HART RESEARCH

Harris Battleground Poll: Winning on Climate and Energy

Online survey of 2,011 likely 2024 voters in the battleground states of AZ/GA/MI/NV/NC/PA/WI, including oversamples of 727 18-34 voters, 312 Latino voters, 429 Black voters, and 565 PA voters

Fielded August 2-4, 2024

CLIMATE POWER

Key Takeaways—Context

1. **This is a competitive and winnable race.** Harris and Trump are neck and neck in the trial heat, yet Harris leads on favorability and has significant potential to increase her vote share, particularly among voters of color and younger voters.

2. **Climate and clean energy are strengths for Vice President Harris.** Harris has strong initial advantage on these issues over Trump and climate change is especially important for consolidating soft supporters.

3. **A contrast on energy costs is an advantage for Harris and shows that she is tackling voters' key concern: the cost of living.** Her record on affordable energy and taking on Big Oil, versus Trump's alliance with oil CEOs is the strongest contrast for persuasion and mobilization audiences.

[PRICE GOUGING] *Kamala Harris knows prices are too high, and many Americans are struggling with the cost of living. That's why she cast the tie-breaking vote for a plan to triple clean energy production and* ***save Americans $38 billion on electricity bills****. She will take on Big Oil for price gouging. Trump sides with Big Oil billionaires over working people. His policies increase profits for Big Oil CEOs, leaving Americans vulnerable to more price hikes at the pump.*

Key Takeaways—Messaging Recommendations

4 **Emphasizing clean energy and going on offense against Big Oil is a winning strategy.** Vice President Harris' record delivering policies to make energy more affordable and taking on Big Oil contrasts with Trump's alliance with oil and gas CEOs.

5 **Use climate and clean energy to bolster Vice President Harris's case as an advocate for freedom.** These freedoms are on par with values like reproductive freedom and gun safety and resonate with soft Harris supporters.

- *The freedom for every child to be safe from the pollution that dirties our air and water and fuels the climate crisis*
- *The freedom to have clean air, clean water, and a healthy climate*

Key Takeaways—Messaging Recommendations

6 **If Vice President Harris is attacked on fracking, messages centered on freedom and her support for commonsense safeguards effectively rebut these criticisms.** These are the best-testing responses and significantly more convincing to voters than a response presenting Vice President Harris as having an all-of-the above energy strategy.

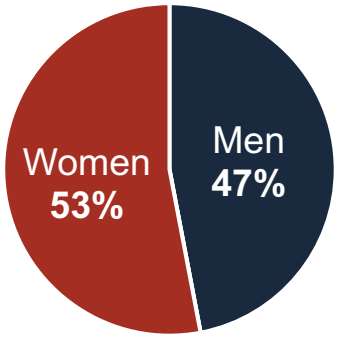
[FREEDOM] *Kamala Harris is running for president to protect Americans' freedoms. Harris believes Americans should be free from the grip of Big Oil. She continues to invest in cheaper, cleaner energy manufacturing to give the American people a real choice. Trump just wants to block clean energy which will keep us dependent on Big Oil.*

[COMMONSENSE SAFEGUARDS] *Kamala Harris supports commonsense protections and safeguards to keep our air, water, and health safe. Fracking can cause water contamination and air pollution, which can cause cancer, birth defects, and other diseases, according to doctors and scientists. Harris believes in setting limits to reduce these risks while moving toward cleaner energy sources and creating a new generation of renewable energy jobs, which she has worked to do through the passage of historic legislation.*

Methodology and profile of the sample

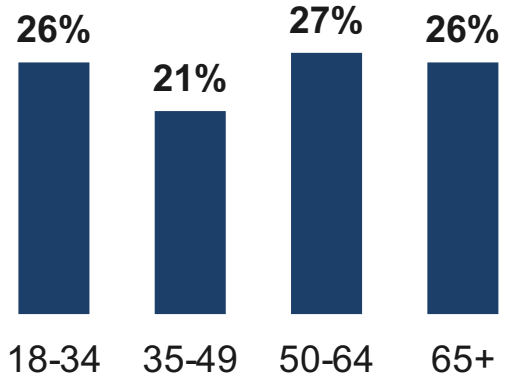
- Online survey of 2,011 likely 2024 voters in BG states (AZ/GA/MI/NV/NC/PA/WI)
- Sample includes age, race/ethnicity, and state oversamples:
  - 18-34 voters (727 interviews)
  - Latino voters (312 interviews)
  - Black voters (429 interviews)
  - PA voters (565 interviews)

Gender

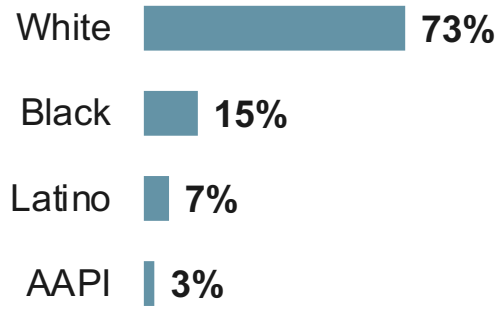


Non-binary **0%**

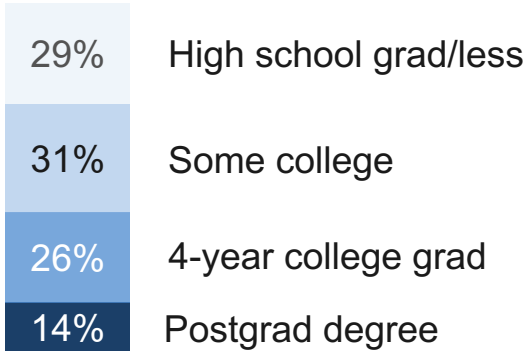
Age



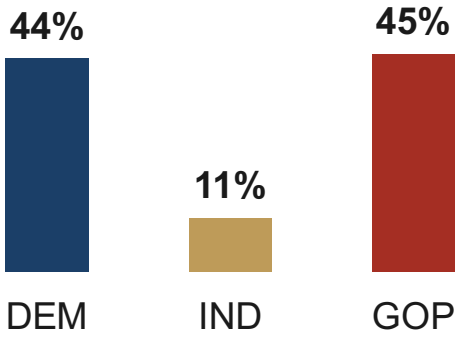
Race



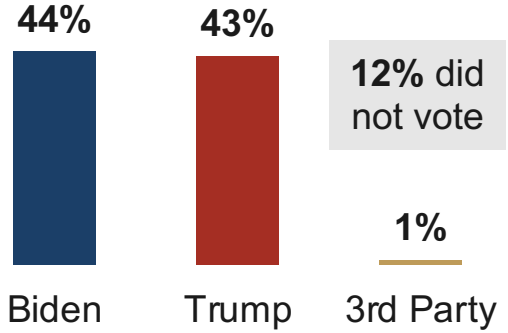
Education



Party ID



2020 Vote



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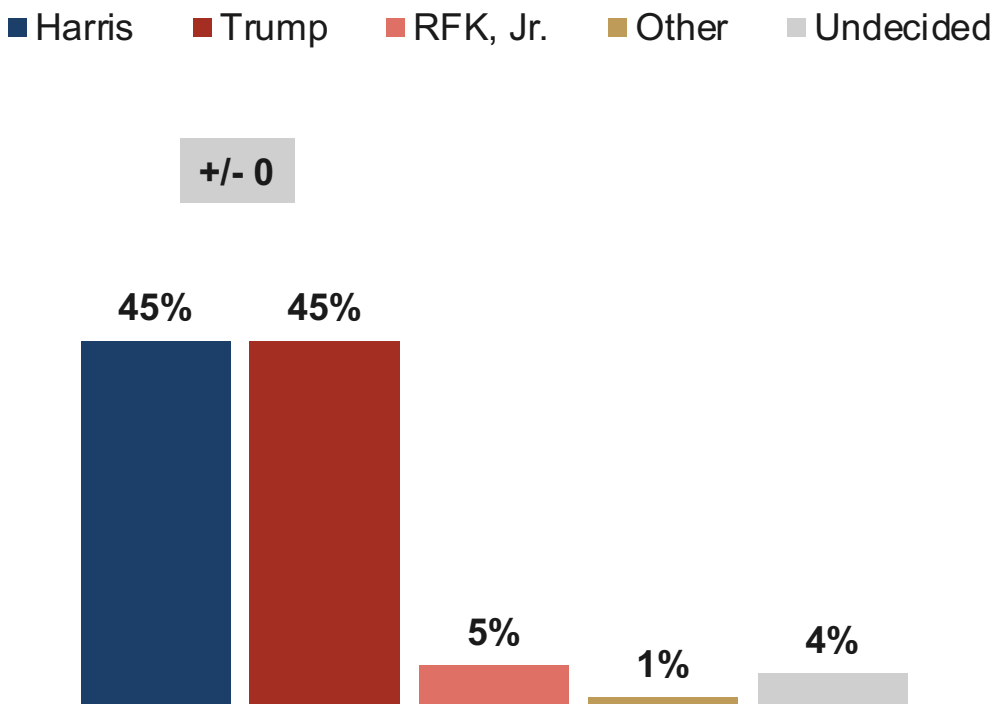
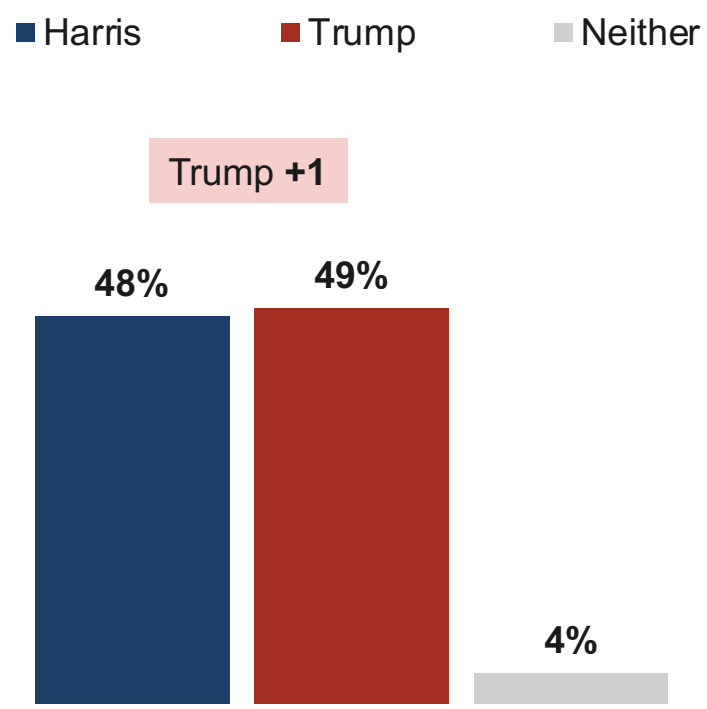
This is a competitive and winnable race. Harris and Trump are neck and neck in the trial heat, yet Harris leads on favorability and has significant potential to increase her vote share.

The race for president is tied in the full trial heat, and within one point in the forced two-way vote.

Multi-candidate trial heat



Forced two-way vote



82% of Harris, 82% of Trump voters, and 22% of 3rd party voters say their minds are completely made up.

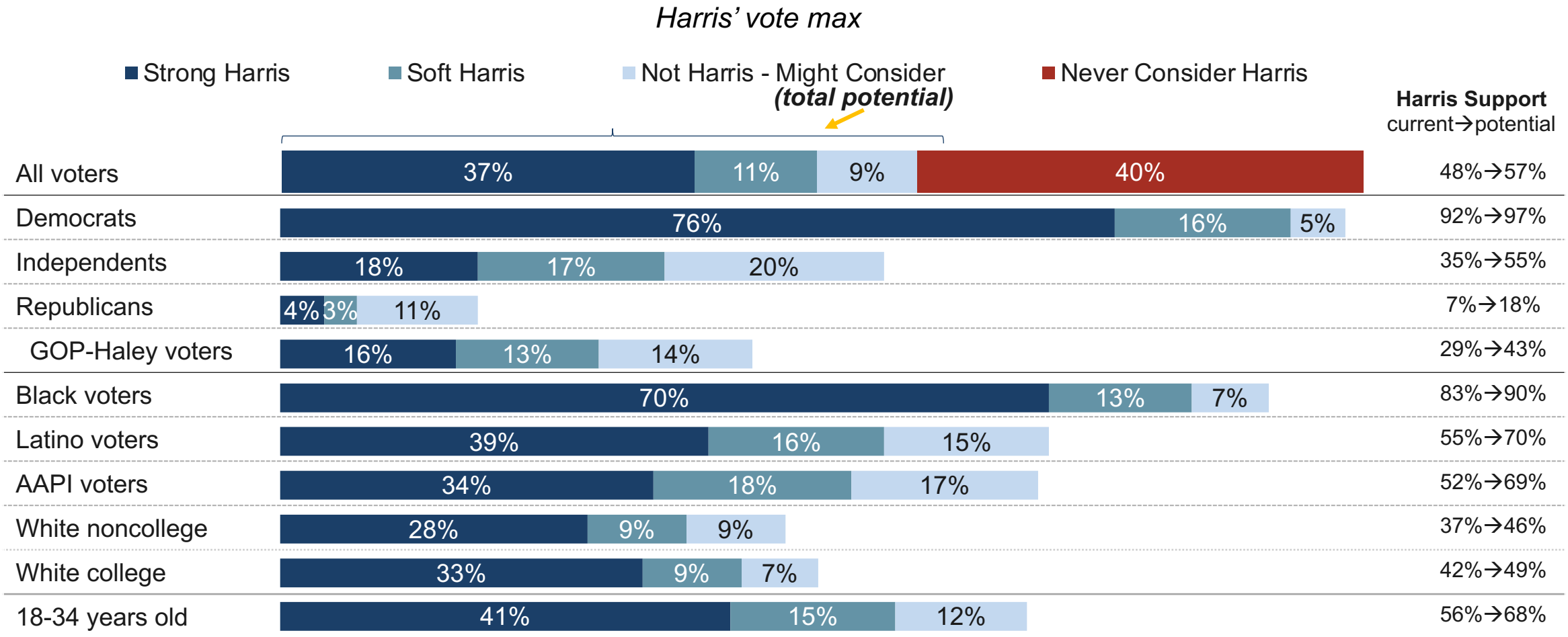
When forced to choose, nonpartisan voters and those who voted 3rd party or didn't vote in 2020 tend to lean toward Trump rather than Harris.

	Multi-Candidate Trial Heat				Forced Two-Way Vote		
	Harris %	Trump %	3rd Party %	Differential (Harris-Trump)	Harris %	Trump %	Differential (Harris-Trump)
All voters	**45**	**45**	**6**	**+/- 0**	**48**	**49**	**-1**
Base Democrats	94	3	2	+91	96	3	+94
Soft Democrats	81	9	7	+72	86	12	+74
Independents	27	31	21	-4	35	45	-10
Soft Republicans	12	76	8	-64	14	82	-68
Base Republicans	3	95	2	-92	3	96	-93
Swing voters	42	40	11	+2	47	47	+/- 0
2020 Biden	87	5	5	+82	91	7	+84
2020 Trump	4	89	5	-85	5	92	-88
2020 3rd party/DNV	40	36	13	+4	43	45	-1

In both trial heats, Harris is strong with Black voters, with room to build her lead even more with younger voters and Latino voters.

	Multi-Candidate Trial Heat				Forced Two-Way Vote		
	Harris %	Trump %	3rd Party %	Differential (Harris-Trump)	Harris %	Trump %	Differential (Harris-Trump)
All voters	**45**	**45**	**6**	**+/- 0**	**48**	**49**	**-1**
Men	38	53	5	-15	40	57	-17
Women	51	38	7	+13	54	42	+12
18-34	52	37	7	+15	56	40	+16
35-49	42	46	5	-4	45	51	-6
50-64	40	51	6	-11	41	55	-14
65+	46	46	6	0	48	48	0
White noncollege	36	55	6	-19	37	59	-21
White college	40	51	5	-11	43	54	-11
Black voters	81	10	6	+71	83	13	+70
Latino voters	48	36	11	+14	54	41	+14
AAPI voters	40	44	11	-4	52	48	+5
PA voters	45	47	5	-2	49	49	0

At this point, Harris holds 48% of the vote with a potential ceiling of 57%.



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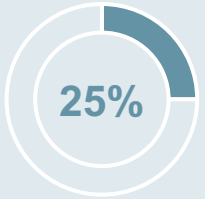
Key Targeting Subgroups

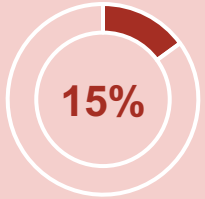


Persuadables*

These voters are disproportionately:

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

**Undecided, or those who may still change their mind about their chosen 2024 candidate*

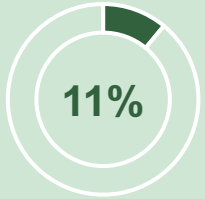


Harris Expansion Voters*

These voters are disproportionately:

- Latino and AAPI voters
- Age 18-34, especially men
- Noncollege
- Independent/leaners

**Not for Harris in a multi-candidate race but would consider voting for her.*



Soft Harris*

These voters are disproportionately:

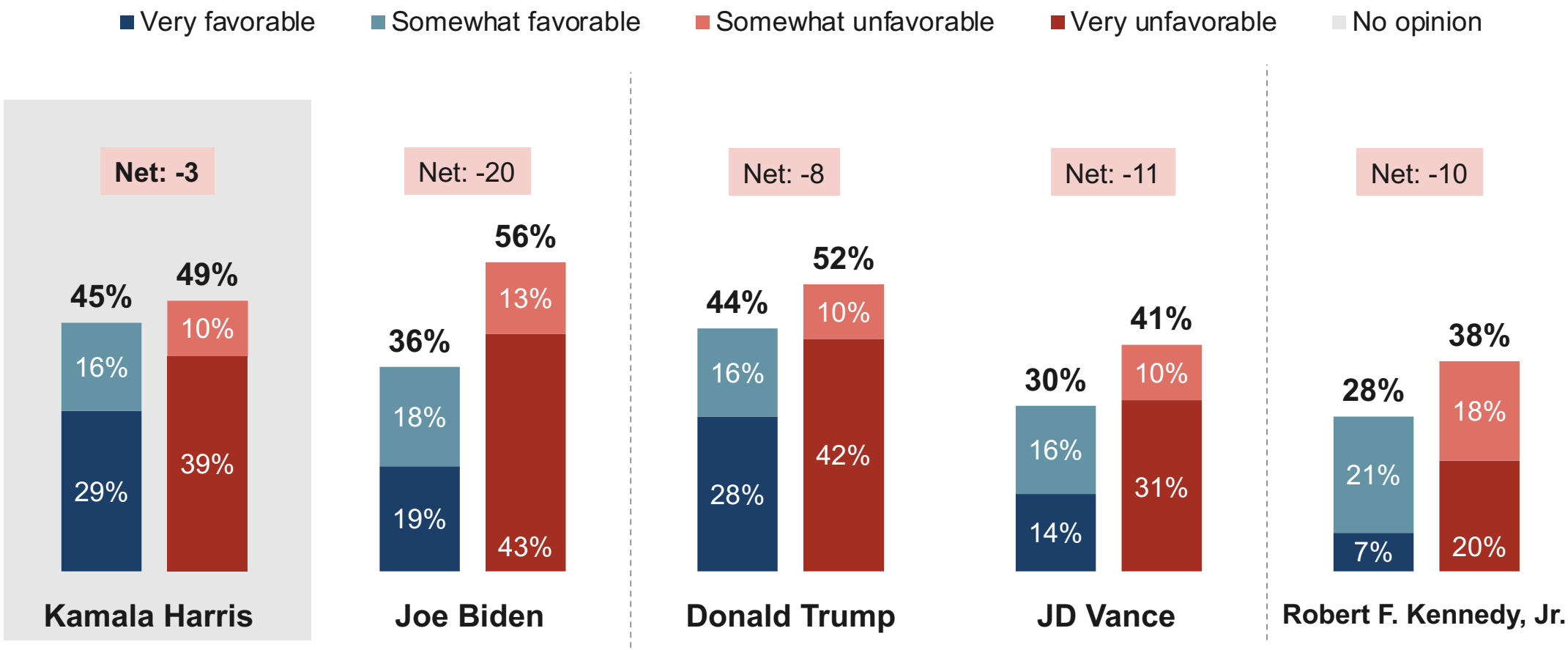
- Women
- Voters of color
- Age 18-34
- Latino voters under age 50

**Voting for Harris in multi-candidate or two-way vote but might change their mind.*

**Note that these groups are not exclusive of one another.*

Harris' overall favorability is better than Trump's.

Please rate your opinion on…

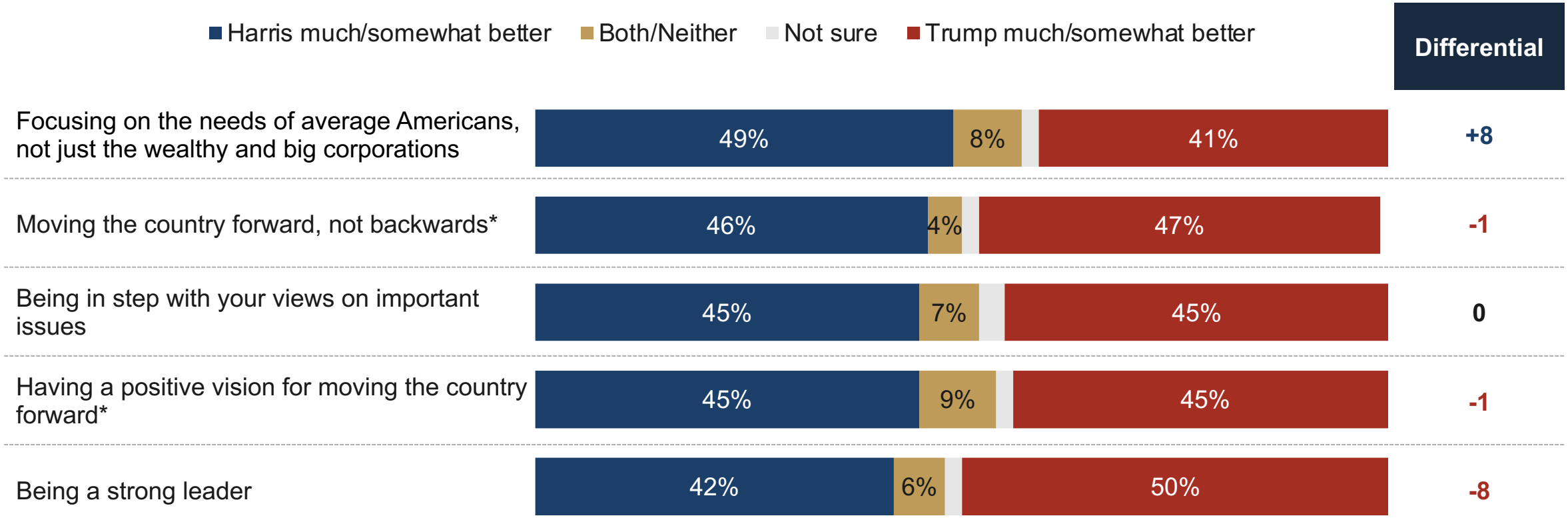


Contrast remains crucial in the election. On candidate sentiment, we need to increase Harris's appeal while continuing to drive up Trump's negatives.

	Kamala Harris Feelings			Donald Trump Feelings		
	Fav %	Unfav %	Differential (Harris-Trump)	Fav %	Unfav %	Differential (Harris-Trump)
All voters	**45**	**49**	**-3**	**44**	**52**	**-8**
Persuadables	32	51	-19	31	57	-26
Independents	28	56	-27	36	51	-15
2020 didn't vote, 3rd party	42	46	-3	38	53	-15
Soft Harris	62	18	+44	6	86	-80
Harris Expansion	25	53	-28	51	36	+14
Black voters	80	11	+69	14	77	-62
Latino voters	52	35	+17	39	51	-12
AAPI voters	49	38	+12	34	52	-18
White noncollege	36	59	-24	54	43	+11
White college	40	56	-17	46	52	-6
18-34	53	36	+18	37	55	-18

Harris has the advantage on addressing the needs of average Americans, a strength we can capitalize on. However, she is tied with Trump on having a positive vision for the future – we need to change that.

*Comparing Kamala Harris and Donald Trump on different **factors** people might consider in voting for president*

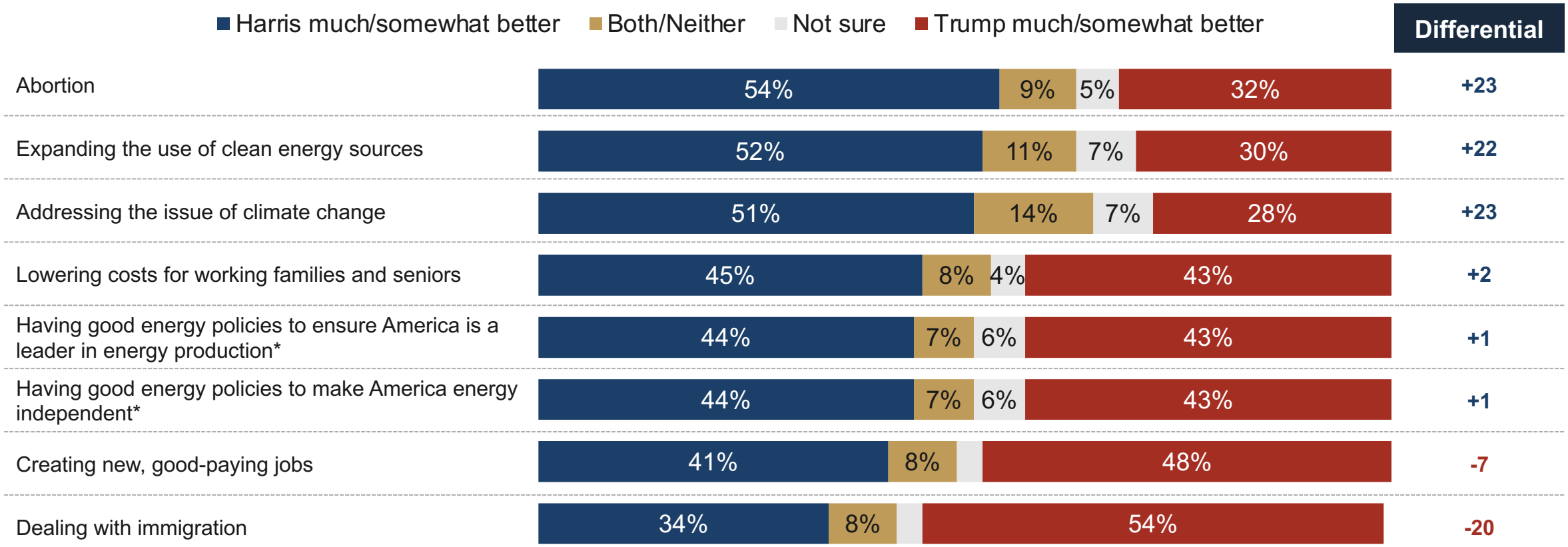


*Asked of one-half the respondents

Climate and clean energy are strengths for Vice President Harris. We should confidently embrace these issues and emphasize how expanding clean energy translates into lower energy costs.

Voters already trust Harris more than Trump on climate and clean energy. We can build on this to show how investing in clean energy translates into lower costs and greater energy independence.

*Comparing Kamala Harris and Donald Trump on different **issues** people might consider in voting for president*



*Asked of one-half the respondents

Highlighting clean energy manufacturing, investments, and jobs is an effective way to improve Harris' standing on lowering costs and job creation.

NET: *Harris is better - Trump is better on each issue*

	Persuadable voters	Ages 18-34	Latino voters	AAPI voters	Black voters
Abortion	+38	+31	+32	+43	+68
Expanding the use of clean energy sources	+37	+37	+33	+32	+73
Addressing the issue of climate change	+38	+29	+33	+24	+70
Lowering costs for working families and seniors	+2	+15	+13	+7	+71
Having good energy policies to make America energy independent*	-4	+18	+20	NA**	+68
Having good energy policies to ensure America is a leader in energy production*	-1	+19	+1	NA**	+61
Creating new, good paying jobs	-16	+6	+1	-6	+64
Dealing with immigration	-42	+1	-1	-22	+39

**Asked of one-half the respondents*
***N size too small to report*

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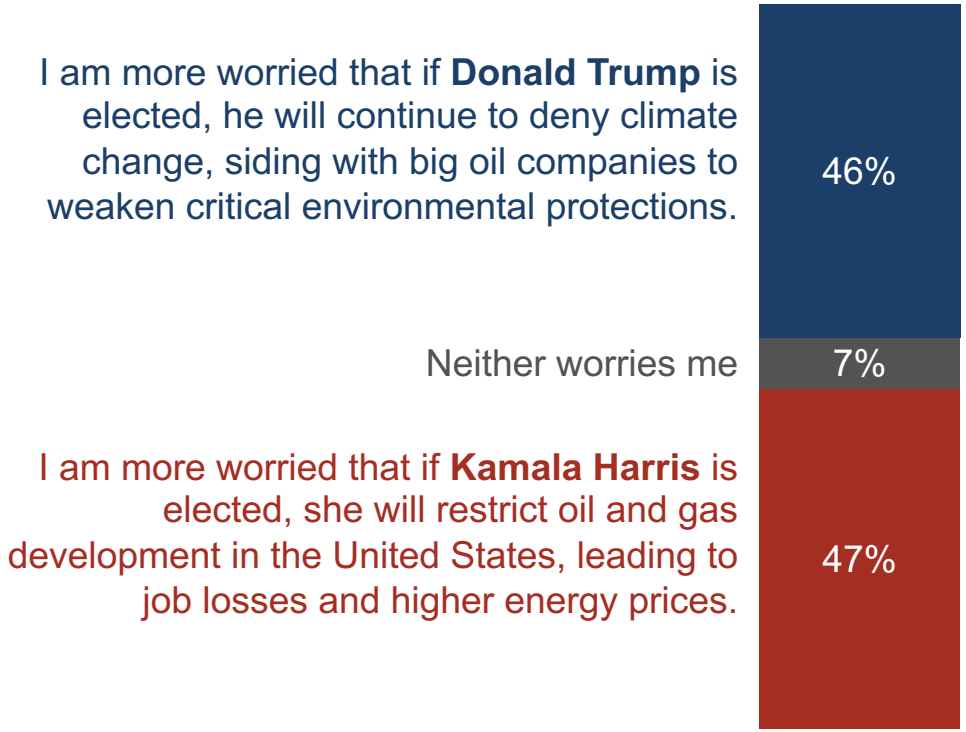
When voters rate each individually, Harris's advantage on environmental issues is clear while Trump outperforms her on jobs and energy costs.

Harris higher confidence		Trump higher confidence		Neither	
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	+22	Gas prices	+18	Responding to extreme weather events such as wildfires, heat waves, and hurricanes	Harris +2
Climate change	+13	Creating good-paying jobs	+10		
Protecting clean air and water	+11	The use of fracking	+8		
Clean energy	+11	Energy costs	+6		
Reducing air and water pollution	+9				

Leaning into clean energy and going on offense against Big Oil is a necessary and winning strategy.

Independents, swing, and PA voters are initially split on whether Trump siding with Big Oil or Harris restricting oil and gas development concerns them more.

Which one of the following concerns you more?



	More worried Trump %	More worried Harris %	NET
Democrats	85	10	+75
Independents	41	39	+2
Republicans	8	85	-77
Persuadable voters	41	45	-4
Black voters	75	14	+61
Latino voters	56	36	+20
AAPI voters	44	51	-8
White noncollege	37	55	-18
White college	41	54	-14
18-34	54	39	+16
PA voters	47	47	+/- 0

We tested 8 contrast statements. All are important reasons for gettable voters to support Harris. *(contd)*

% who say each statement is a very/fairly important reason to support Harris over Trump
(this chart is based on gettable voters)

	All Gettable voters* %	Persuadables %
[PRICE GOUGING] Kamala Harris knows prices are too high, and many Americans are struggling with the cost of living. That's why she cast the tie-breaking vote for a plan to triple clean energy production and save Americans $38 billion on electricity bills. She will take on Big Oil for price gouging. Trump sides with Big Oil billionaires over working people. His policies increase profits for Big Oil CEOs, leaving Americans vulnerable to more price hikes at the pump.**	63	48
[RULE OF LAW/ACCOUNTABILITY] Kamala Harris is committed to upholding the rule of law. As Attorney General, she sued Big Oil for polluting our air and water and harming people's health. Trump asked Big Oil executives for $1 billion to support his election, promising them $110 billion in tax breaks. He said he would be a "dictator" on "day one," so he can eliminate environmental protections and expand oil drilling, giving Big Oil free rein to pollute without accountability.	62	46
[HEALTHY] Kamala Harris has advocated for clean air and water her entire career. As Attorney General, she made corporate polluters pay damages for harming people's health. In the Senate, she authored legislation to replace harmful lead pipes. The Trump administration weakened or eliminated 125 environmental protections, including protections that stop polluters from releasing toxic chemicals into our air and water. Trump and his allies have plans to strip nearly every regulation on Big Oil and Gas that protects public health.	61	44
[FUTURE GENERATIONS/CLIMATE CHANGE] Kamala Harris believes we have a responsibility to leave a better world for our children and grandchildren. She cast the tie-breaking vote for the most transformative energy law in history, proving we can address climate change while creating jobs and lowering energy costs. Trump puts his own interests over future generations, letting his polluter funders pollute as much as they want, and crushing their clean energy competition, sending hundreds of thousands of good jobs overseas.	61	44

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Gettable voters exclude strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump.
***Asked of one-half the respondents*

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(Contd) We tested 8 contrast statements. All are are important reasons for gettable voters to support Harris.

% who say each statement is a very/fairly important reason to support Harris over Trump (this chart is based on gettable voters)

	All Gettable voters* %	Persuadables %
[JOBS] Kamala Harris and Joe Biden are bringing manufacturing jobs and the supply chain back to the United States. They have created over 300,000 good-paying, clean energy jobs across the country to date and generated hundreds of billions of dollars in private sector investments in local communities. If Trump wins, he will end investments in clean energy and instead double down on fossil fuels, putting thousands of workers at risk of losing their jobs and hurting local communities.	61	45
[FORWARDS VS BACKWARDS] The presidential choice is between moving forward or backward. Kamala Harris is a champion for progress. She cast the tie-breaking vote for the largest climate investment in U.S. history, investing in clean energy manufacturing and paving the way for a cleaner, more affordable energy future. Donald Trump would end the landmark climate law, get rid of clean energy investments, and keep us dependent on the corporations that pollute our air and water.	60	42
[FREEDOM VS CONTROL] Kamala Harris is fighting to free us from Big Oil's grip. She believes in a bright future with the freedom of cleaner, cheaper energy choices that will protect our air and water and prevent the worst effects of climate change. Donald Trump would limit our choices and keep us under Big Oil's control. He would eliminate clean energy jobs and allow Big Oil to continue making record profits at the expense of hard-working Americans.	60	42
[LOWERING COSTS] Kamala Harris knows prices are too high, and many Americans are struggling with the cost of living. That's why she cast the tie-breaking vote for a plan to triple clean energy production, saving Americans $38 billion on electricity bills. Trump sides with Big Oil billionaires who fund his campaign. His policies would increase profits for Big Oil CEOs rather than decrease costs for working families, leaving Americans vulnerable to more price hikes at the pump.**	59	42

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Gettable voters exclude strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump.
***Asked of one-half the respondents*

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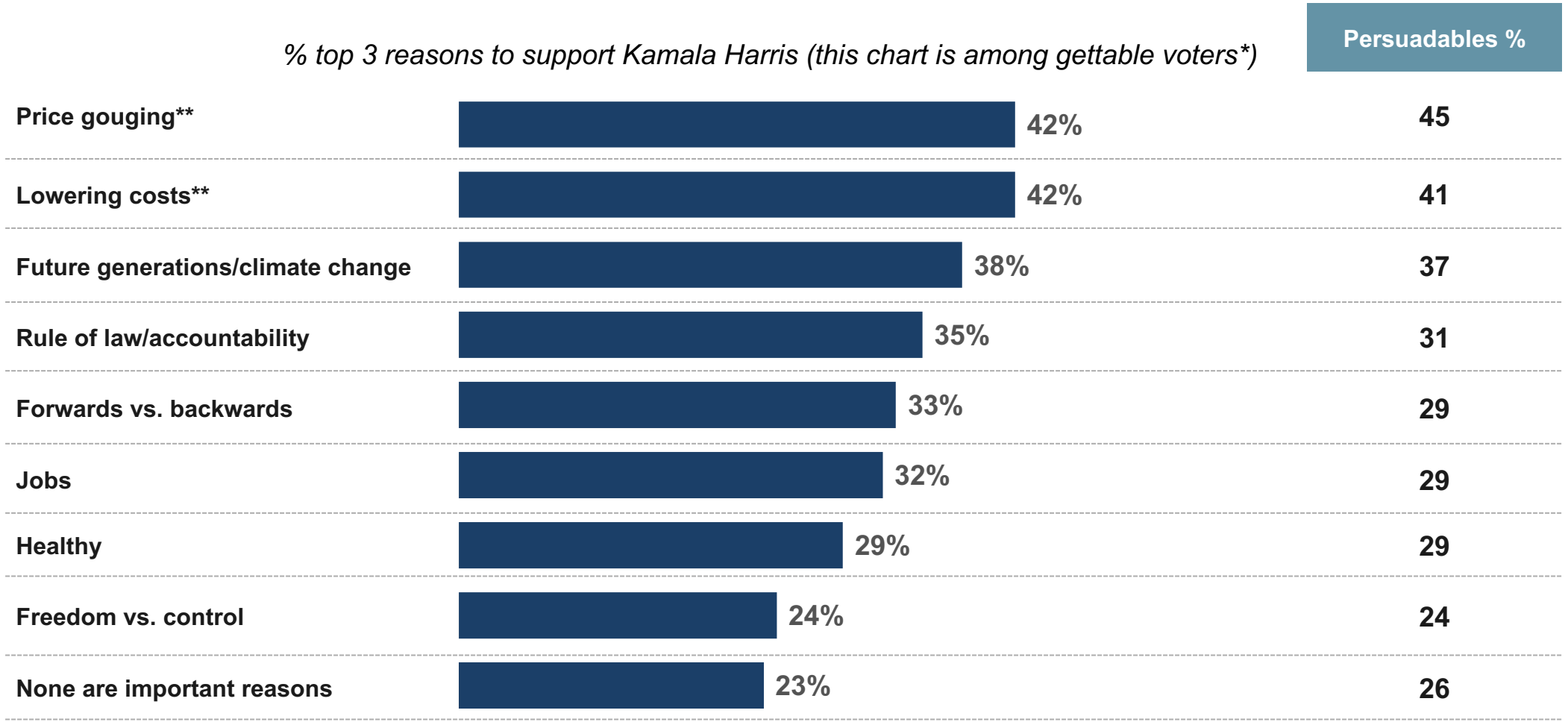
When voters rank the contrasts, costs and future generations are the leading reasons to support Harris.



Gettable voters exclude strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump.
***Asked of one-half the respondents*

The cost-based contrasts are the strongest reasons across all audiences. Future generations resonates with expansion and turnout targets, including young voters, Black voters, and Latino voters.

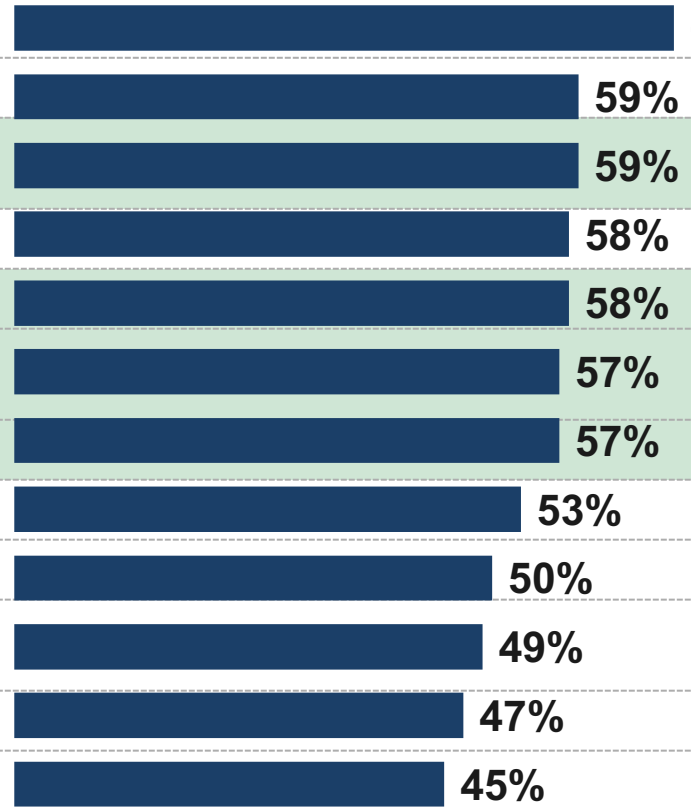
Top 3 most important reasons to support Harris over Trump (among gettable voters)

Soft Harris		Harris Expansion		Soft Trump		Independents	
Price Gouging	58%	Future Generations/Climate Change	44%	Price Gouging	33%	Price Gouging	40%
Lowering Costs	57%	Lowering Costs	43%	Lowering Costs	32%	Lowering Costs	34%
Future Generations/Climate Change	53%	Price Gouging	41%	Jobs	26%	Rule of Law/Accountability	30%
Harris Turnout		**White noncollege voters**		**White college grads**		**18-34**	
Price Gouging	53%	Lowering Costs	40%	Lowering Costs	44%	Price Gouging	49%
Lowering Costs	49%	Price Gouging	39%	Rule of Law/Accountability	38%	Lowering Costs	47%
Future Generations/Climate Change	49%	Future Generations/Climate Change	38%	Price Gouging	37%	Future Generations/Climate Change	46%
Black voters		**Latino voters**		**AAPI voters**		**PA voters**	
Price Gouging	56%	Lowering Costs	46%	Price Gouging	49%	Lowering Costs	47%
Future Generations/Climate Change	44%	Price Gouging	45%	Rule of Law/Accountability	38%	Rule of Law/Accountability	37%
Forwards vs. Backwards	42%	Future Generations/Climate Change	38%	Lowering Costs	34%	Future Generations/Climate Change	35%

Climate and clean energy bolster Vice President Harris’s case as an advocate for freedom.

The freedom to breathe clean air, drink clean water, and live in a healthy climate is on par with values like reproductive freedom and gun safety.

% who rate each one of Kamala Harris's goals related to freedom very important (8-10)



		Soft Harris %	Harris Expansion %
The freedom to vote	69%	74	62
The freedom of a woman to make decisions about her own body	59%	73	60
The freedom for every child to be safe from the pollution that dirties our air and water*	59%	61	55
The freedom to be safe from gun violence	58%	70	53
The freedom to have clean air and clean water*	58%	58	56
The freedom for every child to be safe from the pollution that dirties our air and water and fuels the climate crisis*	57%	71	57
The freedom to have clean air, clean water, and a healthy climate*	57%	67	56
The freedom to build a healthier future with clean energy	53%	65	53
The freedom to choose affordable, clean energy options	50%	60	46
The freedom to protect our communities from the worst impacts of extreme weather	49%	60	45
The freedom to take real action against the climate crisis	47%	55	43
The freedom to break away from Big Oil's control	45%	49	37

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** Asked of one-half the respondents*

Fracking is not a top-of-mind concern for voters. If VP Harris faces criticism on fracking, emphasizing freedom and commonsense safeguards are effective counters.

Top-of-mind climate and energy associations with Harris are more positive than negative; only 3% mention fracking.

What do you remember hearing or seeing about Kamala Harris's record and positions on ***climate change, energy policies, and the environment****?*

POSITIVE	
15%	Has prioritized climate change, recognizes there is a climate crisis
15%	Supports the Green New Deal, opposes fossil fuels
12%	Agree with her environmental policies
5%	Agree with her stance on the issues
4%	Shares Biden's view on the environment, supports the same policies
3%	Will crack down on pollution, polluters, carbon emissions
3%	Works for, cares about the people, America
2%	Supports the EV industry
2%	Supports creating green energy jobs

NEGATIVE	
6%	Disagree with her environmental policies
5%	Supports the Green New Deal, opposes fossil fuels
4%	Supports EV industry, all other criticisms of EVs
3%	Dislike her stance on the issues
3%	Opposes drilling, fracking, opposed the Keystone pipeline
3%	Needs to take a tougher stance on climate change, environment
3%	Ineffective, did nothing as Vice President
2%	High inflation, cost of living

We ran a split-sample experiment to test if explicitly stating that Harris won't ban fracking makes a difference.

Half of voters also saw a series of **DEFENSIVE** messages answering Republicans attacks and stating explicitly that Harris would not ban fracking.

Half of voters also saw a series of **PROACTIVE/NON-DEFENSE** messages focusing on Harris's vision for America's energy future without directly citing a fracking ban.

We saw no significant difference in results from either series.
Saying Harris will NOT ban fracking does not help or hurt our case.

Emphasizing Harris' focus on commonsense safeguards and protecting Americans' freedoms works well with gettable voters.

% who say each statement is a very/fairly convincing reason to support Kamala Harris (this chart is among gettable voters)*		All Gettable Voters %	Soft Harris %	Persuadables %
Commonsense Safeguards	Kamala Harris supports commonsense protections and safeguards to keep our air, water, and health safe. Fracking can cause water contamination and air pollution, which can cause cancer, birth defects, and other diseases, according to doctors and scientists. Harris believes in setting limits to reduce these risks while moving toward cleaner energy sources and creating a new generation of renewable energy jobs, which she has worked to do through the passage of historic legislation.	**55**	**60**	**40**
Freedom	Kamala Harris is running for president to protect Americans' freedoms. Harris believes Americans should be free from the grip of Big Oil. She continues to invest in cheaper, cleaner energy manufacturing to give the American people a real choice. Trump just wants to block clean energy which will keep us dependent on Big Oil.	**53**	**60**	**34**
Transition	Kamala Harris energy policies focus on limiting new fracking projects on federal land while transitioning to clean energy sources over time. Biden and Harris have made historic investments to increase the use of clean energy that have already started to lower costs and created hundreds of thousands of jobs in communities across the country.	**50**	**47**	**31**
Campaign Statement	Trump's claims about fracking bans are an obvious attempt to distract from his own plans to enrich oil and gas executives at the expense of the middle class. The Biden-Harris Administration passed the largest ever clean energy legislation, and under their leadership, America now produces more energy than ever before in history.	**48**	**54**	**34**
All of the Above	In Kamala Harris's 2020 presidential campaign, she supported a ban on fracking. But now, having served in the Administration that presided over a historic energy boom--from oil, gas, AND clean energy—she understands what it takes for America to be energy independent, and she intends to continue that energy independence as president.	**44**	**48**	**32**

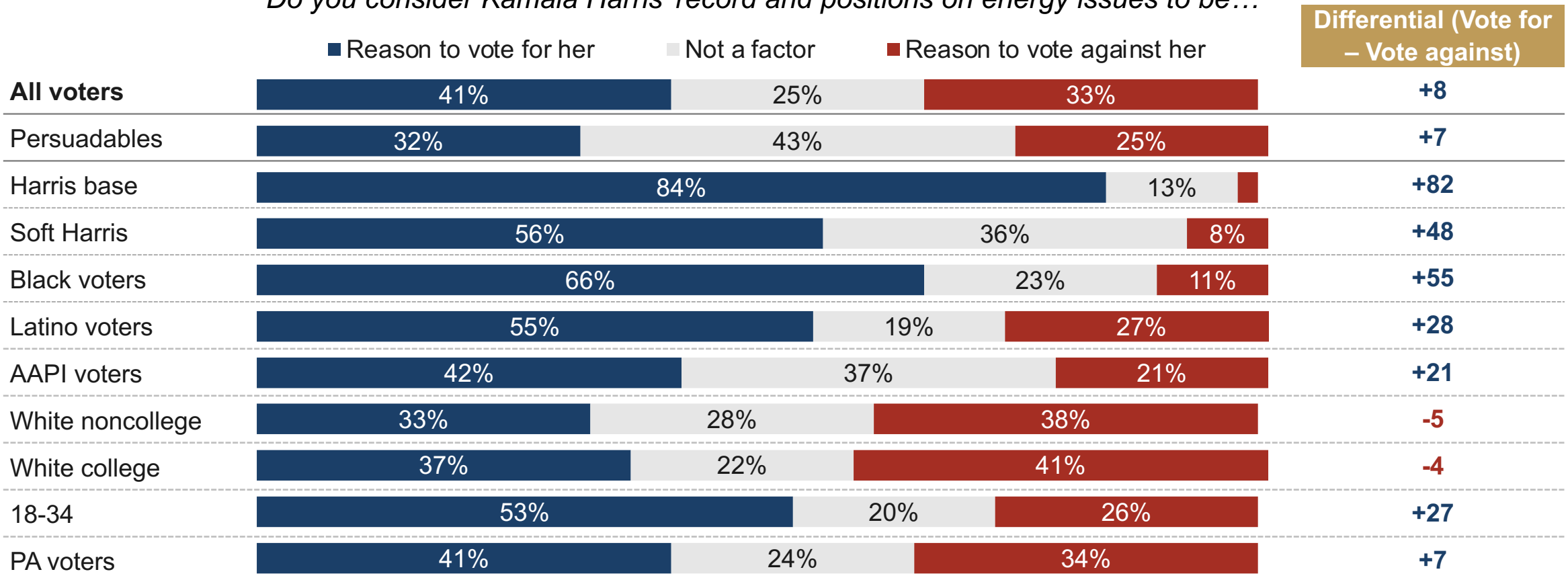
HART RESEARCH

**Gettable voters exclude strong Republicans who are definitely voting for Trump.*

CLIMATE POWER

After the debate on fracking, Harris comes out on top with energy issues a net positive, including among PA voters.

Do you consider Kamala Harris' record and positions on energy issues to be…

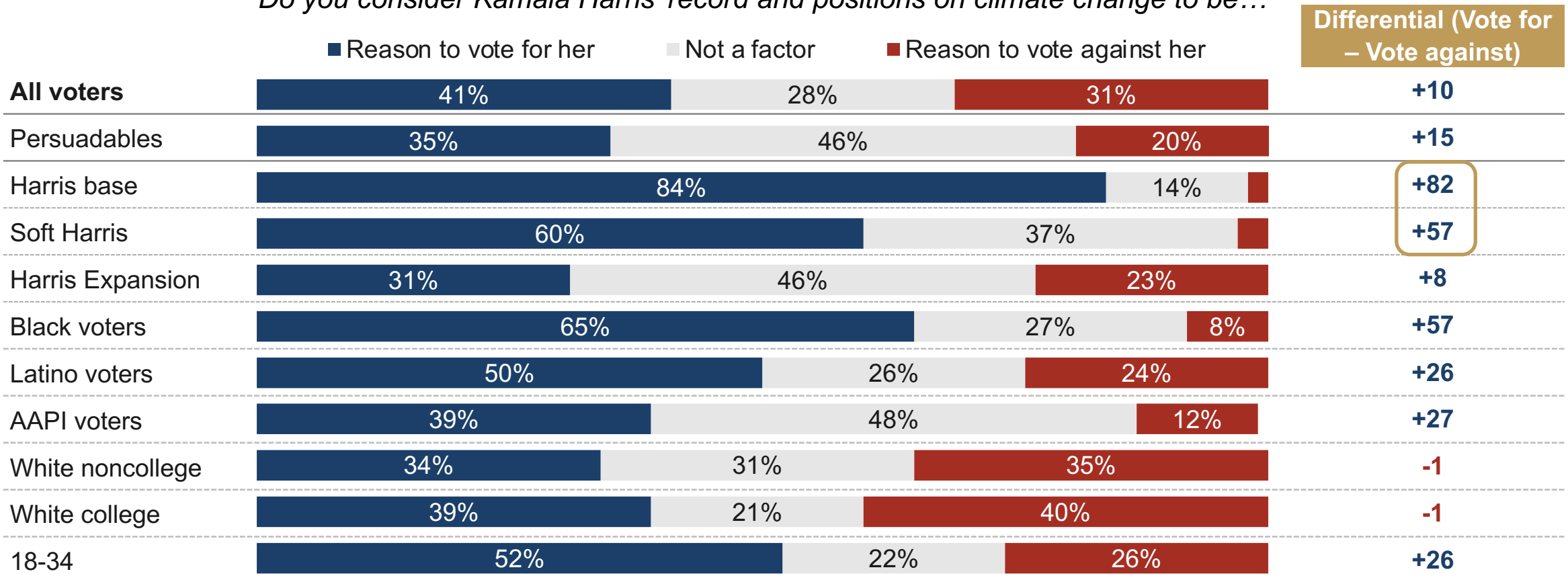


HART RESEARCH

CLIMATE POWER

Similarly, after hearing both sides, climate is a net positive for Harris, and is especially beneficial for solidifying soft supporters.

Do you consider Kamala Harris' record and positions on climate change to be…



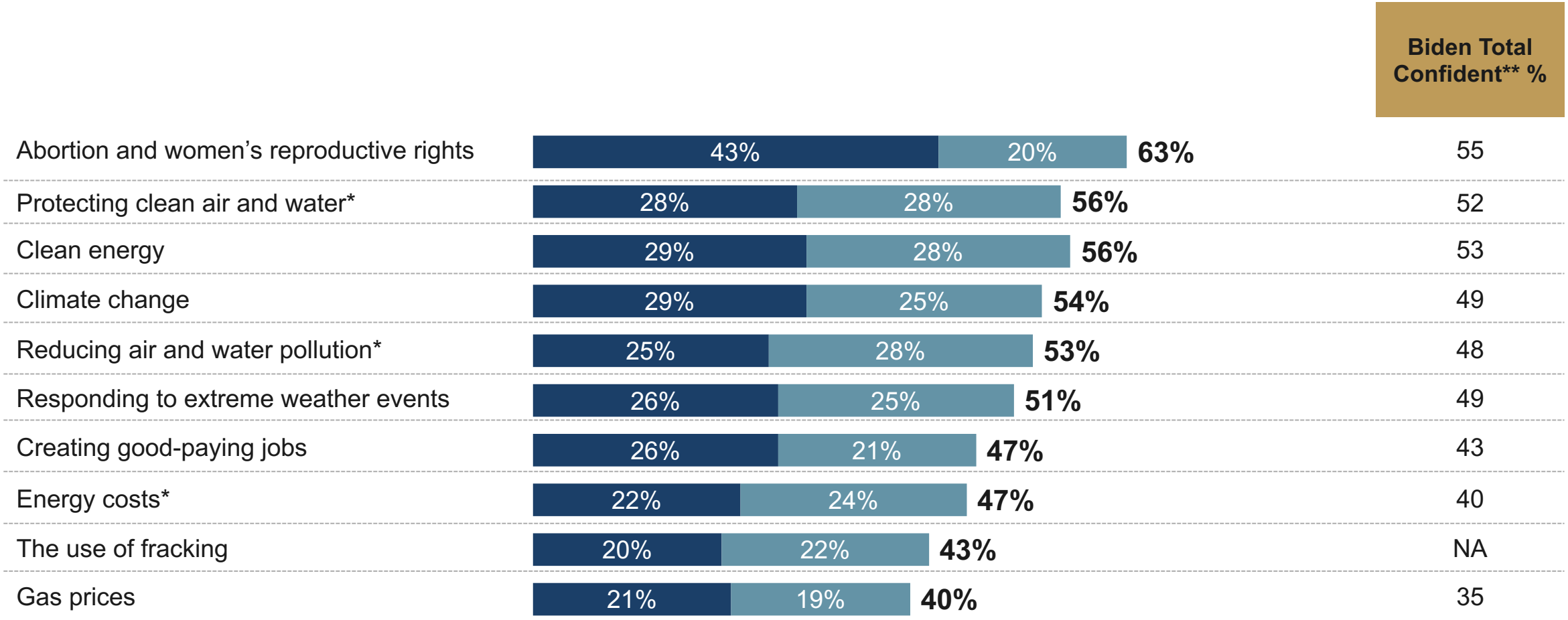
HART RESEARCH

CLIMATE POWER

Appendix

Similarly, voters are confident in Harris's ability to handle climate and clean energy but need more reassurance on jobs and energy costs.

*How confident are you in **Kamala Harris** when it comes to dealing with each of the following issues as president?*



HART RESEARCH

*Asked of one-half the respondents
**Data from July tracking survey with battleground voters

CLIMATE POWER

Key groups need to see reasons to trust Harris on handling energy costs.

*How confident are you in **Kamala Harris** when it comes to dealing with each of the following issues as president?*

	Persuadable voters	Ages 18-34	Latino voters	AAPI voters	Black voters
Abortion and women's reproductive rights	70	72	72	74	87
Clean energy	59	65	65	67	86
Protecting clean air and water*	58	62	65	56	83
Climate change	56	62	62	64	82
Reducing air and water pollution*	52	65	55	75	83
Responding to extreme weather events	48	59	61	57	82
Creating good-paying jobs	40	58	58	50	83
Energy costs*	42	54	62	35	78
The use of fracking	32	51	49	57	73
Gas prices	28	47	47	41	78