Supporting Information

for

Climate negotiators’ and scientists’ assessments of the climate negotiations

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Institutions and history of the climate negotiations

The IPCC was established in 1988 by the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme, with the goal of assessing the scientific basis for understanding the risk of human-induced climate change, its potential impacts, and options for adaptation and mitigation (1, 2). So far, the IPCC has published five Assessment Reports, beginning in 1990; these reports, which are conducted approximately every six years, are complemented by occasional Special Reports. While the IPCC does not carry out original research, and focuses instead on reviewing existing (mostly peer-reviewed) literature, the scale of the operation is large, as demonstrated by the number of authors and reviewers. The latest Assessment Report required more than 800 authors and more than 150 review editors, selected from around 3,000 nominations. Our sample of IPCC scientists comprises coordinating lead authors, lead authors, and review editors of that latest Assessment Report. The process of author selection begins after the governments have elected the IPCC Bureau and Chair. The IPCC, together with the Working Group Co-chairs, then establishes the mandate of the three Working Groups and the time frame for the reports. Each Assessment Report comprises three Working Group (WG) Reports: WG I on the physical science basis; WG II on impacts, adaptation and vulnerability; WG III on mitigation of climate change. At this stage, based on nominations by governments and other institutions, the Bureau and the Co-chairs select the authors and reviewers. The IPCC scientists are generally viewed as independent from the underlying political process, although government interference, which is justified as necessary to ensure the process does not go unnoticed, has attracted some criticism (3).

The UNFCCC was adopted at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and entered into force two years later. It established a qualitative global goal to limit atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations to avoid dangerous climate change and guidelines for the subsequent negotiations. Each year, a conference is held under the framework of the UNFCCC. These Conferences of the Parties (COP) serve as the formal meeting of the UNFCCC parties to assess the progress in dealing with climate change. The first COP, known as the Berlin Mandate, was held in Germany in 1995. The latest conference, COP 22, took place in Marrakech, Morocco late in 2016.

The international climate negotiations have brought about two agreements. The Kyoto Protocol, which was adopted in 1997 and entered into force in 2005, committed industrialized countries to reduce emissions by 5.2 percent in aggregate between 2008 and 2012, relative to the 1990 baseline levels. The goal of the 2009 meeting in Copenhagen was to produce a successor
agreement to the Kyoto Protocol beyond 2012, but failed to do so. Instead, it resulted in a non-binding framework, known as the Copenhagen Accord, which set the collective goal of limiting mean global temperature increase to 2°C and invited countries to submit quantified emission targets. These submitted pledges turned out to be insufficient to reach the collective goal and the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action was thus established in 2011, with the mandate to develop a new “protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention applicable to all Parties (…)” (4). This new agreement was adopted at COP 21 in Paris in December 2015. It entered into force in November 2016 after the threshold (ratification of at least 55 parties to the Convention, accounting for at least 55 percent of the total greenhouse gas emissions) had been met. At the core of this agreement are the “intended nationally determined contributions” (INDCs) which to date have been submitted by more than 160 parties to the UNFCCC.

The agreements adopted in Kyoto and Paris have been widely debated, covering a broad range of different opinions. While both agreements rely on establishing targets and timetables, the main difference is that Kyoto specified legally binding emission reduction targets for a subset of countries, whereas Paris invited all countries to announce nonbinding targets. The approach taken in Kyoto built on the interpretation of the “common but differentiated responsibilities” principle that had emerged in the context of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. While this principle is widely accepted, it did raise concerns that efforts taken by a subset of (more developed) countries to limit emissions could be undermined by the effects that these reductions have on global markets, such as lower fossil fuel prices or relocation of energy-intensive industries. The distinction between developed and developing countries has been somewhat blurred under the new approach taken in Paris.

**Participants**

Table S1 presents an overview of the sample; for the full sample as well as separately for UNFCCC and IPCC. The sample comprises more men than women (71 versus 29 percent). The respondents’ age ranges from 22 to 76 years and the mean age is 48 years. Most respondents are from Europe (32 percent) followed by North America (19 percent), Asia and Africa (17 percent each), South America (11 percent), and Australia/Oceania (5 percent). The majority has majored in natural science (37 percent), followed by economics and business administration (17 percent), and engineering (14 percent). Forty-two percent work for a national governmental
organization, 33 percent work for a university or research institution, and the rest work for an international governmental organization, a private company, or an NGO.

| Table S1. Survey participants |
|-------------------------------|
|                               | Full Sample | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample |
| Frequency                     | Absolute    | Percent       | Absolute    | Percent       | Absolute    | Percent       |
| Gender                        |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Male                          | 463         | 70.58         | 306         | 66.67         | 157         | 79.70         |
| Female                        | 193         | 29.42         | 153         | 33.33         | 40          | 20.30         |
| Age                           |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| 20 – 29 years                 | 34          | 5.18          | 32          | 6.97          | 2           | 1.02          |
| 30 – 39 years                 | 130         | 19.82         | 120         | 26.14         | 10          | 5.08          |
| 40 – 49 years                 | 163         | 24.85         | 118         | 25.71         | 45          | 22.84         |
| 50 – 59 years                 | 177         | 26.98         | 112         | 24.40         | 65          | 32.99         |
| 60 – 69 years                 | 96          | 14.63         | 42          | 9.15          | 54          | 27.41         |
| 70 – 79 years                 | 17          | 2.59          | 7           | 1.53          | 10          | 5.08          |
| No answer                     | 39          | 5.95          | 28          | 6.10          | 11          | 5.58          |
| Nationality1                  |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Africa                        | 110         | 16.77         | 98          | 21.35         | 12          | 6.09          |
| Australia/Oceania             | 30          | 4.57          | 15          | 3.27          | 15          | 7.61          |
| Asia                          | 110         | 16.77         | 86          | 18.74         | 24          | 12.18         |
| Europe                        | 207         | 31.55         | 134         | 29.19         | 73          | 37.06         |
| North America                 | 125         | 19.05         | 64          | 13.94         | 61          | 30.96         |
| South America                 | 74          | 11.28         | 62          | 13.51         | 12          | 6.09          |
| Field                         |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Natural science               | 241         | 36.74         | 136         | 29.63         | 105         | 53.30         |
| Political science             | 62          | 9.45          | 58          | 12.64         | 5           | 2.03          |
| Economics and Business        | 112         | 17.07         | 79          | 17.21         | 33          | 16.75         |
| Administration                |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Law                           | 35          | 5.34          | 34          | 7.41          | 1           | 0.51          |
| Engineering                   | 92          | 14.02         | 66          | 14.38         | 26          | 13.20         |
| Other                         | 101         | 15.40         | 75          | 16.34         | 26          | 13.20         |
| No answer                     | 13          | 1.98          | 11          | 2.40          | 2           | 1.02          |
| Organization                  |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| International government      | 41          | 6.25          | 34          | 7.41          | 7           | 3.55          |
| National government organization | 277       | 42.23         | 255         | 55.56         | 22          | 11.17         |
| National government organization |         |               |             |               |             |               |
| University or research        | 214         | 32.62         | 68          | 14.81         | 146         | 74.11         |
| institution                   |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Private company               | 21          | 3.20          | 18          | 3.92          | 3           | 1.52          |
| Environmental NGO             | 37          | 5.64          | 31          | 6.75          | 6           | 3.05          |
| Non-Environmental             | 11          | 1.68          | 9           | 1.96          | 2           | 1.02          |
| NGO                           |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Other                         | 40          | 6.10          | 31          | 6.75          | 9           | 4.57          |
| No answer                     | 15          | 2.29          | 13          | 2.83          | 2           | 1.02          |
| Trust in intuition            |             |               |             |               |             |               |
| Very much                     | 221         | 33.69         | 174         | 37.91         | 47          | 23.86         |
| Somewhat                      | 334         | 50.91         | 216         | 47.06         | 118         | 59.90         |
| Little                        | 70          | 10.67         | 45          | 9.80          | 25          | 12.69         |
| Not at all                    | 13          | 1.98          | 10          | 2.18          | 3           | 1.52          |
| Don’t know                    | 3           | 0.46          | 1           | 0.22          | 2           | 1.02          |
| No answer                     | 15          | 2.29          | 13          | 2.83          | 2           | 1.02          |
| ∑                             | 656         | 100.00        | 459         | 100.00        | 197         | 100.00        |

1 If information on nationality was not provided by the respondents, this information was substituted by the country of delegation (UNFCCC sample) or the country of citizenship (IPCC sample). This was the case for six percent of the full sample. From the respondents who provided their nationality we know that this information coincides with nationality in 90 percent of the cases. Note also that our regression results do not change if we omit all individuals who did not provide their nationality.
Supplementary econometric analysis

Explanatory variables used in the regression analysis

Table S2 provides definitions of explanatory variables used in the regression analysis in the main paper and Table S3 shows the summary statistics of all explanatory variables. Tables S4 and S5 provide an overview of the effects of the explanatory variables on the dependent variables which are not shown in the main paper.

Table S2. Definitions of explanatory variables

| Variable                                | Definition                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Involvement as Party\(^1\)              | Number of COPs between 2009 and 2014 (1997 and 2001 for the Kyoto Protocol) that an individual attended as party                                                                                           |
| Involvement as Observer\(^1\)           | Number of COPs between 2009 and 2014 (1997 and 2001 for the Kyoto Protocol) that an individual attended as observer                                                                                      |
| Trust in intuition                      | = 1 if individual answered the question “When making decisions, do you generally trust your intuitions?” with very much or somewhat, = 0 otherwise                                                               |
| Importance of climate change            | = 1 if individual answered the question “How important do you think are international efforts in combating climate change?” with very important or important, = 0 otherwise                                           |
| Consequences of climate change          | = 1 if individual answered the question “How would you assess the consequences of climate change on future global living conditions up to 2100?” with very negative or negative, = 0 otherwise                             |
| Optimistic about emission reductions    | = 1 if individual is equally or more optimistic than the median about countries’ unconditional willingness to reduce emissions, = 0 otherwise                                                                |
| CO2 per capita 2013                     | Level of CO\(_2\) emissions per capita in tons in 2013 in respondents’ country of citizenship (IPCC) or delegation country (UNFCCC). CO\(_2\) per capita data is taken from the World Bank. |

\(^1\) Data were collected from the UNFCCC participation lists.
| Explanatory variables                                                    | Full Sample | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| N                                                                    | Mean        | Std. Dev.     | Min-Max     | N             | Mean        | Std. Dev. | Min-Max     | N             | Mean        | Std. Dev. | Min-Max     |
| Involvement as Party (1997-2001)                                      | 656         | .1646         | .7207       | 0 – 6         | 459          | .1786      | .7496       | 0 – 6         | 197          | .0436      | .3713       | 0 – 5         |
| Involvement as Observer (1997-2001)                                   | 656         | .1006         | .5262       | 0 – 6         | 459          | .0436      | .3713       | 0 – 5         | 197          | .2335      | .7602       | 0 – 6         |
| Involvement as Party (2009-2014)                                      | 656         | 1.7729        | 1.7670      | 0 – 6         | 459          | 2.4074     | 1.6446      | 0 – 6         | 197          | .2944      | .9870       | 0 – 6         |
| Involvement as Observer (2009-2014)                                   | 656         | .2957         | .8602       | 0 – 6         | 459          | .2004      | .6829       | 0 – 5         | 197          | .5178      | 1.1455      | 0 – 6         |
| Male                                                                  | 656         | .7058         | .4560       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .6667      | .4719       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .7970      | .4033       | 0 – 1         |
| Age                                                                   | 617         | 48.1086       | 11.7194     | 22 – 76       | 431          | 45.3875    | 11.3965     | 22 – 76       | 186          | 54.4140    | 9.9102      | 27 – 75       |
| Trust in intuitions                                                   | 638         | .8699         | .3367       | 0 – 1         | 445          | .8764      | .3295       | 0 – 1         | 193          | .8549      | .3531       | 0 – 1         |
| Importance of climate change (CC)                                     | 655         | .9450         | .2281       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .9454      | .2274       | 0 – 1         | 194          | .9442      | .2302       | 0 – 1         |
| Consequences of climate change (CC)                                   | 649         | .9461         | .2261       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .9385      | .2406       | 0 – 1         | 194          | .9639      | .1870       | 0 – 1         |
| Optimistic about emission reductions                                  | 656         | .5869         | .4928       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .5991      | .4906       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .5584      | .4978       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Natural Sciences                                      | 643         | .3748         | .4844       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .3036      | .4603       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .5385      | .4998       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Political Sciences                                    | 643         | .0964         | .2954       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .1295      | .3361       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0205      | .1421       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Economics and BA                                      | 643         | .1742         | .3796       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .1763      | .3815       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .1692      | .3759       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Law                                                   | 643         | .0544         | .2270       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .0759      | .2651       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0051      | .0716       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Engineering                                           | 643         | .1431         | .3504       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .1473      | .3548       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .1333      | .3408       | 0 – 1         |
| Highest degree: Other                                                 | 643         | .1571         | .3642       | 0 – 1         | 448          | .1674      | .3738       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .1333      | .3408       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: International governmental organization                      | 641         | .0640         | .2449       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .0762      | .2657       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0359      | .1865       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: National governmental organization                           | 641         | .4321         | .4958       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .5717      | .4954       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .1128      | .3172       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: University or research institute                             | 641         | .3339         | .4720       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .1525      | .3599       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .7487      | .4349       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: Private company                                            | 641         | .0328         | .1782       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .0404      | .1970       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0154      | .1234       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: Environmental NGO                                           | 641         | .0577         | .2344       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .0695      | .2546       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0308      | .1731       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: Non-Environmental NGO                                       | 641         | .0172         | .1300       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .0202      | .1408       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0103      | .1010       | 0 – 1         |
| Works for: Other                                                       | 641         | .0624         | .2421       | 0 – 1         | 446          | .0695      | .2546       | 0 – 1         | 195          | .0462      | .2104       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: Africa (AFR)                                              | 656         | .1677         | .3739       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .2135      | .4102       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .0609      | .2398       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: Australia and Oceania (AOZ)                               | 656         | .0457         | .2091       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .0327      | .1780       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .0761      | .2659       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: Asia (ASI)                                                | 656         | .1677         | .3739       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .1874      | .3906       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .1218      | .3279       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: Europe (EUR)                                              | 656         | .3155         | .4651       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .2919      | .4552       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .3706      | .4842       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: North America (NAM)                                      | 656         | .1905         | .3930       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .1394      | .3468       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .3096      | .4635       | 0 – 1         |
| Nationality: South America (SAM)                                      | 656         | .1128         | .3166       | 0 – 1         | 459          | .1351      | .3422       | 0 – 1         | 197          | .0609      | .2398       | 0 – 1         |
| CO2 per capita 2013 (in tons)                                          | 654         | 6.2706        | 5.8307      | .0136 - .390184 | 458          | 4.9105      | 5.4527      | .0136 - .390184 | 196          | 9.4488      | 5.4471      | .0519 - .169152 |
Table S4. Effects of additional explanatory variables on the general assessments

| Explanatory variables                  | Kyoto Protocol | Durban Platform | Usefulness of COPs |
|----------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|                                        | Participation  | Stringency      | Effectiveness      |
| Male                                   | -              | +               | +                  |
| Age                                    | -              | -               |                    |
| Trust in intuition                    | +              | +               | +                  |
| Importance of climate change (CC)      | -              | -               |                    |
| Consequences of climate change (CC)    | +              | +               | +                  |
| Optimistic about emission reductions   | +              | +               | +                  |
| *Field of highest degree or training*  |                |                 |                    |
| Political sciences                     |                |                 |                    |
| Economics and business admin.          |                |                 |                    |
| Law                                    |                |                 |                    |
| Engineering                            |                |                 |                    |
| Other                                  | -              |                 |                    |
| *Current type of organization*         |                |                 |                    |
| International governmental             |                |                 |                    |
| University or research institute       |                |                 |                    |
| Private company                        | -              |                 |                    |
| Environmental NGO                      |                |                 |                    |
| Non-environmental NGO                  | -              |                 |                    |
| Others                                 | -              |                 |                    |
| *Nationality*                          |                |                 |                    |
| Africa                                 | -              | +               | +                  |
| Australia and Oceania                  | -              | -               |                    |
| Asia                                   |                |                 |                    |
| North America                          | -              |                 |                    |
| South America                          | -              |                 |                    |
| CO2 per capita in 2013                 |                |                 |                    |
| *Negotiating block*                    |                |                 |                    |
| Small Islands Developing States        | -              |                 |                    |
| Least Developed Countries              | -              |                 |                    |
| Developing Countries                   | -              |                 |                    |
| Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa | -            |                 |                    |
| Environmental Integrity Group and Umbrella Group | -           |                 |                    |

Overview of the effects of the explanatory variables that are not shown in the main paper, using binary probit estimations; “-” indicates a statistically significant negative effect and “+” indicates a statistically significant positive effect (P < 0.1) on the probability of being optimistic; (.) means that this variable was dropped due to lack in variation; * baseline is natural sciences; † baseline is national governmental organization; ‡ baseline is Europe; § baseline is EU28.
Table S5. Effects of additional explanatory variables on the specific assessments

| Explanatory variables                  | Specific assessments       |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                                        | INDCs meet 2°C target     | Countries will increase INDCs | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
| Male                                   |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Age                                    |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Trust in intuition                    | +                        | +                           | +                           | +                           |
| Importance of climate change (CC)     |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Consequences of climate change (CC)   |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Optimistic about emission reductions  | +                        | +                           | +                           | +                           |
| Field of highest degree or training†  |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Political sciences                    |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Economics and business admin.         |                          |                            | +                           |                            |
| Law                                    | +                        |                            | +                           |                            |
| Engineering                            |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Other                                  |                          |                            |                            | +                           |
| Current type of organization†         |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| International governmental            |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| University or research institute      | -                        | -                           | -                           | -                           |
| Private company                       |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Environmental NGO                     | -                        | -                           |                            |                            |
| Non-environmental NGO                 | (.)                      | (.)                         | -                           | -                           |
| Others                                 |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Nationality‡                          |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Africa                                 | +                        | +                           |                            |                            |
| Australia and Oceania                 |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Asia                                   | +                        |                            |                            |                            |
| North America                          |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| South America                          |                          |                            | +                           |                            |
| CO2 per capita in 2013                 |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Negotiating block§                     |                          |                            |                            |                            |
| Small Islands Developing States       | +                        |                            | -                           | -                           |
| Least Developed Countries              |                          |                            | +                           | -                           |
| Developing Countries                  |                          |                            |                            | -                           |
| Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa |                    | +                           |                            |                            |
| Environmental Integrity Group and Umbrella Group |            |                            |                            |                            |

Overview of the effects of the explanatory variables that are not shown in the main paper, using binary probit estimations; “-” indicates a statistically significant negative effect and “+” indicates a statistically significant positive effect (P < 0.1) on the probability of being optimistic; (.) means that this variable was dropped due to lack in variation; * baseline is natural sciences; † baseline is national governmental organization; ‡ baseline is Europe; § baseline is EU28.
Descriptive statistics and regression analysis when involvement is measured with a dummy variable

Figures S1-S4 illustrate the correlation between evaluations and involvement in the negotiation process, with involvement measured with a dummy variable that takes the value one if an individual attended the relevant COPs at least once as a party and zero otherwise.

![Fig. S1. Assessment of the Kyoto Protocol separated by participation in COPs 3-7. In panel (a), “Party” refers to respondents who attended at least one of the COPs 3-7 as party (N=26) and “Non-Party” refers to those who did not (N=462). In panel (b), “Party” refers to respondents who attended at least one of the COPs 3-7 as party (N=26) and “Non-Party” refers to those who attended at least one of the COPs 3-7 as observer and none as party (N=20).](image1)

![Fig. S2. Assessment of the Durban Platform separated for the individuals who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as a party and those who did not. “Party” refers to respondents who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as party and “Non-Party” to those who did not. Number of observations for participation: N (Party) = 446, N (Non-Party) = 147. Number of observations for stringency: N (Party) = 434, Non-Party = 144. Number of observations for effectiveness: N (Party) = 448, N (Non-Party) = 145.](image2)
Fig. S3. Assessment of the usefulness of the climate summits separated for the individuals who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as a party and those who did not. “Party” refers to respondents who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as party (N = 397) and “Non-Party” to those who did not (N = 151).

Fig. S4. Assessment of the INDCs separated for the individuals who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as a party and those who did not. “Party” refers to respondents who attended at least one of the COPs 15-20 as party and “Non-Party” to those who did not. Number of observations for “INDCs will be consistent with 2C target”: N (Party) = 467, N (Non-Party) = 167. Number of observations for “Countries will increase their INDCs”: N (Party) = 458, Non-Party = 164. Number of observations for “Increased INDCs will meet 2C target”: N (Party) = 457, N (Non-Party) = 161. Number of observations for “Countries will fulfill their INDCs”: N (Party) = 468, N (Non-Party) = 163.
Average estimated probabilities of being optimistic

The following table shows the average estimated probabilities of being optimistic with involvement measured as the number of attendances at the relevant COPs as party (Table S6).

Table S6. Average estimated probabilities of being optimistic for different number of COPs attended as party

| Involvement as Party | 0   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Assessment of the Kyoto Protocol | .2802 | .3779 | .4840 | .5911 | .6917 | .7796 | .8509 |
| (w.r.t. Participation) | (.0206) | (.0420) | (.0824) | (.1199) | (.1449) | (.1528) | (.1437) |
| Durban Platform | .3072 | .3508 | .3964 | .4434 | .4911 | .5390 | .5862 |
| (w.r.t. Stringency) | (.0283) | (.0224) | (.0200) | (.0238) | (.0320) | (.0419) | (.0518) |
| Durban Platform | .1769 | .1776 | .1784 | .1791 | .1799 | .1806 | .1814 |
| (w.r.t. Effectiveness) | (.0248) | (.0186) | (.0159) | (.0187) | (.0251) | (.0331) | (.0420) |
| Durban Platform | .2650 | .2843 | .3043 | .3249 | .3460 | .3675 | .3895 |
| Usefulness of COPs | (.0272) | (.0209) | (.0185) | (.0224) | (.0309) | (.0417) | (.0536) |
| INDCs meet 2°C target | .2452 | .2673 | .2903 | .3142 | .3389 | .3643 | .3902 |
| (INDCs) | (.0270) | (.0212) | (.0196) | (.0246) | (.0340) | (.0458) | (.0587) |
| Countries will increase INDCs | .1691 | .1441 | .1217 | .1018 | .0843 | .0692 | .0563 |
| (INDCs) | (.0252) | (.0165) | (.0129) | (.0143) | (.0173) | (.0198) | (.0213) |
| Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | .1856 | .1907 | .1959 | .2013 | .2067 | .2121 | .2177 |
| (INDCs) | (.0234) | (.0179) | (.0159) | (.0189) | (.0256) | (.0341) | (.0435) |
| Countries will fulfill INDCs | .1695 | .1729 | .1765 | .1800 | .1836 | .1873 | .1910 |
| (INDCs) | (.0232) | (.0175) | (.0149) | (.0173) | (.0235) | (.0315) | (.0404) |

Results from binary probit models. Standard errors in parentheses.

Regression analyses differentiated by source

The following tables show the main regressions differentiated by the two sources of data, the UNFCCC-list and the IPCC-list. Additionally, we show the regression for the combined sample, controlling for the data source. Because of lack of variation for some variables in the IPCC sample, we combined categories for some explanatory variables. For all but three questions, the respondents from the IPCC sample are significantly less optimistic than those from the UNFCCC sample. For both samples, we find significant positive effects of involvement as member of a party delegation on the level of optimism for two of the general assessments (three for the IPCC sample). For the specific assessments, we find one positive and one negative significant effect for the UNFCCC sample and none for the IPCC sample. We do not find opposite effects for the two samples.
Table S7. Regression results on the assessment of the Kyoto Protocol

|                          | Full Sample | Full Sample | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
|                          | (1)         | (2)         | (3)           | (4)         |
|                          | Optimistic  | Optimistic  | Optimistic    | Optimistic  |
| IPCC (d)                 | -.1103*     | .0984***    | .0794*        | 2309***     |
|                          | (-1.8820)   | (2.7474)    | (1.8722)      | (3.8655)    |
| Involvement as Party     | .0984***    | (2.7474)    | (1.8722)      | (3.8655)    |
| Involvement as Observer  | .0984***    | (2.7474)    | (1.8722)      | (3.8655)    |
| Male (d)                 | -.1121**    | -.1054**    | -.1313**      | -.0438      |
|                          | (-2.1937)   | (-2.0705)   | (-2.1807)     | (-.4208)    |
| Age                      | .0008       | -.0014      | .0006         | -.0041      |
|                          | (.4155)     | (-.6975)    | (.2597)       | (-1.1423)   |
| Intuitions (d)           | .0169       | .0131       | .0233         | .0173       |
|                          | (.2724)     | (.2066)     | (.2876)       | (.1824)     |
| Importance combating CC (d) | .1814**    | .1887***    | .2136**       | .1440       |
|                          | (2.4093)    | (2.6889)    | (2.5150)      | (1.2323)    |
| Negative consequences CC (d) | -.0117     | -.0246      | -.0111        | -.0314      |
|                          | (-1.089)    | (-.2284)    | (-.0930)      | (-.1350)    |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | -.0137      | -.0201      | -.0040        | -.0248      |
|                          | (-.3145)    | (-.4632)    | (-.0742)      | (-.3184)    |
| Observations             | 456         | 456         | 318           | 133         |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party. Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 3-7). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for the highest degree or training being natural sciences, and type of current employer organization (governmental organization, university or research institute, or other).
Table S8. Regression results on the assessment of the Durban Platform

|                          | Participation | Stringency | Effectiveness |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
|                          | Full Sample   | Full Sample| UNFCCC Sample |
|                          | (1) Optimistic| (2) Optimistic| (3) Optimistic| (4) Optimistic| (1) Optimistic| (2) Optimistic| (3) Optimistic| (4) Optimistic|
| IPCC (d)                 |               |            |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Optimistic               | -0.1697***    | -0.0596    | -            |             | -1.530***     | -            | -            |             |
|                          | (-2.8849)     | (-1.3843)  |             |             | (-2.8165)     |             |             |             |
| Involvement as Party     | .0472***      | .0330**    | .0710**      | .0012       | .0026         | .0069        | .0195*       | .0041        | .0176        |
|                          | (.4.2997)     | (2.2729)   | (2.3212)     | (.1260)     | (-.2139)      | (-.2242)     | (1.7681)     | (.2834)      | (.8503)      |
| Involvement as Observer  | .0403*        | .0438      | .0543*       | -.0541***   | -.0476*       | -.0588       | -0243        | -.0341       | -.0027       |
|                          | (.1.7191)     | (1.2037)   | (1.8594)     | (-.26853)   | (-.17535)     | (-1.6060)    | (-.9626)     | (-.9996)     | (-.1236)     |
| Male                     | .0656         | .0691      | .0838        | .0595       | .0523         | .0497        | .0576        | .0458        | .0800*       |
|                          | (.1.4174)     | (1.5631)   | (1.5782)     | (.7053)     | (.4633)       | (.4081)      | (.2967)      | (.5033)      | (.9574)      |
| Age                      | -.0042**      | -.0059***  | -.0045**     | -.0018      | -.0023        | -.0024       | -.0002       | -.0011       | -.0024       |
|                          | (-.2.2271)    | (-.3.2646) | (-1.9947)    | (-1.7167)   | (-1.5152)     | (-1.2678)    | (-.0674)     | (-.6227)     | (-1.8627)    |
| Intuitions (d)           | .1779***      | .1737***   | .2080***     | .1704**     | .1326***      | .1372***     | (.1706***    | .1676***     | .2030***     |
|                          | (.3.1443)     | (2.9995)   | (2.9290)     | (2.0350)    | (3.6919)      | (2.7839)     | (.3463)      | (.32729)     | (.32021)     |
| Importance               | .0332         | .0210      | .0236        | .0023       | .0005         | .0595        | .0122        | -.0128       | .0966        |
| combating CC (d)         | (.3.5888)     | (.2288)    | (.2049)      | (.0146)     | (.0066)       | (.1471)      | (.1466)      | (.0936)      | (.13343)     |
| Negative                 | -.1040        | -.1086     | -.0974       | -.0049      | -.0422        | -.0454       | -.0283       | -.1957       | -.1036       |
| consequences CC (d)      | (.1.0472)     | (.1.1233)  | (.8.864)     | (.0285)     | (.5445)       | (.5812)      | (.3167)      | (.5745)      | (.0480)      |
| Optimistic about         | .1174***      | .1048**    | .1184**      | .0894       | .0784**       | .0774*       | .1023        | .0879**      | .0836**      |
| GHG reductions (d)       | (2.8548)      | (2.5456)   | (2.3201)     | (1.1980)    | (2.3108)      | (2.4376)     | (1.8970)     | (1.5301)     | (2.3089)     |
| Observations             | 550           | 550        | 401          | 156         | 536           | 536          | 390          | 102          | 551          |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for the highest degree or training being natural sciences, and type of current employer organization (governmental organization, university or research institute, or other). (.) means that this variable was dropped due to lack of variation.
### Table S9. Regression results on the perceived usefulness of the climate conferences

|                                | Full Sample |             | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
|                                |             | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic | (4) Optimistic |
| IPCC (d)                       | -.1161**    | .0249**     | .0134         | .0664*      |
|                                | (-2.1079)   | (2.1303)    | (.9040)       | (1.8088)    |
| Involvement as Party           |             |             |               |             |
| Involvement as Observer        |             | .0569***    | .0807**       | .0453       |
|                                |             | (2.6523)    | (2.3926)      | (1.4954)    |
| Male (d)                       | -.0079      | .0040       | .0067         | .0340       |
|                                | (-.1751)    | (.0913)     | (.1255)       | (.3918)     |
| Age                            | .0010       | -.0005      | -.0010        | .0059       |
|                                | (.5415)     | (-.2803)    | (-.4464)      | (1.5894)    |
| Intuitions (d)                 | .0814       | .0829       | .0561         | .1547*      |
|                                | (1.4445)    | (1.4902)    | (.7646)       | (1.7835)    |
| Importance combating CC (d)    | .1994***    | .1862***    | .1593*        | (.)         |
|                                | (3.4340)    | (2.9669)    | (1.8130)      | (.)         |
| Negative consequences CC (d)   | -.0193      | -.0264      | -.0604        | (.)         |
|                                | (-.1835)    | (-.2457)    | (-.4953)      | (.)         |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | .0695* | .0576 | .0494 | .0741 |
|                                | (1.7452)    | (1.4401)    | (.9939)       | (1.0385)    |
| Observations                   | 509         | 509         | 354           | 142         |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. **Involvement as Party** is the number of COPs attended as party. **Involvement as Observer** is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for the highest degree of training being natural sciences, and type of current employer organization (governmental organization, university or research institute or other). (.) means that this variable was dropped due to lack of variation.
|                       | INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will increase INDCs |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
|                       | Full Sample           | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample | Full Sample | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic | (4) Optimistic | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic | (4) Optimistic |
| IPCC (d)              | -0.0615*              | (-1.8548)       |             | -0.0684     | (-1.5022)     |             | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     | (-1.5022)     |
| Involvement as Party  | -0.0190**             | (-2.1904)       | -0.0339***  | -0.0173     | 0.0046        | 0.0104      | 0.0183        | (-.8371)      | 0.7260        | (-.8371)      |                | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      |
|                       | (-.6967)               | (-2.8830)       | (.4233)     |             | (.5101)       | (-.8371)    | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      | (-.8371)      |
| Involvement as Observer| -0.0359*              | (-.1753)        | -.0173      | (-.0036)    | .0220         | -.0539*     | -.0539*       | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      | (-.3040)      |
|                       | (-.6967)               | (-.4233)        |             |             | (-.5101)      | (-1.840)    | (-.7904)      | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     | (-1.7618)     |
| Male (d)              | -0.0067               | (-.2270)        | .0103       | -1.226      | .0108         | .0104       | .0296         | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      |
|                       | (-.6967)               | (-.3113)        | (-1.0504)   | (-3.023)   | (-.2905)      | (-.6956)    | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      |
| Age                   | -0.0001               | (.0424)         | .0103       | -1.226      | .0108         | .0104       | .0296         | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      | (-.2896)      |
|                       | (-.6967)               | (-.3113)        | (-1.0504)   | (-3.023)   | (-.2905)      | (-.6956)    | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      | (-.2164)      |
| Intuitions (d)        | 0.0703**              | (.23697)        | .0768*      | (.0458)     | .0437         | -.0034      | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       | (.0000)       |
|                       | (.3325)               | (.18835)        | (.18835)    | (.18835)   | (.18835)      | (.18835)    | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      | (.18835)      |
| Importance combating CC (d) | 0.0093               | (.1664)        | .0439       | -0.353      | .0934*        | .0983*      | .1185*        | .0240        | .0240        | .0240        | .0240        | .0240        | .0240        | .0240        |
|                       | (.4663)               | (.6672)        | (.2896)     | (-1.6508)  | (.17955)      | (.18344)    | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       | (.2055)       |
| Negative consequences CC (d) | -.0342              | (.5128)        | -.0390      | -.0644      | -.0366        | -.0377      | -.0523        | .0088        | .0088        | .0088        | .0088        | .0088        | .0088        | .0088        |
|                       | (.5610)               | (.6980)        | (.6980)     | (.6980)    | (.4303)       | (.4430)     | (.5128)       | (.4343)      | (.4343)      | (.4343)      | (.4343)      | (.4343)      | (.4343)      | (.4343)      |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | .0417*              | (.6890)        | .0487**     | .0726**     | .0049         | .0721**     | .0714**       | .0631        | .0988*       | .0988*       | .0988*       | .0988*       | .0988*       | .0988*       |
|                       | (2.0477)              | (2.3041)       | (.0775)     | (2.3269)   | (2.3002)      | (1.6079)    | (1.8653)      | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     | (1.8653)     |
| Observations          | 589                   | 589           | 417         | 75         | 577           | 577         | 408          | 146          |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |
Table S10. Regression results on the assessment of the INDC (continued)

|                  | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
|                  | Full Sample                     | UNFCCC Sample              | IPCC Sample | Full Sample | UNFCCC Sample | IPCC Sample |
|                  | (1) Optimistic                  | (2) Optimistic             | (3) Optimistic | (4) Optimistic | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic | (4) Optimistic |
| IPCC (d)         | -0.0729* (-1.7424)             | .0052 (-.5917)             | .0279 (.15435) | .0245*** (.2.6417) | .0209* (.1.6796) | .0016 (.0633) |
| Involvement as Party | .0017 (-.0117) | -.0002 (-.0158) | .0048 (.2.494) | -.0183 (.1.3563) | -.0139 (.1.3267) | .0084 (-.1.2458) |
| Involvement as Observer | .0087 (.2.633) | .0012 (.2.617) | .0039 (.6374) | -.0183 (.1.3563) | -.0139 (.1.3267) | .0084 (-.1.2458) |
| Male (d)         | .0003 (.2.447) | -.0003 (-.1.906) | .0006 (.3.308) | -.0002 (.1.2458) | -.0010 (.1.3563) | -.0026 (.1.3563) |
| Male (d)         | .0087 (.2.633) | .0012 (.2.617) | .0039 (.6374) | -.0183 (.1.3563) | -.0139 (.1.3267) | .0084 (-.1.2458) |
| Age              | (2.447) (.2.3879) | (-.1.906) (.3.024) | (-.0.998) (.3.024) | (-.6136 (.1.3563) | (-.1.1596) (.1.3267) | (-.1.3563) (.1.3267) |
| Intuitions (d)   | .1279*** (.3.8683) | .1265*** (.3.8013) | .1490*** (.3.2903) | .1070*** (.2.6045) | .1069** (.2.5731) | .0949* (.1.6625) |
| Importance combating CC (d) | .0478 (.7389) | .0498 (.7789) | .0289 (.3.024) | .0751 (.1.0448) | .0721 (.1.0156) | .0441 (.4.458) |
| Negative consequences CC (d) | .0713 (.9035) | .0724 (.9273) | -.0437 (-.4.683) | -.1195 (-.6.383) | -.1318 (-.1.3563) | -.1285 (-.1.3267) |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | .0754** (.5201) | .0745** (.5207) | .0901** (.2.2805) | .0697 (.1.5131) | .1226*** (.3.9128) | .1193*** (.3.8004) |
| Observations     | 572 572 407 123 | 584 584 584 415 | 140 140 140 140 |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for the highest degree or training being natural sciences, and type of current employer organization (governmental organization, university or research institute, or other). (.) means that this variable was dropped due to lack of variation.
Figure S5 illustrates the average estimated probabilities of being optimistic for different numbers of conferences attended based on the results from Tables S7-S10.

Fig. S5. The figure shows the average estimated probability of being optimistic for different number of conferences attended as party differentiated between the two data sources. Panel (a) illustrates the correlation for the UNFCCC sample and panel (b) for the IPCC sample. The number of conferences on the horizontal axis refers to COPs 3-7 for the assessment of the Kyoto Protocol and to COPs 15-20 for all other questions. Solid lines apply to questions for which there are more than 350 observations with a strictly positive number of COP attendances; dashed lines apply to questions for which there are fewer than 50 observations with a strictly positive number of COP attendances. The average estimated probability tends to increase with each additional conference for the general assessments (indicated by a rectangular mark) with one exception (“stringency”). For the specific assessments (indicated by a circular mark) the tendency is much weaker.
Regression analyses controlling for affiliations and dual roles

Table S11 to S13 show binary probit regression results for respondents who have attended at least one of COPs 15-20 as party. In addition or instead of employer organization, we control for individuals’ affiliations as stated in the COP participation lists (column (1)) and whether they assumed a dual role by being part of a delegation but not affiliated with a government institution (columns (2) and (3)). The affiliations and having a dual role rarely have a statistically significant effect.

Table S11. Regression results on the assessment of the Durban Platform

|                        | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Involvement as Party   | 0.1031***      | 0.1056***      | 0.0979**       | -0.0054        | -0.0123        | -0.0254        | 0.0066         | 0.0018         | -0.0321        |
|                        | (2.5848)       | (2.6467)       | (2.0672)       | (-0.1187)      | (-0.2755)      | (-0.4722)      | (0.1594)       | (0.0424)       | (-0.6474)      |
| Involvement as Observer| 0.0993         | 0.0968         | 0.0996         | -0.1499        | -0.1580        | -0.1551        | -0.1286        | -0.1129        | -0.1011        |
|                        | (1.0038)       | (0.9919)       | (1.0131)       | (-1.3566)      | (-1.4958)      | (-1.4606)      | (-1.2201)      | (-1.0740)      | (-0.9480)      |
| Affiliation: Science and Research (d) | -0.0975        | -0.2115        | -0.0081        |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|                        | (-0.4906)      | (-0.8494)      | (-0.0402)      |                |                |                |                |                |                |
| Affiliation: NGO (d)   | 0.0394         | -0.0044        | 0.0753         |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|                        | (0.1374)       | (-0.0123)      | (0.2453)       |                |                |                |                |                |                |
| Affiliation: Business (d) | -0.0302        | 0.5535         | 0.4982         |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|                        | (-0.0737)      | (1.3775)       | (1.3114)       |                |                |                |                |                |                |
| Affiliation: Other (d) | -0.2210        | -0.1103        | -0.1199        |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|                        | (-0.8475)      | (-0.4038)      | (-0.4718)      |                |                |                |                |                |                |
| Dual Role (d)          | -0.1426        | -0.2033        | -0.0334        | -0.1349        | 0.2080         | -0.0539        |                |                |                |
|                        | (-0.7780)      | (-0.6953)      | (-0.1546)      | (-0.4094)      | (1.1349)       | (-0.1832)      |                |                |                |
| Dual Role*Involvement as Party (i) | 0.0242        | 0.0398         | 0.1036         |                |                |                |                |                |                |
|                        | (0.2853)       | (0.3917)       | (1.1540)       |                |                |                |                |                |                |

Results from binary probit models. Numbers are maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. **Involvement as Party** is the number of COPs attended as party. **Involvement as Observer** is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). Affiliation is taken from the participation lists for COPs 16-20. In the few cases where affiliation changed between conferences (< 1%), the latest affiliation was taken. Baseline for Affiliation is “Government.” (d) indicates dummy variable. (i) indicates interaction term. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for gender, age, trust in own intuitions, perceived importance of climate change, expected consequences of climate change, expectations about emissions reductions in the absence of an international climate agreement, field of the highest degree or training, nationality at the continent level, and level of CO2 emissions per capita in 2013 in respondents’ country of citizenship/delegation. Only respondents who attended COPs 15-20 at least once as party are included.
Table S12. Regression results on the assessment of the INDC

|                          | INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will increase INDCs | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                          | (1) Optimistic        | (2) Optimistic               | (3) Optimistic                  | (1) Optimistic              |
| Involvement as Party     | 0.1665***             | -0.1723***                  | -0.2004***                     | -0.0068*                    |
|                          | (-3.0048)             | (-3.0074)                   | (-3.1199)                      | (-0.1503)                  |
| Involvement as Observer  | -0.1296              | -0.0854                     | -0.0796                        | -0.0821                    |
|                          | (-1.0150)             | (-0.6581)                   | (-0.6129)                      | (-0.6278)                  |
| Affiliation: Science and | -0.2947              | -0.0785                     | -0.0346                        | 0.0450                      |
| Research (d)             | (-1.1906)             | (-0.3832)                   | (-0.1650)                      | (0.2211)                   |
| Affiliation: NGO (d)     | 0.1326                | -0.2019                     | -0.2079                        | -0.1095                    |
|                          | (0.4439)              | (-0.6484)                   | (-0.6871)                      | (-0.3458)                  |
| Affiliation: Business (d)| 0.3251                | 0.3106                      | 0.3958                         | -0.5062                    |
|                          | (0.7263)              | (0.8287)                    | (1.0231)                       | (-1.1398)                  |
| Affiliation: Other (d)   | -0.2124              | -0.1338                     | 0.0700                         | -0.1465                    |
|                          | (-0.7144)             | (-0.4533)                   | (0.2692)                       | (-0.5374)                  |
| Dual Role (d)            | 0.0815                | -0.0986                     | 0.1446                         | 0.4169**                   |
|                          | (0.4251)              | (-0.2972)                   | (0.7553)                       | (2.0549)                   |
| Dual Role*Involvement as | 0.0809                | -0.1036                     | 0.0882                         | 0.2156**                   |
| Party (i)                | (0.6717)              | (-1.0523)                   | (0.9267)                       | (2.3772)                   |
| Employer organization    | No                    | Yes                         | No                              | No                          |
|                          | 429                   | 420                         | 420                             | 429                        |

Results from binary probit models. Numbers are maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). Affiliation is taken from the participation lists for COPs 16-20. In the few cases where affiliation changed between conferences (< 1%), the latest affiliation was taken. Baseline for Affiliation is “Government.” (d) indicates dummy variable. (i) indicates interaction term. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for gender, age, trust in own intuitions, perceived importance of climate change, expectations about emissions reductions in the absence of an international climate agreement, field of the highest degree or training, nationality at the continent level, and level of CO₂ emissions per capita in 2013 in respondents’ country of citizenship/delegation. Only respondents who attended COPs 15-20 at least once as party are included.
Table S13. Regression results on the perceived usefulness of the climate conferences

|                                      | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic | (3) Optimistic |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| **Involvement as Party**             | 0.0598         | 0.0575         | 0.0333         |
|                                      | (1.3822)       | (1.3197)       | (0.6222)       |
| **Involvement as Observer**          | 0.1456         | 0.1389         | 0.1466         |
|                                      | (1.3161)       | (1.2543)       | (1.3169)       |
| Affiliation: Science and Research (d)| 0.1484         |                |                |
|                                       | (0.7014)       |                |                |
| Affiliation: NGO (d)                 | 0.0431         |                |                |
|                                       | (0.1412)       |                |                |
| Affiliation: Business (d)            | 0.4103         |                |                |
|                                       | (1.0957)       |                |                |
| Affiliation: Other (d)               | -0.3213        |                |                |
|                                       | (-1.1561)      |                |                |
| Dual Role (d)                        |                | 0.1099         | -0.0728        |
|                                       |                | (0.5857)       | (-0.2433)      |
| Dual Role*Involvement as Party (i)   |                | 0.0720         |                |
|                                       |                | (0.8003)       |                |
| Employer organization                | No             | Yes            | Yes            |
| Observations                         | 367            | 357            | 357            |

Results from binary probit models. Numbers are maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party. Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). Affiliation is taken from the participation lists for COPs 16-20. In the few cases where affiliation changed between conferences (< 1%), the latest affiliation was taken. Baseline for Affiliation is “Government.” (d) indicates dummy variable. (i) indicates interaction term. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for gender, age, trust in own intuitions, perceived importance of climate change, expected consequences of climate change, expectations about emissions reductions in the absence of an international climate agreement, field of the highest degree or training, nationality at the continent level, and level of CO₂ emissions per capita in 2013 in respondents’ country of citizenship/delegation. Only respondents who attended COPs 15-20 at least once as party are included.
Regression analyses using an ordered probit model

Tables S14 and S15 present a series of ordered probit models with the same dependent and explanatory variables as in the main paper.

Table S14. Regression results on the general assessments

|                      | Kyoto Protocol | Durban Platform | Usefulness of COPs |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|                      | Optimistic     | Optimistic      | Optimistic         | Optimistic         |
| Involvement as Party | .1729          | .1185***        | .0004              | .0538*             | .0762*** |
|                      | (1.5727)       | (4.3278)        | (.0136)            | (1.7424)           | (2.7968) |
| Involvement as Observer | .0122    | .1152**         | -.1851***          | -.0818             | .1231** |
|                      | (.1382)        | (2.0681)        | (-3.1689)          | (-1.4629)          | (2.0366) |
| Male                 | -.2451**       | .1939*          | .2091*             | .2160*             | -.1424  |
|                      | (-2.0366)      | (1.6876)        | (1.6813)           | (1.8360)           | (-1.3292) |
| Age                  | -.0004         | -.0198***       | -.0078*            | -.0093**           | .0007   |
|                      | (.0717)        | (-4.2678)       | (-1.7241)          | (-2.1803)          | (.1809) |
| Intuitions (d)       | .1203          | .2655*          | .3671**            | .4136***           | .1297   |
|                      | (.8382)        | (1.6503)        | (2.5265)           | (2.8211)           | (.9290) |
| Importance of combating CC (d) | .2651    | .3800           | .2861              | .5679**            | .8272*** |
|                      | (1.0729)       | (1.5231)        | (1.3189)           | (2.3687)           | (3.6041) |
| Negative consequences of CC (d) | -.2605     | -.3423          | .0083              | -.3506             | -.1305  |
|                      | (-1.4277)      | (-1.3774)       | (.0339)            | (-1.5596)          | (-.5705) |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | -.0577    | .2742***        | .3281***           | .3244***           | .1780*  |
|                      | (-.5545)       | (2.7857)        | (3.1261)           | (3.0854)           | (1.7889) |
| Observations         | 456            | 550             | 536                | 551                | 509     |

Results from ordered probit models. Numbers are maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 3-7 for the Kyoto Protocol and COPs 15-20 for all others). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, type of current employer organization, nationality at the continent level, and level of CO$_2$ emissions per capita 2013.
Table S15. Regression results on the specific assessments

|                               | INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will increase INDCs | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                               | Optimistic            | Optimistic                    | Optimistic                      | Optimistic                   |
| Involvement as Party          | -.0528*               | -.0053                        | .0062                           | .0660**                      |
|                               | (-1.6664)             | (-.1892)                      | (.2063)                         | (2.1774)                     |
| Involvement as Observer       | -.2099***             | -.0946                        | -.0271                          | -.0814                       |
|                               | (-2.9030)             | (-1.3724)                     | (-.4692)                        | (-1.5285)                    |
| Male                          | .0281                 | .0906                         | -.0251                          | -.0241                       |
|                               | (.2328)               | (.8017)                       | (-.2202)                        | (-.2146)                     |
| Age                           | .0010                 | .0020                         | .0038                           | -.0092**                     |
|                               | (.2107)               | (.4595)                       | (.8378)                         | (-2.0258)                    |
| Intuitions (d)                | .2528*                | .1090                         | .4464***                        | .1681                        |
|                               | (1.7447)              | (.7740)                       | (3.1389)                        | (1.2725)                     |
| Importance combating CC (d)   | .1190                 | .3515*                        | .4704**                         | .1391                        |
|                               | (.6214)               | (1.8935)                      | (2.0335)                        | (.5705)                      |
| Negative consequences CC (d)  | -.4259**              | -.4589**                      | -.4662**                        | -.1851                       |
|                               | (-2.1057)             | (-2.1881)                     | (-2.0568)                       | (-.7314)                     |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | .2585***             | .2062**                      | .2298**                         | .3609***                     |
|                               | (2.5976)              | (2.1078)                      | (2.3699)                        | (3.6305)                     |
| Observations                  | 589                   | 577                           | 572                             | 584                          |

Results from ordered probit models. Numbers are maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, type of current employer organization, nationality at the continent level, and level of CO₂ emissions per capita 2013.

Figures S6-S10 illustrate the average predicted probabilities based on the results from the ordered probit models.

**Fig. S6.** Predicted probabilities for the assessment of the Kyoto Protocol estimated with an ordered probit model. The number of conferences refers to COPs 3-7.
Fig. S7. Predicted probabilities for the assessment of the Durban Platform with respect to participation with an ordered probit model. The number of conferences refers to COPs 15-20.

Fig. S8. Predicted probabilities for the assessment of the Durban Platform with respect to effectiveness with an ordered probit model. The number of conferences refers to COPs 15-20.
Fig. S9. Predicted probabilities for the perceived usefulness of climate conferences with an ordered probit model. The number of conferences refers to COPs 15-20.

Fig. S10. Predicted probabilities for the assessment of the fulfilment of the INDCs with an ordered probit model. The number of conferences refers to COPs 15-20.
Robustness analysis with alternative sets of explanatory variables

To test the robustness of our results, we ran additional estimations with the same dependent variable as in the main paper but different explanatory variables. The results can be found in the following Tables S16-S21. We consider alternative specifications to control for respondents’ national background. The level of CO₂ emissions per capita obviously correlates with country. As we control for nationality at the continent level, the potential risk of multicollinearity is reduced but not eliminated. We therefore estimate each model with only per capita emissions or only continents. In further estimations, we replaced the continent dummies by negotiation blocks. To this end, countries were assigned to one of six groups: Small Islands Developing States (SIDS), Least Developed Countries, Developing Countries, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the Environmental Integrity Group together with the Umbrella group, and EU28. We find that none of these alternative specifications changes our main results.

Additionally, we include GDP per capita (in current US dollars) in respondents’ country of citizenship (IPCC) or delegation country (UNFCCC) in 2013, either in addition or instead of the per capita emissions or the continent dummies. We obtained the data from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators. In all the specifications with GDP per capita, the level of significance does not change for our main variables of interest and the point estimates are very close. Therefore, we chose not to show the results here to save space.
Tables S16-S19 show estimation results from binary probit models with either CO₂ emissions per capita in 2013 or nationality at continent level.

Table S16. Regression results on the assessment of the Kyoto Protocol

|                                | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| **Involvement as Party**       | .0923***       | .0864**        |
|                                | (2.6192)       | (2.5516)       |
| **Involvement as Observer**    | -.0135         | .0029          |
|                                | (-.3242)       | (.0639)        |
| Male (d)                       | -.1112**       | -.1041**       |
|                                | (-2.1489)      | (-2.0050)      |
| Age                            | -.0010         | -.0017         |
|                                | (-.5076)       | (.8498)        |
| Intuitions (d)                 | .0117          | .0151          |
|                                | (.1842)        | (.2270)        |
| Importance combating CC (d)    | .1819**        | .1792**        |
|                                | (2.5442)       | (2.4462)       |
| Negative consequences CC (d)   | -.0139         | -.0129         |
|                                | (-.1321)       | (-.1237)       |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | -.0176    | .0007          |
|                                | (-.4063)       | (.0170)        |

Includes CO₂ pc 2013?  No Yes
Includes Nationality?  Yes No
Observations 456 456

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. **Involvement as Party** is the number of COPs attended as party, **Involvement as Observer** is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 3-7). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, and type of current employer organization.
Table S17. Regression results on the assessment of the Durban Platform

|                         | (1) Participation | (2) Participation | (1) Stringency | (2) Stringency | (1) Effectiveness | (2) Effectiveness |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Involvement as Party    | 0.0436***         | 0.0443***         | 0.022         | 0.017         | 0.019*          | 0.0215*         |
|                         | (4.0122)          | (3.9636)          | (.2262)       | (.1700)       | (1.8183)        | (1.9388)        |
| Involvement as Observer | 0.0368            | 0.0358            | -.0534***     | -.0547***     | -.0265          | -.0295          |
|                         | (1.5985)          | (1.5110)          | (-2.6425)     | (-2.7166)     | (-1.0801)       | (-1.1748)       |
| Male                    | 0.752*            | 0.704             | .0466         | .0476         | .0751*          | .0803*          |
|                         | (1.6891)          | (1.5670)          | (1.2667)      | (1.3121)      | (1.8253)        | (1.9362)        |
| Age                     | -.0057***         | -.0059***         | -.0020        | -.0020        | -.0022          | -.0023          |
|                         | (-3.1321)         | (-3.2220)         | (-1.3338)     | (-1.3074)     | (-1.3250)       | (-1.3653)       |
| Intuitions (d)          | 1.673***          | 1.653***          | 1.344***      | 1.398***      | 1.686***        | 1.770***        |
|                         | (2.8934)          | (2.8175)          | (3.6937)      | (4.0103)      | (3.3301)        | (3.5369)        |
| Importance combating CC | .0204             | -.0020            | .0118         | -.0036        | .1047           | .0673           |
| CC (d)                  | (.2266)           | (-.0207)          | (.1827)       | (-.0510)      | (1.5169)        | (.8346)         |
| Negative consequences   | -.1022            | -.1108            | -.0362        | -.0558        | -.0968          | -.1087          |
| CC (d)                  | (-1.0434)         | (-1.1168)         | (-.4713)      | (-.6757)      | (-1.0408)       | (-1.1552)       |
| Optimistic about GHG    | .0977**           | .1025**           | .0809**       | .0888**       | .0884**         | .1030***        |
| reductions (d)          | (2.3744)          | (2.4683)          | (2.4745)      | (2.7639)      | (2.2973)        | (2.6608)        |
| Includes CO2 pc 2013?   | No                | Yes               | No            | Yes           | No              | Yes             |
| Includes Nationality?   | Yes               | No                | Yes           | No            | Yes             | No              |
| Observations            | 550               | 550               | 528           | 528           | 551             | 551             |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party. Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, and type of current employer organization.

Table S18. Regression results on the perceived usefulness of the climate conferences

|                         | (1) Optimistic | (2) Optimistic |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Involvement as Party    | .0226**       | .0228**       |
|                         | (1.9828)      | (1.9932)      |
| Involvement as Observer | .0498**       | .0474**       |
|                         | (2.2885)      | (2.1790)      |
| Male                    | .0138         | .0136         |
|                         | (.3162)       | (.3144)       |
| Age                     | .0001         | .0003         |
|                         | (.0765)       | (.1492)       |
| Intuitions (d)          | .0624         | .0629         |
|                         | (1.0971)      | (1.1275)      |
| Importance combating CC | .1907**       | .1786***      |
| CC (d)                  | (3.2383)      | (2.7547)      |
| Negative consequences   | -.0229        | -.0234        |
| CC (d)                  | (-.2155)      | (-.2237)      |
| Optimistic about GHG    | .0540         | .0539         |
| reductions (d)          | (1.3552)      | (1.3490)      |
| Includes CO2 pc 2013?   | No            | Yes           |
| Includes Nationality?   | Yes           | No            |
| Observations            | 509           | 509           |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party. Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, and type of current employer organization.
Table S19. Regression results on the assessment of the INDCs

|                               | INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will increase INDCs | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                               | (1) Optimistic        | (2) Optimistic                | (1) Optimistic                | (2) Optimistic              |
| Involvement as Party          | -0.200**              | -0.195**                      | 0.0063                        | 0.0023                      |
|                               | (-2.3379)             | (-2.2231)                     | (.6909)                       | (.2379)                     |
|                               | -0.0007               | -0.0143                       | -0.0990                       | -0.0156                     |
|                               | (-1.6728)             | (-1.7250)                     | (-.6356)                      | (-.6844)                    |
|                               | 0.0224                | 0.0149                        | -0.0078                       | -0.0078                     |
|                               | 0.0002                | 0.0000                        | -0.0002                       | -0.0001                     |
| Male                          | 0.041                 | 0.037                         | 0.009                         | 0.008                       |
|                               | (-1.376)              | (-1.320)                      | (-0.204)                      | (-0.208)                    |
| Age                           | (-.1341)              | (.1320)                       | (.6204)                       | (.5308)                     |
| Intuitions (d)                | 0.0585*               | 0.0720**                      | 0.0306                        | 0.0475                      |
|                               | (.17755)              | (2.4086)                      | (.6426)                       | (1.0354)                    |
| Importance combating CC (d)   | 0.0225                | 0.023                         | 0.1006*                       | 0.0997*                     |
|                               | (.4590)               | (.0404)                       | (1.8437)                      | (1.7516)                    |
| Negative consequences CC (d)  | -0.0309               | -0.0537                       | -0.0371                       | -0.0549                     |
|                               | (-.4809)              | (-.7469)                      | (-.4316)                      | (-.6124)                    |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | 0.0443*            | 0.0529**                      | 0.0641**                      | 0.0698**                    |
|                               | (1.8037)              | (2.1213)                      | (1.9987)                      | (2.1399)                    |
| Includes CO2 pc 2013?         | No                    | Yes                           | No                            | Yes                         |
| Includes Nationality?         | Yes                   | No                            | Yes                           | No                           |
| Observations                  | 580                   | 580                           | 568                           | 568                         |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, and type of current employer organization.
Tables S20 and S21 show estimation results from binary probit models if nationality at continent level is replaced by dummies for negotiating blocks.

**Table S20. Regression results on the general assessments**

| General assessments                  | Kyoto Protocol | Durban Platform | Usefulness of COPs |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
|                                      | Optimistic     | Optimistic      | Optimistic         | Optimistic |
| Involvement as Party                 | .0880***       | .0453***        | .0006              | .0196*     | .0224* |
|                                      | (2.4785)       | (4.0474)        | (.0593)            | (1.7494)   | (1.9541) |
| Involvement as Observer              | -.0140         | .0340           | -.0562***          | -.0279     | .0490** |
|                                      | (-.3359)       | (1.4402)        | (-2.8146)          | (-1.1360)  | (2.2396) |
| Male (d)                             | -.1115**       | .0672           | .0409              | .0832**    | .0180  |
|                                      | (-2.1499)      | (1.4714)        | (1.0880)           | (1.9711)   | (4.075) |
| Age                                  | -.0012         | -.0059***       | -.0020             | -.0022     | .0003  |
|                                      | (-.6082)       | (-3.2231)       | (-1.3443)          | (-1.3036)  | (1.624) |
| Intuitions (d)                       | -.0027         | .1669***        | .1400***           | .1750***   | .0641  |
|                                      | (-.0413)       | (2.8532)        | (4.0606)           | (3.4610)   | (1.1488) |
| Importance of combating CC (d)       | .1567*         | .0047           | -.0026             | .0652      | .1791*** |
|                                      | (1.9397)       | (.0494)         | (.0371)            | (.8352)    | (2.7963) |
| Negative consequences of CC (d)      | -.0363         | -.1023          | -.0561             | -.1148     | -.0368 |
|                                      | (-.3407)       | (-1.0304)       | (-.6656)           | (-1.2159)  | (-.3486) |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d)  | -.0145         | .0982**         | .0874***           | .0927**    | .0598  |
|                                      | (-.3330)       | (2.3411)        | (2.7152)           | (2.3831)   | (1.4957) |
| Observations                         | 456            | 550             | 528                | 551        | 509    |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party, Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 3-7 for the Kyoto Protocol and COPs 15-20 for all others). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, type of current employer organization, negotiating block according to nationality, and level of CO₂ emissions per capita in 2013.
Table S21. Regression results on the specific assessments of the INDCs

| Specific assessments | INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will increase INDCs | Increased INDCs meet 2°C target | Countries will fulfill INDCs |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
|                      | Optimistic            | Optimistic                    | Optimistic                      | Optimistic                  |
| Involvement as Party | -.0224**              | .0018                         | .0027                           | .0225**                     |
| (2.4202)             | (.1851)               | (.2903)                       | (2.3929)                        |                            |
| Involvement as Observer | -.0350*              | -.0059                        | -.0128                          | -.0275                      |
| (-1.7962)            | (-.2827)              | (-.6721)                      | (-1.2997)                       |                            |
| Male                 | .0052                 | .0135                         | .0176                           | -.0187                      |
| (.1775)              | (.3617)               | (.5245)                       | (-.5057)                        |                            |
| Age                  | .0000                 | .0011                         | .0000                           | .0016                       |
| (.0086)              | (.7402)               | (.0152)                       | (-1.0235)                       |                            |
| Intuitions (d)       | .0698**               | .0475                         | .1316***                        | .0992**                     |
| (2.3114)             | (1.0535)              | (4.0921)                      | (2.3432)                        |                            |
| Importance combating CC (d) | .0029                 | .1025*                        | .0410                           | .0690                       |
| (0.0257)             | (1.8836)              | (.6563)                       | (1.0148)                        |                            |
| Negative consequences CC (d) | -.0528               | -.0546                        | -.0824                          | -.1078                      |
| (-.7018)             | (-.6136)              | (-1.0261)                     | (-1.2181)                       |                            |
| Optimistic about GHG reductions (d) | .0567**               | .0673**                       | .0742**                         | .1254***                    |
| (2.3308)             | (2.0792)              | (2.5073)                      | (3.9667)                        |                            |
| Observations         | 580                   | 568                           | 572                             | 584                         |

Binary probit estimations of average marginal effects with robust standard errors and z-values in parentheses. Level of significance: *** P < 0.01, ** P < 0.05, * P < 0.1. Involvement as Party is the number of COPs attended as party. Involvement as Observer is the number of COPs attended as observer (COPs 15-20). (d) indicates dummy variable. In addition to the shown explanatory variables, the estimations control for field of the highest degree or training, type of current employer organization, negotiating block according to nationality, and level of CO₂ emissions per capita in 2013.

Survey questions used in the empirical analysis

About the questionnaire

This survey asks about your personal assessment of a number of issues in international climate policy. The assessment will focus on five countries or groups of countries that may play an important role in current international climate negotiations (in alphabetical order): Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), BASIC without China (Brazil, South Africa, India), China, the European Union (EU), and the United States (USA). What will happen to your answers? The information is used for scientific analysis only. No names or data on single persons or firms will be published or made accessible to third parties.

I have read the above information and desire to participate in this study.

☐ Yes
☐ No
Consequences of climate change

How would you assess the consequences of climate change on future global living conditions up to 2100?

- Very negative
- Negative
- Neither negative nor positive
- Positive
- I don't know

Importance of international efforts in combating climate change

This part refers to your personal assessments of the importance of international efforts in combating climate change and other global challenges such as securing world nutrition and eradicating poverty, combating epidemics, stabilizing the international finance system, and combating terrorism. How important do you think are international efforts in combating climate change?

- Very important
- Important
- Moderately important
- Not important
- I don't know
To what degree do you think the following countries or groups of countries will reduce their green-house gas (GHG) emissions relative to “business as usual” even without any new international climate agreement up to 2050?

|                | High degree | Moderate degree | Low degree | No degree | I don't know |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| AOSIS          | ☐           | ☐               | ☐          | ☐         | ☐            |
| BASIC without China | ☐           | ☐               | ☐          | ☐         | ☐            |
| China          | ☐           | ☐               | ☐          | ☐         | ☐            |
| EU             | ☐           | ☐               | ☐          | ☐         | ☐            |
| USA            | ☐           | ☐               | ☐          | ☐         | ☐            |

Views on the negotiations

This part focuses on your personal views on the Kyoto Protocol, the Durban Platform, and the negotiations at large. Do you think that overall the Kyoto Protocol has been a success or a failure?

☐ 1 (Success)
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 (Failure)
How confident are you about the future success of the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action with respect to the following aspects?

|                          | Very confident | Confident | Moderately confident | Not confident at all | I don't know |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Overall Effectiveness    | ○              | ○        | ○                    | ○                    | ○            |
| Stringency               | ○              | ○        | ○                    | ○                    | ○            |
| Participation of relevant actors | ○              | ○        | ○                    | ○                    | ○            |

To what degree do you think the climate summits (COPs 1-20) have been useful on their own (apart from the official outcome)?

- 1 (No degree)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (High degree)

How confident are you that the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDC), the commitments envisioned at COP 20 in Lima and to be disclosed by each country in 2015, will be consistent in aggregate with the goal of limiting average global warming to under 2°C?

- Very confident
- Confident
- Moderately confident
- Not confident at all
- I don't know
In case the INDC pledged in 2015 fall short of the 2°C target, how confident are you that the ensuing monitoring and reporting activities will stimulate increased INDC by the majority of the countries?

- Very confident
- Confident
- Moderately confident
- Not confident at all
- I don't know

In case the INDC pledged in 2015 fall short of the 2°C target and new INDC commitments are made, how confident are you that the revised and increased INDC will then be consistent in aggregate with the goal of limiting average global warming to under 2°C?

- Very confident
- Confident
- Moderately confident
- Not confident at all
- I don't know

In general, how confident are you that the majority of countries will fulfil their INDC?

- Very confident
- Confident
- Moderately confident
- Not confident at all
- I don't know

**Personal questions**

Please indicate your sex:

- Female
- Male
When making decisions, do you generally trust your intuitions?
- Very much
- Somewhat
- Little
- Not at all
- I don't know

Please indicate your year of birth __________

Please indicate your nationality__________

Please indicate the field in which you obtained your highest degree or training:
- Natural sciences
- Political Sciences
- Economics and business administration
- Law
- Engineering
- Other (please indicate): ________________

Please indicate the type of organization you currently work for:
- International governmental organization
- National governmental organization
- University or research institution
- Private company
- Environmental non-governmental organization (NGO)
- Non-environmental NGO
- Others (please indicate): ________________
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3. Strengers, B. J. et al. Opening up scientific assessments for policy: The importance of transparency in expert judgements. PBL Working Paper (2014). http://www.pbl.nl/sites/default/files/cms/publicaties/pbl-2013-Opening-up-scientific-assessments-for-policy.pdf.

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