

MOBILIZING TOWARD CLIMATE JUSTICE

August 2023

*Results and Recommendations
for Mobilizing and Moving
Communities*



Theories of Change

Organizing Theory of Change

Mobilize community members as a choir in support of robust climate interventions that center people of color and exert pressure on elected leaders, government agencies, and corporations to put renewable and regenerative power in the hands of impacted communities.

Audience Theory of Change

Engage our base in order to persuade the middle and marginalize the opposition.



Research Questions

- How do we mobilize people to demand energy that's not just clean, but in their hands, controlled democratically by a public board, committee, and/or community?
- How do we build support for solutions that benefit people of color among others most impacted by the climate crisis?
- What forms of advocacy are people most interested in taking after a climate disaster? (*focus groups only*)



Research Design

- Lake Research Partners conducted 6 focus groups in May 2023 utilizing an instrument co-created with ASO and WMTF.
- Participants were recruited based on responses to values-based questions around the status of people of color, inequality in America, role of government, and the best way toward a better future.

Date of Group	Group Demographics
May 22	AAPI Adults - Base and Persuadable
May 23	Black Adults - Base
	Latine Adults - Base and Persuadable
May 24	White Adults - Base and Persuadable
	Adults 18-29 - Base
May 25	Indigenous Adults - Base and Persuadable



Research Design *continued*

- HIT strategies conducted online surveys with a national sample of 1,200 U.S. adults ages 18-70 and oversamples of key groups.
- The margin of error for overall sample is +/- 2.49%

Oversamples <i>(additional 200 people each)</i>
Southern States
Black
Latine
AAPI
Indigenous
Advocates



Recommendations

Recommendations

General

- Frame the issues and impacts of the climate crisis in terms of lived experience and creation of good as opposed to removal of something bad or abstract ideas.
- Use active voice - name culprits and provide origin story for the climate crisis.
- Lead with the experience and solutions that communities of color bring to addressing climate change rather than the harms that disproportionately impact them.

Making case for public utilities

- Focus on how they can lower costs, provide more reliable energy, and empower the community.
- Call out corporations and their greed. Don't use comparison to existing public goods.
- Share positive stories of publicly owned utilities.

Recommendations

Building support for solutions benefiting people of color

- Avoid naming disparities without assigning blame. Effective culprits here are corporate CEOs, fossil fuel corporations, wealthy few who profit off polluting our communities.
- Link action to past victories and power of collective action (i.e. “the many can defeat the money”).
- Give examples of what solutions that prioritize communities of color look like

Driving advocacy after a climate disaster

- Combine calls to action, such as holding fossil fuel corporations accountable, with a vision for the better future we will create.
- Give people political actions to take or they will default just to direct aid.
- Make it clear who is at fault for the disasters that we face



Freedom and Family

No matter what we look like or where we come from, we want our families to have the freedom to drink clean water, breathe clean air, and live in healthy communities. For too long, fossil fuel CEOs and the politicians they pay for have spread lies about the possibility for change while they hike up our rates and pollute our surroundings, targeting the communities they think can't fight back. But we've shown that the many can defeat the money by winning clean energy legislation and defeating kickbacks for polluters. By unleashing our power in our communities, workplaces, and polling booths, we will make wealthy corporations pay what they owe and rewrite the rules so that we, the people, own the clean energy your families need. Together, we'll demand our leader ensure everyone's freedom to breathe easier and thrive, no exceptions.



Lead with shared values across race



Name the villain and their motivations



Cite our collective power and past victories



Close with our vision, desired outcomes, and call to action



Climate Repair and Future

Whether we are Black or white, Latino or Asian, Native or newcomer, most of us want to ensure a bright future for our families. But, for too long, a handful of politicians bankrolled by Big Oil have locked us out of decisions, polluting communities based on what we look like or what's in our wallets while spreading lies about the climate crises they created. The communities who've been hit hardest are the ones showing us the way to hold fossil fuel and private utility corporations accountable, protect our health and win locally made and publicly owned clean energy. Joining together across race and place, we can follow their lead and ensure every community can chart our own clean energy future, repairing and reviving the places we call home.



Lead with shared values across race



Name the villain and their motivations



Cite leadership of impacted communities



Close with our vision, desired outcomes, and call to action



Communities First

Across races, backgrounds and zip codes, most of us do our best to care for our communities. But some oil, gas, and utility corporations unleash damage to our climate and fuel disasters by poisoning our air, land, and water. They rake in huge profits while we all suffer. It's time to hold greedy CEOs and the politicians they pay for accountable and demand government action that delivers clean, affordable energy that is tailored to our communities and helps neighborhoods that have been deliberately exposed to pollution. Just as we've come together in our past to pass clean air laws, protect the ozone layer, and promote civil rights, we must now come together to make this a place where we all breathe clean air, drink safe water, and live a good life.



Lead with shared values across race



Name the villain and their motivations



Cite our collective power and desired solution prioritizing those most impacted



Close with our collective victories and desired outcomes

Qualitative Testing

Focus Group Learnings

- We should tap into public willingness to demand government action on climate and hold fossil fuel corporations accountable in the aftermath of climate disasters. Full memo [here](#).
- Climate isn't top of mind for most participants and cynicism is potent.
- Most participants feel negatively about current utility providers and want them to lower costs, increase clean energy and transparency.
 - However, most believe these changes unlikely.
 - They desire a future healthier, cleaner, sustainable energy and believe that main obstacle is corporate greed.
- Few participants are familiar with publicly owned utilities, but when introduced to the concept, many have positive reaction with some hesitancy.
- When asked about effect of climate change in different communities, participants tended to name geography and class, not race.
- Once given examples, participants are supportive of solutions that prioritize communities of color, but struggle to imagine what they could look like.

Quantitative Testing

Baseline Attitudes



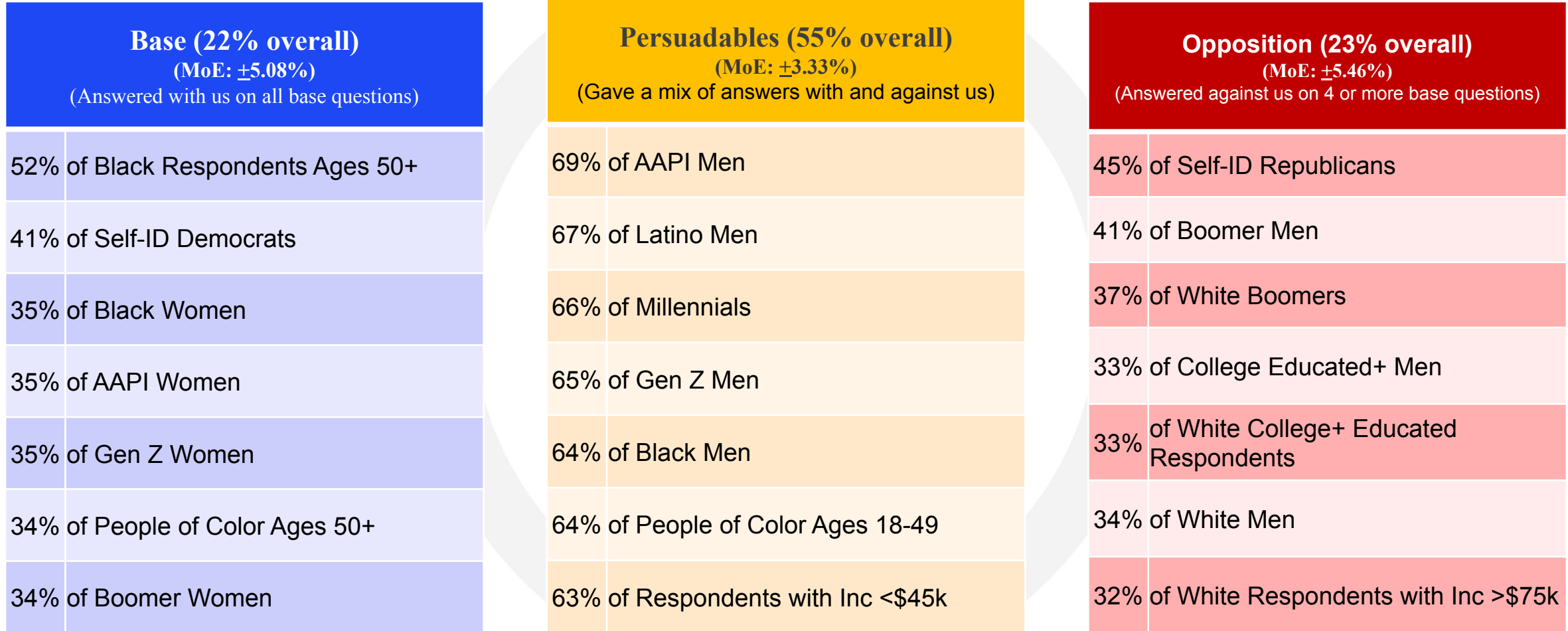
Base/Persuadable/Opposition Audience Definitions

Topic	Question	Overall Result
Q11. Cause of Climate Change	Which of the following is closest to your thinking?	
	a. Climate change today is caused by human activity	70%
	b. Climate change today is completely natural	29%
Q12. Role of the Government	If you had to choose, which would you prefer?	
	a. Government creating opportunities for advancement	56%
	b. Government getting out of your way	43%
Q13. Barriers faced by People of Color	Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?	
	a. People of color face greater barriers to economic success than white people	59%
	b. People of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition	41%
Q14. Importance of Confronting Racism	Which of the following is closest to your thinking?	
	a. We must do more to confront racism against people of color and that includes fixing past harms	52%
	b. Continuing to focus on race is counterproductive and prevents us from moving forward	48%
Q15. How the Wealthy Got Their Success	In your opinion, which of the following is the primary reason wealthy Americans have financial success?	
	a. Wealthy Americans got their success because they were given more opportunities than others	59%
	b. Wealthy Americans got their success because they worked harder than others	41%

Base respondents are typically women of color, older Black Americans, and Democrats. Opposition respondents tend to be Republican and older men. Persuadables encompass (younger) men of color and Independents.



Q11/12/13/14/15. Base / Persuadable / Opposition Indices



Definitions based on responses to cause of climate change, government's role, barriers people of color face, importance of confronting racism, and how wealthy Americans got their success.

Defining Our Base



Base – 22% of adults

- Believe wealthy individuals achieved success because of greater opportunities
- Maintain that people of color face greater barriers to economic success
- Want government to create opportunities
- Support doing much more to overcome racial disparities
- Understand that climate change is caused by human activity.
- More likely to be women of color, older Black Americans, and Democrats.



Defining Opposition



Opposition – 23% of adults

- Believe wealthy individuals achieved success due to work ethic
- Subscribe to notion that people of color mostly responsible for their own condition
- Think that government ought to get out of way
- Perceive that focusing on racial disparities prevents us from moving forward
- Maintain that climate change is natural.
- More likely to be older men and Republicans



Defining Persuadables



Persuadable – 55% of adults

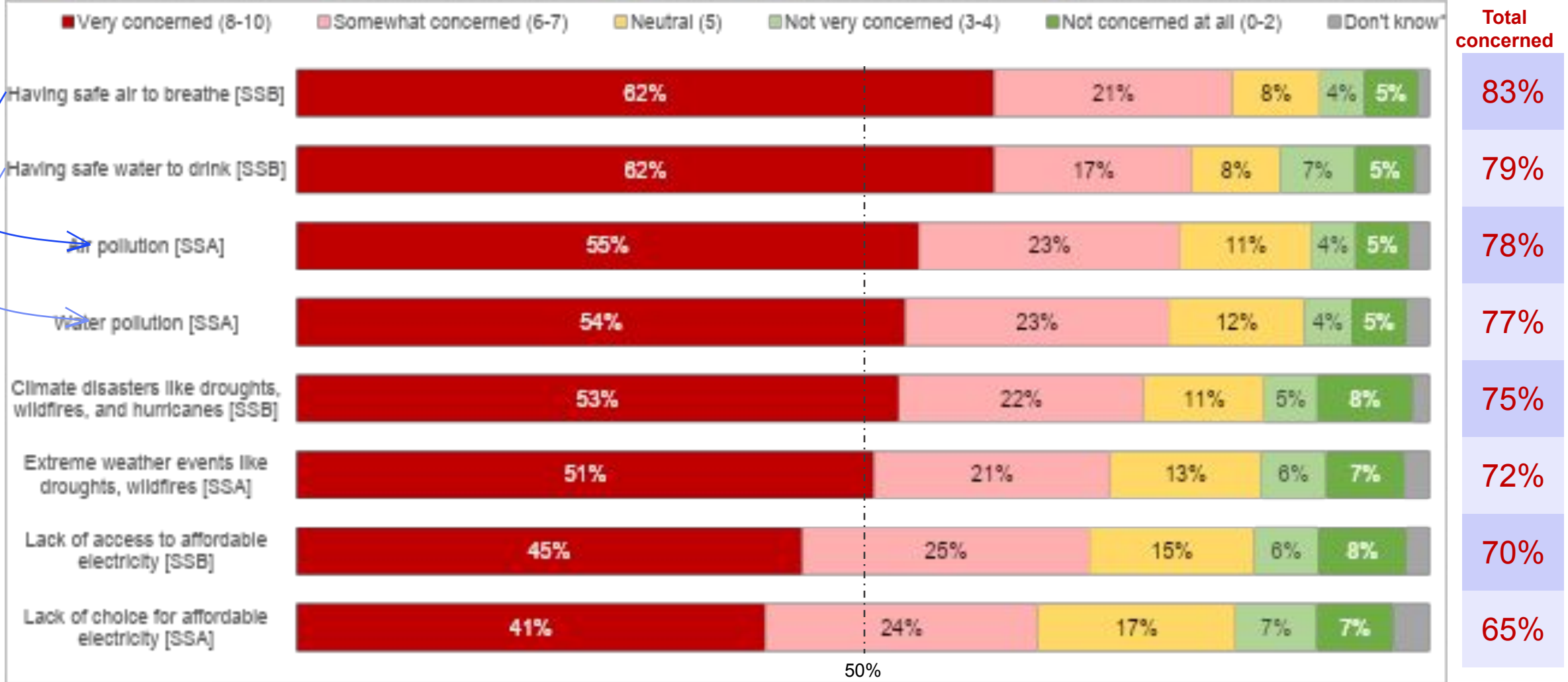
- Divided on each dimension
- Largely mirror the national adult population with some greater representation of:
 - men of color
 - Millennials
 - Gen Z
 - independents





Framing climate concerns around human needs (safe air, water) is more potent than simply naming pollution as a concern for Americans.

19. 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.

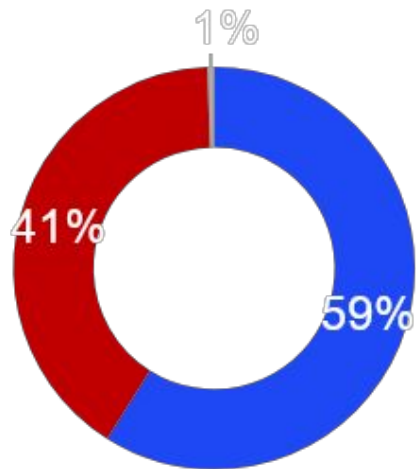


Despite the challenges we face, **most respondents believe people can come together and make real change** (including on climate change). However, GenZers are notably more optimistic about collective power generally than when applied to climate change.



17. Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion? [SSA]

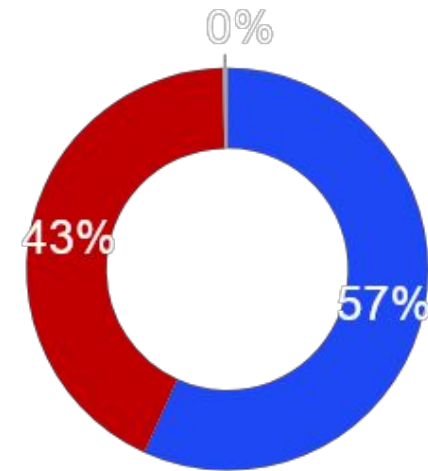
- If people come together and take action we can make real change
- No matter what ordinary people do a wealthy and powerful few will always block us from making real change
- Don't Know



	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Together We Can Make Change	59%	55%	61%	60%	60%	60%	52%	56%	67%	64%	57%	60%
Wealthy Block Us From Change	40%	45%	38%	40%	40%	39%	46%	44%	33%	36%	43%	39%

18. Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion? [SSB]

- If people come together and take action we can stop the harmful effects of climate change.
- No matter what ordinary people do corporations will always block meaningful efforts to stop climate change.
- Don't know/Refused



	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Together We Can Address Climate	55%	58%	64%	61%	57%	50%	56%	55%	59%	64%	58%	49%
Corporation Block Us From Change	45%	42%	36%	39%	43%	50%	44%	44%	41%	36%	42%	51%

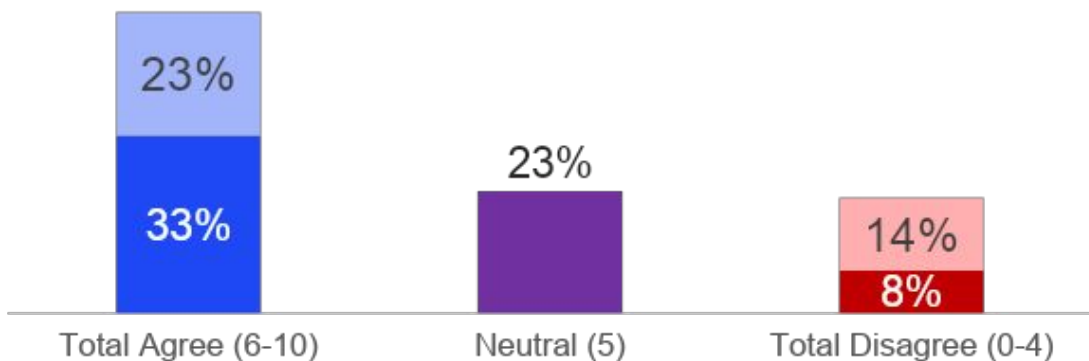
Making A Race-Forward Case on Climate Change

Respondents see disproportionate harms of climate change to communities of color far more than innovative solutions emerging from those same communities.



20. Rate how much you agree or disagree: **Communities of color are often disproportionately impacted by climate disasters, experiencing higher rates of pollution and negative health outcomes [SSA]**

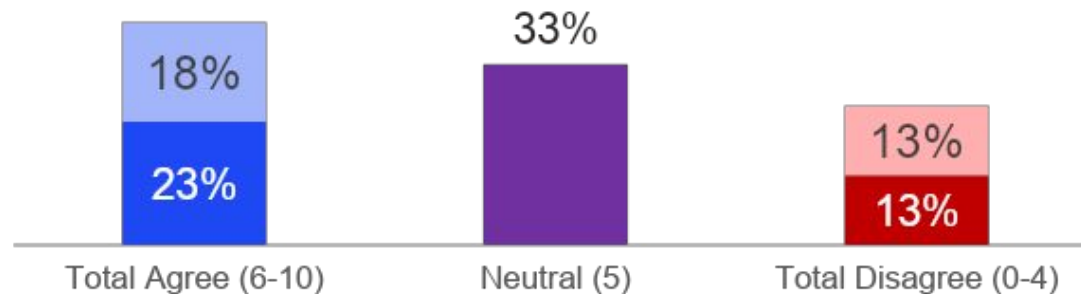
■ Strongly Agree (8-10)
 ■ Somewhat Agree (8-10)
 ■ Neutral (5)
 ■ Somewhat Disagree (3-4)
 ■ Strongly Disagree (0-2)



	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Strongly Agree	28%	48%	37%	35%	40%	34%	37%	29%	32%	62%	31%	7%
Somewhat Agree	22%	26%	26%	26%	21%	32%	22%	20%	22%	25%	26%	12%
Neutral	26%	14%	17%	22%	14%	20%	23%	25%	21%	10%	26%	25%
Total Disagree	24%	12%	19%	16%	25%	14%	18%	26%	26%	3%	16%	55%

21. Rate how much you agree or disagree: **Communities of color are implementing innovative solutions to climate disasters, from delivering immediate aid to developing clean energy alternatives [SSB]**

■ Strongly Agree (8-10)
 ■ Somewhat Agree (8-10)
 ■ Neutral (5)
 ■ Somewhat Disagree (3-4)
 ■ Strongly Disagree (0-2)

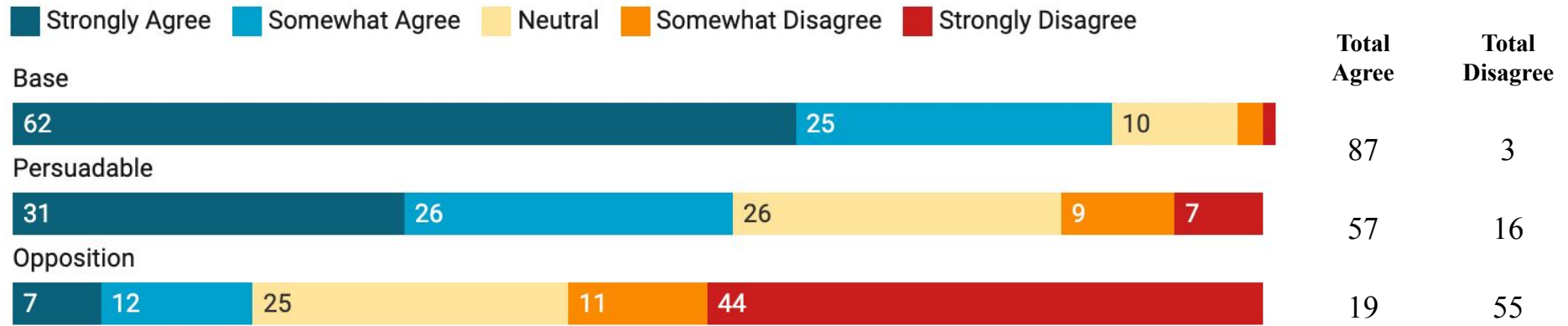


	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Strongly Agree	17%	40%	33%	25%	21%	29%	29%	19%	13%	29%	26%	9%
Somewhat Agree	17%	23%	18%	28%	17%	18%	19%	18%	17%	27%	19%	8%
Neutral	36%	19%	27%	33%	31%	36%	31%	34%	35%	28%	32%	40%
Total Disagree	30%	18%	22%	14%	30%	17%	20%	30%	35%	15%	23%	43%

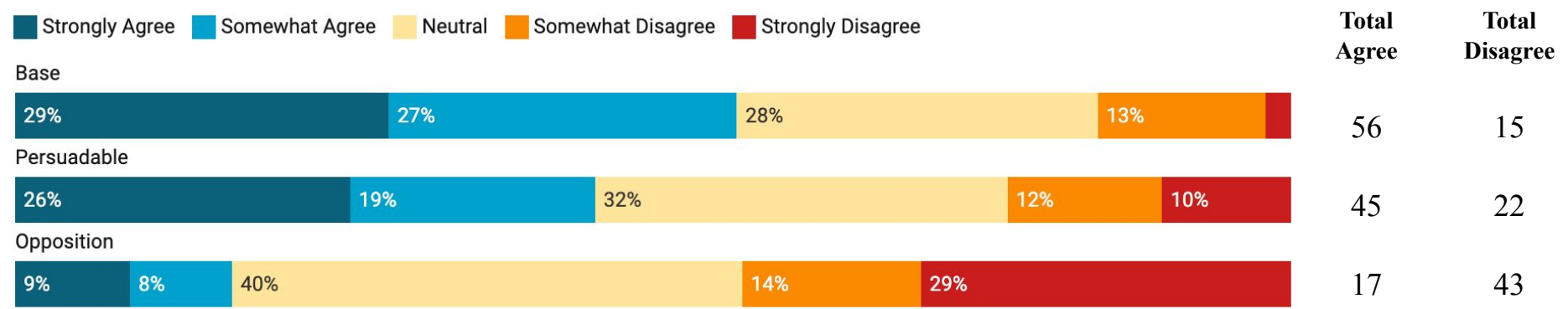


Respondents, especially base, see racialized harms but unsure on current solutions

20. Communities of color are often disproportionately impacted by climate disasters, experiencing higher rates of pollution and negative health outcomes



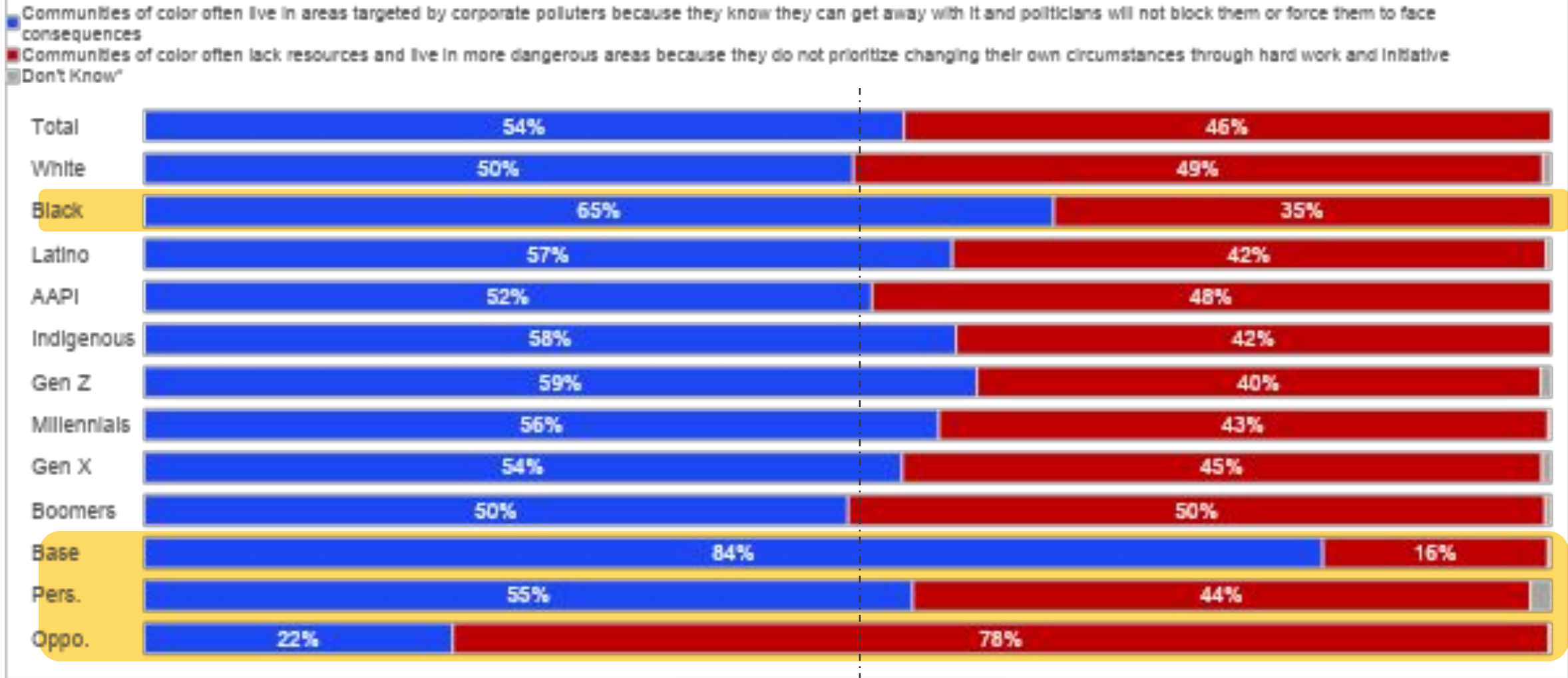
21. Communities of color are implementing innovative solutions to climate disasters, from delivering immediate aid to developing clean energy alternatives



People are only slightly more likely to blame corporations than communities of color themselves for racial disparities. Black and Base audiences do clearly see corporations at the cause.

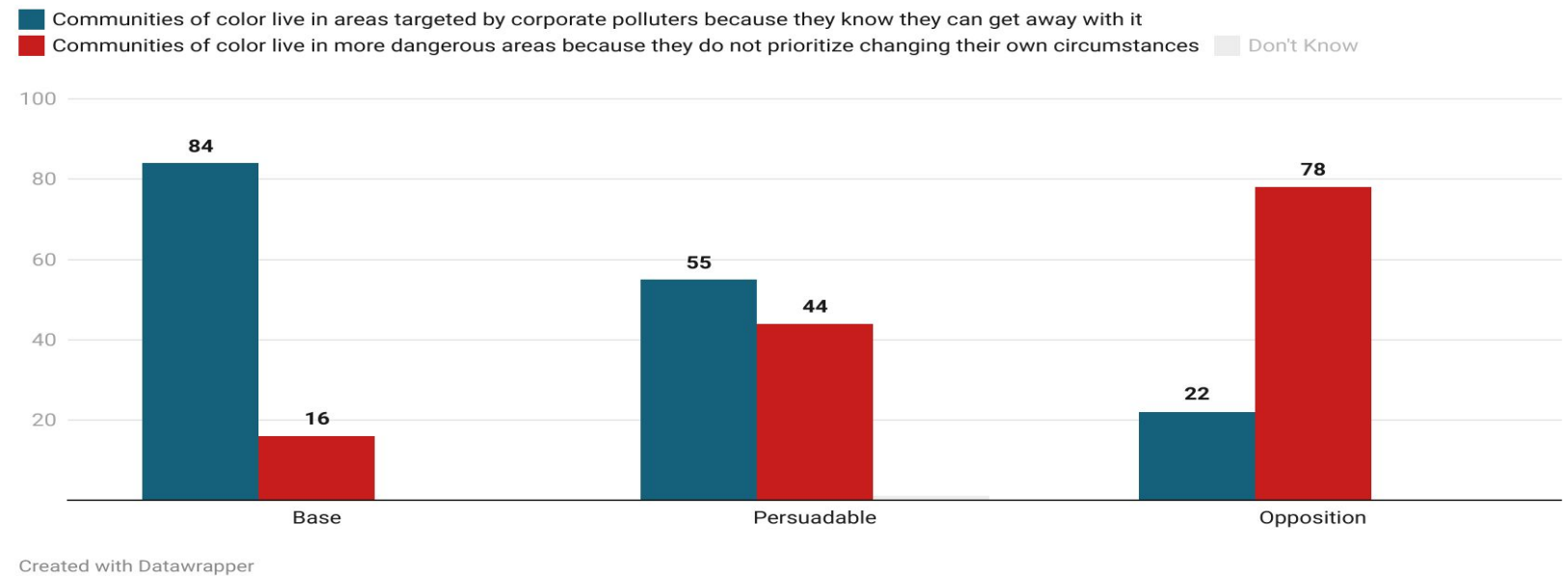


16. Research shows that communities of color are disproportionately impacted by climate change. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?



Black, young and base respondents see correct culprits; overall this is contested terrain

16. Research shows that communities of color are disproportionately impacted by climate change. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?



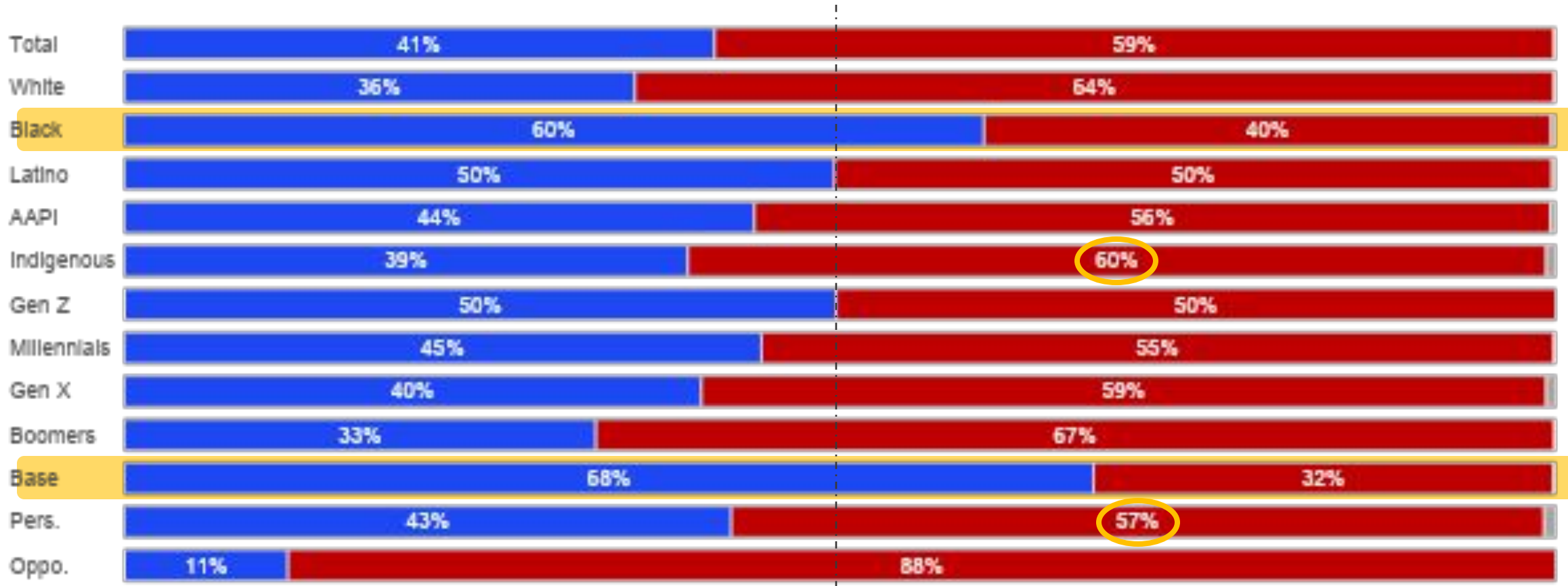
	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indigenous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	South
Targeted by polluters	50%	65%	57%	52%	58%	59%	56%	54%	50%	84%	55%	22%	54%
Do not prioritize changing	50%	35%	42%	48%	42%	40%	43%	45%	50%	16%	44%	78%	45%

While 59% of Americans oppose “preferential treatment for any community,” Black respondents and Base audiences are more open to prioritizing communities of color affected by climate disasters.



22. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?

- We should prioritize communities of color, which are most often affected by climate disasters
- We should not allow preferential treatment for any community
- Don't Know

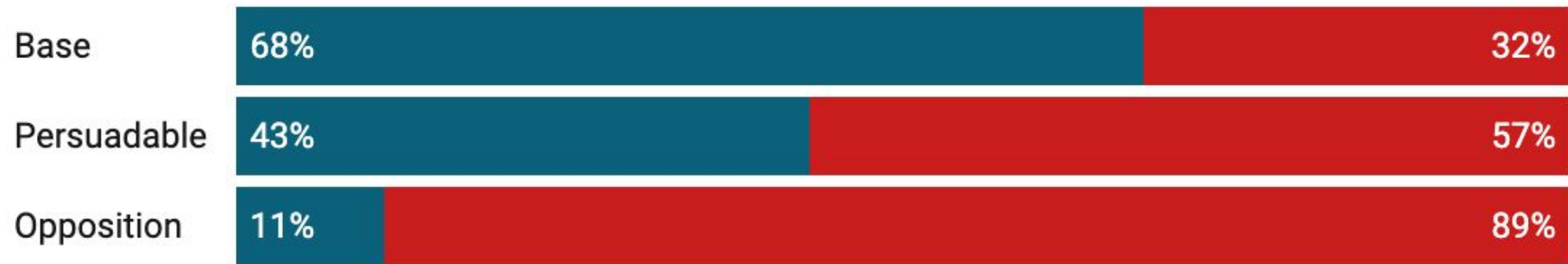




Black and base prioritize “communities of color,” others buy opposition argument possibly not affiliating with term and/or using class lens

22. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?

- We should prioritize communities of color, which are most often affected by climate disasters
- We should not allow preferential treatment for any community



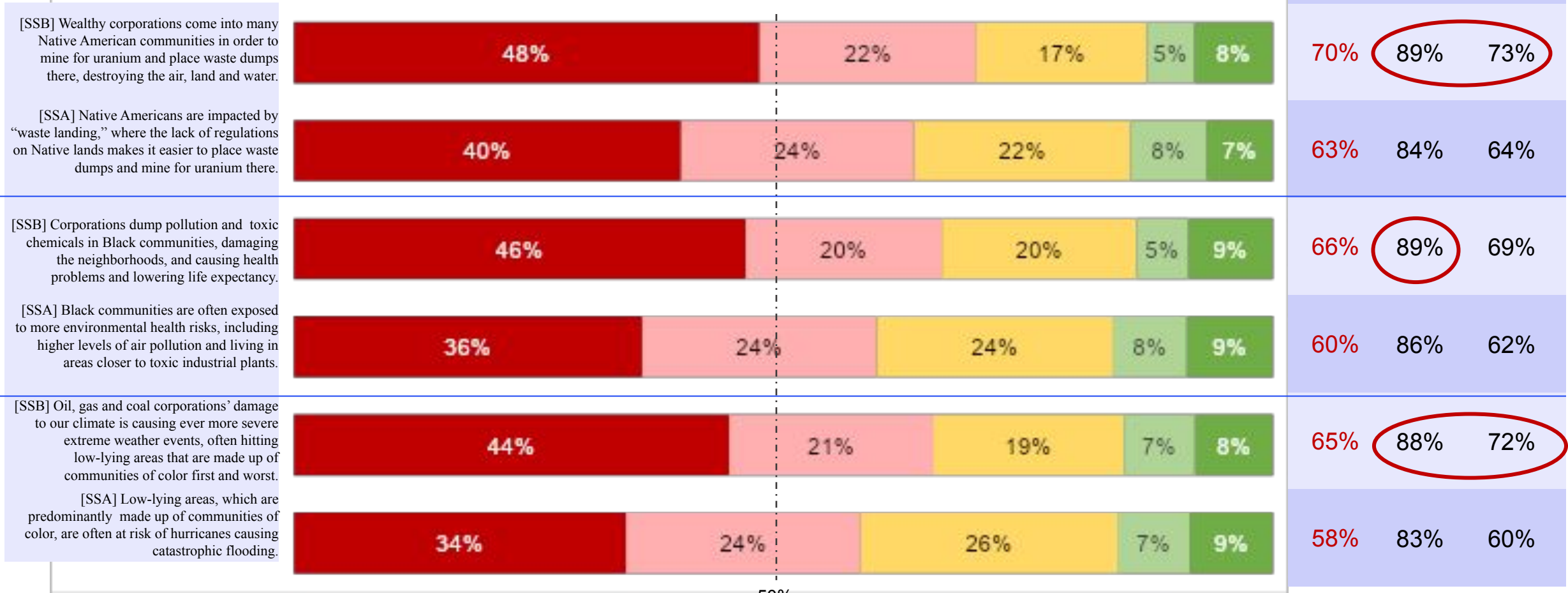
	White	Black	AAPI	Latine	Indigenous
Should Prioritize	36%	60%	44%	50%	39%
Should Not	64%	40%	56%	50%	60%

It is stronger for us to define the problem as corporations actively creating pollution rather than frame the problem as communities passively experiencing pollution. **We are most persuasive/raise higher concerns when we point to a clear actor (corporations), action (pollution), and problem (pollution in communities of color.)**



29. Here are some statements that people might make. After each one, I would like you to rate each statement on a scale from 0-10, where a “10” means the statement makes you very concerned, a “5” means that you feel neutral, and a “0” means the statement does not make you concerned at all.

Very concerned (8-10) Somewhat concerned (6-7) Neutral (5) Not very concerned (3-4) Not concerned at all (0-2) Don't know



50%

Active voice problem descriptions are more effective across groups

[SSA] Native Americans are impacted by “waste landing,” where the lack of regulations on Native lands makes it easier to place waste dumps and mine for uranium there

Very Concerned Somewhat Concerned



[SSB] Wealthy corporations come into Native American communities in order to mine for uranium and place waste dumps there, destroying the air, land and water

Very Concerned Somewhat Concerned

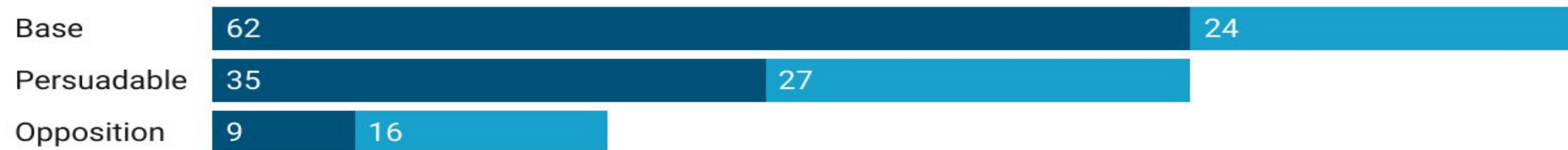




Again, naming villain helps raise concern level across groups

[SSA] Black communities are often exposed to more environmental health risks, including higher levels of air pollution and living in areas closer to toxic industrial plants

Very Concerned Somewhat Concerned



[SSB] Corporations dump pollution and toxic chemicals in Black communities, damaging the neighborhoods, and causing health problems and lowering life expectancy

Very Concerned Somewhat Concerned

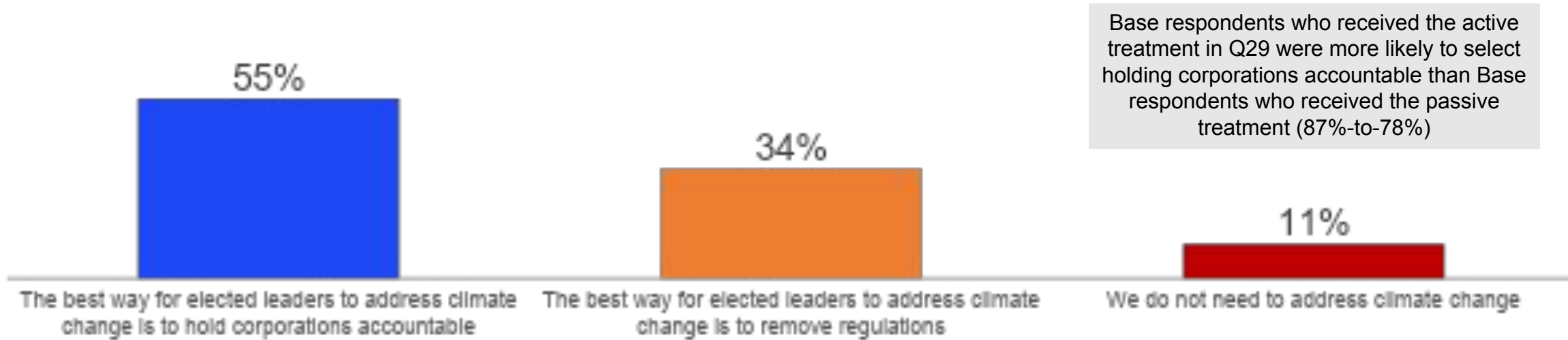


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Most Americans believe elected leaders should address climate change by holding corporations accountable, especially Black Americans, Base audience, Persuadables, and older Americans.



30. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion, even if none of them is exactly right?

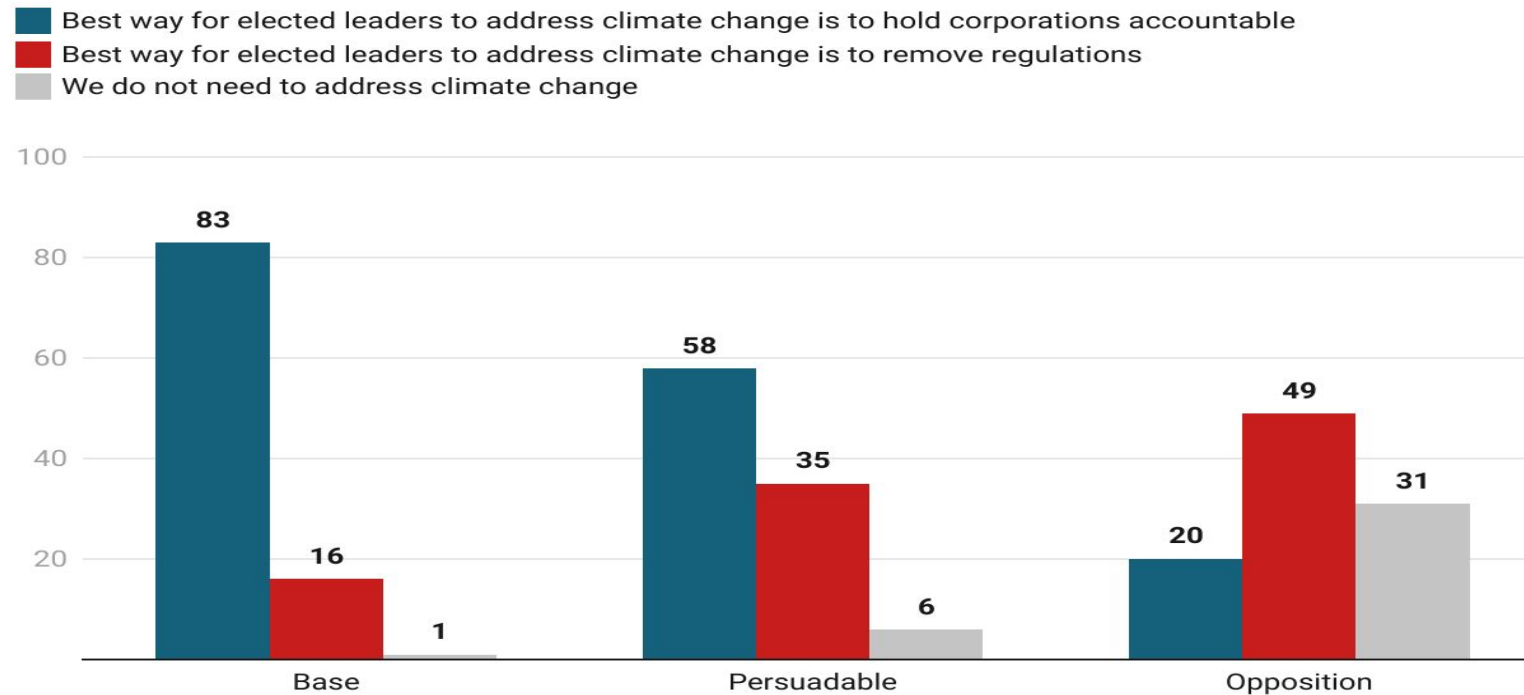


	Men	Women	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Hold Corporations Accountable	53%	57%	54%	60%	57%	55%	54%	51%	53%	58%	59%	73%	53%	35%	83%	58%	20%	62%	53%	48%	57%
Remove Regulations	34%	34%	33%	34%	37%	37%	35%	39%	38%	29%	29%	24%	32%	47%	16%	35%	49%	31%	37%	36%	31%
Don't Address	13%	8%	13%	5%	6%	8%	11%	9%	9%	13%	12%	3%	15%	17%	1%	6%	31%	8%	10%	16%	13%

Most respondents want to hold corporations accountable; exposure to active voice helps



30. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion, even if none of them are correct?



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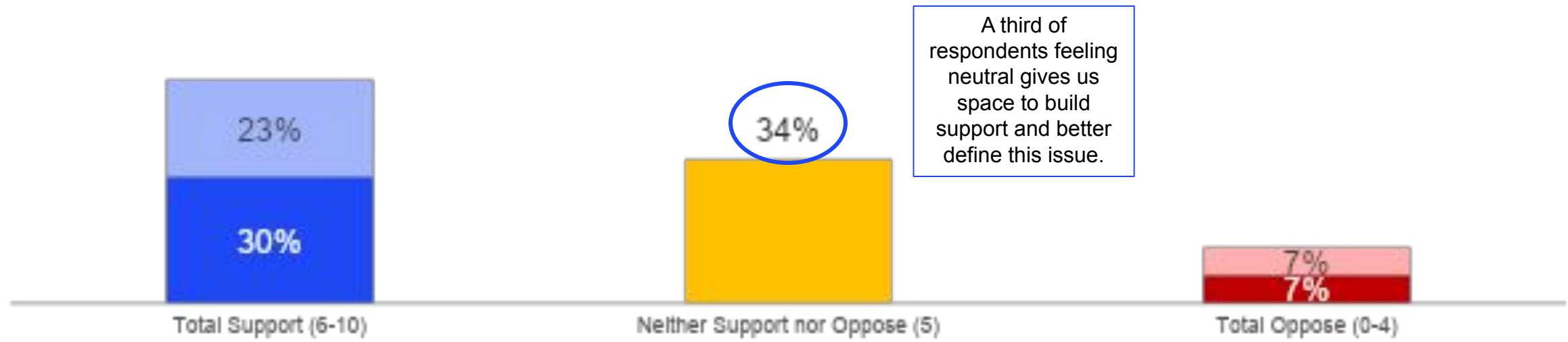
Initial Attitudes Toward Publicly Owned Utilities

About half of Americans support making utilities in their community publicly owned. It is especially popular with **people of color, younger people, the Base audience, and people in urban areas**. None of the subgroups, including Republicans, have a majority opposition to the proposal.



24. Please rate on a scale from 0-10 whether you would support or oppose making utilities in your community publicly owned, where a “10” means that you strongly support making utilities publicly owned, a “5” means that you neither support or oppose, and a “0” means that you strongly oppose making utilities in your community publicly owned.

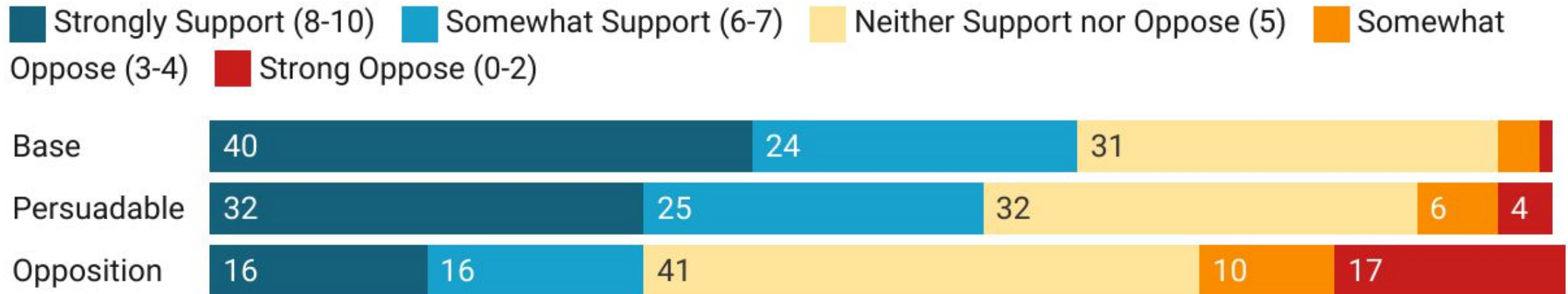
■ Strongly Support (8-10)
 ■ Somewhat Support (8-10)
 ■ Neither Support or Oppose (5)
 ■ Somewhat Oppose (3-4)
 ■ Strongly Oppose (0-2)



	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Total Support	53%	53%	49%	63%	60%	59%	60%	62%	59%	50%	44%	64%	44%	45%	64%	57%	32%	60%	50%	48%	53%
Total Neutral	30%	37%	36%	30%	30%	30%	23%	31%	30%	36%	39%	28%	42%	37%	31%	32%	41%	30%	35%	36%	34%
Total Oppose	17%	10%	15%	8%	10%	12%	17%	8%	11%	15%	16%	8%	13%	19%	5%	11%	27%	10%	15%	17%	12%

Public ownership of utilities neutral to positive; base, urban, POC and Gen Z are especially supportive

24. Rate whether you would support or oppose making utilities in your community publicly owned



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Our strong base of support for publicly owned utilities comes from liberals, older Black adults, Black women, and college-educated POC; Gen Z and men of color have weaker levels of support. Opposition is mostly made up of older men and conservatives. Persuadable respondents tend to be older women (especially white women).



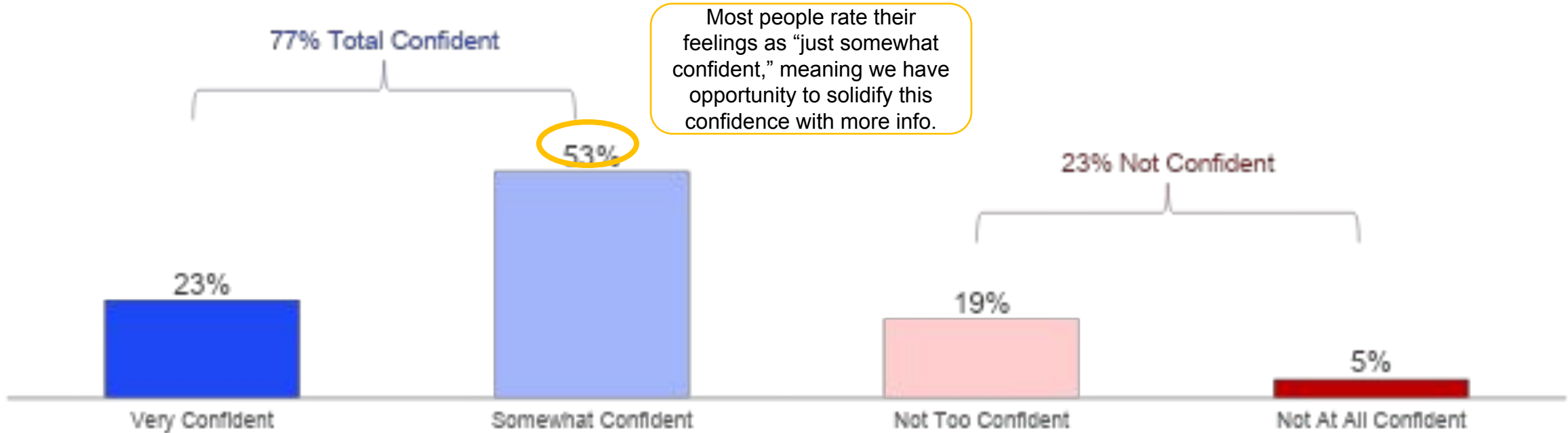
24. Support for Making Utilities Publicly Owned Indices

Strongly Support Making Utilities Publicly Owned (30%)		Somewhat Support Making Utilities Publicly Owned (23%)		Neither Support/Oppose Making Utilities Publicly Owned (34%)		Oppose Making Utilities Publicly Owned (13%)	
54%	of Very Liberal Respondents	35%	of GenZ Women	47%	of Women Ages 50+	25%	of Men Ages 50+
45%	of Self-ID Democrats	34%	of AAPI Men	44%	of Boomer Women	24%	of Indigenous Men
42%	of College+ Black Respondents	33%	of POC GenZ	43%	of AAPI Gen X Respondents	24%	of Boomer Men
40%	of College+ Latino Respondents	32%	of AAPI Respondents	42%	of Self-ID Independents	24%	of Conservatives
38%	of Black Age 50+	31%	of GenZ	41%	of College Educated Women	22%	of Latine Ages 50+
38%	of Latino Men	31%	of Black Men	41%	of White Respondents Ages 50+	22%	of College Educated Men
37%	of Black Women	30%	of Black Respondents Ages 18-49	39%	of White Women	20%	of White Men

Across race, age, ideology, and place, **most Americans are at least somewhat confident that publicly owned utilities could work in their community.**



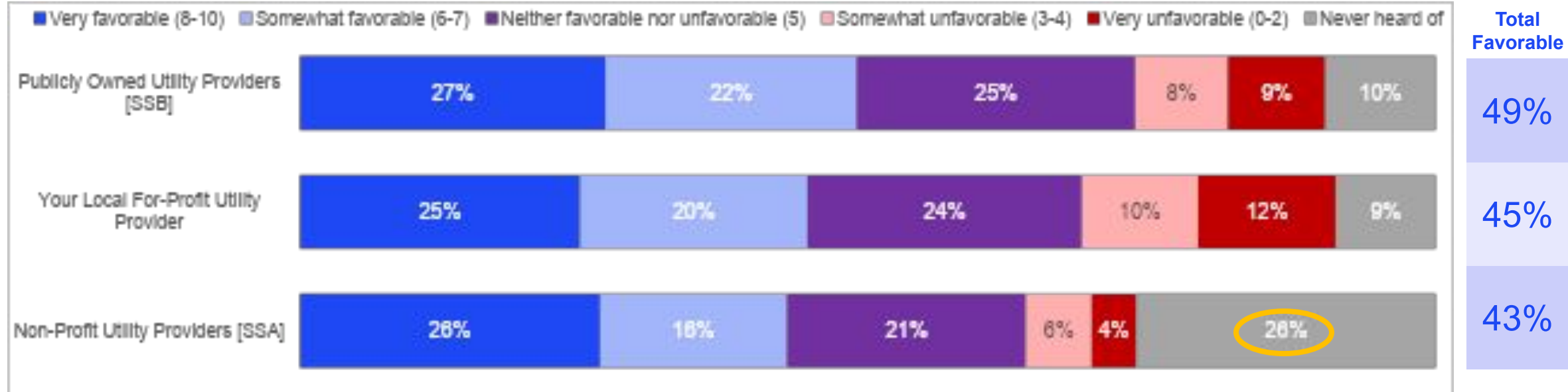
25. Regardless of how you feel about publicly owned utilities, how confident are you that publicly owned utilities could work in your community?



	Men	Women	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Total Confident	77%	77%	76%	81%	77%	77%	73%	81%	80%	76%	72%	81%	72%	74%	81%	80%	65%	78%	75%	77%	77%
Total Not Confident	23%	23%	24%	19%	23%	23%	27%	18%	20%	24%	28%	19%	28%	26%	19%	20%	35%	22%	25%	23%	23%

“Publicly Owned” Utility Providers and “Non-Profit” Utility Providers test generally the same (lower familiarity with “non-profit utility providers” suggests room for growth.) A near majority of Americans say they feel favorable toward their local for-profit utility (suggesting we should define these for-profit utilities as corporations, not a neighborhood entity).

23. Now, please rate how you feel about some groups. 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. You may use any number from 0 to 10, depending on how you feel. If you don’t know or you’ve never heard of the people and/or groups, please indicate so.

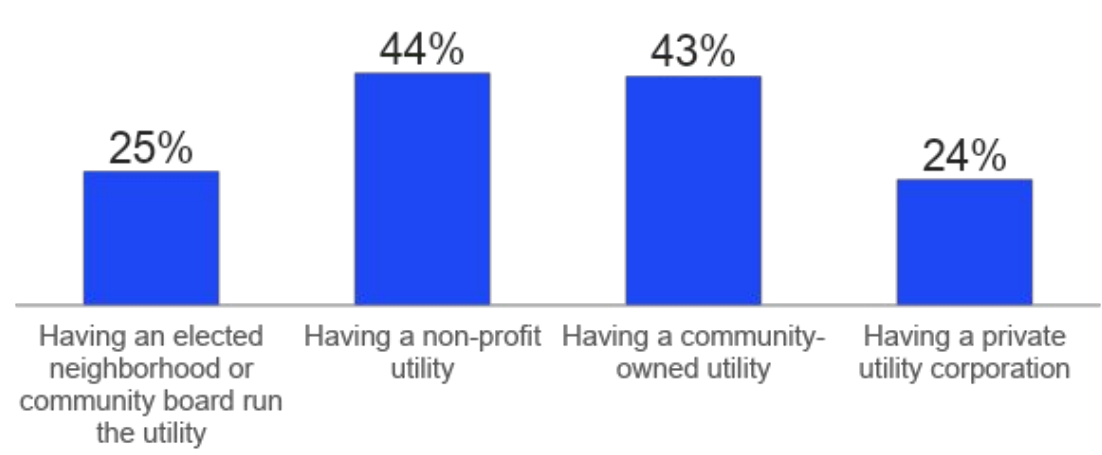


	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-eno us	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Publicly owned Utility Provider	52%	47%	51%	52%	45%	49%	33%	45%	50%	43%	55%	46%	33%	55%	52%	50%	41%	51%	52%	46%	42%
Non-Profit Utility Provider	48%	38%	43%	50%	42%	40%	44%	52%	46%	42%	36%	50%	39%	37%	49%	45%	31%	49%	42%	43%	37%
Local For-Profit Utility Provider	49%	41%	44%	50%	49%	39%	34%	43%	49%	39%	44%	48%	32%	48%	46%	46%	40%	47%	47%	44%	38%



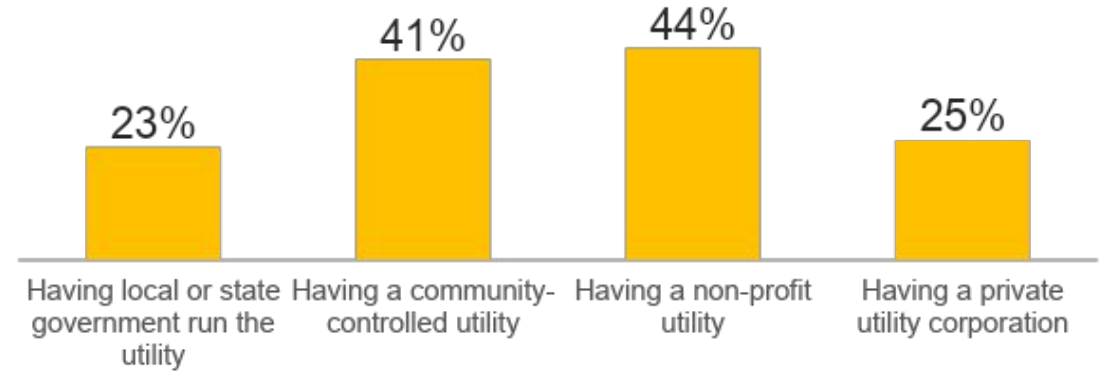
Overall, respondents equally like labeling these utilities as “non-profit” and “community-owned/controlled,” but people of color generally prefer “community-controlled” over “non-profit,” (there’s an opportunity to lean into a sense of shared control over singular ownership like private utilities.)

26. Here's a list of the ways that your local utility company could be owned and run to deliver renewable energy to your community. Please select the one or two you would prefer. [SSA]



	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Community Board	22%	32%	31%	25%	21%	30%	33%	21%	15%	18%	30%	19%
Community-Owned	41%	42%	45%	48%	51%	45%	45%	42%	40%	52%	42%	35%
Non-Profit	47%	33%	37%	41%	29%	45%	41%	40%	53%	57%	42%	34%
Private	25%	22%	23%	18%	23%	23%	20%	27%	24%	12%	22%	40%

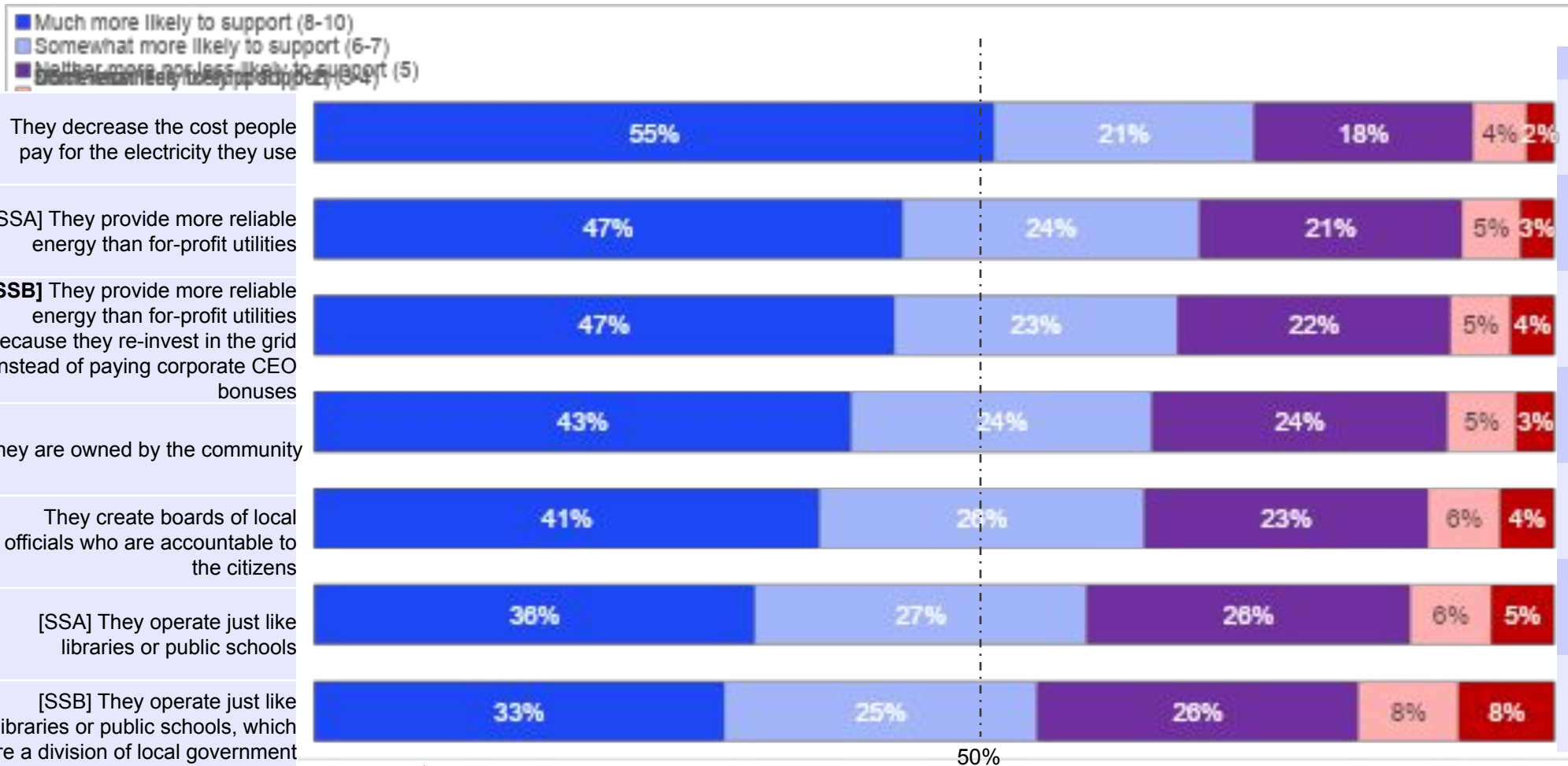
27. Here's a list of the ways that your local utility company could deliver renewable energy to your community. Please select the one or two you would prefer. [SSB]



	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Government Run	18%	31%	31%	38%	15%	28%	29%	18%	17%	27%	26%	15%
Community-Controlled	40%	45%	46%	36%	58%	55%	39%	47%	35%	51%	42%	30%
Non-Profit	46%	40%	38%	41%	50%	44%	45%	43%	46%	53%	41%	42%
Private	27%	20%	21%	25%	13%	16%	27%	21%	27%	13%	24%	38%

We should lean into framing publicly owned utilities as **reliable sources of energy that cut consumer costs** (best testing with Base and Persuadables) and **increase accountability w/ clear connection to corporations**. Analogies to existing public services do not work as well.

28. Below are some statements about publicly owned utilities. After you read each one, please indicate if it makes you more likely or less likely to support making utilities in your community publicly owned on a scale from 0-10 where a "10" means the statement makes much more likely to support, a "5" means that you feel neither more or less likely to support, and a "0" means the statement makes you much less likely to support.



Total more likely to support

All	Base	Persaud.
76%	84%	76%
71%	77%	73%
70%	84%	72%
67%	79%	70%
67%	79%	69%
62%	71%	67%
58%	72%	63%

Dial Tests and Messaging Results

All three messages we dial tested are equally convincing and outperform the opposition message with particularly high ratings from Black and Latine respondents. **“Communities First”** is rated slightly higher with Base and Persuadable audiences.



Q31/32/33/34. SUMMARY OF MESSAGE RATINGS

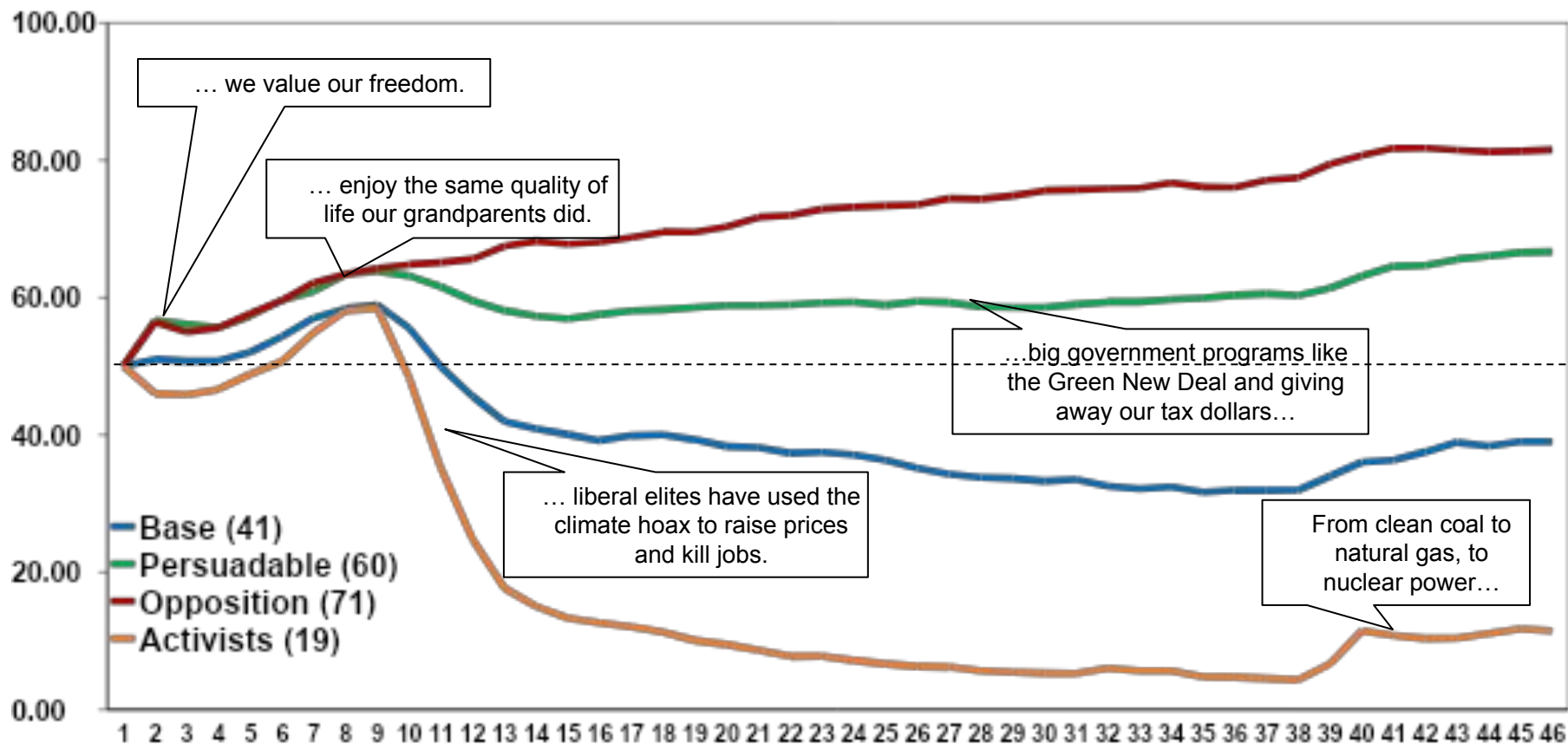
MEAN CONVINCING

MESSAGE	TOTAL	BASE	PERS.	OPPO	WHITE	BLACK	LATINE	AAPI	INDIG.	ACTIVISTS	SOUTH
OPPOSITION	61.1	37.6	63.2	79.2	60.5	61.1	65.2	58.1	64.8	3.7	61.8
COMMUNITIES FIRST	70.1	84.7	74.0	46.2	67.0	77.3	75.5	71.4	68.7	89.8	70.9
FREEDOM & FAMILY	69.7	82.8	73.6	47.2	67.0	75.9	74.2	70.8	67.4	88.6	69.8
CLIMATE REPAIR & FUTURE	68.2	82.3	72.0	45.1	65.1	75.9	73.9	70.3	65.5	86.1	68.1

MEAN DIAL RATING

MESSAGE	TOTAL	BASE	PERS.	OPPO	WHITE	BLACK	LATINE	AAPI	INDIG.	ACTIVISTS	SOUTH
OPPOSITION	58.3	40.5	60.1	71.4	57.8	59.0	62.1	55.8	59.6	18.0	58.8
COMMUNITIES FIRST	64.8	74.5	67.9	47.7	62.9	70.0	69.3	65.7	62.6	82.0	65.9
FREEDOM & FAMILY	66.3	75.0	69.4	50.3	64.4	70.0	71.1	67.5	64.0	82.9	66.7
CLIMATE REPAIR & FUTURE	64.3	72.6	67.3	48.7	62.2	68.4	69.2	65.3	62.4	79.4	64.6

Opposition



In America, we value our freedom and want our kids to enjoy the same quality of life our grandparents did. But liberal elites have used the climate hoax to raise prices and kill jobs. They don't care about real, hardworking Americans - they just want to control our lives, from the car we drive to the meat we eat to the oven we own. Now, they're using their woke agenda to push even more big government programs like the Green New Deal and giving away our tax dollars to help specific communities, hoping to land more votes. Instead of more regulation or handouts, we need to invest in American made energy. From clean coal to natural gas, to nuclear power, we can achieve energy independence from clean coal jobs and protect our way of life.

While not as strong as our messages, the Opposition message is convincing for most respondents, especially Latino and Indigenous respondents. We also see a bit of a bump when they invoke “energy independence.”

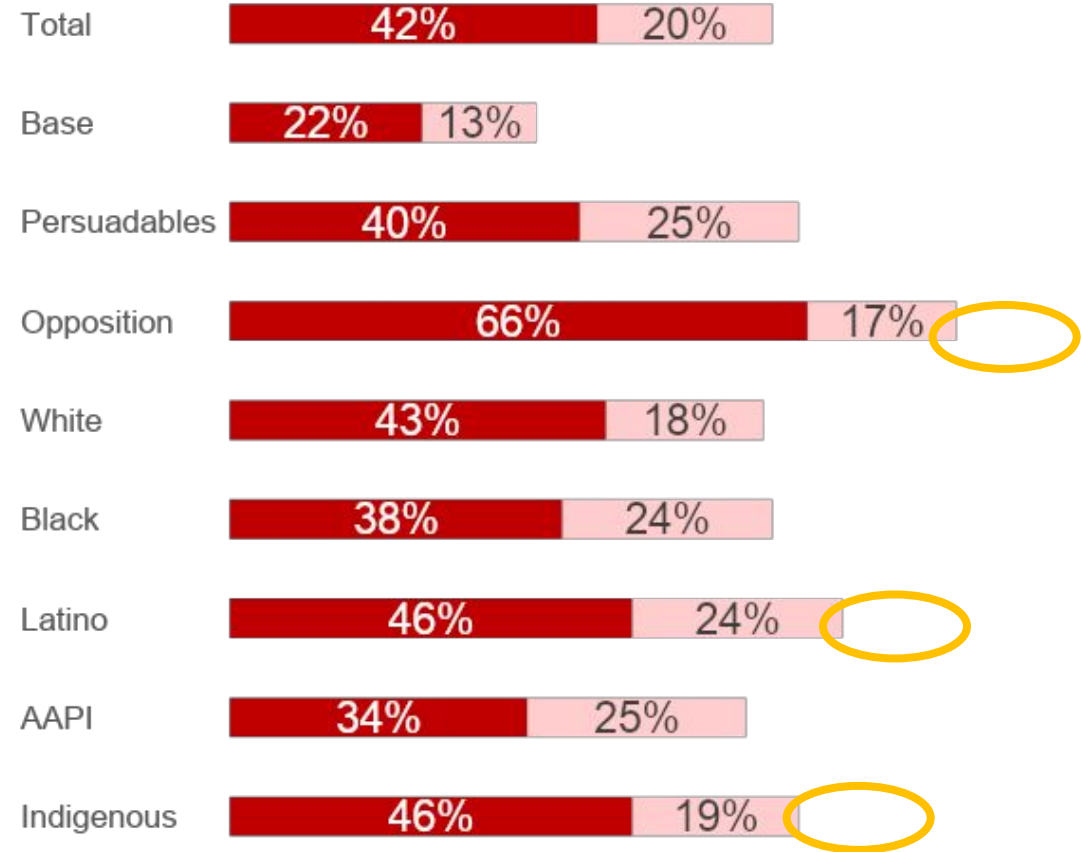


31. Based on everything you heard, please give this statement a rating from 0 to 100 in the entry box below, where 100 means the statement you just heard is very convincing to you personally and 0 means it is not convincing at all to you personally.

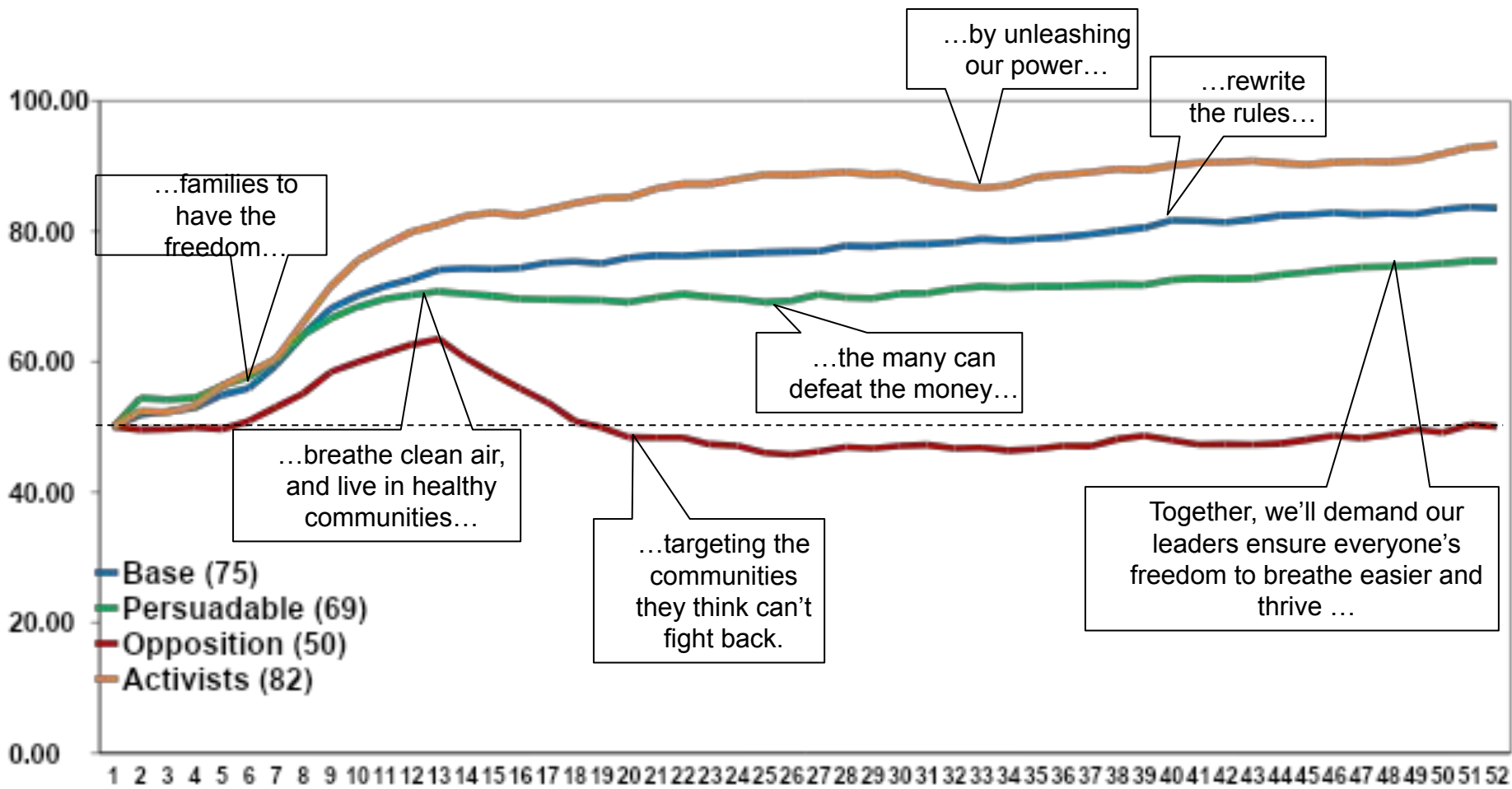
OPPOSITION

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Very convincing (80-100) SW Convincing (51-79) Series 3



Freedom and Family



No matter what we look like or where we come from, we want our families to have the freedom to drink clean water, breathe clean air, and live in healthy communities. For too long, fossil fuel CEOs and the politicians they pay for have spread lies about the possibility for change while they hike up our rates and pollute our surroundings, targeting the communities they think can't fight back. But we've shown that the many can defeat the money by winning clean energy legislation and defeating kickbacks for polluters. By unleashing our power in our communities, workplaces, and polling booths, we will make wealthy corporations pay what they owe and rewrite the rules so that we, the people, own the clean energy our families need. Together, we'll demand our leaders ensure everyone's freedom to breathe easier and thrive, no exceptions.



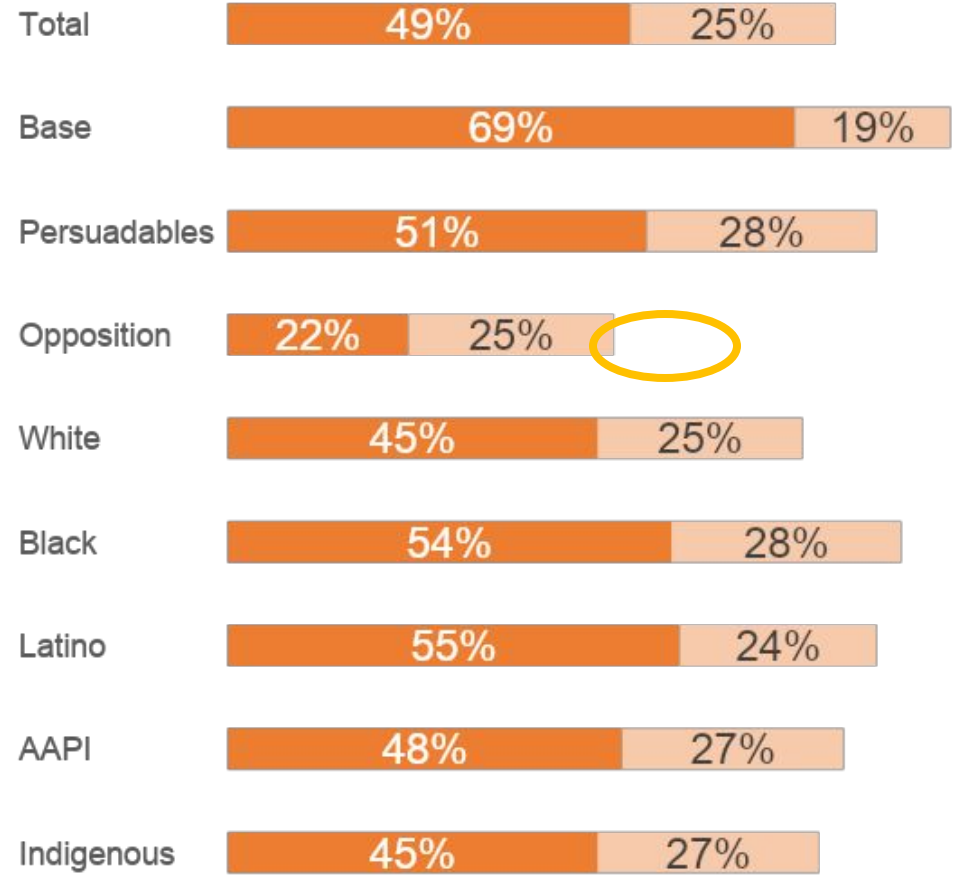
Three-fourths of respondents found “Freedom and Family” convincing, including 79% of Persuadables. Ratings began to take off when we started talking about what’s at stake. Evoking freedom and tying it to the air we breathe and the water we drink resonates strongly with Base and Persuadable audiences.

32. Based on everything you heard, please give this statement a rating from 0 to 100 in the entry box below, where 100 means the statement you just heard is very convincing to you personally and 0 means it is not convincing at all to you personally.

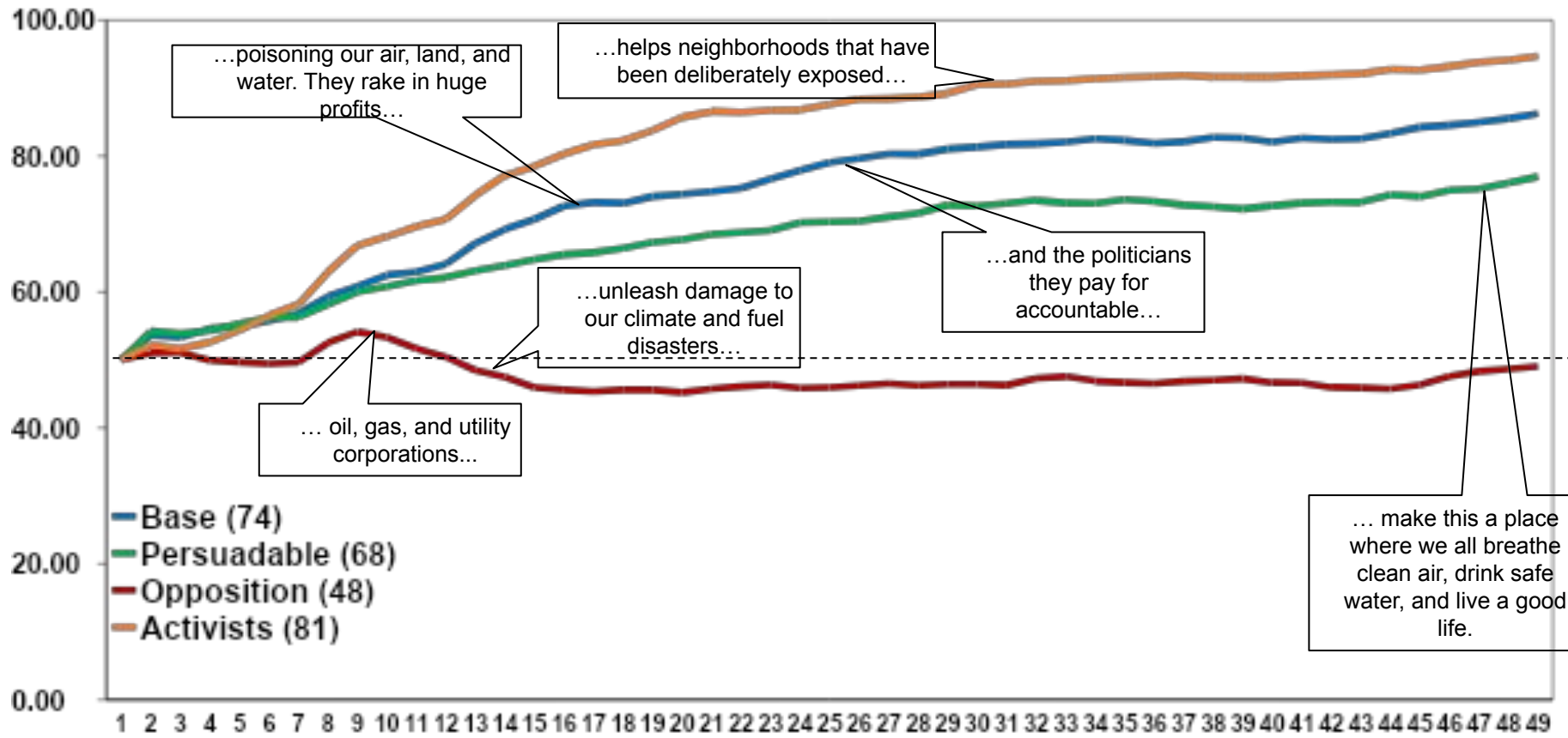
Very convincing (80-100) SW Convincing (51-79) Series 3

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Communities First



Across races, backgrounds and zip codes, most of us do our best to care for our communities. But some oil, gas, and utility corporations unleash damage to our climate and fuel disasters by poisoning our air, land, and water. They rake in huge profits while we all suffer. It's time to hold greedy CEOs and the politicians they pay for accountable and demand government action that delivers clean affordable energy that is tailored to our communities and helps neighborhoods that have been deliberately exposed to pollution. We've come together in our past to pass clean air laws, protect the ozone layer, and promote civil rights, we must now come together to make this a place where we all breathe clean air, drink safe water, and live a good life.

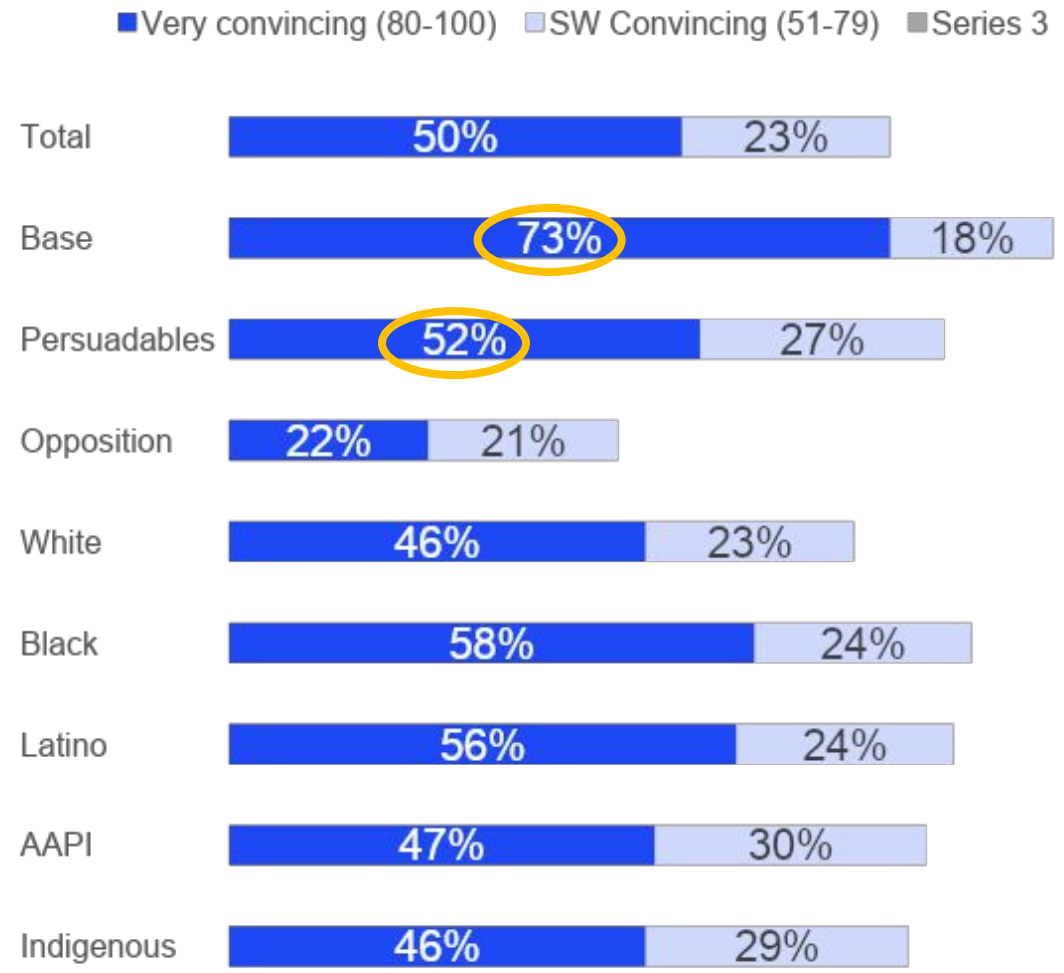


Ratings on “Communities First” take off when we start defining the action/problem at hand. Persuadables, Base, and Activists respond to the language of accountability. Linking back to previous victories resonates with Base and Persuadables as well.

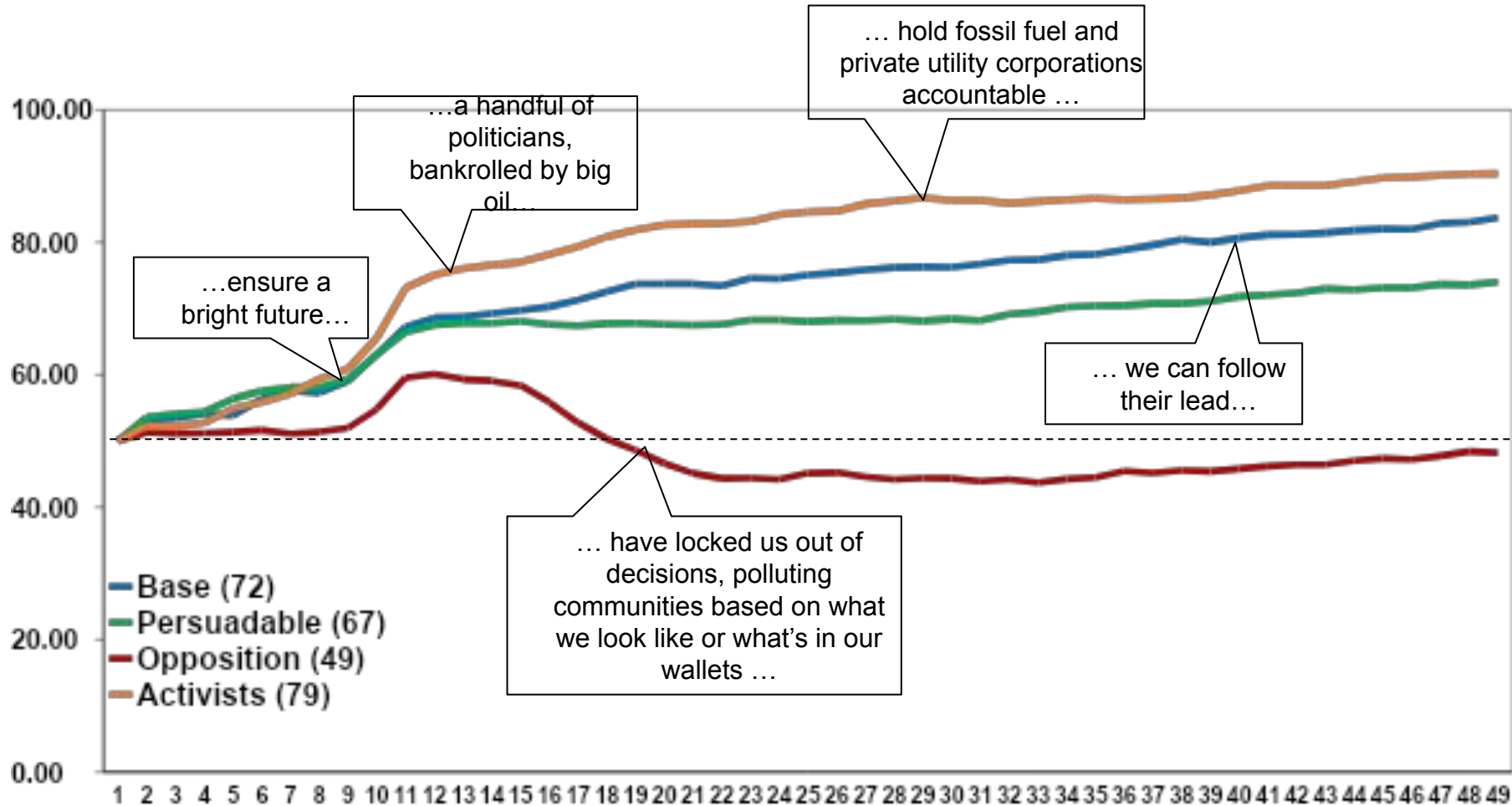
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Climate Repair and Future



Whether we are Black or white, Latino or Asian, Native or newcomer, most of us want to ensure a bright future for our families. But, for too long, a handful of politicians bankrolled by Big Oil have locked us out of decisions, polluting communities based on what we look like or what's in our wallets while spreading lies about the climate crises they created. The communities who've been hit hardest are the ones showing us the way to hold fossil fuel and private utility corporations accountable, protect our health and win locally made and publicly owned clean energy. Joining together across race and place, we can follow their lead and ensure every community can chart our own clean energy future, repairing and reviving the places we call home.

Like the other messages, respondents start to tune in when we define the bad actors (politicians bankrolled by Big Oil) and the problem. Persuadables rate this message slightly lower on “very convincing” compared to other two messages.

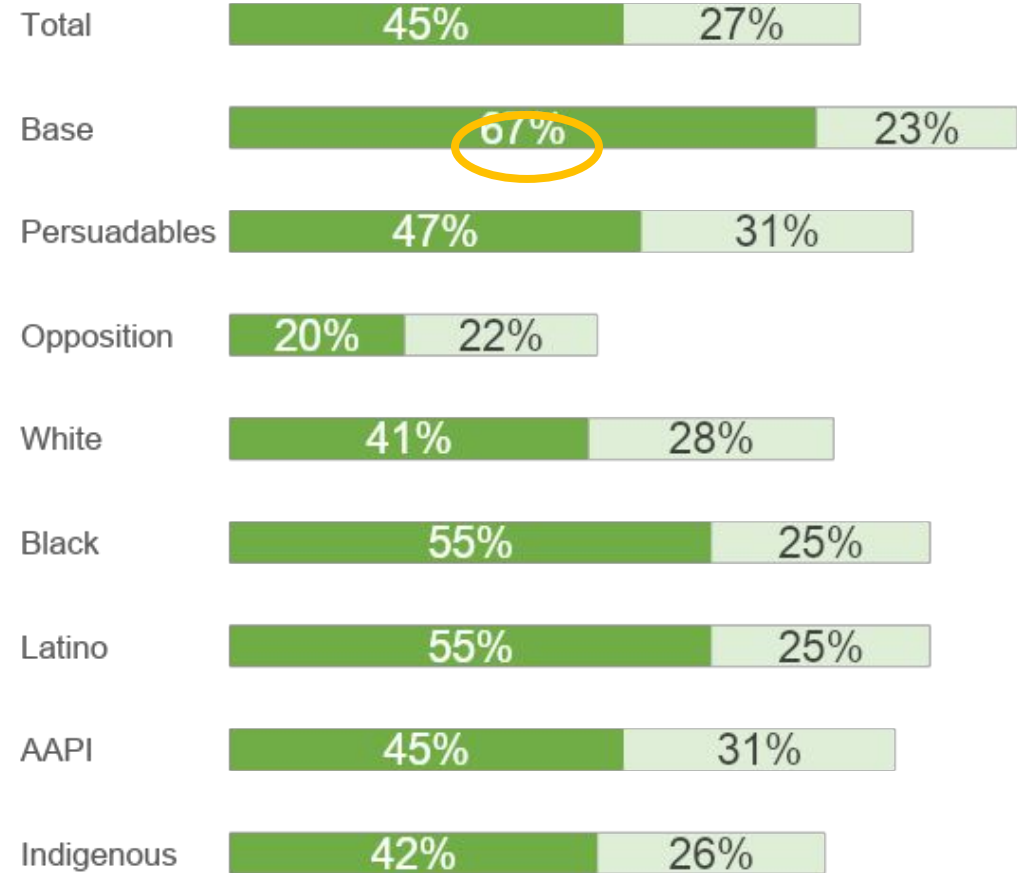


34. Based on everything you heard, please give this statement a rating from 0 to 100 in the entry box below, where 100 means the statement you just heard is very convincing to you personally and 0 means it is not convincing at all to you personally.

CLIMATE REPAIR AND FUTURE

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■ Very convincing (80-100) ■ SW Convincing (51-79) ■ Series 3



Public Opinion Shift

Following more information and messaging, support for publicly owned utilities jumps 17 points (much of the shift comes from neutral respondents moving toward support). Support among Base, Persuadable, AND Opposition audiences increases by double digits.

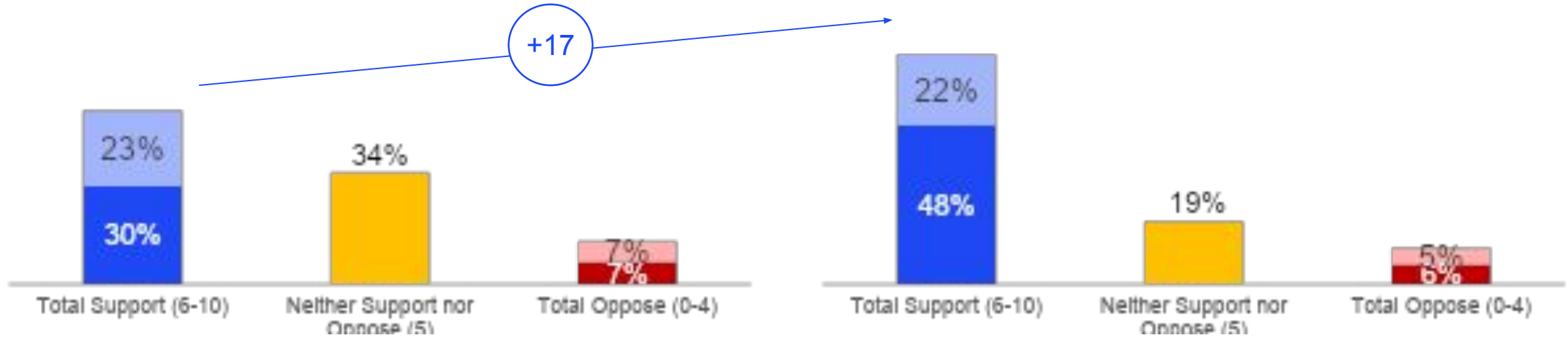


24/35. Please rate on a scale from 0-10 whether you would support or oppose making utilities in your community publicly owned, where a “10” means that you strongly support making utilities publicly owned, a “5” means that you neither support or oppose, and a “0” means that you strongly oppose making utilities in your community publicly owned.

■ Strongly Support (8-10) ■ Somewhat Support (6-7) ■ Neither Support or Oppose (5) ■ Somewhat Oppose (3-4) ■ Strongly Oppose (0-2)

INITIAL

POST-MESSAGING



	Men	Women	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-eno-us	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Total Support	68% (+15)	72% (+19)	66% (+17)	79% (+16)	77% (+17)	75% (+17)	69% (+9)	73% (+11)	75% (+16)	69% (+20)	63% (+19)	84% (+20)	57% (+13)	61% (+17)	84% (+20)	75% (+18)	44% (+12)	73% (+13)	70% (+20)	67% (+20)	68% (+15)
Total Oppose	14% (-3)	8% (-2)	13% (-2)	6% (-1)	6% (-4)	7% (-5)	8% (-9)	6% (-2)	9% (-3)	13% (-2)	16% (-1)	4% (-4)	11% (-3)	19% (+0)	2% (-3)	7% (-4)	30% (+3)	8% (-1)	12% (-2)	13% (-3)	10% (-2)

Our messaging moves key subgroups to support publicly owned utilities, including [shifting older women away from feeling neutral and older Latine away from opposing](#). Groups like Millennials and college-educated respondents are our consistent supporters from start to end (but we do strengthen that support).



24/35. Support for Making Utilities Publicly Owned Indices

Move Towards Supporting Making Utilities Publicly Owned (23%)		Consistent Supporters of Making Utilities Publicly Owned (47%)	
38%	of Latine Ages 50+	71%	of Very Liberal Respondents
31%	of Latinas	62%	of College+ Educated Black Respondents
31%	of People of Color Ages 50+	59%	of Base Respondents
30%	of Women Ages 50+	57%	of Millennial Men
29%	of Moderate Democrats	57%	of Millennials of Color
28%	of Women of Color	56%	of College+ Educated Latine

We also increase (already high) confidence that publicly owned utilities could work in people’s communities, with the jump largely concentrated in increases in “very confident,” including among Base audience.

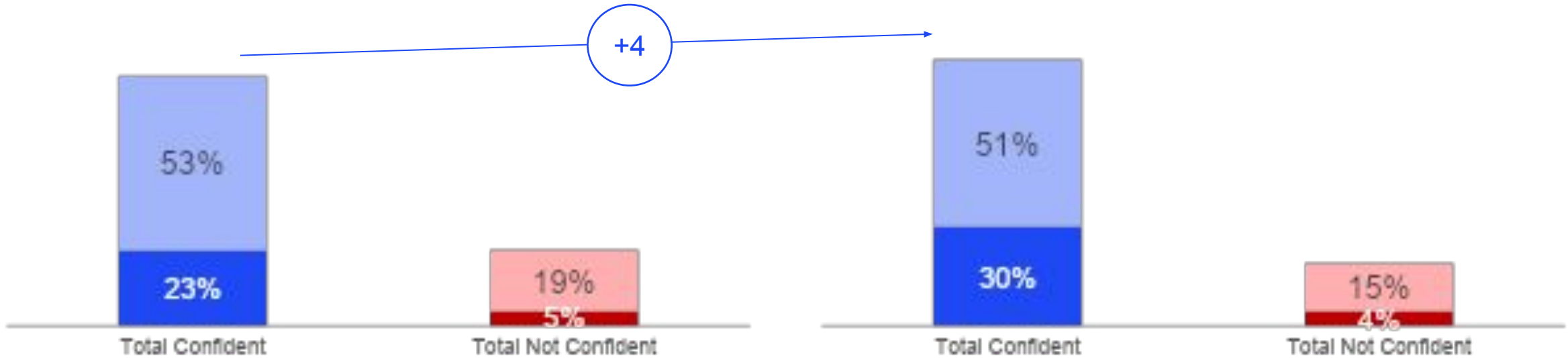


25/36. Regardless of how you feel about publicly owned utilities, how confident are you that publicly owned utilities could work in your community?

Very Confident Somewhat Confident Not too Confident Not at all Confident

INITIAL

POST-MESSAGING



	Men	Women	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-eno us	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Very Confident	32% (+5)	28% (+8)	28% (+4)	38% (+11)	37% (+14)	20% (+6)	28% (+7)	36% (+14)	35% (+8)	30% (+9)	22% (+1)	39% (+10)	21% (+7)	25% (+3)	36% (+12)	32% (+8)	20% (-1)	40% (+9)	26% (+7)	23% (+2)	31% (+7)
Somewhat Confident	48% (-3)	54% (-3)	50% (-2)	51% (-4)	50% (-5)	63% (+1)	48% (-4)	50% (-9)	54% (+1)	47% (-8)	50% (-1)	51% (-1)	54% (-4)	49% (-3)	53% (-4)	54% (-2)	41% (-3)	45% (-3)	53% (-4)	56% (-)	51% (-2)
Total Not Confident	20% (-3)	18% (-6)	22% (-2)	11% (-7)	13% (-9)	17% (-6)	24% (-3)	14% (-5)	11% (-9)	24% (-1)	28% (-)	10% (-8)	26% (-2)	26% (-)	10% (-8)	15% (-6)	38% (+4)	16% (-7)	21% (-3)	21% (-2)	18% (-5)

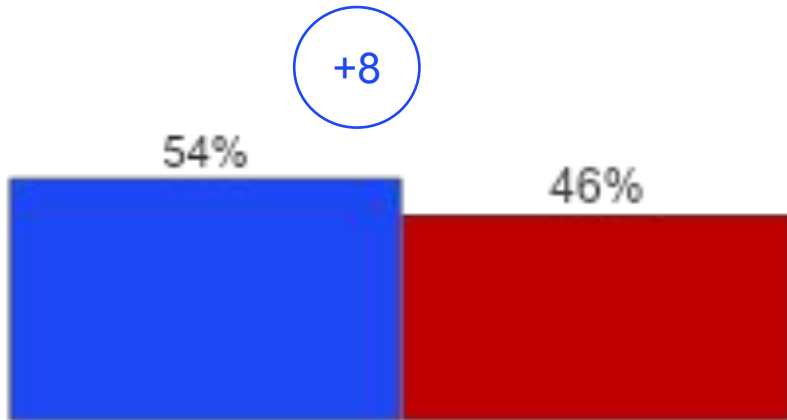
We make some progress convincing people corporate polluters target communities of color, especially with Black, AAPI, and non-Base audiences.



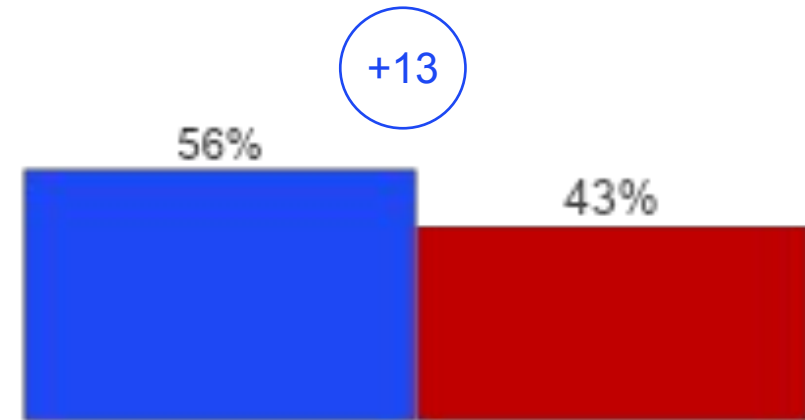
16/37. Research shows that communities of color are disproportionately impacted by climate change. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?

- Communities of color often live in areas targeted by corporate polluters because they know they can get away with it and politicians will not block them or force them to face consequences
- Communities of color often lack resources and live in more dangerous areas because they do not prioritize changing their own circumstances through hard work and initiative

INITIAL



POST-MESSAGING



	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
POC Face Greater Barriers	55% (+3)	58% (+2)	53% (+3)	71% (+6)	57% (-)	55% (+3)	53% (-5)	60% (+1)	57% (-)	56% (+2)	55% (+5)	72% (+1)	55% (+3)	38% (+4)	86% (-14)	58% (+3)	24% (+17)	56% (-1)	58% (+5)	51% (+1)	56% (+1)
POC Responsible for own Condition	45% (-3)	42% (-2)	46% (-3)	29% (-6)	43% (+1)	45% (-3)	46% (+4)	40% (-)	43% (-)	44% (-2)	44% (-5)	28% (-0)	44% (-3)	62% (-4)	14% (+14)	42% (-2)	75% (-16)	44% (+1)	41% (-5)	49% (-1)	44% (-1)

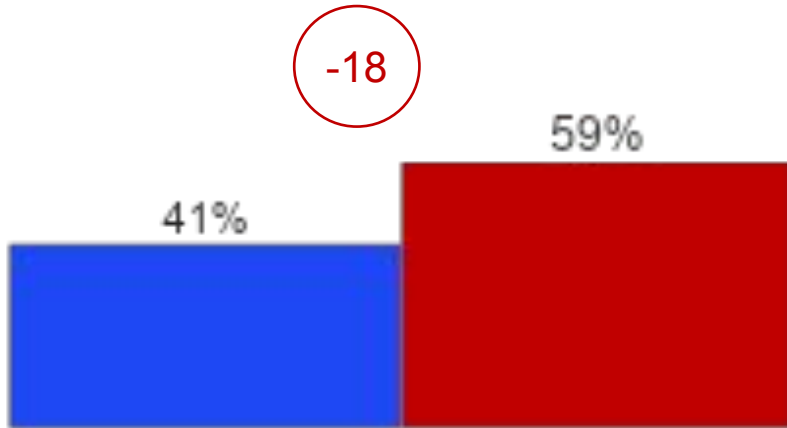
We move people toward prioritizing communities of color but remain under water; Black Americans and GenZers are most likely to support prioritization while Republicans drive the rejection of “preferential treatment.”



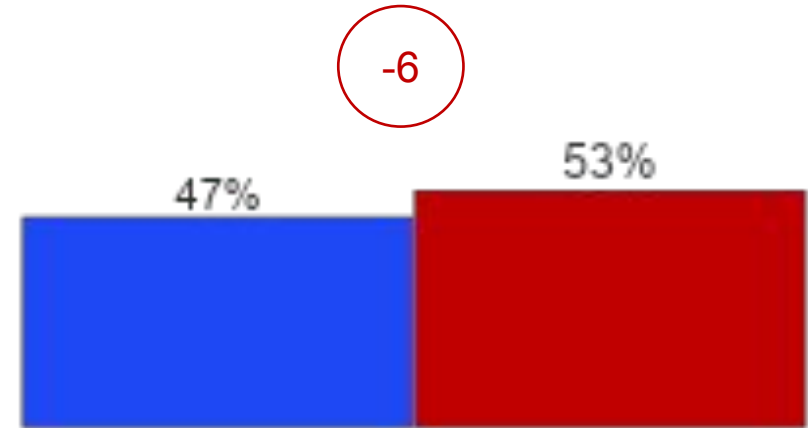
22/38. Even if neither is exactly right, which of the following two statements comes closer to your opinion?

- We should prioritize communities of color, which are most often affected by climate disasters, in how we deliver aid and develop solutions to climate change
- We should not allow preferential treatment for any community in how we deliver aid and develop solutions to climate change

INITIAL



POST-MESSAGING



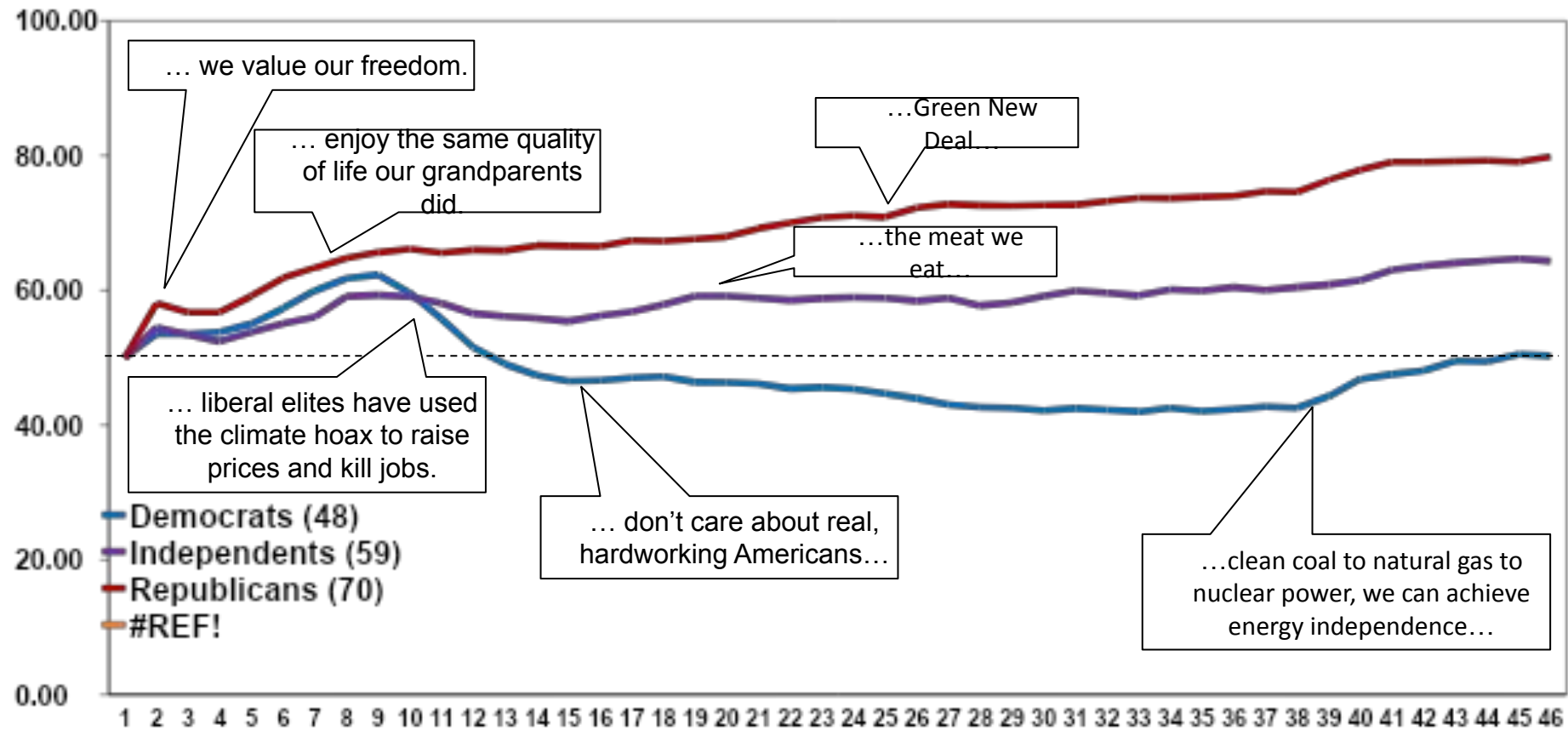
	Men	Women	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-eno us	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Urban	Suburban	Small Town	Rural
Prioritize Communities Of Color	45% (+3)	48% (+8)	42% (+6)	63% (+3)	54% (+4)	48% (+4)	43% (+4)	56% (+6)	48% (+3)	47% (+7)	40% (+7)	64% (+6)	38% (+1)	31% (+7)	73% (+6)	47% (+4)	19% (+10)	56% (+5)	47% (+6)	36% (+2)	42% (+7)
Not Allow Preferential Treatment	55% (-3)	51% (-8)	58% (-7)	37% (-2)	46% (-4)	51% (-4)	57% (-3)	44% (-6)	52% (-3)	52% (-7)	59% (-8)	36% (-6)	60% (-2)	69% (-8)	27% (-6)	52% (-4)	80% (-11)	44% (-5)	53% (-7)	64% (-1)	58% (-7)

Dial Test Results by Key Subgroups

Party Identification



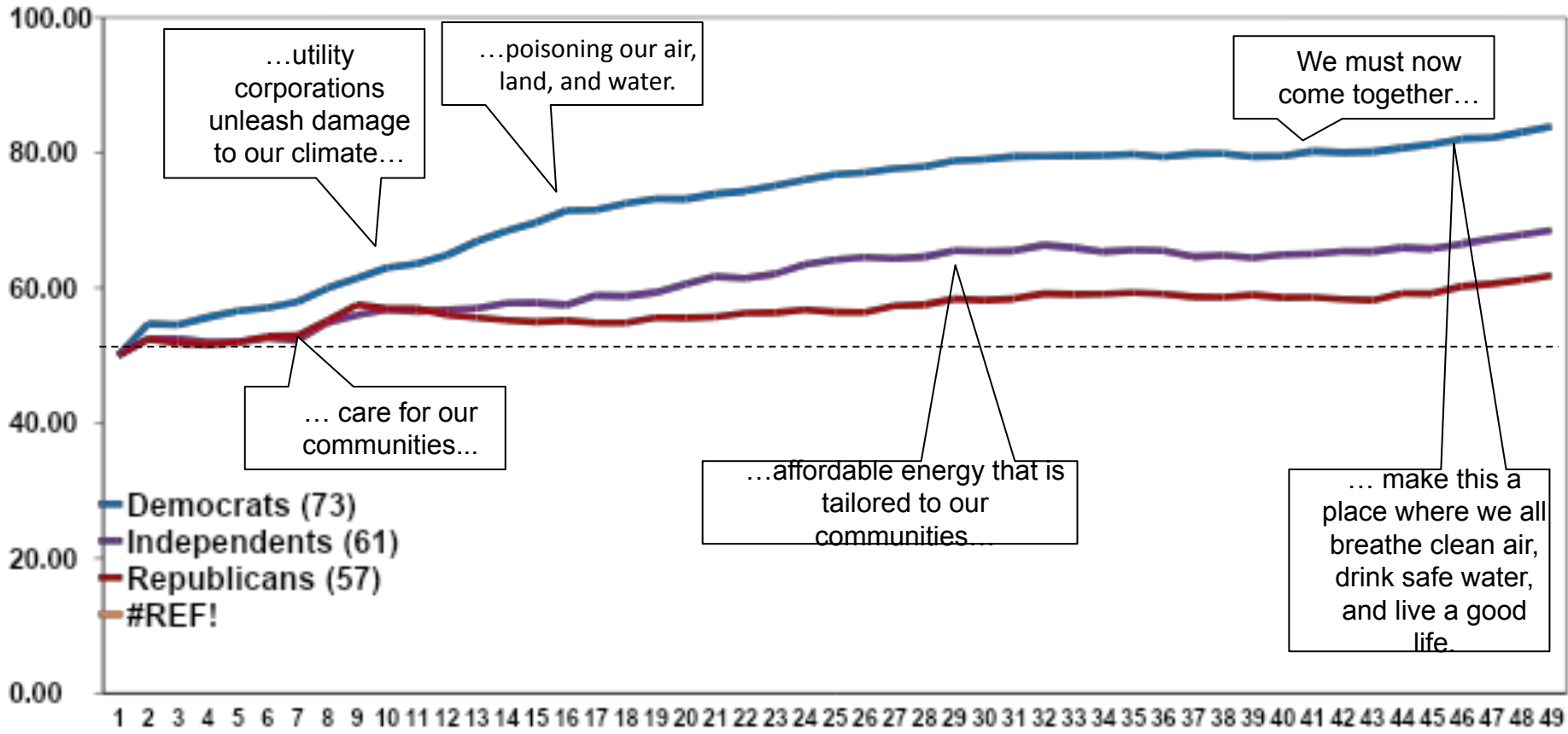
Opposition



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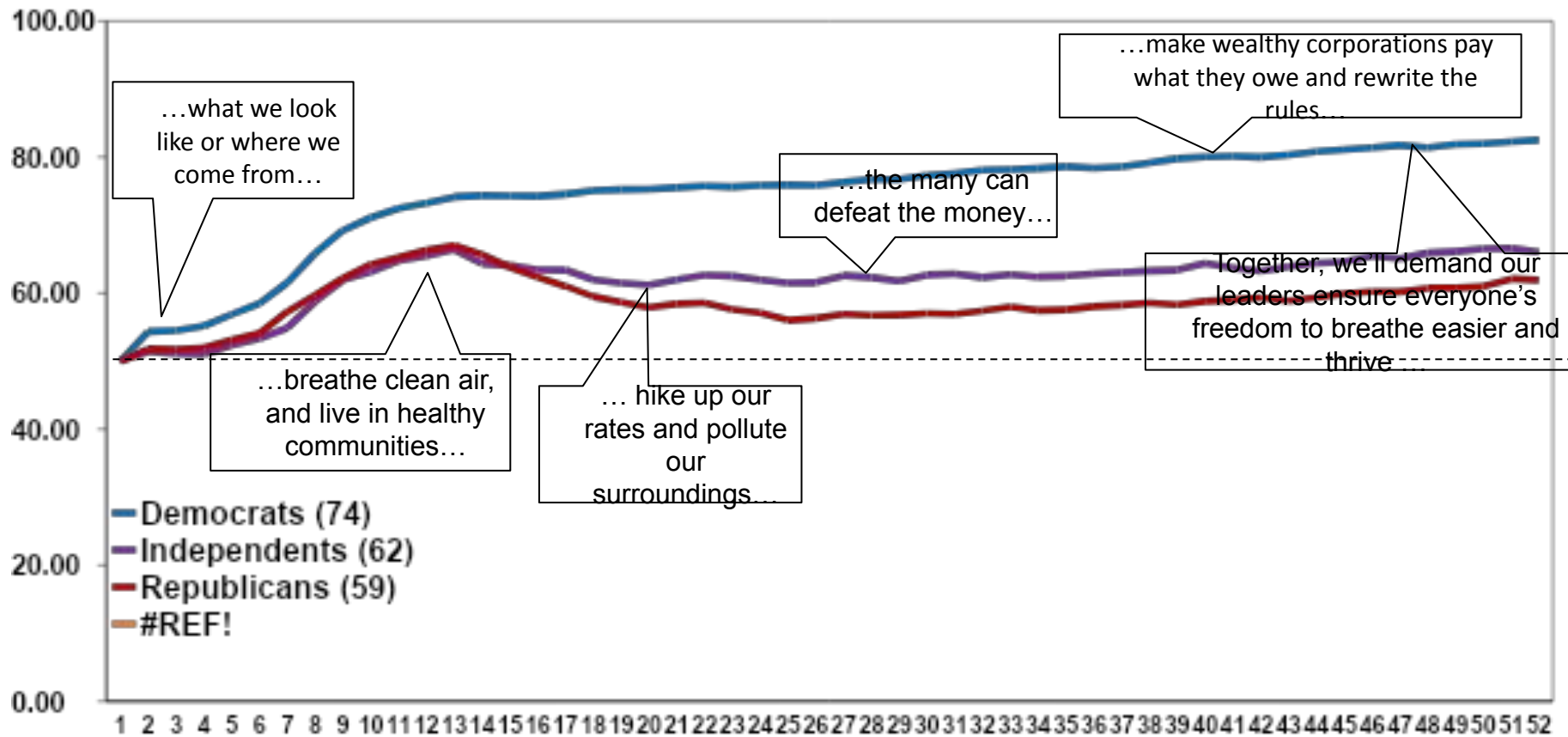
Communities First



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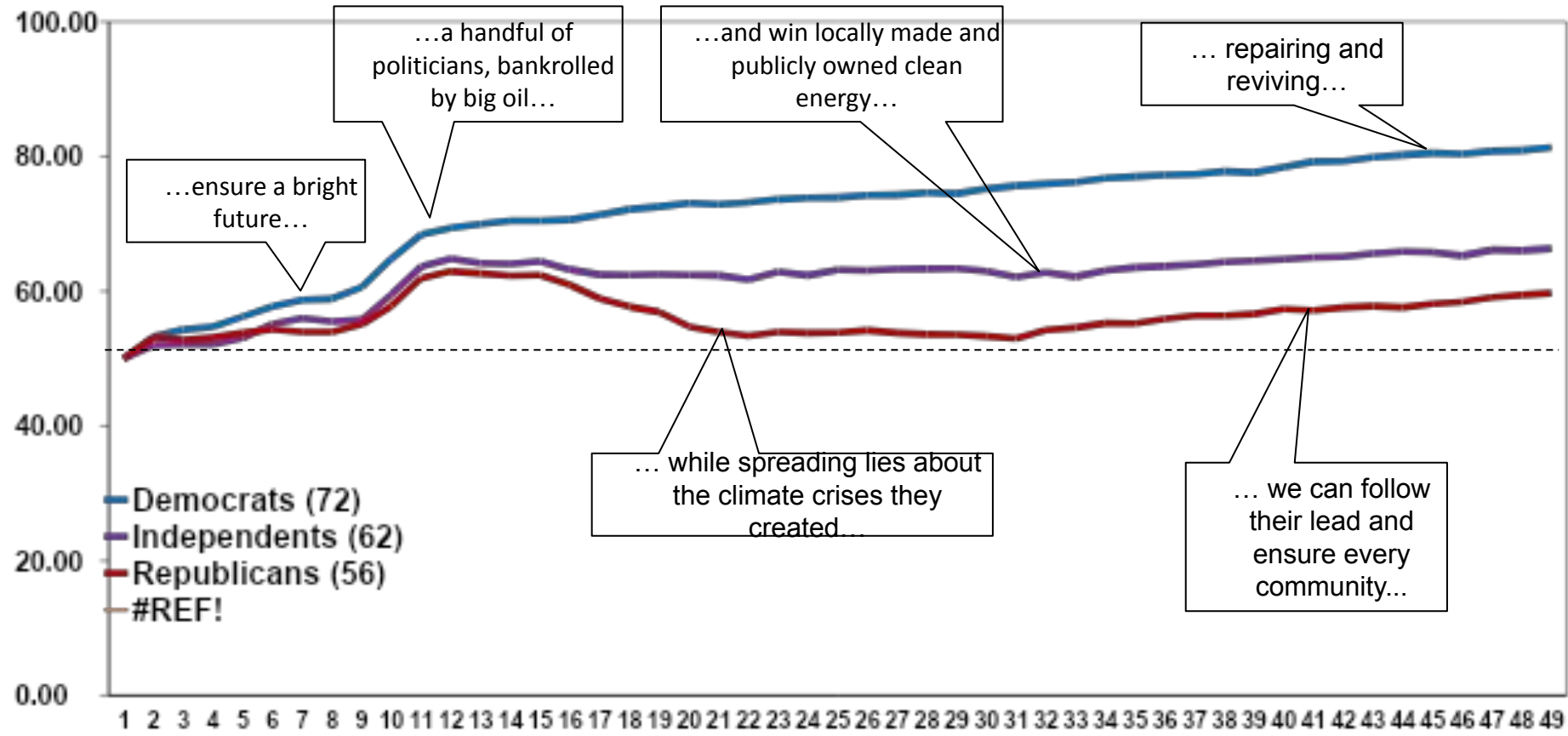
Freedom and Family



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Climate Repair and Future

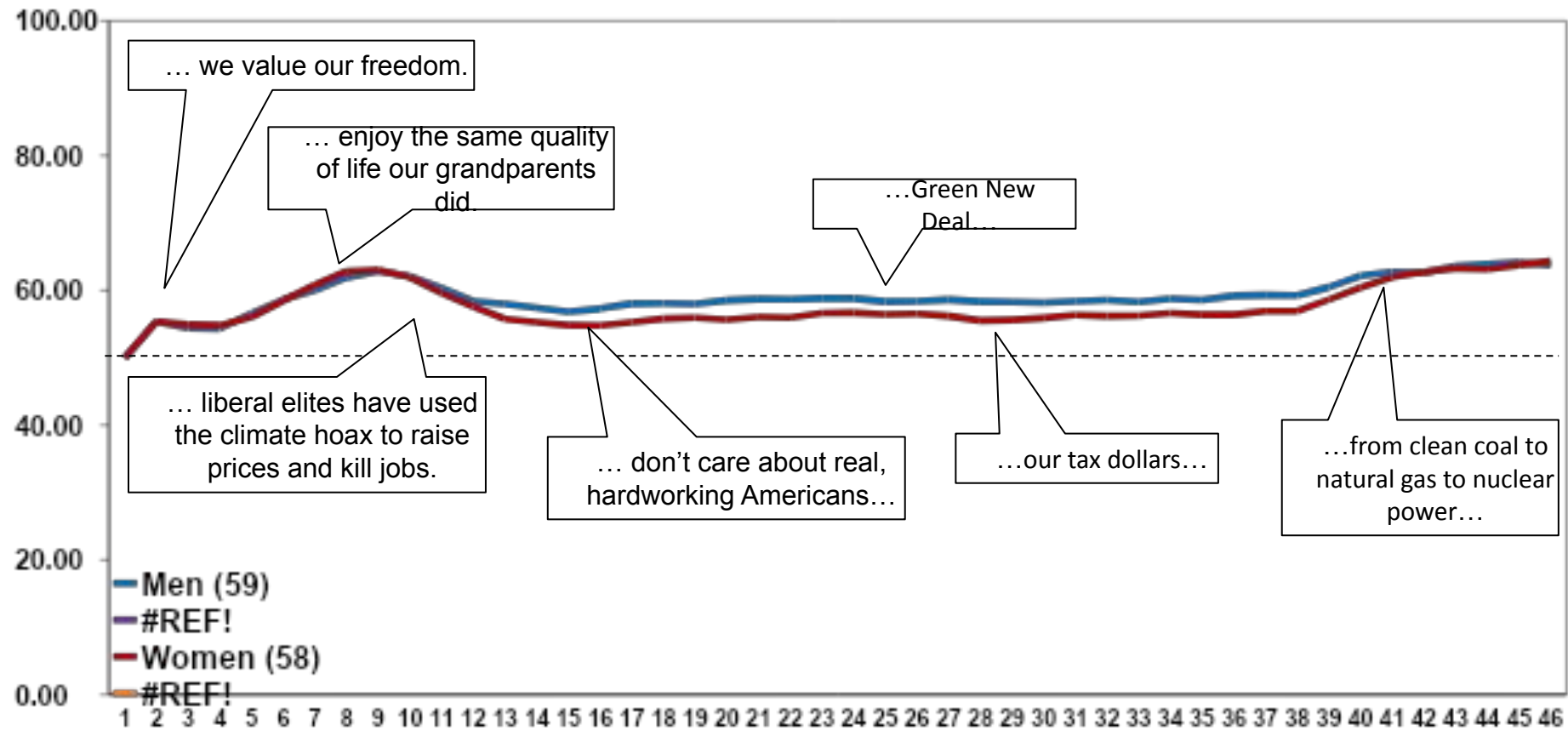


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Gender



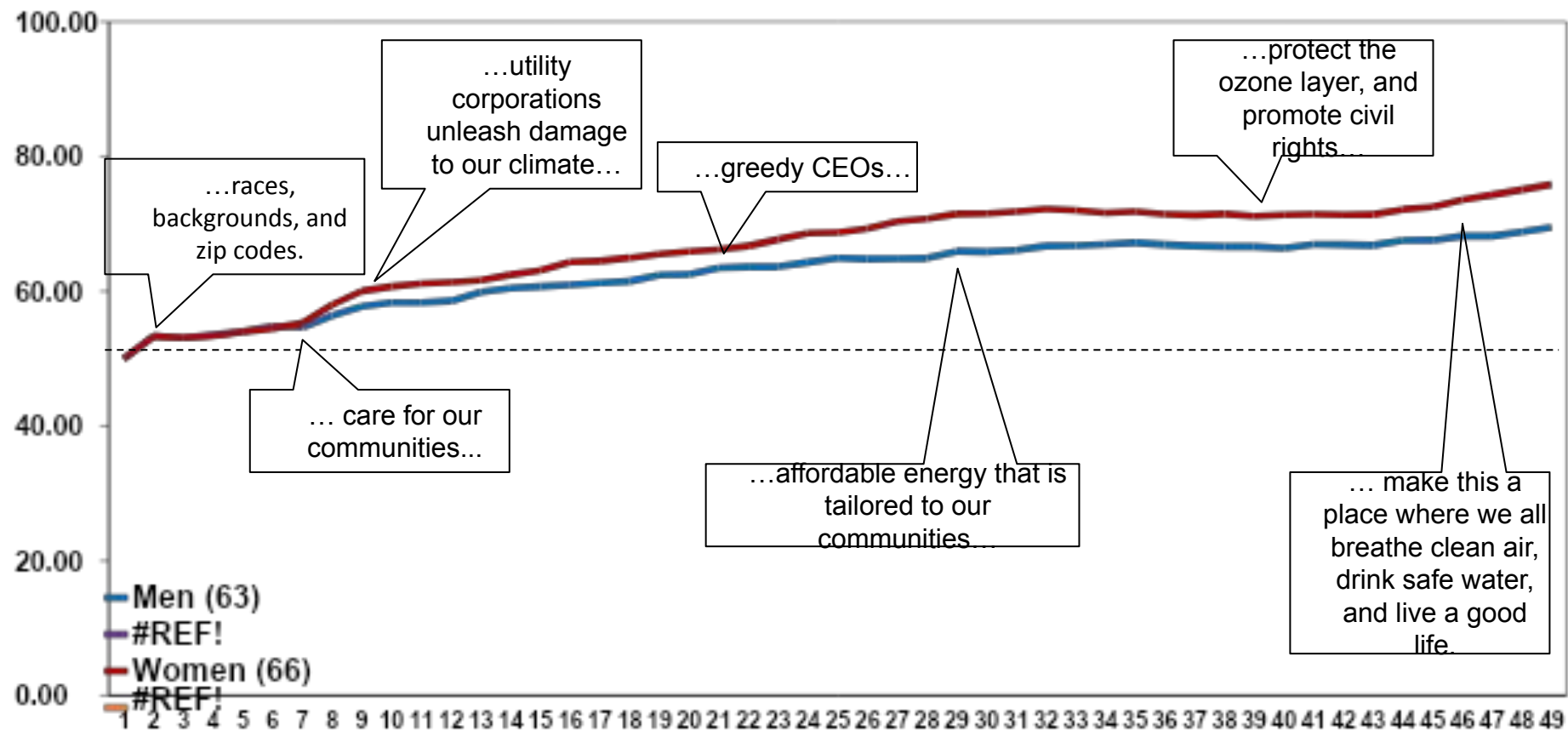
Opposition



In America, we value our freedom and want our kids to enjoy the same quality of life our grandparents did. But liberal elites have used the climate hoax to raise prices and kill jobs. They don't care about real, hardworking Americans - they just want to control our lives, from the car we drive to the meat we eat to the oven we own. Now, they're using their woke agenda to push even more big government programs like the Green New Deal and giving away our tax dollars to help specific communities, hoping to land more votes. Instead of more regulation or handouts, we need to invest in American made energy. From clean coal to natural gas, to nuclear power, we can achieve energy independence from clean coal jobs and protect our way of life.



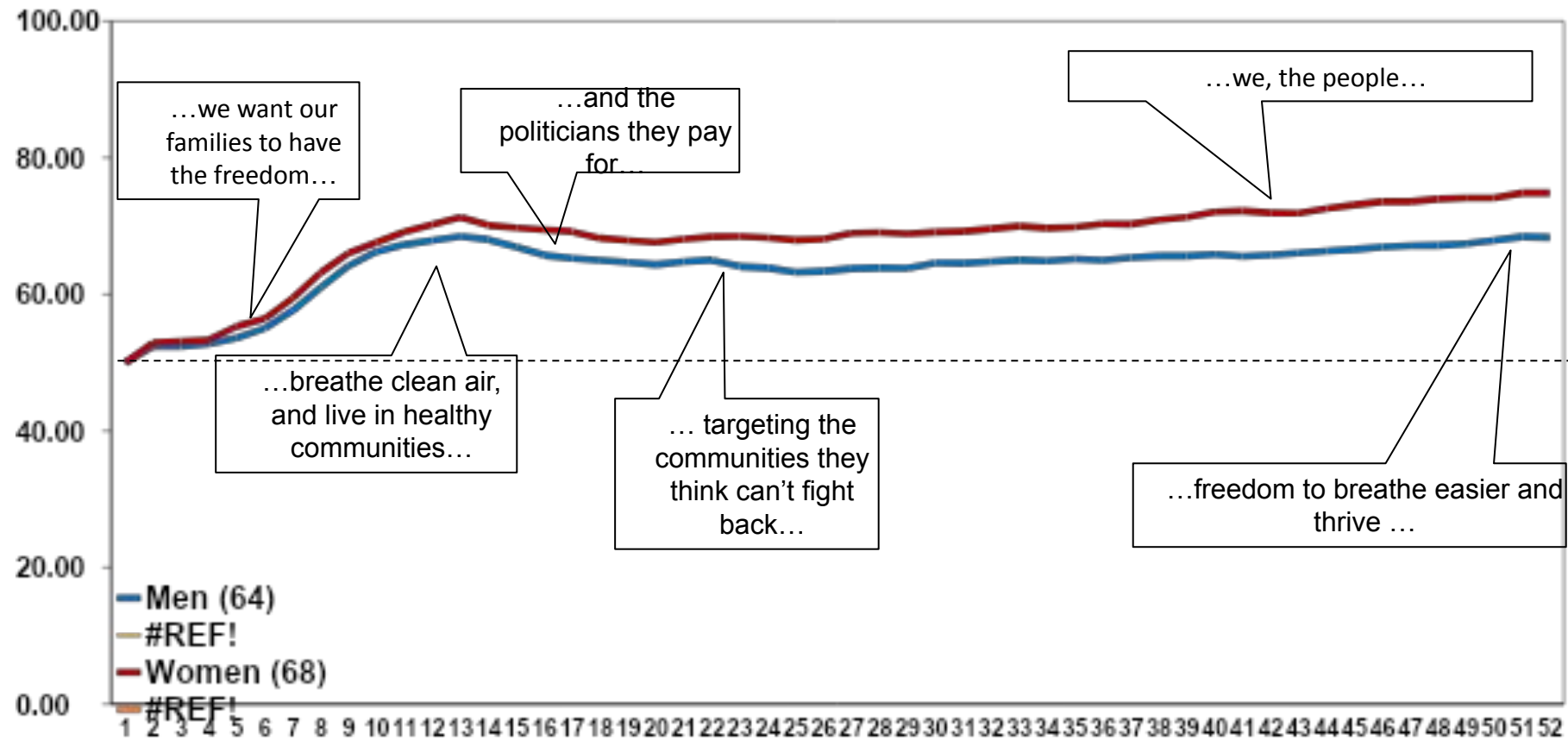
Communities First



Across races, backgrounds and zip codes, most of us do our best to care for our communities. But some oil, gas, and utility corporations unleash damage to our climate and fuel disasters by poisoning our air, land, and water. They rake in huge profits while we all suffer. It's time to hold greedy CEOs and the politicians they pay for accountable and demand government action that delivers clean affordable energy that is tailored to our communities and helps neighborhoods that have been deliberately exposed to pollution. We've come together in our past to pass clean air laws, protect the ozone layer, and promote civil rights, we must now come together to make this a place where we all breathe clean air, drink safe water, and live a good life.



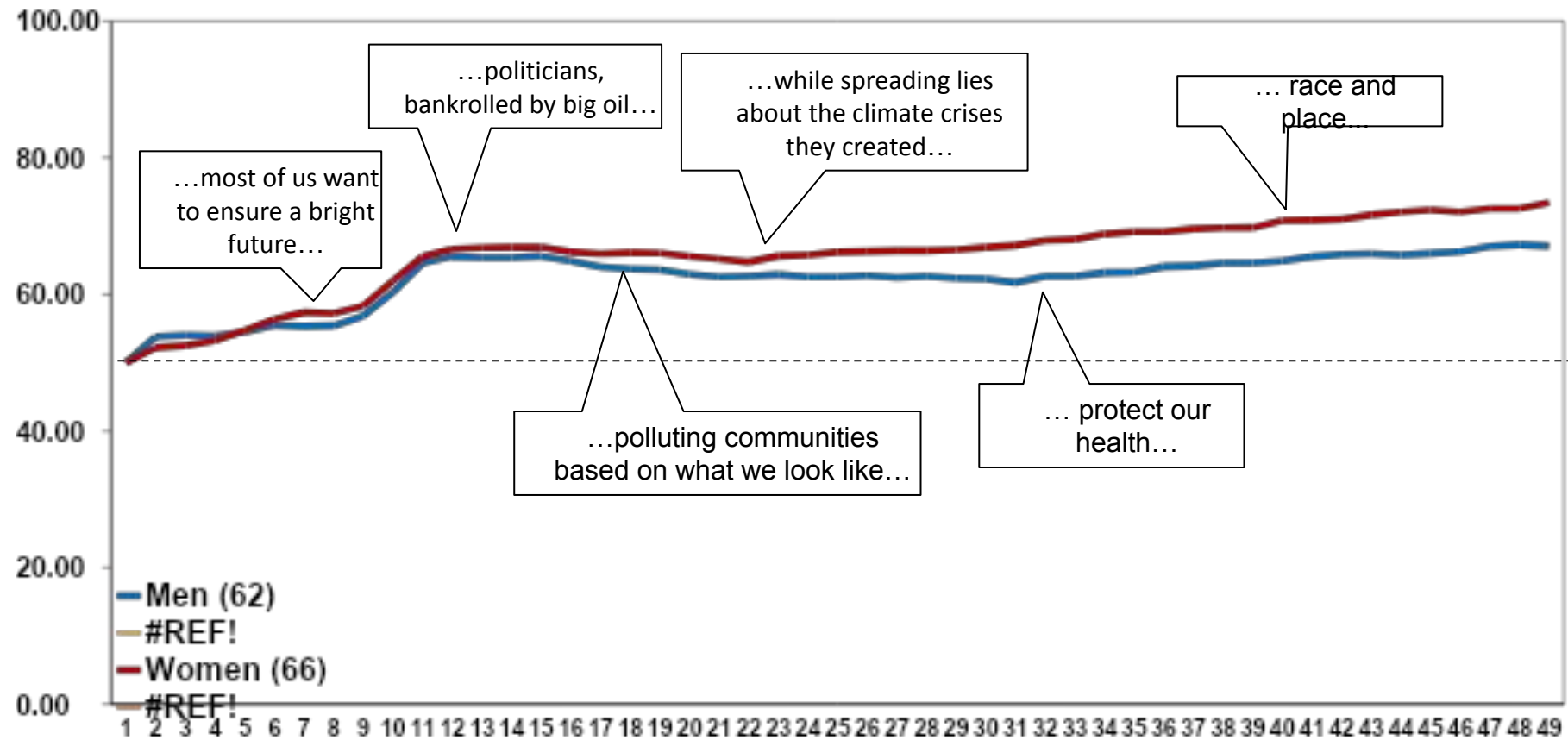
Freedom and Family



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Climate Repair and Future

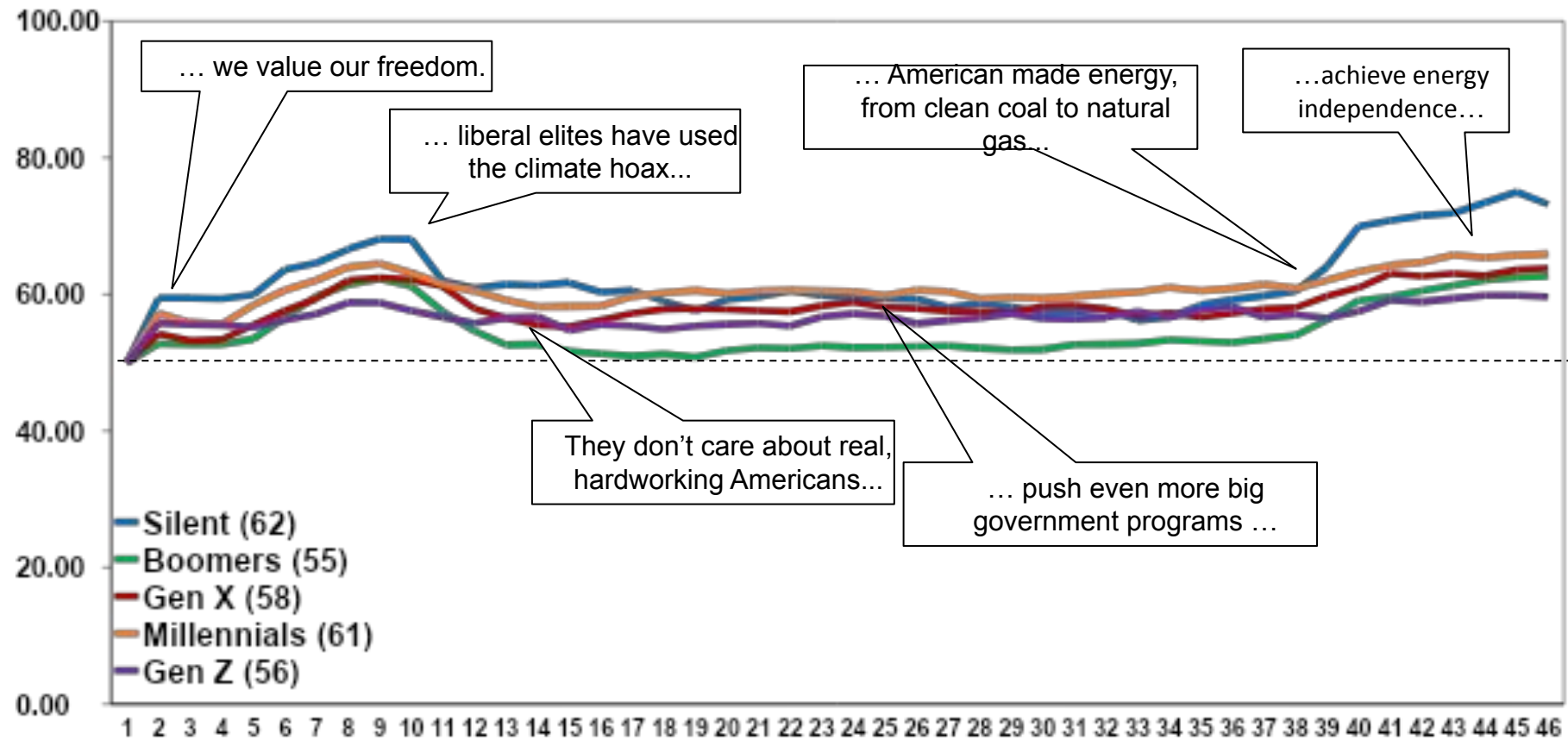


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Generation



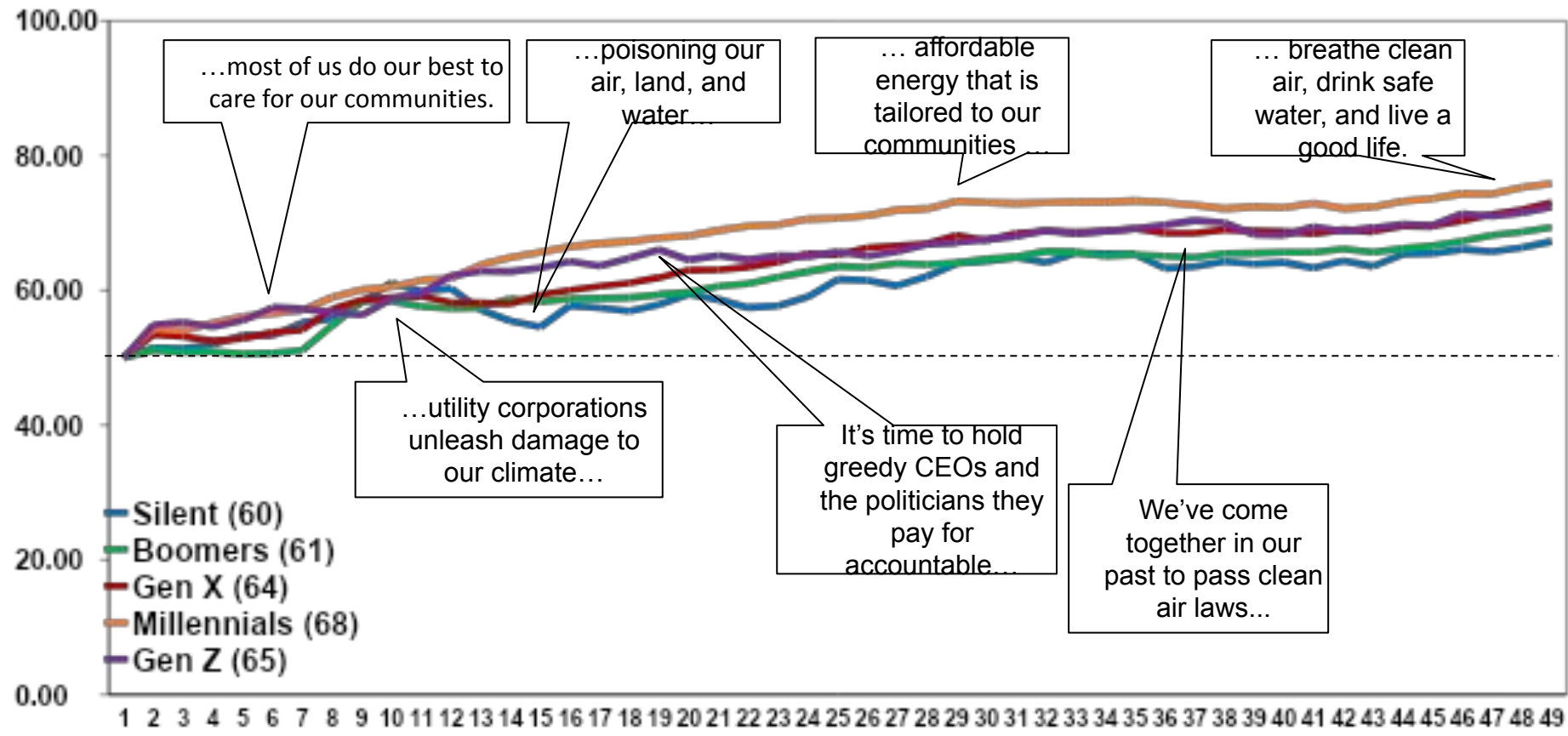
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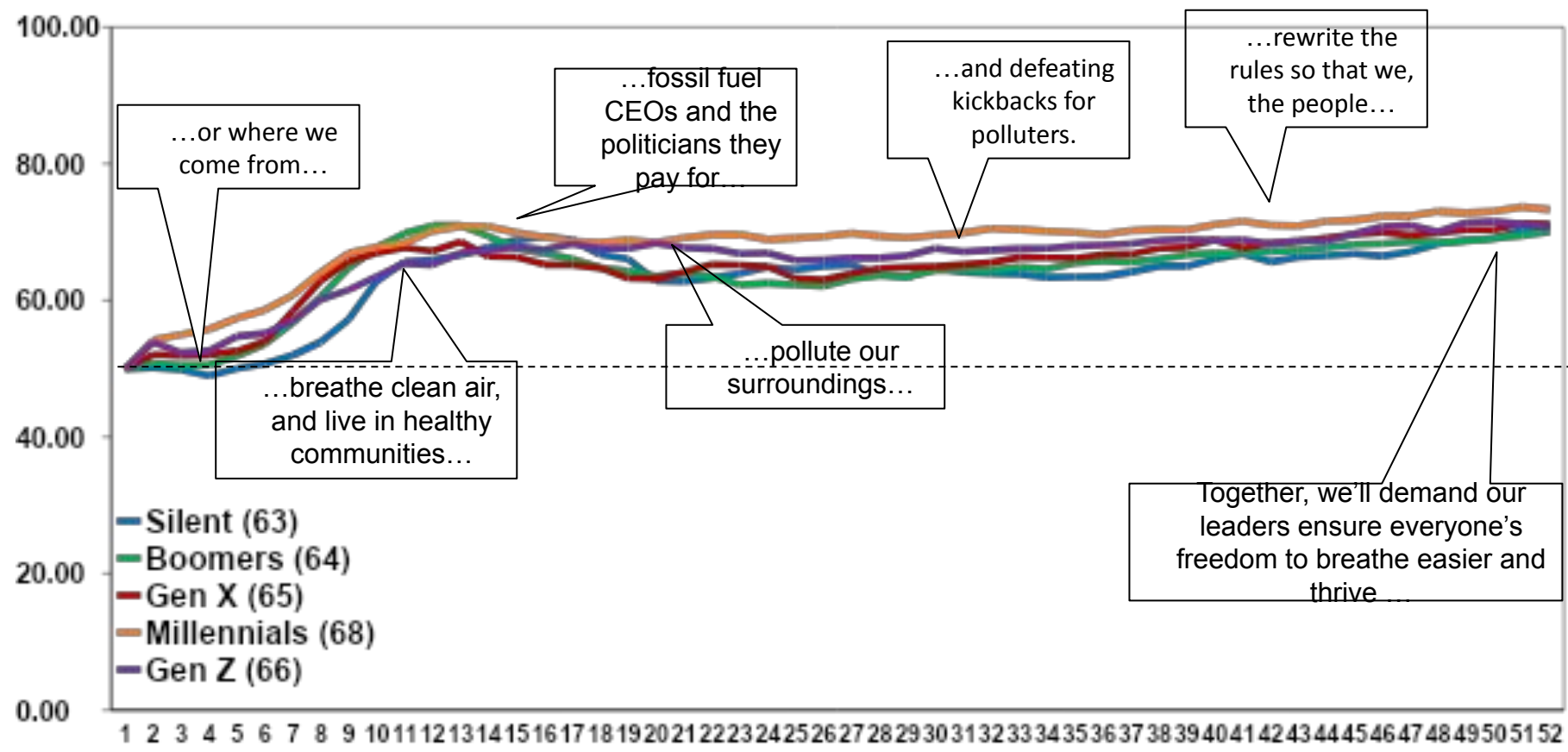
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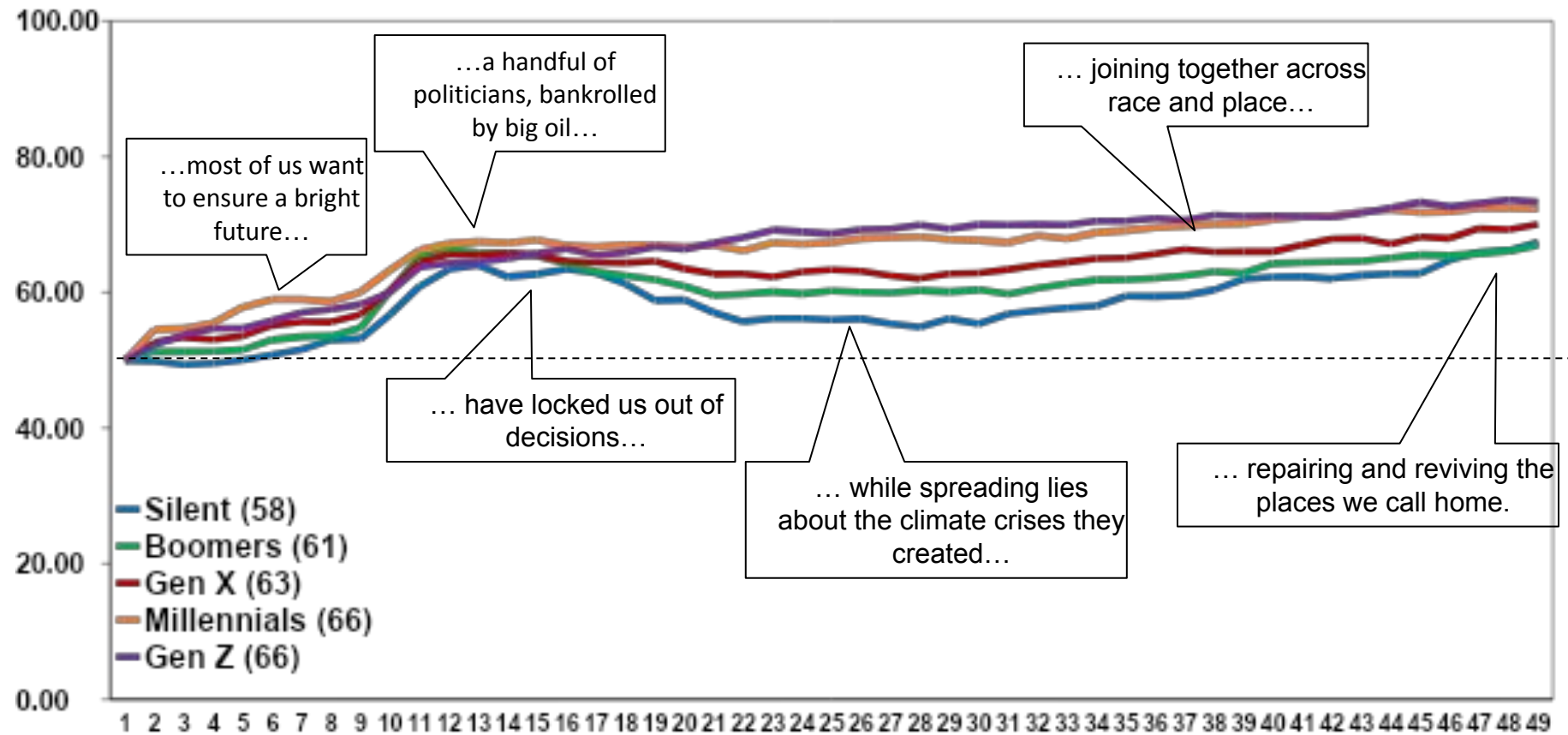
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Climate Repair and Future

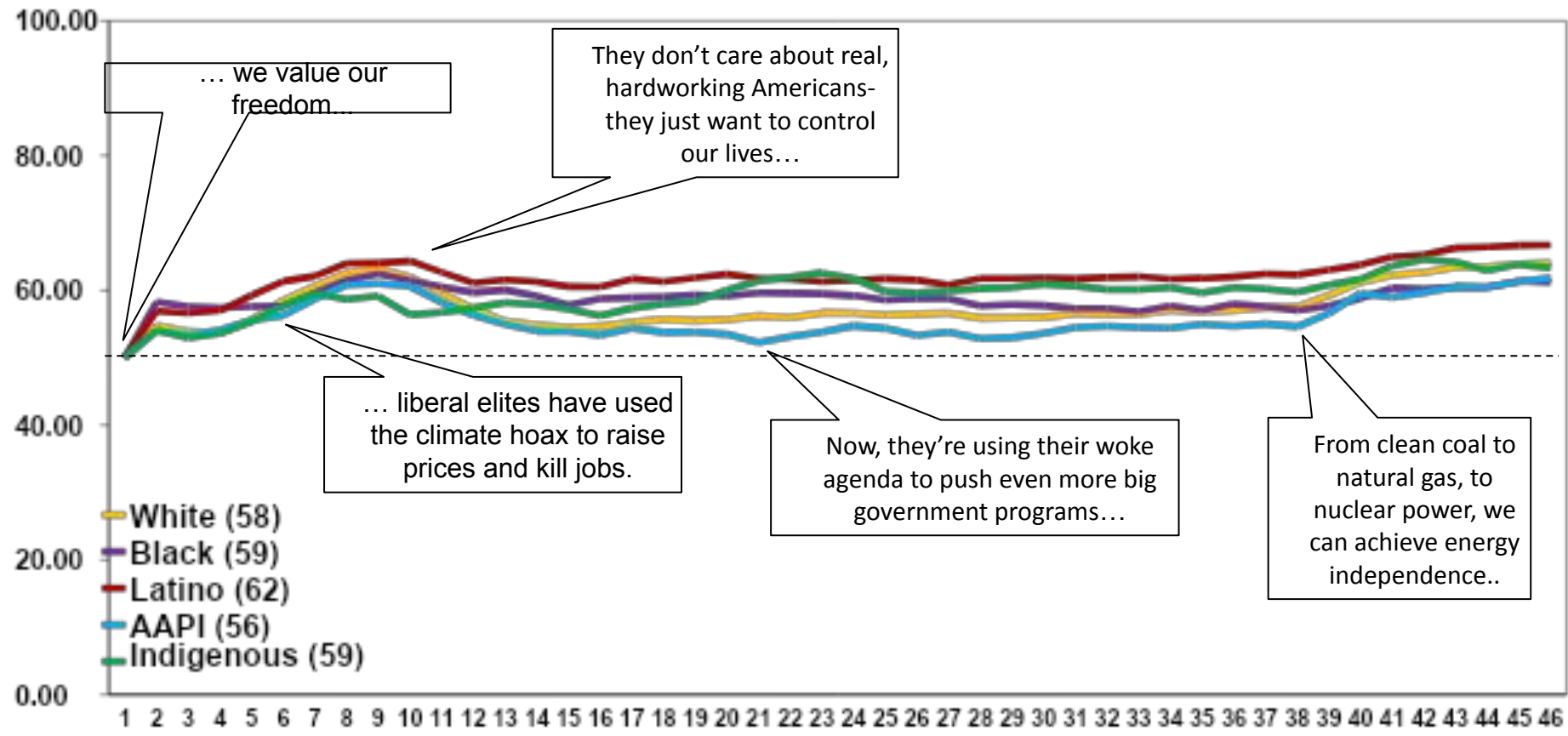


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Race & Ethnicity



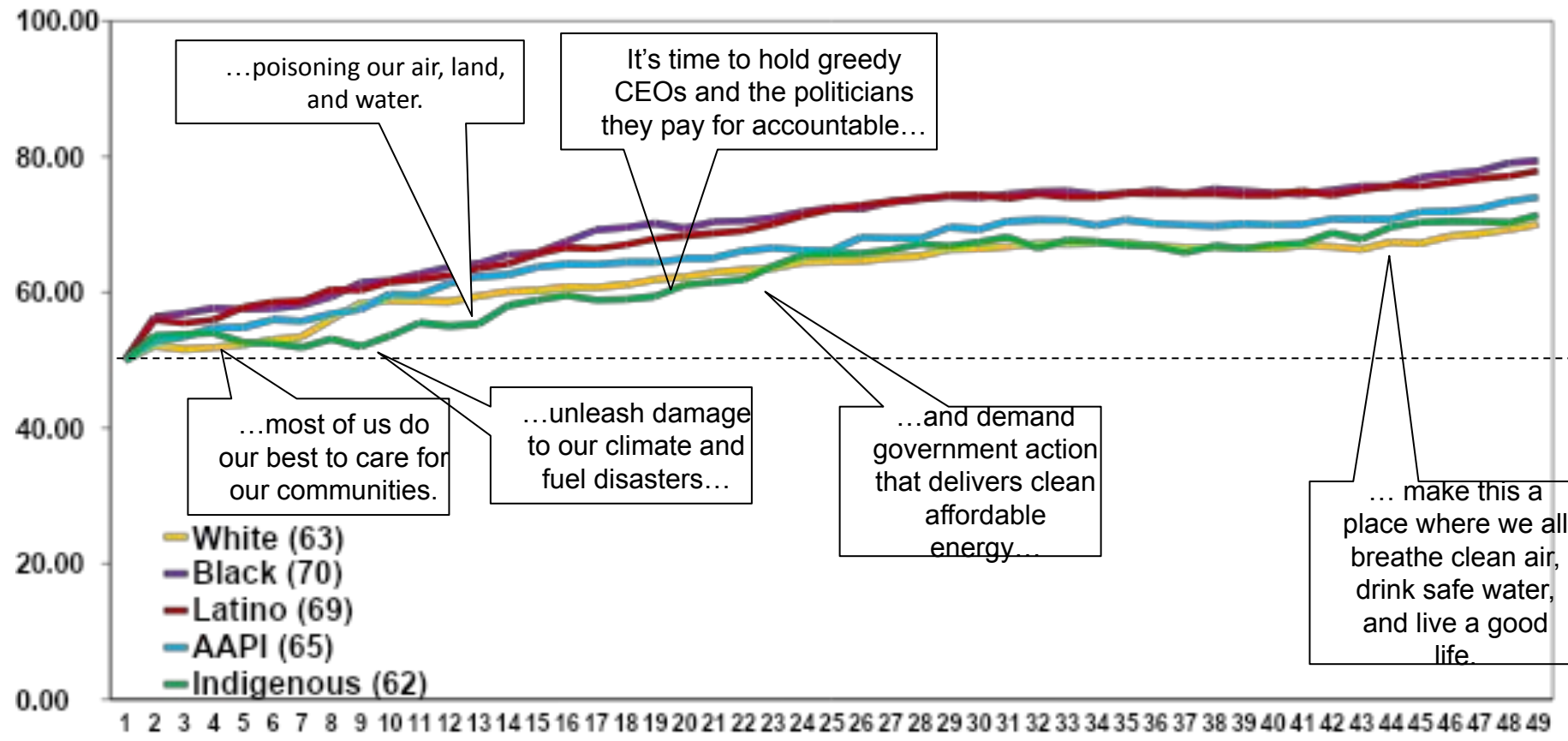
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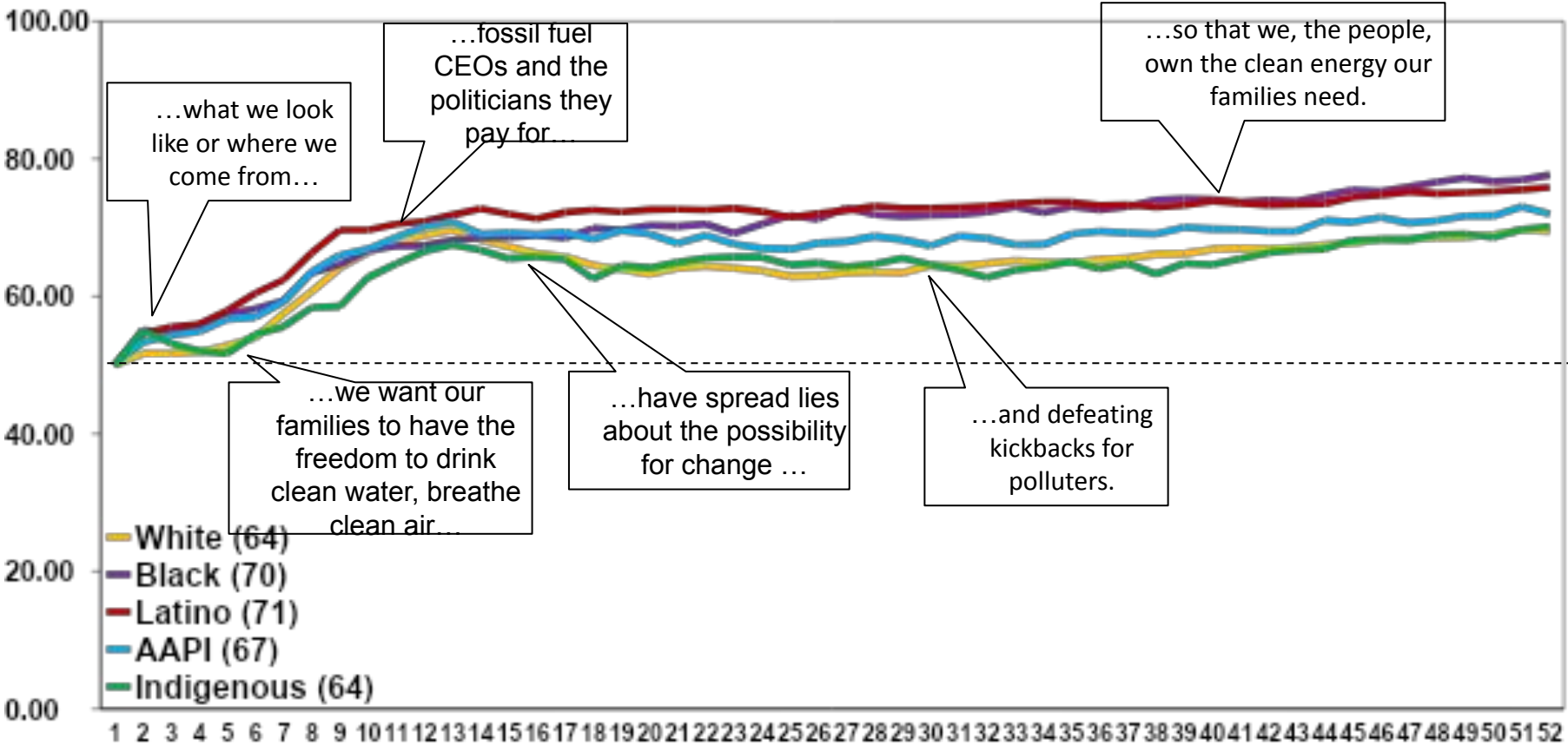
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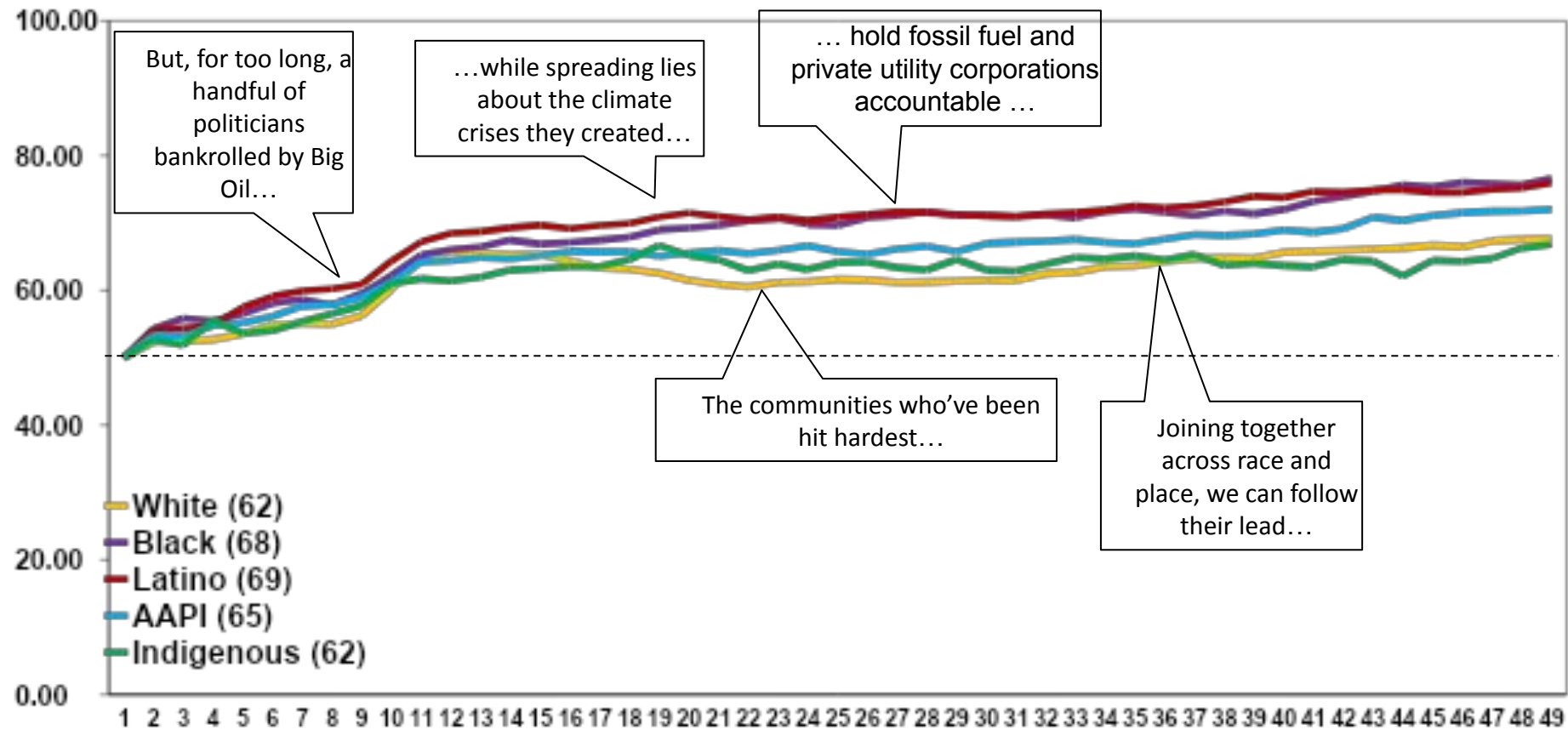
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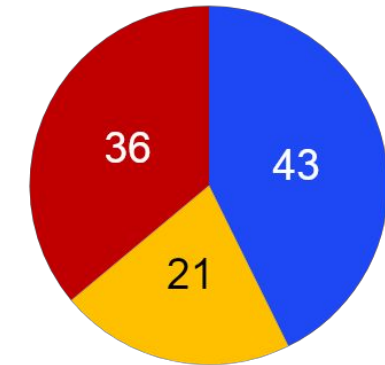
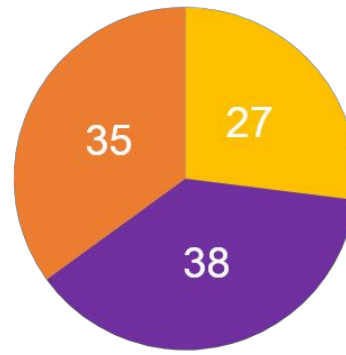
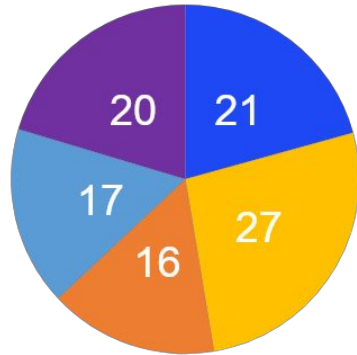
Appendix



AGE

EDUCATION

PARTY ID



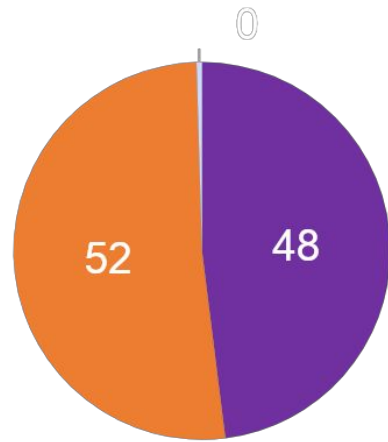
■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican

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

■ High School or Less
■ Some College
■ College or Grad School

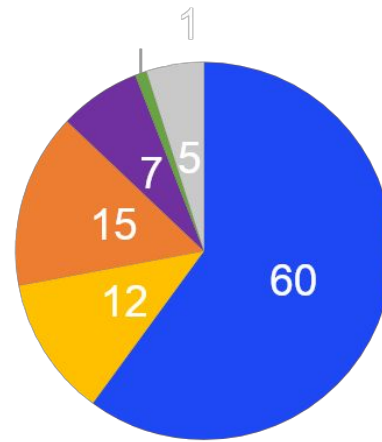


GENDER



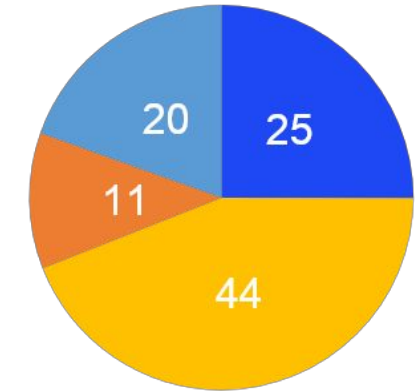
■ Men ■ Women ■ Gender Non-Conforming/Other

RACE



■ White
■ Black
■ Latino
■ AAPI
■ Indigenous
■ Other

URBANITY



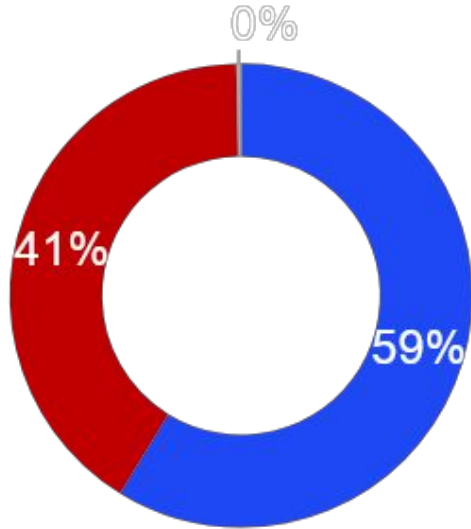
■ Urban ■ Suburban ■ Small Town ■ Rural

Most Americans agree that **people of color face greater barriers to economic success and we must do more to confront racism/correct past harms** (people of color, younger people, and Democrats are strongly in these camps)



13. Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

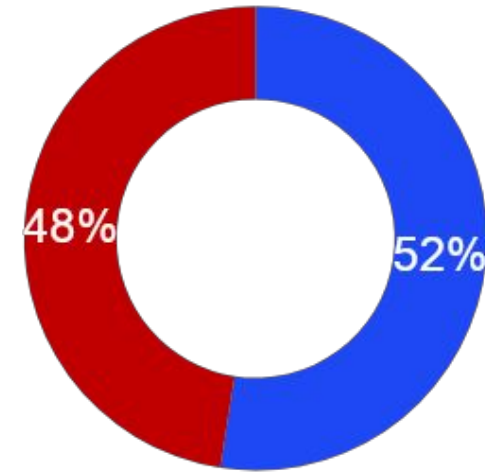
- People of color face greater barriers to economic success than white people
- People of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition
- Don't Know



	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
POC Face Greater Barriers	54%	74%	65%	63%	54%	64%	60%	58%	56%	79%	58%	35%
POC Responsible for own Condition	45%	26%	35%	36%	45%	35%	39%	42%	44%	21%	42%	64%

14. Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

- We must do more to confront racism against people of color and that includes fixing past harms
- Continuing to focus on race is counterproductive and prevents us from moving forward
- Don't know/Refused

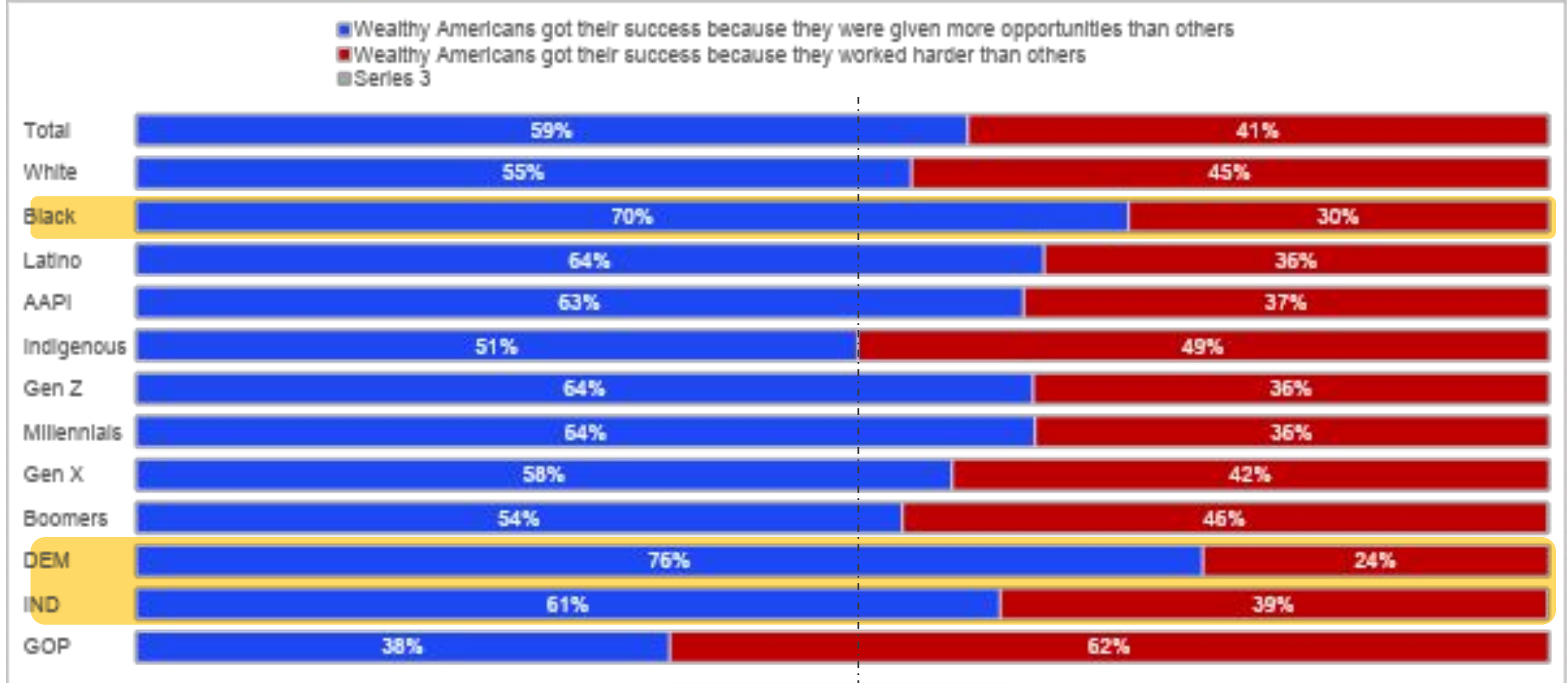


	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
Fix Past Harms	47%	72%	57%	58%	55%	60%	54%	49%	49%	75%	51%	27%
There's Too Much Focus on Race	53%	28%	43%	42%	45%	40%	46%	51%	51%	25%	49%	73%

Wealthy Americans are seen as getting their success because they were given more opportunities; this is especially true with people under 50, Democrats, and people of color.



15. In your opinion which of the following is the primary reason wealthy Americans have financial success?



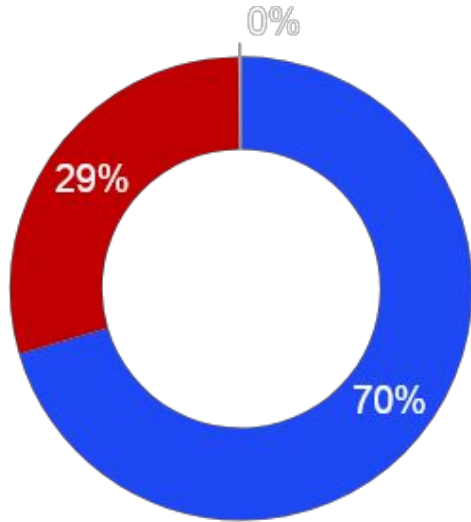
50%



A clear majority of Americans believe climate change is caused by human activity; communities of color are most interested in the government creating opportunities for advancement.

11. Which of the following is closest to your thinking?

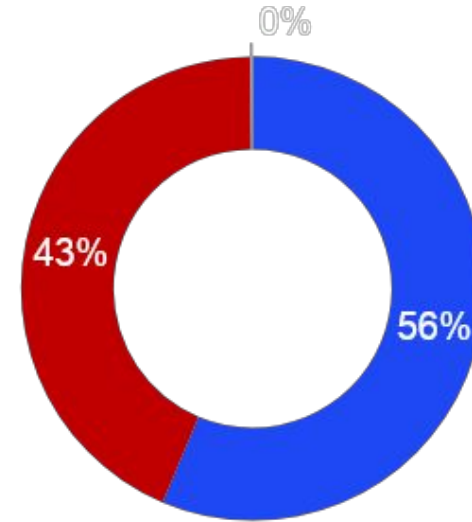
- Climate change today is caused by human activity
- Climate change is completely natural
- Don't Know



	White	Black	Latine	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
POC Face Greater Barriers	68%	73%	75%	82%	67%	76%	74%	64%	69%	85%	70%	54%
POC Responsible for own Condition	32%	27%	25%	18%	33%	24%	26%	35%	31%	15%	29%	46%

12. If you had to choose, would you prefer...?

- Government creating opportunities for advancement
- Government getting out of your way
- Don't know/Refused



	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	Indig-enous	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
Fix Past Harms	50%	72%	66%	67%	54%	66%	60%	54%	49%	76%	55%	34%
There's Too Much Focus on Race	50%	28%	34%	33%	46%	34%	40%	46%	51%	24%	44%	66%