

To: Climate Power

From: Global Strategy Group

Date: April 3, 2024

Re: Nevada Focus Groups Findings

Global Strategy Group conducted four in-person focus groups with Nevada voters March 27th and 28th. The discussions included one group among young men registered voters (ages 18-34), one group among young women registered voters (ages 18-34), one group among Hispanic likely voters, and one group among White swing women likely voters.

The following memo outlines our key findings and is meant as an interim deliverable as we work on drafting the survey.

Key Findings

Political Landscape

Nevada voters are largely dissatisfied with their options for President, leaving many undecided about who they will support, while others are drawn to third-party candidates or considering not voting at all. Those who support Biden are more motivated by the opposition of Trump and keeping him out of office, rather than their satisfaction with Biden. Those supporting Trump say the economy did better under his administration and believe he will do a better job managing it today. That said, most voters express frustration at the prospect of another Joe Biden or Donald Trump administration, grading them both as negative and referring to their option as "the lesser of two evils." Thus, many voters are uncertain about who they will support (roughly a third of the voters we spoke to were undecided), while others choose to abandon both and instead support a third-party candidate or opt out of voting entirely. Notably, dissatisfied younger voters were more likely to opt out of voting – with one non-voter saying, "what's the point?" – while dissatisfied Hispanic and white swing women were more likely to choose third-party candidates (mainly RFK).

- Young men and young women in particular express frustration towards a lack of progress and feel that regardless of who they elect neither candidate will fulfill their promises: "I just want results. I'm tired of the same thing every four years. They tell you all these promises, what they're going to do, and nothing ever changes, and it just keeps getting worse. It's getting worse and worse and worse." -young man
- Hispanic voters and white swing women fixate more on a deterioration of government as an institution with an emphasis on corruption and influence: "The way this country has been going for the last 20 years or so, nobody's really for the people, whether it's Congress or the president, it's all for the people that have billions of dollars. As long as we're not them, it doesn't really matter who we vote for." -Hispanic man
- RFK is boosted by the "Kennedy" name; His supporters don't know much about him or necessarily believe he can win but want to support a candidate that they believe puts the people first: "I think [RFK] is more concerned about people than about himself. They [politicians] all lie, but I think the way he talks, he's more about the people." "I don't think he can win, but I'm voting for him today." "If you have the perspective you need to vote for the only people who can win, then nothing will ever change." -white swing women

As we've seen elsewhere, the economy is top of mind for voters with many holding pessimistic views – though, in Nevada we heard more emphasis on the cost of housing with young voters. Certainly, inflation and the cost of living is a burden that most voters acknowledged, but young voters in Nevada are also worried about how today's economy impacts their future and their ability to build long-term wealth – especially when it comes to housing. Those who feel this way say high home prices and interest rates have priced them out of the housing market, while high rent and cost of living makes it even harder for them to save for those already-inflated homes, and as a result they feel homeownership is unattainable.

Voters across groups want a presidential candidate with the right vision on the economy, but other priorities outside the economy vary by demographic. When asked what traits are most important for a president to have, voters across groups prioritize someone with the right approach on the economy. However, voters' other priorities vary by demographic and correlate with many of the frustrations they expressed earlier in our conversations. For example, young voters – who mention their inability to reach future, long-term goals – also prioritize a candidate who will make the world better for future generations. Meanwhile, voters who initially cite frustration towards corruption and distrust in government – such as Hispanic voters – also prioritize a candidate who puts regular people ahead of the wealthy and big corporations.

• Though climate and clean energy was not a top priority for young or Hispanic groups, it was the top trait among white swing women – with those voters highlighting the importance of stopping rising temperatures and preventing illness as the reasoning behind their choice. Of course, we recruited participants in these groups to have at least some concern about climate, so these results are likely inflated a bit.

Most Important Presidential Trait (Pick Three)	Young men	Young women	Hispanic voters	White swing women	Total			
Has the right approach on the economy	5	5	6	5	21			
Will make the world better for future generations	5	6	1	3	15			
Puts regular people ahead of the wealthy and big corporations	2	3	6	3	14			
Would appoint qualified people to run the government	2	4	3	2	11			
Has the right approach on climate and energy policy	1	2	1	6	10			
Would keep America moving forward, instead of taking us backwards	2	1	2	3	8			
Accepts truth and listens to experts	3	1	1	2	7			
Can get important things done	3	0	3	Ο	6			
Cares about the concerns of younger Americans*	1	2	N/A	N/A	3			
Cares about the concerns of Hispanic Americans*	N/A	N/A	1	N/A	1			
* Indicates a message that was not shown to all groups.								

For top testing items we asked if each described Joe Biden or Donald Trump better and then asked again after our messaging exercises. Those findings are shared later in the memo.

Climate and Clean Energy

Conceptually, Nevada voters do recognize key components of "climate and clean energy" sources and policies, in part due to their firsthand experience with these issues. There was broad agreement across groups that climate and clean energy policy is aimed at mitigating climate change and expanding the use of clean energy. To Nevada voters, this means reducing emissions to lower temperatures and improve health. Solar energy and electric vehicles come to mind first, as many Nevada voters have firsthand experience with this – citing solar panels being something they personally have on their property or are generally aware of new solar farms that are being built nearby. High temperatures and improving public health are seen as the top reasons for what those policies need to address, though others also see a cost savings component – with one voter saying, "My apartment complex, we just got solar panels. And my bill went down to like 40 bucks a month, the whole complex, when we changed over it was a little bit of an issue at first, but solar made everything cheaper for us."

Relatedly, firsthand experience with the negative impacts of climate change positions it as an issue that voters will consider in their presidential vote. In Nevada, many voters are concerned with rising temperatures and recent droughts and attribute those events to climate change. Voters see the impacts and urgency of climate change, with one saying "there's a lack of water and we've never seen that before. That's frightening." Others explain that the issue could influence their presidential vote, though they don't have confidence in either candidate's ability to make meaningful change: "it totally would [influence my vote] if I thought that either of them would put in place any type of policy that would help."

Both Biden and Trump's records on climate and clean energy are poorly defined, leaving many voters unsure about who they are more aligned with.

- On climate, Trump is seen as putting businesses first but not doing active harm. As we saw elsewhere, Trump's business background gives voters the impression that his position on climate and clean energy would put business interests ahead of all else. As one voter put it, when it comes to Trump and climate "it's all about the business... his perspective is from where he stands as a business owner." At this stage (prior to our messaging) voters do not view Trump as someone who would necessarily harm progress or reverse climate protections in support of businesses; They view Trump more as someone who would simply prevent new policies from moving forward if they don't align with businesses interests.
- Biden isn't recognized for having a strong position on climate; Many feel he tows the party line. Biden's party affiliation gives the impression that climate is part of his agenda, though few think he has actually accomplished much of anything on the issue: "When you think about the Democratic Party you just associate it with solar. I think it's just the party. Not really Biden, it's just the party."
- Thus, there is little differentiation on climate and clean energy between the two candidates, even among those who see changes in their communities: "It seems like there's been plenty of programs to get solar on your house and get rebates on it and the government having give backs and stuff. I think it was both Trump and Biden."
- White swing women were more familiar with Biden's record, but feelings were mixed on how they graded that record. When we asked Biden's record on the issue one white swing women correctly cited his rejoining of the Paris Climate Accord, another indicated some knowledge of the IRA, saying he "signed a bill, but don't know what's in it." A push for electric vehicles was also attributed to Biden, but even among these same swing voters who prioritize climate and clean energy, they were not fond

of policies to push EVs – with some explaining that they think the batteries would do more long-term harm to climate than burning fossil fuels.

Senator Jacky Rosen is largely unknown. Jacky Rosen is almost entirely unknown to the voters we spoke with, thus we did not dive into her record on climate and clean energy deeply. What little we heard about Rosen was simply that many assume she aligns with her party on the issue, much like Biden.

Nobody gets a pass on rising gas prices; the President, Governor Lombardo, Congress, and oil companies face mixed (though weak) blame should gas prices go up. When hypothetically asked who they would blame most if gas prices were to rise (between the President, Congress, Governor Lombardo, and oil companies) the initial reaction we got most was "all of them." Voters didn't feel strongly that any one of those groups would be most to blame for rising gas prices, but would likely easily agree that just about any and all of them had a role.

President Biden's Accomplishments

There is almost no awareness of Biden's accomplishments among these low-info voters, but when voters hear about them, they are, for the most part pleasantly surprised – and significantly so:

- "I didn't know he did all that. I'm impressed." -young man
- "I'm proud." -young woman
- "It all sounds good...If I realized all of this, I would've been happier." -young woman
- "Wow this is impressive. I never knew he did all of that." -Hispanic woman
- "I was blown away. In a very good way." -white swing women
- "This changes my opinion of Joe Biden in a positive way." -white swing woman

Voters are most drawn to accomplishments that cite improvements to water, health, and economic benefits. Many of these selections align with the themes we heard earlier in our conversations about climate and clean energy, where voters express concern around drought and access to water, about the health of others (asthma and cancer) – and in our landscape discussions, where the economy and cost of living were top of mind. Here, the accomplishments that reach those issues are seen as Biden's most important accomplishments. We detail more on the reasoning behind this in the next section of findings during Pro-Biden messaging.

- Firsthand experience with water issues, the tangible nature of replacing lead pipes, and the specifics of cancer-causing "forever chemicals" causes the water item to pop. Again, its voters' firsthand experience with poor water quality they say drives appeal for Biden's actions to reduce pollution and replace lead pipes. These accomplishments also seemed more tangible to voters, which helped drive the strength of these items. Similarly, throughout our conversations, voters regularly hone in on items and messaging that list specific diseases based on awareness that people in their community struggle with things like asthma or cancer. In this case, the idea of "cancer-causing forever chemicals."
- These voters already accept that clean energy will bring down energy bills. None challenged the stats that Biden's plan would bring down costs, and when asked directly many were quick to back it up even if they didn't fully understand how it would happen.

Despite broad positive reactions, there was some reluctance to give Biden credit for his accomplishments, especially among young men with some suggesting that this list of accomplishments hasn't "actually done any good" yet and were more just talking points. Others saw them as positive changes but felt that the Democratic party as a whole was more

responsible than Biden himself: "I'm definitely surprised and impressed. But I don't think it was all Biden, I think it was part of the Democratic Party's agenda, of what they were going to do."

The table below includes a list of accomplishments voters were asked to read prior to selecting which three they found most important. As we saw in other research, voters were "pleasantly surprised" by nearly all the accomplishments. Few, if any, knew that Biden had achieved these goals, but they were encouraged by these actions and – outside of young men – most were willing to give Biden credit. We need to continue to stress that these accomplishments are getting done and in motion, as again, voters read much of this content as hypothetical goals rather than things that have actually gotten done.

Most Important Biden Accomplishment (Pick Three)	Young men	Young women	Hispanic voters	White swing women	Total
President Biden passed a law that will reduce pollution in our water by replacing lead pipes across the country and removing cancer-causing "forever chemicals" from water.	5	3	5	4	17
President Biden's clean energy law has already created over 270,000 high-quality clean energy jobs and will create over a million more by 2030.	2	3	3	4	12
President Biden's clean energy law will make energy more affordable to families and cut household energy costs by more than \$1,000 per year.	3	4	1	4	12
President Biden passed a law to upgrade the U.S. electric grid so it can handle much greater use, is able to deliver more electricity from clean sources, and is more resilient to extreme weather.	1	4	2	3	10
President Biden passed a new law to clean up hazardous old oil and gas wells that leak poisonous pollution into our communities.	2	2	5	1	10
President Biden passed the largest ever investment in climate action, which will triple the production of clean energy and cut 1 billion tons of carbon pollution by 2030.	3	2	1	3	9
President Biden took on big oil CEOs by cracking down on price gouging, closing tax loopholes, and calling for an end to taxpayer subsidies for coal, oil, and gas companies.	4	1	2	2	9
President Biden implemented strong new limits on carbon and methane pollution – the two main drivers of climate change, from power plants, vehicles, and the oil and gas industry.	1	2	1	2	6
President Biden established a new Office of Environmental Justice, to make sure communities of color - who have been hurt most by pollution and climate change - receive their fair share of clean energy investments.	2	2	2	0	6
President Biden created the American Climate Corps, a national service program that is training nearly 50,000 younger Americans for clean energy and other climate-related jobs.	1	1	2	0	4
President Biden made record investments in electric vehicles, and now the price of electric vehicles has dropped by \$14,000 in the last year alone.	2	0	0	1	3

Though all groups were drawn to the water/lead pipe accomplishment, other priorities differ across demographics. Young men were the only group to also prioritize Biden's work to take on the oil companies. Young women and swing white women were more drawn to economic items, in particular job growth and bringing down energy bills. Meanwhile, Hispanic voters were most drawn to reducing pollution.

Pro-Biden Messaging

The most compelling Biden positive messaging focused on tangible, comprehensible benefits that impact people today. Large scale efforts to improve climate change didn't necessarily fall flat, but voters in Nevada were particularly drawn to more tangible pieces of Biden's efforts that they believe can easily be measured and will have a more-immediate impact once completed – such as replacing lead pipes. This, in particular, worked well in Nevada as it addressed other concerns we heard with regards to water quality, but also because they believe the benefits of such actions will have an impact as soon as it's implemented.

- One Hispanic voter explained that he was drawn to messaging on lead pipes because the benefits are immediate: "This is something that you can start this instant. It's not like a promise for the future, you can see the change happening."
- Similarly, another young woman expressed the appeal of Biden's action on lead pipes was because it was measurable: "This is something that we as normal people can tangibly see and feel, it's something we're affected by, it's not like saying you did something but not being able to see any proof of it."

Clean air and water is seen as a basic right, which makes environmental justice messaging impactful, but it also showed one skeptic that Biden had made good on campaign promises. One young man – who earlier said he was discouraged by the presidential options because they don't fulfill promises – was drawn to messaging on environmental justice and used the opportunity to commend Biden for making good on a campaign promise, saying "you should have clean air and water no matter where you live. It's not fair that one community has better water than another, regardless of race or anything like that. I remember when he was running this was something he was saying, so it's good that he followed up on that. I remember him talking about how this was important to him, so I like that he stood up and honored one of his promises."

• Others believed that environmental justice messaging shows that Biden "cares about the people," has the right values, and is willing to side with them in this perceived conflict between everyday people and corporate/wealth interests: "I feel like whether low income or high income you all should have the right to have clean water. We all need clean water to survive." Note that the environmental justice message included mention of specific diseases which we earlier highlighted as being impressionable among voters.

Though generally receptive, white swing women were most drawn to what they saw as factual pieces within our messaging and expressed distaste for parts that seemed like "propaganda." As we heard in other groups, health popped because of tangible elements, however, swing women reacted more skeptically to the series of longer-form Biden positive messaging as a whole than to Biden's accomplishments, explaining that it felt too political and was filled with "buzzwords" and "propaganda." While usually this type of critique is one that we typically don't feel is actionable, this voter in particular seemed genuine in her response and actually lead her to pointing at very direct pieces of messages that she DID find appealing – including listing the diseases that climate change impacts: "It goes back to what he's doing, it's not finger pointing, it's what he's doing to correct it. When you start listing the pollutants

and cancer and stuff that's always going to get my attention." We believe it will be important for our messaging to sound more factual in future research.

Persuadable young women – especially those who were undecided or Trump-leaning – cited messaging with economic stats as some of the most convincing: One mentioned "Cutting household costs for me is super important, \$1000 a year, that's pretty good."

Biden Positive Messaging (Pick Three)	Young men	Young women	Hispanic voters	White swing women	Total
[HEALTH]	5	5	5	5	20
[ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE]*	5	6	4	N/A	14
[DROUGHT]	2	4	4	1	11
[LEGACY/CLIMATE]	3	1	0	5	9
[LOWER COSTS]	1	2	4	1	8
[LISTENS]*	3	4	N/A	N/A	7
[BIG OIL]	N/A	N/A	4	1	5
[JOBS]*	N/A	N/A	1	3	4
[AMERICAN CLIMATE CORPS]*	2	2	N/A	N/A	4
[US OIL]*	N/A	N/A	1	2	3
[GRAND SCALE-AOC]*	3	0	N/A	N/A	3

^{*} Indicates a message that was not shown to all groups.

- There is more awareness and support for water-focused messaging, separate from our clean water lead pipes message, the drought messaged also popped and conversations with voters following revealed that while many were low information voters they DID know about Las Vegas' water resources, citing levels in Lake Mead and policy that regulates the Colorado River. To that end, we believe it's worth exploring more Nevada-specific messaging on water in our quantitative research.
- Listening to future generations (and not ONLY experts) is important to young voters: "Being willing to listen to future generations is a huge thing for me. A lot of the time presidents are just focused on their experts and don't listen to the younger generation." -young man
- Voters who selected Grand Scale were not drawn to AOC as a validator, but Biden as a trailblazer: Those who selected Grand Scale-AOC were not drawn to AOC (or even familiar with her) but did like that Biden was recognized as having done more on this issue than any other president in history regardless of who was saying it.

Biden's work negotiating with other members of Congress to beat the Big Oil lobbyists and get the IRA passed emerged as a key piece to changing voters' opinions on Biden. Though not in our guide, at times throughout many discussions, moderators explained to voters that Biden himself had worked to negotiate directly with members of Congress (including those in his own party) to overcome the opposition of oil company lobbyists and get action done on climate and clean energy. This story remarkably resonated broadly, with voters later citing it as a reason for moving towards Biden – but outside that, it helped sooth some of the earlier skepticism that Biden was (1) not deserving of credit because he was delegating to people around him, (2) just towing the party line and not passionate about climate himself, or

(3) doing what any other president – whether it be Obama or Trump – would do. Once, voters learned that Biden himself took on this responsibility, they were quick to give him more credit than before, disregarding earlier sentiments of his absence and earlier concerns about his inability to govern. Further, it helped alleviate many of our disaffected voters who felt neither candidate would fulfill campaign promises.

- "Knowing that he took the initiative and the time to sit down and pressure [politicians] and avoid all the big oil lobbyists, that's impressive." -young man
- "He knows how to roll up his sleeves and negotiate." -white swing woman
- "He took a stand and got it done, instead of just talking about it and nothing ever getting done." -white swing woman
- "I just respect that. You've got conviction, and you want to try to accomplish it. I respect that. Maybe he's less sleepy than I thought." -young man

Anti-Trump Messaging

Negative messaging on Trump left voters appalled and more surprised than we have seen in other similar research. Though many assumed Trump would only support pro-business climate policies, few were familiar with the litany of active steps Trump took to sabotage climate action. That said, while much of this information was new – unlike the Biden positive messaging – there was little skepticism. Nearly all voters found negative Trump messaging to be credible based solely on what they already knew about him. We don't need to convince voters of who Trump is, we just need to communicate on what he did.

Messaging largely reinforced voters' opinions that Trump only looks out for himself. This is in direct contrast to sentiments we heard voters say about Biden following our positive messaging, where many said Biden's record showed he was for "the people". One swing white woman said, "it basically summarizes everything that he did when he was elected... he doesn't care about people. He does not care about people. If he cared about people, then he wouldn't do these things." Another stated, "he's just doing whatever is best for him and his immediate family, and that's all that he cares about."

As part of that, money in the pockets of Big Oil was a huge problem for voters and demonstrated Trump's loyalty to the wealthy and not regular people. To many this squarely positioned Trump as a politician against the people, benefitting corporations and the wealthy – which did not sit well:

- "Zero dollars in federal taxes stands out. The middle class has to pay taxes. They
 have way more money than us, and they laid off thousands of workers. I think it
 should just be fair." -young woman
- "He's not for the people. He's just money hungry. I don't think any president should be that money hungry. Giving Chevron a tax break, he's just gonna kill the lower people and give the money to Chevron?" -young man

Trump's record on environmental justice was appalling to voters – and again, something they found credible once given the information. As one voter recalled, "it just goes to his character...he attacked Latino's out of the gate," in reference to his 2016 campaign which gave credibility to the claims. Young and Hispanic voters were appalled when given the information, saying "he's hurting the poorest of the poor" and "it just shows he's not a fair person." Some also believe his actions were intentional due to his "bias" against communities of color.

Voters' reactions to messaging about Trump governing like a "dictator" and repealing Biden's accomplishments was also concerning. For most, their concerns lie with the fact that Trump would reverse Biden's bill – as many already agreed that the accomplishments in it

were commendable. Further, the story about Biden working with Congress to beat back Big Oil lobbyists made the claim that Trump would simply reverse it all more bothersome to voters: "I feel like all that work that Biden took into getting a law passed and implementing it, ...just to reverse all of that would just be so reckless." As we saw elsewhere, these claims were credible to voters who cited Trump's obsession with money and greed as his motivator: "Even if it's not an initiative you wanted to work towards, at least kind of stick with it and continue with it. It probably has to do with money. It always has to do with money." As we've suggested elsewhere it would be interesting to test a message combining the environmental justice and repeal/dictator frameworks together.

Trump's denial of climate change and refusal to listen to experts drove other concerns: One Hispanic voters stated, "if you're the president in a position of power, you need to be open to experts and not just go contrary to that because that's your belief." Another young voter said Trump calling climate change a "hoax" alone would prevent him from voting for Trump. For many of these voters, this message raises concerns that go far beyond the issue of climate but speak to a much broader, and fundamental, concern about Trump's willingness to deny reality.

Trump Negative Messaging (Pick Two)	Young men	Young women	Hispanic voters	White swing women	Total
[CLIMATE DENIAL]	4	6	4	3	17
[PFAS]	5	6	1	1	13
[LOBBYISTS/ROLLBACKS]	6	1	2	4	13
[REPEAL]	3	3	2	4	12
[BIG OIL]	2	1	4	4	11
[ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE]*	2	5	4	N/A	11
[DICTATOR]*	3	3	N/A	N/A	6
[BACKWARD]	0	0	0	0	0
* Indicates a message that was n	ot chown to	all groups			

^{*} Indicates a message that was not shown to all groups.

Vote Movement & Presidential Traits

We see significant movement towards Biden at the end of our discussions, with roughly half of all voters that we spoke to moving our direction, including four young men (two from undecided to Biden, one from RFK to Biden, and one from not voting to Biden), three young women (two from Trump to Biden, and one from undecided to Biden), four Hispanic voters (two from undecided to Biden, one from Trump to Biden, and one from West to Biden), and five white swing women (three from RFK to Biden, one from undecided to Biden, and one from Trump to Biden). Notably, while some voters remained undecided at the end, none were voting for Trump and twenty were voting for Biden.

• In explaining her change of heart and new support for Biden, one white swing women restated the appeal of Biden's work negotiating on his bill. As stressed earlier, this was a key point that voters repeatedly made – including a white swing woman who said that alone was the basis for moving her vote towards Biden: "He's going in and throwing his weight around, getting the House and the Senate to work on stuff, which is stuff that a lot of us never hear about. [The shift in my vote is] definitely more about Biden than about Trump."

- One Hispanic voter who moved away from Trump to undecided cited economic figures in our positive messaging as her reasoning: "I changed just based on the facts that I saw. I don't have the facts about Trump, but the 270,000 jobs and 16,000 jobs in Nevada really jumped out to me."
- Another Hispanic voter who moved from undecided to Biden was most bothered by Trump siding with Big Oil: "the Chevron part stands out. Trump is obviously putting big corporations first."
- Many of the young women who moved to Biden cite positive messaging on costs as the reason why. Further in the table below we see that while nearly all groups move towards Biden (i.e. saying he has the right approach on the economy vs. Trump), young women in particular saw a huge shift in attitudes here.

<u>Describes More:</u> Has the right approach on the economy									
	Young	g men	Young women		Hispanic voters		White swing women		
	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	
Joe Biden	0	3	1	5	1	2	2	3	
Donald Trump	6	2	5	1	3	2	3	2	
Neither	2	3	2	2	4	4	3	3	

- Outside of costs, when it came to movement on Biden's approach on the economy we heard voters cite both positives and negatives such as Biden "going after big corporations" and Trump "taking money out of my pocket and putting it into other people's." Even if voters have negative views of the economy, they are willing to give Biden more credit if they feel he is siding with them: "He has a better approach on the economy if he's going to be for everybody and not just for the rich."
- While Hispanic voters are most skeptical of Biden putting regular people ahead of the wealthy and big corporations, overall voters move dramatically our direction. Here, one young woman cited the Biden positive on environmental justice and how he is for "low-income people."

<u>Describes More</u> : Puts regular people ahead of the wealthy and big corporations									
	Young men		Young women		Hispanic voters		White swing women		
	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	Before Messaging	After Messaging	
Joe Biden	6	8	2	6	2	3	4	7	
Donald Trump	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ο	
Neither	1	0	6	2	6	5	4	1	

As we saw throughout groups, RFK is a convenient place for voters who see a "lesser of two evils" on the ballot to park for the moment, but their support for him is thin. In groups where RFK was chosen we gave respondents an additional negative on RFK – highlighting his poor record on climate, support from MAGA donors, and recent quotes from him and Trump

about him running a "spoiler" campaign. Across all groups we initially had five respondents who supported RFK, four of whom moved to Biden following these negatives.

• Voters are concerned with RFK's flip flop on climate and ties to Trump. Voters find it concerning that RFK is "totally against the climate" and going back on his previous position on the issue, but they are also quite bothered by the idea that his candidacy is a "spoiler" for Trump – with some questioning if they are working together to sabotage the election.

What stuck with movers?

In our final exercise, voters were asked to write a prompt for why a friend should vote for Biden. Excerpts from answers are detailed below.

Young men who moved to Biden largely focused on Trump's record of setting us back, dismantling climate protections, and handouts to Big Oil.

- Young man (Undecided > Biden): "Hey friend, please keep in mind that when voting this year we need to make sure we have a leader that will set laws into place that will ensure the benefit of our future and not set us back. Thank you."
- Young man (Not Voting > Biden): "Dear friend, A lot of what we've seen on TV and the news is bogus. Most of it is propaganda, when you read on and study and learn about the laws/bills that Biden passed and the ones Trump dismantled it will blow your mind. Health and clean water should be a human right, think about our kids!"
- Young man (Undecided > Biden): "Remember all the taxes we paid after trading our time and work. Trump makes huge companies pay none."

Young women who moved our direction focused more on Biden – specifically his commitment to helping people (no matter their race, income, etc.), improving our environment, and passing his climate law.

- Young woman (Undecided→Biden): "When voting I personally would choose Biden. He is more for everybody no matter what race, color, income. He is also for gay community, and doesn't think abortions should be banned. Biden cares about the younger generations, and is big on climate and energy change."
- Young woman (Trump→Undecided): "Joe Biden has been trying to take steps in a better direction with clean energy and trying to better things for the next generations. He hopefully will help get rid of some of the pollutions that affect all of us."
- Young woman (Trump>Undecided): "I would suggest highly to look into the laws and what Joe has implemented into climate change and clean energy in his time in office. It seems he listens to the concerns of us fellow Americans and that is truly important."

Hispanic voters cited how Biden will improve our future, listen to us, clean our environment, and create jobs. One Third-Party voter moved on the basis of not giving the election to Trump.

- Hispanic voter (Undecided→Biden): "Hey we should vote for Biden he's making things change for the future. I was thinking to vote for Trump but I change my mind. After I read all the info it makes me think a lot."
- **Hispanic voter (West-)Biden):** "We need someone like Biden that is going to hear us. Let's not throw off the numbers and vote Blue all the way through."
- **Hispanic voter (Trump-)Undecided):** "Hey, I just wanted to inform you about all the great things Biden is doing for the American people. He's cleaning up our environment by getting rid of things that are toxic for us and replacing them with new material. In

doing this he is also creating new jobs for the American people. Hope we can get you to vote for Biden."

Two white swing women repeated Biden's work in Congress negotiating his climate deal (despite it not being written in any of our materials).

- White swing woman (Trump-) Undecided): "By working diligently with Congress, Joe Biden was able to shut down the lobbyists and pass a very impressive climate package. Opening doors to a better future with healthier living, major job opportunities, and proposed lower costs for everyone."
- White swing woman (RFK→Biden): "Please take a moment to do some fact checking. I learned that Biden has accomplished so much for our environment and creating new energy jobs. He really does care about families and makes a difference. I think he deserves a 2nd chance to continue collaborating with Congress and states to make positive changes. Look up clean energy bills, lead pipe replacements, and more. It is worth it!"
- White swing woman (RFK→Biden): "Biden is the way to go. He has focused on clean energy and has accomplished many things you need to read about before voting. Clean energy, big corporations taxed."
- White swing woman (Undecided > Biden): "Cleaner air bright future for kids better jobs lower energy. Trump is all against us having to breath better."

Themes repeated back to us most in our final exercise included:

- 7x: Biden improving health through cleaner air and water.
- 7x: Biden caring about the good of the common people.
- 6x Biden creating new clean energy jobs
- 6x Trump helping Big Oil companies, while Biden cracks down on them

Questions to Explore in Future Research

In the survey we will build on these findings and quantify the strength of messaging across the groups. Some specific questions that we want to explore further include:

- How do we best tap into voters' existing assessment of the economy and their own personal finances to communicate more effectively on the economic benefits of Biden's plan? How much emphasis should we put on job growth vs lowering costs? If it's about costs, what cost savings are most appealing to voters? Further, how do we best discuss those savings (for example, voters find \$1,000/year in saving appealing though most think of their energy bills monthly and even repeat back to us that it's roughly \$100 per month).
- Can we quantify how much exposure to Biden's accomplishments on climate and energy move the needle on important overall perceptions of the president? In the survey, we'll want to test perceptions of Biden before and after messaging to see how successful we are at moving those perceptions with our messaging. And we should plan on using a regression analysis to explore which of those perceptions are the biggest drivers of voting for Biden.
- How do we best demonstrate Biden's active role in passing his climate law? Further, who is our best foil? Big Oil, lobbyists, gridlock in Washington, or a mix? How do we best integrate the story of Biden working behind the scenes negotiating to

get his bill passed without sacrificing core substantive components of our message? And is it more effective to take on Big Oil CEOs, lobbyists, inaction in Washington – or as we suspect – is it a combination specific to different types of vote targets.

- **Do toned-down positive messages work?** As mentioned previously, we wouldn't give much weight to critiques that our messaging was too "political," as this is something voters often say because they don't like the underlying points made in the message. However, the voters who felt this way here were receptive to Biden positives overall, so we feel their critique may be more genuine. We'd like to explore message testing that removes what they described as "buzzwords" to see if they test similarly, or better.
- Can we expand on water issues and make our messaging more specific to Nevada? As mentioned earlier, water was a clear priority for many voters we spoke to. They had firsthand experience with poor water quality at home, they were more aware of Nevada's water crisis and recent droughts and recognize climate and clean energy's role in improving this. Throughout these conversations we heard more specifics than most other conversations, and we should explore ways to insert those Nevada specific items (even if we're just naming locations like Lake Mead) to strengthen our water messaging.
- Does Trumps' record of giving Chevron tax breaks pop as much in quantitative? Voters were clearly bothered by this finding in particular, and it did well to create contrast on the economy with Biden, but does that hold? And if so, can we strengthen negative Trump messaging by elevating his siding with companies like Chevron over regular people, or find new ways to get similar messages across?

Appendix

Biden Positive Messaging (Full Text)

[LEGACY/CLIMATE] Joe Biden understands that we have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for future generations, that's why he passed and signed into law the largest climate and clean energy law in history, building a 100% clean energy economy and cutting the carbon pollution that is disrupting our climate in half by 2030.

[HEALTH] Joe Biden understands that pollution from dirty energy sources is putting the health of our families at risk. That's why he doubled down on clean energy, strengthened the Clean Air and Water Acts, and passed a law to replace 100% of the lead pipes still in use across America. Biden's actions will dramatically reduce the sulfur, arsenic, and mercury pollution that causes asthma, heart and lung disease, and even cancer.

[LOWER COSTS] Our dependence on oil, coal, and gas means that Big Oil CEOs make record profits by gouging us, but Joe Biden is changing that. The cost of wind and solar energy is already cheaper than coal and gas, and it continues to drop. Biden passed a law to triple the production of clean energy which will save American families \$38 billion on electricity and cut household energy costs by more than \$1,000 per year.

[DROUGHT] Joe Biden has taken bold action to help Nevada tackle the effects of climate change and protect our water resources. Biden's law allocates funding to help Nevada mitigate climate-driven drought and improve and protect the long-term sustainability of the Colorado River – which supplies Las Vegas with 90% of its water.

FOR YOUNG GROUPS ONLY: [GRAND SCALE-AOC] Alexandria Ocasio-Cortrez says that Joe Biden has been "one of the most successful presidents in modern American history" because Biden has done more than any other president to address climate change. Biden set the most ambitious goal to reduce carbon pollution and backed it up, passing the largest climate and clean energy law in history. He rejoined the Paris Climate Accord and brought

other countries together to secure the first-ever global pact with a unanimous agreement to transition away from fossil fuels.

FOR YOUNG GROUPS ONLY: [AMERICAN CLIMATE CORPS] Joe Biden knows that tackling the climate crisis requires investing in young Americans and building the climate workforce of the future. That's why he launched a new climate job program training over 40,000 young Americans for high-quality, good-paying jobs in the clean energy sector, opening pathways to careers that make our communities fairer, more sustainable, and more resilient.

FOR YOUNG GROUPS ONLY: [LISTENS] Joe Biden listened and delivered for young Americans by treating climate change like the existential threat it is. Since day one, Biden acted with urgency to protect future generations – working with top scientists and experts to develop meaningful plans, passing the most ambitious climate agenda in history, taking on corporate polluters and putting a pause on some of the oil & gas industry's most dangerous projects. Biden is willing to listen to younger generations, and now we are finally starting to see progress in combatting the long-term threat of climate change.

FOR YOUNG AND HISPANIC GROUPS ONLY: [ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE] Joe Biden understands that communities of color and low-income communities have paid the highest price for our dependence on dirty energy sources in the form of polluted air and water and greater levels of asthma, cancer, and birth defects. That's why, in his first week in office, Biden launched the most ambitious environmental justice agenda in history to clean up pollution in these communities and make sure that everyone, regardless of race, income, or ZIP code, has clean air and water.

FOR HISPANIC AND WHITE GROUPS ONLY: [US OIL] Under Joe Biden, U.S. oil and gas production is at an all-time high, gas prices are down 32% from their post-pandemic peak, and, according to JP Morgan, the U.S. has achieved energy independence for the first time in 40 years. But Biden knows the future is clean energy, which is why he has also made record investments to shift the U.S. to affordable, efficient clean energy in the long-term – to reduce energy prices further and protect our environment.

FOR HISPANIC AND WHITE GROUPS ONLY: [JOBS] Joe Biden's clean energy law is already giving our economy a much-needed boost. In just over a year since Biden's law passed, companies around the country have announced over 500 new clean energy projects that will create over 270,000 new good-paying jobs - including nearly 16,000 in Nevada – most of which don't require a college degree.

FOR HISPANIC AND WHITE GROUPS ONLY: [BIG OIL] Joe Biden took on the Big Oil CEOs who are gouging us at the pump by ending their special tax loopholes and fighting to eliminate taxpayer giveaways to oil and coal companies. Biden set new limits on methane pollution from oil and gas companies and is making record investments in clean energy to break Big Oil's stranglehold over our energy future.

Trump Negative Messaging (Full Text)

[LOBBYISTS/ROLLBACKS] We have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for future generations – but as president, Donald Trump put climate deniers and former oil and coal lobbyists in charge of protecting our environment. They immediately went to work rolling back more than 100 environmental safeguards and allowing corporate polluters to pump more toxic pollution and chemicals into our air and water, putting the health of our families at risk.

[CLIMATE DENIAL] Our leaders have a duty to listen to our nation's most respected experts, but even though 99% of scientists, NASA, and the Department of Defense all agree that climate change means a future filled with increased storms, extreme heat, and water shortages, Donald Trump has insisted that climate change is "a hoax" and even says that the sound from wind turbines "causes cancer."

[PFAS] When Donald Trump was president, he opposed plans to clean up toxic, cancercausing "forever chemicals" contaminating our water, including chemicals found near military bases. Trump repeatedly rejected legislation to remove these chemicals from our

water – and even created loopholes that allowed certain corporate polluters to avoid disclosing how much of these chemicals they release into the environment.

[BACKWARDS] The U.S. clean energy industry is booming, but Donald Trump would take us backward – keeping us dependent on dirty energy sources and foreign oil imports from Russia and Saudi Arabia while allowing China to dominate clean energy in the 21st century. Trump wants to repeal the investments in clean energy that are putting the U.S. on course to be the world leader and, instead, increase drilling on our public lands.

[BIG OIL] The Trump administration gave oil and coal companies hundreds of billions in tax breaks, which allowed companies like Chevron to pay \$0 dollars in federal taxes while paying their CEO more than \$30 million and laying off thousands of workers. Now, Trump wants to do it all over again – despite Big Oil making record profits and gouging us at the pump.

[REPEAL] If Donald Trump gets re-elected, he would repeal Joe Biden's climate and clean energy law on day one of his presidency and kill Biden's climate and clean air regulations. Trump said he would use his second term to "drill, drill, drill" and his advisors have already made a plan to destroy the EPA.

FOR YOUNG AND HISPANIC GROUPS ONLY: [ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE] Black and Latino communities have been subject to environmental racism for decades, poisoned by higher levels of toxic pollution and dirty air. Yet, when he was president, Donald Trump and his corporate polluter allies rolled back dozens of environmental protections and allowed Big Oil and Coal CEOs to spew more pollution into communities of color. Now, if he wins, the same environmental protections are at risk again.

FOR YOUNG GROUP ONLY: [DICTATOR] When Donald Trump was president, he refused to listen to anyone with a difference of opinion. Now, Trump says he would be a "dictator" on "day one." It is clear that if Trump is elected our environmental protections are at risk – including gutting the Environmental Protection Agency, ending energy efficiency standards, and exiting the Paris climate deal.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. Negative Messaging (Full Text)

Kennedy used to be a lead activist in the environmental community, but he abandoned those efforts to focus on conspiracy theories. Like Donald Trump, Kennedy rejects the scientific consensus that climate change is mainly caused by carbon pollution. Like Trump, Kennedy opposes efforts by the federal government to expand clean energy, even though clean energy means more jobs, lower energy bills, and less pollution. And, like Trump, Kennedy has had financial ties with Big Oil companies. So, it's no wonder that Trump's biggest funders are also funding Kennedy's campaign. They know that Kennedy can't win but that he CAN help Trump win by pulling votes away from Joe Biden. That's why Trump said, "I love that he's running," and that Kennedy is "great for MAGA." Kennedy even admitted this himself, saying "our campaign is a spoiler."