

TO: Interested Parties
 FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority President
 RE: Voter Data on The Freedom Frame
 DT: October 7, 2022

Future Majority’s mission is to build a narrative around the word “Freedom” and take it back from the conservative movement. Throughout history, freedom has been a rallying call for Americans who stand for equal opportunity under the law.

In June 2018, Future Majority found that **91% of voters said that Freedom was the most important value to them, and that government should enable Americans to have the freedom to build a better future.** Since then, our data has consistently shown similar results.

The data sets presented are from recent surveys conducted by Change Research (August 5-10, 2022 and September 29-October 3, 2022) in swing states and congressional districts to understand voter opinions and how they view freedom, political groups, and messages.

Key Findings from the Voter Research

1. Democrats have work to do to build a credible economic narrative for voters to trust them on protecting and supporting their economic freedom.
2. Democrats should also work to restore their protection of individual freedoms – especially for those who they may not agree with – to show they are willing to represent all Americans. Independent voters are especially skeptical of Democrats and how the Democrats’ agenda may limit their freedom.
3. Voter’s perceptions of Republicans on Freedom have shown cracks in their leadership on this value. Democrats can deliver for the people better by advocating clear and concise messages to respond to conservative talking points through the Freedom Frame.

The Freedom Frame

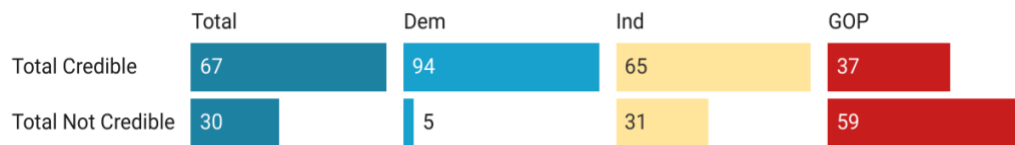
- **Do you agree or disagree that lawmakers in Washington DC should develop a policy agenda that reflects protecting American freedoms:** individual freedoms (free speech, expression of your faith, who you love, your vote, etc.), economic freedoms (stability, social safety net to prevent bankruptcy when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



- "Democrats are for the people and committed to protecting our freedoms** - the freedom for women to make their own health care decisions, including abortion, without a politician threatening them. The freedom to live life without crippling health care costs. The freedom to drink clean water and breathe clean air. The freedom to get an education without being trapped by massive debt. True freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence and that is what the Democrats will deliver." **How credible do you find that statement?**



- "MAGA Republicans who voted against requiring insurers to cover pre-existing conditions don't understand that you're not free if you can't get the care you need without the fear of crippling healthcare costs.** Every American should have the **freedom** to live their lives without the fear of bankruptcy because of medical debt." **How credible do you find that statement?**



Voter Perceptions of Freedom by Political Groups

- "Which group you are more worried about restricting your individual freedoms?"**



- "Which group are you more worried about restricting your economic freedom?"**



- **“Do you think Republicans care more about:”**

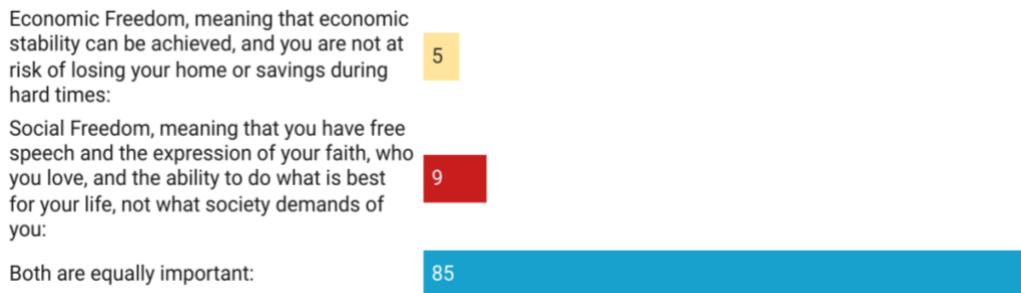


- **“Do you think Democrats care more about:”**

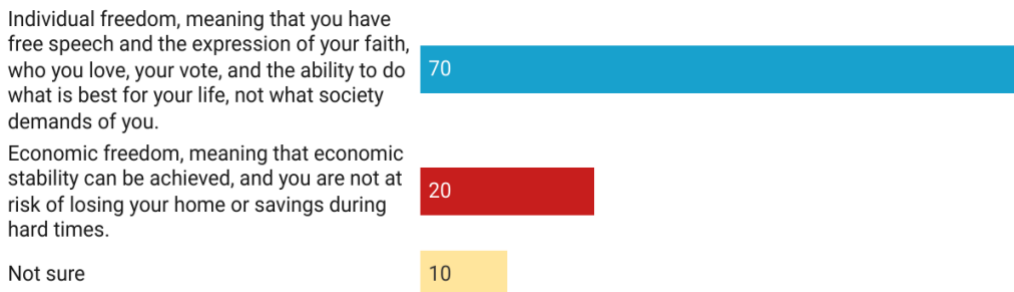


Voter Perceptions of Freedom

- **“Which type of freedom do you think is more important:”**



- **But, when we pushed in the second survey – voters chose individual freedom over economic freedom.**



- **“Agree/Disagree: True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence”**



- **“Agree/Disagree: Our freedoms don’t come from the government or politicians. They come from us when we stand up for our rights.”**



- **“Which comes closer to your view, even if not entirely accurate?”**



- **“Agree/Disagree: Only strong leaders can protect and guarantee our Freedom”**



Message Frames

For each, please indicate whether it would make you more likely to vote for the candidate who says:

- **“Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without the fear of crippling healthcare costs.”**



- **“Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without fear of falling victim to gun violence in schools, workplaces, places of worship, or walking down the street.”**



- **“Americans regardless of zip code should have the freedom to pursue the American dream without being held back by a lack of resources like roads, bridges, and access to broadband internet”**



- **“Americans should have the freedom to build their future with an education system that does not require massive personal debt.”**



- **“Americans should have the freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children.”**



- **“Americans, and future generations of Americans, should have the freedom to breathe clean air and drink clean water and to live without the constant threat of climate-related disasters”**



- **“Americans should have the freedom to live their lives, without the threat of big government intervention and regulation”**



- **“Americans should have freedom from fear of how and whether income is coming in”**



Perceptions of Republicans on Freedom

Note: Only Democrats and Independent voters were asked how they view Republicans.

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



- **“The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but you are not free if you are buried by student loan debt or you are forced to give birth”**



- **“The Republican Party says they stand for freedom, but they want to take us backward to a time when we were less free than we are today”**



- **“Freedom means making a living wage and being able to choose when or if to start a family, but today’s Republicans are taking those freedoms away from us”**

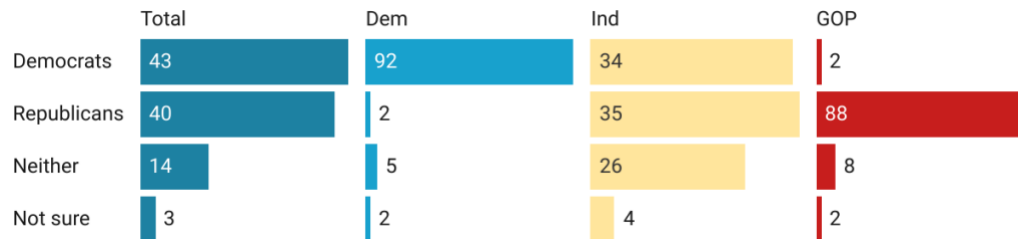


- **“The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but their idea of freedom is like the rest of their ideas stuck in the 1700’s”**



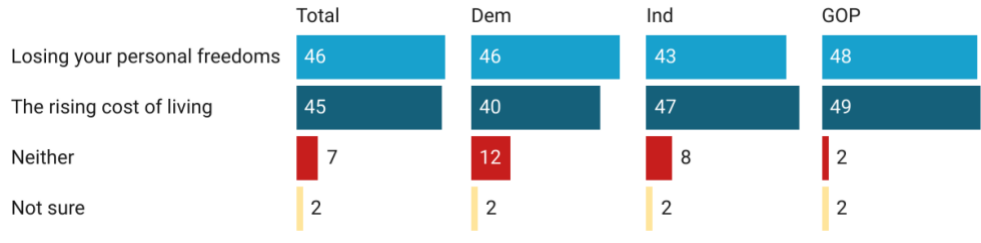
Additional Voter Views on the Freedom Agenda

- **Which group do you trust more to deliver on defending American democracy and our freedom to vote?**

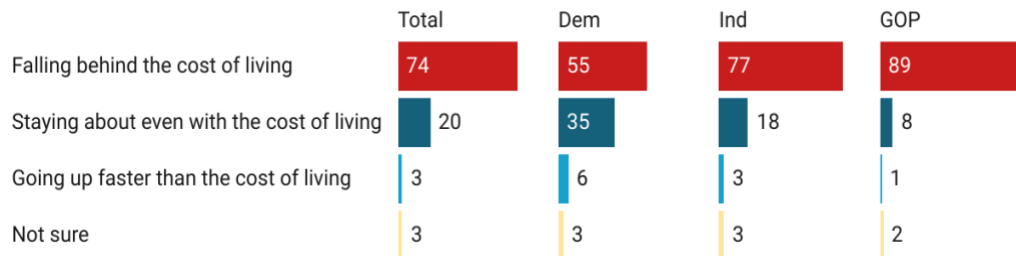


The next few questions underscore the challenges and struggle between personal freedom and economic freedom.

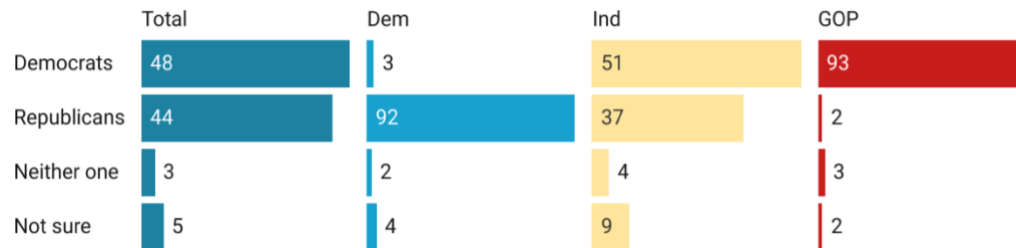
- What concerns you most right now?**



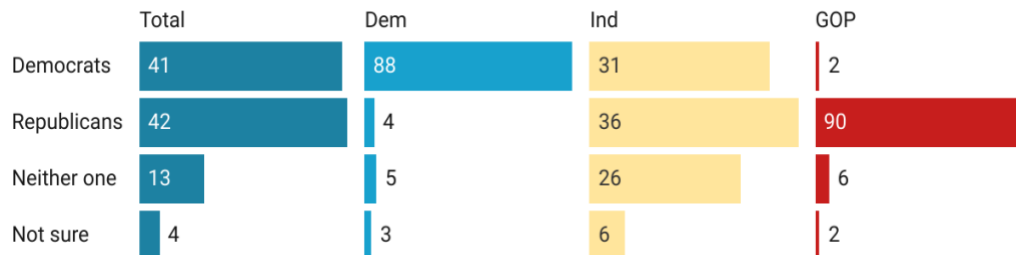
- Would you say your income is:**



- Which group do you think is more likely to limit your freedom?**

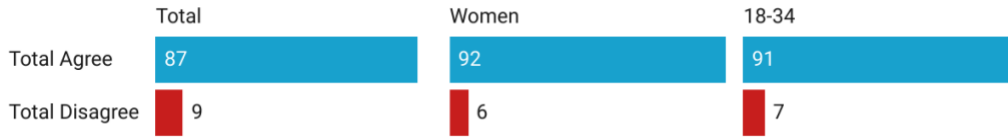


- Which group do you think is more likely to protect your freedom?**



The reproductive freedom frame is a strong argument against attacks on reproductive rights

- “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Every woman should have the freedom to choose for herself if, when and with whom to start or grow a family?””



- “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: ‘Young women and girls should not have fewer rights and freedoms in America today as their mothers and grandmothers?’”



The Path Forward

As conservatives rally around a narrow version of freedom based in the 1700’s – meaning white male landowners make the rules – it is imperative that Democrats rally around the American story of Freedom. The story of a country that was founded on freedom and is continuing to evolve where all are created equal with a government that is by and for the people. It worked for FDR. It still works.

Future Majority was founded on the premise that progressives can no longer cede the word freedom. We recently offered a broad statement of principles and will be putting forth a Freedom Frame governing agenda after the midterm. Below is the direction we believe will work to reframe and reshape the national conversation and build a future governing majority. The specific issues are a general direction, and the overall agenda will not be limited to those listed below.

Democrats believe in Individual Freedom

- Freedom to speech (religion, press, equality)
- Freedom to choose (reproduction, marriage, privacy)
- Freedom to be safe (gun safety, immigration, weather chaos)

Democrats believe in Economic Freedom

- Freedom to education (life-long learning, training, child care)
- Freedom from foreign dependence (Made in America, energy, strong defense)
- Freedom to a secure retirement (Social Security, Medicare, Disability)

Democrats believe in Foundational Freedom

- Freedom to clean air and water (climate, conservation, food)
- Freedom to accessible health care (prevention, costs, prescription drugs and vaccines)
- Freedom to vote and have it counted (Democracy, collective bargain, ending gerrymandering)