

International Attitudes Toward Global Policies

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Questionnaires

International surveys with a focus on the West

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

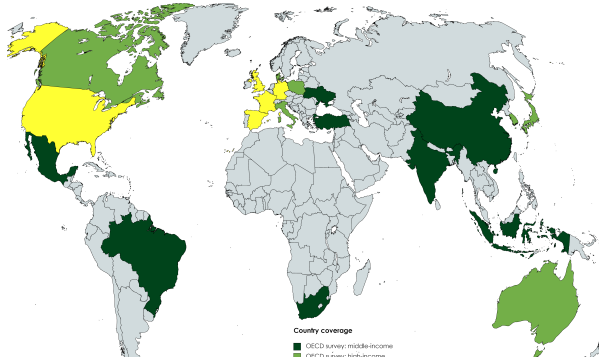
20 countries; 2,000 respondents per country; median duration: 28 min.

Complementary surveys (01/2023-ongoing):

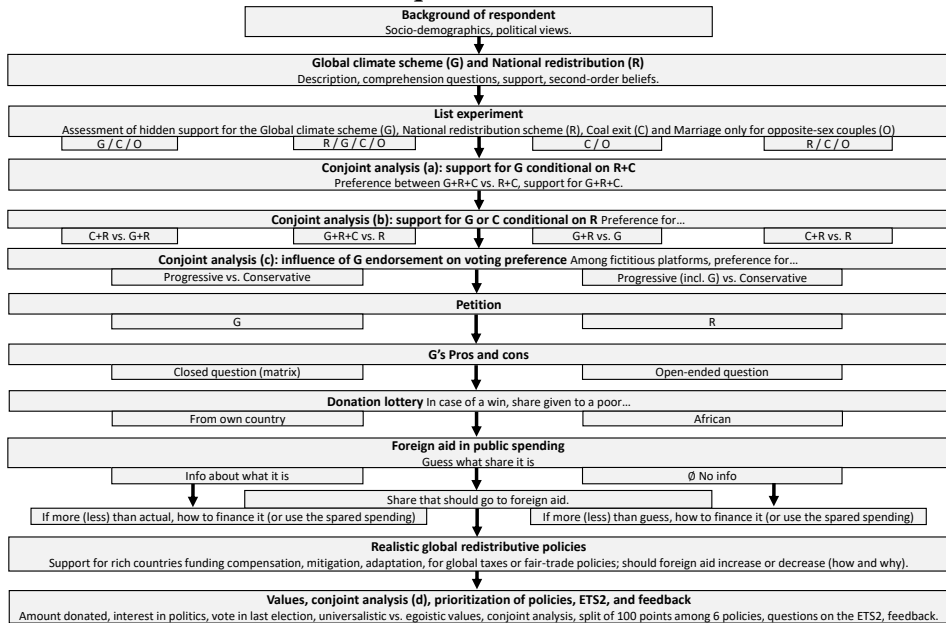
Eu: 3,000 respondents from France, Germany, Spain, UK; 20 min. 85% of responses collected.

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

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



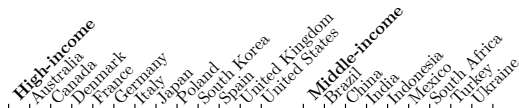
Eu questionnaire



Stated support for global policies

OECD: Global policies are strongly supported.

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



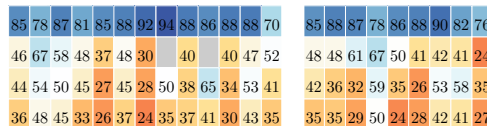
Level at which climate policies are needed (Multiple choice question)

Global

Federal/Continental

State/National

Local



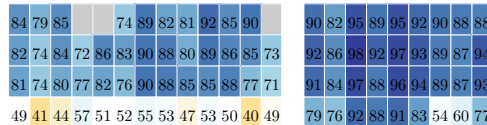
Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

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

Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries

Global democratic assembly on climate change

Global tax on GHG financing a global basic income



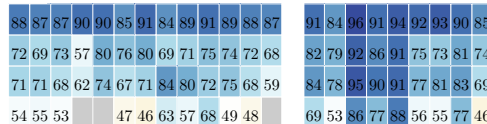
Burden sharing preferences for the global carbon budget (5-Likert)

Emission share should be in proportion to population*

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

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

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions

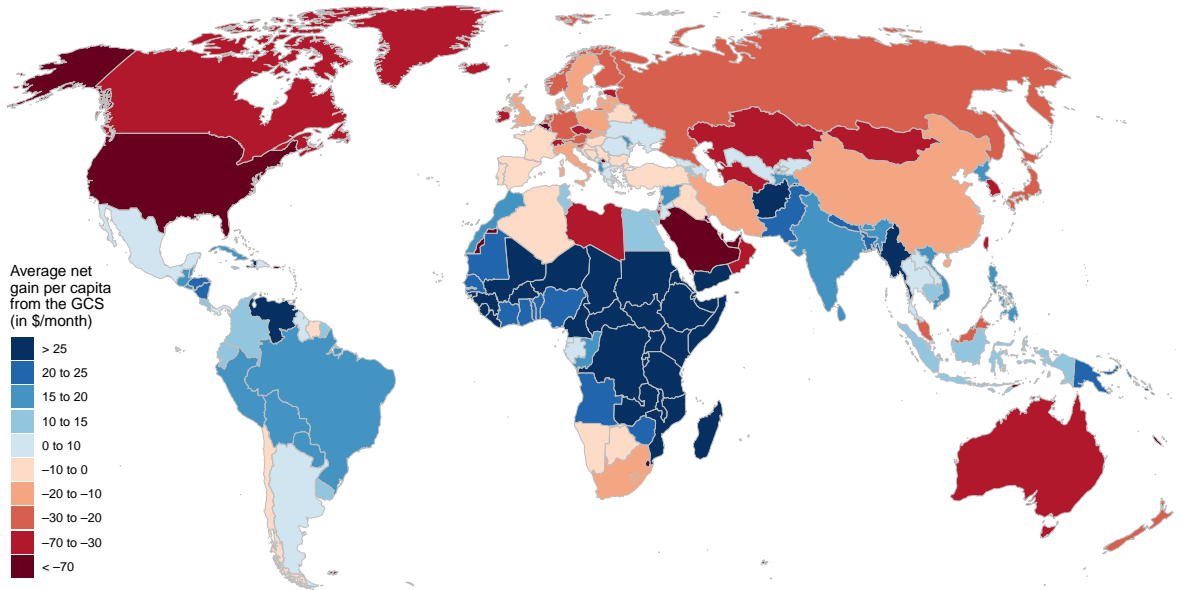


The Global Climate Scheme (GCS)

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

At the Paris agreement in 2015, all countries have agreed to contain global warming “well below +2 °C”. To limit global warming to this level, **there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally**. To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their emissions. Such a policy would **make fossil fuel companies pay** for their emissions and progressively raise the price of fossil fuels. **Higher prices would encourage people and companies to use less fossil fuels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions**. In accordance with the principle that each human has an equal right to pollute, the revenues generated by the sale of permits could finance a global basic income. **Each adult in the world would receive \$30/month**, thereby lifting out of extreme poverty the 700 million people who earn less than \$2/day. **The typical [American] would lose out financially [\$85] per month** (as he or she would face [\$115] per month in price increases, which is higher than the \$30 they would receive). The policy could be put in place as soon as countries totaling more than 60% of global emissions agree on it. Countries that would refuse to take part in the policy could face sanctions (like tariffs) from the rest of the World and would be excluded from the basic income.

Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme



Support for the Global Climate Scheme

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

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

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

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

	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
Global climate scheme (GCS)	79	71	82	73	53
National redistribution scheme (NR)	75	67	80	74	55
Coal exit + GCS + NR	78	69	82	68	52

Support for other global policies

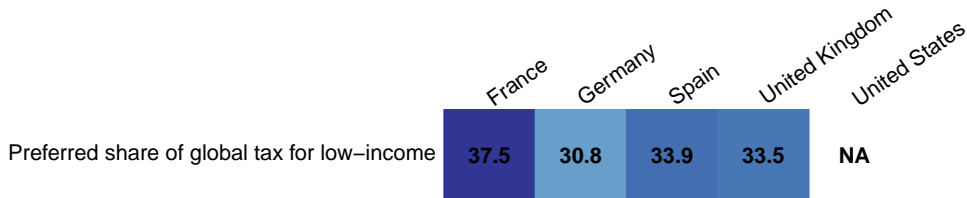
Do you support or oppose...? 5-Likert scale (Percentage of *Support* among non-Indifferent)

	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
Global tax on millionaires	83	85	88	81	NA
National tax on millionaires	78	87	89	86	NA
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	69	69	80	67	55
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	80	82	85	80	68
High-income countries contributing \$100 billion per year to help low-income countries adapt to climate change	74	79	78	71	59
Cancellation of low-income countries' public debt	53	44	60	59	45
Democratise international institutions (UN, IMF) by making a country's voting right proportional to its population	67	70	76	70	57
Removing tariffs on imports from low-income countries	60	72	79	84	63
A minimum wage in all countries at 50% of local median wage	79	79	81	82	63
Fight tax evasion by creating a global financial register to record ownership of all assets	89	85	91	87	62
A maximum wealth limit of \$10 billion for each human	58	61	62	67	47

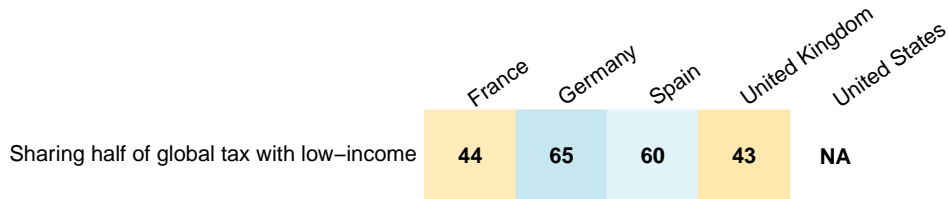
Support for a global wealth tax

We describe a global tax on wealth in excess of 5 \$/€/£ and either ask:

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



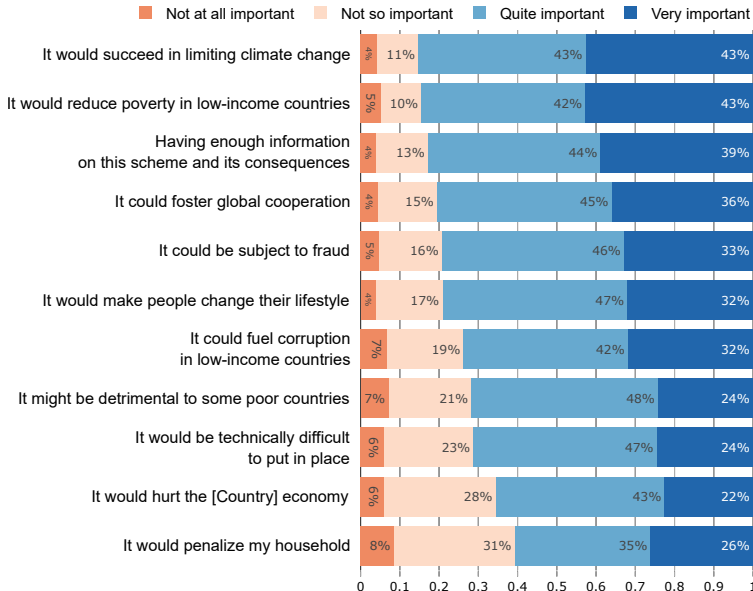
Whether half of the tax revenues should go to low-income countries



Sincerity of the support for the GCS

Perceptions of the Global Climate Scheme (*EU results*)

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



List experiment

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

The difference in mean number of supported policies for lists with and without the GCS should equal the support for GCS (63.2%).

If the **tacit support** is **lower**, it may indicate a **social desirability bias**.

Tacit support is 1% lower for the GCS and for NR \Rightarrow no (or small) social desirability bias.

Table 1: Number of supported policies in the list experiment in function of the composition of the list.

Number of supported policies	
Mean	1.607
List contains: GCS	0.616*** (0.039)
List contains: NR	0.618*** (0.038)
List contains: GCS \times NR	-0.030 (0.065)

Petition

Support as strong as...

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

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

	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
Petition for GCS	69	67	78	70	50
Petition for NR	65	66	75	66	55
Petition (any)	67	66	76	68	52

Prioritization

“In this question, you have 100 points that you can allocate to different policies. The more you give points to a policy, the more you support it. How do you allocate the points among the following policies?” [6 policies taken at random]

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

It is more prioritized than other climate policies that will be enacted, like the ban on thermal cars.

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

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

Most prioritized measures are investments in public services and a higher minimum wage.

Mean number of points

	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
econ1	11	14	33	31	14
econ2	24	20	21	23	23
econ3	14	18	16	10	22
econ4	27	16	26	22	28
soc1	13	17	12	24	10
soc2	14	8	10	5	13
climate1	11	18	21	13	13
climate2	21	19	14	18	20
climate3	9	9	9	12	10
tax1: National redistribution scheme	16	16	14	16	13
tax2: Wealth tax	22	18	17	20	20
foreign1: Global climate scheme	20	24	17	16	15
foreign2: Global tax on millionaires	21	23	19	19	20
foreign3: Global democratic assembly on climate change	15	17	14	13	15
foreign4: Doubling foreign aid	13	14	9	6	9

Second-order beliefs

Belief about the support

Beliefs are pretty accurate: there is **no evidence of pluralistic ignorance**.

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

	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
Belief about GCS	61	55	63	57	51
Belief about NR	60	53	63	59	54

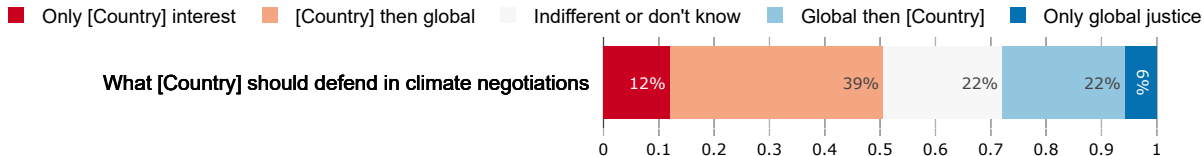
Universalist values

International climate negotiations

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

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

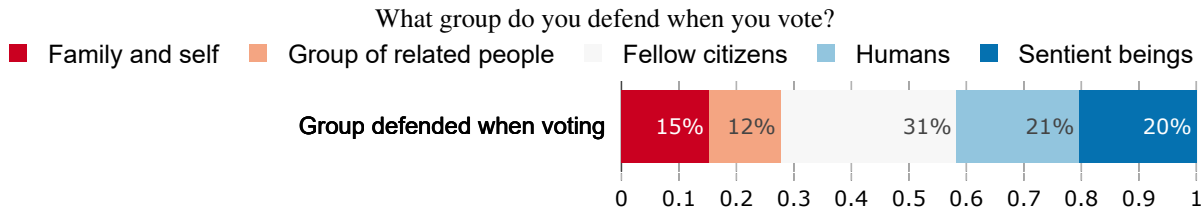
In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend [U.S.] interests or global justice?



Group defended

The most defended group is one's fellow citizens.

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



Biggest issues

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

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

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

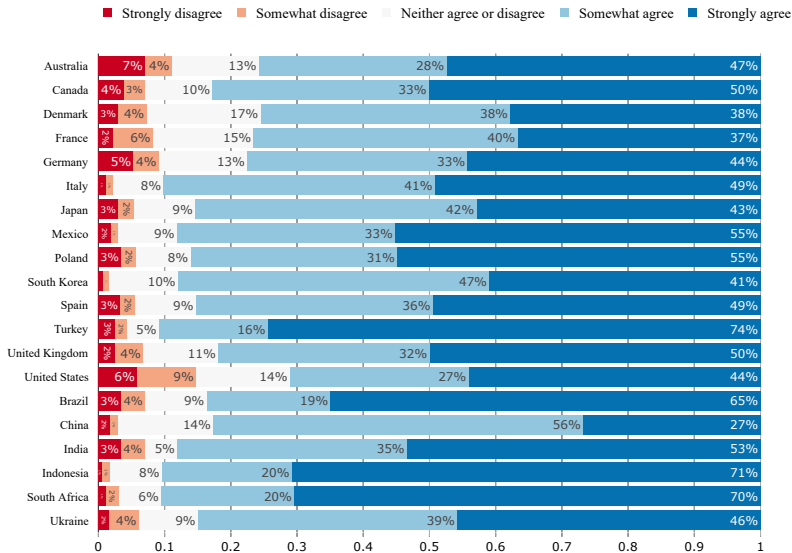
	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom	United States
Income inequality in [Country]	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.3
Climate change	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5
Global poverty	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.3

Appendix

Descriptive statistics

OECD

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

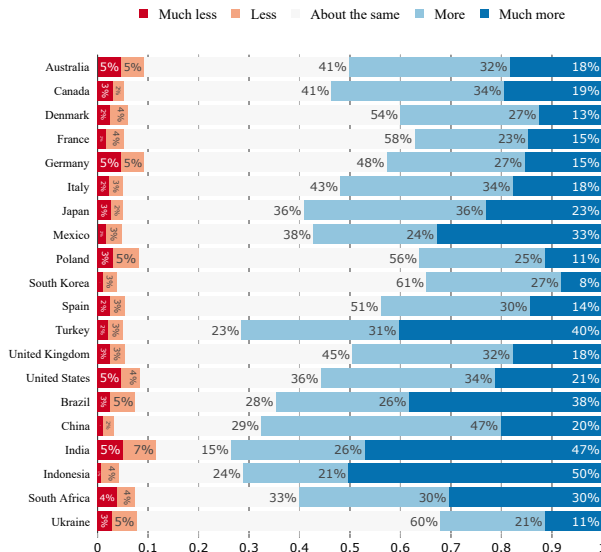


At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) [▶ Go back](#)

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

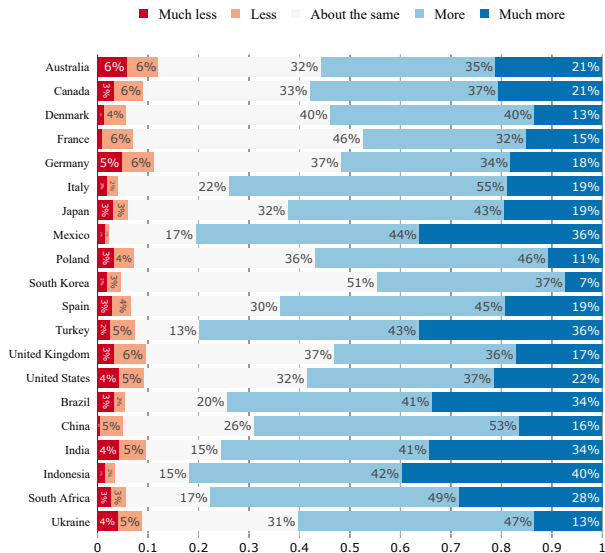
How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

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



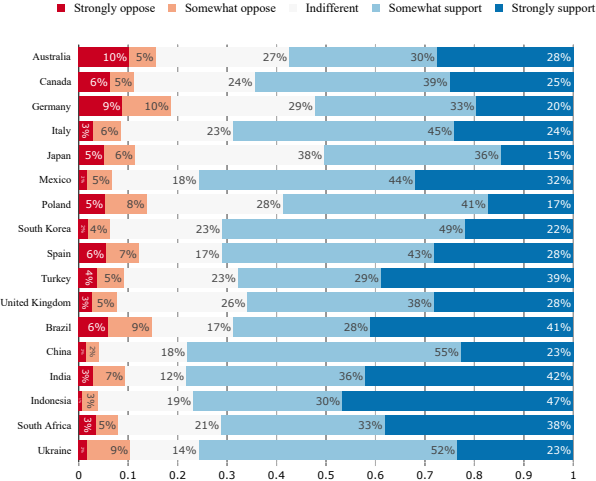
How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

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



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

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



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

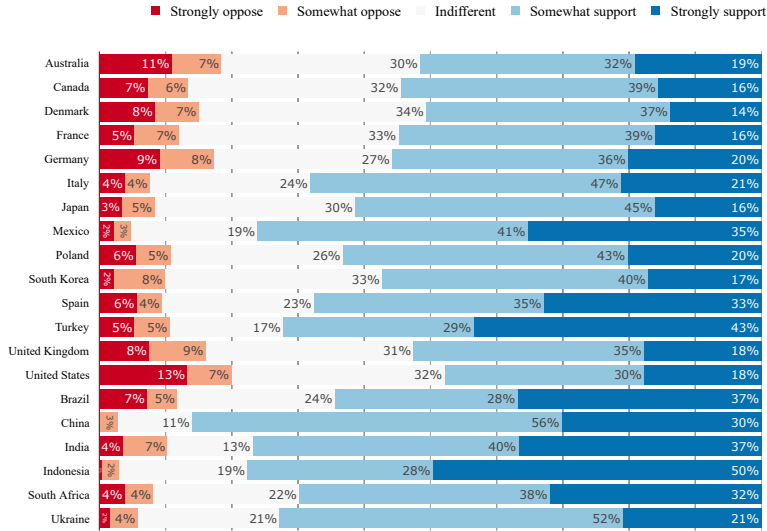
Suppose the above policy is in place. How should the carbon budget be divided among countries?

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

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

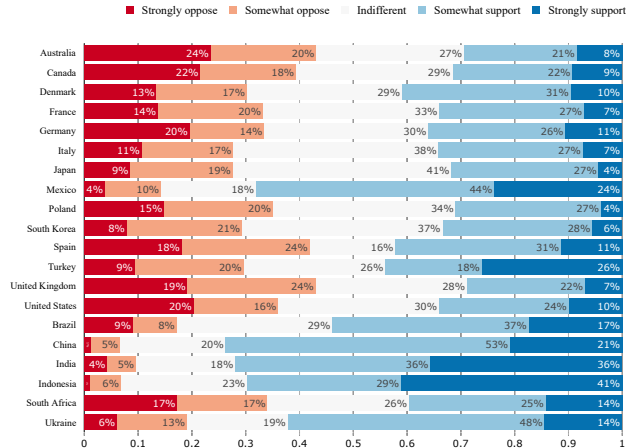
	High-income	Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	63	62	59	55	71	55	68	53	65	66	66	62	67	72	65	76	75	73	71	75	71	63
Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions	35	35	35	NA	NA	29	33	39	37	42	35	30	NA	50	41	65	60	62	40	38	55	31
Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share*	44	42	45	28	54	45	51	42	44	48	48	42	41	58	56	65	67	63	47	53	58	52
Countries that will be hurt more by CC should receive a higher share*	44	42	39	41	51	37	42	51	53	43	48	38	41	63	58	74	72	70	54	61	60	47

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



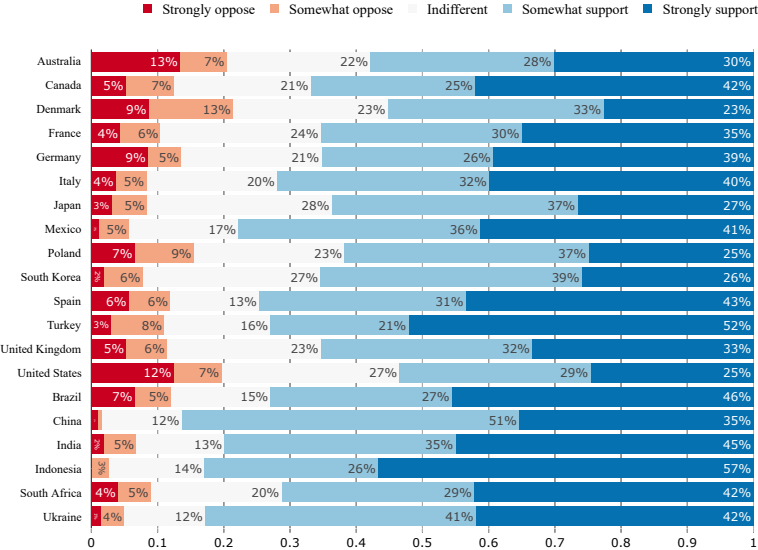
Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the first years). Higher prices would encourage people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

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



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

[Go back](#)



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

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

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

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

Principales des attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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

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

Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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

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

Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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

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