

TO: Interested Parties
FROM: Mark Riddle, President of Future Majority
DATE: July 19, 2021
RE: Message Delivery

Since the 2020 election, Future Majority has surveyed 36,311 voters in swing congressional districts and battleground states with our partners at Change Research. This memo includes data from a recent survey of 2,049 voters in the 37 congressional districts decided by +/-5 in 2020 (July 13-17), 1,270 voters in Pennsylvania (July 13-17), 1,423 voters in Arizona (July 2-6) and 2,156 voters in the seven congressional districts held by Democrats that Trump won in 2020 (July 2-6, Districts: IA-03, IL-17, ME-02, MI-08, NJ-03, PA-08, and WI-03).

As we look ahead to 2022, Democrats will have been in charge of Washington for two years, and voters will need to know how Democrats have delivered to improve their lives and communities. All the research demonstrates that if the Democrats are disciplined, they have a winning message. The problem is voters do not believe Democrats are delivering for them because, by large margins, voters have not heard a lot about their priorities.

Democrats are struggling with the perceptions of “Delivering” and with Message Delivery:

- When asked “Which party has done a better job delivering on...,” voters in the 37 congressional districts said:
 - Building America by investing in families and infrastructure:
 - Democrats 36%, Republicans 31%, Neither 27%.
 - 61% of undecided independent voters say “neither.”
 - Defeating Covid:
 - Democrats 43%, Republicans 34%, Neither 20%.
 - Rebuilding America’s Economy:
 - Democrats 36%, Republicans 50%, Neither 12%.
 - Democratic officials are minus 23 points (16% to 39%) with undecided independent voters.
 - Creating middle-class jobs:
 - Democrats 34%, Republicans 48%, Neither 14%.
 - Democratic officials are minus 23 points (16% to 39%) with undecided independent voters.
 - Lowering health care costs:
 - Democrats 31%, Republicans 28%, Neither 38%.
 - Note: 34% of voters approve of the way President Biden is handling health care, with 59% disapproving.

- Keeping your community safe:
 - Democrats 27%, Republicans 47%, Neither 21%.
- Cleaning up corruption:
 - Democrats 25%, Republicans 29%, Neither 42%.
- When asked how much they have heard about specific proposals, voters in the 37 congressional districts said:
 - American Recovery Act:
 - 33% a lot, 36% some (16% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - American Jobs Act:
 - 33% a lot, 26% some (18% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - American Families Act:
 - 25% a lot, 32% some (15% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - Endless Frontier Act:
 - 5% a lot, 13% some (4% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - For the People Act:
 - 48% a lot, 22% some (22% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - Child Care Tax Credit
 - 33% a lot, 39% some (25% of undecided independents say “a lot”).
 - Note: The Child Care Tax Credit currently tests at 50% support with 45% oppose, including opposition from 50% of independents and 56% of undecided independents. However, this is a win for Democrats delivering on the key issue of investing in working families if messaged correctly. Let's push these numbers up!

To Win Democrats are going to need laser focused message discipline:

- **The “D” equals Deliver.** *It is important to know what the letter beside the name stands for, as it is a potent symbol that may add to or detract from a candidate, or override them completely. Candidates come and go. The “D” is eternal.*
- Three words: *For the People*
- Define Democrats: *Democrats are delivering #ForThePeople:*
 - *Ds Built American jobs*
 - *Ds Invested in families and infrastructure*
 - *Ds Defended democracy and freedom*

- How legislative efforts fit into the three points:
 - Built American jobs: *American Jobs Act, Buy American Executive Order, Endless Frontier Act, Invest in America Act.* Note: Jobs Training and not being able to outsource green energy jobs are very popular.
 - Jobs. Jobs. Jobs: Biden +2.15 million jobs versus Trump's minus 2.87 million jobs. Clinton-Obama-Biden have created 33.8 million jobs versus 1.9 million for Bush-Bush-Trump. Let's have this economic argument since Republicans reverse these facts.
 - Invested in families and infrastructure: *American Rescue Plan, American Jobs Act, Child Care Tax Credit, Eliminating Billions in Student Debt, American Families Act, Affordable Care Act, Community Funding Projects, The American Dream and Promise Act, Farm Work Force Modernization Act, Invest in America Act, etc.*
 - Defended Democracy and Freedom: *HR1, HR4, January 6th Commission, Roe v Wade, Freedom to Vote, Covid-19 Hate Crimes Act, Equality Act, Pro-Act, George Floyd Justice and Policing Act, Bipartisan Background Check Act, Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act, etc.*

Data that backs up the message recommendations:

- In the seven toughest Dem/Trump congressional districts, **63% of voters say they would vote for a candidate who uses the slogan "For the People"** when running for office, including 57% of independent voters, 62% of Republicans, and 54% of undecided independent voters.
- In the 37 CDs: **74% would vote for a candidate using the slogan, "Building American jobs."** 59% of undecided independents support. Note: In Pennsylvania is 73% support, with 78% of undecided independents.
- In the seven Dem/Trump CDs: **73% of voters ranked "Building America by investing in infrastructure and families" as their top choice.** In Arizona, it is 74%, with 70% of undecided independents.
 - 61% of voters support the American Jobs Plan and 56% of voters support the American Families Plan. In addition, **63% of voters support the Bipartisan Infrastructure Framework** being championed by President Biden. **"Hard" infrastructure is especially popular.**
 - **Creating more strength in the message: 73% of voters agree that "The American Jobs Act and its investment in infrastructure is a national security issue** because we have to upgrade our cyber security, grids, ports and port inspections and soft targets."

- **82% of voters** agree that “Policy makers should focus on and **invest more in protecting the United States** by developing antibiotics of the future in the US, strengthening encryption, and mining rare earths in the U.S. so we are not reliant on other countries.” If Republicans end up voting against, attack them on brand.
- Important: 80% of voters in the 37 CDs said they would consider voting for someone else if a candidate voted against investing in American infrastructure, 60% saying they would definitely vote for someone else.
- In Pennsylvania, 67% would vote for a candidate who is for “**defending democracy and freedom.**” It is **68% in the 37 CDs.**
 - Idea: Senator Bob Casey [recently introduced](#) the “Five Freedoms for America’s Children” initiative, which focuses on ensuring that every child in America has the freedom to reach their full potential. This framework addresses critical issues that motivate voters most: freedom and investing in families. 76% of voters in the seven toughest congressional districts would vote for a candidate running on this platform, including 64% of undecided independent voters.
 - 88% of voters in swing congressional districts rank the health of American democracy as negative (39% Poor, 49% Not so good, 10% Good, 1% Excellent). 76% of voters are concerned the candidate who wins the most Electoral College votes in 2024 will not become the president. Democrats should continue to push for legislative solutions to defend our democracy.
 - Note: The phrase “Build Back Better” tests 18 points lower than “For the People,” and with the key voting group of undecided independents, 25 points lower. It also tests two points lower with Democrats.
- Democrats should make a subtle shift and incorporate the phrase “**working for working people**” into their arguments, which tests at 73%, including 66% of independent voters, 66% Republicans, and 59% of undecided independent voters in the toughest Dem/Trump CDs.
- Job Training: 57% of voters rate expanding job training as a top proposal for the government to prioritize to improve the economy. Job training is a bipartisan win, with 56% of Democrats, 57% of independents, and 57% of Republicans saying it should be a top priority.
- Voters in the seven toughest congressional districts favor a candidate 62% to 25% that is “focused on middle-class families” versus a candidate that is “independent from the party they are running with.”

For the People Frame: +4 in the seven toughest congressional districts. 48% of voters choose “A candidate who is For the People and delivered on defeating the coronavirus, building America by investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of middle-class jobs, making America more competitive with China, voted to crack down on corruption, and protecting individual freedom, versus 44% of voters who chose “A candidate who says they will Make America Great by building the Wall on the southern border with Mexico to stop illegal immigration, cutting taxes and regulation to grow business, being tough on China, keeping your family safe by supporting the police, and blocking the Nancy Pelosi/Kamala Harris agenda.”

- Note: In the seven toughest congressional districts, if the election were held today 45% of voters would choose a Republican versus 39% Democrat, with 16% undecided in a generic horserace. The #ForthePeople message gives Democrats a 10-point advantage in their direction. In a similar matchup in 37 congressional districts won or lost by five points, the For the People Agenda outperforms MAGA 51% to 44%. (Continued Trend: 44% number for GOP, MAGA, Trump favorable in PA).

Key media delivery notes as Democrats think about fixing these issues:

- **60% Do Not Trust the Media** – including 90% of Republicans, 73% of independents, 68% of undecided independents. On the flip side, 83% of Democrats trust the media.
- When asked “sources you get the news,” voters from the 37 CDs said:

		Party ID				Und
		Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Ind
Please indicate from which of the following sources you get your news?	Local TV News	47	59	48	35	52
	Online news sites	47	50	51	39	44
	Internet websites	43	47	42	40	39
	Facebook	37	43	32	34	27
	Local newspapers	32	44	33	20	32
	Radio news	30	33	29	27	29
	Network TV news	29	42	31	15	27
	Fox News	28	4	28	53	14
	CNN	28	51	23	9	18
	National newspapers	28	46	23	14	20
	MSNBC	24	45	18	9	11
	Podcasts	21	20	18	25	7
	Talk Radio	20	11	19	29	14
	Newsmax	18	3	16	35	7
	One America News Network (OANN)	15	2	16	27	5
	YouTube	14	11	16	15	10
	Magazines	11	17	12	5	7
	Twitter	11	19	8	6	3
	Instagram	6	6	5	6	2
	TikTok	3	5	1	4	0
Snapchat	1	1	0	0	0	
Other	19	15	22	19	22	

- Note: Twitter is useful because reporters live on Twitter. Voters do not.

Democrats also need discipline in defining the Republicans as “Q and NOT for YOU!”

- The “R” equals Q.
- Three words: Trump, Corruption, QAnon
- **Define Republicans:** *Republicans are for Trump, for corruption, and for QAnon.*
 - **QAnon:** Among swing district voters, 69% of voters (97% of Democrats, 72% of independents, and 39% of Republicans) say they would not vote for someone if they were known as a “QAnon Republican.” Notably, 57% of undecided independents say they “would definitely vote for someone else.”
 - **Trump:** 52% of voters in swing congressional districts have an unfavorable view of former President Trump, mostly along partisan lines (98% Democrats, 54% of independents, 3% of Republicans). However, among undecided independent voters, Trump is radioactive, with 67% viewing the former president unfavorably and just 20% viewing him favorably. Suburban women view Trump unfavorably 53% to 42%, with 51% viewing the former president very unfavorably.

Corruption: The R is for dark money, lobbyists, foreign contributions and agents, all especially disliked by voters. Saying they are for it as opposed to just “against transparency” (more abstract) is better. Every Washington Republican is now on the record voting against the For the People Act, the most sweeping anti-corruption legislation since Watergate. When asked about candidates who voted against strengthening ethics and anti-corruption laws, 81% of voters in swing congressional districts said they would consider voting for someone else. Critically, this breaks the mold of partisan responses with 80% of Democrats, 56% of independents, and 46% of Republicans responding.

- Last month, Future Majority [released a memo](#) outlining further ways Democrats can play offense, especially around the issue of corruption.
- 91% of voters in the seven districts say that corruption in Washington has limited their freedoms, with 53% saying it has limited their freedoms “a lot.” Voters also draw a direct correlation between corruption and the cost of goods. Democrats should pivot when attacked on the issue of inflation. “Democrats voted to clean up the mess and Republicans voted to keep the lobbyist in power.”
 - 87% of voters say corruption plays a role in having an unresponsive government
 - 86% of voters say corruption plays a role in high medical costs
 - 75% of voters say corruption plays a role in jobs shipped overseas
 - 65% of voters say corruption plays a role in high gas prices

- 65% of voters say corruption plays a role in inflation
 - 59% of voters say corruption plays a role in low wages
 - 54% of voters say corruption plays a role in high grocery costs
 - 52% of voters say corruption plays a role in high housing costs
- Democrats have an opportunity to triangulate the “Drain the Swamp” voters from Washington Republicans, who have doubled down on protecting the status quo. In Arizona, 76% of voters believe corruption can be fixed if we hold legislators accountable.
- *Note: One additional line of attack on a more policy related front could be, “They are for Q and voting against investing in you.” 80% of voters in swing congressional districts said they would consider voting for someone else if a candidate voted against investing in American infrastructure and families, with 60% saying they would definitely vote for someone else.*

Democrats have an opportunity to continue playing offense with a Legislative Strategy:

Democrats should unleash a wave of simply named pieces of legislation (three words) aimed at putting Republicans on the defense between now and 2022. If Republicans’ aim is to obstruct and [cause chaos](#) for the next 18 months, then Democrats should put them on record each day voting against common-sense solutions supported by bipartisan majorities of Americans. At a time when voters in swing districts do not believe their government is accountable to them (70% of voters say the government is not accountable to them, including 45% who say the government is “not accountable at all”), these messages are all about holding public officials accountable to the voters they represent.

Recommendations for the first wave of stand-alone pieces of legislation:

- **Attack political corruption through lobbying reform bill:** 80% of voters in swing congressional districts say they would consider voting for someone else if the candidate voted against making it easier to see what lobbyists and their clients contribute to Members of Congress. 73% say they would consider voting for someone else if the candidate voted against prohibiting Members of Congress from being able to lobby after they leave office for at least five years and closing a loophole that allows former Members of Congress to lobby without registering.
- **Attacking voter suppression through an anti-gerrymandering bill:** 84% of voters in swing congressional districts say they would consider voting for someone else if the candidate voted against prohibiting politicians from drawing the districts they represent.
- **Vote-arama on popular provisions of HR1:** 86% of voters in swing congressional districts say they would consider voting for someone else if the candidate voted against the disclosure of anonymous, “dark money” contributions used to hide political donors. 75% say they would consider voting for someone else if the candidate voted against stopping foreign governments and individuals from using loopholes to contribute to

political candidates. Earlier this year, we [released a memo](#) with recommendations on how Democrats can frame the provisions of HR1 as anti-corruption legislation.

- **Stand-alone Anti-Corruption Act:** 86% of voters in swing congressional districts say they believe corruption has reduced opportunities for them, their families, and their communities, with 50% of voters saying it has reduced opportunities by “a lot.” 89% believe corruption in Washington limits their freedoms. We recommend using the tax code to attack corruption and close the loopholes.
- **Stand-alone Corporate Accountability Act:** 70% of voters support requiring humans to answer customer service calls and not machines. 92% support forcing cell phone providers to explain every charge in simple language. 60% support ending bank overdraft fees. 85% support forcing insurance companies to call and explain why they are raising their rates.
- **Minimum Wage:** Voters in the 37 swing congressional districts say they would not support a candidate who voted against raising the minimum wage. 56% of voters, including 55% of independents, say they would consider or definitely vote for someone else if the candidate voted against raising the minimum wage to \$11 per hour. 50% of voters, including 49% of independents, say they would consider or definitely vote for someone else if the candidate voted against raising the minimum wage to \$15 per hour.
- **Veterans:** Introduce and pass a Veterans’ Bill of Rights that increases access to jobs, degrees and certifications, healthcare, preventing suicide and improving access to mental health services, and ending veterans’ homelessness. 96% of voters in swing congressional districts support this policy framework, including 98% of Democrats, 96% of independents, and 94% of Republicans. 84% of voters in the Trump-Democrat congressional districts support making it easier for disabled veterans to vote by guaranteeing the ability to vote-by-mail or vote early.
- **83% support, “the federal government investing in drug rehabilitation and mental health services** for Americans who need it – those who have been affected by opioid addiction, especially veterans, communities of color, white people, rural Americans, or anyone else in need of mental health services.”
 - 86% say, “mental health is a crisis in America.”
 - 78% say, “American’s do not have access to the mental health care they need.”
- **Health care:** Just 34% of voters approve of the way President Biden is handling health care, with 59% disapproving. To push back, Democrats should introduce legislation that unites, rather than divides, on healthcare. 87% of voters in the 37 swing districts supported creating a public option that frees people to buy into the same health care plans that are offered to 2.1 million federal employees and does not raise taxes. 92% of voters support prohibiting health insurance companies and medical providers from adding charges to medical bills that were not disclosed before the patient received care.

- Note: Future Majority conducted an in-depth study on the efficacy of a public option program built around expanding the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program. You can read the white paper by Dr. Robert Shapiro, a former economic advisor to Presidents Obama and Clinton, [here](#).

Future Majority also surveyed voters in swing districts on a number of healthcare reform proposals, including the expansion of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program and cracking down on Pharmacy Benefit Managers (85% of voters support). You can read the memo featuring four common sense solutions to addressing healthcare [here](#).

The effectiveness of the GOP Media Machine:

- **Crime / Safety / Defund Police:** Despite 90% of voters feeling safe in their communities, only 38% feel safe in big cities. And, despite just 10% saying their community has reduced spending on the police department in the last year, 53% of voters say Democrats will defund the police. 49% think Joe Biden supports defunding the police (85% of Republicans, 46% of independents) and 53% think Kamala Harris supports defunding the police (92% of Republicans, 52% of independents).
- **Critical Race Theory:** 47% of voters in the seven congressional districts held by Democrats that Trump won in 2020 say the teaching of critical race theory is their top concern, including 50% of independents. Despite the fact that the Republican interpretation of Critical Race Theory is fictional, nevertheless, it must be answered or preempted.
- **Socialism:** 56% of voters in the seven congressional districts say they would vote for someone else if the candidate used “socialism” as a slogan.
- **Cancel Culture:** In our [in-depth study](#) of battleground state voters, Democrats received significant blowback from cancel culture and the perception that the party represents the elite. Democrats must do more to reframe themselves as a party welcoming of everyone willing to try to make progress, rather than just holding people accountable for their actions. 55% of independent voters say they have “legitimate concerns” with Democrats on this issue.
- **The Southern Border:** 64% of voters in the seven congressional districts disapprove of President Biden’s handling of the southern border with Mexico, including 69% of independents (and, notably, 72% of undecided independents). 58% of voters find a candidate’s message to build a wall along the southern border as appealing.

It's Also Attitude:

Democrats tend to focus on the negative and ignore the positive. How many “why Democrats lost reports” have been written, despite Democrats winning all three branches of the government in 2020?

Maybe it's time for Democrats to say: “We won the election. We are winning for you today and will win tomorrow. We are winning because American citizens, the People, are owning this moment to win our future. The People are the reason America is #1 and we're roaring back.”

Let's make sure every American knows that Democrats are delivering #ForThePeople.

For reference and background, the following reports provide additional context and background data for the recommendations found in this memo.

- Public Sentiment on the For the People Act ([March 24, 2021](#))
- Support for President Biden's Jobs Plan & Proposals to Pay for It ([April 29, 2021](#))
- Future Majority's Winning the Future study on voter attitudes ([May 2021](#))
- Battleground CDs Survey: Play Offense ([June 14, 2021](#))
- Battleground Survey: Wisconsin, Nevada, and Georgia ([June 24, 2021](#))
- Future Majority's Playbook 2.0 ([June 2021](#))