to emit per capita, this method favors countries like China (whose emissions are allowed to remain stable over 2020-2030 instead of a reduction of 35-40%) and penalizes regions like Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (see Figure S10).

²⁸The baseline trajectory is computed as the “product of the projected GDP and CO₂ emission intensity”.

Figure S10: Difference between net gains from Greenhouse Development Rights and equal rights per capita.



Note: GDRs are calibrated with the preferred parameters of the [U.S. Climate Action Network](#) ([Athanasios et al. 2022](#)) using the Efficiency scenario (2°C with >50% chance) of the Global Energy Assessment ([Johansson et al. 2012](#)) and a price of \$144/tCO₂.

1306 **Contraction and Convergence.** Meyer (2004) defines a rule called *contraction and con-*
 1307 *vergence* (C&C), which combines elements of grandfathering and equal per capita ap-
 1308 proaches. According to C&C, each country is granted (tradable) emissions rights, starting
 1309 at their current emission level and converging linearly to an equal per capita level at some
 1310 pre-specified date. The *contraction* part refers to the reduction of total emissions rights in
 1311 line with the climate objective. When discussed around year 2000, the convergence date
 1312 was specified between 2020 and 2050. This rule, advocated by the Global Commons Insti-
 1313 tute (a UK think tank), was on the agenda from COP2 to COP15 (i.e., until Copenhagen,
 1314 and including in Kyoto), including at Kyoto, and was endorsed by the European Parlia-
 1315 ment in 1998. More recently, Gignac & Matthews (2015) have shown how C&C can be
 1316 made consistent with historical responsibilities by computing carbon debts and credits
 1317 until the convergence date.

1318 **Assessments of the NDCs against burden-sharing principles.** The regime established
 1319 by the 2015 Paris agreement to regulate climate change respects none of the burden-

sharing principles and relies instead on voluntary contributions from each country, known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). A body of literature (reviewed by Höhne et al. 2014) assesses the NDCs against the emissions reduction objective and different burden-sharing principles. To evaluate the NDCs, Gao et al. (2019) examine their emissions projections for 2030 and estimate the resulting increase in temperature. The most recent and comprehensive assessment of NDCs against burden-sharing principles is conducted by van den Berg et al. (2020) (see also Raupach et al. 2014; Robiou du Pont et al. 2016, 2017).

A.2.3 Global redistribution

Addressing global poverty, inequalities, and climate change are central to the universally agreed Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). As highlighted by Bolch et al. (2022), low-income countries often lack sufficient domestic resources to eradicate poverty in the short term, indicating the need for international transfers to rapidly end global poverty. In *Beyond the Welfare State*, Gunnar Myrdal (1960) called for a *welfare world*. In his Nobel lecture, he emphasized the necessity of increasing foreign aid to low-income countries, stating that “The type of marginal foreign aid we have provided, is clearly not enough to meet their barest needs” (Myrdal 1975).

Drawing on the labor theory of value, some economists have argued that global inequalities arise from unequal exchange in international trade (Arghiri 1972). Indeed, the stark disparity in wages between countries implies that one unit of labor exported by an American commands five units of labor embodied in imported goods, whereas Ethiopians need to export 50 units of labor to obtain one unit through imports (Alsamawi et al. 2014; Reyes et al. 2017). Taking stock, Hickel (2017) proposes to globally establish minimum wages at 50% of the local median wage. Hickel (2017) also suggests other solutions against global inequality, which served as inspiration for our questionnaire. These measures include the cancellation of low-income countries’ public debt, fair trade practices (such as eliminating tariffs from high-income countries, reducing patent protections, and reducing farming subsidies in rich countries), initiatives to combat tax evasion (e.g., implementing a global financial register), land reform, and a fair international climate policy.

Piketty (2014) prominently advocates for a progressive wealth tax on a global scale, although he does not specify whether the resulting revenues should fund international transfers.

Kopczuk et al. (2005) compute the optimal linear income tax rates for all countries in

1353 two ways: globally centralized and decentralized (i.e., within each country and without
1354 international transfers). They show that the average decentralized rate is 41%. In con-
1355 trast, the global rate is 62%, which would generate funds to finance a basic income of
1356 250\$/month (higher than the GPD per capita of 73 countries). From a current global Gini
1357 index of 0.695, they show that decentralized optimal taxation would only marginally re-
1358 duce global inequality to 0.69, whereas global taxation would significantly decrease the
1359 Gini to 0.25. The study also shows that the existing level of foreign aid can only be ratio-
1360 nalized if the U.S. attaches 2,000 less value to a citizen in the poorest countries than to an
1361 American citizen (or 1,000 less if half of the transfers are diverted due to corruption).

1362 **A.2.4 Basic income**

1363 Unconditional cash transfers (UCT) are increasingly seen as an effective way to end ex-
1364 treme poverty. A growing body of evidence from randomized control trials supports this
1365 notion: [Gangopadhyay et al. \(2015\)](#) find that UCT outperform a food subsidy; [Haushofer](#)
1366 & [Shapiro \(2016\)](#) find significant impacts on health, economic outcomes, and psycholog-
1367 ical well-being; [Egger et al. \(2022\)](#) find large positive spillovers on non-recipient people,
1368 and minimal inflation. Reviews of existing research further confirm the positive outcomes
1369 of UCT ([Bastagli et al. 2016](#); [Standing 2014](#)).

1370 While the delivery of cash to remote areas and the prevention of fraud is challenging
1371 in regions without a proper civil register, the use of mobile phones as banking and bio-
1372 metric identification tools could provide viable solutions ([Harnett 2017](#)). Although many
1373 places still lack internet access, satellite internet technology shows promising progress,
1374 with some experts suggesting that it could soon become affordable and universally ac-
1375 cessible ([Hanson 2016](#)).

1376 **A.2.5 Global democracy**

1377 The idea of world federalism has a long-standing history, dating back at least to [Kant](#)
1378 ([1795](#)), who argued that a world federation was essential for achieving perpetual peace.
1379 International organizations were eventually created to foster peace, though the League
1380 of Nations and its successor, the United Nations, never succeeded in avoiding military
1381 conflicts. Many have argued that we need stronger and more democratic global institu-
1382 tions, competent to address global challenges such as extreme poverty, climate change,
1383 wars, pandemics, or financial stability. Before World War II, feminist and pacifist [Maver-](#)

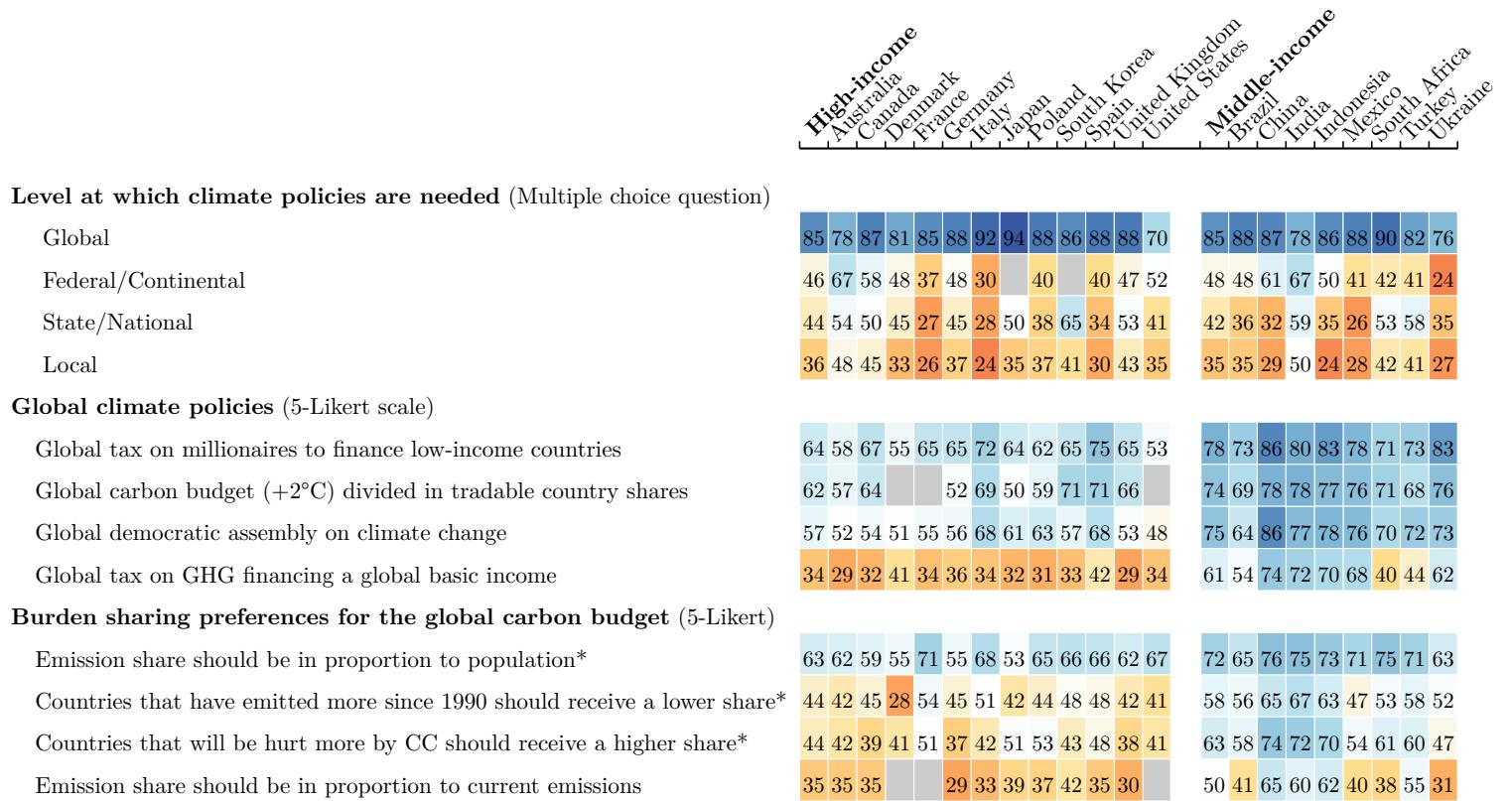
1384 Dick Lloyd & Schwimmer (1937) founded the *Campaign for World Government*, advocating
1385 for direct representation at the global scale. Einstein (1947) called for the subordination of
1386 the UN Security Council to the General Assembly and the direct election of UN delegates.
1387 Since 2007, there has been widespread support for a United Nations Parliamentary As-
1388 semby (UNPA) from individuals and institutions in over 150 countries, including 1,800
1389 member of parliament, heads of state, as well the European Parliament, the Pan-African
1390 Parliament, and the Latin-American Parliament. The UNPA campaign calls for a gradual
1391 implementation of a democratic assembly, starting with a consultative assembly com-
1392 posed of members of national parliaments, allowing for the direct election of its members
1393 in voluntary countries, and progressing towards a world parliament with binding legisla-
1394 tive powers once all members are directly elected (Leinen & Bummel 2018). Besides the
1395 UNPA, various scholars have put forward different models of global democracy, ranging
1396 from deliberative spaces to a world federation (Archibugi et al. 2011). While the most rad-
1397 ical proposals may still be on the horizon, an assembly of random citizens representative
1398 of the world population has already been convened. It has produced a joint statement at
1399 the COP26 (Global Assembly 2022), and a similar *World Citizens' Assembly* should soon
1400 follow.

1401 B Raw results

1402 Country-specific raw results are also available as supplementary material files: **US**,
 1403 **EU**, **FR**, **DE**, **ES**, **UK**.

Figure S11: Absolute support for global climate policies.

Share of *Somewhat* or *Strongly support* (in percent, $n = 40,680$). The color blue denotes an absolute majority. See Figure 1 for the relative support. (Questions A-I of the global survey.)



*In Denmark, France and the U.S., the questions with an asterisk were asked differently, cf. Question F.

Figure S12: Correct answers to comprehension questions (in percent). (Questions 16-18)

	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

Figure S13: Number of correct answers to comprehension questions (mean). (Section 2.2.2, Questions 16-18)

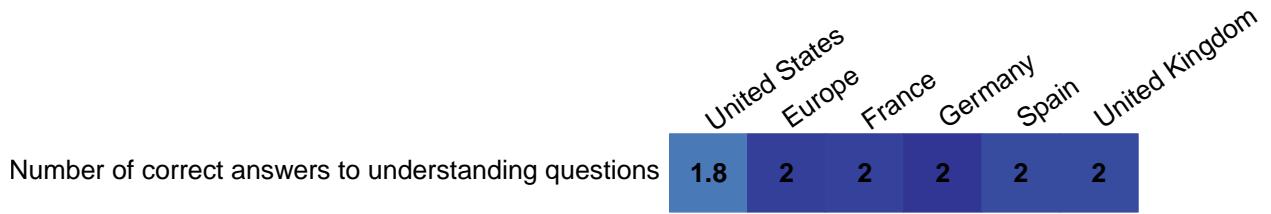


Figure S14: List experiment: mean number of supported policies. (Section 2.3.1, Question 24)

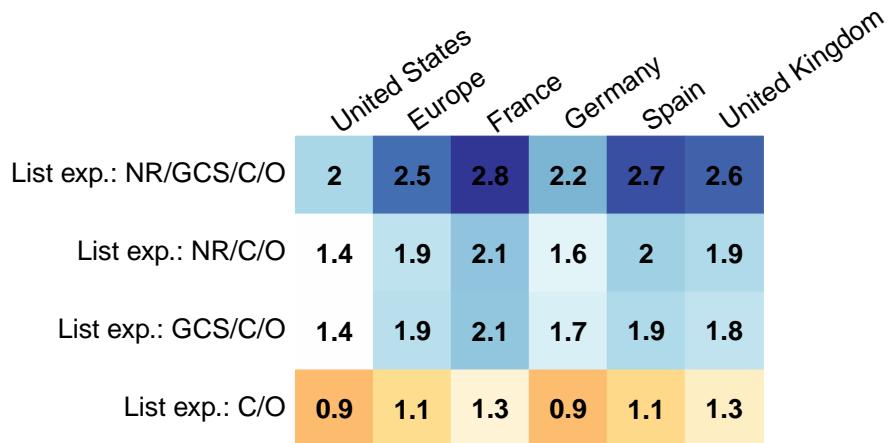


Figure S15: Conjoint analyses 1 and 2. (Questions 25-27, Back to Section 2.3.3)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Global climate scheme (GCS)	54	76	80	71	81	74
C+NR+GCS preferred to C+NR	55	74	79	71	78	68
NR+GCS preferred to NR	55	77	79	74	79	77
NR+C preferred to NR	62	84	88	83	84	82
GCS+NR preferred to C+NR	47	52	53	53	49	52
NR+C+GCS preferred to NR	55	77	86	73	83	72

Table S2: Effects on the support for the GCS of a question on its pros and cons and on information about the actual support, in the U.S. (See Section D in the US2 Questionnaire) (Back to Section 2.3.5)

	Support			
	Global Climate Scheme		National Redistribution	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Control group mean	0.557	0.557	0.569	0.569
Treatment: Open-ended field on GCS pros & cons	-0.073** (0.035)	-0.071** (0.031)	-0.035 (0.035)	-0.030 (0.032)
Treatment: Closed questions on GCS pros & cons	-0.109*** (0.034)	-0.096*** (0.031)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.062** (0.031)
Treatment: Info on actual support for GCS and NR	-0.021 (0.034)	-0.015 (0.031)	0.048 (0.033)	0.056* (0.031)
Includes controls		✓		✓
Observations	2,000	1,995	2,000	1,995
R ²	0.007	0.170	0.007	0.154

Figure S16: Effects of the presence of a policy (rather than none from this domain) in a random platform on the likelihood that it is preferred to another random platform. (See original translations in Figure S6; Question 29)

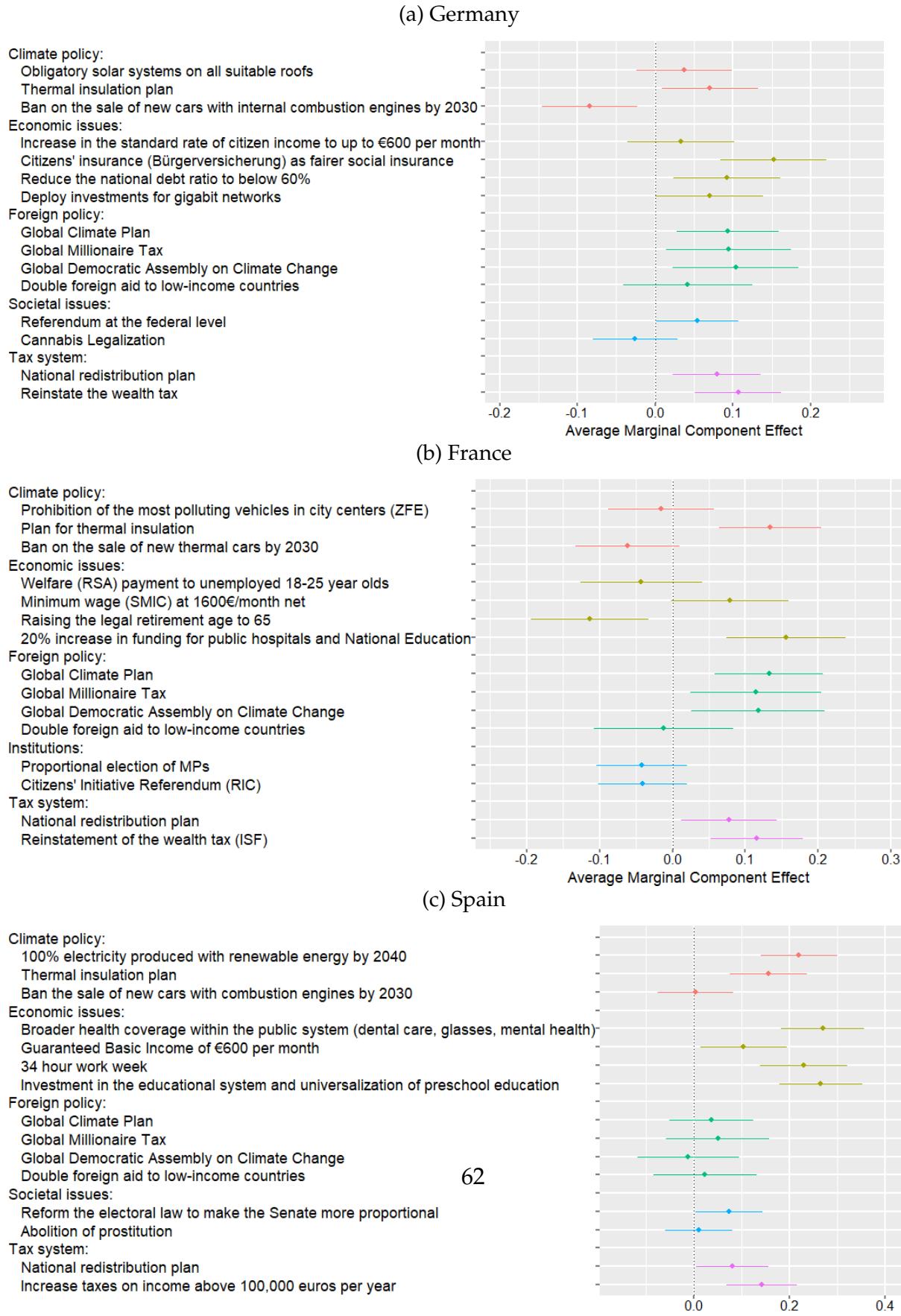


Figure S17: Perceptions of the GCS. Elements seen as important for supporting the GCS in a 4-Likert scale (in percent). (Question 32) [\(Back to Section 2.3.5\)](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
It would succeed in limiting climate change	78	85	85	86	86	83
It would hurt the [Country] economy	81	67	61	67	66	69
It would penalize my household	75	60	55	63	59	63
It would make people change their lifestyle	78	79	83	79	78	77
It would reduce poverty in low-income countries	77	85	88	85	86	81
It might be detrimental to some poor countries	79	72	79	67	78	70
It could foster global cooperation	82	81	81	82	85	80
It could fuel corruption in low-income countries	79	75	82	69	79	72
It could be subject to fraud	80	79	80	74	83	81
It would be technically difficult to put in place	77	71	74	62	79	71
Having enough information on this scheme and its consequences	89	82	89	68	91	88

Figure S18: Perceptions of the GCS. Elements found in the open-ended field on the GCS (manually recoded, in percent). (Question 31) [\(Back to Section 2.3.5\)](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
environment	26	31	37	26	43	24
unclassifiable	25	24	23	28	25	22
pro	22	23	21	22	33	20
con	22	17	12	18	20	16
cost	17	12	11	14	17	7
poorest humans	11	7	6	9	5	6
tax redistribution	10	7	11	8	4	9
support	8	6	3	5	6	8
oppose	7	3	2	3	1	4
don't know	6	8	10	8	7	10
empty	6	3	0	0	0	13
difficult agreement	5	10	7	12	8	8
difficult implement	3	5	5	6	4	6
misunderstands gcs	3	2	2	1	3	1
misunderstands question	2	2	1	3	3	3

Figure S19: Perceptions of the GCS. Keywords found in the open-ended field on the GCS (automatic search ignoring case, in percent). (Question 31) [\(Back to Section 2.3.5\)](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
world: international world country global	28	22	23	19	22	23
environment: climate environment animal emission nature	26	21	17	28	21	17
poorest: poor low-income 700 poverty	16	8	8	9	4	10
pro: pro pros pros:	16	3	0	1	9	5
con: con con: cons cons:	15	4	0	1	8	6
cost: cost expensive higher price 85 inflation	13	7	5	9	7	6
tax: tax	8	3	4	3	2	2
redistribution: rich redistribution	8	4	5	4	3	5
implementation: implement enforce policy monitor	6	4	5	6	0	5
agreement: agree accept participat	3	4	5	6	2	3

Figure S20: Donation in case of lottery win, depending on the recipient's (randomly drawn) nationality (mean). (Question 34) [\(Back to Section 2.4\)](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Donation to own country	35	34	31	38	34	32
Donation to Africa	32	35	33	41	32	33

Table S3: Donation in case of lottery win, depending on the recipient's (randomly drawn) nationality. (Question 34)
[\(Back to Section 2.4\)](#)

	Donation to poor people (in %)			
	All	US	US	Eu
Poor is in own country	0.590 (0.799)	2.509** (1.152)	0.046 (1.691)	-1.349 (1.108)
Poor is in own country × Vote: <i>not</i> Biden			3.954* (2.279)	
Mean	34.034	33.658	33.658	34.41
Observations	6,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
R ²	0.0001	0.002	0.034	0.0005

Figure S21: Support for a global wealth tax.

"Do you support or oppose a tax on millionaires of all countries to finance low-income countries?

Such tax would finance infrastructure and public services such as access to drinking water, healthcare, and education." (Question 35)

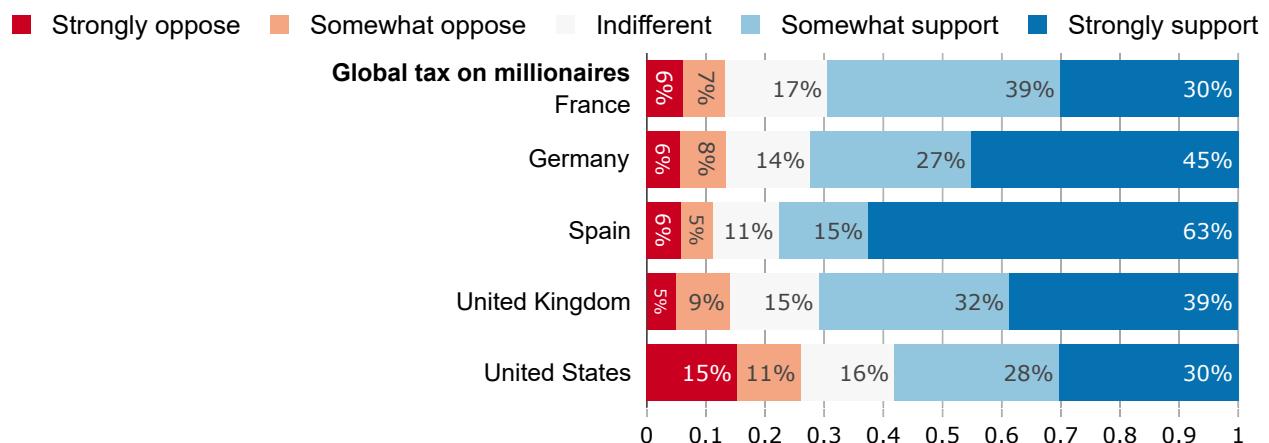


Figure S22: Support for a national wealth tax financing public services like healthcare, education, and social housing. (Question 36)

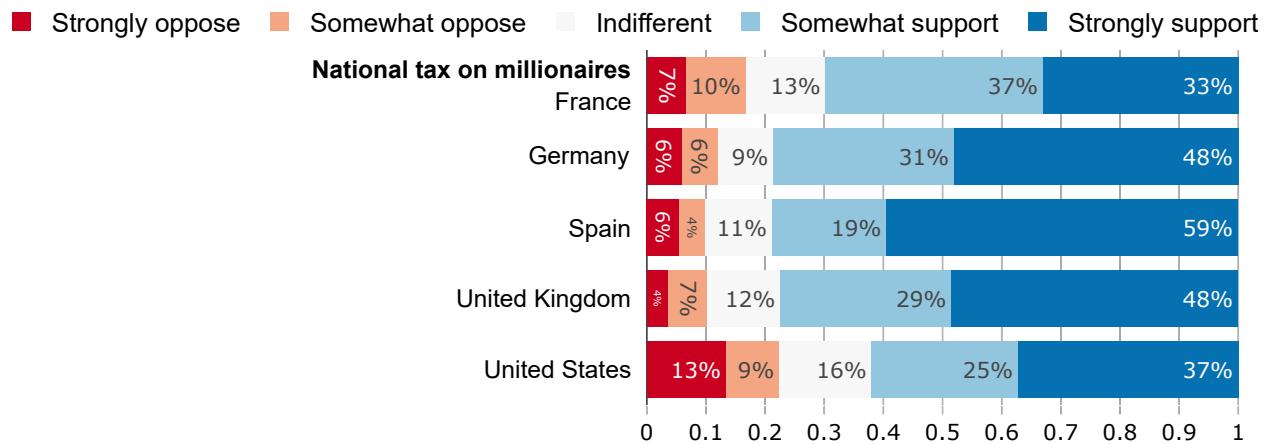


Figure S23: Preferred share of global wealth tax revenues that should be pooled to finance low-income countries. (Question 37)

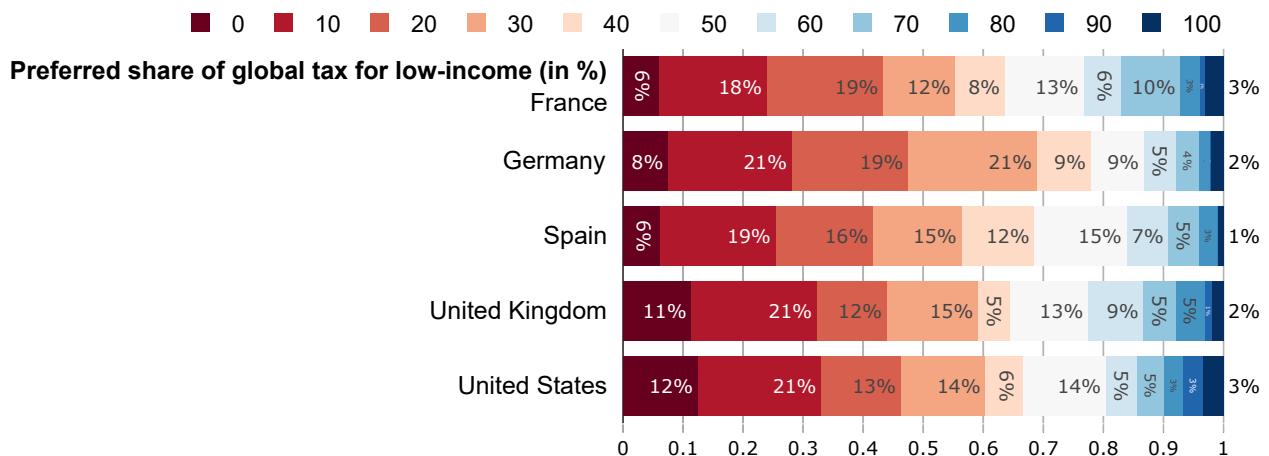


Figure S24: Support for sharing half of global tax revenues with low-income countries, rather than each country retaining all the revenues it collects (in percent). (Question 38)



Figure S25: Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid, with random info (or not) on actual amount. (Mean, Questions 39, 40) [\(Back to Section 2.2.5\)](#)

	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

Figure S26: Preferred foreign aid (after info or after perception). (Questions 39 and 40)

	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 higher than current	47	59	75	58	63	43
Preferred foreign aid is at least as high as perceived	57	74	83	79	77	58
Preferred foreign aid is higher than perceived	37	53	64	59	54	39

Figure S27: Perceived foreign aid. “From your best guess, what percentage of [own country] government spending is allocated to foreign aid (that is, to reduce poverty in low-income countries)?” (Question 39) (Back to Section 2.2.5)

Actual values: France: 0.8%; Germany: 1.3%; Spain: 0.5%; UK: 1.7%; U.S.: 0.4%.

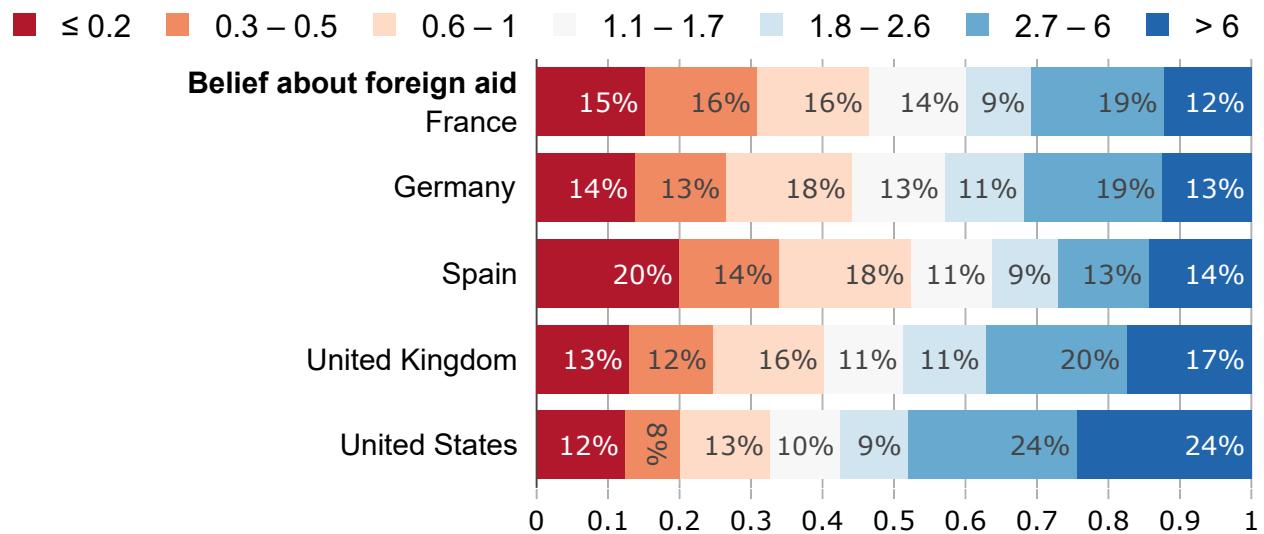


Figure S28: Preferred foreign aid (without info on actual amount).

“If you could choose the government spending, what percentage would you allocate to foreign aid?” (Question 40) (Back to Section 2.2.5)

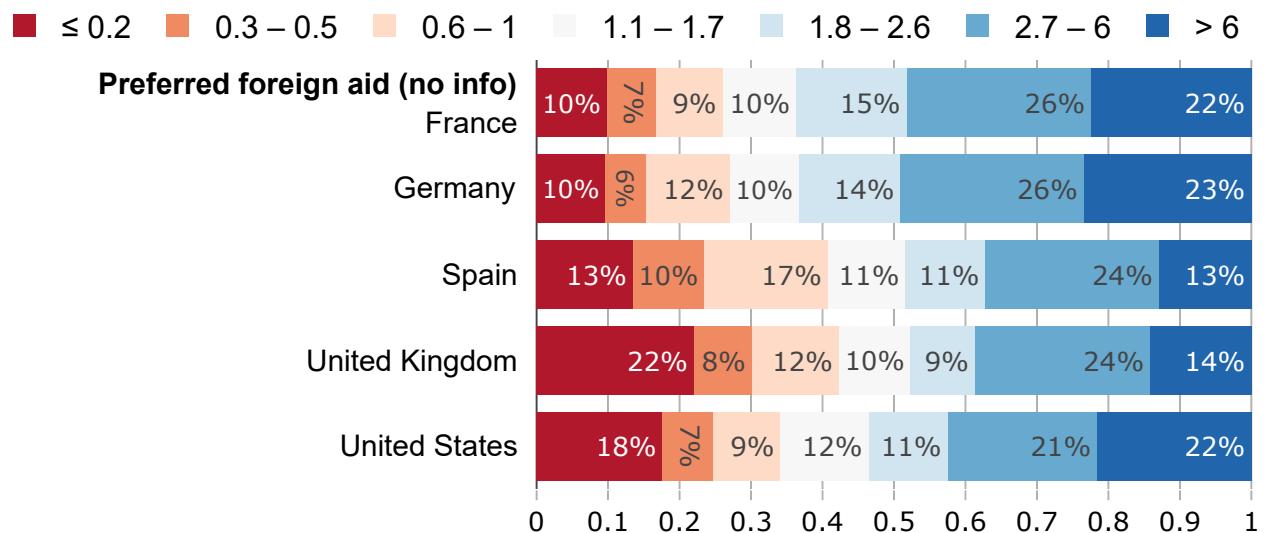


Figure S29: Preferred foreign aid (after info on actual amount).

"Actually, [US1: 0.4%; FR: 0.8%; DE: 1.3%; ES: 0.5%; UK: 1.7%] of [own country] government spending is allocated to foreign aid.

If you could choose the government spending, what percentage would you allocate to foreign aid?" (Question 40) [\(Back to Section 2.2.5\)](#)

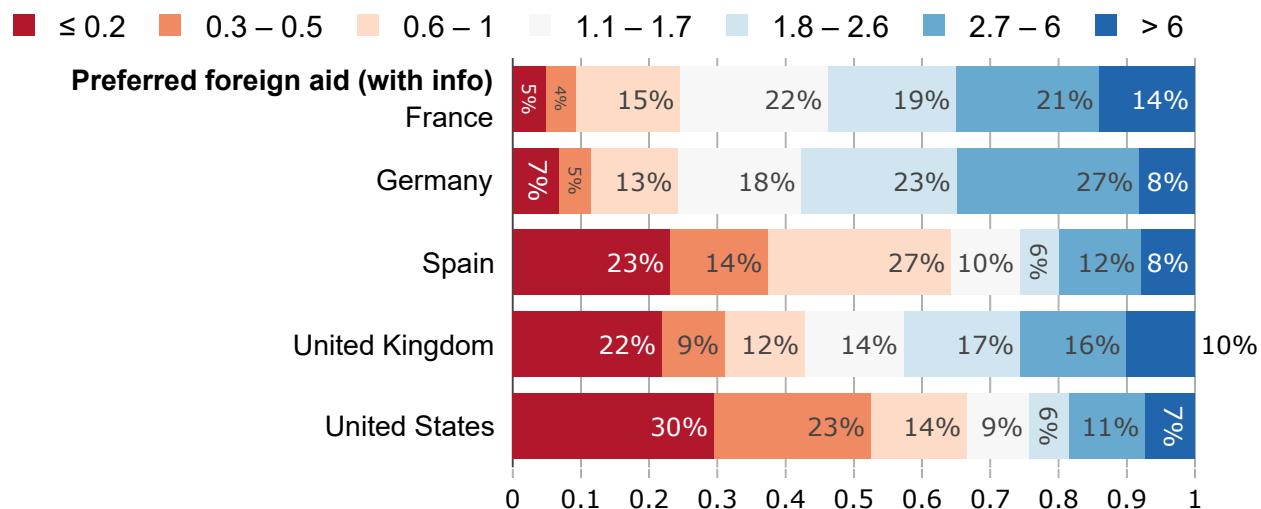


Figure S30: Preferences for funding increased foreign aid. [Asked iff preferred foreign aid is strictly greater than [Info: actual; No info: perceived] foreign aid]
 "How would you like to finance such increase in foreign aid? (Multiple answers possible)" (in percent) (Question 41) (Back to Section 2.2.5)

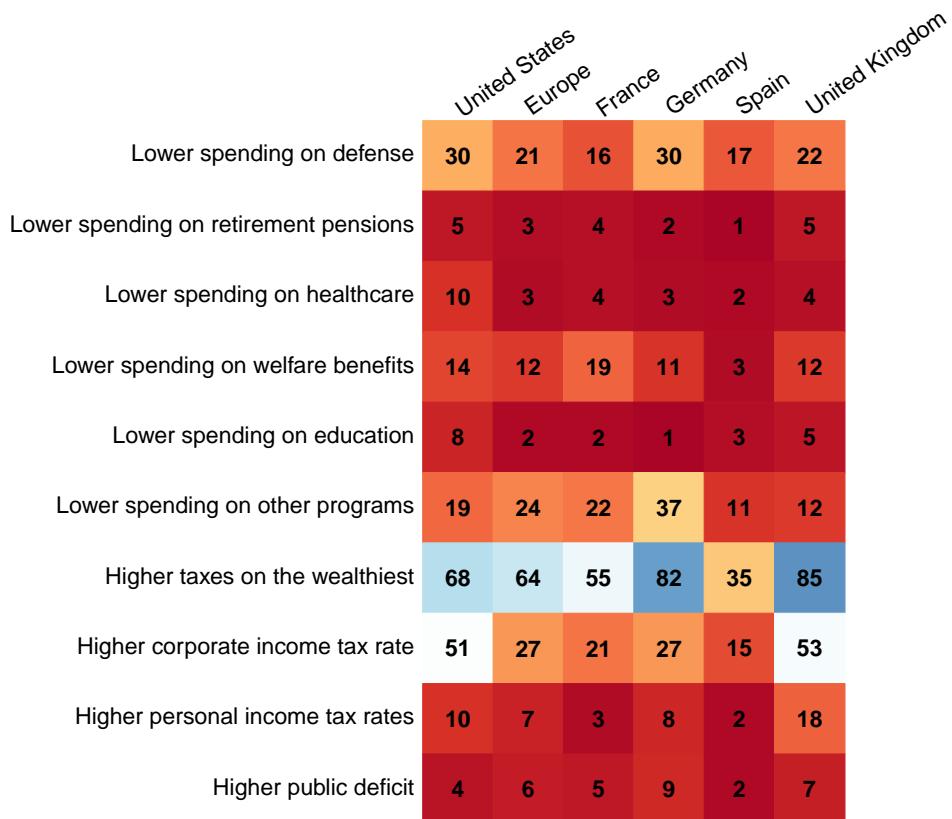


Figure S31: Preferences of spending following reduced foreign aid. [Asked iff preferred foreign aid is strictly lower than [Info: actual; No info: perceived] foreign aid]
 "How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible)" (in percent)
 (Question 42) [\(Back to Section 2.2.5\)](#)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Higher spending on defense	19	23	11	21	17	31
Higher spending on retirement pensions	23	41	22	51	57	35
Higher spending on healthcare	40	57	31	42	80	70
Higher spending on welfare benefits	13	20	7	19	39	20
Higher spending on education	30	45	31	47	58	43
Higher spending on other programs	6	6	6	4	9	8
Lower taxes on the wealthiest	5	2	5	2	0	2
Lower corporate income tax rate	12	6	10	4	8	6
Lower personal income tax rates	48	29	26	27	37	30
Lower public deficit	32	24	21	13	41	21

Figure S32: Willingness to sign real-stake petition for the Global Climate Scheme or National Redistribution, compared to stated support in corresponding subsamples (e.g. support for the GCS in the branch where the petition was about the GCS). (Question 43)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Petition for the GCS	51	69	69	66	78	69
(Comparable) support for the GCS	53	76	81	74	81	74
Petition for NR	57	67	65	66	74	68
(Comparable) support for NR	58	72	76	65	78	75

Figure S33: Absolute support for various global policies (Percent of (*somewhat or strong*) support). (Questions 44 and 45. See Figure 2 for the relative support.)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	41	54	52	53	62	51
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	53	65	62	66	68	62
High-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income countries adapt to climate change	45	58	55	60	62	54
Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt	31	37	36	30	45	40
Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting right proportional to its population	34	44	44	43	52	43
Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries	39	49	39	51	50	54
A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage	42	55	54	54	61	53
Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of all assets	44	70	73	70	72	65
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion (US) / €100 million (Eu) for each human	34	45	40	48	44	50
National tax on millionaires funding public services	62	76	70	79	79	77
Global tax on millionaires funding low-income countries	58	71	69	72	78	71

Figure S34: Preferred approach of diplomats at international climate negotiations. In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend [own country] interests or global justice? (Question 49)

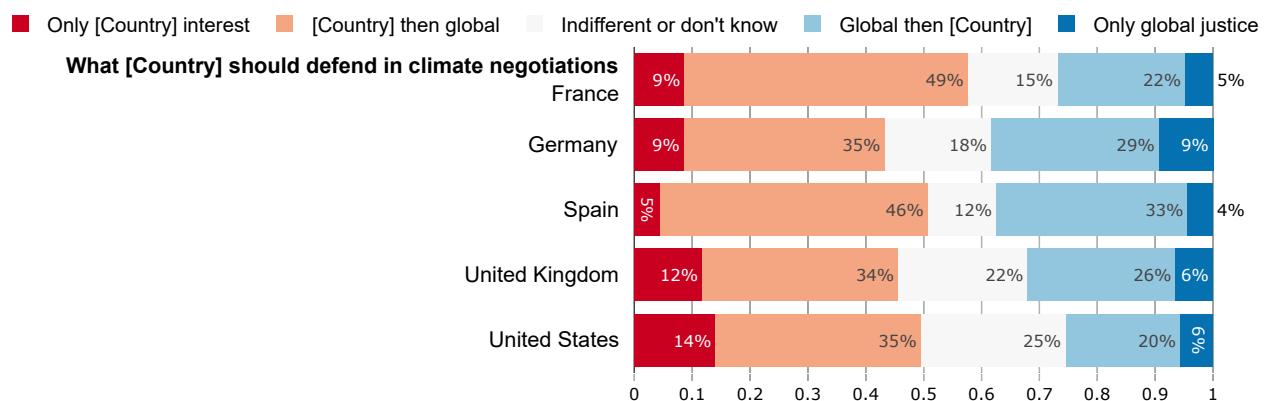


Figure S35: Percent of selected issues viewed as important.
 “To what extent do you think the following issues are a problem?” (Question 56)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Income inequality in [Country]	55	59	54	58	71	57
Climate change	59	66	66	63	73	63
Global poverty	50	57	50	58	75	49

Figure S36: Group defended when voting.
 “What group do you defend when you vote?” (Question 57)

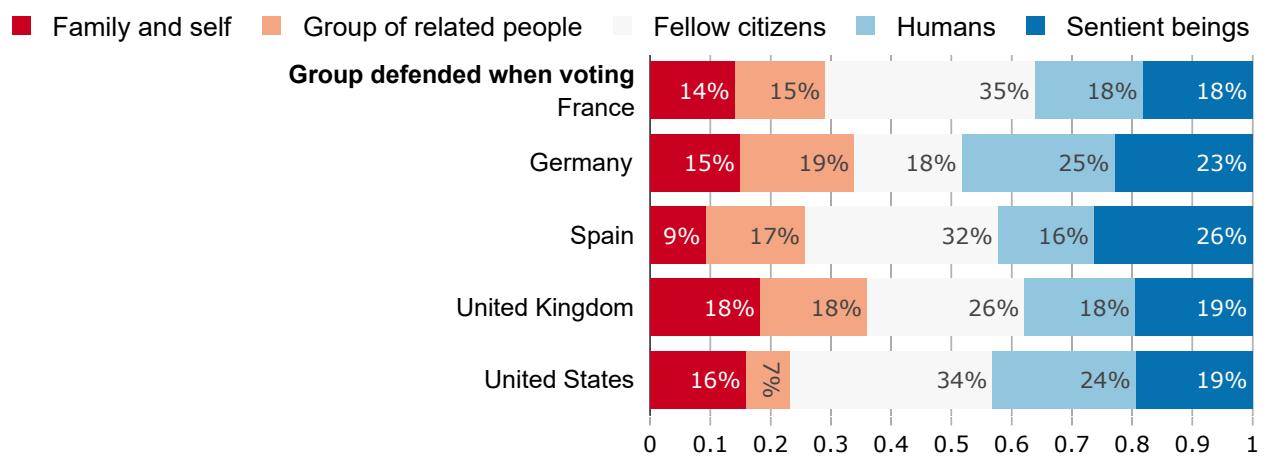


Figure S37: Mean prioritization of policies.

Mean number of points allocated policies to express intensity of support (among six policies chosen at random). Blue color means that the policy has been awarded more points than the average policy. (Question 58)

	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
foreign3: Global democratic assembly on climate change	15	15	15	17	14	13
foreign4: Doubling foreign aid	9	11	13	14	9	8

Figure S38: Positive prioritization of policies.

Percent of people allocating a positive number of points to policies, expressing their support (among six policies chosen at random). (Question 58)

	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
econ1	64	78	61	67	96	95
econ2: [Higher minimum wage] (DE: Bürgerversicherung)	83	86	85	84	87	89
econ3	81	69	50	78	80	68
econ4	88	86	91	79	89	85
soc1	57	75	69	74	74	78
soc2	58	58	72	53	64	48
climate1	70	76	65	79	89	75
climate2: Thermal insulation plan (US: also transport)	79	83	86	84	78	80
climate3: Ban the sale of new combustion–engine cars by 2030	62	58	56	48	60	70
tax1: National redistribution scheme	67	79	79	76	82	79
tax2: Wealth tax (ES: raise tax on top incomes)	80	79	76	78	83	85
foreign1: Global climate scheme	71	83	84	85	84	78
foreign2: Global tax on millionaires	80	81	79	83	82	82
foreign3: Global democratic assembly on climate change	71	77	79	74	83	76
foreign4: Doubling foreign aid	58	70	79	74	74	57

Figure S39: Charity donation.

"How much did you give to charities in 2022?" (Question 50)

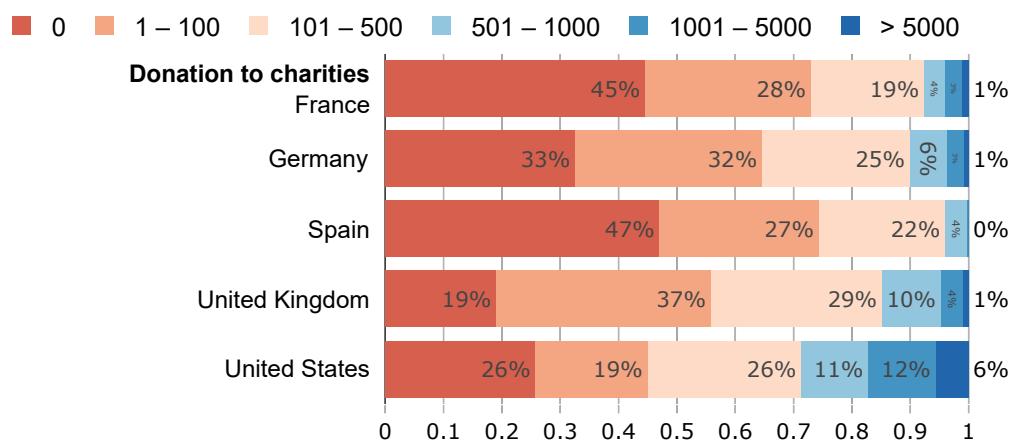


Figure S40: Interest in politics.

"To what extent are you interested in politics?" (Question 51)

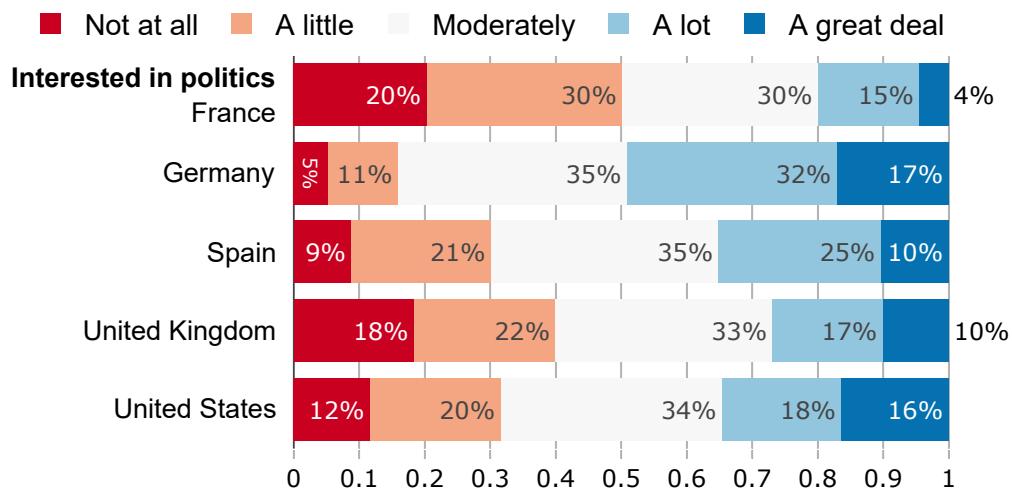


Figure S41: Desired involvement of government (from 1 to 5). (Question 52)

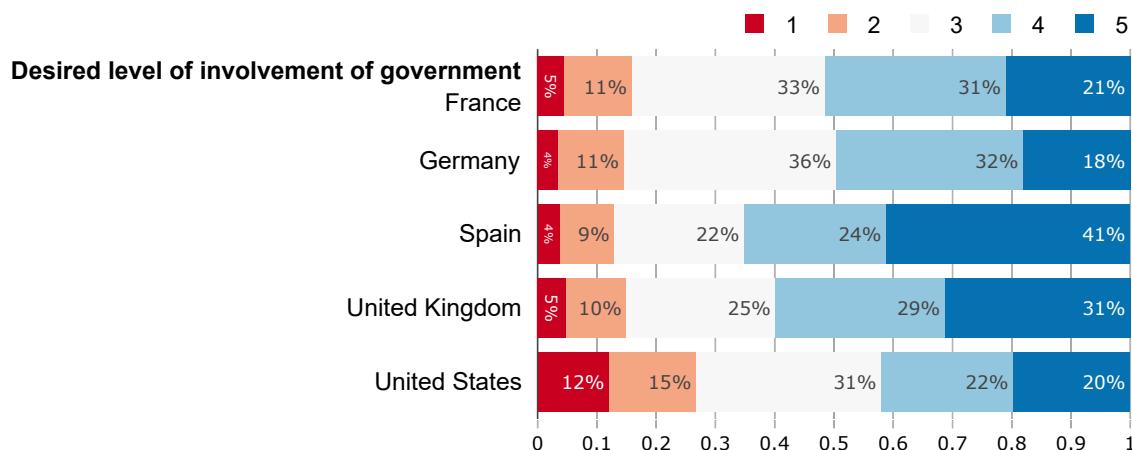


Figure S42: Political leaning on economics (from 1: Left to 5: Right). (Question 53)

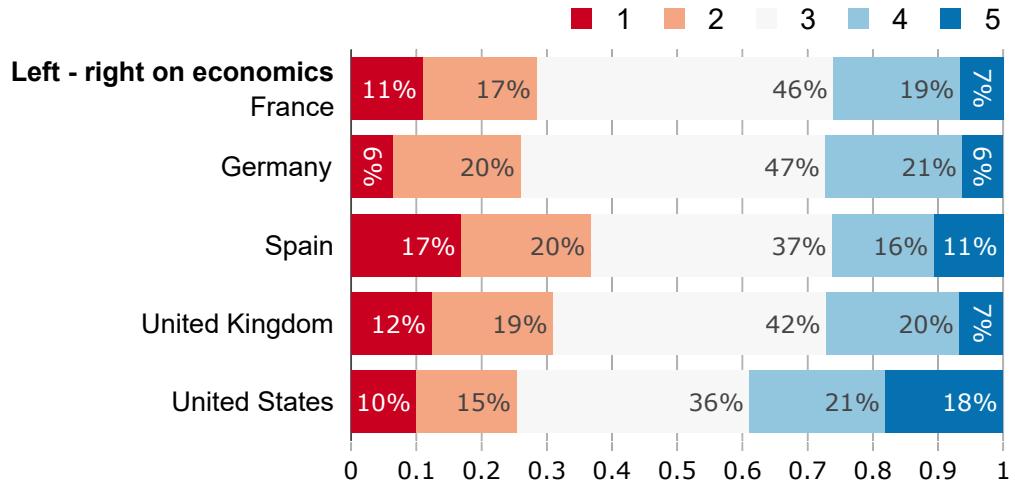


Figure S43: Voted in last election. (Question 54)

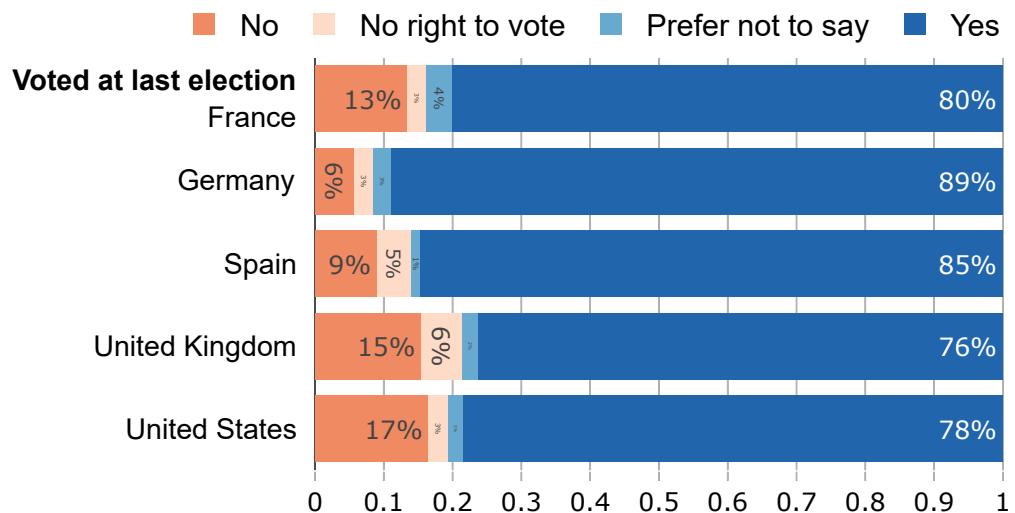


Figure S44: Vote in last election (aggregated). PNR includes people who did not vote or prefer not to answer. (Question 55)

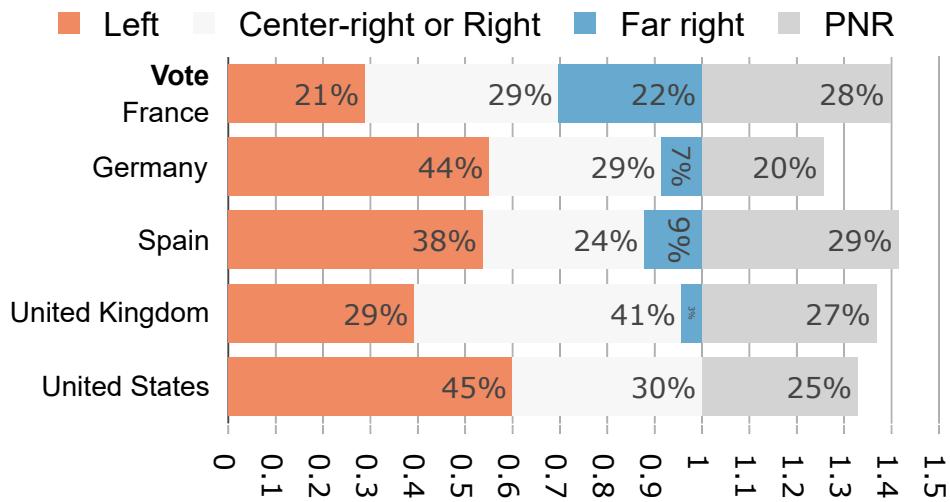


Figure S45: Perception that survey was biased.
“Do you feel that this survey was politically biased?” (Question 61)

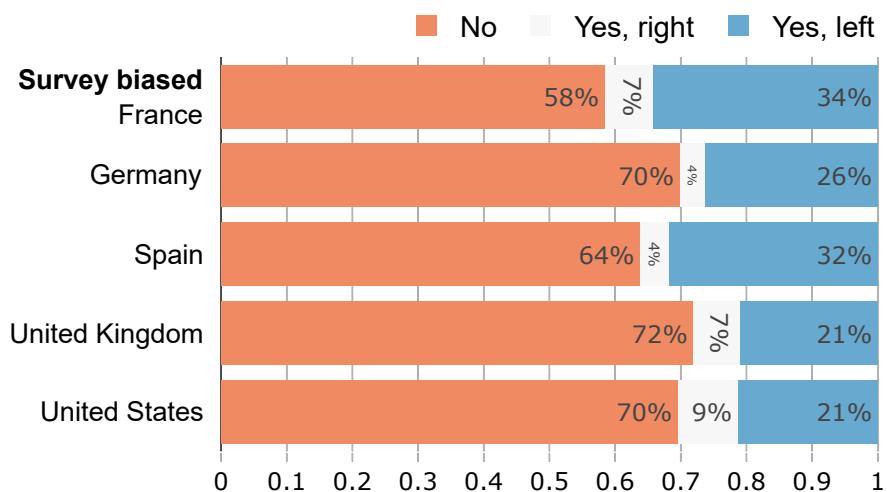
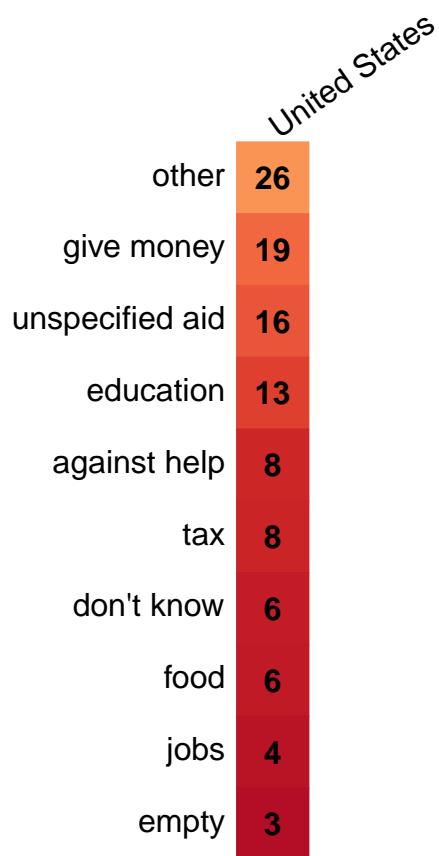


Figure S46: Opinion on the fight against extreme poverty.

“According to you, what should high-income countries do to fight extreme poverty in low-income countries?” (Question 62) [\(Back to Section 2.2.5\)](#)

(a) Elements found in the open-ended field on the question
(manually recoded, in percent)



(b) Keywords found in the open-ended field on the GCS (automatic search ignoring case, in percent).

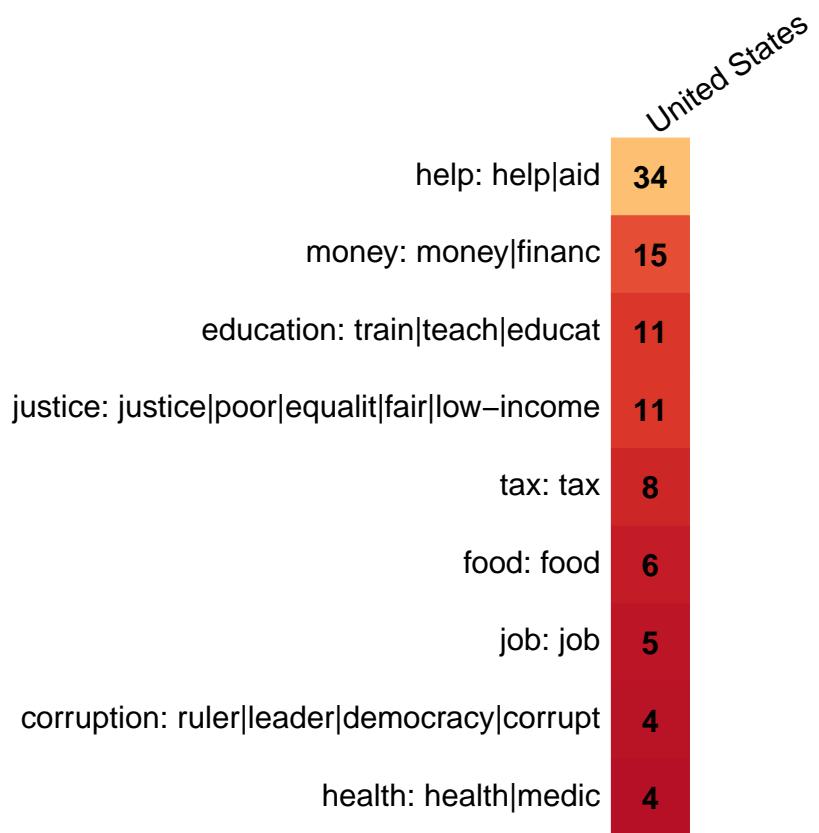


Figure S47: Main attitudes by vote (“Right” spans from Center-right to Far right).
 (Relative support in percent in Questions 20, 35, 45, 46, 49) (Back to Section 2.4)

	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

1404 C Questionnaire of the global survey (section on global
1405 policies)

1406 A. At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be
1407 put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) [Figures 1 and S11]
1408 Global; [Federal / European / ...]; [State / National]; Local

1409 B. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “[country] should take mea-
1410 sures to fight climate change.”

1411 *Strongly disagree; Somewhat disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Somewhat agree; Strongly
1412 agree*

1413 C. How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

- 1414 • If other countries do more, [country] should do...
1415 • If other countries do less, [country] should do...

1416 *Much less; Less; About the same; More; Much more*

1417 D. [In all countries but the U.S., Denmark and France] All countries have signed the
1418 Paris agreement that aims to contain global warming “well below +2 °C’. To limit
1419 global warming to this level, there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we
1420 can emit globally, called the carbon budget. Each country could aim to emit less
1421 than a share of the carbon budget. To respect the global carbon budget, countries
1422 that emit more than their national share would pay a fee to countries that emit less
1423 than their share.

1424 Do you support such a policy? [Figures 1 and S11]

1425 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly
1426 support*

1427 E. [In all countries but the U.S., Denmark and France] Suppose the above policy is in
1428 place. How should the carbon budget be divided among countries? [Figures 1 and
1429 S11]

1430 *The emission share of a country should be proportional to its population, so that each human
1431 has an equal right to emit.; The emission share of a country should be proportional to its
1432 current emissions, so that those who already emit more have more rights to emit.; Countries
1433 that have emitted more over the past decades (from 1990 onwards) should receive a lower*

1434 *emission share, because they have already used some of their fair share.; Countries that will*
1435 *be hurt more by climate change should receive a higher emission share, to compensate them*
1436 *for the damages.*

1437 F. [In the U.S., Denmark, and France only] To achieve a given reduction of greenhouse
1438 gas emissions globally, costly investments are needed. Ideally, how should countries
1439 bear the costs of fighting climate change?

- 1440 • Countries should pay in proportion to their income
- 1441 • Countries should pay in proportion to their current emissions [Used as a sub-
1442 stitute to the equal right per capita in Figure 1]
- 1443 • Countries should pay in proportion to their past emissions (from 1990 on-
1444 wards) [Used as a substitute to historical responsibilities in Figure 1]
- 1445 • The richest countries should pay it all, so that the poorest countries do not have
1446 to pay anything
- 1447 • The richest countries should pay even more, to help vulnerable countries face
1448 adverse consequences: vulnerable countries would then receive money instead
1449 of paying [Used as a substitute to compensating vulnerable countries in Figures
1450 1 and S11]

1451 *Strongly disagree; Somewhat disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Somewhat agree; Strongly*
1452 *agree*

1453 G. Do you support or oppose establishing a global democratic assembly whose role
1454 would be to draft international treaties against climate change? Each adult across
1455 the world would have one vote to elect members of the assembly. [Figures 1 and S11]
1456 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly*
1457 *support*

1458 H. Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a
1459 global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels
1460 (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the
1461 first years). Higher prices would encourage people and companies to use less fossil
1462 fuels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Revenues from the tax would be used to
1463 finance a basic income of [\$30] per month to each human adult, thereby lifting the
1464 700 million people who earn less than \$2/day out of extreme poverty. The average

1465 [American] person would lose a bit from this policy as they would face [\$130] per
1466 month in price increases, which is higher than the [\$30] they would receive.

1467 Do you support or oppose such a policy? [Figures 1 and S11]

1468 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly*
1469 *support*

- 1470 I. Do you support or oppose a tax on all millionaires around the world to finance low-
1471 income countries that comply with international standards regarding climate ac-
1472 tion? This would finance infrastructure and public services such as access to drink-
1473 ing water, healthcare, and education. [Figures 1 and S11]
1474 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly*
1475 *support*

1476 D Questionnaire of the complementary surveys

1477 Below, we provide the generic questionnaire (based on the U.S. version), which roughly
 1478 corresponds to the *Eu* questionnaire as well as the combination of the *US1* and *US2* ques-
 1479 tionnaire. The main difference between Europe and the U.S. is that we split the *US2*
 1480 sample into four random branches to include some treatments before the Section D on
 1481 the GCS. Besides the control group, the treatments are: information regarding the sup-
 1482 port of Americans for the GCS and NR, an open-ended field, and a closed question on the
 1483 pros and cons of the GCS. The pros and cons of the GCS are also asked in *Eu* (likewise,
 1484 either as an open-ended field or a question), but only in Section D, after the support.

1485 At each section or question, square brackets specify in which questionnaires it is present
 1486 (*US1*, *US2* and/or *Eu*) as well as country specificities. Figures S48-S50 display the struc-
 1487 ture of each questionnaire. Each treatment randomization is independent. Qualtrics and
 1488 Word versions of the questionnaires in each language are available on our [public reposi-](#)
 1489 [tory](#), together with a spreadsheet that summarizes country specificities and our sources.

Figure S48: *Eu* survey structure

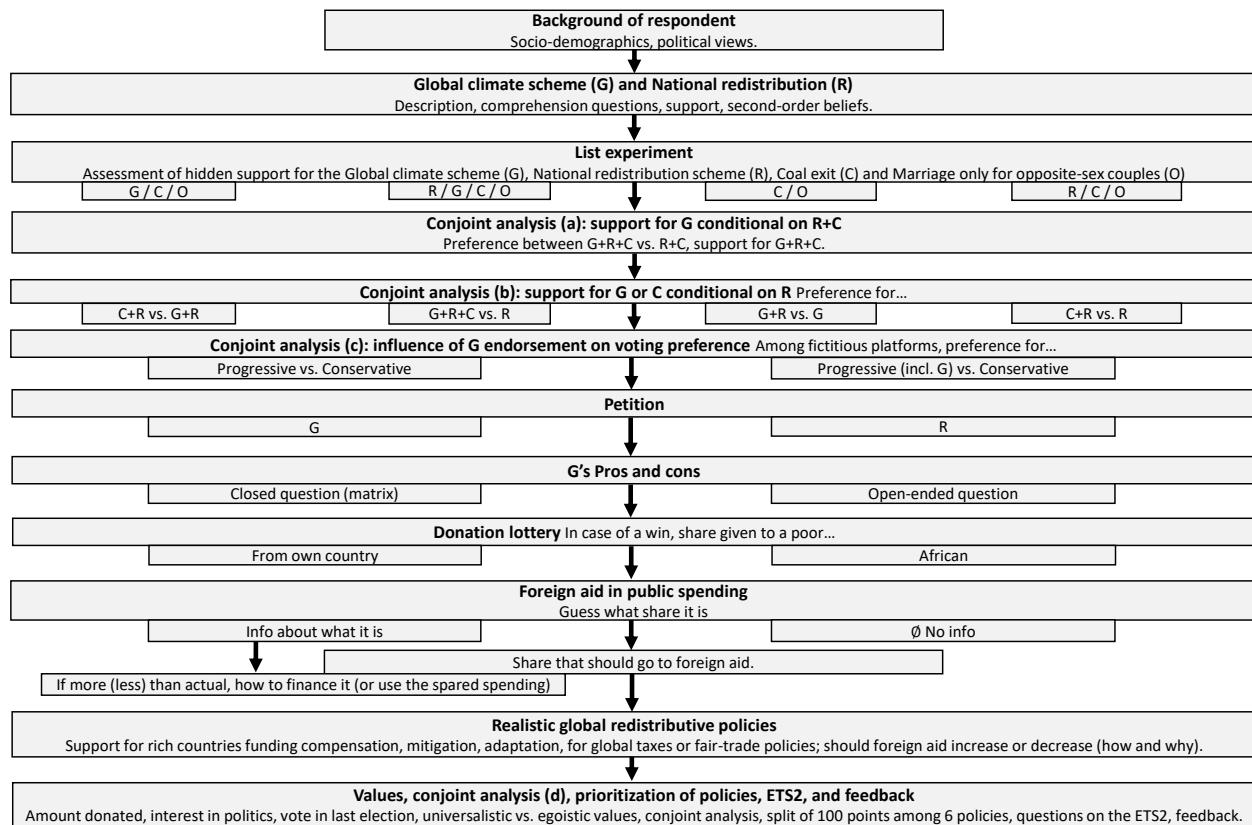


Figure S49: US1 survey structure

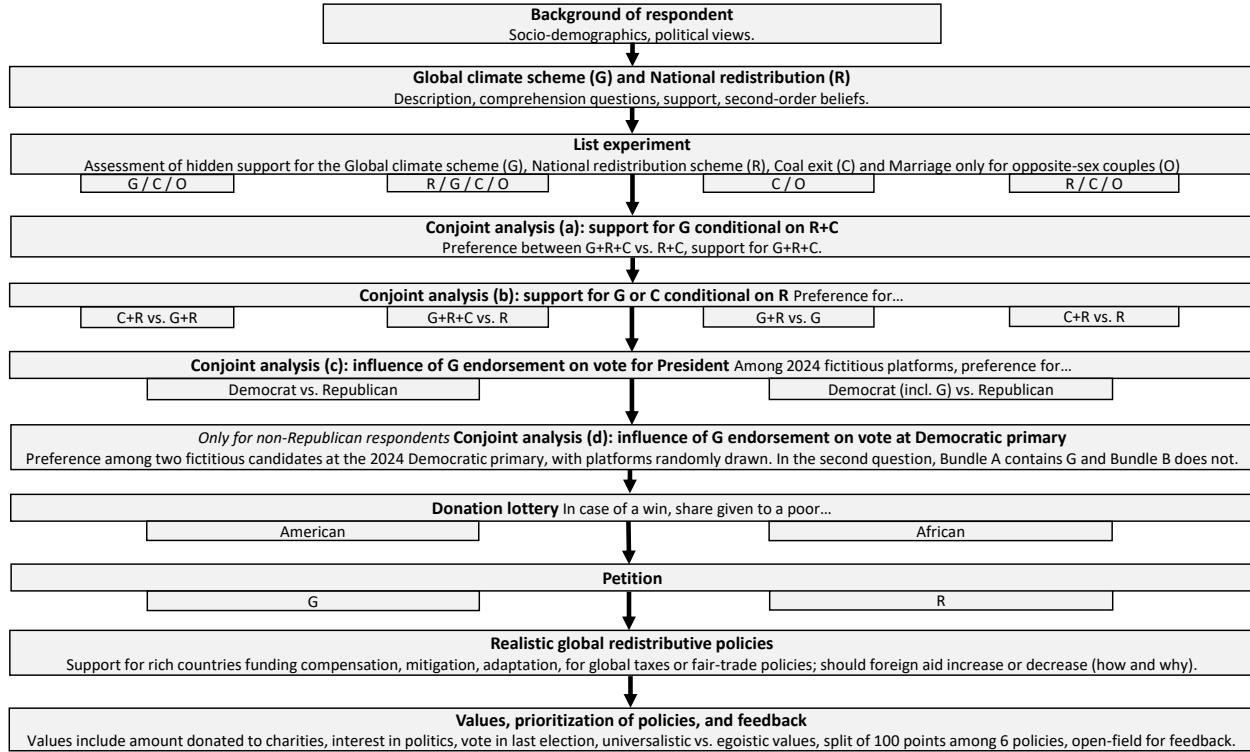
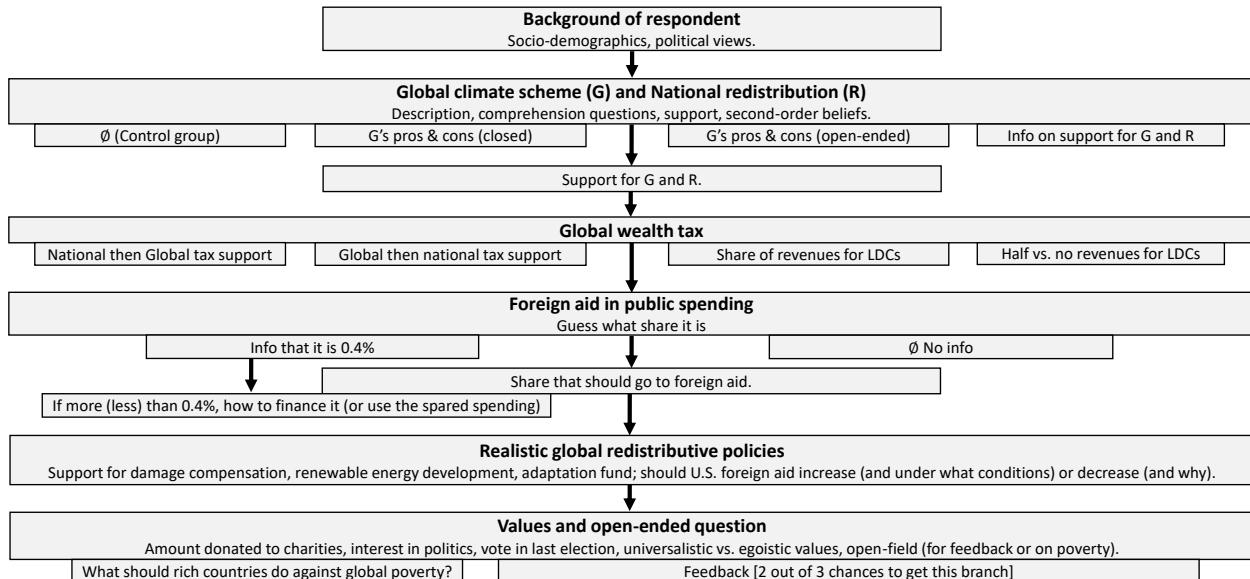


Figure S50: US2 survey structure



1490 [Eu, US1, US2] Socio-demographic characteristics

1491 1. Welcome to this survey!

1492
1493 This survey is **anonymous** and is conducted for research purposes on a representa-
1494 tive sample of [1,000 British people].

1495
1496 It takes [US1, US2: 10 to 15 min; Eu: around 20 min] to complete.

1497
1498 The survey contains lotteries and awards for those who get the correct answer to
1499 some understanding questions.

1500 If you are attentive and lucky, you can win up to [US1, Eu: \$350; US2: \$150] in
1501 points. (See terms and conditions).

1502 Please answer every question carefully.

1503
1504 Do you agree to participate in the survey?

1505 Yes; No

1506 2. What is your gender?

1507 Woman; Man; Other

1508 3. How old are you?

1509 Below 18; 18 to 20; 21 to 24; 25 to 29; 30 to 34; 35 to 39; 40 to 44; 45 to 49; 50 to 54; 55 to
1510 59; 60 to 64; 65 to 69; 70 to 74; 75 to 79; 80 to 84; 85 to 89; 90 to 99; 100 or above

1511 4. [Eu] In which country do you live?

1512 France; Germany; Spain; United Kingdom; Other

1513 5. What is your ZIP code? [UK: What is your Outcode (the left part of your postcode,
1514 e.g. if your postcode is N7 8H7, just enter N7)?]

1515 6. Do you live with your partner (if you have one)?

1516 Yes; No

1517 7. How many people are in your household? The household includes: you, the mem-
1518 bers of your family who live with you, and your dependants.

1519 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more

- 1520 8. [Eu] How many children below 14 live with you?
1521 1; 2; 3; 4 or more
- 1522 9. [US1, US2] What race or ethnicity do you identify with? (Multiple answers are
1523 possible)
1524 White; Black or African American; Hispanic; Asian; American Indian or Alaskan Native;
1525 Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander; Other: {open field}; Prefer not to say
- 1526 10. What is the [US1, US2: annual; Eu: monthly] gross income of your household (before
1527 withholding tax)? This includes all income: wages, self-employment earnings, So-
1528 cial Security benefits, pensions, investment income, welfare payments, and income
1529 from other sources.
1530 [US1, US2: Items based on household total income deciles and quartiles, namely:
1531 Less than \$20,000; between \$20,001 and \$35,000; between \$35,001 and \$42,000; between
1532 \$42,001 and \$50,000; between \$50,001 and \$65,000; between \$65,001 and \$82,000; between
1533 \$82,001 and \$103,000; between \$103,001 and \$130,000; between \$130,001 and \$145,000;
1534 between \$145,001 and \$165,000; between \$165,001 and \$250,000; More than \$250,000; I
1535 prefer not to answer;
1536 Eu: custom thresholds, taking into account household composition Questions 6-8,
1537 and corresponding to the country's deciles and quartiles of standard of living, cf.
1538 the sheet "Income" in [this spreadsheet](#)]
- 1539 11. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
1540 [Below upper secondary, Upper secondary, and Post secondary are coded as the first two,
1541 middle three, and last three items, respectively.
1542 US1, US2: Primary school or less; Eighth grade; Some high school; Regular high school
1543 diploma/GED or alternative credential; Some college, no degree; 2-year college degree or as-
1544 sociates degree (for example: AA, AS); Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS); Master's
1545 degree or above (MA, MS, MEng, MEd, MSW, MBA, MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, PhD);
1546 FR: École primaire / Aucun; Brevet; CAP ou BEP; Baccalauréat professionnel ou tech-
1547 nologique; Baccalauréat général; Bac +2 (BTS, DUT, DEUG...); Bac +3 (licence...); Bac
1548 +5 ou plus (master, école d'ingénieur ou de commerce, doctorat, médecine, maîtrise, DEA,
1549 DESS...)
1550 DE: Keine abgeschlossene Schulbildung / Grundschule; Untere Sekundarstufe (z.B. Haupt-
1551 oder Realschulabschluss); Erstausbildung; Beruflicher Abschluss / Ausbildung; Abitur;
1552 Zweitausbildung; Bachelor oder Fachhochschulabschluss; Master-Abschluss oder höher

1553 ES: *Educación primaria / No he completado la enseñanza básica; Educación secundaria obligatoria (ESO); Formación profesional básica (FP); Formación profesional de grado medio; Bachillerato; Formación profesional de grado superior; Grado universitario; Máster/doctorado*
1554 UK: *Primary education or less; Some secondary school; GSCE; Vocational Upper secondary (Level 3 award, level 3 certificate, level 3 diploma, advanced apprenticeship, etc.); High school degree (A level); Higher vocational education (Level 4+ award, level 4+ certificate, level 4+ diploma, higher apprenticeship, etc.); Bachelor's Degree (BA, BSc, BEng, etc.); Postgraduate diploma or certificate, Master's Degree (MSc, MA, MBA, etc.) or Ph.D.]*

1561 12. What is your employment status?

1562 *Full-time employed; Part-time employed; Self-employed; Student; Retired; Unemployed*
1563 *(searching for a job); Inactive (not searching for a job)*

1564 13. Are you a homeowner or a tenant? (Multiple answers are possible)

1565 *Tenant; Owner; Landlord renting out property; Hosted free of charge*

1566 14. [If lives with partner: What is the estimated value of your household's assets (in
1567 U.S. dollars)?

1568 If does not live with partner: What is the estimated value of your assets (in U.S.
1569 dollars)?]

1570 Include here all your possessions (home, car, savings, etc.) net of debt. For example,
1571 if you own a house worth [\$]300,000 and you have [\$]100,000 left to repay on your
1572 mortgage, your assets are [\$]200,000.

1573 I estimate my [If lives with partner: household's] assets net of debt to be:

1574 [Items based on the following individual wealth quintiles, doubled if lives with
1575 partner. US1, US2: *Less than \$0 (I have a net debt); Close to \$0; Between \$4,000 and*
1576 *\$60,000; Between \$60,000 and \$190,000; More than \$190,000;* For Eu, the thresholds are:
1577 FR: €5/50/150/300k; DE: €0/35/130/280k; ES: €0/50/100/200k; UK: £3/45/115/270k]

1578 15. [US1, US2 (where it is instead asked toward the end, after the vote question)] What
1579 do you consider to be your political affiliation, as of today?

1580 *Republican; Democrat; Independent; Other; Non-Affiliated*

1583 [Eu, US1, US2] Global climate scheme

1584 In the following, we describe two policies, on which we will survey your opinion.
1585 To check that you have attentively read the descriptions, **we will ask some understanding questions afterwards: those who get correct answers can win up to \$150.**

1587 **Global climate scheme:** At the Paris agreement in 2015, all countries have agreed
1588 to contain global warming “well below +2 °C”. To limit global warming to this
1589 level, **there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally.**

1590 To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases
1591 can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover
1592 their emissions. Such a policy would **make fossil fuel companies pay** for their
1593 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.**

1596 In accordance with the principle that each human has an equal right to pollute, the
1597 revenues generated by the sale of permits could finance a global basic income. **Each**
1598 **adult in the world would receive [US1, US2: \$30/month; UK: \$30 (that is £25) per**
1599 **month; FR, DE, ES: €30/month], thereby lifting out of extreme poverty the 700 mil-**
1600 **lion people who earn less than \$2/day.**

1601 **The typical [American] would lose out financially [US1, US2: \$85, FR: €10, DE:**
1602 **€25, ES: €5, UK: £20] per month** (as he or she would face [\$115] per month in price
1603 increases, which is higher than the [\$30] they would receive).

1604 The policy could be put in place as soon as countries totaling more than 60% of
1605 global emissions agree on it. Countries that would refuse to take part in the policy
1606 could face sanctions (like tariffs) from the rest of the World and would be excluded
1607 from the basic income.

(Back to Section [2.2.1](#))

1608 16. Who would win or lose financially in the Global climate scheme? [[Figure S12](#)]

1609
1610 Three respondents with the expected answer will get [\$]50 in points.

1611 Typical [Americans] would win and the 700 million poorest humans would win.;

1612 Typical [Americans] would win and the 700 million poorest humans would lose.;

1613 Typical [Americans] would lose and the 700 million poorest humans would win.;

1614 Typical [Americans] would lose and the 700 million poorest humans would lose.

[new page] For your information, the expected answer was Typical [Americans] would lose and

1616 *the 700 million poorest humans would win* from the Global climate scheme. Now, here
1617 is the second policy:

1618

1619 **National redistribution scheme:**

1620 This policy would **increase taxes on the top** [US1, US2: 5%; Eu: 1%] and provide
1621 cash transfers to all adults. More precisely, **each [American] adult would receive**
1622 **[\$85] per month** (that is [\$1,000] per year). This would be financed by an increase
1623 of the federal income tax on household income in excess of [US1, US2: \$315,000 per
1624 year; FR: €15,000 per month; DE: €20,000 per month; ES: €10,000 per month; UK:
1625 £15,000 per month], leaving taxes unchanged for income below [\$315,000]. [US1,
1626 US2: See more details.] ²⁹

1627 17. Who would win or lose financially in the National redistribution? [Figure S12]

1628

1629 Three respondents with the expected answer will get [\$]50 in points.

1630 Typical [Americans] would win and the richest [Americans] would win.; Typical [Ameri-
1631 cans] would win and the richest [Americans] would lose.; Typical [Americans] would lose
1632 and the richest [Americans] would win.; Typical [Americans] would lose and the richest
1633 [Americans] would lose.

[new page] For your information, the expected answer was *Typical [Americans] would win and
1635 the richest [Americans] would lose* from the National redistribution scheme.

1636

1637 To help you with the next question, here is a reminder of the policies:

1638

1639 **Global Climate scheme:**

1640 To limit global warming and reach the international climate objective, the Global
1641 climate scheme would **impose a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can
1642 emit globally.**

²⁹8% of U.S. respondents click. They then see the following text, based on taxjusticenow.org by Saez & Zucman (2019): *The marginal income tax rates would evolve as follows:*

Below \$315,000: unchanged

\$315,000 - \$400,000: current rate 32% => new rate 41%

\$400,000 - \$600,000: 35% => 50%

\$600,000 - \$2.5 million: 37% => 60%

\$2.5 - \$5 million: 37% => 65%

Above \$5 million: 37% => 70%

1643 It would **make polluters pay** for their emissions, which in turn would increase fos-
1644 sil fuel prices and discourage polluting activities.

1645 The revenues would finance a **global basic income** of [\$30] per month for all hu-
1646 mans, lifting out of extreme poverty the poorest billion people.

1647 Considering the basic income and the fuel price increases, **the typical [American]**
1648 **would lose out financially** [\$85] per month.

1649

1650 **National redistribution scheme:**

1651 This policy would **increase taxes on the top** [5%] and provide cash transfers to
1652 all adults. More precisely, **each [American] would receive** [\$85] per month. This
1653 would be financed by an increase of the federal income tax on household income in
1654 excess of [\$315,000 per year], leaving taxes unchanged for income below [\$315,000
1655 per year].

- 1656 18. If both the Global climate scheme and the National redistribution scheme are imple-
1657 mented, how would a typical [American] be financially affected? [Figure S12]

1658 Three respondents with the expected answer will get [\$]50 in points.

1659 *A typical [American] would lose out financially.; A typical [American] would neither gain
1660 nor lose.; A typical [American] would gain financially.*

[new page] For your information, the expected answer was that *A typical [American] would nei-
1662 ther gain nor lose* from both schemes combined. [US1, Eu: Now, here are the last two
1663 policies:]

1664

1665 **[US1: Coal exit:**

1666 To reduce CO₂ emissions, this policy would require all U.S. coal power plants to be
1667 phased out by 2030. Coal would be replaced by renewable sources like wind and
1668 solar panels as well as stronger reliance on gas power plants.

1669 **Eu: Thermal insulation plan:**

1670 To reduce CO₂ emissions and energy insecurity, this policy would require that all
1671 buildings meet energy efficiency targets: at least rating E in 2030 and rating C in
1672 2040. The [UK] government would subsidise half the cost of insulation for all house-
1673 holds, and up to 90% for the poorest households. Insulation work would cost [FR,
1674 DE: €25; ES: €20; UK: £25] billion a year, but would deliver energy savings greater
1675 than this cost.]

1676

1677 [US1: **Marriage only for opposite-sex couples:**

1678

This policy is a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would legally define marriage as a union of one man and one woman.

1679

1680 **Eu: Death penalty for major crimes:**

1681

This measure would reintroduce capital punishment for major crimes such as terrorism and mass shootings.]

1682

1683 Now, we will ask your opinion on the [US1, Eu: four] policies.

1684

1685 [Click here for the reminder of the \[US1, Eu: first\] two policies.](#) [Clicking displays the
1686 previous summarized descriptions.]

1687

- 1688 19. [US2] [4 Random branches: control (*nothing*); Question 31 (*field*); Question 32 (*impor-
1689 tant*); or the following question (*info*).] For information, a recent survey has shown
that:

1690

- 64% of Americans support the Global climate scheme.
- 72% of Americans support the National redistribution scheme.

1691

20. Do you support the Global climate scheme? [Figure S1]

1692

Yes; No

1693

21. [Eu, US1] According to you, what percentage of [Americans] answer Yes to the
previous question? [Figure S8]

1694

The three people who are closest to the true value get [\$]50 in panel points.

1695

Percentage of [Americans] in favor of Global climate scheme [slider from 0 to 100]

1696

22. Do you support the National redistribution scheme? [Figure S1]

1697

Yes; No

1698

23. [Eu, US1] According to you, what percentage of [Americans] answer Yes to the
previous question? [Figure S8]

1699

The three people who are closest to the true value get [\$]50 in panel points.

1700

Percentage of [Americans] in favor of National redistribution [slider from 0 to 100]

1701

24. [Eu, US1] Beware, this question is quite unusual. Among the policies below, **how
1702 many** do you support? [Figure S14, Table 1]

1706 [Four random branches. Branch GCS/NR/C/O]

- 1707
- 1708 • Global climate scheme
- 1709 • National redistribution scheme
- 1710 • [Coal exit]
- 1711 • [Marriage only for opposite-sex couples]

1712 0; 1; 2; 3; 4

1713

1714 [Branch GCS/C/O]

- 1715
- 1716 • Global climate scheme
- 1717 • [Coal exit]
- 1718 • [Marriage only for opposite-sex couples]

1719 0; 1; 2; 3

1720

1721 [Branch NR/C/O]

- 1722
- 1723 • National redistribution scheme
- 1724 • [Coal exit]
- 1725 • [Marriage only for opposite-sex couples]

1726 0; 1; 2; 3

1727 [Branch C/O]

- 1728
- 1729 • [Coal exit]
- 1730 • [Marriage only for opposite-sex couples]

1731 0; 1; 2

1732

1733 [Eu, US1] Conjoint analyses

- 1734 25. Among the two following bundles of policies, which one would you prefer? [Figure
1735 S15]

1736 Note that for each bundle, all policies of the bundle would be implemented at the
1737 same time.

Bundle A	Bundle B
[Coal exit]	[Coal exit]
National redistribution scheme	National redistribution scheme
Global climate scheme	

1739 1740 *Bundle A; Bundle B*

- 1741 26. Do you support Bundle A (combining [Coal exit], the National redistribution scheme,
1742 and the Global climate scheme)?[Figure S1]

1743 Yes; No

- 1744 27. [new page] Among the two following bundles of policies, which one would you
1745 prefer? [Figure S15]

1746 Note that for each bundle, all policies of the bundle would be implemented at the
1747 same time.

1748 [Four random branches. Branch C + NR vs. GCS + NR]

Bundle A	Bundle B
[Coal exit]	Global climate scheme
National redistribution scheme	National redistribution scheme

1751 [Branch NR vs. NR + C + GCS]

Bundle A	Bundle B
National redistribution scheme	National redistribution scheme [Coal exit] Global climate scheme

1753 1754 [Branch NR + GCS vs. NR]

	Bundle A	Bundle B
1755	National redistribution scheme Global climate scheme	National redistribution scheme
1756		

1757 [Branch NR + C vs. NR]

	Bundle A	Bundle B
1758	National redistribution scheme [Coal exit]	National redistribution scheme
1759		

1760 *Bundle A; Bundle B*

- 1761 28. [new page] [US1: [Asked only to non-Republicans] Imagine if the Democratic and
 1762 Republican presidential candidates in 2024 campaigned with the following policies
 1763 in their platforms.
 1764 *Eu: Imagine if [DE, ES, UK: the two favorite candidates in your constituency in the
 1765 next general election; FR: the two candidates in the second round of the next pres-
 1766 idential election] campaigned with the following policies in their party's platforms.]*

1767 Which of these candidates would you vote for? [Table 2, Figure S15]

1768 [Table 2. Two random branches: with and without the final row. The US1 version of the poli-
 1769 cies is given below, see the sheet "Policies" in [this spreadsheet](#) for the European versions.]

	Democrat	Republican
	Increase corporate income tax rate from 21% to 28%	Decrease the payroll tax
	Coal exit	Permit completion of the Keystone pipeline
	Trillion dollar investment in childcare, healthcare, education and housing	Withdrawal of the Paris agreement
	\$15 minimum wage	Marriage only for opposite-sex couples
	National redistribution scheme	Strict enforcement of immigration and border legislation
1771	[Global climate scheme / no row]	[/ no row]

1772

1773

[US1: Democrat; Republican; None of them; Eu: Candidate A; Candidate B; None of them]

1774

1775

1776

29. [new page] [US1: [Asked only to non-Republicans] Imagine if the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in 2024 campaigned with the following policies in their platforms.

1777

1778

1779

1780

1781

1782

Eu (where it is instead asked toward the end, after the Section "Values and politics"): Imagine that [FR: the left or center-left; DE: a red-red-green coalition; ES: the PSOE; UK: the Labour Party] wins the next [general] elections. Here are two possible platforms on which it may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible [FR: left or center-left, DE: left-wing parties'; ES: PSOE; UK: Labour] policies).]

1783

1784

[US1: Which of these candidates do you prefer?

1785

1786

1787

Eu: Even if you [FR: are not from the left or center-left; DE: do not support the left-wing parties; ES: do not support the PSOE; UK: do not support the Labour Party], which of these platforms do you prefer?]

1788

[Figures S6, S16; see also the sheet "Policies" in *this spreadsheet* for the possible policies.]

	[Candidate A]	[Candidate B]
	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]
1789	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]
	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]
	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]
	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]
	[Policy field in random order]	[Random policy]

1790

[US1: Candidate A; Candidate B; Eu: Platform A; Platform B]

1791

1792

1793

1794

30. [new page] [Same wording and conditions as above. For brevity, only the UK version is given here.] Imagine that the Labour Party wins the next general elections. Here are two possible platforms on which it may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible Labour policies).

1795

1796

1797

Even if you do not support the Labour Party, which of these platforms do you prefer? [Figure S6]

		Platform A	Platform B
1798	[Policy field in random order] [Policy field in random order] [Policy field in random order] [Policy field in random order]	[Random policy] [Random policy] [Random policy] [Random policy]	[Random policy] [Random policy] [Random policy] [Random policy]
1799	Foreign policy	Global climate scheme	-
1800	<i>Platform A; Platform B</i>		

1800 [Eu, US2] Perceptions of the GCS

1801 [Eu: two random branches. US2: four random branches and the question is asked (if asked)
 1802 before Question 20]

1803 31. [Branch: field] When thinking about the Global climate scheme, what comes to
 1804 your mind?

1805 Please list pros and cons of the Global climate scheme. [Figures S18, S19]
 1806 {Open field}

1807 32. [Branch: important] When determining your support or opposition to the Global
 1808 climate scheme, which points are important to you? [Figure S17]

- 1809 • It would succeed in limiting climate change.
- 1810 • It would hurt the [U.S.] economy.
- 1811 • It would penalize my household.
- 1812 • It would make people change their lifestyle.
- 1813 • It would reduce poverty in low-income countries.
- 1814 • It might be detrimental to some poor countries.
- 1815 • It could foster global cooperation.
- 1816 • It could fuel corruption in low-income countries.
- 1817 • It could be subject to fraud.
- 1818 • It would be technically difficult to put in place.
- 1819 • Having enough information on this scheme and its consequences.

1820 *Not at all important; Not so important; Quite important; Very important*

1821 [Eu, US1] Donation lottery

1822 33. Please select “A little” (this is a test to see if you are paying attention).

1823 *Not at all; A little; A lot; A great deal*

1824 34. [Two random branches] By taking this survey, you are automatically entered into a
1825 lottery to win [\$]100 in panel points. This lottery is unrelated to the previous ones
1826 that rewarded answers’ accuracy. In a few days you will know whether you have
1827 been selected in the lottery. The payment will be made to you in the same way as
1828 your compensation for this survey, so no further action is required on your part.

1829
1830 Should you be selected in the lottery, you can also donate a part of this additional
1831 compensation to [[American] / African] people living in poverty through [US1: the
1832 charity GiveDirectly. The charity GiveDirectly; Eu: a charity. We would channel this
1833 donation to a charity that] provides small amounts of cash to people in need in [[the
1834 U.S] / Africa].

1835
1836 **In case you are winner of the lottery, what share of the [\$]100 would you donate
1837 to [[American] / African] people living in poverty [US1: through GiveDirectly]?
1838 [Figure S20, Table S3]**

1839 *Amount donated to [[American] / African] people in need (in [\$]) [slider from 0 to 100]*

1840 [Eu, US2] Wealth tax

1841 [Four random branches: Question 35 then Question 36 (global first); Question 36 then Ques-
1842 tion 35 (national first); Question 37 (global share); Question 38 (sharing)]

1843 35. Do you support or oppose a tax on millionaires of all countries to finance low-
1844 income countries?

1845 Such tax would finance infrastructure and public services such as access to drinking
1846 water, healthcare, and education. [Figures S1, S21]

1847 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly
1848 support*

1849 36. Do you support or oppose a tax on millionaires in [the U.S.] to finance [US2: afford-
1850 able housing and universal childcare/pre-K; Eu: finance government hospitals and
1851 schools]? [Figures S1, S22]

1852 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly*
1853 *support*

1854 37. Imagine a wealth tax on households with net worth above [\$]5 million, enacted in all
1855 countries around the world. In [the U.S.], the tax revenues collected would amount
1856 to [US2: \$430; FR: €16; DE: €44; ES: €5; UK: £20] billion per year (that is, [US2:
1857 2%; FR: 0.7%; DE: 1.3%; ES: 0.7%; UK: 0.9%] of [U.S.] GDP), while it would amount
1858 to [\$]1 billion in all low-income countries taken together (28 countries, home to 700
1859 million people, most of them in Africa).

1860 Each country would retain part of the revenues it collects, and the remaining part
1861 would be pooled at the global level to finance infrastructure and public services in
1862 low-income countries.

1863
1864 What percentage should be pooled to finance low-income countries (instead of re-
1865 tained in the country's national budget)? [\[Figure S23\]](#)

1866 *Percent of global wealth tax that should go to low-income countries [slider from 0 to 100]*

1867 38. Imagine a wealth tax on households with net worth above [\$]5 million, enacted in
1868 all countries around the world.

1869 In [the U.S.], the tax revenues collected would amount to [US2: \$430; FR: €16; DE:
1870 €44; ES: €5; UK: £20] billion per year (that is, [US2: 2%; FR: 0.7%; DE: 1.3%; ES:
1871 0.7%; UK: 0.9%] of [U.S.] GDP), while it would amount to [\$]1 billion in all low-
1872 income countries taken together (28 countries, home to 700 million people, most of
1873 them in Africa).

1874 Which of the following options would you prefer? [\[Figure S24\]](#)

- 1875 • The whole wealth tax financing national budgets in each country. For ex-
1876 ample, in [US2: the U.S., it could finance affordable housing and universal
1877 childcare/pre-K.; Eu-UK: the UK, it could finance the National Health Service
1878 and state-funded schools].
- 1879 • Half of the wealth tax financing national budgets in each country, half of it
1880 financing low-income countries. For example, it could finance [US2: universal
1881 childcare/pre-K in the U.S.; Eu-UK: state-funded schools in the UK] and access
1882 to drinking water, healthcare, and education in Africa.

1883 [Eu, US2] Foreign aid

1884 US2 Please select “A little” (this is a test to see if you are paying attention).

1885 Not at all; A little; A lot; A great deal

1886 39. From your best guess, what percentage of [U.S.] government spending is allocated
1887 to foreign aid (that is, to reduce poverty in low-income countries)?

1888

1889 For your information, government spending totals [US2: 38%; FR: 55%; DE: 45%; ES:
1890 42%; UK: 41%] of [U.S.] GDP, it includes [US2: federal, State; Eu: national] and local
1891 government spending, and apart from foreign aid, it covers the following items: de-
1892 fense, social security (retirement pensions), health [US2: (including Medicare and
1893 Medicaid)], welfare benefits [US2: (including food stamps and EITC)], education,
1894 roads, justice, other programs [US2: and federal agencies (including in energy, sci-
1895 ence...)]. [Figure S27]

1896 Less than 0.1%; 0.1% to 0.2%; 0.3% to 0.5%; 0.6% to 1.0%; 1.1% to 1.7%; 1.8% to 2.6%;
1897 2.7% to 4%; 4.1% to 6%; 6.1% to 9%; 9.1% to 13%; 13.1% to 25%; More than 25%

1898 40. [Two random branches: with or without information on actual amount] [Info: Actually,
1899 [US1: 0.4%; FR: 0.8%; DE: 1.3%; ES: 0.5%; UK: 1.7%] of [the U.S.] government spend-
1900 ing is allocated to foreign aid.]

1901

1902 If you could choose the government spending, what percentage would you allocate
1903 to foreign aid? [Figures S25, S26, S28 and S29]

1904 41. [Asked iff branch: Info and preferred foreign aid is strictly greater than actual for-
1905 eign aid] Your previous answer shows that you would like to increase [U.S.] foreign
1906 aid.

1907

1908 How would you like to finance such increase in foreign aid? (Multiple answers
1909 possible) [Figure S30]

1910 Lower spending on defense; Lower spending on retirement pensions; Lower spending on
1911 healthcare [US2: (Medicare and Medicaid)]; Lower spending on welfare benefits [US2: (like
1912 EITC or food stamps)]; Lower spending on education; Lower spending on other programs
1913 [US2: and federal agencies]; Higher taxes on the wealthiest; Higher corporate income tax
1914 rate; Higher personal income tax rates; Higher public deficit

1915 42. [Asked iff branch: *Info* and preferred foreign aid is strictly lower than actual foreign
1916 aid] Your previous answer shows that you would like to reduce [U.S.] foreign aid.

1917

1918 How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible) [*Figure S31*]
1919

1920 *Higher spending on defense; Higher spending on retirement pensions; Higher spending on
1921 healthcare [US2: (Medicare and Medicaid)]; Higher spending on welfare benefits [US2:
1922 like EITC or food stamps)]; Higher spending on education; lower spending on other pro-
1923 grams [US2: and federal agencies]; Lower taxes on the wealthiest; Lower corporate income
1924 tax rate; Lower personal income tax rates; Lower public deficit*

1925 **[Eu, US1] Petition**

1926 43. [*Two random branches*] Would you be willing to sign a petition for the [Global cli-
1927 mate / National redistribution] scheme? [*Figure S32*]

1928

1929 As soon as the survey is complete, we will send the results to [the U.S. President's
1930 office], informing him what share of American people are willing to endorse the
1931 [Global climate / National redistribution] scheme. (You will NOT be asked to sign,
1932 only your answer here is required and remains anonymous.) Yes; No

1933 **[Eu, US1] Other policies**

1934 44. The following policies are discussed at international negotiations on how to deal
1935 with climate change. [*Figures 2 and S33*]

1936

1937 Do you support or oppose the following policies?

- 1938 • Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for
1939 climate damages
- 1940 • High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries
- 1941 • High-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income
1942 countries adapt to climate change

1943 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly
1944 support*

1945 45. Do you support or oppose the following global policies? [Figures 2 and S33]

- 1946 • Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt
- 1947 • Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting
1948 right proportional to its population
- 1949 • Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries
- 1950 • A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage
- 1951 • Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of
1952 all assets
- 1953 • A maximum wealth limit of [US1: \$10 billion; Eu: [€]100 million] for each
1954 human

1955 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly
1956 support*

1957 46. Currently, [US1: 0.4%; FR: 0.8%; DE: 1.3%; ES: 0.5%; UK: 1.7%] of [U.S.] government
1958 spending (that is, [US1: 0.2%; FR: 0.4%; DE: 0.6%; ES: 0.2%; UK: 0.7%] of [U.S.] GDP)
1959 is spent on foreign aid to reduce poverty in low-income countries. [Figure S3]

1960 Do you support [the U.S.] transferring more money to low-income countries?

1961 *Yes, [U.S.] foreign aid should be increased.; Yes, but only if some conditions are met.; No,
1962 [U.S.] foreign aid should remain stable.; No, [U.S.] foreign aid should be reduced.*

1964 47. [Asked only if *Yes, but only if some conditions are met.* is chosen] What conditions
1965 should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid? (Multiple answers pos-
1966 sible) [Figures S4, S25]

1967 *That recipient countries comply with climate targets and human rights.; That recipient
1968 countries cooperate to fight illegal migrations.; That other high-income countries also in-
1969 crease their foreign aid.; That this is financed by increased taxes on millionaires.; That we
1970 can be sure the aid reaches people in need and money is not diverted.; Other: [open field]*

1971 48. [Asked only if *No, [U.S.] foreign aid should remain stable.* or *No, [U.S.] foreign aid
1972 should be reduced.* is chosen] Why do you oppose [the U.S.] increasing its foreign
1973 aid? (Multiple answers possible) [Figure S5]

1974 *Aid perpetuates poverty as it makes people feel less responsible for themselves.; Aid is not
1975 effective as most of it is diverted.; Aid is a pressure tactic for high-income countries that*

1976 *prevents low-income countries from developing freely.; [The U.S.] is not responsible for what*
1977 *happens in other countries.; Charity begins at home: there is already a lot to do to support*
1978 *the American people in need.; Other: [open field]*

1979 **[Eu, US1, US2] Values and politics**

- 1980 49. [Eu (where it is instead asked at the beginning of Section “Other Policies”), US1]
1981 In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend
1982 [U.S.] interests or global justice? [Figure S34]
1983 *[U.S.] interests, even if it goes against global justice; [U.S.] interests, to the extent it re-*
1984 *spects global justice; ndifferent or don’t know; Global justice, to the extent it respects [U.S.]*
1985 *interests; Global justice, even if it goes against [U.S.] interests*
- 1986 50. How much did you give to charities in 2022? [Figure S39]
1987 *I did not make donations to charities last year.; Less than [\$]100.; Between [\$]101 and*
1988 *[\$]500.; Between [\$]501 and [\$]1,000.; Between [\$]1,001 and [\$]5,000.; More than [\$]5,000.*
- 1989 51. To what extent are you interested in politics? [Figure S40]
1990 *Not at all; A little; Moderately; A lot; A great deal*
- 1991 52. Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the
1992 government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic gov-
1993 ernment functions, and 5 means you think the government should take active steps
1994 in every area it can to try and improve the lives of its citizens? [Figure S41]
1995 *Desired involvement of government [slider from 1 to 5]*
- 1996 53. **On economic policy matters**, where do you see yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where
1997 1 is Left (favoring equality and government interventions) and 5 is Right (favoring
1998 free competition and little government intervention)? [Figure S42]
1999 *Left (1) to Right (5) on economic issues [slider from 1 to 5]*
- 2000 54. Did you vote in the [2020 U.S. presidential] election? [Figure S43]
2001 *Yes; No: I didn’t have the right to vote in the U.S.; Prefer not to say*
- 2002 55. [If voted: Which candidate did you vote for in the [2020 U.S. presidential] election?
2003 If did not vote: Even if you did not vote in the [2020 U.S. presidential] election,
2004 please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who
2005 represents your views more closely.] [Figure S44]

2006 [US1, US2: Biden; Trump; Jorgensen; Hawkins; Prefer not to say
2007 FR: candidates at the 2022 presidential election
2008 DE: parties with more than 1% of votes at the 2021 federal election and *Other*
2009 ES: lists with more than 0.9% at the November 2019 general election and *Other*
2010 UK: parties with more than 0.5% of votes at the 2019 general election and *Other*]

2011 56. To what extent do you think the following issues are a problem? [Figure S35]

- 2012 • Income inequality in [the U.S.]
2013 • Climate change
2014 • Global poverty

2015 *Not an important issue for me; An issue but there are other priorities; An issue but we already do what we can; An important issue, we should do more; One of the most pressing issue of our time*
2016
2017

2018 57. What group do you defend when you vote? [Figure S36]

2019 *Sentient beings (humans and animals); Humans; [Eu: Europeans]; [Americans]; People sharing my culture or religion; [US1, US2: My State]; [US1, US2: My town; Eu: My country, region or town]; My relatives and/or colleagues; My family and myself*
2020
2021

2022 [Eu, US1] Prioritization

2023 58. In this question, you have 100 points that you can allocate to different policies. The
2024 more you give points to a policy, the more you support it.

2025
2026 How do you allocate the points among the following policies? [Figures S37 and S38]
2027

2028 You can adjust the number of points either using the slider or entering the num-
2029 ber of your choice on the right-hand-side. **The sum of points must equal exactly**
2030 **100**. By pushing the last slider to the right, the total will automatically adjust to 100.
2031 Please read the 6 options before making your choice.

2032 See the sheet "Policies" in [this spreadsheet](#) for the pool of policies in each country.
2033 [sliders from 0 to 100]

2034 [FR, DE, ES] ETS2

2035 59. Similar to the Global Climate Scheme, the European Climate Scheme would impose
2036 a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit across the EU in the buildings
2037 and transport sectors. It would make polluters pay for their emissions, which in turn
2038 would increase fossil fuel prices and discourage polluting activities. Several options
2039 are possible regarding the use of the scheme's revenues:

- 2040 • Provide an equal cash transfer of €105 per year to each European.
- 2041 • Provide a country-specific cash transfer to each European, proportional to their
2042 country's emissions: people in countries with higher emissions per person (like
2043 Germany) would receive more than people in countries with lower emissions
2044 (like Romania). For information, people in [Germany] would receive €[FR:
2045 110; DE: 130; ES: 90]/year.
- 2046 • Finance low-carbon investments: thermal insulation of buildings, switch to
2047 clean sources of heating, public transportation, and charging stations for elec-
2048 tric vehicles.
- 2049 • Provide cash transfers to the most vulnerable half of Europeans and finance
2050 low-carbon investments.

2051 Do you support or oppose the European Climate Scheme in case the revenue is used
2052 to... ?

- 2053 • Provide an equal cash transfer to each European
- 2054 • Provide a country-specific cash transfer to each European
- 2055 • Finance low-carbon investments
- 2056 • Provide cash transfers for the most vulnerable Europeans and low-carbon in-
2057 vestments

2058 *Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly
2059 support*

2060 60. [Asked iff none of the four variants of the European Climate Scheme is (somewhat or
2061 strongly) supported] Why do you not support a European Climate Scheme? (Mul-
2062 tiple answers possible)

2063 *I am opposed to climate policy being decided at the EU level, it should be decided at the na-*
2064 *tional level;*
2065 *I would prefer if the revenues were used in a different way (beyond the four suggestions*
2066 *above) than previously suggested;*
2067 *I would prefer if decreasing carbon emissions were regulated by other climate policies;*
2068 *I am generally opposed to additional, or more ambitious, climate policies;*
2069 *I do not fully understand how the European Climate Scheme is supposed to work;*
2070 *I don't know*

2071 **[Eu, US1, US2] Feedback**

- 2072 61. Do you feel that this survey was politically biased? [Figure S45]
2073 *Yes, left-wing biased; Yes, right-wing biased; No, I do not feel it was biased*
- 2074 62. [US2 Asked only to one random third of the respondents, instead of the feedback Ques-
2075 tion 63] According to you, what should high-income countries do to fight extreme
2076 poverty in low-income countries? [Figure S46]
2077 *{Open field}*
- 2078 63. The survey is nearing completion. You can now enter any comments, thoughts or
2079 suggestions in the field below.
2080 *{Open field}*
- 2081 64. Lastly, are you interested to be interviewed by a researcher (through videoconfer-
2082 encing) for 30 min?
2083
2084 This is totally optional and will not be rewarded.
2085 *Yes; No*

2086 E Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme

2087 To specify the GCS, we use the IEA's 2DS scenario (IEA 2017), which is consistent
2088 with limiting the global average temperature increase to 2°C with a probability of at least
2089 50%. The paper by Hood (2017) contributing to the Report of the High-Level Commission
2090 on Carbon Prices (Stern & Stiglitz 2017) presents a price corridor compatible with this
2091 emissions scenario, from which we take the midpoint. The product of these two series
2092 provides an estimate of the revenues expected from a global carbon price. We then use
2093 the UN median scenario of future population aged over 15 years (*adults*, for short). We
2094 derive the basic income that could be paid to all adults by recycling the revenues from
2095 the global carbon price: evolving between \$20 and \$30 per month, with a peak in 2030.
2096 Accounting for the lower price levels in low-income countries, an additional income of
2097 \$30 per month would allow **670 million people** to escape extreme poverty, defined with
2098 the threshold of \$2.15 per day in purchasing power parity.³⁰

2099 To estimate the increase in fossil fuel expenditures (or “cost”) in each country by 2030,
2100 we make a key assumption concerning the evolution of the carbon footprints per adult:
2101 that they will decrease by the same proportion in each country. We use data from the
2102 Global Carbon Project (Peters et al. 2012). In 2030, the average carbon footprint of a
2103 country c , e_c , evolves from baseline year b proportionally to the evolution of its adult
2104 population $\Delta p_c = p_c^{2030} / p_c^b$. Thus, the global share of country c 's carbon footprint, s_c ,
2105 is proportional to $\sigma_c = e_c \Delta p_c$, and as countries' shares sum to 1, $s_c = \frac{\sigma_c}{\sum_k \sigma_k}$. Multiplying
2106 country c 's emission share with global revenues in 2030, R , and dividing by c 's adult pop-
2107 ulation in year y , yields its average cost per adult: $R \cdot s_c / p_c^y$. Using findings from Ivanova
2108 & Wood (2020) for Europe and Fremstad & Paul (2019) for the U.S., we approximate the
2109 median cost as 90% of the average cost. Finally, the net gain is given by the basic income
2110 (\$30 per month) minus the cost. We provided consistent estimates of net gains in all sur-
2111 veys (using $y = b = 2015$), though in the global survey we gave the average net gains
2112 vs. the median ones in the complementary surveys. The latter are shown in Figure S51.
2113 For the record, Table S4 also provides an estimate of *average* net gains (computed with

³⁰The average carbon footprint of Sub-Saharan Africa is 0.75tCO₂ per capita (World Bank), and it is even lower for people living in extreme poverty, under one tenth of the world average of about 5tCO₂ per capita (Chancel & Piketty 2015). Under a GCS with a cash transfer of \$30 per person, if one's emission is one tenth of the world average, their net gain would be \$27 per month in nominal terms. In regions with extreme poverty like Sub-Saharan Africa (excluding high-income countries), the conversion factor from Market Exchange Rate to Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is 2.4 (computed as the ratio of the World Bank series relating the GDP per capita of Sub-Saharan Africa in PPP and nominal). Therefore, the net gain for the extreme poor is \$65 per month (or \$2.13 a day) in PPP, enough to lift them out of extreme poverty.

²¹¹⁴ $b = 2019$ and $y = 2030$).³¹

²¹¹⁵ Estimates of the net gains from the Global Climate Scheme are necessarily imprecise,
²¹¹⁶ given the uncertainties surrounding the carbon price required to achieve emissions
²¹¹⁷ reductions as well as each country's trajectory in terms of emissions and population. These
²¹¹⁸ values are highly dependent on future (non-price) climate policies, technical progress,
²¹¹⁹ and economic growth of each country, which are only partially known. Integrated As-
²¹²⁰ sessment Models have been used to derive a Global Energy Assessment (Johansson et al.
²¹²¹ 2012), a 100% renewable scenario (Greenpeace 2015) as well as Shared Socioeconomic
²¹²² Pathways (SSPs), which include consistent trajectories of population, emissions, and car-
²¹²³ bon price (Bauer et al. 2017; Fricko et al. 2017; Riahi et al. 2017; van Vuuren et al. 2017).
²¹²⁴ Instead of using some of these modelling trajectories, we relied on a simple and trans-
²¹²⁵ parent formula, for a number of reasons. First and foremost, those trajectories describe
²¹²⁶ territorial emissions while we need consumption-based emissions to compute the inci-
²¹²⁷ dence of the GCS. Second, the carbon price is relatively low in trajectories of SSPs that
²¹²⁸ contain global warming below 2°C (less than \$35/tCO₂ in 2030), so we conservatively
²¹²⁹ chose a method yielding a higher carbon price (\$90 in 2030). Third, modelling results are
²¹³⁰ available only for a few macro regions, while we wanted country by country estimates.
²¹³¹ Finally, we have checked that the emissions per capita given by our method are broadly
²¹³² in line with alternative methods, even if it tends to overestimate net gains in countries
²¹³³ which will decarbonize less rapidly than average.³² For example, although countries' de-
²¹³⁴ carbonization plans should realign with the GCS in place, India might still decarbonize
²¹³⁵ less quickly than the European Union, so India's gain and the EU's loss might be over-
²¹³⁶ estimated in our computations. For a more sophisticated version of the Global Climate
²¹³⁷ Scheme which includes participation mechanisms preventing middle-income countries
²¹³⁸ (like China) to lose from it and estimations of the Net Present Value by country, see Fabre
²¹³⁹ (2023).

(Back to Section 2.2.2)

³¹2015 was the last year of data available when the global questionnaire was conceived (OECD data was then used – it does not cover all countries but give identical rounded estimates than those recomputed from the Global Carbon Project data for our complementary surveys). 2030 was chosen as the reference year as it is the date at which global carbon price revenues are expected to peak (and the GCS redistributive effects would be largest), and the GCS could not realistically enter into force before that date. In the surveys, we chose $y = b = 2015$ rather than $b = 2019$ and $y = 2030$ to get more conservative estimates of the monthly cost in the U.S. (\$20 higher than the other option) and in Europe (€5 or £10 higher).

³²Computations with alternative methods can be found on [our public repository](#).

Figure S51: Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme.

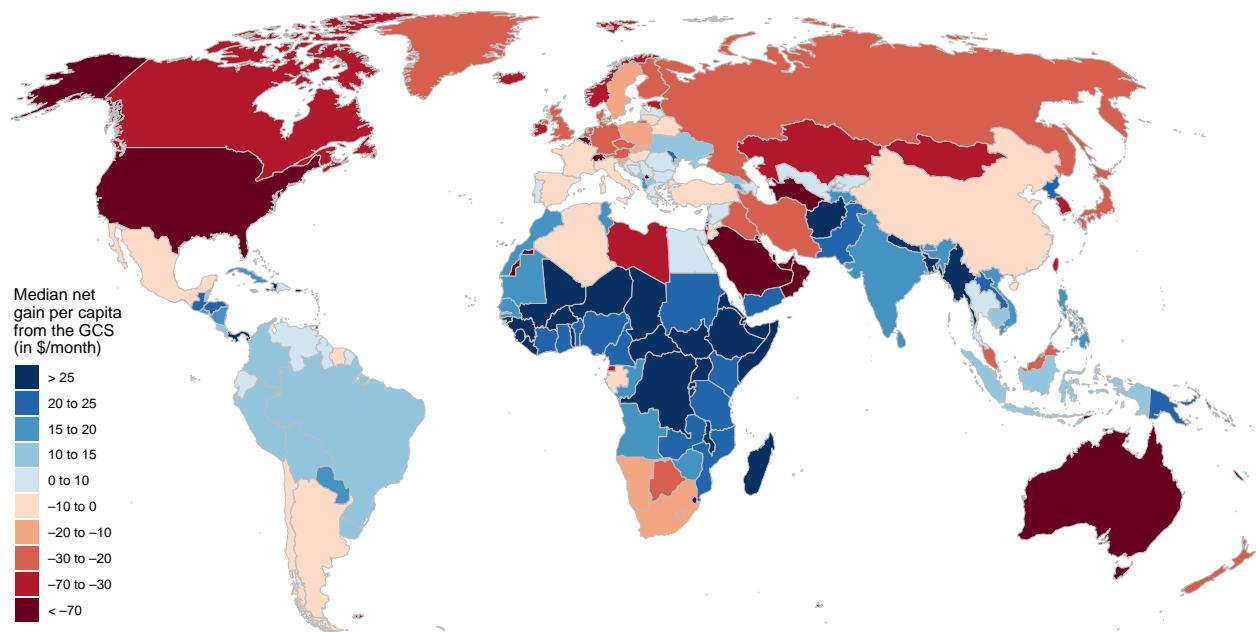


Table S4: Estimated net gain from the GCS in 2030 and carbon footprint by country.

	Mean net gain from the GCS (\$/month)	CO ₂ footprint per adult in 2019 (tCO ₂ /y)			
Saudi Arabia	-92	24.0	Algeria*	-1	6.0
United States	-76	21.0	Mexico	2	5.6
Australia	-59	17.6	Ukraine	2	5.6
Canada	-55	16.7	Uzbekistan*	4	5.1
South Korea	-49	15.6	Argentina	5	4.9
Taiwan	-41	14.0	Thailand	7	4.6
Germany	-30	11.7	Egypt	12	3.6
Russia	-28	11.5	Indonesia	13	3.3
Japan	-27	11.3	Colombia	15	3.0
Malaysia	-21	10.0	Brazil	15	2.9
Iran	-19	9.5	Vietnam	16	2.9
Poland	-18	9.5	Peru	16	2.8
United Kingdom	-18	9.4	Morocco	16	2.7
China	-14	8.6	North Korea*	17	2.5
Italy	-12	8.4	India	18	2.4
South Africa	-11	8.0	Philippines	18	2.3
France	-10	7.8	Pakistan	22	1.6
Iraq*	-7	7.4	Bangladesh	24	1.1
Spain	-6	7.0	Nigeria	25	1.0
Turkey	-2	6.2	Kenya	25	0.9
			Myanmar*	26	0.9
			Sudan*	26	0.9
			Tanzania	27	0.5
			Afghanistan*	27	0.5
			Uganda	28	0.4
			Ethiopia	28	0.3
			Venezuela	29	0.3
			DRC*	30	0.1

²¹⁴⁰ Note: Asterisks denote countries where footprint is missing and territorial emissions is used instead.

²¹⁴¹ Values differ from Figure S51 as this table present estimates of *mean* net gain per adult in 2030, not at the

²¹⁴² present. Only the countries with more than 20 million adults (covering 87% of the global total) are shown.

2143 F Determinants of support

Table S5: Determinants of support for the Global Climate Scheme. (Back to [2.2.2](#))

	Supports the Global Climate Scheme						
	All	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Country: Germany	-0.157*** (0.022)		-0.144*** (0.022)				
Country: Spain	-0.044* (0.024)		-0.026 (0.024)				
Country: United Kingdom	-0.079*** (0.024)		-0.104*** (0.023)				
Country: United States	-0.375*** (0.019)						
Income quartile: 2	0.037** (0.017)	0.031 (0.022)	0.038 (0.023)	0.047 (0.043)	0.058 (0.049)	0.013 (0.053)	0.023 (0.043)
Income quartile: 3	0.042** (0.017)	0.033 (0.024)	0.049** (0.024)	0.080** (0.040)	0.059 (0.052)	0.074 (0.056)	-0.052 (0.052)
Income quartile: 4	0.056*** (0.018)	0.062** (0.026)	0.010 (0.026)	0.018 (0.047)	-0.015 (0.055)	-0.001 (0.056)	-0.005 (0.057)
Diploma: Post secondary	0.023* (0.012)	0.032* (0.017)	0.010 (0.018)	0.007 (0.029)	0.045 (0.039)	0.007 (0.039)	-0.010 (0.039)
Age: 25-34	-0.076*** (0.025)	-0.084*** (0.031)	-0.044 (0.035)	-0.031 (0.057)	-0.077 (0.083)	-0.050 (0.066)	-0.103 (0.091)
Age: 35-49	-0.101*** (0.024)	-0.109*** (0.030)	-0.069* (0.034)	-0.094* (0.055)	-0.009 (0.077)	-0.168** (0.070)	-0.050 (0.090)
Age: 50-64	-0.137*** (0.024)	-0.165*** (0.030)	-0.038 (0.035)	-0.039 (0.056)	-0.020 (0.082)	-0.146** (0.067)	-0.017 (0.087)
Age: 65+	-0.116*** (0.028)	-0.142*** (0.034)	-0.056 (0.044)	0.003 (0.076)	-0.045 (0.094)	-0.258*** (0.091)	0.011 (0.105)
Gender: Man	0.019* (0.011)	0.022 (0.015)	-0.010 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.029)	-0.018 (0.033)	0.042 (0.038)	-0.005 (0.034)
Lives with partner	0.029** (0.013)	0.023 (0.017)	0.058*** (0.018)	0.070** (0.033)	0.082** (0.038)	0.017 (0.038)	0.040 (0.039)
Employment status: Retired	-0.020 (0.024)	-0.046 (0.030)	0.056 (0.038)	0.087 (0.081)	0.096 (0.075)	0.040 (0.082)	0.001 (0.073)
Employment status: Student	0.045 (0.033)	0.062 (0.048)	0.101** (0.044)	0.165* (0.085)	0.192** (0.087)	0.116 (0.074)	-0.021 (0.107)
Employment status: Working	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.020 (0.024)	0.011 (0.028)	0.082 (0.064)	0.006 (0.056)	-0.050 (0.056)	0.036 (0.051)
Vote: Center-right or Right	-0.331*** (0.013)	-0.435*** (0.017)	-0.106*** (0.019)	-0.131*** (0.035)	-0.004 (0.044)	-0.114*** (0.038)	-0.081* (0.041)
Vote: PNR/Non-voter	-0.184*** (0.016)	-0.198*** (0.022)	-0.136*** (0.021)	-0.196*** (0.039)	-0.034 (0.043)	-0.116** (0.046)	-0.108*** (0.040)
Vote: Far right	-0.396*** (0.032)		-0.309*** (0.033)	-0.493*** (0.064)	-0.168*** (0.051)	-0.130 (0.102)	-0.314*** (0.080)
Urban	0.049*** (0.012)	0.072*** (0.018)	0.006 (0.016)	-0.002 (0.029)	0.019 (0.032)	-0.014 (0.036)	0.017 (0.033)
Race: White		-0.030 (0.019)					
Region: Northeast		0.010 (0.023)					
Region: South		0.006 (0.020)					
Region: West		0.010 (0.022)					
Swing State		-0.038** (0.019)					
Constant	1.048	0.736	0.89	0.7	0.732	0.935	0.886
Observations	7,986	4,992	2,994	977	727	748	542
R ²	0.160	0.181	0.064	0.116	0.067	0.043	0.063

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table S6: Support for the GCS regressed on comprehension of its financial effects.

	Supports the Global Climate Scheme					
	All	United States	France	Germany	United Kingdom	Spain
With GCS, typical [country] people lose and poorest humans win	0.029** (0.012)	-0.004 (0.016)	0.043 (0.033)	0.051 (0.033)	0.040 (0.036)	0.038 (0.037)
Constant	0.596	0.53	0.764	0.677	0.707	0.796
Observations	8,000	5,000	729	979	749	543
R ²	0.001	0.00001	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.002

Table S7: Correlation between (*Somewhat or Strong*) support for a global tax on GHG financing a global basic income (Question H) and beliefs in high-income countries.

	Support for a global GHG tax and dividend											
	USA (1)	DNK (2)	FRA (3)	DEU (4)	ITA (5)	ESP (6)	GBR (7)	JPN (8)	POL (9)	AUS (10)	CAN (11)	KOR (12)
Control group mean	0.34	0.409	0.34	0.361	0.341	0.421	0.288	0.317	0.309	0.294	0.316	0.334
Trusts the government	0.040*** (0.013)	0.0005 (0.013)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.051*** (0.011)	0.061*** (0.012)	0.046*** (0.011)	0.050*** (0.012)	0.039*** (0.013)	0.023** (0.011)	0.041*** (0.013)	0.019 (0.012)	0.079*** (0.013)
Believes inequality is an important problem	0.038*** (0.014)	0.051*** (0.012)	0.045*** (0.013)	0.040*** (0.011)	0.023** (0.011)	0.012 (0.011)	0.052*** (0.012)	0.015 (0.012)	0.009 (0.010)	0.005 (0.013)	0.031*** (0.012)	0.024** (0.012)
Worries about CC	0.006 (0.018)	0.058*** (0.015)	0.005 (0.016)	0.048*** (0.014)	0.023* (0.013)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.044*** (0.015)	0.014 (0.014)	0.018 (0.013)	0.036** (0.017)	0.004 (0.014)	0.015 (0.013)
Believes net-zero is technically feasible	0.009 (0.015)	0.007 (0.012)	0.018 (0.014)	0.015 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.012)	0.032** (0.011)	0.027** (0.013)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.024** (0.014)	0.018 (0.015)	0.014 (0.014)	0.001 (0.013)
Believes will suffer from climate change	0.059*** (0.015)	0.019 (0.013)	0.008 (0.014)	0.032** (0.013)	0.012 (0.013)	0.006 (0.012)	0.006 (0.014)	0.037** (0.014)	0.036*** (0.013)	0.033** (0.016)	0.026* (0.014)	0.033** (0.013)
Understands emission across activities/regions	-0.018 (0.011)	0.009 (0.013)	0.003 (0.012)	0.023* (0.012)	0.007 (0.011)	0.012 (0.011)	0.007 (0.012)	-0.007 (0.011)	-0.026** (0.011)	-0.002 (0.013)	0.003 (0.012)	0.015 (0.012)
Knows CC is real & caused by human	0.007 (0.012)	0.008 (0.014)	0.023 (0.014)	0.011 (0.012)	-0.0005 (0.012)	0.031*** (0.012)	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.014 (0.011)	0.025* (0.013)	0.006 (0.012)	0.024* (0.012)
Knows which gases cause CC	0.005 (0.011)	0.021* (0.012)	0.010 (0.013)	0.001 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.010)	0.020* (0.010)	0.015 (0.010)	0.017 (0.011)	0.011 (0.011)	-0.0003 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.013)
Understands impacts of CC	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.007 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.029*** (0.011)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.022* (0.012)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.024* (0.012)
Believes policies entail positive econ. effects	-0.005 (0.013)	0.007 (0.012)	0.021 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.014)	0.011 (0.014)	0.010 (0.013)	0.014 (0.013)	0.008 (0.013)	0.015 (0.013)	0.036** (0.016)	0.004 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.013)
Believes policies would reduce pollution	-0.013 (0.021)	0.037 (0.023)	0.043* (0.022)	-0.014 (0.020)	-0.038** (0.019)	0.029 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.018)	-0.017 (0.018)	-0.021 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.022)	0.021 (0.020)	-0.020 (0.019)
Believes policies would reduce emissions	0.086*** (0.024)	0.066*** (0.023)	0.075*** (0.023)	0.094*** (0.022)	0.105*** (0.020)	0.074*** (0.023)	0.091*** (0.021)	0.154*** (0.019)	0.089*** (0.020)	0.070*** (0.024)	0.053** (0.023)	0.112*** (0.020)
Believes own household would lose	-0.071*** (0.021)	-0.057*** (0.015)	-0.026 (0.020)	-0.087*** (0.017)	-0.066*** (0.017)	-0.053*** (0.017)	-0.073*** (0.017)	-0.008 (0.017)	-0.079*** (0.017)	-0.052*** (0.016)	-0.060*** (0.019)	-0.083*** (0.017)
Believes low-income earners will lose	-0.034* (0.019)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.018)	-0.022 (0.017)	-0.021 (0.018)	-0.015 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.056*** (0.017)	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.030 (0.020)	-0.056*** (0.018)
Believes high-income earners will lose	-0.001 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.013 (0.013)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.011)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.012)	-0.016 (0.013)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.025** (0.012)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.0004 (0.013)
Observations	2,218	2,013	2,006	2,006	2,088	2,268	2,025	1,990	2,053	1,978	2,022	1,932
R ²	0.329	0.241	0.237	0.295	0.211	0.216	0.272	0.222	0.214	0.272	0.254	0.228

Note: The table shows the results of regressions on standardized variables measuring respondents' beliefs and perceptions. Treatment indicators and individual socioeconomic characteristics are included but not displayed. Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. See Appendix A-1 of Dechezleprêtre et al. (2022) for variable definitions.

Table S8: Correlation between (*Somewhat* or *Strong*) support for a global tax on GHG financing a global basic income (Question H) and beliefs in middle-income countries.

	Support for a global GHG tax and dividend							
	IDN (1)	ZAF (2)	MEX (3)	TUR (4)	IND (5)	BRA (6)	CHN (7)	UKR (8)
Control group mean	0.697	0.396	0.681	0.44	0.719	0.539	0.737	0.622
Trusts the government	0.051*** (0.012)	0.058*** (0.015)	0.040*** (0.014)	0.066*** (0.017)	0.065*** (0.015)	0.038** (0.015)	-0.011 (0.015)	0.061*** (0.014)
Believes inequality is an important problem	0.048** (0.011)	0.002 (0.014)	0.057*** (0.015)	0.028 (0.017)	0.092*** (0.016)	0.055*** (0.015)	-0.001 (0.015)	0.027 (0.018)
Worries about CC	0.003 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.016)	0.013 (0.016)	-0.006 (0.017)	-0.0002 (0.016)	0.032* (0.017)	-0.0002 (0.016)	0.046*** (0.016)
Believes net-zero is technically feasible	0.020 (0.014)	0.026 (0.017)	0.004 (0.014)	0.039** (0.017)	0.022 (0.016)	0.019 (0.015)	0.034** (0.016)	0.018 (0.016)
Believes will suffer from climate change	0.020* (0.011)	0.038** (0.016)	0.032* (0.017)	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.014 (0.015)	-0.017 (0.016)	-0.004 (0.015)	0.018 (0.016)
Understands emission across activities/regions	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.013)	0.003 (0.015)	-0.006 (0.010)	0.039*** (0.013)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.00004 (0.013)
Knows CC is real & caused by human	-0.006 (0.009)	0.011 (0.016)	-0.004 (0.015)	-0.006 (0.016)	0.0002 (0.012)	0.003 (0.014)	-0.052*** (0.016)	0.022 (0.014)
Knows which gases cause CC	-0.026*** (0.009)	0.019 (0.015)	0.035** (0.014)	0.015 (0.015)	0.020 (0.013)	0.007 (0.014)	-0.023* (0.012)	0.023 (0.015)
Understands impacts of CC	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.0005 (0.015)	0.009 (0.017)	0.043*** (0.014)	-0.023 (0.015)	-0.008 (0.014)	-0.014 (0.014)
Believes policies entail positive econ. effects	-0.010 (0.007)	0.009 (0.016)	0.015 (0.013)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.002 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.014)	-0.013 (0.010)	0.035** (0.015)
Believes policies would reduce pollution	0.023 (0.015)	0.002 (0.021)	0.019 (0.022)	0.044 (0.029)	0.021 (0.020)	0.032 (0.021)	-0.001 (0.018)	-0.023 (0.025)
Believes policies would reduce emissions	0.111*** (0.019)	0.073*** (0.022)	0.088*** (0.024)	0.078** (0.031)	0.034 (0.025)	0.129*** (0.022)	0.060*** (0.022)	0.138*** (0.025)
Believes own household would lose	-0.027 (0.021)	-0.044** (0.020)	-0.071*** (0.019)	-0.054** (0.024)	-0.012 (0.019)	-0.067*** (0.023)	-0.119*** (0.022)	-0.045** (0.021)
Believes low-income earners will lose	-0.059*** (0.020)	-0.016 (0.019)	0.003 (0.017)	-0.053** (0.023)	-0.055*** (0.019)	-0.013 (0.020)	0.001 (0.018)	0.004 (0.020)
Believes high-income earners will lose	0.026** (0.011)	-0.020 (0.015)	0.010 (0.013)	0.010 (0.016)	-0.004 (0.014)	0.003 (0.016)	-0.047*** (0.014)	-0.007 (0.013)
Observations	2,488	2,003	2,045	1,932	2,472	1,860	1,717	1,564
R ²	0.366	0.175	0.242	0.248	0.370	0.272	0.280	0.255

Note: The table shows the results of regressions on standardized variables measuring respondents' beliefs and perceptions. Treatment indicators and individual socioeconomic characteristics are included but not displayed. Robust standard errors are in parentheses; *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. See Appendix A-1 of Dechezleprêtre et al. (2022) for variable definitions.

G Representativeness of the surveys

Table S9: Sample representativeness of the complementary surveys. (Back to [2.1](#))

	US1			US2			Eu		
	Pop.	Sample	Weighted sample	Pop.	Sample	Weighted sample	Pop.	Sample	Weighted sample
Sample size		3,000	3,000		2,000	2,000		3,000	3,000
Gender: Woman	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.51	0.45	0.50	0.51	0.49	0.51
Gender: Man	0.49	0.47	0.49	0.49	0.55	0.50	0.49	0.51	0.49
Income_quartile: 1	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.25
Income_quartile: 2	0.25	0.24	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.25
Income_quartile: 3	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
Income_quartile: 4	0.25	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.25	0.24	0.25
Age: 18-24	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.10	0.11	0.10
Age: 25-34	0.18	0.15	0.18	0.18	0.16	0.18	0.15	0.17	0.15
Age: 35-49	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.24
Age: 50-64	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.24	0.26
Age: 65+	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.25	0.23	0.25
Diploma_25_64: Below upper secondary	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.13	0.14	0.13
Diploma_25_64: Upper secondary	0.28	0.25	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.23	0.19	0.23
Diploma_25_64: Post secondary	0.34	0.40	0.34	0.34	0.33	0.34	0.29	0.33	0.29
Race: White only	0.60	0.67	0.61	0.60	0.62	0.61			
Race: Hispanic	0.18	0.15	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.19			
Race: Black	0.13	0.16	0.14	0.13	0.17	0.14			
Region: Northeast	0.17	0.20	0.17	0.17	0.19	0.17			
Region: Midwest	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.21			
Region: South	0.38	0.39	0.38	0.38	0.38	0.38			
Region: West	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.24	0.20	0.24			
Urban: TRUE	0.73	0.78	0.74	0.73	0.75	0.73			
Employment_18_64: Inactive	0.20	0.16	0.16	0.20	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.15	0.15
Employment_18_64: Unemployed	0.02	0.07	0.08	0.02	0.09	0.08	0.03	0.06	0.05
Vote: Left	0.32	0.47	0.45	0.32	0.46	0.45	0.30	0.32	0.32
Vote: Center-right or Right	0.30	0.31	0.31	0.30	0.29	0.29	0.28	0.32	0.32
Vote: Far right							0.10	0.10	0.10
Country: FR							0.24	0.24	0.24
Country: DE							0.33	0.33	0.33
Country: ES							0.18	0.18	0.18
Country: UK							0.25	0.25	0.25
Urbanity: Cities							0.43	0.49	0.43
Urbanity: Towns and suburbs							0.33	0.32	0.33
Urbanity: Rural							0.25	0.20	0.25

Note: This table displays summary statistics of the samples alongside actual population frequencies. Detailed sources for each variable and country population frequencies, as well as the definitions of regions, diploma, urbanity, employment, and vote are available in [this spreadsheet](#).

Table S10: Sample representativeness for each European country. (Back to [2.1](#))

	FR			DE			ES			UK		
	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.									
Sample size		729	729		979	979		543	543		749	749
Gender: Woman	0.52	0.50	0.52	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.51	0.53	0.51	0.50	0.43	0.50
Gender: Man	0.48	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.49	0.47	0.49	0.50	0.57	0.50
Income_quartile: 1	0.25	0.31	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25
Income_quartile: 2	0.25	0.17	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.31	0.25	0.25	0.19	0.25
Income_quartile: 3	0.25	0.19	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25
Income_quartile: 4	0.25	0.33	0.25	0.25	0.18	0.25	0.25	0.17	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.25
Age: 18-24	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.14	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.10
Age: 25-34	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.15	0.12	0.16	0.12	0.17	0.20	0.17
Age: 35-49	0.24	0.31	0.24	0.22	0.26	0.22	0.28	0.25	0.28	0.24	0.18	0.24
Age: 50-64	0.24	0.19	0.24	0.28	0.23	0.28	0.27	0.28	0.27	0.25	0.30	0.25
Age: 65+	0.25	0.24	0.25	0.26	0.21	0.26	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.24	0.25	0.24
Diploma_25-64: Below upper secondary	0.11	0.19	0.11	0.10	0.14	0.10	0.24	0.16	0.25	0.12	0.09	0.12
Diploma_25-64: Upper secondary	0.26	0.16	0.26	0.27	0.20	0.27	0.16	0.15	0.16	0.21	0.23	0.21
Diploma_25-64: Post secondary	0.26	0.30	0.26	0.29	0.31	0.29	0.28	0.38	0.27	0.33	0.36	0.33
Urbanity: Cities	0.47	0.52	0.47	0.37	0.47	0.37	0.52	0.58	0.52	0.40	0.41	0.40
Urbanity: Towns and suburbs	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.40	0.35	0.40	0.22	0.27	0.22	0.42	0.43	0.42
Urbanity: Rural	0.34	0.29	0.34	0.23	0.18	0.23	0.26	0.15	0.26	0.18	0.16	0.18
Employment_18-64: Inactive	0.20	0.19	0.18	0.15	0.14	0.11	0.20	0.13	0.12	0.16	0.16	0.17
Employment_18-64: Unemployed	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.11	0.12	0.02	0.03	0.04
Vote: Left	0.23	0.19	0.21	0.37	0.44	0.44	0.33	0.37	0.38	0.25	0.28	0.29
Vote: Center-right or Right	0.26	0.30	0.29	0.28	0.27	0.29	0.18	0.24	0.24	0.36	0.44	0.41
Vote: Far right	0.23	0.22	0.22	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.01	0.03	0.03

Note: This table displays summary statistics of the samples alongside actual population frequencies. In this Table, weights are defined at the country level. Detailed sources for each variable and country population frequencies, as well as the definitions of regions, diploma, urbanity, employment, and vote are available in [this spreadsheet](#).

2145

Similar tables for the global surveys can be found in [Dechezleprêtre et al. \(2022\)](#).

²¹⁴⁶ H Attrition analysis

Table S11: Attrition analysis for the US1 survey.

	Dropped out	Dropped out after socio-eco	Failed attention test	Duration (in min)	Duration below 4 min
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Mean	0.08	0.059	0.082	21.198	0.016
Income quartile: 2	0.025*** (0.010)	0.025*** (0.010)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.740 (3.064)	-0.009 (0.006)
Income quartile: 3	0.062*** (0.012)	0.062*** (0.012)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.754 (2.813)	-0.004 (0.007)
Income quartile: 4	0.035*** (0.011)	0.035*** (0.011)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-3.917 (2.798)	-0.003 (0.007)
Diploma: Post secondary	0.039*** (0.009)	0.039*** (0.009)	-0.000*** (0.000)	1.544 (2.665)	0.006 (0.006)
Age: 25-34	-0.094*** (0.015)	-0.094*** (0.015)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.597 (2.604)	-0.031** (0.013)
Age: 35-49	-0.100*** (0.015)	-0.100*** (0.015)	-0.000*** (0.000)	4.824 (3.176)	-0.032** (0.013)
Age: 50-64	-0.060*** (0.015)	-0.060*** (0.015)	0.000*** (0.000)	5.723** (2.763)	-0.039*** (0.012)
Age: 65+	0.048*** (0.017)	0.048*** (0.017)	0.000** (0.000)	8.952** (4.267)	-0.047*** (0.012)
Gender: Man	-0.039*** (0.007)	-0.039*** (0.007)	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.451 (2.210)	-0.0001 (0.005)
Urban	0.006 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)	-0.000*** (0.000)	4.888** (2.443)	-0.004 (0.006)
Race: Black	0.020** (0.010)	0.020** (0.010)	-0.000*** (0.000)	8.554*** (2.600)	0.004 (0.007)
Race: Hispanic	0.021** (0.010)	0.021** (0.010)	-0.000*** (0.000)	4.119* (2.293)	-0.002 (0.007)
Region: Northeast	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-4.862 (4.782)	-0.004 (0.007)
Region: South	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.000 (0.000)	-1.151 (4.710)	-0.004 (0.006)
Region: West	0.006 (0.011)	0.006 (0.011)	0.000*** (0.000)	-4.000 (4.305)	-0.003 (0.007)
Vote: Biden	-0.048*** (0.008)	-0.048*** (0.008)	0.000*** (0.000)	-2.901 (2.379)	-0.009 (0.007)
Vote: Trump	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.009)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.145 (2.878)	-0.005 (0.008)
Observations	5,719	5,719	3,252	3,044	3,044
R ²	0.127	0.127	1.000	0.006	0.017

Table S12: Attrition analysis for the US2 survey.

	Dropped out (1)	Dropped out after socio-eco (2)	Failed attention test (3)	Duration (in min) (4)	Duration below 4 min (5)
Mean	0.095	0.074	0.092	16.338	0.052
Income quartile: 2	0.023* (0.013)	0.023* (0.013)	-0.000** (0.000)	1.352 (1.601)	-0.029** (0.014)
Income quartile: 3	0.054*** (0.014)	0.054*** (0.014)	-0.000 (0.000)	8.502 (9.649)	-0.009 (0.016)
Income quartile: 4	0.060*** (0.016)	0.060*** (0.016)	-0.000 (0.000)	5.254 (3.376)	0.0003 (0.017)
Diploma: Post secondary	-0.033*** (0.011)	-0.033*** (0.011)	0.000 (0.000)	1.601 (2.630)	0.012 (0.011)
Age: 25-34	-0.004 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.015)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.929 (1.535)	-0.032 (0.024)
Age: 35-49	0.012 (0.014)	0.012 (0.014)	0.000*** (0.000)	9.076 (6.651)	-0.047** (0.022)
Age: 50-64	0.040*** (0.014)	0.040*** (0.014)	-0.000*** (0.000)	0.364 (1.565)	-0.079*** (0.022)
Age: 65+	0.115*** (0.017)	0.115*** (0.017)	-0.000*** (0.000)	2.619 (3.150)	-0.095*** (0.022)
Gender: Man	-0.073*** (0.009)	-0.073*** (0.009)	0.000 (0.000)	4.707 (6.037)	0.010 (0.010)
Urban	0.019* (0.011)	0.019* (0.011)	0.000*** (0.000)	1.766 (1.135)	0.005 (0.012)
Race: Black	0.060*** (0.015)	0.060*** (0.015)	0.000*** (0.000)	18.673 (13.328)	-0.010 (0.015)
Race: Hispanic	0.079*** (0.014)	0.079*** (0.014)	-0.000 (0.000)	2.930 (1.813)	-0.027** (0.012)
Region: Northeast	-0.026* (0.014)	-0.026* (0.014)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.837 (2.855)	-0.011 (0.015)
Region: South	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.000 (0.000)	3.220 (5.002)	0.009 (0.014)
Region: West	-0.010 (0.013)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.000 (0.000)	-1.759 (1.942)	-0.009 (0.015)
Vote: Biden	-0.049*** (0.008)	-0.049*** (0.008)	-0.000*** (0.000)	3.230 (2.731)	-0.006 (0.014)
Vote: Trump	-0.026*** (0.009)	-0.026*** (0.009)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.554 (1.272)	0.007 (0.016)
Observations	2,973	2,973	2,280	2,103	2,103
R ²	0.241	0.241	1.000	0.010	0.031

Table S13: Attrition analysis for the *Eu* survey.

	Dropped out (1)	Dropped out after socio-eco (2)	Failed attention test (3)	Duration (in min) (4)	Duration below 6 min (5)
Mean	0.067	0.044	0.151	54.602	0.039
Country: Germany	0.023** (0.010)	0.019** (0.010)	0.000*** (0.000)	9.533 (18.906)	0.019* (0.010)
Country: Spain	-0.102*** (0.011)	-0.098*** (0.011)	0.000* (0.000)	-29.136* (15.948)	0.010 (0.010)
Country: United Kingdom	0.042*** (0.011)	0.043*** (0.011)	0.000*** (0.000)	-7.458 (18.046)	0.010 (0.010)
Income quartile: 2	0.032*** (0.010)	0.029*** (0.010)	0.000 (0.000)	32.749* (19.771)	-0.015 (0.010)
Income quartile: 3	0.049*** (0.010)	0.047*** (0.010)	0.000*** (0.000)	6.130 (11.734)	-0.021** (0.010)
Income quartile: 4	0.024** (0.011)	0.021* (0.011)	0.000*** (0.000)	18.659 (19.955)	-0.018* (0.011)
Diploma: Post secondary	0.035*** (0.008)	0.034*** (0.008)	0.000*** (0.000)	10.647 (12.959)	-0.007 (0.007)
Age: 25-34	0.028** (0.013)	0.025* (0.013)	-0.000*** (0.000)	36.132 (22.285)	-0.005 (0.018)
Age: 35-49	0.064*** (0.012)	0.062*** (0.012)	-0.000*** (0.000)	37.159** (17.190)	-0.013 (0.016)
Age: 50-64	0.085*** (0.013)	0.083*** (0.013)	-0.000 (0.000)	48.363** (22.526)	-0.063*** (0.015)
Age: 65+	0.117*** (0.014)	0.115*** (0.013)	-0.000** (0.000)	36.351** (14.226)	-0.061*** (0.015)
Gender: Man	-0.027*** (0.007)	-0.027*** (0.007)	-0.000* (0.000)	-22.980 (14.093)	0.009 (0.007)
Degree of urbanization: Towns and suburbs	0.006 (0.008)	0.004 (0.008)	0.000*** (0.000)	-16.736 (17.256)	0.004 (0.008)
Degree of urbanization: Rural	0.023** (0.009)	0.023** (0.009)	0.000 (0.000)	-14.593 (19.733)	-0.001 (0.009)
Vote: Center-right or Right	-0.025*** (0.005)	-0.025*** (0.005)	0.000*** (0.000)	-17.558 (13.143)	0.019** (0.008)
Vote: Far right	0.005 (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	0.000*** (0.000)	15.838 (32.281)	0.029** (0.014)
Vote: PNR/Non-voter	0.023*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.005)	0.000 (0.000)	24.631 (19.824)	0.030*** (0.010)
Observations	3,963	3,963	3,326	3,115	3,115
R ²	0.406	0.395	1.000	0.006	0.028

²¹⁴⁷ I Balance analysis

Table S14: Balance analysis.

	List contains: G (1)	Branch petition: NR (2)	Branch donation: Own nation (3)	Branch conjoint 3: with GCS (4)
Mean	0.496	0.493	0.5	0.499
Country: Germany	-0.026 (0.026)	0.017 (0.026)	0.020 (0.026)	0.005 (0.026)
Country: Spain	0.025 (0.030)	0.026 (0.030)	0.026 (0.030)	0.043 (0.030)
Country: United Kingdom	0.002 (0.028)	0.018 (0.028)	0.037 (0.028)	0.063** (0.028)
Country: United States	-0.001 (0.024)	0.019 (0.024)	0.007 (0.024)	0.023 (0.024)
Income quartile: 2	-0.013 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.021)	0.012 (0.021)	-0.010 (0.021)
Income quartile: 3	0.021 (0.022)	-0.005 (0.022)	0.011 (0.022)	-0.004 (0.022)
Income quartile: 4	-0.001 (0.023)	-0.017 (0.023)	-0.013 (0.023)	0.0001 (0.023)
Diploma: Post secondary	0.008 (0.016)	0.014 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.016)
Age: 25-34	0.023 (0.031)	-0.049 (0.031)	-0.003 (0.031)	-0.009 (0.031)
Age: 35-49	0.032 (0.030)	-0.002 (0.030)	-0.014 (0.030)	-0.016 (0.030)
Age: 50-64	0.030 (0.030)	-0.005 (0.030)	-0.016 (0.030)	-0.020 (0.030)
Age: 65+	0.029 (0.037)	-0.037 (0.037)	-0.015 (0.037)	-0.012 (0.037)
Gender: Man	0.024 (0.015)	0.012 (0.015)	0.002 (0.015)	-0.016 (0.015)
Degree of urbanization: Towns and suburbs	-0.010 (0.017)	-0.0005 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.017)	-0.011 (0.017)
Degree of urbanization: Rural	0.013 (0.024)	0.017 (0.024)	-0.004 (0.024)	0.027 (0.024)
Employment status: Retired	-0.005 (0.032)	-0.031 (0.032)	-0.034 (0.032)	-0.016 (0.032)
Employment status: Student	0.005 (0.044)	-0.023 (0.044)	-0.033 (0.044)	-0.025 (0.044)
Employment status: Working	0.010 (0.024)	-0.027 (0.024)	-0.033 (0.024)	-0.012 (0.024)
Vote: Center-right or Right	-0.004 (0.017)	0.003 (0.017)	0.010 (0.017)	0.002 (0.017)
Vote: PNR/Non-voter	0.001 (0.019)	0.014 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.019)	-0.012 (0.019)
Vote: Far right	0.009 (0.034)	0.030 (0.034)	0.023 (0.035)	0.038 (0.034)
Observations	5,991	5,991	5,991	5,991
R ²	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.003

J Placebo tests

Table S15: Placebo tests.

	G+R+C preferred to R+C (1)	Supports G+R+C (2)	Signs petition (3)	Share of policies supported (4)	Conjoint 5 A+CGS preferred to B (5)
Mean	0.645	0.633	0.611	0.535	0.596
Branch of list experiment: l	-0.013 (0.019)	-0.024 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.019)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.021)
Branch of list experiment: rgl	0.005 (0.019)	0.006 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.019)	0.001 (0.012)	0.010 (0.021)
Branch of list experiment: rl	-0.009 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.019)	0.022 (0.019)	0.007 (0.012)	0.007 (0.021)
Branch of petition: nr	0.011 (0.014)	0.006 (0.014)	0.022 (0.014)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.015)
Poor is in own country	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.015 (0.014)	0.003 (0.009)	-0.020 (0.015)
Observations	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	5,218
R ²	0.0004	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001

2149 **List of Tables**

2150 S1 Surveys summary	6
2151 1 List experiment: tacit support for the GCS	16
2152 2 Influence of the GCS on electoral prospects	17
2153 S2 Campaign and bandwagon effects on the support for the GCS.	61
2154 S3 Donation to Africa vs. own country	66
2155 S4 Estimated net gain from the GCS in 2030 and carbon footprint by country. .	111
2156 S5 Determinants of support for the GCS	112
2157 S6 Support for the GCS regressed on comprehension	113
2158 S7 Beliefs correlated with support for a global GHG tax and dividend (HICs) .	113
2159 S8 Beliefs correlated with support for a global GHG tax and dividend (MICs) .	114
2160 S9 Sample representativeness of <i>US1, US2, Eu</i>	115
2161 S10 Sample representativeness of each European country	116
2162 S11 Attrition analysis: <i>US1</i>	117
2163 S12 Attrition analysis: <i>US2</i>	118
2164 S13 Attrition analysis: <i>Eu</i>	119
2165 S14 Balance analysis	120
2166 S15 Placebo tests	121

2167 **List of Figures**

2168 1 Relative support for global climate policies	7
2169 S1 Support for the Global Climate Scheme	10
2170 S2 Preferred share of wealth tax for low-income countries	11
2171 2 Relative support for further global policies	12
2172 S3 Attitudes on the evolution of foreign aid	13
2173 S4 Conditions at which foreign aid should be increased	14
2174 S5 Reasons why foreign aid should not be increased	14
2175 S6 Preferences for various policies in political platforms	19
2176 S7 Influence of the GCS on preferred platform	21
2177 S8 Beliefs about support for the GCS and NR	25
2178 S9 Net gains with the CERF burden-sharing rule.	54
2179 S10 Comparison between GDR and equal per capita burden-sharing rules. . .	55
2180 S11 Absolute support for global climate policies	59

2181	S12 Comprehension	60
2182	S13 Comprehension score	60
2183	S14 List experiment	60
2184	S15 Conjoint analyses 1 and 2	61
2185	S16 Preferences for various policies in political platforms (English)	62
2186	S17 Perceptions of the GCS	63
2187	S18 Classification of open-ended field on the GCS	64
2188	S19 Topics of open-ended field on the GCS	65
2189	S20 Donation to Africa vs. own country	65
2190	S21 Support for a global wealth tax	66
2191	S22 Support for a national wealth tax	67
2192	S23 Preferred share of global tax for low-income countries	67
2193	S24 Support for sharing half of global tax revenues with low-income countries	67
2194	S25 Actual, perceived and preferred amount of foreign aid (mean)	68
2195	S26 Preferred foreign aid (summary)	68
2196	S27 Perceived foreign aid	69
2197	S28 Preferred foreign aid (without info on actual amount)	69
2198	S29 Preferred foreign aid (after info on actual amount)	70
2199	S30 Preferences for funding increased foreign aid	71
2200	S31 Preferences of spending following reduced foreign aid	72
2201	S32 Willingness to sign a real-stake petition	72
2202	S33 Absolute support for various global policies	73
2203	S34 Preferred approach for international climate negotiations	73
2204	S35 Importance of selected issues	74
2205	S36 Group defended when voting	74
2206	S37 Mean prioritization of policies	75
2207	S38 Positive prioritization of policies	76
2208	S39 Charity donation	76
2209	S40 Interest in politics	77
2210	S41 Desired involvement of government	77
2211	S42 Political leaning	78
2212	S43 Voted in last election	78
2213	S44 Vote in last election	79
2214	S45 Perception that survey was biased	79

2215	S46 Classification of open-ended field on extreme poverty	80
2216	S47 Main attitudes by vote	81
2217	S48 <i>Eu</i> survey structure	85
2218	S49 <i>US1</i> survey structure	86
2219	S50 <i>US2</i> survey structure	86
2220	S51 Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme.	110