Supplementary materials

More than Symbols : The Effect of Symbolic Policies on Climate Policy Support

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Appendix

Section A: Study 1

A.1 Implementation and Estimation

The experiment was conducted using the French Longitudinal Survey for the Social Sciences (ELIPSS) as part of a survey on environmental attitudes. ELIPSS is a high-quality online random probability panel composed of a random sample of French citizens drawn by the French Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). The fieldwork for the survey was carried out from mid-December 2023 to mid January-2024. 2410 panelists were invited to participate with a final response rate of 83.4%. The ultimate sample consist of 2010 respondents.

A.2 Pre-registration

Study design

To test our hypotheses, we rely on a survey experiment part of a study on environmental attitudes in France. The survey will be conducted as part of the ELIPSS online panel and is the first of a longitudinal study of environmental issues in France. Fieldwork will be carried out from mid-December 2023 to mid-January 2024 surveying 2200 people. It consists of various areas of questions on public policy around climate issues, environmental practices, as well as general environmental attitudes. Our survey experiment is built into the part on questions about climate policy and climate politics.

Survey questions

Below are the questions as they are asked in the survey. The first is the French original, and the second always the English translation. Please note that the assignment order of the questions testing the experiment has been randomized as well (see the section on randomization).

The answers to the questions are on a **four-point** scale measuring agreement for the policy. The scale is as follows (both in French and in English):

Q : Dans quelle mesure seriez-vous d'accord avec cette annonce? /
To what extent would you agree with this announcement?

1. Tout à fait d'accord / Strongly agree
2. Plutôt d'accord / Somewhat agree
3. Plutôt pas d'accord / Somewhat disagree
4. Pas du tout d'accord / Strongly disagree

Survey questions Experiment 1

> **EXP1 (French)**: Voici une annonce fictive d'un gouvernement, qui pourrait être communiquée pour lutter contre le changement climatique :
>
> La vitesse limite sur autoroute sera abaissée à 110km/heure.
>
> Dans quelle mesure seriez-vous d'accord avec cette annonce ?
>
> **EXP1 (English)**: Here is a fictitious government announcement that could be communicated to combat climate change:
>
> The speed limit on highways will be lowered to 110km/hour.
>
> To what extent would you agree with this announcement?
>
> **EXP1-Treatment-1 (French)**: Voici une annonce fictive d'un gouvernement, qui pourrait être communiquée pour lutter contre le changement climatique :

La vitesse limite sur autoroute sera abaissée à 110km/heure et désormais les ministres voyageront en train et non plus en avion pour leurs déplacements nationaux.

Dans quelle mesure seriez-vous d'accord avec cette annonce ?

EXP1-Treatment-1 (English): Here is a fictitious government announcement that could be communicated to combat climate change:

The speed limit on highways will be lowered to 110km/hour and from now on ministers will travel by train instead of plane for their national trips.

To what extent would you agree with this announcement?

EXP1-Treatment-2 (French): Voici une annonce fictive d'un gouvernement, qui pourrait être communiquée pour lutter contre le changement climatique :

La vitesse limite sur autoroute sera abaissée à 110km/heure et désormais l'utilisation de jets privés en France sera interdite afin de limiter les émissions des plus aisés.

Dans quelle mesure seriez-vous d'accord avec cette annonce ?

EXP1-Treatment-2 (English): Here is a fictitious government announcement that could be communicated to combat climate change:

The speed limit on highways will be lowered to 110km/hour and from now on the use of private jets in France will be banned in order to limit emissions from the most affluent.

To what extent would you agree with this announcement?

The experiment consists thus of two different questions in which respondents are exposed to a government announcement discussing climate policies. The two climate policies, that we define as costly, are, first, a fictitious introduction of a lower speed limit on French highways and, in the second part of the experiment, a policy that would aim to ban national air travel within France if a less than five-hour train alternative could also be found. The respondents

will have to indicate each time to what extent they agree with the policies, which is our dependent variable. For each of the questions, respondents will be randomly assigned to three different groups. The first, the control group, will be simply exposed to an announcement with the costly climate policy. The other two, the treatment groups, will be exposed to an announcement including the costly climate policy in conjunction with a symbolic climate policy. The first treatment is a symbolic policy targeting government officials who should do their part to protect the climate; the second treatment group sees a symbolic policy that is aiming to constrain the behavior of the wealthiest French citizens by prohibiting the use of private jets on the French territory.

Randomization

We randomize at several points in our study. First participants will be randomly assigned the order of our costly climate policies. This means that since we are testing two different costly climate policies and the effect of symbolic policies thereon, we are randomizing the order in which participants will have to reply to the questions. Thus, we try to account for any noise introduced through the order in which the respondents see the questions.

Secondly, the assignment of seeing only the costly policy, or the costly policy + the first symbolic policy, or the costly policy + the second symbolic policy, is also random. This means that for both questions in our survey experiment, people will get randomly assigned to one of the three forms of our question each times.

Measurement Design

Measurement of the Study

Our research aims to evaluate the impact of two different treatments across various experimental queries. Specifically, our focus is on determining the Average Treatment Effect (ATE) for each scenario. This involves calculating four distinct ATE values, corresponding to each treatment and experiment combination. The ATE computation is as follows:

$$\text{ATE}_i = \mathbb{E}(Y_i^{x=j} - Y^{x=0}) \tag{1}$$

Here, i represents the specific ATE in question, covering both experiment and treatment, while Y denotes the average outcomes across different group distributions. $x = 0$ signifies the control group, and $x = j$ represents the assigned treatment group number.

We plan to analyze the treatment effects using various modalities of our response choices, both in aggregated and disaggregated forms. This entails examining each of the four response options individually within the $Y^x = j$ distribution, as well as considering them as a cumulative scale. Our rationale for this dual approach is to gain insights from both detailed and general perspectives. Analyzing the disaggregated data will help us understand the specific impact of each symbolic policy, whereas the aggregated data can reveal the overall positive alignment with these policies. Both disaggregated and aggregated findings are expected to provide comprehensive insights.

Power Analysis Methodology

Prior to the research, we conducted a thorough power analysis to ensure statistical robustness. Our focus was on the standardized measurements of dependent variables, using Cohen's d metric for accuracy. We initially set our effect size expectations based on Anvari and Lakens (2021) guidelines. However, due to the uniqueness of our survey experiment's design and a lack of comparable studies, we adopted a more conservative effect size of d = 0.2. Using Gpower software (Faul et al., 2009), we calculated the necessary sample size to detect this effect, adhering to standard significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) and power ($\beta = 0.8$) levels. Our calculations indicated that a minimum sample of 1182 participants (394 in each group) was necessary. Given that our panel consists of approximately 2000 respondents, we are confident in the sufficiency of our sample size for detecting the intended effect.

Incorporation of Covariates

In our final analysis, we will include key socio-economic control variables such as educational background, income, urban or rural residency, gender, and age.

Additionally, we will factor in variables impacting experiment responses. This includes controlling for participants' overall satisfaction with the current French government. Despite the politically neutral tone of our survey and its focus on a hypothetical government, it is important to consider respondents' attitudes towards the actual government to isolate treatment effects from political biases. Moreover, we'll examine individual behavior patterns,

such as transportation habits, by introducing relevant indicators (e.g., a dummy variable for primary car usage) to ensure that the treatment effects are not confounded by such personal behaviors.

Here is a list of our thematic covariates and the questions in English and in French which go beyond the classic socio-economic control variables, as well as the scales/answers:

> **GOVEVAL** : D'une manière générale, êtes-vous très satisfait(e), assez satisfait(e), peu satisfait(e) ou pas du tout satisfait(e) de l'action du gouvernement ? / Generally speaking, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the government's actions?
>
> Très satisfait ; Plutôt satisfait ; Plutôt pas satisfait ; Pas du tout satisfait / Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Not very satisfied; Not at all satisfied
>
> **TRANSPORT** : Habituellement, quel est le mode de transport PRINCIPAL que vous utilisez personnellement pour vous rendre sur votre lieu de travail ou d'études ? (Si plusieurs réponses sont pertinentes, veuillez cocher le mode de transport le plus long) / What is the MAIN mode of transport you personally use to get to your place of work or study? (If more than one answer is relevant, please tick the longest mode of transport)
>
> Voiture ; Deux roues motorisés ; Métro, tramway, RER, bus, car ; Marche à pied ; Train (TER, train intercité, TGV) ; Vélo, trotinette (électrique ou non) ; Autre(s) moyen(s) ; Non concerné.e (sans emploi, télétravail, etc.) / Car; Two-wheeled motorized; Metro, tram, RER, bus, coach; Walking; Train (TER, intercity train, TGV); Bicycle, scooter (electric or not); Other means; Not concerned (unemployed, teleworking, etc.)

Addressing Design Biases and Concerns

To mitigate potential biases related to survey design or execution, we have implemented extensive randomization techniques. This includes randomizing the sequence and placement of

questions to prevent inter-experiment influences. Additionally, the allocation of participants to the control and treatment groups for each question will be randomized.

The survey is scheduled between December 2023 and January 2024. While the COP 28 event in Dubai concluding on December 12 might heighten public discourse on climate policy, we do not anticipate a significant influence on our study. The specific national policies explored in our research are generally distinct from the global issues discussed at COP events.

A.3 Deviations regarding the pre-registration

This section outlines the deviations from our pre-registration, published on OSF on December 30, 2023. Our goal is to provide a clear and transparent account of the adjustments made after receiving the data. By doing so, we wish to provide the editors, reviewers, and readers with a clear and transparent protocol on our deviations. We explain why certain elements were unintentionally omitted or overlooked in the pre-registration and clarify that these changes do not affect the core results of the study. In some cases, the adjustments improved model fit without altering the significance of key findings.

The present study differs from its initial pre-registration in three main areas. First, the wording of the second part of the experiment, specifically the second costly climate policy, was inadvertently not fully included in the pre-registration. Neither the attached anonymized pre-registration nor the OSF report provided a detailed formulation of this policy and therefore also do not give a translated version of the survey questions. Second, two covariates (individuals' overall left-right self-placement and climate concern) had not been included in the deductively developed list of control variables. In the case of the experiment on air travel bans, we also did not explicitly state that we would include a variable measuring flight frequency but only refered to dummy variables on transportation habits. Upon further reflection, these predictors were deemed essential and incorporated into the final models. Third, the structure of our paper diverges from the three hypotheses laid out in the pre-registration. Instead of focusing on all three, we decided to emphasize the mechanism of symbolic policies in general and moved toward a mixed-methods approach. This shift allowed for a more nuanced analysis, with the first hypothesis remaining the primary focus, while the others still were still being indirectly tested and confirmed. They simply were not regarded as the main focus of the paper anymore. Lastly, we do discuss minor deviations from the pre-registration that factually constitute deviations but do not affect the results of the study in any way.

The purpose of this section is to be fully transparent about the deviations and to demonstrate that they *do not* impact the substantive results of the study. The effects remain significant at the 0.05 level, even when the omitted covariates are excluded. Moreover, the inclusion of these covariates enhances the model fit, further justifying their addition.

As for the missing wording of the second experiment, we wish to stress that this was an honest mistake. We would like to emphasize that both the OSF report as well as the attached PDF-file reference a second part and a second costly climate policy throughout. This hopefully shows that the tabular representation of the second experiment was simply forgotten but had always been the plan. Further, our therefore incomplete pre-registration plan which only included one experiment was uploaded during the administration of the survey. This means that the two experiments had already been fully developed, included into the survey and panel respondents were replying to both survey questions while the authors were writing up the pre-registration.

Omission of detailed description of second costly climate policy

As previously mentioned, our pre-registration included only a partial description of the second experiment. While the French and English versions of the first experiment were detailed, we did not provide the same level of detail for the second costly climate policy. However, the second policy focused on air-flight bans is referenced throughout the plan. The only omission was the precise wording and translation, which were provided for the first experiment but not for the second.

This was an oversight during the pre-registration process, likely caused by the inclusion of both French and English versions for non-French readers. The presence of two blocks for the experiments likely contributed to this omission. Nevertheless, the second experiment was always intended to be part of the study and was administered simultaneously with the first.

The second experiment follows the same design as the first: a costly climate policy (banning national flights where a train alternative of under five hours exists) was presented to a randomized control group, while two treatment groups were exposed to the same symbolic policies as in the first experiment.

On page 1 of the pre-registration PDF-file, we state:

> "Below are the questions as they are asked in the survey. The first is the French original, and the second always the English translation. Please note that the assignment order of the questions testing the experiment has been randomized as well"

The use of the plural "questions" indicates that both experiments were always part of the plan. Additionally, on page 3 of the same document, we explicitly describe both costly climate policies:

> "The experiment consists thus of two different questions in which respondents are exposed to a government announcement discussing climate policies. The two climate policies, that we define as costly, are, first, a fictitious introduction of a lower speed limit on French highways and, in the second part of the experiment, a policy that would aim to ban national air travel within France if a less than five-hour train alternative could also be found."

We reiterate the presence of *two* distinct costly policies in the next paragraph:

> "This means that since we are testing two different costly climate policies and the effect of symbolic policies thereon, we are randomizing the order in which participants will have to reply to the questions."

With these two excerpts, we wish to demonstrate that the second costly climate policy was integral to the study from the beginning, even though its exact wording in French and English was inadvertently omitted in the pre-registration.

Omitted covariates

In this section, we address the inclusion of three predictors in our multivariate OLS regressions which had not been (explicitly) declared in the pre-registration: the respondents left-right self placement, their overall climate concern and frequency of flight use. We were already aware that we had to control for the frequency of usage of the modes of transportation our costly climate policies were targeting. We therefore declared that car use would be an important control variable for the first experiment. While we had indicated to control for car usage in our first experiment, we failed to explicitly declare airplane use as a covariate for the second experiment.These predictors were deemed too important for our paper and were therefore

included in the final analysis. As we show further below, this has *no significant impact* on our variables of interest.

As described on page 5, our initial plan was to include the following covariates:

> "In our final analysis, we will include key socio-economic control variables such as educational background, income, urban or rural residency, gender, and age. Consistent with existing research, we anticipate stronger policy support among women, wealthier individuals, and those residing in urban areas with higher education levels. Additionally, we will factor in variables impacting experiment responses. This includes controlling for participants' overall satisfaction with the current French government. Despite the politically neutral tone of our survey and its focus on a hypothetical government, it is important to consider respondents' attitudes towards the actual government to isolate treatment effects from political biases. Moreover, we'll examine individual behavior patterns, such as transportation habits, by introducing relevant indicators (e.g., a dummy variable for primary car usage) to ensure that the treatment effects are not confounded by such personal behaviors."

In the second paragraph, it is clear that we had always planned to control for the use of certain modes of transportation. Since the first costly climate policy was expected to encounter stronger opposition among respondents who rely heavily on their cars, we had declared that it was important to include a dummy variable for individuals who primarily use their car for commuting. Our pre-registration refers to "transportation habits" and "relevant indicators (e.g., a dummy variable for primary car usage)." However, our pre-registration failed to *explicitly* state that having flown at least once in the past 12 months would also be a necessary dummy variable for the second experiment. Similar to car usage and the speed limit policy, we had anticipated that frequent flyers would be more likely to oppose any restrictions on air travel. Thus, including this control had always been our intention. We believe the plural in "transportation habits" and "relevant indicators" makes it clear that the flight-use variable was always meant to be part of the model.

Below, we present regression tables comparing models without the inclusion of ideology, climate concern, and specifically for the second experiment—flight use, to demonstrate that adding these covariates does not affect the results of our study and paper.

The first regression table compares two models. The model on the left is the pre-registered version, where ideology and climate concern are excluded. The model on the right includes these two covariates. The results show that adding these variables does not alter the significance of our treatments. Importantly, the adjusted R-squared doubles with the inclusion of these covariates, indicating a much better model fit and providing further justification for this more comprehensive model.

Table 1: OLS models

	Dependent variable:	
	Speed limit higwhay	
	As pre-registered	Actual model in paper
	(1)	(2)
T- Symbolic minister	0.526*** (0.054)	0.495*** (0.051)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.576*** (0.055)	0.593*** (0.052)
Government satisfaction	−0.006 (0.031)	0.089** (0.030)
Gender - Male	−0.260*** (0.045)	−0.250*** (0.042)
Income	−0.003 (0.008)	0.003 (0.008)
Age	0.002 (0.008)	0.004 (0.007)
Education - CAP/BEPC	0.007 (0.060)	0.057 (0.056)
Education - DIPL-SUP	0.225*** (0.059)	0.091 (0.056)
Education - NO	−0.027 (0.076)	0.055 (0.072)
Urban - Rural	0.044** (0.017)	0.037* (0.016)
Main transport - Car	−0.237*** (0.048)	−0.151*** (0.045)
Ideology		−0.083*** (0.009)
Climate concern		0.252*** (0.024)
Constant	2.618*** (0.110)	1.893*** (0.142)
Observations	1,967	1,967
R^2	0.116	0.216
Adjusted R^2	0.111	0.211
Note:		*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

The second set of tables compares three models, reflecting our second experiment. Initially, we had not clearly stated that the flight-use variable would be included. The first table shows the pre-registered model, without flight use. The second model, representing what we had intended to declare, includes flight use. Finally, the third model is the one used in our final paper, which incorporates flight use alongside ideology and climate concern.

The results demonstrate that the inclusion of the flight-use variable does not change the significance of our treatments. Furthermore, the right-hand model shows that even when all

three covariates are included, the treatments remain significant. Once again, the adjusted R-squared improves with the inclusion of flight use, highlighting a stronger model fit.

Table 2: OLS models

	Dependent variable:	
	Ban air travel	
	As pre-registered	As supposed in pre-registration
	(1)	(2)
T- Symbolic minister	0.098* (0.048)	0.105* (0.045)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.204*** (0.047)	0.211*** (0.044)
Government satisfaction	−0.070** (0.027)	0.011 (0.026)
Gender - Male	0.034 (0.039)	0.043 (0.036)
Income	0.004 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)
Age	−0.003 (0.006)	−0.009 (0.006)
Education - CAP/BEPC	−0.070 (0.052)	−0.031 (0.049)
Education - DIPL-SUP	0.040 (0.051)	−0.034 (0.049)
Education - NO	0.032 (0.065)	0.097 (0.062)
Urban - Rural	−0.015 (0.014)	−0.009 (0.013)
Flight use		−0.240*** (0.039)
Ideology		−0.041*** (0.008)
Climate concern		0.253*** (0.021)
Constant	3.349*** (0.087)	2.612*** (0.118)
Observations	1,978	1,978
R^2	0.019	0.137
Adjusted R^2	0.014	0.132
Note:		*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

The significance levels of our two variables of interest "Treatment Ministers" and "Treatment Rich" remain robust even in the incomplete we initially specified in the pre-registration. This suggests that, although we failed to declare certain key covariates, the experiment still works as described and expected in the pre-registration. Moreover, we included these covariates either because they were always intended to be part of the model (flight use) or because they are significant predictors of climate policy support that we had overlooked in our initial plan. Additionally, we would like to underscore that the inclusion of these covariates substantially improves the adjusted R-squared across all models and thus also the model fits

Reducing the number of hypotheses

In our pre-registration, we had presented three hypotheses that we wanted to test.

> H1: Symbolic policies yield a higher political support for costly policies.
>
> H2: Symbolic policies targeting politicians' behavior yield a higher political support for costly policies.
>
> H3: Symbolic policies targeting the rich's behavior lead to a higher political support for costly policies.

For the final version of the paper, we decided to focus more on the mechanism behind the effect of symbolic policies on political support for costly policies. While both H2 and H3 were confirmed by our models and remain valid, the mixed-methods approach we adopted led us to streamline the hypotheses and concentrate on the broader mechanism. As a result, we chose to reduce the number of formal hypotheses to one.

We do not view this as a major deviation from our pre-registration, since the same effects are tested and confirmed. Instead, the focus and framing of the paper evolved to better reflect the underlying dynamics of symbolic policies.

Minor discrepancies

Finally, there are a few minor discrepancies to report that do not affect the substantive outcome of the paper. These deviations were either introduced later to strengthen the argument or omitted as we felt satisfied with the results as they were. One such case involves the aggregation of responses. In our pre-registration, we put forward:

> "We plan to analyze the treatment effects using various modalities of our response choices, both in aggregated and disaggregated forms. This entails examining each of the four response options individually [...] as well as considering them as a cumulative scale."

Ultimately, we decided against aggregating the responses into binary outcomes and retained the original four-point scale, as administered in the survey.

The appendix of the final paper also includes interaction effects analyzing sub-group effects that had not been explicitly mentioned in the pre-registration. Initially, we had planned to test our three hypotheses and write a purely quantitative paper. However, qualitative

evidence from another fieldwork gave us valuable and important insights into the mechanism of the effect of symbolic policies. We thus opted for a mixed-methods approach. In order to discard heterogeneous effects being drivers of symbolic policies we decided to construct three different models each testing three interaction effects. This sub-group analysis was used to strengthen our analysis. It thus only indirectly serves any hypothesis testing and therefore only constitutes an additional analysis which in our eyes does not put the integrity of the pre-registration or our study into question.

Concluding remarks on deviation from pre-registration

In this report on the deviations of our study from our pre-registration, we have tried to give an honest and transparent account of differences between our paper and the plan pre-registered on December 30, 2023. As perfectly followed pre-registration plans are rather an exception than the norm, we have outlined the discrepancies as clearly as possible.

The key deviations include the omission of the precise wording for the second part of the experiment (the air travel ban), the inclusion of three covariates that were not originally specified, and the decision to streamline our hypotheses. Additionally, we have addressed some minor discrepancies that do not impact the substantive conclusions of the paper.

We believe these adjustments were essential to enhancing the quality of our research and to gaining a deeper understanding of how symbolic policies influence political support for costly climate policies. We hope this report contributes to transparency and fosters trust in our findings. Should any questions arise, we welcome readers to reach out for further clarification.

A.4 Data availability

The data from Study 1 was collected as part of the ELIPSS panel and is publicly available upon registration and request at the following link : https://doi.org/10.21410/7E4/2NWBPE

A.5 Additional information on covariates

In addition to our treatments, we include in our analysis additional covariates known to affect climate policy support. This section details the variables used and their operationalization in

the survey.

Ideology

To measure ideology, we use a continuous variable on which respondents can place themselves on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents the left and 10 the right.

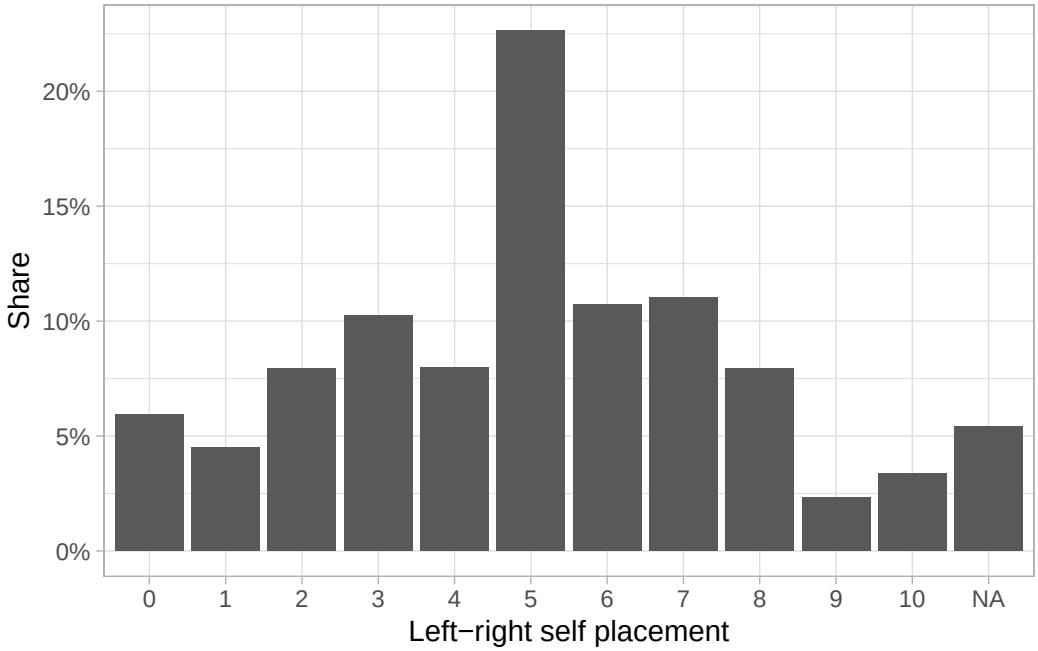
> EN : French people are typically classified on a scale that ranges from left to right. Where would you personally place yourself on this scale?

0. 0 - Left
1. 1
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10 Right

> FR : On classe habituellement les Français sur une échelle qui va de la gauche à la droite. Vous personnellement où vous classeriez-vous sur cette échelle ?

0. 0 - Gauche
1. 1
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10 Right

Figure 1: Distribution of self-placement on the left-right scale



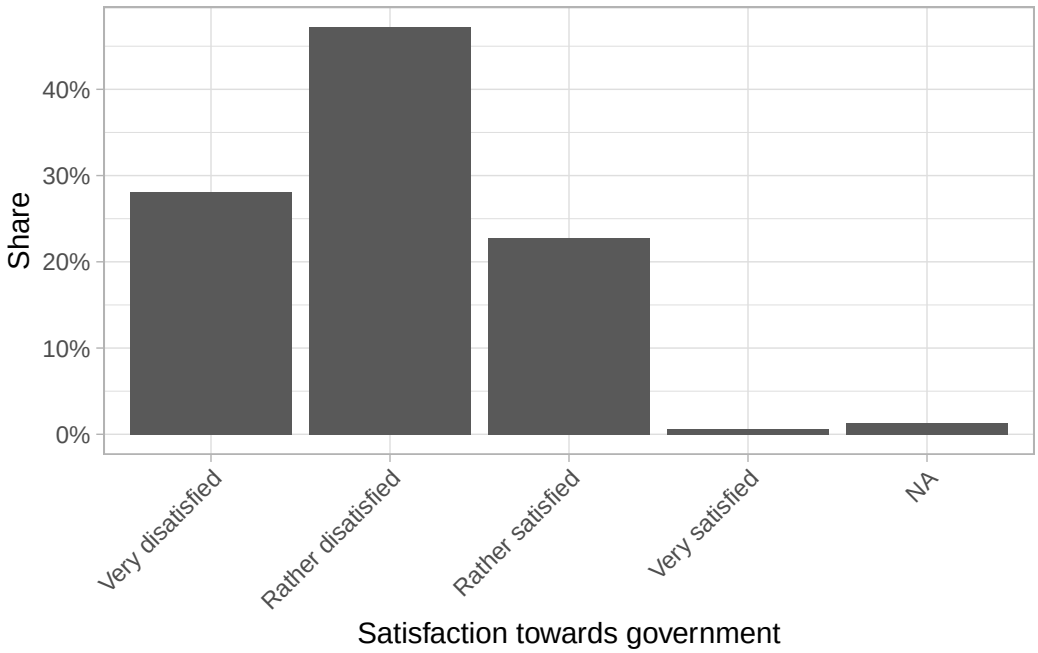
Satisfaction towards government

As our treatments are linked to government announcements, we also account for satisfaction with the government. Our goal is to mitigate the potential influence of government satisfaction on the effects of our treatments. We gauge government satisfaction using the following question, which has been reverse-coded so that higher values indicate greater satisfaction. This variable is treated as continuous in our models.

> EN : In general, are you very satisfied, quite satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the action of the government?
>
> 1. Very satisfied
> 2. Quite satisfied
> 3. Not very satisfied
> 4. Not at all satisfied
>
> FR : D'une manière générale, êtes-vous très satisfait(e), assez satisfait(e), peu satisfait(e) ou pas du tout satisfait(e) de l'action du gouvernement ?
>
> 1. Très satisfait(e)

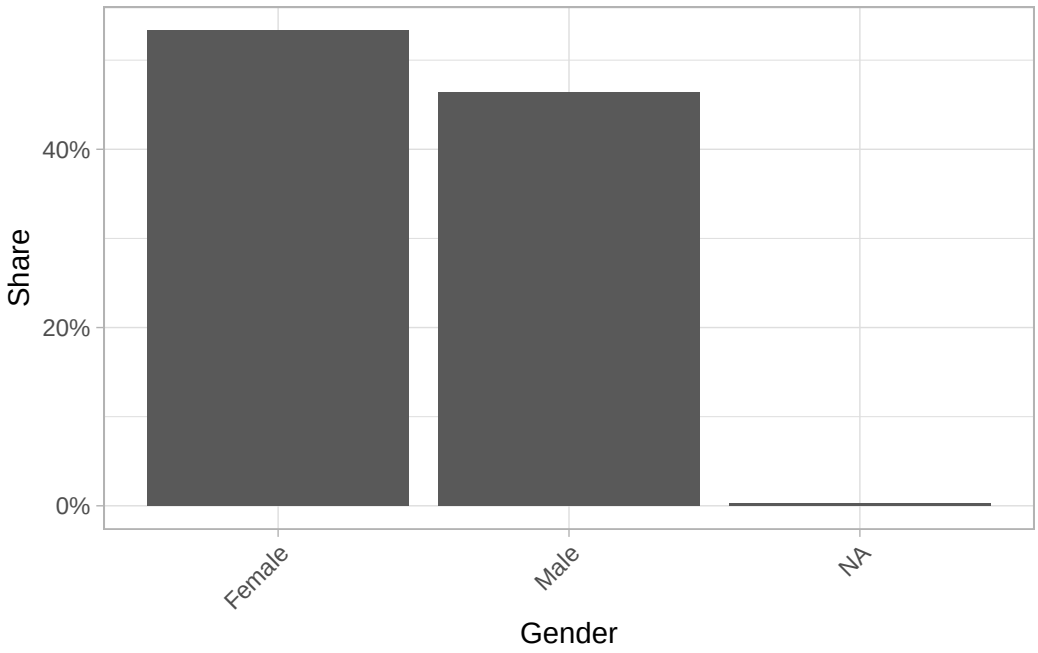
2. Assez satisfait(e)
3. Peu satisfait(e)
4. Pas du tout satisfait(e)

Figure 2: Distribution of satisfaction towards government



Gender

Figure 3: Distribution of gender



Education

For education, we use a categorical variable aggregating education levels into four standard categories in France. CAP/BEPC corresponds to a middle school diploma in France lower than high school level. BAC and BAC+2 correspond to high school and two-year post-secondary education. Higher degree corresponds to a degree higher than two years of post-secondary education.

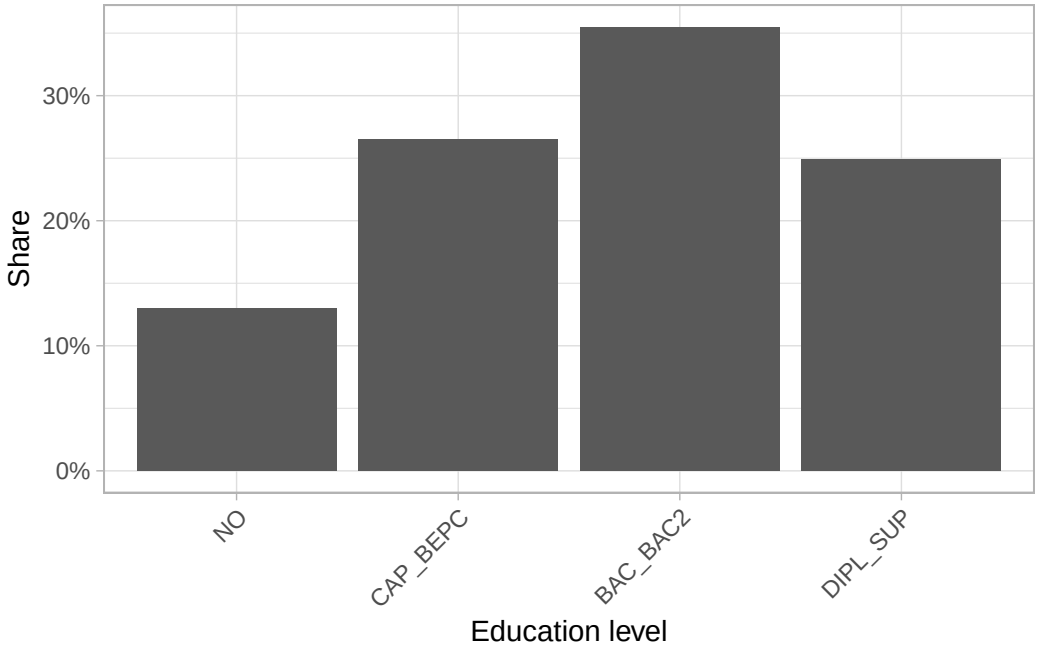
EN : What is the highest degree you have obtained? (recoded)

1. No degree and not declared
2. CAP/BEPC
3. BAC and BAC+2
4. Higher degree

FR : Quel est le diplôme le plus élevé que vous ayez obtenu ? (recodé)

1. Sans diplôme et non déclaré
2. CAP/BEPC
3. BAC et BAC+2
4. Diplôme supérieur

Figure 4: Distribution of education level



Income

To measure income, we use a variable on monthly household income divided by consumption unit where the consumption unit (CU) is calculated as follows: 1 CU for the first adult in the household, 0.5 CU for each additional person aged 14 or older, and 0.3 CU for children under 14 years old. For GDPR reasons, the data was obtained with a recoded income variable in ten categories. We use this variables as a continuous variable in our models.

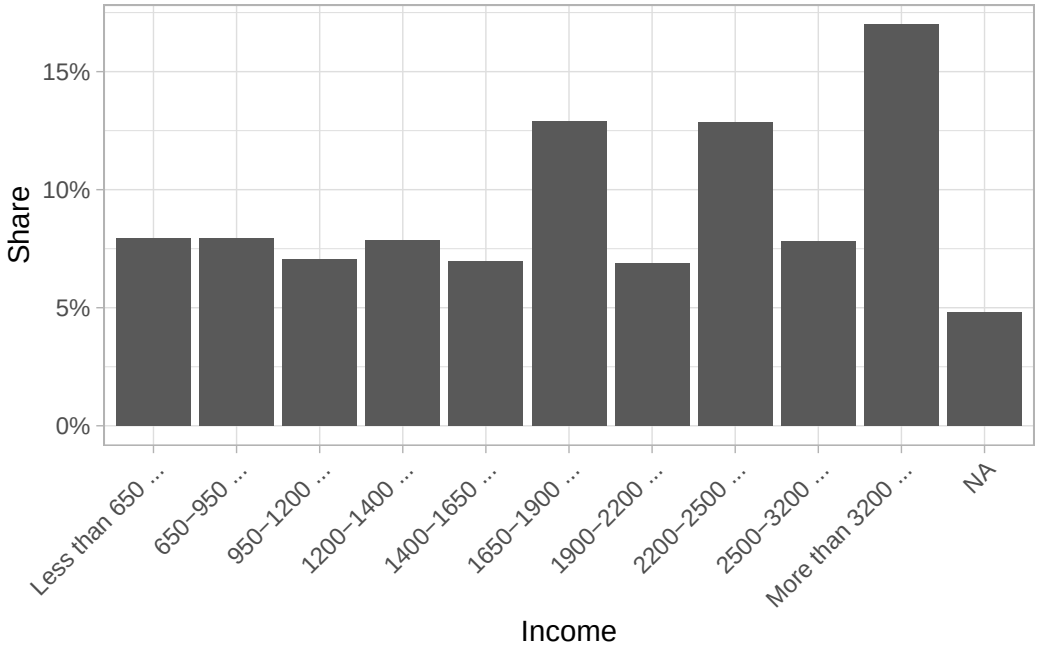
Rural-urban

As variable to control for the rural-urban divide, we use the following information on respondents on the objective size of the agglomeration they live in. This variable is treated as continuous in our models.

EN :

1. Rural
2. Agglomeration of less than 19999 inhabitants
3. Between 20000 and 99999 inhabitants
4. Between 100000 and 199999 inhabitants

Figure 5: Distribution of monthly household income by consumption unit



5. Parisian agglomeration

FR :

1. Rural
2. Agglomération de moins de 19999 habitants
3. Entre 20000 et 99999 habitants
4. Entre 100000 et 199999 habitants
5. Agglomération parisienne

Age

For the age variable, we use an age group variable categorized into 12 groups, which were derived from the original age variable. The original continuous variable is not accessible due to GDPR regulations We treat this variable as continuous in our models.

Transport use

Figure 6: Distribution of urban-rural variable“

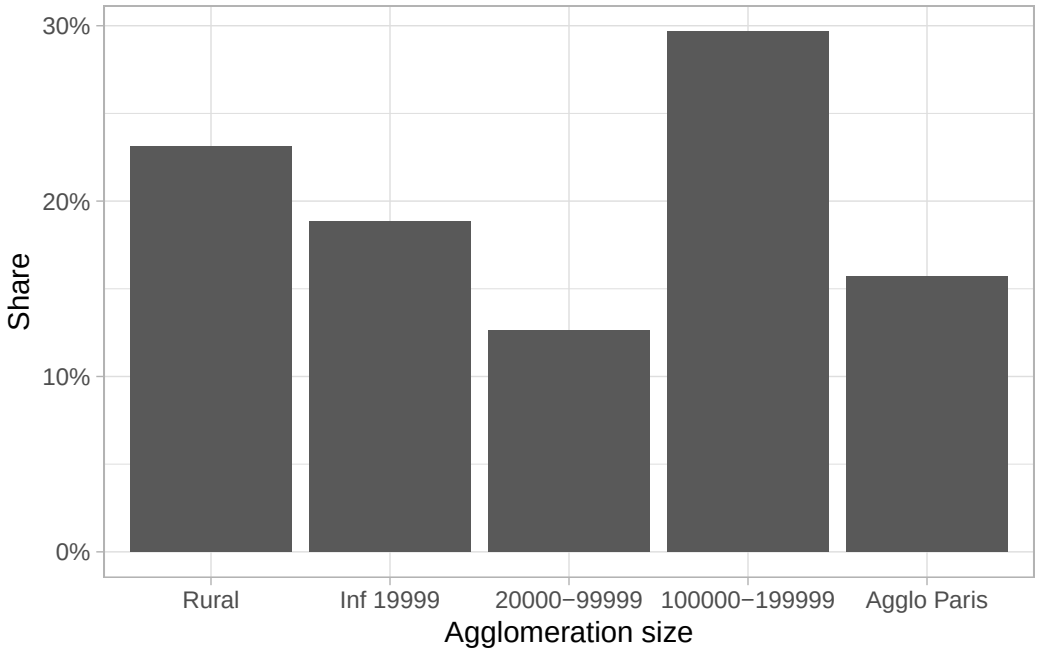
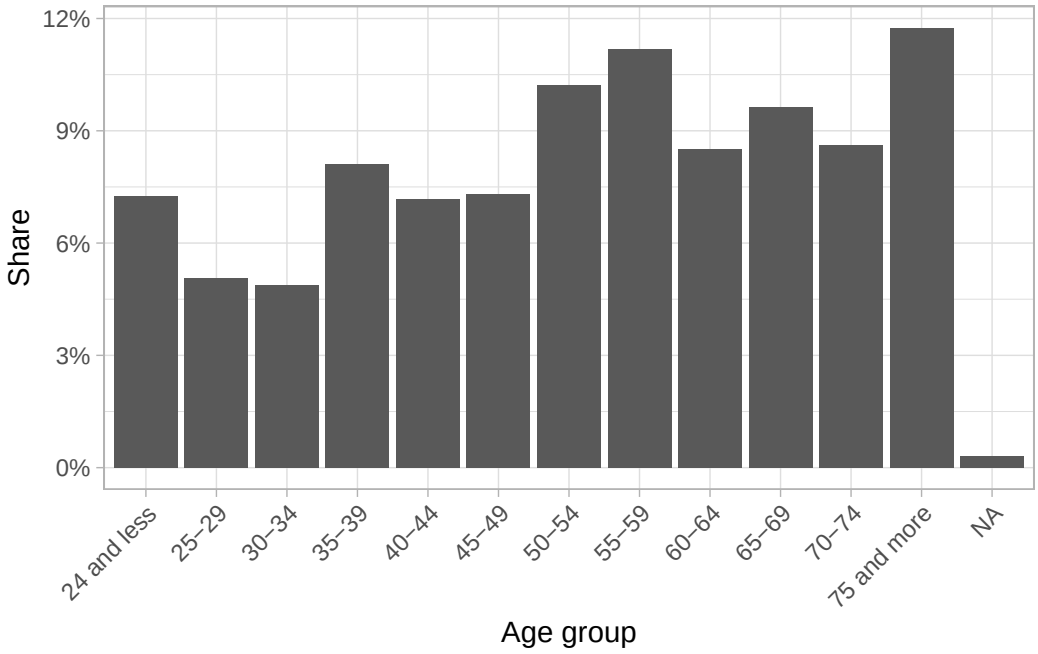


Figure 7: Distribution of age groups

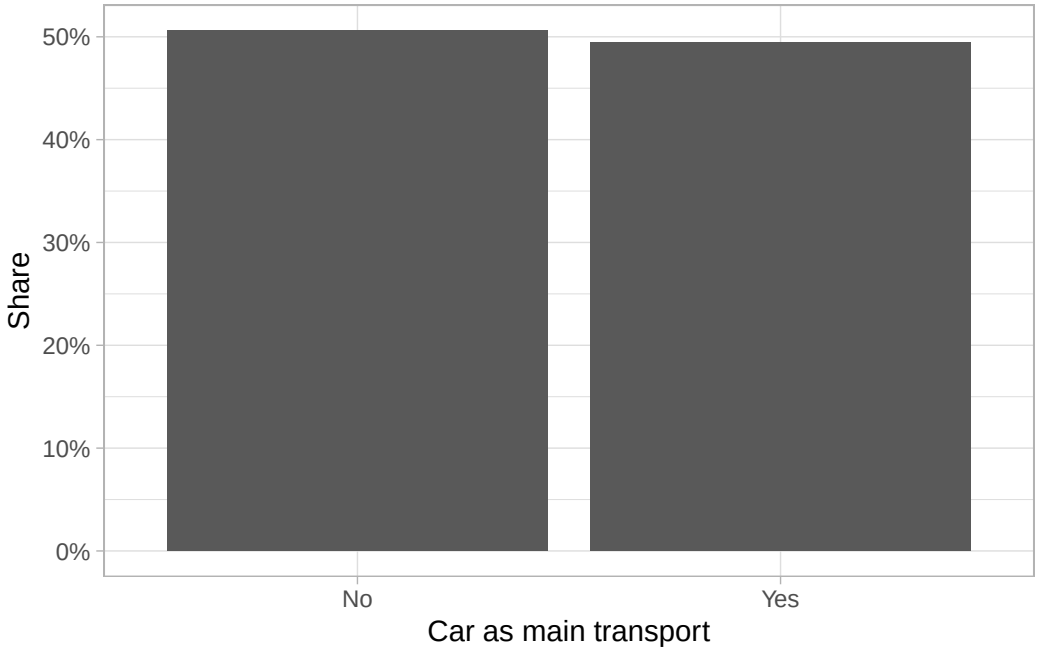


Car use

To control for car usage in the experiment on highway speed limits, we create a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent primarily uses a car as their mode of transportation based on the following survey question :

> EN : Usually, what is the main mode of transportation you personally use to commute to your workplace or place of study? (If multiple answers are relevant, please check the mode of transportation that takes the longest.)
>
> 1. Car
> 2. Motorbike/scooter
> 3. Metro, tram, RER, bus, coach
> 4. Walking
> 5. Train (local train, intercity train, high-speed train)
> 6. Bicycle, scooter (electric or non-electric)
> 7. Other means
> 8. Not applicable (unemployed, home office, etc.)
>
> FR : Habituellement, quel est le mode de transport principal que vous utilisez personnellement pour vous rendre sur votre lieu de travail ou d'études ? (Si plusieurs réponses sont pertinentes, veuillez cocher le mode de transport le plus long)
>
> 1. Voiture
> 2. Deux-rous motorisé
> 3. Métro, tramway, RER, bus, car
> 4. Marche à pied
> 5. Train (TER, train intercité, TGV)
> 6. Vélo, trottinette (électrique ou non électrique)
> 7. Autre(s) moyen(s)
> 8. Non concerné(e) (sans emploi, télétravail, etc.)

Figure 8: Distribution of car use as main transport



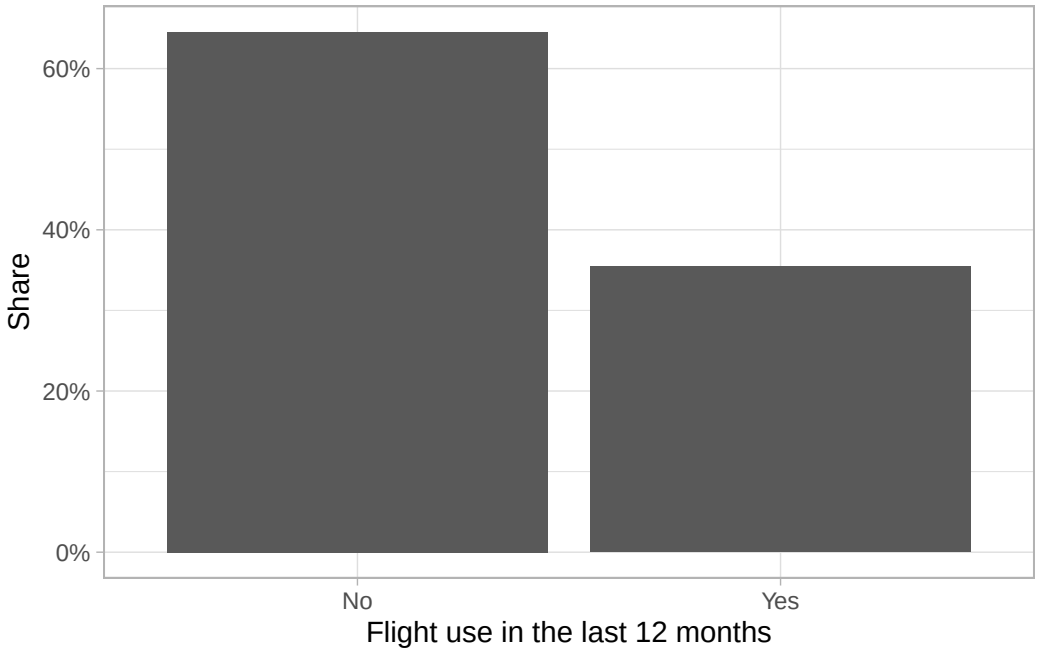
Flight use

To account for individual flight use, we employ the following survey item, which we dichotomize into a binary variable indicating whether the respondent has taken a flight in the last 12 months or not :

> EN : "Excluding professional trips, how many times have you taken a plane in the last 12 months? Please only count one-way trips."
>
> 0. None
> 1. 1
> 2. 2
> 3. 3 and more
>
> FR : A l'exclusion des trajets professionnels, combien de fois avez-vous pris l'avion au cours des 12 derniers mois ? Veuillez ne compter que les allez.
>
> 0. Aucun
> 1. 1
> 2. 2

3. 3 et plus

Figure 9: Distribution of flight use in the last 12 months



Climate concern

To measure climate concern, we use the following survey item, which we use as a continuous variable in our models :

EN : To what extent are you concerned about climate change?

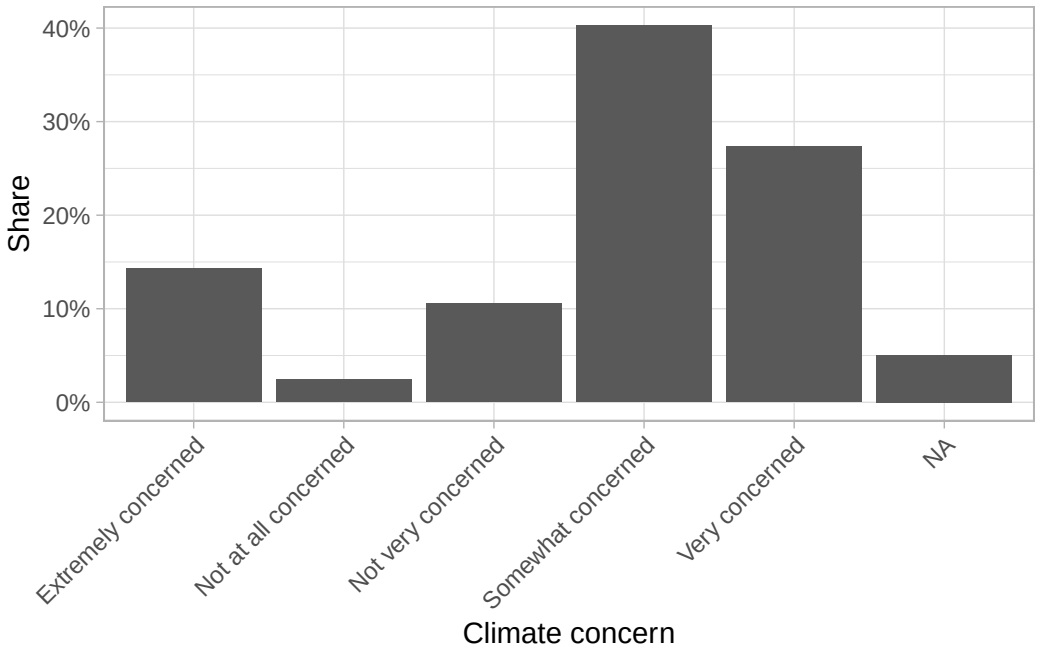
1. Not at all concerned
2. Not very concerned
3. Somewhat concerned
4. Very concerned
5. Extremely concerned"

FR: Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous préoccupé(e) par le changement climatique ?

1. Pas du tout préoccupé(e)
2. Pas très préoccupé(e)
3. Assez préoccupé(e)

4. Très préoccupé(e)
5. Extrêmement préoccupé(e)

Figure 10: Distribution of climate concern



Climate policy clusters

This section details the variable used to identify the different clusters of climate policy support used in our investigation of heterogeneous effects. To identify these clusters, we first computed a principal component analysis (PCA) on the following survey items measuring support for different climate policies :

EN : Here are measures that could be adopted to combat climate change and protect the environment. For each of them, tell me if it seems to you: (Highly desirable, Rather desirable, Rather undesirable, Not desirable at all)

1. Limit access to city centers for electric or hybrid cars

2. Increase taxes on fossil fuels (oil, gas, coal)

3. Require homeowners to renovate and insulate their homes

4. Impose higher taxes on airplane tickets

5. Build a large number of wind turbines

6. Ban the sale of new gasoline or diesel cars by 2035

7. Regulate the construction of new buildings to combat land artificialization
8. Impose stricter norms on agricultural practices (ban on pesticides, soil management, etc.)

9. Increase the proportion of vegetarian and organic menus in collective catering

10. Subsidize public transport tickets more

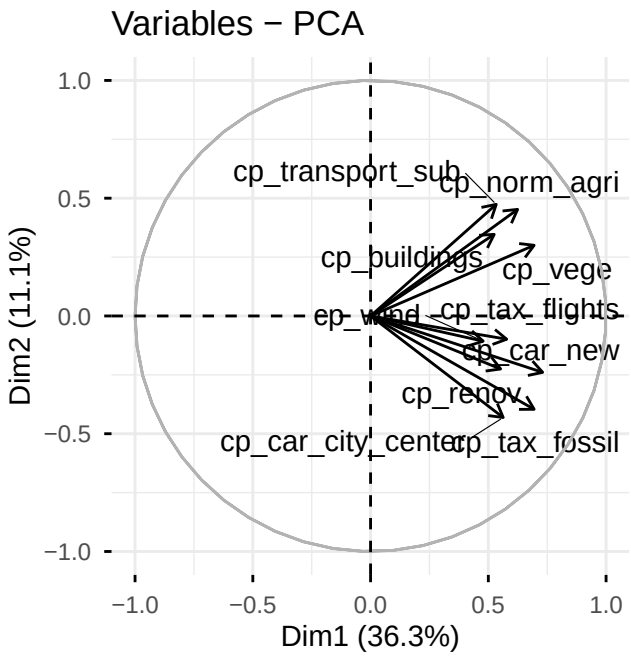
FR : Voici des mesures qui pourraient être adoptées pour lutter contre le changement climatique et protéger l'environnement. Pour chacune d'entre elles, dites-moi si elle vous semble : (Très souhaitable, Plutôt souhaitable, Plutôt pas souhaitable, Pas du tout souhaitable)

1. Limiter l'accès des voitures électriques ou hybrides aux centres-villes
2. Augmenter les taxes sur les carburants fossiles (pétrole, gaz, charbon)
3. Obliger les propriétaires à rénover et isoler leur logement
4. Imposer des taxes plus élevées sur les billets d'avion
5. Construire un grand nombre d'éoliennes
6. Interdire la vente de nouvelles voitures essence ou diesel d'ici 2035
7. Réglementer la construction de nouveaux bâtiments pour lutter contre l'artificialisation des sols
8. Imposer des normes plus strictes sur les pratiques agricoles (interdiction des pesticides, gestion des sols, etc.)
9. Augmenter la proportion de menus végétariens et bio dans la restauration collective
10. Subventionner davantage les transports en commun

The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) allows us to reduce the dimensionality of the climate policy support variables and to derive a smaller number of principal components that summarize the information contained in the original variables. Figure 11 shows the variables

graph of the PCA, which represents the correlation between the original variables and the principal components. The two main dimensions respectively explain 36.3% and 11.15% of the total variance.

Figure 11: Variables graph of the PCA



To derive a categorial measure and identify clusters of climate policy support, we use the Hierarchical Clustering on Principal Components (HCPC) method that use the PCA results to identify clusters of individuals with similar climate policy support. As shown in Figure 12, the HCPC method identify three homogeneous clusters here represented on the two main dimensions of the PCA. Based on the PCA results, we identify the cluster 1 as "Pro-climate policy", the cluster 2 as "Moderate climate policy" and the cluster 3 as "Anti-climate policy". The distribution of the clusters is shown in Figure 13 with the share of individuals in each cluster.

Figure 12: Clustering of the PCA

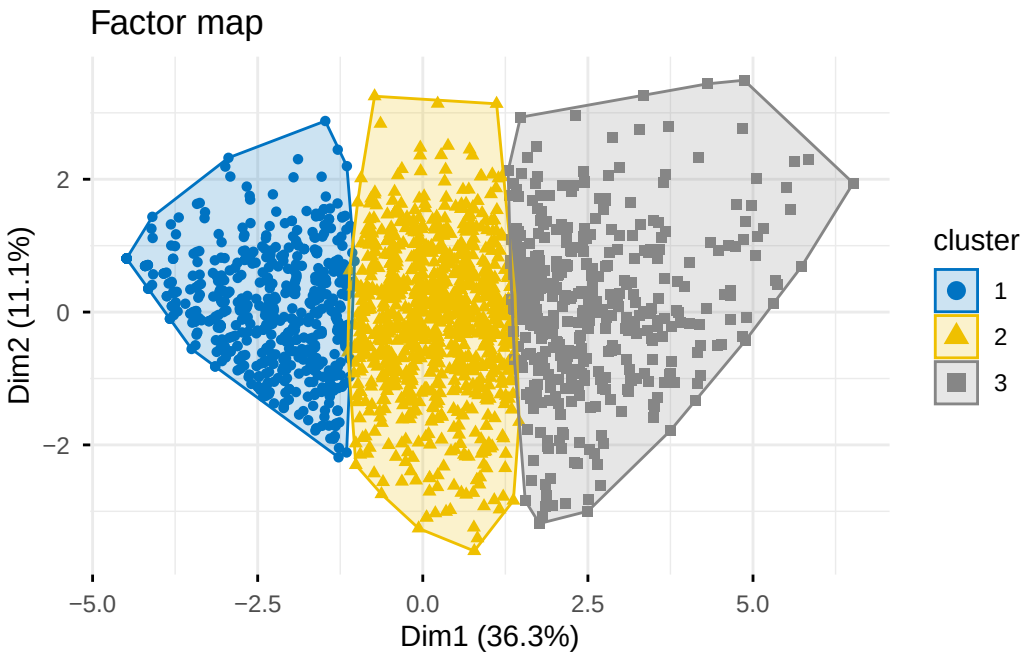
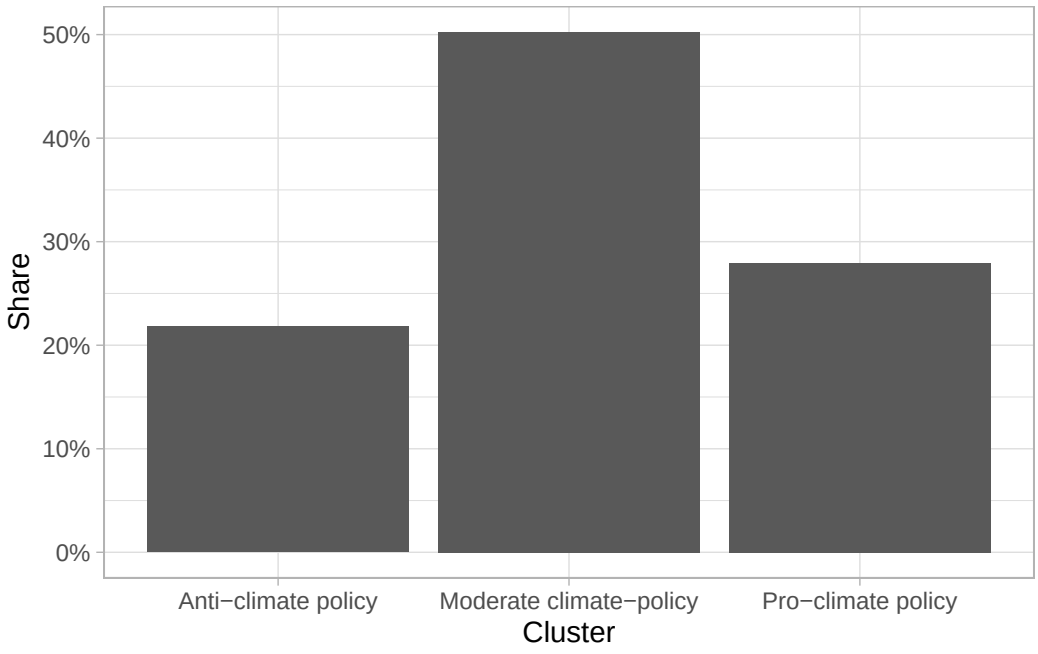


Figure 13: Distribution of clusters



A.6 Regression tables

Table 3: OLS models: Control only and with full controls

	Dependent variable:			
	Speed limit highway			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.54*** (0.05)	0.50*** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)	0.10* (0.04)
T- Symbolic Minister	0.58*** (0.06)	0.59*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.04)
Ideology		−0.08*** (0.01)		−0.04*** (0.01)
Government satisfaction		0.09** (0.03)		0.01 (0.03)
Gender - Male		−0.25*** (0.04)		0.04 (0.04)
Income		0.003 (0.01)		0.01 (0.01)
Age		0.004 (0.01)		−0.01 (0.01)
Education - CAP/BEPC		0.06 (0.06)		−0.03 (0.05)
Education - DIPL-SUP		0.09 (0.06)		−0.03 (0.05)
Education - NO		0.06 (0.07)		0.10 (0.06)
Urban - Rural		0.04* (0.02)		−0.01 (0.01)
Main transport - Car		−0.15*** (0.05)		
Flight use				−0.24*** (0.04)
Climate concern		0.25*** (0.02)		0.25*** (0.02)
Constant	2.50*** (0.04)	1.89*** (0.14)	3.18*** (0.03)	2.61*** (0.12)
Observations	1,973	1,967	1,984	1,978
R^2	0.07	0.22	0.01	0.14
Adjusted R^2	0.06	0.21	0.01	0.13
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 4: OLS models - Interaction between Treatment and Ideology

	Dependent variable:	
	Speed limit highway	
	(1)	(2)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.646*** (0.112)	0.233* (0.100)
T- Symbolic Minister	0.564*** (0.116)	0.093 (0.098)
Ideology	−0.074*** (0.015)	−0.042** (0.014)
Government satisfaction	0.090** (0.030)	0.013 (0.026)
Gender - Male	−0.249*** (0.042)	0.044 (0.036)
Income	0.002 (0.008)	0.010 (0.007)
Age	0.004 (0.007)	−0.009 (0.006)
Education - CAP/BEPC	0.050 (0.057)	−0.038 (0.049)
Education - DIPL-SUP	0.085 (0.056)	−0.038 (0.049)
Education - NO	0.055 (0.072)	0.083 (0.062)
Urban - Rural	0.037* (0.016)	−0.010 (0.013)
Climate concern	−0.151*** (0.045)	
Main Transport - Car		−0.239*** (0.039)
Flight use	0.254*** (0.024)	0.253*** (0.021)
T- Symbolic minister: Ideology	−0.033 (0.021)	−0.028 (0.019)
T- Symbolic Rich: Ideology	0.005 (0.021)	0.024 (0.018)
Constant	1.844*** (0.151)	2.612*** (0.133)
Observations	1,967	1,978
R^2	0.218	0.141
Adjusted R^2	0.212	0.135
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001	

Table 5: OLS models

	Dependent variable:	
	Speed limit highway	
	(1)	(2)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.393*** (0.071)	0.108 (0.056)
T- Symbolic Minister	0.487*** (0.073)	0.172** (0.054)
Main Transport - Car	−0.290*** (0.074)	
Flight use		−0.277*** (0.067)
Ideology	−0.082*** (0.009)	−0.041*** (0.008)
Government satisfaction	0.087** (0.030)	0.011 (0.026)
Gender - Male	−0.251*** (0.042)	0.043 (0.036)
Income	0.003 (0.008)	0.008 (0.007)
Age	0.004 (0.007)	−0.009 (0.006)
Education - CAP/BEPC	0.059 (0.056)	−0.033 (0.049)
Education - DIPL-SUP	0.094 (0.056)	−0.032 (0.049)
Education - NO	0.052 (0.072)	0.098 (0.062)
Urban - Rural	0.037* (0.016)	−0.009 (0.013)
Climate concern	0.254*** (0.024)	0.253*** (0.021)
T- Symbolic minister: Main Transport - Car	0.204* (0.101)	
T- Symbolic Rich: Main Transport - Car	0.211* (0.103)	
T- Symbolic minister: Flight use		−0.011 (0.093)
T- Symbolic Rich: Flight use		0.115 (0.092)
Constant	1.958*** (0.145)	2.628*** (0.119)
Observations	1,967	1,978
R^2	0.219	0.138
Adjusted R^2	0.213	0.132
Note:	*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001	

Table 6: OLS models

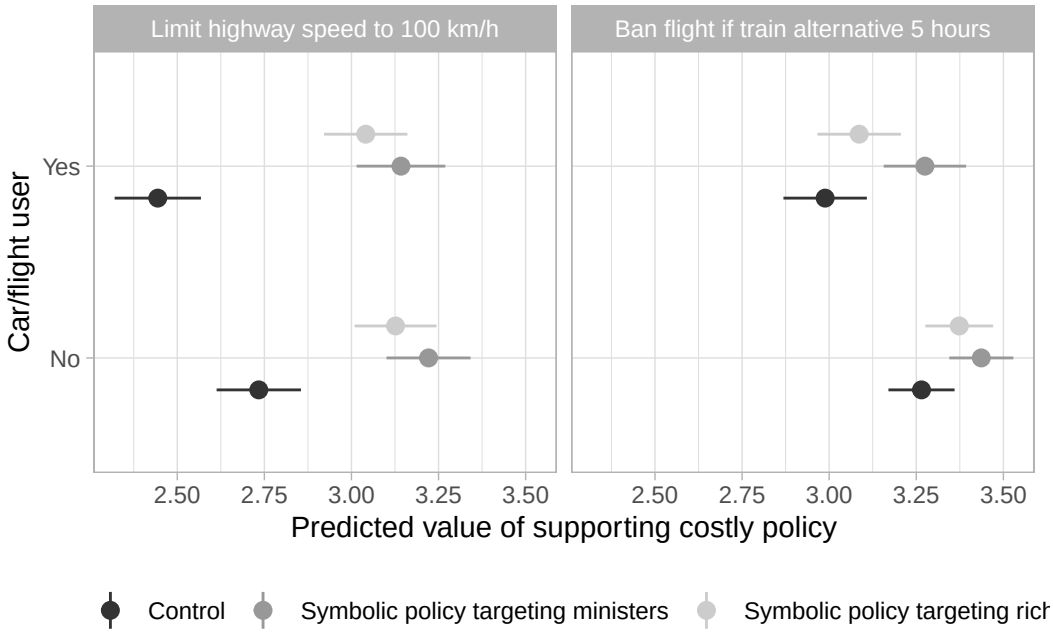
	Dependent variable:	
	Speed limit highway	
	(1)	(2)
T- Symbolic Rich	0.391*** (0.099)	−0.041 (0.088)
T- Symbolic Minister	0.615*** (0.096)	0.328*** (0.083)
Cluster - Moderate climate policy	0.539*** (0.085)	0.405*** (0.075)
Cluster - Pro climate policy	1.335*** (0.103)	0.980*** (0.088)
Ideology	−0.043*** (0.009)	−0.009 (0.008)
Government satisfaction	0.036 (0.028)	−0.021 (0.025)
Gender - Male	−0.217*** (0.039)	0.073* (0.034)
Income	−0.013 (0.007)	−0.004 (0.007)
Age	0.011 (0.007)	−0.004 (0.006)
Education - CAP/BEPC	0.066 (0.052)	−0.021 (0.046)
Education - DIPL-SUP	0.014 (0.052)	−0.096* (0.046)
Education - NO	0.037 (0.066)	0.066 (0.058)
Urban - Rural	0.038** (0.014)	−0.014 (0.012)
Main Transport - Car	−0.092* (0.042)	
Flight use		−0.219*** (0.037)
Climate concern	0.085*** (0.024)	0.129*** (0.021)
T- Symbolic Rich: Moderate climate policy	0.193 (0.119)	0.225* (0.106)
T- Symbolic Minister: Moderate climate policy	0.089 (0.117)	−0.087 (0.102)
T- Symbolic Riche: Pro climate policy	−0.103 (0.134)	0.075 (0.120)
T- Symbolic Minister: Pro climate policy	−0.312* (0.135)	−0.289* (0.114)
Constant	1.768*** (0.143)	2.520*** (0.119)
Observations	1,967	1,978
R^2	0.338	0.242
Adjusted R^2	0.332	0.234
Note:		*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

A.7 Heterogeneous effects

To ensure our results are not influenced solely by specific subgroups within our sample, whose characteristics might affect support for climate policies, we conducted additional analyses with three different interaction effects. We tested whether the observed effect is driven by individuals who do not bear the costs of the policies, by ideological differences, or by varying attitudes towards climate policies. The results of these interactions indicate that the effect remains largely consistent across all three subgroups and can be found in Section A.6 of the Supplementary Material.

First, we examine whether the Average Treatment Effect is influenced by individuals who are less likely to bear the costs of climate policies. Our argument suggests that symbolic policies mitigate the impact of costs on policy support. Therefore, our treatment effects should apply to individuals who may incur these costs. To test this, we interacted our main predictor with variables measuring reliance on cars and recent flight use. The reasoning is that respondents who depend heavily on their cars or fly frequently are more likely to be affected by climate policies and, consequently, less likely to support them.

Figure 14: Predicted values of climate policy support. OLS models with an interaction effect between the treatment and car use as main transport on the left, flight use in the last 12 month on the right



In Figure 14, we observe that in the control group, car users oppose the speed limit on highways significantly more than non-car users. However, these differences disappeared in the treated groups, suggesting that symbolic policies mitigate the perceived costs for car users. For the flight ban policy, frequent flyers were initially less supportive when a train alternative existed. Yet, symbolic policies targeting ministers increased support among both flight and non-flight users, while those targeting the rich did not significantly affect flight users.

Furthermore, Figure 15 highlights that left-leaning respondents generally support climate policies more, corroborating previous research in climate politics (Fisher et al. 2022). While the treatment was significant across all subgroups for the highway speed limit, we observe variations for the flight ban policy. In this case, left-leaning individuals responded particularly well to the symbolic policy targeting the rich while right-wing individuals were more responsive to the symbolic policy targeting politicians. This could be explained by attitudes regarding economic policy. The more left-wing, the more the focus is on unfairness and the rich one percent than it is on possible resentment against ministers. Here it is the feeling of symbolic fairness and compensation that the ultra-rich have to pay towards the rest of the population. In itself, symbolic policies do not bring any financial added value to the majority of people, but they do reduce the feeling that the majority of the population has to pay more than the few who pollute the most. Once this sense of unfairness is reduced, individuals are more accepting of the imposed costs of another policy.

Lastly, it remains to be seen how fundamental attitudes towards climate policies influence support for costly climate policies. To investigate this, we conducted a Principal Component Analysis based on the respondents' support for ten different climate policies. We then applied hierarchical clustering to the principal components to identify three main clusters of individuals: a pro-climate policy group, a moderate climate policy group, and an anti-climate policy group. Figure 16 displays the predicted probabilities of support for the two costly policies, with interactions between our treatment and these three clusters. As expected, we observe in the control group that the more citizens support climate policies in general, the more likely they are to support the two costly climate policies present in our experiment. Still, the treatment of the symbolic policy targeting politicians significantly improves support for all subgroups but citizens pertaining to the pro-climate policy cluster, as their support is almost already the highest. The treatment symbolically targeting the rich has an effect on all subgroups for the speed limit on highways but only for people belonging to the moderate climate policy cluster.

Figure 15: Predicted values of climate policy support. OLS models with an interaction effect between the treatment and Ideology

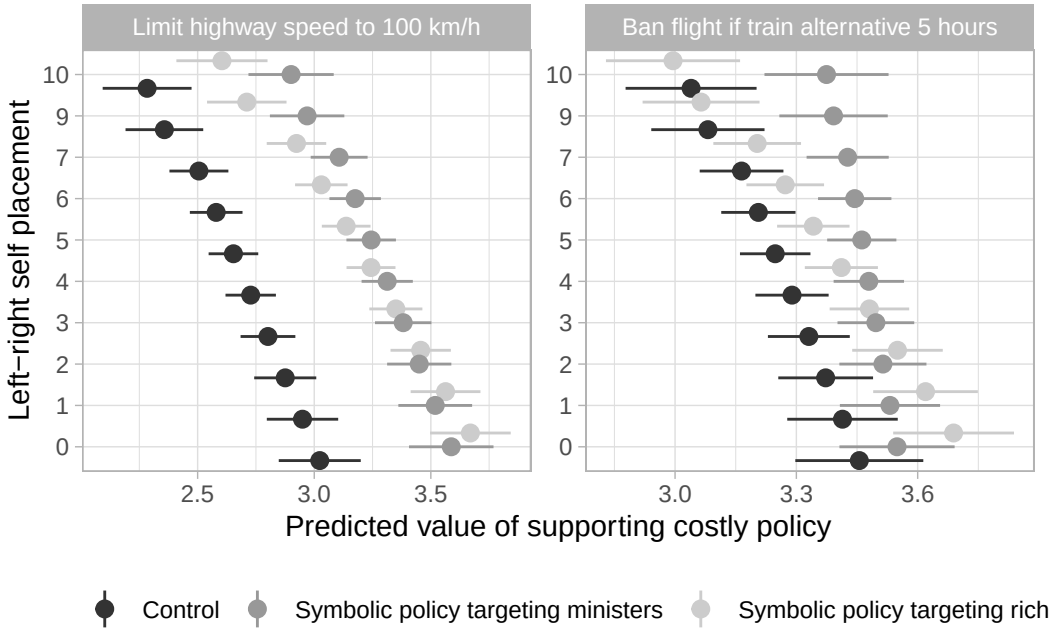
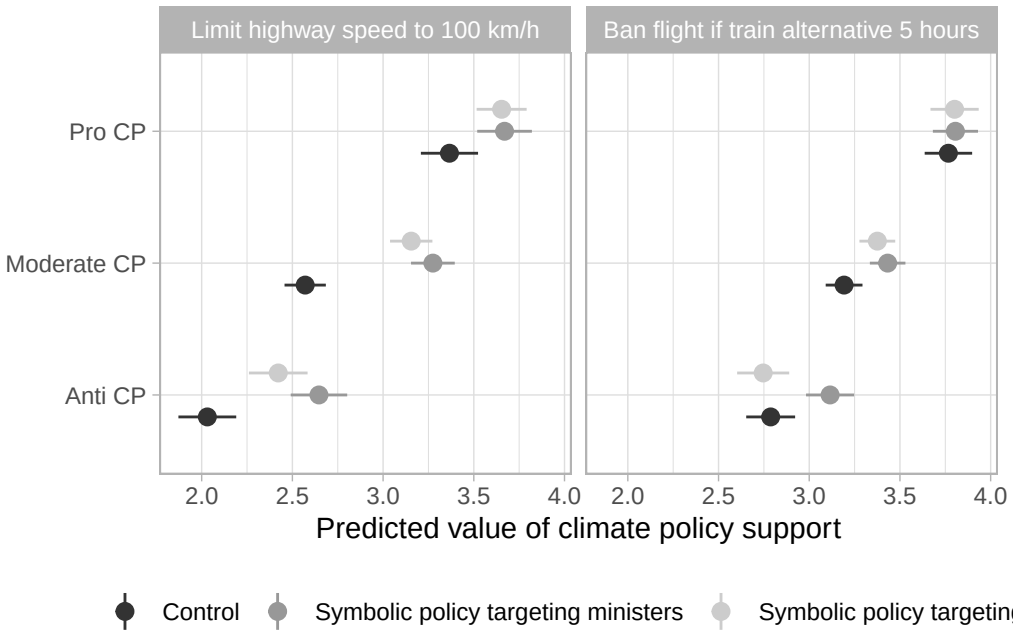


Figure 16: Predicted values of climate policy support. OLS models with an interaction effect between the treatment and Climate policy clusters



Thus, our investigation into the heterogeneous effects of our treatments indicates that symbolic policies have the potential to increase support for costly climate policies across different subgroups. In three out of our four treatments, symbolic policies enhance support for costly climate measures among subgroups that are generally more reluctant to climate policies. However, the symbolic policy targeting the wealthy does not affect support for banning flights among three groups: frequent flyers, individuals with the most right-wing views, and those most opposed to climate policies.

Our qualitative evidence suggests potential explanations for this different treatment effects of symbolic policies targeting the rich and politicians for the flight ban. Interviewee 36, a local right-wing business owner, frequent flight user, and consistently opposed to climate policies throughout the interview, expressed a significant distrust towards the political elite but conveyed a sympathetic view when it came to the economic elite and their private jet usage. Albeit far from belonging to the wealthiest French citizens, he clearly indicated a support for the ultra-rich and questioned the utility of a jet ban:

> Interviewee 36: [...] why not tax air transport or private flights, which can be questionable, although when Bernard Arnault[1] travels for his business, we understand that he's in a hurry. There you go. So then... Interviewer: It doesn't bother you, for example, that Bernard Arnault takes his private jet? Interviewee 36: It doesn't bother me that he takes his private jet as long as he's making the economy work. [...] if we only had Bernard Arnaults in France, maybe things would work better.

The peculiar characteristics of interviewee 36, a right-wing business owner, could help explain the reluctance of many like him to support this symbolic measure - or, at least, its effectiveness in driving support up for other costly policies. There might be a self-identification or a solidarity at hand that could explain the lack of effect among such sub-groups. Their economically liberal ideology, reluctant to impose constraints on individuals, might also contribute to such differentiated effects.

[1]Bernard Arnault is the CEO of LVMH and the World's wealthiest citizen.

Section B: Study 2

B.1 Field contexts

The field component of this research was conducted in France between April 2023 and November 2024 to deepen the understanding of how citizens interpret and evaluate climate action. While the experiments examine the effect of symbolic policies at the population level, the fieldwork served as an interpretive foundation for identifying the mechanisms behind these responses. Building on recent typologies of French territories (see Talandier and Acadie (2023)), the interviews were carried out across several regions – Bretagne, Lorraine and Alsace – that reflect France's socioeconomic and territorial diversity as part of a broader research project, encompassing both semi-urban and rural municipalities, industrial areas, and agricultural communities. The aim was not to produce region-specific comparisons but to capture a range of everyday experiences and meanings attached to climate and environmental issues in different social and territorial settings. Put simply, the three regions encompass:

- Alsace includes the dynamic central plain, connecting the metropolises of Strasbourg and Mulhouse at the border with Germany, and the more isolated peripheral areas, such as the mountainous Vosges and the northern territories.
- Lorraine features the economically active "furrow," stretching from the Luxembourg border through Nancy and Metz (the two metropolises), alongside poorer, declining and deindustrialised areas in the eastern and western peripheries.
- Bretagne connects the sparsely populated, highly agricultural and poorer central region and the wealthier northern and southern coastal areas.

Through fieldwork, this work provided insight into how individuals relate climate policy to their lived realities – including perceptions of fairness, recognition, and legitimacy – and how local contexts shape these perceptions. Observing and discussing policy issues in participants' everyday environments offered a rich perspective on how climate measures are interpreted in everyday life, and how the symbolic dimensions of policy are constructed and contested in ordinary discourse.

B.2 Methods and analytical strategy

The fieldwork draws on 53 semi-structured interviews with 63 participants (10 of which were conducted with couples), selected through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling to ensure diversity in gender, age, education, income, occupation, and political orientation. Interviews typically lasted between one and two hours and were conducted face-to-face in locations chosen by participants – most often in their homes or community spaces – to foster trust, comfort, and conversational openness (see below on positionality). This setting also encouraged respondents to situate their reflections in their immediate environments, often referring to their neighbourhoods, landscapes, or daily routines as they spoke.

Conversations followed a semi-structured guide designed to balance flexibility and comparability. They began with open-ended questions about participants' everyday practices, values, and perceptions of environmental issues, before moving toward more focused discussions of climate policy. A central component of the interviews involved participants' reactions to a curated list of sixteen concrete policy measures covering domains such as mobility, housing, taxation, energy, and food consumption. The discussion of these measures was deliberately open-ended: rather than seeking binary approval or disapproval, participants were encouraged to explain how they interpreted the intentions, fairness, and feasibility of each policy. This approach provided a window into the symbolic dimensions of their reasoning, revealing how judgments about climate action are intertwined with perceptions of equity, recognition, and legitimacy.

The interviews were transcribed and analyzed thematically through an iterative process combining inductive and deductive strategies. Initial coding focused on identifying recurrent mentions of elite behaviours (deductive) and the narratives underpinning such reflections – for instance around fairness, legitimacy, and recognition (inductive). Rather than being used for representativeness or case comparison, these qualitative materials functioned as a way to explore potential mechanisms behind study 1 as well as to lay the ground for theory-building in study 3. They grounded abstract mechanisms in lived experiences and enabled the reconstruction of the interpretive logics through which individuals make sense of climate action.

B.3 Researcher positionality

As is widely acknowledged in interpretive and ethnographic traditions, researchers are never absent from the field they study. Interactions and identities inevitably shape the production of knowledge (Ternullo 2022; Cramer 2016). The fieldwork informing this article was conducted by one of the authors, whose position as a male early-career researcher affiliated with a leading Paris-based institution shaped how participants perceived and interacted with him. While most interviewees were unaware of the specific institutional background unless they asked, the researcher's urban academic profile likely positioned him as somewhat external to participants' everyday worlds. In most cases, this distance fostered curiosity and encouraged participants to explain local dynamics, norms, and frustrations more explicitly (see Cramer (2016)). In other, it required careful relational work to establish trust and to signal a genuine interest in participants' lived experiences rather than in evaluating or correcting them. In any case, his relatively young age largely facilitated the relationship, as many participants perceived him as curious and approachable rather than authoritative, which often encouraged them to speak freely and explain their views in detail to "help a student".

To mitigate asymmetries, the researcher cultivated a conversational style grounded in openness, respect, and attentiveness. Entry into communities was facilitated through trusted intermediaries, and interviews were conducted in participants' chosen settings – often their homes or gardens – to promote comfort and familiarity. Before each interview, the researcher introduced himself informally, explained the study's purpose in accessible terms, and emphasized that all viewpoints were welcome. During the interviews, he adopted a non-judgmental stance, using simple and open questions, accepting hospitality, and minimizing overt reactions to politically sensitive remarks. These small gestures helped build rapport and allowed participants to articulate their reasoning – including views that might otherwise remain unspoken (Ternullo 2022). While positionality unavoidably shaped the data collected, reflecting on it throughout the research process proved useful to understand the symbolic dimension of climate policy support and discontent – especially around its elite dimension.

B.4 Interview guide

[CONTEXT]

- can you tell me about your background (family, jobs, education, etc.)?

[ENVIRONMENT & PRACTICES]

- We often talk about the 'environment' in the media, or that we need to 'protect the environment', what does that mean to you?
  - What do the people around you think about protecting the environment?
  - What about you?
- This opinion on the environment... what consequences does it have on a daily basis?
  - Do you have an example (of an action) of how you include the environment in your daily life?
- The question I've just asked you is a fairly standard question in surveys on the environment. In surveys, they often propose a list of actions. I have printed out a list - can you tell me if there are any actions on this list that you do and why/why not?
- And here, the people around you, do you think they do this kind of thing?

[ATTITUDES]

- We've been talking about your actions, and I'd now like to talk to you about some of the measures put in place by the state. Generally speaking, what do you think of the State's action on climate and environmental issues?
  - Are there some specific measures you have in mind that you liked or disliked? Tell me about them.
- As I did earlier, I'm going to show you a list of measures that the government can take and on which we're asking people to comment on in surveys. What do you think of these different measures?
- In the media, we sometimes read that people can be opposed to these measures, such as the carbon tax, limits on cars or wind turbines. How do you explain this?
- And how do you think the people around you, in your town for example, perceive these policies taken at the national level?
- What should the State, the people who govern, be doing at national level on these issues?
- Who do you think these measures affect in particular?
- Do you trust the government to take effective and fair measures to combat climate change?

- How do you see the relationship between your lifestyles and the decisions taken by the state on these issues?

B.5 Socio-demographic profile of the interviewees

Table 7: Socio-demographic profile of the interviewees. Occupations are classified according to the Oesch Class Schema.

N°	Age	Gender	Occupation	Region
1a	End-50s	Man	Routine operative	Alsace
1b	End-50s	Woman	Routine service	Alsace
2	End-50s	Woman	Technician	Alsace
3	Early 60s	Man	Farmer	Alsace
4a	Mid-50s	Man	Higher Grade professional (doctor)	Alsace
4b	Mid-50s	Woman	Higher Grade professional (doctor)	Alsace
5	End-60s	Woman	Ex-skilled office, now retired	Alsace
6	End-40s	Woman	High school teacher	Alsace
7	Mid-30s	Man	Higher-grade professional	Alsace
8	Mid-20s	Woman	Self-employed worker	Alsace
9	Mid-20s	Woman	Routine service	Alsace
10	Mid-70s	Woman	Ex-skilled service, now retired	Alsace
11	End-30s	Man	Technical expert	Alsace
12	Early 60s	Man	Technician	Alsace
13	Mid-50s	Woman	Technical expert	Alsace
14	Early 60s	Man	Small-business employer	Alsace
15	Early 70s	Man	Ex-technician, now retired	Alsace
16	Early 60s	Woman	Lower-grade administrator	Alsace
17	End-10s	Woman	Student	Alsace
18	Mid-60s	Man	Ex-technician, now retired	Alsace
19	Early-40s	Man	Skilled office	Alsace
20a	End-50s	Man	Technical expert	Alsace
20b	End-50s	Woman	Skilled service	Alsace
21a	Early 50s	Man	High school teacher	Lorraine
21b	Early 50s	Woman	Higher-grade manager	Lorraine

N°	Age	Gender	Occupation	Region
22	Early 50s	Woman	Skilled office	Lorraine
23	Early 20s	Man	Skilled craft worker	Lorraine
24	End-60s	Man	Ex-doctor, retired	Lorraine
25a	End-70s	Man	Technician	Lorraine
25b	End-70s	Woman	Skilled service	Lorraine
26	Mid-20s	Woman	Technical expert	Lorraine
27	Mid-50s	Man	Small-business employee	Lorraine
28	Mid-60s	Man	Technician	Lorraine
29a	Mid-20s	Man	Routine service	Lorraine
29b	Mid-20s	Man	Student	Lorraine
30	Mid-60s	Man	Technician	Lorraine
31	End-50s	Woman	Skilled office	Lorraine
32	End-50s	Man	Technician	Lorraine
33	Mid-20s	Woman	Schoolteacher	Lorraine
34	Mid-50s	Man	School headmaster	Lorraine
35	Mid-50s	Woman	School teacher	Lorraine
36	Mid-50s	Man	Small-business employer	Lorraine
37	Early 40s	Man	Self-employed worker	Lorraine
38a	Early 70s	Man	Ex-small-business owner, retired	Bretagne
38b	Early 70s	Woman	Ex-small-business owner, retired	Bretagne
39	End 40s	Man	Skilled office	Bretagne
40	End 40s	Man	Small-town mayor	Bretagne
41a	Early 60s	Man	Ex-skilled-craft worker, retired	Bretagne
41b	Early 60s	Woman	Ex-technician, retired	Bretagne
42a	Early 60s	Woman	Lower-grade professional	Bretagne
42b	40s	Man	Skilled service	Bretagne
43	Late 40s	Man	Unskilled worker	Bretagne
44	Early 50s	Man	Farmer	Bretagne
45	Mid-40s	Man	Skilled technician	Bretagne
46a	End-50s	Man	Teacher	Bretagne
46b	End-50s	Woman	Teacher	Bretagne
47	End-50s	Man	Skilled-craft worker	Bretagne

N°	Age	Gender	Occupation	Region
48	Mid-40s	Man	Self-employed worker	Bretagne
49	20s	Man	Unskilled worker	Bretagne
50	Early-50s	Woman	Skilled office	Bretagne
51	Early-50s	Man	Farmer	Bretagne
52	Mid-50s	Man	Skilled office	Bretagne
53	End 50s	Man	Farmer	Bretagne

B.6 List of climate policies discussed during interviews

- Lower the speed limit on motorways to 110 km/h
- Increase taxes on air transport
- Ban short-haul when it is possible to take the train
- Require homeowners to renovate and insulate their homes
- Make products manufactured abroad more expensive
- Increase the carbon tax on gas, petrol and coal
- Develop renewable energy
- Densify cities by limiting suburban housing in favor of apartment blocks
- Increase taxes on polluting vehicles
- Ban the sale of new diesel cars within 15 years
- Limit access to city centers to electric cars only
- Require canteens to offer a vegetarian, organic and seasonal menu
- Build and install wind turbines
- Increase the tax on household to encourage people to waste less
- Close coal- and gas-fired that run on coal or gas

B.7 Additional verbatims from interviews mentioned in the paper

Interview 2

Context: Interviewee 2 is a middle-class 60-year old woman, working in the automotive industry. When discussing a tax on airplanes:

> "Personally, we don't really fly, so it's not a problem for me. This year, we'd planned to go on holiday by plane, but we canceled because prices had gone up enormously. They should take away the private jets already. I think. All that government stuff, all that, they all travel by jet to do... that's it. I think they should set an example. That's my opinion."

Then, when discussing whether politicians consider her way of life before enacting policies:

> "I don't think so, because they have their own little comforts. That's what I would say to our current president. They said yes, you have to turn down the heating, you have to cut back, you have to deprive yourself, you have to. I'm not convinced that they make many restrictions at the Elysée Palace. When I was talking about private jets, all that, I mean, and that doesn't stop him from going by plane rather than train."

Interview 5

Context: A 70-year-old female mayor of a small village, former assistant. When discussing who should contribute more:

> "Well, politicians themselves, because I don't think it's normal to take a plane every time there's a news item somewhere, and I don't see what difference the presence of such and such a person makes. That's just me, but that's the way it is. We could make savings between the Senate and the National Assembly because the ping-pong games... Well, it's not much use either. Some people are for it, others against it, and we can't find any common ground."

Interview 6

Context: A 50-year old schoolteacher in a rural region. When discussing local policies, like the development of composters:

> "From the moment people see a composter arriving at the foot of their block of flats, they say, well, they're imposing something on me that I didn't want and that I didn't decide on - it's a problem of dialogue, I think."

Interview 9

Context: A 25-year old working class woman living in a town. When discussing political parties and politicians:

> "I think that people around us think that they... that they're in their own world, that they make decisions based on what they see, and knowing that they just visit places from time to time to see the problems, but they don't live like we do, so they don't realize that some of the things they put in place are totally contrary to what they should be doing, for example. I don't have any examples like that, but... When I think about it, as I said, we're not at all positive in the family. We don't talk about it too much and we don't look at it too much. But sometimes, when you see how they think and what they put in place, you say, but in fact, they're reacting like someone who has everything, who has a sick salary, who has a chauffeur, who has everything. And they're setting up something for someone who doesn't have a decent lifestyle. But what they've put in place is totally stupid... because they don't see it, because they don't live it. Because they're in the lap of luxury, to put it mildly, let's not kid ourselves. So they don't realize it. After that, it's not a generality."

At a different point in the interview the Interviewee 9 expressed the following:

> "People around us think that [politicians] are in their own world, that they make decisions based on what they see, and knowing that they just visit places from time to time to see the problems, but they don't live like we do. So they're not aware of certain things they can put in place that are totally contrary to what they should be doing. Sometimes when you see how they think and what they put in place, you think they're reacting like a person who has everything, who has a great salary, who has a driver, who has everything, and they're putting something in place for someone who doesn't have a decent lifestyle. And it's totally stupid what they've put in place because they don't see it, they don't live it. They're in luxury and they don't realise it. But I don't want to generalise you know."

Interview 10

Context: A 70-year-old retired woman, former nurse. When discussing about whether the State is up to the challenge:

"No, no, they're lagging behind. Look, I worked in a hospital for a long time. We were always lagging behind. But we've been working like crazy for 30 years. But why? Of course, human resources are very expensive. [...] It's also the layer of bureaucracy that earns a lot of money, makes holas and doesn't listen to the people. And that's it. And here we are... So... At one point, the hospital management said, yes, we've cut administrative posts, we're bringing everything together, we're pooling everything, we've broken down barriers and things like that. But it changed nothing! For the base. The base is still the... Well, now I'm talking about the hospital. But it's the same for that. It's the same for everything. So, basically, it hasn't changed anything. But it's the base that needed to be changed first. And that's it. And it's the same for this. You go up the ladder, it gets clogged up. Instead, it stays the same. And that's it. And these politicians, the politicians, they're idiots. And you have to vote. If you don't vote, it's even worse."

Interview 11

Context: A 35-year old male engineer and mayor of a big village in the mountains. When discussing renewable energy projects:

"Hold a consultation, hold a citizens' initiative referendum that you can organise in the communes, and then you'll know where you stand in terms of whether or not to support this type of project. As for me... And as a mayor, I can tell you that you always have a distorted view of public opinion. Always. You think it's just a bunch of troublemakers. In the end, there are ten of them, but they're still there. So you have a truncated vision. Personally, I think the only way to find out is to have a real consultation."

Interview 13

Context: A 50-year-old upper-middle class woman. When discussing politics and the decision-making process:

"The State, the Senate and the National Assembly are the first to be involved when it comes to making decisions. So, did these people go to Sciences Po first? (laughs) Or are they people like me? And like any other kid... I don't know statistically. I don't think most of them are people who went to Sciences Po and

who may be a bit of a planner. I'm not talking about your generation, but you know, the generations before that. But it's true that sometimes you... So there are decisions, and when you have to put them into practice, you say to yourself, but what bureaucrat came up with this? It's just people who have never been in the field."

When discussing her ideas about what needed to be done for the green transition:

> "In order to make proposals, because before you accept them you have to make them, I think you already need a good knowledge of the field. You can't just come from a ministry office in Paris and say 'here, we're going to do it like this, like this, you'll see, it's going to be brilliant'. I think you need to already have a very good knowledge of the field. You have to know where you're going to put your feet."

Interview 16

Context: A 50-year-old middle-class woman, working in the local administration. When discussing the responsibilities of individuals:

> "I was talking with my neighbor who always feels guilty about taking the place 1 to 3 times a year... But it's nothing compared to those in jets or those who spend their lives in planes".

When discussing the measures decided by the state to act on climate:

> "These are small measures, you can't solve the problem with taxes. [...] We need working groups with people from the ground. It would move on."

Interview 17

Context: A female university student. When discussing the impacts of the green transition:

> "Everyone has to be in the same boat. [...] Especially when you see politicians or rich people traveling around by plane".

Interview 19

Context: A 40-year old male working in the office of a local administration. When discussing what the government should do:

> "If he [the President] comes and wants to know what to do to get people to accept [climate policies], I'd say 'Listen to what they tell you'. [...] I'd say to him: 'Don't imagine, as a Parisian, that you can imagine our problems'. [...] You come and listen."

Interview 20 Context: A 50-year-old middle-class couple. When discussing a policy to impose building renovation:

> Interviewee 20a: "In theory yes, but there are owners who don't have great needs and you can't force them." Interviewee 20b: "It should be the State that comes first. Because to be honest, [the State] doesn't set an example... in this or elsewhere."

Interview 29 Context: Two men in their 20s, living in a periurban area. When discussing their ideas about how to accelerate the green transition:

> Interviewee 29a: "You mean setting up assemblies or things in towns in France other than Paris?"
> Interviewee 29b: "For example, I don't know, or... Make sure that when we talk about agriculture, environmental management, that we put the people on the ground in the middle, in the sense that... You see for me a Ministry of Agriculture in Paris and you have 400 farmers who come every month for meetings to talk about their reality and at the end you have 10 who are listened to and 3 whose names are written down, it's a bit ridiculous I think. That's not reality, you see."

Interview 31

Context: A 60-year-old female medical assistant, in an industrial and rural area. When discussing whether we should switch off public lights to save money and lower the environmental impact:

> "Maybe so. Well, I hope so. I hope so. It's true that our ministers and our president, if they didn't also take the plane every five minutes to make all their trips, even short ones, or if they didn't monopolize I don't know how many cars to get to... All that too, I think it's a bit exaggerated. And it's also part of the

environment, the measures taken, the big feasts our President has with... That too, I mean, those are things... After all, that's politics too."

Interview 33

Context: A 25-year old female school teacher in a rural area. When discussing who should pay for the transition:

"I don't know, rich people? No, but... I don't have the answer and I'm not going to say one way or the other. I just think that the distribution of funds in France is not very well balanced. I have a very strong opinion on that, but when I see that presidents, who haven't been presidents for I don't know how long, are still paid as much as a president, that kills me. When you see what they manage to buy for themselves and... they talk about ecological transition and they fly around in private jets, it's good, it makes me... That's a bit of a turn-on for me.."

Interview 39

Context: A middle-class 50-year old man in a rural town. When discussing political parties and their stance on environmental issues:

Interviewee 39: "They [politicians] are all nuts." Interviewer: "All of them, you say?"
Interviewee 39: "Yeah. That's it. You see, there are ecologist parties, they're pure ecologists. I agree that measures need to be taken, but at some point you have to... You can't be extreme. Don't they realise that these people, three quarters of them, the Minister for Ecology, where do they live? Tell me where they live! In Paris. So these are people who, because they're ministers, have cars and accommodation. What's their accommodation like? Do they have a heat pump? Are they insulated? With that, you can push it pretty far, can't you?"
Interviewer: "Do you think that the various parties have not found the answer to the question of ecology?"
Interviewee: "They don't have an answer, they don't care. It's all about the effect of the announcement. Do you know how many times the President of the Republic flies a year? Do you know?" Interviewer: "No" Interviewee 39: "Me neither. But it's excessive. They were private jets. Why wouldn't he take the train? Why do you think? (laughs) Well, I don't know. The Château de Versailles is pretty. Why

do they over-light it? Why do they cut off my lights when I'm out here in the middle of the countryside? It's dangerous out there. Why do they turn it off at 11pm? Why is the Eiffel Tower lit up? All the time? It's millions and billions."

When discussing the action of the State:

> Interviewee 39: "Them [politicians], if they flew less, you know (laughs). Because I don't think I'm the one who's ruining the planet by travelling 4 times a year."

Interview 40

Context: A 40-year old mayor of a town. When discussing how people perceive the green transition:

> "For me, ecology is about sharing the effort. Everyone is aware that constraints are necessary. Everyone is aware that ecology and the environment will require an effort on our part. I think people who say otherwise are wrong. The question is who pays for the effort, who pays for it and how it is shared. And today, very clearly, in a society that is extremely unequal in terms of wealth, we need to ask ourselves who is doing this."

When discussing the role of environmental issues in party politics:

> "Today, we often hear, including at the Regional Council, that we have to stop giving farmers a hard time with so-called environmental standards, that we have to stop bothering poor people with their diesel-powered cars and that we don't give a damn about that, and so on. And to say, you see, the elite, the national elite, the so-called left-wing elite, I'd like to see that, the national elite is only there to drain you and put you down even more thanks to environmental standards."

Interview 41

Context: A 60-year old working class rural man. When discussing his perception of green parties and environmental movements:

> "You have to see the guys who are ecologists and find out about their lives, how they live. Because they call themselves ecologists, and they've got all the... they've got all the technology, mobile phones, the latest technology, and then on

the other part, the ecology. [...] I don't know either, but we'll have to see. Those who are ecologists, where they live, they see their lifestyle."

Interview 42

Context: A 50-year old nurse and mayor of a coastal town. When discussing taxing air transport:

> "So, should we tax air transport more? Yes, but for everyone. When you look at the Olympics, well, I don't know what you mean, but you look at the Olympics, which are not... You've seen what it must have cost, the number of planes. I don't mind, but politicians, for example, in high places, they fly all the time. We're going to fly once a year and we're going to be taxed... for the one time we go, I don't know, to the Balearics or wherever, but it should be for everyone or even..."

Interview 45

Context: A 40-year old skilled technician living in a rural town. When discussing the challenge of building support for climate policies:

> "When we suggest something to them [people], we generally don't question them. It's imposed on them and then they're told that everything they do is crap. So that's really terrible to hear. It's more a question of saying how you're doing today and how we can make progress without adding extra constraints."

Interview 47

Context: A 50-year old craftsman in rural Brittany. When discussing local environmental actions:

> "On the other hand, what I was saying is that these big industries, which then finance politicians through their boards of directors, tell them underhandedly, 'I don't mind financing your campaign, but you have to get me to pass this decree or that law, because I want to do what I want to do. My Porsche, my swimming pool and my private jet are more important than humanity'. And then these people come along and tell us what we should do. No, no, I don't agree. I'm actually having a laugh. [....] That's why man will never contribute anything, because the

people who lead are devoid of any form of integrity. In other words, they don't illustrate what they say. As the saying goes, they don't set an example."

Interview 52

Context: A 50-year old teacher, living in rural Brittany. When discussing the energy transition:

> "So that's what's behind it too. It's how, when we talk about energy - and that's really the point - we reappropriate this issue locally. So developing renewable energies is easier? maybe not to do, but to get people to accept it when it's locally driven, than when it comes from above and isn't imposed."

B.5 Researcher positionality

Section C: Study 3

C.1 Pre-registration

Study 3 has been pre-registered prior to its full administration. By clicking on this link, readers will be able to read the anonymized version of the pre-registration. There are no major deviations to report. The data collection had just started but the authors had not seen any data when the pre-registration was uploaded.

C.2 Implementation and Design

Study 3 was administered between December 10, 2023 and January 12, 2024. The sample is representative for the French population and includes 3300 respondents. They were sampled based on age, gender, education, size of agglomeration, income, and occupation. These quotas based on population distributions from official French statistics (INSEE) were used to guide recruitment and ensure that the sample reflects the broader French population. The initial pre-registration declares that our sample would consist of N = 2800. Given that the median response time was lower than expected, the company with whom we worked raised the number of respondents to 3300.

The first half of the survey was used for the covariates and control variables of our models. The second half consisted of the two experimental setups with each five questions regarding policy support, as well as perceptions of fairness, effectiveness, seriousness of government action, and elite-related perceptions. Before the start of the experimental second part, after the covariates, we included an attention check. Respondents failing the attention check were not part of the 3300 respondents. The same applies to respondents that completed the survey in less than 2 minutes. Respondents were able to not answer the control variable questions. However, the final sample only includes people that answered all the experimental questions.

Apart from the sampling covariates, we measured the same control variable which we had already identified in Study 1 as drivers of climate policy support. Therefore, the survey also included questions of satisfaction with the government, left-right placement, overall climate concern, and whether the respondents' principal mode of transportation was their car.

The subsections below detail the variables used and their operationalization in the survey. Missing observations in control variables were imputed with the respective variable's mean.

C.3 Data Availability

The data for Study 3 was collected in a specially designed survey with the help of a reliable and globally active company, Bilendi. The data from this dataset is made available on the replication package of this paper.

C.4 Additional information on the Dependent Variables

Parallel to Study 1, respondents were presented with the same layout of a fictitious government announcement. This time, however, we added four additional questions to test feelings of fairness, policy effectiveness, government seriousness and elite perceptions. The question regarding elite perceptions were worded slightly differently to better match the government announcement. Below, we report the exact wording of the questions in both French and English:

Fairness

EN: To what extent do you think this announcement would contribute to a fair distribution of efforts to combat climate change?

1. Very fair
2. Fair
3. Unfair
4. Very unfair

FR: Dans quelle mesure trouvez-vous que cette annonce contribuerait à une juste répartition des efforts pour lutter contre le changement climatique ?

1. Pas du tout juste
2. Plutôt pas juste
3. Plutôt juste
4. Très juste

Effectiveness

EN: To what extent do you think that this announcement is effective in combating climate change? 1. Very effective 2. Effective 3. Ineffective 4. Very ineffective

FR: Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que cette annonce serait efficace pour lutter contre le changement climatique ?

1. Tout à fait efficace
2. Plutôt efficace
3. Plutôt pas efficace
4. Pas du tout efficace

Seriousness

EN: Do you think this announcement shows that the government is serious about combating climate change?

1. Absolutely
2. Rather yes
3. Rather no

4. Not at all

FR: Selon vous, cette annonce montre-t-elle que le gouvernement prend au sérieux la lutte contre le changement climatique?

1. Pas du tout
2. Plutôt pas
3. Plutôt oui
4. Tout à fait

Elite Perceptions (Exp-1)

EN: Do you think this announcement shows that politicians are playing their part in the fight against climate change?

1. Absolutely
2. Rather yes
3. Rather no Not at all

FR: Selon vous, cette annonce montre-t-elle que les hommes et les femmes politiques prennent leur part dans la lutte contre le changement climatique ?

1. Tout à fait
2. Plutôt oui
3. Plutôt pas
4. Pas du tout

Elite Perceptions (Exp-2)

EN: To what extent does this announcement show that politicians are taking citizens' concerns into account?

1. Absolutely
2. Rather yes
3. Rather no
4. Not at all

FR: Dans quelle mesure cette annonce montre-t-elle que les hommes et les femmes politiques tiennent compte des préoccupations des citoyens ?

1. Tout à fait
2. Plutôt oui
3. Plutôt pas
4. Pas du tout

C.5 Additional information on covariates

Ideology

To measure ideology, we use a continuous variable on which respondents can place themselves on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents the left and 10 the right.

EN : French people are typically classified on a scale that ranges from left to right. Where would you personally place yourself on this scale?

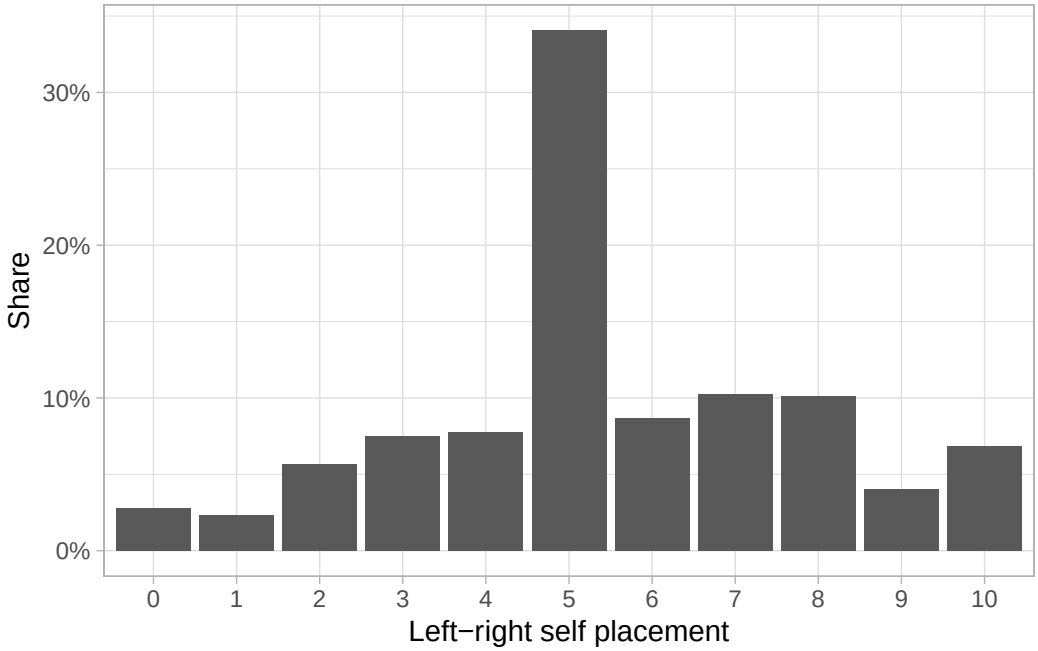
0. 0 - Left
1. 1
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10 Right

FR : On classe habituellement les Français sur une échelle qui va de la gauche à la droite. Vous personnellement où vous classeriez-vous sur cette échelle ?

0. 0 - Gauche
1. 1
2. 2
3. 3

4. 4
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7
8. 8
9. 9
10. 10 Right

Figure 17: Distribution of self-placement on the left-right scale Study 3



Satisfaction with Government

As our treatments are linked to government announcements, we also account for satisfaction with the government. Our goal is to mitigate the potential influence of government satisfaction on the effects of our treatments. We gauge government satisfaction using the following question, which has been reverse-coded so that higher values indicate greater satisfaction. This variable is treated as continuous in our models.

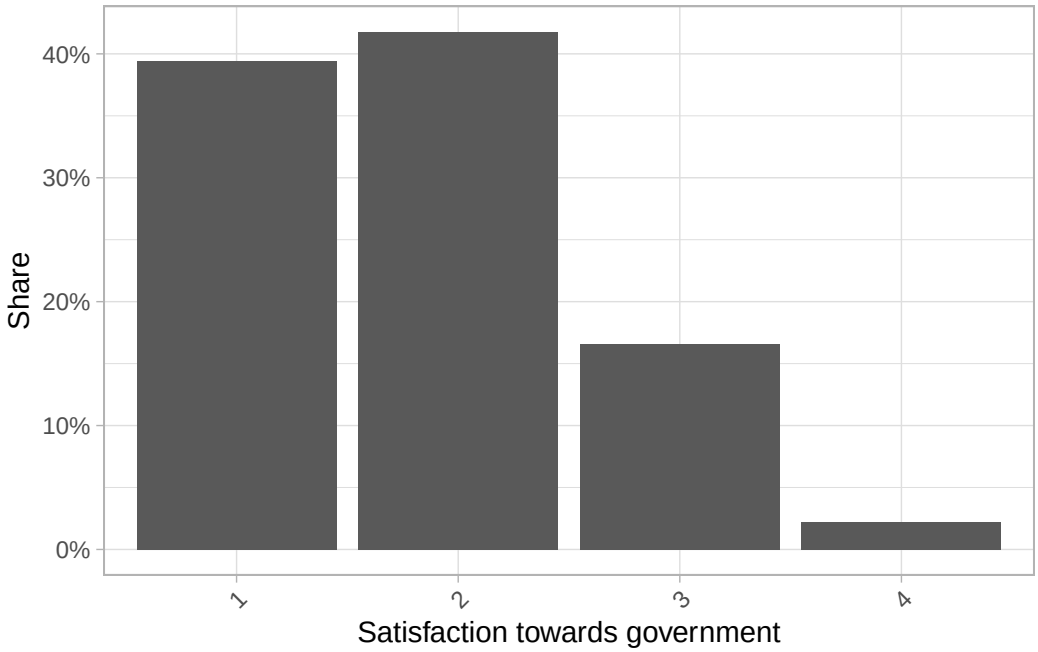
> EN : In general, are you very satisfied, quite satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the action of the government?

1. Very satisfied
2. Quite satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied

FR : D'une manière générale, êtes-vous très satisfait(e), assez satisfait(e), peu satisfait(e) ou pas du tout satisfait(e) de l'action du gouvernement ?

1. Très satisfait(e)
2. Assez satisfait(e)
3. Peu satisfait(e)
4. Pas du tout satisfait(e)

Figure 18: Distribution of satisfaction towards government Study 3

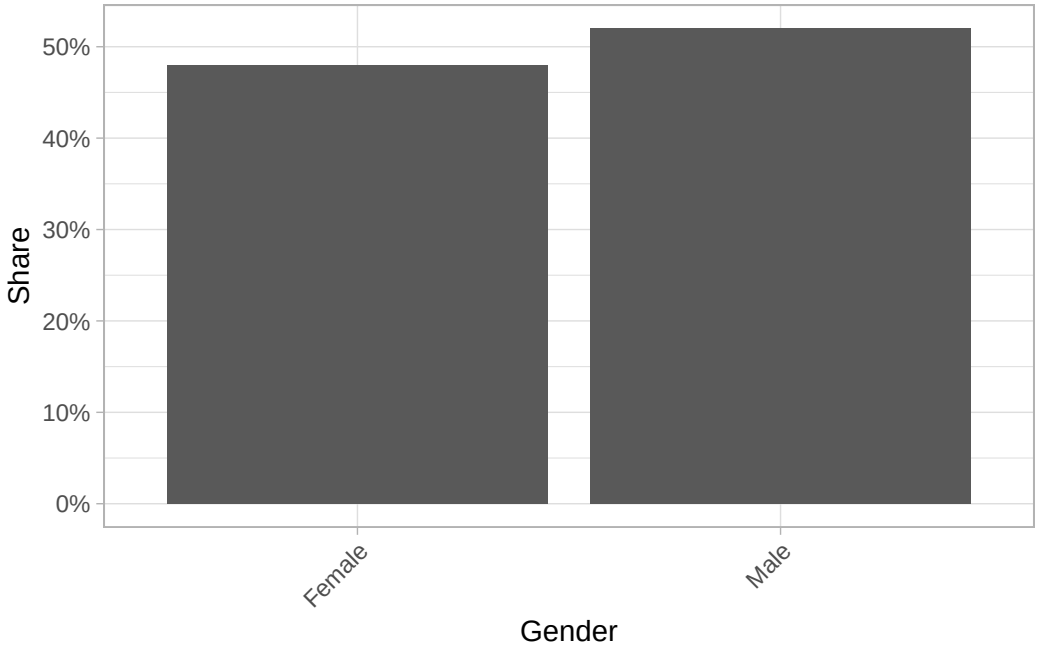


Gender

Education

For education, we use a categorical variable aggregating education levels into four standard categories in France. CAP/BEPC corresponds to a middle school diploma in France lower than

Figure 19: Distribution of gender Study 3



high school level. BAC and BAC+2 correspond to high school and two-year post-secondary education. Higher degree corresponds to a degree higher than two years of post-secondary education.

EN : What is the highest degree you have obtained? (recoded)

1. No degree and not declared
2. CAP/BEPC
3. BAC and BAC+2
4. Higher degree

FR : Quel est le diplôme le plus élevé que vous ayez obtenu ? (recodé)

1. Sans diplôme et non déclaré
2. CAP/BEPC
3. BAC et BAC+2
4. Diplôme supérieur

Income

Figure 20: Distribution of education level Study 3

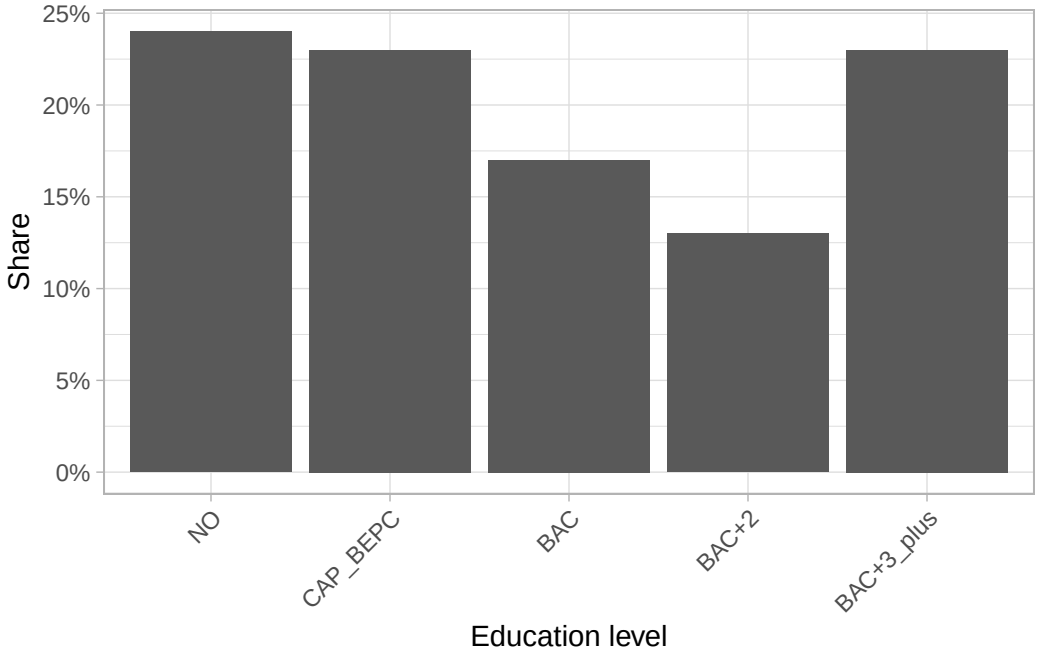
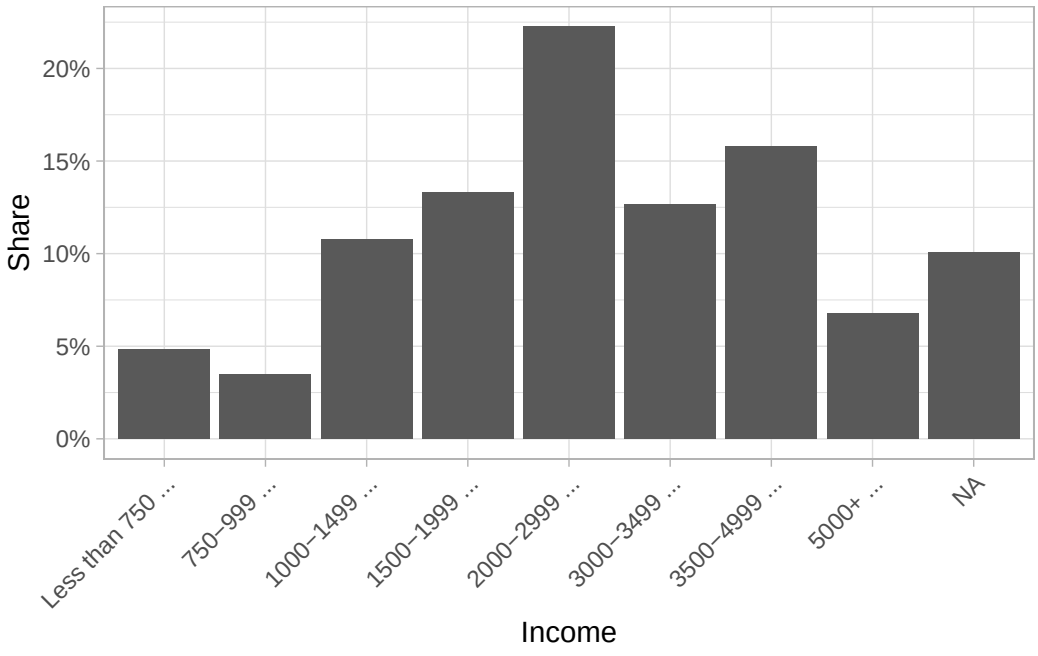


Figure 21: Distribution of monthly household income by consumption unit Study 3



Rural-Urban

As variable to control for the rural-urban divide, we use the following information on respondents on the objective size of the agglomeration they live in.

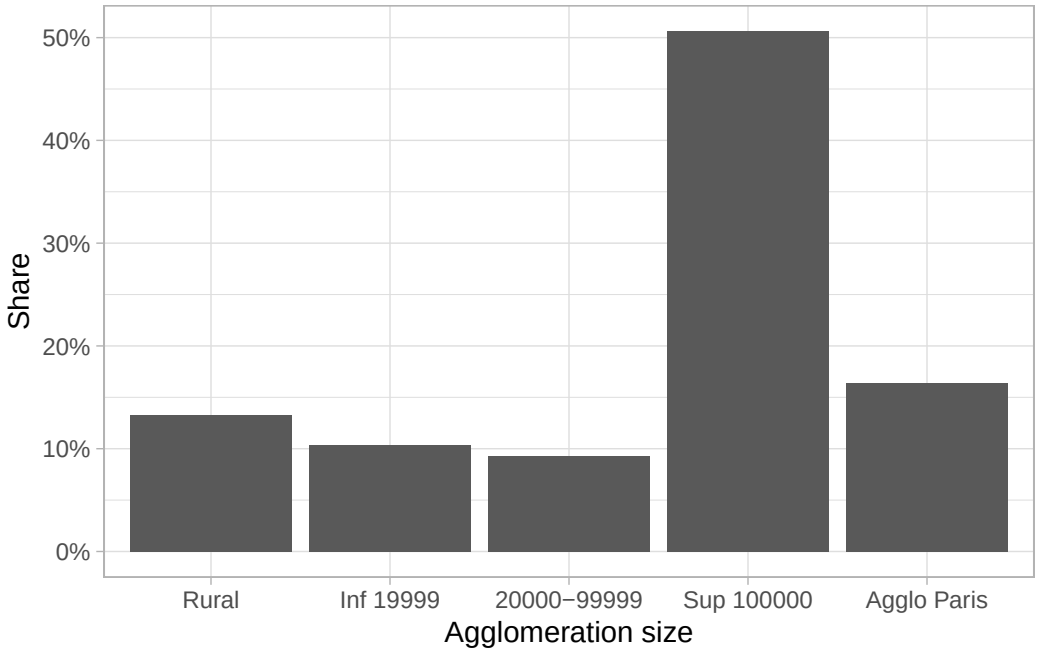
EN :

1. Rural
2. Agglomeration of less than 19999 inhabitants
3. Between 20000 and 99999 inhabitants
4. Between 100000 and 199999 inhabitants
5. Parisian agglomeration

FR :

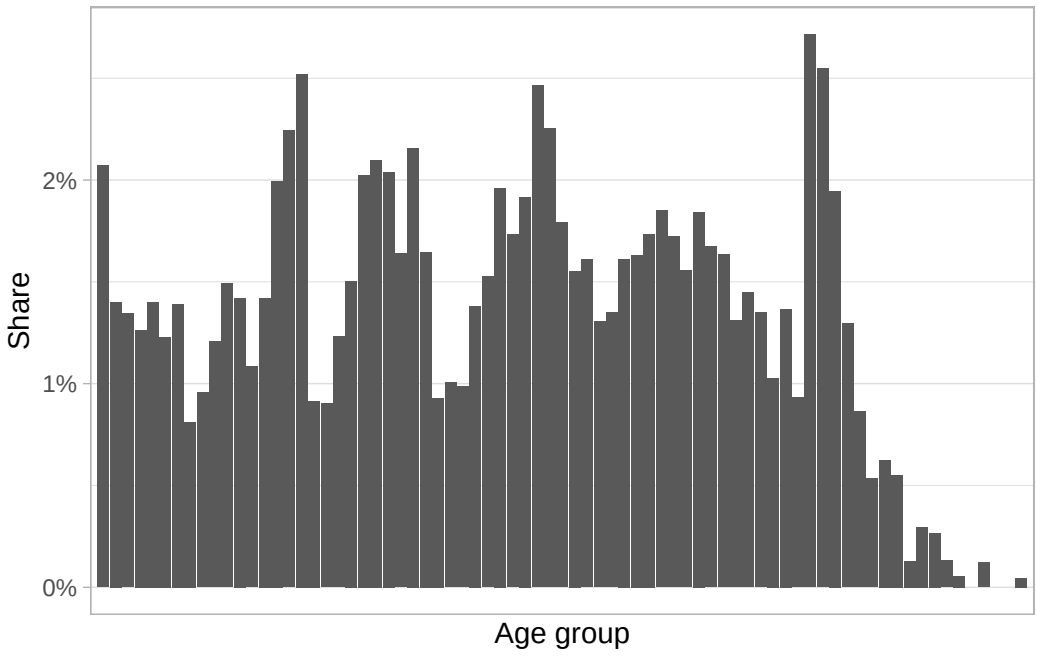
1. Rural
2. Agglomération de moins de 19999 habitants
3. Entre 20000 et 99999 habitants
4. Entre 100000 et 199999 habitants
5. Agglomération parisienne

Figure 22: Distribution of urban-rural variable Study 3



Age

Figure 23: Distribution of age groups Study 3



Car use

To control for car usage in Study 3, respondents were asked whether the car was their main mode of transportation:

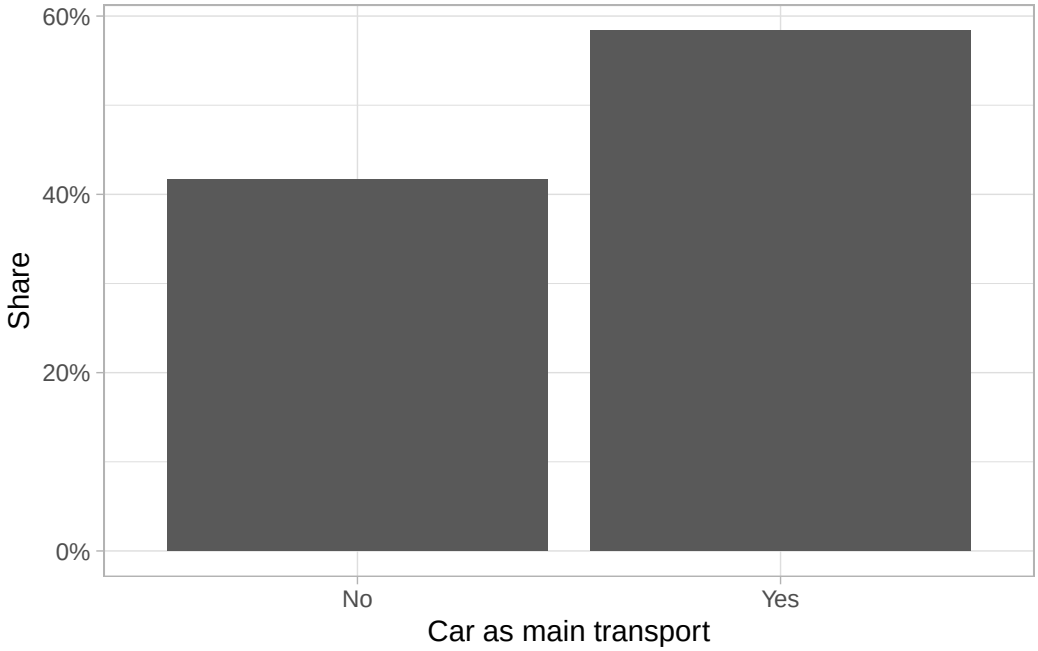
EN : Is the car your main mode of transport to get to work or school?

1. Yes
2. No

FR : La voiture est-elle votre moyen de transport principal pour vous rendre sur votre lieu de travail ou d'études ?

1. Oui
2. Non

Figure 24: Distribution of car use as main transport



Climate Concern

To measure climate concern, we use the following survey item, which we use as a continuous variable in our models :

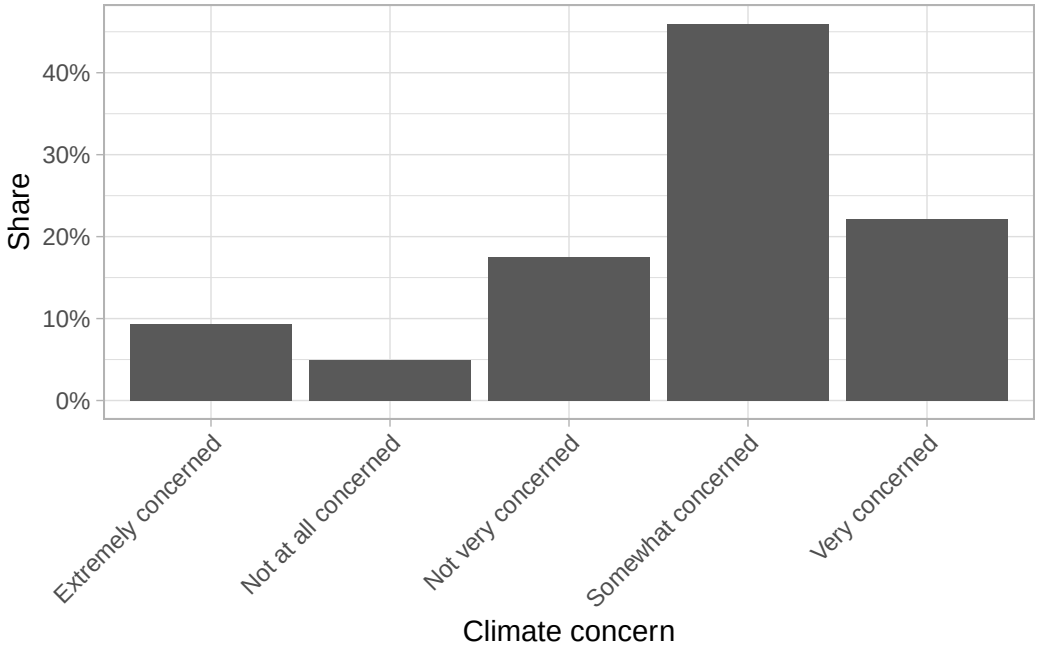
EN : To what extent are you concerned about climate change?

1. Not at all concerned
2. Not very concerned
3. Somewhat concerned
4. Very concerned
5. Extremely concerned"

FR: Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous préoccupé(e) par le changement climatique ?

1. Pas du tout préoccupé(e)
2. Pas très préoccupé(e)
3. Assez préoccupé(e)
4. Très préoccupé(e)
5. Extrêmement préoccupé(e)

Figure 25: Distribution of climate concern Study 3



C.6 Regression tables Study 3

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Fisher, Stephen D, John Kenny, Wouter Poortinga, Gisela Böhm, and Linda Steg. 2022. "The Politicisation of Climate Change Attitudes in Europe." *Electoral Studies* 79: 102499.

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Table 8: OLS models Study 3 : Policy support

	Dependent variable:			
	Support			
	Speed limit highway		Carbon tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Costly + Symbolic	0.286*** (0.047)	0.303*** (0.045)	0.504*** (0.052)	0.494*** (0.051)
T- Costly + No Symbolic	0.132** (0.047)	0.150*** (0.045)	−0.228*** (0.051)	−0.237*** (0.050)
T- Symbolic only	1.315*** (0.047)	1.341*** (0.045)	1.225*** (0.051)	1.238*** (0.050)
T- Symbolic + No Costly	1.143*** (0.047)	1.158*** (0.045)	0.987*** (0.051)	0.970*** (0.050)
Ideology		−0.002 (0.006)		−0.013 (0.007)
Government satisfaction		−0.259*** (0.018)		−0.097*** (0.021)
Gender - Male		0.040 (0.029)		−0.126*** (0.032)
Income		−0.013 (0.009)		−0.014 (0.010)
Age		−0.0002 (0.001)		0.003** (0.001)
Education - BAC+2		−0.046 (0.053)		−0.037 (0.060)
Education - BAC+3		0.012 (0.046)		−0.013 (0.052)
Education - CAPBEPC		−0.147** (0.046)		−0.010 (0.052)
Education - NO		−0.138** (0.046)		0.065 (0.053)
Urban - Rural - Agglo Paris		−0.002 (0.059)		0.080 (0.067)
Urban - Rural - Inf 19999		−0.031 (0.064)		−0.017 (0.072)
Urban - Rural - Rural		−0.071 (0.061)		0.049 (0.069)
Urban - Rural - Sup 20000		−0.039 (0.051)		0.027 (0.057)
Main transport - Car		−0.059 (0.030)		−0.034 (0.034)
Climate concern		0.162*** (0.015)		0.159*** (0.017)
Constant	1.779*** (0.033)	2.286*** (0.121)	2.338*** (0.036)	2.210*** (0.135)
Observations	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300
R^2	0.289	0.365	0.262	0.296
Adjusted R^2	0.288	0.362	0.261	0.292
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 9: OLS models Study 3 : Policy fairness

	Dependent variable:			
	Fairness			
	Speed limit highway		Carbon tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Costly + Symbolic	0.206*** (0.050)	0.216*** (0.048)	0.433*** (0.047)	0.428*** (0.047)
T- Costly + No Symbolic	−0.110* (0.050)	−0.095* (0.048)	−0.094* (0.047)	−0.103* (0.047)
T- Symbolic only	0.808*** (0.050)	0.829*** (0.048)	1.015*** (0.047)	1.023*** (0.047)
T- Symbolic + No Costly	0.730*** (0.050)	0.738*** (0.048)	0.803*** (0.047)	0.788*** (0.047)
Ideology		0.002 (0.007)		−0.001 (0.006)
Government satisfaction		−0.253*** (0.020)		−0.048* (0.019)
Gender - Male		0.019 (0.031)		−0.099*** (0.030)
Income		−0.020* (0.010)		−0.003 (0.009)
Age		−0.001 (0.001)		0.003*** (0.001)
Education - BAC+2		0.006 (0.057)		0.024 (0.055)
Education - BAC+3		−0.001 (0.050)		−0.039 (0.048)
Education - CAPBEPC		0.010 (0.050)		0.048 (0.048)
Education - NO		−0.060 (0.050)		0.047 (0.049)
Urban - Rural - Agglo Paris		0.035 (0.064)		−0.006 (0.062)
Urban - Rural - Inf 19999		−0.026 (0.069)		−0.020 (0.067)
Urban - Rural - Rural		−0.059 (0.066)		0.002 (0.063)
Urban - Rural - Sup 20000		−0.001 (0.055)		−0.030 (0.053)
Main transport - Car		−0.093** (0.033)		−0.052 (0.032)
Climate concern		0.118*** (0.016)		0.136*** (0.016)
Constant	2.062*** (0.035)	2.681*** (0.131)	2.213*** (0.033)	1.896*** (0.125)
Observations	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300
R^2	0.147	0.210	0.204	0.232
Adjusted R^2	0.146	0.205	0.203	0.227
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 10: OLS models Study 3 : Policy effectiveness

	Dependent variable:			
	Effectiveness			
	Speed limit highway		Carbon tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Costly + Symbolic	0.119** (0.044)	0.129** (0.041)	0.338*** (0.046)	0.335*** (0.044)
T- Costly + No Symbolic	0.060 (0.044)	0.081 (0.041)	0.004 (0.046)	0.004 (0.044)
T- Symbolic only	0.667*** (0.044)	0.691*** (0.041)	0.723*** (0.046)	0.737*** (0.044)
T- Symbolic + No Costly	0.638*** (0.044)	0.649*** (0.041)	0.530*** (0.046)	0.531*** (0.044)
Ideology		−0.003 (0.006)		0.004 (0.006)
Government satisfaction		−0.296*** (0.017)		−0.188*** (0.018)
Gender - Male		−0.018 (0.026)		−0.114*** (0.028)
Income		−0.027*** (0.008)		−0.025** (0.009)
Age		−0.001 (0.001)		−0.001 (0.001)
Education - BAC+2		−0.078 (0.049)		−0.016 (0.052)
Education - BAC+3		−0.027 (0.043)		−0.072 (0.045)
Education - CAPBEPC		−0.062 (0.043)		0.098* (0.045)
Education - NO		−0.091* (0.043)		0.098* (0.046)
Urban - Rural - Agglo Paris		0.001 (0.055)		0.023 (0.058)
Urban - Rural - Inf 19999		0.030 (0.059)		−0.072 (0.063)
Urban - Rural - Rural		−0.032 (0.056)		−0.021 (0.059)
Urban - Rural - Sup 20000		−0.005 (0.047)		−0.033 (0.050)
Main transport - Car		−0.056* (0.028)		−0.036 (0.030)
Climate concern		0.154*** (0.014)		0.182*** (0.015)
Constant	1.883*** (0.031)	2.661*** (0.112)	2.074*** (0.032)	2.317*** (0.117)
Observations	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300
R^2	0.118	0.234	0.107	0.187
Adjusted R^2	0.117	0.230	0.106	0.183
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 11: OLS models Study 3 : Policy seriousness

	Dependent variable:			
	Seriousness			
	Speed limit highway		Carbon tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Costly + Symbolic	0.177*** (0.049)	0.185*** (0.046)	0.305*** (0.049)	0.306*** (0.047)
T- Costly + No Symbolic	0.044 (0.049)	0.060 (0.046)	−0.076 (0.049)	−0.068 (0.047)
T- Symbolic only	0.594*** (0.049)	0.616*** (0.046)	0.712*** (0.049)	0.726*** (0.047)
T- Symbolic + No Costly	0.515*** (0.049)	0.519*** (0.046)	0.591*** (0.049)	0.610*** (0.047)
Ideology		0.004 (0.006)		0.010 (0.007)
Government satisfaction		−0.331*** (0.019)		−0.278*** (0.019)
Gender - Male		−0.043 (0.030)		−0.139*** (0.030)
Income		−0.027** (0.009)		−0.0003 (0.009)
Age		0.001 (0.001)		0.001 (0.001)
Education - BAC+2		−0.024 (0.055)		−0.030 (0.057)
Education - BAC+3		−0.010 (0.048)		−0.037 (0.049)
Education - CAPBEPC		−0.086 (0.048)		0.039 (0.049)
Education - NO		−0.048 (0.048)		0.042 (0.049)
Urban - Rural - Agglo Paris		0.105 (0.062)		0.022 (0.063)
Urban - Rural - Inf 19999		0.019 (0.067)		−0.070 (0.069)
Urban - Rural - Rural		−0.003 (0.064)		−0.015 (0.066)
Urban - Rural - Sup 20000		0.037 (0.053)		0.025 (0.055)
Main transport - Car		−0.006 (0.031)		−0.061 (0.032)
Climate concern		0.090*** (0.015)		0.109*** (0.016)
Constant	1.980*** (0.034)	2.836*** (0.125)	2.092*** (0.035)	2.609*** (0.127)
Observations	3,016	3,016	3,016	3,016
R^2	0.077	0.180	0.118	0.197
Adjusted R^2	0.076	0.175	0.116	0.192
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table 12: OLS models Study 3 : Elite responsiveness

	Dependent variable:			
	Elite responsiveness			
	Speed limit highway		Carbon tax	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
T- Costly + Symbolic	0.216*** (0.049)	0.226*** (0.045)	0.352*** (0.052)	0.351*** (0.049)
T- Costly + No Symbolic	0.008 (0.049)	0.025 (0.045)	−0.030 (0.052)	−0.019 (0.049)
T- Symbolic only	0.758*** (0.049)	0.787*** (0.045)	0.788*** (0.052)	0.804*** (0.049)
T- Symbolic + No Costly	0.731*** (0.049)	0.729*** (0.045)	0.574*** (0.052)	0.597*** (0.049)
Ideology		0.001 (0.006)		0.002 (0.007)
Government satisfaction		−0.403*** (0.018)		−0.336*** (0.020)
Gender - Male		−0.013 (0.029)		−0.113*** (0.031)
Income		−0.016 (0.009)		0.003 (0.010)
Age		−0.003*** (0.001)		−0.0001 (0.001)
Education - BAC+2		−0.049 (0.054)		0.005 (0.059)
Education - BAC+3		−0.003 (0.047)		0.004 (0.051)
Education - CAPBEPC		−0.074 (0.047)		0.062 (0.051)
Education - NO		−0.111* (0.047)		0.076 (0.051)
Urban - Rural - Agglo Paris		0.116 (0.060)		0.026 (0.066)
Urban - Rural - Inf 19999		0.027 (0.066)		−0.043 (0.071)
Urban - Rural - Rural		−0.005 (0.063)		0.014 (0.068)
Urban - Rural - Sup 20000		0.069 (0.052)		0.033 (0.057)
Main transport - Car		−0.020 (0.031)		−0.063 (0.033)
Climate concern		0.083*** (0.015)		0.129*** (0.016)
Constant	1.790*** (0.035)	3.062*** (0.122)	2.053*** (0.037)	2.732*** (0.131)
Observations	3,016	3,016	3,016	3,016
R^2	0.135	0.282	0.112	0.211
Adjusted R^2	0.134	0.278	0.111	0.206
Note:				*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001