# **International Attitudes Toward Global Policies**

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# Questionnaires

#### International surveys with a focus on the West

#### OECD survey (02/2021–02/2022):

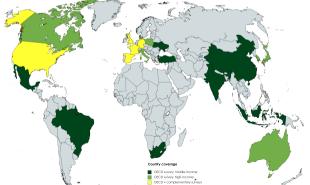
20 countries; 2,000 respondents per country; median duration: 28 min.

#### Complementary surveys (01–04/2023):

Eu: 3,000 respondents from France, Germany, Spain, UK; 20 min.

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

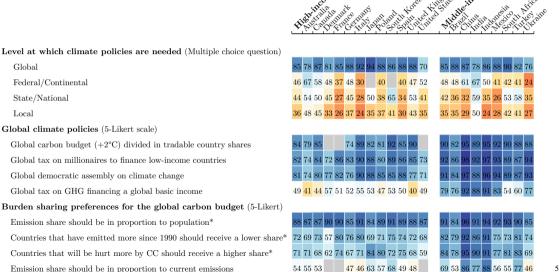
US2: 2,000 respondents from the U.S.; 11 min.



# 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.



#### The Global Climate Scheme (GCS)

Our main policy of interest is the GCS, a global emissions trading system 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**.

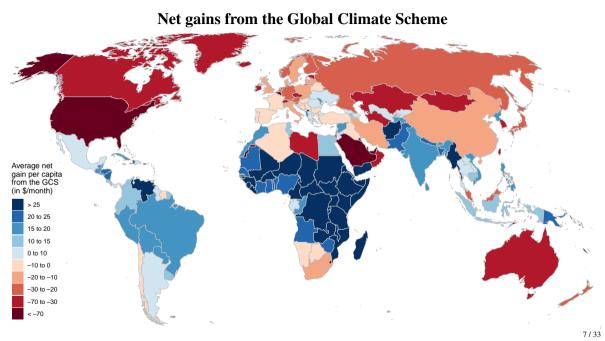
To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their emissions. Such a policy would make fossil fuel companies pay for their emissions and progressively raise the price of fossil fuels. 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.

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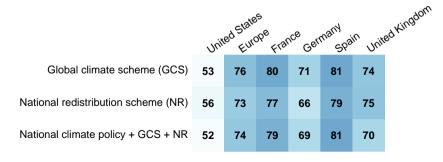
We also describe a national climate policy. US: Coal exit / Eu: Insulation plan (mandatory, subsidised).

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



#### Support for other global policies

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

	uri	ied Stat	ope ope	uce Get	many Spa	in Uni
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	73	85	81	87	89	88
Global tax on millionaires	69	84	84	84	87	83

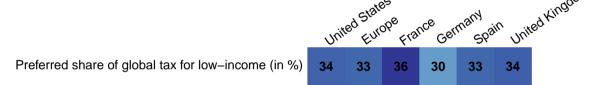
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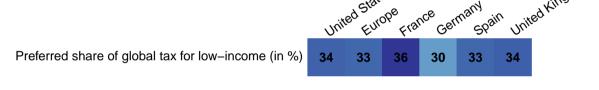
Percent of wealth tax that should go to low-income countries (*mean*):

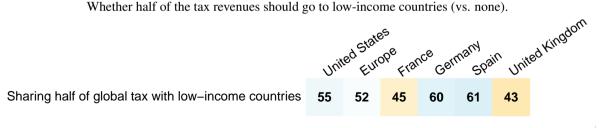


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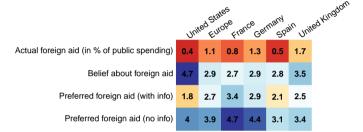
## Support for increased foreign aid

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

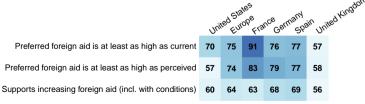
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Actual foreign aid (in % of public spending)		1.1	0.8	1.3	0.5	1.7			
Belief about foreign aid	4.7	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.5			
Preferred foreign aid (with info)	1.8	2.7	3.4	2.9	2.1	2.5			
Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4			

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

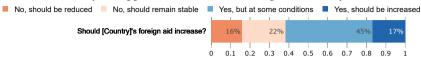


Actual foreign aid is overestimated.

Majorities support more foreign aid.

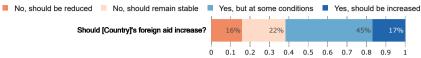
#### Conditions for increased foreign aid

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

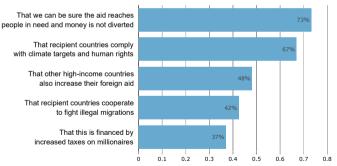


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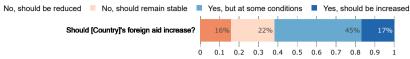


[If at some conditions] What conditions should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid?

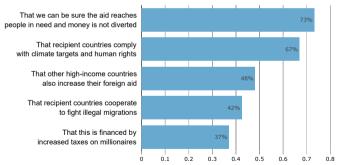


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[If at some conditions] What conditions should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid?



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

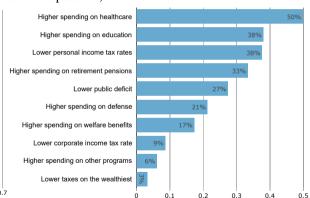
National preference is the main reason behind not wanting increased foreign aid.

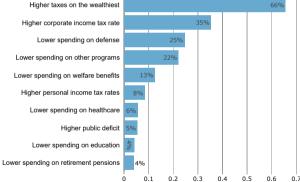
#### **Preferences over public spending**

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

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

Your previous answer shows that you would like to reduce [UK] foreign aid. How would you like to use the freed budget? (Multiple answers possible)





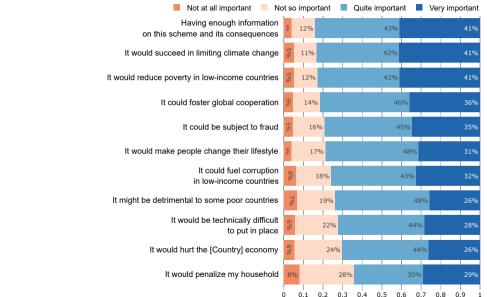
People want better public services and higher taxes on the wealthiest.

# Sincerity of the support for the GCS

#### **Perceptions of the Global Climate Scheme**

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

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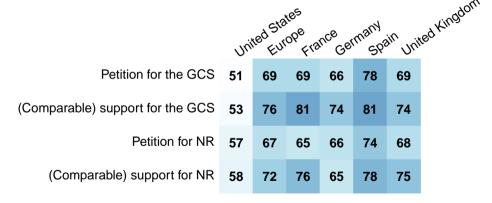


# Petition

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

As soon as the survey is complete, we will send the results to the [I

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



Willingness to sign a real-stake petition is generally (1 to 7 p.p.) lower than stated support.

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

#### List experiment

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

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

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	Number of supported policies					
	All	US	Europe			
List contains: GCS 0.624***		0.524***	0.724***			
	(0.028)	(0.041)	(0.036)			
Support for GCS	0.65	0.542	0.757			
Social desirability bias	-0.026	-0.018	-0.033			
80% C.I. for the bias	[-0.06; 0.01]	[-0.07; 0.01]	[-0.08; 0.01]			
Constant	1.317	1.147	1.486			
Observations	6,000	3,000	3,000			
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.089	0.065	0.125			
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<	0.05; ***p<0.01			

 $<sup>\</sup>Rightarrow$  No (significant) social desirability bias.

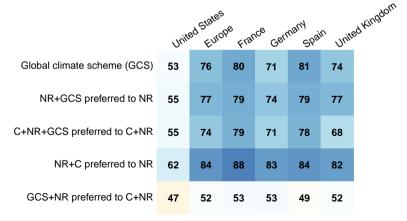
#### Conjoint analyses: interaction with other policies

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

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

⇒ Confirms that the monetary loss is not a primary concern for one's attitude toward the GCS.

Among the two following bundles of policies, which one would you prefer?



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

### Table 1: Imagine if the [Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in 2024] campaigned with the following policies in their platforms. [Credible Progressive and Conservative platforms]

Conjoint analyses: influence on electoral prospects

Which of these candidates would you vote for? A: B: None of them [FR: second round of presidential: DE, ES, UK: two favorite candidates in one's constituency]

[1 K. second found of presidential	ii, DL, LS, OK. two lavolite car
	Prefers th

GCS in Progressive platform

Constant Observations

 $R^2$ 

All

0.028\*

(0.014)

0.623

5.202

0.001

 Prefers the Progressive platform

**United States** 

0.029

(0.022)

0.604

2.619

0.001

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

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

France

0.112\*\*\*

(0.041)

0.55

605

0.013

UK

0.008

(0.040)

0.551

661

0.0001

Spain

-0.015

(0.038)

0.775

504

0.0003

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Germany

0.015

(0.033)

0.7

813

0.0003

# Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform

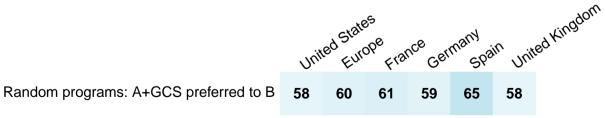
We ask the preference between two progressive platforms, where each measure is taken at random. The GCS is included in one of the platforms.

Imagine that a [Left or Center-left coalition wins the next elections]. Here are two possible platforms on which [the coalition] may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible [Left/Center-left] policies).

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

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

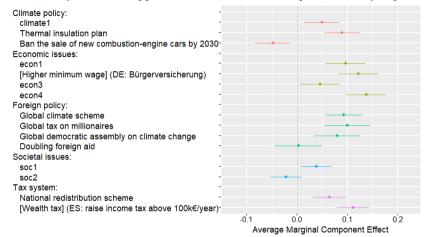
Republican)]



 $\Rightarrow$  Majorities prefer platforms that include the GCS.

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

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



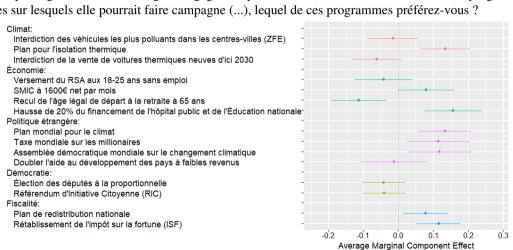
Europeans prefer platforms that include the GCS and without the ban on thermal cars (a planned policy).

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

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

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

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

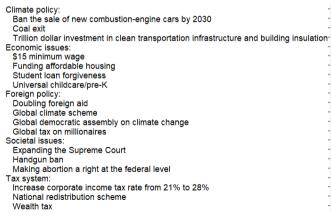


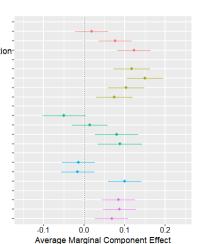
### Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (US)

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

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

Which of these candidates do you prefer?





#### "you have 100 points that you can **Prioritization** allocate to different policies. The more you give points to a policy, the more you support it. How do you allocate the points

among the following policies?" [6 policies taken at random]

GCS is as prioritized as the average

policy, or even more in France and

planned climate policies, like the ban

among the most prioritized measures.

It as prioritized as a national wealth

Most prioritized are better public

services and a higher minimum wage.

It is more prioritized than some

The global tax on millionaires is

Germany.

on thermal cars.

tax, if not more.

# Mean number of points -xes

econ2: [Higher minimum wage] (DE: Bürgerversicherung) 23 22 25

climate3: Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030 11 9 8 8

climate2: Thermal insulation plan (US: also transport) 20 18 22 19 15 17

foreign3: Global democratic assembly on climate change 15 15 17 14 13

tax2: Wealth tax (ES: raise tax on top incomes) 19 19 21 18 17 19

tax1: National redistribution scheme 14 15 16 15 15 15

foreign1: Global climate scheme 15 20 20 23 16 17

foreign4: Doubling foreign aid 9 11 13 14 9 8

foreign2: Global tax on millionaires 21 20 20 23 19 20

	Nuise nobe suce way								
econ1	13	21	10	14	35	31			

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

24 / 33

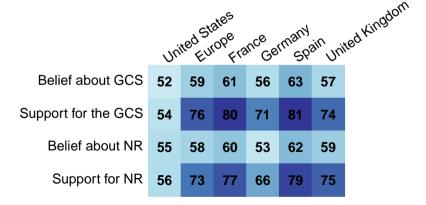
climate1 14 15 11 18 20 12

# Second-order beliefs

#### Belief about the support

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

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



## Universalist values

## **Donation to Africans vs. fellow citizens**

Respondents might win a  $f \in \mathbb{R}$  lottery prize, they have to decide which share to donate if they win. Donation is to people in need, either in Africa or in their own country (random treatment).

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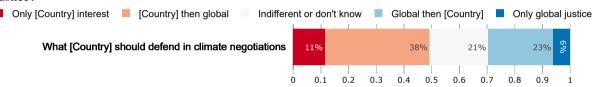
Table 2: (...) In case you are winner of the lottery, what share of the [\$1100 would you donate to [African / [own country]] people living in poverty through GiveDirectly?

	Donation	to poor peo	ple (in %)		
Poor is in own country  Constant Observations P <sup>2</sup>	All	US	Eu		
Poor is in own country	0.590	2.509*	-1.349		
	(0.867)	(1.300)	(1.146)		
Constant	33.739	32.422	35.093		
Observations	6,000	3,000	3,000		
$R^2$	0.0001	0.002	0.0005		

⇒ U.S. non-voters and Trump voters donate 5 to 6 p.p. more to fellow citizens, others give the same amount.

## **International climate negotiations**

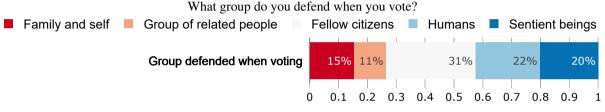
In international climate negotiations, would you prefer [U.S.] diplomats to defend [U.S.] interests or global justice?



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

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

## **Group defended**

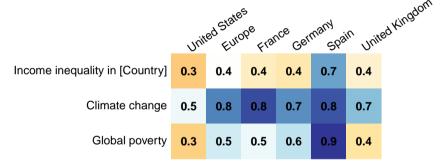


The most defended group is one's fellow citizens.

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

## **Biggest issues**

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



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

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

## Conclusion

### 1. Across the world, people are ready for international solidarity

- ► Consensus on the allocation key of emissions permits: equal per capita
- ▶ Near consensus for a global tax on millionaires or a global financial register
- ▶ Majorities support to channel 30-50% of global tax revenues to low-income countries
- ▶ Majorities support global climate policies, including with transfers detrimental to their countries
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### 2. The support for global redistributive policies is mostly sincere

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

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  - Climate change and global poverty are seen as biggest issues than national inequality
  - Most people show some adherence to universalism
  - ▶ No evidence of pluralistic ignorance: most people correctly guess others' support for the GCS

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#### Alternative explanations for the mismatch are needed

- ▶ National bias in power structures (elections, media) and mental structures (hymns, sport teams)?
- ▶ Pluralistic ignorance of the elites? ⇒ Ongoing survey on Members of the European Parliament
- ► Ideas whose time has come, and just lack some advocacy? ⇒ Stay tune for the petition!

# Appendix

## Eu questionnaire

#### Background of respondent

Socio-demographics, political views.

Global climate scheme (G) and National redistribution (R)												
Description, comprehension questions, support, second-order beliefs.												
<b>★</b>												
List experiment												
Assessment of hidden support for the Global climate scheme (G), National redistribution scheme (R), Coal exit (C) and Marriage only for opposite-sex couples (O)												
G/C/O R/G/C/O C/O R/C/O												
Conjoint analysis (a): support for G conditional on R+C												
Preference between G+R+C vs. R+C, support for G+R+C.												
<b>→</b>												
Conjoint analysis (b): support for G or C conditional on R Preference for												
C+R vs. G+R												
Conjoint analysis (c): influence of G endorsement on voting preference Among fictitious platforms, preference for												
Progressive vs. Conservative Progressive (incl. G) vs. Conservative												
Petition												
G												
G's Pros and cons												
Closed question (matrix) Open-ended question												
Donation lottery In case of a win, share given to a poor												
From own country African												
Foreign aid in public spending												
Guess what share it is												
Info about what it is Ø No info												
Share that should go to foreign aid.												
If more (less) than actual, how to finance it (or use the spared spending)  If more (less) than guess, how to finance it (or use the spared spending)	)											
Realistic global redistributive policies  Support for rich countries funding compensation, mitigation, adaptation, for global taxes or fair-trade policies; should foreign aid increase or decrease (how and why).												
Support for the countries returning compensation, mitigation, adaptation, for global taxes or rail-trade policies, should roreign and mitlease or decrease (now and winy).												
<b>V</b>												

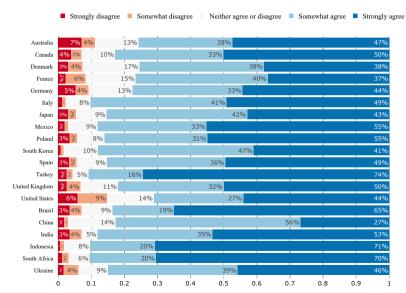
#### Values, conjoint analysis (d), prioritization of policies, ETS2, and feedback

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

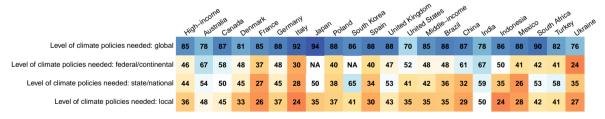
## Descriptive statistics

## **OECD**

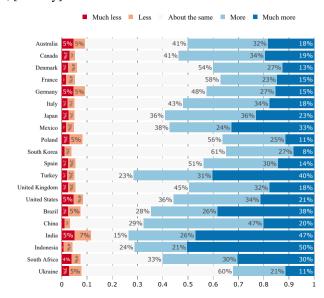
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "[country] should take measures to fight climate change." • Go back



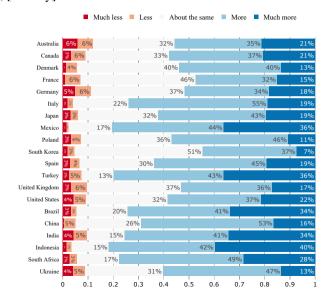
At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) • Go back



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

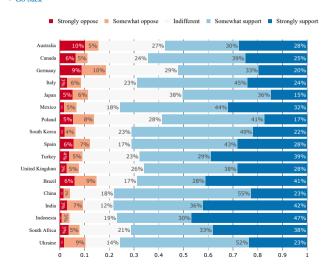


How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do? If other countries do less, [country] should do... • Go back



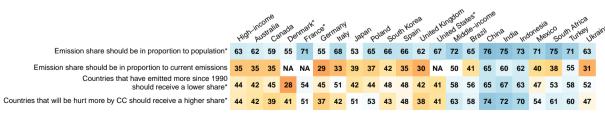
[Question non posée aux U.S., au Danemark et en France] All countries have signed the Paris agreement that aims to contain global warming "well below +2 °C". To limit global warming to this level, there is a maximum amount of greenhouse gases we can emit globally, called the carbon budget. Each country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

Do you support such a policy? 
Goback

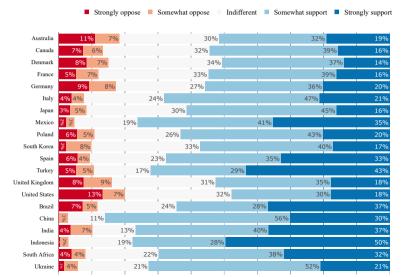


[\*Question not asked in the U.S., Denmark and France, answers to a similar question are displayed] Suppose the above policy is in place. How should the carbon budget be divided among countries? The emission share of a country should be proportional to its population, so that each human has an equal right to emit.; The emission share of a country should be proportional to its current emissions, so that those who already emit more have more rights to emit.; Countries that have emitted more over the past decades (from 1990 onwards) should receive a lower emission share, because they have already used some of their fair share.; Countries that will be hurt more by climate change should receive a higher emission share, to compensate them for the damages.

Percentage of support (somewhat or strong) among: Strongly oppose; Somewhat oppose; Neither support nor oppose; Somewhat support; Strongly support > Go back



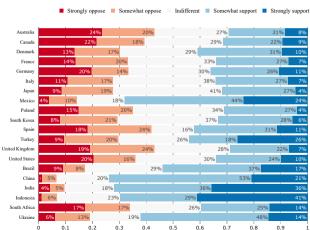
Do you support or oppose establishing a global democratic assembly whose role would be to draft international treaties against climate change? Each adult across the world would have one vote to elect members of the assembly. 
• Go back



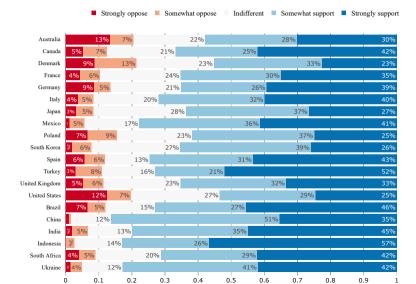
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Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the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

Do you support or oppose such a policy? Go bar



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

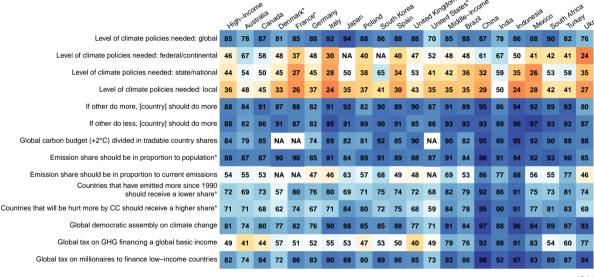


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## Synthèse : Pourcentage de réponses positive (e.g. Plutôt/Très favorable). • Go back

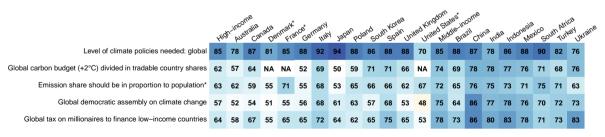
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Level of climate policies needed: global	85	78	87	81	85	88	92	94	88	86	88	88	70	85	88	87	78	86	88	90	82	76
Level of climate policies needed: federal/continental	46	67	58	48	37	48	30	NA	40	NA	40	47	52	48	48	61	67	50	41	42	41	24
Level of climate policies 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



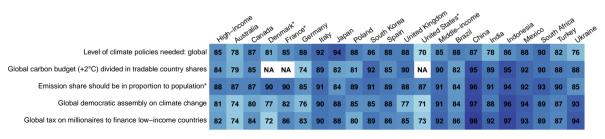
## Principales des attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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



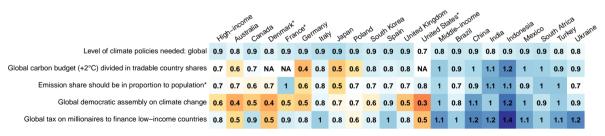
## Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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



## Principales attitudes sur les politiques mondiales

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



## Main attitudes by vote

Main attitudes by vote ("Right" spans from Center-right to Far right). (Relative support in percent in Questions ??, ??, ??, ??, ??)

