



The 2024 Election in Pennsylvania: Climate & Clean Energy Messaging

Online survey of 1,007 registered voters in Pennsylvania, including oversamples of 300 18-34 voters, 201 Black voters, and 576 swing voters

Fielded April 26-May 1, 2024

**CLIMATE
POWER**

Key Takeaways—Electoral Landscape

1

The presidential race in Pennsylvania is close and highly competitive. Trump has gained new and disaffected voters since 2020, but the race is still quite **fluid**. Many voters are open to changing their minds and move toward Biden after messaging.

2

Contrast messaging on climate and clean energy moves Pennsylvania voters toward Biden by 8 percentage points. Both positive-Biden and negative-Trump messaging are crucial for this degree of movement. The contrast results in key gains among swing voters and younger voters, and it solidifies support from Black voters.

3

Many Pennsylvania voters are unaware of Biden’s climate and clean energy achievements, with only one in four convinced that he has taken strong action. However, positive messaging significantly boosts favorable perceptions of Biden, including a notable 10-point improvement among young voters who believe Biden is listening to the needs of younger Americans.

4

Pennsylvania voters do not realize the depth of harm Trump caused during his first term or adequately understand the serious threat his reelection poses, perceiving him as indifferent toward environmental issues rather than actively hostile. They believe he favors big businesses, but overlook how that harms everyday Americans.

Key Takeaways – Messaging Guidance

5

We need to increase the volume and frequency of Biden’s achievements in clean energy and reducing pollution. Pennsylvania voters recognize the benefits of clean energy, but their limited awareness about recent state-level and local improvements generates skepticism. More frequent and visible messaging will build credibility about Biden’s tangible impacts.

6

The strongest climate and clean energy case for Biden focuses on lowering energy costs, job growth, and protecting public health from air and water pollution. Voters need ongoing and tangible evidence of progress in these areas. Energy costs emerge as a top voter concern in the state; showing how Biden’s efforts will reduce energy costs for consumers is a critical message to convey.

7

Voters in Pennsylvania express concerns about the loss of coal jobs and its impact on workers. They want to see support for displaced coal workers. Union households particularly favor the term ‘renewable’ over ‘clean’ to avoid stigmatizing people who work in ‘dirty’ energy sectors.

8

The case against Trump is strong and impactful, particularly messages that emphasize threats to drinking water from fracking and his close ties to corporate polluters who harm vulnerable communities.

Messaging Recommendations

1. Maintain a persistent drumbeat of positive news about Biden's local impacts. Given voter cynicism, seeing **visible, concrete results is crucial**. Leverage local earned media to enhance visibility and credibility.

2. Building on top of Biden's positive news, we need to increasingly focus on **contrasts** as we get closer to Election Day. Pennsylvania voters need to hear about Biden's accomplishments and ongoing progress while also hearing about Trump's destructive record and the threat he poses if reelected.

3. Highlight three key areas to strengthen Biden's climate and clean energy narrative:

- **Affordability**: tripling clean energy production to make it more affordable to families, projected to save Americans \$38 billion;
- **Job growth**: creating 271,000 good-paying clean energy jobs with more jobs to come, spurring \$875k million in investments in PA;
- **Public health**: protecting clean air, clean water from harmful pollution, replacing 100% of lead pipes.

Messaging Recommendations

4. Show how Trump favors **corporate polluters** at the cost of **Pennsylvanians' health**.

- He would roll back protections on drinking water by **weakening fracking regulations** and would allow corporations to dump dangerous chemicals into vulnerable communities;
- Linking Trump's actions to state issues (like fracking) and affected communities (e.g., Braddock) heightens their significance and resonance with voters.

5. To solidify the base, especially younger women and Black voters, tie Trump's climate denialism to a **broader narrative about his political extremism**. He is dangerous to our country across the issues, evidenced by his denial of climate change, and his attacks on democracy and reproductive freedom. Highlighting these connections emphasizes the broader dangers of a second Trump term.

Research goals and methodology

Research goals

- Understand how climate and clean energy influence Pennsylvania voters in the presidential election
- Determine voters' priorities and concerns related to climate and clean energy
- Explore what voters know about Biden's and Trump's records and priorities on climate and clean energy
- Identify the most effective climate and clean energy lanes for building support for Biden

Phase 1: Focus groups

Three focus group discussions fielded April 2-4, 2024

- Climate voters ages 18-34 (in person, Philly)
- Black voters under age 50 (in person, Philly)
- White suburban swing voters ages 30-60 (online)

**We screened out climate deniers, people who had already made up their minds to definitely vote for Biden/Trump, and strong Republicans*

Phase 2: Online survey of 1,007 registered voters in PA

Sample includes oversamples:

- 18-34 voters (300 interviews)
- Black voters (201 interviews)
- Swing voters (576 interviews)

Fielded April 26 to May 1, 2024

A note on the survey sample design

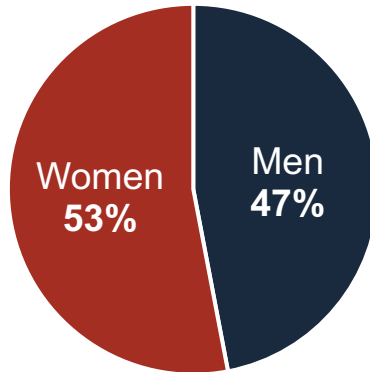
We chose to sample registered voters rather than likely voters intentionally for several key reasons.

1. **Expansive picture of the electorate.** Fielding the survey in April, we wanted to capture a broad and inclusive snapshot of the electorate. At this stage, many groups that are critical to our strategy have not yet engaged with this election. These groups include younger voters, people of color, and those who might feel disaffected or uncertain about their participation in November.
2. **Understanding and engagement.** By sampling registered voters, we are hearing from all potential voters, not just those who currently report that they are likely to vote. This inclusivity allows us to better understand the concerns, motivations, and potential barriers faced by infrequent and disengaged voters. Engaging these groups is crucial to our efforts to mobilize and persuade them to turn out for Biden.
3. **Strategic flexibility.** While our primary goal is to be expansive, we retain the flexibility to analyze subsets of our data, such as those who currently report that they are definitely or probably likely to vote. This allows us to make targeted strategic decisions based on a comprehensive understanding of the electorate and not just likely voters who tend to skew older, whiter, and more conservative.

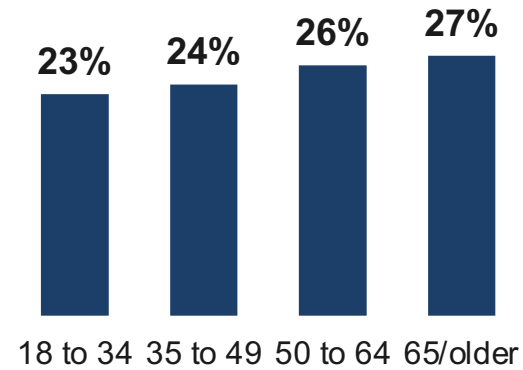
Methodology and profile of the survey sample

- Online survey of 1,007 registered voters in Pennsylvania
- Sample includes oversamples:
 - 18-34 voters (300 total interviews)
 - Black voters (201 total interviews)
 - Swing voters (576 total interviews)
- Margin of error: $\pm 3.09\%$ for the full sample, higher for oversamples and subgroups

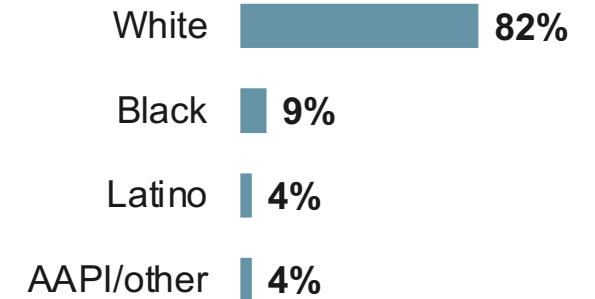
Gender



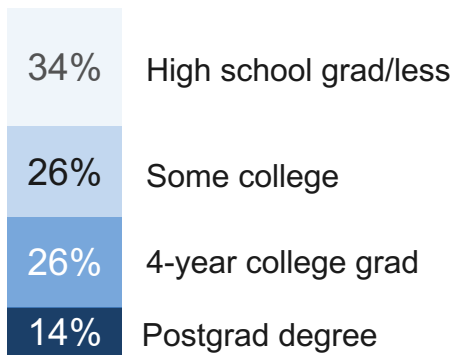
Age



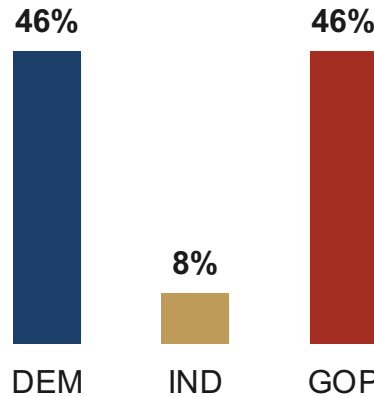
Race



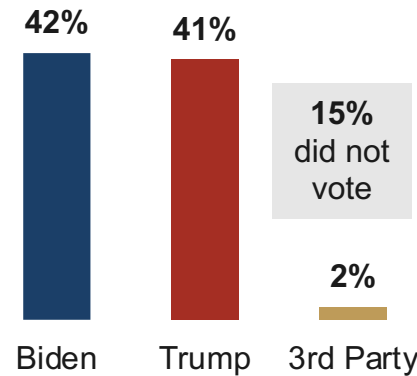
Education



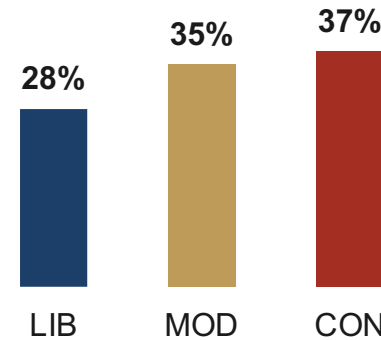
Party ID



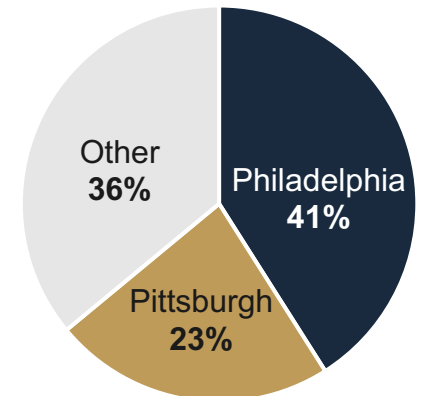
2020 Vote



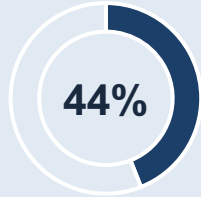
Ideology



Media Markets



Context: Key targeting subgroups

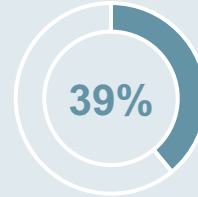


Swing voters*

These voters are disproportionately:

- 35-49-year-olds
- Do not consider politics to be important to their identity

**identify as either leaning Democrat/Republican or completely independent, and leaning liberal/conservative or moderate.*

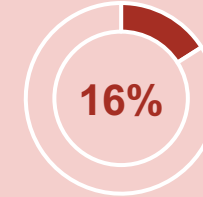


Persuadable voters*

These voters are disproportionately:

- Women
- 35-49-year-olds
- Outside Philly/Pittsburgh media markets

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



Potential Biden defectors*

These voters are disproportionately:

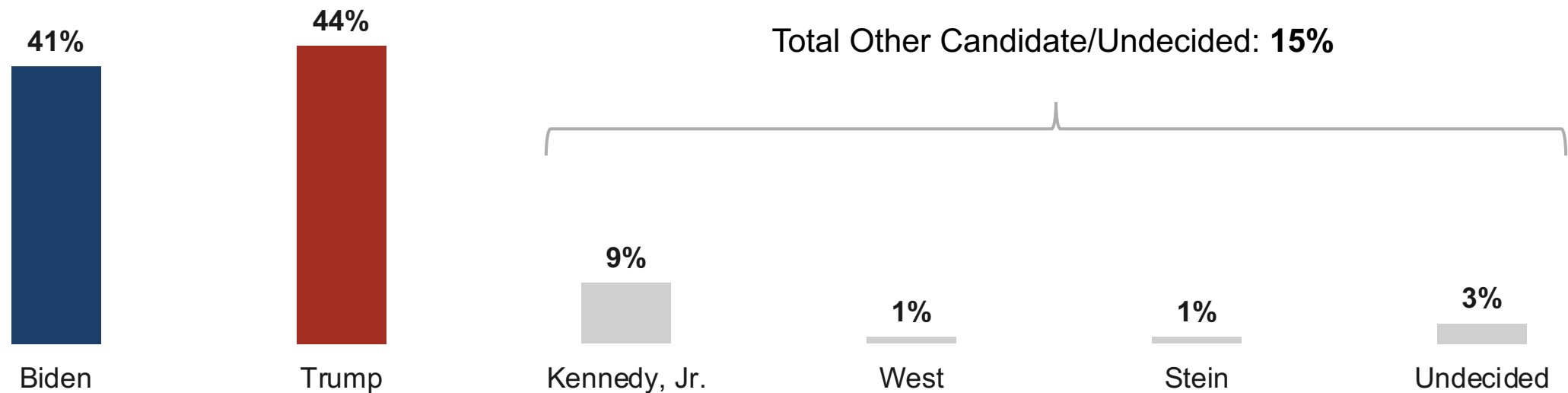
- 18-34-year-olds
- Noncollege
- Small town/rural
- Outside Philly/Pittsburgh media markets

**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.*

The presidential race in Pennsylvania remains malleable. While Trump has made gains among key audiences since 2020, messaging effectively shifts voter preferences back to Biden.

President Biden trails by three points in the multi-candidate trial heat in Pennsylvania — within the margin of error.

Which candidate would you be the most likely to vote for in the 2024 election for president?

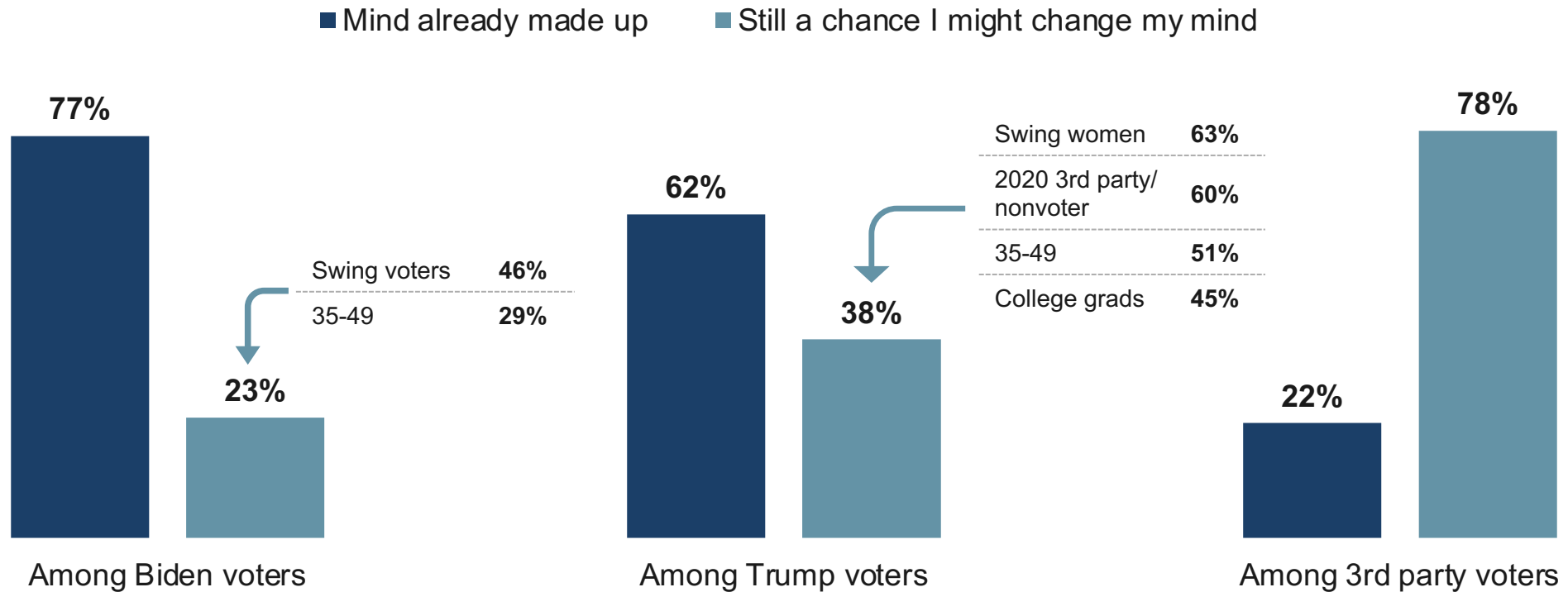


Biden has mostly maintained his level of support since 2020 while Trump has gained new votes among swing, younger, and Black audiences.

	2020 vote (self-report)			2024 multi-candidate vote			2024 two-way vote		
	Biden	Trump	3 rd party/DNV	Biden	Trump	Other	Biden	Trump	Will not vote
All voters	42	41	17	41	44	12	46	50	4
Core Democrats	88	1	11	90	3	6	94	4	2
Independents/leaners	33	32	36	27	37	28	39	48	13
Core Republicans	2	90	8	4	90	6	5	95	0
Swing men	40	36	24	37	44	17	41	52	6
Swing women	34	39	27	30	41	21	39	54	6
White voters	38	46	16	37	48	13	42	55	4
Black voters	76	7	17	69	16	10	78	18	4
18-29	35	28	38	37	36	22	45	44	11
18-34 men	33	36	31	34	46	18	38	53	9
18-34 women	45	21	35	43	28	22	54	38	8
Union household	43	38	19	41	46	12	45	51	4
Philadelphia MM	52	35	13	50	37	10	56	41	3
Pittsburgh MM	41	39	20	41	43	12	46	49	5
Other MM	31	49	20	30	53	14	35	61	4

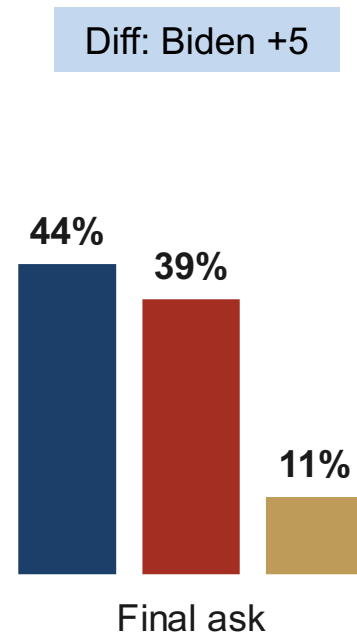
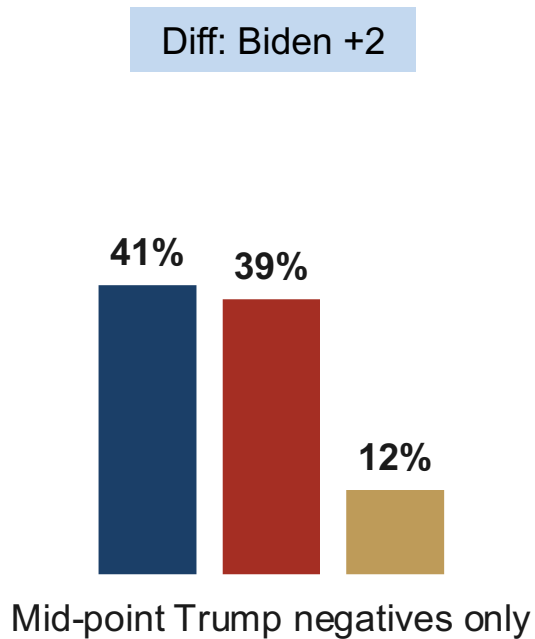
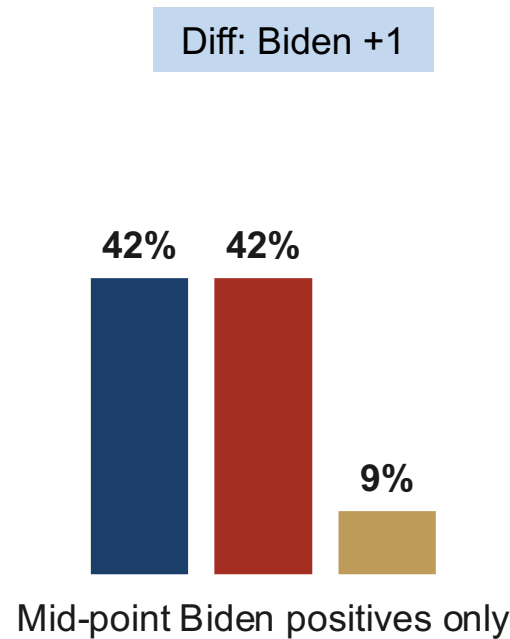
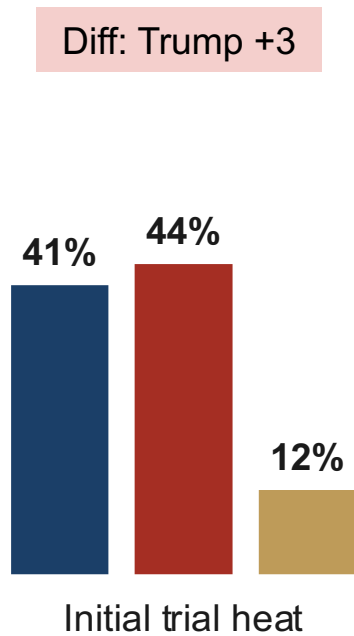
Trump and 3rd party voters are more likely to say they might change their mind than Biden voters.

2024 MULTI-CANDIDATE VOTE: Would you say that your mind is already made up to vote (Biden/Trump/3rd party) or is there still a chance you could change your mind and vote for someone else?



After hearing both Biden positives and Trump negatives, Biden moves from a 3-point deficit to a 5-point advantage.

■ Joe Biden ■ Donald Trump ■ Other candidate



There is movement across all key subgroups, including with younger voters, swing voters, union households.

	Initial trial heat			Final trial heat		
	Biden	Trump	Differential	Biden	Trump	Differential
All voters	41	44	-3	44	39	+5
Core Democrats	90	3	+86	92	2	+90
Independents/leaners	27	37	-9	34	29	+5
Core Republicans	4	90	-87	7	87	-80
Swing men	37	44	-7	41	38	+3
Swing women	30	41	-11	33	33	0
White voters	37	48	-11	40	44	-4
Black voters	69	16	+53	75	14	+61
18-29	37	36	+2	47	31	+16
18-34 men	34	46	-13	42	40	+2
18-34 women	43	28	+15	52	23	+29
Union household	41	46	-5	45	38	+7
Philadelphia MM	50	37	+14	53	34	+19
Pittsburgh MM	41	43	-2	44	40	+4
Other MM	30	53	-23	35	45	-10

Voters do not give Biden enough credit for his accomplishments as president, while also failing to recognize the harm Trump caused in his first term *and* the threat he poses if reelected.

In initial benchmark questions, just over half of voters accept our key assertions about Biden and Trump. We need to strengthen these perceptions among key target groups.

PRE-MESSAGING METRICS:

Please indicate how true you think each of these statements are.

■ Definitely true ■ Probably true

As president, Donald Trump would roll back important protections for clean air and water.



Joe Biden has taken strong action to address and combat climate change and expand clean energy.



Donald Trump prioritizes profits over people, while Joe Biden puts people first.



Total True %		
Swing voters	Persuadables	Potential Biden defectors

51 48 54

50 48 37

44 39 33

Before seeing messages, fewer than half of younger voters believe Biden is listening to their needs and concerns.

PRE-MESSAGING METRICS AMONG 18-34-YEAR-OLDS
 Please indicate how true you think each of these statements are.

■ Definitely true ■ Probably true

As president, Donald Trump would roll back important protections for clean air and water.



Donald Trump prioritizes profits over people, while Joe Biden puts people first.



Joe Biden listens to the needs and concerns of younger Americans.



Joe Biden has taken strong action to address and combat climate change and expand clean energy.



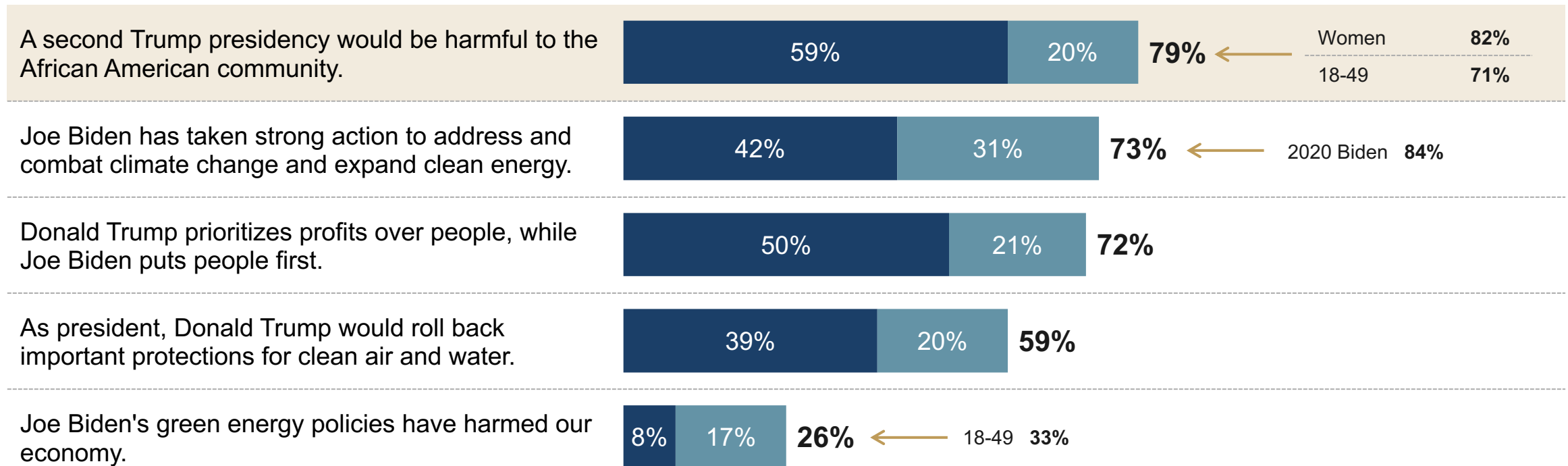
Joe Biden's green energy policies have harmed our economy.



Black voters are already convinced of the damage that Trump could cause to their communities and reject the argument that Biden's policies have harmed the economy.

*PRE-MESSAGING METRICS AMONG BLACK VOTERS:
Please indicate how true you think each of these statements are.*

■ Definitely true ■ Probably true



A key challenge is correcting the misconception among target voters that Trump is merely indifferent to environmental issues—we need to demonstrate his active hostility.

“I have heard Joe Biden talk about clean energy, but I have never heard Trump utter those words.”

- Voter ages 18-34

“I think he’s just going to be about generating revenues. I don’t think he’s gonna have much of a concern for the environment.”

- Swing voter

“In Pennsylvania, Trump always talks about bringing coal and steel back. In the end, he is going to do what is best for business. I didn’t see anything change under Trump...I don’t really think he had an impact.”

-Swing voter

Note: Qualitative insight from analysis of focus groups.

Pennsylvania voters can name very little or nothing about Biden's climate and clean energy achievements. Addressing this knowledge gap is crucial for demonstrating his effectiveness.

The limited knowledge they do have is vague and lacking substance, and even those who believe Biden wants to make progress question his effectiveness. Voters are also unaware of clean energy growth in Pennsylvania.

"I think Biden has said some things like in his jobs package, he probably says clean energy, but I haven't witnessed any difference."

- Voter ages 18-34

"I don't think they're taking it serious enough to actually start putting protocols in place to start to change anything pertaining to global warming...I feel like they can do a bit more about reform."

- Black voter

"I feel like he is kind of very slowly tried to move in a more green direction, but then he also sort of walks it back with other things."

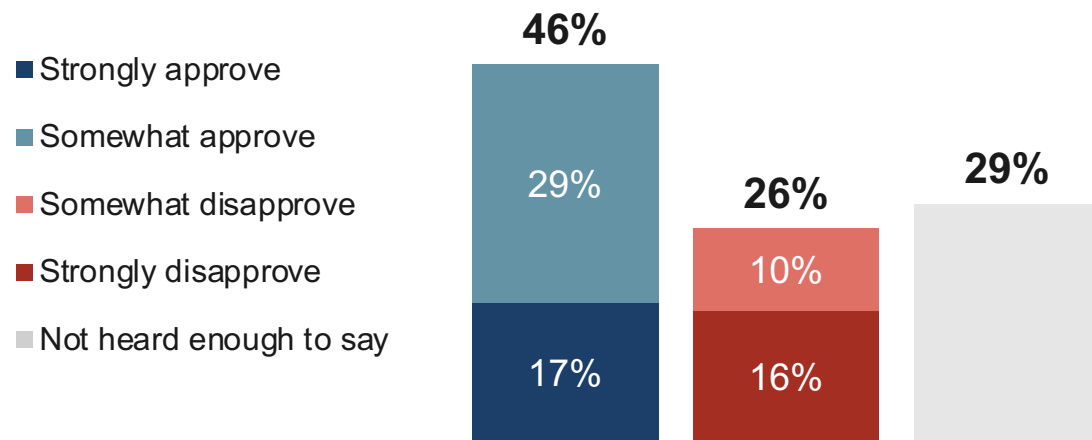
- Swing voter

"I think that the President can influence that type of change [regarding climate policy]. He [Biden] definitely does have an influence in that area. But it's been talked about for so many years, and I don't really see a change."

- Voter ages 18-34

Pennsylvanians who have heard of Biden’s clean energy plan are favorable—we need to turn up the volume and frequency of our clean energy messaging rapidly in the state.

From what you know about Biden’s clean energy plan, do you approve or disapprove of it?



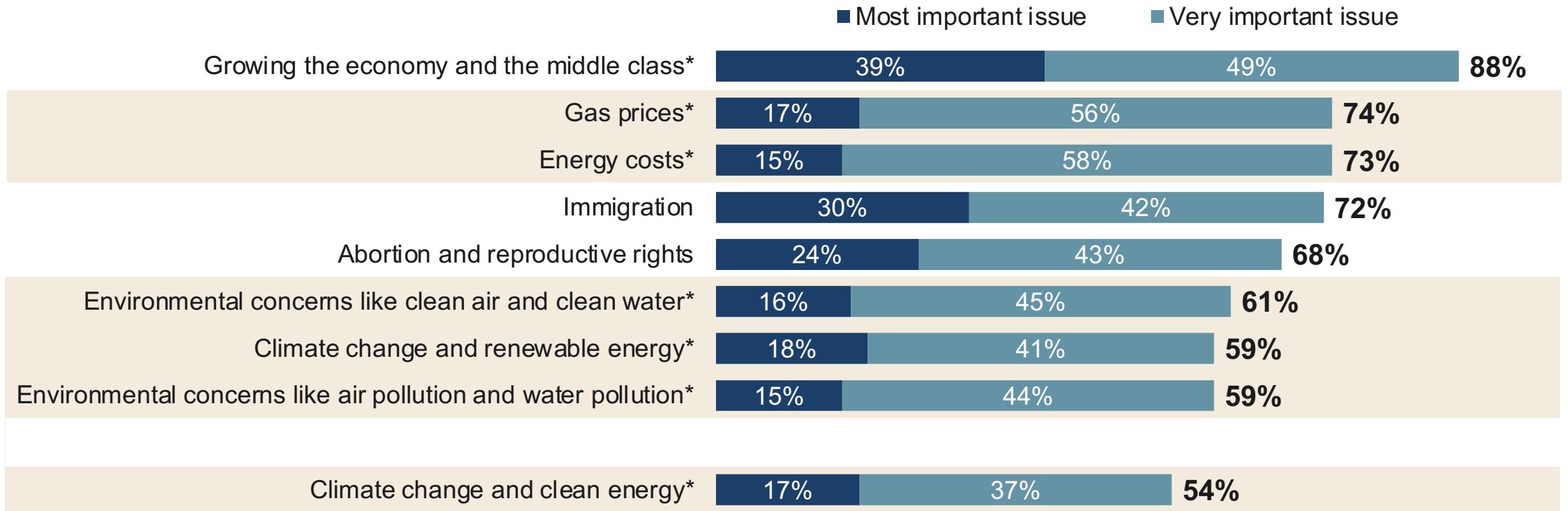
50% of Pennsylvanians have heard a lot (11%) or some (39%) about the plan.

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Not heard %
All voters	46	26	29
Swing men	49	28	23
Swing women	33	20	47
Black voters	69	6	25
18-29	47	16	36
18-34 men	48	22	30
18-34 women	45	12	42
Union HH	49	22	28

**The economy is a top priority for 2024 voters.
We need to clearly communicate how Biden's
clean energy economy is generating
economic growth and lowering energy costs
in Pennsylvania.**

Our issues will be a battleground in this election—particularly when it comes to energy and costs.

Thinking about voting in the 2024 presidential election, how important will each of the following issues be to your vote?



**Asked of one-half the respondents*

Economic impacts of climate change and clean energy are especially important for our target voters.

Most/very important issues in the 2024 presidential election

	Swing voters	Black voters	18-34 voters	Persuadables
Growing the economy and the middle class*	89	92	91	88
Gas prices*	74	73	66	72
Energy costs*	68	78	63	72
Immigration	71	71	64	70
Abortion and reproductive rights	64	85	74	67
Environmental concerns like clean air and clean water*	58	85	63	55
Climate change and renewable energy*	57	73	66	58
Environmental concerns like air pollution and water pollution*	58	76	72	58
Growing the number of good-paying union jobs*	50	80	73	55
Climate change and clean energy*	51	71	63	48

**Asked of one-half the respondents*

Pennsylvania target voters recognize the impact of climate change and want to see progress.

Voters emphasize wanting to see **concrete progress from leaders, not just talk**. Voters bring up **holding corporate polluters accountable** without prompting, and they become more emotionally engaged when discussing protecting the environment for **future generations**. They criticize the focus on individual actions and responsibility, stressing the need for **significant changes from corporations**.

*“I just feel like it's hard to fathom the importance of climate change, just because it seems like it's a long term issue, you know, it's gonna affect us in 10 years, 20 years, whatever. But realistically, it does severely impact all of us... **I'm thinking about kids, too, in the future. Do I even want to bring a kid into this world...?**” - 18-34-year old*

*“I see the damage that fossil fuels are doing. I want to help. But I'm barely paying my bills...you know, **we end up paying for it because the business owners aren't paying for it.**” - Black voter*

*“I think we hear politicians talking about it on both sides, but **there's really no focus on doing anything really for the environment right now.** It's top of mind because there needs to be something **we leave behind to our kids and grandkids and all that.**” - 18-34-year old*

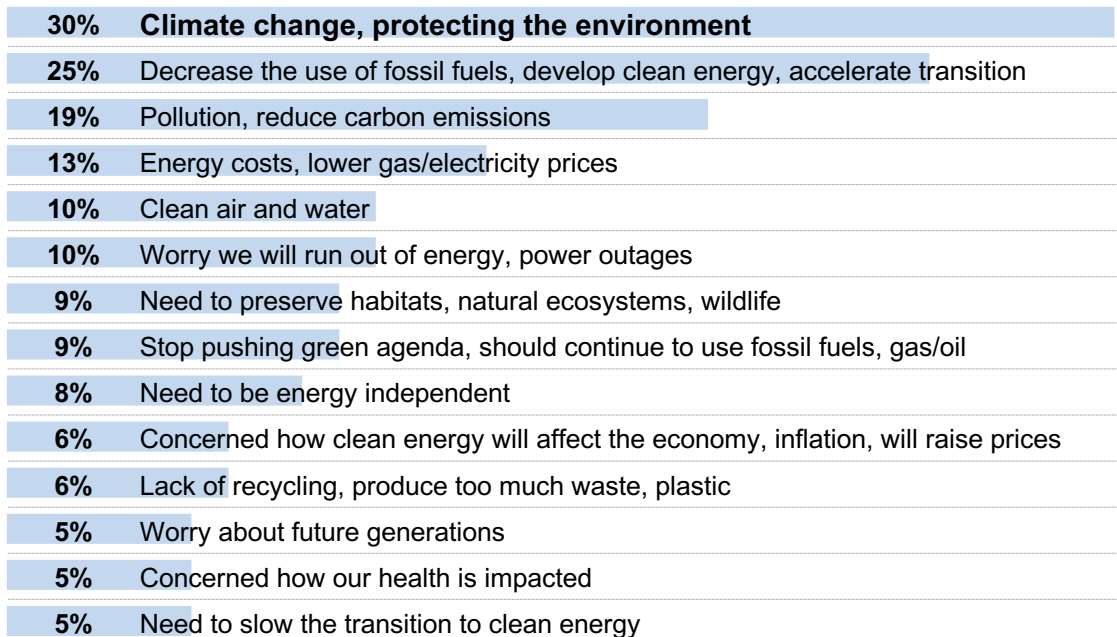
*“When it comes to climate change, **I don't think the pressure should be on regular civilians. I think the pressure should be on mass corporations,** who are like producing so much waste...the fumes that come out from those factories...**Maybe that's where we should start the conversation.**” - Black voter*

Climate change tops voters' volunteered concerns about energy and the environment—for Pennsylvania specific issues, energy costs rise to the top.

What are the most important issues related to energy and the environment [include in half the sample: in Pennsylvania]?

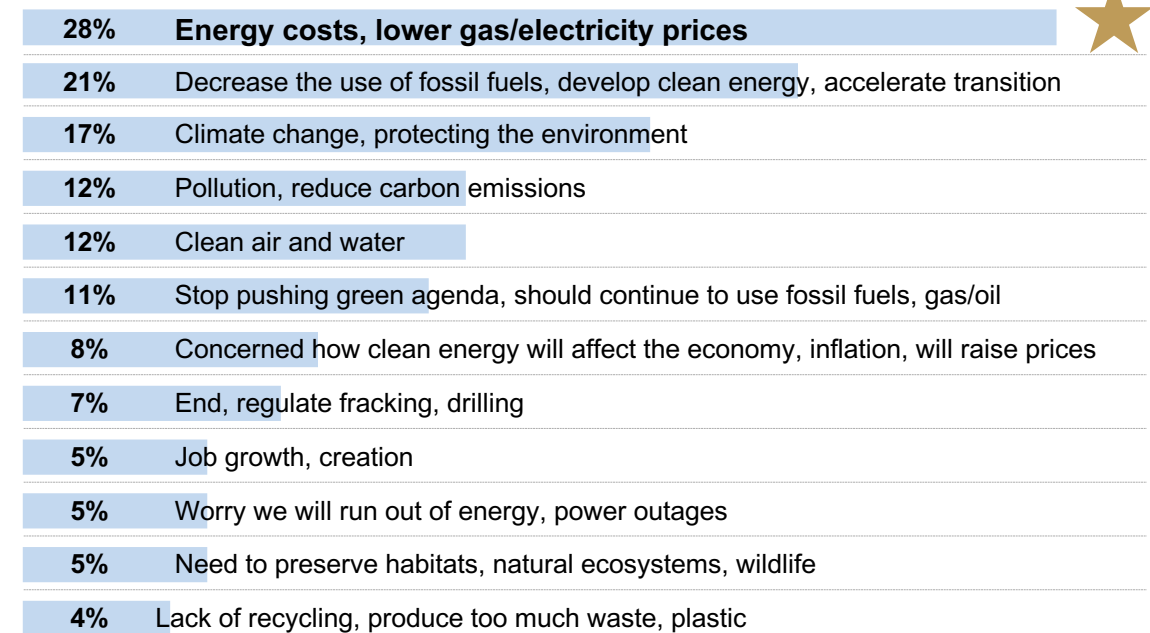
General

(Half of participants got this question without reference to PA)



Pennsylvania-specific

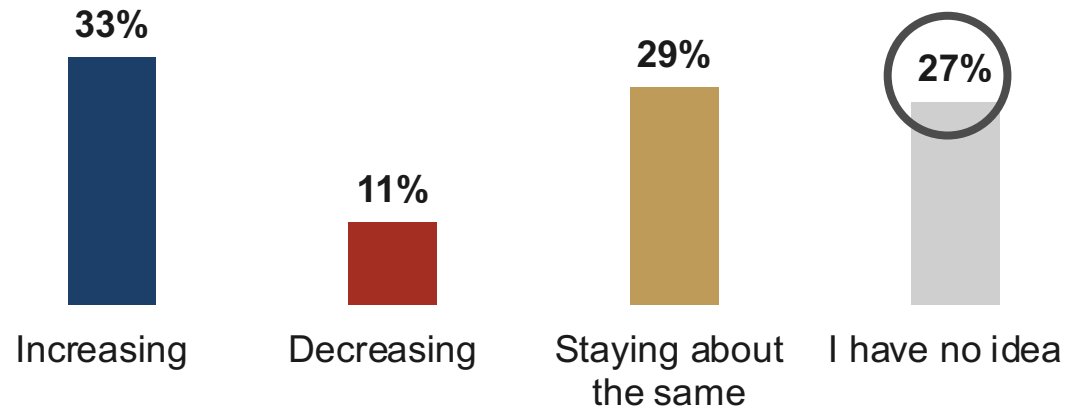
Half of participants got this question specifically in reference to PA



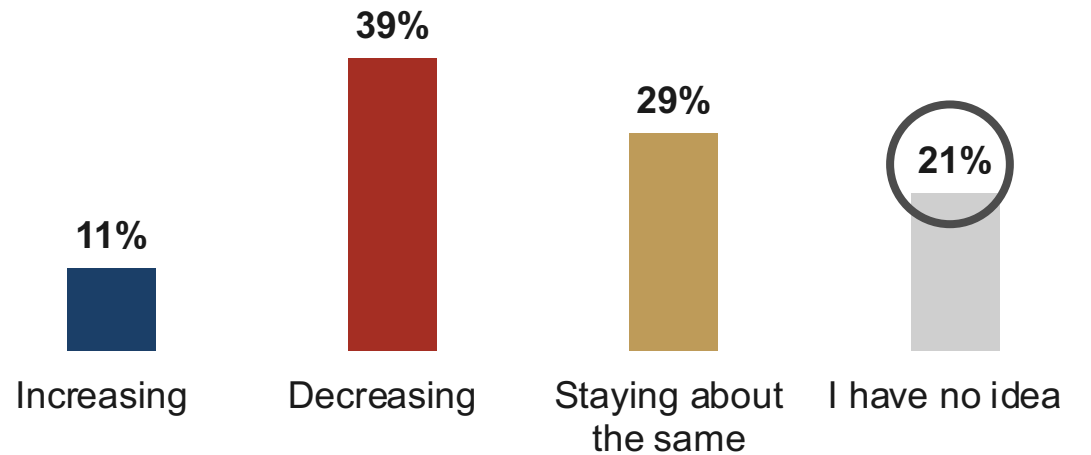
Pennsylvanians support clean energy but need to see evidence of job growth locally in their state. We must highlight this progress while addressing concerns about coal workers by advocating for robust support for struggling communities.

There is an awareness gap around the growth of clean and renewable energy jobs in the state.

*Do you believe the number of **clean energy jobs** in Pennsylvania is increasing, decreasing, or staying about the same?*

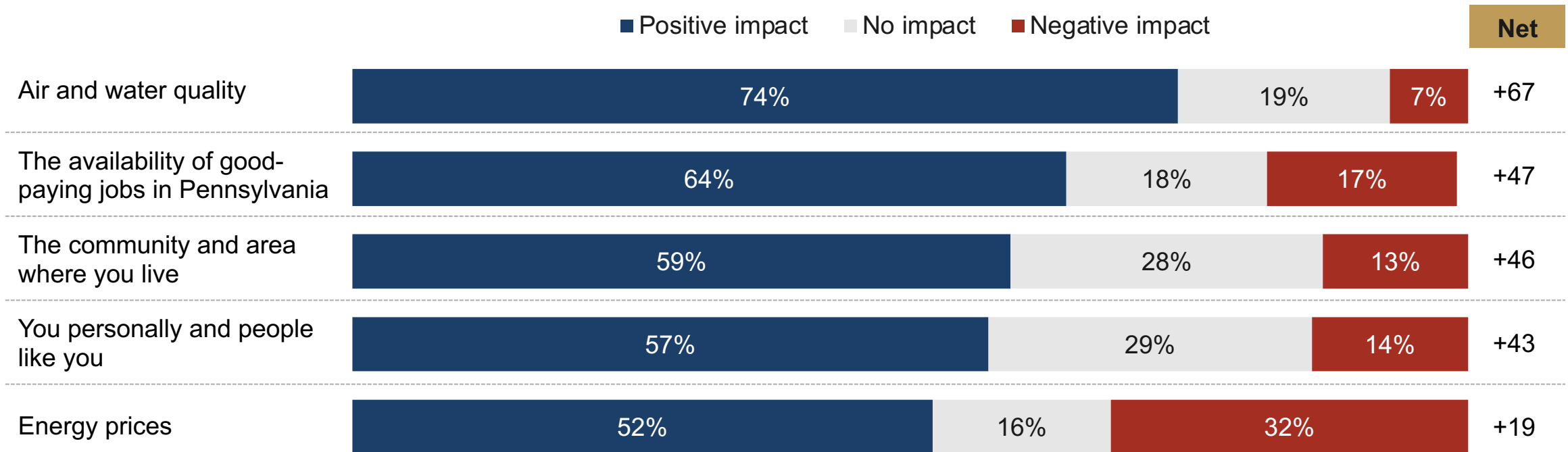


*Do you believe the number of jobs in Pennsylvania in the **fossil fuel industry** – including oil, gas, and coal – is increasing, decreasing, or staying about the same?*



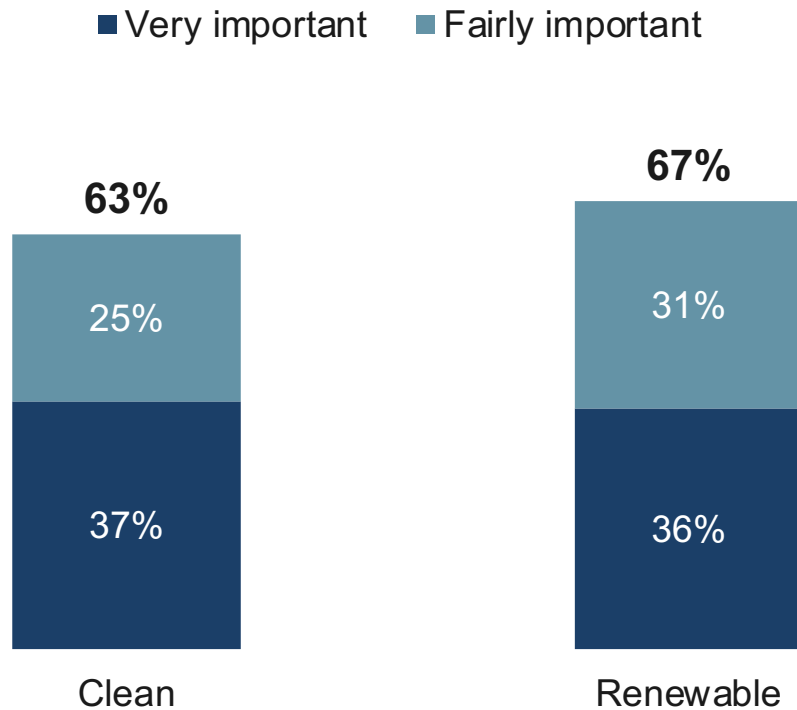
Pennsylvanians anticipate positive impacts of increasing clean energy in the state on both the environment and them personally.

What kind of impact do you believe increasing the use of clean energy in the state of Pennsylvania would have on each of the following?

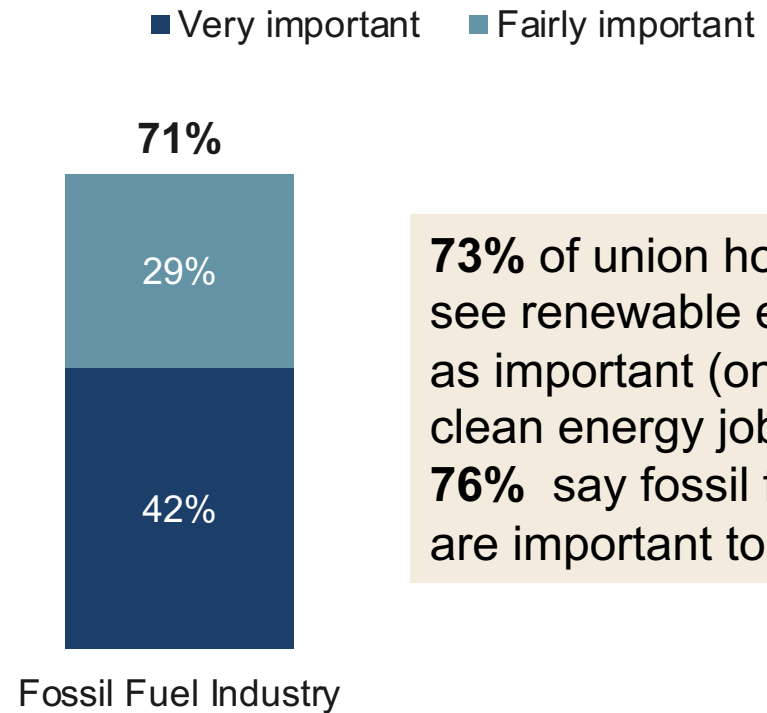


Pennsylvania voters value the economic benefits of clean and renewable energy—at the same time, they maintain a strong belief in the importance of fossil fuel jobs to the state’s economy.

How important are (*clean/renewable*) energy jobs to the state of Pennsylvania?



How important are jobs in the *fossil fuel industry*, including oil, gas, and coal jobs to Pennsylvania?



73% of union households see renewable energy jobs as important (only 59% for clean energy jobs) and **76%** say fossil fuel jobs are important to the state

To succeed in Pennsylvania, the transition to clean energy must consider both the cost of transitioning to clean energy and the impact of the loss of coal jobs on real people.

*"I would rather emphasize the positive rather than thinking of dirty, like **I don't want people to think that their jobs are "dirty"**, you don't need to use that word."*
- Swing voter

*"[Coal] jobs are very important to PA, it's a lot of our economy So, that might be a drawback for me, like **how do we keep people employed...?**"*
- Black voter

*"I would really love to see a large federal investment in Pennsylvania so that people can move from things like coal mining to real jobs in clean energy. There are a lot of people in Pennsylvania that have been forgotten and left behind...**I think that coal is dirty, but I also think that we can't just allow these communities that existed to be abandoned where everything closed.** People that have these well-paying jobs can get trained to do well-paying jobs in clean energy...They can raise their families, they can own a home, and they're not working in a dirty industry."* - Swing voter

*"I do think that **a lot of times the federal government leaves them [coal workers] behind...** Trump talked a big game about how he wants to invest in these communities, but he didn't do anything."* - Black voter

Note: This insight is from analysis of focus groups.

The strongest climate and clean energy case for Biden focuses on affordability and lowering energy costs, job growth, and public health. Voters need ongoing and tangible evidence of progress in these areas.

For Pennsylvania voters, Biden’s actions to improve clean air and water, increase clean energy jobs, and lower energy costs resonate the most.

GETTABLE VOTERS*:

Importance of different things Biden has done while in office on the environment and climate change

		% Total Important
Health	Joe Biden understands that pollution from dirty energy sources is putting the health of our families at risk. That's why he's making sure all communities have clean air and water. Pennsylvania has received millions to reduce harmful air pollution and \$200 million to improve Pennsylvania's water infrastructure. And Biden passed a law to replace 100% of the lead pipes still in use across America.	86 (49% very important)
Jobs/PA Investments	Biden's clean energy plan alone has already created more than 271,000 new good-paying jobs in communities across the country by investing in American-made clean energy like solar and wind power, with many more jobs to come. In Pennsylvania, new projects have already spurred \$875 million in investments, creating good-paying clean energy jobs across the state.	84 (48% very important)
Lowering Energy Costs/ Affordability	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 electricity bills. Pennsylvania will receive almost \$260 million for a Home Energy Rebate Program and low-income households could save an average of 53% on home energy bills when upgrading to energy efficient appliances.	83 (47% very important)
Jobs/ Total Money	Biden's clean energy plan alone has already created more than 271,000 new good-paying jobs in communities across the country by investing in American-made clean energy like solar and wind power, with many more jobs to come. As of 2023, Pennsylvania has received over \$5.5 billion from the Clean Energy Plan, creating good-paying clean energy jobs across the state.	83 (47% very important)
Extreme Weather	Joe Biden believes climate change is making extreme weather events more frequent, more severe, and more costly. That's why he's taking on Republicans and fossil fuel interests to fight for our future. He's investing in strengthening our infrastructure in Pennsylvania, such as upgrading bridges and flood prevention projects, to better prepare the state for anything that comes our way.	81 (46% very important)

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

(Cont.) All messaging on Biden's positives resonates with at least three-quarters of voters.

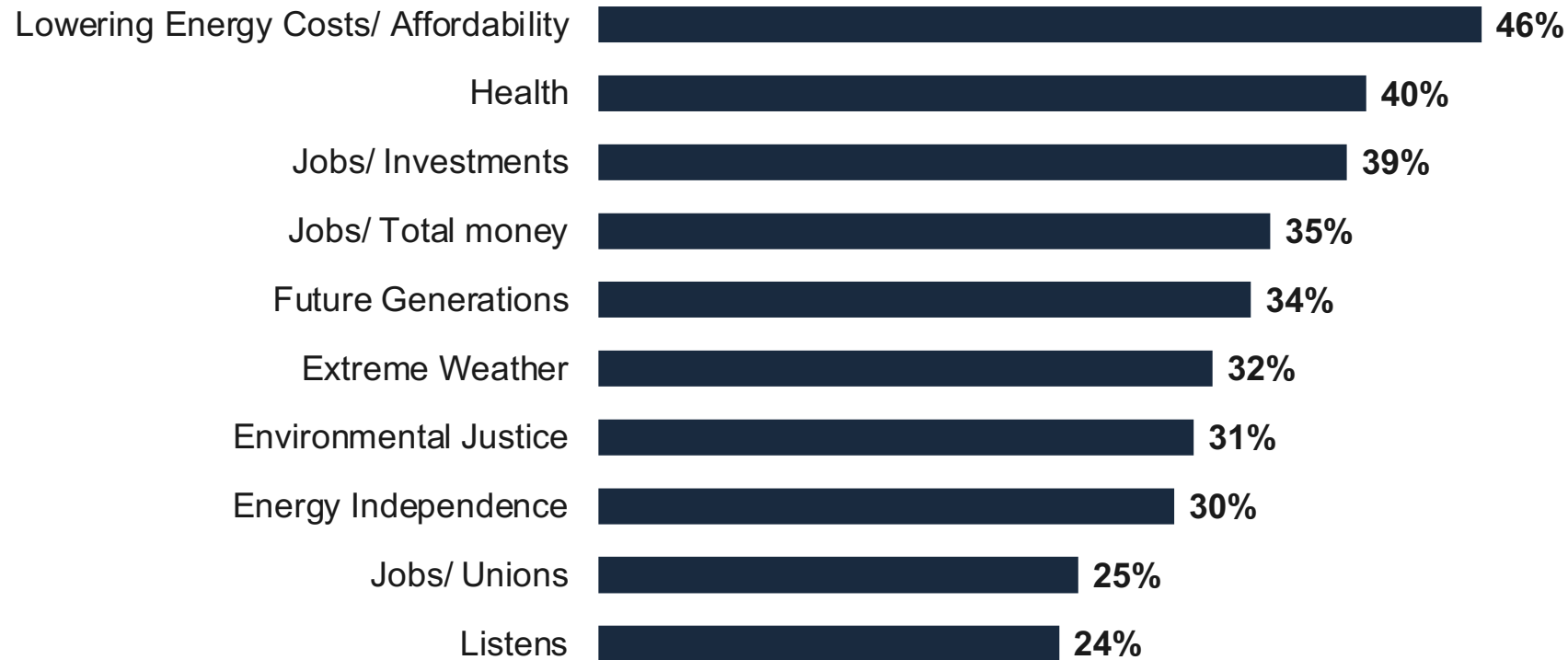
GETTABLE VOTERS*:

Importance of different things Biden has done while in office on the environment and climate change

		% Total Important
Environmental Justice	Joe Biden launched the most ambitious environmental justice agenda in history to make sure that all communities have access to clean air and water, are protected from the impacts of climate change, and get their fair share of clean energy jobs. Pennsylvania has already received over \$32 million to support historically underinvested neighborhoods in Philadelphia and across the state.	81 (45% very important)
Future Generations	Joe Biden understands that we have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for future generations. That's why Biden's climate plan is so meaningful; it reduces pollution today so our kids can breathe clean air tomorrow. For example, the plan allocates \$40 million to 11 Pennsylvania school districts to buy environmentally friendly school buses to protect kids from harmful toxins.	76 (43% very important)
Energy Independence	Joe Biden believes that investing in homegrown clean energy like wind and solar power is the best path to energy independence. Biden's Clean Energy Plan sparked \$875 million in new investments in clean energy creation and storage in Pennsylvania, and the plan is projected to bring over \$270 million more in investments to the state by 2030.	81 (42% very important)
Jobs/Unions	Joe Biden is one of the most pro-union president in U.S. history, and he understands the importance of investing in manufacturing clean energy technologies here in America. That's why his clean energy plan is focused on creating good-paying union jobs, especially for workers without college degrees and in communities hit harder by outsourcing.	77 (42% very important)
Listens	Biden is listening to younger generations, and now we are finally making real progress in the fight against climate change. Since day one, Biden acted with urgency--working with top scientists and experts--to develop meaningful law, passing the most ambitious climate agenda in history, taking on corporate polluters and halting some of the oil and gas industry's most dangerous projects.	75 (41% very important)

When Biden positive messages are ranked against each other, the strongest performing message emphasizes lowering energy costs for Pennsylvania families.

GETTABLE VOTERS: Ranked by top 3 most important*



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

Affordability and lowering energy costs, clean energy investments, and health are top-testing messages for many target groups.

GETTABLE VOTERS*: Top 3 most important things Biden has done for the environment and climate change

Swing men	Swing women	Persuadables	Potential Biden defectors
Jobs/PA investments (44%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (46%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (46%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (43%)
Health (42%)	Jobs/total money (41%)	Health (43%)	Health (40%)
Lowering energy costs/affordability (39%)	Jobs/PA investments (40%)	Jobs/PA investments (41%)	Future generations (39%)

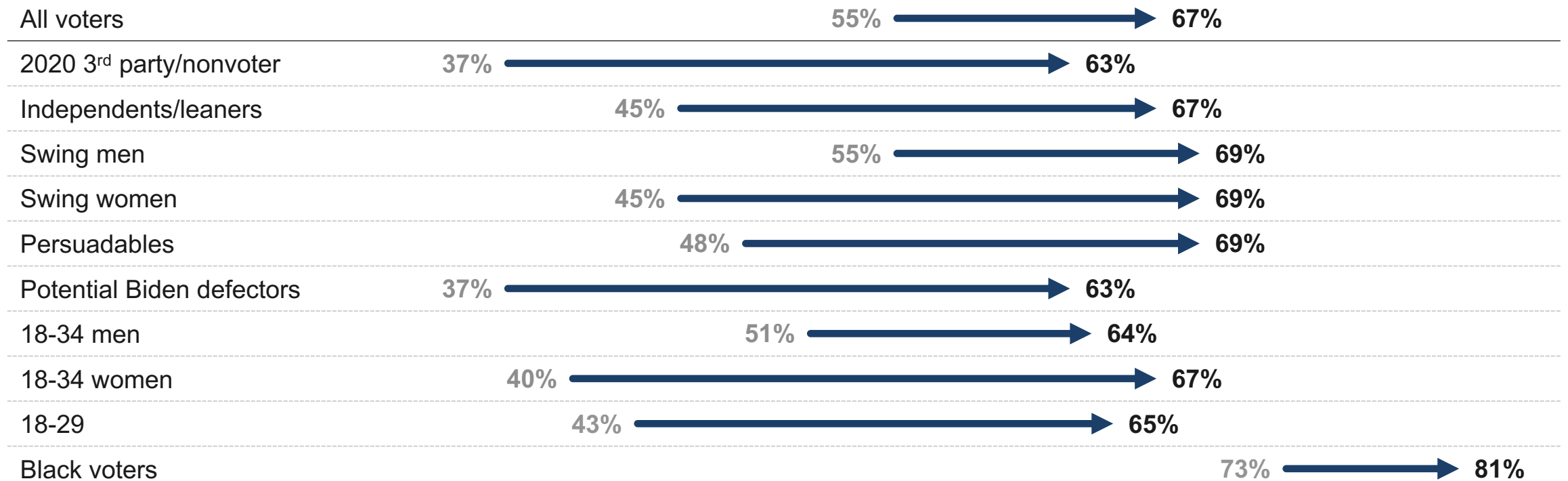
18-34 men	18-34 women	Black voters	Union households
Lowering energy costs/affordability (62%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (47%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (49%)	Lowering energy costs/affordability (49%)
Health (39%)	Jobs/total money (39%)	Jobs/PA investments (44%)	Health (43%)
Extreme weather (36%)	Future generations (38%)	Health (34%)	Future generations (37%)

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

**Messaging improves positive perceptions of
Biden's effectiveness and impact.**

After messaging, there is significant improvement in the perception that Biden has taken strong action on climate and clean energy.

“Joe Biden has taken strong action to address and combat climate change and expand clean energy.” Movement to True
Initial → Final



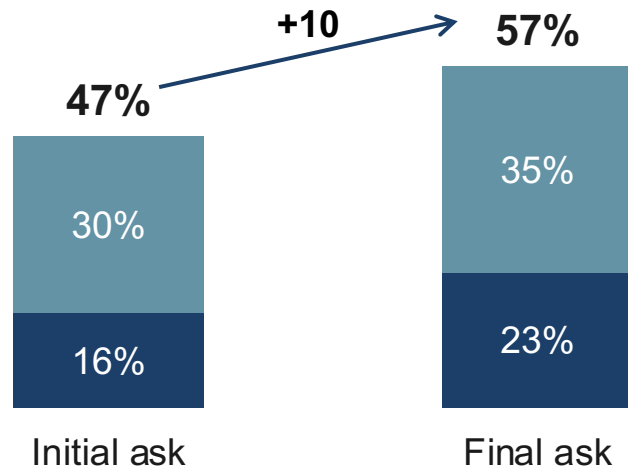
After messaging, a majority of younger voters believe Biden listens to their needs and concerns—marking a 10-point improvement.

(Among 18-34-year-olds) Please indicate how true you think each of these statements are.

■ Definitely true

■ Probably true

Joe Biden listens to the needs and concerns of younger Americans.



	Initial ask %	Final ask %
All 18-34	47	57
Men	47	54
Women	47	61
White voters	44	56
Voters of color	54	60
Noncollege	43	54
College	53	62
18-29	46	55

Seeing is believing: to increase credibility of positive messaging about Biden's achievements, voters want to personally see or hear about the direct impacts around them.

- The localized focus of these arguments is a double-edged sword: it increases relevance while also evoking skepticism about why they have not encountered these developments in their own communities.
- There will need to be a conscious effort to make these achievements known through consistent earned media. Voters need to hear a steady drumbeat of news about Biden's achievements in addressing climate change and increasing clean energy. **These target voters suggest that local media outlets, local elected leaders, and environmental organizations would be the most trusted messengers for sharing this information.**

"It sounds like it is meaningful but if we haven't heard about it, is it meaningful? I would have liked to have heard about this elsewhere."

- Voter ages 18-34

"I'm sure he did pass all these things, but I don't see the evidence."

- Voter ages 18-34

There is a strong and impactful case to make against Trump: we need to emphasize threats to drinking water from fracking and Trump's close ties to corporate polluters who harm vulnerable communities.

Our strongest messages against Trump highlight his willingness to endanger our health and pollute our water in favor of corporate fracking interests, followed by his political extremism.

GETTABLE VOTERS*

MAXDIFF: Concerns of above average importance against Donald Trump

Clean Water Fracking	Trump would put our drinking water at risk by reducing key clean water regulations on fracking. These protections are essential to protect communities from toxic waste, hazardous chemicals and heavy metals associated with fracking, which have been linked to childhood leukemia and premature deaths in older adults.	142.9
Multi-Issues Extreme	Trump's denial of climate change is just another example of how extreme and dangerous he is. We cannot afford 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 the planet.	132.6
Environmental Justice	During Trump's first presidency, he let corporate polluters dump dangerous chemicals into vulnerable communities. He rolled back restrictions on pollution, which led to significant health risks in low-income communities and communities of color in areas like Braddock, home to the Edgar Thomson Steel Plant, where there is an epidemic of childhood asthma cases.	111.7
Record	Trump has, by far, the worst environmental record of any president in U.S. history. The Trump administration weakened or wiped out more than 100 environmental protections, including protections that stop polluters from releasing toxic chemicals--like carbon, mercury, lead, and arsenic--into the air we breathe and water we drink.	108.4
Investment Progress	Clean energy manufacturing is booming in Pennsylvania, with \$270 million pledged for new investments in clean power generation and storage by 2030. But if Trump wins, he would halt progress, just as he did when he was president by taxing solar energy and creating hurdles for renewable energy projects.	107.0
Costs	With cost-of-living expenses at an all-time high, Trump's policies would increase profits for Big Oil CEOs and corporate executives rather than decrease costs for working families. His short-sighted policies would continue to put these companies first, leaving working Americans vulnerable to energy insecurity and high costs, squeezing already tight budgets.	105.6

(Cont.) Other messages about Trump are not as important in Pennsylvania.

GETTABLE VOTERS*

MAXDIFF: Concerns of below average importance against Donald Trump

Dangerous Future	Trump's return to the White House would bring an all-out war on climate science and policies. 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 agencies like the EPA to prioritize drilling for oil and gas over protecting public health.	99.1
Big Oil Funders	Trump is joined at the hip with oil billionaires. He appointed Exxon's former CEO and oil and coal lobbyists to lead federal agencies, resulting in drastic rollbacks of environmental and public health protections. Now Big Oil is funding Trump's campaign and offering to pay his legal bills because they know he will keep padding their profits.	92.2
Big Oil Taxes	Trump took millions in 2016 from Big Oil donors and put their interests ahead of the American people. The Trump administration gave oil and coal companies hundreds of billions in tax breaks, while companies like Chevron paid \$0 in federal taxes, paid their CEO more than \$30 million, and laid off thousands of workers.	85.7
Climate Denier/PA	Trump is a climate denier, and he has called climate change a 'hoax' and a 'con job'. But during his presidency, Pennsylvania saw 16 separate billion-dollar disaster events that killed 106 people and caused \$40.3 billion in damages. Trump's refusal to accept the science endangers Pennsylvania and the country.	77.6
Climate/Fact Denier	Trump refuses to accept facts and reality, prioritizing his self-serving fiction over the country. He is a climate denier, refusing to listen to scientists, health and national security experts. He began his political career with the 'birther' lie about Obama and continues to spread lies about the 2020 election.	74.6
Extreme Weather	Trump's refusal to address the threat of climate change would leave Pennsylvanians exposed to the worsening impacts of extreme weather, like Hurricane Isaias in 2020, which caused dangerous flooding and power outages for thousands of Pennsylvanians and millions of dollars in damage.	62.5

All key subgroups are especially alarmed by Trump reducing regulations around clean water to allow more harm from fracking. Learning that he let corporate polluters dump chemicals in vulnerable communities also raises red flags.

GETTABLE VOTERS: Concerns of above average importance against Donald Trump*

Swing men	Swing women	Persuadables	Potential Biden defectors
Clean water fracking (137)	Clean water fracking (158)	Clean water fracking (159)	Clean water fracking (166)
Investment progress (125)	Environmental justice (126)	Environmental justice (123)	Environmental justice (131)
Environmental justice (110)	Costs (114)	Investment progress (123)	Costs (122)

18-34 men	18-34 women	Black voters	Union households
Clean water fracking (151)	Clean water fracking (155)	Clean water fracking (143)	Clean water fracking (158)
Investment progress (131)	Multi-issues extreme (136)	Multi-issues extreme (125)	Multi-issues extreme (130)
Record (127)	Environmental justice (122)	Costs (115)	Environmental justice (114)

The case against Trump has credibility and resonance. The arguments against Trump not only strike voters as more alarming but also align with their preconceptions of his self-serving nature.

Voters have already **internalized the narrative** that Trump is self-serving and only out for his own interests, caring only about his own **short-term gains** than long-term consequences and is likely to **sell out to the highest bidders**, especially big oil and gas donors, at the expense of the public.

*“He doesn’t care about because it’s not like he’s going to be alive. **It’s about how much he can make for himself** and anyone else he’s invested in.” - Black voter*

*“He tells what his base wants to hear and in the end **he’s gonna do what’s best for business, and the heck with what anybody else thinks.**” - Swing voter*

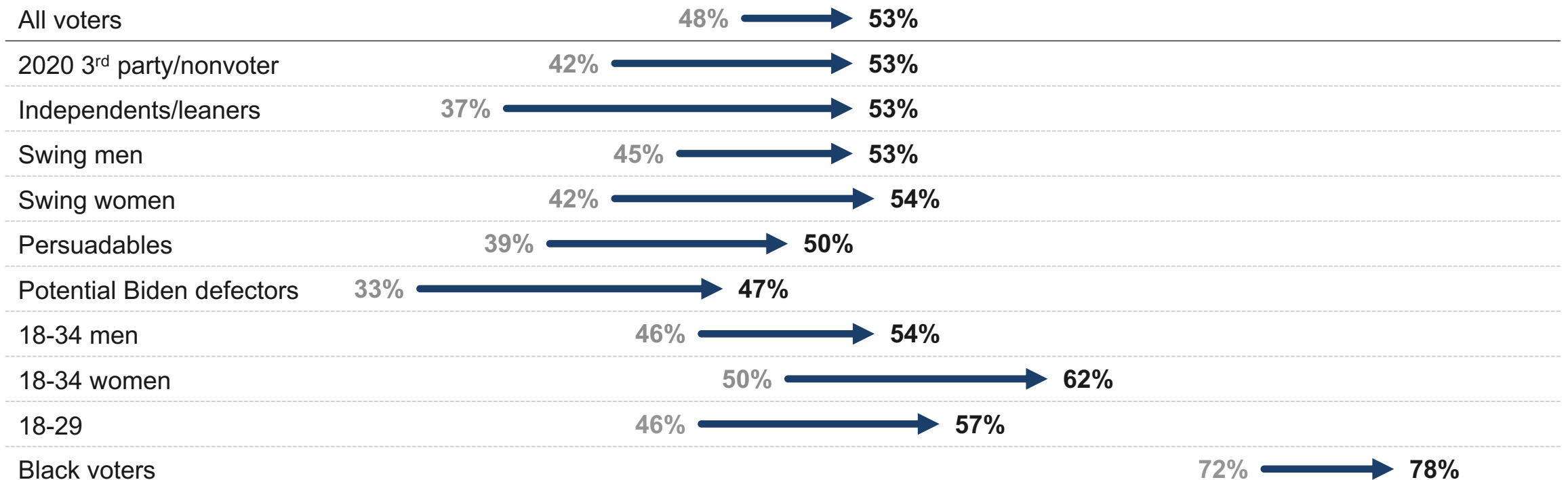
*“I don’t think Donald Trump is big into long-term thinking. So, **I think he will do whatever is expedient for him in the short term** in terms of driving down prices or making more oil and making coal miners in the middle of the country happy.” - 18-34 year old*

*“I mean, **none of this absolutely shocks me at all** ... like Chevron, paying \$0 in federal taxes, like, this is bullshit. Like, how are we like paying all these taxes? And these corporations they have they have their companies and Cayman Islands, etc., offshore...he [Trump] gets funded from them.” - 18-34 year old*

*“**I’m not surprised.** In all honesty, the four years that Trump was in office, it felt like every day, like, how could this be worse? And he just kept showing it. How could it be worse? How could it be worse?” - Black voter*

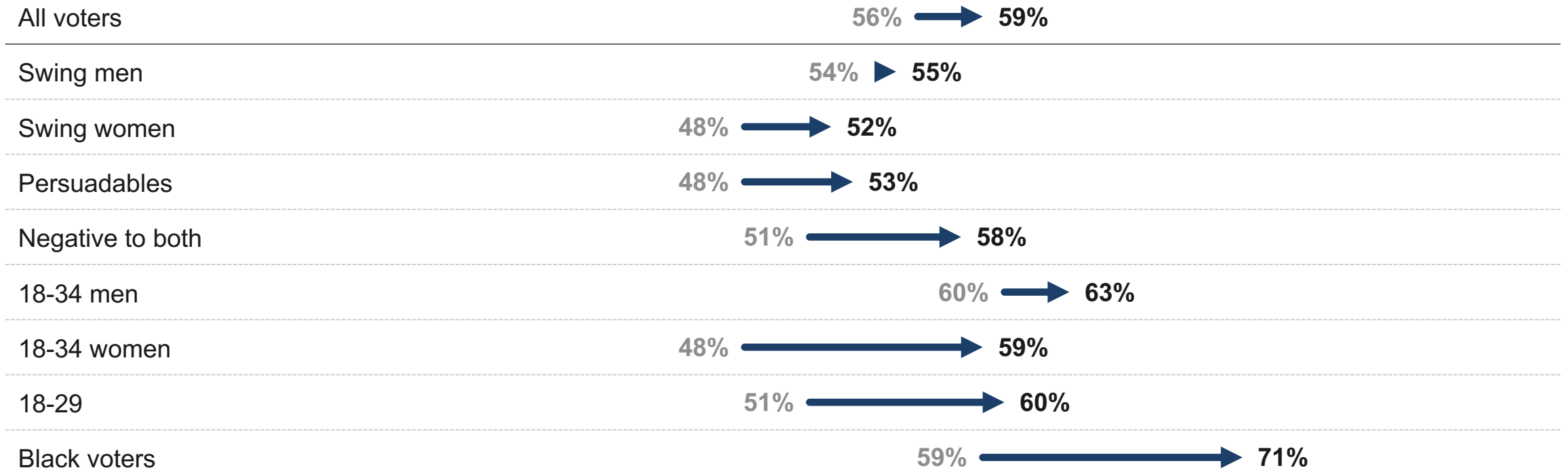
Messaging makes the contrast between Biden's and Trump's priorities clearer.

"Donald Trump prioritizes profits over people, while Joe Biden stands up for the greater good." Movement to True
Initial → Final



Messaging increases the belief among younger and Black voters that Trump would harm the environment.

“As president, Donald Trump would roll back important protections for clean air and water.” Movement to True
Initial → Final



Messaging Recommendations

1. Maintain a persistent drumbeat of positive news about Biden's local impacts. Given voter cynicism, seeing **visible, concrete results is crucial**. Leverage local earned media to enhance visibility and credibility.

2. Building on top of Biden's positive news, we need to increasingly focus on **contrasts** as we get closer to Election Day. Pennsylvania voters need to hear about Biden's accomplishments and ongoing progress while also hearing about Trump's destructive record and the threat he poses if reelected.

3. Highlight three key areas to strengthen Biden's climate and clean energy narrative:

- **Affordability**: tripling clean energy production to make it more affordable to families, projected to save Americans \$38 billion;
- **Job growth**: creating 271,000 good-paying clean energy jobs with more jobs to come, spurring \$875k million in investments in PA;
- **Public health**: protecting clean air, clean water from harmful pollution, replacing 100% of lead pipes.

Messaging Recommendations

4. Show how Trump favors **corporate polluters** at the cost of **Pennsylvanians' health**.

- He would roll back protections on drinking water by **weakening fracking regulations** and would allow corporations to dump dangerous chemicals into vulnerable communities;
- Linking Trump's actions to state issues (like fracking) and affected communities (e.g., Braddock) heightens their significance and resonance with voters.

5. To solidify the base, especially younger women and Black voters, tie Trump's climate denialism to a **broader narrative about his political extremism**. He is dangerous to our country across the issues, evidenced by his denial of climate change, and his attacks on democracy and reproductive freedom. Highlighting these connections emphasizes the broader dangers of a second Trump term.