

# 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?

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  - Control for local site selection determinants

# Findings and Implications

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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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- Not automatic (Mettler 2011; Hopkins 2023)

# Green Investment Application

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- Traceability
  - Complex process
  - Politician credit claiming

# Credit Claiming



# Feedback Processes

Recognition → Attribution → Support

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**Recognition** → **Attribution** → Support

# Recognition

# National Survey Data

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

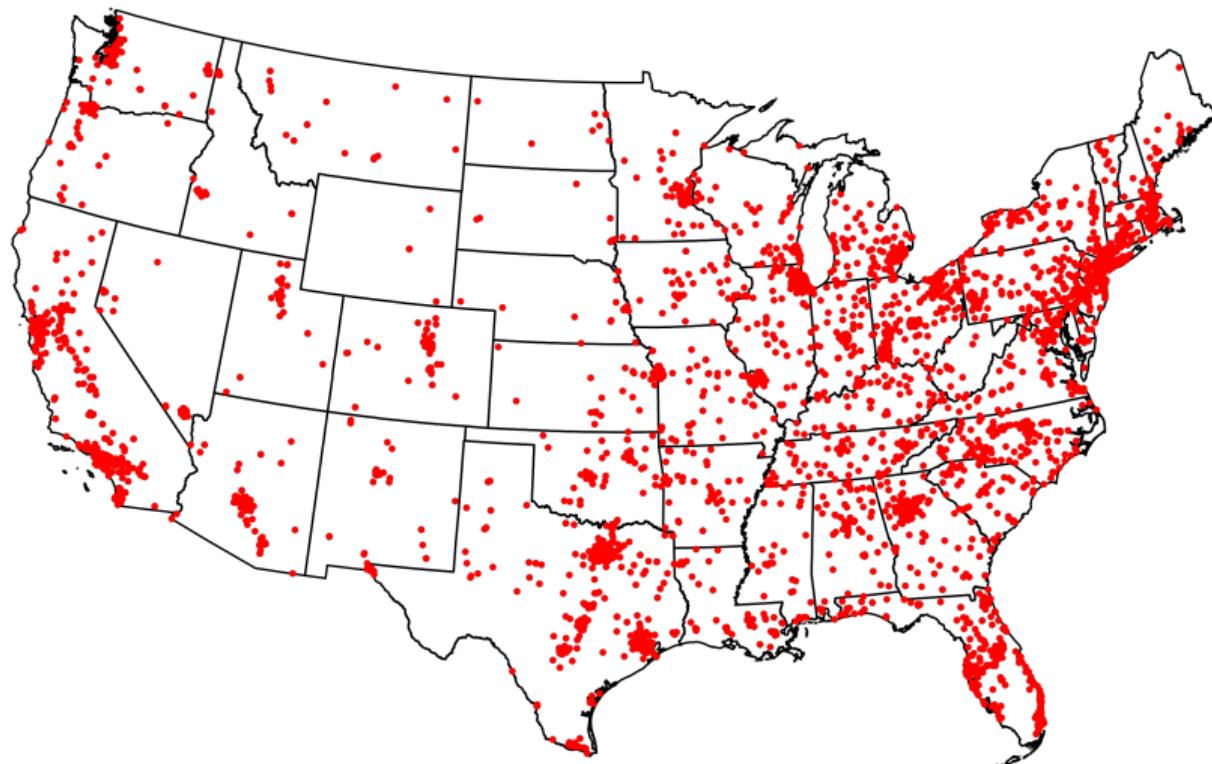
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- Online via Qualtrics
- Quotas: age, sex, race, education, income, census region

# 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*

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

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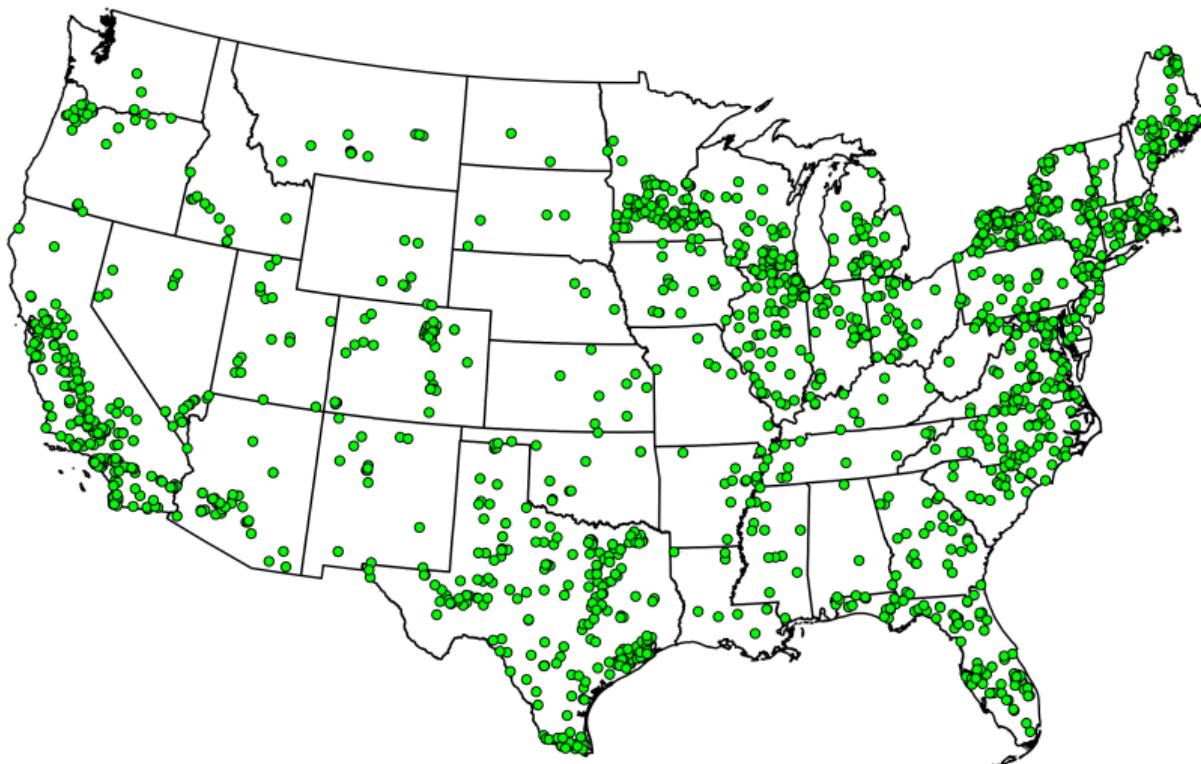
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  - Post-IRA announcements

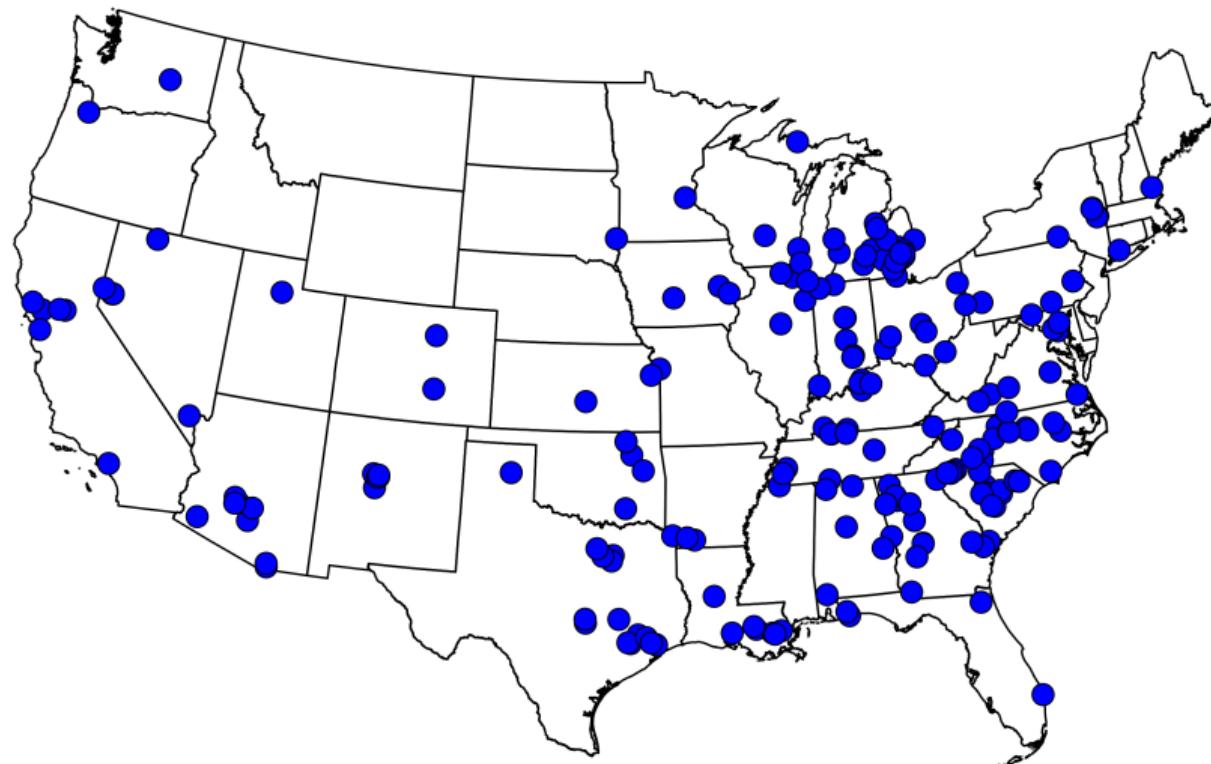
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  - EIA-860M disclosure
  - Under construction 2 years before survey date
- Clean manufacturing projects
  - Big Green Machine dataset
  - Post-IRA announcements
- Multi-causal

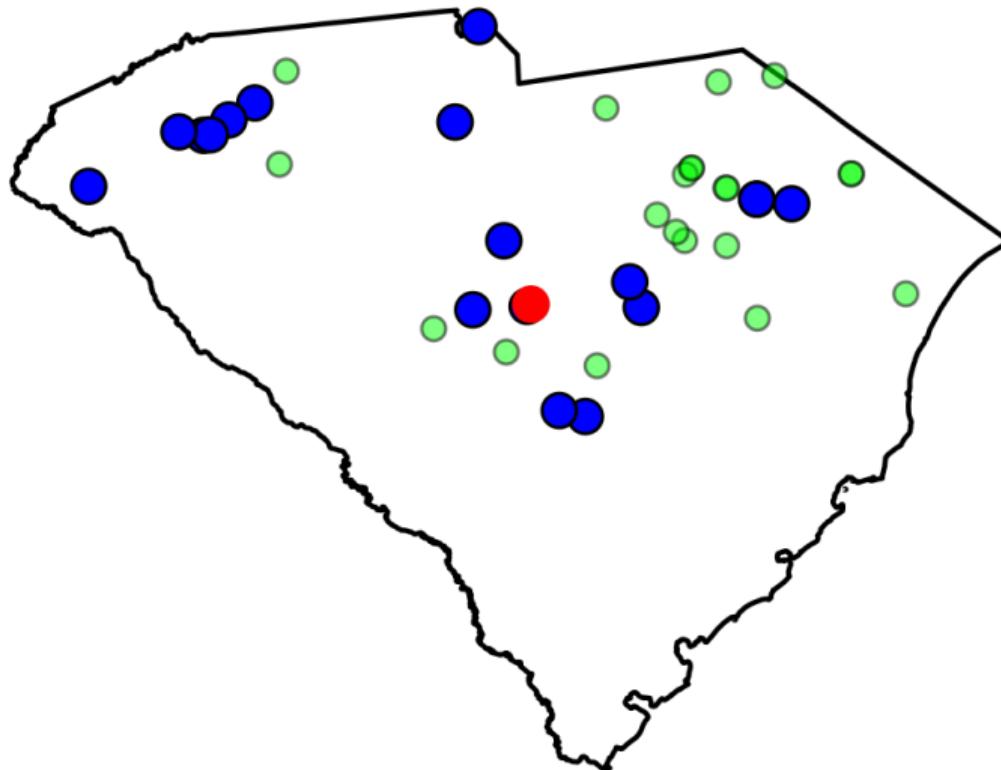
# New Clean Energy Projects



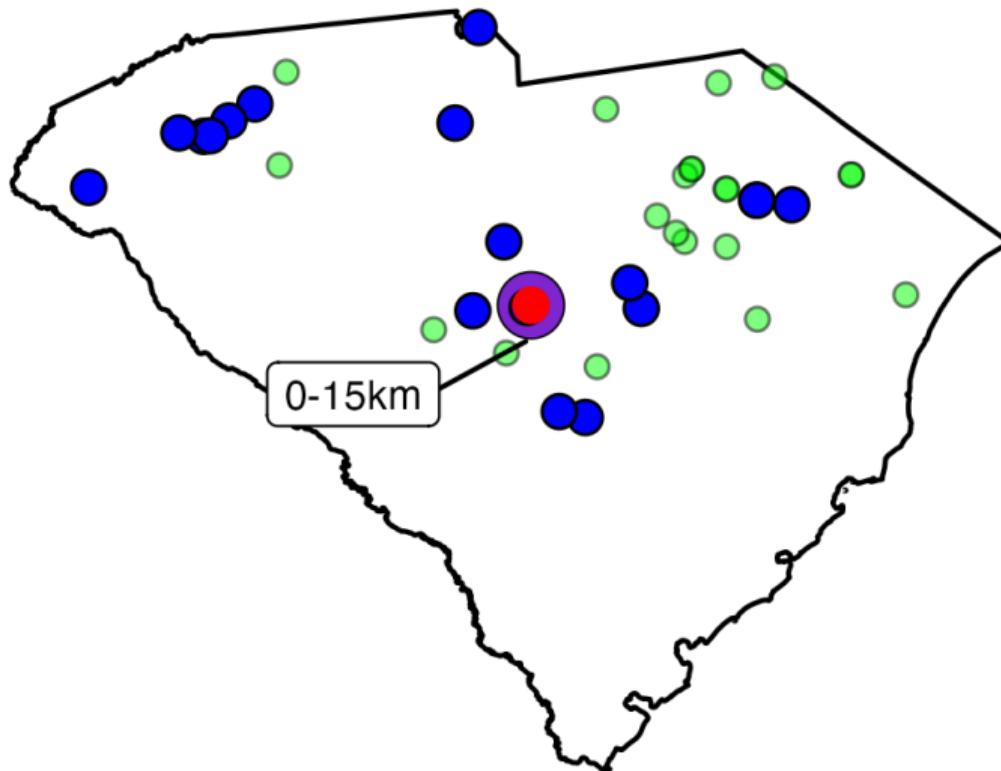
# New Clean Manufacturing Projects



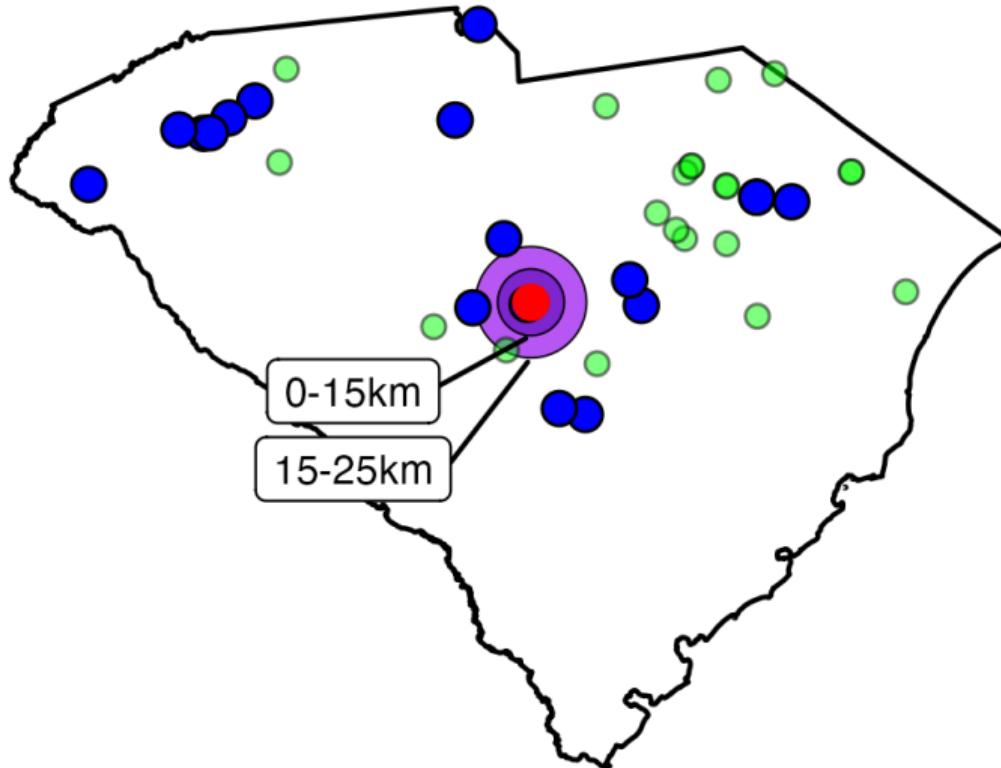
# Measuring Proximity



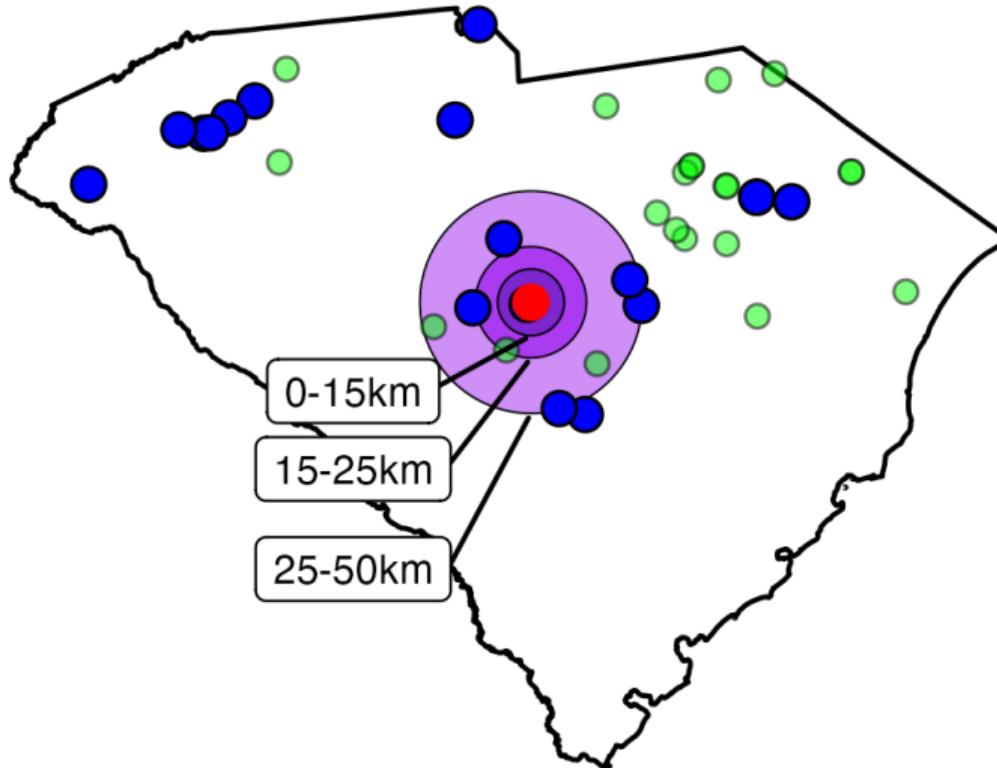
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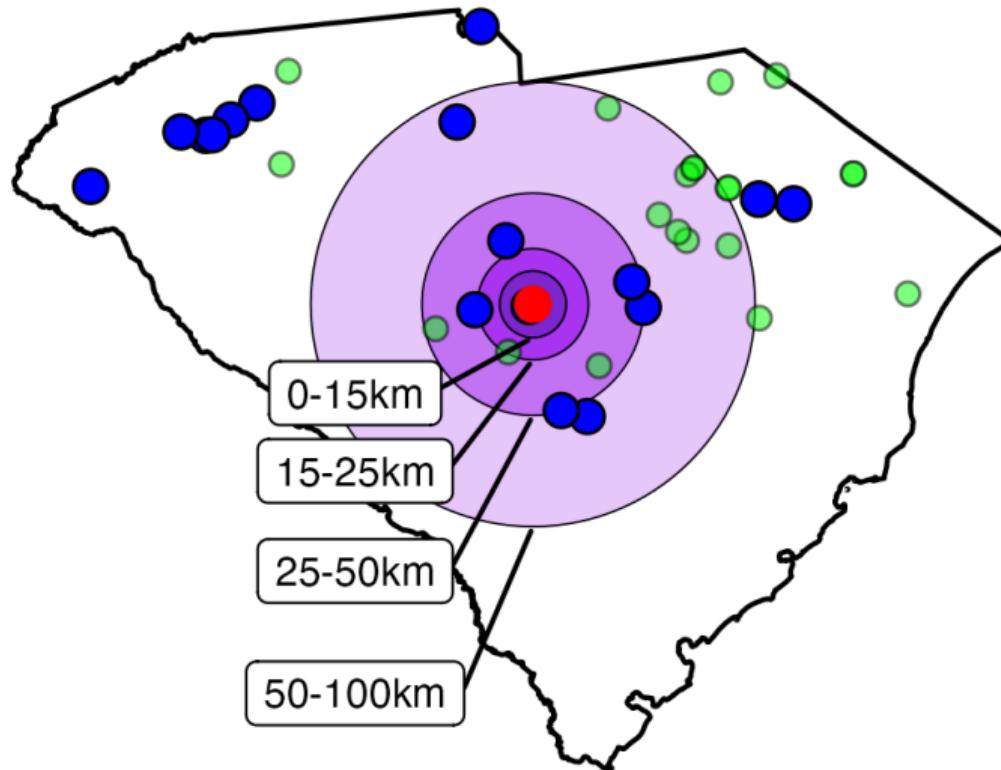
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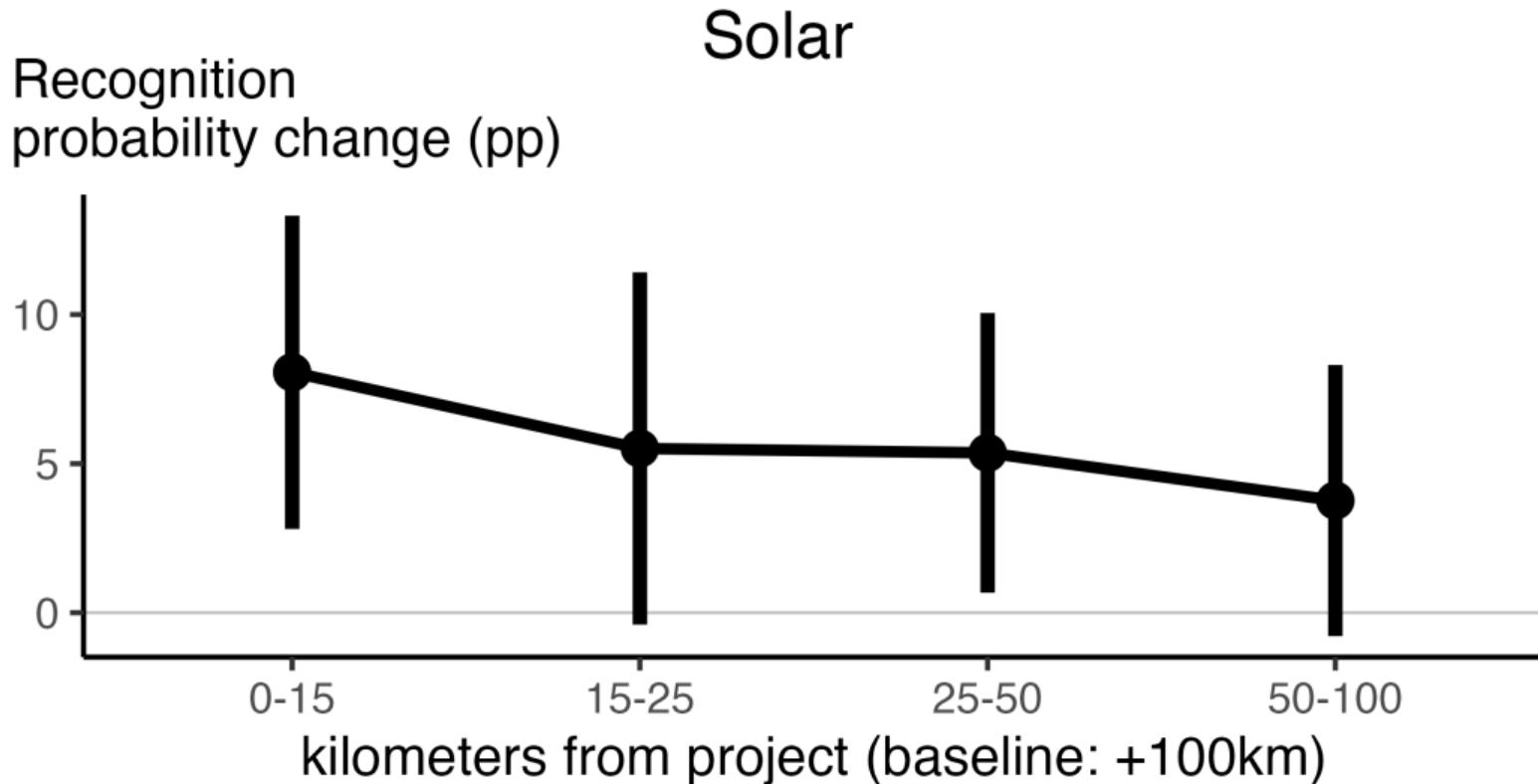
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- Non-random siting decisions
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  - Individual: age, female, race, education, employment, income, partisanship, climate beliefs

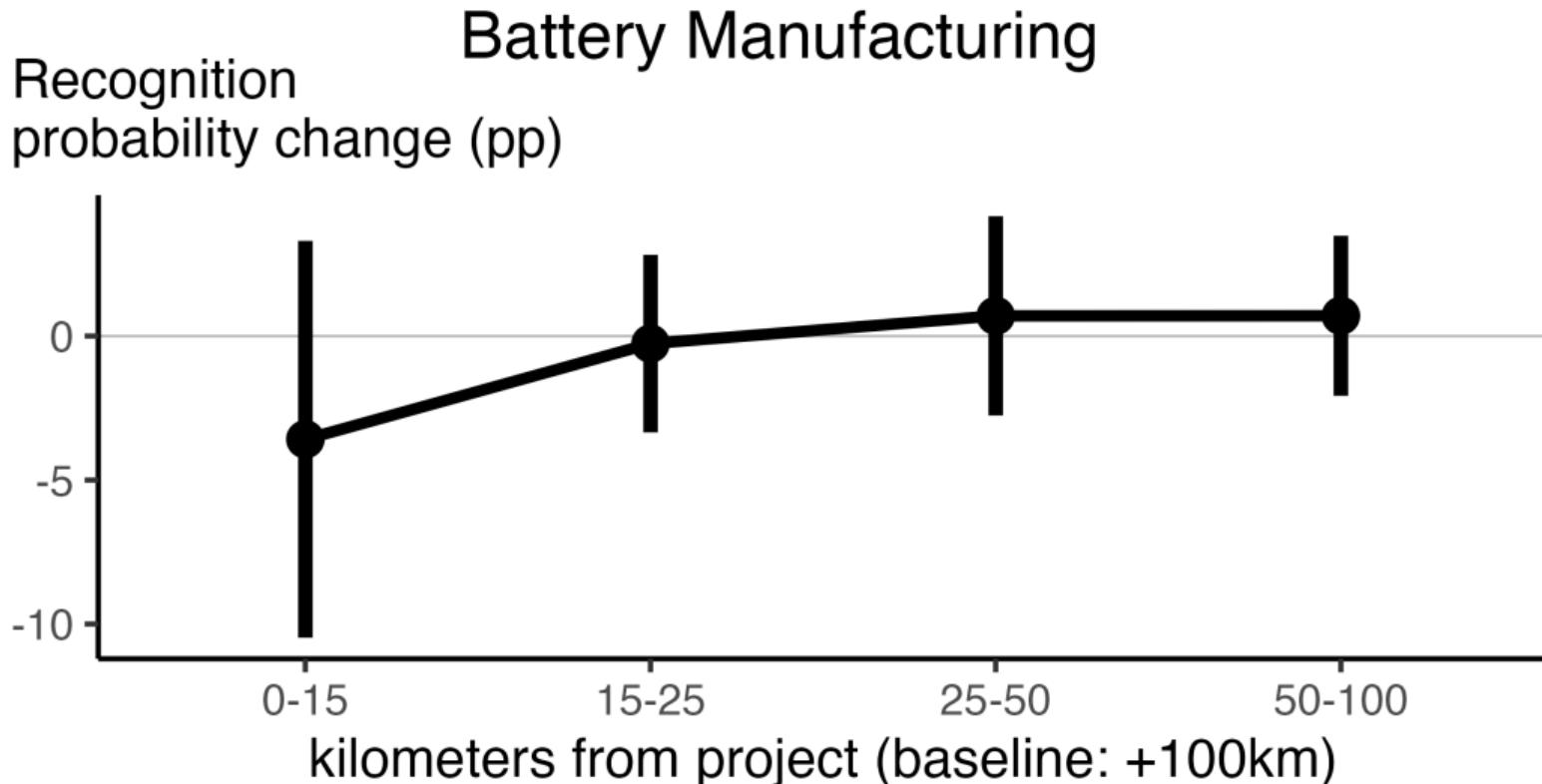
# Causal Identification Strategy

- 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

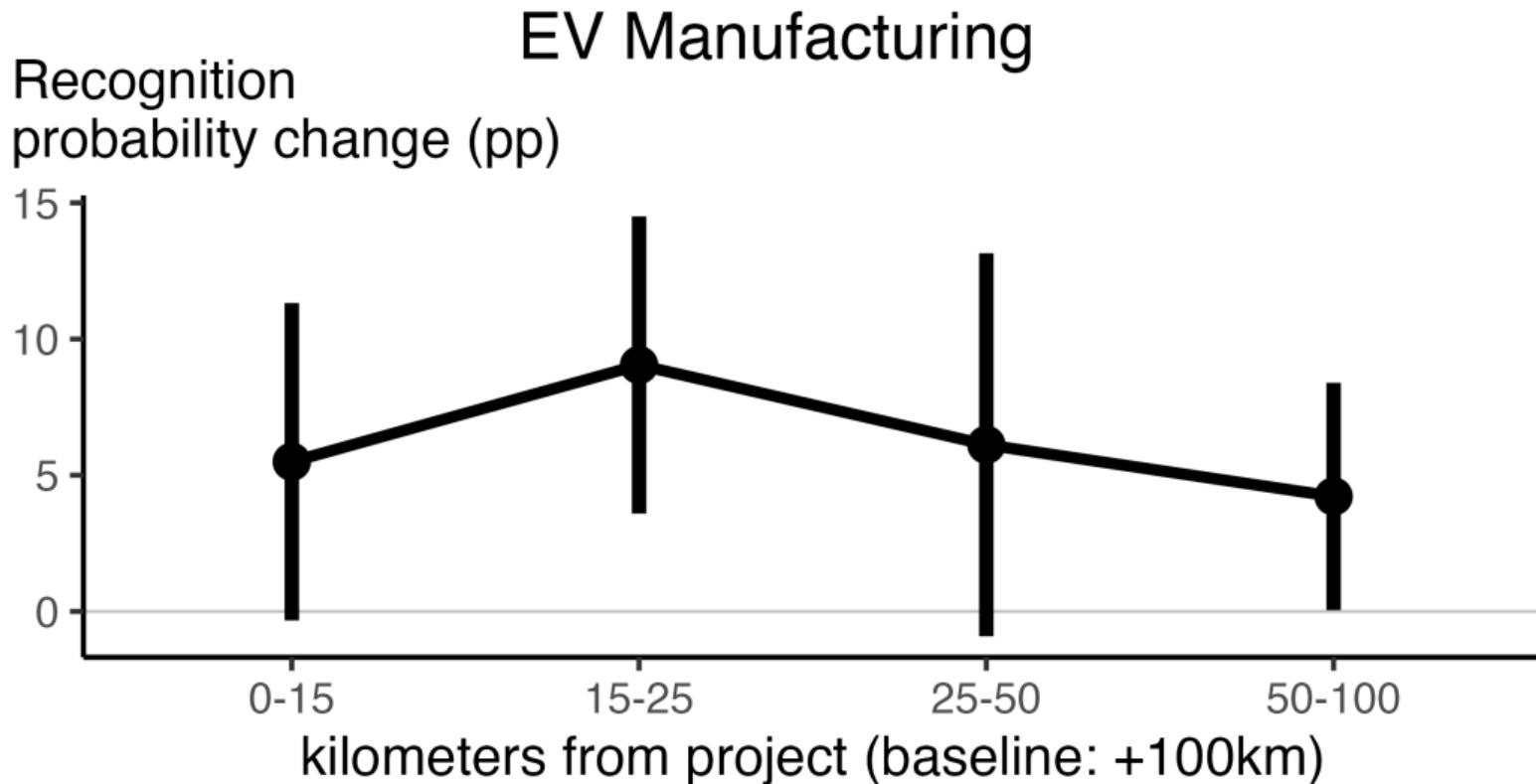
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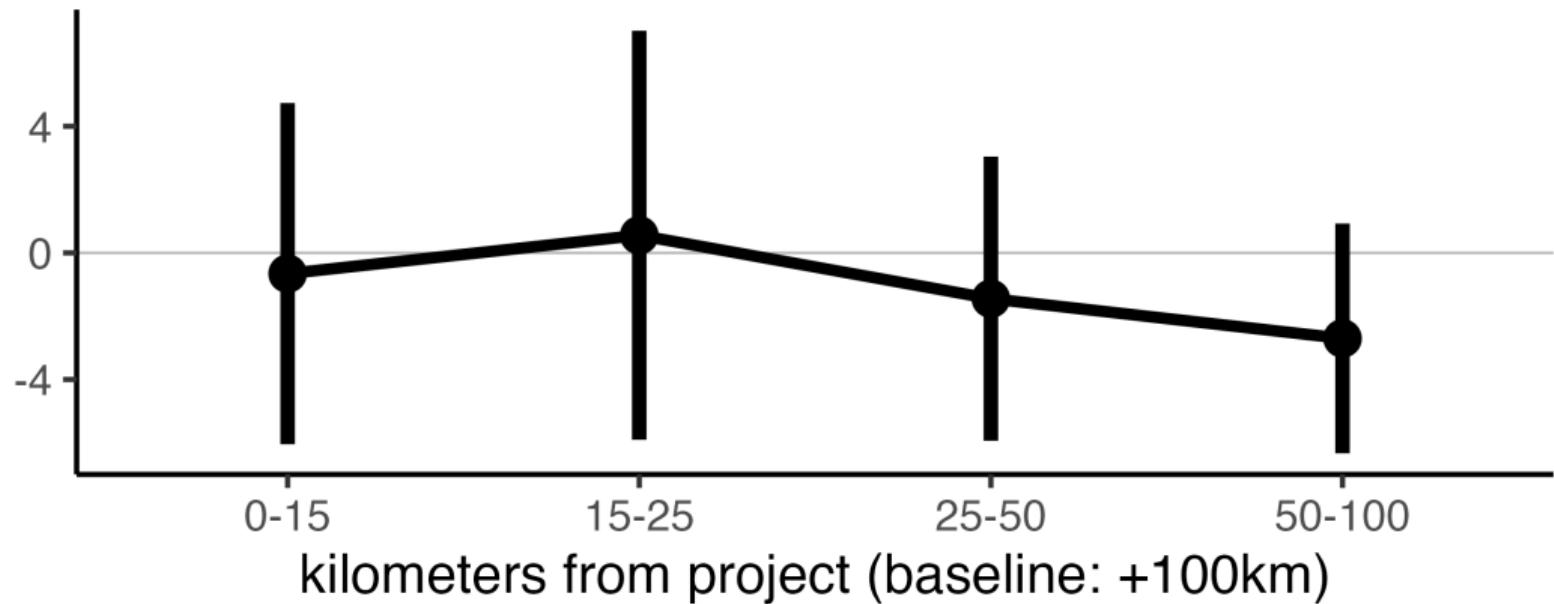
# People Recognize Some Projects



# Less Visible

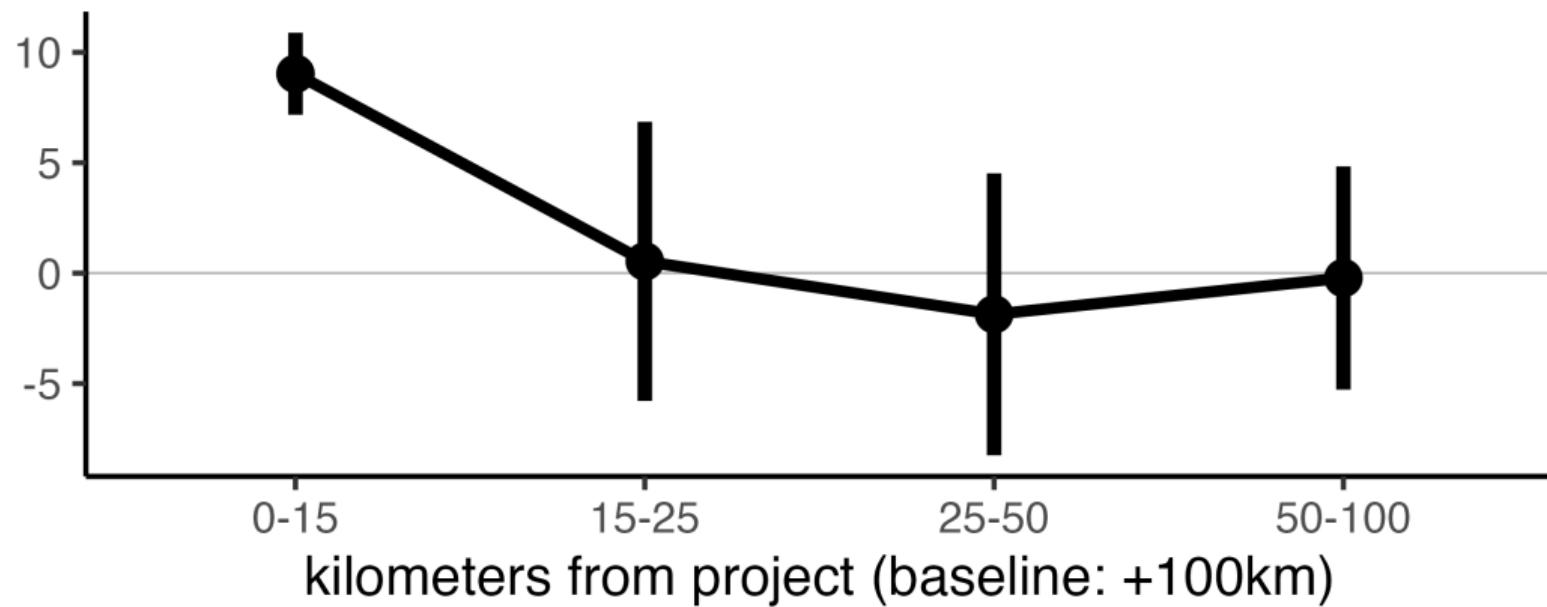
## Battery Generation

Recognition probability change (pp)



More Visible  
+\$500M Invested

Recognition probability change (pp)



# Attribution

# Measuring Attribution

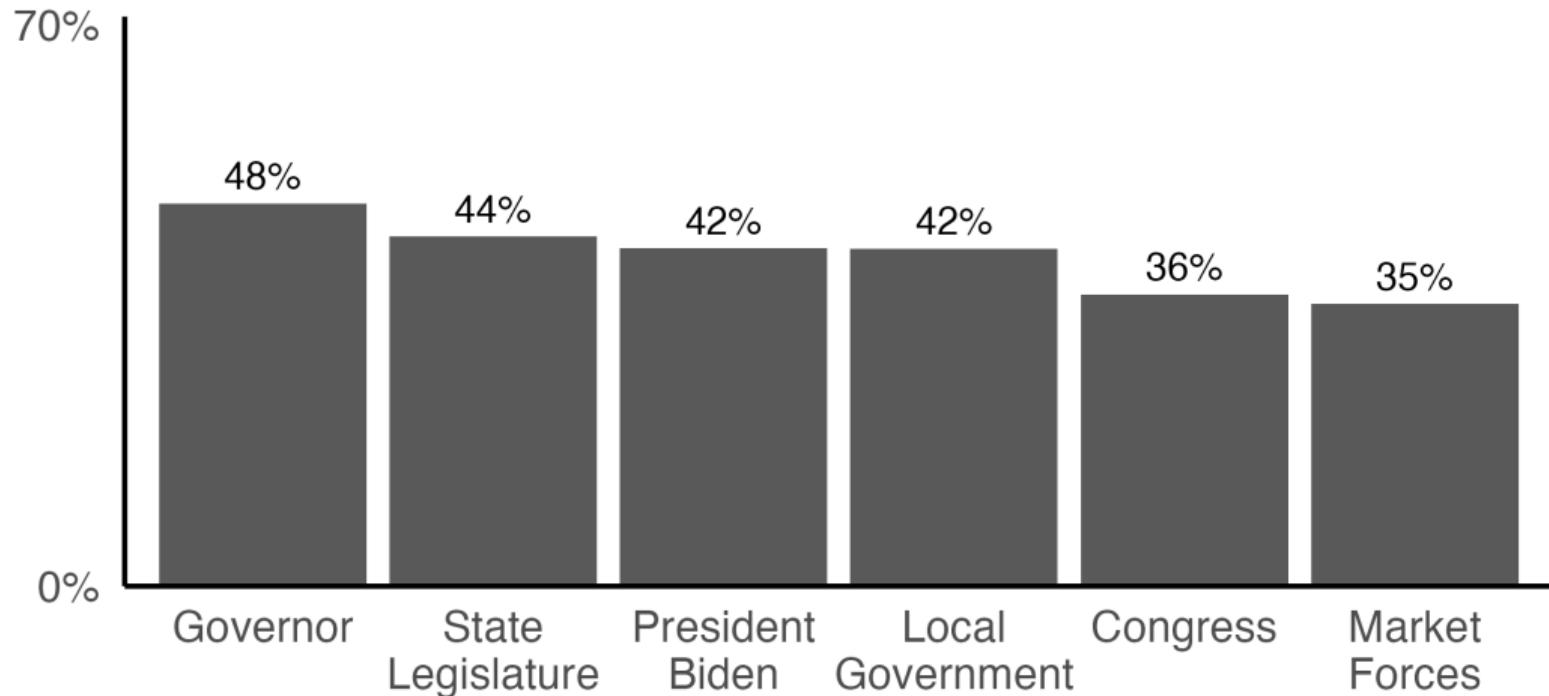
Your state has seen an increase in green investments. Examples include wind and solar farms, and plants to build electric cars. Who or what do you think has played a significant role in bringing these investments to your state? For each option, please rate how responsible you believe they are for attracting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

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

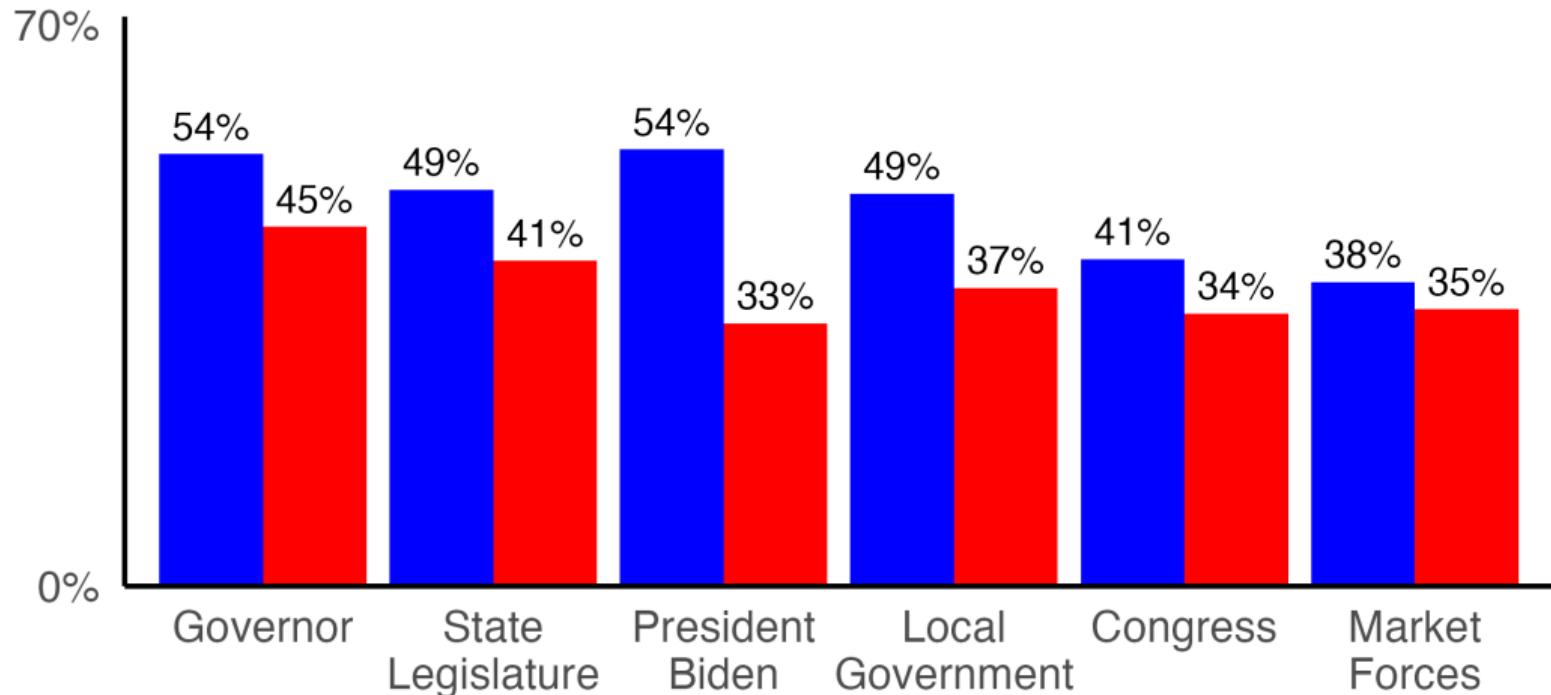
*Extremely responsible; Very responsible; Moderately responsible;  
Not too responsible; Not at all responsible*

No Proximity Effect on  
Attribution

# Who Gets Credit?



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# Why Limited Attribution?

# Complex Information Environment



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- Federalism (Arceneaux 2006; Sances 2017)

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- Investment structure

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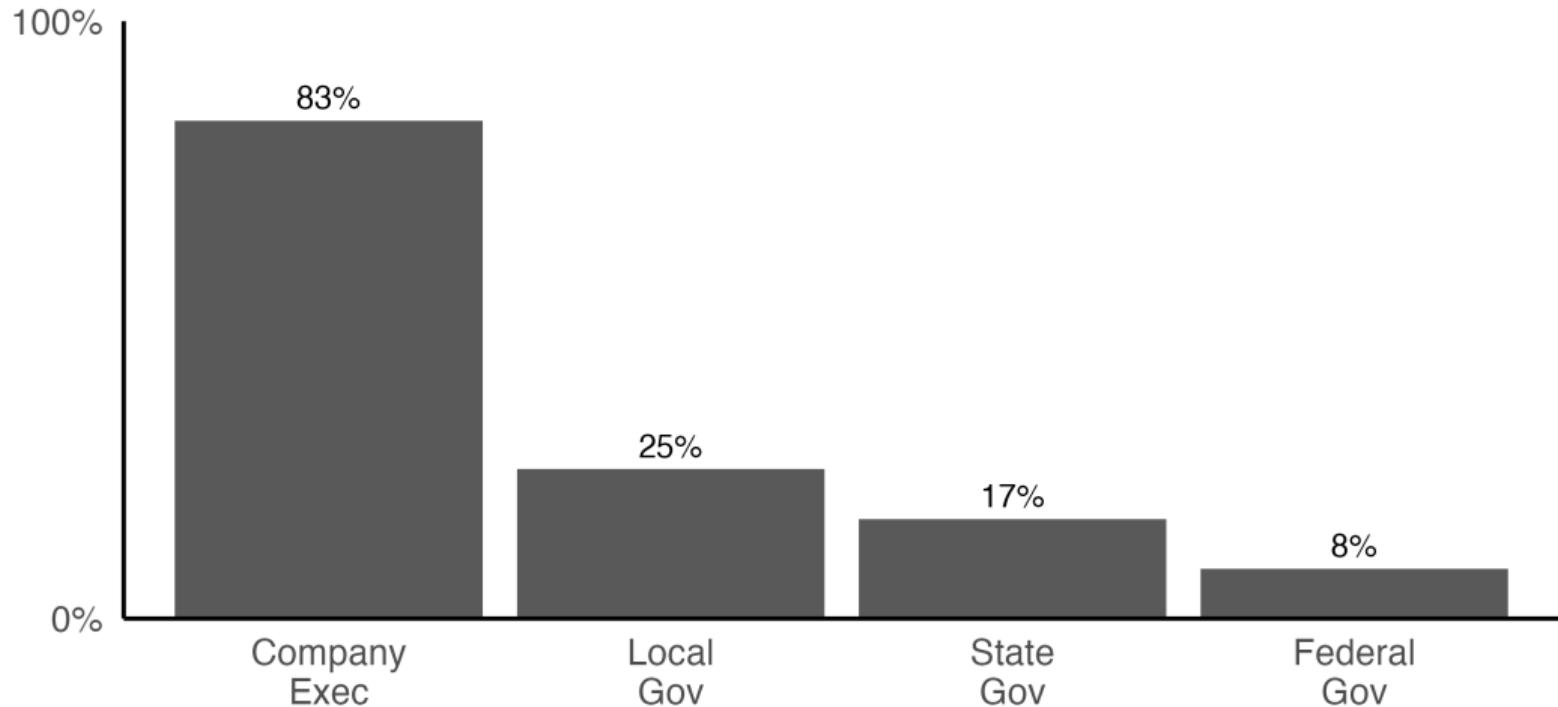
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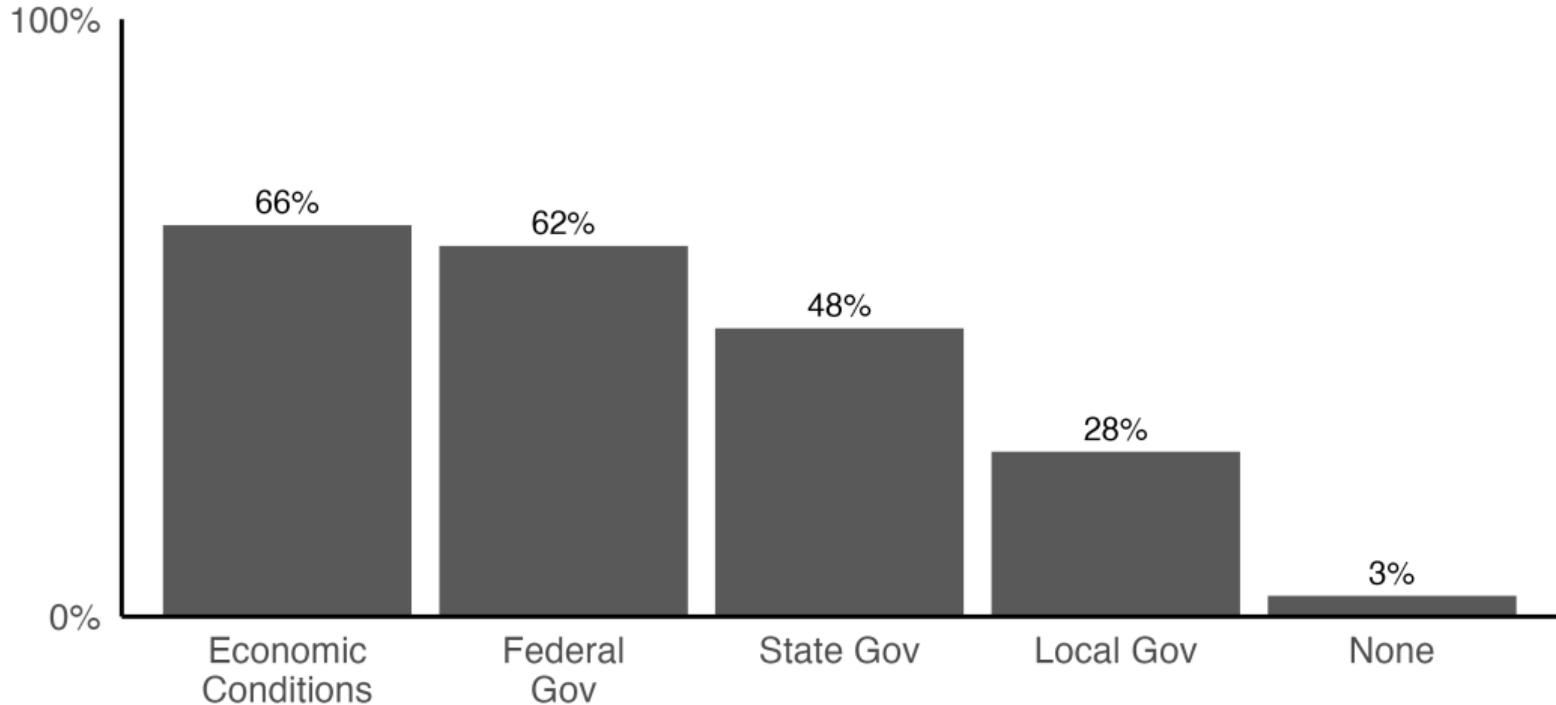
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- RA codes whether credit given

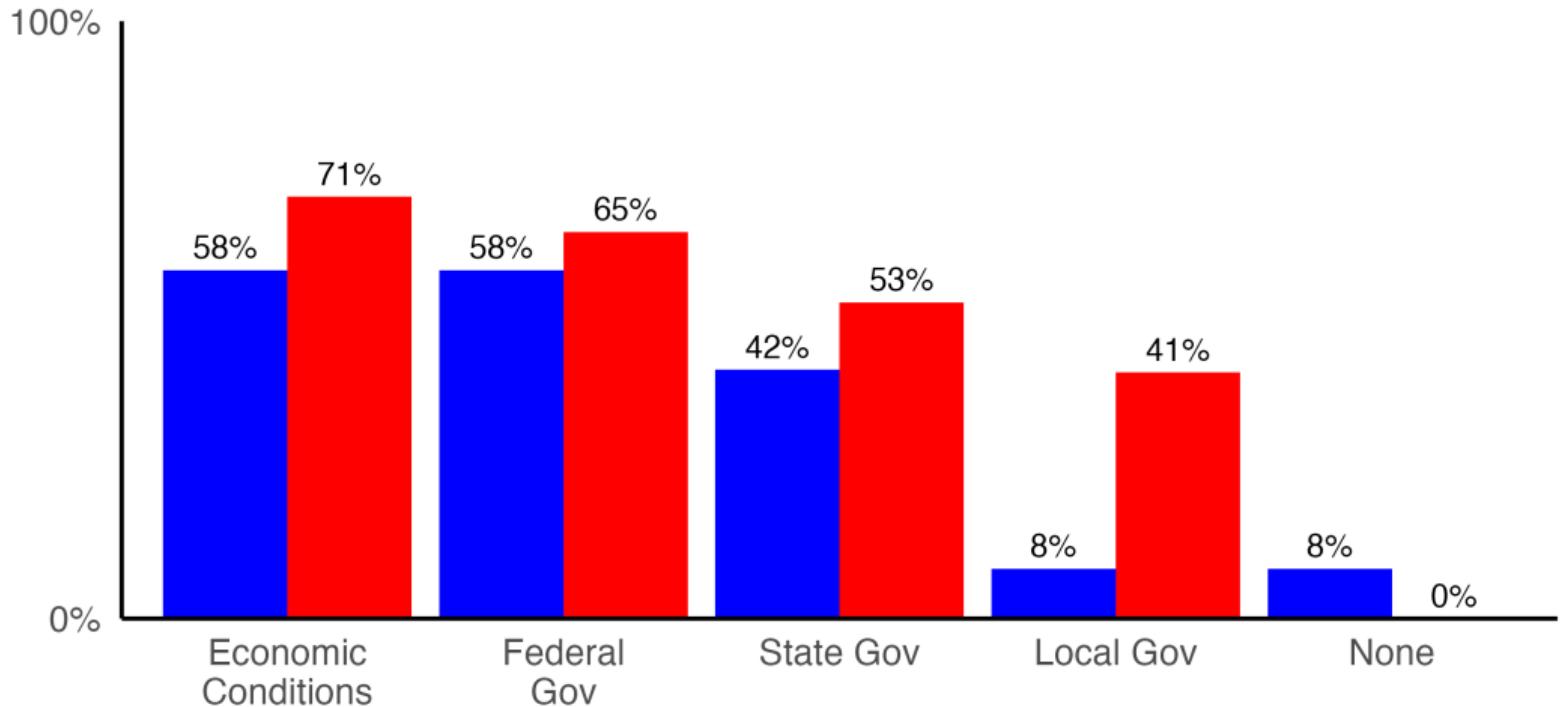
# Company Announcement Speakers



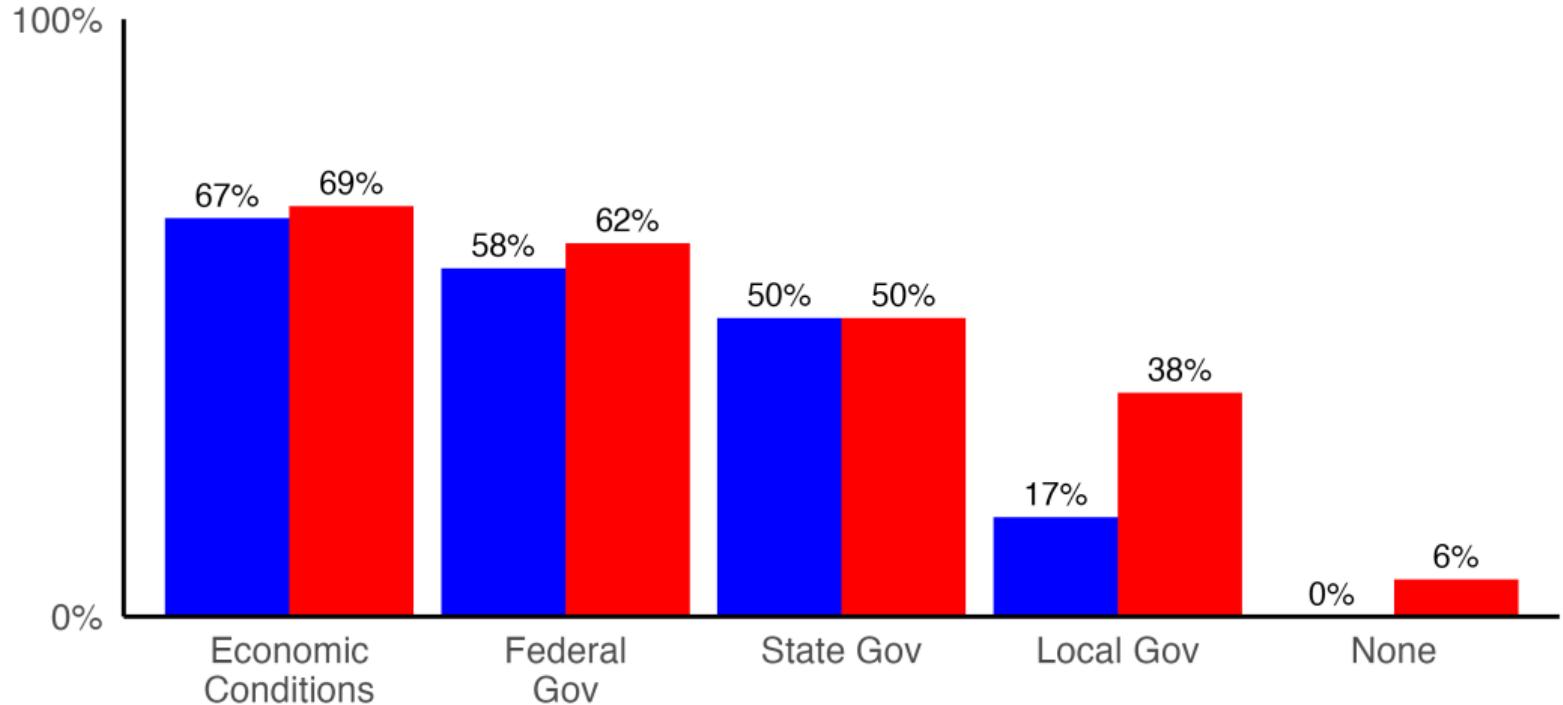
# Companies Spread Credit Widely



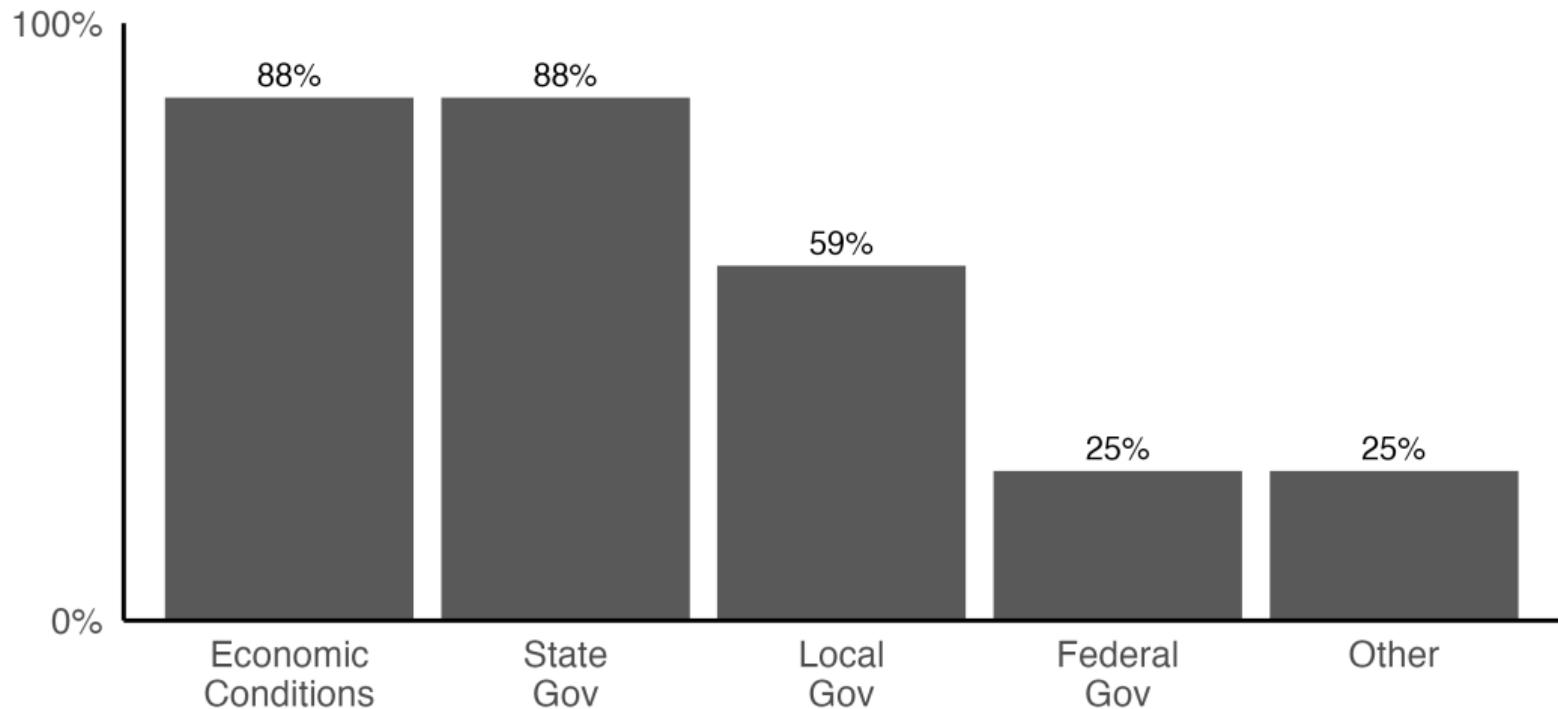
# Governor Party



# Congressional Rep Party

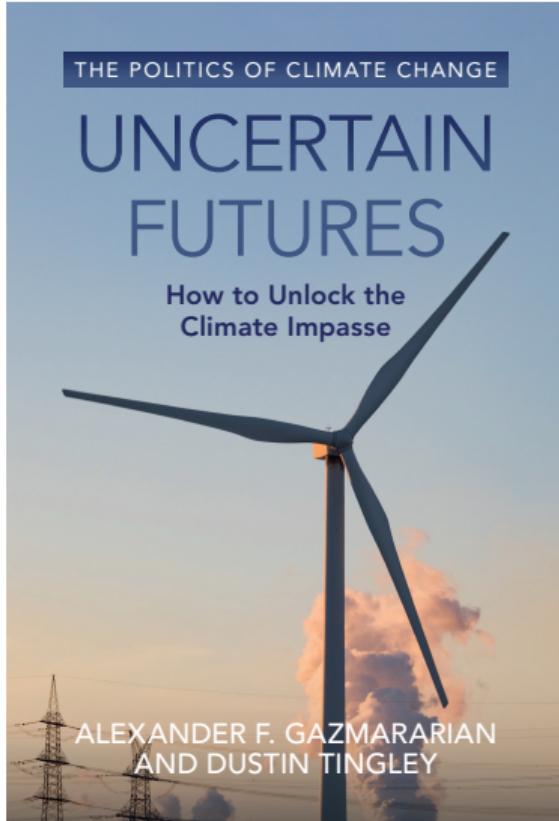


# Whom Do Governors Credit?



# Policy Implications

# Insulating Reforms from Turnover



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