THE BEHAVIOURAL INSIGHTS TEAM | nesta

Understanding public support for Net Zero policies

Insights from an online experiment and focus groups

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Executive Summary

The context: To date, progress in decarbonising the UK economy has largely been achieved by addressing supply-side emissions and in ways which do not disrupt consumers' lifestyles, such as transitioning from coal-fired to gas-fired power stations. The path ahead will be more difficult. According to the Climate Change Committee, a hefty 62% of the necessary emissions cuts from now to Net Zero will rely on changes in behaviour: 53% require 'technology adoption behaviours' like heat pumps and electric vehicles, while 9% relate to 'lifestyle changes', including reducing meat and dairy consumption, limiting car use, and curbing the growth of aviation.[1] Many people face real obstacles to these changes - such as cost, convenience, motivation, uncertainty, and lack of awareness - that make these choices difficult. Additionally, even the measures that the government can implement more independently, such as decarbonising the energy grid and building the required infrastructure, still require public support as well as careful coordination of a range of public and private sector actors. Achieving these goals may require bold policy action to drive the necessary behavioural and infrastructural changes. Without careful management, there is a risk that these issues could become highly politicised or dominated by negative narratives, potentially undermining the public mandate for action.

To that end, we (The Behavioural Insights Team; BIT) were commissioned by the European Climate Foundation (ECF) and Nesta to better understand public attitudes to Net Zero policies, the factors that underpin support or opposition, and what can done in the way policies are designed to increase popularity.

What did we do? We first reviewed literature in May 2024 to draw out principles that have been shown to increase support for policies, such as whether the public perceive them as fair and effective (see key finding 1). We then conducted further research to shortlist a set of Net Zero issues where policy action is likely to be required, but may be controversial. For each of these areas, we picked a specific policy that could be proposed to address this issue. Table 1 below shows these policy issues in column 1, and the specific policy to address the issue, in its 'standard form', in column 2. From these, and drawing on our identified principles of support, we developed a set of variants of each of these policies to observe how support for these policies vary (columns 3-6). Then, between May and June 2024, we conducted five focus groups with seven participants each from the UK public to explore support for these policies. Finally, we ran an online experiment with a nationally general population sample of 3,008 UK participants to further test and understand the extent of support.

Key finding 1: There are a variety of principles that can be applied to increase support for net zero policies. From our literature review we identified:

[1]Climate Change Committee. Progress in reducing emissions - 2022 Report to Parliament. https://www.theccc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Progress-in-reducing-emissions-2022-Report-to-Parliament.pdf

Communication: Improving public understanding of policy necessity and benefits through transparent communication and framing of objectives around diverse needs and co-benefits.

Public engagement: Enhancing public agency and support through comprehensive public consultation and stakeholder engagement.

Incentives and financial support: Balancing incentives and penalties to encourage sustainable choices, ensuring policies are financially accessible and fair, with support for those negatively impacted.

Fairness: Implementing progressive policies that consider the impact on different groups, ensuring protections for vulnerable populations to maintain public support.

'Upstream' policies targeting businesses: Making sustainable choices easier and more accessible by shifting the responsibility to businesses and investing in supporting infrastructure.

Timeline, phasing, and milestones: Introducing policies gradually with clear timelines and milestones, allowing time for adaptation and avoiding rushed transitions.

Guarantees and protections: Providing safety nets and consumer protections to mitigate risks associated with new technologies or policies, ensuring that people do not end up worse off.

Exemptions: Allow for exemptions in cases where policies could create impossible circumstances for certain groups, ensuring flexibility and fairness.

Adaptation and flexibility: Design policies that are adaptable, allowing for adjustments based on technological advances, societal changes, and real-world outcomes.

Key finding 2: As shown in Table 1 below, policies supporting green infrastructure and heat pumps are relatively popular, likely because they are seen as essential yet minimally intrusive, especially when financial and consumer protections address concerns about costs and risks. Conversely, ULEZ expansion and meat reduction policies are less popular, likely due to their direct impositions on everyday life, such as increased driving costs and restrictions, and significant alterations to personal diets.

Table 1. *Net Zero policies (with shading to reflect levels of support)*

Policy area	Control policy	Policy variant A	Policy variant B	Policy variant C	Policy variant D
Ban on internal combustion vehicle (ICEV) sale	**Ban on the sale of new ICEVs**	Ban + regulated pricing on public charging costs	Ban + financial support for electric vehicles	Ban, but only if public charging infrastructure and EV costs meet targets	Phased approach to ban for more gradual transition to electric vehicles
Ultra low emission zone (ULEZ) expansion	**ULEZ expansion across major UK cities**	ULEZ expansion but with certain exemptions (e.g., those on low income)	Revenue used to fund sustainable transport	Greater community engagement on ULEZ schemes	Low traffic neighbourhood expansion instead of ULEZ
Green infrastructure & planning	**Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion**	Introduce cooperatives ownership offering financial incentives	Greater transparency on selection of sites	Finance green infrastructure though Increased energy bills	Finance green infrastructure with special opt-in tariff
Meat & dairy reduction	**Meat & dairy tax**	Tax + financial support for domestic farmers to adopt greener practices	Set targets for supermarkets instead of tax	Cut subsidies for meat/dairy instead of tax	No tax, just meat & dairy carbon labelling
Heat pump adoption	**Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (ban)**	Same ban, but with opt-in community/ collective purchasing of heat pumps	Same ban, but with financial support to ensure price parity with boilers	Same ban, but added consumer guarantees: installation, comfort and performance	No ban, instead raising gas prices and reducing electricity prices
Flight demand reduction	**Frequent flyer levy**	Frequent flyer levy + Higher levies for private jets	Aviation fuel tax increase instead of frequent flyer levy		
	Ban on short-haul domestic flights	Ban + Fair price guarantee for overland travel	Ban + train quality commitment		

% who do not oppose the policy

< 25th percentile (least popular)

≥ 25th percentile ≤ 75th percentile

>75th percentile (most popular)

Key finding 3: As shown in Table 2 below (the same data but highlighting the differences between the 'control policy' and the variants), our study shows that in five out of the six policy areas tested, a clear majority of respondents did not oppose the control policy. In the sixth area - meat and dairy reduction - there were policy variants that received similar levels of support, despite the proposed meat and tax being relatively unpopular.

Key finding 4: Incorporating key support principles (written in blue text in Table 2), such as fairness, incentives, and financial support, into policy modifications often enhanced popularity across various policy areas. However, in our experiment we did not find a single principle that consistently boosts popularity. Rather, increasing a policy's popularity depends on tailoring improvements to address specific concerns associated with the original control policy. This could involve enhancing fairness in some cases or strengthening consumer protections in others, suggesting that a one-size-fits-all approach would be ineffective. That said, we also asked participants to directly rate policies in terms of their fairness, feasibility and effectiveness to achieve Net Zero goals, and when looking at the relationship between policy popularity and perceived fairness, effectiveness and feasibility, we find strong positive correlations. This suggests that these three factors may be especially important to consider

when looking to improve the popularity of a given Net Zero policy.

Table 2. *Key findings on policy variant comparisons*

Policy area	Control policy (% who do not oppose)	Policy variant A	Policy variant B	Policy variant C	Policy variant D
Ban on ICEV sale	**Ban on the sale of new ICEVs (58%)**	EV charging cost guarantee +10pp** Principle: Guarantees and protections & fairness	Financial support +5pp+ Principle: Incentives and financial support	Charging infrastructure and vehicle cost commitments +6pp+ Principle: Guarantees and protections	Phased approach for more gradual transition +6pp* Principle: Phased approach
ULEZ expansion	**ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (56%)**	Exemptions Principle: Exemptions	Fund sustainable transport Principle: 'Upstream' policies targeting businesses	Community engagement Principle: Public engagement	LTN expansion (alternative) +11pp** Principle: Disincentive
Green infrastructure & planning	**Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion (89%)**	Cooperatives (benefits) Principle: Incentives and financial support & fairness	Greater transparency (process) Principle: Communication	Increased energy bills (financing) -21pp** No principle (this policy variant merely introduces a standard financing option)	Green energy tariff (financing) -5pp* Principle: Fairness
Meat & dairy reduction	**Meat & dairy tax (36%)**	Support domestic farmers +10pp** Principle: Fairness	Supermarket targets (alternative) +18pp** Principle: Incentives and financial support	Cut grants for meat/dairy (alternative) +11pp** Principle: Disincentive	Meat & dairy carbon labelling (alternative) +44pp** Principle: Communication
Heat pump adoption	**Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (71%)**	Energy co-operatives Principle: Incentives and financial support & guarantees and protections	Financial support +5pp+ Principle: Incentives and financial support	Consumer protections - installation, comfort and performance guarantees Principle: Guarantees and protections	Gas levy (alternative) Principle: Incentives and financial support
Flight demand reduction	**Frequent flyer levy (68%)**	Higher levies for private jets Principle: Fairness	Aviation fuel tax increase (alternative) Principle: Disincentives		
	Ban on short-haul domestic flights (65%)	Fair price guarantee for overland public transport on same route Principle: Incentives and financial support & guarantees and protections	Train quality commitment Principle: Guarantees and projections & 'Upstream' policies targeting businesses		

*Note. % refers to the % who did not oppose the policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Green shading indicates the policy was more popular than the relevant Control policy. Red shading indicates the policy was less popular than the relevant Control policy.*

Key finding 5: The above data and insights from the focus groups reveals two main types of objections to policy: objections to the policy's intended outcomes, and objections to how the policy achieves those outcomes. Some individuals may resist the policy's aims, such as reducing meat consumption or limiting driving, making it difficult to address these concerns without compromising the policy's effectiveness. Others may support the goals but worry about fairness, effectiveness, or potential risks. For example, low traffic neighbourhoods were seen as fairer and more popular than ULEZ schemes, likely because they impact everyone equally and may be perceived to offer broader benefits. Similarly, the transition to heat pumps was generally accepted once concerns focused on ensuring performance, quality, and cost protections had been addressed.

Key recommendations:

1. Given the overall finding that the identified support principles often lead to increases in popularity, **policymakers may benefit from considering all of the principles we have identified when looking to enhance the popularity of Net Zero policies**, provided they do not clash (e.g. incentives vs. fairness, or exemptions vs. fairness), and noting there is no silver bullet - all potential modifications should be considered in developing a bespoke approach for each policy area. This is further supported by our qualitative research, in which participants broadly welcomed measures to increase acceptability such as improved public engagement, fairness, and guarantees, across policy areas. However, further thinking is required around the nuances of the policy in question and what changes are required to address the specific issues associated with the policy.
2. **Implement specific measures for effective policy delivery, as suggested by our policy area-specific findings**. For example, regulate public electric vehicle charging costs to be equivalent to home charging rates, consider expanding low traffic neighbourhoods as an alternative to expanding ULEZ, continue to provide adequate financial support for the installation of heat pumps, and implement carbon or environmental labelling for meat and dairy products (or all food) to inform consumers about the environmental impact of their choices.
3. **Follow these steps to design more acceptable Net Zero policies:**
    a. Assess the initial acceptability of potential policies through public consultation and research to identify key objections.
    b. Strengthen policies by incorporating principles like fairness, financial support, and transparency, drawing on principles that are most able to mitigate key objections.
    c. Continuously monitor and adapt policies to ensure they meet intended outcomes and maintain public support.

More detailed recommendations, including policy-specific recommendations and guidance on designing more acceptable Net Zero policies, can be found in the recommendations section of the report.

Background

Progress in decarbonising the UK economy has been significant, but much of it has relied on addressing supply-side challenges that cause little disruption to our lives. The shift from coal-fired to gas-fired power stations, for example, was a crucial step, but it was also a relatively low-hanging fruit in the broader context of reducing emissions. As the UK moves forward in its commitment to achieving net-zero emissions, the challenges ahead are expected to be far more complex. The next phase of decarbonisation will require tackling deeply ingrained behaviours and making widespread changes across various sectors of society, which presents a much more difficult task.

Looking ahead, the Climate Change Committee shows that 62% of the required emissions cuts will depend heavily on changes in behaviour.[2] This includes not only the adoption of low-carbon technologies like heat pumps and electric vehicles but also significant lifestyle adjustments, such as reducing meat and dairy consumption, decreasing car usage, and restricting the growth of aviation. However, many people face significant barriers that make these changes challenging. The cost of new technologies, the convenience of current habits, and the lack of motivation or awareness about the importance of these shifts all contribute to the difficulty in making more sustainable choices. These barriers help explain why there is opposition to some of the measures needed for decarbonisation. The challenge, therefore, is not just technological but deeply social and psychological, requiring a shift in how individuals perceive and engage with the idea of a low-carbon future.

Moreover, even the initiatives that the government can undertake on the supply-side, such as the decarbonisation of the energy grid and the development of the necessary infrastructure, are not without their challenges. Public engagement and support are crucial for the success of these initiatives, yet achieving this can be difficult. The changes required to overhaul the energy grid, for example, are substantial and often involve disruptions or costs that may be unpopular. Without strong public backing, these essential projects could face delays or opposition, making it harder to achieve the UK's decarbonisation goals. This underscores the importance of not only designing effective policies but also communicating them in a way that resonates with the public and builds broad-based support.

In all cases, driving forward the behavioural and infrastructural changes needed to meet the UK’s climate targets will likely require bold and decisive policy action. However, there is a real risk that these efforts could become highly politicised or dominated by negative narratives in public discourse. If this happens, the mandate for necessary actions could be eroded, making it even more difficult to achieve the ambitious emissions reductions required. It is essential for policymakers to be mindful of these dynamics and to work proactively to build and maintain public support for the tough decisions that lie ahead. Without this support,

[2]Climate Change Committee. Progress in reducing emissions - 2022 Report to Parliament. https://www.theccc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Progress-in-reducing-emissions-2022-Report-to-Parliament.pdf

the path to a decarbonised economy may become increasingly fraught with challenges, potentially slowing the progress that has been made so far.

To that end, we (The Behavioural Insights Team; BIT) were commissioned by the European Climate Foundation (ECF) and Nesta to better understand public attitudes to Net Zero policies, the factors that underpin support or opposition, and what can done in the way policies are designed to increase popularity. **Our approach spanned four key phases of work:**

1. **Identify areas where policy measures will likely be needed to drive behaviour change**, but are at significant risk of being **contentious** or **exposed to political risk.**
    a. We did this by assessing a wide range of data on public attitudes, support for policies, willingness to make sustainable lifestyle changes, and barriers to engagement. This allowed us to identify a list of 'important but contentious green policies'.
2. **Understand the underlying principles and evidence on what makes policy more or less popular with the public.**
    a. By undertaking an evidence review, we identified 9 key principles, including factors such as perceived fairness, perceived policy effectiveness, consumer risk, restrictiveness, the balance of sticks vs. carrots, etc.
3. **Apply these principles to the 'high risk' policies in order to generate more popular variants of them**. For example, how can we design a boiler ban in a way which allays public concern, but leverages principles of fairness, or enhanced consumer protections?
4. **Test these policy ideas with the public**. We did this qualitatively (focus groups) and quantitatively (through a large-sample online experiment).

Methodology

We used the following methodologies to conduct this research:

Evidence review to identify focal policy areas (e.g. aviation demand, diet shift), and principles (e.g. fairness, consumer protections) for designing more acceptable versions of these policies

Policy development with key project stakeholders to develop a range of policy ideas and variants for testing with the general public

5x online **focus groups**,each with 7 members of the general public, to qualitatively explore support and other perceptions towards our policies

Online experiment with 3,008 UK adults to quantitatively test support and other perceptions towards our policies

Evidence review

We analysed data from dozens of past BIT projects and data on policy support from IPSOS, CAST, YouGov and others to help us identify Net Zero policy areas based on several criteria:

- Their level of public support, prioritising broad policy topics (e.g. 'ULEZ schemes') or policy objectives (e.g. 'transitioning to EVs') that are currently **unpopular** or have the potential to be / become **controversial**
- Policies or outcomes that are likely to be **necessary in some form**, because they represent important carbon abatement requirements, and/or voluntary adoption is unlikely to be sufficient and therefore government intervention will be required.
- Have scope for us to **explore innovative variants** which may increase public popularity - this was in turn informed by our understanding of objections to these policies or outcomes, and thus our ability to design more nuanced policies which address those objections.

This led us to select the following policy areas:

1. Phasing out ICEVs → EVs

2. ULEZ expansion

3. Green infrastructure & planning

4. Meat & dairy reduction

5. Heat pump adoption

6. Flight demand reduction
- **a. Frequent flyer levy**
- **b. Ban on short haul domestic flights**

To develop more popular variants of these policies, we scanned the available literature to identify the following principles for increasing policy support (Table 3 below):

Table 3. *Principles for increasing policy support*

Strategy	**Concern we're trying to address** (there is evidence these issues exist, and they impact public support for policy)	**Examples** of how we might vary or augment policy in line with this strategy
1. Communication 	• Poor awareness of the necessity of and effectiveness of policy • Poor awareness of the benefits to the individual and to society	• Transparent communication of policy objectives, its rationale, and benefits • Framing policy objectives in terms of different needs or co-benefits
2. Public engagement 	• Lack of agency or control • Weak mandate (e.g. was not in manifesto) • Procedural fairness	• Public consultation and stakeholder engagement processes (e.g. deliberative public engagement methods)
3. Incentives and financial support 	• High costs, and a low willingness to pay for sustainable choices • Poor access to funds to cover upfront costs • Loss of livelihood, or negative economic impacts • Perceived legitimacy of revenue generation through the policy • NIMBYism / unfair disadvantage to some regions or communities when others benefit	• Achieve the right balance of 'carrot' vs. 'stick' • Tax and rebate to ensure emissions are discouraged but penalties offset with windfalls • Price guarantees linked to policies e.g. 'no-one will be worse off for making the sustainable choice' • Supplementary finance solutions e.g. interest-free loans • More progressive or targeted (dis)incentives • Support for the 'losers' e.g. re-training, compensation

		• Ringfence revenue for relevant expenditure • Community benefit schemes (e.g. dividends or local ownership of energy infrastructure)
4. Fairness 	• Fairness ranks very highly in public support for policy	• Progressive (dis)incentives or impacts • Exclusions or protections for specific groups e.g. low-income, or those without a choice
5. 'Upstream' policies which target e.g. businesses 	• Sustainable choices are too difficult if not readily available or easy to access • Sticks are only acceptable if the sustainable choice is easy and cheap • Responsibility: 'Government and business need to do their bit'	• Investment in infrastructure to support policy goals (e.g., EV charging stations, transport) • Guarantees relating to infrastructure (e.g. EV ban is contingent on HMG successfully delivering public charging strategy) • Use of market mechanisms & 'upstream' incentives which shift burden of change away from consumers.
6. Timeline, phasing, and milestones 	• Perceptions of being coerced into new or unfamiliar options too quickly • Too much too fast (e.g. homes moving to HPs when many homes are not (perceived as) HP-ready yet) • Lack of clarity and understanding of what the plan /roadmap is	• Gradual implementation of policies with clear timelines and milestones • Pushing back implementation dates, or having different dates for different market segments (e.g. commercial fleets vs. private cars)
7. Guarantees and protections 	Real and perceived risks of: • Ineffective technologies (e.g. HP doesn't warm my home enough, cause a noise disturbance etc) • Ending up worse off (e.g. running costs end up high)	• Safety nets to protect vulnerable groups from negative impacts of policies • Clearer responsibility put on suppliers, installers etc, i.e. consumer protections against specific bad outcomes and mandatory standards for consumer-facing products • 'Golden rules' on which policy implementation is contingent, e.g. price parity with the old technology must be met before a proposed ban takes

		place.
8. Exemptions 	• Legitimate policies may cause impossible circumstance for some segments	• E.g. ULEZ exemptions for disabled or lowest-income, landlord EPC exemptions for certain property types
9. Adaptation and flexibility 	• Disagreement on whether the policy is the right approach for the country • Diversity in needs and views • Government should not choose winners, let the market decide	• Policies designed to be adaptive and flexible, allowing for future adjustments based on real-world outcomes • Mechanisms to quickly respond to technological advances or societal changes

Policy development

We used some of these principles to help us design more popular variants of our chosen Net Zero policies, which we present in Table 4 below. In each case we sought to use principles that fitted the policy and our understanding (from many past projects on these topics) of what the key objections were likely to be. For example, we know that some of the main barriers to EV adoption relate to upfront cost, the availability and perceived inconvenience of public charging (associated with range anxiety), the cost of public vs. private charging for those without off-street parking, and one-car households finding early adoption harder than two-car households. The four policy variants we designed aimed to each address one of these concerns.

Table 4. The key Net Zero policies and policy variants that were explored in our research

Policy area	Control policy	Policy variant A	Policy variant B	Policy variant C	Policy variant D
Ban on internal combustion engine vehicle (ICEV) sale 	**Ban on the sale of new internal combustion engine vehicles**	Ban + regulated pricing on public charging costs	Ban + financial support for EVs	Ban, but only if public charging infrastructure and EV costs meet targets	Phased approach to ban for more gradual transition to EVs
Ultra low emission zone (ULEZ) expansion 	**ULEZ expansion across major UK cities**	ULEZ expansion but with certain exemptions (e.g. for low income individuals)	Revenue used to fund sustainable transport	Greater community engagement on ULEZ schemes	Low traffic neighbourhood expansion instead of ULEZ
Green infrastructure & planning 	**Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion**	Introduce cooperatives ownership offering financial benefits	Greater transparency on selection of sites	Finance green infrastructure though Increased energy bills	Finance green infrastructure with special opt-in tariff

Meat & dairy reduction 	**Meat & dairy tax**	Tax + financial support to help domestic farmers adopt greener practices	Set targets for supermarkets instead of tax	Cut subsidies for meat/dairy instead of tax	No tax, just meat & dairy carbon labelling
Heat pump adoption 	**Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers**	Same ban, but with opt-in community/ collective purchasing of heat pumps	Same ban, but with financial support to ensure price parity with boilers	Same ban, but added consumer guarantees: installation, comfort and performance	No ban, instead raising gas prices and reducing electricity prices
Flight demand reduction* 	**Frequent flyer levy**	Frequent flyer levy + Higher levies for private jets	Aviation fuel tax increase instead of frequent flyer levy		
	Ban on short-haul domestic flights	Ban + Fair price guarantee for overland travel	Ban + train quality commitment		

Note. We made comparisons to the relevant 'Control' policies. Full policy stimuli included in appendix F. Policy additions involved augmenting the original or control policy with supplemental features, whereas a policy alternative replaced the original with an entirely different approach.
*Participants were randomly assigned to one of six of the flight demand reduction arms (n = 500 each).

Focus groups

We then conducted five online focus groups, each including seven members of the UK public. Each focus group covered one policy area of interest, allowing us to recruit participants that would be particularly affected by each policy (see appendix A for more detail). We took this approach as we wanted to overrepresent potential objections and concerns about a policy.

Table 5. *Key sample characteristics of focus groups*

Focus group 1: Heat pump adoption	Focus group 2: Green infrastructure & planning	Focus group 3: Meat & dairy reduction	Focus group 4: Flight demand reduction	Focus group 5: Reduced ICEV use & ULEZ expansion
Home owner-occupiers, landlords & tenants	**Individuals living in regions with planned green infrastructure development:** e.g. South West, East Anglia, Yorkshire/Humber, living in green-belt areas	**Individuals who consume meat as part of their regular diets**	**Regular flyers:** individuals who have flown once or more in the last year for leisure and people who have flown once or more in the last year for business	**Car ownership** with a mix of ICEV and EV drivers, as well as a mix in **urbanicity:** including individuals living in urban and rural areas

The focus groups were designed to assess public perceptions and acceptability of our Net Zero policies and policy variants. Each session began with a clear presentation of the policy in question, using stimuli slides to ensure all participants had a standardised understanding. Following this initial discussion, focus groups were then presented with alternative options or additional elements that could enhance the original policy. Participants were then encouraged to evaluate whether these modifications represented improvements and to

express their preferences between the original and the revised policies. During the sessions, participants were guided through a series of structured questions to elicit detailed feedback. They were asked to rate the acceptability of the policy and to express their personal support or opposition. Further probing helped uncover the participants' understanding of the policy's benefits, its effectiveness towards Net Zero goals, and any personal or general concerns they might have regarding implementation, feasibility, and fairness. The discussion also invited suggestions for improving the policy and explored participants' preparedness to adapt to potential changes. The facilitator aimed to encourage dynamic interactions to ensure a variety of perspectives were captured, using follow-up questions where appropriate to delve deeper into the issues raised.

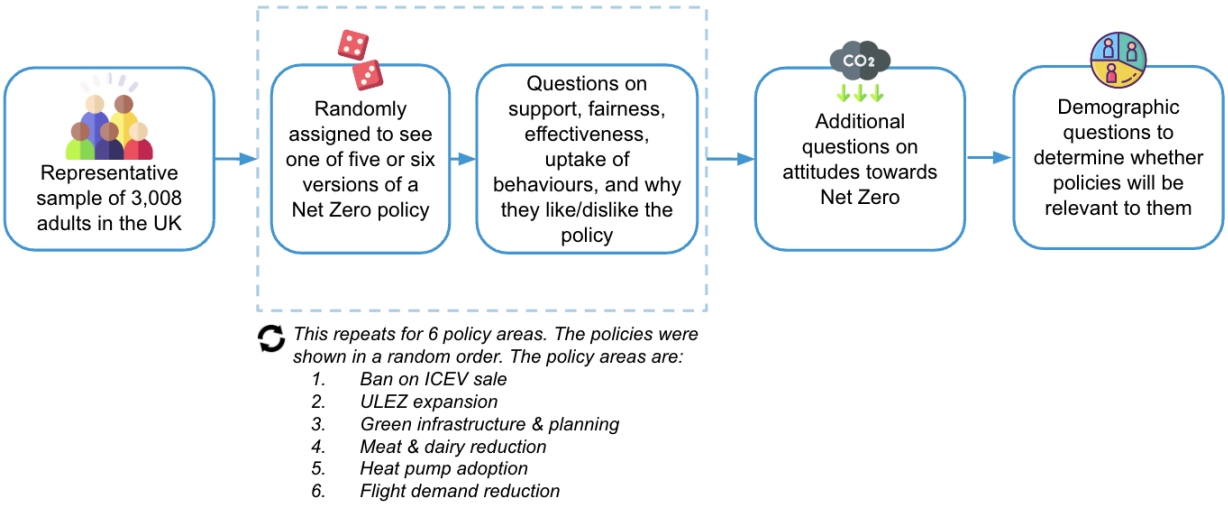
In addition to gaining useful qualitative insights on the policies, we used the findings from the focus groups to inform the design of our online experiment:

- In the focus groups, we tested a slightly wider variety of policies, and removed some of the less interesting (those people had little to say about), confusing, or indistinguishable policies (participants struggled to differentiate them from other variants). This left us with the list of policies in Table 4 (above) for the experiment.
- We also refined some of the descriptions of the policy ideas based on qualitative feedback for clarity and distinctness from each other. In this sense, it was a useful process of 'user testing' the policy stimuli ahead of the main experiment to ensure the descriptions were as intuitive as possible.

Online experiment

Our online experiment involved testing all of our policies with a representative sample of 3,008 UK adults between 30 May - 10 June 2024. We targeted a general population sample to capture a more nationally representative view, i.e. balanced characteristics such as gender, age, regionality and ethnicity, and not selective to certain groups as the qualitative sample was (see appendix B for more information on sample characteristics).

The participant journey of the online experiment was as follows:



High level findings across policies

In this section, we present more general findings across the Net Zero policies tested in our research, focusing on how different policy areas and their respective policy variants were received in terms of public support, and explore the underlying reasons for these trends.

Green infrastructure and heat pump policies were most popular; ULEZ and meat policies were least popular (Table 6).

Table 6. *Net Zero policies (with shading to reflect levels of support)*

Policy area	Proposed policy (Control)	Addition/ alternative A	Addition/ alternative B	Addition/ alternative C	Addition/ alternative D
Ban on ICEV sale	**Ban on the sale of new ICEVs**	Ban, but with regulated pricing on public charging costs	Ban, but with Financial support for EVs	Ban, but only if public charging infrastructure and EV costs meet targets	Phased approach to ban for more gradual transition to EVs
ULEZ expansion	**ULEZ expansion across major UK cities**	ULEZ expansion but with certain exemptions	Revenue used to fund sustainable transport	Greater community engagement on ULEZ schemes	LTN expansion instead of ULEZ
Green infrastructure & planning	**Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion**	Introduce cooperatives ownership (incentive)	Greater transparency on selection of sites	Finance green infrastructure though Increased energy bills	Finance green infrastructure with special opt-in tariff
Meat & dairy reduction	**Meat & dairy tax**	Tax, but support domestic farmers	Set targets for supermarkets instead of tax	Cut subsidies for meat/dairy instead of tax	No tax, just meat & dairy carbon labelling
Heat pump adoption	**Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (ban)**	Same ban, but with opt-in community/ collective purchasing of heat pumps	Same ban, but with financial support to ensure price parity with boilers	Same ban, but added consumer guarantees: - installation, comfort and performance	No ban, instead raising gas prices and reducing electricity prices
Flight demand reduction	**Frequent flyer levy (FFL)**	FFL + Higher levies for private jets	Aviation fuel tax increase instead of FFL		
	Ban on short-haul domestic flights	Ban + Fair price guarantee for overland travel	Ban + train quality commitment		

% who do not oppose the policy

< 25th percentile (least popular) | ≥ 25th percentile ≤ 75th percentile | >75th percentile (most popular)

As seen in Table 6 above, policies promoting green infrastructure and heat pumps were relatively popular. Green infrastructure was likely favoured because its necessity is recognised while minimally impacting most individuals' daily lives (noting our sample was general population, not specific to affected regions - ample evidence shows that opposition to green energy infrastructure is most strongly expressed in the areas in which it is planned, meaning regional objection should still be expected). Heat pump policies were relatively popular when specific concerns around cost and consumer risk were addressed through

financial support or consumer protections. This suggests that people do not have a strong view on their heating system per se, but just need reassurance on price and performance - and these concerns can readily be addressed through policy design.

In contrast, ULEZ and meat reduction policies were the most unpopular, likely because they impose direct restrictions and financial burdens on our everyday lives. ULEZ expansion affects drivers by increasing costs and limiting vehicle use, while meat reduction policies challenge personal dietary choices.

Objections may relate to the policy objectives/outcome, or to the means of achieving that outcome. The above data and insights from the focus groups reveal two main types of objections to policy: objections to the policy's intended outcomes, and objections to how the policy achieves those outcomes. Some individuals may resist the policy's aims, such as reducing meat consumption or limiting driving. In these cases, fundamental disagreement with the objectives may be difficult to address without diluting the policy's effectiveness, for example by introducing exemptions, or taking a much softer approach which is easier for consumers to disregard (e.g. carbon labels on meat and dairy rather than a tax). In other cases, people may be accepting of the policy objectives, but have concerns about how they will be achieved, or specific concerns about particular risks. For example, preferring subsidies over taxes on meat and dairy. Similarly, financing green infrastructure through an optional tariff was considered much fairer, and thus more popular, than through universal energy bill increases. Similarly, the transition to heat pumps, via a future ban on boilers, was generally accepted, but more so once concerns about upfront cost, performance, and quality had been addressed.

> *"If they want us to move to a different diet, instead of making meat & dairy more expensive, incentivise meat & dairy alternatives - subsidise them to make them cheaper"* **(Meat and dairy demand reduction focus group).**

As shown in Table 7 below, which details the percentage point change in acceptability between control policies and corresponding policy variants, **our results also show that incorporating a wide variety of principles, such as fairness, incentives, and financial support, has the potential to significantly increase popularity across various policy areas**. However, there is not a single principle that consistently boosts popularity.[3] Instead, the effectiveness of increasing policy popularity hinges on tailoring improvements to address the specific concerns associated with the original control policy. For example, while some policies saw significant gains in popularity by providing financial incentives, others required fairness enhancements or consumer guarantees to achieve a similar effect. This finding

[3]A few caveats must be made: First, had we been able to test many more policies and applied the principles in a consistent manner (e.g. all policies have a variation which is designed to increase fairness, all have a variant designed to offer greater consumer protection, etc.) we might have observed stronger patterns regarding which principles increase policy popularity. However in practice, this was not possible, both because with a limited sample size we can only test a limited number of policies, and because all of the starting policies are unique and lend themselves to different variations.

suggests that a one-size-fits-all approach would be ineffective, and policymakers should focus on identifying and addressing the unique barriers to support for each policy. By doing so, they can more effectively design policy additions and alternatives that resonate with the public's values and concerns, thereby increasing overall support. Some of these objections may refer to unpopular outcomes ('the outcomes are unfair', 'it would negatively impact my life', 'it would force me to spend money I do not want to spend', etc.), while others relate to the way the policy works ('the means of the policy is unfair', 'it's too coercive', 'I do not think it would be effective', etc.)

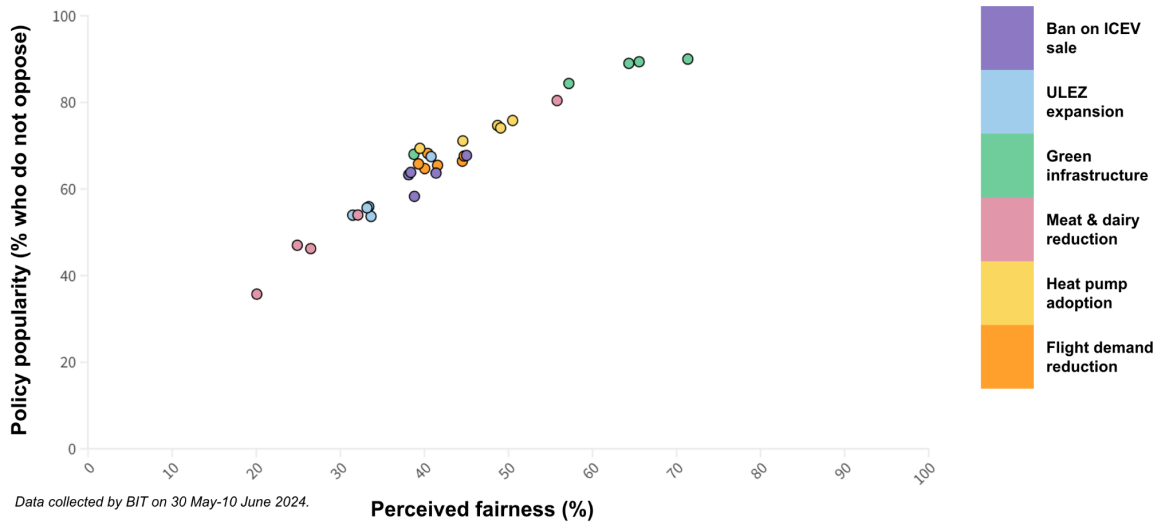
Table 7. *Key findings on policy variant comparisons*

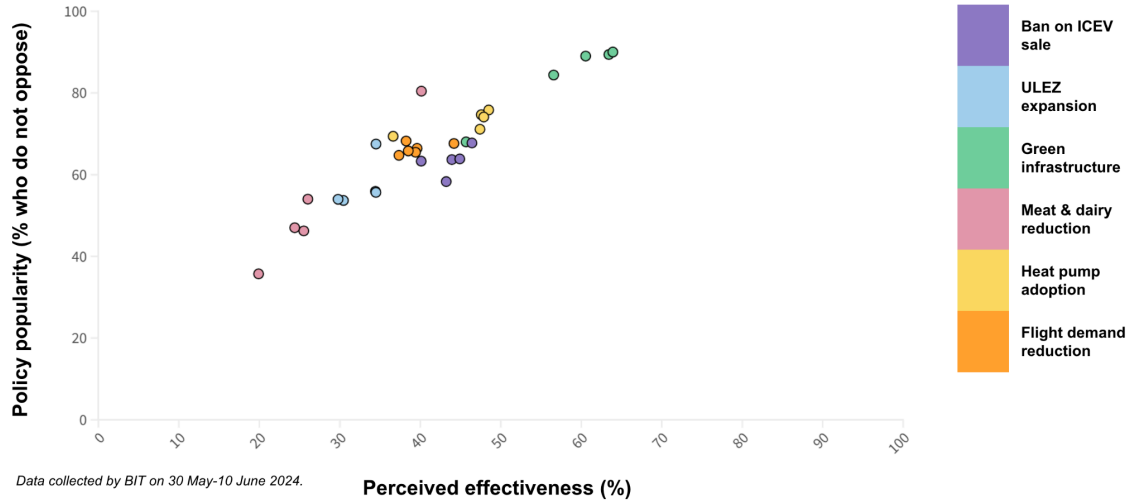
Policy area	Control policy (% who did not oppose)	Addition/ alternative A	Addition/ alternative B	Addition/ alternative C	Addition/ alternative D
Ban on ICEV sale	**Ban on the sale of new ICEVs (58%)**	EV charging cost guarantee +10pp**	Financial support +5pp+	Charging infrastructure and vehicle cost commitments +6pp+	Phased approach for more gradual transition +6pp*
ULEZ expansion	**ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (56%)**	Exemptions	Fund sustainable transport	Community engagement	LTN expansion (alternative) +11pp**
Green infrastructure & planning	**Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion (89%)**	Cooperatives (benefits)	Greater transparency (process)	Increased energy bills (financing) -21pp**	Green energy tariff (financing) -5pp*
Meat & dairy reduction	**Meat & dairy tax (36%)**	Support domestic farmers +10pp**	Supermarket targets (alternative) +18pp**	Cut grants for meat/dairy (alternative) +11pp**	Meat & dairy carbon labelling (alternative) +44pp**
Heat pump adoption	**Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (71%)**	Energy co-operatives	Financial support +5pp+	Consumer protections - installation, comfort and performance guarantees	Gas levy (alternative)
Flight demand reduction	**Frequent flyer levy (68%)**	Higher levies for private jets	Aviation fuel tax increase (alternative)		
	Ban on short-haul domestic flights (65%)	Fair price guarantee for overland public transport on same route	Train quality commitment		

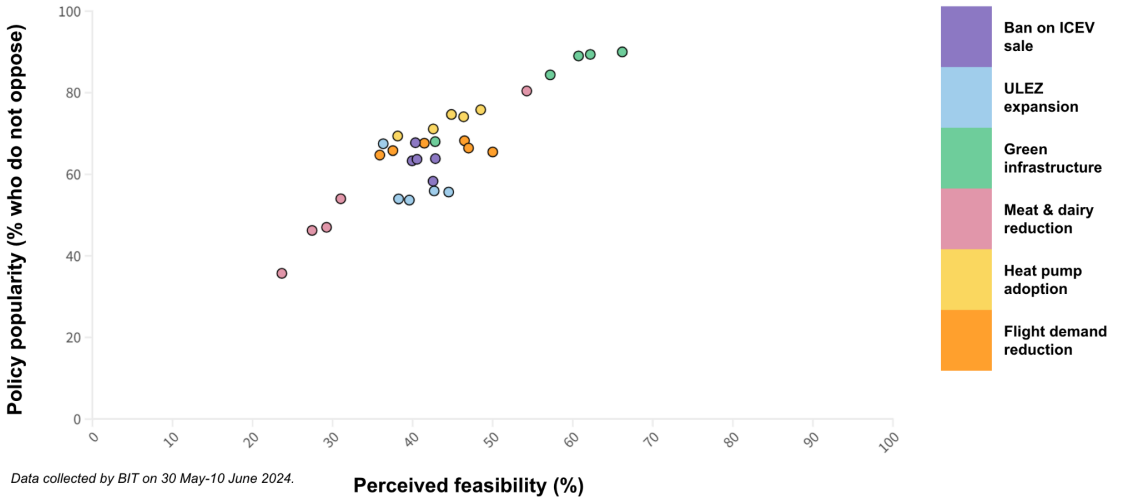
*Note. % refers to the % who did not oppose the policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Green shading indicates the policy was more popular than the relevant Control policy. Red shading indicates the policy was less popular than the relevant Control policy.*

That said, we also asked participants to directly rate policies in terms of their fairness, feasibility and effectiveness to achieve Net Zero goals, and when looking at the relationship between policy popularity and perceived fairness, effectiveness and feasibility, we find strong positive correlations (as shown in Figure 1 below). This suggests that these three factors may be especially important to consider when looking to improve the popularity of a given Net Zero policy.

Figure 1. *Correlations between policy popularity and perceived fairness, effectiveness and feasibility.*







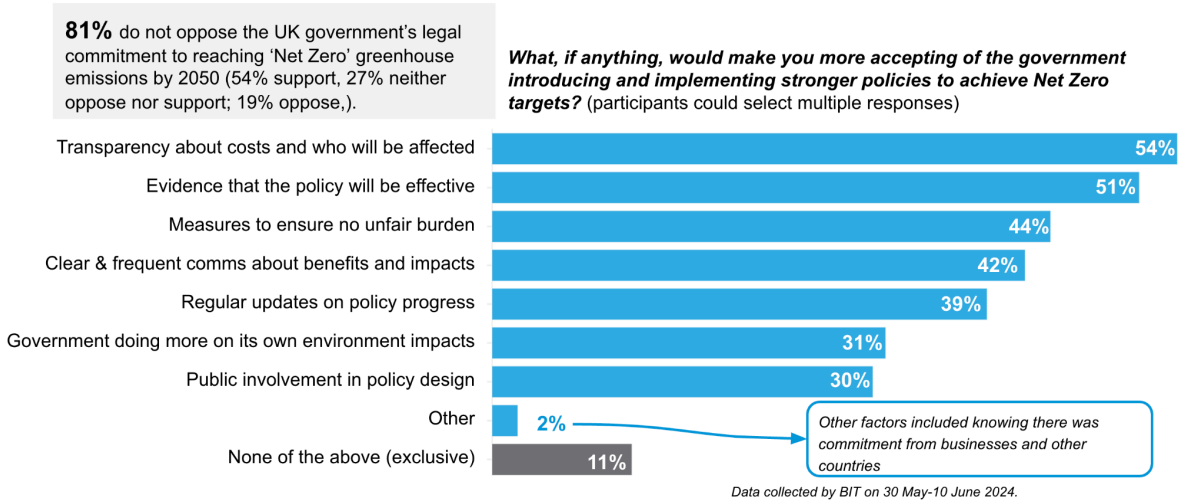
Fairness is important, but complex. Fairness regularly emerged as a buzzword in our focus groups, is very tightly correlated with policy support (Figure 1 above), and some of our policy variants designed to enhance fairness showed the biggest jumps in support. However, fairness is a complex concept, and can mean different things to different people. For example:

- To some, 'fair' means everyone gets the same, e.g. universal support rather than means-tested or targeted support.
- To others, 'fair' means progressive, meaning those with low-income or those with particular needs get more help.
- To others, 'fair' means ensuring those in a position of privilege do not benefit more. For example, EV subsidies only benefit those in a position to buy a new EV, considered unfair to many. Likewise, ULEZ schemes have no impact on wealthy households with new cars.
- To others, 'fair' means not harming specific groups, such as protecting farmers against the impact of a meat and dairy carbon tax.
- To others, 'fair' means not imposing unavoidable costs on an individual, such as forcing people to buy a heat pump which costs more than a boiler.
- To others, 'fair' means maintaining freedom of choice, e.g. preferring carbon labels over taxes, or voluntary tariffs over universal levies.

Moreover, fairness can interact with and crowd out other principles. For example, all else being equal, many people would prefer to have financial support when faced with a large expense such as an EV or heat pump. However, it is impossible to design financial support which doesn't clash with a perception of fairness for at least some people, given the varied interpretations of fairness outlined above. This means that offering more financial support is far from a guarantee for increased public support.

Support for Net Zero is generally strong, and various government efforts have the potential to increase policy support further. Figure 2 below shows that transparency about costs and who will be affected, and evidence that the policy will be effective, were the two most important self-reported factors for improving acceptability.

Figure 2. *Factors that would make the public more accepting of the government introducing and implementing stronger policies to achieve Net Zero targets.*



Given these insights, and the overall finding that the variations we tested often led to increases in popularity, policymakers may benefit from considering all of the principles we have identified when looking to enhance the popularity of Net Zero policies. This is further supported by our qualitative research, in which participants broadly welcomed measures to increase acceptability such as improved public engagement, fairness, and guarantees. However, further thinking is required around the nuances of the policy in question and what changes are required to address the specific issues associated with the policy. To that end, we unpack differences within policy areas in the next section.

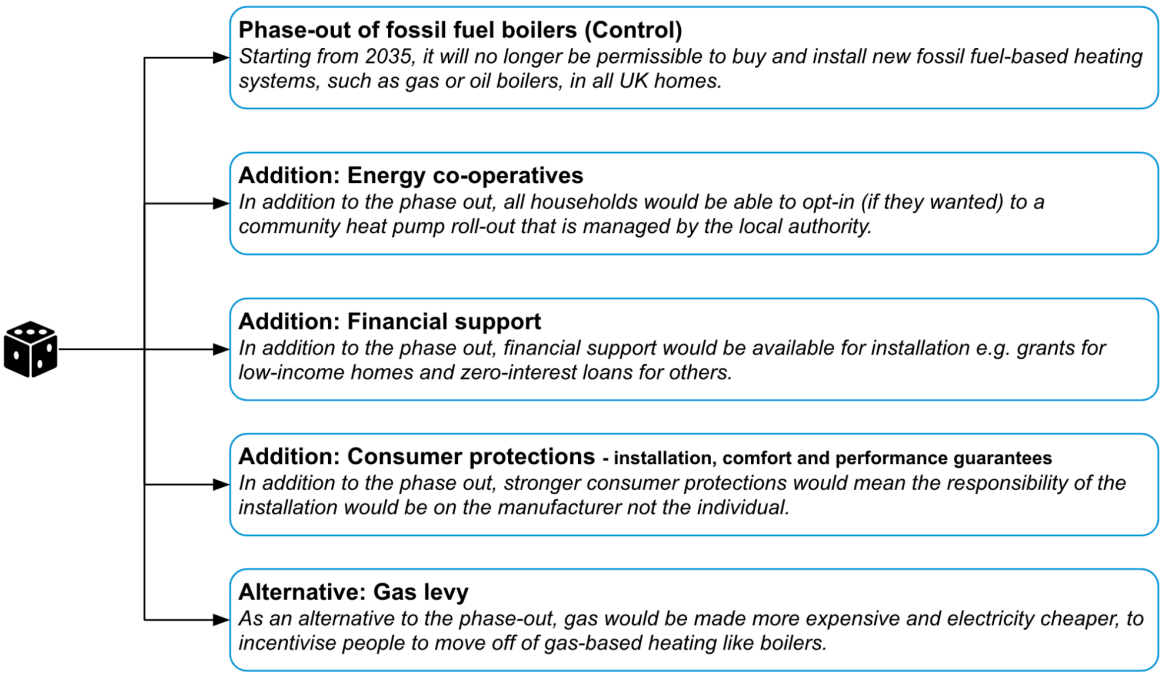
Policy area-specific findings

In this section, we present findings for each specific Net Zero policy area explored in our research, providing more detailed insights on how policies and their respective policy variants were received in terms of public support, and explore the underlying reasons for these trends. Throughout, we draw on qualitative insights from the focus groups to inform our interpretation of the experimental findings.

Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of five heat pump adoption policies (Figure 3, below):

Figure 3. *Heat pump adoption policy conditions.*



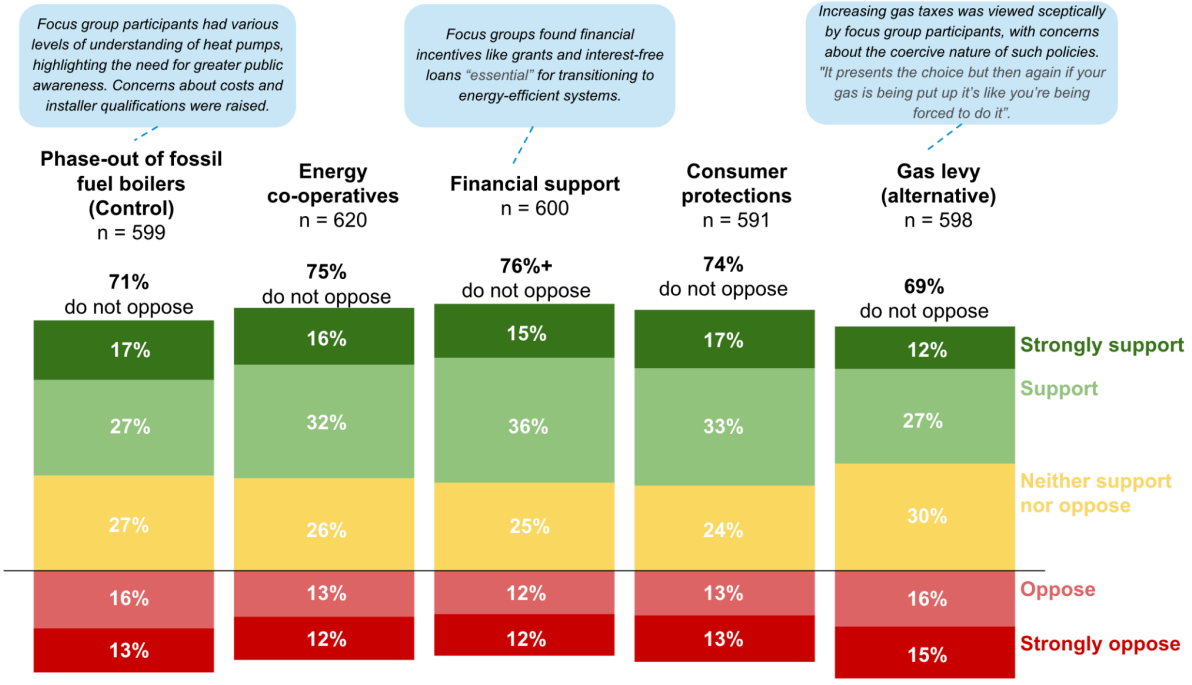
Findings

As shown in Figure 4 below, heat pump adoption policies were relatively popular compared with other policy areas, likely because, as said by focus group participants, people recognise the necessity and potential benefits of transitioning to more sustainable heating solutions like heat pumps. Despite the widespread negative rhetoric surrounding heat pumps, it seems most people do not mind (or even think much about) what their heating system is, as long as it works and is not too expensive. And many of the concerns over efficacy and cost can, as we see here, be addressed directly, provided the public have sufficient trust in the policy's effectiveness and feasibility: financial support and consumer protections boost support, although only the latter is not statistically significant.

Community collective purchasing was also popular, bringing the potential for slightly lower costs, reassurance on quality, and greater ease of adoption all in one. This was mirrored by focus groups who welcomed increased community involvement in the energy transition.

In contrast, it is perhaps unsurprising that a gas levy was no more popular, given focus group participants' aversion to tax or energy bill increases, which they perceived as burdensome for low-income families. Perhaps no more burdensome than a ban, yet it is a policy that makes the costs very salient.

Figure 4. *Heat pump adoption policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT, 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

In focus groups, the concept of energy cooperatives was generally well-received, seen as a way to involve communities directly in the energy transition. However, trust issues regarding the management of these cooperatives were evident.

"I do not trust local councils to be involved. They're not good with resourcing"

"As long as it's a trusted body overseeing it. If it goes wrong it's not on your head"

On the other hand, focus group participants thought that financial support, particularly in the form of grants or interest-free loans, is essential to facilitate the transition to low carbon heating systems, and would help to sway public opinion favourably towards the boiler ban.

"Interest free financial help is brilliant"

"The only way to encourage people to do it. Money is the massive consideration"

As shown in Table 8 below, the gas levy was perceived as the least fair and least effective option, aligning with focus group participants who viewed such levies as coercive and particularly burdensome for low-income families. This negative perception likely affected beliefs about the policy's efficacy, as participants doubted its practical impact. In contrast, financial support was seen as the most fair and feasible, reflecting focus group participant sentiments that it is only fair not to pay more than the cost of a current gas boiler. This underscores the importance of supportive measures to facilitate transitions to energy-efficient systems.

Table 8. *Heat pump adoption policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

% who…	Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (Control) n = 599	Energy co-operatives n = 620	Financial support n = 600	Consumer protections n = 591	Gas levy n = 598
did **not oppose** the policy	71%	75%	76%+	74%	69%
think the policy is **fair**	45%	49%	50%*	49%	39%+
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	47%	48%	48%	48%	37%**
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	43%	45%	48%*	46%	38%

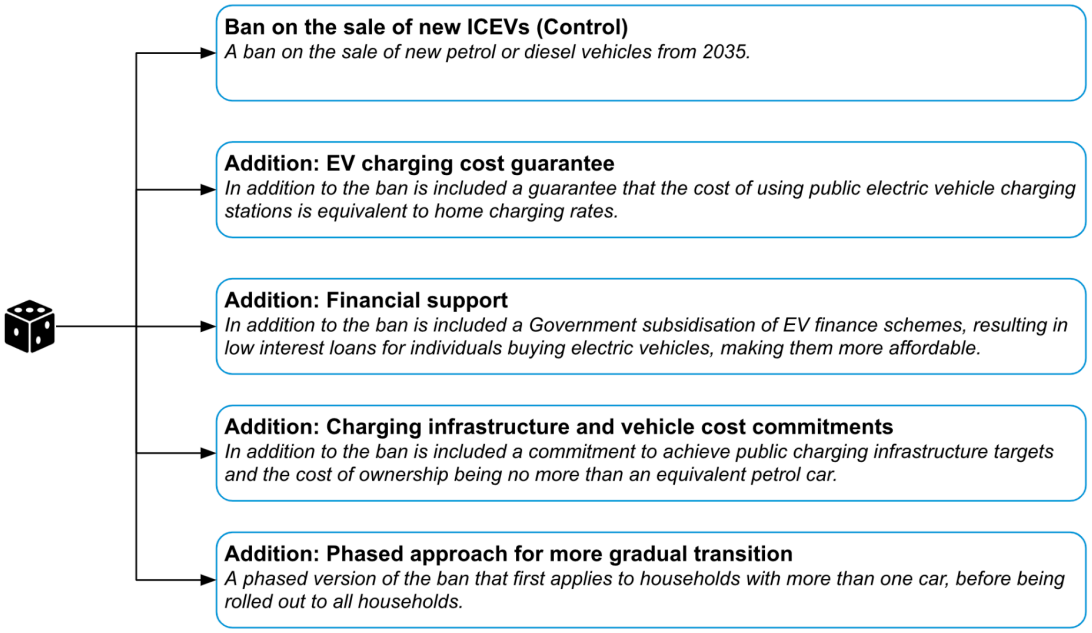
"Nobody likes tax increases, if the government is imposing this policy, wouldn't think people would be overly in favour of it. Feels like it's being forced on us"

"Not paying more [for a heat pump] than a gas boiler is definitely fair"

Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of five policies aiming to ban internal combustion engine vehicle sales (Figure 5 below):

Figure 5. *Ban on internal combustion engine vehicle sales policy conditions.*



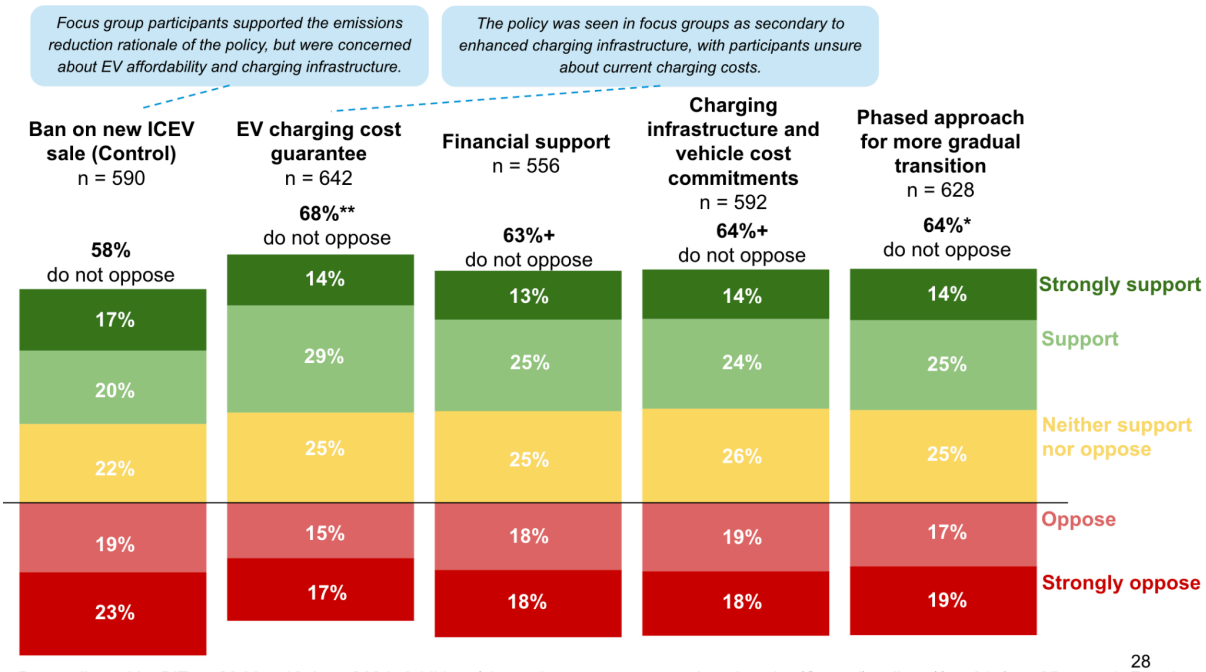
Findings

Whilst overall support for a ban on ICEVs was relatively modest, as shown in Figure 6 below, popularity significantly increased across all ICEV sales ban policy variants. This is unsurprising given that the policies map onto known barriers to EV adoption including: high purchase costs (financial support and vehicle cost commitments), concerns over public charging infrastructure (charging infrastructure commitments), higher costs of public charging (charging cost guarantee), and feeling coerced into adopting a new technology, early adoption of which is harder for one-car households (phased approach).

Given upfront cost is commonly cited as the main barrier to EV adoption, we would hypothesise that the ‘financial support’ option might be even more popular if was seen as fairer: financial support for EVs is contentious for some because it only helps those who buy new EVs, a very small and wealthier group. In contrast, regulating pricing of public charging

was the most popular, seemingly because it strongly evokes a sense of fairness (between those with and without off-street parking).

Figure 6. *ICEV sales ban policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

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In focus groups, however, EV charging cost guarantees were seen as secondary to infrastructure improvement, and a lack of knowledge about current charging costs made the policy appear less impactful.

> *"Good thing to include but wouldn't be a top thing... I would be talking about improving charging infrastructure rather than the charging rates"*
>
> *"I have no idea how much it costs to charge at home or out"*

Focus group participants were also somewhat sceptical of financial support, the phased approach, and charging infrastructure and vehicle cost commitments, citing the need for more detail to understand these policies better. For example:

- Financial support: clarity on the amount and target recipients of the incentives.
- Phased approach: details on enforcement and regulation.
- Charging infrastructure and vehicle costs: exact numbers of chargers and vehicle cost specifics.

"Is this [financial support] for everyone? It probably won't be... this is too generic to be taken seriously"

"[These charging infrastructure and vehicle cost commitments] are too vague again and quite ambitious... need to be more specific"

"I support [the phased approach] but I just think it's too vague... I'd like to know every single detail"

As shown in Table 9 below, ICEV sales ban policies mostly did not differ in perceived fairness, effectiveness, and feasibility. The EV charging cost guarantee was the only policy variation to have a significantly increased perceived fairness by 6pp ($p < .05$).

Table 9. *ICEV sales ban policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

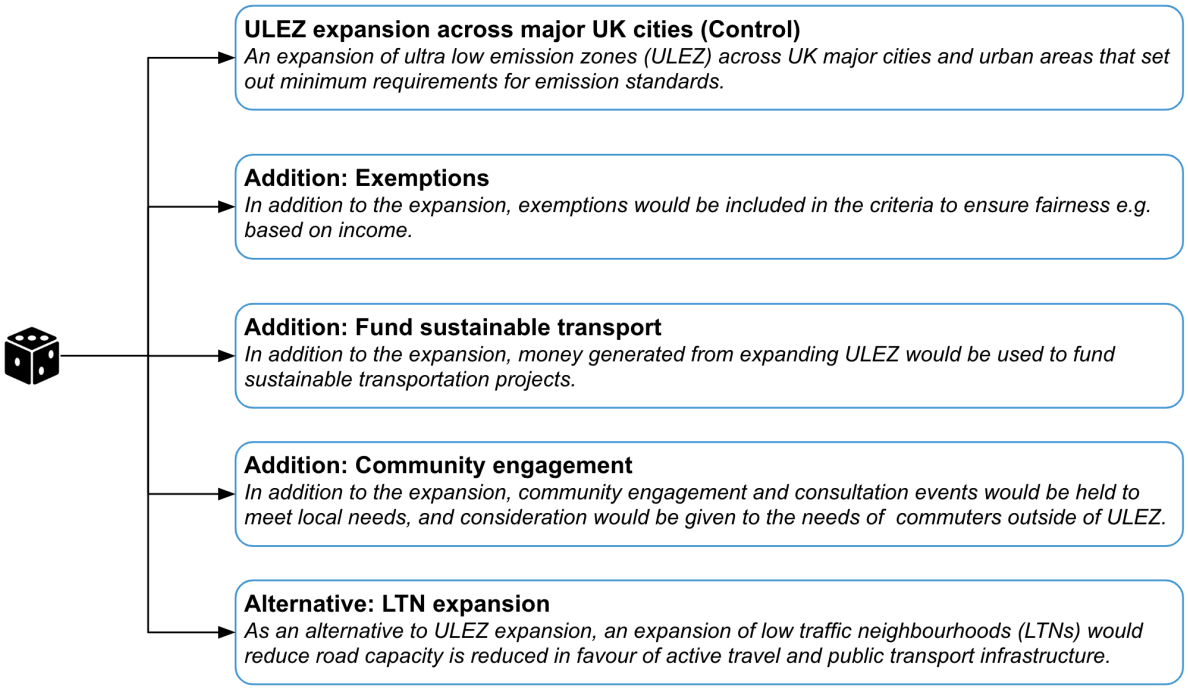
% who…	Ban on new ICEV sale (Control) n = 590	EV charging cost guarantee n = 642	Financial support n = 556	Charging infrastructure and vehicle cost commitments n = 592	Phased approach for more gradual transition n = 628
did **not oppose** the policy	58%	68%**	63%+	64%*	64%*
think the policy is **fair**	39%	45%*	38%	41%	38%
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	43%	46%	40%	44%	45%
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	43%	40%	40%	41%	43%

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Ban on the sale of new ICEVs (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of five ULEZ expansion policies (Figure 7, below):

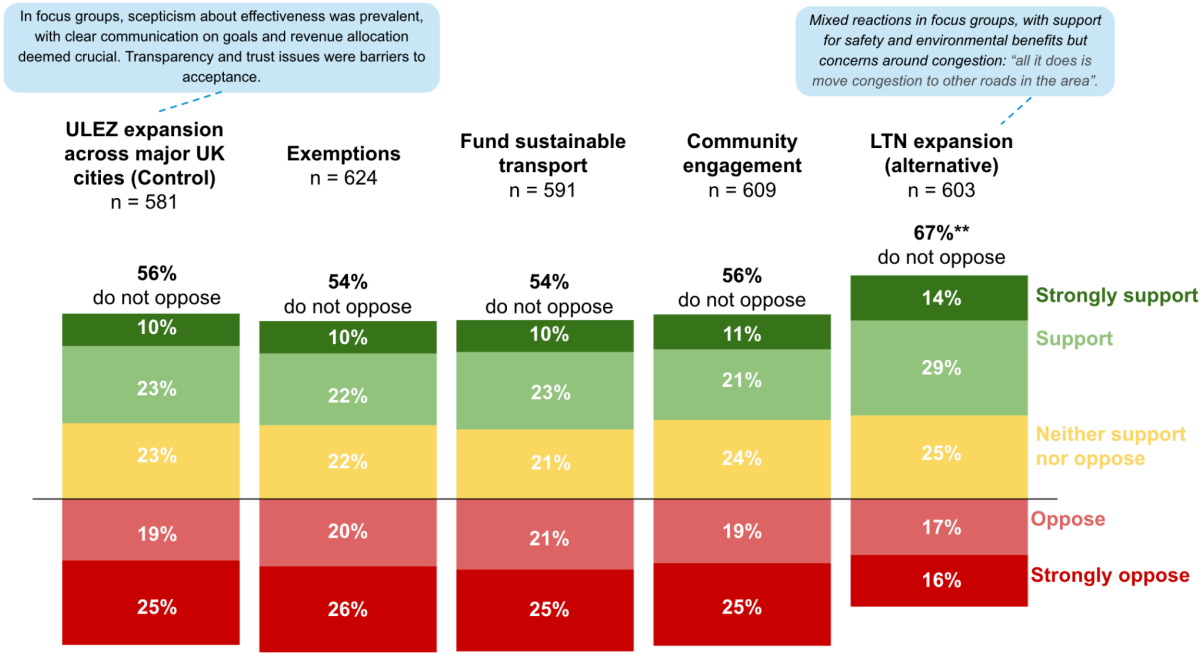
Figure 7. *ULEZ expansion policy conditions.*



Findings

As shown in Figure 8 below, support for ULEZ expansion was low across all policy additions, likely because, as pointed out by focus group participants, there is scepticism around i) ULEZ's effectiveness (the drop in traffic is not that noticeable), ii) the optimal use of its generated revenue, iii) unfairness (newer cars still drive and richer people can more easily afford the ban), and iv) restrictions on free movement. LTNs, interestingly, though potentially more restrictive (albeit typically over a much smaller area), were significantly more popular: they're fairer (curtailing everyone, not just those with older cars, and benefiting everyone), though seen as less feasible to implement (see Table 10 below). However, there were mixed reactions in focus groups where concerns were raised about LTNs' effectiveness and potential to increase congestion elsewhere.

Figure 8. *ULEZ expansion policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

Focus group participants supported policies that allocate ULEZ funds to sustainable public transport, provided the funds are used as promised. They also valued community engagement to keep the public informed. However, they were sceptical about exemptions, requesting more details on who would be exempt and for what reasons.

"If [ULEZ revenue] was going into an environmental pot that would make me feel better 100%... good to make the outcomes of the policy clear"

"I like how [public engagement] keeps everyone in the loop... make sure it's in the papers and on news."

"I'd need more specification… the cost of living crisis has affected people completely differently. Who would be eligible for an exemption?"

It is therefore surprising that community engagement and funding sustainable transport were not more popular in the online experiment, despite strong support from focus group participants - though the data in Table 9 below suggests our online experiment participants thought using ULEZ revenue to fund sustainable transport was less fair (e.g. taxing drivers to fund those who commute by train), less effective, and less feasible.

Table 10. *ULEZ expansion policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

% who…	ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (Control) n = 581	Exemptions n = 624	Fund sustainable transport n = 591	Community engagement n = 609	Alternative: LTN expansion n = 603
did **not oppose** the policy	56%	54%	54%	56%	67%**
think the policy is **fair**	33%	34%	31%	33%	41%**
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	34%	30%	30%+	34%	34%
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	43%	40%	38%	44%	36%*

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Table 10 above additionally shows that experiment respondents found LTN expansion to be more fair but less feasible than ULEZ expansion. This higher fairness score could be because LTNs are a universal ban on driving, not something which disproportionately affects poorer people with older cars or those unable to pay the fee. However, the lower feasibility score might stem from concerns about the practical challenges of implementing LTNs, such as the potential for increased congestion in surrounding areas and the complexity of reconfiguring urban spaces, as highlighted by focus group participants.

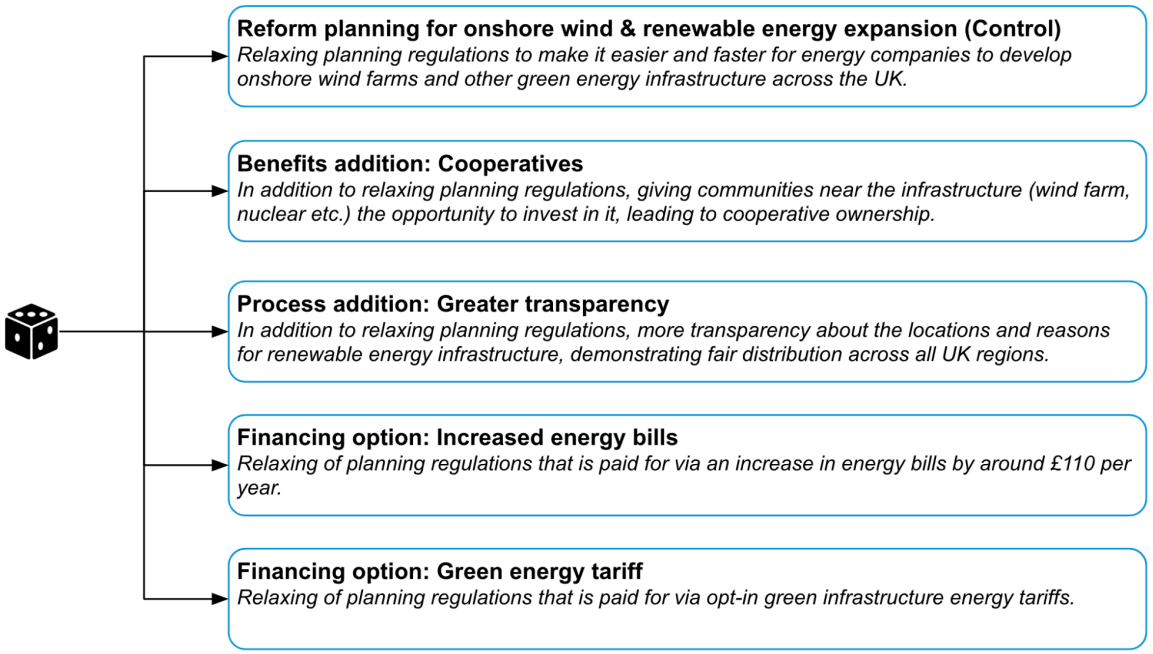
"More cycle lanes would be amazing... this would be the best thing that could happen"

"All it does is move congestion to other roads in the area"

Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of five green infrastructure and planning policies (Figure 9, below):

Figure 9. *Green infrastructure and planning policy conditions.*

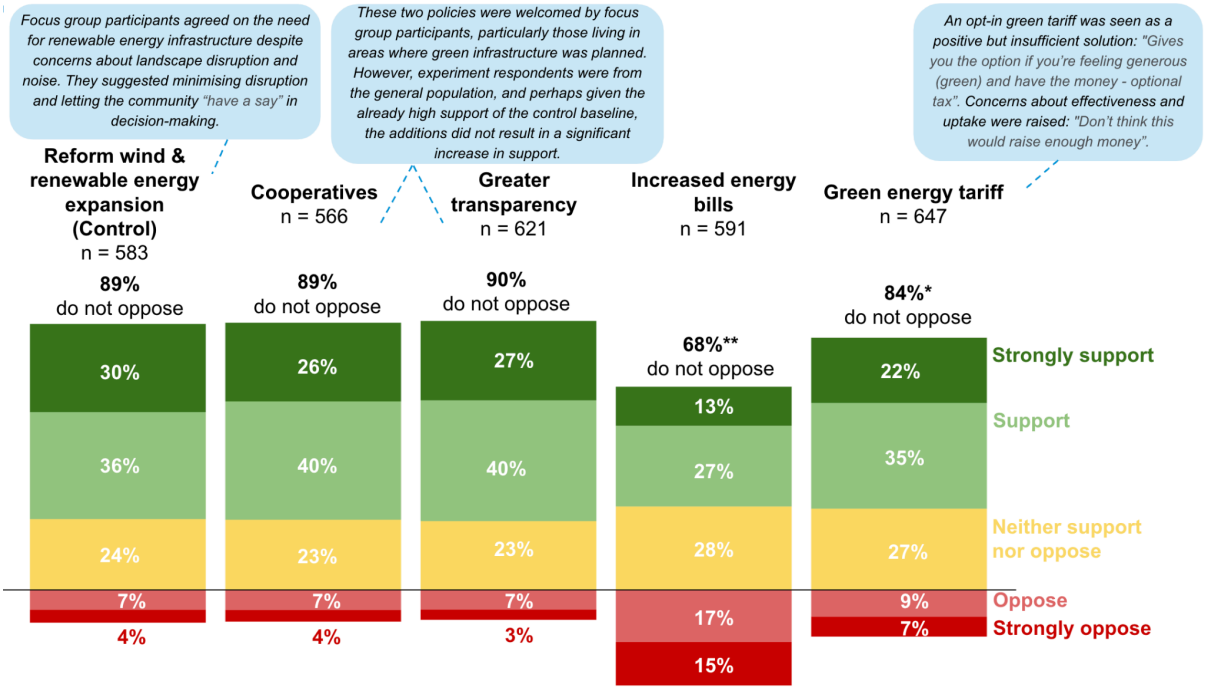


Findings

As shown in Figure 10 below, green infrastructure policies were relatively popular, likely because, as focus group participants suggested, there is a general acknowledgment of the need for renewable energy infrastructure, whilst it does not greatly disrupt most people's daily lives.

These policies can be seen as two distinct sets: the first three relate to planning relaxation, and we find that creating cooperative ownership for local communities, and increasing transparency and community engagement, do not have much impact on support (though, this is a national population: as we found in our focus groups of people specifically recruited from areas known to have green infrastructure developments planned, these interventions are more strongly welcomed by affected local communities). The latter two relate to funding green infrastructure, and, unsurprisingly, raising energy bills led to a major fall in support. In contrast, an opt-in green tariff was more popular than raising energy bills across the board. That said, despite highlighting the funding of green infrastructure, the majority of respondents still did not oppose the policy, indicating that people are still broadly in favour of green infrastructure initiatives, even when potential funding concerns are brought to their attention.

Figure 10. *Green infrastructure and planning policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Reform wind and renewable energy expansion (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

In focus groups, reducing energy bills for local residents near renewable energy projects was seen as a significant benefit, and participants emphasised that financial incentives could mitigate objections to local infrastructure.

> *"The biggest benefit is probably the cost reductions for local residents - we're not well off; we're okay, but energy bills are eating our finances"*
>
> *"As an incentive to a community, I think this is best but inevitably people within a community will still object, but an incentive can reduce some of that"*

The idea of local investment in renewable energy cooperatives was generally welcomed, but some were sceptical about the idea of investing, preferring instead that financial benefits are provided by default to local communities.

> *"I think it's great that local people can benefit but the idea of investing is unfair - I do not know anyone in my local community that has the money to invest"*

Focus group participants strongly valued transparency, especially when it was paired with the involvement of a trusted, independent body. There was a clear desire for consistent and fair policy implementation across different regions, with participants expressing concerns that some areas might benefit more than others. Additionally, they emphasised the

importance of being well-informed before community engagement begins, suggesting that providing general information beforehand would help build understanding and trust.

"I'd want to see an independent body overseeing any decision-making and communications about where renewable infrastructure is developed"

"Important to have consistency across the country because it often seems like the South benefits more than the North does."

"It may be a good idea to send out general information to educate before the community engagement step so people are more informed."

As shown in Table 11 below, the process addition of transparency is perceived as the fairest and most feasible option compared to other policy additions, reflecting a strong preference for citizen involvement and information that was evident among focus group participants. Financing options through energy bills were viewed as the least fair and least feasible, likely due to existing economic burdens on bill payers. This aligned with focus group feedback, which suggested alternative funding mechanisms such as progressive taxes on large industries to ensure fairer distribution of costs.

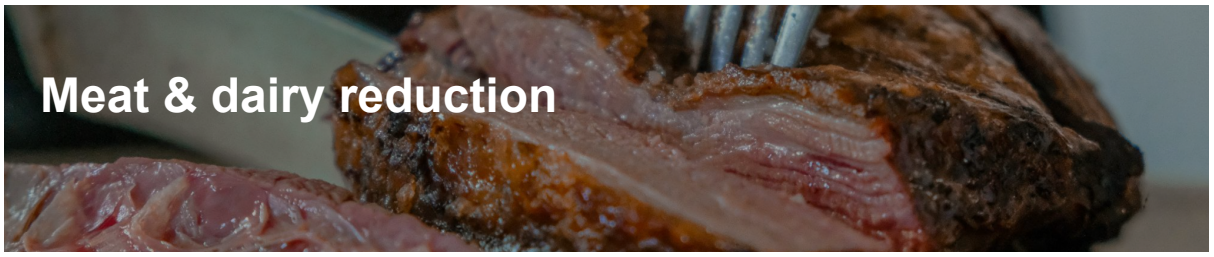
Table 11. *Green infrastructure and planning policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

% who…	Reform for wind & renewable energy expansion (Control) n = 583	Benefits addition: Cooperatives n = 566	Process addition: Greater transparency n = 621	Financing option: Increased energy bills n = 591	Financing option: Green energy tariff n = 647
did **not oppose** the policy	89%	89%	90%	68%**	84%*
think the policy is **fair**	64%	66%	71%*	39%**	57%**
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	61%	63%	64%	46%**	57%
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	61%	62%	66%+	43%**	57%

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Reform wind and renewable energy expansion (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

"It may be good idea to send out general information to educate before the community engagement step so people are more informed"

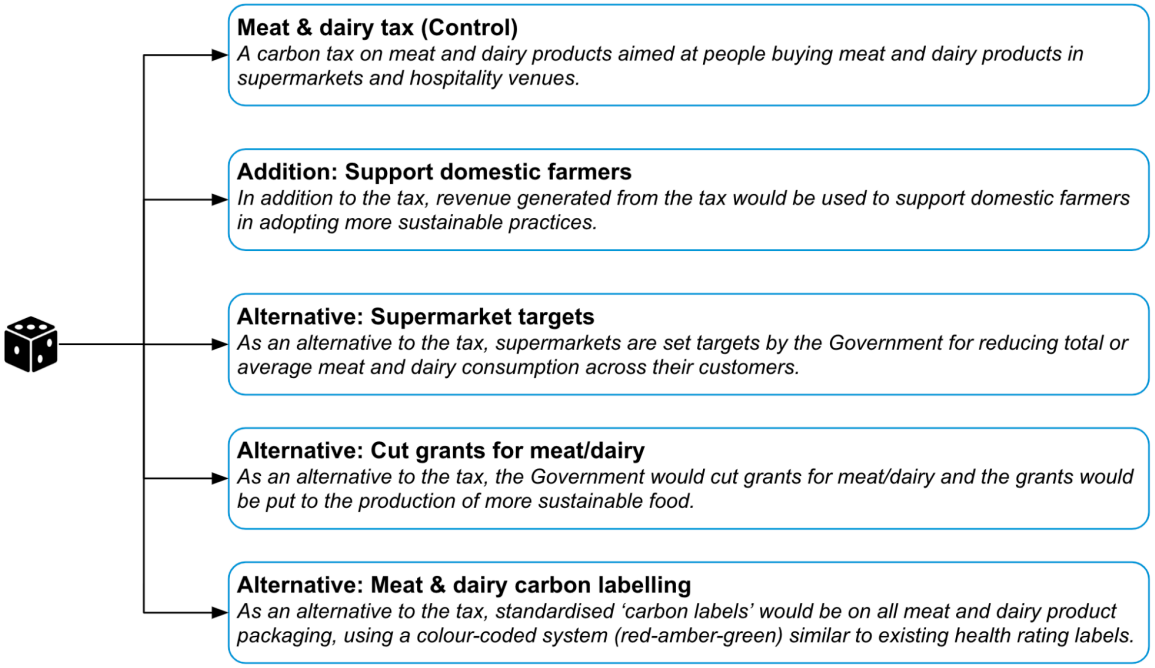
"Won't get many votes if we're trying to increase energy bills at the moment… Could be good to have a guarantee to stop them going up beyond a certain point"



Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of five meat & dairy reduction policies (Figure 11, below):

Figure 11. *Meat and dairy reduction policy conditions.*



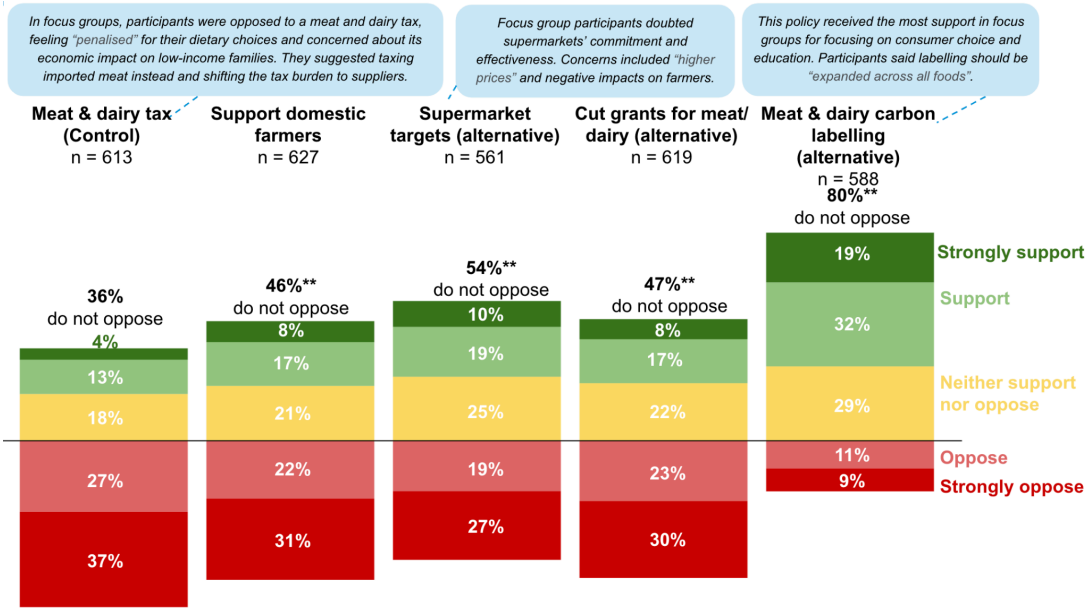
Findings

As shown in Figure 12 below, meat and dairy tax policies were some of the least popular policies tested. This is likely due to their coercive nature, as highlighted by focus group participants, but also because people unsurprisingly dislike being penalised for consuming foods they enjoy, and using taxation as a tool is often seen as particularly unjust for lower-income families.

That said, we observed significantly increased support by either supplementing the tax with support for farmers, or moving away from a tax and instead setting targets upstream on retailers (though some focus group participants distrusted supermarkets to prioritise these outcomes over profits), or focussing on removing grants rather than imposing taxes.

Most popular of all is simple information provision, which aligns with focus group feedback. However, it would also be a far less effective policy, suggesting the higher support is partly because it could simply be ignored and not drive the intended outcome.

Figure 12. *Meat and dairy reduction policies' support levels.*



As shown in Table 12 below, while the meat and dairy tax was viewed with some scepticism, alternative policy variants that address specific concerns or integrate incentives and support mechanisms tended to be seen as more fair, effective, and feasible, and thus more favourable for implementation. For example, support for domestic farmers may improve fairness perceptions by providing direct benefits to local producers who might be most affected by a meat and dairy tax, whereas cutting grants for meat and dairy might be seen as more feasible because it streamlines government spending without introducing new regulatory complexities. This is despite focus group participants' comments, which tended to focus on the limitations of the policy variants, such as concerns that supermarket targets would lead to higher prices.

Table 12. Meat and dairy reduction policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.

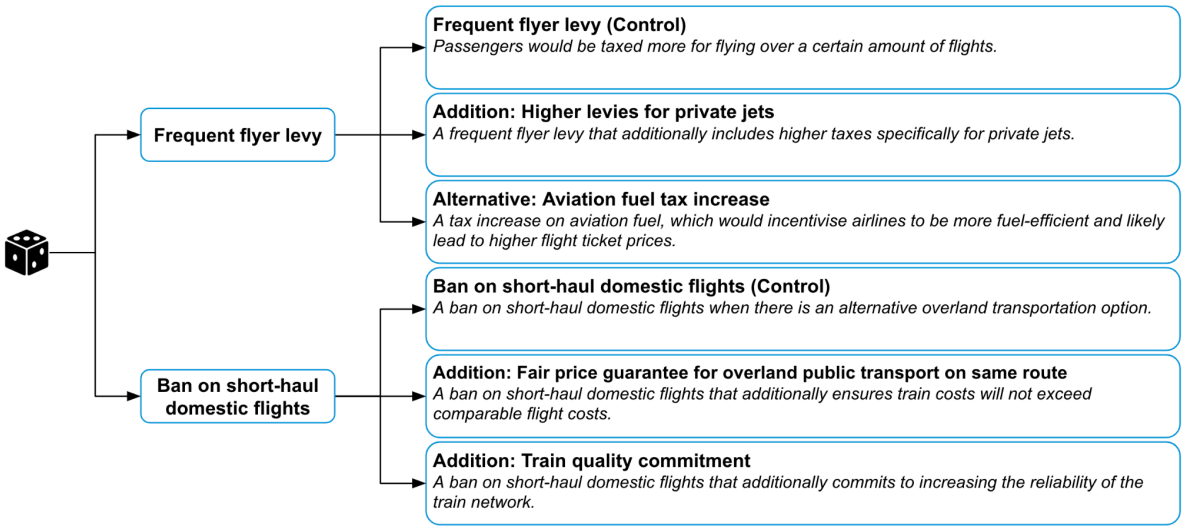
% who…	Meat & dairy tax (Control) n = 613	Support domestic farmers n = 627	Supermarket targets (alternative) n = 561	Cut grants for meat/ dairy (alternative) n = 619	Meat & dairy carbon labelling (alternative) n = 588
did **not oppose** the policy	36%	46%**	54%**	47%**	80%**
think the policy is **fair**	20%	26%*	32%**	25%+	56%**
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	20%	26%*	26%*	24%+	40%**
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	24%	27%	31%**	29%*	54%**

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Meat and dairy tax (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to view one of six flight demand reduction policies (Figure 13 below), which were variants of either a **frequent flyer levy** or a **ban on short-haul domestic flights**:

Figure 13. *Flight reduction policy conditions.*

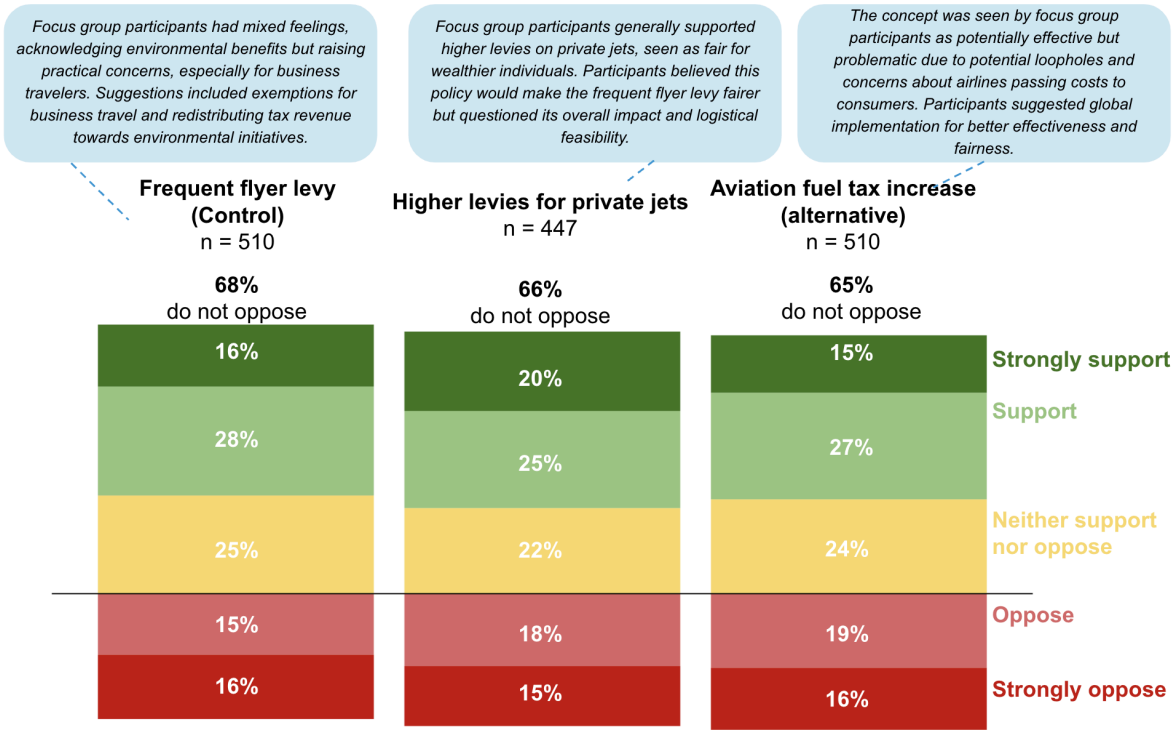


Findings - frequent flyer levy

As shown in Figure 14 below, support for a frequent flyer levy was reasonably high. We see relatively little difference when adding in higher levies for private jets: a slight boost in fairness (see Table 13 below; a finding mirrored in the focus groups), but no overall increase in support.

Aviation tax increases were similar in support, fairness, and perceived efficacy. This is unexpected given it would impact all flyers, not just frequent flyers, though may highlight that ‘fairness’ to some people looks like penalising the biggest polluters, whereas fairness to others means the policy applies to everyone in the same way.

Figure 14. *Frequent flyer levy policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Frequent flyer levy (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

As shown in Table 13 below, perceptions of fairness, effectiveness, and feasibility are quite similar across the frequent flyer levy, higher levies for private jets, and aviation fuel tax increase policies. Despite focus group feedback suggesting that higher levies for private jets would enhance the perceived fairness of the original control policy, the experiment results do not show significant differences. This may be because the broader experiment population did not prioritise fairness as highly or because they did not view the adjustments as sufficiently impactful to differentiate the policies.

Table 13. *Frequent flyer levy policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

% who…	Frequent flyer levy (Control) n = 510	Higher levies for private jets n = 447	Aviation fuel tax increase (alternative) n = 510
did **not oppose** the policy	68%	66%	65%
think the policy is **fair**	40%	45%	42%
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	38%	40%	39%
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	46%	47%	50%

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Frequent flyer levy (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

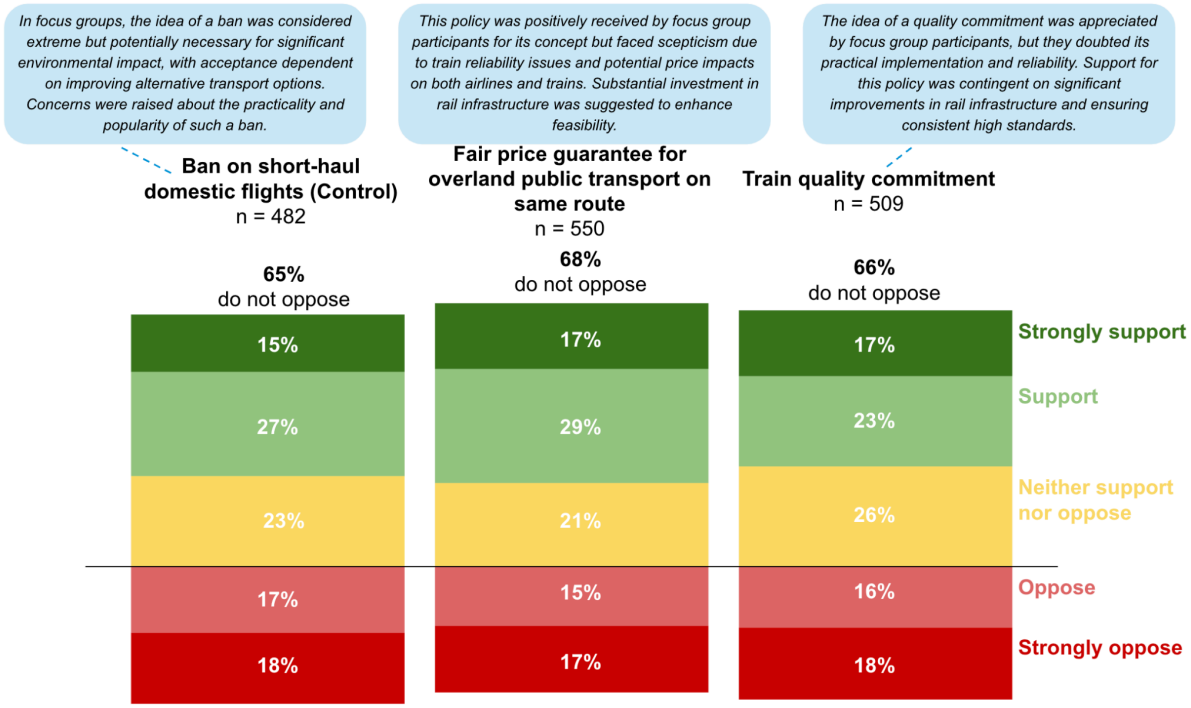
"People with private jets can afford levies so why not? People with a lot of money should put more into green issues and green policies"

Findings - short haul domestic flight ban

As shown in Figure 15 below, support for short-haul domestic flight ban policies was relatively high: very similar to the frequent flyer levies. As pointed out by focus group participants, it may be necessary for significant environmental impact, whilst minimally impacting most people who do not take these flights.

The fair price guarantee and train quality commitment made relatively little difference, despite being more popular in focus groups. Though not statistically significant, the fair price guarantee scored higher on support, as well as on fairness, feasibility and efficacy (see Table 14 below). The impact of these additions, particularly the quality guarantee, might have been tempered by disbelief that the quality would actually be delivered. These doubts were expressed by focus group participants.

Figure 15. *Short haul domestic flight ban policies' support levels.*



*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Ban on short-haul domestic flights (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory. Numbers are rounded and may not sum to 100%.*

As shown in Table 14 below, the short haul domestic flight ban policies did not differ in perceived fairness, but the fair price guarantee was perceived as more effective and feasible. These results could be due to the fair price guarantee addressing a key concern raised in focus groups: the affordability of alternative transportation options. In terms of effectiveness, as hinted at by focus group participants, experiment respondents likely viewed

the guarantee as a practical measure that would make train travel a more viable and attractive alternative, thereby increasing the likelihood of successfully reducing short-haul flights. Similarly, the increased feasibility perception may stem from the belief that the guarantee is a concrete, manageable step that addresses economic concerns directly, making the overall policy package seem more practical and viable.

Table 14. *Short haul domestic flight ban policies' fairness, effectiveness and feasibility scores.*

% who…	Ban on short-haul domestic flights (Control) n = 482	Fair price guarantee for overland public transport on same route n = 550	Train quality commitment n = 509
did **not oppose** the policy	65%	68%	66%
think the policy is **fair**	40%	45%	39%
think the policy would be **effective** to achieving the Net Zero target	37%	44%*	39%
think the policy would be **feasible** to implement	36%	41%+	38%

*Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Ban on short-haul domestic flights (Control) policy. **p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Exploratory research: The role of awareness of the need for Net Zero policies

In addition to the policy-specific findings on public support, we also assessed how awareness of the need for Net Zero policies is related to policy support, looking across all our Net Zero policies. We found that those who are more aware of the need for Net Zero policies tended to be less likely to oppose the Net Zero policies that were presented to them (see Table 15 below). This suggests that increasing public awareness about the importance of Net Zero initiatives, such as by informing the public of the statements below, could play a crucial role in garnering support for these policies.

Table 15. *Participants' awareness and understanding of the need for Net Zero policies and corresponding support levels for Net Zero policies.*

% who correctly identified these statements as True…		% who do not oppose the policy (across all 6 policies)	
		Of those who correctly identified this as True	Of those who did not identify this as True
63%	The great majority of the UK public say they are concerned about climate change.	71%	57%
46%	The majority of the UK support the government's Net Zero target.	75%	59%
36%	The majority of countries are committed to Net Zero emissions.	72%	63%
45%	The UK's Net Zero target is a firm legal commitment	72%	62%
% who correctly identified these statements as False…		**Of those who correctly identified this as False**	**Of those who did not identify this as False**
23%	The UK emits around 5% of the world's total greenhouse gas emissions.	55%	70%
30%	Most countries in the European Union have not committed to Net Zero emissions.	69%	65%

Recommendations

1 Policymakers should consider key support principles, such as fairness, incentives, financial support, and consumer protections, to enhance support for Net Zero policy. But choose the right solution to address specific objections.

Our research showed that fairness, feasibility and effectiveness were all positively correlated with policy support, though we did not find consistent associations between support and our other identified principles. Instead, the effectiveness of increasing policy popularity hinges on tailoring improvements to address the specific concerns associated with the original control policy. For example, some policies are contaminated by a fear of bad outcomes ('a heat pump won't work in my house') and this can be directly addressed with consumer guarantees and protections. In other cases, high costs might be addressed by financial incentives, but then this needs to also take into account perceived fairness: financial support can be regressive if applied to purchases only the wealthy make (e.g. new EVs). Moreover, providing exemptions to vulnerable populations may be considered more fair to some, and unfair to others. **This finding suggests that a one-size-fits-all approach would be ineffective, and policymakers should focus on identifying and addressing the unique objections to each policy.**

That said, given the overall finding that the principles often lead to increases in popularity, policymakers may benefit from considering all of the principles we have identified when looking to enhance the popularity of Net Zero policies, provided they do not clash (e.g. Incentives vs. fairness, or exemptions vs. fairness). This is further supported by our qualitative research, in which participants broadly welcomed measures to increase acceptability such as improved public engagement, fairness, and guarantees. However, further thinking is required around the nuances of the policy in question and what changes are required to address the specific issues associated with the policy.

2 Our evidence suggests the following specific measures could be effective to better enable policy delivery:

Ban on ICEV sale

- Given its relatively higher popularity compared to the ban alone, **ensure public electric vehicle charging costs are equivalent to home charging rates**. As we found in our research where this policy variant led to increases in fairness ratings, this is not only the fair thing to do from a consumer protection standpoint (there is no

'fair' reason why some people should pay more than others to fuel their car), but also increases support for the ICEV ban. It is also likely to accelerate EV uptake given it materially reduces the cost of EV ownership for many.

- As focus group participants were especially concerned by the lack of public charging infrastructure, **publicly emphasise the government's charging infrastructure strategy**, and its commitment to achieving a high density network. Communicate the ever-growing number of public charge points out there. Make them more salient to drivers (e.g. standardised signage). And consider linking the ICEV ban to a *'guarantee that we will achieve a certain density of reliable charging infrastructure in all regions of the UK before the ban takes effect'* - which helped to increase popularity for the ban in our experiment.
- Also given relatively higher popularity compared to the ban alone, and the fact it is often cited as a major barrier to EV adoption in the wider literature[4], **ensure adequate financial support is available to potential EV adopters**, and make sure this support is effectively communicated to the public so they are fully informed. Consider targeted financial initiatives, such as social leasing schemes, to address potential fairness concerns by ensuring that support is directed toward those who need it most.
- If the ICEV ban looks highly challenging or politically impossible as the date approaches (e.g. due to EV costs not falling quick enough, or charging infrastructure being inadequate), given its relatively higher popularity than the ban, consider a **phased approach to the ban on new ICEVs**.

ULEZ Expansion

- Given its relatively higher popularity, consider **expanding low traffic neighbourhoods as an alternative to expanding ULEZ,** which our experiment participants more widely supported due to its perceived fairness and benefits to all community members.

Green Infrastructure & Planning

- Our research found that policies accelerating the development of green infrastructure received relatively high levels of support at the national level, which suggests **there may be a strong mandate for pushing these policies forward.**
- Despite not increasing support nationally, our focus groups and wider evidence[5] suggest that **cooperative ownership models for local communities** could lead to increases in support for the development of renewable energy projects, enhancing local buy-in and support.
- Similarly, **increase transparency in the selection and development processes for renewable energy sites to ensure fair distribution and community involvement**. This could be overseen by an independent body to build trust in the process, and

[4]Onward. (2024). Electric Feel Overcoming the barriers to mass EV adoption. https://www.ukonward.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Electric-Feel-160824.pdf
[5]Innovate UK. (2022). Net Zero business models for a Just Transition. https://www.ukri.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/IUK-140122-NetZeroBusinessModelsJustTransition.pdf

may be particularly key if more projects are going to be decided at the national rather than local level, in line with the new government's plans to accelerate development.

- The above two points have the potential to help a great deal: community benefits mean hosting this infrastructure has benefits, not just drawbacks (e.g. linking dividends or reduced energy costs to local addresses means not only immediate financial rewards, but also potentially increases in property value); and 'procedural fairness' (clarity on the process for making site decisions with fair justifications) can be particularly important where 'fairness of outcomes' is hard to achieve.
- Our research showed that public support for green infrastructure development policies was relatively high, and while we know this might not be the case for communities directly affected, we could infer that support might be higher than it often appears - because the planning process offers people the opportunity to object, rather than engage in other ways. With that in mind, **a number of changes could also be made to the planning process** to design it in such a way as to allow community members to express their views, be heard, and have some agency in decisions, but not heard solely around surfacing outright objections. For example, giving communities greater say in the details of design, and the benefits they receive, as well as capturing support, rather than solely objections, through the public engagement process.

Meat & Dairy Reduction

- Given its relatively high popularity, **implement carbon or environmental labelling for meat and dairy** products (or all food) to inform consumers about the environmental impact of their choices. While it is likely to only have a modest impact on consumer choices, evidence shows it could also drive improvements among producers, and it is a no-risk, popular policy.
- If a meat and dairy tax is considered, also provide **support for domestic farmers** (which increased popularity of the tax in our research) to help them transition to more sustainable practices, for example by helping them switch to plant-based farming by giving them financial support, making carbon reductions in livestock farming (e.g. slurry management, feedstock), investing in renewable energy like solar or wind power for farms. Directly link these initiatives to the tax revenue. Hypothecating revenue from the tax for this purpose, or to subsidise other food products (e.g. plant-based) can boost support.
- If a meat and dairy tax is not viable, given its relatively higher popularity, consider **setting reduction targets for supermarkets** to lower overall meat and dairy consumption. There is a huge amount retailers can do to nudge or market dietary choices, which the government would be poorly placed to do themselves, so incentivising this approach is valuable.
- Consider also **redirecting subsidies from meat and dairy industries to support the production of more sustainable food alternatives,** which we also found to be more popular than a meat and diary tax. While there may still be an effect on prices, imposing new costs on consumers is very different to removing windfalls from suppliers, in terms of public perception.

Heat Pump Adoption

- Given its relatively high popularity, **continue to provide adequate financial support for the installation of heat pumps,** such as grants for all heat pumps, and consider additional support for low-income homes as the phase-out date approaches. Ultimately the aim should be for heat pumps to be cost-comparable to boilers. Re-introducing the planned Market Mechanism would be a good approach to accelerate innovation and cost reductions.
- Also given relatively higher popularity, **introduce strong consumer protections**, ensuring that the responsibility for installation, comfort, and performance lies with manufacturers or service providers, not homeowners. This can do a lot to allow widespread scepticism and concern about their performance (e.g. another recent study by BIT showed that three quarters of people believe heat pumps only work in well insulated homes, and around half believe they do not work in cold weather).

Flight Demand Reduction

- Given its relatively high popularity, consider **implementing the frequent flyer levy** to effectively manage air travel demand and contribute to environmental sustainability goals.
- Also given its relatively high popularity consider **implementing a ban on short-haul domestic flights** when overland alternatives are available. However:
    - Ensure that costs for alternative overland public transport (e.g. trains) will not exceed comparable flight costs when short-haul flights are banned, making the policy more appealing by addressing financial concerns.

3 The following principles of policy support all have potential to be effective when applied in the right way to relevant policies.

The following recommendations are primarily based on insights from our qualitative research, where comments from focus group participants highlighted ways to enhance support for Net Zero policies. These recommendations are further validated by our online experiment, which demonstrated that several of our policy variants, grounded in these principles, successfully increased policy support.

Enhance public understanding and engagement: Develop comprehensive awareness campaigns to increase public understanding of Net Zero goals and the specific policies and technologies involved, such as heat pumps. Clear, accessible information helps demystify new technologies, increase confidence that policies will be effective, counter-balance exposure to negative media content, and prepares the public for transitions. Include clear information and policy impacts and benefits.

Incorporate financial incentives and supports: Integrate financial incentives such as grants, tax reductions, and interest-free loans to alleviate upfront costs associated with transitioning to Net Zero technologies and practices, making them more accessible to a

broader demographic. However, do this cautiously: incentives can be seen as unfair (if they disproportionately benefit the wealthy, e.g. EV-buyers, or are generally available to some but not others). There is also a huge sensitivity around raising taxes or bills, so more generous funding is not always seen as a good thing when the question of 'how is this paid for?' arises..

Ensure fair and equitable policy design: Design policies that consider the socio-economic impacts on various demographic groups, especially vulnerable and lower-income households, to prevent disproportionate burdens. Ensure fairness in outcomes (e.g. ULEZ schemes penalise lower-income homes), but also in the means of the policy (e.g. EV subsidies only go to wealthy buyers of new EVs). Specific measures can help here, e.g. exceptions, guarantees, consumer protections.

Support community involvement and ownership: Though not a big boon to national support, our focus group on green infrastructure suggested that local support can benefit from local community involvement in the planning and decision-making processes to increase trust and acceptance of Net Zero projects. Community-owned projects, like energy cooperatives, should be managed transparently and inclusively.

Focus on infrastructure readiness: Invest in necessary infrastructure to support net zero technologies, ensuring that facilities like charging stations for electric vehicles are widely available and reliable.

Adopt a phased and flexible approach if necessary: If the impacts of policies are significant, consider implementing policies in stages, allowing for adjustments based on effectiveness and public feedback. This approach must be carefully considered against the benefits of simplicity and a clear roadmap and plan. Consider providing opt-out options or alternatives for those significantly impacted, such as residents in heritage properties or those with specific health needs.

Ensure transparent and accountable governance: Establish independent oversight bodies to manage and monitor the implementation of Net Zero policies, ensuring accountability and transparency in the use of funds and the governance of projects.

Promote technological innovation and reliability: Support research and development in reliable and affordable green technologies, and communicate this to the public. Ensure that installation and maintenance personnel are well-trained, enhancing the public's trust in new technologies.

Integrate with broader environmental policies: Align Net Zero policies with broader environmental goals, ensuring consistency and synergy across various initiatives, like waste management and water conservation, to maximise ecological benefits.

Measure and communicate the impact: Regularly evaluate the effectiveness of policies and publicly share the outcomes to maintain public support and trust. Use clear metrics to demonstrate environmental, economic, and social impacts, adjusting policies based on these

insights.

4 Follow these three steps to design more acceptable Net Zero policies:

While the findings of this project allow us to make initial recommendations, further investigation is essential to deepen understanding of the acceptability of various Net Zero policies and to refine their development more effectively:

1. Assess the initial acceptability of potential Net Zero policies through public consultation and research. The data here gives a good starting point, but could be replicated with a true random probability sample and greater subgroup analysis for different demographics. This initial feedback is crucial for understanding the landscape of public opinion and, critically, identifying key objections to policies. It is these specific objections that should inform the tailored approach to making the policy more acceptable.

2. Once objections are identified, strengthen these policies by incorporating principles that enhance acceptability, such as fairness, incentives, financial support, consumer protections or exemptions, and transparency. These principles should be tailored to address the specific concerns associated with each policy. For instance, ensuring fairness might involve measures like targeted subsidies, while transparency could be improved by clearly communicating the policy rationale and implementation process.

3. Continuously monitor and adapt policies. Policymakers should regularly evaluate the implementation and impact of the policies, using both qualitative and quantitative methods to ensure they achieve their intended outcomes and maintain public support. Being flexible and responsive to new data and changing circumstances allows for necessary adjustments, ensuring long-term acceptability and effectiveness. This needs to be balanced with the need also for a clear and consistent plan, and sufficient policy continuity to encourage investment, and households' ability to plan and make significant purchases with confidence.

Appendices

Appendix A: Focus group methodology

BIT worked with Nesta and the European Climate Foundation to explore different policy variations in five online focus groups, each with 7 UK adults between 29 May - 2 June 2024. The following sampling spec was used:

Focus group sample frame	Focus group 1: HP & retrofit adoption	Focus group 2: Enabling green infrastructure	Focus group 3: Meat reduction	Focus group 4: Flying reduction	Focus group 5: Reducing ICEV & car use
Primary sampling criteria	**Home ownership:** - 3-4 x owner-occupiers **Tenure:** - 1-2 x landlords - 2-3 x tenants	**Regionality:** - 2-3 x live in the South West - 2-3 x live in East Anglia or Yorkshire/Humber - 2-3 x live in green-belt areas	**Diet:** - 6-7 x meat eaters	**Flying:** - 4-5 x people who have flown once or more in the last year for leisure - 2-3 x people who have flown once or more in the last year for business	**Car ownership:** - 4-5 x ICEV drivers - 2-3 x EV drivers **Urbanicity:** - 4-5 x urban - 2-3 x rural
Additional sampling criteria	General population representative mix of: • Age • Gender • Region • Income • Ethnicity • Urbanicity				

Appendix B: Online experiment sample demographics

Political party	
Labour	38%
Conservative	18%
Reform UK	10%
Liberal Democrat	6%
Green Party	6%
Other/None/Don't know/Prefer not to answer	22%

Climate change concern	
Concerned	75%
Unconcerned	24%
Don't know	1%

Urbanicity	
Urban	30%
Suburban	47%
Rural	22%

Employment status	
Employed	65%
Unemployed	3%
Inactive	32%

Income	
Under £40k	46%
Over £40k	54%

Education	
No degree	69%
Degree or higher	31%

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Appendix C: Reasons why online experiment participants liked and disliked specific policies

Ban on ICEV sale

Policies were liked for being effective and improving quality of life, but were disliked for being restrictive and unfair.

What, if anything, do you like about this policy? (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)		*What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?* (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)	
34%	It will improve the quality of life in my community (e.g. cleaner, healthier, safer, or more pleasant living)	34%	It's too restrictive. It might force me (or others) to make changes which I don't want to make or can't
32%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that	29%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
25%	It could inspire environmental action in others (e.g. members of the public or other governments)	26%	It's too expensive, or a waste of public money
28%	Nothing (exclusive)	18%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

ULEZ expansion

Policies were liked for being effective and improving quality of life, but were disliked for being restrictive and unfair.

What, if anything, do you like about this policy? (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)		*What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?* (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)	
34%	It will improve the quality of life in my community (e.g. cleaner, healthier, safer, or more pleasant living)	34%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
26%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that	33%	It's too restrictive. It might force me (or others) to make changes which I don't want to make or can't
22%	It could inspire environmental action in others (e.g. members of the public or other governments)	28%	It will harm businesses or the economy, either for myself or wider society
31%	Nothing (exclusive)	16%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Green infrastructure and planning

Policies were liked for reducing fossil fuel dependency, but were disliked for impact on the landscape and environment

What, if anything, do you like about this policy? (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)		*What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?* (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)	
43%	It will enhance energy security by reducing dependency on fossil fuels	22%	It will negatively impact the visual landscape and aesthetics
36%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that	22%	It will be harmful for local wildlife or the environment
30%	It will improve the quality of life in my community (e.g. cleaner, healthier, safer, or more pleasant living)	18%	It will disrupt local communities during construction
13%	Nothing (exclusive)	26%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Meat & dairy reduction

36% of people did not like anything about the policies, which were disliked for being perceived as unfair and restrictive.

What, if anything, do you like about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

29%	It raises awareness about the environmental impact of meat and dairy production
23%	It not only helps the environment, but also encourages healthier choices
17%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that
36%	Nothing (exclusive)

What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

33%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
33%	It's too restrictive. It might force me (or others) to make changes which I don't want to make or can't
30%	It will harm businesses or the economy, either for myself or wider society
15%	Nothing

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Heat pump adoption

Policies were liked for being effective, but were disliked for being too restrictive and financially burdensome.

What, if anything, do you like about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

32%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that
29%	It will improve the quality of life in my community (e.g. cleaner, healthier, safer, or more pleasant living)
25%	It could inspire environmental action in others (e.g. members of the public or other governments)
25%	Nothing (exclusive)

What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

28%	It's too restrictive. It might force me (or others) to make changes which I don't want to make or can't
26%	It's too expensive, or a waste of public money
24%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
19%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Flight demand reduction

Policies were liked for being effective and having little impact on daily life, but they were disliked for perceived unfairness

What, if anything, do you like about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

31%	It will have little impact on my daily life
31%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that
26%	It seems fair, in the way it would impact different people
25%	Nothing (exclusive)

What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?
(top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)

29%	It's unfair to people and businesses who rely on frequent air travel
26%	There aren't enough alternative travel options available
21%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
20%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Flight demand reduction

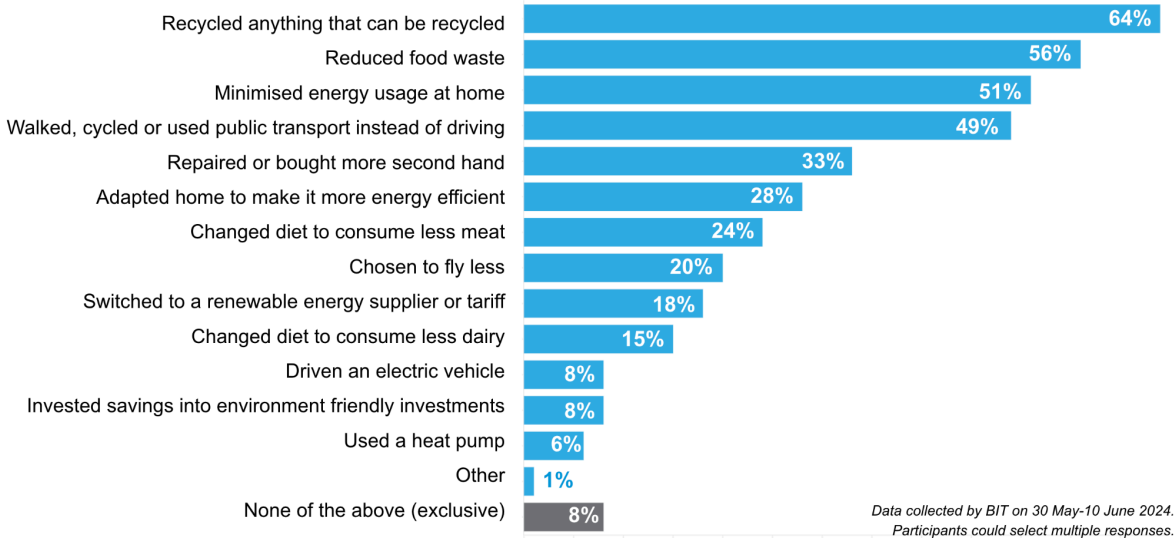
Short haul domestic flight ban policies were liked for being effective and having little impact on daily life, but they were disliked for being restrictive

What, if anything, do you like about this policy? (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)		*What, if anything, do you dislike about this policy?* (top three reasons; participants could select multiple responses)	
31%	It will have little impact on my daily life	24%	It's too restrictive. It might force me (or others) to make changes which I don't want to make or can't
31%	It's important to reach the Net Zero target, and this policy will help achieve that	23%	It forces a change in travel habits that may not be feasible for everyone
26%	It will improve the quality of life in my community (e.g. cleaner, healthier, safer, or more pleasant living)	23%	It doesn't seem fair, in the way it would impact different people
25%	Nothing (exclusive)	19%	Nothing (exclusive)

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Appendix D: Online experiment participants' green behaviours

Do you or have you ever done any of the following to protect the environment?



Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.
Participants could select multiple responses.

Appendix E: Subgroup analyses

Ban on ICEV sale.

Differences in policy popularity were smaller for people who don't drive an ICEV car and people from rural areas.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	Ban on the sale of new ICEVs (Control) n = 590	EV charging cost guarantee n = 642	Financial support n = 556	Charging infrastructure cost commitments n = 592	Phased approach for more gradual transition n = 628
People who drive an **ICEV** (n = 1,850)	48%	63%**	57%*	58%**	56%*
People who drive a **non-ICEV car** (n = 424)	73%	80%	78%	65%	78%
People who **don't drive** (n = 734)	77%	73%	73%	75%	76%
People who live in **rural** areas (n = 676)	55%	58%	48%	58%	57%
People who live in **urban or suburban** areas (n = 2,332)	59%	70%**	68%**	65%+	66%*

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Ban on the sale of new ICEVs (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

ULEZ expansion.

The pattern of popularity was consistent across policy variants for drivers vs. non-drivers and urban vs. rural areas.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	ULEZ expansion across major UK cities (Control) n = 581	Exemptions n = 624	Fund sustainable transport n = 591	Community engagement n = 609	LTN expansion (alternative) n = 603
People who **drive** (n = 2,274)	52%	52%	49%	51%	62%**
People who **don't drive** (n = 734)	66%	59%	69%	71%	83%**
People who live in **rural** areas (n = 676)	48%	48%	51%	57%	64%**
People who live in **urban or suburban** areas (n = 2,332)	58%	55%	55%	55%	69%**

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the ULEX expansion across major UK cities (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Green infrastructure and planning.

The pattern of results was mostly consistent across regions in the UK and urban vs. rural areas.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	Reform for wind & renewable energy expansion (Control) n = 583	Cooperatives (benefits) n = 566	Greater transparency (process) n = 621	Increased energy bills (financing) n = 591	Green energy tariff (financing) n = 647
People who live in **rural** areas (n = 676)	86%	85%	89%	64%**	79%
People who live in **urban or suburban** areas (n = 2,332)	90%	91%	90%	69%**	86%+
People who live in **London** (n = 417)	90%	88%	89%	74%**	86%
People who live in the **Midlands** (n = 475)	89%	90%	87%	69%**	85%
People who live in the **North** (n = 714)	91%	91%	92%	73%**	82%
People who live in the **South and East** (n = 955)	89%	89%	91%	62%**	86%
People who live in **Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland** (n = 447)	84%	89%	90%	67%**	83%

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Reform wind and renewable energy expansion (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Meat and dairy reduction.

Differences in policy popularity were smaller for people who don't eat meat.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	Meat & dairy tax (Control) n = 613	Support domestic farmers n = 627	Supermarket targets (alternative) n = 561	Cut grants for meat and dairy (alternative) n = 619	Meat & dairy carbon labelling (alternative) n = 588
People who **eat meat** some or most days (n = 2,437)	30%	40%**	48%**	42%**	78%**
People who **don't eat meat** (n = 571)	63%	72%	77%*	70%	92%**

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Meat and dairy tax (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Heat pump adoption

The pattern of results was similar by tenancy, although policies were generally accepted more by non-homeowners.

% who oppose this policy amongst…	Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (Control) n = 599	Energy co-operatives n = 620	Financial support n = 600	Consumer protections - guarantees n = 591	Gas levy (alternative) n = 598
Homeowners (including landlords) (n = 1,973)	66%	70%	71%	71%	66%
Non-homeowners (n = 1,035)	80%	83%	86%	80%	76%

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Frequent flyer levy.

Policy popularity was higher in people who had not flown in the past year.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	Frequent flyer levy (Control) n = 510	Higher levies for private jets n = 447	Aviation fuel tax increase (alternative) n = 510
People who have **not** flown in the past year (n = 564)	80%	80%	80%
People who have flown **once or twice** in the past year (n = 538)	69%	60%+	59%*
People who have flown **at least three times** in the past year (n = 365)	44%	57%*	55%+

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Frequent flyer levy (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Ban on short-haul domestic flights.

Policy popularity was higher in people who had not flown in the past year.

% who do not oppose this policy amongst…	Ban on short-haul domestic flights (Control) n = 482	Fair price guarantee n = 550	Train quality commitment n = 509
People who have **not** flown in the past year (n = 577)	70%	73%	71%
People who have flown **once or twice** in the past year (n = 562)	67%	68%	65%
People who have flown **at least three times** in the past year (n = 402)	55%	59%	60%

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024. Additions/alternatives were compared against the Ban on short-haul domestic flights (Control) policy.
***p<.01, * p<.05, +p <.1. Results in this deck are not corrected for multiple comparisons and should be interpreted as exploratory.*

Net zero policy popularity across variants by subgroup

		Frequent flyer levy	Short-haul flight ban	Green infrastructure	Heat pump adoption	Ban on ICEV sale	ULEZ expansion	Meat reduction
Gender	Male (n = 1,564)	65%	65%	82%	72%	63%	54%	49%
	Female (n = 1,437)	68%	67%	86%	75%	64%	61%	56%
Age	Under 25 (n = 302)	60%	69%	85%	83%	70%	66%	60%
	25 to 54 (n = 1,569)	64%	68%	86%	78%	67%	61%	57%
	55 and over (n = 1,137)	72%	64%	82%	63%	57%	50%	44%

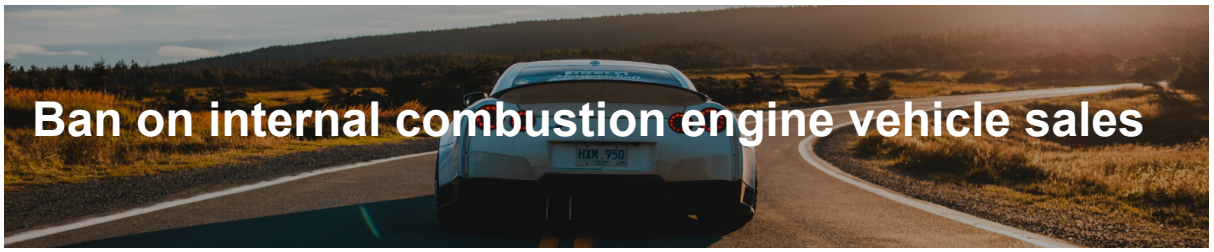
Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.

Net zero policy popularity across variants by subgroup

		Frequent flyer levy	Short-haul flight ban	Green infrastructure	Heat pump adoption	Ban on ICEV sale	ULEZ expansion	Meat reduction
Income	< £40k (n = 1,397)	71%	69%	84%	75%	64%	60%	55%
	≥ £40k (n = 1,611)	63%	63%	84%	71%	63%	55%	50%
Voting intention	Labour (n = 1,128)	71%	72%	88%	81%	73%	66%	57%
	Conservative (n = 542)	63%	59%	85%	63%	58%	48%	44%

Data collected by BIT on 30 May-10 June 2024.
Income is annual household pre-tax income.
Voting intention was asked in relation to the upcoming 2024 election (sample sizes for other political subgroups are too small for drawing robust inferences).

Appendix F: Policy stimuli



Proposed policy (Control)

Ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles

What is it?

- A ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles from 2035.
- From 2035 onwards, consumers looking to buy new vehicles will need to go electric, or possibly hydrogen fuel cell vehicles, depending on what technologies are available.
- These decisions only apply to *new* cars and vans. They do not apply to existing petrol, diesel and hybrid cars and vans which can continue to be driven and sold in the second hand market.

Addition/ alternative A

Ban on the sale of new internal combustion engine vehicles

What is it?

- A ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles from 2035.
- From 2035 onwards, consumers looking to buy new vehicles will need to go electric, or possibly hydrogen fuel cell vehicles, depending on what technologies are available.
- These decisions only apply to *new* cars and vans. They do not apply to existing petrol, diesel and hybrid cars and vans which can continue to be driven and sold in the second hand market.
- **This policy would also include a guarantee that the cost of using public electric vehicle charging stations is equivalent to home charging rates**.
- This aims to make it fair for people who don't have off-street parking at home and therefore have to use public chargers.

Addition/ alternative B

Ban on the sale of new internal combustion engine vehicles

What is it?

- A ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles from 2035.
- From 2035 onwards, consumers looking to buy new vehicles will need to go electric, or possibly hydrogen fuel cell vehicles, depending on what technologies are available.
- These decisions only apply to *new* cars and vans. They do not apply to existing petrol, diesel and hybrid cars and vans which can continue to be driven and sold in the second hand market.
- **This policy would also include Government subsidisation of EV finance schemes** resulting in low interest loans being made available for individuals buying electric vehicles, making them more affordable to pay off.

Addition/ alternative C

Ban on the sale of new internal combustion engine vehicles

What is it?

- A ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles from 2035.
- From 2035 onwards, consumers looking to buy new vehicles will need to go electric, or possibly hydrogen fuel cell vehicles, depending on what technologies are available.
- These decisions only apply to *new* cars and vans. They do not apply to existing petrol, diesel and hybrid cars and vans which can continue to be driven and sold in the second hand market.
- **This policy would also include a commitment that the ban would only go ahead if:**
  - Ambitious public charging infrastructure targets are achieved, meaning everyone in the country has adequate access to chargers.
  - The total cost of ownership (purchase and running costs) of an electric car is no more than an equivalent petrol car.

Addition/ alternative D

Ban on the sale of new internal combustion engine vehicles

What is it?

- A ban on the sale of new petrol or diesel vehicles would be phased in from 2028 to 2035.
- From 2028, households with more than one car would no longer be able to buy a new petrol or diesel vehicle.
- From 2035, no-one would be able to buy a new petrol or diesel vehicle.
- This is designed to accelerate the transition to electric vehicles while recognising that households with only one car may find it harder to transition so quickly.
- These bans would only apply to *new* cars and vans. Households would be able to keep their existing petrol or diesel cars, or to buy and sell second-hand.

Proposed policy (Control)

ULEZ expansion across major UK cities

What is it?

- An expansion of ultra low emission zones (ULEZ) across UK major cities and urban areas that set out minimum requirements for emission standards.
- Vehicles that drive in the zones that do not meet the standards pay e.g. a £12.50 daily charge (the current rate).

Addition/ alternative A

ULEZ expansion across major UK cities

What is it?

- An expansion of ultra low emission zones (ULEZ) across UK major cities and urban areas that set out minimum requirements for emission standards.
- Vehicles that drive in the zones that do not meet the standards pay e.g. a £12.50 daily charge.
- **This policy would include a range of exemptions** to the ULEZ expansion criteria to ensure fairness and practicality. These exemptions might include those on a very low income, individuals with specific health conditions requiring vehicle use, or allow for a designated number of exempt trips per year.

Addition/ alternative B

ULEZ expansion across major UK cities

What is it?

- An expansion of ultra low emission zones (ULEZ) across UK major cities and urban areas that set out minimum requirements for emission standards.
- Vehicles that drive in the zones that do not meet the standards pay e.g. a £12.50 daily charge.
- **This policy would include a commitment to use the money from expanding the ULEZ to fund sustainable transportation projects,** such as: Supporting a vehicle scrappage scheme to encourage replacing older, polluting cars with cleaner options; Funding additions in local public transport; Providing exemption passes to those most financially impacted, helping them afford the changes; A dividend payout to city residents.

Addition/ alternative C

ULEZ expansion across major UK cities

What is it?

- An expansion of ultra low emission zones (ULEZ) across UK major cities and urban areas that set out minimum requirements for emission standards.
- Vehicles that drive in the zones that do not meet the standards pay e.g. a £12.50 daily charge.
- **This policy would include community engagement and consultation events,** aiming to collect opinions, address concerns, and include feedback from residents and businesses, ensuring the ULEZ plans meet local needs and gain community support.
- **This would also consider the needs of commuters outside the ULEZ** who might not see immediate benefits like reduced traffic and pollution, such as by offering cheaper or free public transport, car sharing incentives, and supporting remote work.

Addition/ alternative D

LTN expansion across major UK cities

What is it?

- An expansion of low traffic neighbourhoods (LTNs) across UK towns and cities, in which road capacity is reduced in favour of active travel (walking, cycling & wheeling) and public transport infrastructure.

Green infrastructure and planning

Proposed policy (Control)

Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion

What is it?

- Relaxing planning regulations to make it **easier and faster for energy companies to develop onshore wind farms and other green energy infrastructure** across the UK, such as solar farms, nuclear energy, electricity transmission lines and energy storage facilities.

Addition/ alternative A

Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion

What is it?

- Relaxing planning regulations to make it **easier and faster for energy companies to develop onshore wind farms and other green energy infrastructure** across the UK, such as solar farms, nuclear energy, electricity transmission lines and energy storage facilities.
- **This policy would also give communities near the infrastructure (wind farm, nuclear etc.) the opportunity to invest in it,** leading to cooperative ownership, dividends from the profits shared to the community owners, and the benefit of free or significantly reduced energy costs.

Addition/ alternative B

Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion

What is it?

- Relaxing planning regulations to make it **easier and faster for energy companies to develop onshore wind farms and other green energy infrastructure** across the UK, such as solar farms, nuclear energy, electricity transmission lines and energy storage facilities.
- **This policy would also include much more transparency and proactive communication** regarding the locations and reasons for renewable energy infrastructure, demonstrating fair distribution across all UK regions.
- This comes with a guarantee that selected sites, such as those unsuitable for agriculture, represent the best use of land.

Addition/ alternative C

Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion

What is it?

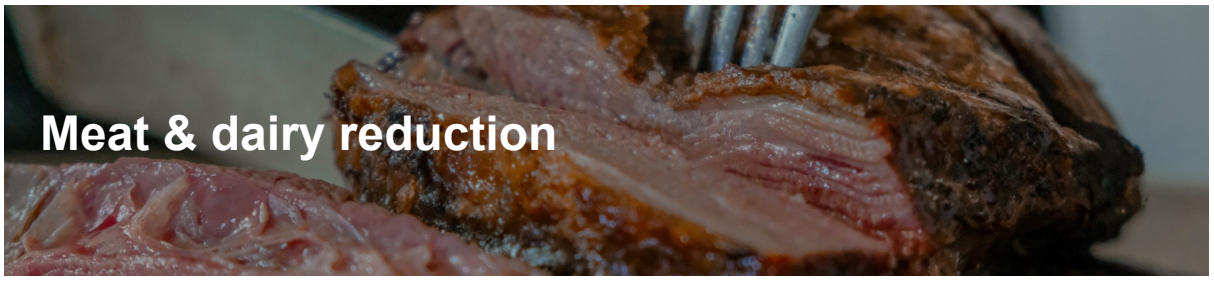
- Relaxing planning regulations to make it **easier and faster for energy companies to develop onshore wind farms and other green energy infrastructure** across the UK, such as solar farms, nuclear energy, electricity transmission lines and energy storage facilities.
- **To pay for the development of this green energy infrastructure, there would be an increase in energy bills** by around £110 per year.

Addition/ alternative D

Reform planning for onshore wind & renewable energy expansion

What is it?

- Relaxing planning regulations to make it **easier and faster for energy companies to develop onshore wind farms and other green energy infrastructure** across the UK, such as solar farms, nuclear energy, electricity transmission lines and energy storage facilities.
- **To help pay for this energy infrastructure, 'green infrastructure energy tariffs' would be established.** Totally optional, consumers could choose to opt-in to this tariff knowing that they are directly supporting the transition to a green energy system (e.g. these tariffs might be 5-10% more than a standard tariff, but would be genuinely 'green').



Meat & dairy reduction

Proposed policy (Control)

Meat & dairy tax

What is it?

- A carbon tax on meat and dairy products aimed at people buying meat and dairy products in supermarkets and hospitality venues.
- As the carbon footprint of the meat/dairy product increases, so too does the size of the tax.
- This tax aims to reflect the environmental impact of these products, incentivising producers and consumers to shift towards more sustainable diets.

Addition/ alternative A

Meat & dairy tax

What is it?

- A carbon tax on meat and dairy products aimed at people buying meat and dairy products in supermarkets and hospitality venues.
- As the carbon footprint of the meat/dairy product increases, so too does the size of the tax.
- This tax aims to reflect the environmental cost of these products, incentivising producers and consumers to shift towards more sustainable practices and diets.
- **This policy would also include a commitment to use the revenue generated from the tax to support domestic farmers** in adopting more sustainable practices.
- For example, the revenue could be used to help farmers switch to plant-based farming by giving them financial support, invest in renewable energy like solar or wind power for farms, or be trained in techniques that help their crops withstand climate changes.

Addition/ alternative B

Meat & dairy supermarket reduction targets

What is it?

- Supermarkets across the UK are set targets by the Government for reducing total or average meat and dairy consumption across their customers.
- This allows supermarkets to devise their own strategies for achieving these goals, such as offering discounts on plant-based products, increasing the availability and variety of sustainable meat alternatives, or providing customers with tips and recipes for making more sustainable meals.

Addition/ alternative C

Meat & dairy grant cuts

What is it?

- The Government would cut existing grants for UK meat and dairy production, causing the prices of these products to increase.
- Instead, the grants are put towards the production of more sustainable foods, making these foods cheaper to buy.

Addition/ alternative D

Meat & dairy carbon labelling

What is it?

- Standardised 'carbon labels' on all meat and dairy product packaging, using a colour-coded system (red-amber-green) similar to existing health rating labels.
- This strategy provides consumers with clear, 'at-a-glance' information on the environmental impact of their meat and dairy purchases, encouraging more informed and sustainable choices.

Proposed policy (Control)

Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers

What is it?

- Starting from **2035**, it will no longer be permissible to buy and install new fossil fuel-based heating systems, such as gas or oil boilers, **in all UK homes**.
- All new installations will be required to be eco-friendly alternatives, such as heat pumps, which can be run on renewable electricity.

Addition/ alternative A

Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers

What is it?

- Starting from **2035**, it will no longer be permissible to install new fossil fuel-based heating systems, such as gas or oil boilers, **in all UK homes**.
- All new installations will be required to be eco-friendly alternatives, such as heat pumps, which can be run on renewable electricity.
- **To support the transition to heat pumps, all households would be able to opt-in (if they wanted) to a community roll-out.** This means you'd get the benefit of bulk-discounts and installations alongside your neighbours, with the process managed by your local authority. The authority would also help ensure you get the right heat pump for your home, and provide guarantees and protections if anything wasn't up to standard.

Addition/ alternative B

Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers

What is it?

- Starting from **2035**, it will no longer be permissible to install new fossil fuel-based heating systems, such as gas or oil boilers, **in all UK homes**.
- All new installations will be required to be eco-friendly alternatives, such as heat pumps, which could run on renewable electricity.
- **This policy would also include financial support** so that **no household will face upfront costs for heat pumps, beyond the cost of a typical gas boiler.**
- This would be in the form of grants (which don't need to be paid back) for low-income homes, and zero-interest loans for others.
- This ensures that all households can install heat pumps without an unfair initial financial burden.

Addition/ alternative C

Phase-out of fossil fuel boilers

What is it?

- Starting from **2035**, it will no longer be permissible to install new fossil fuel-based heating systems, such as gas or oil boilers, **in all UK homes**.
- All new installations will be required to be eco-friendly alternatives, such as heat pumps, which could run on renewable electricity.
- **This policy would also include stronger consumer protections,** and responsibility put on manufacturers/installers for 'fit for purpose' installation, with guarantees on comfort and performance.
- This means it's no longer the individual's responsibility to understand and get the right system installed, but will instead be guaranteed by the manufacturer/installer.

Addition/ alternative D

Reducing taxes on electricity

What is it?

- **This policy would include making gas more expensive and electricity cheaper** by adjusting the way that gas and electricity prices are taxed (currently, gas is priced at 6p per kWh while electricity is priced at 25p per kWh).
- This policy would mean that gas energy bills would rise in price, while electricity bills would fall in price. Overall, average energy bills would stay roughly the same. However, it would incentivise people to move off of gas-based heating like boilers and to instead heat their home with clean electricity with technologies like heat pumps.

Proposed policy (Control)

Frequent flyer tax

What is it?

- **Passengers would be taxed more for flying,** but only after taking more than two short-haul return trips (e.g. within Europe), or one long-haul return trip (e.g. to America or Asia) per year.
- This means the tax would be targeted only at frequent flyers such as those who travel for business and those with more disposable income.
- Revenues raised from air travel taxes are dedicated to supporting alternative travel options like trains and ferries.

Addition/ alternative A

Frequent flyer tax

What is it?

- **Passengers would be taxed more for flying,** but only after taking more than two short-haul return trips (e.g. within Europe), or one long-haul return trip (e.g. to America or Asia) per year.
- This means the tax would be targeted only at frequent flyers such as those who travel for business and those with more disposable income.
- Revenues raised from air travel taxes are dedicated to supporting alternative travel options like trains and ferries.
- **This policy would also include higher taxes specifically for private jets,** coupled with additional restrictions on their use.
- This policy targets the disproportionate carbon footprint of private jet travel, making it a less attractive option for those seeking luxury or convenience at the expense of environmental impact.

Addition/ alternative B

Aviation fuel tax

What is it?

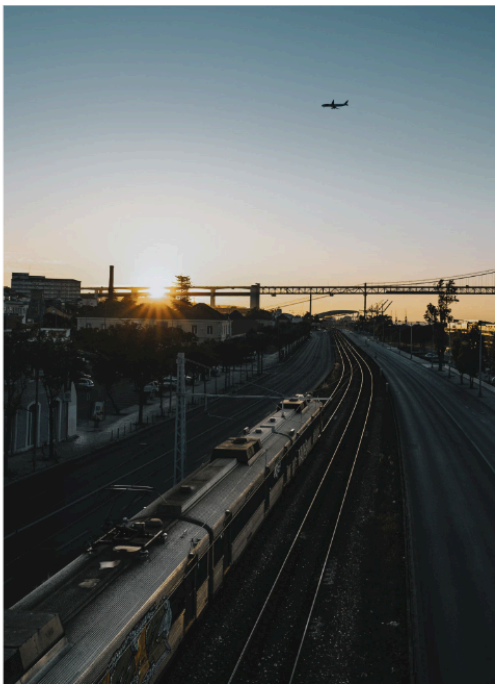
- **A tax increase on aviation fuel.**
- Aviation fuel is already taxed, but increasing the tax would help incentivise airlines to be more fuel-efficient.
- Some of the cost would likely be reflected in higher ticket prices for passengers.

Proposed policy (Control)

Ban on short-haul domestic flights

What is it?

- A ban on short-haul domestic flights **when there is an alternative overland transportation option that adds less than 2.5 hours to the flight time.**
- This might mean adjusting domestic travel plans to opt for trains or buses instead of flying. For example, trips such as London-Manchester might have to be taken by train (2h20m) instead of flown (1h).

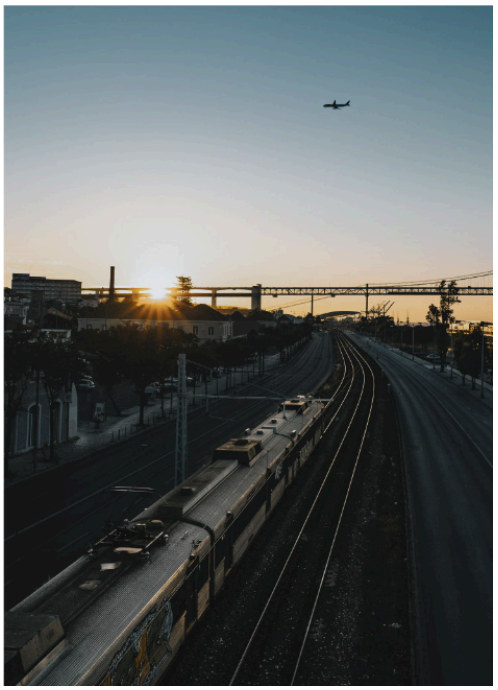


Addition/ alternative A

Ban on short-haul domestic flights

What is it?

- A ban on short-haul domestic flights **when there is an alternative overland transportation option that adds less than 2.5 hours to the flight time.**
- This might mean adjusting domestic travel plans to opt for trains or buses instead of flying. For example, trips such as London-Manchester might have to be taken by train (2h20m) instead of flown (1h).
- **This policy would also include a fair price guarantee** ensuring that **the cost of a train journey will not exceed that of a comparable domestic flight.**
- This initiative aims to make train travel a more attractive option by getting rid of cost disadvantages.



Addition/ alternative B

Ban on short-haul domestic flights

What is it?

- A ban on short-haul domestic flights **when there is an alternative overland transportation option that adds less than 2.5 hours to the flight time.**
- This might mean adjusting domestic travel plans to opt for trains or buses instead of flying. For example, trips such as London-Manchester might have to be taken by train (2h20m) instead of flown (1h).
- **This policy would also include a commitment to introducing these measures only when the train network achieves a 95% reliability rate**, defined by punctuality and minimal cancellations.
- This precondition ensures that the rail system is a viable and dependable alternative to air travel.