# Political support for carbon taxation with income and urban-rural inequality

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Carbon taxation theoretically efficient tool to reduce emissions

### Low support for carbon taxation



Carbon taxation theoretically efficient tool to reduce emissions

But implementation limited by low political support

• Examples: Yellow vests in France, failure of Swiss carbon tax in referendum



## Why is carbon taxation unpopular ?



#### Perceived personal cost

- Salience (fuel, energy bills)
- Un-elastic demand in the short run ("subsistence" consumption)

#### Fairness concerns

• reviewed in Maestre-Andrés et al. (2019)

Related to distributional effects of carbon taxation

### Distributional effects of carbon taxation



#### Vertical

- Richer households tend to spend more in carbon-intensive goods than poorer households, in absolute value
- but less in relative terms  $\rightarrow$  regressive

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#### Horizontal

- Households in the same income group face different tax burdens (e.g. Cronin et al. 2019, Douenne, 2020)
- Heterogeneity in "subsistence" expenditures: car commute, heating efficiency...



*Could political support for carbon taxation be limited by its horizontal distributional impacts ?* 

Redistribution of tax revenue proposed to make carbon taxes progressive and more acceptable.

Does this still hold when horizontal distributional effects are important ?

### Method



Model of political support for carbon taxation at the national level

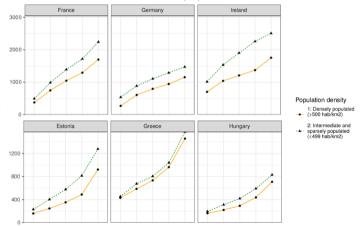
- Incidence based on income and rural-urban heterogeneity
- Rural-urban: heterogeneity in subsistence fuel and energy expenditure
- Political support:
  - Carbon tax supported by median voter
  - Heterogeneity in support (concentrated "losers"?)

Applied to European countries (Eurostat data)

### Engel curves for energy and fuel expenditures



Mean per adult energy and fuel expenditure ( $\in$ ), by expenditure quintile and density, 2015



 $\Rightarrow$  Heterogeneity in role of rural-urban inequalities in energy expenditures.

# **Key findings**



*Could political support for carbon taxation be limited by its horizontal distributional impacts ?* 

- Small effect on median voter support for carbon tax
- But for some countries: important gap in support between urban and rural populations.

Effect of redistributing the revenues from the carbon tax lump-sum ?

- Makes the tax progressive
- But rural-urban burden inequality not solved
  - In some countries, rural median voter still net loser while urban net beneficiary
- Positive but small effect on support for the carbon tax



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