

# A shared vision towards global climate justice

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# Introduction

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⇒ 1% of each country's GNI reallocated in proportion to countries' population.

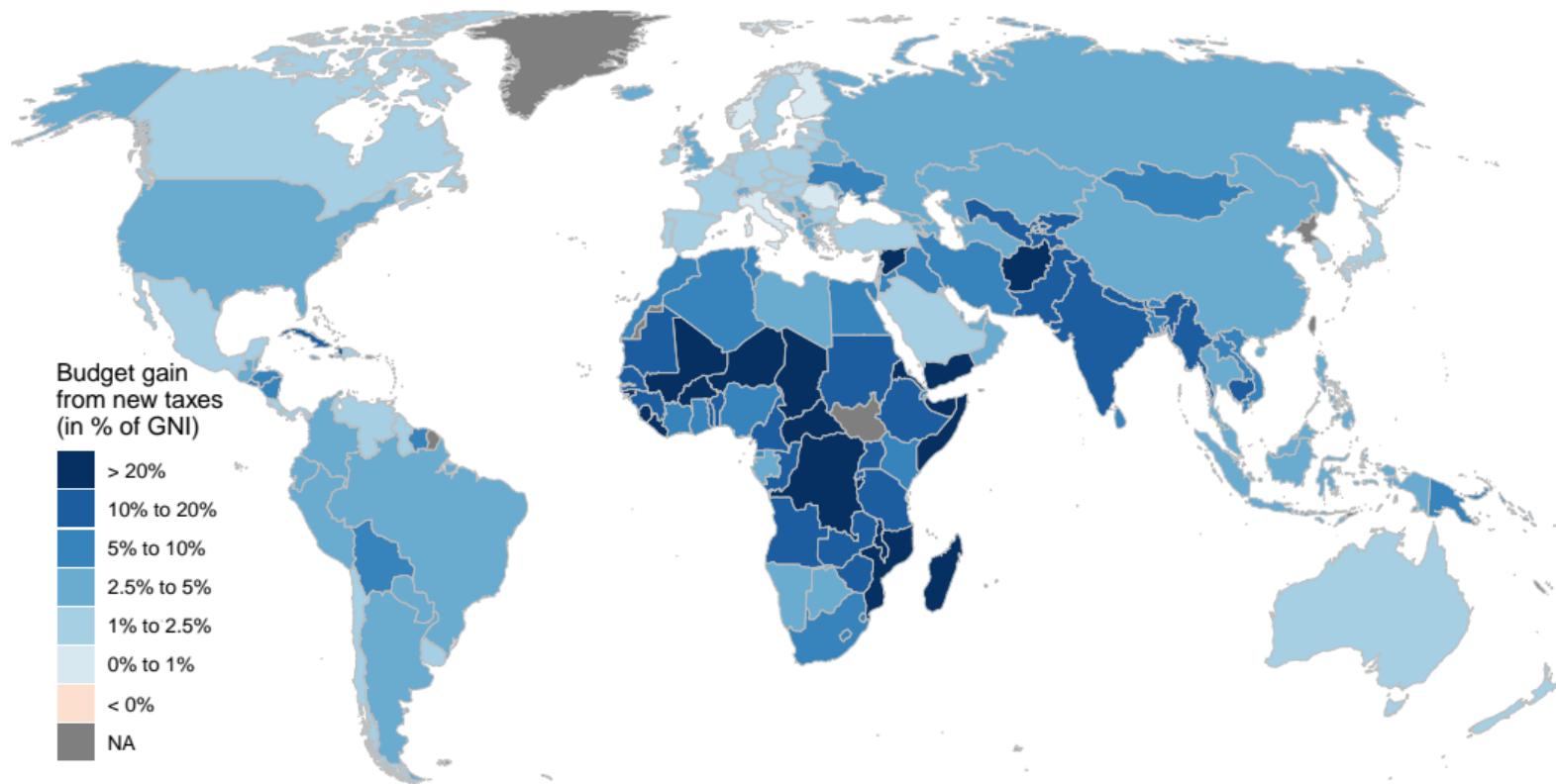
## Towards an international tax system

Estimate of **revenue collected** by new global taxes (**in \$ billion per year**).

Financial Transactions Tax	Carbon price floor (10 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Maritime fuel levy (100 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Aviation fuel levy (300 \$/tCO <sub>2</sub> )	Corporate income tax (at 21%)	Tax on ultra-high wealth (3% above \$100M)	National wealth Tax (2% above \$5M)	Total
327	356	104	223	299	765	1,364	<b>3,438</b>

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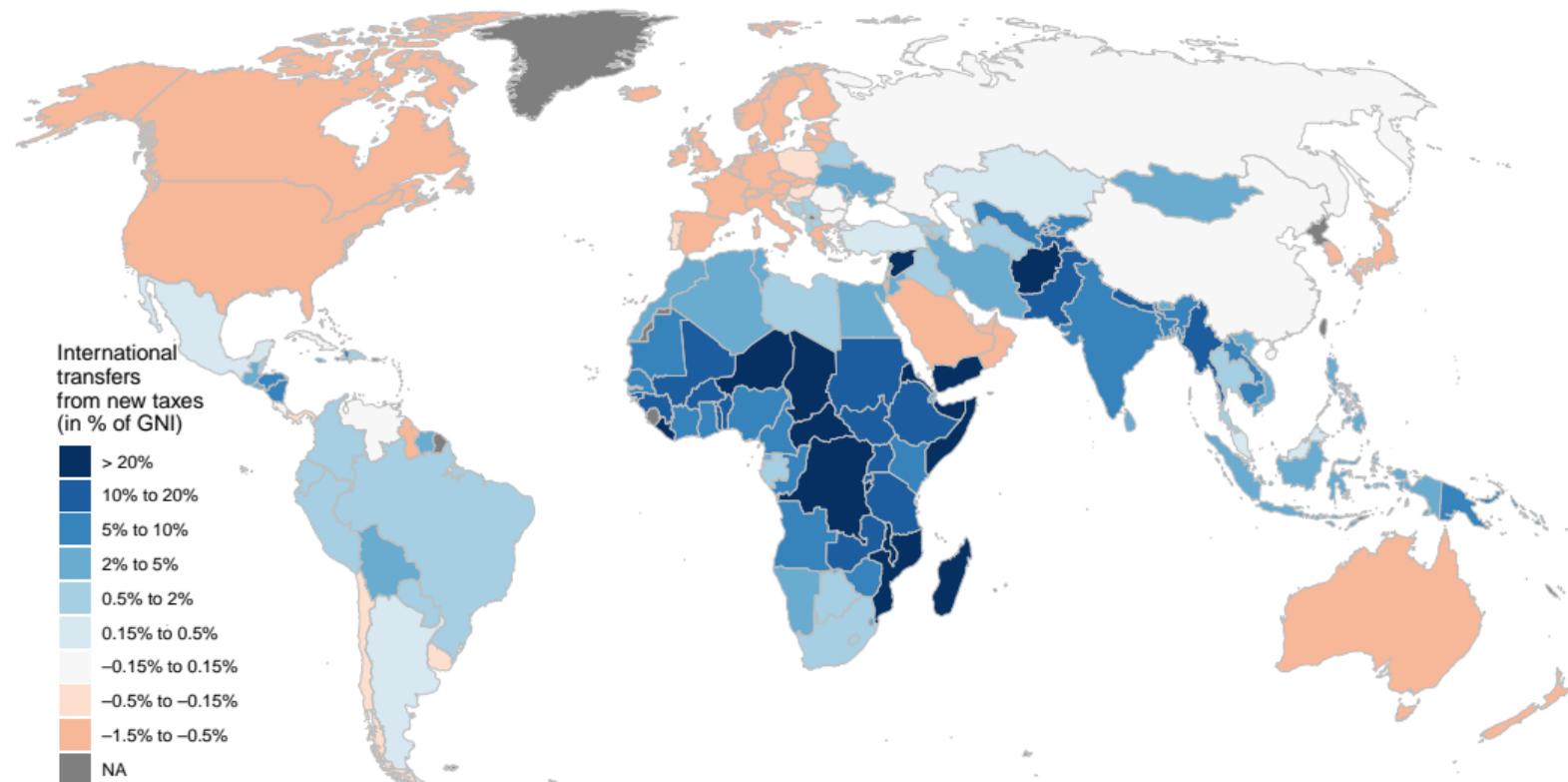
**Net gain for state budgets** from new taxes and transfers (revenue + net transfer): All countries' govt's gain.



# Towards an international tax system

**International transfers** to be financed by new global taxes.

The instruments proposed entail **North-South transfers of \$766 billion** per year.



# Support for global redistribution

## International surveys with a focus on the West

**Global survey** (02/2021–02/2022) by **Dechezleprêtre et al. (2022)**

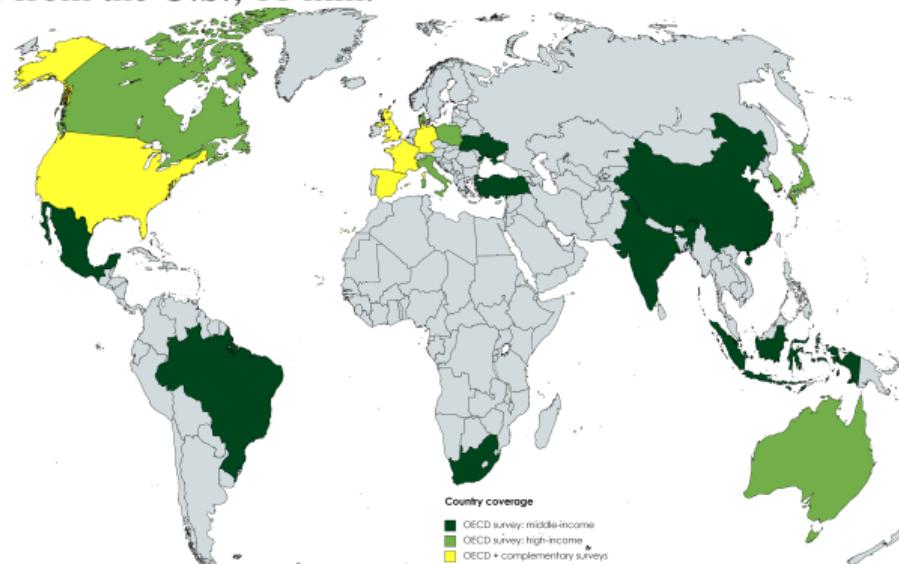
20 countries; 2,000 respondents per country; median duration: 28 min.

**Complementary surveys** (01–04/2023) by **Fabre, Douenne & Mattauch (2023)** – [bit.ly/Fabre2023](https://bit.ly/Fabre2023)

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

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

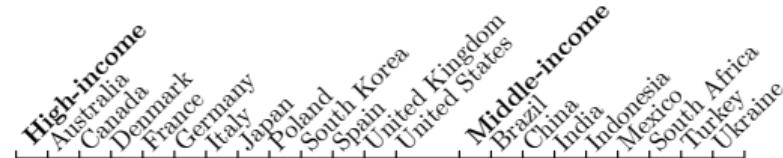
US2: 2,000 respondents from the U.S.; 11 min.



# Support for a Global Climate Scheme

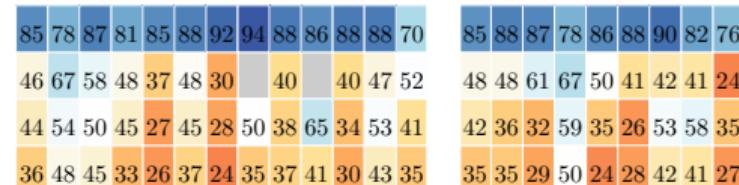
# Global survey: Global policies are strongly supported.

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



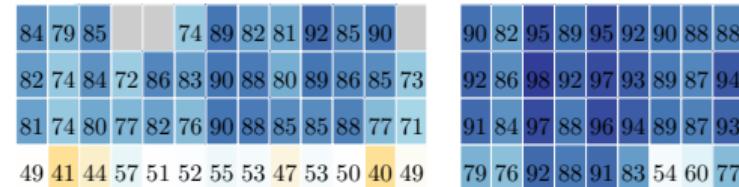
Level at which climate policies are needed (Multiple choice question)

- Global
- Federal/Continental
- State/National
- Local



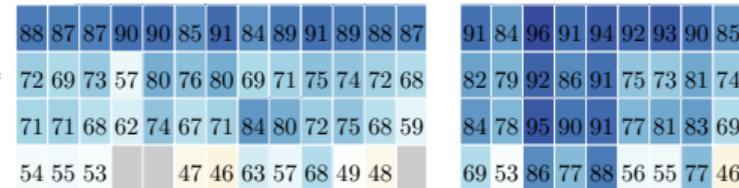
Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

- 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 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**.

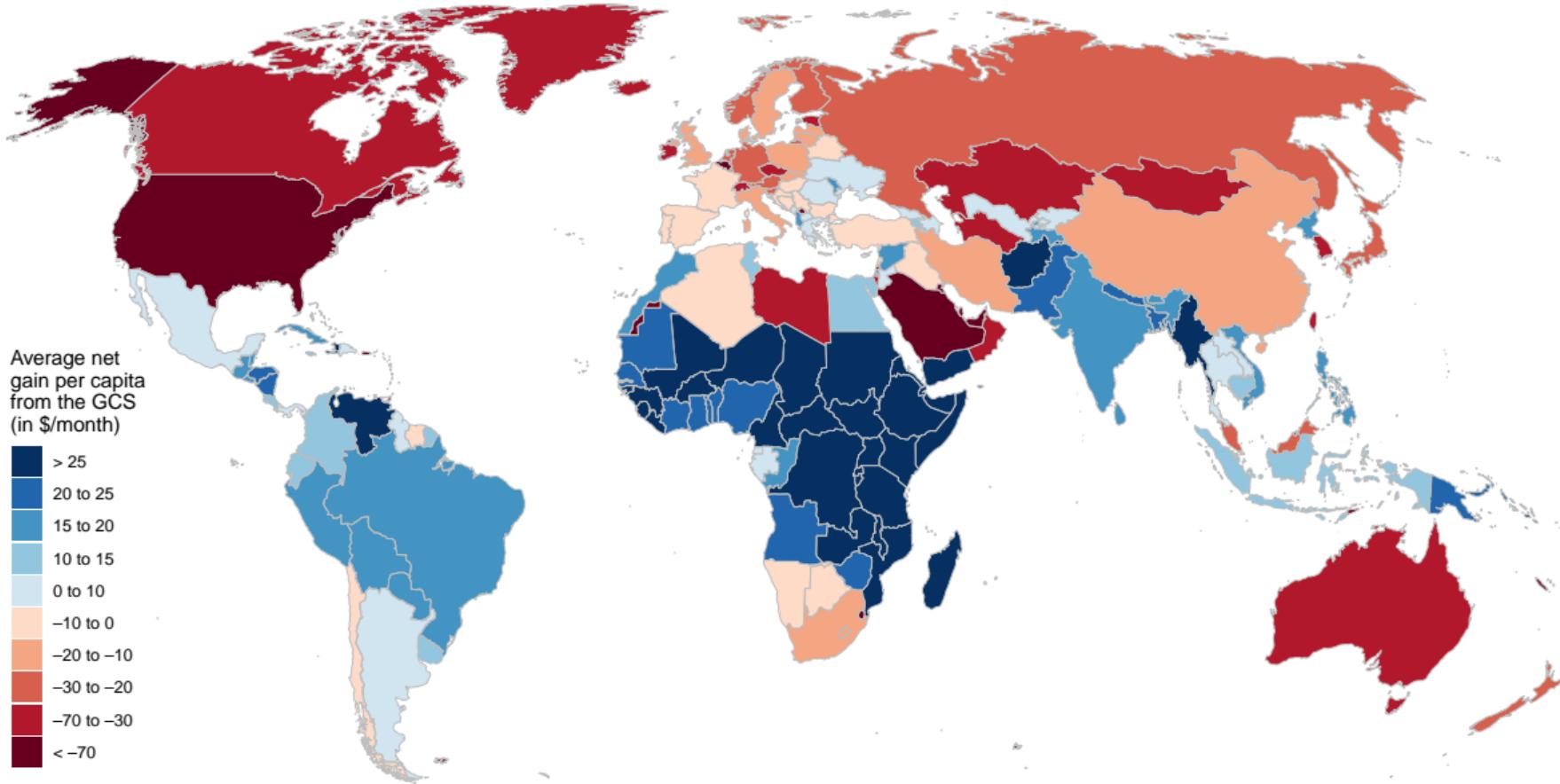
To meet the climate target, a limited number of permits to emit greenhouse gases can be created globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their emissions. Such a policy would **make fossil fuel companies pay** for their emissions and progressively raise the price of fossil fuels.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

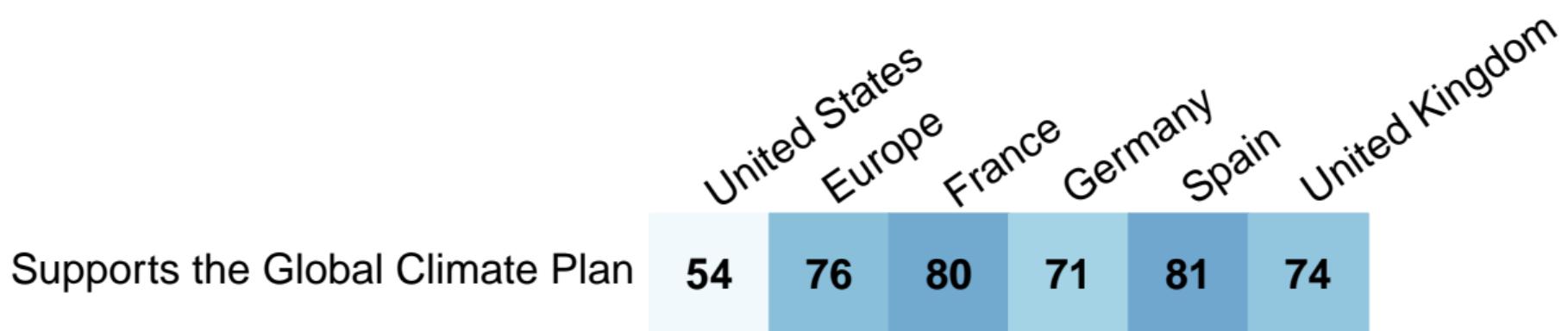
# Net gains from the Global Climate Scheme



# Support for the Global Climate Scheme

We test understanding of the distributive effects of the GCS (and then give the expected answer) in an incentivized way. ▶ [Understanding](#)

Do you support...? Yes/No (Percentage of Yes) ▶ [Perceptions](#) ▶ [Complementary policies](#) ▶ [By vote](#) ▶ [National policies](#)



## Support for other global policies

# Support for other global policies

► Foreign aid

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

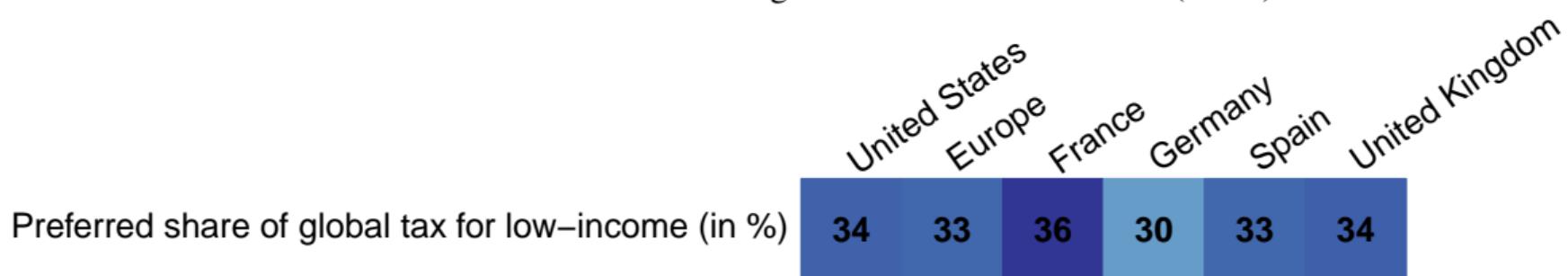
	United States	Europe	France	Germany	Spain	United Kingdom
Payments from high-income countries to compensate low-income countries for climate damages	55	71	72	70	79	70
High-income countries funding renewable energy in low-income countries	68	82	82	82	85	81
High-income countries contributing \$100 billion 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

# Support for a global wealth tax

► Foreign aid

We describe a global tax on wealth in excess of \$/€/£ 5 million who should get the revenues

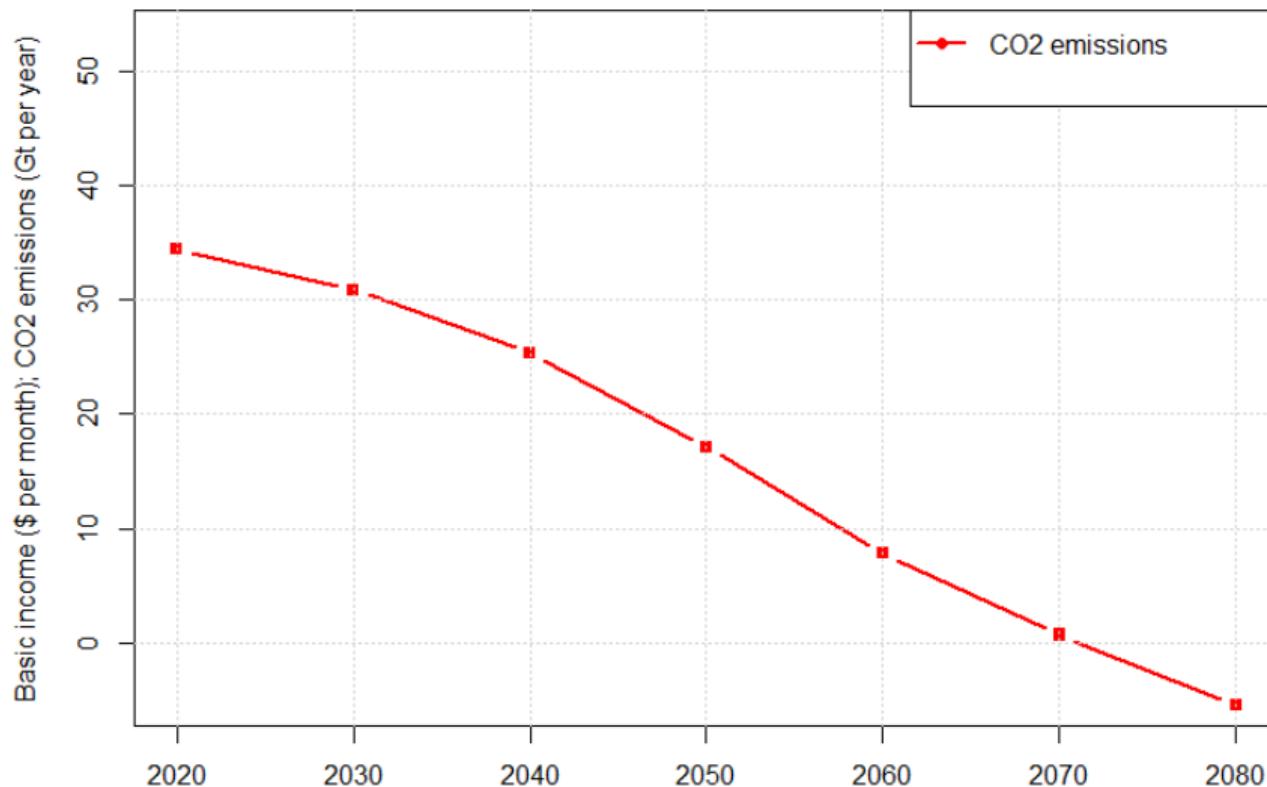
Percent of wealth tax that should go to low-income countries (*mean*):



# The Global Climate Plan

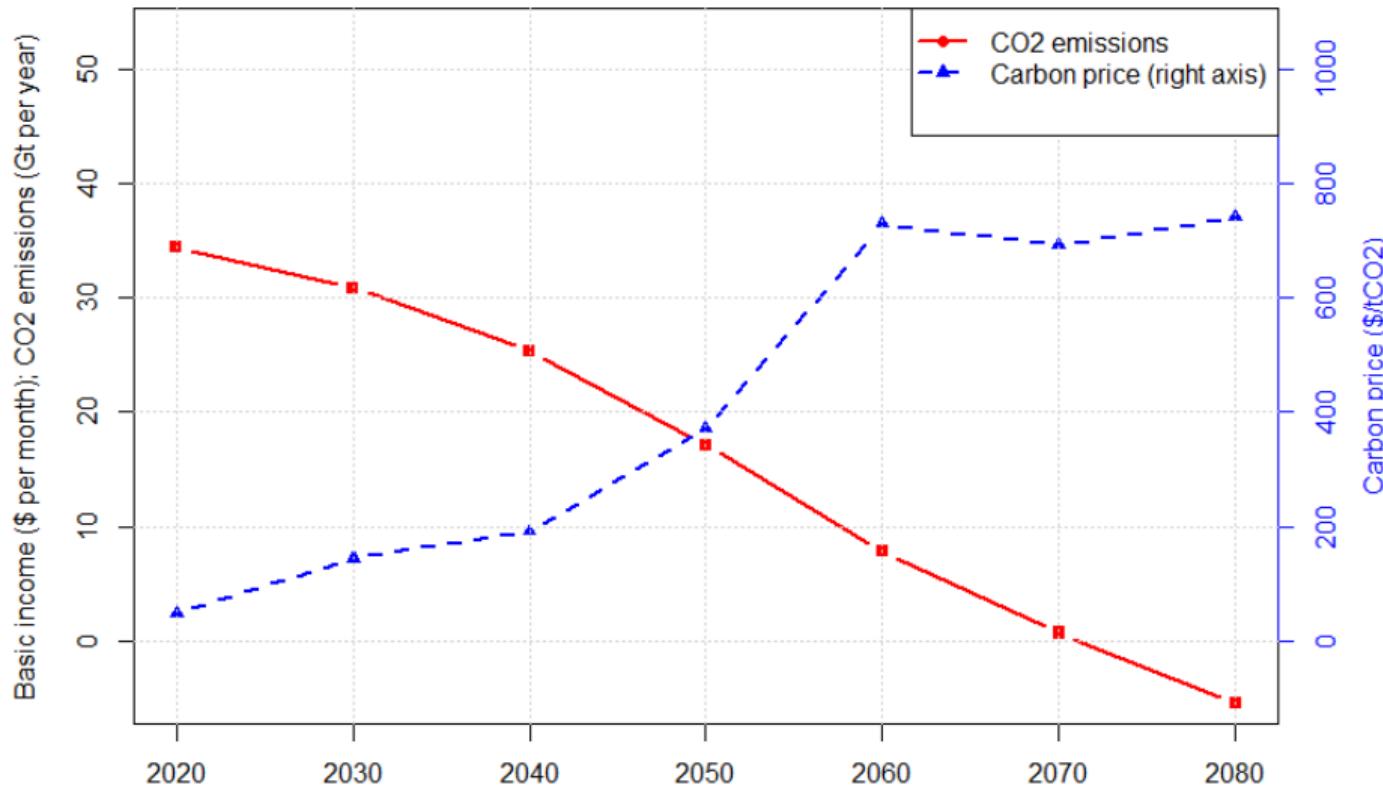
# The trajectories

Global trajectories estimated for the Global Climate Plan (GCP)



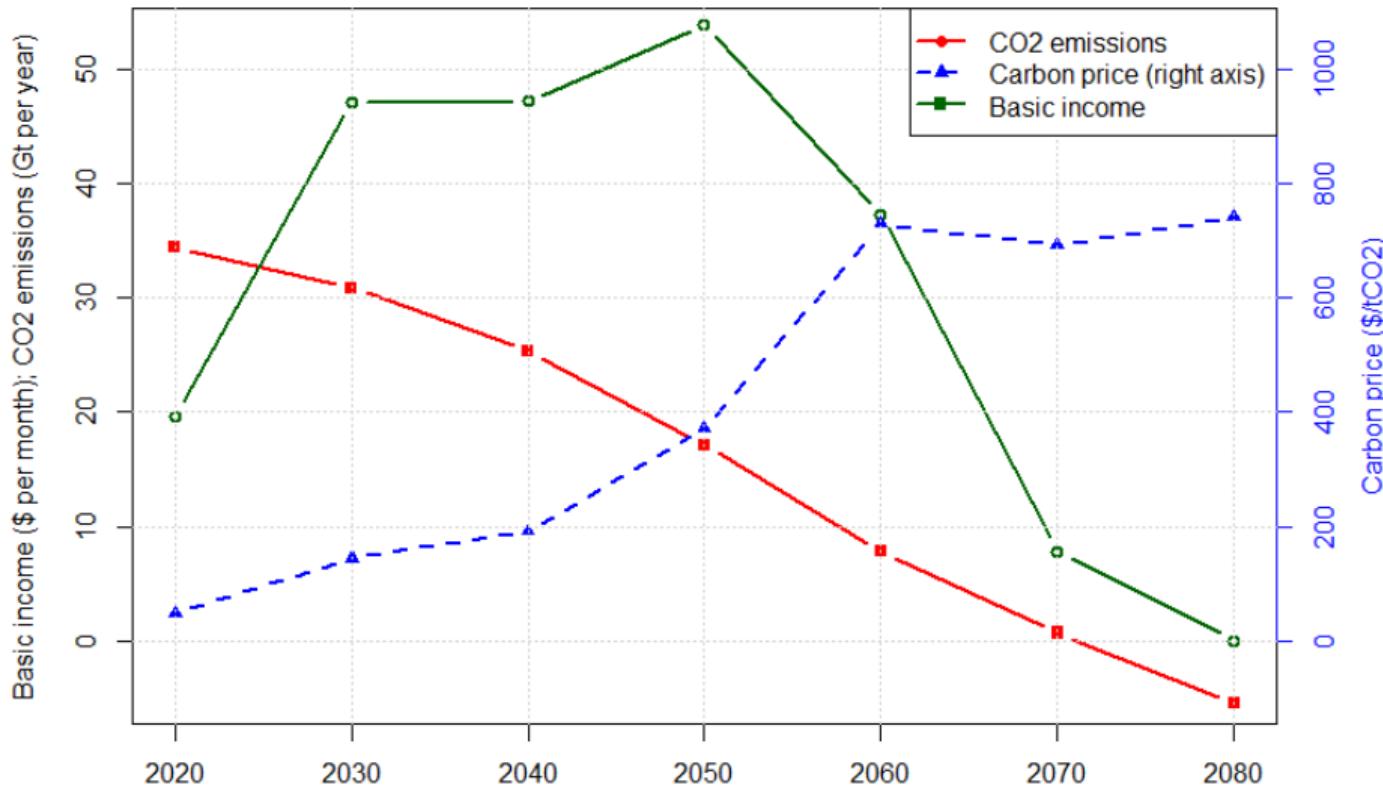
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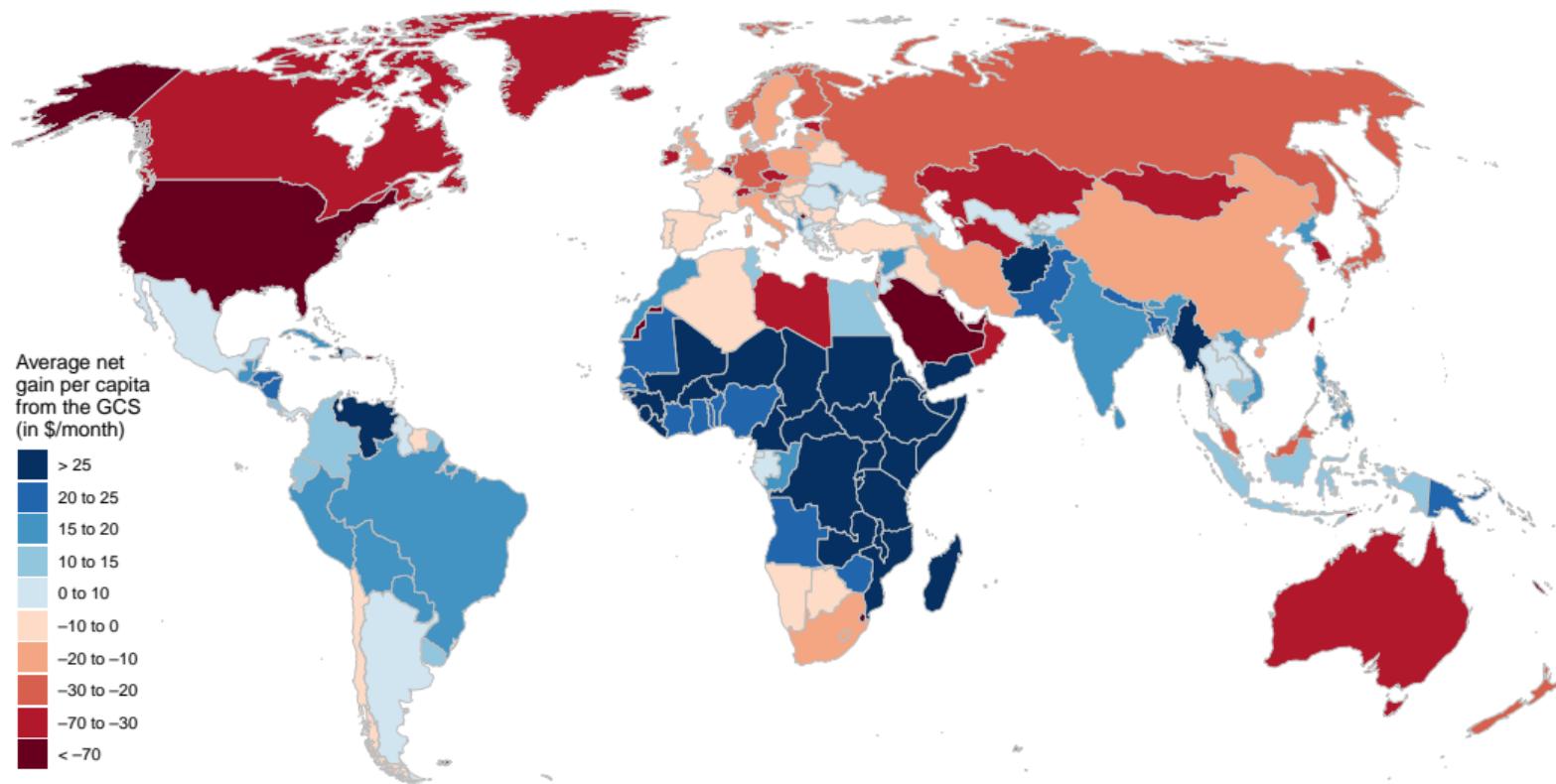
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A carbon border adjustment would prevent carbon leakage.

# The unadjusted distributive effects

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Scheme in 2030.



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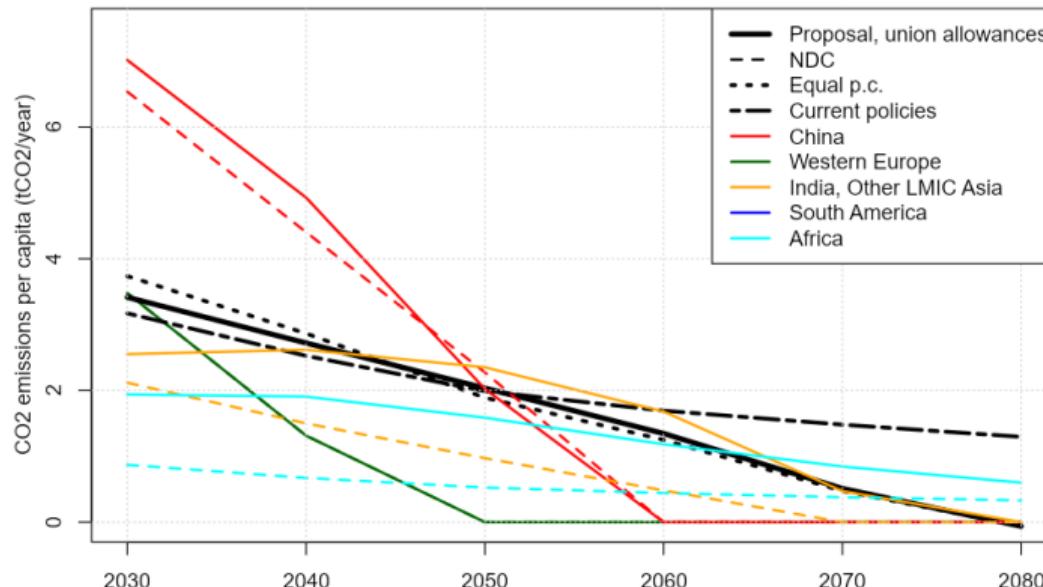
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⇒ The states of California, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts... could join.

# The proposed allocation of emissions allowances

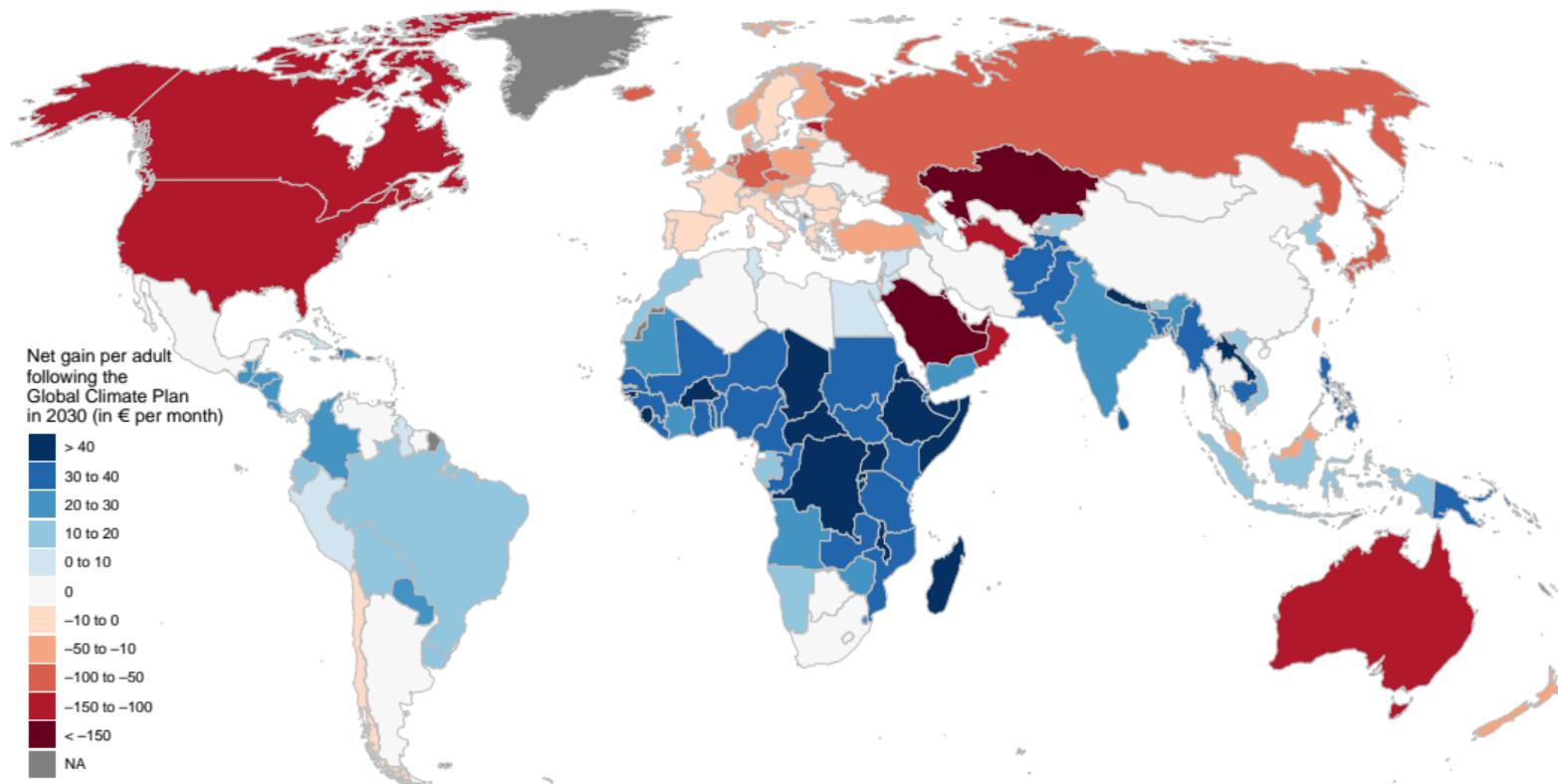
Table 1: Carbon budget over 2030–2080 (in GtCO<sub>2</sub>)

	Africa	China	Latin America	India	Europe	Other LMIC Asia	Union	World
<b>Equal p.c.</b>	166	120	61	133	46	11.5	653	754
<b>Proposal</b>	145	154	61	133	32	115	653	754



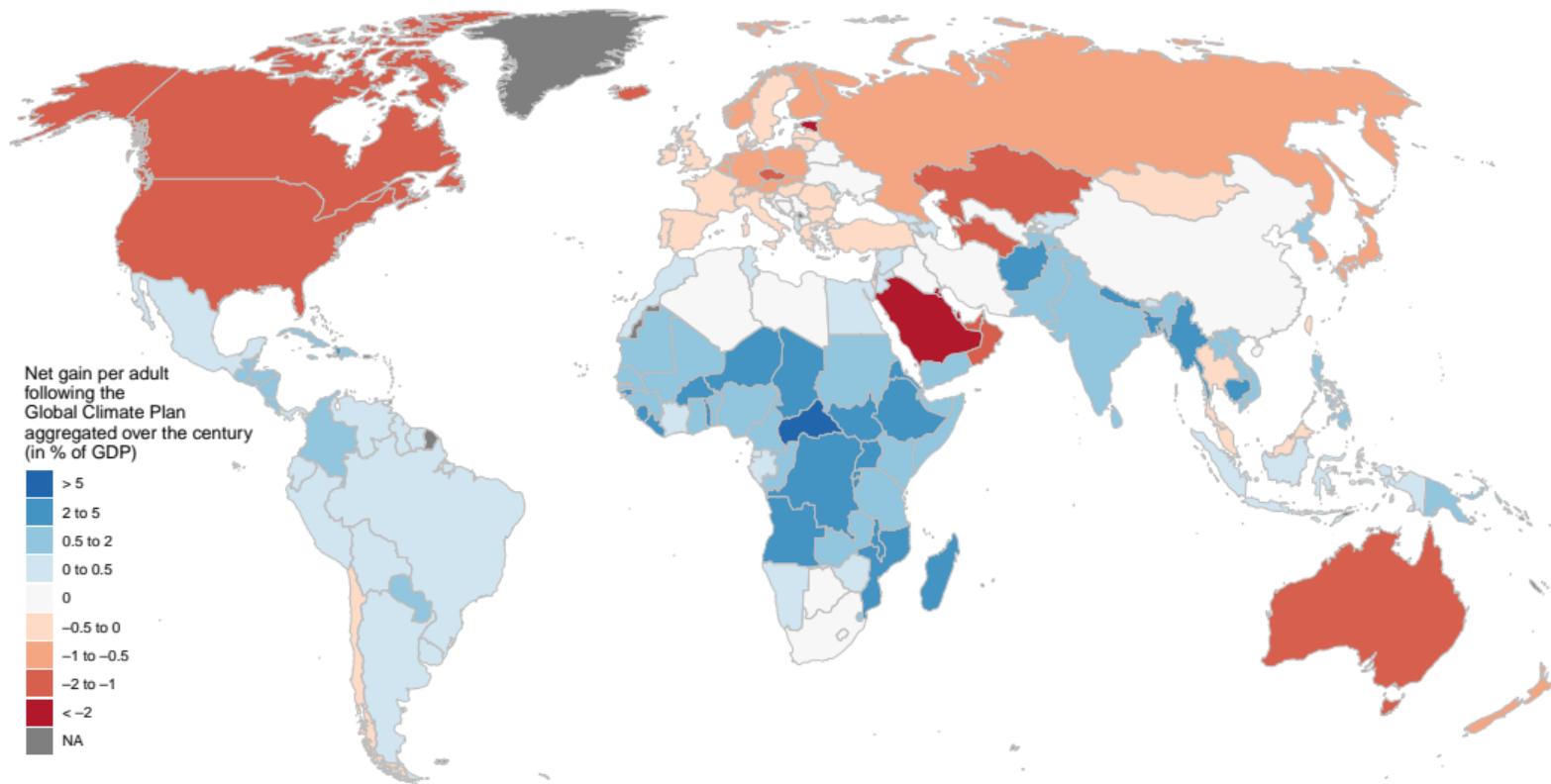
# The distributive effects

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030. [► More maps](#)



# The distributive effects

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan throughout the century. [► More maps](#)



## Scenarios with non-universal participation

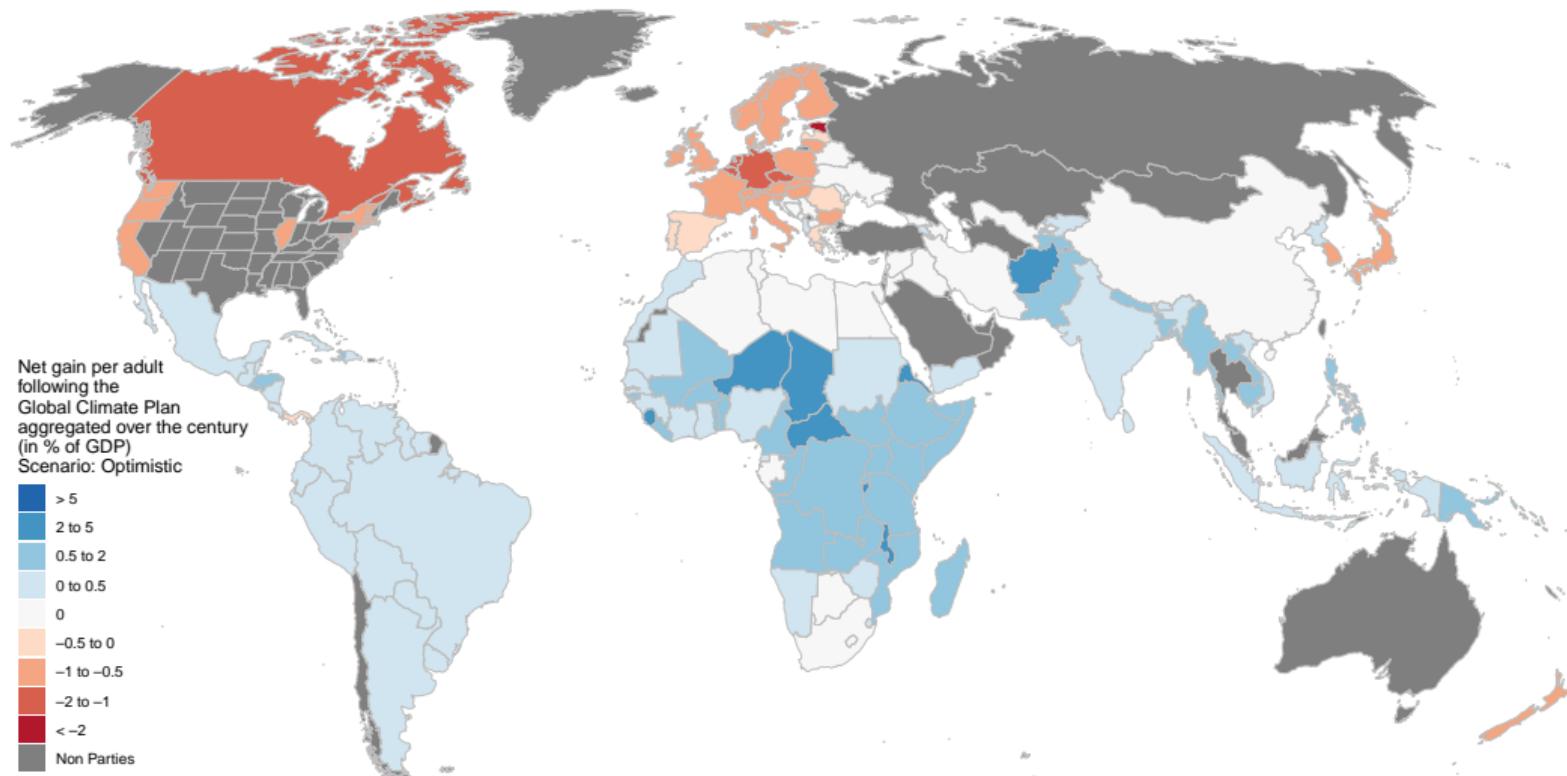
Table 2: Main features of different scenarios of climate union.

Union scenario	Emissions covered	Population covered	Basic income in 2040 (/month)	EU loss in 2040 (share of its GDP)	Temperature increase in 2100 (in °C)
All countries	100%	100%	44	0.6%	1.8
All but OPEC	90%	97%	39	0.6%	1.9
Optimistic	74%	91%	28	0.8%	2.0
Central	67%	88%	23	0.9%	2.0
Prudent	63%	85%	20	0.9%	2.1
Africa EU	12%	23%	26	0.8%	2.5

# Scenarios with non-universal participation

Optimistic scenario.

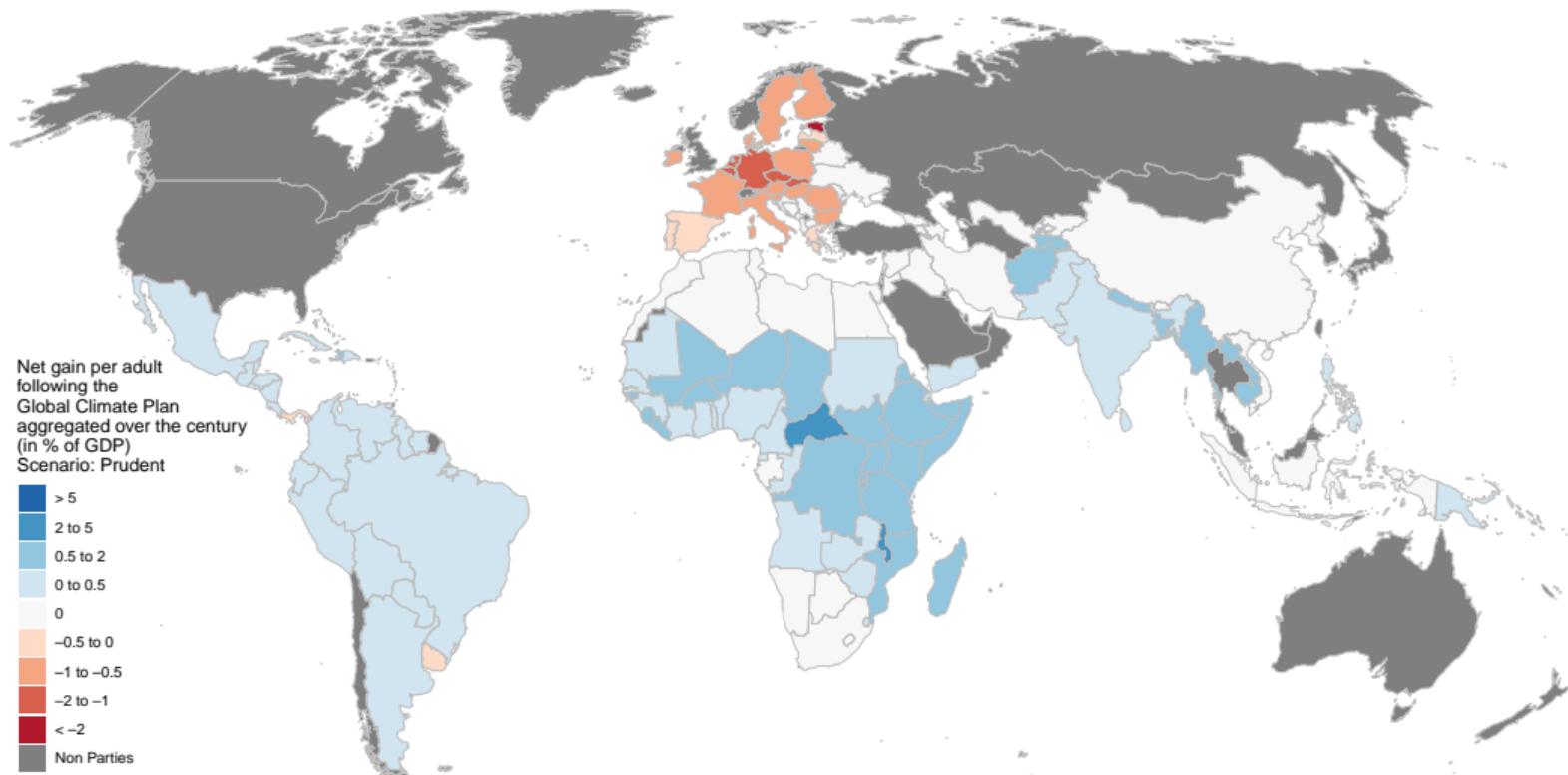
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Prudent scenario.

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**Break the deadlock of international negotiations** by providing low-income countries with resources.

**Thank you for attention!**

Livre: [bit.ly/plan\\_mondial\\_climat](http://bit.ly/plan_mondial_climat)  
Book: [bit.ly/bookGCP](http://bit.ly/bookGCP)

**UN PLAN MONDIAL  
POUR LE CLIMAT  
ET CONTRE L'EXTRÊME  
PAUVRETÉ**

PRÉFACE DE  
GABRIEL ZUCMAN



@adrien\_fabre

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The GCP would provide resources and assistance from experienced countries.

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Need to monitor, report and verify emissions of industrial units.

Challenging to avoid fraud in countries lacking institutional capacity, but same for any climate policy.

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Smartphones can provide biometric identification and means of transaction.

Satellite internet access might soon become cheap and ubiquitous (Hanson 2016).

## Details

**Ideal timeline:** negotiation, consultations up to 2030, phase-in between 2030 and 2035.

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**Market design:** Carbon offsets should not be allowed. Borrowing and banking emissions permits should be limited.

# Appendix

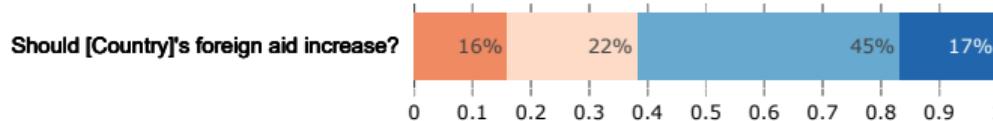
## Additional results

# Conditions for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

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

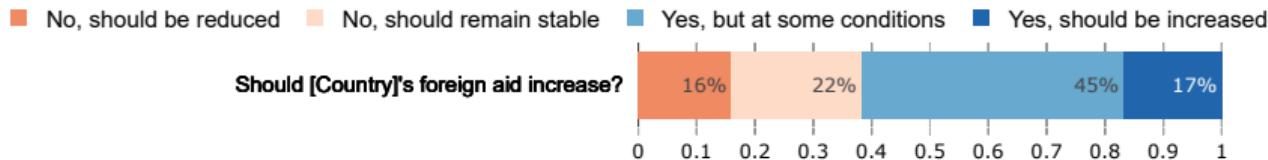
■ No, should be reduced ■ No, should remain stable ■ Yes, but at some conditions ■ Yes, should be increased



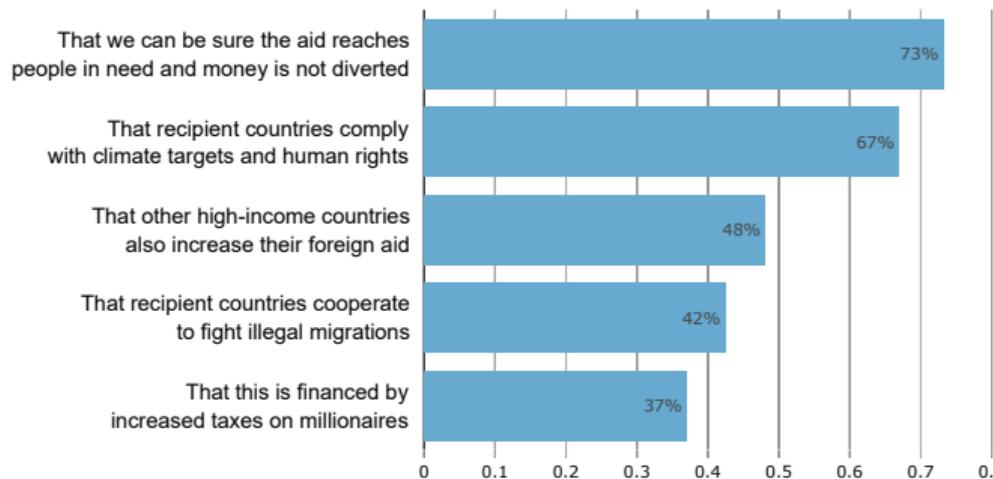
# Conditions for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

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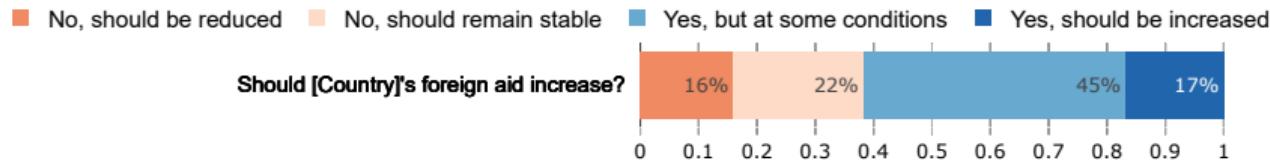
[If *at some conditions*] What conditions should be required for [the U.S.] to increase its foreign aid?



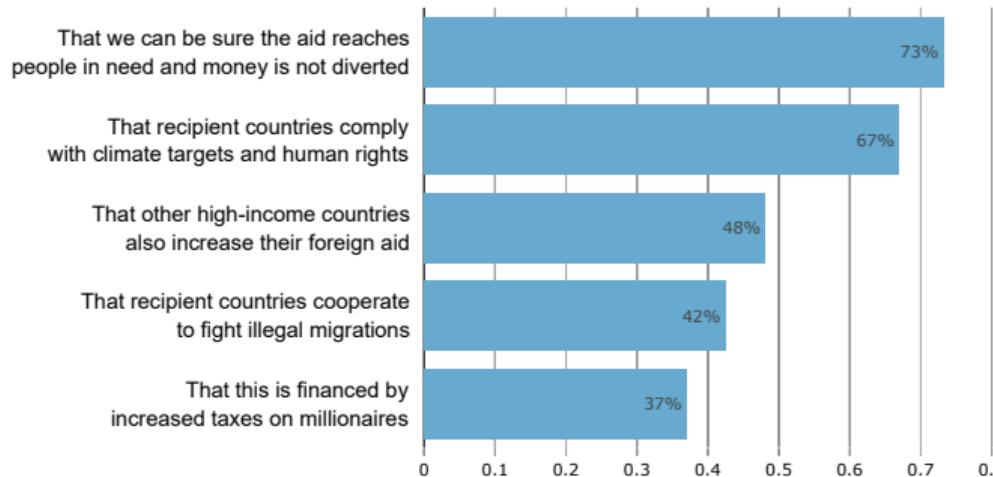
# Conditions for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

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



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



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

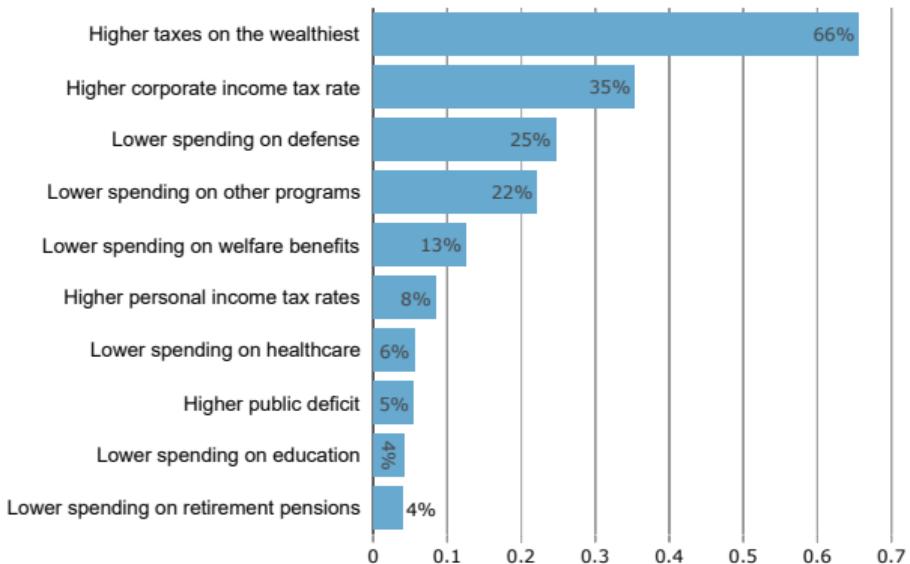
National preference is the main reason behind not wanting increased foreign aid.

# Preferences over public spending

[» Go back](#)

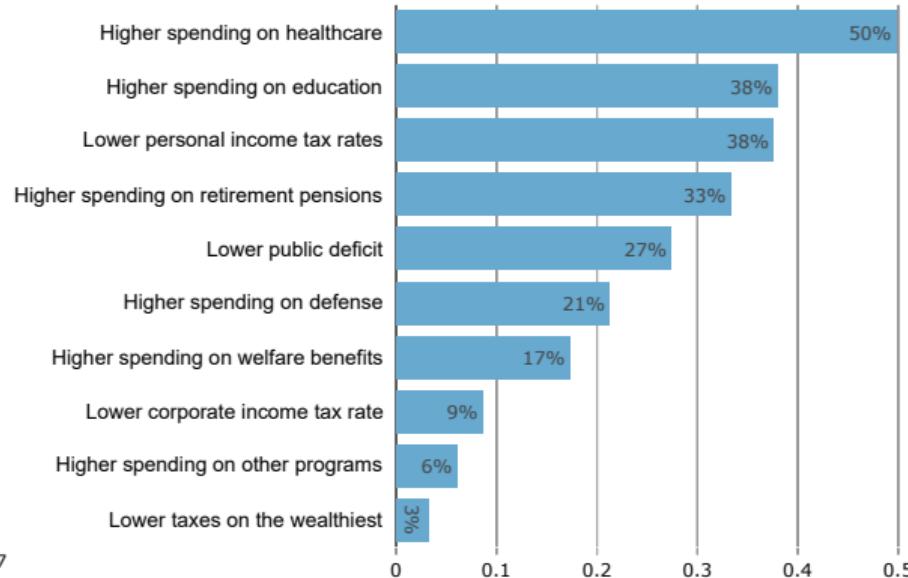
Your previous answer shows that you would like to increase [UK] foreign aid.

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.

# Support for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

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

	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

# Support for increased foreign aid

[» Go back](#)

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Preferred foreign aid (no info)	4	3.9	4.7	4.4	3.1	3.4

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

	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 at least as high as perceived	57	74	83	79	77	58
Supports increasing foreign aid (incl. with conditions)	60	64	63	68	69	56

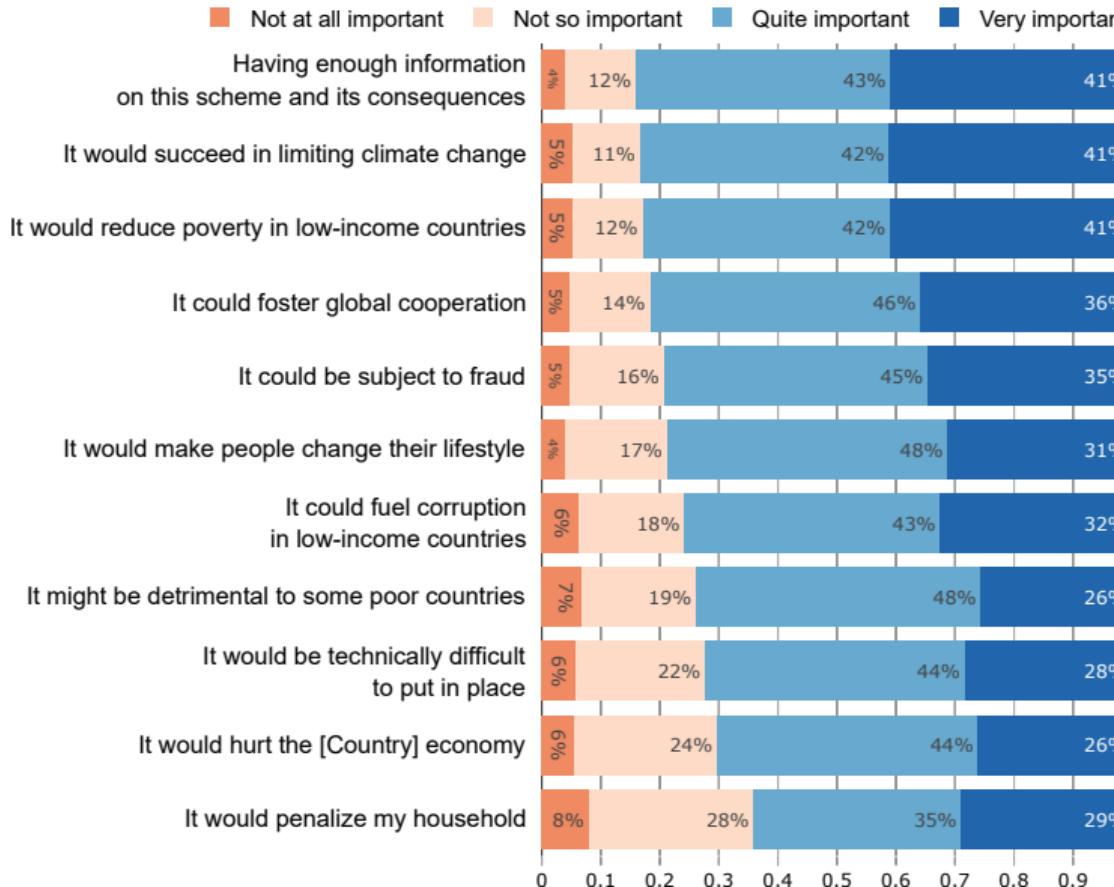
Actual foreign aid is overestimated.

Majorities support more foreign aid.

# Perceptions of the Global Climate Scheme

[Go back](#)

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



## Conjoint analyses: interaction with other policies [» Go back](#)

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.

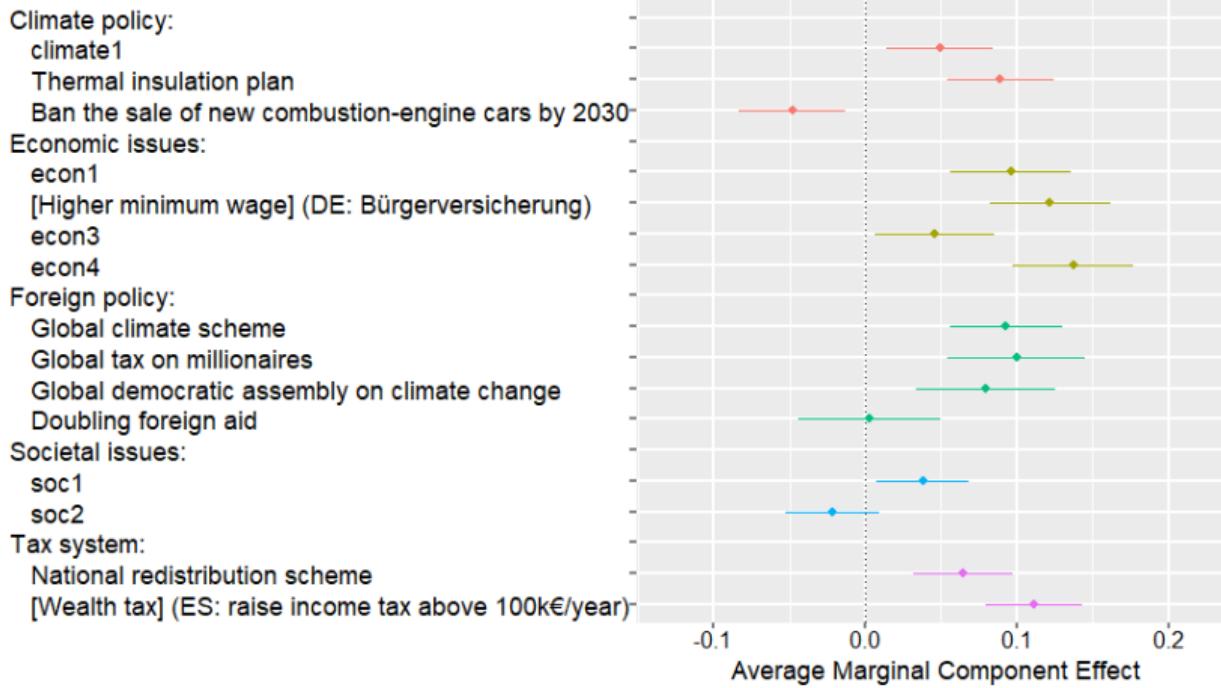
⇒ Confirms that the **monetary loss is not a primary concern** for one's attitude toward the GCS.

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

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

## Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Eu) [» Go back](#)

(...) 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) [▶ Go back](#)

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 ?

## Climat:

Interdiction des véhicules les plus polluants dans les centres-villes (ZFE)

Plan pour l'isolation thermique

Interdiction de la vente de voitures thermiques neuves d'ici 2030

## Économie:

Versement du RSA aux 18-25 ans sans emploi

SMIC à 1600€ net par mois

Recul de l'âge légal de départ à la retraite à 65 ans

Hausse de 20% du financement de l'hôpital public et de l'Éducation nationale

## Politique étrangère:

Plan mondial pour le climat

Taxe mondiale sur les millionnaires

Assemblée démocratique mondiale sur le changement climatique

Doubler l'aide au développement des pays à faibles revenus

## Démocratie:

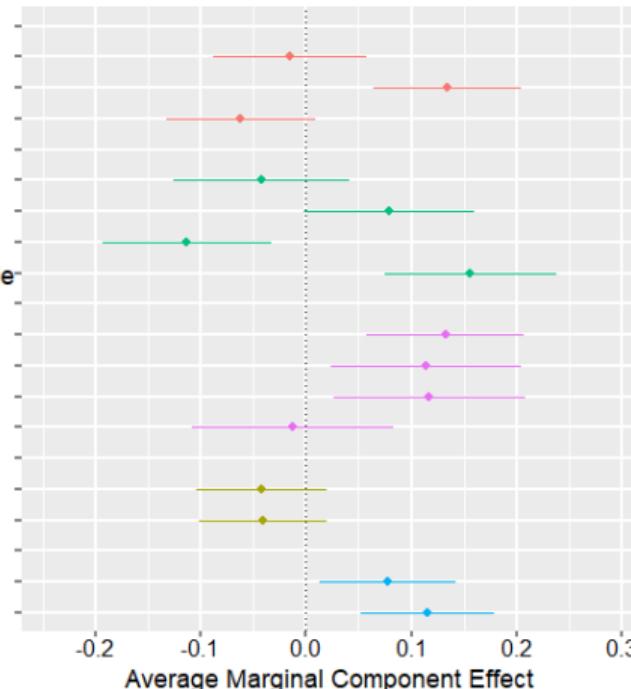
Élection des députés à la proportionnelle

Référendum d'Initiative Citoyenne (RIC)

## Fiscalité:

Plan de redistribution nationale

Rétablissement de l'impôt sur la fortune (ISF)



# Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (U.S.)

[Go back](#)

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?

## Climate policy:

Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2030

Coal exit

Trillion dollar investment in clean transportation infrastructure and building insulation

## Economic issues:

\$15 minimum wage

Funding affordable housing

Student loan forgiveness

Universal childcare/pre-K

## Foreign policy:

Doubling foreign aid

Global climate scheme

Global democratic assembly on climate change

Global tax on millionaires

## Societal issues:

Expanding the Supreme Court

Handgun ban

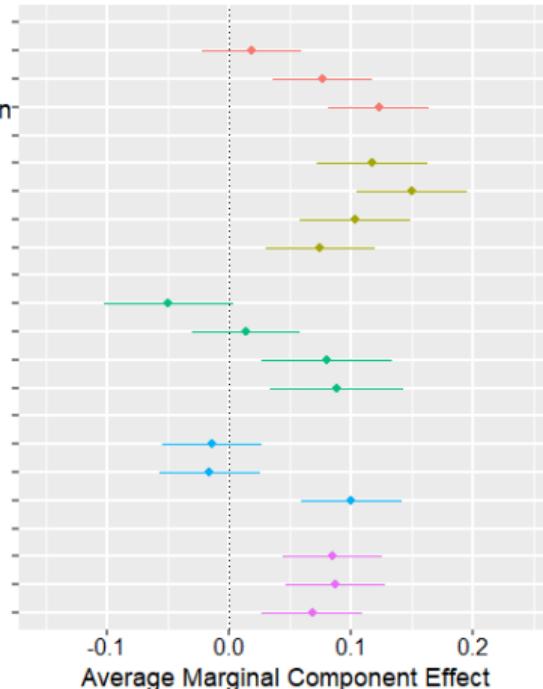
Making abortion a right at the federal level

## Tax system:

Increase corporate income tax rate from 21% to 28%

National redistribution scheme

Wealth tax



# Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Germany)

[Go back](#)

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

Imagine that a Rot-Rot-Grüne 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-wing policies).

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

## Klimaschutz:

Verpflichtende Solaranlagen auf allen geeigneten Dächern

Plan zur Wärmedämmung

Verbot des Verkaufs von Neuwagen mit Verbrennungsmotor bis 2030

## Wirtschaftspolitik:

Erhöhung des Regelsatzes des Bürgergelds auf bis zu 600€ pro Monat

Bürgerversicherung als gerechtere Sozialversicherung

Staatsschuldenquote auf unter 60% reduzieren

Investitionen für Gigabit-Netzwerke bereitstellen

## Außenpolitik:

Globales Klimaprogramm

Globale Steuer auf Millionäre

Globale demokratische Versammlung zum Klimawandel

Verdoppelung der Mittel für die Entwicklungshilfe in einkommensschwachen Ländern

## Gesellschaft:

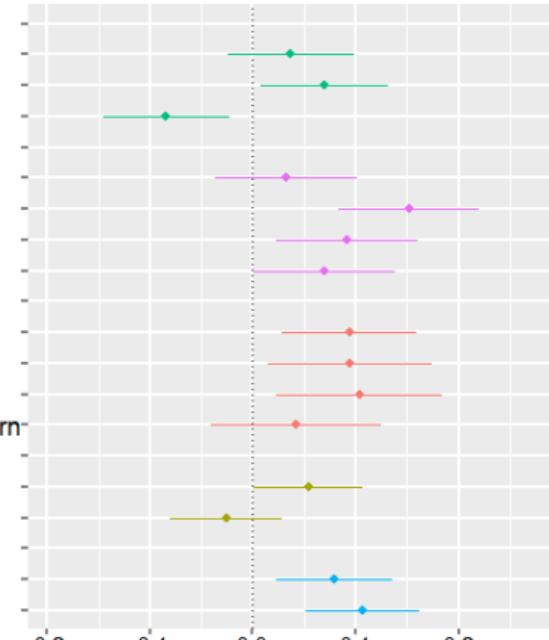
Volksentscheid auf Bundesebene

Cannabis-Legalisierung

## Steuerpolitik:

Nationales Umverteilungsprogramm

Die Vermögenssteuer wieder in Kraft setzen



# Conjoint analyses: influence on preferred platform (Spain) [» Go back](#)

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

Imagine that the PSOE wins the next elections. Here are two possible platforms on which it may campaign (the policies in each platform are randomly drawn from a pool of credible PSOE policies).

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

## Política climática:

100% de electricidad producida con energías renovables en 2040

Plan de aislamiento térmico

Prohibir la venta de coches nuevos con motor de combustión para 2030

## Asuntos económicos:

Más necesidades sanitarias dentro del sistema público (cuidado dental, gafas, salud mental)

Ingreso Básico Garantizado de 600€ al mes

Jornada laboral de 34 horas semanales

Inversión en el sistema educativo y universalización de la educación preescolar

## Política exterior:

Plan climático global

Impuesto mundial a los millonarios

Asamblea democrática mundial sobre el cambio climático

Duplicar la ayuda exterior a los países de renta baja

## Asuntos sociales:

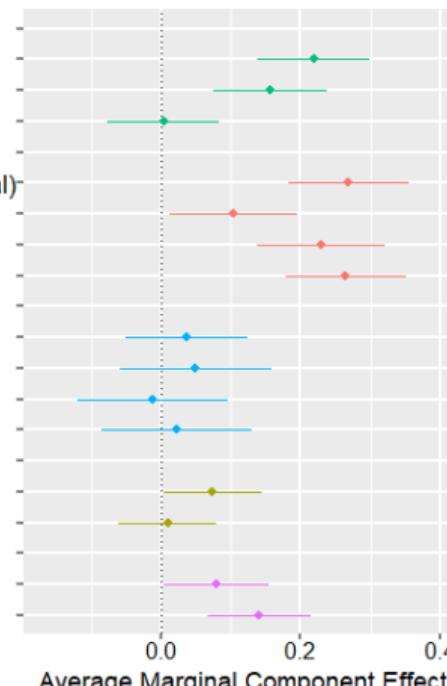
Reformar la ley electoral para hacer el Senado más proporcional

Abolición de la prostitución

## Sistema fiscal:

Plan de redistribución nacional

Aumentar los impuestos sobre las rentas superiores a 100.000 euros anuales



“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]

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

It is more prioritized than some planned climate policies, like the ban on thermal cars.

The global tax on millionaires is among the most prioritized measures. It is prioritized as a national wealth tax, if not more.

Most prioritized are better public services and a higher minimum wage.

## Prioritization

[Go back](#)

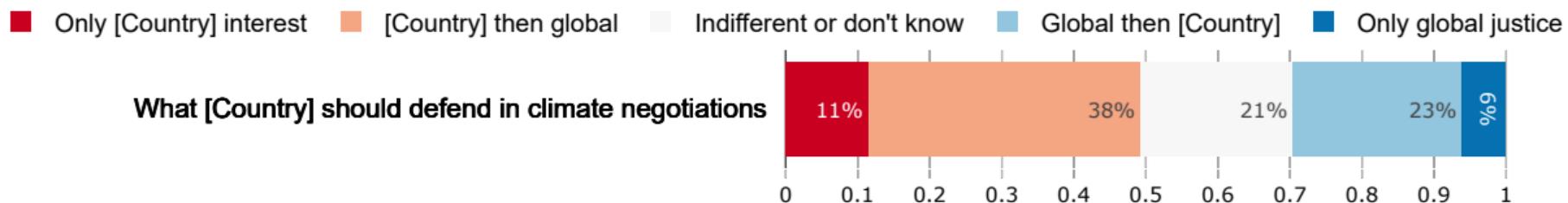
Mean number of points

	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

# International climate negotiations

[» Go back](#)

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

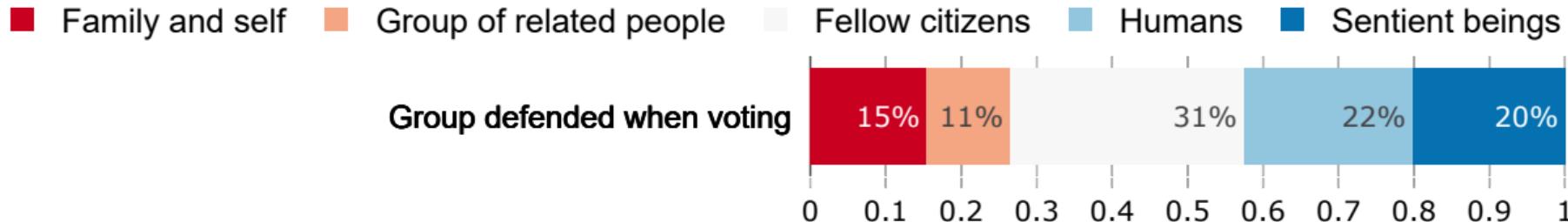


The typical answer is to defend one's country's "interests, to the extent it respects global justice."  
Only one eighth wants to defend one's country's "interests, even if it goes against global justice."

# Group defended

[Go back](#)

What group do you defend when you vote?



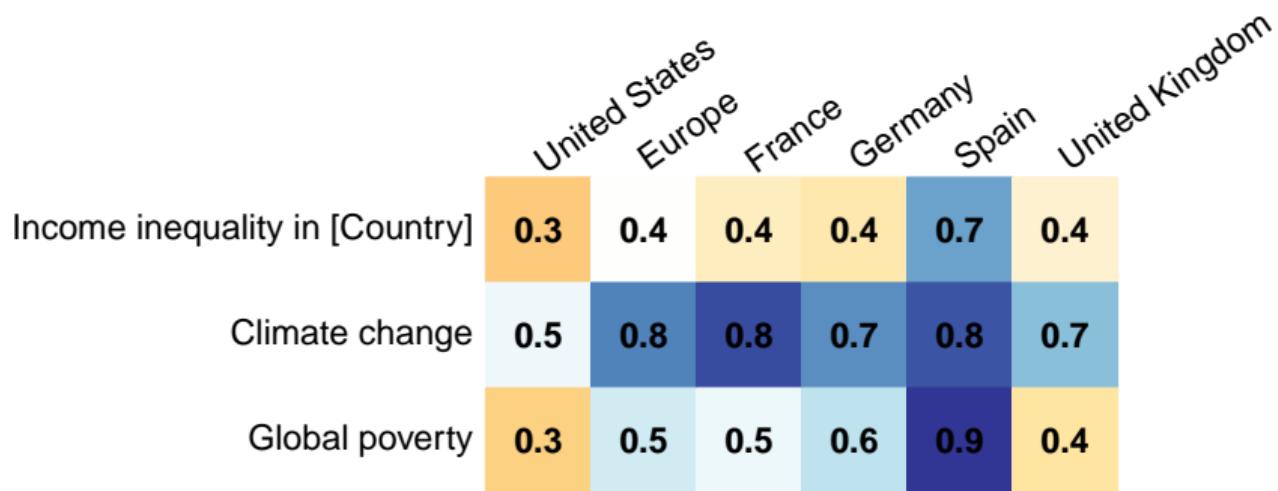
The most defended group is one's fellow citizens.

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

# Biggest issues

[Go back](#)

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

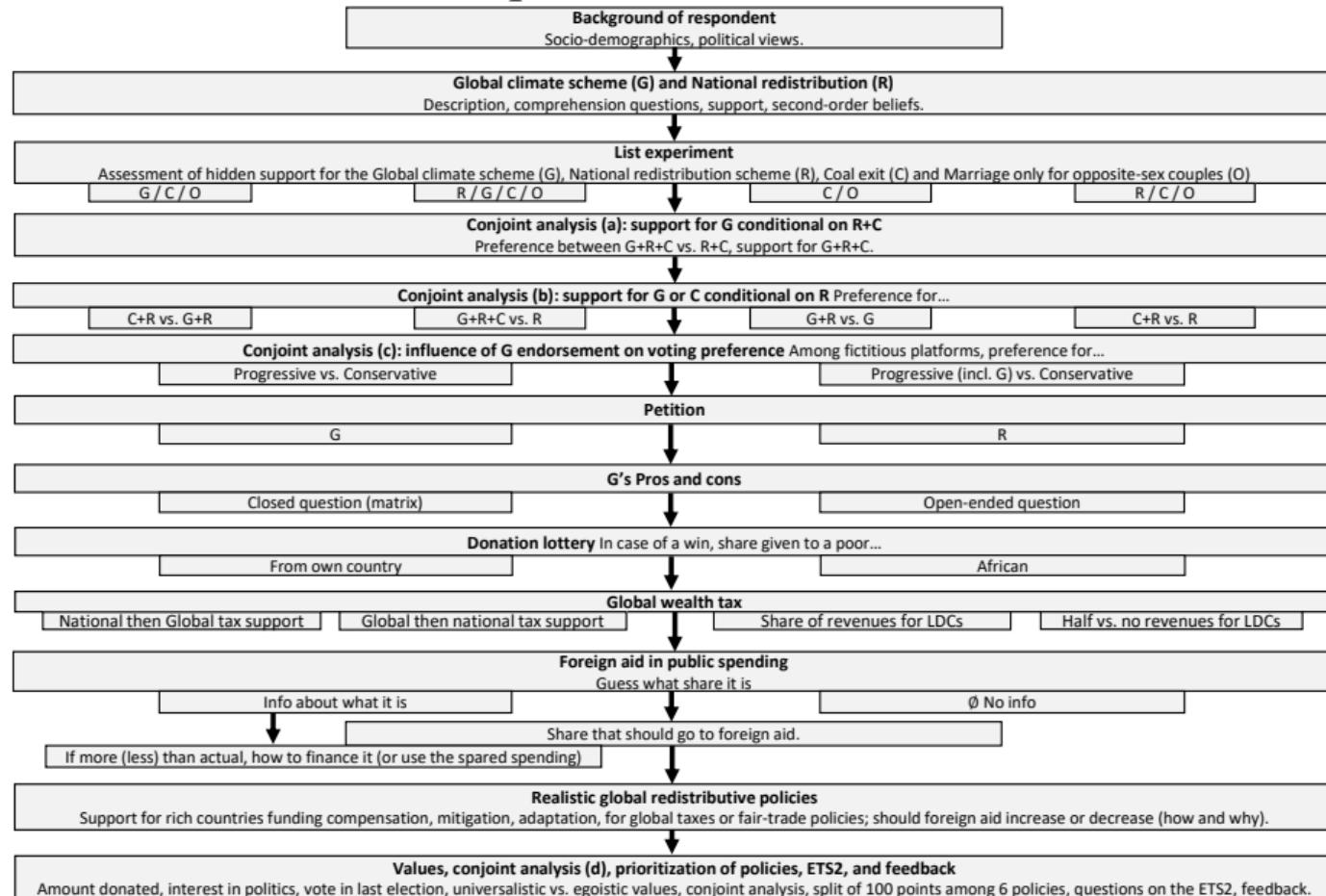


People rank these the importance of these 3 issues as follows:

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

# Eu questionnaire

[Go back](#)



# Descriptive statistics

# Main attitudes by vote

[» Go back](#)

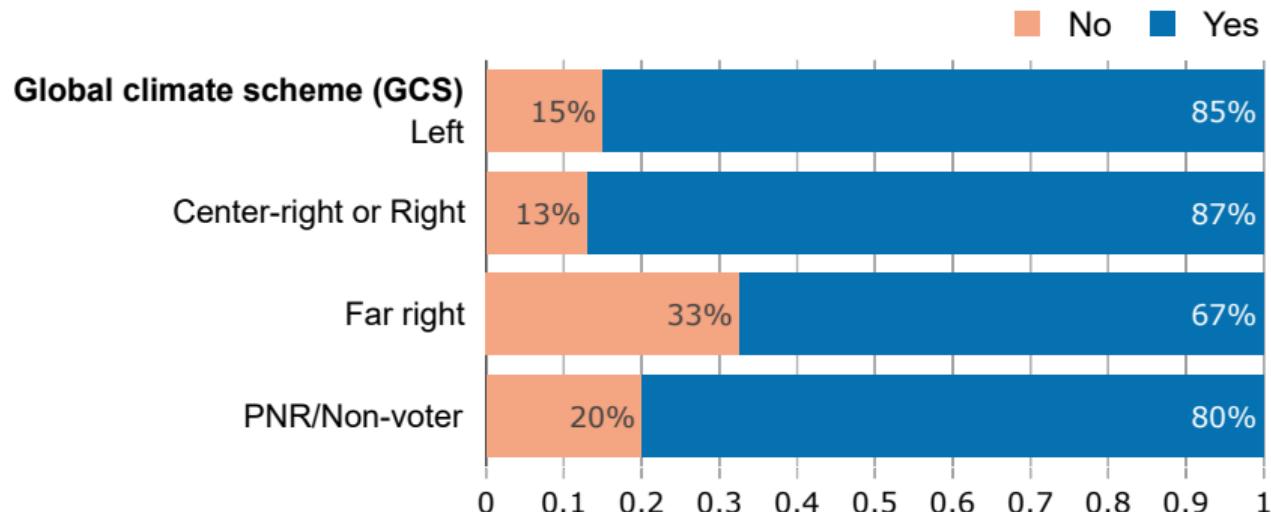
Main attitudes by vote (“Right” spans from Center-right to Far right). (Relative support in percent)

	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

# Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

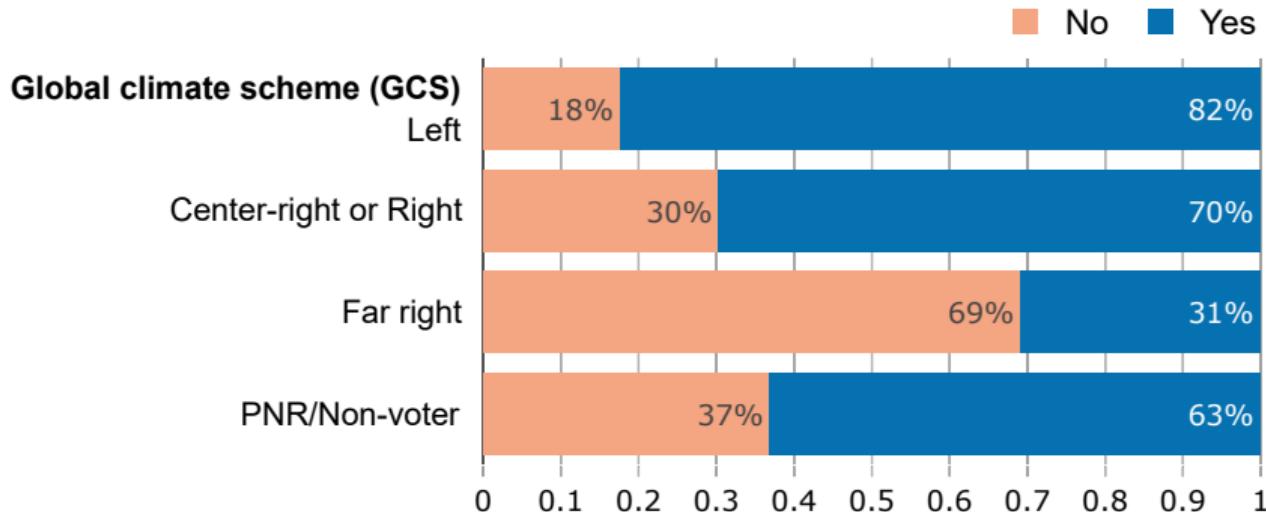
Main attitudes by vote in France



# Main attitudes by vote

[» Go back](#)

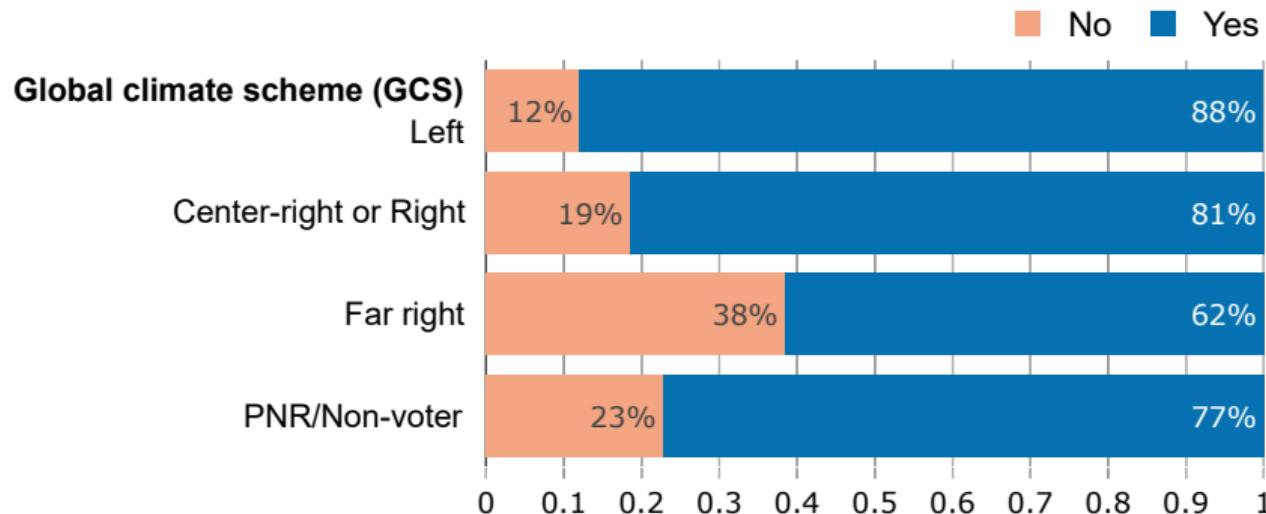
## Main attitudes by vote in Germany



# Main attitudes by vote

[» Go back](#)

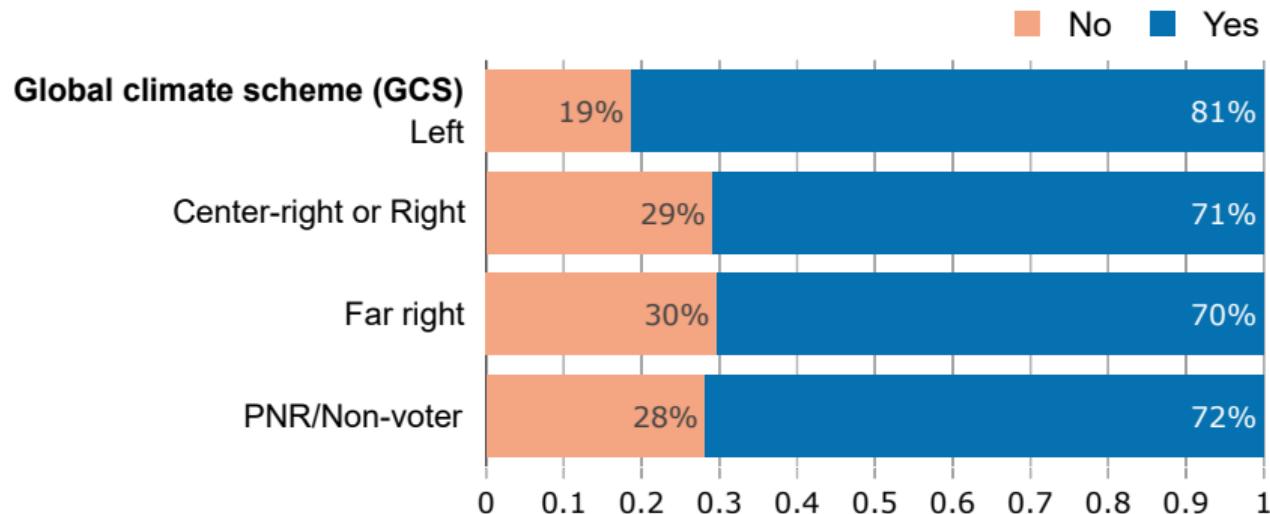
Main attitudes by vote in Spain



# Main attitudes by vote

[Go back](#)

## Main attitudes by vote in the UK



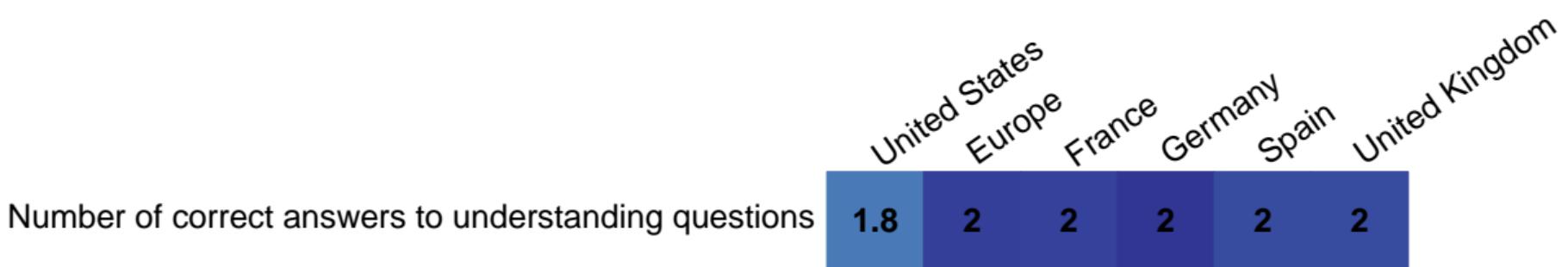
# Comprehension of the policies

Correct answers to comprehension questions (in percent). [▶ Go back](#)

	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

# Comprehension of the policies

Number of correct answers to comprehension questions (mean). [► Go back](#)



Number of correct answers to understanding questions

1.8

2

2

2

2

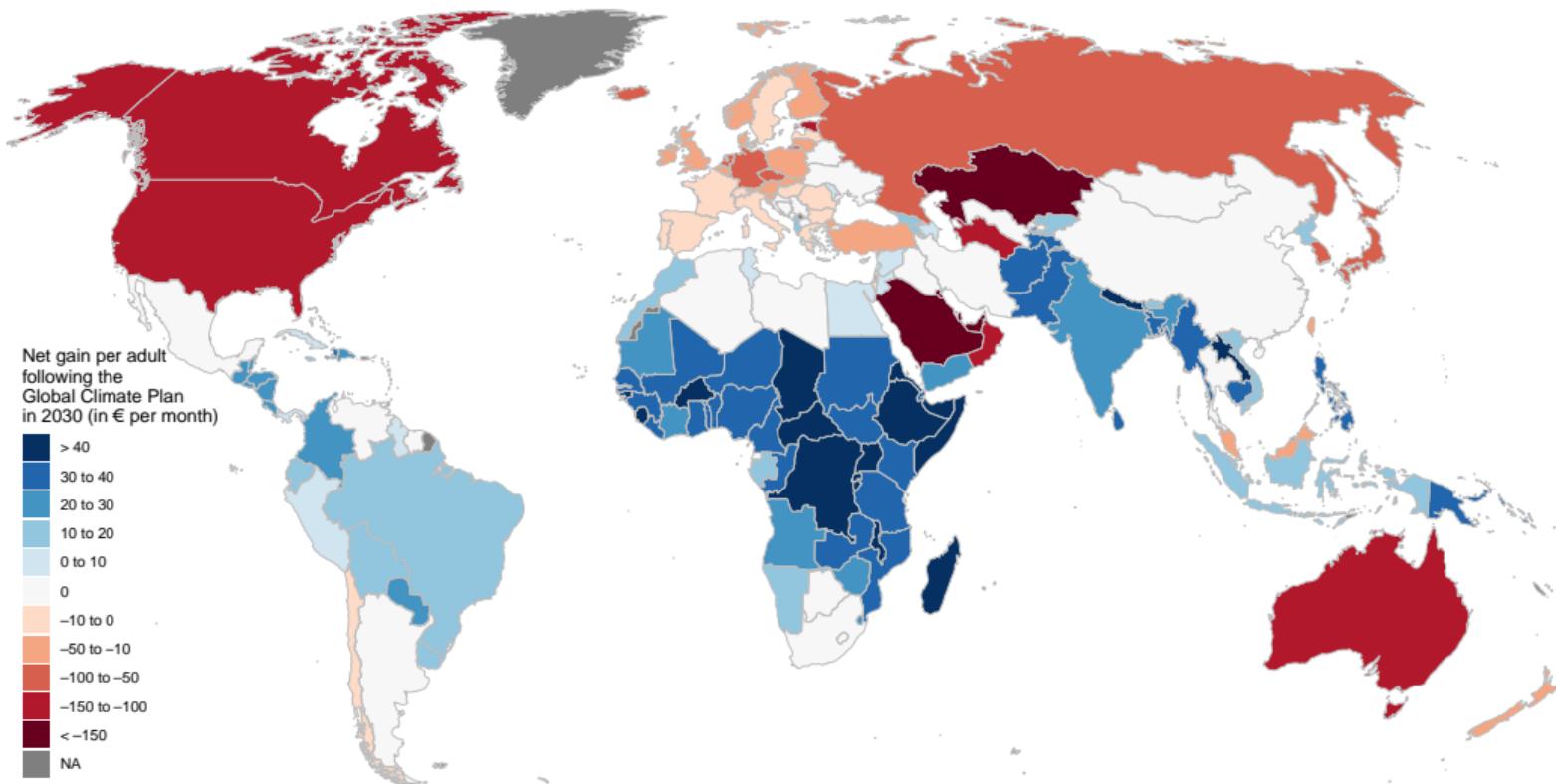
2

# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

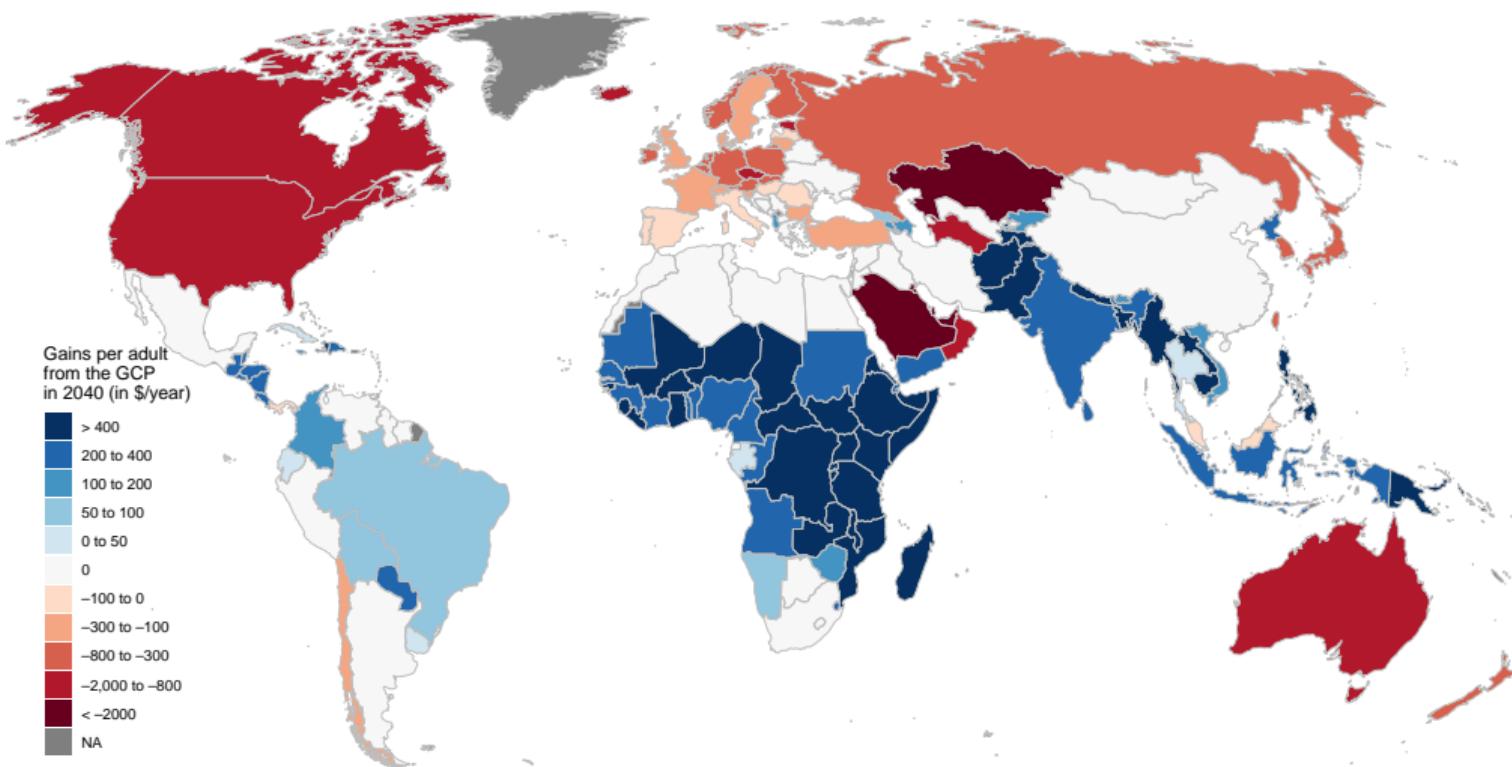
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

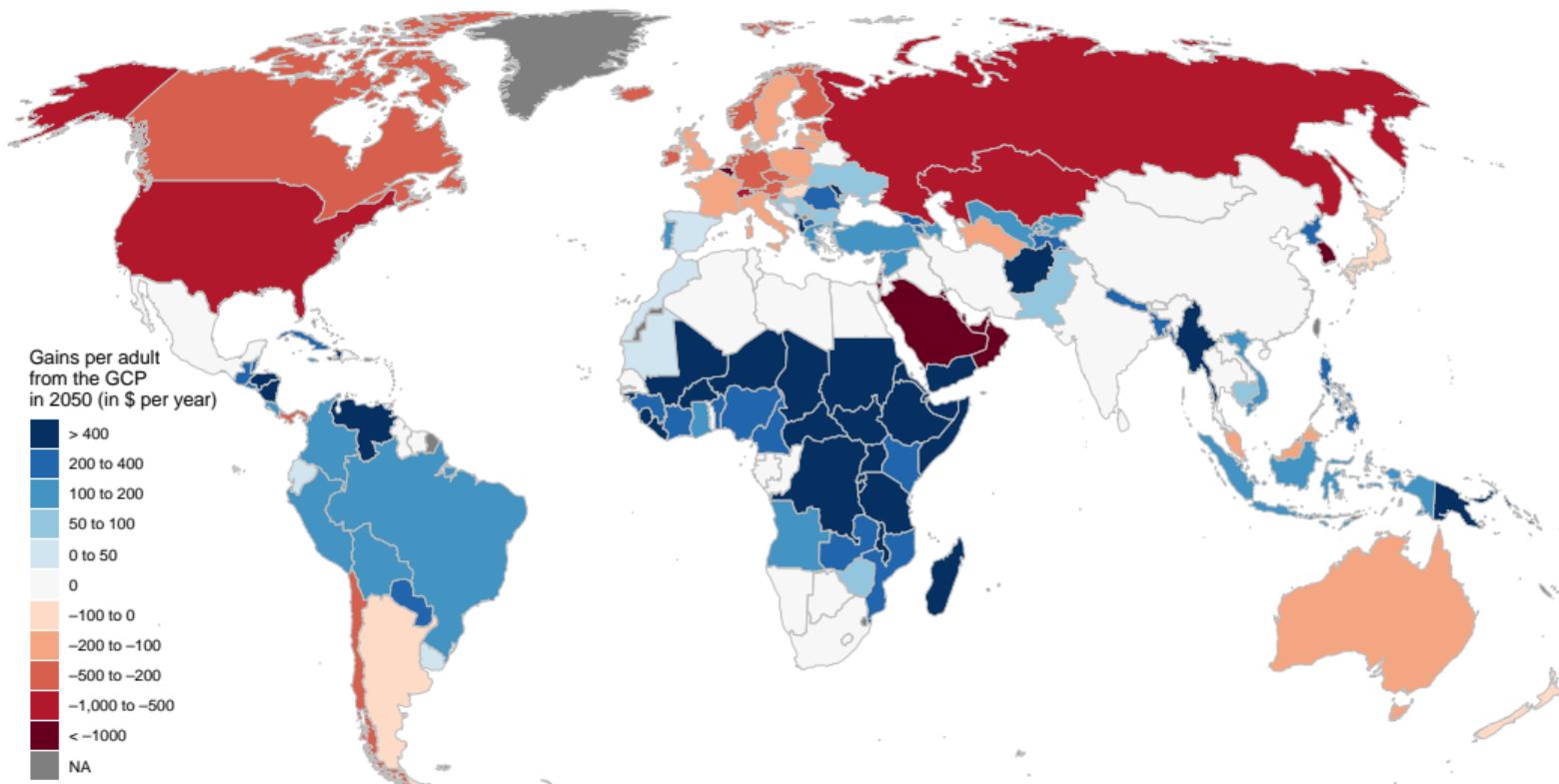
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2040.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

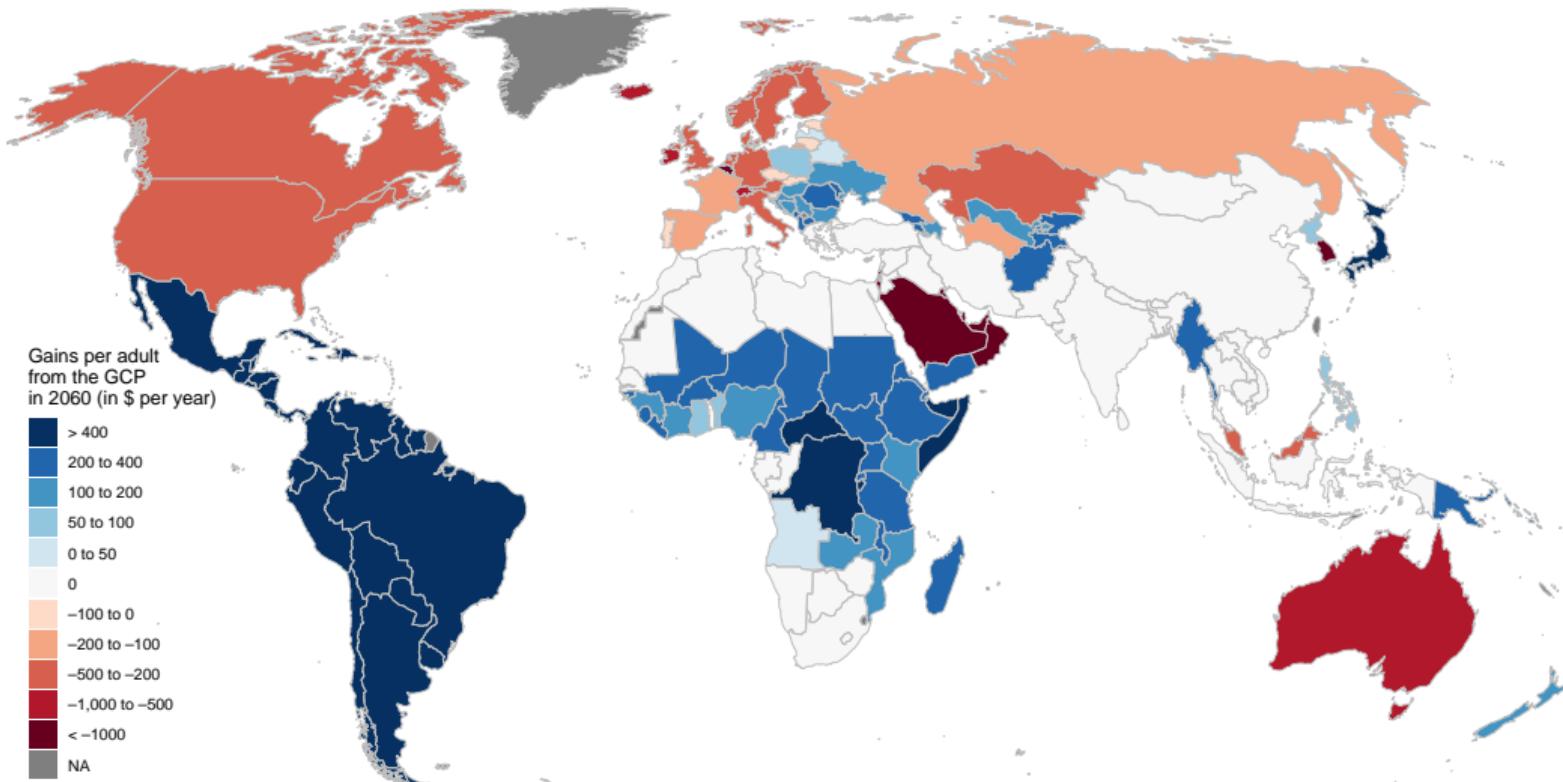
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2050.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

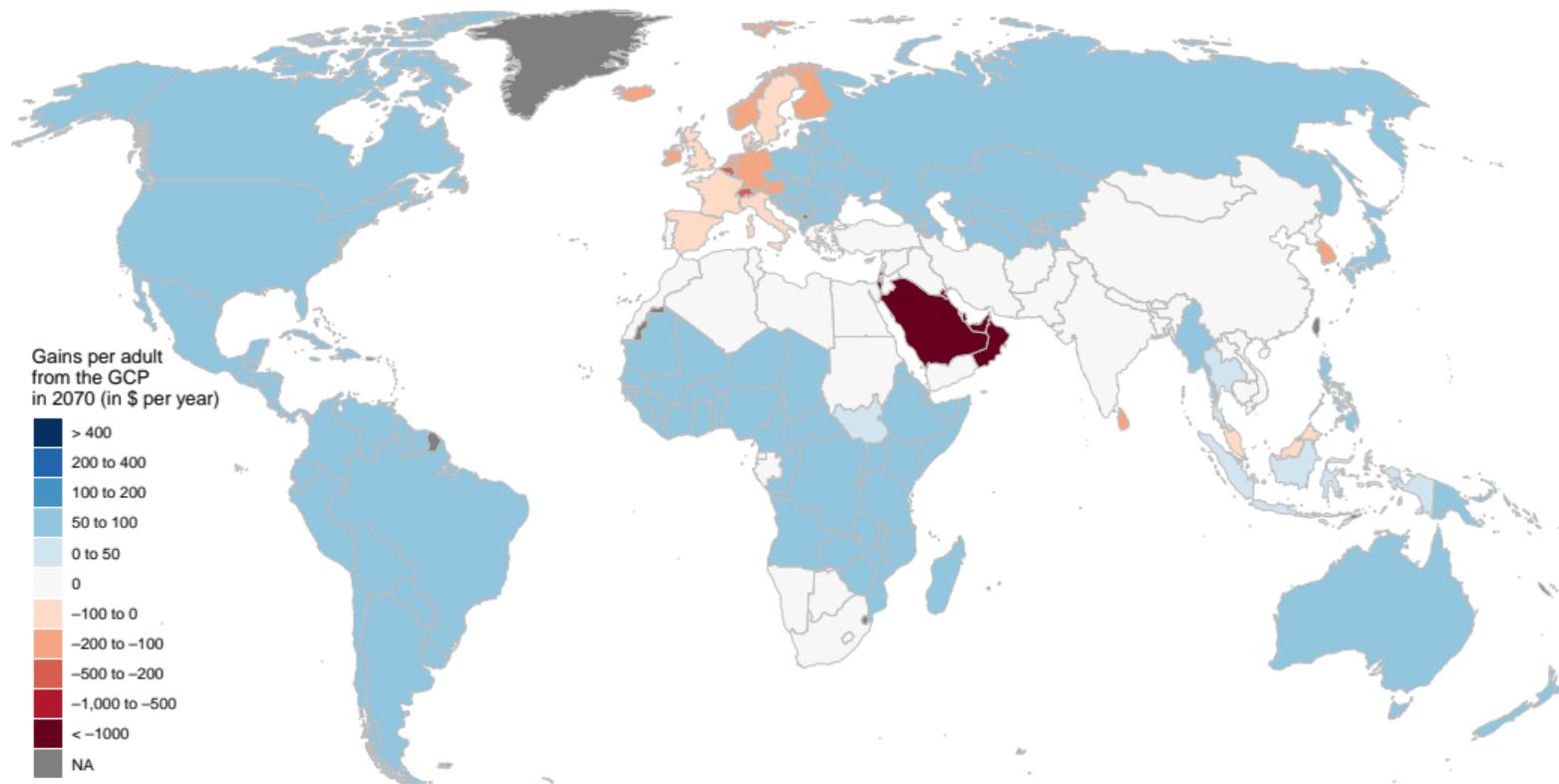
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2060.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2070.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

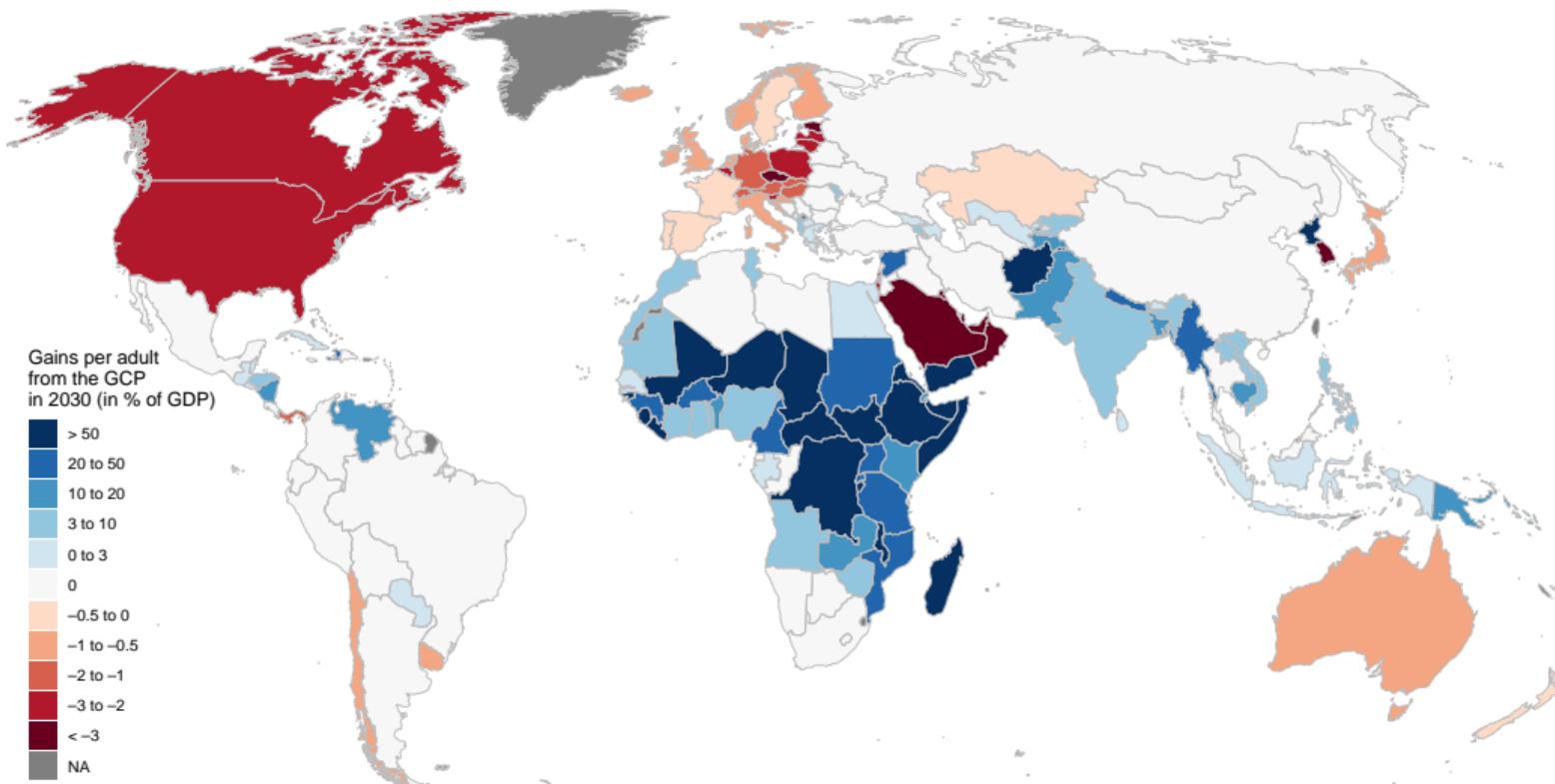
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2080.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

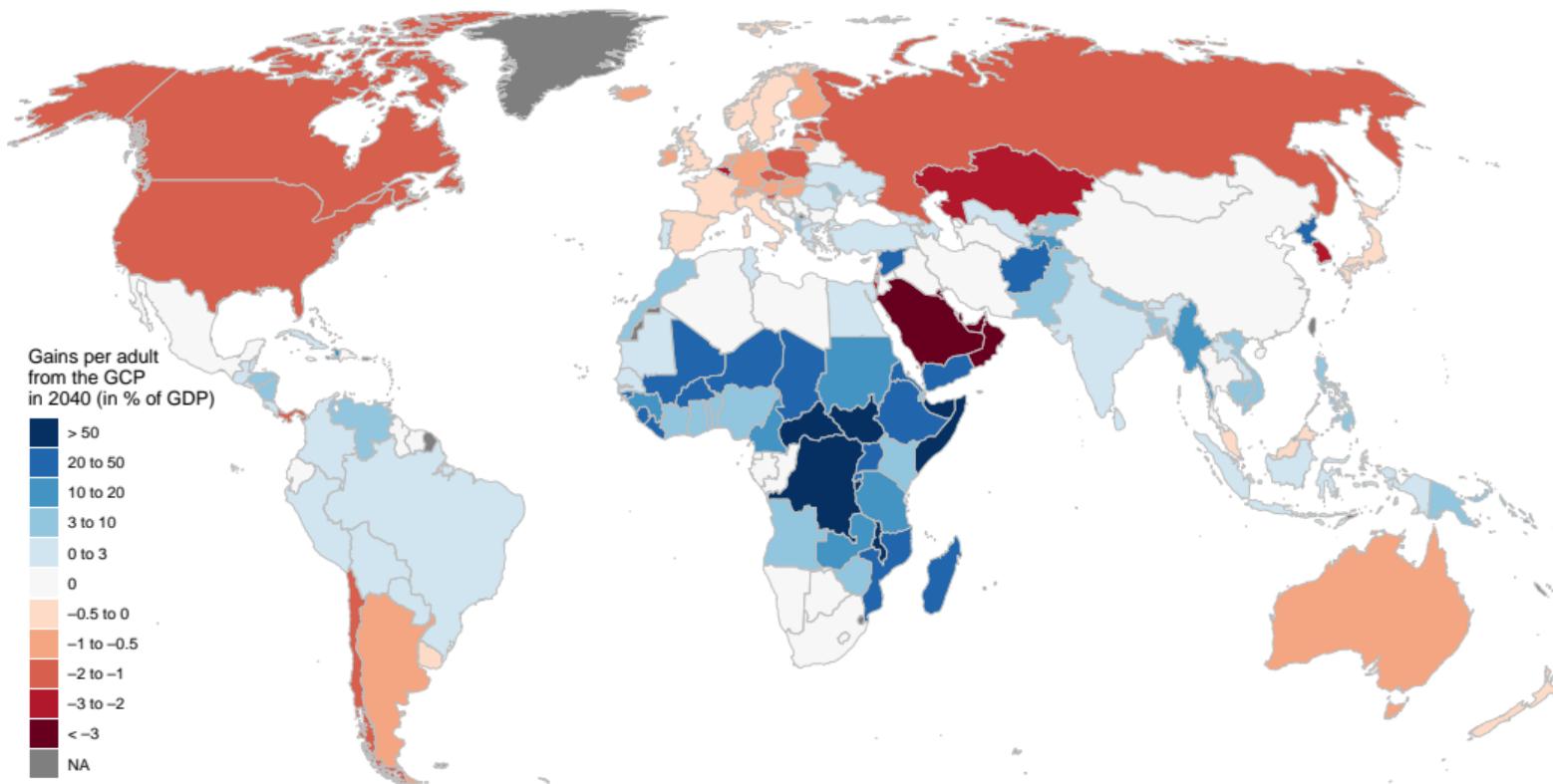
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2030.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

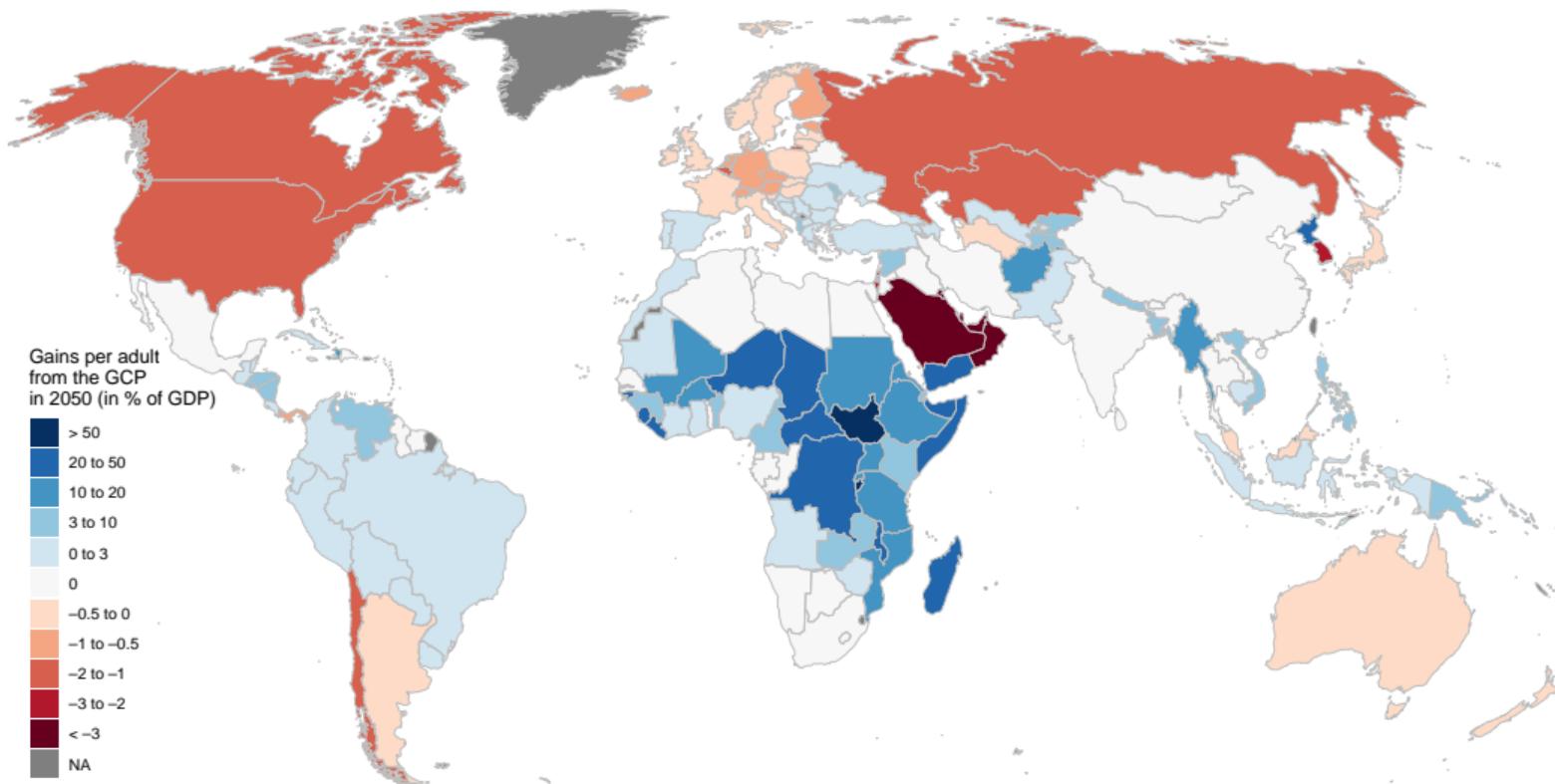
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2040.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

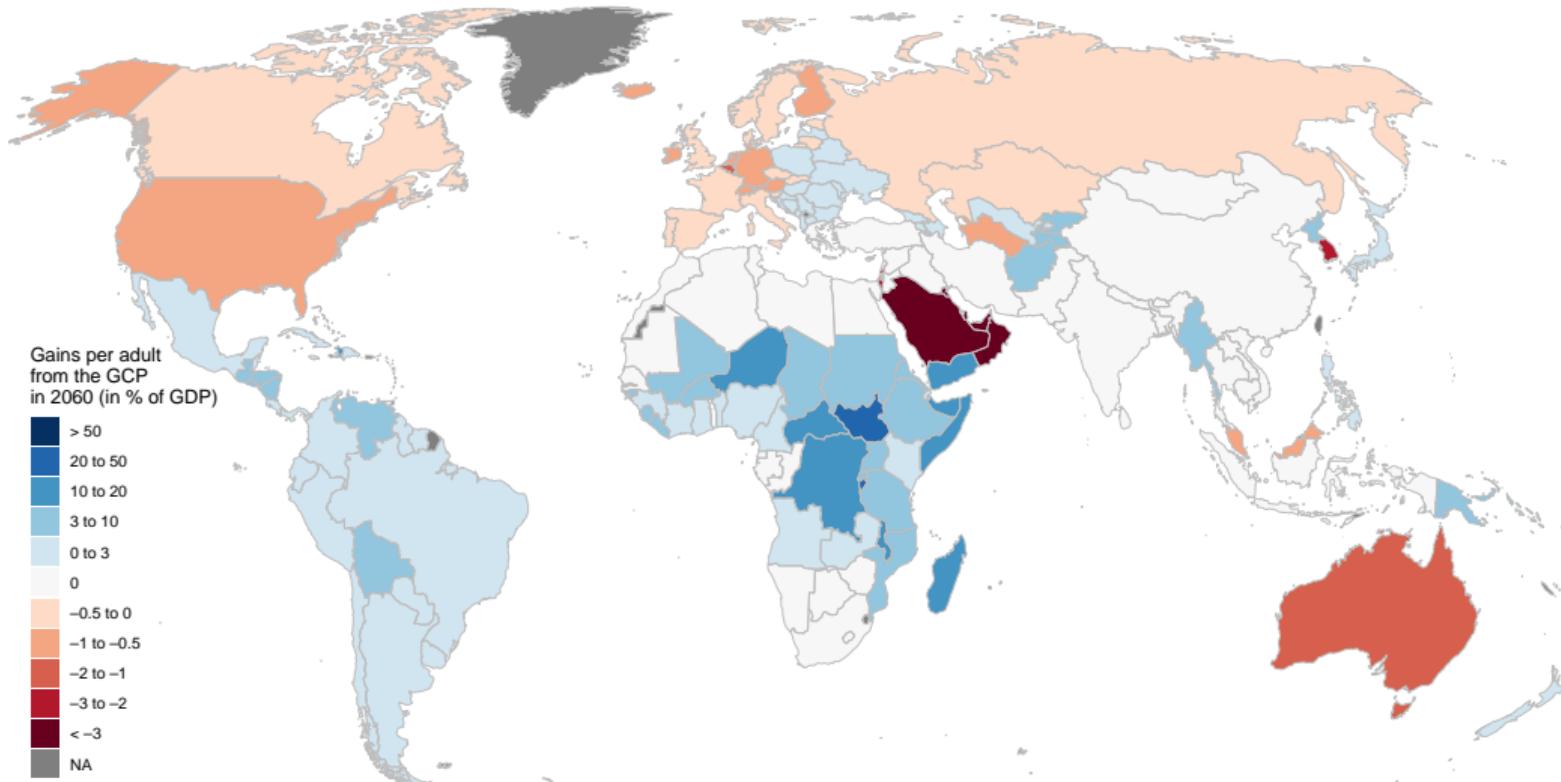
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2050.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

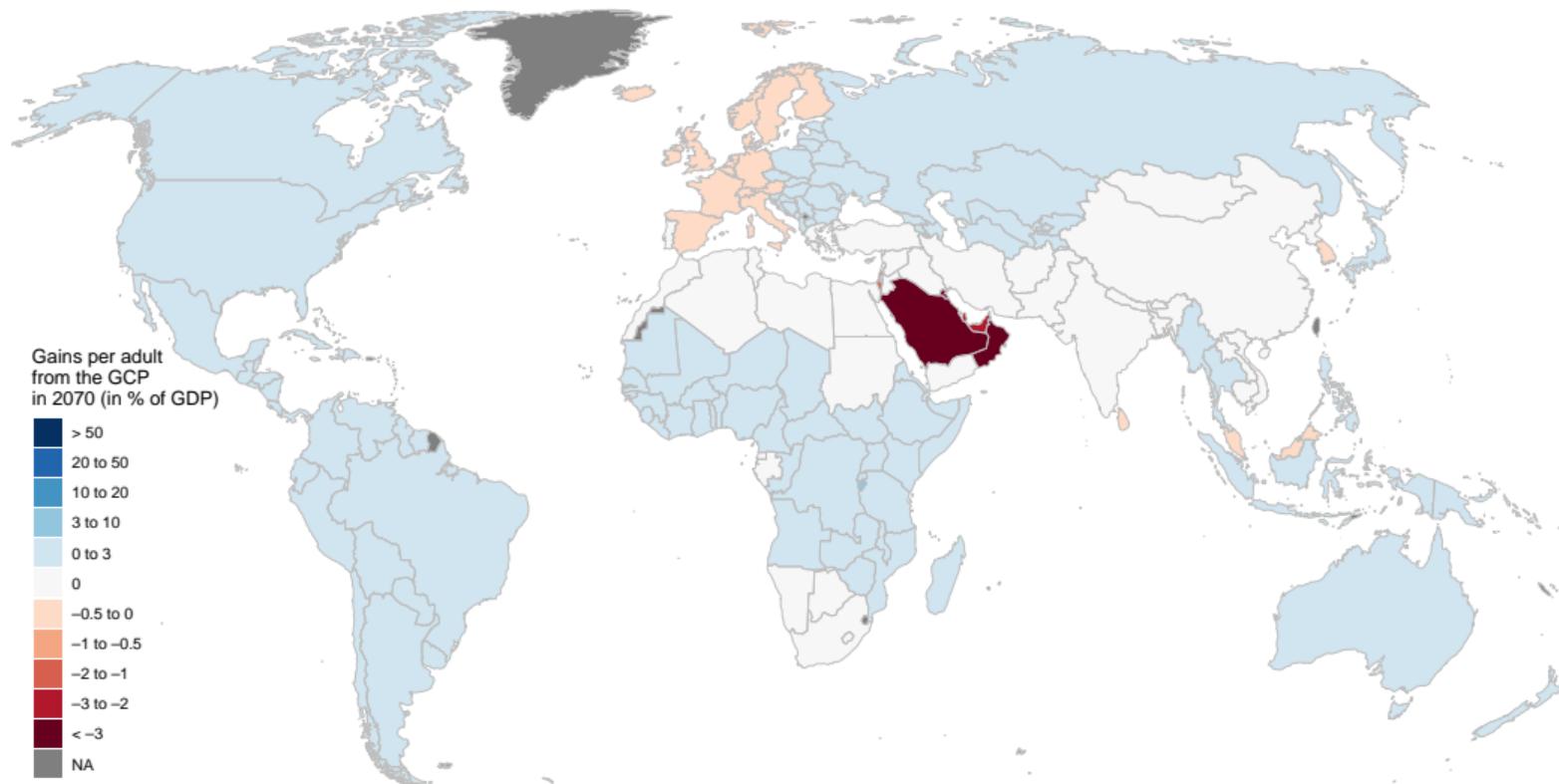
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2060.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[Go back](#)

Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2070.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

[» Go back](#)

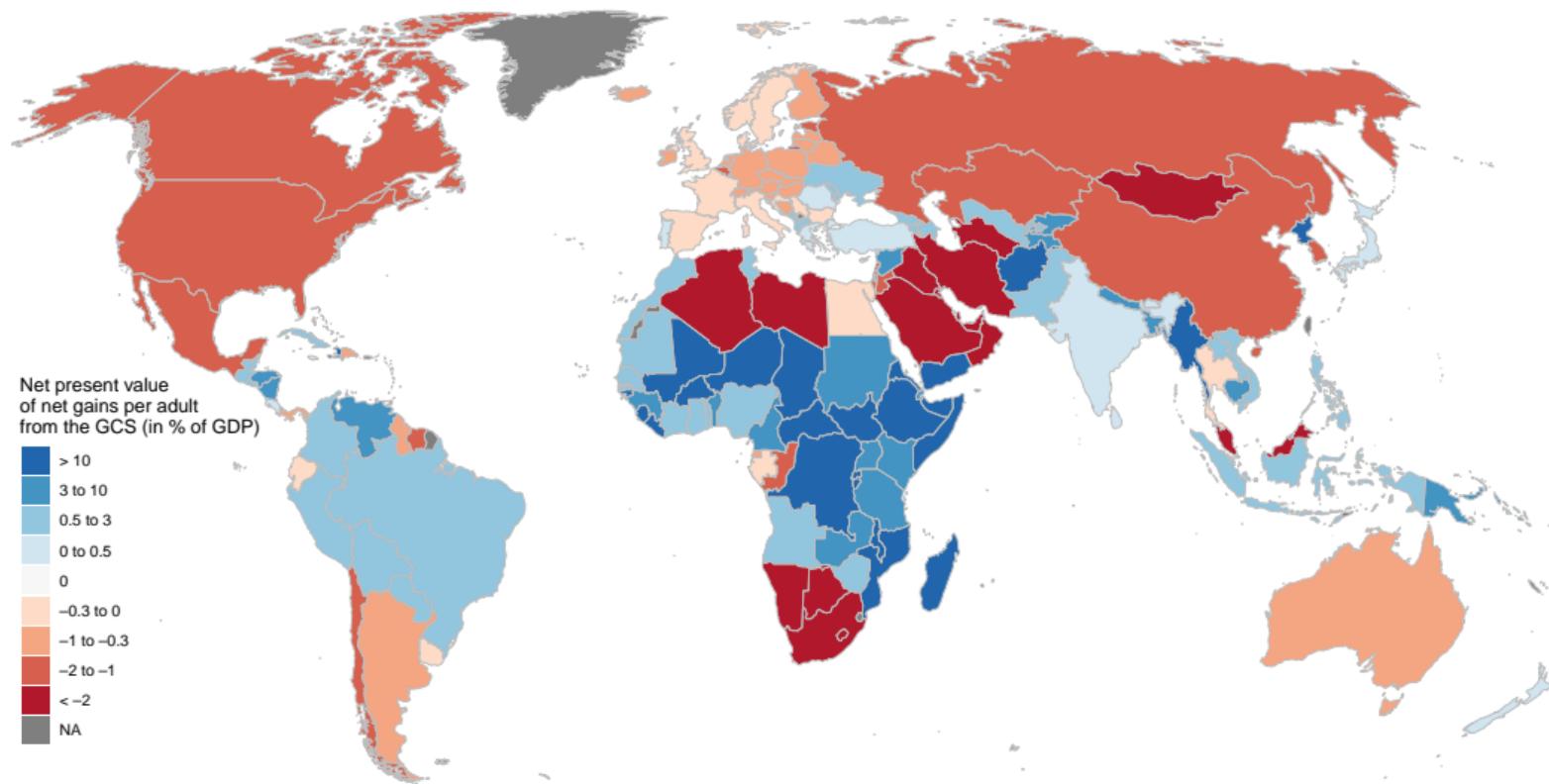
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan in 2080.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

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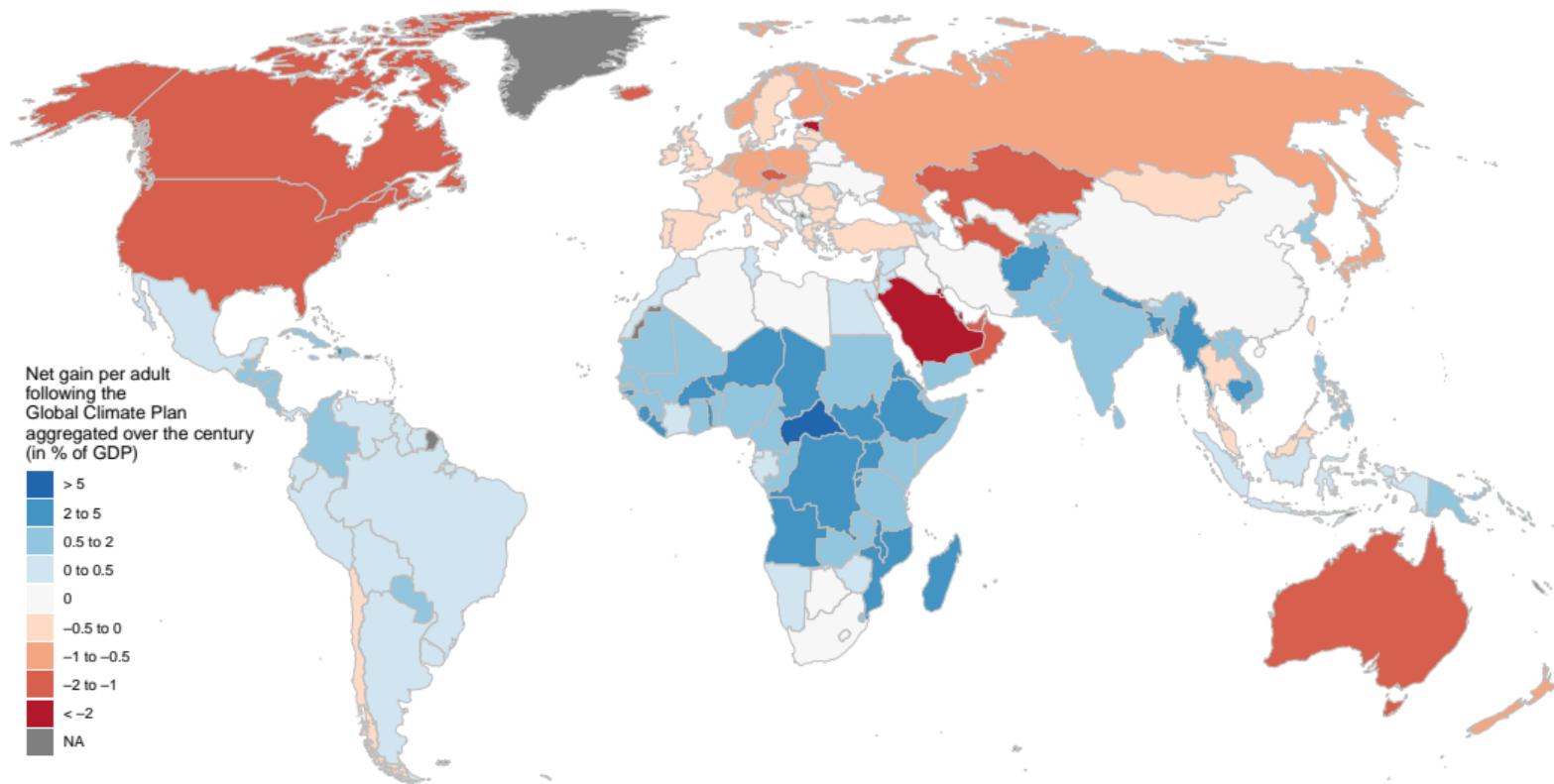
Distributive effects of the Global Climate Scheme.



# Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan

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Distributive effects of the Global Climate Plan.



OECD

# Relative support for national policies

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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
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## Support for Main Climate Policies

Green infrastructure program

Ban on combustion-engine cars

Carbon tax with cash transfers

79	68	77	76	77	58	94	78	82	95	86	78	71
56	50	61	49	39	40	74	59	56	73	62	60	55
56	50	60	45	45	39	72	60	55	79	59	55	52

93	90	98	91	97	94	89	92	87				
81	77	95	86	88	76	70	83	70				
79	70	90	85	89	71	73	73	63				

## Support for Other Climate Policies

Subsidies to low-carbon technologies

Mandatory and subsidized insulation of buildings

Ban on polluting cars in city centers

Funding clean energy in low-income countries

Ban on combustion-engine cars w. alternatives available

Tax on flying (+20%)

Tax on fossil fuels (\$45/tCO2)

87	82	86	89	76	84	96	91	91	93	87	90	78
84	86	83	84	81	77	90	83	88	95	86	89	71
75	70	76	78	69	67	89	85	78	71	73	80	65
75	68	71	75	67	69	91	80	80	80	81	72	66
64	52	63	53	59	53	81	72	61	80	65	66	62
57	45	58	70	56	64	57	65	59	56	53	59	44
46	45	50	50	38	40	49	47	37	58	46	53	42

90	86	94	84	94	87	93	90	90				
90		98								91	87	83
85	78	93	87	96	85	82	72	78				
89	77	93	88	93	92	90	83	91				
82	73	96	84	87	78	77	82	77				
66	48	86	78	82	63	52	57	49				
61	43	81	78	71	50	48	72	37				

## Support for Carbon Tax With:

Subsidies to low-carbon tech.

Funding environmental infrastructures

Reduction in personal income taxes

Reduction in the public deficit

Cash transfers to the poorest households

Tax rebates for the most affected firms

Cash transfers to constrained households

Reduction in corporate income taxes

Equal cash transfers to all households

85	80	67	84	83	88	94	92	89	97	86	87	75
85	80	68	83	88	83	92	90	87	94	88	85	77
79	73	66	60	80	80	92	88	87	88	83	76	69
78	74	61	67	79	73	90	80	82	83	86	78	74
71	70	64	60	71	69	87	75	65	78	75	77	62
71	64	61	59	71	53	89	75	80	86	74	68	63
70	70	59	58	73	66	84	71	62	81	74	77	62
55	43	46	40	56	41	82	57	73	74	68	40	42
54	52	52	40	60	46	63	62	55	63	56	50	55

92	93	98	87	97	91	92	88	89				
92	92	96	89	96	92	94	89	90				
87	86	95	84	91	86	85	85	87				
89	84	95	90	96	87	90	81	83				
86	81	97	83	95	77	77	93	79				
82	77	96	85	92	69	83	74	79				
83	77	93	82	92	72	76	86	81				
79	74	88	78	88	82	72	78	64				
77	58	91	81	91	73	70	75	67				

## Support for Cattle-Related Policies

Subsidies on organic and local vegetables

Ban of intensive cattle farming

Removal of subsidies for cattle farming

A high tax on cattle products, doubling beef prices

75	59	69	72	73	74	90	72	89	84	78	70	64
57	44	56	40	69	66	81	31	60	66	54	66	51
49	44	51	43	41	61	65	26	50	52	52	54	55
39	31	36	37	37	53	51	26	43	38	37	42	39

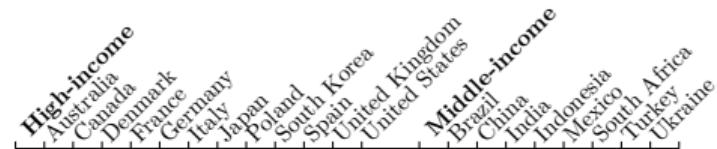
82	77	96		90	72	72	91	69				
51	49	80		61	59	36	42	31				
54	60	78		71	65	38	36	31				
46	41	64		64	45	38	32	29				

Support in high-income countries: Global tax and dividend  $\lesssim$  National tax and dividend  $<$  Global quota and dividend

# Absolute support for global policies

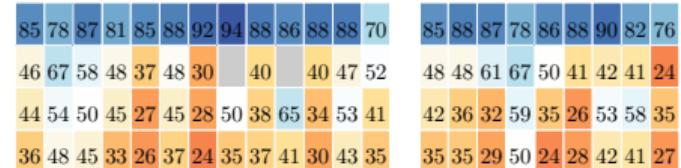
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Share of support (somewhat or strongly) for the main global policies among non-indifferent.



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

Global



Global climate policies (5-Likert scale)

Global tax on millionaires to finance low-income countries

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

Global democratic assembly on climate change

Global tax on GHG financing a global basic income

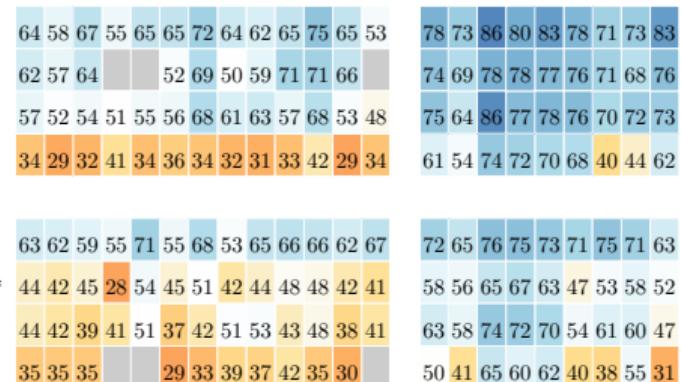
Burden sharing preferences for the global carbon budget (5-Likert)

Emission share should be in proportion to population\*

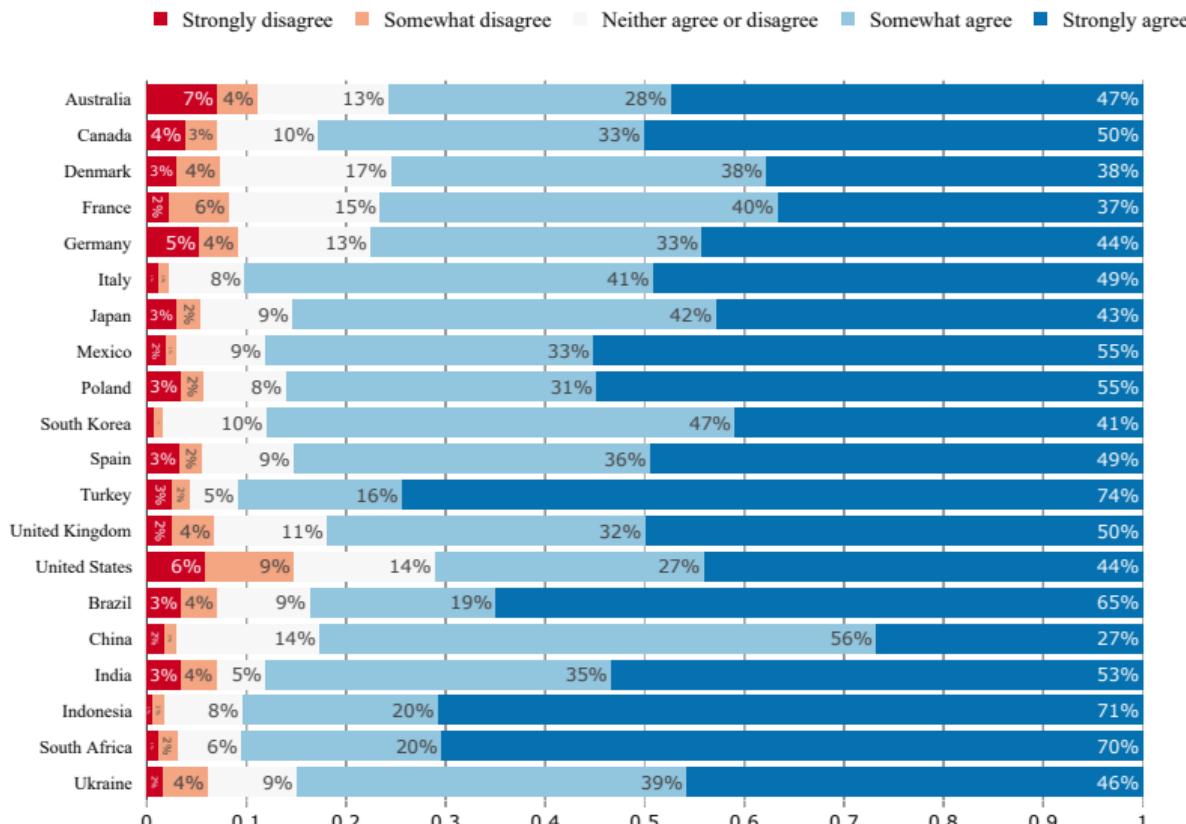
Countries that have emitted more since 1990 should receive a lower share\*

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

Emission share should be in proportion to current emissions



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

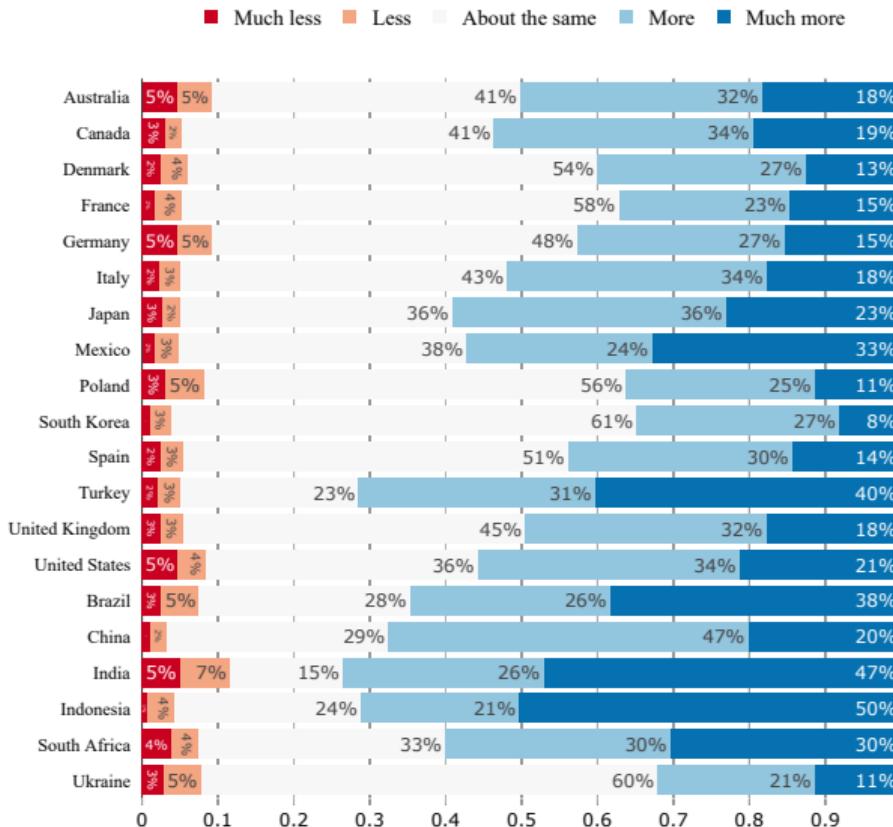


At which level(s) do you think public policies to tackle climate change need to be put in place? (Multiple answers are possible) [► Go back](#)

	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

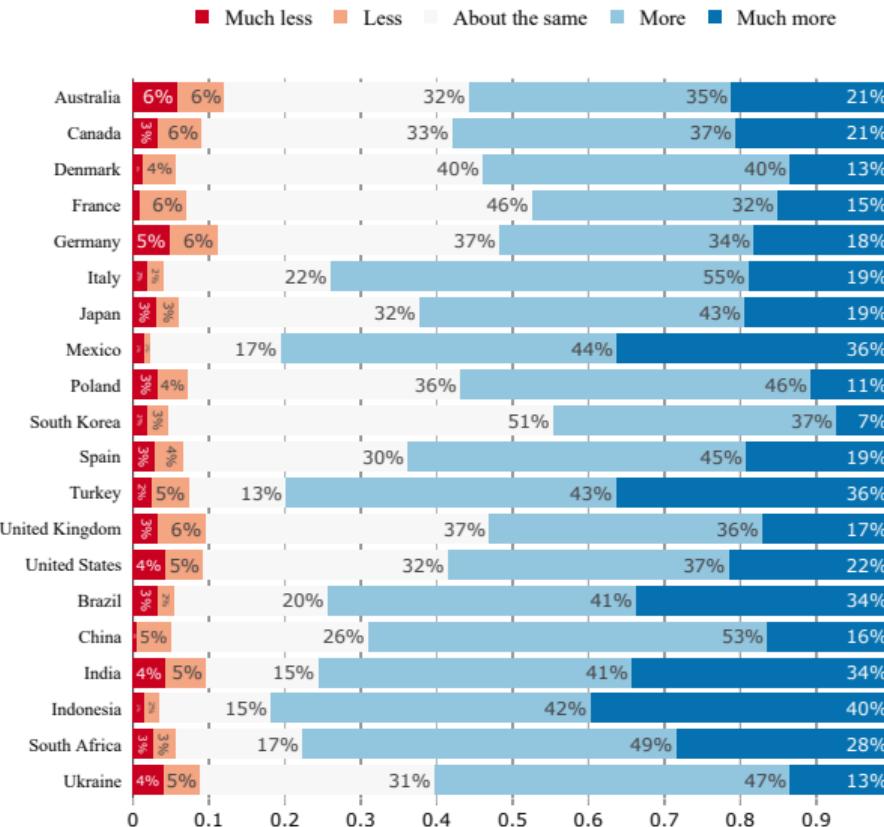
# How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

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



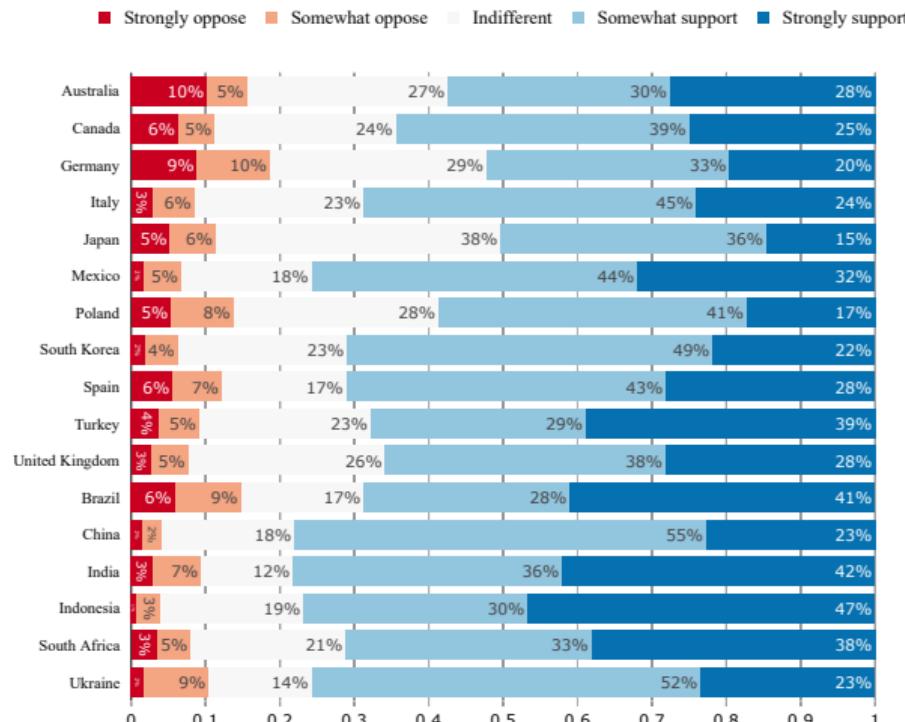
# How should [country] climate policies depend on what other countries do?

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

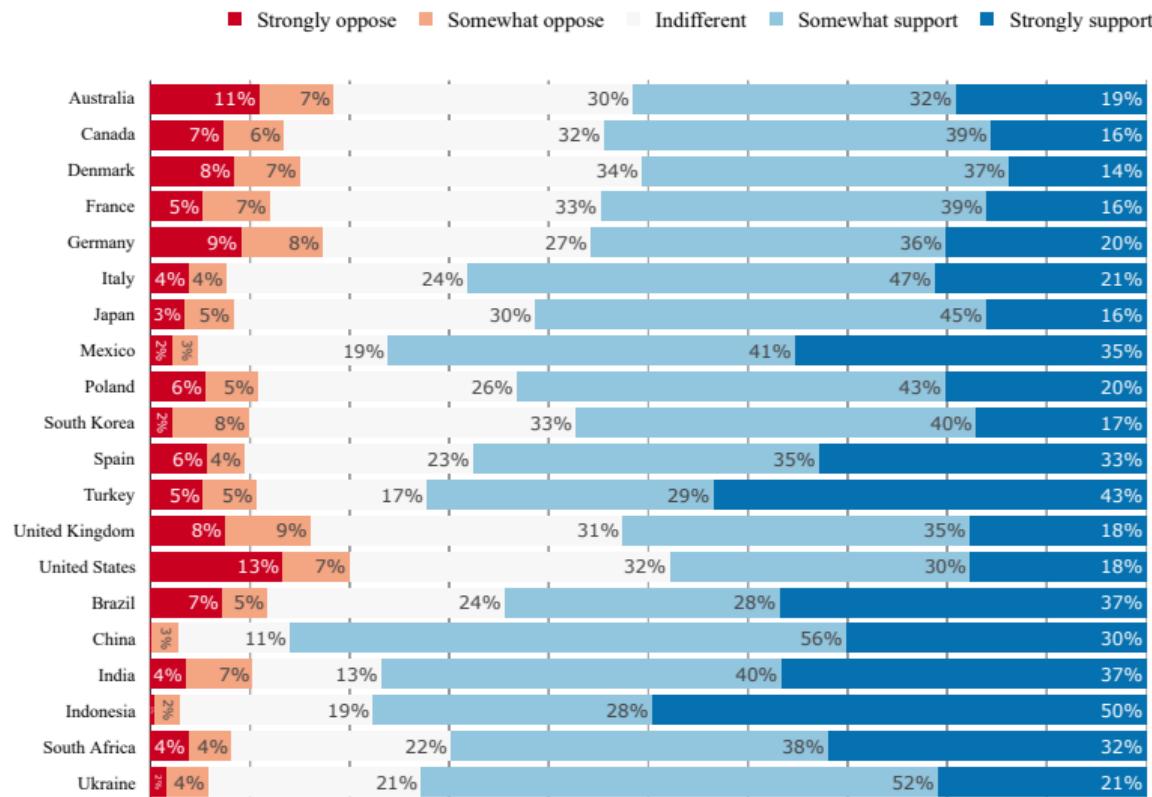
to emit.; The emission share of a country should be proportional to its current emissions, so that those who already emit more have more rights to emit.; Countries that have emitted more over the past decades (from 1990 onwards) should receive a lower emission share, because they have already used some 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](#)

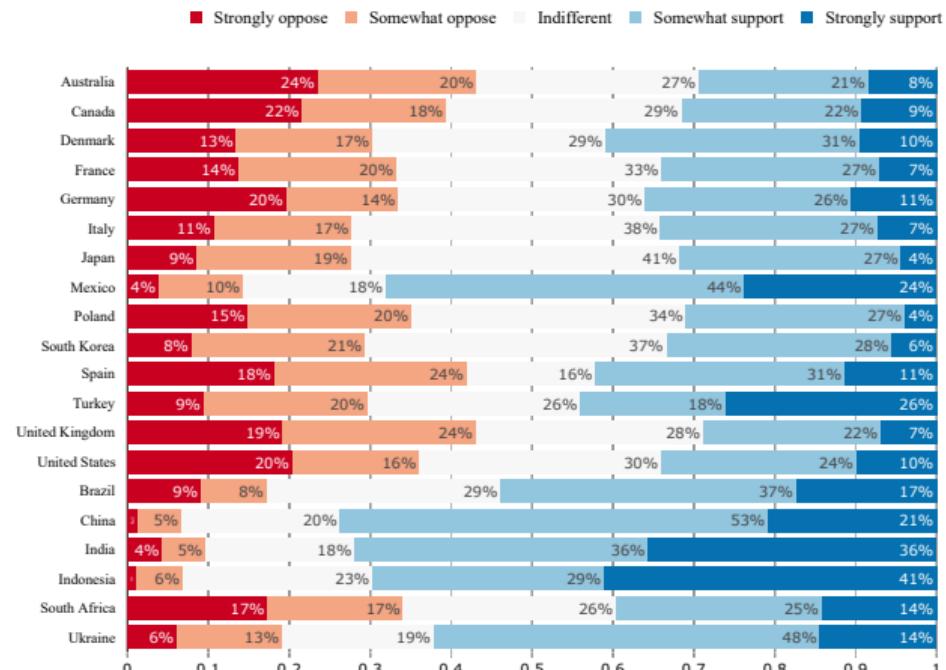
	High-income Australia	Canada	Denmark*	France*	Germany	Italy	Japan	Poland	South Korea	Spain	United Kingdom	United States*	Middle-income	Brazil	China	India	Indonesia	Mexico	South Africa	Turkey	Ukraine	
Emission share should be in proportion to population*	63	62	59	55	71	55	68	53	65	66	66	62	67	72	65	76	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	3135 / 43

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](#)

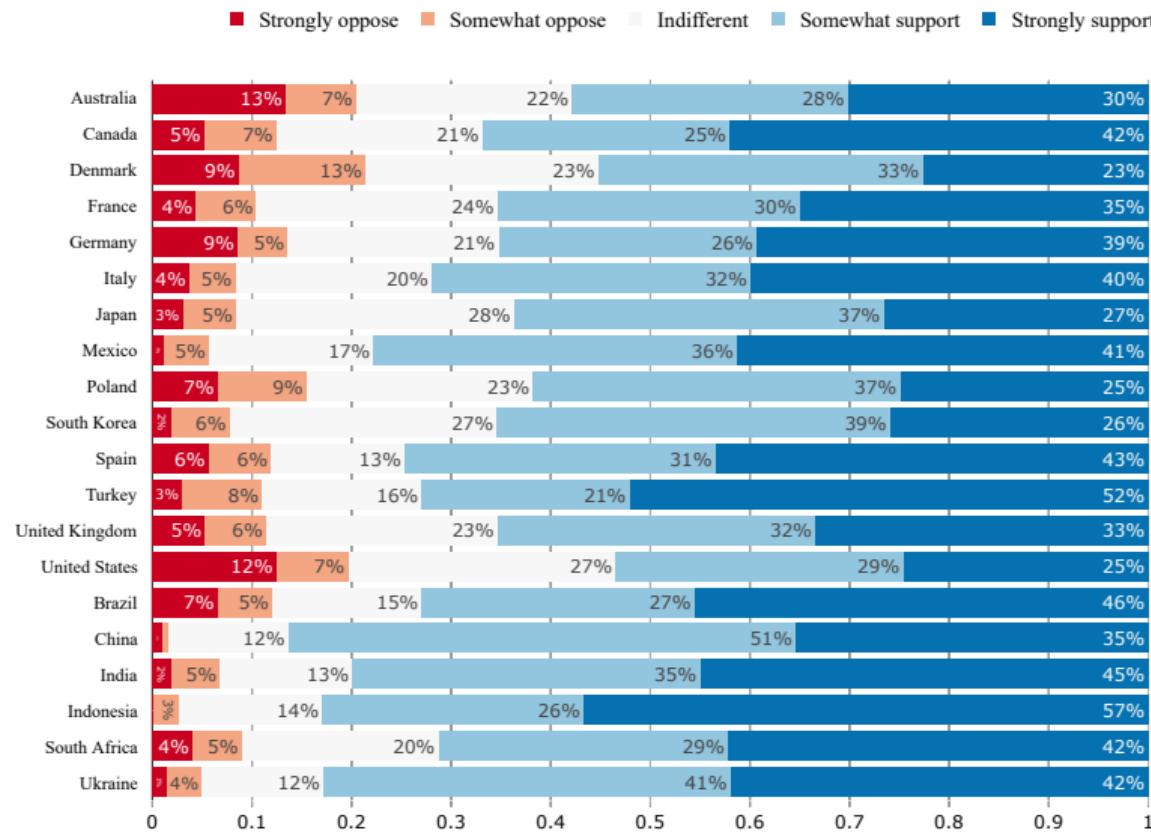


Imagine the following policy: a global tax on greenhouse gas emissions funding a global basic income. Such a policy would progressively raise the price of fossil fuels (for example, the price of gasoline would increase by [40 cents per gallon] in the first years). Higher prices would encourage people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



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](#)



# 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	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	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	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	0.8	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