



C|T GROUP

# C3 Action Research Presentation

Tri-state Survey of Arizona, Georgia, and Michigan  
June 2022



# The C|T Group

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We are an international consultancy that combines expertise in research, campaigns, intelligence and giving advice in order to deliver winning campaigns globally.

With decades of experience running successful campaigns across the UK, Europe, North America, India, the Middle East, Africa and the Asia Pacific region, the C|T Group knows the importance of clear information and focused strategies to achieve results.

We operate from offices around the world with a team of international, multilingual staff.

We offer an unmatched pedigree and a unique methodology – **The C|T Way.**



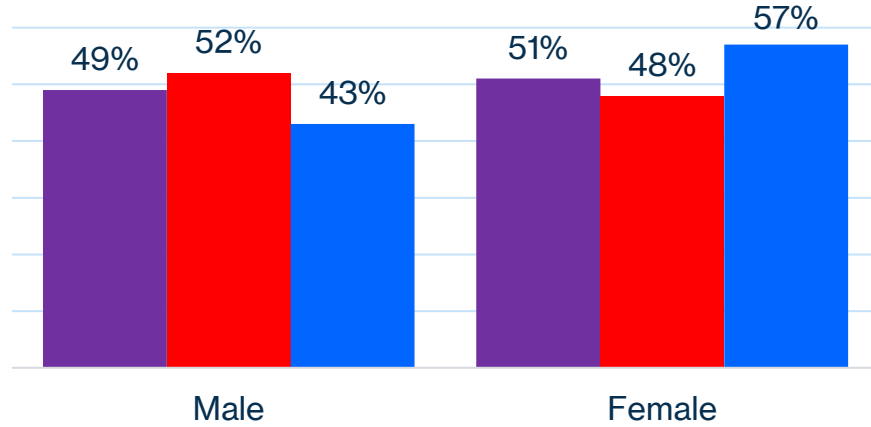


# Methodology

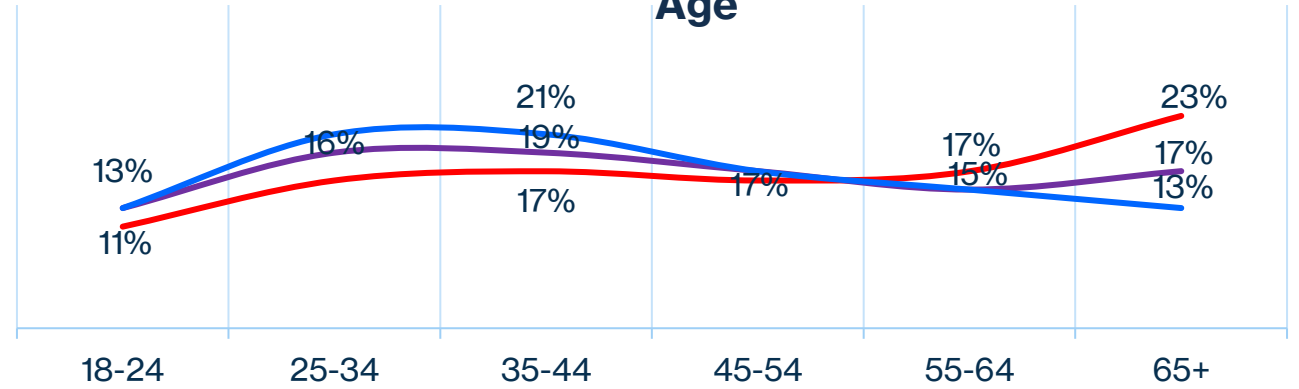
- A state representative survey of n=500 was fielded online with 18+ year-old members of the general public in each of Michigan, Georgia and Arizona.
- The size of this survey yields a maximum margin of error of +/- 3.1% at a 95% confidence interval, although note that margins of error vary by question and analysis group.
- Minimum quotas were applied by age, gender, education, ethnicity, and past vote.
- Respondents were asked to state their political views on a scale of Very right-wing, Right-wing, Slightly right-wing, Centre, Slightly left-wing, Left-wing.

# Demographics

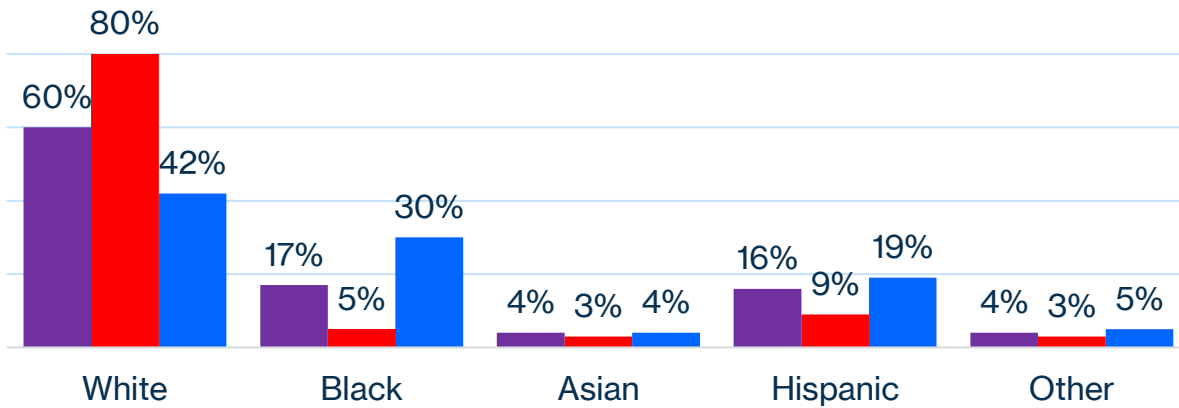
## Gender



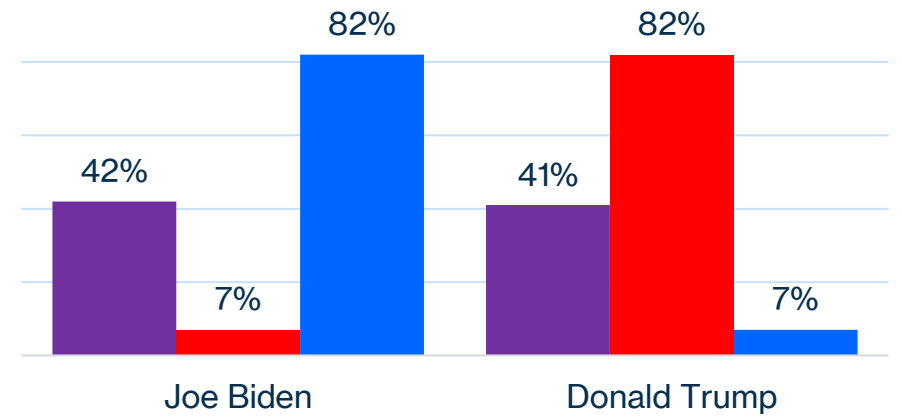
## Age



## Ethnicity



## 2020 Presidential vote



■ Total ■ Republican ■ Democrat



# National Issue Agenda



# Key findings

1

**The majority of people are most concerned with reducing inflation and gas prices, the main contributors of the cost of living crisis.**

2

**Republican voters are more concerned about climate change than election reform.**

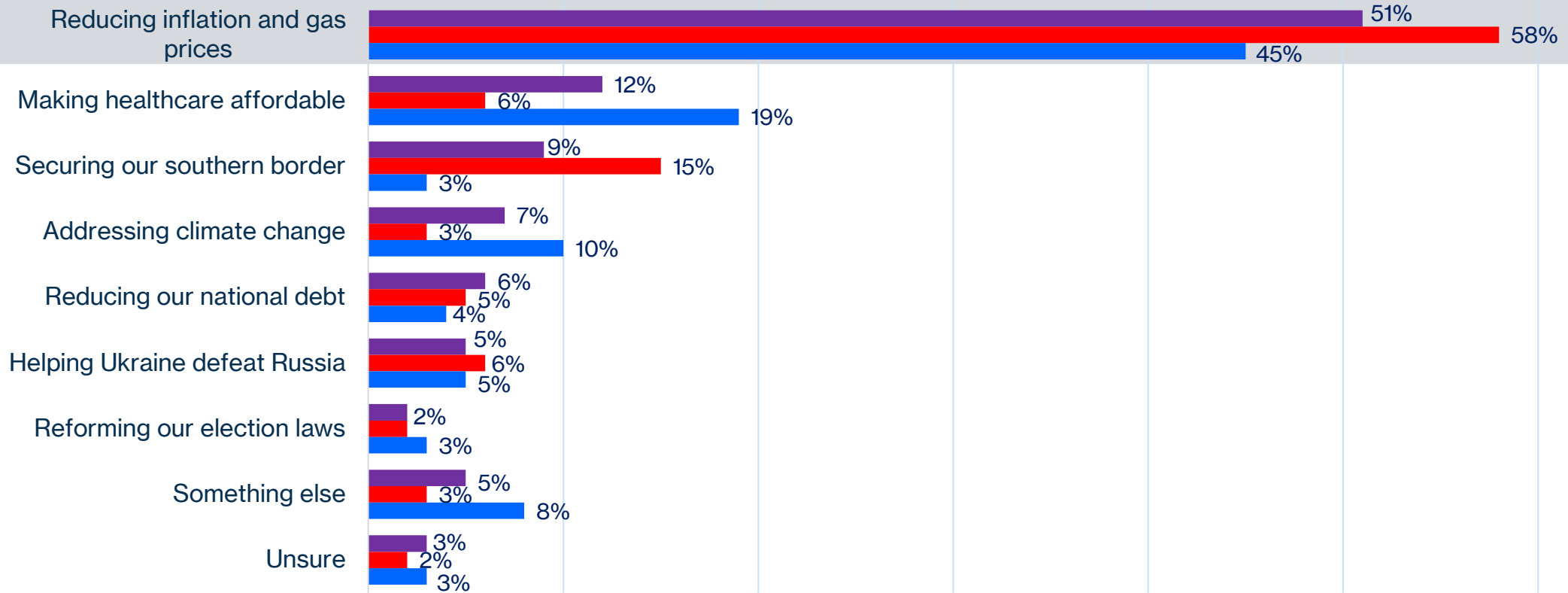
3

**Following the invasion of Ukraine, there is a desire for the US to become less reliant on other countries for the supply of energy**

4

**Preferred policy solutions include increasing domestic production, improving energy security and promoting clean energy innovation.**

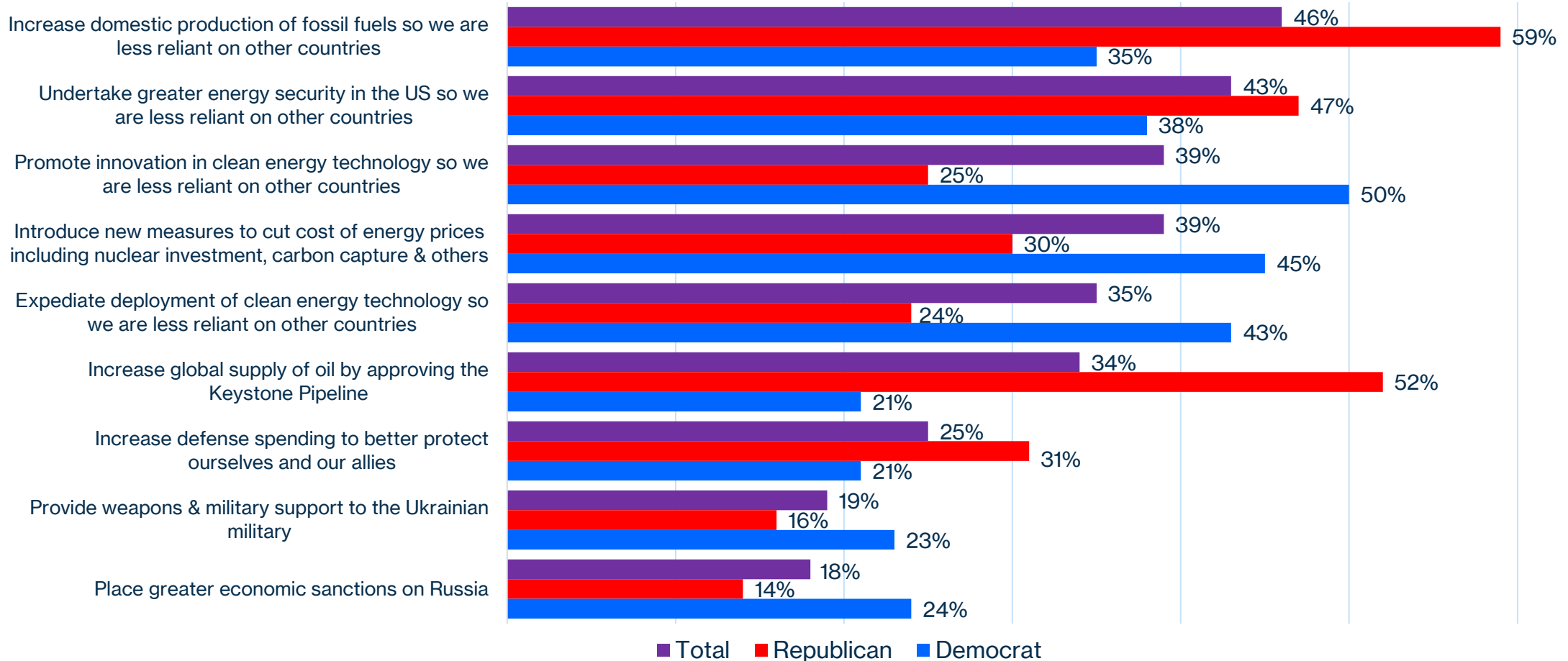
# Most Important Issue



■ Total ■ Republican ■ Democrat

What is the most important issue to you that you believe the federal government should be doing something about?

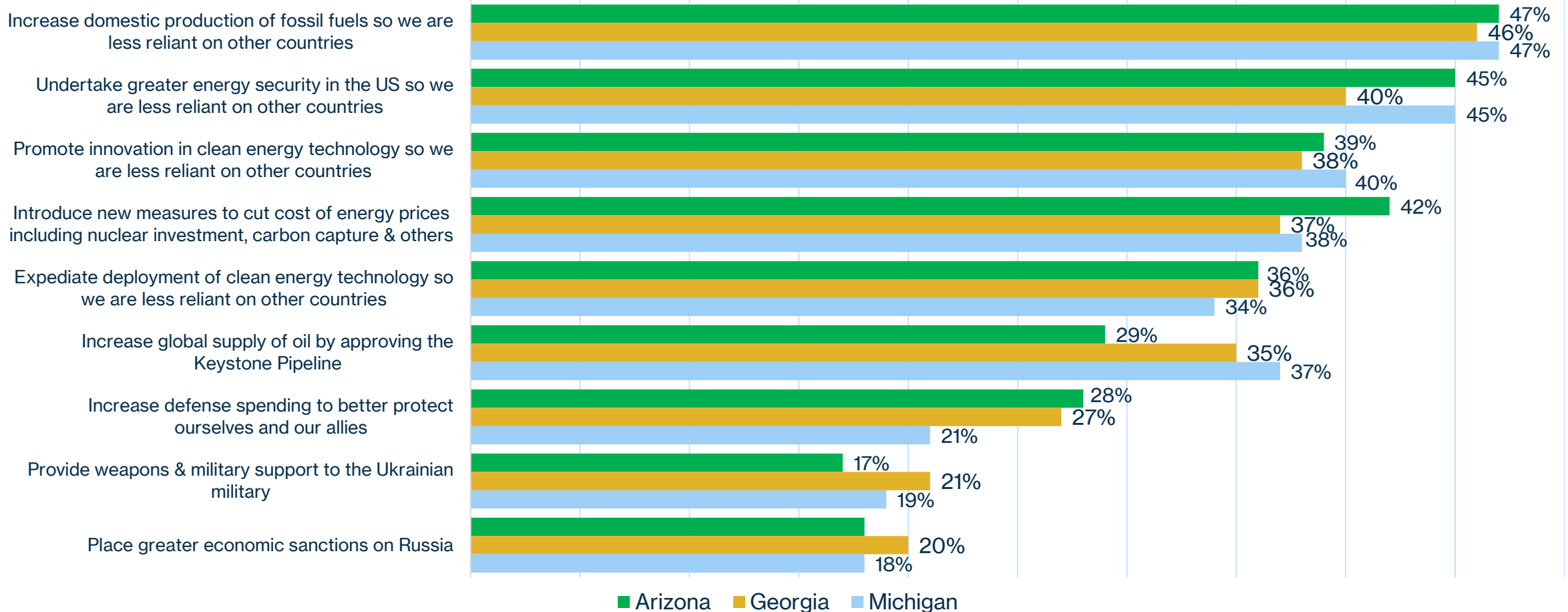
# Energy Attitudes Post Ukraine Invasion



You are now going to see a list of issues other people have said are important ones the federal government should be doing something about, following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. From the list below, what are the THREE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES TO YOU that federal government should be doing something about?



# Energy Attitudes Post Ukraine Invasion



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# **Key Climate Change Policies and Messages**



# Key findings

1

**Republicans believe climate change is real and support action.**

**Only 14% of Republican voters believe climate change is not happening.**

2

**Attempts to link climate change to unrelated “socialist” goals alienate Republicans.**

**Yet, surprisingly, Republicans are marginally persuaded by “alarmist” rhetoric even though this rhetoric is polarizing.**

3

**Republicans strongly support carbon capture, nuclear power and fracking as well as a “technology neutral” and “all of the above” energy strategy.**

4

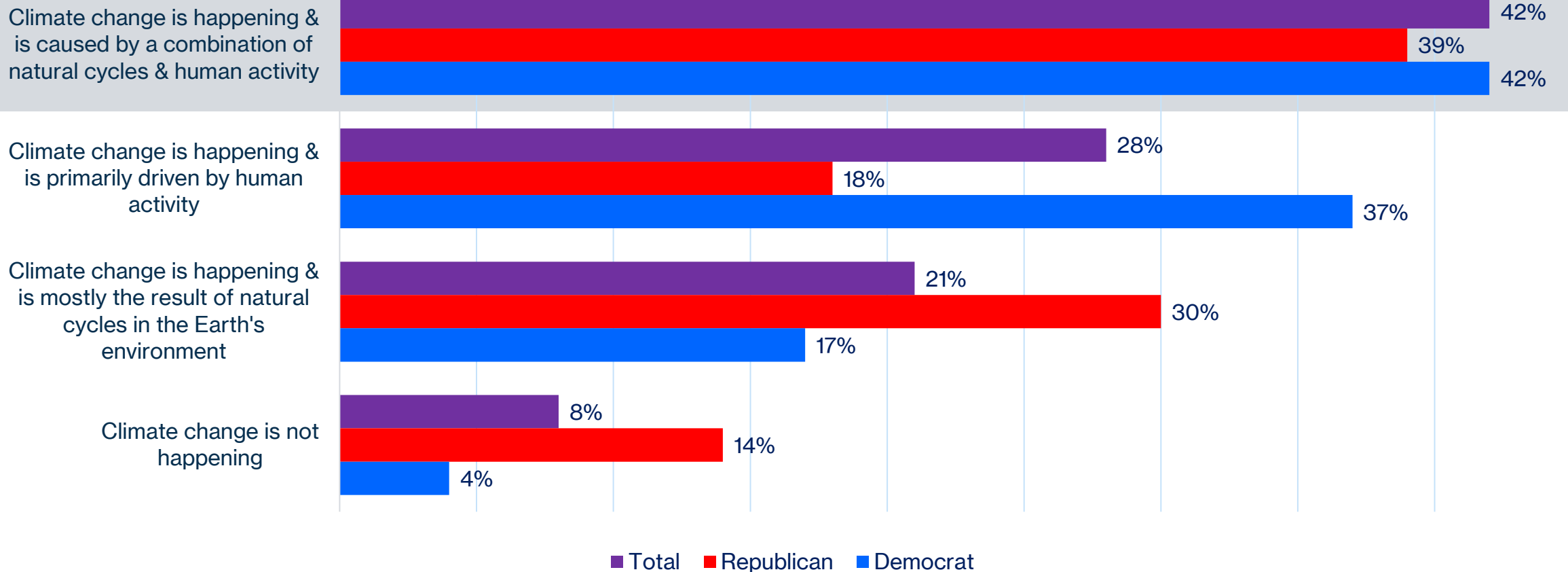
**There is a bipartisan consensus for a “technology neutral” and “all of the above” energy strategy.**

**Anti-nuclear and anti-fracking Democrats are out of step with their base, which supports both policies.**

5

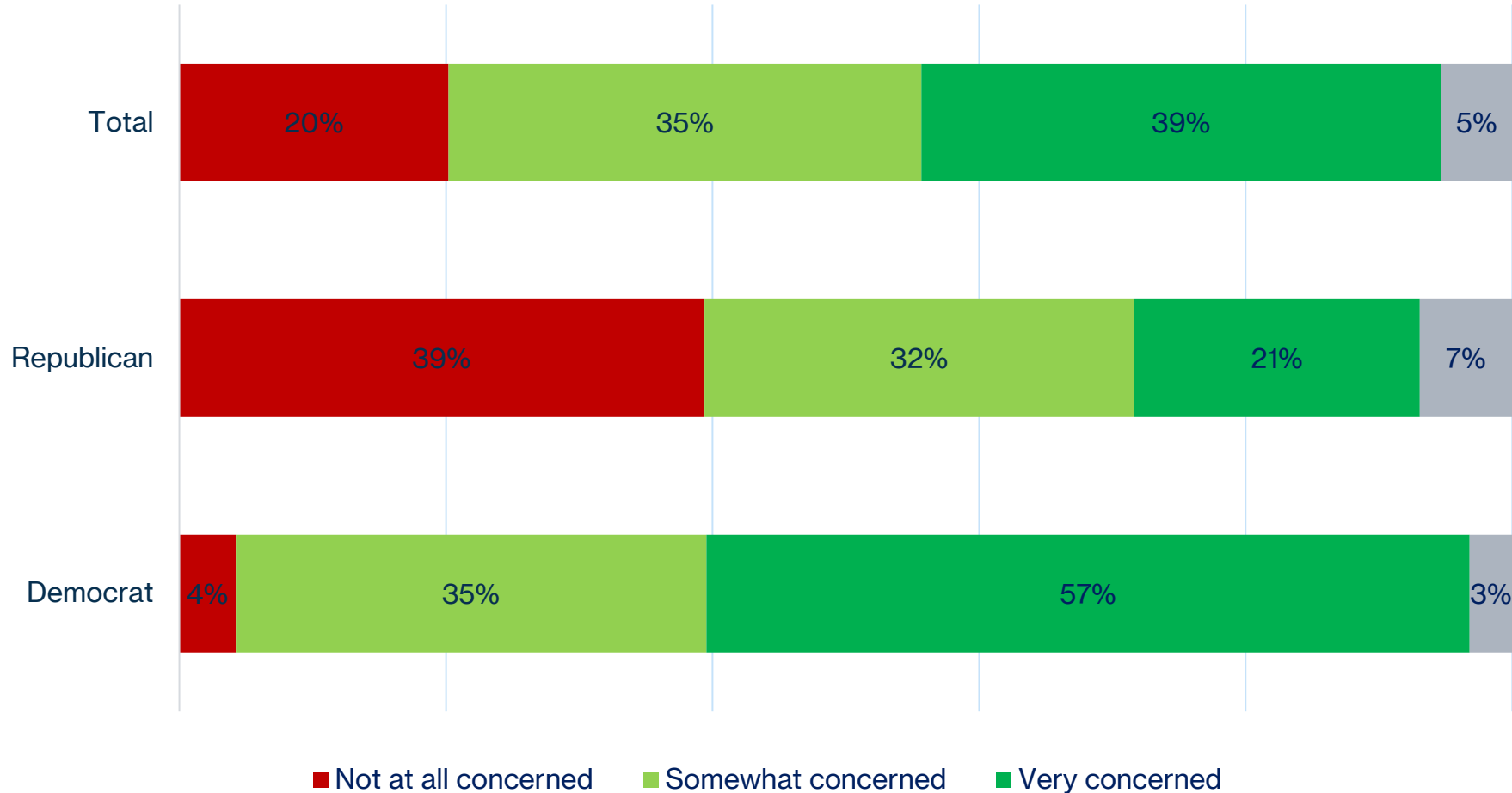
**Voters reject Biden’s argument that Putin is to blame for higher gas prices by a margin of 51% to 39%.**

# Climate Change Science Views



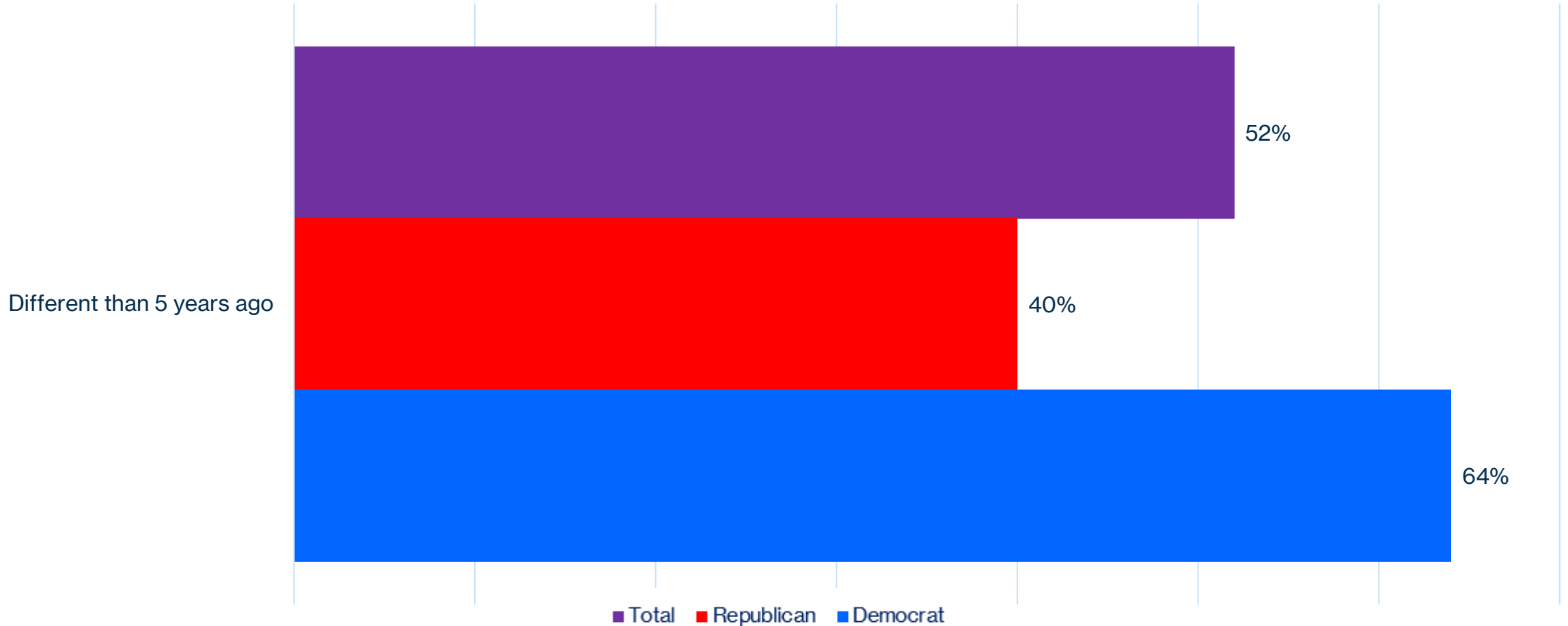
Which of the following statements best reflects your view when it comes to climate change?

# Intensity of Climate Change Concern



How concerned, if at all, are you about climate change?

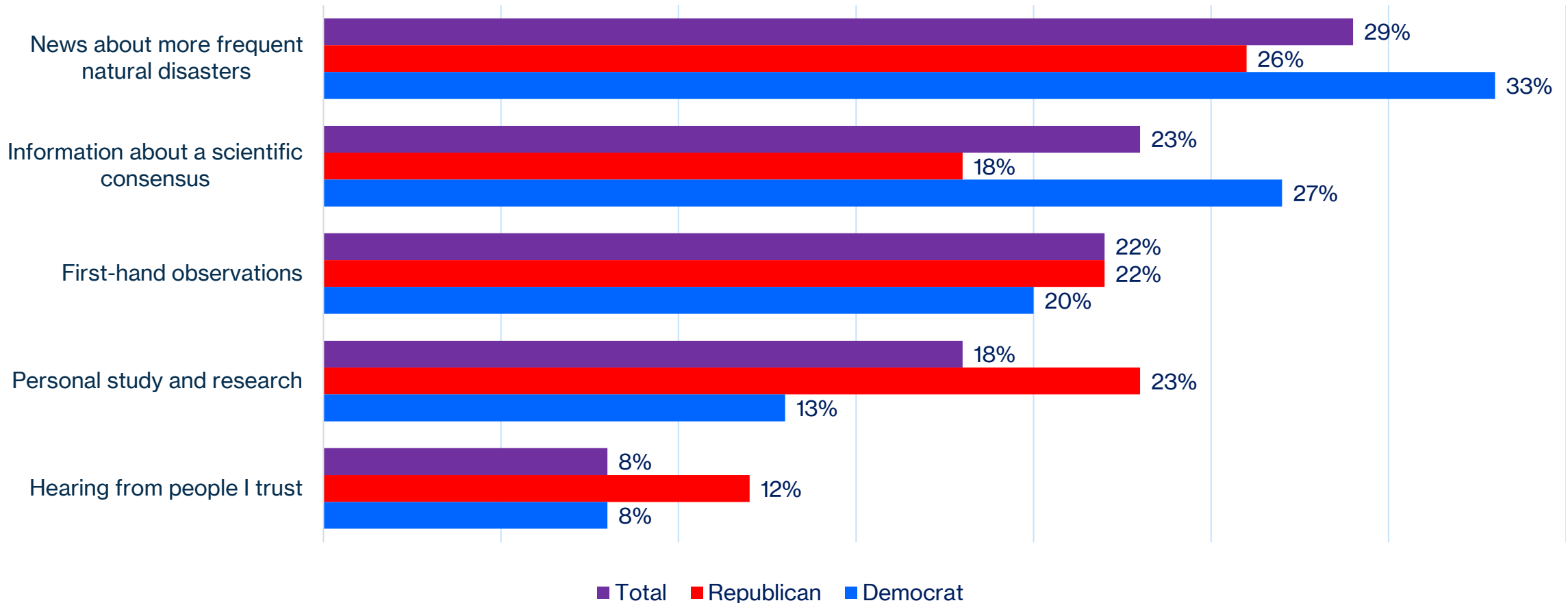
# Level of Concern Over Time



Is your level of concern on climate change the same or different than it may have been 5 years ago?

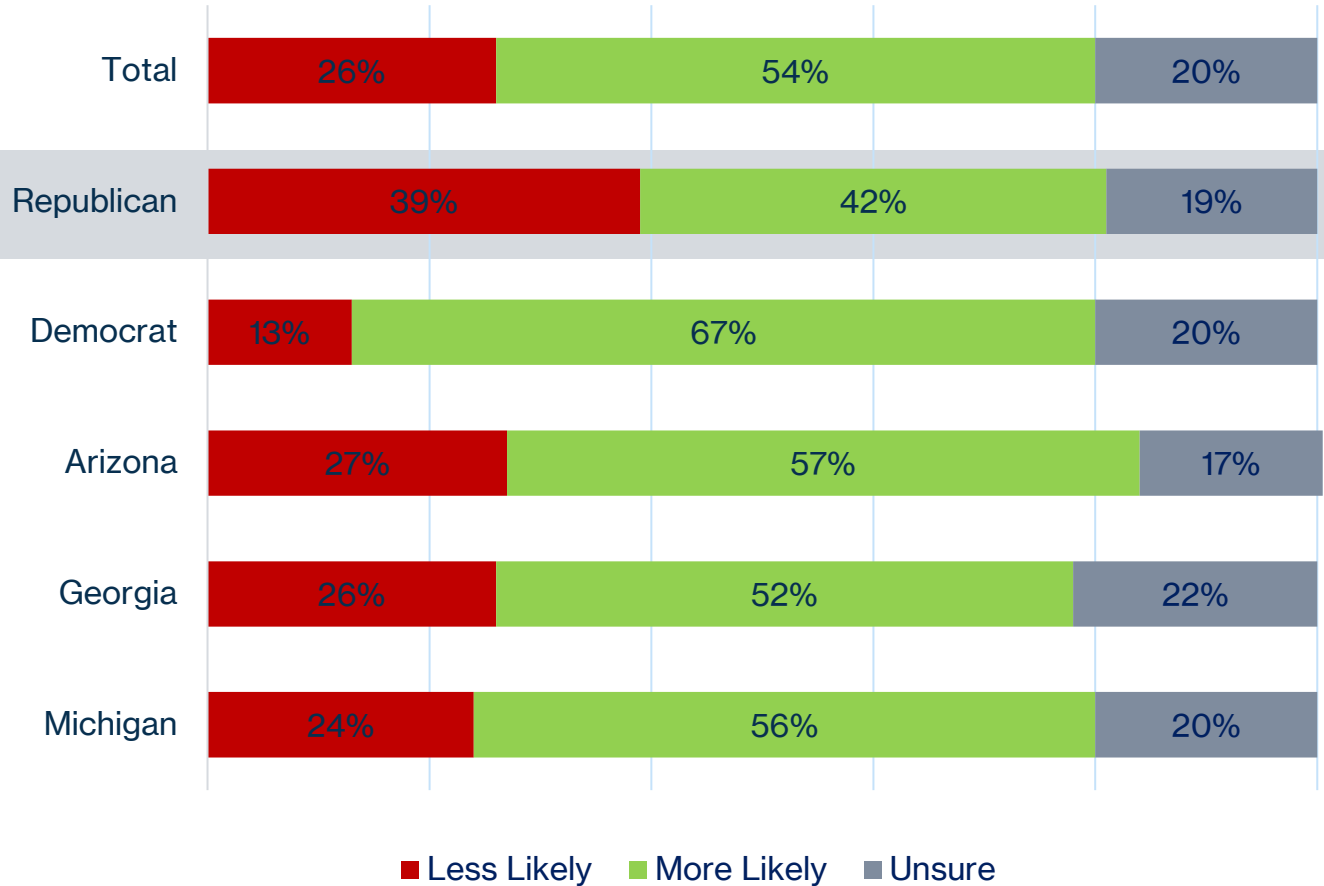


# Persuasive Information Sources



What did you find persuasive in changing your opinion about climate change?

# Support for Climate Solutions Candidates



There is general support for climate solution policies in the midterm elections, with slightly more in Michigan and slightly less in Georgia.

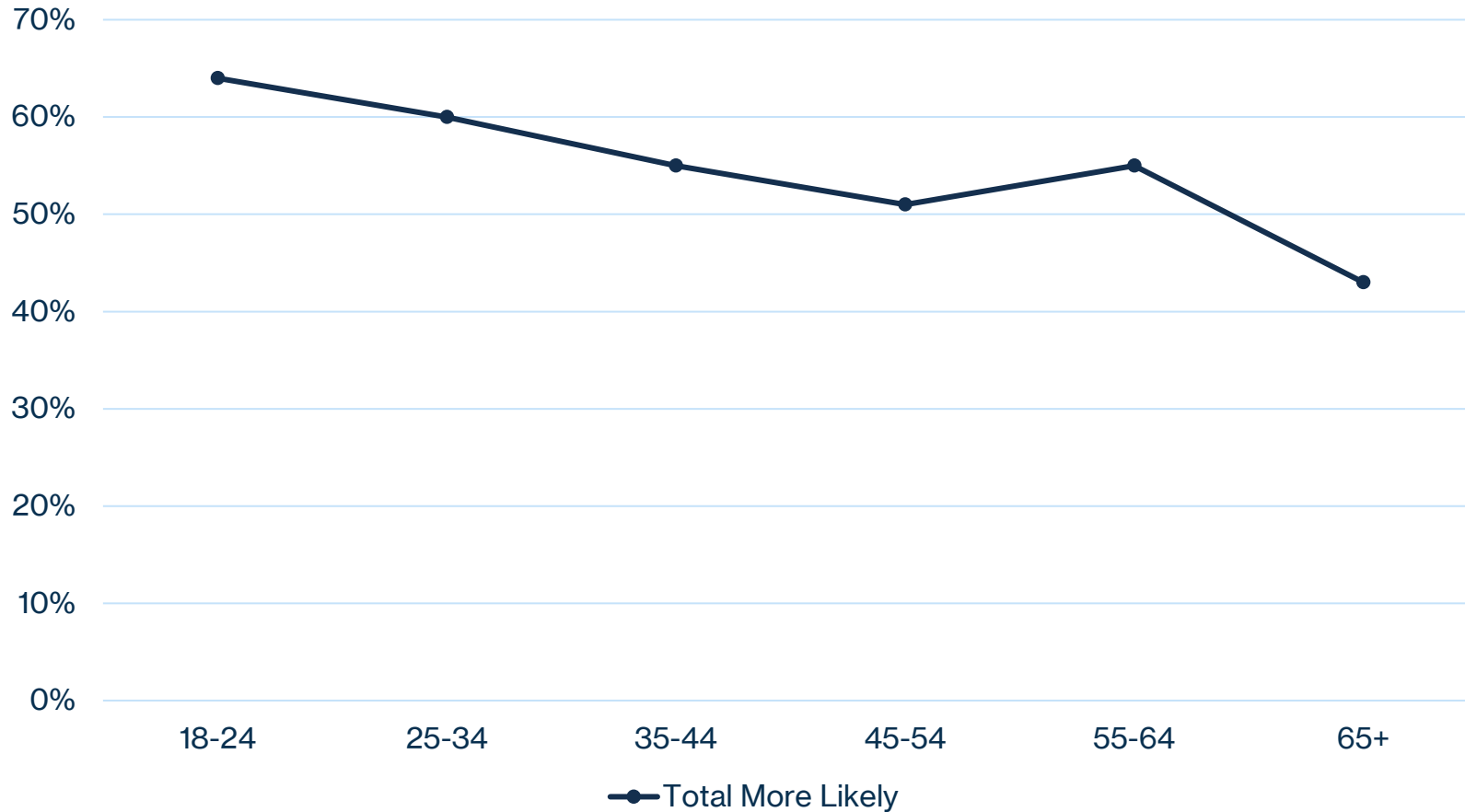
Among Republican voters these policies would make them overall slightly more likely to vote for the candidate proposing them, with there being a 3% net likelihood.





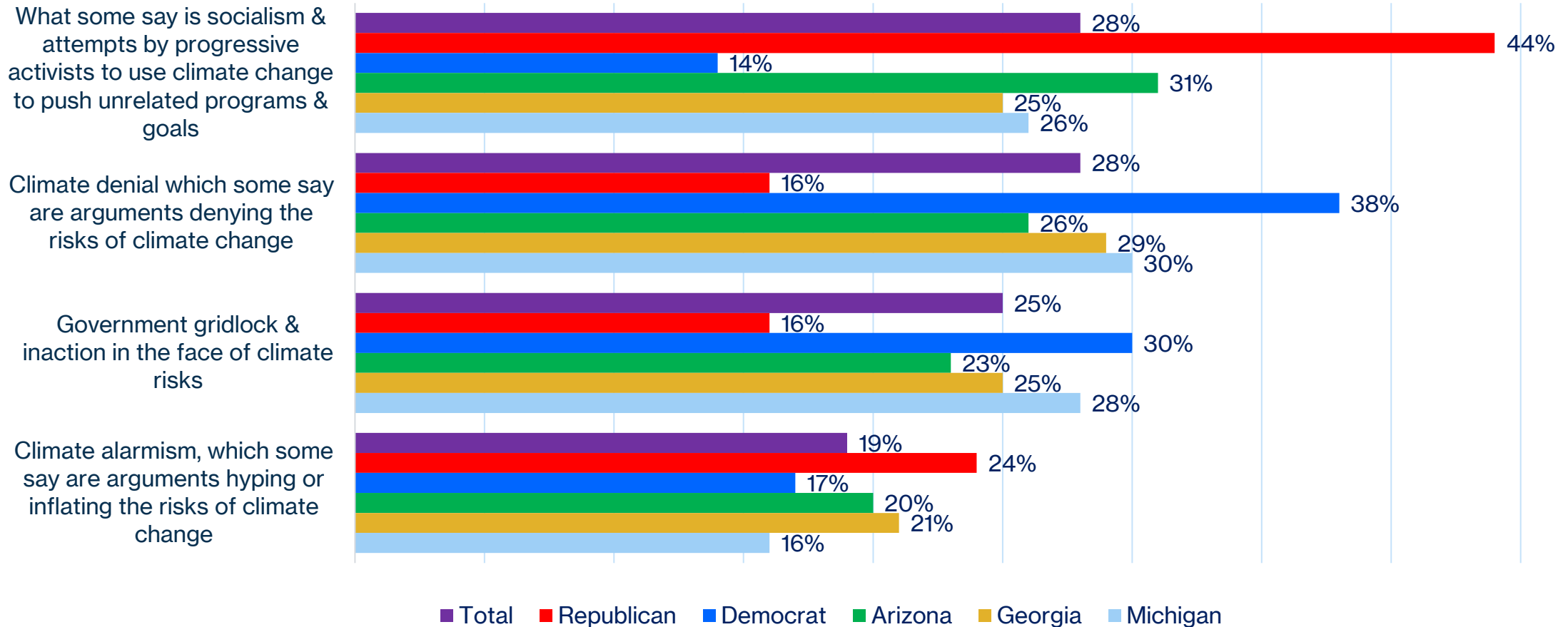
# Support for Climate Solutions – by Age

Among Total



Support for climate solutions generally declines with age, with younger people much more likely to have their vote influenced by candidates who prioritize climate solutions than older people.

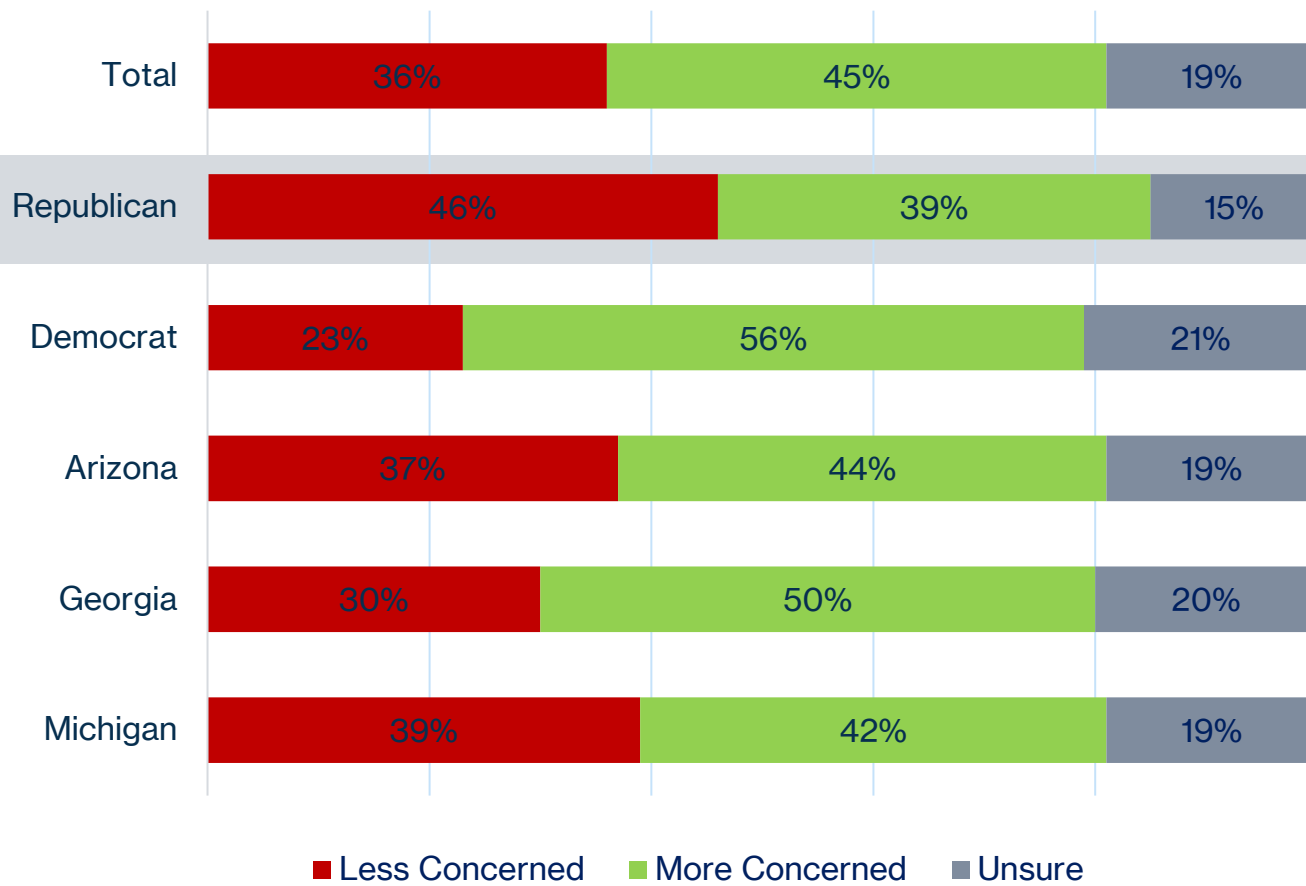
# Climate Change Debate Concerns



In general, what concerns you most in the broader debate about climate change debate?



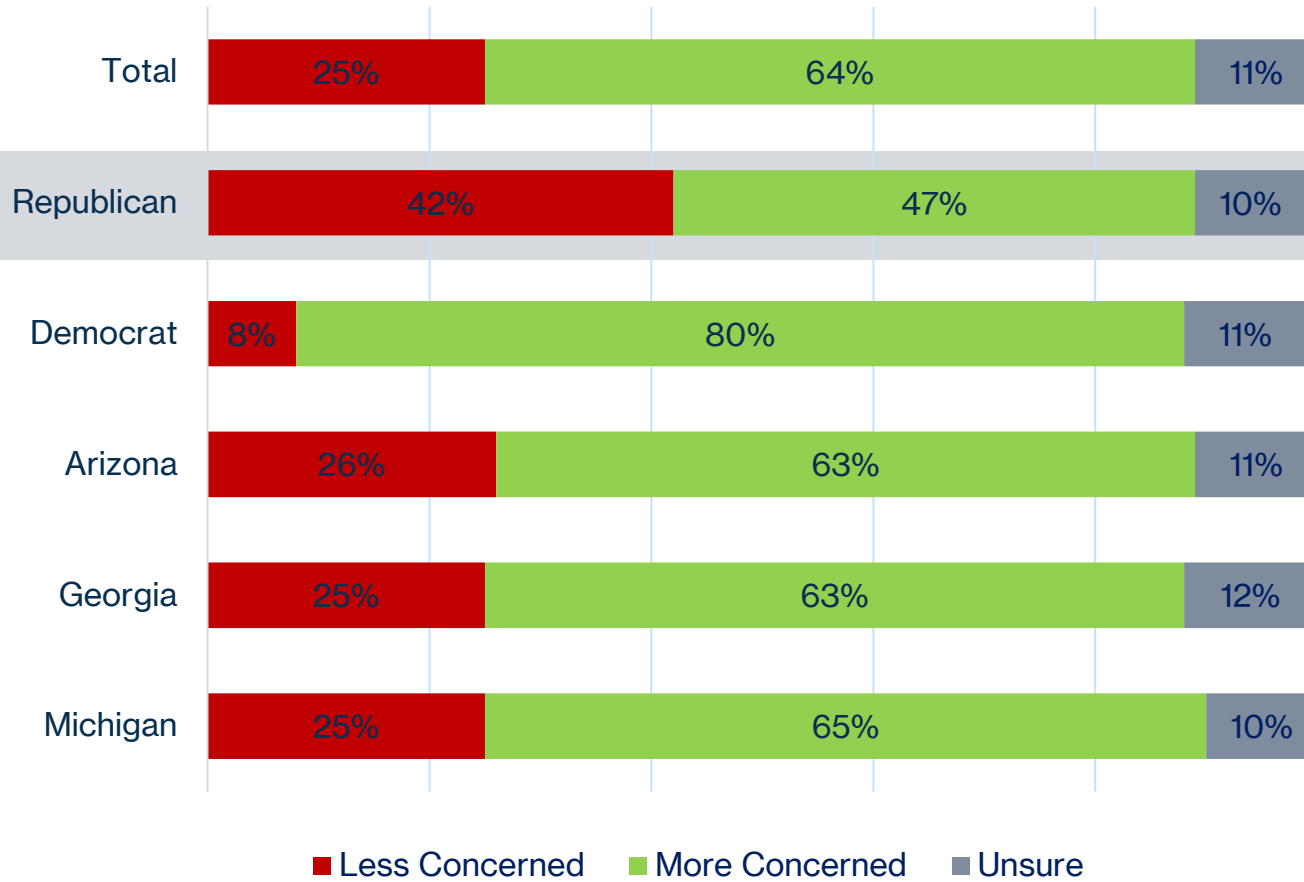
# Climate Change and “Socialism”



Republicans are less likely to take climate change seriously when it is linked to other social policy goals while Democrats are inclined to take climate change more seriously when it is discussed in the broader social policy agenda.

Some policymakers have made action on climate change contingent upon action on other social policies goals climate scientists have not connected to climate change. When policymakers link unrelated policy agendas like “Medicare for All”, universal pre-school or free college to climate change, does that make you more or less likely to take climate change seriously? How do those arguments impact your level of concern?

# Impact of “Alarmist” Rhetoric

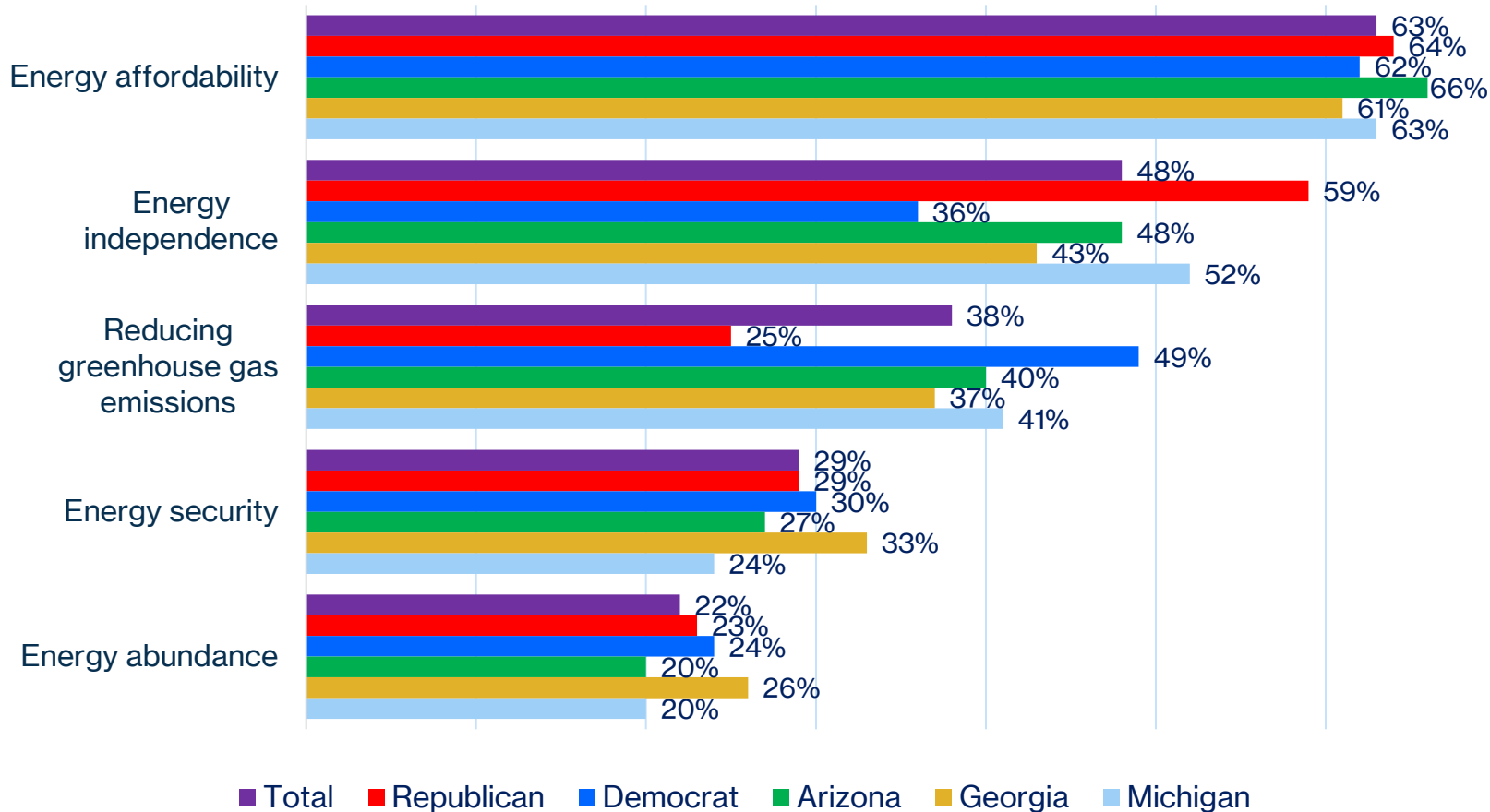


There is a general agreement that words like “crisis” and “existential threat” make climate change seem like a more serious problem.

The level of this concern doesn’t vary much between states, but does vary noticeably between political parties.

These terms are more persuasive for Democrats than Republicans, with a net increase in concern measured at 72% and 5% respectively.

# Popular Climate Goals and Phrases



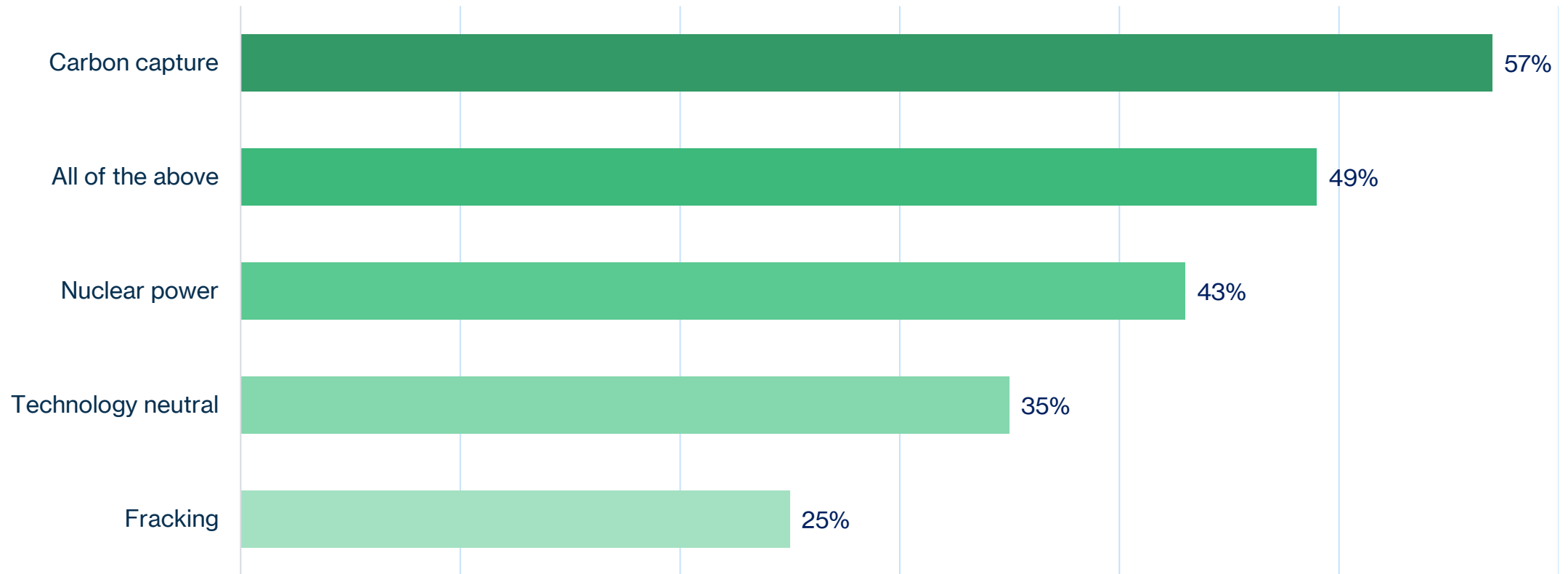
Energy affordability is the most important climate related goal, further reinforcing the trend in concern for cost of living and rising gas prices.

While the order of importance of different goals is broadly the same between states, it is notable that there is greatest concern for energy independence in Michigan, and in Georgia there is comparatively more importance given to energy security and abundance than in the other states polled.



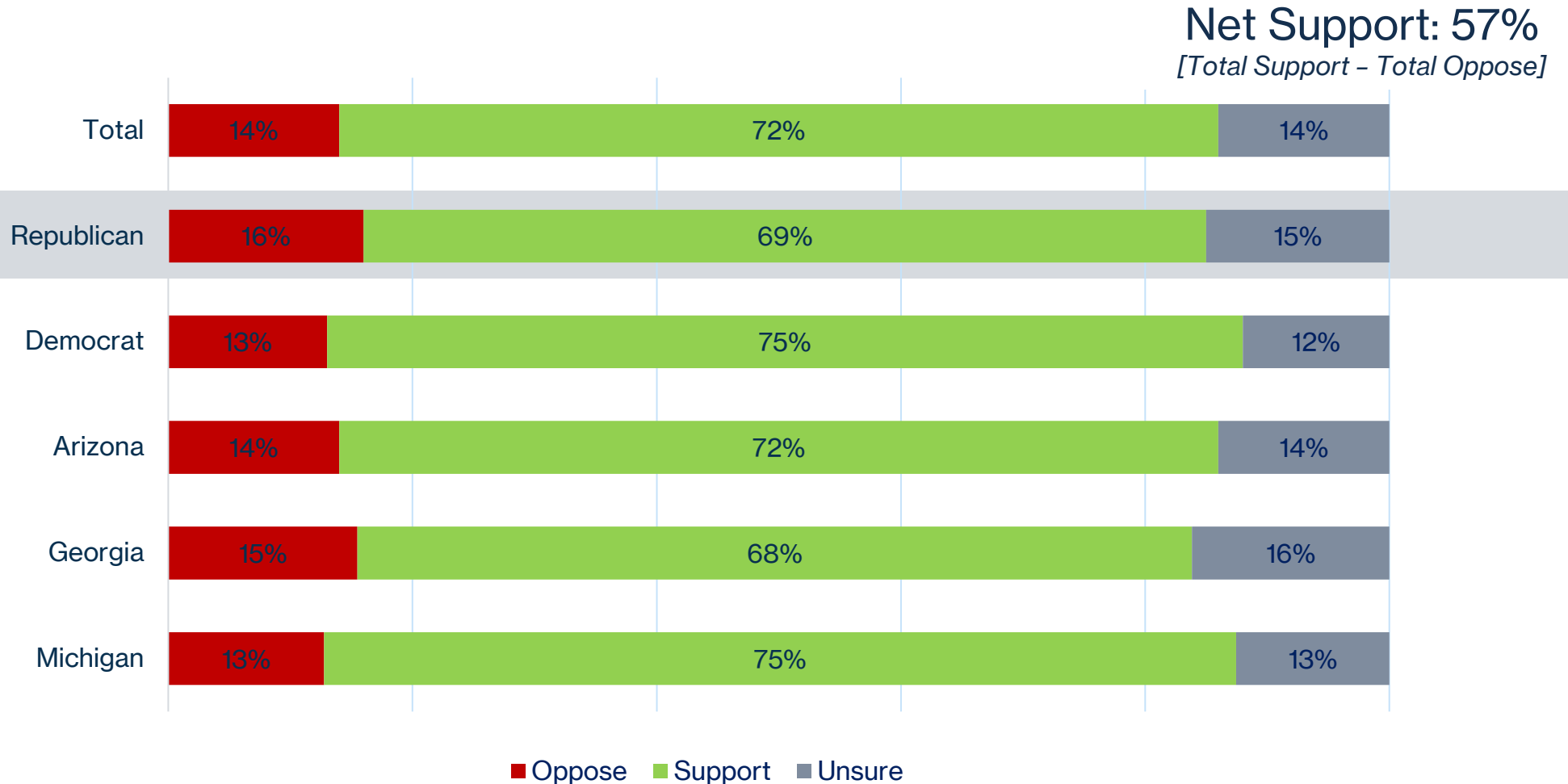
# Policy Comparisons – Among Total

*Total support: Strongly support + Somewhat Support*



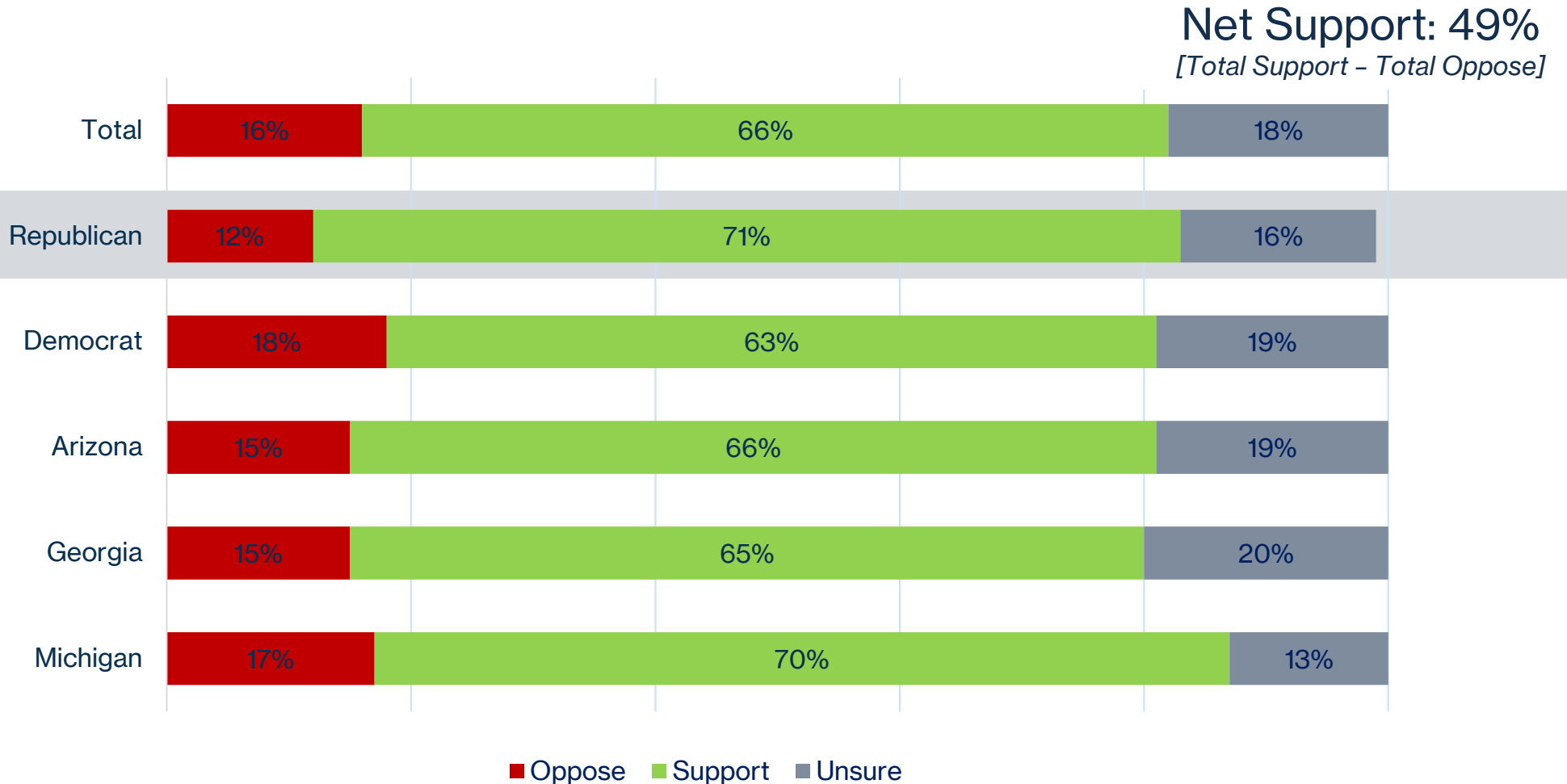


# Carbon Capture



“Carbon capture” is technology that allows existing power plants that burn coal or natural gas to be upgraded to be cleaner while still generating power. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to promote “Carbon capture”?

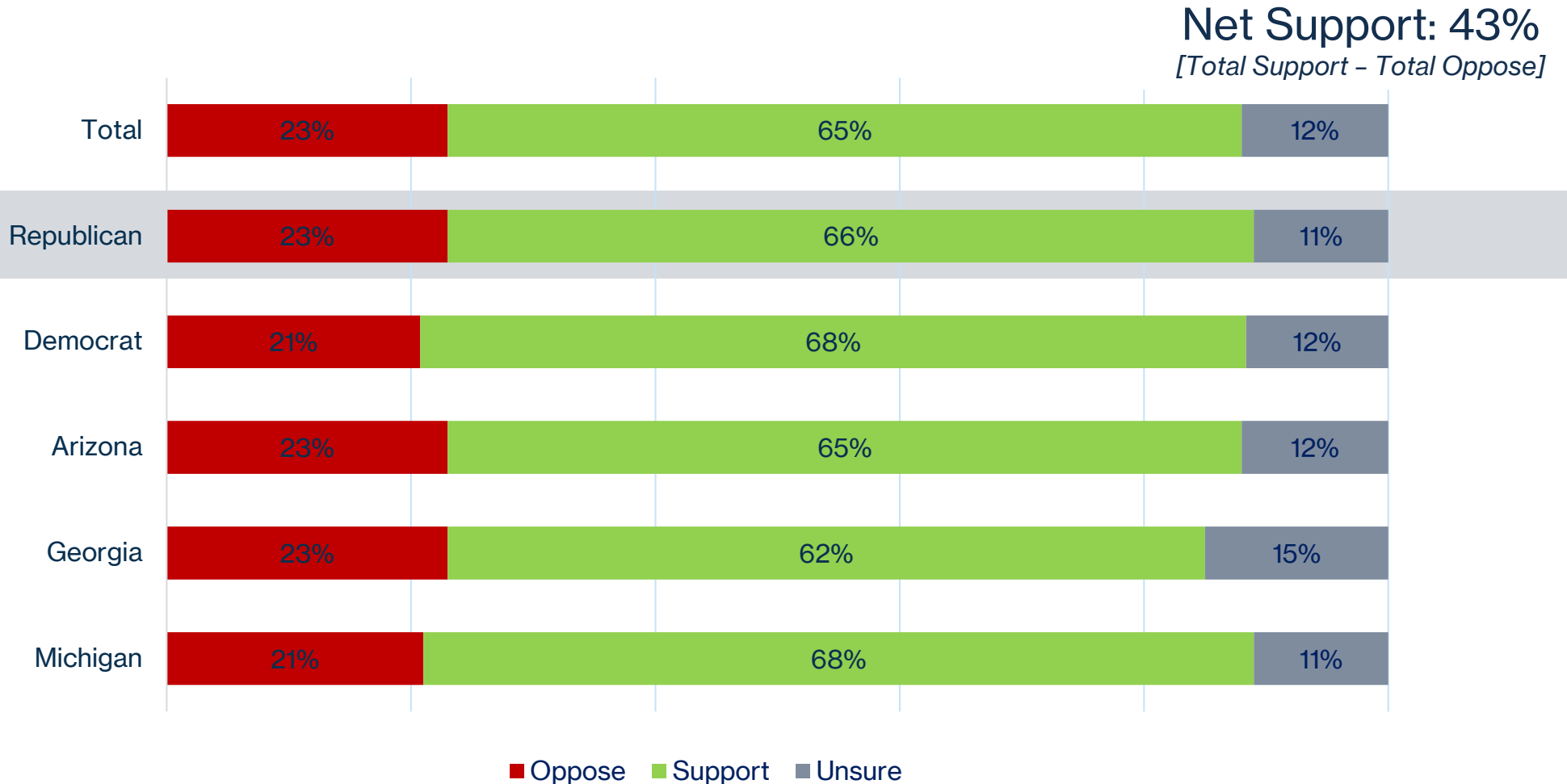
# “All of the above” Energy Policy



When it comes to energy policy, an “all of the above” or diversified energy policy should generally support and not exclude a broad mix of diversified energy sources such as fossil fuels, nuclear energy and renewables. Do you favor an “all of the above” energy policy?

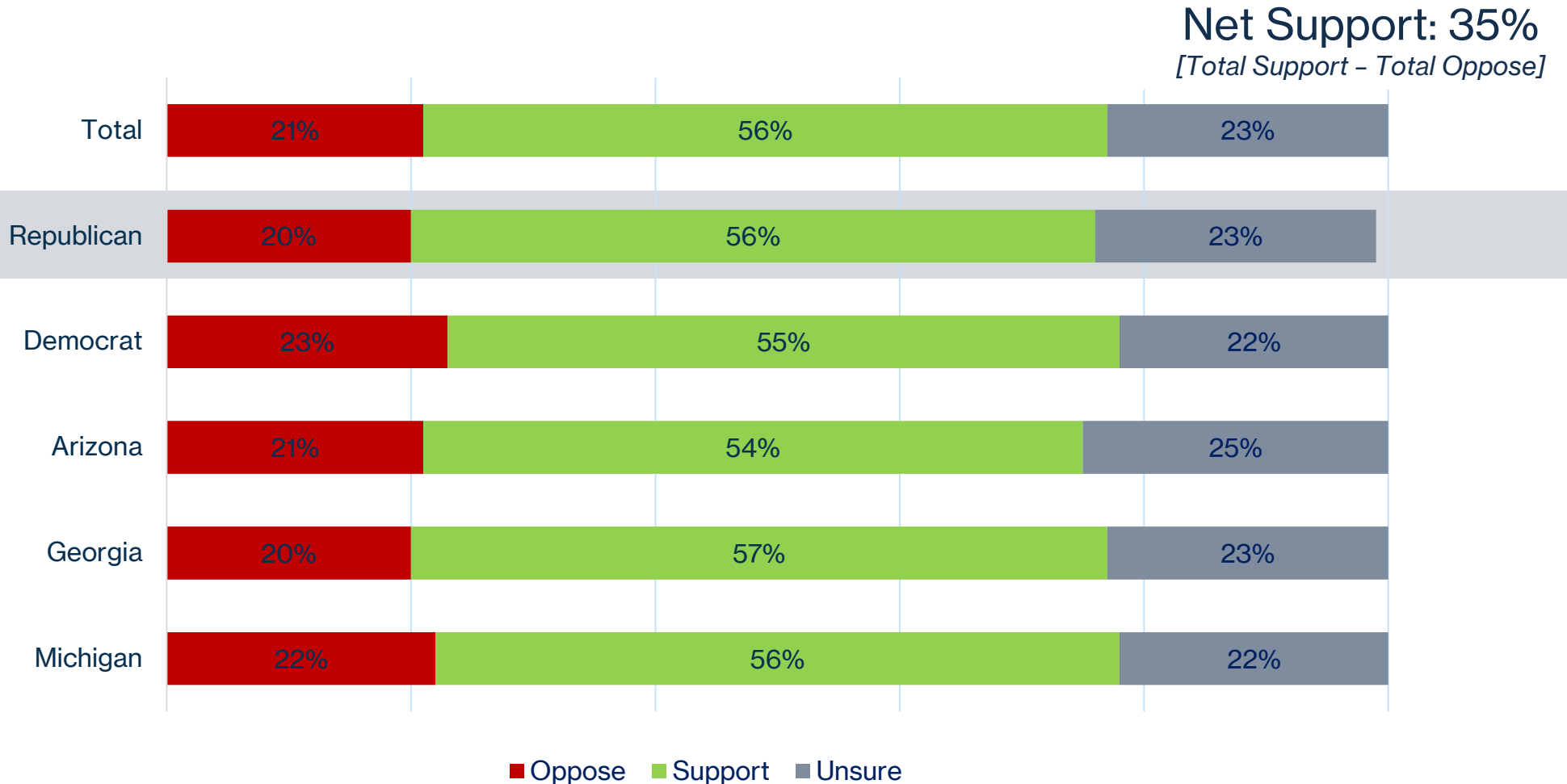


# Nuclear Power Plants



Nuclear power is another form of energy used in the United States that does not produce carbon emissions, and some new technology has made it possible to build smaller and safer nuclear power plants. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to allow the building of new nuclear plants?

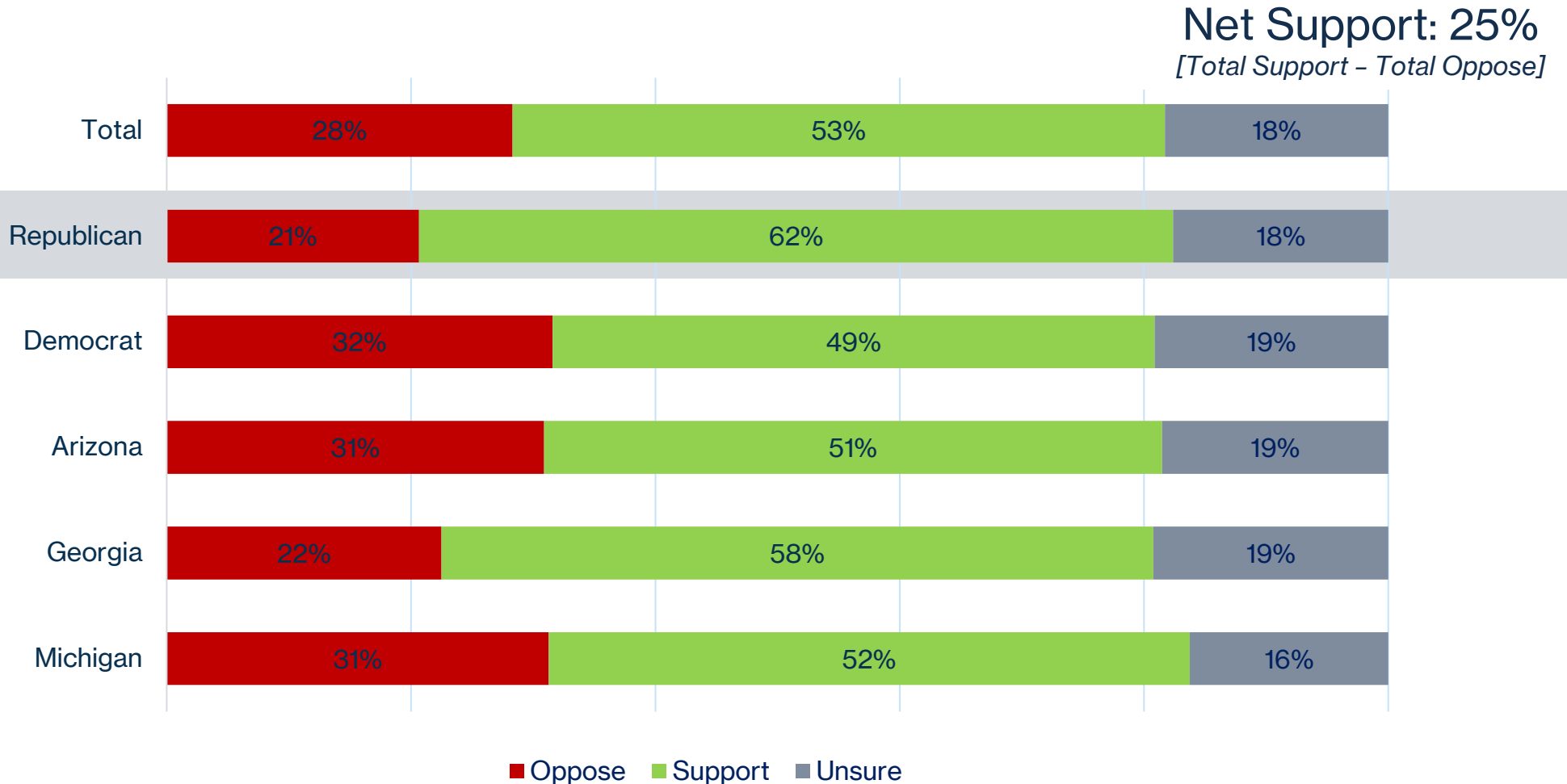
# Technology Neutral Energy Policy



When it comes to energy policy, a “technology neutral” energy policy means government should not pick winners and losers and not favor one energy technology over another. Do you favor a “technology neutral” approach to energy policy?



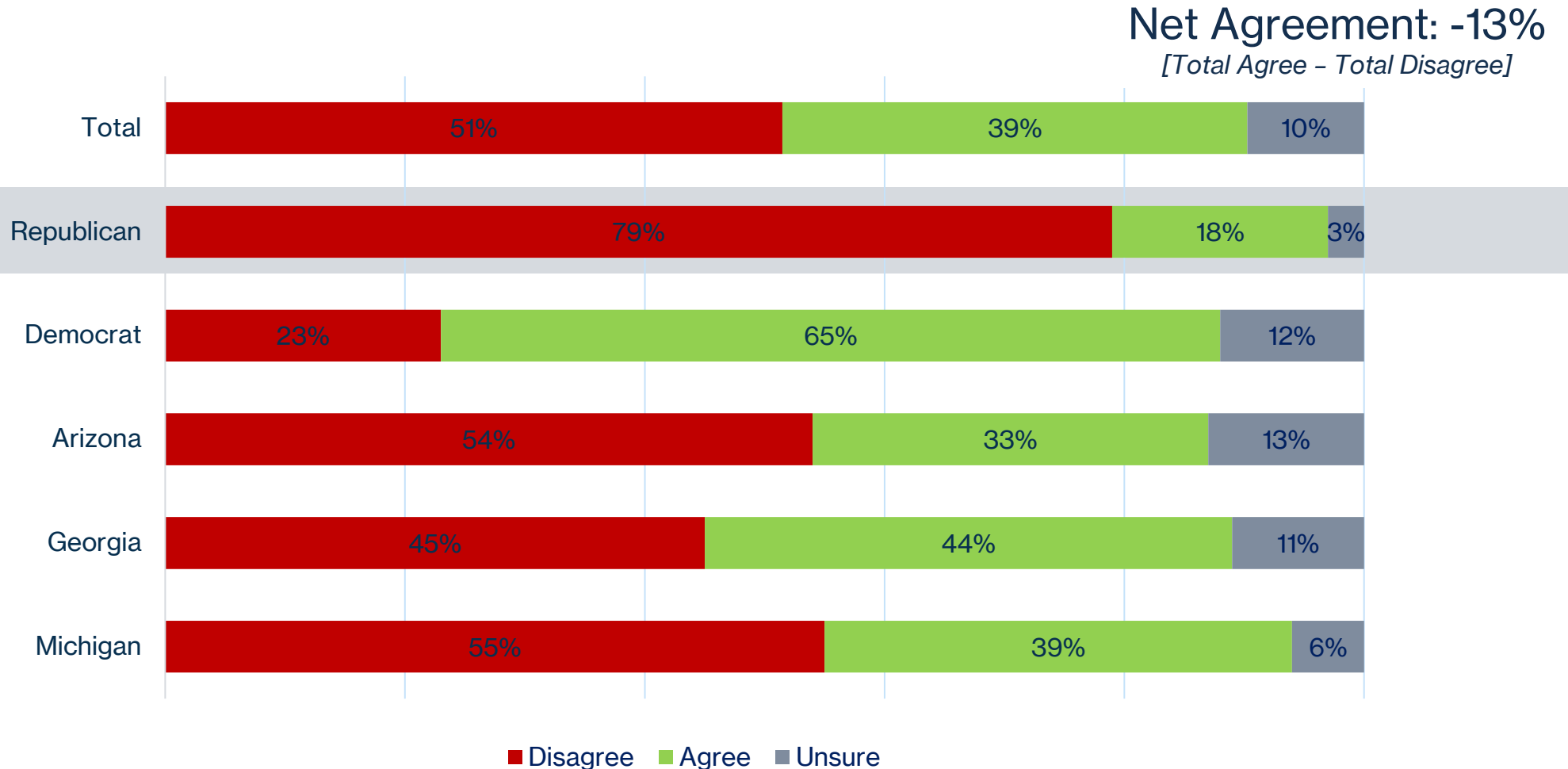
# Fracking



© 2022 C|T Group | 27 Some say fracking has allowed American companies to access greater reserves of natural gas. While natural gas is a fossil fuel, it burns cleaner than other fossil fuels like coal as well as natural gas from many other countries. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to support hydraulic fracking?



# Russian Influence on Gas Prices



President Biden has blamed increases in gas prices on Russian President Vladimir Putin. Most Republicans disagree and note that gas prices were increasing before Russia's invasion and instead point to policies limiting domestic fossil fuel production as the cause of increasing gas prices. Do you agree or disagree with Biden's claim?



# Republican Party Politics



# Key findings

1

**Donald Trump continues to be generally popular among Republican voters but probably is not a viable general election candidate in 2024.**

**The “Never Trump” block of Republican voters could be as high as 10%, which would be fatal for Trump’s general election campaign**

2

**The Republican base is more preoccupied with pocketbook issues than Trump. Republican voters say it is more important for a candidate to have plans to reduce gas prices, promote energy independence and defend America from foreign threats than to have Trump’s endorsement.**

3

**The “big lie” is a liability. A majority of Republican voters (58%) believe Trump’s statements about the 2020 election caused the GOP to lose two Senate seats in Georgia and hand control of Congress to Democrats.**

4

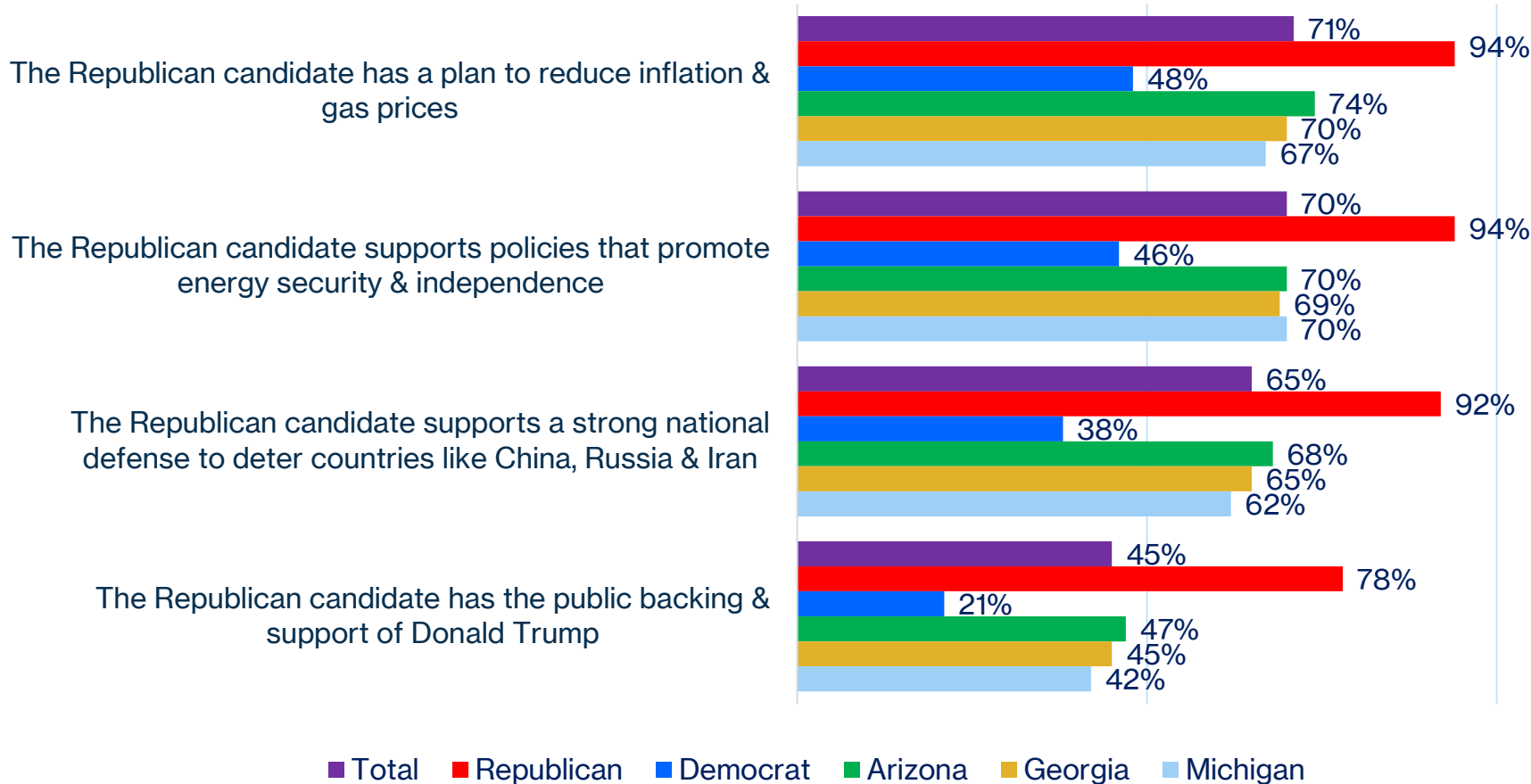
**More than half of Republican voters believe candidates who claim that the election was stolen should be held accountable (52%).**

5

**Republican voters face a dilemma. If the election were held today, Trump would be heavily favored to be the Republican nominee but would probably lose in these swing states**

# Reasons to vote Republican

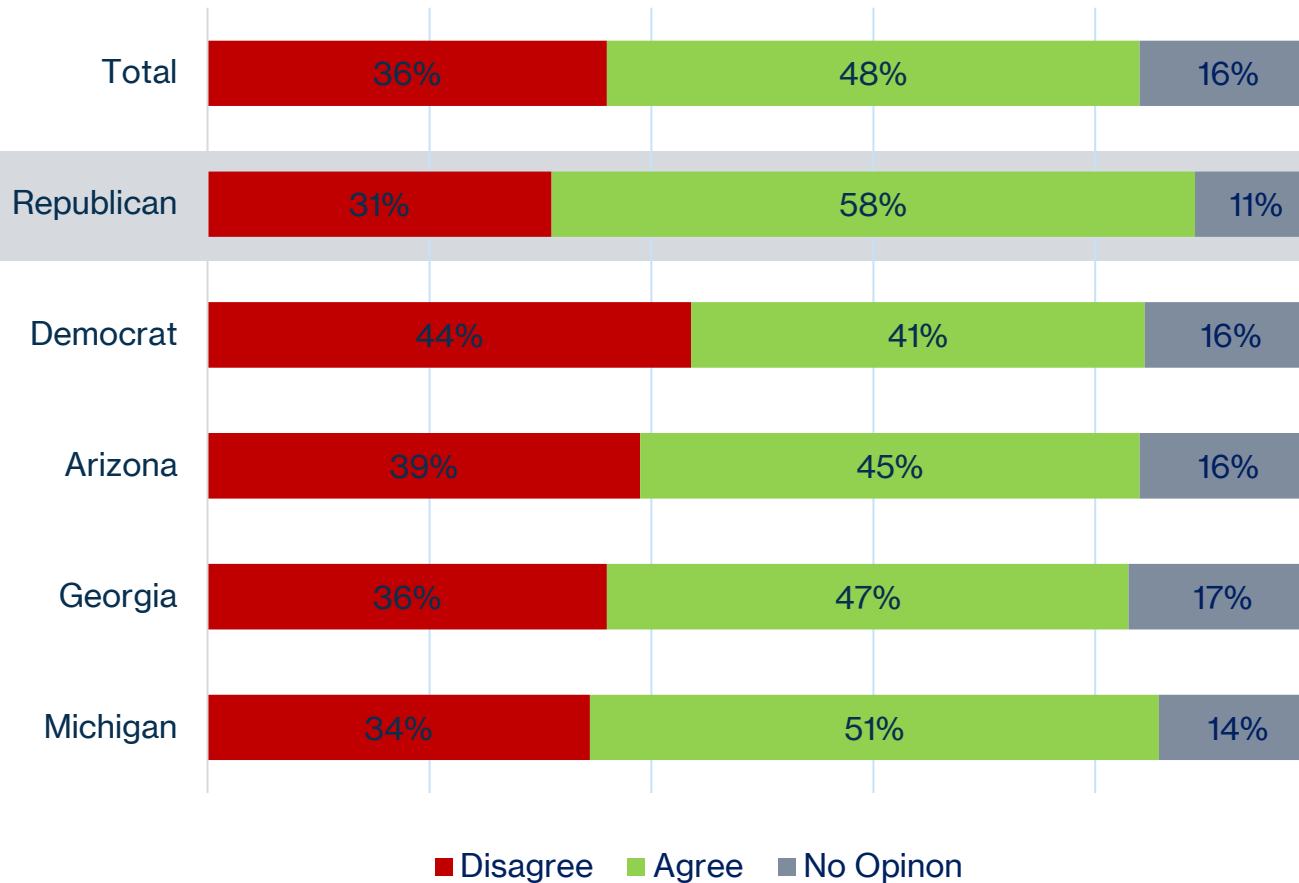
Total Persuasive: Very persuasive + Somewhat Persuasive



The most persuasive argument for voting Republican across all voters would be for a policy to combat cost of living, which corresponds with this being their primary concern.

Overall, it is not persuasive that the candidate has the backing of Donald Trump, although 78% of Republicans are persuaded by this.

# Georgia Senate influence

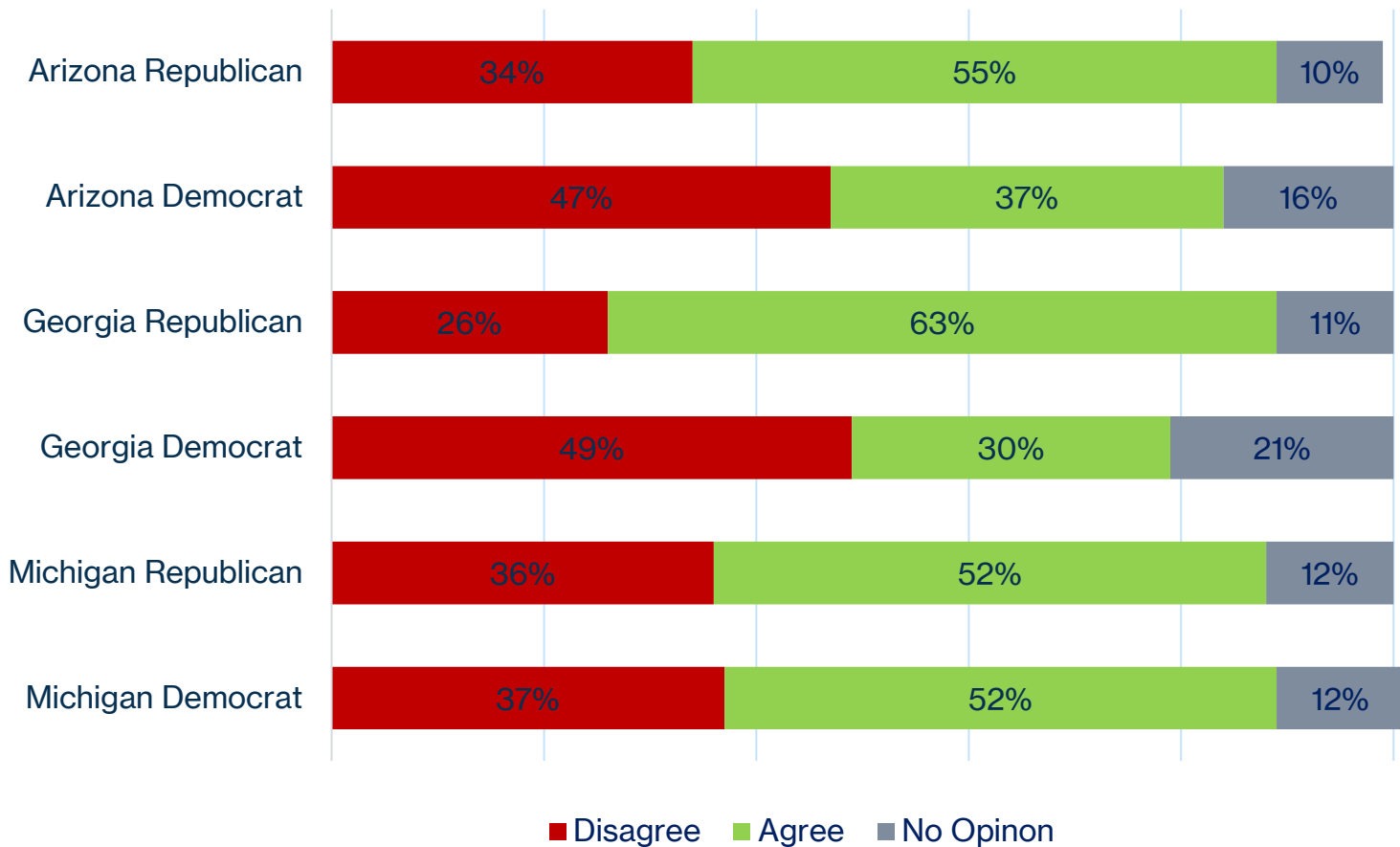


Some Republicans have suggested that President Trump's public statements that the 2020 election was stolen harmed the campaigns of the two Republicans running for Senate for Georgia in 2020, both of whom lost to Democrats, and giving control of Congress to the Democrats.

Across the sample it is agreed that Trump's statements about the 2020 election harmed the senate campaigns in Georgia, although this is felt comparatively more strongly in Michigan than in Arizona.



# Georgia Senate Influence (continued)



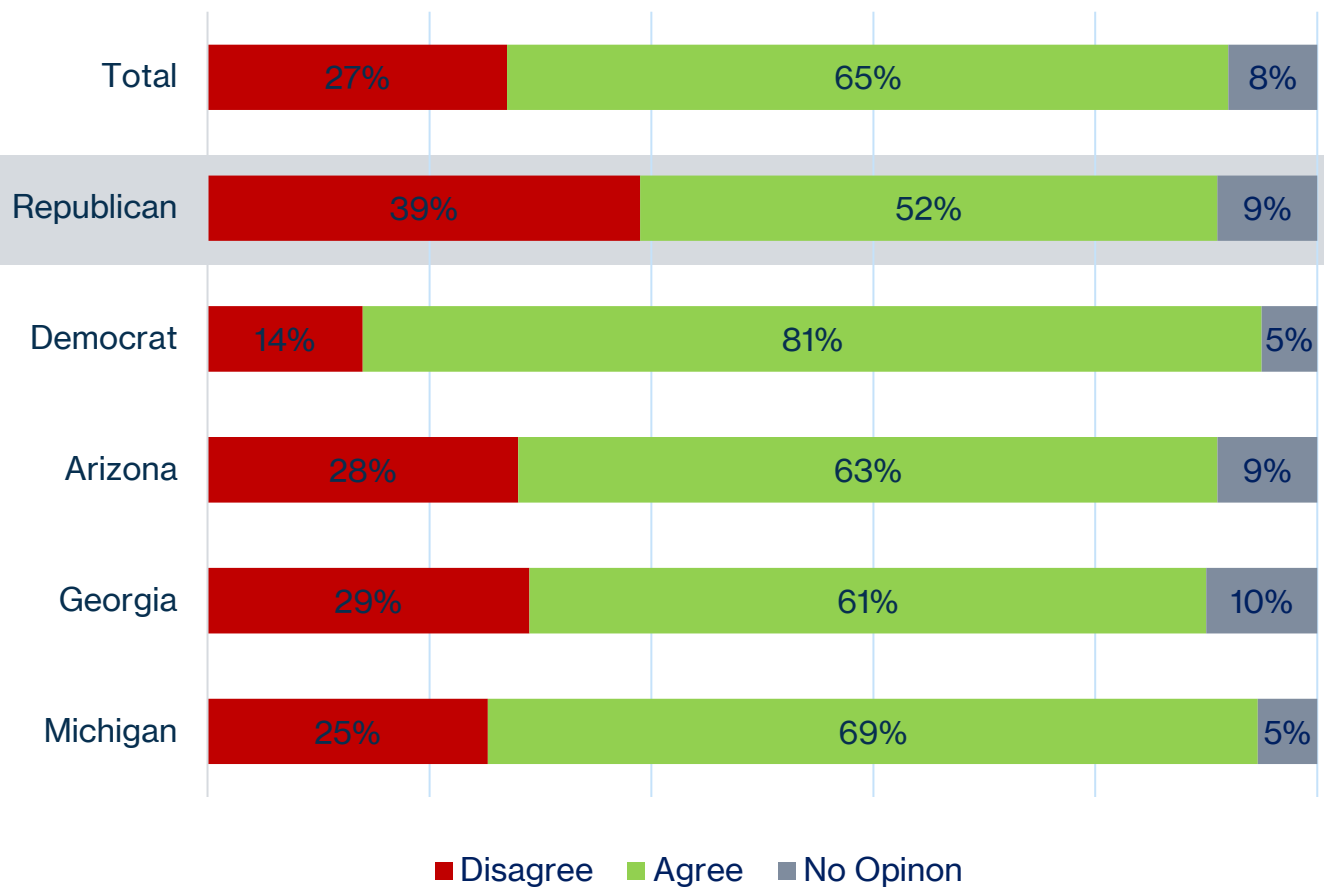
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Across the sample it is agreed that Trump's statements about the 2020 election harmed the senate campaigns in Georgia, although this is felt comparatively more strongly in Michigan than in Arizona.

In Georgia itself, 63% of Republicans agree the campaigns were harmed.



# “Stolen Election” Accountability



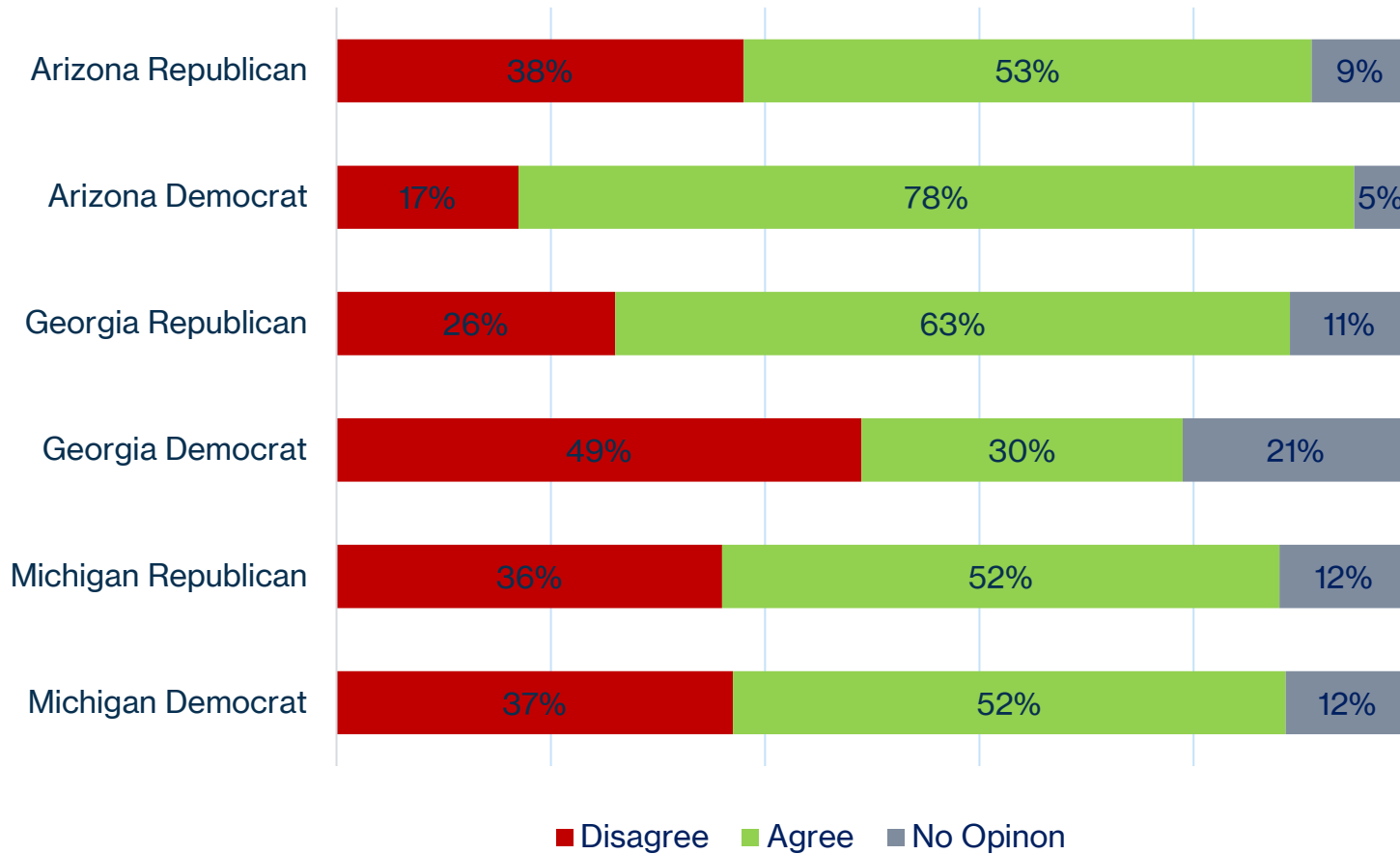
There is broad agreement that those who supported statements about the “stolen” election should be held accountable.

Again, this is most seen in Michigan where there is a more pronounced trend of opinion against Trump.

Some commentators have said that those Republican Party Members and Senators who supported Donald Trump’s statements about the stolen election, should be held accountable, as they reduced support for the party nearly allowing Congress to pass the Green New Deal and other similar types of legislation.

Do you agree or disagree that the Republican Party Members and Senators who supported Donald Trump’s statements about the stolen election, should be held accountable?

# “Stolen Election” Accountability (continued)



There is broad agreement that those who supported statements about the “stolen” election should be held accountable.

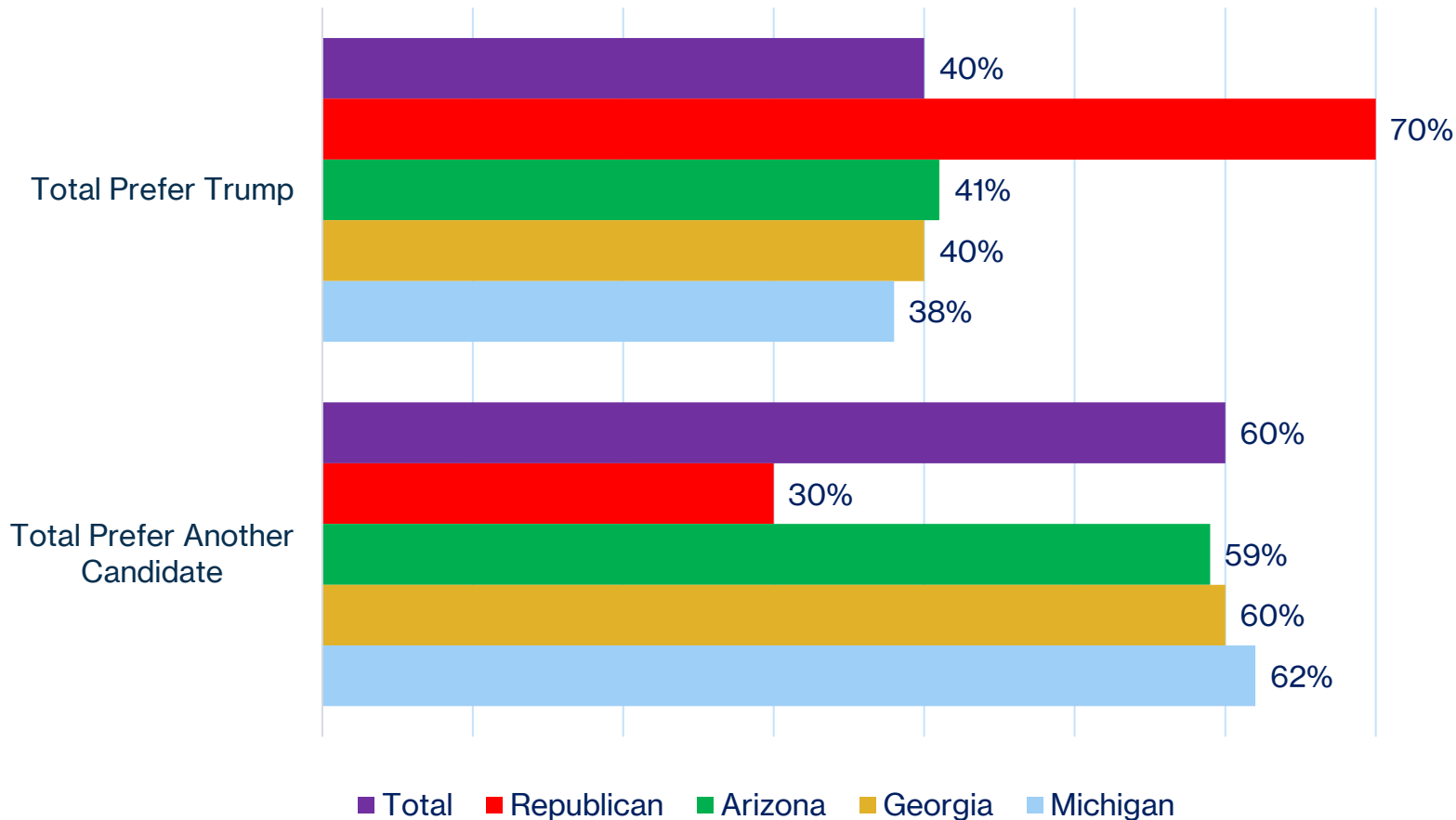
Again, this is most seen in Michigan where there is a more pronounced trend of opinion against Trump. 52% of Michigan Republicans believe there should be accountability.

Some commentators have said that those Republican Party Members and Senators who supported Donald Trump’s statements about the stolen election, should be held accountable, as they reduced support for the party nearly allowing Congress to pass the Green New Deal and other similar types of legislation.

Do you agree or disagree that the Republican Party Members and Senators who supported Donald Trump’s statements about the stolen election, should be held accountable?

# Preference for Trump

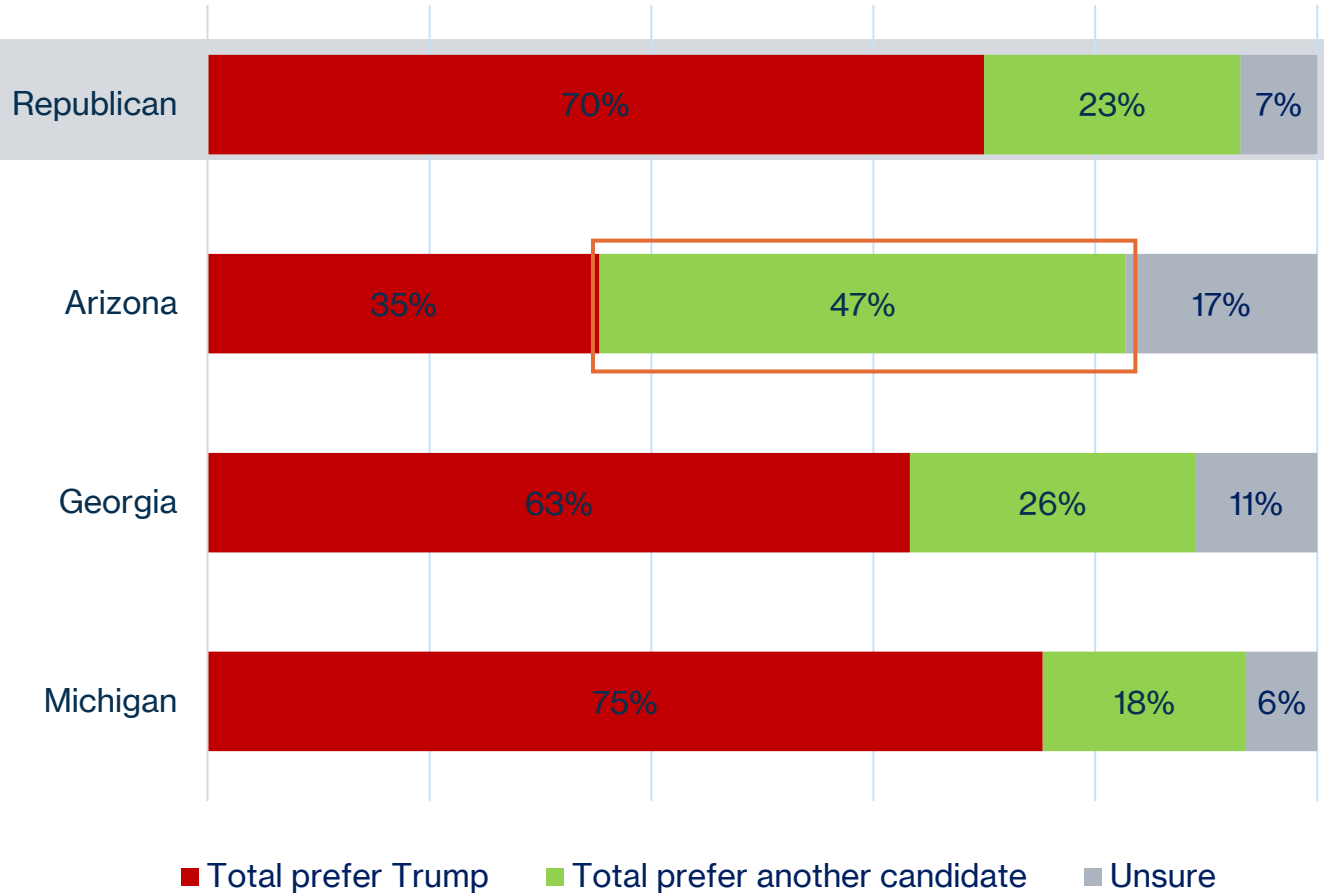
Total Prefer Trump: Strongly prefer Trump to be the candidate + Somewhat prefer Trump to be the candidate



This response clarifies the trend seen in previous questions that Trump is not supported, and has even less support in Michigan.

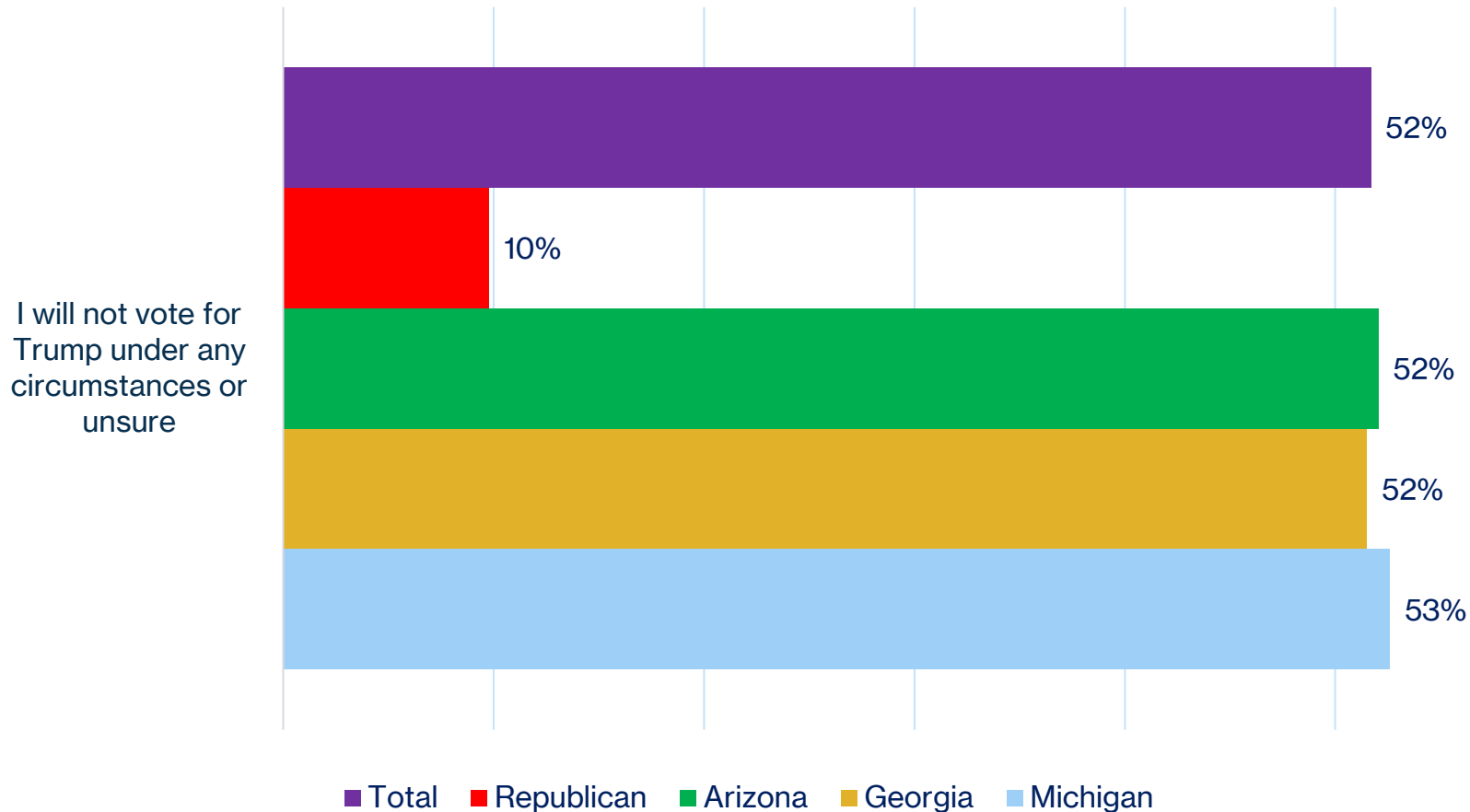
However, among Republicans only, there is a preference for Trump, when given the option between him and “another Republican candidate”.

# 2024 Republican Candidate Preference



Almost a quarter of Republicans anticipate they would prefer another candidate to Trump, although this is greater in Arizona where 47% of voters prefer another candidate.

# 2024 Republican Primary Preference



10% of Republicans would either categorically rule out voting for Trump or are unsure.



# Climate and Fiscal Policy



# Key findings

1

More than three-fourths of voters are not willing to pay more than \$10 a month for goods and services that produce fewer greenhouse gas emissions.

2

Republicans oppose reviving earmarks by a more than 2 to 1 margin (46% to 21%).

3

Spending offsets (reducing spending in lower priority budget areas) is the most popular way of financing clean energy research.

4

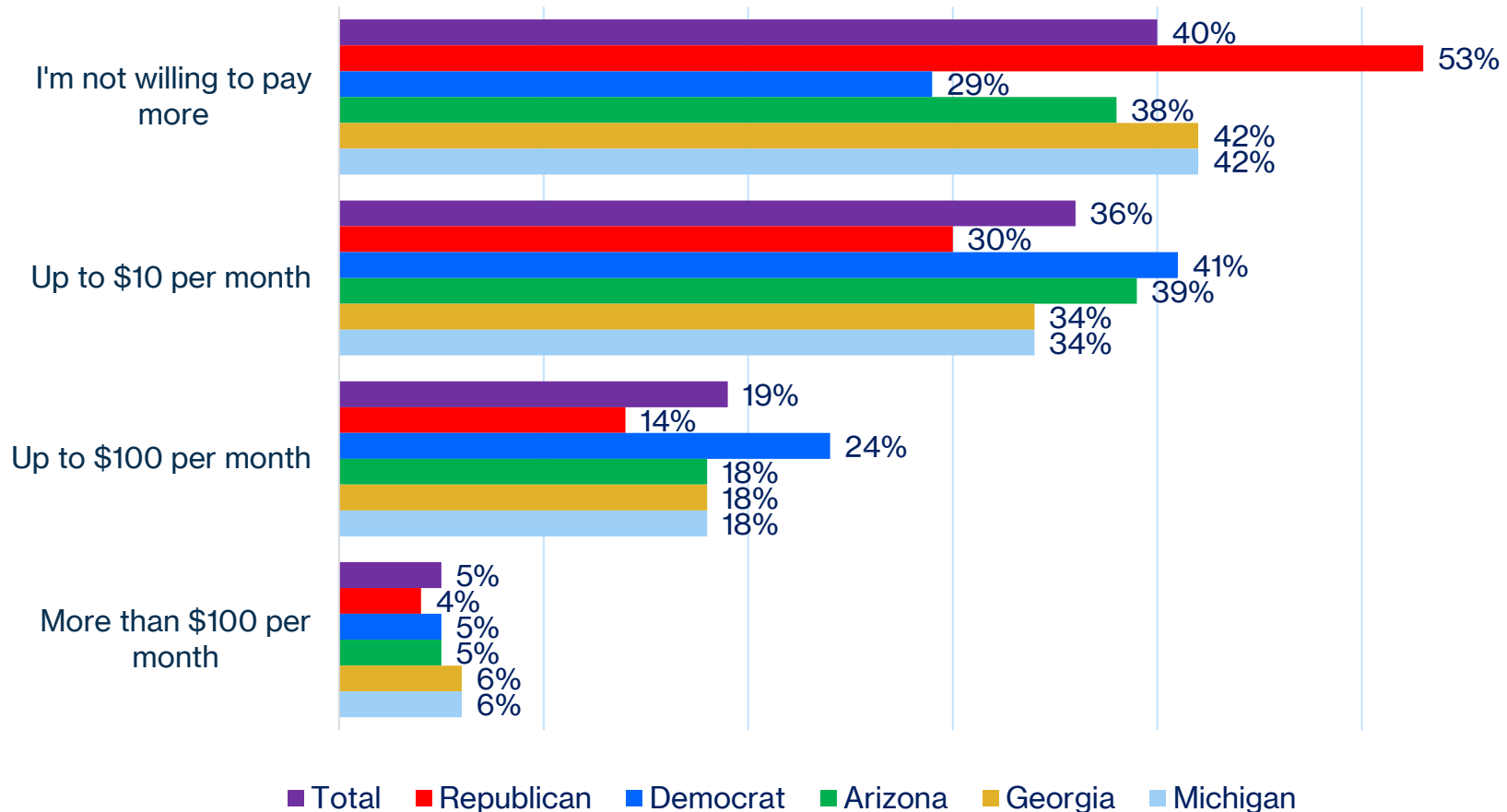
However, lifting or reforming outdated regulations is more popular than any spending option. The least popular option is increasing taxes or borrowing.

5

Democrats are much more likely to support new mandates than Republicans.



# Budget for Goods and Services



On the whole, people are not willing to pay more for goods and services that produce fewer greenhouse gas emissions and are even more reluctant to pay a significant amount more.

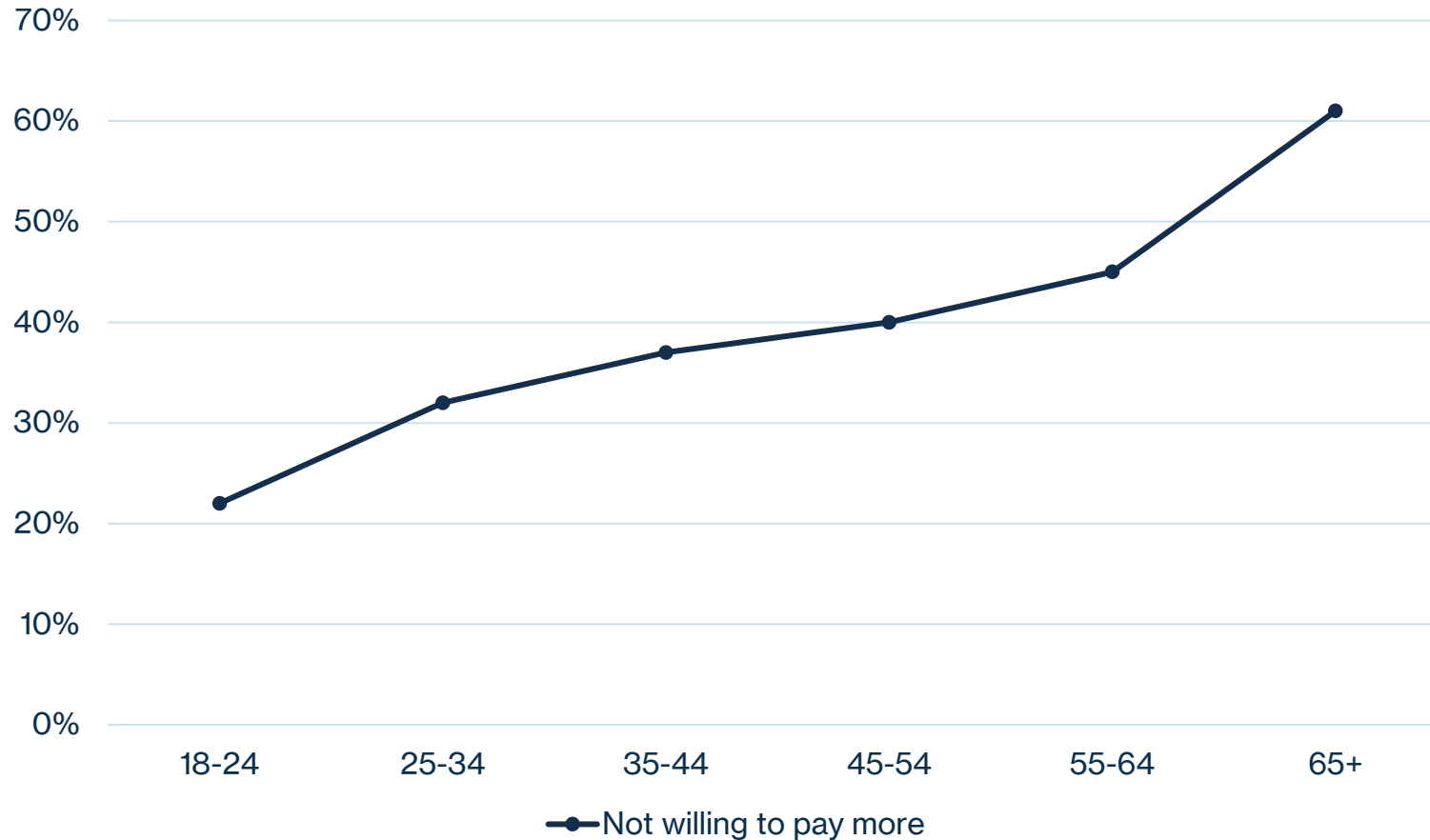
53% of Republicans report that they are not willing to pay more, compared with 29% of Democrats.

However, there is little difference between Republicans and Democrats who are willing to pay more than \$100 per month, at 4% and 5% respectively.



# Budget for Goods and Services – by Age

Among Total

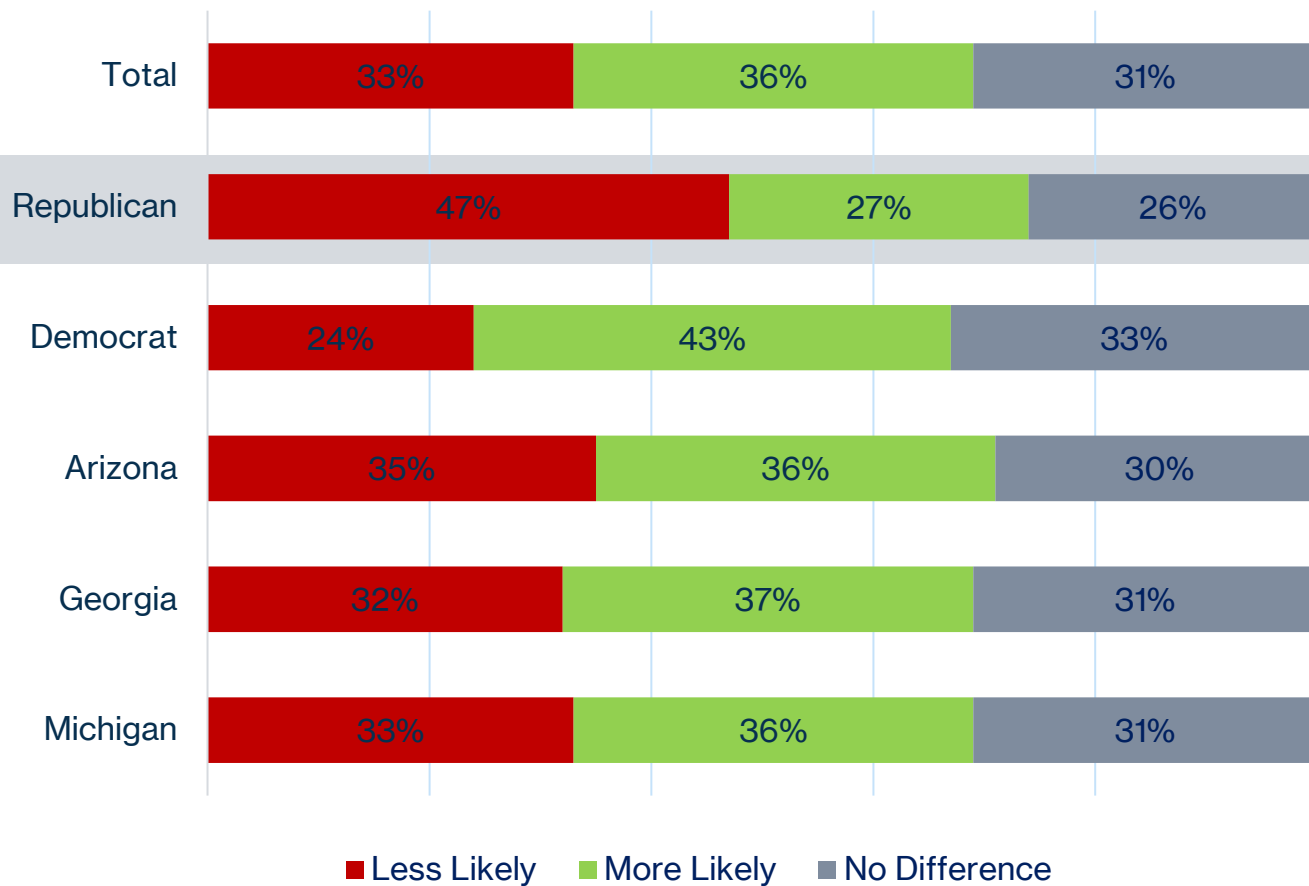


The proportion of people not willing to pay more for goods and services that produce fewer greenhouse gas emissions increases with age.

This reflects the decrease in support for climate solutions as age increases.



# Cost – Emissions Trade Off

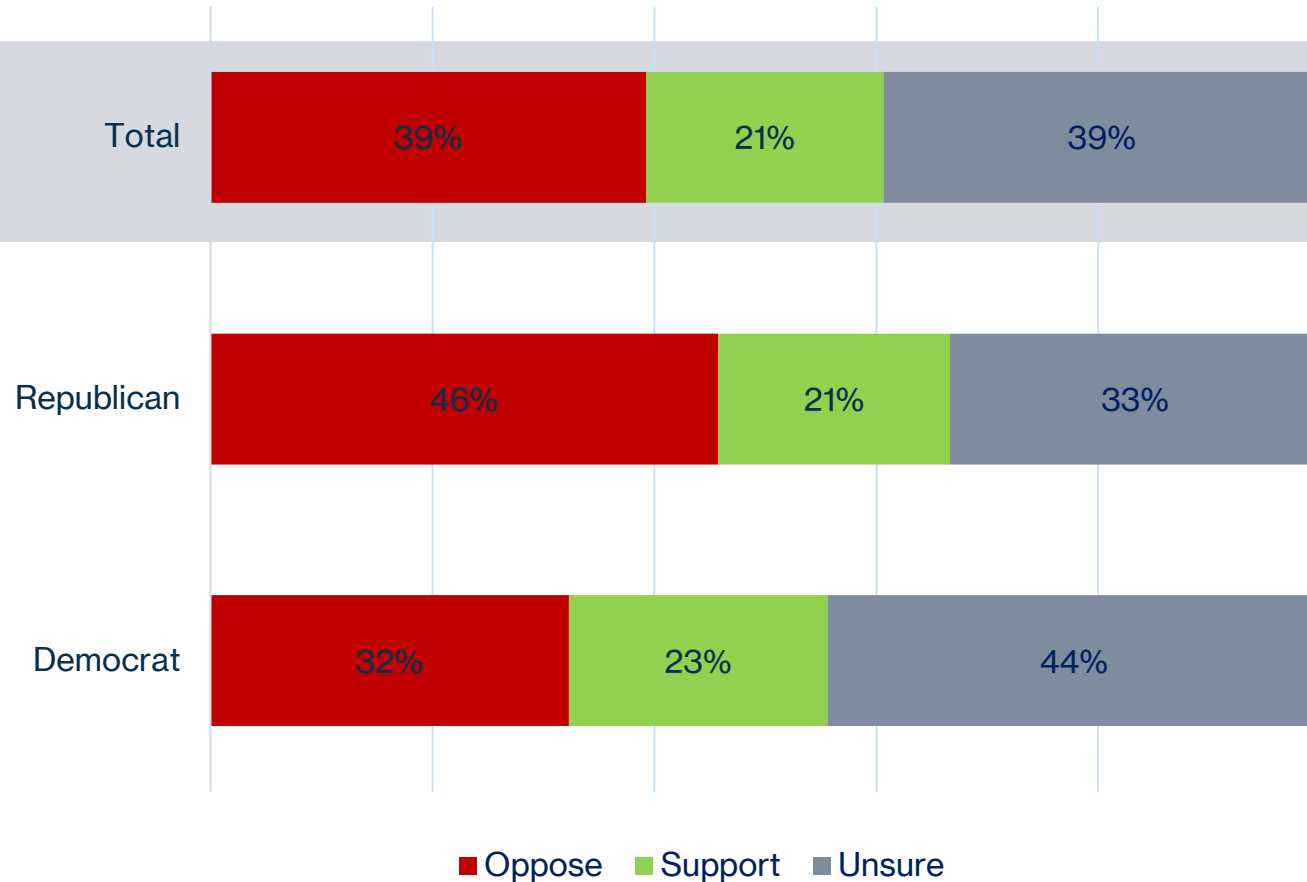


There is no real sense of support for policies that mean you have to pay more. This is again consistent with current concerns for the cost of living.

There is a small amount of overall support in Georgia and Michigan, but not in Arizona.

Republicans are less likely to support these policies, and approximately a third of people overall report that it makes no difference to their support.

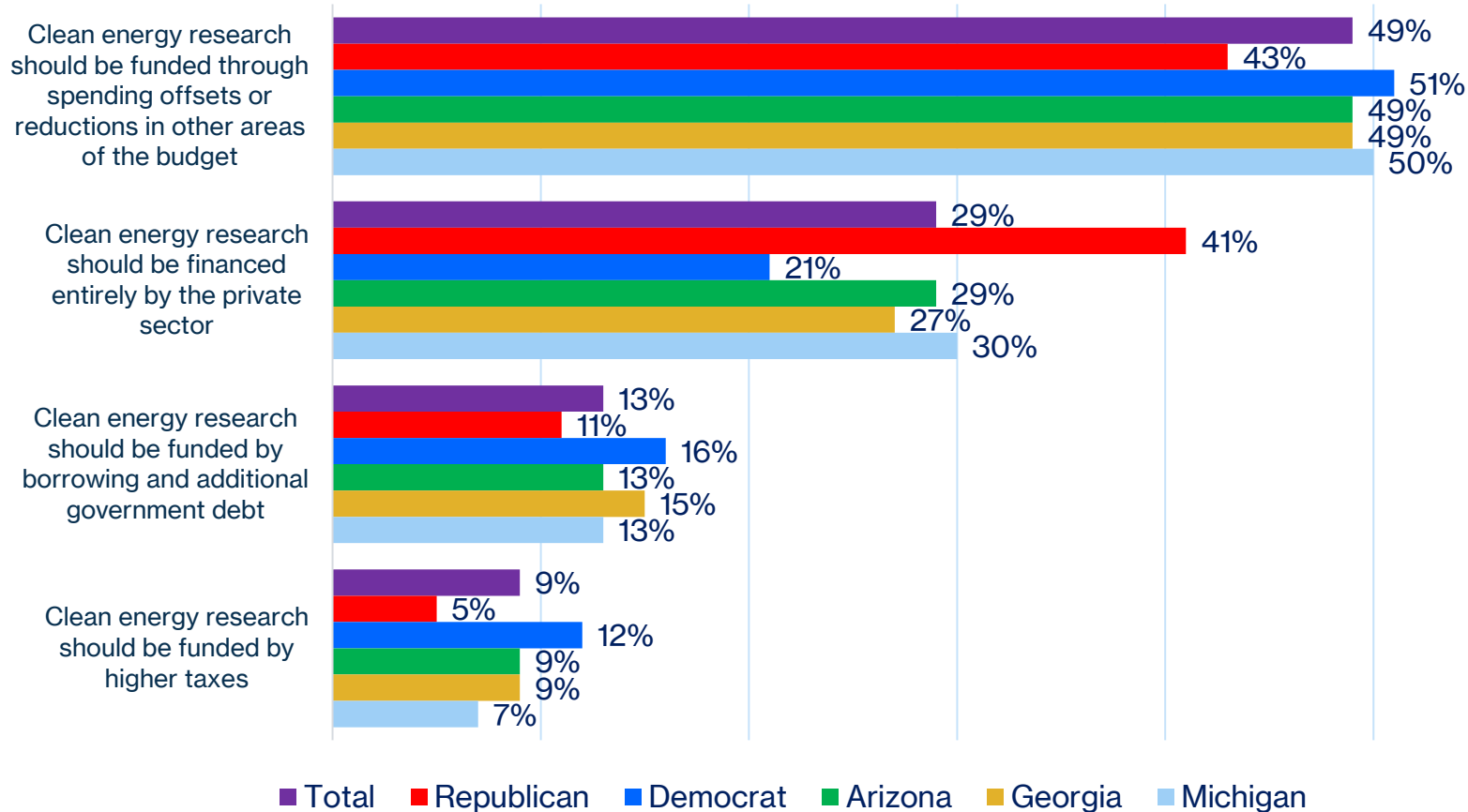
# Support for Reviving Earmarks



There is no real sense of support for policies that mean you have to pay more. This is especially true when indirect costs become direct costs with a dollar figure attached. Republicans are less likely to support this approach than Democrats.

This year, Congress lifted a self-imposed ban on earmarks that had been in effect for more than a decade. Critics argue earmarks foster corruption and cite wasteful pork barrel projects like the Bridge to Nowhere, while supporters argue earmarks are an essential way to fund local priorities. Do you support Congress' decision to revive earmarks?

# Funding Clean Energy Research

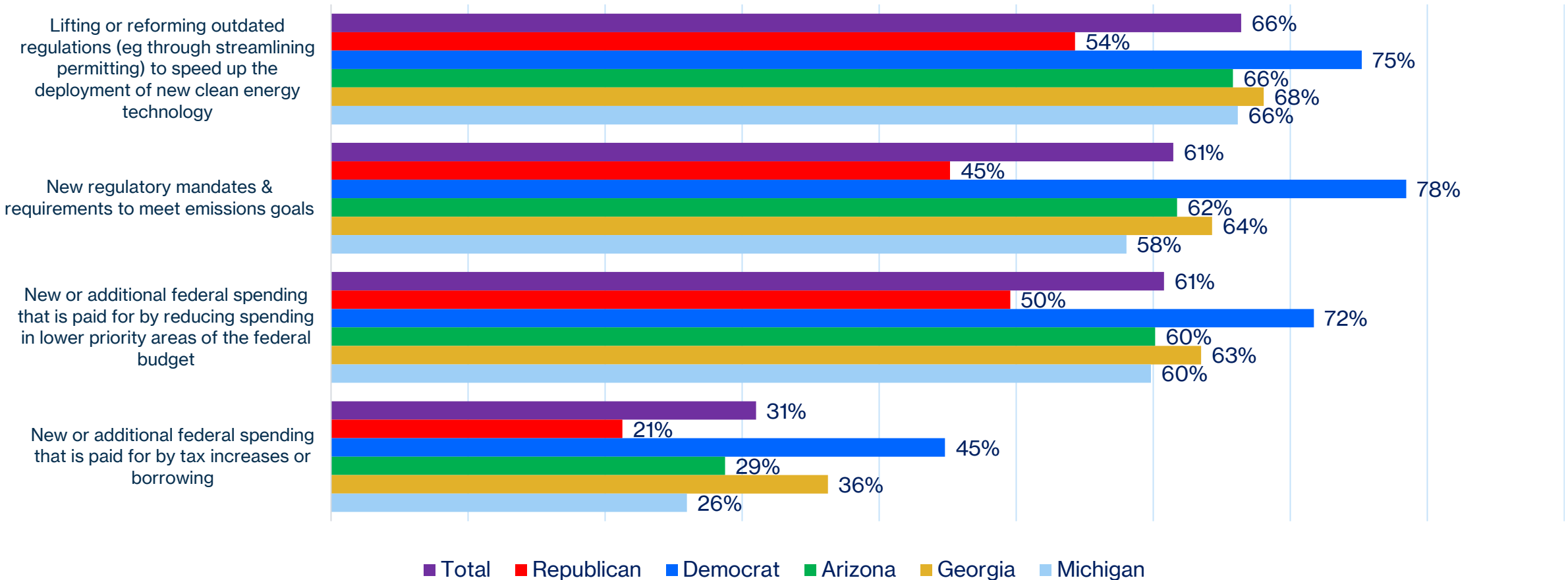


There is broad support for clean energy research to be funded through cuts in other parts of the budget and comparatively little support for higher taxes.

Although spending offsets is the preferred policy of both Republicans and Democrats, at 43% and 51% respectively, 41% of Republicans believe research should be funded by the private sector, while only 21% of Democrats believe this to be the case.

# Federal Spending & Regulatory Changes

Total Support: Strongly support + Somewhat support





# International Political Impacts



# Key findings

1

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has affected attitudes about energy policy. There is strong support for increasing domestic fossil fuel production and clean energy investment and deployment.

2

Democrats prioritized investments in nuclear energy and expedited deployment of clean energy.

3

The argument that China should follow the same rules as the US is supported by half the audience but is the least popular strategy for containing China.

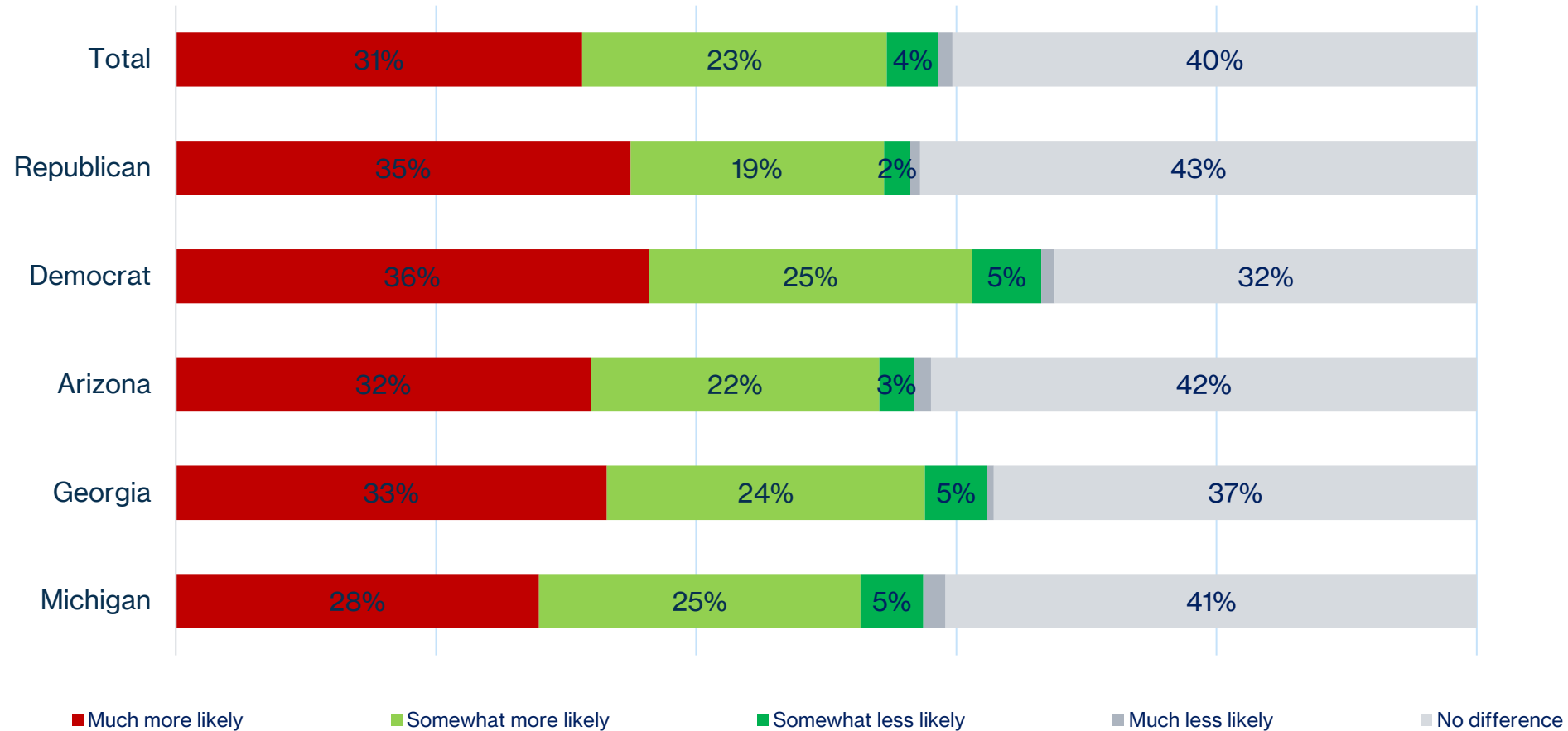
4

Russia's invasion of Ukraine will probably help Republicans and hurt Democrats in the 2022 midterms.



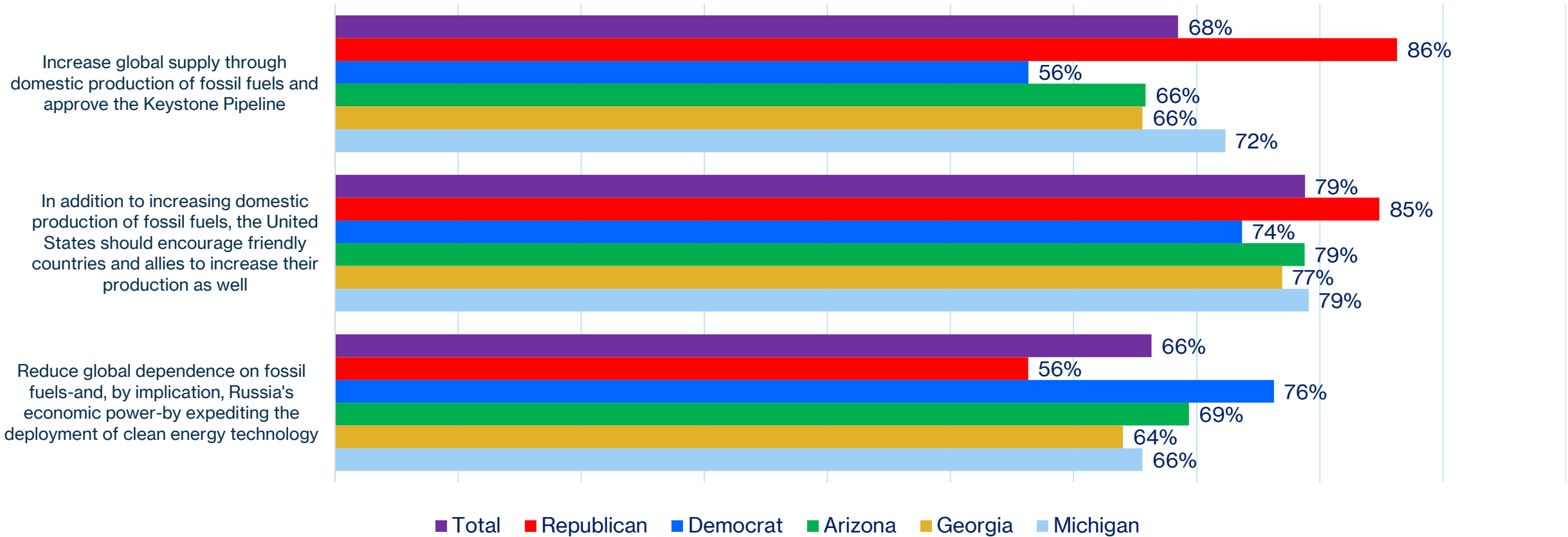


# Ukraine Impact on Mid-term Vote



# US Response to Banning Russian Oil

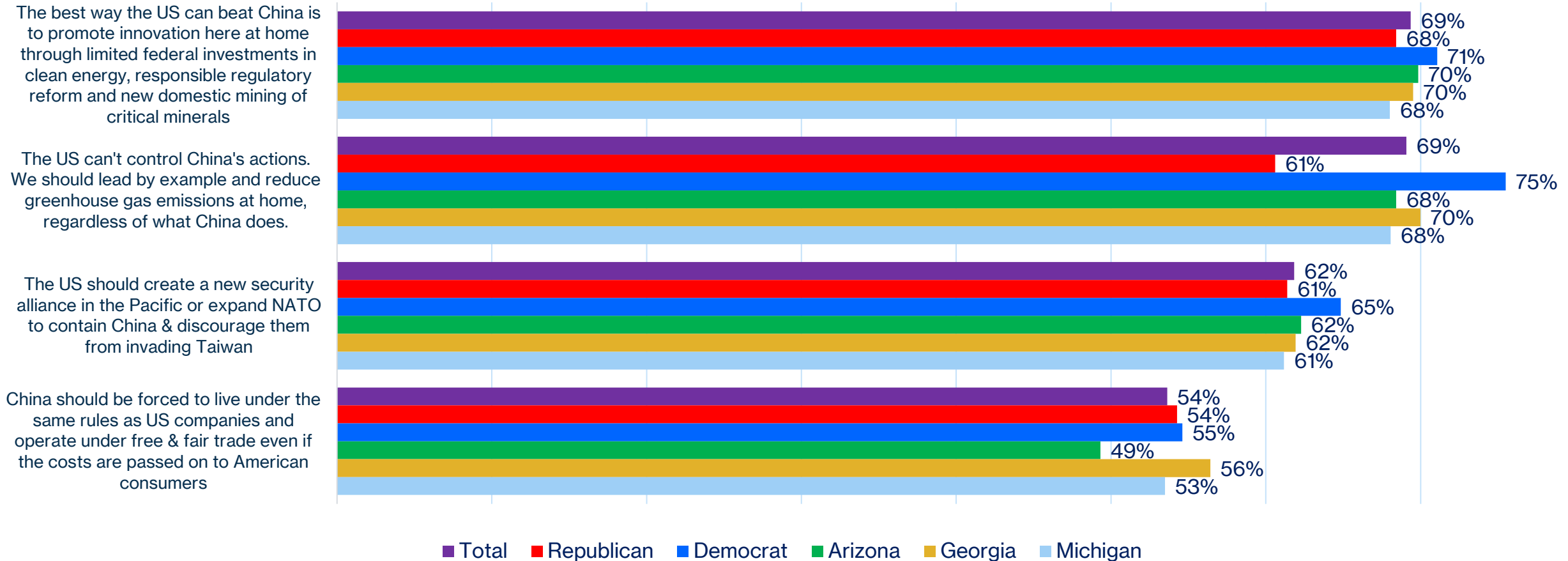
Total Support: Strongly support + somewhat support



Russia's ability to sell fossil fuels (oil and natural gas) is extremely important for its economy and military. However, Treasury Secretary Janet Yellin has warned that banning Russian oil will reduce the global supply of oil and increase energy and gas prices for American consumers. To what extent do you support or oppose each of the below steps that the United States can take in response?

# Support for US Actions against China

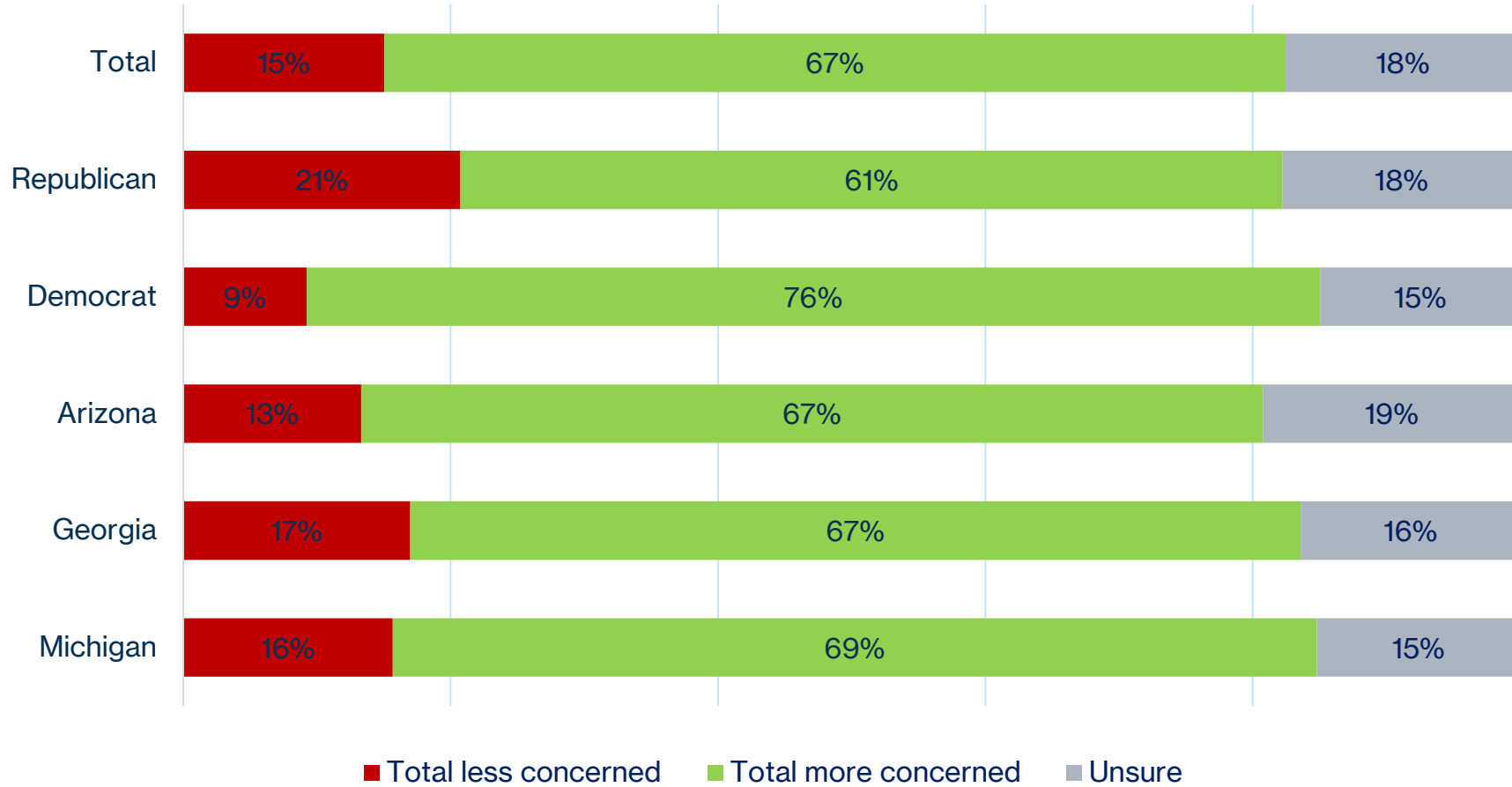
Total Support: Strongly support + somewhat support



China is now the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gas emissions, which affect global temperatures & the global environment.

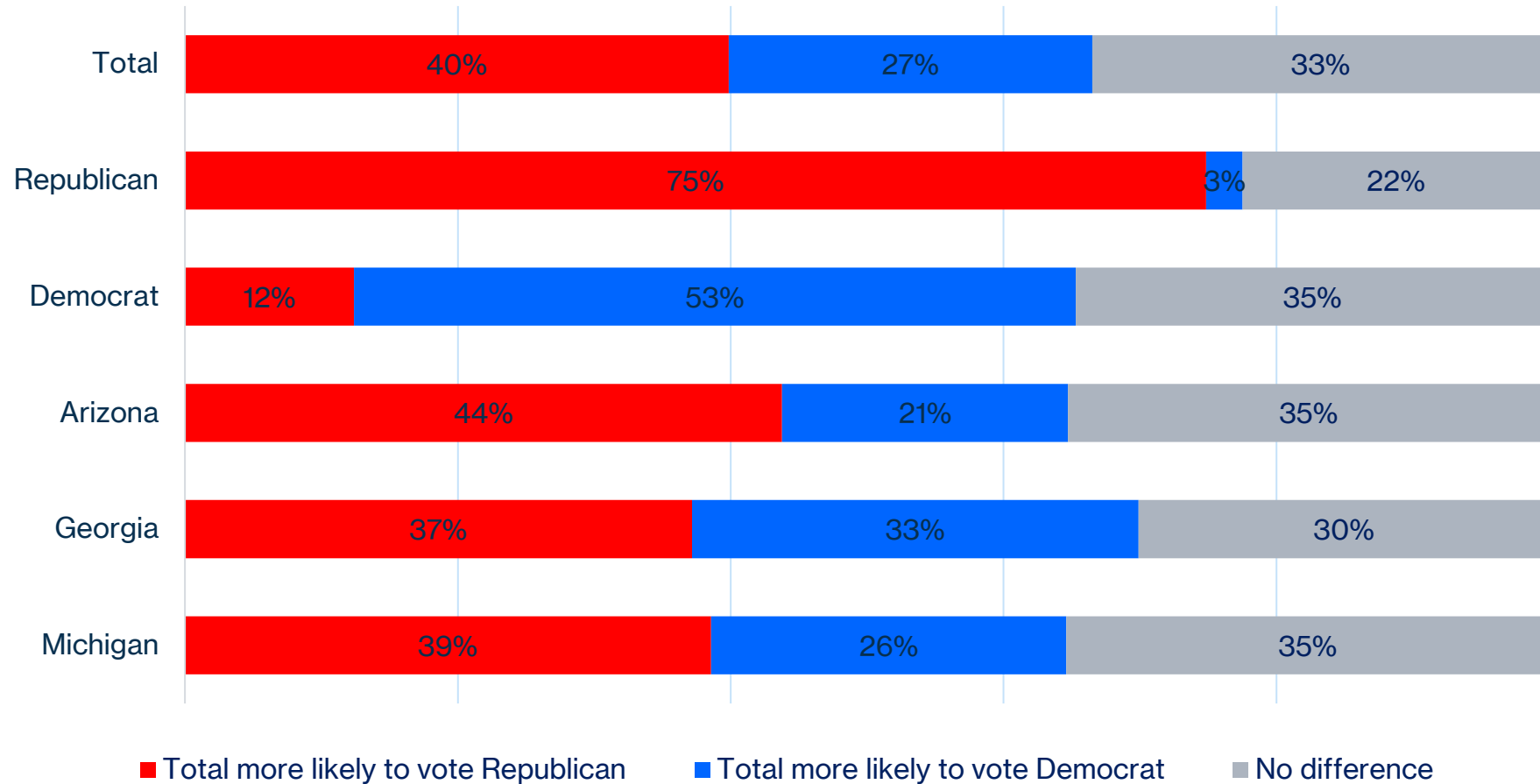


# Ukraine War Impact on Energy Concern





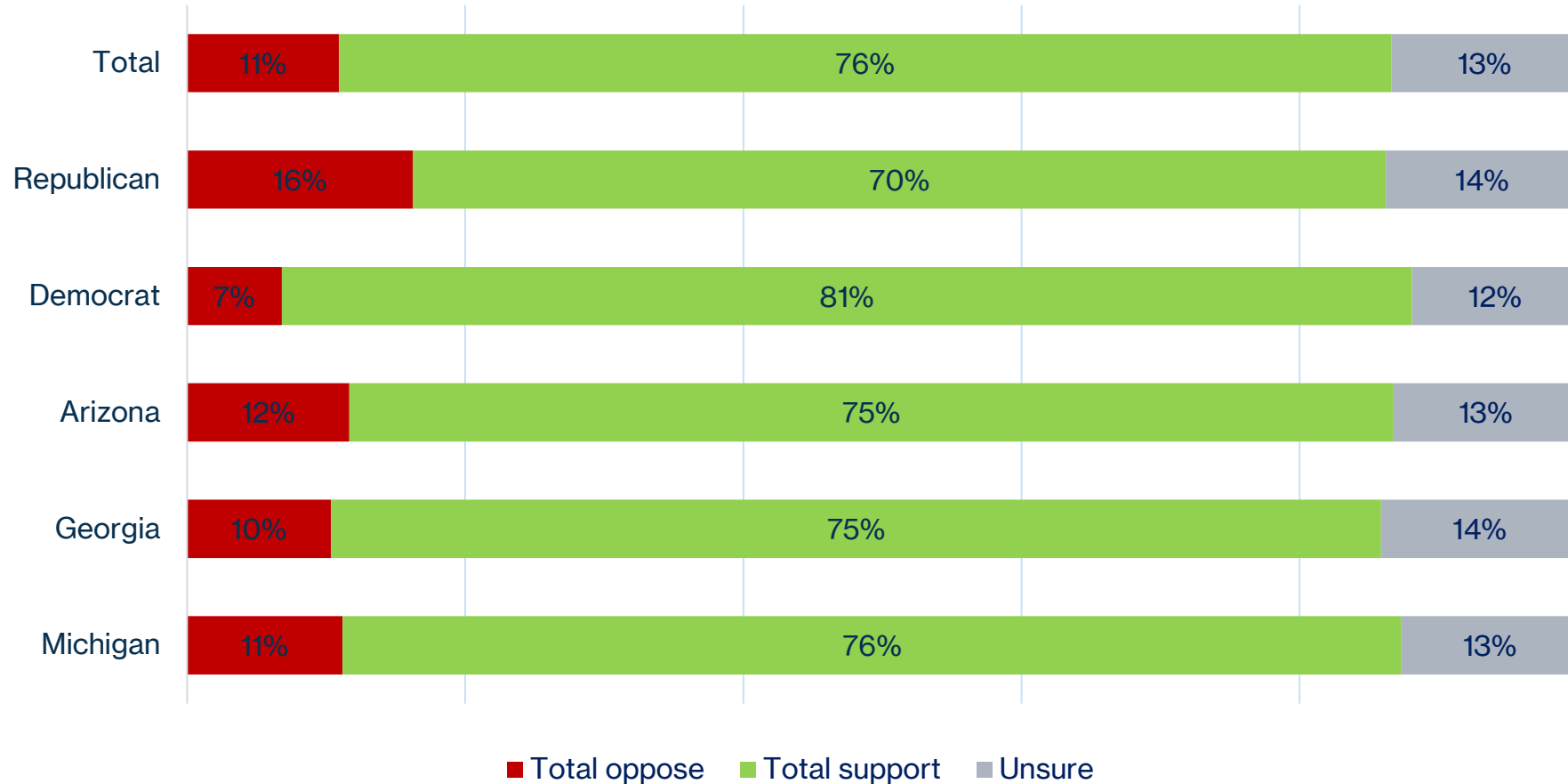
# Ukraine War Impact on Partisan Preference





# Natural Solutions and Other Priorities

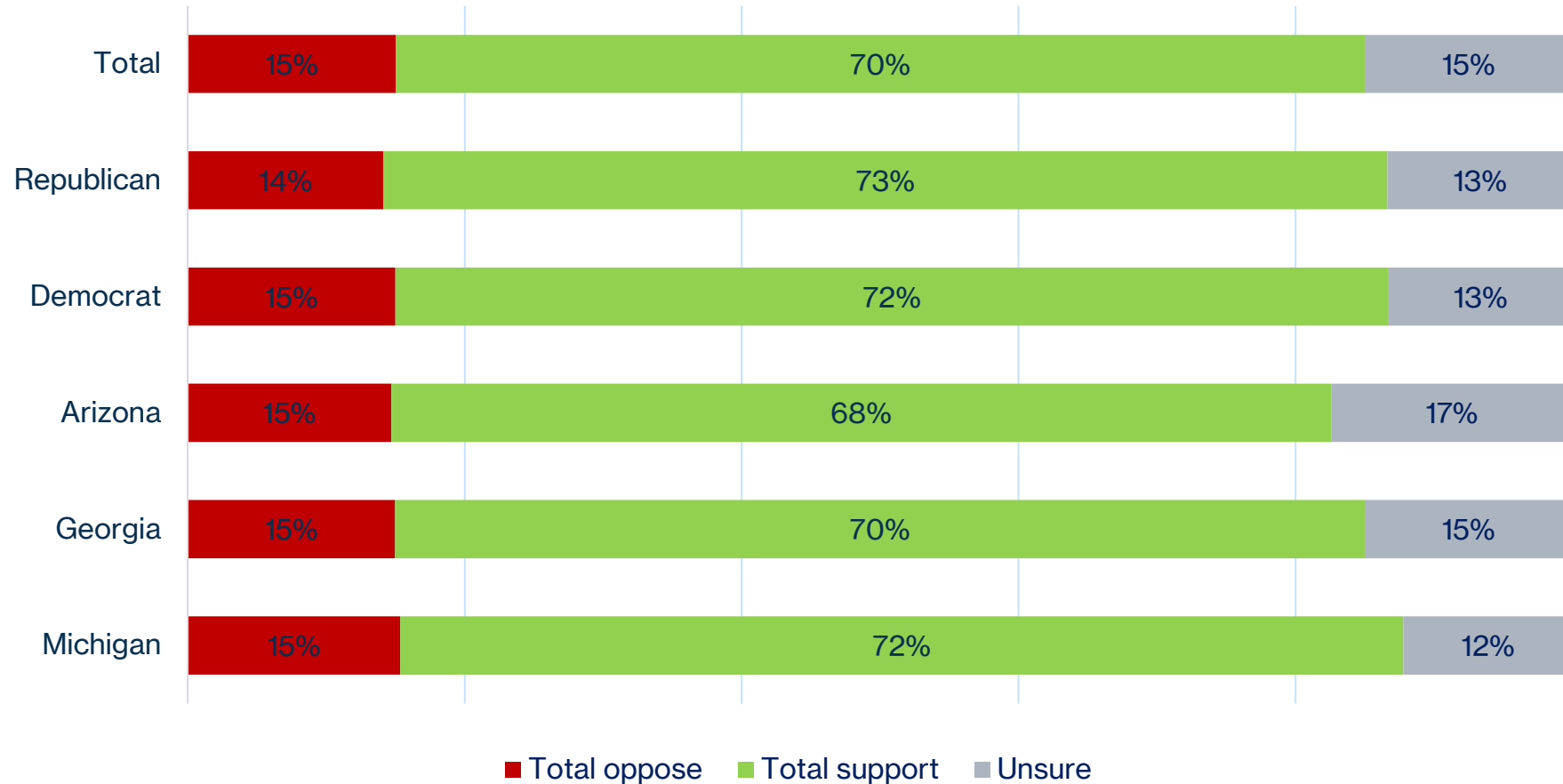
# Promoting Natural Climate Change Solutions



Natural solutions to climate change refer to policies that promote healthy ecosystems such as tree planting, healthy forestry management & invasive species management. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to promote natural solutions?



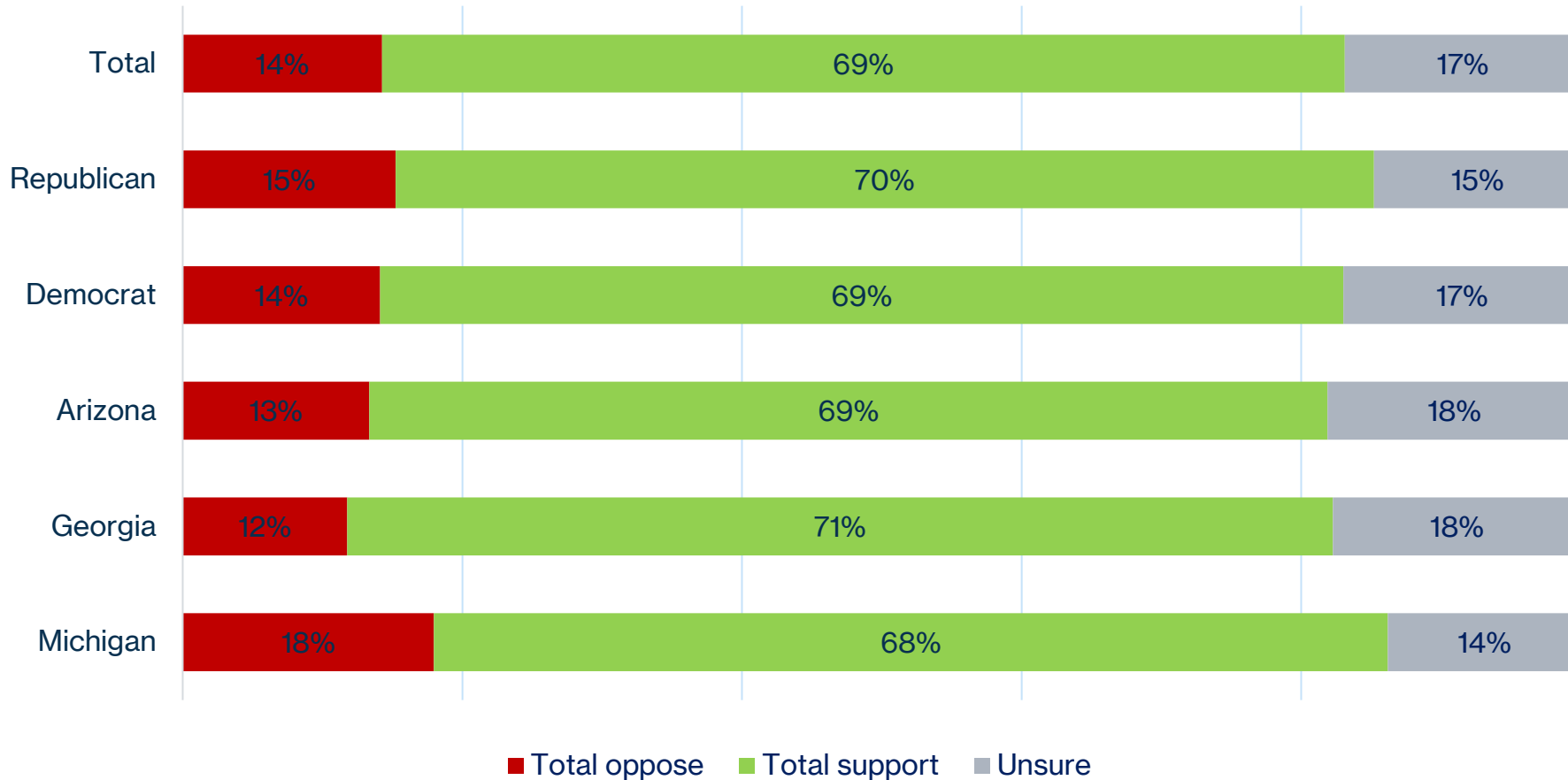
# No Timber from Tyrants Act



Congress is considering legislation called the “No Timber from Tyrants Act” that would prohibit imports of forest products from Russia while increasing responsible harvesting of American timber. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to ban imports of Russian timber?

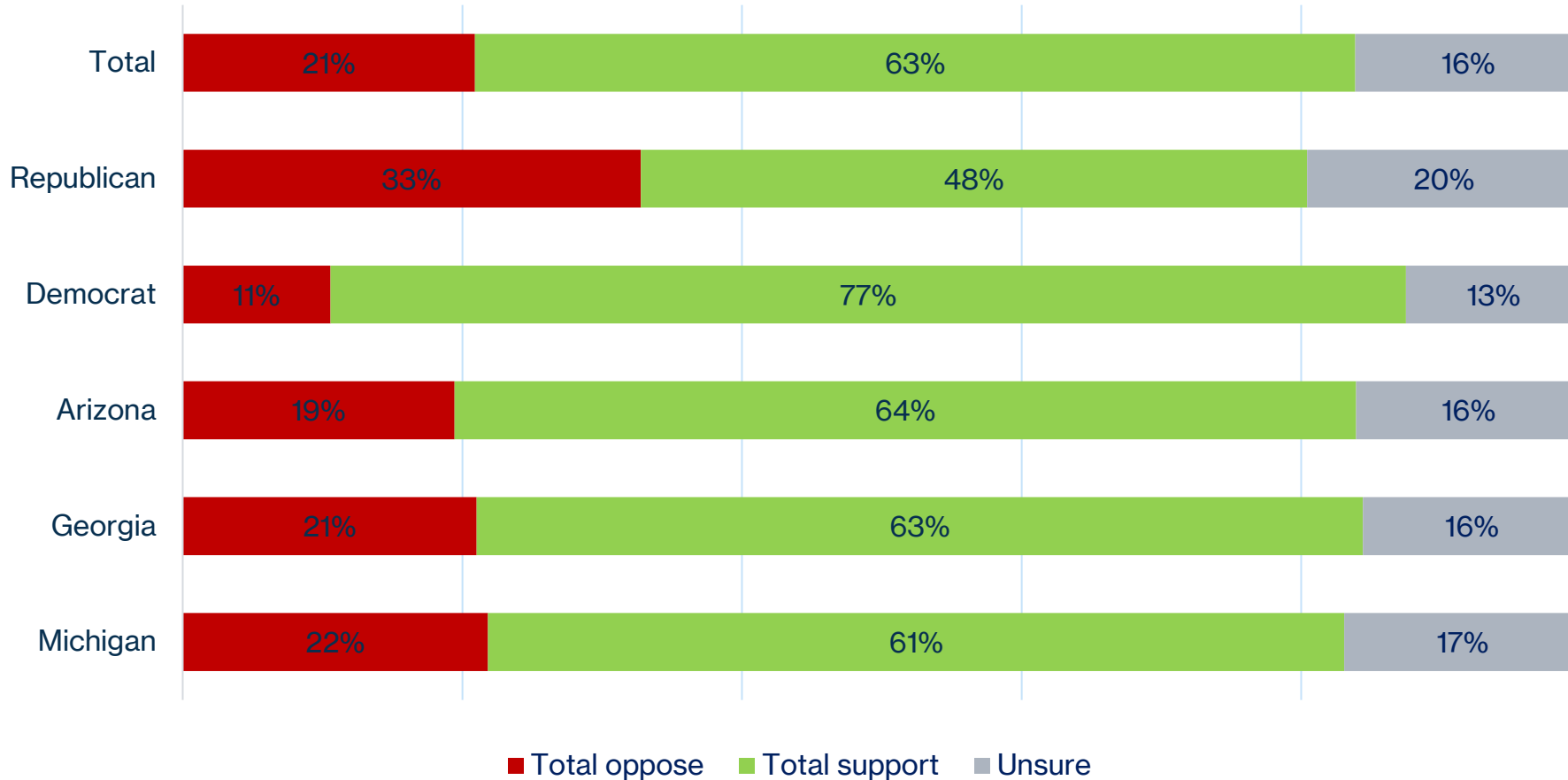


# American Access to Critical Minerals



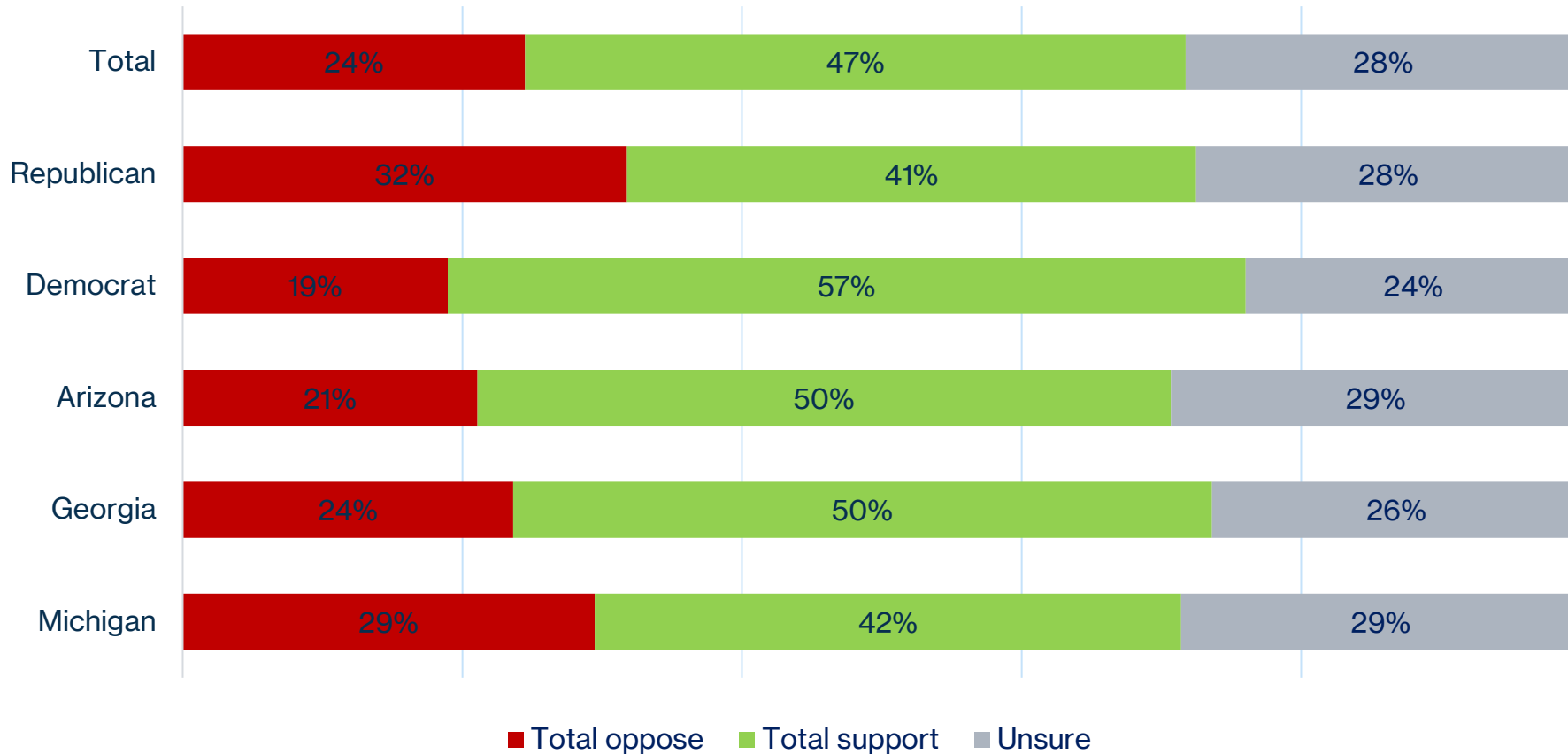
Critical minerals are essential to the production process for many new clean energy technologies, such as batteries for electric cars. Other countries like China are taking aggressive steps to dominate the market for critical minerals. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to make it easier to access American sources of critical minerals, including through permitting new mines for critical minerals?

# Adaptation to Climate Change



Adaptation to climate change refers to policies that are designed to help communities be resilient to changing environmental conditions. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to promote climate change adaptation?

# Merchant Marine Act Repeal



The Merchant Marine Act of 1920, more commonly referred to as the Jones Act, mandates that any good shipped by water between two points in the United States must be transported on a US-built, US-flagged, and at least 75 percent US-crewed vessel. Critics say this law is outdated and should be repealed and note that this requirement makes it more difficult to wean the world off Russian oil. In general, would you support or oppose Congress taking action to repeal the Jones Act?



**C|T GROUP**

