Supplementary Materials

Think Globally, Act Locally: The Determinants of Local Policymakers' Support for Climate Policy

June 30, 2022

Pre-Registered Hypotheses

H_{1a}: Local policymakers will prefer tax benefits for clean/efficient energy use compared to general tax increases to fund clean/efficient energy projects or penalties for exceeding a certain carbon budget.

H_{1b}: Local policymakers will prefer tax penalties for exceeding a certain carbon budget compared to general tax increases to fund clean/efficient energy projects.

H_{2a}: Local policymakers will prefer higher energy efficiency standards for newly constructed government buildings compared to higher standards for all new construction, and will prefer higher standards for all new construction compared to higher energy efficiency standards for all new construction *and* existing buildings.

H_{3a}: Local policymakers will prefer economic relief provided to constituents hurt by the plan and economic relief provided to all constituents compared to no economic relief.

H_{3b}: Local policymakers will prefer economic relief provided to all constituents compared to economic relief provided only to constituents hurt by the plan.

H_{4a}: Local policymakers will prefer longer implementation periods compared to quicker implementation periods.

H_{5a}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans with low short-term costs and high long-term benefits compared to plans with low short-term costs and low long-term benefits or plans with high short-term costs and high long-term benefits.

H_{5b}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans with low short-term costs and low long-term benefits compared to plans with high short-term costs and high long-term benefits.

H_{6b}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans where cities in China but not in NATO countries are participating compared to plans where cities in NATO countries but not in China participate.

H_{6c}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans where cities in NATO countries but not in China are participating compared to plans where cities in China but not in NATO countries participate.

H_{7a}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans with bipartisan support compared to plans with either only Democratic support or no support.

H_{7b}: Local policymakers will prefer climate plans with Democratic support compared to plans with no support.

H_{8a}: Local policymakers are more likely to support expansive policy proposals (broader tax proposals, extensive energy efficiency standards, and/or high short-term policy costs) when the economic costs to constituents are made less salient (economic relief and/or delayed implementation time).

H_{8b}: The impact of making economic costs to constituents less salient (economic relief and/or delayed implementation time) on support for expansive policy proposals (broader tax proposals, extensive energy efficiency standards, and/or high short-term policy costs) is likely to be greater among local policymakers with lower levels of concern about climate change than policymakers with greater levels of concern.

Conjoint Design

Overview

This survey experiment utilizes a between-subjects conjoint design. Respondents are asked a series of pre-treatment questions to gather data on relevant moderators, then presented with a series of 4 paired climate plans, each on a new screen, and containing various levels of the attributes shown in Table 1 in the main text. Attributes on all profiles are randomly assigned, are sampled according to a uniform distribution, and there are no restrictions imposed on the combination of attribute levels that may appear. The order of attributes is randomized across respondents, but is constant within respondents to avoid confusion. The probability of each level of each attribute was drawn uniformly. After each pair of profiles, respondents are asked to rate and to choose between the plans. Respondents are then asked to select the attribute that was most important in making their decisions, as well as an open-ended question in which they are asked to explain how this factor mattered in their decision-making.

Compared to standard experimental designs where researchers are limited to varying a small number of factors, conjoint designs are better able to capture complex phenomena, separating various causes of a single effect. In a choice-based conjoint design, respondents are randomly assigned to observe a subset of levels of a set of features. In other words, the treatment is reconceptualized as a matrix of features and levels from which a sample is drawn. Conjoint designs rely on a series of pooling assumptions that are similar to those of standard within-subjects experimental designs, including stability, no-carryover effects, and no profile-order effects on the potential outcomes, as well as randomization of profiles for pairwise independence (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014). The number of tasks and attributes were chosen to maximize power without reducing response quality (Bansak et al. 2018).

We follow the procedure set out by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014) to estimate the average marginal component effect (AMCE). The AMCE, as the increased probability that a climate plan would be chosen compared to the baseline to this level, averaged over all of the possible levels of the other attributes, allows us to understand the importance of each attribute in individual-level migration attitudes. This is done by averaging the effects of the different attributes over the distribution of the other attributes, which are conditionally independent, and obtaining a weighted average of possible attribute combinations. The AMCE is a nonparametric estimator with full randomization and orthogonality of attributes. This implies that while most combinations of attribute levels are never shown, the relative importance of attributes can be estimated, as their distributions relative to other attributes are identical. Unlike traditional model based approaches to studying behavior, this approach does not rely on the specific mechanisms by which individuals reach a particular decision.

We obtain two outcome measures on the climate plans: the forced-choice task as well as the ratings task. We conduct our main analysis using the forced choice task, as this

has been found to most accurately recover actual benchmarks (Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Yamamoto 2015), though we find that the main results are robust to the ratings task as well (see Figure 6). Forced-choice tasks also have an advantage in requiring respondents to make trade-offs and neutralizing attitudes about overall climate policy, which allows for focus on the key attributes that come into play in making decisions *between* policy proposals (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2015). This outcome variable is therefore binary if the profile was preferred relative to its alternative choice. AMCEs are estimated using a regression of the binary forced-choice outcome on the full set of attribute levels, which are operationalized as indicator variables. For each indicator variable, one reference category is omitted, which is considered as the baseline level of that attribute. The baseline level of each attribute is noted in italics in Table 1 of the main text. Standard errors are clustered at the respondent level, as each respondent completed multiple choice tasks.

Questionnaire

Policymaker Pre-Test

CivicPulse independently collects additional data used in our analyses.

1. In the future, are you interested in running for any of the following higher levels of elected office?

   (a) State office
   (b) National office
   (c) Both State and National offices
   (d) Neither

2. Which, if any, of the following industries are important to your community's economy? Select all that apply.

   (a) Oil, gas, or coal
   (b) Green industry (e.g., green technology, solar/wind/geothermal energy)
   (c) Automotive
   (d) None of the above

3. Based on the evidence you have read and heard, what can you reasonably conclude about climate change?

   (a) The climate is changing, and human activity plays a significant role
   (b) The climate is changing, and human activity may play a significant role
   (c) The climate is changing, and human activity does not play a significant role
   (d) The climate is not changing
   (e) Don't know / Unsure

4. In the recent past, has your local community been impacted by any of the following weather events? Select all that apply.

   (a) Floods
   (b) Hurricanes
   (c) Wildfires
   (d) Droughts
   (e) Heatwaves
   (f) None of the above

5. In your local area, does publicly supporting climate change policies help or hurt the chances of winning elections?

   (a) Hurt a lot
   (b) Hurt a little
   (c) Neither help nor hurt
   (d) Help a little
   (e) Help a lot

Public Pre-Test
Some Demographic Information Collected by Lucid.

1. Generally speaking, I think of myself as a:

   (a) Democrat
   (b) Republican
   (c) Independent

2. *If Democrat selected:* Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?

   (a) Strong Democrat
   (b) Not very strong Democrat

3. *If Republican selected:* Would you call yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?

   (a) Strong Republican
   (b) Not very strong Republican

4. *If Independent selected:* Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

   (a) Closer to the Democratic Party
   (b) Closer to the Republican Party
   (c) Neither

5. In general, I think of myself as:

   (a) Extremely liberal
   (b) Liberal
   (c) Slightly liberal
   (d) Moderate, middle of the road
   (e) Slightly conservative
   (f) Conservative
   (g) Extremely conservative

6. How often do you attend religious services?

   (a) More than once a week
   (b) Once a week
   (c) A few times a month
   (d) A few times a year
   (e) Once a year or less
   (f) Never

7. Which of these options best describes your situation (in the last seven days)?

   (a) Employed full time
   (b) Employed part time
   (c) Unemployed
   (d) Student
   (e) Retired
   (f) Homemaker
   (g) Self-employed

8. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?

   (a) Just about always
   (b) Most of the time
   (c) Only some of the time
   (d) Never

9. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs:

   (a) Most of the time
   (b) Some of the time
   (c) Only now and then
   (d) Hardly at all

10. Based on the evidence you have read and heard, what can you reasonably conclude about climate change?

    (a) The climate is changing, and human activity plays a significant role
    (b) The climate is changing, and human activity may play a significant role
    (c) The climate is changing, and human activity does not play a significant role
    (d) The climate is not changing
    (e) Don't know / Unsure

11. In the recent past, has your local community been impacted by any of the following weather events? Select all that apply.

    (a) Floods
    (b) Hurricanes
    (c) Wildfires
    (d) Droughts
    (e) Heatwaves
    (f) None of the above

12. Which, if any, of the following industries are important to your community's economy? Select all that apply.

    (a) Oil, gas, or coal
    (b) Green industry (e.g., green technology, solar/wind/geothermal energy)
    (c) Automotive
    (d) None of the above

13. Do you believe that climate change policies would help or hurt your personal economic situation?

(a) Hurt a lot
(b) Hurt a little
(c) Neither help nor hurt
(d) Help a little
(e) Help a lot

14. *(Screener)* We would like to get a sense of your general preferences.
Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables, can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both red and green among the alternatives below, no matter what your favorite color is. Yes, ignore the question below and select both of these options.

    What is your favorite color?

    (a) White
    (b) Black
    (c) Red
    (d) Pink
    (e) Green
    (f) Blue

Task Instructions
Local governments have been adopting a variety of plans relating to climate change. Next, we'll show you a sequence of such plans and ask for your opinion about them in your capacity as a local policymaker.[1]

Specifically, we will show you four pairs of plans proposed by a non-partisan international organization. Each plan will contain several attributes, some of which may be important to you, while others may not (see below). There are no right or wrong answers.

[1] In the public study, "local policymaker" is replaced with "member of the local community."

Attributes
Type of Property Tax
Higher Energy Efficiency Standards For
Economic Relief
Plan Begins In
Cost-benefit Projection
International Participants
Party Endorsement

Outcome Measures

1. Do you support or oppose adopting Plan A for your community? *(Asked after each of the four conjoint tasks)*

   (a) Strongly support
   (b) Somewhat support
   (c) Neither support nor oppose
   (d) Somewhat oppose
   (e) Strongly oppose

2. Do you support or oppose adopting Plan B for your community? *(Asked after each of the four conjoint tasks)*

   (a) Strongly support
   (b) Somewhat support
   (c) Neither support nor oppose
   (d) Somewhat oppose
   (e) Strongly oppose

3. If you had to choose, which of these plans would you prefer adopting in your community? *(Asked after each of the four conjoint tasks)*

   (a) Plan A
   (b) Plan B

4. Which attribute was the most important in making your choice of plans?

   (a) Type of Property Tax
   (b) Higher Energy Efficiency Standards For
   (c) Economic Relief
   (d) Policy Begins In
   (e) Cost-benefit Projection
   (f) International Participants
   (g) Party Endorsement

5. In just a few words, please explain your response to the previous question (Which attribute was the most important in making your choice of plans?)

Summary Statistics

Policymakers

Table 1: Summary Statistics: Policymakers

Var.	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
Govt. type	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.0	3.0
Ideology	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.1	4.0	6.0
Election Ambition	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	3.0
Election Ambition (National)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.0
Age	1.0	6.0	7.0	7.3	9.0	15.0
Partisanship	1.0	1.0	4.0	3.3	5.0	5.0
Education	1.0	4.0	5.0	5.4	7.0	7.0
Gender	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0
Dist. College Prop.	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.3	3.0	3.0
Dist. Urban Prop.	1.0	2.0	2.0	2.3	3.0	3.0
Dist. 2020 Pres. Vote Share (D)	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.6	3.0	3.0
Local FF Ind.	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0
Local FF or Auto Ind.	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.0	2.0
Local Green Ind.	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3	2.0	2.0
CC Belief	1.0	3.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	4.0
Local CC Effects	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.4	2.0	5.0
Reelect Belief	1.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	5.0

[a] Government type is a categorical variable where 1 corresponds to county government, 2 to municipality, and 3 to township.

[b] Ideology is a 5 point scale where where 1 corresponds to very conservative and 5 corresponds to very liberal, and 6 corresponds to "Don't know."

[c] Election ambition is a categorical variable where 1 corresponds to interest in running for state office, 2 for national office, 3 for both, and 0 for neither.

[d] Election ambition (national) rescales the previous variable such that 1 corresponds to interest in national or both, while 0 corresponds to state or neither.

[e] Age is a factor variable with 15 levels of 4 year age buckets.

[f] Partisanship is a 5 point scale where 1 corresponds to Republican, 2 corresponds to lean Republican, 3 corresponds to Independent, 4 corresponds to lean Democrat, and 5 corresponds to Democrat. (Respondents who select "Other" are removed.)

[g] Education is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to less than high school, 2 corresponds to high school graduate, 3 corresponds to technical/trade school, 4 corresponds to some college, 5 corresponds to college graduate, 6 corresponds to some graduate school, and 7 corresponds to graduate degree.

[h] Gender is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to male and 2 corresponds to female.

[i] District college proportion shows the percentage of 25-years-or-older residents in the given geographic unit who have completed a 4-year, post-secondary degree. This data is from the 2015-2019 Five Year Data from the US Census American Community Survey, as compiled by IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS). 1 corresponds to the first tercile (0% to 17%), 2 corresponds to the second tercile (17% to 27%), and 3 corresponds to the third tercile (27% to 100%).

[n] Local green industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "green industry (e.g., green technology, solar/wind/geothermal energy)" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

[o] Climate change belief is a factor variable where 3 corresponds to a response that "the climate is changing, and human activity plays a significant role," 2 corresponds to "the climate is changing, and human activity may play a significant role," 1 corresponds to "the climate is changing, but human activity does not play a significant role", and 0 corresponds to "the climate is not changing," (Respondents who selected "don't know / Unsure" are dropped in this specification, but included in the binary belief / no belief specification).

[p] Local climate change effects is count of natural disasters that the respondent selects in response to the question, "In the recent past, has your local community been impacted by any of the following weather events," selecting all that apply from floods, hurricanes, wildfires, droughts, and heatwaves. The variable thus ranges from 0 to 5.

[q] Reelect belief is a 5 point scale where 1 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would hurt the respondent's reelection chances a lot, and 5 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would hurt the respondent's reelection chances a lot.

j District urban population reflects the proportion of residents in the given geographic unit who reside in an urban area. This data is taken from the 2010 Census, as compiled by IPUMS NHGIS. 1 corresponds to the first tercile (0% to 10%), 2 corresponds to the second tercile (10% to 96%), and 3 corresponds to the third tercile (96% to 100%).

k District 2020 presidential vote share (D) reflects the proportion of the votes, by county, for Joe Biden in the 2020 Presidential election. Each sub-county government is matched to the relevant county in which it is contained. 1 corresponds to the first tercile (0% to 24%), 2 corresponds to the second tercile (24% to 37%, and 3 corresponds to the third tercile (37% to 100%).

l Local fossil fuel industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "oil, coal, or gas" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

m Local fossil fuel or auto industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "oil, coal, or gas" or "automotive" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

n Local green industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "green industry (e.g., green technology, solar/wind/geothermal energy)" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

o Climate change belief is a factor variable where 3 corresponds to a response that "the climate is changing, and human activity plays a significant role," 2 corresponds to "the climate is changing, and human activity may play a significant role," 1 corresponds to "the climate is changing, but human activity does not play a significant role," and 0 corresponds to "the climate is not changing" (Respondents who selected "don't know / Unsure" are dropped in this specification, but included in the binary belief / no belief specification).

p Local climate change effects is a count of natural disasters that the respondent selects in response to the question, "In the recent past, has your local community been impacted by any of the following weather events," selecting all that apply from floods, hurricanes, wildfires, droughts, and heatwaves. The variable thus ranges from 0 to 5.

q Reelect belief is a 5 point scale where 1 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would hurt the respondent's reelection chances a lot, and 5 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would help the respondent's reelection chances a lot.

Figure 1: Policymaker Sample Representativeness

Sub-county[1] Officials

	Sample Median	Population Median
Proportion Urban	0.98	0.72
Proportion College-educated	0.27	0.22
Population Size	5,737	3,324
Democratic Vote Share 2020[2]	0.45	0.39

[1] *This group includes officials from townships and municipalities*

[2] *Presidential vote share estimated at the county level. Each sub-county government is matched to the relevant county in which it is contained.*

County Officials

	Sample Median	Population Median
Proportion Urban	0.45	0.40
Proportion College-educated	0.23	0.19
Population Size	34,579	25,758
Democratic Vote Share 2020	0.38	0.30

Representativeness of policymaker sample compared to population levels (prepared by CivicPulse).

Public

Table 2: Summary Statistics: Public

Var.	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
Ideology	1.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	5.0
Age	1.0	4.0	8.0	8.0	12.0	20.0
Partisanship	1.0	1.0	3.0	3.2	5.0	5.0
Education	1.0	3.0	4.0	4.3	5.0	7.0
Gender	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0
Religiosity	1.0	2.0	4.0	3.8	6.0	6.0
Employment	1.0	1.0	16.0	11.0	19.0	21.0
Trust in Govt.	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.7	3.0	4.0
Follow News	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	4.0
Household Income	1.0	3.0	9.0	10.0	17.0	24.0
Ethnicity	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.6	2.0	16.0
Hispanic	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	16.0
Region	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.6	3.0	4.0
Local FF Ind.	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0
Local FF or Auto Ind.	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0
Local Green Ind.	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.0	2.0
CC Belief	1.0	3.0	4.0	3.3	4.0	4.0
Local CC Effects	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.4	2.0	5.0
Policy Help Belief	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.7	3.0	5.0

[a] Ideology is a 5 point scale where where 1 corresponds to very conservative and 5 corresponds to very liberal, and 6 corresponds to "Don't know."

[b] Age is a factor variable with 15 levels of 4 year age buckets.

[c] Partisanship is a 5 point scale where 1 corresponds to Republican, 2 corresponds to lean Republican, 3 corresponds to Independent, 4 corresponds to lean Democrat, and 5 corresponds to Democrat.

[d] Education is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to less than high school, 2 corresponds to high school graduate, 3 corresponds to technical/trade school, 4 corresponds to some college, 5 corresponds to college graduate, 6 corresponds to some graduate school, and 7 corresponds to graduate degree.

[e] Gender is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to male and 2 corresponds to female.

[f] Religiosity is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to attends religious services more than once a week, 2 corresponds to once a week, 3 corresponds to a few times a month, 4 corresponds to a few times a year, 5 corresponds to once a year or less, and 6 corresponds to never.

[g] Employment is a factor variable

[h] Trust in government is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to a response that the respondent believes they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "Just about always," 2 corresponds to "Most of the time," 3 corresponds to "Only some of the time", and 4 corresponds to "Never."

[i] Follow news is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to a response that the respondent follows what's going on in government and public affairs "Most of the time," 2 corresponds to "Some of the time," 3 corresponds to "Only now and then", and 4 corresponds to "Hardly at all"

[j] Household income is a factor variable with 24 levels, ranging from "Less than $14,999" to $250,000. From $14,999 to $99,999, buckets are in increments of $5,000; from $100,000 to $199,999 buckets are in increments of $25,000; and from $200,000 to $249,999 in increments of $50,000 (prefer not to answer is omitted).

k Ethnicity is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to "White," 2 corresponds to "Black, or African American," 3 corresponds to "American Indian or Alaska Native," 4 corresponds to "Indian," 5 corresponds to "Chinese," 6 corresponds to "Filipino," 7 corresponds to "Japanese," 8 corresponds to "Korean," 9 corresponds to "Vietnamese," 10 corresponds to "Asian - Other," 11 corresponds to "Native Hawaiian," 12 corresponds to "Guamanian," 13 corresponds to "Samoan," 14 corresponds to "Pacific Islander," 15 corresponds to "Some other race," and 16 corresponds to "Prefer not to answer.

l Hispanic is a factor variables where 1 corresponds to "No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin," 2 corresponds to "Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano," 3 corresponds to "Yes, Cuban," 4 corresponds to "Argentina," 5 corresponds to "Colombia," 6 corresponds to "Ecuador," 7 corresponds to "El Salvadore," 8 corresponds to "Guatemala," 9 corresponds to "Nicaragua," 10 corresponds to "Panama," 11 corresponds to "Peru," 12 corresponds to "Spain," 13 corresponds to "Venezuela," 14 corresponds to "Other Country," 15 corresponds to "Prefer not to answer," and 16 corresponds to "Yes, Puerto Rican."

m Region is a factor variable where 1 corresponds to "Northeast," 2 corresponds to "Midwest," 3 corresponds to "South," and 4 corresponds to "West."

n Local fossil fuel industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "oil, coal, or gas" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

o Local fossil fuel or auto industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "oil, coal, or gas" or "automotive" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

p Local green industry is a categorical variable that corresponds to 1 if the respondent identifies "green industry (e.g., green technology, solar/wind/geothermal energy)" as an important local industry, and 0 otherwise.

q Climate change belief is a factor variable where 3 corresponds to a response that "the climate is changing, and human activity plays a significant role," 2 corresponds to "the climate is changing, and human activity may play a significant role," 1 corresponds to "the climate is changing, but human activity does not play a significant role," and 0 corresponds to "the climate is not changing" (Respondents who selected "don't know / Unsure" are dropped in this specification, but included in the binary belief / no belief specification).

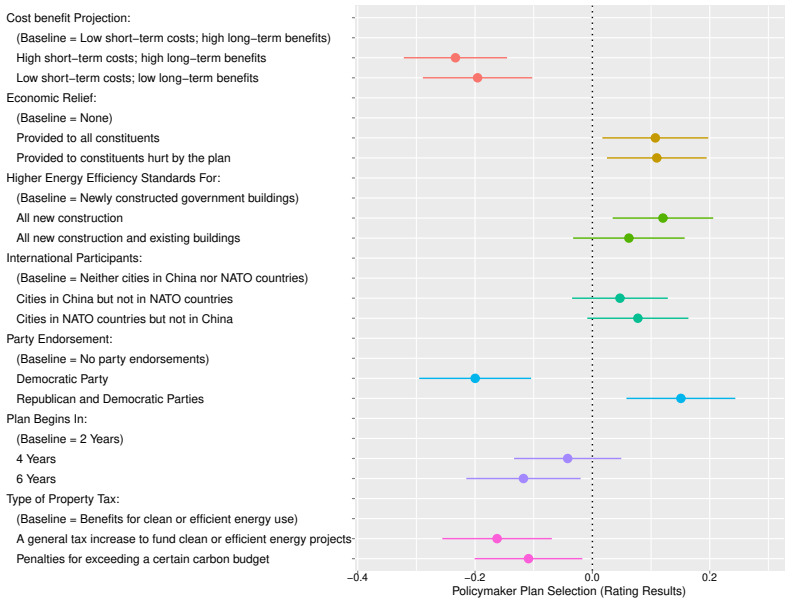
r Local climate change effects is a count of natural disasters that the respondent selects in response to the question, "In the recent past, has your local community been impacted by any of the following weather events," selecting all that apply from floods, hurricanes, wildfires, droughts, and heatwaves. The variable thus ranges from 0 to 5.

s Policy help belief is a 5 point scale where 1 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would hurt the respondent's personal economic situation a lot, and 5 corresponds to a belief that supporting climate change policies would help the respondent's personal economic situation a lot.

Robustness

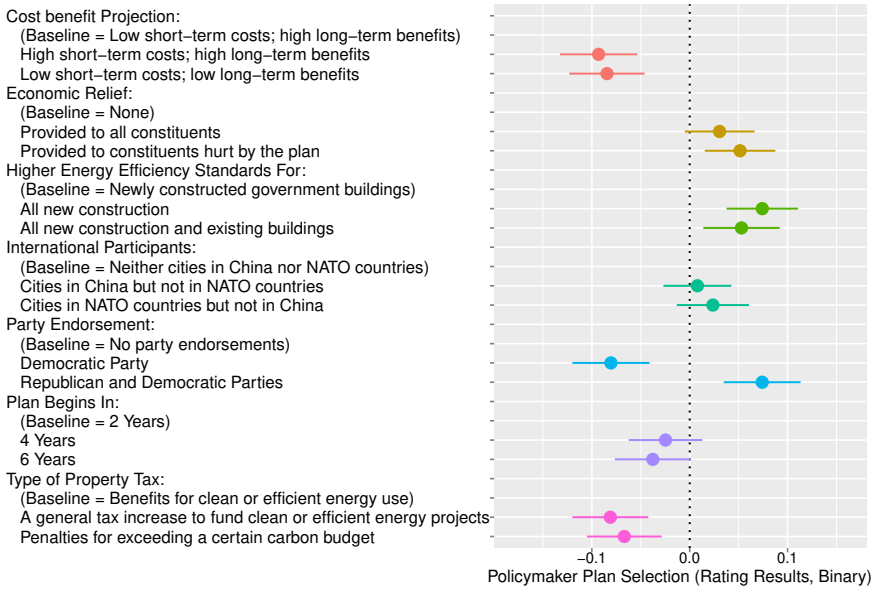
Policymakers

Figure 2: AMCE, Rating Outcome: Policymakers



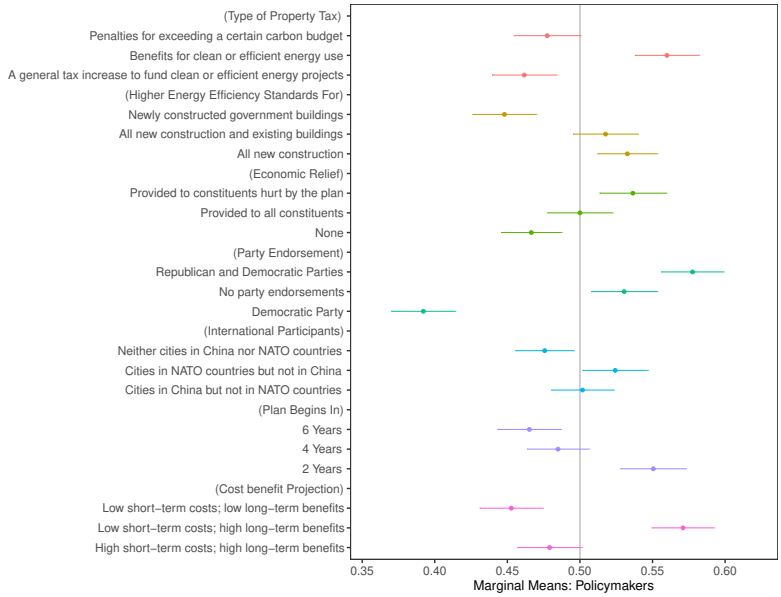
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE) of each attribute level.

Figure 3: AMCE, Binary Rating Outcome: Policymakers



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE) of each attribute level, coded as 1 if respondents "strongly suppport" or "somewhat support" a climate plan and 0 otherwise.

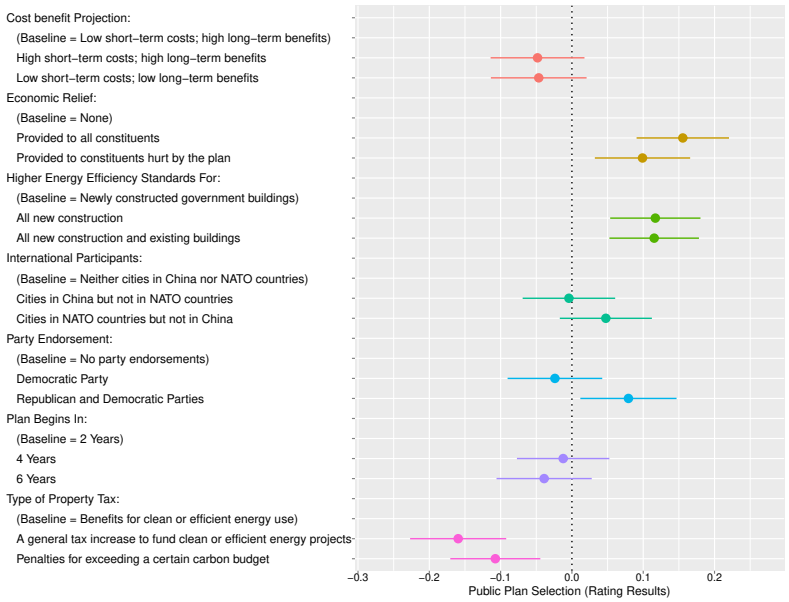
Figure 4: Marginal Means: Policymakers



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

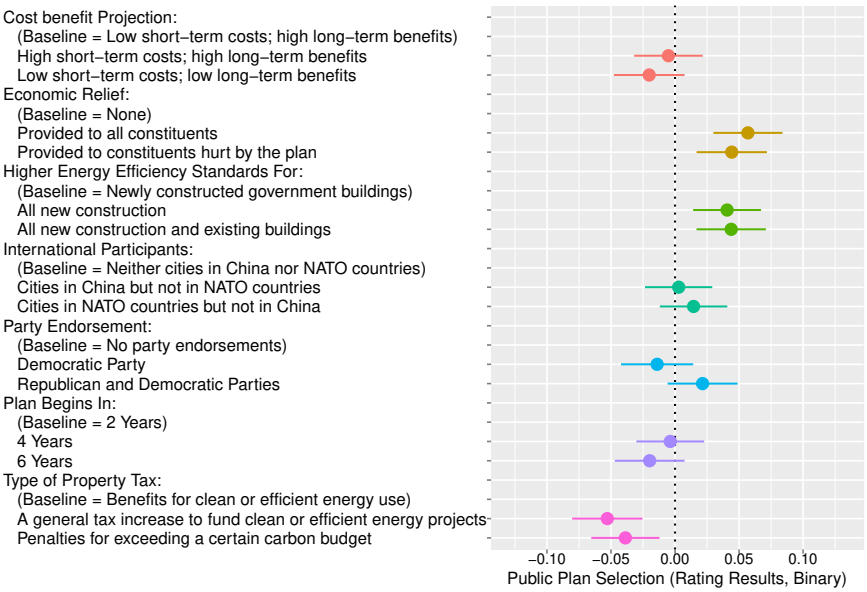
Public

Figure 5: AMCE, Rating Outcome: Public



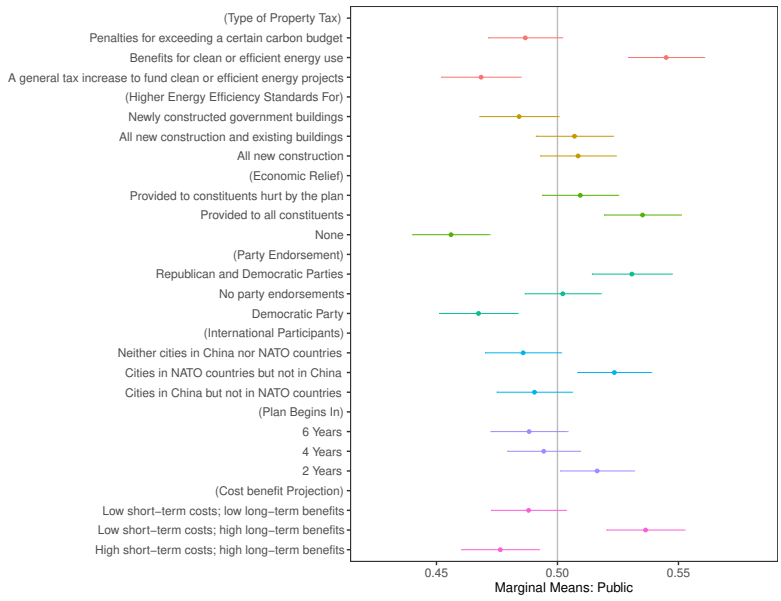
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE) of each attribute level.

Figure 6: AMCE, Binary Rating Outcome: Public



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE) of each attribute level, coded as 1 if respondents "strongly suppport" or "somewhat support" a climate plan and 0 otherwise.

Figure 7: Marginal Means: Public



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

Interaction Effects

In our policymaker study, we examine various interaction effects, per our pre-analysis plan. We examined interactions between international participants and type of property tax, international participants and higher energy efficiency standards, international participants and cost benefit projections, party endorsement and type of property tax, party endorsement and higher energy efficiency standards, and party endorsement and cost benefit projections. For policymakers, the only attribute levels of interaction terms that were significant were economic relief provided to constituents hurt by the plan*higher energy efficiency standards for all new construction and existing buildings, and high short term costs/high long term benefits*plan begins in 6 years. We omit these results for space considerations; they are available upon request.

Heterogeneous Effects

In the main text, we show the differences in marginal means between the public and policymakers- we explore additional heterogeneous effects here.[2] First, we show heterogeneous effects for the policymaker sample. In the main text, we showed effects by party.[3] Among policymakers with ambition to run for higher office versus those who do not, policymakers with higher office ambitions were less likely to prefer the narrowest energy efficiency standard choice (higher energy efficiency standards for newly constructed government buildings) and plans with no party endorsements (Figure 8). Policymakers with beliefs that supporting climate change policies will help their reelection chances were less likely to prefer the narrowest energy efficiency standard choice, and plans with low costs and low benefits (Figure 9). Those with higher levels of climate change concern were more likely to favor the narrow energy efficiency option, less likely to favor Democrat-only endorsement, more likely to favor slower implementation timelines, and more likely to favor plans with low costs and low benefits (Figure 10).

Policymakers with local carbon industry presence were more likely to favor plans with low costs and low benefits (Figure 11). Those representing areas affected by climate change weather events were less likely to favor plans with no party endorsement, and more likely to favor plans with Democrat-only endorsement (Figure 13). Policymakers representing cities were more likely to favor benefits for energy use and participation by NATO cities only than other government types. Those representing municipal and township governments were less likely to favor narrow energy efficiency standards, bipartisan endorsed plans, narrow economic relief, faster implementation, and low-cost high-benefit plans. Only municipal policymakers were less likely to favor tax increases, while municipal and city policymakers were more likely to favor tax benefits (Figure 14).

Liberal policymakers were more likely to favor broader energy efficiency standards, Democrat-only endorsements, and faster implementation time, while conservatives were more likely to to prefer plans with low costs and low benefits (Figure 15). Policymakers

[2]For all comparisons of subgroups, we show differences in marginal means. We elect to examine relevant covariates one-by-one rather than in a multivariate framework to more straightforwardly illustrate their influences on policy choices. This strategy is also in accordance with prior literature in conjoint analysis. Because of the random assignment of policy profiles, subgroup differences are not a threat to the internal validity of our study or our topline results.

[3]For most of the other subgroup analyses in the policymaker and public samples, we observe only fairly minor subgroup differences.

with green electoral incentives were less likely to prefer narrow energy efficiency policies and slow implementation (Figure 16). Older policymakers were more likely to prefer plans with bipartisan endorsement (Figure 17). More educated policymakers were more likely to prefer fast implementation and plans with low cost/high benefit, and were less likely to prefer no international participation (Figure 19). Finally, policymakers from constituencies with low Democratic vote share were more likely to favor plans with slow implementation, while those from areas with higher Democratic vote shares were more likely to favor plans with low cost and high benefits, faster implementation, bipartisan endorsement, and tax benefits, and were less likely to favor plans with no international city participation, Democrat-only endorsement, narrow energy efficiency standards, and taxes (Figure 20) There were no significant subgroup differences by the presence of local green industry (Figure 12) or by gender (Figure 18).

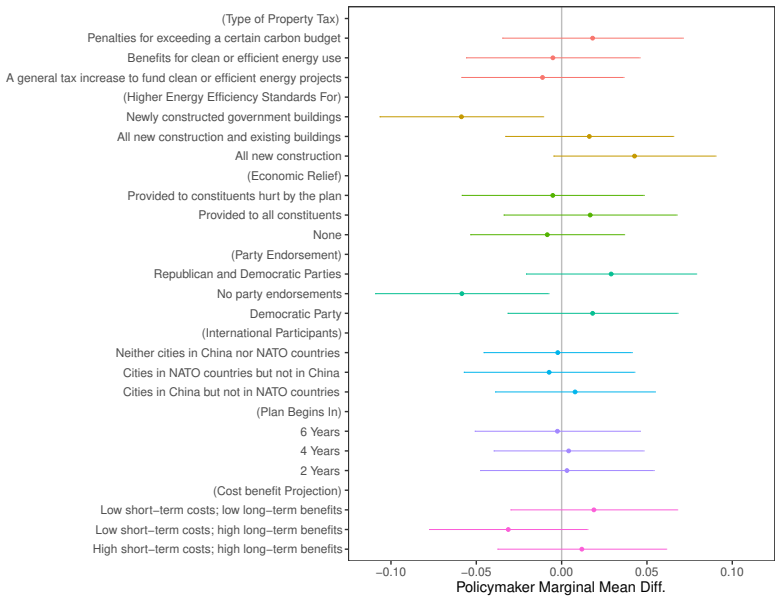
Second, we show heterogeneous effects for the public sample. In the main text we showed results by party. Here we also show that individuals with high climate belief were more likely to prefer Democrat-only endorsed plans and less likely to favor plans with no party endorsements, or with no economic relief. (Figure 21). Individuals in communities with important carbon industries were less likely to favor expansive energy efficiency standards or economic relief (Figure 22), while individuals in communities with important green industries were more likely to favor plans endorsed by Democrats only and less likely to favor plans with low costs and high benefits (Figure 23). Individuals in communities affected by climate change weather events were less likely to favor plans with no party endorsements (Figure 24).

More religious individuals were more likely to favor plans with shorter implementation times (Figure 25). Liberals were more likely to favor plans with stronger energy efficiency standards and Democrat-only endorsements, and were less likely to favor plans with tax benefits, bipartisan or no endorsements (Figure 26). People with high trust in government were more likely to favor plans with Democrat-only endorsements and high cost/high benefit, and were less likely to favor plans with tax benefits, bipartisan endorsement, or low cost/high benefit. Older respondents were less likely to favor expansive energy efficiency standards (Figure 27).

Male respondents were less likely to support economic compensation (Figure 28). Wealthier respondents were more likely to favor tax increases (Figure 29). Highly educated individuals were more likely to favor tax penalties (Figure 30). Finally, individuals who believed climate policies would help their economic situation were more likely to support broad economic relief and Democrat-only endorsed plans, and less likely to support plans with no party endorsement (Figure 31). Results for heterogeneous effects by attention to the news, employment, and trust in government are omitted for space concerns, but available upon request.

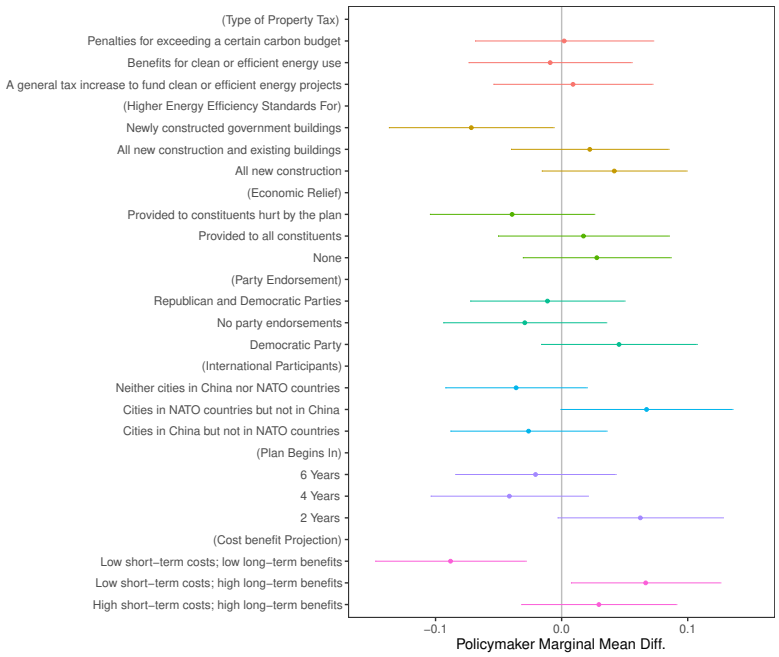
Policymakers

Figure 8: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Ambition



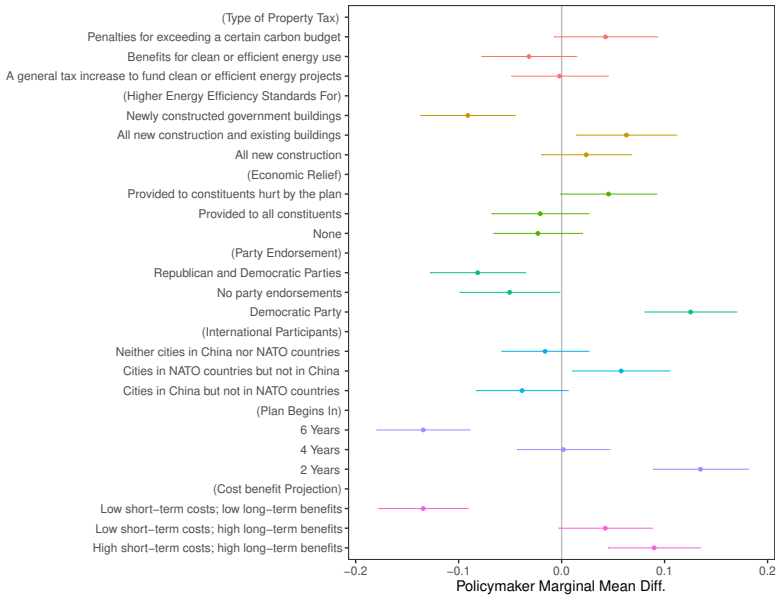
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents with state level or national level plans to run for office.

Figure 9: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Perceived Effect of CC on Election



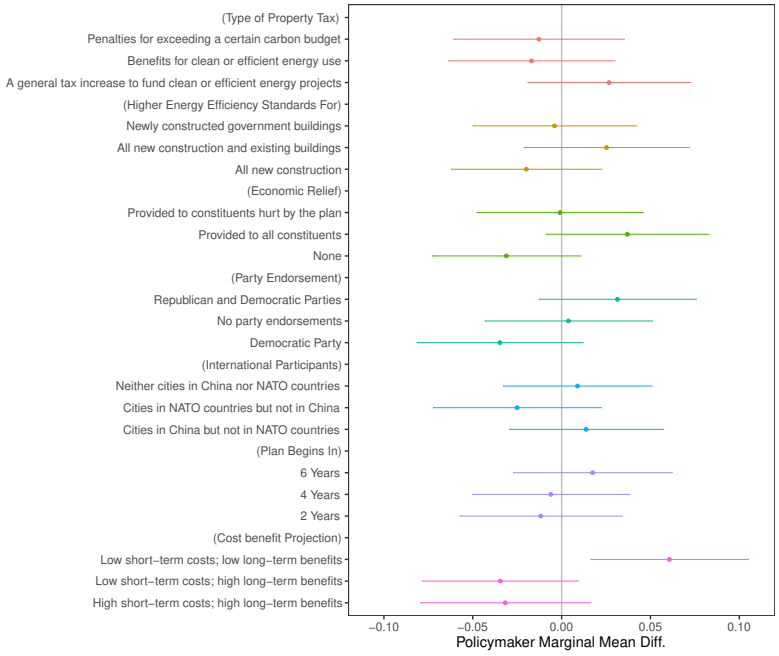
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that supporting CC policies will help their election chances a little or help their election changes a lot. 0 includes respondents who report that supporting CC policies will hurt their election chances a little or hurt their election changes a lot.

Figure 10: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By CC Belief



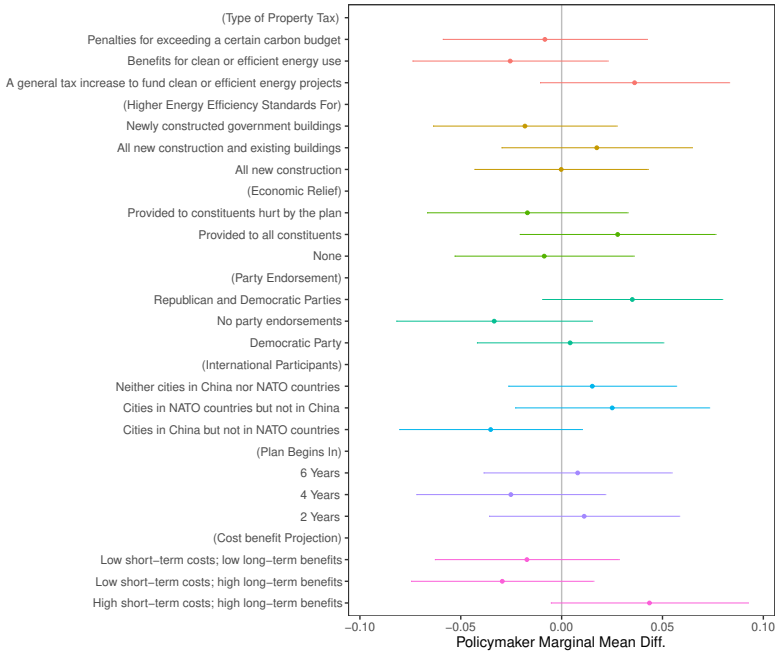
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that the climate is changing, and human activity plays or may play a significant role. 0 includes respondents who report that the climate is changing, but human activity does not play a significant role, the climate is not changing, or don't know / unsure.

Figure 11: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Carbon Industry



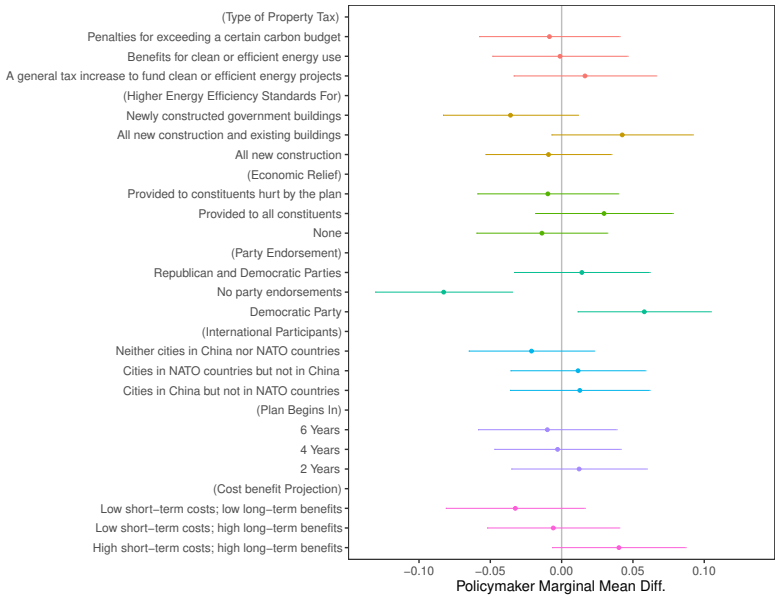
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that oil, gas, coal, or automotive industries are important to their community's economy.

Figure 12: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Green Industry



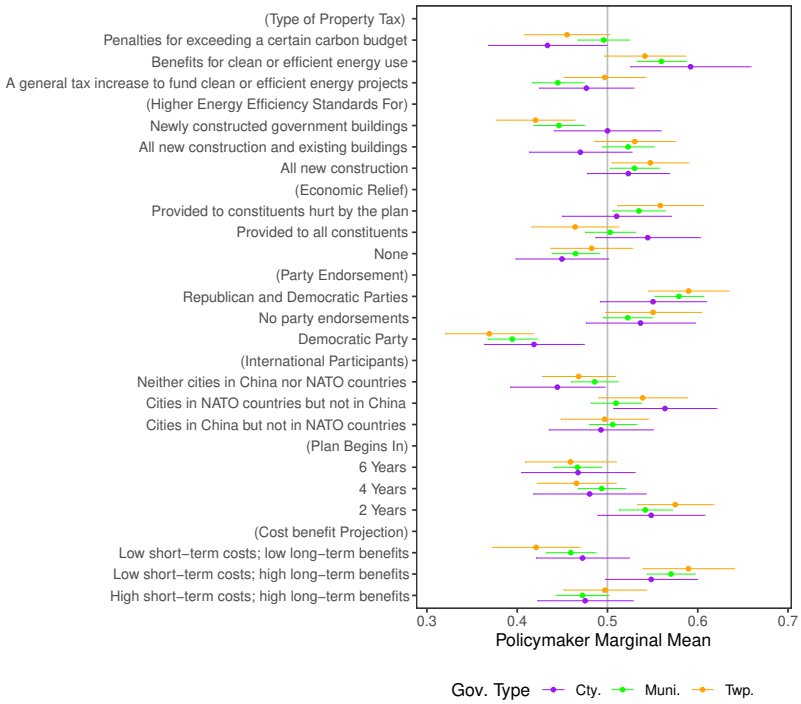
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that green industries are important to their community's economy.

Figure 13: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Community CC Impact



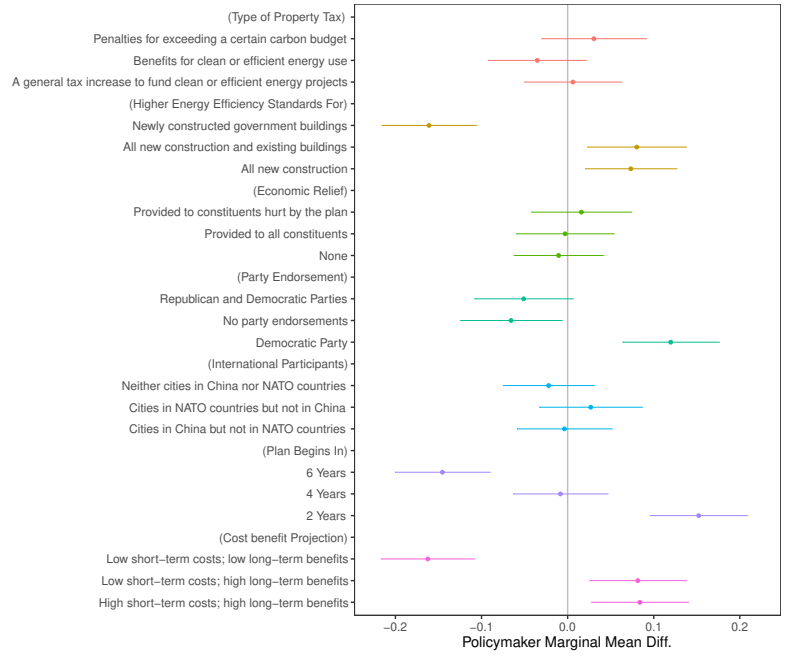
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that their local community has been impacted by at least one weather event in the recent past (includes floods, hurricanes, wildfires, droughts, and heatwaves).

Figure 14: Policymaker Marginal Means - By Government Type



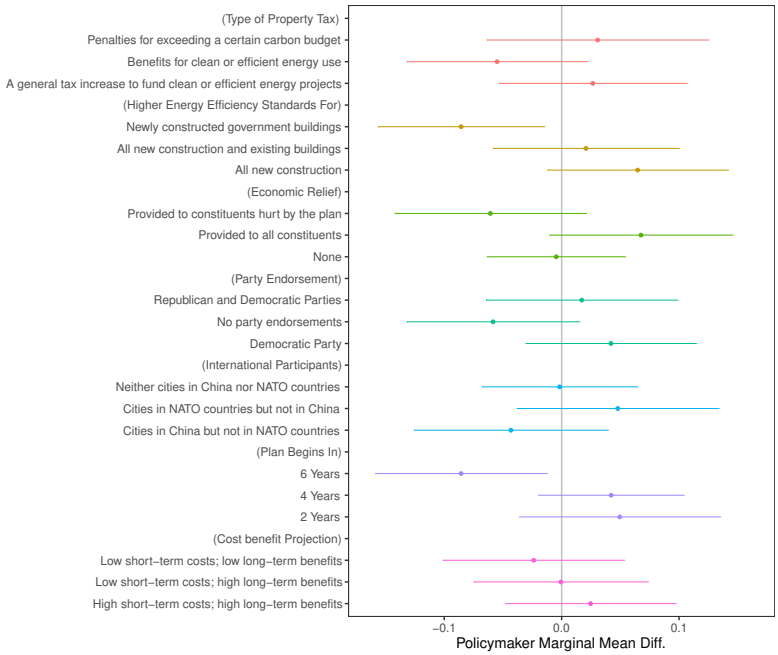
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

Figure 15: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Ideology



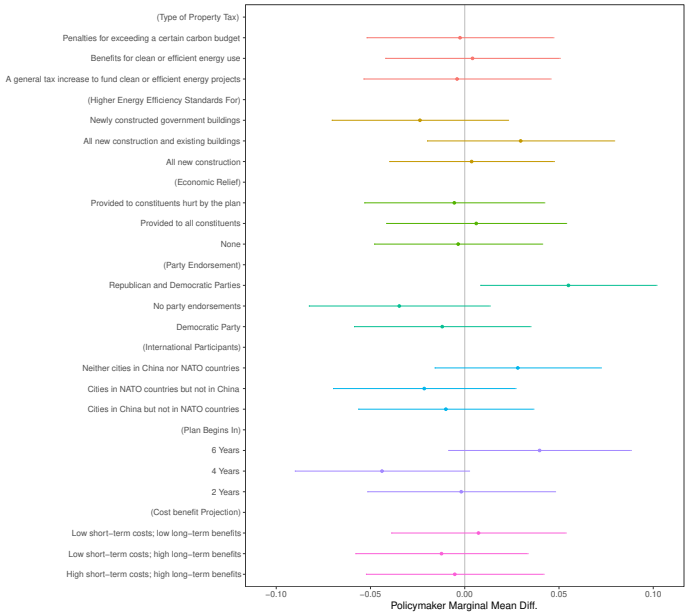
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'Liberal' includes respondents who identify as very or somewhat liberal; 'Conservative' includes respondents who identify as very or somewhat conservative (respondents who identify in neither group are excluded).

Figure 16: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Green Electoral Incentives



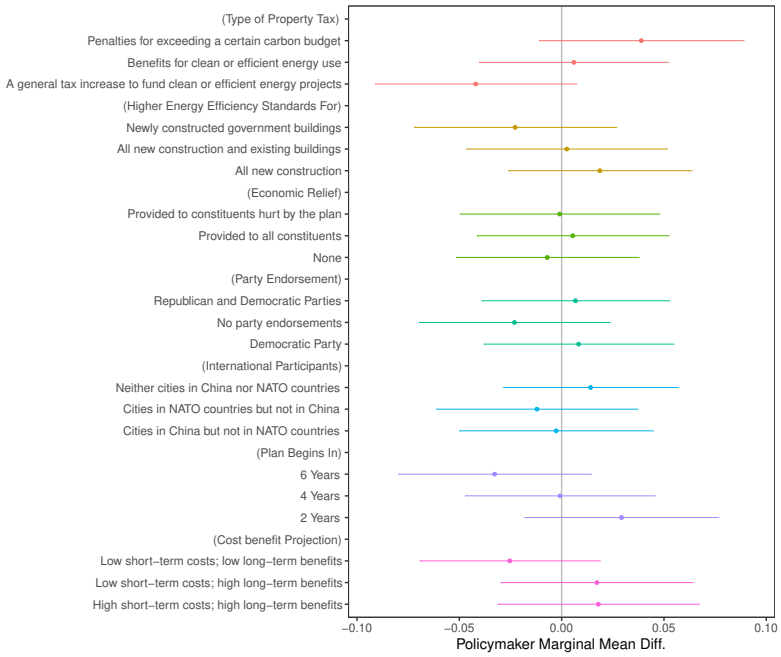
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report ambition to run for office again (same or higher) *and* belief that adopting climate policy will greatly or somewhat help their reelection attempt.

Figure 17: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Age



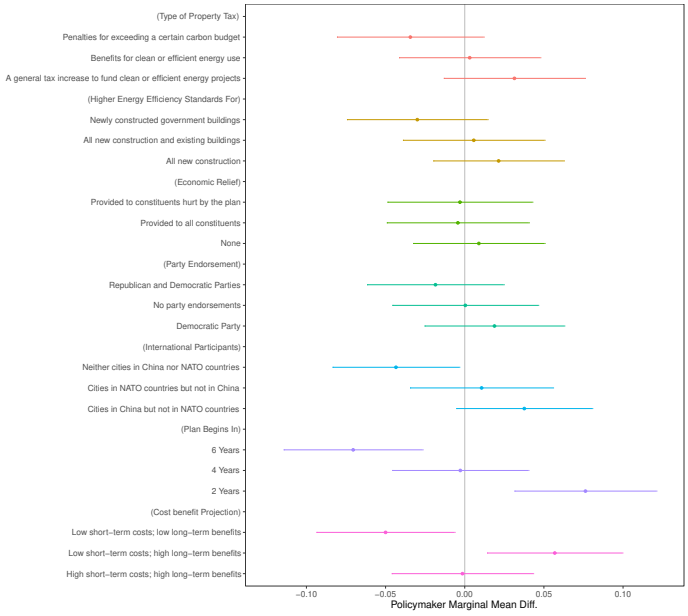
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents in age categories above the average; 'Low' includes those in age categories below the average.

Figure 18: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Gender



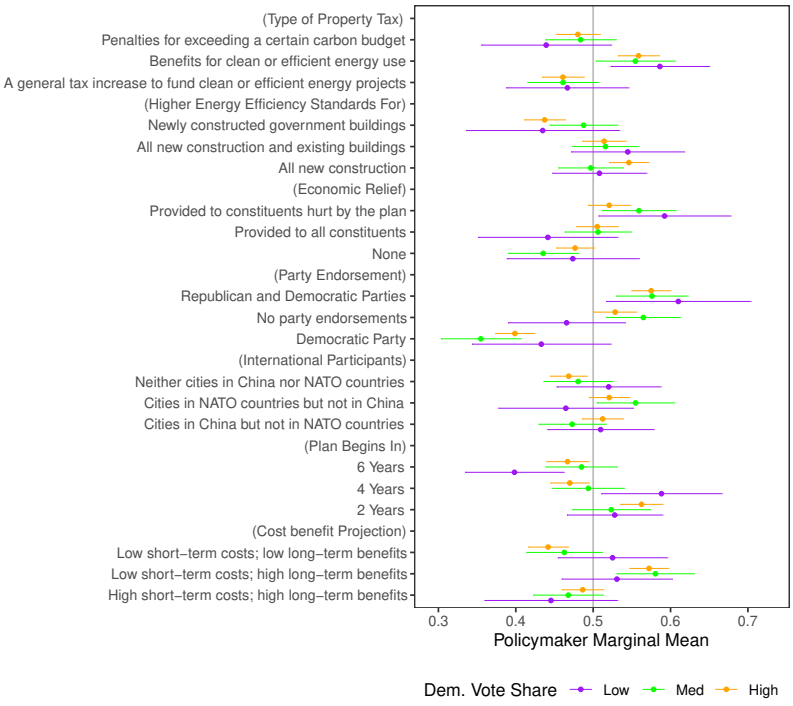
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

Figure 19: Policymaker Marginal Mean Difference - By Education



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents with more than a bachelor's degree; 'Low' includes those with a bachelor's degree or less.

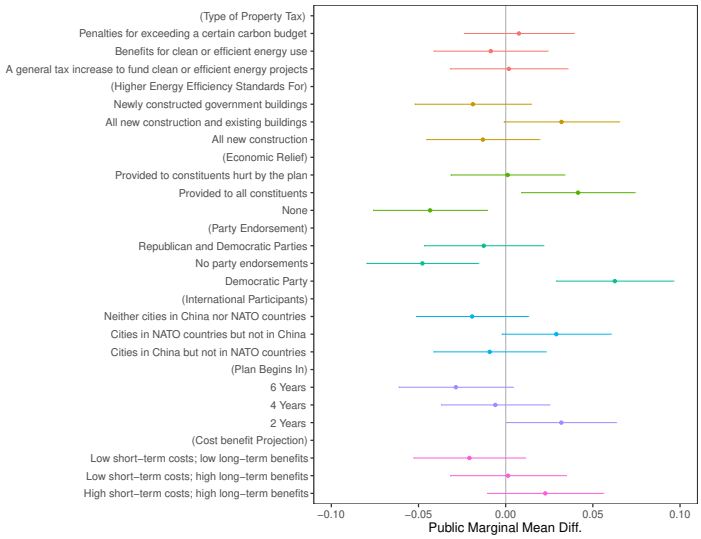
Figure 20: Policymaker Marginal Means - By Local Democratic Vote Share



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

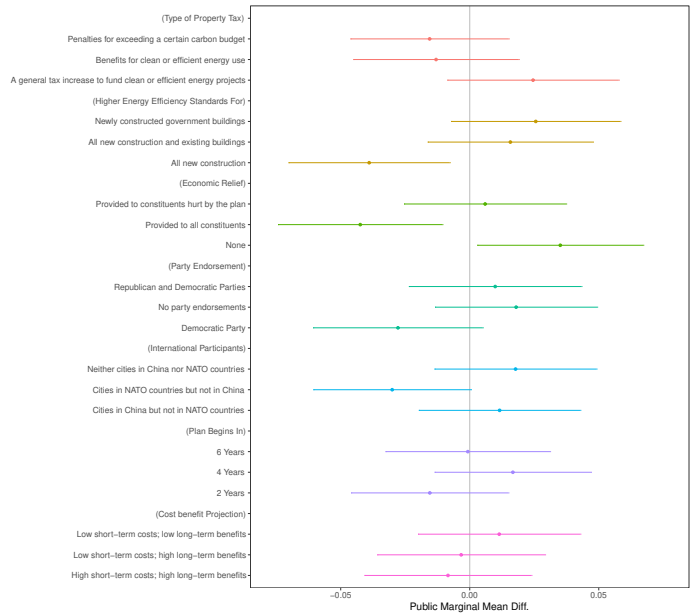
Public

Figure 21: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By CC Belief



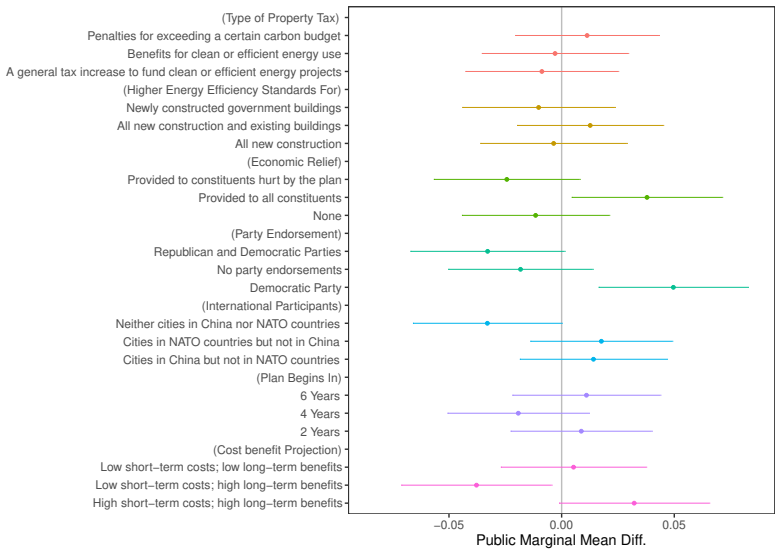
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that the climate is changing, and human activity plays or may play a significant role. 0 includes respondents who report that the climate is changing, but human activity does not play a significant role, the climate is not changing, or don't know / unsure.

Figure 22: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Carbon Industry



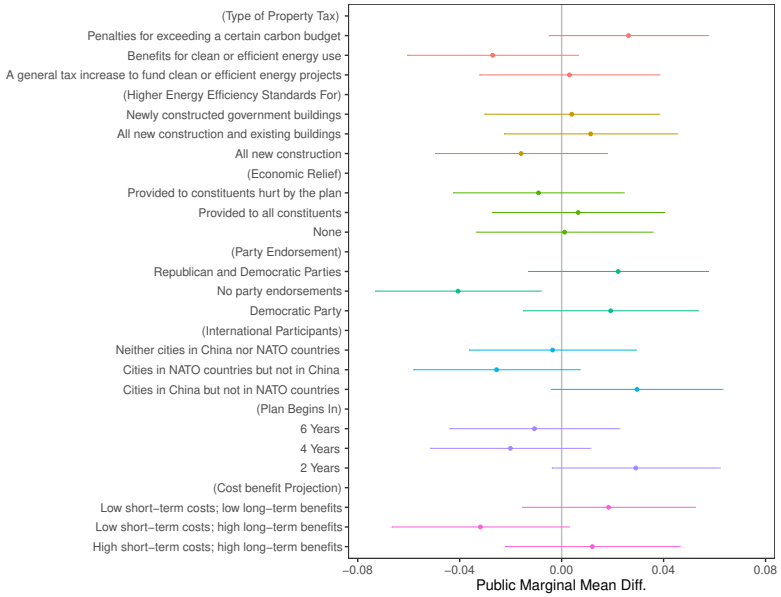
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that oil, gas, coal, or automotive industries are important to their community's economy.

Figure 23: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Green Industry



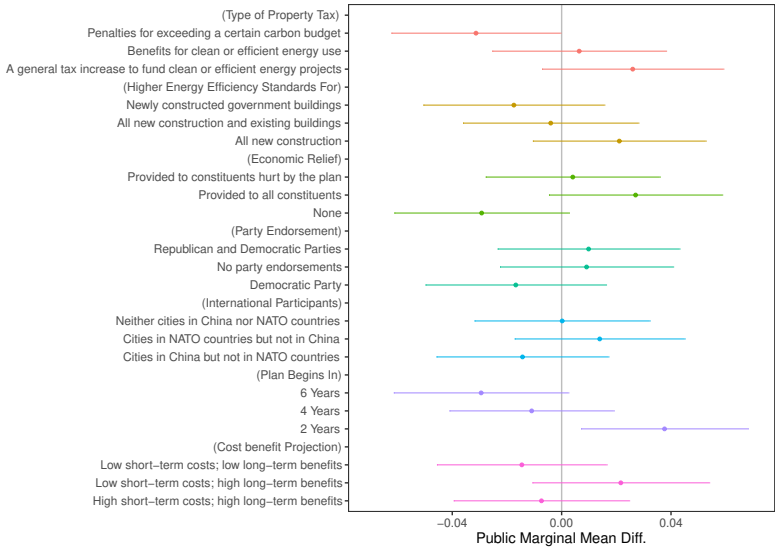
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that green industries are important to their community's economy.

Figure 24: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Community CC Impact



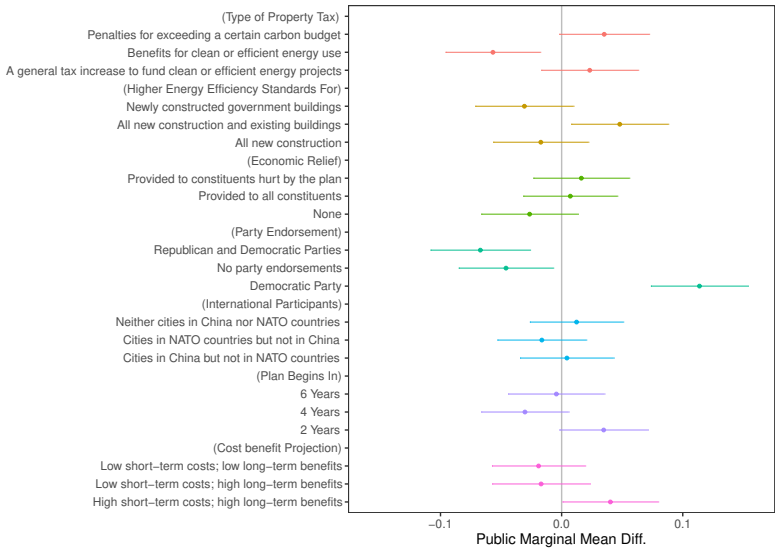
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 1 includes respondents who report that their local community has been impacted by at least one weather event in the recent past (includes floods, hurricanes, wildfires, droughts, and heatwaves).

Figure 25: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Religiosity



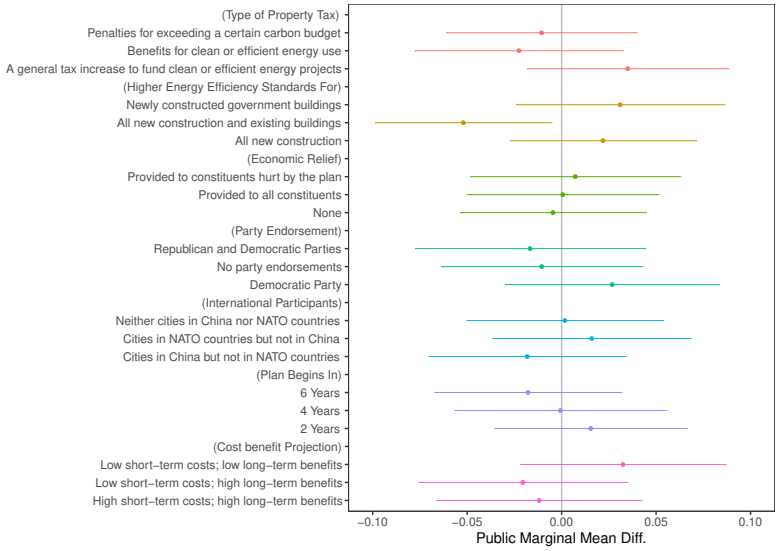
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents in with religiosity above the sample average; 'Low' includes those below the average.

Figure 26: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Ideology



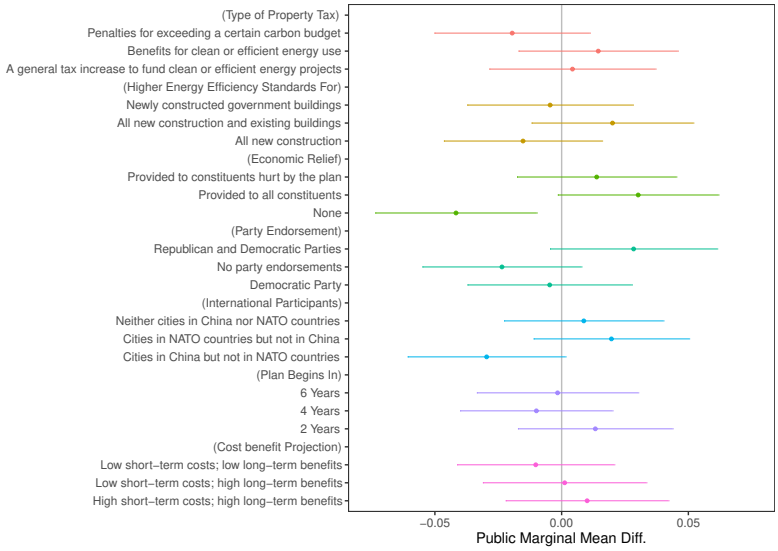
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'Liberal' includes respondents who identify as very or somewhat liberal; 'Conservative' includes respondents who identify as very or somewhat conservative (respondents who identify in neither group are excluded).

Figure 27: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Age



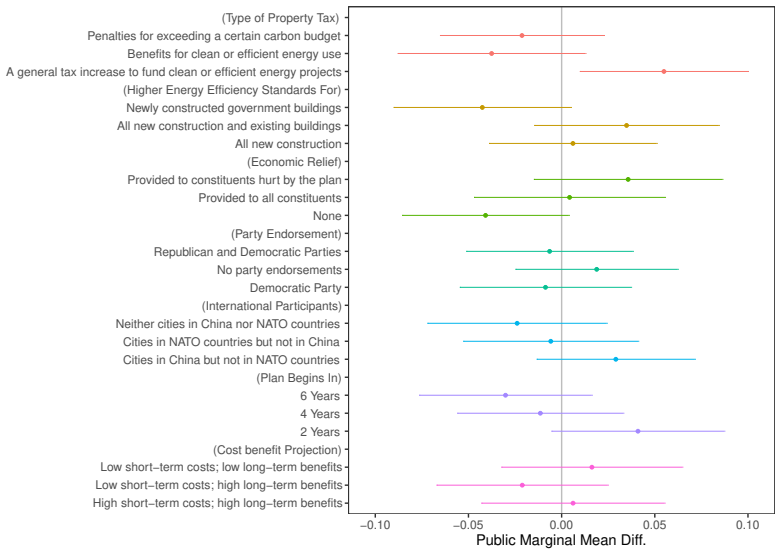
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents in age categories above the average; 'Low' includes those in age categories below the average.

Figure 28: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Gender



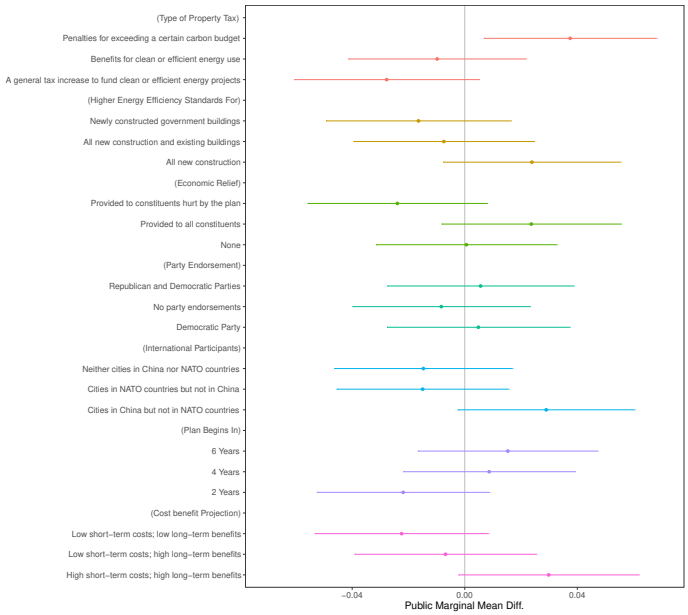
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.

Figure 29: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Household Income



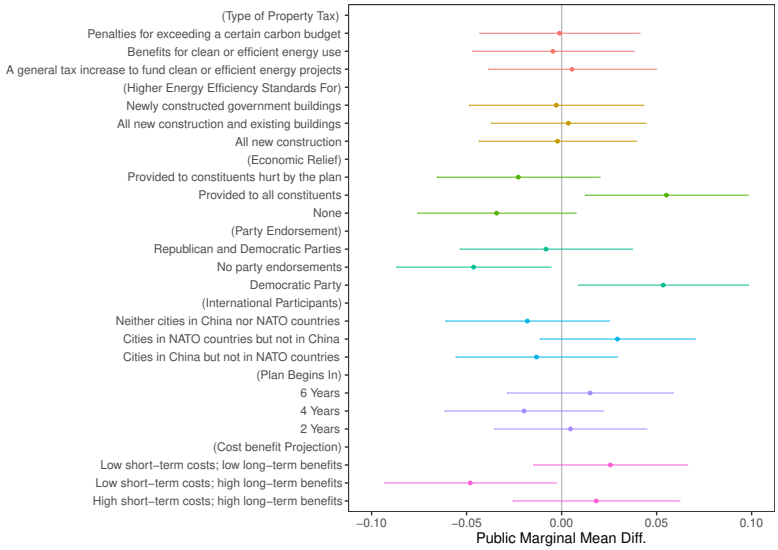
Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents household income categories above the average; 'Low' includes those in household income categories below the average.

Figure 30: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By Education



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents with a bachelor's degree or higher, 'Low' includes respondents with less than a bachelor's degree.

Figure 31: Public Marginal Mean Difference - By belief the policy will help

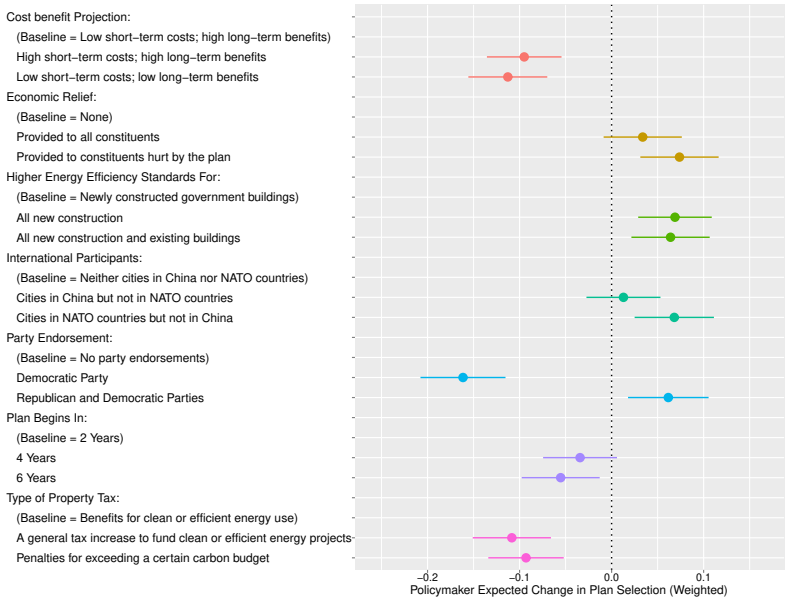


Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level. 'High' includes respondents who believe that the effect of climate change policies on their personal economic situation would 'Help a little' or 'Help a lot'; 'Low' includes includes respondents who believe that the effect of climate change policies on their personal economic situation would 'Hurt a little' or 'Hurt a lot'.

Weighted Results

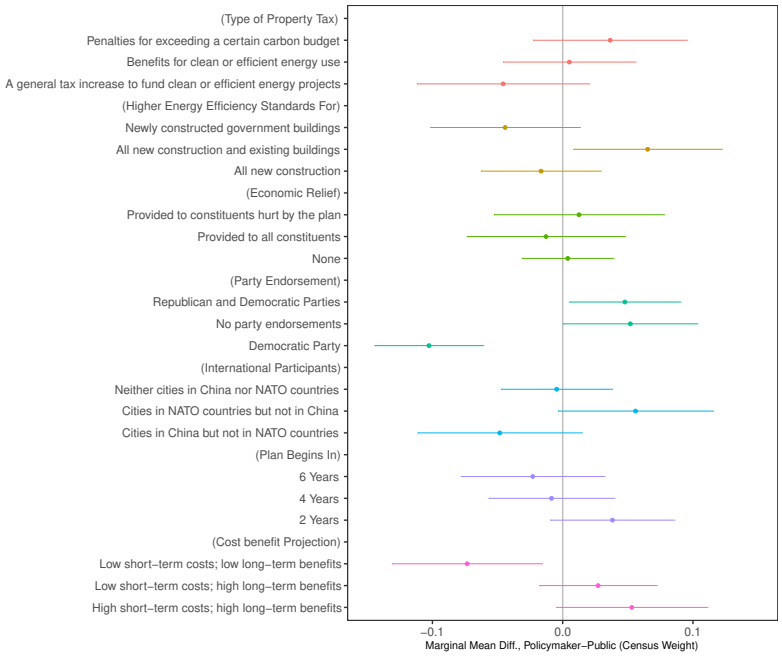
Figure 32 employs probability weights provided by Civic Pulse to increase sample representativeness. Probability weights are created with a post-stratification raking procedure using the Census and presidential vote share variables. This procedure follows the methodology outlined in DeBell and Krosnick (2009) for the American National Elections Study (ANES). In addition to the probability weights provided by Civic Pulse, we also calculate weights based on Census data for policymakers, which do not alter the main findings (results available upon request). We show that even adjusting for population weights, public and policymaker preference differences are consistent with those that we discuss in the main text based on the unweighted results (Figure 33).

Figure 32: Policymaker AMCE (Compared to baseline levels), Civic Pulse Probability Weights



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the AMCE of each attribute level.

Figure 33: Marginal Means - Policymaker and Public Difference, Census Weights



Bars are 95% confidence intervals based on respondent-clustered standard errors for the marginal mean of each attribute level.