

Messaging the Clean Energy Plan in Key States

Key findings from a survey among registered voters in MI, WI, AZ, NV, PA, and GA in April/May 2023

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Objectives

1

Understand Attitudes:

Directly connect with registered voters as representatives of engaged citizens in six key states to understand their values, priorities, experiences and sentiments surrounding the new Clean Energy Plan*.

2

Segment Our Audience:

In understanding where voters in six key states stand, we will determine who among registered voters are our base of supporters, opposition, and persuadable audiences.

3

Test the Message:

Conduct message testing to identify the best messaging elements that effectively introduces legislation like the IRA and improves confidence in progress made to expand clean energy.

Methodology

Voter Universe

N = 6,733 AZ, GA, MI, NV, PA, and WI Registered Voters

Methodology

All survey interviews were collected through a mixed methodology of cell/landline live calls and TTW online completes

Overall Margin of Error

±1.60

Conducted April 27 to May 9, 2023

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

Aggregated Sample Breakdown



	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI
Total interviews	1,102	1,164	1,051	1,252	1,113	1,051
Total oversample interviews	N=394 ages 18-35 N=243 rural voters N=325 Latino voters	N=447 ages 18-35 N=393 Black voters N=161 AAPI voters	N=372 ages 18-35 N=244 Black voters	N=471 ages 18-35 N=186 AAPI voters N=283 Latino voters N=206 rural voters	N=344 ages 18-35 N=311 rural voters N=191 Black voters	N=445 ages 18-35 N=189 Black voters
Field dates	May 1- May 9, 2023	April 28- May 6, 2023	April 27- May 3, 2023	May 1- May 9, 2023	April 28- May 3, 2023	May 1- May 9, 2023
Margin of Error	<u>+3.67</u>	<u>+3.80</u>	<u>+3.85</u>	<u>+3.91</u>	<u>+3.39</u>	<u>+4.92</u>

	Age 18-35	Rural	Black	Latino	AAPI
Total interviews	2,473	1,560	1,177	867	370
Margin of Error	<u>+2.9</u>	<u>+3.5</u>	<u>+3.9</u>	<u>+4.8</u>	<u>+5.4</u>



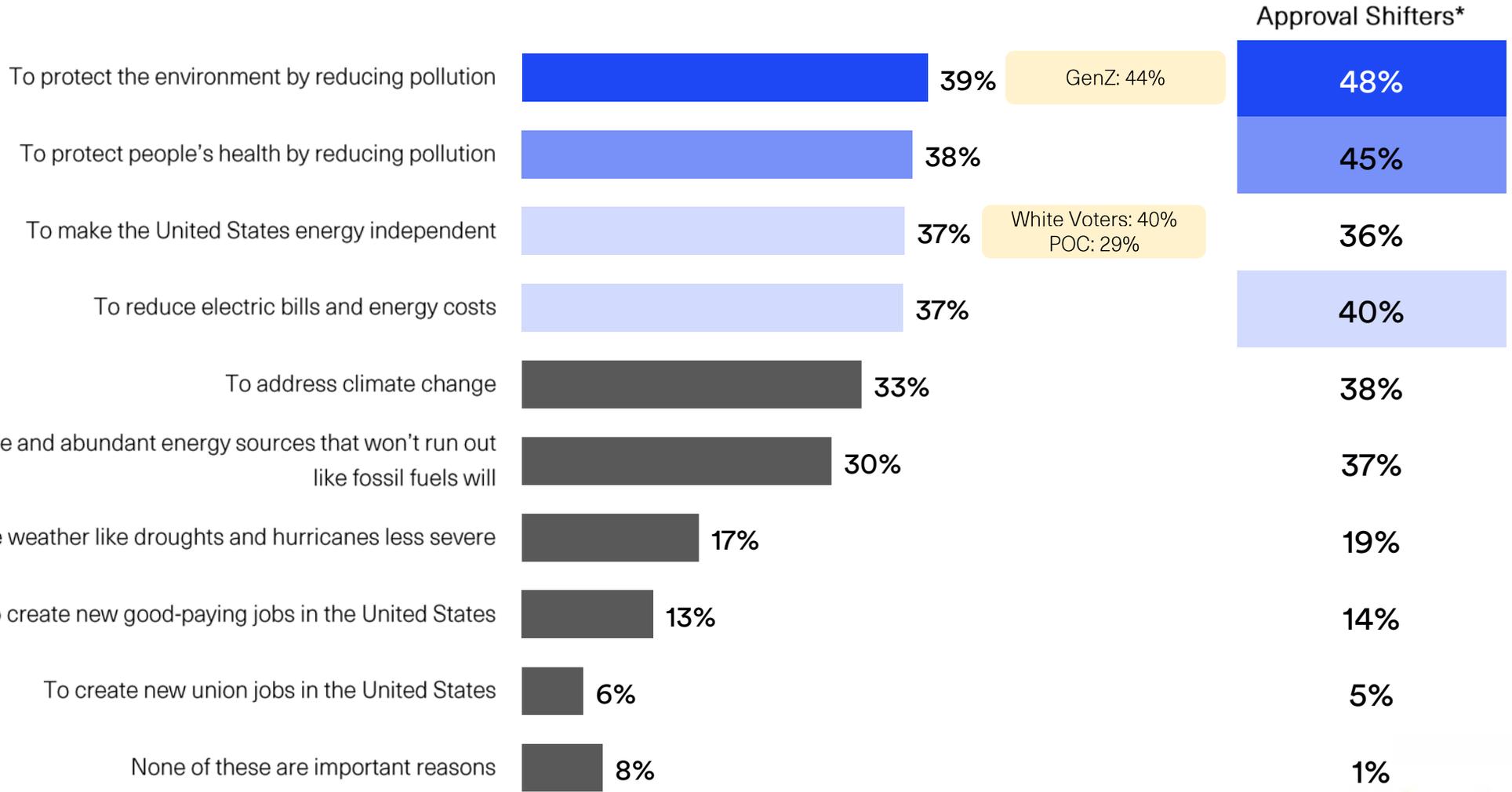
Baseline Perspective

Voters perceive **reducing pollution, making the U.S. energy independent, and reducing consumer costs** to be the most important reasons to increase clean energy use, with the health benefits being a top priority for Black voters



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

Reducing pollution to protect people's health is significantly more important among Black voters (47%) than among voters overall (38%)



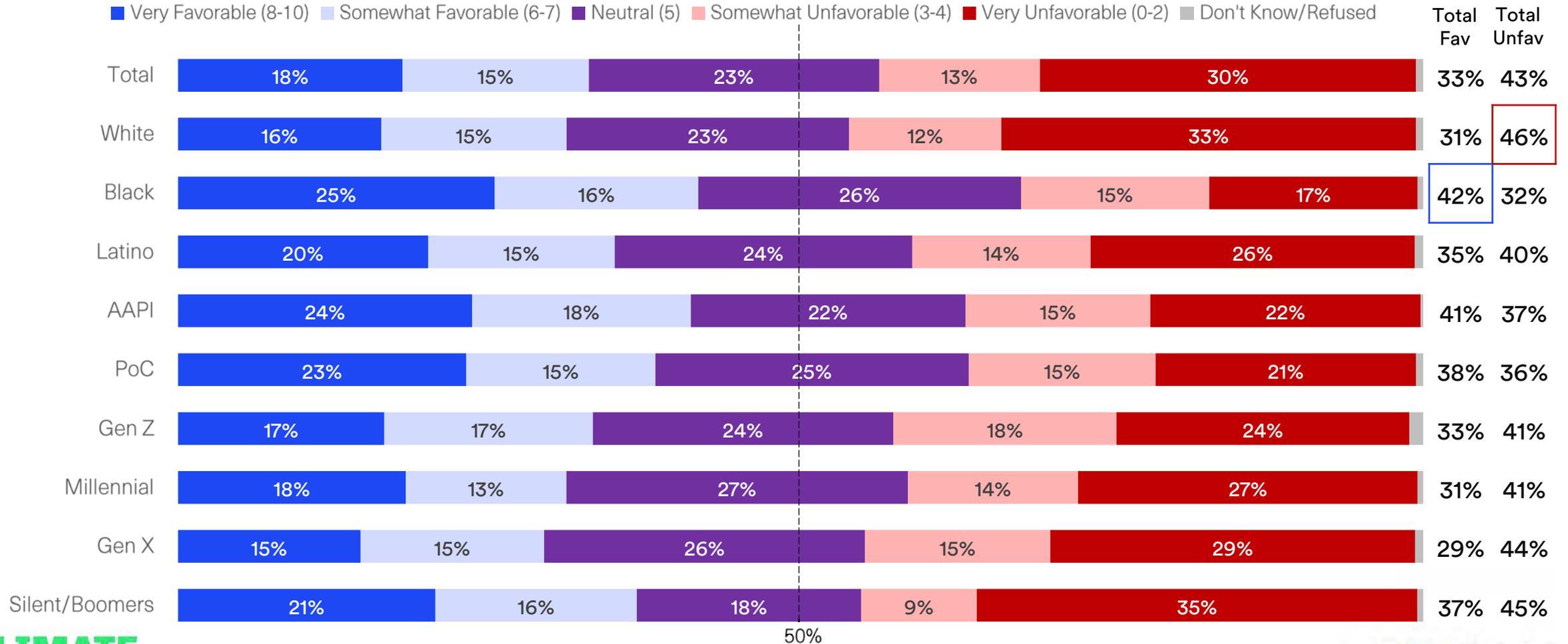
*Approval Shifters are defined as voters who do not approve of the Clean Energy Plan at the beginning of the survey but move towards approval by the end of the survey after learning information about the plan

Only about a third of voters feel favorable toward President Biden and Congressional Democrats on climate change and clean energy; nearly half (43%) have soft or neutral feelings.



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

CLIMATE CHANGE & CLEAN ENERGY

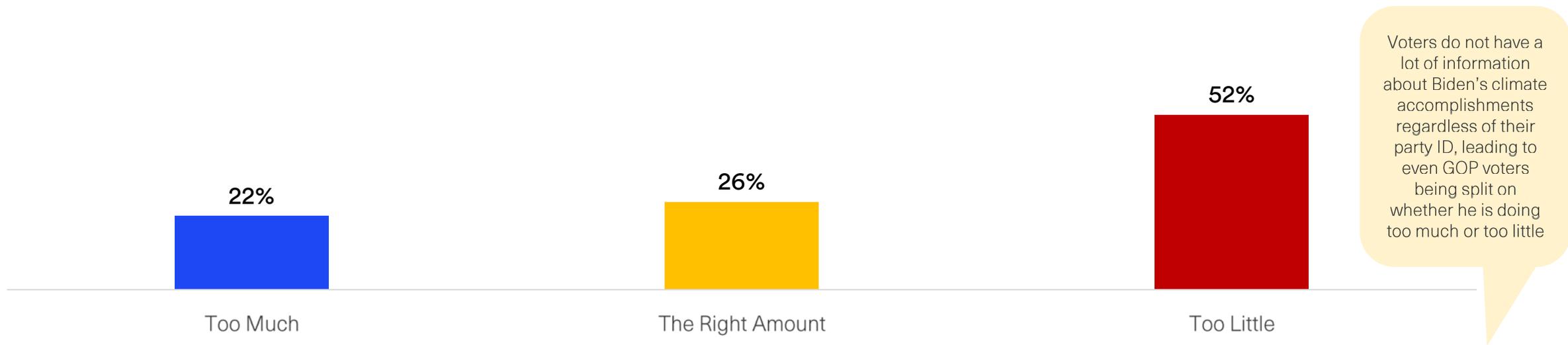


State Governors had similar scores across all six states when it came to approval of their job on climate change.

Voters generally say President Biden does **too little to address climate change**, with younger generations, voters of color and Independents the most likely to say not enough is being done. We see later this is partially driven by a lack of knowledge about actions taken by the administration around climate change.



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

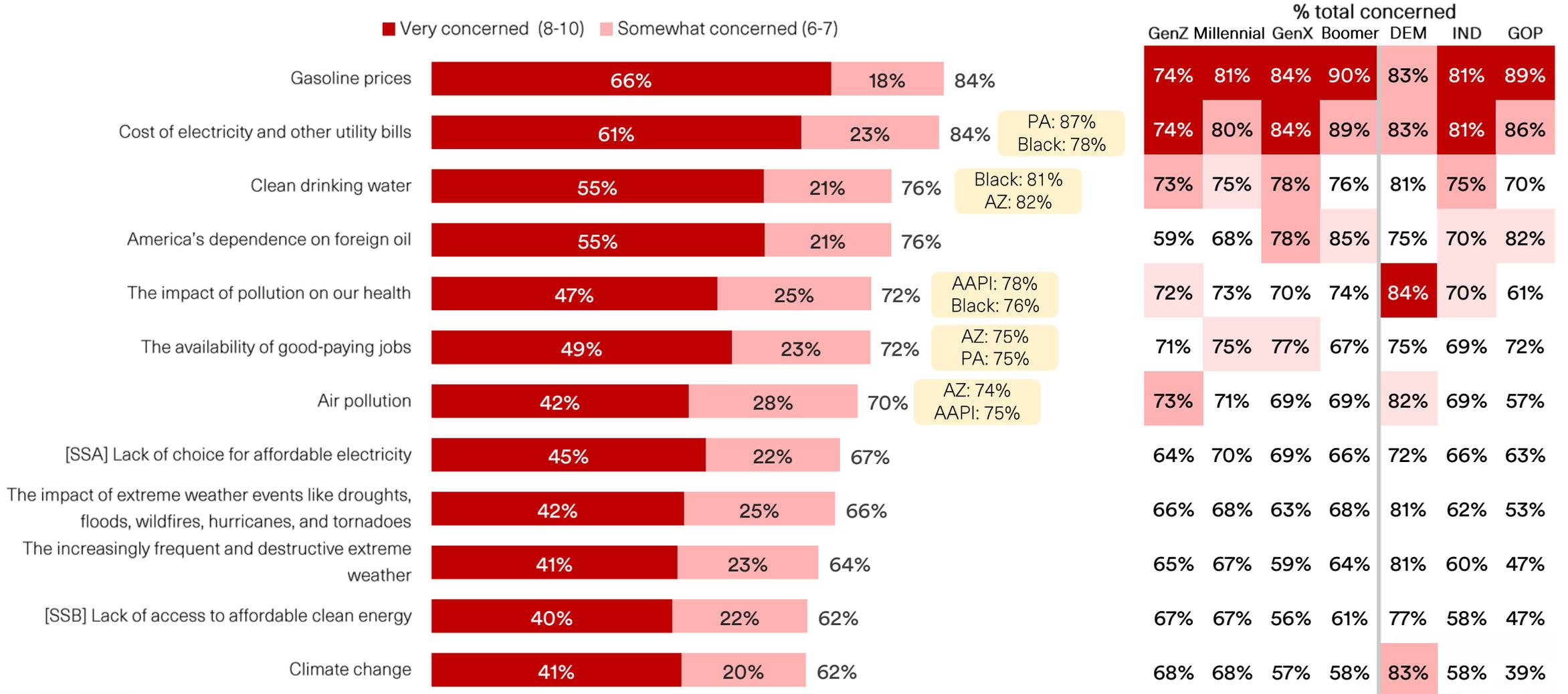


	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Silent/Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
Too Much	23%	25%	18%	20%	23%	24%	26%	19%	25%	9%	16%	14%	12%	10%	15%	22%	31%	7%	19%	44%
The Right Amount	25%	26%	24%	28%	28%	26%	26%	26%	24%	37%	24%	24%	31%	17%	22%	27%	31%	42%	20%	12%
Too Little	52%	50%	58%	52%	49%	49%	48%	55%	51%	54%	60%	62%	56%	73%	63%	51%	37%	51%	62%	44%

Voters are most concerned about **gasoline prices and utilities costs** when it comes to climate-related challenges; consumer costs are the most concerning issue in every state.



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





Initial opinion on Biden and Congressional Democrats' Clean Energy Plan

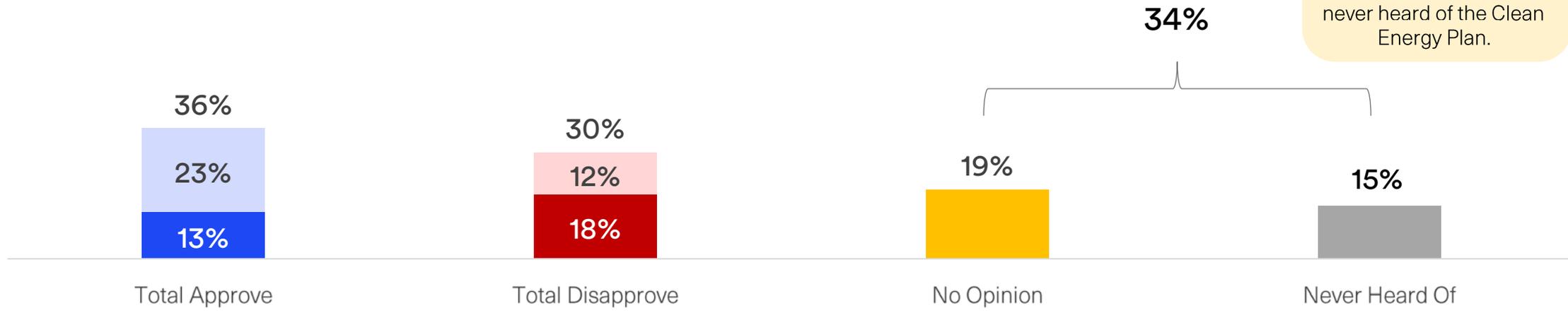
Voters are generally divided on approval for the federal Clean Energy Plan; 34% of voters do not have an opinion on the plan or have never heard of it. Young voters and Independents are especially unaware of the Plan.



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

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

Among voters who say Biden is doing "too little" to address climate change, a significant portion (44%) have no opinion or have never heard of the Clean Energy Plan.



	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Silent/Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
Total Approve	38%	38%	31%	42%	39%	34%	40%	33%	33%	52%	44%	38%	48%	40%	37%	33%	37%	65%	23%	14%
Total Disapprove	30%	31%	27%	26%	32%	28%	34%	26%	33%	14%	26%	26%	19%	21%	23%	33%	35%	10%	28%	56%
No Opinion/ Never Heard	32%	31%	42%	32%	29%	38%	27%	41%	34%	33%	30%	36%	33%	39%	40%	34%	28%	25%	50%	30%
Net Approve	+8	+6	+4	+16	+7	+7	+6	+7	-1	+38	+19	+11	+29	+19	+14	+0	+1	+56	-5	-42

23% of voters say Biden does too little to address climate change AND are unfamiliar with the Clean Energy Plan; young voters, particularly young women, are most likely to be in this group



Q31/Q17. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan?
/ Do you think Joe Biden is doing too much, too little, or the right amount to address climate change?

Groups that are MORE LIKELY than voters overall to say Biden is not doing enough on climate change and also not know about the Clean Energy Plan (23%)

38%	of 2020 Non-Voters are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
37%	of GenZ Women are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
36%	of Millennial Women are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
35%	of White GenZers are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
32%	of 18–35-year-olds are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
31%	of Michiganders are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little
31%	of GenZers are unfamiliar with plan and say Biden does too little

All four proof points on the Clean Energy Plan are popular with voters. Creating new good-paying jobs is especially popular with persuadables who shift toward approval by end of poll.



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

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

Approval Shifters*

Showing % Total Favorable

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



Silent/Boomers: 76%

81%

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



Black: 73%
AAPI: 72%

83%

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



76%

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



Black: 68%

73%



Talking about the Clean Energy Plan

Thinking about the impacts of the Clean Energy Plan generally, voters prioritize monetary savings that will impact their households; cutting pollution is also an important benefit for approval shifters.



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

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

Approval Shifters
 Showing % Total Ranked

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



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



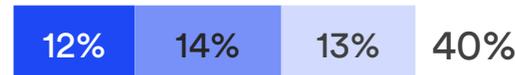
It will help cut climate pollution by 40% by the end of the decade



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



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



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



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



Don't know/Refused



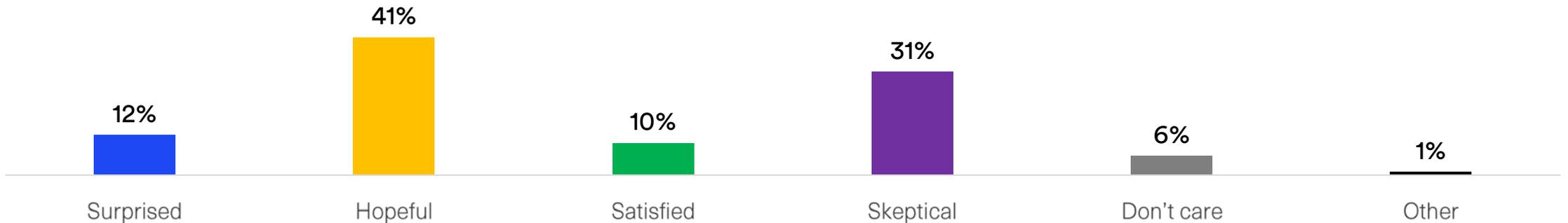
Proof of progress and delivery on the Clean Energy Plan at the national level inspires hope for individuals, especially Democrats, women, and people of color.



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

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

■ Surprised ■ Hopeful ■ Satisfied ■ Skeptical ■ Don't care ■ Other



	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI	Men	Women	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Silent/Boomer	DEM	IND	GOP
Total Hopeful	42%	37%	44%	41%	44%	34%	37%	44%	41%	43%	38%	43%	42%	35%	43%	42%	41%	57%	34%	28%
Total Skeptical	30%	27%	32%	26%	32%	36%	31%	31%	35%	18%	21%	17%	19%	19%	26%	31%	39%	13%	33%	50%

Voters who were more likely than voters overall to feel hopeful tend to be liberal, Black, and college-educated, while voters who felt skeptical tended to be conservative, white, and older



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

Groups that were MORE LIKELY than voters overall to say they felt HOPEFUL (41%)	
61%	of Black Voters Age 50+ felt hopeful
57%	of Self-Identified Democrats felt hopeful
56%	of Liberal Voters felt hopeful
53%	of College-Educated Black Voters felt hopeful
50%	of College-Educated Women felt hopeful
48%	of Voters with Post-Grad Degrees felt hopeful

Groups that were MORE LIKELY than voters overall to say they felt SKEPTICAL (31%)	
59%	of Very Conservative Voters felt skeptical
50%	of Self-Identified Republicans felt skeptical
42%	of White Voters Age 50+ felt skeptical
41%	of Men Age 50+ felt skeptical
39%	of Rural Voters felt skeptical
39%	of Silent Gen/Boomers felt skeptical



Public Opinion Shift

Isolated proof points and positive messaging increase approval for the Clean Energy Plan 21 points (a big shift that is rare to see in public opinion research.)

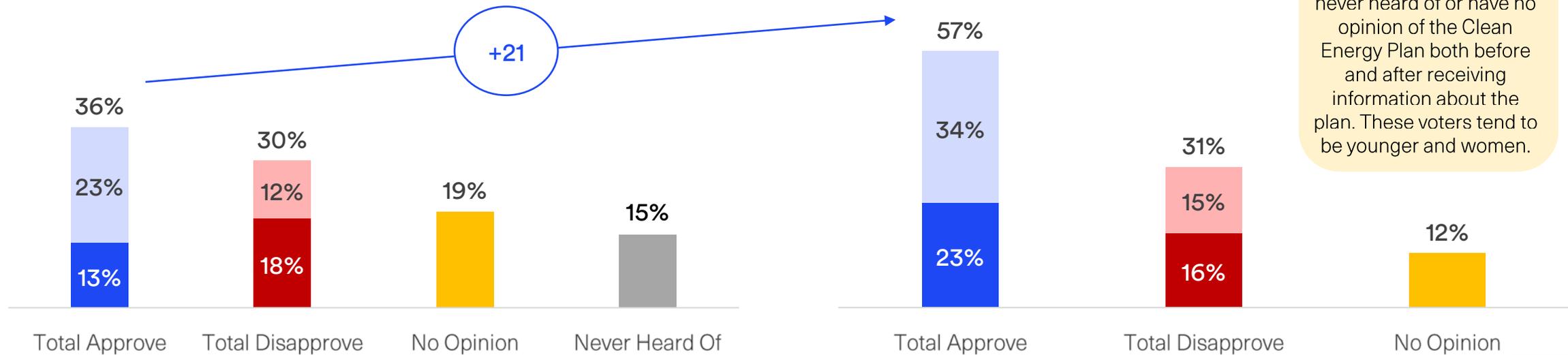


Q31/43. President Biden and Democrats in Congress recently passed a new Clean Energy Plan. From what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of this plan? / Based on what you have seen and read in this survey, from what you know about it, do you approve or disapprove of the Clean Energy Plan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

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

INITIAL ASK

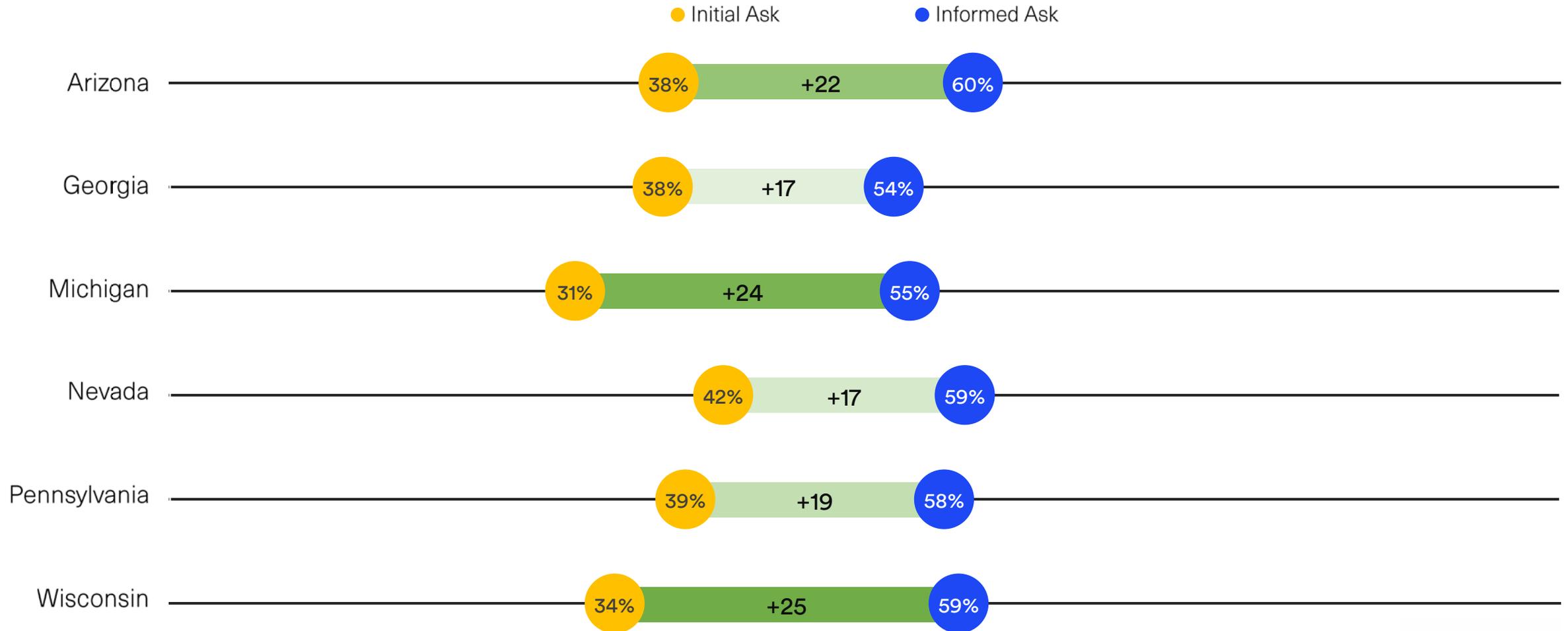
INFORMED ASK



All states saw double digit increases in support for the Clean Energy plan; states which saw the largest increases started off with lower levels of initial support



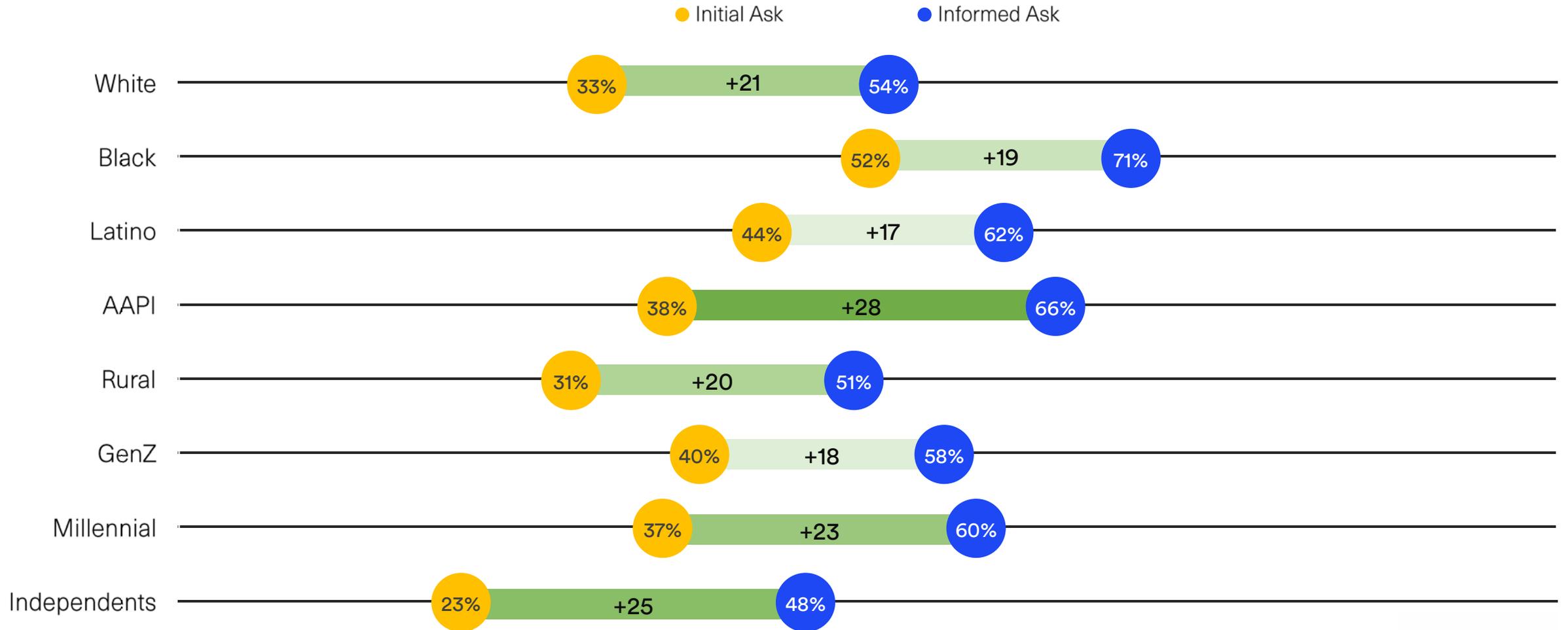
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Millennials, Independents and AAPI voters are most likely to move towards support of the plan, but all key voter groups move double digits towards support of the plan



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



25% of voters move towards approving of the Clean Energy Plan by the end of the poll after learning more about the plan and its impacts.



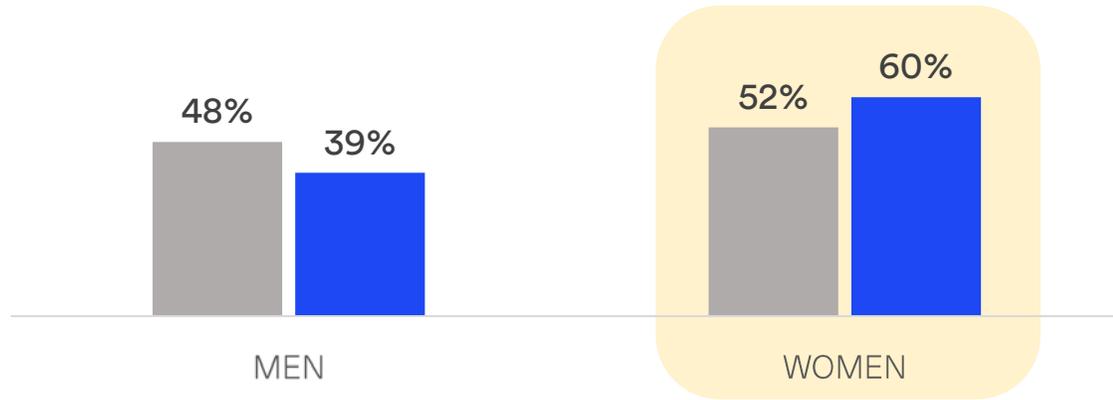
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Groups that were MORE LIKELY than voters overall to move towards approving of the plan	
35%	of 2020 Non-Voters move towards approval
34%	of AAPI Voters move towards approval
34%	of GenZ Women move towards approval
33%	of Moms move towards approval
33%	of Millennial Women move towards approval
32%	of Self-ID Soft Democratic Voters move towards approval
30%	of Latina Voters move towards approval

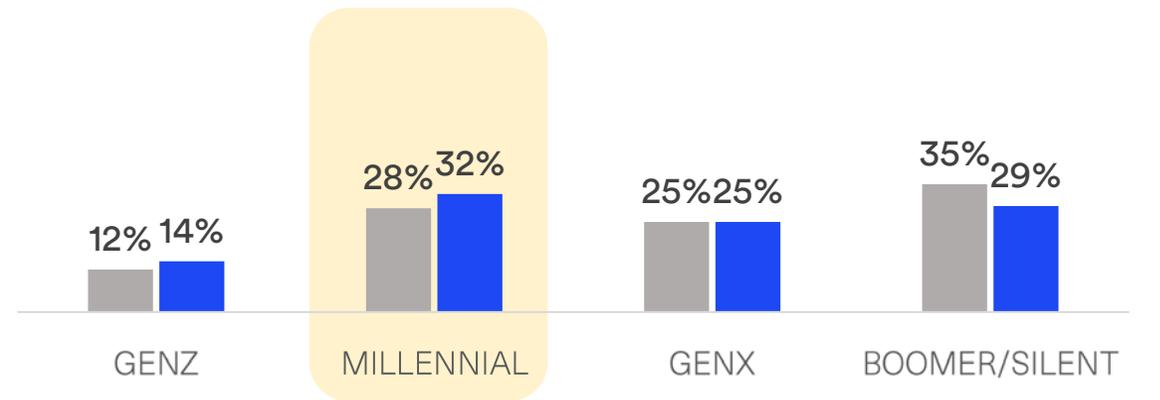


Demographic Profile of voters who Moved Towards Approving of Clean Energy Plan

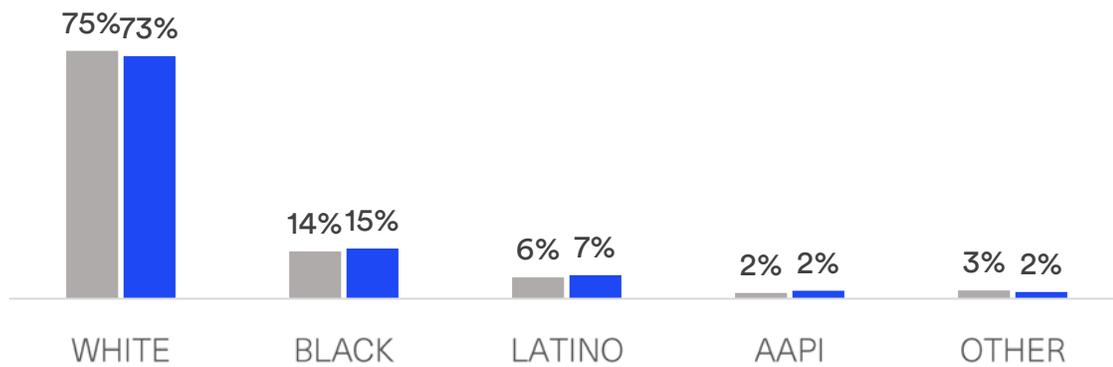
GENDER



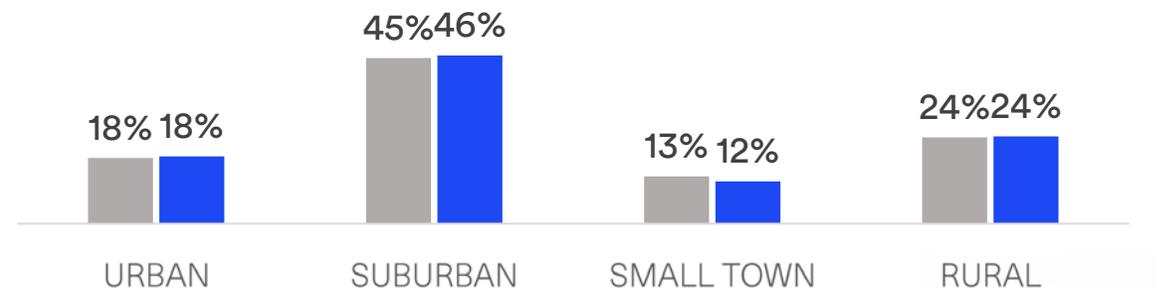
GENERATIONS



RACE



URBANICITY

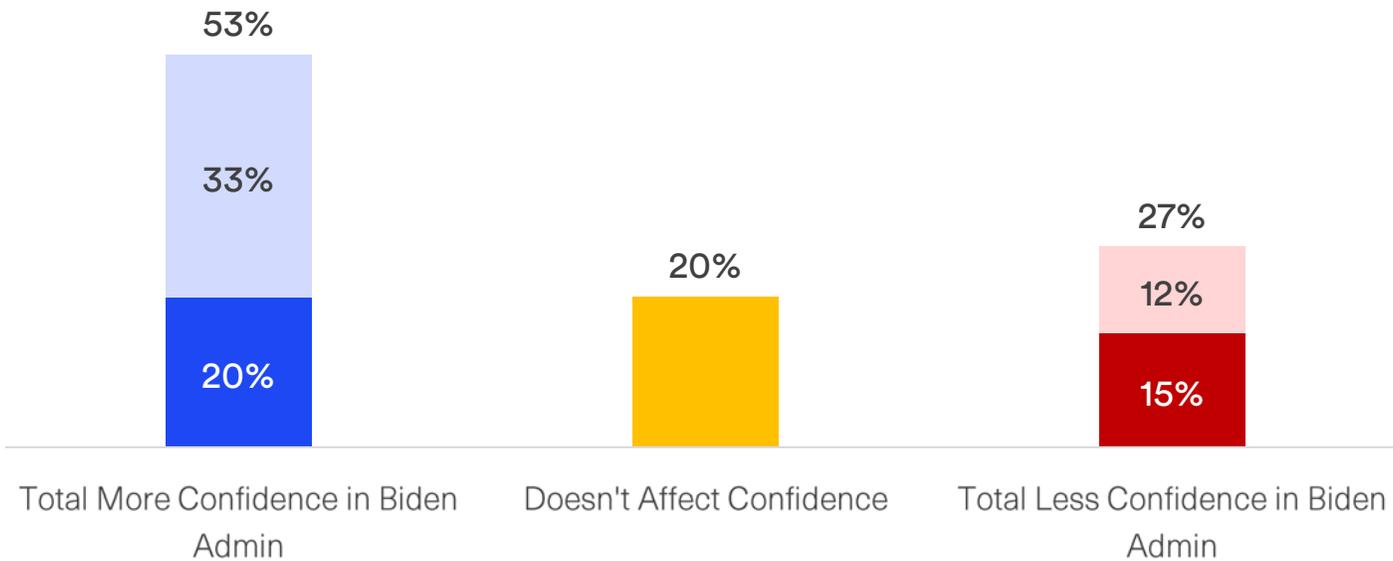


After educating voters on the policies and progress in the Clean Energy Plan, most voters said they feel more confident in the Biden Administration on clean energy, especially Democrats and Black voters.



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

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



Total More Confident (53%) *Overindex on Being More Confident*

80%	of Liberals
79%	of Self-ID Democrats
77%	of Citizens Who Voted For Biden in 2020
77%	of Black Voters Age 50+
77%	of Black College Educated Voters
68%	of Black Voters
65%	of Voters of Color



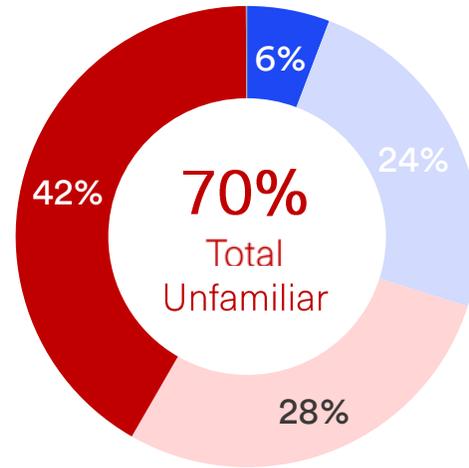
Other Issues

A majority of voters are not familiar with Project Willow.



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

- Very Familiar
- Somewhat Familiar
- Not that familiar
- Not at all familiar



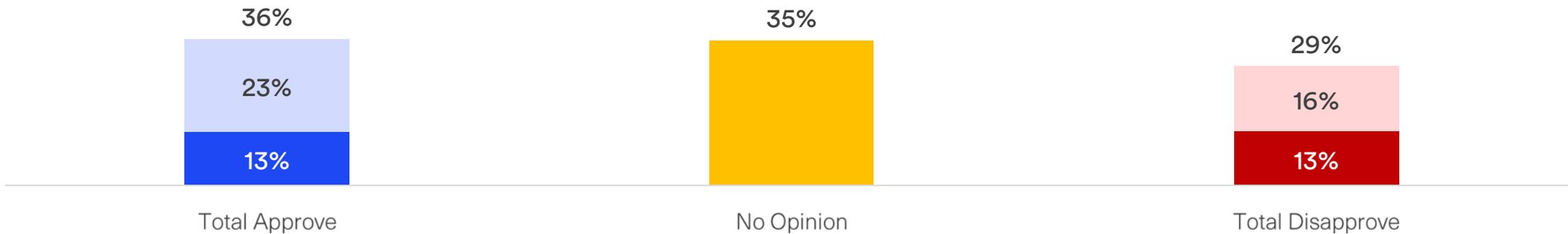
	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	GenZ	Mill.	GenX	Silent/ Boom.
Total Familiar	32%	33%	27%	34%	30%	27%	29%	31%	36%	27%	33%	43%	31%	26%	27%
Total Unfamiliar	68%	67%	73%	66%	70%	73%	71%	69%	64%	73%	67%	57%	69%	74%	73%

Voters do not have strong opinions for or against Project Willow, driven by low levels of familiarity.



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

■ Strongly Approve
 ■ Somewhat Approve
 ■ No Opinion
 ■ Somewhat Disapprove
 ■ Strongly Disapprove



	AZ	GA	MI	NV	PA	WI	White	Black	Latino	AAPI	POC	GenZ	Millennial	GenX	Silent/Boomer
Total Approve	35%	38%	30%	39%	38%	37%	36%	37%	35%	31%	35%	24%	30%	35%	44%
Total Disapprove	33%	25%	30%	31%	31%	26%	29%	24%	36%	38%	30%	48%	32%	27%	21%

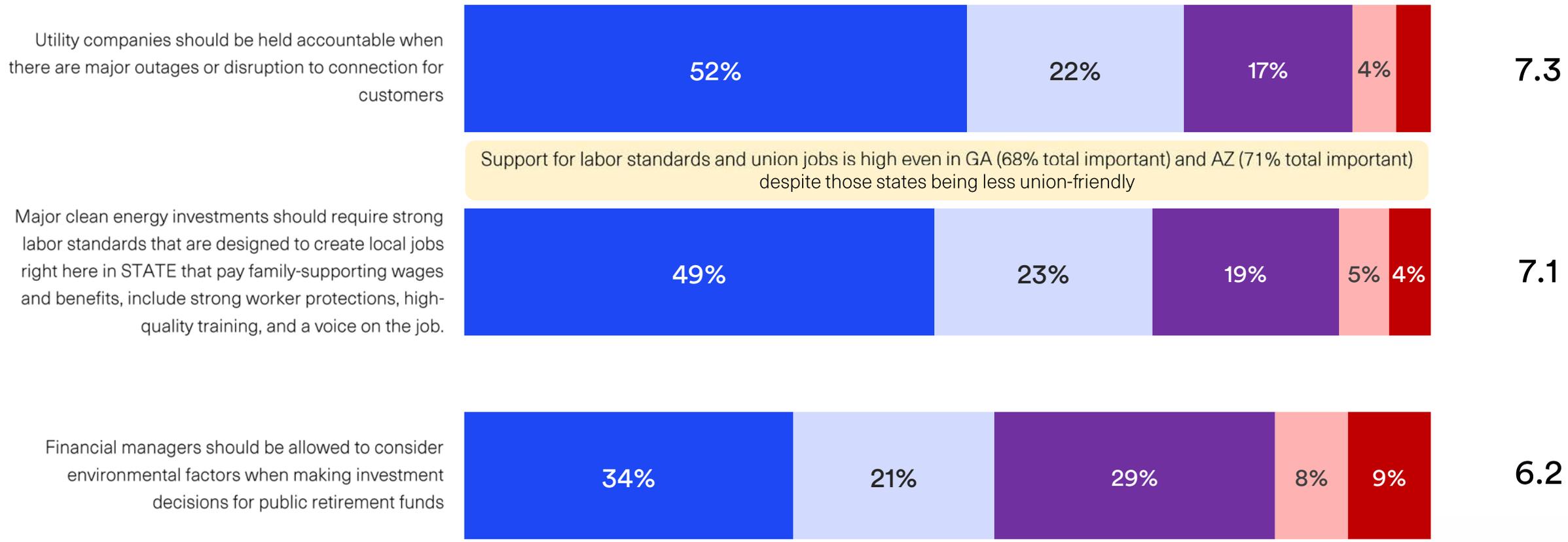
A majority of voters agree that utility companies should be held accountable, clean energy investments should include labor standards, and ESG factors should be used in financial investments.



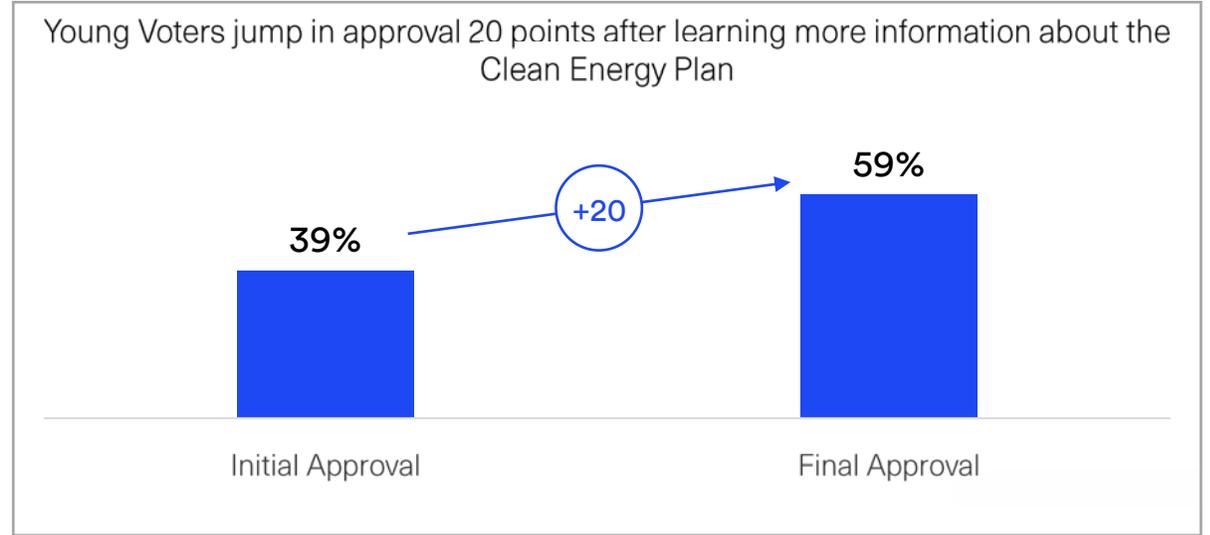
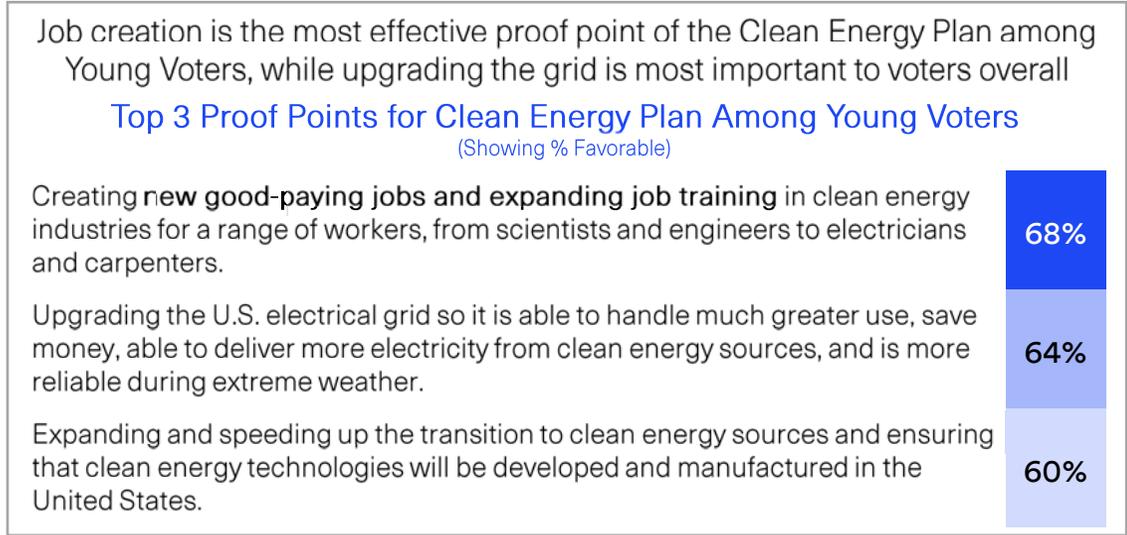
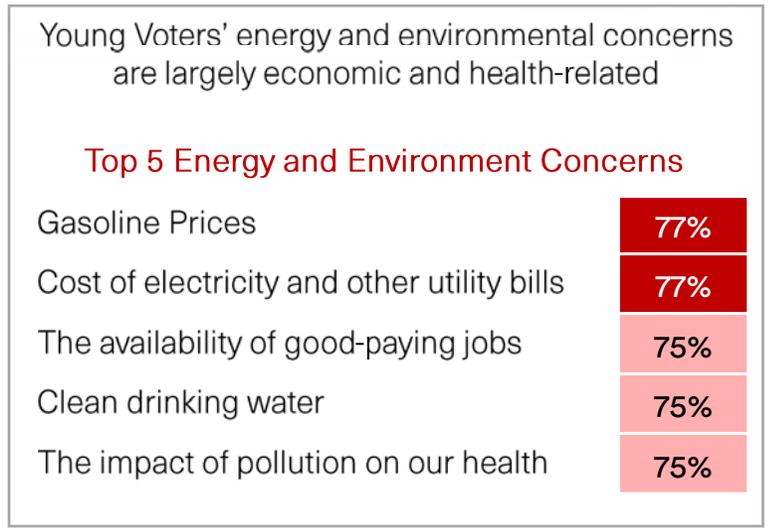
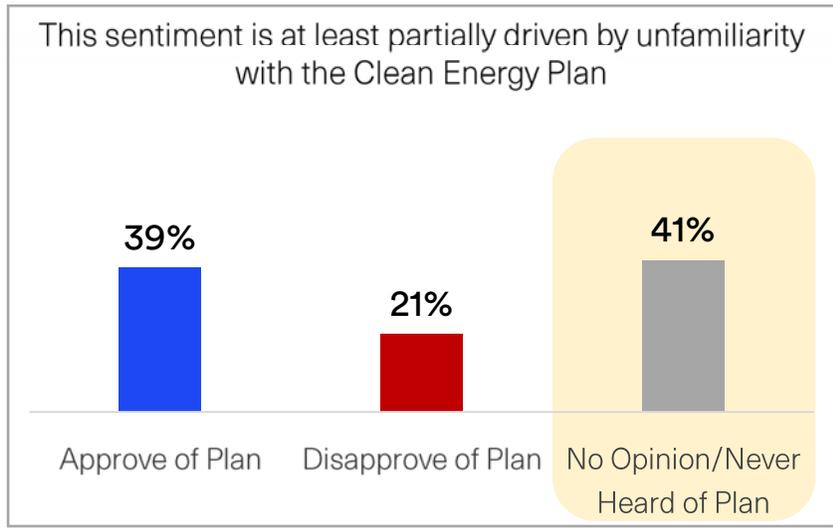
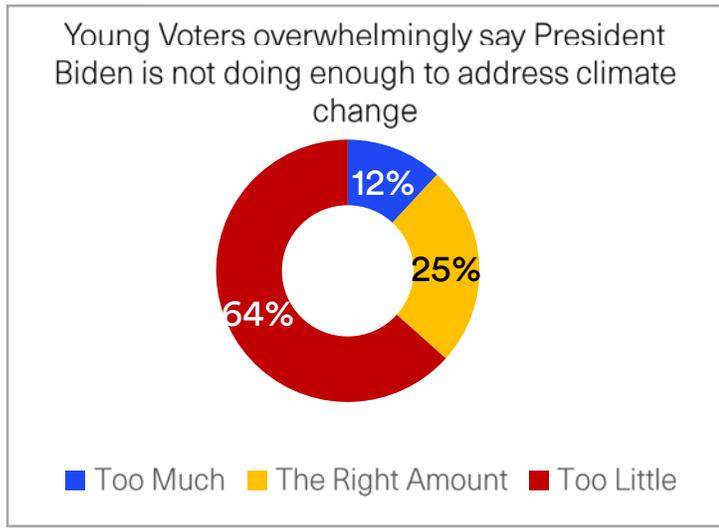
49. Please rate how important you consider each of the following potential measures to be. Using a scale from 0 to 10, where “10” means that it is very important, “5” means that it is neither important or unimportant, and “0” means that it is not important at all. You may use any number from 0 to 10,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

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

Mean importance
Showing Mean importance on 0-10 Scale



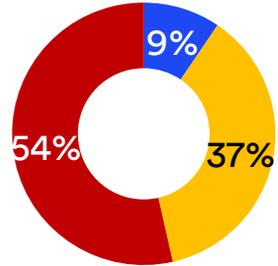
Snapshot of Young Voters (18-35) Across States



Snapshot of Black Voters Across States

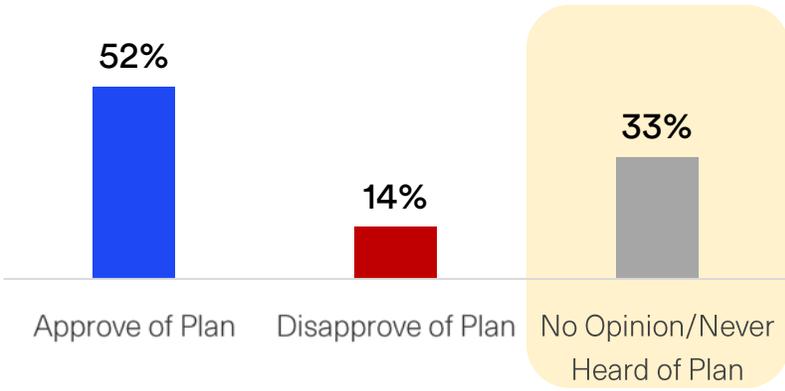


A majority of Black voters say President Biden is not doing enough to address climate change



■ Too Much ■ The Right Amount ■ Too Little

This sentiment is at least partially driven by unfamiliarity with the Clean Energy Plan



Clean drinking water is an issue with strong salience for Black voters

Top 5 Energy and Environment Concerns

Clean drinking water	68%
Cost of electricity and other utility bills	60%
Gasoline Prices	58%
The availability of good-paying jobs	58%
The impact of pollution on our health	56%

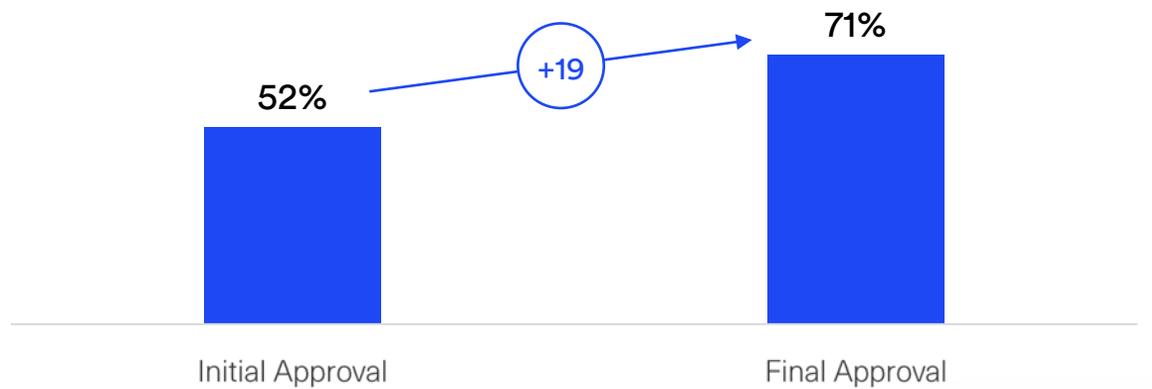
Job creation is the most effective proof point of the Clean Energy Plan among Black voters, while upgrading the grid is most important to voters overall

Top 3 Proof Points for Clean Energy Plan Among Black Voters

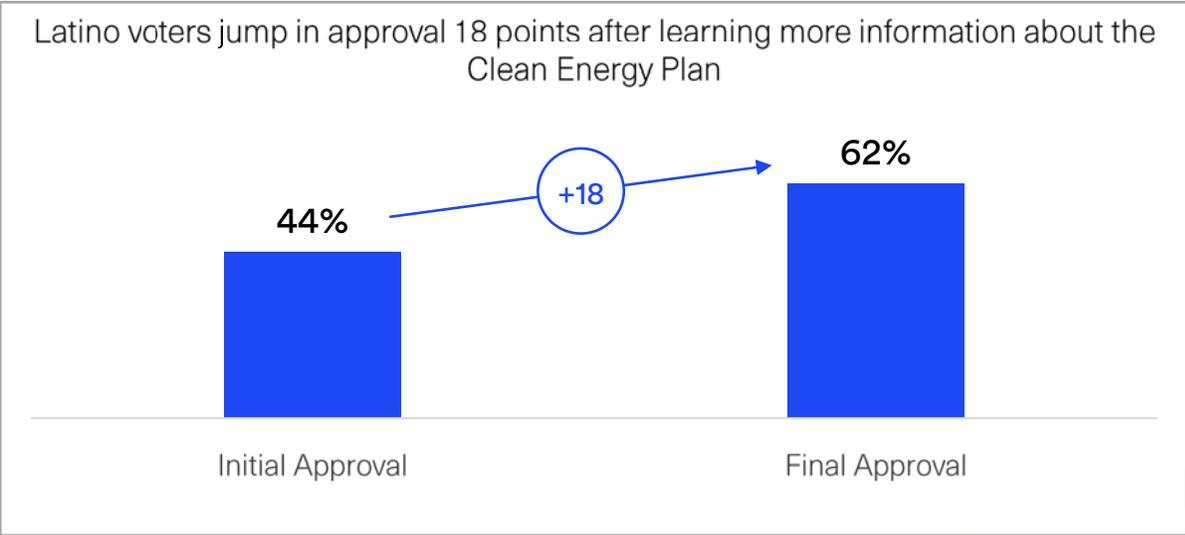
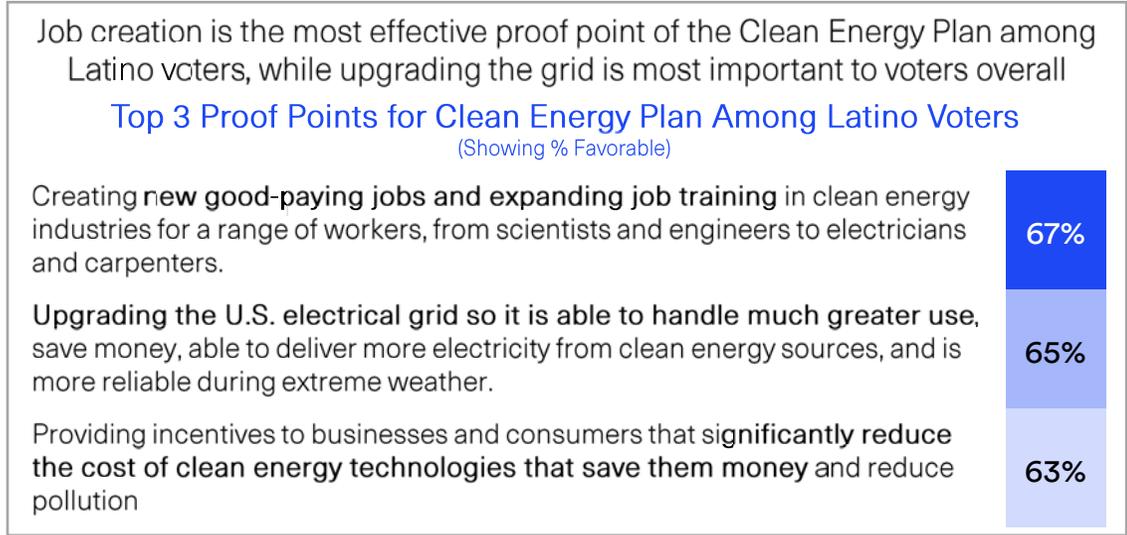
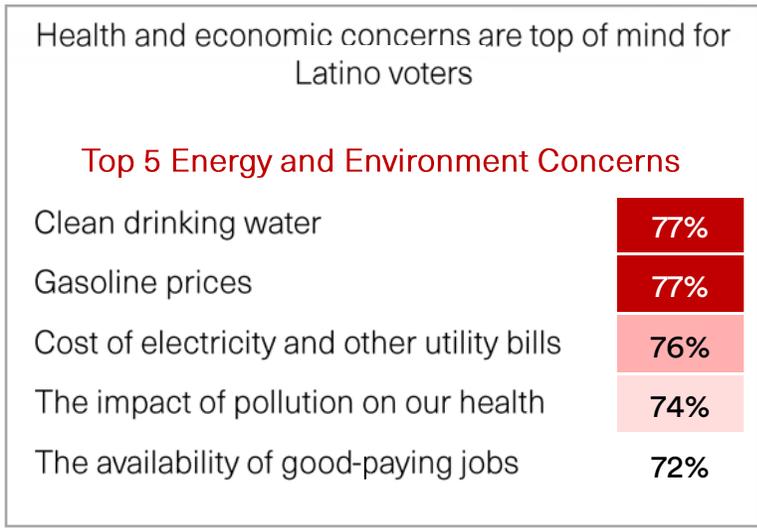
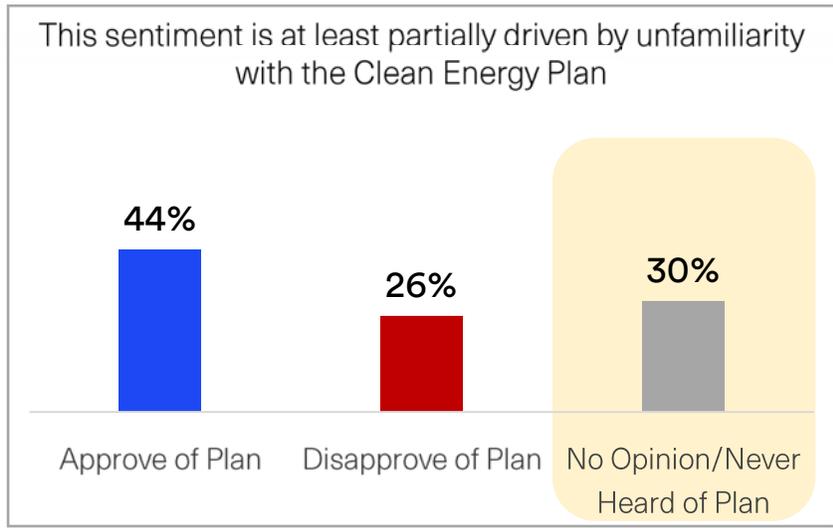
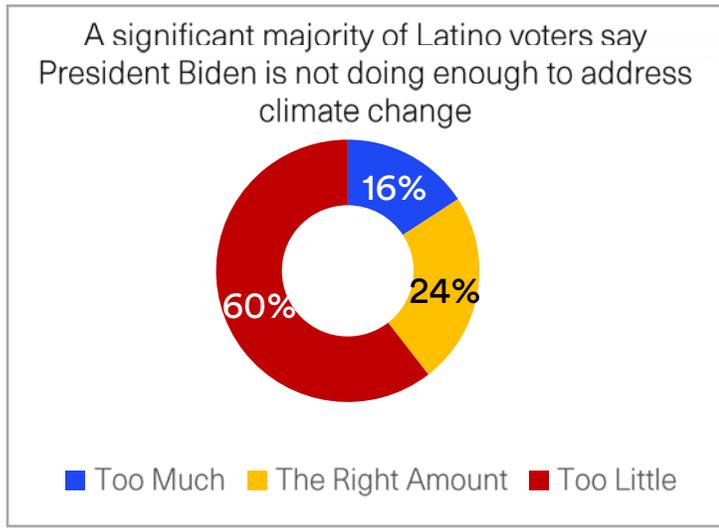
(Showing % Favorable)

Creating new good-paying jobs and expanding job training in clean energy industries for a range of workers, from scientists and engineers to electricians and carpenters.	73%
Upgrading the U.S. electrical grid so it is able to handle much greater use, save money, able to deliver more electricity from clean energy sources, and is more reliable during extreme weather.	71%
Providing incentives to businesses and consumers that significantly reduce the cost of clean energy technologies that save them money and reduce pollution	69%

Black voters jump in approval 19 points after learning more information about the Clean Energy Plan



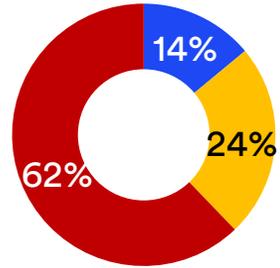
Snapshot of Latino Voters Across States



Snapshot of AAPI Voters Across States

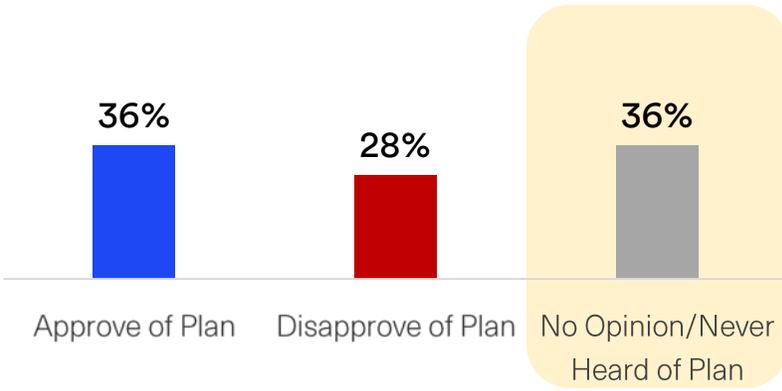


AAPI voters are the racial group most likely to say President Biden isn't doing enough on climate change



■ Too Much ■ The Right Amount ■ Too Little

This sentiment is at least partially driven by unfamiliarity with the Clean Energy Plan



Economic concerns, especially affordable utilities and energy, are most top-of-mind for AAPI voters

Top 5 Energy and Environment Concerns

Cost of electricity and other utility bills	81%
Lack of choice for affordable electricity	81%
The availability of good-paying jobs	80%
The impact of pollution on our health	78%
Clean drinking water	75%

Updating the electrical grid and creating new jobs are both highly effective proof-points among AAPI voters

Top 3 Proof Points for Clean Energy Plan Among AAPI Voters

(Showing % Favorable)

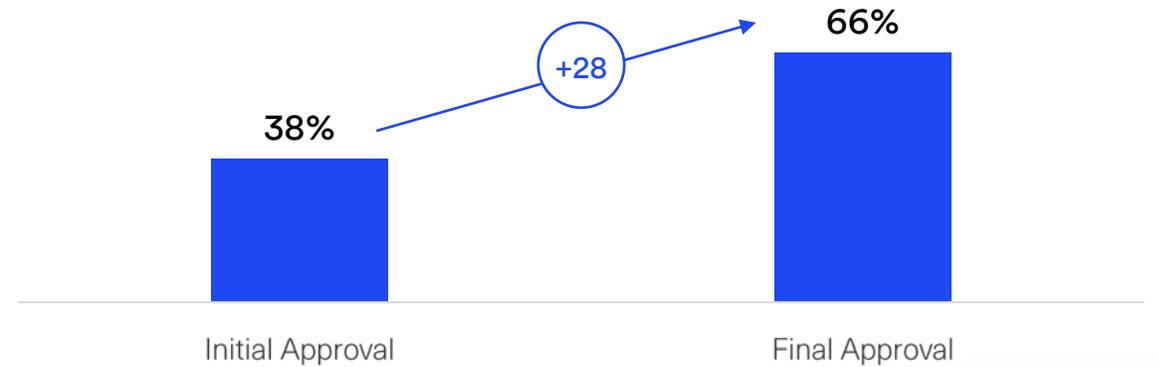
Upgrading the U.S. electrical grid so it is able to handle much greater use, save money, able to deliver more electricity from clean energy sources, and is more reliable during extreme weather.



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

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

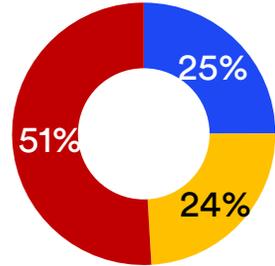
AAPI voters saw the largest shift (+30) of any racial group towards supporting the Clean Energy Plan after learning more information about it





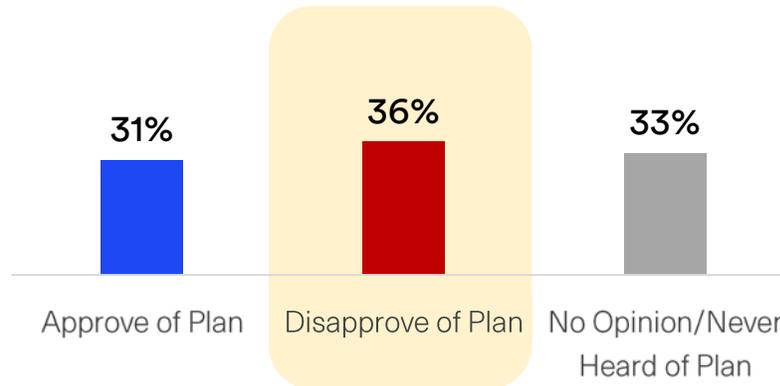
Snapshot of Rural Voters Across States

Half of rural voters say President Biden is not doing enough to address climate change



■ Too Much ■ The Right Amount ■ Too Little

A slight plurality of rural voters disapprove of the Clean Energy Plan, while one in three are unfamiliar with it



Economic concerns, including American energy independence, are top of mind for rural voters

Top 5 Energy and Environment Concerns

Gasoline prices	84%
Cost of electricity and other utility bills	84%
America's dependence on foreign oil	76%
Clean drinking water	76%
The availability of good-paying jobs	72%

Updating the electrical grid and creating new jobs are both effective proof-points among rural voters

Top 3 Proof Points for Clean Energy Plan Among Rural Voters

(Showing % Favorable)

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



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

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

Rural voters jump in approval 20 points after learning more information about the Clean Energy Plan



Summary of Findings



1

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



The groups most likely to move toward approval for the Clean Energy Plan once given information are those who lack information at the beginning, including 2020 non-voters and young voters. We move many of those uninformed voters to approval in our poll by simply educating them on progress. Voters overall feel favorable toward clean energy, the policies in the Clean Energy Plan, and the potential impacts of the Plan in their states after we give them information.

2

Voters feel most favorable toward elements of the Clean Energy Plan centered on economics. People of color and young voters are also especially concerned with air pollution.



Connect the progress of the Clean Energy Plan with creating new, good-paying jobs in the energy sector. Localize the progress with wins in their own communities/state and define the clear relationship between clean energy and economic opportunity. Connect pollution and public health as the problem and the Clean Energy Plan as the solution.

3

Educating voters on the Clean Energy Plan increases confidence in the Biden Administration to promote investments in clean energy.



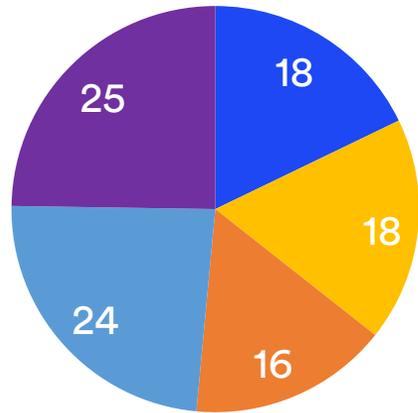
Voters are generally unaware of the Clean Energy Plan and the progress already made. We can build trust between voters and Democrats in Congress and the Biden Administration by pointing to wins both nationally and in their own communities (i.e., more jobs, clean energy projects, and investments.) Highlight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



Appendix

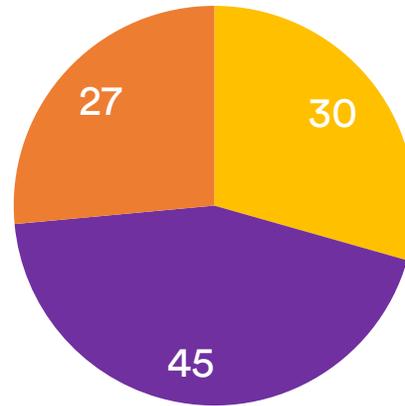


AGE



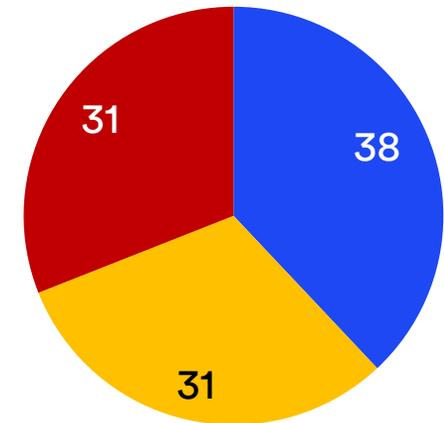
- 18 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 - 64
- 65+

EDUCATION



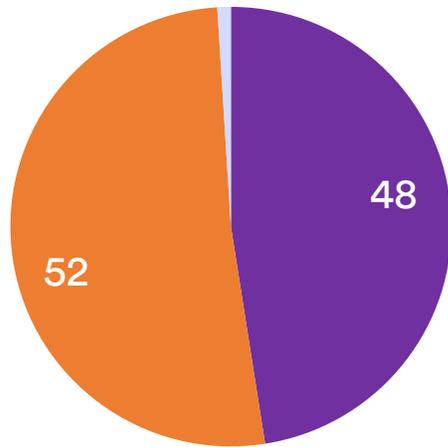
- High School or Less
- Some College
- College or Grad School

PARTY ID



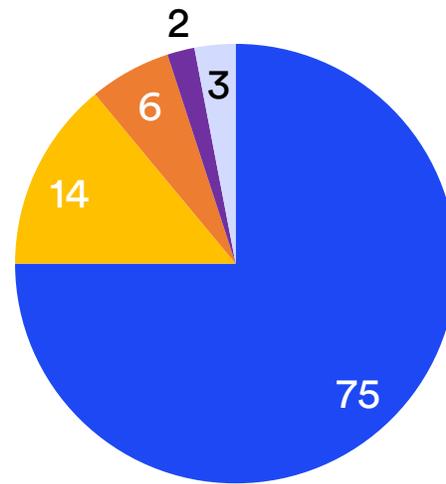
- Democrat
- Independent
- Republican

GENDER



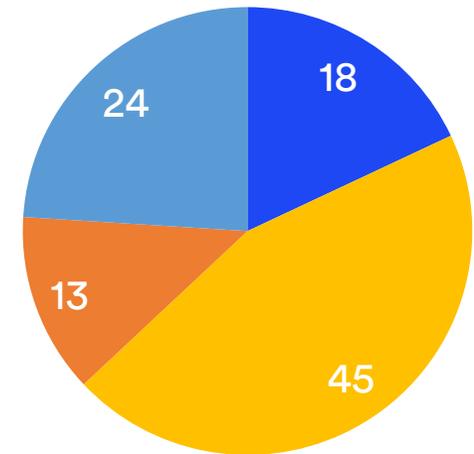
- Men
- Women
- Gender Non-Conforming/Other

RACE



- White
- Black
- Latino
- AAPI
- Other

URBANITY



- Urban
- Suburban
- Small Town
- Rural

Key Takeaways



1

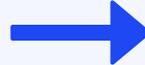
Voters are relatively unaware of the Clean Energy Plan and have yet to form strong opinions on it.



- 36% of voters say that they approve of the plan while 30% say that they disapprove of this plan (disapproval is largely driven by conservative voters.)
- 34% of voters say that they have no opinion about the plan or that they have never heard of it.
- With voters not adequately informed about this progress under the Clean Energy Plan, low marks extend to President Biden, Congressional Democrats, and in-state Democratic officials on the issues of climate change and clean energy.

2

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



- When thinking about policies recently signed into law, voters are most favorable towards those that [lower energy costs in their respective states](#) (72% fav) and [make major commitments to improve the electrical grid in-state](#) (70% fav).
- The impacts of these policies that resonate most with voters are those that [save consumers tens of thousands of dollars](#) for making their homes more energy efficient (53% rank this as a top benefit) and could [save them up to \\$1,000 a year in energy costs](#) (47% rank this as a top benefit).
- Voters of color are generally most concerned about [pollution and maintaining clean drinking water](#) and feel more favorable toward policies that address this problem.

3

Approval for the Clean Energy Plan improves by more than 21 points when voters receive information and messaging on the plan's accomplishments and progress.



- Information moves voters away from indifference into approval for the plan; the disapproval numbers remain generally the same from the start-to-end of the poll. [Voters who move towards supporting the plan tend to be 2020 non-voters, soft Democratic partisans, women of color, and younger voters.](#)
- 53% of voters say they have more confidence in the [Biden Administration after learning about their leadership](#) on the Clean Energy Plan and future investments.

