

Climate & Fracking: Winning Issues for Biden in Pennsylvania in 2020

Research Findings Prepared by Global Strategy Group for Climate Power 2020



**CLIMATE
POWER
2020**



Methodology

Voters

Global Strategy Group conducted an online survey of **801 registered voters in Pennsylvania** between August 13 – 19, 2020.

Margin of error

The margin of error at the 95% confidence level is +/- 3.5%.

The margin of error on sub-samples is greater.

Key Findings

Pennsylvania voters are strongly pro-climate. An overwhelming majority of voters in the state think climate change is a serious problem, and they do not look kindly upon elected officials who deny that climate change is a threat or oppose climate action. By large margins, Pennsylvania voters support pro-climate policies, including bold climate action and the core components of Joe Biden's climate plan: investing \$2 trillion over the next four years to build clean energy infrastructure and plans to move the U.S. to 100% clean electricity and clean energy.

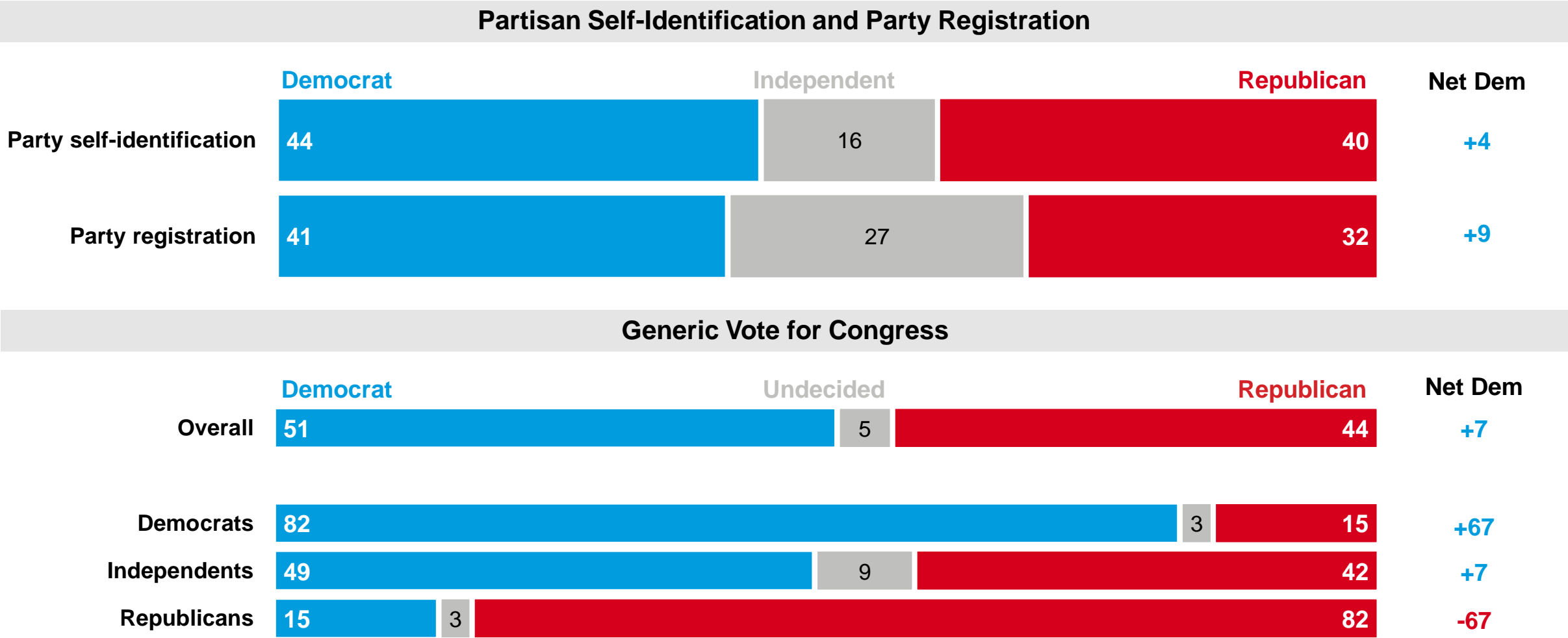
Voters have a favorable view of natural gas, but not of fracking. They strongly support environmental regulations, including stronger regulations on fracking. While Pennsylvanians are favorable toward "the natural gas industry," "the fracking industry" is underwater. Perhaps more important, these voters are widely favorable toward environmental regulations and, by large margins, support stronger regulations and limits on oil and gas fracking – including phasing out fracking by 2050 and phasing out new fracking permits on public lands and waters.

Voters are rightly skeptical about Trump's false attacks on Biden over fracking and climate – and this provides a huge opening for Biden to counterpunch with a jobs focus. While Trump's false attacks on Biden over fracking can land if not countered, voters are rightly skeptical about their veracity. This is even truer about Trump's larger attack on climate. This provides a big opportunity for Biden to counterpunch with messaging that corrects the record, critiques Trump, and embraces strong climate action with a focus on the economic benefits of clean energy.

All of this translates to gains for both Biden and a generic Democrat when they engage on climate and fracking. Voters would vote for a Democrat who supports taking bold action on climate over a Republican who does not by 19 points – outpacing the standard generic ballot (+7) by 12 points. Additionally, engaging in balanced debates on both fracking and climate boosts Biden's lead over Trump, improves his favorability rating, and increases motivation of his voters.

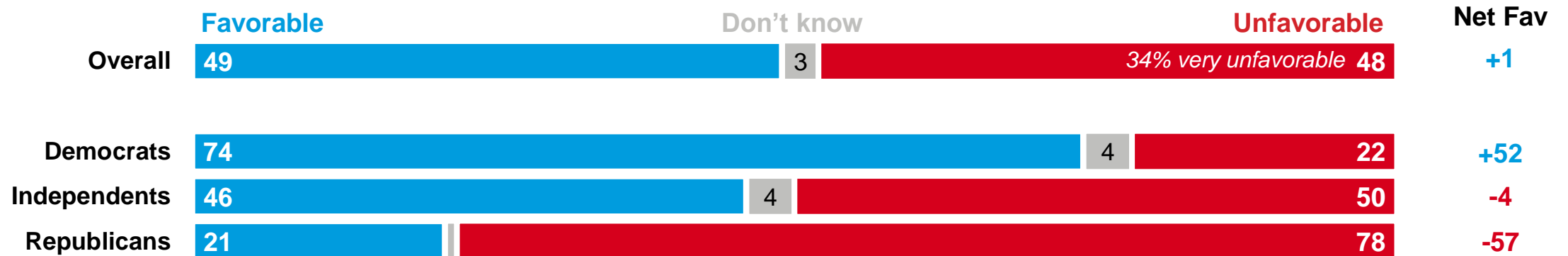
2020 Landscape

PA leans Democratic due to a slight advantage on party ID and winning over more independents in the generic vote

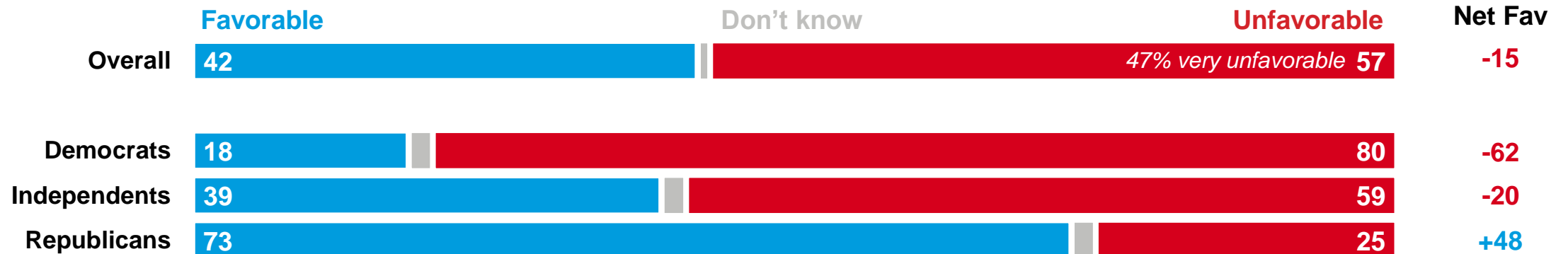


Presidential favorability ratings are divided along partisan lines, but Biden outperforms Trump overall and among independents

Joe Biden Favorability

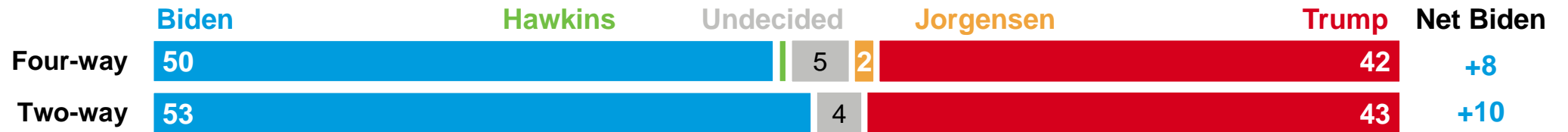


Donald Trump Favorability

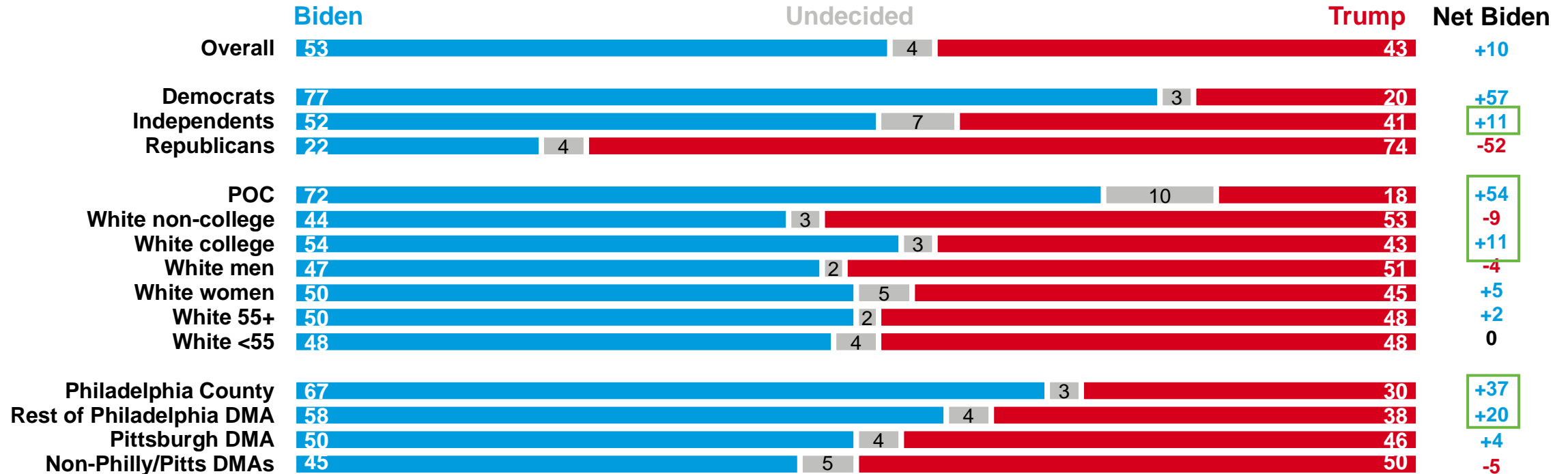


Biden dominates Trump in the Philly DMA and holds his own elsewhere while consolidating his approval advantage among independents

Vote for President

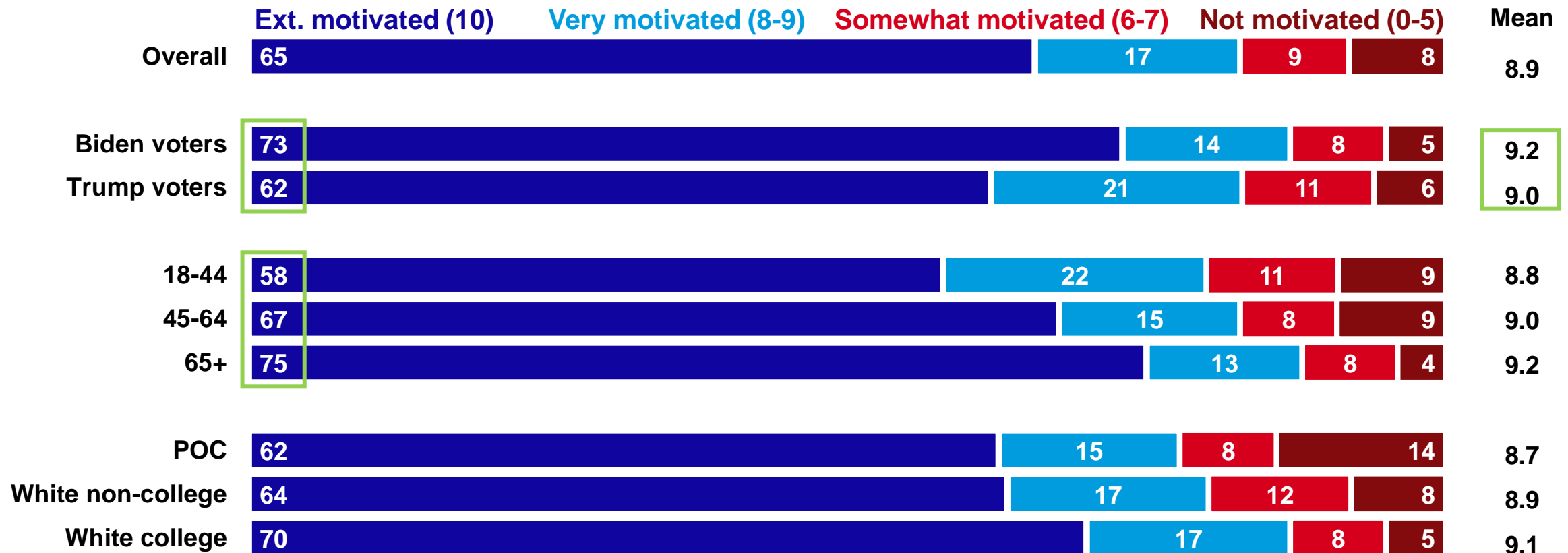


Vote for President (Two-way)



Biden voters are more intensely motivated to vote than Trump voters; younger voters, POC and less educated whites are less motivated

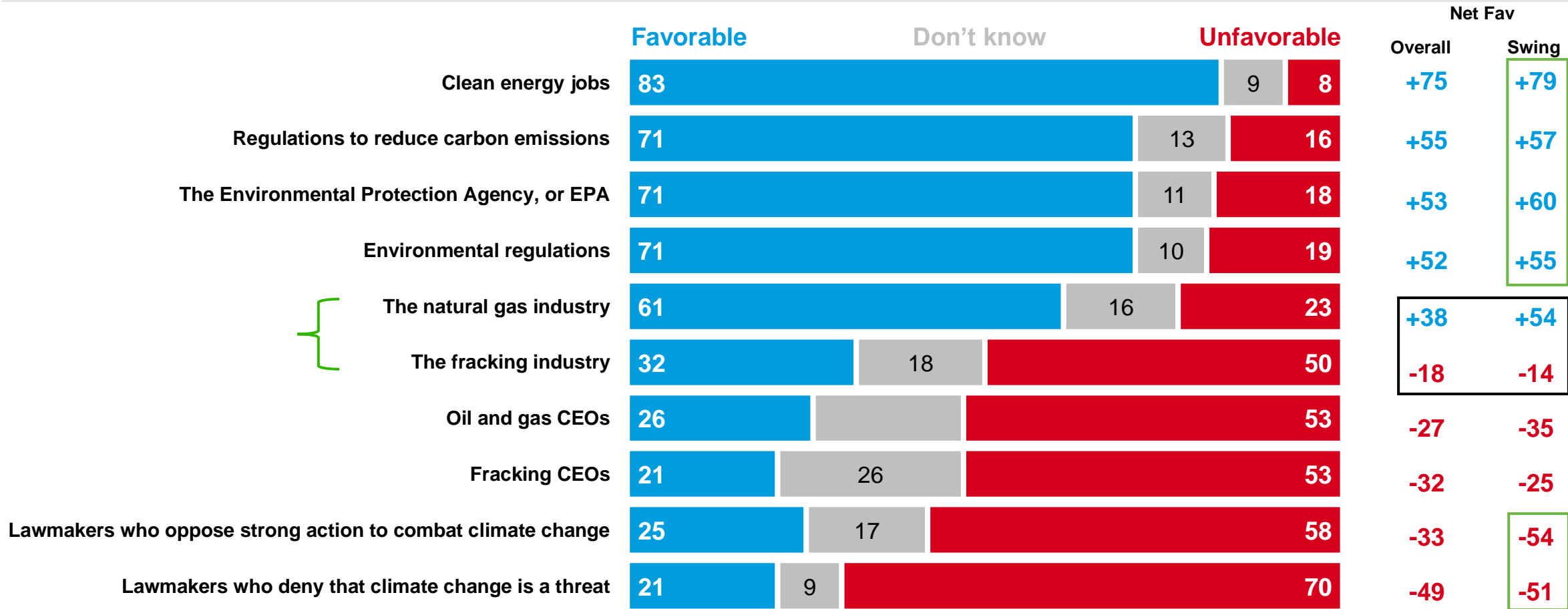
Please rate your level of motivation to vote in the election in November for President, US Congress, and other offices on a scale from zero to ten.



Issue Landscape

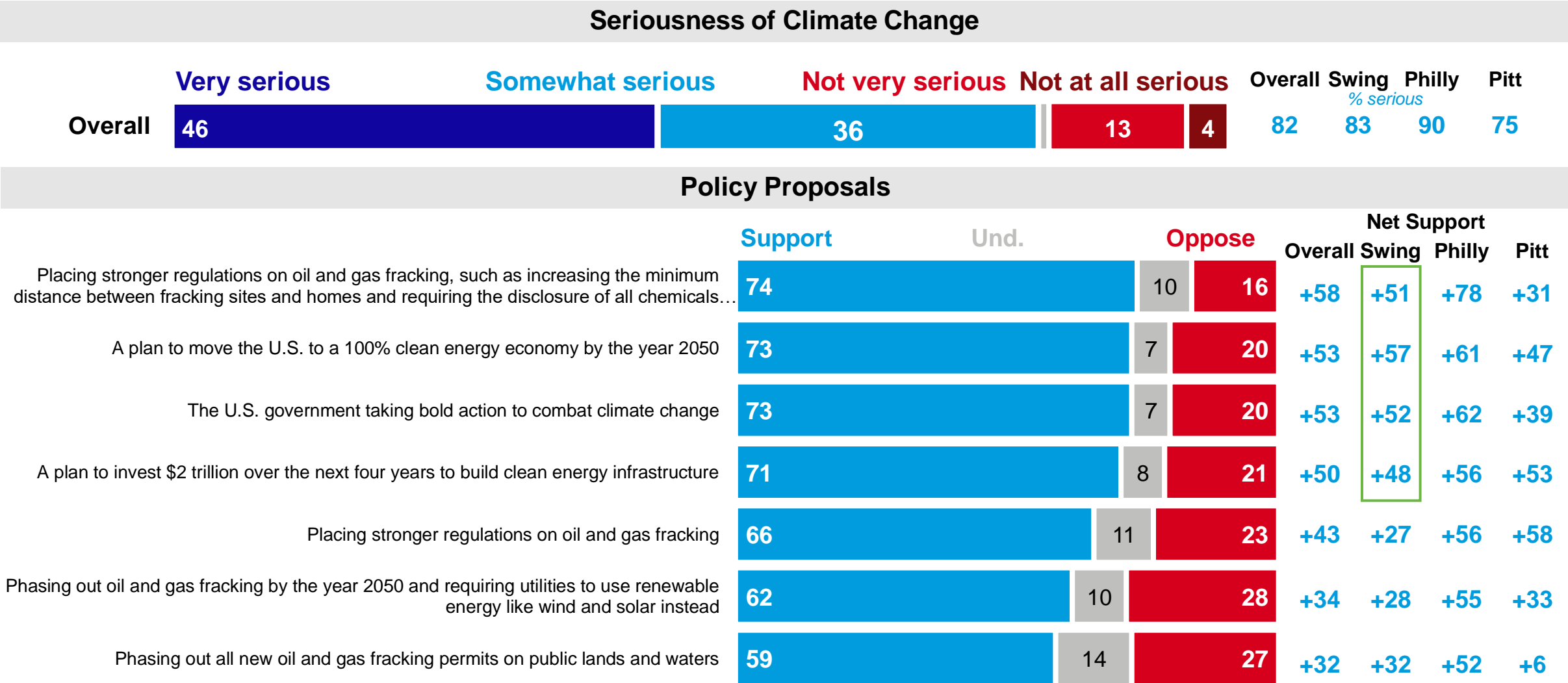
PA voters are very favorable toward environmental regulations. Although natural gas is well-liked, especially among center-right swing voters, fracking is viewed negatively

Favorability of People and Groups (Ranked by Net Fav)



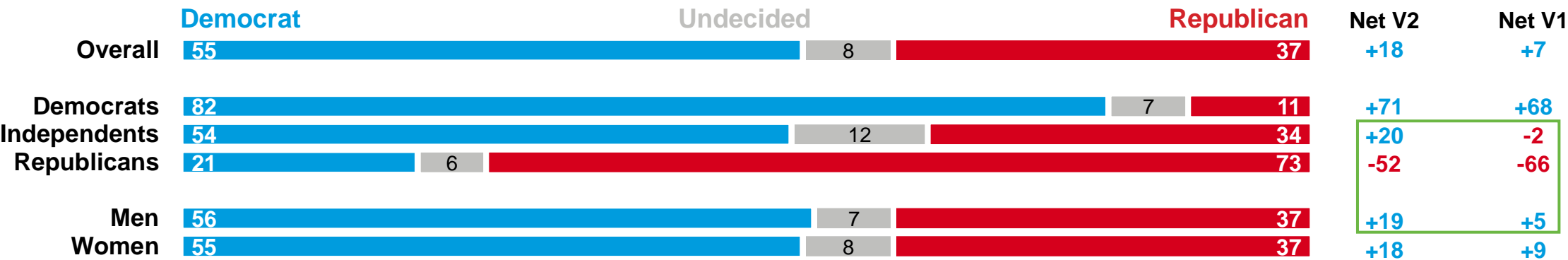
*“Swing” indicates voters who are not locked into either party on the various presidential and generic ballots. They tilt to the center-right (22% of registered voters in PA).

Voters – including swing voters – feel climate change is serious and support pro-climate proposals and stronger fracking regulations

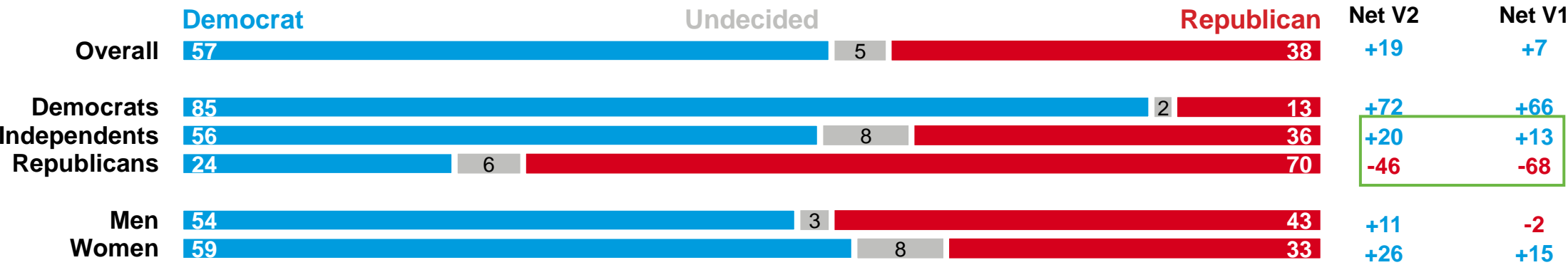


Reframing the generic ballot around fracking regulations or bold climate action produces significant gains for Democrats with center-right

If the election for Congress were held today between a Democratic candidate who supports stronger regulations on oil and gas fracking and a Republican candidate who opposes stronger regulations on oil and gas fracking, for whom would you vote?



If the election for Congress were held today between a Democratic candidate who supports taking bold government action to combat climate change and a Republican candidate who opposes taking bold government action to combat climate change, for whom would you vote?



Vote Movement

Survey Structure

Initial Asks

Motivation to vote in 2020

Votes: V1

Climate and presidential favorability

Support for climate action & clean energy investments



Fracking Attack & Pushback (Split Test: Jobs vs Pollution Response)

Re-ask votes: V2



Climate Attack & Pushback

Re-ask motivation, votes, and presidential favorability: V3



Anti-Trump and Pro-Biden Messaging (Split Test)

Re-ask motivation, votes, and presidential favorability: V4

Pushback focused on creating clean energy jobs increases Biden's vote share, favorability, and motivation among his supporters. Pollution response basically fights attack to a draw

Fracking Split Test Movement

Jobs	Vote		Motivation (Mean)		Favs	
	4-way	2-way	Biden	Trump	Biden	Trump
V1	+8	+10	9.11	9.08	+4	-15
V2	+13	+13				
V3	+15	+15	9.27	9.14	+15	-12
Change V1 to V3	+7	+5	+0.16	+0.06	+11	+3

Pollution	Vote		Motivation (Mean)		Favs	
	4-way	2-way	Biden	Trump	Biden	Trump
V1	+8	+9	9.28	8.80	0	-15
V2	+8	+8				
V3	+9	+10	9.35	8.80	+3	-13
Change V1 to V3	+1	+1	+0.07	0.00	+3	+2

Positive climate messaging on Biden boosts his lead and favorability a bit further. Negatives do not

Negative and Positive Message Testing

	V3		V4			Favs	
	2-way	4-way	2-way	4-way		V3	V4
Negative	+12	+12	+12	+12	Trump	-14	-14
Positive	+12	+12	+15	+15	Biden	+12	+14

With jobs message, balanced debate results in biggest gains with center-left, voters of color, younger whites, and outside the Philly DMA

Presidential Vote Progression – Key Demographics (Jobs Split Sample)

DEMOGRAPHIC	V1 Net Biden	V3 Net Biden	Change from V1 to V3	DEMOGRAPHIC	V1 Net Biden	V3 Net Biden	Change from V1 to V3
Overall	+8	+15	+7	White 18-54	-6	+7	+12
				White 55+	+1	0	-1
Democrats	+57	+69	+12	Philadelphia DMA	+30	+33	+3
Independents	+10	+21	+11	Pittsburgh DMA	+7	+15	+8
Republicans	-49	-50	-1	Non-Philly/Pitts DMAs	-16	-5	+11
POC	+54	+77	+11				
White non-college	-14	-6	+8				
White college	+10	-16	+6				
White men	-11	-2	+9				
White women	+6	+10	+4				

Messaging

Two different pushback messages to Trump's fracking attack on Biden were tested, both of which were more believable than the initial attack

Informed Vote – Messaging Split

Full
sample

Joe Biden wants to ban fracking in Pennsylvania, which would kill 600,000 jobs, damaging Pennsylvanians' livelihood at a time when nearly two million people are already out of work in the state. Even before the coronavirus devastated our economy, studies showed that banning fracking would be a disaster for Pennsylvania. Biden's plan to ban fracking would cost the state hundreds of billions in lost income and raise energy costs for Pennsylvania families by thousands of dollars and shows just how willing he is to let the Democrats' liberal mob call the shots.

30%
very believable

Split
sample

[POLLUTION PUSHBACK] Independent fact-checkers say these claims are simply "false." Joe Biden does not support a ban on fracking -he supports common sense safeguards to protect our water from contamination by toxic chemicals and investing in clean energy to combat climate change and create 10 million good-paying jobs across the country. Trump is trying to distract voters from the fact that he put oil and coal lobbyists in charge of protecting our environment - and they immediately went to work rolling back over 100 environmental safeguards and allowing corporate polluters to pump more toxic pollution and chemicals into our air and water.

39%
very believable

Split
sample

[JOBS PUSHBACK] Independent fact-checkers say these claims are simply "false," Joe Biden does not support a ban on fracking -he supports common sense safeguards to protect our water from contamination by toxic chemicals and investing in clean energy to combat climate change and create 10 million good-paying jobs across the country. Trump is trying to distract voters from the fact that he eliminated incentives for wind and solar power, making renewable energy more expensive for Pennsylvania families and costing almost 19,000 Pennsylvania clean energy workers their jobs – which is more people than work in natural gas production in the state.

39%
very believable

Costs are the most convincing part of Trump's argument but also generate skepticism. Voters are even less inclined to believe hyperbolic claims around way of life

Below is a statement that Donald Trump has made about Joe Biden

Parts of the statement that you find the most convincing arguments to vote against Joe Biden in November.

Joe Biden, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Bernie Sanders and other liberal Democrats are pushing the so-called **Green New Deal**. Their plan is a **massive government takeover** of our energy system that economists say would cost nearly **\$100 trillion – or \$40,000 for every American family**. That is more than every dollar our federal government has spent in its entire history and **Democrats want to raise taxes 70% to pay for it** – something that is unthinkable even in the best of times.

Biden's plan would kill our economy and have a devastating effect on our way of life. It would ban airplanes, hamburgers, and gasoline powered cars. It would crush the dreams of the poorest Americans, and disproportionately harm minority communities. What's worse, it would end the production of American coal, oil and natural gas, destroying an industry that has driven American economic growth and severely damaging our already fragile economy – economists say it would kill millions of jobs.

With their Green New Deal, Biden and the liberal mob not only want to **raise taxes**, but also **drive up electricity bills** for families by hundreds of dollars per year and the cost of gas by **50 cents per gallon**. That is a very bad idea. We have the cleanest air and water we've ever had. We will defend the environment, but we will also defend American sovereignty, American prosperity, and we will defend American jobs.

Parts of the statement that you find the least convincing or believable.

Joe Biden, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Bernie Sanders and other liberal Democrats are pushing the so-called Green New Deal. Their plan is a **massive government takeover** of our energy system that economists say would cost nearly **\$100 trillion – or \$40,000 for every American family**. That is more than every dollar our federal government has spent in its entire history and **Democrats want to raise taxes 70% to pay for it** – something that is unthinkable even in the best of times.

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27% of voters say this statement is very believable; 45% say it is not believable

Trump's "hoax" claims and the benefits of Biden's plan are compelling, though some skepticism about 10 million jobs claim

Below is a statement from supporters of Joe Biden

Parts of the statement that you find the most convincing arguments to vote for Joe Biden in November.

Donald Trump is the same person who called coronavirus and climate change a hoax. Now he wants you to believe that Joe Biden wants to spend \$100 trillion and ban airplanes and hamburgers – it's ridiculous. Trump and his oil and coal CEO buddies are trying to stir up controversy to distract us from discussing real solutions – and protect their own profits.

Instead of using taxpayers' money to give more bailouts to big oil CEOs – Trump is doing – Biden has a plan to invest in clean, renewable energy that will create 10 million good-paying jobs for all kinds of workers starting right now while boosting innovation and economic growth, combating climate change, and protecting our kids' health in the long-term.

Biden understands that our leaders have a duty to listen to our nation's most respected experts – and a responsibility to leave a better world for our children. But Trump ignored warnings from the CDC about the coronavirus. Now, he's ignoring scientists, NASA, and our military leaders when they say that climate change is a threat to our kids' future.

Instead of listening to these experts, Trump put oil and coal lobbyists in charge of protecting our environment – and they immediately went to work rolling back over 100 environmental safeguards, allowing corporate polluters to pump more toxic pollution and chemicals into our air and water, and putting the health of our families and kids at risk.

Parts of the statement that you find the least convincing or believable.

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Instead of listening to these experts, Trump put oil and coal lobbyists in charge of protecting our environment – and they immediately went to work rolling back over 100 environmental safeguards, allowing corporate polluters to pump more toxic pollution and chemicals into our air and water, and putting the health of our families and kids at risk.

39% of voters say this is very believable; 29% say it is not believable

Overall and among persuadable voters, the “experts/leadership,” “recovery,” and “legacy” positive messages are most effective

Below is a list of statements from supporters of Joe Biden. For each, please indicate how convincing of a reason it is to vote for Joe Biden in November.

Overall Swing Overall Swing
% Very Convincing % Top 2

39	22	50	58
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[EXPERTS/LEADERSHIP] Joe Biden knows that our politicians have a duty to listen to our nation's most respected leaders and experts, especially in a time of crisis. As president, Biden will bring steady leadership, make decisions based on the facts, and work with our top scientists and public health experts to develop plans to deal with our country's biggest challenges, including responding to the coronavirus crisis and combatting the long-term threat of climate change.

37	23	41	40
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[LEGACY] Biden understands that we have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for our children. His climate plan will move the U.S. to 100% clean energy and eliminate carbon pollution by 2050. And after listening to scientists, experts, and the concerns of younger Americans, Biden made his plan even more ambitious, including a \$2 trillion investment over the next ten years to build the infrastructure we need to scale up clean energy and combat climate change.

36	18	46	45
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[RECOVERY] Joe Biden believes that as we rebuild our economy after the coronavirus crisis, we should be investing in industries that will create good jobs right now and provide benefits to the country for decades to come. That's why he is proposing the largest ever investment in clean energy to create 10 million good-paying middle-class, union jobs while also protecting our kids' health, spurring innovation and economic growth, and combatting climate change.

35	18	30	31
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[FRACKING] Oil and gas fracking releases toxic chemicals and pollutants like benzene, formaldehyde, and arsenic into our drinking water which doctors and scientists have confirmed caused cancer, birth defects, and other diseases. That's why Joe Biden supports commonsense safeguards to prevent fracking near our homes and schools and to phase out new fracking on America's public lands and waters.

32	9	33	26
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[EJ] Joe Biden understands that 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 he will clean up air and water pollution – like lead, mercury and toxic chemicals – in these low-income communities, including communities of color.

Giving hundreds of billions in tax breaks to big oil CEOs and failing to listening to experts are the most damaging attacks against Trump

Below is a list of statements that some people have made about Donald Trump. For each, please indicate how convincing of a reason it is to vote against Donald Trump in the 2020 presidential election.

Overall Swing Overall Swing
% Very conv. % Top 2

43	22	37	40
42	23	49	50

[CEOS/TAX BREAKS] Donald Trump gave big oil and coal CEOs hundreds of billions in tax breaks, which allowed Chevron to pay zero in federal taxes even as they gave their CEO \$33 million and laid off thousands of workers. Now, with the economy in recession, Trump wants to give these same oil and coal CEOs billions in taxpayer-funded bailouts at the same time he is opposing more assistance to American workers who have lost their jobs.

[EXPERTS] Our leaders have a duty to listen to our nation's most respected experts – and a responsibility to leave a better world for our children. But Donald Trump ignored warnings from the CDC about the coronavirus. Now, he's ignoring scientists, NASA, and our military leaders when they say that if we don't act, climate change will end up meaning that our kids will inherit a future filled with droughts, flooding, food and water shortages, and more.

39 20 34 18 **[ROLLBACKS]** Instead of listening to the scientists and military leaders who say climate change is a threat, Donald Trump put oil and coal lobbyists in charge of protecting our environment – and they immediately went to work rolling back over 100 environmental safeguards, allowing corporate polluters to pump more toxic pollution and chemicals into our air and water, and putting the health of our families and kids at risk.

38 19 23 28 **[FRACKING]** Oil and gas fracking releases toxic chemicals and pollutants like benzene, formaldehyde, and arsenic into our drinking water which doctors and scientists have confirmed caused cancer, birth defects, and other diseases. Yet, Donald Trump wants to allow more fracking and pipelines close to Pennsylvania homes and schools and opposes commonsense safeguards like requiring fracking companies to disclose the chemicals they use.

37 22 30 38 **[JOBS]** Trump has given billions in tax breaks to oil and coal companies and their CEOs, while regular people have been left behind. The renewable energy industry employs over three million Americans and is key to combatting climate change. Yet, Trump eliminated tax incentives for wind and solar power, making renewable energy more expensive for middle-class American families and costing almost 20,000 Pennsylvania workers their jobs.

35 17 27 25 **[EJ]** Black and Latino communities have been subject to environmental racism for decades, poisoned by higher levels of toxic pollution and dirty air, which has made them more likely to die from the coronavirus. Yet Donald Trump rolled back dozens of environmental protections and allowed big oil and coal CEOs to spew more pollution in communities of color.

Conclusions & Recommendations

Conclusions & Recommendations

Don't shy away from engaging on fracking specifically or climate more broadly. Trump supporters who believe that this is a winning issue are misreading the electorate. While the natural gas industry is viewed favorably in Pennsylvania, fracking is most certainly not, and voters overwhelmingly side with Biden. More important, balanced debates on both of these issues expand Biden's already solid lead, boost his favorability, and motivated his voters.

On fracking, correct the record and turn Trump's jobs argument against him by contrasting the cost of Trump's attacks on clean energy with the potential of Biden's clean energy plan. Despite voters' negative perceptions of the fracking industry, an attack against Biden on fracking *is* damaging if left uncorrected. Correct the record by affirming that Biden supports common sense safeguards that will protect Pennsylvania's water. Then pivot aggressively to a contrast of Biden's job-creating clean energy plan and Trump's record of eliminating incentives for wind and solar power and costing 19,000 Pennsylvania workers their jobs.

On climate more generally, push off of Trump's unbelievable lies... As with his fracking attack, Trump's claims about the cost of Biden's climate plan can damage if left unchecked. But, again, voters are rightly skeptical. Meanwhile, his claims about Biden banning hamburgers, airplanes and cars are viewed as totally ridiculous and offer an opportunity to discredit Trump's entire message.

Conclusions & Recommendations (*cont'd*)

... **Contrast Biden's leadership to tackle our country's biggest challenges and help our economy rebuild after the coronavirus crisis with clean energy...** There are three messages that rise to the top and can most effectively boost positive perceptions of Biden:

- **Experts/Leadership:** Biden knows that our leaders have a duty to listen to the experts. He will bring steady leadership, make decisions based on the facts, and work with our experts to deal with our country's biggest challenges – like coronavirus and climate change.
- **Recovery:** Joe Biden believes that as we rebuild our economy after the coronavirus crisis, we should be investing in industries that will create good jobs right now and provide benefits to the country for decades to come.
- **Legacy:** Biden understands that we have a basic responsibility to leave a better world for our kids, that's why he made his climate plan even more ambitious, to move the U.S. to 100% clean energy and invest \$2 trillion to scale up clean energy and combat climate change.

... **with Trump's refusal to listen to the experts and fealty to big oil and coal CEOs.** The strongest critiques on Trump are the flip side of the strongest positive messages for Biden:

- **Experts:** Our leaders have a duty to listen to the experts, but Trump ignored warnings from the CDC about coronavirus, and now he's ignoring scientists, NASA, and military leader when they say climate change is a threat to our kids' future.
- **CEOs/Tax Breaks:** Trump gave big oil and coal CEOs huge tax breaks, which let Chevron pay no taxes. Now Trump wants to give them more bailouts, even as he is opposing assistance to American workers.
- **Jobs:** Trump gave big oil and coal CEOs huge tax breaks, while eliminating incentives for the renewable energy industry and costing almost 20,000 Pennsylvania workers their jobs.

Recommended Language

Pushing back on fracking attacks:

Independent fact-checkers say these claims are simply “false,” Joe Biden does not support a ban on fracking. Biden supports common sense safeguards to protect our water from contamination by toxic chemicals (like increasing the minimum distance between fracking sites and homes and requiring the disclosure of all chemicals used in fracking) and investing in clean energy to combat climate change and create 10 million good-paying jobs across the country.

Trump is trying to distract voters from the fact that he eliminated incentives for wind and solar power, making renewable energy more expensive for Pennsylvania families and costing almost 19,000 Pennsylvania clean energy workers their jobs – which is more people than work in natural gas production in the state.

Pushing back on climate attacks:

Donald Trump is the same person who called coronavirus and climate change a hoax. Now he wants you to believe that Joe Biden wants to spend \$100 trillion and ban airplanes and hamburgers – it's ridiculous. Trump and his oil and coal CEO buddies are trying to stir up controversy to distract us from discussing real solutions – and to protect their own profits.

Instead of using taxpayers' money to give more bailouts to big oil CEOs – as Trump is doing – Biden has a plan to invest in clean, renewable energy that will create 10 million good-paying jobs for all kinds of workers starting right now while boosting innovation and economic growth, combating climate change, and protecting our kids' health in the long-term.

Biden understands that our leaders have a duty to listen to our nation's most respected experts – and a responsibility to leave a better world for our children. But Trump ignored warnings from the CDC about the coronavirus. Now, he's ignoring scientists, NASA, and our military leaders when they say that climate change is a threat to our kids' future.

Instead of listening to these experts, Trump has put his big oil and gas CEO buddies first. He gave them hundreds of billions in tax breaks, which allowed Chevron to pay zero in federal taxes even as they gave their CEO \$33 million and laid off thousands of workers, while eliminating tax incentives for wind and solar power, costing almost 20,000 Pennsylvania workers their jobs.

Thank You

New York

Washington, DC

Hartford

Chicago

Denver

Seattle

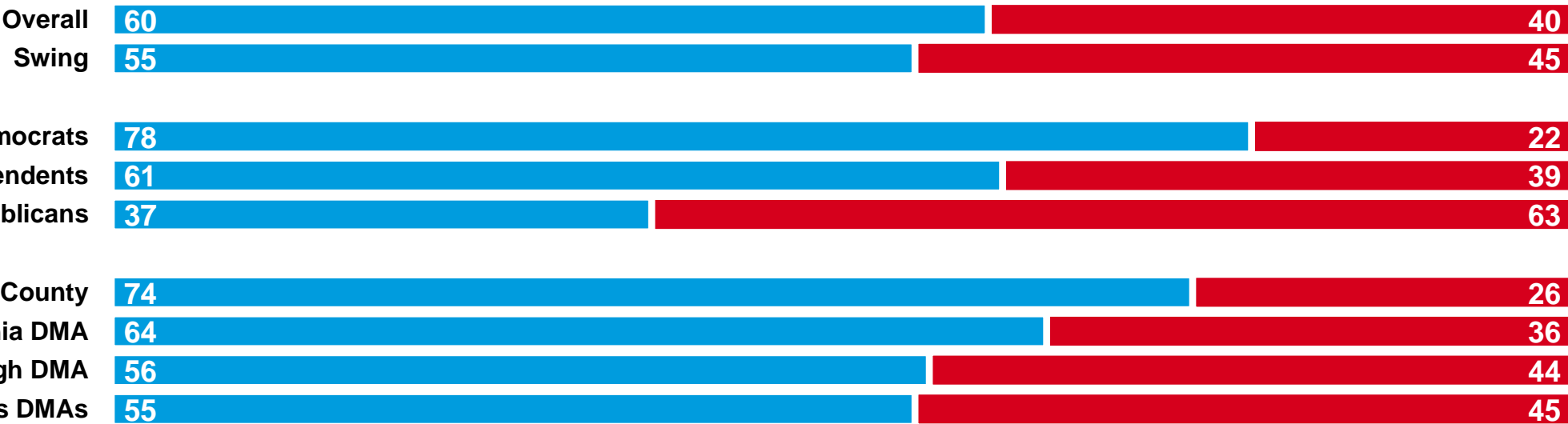
Appendix

A majority of independents and more than 1 in 3 Republicans prefer investments in renewable energy over supporting oil and gas

Which statement do you agree with more?

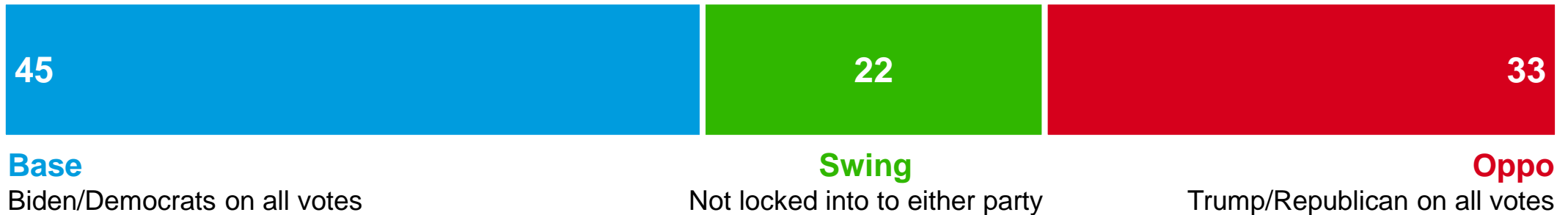
Big oil CEOs have already gotten hundreds of billions in tax breaks and subsidies from taxpayers; we don't need to bail these corporate polluters out again. Instead, we should be investing in renewable energy like wind and solar because that will create good-paying jobs in Pennsylvania for all kinds of workers while boosting economic growth, combatting climate change, and protecting our kids' health in the long-term.

The oil and gas industry is critical to the economy here in Pennsylvania and across America and it has been devastated by this crisis. We should be removing unnecessary regulations and providing oil and gas companies with the support they need to protect their workers, get back to business, and start driving economic growth again - not using the crisis as an excuse to push through socialist climate change policies.



Independent, younger and non-college women are least likely to be locked into one party or the other

Vote Targets



- **Democrats (73% are base)**
 - *Liberal Democrats (95%)*
 - *White Democrats (86%)*
- **People of color (66%)**
- **Philadelphia County (63%)**
- **Allegheny County (54%)**
- **Women 55+ (49%)**
- **Seniors 65+ (48%)**
- **Wilkes-Barre/Scranton (49%)**
- **College-educated voters (48%)**
 - *College women (56%)*

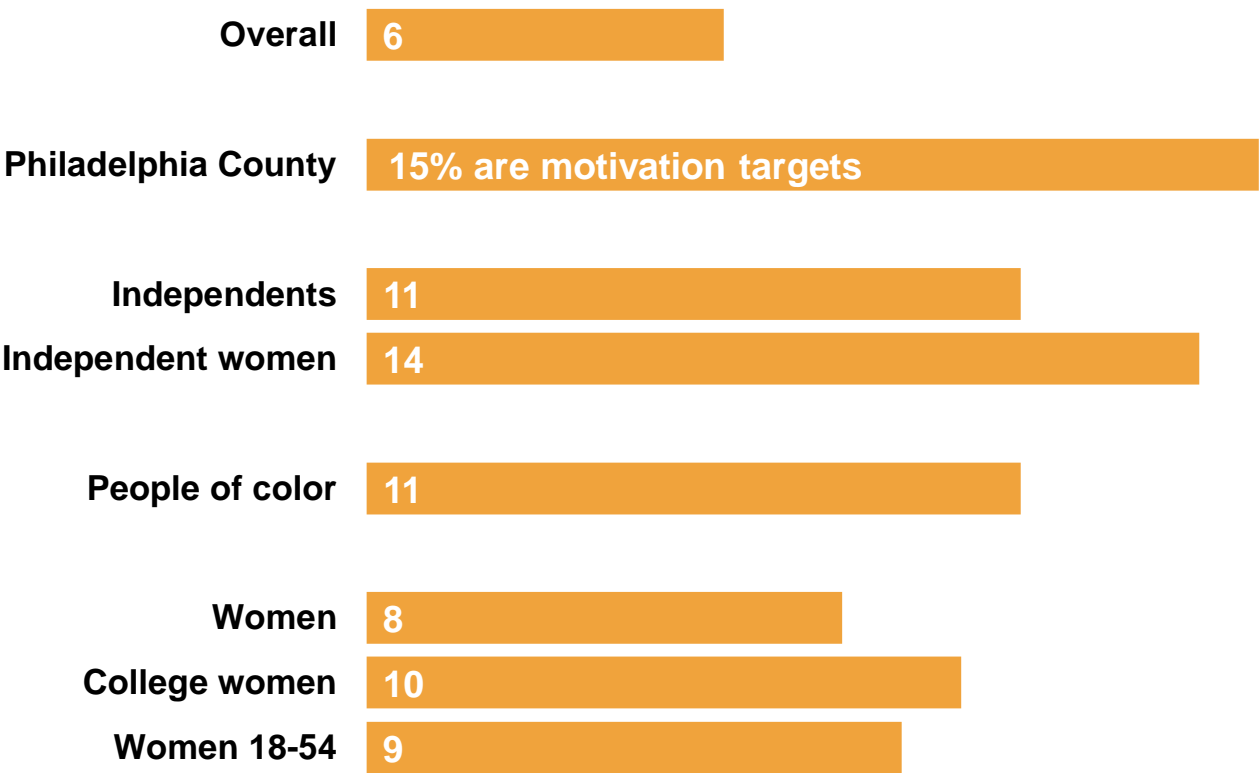
- **Harrisburg/Lancaster/Lebanon/York (32% are swing)**
- **Independents (31%)**
 - *Independent women (37%)*
- **Women 18-54 (25%)**
- **Non-college women (25%)**

- **Republicans (66% are oppo)**
 - *Conservative Republicans (86%)*
 - *White Republicans (70%)*
 - *Republican women (69%)*
- **Conservative independents (56%)**
- **Non-DMA Pittsburgh (50%)**
- **Johnstown/Altoona (48%)**
- **White voters (38%)**
 - *White men (40%)*
 - *Non-college whites (40%)*
- **College men (38%)**

Philadelphians, independents, and people of color are most likely to be anti-Trump and become more motivated to vote following messaging

Motivation Targets

Motivation targets are voters who did not vote Trump on the initial or final vote and move higher on the vote motivation scale. They make up 6% of the electorate.



Likely 2020 General Electorate

Gender

Men	47
Women	53

Age

18-29 year olds	16
30-44 year olds	24
45-54 year olds	16
55-64 year olds	18
Seniors 65+	26

Education

High school or less	21
Some college	34
4-year college graduate	28
Post-graduate	17

Ideology

Very liberal	14
Somewhat liberal	15
Moderate	37
Somewhat conservative	19
Very conservative	14

Ethnicity

White	82
African-American	11
Hispanic	4
Asian-American	2

Region

Philadelphia County	13
Rest of Philly DMA	29
Pittsburgh DMA	21
Rest of State	37