

Support for global redistribution in high-income countries

Adrien Fabre

CNRS, CIRED

July 2025

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A political program is ~10% more likely to be preferred if it contains the GCS or a global millionaire tax.

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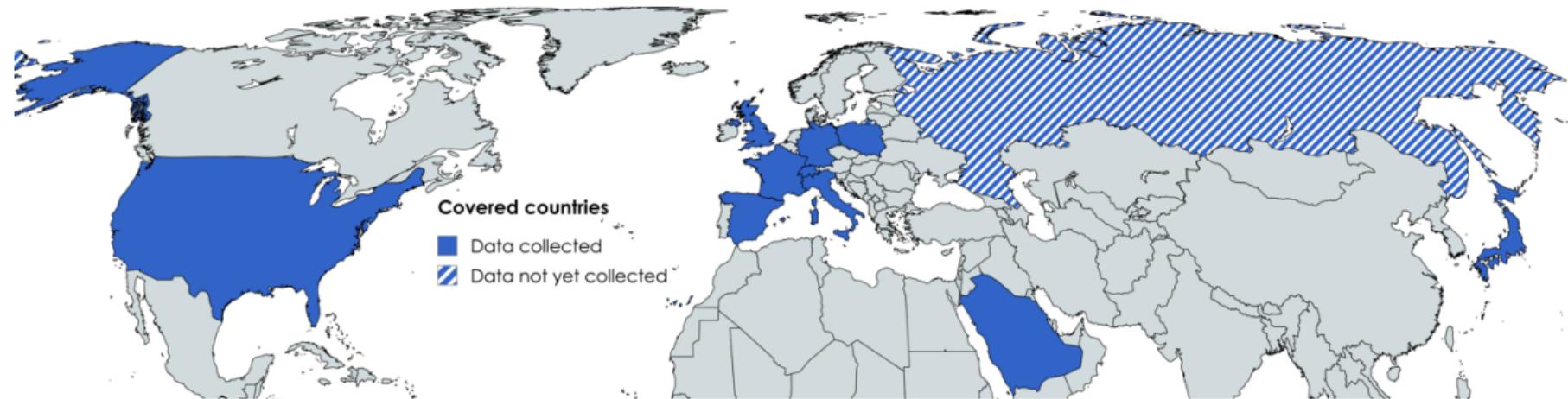
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- Support may drop below 50% if country participation is not universal ⇒ H4.
- (Warm glow) Support may decrease with less costly substitute with same more appeal ⇒ H5a or it may hold only for as long as global redistribution seems unlikely ⇒ H5b.

Data



11,000/12,000 respondents (Europe: 5,000; USA: 3,000; Japan: 2,000; Saudi Arabia, Russia: 1,000). Data collected from April 15 to July 3, 2025.

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.

Open-ended fields

Four random branches:

Wishes: What are your needs or wishes?

Issue: Can you name an issue that is important to you but is neglected in the public debate?

Concerns: What are your main concerns these days?

Injustice: What according to you is the greatest injustice of all?

Preliminary findings:

Main concern, issue, wish: **purchasing power.**

Main injustice: poverty.

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

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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

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No immunity for crimes committed by a former president	Deploy U.S. troops against drug cartels in Mexico	Social issues
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Conjoint analysis

Conjoint analysis in Germany (Average Marginal Component Effect) ▶ Other countries

Klimaschutz:

- Aufhebung des Heizungsgesetzes, das erneuerbare Energien vorschreibt
- Neuwagen mit Verbrennungsmotor ab 2035 verbieten.

Wirtschaftspolitik:

- Strompreise durch Steuernsenkungen um 12 % senken
- Mindestlohn bis 2026 auf 15 € erhöhen
- 500 Milliarden Euro in strategische Sektoren wie Stahl, Automobilindustrie und Verteidigung investieren

Außenpolitik:

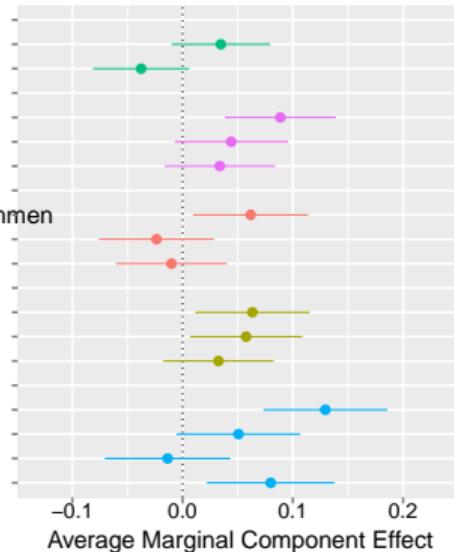
- Internationale Millionärssteuer mit 30 % zur Finanzierung von Gesundheit und Bildung in Ländern mit niedrigem Einkommen
- Kürzung der Entwicklungshilfe
- Die Ukraine militärisch und finanziell unterstützen

Gesellschaft:

- Einsatz elektronischer Fußfesseln zur Verfolgung von Gewalttätern gegen Frauen
- 20.000 € staatlicher Zuschuss bei Geburt eines Kindes
- Beschleunigte Verfahren zur Erlangung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit einschränken

Steuerpolitik:

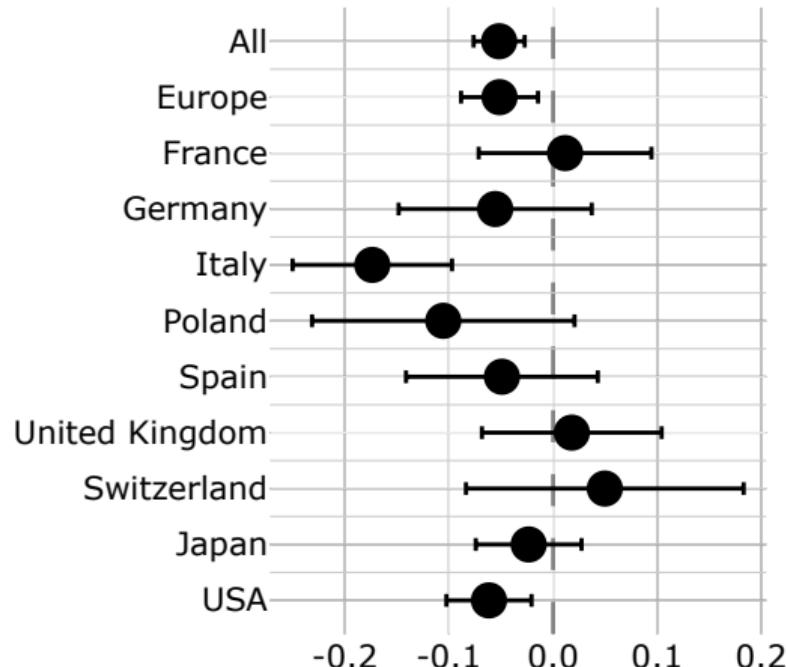
- Keine Steuern auf Überstunden und Arbeit im Rentenalter
- Abschaffung der Erbschaftssteuer
- Komplette Wiedereinführung der Schuldenbremse
- Höhere Steuern für die reichsten 1% zur Finanzierung von höherem Kindergeld, Bürgergeld und Mindestrente



Conjoint analysis

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

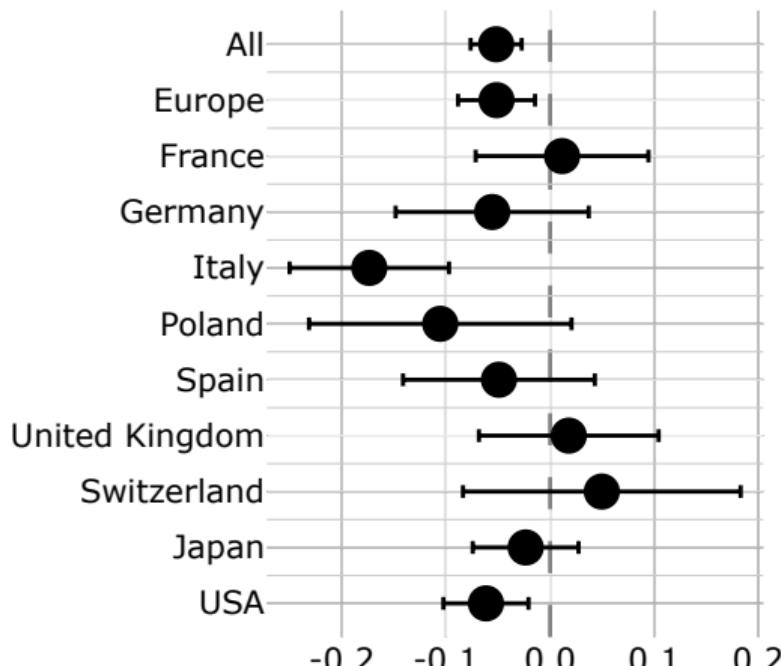
(a) Cut development aid: -5 pp*** ✓H1a



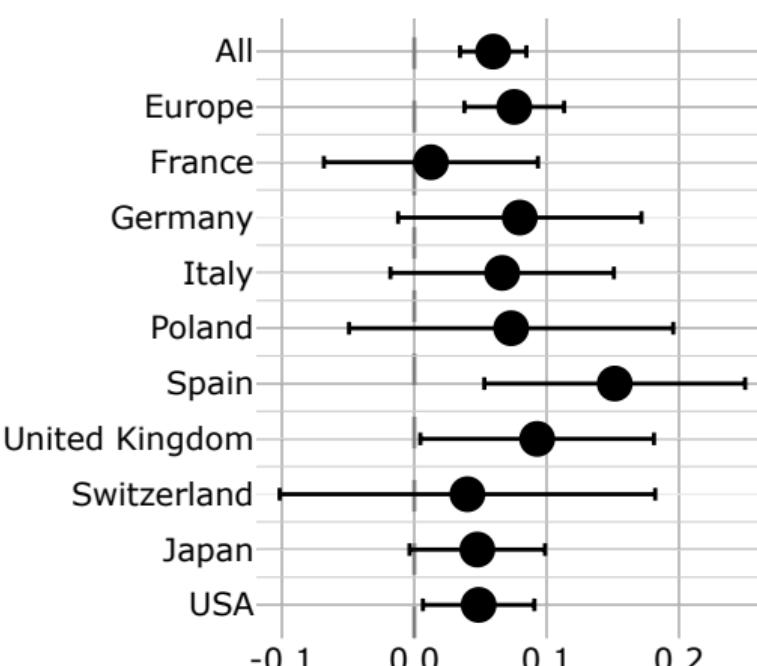
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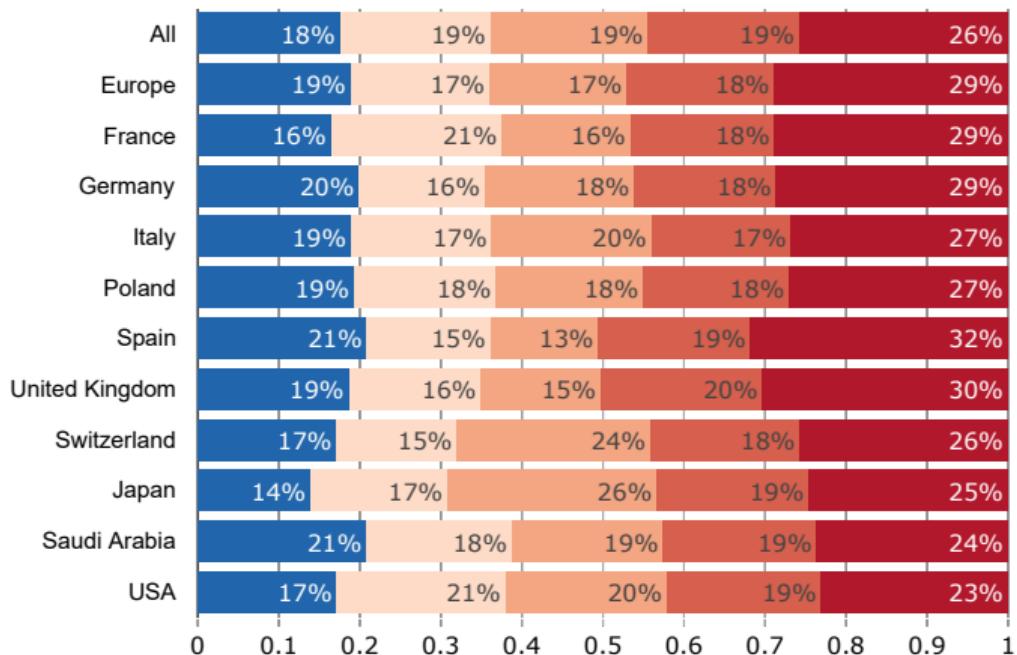
(b) International tax on millionaires with 30% financing health and education in low-income countries: $+5$ pp*** ✓H1b



Revenue split

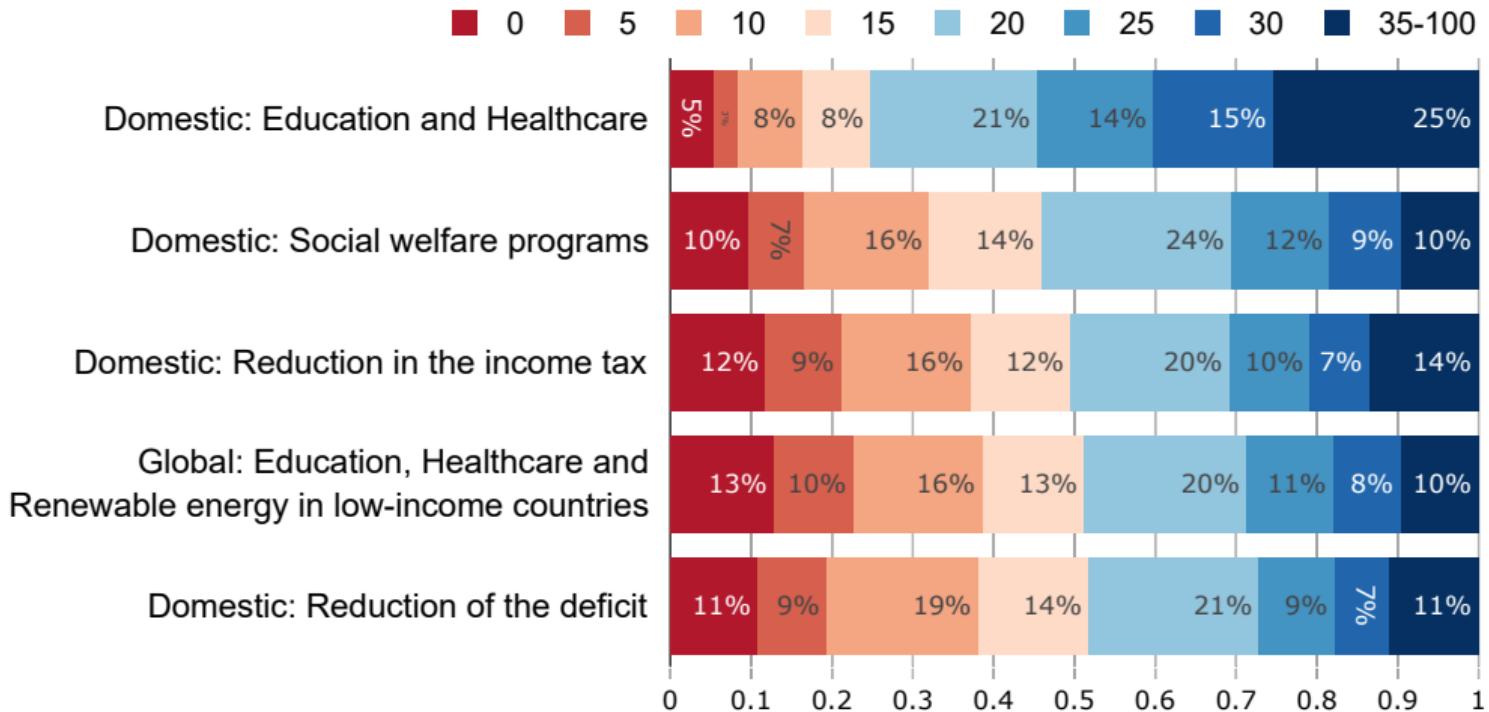
How should revenue from a global tax on millionaires be allocated? (in %) ✓H2

- 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



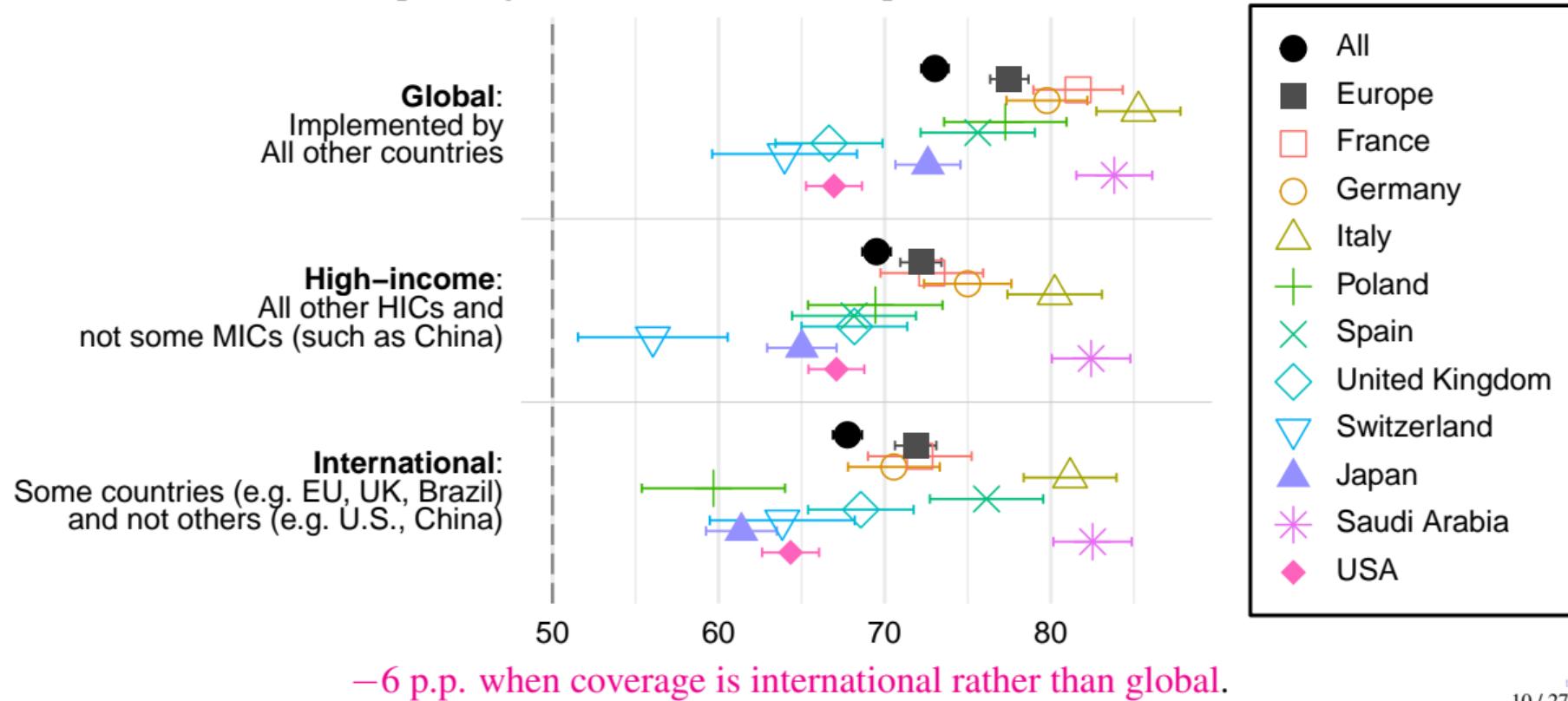
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International wealth tax

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



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3 random branches:

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

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Belief of support for the GCS. 2 random branches:

In own country.

In the U.S.

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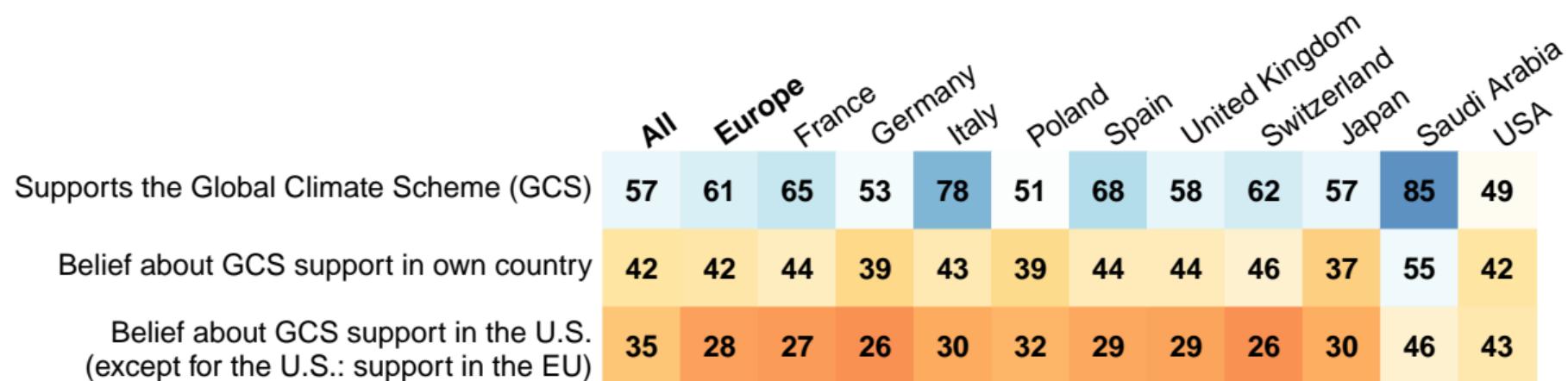
In the U.S.

International Climate Scheme (GCS where country participation is specified). 4 random branches:

Country coverage variants: *Low; Mid; High; High color* (color: visible distributive effects).

Majority support for the GCS and pluralistic ignorance

► Determinants

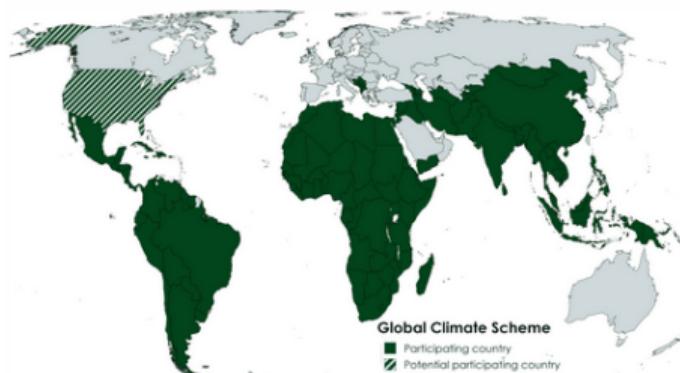


International Climate Scheme

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).



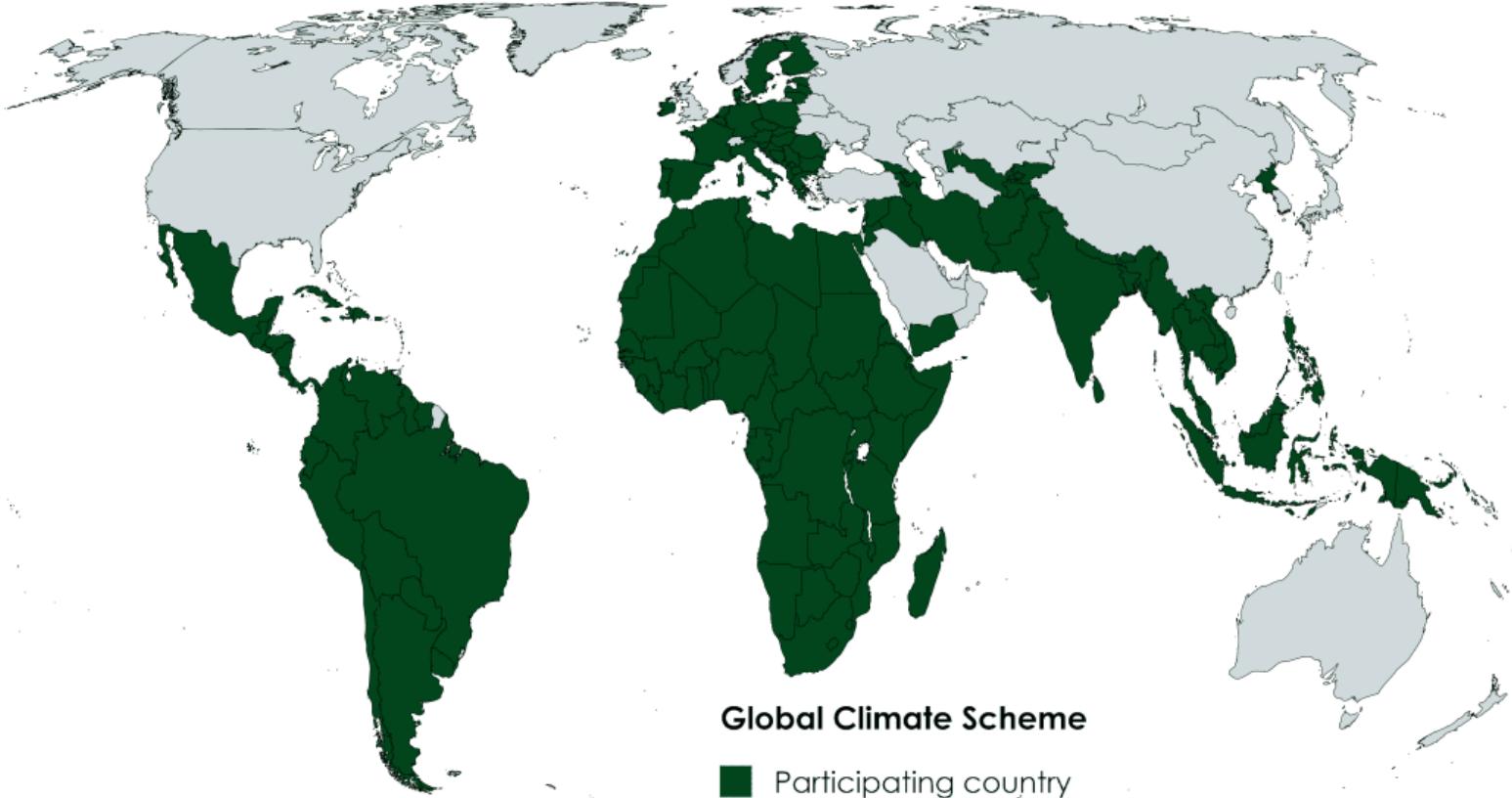
Do you support the United States joining the Global Climate Scheme, in case it is adopted by the above countries?

Yes

No

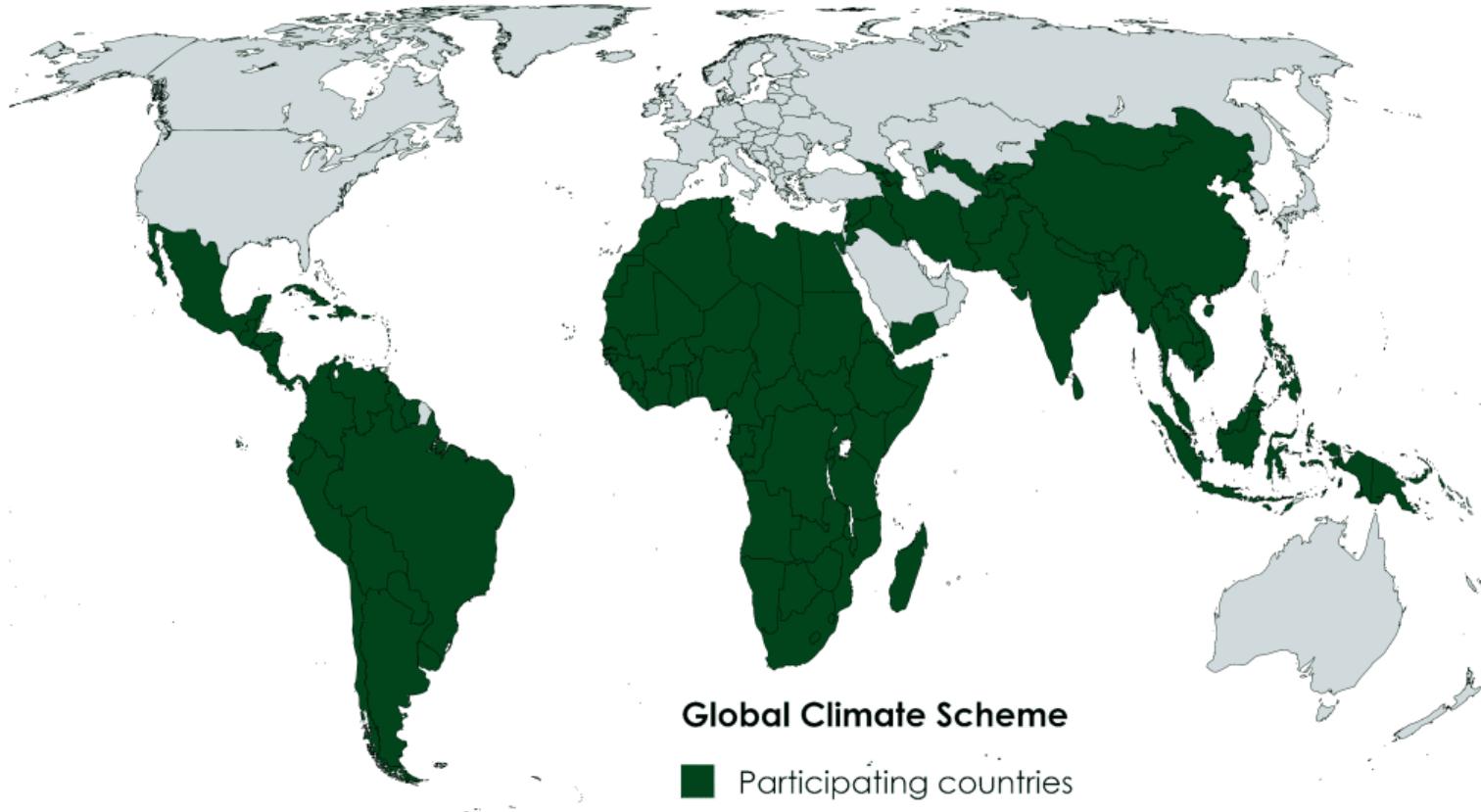
International Climate Scheme

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



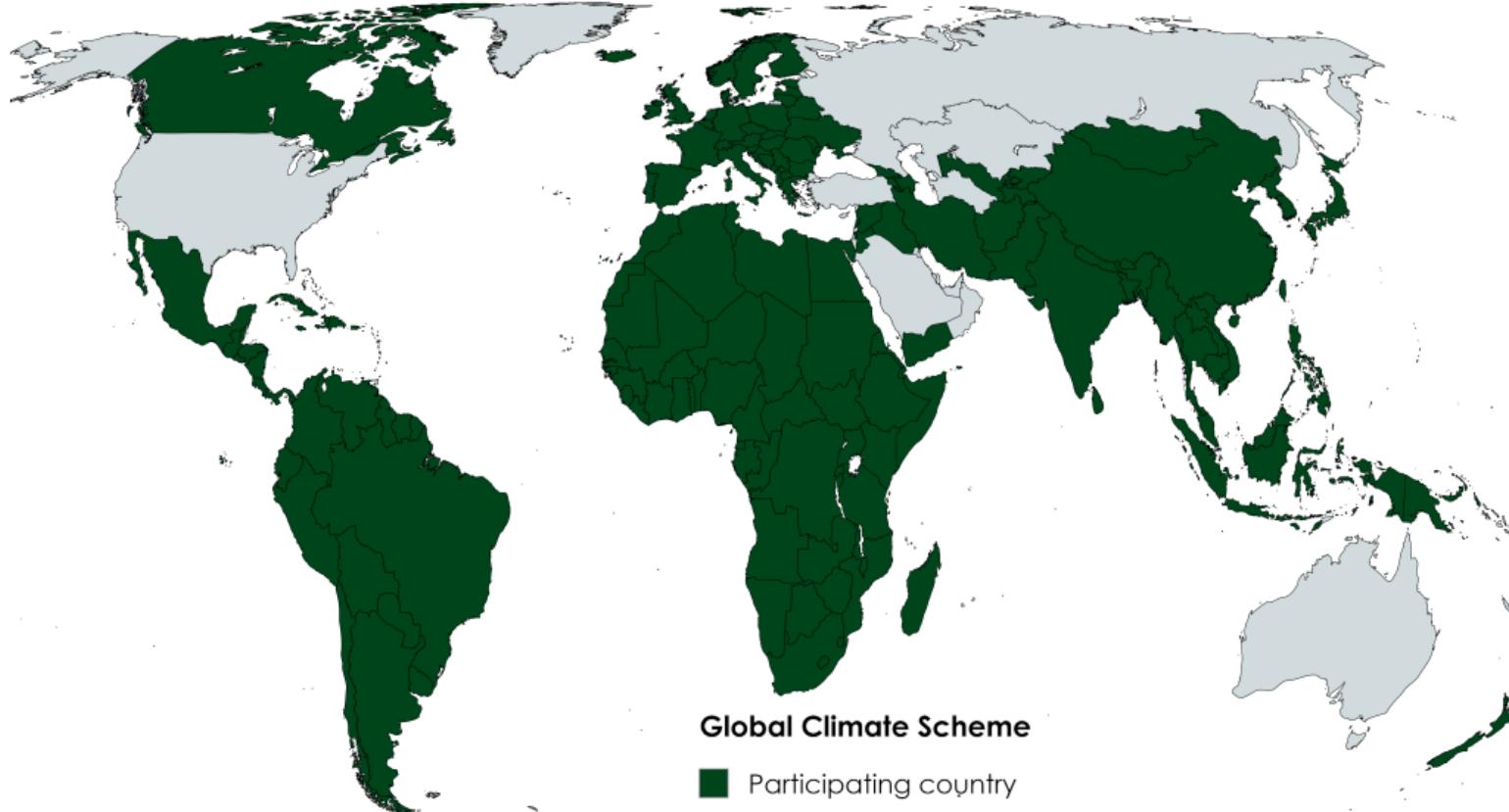
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Mid coverage: Global South + China (56% of world emissions)



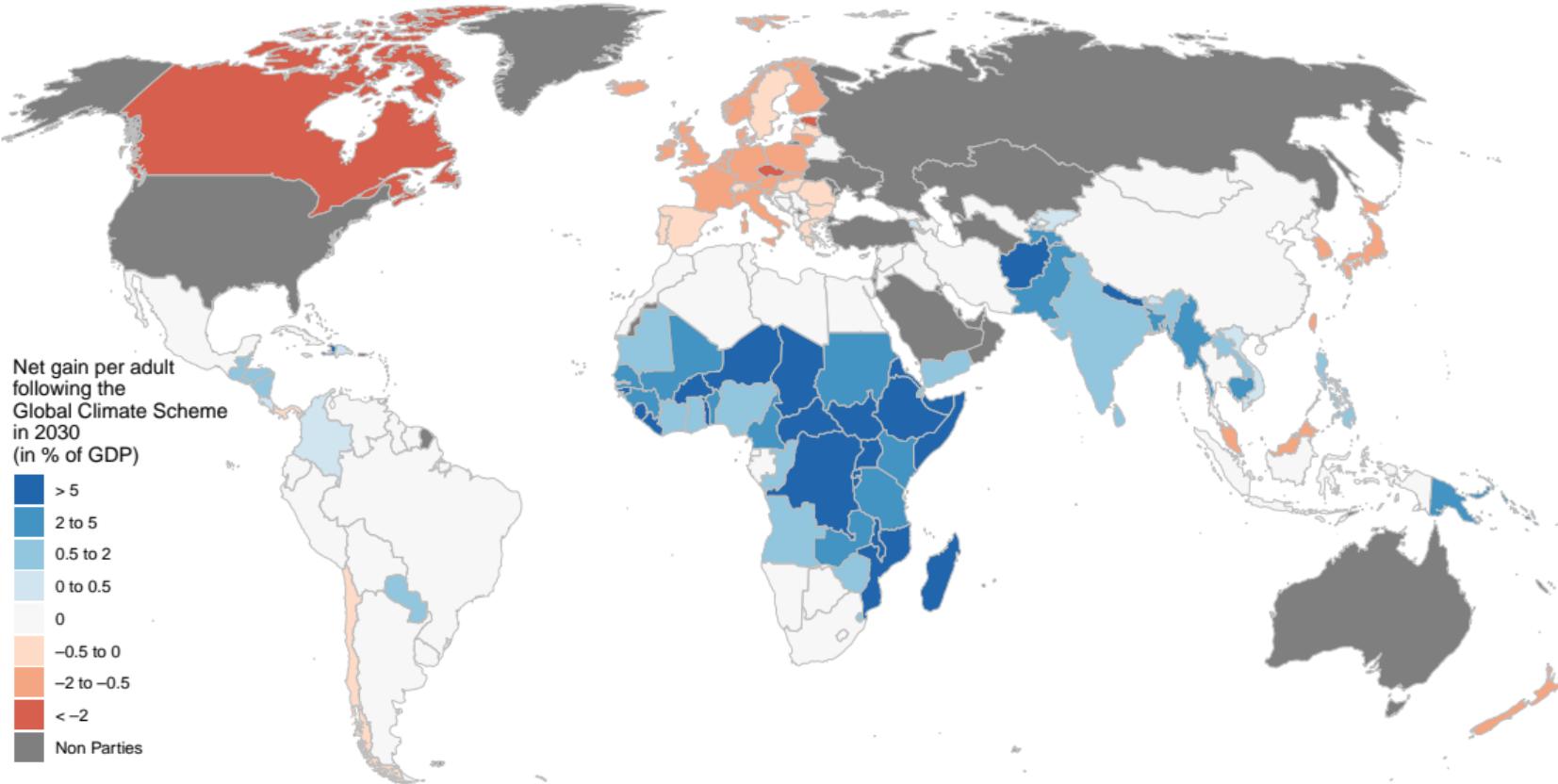
International Climate Scheme

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



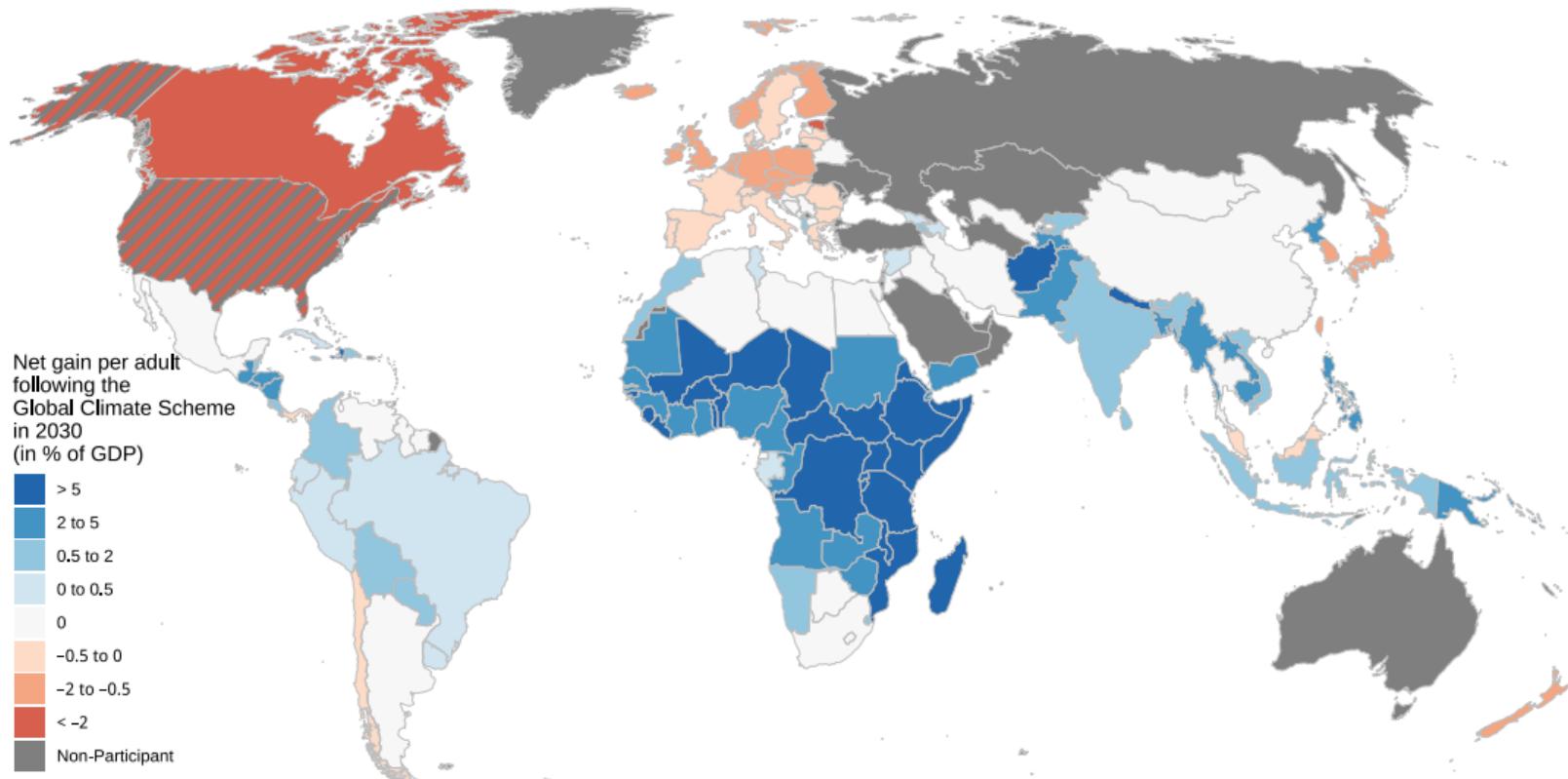
International Climate Scheme

High coverage (64-72% of world emissions), color variant



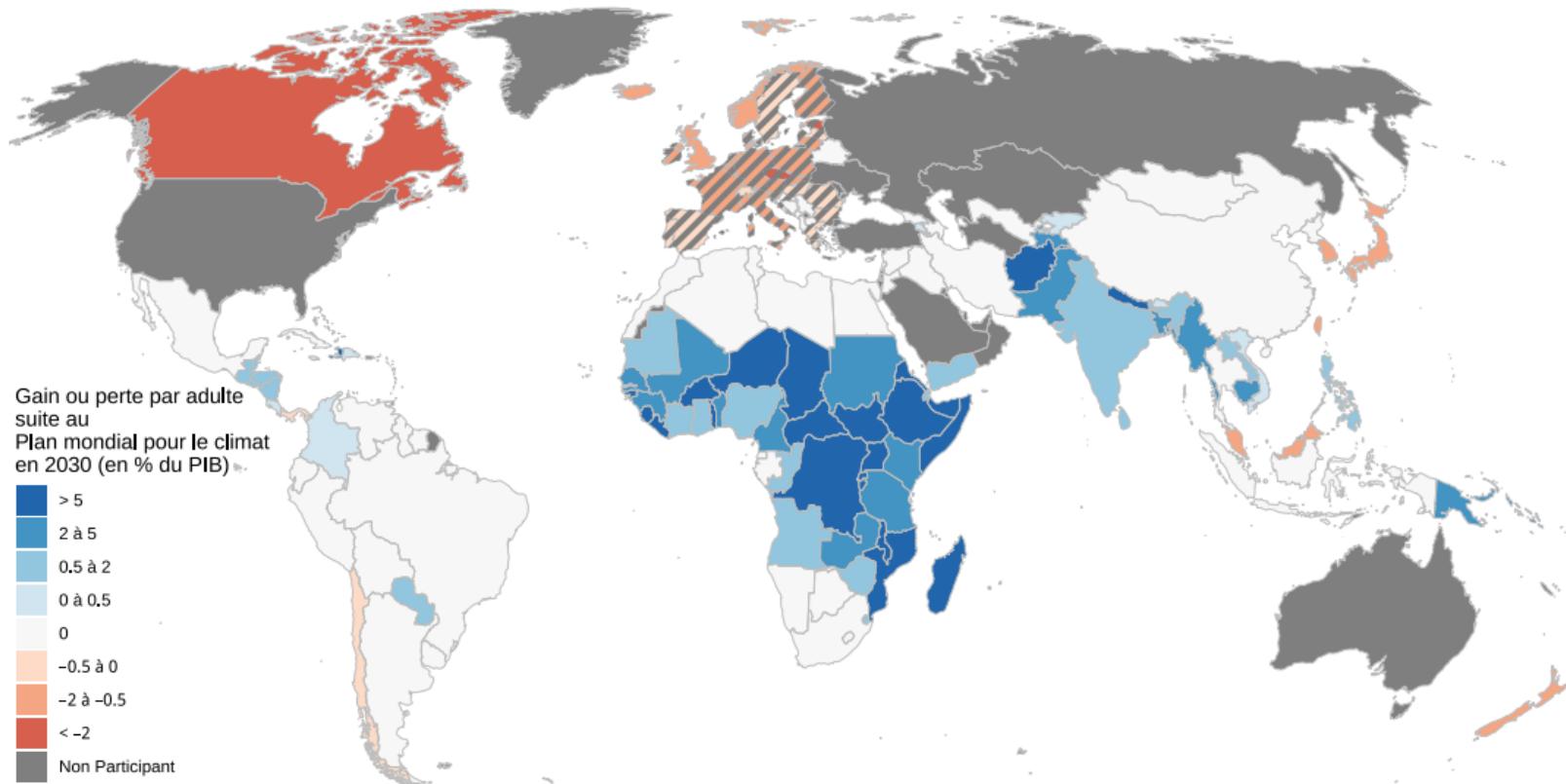
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High color as shown in the U.S.



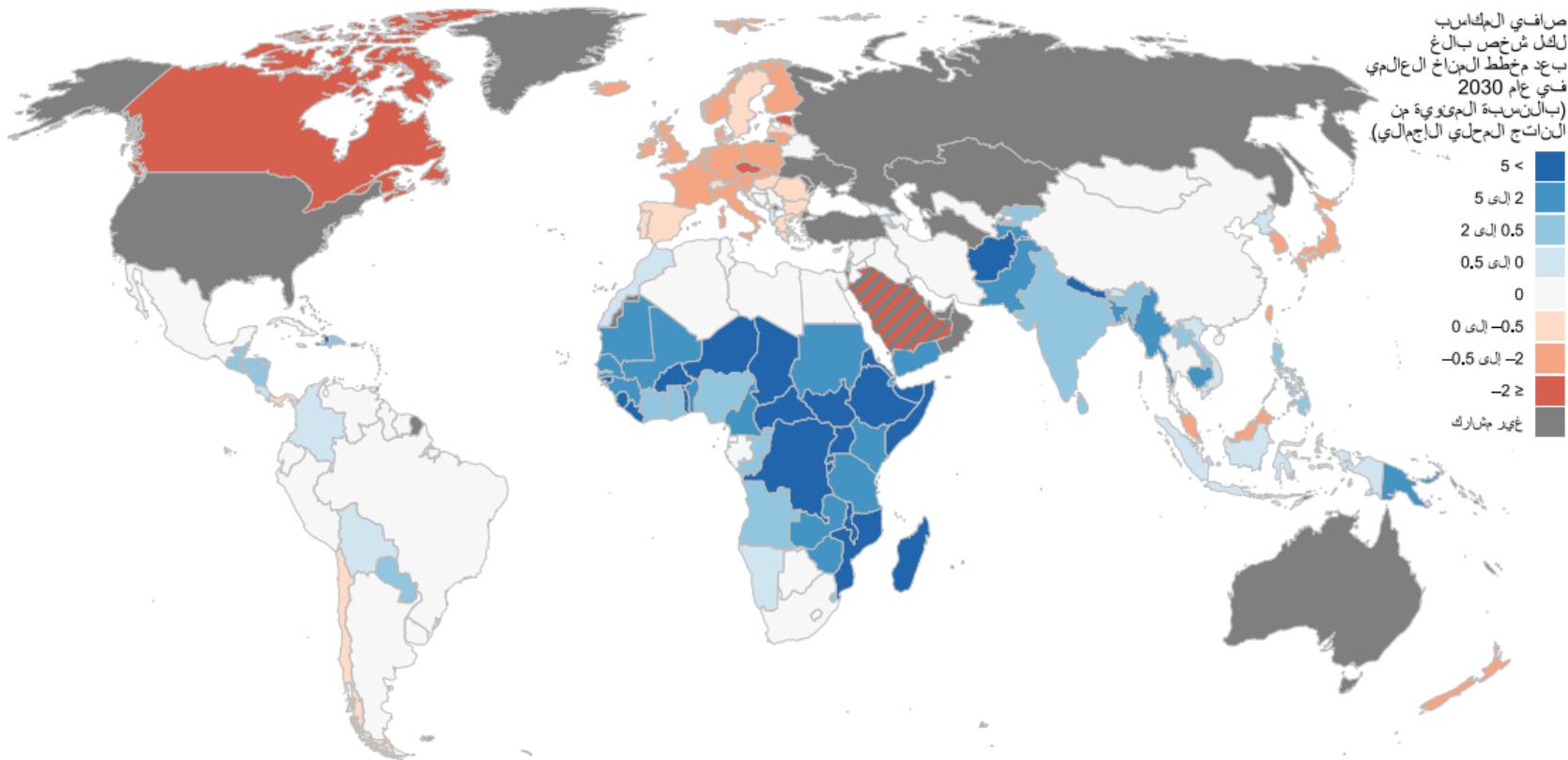
International Climate Scheme

High color as shown in France



International Climate Scheme

High color as shown in Saudi Arabia



International Climate Scheme

Supports the National Climate Scheme

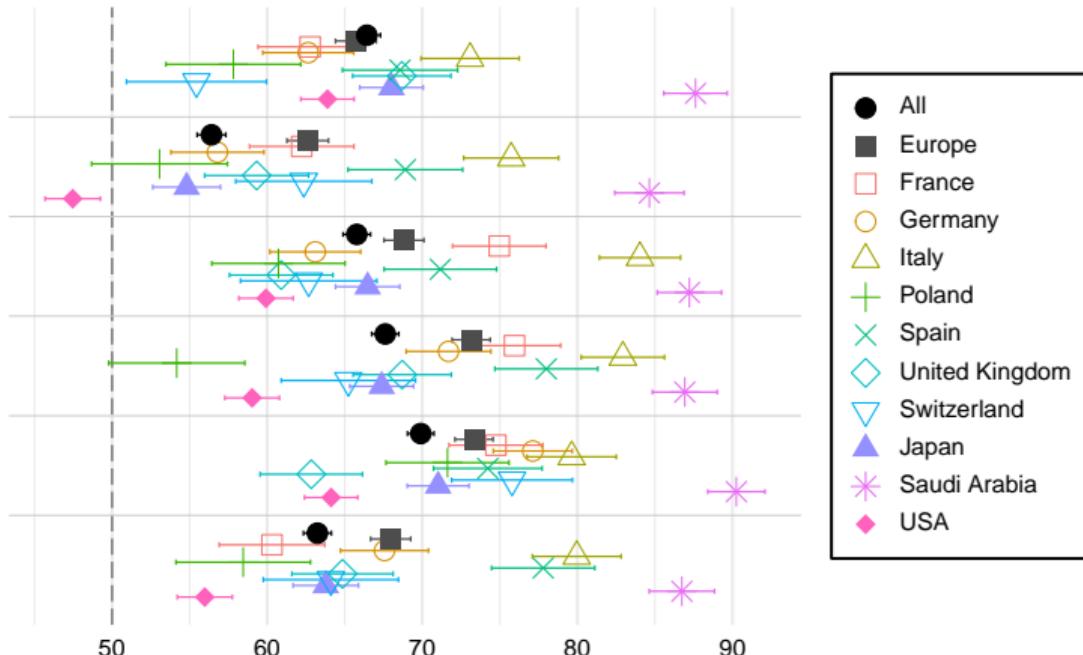
Supports the Global Climate Scheme (GCS)

Supports the GCS if coverage is **Low**
Other members: Global South + EU
(25–33% of world emissions)

Supports the GCS if coverage is **Mid**
Global South + China
(56% of world emissions)

Supports the GCS if coverage is **High**
Global South + China + EU + various HICs
(UK, Japan, South Korea, Canada...; 64–72% of world emissions)

Supports the GCS if coverage is **High, color variant**
Global South + China + EU + various HICs
+ Distributive effects displayed using colors on world map

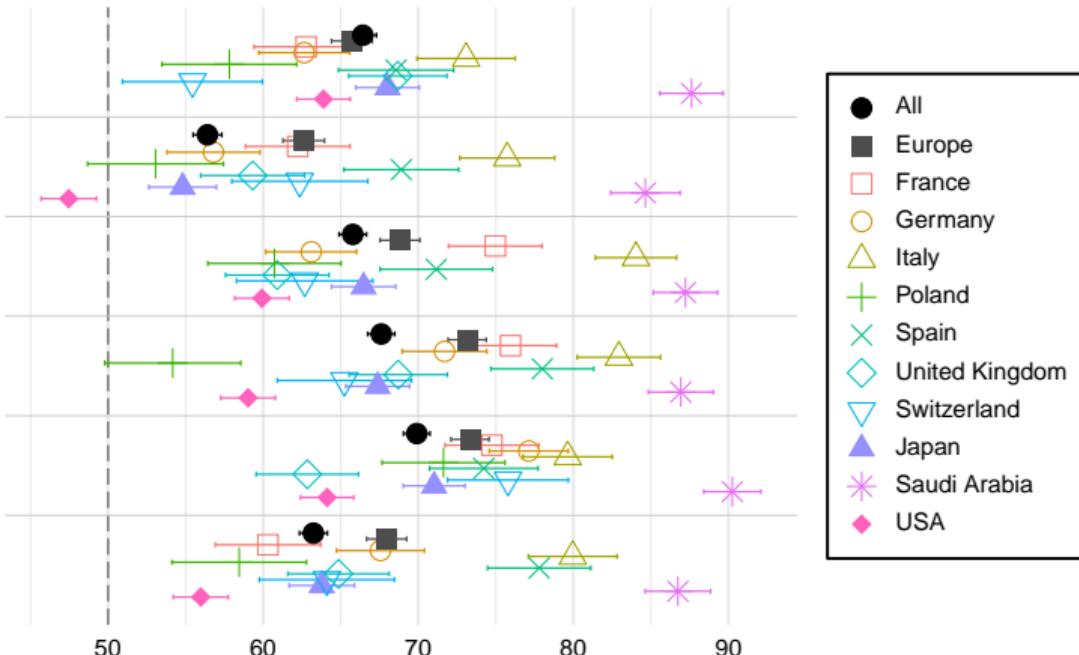


Majority support for all variants in all countries when participation map is shown.

✓ H4a

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+4 p.p. when coverage expanded from **Low** to **High**. ✓ H4b

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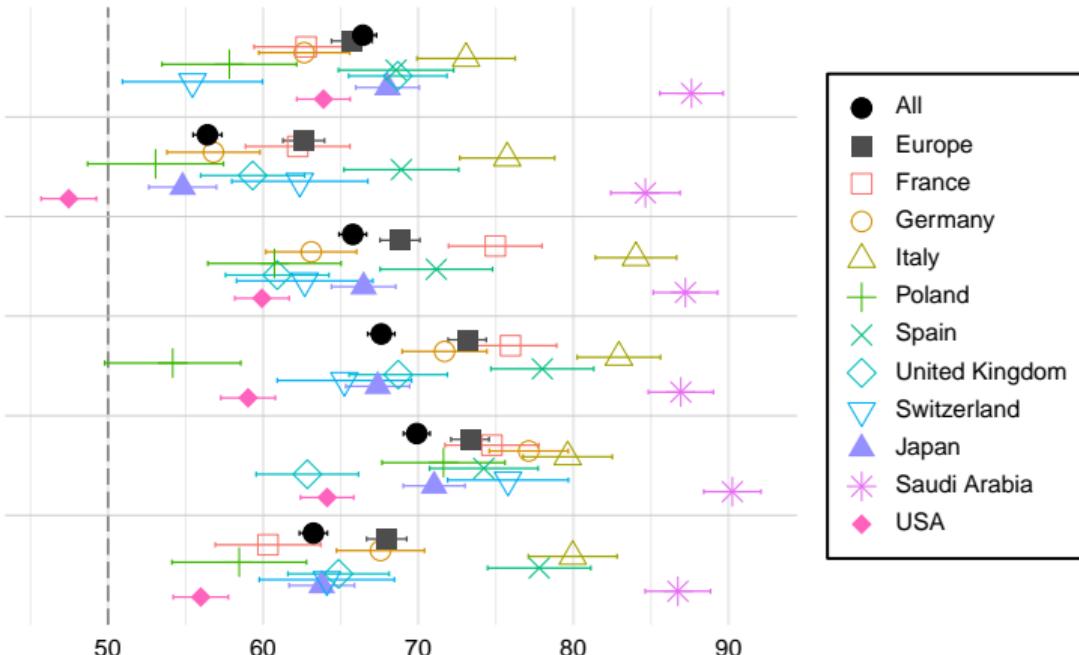
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–6 p.p. when distributive effects are visible.

Plausible global policies

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

✓ H3 ▶ Absolute support

	All	Europe	France	Germany	Italy	Poland	Spain	United Kingdom	Switzerland	Japan	Saudi Arabia	USA
Minimum tax of 2% on billionaires' wealth, in voluntary countries	81	84	87	83	89	79	81	85	77	81	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	87	74
L&D: Developed countries financing a fund to help vulnerable countries cope with climate Loss and damage	73	75	72	73	84	72	77	72	67	73	89	70
Expand Security Council to new permanent members (e.g. India, Brazil, African Union), restrict veto use	72	76	72	76	80	73	76	78	72	68	84	67
Raise global minimum tax on profit from 15% to 35%, allocating revenues to countries based on sales	71	75	75	74	85	66	70	74	63	72	77	66
International levy on shipping carbon emissions, returned to countries based on population	70	73	78	70	78	61	74	75	72	59	81	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	88	67
At least 0.7% of developed countries' GDP in foreign aid	68	69	66	67	79	59	77	65	64	62	86	67
NCQG: Developing countries providing \$300 bn a year in climate finance for developing countries	65	69	68	69	76	63	73	67	65	59	86	61
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	70	51

Testing warm glow

If *warm glow*, support might dissipate when...

(a) **Moral substitute**: ...the policy is replaced a less costly substitute with the same moral appeal

Donation lottery treatment: Choose share of \$100 prize to donate to plant trees.

H5a: Support for GCS no lower in the treated group.

Testing warm glow

If *warm glow*, support might dissipate when...

(a) **Moral substitute**: ...the policy is replaced a less costly substitute with the same moral appeal

Donation lottery treatment: Choose share of \$100 prize to donate to plant trees.

H5a: Support for GCS no lower in the treated group.

(b) **Realism**: ...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

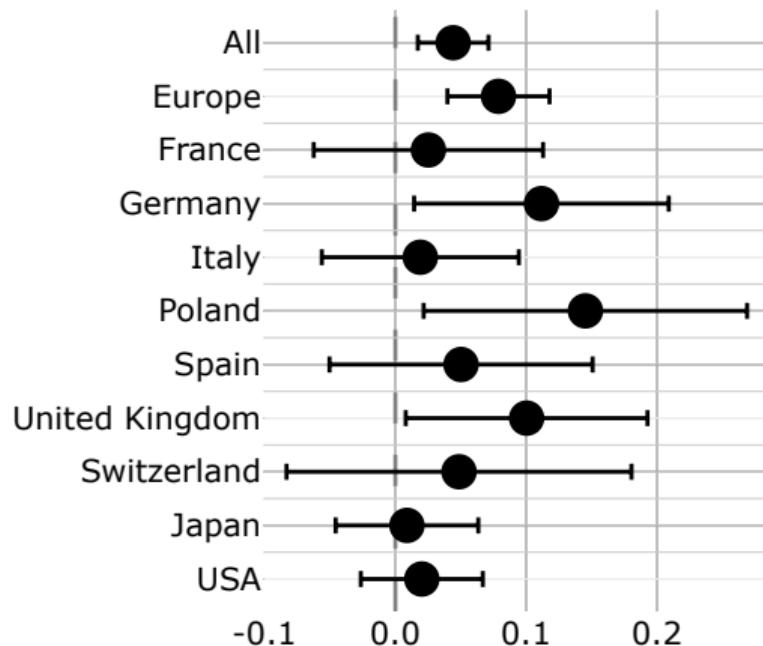
UN Pact for the Future foreseeing Security Council reform

Bridgetown initiative to finance sustainable development

H5b: Info increases belief in likelihood of global

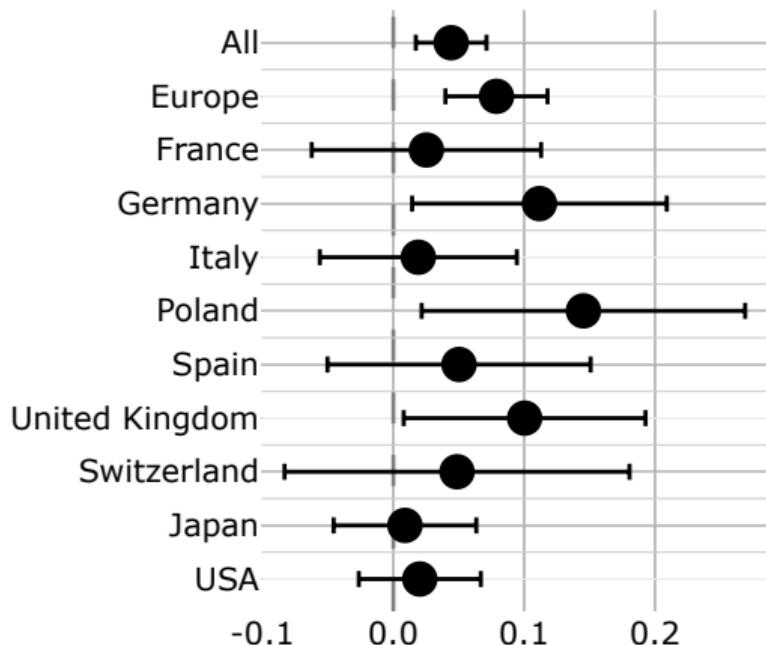
No evidence of warm glow

- (a) Effect of a *Donation lottery* treatment on support for the **Global Climate Scheme**: +3p.p.*** ✓H5a

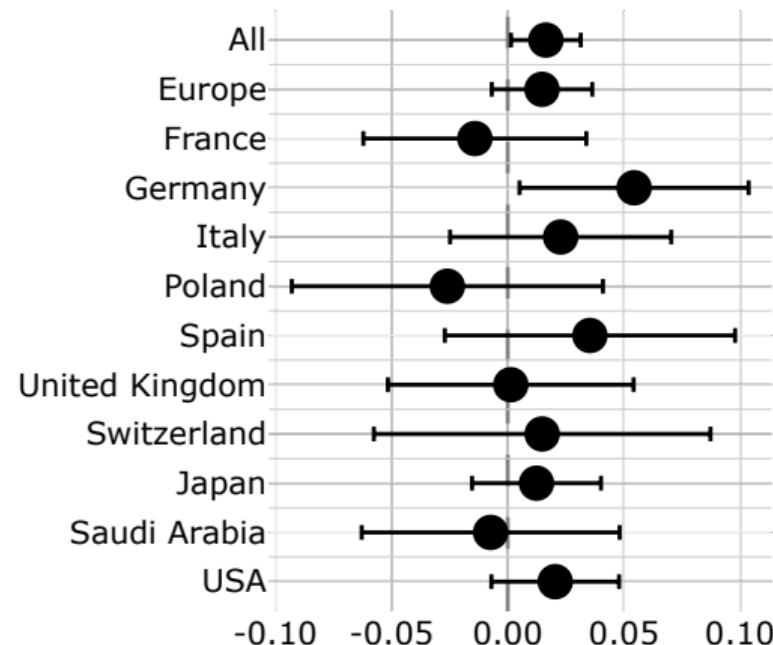


No evidence of warm glow

(a) Effect of a *Donation lottery* treatment on support for the *Global Climate Scheme*: +3p.p.*** ✓ H5a



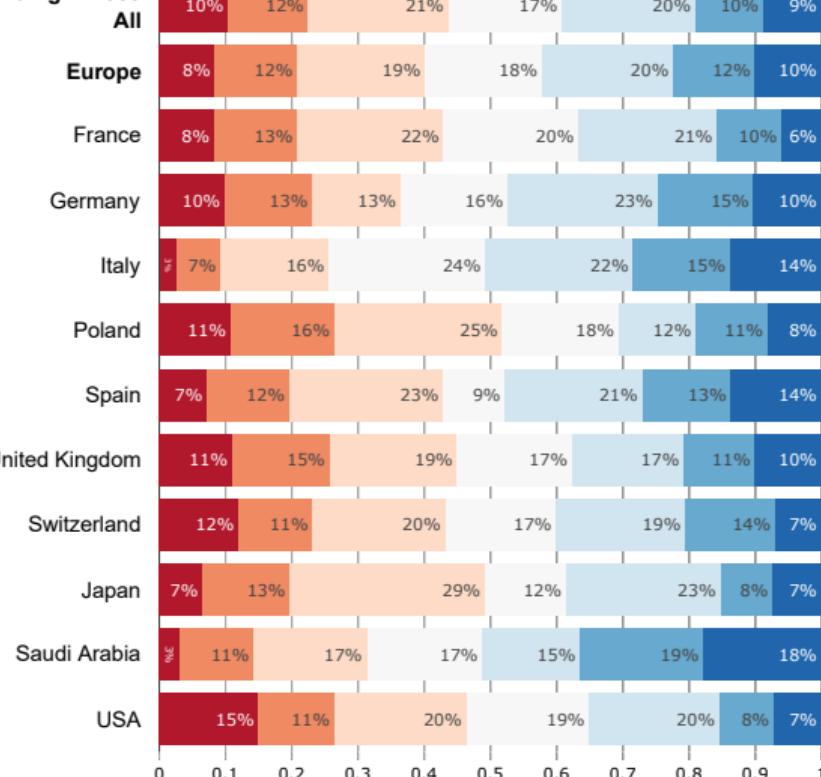
(b) Effect of *information about ongoing global redistribution initiatives* on the share of plausible *global policies* supported: +1p.p.** ✓ H5b ▶ 2SLS



NCQG

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

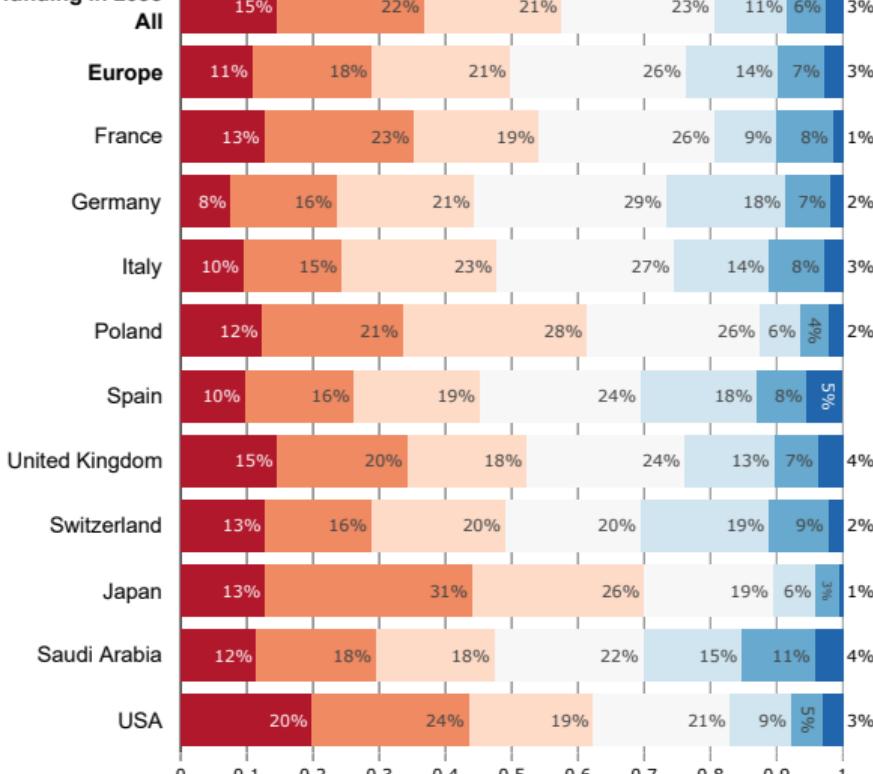
Preferred North-to-South climate grant funding in 2035



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



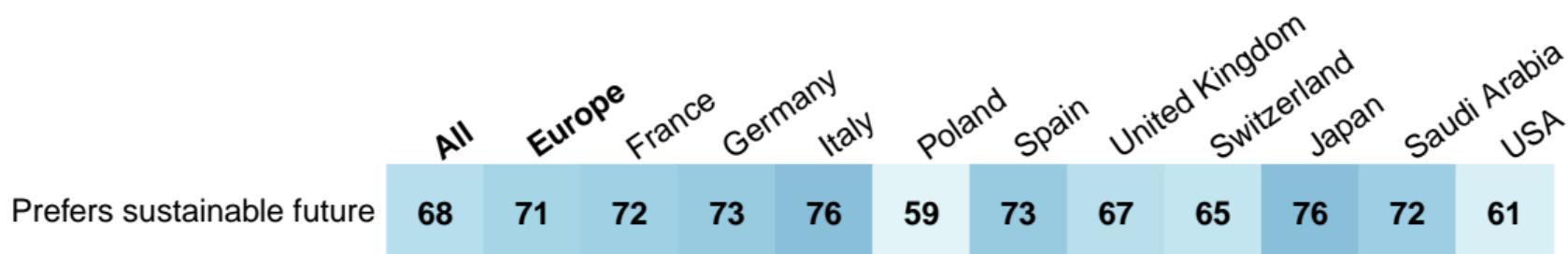
BAU vs. sustainable future

BAU future:

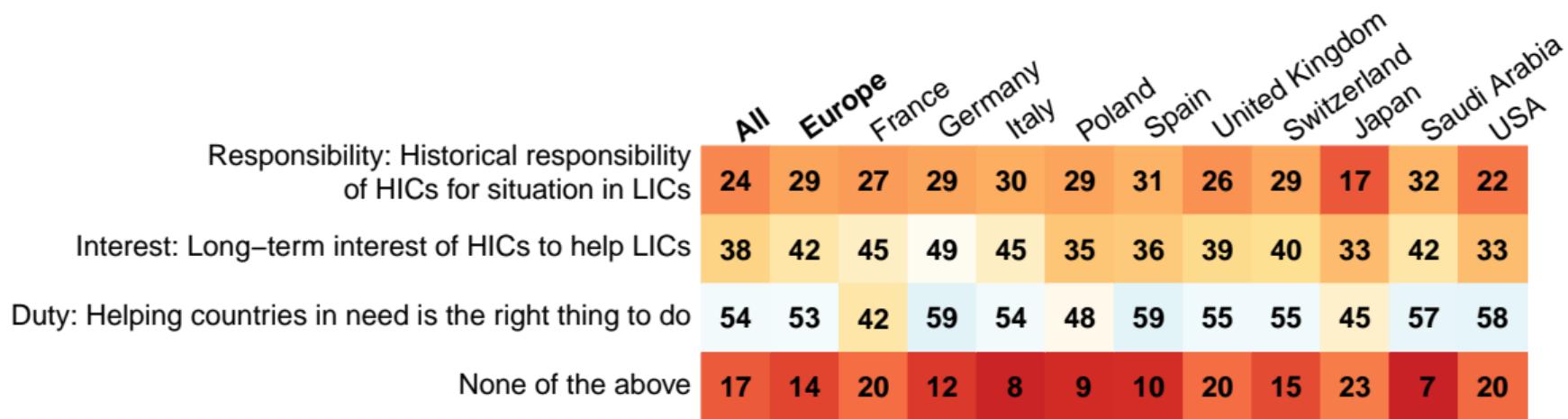
- No additional policies to address climate change or inequality.
- Stable carbon emissions. $+3^{\circ}\text{C}$ warming by 2100, causing more severe natural disasters.
- **People maintain the same lifestyles** as in 2025, such as driving gasoline cars.

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?



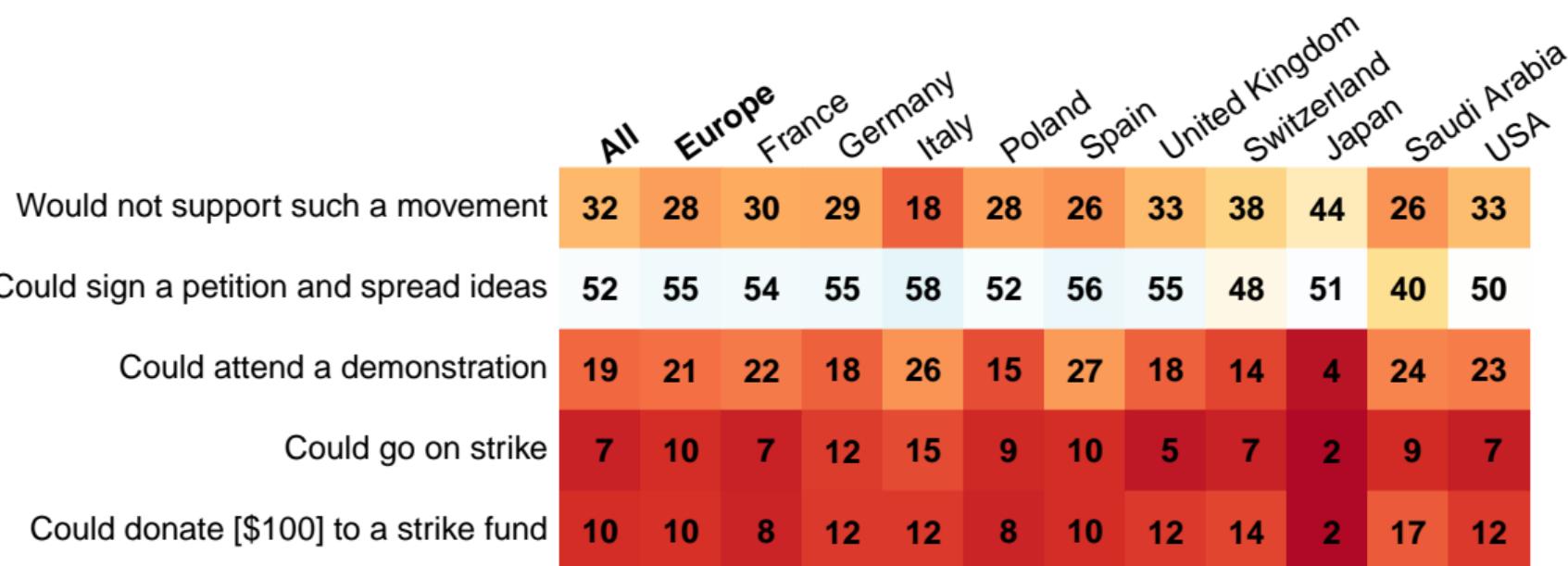
Preferred means of transfers

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).

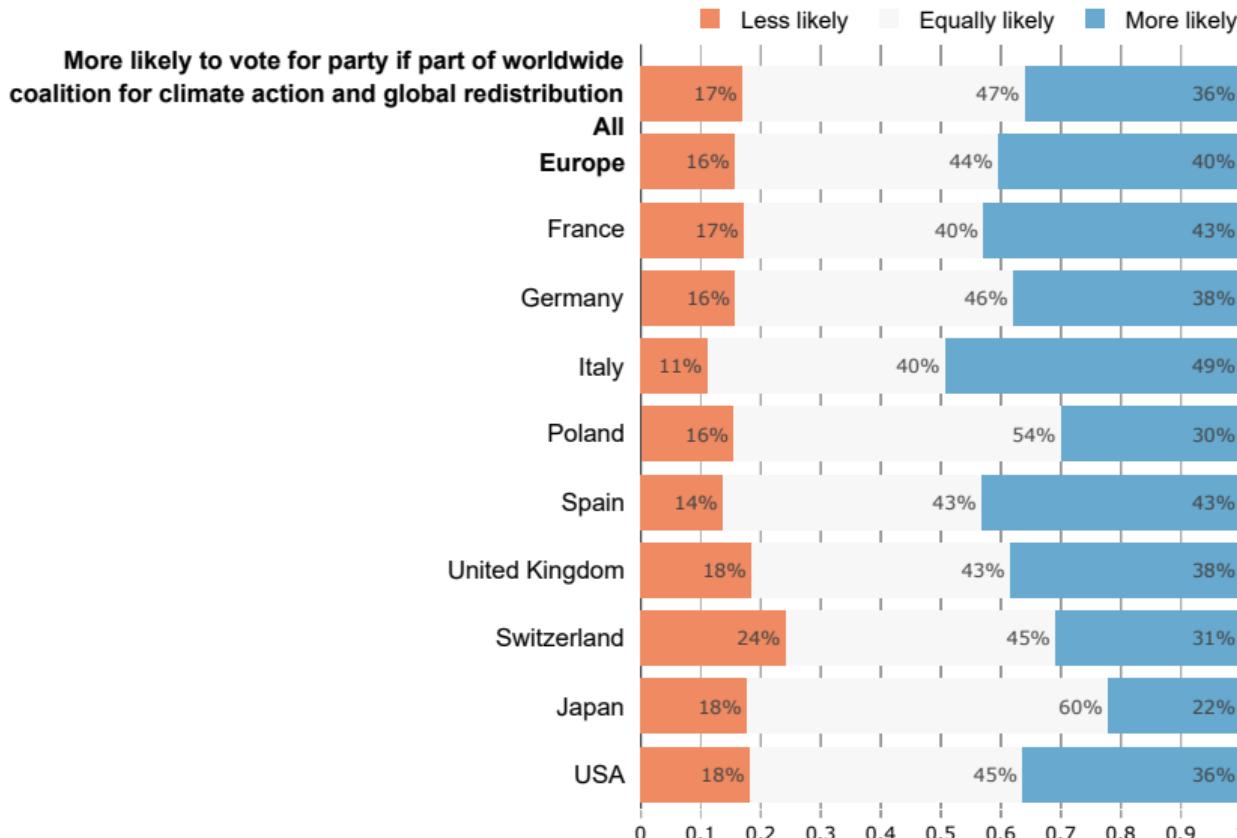
	All	Europe	France	Germany	Italy	Poland	Spain	United Kingdom	Switzerland	Japan	Saudi Arabia	USA
Targeted cash transfers (child allowances, disability & elderly pensions)	46	48	44	45	56	45	55	43	46	36	73	46
Development aid agencies	39	42	41	48	39	33	44	41	44	36	56	37
Government, conditional on financing poverty reduction	37	41	38	46	47	33	41	35	37	27	62	36
Local NGOs with democratic processes	31	33	39	34	34	33	33	28	34	22	53	29
Unconditional cash transfers to each household	31	29	32	25	31	30	34	26	35	25	62	31
Local authorities	22	22	25	21	21	31	22	18	19	18	46	22
Government, unconditional	19	18	20	14	18	23	20	16	15	14	50	18

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)

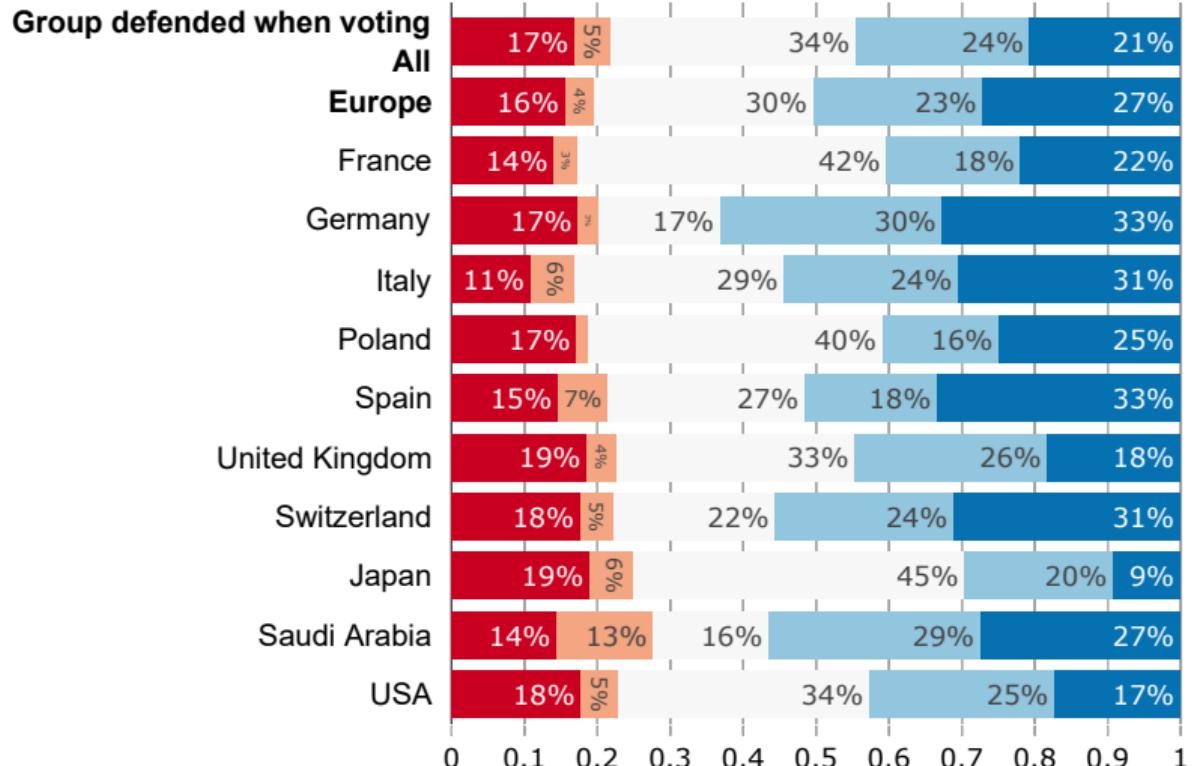


Importance on voting



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
Supports tax on world top 1% to finance global poverty reduction (Additional 15% tax on income over [\$120k/year in PPP])	68	73	71	72	84	69	73	67	60	69	82	62
Supports tax on world top 3% to finance global poverty reduction (Additional 15% tax over [\$80k], 30% over [\$120k], 45% over [\$1M])	62	66	70	62	71	70	66	67	42	55	82	57
"Governments should actively cooperate to have all countries converge in terms of GDP per capita by the end of the century"	69	78	76	76	87	84	84	66	66	70	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	40
"My taxes should go towards solving global problems"	60	61	43	62	77	62	71	57	54	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)

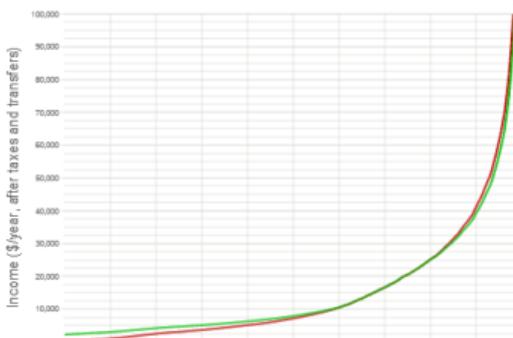


Chart by [Chartkick](#)

I am satisfied with my custom redistribution.

I want to skip this question.

56% satisfied; 43% skipped

56% satisfied; 43% skipped

Share satisfied among:

non-voters: 50%; left: 60%, right: 53%, far right: 58%.

Custom redistribution

▶ [Video](#)

▶ bit.ly/custom_redistr

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



56% satisfied; 43% skipped

Share satisfied among:

non-voters: 50%; left: 60%, right: 53%, far right: 58%.

49% lose from their custom redistribution while only **9% win**.

Average custom redistribution

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



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

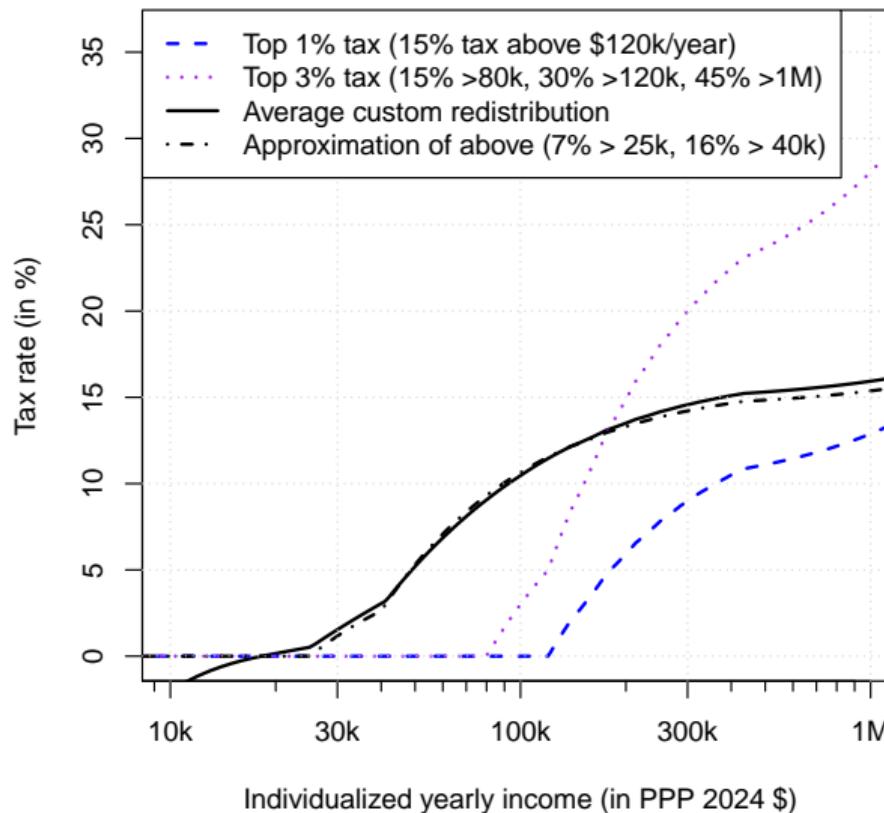
5% of world income transferred from top 28% to bottom 72%

Custom redistribution

▶ [Video](#)

▶ bit.ly/custom_redistr

Tax rates of radical redistribution proposals tested.



Conclusion

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

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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.

Appendix

Representativeness (EU countries)

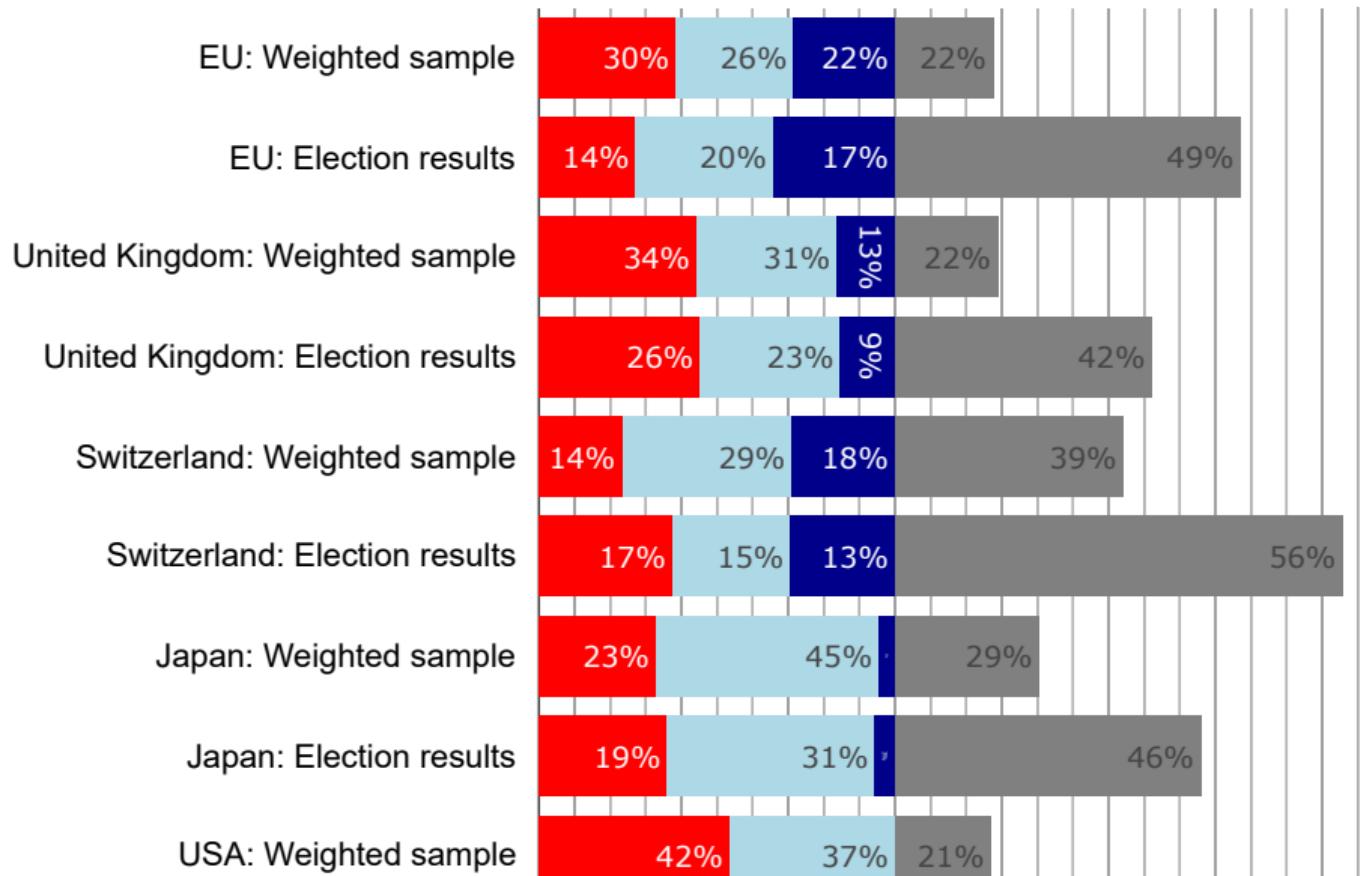
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	France			Germany			Italy			Poland			Spain		
	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.	Pop.	Sam.	Wght. sam.
Sample size	798	798	798	1,048	1,048	1,048	756	756	756	500	500	500	603	603	603
Gender: Woman	0.52	0.52	0.52	0.51	0.49	0.51	0.52	0.52	0.51	0.52	0.53	0.52	0.51	0.51	0.51
Gender: Man	0.48	0.48	0.48	0.49	0.51	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.46	0.47	0.49	0.49	0.49
Income_quartile: Q1	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.28	0.25
Income_quartile: Q2	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.25
Income_quartile: Q3	0.25	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.25	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.21	0.25
Income_quartile: Q4	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.24
Age: 18-24	0.10	0.11	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.11	0.09
Age: 25-34	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.16	0.15	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.15	0.16	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.14
Age: 35-49	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.25	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.30	0.29	0.30	0.30	0.27	0.31
Age: 50-64	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.23	0.21	0.23	0.19	0.22	0.19
Age: 65+	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.22	0.27	0.29	0.28	0.29	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.26	0.26	0.26
Education_quota: Below upper secondary	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.22	0.19	0.22	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.23	0.18	0.23
Education_quota: Upper secondary	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.38	0.34	0.38	0.15	0.15	0.15
Education_quota: Post secondary	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.22	0.24	0.21	0.14	0.17	0.14	0.26	0.28	0.26	0.27	0.29	0.26
Urbanity: Cities	0.47	0.47	0.46	0.39	0.42	0.39	0.36	0.37	0.36	0.35	0.37	0.35	0.54	0.58	0.54
Urbanity: Towns and suburbs	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.42	0.42	0.42	0.46	0.47	0.46	0.28	0.29	0.28	0.32	0.30	0.33
Urbanity: Rural	0.34	0.33	0.34	0.19	0.17	0.19	0.18	0.16	0.18	0.37	0.34	0.37	0.13	0.12	0.13
Region: 1	0.18	0.19	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.17	0.66	0.70	0.65	0.47	0.41	0.47	0.15	0.16	0.15
Region: 2	0.22	0.23	0.22	0.29	0.32	0.29	0.34	0.29	0.34	0.53	0.59	0.53	0.28	0.25	0.28
Region: 3	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.54	0.48	0.54	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.14	0.16	0.14
Region: 4	0.21	0.22	0.21	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.18	0.19	0.18
Region: 5	0.28	0.26	0.28	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.25	0.24	0.25

Representativeness of vote (non-EU countries)

[» Go back](#)

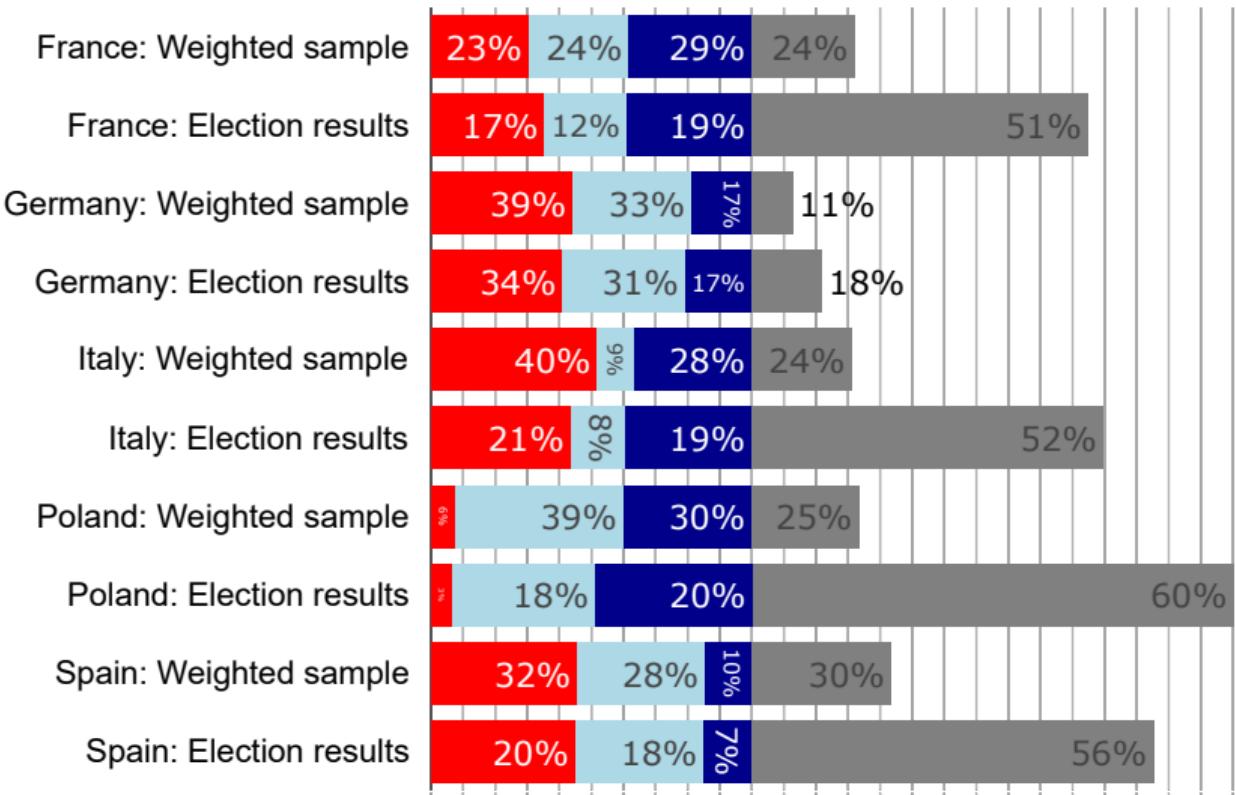
■ Left ■ Center-right or Right ■ Far right ■ Non-voter, PNR or Other



Representativeness of vote (EU countries) ▶ Go back

► Go back

■ Left ■ Center-right or Right ■ Far right ■ Non-voter, PNR or Other



Conjoint analysis in France (Average Marginal Component Effect)

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

- Double 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)

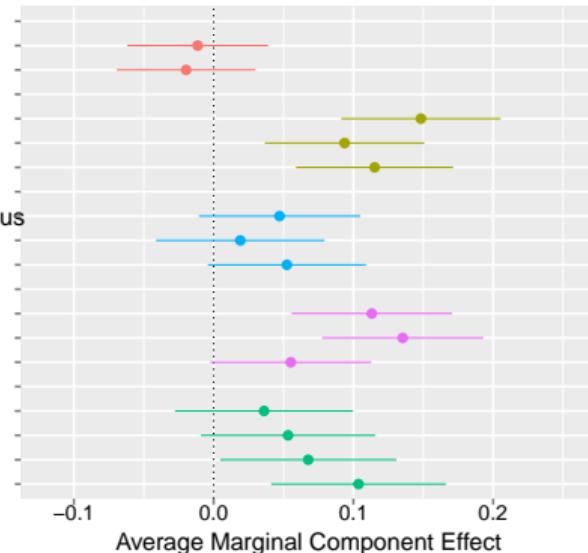
Fiscalité:

- 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



Conjoint analysis in Germany (Average Marginal Component Effect)

Klimaschutz:

- Aufhebung des Heizungsgesetzes, das erneuerbare Energien vorschreibt
- Neuwagen mit Verbrennungsmotor ab 2035 verbieten.

Wirtschaftspolitik:

- Strompreise durch Steuernsenkungen um 12 % senken
- Mindestlohn bis 2026 auf 15 € erhöhen
- 500 Milliarden Euro in strategische Sektoren wie Stahl, Automobilindustrie und Verteidigung investieren

Außenpolitik:

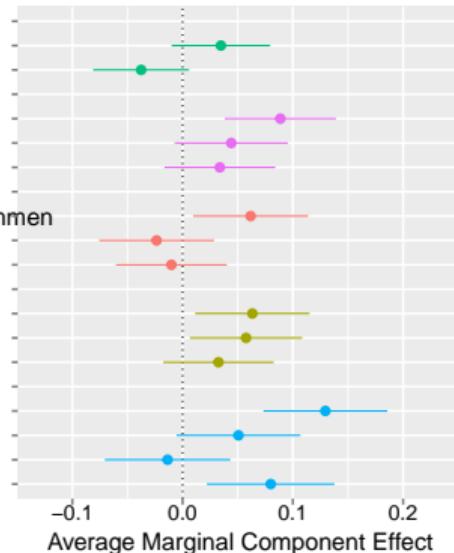
- Internationale Millionärssteuer mit 30 % zur Finanzierung von Gesundheit und Bildung in Ländern mit niedrigem Einkommen
- Kürzung der Entwicklungshilfe
- Die Ukraine militärisch und finanziell unterstützen

Gesellschaft:

- Einsatz elektronischer Fußfesseln zur Verfolgung von Gewalttätern gegen Frauen
- 20.000 € staatlicher Zuschuss bei Geburt eines Kindes
- Beschleunigte Verfahren zur Erlangung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit einschränken

Steuerpolitik:

- Keine Steuern auf Überstunden und Arbeit im Rentenalter
- Abschaffung der Erbschaftssteuer
- Komplette Wiedereinführung der Schuldenbremse
- Höhere Steuern für die reichsten 1% zur Finanzierung von höherem Kindergeld, Bürgergeld und Mindestrente



Conjoint analysis in Italy (Average Marginal Component Effect)

Politica climatica:

Annnullare il divieto di nuove auto con motore a combustione a partire dal 2035

Raddoppiare la capacità di energia rinnovabile entro il 2030

Politica economica:

Incrementare l'assegno di nascita fino a 3.600 euro per i neonati

Destinare i fondi UE non utilizzati all'esenzione fiscale per le aziende che assumono

Introdurre un salario minimo a norma di legge di 10€ all'ora

Riduzione dell'orario di lavoro senza ridurre gli stipendi

Politica estera:

Tassa internazionale sui milionari, il cui 30% finanzierebbe l'assistenza sanitaria e l'istruzione nei Paesi a basso reddito

Tagliare gli aiuti allo sviluppo

Sviluppare una difesa militare comune europea

Politica sociale:

Imporre un limite legale della migrazione in Italia e trattare le richieste di asilo al di fuori dell'UE

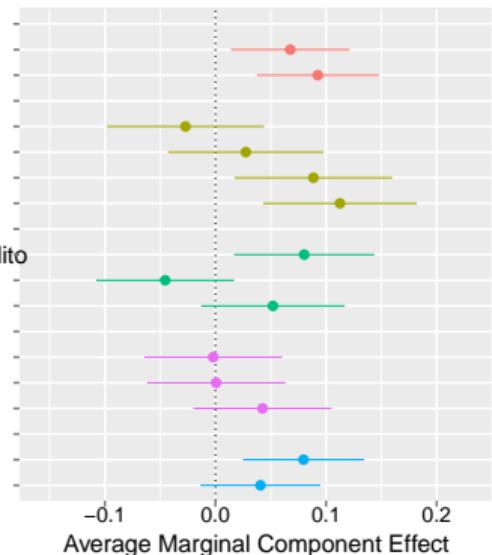
Riconoscere il matrimonio tra persone dello stesso sesso

Introdurre l'istruzione in età della prima infanzia gratuita e obbligatoria (fino ai 3 anni)

Politica fiscale:

Riduzione dell'imposta sul reddito per i nuclei familiari a basso reddito

Sostituire l'imposta sul reddito con una flat tax del 15%.



Conjoint analysis in Poland (Average Marginal Component Effect)

Polityka klimatyczna:

Rezygnacja z węgla do 2035 r.

Zakaz sprzedaży nowych samochodów z silnikiem spalinowym do 2035 r.

Kwestie ekonomiczne:

Rozwój produkcji kolejowej i inwestycje w infrastrukturę

Przeznaczenie 5% PKB na wydatki wojskowe do 2030 r

Polityka zagraniczna:

Miedzynarodowy podatek od milionerów, z 30% finansowaniem opieki zdrowotnej i edukacji w krajach o niskich dochodach

Ograniczenie pomocy rozwojowej

Zatrzymanie osób, którym odmówiono azylu, do czasu ich deportacji

Kwestie społeczne:

Przywrócenie praw reprodukcyjnych, w tym prawa do aborcji

Zlagodzenie restrykcji w zakresie zgromadzeń publicznych i protestów

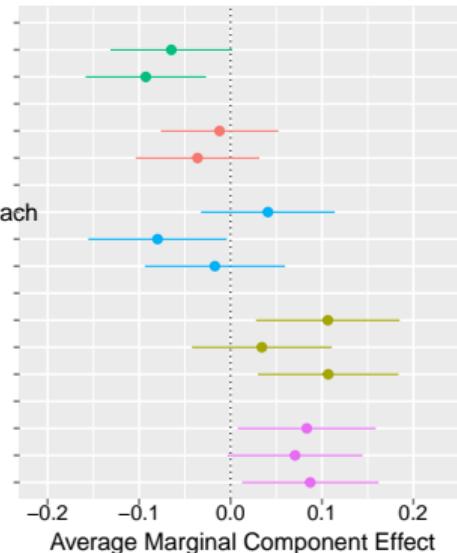
Wydłużony urlop rodzicielski, ulgi podatkowe na dzieci i możliwość pracy zdalnej

System podatkowy:

Obniżenie podatków dla gospodarstw domowych o niskich dochodach poprzez zwiększenie kwoty wolnej od podatku

Zwiększenie podatków od zysków dużych korporacji cyfrowych oraz firm zajmujących się paliwami kopalnymi

Zwolnienie z podatku dochodowego dla seniorów opóźniających przejście na emeryturę



Conjoint analysis in Spain (Average Marginal Component Effect)

Políticas climáticas:

- Ampliar los bonos sociales térmico y eléctrico
- Un plan nacional de inversiones para mejorar la gestión del agua

Asuntos económicos:

- Fijar el salario mínimo en 1350€/mes
- Reducir la semana laboral a 36 horas antes de 2030 sin merma salarial
- Fomentar la flexibilidad horaria mediante un banco de horas

Política exterior:

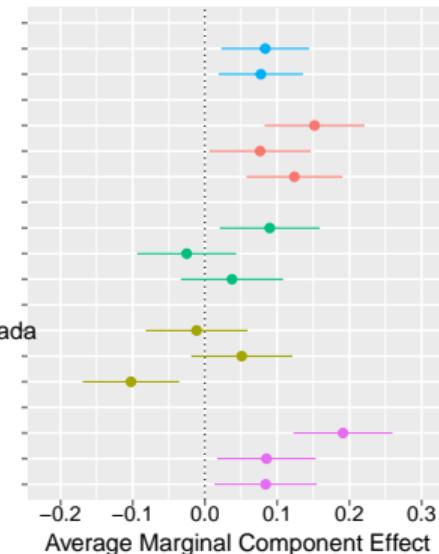
- Impuesto internacional a los millonarios con un 30% para financiar la sanidad y la educación en países de renta baja
- Reducir la ayuda al desarrollo a los países de renta baja
- Aumentar el apoyo a Ucrania y mantener las sanciones a Rusia

Asuntos sociales:

- Reforzar la regulación de las redes sociales en materia de transparencia, control de la desinformación e identidad verificada
- Educación de 0 a 3 años gratuita
- Crear centros fuera de la UE para tramitar las solicitudes de asilo

Sistema fiscal:

- Bajar el impuesto sobre la renta a la clase media y aumentarlo a los hogares ricos
- Suprimir el impuesto sobre el patrimonio y bajar los tipos del impuesto de sociedades
- Reducir los impuestos en zonas rurales mediante la Ley de Fiscalidad Agraria



Conjoint analysis in the UK (Average Marginal Component Effect)

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:

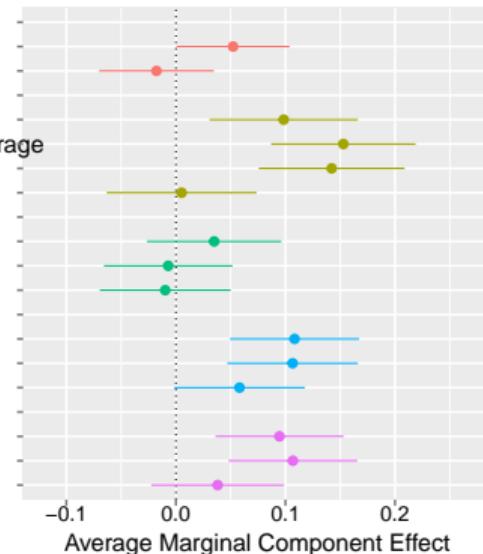
- International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries
- Cut development aid
- Deepen Brexit by removing or reforming EU-inherited laws

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 (Average Marginal Component Effect)

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:

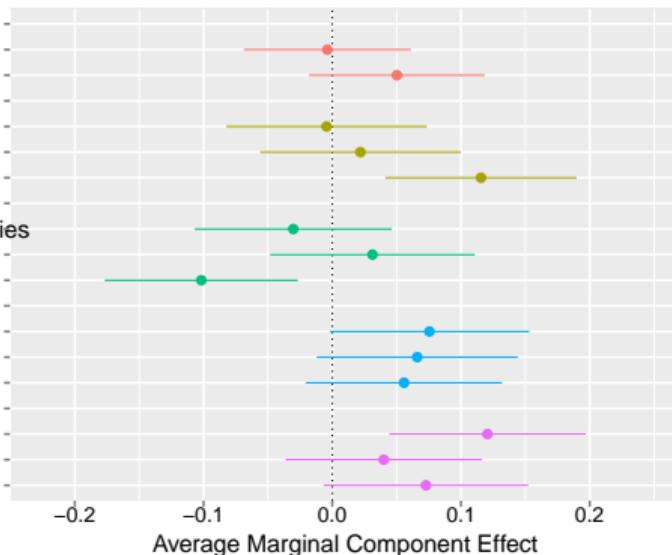
- International tax on millionaires with 30% financing healthcare and education in low-income countries
- Cut development aid
- Join the EU

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 the U.S. (Average Marginal Component Effect)

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

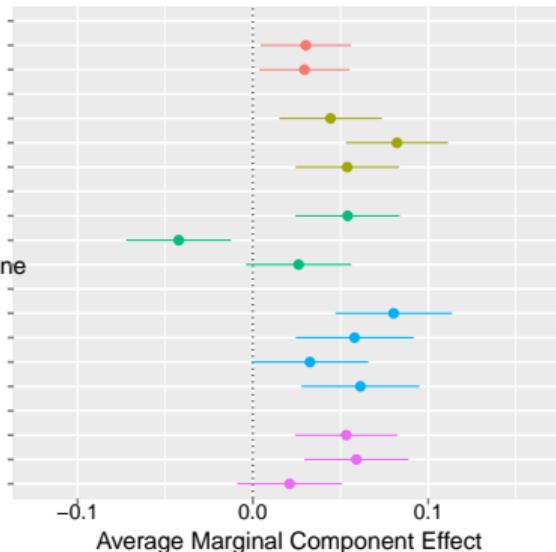
No immunity for crimes committed by a former president

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



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	Saudi Arabia	USA
Minimum tax of 2% on billionaires' wealth, in voluntary countries	64	70	75	71	73	63	66	70	64	54	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	70	54
L&D: Developed countries financing a fund to help vulnerable countries cope with climate Loss and damage	54	58	55	55	68	55	61	56	52	44	75	52
Raise global minimum tax on profit from 15% to 35%, allocating revenues to countries based on sales	51	58	58	57	70	47	50	58	51	42	53	46
Debt relief for vulnerable countries, suspending payments until they are more able to repay	49	52	48	44	64	53	55	54	52	38	70	48
Expand Security Council to new permanent members (e.g. India, Brazil, African Union), restrict veto use	48	56	54	54	64	50	55	55	54	35	63	44
International levy on shipping carbon emissions, returned to countries based on population	47	54	59	49	62	45	54	53	56	30	60	46
At least 0.7% of developed countries' GDP in foreign aid	47	51	50	48	59	42	58	50	51	33	69	47
NCQG: Developing countries providing \$300 bn a year in climate finance for developing countries	47	53	51	54	62	46	54	52	53	32	67	44
International levy on aviation carbon emissions, raising prices by 30%, returned to countries based on population	38	43	47	42	45	39	42	41	42	26	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 8/10

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)