- To: Interested Party
- Fr: Climate Action Campaign Communications
- Re: Message Guidance from Climate Action Campaign's December 2022 Solutions for Pollution Survey Conducted by Hart Research
- Da: January 26, 2023

In December 2023, the Climate Action Campaign fielded a poll (conducted by Hart Research) to inform strategy and messaging for the Solutions for Pollution campaign, a project focused on securing the strongest possible pollution standards across federal agencies. This memo outlines the key messaging findings of the survey and offers message guidance to inform the Solutions for Pollution coalition's work.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS:

- 1. There's a palpable sense of momentum in this survey, illustrated most clearly by:
 - A strong desire for federal action on pollution and climate
 - A wide belief that action should be taken quickly
 - Negative views of anti-climate actors
 - A willingness to see the Biden administration act on its own if need be
- 2. While support for action on climate is substantial, support for action on pollution is even greater, providing a helpful boost among key audiences, including swing voters.
- 3. The details matter and help sell the overall approach: The concept of Solutions for Pollution is broadly approved, but the specifics of what the "solutions" look like are even more so.
- 4. The energy cost implications of regulation are a flashing yellow light; while the alarm raised in the survey is not loud, an organized campaign against the rules would increase the volume substantially. Being prepared for this is essential.
- 5. Two messaging themes are the most broadly effective:
 - The positive health outcomes the pollution rules would promote
 - The dual benefits of the transition to clean energy—less pollution and lower costs (a talking point that helps counter the cost concern noted above)





1

Tested Message: (Air Pollution/Health) We need to significantly reduce pollution like soot, smog, and climate pollution that endanger public health, make lung diseases like asthma worse, and cause deadly diseases like cancer.

DO: Use this framework and specific health impacts, especially local health impacts, in your materials, social media content, and event planning. DON'T: Forget to talk about impacts on people beyond the statistics.

Tested Message: (Energy Transition) Energy that comes from burning fossil fuels like oil, gas, and coal creates dangerous amounts of air and water pollution. Energy from clean sources like wind and solar creates none of this pollution, and the cost of clean energy is now competitive with and sometimes cheaper than fossil fuel energy. These standards will increase the production of clean energy here at home and will drop the price even more, while also creating new jobs. So, it is win-win--the U.S. will have less air and water pollution AND lower energy costs.

DO: Use this framework to contrast priorities and connect the standards to direct impacts on people (cleaner air, lower costs).

DON'T: Forget to include the lower energy costs argument

Tested Message: (Call Out Opponents) Big oil & gas and energy corporations have been making obscene profits while Americans struggle to pay for electricity, gas, and heat. President Biden has an opportunity to crack down on these corporate polluters by setting new pollution protections for our health and the environment that will curb soot, smog, and carbon pollution. We need to move quickly to hold big corporate polluters accountable.

DO: Remind audiences of the contrast in priorities DON'T: Forget to mention big oil & gas and their CEOs as villains when making this point

Tested Message: (EJ) Major highways, power plants, and industrial factories tend to be in or near lower-income neighborhoods and communities of color. So, people who live in those neighborhoods live with higher levels of pollution in their air and water and are more likely to get sick because of it. These new standards would help clean up the air and water for these communities.

DO: Remind audiences about who suffers most from pollution DON'T: Forget to identify the culprits (corporate polluters/big oil & gas)

Tested Message: (Climate) The United States is falling behind its goals for reducing the pollution that causes climate change. Cars, trucks, and power plants are some of the biggest contributors to climate change, so reducing carbon pollution from these sources will help the U.S. meet our goals, protect people's health, and reduce the intensity of extreme weather like wildfires and hurricanes

DO: identify the specific sources targeted by stronger pollution protections DON'T: advocate for bans, or retroactive restrictions

Tested Message: (Keeping Promise) President Biden promised to slash climate pollution in half by 2030. With investments in clean energy and other legislation passed this year, we are making important progress, but we need stronger protections to meet that goal and reduce dangerous pollution.

DO: In communications aimed at reaching Biden Administration officials, include a reminder about his campaign promises

DON'T: Lead with this promise message with broader communications, instead use it as a supporting point

COUNTERING THE COST ATTACK

Understanding one of the main lines of attack on most of these pollution standards will be centered on cost (higher electricity bills, higher energy prices) we tested the appetite for audiences to absorb higher costs in exchange for less pollution.

Tested Language: If these clean air and water protections did end up increasing energy costs by 35%, do you think this increase would be worth it in order to reduce air and water pollution, or do you not think it would be worth it?

We intentionally chose an inflated number (35% higher energy costs) to explore the limits, and while the findings indicate a relatively high tolerance level for higher costs – 43% of respondents indicated a 35% increase in costs would be worth it compared to 26% who indicated it would not be worth it – in an environment where voters remain very concerned about inflation there are clear dangers that can be exposed with this type of attack on the standards, especially if it becomes the focal point of an opposition campaign. There is wide a wide expectation that new standards would increase energy costs.

If these clean air and water protections went into effect, do you think it would ...?



Some groups are more wary of a cost increase than others.



The cost attack is particularly resonant with Republicans, Independents, White non-college grads, white college grads, and Wisconsin voters. This attack must be countered in public messaging.

HARTRESEARCH

DO: Talk about the benefits of tougher pollution standards on health and the environment DON'T: Dismiss the consumer concerns about higher energy prices and costs

3

BE SPECIFIC

While speaking broadly about Solutions for Pollution is very effective and widely supported across demographic groups and target states, including and especially among Democrats and Independents, support is even greater when specific standards are mentioned by name. The results of the research indicate that simplified terms like "soot" and "smog" are resonant and should be used.

DO: Talk about the standards using specific relatable terms like "soot", "smog", and "coal ash". DON'T: Hesitate to talk about specific standards. Being specific will only strengthen support.

Voters overwhelmingly support each individual standard/ regulation tested.

% favor specific standards included in the proposal



HART

STANDARDS AND BUSINESS

We tested the opposition attack that standards hurt businesses, and this attack does not work.

- 68% agree more with this statement: "We should move quickly to put these standards into effect to reduce the threats posed to people's health and the environment by air and water pollution."
- 32% agree more with this statement: "We do not need to move quickly to put these standards into effect because regulations like this will hurt businesses, and that tradeoff is not worth it."



Voters in each target state prioritize moving quickly with the new pollution standards.

This is a clear signal that we should not allow these attacks to go unchallenged and that our core messages about protecting health and the environment win.

MESSAGE TESTING BY AUDIENCE

Pollution/Health serves as a universal frame with broad appeal; there are other targeted message opportunities with key audiences.

Top messages among target audiences

All voters Air pollution/health (41%) Energy transition (38%)	Women Air pollution/health (44%) Energy transition (37%)		Men Energy transition (39%) Air pollution/health (37%)	White Air pollution/health (41%) Energy transition (37%)	Black Energy transition (3 EJ (38%)	18%) Hispanic Air pollution/health (44%) Energy transition (42%)
Democrats Energy transition (42%) Call out opponents (37%)	Independents Energy transition (43%) Air pollution/health (33%)		Republicans Air pollution/health (50%) Energy transition (33%)	College Whites Energy transition (41%) Air pollution/health (39%)	Non college wh Air pollution/heal (43%) Energy transition (3	th (45%) Call out opponents
			35-49 Ilution/health (40%) gy transition (39%)	50-64 Energy transition (Air pollution/health		

HART

Climate Action Campaign: Solutions for Pollution Messaging Research | January 2023

6

Each message tested scores well individually.

	, ,	Convincing
Air pollution/health	We need to significantly reduce pollution like soot, smog, and climate pollution that endanger public health, make lung diseases like asthma worse, and cause deadly diseases like cancer	53%
Energy transition	Energy that comes from burning fossil fuels like oil, gas, and coal creates dangerous amounts of air and water pollution. Energy from clean sources like wind and solar creates none of this pollution, and the cost of clean energy is now competitive with and sometimes cheaper than fossil fuel energy. These standards will increase the production of clean energy here at home and will drop the price even more, while also creating new jobs. So, it is win-winthe U.S. will have less air and water pollution AND lower energy costs	53%
Call out opponents	Big oil & gas and energy corporations have been making obscene profits while Americans struggle to pay for electricity, gas, and heat. President Biden has an opportunity to crack down on these corporate polluters by setting new pollution protections for our health and the environment that will curb soot, smog, and carbon pollution. We need to move quickly to hold big corporate polluters accountable	50%
EJ	Major highways, power plants, and industrial factories tend to be in or near lower-income neighborhoods and communities of color. So, people who live in those neighborhoods live with higher levels of pollution in their air and water and are more likely to get sick because of it. These new standards would help clean up the air and water for these communities	51%
Climate	The United States is falling behind its goals for reducing the pollution that causes climate change. Cars, trucks, and power plants are some of the biggest contributors to climate change, so reducing carbon pollution from these sources will help the U.S. meet our goals, protect people's health, and reduce the intensity of extreme weather like wildfires and hurricanes	43%
Finish the job	President Biden recently signed a landmark law that cuts climate pollution by 40%. CEOs from big oil and gas companies are making record profits while polluting the air our children breathe. We must keep cutting carbon pollution and dangerous soot and smog to protect our health and the environment. President Biden has gotten started and we need to finish the job	48%
Keeping promise	President Biden promised to slash climate pollution in half by 2030. With investments in clean energy and other legislation passed this year, we are making important progress, but we need stronger protections to meet that goal and reduce dangerous pollution	43%

HARTRESEARCH

HART RESEARCH POLLING METHODOLOGY:

- Field Dates: 11/21/22 to 12/5/22
- Sample: U.S. National: 802 registered voters
- State Sample: 2,010 registered voters (in five target states (AZ, GA, MI, PA, WI / ~400 per state)
- Credibility intervals:
 - National Sample +/-4.1%
 - Individual States +/-5.7%
- The samples mirror nationwide and statewide ideology and geographic distribution, as well as proportional representations of key demographics such as age, income, education, ethnicity, gender, and community type.
- National and State online surveys

Very