

TO: Interested Parties  
FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority President  
DT: January 23, 2022  
RE: Message and Strategy Recommendation

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*Since the 2020 election, Future Majority has surveyed 66,718 voters in battleground states and districts and has conducted deep-listening research in Florida, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Unless otherwise cited, the data presented is from a January 15-19, 2022 survey of 1,466 likely voters in the 37 Congressional Districts decided by +/- five points conducted by our partners at Change Research. The survey's margin of error is 3.5%. This memo is in the public domain.*

**90% of voters agree with the statement:** "I am tired of politicians who do nothing but complain and tell us why we can't do things. I want to vote for leaders who have a vision for the future and will tell us how they will create more opportunities for everyone to live a better life."

For Democrats to retain their majorities, they must prove they have delivered, will continue delivering freedom, a fair shot, and a better future, and have created more opportunity for hardworking Americans. Given the Democrats' disadvantage in the media ecosystem and internet echo chambers, their argument must be factual – and hammered home each day across every communication medium and platform. Candidates, campaigns, and contrasts will matter more than ever to give voters a real choice in 2022.

Based on the collective of our research, Future Majority humbly makes the following set of recommendations:

- Message Frame for Democrats: **"Democrats Deliver For the People"**
  - Creating millions of middle-class jobs
  - Investing in infrastructure to build the future
  - Keeping America open by managing the virus
  
  - *Shorthand: Delivered: Jobs, Bridges, Shots.*
  
- Message Frame Against the Republicans: **Radical Republicans**
  - Chaos by the Radicals: Trump, Q, MTG, Jan. 6, voting against Infrastructure, etc.
  - Corporate interests' puppets
  - Continued corruption: Voting against HR1/S1
  
  - *Shorthand: Radical: Chaos, Corporations, Corruption*

**The rationale and data behind the recommended frame for Democrats:**

1. **First and most importantly, all three recommended points are factual.** After one year in control of the White House and Congress, Democrats have a lot to crow about: 6.4 million jobs created, the greatest year of job creation in American history, +5% growth in the GDP, +4.7% growth in wages, 207 million vaccinated, enabling businesses, schools and stadiums to re-open, the passage of a massive bipartisan infrastructure bill, and the Rescue Package – investments that made historic growth possible.
  - **74% of respondents in a January 2022 study of rural voters in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin agreed with the statement that “Investing in America allows us to bake a bigger pie, so everyone can eat a larger slice.** The American Dream is big enough for everyone and America’s potential is limitless despite what some politicians say. 83% of Democrats, 72% of Independents, and 69% of Republicans agree.
2. *A potential alternative third point replacing “keeping America open” for consideration: **Growing and Competing with Made in America.*** By passing the U.S Innovation and Competition Act, Democrats can combine the victory with infrastructure legislation, investments in Climate, Made in America executive orders, and the elements of the BBB bill into a narrative about a roaring economy to compete globally with China and others. Democrats may want to make the argument that other countries were lapping us (yes, under Trump and Republicans, too) on infrastructure, disadvantaging American workers. Democrats have a shot to get real traction with growth, prosperity, and opportunity. This could be a strong closing argument and is the argument for 2024.
3. **In this survey, Democrats trail Republicans in the generic ballot for the House of Representatives by 5 points: 40% to 45%.** 10% of Democrats are “not sure” if they would vote for the Democrat. And Democrats trail 39% to 33% with Independent voters. (See [this recent memo](#) for our in-depth analysis of voter coalitions and the Data Addendum on who these Low Connected Democrats are.)

**Despite their current deficit, Democrats have a successful path forward.** We tested two messages: *“A candidate who is For the People and delivered on building America by investing in infrastructure and families and created millions of middle-class jobs, managed COVID so businesses and schools have the freedom to reopen and stay open so the economy can grow, and defended democracy”* versus *“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.”*

- The For the People candidate takes a 46% to 42% lead. Essentially, the movement comes from consolidating Democrats.
- When we replaced “managed Covid” in a message test with “brought Covid under control,” the “brought” line ended up only at a 46% to 46% tie.

- When we added the words “Democrat candidate” and “Republican candidate” to each graph, the “managed” message with For the People tested at 45% and Republican candidate at 46%, and “brought” graph has the Democrat candidate trailing 43% to 47%.
- In a Future Majority poll of swing senate states conducted in December 2021, we tested *“A candidate who is For the People and has 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”* versus *“A candidate who will get inflation under control by cutting the out-of-control government socialist 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.”*

**Framing the election this way, in our December 2021 poll of senate swing states, boosts the generic U.S. House of Representatives vote in Democrats’ favor by +10 net points** (44% GOP-42% Dem to 51% Dem-43% GOP) overall. It moves Independents by +12 net points (46% Dem-45% GOP).

- Note: The critical difference is the movement of Independent voters who gravitate to the “anti-corruption” message. For Democrats to have a chance of winning, **the corruption argument must be made and won.** It can be done in the negative, but cannot be left off the battlefield.
  - In a January 2022 study of rural voters in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, 59% said they disagreed with and would hold against Republicans who “voted against anti-corruption legislation that would limit the influence wealthy donors have over politicians, prevent foreign money from coming into America's elections, and strengthen ethics laws to prevent politicians from enriching themselves.” The importance of this issue for winning back Independent voters cannot be overstated. It is consistently a top three most concerning issue to these voters.

**Democrats should talk to voters about how Americans stepped up during a crisis and delivered, which is creating millions of middle-class jobs, keeping America open, and because of major investments in infrastructure, America is building a future to compete globally (beat China).**

- Our deep listening and analytics research shows that when Americans see the hero of the story as the American worker and believe their contribution to their communities are valued, they will listen to arguments. However, as soon as “Biden,” “politics,” or “party” are brought into the equation, voters retreat to their tribes and tune out. **While Democrats have delivered significantly for the people, the story has to center the American worker and how we all have moved forward, together.**

4. **We urge Democrats to separate and use both the specific points about job growth and infrastructure independently.** One should not assume that voters connect the two. Infrastructure is a top testing message and needs to stand on its own – especially since jobs numbers ebb and flow.
  
5. **The lines individually stick with voters.** We asked voters: “The following are some policy snapshots candidates support when running for office. If all you knew about a candidate was that they supported that, how likely would you be to vote for them?”
  - Creating millions of middle-class jobs: Total Vote For: 89% **(+90 with Democrats, +83 with Independents and +78 with Undecided Independents.)**
  
  - Investing in America’s Infrastructure: Total Vote For: 84% **(+92 with Democrats, +77 with Independents and +81 with Undecided Independents.)**
  
  - Managing COVID so businesses and schools have the freedom to stay open: Total Vote For: 77% **(+69 with Democrats, +65 with Independents and +53 with Undecided Independents.)**
    - Note: We recommend the message be “Keeping American open by managing the virus.” The word “Covid” puts people into their camps. While Democrats have a 21-point “credibility” lead over Republicans (40% to 19%) on stopping the spread of Covid, over the last month President Biden’s approval on the issue has dropped to 39%, with 56% of voters disapproving.
      - This point was the toughest to recommend and might not be the closer. However, **if we do not keep “America open,” the rest might not matter.** 60% of Independents agree with the statement “Even though the virus continues to spread, it is time to get on with our lives and return to the way we lived our lives before COVID.”

**The rationale and data behind important points not included:**

1. **Why is “cutting costs for families” (particularly to counter the inflation attacks) not one of the recommended three points?** The data show this is not a strong argument for Democrats. Even if Build Back Better had passed or does pass, it will be a tough sell given the mood of the country. (The Data Addendum includes more information.)
  - 54% of Democrats say, “their income is falling behind cost of living” and 34% say “staying even.” So, nearly 9 out of 10 Democrats will likely tune out this point. Roughly the same numbers of Independent voters would as well as 62% saying they are falling behind.

- Democrats trail Republicans 27% to 37% on which Party is “credible” on this issue of rising costs. Even 33% of Democrats do not believe this argument. In addition, Democrats trail Republicans 31% to 40% on who is more “credible” on cutting taxes for middle class families – including 31% of Democrats. (The Data Addendum includes more information.)
  - In addition, the data on actions the Administration took to help lower costs are either not heard of or voters do not view them as effective. For example, take Biden’s FTC action on gas prices. 42% of voters had heard of the action, but 61% say it is not effective, including 21% of Democrats and 64% of Independent voters. (The Data Addendum outlines voter familiarity with numerous actions for more reference.)
2. **For 5 years, Future Majority has argued that “fighting corruption” is a key tenet for Democrats to win. It still is the highest testing phrase and set of arguments.** However, incumbents seem wary of using this powerful tool, so we recommend defining the Radical Republicans as enabling continued corruption by voting against measures like HR1/S1. This establishes a clear contrast in messaging.
- **Fighting Corruption: Total Vote For: 92% (+89 with Democrats, +89 with Independents and +87 with Undecided Independents.)**
  - **Banning members of Congress from trading stocks: Total Vote For: 85% (+87 with Democrats, +85 with Independents, and +77 with Undecided Independents.)**
  - **This attitude trend is consistent among voters. In a June 2021 survey, 81% of voters in swing districts said they would vote against a candidate who opposed strengthening ethics and anti-corruption laws.**
3. **Defending Freedom and Democracy** was an earlier recommendation by Future Majority. However, it was not included in this recommendation, because it will be difficult to argue to voters that Democrats tried hard but could not get this done. We recommend hammering the Republicans on this issue in upcoming campaigns.
- **Defending Democracy: Total Vote For: 81% (+89 with Democrats, +65 with Independents and +58 with Undecided Independents.)**
  - One idea to reframe the voting rights debate is the phrase “Votes Not Violence.” It tested well. Total Vote For: 66% (+74 with Democrats, +52 with Independents and +55 Undecided Independents.)

**The rationale and data behind the Radical Republican frame:**

1. **The chaos from the Republicans' embrace of radicals is a concern for key voting blocs.**
  - 50% of voters agree, including 41% who strongly agree, with the statement "The Republican Party of Ronald Reagan and George Bush is over. Extremists, radicals, and conspiracy theorists have taken over. It is the party of Marjorie Taylor Greene and Donald Trump. They don't care about you or your family. They care about giving tax cuts to corporations and pledging loyalty to Donald Trump."
    - Net agreement with this statement is +89 with Democrats, +6 with Independents, and +26 with Undecided Independents.
  - In a November Future Majority survey of swing district voters, 53% of Independents agreed that the current set of Republicans are too radical on social issues.
    - 50% of voters agreed that Republicans tolerate the radical, violent QAnon conspiracy that led to the takeover of the Capitol Building on January 6<sup>th</sup>.
  - In an October Future Majority survey of voters in swing congressional districts, 51% of voters, including 62% of Undecided Independents, agree that Republicans "are dividing the country and creating chaos." In the same survey, 83% of voters said that compared to 10 years ago, the country feels "much crazier."
    - Of the Undecided Independents who said "much crazier," 76% believe that Donald Trump played a role in making the country crazier.
2. **Voters believe Republicans are in the pockets of the wealthy and corporations.**
  - In our November survey of swing district and senate state voters, 58% of Independent voters said they believe **Republicans tolerate corruption and let lobbyists call the shots.**
  - 55% of Independent voters believe **Republicans are the puppets of the wealthy and corporations.**
  - 55% of Independent voters agree that "**Republicans really don't understand problems facing people like you.**"
3. **Corruption looms large.**
  - In our research, voters have consistently ranked corruption as a top issue they want lawmakers to address. They believe it has limited their freedom and opportunity and are eager for action. In March 2021, 98% of voters in swing districts said they were concerned with how corruption influences decisions made in Washington.

- In a November 2021 survey of voters in swing districts, 57% of voters (93% of Democrats, 58% of Independents, 60% of Undecided Independents) agreed that Republicans tolerate corruption and let lobbyists call the shots in Washington.
- 92% of voters say they would either definitely vote for or consider voting for a candidate whose top priorities include fighting corruption.
  - Triangulate the “drain the swamp” crowd from incumbent Republicans. For too many voters, corruption has directly limited economic opportunities for them and their families and they know it. In a July 2021 survey of swing district voters, 86% said that they believe corruption in Washington, DC has reduced opportunities for them, their family, and their community.
  - This will also address concerns that Democrats have about their own party's elected officials. In a November voter study, Democratic voters in the swing districts said Democrats “tolerate corruption and let lobbyists call the shots in Washington” and 34% rated this as their second top concern about Democrats. The top concern is Democrats “talk a lot but never get anything done when in charge” at 55%.

A final thought for this section: The original thinking post-2020 was to make 2022 about Trump and Q (and not for you). While this is still important – especially in the chaos frame – the races in 2022 should be run at the local level. **The only explanation for any Republican to vote against the bipartisan infrastructure bill is their bended knee to Trump's demands and the chaos he foments.** In our survey work, the contrast on infrastructure is effective. We recommend the specifics be tested locally. Data below from a November 2021 Future Majority memo:

- 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 an 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 ranked most important for 42% of voters, 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.
- 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.

**Thoughts for 2022 Legislative Action and additional messaging thoughts:**

1. **Made in America.** A cornerstone of the Biden Plan, this earns near-universal support among voters. Democrats must capitalize because in a memo to Minority Leader Kevin McCarty in March, Congressman Banks states, “GOP needs to embrace Made in America Agenda...highlight Democrat opposition to policies that would reshape American manufacturing and create American jobs.” Future Majority ads have been made and tested and show up to a 7+ point movement in support. Very Powerful.
  - **Rebrand Biden around #JoeBuilds.** Create contrasts with this phrase.  
#JoeBuildsBridges, #JoeBuildsAmerica, #JoeBuildsRoads, #JoeBuildsBroadband, #KamalaBuildsBridges, #BidenHarrisBuild, etc.
2. **China.** On the question of, “who do you think does a better job standing up to China,” Democrats trail Republicans 17% to 44%. Taking on China is also a cornerstone to competitiveness. When asked if a candidate said, “Standing up to China.” **Total Vote For: 76% (+54 with Democrats, +61 with Independents and +45 Undecided Independents.**

3. **A Narrow BBB Bill.** First, the acronym “BBB” and slogan “Build Back Better” must be discarded. The slogan Build Back Better never tested well compared to alternatives, (In our January 2021 survey of swing district voters, just 37% said they would consider or definitely vote for someone using the slogan.) and Biden is at 40% approval in the swing congressional districts. One idea: Reset the legislation under Senator Casey’s **Freedom and Children** framework – the Freedom to be Healthy, the Freedom to be Economically Secure, the Freedom to Learn, Freedom from Hunger, and the Freedom to be Safe from Harm. His original plan tests at 70% support (July 2021 survey of swing district voters). Pre-K, Expanding ACA, Climate, additional Child Care Tax Credits, and a serious investment in Job Training would be powerful and could all fit under that framework. Our advice: Don’t try to do too much. Future Majority has argued for five years that the Democrats’ fear of embracing ‘freedom’, despite the most successful Democrat of all time, FDR’s, use of the word is a mistake. Freedom is the master concept of the Independent voter. 56% of Independent voters say “Freedom” is the most important for a candidate to value. **Another intraparty war or special interest bloodbath will get Democrats nothing. Just get it done. Dare the Radical Republicans to vote against Freedom and Children.**
  - The poll asked, “Last month, the Congress stopped working on passing a bill that would implement President Biden’s economic agenda because of potential costs and the scope of all the programs within it. Would you support or oppose a plan that would focus on just creating universal pre-kindergarten for all four-year-olds, expanding the Affordable Care Act to lower health care costs, and providing hundreds of billions of dollars to combat climate change? Approve: 49%. Disapprove: 46%. Democrats Approve: 92%. Independents Approve 49%.”
4. **Defending Freedom and Democracy.** If the Republicans will do a deal to safeguard an Electoral College coup in 2024 and beyond, take the deal. Then, hold them accountable to their radicalism of taking away a woman’s freedom to choose.
  - **In September 2021 survey of swing district voters, 63% (including 60% of Independents) agreed that Roe v Wade is the law of the land and it should not be changed.** 62% oppose banning abortion at 6 weeks, before most women know they are pregnant.
    - i. **56% of voters (including 62% of Undecided Independents) agreed with the statement “The Republican Party talks about ‘freedom’ all the time except when it comes to women’s freedom to make their own medical decisions.** The Republican Party needs to either guarantee this freedom or stop talking about freedom altogether.”
5. **Blind spots: Immigration, CRT, Wokeness, and Crime.** These issues come up over and over in our deep listening sessions. Voters feel either personally attacked or ignored by Democrats around these issues – not just on a surface level, but on a deeper emotional level. Voters want to be seen and recognized as good people. They also want to regain a sense of control in a chaotic time. For more on addressing these challenges, read Future Majority research director Gretchen Barton’s [essay](#) on what Americans need right now.

- **Immigration.** In our voter studies where immigration and the border are discussed, even voters who empathize with immigrants and people crossing the border express a desire for order and established process for immigration.
  - i. **Push back:** In our December 2021 survey of swing district voters, 56% said they were more likely to vote for a candidate who says *“Legal immigration has always fueled America’s growth. We have more jobs open than people looking for work. Small businesses can’t grow without workers. Instead of building walls, we need to allow future tax paying citizens to immigrate here and help fuel the growth that will make America’s economy even stronger.”* Notably, this message performs well across a multi-racial coalition with 54% of white voters, 79% of Black voters, and 55% of Hispanic voters saying they are more likely to support a candidate with this message.
- **The Critical Race Theory Parent Trap.** We tested many messages. Here are the ones that worked best:
  - i. Former Georgia Governor Roy Barnes used to say, “education begins at home.” It would be wise for Democrats to start from that point.
  - ii. 73% of voters agree with the statement, “I respect the rights of parents to know what’s best for their children,” including 80% of Independent voters. Agreement for this statement is stronger among voters of color, with 75% of voters of color saying they agree.
  - iii. In a November 2021 study of swing congressional districts, **90% of ALL voters agreed with the following statement:** “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.” Agreement for this statement holds strong with voters of color in swing districts, 89% agree.
  - iv. Note: Once the journey down the rabbit hole starts, the numbers get ugly and fast. It will take serious discipline to follow these three easy steps.
- **Wokeness.** In our November 2021 survey, 66% of Independents in the swing districts and 65% in Senate states agreed 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.

- **Crime.** In our deep-listening voter studies, rising violent crime is frequently at the top of voters' minds and they often feel like Democrats aren't listening to their concerns or want to defund the police. In a November 2021 survey of swing district voters, 53% said they agree with the statement "Democrats want to defund our police and undermine law enforcement," including 60% of Independent voters. Democrats need to take this concern seriously. **Democrats should highlight the resources from the American Rescue Plan to first responders -- and contrast with Republicans voting against the additional funding for those frontline heroes.**

**In addition to the surveyed 64,241 voters in battleground states and districts, Future Majority has conducted deep listening research in Florida, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas.**

**Three big conclusions:**

1. **Acknowledgement and Value.** Voters do not feel that Democrats acknowledge their hard work and that most Americans play by the rules. Nor do they think Democrats value their vote – especially non-college educated white voters. This must change. They must be acknowledged and told they matter through word and deed.
2. **Role of Government.** Voters want an assist when needed (and generally feel bad about it) and then want the freedom to live their lives. Democrats must stop thinking people want government always in their lives. Make the hero of the story the American, not the government.
3. **The Pie.** We are hearing a lot of tension about how the "pie" should be split up. Communities of color – especially men – are starting to sound much more like capitalist Republicans. It is imperative that Democrats expand the pie – for everyone. Be the Party of delivering growth, prosperity, and opportunity For the People or risk losing key voters in a winning coalition.

**In Conclusion:**

- 2022 will come down to candidates, campaigns and contrasts. This exercise was finding a path at the national level to get back in the game in a tough moment. We believe these recommendations combined with the need for unprecedented message discipline gives Democrats a real shot at winning.
- Message Frame for Democrats: **"Democrats Deliver For the People"**
  - Creating millions of middle-class jobs
  - Investing in infrastructure to build the future
  - Keeping America open by managing the virus
  - *Shorthand: Delivered: Jobs, Bridges, Shots.*
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  - Chaos by the Radicals: Trump, Q, MTG, Jan. 6, voting against Infrastructure, etc.
  - Corporate interests' puppets
  - Continued corruption: Voting against HR1/S1
  - *Shorthand: Radical: Chaos, Corporations, Corruption*

**Data Addendum:**

Source: Poll of 2,956 likely voters in AZ, FL, GA, MI, NV, NC, PA, WI. December 15-20, 2021

	Dems	GOP	Nei-ther	Not Sure	Net Dem	% Choosing Dems among		
						Dems	Inds	GOP
<b>Which party do you think is more credible on the following issues?</b>								
Stopping the spread of COVID 19	44	21	30	4	23	91	39	4
Fighting corruption	30	29	38	3	1	74	18	1
<i>Building the future</i>	38	39	20	4	-1	83	29	1
<i>Investing in the future</i>	38	39	18	4	-1	89	29	0
Pro-family policies	37	42	17	4	-5	81	28	3
Cutting taxes for middle class families	36	41	21	3	-5	79	28	1
Creating jobs	37	44	15	3	-7	84	29	1
Rebuilding the economy	37	46	14	3	-9	84	28	1
Lowering the cost of living	30	40	27	3	-10	70	22	1

	Dems	GOP	Nei-ther	Not Sure	Net Dem	% Choosing Dems among		
						Dems	Inds	GOP
<b>Which party do you think is more likely to deliver on the following?</b>								
Clean energy transition	49	16	29	6	33	90	46	11
Reducing student debt	41	12	41	6	29	79	36	10
Protecting/cleaning up environment	48	21	27	5	27	89	47	9
Defeating COVID	41	20	34	5	21	87	36	3
Increasing Social Security payments	40	22	30	9	18	81	34	7
Lowering health care costs	39	27	30	4	12	82	33	3
Lowering the cost of prescription drugs	38	28	28	6	10	80	32	4
Building America by investing in our families and infrastructure	42	36	18	5	6	87	37	2
Lowering taxes on working families with children	40	38	18	4	2	85	36	1
Cleaning up corruption	26	27	43	4	-1	65	15	0
Leveling the playing field so small business can better compete with large corporations	33	35	26	5	-2	75	24	2
Creating middle class jobs	36	43	17	4	-7	81	29	1
Growth	34	43	17	6	-9	80	24	0
Rebuilding America's economy	36	46	14	4	-10	84	27	1
Prosperity	30	42	22	6	-12	75	18	0
Tackling inflation and lowering the cost of living	29	41	25	5	-12	70	19	1
Protecting your freedoms	33	46	18	3	-13	79	22	1
Fixing supply chain disruptions	29	42	22	7	-13	68	20	1
Support for veterans	33	47	15	5	-14	77	23	0
Keeping your community safe from violent crime	25	44	26	5	-19	62	14	0
Security	27	48	19	6	-21	67	16	0
Protecting the United States from terrorism	26	48	20	7	-22	64	16	0

Source: Poll of 1,466 likely voters in the 37 Congressional District +/- by 5 points conducted January 15-18, 2022

**Questions on Democratic Actions Lowering Costs:**

- The Biden Administration recently signed an executive order designed to lower the cost of chicken and meat at the grocery store. How much have you heard about this?

Total Heard: 17%  
Total Not Heard: 83%

- How effective do you think this order to lower the cost of chicken and meat at the grocery store will be at lowering your cost of groceries?

Total Effective: 27%  
Total Not Effective: 63%  
Note: (+13 with Democrats, -38 with Independents, -82 with Republicans, -22 with Undecided Independents)

- The Biden Administration recently asked the Federal Trade Commission to examine markets for anti-competitive or illegal conduct from oil and gas companies and announced the largest-ever release from the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve. How much have you heard about this?

Total Heard: 42%  
Total Not Heard: 58%

- How effective do you think this order will be at lowering your cost of gas?

Total Effective: 29%  
Total Not Effective: 61%  
Note: (+34 with Democrats, -38 with Independents, -88 with Republicans, -52 with Undecided Independents)

- A bipartisan law went into effect on January 1st of this year to eliminate surprise charges in health care bills. How much have you heard about this?

Total Heard: 38%  
Total Not Heard: 62%

- How effective do you think this order will be at lowering your health care costs?

Total Effective: 34%  
Total Not Effective: 52%  
Note: (+33 with Democrats, -26 with Independents, -57 with Republicans, -24 with Undecided Independents)

- The recently passed bipartisan infrastructure law invests \$17 billion in our ports and critical links in our supply chain – roads, bridges, rail, airports. How much have you heard about this?

Total Heard: 66%  
Total Not Heard: 34%

- How effective do you think this law will be at lowering the costs of things that you buy?

Total Effective: 35%  
Total Not Effective: 57%  
Note: (+40 with Democrats, -30 with Independents, -71 with Republicans, -30 with Undecided Independents)

**Notes on Low Connected Democrats:**

**Low Connected Democrats** – 15% of self-identified Democrats. They select Democrats as most credible or best able to deliver on half or fewer of these items. They are younger, less educated, more Hispanic and less white than the medium and high connected Democrats. They get news primarily online and do not watch CNN or MSNBC. They are the Democrats least motivated to vote in 2022.

The challenge comes from low connected Democrats who do not find it believable that taxes won't go up on those making less than \$400,000 a year, that the cost of living will go down, and that BBB will not increase the deficit. Most troubling, a majority (56%) of low connected Democrats do not believe the American Rescue Act helped their family while other Democrats do. The current way we talk about both bills will not help us persuade sympathetic skeptics.

**Opportunities to Change the Conversation**

Democrats see current economic statistics differently. What might elicit positive responses from high connected Democrats will produce the opposite for low connected Democrats, especially if the statement about the present contradicts their lived experience. Never lead with this:

		Party Connection		
		Low (15%)	Med (24%)	High (61%)
<b>"America's economy is growing again and setting records.</b>	<b>Total Agree</b>	32	57	80
<b>Wages are going up. Social Security payments are going up.</b>	<b>Total Disagree</b>	62	36	16
<b>America's workers are getting stronger."</b>	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>-30</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>64</b>

To effectively speak to all Democrats, focus on what future we want to achieve and explicitly make the case that it is doable, affordable, and reflects what America is all about.

**Party Connection**

		Low	Med	High
"I am tired of politicians who do nothing but complain and tell us why we can't do things. I want to vote for leaders who have a vision for the future and will tell us how they will create more opportunities for everyone to live a better life."	Total Agree	93	89	94
	Total Disagree	3	5	5
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>89</b>
"We must invest in America because Americans are worth it. When you invest in Americans, our potential is limitless."	Total Agree	86	88	94
	Total Disagree	10	8	4
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>90</b>
"America is the wealthiest nation on earth. We can afford to invest in everyone's future if we make it a priority."	Total Agree	81	86	91
	Total Disagree	16	12	7
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>84</b>
"America is the greatest country on earth when we confidently invest in the success of every American."	Total Agree	69	66	85
	Total Disagree	27	29	13
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>72</b>
"Investing in America allows us to bake a bigger pie, so everyone can eat a larger slice. The American Dream is big enough for everyone and America's potential is limitless despite what some politicians say."	Total Agree	66	77	88
	Total Disagree	32	18	10
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>78</b>
"In America, there's more than enough for everyone."	Total Agree	60	66	78
	Total Disagree	38	27	20
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>58</b>

Investment messages must be linked to what positive change the investment will bring, specifically rebut the unaffordability charge, and link to a positive emotion about America and what we should strive to be. These are all important as the opposition's arguments, especially when they hit on insecurity and resentment, divides our coalition. This makes it doubly important for us to make our strongest, positive case at the outset and not from a defensive crouch.

		Party Connection		
		Low	Med	High
		(15%)	(24%)	(61%)
"When politicians say they are going to 'invest' in something, they are really talking about taking my money and giving it to someone else."	Total Agree	57	32	28
	Total Disagree	37	61	67
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>-29</b>	<b>-39</b>
"In America, there's no free lunch. Someone has always got to pay, and that's usually people like me."	Total Agree	54	35	37
	Total Disagree	36	61	58
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>-26</b>	<b>-21</b>
"The Government has limited funding and can't do everything."	Total Agree	48	53	39
	Total Disagree	48	45	56
	<b>Net Agree</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>-17</b>

<b>"In America, giving more resources to one group of people always means taking them away from other people."</b>	<b>Total Agree</b>	48	34	30
	<b>Total Disagree</b>	48	63	65
	<b>Net Agree</b>	0	-29	-35
<b>"I am focused on myself and my family's success. The best thing the government can do is leave us alone."</b>	<b>Total Agree</b>	42	10	11
	<b>Total Disagree</b>	54	87	85
	<b>Net Agree</b>	-12	-77	-74
<b>"America is a land of opportunity, where anyone can achieve if they put their mind to it."</b>	<b>Total Agree</b>	31	39	57
	<b>Total Disagree</b>	67	61	41
	<b>Net Agree</b>	-36	-22	16

Don't expect to win over low connected Democrats with pro-government or "move to the left" arguments. They have a more conservative view of the role of government than other Democrats:

**Party Connection**  
**Low Med High**  
 (15%) (24%) (61%)

			<b>Which do you think the role of government should be in American life?</b>
			Be there to assist in times of trouble, or to clear barriers, but mostly stay out of the way
64	80	90	
35	14	8	Play an active role in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all

			<b>How effective do you think federal government investments in skills, training, and infrastructure are in creating the conditions for a pro-growth economy that will raise wages and increase jobs?</b>
			Effective
55	83	91	
36	14	7	Not Effective

In addition, pro-America statements will fall flat on their own. Only high connected Democrats agree that "America is a land of opportunity, where anyone can achieve if they put their mind to it." They have to be paired with specific and achievable goals.

**Winning Messages that Unite Democrats**

The following messages work most effectively with all types of Democrats. We presented them both as generic candidates and as a Democrat. They get the highest share of Democrats of all types saying they would be likely to vote for them. In all three of them, we center a specific policy, spotlight the future benefits, and connect the individual to a larger vision of what America should be:

- "We need to invest in every child's future. That includes universal preschool so young children can start school ready to learn, fully funding K-12 education and paying quality teachers a living wage, affordable four-year college for those who want to attend, and free job-training and apprenticeship programs so that so everyone can make their own opportunities and be equipped to fill the jobs of the future – or create their own." (96% of Democrats are likely to vote for this candidate)

- “Investing in roads, bridges, broadband, and rail creates good American jobs that can’t be sent overseas which helps businesses grow and supply chains keep up with roaring demand as we emerge from the worst of the pandemic. These investments will make “Made in America” a real policy, not just a catchy bumper sticker. It’s just common sense.” (95% of Democrats are likely to vote for this candidate)
- “What makes America special are the small and family-run businesses that serve every corner of America and bind communities together. I will invest in small town America, Main Street America, family-farm America, so that everyone will have the opportunity to start and grow a business without being crushed by giant corporations who refuse to play by the rules.” (90% of Democrats are likely to vote for this candidate)

When contrasting with Republicans, Democrats in all groups find the following statements most persuasive. In each one, we state a clear goal, connect the goal to values, outline what America will look like if the goal is achieved, and say what the impact will be if the Republicans block it. These are more persuasive than statements centered around job growth, the American Rescue Act, and Biden’s work to lower gas prices.

- “Democrats believe investing in America will grow America’s economy. By transitioning to clean energy, improving public education, universal broadband internet, manufacturing, a new electrical grid, among many other investments, Democrats will keep America on the cutting edge of global technology while creating millions of American jobs to create American products to be sold all over the world. America will be stronger than ever.” (80% of disconnected Democrats, 95% of all Democrats find this persuasive)
- “Democrats say that their policies invest in America through the greatest investment in infrastructure - rebuilding of crumbling roads, bridges, airports, ports, broadband - since the creation of the interstate highway system. Because of failed Republican policies of giving tax cuts to billionaires instead of rebuilding America, we have even more we need to get done. Democrats will invest in America because we believe in American greatness and the potential of every American child to succeed. Democrats will invest in Americans, not corporations and banks.” (77% of disconnected Democrats, 96% of all Democrats find this persuasive)
- “Democrats believe nothing comes ahead of educating our children. We respect parents by fighting for full funding for public education in every community in America. Democrats will invest in preschool so every young child is ready to begin kindergarten ready to learn, fully fund K-12 education and pay teachers what they are worth, make community college tuition free, expand job training and apprenticeship programs, and bring down the cost of higher education so we are not saddling future generations with crushing debt. The Republicans fight against all of this. They would have state governments take over schools and dictate what teachers can teach while Democrats support local control of schools.” (73% of disconnected Democrats, 90% of all Democrats find this persuasive.)

**Future Majority's Previous Voter Research:**

- 2020 Polling Retrospective Analysis ([January 2021](#))
- The Playbook: How Democrats Win by Making Workers the Hero ([February 2021](#))
- The Playbook: Americans' Views on Infrastructure Policies ([March 2021](#))
- Public Sentiment on the For the People Act ([March 24, 2021](#))
- Americans Support a Personal Data Tax on Big Tech Companies ([April 21, 2021](#))
- National Survey on Voter Attitudes Toward Cryptocurrency ([April 24, 2021](#))
- Support for President Biden's Jobs Plan & Proposals to Pay for It ([April 29, 2021](#))
- Poll: Objects in Mirror May Be Closer Than They Appear ([May 17 2021](#))
- Winning the Future: Report on Battleground State Persuadable Voters ([May 2021](#))
- The Playbook: The Next 100 Days of Governing ([May 2021](#))
- WTF Florida: What Gives in the Sunshine State? ([May/June 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](#))
- Message Delivery Recommendations for Democrats ([July 19, 2021](#))
- The Playbook: Message Discipline is Key to Winning ([July 2021](#))
- Jobs: Michigan and the Battleground CDs ([August 16, 2021](#))
- FL and VA: Voter Opinions on Defending Freedom and Democracy ([August 23, 2021](#))
- Analysis of Voter Attitudes on the Cost of Living ([August 2021](#))
- Analysis of Voter Attitudes in the Democrats' 2020 Coalition ([September 2021](#))
- The Path Forward for Democrats ([September 19, 2021](#))
- Revenue Polling and Support for the Build Back Better Agenda ([September 27, 2021](#))
- Midterm Messaging Project: Nevada's Gettable Voters ([September 2021](#))
- WTF North Carolina: What Gives in the Tar Heel State? ([September 2021](#))
- Analysis of Voter Opinions Toward Reproductive Freedom ([October 2021](#))
- Analysis of Voters' Opinions Toward Crypto and Decentralized Finance ([October 5, 2021](#))
- Support for Pay-Fors Boosts Independent Support for BBB ([October 27, 2021](#))
- Virginia Media Study: On the Road to the Election ([October 2021](#))
- Investment and Growth Memo ([November 22, 2021](#))
- Investment and Growth vs. Chaos and Corruption ([November 2021](#))
- Pursuing Pennsylvania ([November 2021](#))
- Misinformation and Truth Report ([November 2021](#))
- Swing State Survey Results ([January 16, 2022](#))