Leaving Paris: Public Reactions to Withdrawals from International Institutions

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Abstract

How does withdrawal from international institutions shape public opinion? We examine this question in the context of climate change, focusing on the Paris Agreement in the U.S. and Argentina. While past research has examined the consequences of state withdrawal for compliance and international behavior, its effects on public opinion remain understudied. We conducted three studies: a U.S. survey-experiment manipulating expectations about withdrawal prior to President Trump's inauguration, a follow-up panel study measuring reactions to the actual U.S. withdrawal, and a replication in Argentina testing both domestic withdrawal and third-party reactions. Across studies, withdrawal cues reduce support for the Paris Agreement and, in some cases, climate attitudes and support for international law, with effects largely driven by politically aligned respondents. Overall, we show that withdrawing from international climate agreements can undermine public support for both the agreements themselves, and have spillover effects to the policies they govern and broader international norms.

Introduction

During his second term, President Donald Trump has continued a pattern of disengagement from global governance, withdrawing the United States from major international institutions including the World Health Organization (Faguy and Hughes, 2025), UNESCO (Lukiv, 2025), and the Paris Agreement (McGrath, 2025). From the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union (Witte and Balz, 2016) to Nicaragua's withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council (Reuters, 2025) and Hungary's exit from the International Criminal Court (Tasch and Holligan, 2025), institutional withdrawal is a recurrent feature of contemporary international politics. Withdrawal is more salient today as populist leaders around the world push back on global governance (e.g., Carnegie and Clark, 2026), yet governments of all stripes engage in withdrawal behavior (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2025)— it is not simply a feature of populist governance.

Yet, the consequences of withdrawal for public opinion remain poorly understood. *How do citizens react when their leaders step back from international institutions?* Even if exits from international institutions have little effects on state expenditures or legal obligations — as is the case of many of the new withdrawal announcements made by President Trump on January 7, 2026 (The White House, 2026) — we argue that withdrawals can still send important political cues to observing audiences.

On the one hand, withdrawal may act as an elite cue, communicating that an international institution is ineffective or incompatible with national interests, leading publics to negatively revise their attitudes accordingly and reducing support for the institution and the policies it governs. On the other hand, withdrawal can also provoke resistance. Recent withdrawals from prominent international institutions have been accompanied by visible counter-reactions, from subnational governments reaffirming commitments and segments of the public expressing renewed support for multilateral cooperation (Chow, 2019), raising the possibility that exit can generate backlash. Withdrawals may thus spark dramatically different responses among different segments of the public.

In recent years, a growing literature has emerged on governments' withdrawal from international institutions (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2025; Walter, 2021*b*). However,

much of this scholarship has focused on the causes of withdrawal (Von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2019; Copelovitch and Pevehouse, 2019; von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2021; Von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2023) and its effects on institutional reform and survival (Vabulas, 2023; von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*b*; Schmidt, 2024, 2025). Less attention has been paid to public attitudes, with some exceptions focusing on public support for withdrawal itself (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*a*).

Consequently, the ways in which withdrawal shapes public attitudes towards international institutions and the policies they govern remain understudied. We argue that both threats of withdrawal and realized withdrawal actions can serve domestic political purposes. We theorize that withdrawal from international institutions functions as a political cue to the mass public. By withdrawing, or even just communicating an intention to withdraw, leaders convey information about their policy priorities and the value of the institution itself. These cues can shape citizens' attitudes not only toward the institution in question, but also toward the policies it governs and towards global governance writ large.

These effects are important to study: as we show, the withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was a salient event to public audiences, and thus major withdrawals have the potential to generate widespread effects in public opinion. Furthermore, such withdrawals may have long-term political consequences, constraining decisions by future leaders who may face a harder time crossing against partisan polarization on participation. In the long run, these dynamics can affect future leaders' likelihood of entering into international agreements as they have downstream reputational effects (Schmidt, 2024, 2025). In this case, Trump's withdrawal from Paris likely made it politically more difficult for future Republican presidents to rejoin the Agreement or to participate in *new* international agreements. While we focus on the public opinion consequences of withdrawal, these outcomes should also be thought of as downstream causes of future participation in international institutions.

To test our expectations, we focus on two cases involving the Paris Agreement – the central multilateral framework for global climate governance — where we were

able to manipulate withdrawal and withdrawal threats under conditions of high external validity and genuine uncertainty. First, we study the withdrawal of the US from the Paris Agreement under President Donald Trump during his second presidency. This is a case of particular global importance given the role of the US as a major carbon emitter and a central actor in international climate cooperation, as well as persistent public resistance to climate action and the relative stability of climate attitudes among the U.S. public (e.g., Egan and Mullin, 2017; Arias and Blair, 2022).

Second, we examine Argentina, where President Javier Milei has publicly suggested the possibility of withdrawal from the Paris Agreement (Greenfield and Milman, 2024). Argentina provides a valuable comparative case. Like the US, it is led by a populist president who has questioned climate science and multilateralism, yet it differs markedly in its economic position and role in global climate governance, as well as the degree to which the issue of climate change is politically polarized (Ryan, 2017). While only 51% of Americans view climate change as a major threat, 80% of Argentinians do so, and these concerns are consistent across important socio-economic divides (Pew Research Center, 2025; Gallup, 2023). Focusing on Argentina also allows us to examine whether and how US withdrawal generates international spillover effects in public opinion.

Overall, we conducted studies to examine the effects of withdrawal from the Paris Agreement on public attitudes. Studies I and II were based in the US and conducted shortly *before and after* President Donald Trump's second inauguration in 2025. In Study I, we employed a preregistered survey experiment where we manipulated information about President Trump's intentions to withdraw from the Agreement, thereby shaping respondents' expectations about US withdrawal. We find that anticipating withdrawal from the Paris Agreement reduced support for the Agreement and for international legal obligations more broadly. In Study II we recontacted a portion of the original sample after the US's *actual* withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and observed further decline in support for the Agreement. These effects were largely driven by Republican respondents.[1]

In Study III, we extend our research to Argentina – a country where the presi-

[1] See also von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2024*a*).

dent has similarly made public statements communicating the possibility of withdrawing from the Paris Agreement. This third study allows us not only to test additional pre-registered expectations about international spillovers from US withdrawal, but also to assess whether our core expectation that leader-led withdrawal shapes domestic public opinion generalizes outside the US. We find that the prospect of an Argentine withdrawal reduces public support for the Paris Agreement, particularly among supporters of President Javier Milei, closely mirroring the partisan dynamics observed in the US.

We also identify modest spillover effects of US withdrawal on Argentine public opinion, including declines in climate attitudes. This implies that while US actions do have an impact on the preferences of global publics, it is unlikely that withdrawals by the US alone would be a tipping point. Together, these findings provide evidence that withdrawal cues can shape public opinion both domestically and internationally and help move public opinion research in political science outside the US, which has dominated prior work (e.g., Colgan, 2019; Bassan-Nygate et al., 2025). We contribute to a growing body of research in international relations that assesses the implications of the US turning away from meaningful climate action (Colgan and Genovese, 2025).

More broadly, our findings speak to debates about the legitimacy and resilience of international institutions. Publics care about the inclusivity of membership in international institutions, as institutions with broad participation are perceived of as more effective and neutral than those with narrow memberships (Bechtel and Scheve, 2013; Milner, 2006). As international institutions face increasing backlash (Gray, 2018; Walter, 2021*a*) and populist states increasingly challenge the global multilateral order, both rhetorically and strategically (Carnegie and Clark, 2026), considering how withdrawal affects their legitimacy has important implications for their vitality and efficacy and in the case of the Paris Agreement specifically, the likelihood of implementing policies that could mitigate the global effects of climate change.

A Theory of Withdrawal and Public Opinion

How does the public react when political leaders withdraw from international institutions? Studying public opinion in the context of withdrawal from international institutions–whether formal international organizations, international agreements, or the norms and legal commitments they embody–is crucial but challenging since public attitudes can be both a cause and a consequence of withdrawal. Major withdrawals are salient to public audiences, and thus may generate widespread effects in public opinion.[2]

In some cases, decisions about participation in international institutions are directly tied to public opinion through referendums, as in the case of Brexit (e.g., Walter, 2021*b*). However, even when withdrawal decisions are not directly made by referenda, political leaders often account for public opinion when making decisions about institutions, as in the case of Japan's 2019 withdrawal from the International Whaling Commission (Australian Institute of International Affairs, 2020). And at the same time, candidates' stances on withdrawals can shape citizens willingness to support them at the ballot box (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*a*).

These dynamics are particularly salient in the context of climate change and against the background of rising populist pushback to international institutions. Voluntary commitments to the Paris Agreement can increase domestic support for costly climate policies in the US (Tingley and Tomz, 2020). Climate change is also a politically salient issue for voters: in the 2024 US election, 37 percent of voters identified climate change as a very important issue, making it one of the most electorally consequential policy domains (Pew Research Center, 2024). As a result, withdrawals from the central international institution governing climate cooperation are likely to carry meaningful political implications, shaping public attitudes toward climate policy and international institutions more broadly.

Populist leaders may be particularly likely to initiate withdrawals from international institutions, and thus trigger public responses. Many populists argue that "the people" are exploited by self-serving cosmopolitan elites who make governance decisions from IOs, and

[2]We discuss public attentiveness to withdrawal cues in more detail in SI-1.

that such organizations do not have legitimate authority to govern their national affairs (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017). At the same time, not all populist leaders can afford to forgo the benefits from international cooperation (Carnegie, Clark and Kaya, 2024; Arias, Carnegie and Clark, 2026), and withdrawal is a persistent feature of international politics that is also executed by non-populist governments (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2025). Thus, populism is neither sufficient nor necessary to explain IO withdrawals.

A necessary assumption underlying our argument regarding the effect of withdrawals is that the public receives and is attentive to cues about exists from international institutions. Political leaders routinely communicate the merits and drawbacks of international institutions to domestic audiences, and elite rhetoric surrounding participation in international institutions is often visible in mass media coverage (e.g., Dellmuth and Tallberg, 2021). If withdrawal decisions were not observable to the public, they would be unlikely to generate meaningful attitudinal effects. We contend, however, that withdrawals from prominent international institutions–particularly in high-salience issue areas such as climate change–are sufficiently visible to domestic publics to shape attitudes.

To assess this assumption empirically, we provide descriptive evidence on the visibility of international institutions and withdrawal decisions in the information environment in our appendix (see SI-1). First, we examine cross-national data on international media coverage of international organizations to show that debates surrounding these institutions receive substantial news attention. Second, focusing on withdrawal from the Paris Agreement that motivated our empirical analysis, we use google search behavior to illustrate that the issue entered public discourse around the January 2025 inauguration. These patterns indicate that the withdrawal decision was sufficiently visible in the information environment for citizens to plausibly receive elite cues about it.

We theorize that institutional withdrawal functions as a political cue, conveying information about leaders' priorities, credibility, and commitment to international institutions. Just as elite cues generally shape public opinion in foreign policy and other complex policy domains, withdrawal cues can influence citizens' attitudes toward the institution in question, related international agreements, and the leaders responsible for

the decision. Importantly, these cues are observed not only by domestic publics but also by international actors, who may adjust their expectations and behavior in response to a state's withdrawal. In the following subsection, we develop a framework for understanding institutional withdrawal as a cue and trace its effects across multiple audiences, setting the stage for the hypotheses that follow.

Withdrawal as a Political Cue

Withdrawal from international institutions is typically a prolonged political process. Formally, withdrawal occurs when a member state voluntarily removes itself from an institution and legally terminates its membership, thereby ending its obligation to comply with the institution's rules (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*a*). However, such exits are rarely sudden and are often preceded by public debate, campaign promises, and repeated elite statements about the desirability of exit. Political leaders may communicate an intention to withdraw long before formal procedures are initiated, and even after withdrawal is officially announced, institutional rules frequently impose delays before exit takes legal effect. In the case of the Paris Agreement, for example, formal withdrawal requires a one-year waiting period following notification.

Recent work conceptualizes withdrawal from international organizations as part of a broader bargaining process in which states seek to induce institutional or policy change, often operating within exit rules established at the time of institutional design (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2025). Importantly, *withdrawal threats* are common even when actual exits are rare, and states frequently communicate dissatisfaction without ultimately following through. We argue that both threats of withdrawal and realized withdrawal actions can serve domestic political purposes. Because threats typically precede exit and introduce the possibility of withdrawal into public discourse, they may be especially salient to mass publics. Indeed, when actual withdrawal occurs much later — or not at all — public attitudes may already have adjusted in response to the initial cue. Building on the literature on elite cues, we therefore treat both stated intentions and realized withdrawal as politically meaningful cues that shape how citizens interpret

leaders' priorities, credibility and commitment to international institutions and norms (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*a*).

Political science has long assessed the impact of elite cues — predominantly from politicians — on public opinion (e.g., Zaller, 1992; Druckman, 2001; Berinsky, 2007). This effect is particularly important in the context of foreign policy, where citizens are less informed and often rely on leaders' statements and actions to form preferences about distant and technically complex issues (e.g., Guisinger and Saunders, 2017; Tesler, 2018; Strezhnev, Simmons and Kim, 2019; Dellmuth and Tallberg, 2021; Saunders, 2022; Baum and Groeling, 2009), though as we discuss later, these cues are often interpreted through the lens of partisan affiliations.

Previous research shows that governments' decisions to join and comply with international institutions function as elite cues that shape public opinion in various domains, including international security (Tomz, Weeks and Bansak, 2023; Kreps and Kriner, 2024), international law (Wallace, 2013), and climate politics (Tingley and Tomz, 2020). By making international commitments, leaders communicate the importance of policies aligned with the content of those institutions. This subsequently creates compliance constituencies among the domestic public who push for compliance with the terms of the commitment, catalyzing further support for the agreement (e.g., Dai, 2005). Conversely, individuals punish leaders for inconsistency between statements and actions in foreign policy (Tomz, 2007). Failing to comply with a legal commitment thus risks causing public backlash (Tomz, 2007; Chaudoin, 2014).

Overall, the literature on elite cues suggests that withdrawal from international institutions is likely to shape public attitudes not only toward the specific international institution itself, but also toward the policies it governs. In the next section, we theorize how withdrawal cues affect public support for policy outcomes, focusing on climate policy as a particularly salient and consequential domain. After that, we develop expectations about how these cues affect public support towards the leaders who make such decisions, and also the broader effects of such decisions on public attitudes, theorizing about attitudinal spillovers in other states as well as towards other dimensions of global

governance.

Policy Attitudes

Building on the argument that withdrawal functions as a political cue, we theorize that leaders' withdrawal decisions shape public attitudes toward both the international institution itself and the policy domain it governs. Prior research shows that elite cues regarding international commitments influence public support for international cooperation and related domestic policies. We extend this logic to the context of withdrawal, arguing that cues of exit can shape how individuals evaluate both the international institution and the importance of the underlying policy issue.

Existing work on elite cues further demonstrates that leader's rhetoric can shape public attitudes towards climate cooperation. Naming and shaming efforts, for instance, shape domestic support for complying with the pledges made under the Paris Agreement (Tingley and Tomz, 2022). Endorsements from policy experts, especially climate scientists, can also shape support for the Paris Agreement (Maliniak, Parajon and Powers, 2021). Finally, joining the Agreement itself can be thought of as a form of elite cues, which can communicate to the public that climate change is an issue of high national priority.

Far less attention, however, has been paid to how withdrawal from international institutions affects public attitudes toward the policies those institutions govern. Existing studies on institutional withdrawal has focused on its causes (Von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2019; Copelovitch and Pevehouse, 2019; von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2021; Von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2023), as well as the impact of withdrawal on institutional changes and survival (Vabulas, 2023; von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2024*b*; Schmidt, 2024). A small number of studies directly examine public opinion toward withdrawals and withdrawal threats themselves. von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2024*a*) show that withdrawal from international organizations can increase electoral support for candidates who frame exit as advancing national interests, particularly among Republican and Independent voters. In the specific context of climate governance, Kenny (2024)

demonstrate that the U.S. public broadly disapproved of the Trump administration's withdrawal from the Paris Agreement during the first Trump presidency.

While this work establishes that withdrawal from the Paris Agreement is both salient and legible to the public, it focuses on whether citizens approve of the withdrawal decision itself, rather than on how withdrawal reshapes broader attitudes toward climate change, climate policy, or the Paris Agreement as an institution. We expect that both the threat of and the act of withdrawal will result in fundamentally different public reactions compared to joining international agreements — which communicate support for the underlying legal framework and cause. As the literature on leader cue-giving suggests, the actions that heads of state take with respect to commitments to international institutions affects public perceptions of those institutions, as well as the issue areas that they address.

Building on this logic, our first set of hypotheses focus on **climate effects**. We argue that withdrawal from the Paris Agreement should affect public attitudes toward both the Agreement and climate policy more generally. In line with Tingley and Tomz (2020), who show that voluntary commitments to the Paris Agreement can increase domestic support for costly climate policies in the U.S., we posit that withdrawal sends the opposite cue. Rather than indicating political commitment and policy priority, withdrawal may communicate that the Paris Agreement is ineffective, unnecessary, or contrary to national interests. Examples of claims by Presidents Trump and Milei illustrate both types of elite cues, highlighting the perceived disadvantageousness and ineffectiveness of the Paris Agreement as an *institution*, and that climate change itself should not be a priority issue for foreign policy:

> The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries.... Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree....Tiny, tiny amount (The White House, 2017).

> I do not agree with the [Paris Agreement's] environmentalist agenda, which I

> consider a complete fraud. The way we talk about climate change today is entirely wrong...global warming has nothing to do with human presence...climate change is linked to the planet's natural temperature cycles (Times, 2025).

Such cues may in turn undermine public support not only for the Agreement, but also for climate mitigation policies more generally. Accordingly, we hypothesize that withdrawal from the Paris Agreement will negatively affect climate attitudes and support for the Agreement among domestic publics:

H1a: *Domestic withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***negatively*** *affects climate attitudes and support for the Paris Agreement.*[3]

On the other hand, withdrawal can generate the opposite reaction. If the public is concerned about the potential failure of the Paris Agreement without U.S. participation, they might view the withdrawal as a cue that international climate cooperation is under threat, prompting concern about the erosion of collective action on climate change. In this logic, public concern about the international coordination effort faltering could prompt increased support for more proactive climate policies at the local, state, or federal levels. Citizens may rally behind domestic measures to ensure that climate action continues even without the U.S. as a member, viewing these steps as necessary to fill the void left by the lack of international cooperation.

Anecdotal evidence from the first Trump administration provides some empirical support for such an expectation. For example, while the federal government under the leadership of President Trump withdrew from the Paris Climate Agreement, over 400 mayors subsequently committed to upholding its emissions targets. This "We Are Still In" campaign includes cities and states with a combined GDP of over 9 *trillion* dollars and representing over 150 million Americans.[4] Thus, rather than seeing the withdrawal as a step backward, the public might perceive it as a prompt to accelerate national-level efforts to tackle climate change:

[3] Our anonymous pre-registered hypotheses can be found in *https://osf.io/6cjyp/overview?view_only=eaa3c0bab2b44371babf5802f0e311a3*.

[4] See also Arias and Schwartz (2025).

H1b: *Domestic withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***positively*** *affects climate attitudes and support for the Paris Agreement.*

Institutional and International Spillovers

Beyond their direct effects on attitudes toward the withdrawing institution and its policy domain, cues of institutional withdrawal may generate broader spillovers. Here, we distinguish between *institutional spillovers*, in which withdrawal from one international institution shapes public attitudes toward other institutions and international law more broadly, and *international spillovers*, in which withdrawal affects public opinion in other countries.

Institutional Spillovers

Withdrawal from an international institution in one issue area may lead the public to update beliefs about international cooperation more generally. While existing scholarship on spillovers across institutions in public opinion is relatively sparse, a growing body of work demonstrates that reputational evaluations frequently spill over across issue areas and institutional domains. For example, Bush and Zetterberg (2021) demonstrate that when governments adopt policies that enhance their reputation for gender equality, this also improves their perceived commitment to democracy. Similarly, Bassan-Nygate and Buzas (2025) show that when human rights organizations suffer reputational damage, this harm spills over to adjacent organizations within the international human rights regime. Ares, Ceka and Kriesi (2017) illustrate that support for national institutions in European countries spills over to support for the EU. Together, these studies suggest that elite cues are rarely confined to a single institution or issue area; instead, observers often generalize from one visible action to a broader set of beliefs.

Applying the same logic, withdrawal from the Paris Agreement could not only communicate that the Agreement is ineffective, but trigger broader skepticism towards international institutions and law. The public may be especially likely to make these kinds of broader inferences because withdrawal from the Paris Agreement furthers the

generally anti-globalist narratives advanced by populist domestic interests and political parties, who could use the withdrawal from one institution in an effort to catalyze broader withdrawal from the liberal international order (Hooghe, Lenz and Marks, 2019; Walter, 2021*a*).[5]

As a result, withdrawal from the Paris Agreement can reduce public support for *other* international institutions, such as human rights or economic treaties, by undermining confidence in international law as a whole. For example, if withdrawing from the Paris Agreement decreases belief that international law is effective or benefits the national interest in general, this may lead respondents to believe that other institutions — such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) — are also not worth participating in. We thus hypothesize that:

H2a: *Domestic withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***negatively*** *affects support for international institutions outside of the Paris Agreement and international law more broadly.*

At the same time, withdrawal may generate the opposite reaction among domestic publics, increasing support for international institutions beyond the Paris Agreement. Rather than interpreting withdrawal as evidence that international institutions are ineffective, citizens may view it as a cue that international cooperation itself is under threat (as in H1b). In this logic, withdrawal highlights the risks associated with the erosion of multilateral commitments, prompting concern that collective action failures may worsen in the absence of institutional constraints.

If citizens believe that disengagement from one institution weakens the broader international legal order, they may respond by reaffirming support for other international agreements as a means of compensating for (or resisting) elite retreat from multilateralism. Withdrawal from a highly salient international agreement, such as the Paris Agreement, may prompt publics to place greater value on international institutions and legal commitments more generally, viewing them as essential safeguards against populist

[5] E.g., Yan (2025) and Liy (2025).

unilateralism. Rather than eroding confidence in international law, withdrawal could thus sharpen awareness of its importance and mobilize pro-institutional attitudes across adjacent domains:

H2b: *Withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***positively*** *affects support for international institutions outside of the Paris Agreement and international law more broadly.*[6]

International Spillovers

A second set of spillovers we theorize concerns international effects of withdrawal — that is, how withdrawal from an international institution by one state (state A) shapes public attitudes in another member state (state B). While external audiences may overlook many withdrawals from member states (von Borzyskowski and Vabulas, 2025, 26), prior research shows that foreign policy can generate reputational and attitudinal effects among third-party observers (Kertzer, Renshon and Yarhi-Milo, 2021; Bassan-Nygate, Forthcoming). We contend that the sailience of withdrawals depends on the prominence of the withdrawing state and the institution at stake, and that withdrawal by a powerful and highly visible actor from a central international institution may generate salient and meaningful cues for foreign publics.

Evidence from the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union illustrates this dynamic. Brexit, for example, was not merely a domestic political event, but one that attracted widespread attention across Europe and beyond, as voters in other states updated their opinions after learning about the experience of Brexit in the UK (Walter, 2021*b*). The salience of Brexit stemmed from both the UK's central role within the EU and the EU's status as a highly consequential institution.

Applying a similar logic, we argue that US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement can generate meaningful international spillovers in public opinion. The US occupies a central position in international politics generally, and in global climate governance

[6] H2a/b includes outcomes related to additional international institutions that were specified in the pre-registration but were inadvertently omitted from the hypotheses section. These outcomes are nonetheless clearly implied by — and consistent with — the theoretical framework described in the pre-registration plan (p. 1).

specifically as a major emitter, a key funder of climate initiatives, and a leading architect of the Paris Agreement — the core institutional framework for international climate cooperation. As a highly visible actor, US withdrawal serves as a cue to foreign publics, operating through the same elite cueing logic described above. This withdrawal could provide information to publics in other countries about the economic, social, and political consequences of withdrawal (Walter, 2021*b*).

Further, exit from international commitments creates asymmetries in obligations, as the remaining states must still comply while the withdrawing state can free-ride on their efforts, raising public concern about fairness (Brutger and Rathbun, 2021; Schmidt, 2024, 2025). This dynamic is particularly stark in the climate space: individuals support climate plans when costs are shared broadly (e.g., Coleman, Harring and Jagers, 2023; Bechtel and Scheve, 2013; Gampfer, Bernauer and Kachi, 2014) — the withdrawal of a major participant would have dramatic consequences on burden-sharing among remaining participants. This perceived unfairness could empower anti-climate interests in the electorate, mobilizing further opposition for participation.

We follow a similar logic with our other expectations and assess whether the U.S. withdrawal has shaped public attitudes towards the Agreement, international law, and climate change, in other (non-US) signatories of the Paris Agreement. On the one hand, it is possible that the U.S. withdrawal sends a negative cue to the international community, undermining the perceived legitimacy of the Paris Agreement, international climate governance, and international law more broadly.

As Tingley and Tomz (2014) theorize, citizens might adopt a policy of 'emulation' in response to the actions of other states, and if one major state withdraws from the Agreement, citizens in other countries prefer to adopt a similar response in their own states. Consistent with this, (Kenny, 2024, 457) find that across 38 countries, individuals in all but Russia, Indonesia, and India were more likely to disapprove than approve of Trump's initial decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. As a global leader, U.S. disengagement might reduce trust in collective action, weaken norm adherence, and discourage public support for climate policies in other countries.

H3a: *U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***negatively*** *affects climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement, and support for international law in third-party states.*

On the other hand, the U.S. withdrawal could also strengthen international resolve by highlighting the importance of multilateral agreements independent of any single country. Other signatories might perceive U.S. disengagement as a cautionary example, reinforcing their commitment to the Paris Agreement and increasing public support for both climate action and international law. This behavior would be in line with the 'counterbalancing' response theorized by Tingley and Tomz (2014), and is consistent with von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2024*b*) who argue that withdrawal often leads remaining states to band together, thereby ensuring or even enhancing the longevity of the international institution. In this view, US withdrawal may mobilize publics in other countries to support continued cooperation despite the absence of a major actor.[7] This generates a competing expectation:

H3b: *U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement* ***positively*** *affects climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement, and support for international law in third-party states.*

Hypotheses		**Summary**
Climate Effects	H1a	Domestic withdrawal *reduces* climate attitudes and support for the Paris Agreement
	H1b	Domestic withdrawal *increases* climate attitudes and support for the Paris Agreement
Institutional Spillovers	H2a	Domestic withdrawal *reduces* support for other international institutions and intl. law
	H2b	Domestic withdrawal *increases* support for other international institutions and intl. law
International Spillovers	H3a	U.S. withdrawal *reduces* climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement and intl. law in third parties
	H3b	U.S. withdrawal *increases* climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement and intl. law in third parties

Table 1: Summary of Pre-registered Hypotheses

Subgroup Effects

We recognize that responses to withdrawal are unlikely to be uniform across the public, particularly in highly polarized political contexts such as the United States. Climate change and international cooperation have become strongly associated with partisan identity (Egan and Mullin, 2017), and prior research shows that individuals often interpret elite cues through a partisan lens. Indeed, the influence of elite cues is often conditioned

[7] On the other hand, Beiser-McGrath and Bernauer (2019) find that information on other countries' failure to meet Paris commitments did not affect public support for the Agreement.

by partisan polarization (Druckman, Peterson and Slothuus, 2013; Guisinger and Saunders, 2017), as individuals tend to accept cues from in-group elites and disregard or react negatively to out-group elites (Kahan, 2013; Bolsen, Druckman and Cook, 2014). Co-partisans may be more likely to accept a withdrawal decision as consistent with their broader policy preferences, whereas out-partisans may react by expressing greater opposition to the decision and stronger support for the Agreement and climate policy.

As in the case of climate attitudes, institutional spillover effects may also vary by partisan identity in polarized contexts. Individuals may interpret withdrawal as either evidence of institutional failure or as a threat to the international legal order, depending on their prior political commitments and elite attachments. Drawing on the well-established literature on partisan cue-taking, we would generally expect H1a, H2a, and H3a to be more likely to hold among co-partisans of the withdrawing leader, while H1b, H2b, and H3b would be more likely among out-partisans. We therefore examine heterogeneous effects by party identification in our empirical analysis. However, because we did not pre-register formal directional hypotheses regarding these subgroup differences, these analyses should be interpreted as exploratory.

Empirically Evaluating the Effects of Withdrawal from the Paris Agreement

To empirically test the theory outlined in the previous section, we conducted three studies in two countries where withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was a likely outcome: the U.S. and Argentina. In Study I, which we refer to as *"U.S. Survey Experiment"*, we leveraged the uncertainty surrounding the U.S.'s potential withdrawal from the Paris Agreement prior to President Trump's second inauguration to randomly shape respondents' beliefs about withdrawal. In Study II, titled *"Pre-Post US Withdrawal Survey"*, we recontacted 15% of these individuals following Trump's announced withdrawal to measure real-world shifts in attitudes in interrupted time series. Finally, in Study III, titled *"Argentina Survey Experiment"*, we replicate a similar design in Argentina. Doing so

allows us to assess the generalizability of our findings and examine international and institutional spillovers, outlined in H2 and H3. In the following sections, we describe the research design and findings of each study.

As we discuss below, we select these cases primarily because they provide high external validity. Both the U.S. and Argentina were real-world cases in which withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was plausible, but uncertain — as our manipulation checks attest to. Furthermore, these cases allow us to test the effects of withdrawals on public opinion in a context in which the public is more skeptical (the U.S.) and more supportive (Argentina) of the institution and its underlying policy area, allowing us to illustrate the generalizability of these effects in different political environments in the Global North and Global South.

Study I – U.S. Survey Experiment

To test the effects of withdrawal from international agreements on public attitudes, we conducted a survey experiment targeting the adult population in the United States in early January 2025. All three of our studies were conducted with Cint, a sample provider we selected for its ability to provide samples that closely match key demographic characteristics of the general population and its capability to recontact individuals for follow-up studies.

We intentionally fielded the survey before U.S. President Trump's inauguration to shape respondents' real attitudes toward U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement under conditions of uncertainty: prior to Trump's inauguration, it was unclear whether and when he would announce a U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. Even President Trump's allies were uncertain as to whether he would withdraw upon his inauguration, and those who strongly anticipated withdrawal were uncertain about the timing of the decision (Fortune, 2024). Fielding before the inauguration allowed us to uniquely leverage a real-world event to influence participants' beliefs about the potential withdrawal and created conditions under which all of our experimental conditions (described below)

had high external validity.[8] Overall, we collected approximately 4,000 attentive respondents in Study I. Following informed consent and filtering attention checks, we collected pre-treatment demographics, including foreign policy dispositions and climate change attitudes. Respondents were then presented with an experimental vignette.[9]

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. Figure 1 provides the full text of the vignettes. All vignettes provided background information on the Paris Agreement and emphasized that it does not impose legal or economic penalties for noncompliance. This framing ensured that participants had a clear understanding of the institutional context and the implications of withdrawal or continued participation, and it also minimized the risk of information leakage whereby respondents in the withdraw condition might infer that the president's decision reflects new negative information about the organization itself. The wording closely follows the language used by Tingley and Tomz (2020).

In the **Withdraw** condition ($Pr = 0.4$), participants were presented with a vignette indicating that political experts predict President Trump is likely to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement. In the **Remain** condition ($Pr = 0.4$), participants read a vignette suggesting that experts expect the United States to remain in the Paris Agreement. Finally, in the **Uncertain** condition ($Pr = 0.2$), participants were presented with a vignette highlighting expert uncertainty about the President's likely actions regarding the Agreement. Our primary analysis compares respondents in the withdraw and remain conditions, as these reflect the two concrete policy options available to President Trump. The uncertain condition serves as a baseline, allowing us to determine whether any observed effects are primarily driven by the withdrawal prime, the remain prime, or both. Because our core comparison of interest is between remain and leave, we oversampled in these conditions to ensure that our analyses would be adequately powered.

[8] See Bassan-Nygate and Weiss (2022) and Tankard and Paluck (2017) for a similar experimental designs in other contexts, and Maliniak, Parajon and Powers (2021, 867) for a design leveraging uncertainty over initial US participation in the Paris Agreement.

[9] See Appendix Section SI-2.3 for the full survey instrument.

Since President-elect Donald Trump has been re-elected to office, many political experts have made projections about his environmental policies. The United States is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions.

Many experts predict that President-elect Trump will withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement./ Many experts predict that President-elect Trump will choose to remain in the Paris Agreement./ However, experts are unclear about what specific actions President-elect Trump will take regarding the Paris Agreement.

Figure 1: **Study I Vignette Text:** The shared text is shown in black, while the condition-specific predictions are highlighted in color: red for Withdraw (Pr=0.4), green for Remain (Pr=0.4), and orange for Uncertain (Pr=0.2).

Following the vignette, respondents answered our main outcome questions, which were presented in a randomized order to mitigate against priming or fatigue effects. In order to ensure we were able to credibly shape respondents' perceptions about the likelihood of withdrawal, we asked them to assess how likely Trump is to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on a scale of 1 to 5. To measure climate attitudes, we used a set of questions previously validated by Arias and Blair (2022, 2024) and combined them into a single index.[10] To assess support for the Paris Agreement, respondents indicated how important it is to them personally that the U.S. remains in the Agreement, using a scale from 1 (not important at all) to 5 (very important). Obligation for international law was measured using items from a scale developed by Bayram (2017), which were indexed into a variable where 1 indicates no obligation and 5 indicates strong obligation to international law.

[10]The climate attitudes index mirrors language from major polling outlets including Pew and Gallup to assess climate attitudes. It measures agreement on a 5 point scale with the following statements: "Climate change is not a serious problem; Climate change will have a serious impact during my lifetime; I would vote for a politician who promised to take action to reduce climate change; I would personally support a tax increase to fund national programs to reduce climate change; The U.S. should not do more to reduce climate change; The international community should do more to reduce climate change."

Study I Results

We begin by reporting the effects of potential withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, compared to remaining in the Agreement, on our main outcomes of interest. First, it is worth noting that we successfully manipulated respondents' perceptions about the likelihood of withdrawal, as shown by the point estimates in Figure 2, column 6. Specifically, assignment to the withdrawal condition increases perceived likelihood of withdrawal by 0.61 points in the pooled sample ($\beta = 0.61$, $p < .001$), with similarly large effects among both Republicans ($\beta = 0.68$, $p < .001$) and Democrats ($\beta = 0.67$, $p < .001$). In doing so, we are able to approximate a real world effect, rather than the hypothetical nature that often characterizes survey experiments (Brutger et al., 2023).

In assessing attitudes towards the Paris Agreement, we largely find stronger support for H1a over H1b, but this effect is largely driven by party identification. Figure 2 shows that anticipated U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, compared to remaining in it, reduced overall support for the Agreement among the general sample ($\beta = -0.11$, $p = .011$). However, this effect is statistically significantly different between Republican and Democratic respondents. As evident from Figure 3, the negative effect of withdrawal on attitudes is primarily driven by Republican respondents, whose average support drops from 3.27 when President Trump is described as projected to remain in the Agreement to 2.97 when withdrawal is suggested, with uncertainty serving as a midpoint with an average of 3.11. This corresponds to a substantively large and significant treatment effect among Republicans ($\beta = -0.30$, $p < .001$).

In contrast, Democrats maintain consistently high support across all scenarios: 4.06 when Trump is described as remaining in the Agreement, 4.16 when the outcome is uncertain, and 4.16 when withdrawal is suggested. The estimated effect of withdrawal on Democratic support for the Paris Agreement is positive and statistically significant ($\beta = 0.10$, $p = .05$). This pattern is consistent with a backlash or 'boomerang' effect (e.g., Guess and Coppock, 2020): the cue that Trump intends to *remain* in the Agreement is associated with a slight reduction in support among Democrats, highlighting the politicized nature of climate change in the US.

Next, we evaluate not only attitudes towards climate governance (i.e. the Paris Agreement), but also specific climate attitudes. Here, we do not find statistically significant effects on climate attitudes for either Republicans or Democrats. For example, the estimated effects on the climate attitudes index are small and statistically indistinguishable from zero in the pooled sample ($\beta = -0.03$, $p = .319$), as well as within partisan subgroups. This result may suggest that participation in international climate agreements is not a major driver of individuals' overall concern about climate change, particularly in polarized societies where individuals may have crystallized attitudes towards climate change (Egan and Mullin, 2017; Zaller and Feldman, 1992).

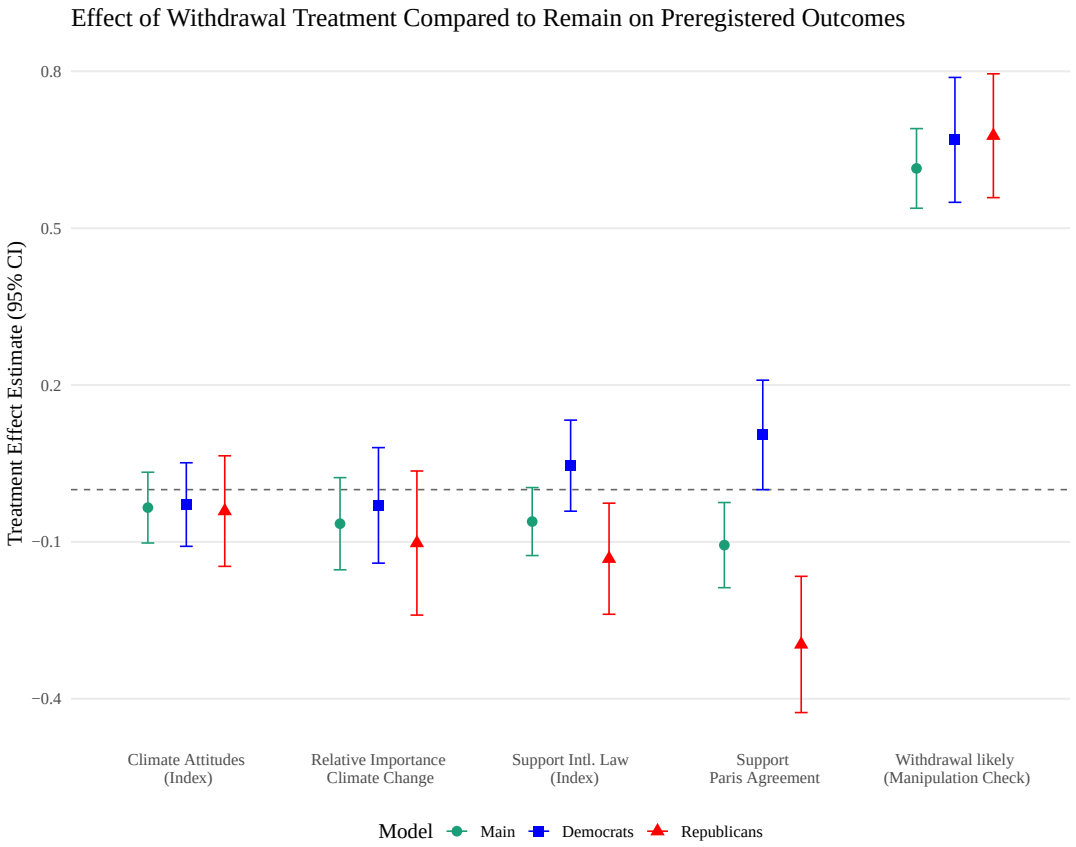

Figure 2: **Effect of Withdrawal Compared to Remain:** Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are plotted for different outcome variables and broken down by the full sample, Democrats, and Republicans.

Evaluating institutional spillovers, we find that information about withdrawing from the Paris Agreement modestly decreases overall support for international law, consistent with H3a ($\beta = -0.06$, $p = .066$). This pattern is largely driven by Republican respondents, where withdrawal cues significantly reduce support for international

law ($\beta = -0.13$, $p = .015$), while no comparable effect is observed among Democrats ($\beta = 0.05$, $p = .302$).[11]

Taken together, our findings from Study I highlight the extent to which cues about U.S. commitments to international agreements are filtered through partisan identities. While Democrats maintain consistently high support for the Paris Agreement across scenarios and respond in *opposition* to cues received by President Trump — slightly reducing support when he communicates an intent to remain — Republicans' attitudes shift *in line* with his cues, and to a much greater extent, consistent with expectations of motivated reasoning and backlash in a highly polarized environment (Kahan, 2013; Bolsen, Druckman and Cook, 2014).

Results from Study I thus provide partial support for H1a, insofar as withdrawal cues decrease Republican support for the Paris Agreement, though we do not find an effect on climate attitudes. Furthermore, we find no evidence consistent with H1b. The withdrawal cue did not *increase* climate concern or support for the Paris Agreement. The slight increase in public support that we observe among Democrats in Figure 2, appears to be driven by lower support for the agreement in the '*remain*' condition, rather than an increase in the '*withdraw*' condition, as reflected in Figure 3.

Overall, the results underscore the politicization of climate policy and international law in the United States and demonstrate how elite cues can shape public evaluations of global politics, which has downstream effects for the legitimacy and efficacy of such international institutions.

Study II – Pre-Post U.S. Withdrawal Survey

Almost immediately after his inauguration, President Trump announced that the United States would withdraw from the Paris Agreement (McGrath, 2025). Leveraging this real-world event, we conducted a follow-up study one week after the announcement. This

[11] In the appendix we further explore how withdrawal affects support for the President. This analysis was not explicitly pre-registered. We find that among Democrats in the withdrawal condition report substantially lower support for Trump ($\beta = -0.22$, $p = .001$) when compared to those in the remain condition.

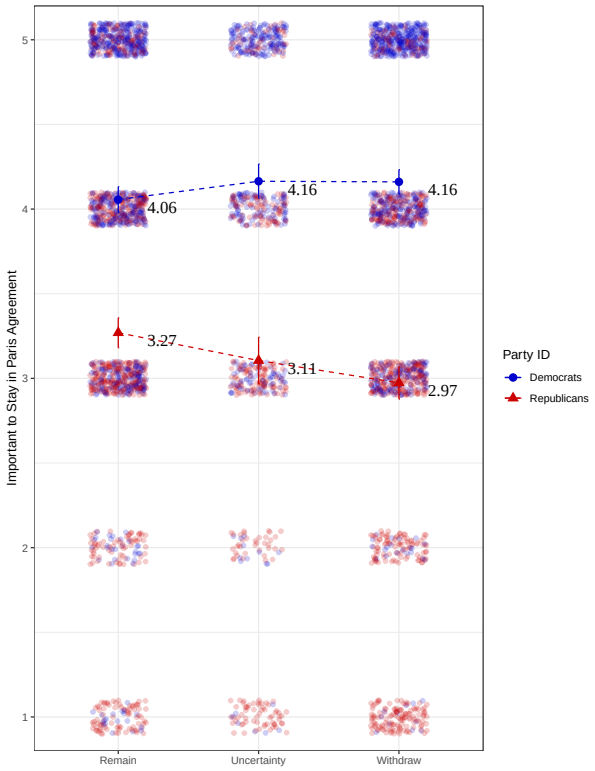

Figure 3: **Support for Paris Agreement by Party ID:** Means and 95% confidence intervals are plotted for each condition, broken down by Party identification.

timing allowed us to provide additional evidence for H1 by using an interrupted time-series to assess whether the withdrawal influenced public opinion on the Paris Agreement and climate change.

After obtaining consent, all recontacted respondents read a short text informing them that President Trump had withdrawn the U.S. from the Paris Agreement. We then measured the same main outcome variables captured in Study I: climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement, and support for international law. We successfully recontacted 619 respondents, representing approximately a recontact rate of 15%. Though this recontact rate is somewhat low, as shown in our balance table A-8, there were no substantial differences in demographic characteristics between the original sample and the recontacted respondents on key demographic features such as partisanship. However, the relatively small sample size has implications for statistical power, so these findings should be interpreted with caution.

Study II Results

We assess the differences between pre- and post-means in the recontacted sample (See Figure 4). Both comparison groups aggregate across all treatment conditions in Study I. In the pooled sample (green/circle estimates), mean climate attitudes, support for international law, and support for President Trump show no meaningful shift from pre- to post-withdrawal. In contrast, support for the Paris Agreement declines modestly between waves, falling from a mean of 3.64 in the pre-withdrawal wave to 3.42 post-withdrawal. As in Study I, this decline is largely driven by Republican respondents (red/triangle estimates), who are more likely to take up the President's cue. The within-respondent shifts are consistent with those of the aggregate sample: Within-respondent (Figure A-10), we also observe a declining support for the Paris Agreement, as well as the same null effects on climate attitudes and support for international law.

This downward shift in reported support for the Agreement following the withdrawal announcement largely aligns with our findings in Study I that elite cues can shape public attitudes towards the Paris Agreement, and that partisan politics condition the effects of these cues. However, in contrast to Study I, we do not find spillovers to international law more broadly. This may relate to the smaller sample size of the recontacted panel, which limits statistical power, as well as the substantially weaker effects on international law observed in Study I. At the same time, we cannot rule out the possibility that this pattern simply reflects the absence of any meaningful effect of the withdrawal announcement on attitudes toward international law more generally.

In the appendix, we further report dif-in-dif analyses (see section SI-3.2), considering whether respondents in the different conditions in study I responded differently to real world withdrawal. We do not find strong evidence of differential change across treatment conditions, with the exception of support for the Paris agreement. While support for the agreement decreases across all conditions following withdrawal, the difference is largest among respondents in the remain condition. One ex-post explanation is that prior exposure to the withdrawal cue in Wave 1 attenuated respondents' reaction to the actual withdrawal event.

Finally, as an additional descriptive check, we also examine publicly available survey data collected immediately before and after the January 2025 inauguration in the Appendix. Comparing estimates from the Yale/George Mason Climate Change in the American Mind survey fielded in December 2024 with a YouGov survey conducted in late January 2025, we observe a similar decline in reported support for U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement. Although the surveys use slightly different question wording and therefore cannot provide a causal test, the pattern—particularly the large drop in Republican support—closely mirrors the dynamics observed in our experimental and panel analyses. These comparisons provide suggestive external evidence that attitudes toward the Paris Agreement shifted downward following the withdrawal announcement (see Appendix SI-3.3).

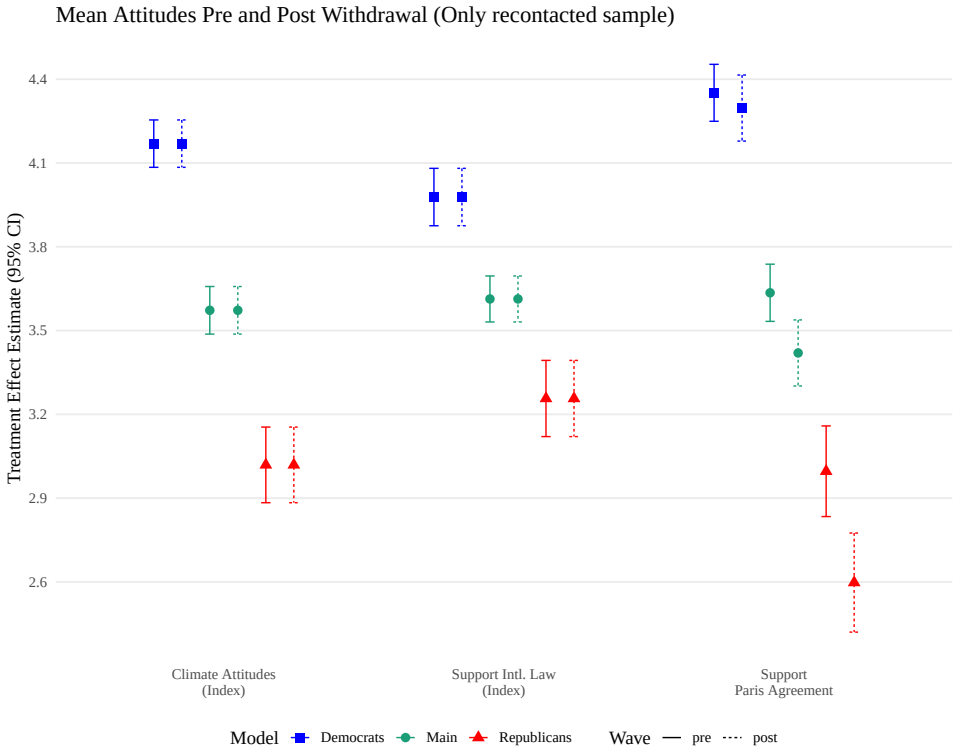

Figure 4: **Pre-post means in recontacted sample:** Point estimates show outcome means and 95% confidence intervals at the pre- and post-withdrawal waves among respondents recontacted in both waves, broken down by the full sample, Democrats, and Republicans. Outcomes are shown on the x-axis.

Taken together, the results from Study II largely replicate the patterns observed in Study I. Consistent with H1a, support for the Paris Agreement declines from pre- to post-withdrawal among the recontacted sample, particularly among Republicans. We do not,

however find meaningful changes in climate attitudes or support for international law. Importantly, our conclusions from Study II are based on a modest recontacted sample (n = 619, 15% of the original sample), which limits statistical power and suggests that effect sizes may be estimated with substantial uncertainty. Bearing this in mine, these findings reinforce the conclusion that withdrawal from the Paris Agreement had targeted effects on attitudes toward the Agreement itself, but did not substantially shift broader climate or political attitudes in the United States.

Study III – Argentina Survey Experiment

To assess whether findings from studies I and II – regarding the effects of withdrawal on support for the Paris Agreement, climate attitudes, and international law (hypotheses 1 and 2)– generalize outside the U.S., and to test our international spillover hypotheses (H3a and H3b), we conducted a third study in Argentina. Much like the U.S., Argentina is a signatory of the Paris Agreement, and President Javier Milei has publicly expressed interest in withdrawing the country from the Agreement (e.g., Mooney and Nugent, 2025). As a result, represents a political context in which observers widely consider withdrawal to be a possible outcome. This setting allows us to test domestic responses to a possible withdrawal by the national leader in another context. In addition, because the study was conducted several months after the U.S. officially withdrew from the Agreement, it allows us to assess spillover effects, as we can observe third-party responses to a major U.S. withdrawal event.

We recruited participants through Cint to minimize differences in sampling procedures between Studies I and III. The survey was programmed by two human language experts in Spanish and included over 3,300 attentive respondents from the adult population in Argentina. The procedure largely mirrored Study I: after providing consent and completing attention checks, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. In the Argentina-specific withdrawal condition (Pr = 0.33), participants read a vignette indicating that President Javier Milei was considering withdrawing Argentina from the Paris Agreement. In the U.S. withdrawal condition (Pr =

0.33), participants read a vignette describing President Trump's withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement. Finally, a control condition (Pr = 0.33) provided no additional information about withdrawal. Figure 5 presents the full vignette text for each condition.

Following the vignette, respondents answered the same main outcome measures used in Studies I and II, including climate attitudes, support for the Paris Agreement, and support for international law. To better assess potential institutional spillover effects (H2a and H2b), we included more specific measures of support for other international agreements, including human rights, economic, and trade agreements. Our design allows us to examine both domestic reactions to a potential Argentine withdrawal and third-party reactions to the U.S. withdrawal, testing the international spillover hypotheses (H3a and H3b) in a comparable survey-experimental framework.

> Argentina is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions.
>
> President Javier Milei has publicly stated that he is considering withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, and many political experts predict that Argentina will leave the Agreement in the near future./ In January 2025, United States President Donald Trump ordered the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement./ No additional information.

Figure 5: **Study III Vignette Text:** The shared text is shown in black, while the condition-specific predictions are highlighted in color: Violet for Argentinal withdrawal (Pr=0.33), red for US withdrew (Pr=0.33), and gray for Control (Pr=0.33).

Study III Results

We begin by examining the effects of a potential Argentine withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. As shown in Figure 6, respondents in the Argentina withdrawal condition were substantially more likely to report that a withdrawal was likely, confirming successful manipulation ($\beta = 0.40$, $p < 0.001$). Notably, this manipulation was stronger among Milei supporters ($\beta = 0.54$, $p < 0.001$) than non-supporters ($\beta = 0.26$, $p < 0.001$), which could explain some of the diverging effects observed across these groups. This differential

salience is in contrast to the U.S. sample, where manipulation strength was relatively uniform across partisan groups.

Consistent with H1a and with our results in the U.S. sample, support for the Paris Agreement declines in response to the prospect of a domestic withdrawal, with an estimated decrease of -0.21 points relative to the control condition ($p < 0.001$). Also aligning with the polarized pattern observed in the U.S., this negative effect is particularly pronounced among Milei supporters, whose support falls by -0.39 points ($p < 0.001$), compared to a smaller and statistically non-significant decline among non-supporters (-0.07, $p = 0.21$; see Figure 7). Effects on climate attitudes are negative but not statistically significant in the full sample, though the direction is consistent with H1a, again largely replicating the findings in Study I. Similarly, spillover effects on support for international law and other international agreements trend negative, consistent with H2a, but fall short of conventional significance thresholds.

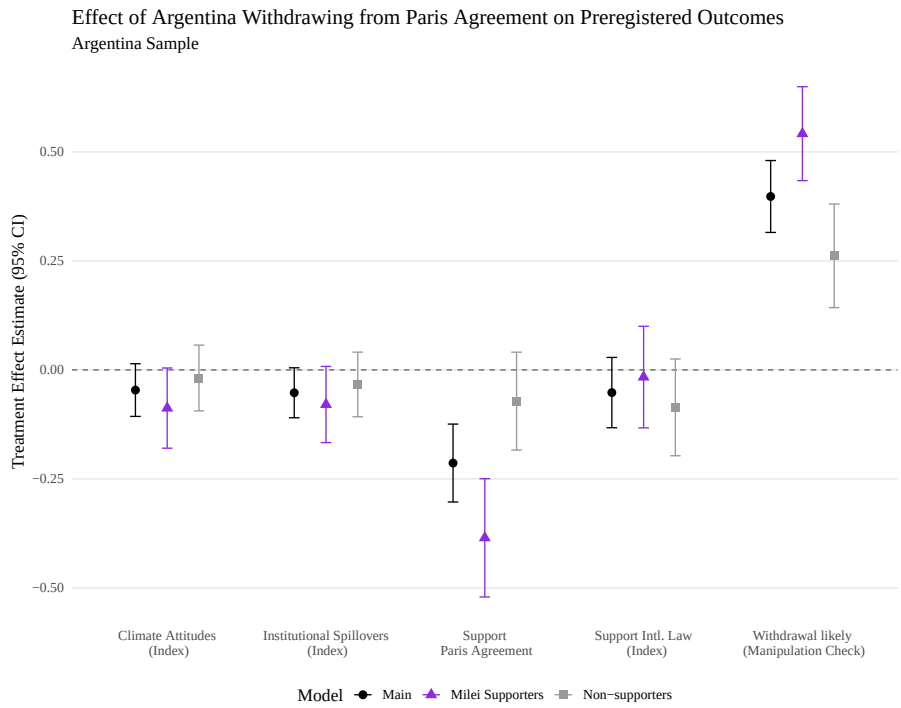

Figure 6: **Effect of Argentina Withdrawal Compared to Control:** Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are plotted for different outcome variables and broken down by the full sample, Milei Supporters, and Non-supporters.

Turning to third-party reactions, that is, the presence of international spillovers hypothesized in H3, Figure 8 presents the effects of U.S. withdrawal on Argentine re-

spondents. Across the full sample, support for the Paris Agreement declines modestly though not statistically significantly ($\beta = -0.06, p = 0.19$), with statistically significant reductions in climate attitudes ($\beta = -0.076$, $p = 0.013$). There are no significant changes in support for the Paris Agreement, international law or institutional spillover effects. Patterns are largely similar across Milei supporters and non-supporters. This finding is largely consistent with von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2025)'s expectation that third-party withdrawals have little effects on international public attitudes towards international agreements, though may send cues about the importance of the issues covered by those agreements.

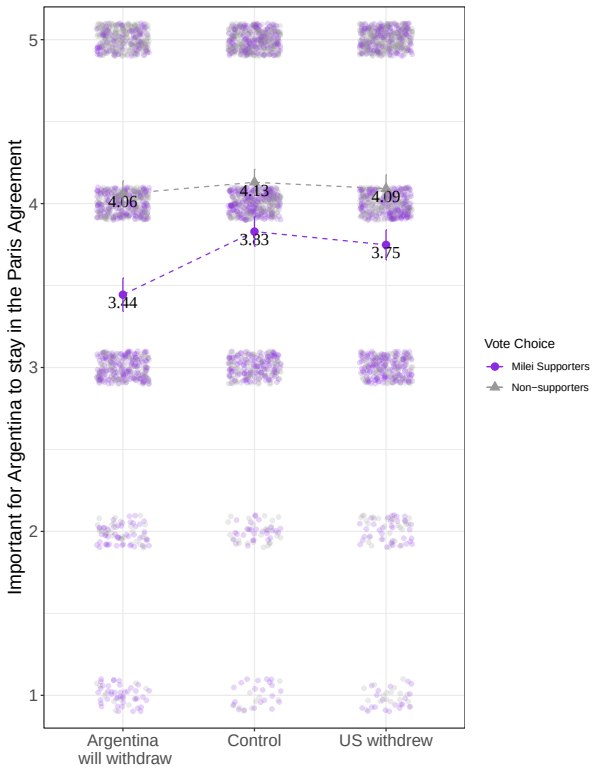

Figure 7: **Support for Paris Agreement by Vote Choice:** Means and 95% confidence intervals are plotted for each condition, broken down by Milei supporters and non-supporters.

Taken together, these results suggest that a potential Argentine withdrawal produces a negative effect on support for the Paris Agreement, consistent with H1a. The effects are stronger among politically aligned respondents (i.e., Milei supporters), reflecting similar partisan dynamics as observed in the U.S. We have reasonably strong evidence, then, that H1a is generalizable across countries, and weaker but suggestive evidence for H2a, that is that withdrawal can decrease support for international law and cooperation

more broadly. Third-party reactions to U.S. withdrawal are largely null, with very limited support for H3a, showing modest declines in climate attitudes.

Importantly, climate attitudes in Argentina appear more malleable than in the U.S.: both domestic and U.S. withdrawal cues lead to declines, even if some are modest. One ex-post explanation is that in contexts where climate attitudes are less stable or polarized, as they are in the U.S., withdrawal from international agreements may have broader consequences for public opinion, increasing the potential political and social costs of breaking international commitments. This suggests that our evidence from Studies I and II may constitute conservative estimates.

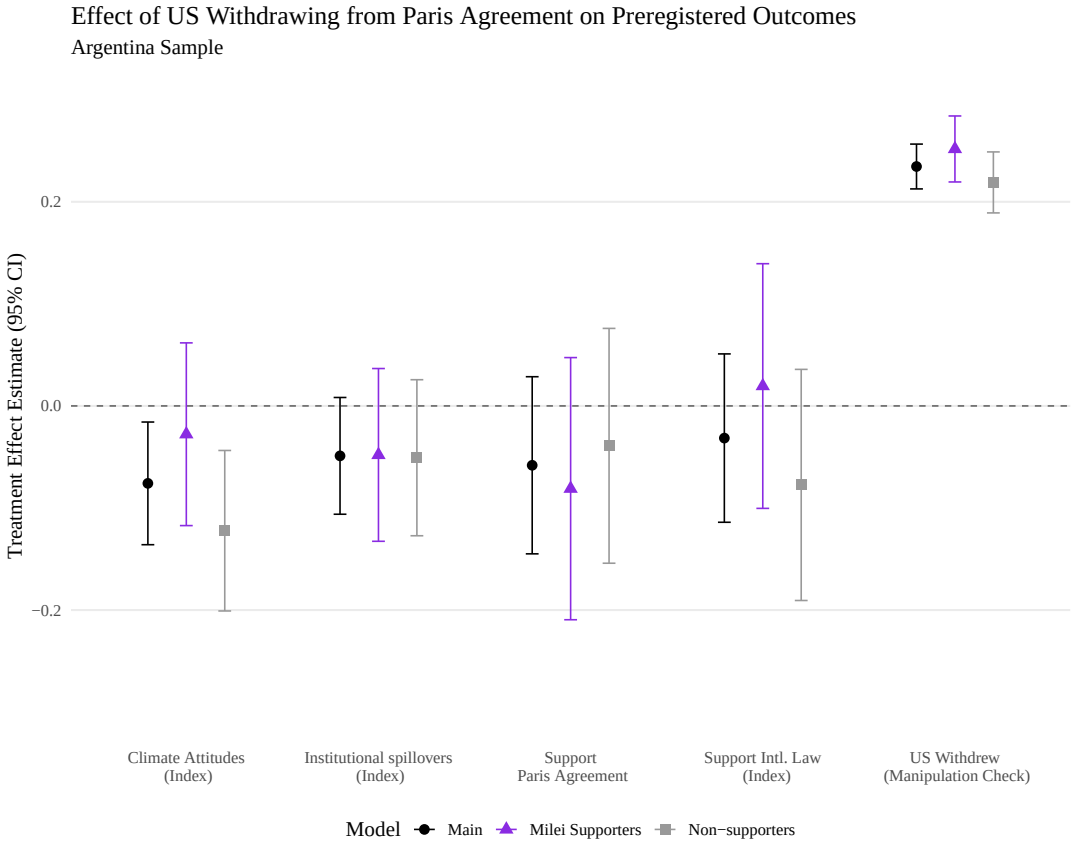

Figure 8: **Effect of U.S. Withdrawal Compared to Control:** Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are plotted for different outcome variables and broken down by the full sample, Milei Supporters, and Non-supporters.

Conclusion

In this study, we examine how withdrawal from the Paris Agreement shapes public attitudes both domestically and internationally. Across three studies in the U.S. and Ar-

gentina, we find that withdrawal cues reduce support for the Paris Agreement among partisan-aligned respondents and also produce modest negative effects on support for international law. These heterogeneous effects are strong enough to produce meaningful declines at the population level. Climate attitudes in the U.S. remain largely stable, whereas in Argentina, both domestic and U.S. withdrawal cues generate measurable declines in climate attitudes. Spillover effects to other international institutions and foreign publics are detectable but limited in scope, highlighting that international elite cues matter, but to a much lesser degree than cues from domestic elites. Even when international cues come from a highly salient and powerful state, such as the U.S., spillover effects are subtle.

Withdrawals from major international agreements are important outcomes for political scientists to better understand, as these actions can reshape public attitudes in ways that outlast the immediate policy decision. As we show, institutional withdrawal is filtered through a partisan lens, and therefore decisions made today may constrain leaders tomorrow. By withdrawing from Paris and communicating to Republican voters that the Agreement was not suitable for the U.S., Trump made it politically more difficult for future Republican presidents to rejoin Paris or support participation in new international agreements. Over time, these dynamics may reduce future leaders' willingness or ability to enter into international commitments (Schmidt, 2024, 2025).

Overall, our findings present both bad and good news for climate governance. The bad news is that domestic elites can strongly shape public perceptions of an international institution through withdrawal cues, reducing support for the Paris Agreement and, to some extent, related international law — particularly among politically aligned citizens. As populists continue to push back against global governance institutions, these dynamics are likely to continue to play out in many different national contexts.

The good news is that these effects are largely contained domestically: even a major actor such as the U.S. leaving the Agreement does not dramatically undermine the global image of the institution or broader support for climate cooperation. This is consistent with von Borzyskowski and Vabulas (2024*b*), who show that the exit of a single

member rarely threatens the survival of an international organization. In other words, while withdrawal can create pronounced domestic political costs and erode local support for climate policy, the international system remains relatively resilient to the departure of even central states. Withdrawals by major states will likely not spell the death of the Paris Agreement or start a cascade of withdrawals from other international institutions, which would undermine the larger system of international cooperation. Given the increasing threats to global governance institutions (Gray, 2018; Walter, 2021*a*), this result is somewhat positive in its implications for institutional legitimacy and vitality.

Finally, our work points to several avenues for future research. Long-term consequences of withdrawal remain unclear, including how repeated disengagement affects both domestic and international legitimacy of institutions. We expect these effects to be generalizable to many other types of international agreements that address collective action problems — collective security agreements, for example — but the unique contexts of different issue areas may condition these dynamics.

Further, the international spillover effects of withdrawal may also be conditioned by the identity of the withdrawing actor and whether withdrawal aligns with prior beliefs about that actor's preferences (e.g., Tomz, 2007). Withdrawal by Trump, for example, is likely less surprising than withdrawal from a Democrat. Withdrawal by a state viewed as highly aligned with the Paris Agreement — Germany for example — may generate stronger international spillover effects. Simultaneous withdrawals by greater numbers of states as well, inspiring chain reactions (e.g., Busby and Urpelainen, 2020). Additionally, investigating the role of subnational actors, media framing, and counter-cues from opposing elites could clarify when withdrawal generates backlash versus limited spillovers, as such factors play important roles in conditioning the effects of elite cues in polarized environments (e.g., Chong and Druckman, 2007). Together, these findings underscore the complex interplay of elite cues, public opinion, and institutional resilience in global climate governance.

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Leaving Paris: Public Reactions to Withdrawals from International Institutions

May 11, 2026

Contents

SI-1 Salience of IOs and the Paris Agreement

SI-1.1 Salience of U.S. Withdrawal from the Paris Agreement

We contend that there was sufficient public awareness of the U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement to plausibly generate effects on public opinion. As an indicator of public attention, we examine Google search behavior surrounding the presidential inauguration. Search interest in the query "trump paris" increased sharply on inauguration day (January 20, 2025) and peaked the following day. This pattern suggests that the Paris Agreement became a salient topic in public search behavior immediately following the new administration's policy announcements. Figure A-1 compares search interest in "trump paris" to a baseline query, "trump immigration," over the same period. Notably, search interest in "trump paris" briefly exceeds searches for this more consistently salient domestic issue in the days immediately following the inauguration.

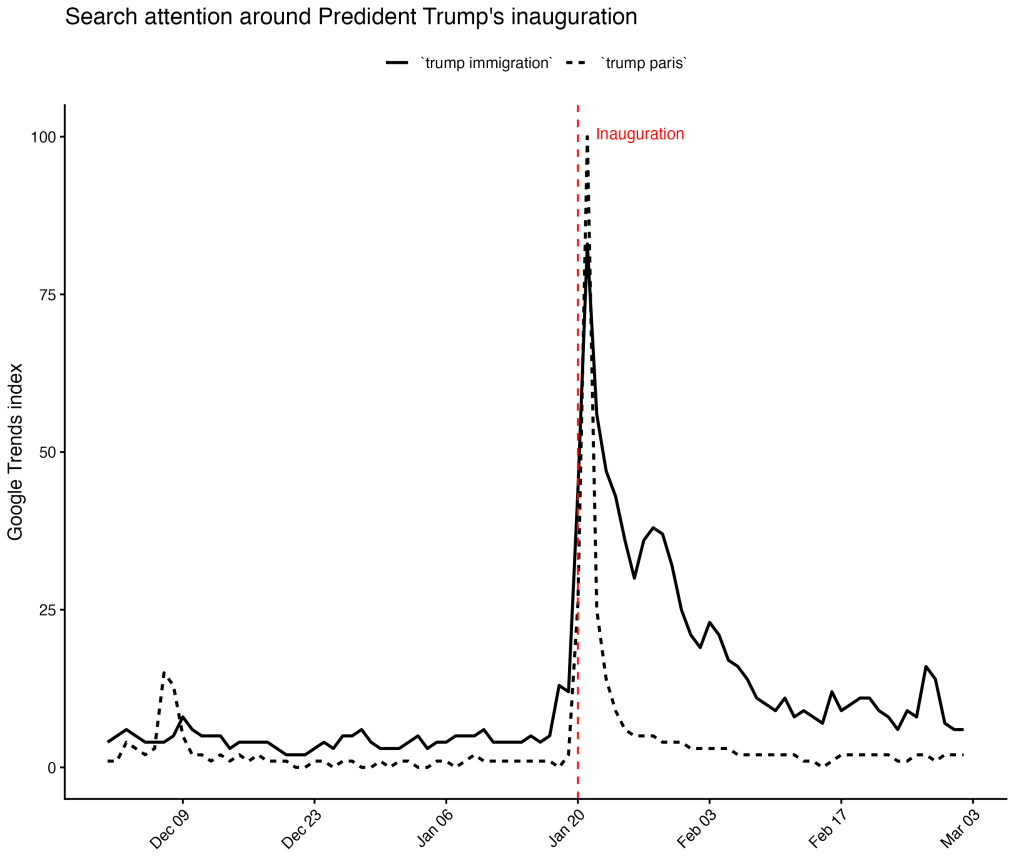


Figure A-1: Google search interest for "trump paris" and "trump immigration," December 2024–March 2025. Values are the Google Trends search index (0–100). Search interest in "trump paris" increases sharply on inauguration day (January 20, 2025) and peaks the following day, briefly exceeding searches for "trump immigration."

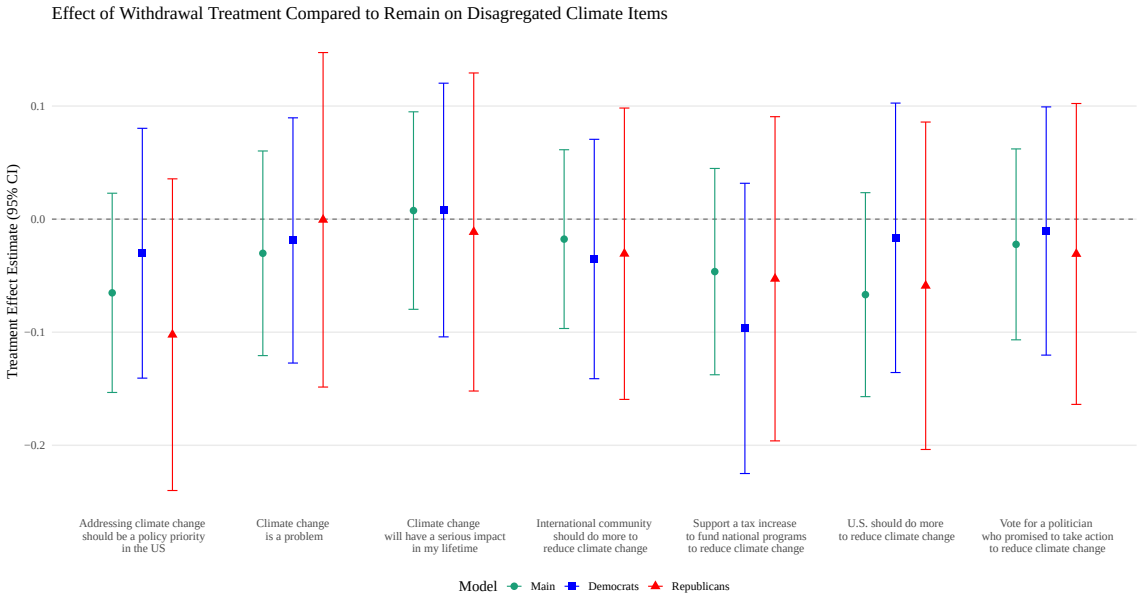
SI-1.2 Salience of International Organizations in Argentina and the US

We further assume that publics in the U.S. and Argentina are likely to receive information about IO leadership. To do so, we follow Arias and Hulvey (2025) and deploy data collected by Parizek (2024), who constructs a dataset of all articles discussing IOs from the Global Flows of Political Information database, which is representative of worldwide online

news content. Covering all countries 2018-2021, Parizek finds 2,383 articles about UN organizations in Argentina and 4,519 in the US. This ranks Argentina 26th out of all countries in terms of its attention to UN issues, and the US 7th out of all. This puts Argentina in the 80th percentile in terms of UN attention, and the US in the 95th percentile.[12]

SI-2 Study I

SI-2.1 Main Effects



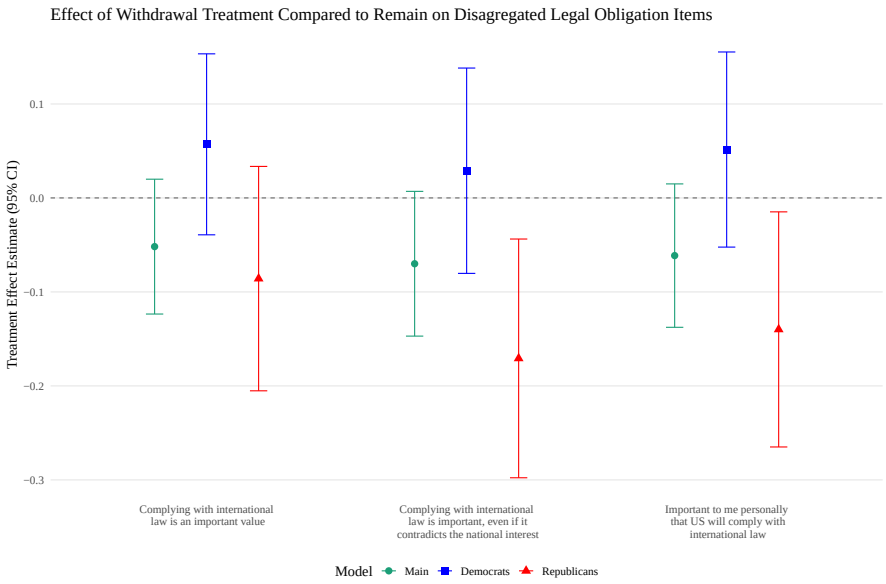


Table A-1: Main Effects

[12] The results are nearly identical expanding the analysis to include news on all IOs.

Figure A-2: Climate attitudes, by treatment condition

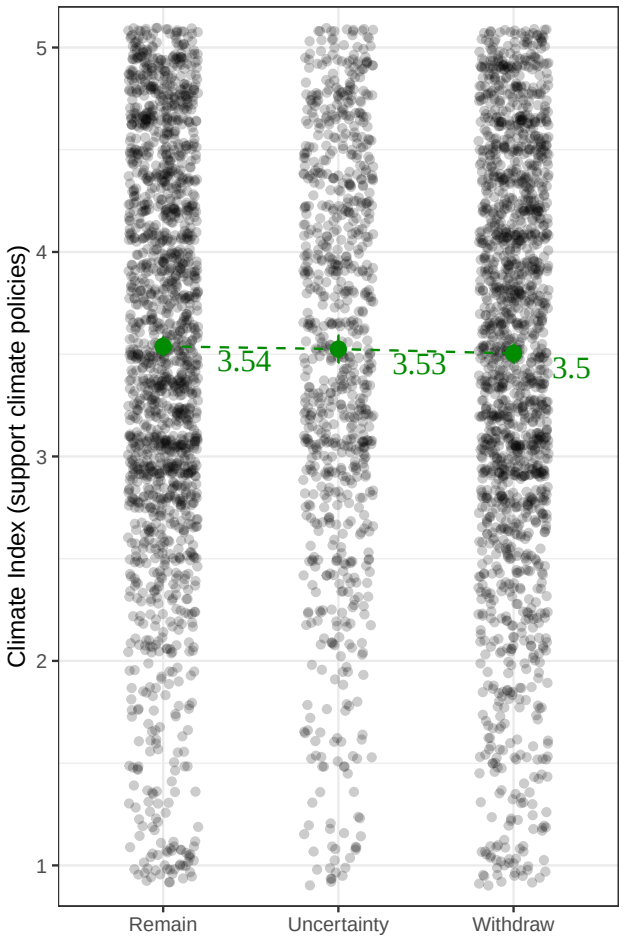


Figure A-3: International Law Attitudes, by treatment condition

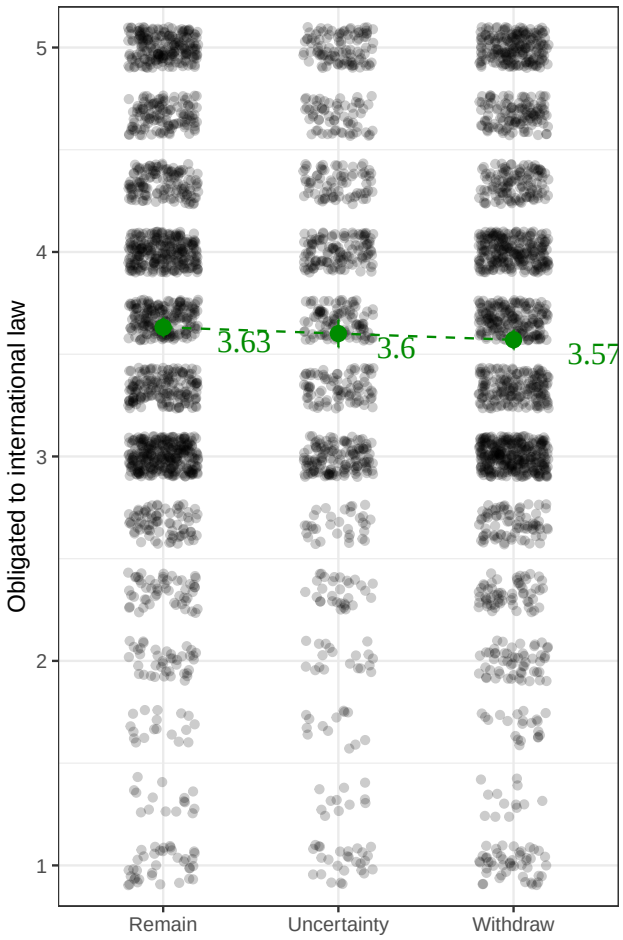


Figure A-4: Support Paris Agreement, by treatment condition

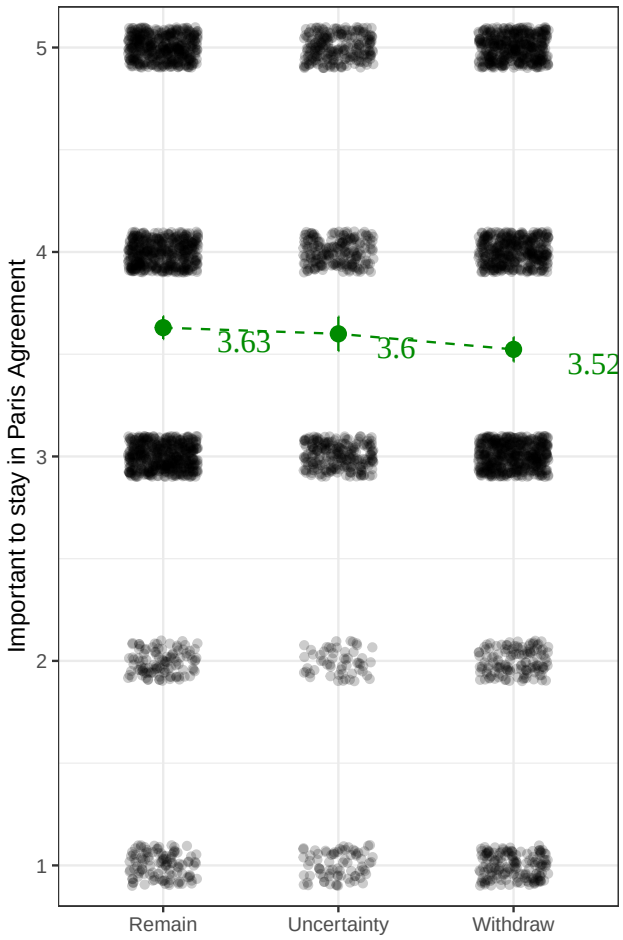
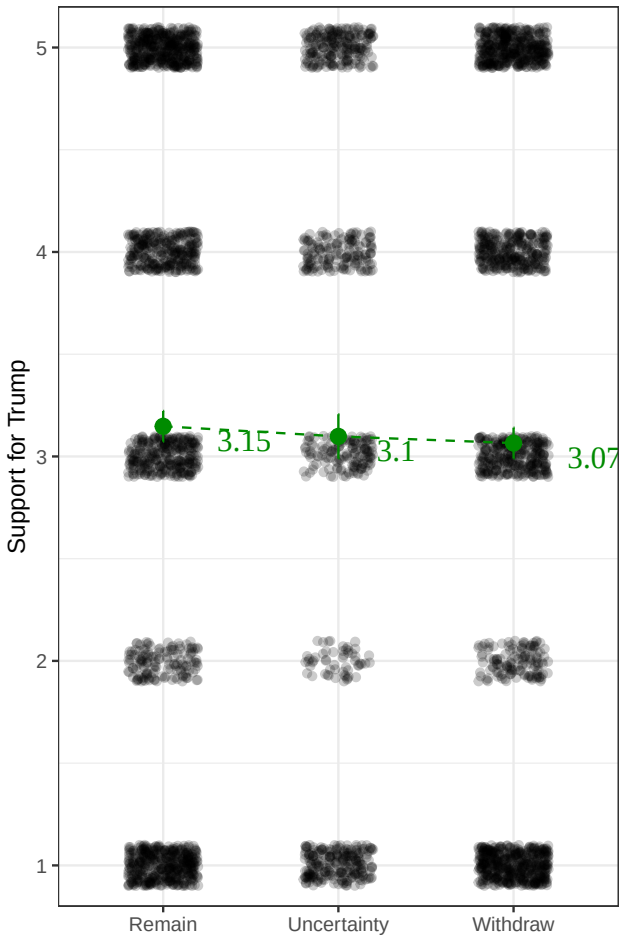


Figure A-5: Support Trump, by treatment condition



	Dependent variable:				
	Manip Check	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Withdraw (v. remain)	0.614*** (0.039)	−0.034 (0.035)	−0.061* (0.033)	−0.106** (0.042)	−0.082 (0.054)
Observations	3,330	3,301	3,321	3,321	3,330
R^2	0.070	0.0003	0.001	0.002	0.001
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-2: Main Effects with Controls

	Dependent variable:				
	Manip Check	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Withdraw (v. remain)	0.644*** (0.039)	−0.014 (0.021)	−0.039 (0.030)	−0.095*** (0.034)	−0.072** (0.035)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,971	2,946	2,961	2,961	2,971
R^2	0.200	0.688	0.306	0.445	0.645
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

SI-2.2 Subgroup Effects

Figure A-6: Manipulation Check by PID (Belief Trump will Withdraw)

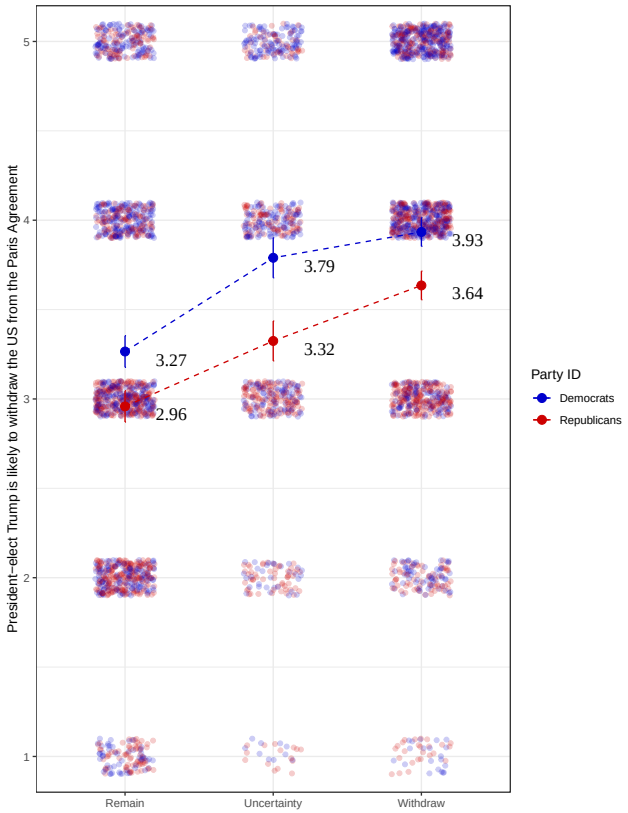


Table A-3: Partisan Effects

Figure A-7: Climate Change Attitudes by PID

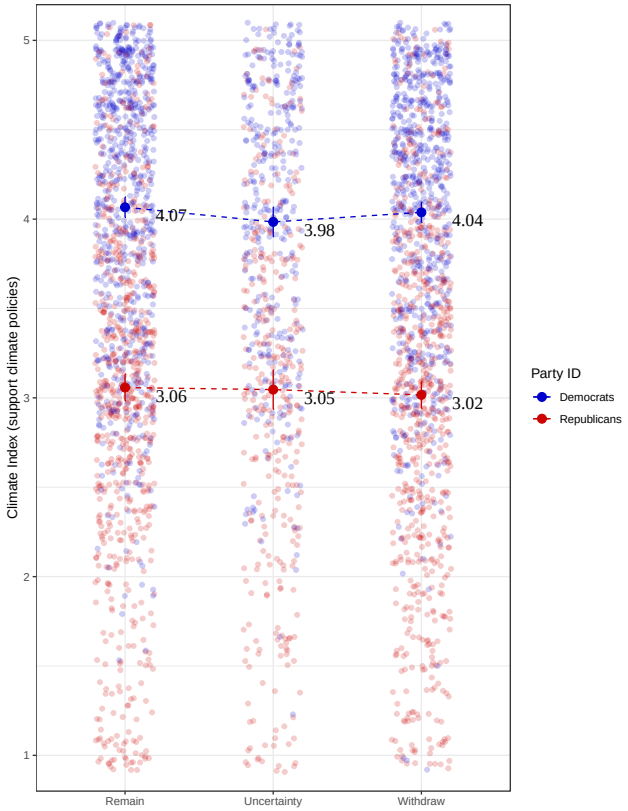


Figure A-8: International Law Attitudes by PID

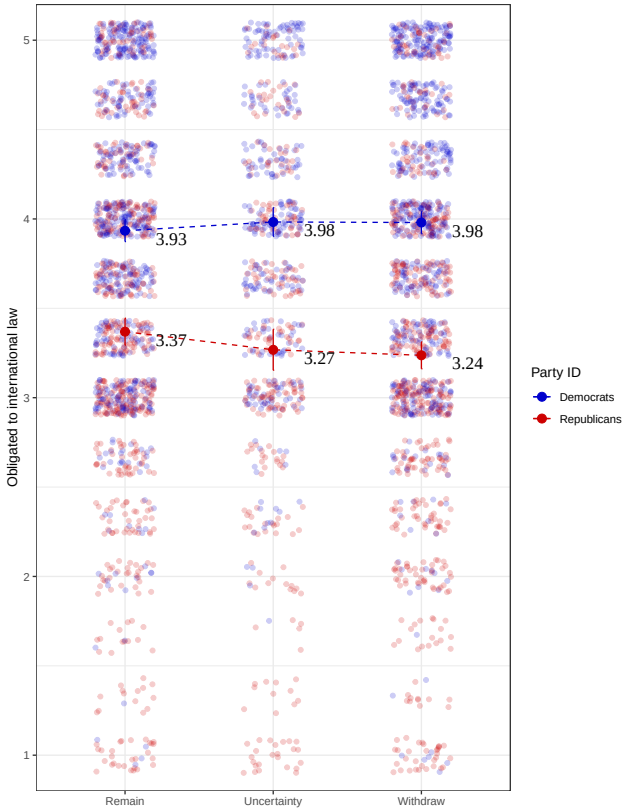
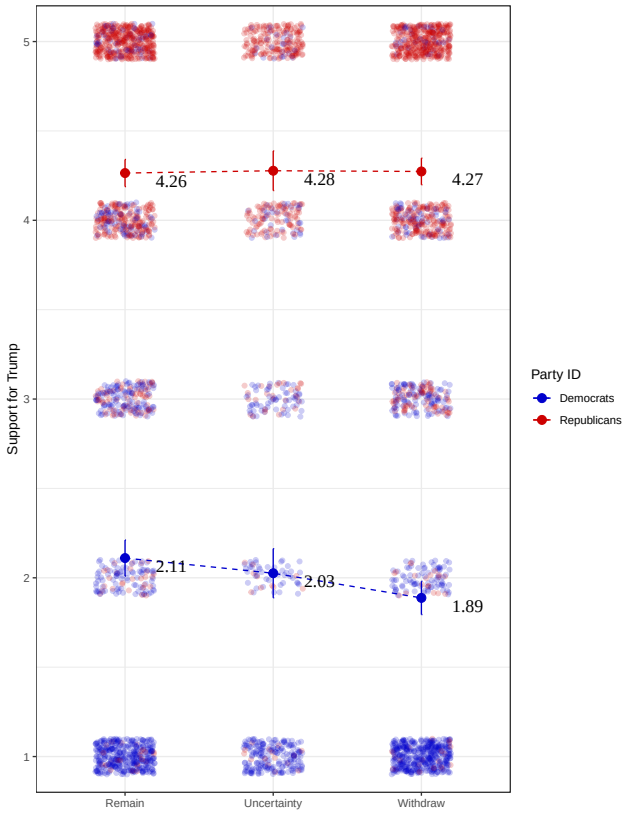


Figure A-9: Support for Trump by PID



	Dependent variable:				
	Manip Check	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Withdraw (v. remain)	0.669*** (0.061)	−0.029 (0.048)	0.046 (0.049)	0.105* (0.060)	−0.223*** (0.063)
Republican	0.008 (0.086)	−0.012 (0.068)	−0.178** (0.070)	−0.401*** (0.085)	0.232*** (0.089)
Observations	2,755	2,734	2,748	2,748	2,755
R^2	0.097	0.249	0.115	0.170	0.490
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-4: Partisan Effects with Controls

	Dependent variable:				
	Manip Check	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Withdraw (v. remain)	0.658*** (0.060)	−0.017 (0.032)	0.037 (0.046)	0.097* (0.052)	−0.188*** (0.052)
Republican	0.025 (0.086)	0.006 (0.045)	−0.129** (0.065)	−0.364*** (0.074)	0.182** (0.075)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,514	2,495	2,507	2,507	2,514
R^2	0.208	0.708	0.321	0.459	0.678
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

SI-2.3 Survey Instrument

SI-2.3.1 Consent

1. Study Title: Questionnaire on climate policy

Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?

(Authors' names) are inviting you to take part in a research study.

What should I know about a research study?

(a) Whether or not you take part is up to you.

(b) Your participation is completely voluntary.

(c) You can choose not to take part.

(d) You can agree to take part and later change your mind.

(e) Your decision will not be held against you.

(f) Your refusal to participate will not result in any consequences or any loss of benefits that you are otherwise entitled to receive.

(g) You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Why is this research being done?

We are interested in exploring how people interact with and respond to social media content related to foreign policy and public opinion.

How long will the research last and what will I need to do?

You will be asked to answer a short survey, which we expect will take about 15 minutes to complete. The survey includes questions about your opinions on social media posts, your attitudes toward international topics, and some general demographic information.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?

We don't believe there are any risks from participating in this research. Since identifiable information is not collected, there is no risk of a loss of confidentiality. Some political questions may make you feel some discomfort, but participation is completely voluntary, and you are welcome to stop the survey at any time.

Will being in this study help me in any way?

We cannot promise any benefits to you or others from your taking part in this research. However, possible benefits include contributing to a better understanding public opinion on foreign policy issues.

What happens if I do not want to be in this research?

Participation in research is completely voluntary. You can decide to participate, not participate, or discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your alternative to participating in this research study is to not participate.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?

You can leave the research at any time; it will not be held against you.

If I take part in this research, how will my privacy be protected? What happens to the information you collect?

This survey is anonymous since identifiers are removed from your identifiable private information during this research, this information could be used for future research studies or distributed to another investigator for future research studies without your additional informed consent.

You may not be told everything or may be misled

For scientific reasons, you may be unaware of the study hypotheses and the research questions being tested.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to [authors' details and universities' IRB details] or if:

(a) Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.

(b) You cannot reach the research team.

(c) You want to talk to someone besides the research team.

(d) You have questions about your rights as a research subject.

(e) You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Do you freely give your consent to participate in this study?

(a) Yes

(b) No

2. (Captcha) Please verify that you are not a robot.

SI-2.3.2 Demographics

1. What is your gender?

   (a) Male

   (b) Female

   (c) Prefer not to say

   (d) Other

2. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

   (a) Elementary or some high school

(b) High school graduate/GED

(c) Trade or vocational certification

(d) Some college/Associate's degree

(e) College graduate

(f) Post-graduate degree

3. 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

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

(a) Democrat

(b) Republican

(c) Independent

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

(a) Strong Democrat

(b) Not very strong Democrat

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

(a) Strong Republican

(b) Not very strong Republican

7. *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

8. Who did you vote for in the 2024 Presidential election?

(a) Donald Trump

(b) Kamala Karris

(c) Another candidate

(d) I did not vote in the 2024 presidential election

9. 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

10. How old are you?

11. What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?

(a) Less than $25,000

(b) $25,000-$49,999

(c) $50,000-$74,999

(d) $75,000-$99,999

(e) $100,000-$149,999

(f) $150,000 or more

(g) Prefer not to say

12. 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

13. Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be.

(a) White or Caucasian

(b) Black or African American

(c) American Indian/Native American or Alaska Native

(d) Asian

(e) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

(f) Other

(g) Prefer not to say

14. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino origin?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Prefer not to say

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

    (a) Most of the time

    (b) Some of the time

    (c) Only now and then

    (d) Hardly at all

16. 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

17. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (Respondent selects from Definitely disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, definitely agree)

    (a) The use of military force only makes problems worse

    (b) Generally speaking, the United States can trust other nations.

    (c) Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems.

    (d) The United States is superior to other nations.

18. 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

19. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?

    (a) Yes

    (b) No

    (c) Other/prefer not to answer

20. 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

21. 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

22. 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

23. 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

24. Do any of the following statements apply to you? Select as many as applicable.

(a) I drive an electric car

(b) I drive a hybrid or plug-in car

(c) I am a vegetarian or vegan

(d) I use public transportation as my main transportation source

(e) None of the above

25. On the next pages, you will read about several pieces of information. Please read this information carefully because you will be asked questions to check your attention and comprehensionDo you agree to read the details very carefully, and then give your most thoughtful answers?

(a) Yes, I agree to read the details carefully

(b) No, I don't agree to read the details carefully

SI-2.3.3 Vignettes

1. **Uncertain Condition:** Since President-elect Donald Trump has been re-elected to office, many political experts have made projections about his environmental policies. The United States is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions. However, experts are unclear about what specific actions President-elect Trump will take regarding the Paris Agreement.

2. **Remain Condition:** Since President-elect Donald Trump has been re-elected to office, many political experts have made projections about his environmental policies. The United States is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions. Many experts predict that President-elect Trump will choose to remain in the Paris Agreement.

3. **Withdraw Condition:** Since President-elect Donald Trump has been re-elected to office, many political experts have made projections about his environmental policies. The United States is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions. Many experts predict that President-elect Trump will withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement.

1. What international agreement is being mentioned?

   (a) the Paris Agreement

   (b) the Geneva Convention

   (c) the Treaty of Rome

2. Based on the text you read, do experts assess that President-elect Donald Trump likely to:

   (a) Remain in the agreement

   (b) Withdraw from the agreement

   (c) Unclear what steps he will take

SI-2.3.4 Outcome Measures

1. How much of a policy priority do you believe the following areas should be to the United States? (Respondent selects from Not a priority at all, slight priority, medium level priority, fairly high priority, top priority)

   (a) Addressing climate change

   (b) Reducing racial injustice

   (c) Protecting LGBTQ rights

   (d) Strenghening the nation's economy

   (e) Improving infrastructure

   (f) Strengthening the US military

2. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about climate change- a change in climate patterns, including extreme weather events. (Respondent selects from Definitely disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, definitely agree)

   (a) Climate change is not a serious problem.

   (b) Climate change will have a serious impact during my lifetime.

   (c) I would vote for a politician who promised to take action to reduce climate change.

   (d) I would personally support a tax increase to fund national programs to reduce climate change.

   (e) The U.S. should not do more to reduce climate change.

   (f) The international community should do more to reduce climate change.

3. If you would like to become more informed about climate change and steps that can be taken to address this issue, please click the link below. This is completely optional, and in no way affects your participation in the survey.

4. important How important is it to you that the US remains in the Paris Agreement?

   (a) Very important

   (b) Somewhat important

   (c) Neither important nor unimportant

   (d) Somewhat unimportant

   (e) Very unimportant

5. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Respondent selects from Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, Strongly agree)

   (a) It is important to me personally that the US will comply with international law.

   (b) Complying with international law is an important value.

   (c) Complying with international law is important, even if it contradicts the national interest.

6. How much do you support or oppose President-elect Trump?

   (a) Strongly support

   (b) Somewhat support

   (c) Neither support nor oppose

   (d) Somewhat oppose

   (e) Strongly oppose

7. How likely do you think it will be that President-elect Trump withdraws the US from the Paris Agreement?

   (a) Not likely at all

   (b) Not very likely

   (c) Neither likely nor unlikely

(d) Somewhat likely

(e) Very likely

8. Do you think it is necessary for the US to participate in the Paris Agreement in order for it to be effective?

   (a) Strongly agree

   (b) Somewhat agree

   (c) Neither agree nor disagree

   (d) Somewhat disagree

   (e) Strongly disagree

SI-3 Study II

SI-3.1 Main Effects

Figure A-10: Within-Person Changes from Pre to Post

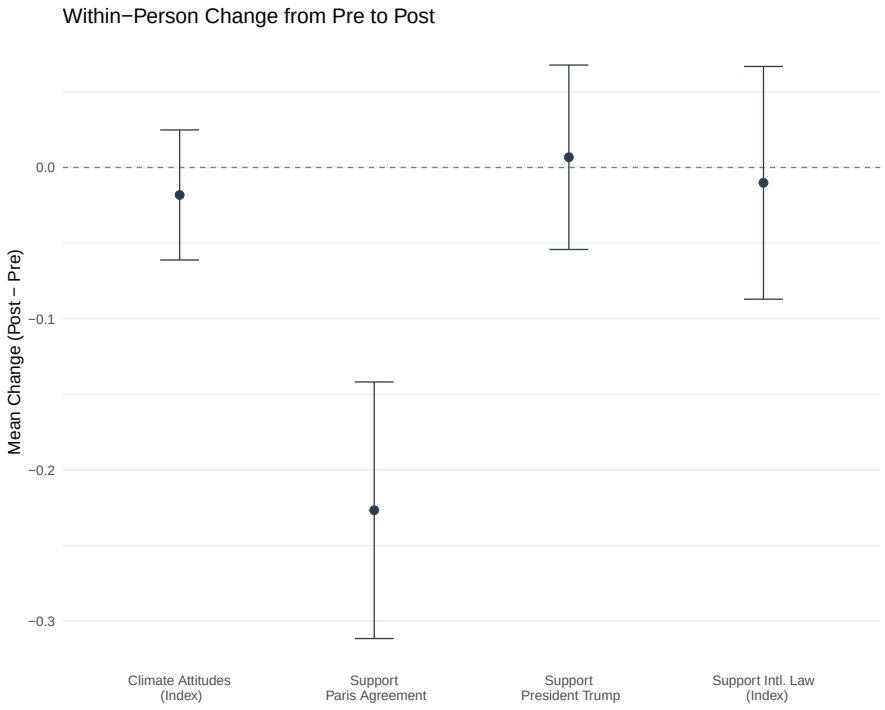
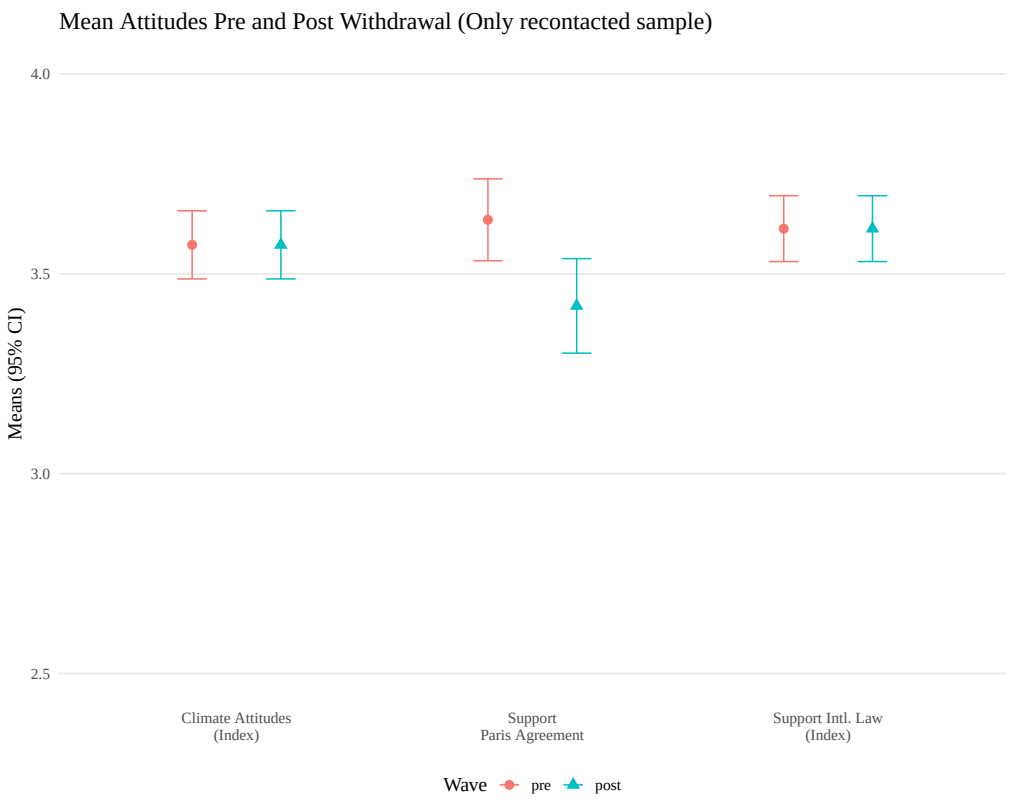


Figure A-11: Mean Attitudes Pre and Post Withdrawal (Only recontacted sample)SI-9



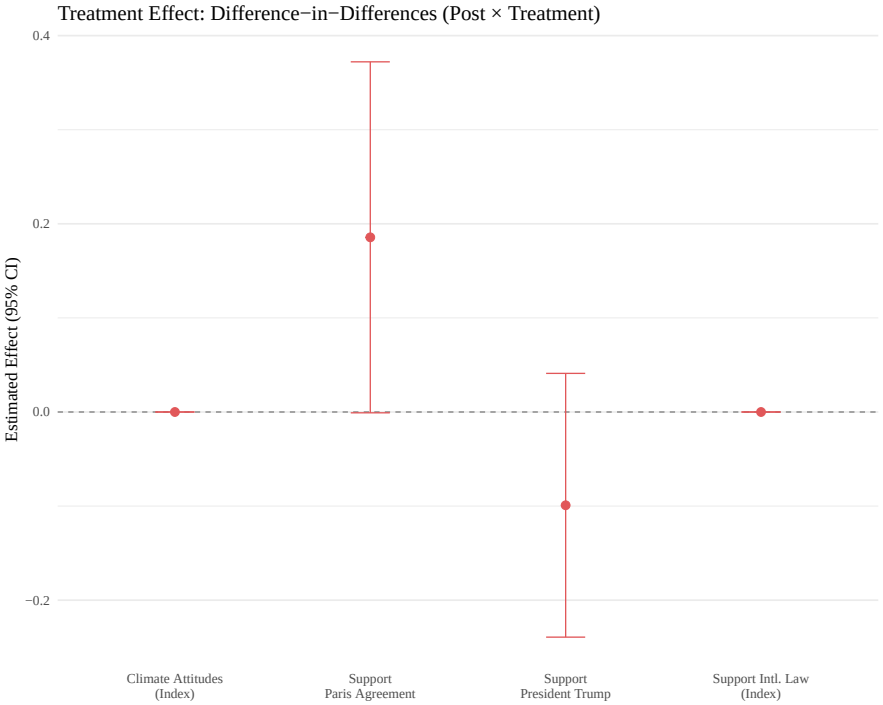


Table A-5: Within-Person Change from Pre to Post

	Dependent variable:				
	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump	Relative Importance
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post (v. pre)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	−0.227*** (0.043)	0.007 (0.031)	0.000*** (0.000)
Ind FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,234	1,234	1,209	1,211	1,234
R^2	1.000	1.000	0.859	0.949	1.000

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

SI-3.2 Difference-in-Difference

Here we assess the difference-in-differences of treatment effects (see Figure A-12). We do not find evidence of differential change across treatment conditions for climate attitudes, support for international law or support for President Trump. These null effects indicate that, after accounting for temporal changes, treatment assignment does not meaningfully shape changes in these attitudes. The exception is support for the Paris Agreement. The estimated interaction term is positive and marginally statistically significant ($\beta = 0.19, p = 0.051$), suggesting that respondents in the withdrawal condition experienced a smaller decline in support for the Paris Agreement than those in the remain condition. Indeed, as shown by Figure A-13, although support for the Paris Agreement decreases across all conditions following withdrawal, the difference is largest among respondents in the remain condition.

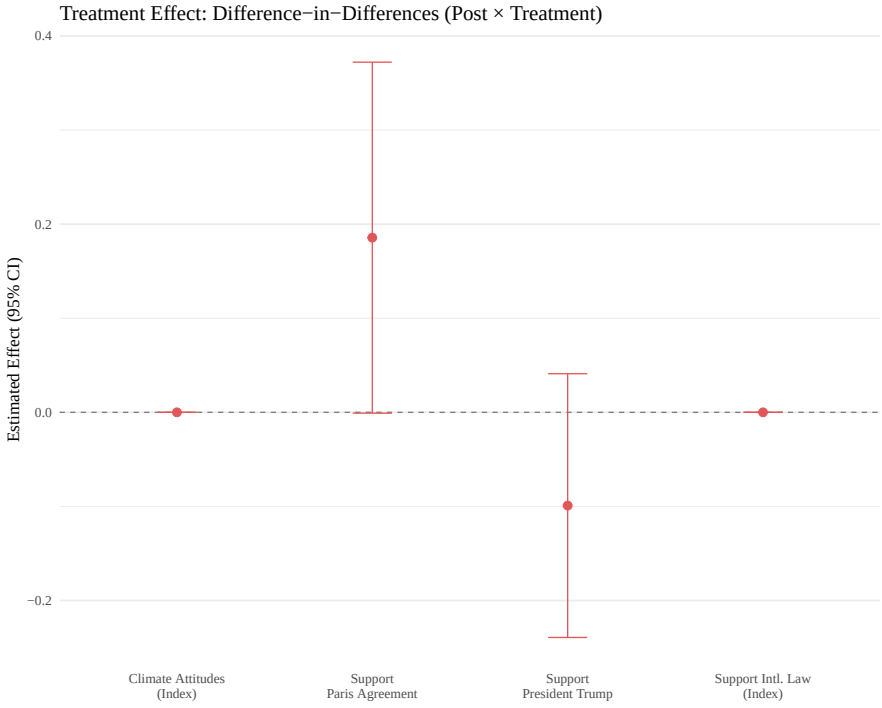


Figure A-12: **Difference-in-differences estimates of treatment effects:** Points show coefficient estimates and 95% confidence intervals for the interaction between post-treatment period and treatment status from individual fixed-effects regressions. Estimates represent within-respondent changes over time, differenced between treatment and control groups. Outcomes are shown on the x-axis.

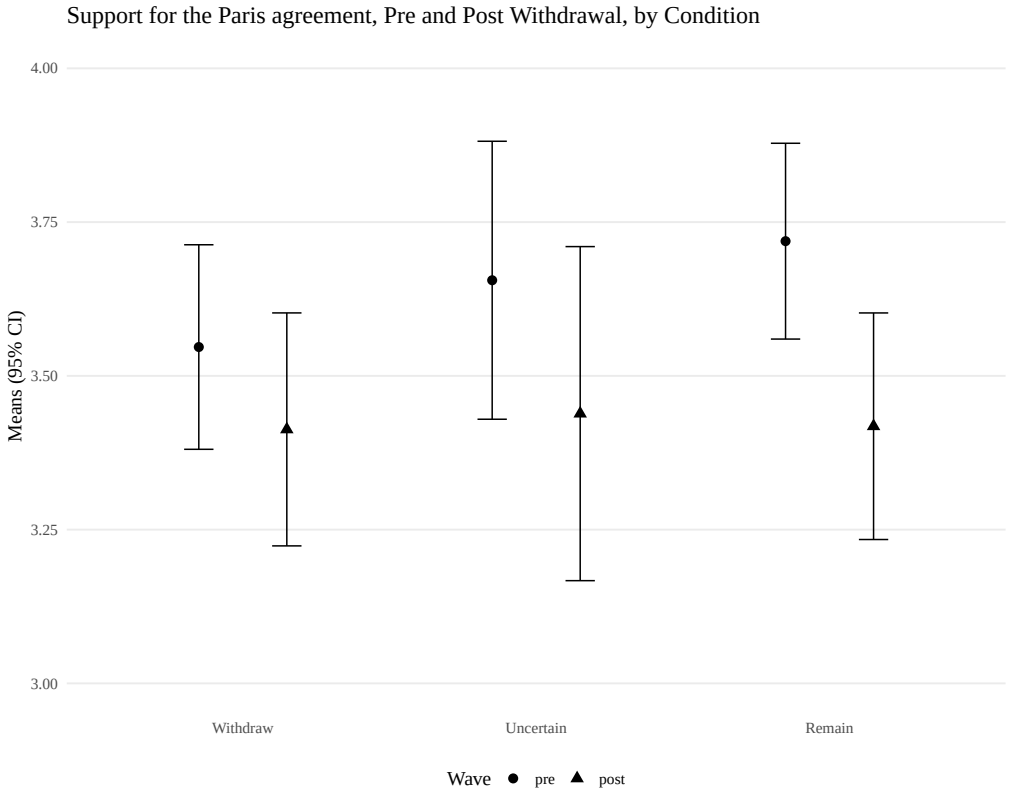


Figure A-13: **Support for the Paris Agreement before and after withdrawal, by condition:** Points show mean support for the Paris Agreement with 95% confidence intervals at the pre- and post-withdrawal survey waves, separately for respondents assigned to the Withdraw, Remain, and Uncertain conditions. Estimates are calculated using the recontacted sample only.

Table A-6: Within-Person Change from Pre to Post by Party

	Dependent variable:									
	Climate Attitudes		Intl. Law Attitudes		Paris Importance		Support Trump		Relative Importance	
	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Withdraw (v. remain)	−0.857*** (0.000)	−1.429*** (0.000)	−2.000*** (0.000)	0.667*** (0.000)	−1.051* (0.563)	−4.092*** (0.869)	0.062 (0.649)	−0.000 (0.465)	0.000 (0.000)	−3.000*** (0.000)
Post (v. pre)	−0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	−0.111 (0.080)	−0.495*** (0.118)	−0.010 (0.091)	0.075 (0.063)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Withdraw*Post	−0.000 (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.102 (0.111)	0.184 (0.168)	−0.123 (0.128)	0.000 (0.089)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Observations	426	438	426	438	417	432	418	433	426	438
R^2	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.812	0.815	0.860	0.863	1.000	1.000
Note:										*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-7: Difference-in-Differences (Post × Treatment)

	Dependent variable:				
	Climate Attitudes	Intl. Law Attitudes	Paris Importance	Support Trump	Relative Importance
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Withdraw (v. remain)	0.000*** (0.000)	1.000*** (0.000)	0.407 (0.736)	0.550 (0.554)	2.000*** (0.000)
Post (v. pre)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	−0.323*** (0.068)	0.039 (0.051)	0.000 (0.000)
Withdraw*Post	0.000 (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.186* (0.095)	−0.099 (0.071)	0.000 (0.000)
Ind FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	996	996	977	979	996
R^2	1.000	1.000	0.864	0.946	1.000
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-8: Attrition in Follow-Up: Balance Table

	0	1	p	test	SMD
n	4278	617			
Republican (mean (SD))	0.50 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.587		0.025
Education (mean (SD))	3.67 (1.41)	3.88 (1.38)	0.001		0.150
Female = 1 (%)	2102 (49.4)	272 (44.2)	0.016		0.106
Employment (%)			0.004		0.201
Employed Full Time	1675 (39.2)	264 (42.8)			
Employed Part Time	498 (11.6)	61 (9.9)			
Homemaker	256 (6.0)	36 (5.8)			
Unemployed	535 (12.5)	60 (9.7)			
Retired	870 (20.3)	151 (24.5)			
Student	175 (4.1)	11 (1.8)			
Self-Employed	269 (6.3)	34 (5.5)			
Religiosity (mean (SD))	2.92 (1.67)	2.85 (1.68)	0.356		0.040
Trust in Government (mean (SD))	2.33 (0.97)	2.38 (0.96)	0.243		0.050
Follows News (mean (SD))	3.01 (0.94)	3.15 (0.90)	0.001		0.153
Foreign Policy Index (mean (SD))	2.85 (0.69)	2.83 (0.70)	0.331		0.042
Ideology (mean (SD))	4.01 (1.63)	4.08 (1.70)	0.387		0.037
Hispanic = 1 (%)	707 (16.7)	82 (13.3)	0.041		0.094
Income (mean (SD))	2.79 (1.48)	2.88 (1.44)	0.162		0.061
Age (mean (SD))	45.83 (17.62)	49.80 (17.10)	<0.001		0.229
Local Climate Change Effects (mean (SD))	0.95 (1.09)	0.98 (1.11)	0.557		0.025
climate_belief_num (mean (SD))	3.26 (0.89)	3.24 (0.93)	0.730		0.015
Local Fossil Fuel or Auto Industry = 1 (%)	2521 (58.9)	352 (57.1)	0.400		0.038
Local Green Industry = 1 (%)	1657 (38.7)	247 (40.0)	0.565		0.027
Policy Helps Community (mean (SD))	3.07 (1.16)	3.12 (1.20)	0.340		0.041
Support for Climate Action (mean (SD))	2.99 (0.90)	3.02 (0.93)	0.377		0.038

SI-3.3 Robustness Check – Retail Surveys

As an additional descriptive check, we examine public opinion estimates from two public opinion surveys fielded immediately before and after the January 2025 inauguration. Specifically, we compare estimates from the Yale/George Mason Climate Change in the American Mind survey conducted December 11–22, 2024 and a YouGov survey conducted January 26–28, 2025, shortly after Trump announced his intention to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. The surveys asked closely related but not identical questions. The Yale/George Mason survey asked respondents whether the United States should participate in the Paris Agreement using a four-point response scale. The YouGov survey asks respondents whether they support U.S. withdrawal from the Paris Agreement, also using a four-point scale. To facilitate comparison, we recode responses so that higher values correspond to support for remaining in the Paris Agreement. The December survey finds that 74% of respondents support U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement. In the late-January survey, the corresponding estimate falls to 57%. The decline is concentrated among Republican respondents, whose support decreases from 49% in December to 14% in the January survey, while Democratic support remains comparatively high (declining from 96% to 90%). Because these estimates come from different surveys with slightly different question wording, they should be interpreted as descriptive. Nevertheless, the pattern of declining support following the inauguration—particularly among Republican respondents—is consistent with the dynamics observed in our survey experiment and panel analysis. Figure A-14 displays the corresponding estimates and confidence intervals by partisan identification.

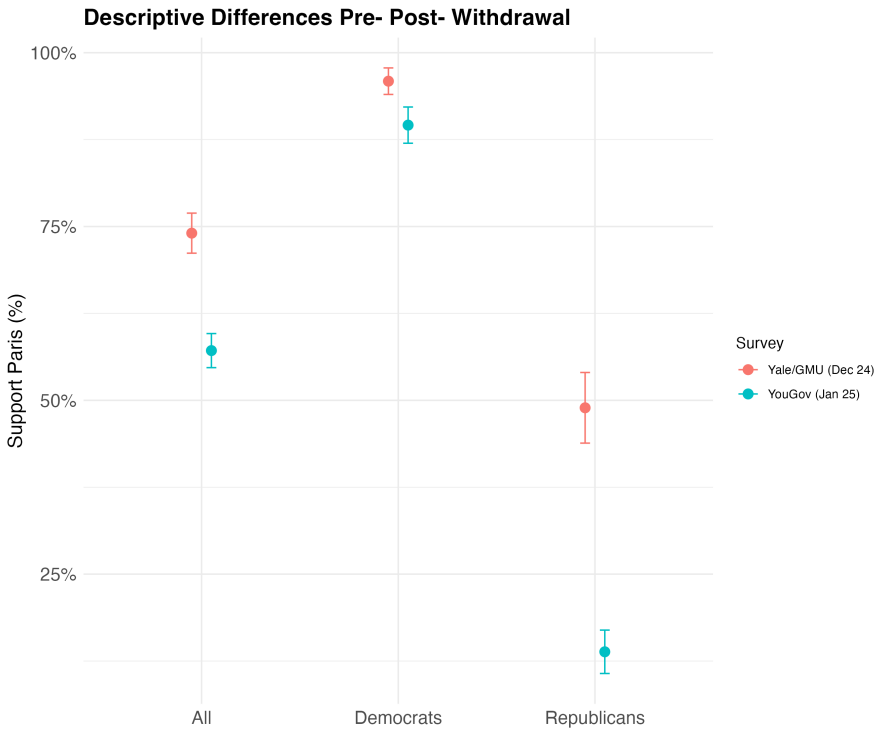


Figure A-14: Support for the Paris Agreement in surveys conducted immediately before and after the January 2025 inauguration. Points show estimated support with 95% confidence intervals for all respondents, Democrats, and Republicans.

SI-4 Study III

SI-4.1 Main Effects

Table A-9: Effects of Argentina potentially withdrawing from Paris

	Dependent variable:					
	Manip Check	Paris Importance	Intl. Law Attitudes	Climate Attitudes	Support Milei	Spillover
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Argentina withdrawing	0.398*** (0.042)	−0.214*** (0.046)	−0.052 (0.041)	−0.046 (0.031)	−0.121* (0.063)	−0.052* (0.029)
Observations	2,173	2,174	2,174	2,176	2,173	2,206
R^2	0.039	0.010	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

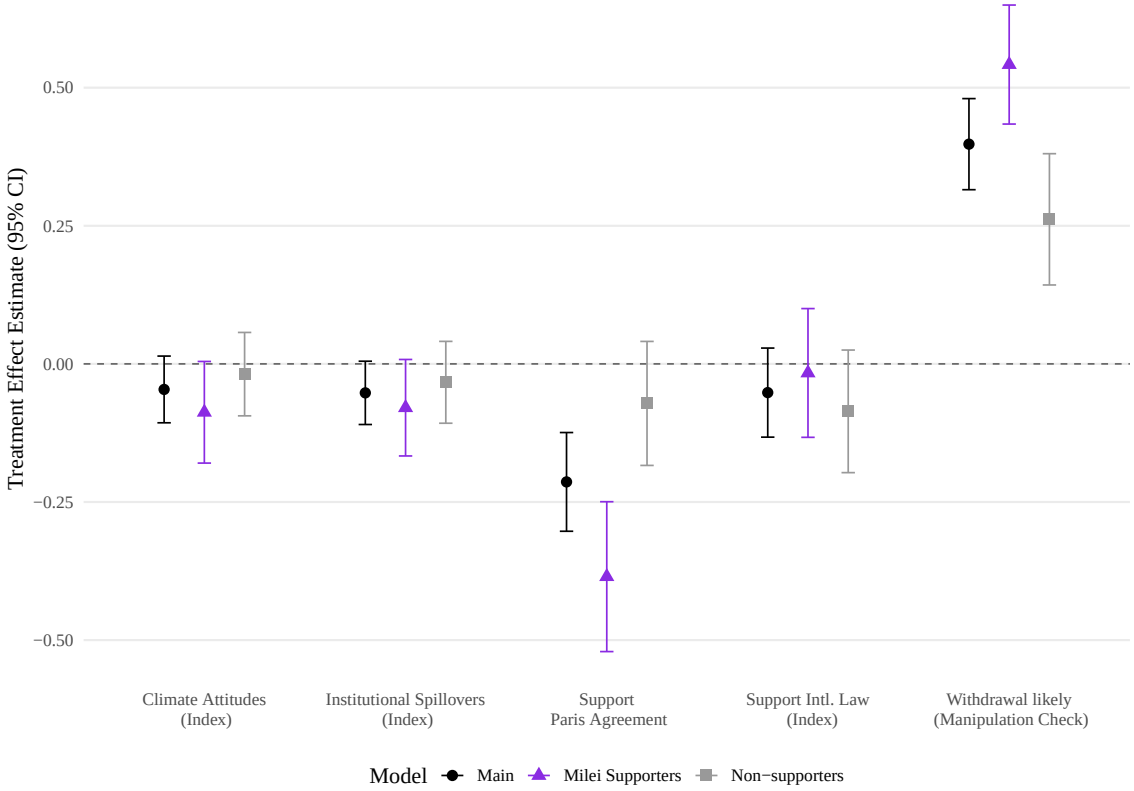
Table A-10: Effects of Argentina potentially withdrawing from Paris (w. Controls)

	Dependent variable:					
	Manip Check	Paris Importance	Intl. Law Attitudes	Climate Attitudes	Support Milei	Spillover
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Argentina withdrawing	0.386*** (0.042)	−0.196*** (0.044)	−0.054 (0.042)	−0.045* (0.027)	−0.096** (0.039)	−0.047* (0.028)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,952	1,958	1,958	1,957	1,952	1,980
R^2	0.159	0.190	0.084	0.336	0.678	0.173
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

comments: - aligning with the weird patterns above, only us treatment has a negative effect on item 2, 4, but only argentina has a negative effect on item 5. though it doens't look like the differences would be significant

Effect of Argentina Withdrawing from Paris Agreement on Preregistered Outcomes

Argentina Sample



Effect of US Withdrawing from Paris Agreement on Preregistered Outcomes

Argentina Sample

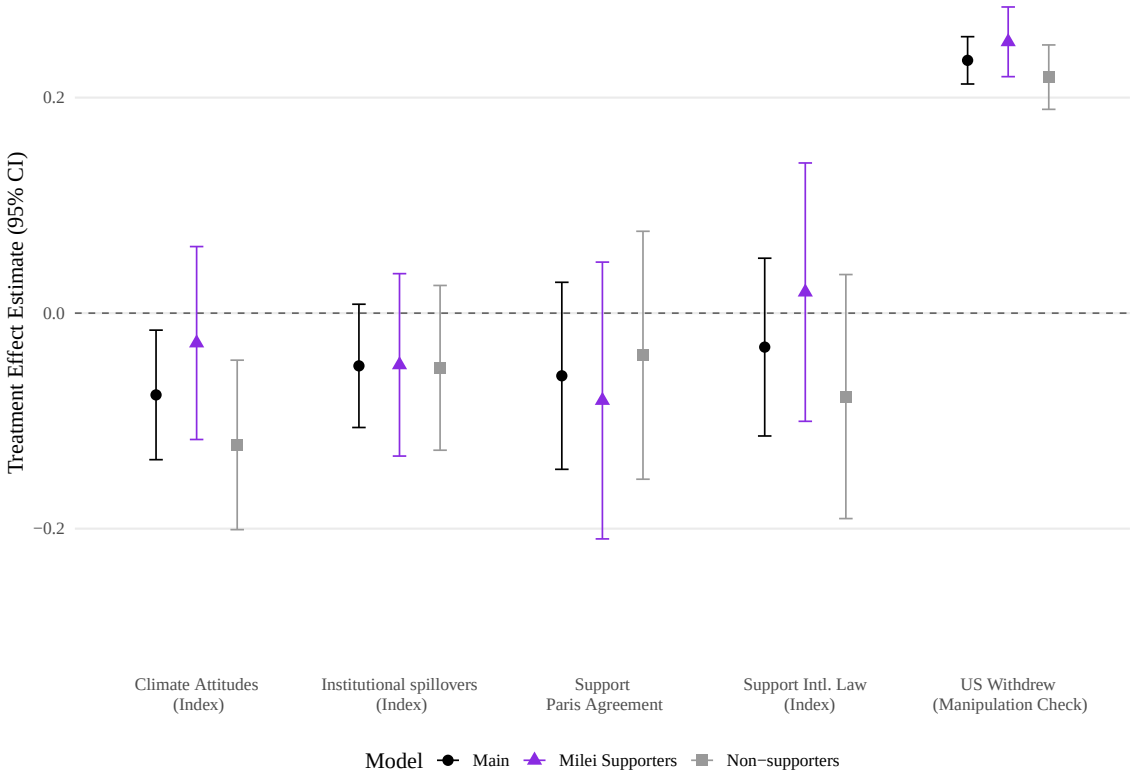


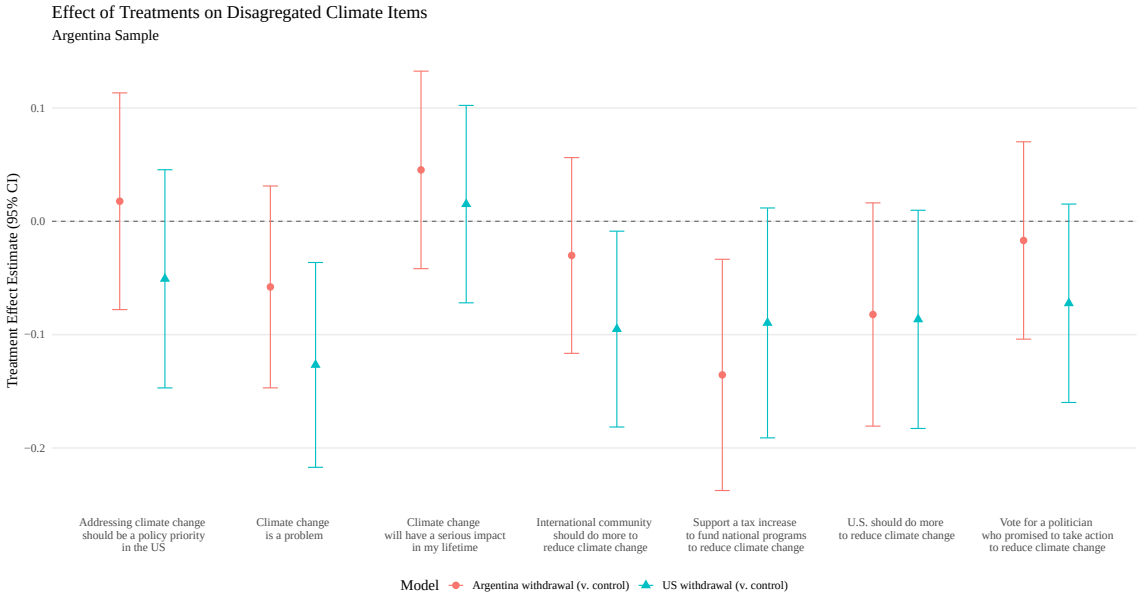
Table A-11: Effects of US withdrawal from Paris

	Dependent variable:					
	Manip Check	Paris Importance	Intl. Law Attitudes	Climate Attitudes	Support Trump	Spillover
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
US withdrawing	0.235*** (0.011)	−0.058 (0.044)	−0.032 (0.042)	−0.076** (0.031)	−0.021 (0.053)	−0.049* (0.029)
Observations	2,198	2,191	2,191	2,193	2,198	2,221
R^2	0.167	0.001	0.0003	0.003	0.0001	0.001
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A-12: Effects of US withdrawal from Paris (w. Controls)

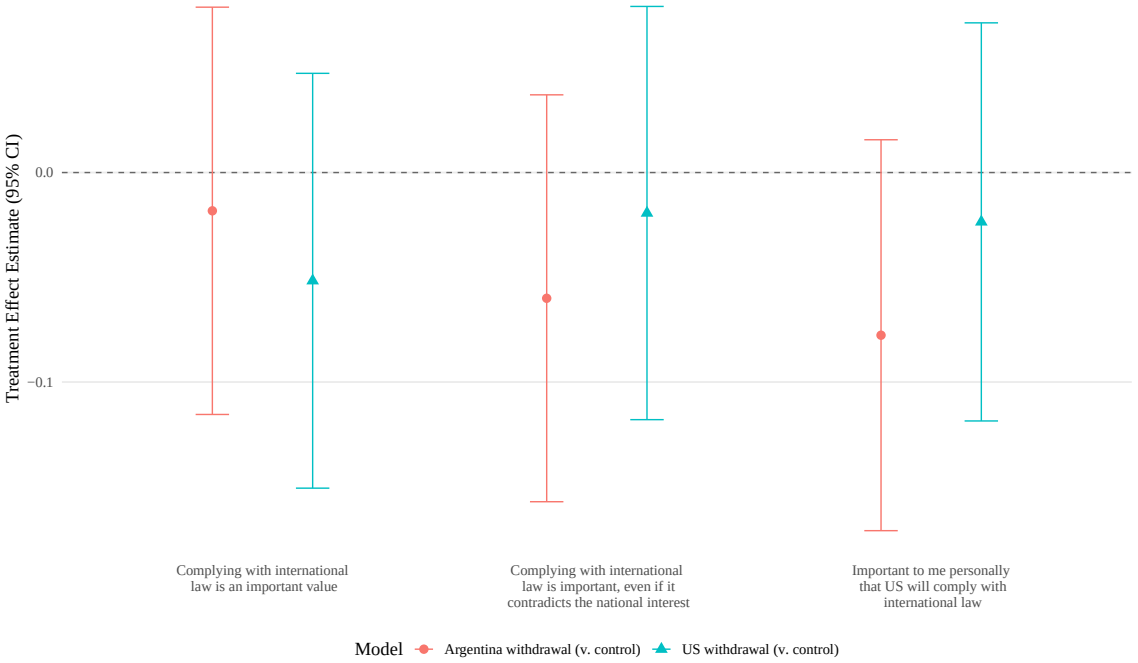
	Dependent variable:					
	Manip Check	Paris Importance	Intl. Law Attitudes	Climate Attitudes	Support Trump	Spillover
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
US withdrawing	0.240*** (0.012)	−0.034 (0.043)	0.018 (0.042)	−0.054** (0.027)	0.001 (0.040)	−0.020 (0.028)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,976	1,972	1,972	1,972	1,976	1,995
R^2	0.215	0.167	0.106	0.326	0.509	0.199
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Disaggregated Outcomes



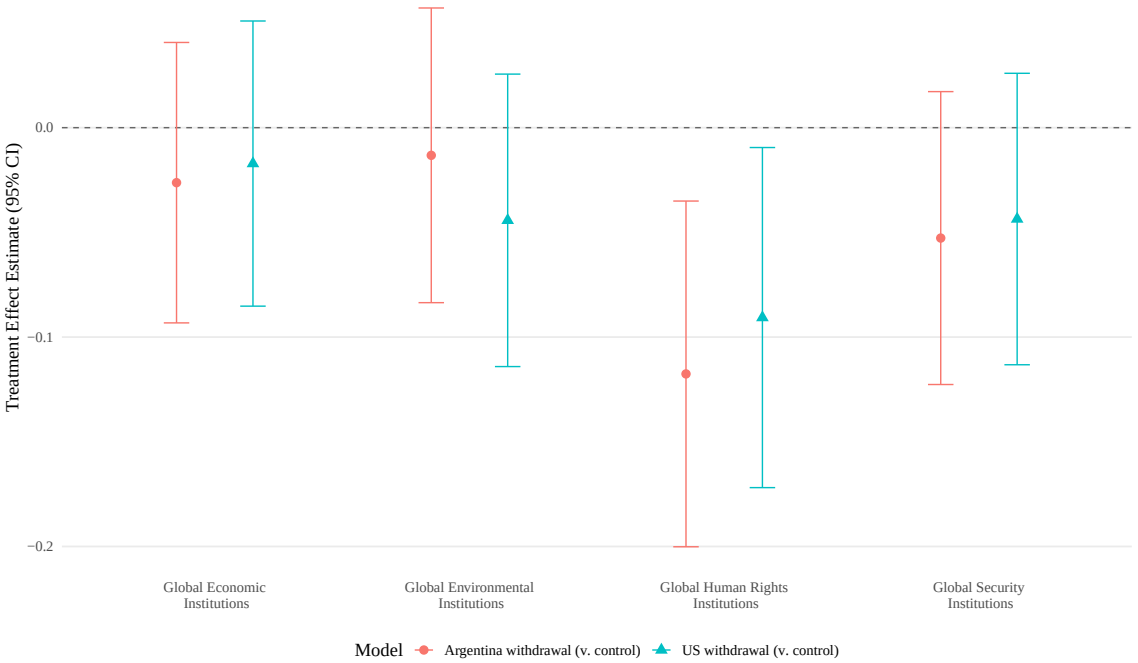
Effect of Treatments on Disagregated Intl. Legal Obligation Items

Argentina Sample



Effect of Treatments on Disagregated Spillover Items

Argentina Sample



SI-4.2 Outcomes by Conditions

Figure A-15: Manipulation check Argentina withdrawal by condition

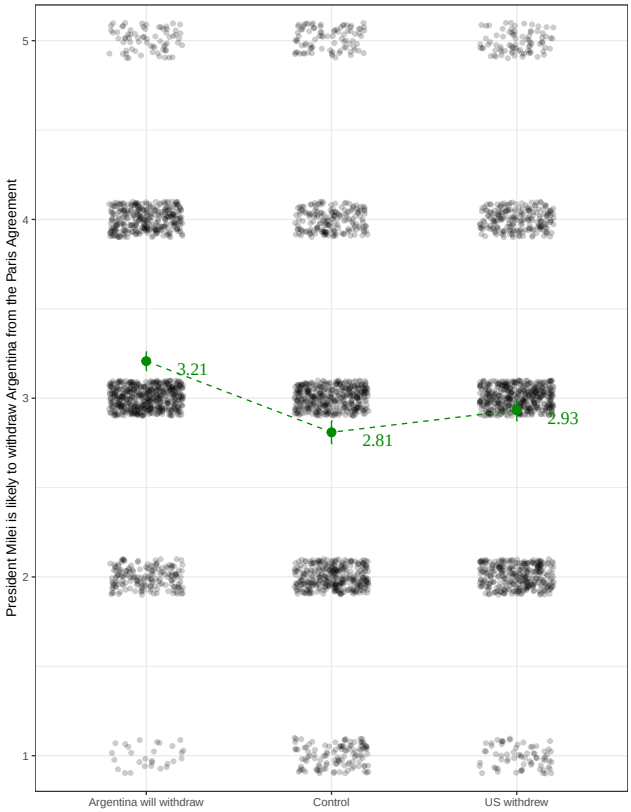


Figure A-16: Manipulation check US withdrew by condition

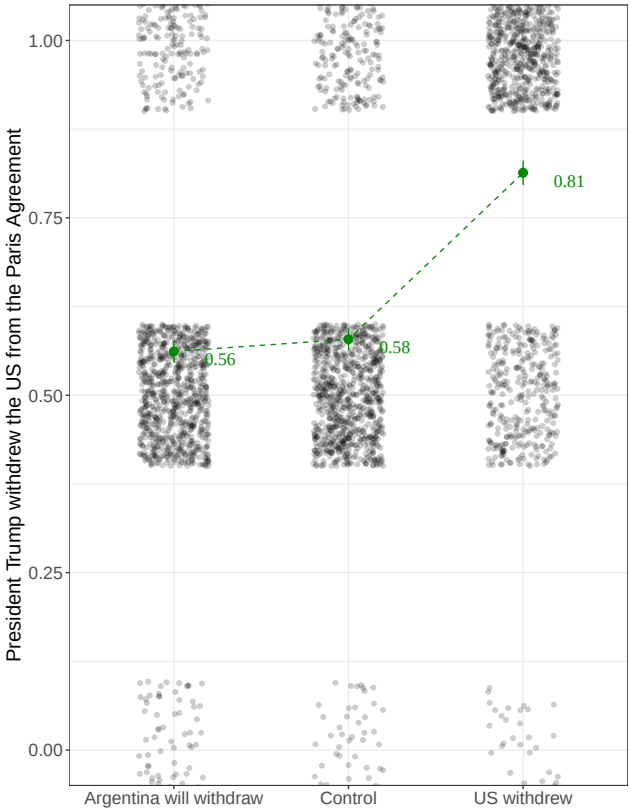


Figure A-17: Importance of Paris Agreement by condition

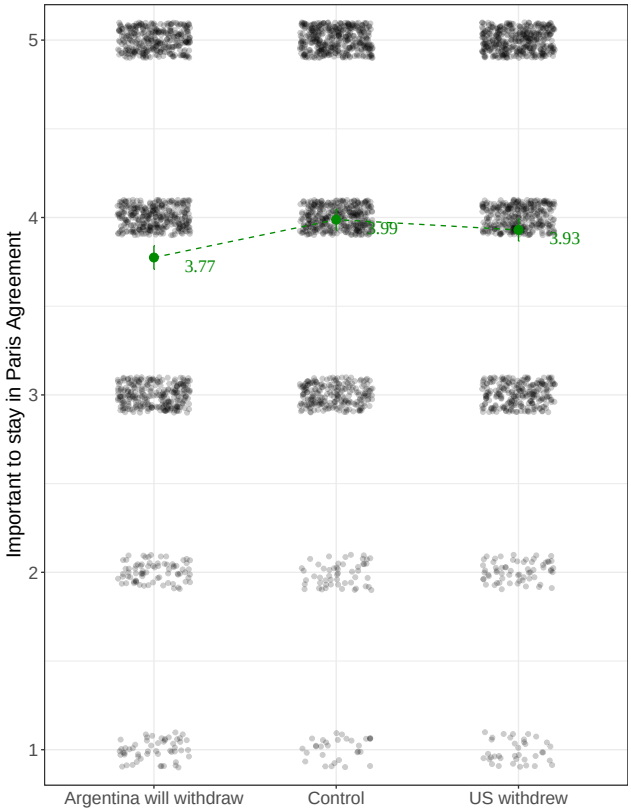


Figure A-18: Climate attitudes by condition

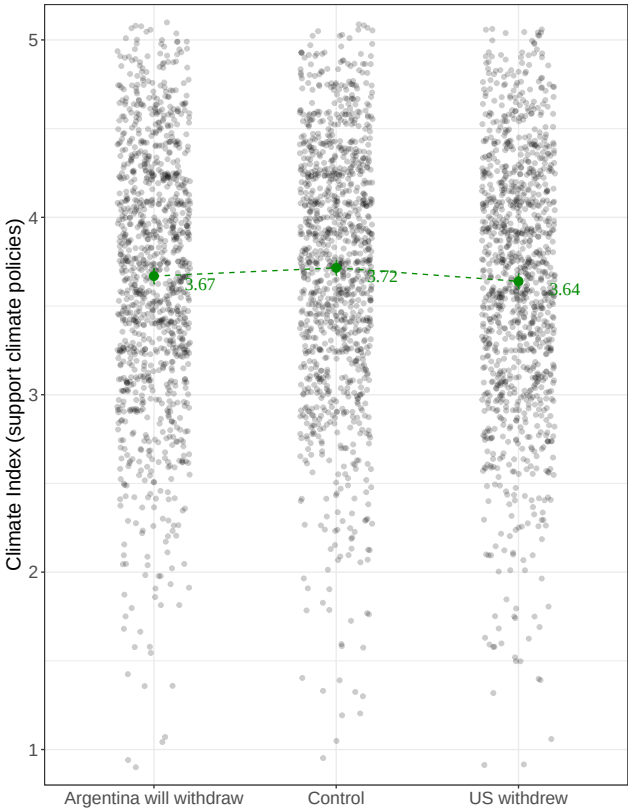


Figure A-19: International Legal obligation by condition

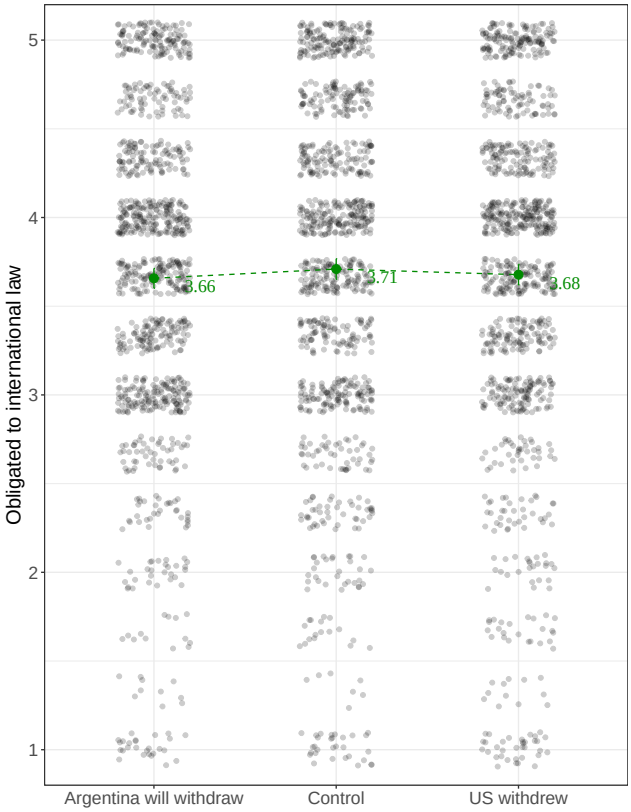


Figure A-20: Support for Milei by condition

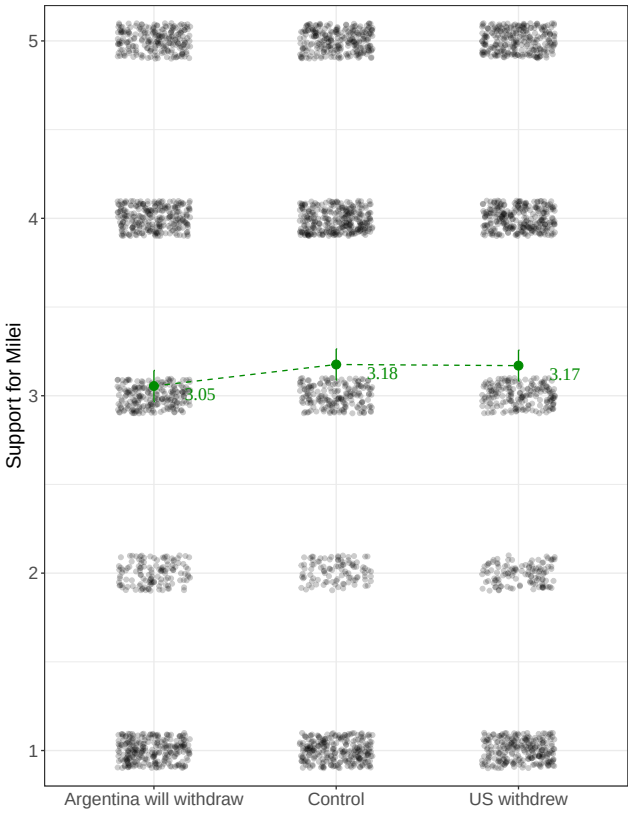


Figure A-21: Spillover Effects by condition

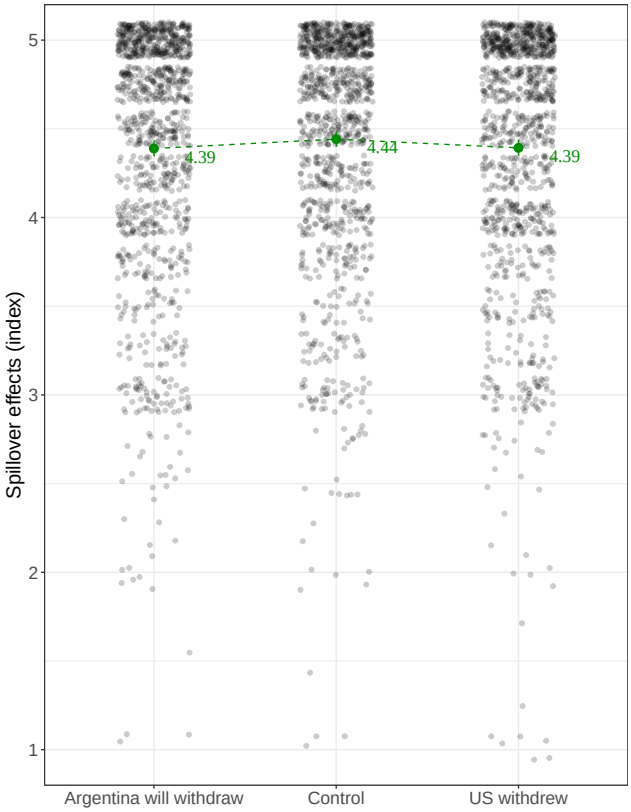


Figure A-22: Paris Agreement important by condition, Milei Supporters

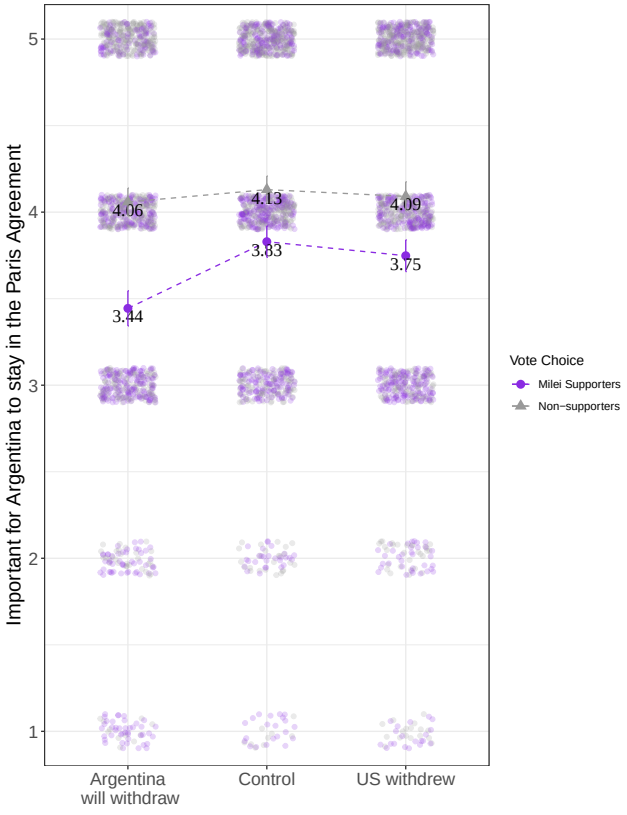


Figure A-23: Climate attitudes by condition, Milei supporters

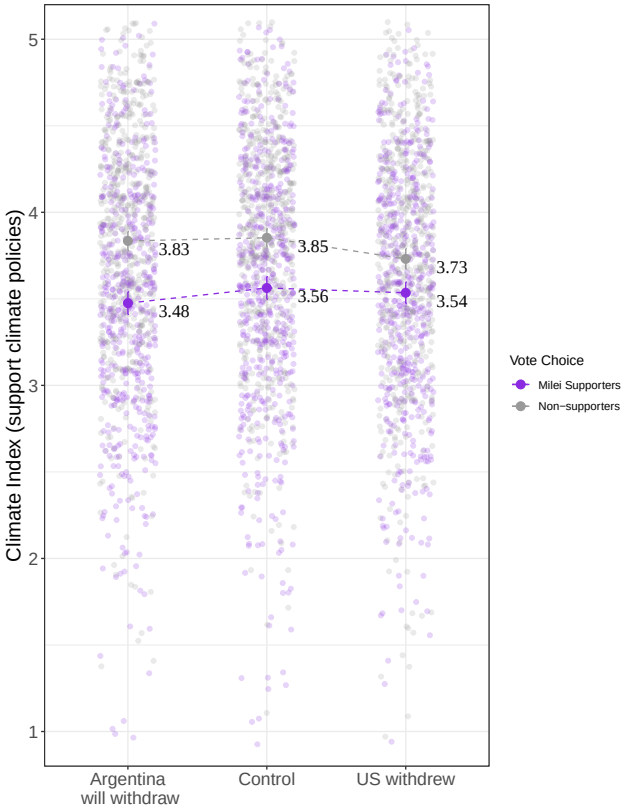


Figure A-24: International legal obligation by condition, Milei supporters

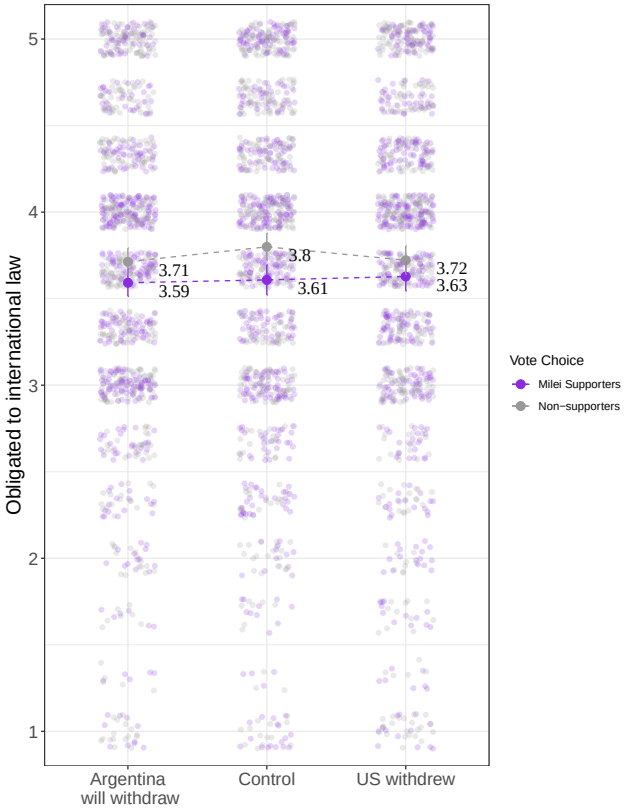


Figure A-25: Support for Milei by condition, Milei supporters

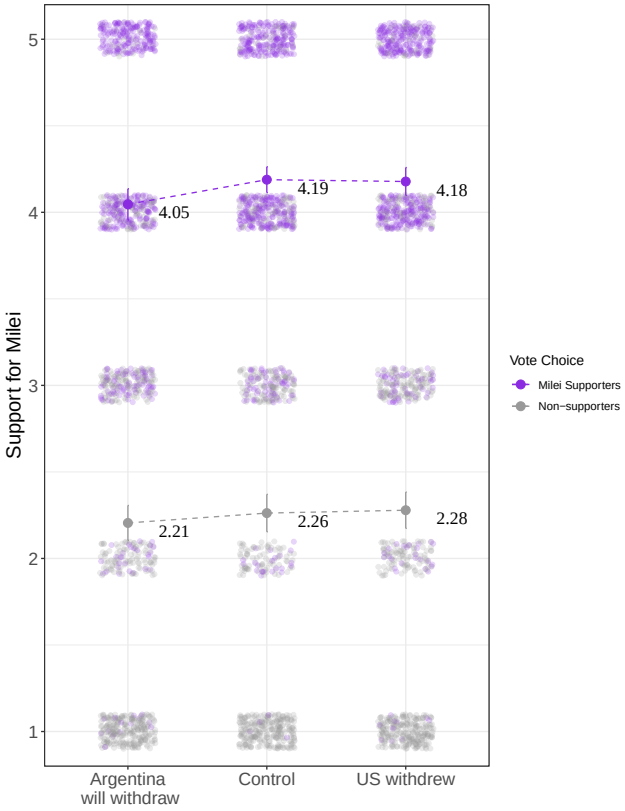
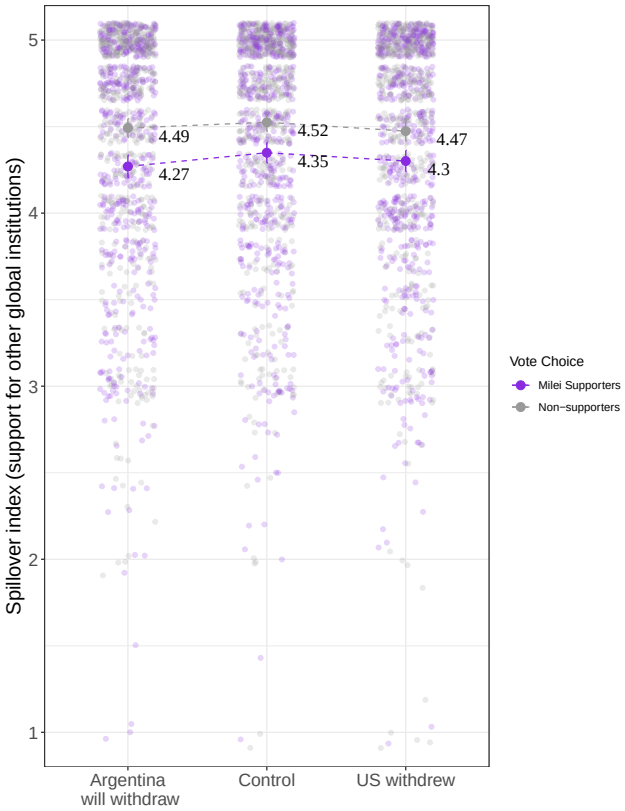


Figure A-26: Spillover effects by condition, Milei supporters



SI-4.3 Survey Instrument

SI-4.3.1 Informed consent

SI-4.3.2 Demographics

1. What is your gender?
   (a) Male
   (b) Female
   (c) Prefer not to say
   (d) Other
2. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
   (a) Incomplete or complete primary school
   (b) Incomplete secondary school
   (c) Completed secondary school / Technical or vocational training
   (d) Some tertiary/university education
   (e) Completed tertiary/university education
   (f) Postgraduate degree / Master's / Doctorate
3. In general, how do you consider yourself politically?
   (a) Extremely left
   (b) Left
   (c) Slightly left
   (d) Center/moderate
   (e) Slightly right
   (f) Right
   (g) Extremely Right
4. Which political party do you identify with the most?
   (a) Frente de Todos (FdT)
   (b) Juntos por el Cambio (JxC)
   (c) Other party / provincial party
   (d) I don't identify with any party
5. Who did you vote for in the 2023 Presidential election?
   (a) Javier Milei
   (b) Sergio Massa
   (c) Another candidate
   (d) Patricia Bullrich
   (e) Another candidate
   (f) I did not vote in the 2023 election

6. 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
7. How old are you?
8. What was your total household income before taxes in the past 12 months?
   (a) Less than ARS 1,200,000
   (b) ARS 1,200,000 – 2,399,999
   (c) ARS 2,400,000 – 3,599,999
   (d) ARS 3,600,000 – 4,799,999
   (e) ARS 4,800,000 – 7,199,999
   (f) ARS 7,200,000 or more
   (g) Prefer not to say
9. 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
10. Do you consider yourself to belong to any of the Indigenous peoples of Argentina?
   (a) Yes (please specify)
   (b) No
11. Do you identify as Afro-descendant or have Black or African ancestors?
   (a) Yes
   (b) No
12. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?

(a) Most of the time

(b) Some of the time

(c) Only now and then

(d) Hardly at all

13. 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

14. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (Respondent selects from Definitely disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, definitely agree)

(a) The use of military force only makes problems worse

(b) Generally speaking, Argentina can trust other nations.

(c) Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems.

(d) Argentina is superior to other nations.

15. 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

16. 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

17. 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

18. 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

19. 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

20. Do any of the following statements apply to you? Select as many as applicable.

(a) I drive an electric car

(b) I drive a hybrid or plug-in car

(c) I am a vegetarian or vegan

(d) I use public transportation as my main transportation source

(e) None of the above

21. On the next pages, you will read about several pieces of information. Please read this information carefully because you will be asked questions to check your attention and comprehension. Do you agree to read the details very carefully, and then give your most thoughtful answers?

(a) Yes, I agree to read the details carefully

(b) No, I don't agree to read the details carefully

SI-4.3.3 Vignettes

1. **Control Condition:** Argentina is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions.

2. **Argentina Withdrawal Condition:** Argentina is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions.

President Javier Milei has publicly stated that he is considering withdrawing from the Paris Agreement, and many political experts predict that Argentina will leave the agreement in the near future.

3. **US Withdrawal Condition:** Argentina is currently a member of the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at combating climate change. The Paris Agreement does not specify any legal or economic penalties for countries that violate their promises to reduce emissions.

   In January 2025, United States President Donald Trump ordered the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement.

SI-4.3.4 Outcome Measures

1. How much of a policy priority do you believe the following areas should be to Argentina? (Respondent selects from Not a priority at all, slight priority, medium level priority, fairly high priority, top priority)

   (a) Addressing climate change

   (b) Protecting LGBTQ rights

   (c) Strengthening the nation's economy

   (d) Improving infrastructure

   (e) Strengthening the Argentinian military

2. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about climate change- a change in climate patterns, including extreme weather events. (Respondent selects from Definitely disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, definitely agree)

   (a) Climate change is not a serious problem.

   (b) Climate change will have a serious impact during my lifetime.

   (c) I would vote for a politician who promised to take action to reduce climate change.

   (d) I would personally support a tax increase to fund national programs to reduce climate change.

   (e) Argentina should not do more to reduce climate change.

   (f) The international community should do more to reduce climate change.

3. Would you like to become more informed about climate change and steps that can be taken to address this issue? This is completely optional, and in no way affects your participation in the survey. [Yes/No - respondents that click yes are redirected to an external link]

4. How important is it to you that Argentina remains in the Paris Agreement?

   (a) Very important

   (b) Somewhat important

   (c) Neither important nor unimportant

   (d) Somewhat unimportant

   (e) Very unimportant

5. How important is it to you that the US remains in the Paris Agreement?
   (a) Very important
   (b) Somewhat important
   (c) Neither important nor unimportant
   (d) Somewhat unimportant
   (e) Very unimportant
6. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Respondent selects from Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, Strongly agree)
   (a) It is important to me personally that Argentina will comply with international law.
   (b) It is important to me personally that the US will comply with international law.
   (c) Complying with international law is an important value.
   (d) Complying with international law is important, even if it contradicts the national interest.
7. How much do you support or oppose President Javier Milei?
   (a) Strongly support
   (b) Somewhat support
   (c) Neither support nor oppose
   (d) Somewhat oppose
   (e) Strongly oppose
8. How much do you support or oppose US President Donald Trump?
   (a) Strongly support
   (b) Somewhat support
   (c) Neither support nor oppose
   (d) Somewhat oppose
   (e) Strongly oppose
9. How do you feel about the US as a country?
   (a) Strongly support
   (b) Somewhat support
   (c) Neither support nor oppose
   (d) Somewhat oppose
   (e) Strongly oppose
10. How likely do you think it will be that President Javier Milei withdraws Argentina from the Paris Agreement?
   (a) Not likely at all
   (b) Not very likely

(c) Neither likely nor unlikely

(d) Somewhat likely

(e) Very likely

11. Did US President Donald Trump withdraw the US from the Paris Agreement?

    (a) Yes

    (b) No

    (c) I don't know

12. Do you think it is necessary for the US to participate in the Paris Agreement in order for it to be effective?

    (a) Strongly agree

    (b) Somewhat agree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat disagree

    (e) Strongly disagree

13. Do you think it is necessary for Argentina to participate in the Paris Agreement in order for it to be effective?

    (a) Strongly agree

    (b) Somewhat agree

    (c) Neither agree nor disagree

    (d) Somewhat disagree

    (e) Strongly disagree

14. How important is it to you that Argentina remains in the following international agreements? (Respondent selects from Very important, somewhat important, neither important nor unimportant, somewhat unimportant, very unimportant)

    (a) Human rights agreements (for example, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) or the Convention on the Rights of the Child

    (b) Security agreements (for example, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which bans all nuclear explosions)

    (c) Environmental agreements (for example, the Montreal Protocol which protects the atmosphere)

    (d) Economic agreements (for example, the World Trade Organization agreements, which encourage trade between countries)

SI-5 Ethics Statement

This study has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Boards of the authors' universities and granted exempted status.

SI-6 AI Disclosure Statement

The authors used ChatGPT 5.2, accessed through the OpenAI ChatGPT web interface, to assist with editing portions of the code used to generate the figures presented in this paper and to identify supporting information, including illustrative examples and public opinion polls. All AI-assisted code and supporting materials were reviewed, edited, and approved by the principal investigators prior to inclusion in the manuscript.