

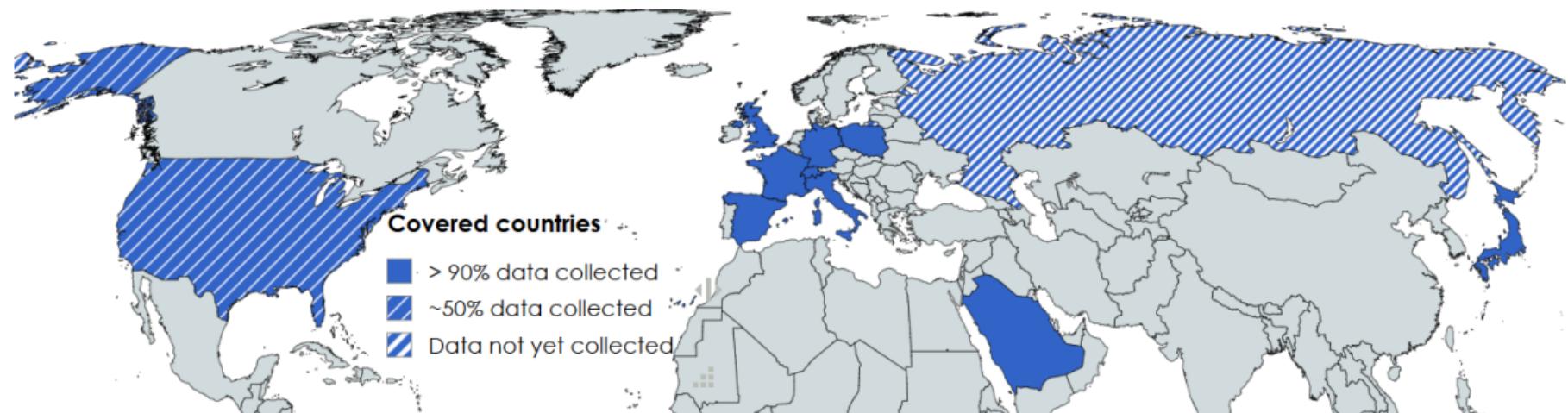
Support for global redistribution in high-income countries

Adrien Fabre

CNRS, CIRED

June 2025

Ongoing data collection



10,208/12,000 respondents (Europe: 5,000; USA: 3,000; Japan: 2,000; Saudi Arabia, Russia: 1,000).

Representative along: gender, age, income, education, urbanicity, region.

Results on control group, weighted using quota variables and country population.

Median duration: 17 min.

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|---|--|------------------------|
| Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico | Ensure nationwide access to abortion as a constitutional right | Social issues |
| - | Cut development aid | Foreign policy |
| Extend the Trump tax cuts | Extend the Trump tax cuts | Tax system |
| Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | - | Climate policy |
| Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour | Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour | Economic issues |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|--|---|------------------------|
| Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | Tax system |
| Ensure nationwide access to abortion as a constitutional right | Enhance border security and limit immigration | Social issues |
| Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour | Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | Economic issues |
| Cut development aid | International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries | Foreign policy |
| Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | Rejoin the Paris Agreement | Climate policy |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries | International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries | Foreign policy |
| Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit | Economic issues |
| Extend the Trump tax cuts | Extend the Trump tax cuts | Tax system |
| No immunity for crimes committed by a former president | Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico | Social issues |
| Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | Climate policy |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | - | Economic issues |
| Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico | Enhance border security and limit immigration | Social issues |
| Rejoin the Paris Agreement | - | Climate policy |
| International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries | - | Foreign policy |
| Repeal all Trump import tariff increases | - | Tax system |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|--|---|------------------------|
| Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico | - | Social issues |
| Rejoin the Paris Agreement | Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | Climate policy |
| - | Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit | Economic issues |
| - | - | Foreign policy |
| Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | - | Tax system |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| - | - | Social issues |
| - | Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | Tax system |
| Cut development aid | International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries | Foreign policy |
| Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | - | Climate policy |
| Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit | Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour | Economic issues |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|--|---|-----------------|
| Rejoin the Paris Agreement | Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | Climate policy |
| Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | - | Tax system |
| Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15/hour | Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | Economic issues |
| Enhance border security and limit immigration | Enhance border security and limit immigration | Social issues |
| Negotiate an immediate ceasefire in Ukraine, recognize new Russian territories and withdraw support to Ukraine | Cut development aid | Foreign policy |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|--|--|------------------------|
| Rejoin the Paris Agreement | - | Climate policy |
| - | Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | Economic issues |
| Raise the capital gains tax rate to 28% for individuals earning over \$1 million | Repeal all Trump import tariff increases | Tax system |
| No immunity for crimes committed by a former president | - | Social issues |
| Cut development aid | Cut development aid | Foreign policy |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

Conjoint analysis

Imagine if the two main candidates in the next presidential election campaigned with the following platforms.

Which of these candidates would you vote for?

| Candidate A | Candidate B | |
|--|--|------------------------|
| Repeal all Trump import tariff increases | Extend the Trump tax cuts | Tax system |
| Expedite the process for oil and gas drilling permits on federal land | - | Climate policy |
| Cut federal spending by \$1 trillion | Increase the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit | Economic issues |
| Negotiate an immediate ceasefire in Ukraine, recognize new Russian territories and withdraw support to Ukraine | - | Foreign policy |
| - | Enhance border security and limit immigration | Social issues |

Candidate A

Candidate B

Neither of them

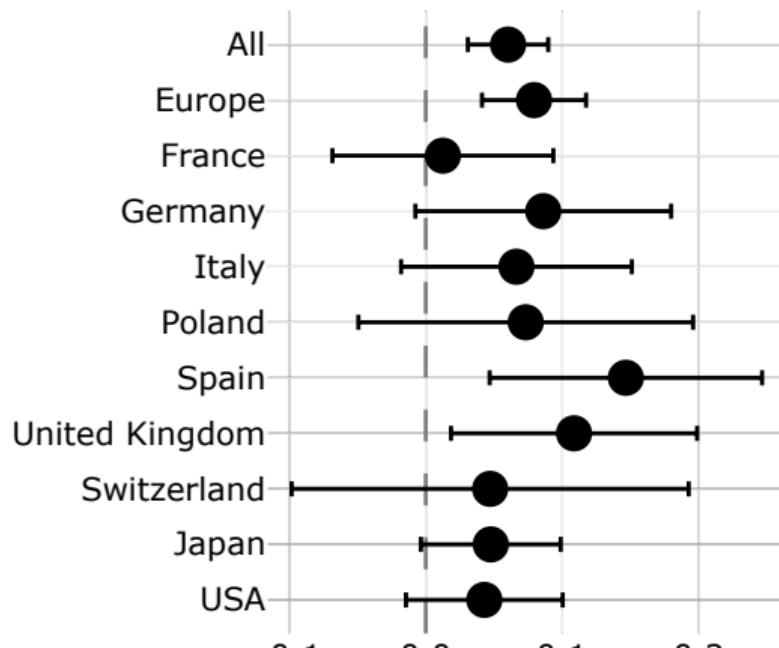
Conjoint analysis

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

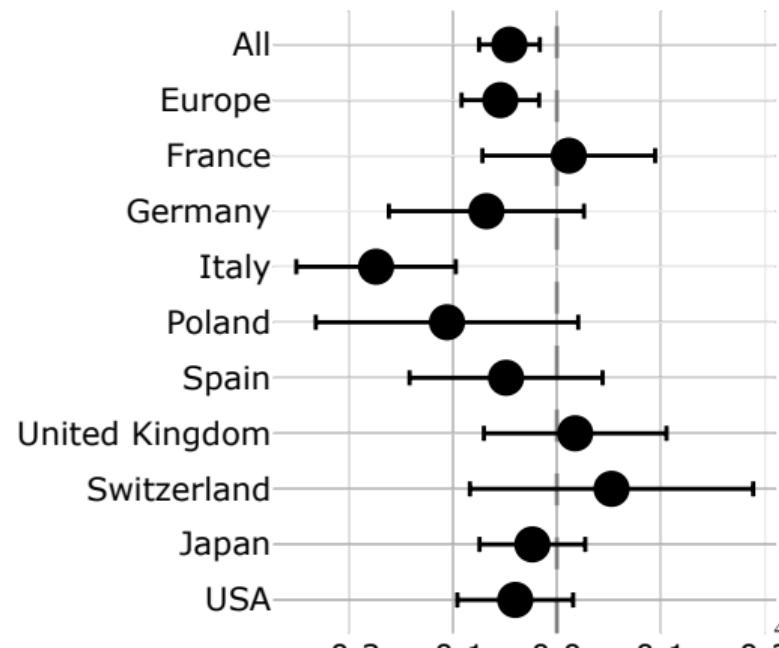
(a) International tax on millionaires with 30% financing

healthcare and education in low-income countries: +5

pp***

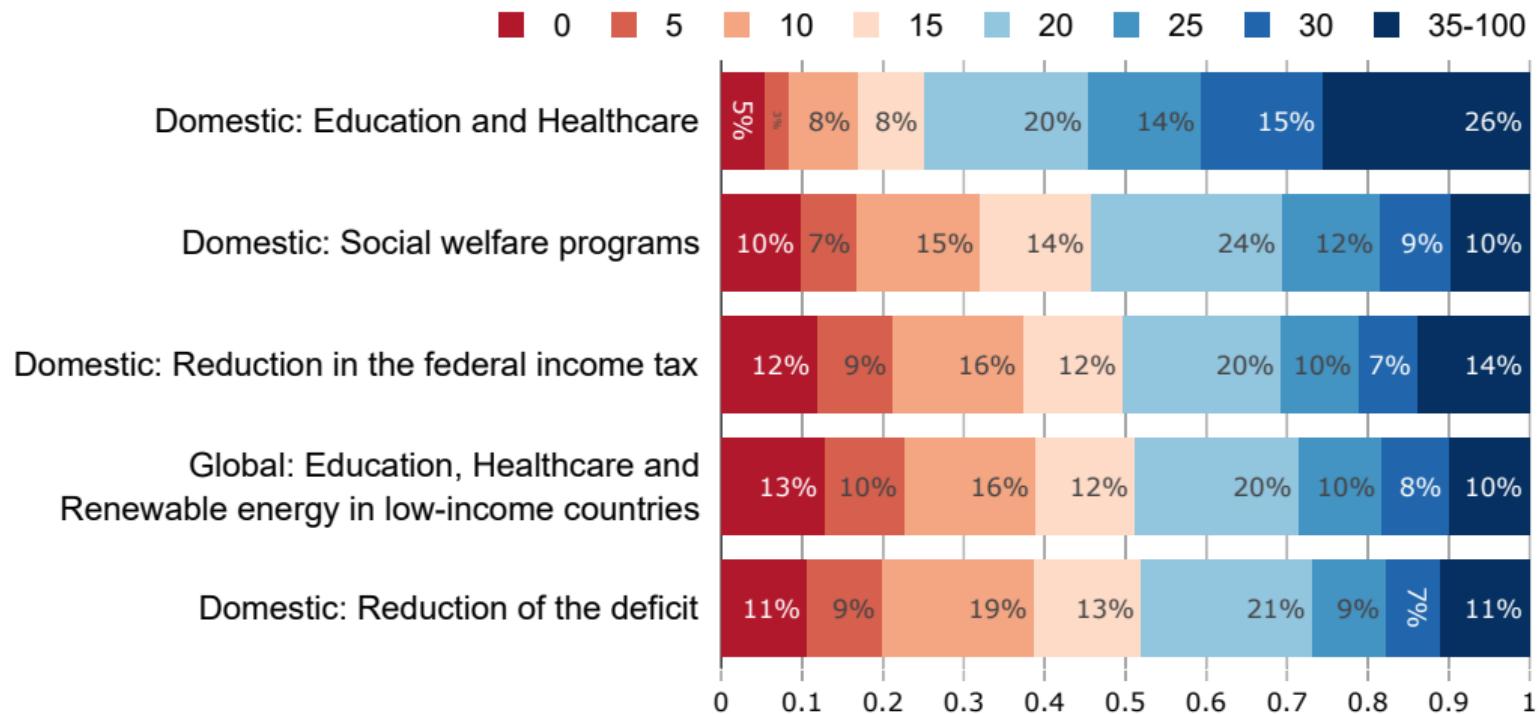


(b) Cut development aid: -5 pp***



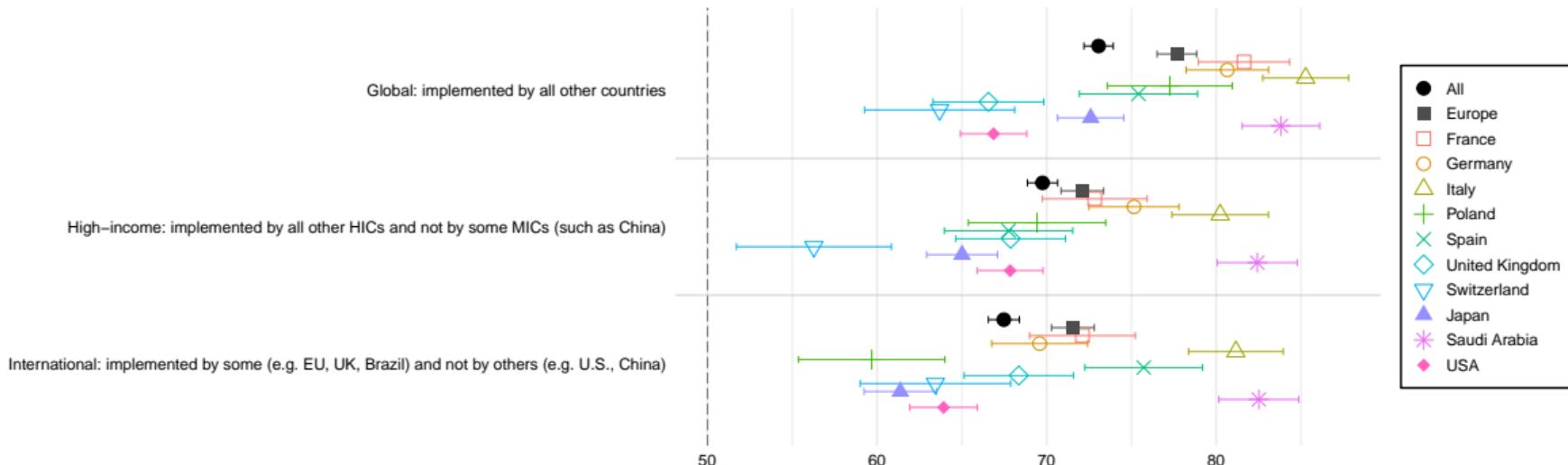
Revenue split

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



International wealth tax

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



International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

Description incentivized for comprehension (72% get it right).

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

Description incentivized for comprehension (72% get it right).

A *global* cap-and-trade financing a *global* basic income of [\$35]/month.

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

Description incentivized for comprehension (72% get it right).

A *global* cap-and-trade financing a *global* basic income of [\$35]/month.

Salient cost: **“The typical [country] person would lose out financially [U.S.: \$90, UK: £20...] per month** (as he or she would face around [U.S.: 2, UK: 1]% in price increases, which is higher than the [\$35] per month they would receive).”

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

Description incentivized for comprehension (72% get it right).

A *global* cap-and-trade financing a *global* basic income of [\$35]/month.

Salient cost: **“The typical [country] person would lose out financially [U.S.: \$90, UK: £20...] per month** (as he or she would face around [U.S.: 2, UK: 1]% in price increases, which is higher than the [\$35] per month they would receive).”

Belief of support for the GCS. 2 random branches:

In own country.

In the U.S.

International Climate Scheme

3 random branches:

Donation experiment: *In case you win the lottery, what share of the \$100 would you donate to plant trees?*

National Climate Scheme (NCS): a cap-and-trade financing equal cash transfers.

Control group: \emptyset .

Global Climate Scheme (GCS):

Description incentivized for comprehension (72% get it right).

A *global* cap-and-trade financing a *global* basic income of [\$35]/month.

Salient cost: **“The typical [country] person would lose out financially [U.S.: \$90, UK: £20...] per month** (as he or she would face around [U.S.: 2, UK: 1]% in price increases, which is higher than the [\$35] per month they would receive.”

Belief of support for the GCS. 2 random branches:

In own country.

In the U.S.

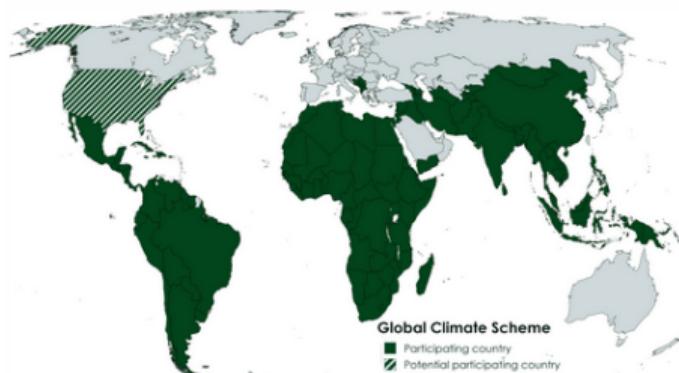
International Climate Scheme (GCS where participating countries are specified). 4 random branches.

International Climate Scheme

Below is a map showing a possible set of countries that would participate in the Global Climate Scheme previously described.

These countries include China, India, as well as all Africa, Latin America, South-Asia and South-East Asia.

Collectively, these 119 countries account for 56% of global emissions (if the United States joined them, 71% of global emissions would be covered).

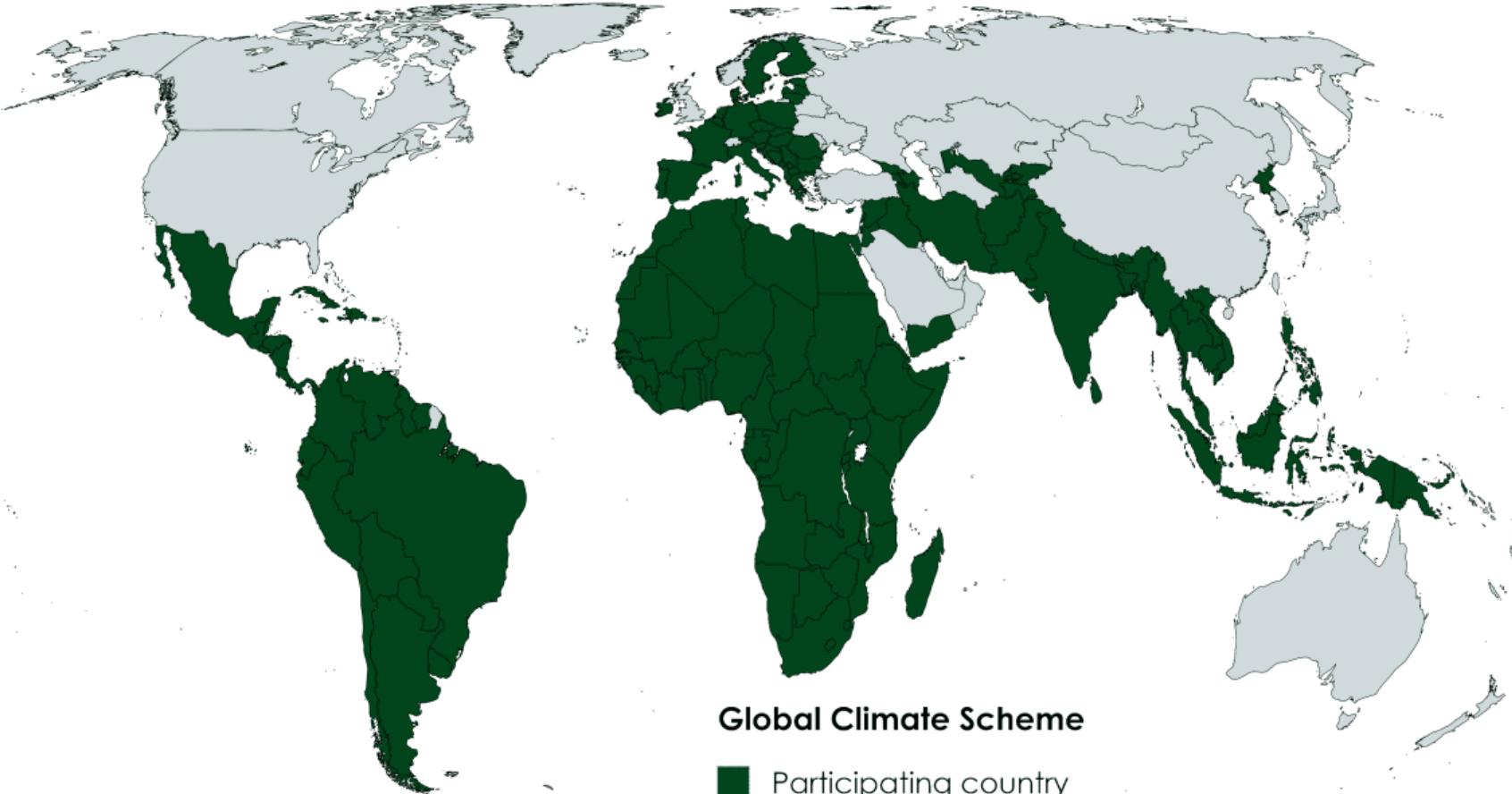


Do you support the United States joining the Global Climate Scheme, in case it is adopted by the above countries?

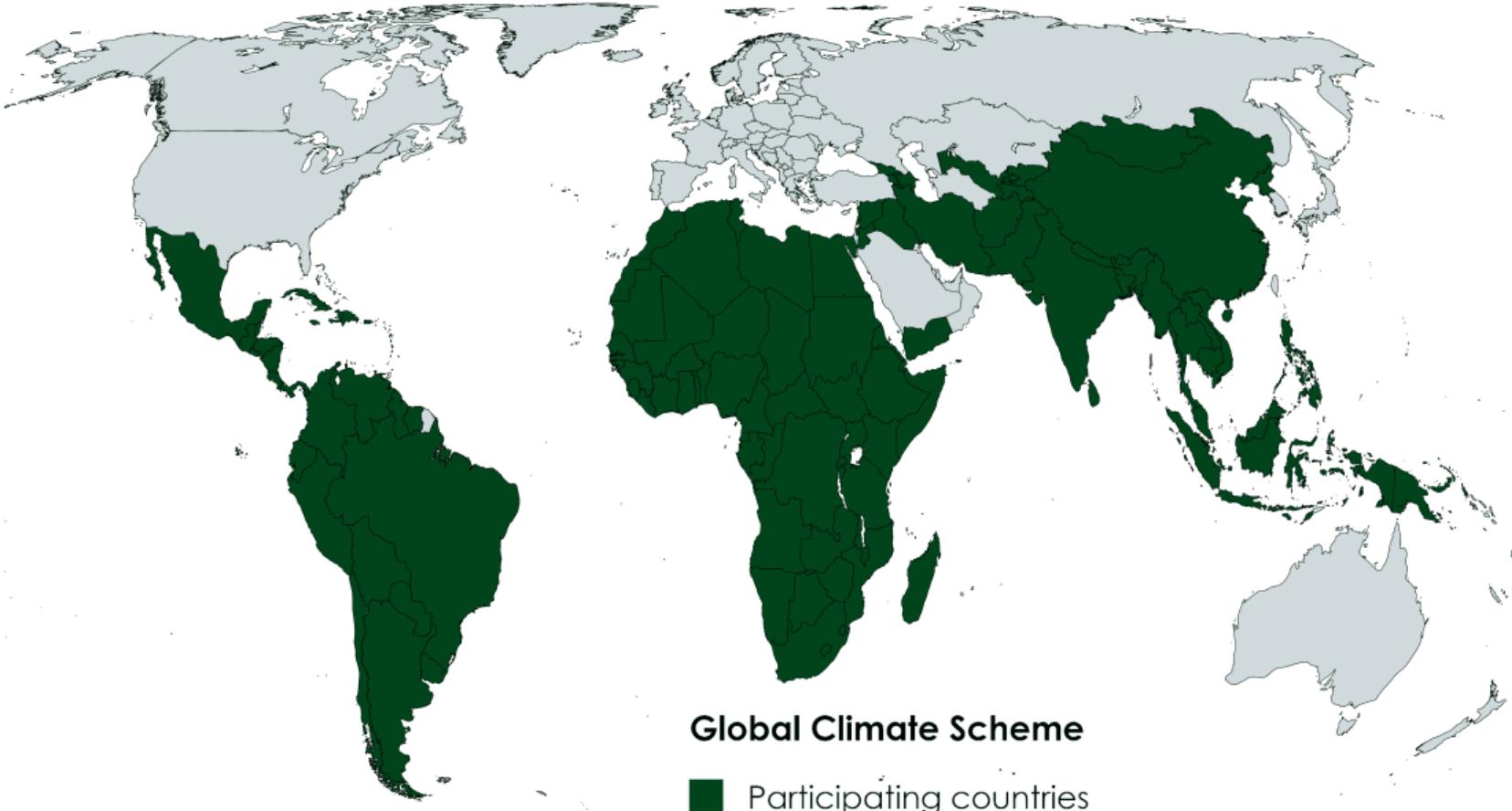
Yes

No

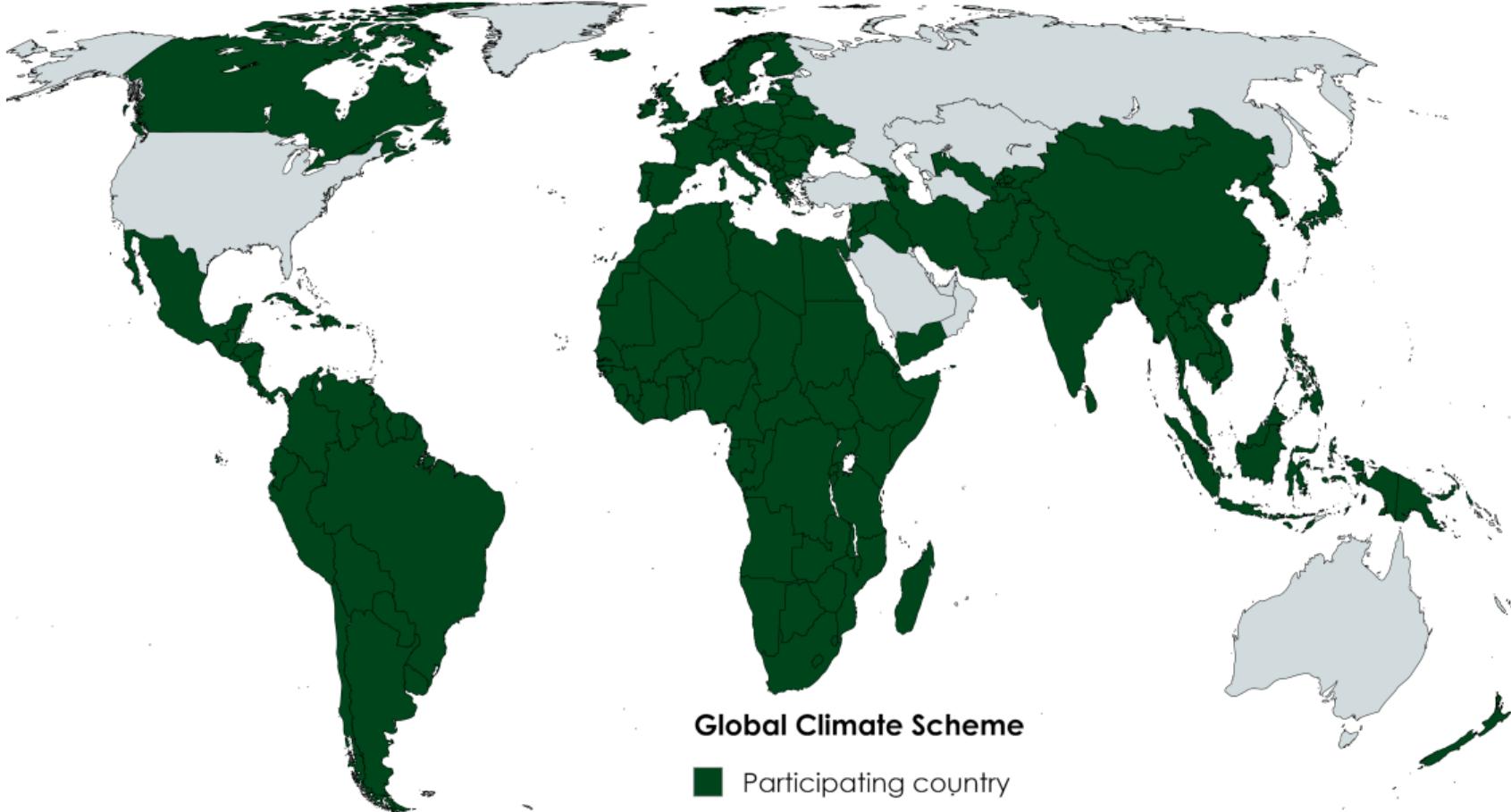
International Climate Scheme



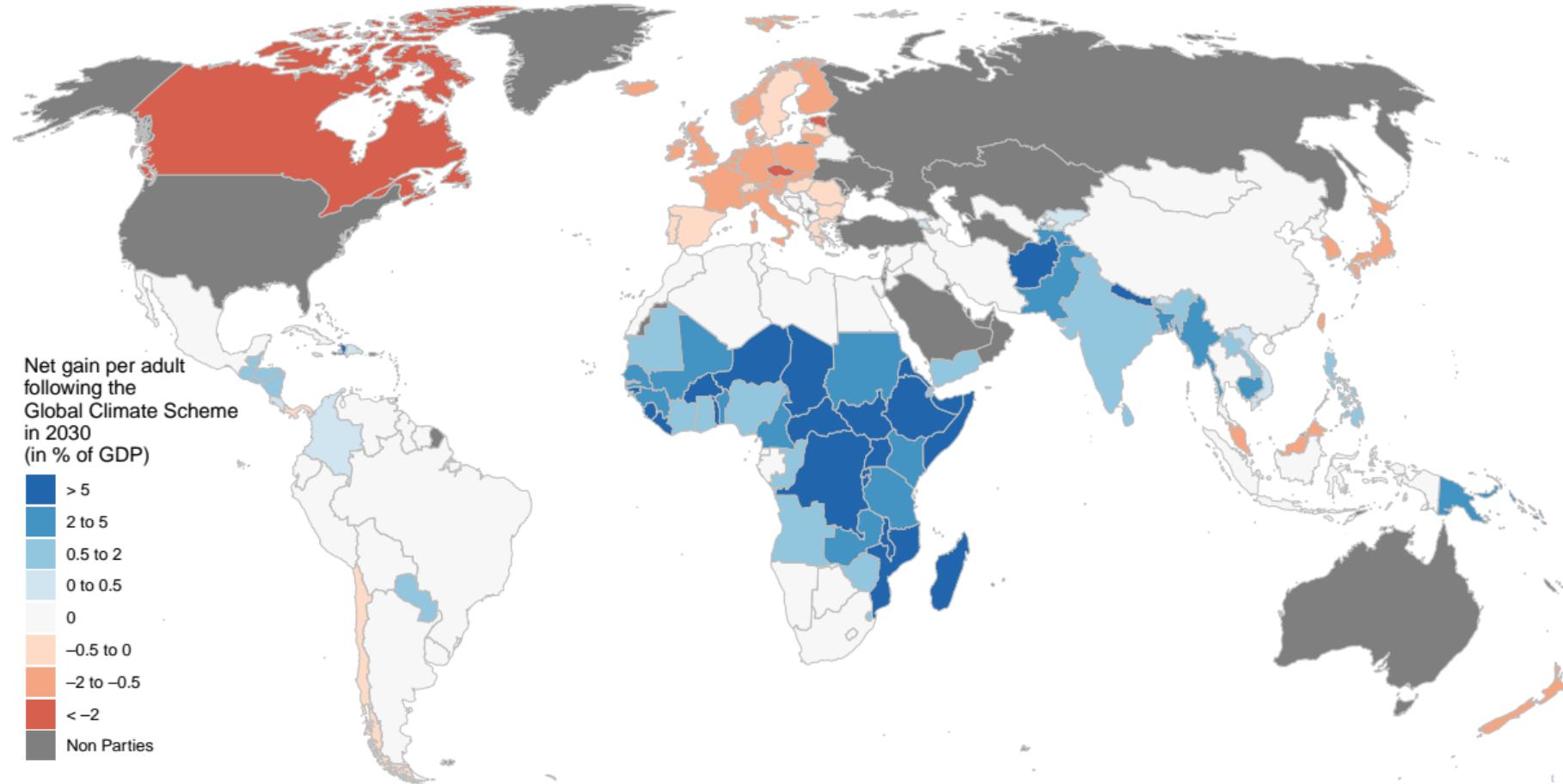
International Climate Scheme



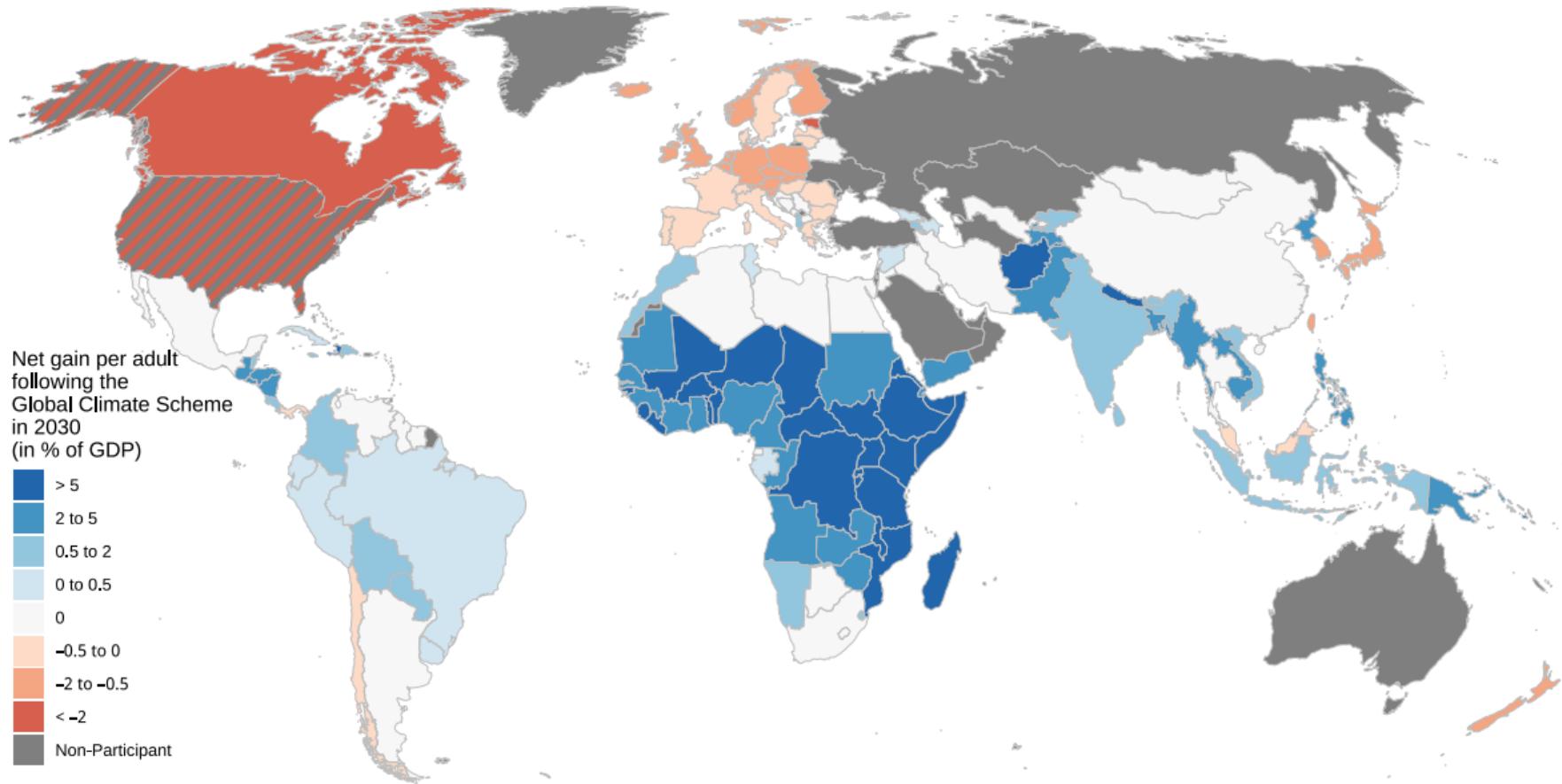
International Climate Scheme



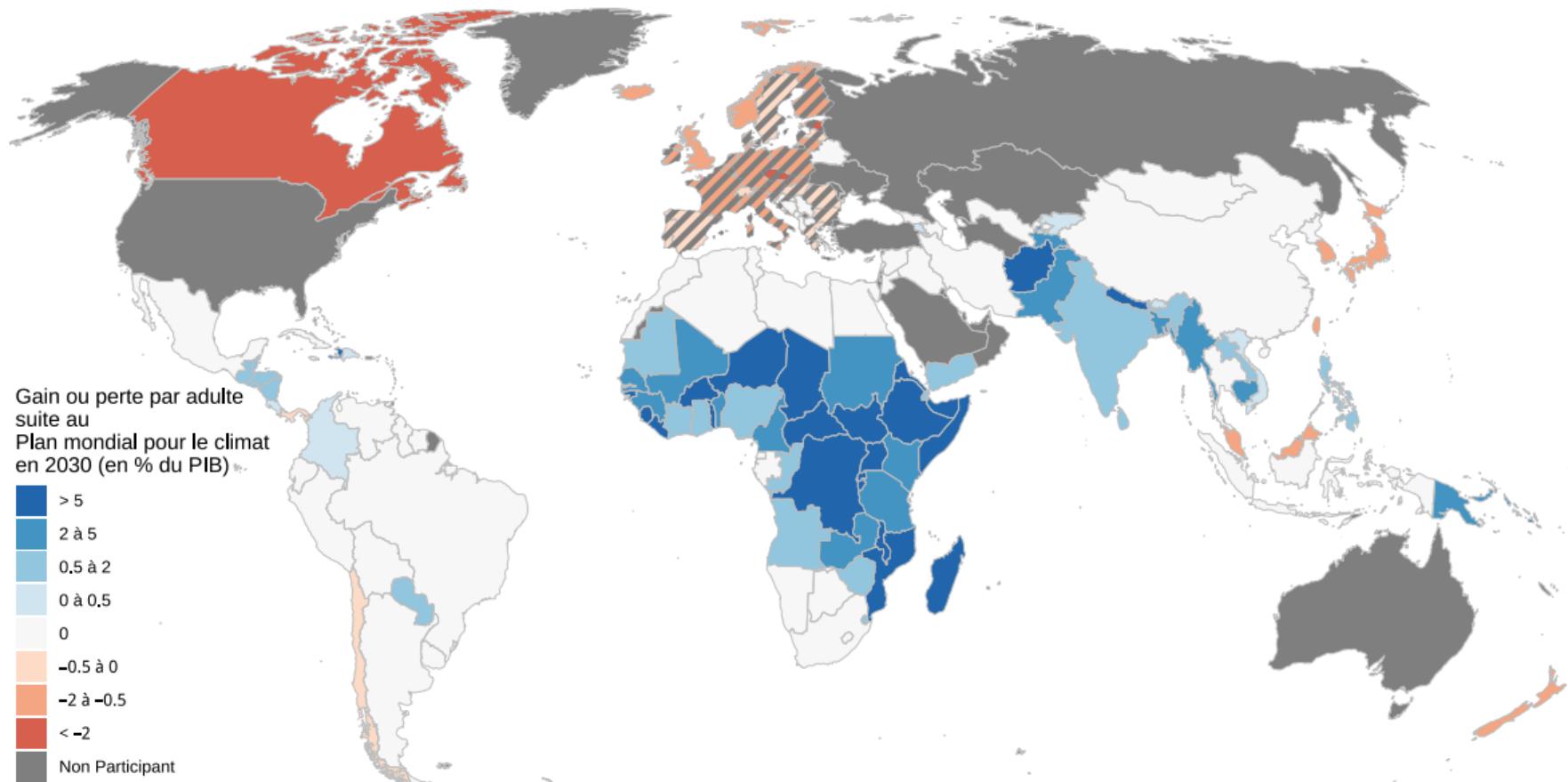
International Climate Scheme



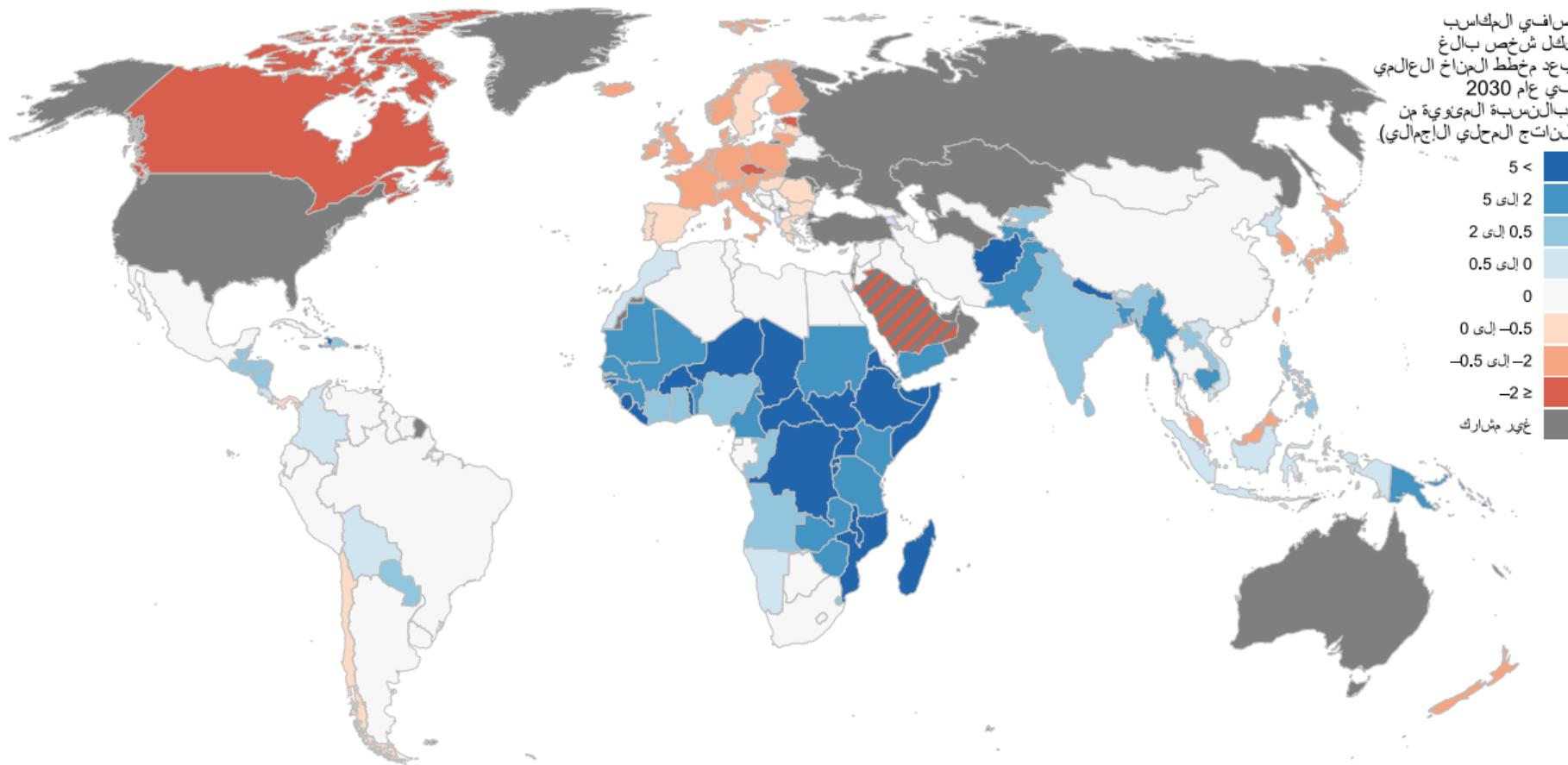
International Climate Scheme



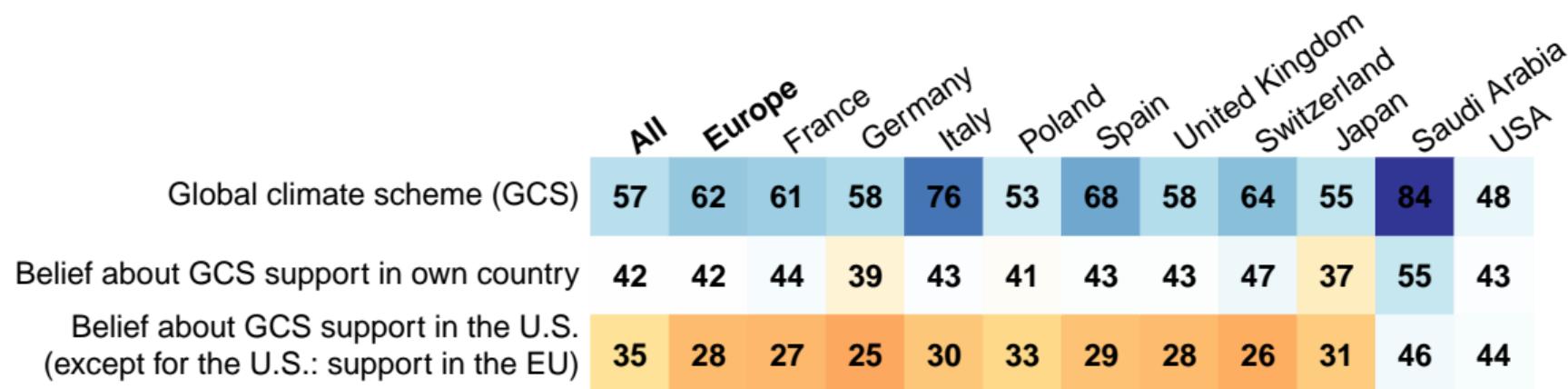
International Climate Scheme



International Climate Scheme



Pluralistic ignorance

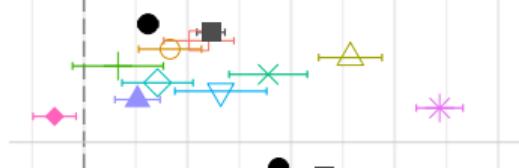


International Climate Scheme

Supports the National Climate Scheme



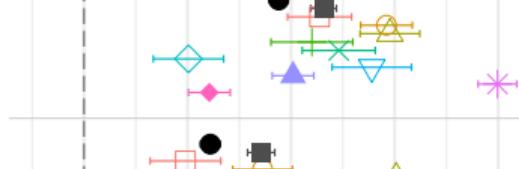
Global climate scheme (GCS)



Supports the GCS if its other members* cover 64–72% of world emissions

*High: Global South + China + EU + various HICs (UK, Japan, South Korea, Canada...)

Supports the GCS if its other members* cover 64–72% of world emissions,
*High color: High + Distributive effects displayed using colors on world map



Supports the GCS if its other members* cover 56% of world emissions
*Mid: Global South + China



Supports the GCS if its other members* cover 25–33% of world emissions

*Low: Global South + EU



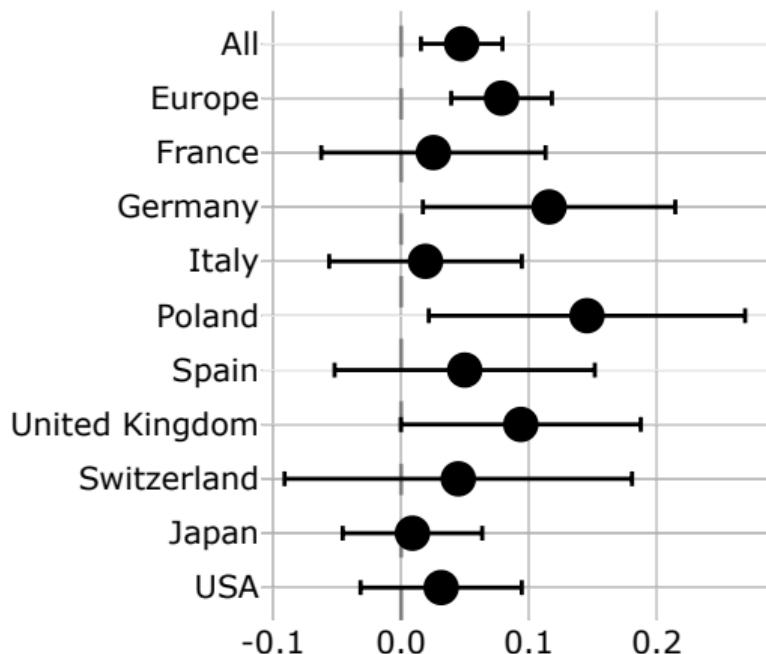
Realistic global policies

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

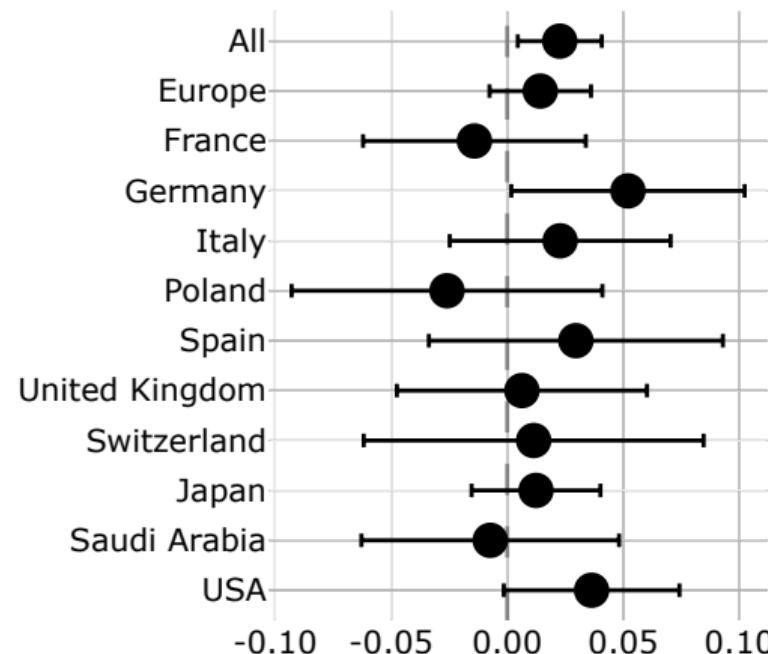
| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-----|
| Minimum tax of 2% on billionaires' wealth, in voluntary countries | 80 | 85 | 87 | 84 | 89 | 81 | 81 | 84 | 81 | 81 | 85 | 75 |
| Bridgetown initiative: MDBs expanding sustainable investments in LICs, and at lower interest rates | 79 | 83 | 82 | 83 | 89 | 77 | 81 | 82 | 76 | 80 | 86 | 74 |
| L&D: Developed countries financing a fund to help vulnerable countries cope with climate Loss and damage | 72 | 74 | 71 | 74 | 83 | 74 | 77 | 69 | 64 | 73 | 89 | 67 |
| Expand Security Council to new permanent members (e.g. India, Brazil, African Union), restrict veto use | 71 | 76 | 74 | 74 | 81 | 75 | 76 | 75 | 69 | 68 | 83 | 66 |
| Raise global minimum tax on profit from 15% to 35%, allocating revenues to countries based on sales | 71 | 74 | 77 | 74 | 85 | 67 | 69 | 71 | 61 | 72 | 76 | 65 |
| International levy on shipping carbon emissions, returned to countries based on population | 69 | 74 | 78 | 71 | 78 | 65 | 75 | 72 | 73 | 59 | 80 | 65 |
| Debt relief for vulnerable countries, suspending payments until they are more able to repay | 68 | 69 | 63 | 60 | 81 | 80 | 72 | 69 | 64 | 69 | 88 | 65 |
| At least 0.7% of developed countries' GDP in foreign aid | 67 | 68 | 66 | 66 | 78 | 61 | 77 | 62 | 60 | 62 | 86 | 64 |
| NCQG: Developing countries providing \$300 bn a year in climate finance for developing countries | 64 | 69 | 67 | 70 | 76 | 65 | 73 | 62 | 62 | 59 | 85 | 58 |
| International levy on aviation carbon emissions, raising prices by 30%, returned to countries based on population | 52 | 56 | 60 | 57 | 55 | 55 | 54 | 51 | 47 | 46 | 68 | 49 |

Testing warm glow

(a) Effect of a *Donation lottery* treatment on support for the *Global Climate Scheme*.



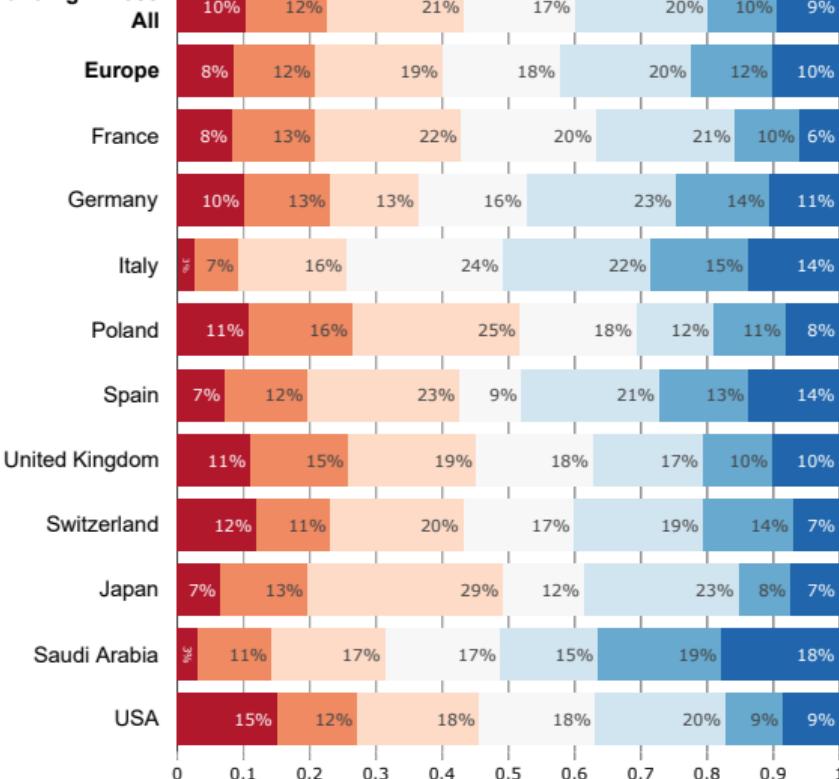
(b) Effect of *information about ongoing global redistribution initiatives* on the share of realistic *global policies* supported



NCQG

■ Stop ■ Reduce ■ Maintain (\$26 bn) ■ Meet goal (\$100 bn) ■ Intermediate (\$200 bn) ■ Developing (\$600 bn) ■ NGOs (\$1,000 bn)

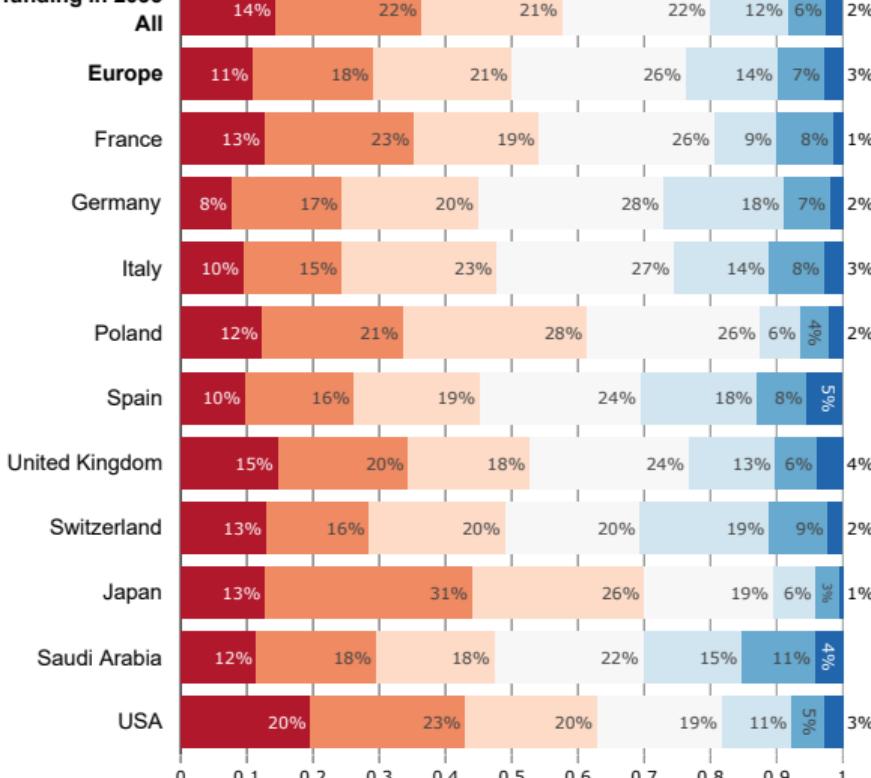
Preferred North-to-South climate grant funding in 2035



NCQG

■ \$0 ■ \$26 bn ■ \$100 bn ■ \$300 bn ■ \$600 bn ■ \$1,000 bn ■ \$5,000 bn

Preferred North-to-South climate grant funding in 2035



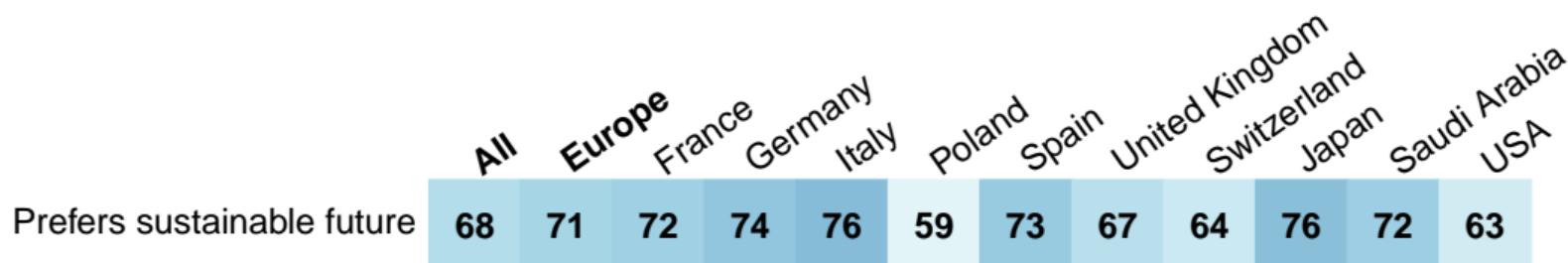
BAU vs. sustainable future

BAU future:

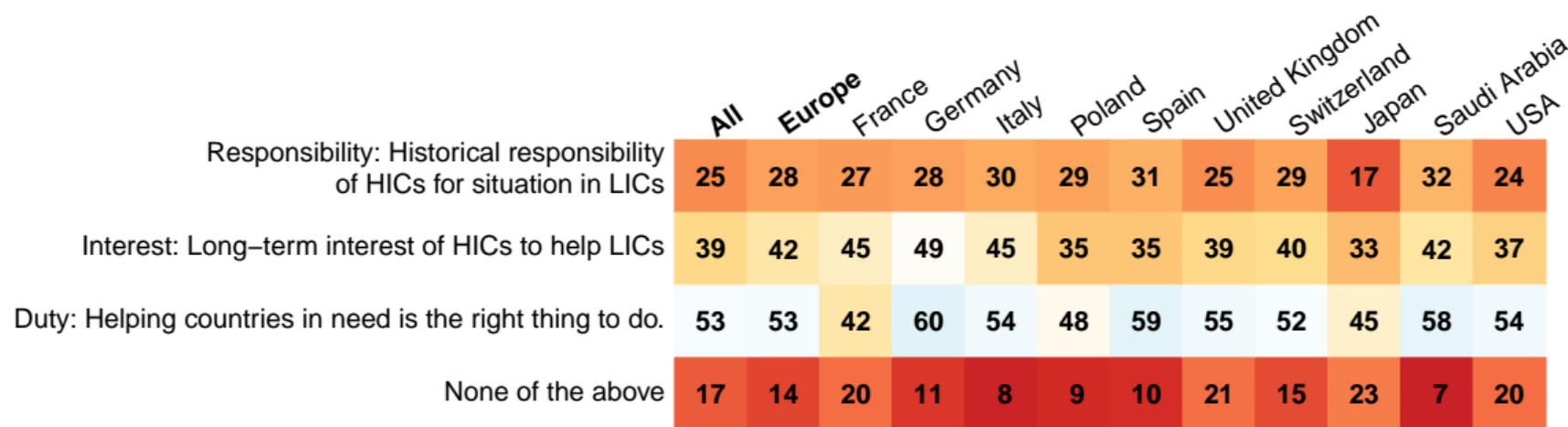
- No additional policies to address climate change or inequality.
- Stable carbon emissions. $+3^{\circ}\text{C}$ warming by 2100, causing more severe natural disasters.
- **People maintain the same lifestyles** as in 2025, such as driving gasoline cars.

Sustainable future:

- **Worldwide policies** to limit global warming to $+2^{\circ}\text{C}$ 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**.



Why help LICs?



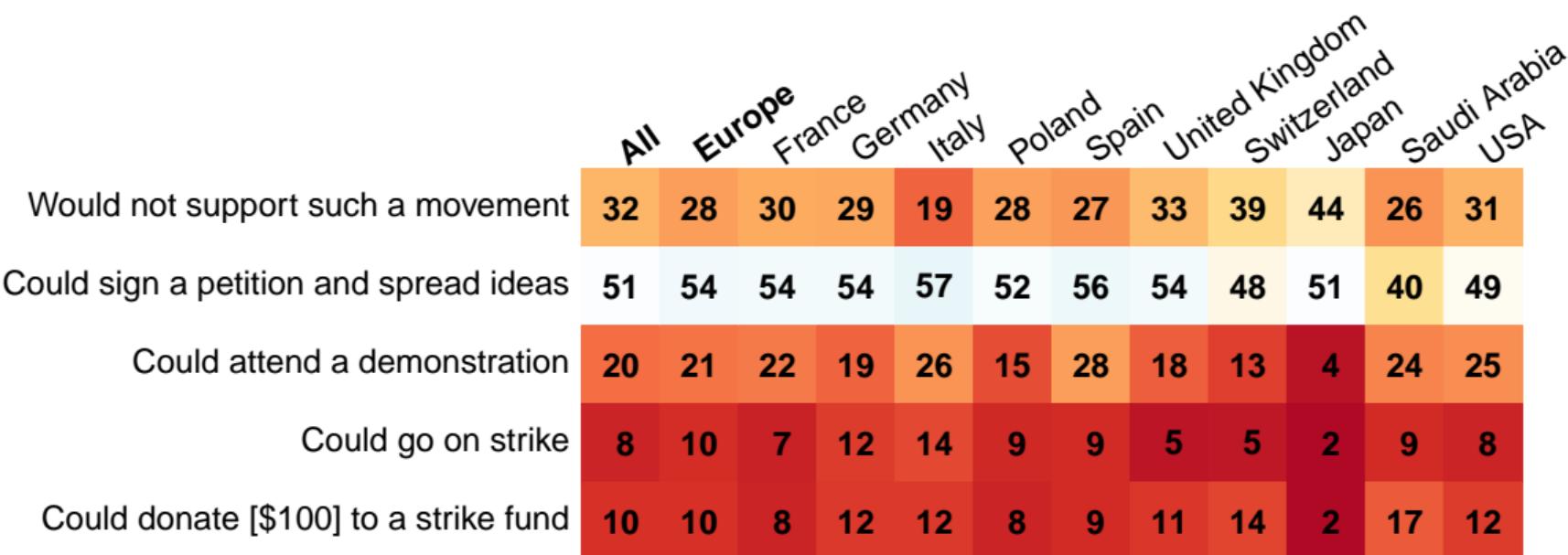
Preferred means of transfers

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).

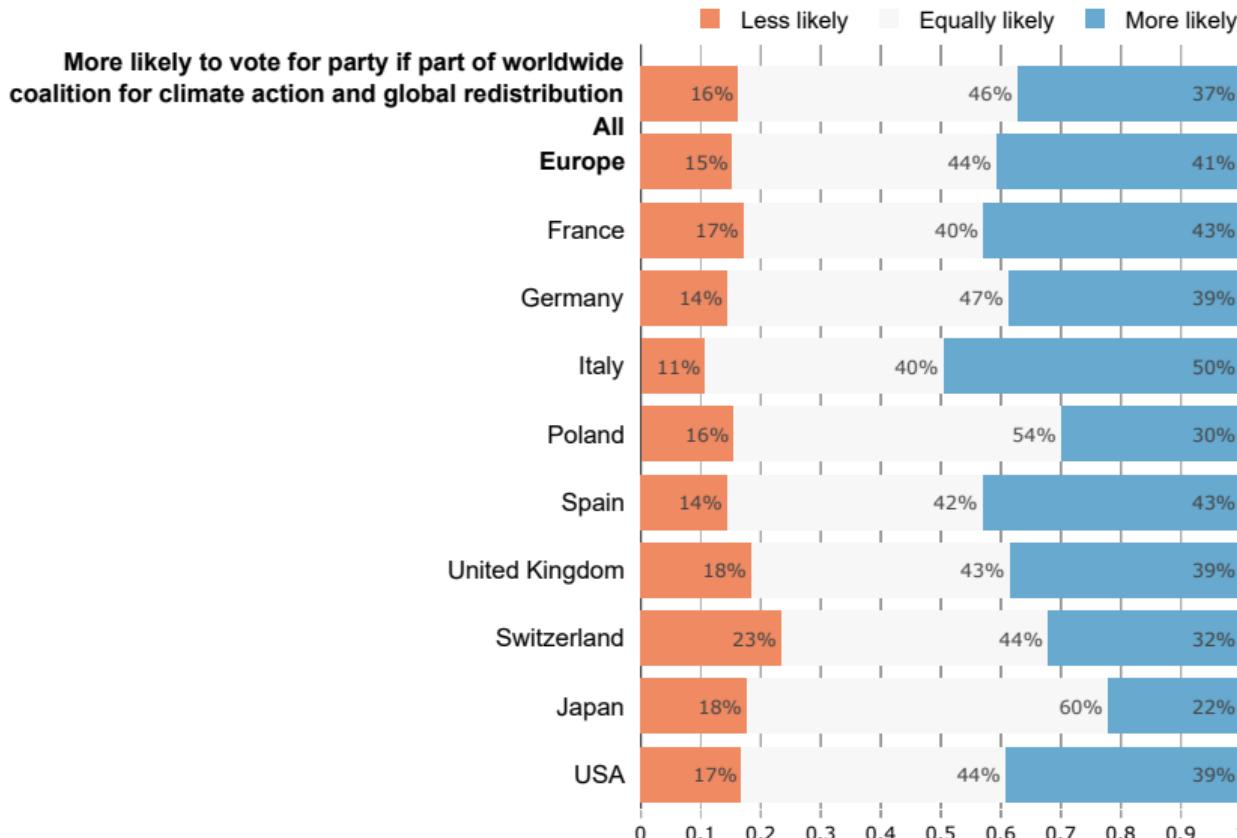
| | All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|---|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-----|
| Target cash transfers (child allowances, disability & elderly pensions) | 46 | 47 | 44 | 45 | 56 | 45 | 55 | 42 | 45 | 36 | 72 | 46 |
| Development aid agencies | 40 | 42 | 41 | 49 | 39 | 33 | 45 | 41 | 44 | 36 | 56 | 38 |
| Government, conditional on financing poverty reduction | 38 | 41 | 38 | 45 | 47 | 33 | 41 | 36 | 37 | 27 | 62 | 36 |
| Local NGOs with democratic processes | 31 | 34 | 39 | 33 | 34 | 33 | 36 | 28 | 34 | 22 | 52 | 30 |
| Unconditional cash transfers to each household | 31 | 29 | 32 | 25 | 30 | 30 | 35 | 27 | 34 | 25 | 62 | 32 |
| Local authorities | 22 | 23 | 25 | 21 | 22 | 31 | 23 | 20 | 20 | 18 | 46 | 21 |
| Government, unconditional | 19 | 18 | 20 | 14 | 18 | 23 | 22 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 50 | 20 |

A humanist movement

If there was a worldwide movement in favor of a global program to tackle climate change, implement taxes on millionaires and fund poverty reduction in low-income countries, to what extent would you be willing to be part of that movement? (Multiple answers possible)

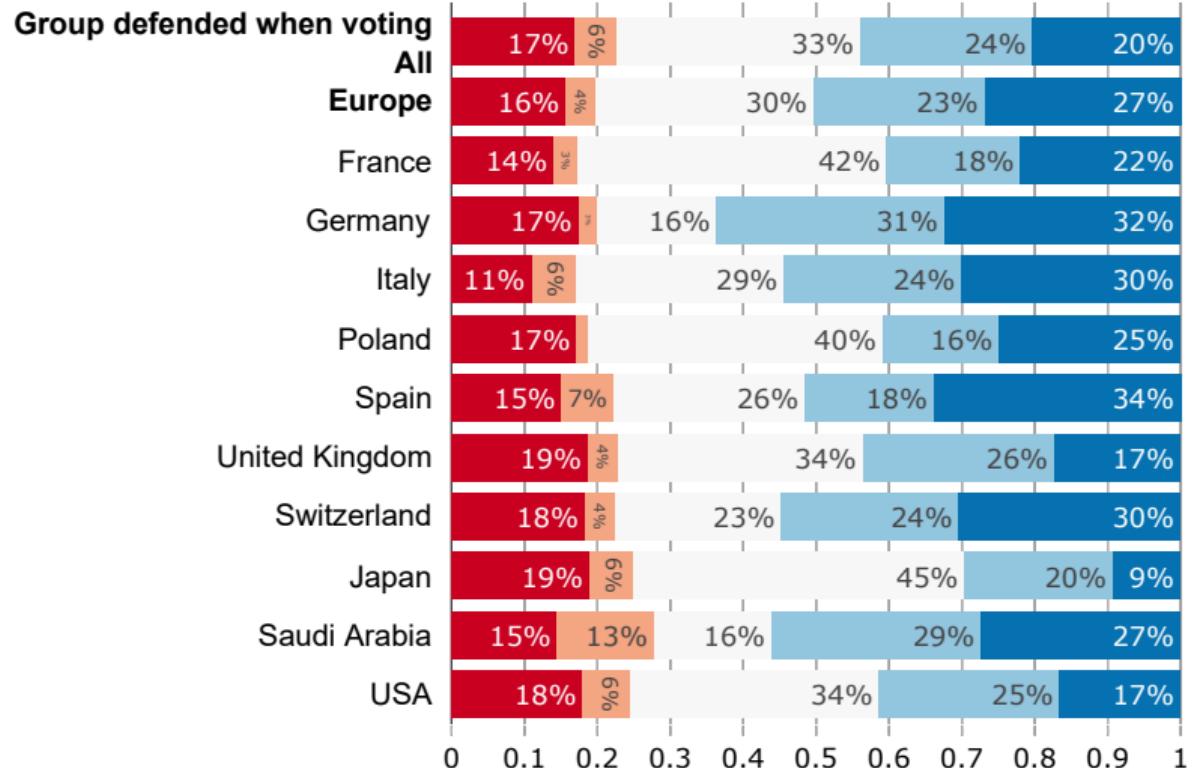


Importance on voting



Moral circle

■ Family and self ■ Region, continent or religion ■ Fellow citizens ■ Humans ■ Sentient beings



Radical redistribution

| All | Europe | France | Germany | Italy | Poland | Spain | United Kingdom | Switzerland | Japan | Saudi Arabia | USA |
|-----|--------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------------|-----|
| 69 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 84 | 69 | 74 | 66 | 61 | 69 | 82 | 59 |
| 63 | 65 | 70 | 64 | 70 | 69 | 66 | 67 | 39 | 55 | 83 | 54 |
| 72 | 77 | 77 | 75 | 87 | 84 | 84 | 66 | 66 | 70 | 93 | 55 |
| 47 | 50 | 44 | 45 | 69 | NA | 51 | 45 | NA | NA | NA | 40 |
| 62 | 61 | 44 | 62 | 76 | 63 | 72 | 58 | 53 | 59 | 88 | 53 |

Supports tax on world top 1% to finance global poverty reduction
(Additional 15% tax on income over [\$120k/year in PPP])

Supports tax on world top 3% to finance global poverty reduction
(Additional 15% tax over [\$80k], 30% over [\$120k], 45% over [\$1M])

"Governments should actively cooperate to have all countries converge in terms of GDP per capita by the end of the century"

Supports reparations for colonization and slavery in the form of funding education and technology transfers

"My taxes should go towards solving global problems"

Custom redistribution

▶ Video

Examples of income changes after your proposed redistribution:

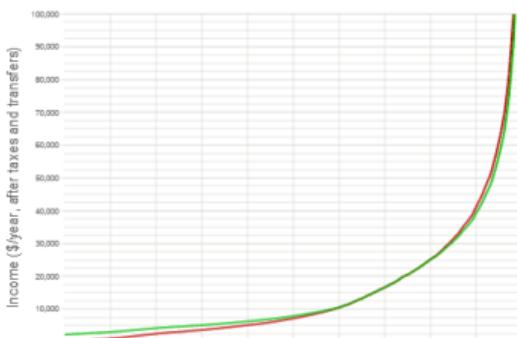
| Now | After |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 0 \$/year | 2 215 \$/year |
| 10 000 \$/year | 10 115 \$/year |
| 60 000 \$/year | 55 793 \$/year |
| 100 000 \$/year | 90 965 \$/year |
| Your <i>individual</i> income | |
| 40 000 \$/year | 38 206 \$/year |

Proportion of winners: 60%

Proportion of losers: 20%

Degree of redistribution: 2

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



ChartPK:

I am satisfied with my custom redistribution.

I want to skip this question.

Custom redistribution

▶ [Video](#)

Redistribution with median preferred parameters (among satisfied): winners 49%; losers: 19%; degree: 5.



55% satisfied; 44% skipped

Share satisfied among:

non-voters: 48%; left: 61%, right: 54%, far right: 58%.

50% lose from their custom redistribution while only 9% win.

Average custom redistribution:

Minimal income: \$235/month

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

Conclusion

Global poverty seen as big injustice but not a salient concern.

Strong majority support for globally redistributive policies.

Support reduces (only) slightly when fewer countries participate.

Support is genuine. No evidence of warm glow.

Global redistribution is a vote-determining issue for many people.

Most agree global sustainability is a duty.

Most agree they should contribute themselves.