

Acceptance for global redistribution in high-income countries

Adrien Fabre

CNRS, CIRED

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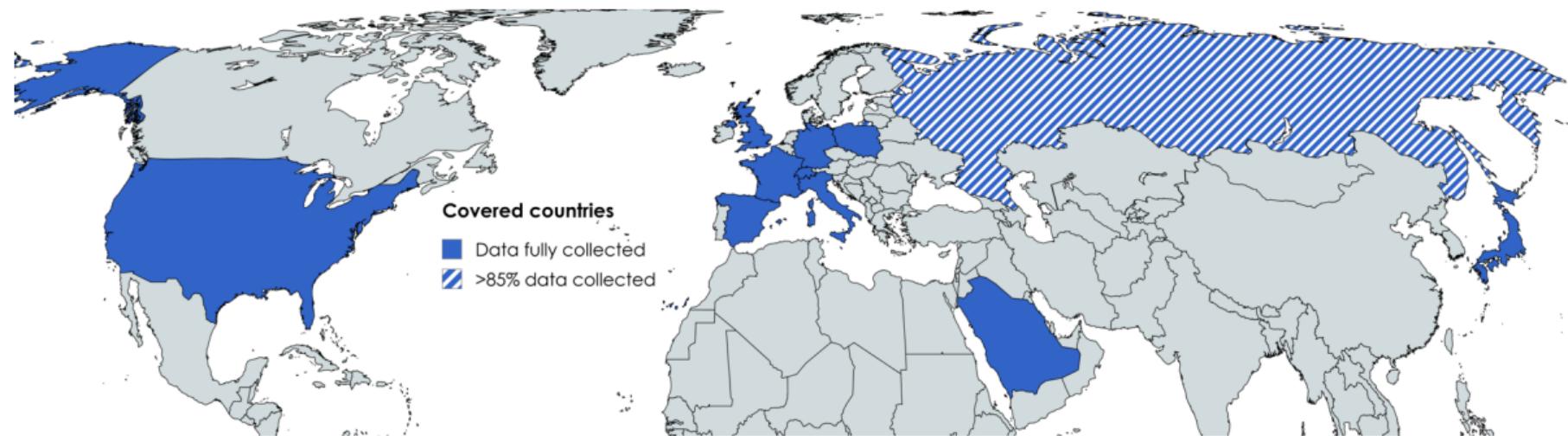
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⇒ Is support for global redistribution robust?

Data



11,865/12,000 respondents (Europe: 5,000; USA: 3,000; Japan: 2,000; Saudi Arabia, Russia: 1,000).

Data collected from April 15 to July 3, 2025; except in Russia: ongoing since September 19.

[Representative](#) along: gender, age, income, education, urbanicity, region. [Representativeness tables](#)

[Results on control group](#), weighted using quota variables and aggregated with country population.

Median duration: 17 min. Inattentive or fast respondents excluded.

Analysis and hypotheses pre-registered.

Prioritization

Open-ended fields

(a) What are your main concerns these days?



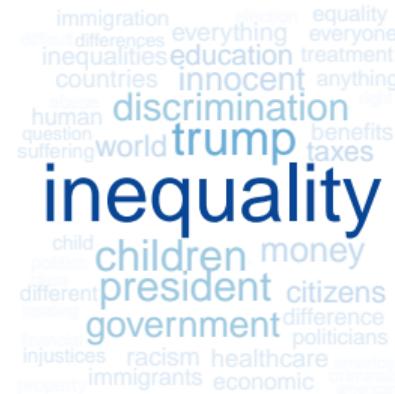
(c) Can you name an issue that is important to you but is neglected in the public debate?



(b) What are your needs or wishes?



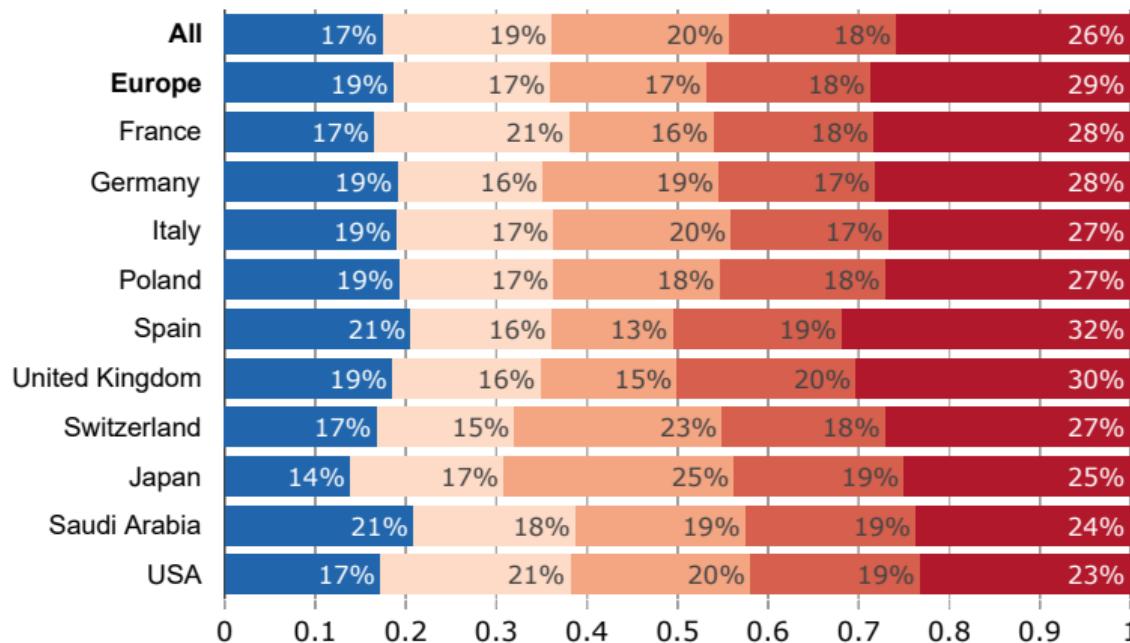
(d) What according to you is the greatest injustice of all?



Revenue split

How should revenue from a global tax on millionaires be allocated? (in %)

- Global: Education, Healthcare and Renewable energy in low-income countries
- Domestic: Reduction of the deficit
- Domestic: Reduction in the income tax
- Domestic: Social welfare programs
- Domestic: Education and Healthcare



Conjoint analysis, in the U.S. ➤ Other countries

Climate policy:

Rejoin the Paris Agreement

Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land

Economic issues:

Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion

Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour

Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Negotiate an immediate ceasefire in Ukraine, recognize new Russian territories and withdraw support to Ukraine

Social issues:

Enhance border security and limit immigration

Ensure nationwide access to abortion as a constitutional right

Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico

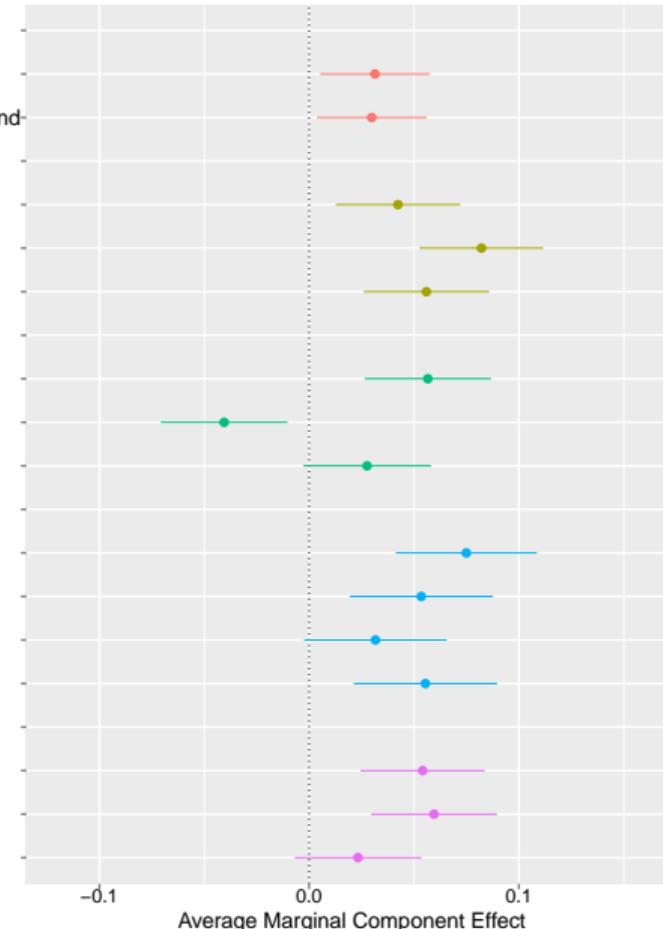
No immunity for crimes committed by a former president

Tax system:

Repeal all Trump import tariff increases

Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million

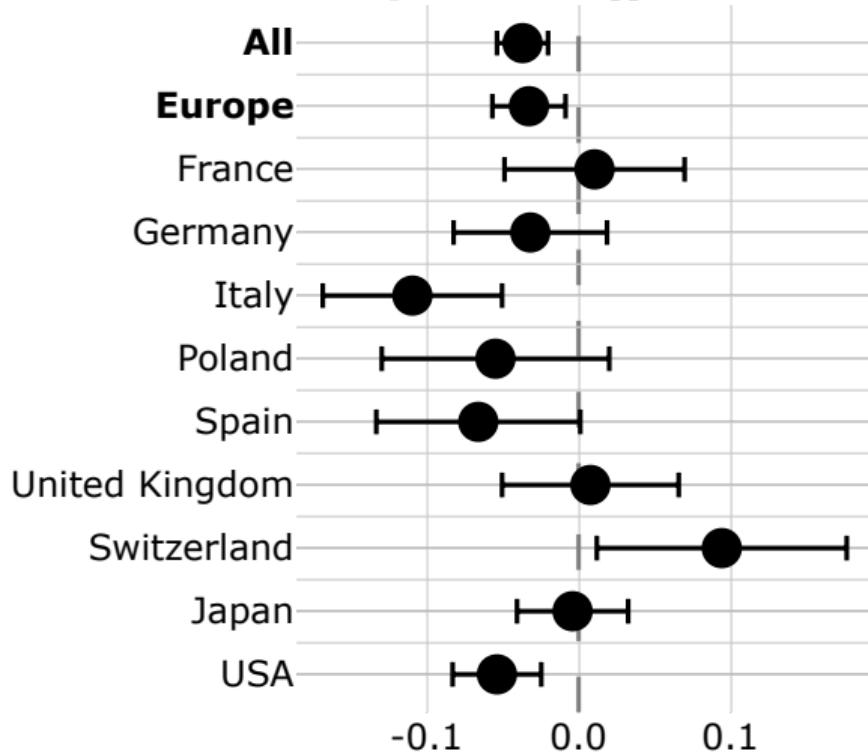
Extend the Trump tax cuts



Conjoint analysis

Effect on the likelihood that a political program is preferred of containing the following policy

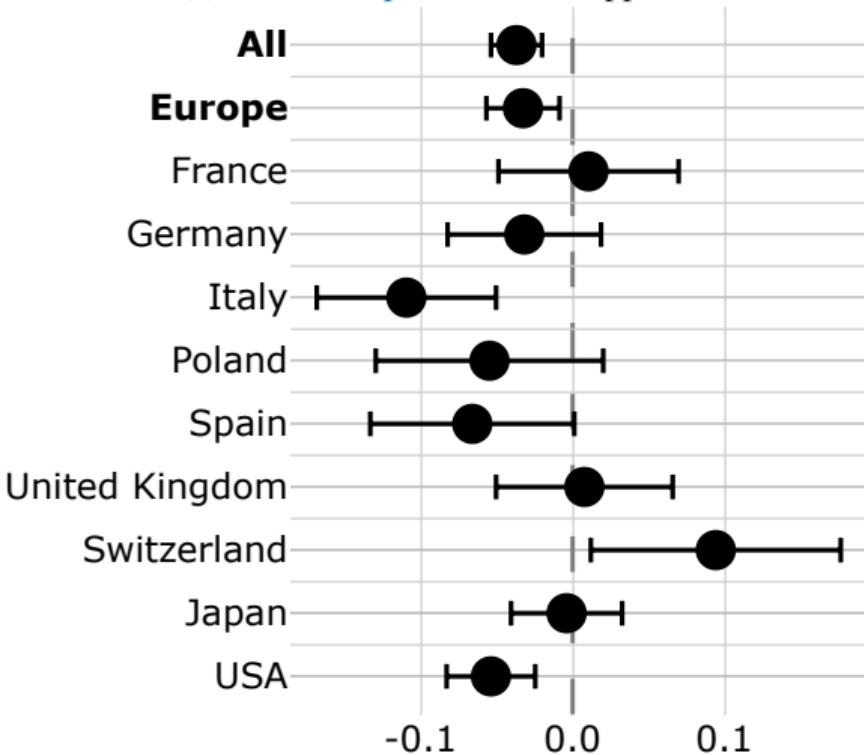
(a) Cut development aid: -4 pp***



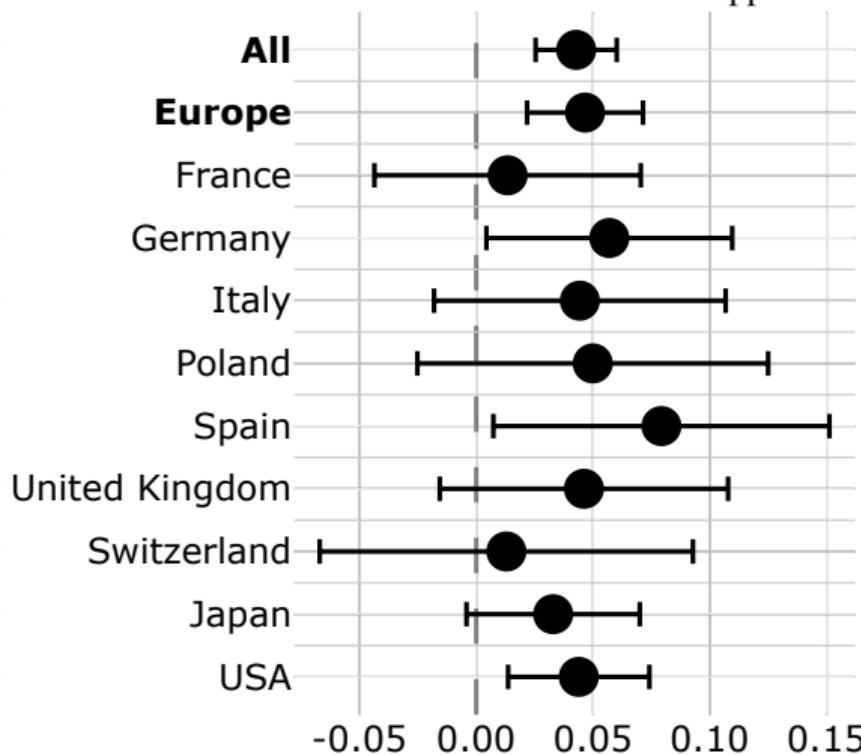
Conjoint analysis

Effect on the likelihood that a political program is preferred of containing the following policy

(a) Cut development aid: -4 pp^{***}



(b) International tax on millionaires with 30% financing health and education in low-income countries: $+4 \text{ pp}^{***}$



Robustness

Plausible global policies

Share of (somewhat or strong) *support* among non-*indifferent* answers.

| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Russia | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Minimum tax of 2% on billionaires' wealth, in voluntary countries | 81 | 84 | 87 | 83 | 89 | 79 | 81 | 85 | 77 | 81 | 79 | 86 | 77 |
| Bridgetown initiative: MDBs expanding sustainable investments in LICs, and at lower interest rates | 79 | 82 | 81 | 81 | 88 | 72 | 81 | 85 | 75 | 80 | 83 | 87 | 74 |
| L&D: Developed countries financing a fund to help vulnerable countries cope with climate Loss and damage | 75 | 75 | 72 | 73 | 84 | 72 | 77 | 72 | 67 | 73 | 87 | 89 | 70 |
| International levy on shipping carbon emissions, returned to countries based on population | 70 | 73 | 78 | 70 | 78 | 61 | 74 | 75 | 72 | 59 | 73 | 81 | 67 |
| Expand Security Council to new permanent members (e.g. India, Brazil, African Union), restrict veto use | 70 | 76 | 72 | 76 | 80 | 73 | 76 | 78 | 72 | 68 | 55 | 84 | 67 |
| At least 0.7% of developed countries' GDP in foreign aid | 70 | 69 | 66 | 67 | 79 | 59 | 77 | 65 | 64 | 62 | 81 | 86 | 67 |
| Debt relief for vulnerable countries, suspending payments until they are more able to repay | 69 | 70 | 64 | 60 | 81 | 79 | 72 | 72 | 65 | 68 | 73 | 88 | 67 |
| NCQG: Developing countries providing \$300 bn a year in climate finance for developing countries | 68 | 69 | 68 | 69 | 76 | 63 | 73 | 67 | 65 | 59 | 87 | 86 | 61 |
| Raise global minimum tax on profit from 15% to 35%, allocating revenues to countries based on sales | 68 | 75 | 75 | 74 | 85 | 66 | 70 | 74 | 63 | 72 | 49 | 77 | 66 |
| International levy on aviation carbon emissions, raising prices by 30%, returned to countries based on population | 53 | 55 | 62 | 54 | 56 | 53 | 54 | 54 | 51 | 46 | 52 | 70 | 51 |

No evidence of warm glow

If *warm glow*, support might dissipate when the policy materializes

Information treatment: “countries have agreed to demonstrate some degree of solidarity in addressing global challenges. Negotiations are ongoing to implement specific mechanisms for sustainable development.” Examples:

IMO shipping levy

0.7% ODA commitment

Climate finance commitment

Minimum corporate tax

Brazil proposal at G20 of taxing billionaires

143 (vs. 7) countries for Security Council reform

Bridgetown initiative to finance sust. dvlpt.

H5b: Info increases belief in likelihood of global redistribution but does not reduce support for plausible global policies

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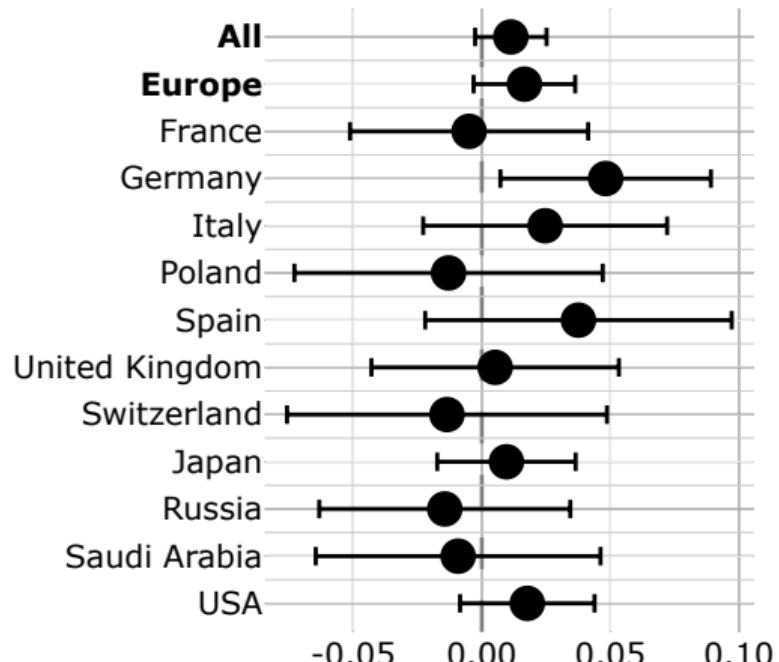
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(a) Effect of *information about ongoing global redistribution* initiatives on the share of plausible *global policies* supported: +1p.p.* ▶ 2SLS



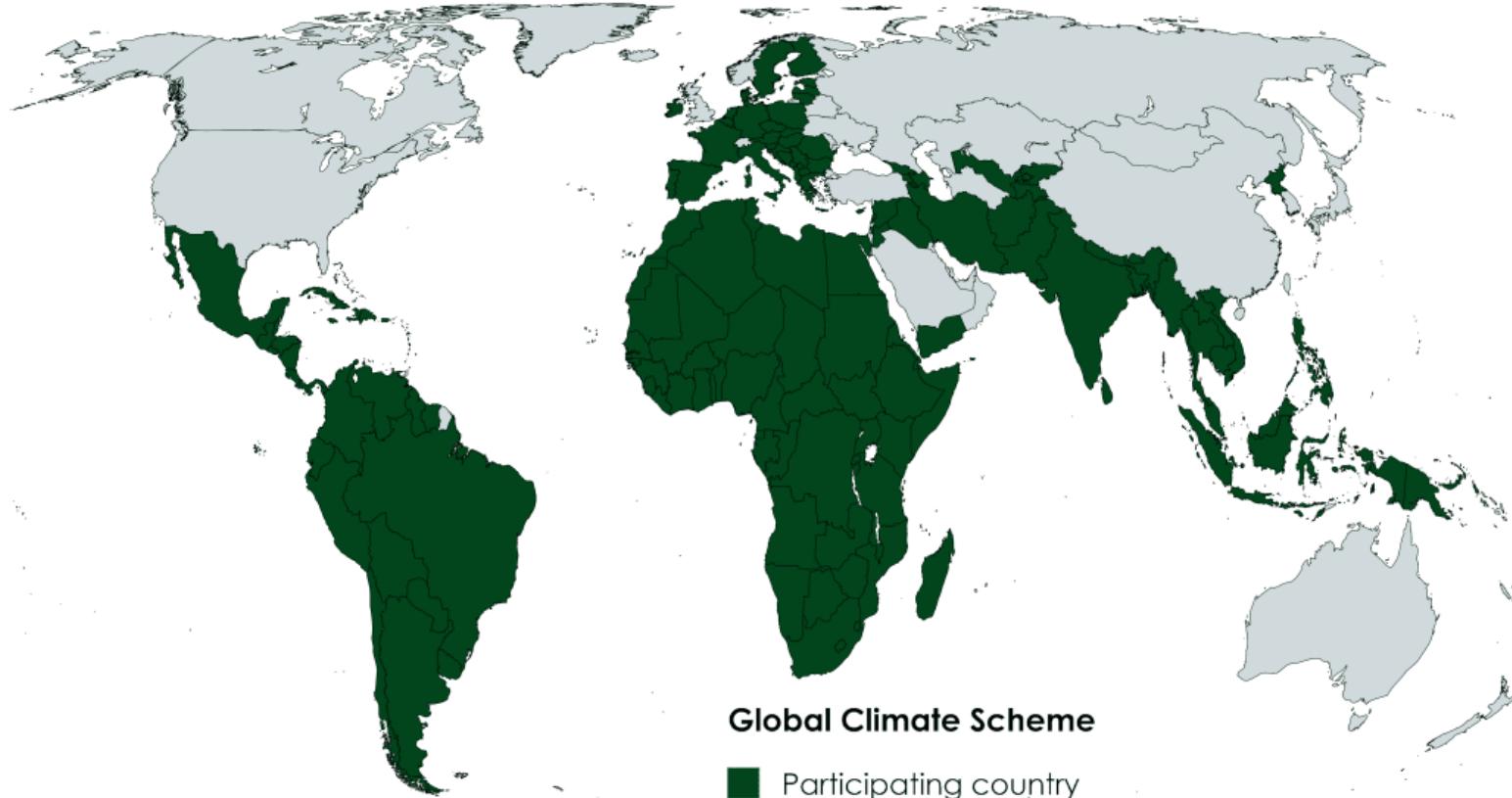
Majority support for the GCS and pluralistic ignorance

► Determinants

| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Russia | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|--|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Supports the Global Climate Scheme (GCS) | 55 | 61 | 65 | 53 | 78 | 51 | 68 | 58 | 62 | 57 | 48 | 85 | 49 |
| Belief about GCS support in own country | 41 | 42 | 44 | 39 | 43 | 39 | 44 | 44 | 46 | 37 | 38 | 55 | 42 |
| Belief about GCS support in the U.S. (except for the U.S.: support in the EU) | 35 | 28 | 27 | 26 | 30 | 32 | 29 | 29 | 26 | 30 | NA | 46 | 43 |

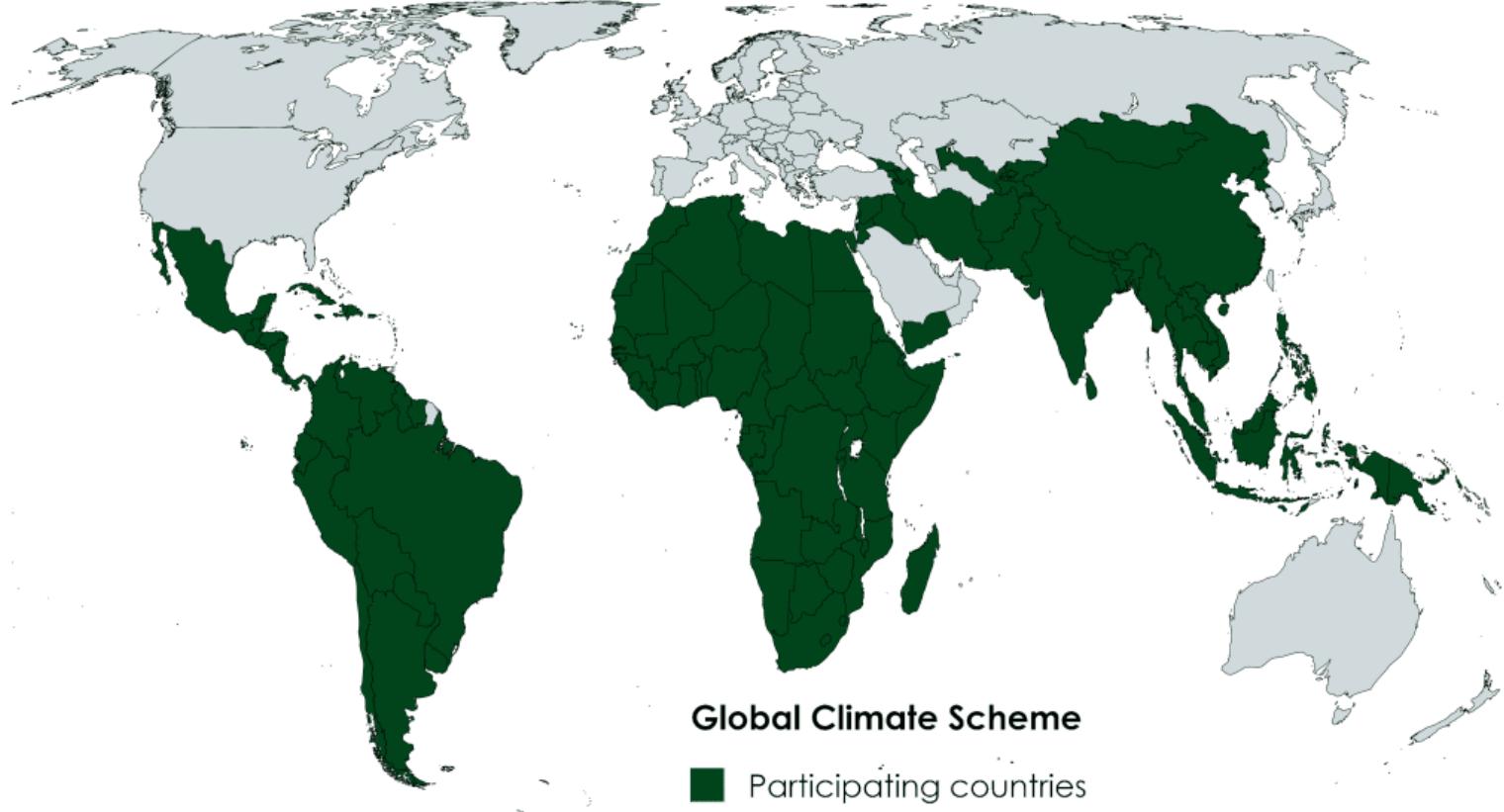
International Climate Scheme

Low: Global South + EU (25-33% of world emissions)



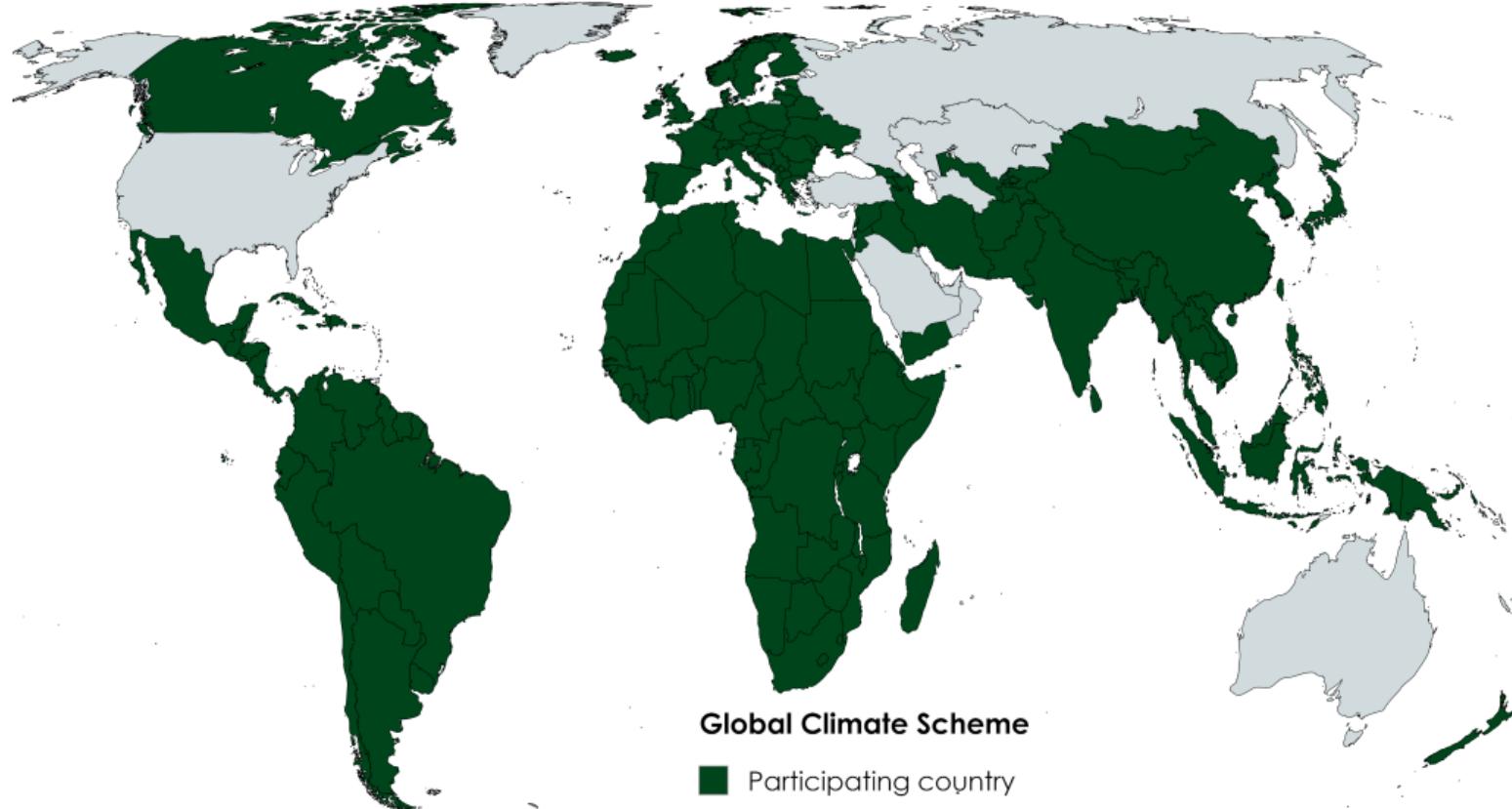
International Climate Scheme

Mid coverage: Global South + China (56% of world emissions)



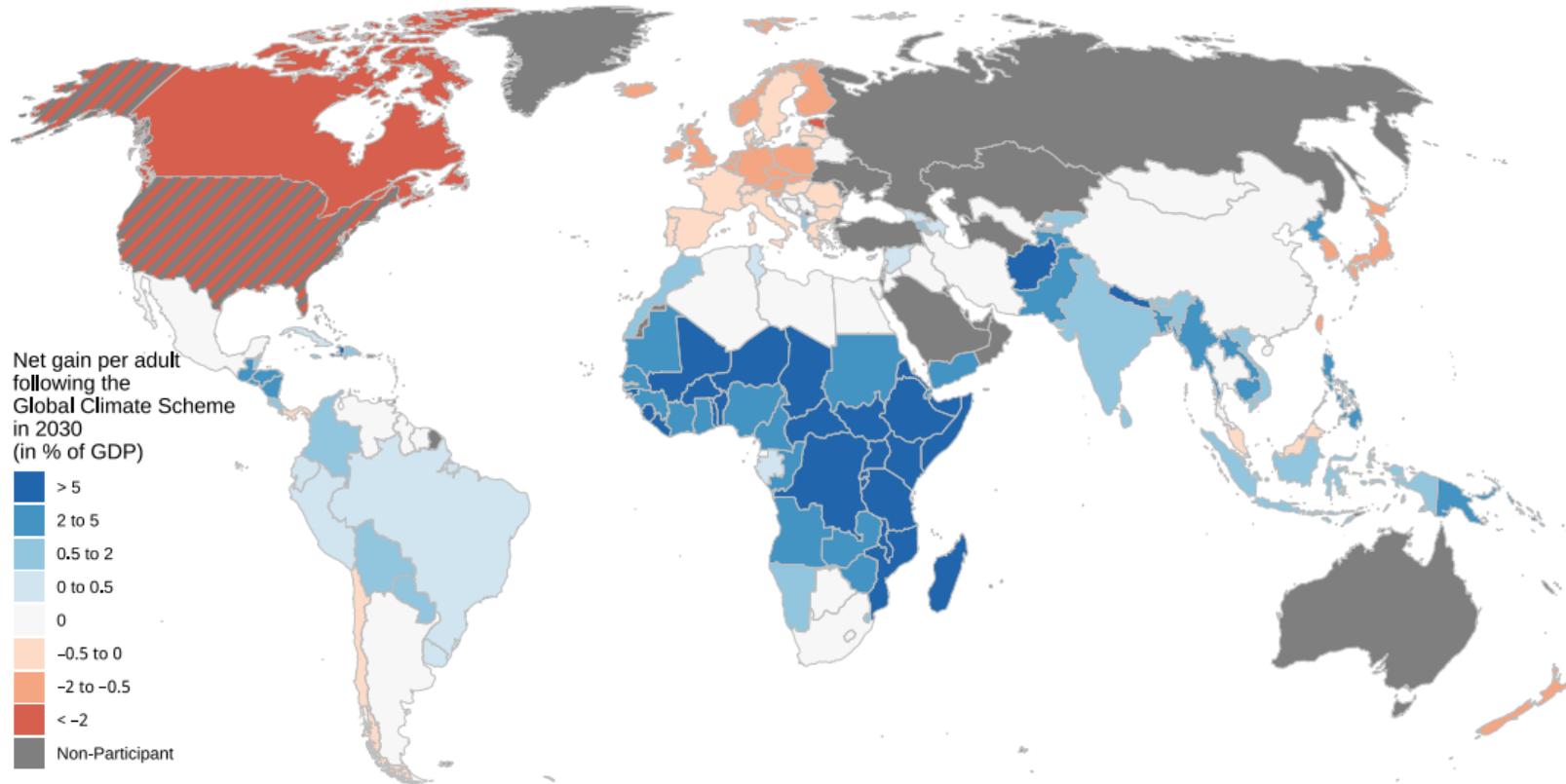
International Climate Scheme

High coverage: Global South + China + EU + various HICs (64-72% of world emissions)



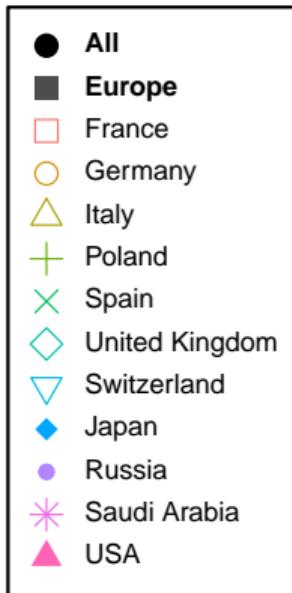
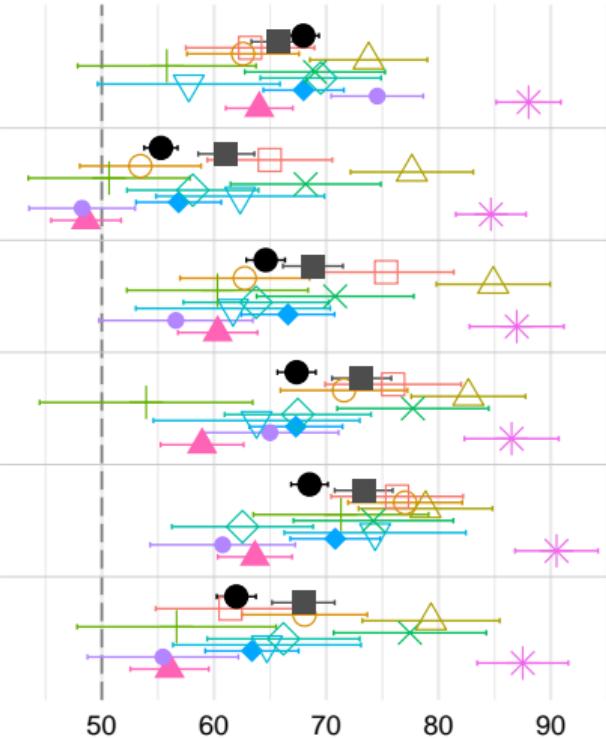
International Climate Scheme

High coverage (64-72% of world emissions), color variant, as shown in the U.S.



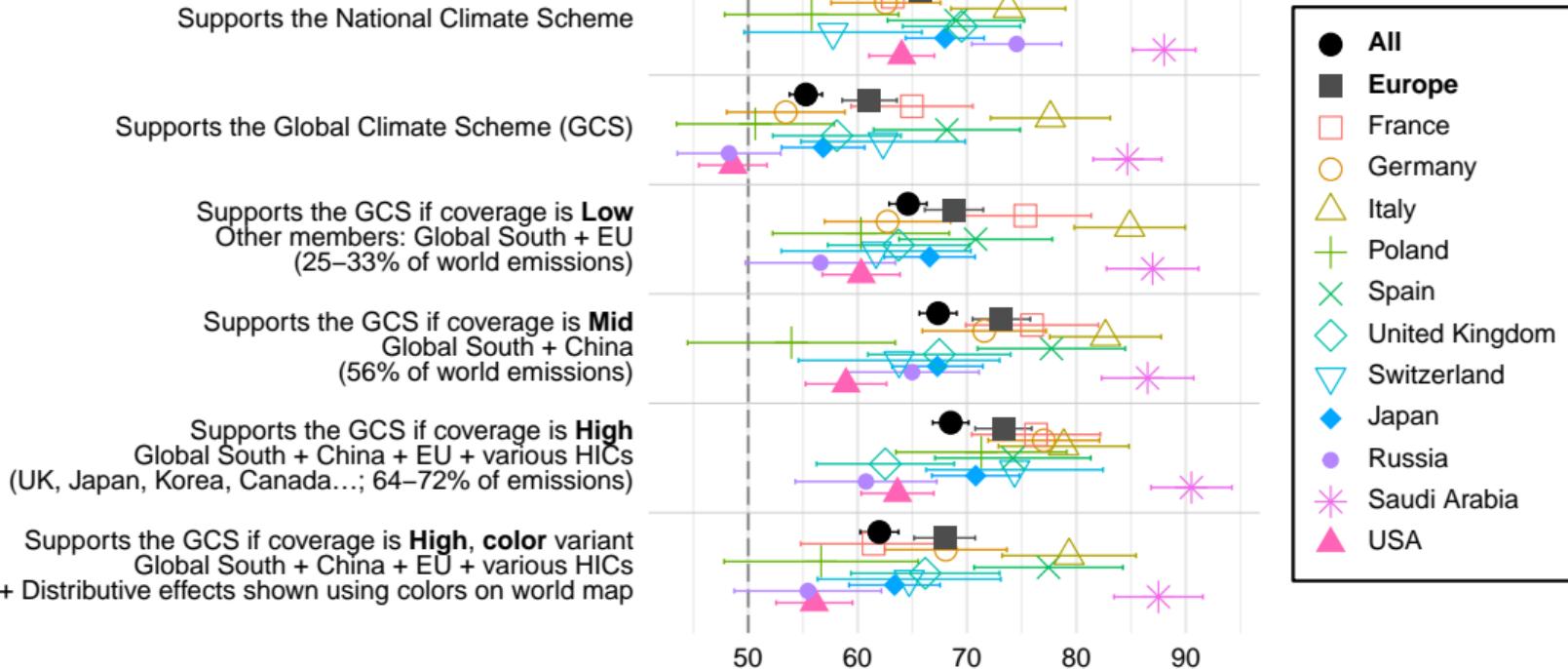
International Climate Scheme

Supports the National Climate Scheme



Majority support for all variants in all countries when participation map is shown.

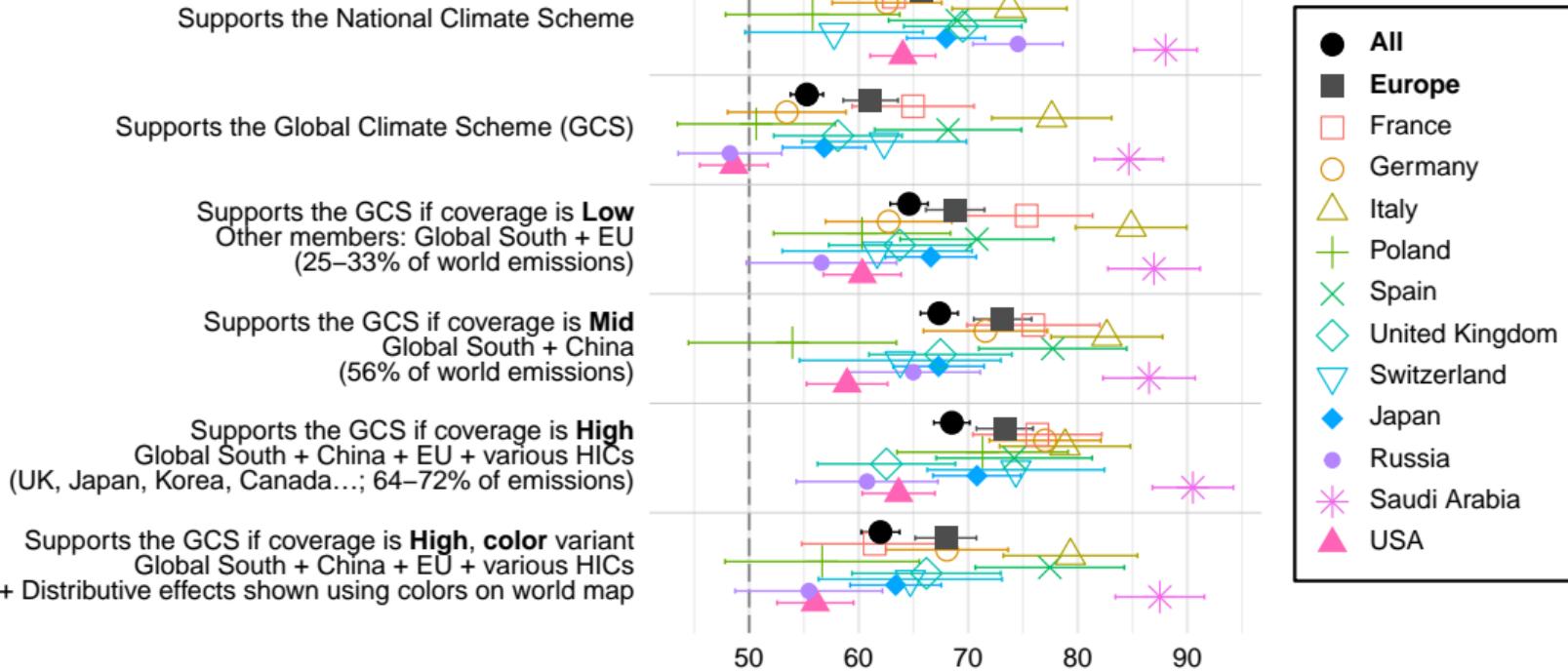
International Climate Scheme



Majority support for all variants in all countries when participation map is shown.

+4 p.p. when coverage expanded from **Low** to **High**.

International Climate Scheme



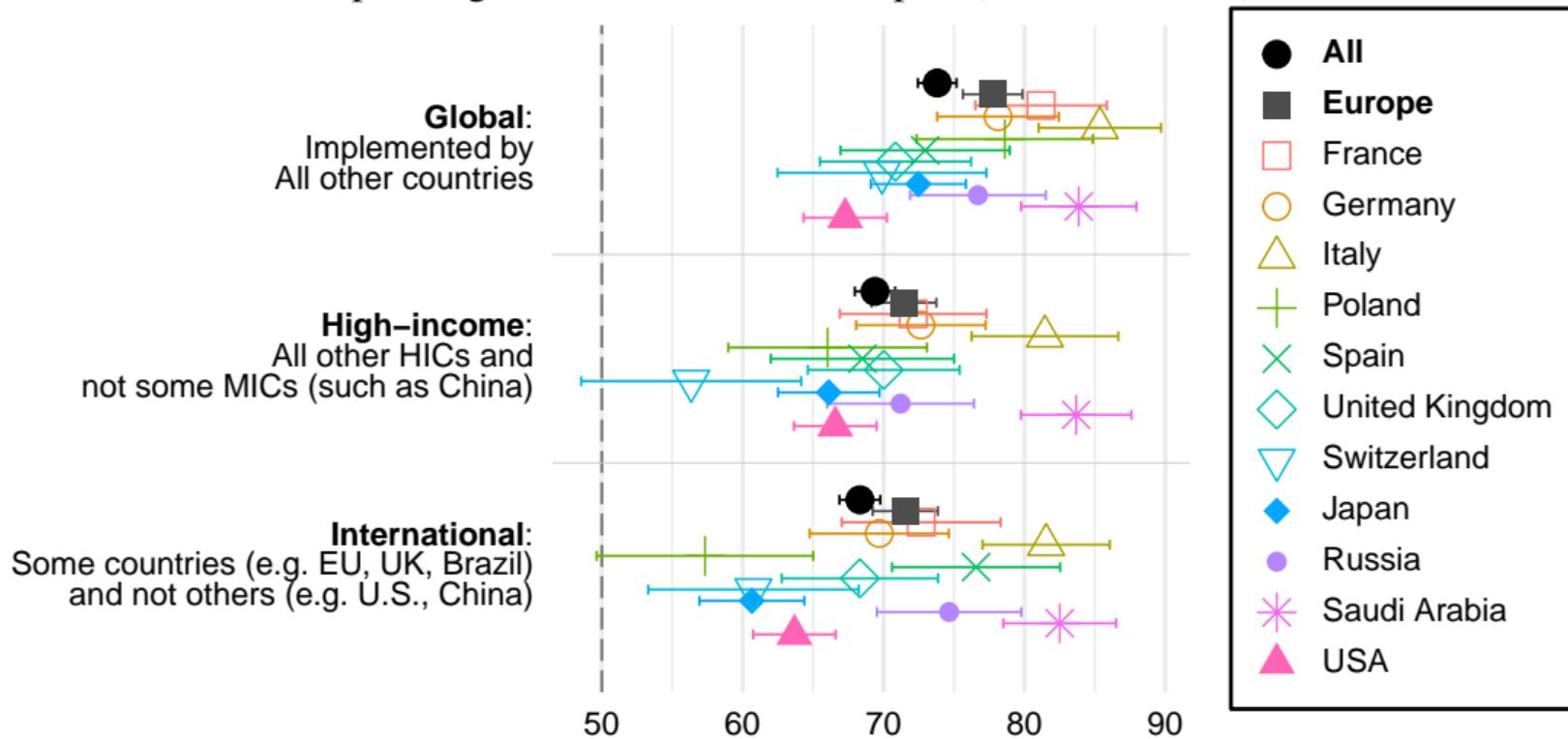
Majority support for all variants in all countries when participation map is shown.

+4 p.p. when coverage expanded from **Low** to **High**.

–6 p.p. when **distributive effects** are visible.

International wealth tax

Support for a 2% wealth tax above [\$1 million] with 30% financing public services in LICs, depending on which countries adopt it (random variant).



– 6 p.p. when coverage is international rather than global.

Values

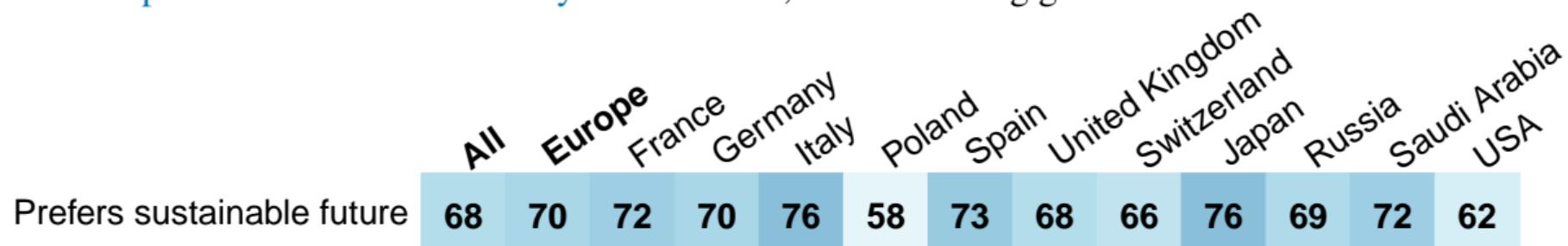
Sustainable future vs. status quo

Sustainable future:

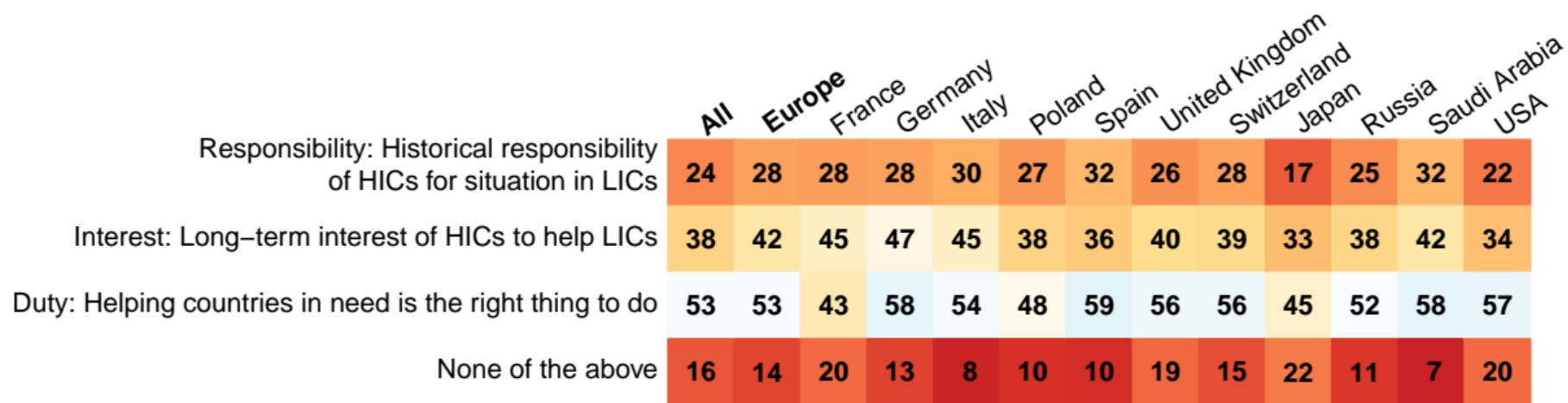
- Worldwide policies to limit global warming to +2°C and reduce inequality.
- Reduced global carbon emissions, in line with climate target.
- Taxes on millionaires funding heat pumps, building insulation, and public transport.
- All cars electric by 2045, priced like today's gasoline cars.
- Heating fuel, air travel, and beef prices gradually double.
- Lower sales tax on non-polluting goods preserves overall purchasing power.

Status quo:

- No additional policies to address climate change or inequality.
- Stable carbon emissions. +3°C warming by 2100, causing more severe natural disasters.
- People maintain the same lifestyles as in 2025, such as driving gasoline cars.



Why help LICs?



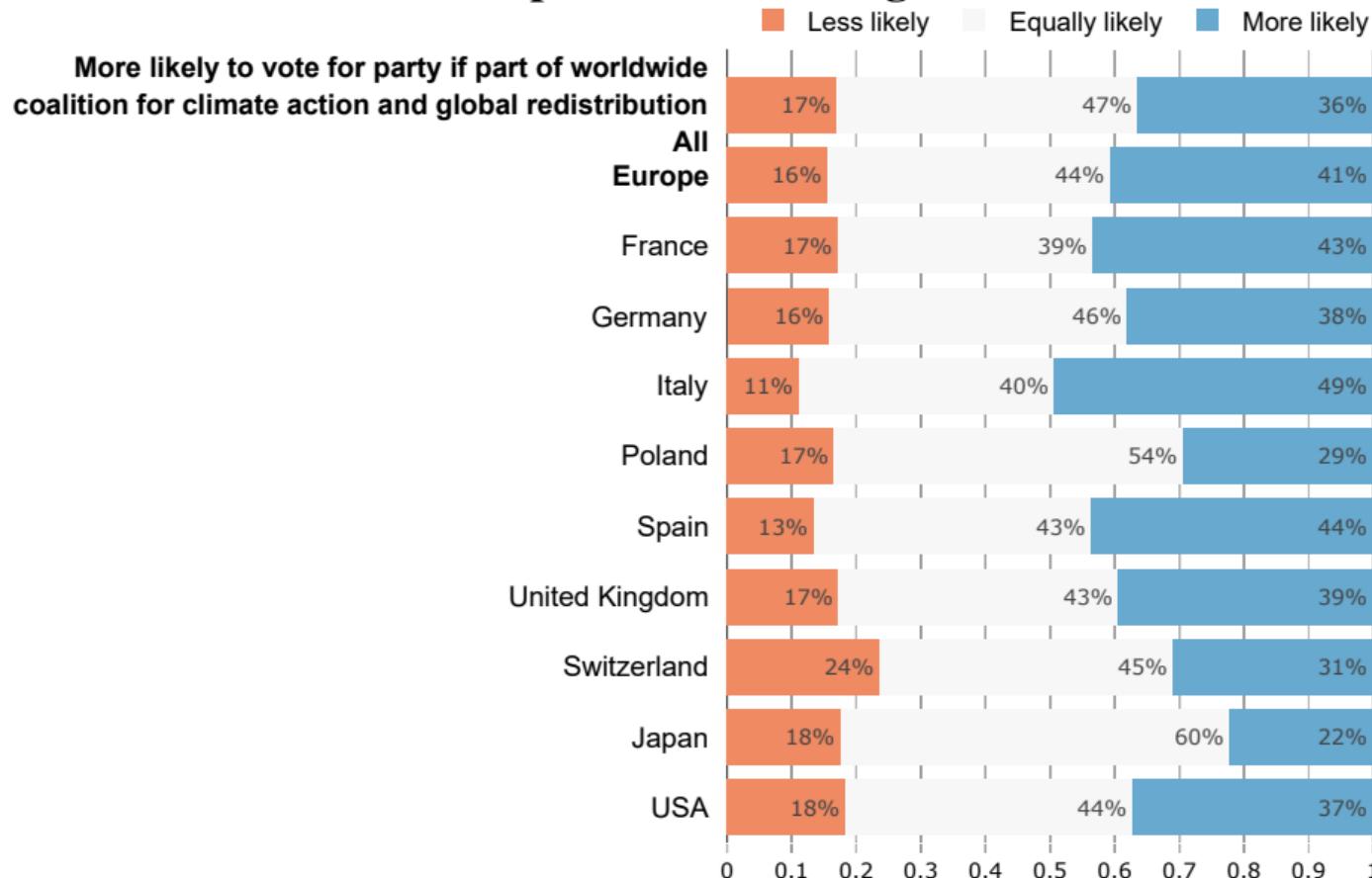
Preferred means of transfers

How do you evaluate each of these channels to transfer resources to reduce poverty in LICs?

Share of *Right* or *Best* way (other options: *Wrong* or *Acceptable* way).

| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Russia | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Targeted cash transfers (child allowances, disability & elderly pensions) | 49 | 48 | 43 | 46 | 57 | 45 | 54 | 44 | 47 | 36 | 65 | 73 | 45 |
| Development aid agencies | 37 | 42 | 42 | 47 | 39 | 32 | 44 | 43 | 44 | 36 | 24 | 57 | 37 |
| Government, conditional on financing poverty reduction | 37 | 40 | 39 | 43 | 48 | 33 | 41 | 37 | 35 | 27 | 33 | 62 | 35 |
| Unconditional cash transfers to each household | 34 | 30 | 31 | 27 | 31 | 30 | 34 | 27 | 32 | 24 | 54 | 62 | 31 |
| Local NGOs with democratic processes | 29 | 33 | 39 | 33 | 34 | 33 | 33 | 29 | 32 | 22 | 18 | 53 | 29 |
| Local authorities | 22 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 22 | 30 | 23 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 47 | 22 |
| Government, unconditional | 19 | 18 | 21 | 14 | 18 | 22 | 21 | 16 | 14 | 14 | 19 | 50 | 18 |

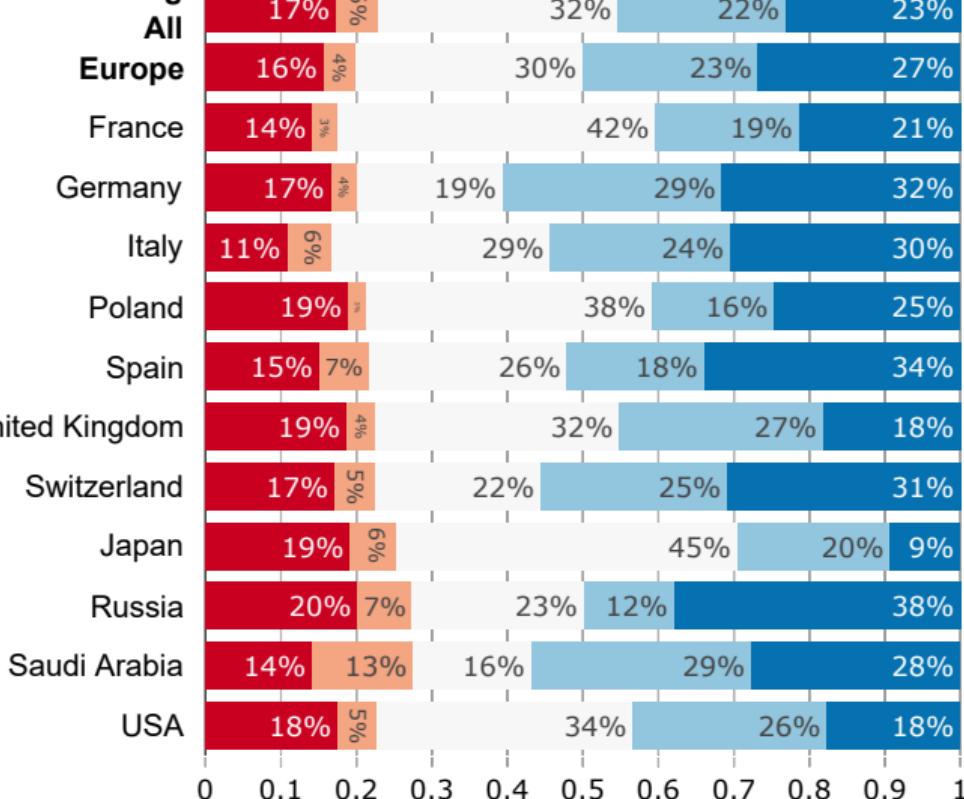
Importance on voting



Moral circle

■ Family and self ■ Community (region, gender...) ■ Fellow citizens ■ Humans ■ Sentient beings

Group defended when voting



Radical proposals

Radical redistribution

| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Russia | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Supports tax on world top 1% to finance global poverty reduction (Additional 15% tax on income over [\$120k/year in PPP]) | 69 | 73 | 71 | 72 | 84 | 69 | 73 | 67 | 60 | 69 | 76 | 82 | 62 |
| Supports tax on world top 3% to finance global poverty reduction (Additional 15% tax over [\$80k], 30% over [\$120k], 45% over [\$1M]) | 64 | 66 | 70 | 62 | 71 | 70 | 66 | 67 | 42 | 55 | 77 | 82 | 57 |
| "Governments should actively cooperate to have all countries converge in terms of GDP per capita by the end of the century" | 71 | 78 | 76 | 76 | 87 | 84 | 84 | 66 | 66 | 70 | 78 | 93 | 56 |
| Supports reparations for colonization and slavery in the form of funding education and technology transfers | 45 | 50 | 44 | 44 | 70 | NA | 51 | 46 | NA | NA | NA | NA | 40 |
| "My taxes should go towards solving global problems" | 59 | 61 | 43 | 62 | 77 | 62 | 71 | 57 | 54 | 58 | 58 | 89 | 55 |

Custom redistribution

▶ [Video](#)

▶ bit.ly/custom_redistr

Examples of income changes after your proposed redistribution:

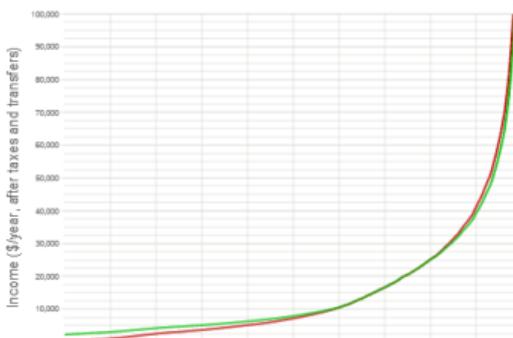
| Now | After |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 0 \$/year | 2 215 \$/year |
| 10 000 \$/year | 10 115 \$/year |
| 60 000 \$/year | 55 793 \$/year |
| 100 000 \$/year | 90 965 \$/year |
| Your <i>individual</i> income | |
| 40 000 \$/year | 38 206 \$/year |

Proportion of winners: 60%

Proportion of losers: 20%

Degree of redistribution: 2

— Income after global redistribution — Current income (\$/year)



Humans, from poorest to richest

Chart by

I am satisfied with my custom redistribution.

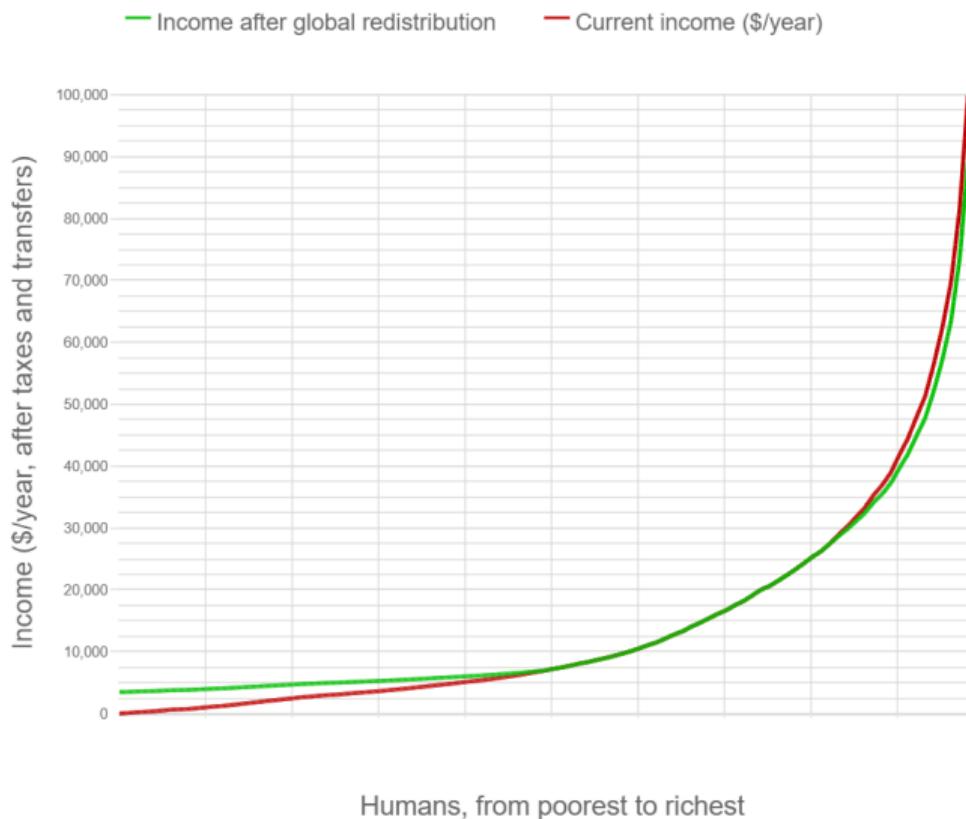
I want to skip this question.

Custom redistribution

▶ [Video](#)

▶ bit.ly/custom_redistr

Redistribution with median preferred parameters (among satisfied): winners 49%; losers: 18%; degree: 5.



Average custom redistribution



Minimal income: \$243/month (i.e.
\$8/day)

5% of world income transferred
from top 28% to bottom 72%

48% lose from their custom
redistribution while only 9% win.

Conclusion

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Most agree global sustainability is a duty.

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Most agree global sustainability is a duty.

Most agree they should contribute themselves.

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Support is genuine. No evidence of warm glow.

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Most agree global sustainability is a duty.

Most agree they should contribute themselves.

Thank you for your attention!

Work-in-progress at bit.ly/support_global_redistr

Appendix

Representativeness of pooled samples

[Go back](#)

| | All | | | Eu | | | EU | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|--------|-----------------|------|--------|-----------------|------|--------|-----------------|
| | Pop. | Sample | Weighted sample | Pop. | Sample | Weighted sample | Pop. | Sample | Weighted sample |
| Sample size | | 11,000 | 11,000 | | 5,000 | 5,000 | | 3,705 | 3,705 |
| Gender: Woman | .51 | .50 | .50 | .51 | .51 | .51 | .52 | .51 | .52 |
| Gender: Man | .49 | .50 | .50 | .49 | .49 | .49 | .48 | .49 | .48 |
| Income_quartile: Q1 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .27 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q2 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q3 | .25 | .24 | .25 | .25 | .21 | .25 | .25 | .22 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q4 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 |
| Age: 18-24 | .10 | .10 | .10 | .09 | .10 | .09 | .09 | .10 | .09 |
| Age: 25-34 | .16 | .17 | .16 | .15 | .15 | .15 | .14 | .15 | .14 |
| Age: 35-49 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 |
| Age: 50-64 | .24 | .23 | .24 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 |
| Age: 65+ | .25 | .24 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .26 | .27 | .25 | .27 |
| Diploma_25-64: Below upper secondary | .09 | .08 | .09 | .13 | .12 | .13 | .14 | .13 | .14 |
| Diploma_25-64: Upper secondary | .31 | .26 | .26 | .26 | .26 | .26 | .28 | .27 | .28 |
| Diploma_25-64: Post secondary | .29 | .32 | .30 | .25 | .28 | .25 | .22 | .25 | .22 |
| Urbanity: Cities | .63 | .57 | .61 | .37 | .41 | .41 | .42 | .44 | .42 |
| Urbanity: Towns and suburbs | .15 | .19 | .17 | .36 | .38 | .36 | .35 | .34 | .34 |
| Urbanity: Rural | .20 | .15 | .19 | .26 | .21 | .22 | .23 | .22 | .23 |

Representativeness in EU countries

[▶ Go back](#)

| | France | | | Germany | | | Italy | | | Poland | | | Spain | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|------|---------------|---------|-------|---------------|-------|------|---------------|--------|------|---------------|-------|------|---------------|
| | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. |
| Sample size | | 798 | 798 | | 1,048 | 1,048 | | 756 | 756 | | 500 | 500 | | 603 | 603 |
| Gender: Woman | .52 | .52 | .52 | .51 | .49 | .51 | .52 | .52 | .51 | .52 | .53 | .52 | .51 | .51 | .51 |
| Gender: Man | .48 | .48 | .48 | .49 | .51 | .49 | .48 | .48 | .49 | .48 | .46 | .47 | .49 | .49 | .49 |
| Income_quartile: Q1 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .27 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .28 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q2 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .27 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .27 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q3 | .25 | .23 | .25 | .25 | .20 | .25 | .25 | .22 | .25 | .25 | .23 | .25 | .25 | .21 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q4 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .24 |
| Age: 18-24 | .10 | .11 | .10 | .09 | .10 | .09 | .08 | .08 | .08 | .08 | .09 | .08 | .10 | .11 | .09 |
| Age: 25-34 | .15 | .15 | .15 | .15 | .16 | .15 | .12 | .12 | .12 | .15 | .16 | .15 | .15 | .14 | .14 |
| Age: 35-49 | .23 | .23 | .23 | .23 | .25 | .23 | .23 | .23 | .23 | .30 | .29 | .30 | .30 | .27 | .31 |
| Age: 50-64 | .24 | .24 | .24 | .27 | .27 | .27 | .28 | .29 | .28 | .23 | .21 | .23 | .19 | .22 | .19 |
| Age: 65+ | .27 | .27 | .27 | .27 | .22 | .27 | .29 | .28 | .29 | .24 | .24 | .24 | .26 | .26 | .26 |
| Diploma_25-64: Below upper secondary | .10 | .09 | .10 | .11 | .11 | .11 | .22 | .19 | .22 | .04 | .05 | .04 | .23 | .18 | .23 |
| Diploma_25-64: Upper secondary | .26 | .26 | .26 | .32 | .32 | .32 | .28 | .28 | .28 | .38 | .34 | .38 | .15 | .15 | .15 |
| Diploma_25-64: Post secondary | .26 | .27 | .26 | .22 | .24 | .21 | .14 | .17 | .14 | .26 | .28 | .26 | .27 | .29 | .26 |
| Urbanity: Cities | .47 | .47 | .46 | .39 | .42 | .39 | .36 | .37 | .36 | .35 | .37 | .35 | .54 | .58 | .54 |
| Urbanity: Towns and suburbs | .19 | .19 | .19 | .42 | .42 | .42 | .46 | .47 | .46 | .28 | .29 | .28 | .32 | .30 | .33 |
| Urbanity: Rural | .34 | .33 | .34 | .19 | .17 | .19 | .18 | .16 | .18 | .37 | .34 | .37 | .13 | .12 | .13 |
| Region: 1 | .18 | .19 | .18 | .17 | .19 | .17 | .66 | .70 | .65 | .47 | .41 | .47 | .15 | .16 | .15 |
| Region: 2 | .22 | .23 | .22 | .29 | .32 | .29 | .34 | .29 | .34 | .53 | .59 | .53 | .28 | .25 | .28 |
| Region: 3 | .11 | .11 | .11 | .54 | .48 | .54 | | | | | | | .14 | .16 | .14 |
| Region: 4 | .21 | .22 | .21 | | | | | | | | | | .18 | .19 | .18 |
| Region: 5 | .28 | .26 | .28 | | | | | | | | | | .25 | .24 | .25 |

Representativeness in non-EU countries

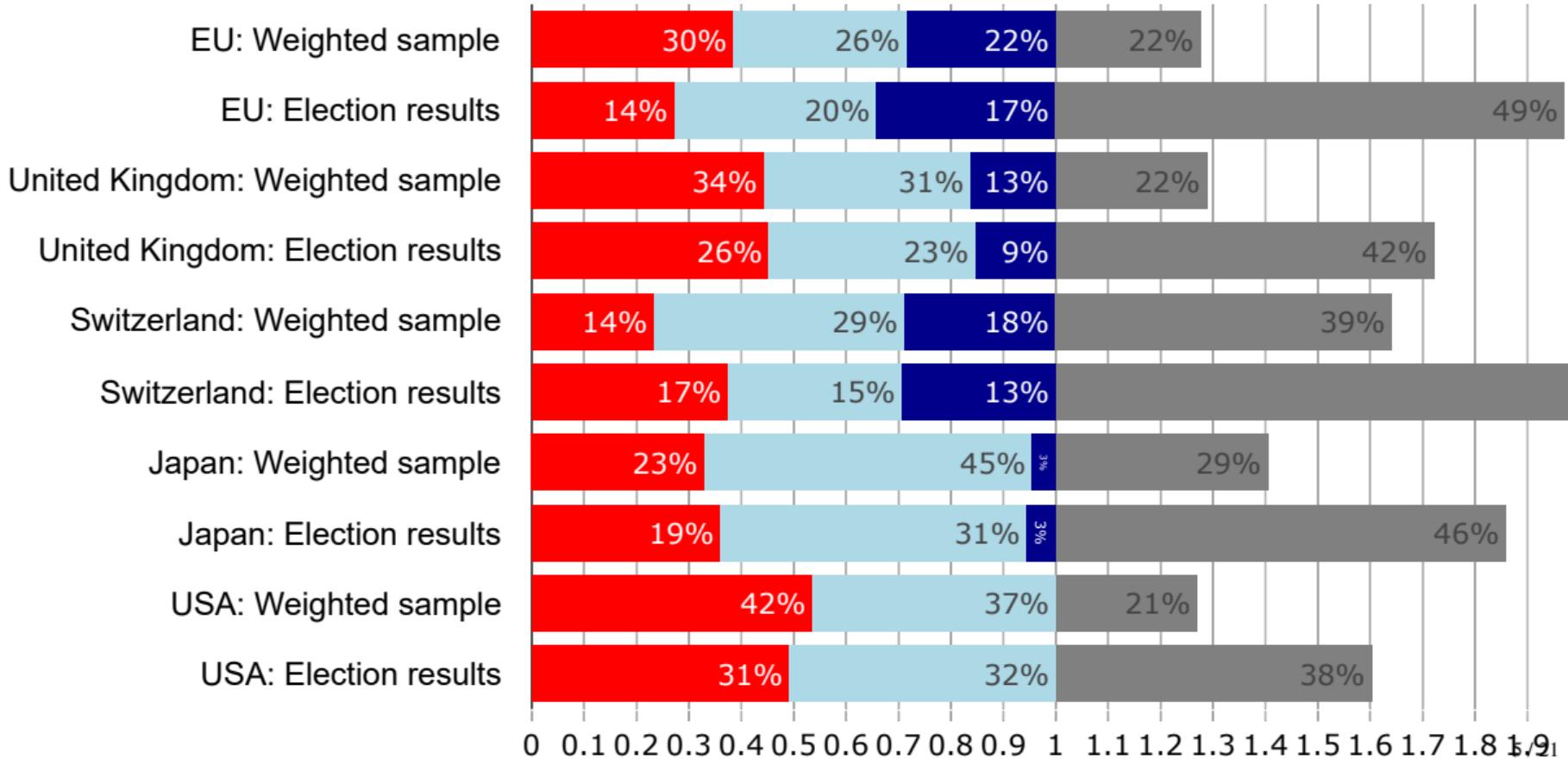
[Go back](#)

| | United Kingdom | | | Switzerland | | | Japan | | | Russia | | | Saudi Arabia | | | USA | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------|-------|------------|--------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------|-------|------------|
| | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. | Pop. | Sam. | Wght. sam. |
| Sample size | 826 | 826 | | 469 | 469 | | 2,000 | 2,000 | | 872 | 872 | | 1,000 | 1,000 | | 3,000 | 3,000 | |
| Gender: Woman | .51 | .50 | .51 | .50 | .48 | .50 | .51 | .50 | .51 | .54 | .46 | .54 | | | | .50 | .52 | .50 |
| Gender: Man | .49 | .50 | .49 | .50 | .52 | .50 | .49 | .50 | .49 | .46 | .54 | .46 | | | | .50 | .48 | .50 |
| Income_quartile: Q1 | .25 | .28 | .25 | .25 | .30 | .26 | .25 | .26 | .25 | .25 | .21 | .24 | .25 | .32 | .26 | .25 | .23 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q2 | .25 | .23 | .25 | .25 | .28 | .25 | .25 | .24 | .25 | .25 | .19 | .24 | .25 | .23 | .25 | .25 | .24 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q3 | .25 | .21 | .25 | .25 | .17 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .28 | .24 | .25 | .22 | .24 | .25 | .27 | .25 |
| Income_quartile: Q4 | .25 | .27 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .24 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .25 | .29 | .24 | .25 | .23 | .24 | .25 | .26 | .25 |
| Age: 18-24 | .11 | .10 | .11 | .09 | .10 | .09 | .08 | .08 | .08 | .09 | .08 | .09 | .15 | .16 | .16 | .12 | .10 | .12 |
| Age: 25-34 | .17 | .17 | .17 | .16 | .18 | .17 | .12 | .12 | .12 | .16 | .10 | .16 | .32 | .35 | .32 | .17 | .18 | .17 |
| Age: 35-49 | .24 | .25 | .25 | .26 | .27 | .25 | .22 | .23 | .22 | .30 | .31 | .30 | .36 | .37 | .37 | .25 | .24 | .25 |
| Age: 50-64 | .25 | .25 | .24 | .26 | .24 | .26 | .24 | .24 | .24 | .25 | .28 | .25 | .13 | .11 | .13 | .24 | .24 | .24 |
| Age: 65+ | .24 | .24 | .23 | .23 | .22 | .24 | .34 | .34 | .34 | .21 | .24 | .21 | .04 | .00 | .02 | .23 | .24 | .23 |
| Diploma_25-64: Below upper secondary | .12 | .11 | .12 | .09 | .06 | .09 | | | | .07 | .04 | .07 | .31 | .11 | .27 | .05 | .05 | .05 |
| Diploma_25-64: Upper secondary | .19 | .17 | .19 | .27 | .29 | .27 | .26 | .25 | .26 | .44 | .46 | .44 | .15 | .23 | .16 | .27 | .27 | .27 |
| Diploma_25-64: Post secondary | .35 | .38 | .35 | .31 | .33 | .31 | .32 | .33 | .32 | .20 | .18 | .20 | .35 | .50 | .39 | .33 | .34 | .33 |
| Urbanity: Cities | .40 | .36 | .39 | .30 | .32 | .30 | .92 | .92 | .92 | | | | | | | .76 | .78 | .76 |
| Urbanity: Towns and suburbs | .42 | .45 | .43 | .53 | .54 | .53 | .08 | .08 | .08 | | | | | | | | | |
| Urbanity: Rural | .18 | .19 | .18 | .17 | .14 | .17 | | | | | | | | | | .24 | .22 | .24 |
| Region: 1 | .13 | .14 | .13 | .70 | .70 | .70 | .17 | .17 | .17 | | | | .14 | .06 | .12 | .17 | .18 | .17 |
| Region: 2 | .31 | .33 | .31 | .26 | .26 | .26 | .17 | .18 | .17 | | | | .34 | .45 | .35 | .21 | .21 | .21 |
| Region: 3 | .21 | .17 | .21 | .04 | .04 | .04 | .34 | .35 | .34 | | | | .36 | .36 | .36 | .38 | .40 | .38 |
| Region: 4 | .24 | .25 | .24 | | | | .11 | .11 | .11 | | | | .16 | .12 | .16 | .24 | .21 | .24 |
| Region: 5 | .11 | .10 | .11 | | | | .20 | .19 | .20 | | | | | | | | | |
| Gender_nationality: Woman, Saudi | | | | | | | | | | | | | .24 | .31 | .25 | | | |
| Gender_nationality: Woman, non-Saudi | | | | | | | | | | | | | .10 | .12 | .11 | | | |
| Gender_nationality: Man, Saudi | | | | | | | | | | | | | .24 | .33 | .27 | | | |
| Gender_nationality: Man, non-Saudi | | | | | | | | | | | | | .41 | .24 | .37 | | | |
| Race: White only | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | .58 | .56 | .58 |
| Race: Hispanic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | .20 | .21 | .19 |
| Race: Black | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | .14 | .15 | .14 |
| Race: Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | .08 | .07 | .08 |

Representativeness of vote (non-EU countries)

[Go back](#)

Left Center-right or Right Far right Non-voter, PNF



Representativeness of vote (EU countries)

[» Go back](#)

■ Left

■ Center-right or Right

■ Far right

■ Non-voter, PNR or Other

France: Weighted sample

23% 24% 29% 24%

France: Election results

17% 12% 19% 51%

Germany: Weighted sample

39% 33% 17% 11%

Germany: Election results

34% 31% 17% 18%

Italy: Weighted sample

40% 9% 28% 24%

Italy: Election results

21% 8% 19% 52%

Poland: Weighted sample

6% 39% 30% 25%

Poland: Election results

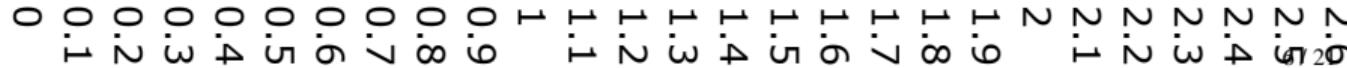
3% 18% 20% 60%

Spain: Weighted sample

32% 28% 10% 30%

Spain: Election results

20% 18% 7% 56%



Conjoint analysis, in France

[» Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Build 14 new nuclear reactors

Abolish Low Emission Zones (ZFE) that restrict car access in cities

Economic issues:

Fully index pensions to inflation

Raise the minimum wage to 1,600 euros net per month

Restore the legal retirement age to 62

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Double military budget by 2030

Social issues:

Abolish birthright citizenship

Impose mandatory sentences for repeat offenders, and lower the age of criminal responsibility to 16

Establish the Citizens' Initiative Referendum (RIC)

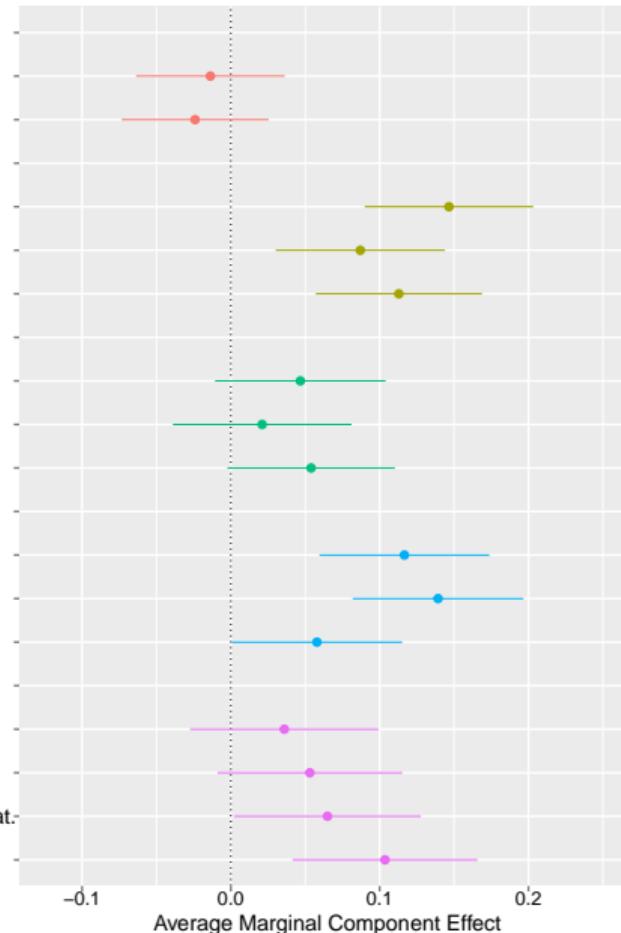
Tax system:

Tax-free bonuses of up to €10,000 per year

Exempt individuals under 30 from income tax

Reduce income tax up to €4,000/month net and increase it above that

Reinstate a reinforced wealth tax



Conjoint analysis, in Germany

[» Go back](#)

Climate policy:

- Repeal the heating law that requires renewable energy
- Ban new combustion-engine cars from 2035

Economic issues:

- Lower electricity prices by 12% through tax reductions
- Raise the minimum wage to €15 by 2026
- Invest €500 billion in strategic industries like steel, automotive, and defense

Foreign policy:

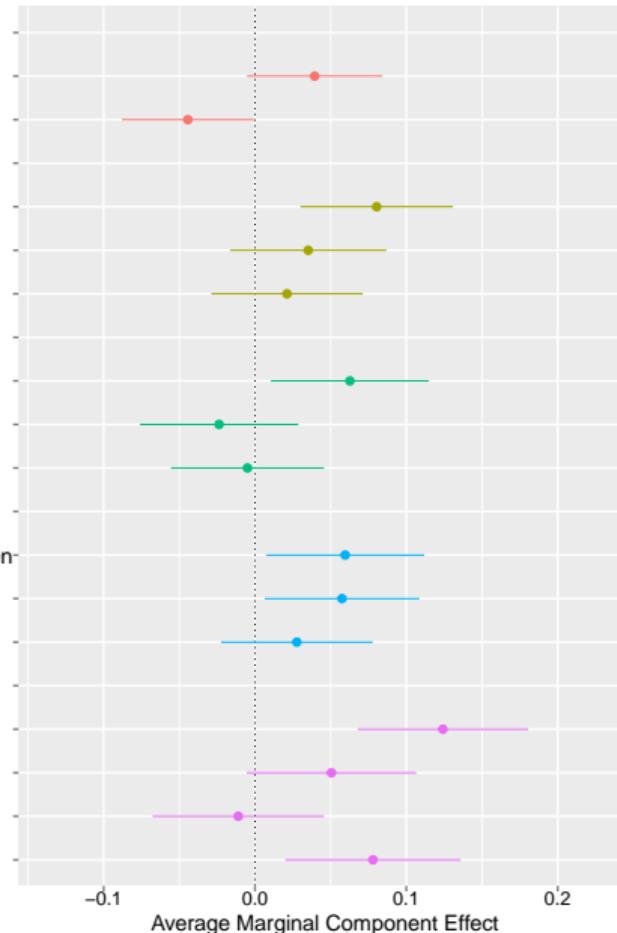
- International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries
- Cut development aid
- Support Ukraine militarily and financially

Social issues:

- Use electronic ankle monitors to track violent offenders against women
- Offer a birth grant of €20,000 for newborns
- Restrict the fast-track path to German citizenship

Tax system:

- Exempt from taxes overtime work and work of retired people
- Abolish the inheritance tax
- Fully reinstate the debt brake
- Higher taxes for the richest 1% to finance higher child benefit, citizen's income and minimum pension



Conjoint analysis, in Italy

[» Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Cancel the ban on new combustion-engine cars from 2035

Double the capacity of renewable energy by 2030

Economic issues:

Increase the birth grant to up to €3,600 for newborns

Use unspent EU funds to exempt hiring companies from taxes

Introduce a legal minimum wage at 10€ per hour

Reduce working hours without reducing salaries

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Develop a common EU defense

Social issues:

Legal limit on migration and process asylum requests outside the EU

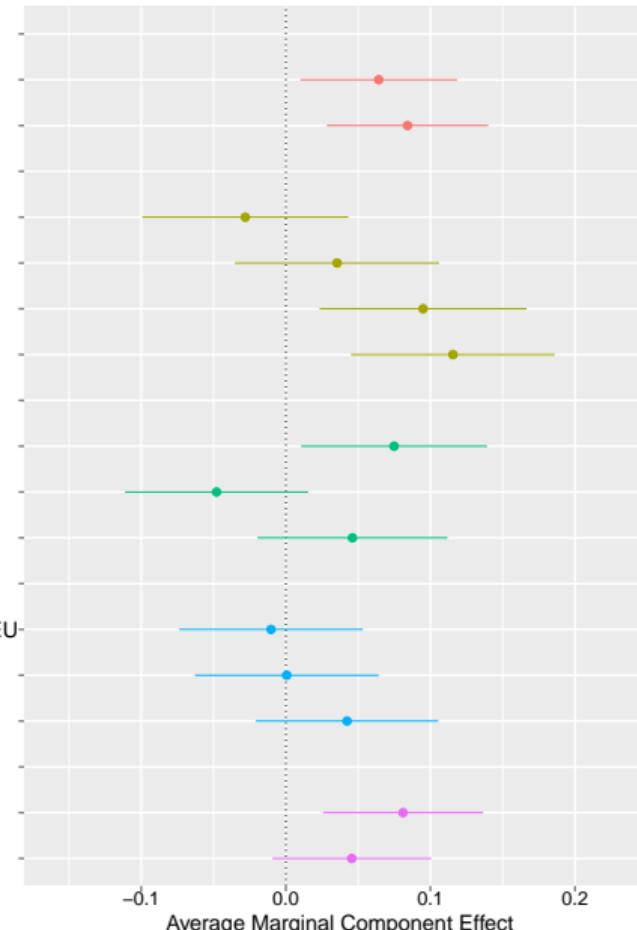
Recognize same-sex marriage

Introduce free and mandatory early education (until 3 years old)

Tax system:

Reduce the income tax on low-income households

Replace the income tax by a 15% flat tax



Conjoint analysis, in Poland

[Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Phase out coal by 2035

Ban the sale of new combustion-engine cars by 2035

Economic issues:

Expansion of rail production and infrastructure investment

Allocate 5% of GDP to military expenditures by 2030

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Detention of rejected asylum seekers until they can be deported

Social issues:

Restoring abortion rights

Relax restrictions on public assembly and protest

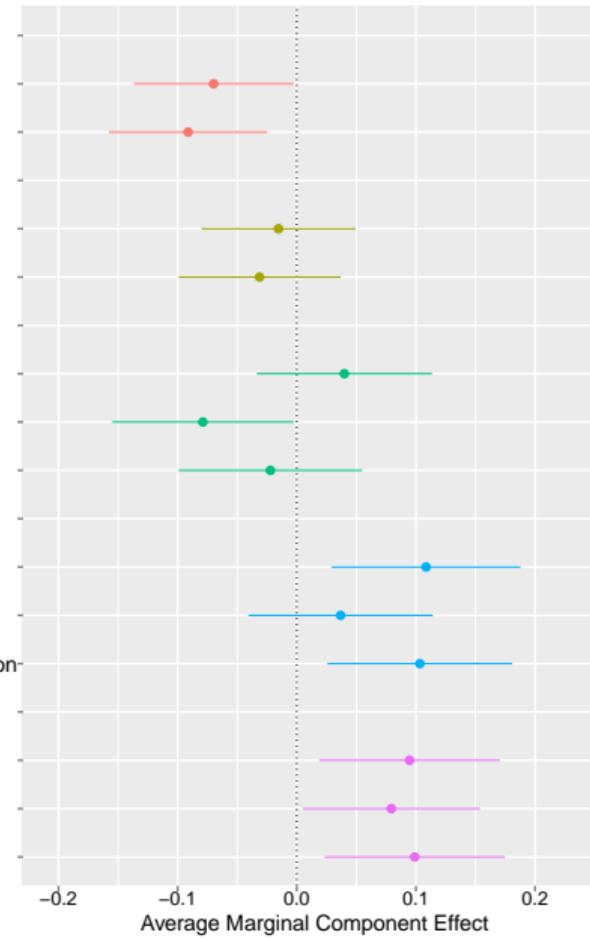
Extended parental leave, tax benefits for children, and remote work option

Tax system:

Reduce taxes on low-income households by increasing the tax-free income allowance

Taxes on the profits of large digital corporations and fossil fuel companies

Income tax exemption for seniors delaying retirement



Conjoint analysis, in Spain

[» Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Extend the social electricity voucher

A national investment plan to enhance water management

Economic issues:

Set the minimum wage at 1350€/month

Reduce the workweek to 36 hours by 2030 without salary cut

Promote flexible working hours through a time bank

Foreign policies:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing
healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Increase support for Ukraine and maintain sanctions on Russia

Social issues:

Strengthen social media regulation for transparency,
misinformation control, and verified identity

Free early education (from 0 to 3 years)

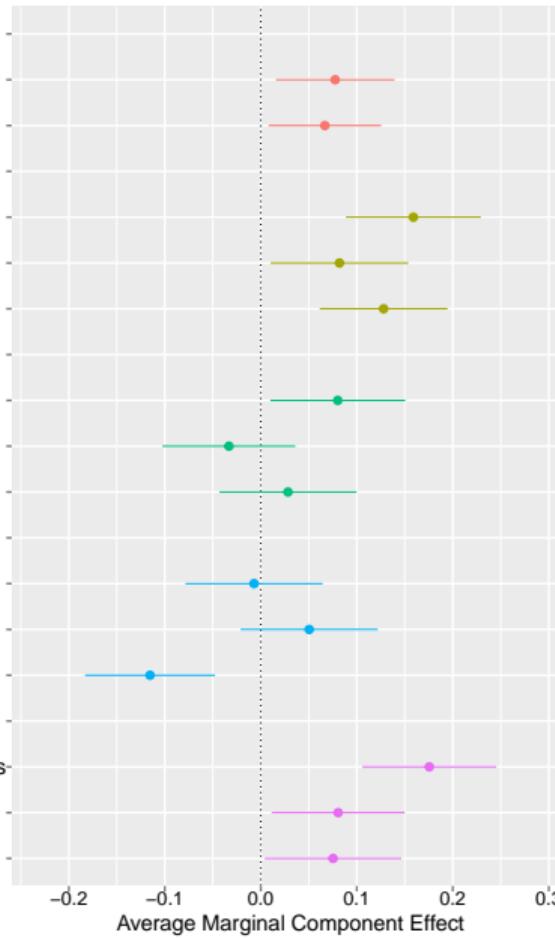
Create centers outside the EU to process asylum requests

Tax system:

Lower the income tax on the middle class and increase it on rich households

Abolish the wealth tax and lower corporate tax rates

Reduce taxation in rural areas through the Agricultural Taxation Act



Conjoint analysis, in the UK

[Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Investment in renewables and nuclear to achieve zero-emissions electricity in 2030

A ban on domestic flights for trips under three hours by train

Economic issues:

30 hours of free childcare per week for working parents

Healthcare plan: more appointments by utilising overtime employment, recruitment in mental care and dentistry coverage

Raising the minimum wage to £15 per hour

A 4-day working week

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Deepen Brexit by removing or reforming EU-inherited laws

Social issues:

Legal limit on migration and deportation to Rwanda

Enforce neighbourhood policing through recruitment and new equipment

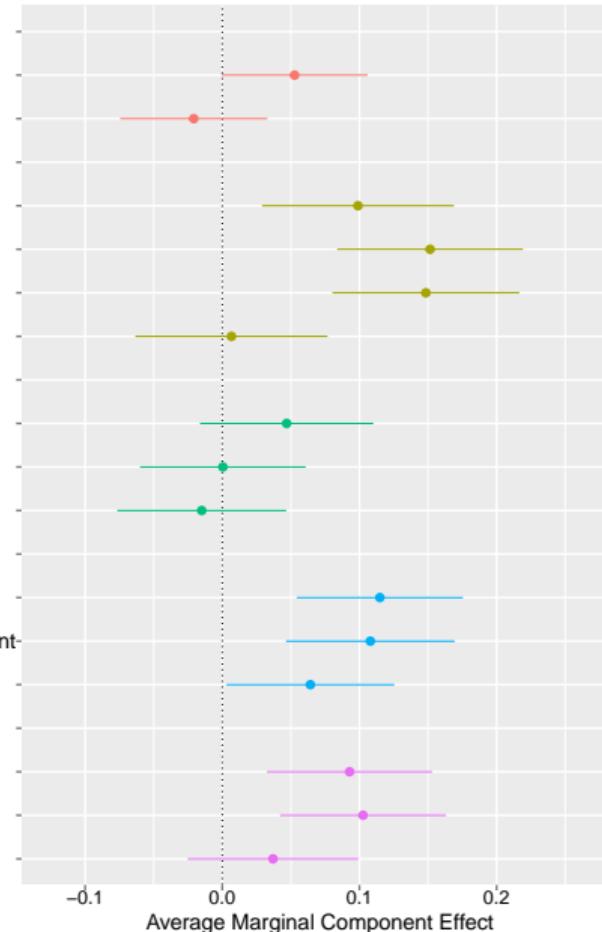
Increase the Universal Credit for low-income households

Tax system:

Fight tax avoidance by abolishing the non-domiciled tax status

Abolish the inheritance tax for estates under £2 million

Abolish business rates



Conjoint analysis, in Switzerland

[► Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Phase out combustion engine cars by 2040

Substitute fossil fuel heating systems with renewables

Economic issues:

Stop public sector growth and cut administrative costs

Deregulate and flexibilize the labor market

Cap health insurance premiums at 10% of household income

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing
healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Join the EU

Social issues:

Increase pensions by introducing a 13th month of AVS payment

Introduce a tax on immigrants

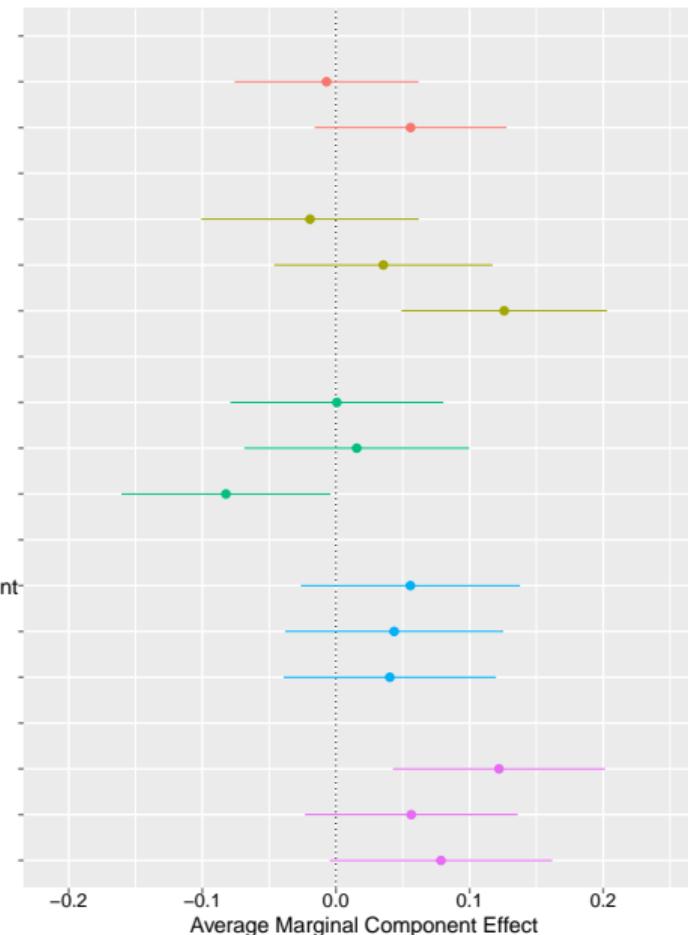
Reduce cost of childcare for parents through national support

Tax system:

Abolish rental value taxation to support property ownership

Increase inheritance taxes on large fortunes

Introduce individualized taxation to end marriage penalties



Conjoint analysis, in Japan

[Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Achieve 50% of electricity from renewable sources by 2030

Invest 150,000 billion yen in the ecological transition

Economic issues:

Raise the minimum wage to ¥1,500 per hour

Provide child allowance of ¥15,000 per month for all children up to age 18

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing
healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Demand the complete dismantlement of North
Korea's nuclear and missile programs

Social issues:

Eliminate electoral district mergers (goku kaiketsu)

Recognize same-sex marriage

Expand eligibility for pension coverage to part-time workers

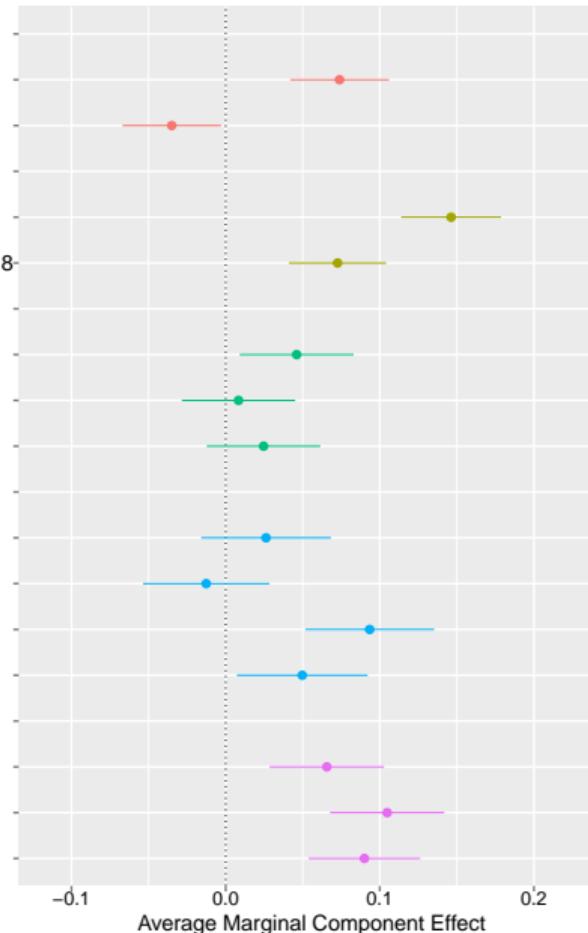
Promote women's empowerment through
reskilling, fair pay, and career continuity

Tax system:

Increase taxes (on income and inheritance) on
the richest and reduce them on the poorest

Introduce a consumption tax refund system
for low- and middle-income households

Restore fiscal balance and achieve a budget surplus by 2025



Conjoint analysis, in the U.S.

[▶ Go back](#)

Climate policy:

Rejoin the Paris Agreement

Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land

Economic issues:

Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion

Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour

Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit

Foreign policy:

International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries

Cut development aid

Negotiate an immediate ceasefire in Ukraine, recognize new Russian territories and withdraw support to Ukraine

Social issues:

Enhance border security and limit immigration

Ensure nationwide access to abortion as a constitutional right

Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico

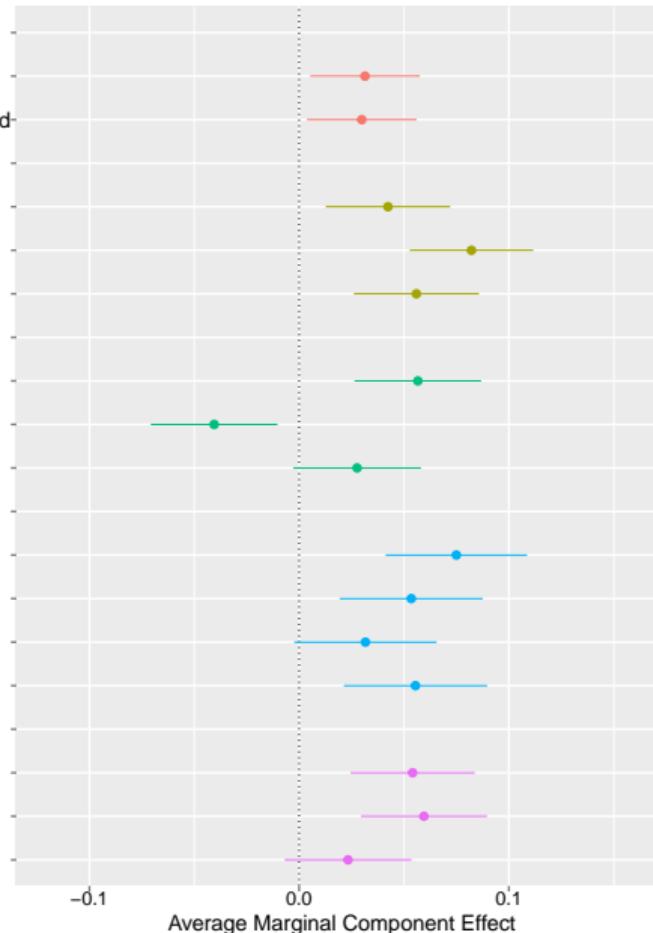
No immunity for crimes committed by a former president

Tax system:

Repeal all Trump import tariff increases

Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million

Extend the Trump tax cuts



Conjoint analysis, in France

[Go back](#)

Climat:

Construire 14 nouveaux réacteurs nucléaires

Supprimer les Zones à Faibles Émissions (ZFE)

Économie:

Indexer totalement les retraites sur l'inflation

Augmenter le SMIC à 1600€ net par mois

Restaurer l'âge légal de départ à la retraite à 62 ans

Politique étrangère:

Taxe mondiale sur les millionnaires, dont 30 % financerait la santé et l'éducation dans les pays à bas revenus

Réduire l'aide au développement

Doubler le budget militaire d'ici 2030

Société:

Supprimer le droit du sol

Peines planchers pour les récidivistes et responsabilité pénale à 16 ans

Instaurer le Référendum d'Initiative Citoyenne (RIC)

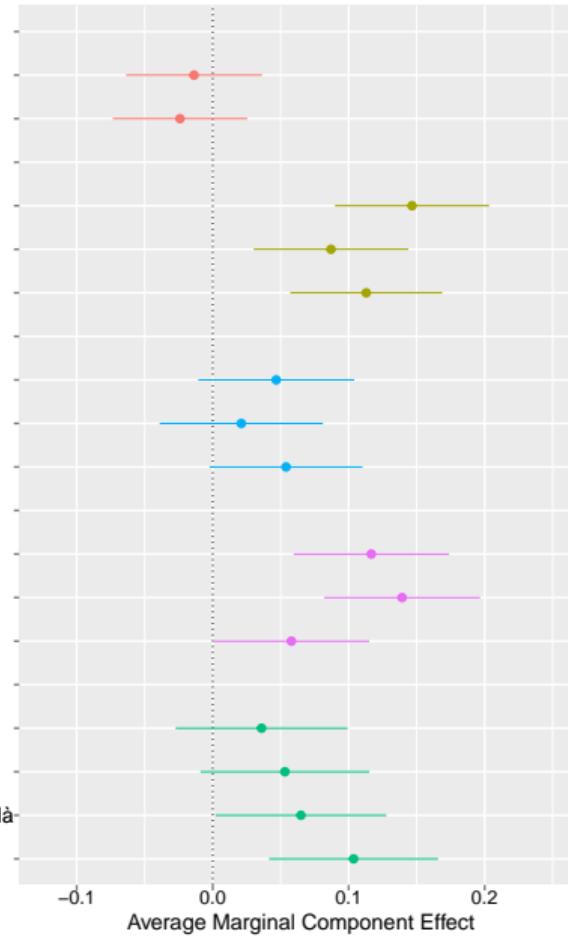
Fiscalité:

Défiscaliser les primes jusqu'à 10 000 € par an

Exonérer d'impôt sur le revenu les jeunes de moins de 30 ans

Baisser l'impôt sur le revenu jusqu'à 4000€/mois net et l'augmenter au-delà

Rétablissement un impôt sur la fortune (ISF) renforcé



Global Climate Scheme question (in the U.S.)

[» Go back](#)

Do you support the following policy?

To ensure that you have attentively read the description, **we will ask some comprehension questions later in the survey: those who get correct answers can win \$100.**

Global Climate Scheme:

In 2015, all countries agreed to contain global warming “well below +2°C”. To achieve this, **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 would be issued globally. Polluting firms would be required to buy permits to cover their greenhouse gas emissions. Such a policy would **make fossil fuel companies pay** for their emissions and gradually 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. **Every adult would receive \$35 per month**, thereby lifting 600 million people who earn less than \$2 a day out of extreme poverty.

The typical American would lose out financially \$90 per month (as he or she would face around 2% in price increases, which is higher than the \$35 per month they would receive).

The policy could be implemented as soon as 100 countries agree to 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 program.

Do you support the Global Climate Scheme?

Plausible global policies . [▶ Go back](#)

Share of (somewhat or strong) support.

| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Russia | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|-----|
| Minimum tax of 2% on billionaires' wealth, in voluntary countries | 63 | 70 | 75 | 71 | 73 | 63 | 66 | 70 | 64 | 54 | 56 | 67 | 61 |
| Bridgetown initiative: MDBs expanding sustainable investments in LICs, and at lower interest rates | 56 | 60 | 56 | 61 | 72 | 47 | 57 | 63 | 61 | 45 | 58 | 70 | 54 |
| L&D: Developed countries financing a fund to help vulnerable countries cope with climate Loss and damage | 55 | 58 | 55 | 55 | 68 | 55 | 61 | 56 | 52 | 44 | 60 | 75 | 52 |
| Debt relief for vulnerable countries, suspending payments until they are more able to repay | 49 | 52 | 48 | 44 | 64 | 53 | 55 | 54 | 52 | 38 | 50 | 70 | 48 |
| Raise global minimum tax on profit from 15% to 35%, allocating revenues to countries based on sales | 49 | 58 | 58 | 57 | 70 | 47 | 50 | 58 | 51 | 42 | 35 | 53 | 46 |
| At least 0.7% of developed countries' GDP in foreign aid | 49 | 51 | 50 | 48 | 59 | 42 | 58 | 50 | 51 | 33 | 58 | 69 | 47 |
| NCQG: Developing countries providing \$300 bn a year in climate finance for developing countries | 48 | 53 | 51 | 54 | 62 | 46 | 54 | 52 | 53 | 32 | 58 | 67 | 44 |
| International levy on shipping carbon emissions, returned to countries based on population | 47 | 54 | 59 | 49 | 62 | 45 | 54 | 53 | 56 | 30 | 47 | 60 | 46 |
| Expand Security Council to new permanent members (e.g. India, Brazil, African Union), restrict veto use | 47 | 56 | 54 | 54 | 64 | 50 | 55 | 55 | 54 | 35 | 37 | 63 | 44 |
| International levy on aviation carbon emissions, raising prices by 30%, returned to countries based on population | 37 | 43 | 47 | 42 | 45 | 39 | 42 | 41 | 42 | 26 | 35 | 53 | 36 |

Table 1: Effect on support for global redistribution of believing that it is likely.

| | Believes global redistr. likely | Share of plausible global policies supported | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| | IV 1st Stage | IV 2nd Stage | OLS | Direct Effect |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Information treatment | 0.080*** (0.009) | | | 0.016** (0.007) |
| Believes global redistribution likely | | 0.205** (0.082) | 0.149*** (0.007) | |
| (Intercept) | 0.345*** (0.006) | 0.428*** (0.031) | 0.449*** (0.004) | 0.498*** (0.005) |
| Observations | 11,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 |
| R ² | 0.007 | 0.037 | 0.043 | 0.001 |
| F Statistic (df = 1; 10998) | 74.701*** | | 498.125*** | 6.099** |

*Note:**p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 19/21

Determinants of support for global redistribution (selected variables)

[Go back](#)

| | Share of plausible policies supported | Supports the Global Climate Scheme | Universalist (Group defended: Humans or Sentient beings) | More likely to vote for party in global coalition | Endorses convergence of all countries' GDP per capita by 2100 | Supports an int'l wealth tax funding LICs | Prefers a sustainable future |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| Mean | 0.509 | 0.564 | 0.446 | 0.365 | 0.582 | 0.699 | 0.679 |
| Vote: Center-right or Right | 0.013 (0.010) | -0.002 (0.015) | -0.091*** (0.014) | 0.026* (0.013) | 0.037** (0.014) | -0.027** (0.014) | -0.063*** (0.014) |
| Vote: Far right | -0.090*** (0.013) | -0.151*** (0.020) | -0.233*** (0.019) | -0.065*** (0.018) | -0.067*** (0.020) | -0.141*** (0.019) | -0.171*** (0.020) |
| Vote: Left | 0.211*** (0.010) | 0.162*** (0.014) | 0.141*** (0.015) | 0.254*** (0.014) | 0.186*** (0.014) | 0.183*** (0.013) | 0.145*** (0.014) |
| Gender: Man | 0.019*** (0.007) | 0.032*** (0.010) | -0.034*** (0.010) | 0.028*** (0.010) | 0.011 (0.010) | 0.001 (0.009) | -0.025*** (0.010) |
| Age: 18-24 | 0.026** (0.011) | 0.088*** (0.016) | 0.064*** (0.016) | 0.100*** (0.016) | 0.048*** (0.016) | 0.047*** (0.014) | 0.029* (0.015) |
| Age: 25-34 | -0.015 (0.010) | -0.038*** (0.014) | -0.024* (0.014) | -0.033** (0.014) | -0.027* (0.014) | -0.031** (0.014) | -0.019 (0.014) |
| Age: 50-64 | 0.037*** (0.013) | -0.011 (0.018) | -0.001 (0.018) | 0.002 (0.017) | -0.014 (0.018) | -0.018 (0.017) | 0.007 (0.017) |
| Age: 65+ | 0.028*** (0.010) | 0.012 (0.015) | -0.021 (0.015) | 0.016 (0.015) | -0.007 (0.015) | 0.018 (0.013) | 0.011 (0.014) |
| Income quartile: Q2 | 0.016 (0.010) | -0.006 (0.015) | 0.005 (0.015) | -0.010 (0.015) | -0.019 (0.015) | -0.025* (0.014) | -0.001 (0.015) |
| Income quartile: Q3 | 0.005 (0.012) | -0.038** (0.017) | -0.026 (0.017) | -0.032* (0.017) | -0.073*** (0.017) | -0.081*** (0.016) | -0.006 (0.016) |
| Income quartile: Q4 | 0.026** (0.010) | -0.012 (0.015) | 0.023 (0.015) | 0.036** (0.015) | 0.034** (0.015) | 0.013 (0.014) | 0.016 (0.015) |
| Diploma: Upper secondary | 0.069*** (0.011) | 0.024 (0.016) | 0.043*** (0.016) | 0.080*** (0.015) | 0.023 (0.016) | 0.013 (0.015) | 0.048*** (0.015) |
| Diploma: Above upper secondary | -0.168* (0.094) | 0.278*** (0.060) | 0.352 (0.248) | -0.062* (0.032) | -0.086 (0.227) | 0.021 (0.087) | 0.355 (0.288) |
| Urbanicity: Rural | -0.013 (0.010) | -0.040*** (0.015) | -0.025 (0.015) | -0.024 (0.015) | -0.014 (0.015) | -0.024* (0.014) | 0.025* (0.014) |
| Urbanicity: Towns and suburbs | 0.049*** (0.009) | 0.072*** (0.012) | -0.008 (0.013) | 0.042*** (0.013) | 0.070*** (0.013) | -0.022* (0.012) | -0.023* (0.012) |
| Observations | 11,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 | 10,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 |
| R ² | 0.159 | 0.112 | 0.107 | 0.115 | 0.098 | 0.103 | 0.078 |

Last slide (needed)