## EPC Community Poll Wave #2: Trump Executive Order Message Tests

Feb. 2025 Briefing



## **About This Project**



## About the Environmental Polling Consortium (EPC)

The EPC equips environmental advocates to utilize public opinion research in their work.

By commissioning, collecting, and interpreting public opinion research about environmental issues, we work to make this research more accessible and to democratize data across the environmental movement.

#### What We Offer

Weekly email roundups
Resource + polling library
Original research
Poll briefings + webinars
Summary memos + decks
Consultations



## How the Community Poll Works

- This is a first-of-its-kind, collaborative and movement-wide research project. Any environmental advocacy group has the ability to provide input on the research and access results.
- **We field once per quarter.** Waves alternate between online registered voter surveys in collaboration with Data for Progress and message tests in collaboration with Grow Progress.
  - Wave 1: Survey fielded Sep.-Oct. 2024
  - Wave 2: Message testing conducted Jan. 2025
  - Wave 3: Scheduled for Apr. 2025 (survey)
  - Wave 4: Scheduled for July 2025 (message testing)
- Content is shaped by the environmental community's real-time needs. We work with
  partners across the movement to identify gaps in the community's research needs and <u>fill</u>
  those gaps with actionable research.

This project is not designed for media or to shape a narrative about where the public stands.



### How You Can Get Involved

• We need additional funders and thought partners for future waves. For \$15,000, your group can join this project and participate in a year's worth of research. If you find this briefing useful and want to help keep this project going, please consider joining on.

A special thank you to some of the groups that have contributed funding and/or thought partnership so far:









### How You Can Get Involved

• In addition to the core subject matter of each wave, we reserve space for contributing groups and for smaller groups that don't have the resources to commission research themselves. This means that any environmental advocacy group, regardless of their budget, can use the Community Poll to get answers to their research questions.

By contributing to the project, you gain access to a quarterly research instrument and also enable access for lesser-resourced groups to utilize polling or message testing in their work.

• Reach out to the EPC team if you're interested in learning more.

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## Introduction



## Today's Briefing

- As with all waves of the Community Poll, we have devoted particular focus to under-researched audiences. These includes Black voters, Latino voters, and rural voters.
- If you have questions during the presentation, please put them in the Q+A. We will have time at the end to answer questions.
- Slides will be shared with attendees after the briefing. Additionally, you will be able to access all materials from the poll in our Resource Library at environmentalpollingconsortium.org.



## Methodology

Between January 24 and January 27, the EPC and partners conducted randomized controlled trials (RCTs) through the Grow Progress platform to test responses to the following executive orders:

- Withdrawing the U.S. from the Paris Climate Accords
- Opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, including the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska
- Suspending new government permits and leases for wind energy projects
- Weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards
- Repealing the government's environmental justice programs



### **Format**

Respondents saw either a message against an executive orders (n=600 per message) or an unrelated placebo message, and were then asked three follow-up questions:

- Whether they support or oppose the executive order
- Whether they approve or disapprove of Trump's handling of energy and the environment
- Whether they agree or disagree that Trump is focusing on the most important issues for regular Americans



## Big-Picture Takeaways

- We have a lot of effective message frameworks to choose from. Nearly every message frame we tested significantly moved voters to oppose the executive order in question, relative to a placebo message. This tells us that we have strong messaging options, and also that public opinion hasn't settled on these topics.
- Costs consistently resonate. Across most of the Trump administration's early actions and executive orders
  that we tested, those arguments that emphasized cost increases were most persuasive.
- We should still tailor our messaging frames to different topics—but always aim for the Trump
  administration's negative, tangible impacts on everyday Americans as the north star. For example, in our
  test about drilling on public lands, costs/economic arguments weren't as effective as messages about future
  generations and wildlife. We don't need to link everything to costs, especially when there's a more credible
  and more intuitive argument to be made about the harms of a policy.
- Trump's fealty to oil and gas CEOs is a helpful supporting point, but the main story should be direct harms to people—especially when it comes to raising their costs and increasing pollution. In most cases, frames that focused on the oil and gas lobby were significantly impactful at persuading voters but not quite as effective as frames that emphasized costs and health.
- **Everything is fluid.** We as a community need to keep testing new messages and experimenting within each framework, especially on energy and climate. We need to keep iterating.



## Interpreting the Tests

#### **Total Opposition**

For the most part, this analysis focuses on how messages performed on our primary objective: persuading voters to oppose the executive order in question.

The simplest way to do this is to look at how many more voters opposed an executive order after seeing a particular message, compared to the placebo.

#### **Margins** of Opposition

In addition to *total* opposition (the percentage who oppose the executive order after seeing a particular message), we also looked at the *margin* of opposition (opposition minus support).

If two messages performed similarly at increasing *total* opposition, but one was better at increasing the *margin* of opposition, it means that it was more effective at moving voters away from supporting an executive order (either turning supporters into opponents *or* turning supporters into neutrals).

This same logic applies to our other questions of interest, such as how much messages shifted voters toward disapproving of Trump's handling of energy and the environment.



Test #1:
Withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement



## Messages Tested

[Costs] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration will raise Americans' costs and expose us to more of the devastating impacts of climate change. Instead of focusing the government's attention on lowering costs for hard-working Americans, Trump withdrew from the Paris Climate Agreement on Day One of his presidency. Doing nothing about climate disasters is estimated to cost Americans more than \$690 billion per year. By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, Trump is showing more interest in scoring points in culture wars than enacting common-sense policies to lower costs.

[Health & Pollution] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration is putting our health and our families at risk. The pollution that drives climate change doesn't just warm the planet--it's the same toxic pollution that gets into the air we breathe and the water we drink. This means more kids struggling with asthma attacks, more families dealing with heart disease, and even higher risks of cancer.

[Moral Obligation/China] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration is ignoring our moral obligation to lead and instead empowering other nations like China. As the world's most powerful nation and the largest historic polluter, the U.S. has a duty to lead the world by example in combating global climate change. Our withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement will help China, who will be able to gain influence in our absence and further dominate the market in 21st century clean energy technologies.

[Oil & Gas Lobby] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration is prioritizing the short-term profits of big oil and gas companies and CEOs that helped fund Trump's campaign over the interests of the American people. The oil and gas lobby pushed to end this deal because oil and gas companies want to continue to profit by polluting our air, water, and climate as much as they want in order to line their pockets.



Costs and Health/Pollution are most effective at increasing opposition to the EO, and Costs also increases disapproval of Trump on energy/environment

#### Message Performance (Totals)





Costs more clearly outperforms Health/Pollution in increasing our *margin* of opposition to the executive order (opposition minus support)

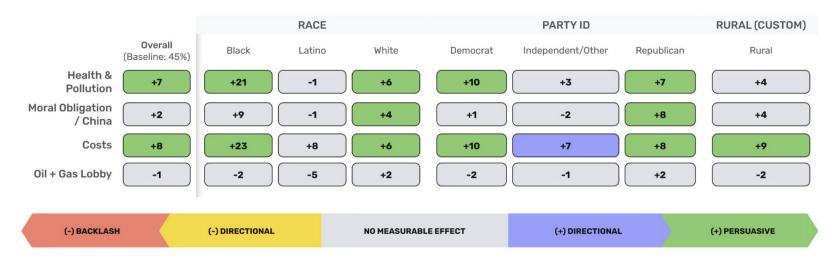
#### Message Performance (Margins)





#### The Costs message is also uniquely persuasive with rural voters

Do you support or oppose President Trump's executive order to withdraw the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement?



Moving People Toward: Somewhat Oppose

**Strongly Oppose** 



## Recap of Top Messages

[Costs] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration will raise Americans' costs and expose us to more of the devastating impacts of climate change. Instead of focusing the government's attention on lowering costs for hard-working Americans, Trump withdrew from the Paris Climate Agreement on Day One of his presidency. Doing nothing about climate disasters is estimated to cost Americans more than \$690 billion per year. By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, Trump is showing more interest in scoring points in culture wars than enacting common-sense policies to lower costs.

-Strongest at increasing the margin of opposition to the EO -Increases disapproval of Trump on energy and the environment -Strongest across key audiences

[Health & Pollution] By withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trump administration is putting our health and our families at risk. The pollution that drives climate change doesn't just warm the planet--it's the same toxic pollution that gets into the air we breathe and the water we drink. This means more kids struggling with asthma attacks, more families dealing with heart disease, and even higher risks of cancer.

Not as strong as our Costs message, but more effective than talking about China or the oil and gas industry's role



Test #2:

Opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, including ANWR



## Messages Tested

[Public Lands/Generations] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is selling off our shared natural resources to big oil and gas companies for private profit. These public lands and waters have been protected for decades because they support important ecosystems and are part of our American heritage. They are meant to be preserved so that they can be enjoyed by our children and grandchildren, not sold off and destroyed to boost the short-term profits of big oil and gas companies.

[Exports] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is selling off our shared natural resources for private profit by companies that sell them overseas. The United States is already producing more oil and gas than we use, so the Trump administration's action won't benefit Americans but will boost the profits of companies that export American-sourced oil and gas to other countries while using special tax breaks to avoid paying their fair share of taxes in the United States. It is a lose-lose deal for Americans, as we will lose our most precious natural resources and also lose out on any potential benefits.

[Oil & Gas CEOs] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is putting the profits of the billionaires who funded his campaign ahead of the interests of the American people. The oil and gas industry spent \$450 million to help Trump and his allies in the recent election, and those political donations are already paying off. Trump's day-one actions are the oil and gas industry's wishlist at the expense of hard-working Americans. Instead of focusing on lowering costs, the Trump administration's energy policy hands over more of our public lands and waters for private profit by the big oil and gas companies and their CEOs.

[ANWR/Wildlife] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is selling off our priceless, shared natural resources. The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is the largest national wildlife refuge in the United States, covering nearly 20 million acres of wilderness and providing a critical habitat for polar bears and nearly 200 other species of wildlife. By opening it up for drilling, the Trump administration is ending decades of careful conservation of this area, which many call "America's last great wilderness," and handing it over to big oil and gas companies for private profit.

[No Reason] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is eliminating protections on our lands and waters for no reason. Oil and gas production in the U.S. is at an all-time high, we're producing more oil and gas than we use, and companies are only drilling on around half of the 25 million acres that are already leased to them. And the last time that the government tried to auction off drilling rights in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge earlier this year, no companies made offers because they didn't know if it would be profitable.



All messages we tested are persuasive, with our generational ("Public Lands") and ANWR/Wildlife messages moving voters against the EO the most

#### Message Performance (Totals)





The generational ("Public Lands") message is more effective than ANWR/Wildlife at expanding our net margins (e.g., disapproval *minus* approval)

#### Message Performance (Margins)





# The ANWR/Wildlife message has utility with particular audiences, such as Latino and rural voters

Do you support or oppose President Trump's executive order to open up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, including the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska?





## Recap of Top Messages

[Public Lands/Generations] By opening up more public lands and waters for oil and gas drilling, the Trump administration is selling off our shared natural resources to big oil and gas companies for private profit. These public lands and waters have been protected for decades because they support important ecosystems and are part of our American heritage. They are meant to be preserved so that they can be enjoyed by our children and grandchildren, not sold off and destroyed to boost the short-term profits of big oil and gas companies.

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Most persuasive overall

Second most persuasive overall, but most effective with Latino and rural voters



Test #3: Suspending new government permits and leases for wind energy projects



## Messages Tested

[Costs] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration will drive up the cost of electricity for everyday Americans. We need to be generating more clean, American-made energy in order to lower electricity bills and help Americans who are struggling to keep up with the rising cost of living. Instead, the Trump administration is halting new wind power projects even though energy from wind is decreasing in price, already costs less than energy from fossil fuels, and doesn't spike in price the way that oil and gas do in response to international events.

[Energy Supply/Independence] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration will make us more dependent on foreign sources for our energy supply. While oil and gas costs have spiked in recent years because of foreign conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East and driven up the cost of living for American families, wind power now supplies more than 10% of our total energy, is made here in the United States, and costs less to generate than energy from gas, coal, or nuclear power.

[Economy & Jobs] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration will take jobs away from hard-working Americans, raise monthly energy bills, and hurt the U.S. economy. By stopping ongoing projects, Trump will cancel the 77,000 stable, high-paying jobs being created by the offshore wind projects that were in development before this announcement. These projects were enough to power over six million homes and drive down monthly energy costs for Americans.

[Oil & Gas Lobby] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration is putting the profits of big oil and gas companies that helped fund Trump's campaign over the interests of the American people. Trump campaigned on a promise to increase U.S. energy production, but his administration removed clean energy like wind from America's energy plan once he took office. Eliminating cheap, renewable energy sources is only going to decrease supply and increase electricity prices. This is not the common-sense energy approach that Americans want, and it is only going to profit Trump's donors in the oil and gas industry at the expense of everyday Americans

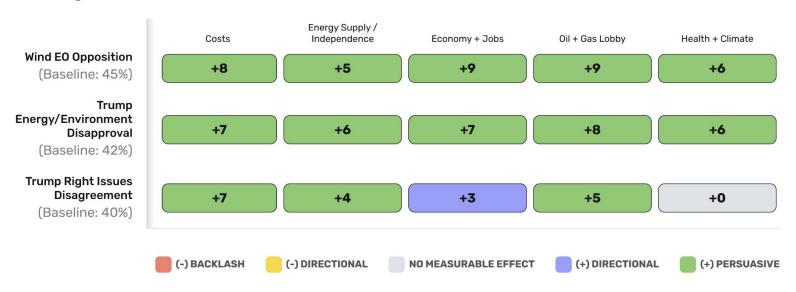
[Health & Climate] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration will increase toxic pollution that harms public health and causes climate change. Wind power is a clean energy source that decreases air pollution by making us less dependent on dirty fossil fuels, and every year wind power saves us the equivalent of 61 million cars' worth of climate pollution. Less wind energy means more of the harmful pollution that has been linked to cancer, heart disease, and asthma and puts all of our families at risk.



#### **Suspending Wind Projects**

All of our messages about halting wind projects are persuasive, and there are clear benefits to focusing on the impacts on costs and the economy

#### Message Performance (Totals)





#### **Suspending Wind Projects**

Our "Economy + Jobs" message (which also mentions costs) is most effective at increasing margins in our favor, followed by our Oil + Gas Lobby frame

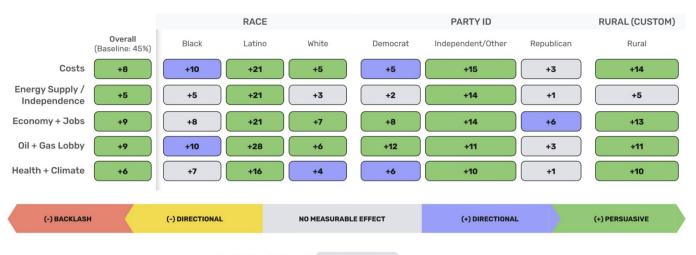




#### **Suspending Wind Projects**

# Costs, Economy & Jobs, and Oil & Gas Lobby messages also resonate the most across key audiences

Do you support or oppose President Trump's executive order to suspend new government permits and leases for wind energy projects?



Moving People Toward: Somewhat Oppose
Strongly Oppose



## Recap of Top Messages

[Economy & Jobs] By suspending new wind energy permits and leases, the Trump administration will take jobs away from hard-working Americans, raise monthly energy bills, and hurt the U.S. economy. By stopping ongoing projects, Trump will cancel the 77,000 stable, high-paying jobs being created by the offshore wind projects that were in development before this announcement. These projects were enough to power over six million homes and drive down monthly energy costs for Americans.

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-Most persuasive overall-Includes proof points on both costs and economic impacts

Slightly less persuasive than framing that also highlights the impact on economy/jobs

Strong supplementary message



Test #4: Weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards



## Messages Tested

[Public Health] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration will allow more toxic pollution that harms public health. Pollution from cars and trucks is known to shorten people's lifespans and can cause cancer, heart disease, asthma, and dementia. This means more kids struggling with asthma attacks, more families dealing with heart disease, and even higher risks of cancer.

[Costs] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration will increase costs for everyday Americans. Weaker vehicle standards mean that cars and trucks will be less fuel-efficient, require more trips to the gas station, and cause Americans to spend even more of their money at the pump while big oil companies are already making record profits.

[Oil & Gas Lobby] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration is prioritizing the profits of big oil and gas companies and CEOs that helped fund Trump's campaign over the American people. Weaker vehicle standards mean that cars will pollute the air we breathe with more toxic pollution, require more trips to the gas station, and cause Americans to spend even more of their money at the pump while big oil companies are already making record profits.

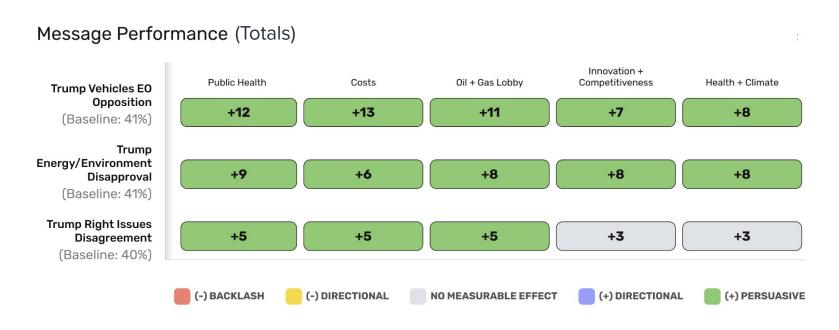
[Innovation & Competitiveness] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration will hurt American car companies' competitiveness. American auto companies have repeatedly fallen behind international competitors like Japan and China and even had to be bailed out by the government in the past. Now, we have the chance to lead again by investing in new, affordable clean cars that represent the future of the industry. U.S. companies are doing their part and building factories and supply chains here, but if we pull the rug out now by weakening standards and eliminating investments then they will never be able to catch up and a million jobs could be lost.

[Health & Climate] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration will allow more of the toxic pollution that harms public health and causes climate change. The transportation sector emits more of the pollution that causes climate change than any other industry in the U.S., and pollution from cars and trucks is also known to shorten people's lifespans and can cause cancer, heart disease, asthma, and dementia. This means more kids struggling with asthma attacks, more families dealing with heart disease, and even higher risks of cancer.



#### Weakening Vehicle Standards

Messages focused on Public Health, Costs, and Oil + Gas Lobby are all very effective





Costs is most effective at increasing the margin of opposition in our favor, followed by Public Health

#### Message Performance (Margins)





#### Weakening Vehicle Standards

# Costs and Public Health also tend to resonate the most across key audiences, though Public Health is notably stronger than Costs with Latino voters

Do you support or oppose President Trump's executive order to weaken vehicle emissions and efficiency standards?



Moving People Toward: Somewhat Oppose
Strongly Oppose



## Recap of Top Messages

[Costs] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration will increase costs for everyday Americans. Weaker vehicle standards mean that cars and trucks will be less fuel-efficient, require more trips to the gas station, and cause Americans to spend even more of their money at the pump while big oil companies are already making record profits.

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[Oil & Gas Lobby] By weakening vehicle emissions and efficiency standards, the Trump administration is prioritizing the profits of big oil and gas companies and CEOs that helped fund Trump's campaign over the American people. Weaker vehicle standards mean that cars will pollute the air we breathe with more toxic pollution, require more trips to the gas station, and cause Americans to spend even more of their money at the pump while big oil companies are already making record profits.

Most persuasive overall

Second most persuasive overall, but strongest with Latino voters

Strong supplementary message



Test #5: Repealing the government's environmental justice programs



## Messages Tested

[Costs] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is hurting communities that are already struggling the most to pay their utility bills. These programs were meant to ensure that government investments in energy and infrastructure were helping communities that faced the biggest problems with high energy costs. By eliminating these programs, the Trump administration is denying relief to families who are falling behind because of the high cost of living.

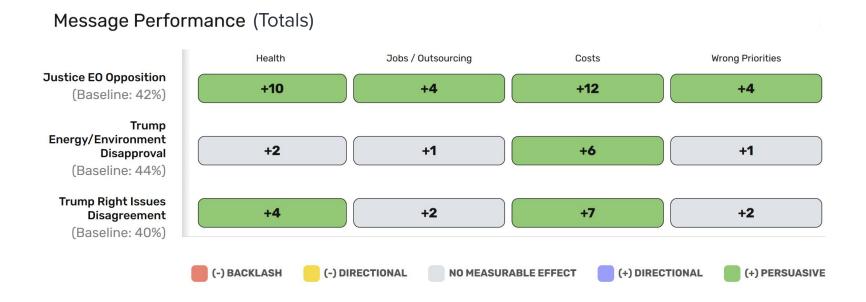
[Health] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is hurting communities that have already been hit hardest by pollution. These programs were meant to ensure that government investments to reduce pollution were helping communities that have suffered the worst health impacts from it. By eliminating these programs, the Trump administration is once again allowing corporations like big oil and gas companies to keep dumping toxic chemicals and other pollutants in communities that have suffered for generations.

[Jobs/Outsourcing] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is hurting communities that have been hit hardest by corporate outsourcing and the decline of manufacturing jobs. These programs were meant to ensure that government investments in energy and other industries were helping communities that needed jobs and economic investment the most. By eliminating these programs, the Trump administration is turning its back on struggling communities and hurting their economic recovery.

[Wrong Priorities] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is trying to score political points at the expense of hard-working Americans. Instead of focusing all of the government's attention on lowering costs for hard-working Americans, President Trump's executive order repeals programs that are meant to help struggling families pay their utility bills. By focusing on the wrong priorities and symbolic gestures, the Trump administration is showing more interest in culture wars than practical policies to lower costs.



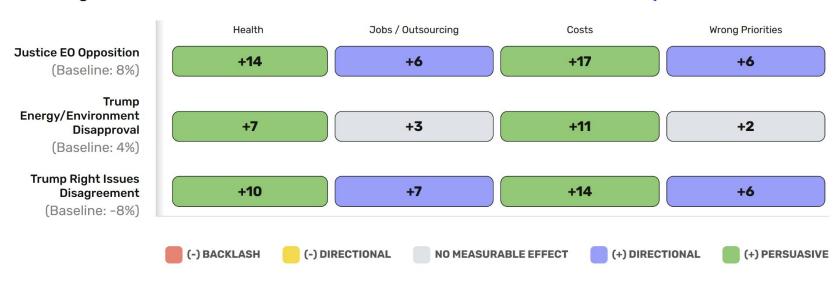
Health and Costs frames are the most persuasive overall, with Costs also increasing disapproval with Trump on energy and the environment





Health and Costs are also most effective at widening margins of opposition and disapproval

#### Message Performance (Margins)

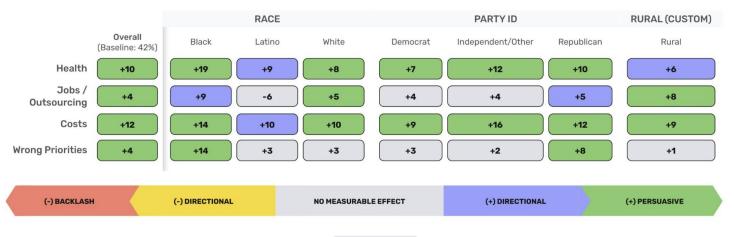




#### Repealing Environmental Justice Programs

Health and Costs are comparable in impact across most key audiences, but Costs is stronger with rural voters

Do you support or oppose President Trump's executive order to repeal the government's environmental justice programs?



Moving People Toward: Somewhat Oppose
Strongly Oppose



## Recap of Top Messages

[Costs] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is hurting communities that are already struggling the most to pay their utility bills. These programs were meant to ensure that government investments in energy and infrastructure were helping communities that faced the biggest problems with high energy costs. By eliminating these programs, the Trump administration is denying relief to families who are falling behind because of the high cost of living.

[Health] By repealing environmental justice programs, the Trump administration is hurting communities that have already been hit hardest by pollution. These programs were meant to ensure that government investments to reduce pollution were helping communities that have suffered the worst health impacts from it. By eliminating these programs, the Trump administration is once again allowing corporations like big oil and gas companies to keep dumping toxic chemicals and other pollutants in communities that have suffered for generations.

- -Strongest overall, by a small margin
- -Most persuasive to rural voters
- -Also increases disapproval with Trump on energy/environment

Comparable in persuasiveness overall and with most audiences



## Recap



## Big-Picture Takeaways

- We have a lot of effective message frameworks to choose from. Nearly every message frame we tested significantly moved voters to oppose the executive order in question, relative to a placebo message. This tells us that we have strong messaging options, and also that public opinion hasn't settled on these topics.
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  generations and wildlife. We don't need to link everything to costs, especially when there's a more credible
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- **Everything is fluid.** We as a community need to keep testing new messages and experimenting within each framework, especially on energy and climate. We need to keep iterating.



## Questions?

