

A photograph of a worker in a yellow safety vest and white hard hat walking away from the camera on the wooden walkway of the Manhattan Bridge. The bridge's steel structure and suspension cables are visible. In the background, the New York City skyline is visible under a cloudy sky, with the Freedom Tower being the most prominent building. An American flag flies from the top of the bridge's tower.

The Choice in 2022: Investment and Growth vs. Chaos and Corruption

11 Months of Voter Research

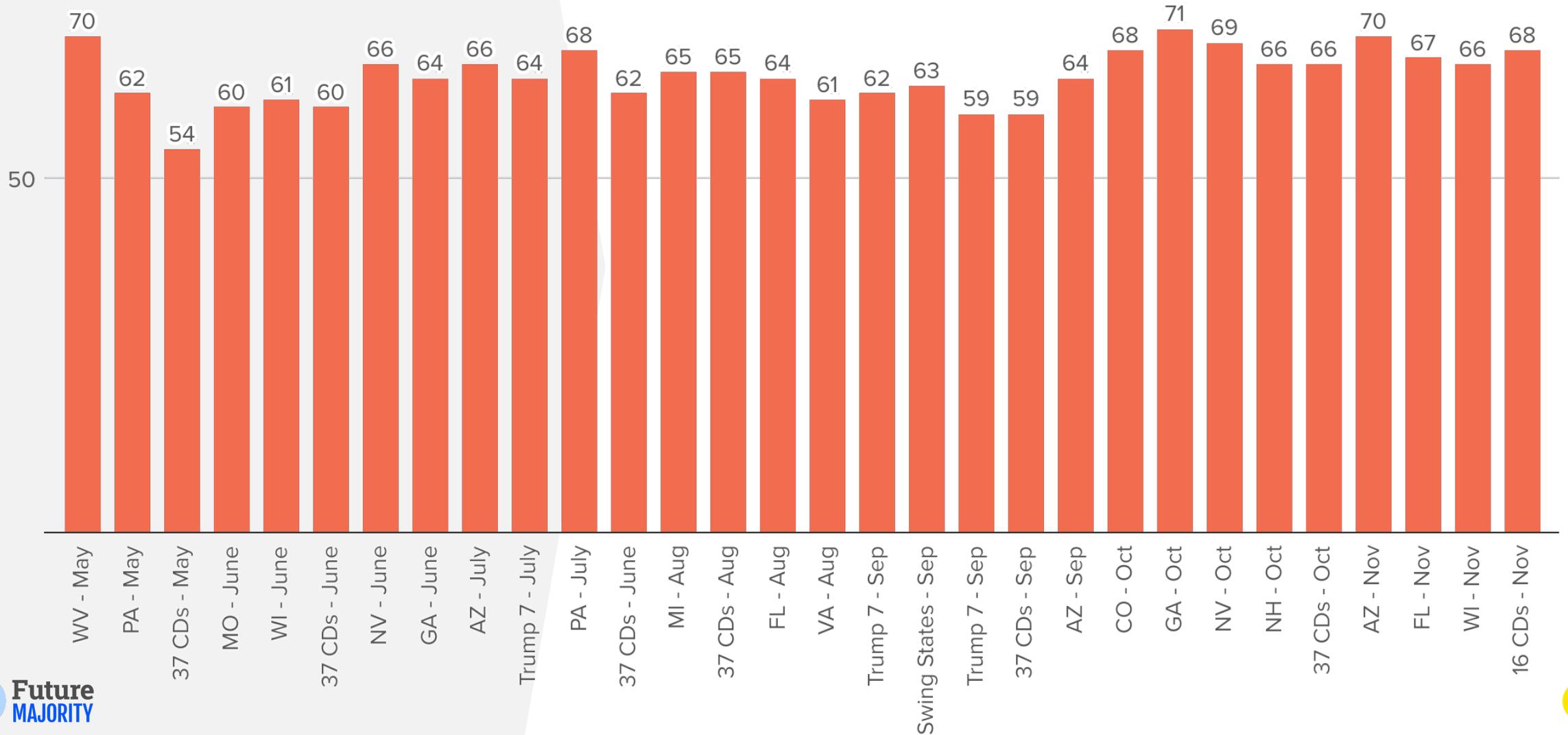


Research Participant Sourced Images

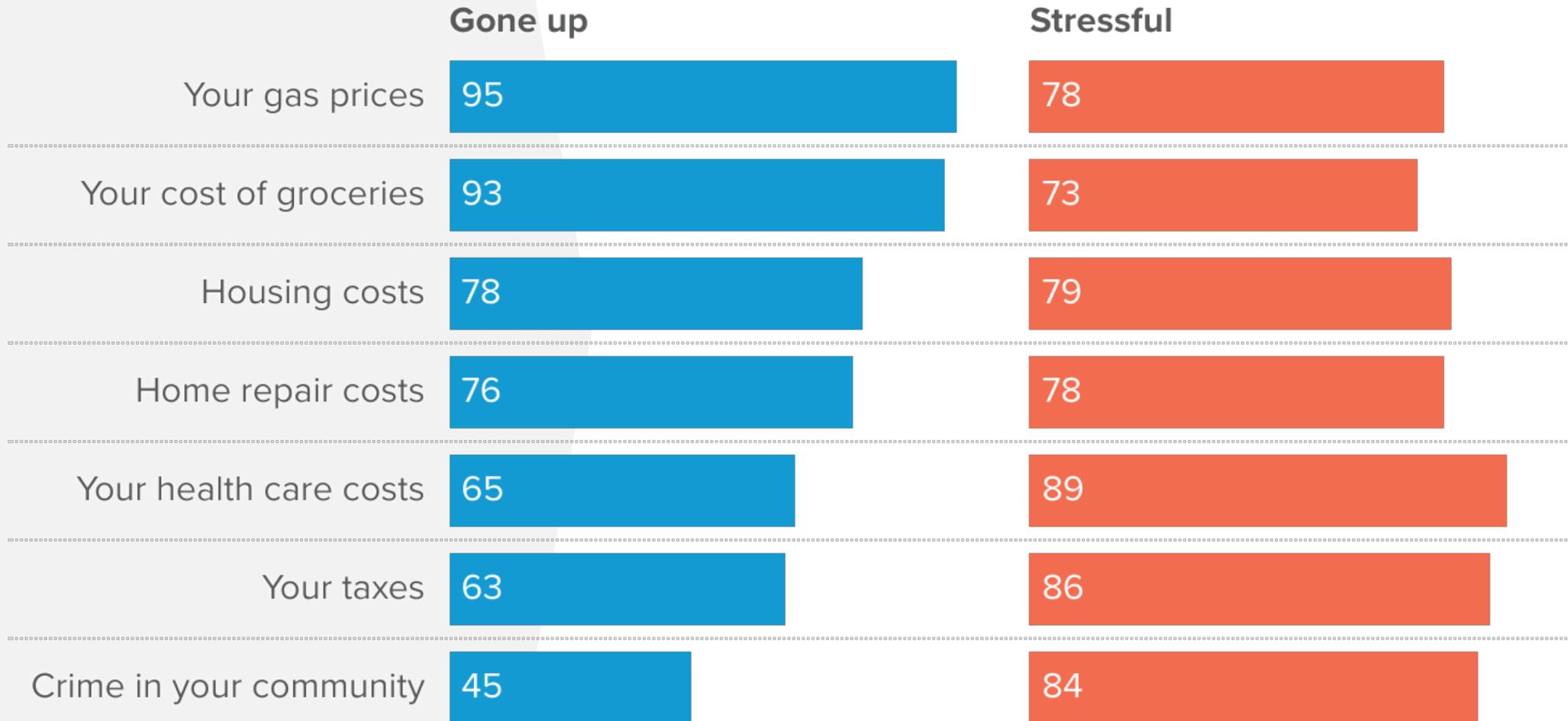
Since the 2020 election, Future Majority has surveyed 59,243 voters in swing districts and states. Future Majority has also conducted major research projects on the D/R brand and a variety of studies in the states of Florida, Nevada, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. Our conclusions:

- 1) Americans are drowning. While voters see improvement in dealing with the pandemic, Covid and the spike in the cost of living have exacerbated deep-seated anxieties that are still causing massive electoral swings.
- 2) Politicians are too busy talking about their favorite topic: themselves. They are not acknowledging Americans' struggles and instead are arguing over the size and color of a life vest rather than working to give Americans what they want: a quick assist out of the water and the freedom to live their lives without government intervention.
- 3) President Biden's voice has been lost in the noise of the media, Congress, and political maneuvering. He understands that people just need, as he said, "some breathing room." His plan to invest in families and infrastructure meets the moment.
- 4) Since March, Future Majority's data has shown that independent voters are a major obstacle to success in the midterms. They lean conservative, are traditionally skeptical of incumbent parties, and are turned off by culture war messaging. These issues, combined with the challenges of the coronavirus, are why they need constant communication between election cycles.
- 5) Democrats must be perceived as effective – the "D" must equal Deliver. Voters also do not like the Radical Republicans, so the R must equal Radical. Make 2022 this choice.

% of Voters Falling Behind the Cost of Living



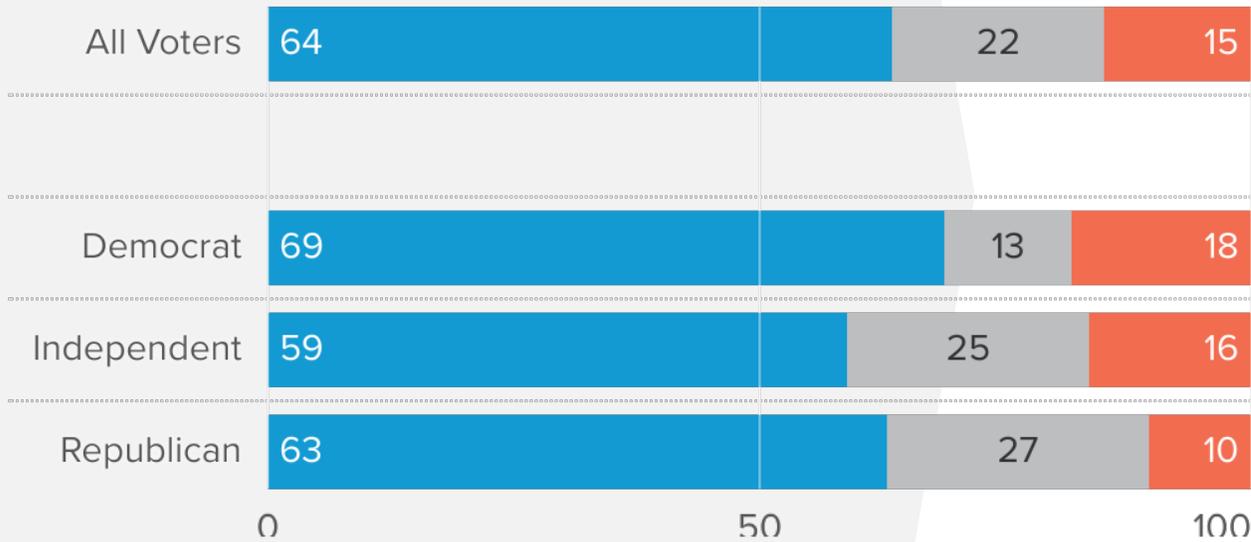
Perception of and Stress of Price Changes



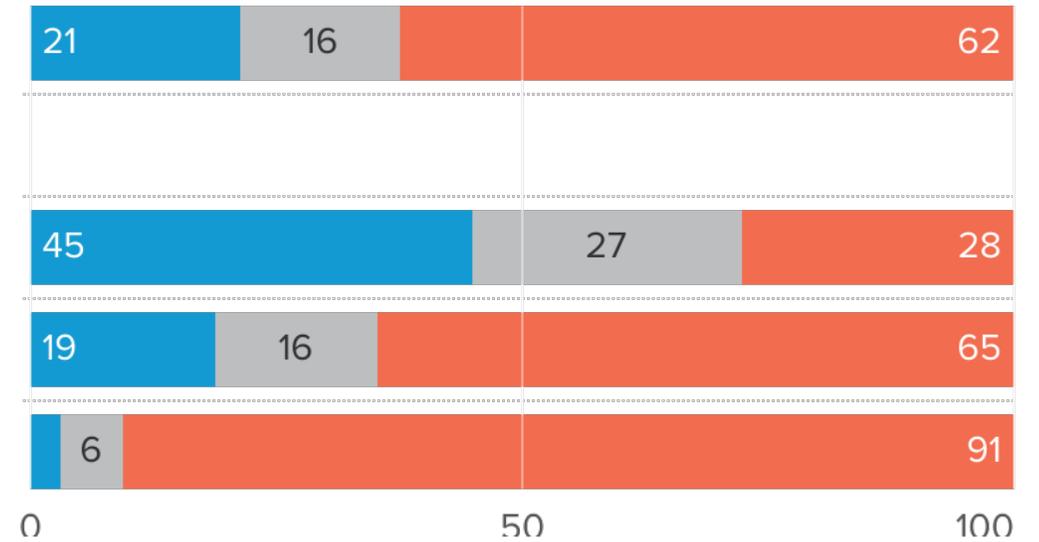
Impression of the Virus and Cost of Living

● Improving ● Not sure ● Getting worse

“Thinking about the coronavirus in the United States, do you think things are...”

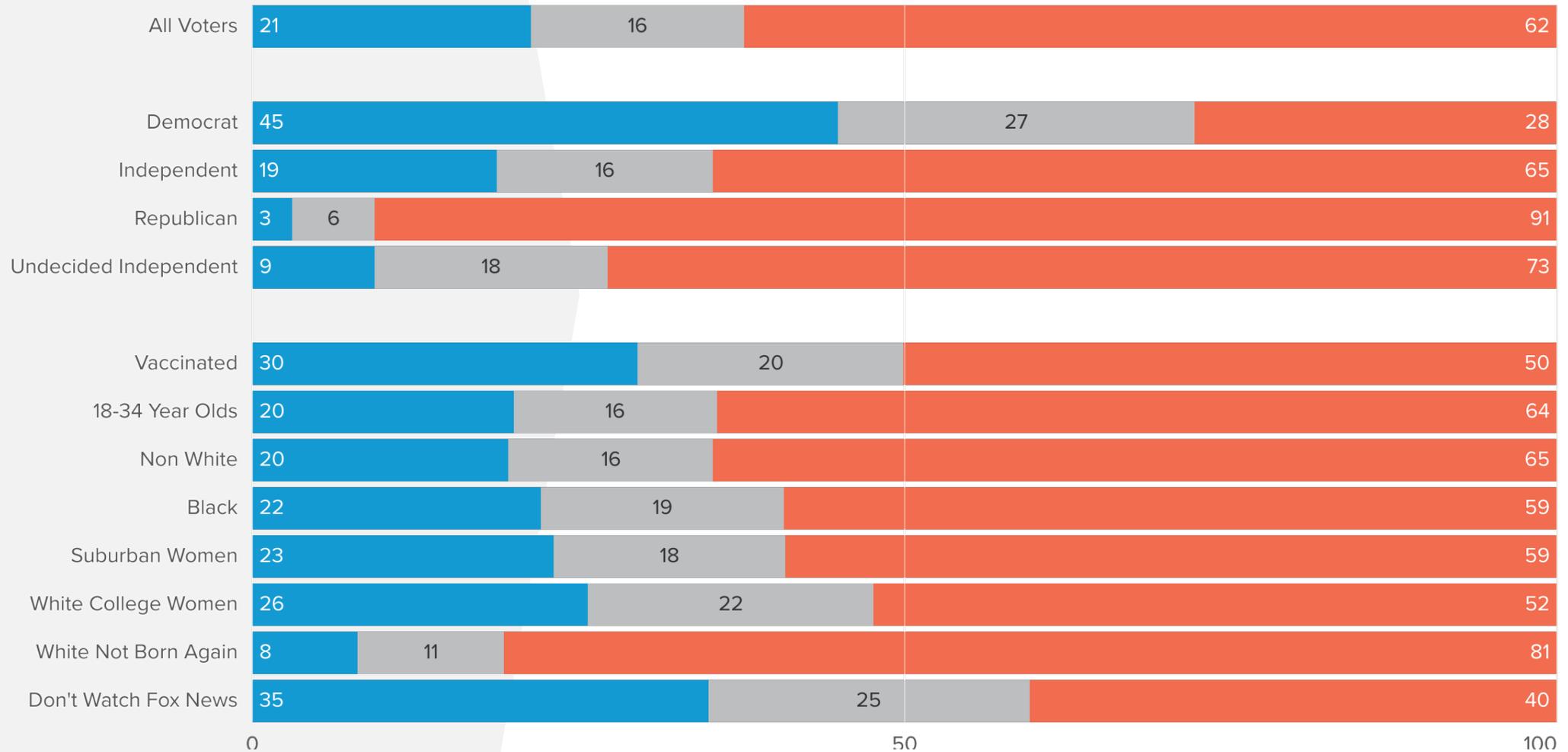


“Thinking about the recent supply chain issues and shortage of goods and services in the United States, do you think things are...”



Condition of Supply Chains

● Improving. We are getting goods back on shelves and services are coming back. ● Not sure. ● Getting worse. We are not doing enough to address the shortages of goods and services.



The Path Forward

Future Majority recommends an intermediary message while longer-term virus and economic impacts settle into next year:

- **Define the “D” as “Deliver.”** Democrats delivered on investing in families, roads, bridges, broadband, and clean air and water. **These investments will create growth.**

VERSUS:

- **Define the “R” as “Radical.”** Radical Republicans voted against investments in our families and infrastructure because **they are corrupt puppets of the wealthy and corporations.** They cause **chaos** in order to put **Trump back in power.**

With a lot of hard work and some luck, the “D” message for the campaign will be:

Democrats Delivered on crushing Covid, creating millions of middle-class jobs, and cutting costs for families.

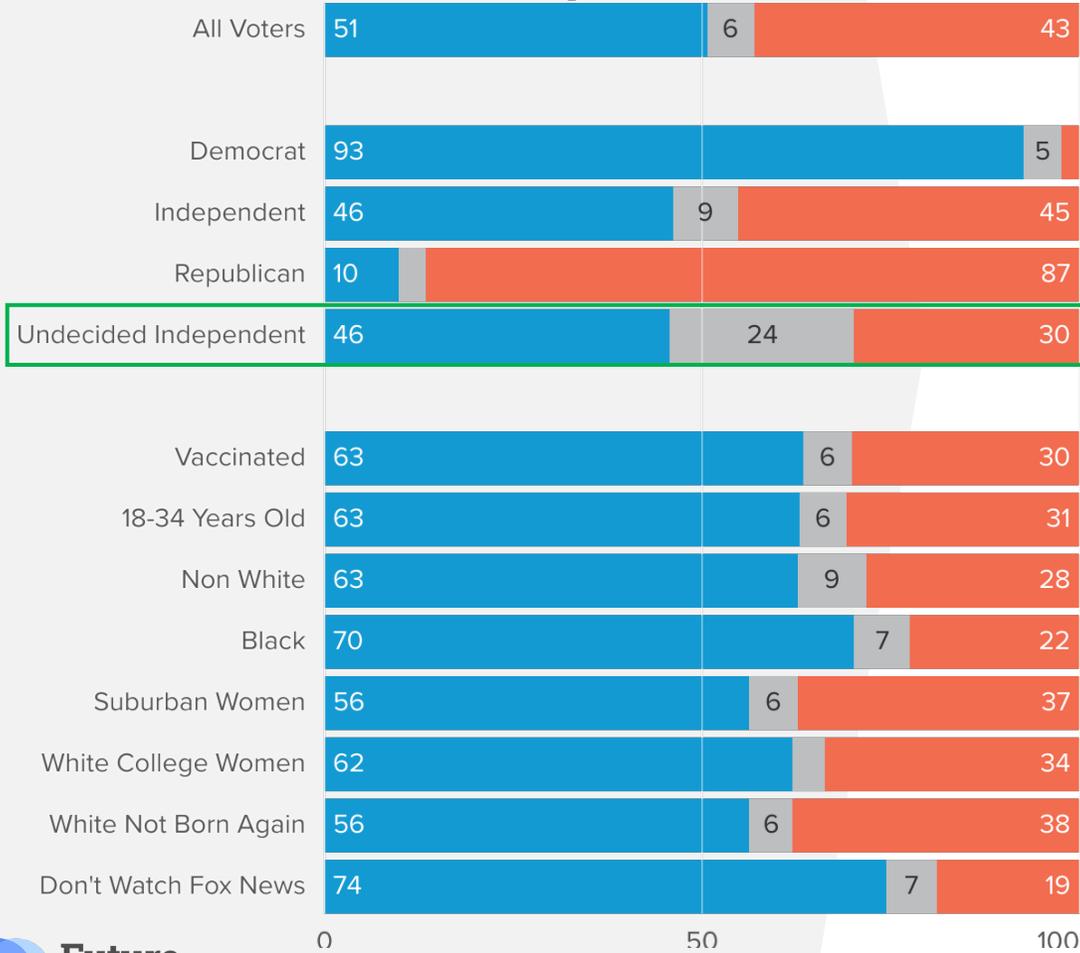
How Do Democrats Get There?

In the coming months, Democrats can build upon the intermediary message of investments and growth. Future Majority humbly recommends this path forward for Democrats to win in 2022:

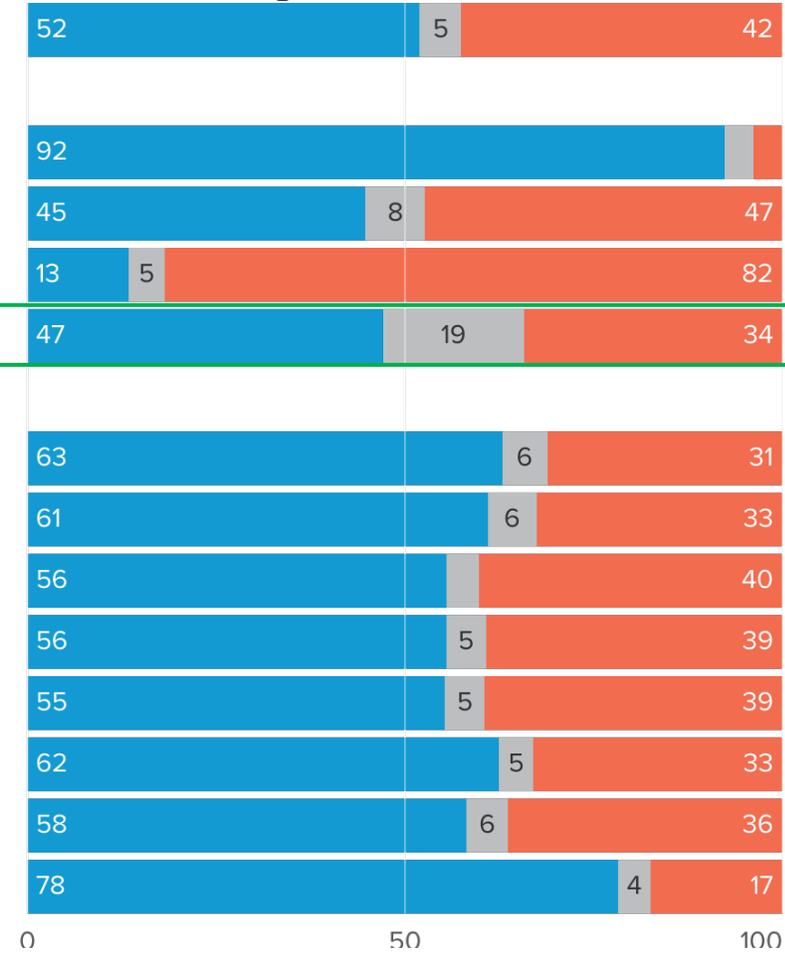
1. **Full assault on crushing Covid.**
2. **Governing is about investment and growth.**
 - a. Contrast the fiscal argument: Build Back Better is paid for and does not raise taxes on the middle class versus the Trump Tax Scam, a corrupt hand out to the wealthiest.
 - b. Fixing immigration/the issues at the border is urgent. This is about images and not facts.
3. **Blast Republicans on their specific votes against kitchen table issues**, like investments and anti-corruption measures, to get back in power. Macro arguments will not work!

With Discipline, Democrats can Take a Lead After a Few Messages

Swing Senate (Dems -2*)



Swing House (Dems -4*)

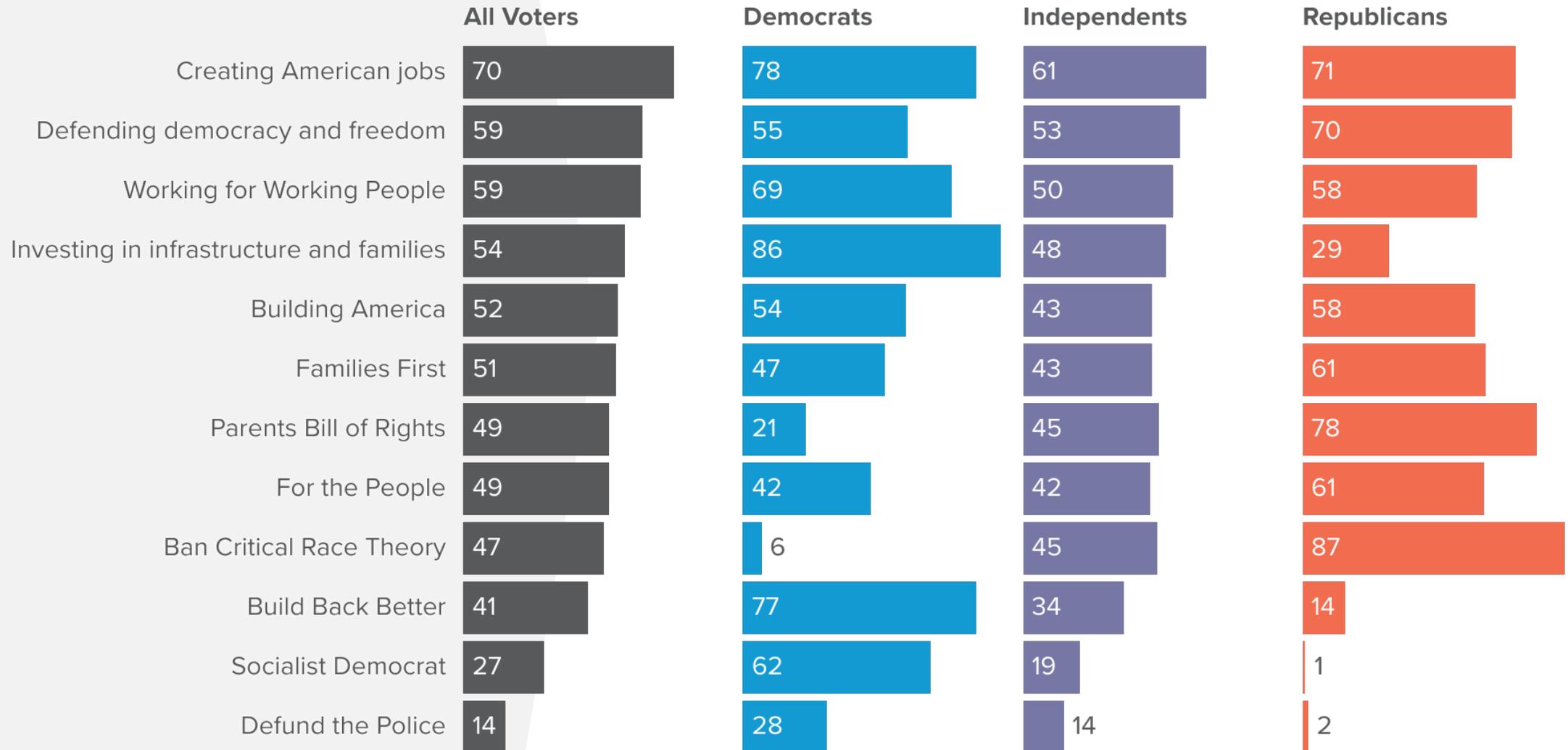


A candidate who is For the People and delivered on building America by investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of middle-class jobs, cracking down on corruption, and defending democracy and freedom.

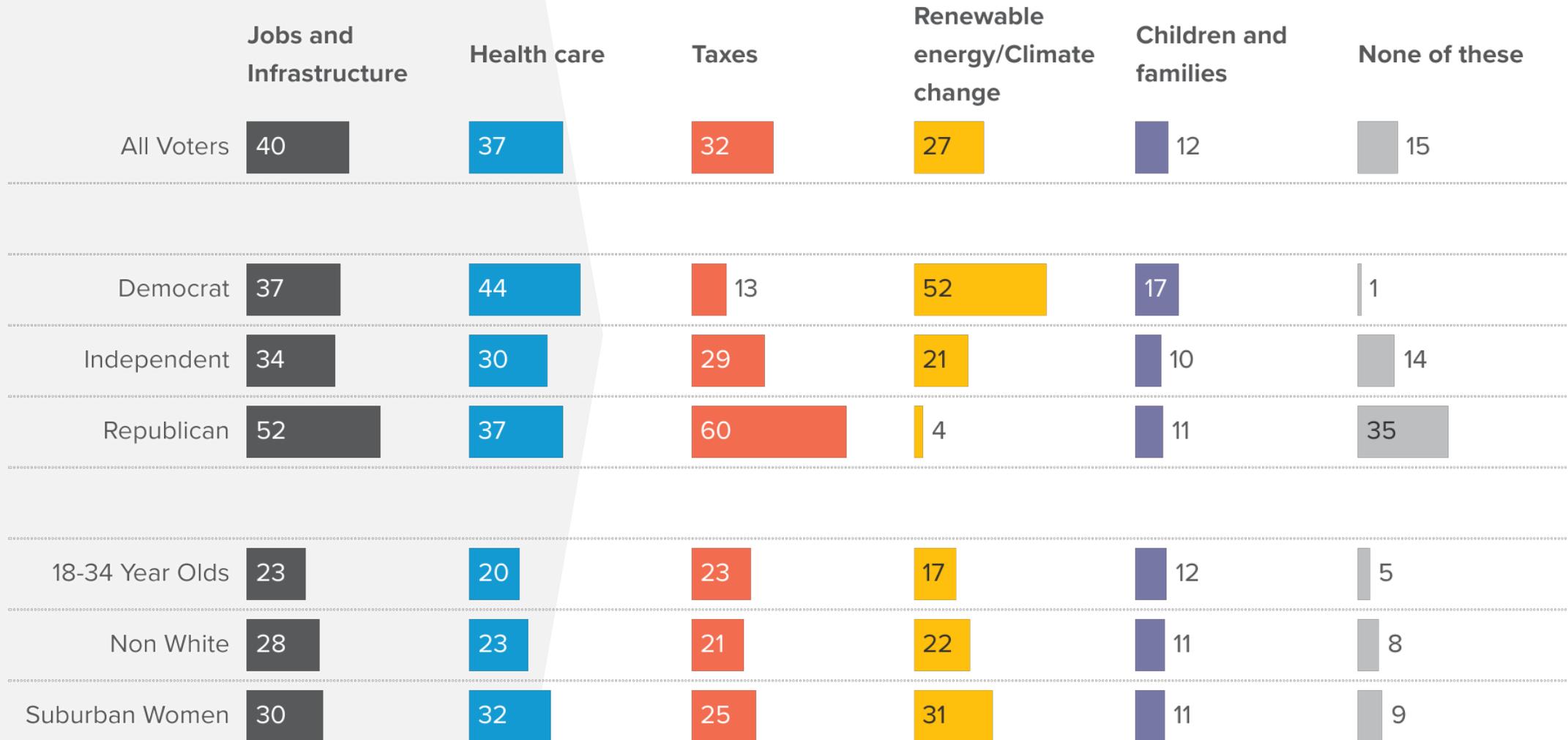
A candidate who will get inflation under control by cutting the out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, is against the teaching of Critical Race Theory, and will secure the southern border with Mexico.

Not sure

Support for Key Phrases:



Most Important Area for Congress to Address



Setting the Table: Crushing the Coronavirus

Covid is the cause of inflation/cost of living, supply chain issues, tensions around school and work, childcare, jobs, the workplace, and deep anxieties in communities of color. Generally, people are suffering from very high levels of anguish. If Democrats want to have any chance of winning in the 2022 election, they must crush Covid. With regards to messaging, we offer a three-step solution, which also applies to inflation (since the two are tied together).

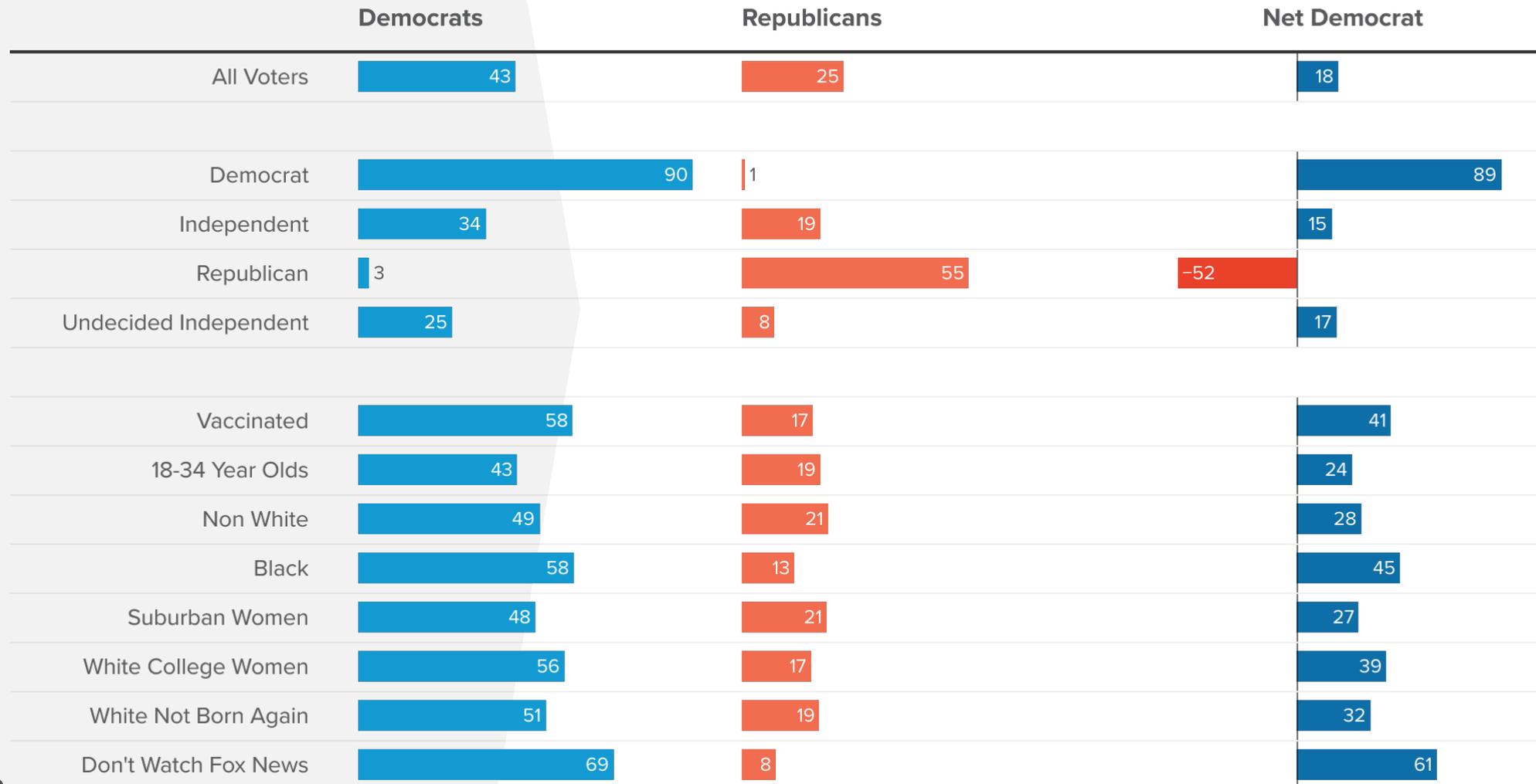
Step One: Acknowledgement. Acknowledge the voters' pain, their frustration, and their sacrifice. They're going through the challenge of their lives right now.

Step Two: Recognition. Americans pride themselves on being the hero of the story. Yet, all Americans hear are confusing rules, bad news, and the blame game. Democrats need to recognize the heroes – the everyday citizen playing by the rules – that helped our country get to this point in recovery. That includes small business owners who did their best to keep their employees in jobs and parents who had to navigate how best to make sure their kids were not falling behind during a global crisis, especially.

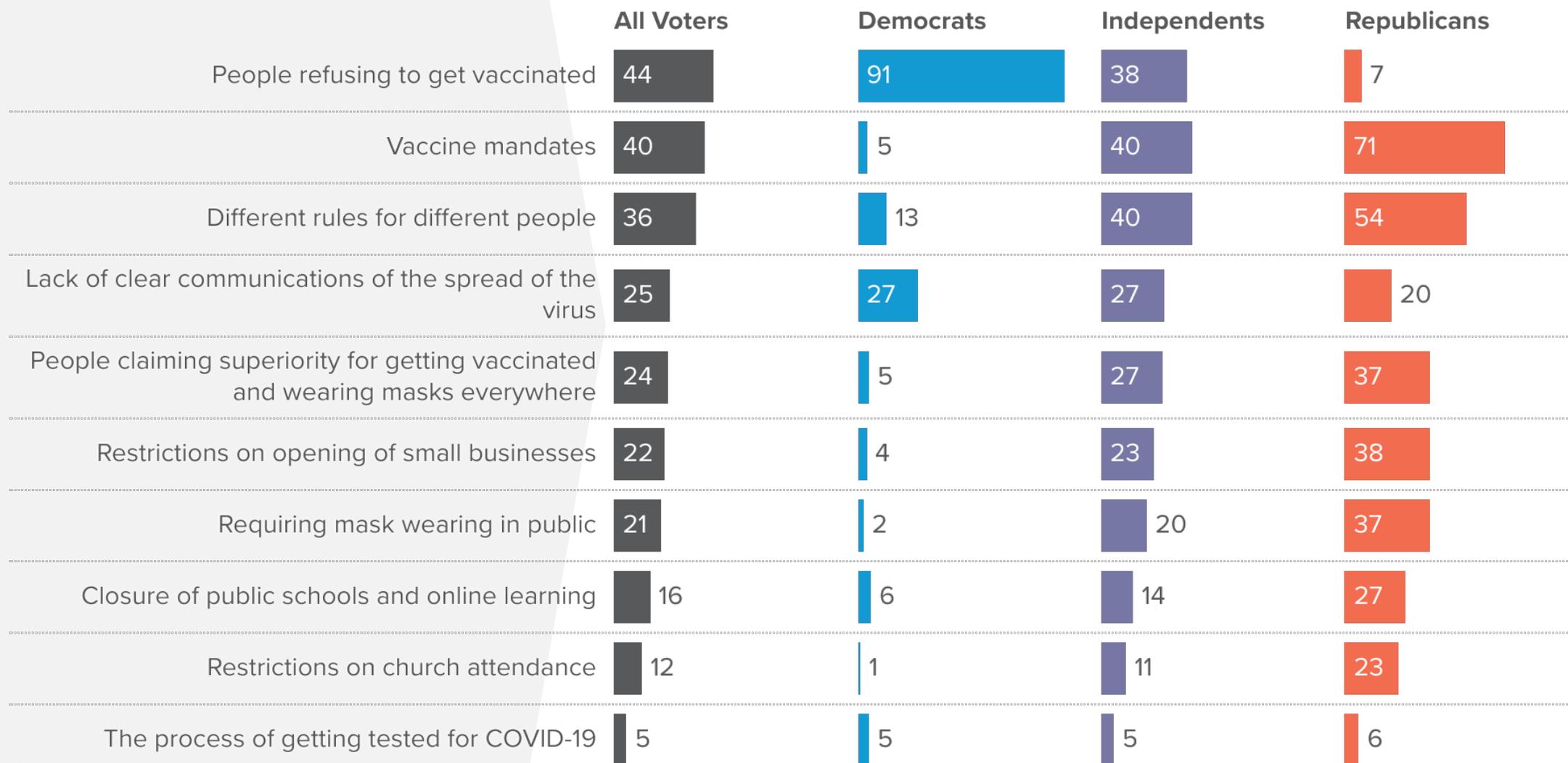
Step Three: A Clear Plan. What the Democrats need is a clear and easy to understand plan that leads to defeating the virus. Stats and science speak will not get the job done.

Which Party Has Delivered on...

“Defeating Covid”



Greatest Frustration from the Coronavirus



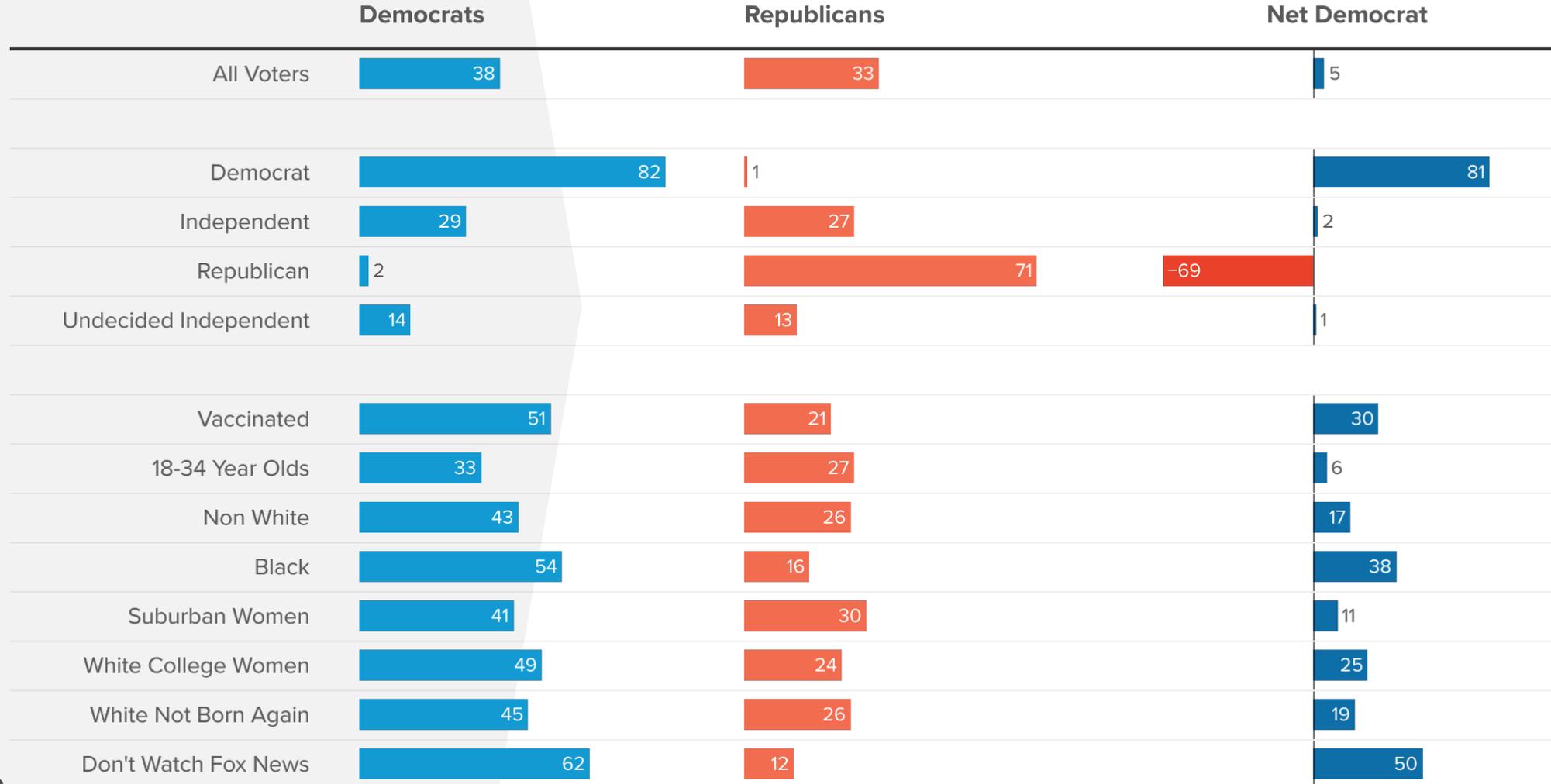
Setting the Table: Delivering Investments and Growth

Democrats hold a 9-point lead (41% to 32%) over Republicans on the question of who has done a better job delivering on “building America by investing in our families and infrastructure?” With Independents, Democrats hold a 8-point lead (35% to 27%). Democrats should lean into and drive a huge wedge with messaging to differentiate that Democrats deliver for Americans and Republicans don’t.

- 56% of voters support the bipartisan infrastructure bill, including 96% of Democrats, 55% of Independents, and 20% of Republicans.
- **We asked over 30 specific policy questions about the three-part Biden plan and the top testing was “investing \$110 billion to repair America’s aging highways, bridges, and roads, including \$40 billion for bridges, the single largest dedicated bridge investment since the construction of the national highway system.”**
- When asked “which areas do you think are most important for Congress to address right now” jobs and infrastructure came in at 42%, health care at 36%, taxes at 36%, renewable energy and climate change prevention at 27%, and children and families at 15%.
- **“The \$1.2 trillion-dollar infrastructure plan was passed with 67 votes in the Senate, including 17 Republicans. 200 Republicans in the House voted against the bill, but 13 crossed party lines to support the legislation. If your member of Congress voted against this bill, does that make you more likely to support their re-election, less likely to support their re-election or does it make no difference?” 57% say vote against - including 47% of Independents and 44% Republicans.**
 - This is the top testing argument, including several variations on the series of bills, by 11-points.

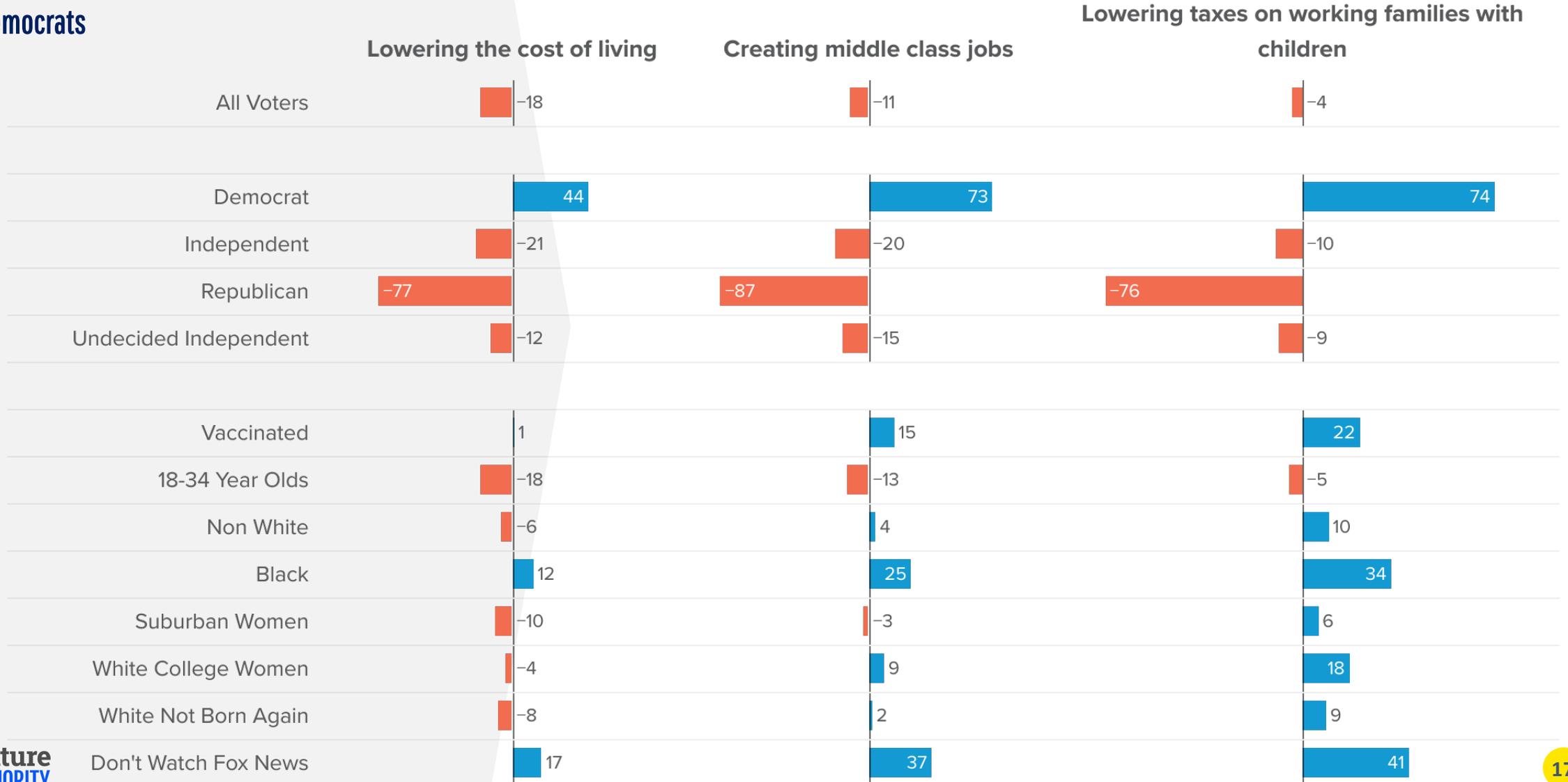
Which Party Has Delivered on ...

“Building America by Investing in our families and infrastructure”



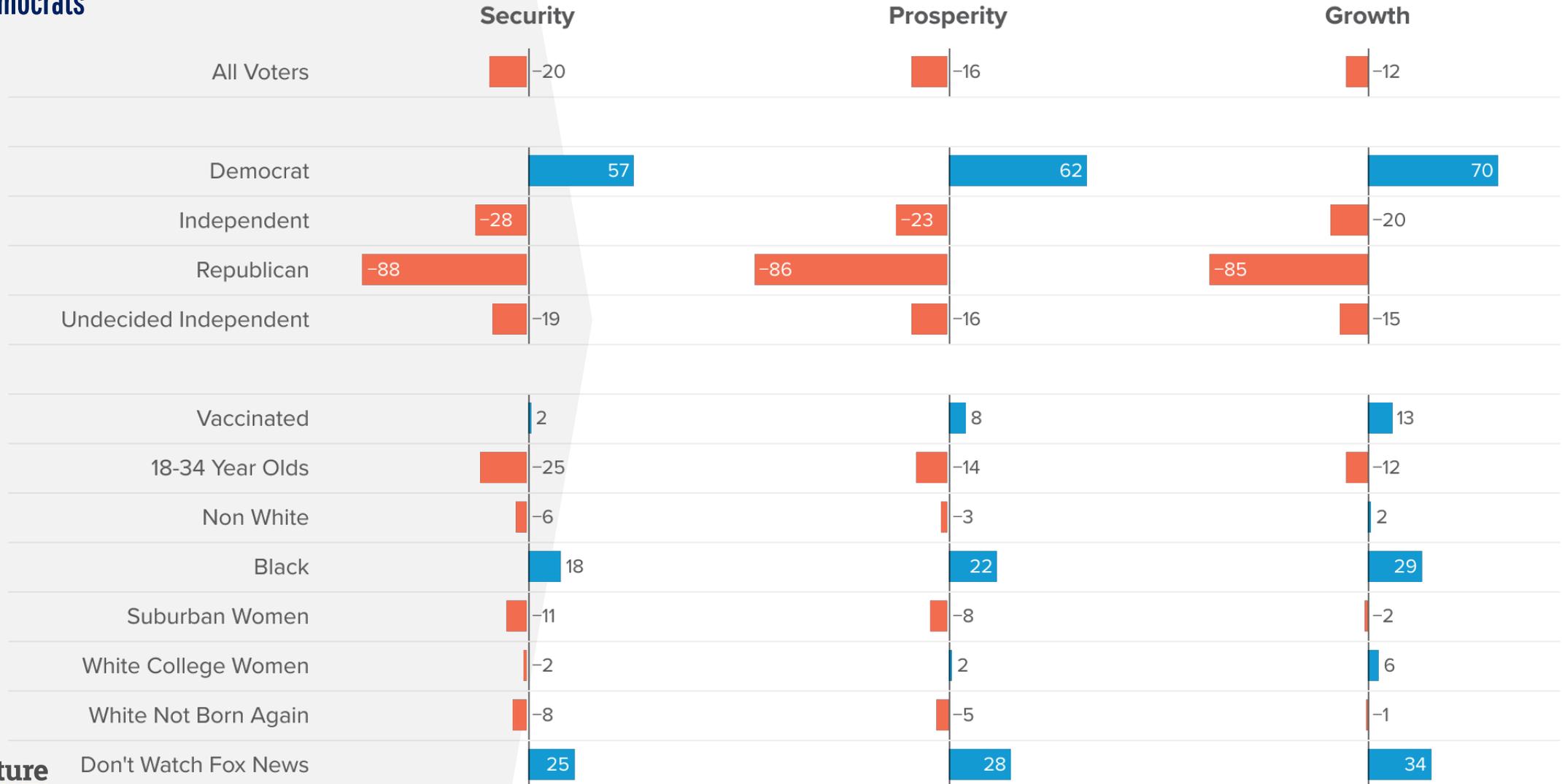
Which Party Has Delivered on ...

Net Democrats



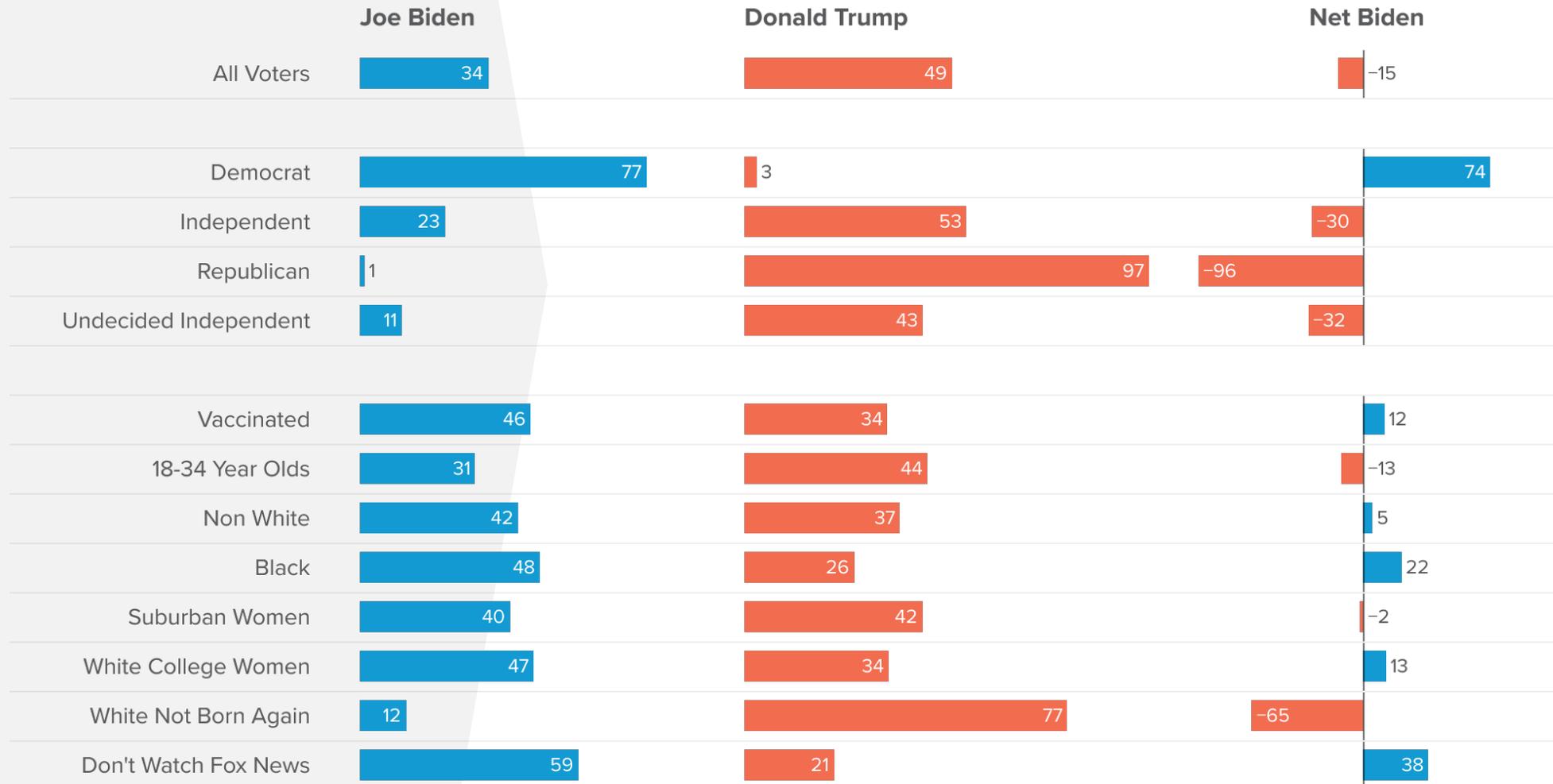
Which Party Has Delivered on ...

Net Democrats



But, Democrats Trail on Managing the Economy (40 Years of GOP Branding at Work)

Who had more success managing the economy?



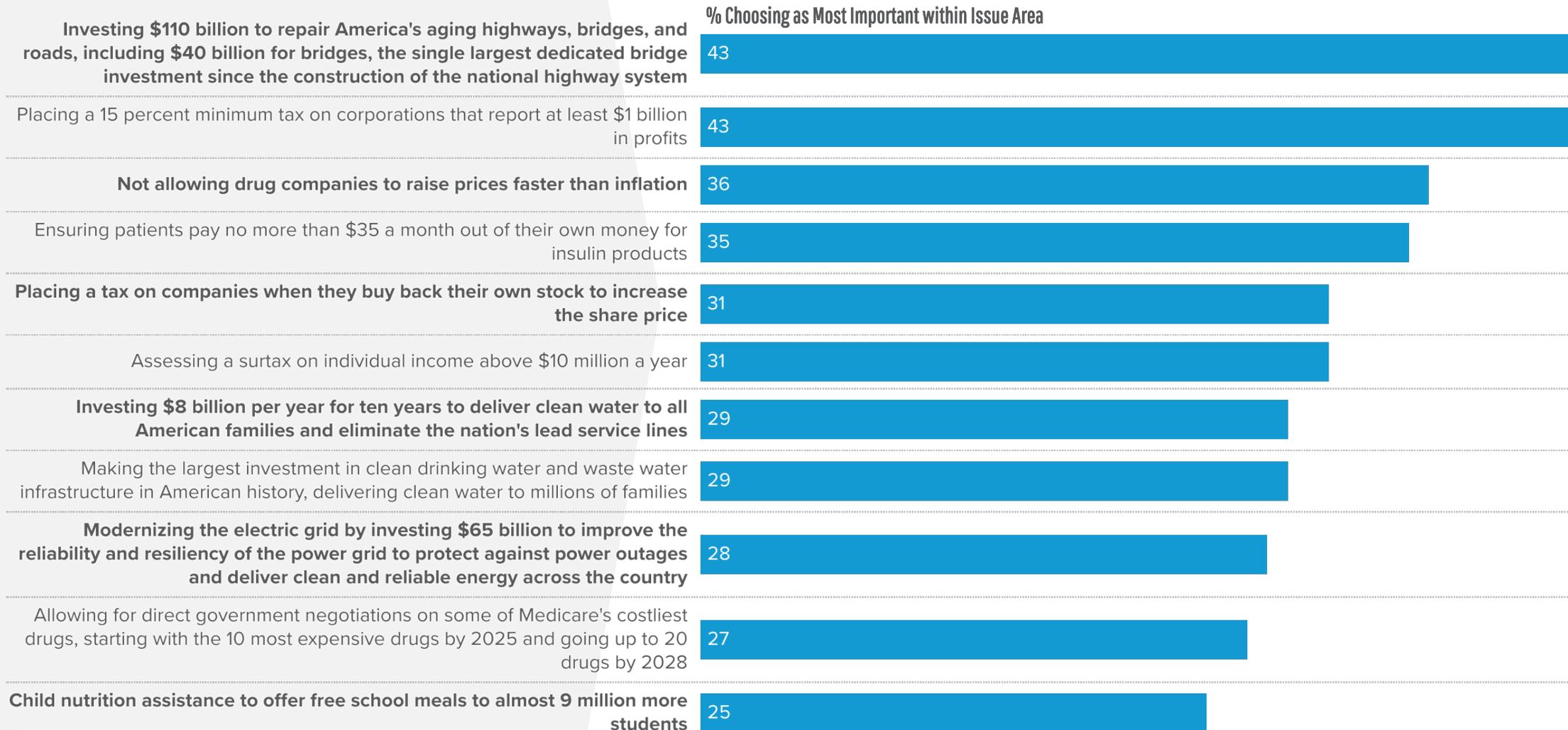
Voters Upset if their Representative Voted Against Investments

We also asked how “upset” a voter might be if their Member of Congress voted against specific pieces of Biden’s three-part agenda that they liked. This is where campaigns need to wargame and micro-target, because there are nuances in different communities and with different voters. However, some interesting data points are revealed when examining Independent voters:

- Investing \$110 billion to repair America’s aging highways, bridges, and roads, including \$40 billion for bridges, the single largest dedicated bridge investment since the construction of the national highway system. **53% of Independents were very upset if their representative voted against.**
- Improving internet services for rural areas, low-income families, and tribal communities with a \$65 billion investment over 10 years to give 30 million people access to reliable internet. **52% of Independents were very upset if their representative voted against.**
- Modernizing the electric grid by investing \$65 billion to improve the reliability and resiliency of the power grid to protect against power outages and deliver clean and reliable energy across the country. **53% of Independents were very upset if their representative voted against.**
- Making the largest investment in clean drinking water and wastewater infrastructure in American history, delivering clean water to millions of families. **53% of Independents were very upset if their representative voted against.**

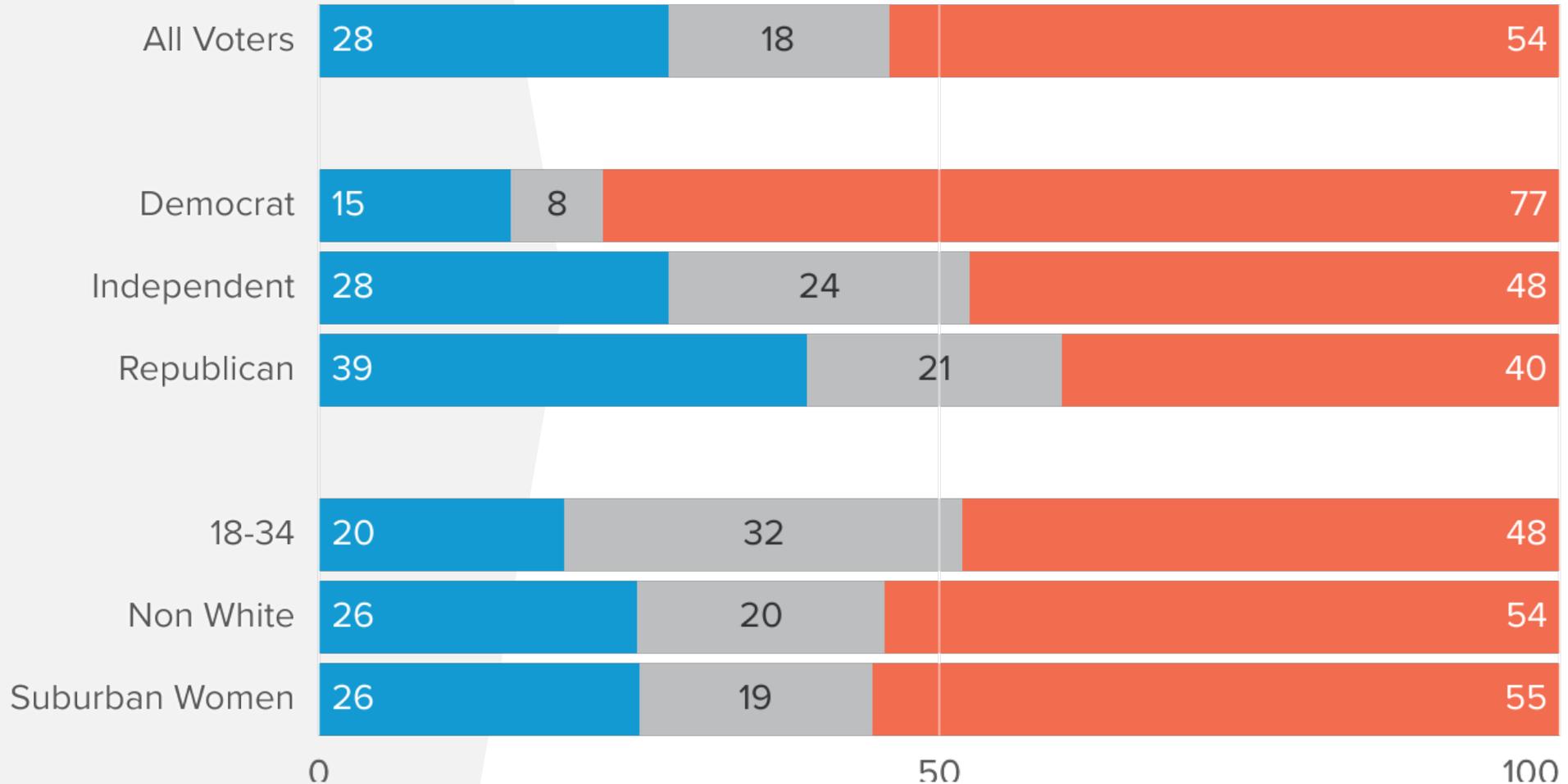
Reveal what Republicans voted for clearly – show the local communities with decrepit infrastructure – and say Republicans voted not for the bridge, but for the rust on the bridge.

Most Important Parts of the BBB Bills



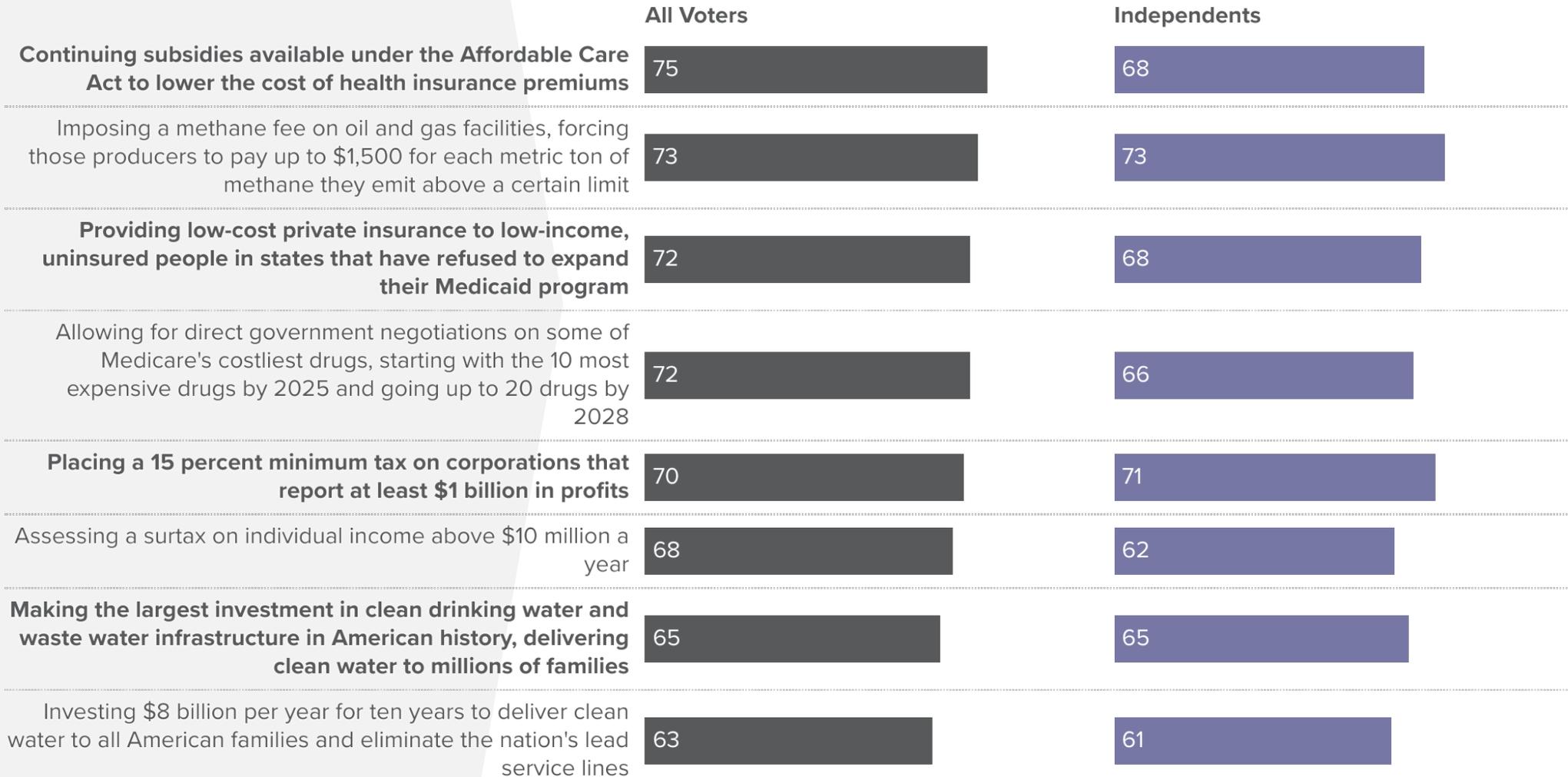
Likelihood to Vote for Infrastructure Bill Opponent

More Likely to Vote to Re-Elect Make no difference More Likely to Vote for Someone Else



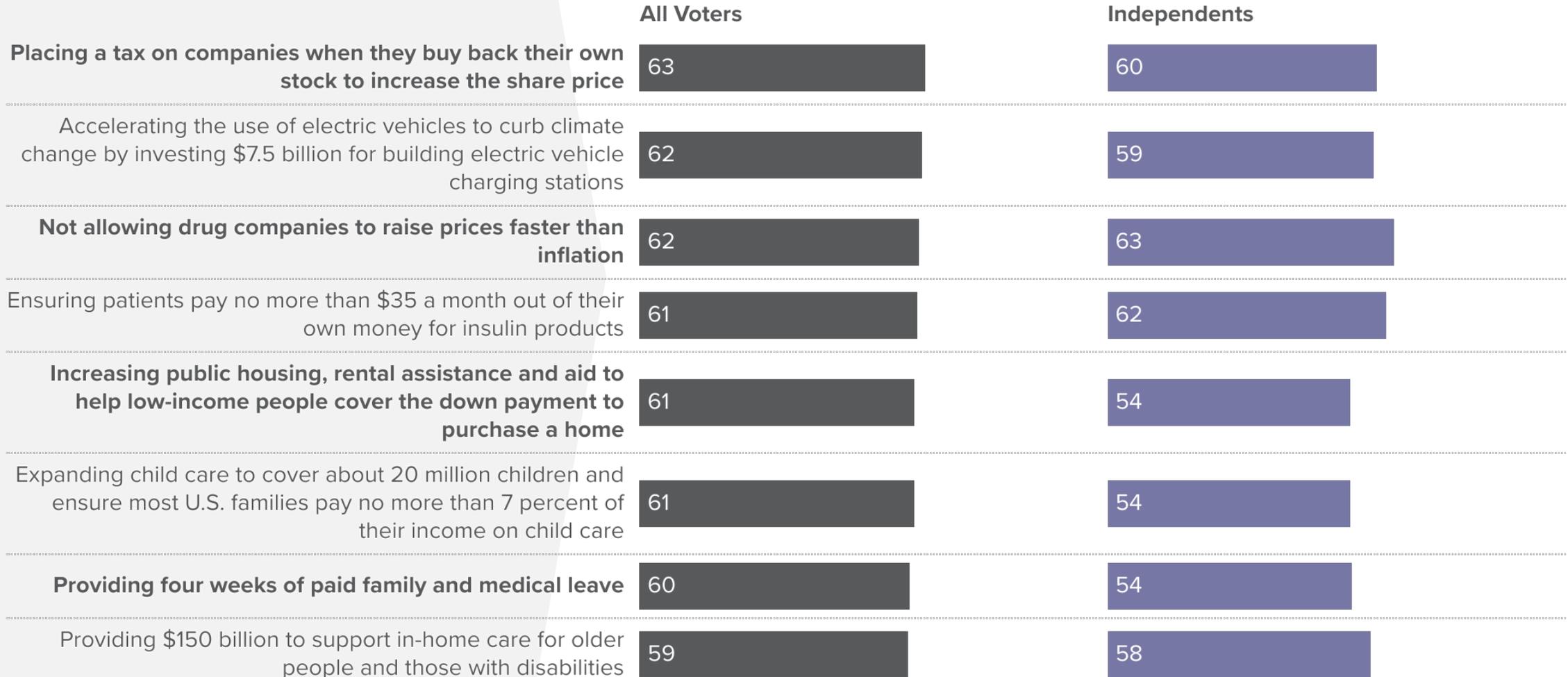
Very Upset if BBB Provisions Don't Pass

% Very Upset among Those Selecting as Important



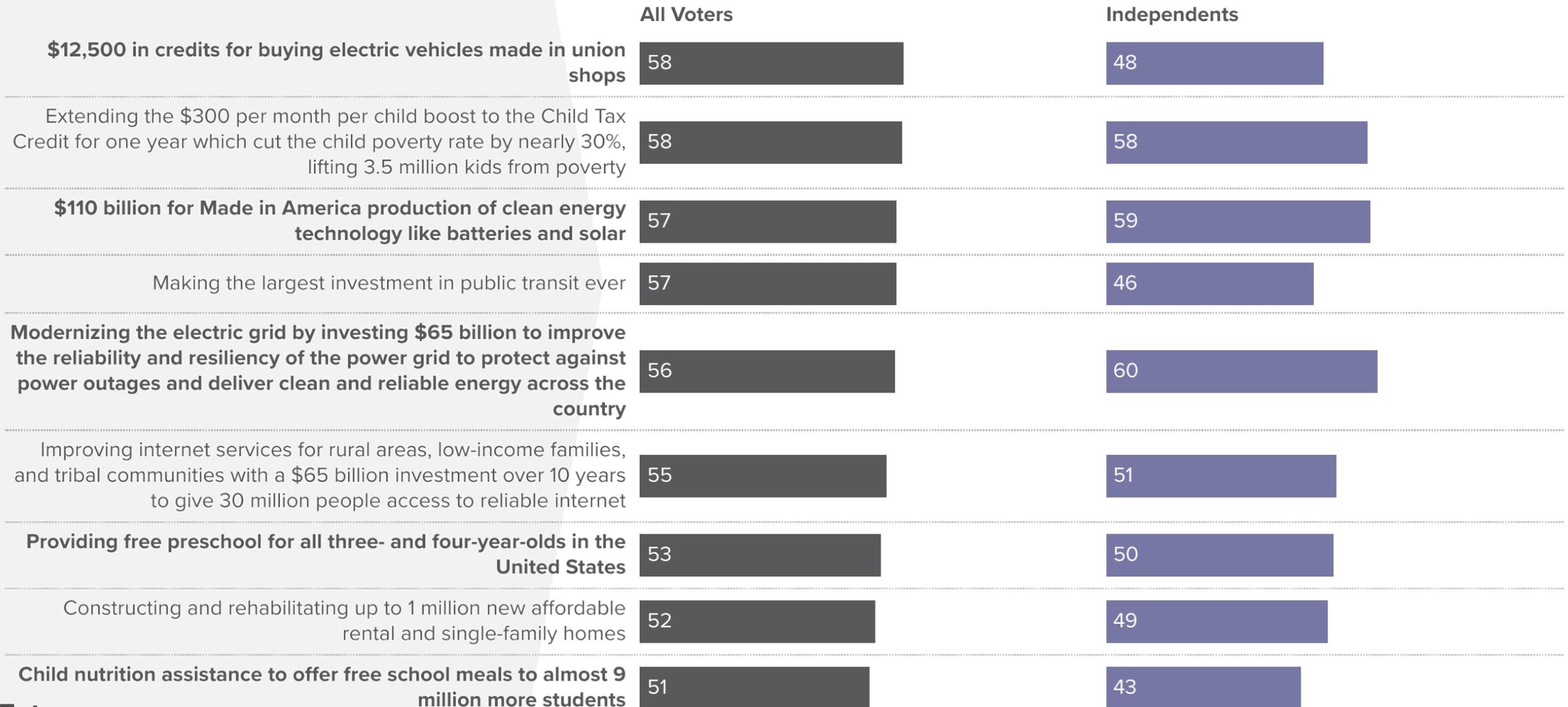
Very Upset if BBB Provisions Don't Pass

% Very Upset among Those Selecting as Important



Very Upset if BBB Provisions Don't Pass

% Very Upset among Those Selecting as Important



Setting the Table: Defining Republicans

Defining Republicans: The “R” = Radical. First, R equals Radical is easy to remember and gets Democrats on the same page.

- Voters view this current set of Republicans as too radical on social issues - 53% of independent voters agree.
- Voters see Radicals like Gosar or Greene as dividing the country and creating chaos. - 47% of Independent voters agree.
- 50% of swing district voters agree that Republicans tolerate the radical violent QAnon conspiracy that led to the takeover of the Capitol Building on January 6th

The Radicals are still puppets of the wealthy and corporations. Despite some new crazy wrapping paper, voters still know the deal.

- 58% of Independent voters believe Republicans tolerate corruption and let lobbyist call the shots.
- 55% of Independent voters believe Republicans are puppets of the wealthy and corporations.
- 55% of Independent voters agree that the Republicans “really don’t understand problems facing people like you.”

Trump looms over the GOP.

- 54% of Independent voters believe the Republicans are too devoted to Trump.
- In the swing Senate states, Trump’s favorable is 39% versus 54% unfavorable. With Independent voters, Trump’s favorable is 35% and unfavorable is 52% and with undecided Independent voters Trump’s favorable is 20% and unfavorable is 61%.
- 52% of undecided Independents think that Trump will encourage violence if he runs for president in 2024 and does not win.

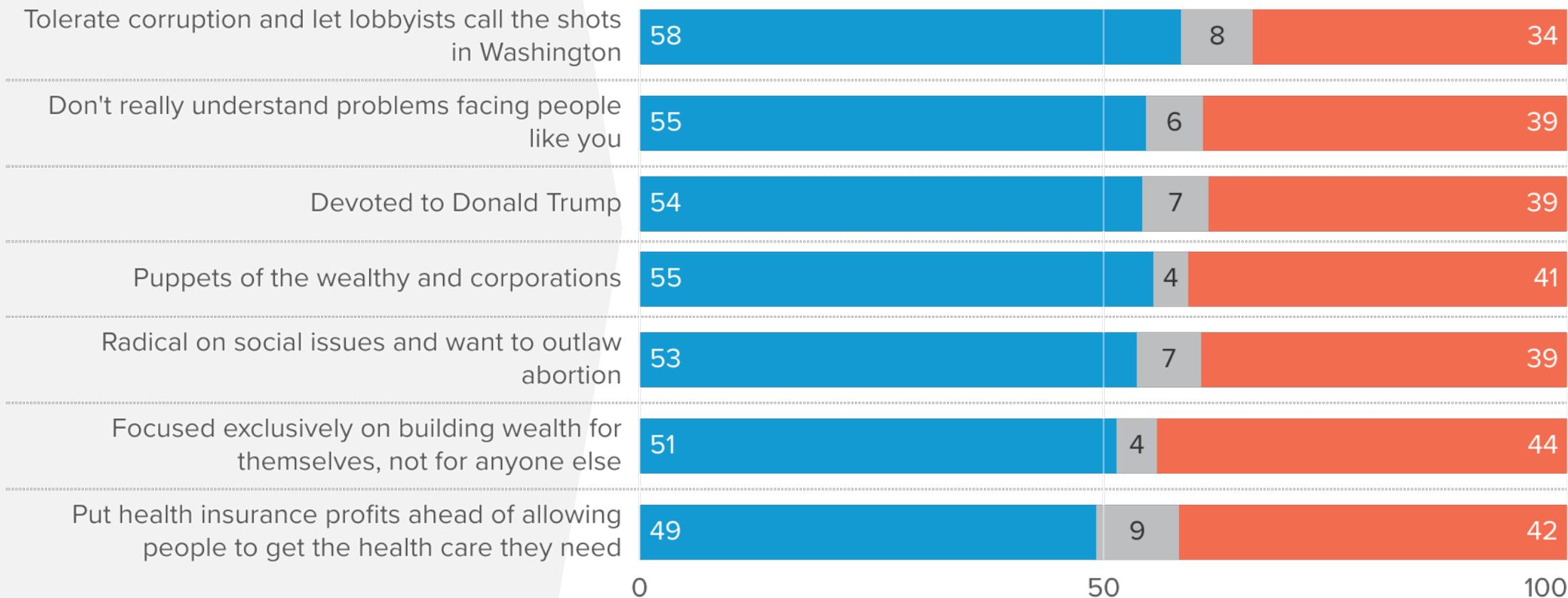
Jan 6th defiance isn’t tolerated by voters.

- 56% of voters in swing districts and 54% in Senate states agree that supporters of former President Trump who defy subpoenas and who refuse to testify should go to jail. **Support for enforcement of subpoenas soars to 69% among undecided Independents in the swing districts.**

Most Effective Statements about Republicans

● Agree ● Not Sure ● Disagree

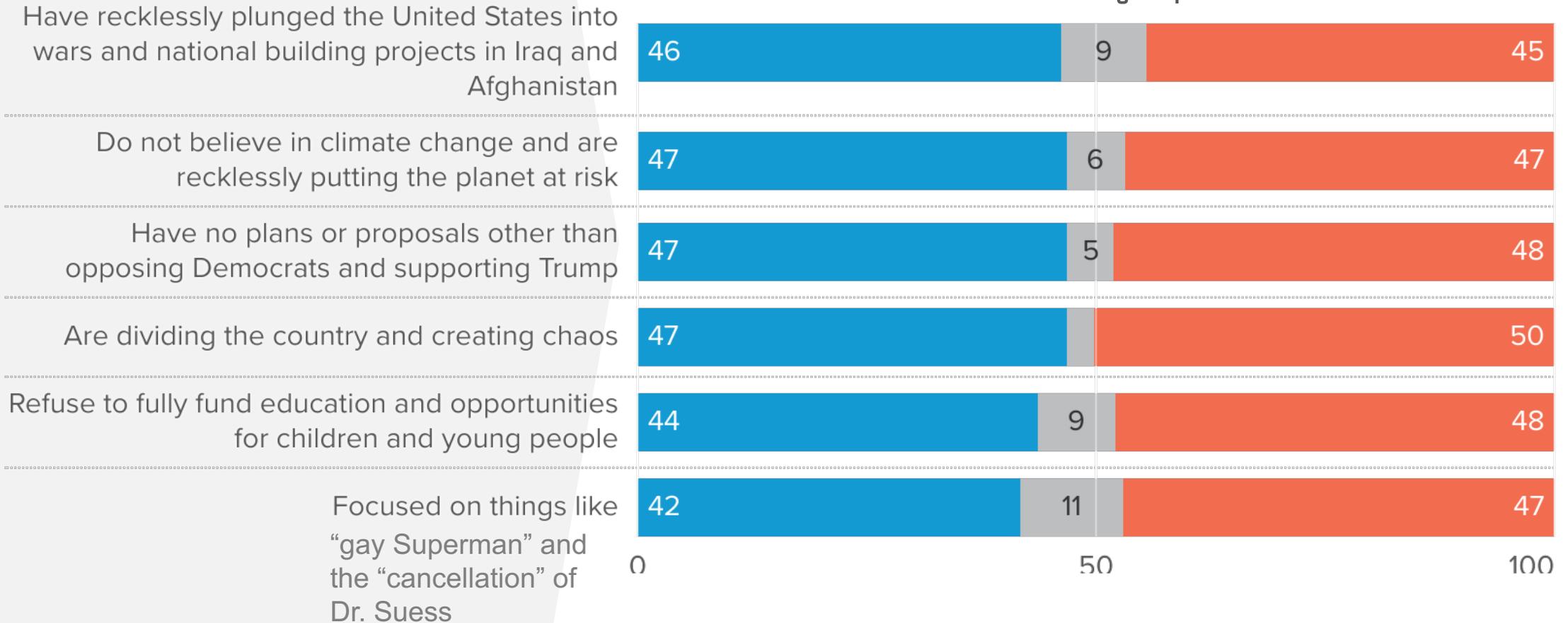
Effective among Independents



Less Effective Statements about Republicans

● Agree ● Not Sure ● Disagree

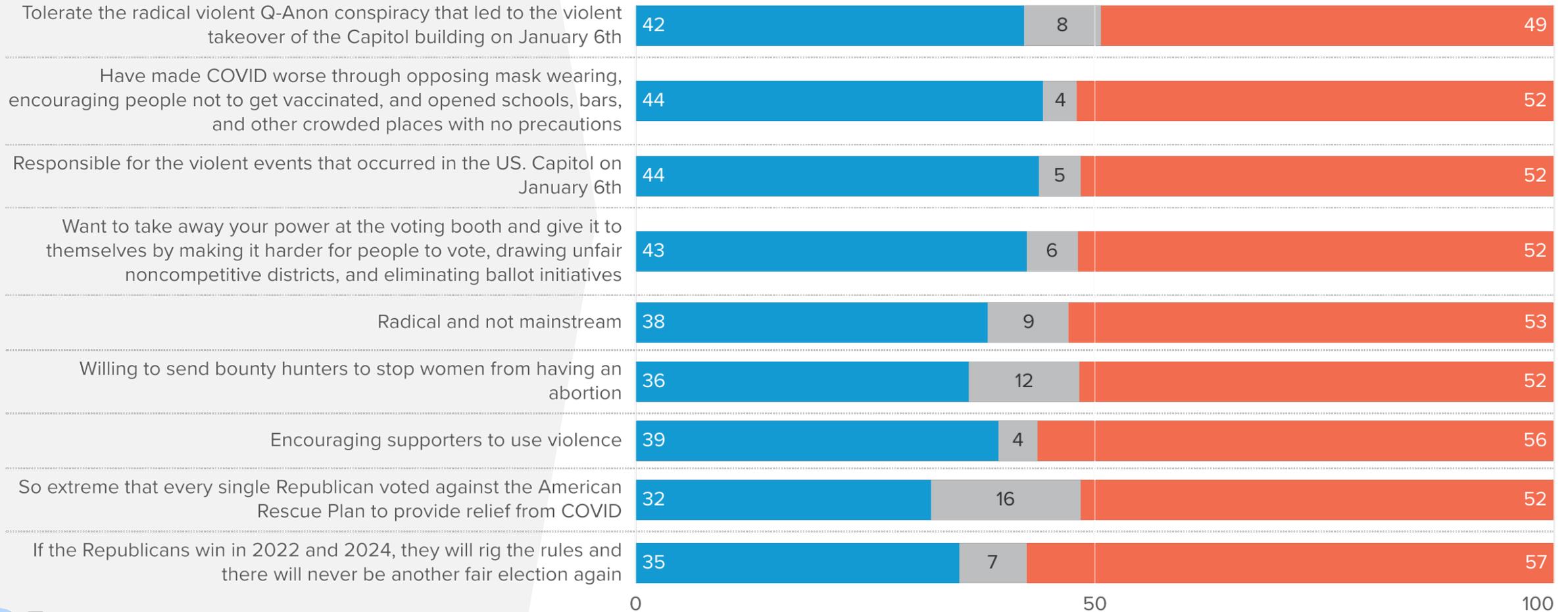
Less Effective among Independents



Least Effective Statements about Republicans

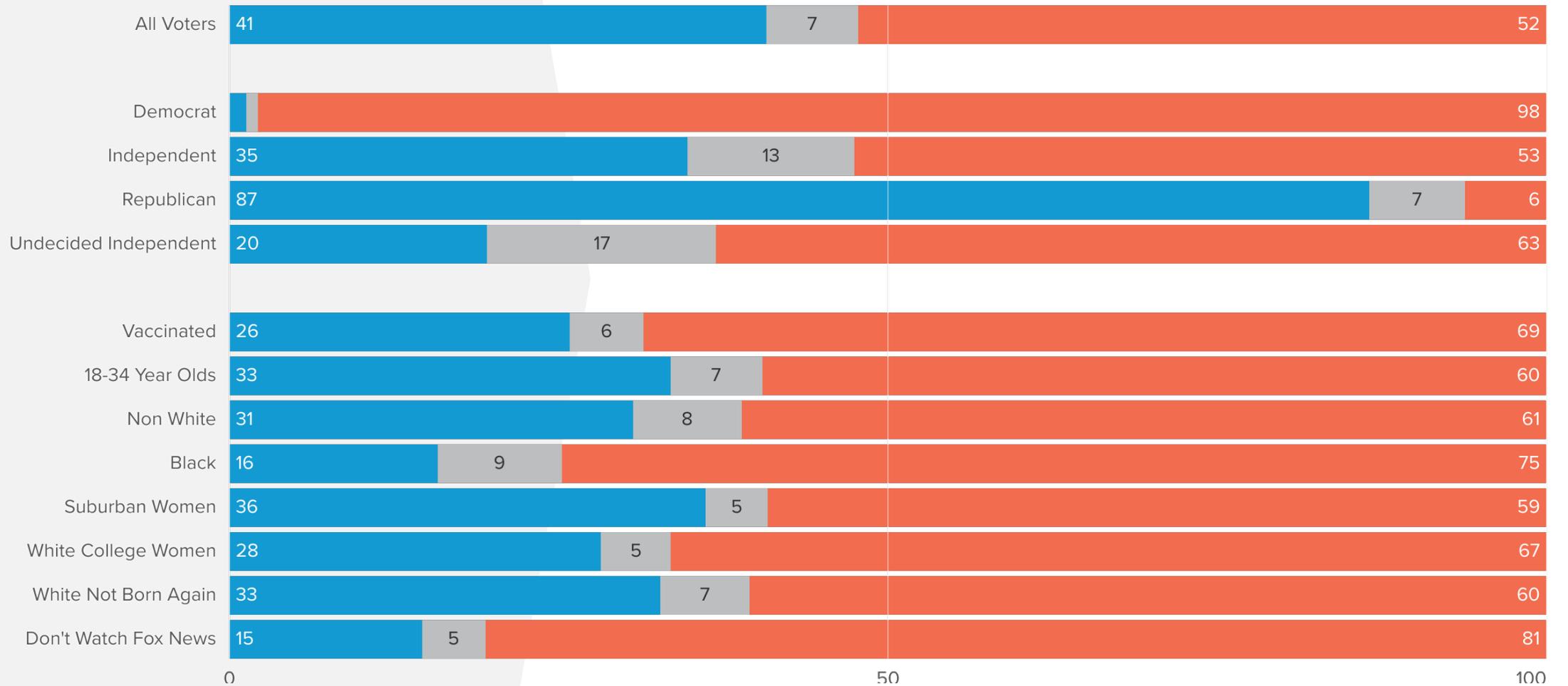
● Agree ● Not Sure ● Disagree

Least Effective among Independents



Trump Favorability

● Favorable ● Neutral ● Unfavorable



Republican Votes Upset Independent Voters

All items below tested over 50% “very upset” with the key voting bloc of Independent voters if their Member of Congress voted against :

- 50%. Extending the \$300 per month per child boost to the Child Tax Credit for one year which cut the child poverty rate by nearly 30%, lifting 3.5 million kids from poverty.
- 53%. Providing a \$65-per-child benefit each month to help the families of 29 million children to buy groceries during the summer months when school is closed.
- 53%. Assessing a surtax on individual income above \$10 million a year.
- 68%. Placing a 15 percent minimum tax on corporations that report at least \$1 billion in profits.
- 59%. Placing a tax on companies when they buy back their own stock to increase the share price.
- 52%. Covering hearing care for older Americans who receive Medicare.
- 74%. Not allowing drug companies to raise prices faster than inflation.
- 62%. Ensuring patients pay no more than \$35 a month out of their own money for insulin products.
- 64%. Providing low-cost private insurance to low-income, uninsured people in states that have refused to expand their Medicaid program.
- 67%. Continuing subsidies available under the Affordable Care Act to lower the cost of health insurance premiums.
- 50%. Constructing and rehabilitating up to one million new affordable rental and single-family homes.
- 67%. Increasing public housing, rental assistance, and aid to help low-income people cover the down payment to purchase a home.
- 59%. Building more cleaner transit buses and trucks.
- 52%. \$110 billion for Made in America production of clean energy technology like batteries and solar.
- 61%. Imposing a methane fee on oil and gas facilities, forcing those producers to pay up to \$1,500 for each metric ton of methane they emit above a certain limit.
- 50%. Investing \$8 billion per year for ten years to deliver clean water to all American families and eliminate the nation’s lead service lines.
- 51%. Accelerating the use of electric vehicles to curb climate change by investing \$7.5 billion for building electric vehicle charging stations.

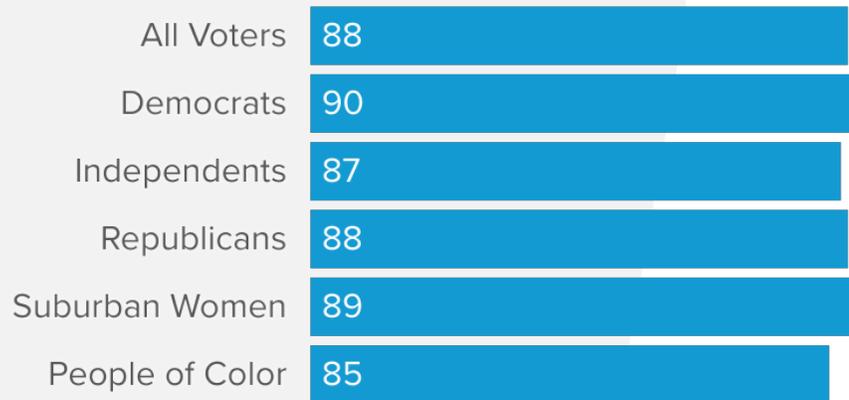
However, Magic Words Are Not Enough

- Democratic infighting over an ideological debate about the role of government or how much money overall should be spent makes Democrats look out of touch.
- Building a multi-racial coalition is crucial to Democrats' victory, but “cancel culture” or “wokeness,” which does not represent rank and file Democrats, or Independents, or soft Republicans – and even large parts of communities of color – must be quelled.
 - **66% of Independents in the swing districts and 65% in Senate states agree that Democrats are “more concerned with ‘woke’ causes and moving the country toward the radical left.” This is a top concern for Independents with 44% in swing districts and 38% in Senate states identifying this as what concerns them most and would prevent them from voting for Democrats next year.**
- Democratic elected official should be clear: Not one Republican who voted against the Rescue Plan or Infrastructure should cut one ribbon or hold one shovel. It's simple: Democrats fixed the potholes, Republicans did not.

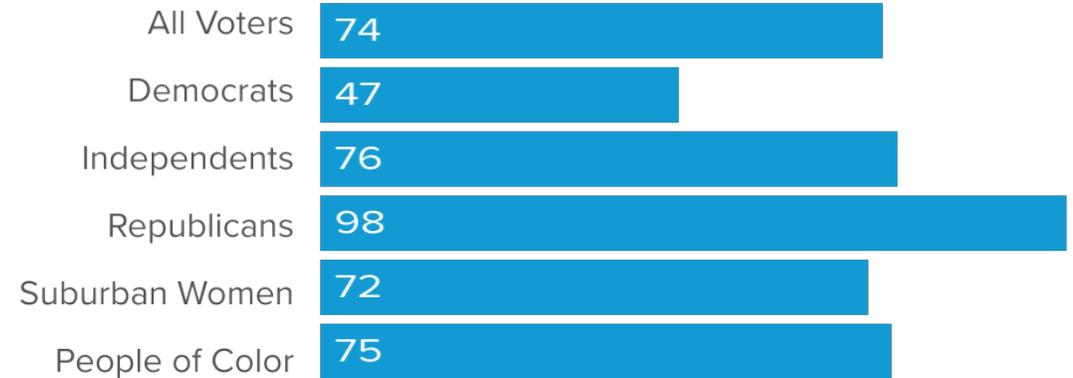
Effective Counter CRT Messages: Going Down the Rabbit Hole will not Work

% Agree

“The story of America is our quest to become a more and more perfect union. Denying the uglier parts of our history, like slavery or Japanese internment camps, also denies the heroism of those Americans who fought to right those wrongs. Our kids should learn that America is a great country, not because we have always lived up to our foundational principles, but because we have never stopped trying to be better.”



“I respect the rights of parents to know what's best for their children.”



Why Discipline Matters

Why staying disciplined matters...the head winds are brutal: Independent voters are rejecting Democrats because they think Democrats are ineffectual or out of touch on the issues:

- 76% of Independents in the swing districts and 73% in Senate states agree that Democrats “talk a lot but never get anything done when in charge.”
- 66% of Independents in the swing districts and 65% in Senate states agree that Democrats are “more concerned with ‘woke’ causes and moving the country toward the radical left.” This is a top concern for Independents with 44% of Independents in swing districts and 38% in Senate states identifying this as what concerns them most and would prevent them from voting for Democrats next year.
- 63% of Independents in the swing districts and 60% in Senate states agree that Democrats “support socialism and are opposed to the free market.”

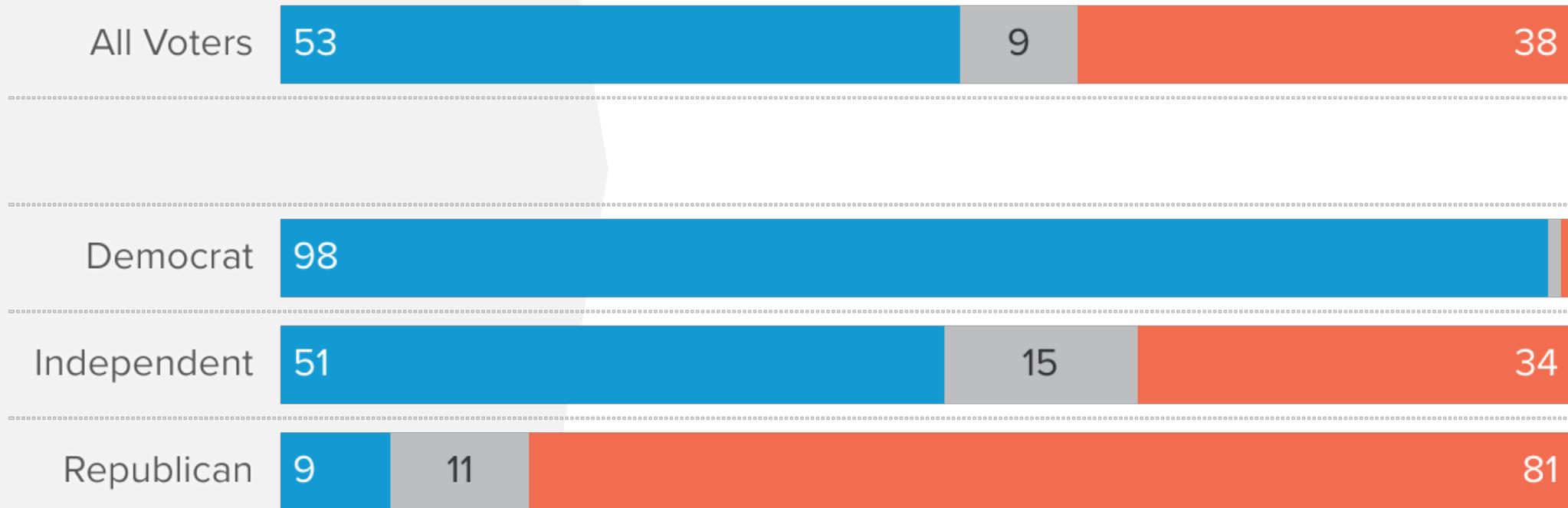
And the backdrop is even more troubling:

- 98% of voters say they are concerned with how corruption is influencing decisions made in Washington, DC. 86% are very concerned and 12% are somewhat concerned. Only 1% of voters are not concerned about corruption. (March 19-22, 2021 survey of 37 swing congressional district voters)
- 97% of voters in the swing districts say it feels “crazier” than 10 years ago.
- 93% of voters get their news media from smartphones, computers, or tablets in a typical week. 72% “often” and 21% “sometimes.” Only 37% “often” get their news from the television and 28% “sometimes.” Facebook Dominates: 85% of voters said Facebook is where they go most often for news on social media. 26% say YouTube, 21% say Twitter, and 12% say Instagram (a Facebook company). (September 17-20, 2021 survey of voters)
- 61% of voters – including 71% of Independents – agree that Democrats don’t really understand the problems facing people like them. 54% of voters – including 55% of Independents – agree that Republicans don’t really understand problems facing people like them.

The Math: Focus on Base and Targeted Independent Voters

If a Voter Thinks Trump Got more Votes, They are not in Play

● Joe Biden ● Donald Trump ● Not sure



In Summary

In summary, Future Majority recommends an intermediary message while longer-term virus and economic impacts settle into next year:

- **Define the “D” as “Deliver.”** Democrats delivered on investing in families, roads, bridges, broadband, and clean air and water. **These investments will create growth.**

VERSUS:

- **Define the “R” as “Radical.”** Radical Republicans voted against investments in our families and infrastructure because **they are corrupt puppets of the wealthy and corporations.** They cause **chaos** in order to put **Trump back in power.**

With a lot of hard work and some luck, the “D” message for the campaign will be:

Democrats Delivered on crushing Covid, creating millions of middle-class jobs, and cutting costs for families.



Future
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Paid for by Future Majority, Inc. www.futuremajority.org