

Emotions and Policy Views

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SOCIAL
ECONOMICS
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Motivation: The Rise of Emotions in Policy

Emotions have become important in the public sphere and discourse.

Emergence of “Emotional communities” characterized by shared experiences of anger, outrage, and resentment (e.g., MeToo, Gilets Jaunes...)

Populist discourse also often based on these negative emotions.

Yet, emotions are **difficult to study quantitatively**.

Text analysis methods offer promising avenue

This paper:

1. Documents rise of emotions, especially anger, on **the supply side** (policymakers and politicians) and **demand side** of policy (citizens).
2. Survey experiment (A) to show causal effect of **positive vs. negative emotions** on policy views
3. Survey experiment (B) to distinguish between **fear and anger**

Literature

- **Pivotal role of emotions in shaping judgments, decisions, and political choices**

- ▶ Lazarus (1991), Marcus (2002), Loewenstein, (1996, 2000), Putman (2020), Rosanvallon (2021), Clore et al. (2001), Clore & Huntsinger (2007), O'Neill & Nicholson-Cole (2009), Rahn (2000), Van Zomeren (2021), MacKuen et al. (2010), Boxell et al. (2024), Ladd & Podkul (2018), Jost (2019), Marcus et al. (2019), Vasilopoulou & Wagner (2017), Rico et al (2017), Widmann (2021), Ward et al (2024)

Contribution: Causal impact of emotions on policy views in economics

- **Experimental designs exploring the role of emotions in shaping policy views**

- ▶ Manzoni et al. (2024), Myers et al. (2024), Tilley & Hobolt (2024), Lo et al. (2022), Gonthier (2023), Albertson & Gadarian (2015), Smith & Leiserowitz (2010)

Contribution: Our experiments shift emotions overall, not context-specific. Not about providing emotional content on specific policy issue.

- **Determinants of policy preferences**

- ▶ Stantcheva (2020, 2021, 2022), Binetti et al (2024), Dechezlepretre et al (2025), Roth et al (2022), Sawulski et al. (2024), Bremer & Burgisser, (2023), Andre et al. (2023), Giglio et al. (2021), Bailey et al. (2019), Goetzmann et al. (2022)

Contribution: Emotions complement traditional “cognitive” processes in shaping policy attitudes

Outline

- ▶ The Demand Side of Emotions: the Rise of the Emotional Voter
- ▶ The Supply Side of Emotions: Political Cycles
- ▶ Experimental Effects: Positive vs. Negative Emotions
- ▶ Experimental Effects: Anger vs. Fear
- ▶ Appendix

Outline

- ▶ **The Demand Side of Emotions: the Rise of the Emotional Voter**
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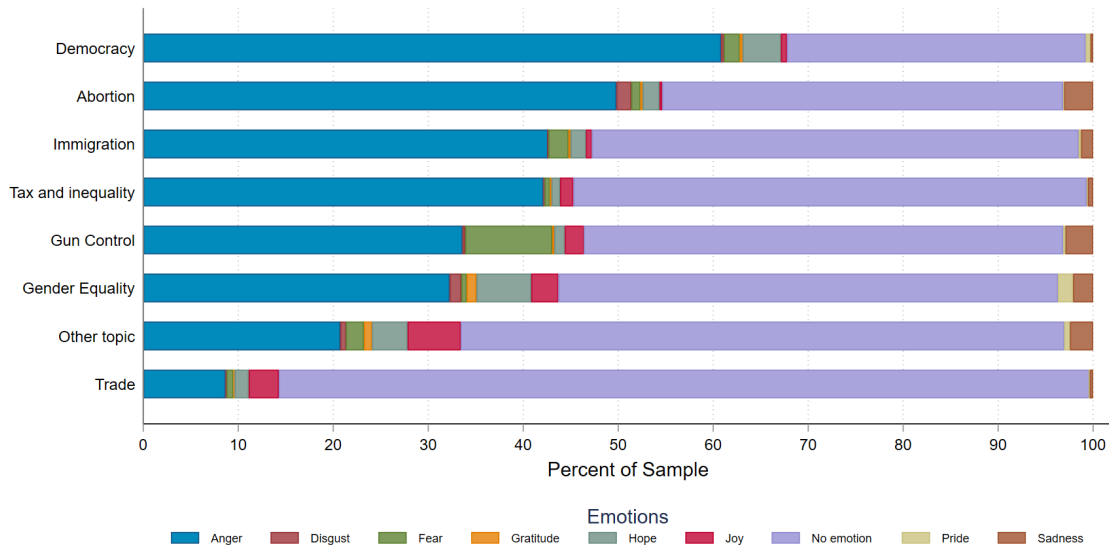
X data

- **Citizens' Tweets** on policy issues
 - ▶ Random sample representing approximately 0.02% of all tweets posted on Twitter
 - ▶ 690,000 tweets, excluding retweets, sent between January 2013 and January 2025, with keywords:
 - ★ Immigration, terrorism, crime, war, justice, injustice, inequality, abortion, gun, education, climate, inflation, price, job, tax, trade, economy, growth, budget, deficit, debt, health, healthcare, Medicare, Supreme Court, policy, government, Congress, or Senate.
- **Climate change tweets**
 - ▶ Random sample: every tweet posted between the 5th and 10th minute of each hour of all tweets with keywords:
 - ★ Climate change, global warming
 - ▶ 3 millions tweets, excluding retweets, sent on Twitter between January 2013 and April 2023 from 1.4 million distinct users

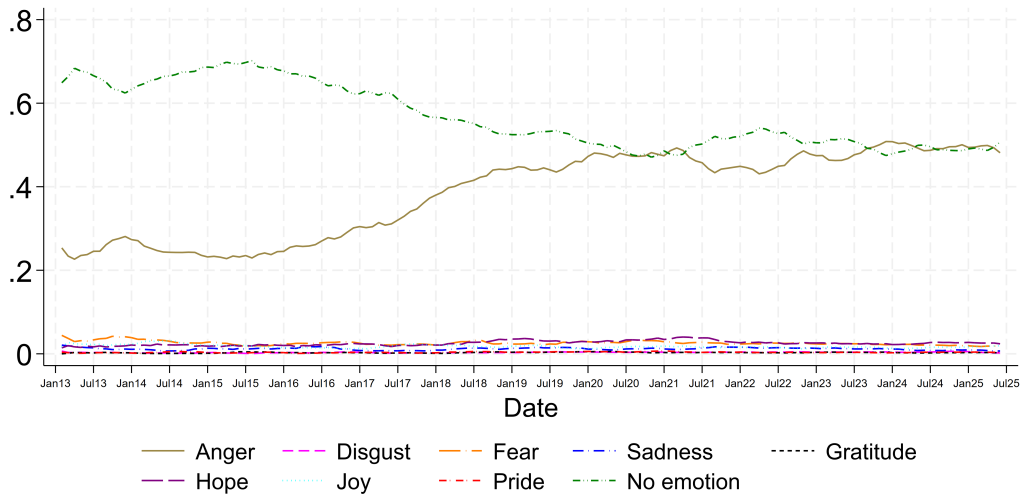
Emotion Classifier

- Standardize text data into sentences splitting tweets and political speeches into sentences
- Ask LLM (GPT-4o-mini) to classify emotions in a large sample of 200K sentences (official accounts' tweets (25%), random users' tweets (25%), campaign speeches (25%), & floor speeches (25%)).
- Use GPT-generated classification as training data for a supervised ML classification model using embedding-based representations.
- Manually check random sample

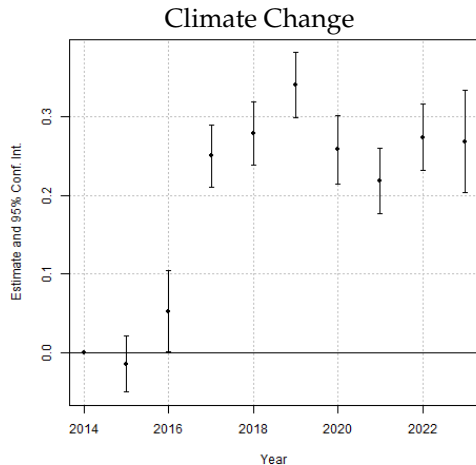
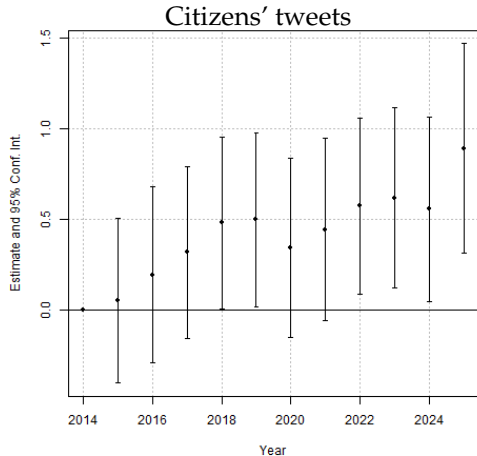
Emotions in citizens' tweets by policy 2013-2025



The rise of anger in citizens' tweets on policy issues



Within-user rise in anger



- **145%** increase over the sample period (aggregate rise: 102%)
- Quasi-Poisson Generalized Linear Model with User and Topic FE

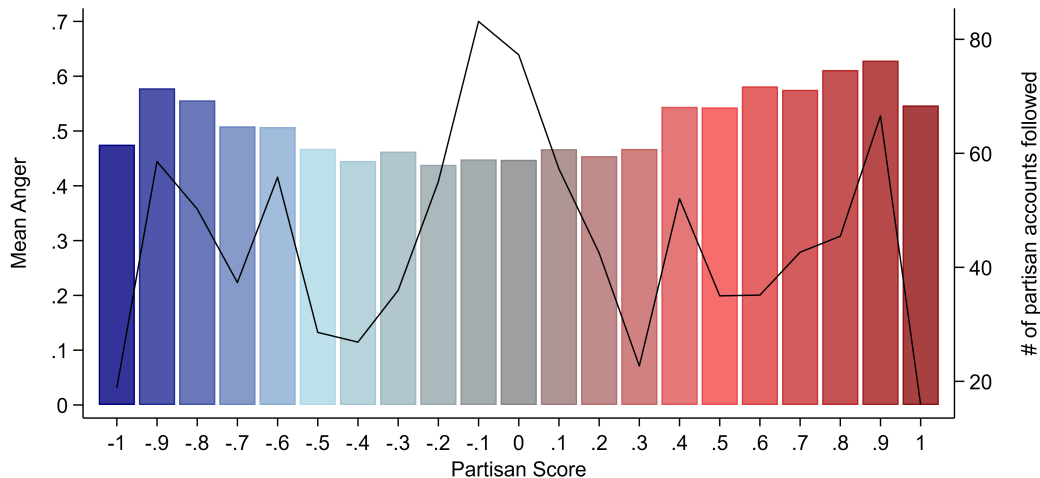
Collection of a full panel of users is in progress

- **30%** increase over the sample period (aggregate rise: 30%)
- Quasi-Poisson Generalized Linear Model with User FE

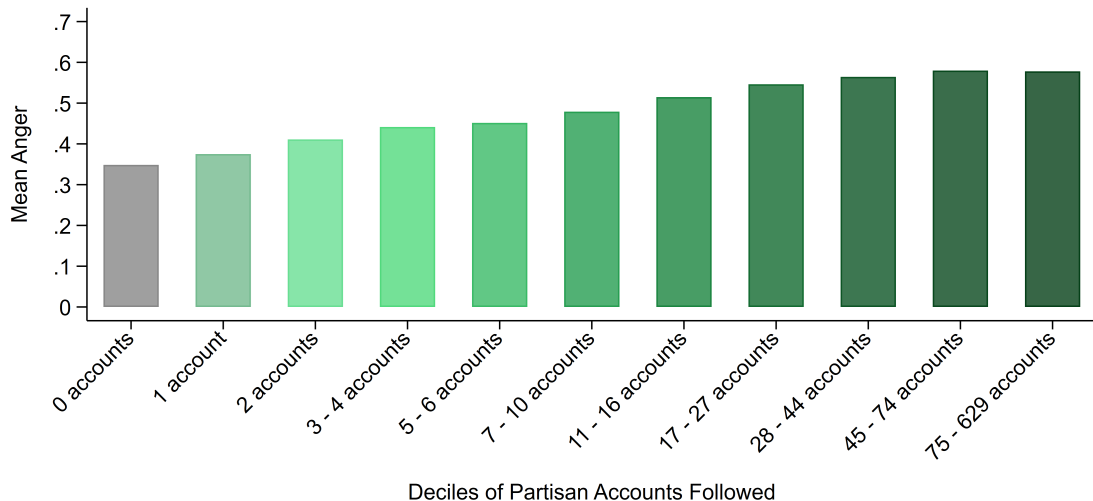
Assigning political leaning and partisanship to X users

- Following Mosleh and Rand (2022) assign partisan score based on the list of partisan elites they follow on X (manually coded as Republican (+1) or Democrat (-1))
- **Partisan score** of an user is the average partisan score of elite accounts they follow. Ranges from -1 (following only Democratic elites) to +1 (following only Republican elites).
- **Democrats** have partisan score > 0 ; **Republicans** have score < 0 . Non-partisan if missing score (no elites followed).
- **Strong Democrats** [-1, -0.5]; **Moderate Democrats** (-0.5, 0); **Moderate Republicans** (0, 0.5), **Strong Republicans** [0.5, 1]
- To avoid misclassification, assign political leaning only to users who follow at least two political accounts (results robust)
- **Strength of partisanship**: Measured by the number of elite accounts followed.
25th percentile: 3; median: 10; 75th percentile: 34

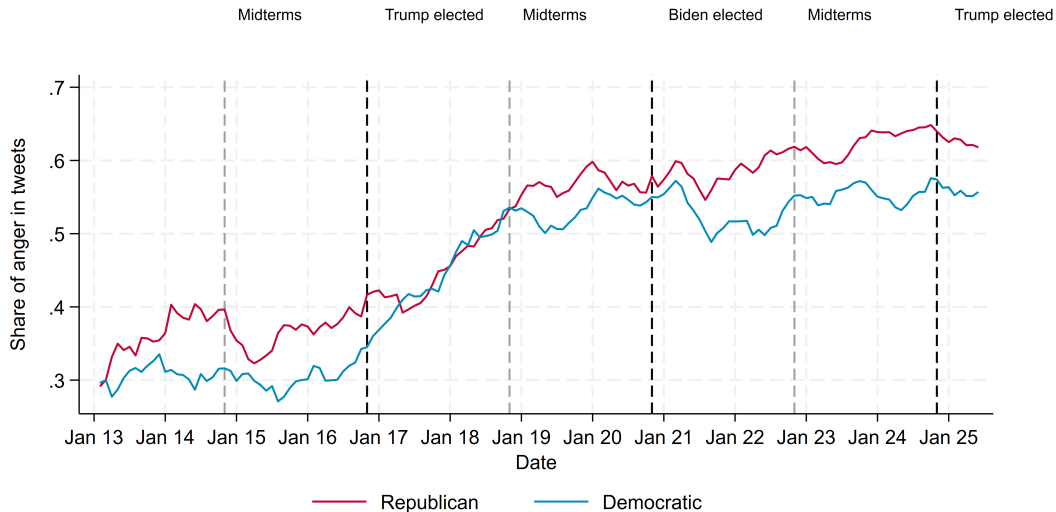
Anger dominates but more pronounced at the extremes



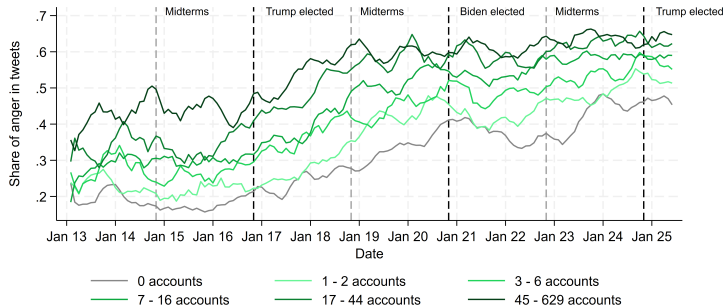
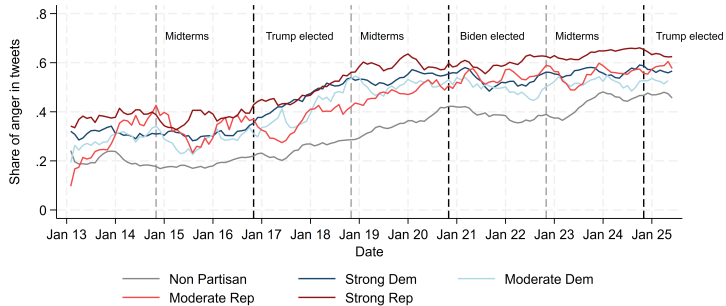
Anger more widespread if more elite accounts followed



Anger has risen among both Dems & Reps



Happened mostly during Trump 1.0 but has remained high, across parties.



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Supply-side data

- **Tweets from official party accounts**

- ▶ @GOP, @HouseGOP, @SenateGOP, @TheDemocrats, @HouseDemocrats, @SenateDems
- ▶ 395,272 tweets, excluding retweets, Jan 2013-Nov 2024
- ▶ Can also show patterns for POTUS, VP, & Secretaries.

- **Campaign speeches & interventions**

- ▶ Interviews, press briefings, press conferences, remarks, speeches, & vlogs from Harris/Biden & Trump
- ▶ 1,992 interventions Jan 2023 - Nov 2024

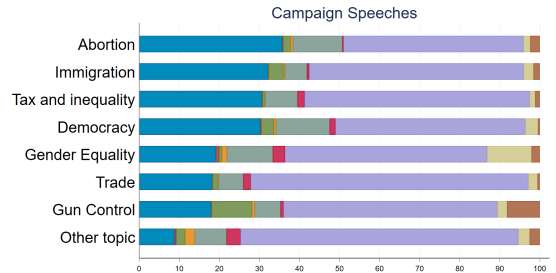
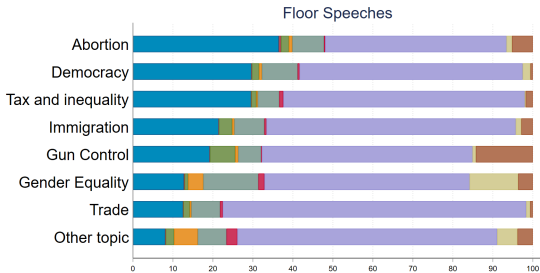
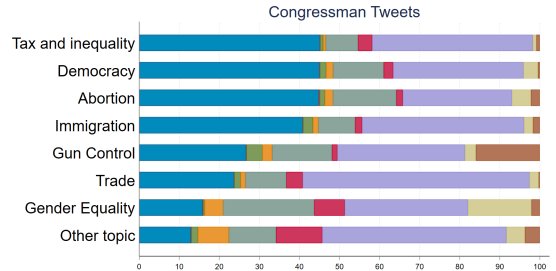
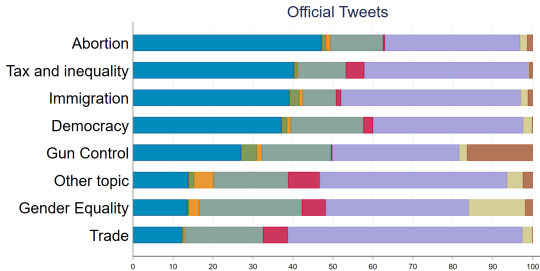
- **Congressional Tweets**

- ▶ 1,008 unique Congress members (out of 1,393 who served 2006-2024)
- ▶ 1.5 millions tweets, excluding retweets, sent between 2006 and 2024 (currently expanding)

- **Congressional floor speeches**

- ▶ Gauthier and al. (2025) database
- ▶ 1,796,583 individual turns Jan 1994-Dec 2024

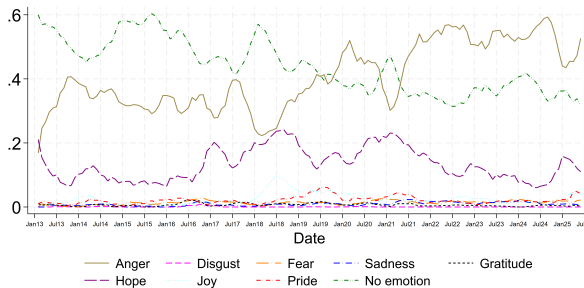
Distribution of emotions by policy topic



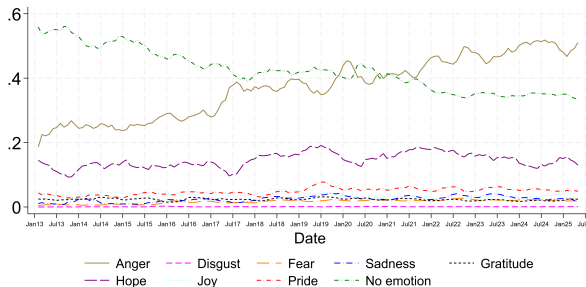
■ Anger
 ■ Disgust
 ■ Fear
 ■ Gratitude
 ■ Hope
 ■ Joy
 ■ No emotion
 ■ Pride
 ■ Sadness

Rise of anger in official & congressional tweets

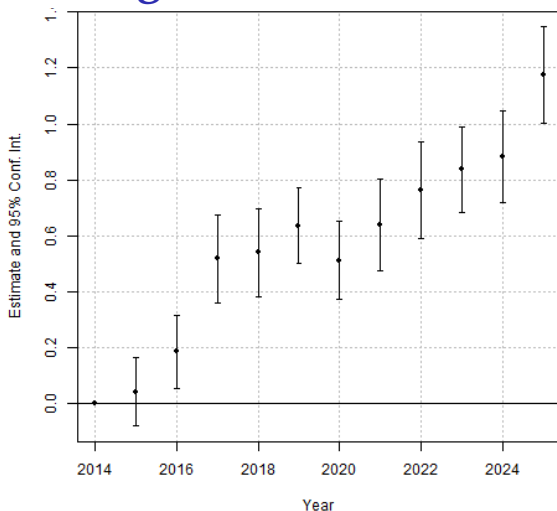
Official Tweets



Congressional Tweets

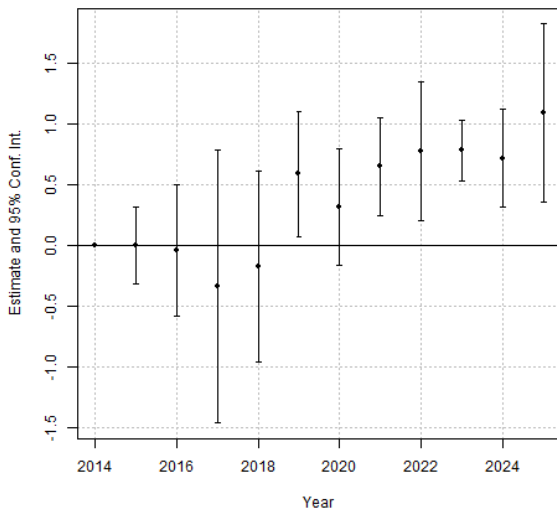


Within-congress member rise in anger



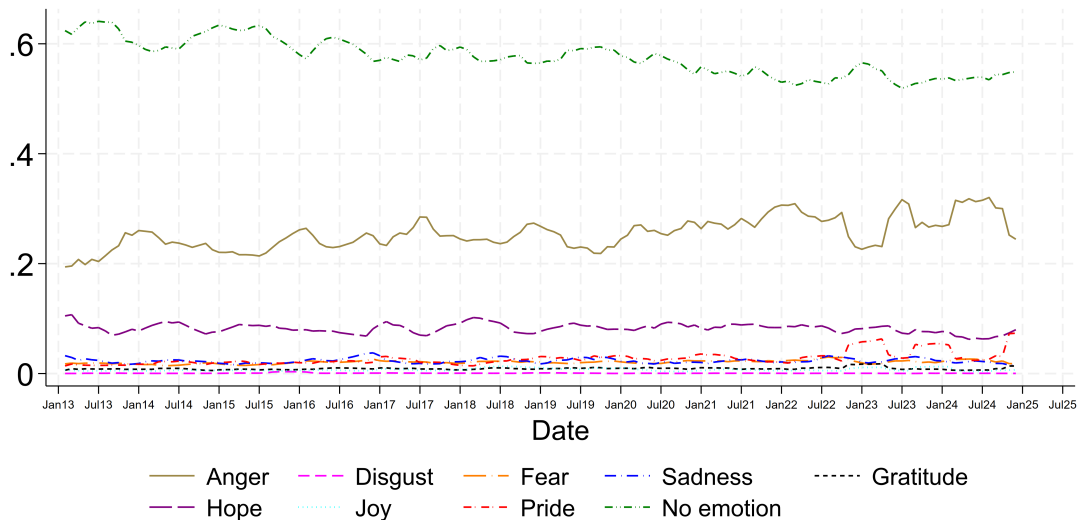
- **232%** increase over the sample period (aggregate rise: 150%)
- Quasi-Poisson Generalized Linear Model with User and Topic FE

Within-official-account rise in anger

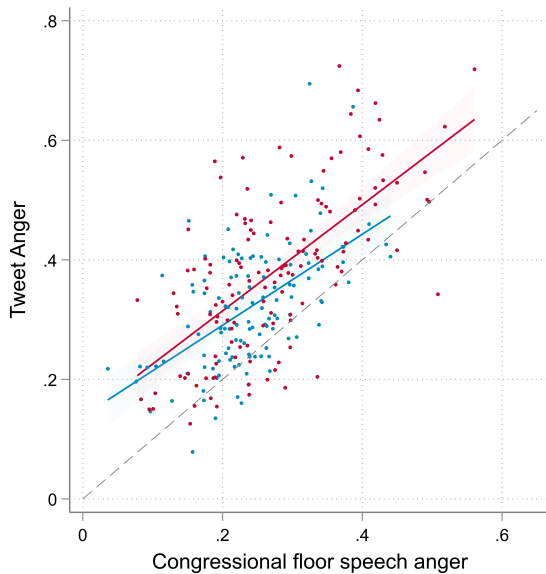


- **200%** increase over the sample period (aggregate rise: 200%)
- Quasi-Poisson Generalized Linear Model with User and Topic FE

Anger more muted away from the Public Eye: Congressional floor speeches

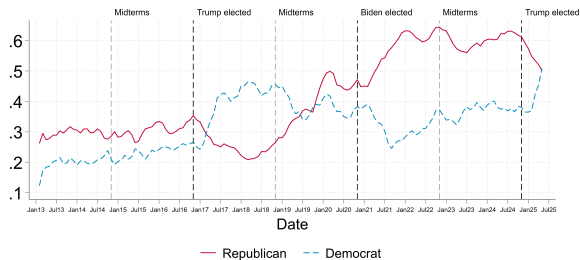


Anger Online and Offline by Political Leaning

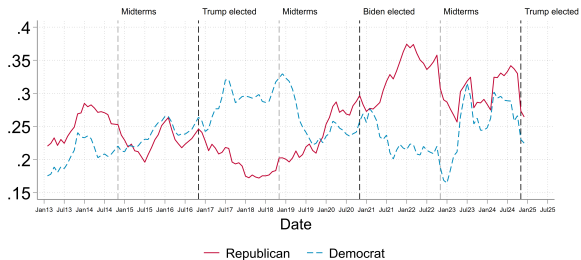


Political Cycles in Anger

Congressional Tweets



Congressional Floor Speeches



Anger generates more engagement

	(1) Citizens' Tweets	(2) Climate Change Tweets	(3) Official Party Tweets	(4) Congressional Tweets
Anger	0.63*** (0.13)	0.32*** (0.05)	0.32*** (0.06)	0.39*** (0.04)
Disgust	0.01 (0.68)	0.04 (0.21)	1.15*** (0.38)	0.30 (0.19)
Fear	-0.60*** (0.23)	0.08 (0.06)	0.05 (0.13)	0.18*** (0.04)
Gratitude	-1.23* (0.65)	-0.71*** (0.19)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.34*** (0.11)
Hope	0.06 (0.24)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.20** (0.09)
Joy	-0.88 (0.70)	-0.03 (0.10)	0.04 (0.12)	-0.42*** (0.13)
Pride	0.63 (0.63)	0.33 (0.30)	0.08 (0.13)	-0.25*** (0.06)
Sadness	-0.44 (0.35)	0.13 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.08)
Observations	7804	1309189	47814	324433
Time fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
User fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topic fixed-effects	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Poisson-Pseudo Maximum Likelihood (PPML) Model with FE indicated in the table

Angry tweets are respectively 88%, 38%, 38% and 48% more likely to be retweeted in the four samples

Taking Stock

Similarities between the demand and supply side:

- Anger is the dominant emotion.

- Has increased over time.

Differences in the dynamics:

- On the supply side, clear political cycles. Difference in online and offline speech.

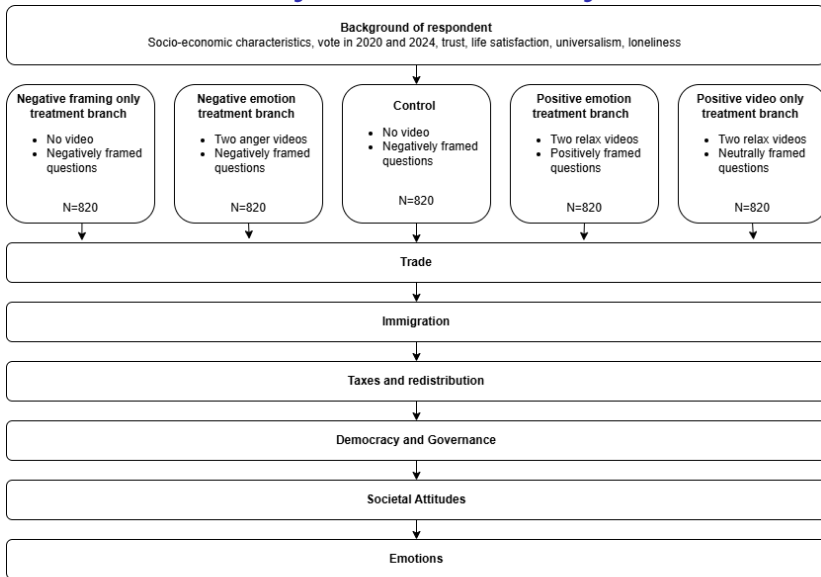
- On the demand side, citizens' anger seems to have been persistently triggered since 2016 and does not revert back. Regardless of political leaning.

The public policy debate seems to have been “contaminated.”

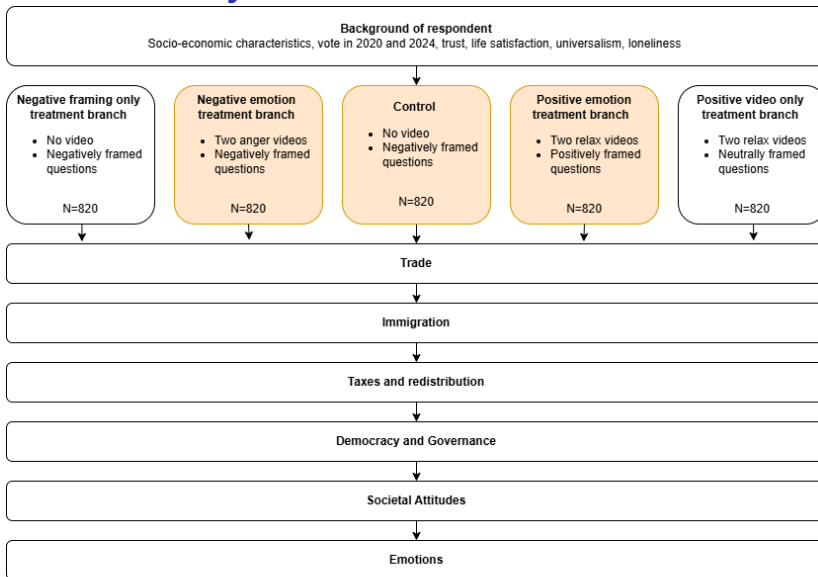
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Survey flow - Survey A



Survey flow: main treatments



Negative treatment branch

Negative emotion-inducing videos



Outrage-inducing scenery: corruption and corporate negligence killing 84 persons in a wildfire

Negative priming question

E.g.: When you think about U.S trade with other countries such as China, what makes you really angry and revolted?

Negative treatment branch

Negative emotion-inducing videos



Outrage-inducing scenery: corruption and corporate negligence killing 84 persons in a wildfire

Negative priming question

E.g.: When you think about U.S trade with other countries such as China, what makes you really angry and revolted?

Control: No video + neutrally framed question:

When you think about US trade with other countries, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?

Positive treatment branch

Positive emotion-inducing videos



Serene music and scenery: snow-capped mountains, lavender fields, a flowing river

Positive priming question

When you think about US trade with other countries, what are some of the things, if any, that make you feel optimistic?

Positive treatment branch

Positive emotion-inducing videos



Serene music and scenery: snow-capped mountains, lavender fields, a flowing river

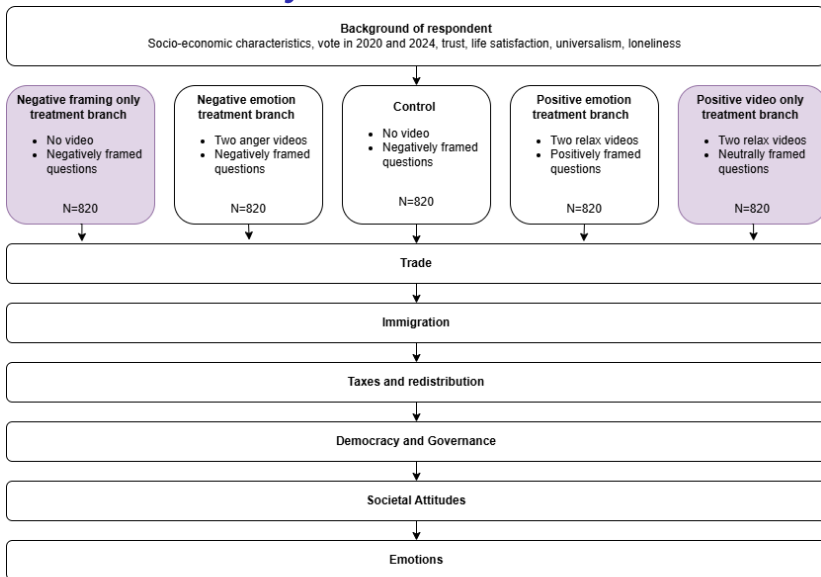
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Control: No video + neutrally framed question:

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Survey flow: robustness



What makes people angry or optimistic about immigration?

Optimistic

- Illegal immigration is a growing concern to be controlled (34%)
Building a secure wall on the southern border and properly vetting immigrants will help reduce the amount of crime spent in the US.
- Immigrants seek better life opportunities (18%)
[...] I think that so many people want to immigrate here because of the vast opportunities that we provide here.
- Immigrants have a positive economic contribution (13%)
- Diversity enriches society (12%)
- Protect legal immigration (12%)
- Reforms are needed (9%)

Neutral

- Stop illegal immigration (35%)
Illegal immigration can destroy this country if it is not curtailed
- Safety concerns (22%)
I AM SCARED OF THE IMMIGRATES BEENING THE DRUGS INTO USA. THEY ARE ALSO BRING IN IMMIGRATES OVER BY UNAUTHORISED MEANS.
- Protect legal immigration (18%)
I think there are a lot of resovable issues that need to be addressed; however, overall, I believe we need to allow immingrants and provide a way for them to immigrate legally and make it easier for them ot enter
- Should vet immigrants (17%)
- Take citizens' job (8%)

Angry

- Fear entry of criminals (31%)
The thugs killers and thieves that are also coming in. Has to stop
- Illegal immigration burdens resources (22%)
I am scared that natural US citizens will suffer from illegal border crossing because US does not need anymore people, aside from natural births of US citizens
- Anger over immigrants' treatment (21%)
- Lack of border control is concerning (19%)
- Take citizens' job (8%)

What makes people angry or optimistic about trade?

Optimistic

- Trade has benefits (41%)
In the age of the Internet, I think people from all over the world are becoming more aware and accepting of other countries and cultures
- Enhance product diversity (15%)
acquiring things that are not available here
- Fairness essential (13%)
The ability to mutually agree on specifics of fair trade
- Interdependence essential (13%)
- Increase U.S. manufacturing (9%)

Neutral

- Fairness essential (57%)
Fairness; quality; situation of the workers involved; overall cost and benefit to US and other country.
- Tariffs' price impact (15%)
Tariff's are intended to hurt foreign countries but usually end up hurting Americans with higher fees
- Jobs lost due to imports (12%)
That we are taking work away from people in our country.
- Equity of trade balance (9%)
- Quality concerns (7%)

Angry

- Worrying import reliance (35%)
That we trade with other countries things that can be produced here in America
- China exploits U.S. (34%)
That they charge us tariffs and we don't. Their labor camps are disgusting.
- Trade imbalance hurts U.S. (12%)
the prospect of a 100% tariff on imported Chinese goods
- Child labor issues (7%)
- Low quality of imports (6%)
- Increase U.S. manufacturing (6%)

What makes people angry or optimistic about redistribution?

Optimistic

- No optimism about wealth distribution (35%)
I can't think of anything that makes me feel optimistic about it.
- Rising inequality concerns lead to change (26%)
The potential defeat of Trumpist oligarchs and their Koch Brothers policies
- Hard workers succeed (18%)
The US is one of the few countries in the world where people can succeed if they work hard and play by the rules.
- Mobility opportunities (17%)
- Tax wealthy more (4%)

Neutral

- Inequality is major concern (59%)
Is there really a way to distribute wealth equally?
- All should have equal opportunities (17%)
There are adequate opportunities for all to be successful in america
- Tax wealthy more (11%)
Bigger tax rates
- Wealth distribution extremely uneven (8%)
- Middle class is shrinking (3%)
- Rich keep getting richer (3%)

Angry

- Growing inequality (42%)
the exclusion amount for inheritance tax
- Inequality limits mobility (26%)
Racism, classism, minimum wage, inflation
- Tax loopholes for the rich (20%)
Wealthy getting tax cuts and the rest of us pay more taxes
- Corporations prioritize profits over employee welfare (8%)
- Middle class is shrinking (3%)

What makes people angry or optimistic about democracy?

Optimistic

- Division affects optimism (59%)
Someday, the ignorant, angry old white men will be dead. Although there are too many angry young idiots vying to replace them
- Democracy allows citizens to participate and vote (16%)
that we are still voting
- Freedom of expression is essential (13%)
People, even idiots, do get heard. [...]
- Political debates serve as platform for discussion (5%)
- Need for compromise across political parties (5%)
- Younger are more engaged (3%)

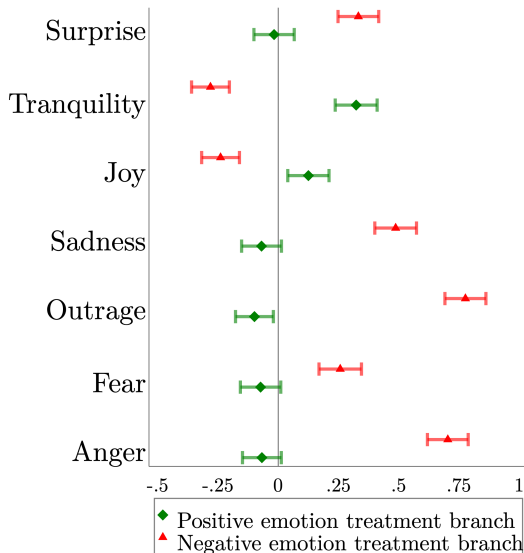
Neutral

- Polarization is harmful (29%)
The nation is severely divided which is wrong. One side is not Satan and the other perfect. They both have flaws.
- Protection from corruption (26%)
Democracy must be allowed to remain and not be obliterated in the courts under false lawsuits
- Hostile political debate (18%)
We need to come together and wuit bickering
- Media biases influence public opinion (10%)
- Unfair elections (9%)
- People do not understand how it works (9%)

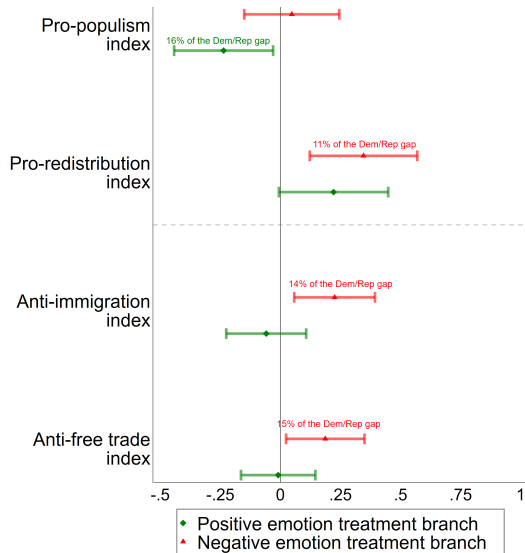
Angry

- People feel unheard and disenfranchised (29%)
That the wrong people are in the offices.
- Frustrating polarization of political debates (28%)
the divisiveness of it all.
- Fake news distort reality (16%)
politicians always lying
- Money corrupts politics (15%)
- Lack of constructive dialogue and compromise (10%)
- Electoral college undermines fair representation (3%)

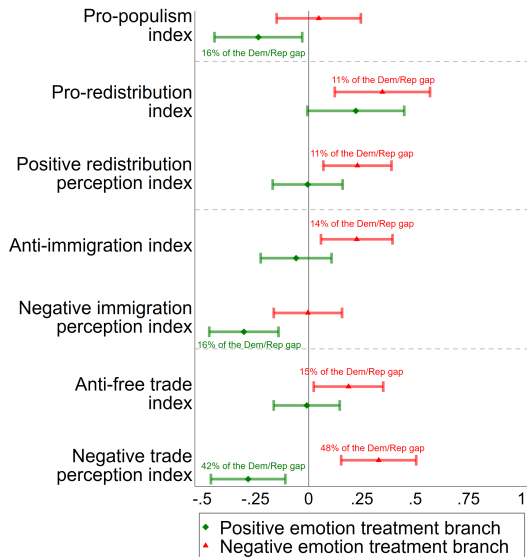
Effect of the treatment on emotions ('First-stage')



Effect of the treatment on policy views ('Second-stage')



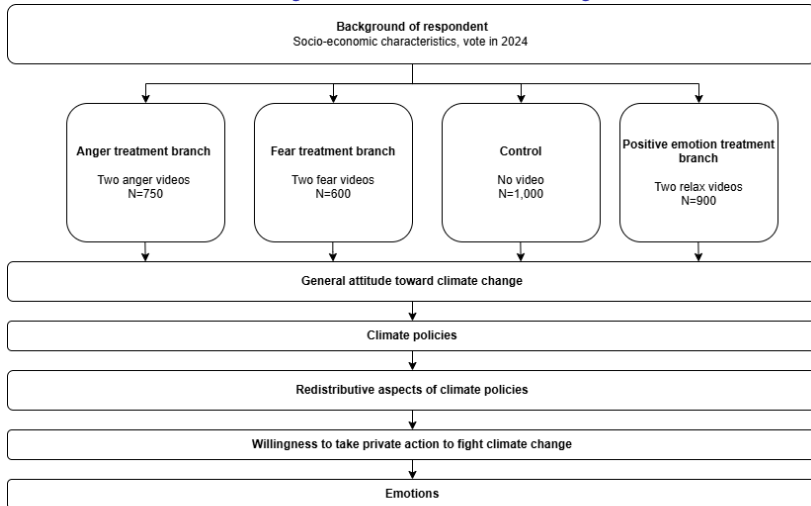
Effect of the treatment on policy views ('Second-stage')



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Survey flow - Survey B



Fear treatment branch



First fear video (i)



First fear video (ii)



Second fear video

Fear-inducing scenes:

- Terrifying wildfires without assigning blame, featuring trapped victims & distressed firefighters

Fear treatment branch



First fear video (i)



First fear video (ii)



Second fear video

Fear-inducing scenes:

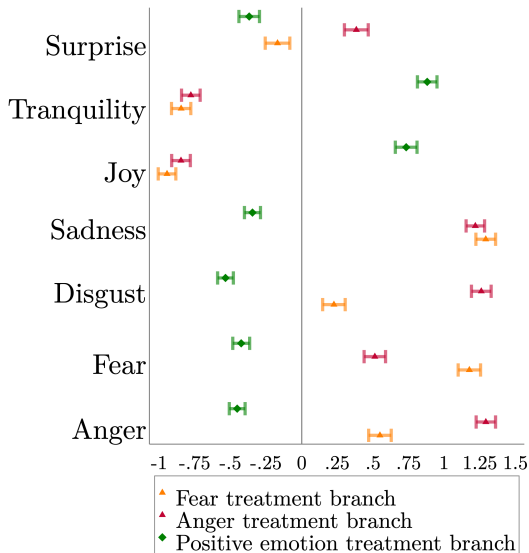
- Terrifying wildfires without assigning blame, featuring trapped victims & distressed firefighters

Anger treatment branch: Negative emotion video from Survey A

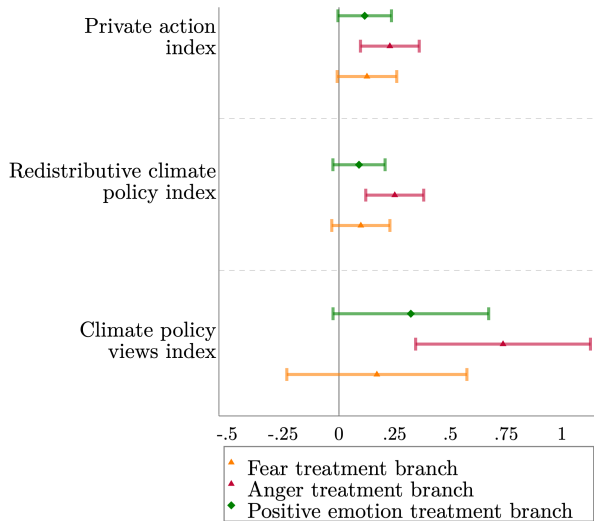
Positive emotion treatment branch: Positive emotion video from Survey A

Control: No video

Effect of the treatment on emotions



Effect of the treatment on climate change attitudes



◀ [Indices definitions](#)

Next steps: Experiment on Twitter Users

Select twitter users through survey platform.

Experiment 1: test whether the same treatments that induce emotions also induce people to retweet tweets expressing policy views ('real-stakes' effect of the treatments).

Experiment 2: randomly expose users to tweets on the policy views, varying the emotional content (anger, neutrality, positivity) and study which tweets get retweeted more.

In addition: check whether fact-checking alert, search for information, and malleability to framing are affected by the emotional state.

Conclusion: Emotions matter for policy views

Rise of emotions in the public debate, as seen on social media and official speeches

Anger especially has taken over.

Shifting respondents' emotional state changes their policy views.

Negative emotions lead to more anti-immigration, anti-trade & pro-redistribution views

Positive emotions lead to less populist/anti-democratic tendencies.

On climate change: Anger mobilizes, fear paralyzes?

Are effects short-lived?

Likely yes, but is a moot point if public debate keeps fostering these emotions all the time

THANK YOU!



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LLM prompt to classify emotions

You are an AI assistant that must only classify the given sentence based on the provided list of emotions.

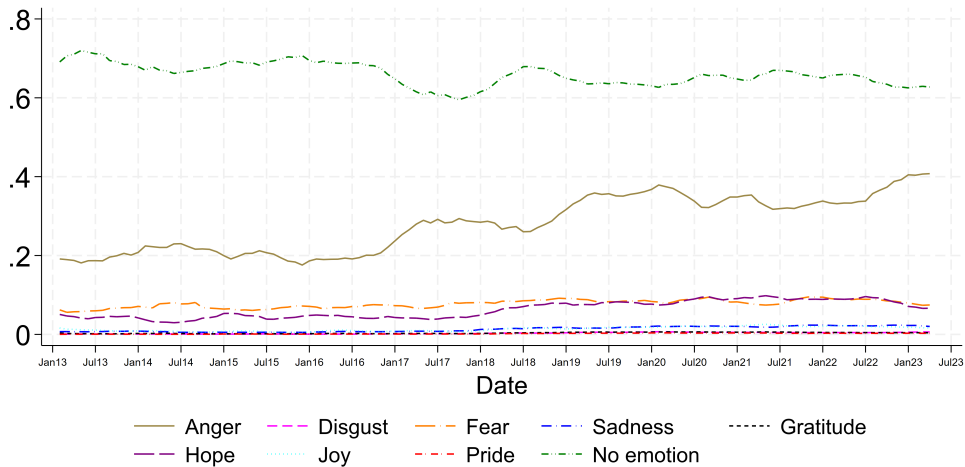
****Rules:****

- Do not generate, infer, or suggest any responses outside the list.
- Your response must be exactly one of the provided answers.
- Do not provide explanations, justifications, or additional context.
- If the emotion is unclear or ambiguous, default to “no emotion”.

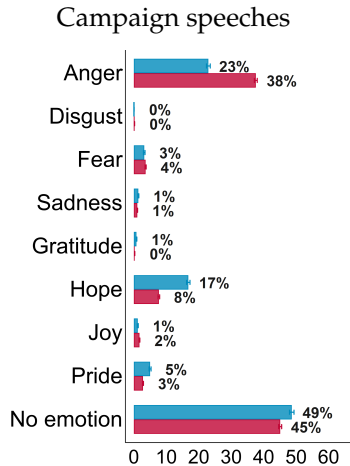
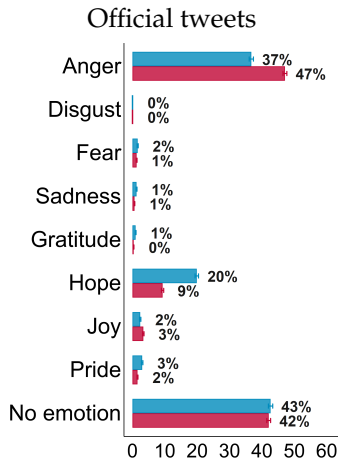
****Task:****

- **Question:** What is the main topic conveyed in the following sentence?
- **Sentence:** [SENTENCE ADDED HERE]
- **Potential Answers:** anger - sadness - fear - anger - disgust - joy - hope - gratitude - pride - no emotion
- Your response should be only one of these words.

The rise of anger in tweets on climate change

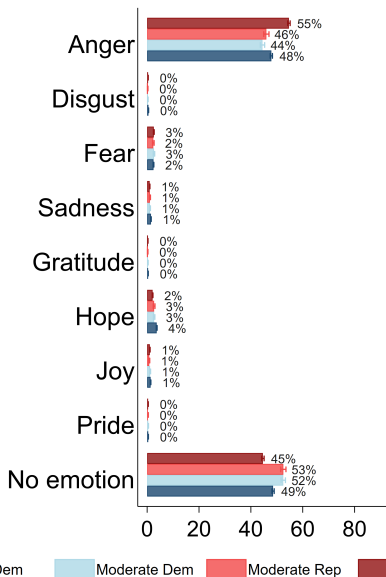


Emotional content by political affiliation & type of content

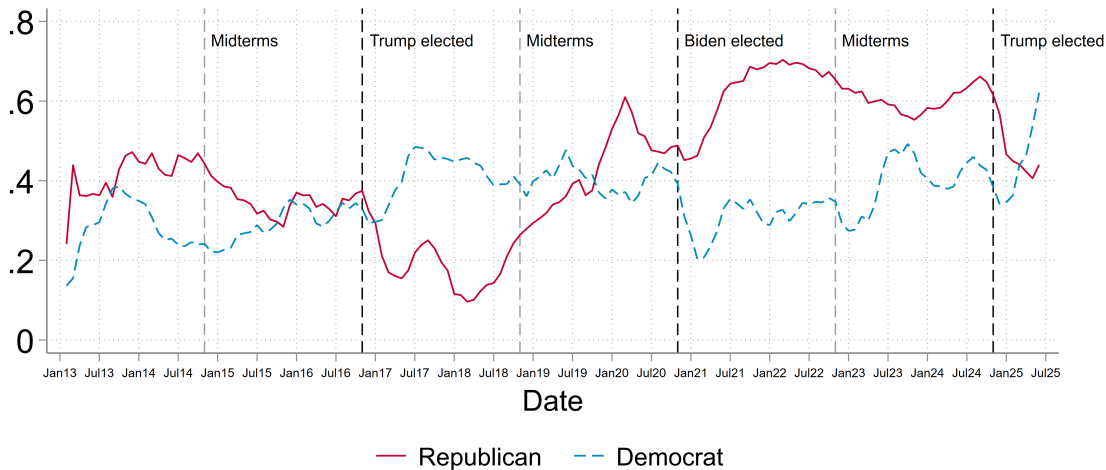


■ Democrat ■ Republican

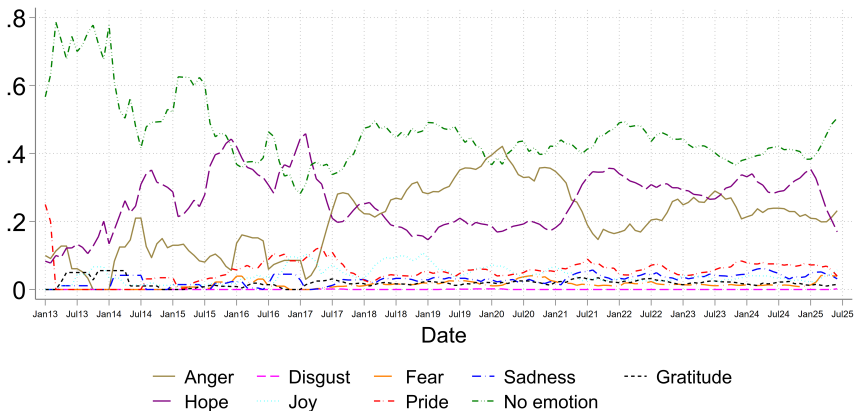
Anger is dominant regardless of political leaning



Evolution of Anger in Official Tweets



Evolution of emotions in other official accounts



Executive Accounts: @POTUS (and archived @POTUS44, @POTUS45, @POTUS46Archive), @FLOTUS (and archived @FLOTUS44, @FLOTUS45, @FLOTUS46Archive), @VP (and archived @VP44, @VP45, @VP46Archive), @WhiteHouse (and archived @WhiteHouse45, @WhiteHouse46)

Cabinet: @SecBlinken, @SecCardona, @SecGranholm, @SecMayorkas, @SecPompeo, @SecretaryPete, @DHS_Wolf, @EsperDoD

Survey A - Indices definitions (1/2)

Negative trade perception index

- Statement closest to view is "Trade entails winners and losers and it is impossible to compensate those who lose from it"
- Say "a great deal or a lot" when asked if trade causes unemployment
- Say "a great deal or a lot" when asked if trade increases inequalities

Anti-free trade index

- Say "strongly disagree or disagree" when asked "Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: *Increasing trade with other countries and reducing barriers to trade is something the U.S. should aim for.*"
- Say "not important at all" when asked "To what extent do you believe that maintaining strong trade relationships with key allies, such as Canada, Mexico, and the European Union, is important for ensuring U.S. economic growth?"
- Say "strongly oppose or oppose" when asked "Would you support or oppose raising tariffs on Chinese imports to at least 60 % ?"

Negative immigration perception index

- Say "immigrant's poverty is due to lack of effort" when asked "Which has more to do with why an immigrant living in the U.S. is poor?"
- Say immigration is a "very serious or somewhat serious" threat to the US economy
- Say immigration is a "very serious or somewhat serious" threat to the US culture

Anti-immigration index

- Say "decrease a lot or a little" when asked "Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot? "
- Say "strongly support or somewhat support" when asked "Would you support or oppose a large-scale deportation operation aimed at expelling millions of undocumented immigrants?"
- Say "strongly oppose or somewhat oppose" when asked "Would you support or oppose spending U.S. funds on programs to address the root causes of migration from Central America?"
- Say "include mostly a stronger ideological screening for visa applicants" when asked " Do you think an earned pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants should include only objective criteria, such as paying taxes and passing background checks, or should it also involve stronger ideological screening, potentially barring individuals with certain political or religious beliefs?"

Survey A - Indices definition (2/2)

Positive redistribution perception index

- Say "Circumstances beyond his or her control" when asked "Which has more to do with why a person is poor?"
- Say "People with higher incomes pay a lower share of their income in taxes than those with lower incomes" when asked "Do you think that people with higher incomes pay a higher or lower share of their total income in federal personal income taxes [...]?"
- Say "Raising taxes on wealthy people and corporations to expand programs for the poor" when asked "What do you think would ultimately do more to reduce the income differences between poor and rich families?"

Pro-redistribution index

- Rate government 5, 6 or 7 when asked to rate the government on a scale from 1 to 7 with 1 being the government should not concern itself with income inequality and 7 being the government should do everything in its power to reduce income inequality.
- Say "Strongly support" or "Somewhat support" when asked "The corporate minimum tax was established by the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) of 2022, setting a 15% minimum tax on corporations with over \$1 billion in annual profits. Would you support or oppose raising the corporate minimum tax from 15% to 21%? [...]"
- Say "Strongly support" or "Somewhat support" when asked "Would you support or oppose raising the top federal income tax rate from the current 37% to 39.6% for individuals earning over \$400,000? [...]"
- Say "Strongly support" or "Somewhat support" when asked "Would you support or oppose a federal ban on corporate price gouging for groceries, which would allow the government to impose penalties on companies found to be unfairly raising prices? [...]"

Pro-populism index

- Say "Fairly good" or "Very good" when asked "Do you think having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections is a good or a bad way of governing?"
- Say "Fairly bad" or "Very bad" when asked "Do you think having experts, not the government, making decisions according to what they think is best for the country is a good or a bad way of governing?"
- Say "Fairly bad" or "Very bad" when asked "Do you think having a democratic political system is a good or a bad way of governing?"
- Say "Somewhat disagree" or "Strongly disagree" when asked "Do you agree or disagree that elections in America are fair and each vote is counted fairly?"
- Say "They care about the interests of the rich and powerful" when asked "Do you think most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful, or do they also care about the needs of all citizens?"

Survey B - Indices definitions

Climate policy views index

- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose the U.S. participating in the Paris Climate Agreement?"
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose tax incentives for renewable energy projects, such as the installation of solar panels?"
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose legislation to increase the proportion of electric cars sold from 10% today to 50% by 2035?"
- Say "strongly oppose" or "somewhat oppose" when asked "Do you support or oppose expanding oil, gas, and coal production in the U.S.? This includes measures like lifting restrictions on federal drilling permits, building more coal plants, and expanding offshore drilling."
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose a policy that requires electric utilities to produce at least 20% of their electricity from wind, solar or other renewable energy sources, even if it costs the average household an extra \$100 per year?"
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose a policy that requires electric utilities to produce at least 20% of their electricity from wind, solar or other renewable energy sources, even if it costs the average household an extra \$100 per year?"
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose a ban on combustion-engine cars?"
- Say "strongly support" or "support" when asked "Do you support or oppose a carbon tax with cash transfers?"

Redistributive climate policy index

- Say "Strongly support" or "Somewhat support" when asked "Governments can choose to levy the carbon tax on specific populations. Would you support or oppose introducing a progressive carbon tax that would raise gasoline prices by 40 cents per gallon for high-income people only?"
- Say "Strongly support" or "Somewhat support" when asked "Do you support or oppose a policy that increases federal funding to low-income communities and communities of color that are disproportionately harmed by air and water pollution?"

Private action index

- Say "A lot" or "A great deal" when asked "Research has shown that eating meat can be harmful to the environment and accelerates climate change more than other food. Would you be willing to reduce your meat consumption?"
- Say "A lot" or "A great deal" when asked "Research has shown that taking flights is harmful to the environment and accelerates climate change more than other means of transportation. Would you be willing to reduce the number of flights you take?"
- Say "Everyone should reduce the number of flights they take" when asked "When it comes to climate action, what would you say should other people do, for instance with respect to taking flights?"