



Using Climate and Clean Energy Economy Messages to Make the Case Against Donald Trump

Online survey of 1,921 likely voters in the battleground states of AZ/GA/MI/NV/NC/PA/WI, including oversamples to yield 680 18-34 voters, 430 Black voters, and 295 Latino voters, and 125 AAPI voters

Fielded May 20-26, 2024

**CLIMATE
POWER**



Key Takeaways—Context

1

Holding Trump accountable for his harmful record on climate and energy issues moves the vote in Biden's favor and heightens voters' sense that Trump's agenda is dangerous.

2

Too many voters that Biden needs to win mistakenly believe a Trump presidency would benefit them. Voters care about energy costs: we must show that Trump's policies will raise their costs, while Biden's will reduce their costs.

3

Trump is vulnerable on job losses. We need to highlight how Trump's plans to end clean energy investments would lead to layoffs and hurt local communities. This showcases the harmful impact of his self-interest and his alliance with Big Oil.

4

Voters care about a candidate's stance on air and water pollution, and about half of potential Biden defectors currently trust Trump on these issues. When they hear about Trump's disastrous record on pollution, they view him as dangerous to them personally.

Key Takeaways—Most Persuasive Frames Against Trump

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There are two strong messaging lanes that work broadly across persuasion audiences:

Frame:

Trump prioritizes his own personal interests over future generations.

- **“DICTATOR...ON DAY 1”:** *Trump says he wants to be a dictator on day one so that he can eliminate environmental protections and expand oil drilling, including in our nation's treasured public lands and coastal areas.*
- **REPEAL CLEAN ENERGY JOBS/INVESTMENTS :** *President Biden's clean energy plan has created more than 270,000 jobs and spurred hundreds of billions of dollars in private sector investments. If Trump wins, he will end investments in clean energy, which could lead to thousands of workers being laid off and hurt local communities across the country.*
- **PERSONAL INTERESTS OVER FUTURE GENERATIONS:** *We have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for our children and grandchildren. But Trump puts his own personal interests over future generations and refuses to take action on climate change or air pollution.*

Most compelling proof points:

Trump would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals.

- **POLLUTERS/HEALTH:** *As president, Trump blocked water safety rules and allowed corporate polluters to pump chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water.*
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Key Takeaways—Additional Frames for Targeted Messaging

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Our leading frames and proof points work across the board—for specific audiences, we can strengthen those frames even more by supplementing them with the following:

Frame:

Trump sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people.

(Use to strengthen the main anti-Trump message even more among Persuadable voters, Latino voters, AAPI. Notable because of the link to energy costs.)

Proof Point:

- **BIG OIL/FUNDERS:** Big Oil and gas giants were among the biggest winners of Trump's tax law, getting \$25 billion in tax breaks while raising prices on drivers at the pump. Trump has now asked for \$1 billion from Big Oil to support his campaign and promised them more tax cuts and to cut environmental protections they dislike.

Note that both the Jobs and Dictator proof points also are effective with the Siding with Big Oil frame.

Frame:

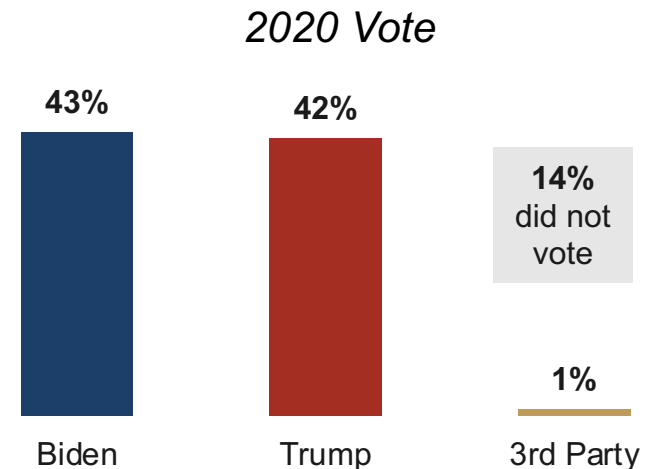
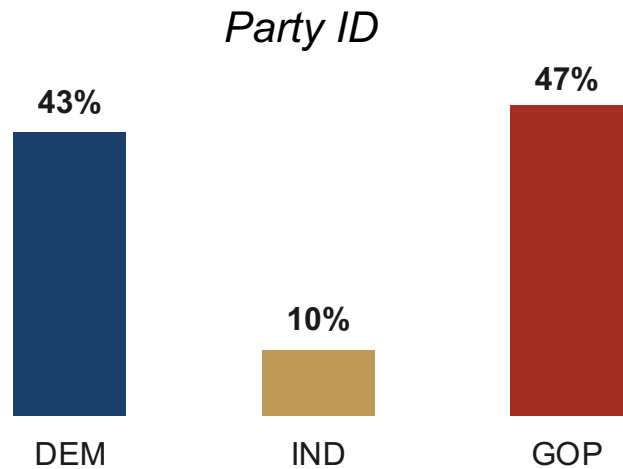
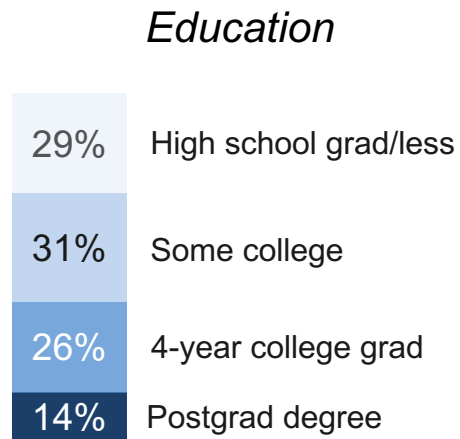
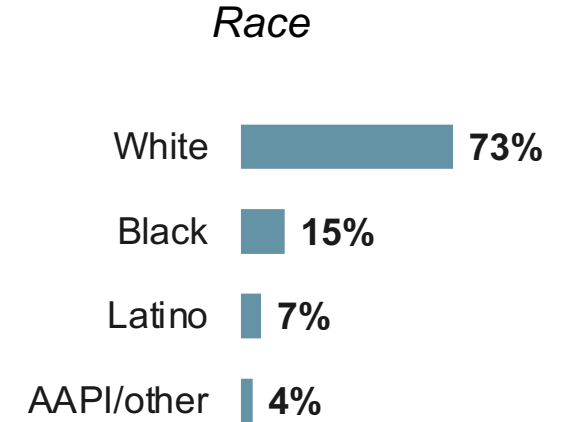
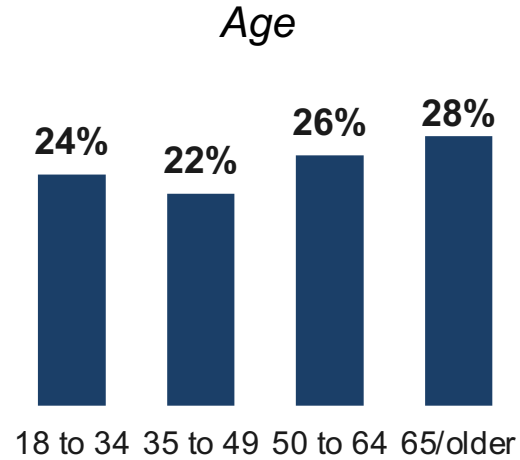
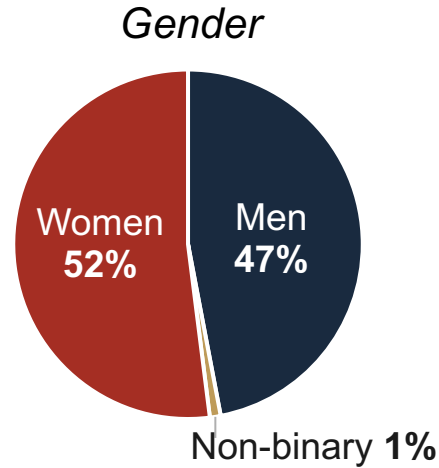
Trump puts our clean air and water at risk. (Top frame for Black voters)

Proof Point:

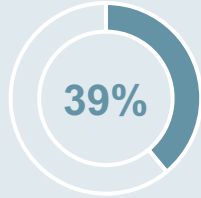
- **POLLUTERS/HEALTH:** As president, Trump blocked water safety rules and allowed corporate polluters to pump chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water.

Methodology and profile of the sample

- Online survey of 1,921 registered voters in BG states (AZ/GA/MI/NV/PA/WI)
- Sample includes oversamples:
 - 18-34 voters (680 total interviews)
 - Black voters (430 total interviews)
 - Latino voters (295 total interviews)
 - AAPI voters (125 total interviews)



Key Targeting Subgroups

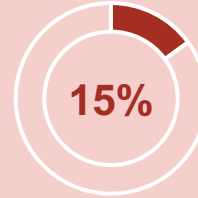


Persuadables*

These voters are disproportionately:

- Women
- Under age 50
- Non-political (do not consider politics important to their identity)

**soft supporters or those who may still change their mind about their chosen 2024 candidate*

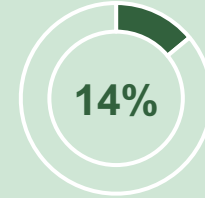


Potential Biden Defectors*

These voters are disproportionately:

- Voters of color
- Age 18-34
- Non-political (do not consider politics important to their identity)

**Either voted for Biden in 2020 but are not currently planning to vote for him in 2024 or didn't vote for Trump in 2020 and are planning to do so in 2024.*



Climate Persuasion Voters*

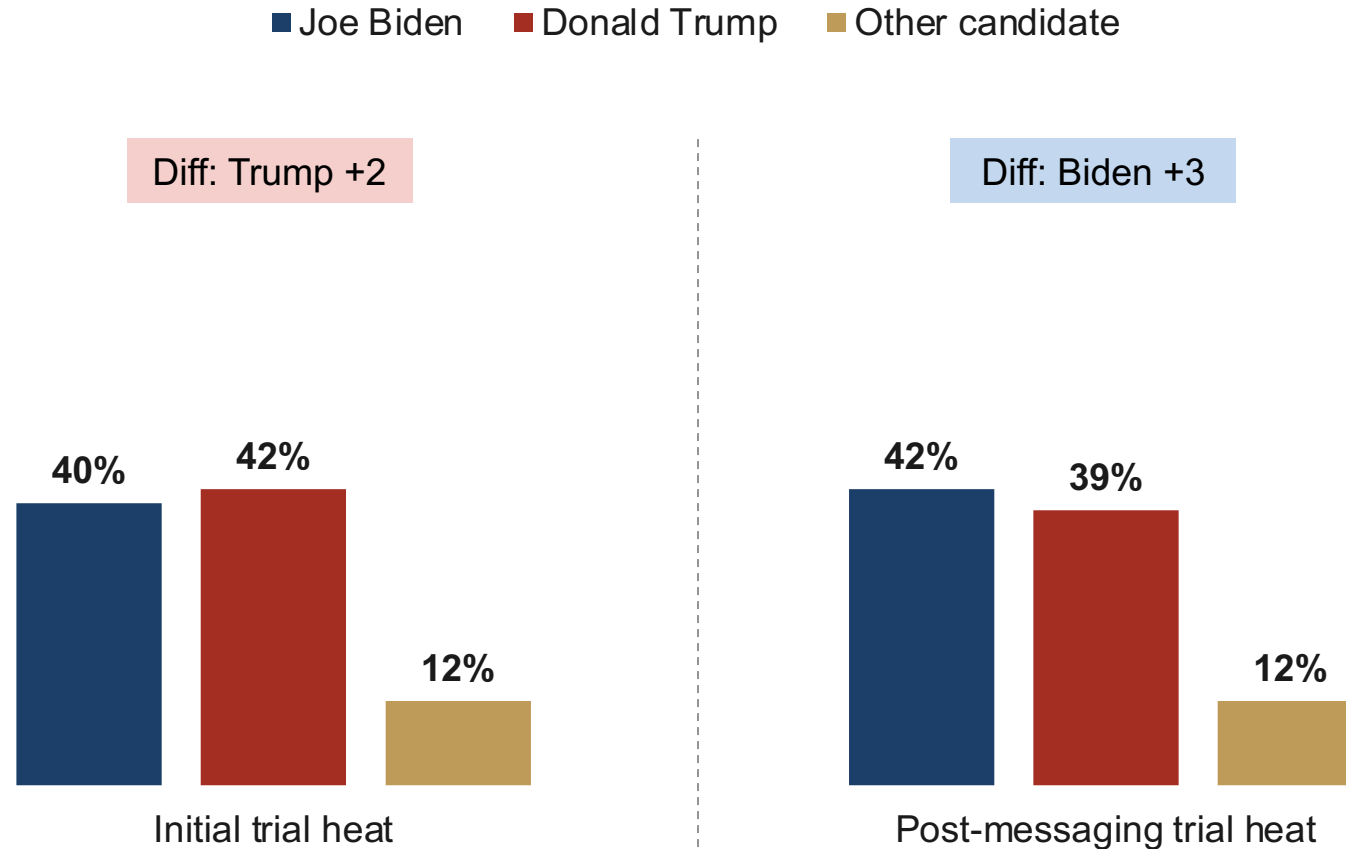
This group is disproportionately inclusive of:

- Age 18-34
- Non-college
- Non-Democrats

**Not planning to vote for Biden in 2024, believe climate change is/will be a crisis, and climate issues would affect their vote*

Climate and clean energy criticisms of Trump shifts voters to Biden and increases perceptions that Trump's agenda is dangerous.

Climate and clean energy criticisms of Trump moves voters, turning Biden's 2-point deficit into a 3-point lead.

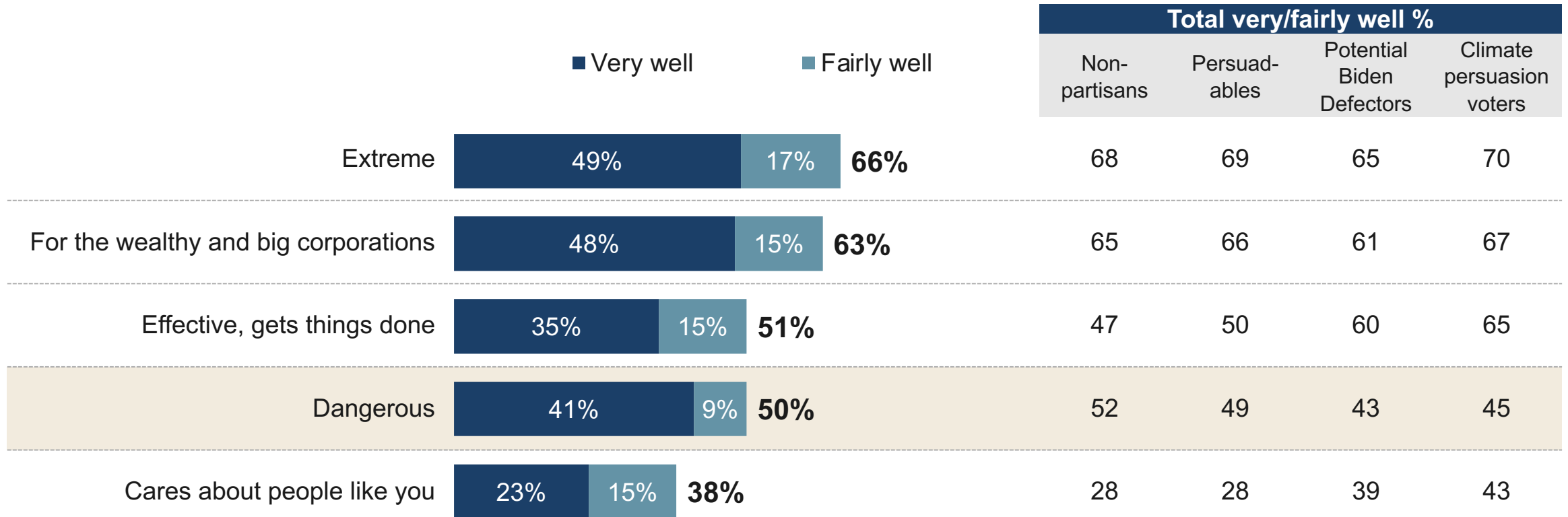


After messaging, voters across the electorate shift towards Biden, with the biggest gains among young voters, voters of color, and 2020 3rd party/nonvoters.

	Initial trial heat			Final trial heat			Net Shift
	Biden	Trump	Differential	Biden	Trump	Differential	
All voters	40	42	-2	42	39	+3	+5
2020 Biden voters	81	3	+77	83	4	+80	+2
2020 Trump voters	4	83	-81	3	79	-74	+6
2020 3rd party/DNV	27	35	-8	31	30	+1	+10
Core Democrats	92	2	+90	92	1	+91	+1
Independents/leaners	33	30	+3	36	25	+11	+8
Core Republicans	2	92	-91	2	91	-89	+2
White voters	34	49	-15	35	47	-12	+4
Black voters	68	13	+54	72	10	+63	+8
Latino voters	39	38	+1	44	34	+10	+9
AAPI voters	46	29	+16	49	22	+26	+10
18-34	36	39	-2	40	35	+5	+8
35-49	39	40	-1	42	37	+5	+6
50-64	39	43	-4	41	40	+1	+5
65+	44	45	-1	45	43	+1	+2

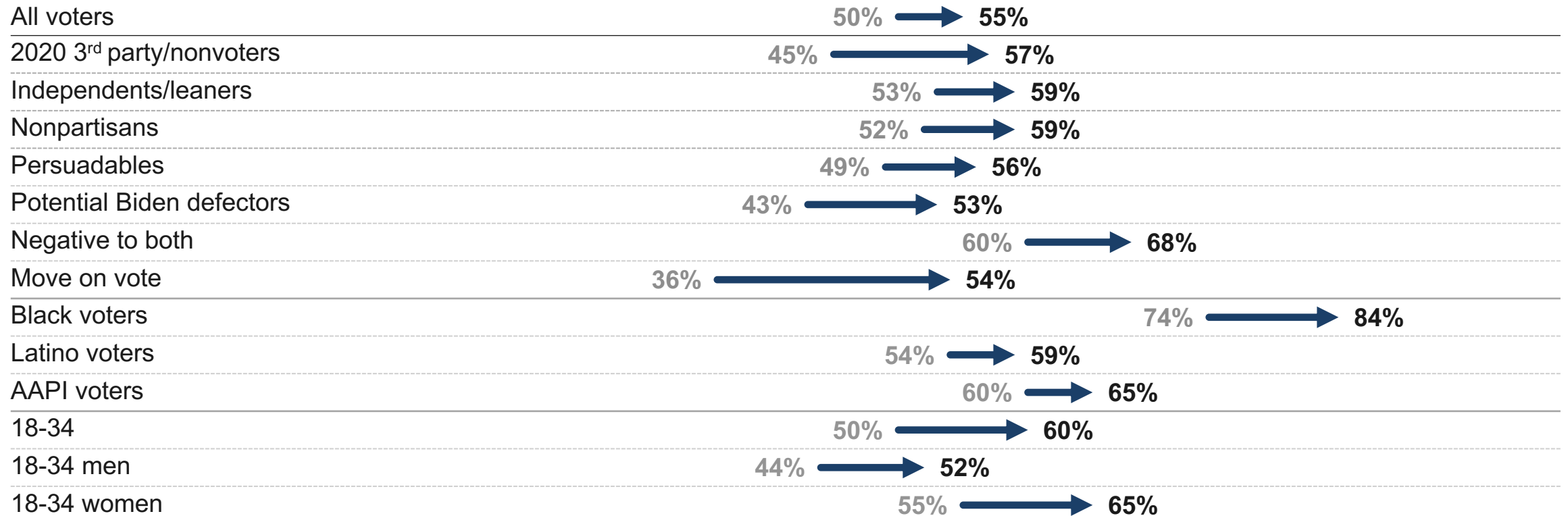
Before messaging, two in three voters believe Trump is extreme, but only half think he is dangerous.

PRE-MESSAGING METRICS: Please indicate how well you think each word/phrased describes Donald Trump.



Messaging increases the share of voters who think Trump is dangerous, with notable movement among key groups.

“Dangerous” describes Donald Trump very or fairly well
Initial → Final

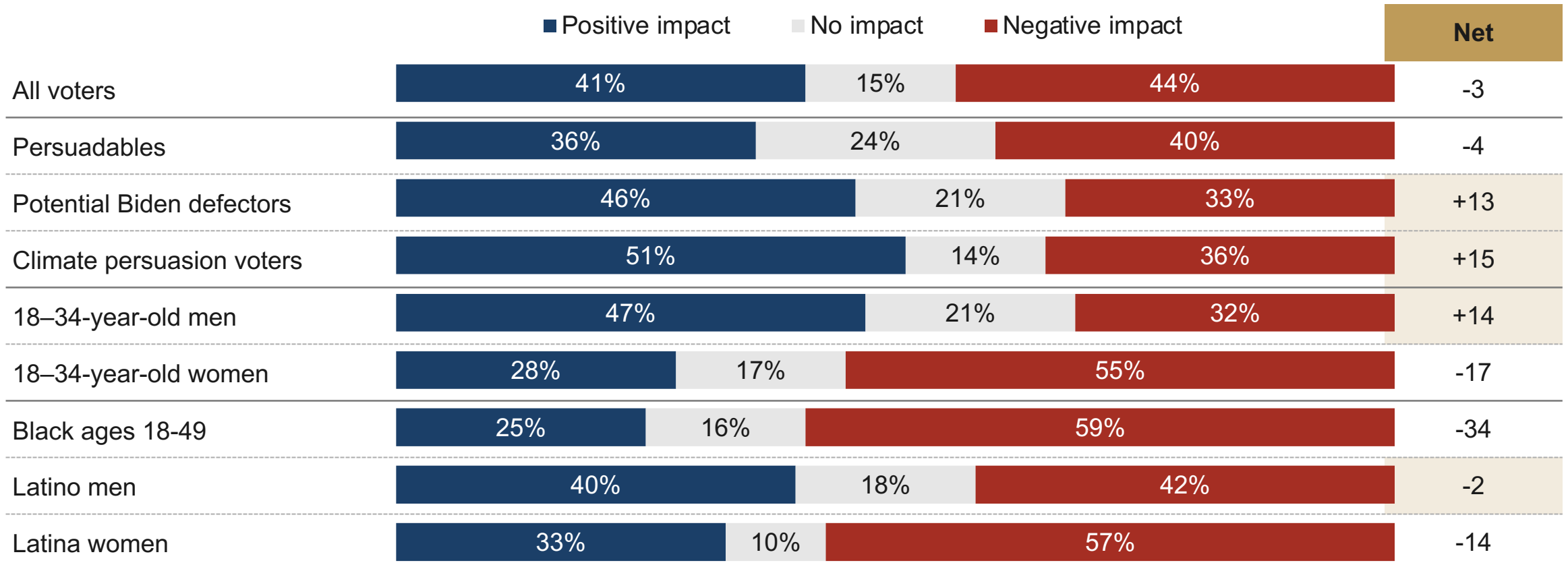


Too many voters that Biden needs to win mistakenly believe a Trump presidency would benefit them.

We need to expose how Trump's policies on energy costs and clean air and water—key voting issues—would directly harm them.

Voters need to hear how Trump's extreme policies are dangerous to them personally to correct the misperception among many that his presidency will benefit them.

If Donald Trump wins the presidency in November, what kind of impact do you believe his environmental and climate change policies will have on you personally and people like you?



Our key targets care about energy costs and would vote accordingly.


Would definitely/probably matter to your vote if a presidential candidate's policies and positions were OUT OF STEP with your views on that issue

	Nonpartisans %	Persuadables %	Potential Biden Defectors %	% Climate persuasion voters
Immigration	70	74	71	83
Energy costs*	68	73	68	89
Gas prices**	70	73	78	85
Expanding production of oil and gas in the United States	64	68	68	84
Abortion	61	68	63	72
Air and water pollution	58	59	60	84
Expanding the use of clean energy sources like wind and solar power	51	54	52	80
Climate change	49	51	50	74

We must show that Trump's positions increase energy prices and pollution.

Very/pretty confident in Donald Trump to deal with each of the following issues to your satisfaction

	Nonpartisans %	Persuadables %	Potential Biden Defectors %	% Climate persuasion voters
The economy	58	62	73	70
Gas prices**	55	58	63	64
Energy costs*	50	55	61	67
Clean air and water	39	41	50	52
Clean energy	35	35	43	47
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	32	32	41	38
Climate change	31	30	37	40

Address climate misconception—> Trump is not your Ally 

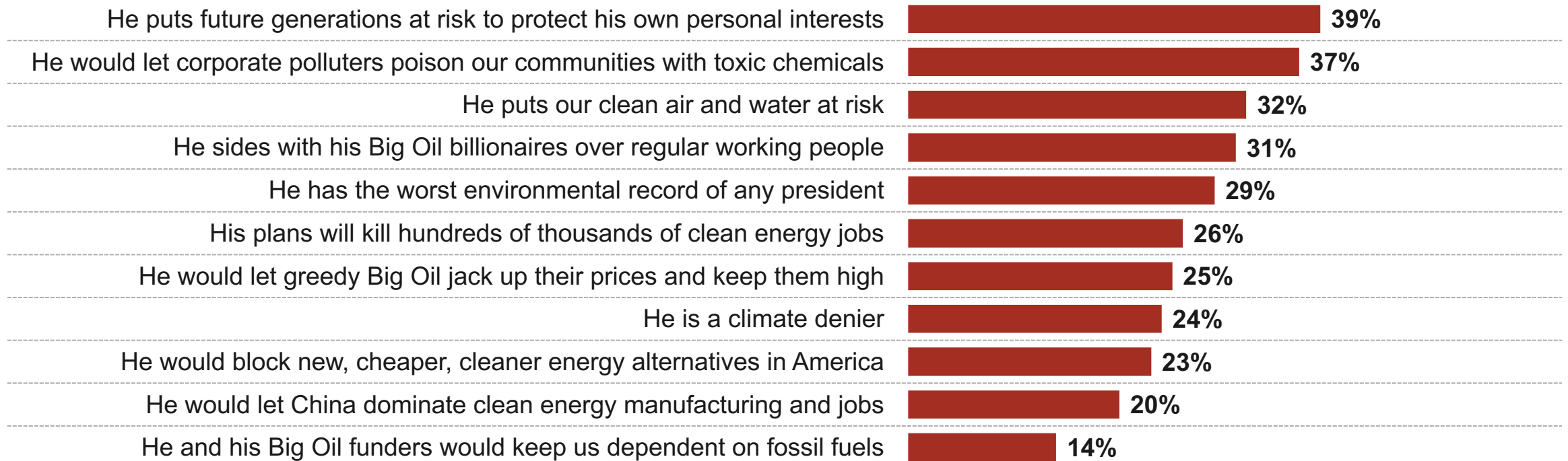
Strongest frames against Trump:

Trump is “in this for himself.” His prioritization of his own interests and those of corporate polluters threatens community health and future generations.

His Big Oil alliances undermine working people’s economic interests.

‘Trump prioritizing his personal interests’ and ‘allowing corporate polluters to poison our communities’ emerge as the top concerns about Trump.

GETTABLE VOTERS*: Ranked by top 3 most concerning about Donald Trump



‘Trump prioritizing his personal interests’ and ‘allowing corporate polluters to poison our communities’ are the top frames across target groups.

GETTABLE VOTERS*: Top 3 most concerning about Donald Trump

Nonpartisans	Persuadables	Potential Biden defectors
He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (39%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (40%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (43%)
He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (39%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (39%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (36%)
He puts our clean air and water at risk (33%)	He puts our clean air and water at risk (34%)	He sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people (35%)

Climate Persuasion Voters	Move on Vote	Negative to both
He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (43%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (46%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (44%)
He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (41%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (41%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (37%)
He puts our clean air and water at risk (34%)	He puts our clean air and water at risk (37%)	He puts our clean air and water at risk (37%)

Younger voters and voters of color are most concerned about ‘Trump putting future generations at risk for his personal interests’ and ‘allowing corporate polluters to poison our communities’.

GETTABLE VOTERS*: Top 3 most concerning about Donald Trump

Black voters	Latino voters	AAPI voters	18-34 voters
He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (46%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (40%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (43%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (45%)
He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (41%)	He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests (38%)	He sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people (38%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (42%)
He puts our clean air and water at risk (38%)	He sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people (35%)	He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals (36%)	He puts our clean air and water at risk (34%)

TURF Analysis: Two Trump frames have the furthest reach with target groups of persuadables, young voters, and voters of color.

Results from TURF (Total Unduplicated Reach and Frequency) of 11 frames tested

He puts future generations at risk to protect his own personal interests .

He would let corporate polluters poison our communities with toxic chemicals.

Additional frames expand the reach among target groups when combined with the two above:

Persuadables, Latino voters, AAPI voters:
He sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people.

Black voters:
He puts our clean air and water at risk.

18-34 voters:
He is a climate denier.

The top proof points against Trump:

- 1. “Dictator...on day 1” plans to eliminate environmental protections.**
- 2. Plans to repeal clean energy investments, cutting clean energy jobs and harming local communities.**

Secondary messages highlight the effects of his policies on health and future generations.

Two criticisms of Trump stand out as most important: his threat to be a dictator so he can eliminate environmental protections, and the expected job losses from his plans to end clean energy investments.

GETTABLE VOTERS*

*MAXDIFF: Concerns of highest importance against Donald Trump
(Mean score = 100. Scores above 100 are higher in importance)*

“Dictator...on Day 1”/ Protections/ Drilling

Trump says he wants to be a dictator on day one so that he can eliminate environmental protections and expand oil drilling, including in our nation's treasured public lands and coastal areas

163.4

CEP/Jobs

President Biden's clean energy plan has created more than 270,000 jobs and spurred hundreds of billions of dollars in private sector investments. If Trump wins, he will end investments in clean energy, which could lead to thousands of workers being laid off and hurt local communities across the country

160.1

CEP/Jobs message has the added benefit of providing a direct and stated contrast to Biden's creation of clean energy jobs and spurring private sector investment.

**Strong Republicans who have made up their mind to vote for Trump were skipped over this question.*

Message testing CONTINUED on next slide.

(Cont'd) Second-tier criticisms center around the impact of his policies on health, costs, and future generations.

GETTABLE VOTERS*

*MAXDIFF: Concerns of above average importance against Donald Trump
(Mean score = 100. Scores above 100 are higher in importance)*

Record Corporate Polluters/ Health	As president, Trump blocked water safety rules and allowed corporate polluters to pump chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water	132.7
Record Weakening Protections	Trump has, by far, the worst environmental record of any president in U.S. history. The Trump administration weakened or wiped out 125 environmental protections, including protections that stop polluters from releasing toxic chemicals into the air we breathe and water we drink	119.7
Future Generations	We have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for our children and grandchildren. But Trump puts his own personal interests over future generations and refuses to take action on climate change or air pollution	119.7
Climate Denial/Econ	Extreme weather is becoming more frequent and dangerous, costing taxpayers billions each year, threatening farms and our food supply, and increasing healthcare costs. Despite clear evidence that climate change is real and happening right now, Trump's denial threatens our entire economy	113.2
Clean Energy Affordability	President Biden's clean energy plan aims to make clean energy affordable for everyone, not just the wealthy. Trump promises to eliminate the plan and end tax credits for energy-efficient homes and electric vehicles, which would deny consumers choices for cleaner, more affordable options	105.7
Enviro Justice	During Trump's first presidency, he let corporate polluters dump dangerous chemicals into vulnerable communities. He rolled back environmental protections and allowed corporate polluters to keep polluting low-income neighborhoods and communities of color	103.7

**Strong Republicans who have made up their mind to vote for Trump were skipped over this question.*

Message testing CONTINUED on next slide.

(Cont'd) Criticisms that focus only on Trump's ties to Big Oil funders are less important to voters.

These messages are likely more effective as motivations for Trump's actions, rather than the main focus of the attack.

GETTABLE VOTERS*

*MAXDIFF**: Concerns of below average importance against Donald Trump*

Big Oil Money/ Funding	Oil and gas giants were among the biggest winners of Trump's tax law, getting \$25 billion in tax breaks while raising prices on drivers at the pump. Trump has now asked for \$1 billion from Big Oil to support his campaign and promised them more tax cuts and to cut environmental protections they dislike	87.2
Climate/ Project 2025	Trump's re-election as president would be even more damaging for the environment than his first term. Trump and his polluter allies have plans for an all-out war on climate action that would abolish carbon pollution limits and gut efforts to stop climate change and expand clean energy	79.2
Big Oil Collusion	Trump looks out for the interests of Big Oil companies that charge Americans excessively high prices at the pump. The FTC recently accused Trump's Big Oil ally of attempting to collude with OPEC to keep oil prices high, driving up costs for American families at the pump and lining the pockets of their already wealthy shareholders	76.5
Big Oil Funders/ Plans	Big oil executives are donating millions to Donald Trump, which will help him win the 2024 election and pay for his legal expenses. At the same time, the oil industry is writing up ready-to-sign executive orders for a second Trump presidency which would roll back environmental protections and boost profits of the oil industry	76.2
Oil Regulations/ Project 2025	Trump and his allies have plans to gut environmental protections that prevent oil and gas companies from polluting our air and water, and to force government agencies to prioritize fossil fuel production over protecting public health	69.7
Climate Denier	Trump is a climate denier: he refuses to listen to scientists and health and national security experts. He has called climate change a 'hoax' and a 'con job'	64.6
Big Oil Funders/ Record	As President, Trump selected the former CEO of Exxon and Big Oil and coal lobbyists to lead federal agencies, resulting in drastic rollbacks of environmental and public health protections. Now, oil billionaires and CEOs play an outsized role in funding Trump's campaign which will help to pay his legal bills	64.6
EVS/ China	Under Trump, thousands of auto jobs moved overseas, and China took the lead in electric vehicle manufacturing. If Trump is re-elected, his policies will end the Made-In-America electric vehicle boom and guarantee that China dominates the electric vehicle industry long into the future	61.8

‘Dictator...on Day 1,’ ‘Repealing Clean Energy Jobs,’ and ‘Corporate Polluters’ messages are highly important to target groups.

GETTABLE VOTERS*:

MAXDIFF: Concerns of highest importance against Donald Trump

Nonpartisans	Persuadables	Potential Biden defectors
Dictator/Protections/Drilling (154)	Record corporate polluters/Health (152)	Future generations (163)
CEP/Jobs (146)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (152)	Record corporate polluters/Health (152)
Record corporate polluters/health (139)	CEP/Jobs (148)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (146)

Climate persuasion	Move on Vote	Negative to both
Future generations (168)	CEP/Jobs (202)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (186)
Climate denial/economy (148)	Future Generations (169)	Record corporate polluters/Health (163)
Dictator/Protections/Drilling (139)	Clean energy affordability (140)	Future generations (133)



Move on vote: economic messages (job loss, deny more affordable options) are particularly salient with this target group.

‘Dictator...on Day 1’ and ‘Repealing Clean Energy Jobs’ messages also are top Trump criticisms among younger voters and voters of color.

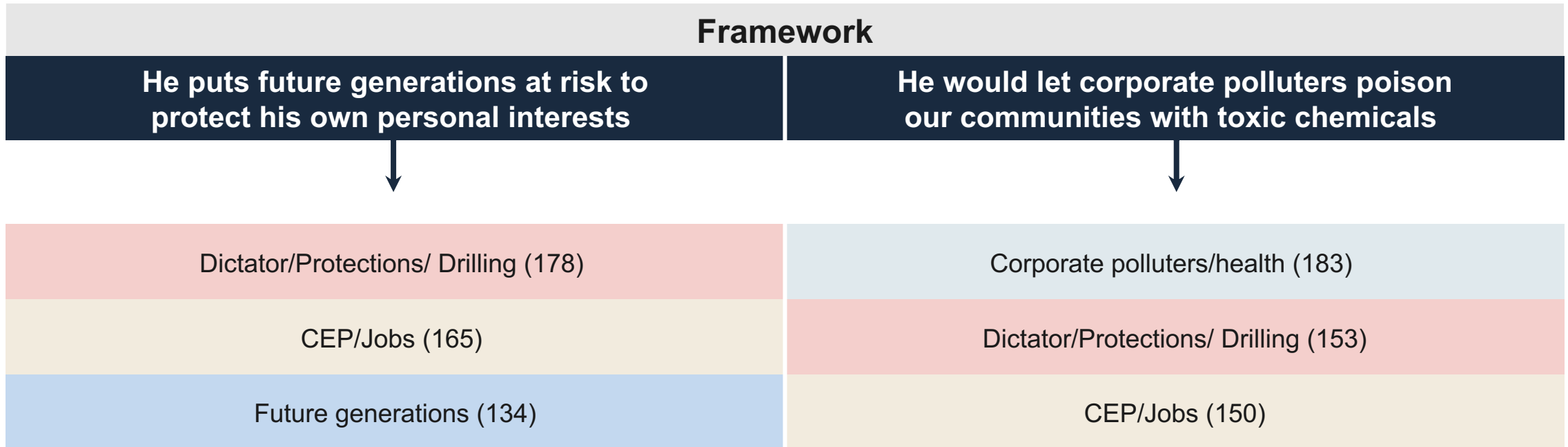
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Black voters	Latino voters	AAPI voters	18-34 voters
CEP/Jobs (218)	CEP/Jobs (173)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (167)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (182)
Record corporate polluters/health (143)	Dictator/Protections/Drilling (150)	Record weakening protections (149)	Record corporate polluters/Health (147)
Clean energy affordability (142)	Future generations 133)	Record corporate polluters/health (139)	CEP/Jobs (140)

The anticipated job loss from Trump ending investments in clean energy is more important to Black voters than any other subgroup.

Linking Top Frames to Proof Points: ‘Dictator...on Day 1’ and ‘Repealing Clean Energy Jobs’ proof points both rise to the top with voters who choose the two frames with the broadest reach.



For our secondary frames, ‘Repealing Clean Energy Jobs’ and ‘Dictator...on Day 1’ have strong resonance, but other proof points show potential for targeted appeal.

Framework		
He puts our clean air and water at risk	He sides with his Big Oil billionaires over regular working people	He is a climate denier
Corporate polluters/health (183)	Dictator/Protections/ Drilling (157)	Dictator/Protections/ Drilling (190)
CEP/Jobs (150)	CEP/Jobs (153)	CEP/Jobs (148)
Dictator/Protections/ Drilling (146)	Big Oil money/funding (122)	Record weakening protections (129)

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Holding Trump accountable for his harmful record on climate and energy issues moves the vote in Biden's favor and heightens voters' sense that Trump's agenda is dangerous.

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Trump is vulnerable on job losses. We need to highlight how Trump's plans to end clean energy investments would lead to layoffs and hurt local communities. This showcases the harmful impact of his self-interest and his alliance with Big Oil.

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Voters care about a candidate's stance on air and water pollution, and about half of potential Biden defectors currently trust Trump on these issues. When they hear about Trump's disastrous record on pollution, they view him as dangerous to them personally.

Key Takeaways—Most Persuasive Frames Against Trump

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There are two strong messaging lanes that work broadly across persuasion audiences:

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Most compelling proof points:

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- **POLLUTERS/HEALTH:** *As president, Trump blocked water safety rules and allowed corporate polluters to pump chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water.*
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Proof Point:

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Note that both the Jobs and Dictator proof points also are effective with the Siding with Big Oil frame.

Frame:

Trump puts our clean air and water at risk. (Top frame for Black voters)

Proof Point:

- **POLLUTERS/HEALTH:** As president, Trump blocked water safety rules and allowed corporate polluters to pump chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water.