

Who Gets Credit for Green Industrial Policy?

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Trump Is Freezing Money for Clean Energy. Red States Have the Most to Lose.

About 80 percent of manufacturing investments spurred by a Biden-era climate law have flowed to Republican districts. Efforts to stop federal payments are already causing pain.

— New York Times, 2/11/2025

Did green investments
affect public opinion?

Empirical Challenge

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 - Exploit within-state variation
 - Control for local site selection determinants

Findings and Implications

- Public recognizes some visible projects

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- Complex information environment explains why
- Identify other policy feedback mechanisms

Credit for Green Industrial Policy

- Hypotheses
- Testing Recognition
- Testing Attribution
- Testing Causal Complexity Mechanism
- Policy Implications

Hypotheses

Public Opinion Feedback Conditions

- Visibility and traceability (Arnold 1990; Campbell 2012)

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- Visibility and traceability (Arnold 1990; Campbell 2012)
- Not automatic (Mettler 2011; Hopkins 2023)

Green Investment Application

- Visibility

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 - Noticeable community change (Gazmararian 2025)

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- Traceability
 - Complex process
 - Politician credit claiming

Credit Claiming



Feedback Processes

Recognition → Attribution → Support

Feedback Processes

Recognition → **Attribution** → Support

Recognition

National Survey Data

- 3 waves
 - March-April, 2024 ($N = 1500$)
 - May-June, 2024 ($N = 1992$)
 - August-November, 2024 ($N = 1534$)

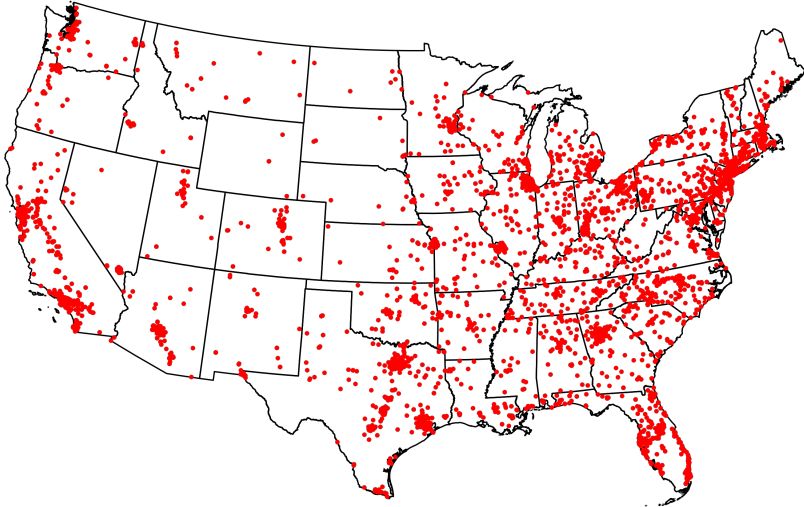
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- Quotas: age, sex, race, education, income, census region

Geography of Survey Respondents



Measuring Recognition

In the last year, have there been any green investments in your community? Examples include wind and solar farms, and plants to build electric cars or batteries.

Yes; No; Not sure

Measuring Recognition

In the last year, have there been any green investments in your community? Examples include wind and solar farms, and plants to build electric cars or batteries.

Yes (26%); No (42%); Not sure (32%)

Measuring Green Investments

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Measuring Green Investments

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 - Big Green Machine dataset

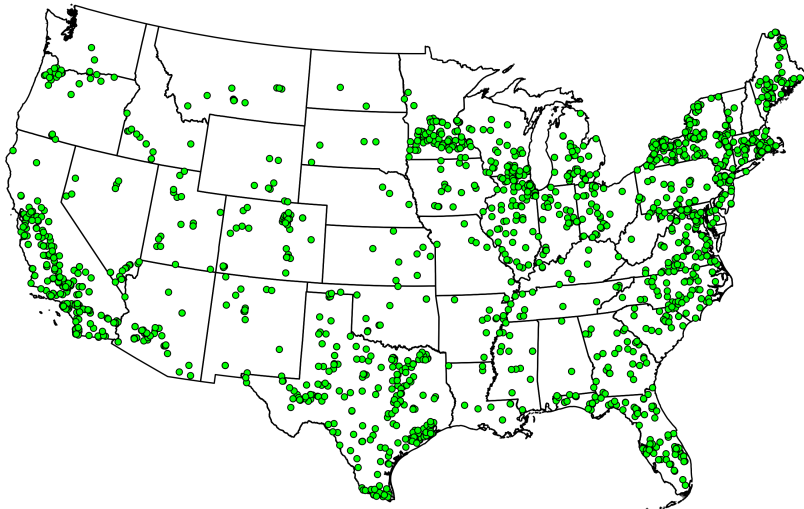
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- Clean electricity projects
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 - Post-IRA announcements

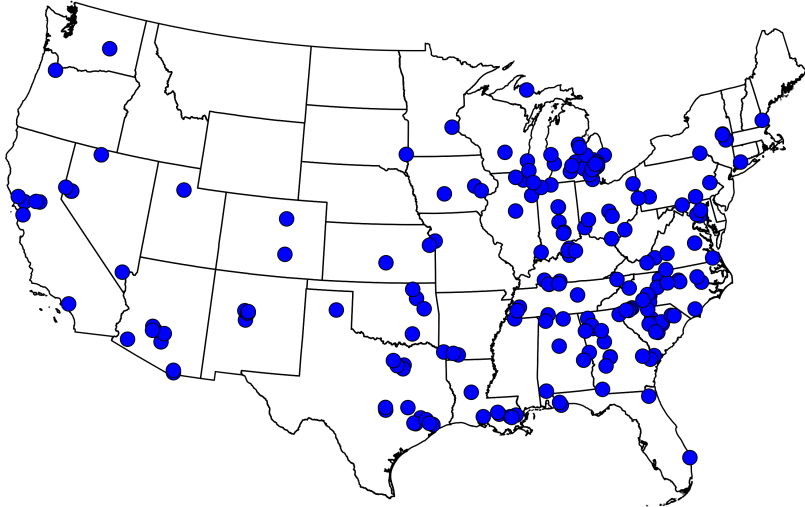
Measuring Green Investments

- Clean electricity projects
 - EIA-860M disclosure
 - Under construction 2 years before survey date
- Clean manufacturing projects
 - Big Green Machine dataset
 - Post-IRA announcements
- Multi-causal

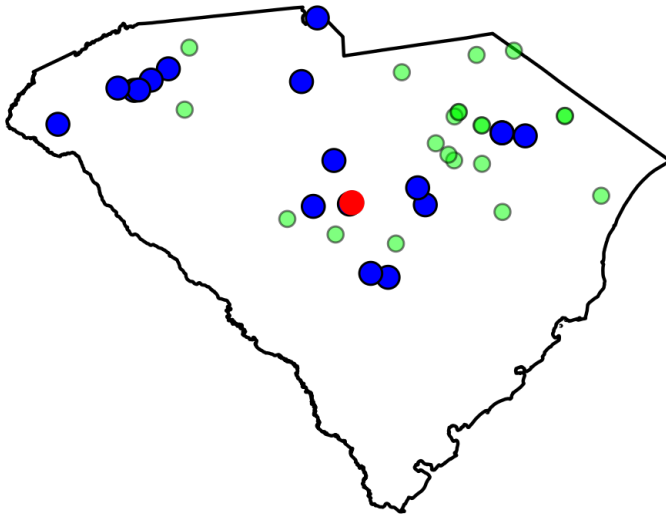
New Clean Energy Projects



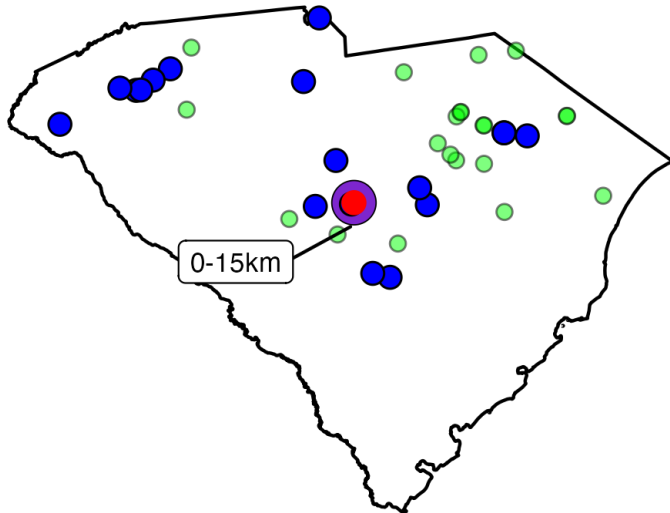
New Clean Manufacturing Projects



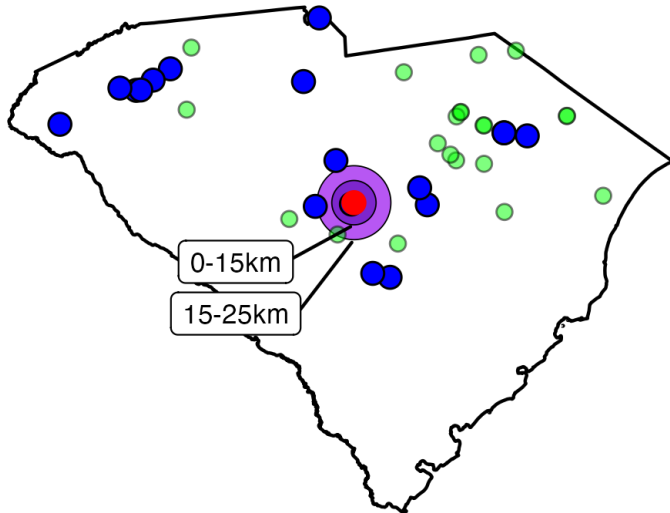
Measuring Proximity



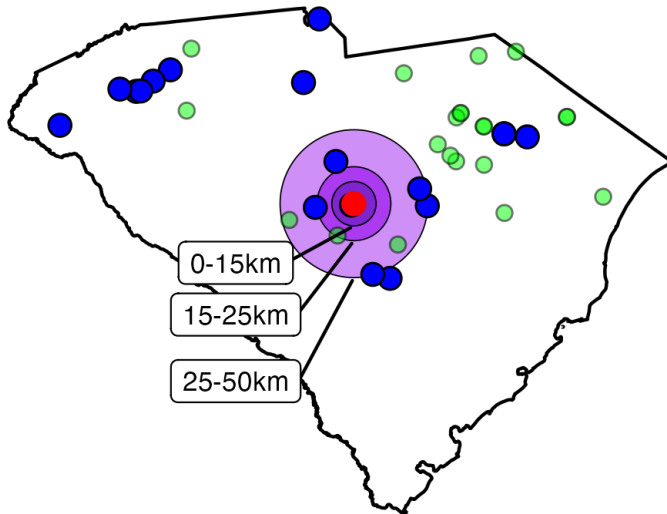
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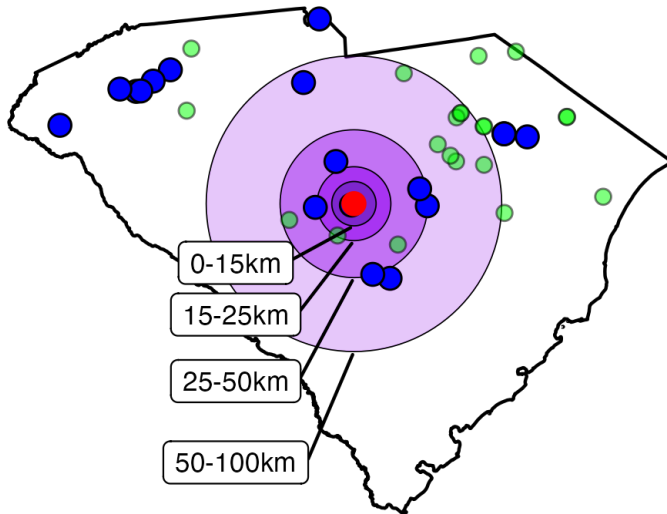
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Causal Identification Strategy

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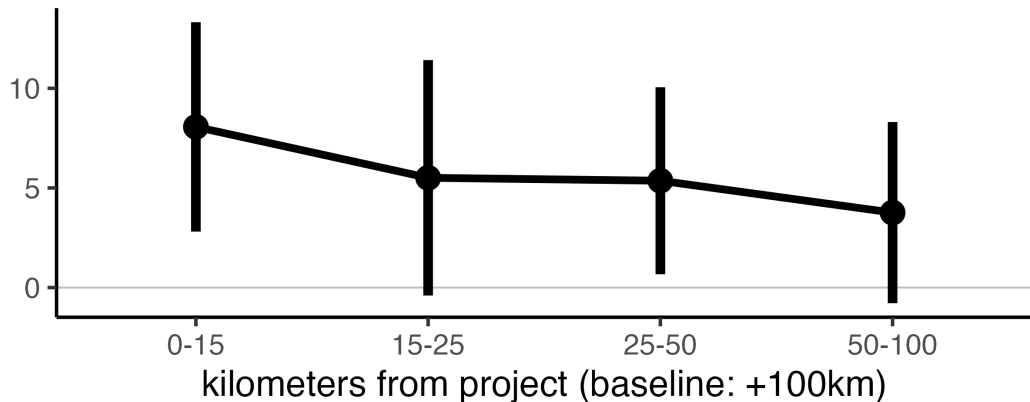
Causal Identification Strategy

- Non-random siting decisions
- Within-state variation
- Control for siting predictors
 - Individual: age, female, race, education, employment, income, partisanship, climate beliefs
 - Local: unemployment, labor force size, GDP, income per capita, highway access, college residents, poverty rate, housing costs, population density, broadband, democratic vote share

People Recognize Some Projects

Solar

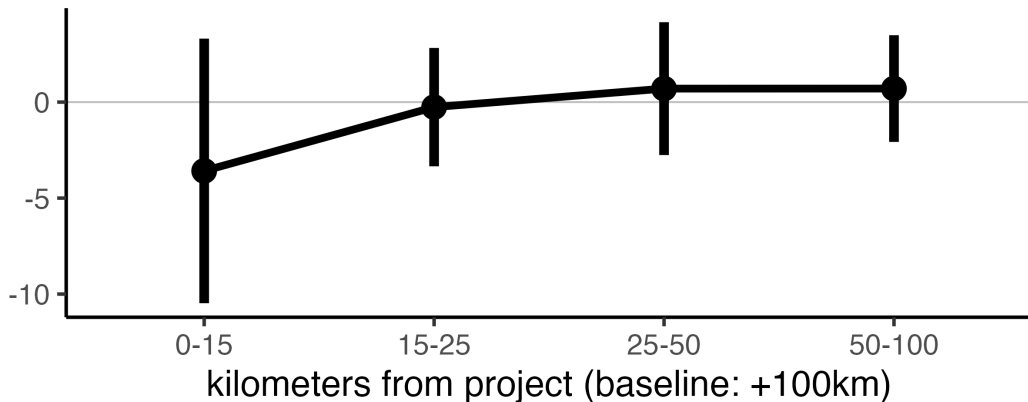
Recognition
probability change (pp)



People Recognize Some Projects

Battery Manufacturing

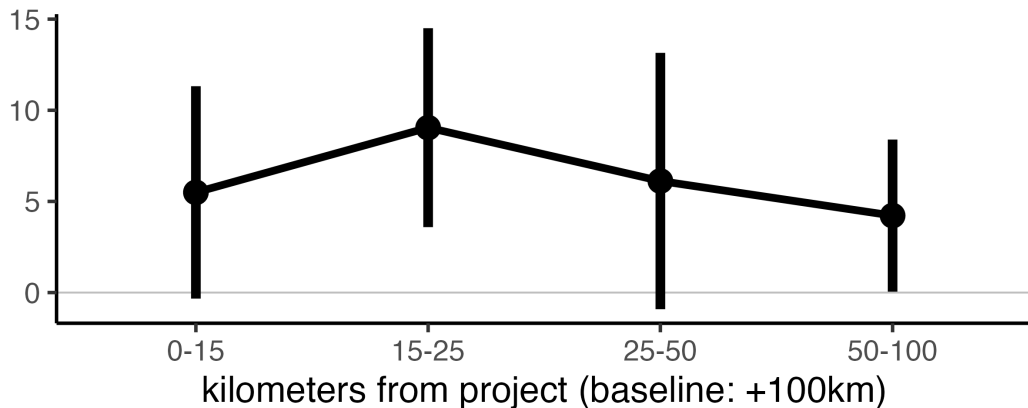
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People Recognize Some Projects

EV Manufacturing

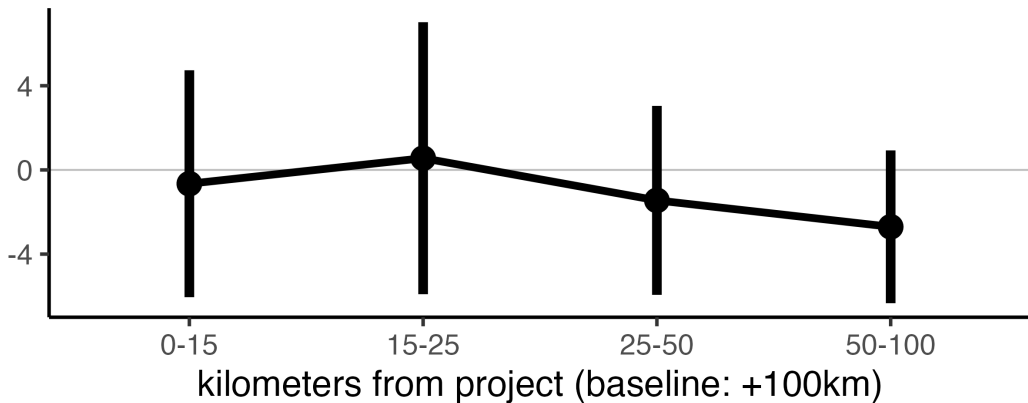
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Less Visible

Battery Generation

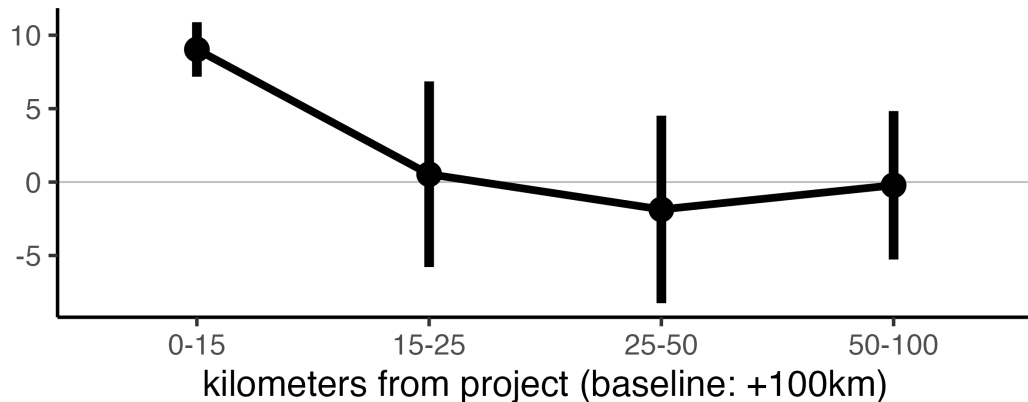
Recognition
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More Visible

+\$500M Invested

Recognition
probability change (pp)



Attribution

Measuring Attribution

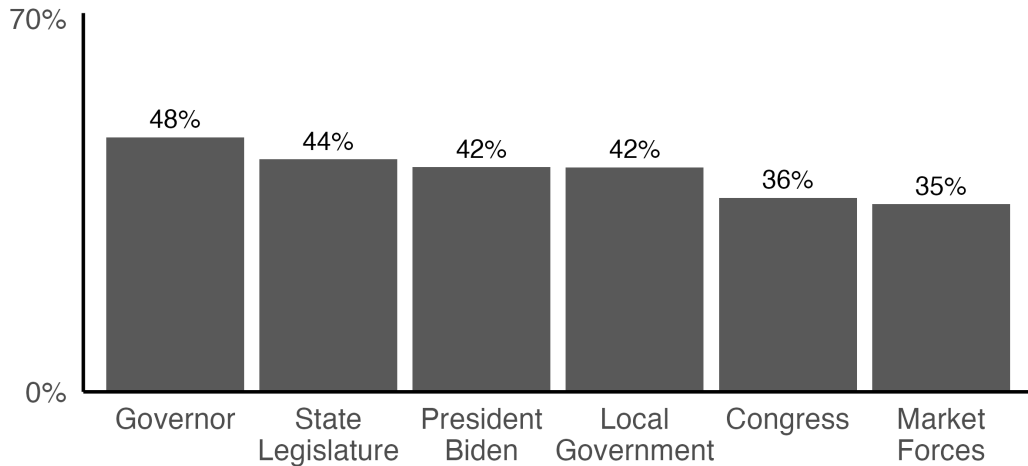
Your state has seen an increase in green investments. Examples include wind and solar farms, and plants to build electric cars. Who or what do you think has played a significant role in bringing these investments to your state? For each option, please rate how responsible you believe they are for attracting these green investments.

**President Joe Biden; The US Congress; Your Governor;
Your state legislature; Community leaders; The free market**

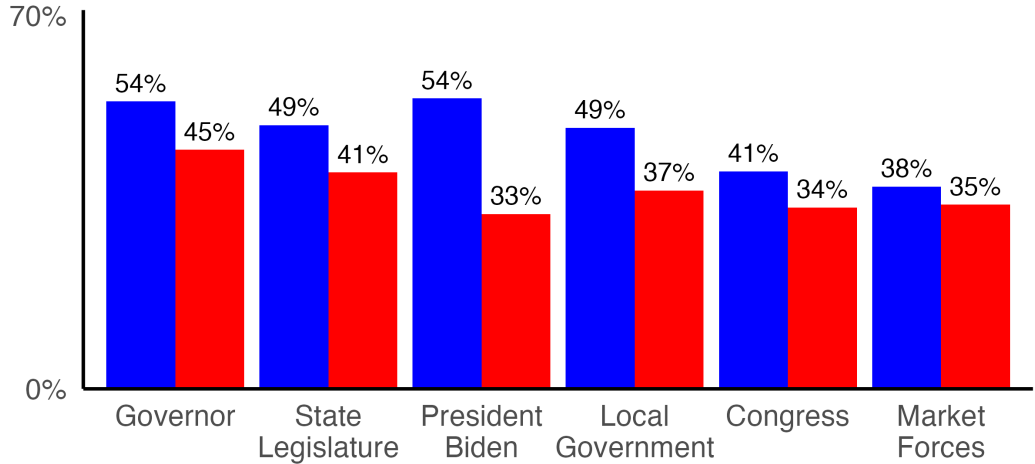
*Extremely responsible; Very responsible; Moderately responsible;
Not too responsible; Not at all responsible*

No Proximity Effect on
Attribution

Who Gets Credit?



Who Gets Credit?



Why Limited Attribution?

Complex Information Environment



Complex Information Environment



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- Federalism (Arceneaux 2006; Sances 2017)

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- Investment structure

Measuring Company Statements

- 112 EV and battery manufacturing projects

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- Collect company press release

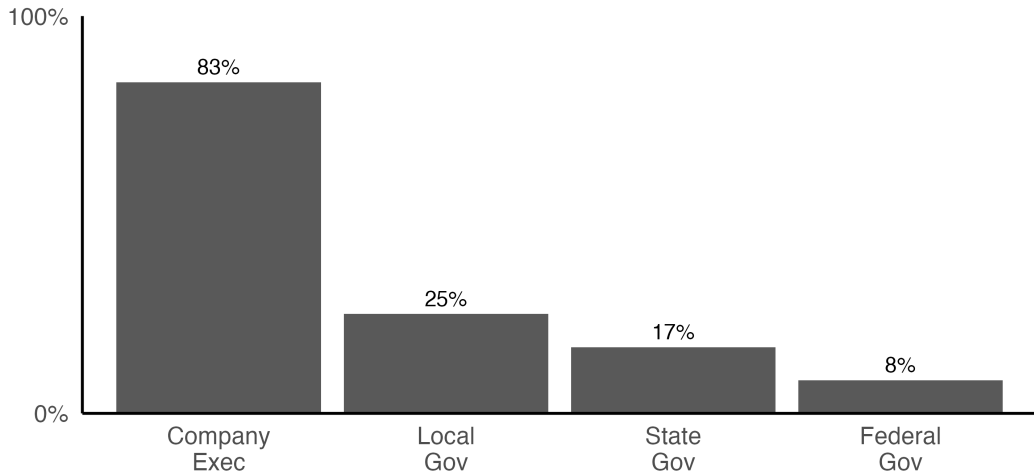
Measuring Company Statements

- 112 EV and battery manufacturing projects
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- Credible signal in partisan information environment

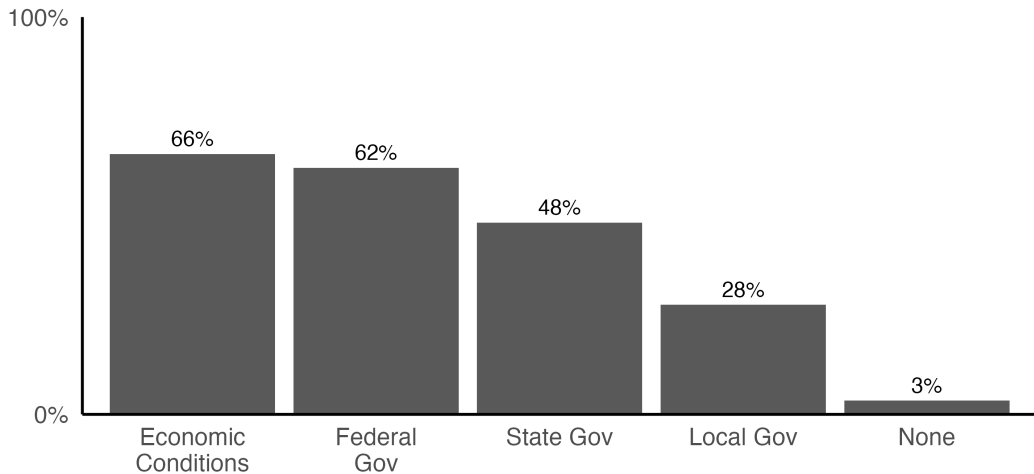
Measuring Company Statements

- 112 EV and battery manufacturing projects
- Collect company press release
- Credible signal in partisan information environment
- RA codes whether credit given

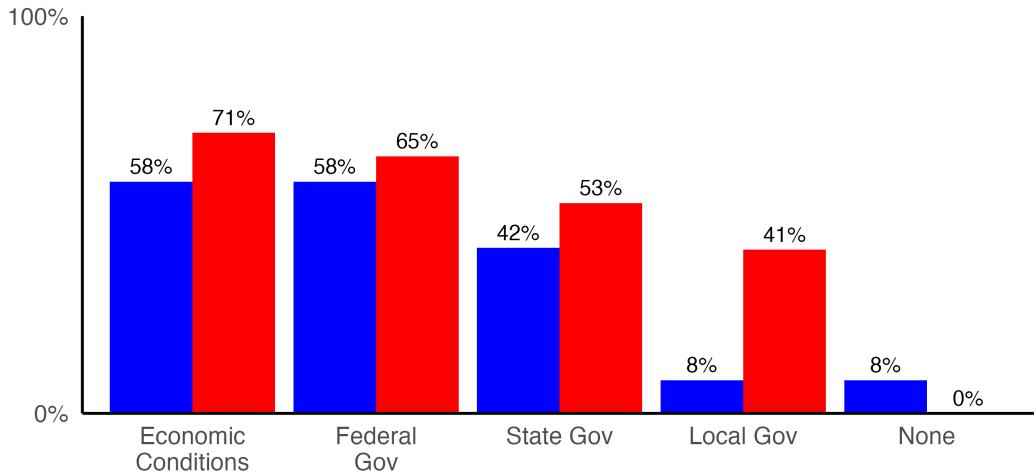
Company Announcement Speakers



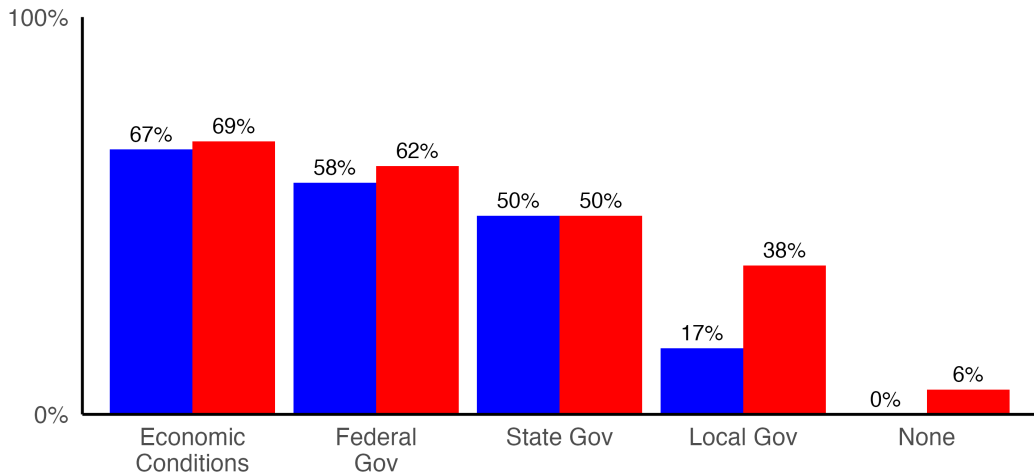
Companies Spread Credit Widely



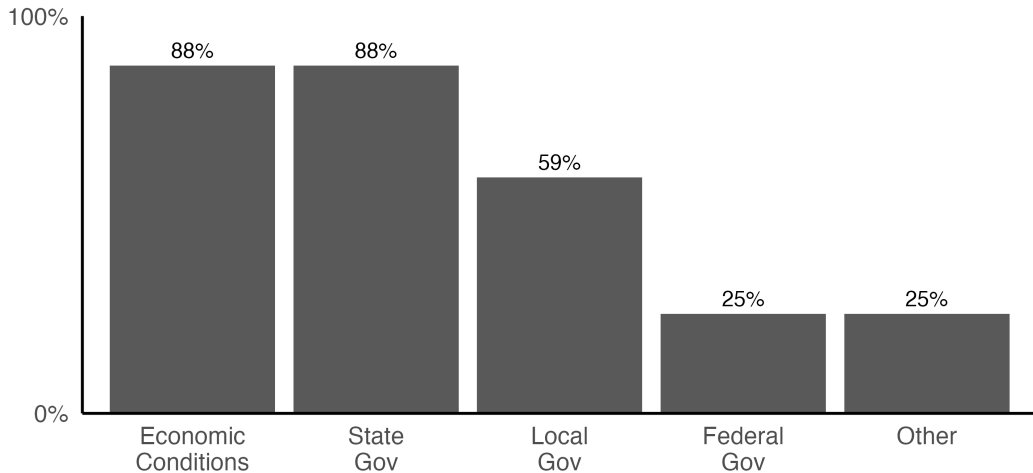
Governor Party



Congressional Rep Party

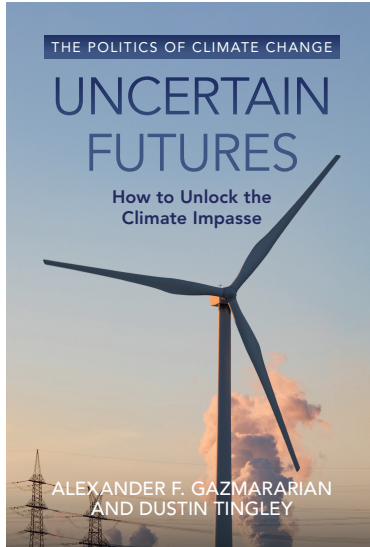


Whom Do Governors Credit?



Policy Implications

Insulating Reforms from Turnover



Rethinking Climate Politics Strategies

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