

# Messaging the Clean Energy Plan in Pennsylvania

Key findings from a survey among registered voters in Pennsylvania in April/May 2023

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# Objectives

- 1 Understand Attitudes:**  
 Directly connect with Pennsylvania registered voters as representatives of engaged citizens to understand their values, priorities, experiences and sentiments surrounding the new Clean Energy Plan.
- 2 Segment Our Audience:**  
 In understanding where Pennsylvanians stand, we will determine who among registered Pennsylvanians are our base of supporters, opposition, and persuadable audiences.
- 3 Test the Message:**  
 Conduct message testing to identify the best messaging elements that effectively introduces legislation like the IRA and improves confidence in progress made to expand clean energy.

# Methodology

*Conducted April 28 to May 3, 2023*

| Voter Universe               | Total sample Size | Methodology   | Overall Margin of Error |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Total=Registered voters      | N = 1,113         | All survey interviews were collected through a mixed methodology of cell/landline live calls and TTW online completes | ±3.39                   |
| Oversample=Voters ages 18-35 | N = 344           |   |                         |
| Oversample=Rural voters      | N = 311           |   |                         |
| Oversample=Black voters      | N = 191           |   |                         |

\* In this poll, we use the term "Clean Energy Plan" to refer to the Inflation Reduction Act. We do this for three reasons: (1) No one has heard of the IRA (2) using a broader term allows us to combine the IRA, with the Infrastructure Bill, and other executive actions that have climate/clean energy implications, and (3) our previous research shows that people don't feel like there is a real "plan" to transition the economy to clean energy, so using that term emphasizes that this is all part of a plan for the economy.

# Key Takeaways



1

Pennsylvanians are relatively unaware of the Clean Energy Plan and have yet to form strong opinions on it.



- 39% of Pennsylvanians say that they approve of the plan while 32% say that they disapprove of this plan (disapproval is largely driven by conservative voters.)
- 28% of Pennsylvanians say that they have no opinion about the plan or that they have never heard of it.
- With Pennsylvanians not adequately informed about this progress under the Clean Energy Plan, low marks extend to President Biden, Congressional Democrats, and Pennsylvania Democratic officials on the issues of climate change and clean energy.

2

Pennsylvanians feel favorable toward clean energy investments when they receive more information about them.



- When thinking about policies recently signed into law, Pennsylvanians are most favorable towards those that [upgrade the U.S. electrical grid](#) (71% fav) and [create new good-paying jobs and expand job training in the clean energy industry](#) (70% fav).
- The impacts of these policies that resonate most with Pennsylvanians are those that [save consumers tens of thousands of dollars](#) for making their homes more energy efficient (52% rank this as a top benefit) and could [save them up to \\$1,000 a year in energy costs](#) (52% rank this as a top benefit).
- [Voters of color are generally most concerned about pollution and public health](#) and feel more favorable toward policies that address this problem.

3

Approval for the Clean Energy Plan improves by nearly 20 points when Pennsylvanians receive information and messaging on the plan's accomplishments and progress.



- Information moves Pennsylvanians away from indifference into approval for the plan; the disapproval numbers remain generally the same from the start-to-end of the poll. [Pennsylvanians who move towards supporting the plan tend to be Black voters and women, particularly older Black voters, Black women and Millennial women.](#)
- [56% of Pennsylvanians say they have more confidence in the Biden Administration after learning about their leadership](#) on the Clean Energy Plan and future investments.



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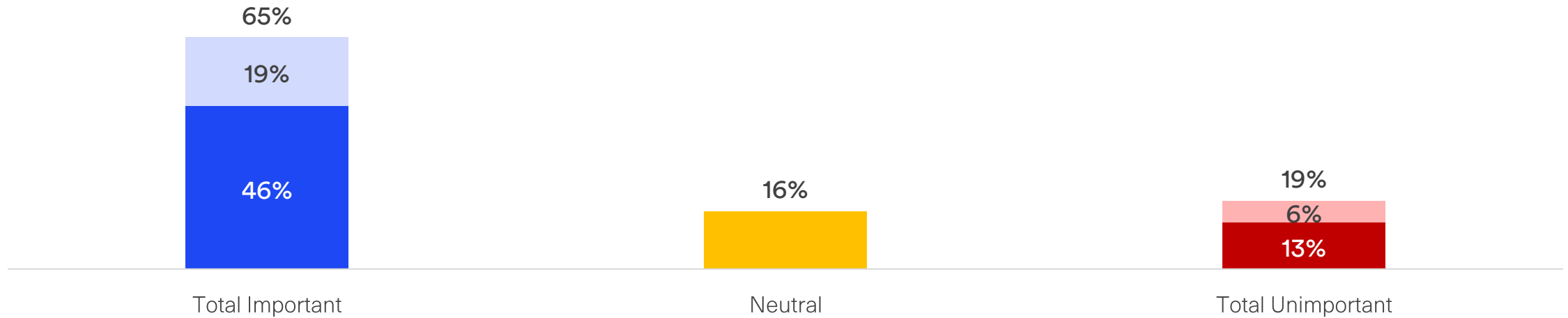
# Opinions on Climate Change

# Two-in-three Pennsylvanians say climate change is an important issue, especially among voters of color, younger generations, and self-ID Democrats.



Q22. Regarding the issue of climate change, please rank the issue on a scale from zero to ten, where “10” means that you feel that climate change is VERY IMPORTANT, “5” means that you feel that climate change is not particularly important or unimportant, and “0” means that you climate change is VERY UNIMPORTANT.

■ Very important (8-10)     
 ■ Somewhat important (6-7)     
 ■ Neutral (5)     
 ■ Not very important (3-4)     
 ■ Not important at all (0-2)



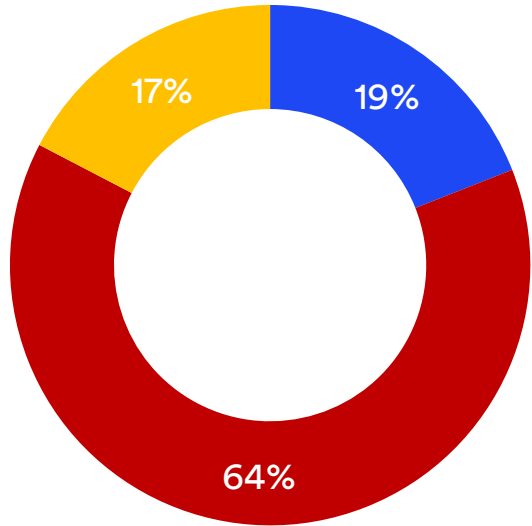
|                   | Men | Women | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Millennial | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP | Urban | Suburban | Small Town | Rural |
|-------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|------------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|----------|------------|-------|
| Total Important   | 63% | 66%   | 62%   | 75%   | 77% | 68%  | 72%        | 63%  | 60%           | 87% | 53% | 43% | 72%   | 66%      | 56%        | 60%   |
| Total Neutral     | 15% | 18%   | 17%   | 16%   | 13% | 13%  | 15%        | 18%  | 17%           | 8%  | 22% | 24% | 15%   | 15%      | 18%        | 19%   |
| Total Unimportant | 22% | 16%   | 21%   | 9%    | 10% | 19%  | 13%        | 19%  | 23%           | 5%  | 24% | 33% | 13%   | 19%      | 26%        | 22%   |

# Pennsylvanians have cost concerns about increasing the use of clean energy, especially in the short term, and need to be informed about the actual impact of using clean energy on their wallet



Q36. Do you think that increasing the use of clean energy in the United States will save you money, cost you more money, or not have an effect on you either way **over the next year or two?**

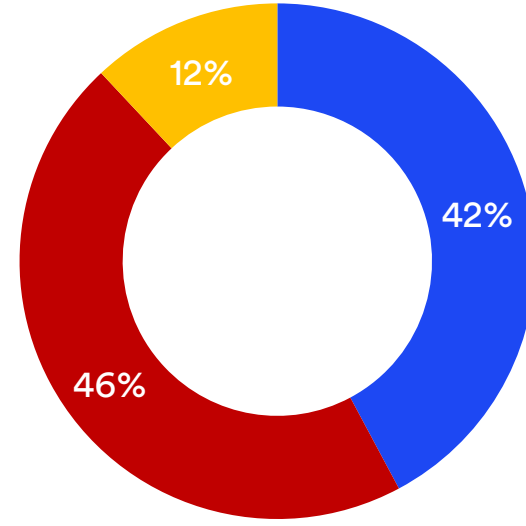
- Save you more money in the short term
- Cost you more money in the short term
- Not affect you either way in the short term



|            | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Save Money | 16%   | 36%   | 35% | 29%  | 27%   | 18%  | 11%           | 26% | 28% | 9%  |
| Cost Money | 66%   | 48%   | 49% | 53%  | 57%   | 63%  | 71%           | 55% | 55% | 75% |
| No Impact  | 18%   | 16%   | 16% | 18%  | 16%   | 18%  | 18%           | 19% | 17% | 16% |

Q37. Do you think that increasing the use of clean energy in the United States will save you money, cost you more money, or not have an effect on you either way **over the next 10 or more years?**

- Save you more money in the long term
- Cost you more money in the long term
- Not affect you either way in the long term



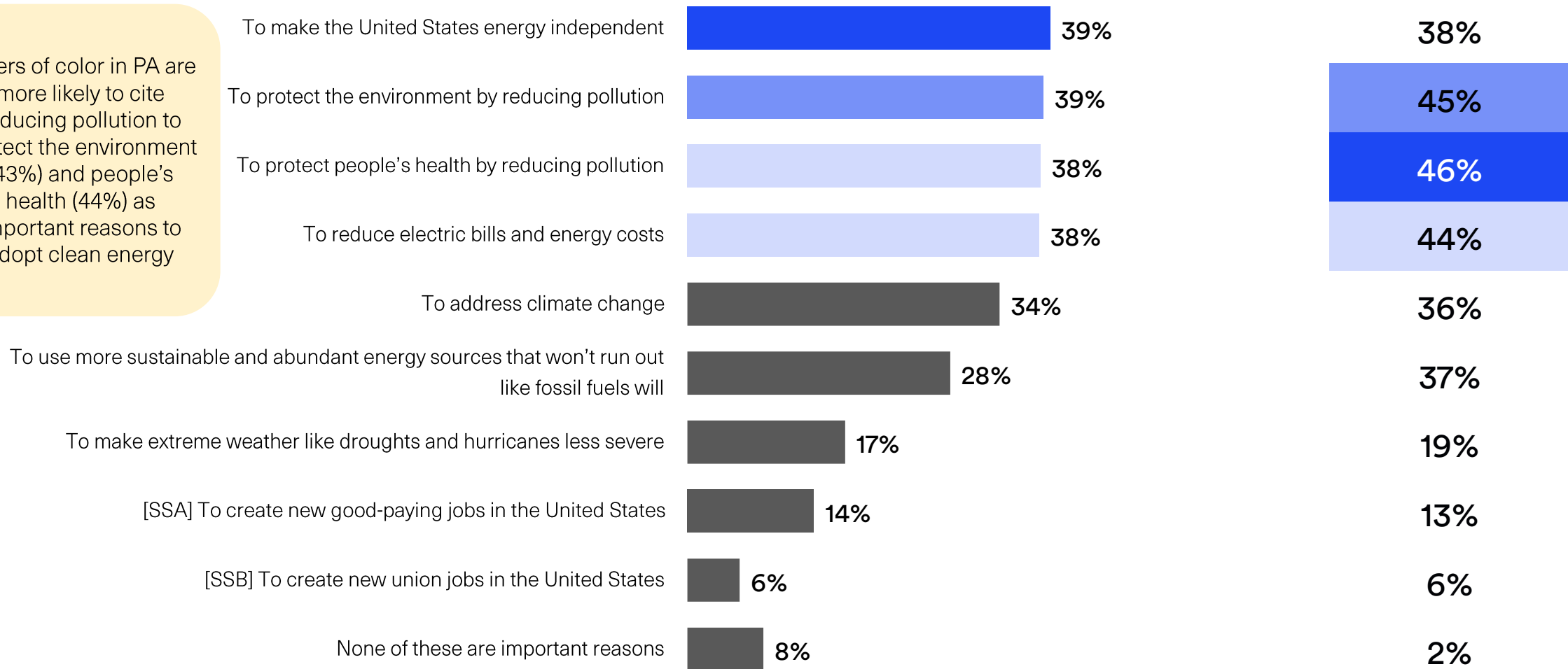
|            | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Save Money | 40%   | 55%   | 54% | 49%  | 55%   | 38%  | 34%           | 59% | 42% | 23% |
| Cost Money | 48%   | 34%   | 34% | 34%  | 34%   | 50%  | 56%           | 31% | 40% | 65% |
| No Impact  | 12%   | 12%   | 12% | 17%  | 11%   | 12%  | 11%           | 11% | 18% | 12% |

# Pennsylvanians prioritize **energy independence, reducing pollution, and cutting energy costs** as important reasons to increase clean energy use; voters of color prioritize reducing pollution/protecting public health.

Q33. Which three of the following, if any, do you think are the most important reasons to increase our use of clean energy sources?

Voters of color in PA are more likely to cite reducing pollution to protect the environment (43%) and people's health (44%) as important reasons to adopt clean energy

Approval Shifters\*





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# Baseline Perspective

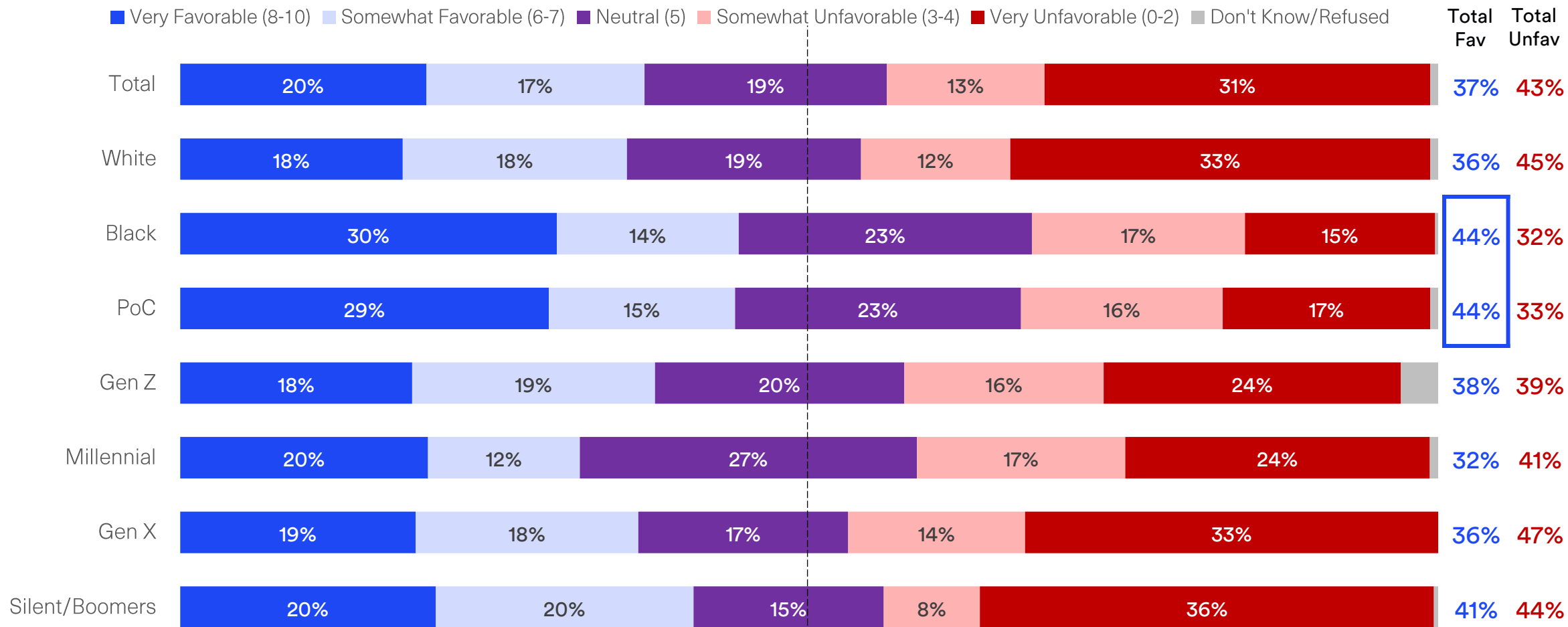


# Only about a third of Pennsylvanians feel favorable toward President Biden and Congressional Democrats on climate change and clean energy, with Millennials least likely to feel favorable.



Q15. Now, please rate how you feel President Joe Biden and Democrats in Congress are doing on each of the following issue areas. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, "5" means that you feel neither warm or cold (neutral), and "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE towards them.

## CLIMATE CHANGE & CLEAN ENERGY



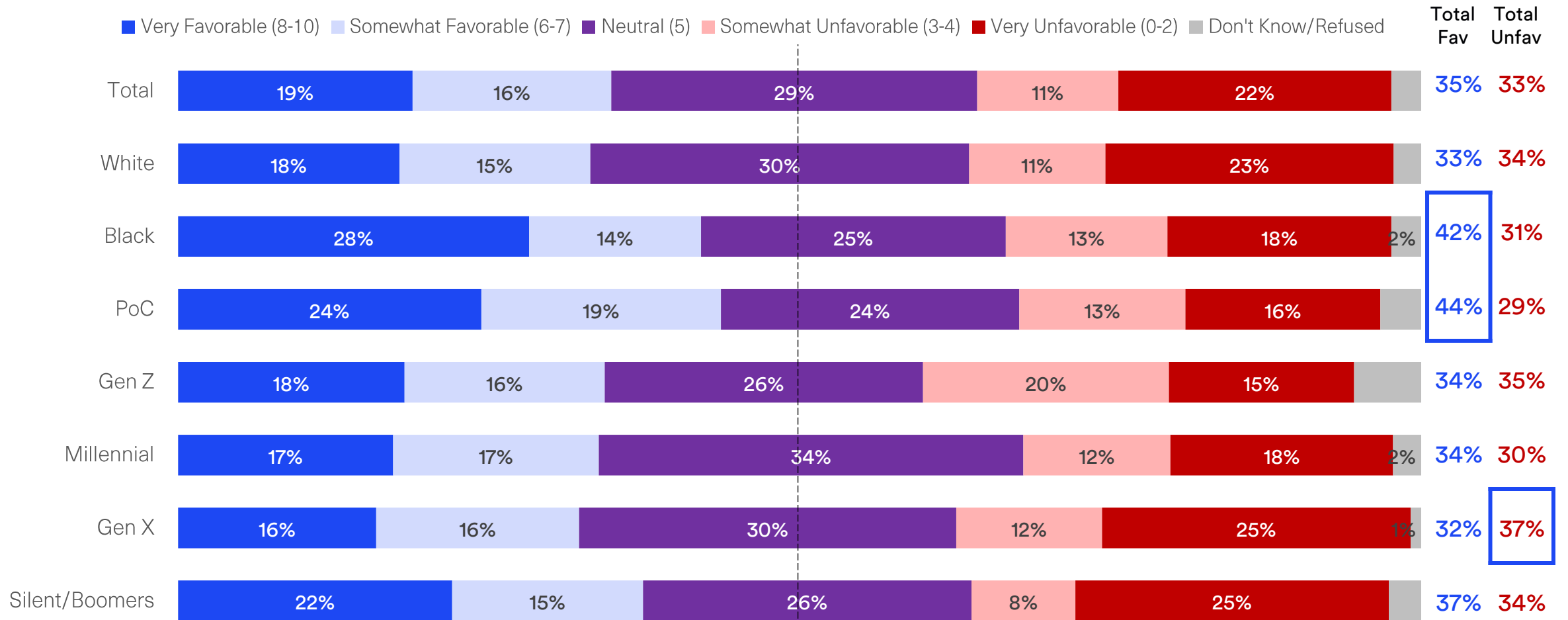
50%

# Governor Josh Shapiro inherits the national Congressional Democratic reputation with a similar favorability rating on the issue.



Q16. Now, please rate how you feel Governor Josh Shapiro is doing on each of the following issue areas. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" means that you feel VERY WARM and FAVORABLE towards them, "5" means that you feel neither warm or cold (neutral), and "0" means that you feel VERY COLD and UNFAVORABLE towards them.

## CLIMATE CHANGE & CLEAN ENERGY

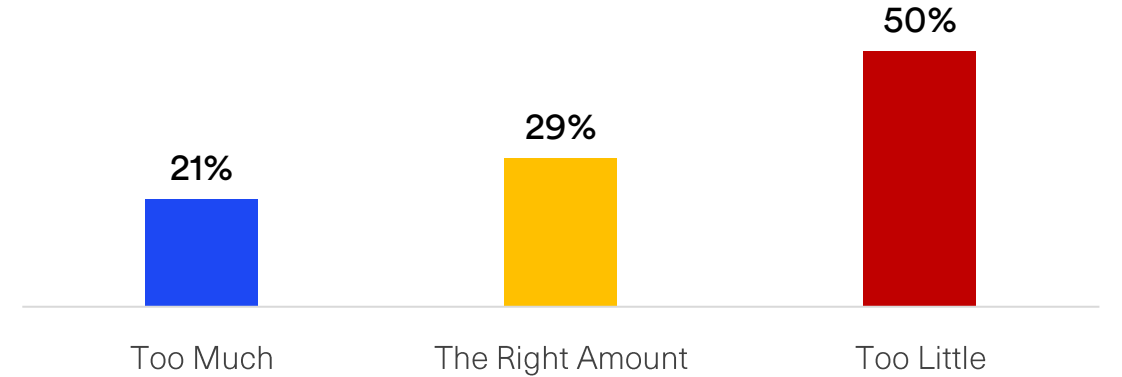
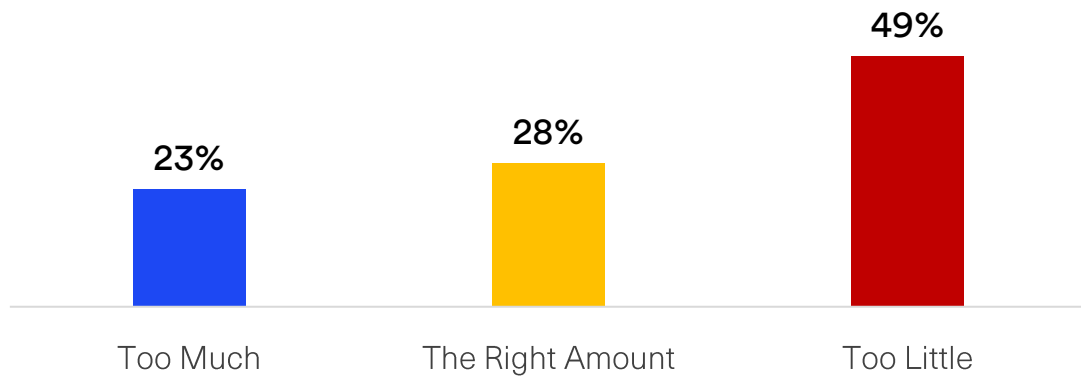


Pennsylvanians generally say both Biden and PA Democratic Officials **do too little to address climate change**, with younger generations and voters of color the most likely to say not enough is being done.



Q17. Do you think Joe Biden is doing too much, too little, or the right amount to address climate change?

Q18. Do you think Democrats in Pennsylvania's government are doing too much, too little, or the right amount to address climate change?



|              | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|--------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Too Much     | 25%   | 12%   | 10% | 9%   | 17%   | 26%  | 29%           | 7%  | 19% | 42% |
| Right Amount | 28%   | 36%   | 30% | 18%  | 23%   | 29%  | 35%           | 42% | 27% | 14% |
| Too Little   | 46%   | 52%   | 60% | 73%  | 60%   | 46%  | 35%           | 51% | 53% | 45% |

|              | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|--------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Too Much     | 23%   | 10%   | 11% | 14%  | 16%   | 25%  | 25%           | 6%  | 21% | 38% |
| Right Amount | 29%   | 30%   | 27% | 26%  | 23%   | 30%  | 33%           | 37% | 34% | 18% |
| Too Little   | 48%   | 59%   | 61% | 59%  | 61%   | 45%  | 42%           | 57% | 45% | 44% |

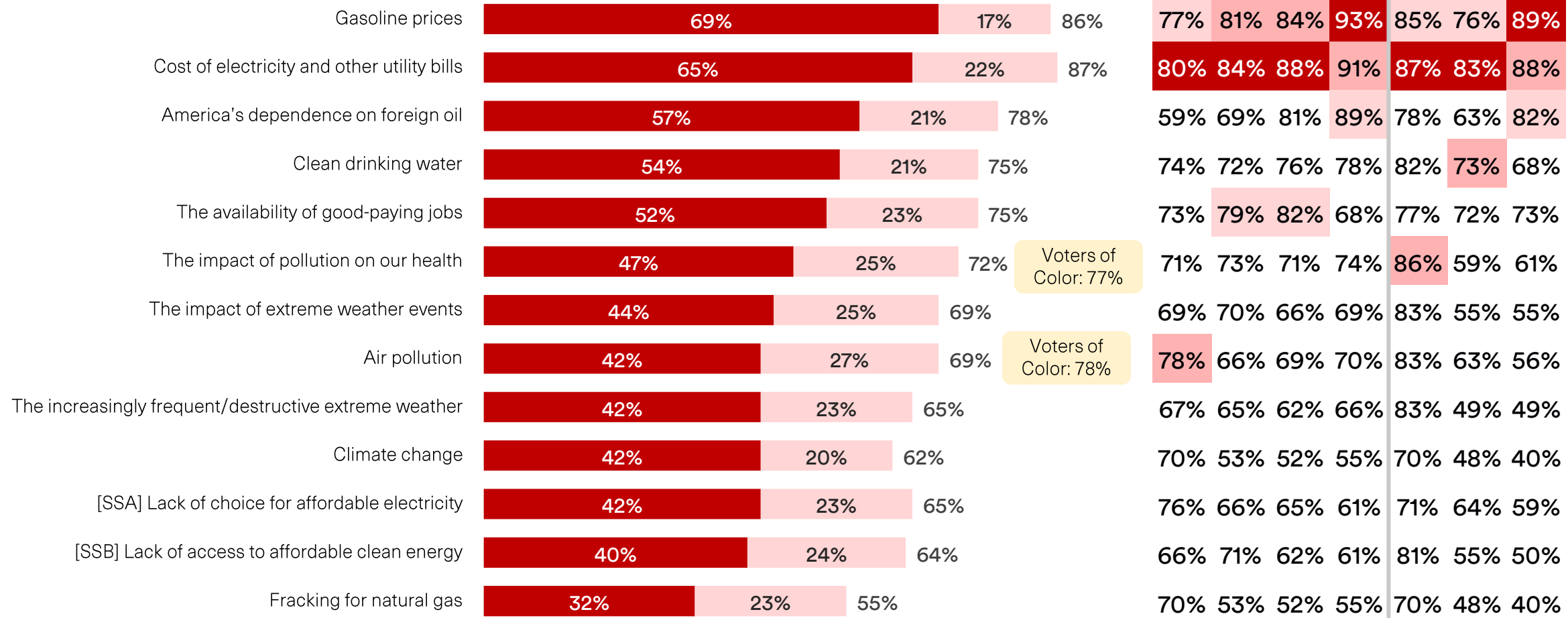
# Pennsylvanians are most concerned about **gasoline prices and utilities costs** when it comes to climate-and energy-related challenges; Gen Z and voters of color are concerned about pollution and public health.



Q21. Now, please rate how concerned you are about each one of the following issues. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where “10” means that you feel very concerned, “5” means that you feel neither concerned or unconcerned, and “0” means that you are not concerned at all. You may use any number from 0 to 10, depending on how you feel

Very concerned (8-10)    Somewhat concerned (6-7)

**% Total Concerned**  
*Top 3 For Each Demo Highlighted in Red*  
 GenZ Millennial GenX Boomer DEM IND GOP



Voters of Color: 77%

Voters of Color: 78%





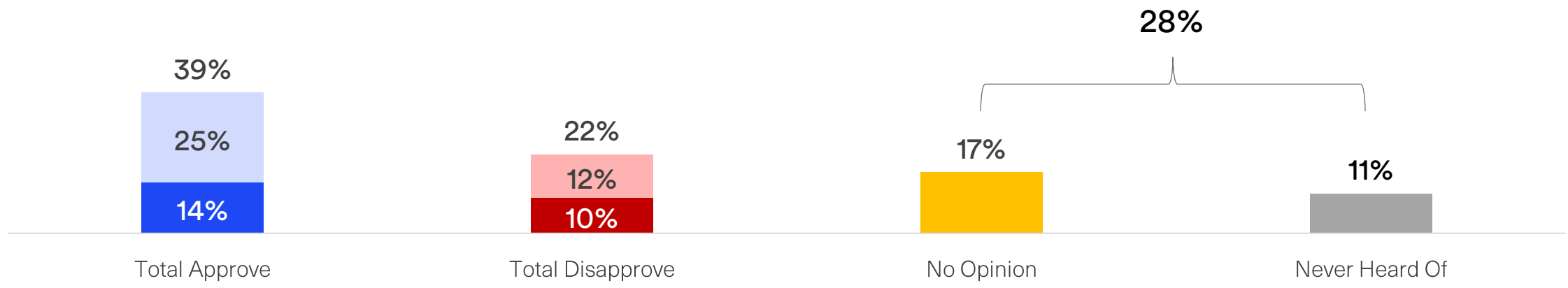
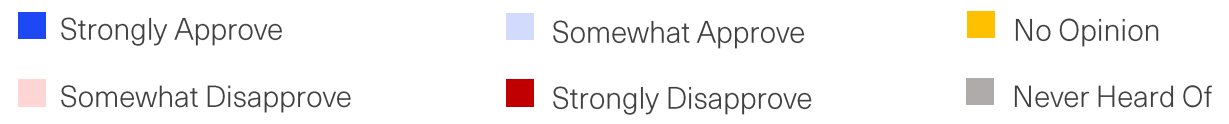
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# Initial opinion on Biden and Democrats in Congress' Clean Energy Plan



# Pennsylvanians are generally divided on approval for the federal Clean Energy Plan; **nearly a third of Pennsylvanians do not have an opinion on the plan or have never heard of it.**

Q31. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan?



|                            | Men | Women      | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Millennial | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND        | GOP | Urban | Suburban | Small Town | Rural |
|----------------------------|-----|------------|-------|-------|-----|------|------------|------|---------------|-----|------------|-----|-------|----------|------------|-------|
| Total Approve              | 44% | 35%        | 36%   | 61%   | 57% | 48%  | 42%        | 35%  | 38%           | 65% | 21%        | 15% | 52%   | 38%      | 34%        | 31%   |
| Total Disapprove           | 34% | 31%        | 35%   | 15%   | 16% | 23%  | 23%        | 39%  | 37%           | 10% | 30%        | 58% | 21%   | 31%      | 43%        | 40%   |
| No Opinion/<br>Never Heard | 22% | <b>34%</b> | 29%   | 24%   | 27% | 29%  | <b>35%</b> | 26%  | 25%           | 25% | <b>49%</b> | 27% | 27%   | 31%      | 23%        | 29%   |
| Net Approve                | +10 | +4         | +1    | +46   | +41 | +25  | +19        | -4   | +1            | +55 | -9         | -43 | +31   | +7       | -9         | -9    |

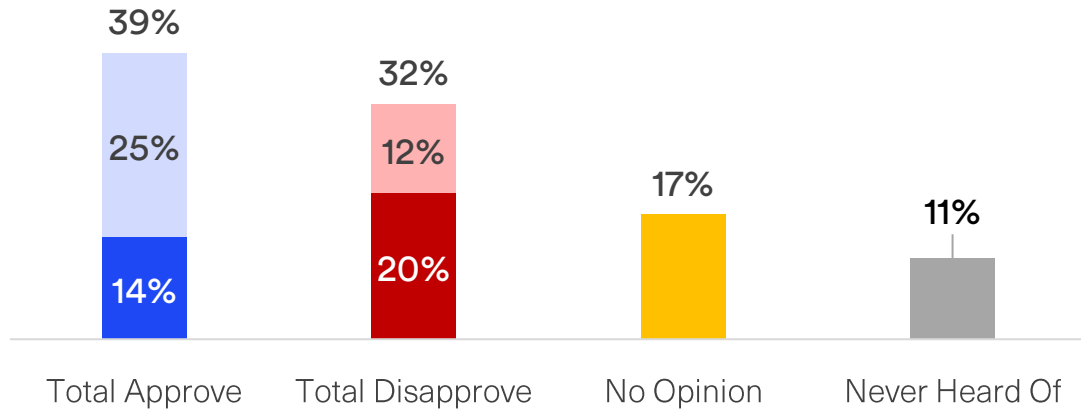
# Pennsylvania approval for the Clean Energy Plan stacks up with ratings across six key states.



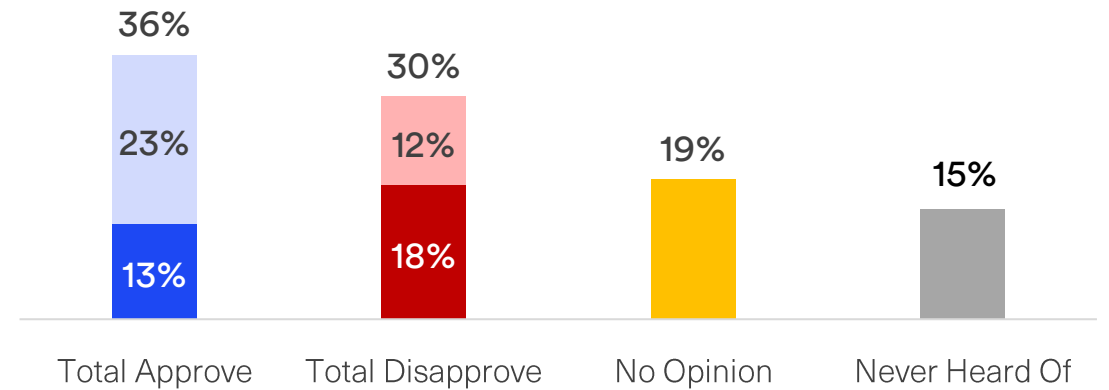
Q31. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan? / Based on what you have seen and read in this survey, from what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of the Clean Energy Plan that President Biden and Congress recently passed?

Strongly Approve    Somewhat Approve    No Opinion    Somewhat Disapprove    Strongly Disapprove    Never Heard Of

## PENNSYLVANIA



## COMBINED STATES\*



\* Based on aggregated data from MI, WI, PA, GA, AZ, and NV registered voters.

# All four proof points on the Clean Energy Plan are popular with Pennsylvanians. **Creating new good-paying jobs is especially popular with approval shifters.**



Q32. Below are four policies recently passed by Congress and signed into law by President Biden. Please rate how you feel toward each one.

■ Very Favorable (8-10)    ■ Somewhat Favorable (6-7)

Approval Shifters\*

Showing % Total Favorable

Upgrading the U.S. electrical grid so it is able to handle much greater use, save money, able to deliver more electricity from clean energy sources, and is more reliable during extreme weather.



**83%**

Creating new good-paying jobs and expanding job training in clean energy industries for a range of workers, from scientists and engineers to electricians and carpenters.



**88%**

Providing incentives to businesses and consumers that significantly reduce the cost of clean energy technologies that save them money and reduce pollution.



**80%**

Expanding and speeding up the transition to clean energy sources and ensuring that clean energy technologies will be developed and manufactured in the United States.



**76%**





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# Talking about the Clean Energy Plan

# Thinking about the impacts of the Clean Energy Plan generally, Pennsylvanians prioritize monetary savings that will impact their households followed by protecting public health (very important for voters of color.)

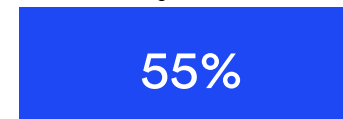
Q39. Here are some specific impacts of these policies. Please rank the two or three that are the most important to you personally.

■ Ranked First Choice   ■ Ranked Second Choice   ■ Ranked Third Choice

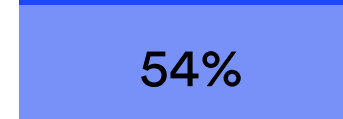
Approval Shifters

Showing % Total Ranked

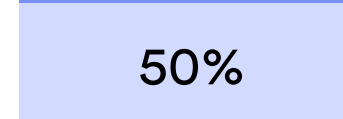
It can save consumers tens of thousands of dollars for making their homes more energy efficient, and for many working families the improvements will be free



It could help save the average household \$1,000 per year in energy costs



It will help avoid up to 3,900 premature deaths and up to 100,000 asthma attacks by the end of the decade



It will help cut climate pollution by 40% by the end of the decade



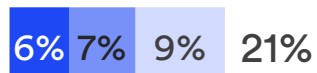
43%

It's projected to create 1.5 million good-paying jobs by the end of the decade



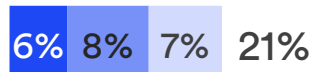
41%

With new tax credits, people can buy new electric vehicles for less than \$23,000



25%

It will produce nearly a billion more solar panels and 120,000 more wind turbines to power communities



21%

Don't know/Refused



0%

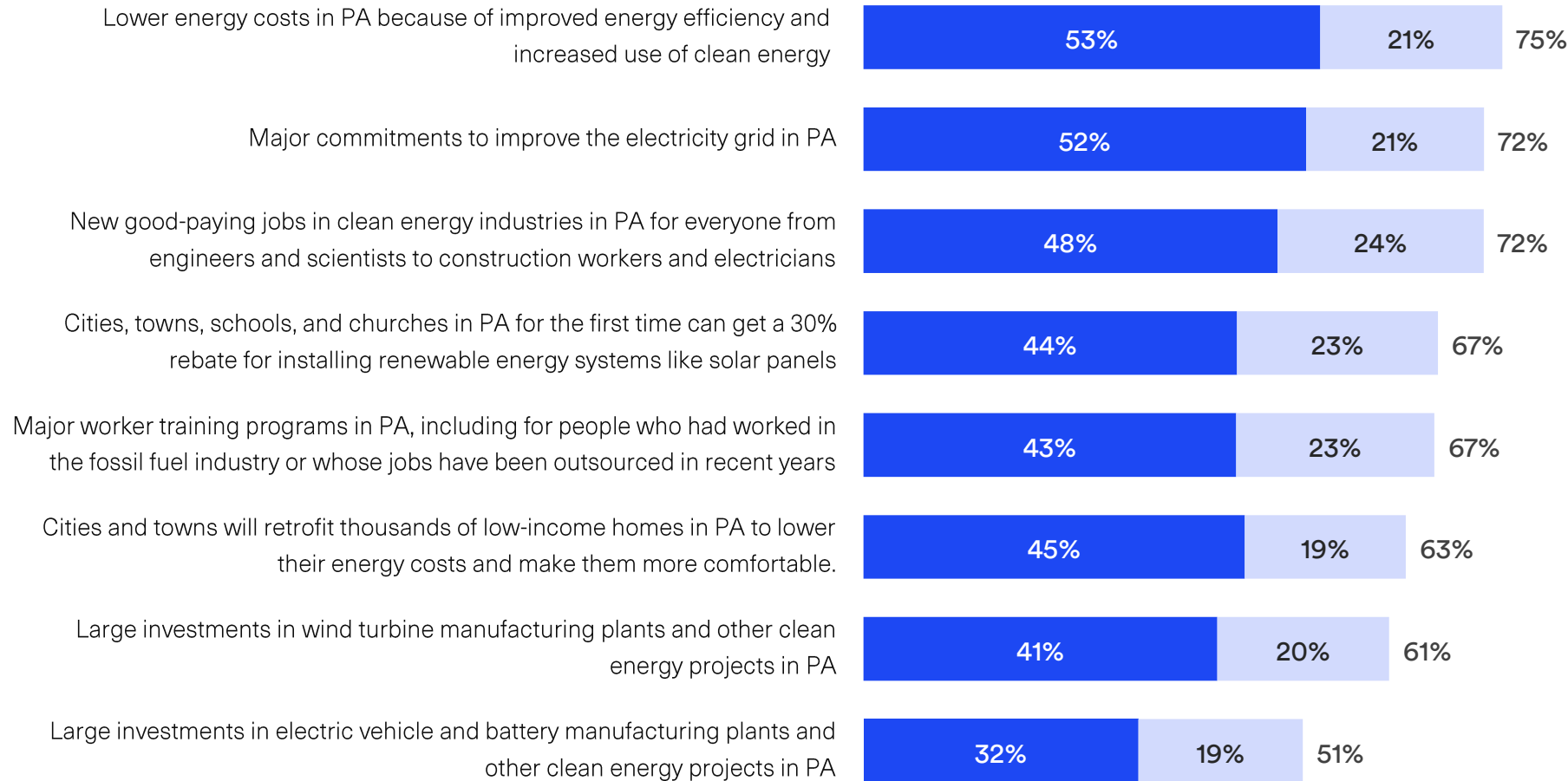
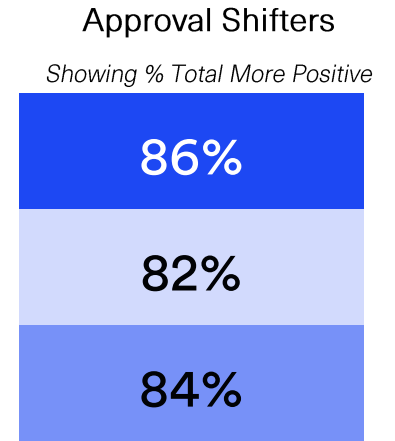
Voters of color in PA are more likely to prioritize the health impacts of these policies, with 55% ranking the impact on lives saved from asthma attacks as important to them, compared to 45% of PA voters overall

# When thinking specifically about the policy impacts in their state, Pennsylvanians are most moved by proof points around lower costs as well as improvements to the electricity grid and creating jobs in-state.



Q40. In the next two years, states and the Biden administration will be implementing the policies that we've been discussing. Some things that you could see happen in PA as part of this are listed below. Please rate how each one would affect your thinking about expanded use of clean energy.

- Much more positive about expanded clean energy
- Somewhat more positive about expanded clean energy





# Public Opinion Shift

# Isolated proof points and positive messaging increase approval for the Clean Energy Plan nearly 20 points (a big shift that is rare to see in public opinion research.)

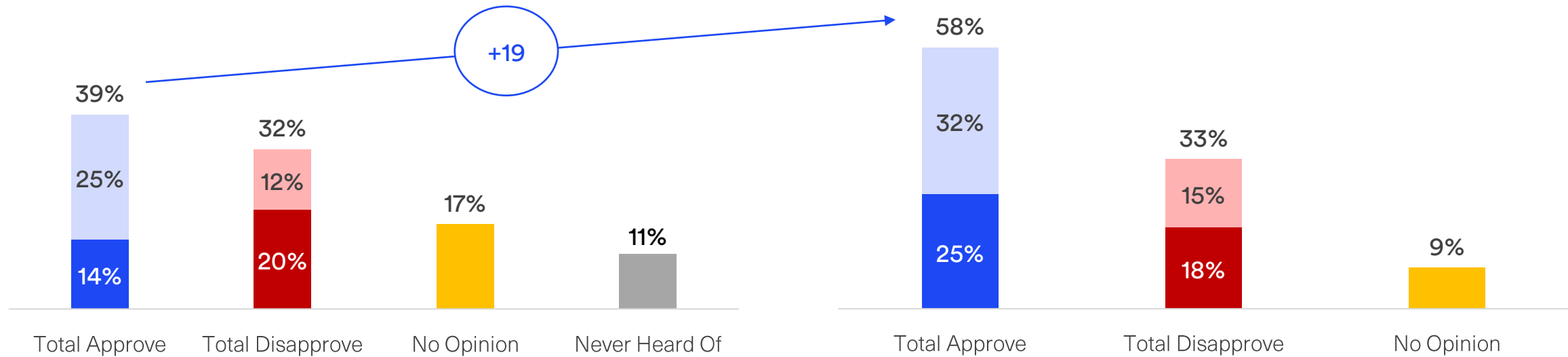


Q31/43. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan? / Based on what you have seen and read in this survey, from what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of the Clean Energy Plan that President Biden and Congress recently passed?

Strongly Approve    Somewhat Approve    No Opinion    Somewhat Disapprove    Strongly Disapprove    Never Heard Of

## INITIAL ASK

## INFORMED ASK



# 22% of Pennsylvanians move towards approving of the Clean Energy Plan by the end of the poll after learning more about the plan and its impacts.



Q31/43. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan? / Based on what you have seen and read in this survey, from what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of the Clean Energy Plan that President Biden and Congress recently passed?

## Groups that were MORE LIKELY than Pennsylvanians overall to move towards approving of the plan

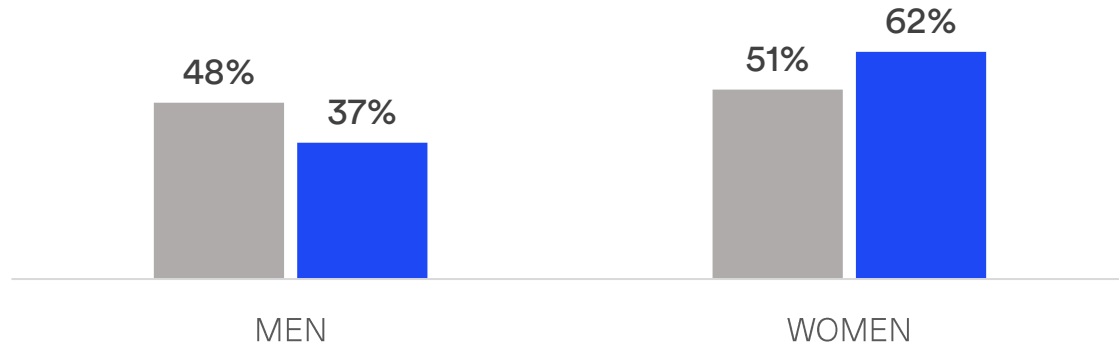
|     |  |
|-----|--|
| 36% | of <b>Black voters ages 50+</b> move towards approval      |
| 34% | of <b>Black women</b> move towards approval                |
| 34% | of <b>Non-2020 Voters</b> move towards approval            |
| 33% | of <b>GenZers of Color</b> move towards approval           |
| 32% | of <b>Millennial Women</b> move towards approval           |
| 32% | of <b>Non-College Women of Color</b> move towards approval |
| 29% | of <b>Self-ID Independents</b> move towards approval       |

# Demographic Profile of Pennsylvanians who Moved Towards Approving of Clean Energy Plan

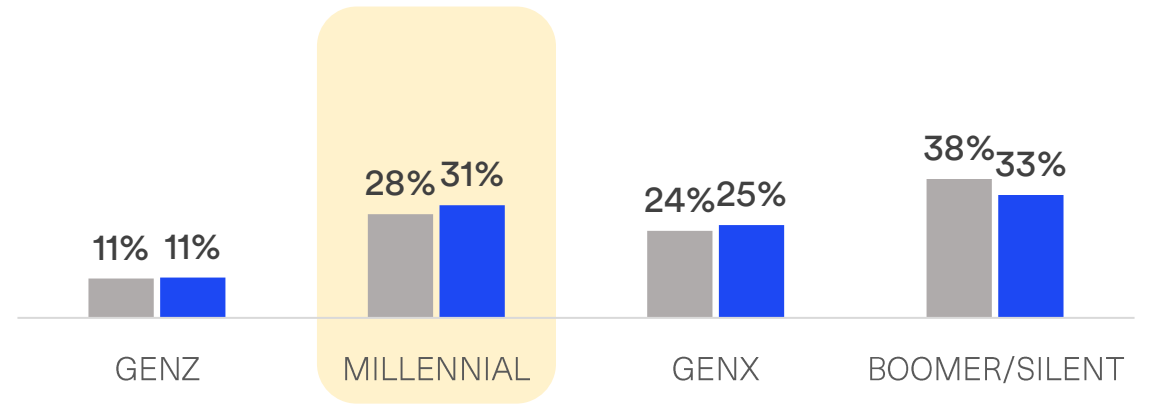


■ All Pennsylvania Voters   ■ Approval Shifters

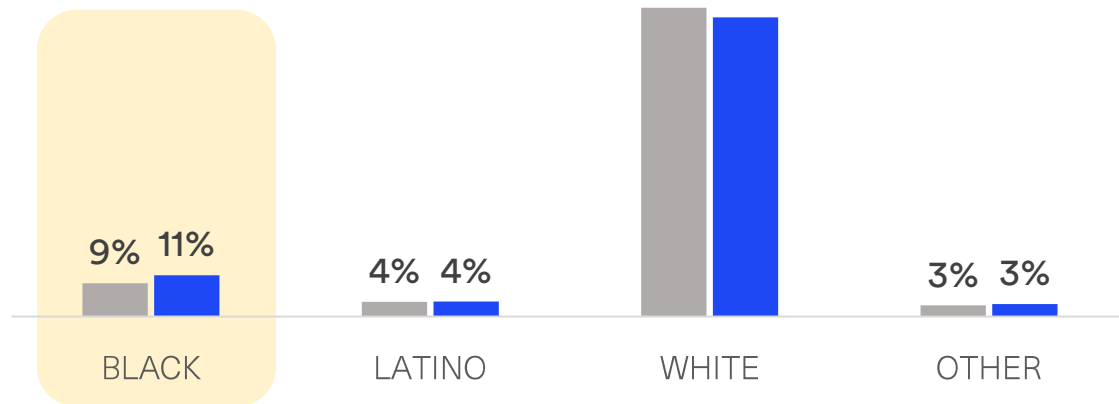
## GENDER



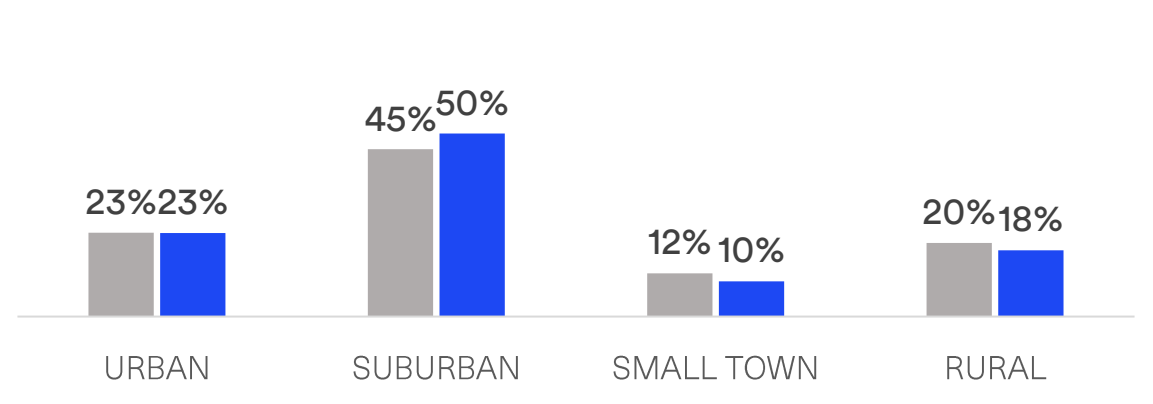
## GENERATIONS



## RACE



## URBANICITY

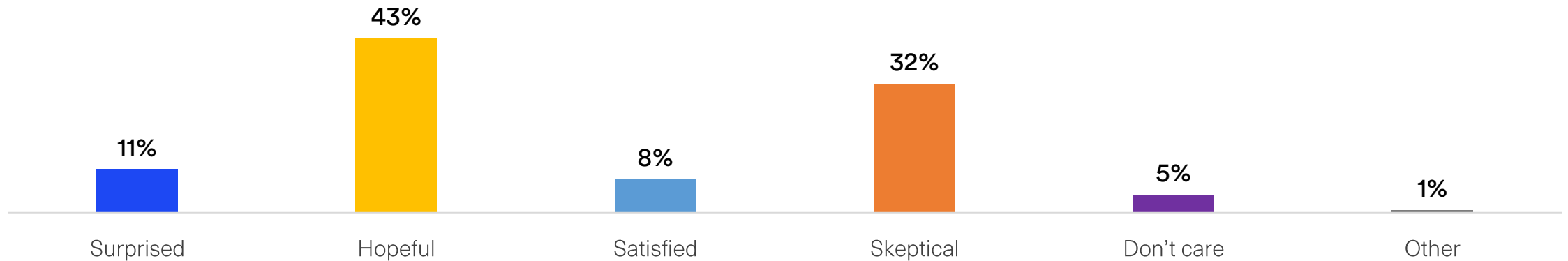




# Proof of progress and delivery on the Clean Energy Plan inspires hope with Pennsylvanians, especially Millennials.

41. Here is some more information about the economic and job benefits of the Clean Energy Plan. Which of the following words or phrases best describes how you feel about this?

“In just the last eight months since the passage of this Clean Energy Plan, companies from across the country have already announced over **191 new clean energy projects** that will **deliver over \$242 billion** into local economies and **create over 142,000 new jobs.**”



|           | Men | Women | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Millennial | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP | Urban | Suburban | Small Town | Rural | Approval Shifters |
|-----------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|------------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|----------|------------|-------|-------------------|
| Hopeful   | 40% | 46%   | 44%   | 46%   | 43% | 39%  | 46%        | 40%  | 45%           | 58% | 31% | 30% | 50%   | 47%      | 31%        | 36%   | 56%               |
| Skeptical | 31% | 33%   | 35%   | 17%   | 17% | 19%  | 26%        | 35%  | 38%           | 13% | 41% | 52% | 20%   | 31%      | 45%        | 40%   | 20%               |

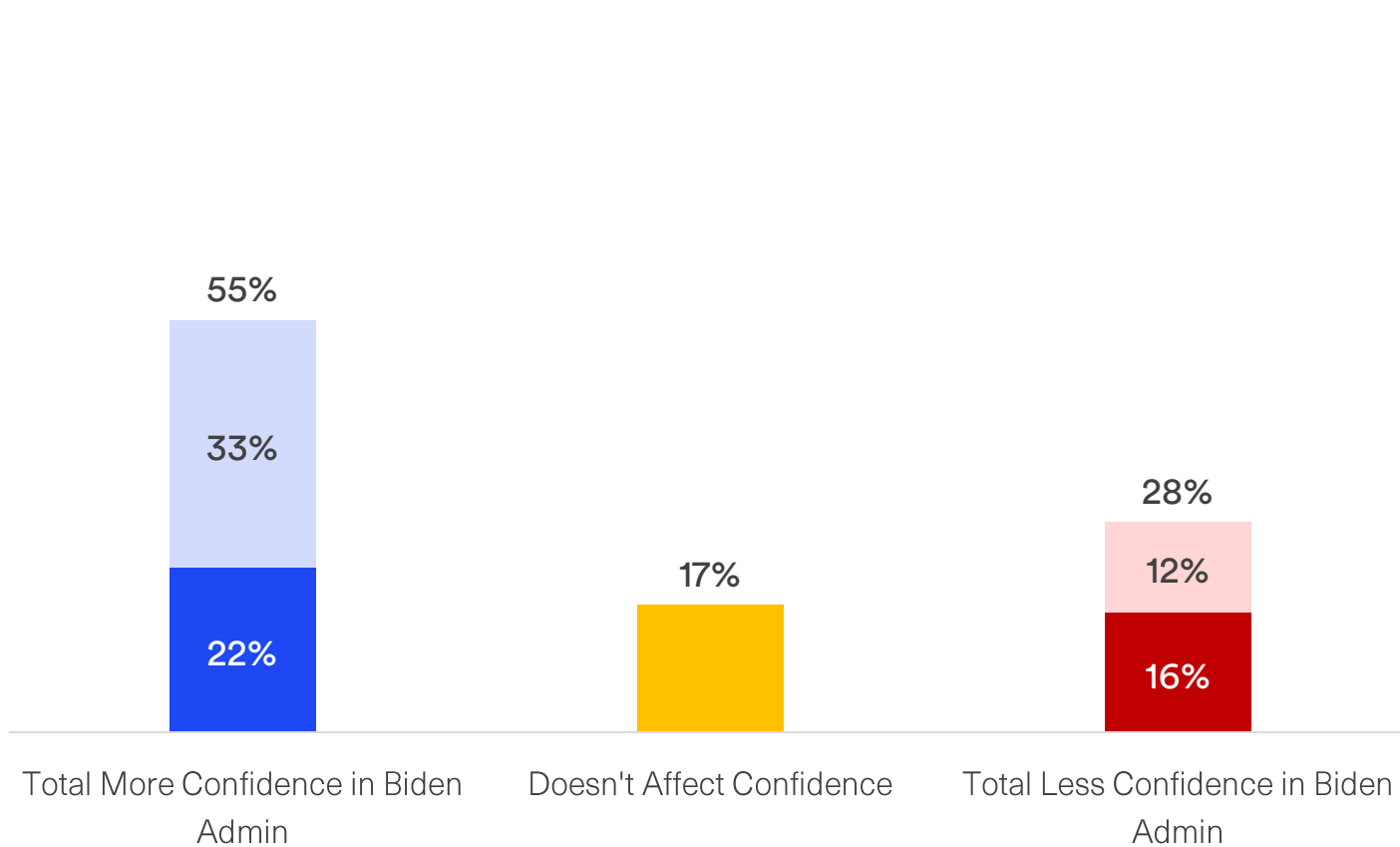


# Educating Pennsylvanians on the policies and progress in the Clean Energy Plan increases confidences in the Biden administration, especially with self-ID Democrats, GenZers, and voters of color.



Q43. President Biden and his administration have led the passage of the clean energy and climate policies we have been discussing, and he is leading the effort to promote investments in clean energy manufacturing and good-paying jobs. Does this give you...?

■ Much More Confident   
 ■ Somewhat More Confident   
 ■ Doesn't Affect Opinion  
■ Somewhat Less Confident   
 ■ Much Less Confident



## Total More Confident (55%) *Overindex on Being More Confident*

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| 86% | of Liberals feel more confident                             |
| 82% | of Self-ID Democrats feel more confident                    |
| 80% | of Citizens who voted for Biden in 2020 feel more confident |
| 73% | of Black Voters feel more confident                         |
| 71% | of POC Voters feel more confident                           |
| 67% | of GenZers feel more confident                              |
| 66% | of Urban Voters feel more confident                         |



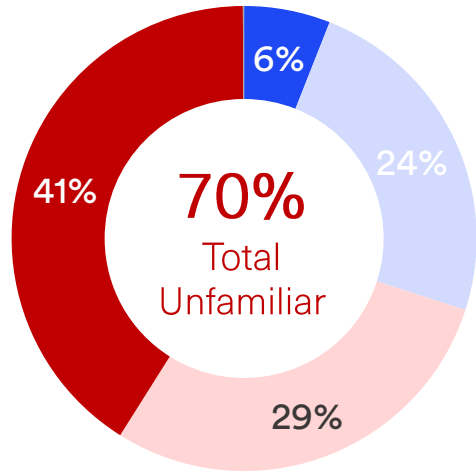
# Other Issues

# Pennsylvanians are not familiar with Project Willow and do not have strong opinions either in favor or against it.



Q46. How familiar are you with the oil drilling project called "Project Willow" in Alaska?

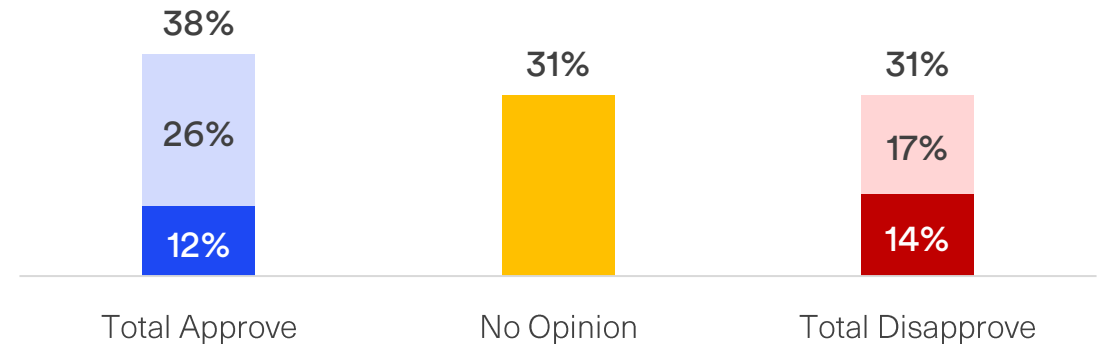
Very Familiar      Somewhat Familiar  
 Not that familiar      Not at all familiar



|                  | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|------------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Total Familiar   | 28%   | 38%   | 39% | 52%  | 33%   | 22%  | 27%           | 31% | 32% | 29% |
| Total Unfamiliar | 72%   | 62%   | 61% | 48%  | 67%   | 78%  | 73%           | 69% | 68% | 71% |

47. Do you approve or disapprove of President Biden approving one of the largest oil developments on federal land in Alaska, also known as Project Willow?

Strongly Approve      Somewhat Approve      No Opinion  
 Somewhat Disapprove      Strongly Disapprove



|                  | White | Black | POC | GenZ | Mill. | GenX | Silent/Boomer | DEM | IND | GOP |
|------------------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|------|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Total Approve    | 37%   | 47%   | 40% | 24%  | 35%   | 36%  | 44%           | 35% | 26% | 44% |
| Total Disapprove | 30%   | 24%   | 35% | 52%  | 31%   | 30%  | 25%           | 34% | 35% | 26% |

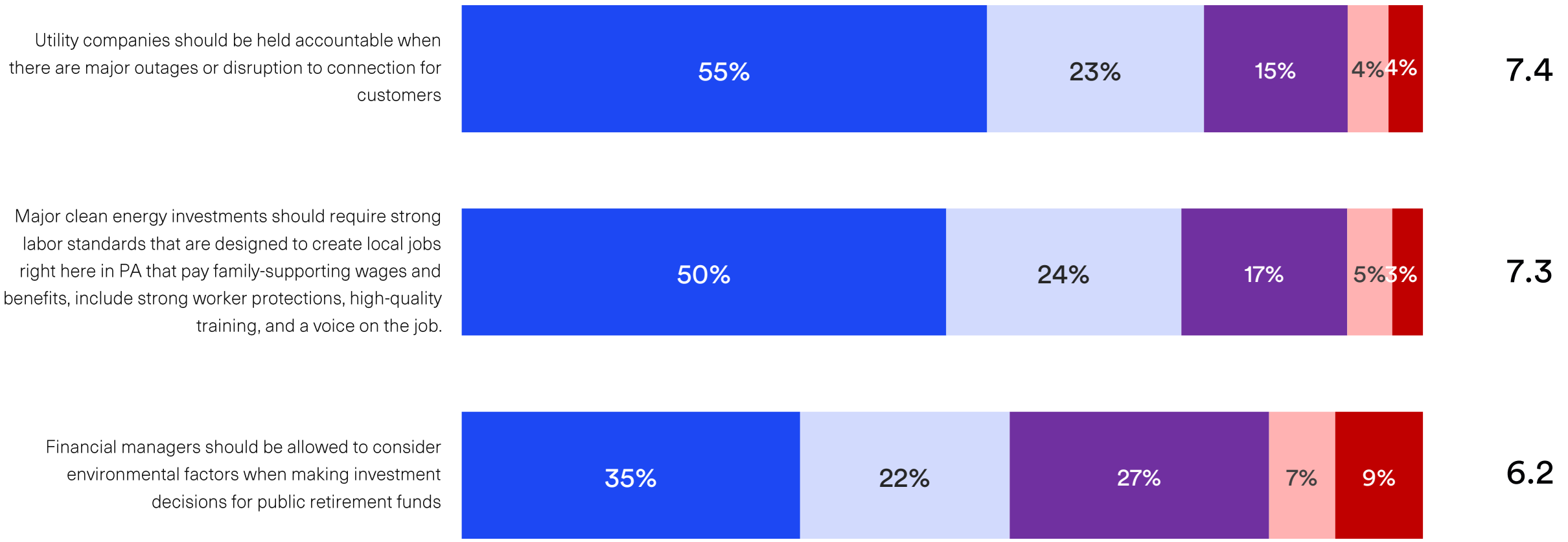
# A majority of Pennsylvanians agree that utility companies should be held accountable, clean energy investments should include labor standards, and ESG factors should be allowed in investment decisions.



49. Please rate how important you consider each of the following potential measures to be. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where “10” means that it is very important, “5” means that it is neither important or unimportant, and “0” means that it is not important at all. You may use any number from 0 to 10, depending on how you feel.

■ Very Important (8-10)   ■ Somewhat Important (6-7)   ■ Neutral (5)   ■ Somewhat Unimportant (3-4)   ■ Not Important At All (0-2)

**Mean importance**  
*Showing Mean importance on 0-10 Scale*





# Summary of Findings

- 1** Pennsylvanians who shift to approving of the Clean Energy Plan are already largely supportive of Democrats in Congress and the Biden Administration – they just need more information.

→

The groups most likely to move toward approval for the Clean Energy Plan once given information match the profiles of infrequent/drop-off Democratic voters (i.e., young voters, voters of color). We move many of those uninformed voters to approval in our poll by simply educating them on progress. Pennsylvanians overall feel favorable toward clean energy, the policies in the Clean Energy Plan, and the potential impacts of the Plan in Pennsylvania after we give them information.
- 2** Pennsylvanians feel most favorable toward elements of the Clean Energy Plan centered on economic and pocketbook issues. People of color and young voters are also especially concerned with air pollution.

→

Connect the progress of the clean energy plan with creating new, good-paying jobs in the energy sector. Localize the progress with wins in their own communities/state and define the clear relationship between clean energy and economic opportunity. Connect pollution and public health as the problem and the Clean Energy Plan as the solution.
- 3** Educating Pennsylvanians on the Clean Energy Plan increases confidence in the Biden Administration to promote investments in clean energy.

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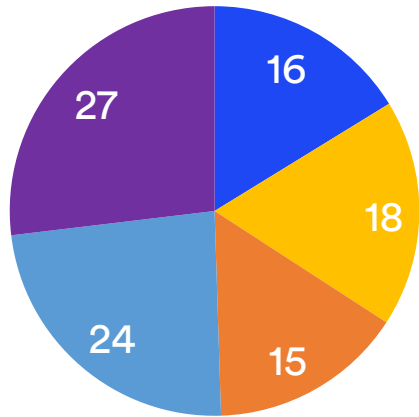
Pennsylvanians are generally unaware of the Clean Energy Plan and the progress already made. We can build trust between Pennsylvanians and Democrats in Congress and the Biden Administration by pointing to wins both nationally and in their own communities (i.e., more jobs, clean energy projects, and investments.) Highlight what we have already accomplished as proof that we can do more to make these goals a reality.



# Appendix

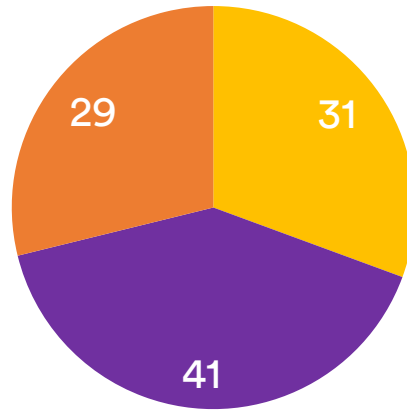


## AGE



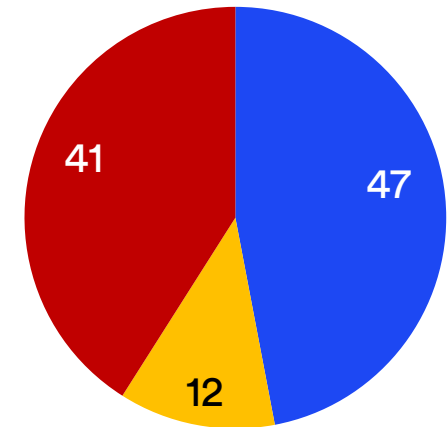
- 18 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 - 64
- 65+

## EDUCATION



- High School or Less
- Some College
- College or Grad School

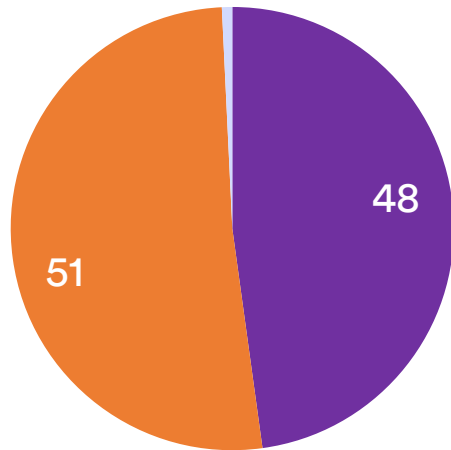
## PARTY ID



- Democrat
- Independent
- Republican

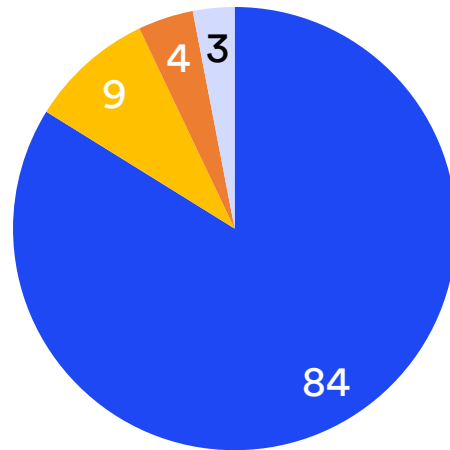


## GENDER



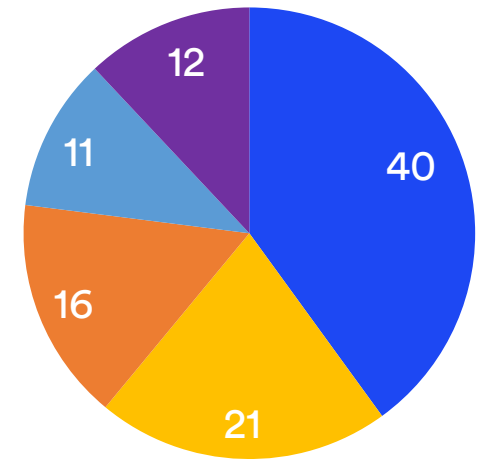
- Men
- Women
- Gender Non-Conforming/Other

## RACE



- White
- Black
- Latino
- Other

## DMA



- Philadelphia
- Pittsburg
- Harrisburg-Lancaster-York
- Wilkes Barre - Scranton
- Rest of State