

The background of the slide is a dark blue gradient with a faint, semi-transparent image of the American flag waving. The flag's stripes and stars are visible, though muted in color to blend with the blue background.

The Freedom Frame

Research Shows “Freedom” is Effective at Moving Voters

Pioneering the Freedom Frame

- **Future Majority pioneered the Freedom Frame.**
Extensive research in 2017 led to first set of recommendations in January 2018 urging Democrats to embrace freedom like FDR's Four Freedoms and MLK's March for Jobs and Freedom. Since then, we have studied "freedom" and ways that it can be used to articulate a persuasive policy agenda.
- **The Freedom Frame has proven to be an effective message framework, earning majority support on numerous issues.**
Our research consistently shows that the Freedom Frame is supported by voters across the spectrum, and that improving trust on protecting freedom increases voters' overall trust of Democrats to handle other policy challenges.
- **There is still much opportunity to expand this message framework.** Democrats and allies embracing the Freedom Frame opens new avenues to test messages and policy arguments from Reproductive Freedom to **Financial Freedom** and beyond through our Friends of Freedom efforts.



Future Majority has advocated reclaiming “Freedom” after extensive research in 2017

2018: Future Majority’s first set of findings and recommendations for the Democrats’ brand: **Let’s Build Freedom**

Rebuilding ‘Democrat’

FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

January, 2018

Who We Are and What We Stand For

People want the key building blocks of the American Dream.

● Good Future

Voters Want A Good Future

- Health
- Financial Stability
- Happiness
- FUTURE

* Freedom + Strength

Voters Want Freedom to Work Hard and Reap the Rewards

- Self-Reliance.
- Ability to work, learn and earn.
- FREEDOM.
- STRENGTH.

“Being an American means working hard to build a better place.”

“Freedom to make your life is the core spirit / value of America.”

● Safety Staples

Voters Want Traditional Democratic Things

- Healthcare
- Social Security
- Economic Opportunity
- FAIRNESS

American Dream Building Blocks

RECOMMENDATION

The American Spirit is about working hard to build a better future.

**SO
LET’S
BUILD!**

Let’s build a better future.

Give me freedom.

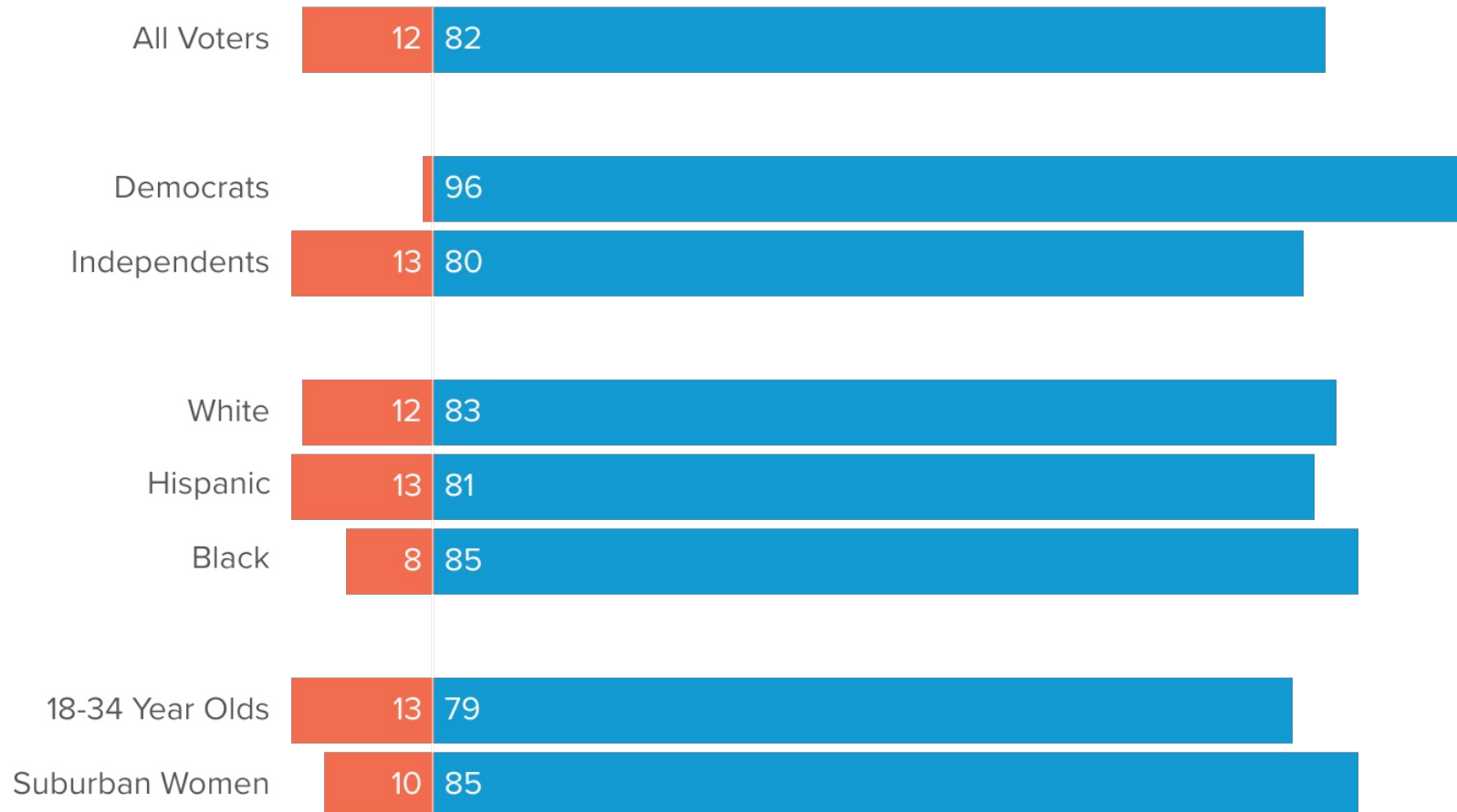
Treat me fairly.

**Let’s Build
Freedom, Fairness, Future.**

Research shows voters want a Freedom Agenda

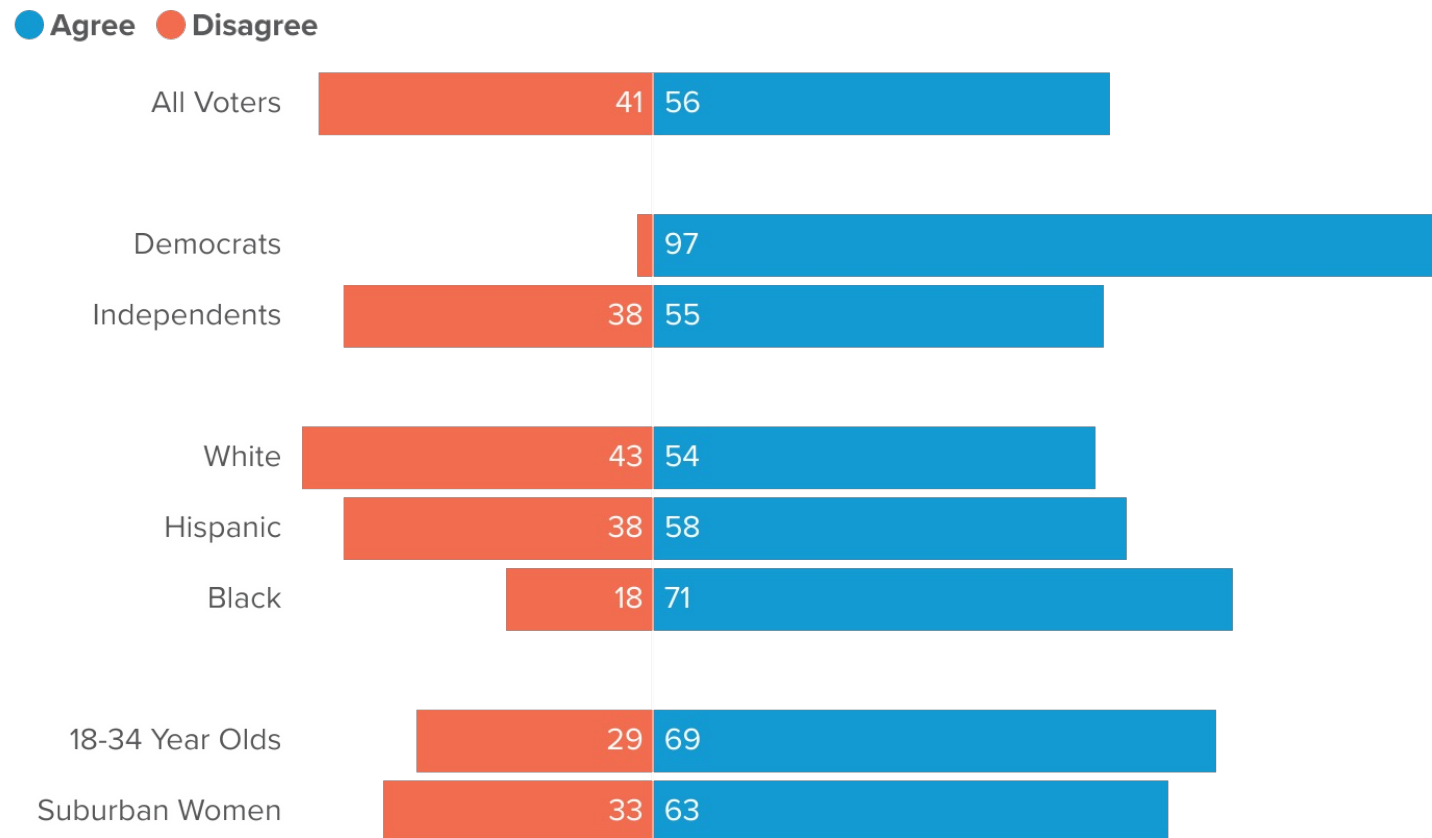
“Do you agree or disagree that lawmakers in Washington DC should **develop a policy agenda that reflects protecting American freedoms:** individual freedoms (free speech, expression of your faith, who you love, your vote, etc.), economic freedoms (stability, social safety net to prevent bankruptcy when you fall on hard times) and [global/foundational] freedoms (making us safer domestically and abroad, such as conserving our planet's resources like air and water, ensuring Americans are protected from supply shortages, etc.)?”

● Agree ● Disagree



Democrats have an opportunity to redefine their agenda through the Freedom Frame

“The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but they only value freedom when it comes to their supporters and not anyone who disagrees with them.”



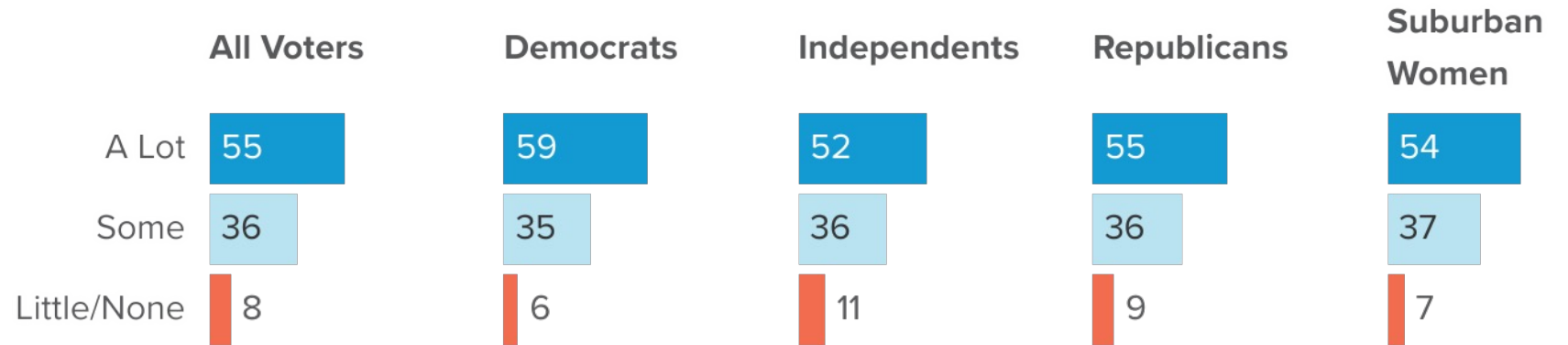
70% of Democrats and Independents in a similar poll conducted in August 2022 agreed with the statement:

“The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but their idea of freedom is like the rest of their ideas – stuck in the 1700’s.”

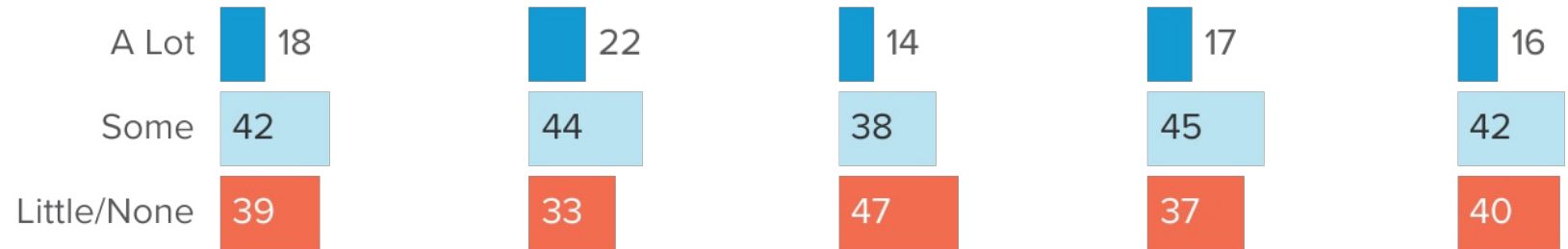
Voter perceptions about their freedoms

How Much of Each Do You Feel?

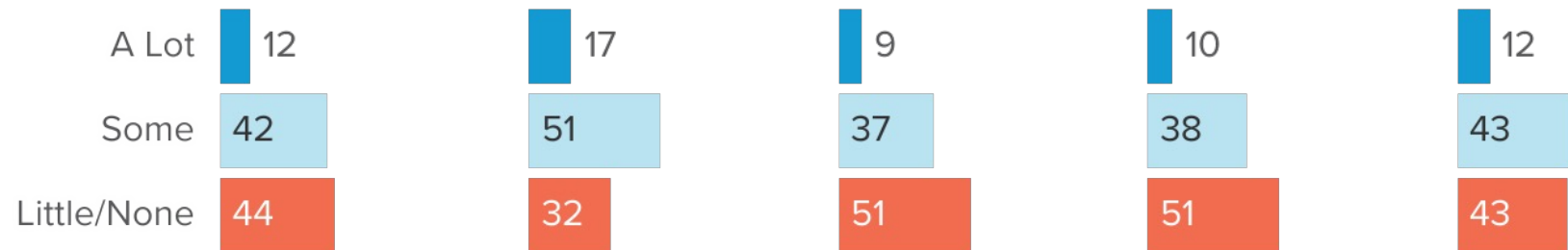
Individual freedom - the ability to make important personal decisions such as who to marry, when to start a family, what faith to worship, what books you can read, and the ability to do what is best for your life, not what society demands of you.



Economic freedom - the opportunity to build a prosperous life and retire with dignity, and you have low risk of losing your home or savings during hard times.

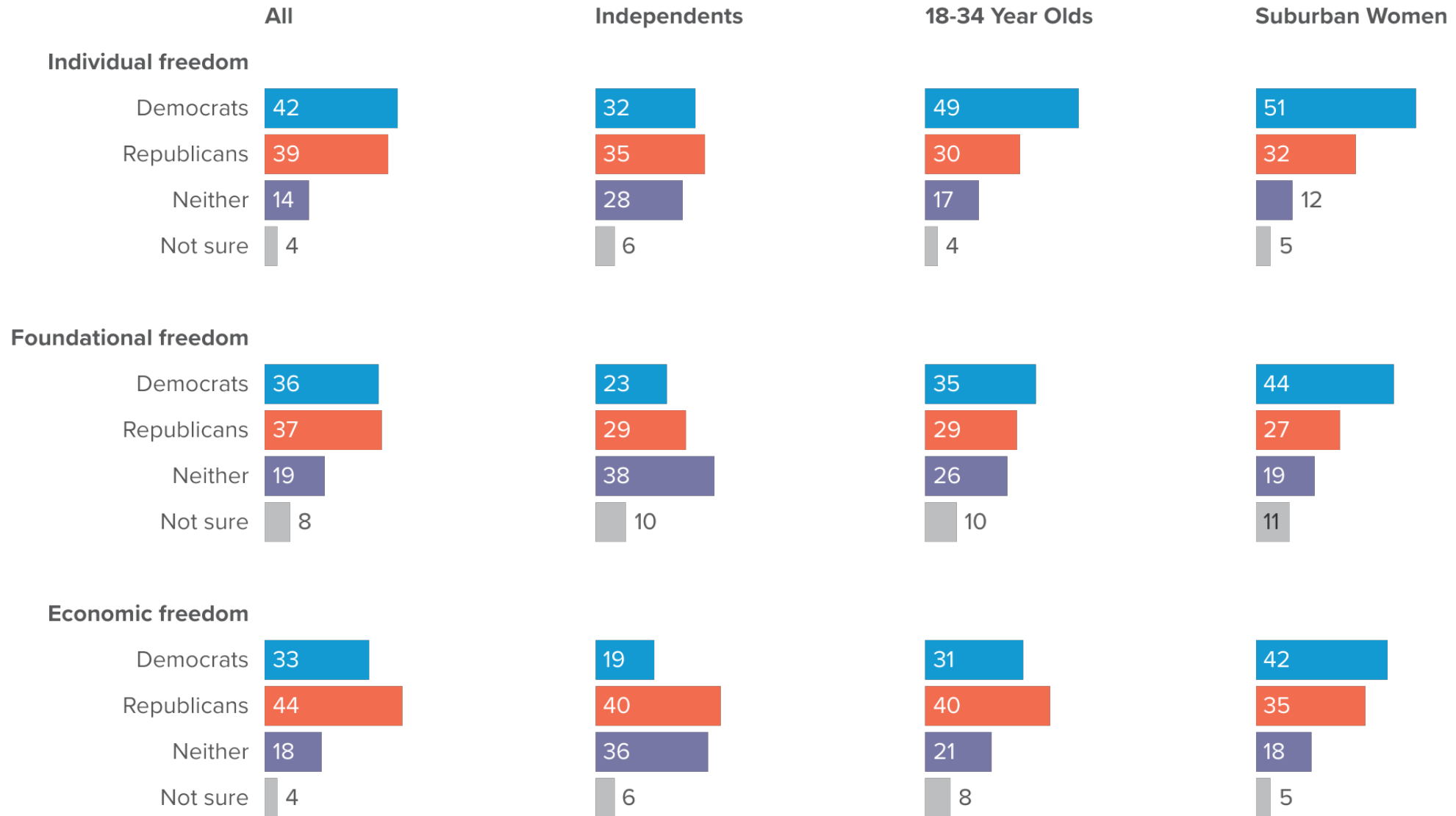


Foundational freedom - that you can breathe clean air and clean water, your vote is counted and respected, that you can buy the things you need because it is made in America and not subject to global supply chain issues, and that you live in a community without fear of crime.



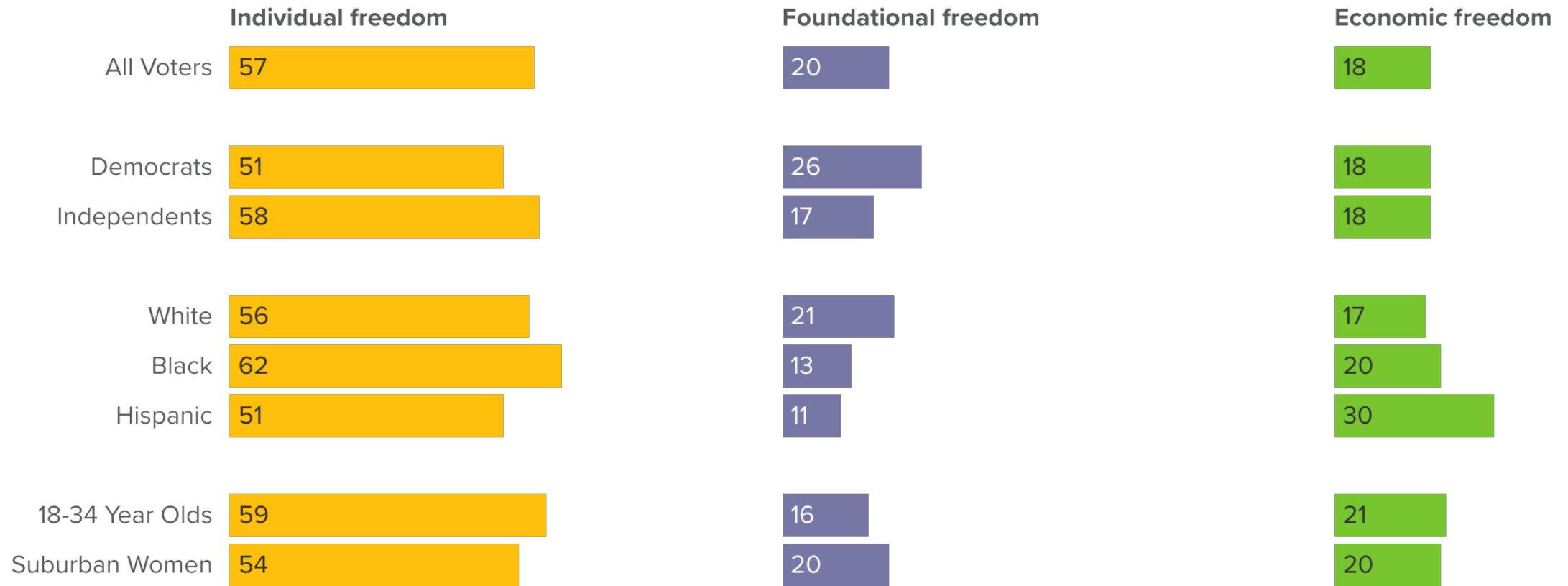
Voters split on trust to deliver types of freedom

Which group do you trust more to deliver:



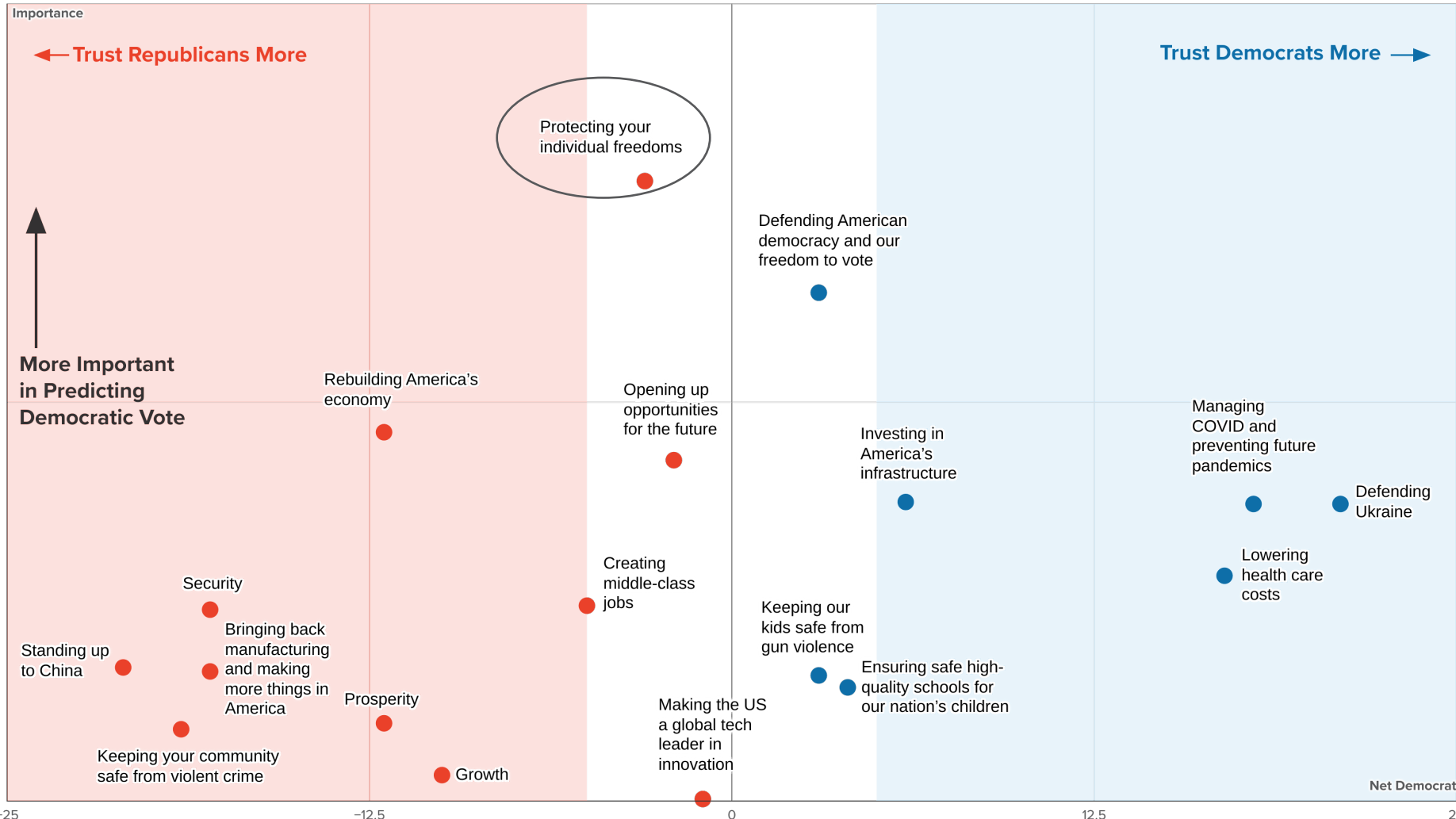
Voters say Individual Freedom is most important

Which type of freedom is most important:



Freedom Moves Voters

Protecting Freedom moves voters' trust



This chart looks at the impact of trust of the political groups on a variety of issues and the likelihood of supporting a Democrat for U.S. House.

To do this, we did a marginal effects regression. The process tries to isolate the impact of each variable on the likelihood of supporting a Democrat. If someone moves from trusting Republicans to trusting Democrats, the coefficient tells us how much that increases the likelihood of supporting Democrats. The y-axis that goes up and down is the coefficient of each variable in this regression. The items at the top of the chart strongly impact the vote. The items at the bottom of the chart have little to no impact on the vote. If someone goes from trusting Republicans to Democrats on “protecting individual freedoms,” that will have a substantially larger impact on the vote than trusting Republicans on “making the US a global tech leader in innovation.” The items to the right are issues voters trust Democrats more. The items to the left are issues voters trust Republicans more.

The main points are that a) Democrats narrowly trail Republicans on trust to protect individual freedoms, and b) if Democrats move voters' trust on this measure, it will move voters to support Democrats more than any other issue.

Freedom messages work with movables voters*

Under 40 - Jan-24

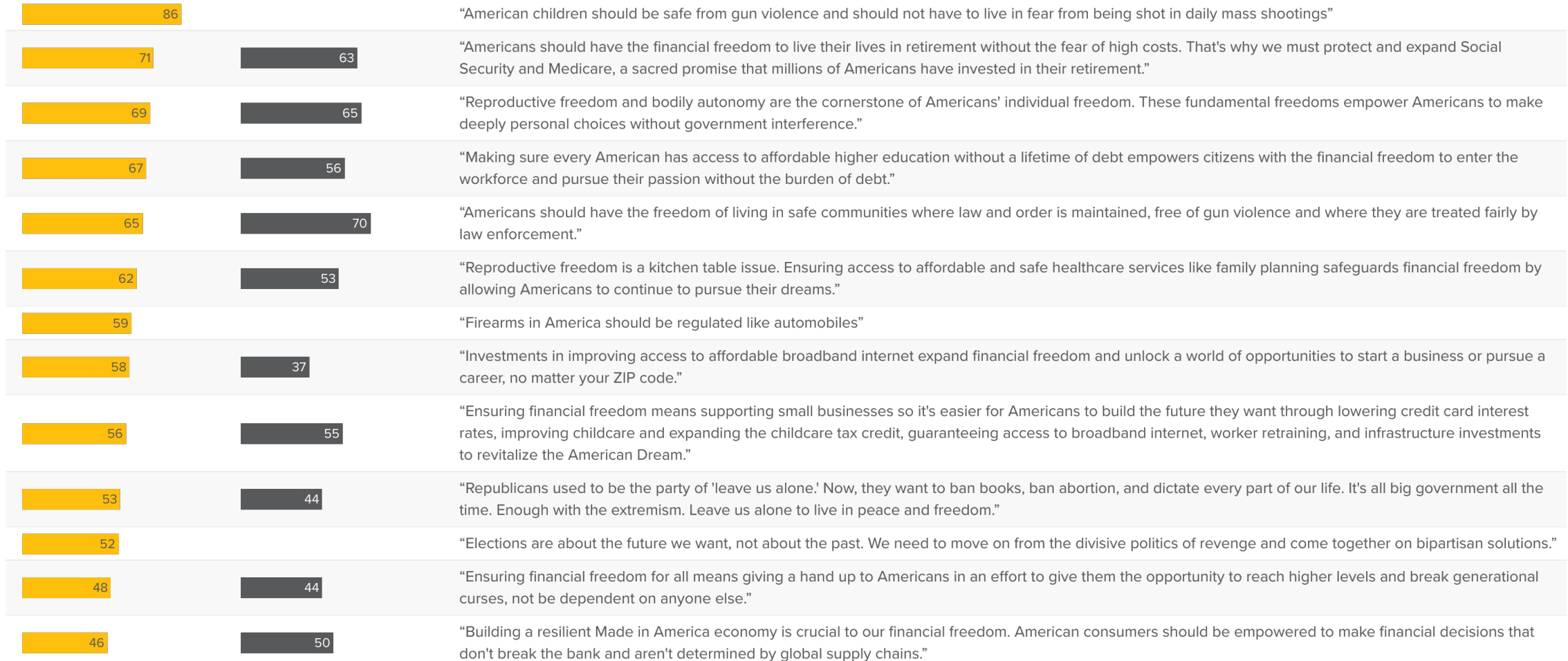
AZ/MI/Metro

Atlanta/CA CDs

All Voters - Dec-23

PA/NV/NY CDs

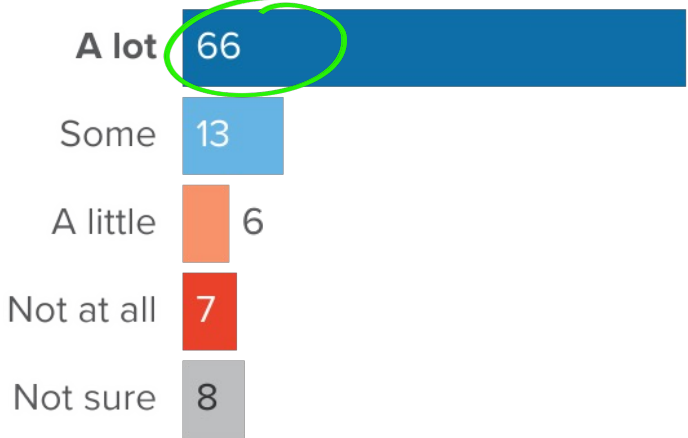
% Strongly Agree



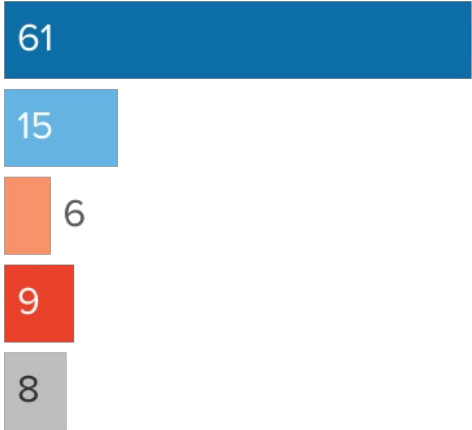
*Movable voters meet one of three criteria: 1) Undecided in Biden/Trump, 2) Support Biden/Trump, but say they could change their mind, 3) Somewhat disapprove or are Not Sure of Joe Biden's job

Under 40 movable voters see MAGA as a threat to personal freedom

How much do you believe MAGA Republicans threaten democracy?



How much do you believe MAGA Republicans threaten your personal rights and freedoms?

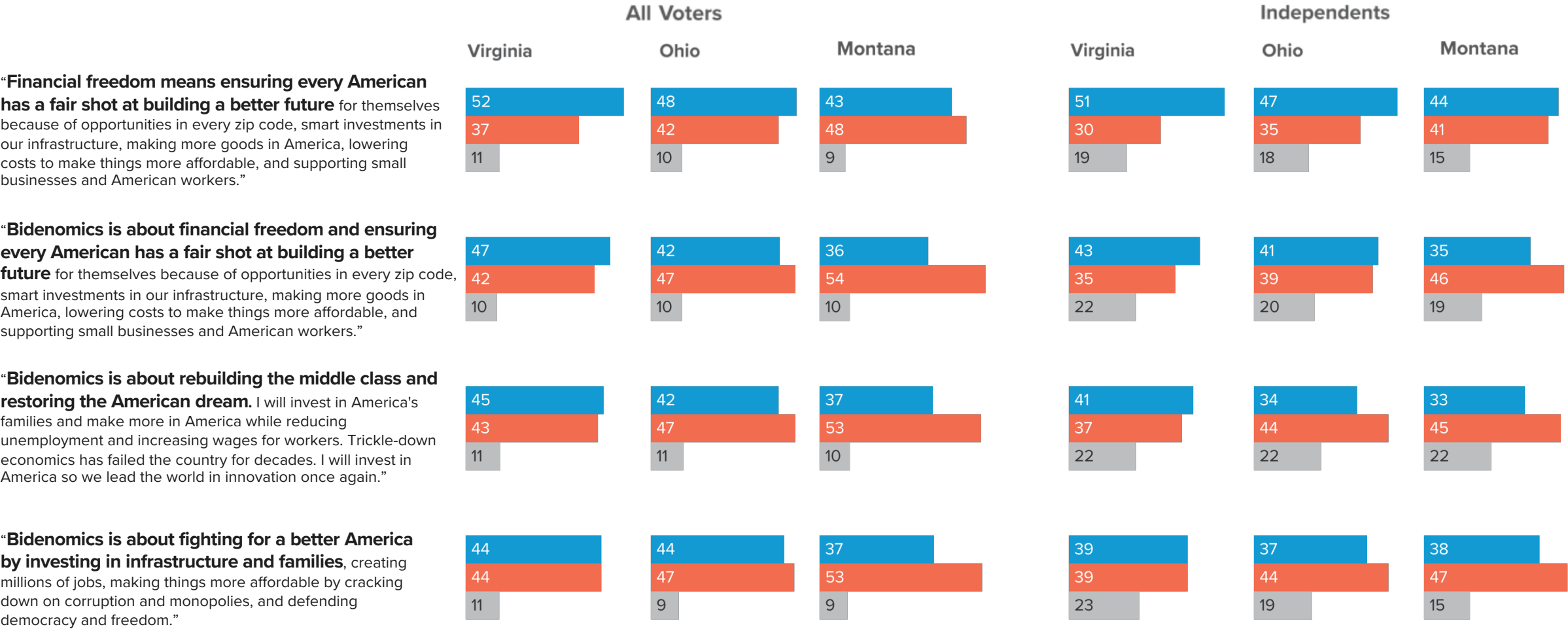


Agreement with Freedom Statements (% Strongly Agree)

All	Dem	Ind	
92	96	91	"Citizens of legal age should have the basic American Constitutional freedom to express their voice at the ballot box"
90	86	88	"Americans should have the freedom to choose their elected representatives, without the threat of fraudulent votes and rigged intervention swaying the results"
80	86	79	"Every American deserves a fair shot so they can build the financial freedom to take the jobs they want or to start a business"
79	96	80	"It's not freedom to have a politician tell you who you can marry"
78	97	71	"Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without fear of falling victim to gun violence in schools, workplaces, places of worship, or walking down the street"
77	95	75	"Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without the fear of crippling healthcare costs"
76	94	72	"All students, regardless of financial status, race, or zip code have the right to a quality education and equal educational opportunities"
76	90	71	"Americans should have the freedom to live in safe communities, free of gun violence and where they are treated fairly by law enforcement and where police provide a sense of security"
68	54	64	"Americans should have the freedom to live in communities where law and order is maintained, and the police protect them from the threat of violence"
64	89	60	"The freedom that comes from investing in children in poor neighborhoods so they have quality schools and are safe so they can see their 18th birthday"
64	94	59	"Americans, and future generations of Americans, should have the freedom to breathe clean air and drink clean water and to live without the constant threat of climate-related disasters"
62	37	61	"Americans should have the freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children"
61	96	62	"Women should have the freedom to make decisions about their reproductive healthcare without being told by politicians what they can do with their bodies"
52	19	49	"Americans should have the freedom to live in a country where their job and physical security are not threatened by illegal immigration into the United States"
49	20	46	"The United States should be tough, suspicious of foreign promises, and willing to use force to defend our basic freedoms"
47	78	44	"It's not freedom to work a 40 hour work week only to be told you can't join a union"
47	16	47	"Americans should be free to work hard for their prosperity, without intervention from unions or the government"

Support for Messages

Voters were asked to choose between a candidate saying the following and a candidate saying they are **“Making America Great Again by getting inflation under control by cutting out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, banning Critical Race Theory in public schools, and securing the southern border with Mexico.”**



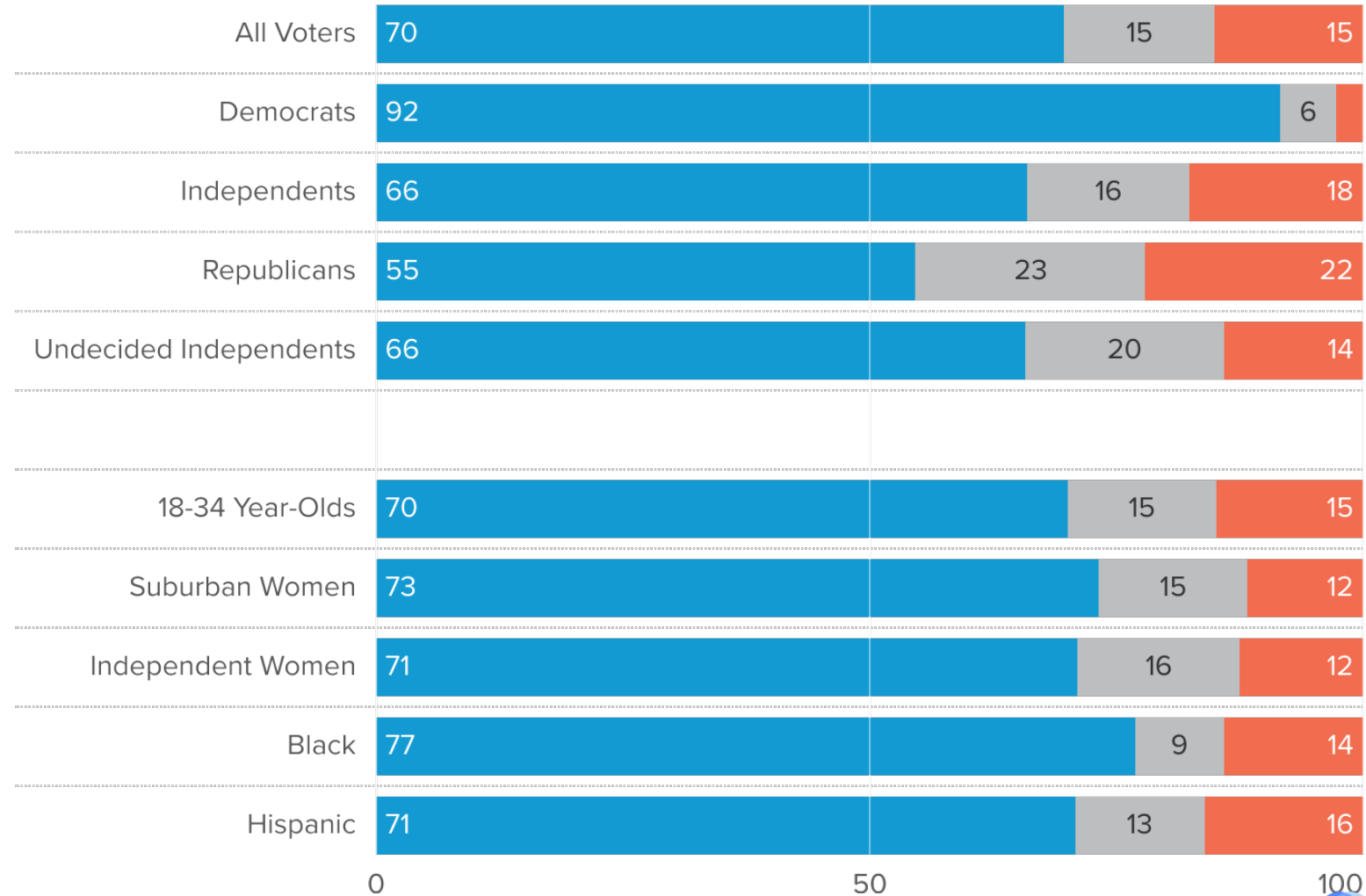
Senator Bob Casey's Five Freedoms for America's Children policy agenda earns broad support

● Total Vote For ● Make No Difference ● Total Someone Else

Likelihood to Vote for a Candidate Saying...

“I am running on guaranteeing five freedoms to address the needs of every child in America:

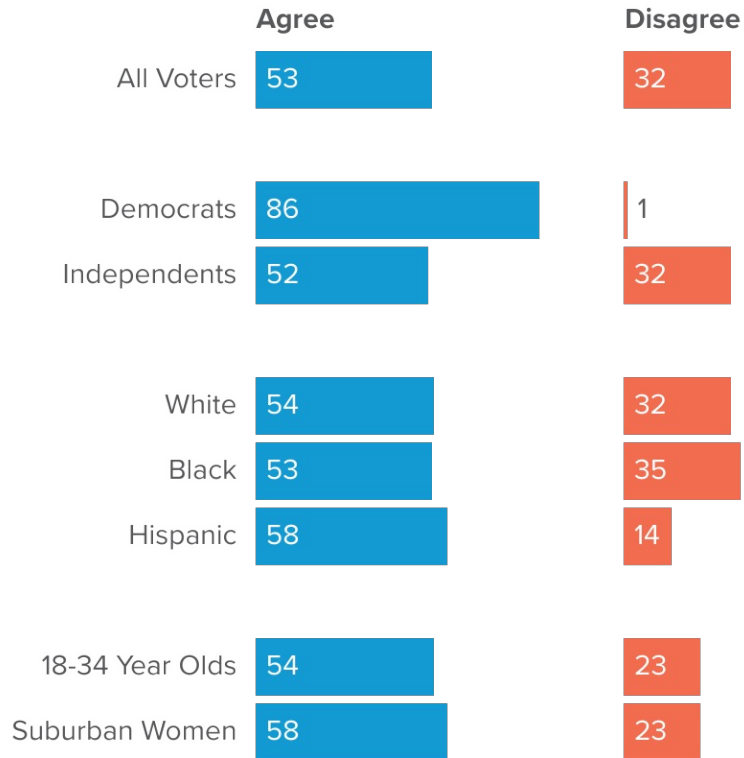
- **Freedom to be healthy**
- **Freedom to be economically secure**
- **Freedom to learn**
- **Freedom from hunger**
- **Freedom to be safe from harm”**



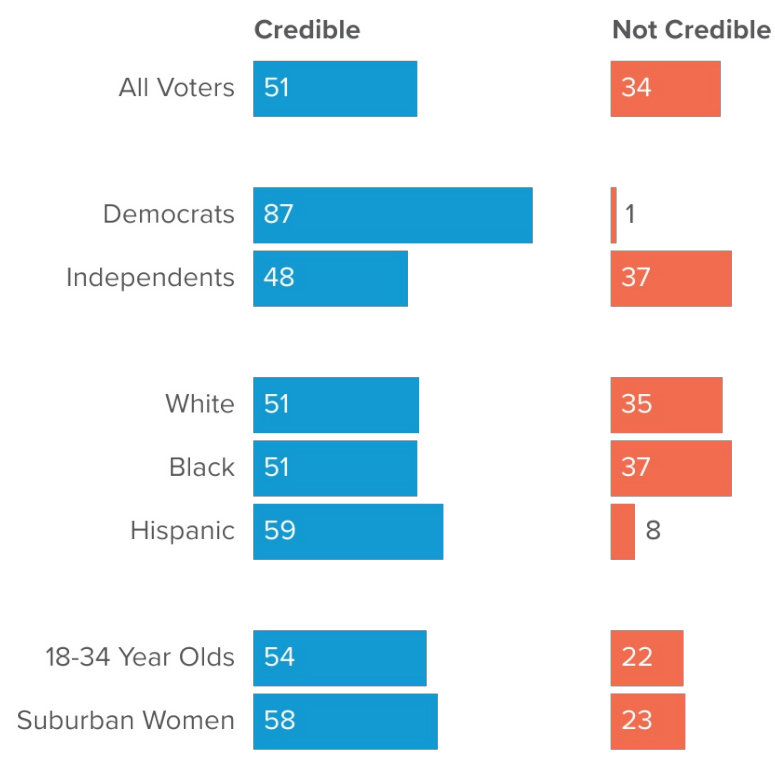
Case Study: Josh Shapiro takes back Freedom in Pennsylvania gubernatorial

We asked voters if they agreed with Gov. Josh Shapiro's Freedom Frame message

Agreement with Shapiro's Message



Credibility of Shapiro's Message

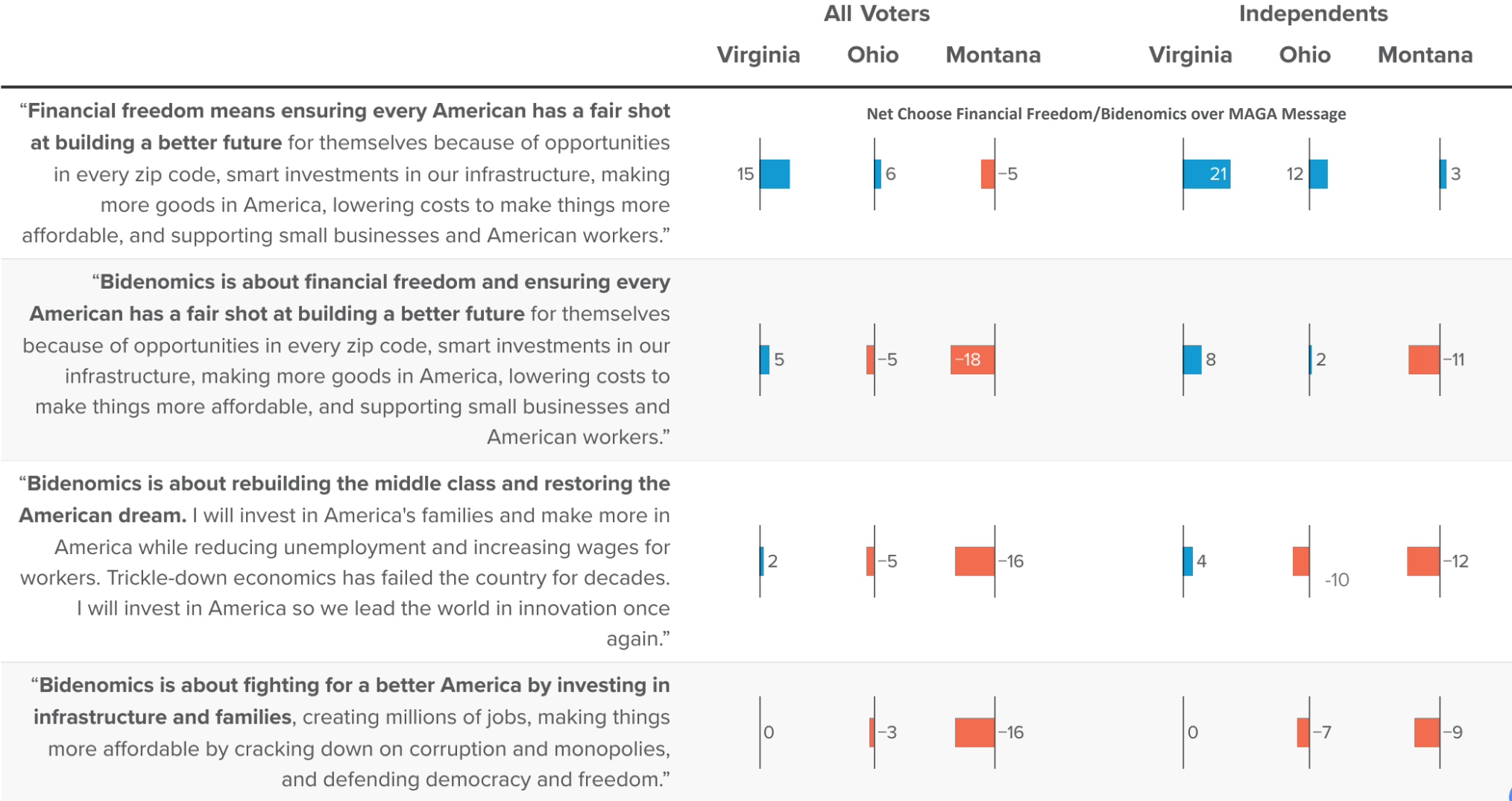


"He loves to talk a big game about freedom," Shapiro said. "But it's not freedom to tell a woman what she can and can't do with her body. It's not freedom to tell our kids what books they can and can't read ... It sure as hell isn't freedom to say that you can vote, but he gets to pick the winner."

Pennsylvania Capital-Star

Support for Messages (Net Gain)

Voters were asked to choose between a candidate saying the following and a candidate saying they are **“Making America Great Again by getting inflation under control by cutting out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, banning Critical Race Theory in public schools, and securing the southern border with Mexico.”**

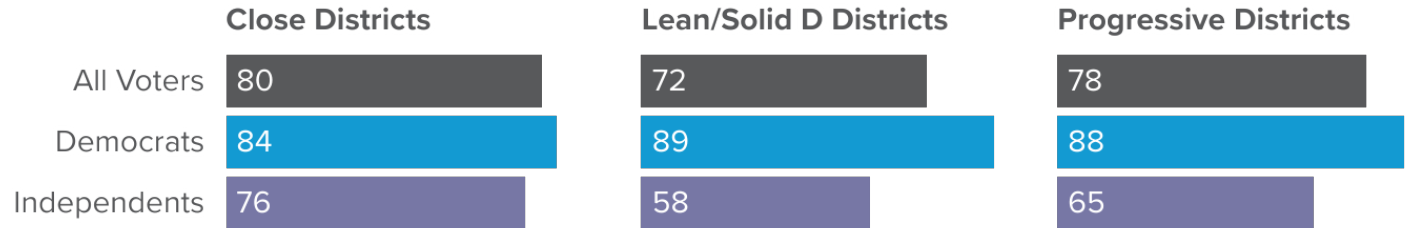


Survey of voters in Montana (n=1451), Ohio (n=1559), and Virginia (n=1437). September 16-19, 2023

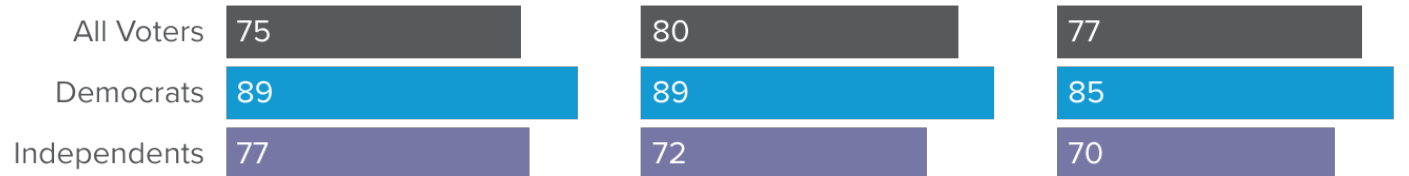
The For the People and Freedom Messages are Effective for Democrats

% Would Vote for That Candidate

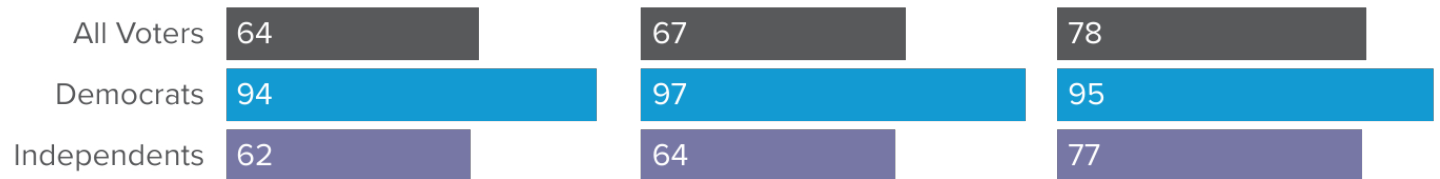
"I am For the People and will fight for a better America by investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of middle-class jobs, cracking down on corruption, and defending democracy and freedom."



"I am For the People and delivered on building a stronger America by investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of middle-class jobs, cracking down on corruption, and defending democracy and freedom."



"I will defend your freedoms - the freedom from health care costs bankrupting your family, the freedom to vote no matter your race or zip code, the freedom to breathe clean air and drink clean water, and the freedom for women to make their own decisions on when to start a family free from government interference."



Issues Offer Opportunities for Values Messaging

The Freedom Frame can be used for nearly every issue. Here are five key examples:

Individual Freedom Frame

“Investing in broadband enhances Americans’ individual freedoms by creating a catalyst so that every citizen has opportunities for growth, education, civic discourse, and the ability to pursue their passions without limitation.”

Investments in Infrastructure like Broadband

“Reproductive freedom and bodily autonomy are the cornerstone of Americans’ individual freedom. These fundamental freedoms empower Americans to make deeply personal choices without government interference.”

Reproductive Rights & Bodily Autonomy

“Made in America means every American has more individual freedom – from making purchasing decisions to promoting ethical and sustainable production practices. Made in America empowers the freedom of choice.”

Made in America

“Affordable higher education means that Americans have the individual freedom and opportunity to pursue their academic and career passions, rather than being driven solely by the need to repay debt.”

Student Loans & College Affordability

“After a lifetime of work, Americans deserve the individual freedom to enjoy their retirement and live out their golden years in dignity. That means protecting and expanding Social Security and Medicare, which is paid for by American workers.”

Social Security & Medicare

Financial Freedom Frame

“Investments in improving access to affordable broadband internet expand financial freedom and unlocks a world of opportunities to start a business or pursue a career, no matter your ZIP code.”

“Reproductive freedom is a kitchen table issue. Ensuring access to affordable and safe healthcare services safeguards financial freedom by allowing Americans to pursue their goals while planning for a family.”

“Building a resilient Made in America economy is crucial to our financial freedom. American consumers should be empowered to make financial decisions that don’t break the bank and aren’t determined by global supply chains.”

“Making sure every American has access to affordable higher education without a lifetime of debt empowers citizens with the financial freedom to enter the workforce and pursue their passion without the burden of debt.”

“Americans should have the financial freedom to live their lives in retirement without the fear of high costs. That’s why we must protect and expand Social Security and Medicare, a sacred promise that millions of Americans have invested in their retirement.”

Freedom Frame in Action

Democrats & Allies take back Freedom

Jeffries emphasizes **freedom** angle on abortion during ABNY breakfast



Pat Ryan
@PatRyanUC
US House candidate, NY-18

Choice is on the ballot, **freedom** is on the ballot, and our special election on August 23rd is the first test, after Kansas, to beat back Republican extremism. I'm Pat Ryan, the pro-choice candidate.

1:37 PM · Aug 15, 2022 · Twitter Web App

Reproductive Freedom for All
@reproforall

NARAL is charting a new path forward with a name that makes it clear what our mission is: Reproductive **Freedom** for All.

**REPRODUCTIVE
FREEDOM FOR ALL**

DURECONOMY: OPINION

Ro Khanna: **'Freedom'** has been hijacked by the Right. Let's take it back

Governor Gretchen Whitmer
@GovWhitmer

It's a big day, Michigan! I'm signing the Reproductive Health Act—a major milestone and testament to our commitment to reproductive **freedom**.

Let's keep breaking down barriers to ensure access to safe, legal abortions so people can make informed decisions about their own bodies.

Katherine Clark
@RepKClark

Freedom to vote.
Freedom to marry who you love.
Freedom to live without debt.
Freedom to make your own health care decisions.
Freedom to live without fear of gun violence.
Your freedom over politics.
That's our promise.
[#PeopleOverPolitics](#)

Representative Fentrice...
@FentriceForFL

It is an affront to democracy that a duly elected representative can be removed for exercising their right to free speech. All Americans deserve the **freedom** to choose their representatives without the interference of MAGA bullies.



Captain Mark Kelly
@CaptMarkKelly

Seven years ago today, Obergefell v. Hodges made marriage equality a reality.

But today, that victory is in jeopardy. We must recommit ourselves to the fight for **freedom** and equality for all Americans — no matter who you are or who you love.

Vice President Kamala Harris Champions Freedom

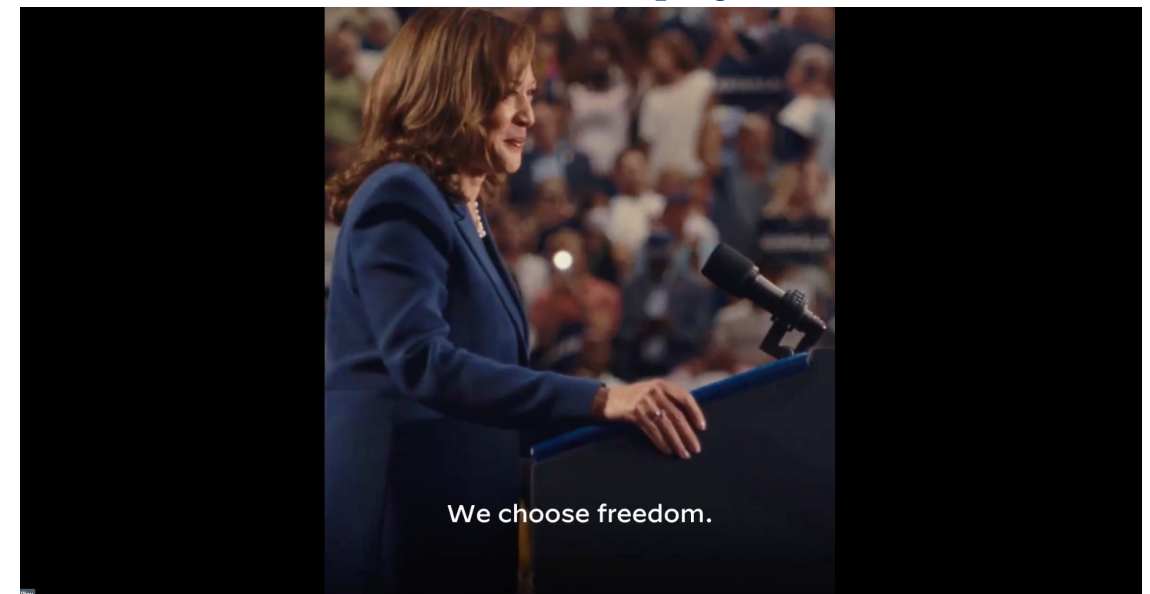
Vice President Kamala Harris has embraced the Freedom Frame both as vice president and in her launch video for president in 2024. VP Harris' expanded use of the Freedom Frame beyond reproductive rights shows the versatility of the message frame.

Reproductive Freedoms Tour



Vice President Harris in [Michigan](#) during a stop on the Reproductive Freedom for All Tour, launched after the Dobbs decision and Congress failure to codify Roe's protections into federal law

VP Harris Launches Campaign on Freedom



AXIOS Harris' 2024 message: We're the party of "freedom"

Vice President Harris [launched](#) her campaign for president backed by Beyonce's song "Freedom"

Freedom Frame at the State of the Union

*“It’s easy to miss how unusual a **“freedom agenda”** is for a Democratic Presidential campaign. Since the nineteen-sixties, Republicans have held fast to the language of freedom—from the backlash against civil rights to the Tea Party to the Freedom Caucus. But Democrats have been trying to convince the public that the Republican Party under Trump has transformed into the “MAGA movement,” an authoritarian crusade bent on dominion. Donilon said, “At its heart, it doesn’t believe in the Constitution, doesn’t believe in law, embraces violence.” He sees an opportunity for Democrats to be “in a place where they usually aren’t.” **They can lay claim to the freedom to “choose your own health-care decisions, the freedom to vote, the freedom for your kids to be free of gun violence in school, the freedom for seniors to live in dignity.”**”*

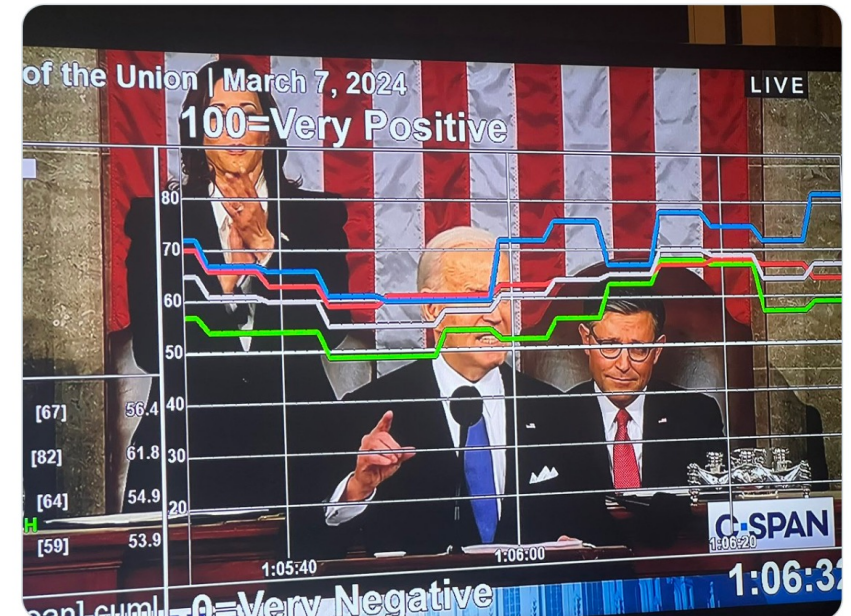
*Donilon is undeterred. He shares Biden’s pride in defying predictions that Democrats would take heavy losses in the 2022 midterms, because of inflation and poor views of the economy; instead, they expanded their Senate majority and picked up two governors’ seats, the best performance in decades by a party in the White House. **The freedom campaign, Donilon said, is a story in three acts:** “The first act was 2020. Trump represented a threat, and Biden won. 2022 was a second round. You had these election deniers, and all these folks around the country, and they were beaten back.” He added, “Round three is 2024. The thing is, you got to win all the rounds.” – [The New Yorker](#), March 4, 2024*



Bryan Bennett (bryanbennett.bsky.social)
@bryanbennett85

Follow

That spike at the end? “I see a future where we expand freedoms” and not curtail them I, over 80 among Dems and 60 or higher for Reps and independents #SOTU2024



Results [cited](#) from Navigator Survey 2024 SOTU live-dial group

FM Reproductive Freedom Advocacy Efforts

- Future Majority’s April 2018 memo identifies that 80% of voters prefer a candidate that fights for more individual freedom to build a better life. We also highlighted Sen. Patty Murray’s remarks to EMILY’s List urging allies to **“take the word freedom back.”**
- Future Majority launched an advocacy effort in 2022 for Congress to restore the provisions of *Roe* by establishing baseline federal abortion rights. This legislation would have restored the freedoms guaranteed by *Roe* and protected access to contraception as the fight for full reproductive freedom continues.
- Today, Reproductive Freedom Frame has been embraced by activists leading ballot measures in states like Ohio, Florida, Montana, Kentucky, and others, and NARAL has rebranded as “Reproductive Freedom for All.”



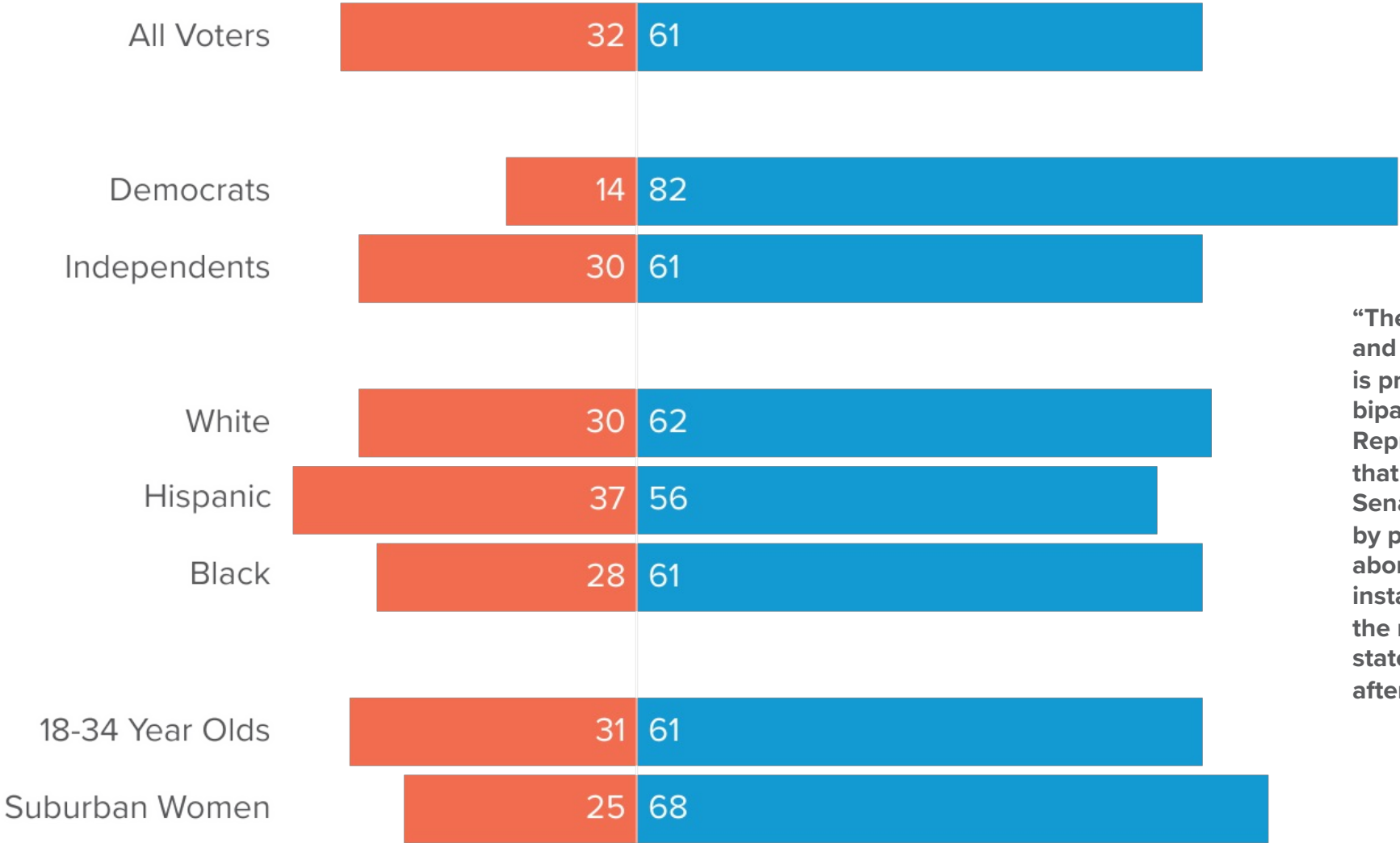
Senator Murray Speech:

*We need to be clear not just about what we are fighting against, but what we stand for. What we want the world to look like for our kids and grandkids. That’s why tonight, I also want to talk with you about freedom. ...**We need to take the word freedom back.***



Support for the Reproductive Freedom for All Act

● Support ● Oppose



“There are nearly 22 million women and children in states where abortion is prohibited. Do you support a bipartisan compromise bill – the Reproductive Freedom for All Act – that has been introduced in the U.S. Senate that would codify Roe v Wade by prohibiting states from outlawing abortion prior to fetal viability and in instances where the health or life of the mother is at risk, but would allow states to otherwise restrict abortions after 24 weeks?”

Voters Want Reproductive Freedom for All

The Freedom Frame is an effective argument on abortion and other individual healthcare rights

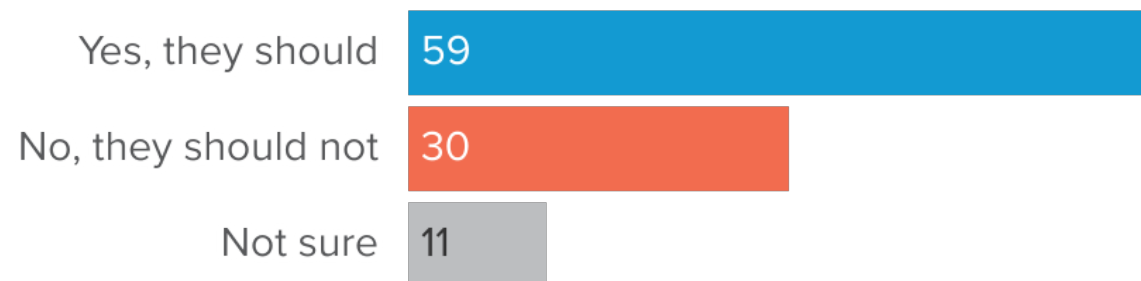
Do you believe every woman has the **freedom** to choose for herself if, when and with whom to start or grow a family?



Do agree or disagree that a woman should have the **freedom** to choose whether to carry a pregnancy to term?



Do you think women should have the **freedom** to choose to have safe and legal abortions in all 50 states?





Future
MAJORITY

To learn more, contact
Mark Riddle at Mark.Riddle@FutureMajority.org

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