The Climate and Clean Energy Case Against Trump

Online survey of 2,265 likely 2024 voters in battleground states Fielded January 23-28, 2024



METHODOLOGY AND PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

- Online survey of 2,265 likely 2024 voters in battleground states:
 - Arizona
 - Georgia
 - Minnesota
 - Michigan
 - Nevada
 - New Hampshire
 - North Carolina
 - Pennsylvania
 - Wisconsin
- Sample includes age and race/ethnicity oversamples:
 - 18-29 voters (569 interviews)
 - 30-39 voters (511 interviews)
 - Latino voters (502 interviews)
 - Black voters (394 interviews)
 - AAPI voters (135 interviews)
- Fielded January 23-28, 2024





CLIMATE POWER

KEY TAKEAWAYS

1

It is a **mistake to assume that voters remember Trump's record** and how destructive it was. They must be reminded that he was a consistent climate denier, opposed clean energy, and was the worst environmental president in history.

2

Contrast is key. Biden's accomplishments are not widely known and voters give him little credit for his own wins. Biden's standing improves significantly when **contrasted with Trump's record as president.**

3

Biden's climate and clean energy achievements are compelling proof points that he "gets things done." Biden's clean energy and climate wins translate to new jobs (stronger economy), lowered costs (energy bills, access to renewables), and cleaner air and water (climate action).



KEY TAKEAWAYS

4

Focusing on climate and clean energy moves the vote in Biden's favor. Biden is currently underperforming with young voters – but after receiving contrast messages of his accomplishments against Trump's destructive records, young voters (18-34) move toward Biden by +10pp.

5

It is essential to show the harms of Trump's pro-drilling approach, but we need to also speak to **voters' desire for lower costs and energy independence** (and never cede this field to Trump).



- (01) Tell the story of Biden's historic accomplishments on clean energy and climate action by contrasting them with *Trump's disastrous record as president*.
- (02) Connect Trump's support of price-gouging Big Oil companies with the increased costs Americans pay for energy, health care, and climate disasters. Use his alliances with Big Oil to show how his policies hurt everyday people.

(03) Educate voters about Trump's climate denialism and make his dangerous record real by reminding them of the health, economic, and extreme weather consequences they have experienced.

(04) Include climate in the list of base issues and rights that Trump denies and endangers like reproductive rights, voting rights, and election denialism – make the broader case against Trump's extremism and his disconnect with reality.



SWING VOTERS	POTENTIAL BIDEN DEFECTORS	CLIMATE PERSUASION TARGETS	YOUNG CLIMATE VOTERS
Those who 1) identify as Independent or just lean Democrat/Republican AND 2) do not hold strong ideological views	Those who voted for Biden in 2020 but are not currently planning to vote for him in 2024	Those who are not planning to vote for Biden in 2024, believe climate change is/will be a crisis, and climate issues would affect their vote	Those who are 18-39, believe climate change is/will be a crisis, and climate issues would affect their vote



Voters do not remember or are not aware

of Trump's disastrous record as president and do not know enough about Biden's accomplishments.



Only 4 in 10 voters have accepted the virtual inevitability of Trump's nomination and sizable proportions of some Democratic-leaning groups, including 35% of Black voters, still believe it won't happen.

Do you believe Donald Trump will be the Republican nominee for president this year?



	Will NOT be the Republican nominee %
2020 Biden voters	26
2020 Trump voters	2
2020 3 rd party/Did not vote	26
Men	12
Women	20
18-34	26
35-49	18
50-64	12
65+	8
White voters	12
Black voters	35
Latino voters	23
AAPI voters	16



The enthusiasm gap among key groups could become a turnout problem for Biden – if not addressed soon.

(Asked of 2024 Biden or 3rd party voters) How important is it to you to defeat Donald Trump in the 2024 election? 82% Very/fairly important % Fairly 18-29 65 10% important -> 30-39 77 White voters 84 Black voters 79 Latino voters 78 Very important -> 72% **AAPI** voters 77 High school or less 75 18% Some college 76 ← Somewhat 8% important 87 Not that 4-year college grads 6% important -> 4%← Not important at all Postgrads 96



Both candidates are viewed unfavorably, but a majority think Trump did a good job as president. We need to remind them otherwise.





Voters do not give Biden credit for his accomplishments, driving dissatisfaction on key issues.

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with how **Joe Biden** is dealing with each of the following issues?

Very/pretty satisfied	Neither satisfied nor di	ssatisfied		Do not kno	w enough	Very/pretty dissatisfied	
Protecting democracy	36%			16%	3%	45%	
Employment/availability of good-paying jobs*	35%			16%	47%		
Clean energy*	34%			25%	5%	37%	
Clean air and water	34%			27%	5%	34%	
Energy policies*	32%			19%	5%	43%	
Climate change	31%			27%	4%	38%	
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	31%			23%	4%	43%	
The economy	28%		11%		59%		
The cost of living*	20%	14%			65%		
Immigration	19%	19%		3%	60%		

* Asked of half samples.



Voters seem to have forgotten or are not aware of Trump's record on a range of issues, whereas dissatisfaction with Biden remains top of mind.

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with how **Donald Trump** dealt with each of the following issues?

Very/pretty satisfied	er satisfied nor dissatisfied	■ Do not kno	w enough	Very/pretty dissatisfied	Dissatisfied with BIDEN on each issue %
The economy	53%		12%	33%	59
Employment/availability of good-paying jobs*	52%		16%	30%	47
The cost of living*	49%		14% 3%	% 35%	65
Immigration	48%		13%	37%	60
Protecting democracy	41%	14%		44%	45
Energy policies*	39%	19%	6%	37%	43
Clean air and water	34%	24%	5%	37%	34
Clean energy*	31%	25%	5%	39%	36
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	31%	19% 4	%	46%	43
Climate change*	29%	26%	4%	41%	39



When voters rate each individually and in isolation, Biden has only a slight advantage or breaks even with Trump on most environmental issues – an alarming signal that many voters are not aware of Biden's accomplishments.

BIDEN HIGHER SATISFACTION		TRUMP HIGHER SATISFACTION		NEITHER	
Clean energy	+3	Immigration	+29	Clean air and water	+/-0
Climate change	+2	The cost of living	+29	Abortion and women's reproductive rights	+/- 0
		The economy	+25		
		Employment/availability of good-paying jobs	+17		
		Energy policies	+7		
		Protecting democracy	+5		



Without Trump's problematic record top of mind, over half of voters are open to voting for him. The size of his vote will be determined by the 16% who would consider him "depending on the circumstances".



CLIMATE POWER 14

Focusing on climate and clean energy moves the vote in Biden's favor – and serves as a proof point that he "gets things

done." Young voters are the most likely to move toward Biden.



Climate and clean energy messaging moves voters toward Biden, with a significant 10-point net swing in the trial heat.



Joe Biden

Clean energy and climate messaging moves every demographic toward Biden – the movement is especially more significant among younger voters (<30) and Independents.

% definitely/probably/leaning towards Biden in the general election Pre-Messaging Ask to Post-Messaging Ask

			Change
All voters		44% 🔫 49%	+5
2020 Biden voters	<u> </u>	86% 🔶 90	% +4
2020 Trump voters	3% 🕨 5%		+2
2020 3rd party/DNV		39% 54%	+15
Democrats		86% 🔶 90	% +4
Independents		27% 42%	+15
Republicans	7% 🔶 10%		+3
<mark>18-29</mark>		46% 59%	+13
<u>30-39</u>		49% 55%	+6
18-34		48% 58%	+10
35-49		43% 🔶 48%	+5
<u>50-64</u>		38% 🔶 41%	+3
65+		47% 48%	+1
White voters		39% 🔶 42%	+3
Black voters		74% - 81%	+7
Latino voters		48%> 56%	+8
AAPI voters		40% 49%	+9



Taking the wrong position on climate and clean energy would discredit candidates for over half of voters.

How much would it matter to your vote if a presidential candidate's policies and positions were OUT OF STEP with your views on that issue?

Definitely affect vote	Probably affect vote	Might aff	ect vote	■ Would	d not affe	ct my vo	ote at all	Definitely/ probably affect my vote %
Immigration	5	1%		24	.%	15%	10%	75
Guns	y	1%		21%	, D	14%	13%	72
Abortion	48	%		19%	15	%	18%	67
Expanding the production of oil and gas	37%		26%	6	21%	ó	15%	63
Air and water pollution	30%		28%		24%		19%	58
Climate change	33%		22%		22%		23%	55
Use of clean energy sources like wind/solar			25%		25%		20%	55
Use of clean energy*	29%		26%		23%		22%	55



Voters of color are the most likely to say that climate issues play a factor in their vote.

% who say that each issue would DEFINITELY affect their vote

	All voters	White voters	Black voters	Latino voters	AAPI voters
Guns	51	51	53	55	51
Immigration	51	54	39	56	36
Abortion	48	48	51	53	32
Expanding production of oil and gas	37	39	29	39	23
Climate change	33	32	35	38	27
Use of clean energy sources like wind/solar*	30	28	39	36	27
Air and water pollution	30	28	40	38	20
Use of clean energy*	29	28	33	37	21



It is essential to show the harms of Trump's pro-drilling approach, but we need to speak to voters' desire for lower

costs and energy independence.



Getting into a debate against Trump over drilling—for cost reduction or energy independence—is more challenging for Biden.

Toughest debates out of 10 tested



Tell the story of Biden's historic accomplishments on clean energy and climate action by contrasting them with *Trump's disastrous record as president*.



Biden gains an edge on specific issues (though not majorities) when directly compared to Trump.

1.1

Do you think Donald Trump or Joe Biden would do a better job handling each issue?

Biden much/somewhat better	job Neither in the way I would lik	ke <mark>=</mark> Trum	np much/somewhat better job	NET: Biden - Trump
Clean energy	47%	14%	39%	+8
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	46%	16%	38%	+8
Climate change	45%	18%	37%	+8
Clean air and water	44%	17%	39%	+5
Energy policies	41%	13%	46%	-5

Biden's advantage becomes even more pronounced when we spell out the key differences. The top contrasts are on carbon pollution, price gouging, and clean energy affordability.

Top contrasts out of those tested

Joe Biden passed the most ambitious	Agree more with Biden	Neither/both	Agree more with Trump	
climate plan in history, which will cut approximately 1 billion tons of carbon pollution by 2030.	54%	14%	31%	Donald Trump eliminated or weakened protections against carbon pollution, making air pollution worse.
Joe Biden supports cracking down on price gouging and profiteering by Big Oil and Gas companies.	51%	13%	35%	Donald Trump supports giving tax breaks and incentives to oil and gas companies.
Joe Biden believes it is the responsibility of this generation to solve climate change and leave a world that is safe and livable for our children and grandchildren.	52%	11%	37%	Donald Trump has repeatedly called climate change a 'hoax' and ignored the urgent recommendations of leading scientists to cut carbon pollution.
Joe Biden passed a plan to triple the production of clean energy, which will make it more affordable to families and is projected to save Americans \$38 billion on their electricity bills.	52%	10%	39%	Donald Trump opposes clean energy investments and instead prioritized tax breaks for oil and gas to increase domestic oil production and lower costs at the pump.



Biden and Trump's presidential records on climate and carbon pollution create the best contrast for Biden, and is more important than talking about Trump's future plans.

Key differences: Which candidate would you prefer?



Climate change is also a clear differentiator between Biden and Trump and helps Biden with persuasion audiences and young climate voters.

Which candidate would you prefer?

g	Joe Biden believes it is the responsibility of this generation to solve climate change and leave a world that is safe and livable for our children and grandchildren. Neither			repeatedly called climate x' and ignored the urgent of leading scientists to cut carbon pollution.
All voters	52%	11%		37%
18-29-year-olds	60%		17%	23%
Potential Biden defectors	62%		17%	21%
Negative to both Trump/Biden	64%		17%	19%
Climate voters under 40	71%		9%	20%
Movers	71%			19% 11%
	509	6		



Hearing about the stark differences between the candidates on our issues helps re-engage voters Biden needs and sways some potential Trump supporters.

When you think about these differences between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, do they make you..?



	Biden %	Trump %
Independents	38	21
Lean Biden initially	90	3
Lean Trump initially	20	38
Neither/third party initial	30	2
Potential Biden defectors	33	22
Negative to both Trump/Biden	47	14
18–29-year-olds	58	26
Persuadable Latino voters	52	6

Connect Trump's support of pricegouging Big Oil companies with the increased costs everyday Americans pay for energy, health care, and climate disasters.



Biden's commitment to affordable clean energy stands in stark contrast to Trump's support for Big Oil and Gas and is amplified by Trump's opposition to clean energy investments.

Key differences: Which candidate would you prefer?



Joe Biden passed a plan to triple the production of clean energy, which will make it more affordable to families and is projected to save Americans \$38 billion on their electricity bills.

OPPOSE INVESTMENTS + OIL

Trump opposes clean energy investments and instead prioritized tax breaks for oil and gas to increase domestic oil production and lower costs at the pump.

OIL TAX BREAKS*



Donald Trump gave billions of dollars in tax breaks to the oil and gas industry and cut regulation to increase production.

* Asked of half samples.

WINS BY 13 POINTS AGAINST OPPOSE INVESTMENTS

More advantageous contrast for Biden among: 2020 third-party voters/nonvoters Independents Swing voters Would consider Trump Movers 18–29-year-olds Black voters (top contrast)

WINS BY 10 POINTS AGAINST TAX BREAKS

Contrasting Biden's fight against price gouging with Trump's tax cuts for Big Oil and Gas highlights Biden's focus on everyday Americans, key for persuadable voters.

Which candidate would you prefer?





Educate voters and make Trump's climate denialism and his dangerous record real by reminding them of the health, economic, and extreme weather consequences they have experienced.

Include climate in the list of base issues and rights that Trump denies and endangers like reproductive rights, voting rights, and election denialism – make the broader case against Trump's extremism and his disconnect with reality.



All criticisms we tested against Trump have some traction with 'gettable voters'. *

How big a concern, if any, does this give you about electing Donald Trump in the 2024 election?

	Gives me major concerns %
[DANGEROUS RECORD] Trump has the worst environmental record of any president in modern history. He weakened or wiped out more than 125 environmental protections, including protections that stop polluters from releasing toxic pollution like carbon, mercury, lead, and arsenic into the air we breathe and water we drink. He opposed rules that would ban corporate polluters from pumping chemicals linked to cancer, health risks for children, and brain damage into our water.**	55
[CLIMATE DENIER] Trump is a climate denier: he refuses to listen to scientists and health and national security experts. He repeatedly has called climate change a 'hoax' and a 'con job' and even spread the baseless claim that windmills cause cancer. Despite the overwhelming evidence showing climate change is real, happening now, and costing taxpayers billions in extreme weather disasters, Trump's refusal to accept the science puts the entire country at risk.**	55
[MULTIPLE ISSUES + CLIMATE] Donald Trump's denial that climate change is real is another example of how extreme and dangerous he is. We cannot afford the next four years with a president like Donald Trump who promises to be a dictator on day one, promotes political violence, opposes women's reproductive freedom, and lies about the greatest threat to the future of our planet.**	55
[DANGEROUS FUTURE] Donald Trump has the worst environmental record of any president in modern history. His return to the White House would be even worse, bringing an all-out war on climate science and policies. Trump and his allies have plans to strip away nearly every regulation on Big Oil and Gas and redirect key government agencies, like the Environmental Protection Agency, to increase fossil fuel production instead of protecting public health.**	54
[GENERAL FACT DENIER] Trump refuses to accept facts and reality. He is a climate denier, refusing to listen to scientists, health and national security experts. He began his political career with the false claim that President Obama was not born in the United States and continues to spread lies about the 2020 election. He consistently prioritizes self-serving fiction over the truth and puts the entire country at risk.**	54
*Strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump skipped over this question	
** Asked of half samples.	CLIMATE

32

POWER

Continued: All criticisms we tested against Trump have some traction with 'gettable voters'*.

	Gives me major concerns %
[BIG OIL NEGATIVE ONLY] Trump took millions from Big Oil donors and put them ahead of the American people. As president, he staffed his environmental agencies with fossil fuel lobbyists, weakened air and water protections, and sued automakers who volunteered to meet clean air standards. Trump also gave tax breaks to oil companies and proposed expanding offshore drilling that would create billions of tons of pollution that even Republican governors opposed.**	53
[WORKING FAMILIES/ COSTS] Cost of living expenses are at an all-time high, but Trump's policies would increase profits for big corporations rather than decrease costs for working families. Big Oil CEOs and corporate executives used worldwide inflation and Russia's invasion of Ukraine as an excuse to increase prices and keep them high. Trump's short-sighted policies continue to put these companies first, leaving working Americans vulnerable to energy insecurity and high costs, squeezing already tight budgets.**	52
[TAKING US BACKWARDS] If Donald Trump wins in 2024, he will undo all the hard-earned work we've done in the last few years. Trump's energy plan would take us backward on climate action by increasing drilling on public lands and investing in fossil fuels. That will raise energy prices, cost jobs in clean energy, and undo our progress toward a cleaner future.**	52
[WORKING FAMILIES/EXTREME WEATHER] This summer's heat waves and wildfires and this winter's record freezes caused power outages that signal a growing crisis. You don't have to be a scientist to see how our climate is changing, but Trump continues to ignore the threat and refuses to do anything about it. Trump's policies would leave working families exposed to the worsening impacts of extreme weather and on the hook for the staggering costs of future climate disasters.**	51
[ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE CONTRAST] Decades of corporate pollution in low-income communities and communities of color have led to significant health risks. Donald Trump wants to put more oil and gas pipelines in these communities while rolling back clean air and water protections. Joe Biden has reined in polluters, replaced lead pipes, and is making historic progress on ensuring all communities have clean air and water and get their fair share of clean energy jobs.	51
[AMERICAN MANUFACTURING/JOBS] Clean energy manufacturing is booming in America today. But if Trump wins, he would end investments in clean energy, leaving China to reap the benefits, costing manufacturing jobs across the country, just as he did when he was president by rolling back fuel efficiency standards and cutting American automaker jobs. Biden is creating hundreds of thousands of jobs in clean energy and ensuring that American manufacturing remains a leader in the industry.	50

*Strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump skipped over this question

1.

** Asked of half samples.



When voters rank order messages, linking climate to Trump's broader disregard for reality emerges as a top concern.

While the non-climate message ranks high, climate issues are spread across all the other narratives, potentially diluting their individual impact.

Ranked by top 3 most concerning



* The full text of the messages can be found in the appendix

Our top messages across audiences: Trump's environmental record and connecting his denial of climate change to a broader pattern of disconnection from reality.

Top three concerns about electing Donald Trump as president

Undecided/lear	ners	Movers		Potential Biden defectors		Consider voting for Trump	
Dangerous record	45%	Issues without climate	48%	General fact denier	54%	Dangerous record	36%
General fact denier	43%	Multiple issues + climate	38%	Dangerous future	46%	Working families	36%
Issues without climate	41%	Working families/extreme weather	37%	Issues without climate	40%	Issues without climate	34%
18-29-year-olds		Black voters		Latino voters		AAPI voters	
General fact denier	42%	General fact denier	45%	General fact denier	35%	Issues without climate	50%
Dangerous record	35%	Working families	43%	Issues without climate	34%	General fact denier	40%



KEY TAKEAWAYS

1

It is a **mistake to assume that voters remember Trump's record** and how destructive it was. They must be reminded that he was a consistent climate denier, opposed clean energy, and was the worst environmental president in history.

2

Contrast is key. Biden's accomplishments are not widely known and voters give him little credit for his own wins. Biden's standing improves significantly when **contrasted with Trump's record as president.**

3

Biden's climate and clean energy achievements are compelling proof points that he "gets things done". Biden's clean energy and climate wins translate to new jobs (stronger economy), lowered costs (energy bills, access to renewables), and cleaner air and water (climate action).



KEY TAKEAWAYS

4

Focusing on climate and clean energy moves the vote in Biden's favor. Biden is currently underperforming with young voters – but after receiving contrast messages of his accomplishments against Trump's destructive records, young voters (18-34) move toward Biden by +10pp.

5

It is essential to show the harms of Trump's pro-drilling approach, but we need to also speak to **voters' desire for lower costs and energy independence** (and never cede this field to Trump).



- (01) Tell the story of Biden's historic accomplishments on clean energy and climate action by contrasting them with *Trump's disastrous record as president*.
- (02) Connect Trump's support of price-gouging Big Oil companies with the increased costs Americans pay for energy, health care, and climate disasters. Use his alliances with Big Oil to show how his policies hurt everyday people.

(03) Educate voters about Trump's climate denialism and make his dangerous record real by reminding them of the health, economic, and extreme weather consequences they have experienced.

(04) Include climate in the list of base issues and rights that Trump denies and endangers like reproductive rights, voting rights, and election denialism – make the broader case against Trump's extremism and his disconnect with reality.



Appendix

4



Slide 34: Full Text of Additional Messages

[ISSUES (GENERAL)] Donald Trump is driven by extreme positions that are a danger to our country. We cannot afford the next four years with a president like Donald Trump who promises to be a dictator on day one, promotes political violence, opposes a woman's reproductive freedom, and supports laws that would threaten the right to vote.**

[**BIG OIL CONTRAST**] We need a president who sides with the American people, not their Big Oil donors. Donald Trump put our health in the hands of oil and coal lobbyists, weakening air and water protections while giving them billions in tax breaks. Joe Biden is holding Big Oil accountable for price gouging and is investing in a clean energy economy that has already sparked over 200,000 new jobs.**

[DRILL, DRILL] Fossil fuel companies make hundreds of billions of dollars each year and sell American oil and gas overseas, all while keeping prices at the pump way too high. If Donald Trump gets his way, he will keep us dependent on dirty fossil fuels. As president, he opened up our nation's treasured public lands and coastal areas to increase drilling and mining. Now he promises to 'drill, baby, drill' on day one if reelected.

[UNDOING BIDEN WORK] Joe Biden has done more than any president in our history to address the climate crisis. Biden passed a plan to cut 1 billion tons of carbon pollution by 2030 and triple the production of clean energy to make it more affordable for everyone. Donald Trump is planning to reverse Biden's landmark law, costing us jobs in clean energy and undoing our progress toward a cleaner future.**



Questions? Let's chat…

Lori Lodes

Executive Director lori@climatepower.us

Heather Hargreaves

Deputy Executive Director, Campaigns heather@climatepower.us

Alex Glass

Managing Director, Communications aglass@climatepower.us

Saeed Mousavi Director, Insights & Polling saeed@climatepower.us

