

TO: Interested Parties
FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority President
DT: May 16, 2023
RE: Survey shows anxious and frustrated electorate

Future Majority conducted a voter survey of the competitive congressional districts (districts Joe Biden won in 2020 that Republicans won in 2022, as well as districts a Republican won by less than five points in 2022) on a wide range of issues. The survey of 2,461 voters was conducted by Change Research from May 6-9, 2023.

The survey shows an increasingly frustrated and anxious electorate. If the 2024 election were held today, the results would likely once again be a narrowly divided government that could go to either group. When asked who voters would choose if the 2024 election for U.S. House of Representatives were held today, 44% say they would choose the Republican, 42% say they would choose the Democrat, and 14% are not sure.

Topline Findings:

- **The Democrats' message continues to work against the Republicans' extreme agenda.** We tested a summary of Joe Biden's campaign launch message against summaries of Donald Trump's and Ron DeSantis' messages. Voters prefer Biden's message 50% to 43%, with 50% of Independents backing the Freedom Frame argument over the MAGA argument. The choice narrows when Biden's message is compared to the DeSantis message, with 48% choosing the Biden Freedom Frame over 45% who choose the DeSantis culture war frame. The House Democrats "For the People" frame is similarly effective, with 51% preferring it to the Trump/MAGA message.
 - **Voters want to protect the freedom to live more than the Second Amendment.** 52% of voters say they care more about "ensuring that every American has the freedom to live safely, without fear of gun violence" while 41% care more about "protecting the Second Amendment rights of gun owners."
 - **Like other surveys, wide majorities favor common-sense gun reform.** Efforts by the movement for gun reforms have made a lasting impact. 70% of voters say they support requiring the purchase of weapons like AR-15s to require training and safety courses, insurance requirements, and waiting periods of at least two weeks. 59% of respondents who are gun owners support the proposal. This proposal earns 56% of support for a candidate who uses it compared to 34% for a message about protecting the Second Amendment rights of Americans.

- **Voters continue to see Republicans as more extreme than Democrats** (46% to 42%) and wide margins identify efforts by state legislatures to restrict individual and economic freedoms as extreme. An overwhelming 93% of Democrats and 67% of Independents respond that MAGA Republicans threaten democracy.
- **The power of misinformation.** 67% of Republicans in the survey report that they believe that Donald Trump got more votes than Joe Biden in 2020, with 21% of Republicans responding that they are not sure. Just 12% of Republicans respond that they believe Joe Biden received more votes in 2020.
- **While Democrats may be able to win in future elections, there is a clear and ominous, much larger challenge: 90% say they agree that “Things feel more out of control in America today than they have during any other time in my life.”**
 - 41% of voters respond that overall, they would say that “no one in Washington is doing much of anything right now” and they are either angry or frustrated by that. This rises to 52% with Independent voters. Democrats should continue to focus efforts on making the case that their economic agenda is delivering for America.
 - Meanwhile, 75% respond that they are falling behind the cost of living, just 36% respond that they make the full payment on their credit card each month, and 72% respond that they feel like they do not matter much or at all in America. 76% respond that they are concerned about the impact on the U.S. financial system of the recent collapse of two major U.S. financial institutions. 83% respond that we are either already in a recession or one is very likely by the end of the year.
 - 71% of respondents (55% of Democrats, 75% of Independents, and 82% of Republicans) say that today’s children in America will grow up worse off than people are now. 22% say about the same, and just 7% say that today’s children will be better off than people are now.
- **Open-ended results show top issues for voters who do not approve of Joe Biden’s job performance.** We asked voters who “Somewhat Disapprove” or are “Not Sure” about Biden’s job performance as president, “What is the main thing Joe Biden can do to improve your approval of his job?” We used AI to analyze and categorize the responses.

- The issues for Democrats are canceling student loan debt, addressing LGBTQ rights and issues, improving COVID-19/pandemic response, addressing gun violence, implementing policies to address climate change, and achieving universal healthcare and protecting abortion rights.
- The issues for Independents are immigration and border security, improving communication and transparency, balancing progressive and conservative values, addressing the budget and economic stability, more proactive in addressing issues, and improving the healthcare system.
- The issues for Republicans are curbing immigration and improving border control, maintaining a moderate political stance, focusing on economic stability and growth, improving foreign policies, and addressing domestic policy issues.

Summary of Survey Data – Message Frames:

Thinking about the next election, which candidate message would you support:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate who will defend our basic freedoms - the freedom for women to make their own health care decisions. The freedom for our children to be safe from gun violence. The freedom to vote and have your vote counted. The freedom of seniors to live with dignity. The freedom that comes with a fair shot for all Americans to build a good life.	50	95	52	7	51	60	41
A candidate who will make America great again by closing the border with Mexico, fixing the economy, lowering inflation, expanding energy exploration, protecting children from freaks, cracking down on drug dealers and criminals, and ending the war in Ukraine.	43	4	33	82	21	32	48
Not sure	7	1	16	11	28	8	11

Thinking about the next election, which candidate message would you support:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate who will defend our basic freedoms - the freedom for women to make their own health care decisions. The freedom for our children to be safe from gun violence. The freedom to vote and have your vote counted. The freedom of seniors to live with dignity. The freedom that comes with a fair shot for all Americans to build a good life.	48	95	43	9	40	59	38
A candidate who is on the cultural frontlines in the battle for your freedom to live - the freedom to send your child to the school of your choice, free from woke indoctrination. The freedom from medical bureaucrats mandating shots and imposing restrictions on where you can go and what you can do. The freedom from high taxes that stifle innovation and small business. And freedom from woke corporations imposing their values on the rest of us.	45	2	45	86	34	54	32
Not sure	7	3	13	5	26	5	9

Thinking about the next election, which candidate message would you support:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate who is for the people and is fighting to make America healthy, prosperous, and safe by investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of middle-class jobs, cracking down on corruption, and defending democracy and freedom.	51	94	52	7	51	60	41
A candidate who will make America great again by closing the border with Mexico, fixing the economy, lowering inflation, expanding energy exploration, protecting children from freaks, cracking down on drug dealers and criminals, and ending the war in Ukraine.	39	4	33	82	21	32	48
Not sure	9	2	16	11	28	8	11

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The Republican party used to be the party of 'leave us alone.' Now, many Republicans want to ban books, ban abortion, and require high school girls to submit to mandatory genitals checks to play sports. It's all big government all the time. Please, enough with the extremism. Leave us alone to live our lives in peace and freedom."

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Strongly agree	46	80	46	12	48	53	39
Somewhat agree	16	13	20	16	26	18	15
Somewhat disagree	10	2	9	18	9	8	11
Strongly disagree	21	2	18	46	6	15	29
Not sure	6	3	7	9	11	7	6

Summary of Survey Data – Voter Sentiment:

Overall, would you say:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Democrats in Washington are going too far in imposing their agenda right now	29	2	23	61	12	22	37
Republicans in Washington are going too far in imposing their agenda right now	24	55	17	0	11	29	19
No one in Washington is doing much of anything right now and I'm fine with that	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
No one in Washington is doing much of anything right now and I'm frustrated with that	21	22	26	15	37	23	20
No one in Washington is doing much of anything right now and I'm angry with that	20	16	26	20	27	20	21
Not sure	4	5	6	2	10	5	2

How much do you feel like you matter in America?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A lot	6	9	4	4	3	5	6
Some	23	34	18	16	13	23	22
Not so much	43	38	44	47	44	43	43
Not at all	29	19	35	33	40	29	29
Total A lot/Some	30	43	22	20	16	28	28
Total Not so much/Not at all	72	57	79	80	84	72	72

Do you feel like people like you have a fair shot to succeed in America?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Yes, they do	45	46	39	50	36	39	52
No, they do not	38	40	43	32	45	41	35
Not sure	16	14	18	18	19	20	13

When today's children in America grow up, do you think they will be:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Better off than people are now	7	13	5	4	6	7	8
Worse off than people are now	71	55	75	82	70	70	72
About the same as people now	22	33	20	14	24	24	20

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Things feel more out of control in America today than they have during any other time in my life."

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Strongly agree	61	41	59	82	55	60	62
Somewhat agree	29	43	30	15	32	31	27
Somewhat disagree	5	9	5	2	3	5	6
Strongly disagree	3	4	3	1	4	2	3
Not sure	2	3	4	1	6	2	2

Do you believe the challenges facing America are:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
More about what the government says we can either do or not do in our lives	59	50	58	69	48	61	57
More economic and how families are able to get ahead financially	31	36	31	25	35	28	34
Not sure	10	14	11	6	16	11	9

Do you and your family feel safe in your community from violent crime?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Yes, we do	62	68	62	56	64	61	63
No, we do not	28	20	29	36	27	28	28
Not sure	9	11	9	8	9	11	8

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The media does a good job of reporting what is or isn't true."

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total agree	26	46	21	10	20	29	23
Total disagree	70	49	75	88	76	67	74
Not sure	4	5	4	2	4	4	3

How much do you trust the news media in general?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total A Lot/Some	34	64	25	12	20	39	29
Total Not at all/A little	66	36	75	88	80	61	71

Summary of Survey Data – Extremism:

Which group do you think has more political extremists?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Democrats	42	2	40	84	25	33	52
Republicans	46	93	41	3	28	54	36
Neither one	5	2	8	5	17	5	5
Not sure	7	3	11	7	30	8	6

Recently, state legislatures have passed controversial laws. Some people say they are extreme. Others say they are common sense and needed. For each one, please indicate how extreme you find each of the following proposals: (% Total Extreme)

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Expelling or censuring other elected officials they do not agree with	87	93	89	79	92	87	87
Amending child labor laws, allowing children as young as 14 to serve alcohol	85	92	85	78	79	88	82
Targeting businesses when they speak out against politicians or laws	84	91	85	77	87	86	83
Banning abortion entirely, with no exceptions	81	98	86	59	88	85	77

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Taking custody away from parents of children undergoing gender-affirming care	75	97	75	52	74	80	69
Banning abortion at six weeks, before most women know they are pregnant	72	97	78	41	79	78	65
Making it harder to vote	64	97	68	28	75	71	58
Banning abortion at 12 weeks	57	91	58	19	63	64	49
Preventing state investment funds from investing in companies that consider the environmental, social and governance impacts when making decisions	57	77	59	32	60	60	53
Rejecting the increase in unemployment benefits	53	82	52	23	47	57	47
Banning Critical Race Theory from being taught in public schools	51	89	50	11	48	59	42
Banning transgender children from school sports	47	86	44	8	50	57	35

Summary of Survey Data – Economy & Costs:

Which candidate would you be more likely to vote for:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate whose economic plan invests in the places and people that have been forgotten, is about making things in America, and is about good jobs and the dignity of work.	33	41	20	0	13	34	31
A candidate whose economic plan invests in small businesses and manufacturing, makes more things in America, and brings down the cost of living.	46	40	56	0	58	45	47
Not sure	21	20	24	0	29	21	22

Would you say your income is:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Going up faster than the cost of living	2	3	2	2	1	1	4
Staying about even with the cost of living	19	30	15	10	14	20	17
Falling behind the cost of living	75	61	79	85	77	74	76
Not sure	4	5	4	3	8	5	3

A recession is defined as a period of declining economic growth over a six-month period. How likely do you believe America will be in a recession by the end of the year?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Likely/In Recession	83	67	86	97	83	82	85
Total Not Likely	11	25	7	1	4	11	11

When paying your monthly credit card statement, would you say you typically:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Can't make the minimum payment	4	4	4	4	6	4	4
Make exactly the minimum payment	12	12	12	12	11	13	10
Make more than the minimum but less than the full payment	33	31	34	35	30	33	34
Make the full payment	36	37	35	36	34	34	38
Don't have a credit card	15	15	16	14	19	15	14

How concerned are you about the impact on the US financial and economic system of the recent collapse of two major U.S. financial institutions – Silicon Valley Bank and First Republic Bank – that were subsequently bought out by other banks?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Concerned	76	65	78	85	68	75	77
Total Not Concerned	19	28	17	13	21	18	21

Summary of Survey Data – Immigration:

Do you believe legal immigration is:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Good	76	89	75	63	66	75	77
Total Bad	11	2	10	22	11	11	11

President Biden announced that he is sending 1,500 troops to the southern border to provide support ahead of an expected migrant surge. Do you agree or disagree with this decision?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Agree	62	66	58	62	54	62	63
Total Disagree	23	21	25	26	22	22	25

Recent reports indicate that the US Border Patrol is seizing a record number of illegal substances coming across the southern US border. With which of the following statements do you most agree?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Seizing deadly fentanyl is good. The US Border Patrol is doing its job effectively and keeping Americans safe by stopping these record amounts of illegal substances attempting to cross the border. Anyone who says otherwise is trying to score political points.	44	59	39	33	37	46	41
The US Border Patrol is failing its job due to large amounts of illegal substances that continue to cross the southern border.	34	15	34	52	31	29	39
Not sure	23	26	27	15	32	25	20

Summary of Survey Data – Guns:

Do you and your family feel safe in your community from gun violence?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Yes, we do	56	38	58	71	57	49	64
No, we do not	33	46	31	22	29	39	26
Not sure	11	15	11	7	14	12	10

What concerns you more?

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Mass shootings continuing and gun violence getting worse	53	95	49	13	47	63	42
The government infringing on people's Second Amendment rights	42	3	42	83	37	32	55
Not sure	5	1	9	4	16	6	3

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "If you are using a machine that has the power to kill people, you should be trained in how it is used and have insurance."

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Agree	81	96	81	67	84	87	74
Total Disagree	15	3	16	26	10	10	21

Do you support or oppose a proposal that requires purchasers of certain types of weapons that can rapidly fire high caliber bullets, such as an AR-15, to take firearms training and safety courses, buy insurance on it, and undergo a waiting period of at least two weeks before they can legally own the weapon.

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
Total Support	70	95	68	46	73	83	55
Total Oppose	28	3	30	51	22	14	43

Do you think requiring the purchase of insurance to own a weapons that can rapidly fire high caliber bullets, such as an AR-15, is:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A reasonable way to prevent mass shootings while respecting the rights of responsible gun owners	50	84	48	17	45	62	37
An unnecessary and unconstitutional infringement on the Second Amendment	39	5	42	72	35	25	55
Not sure	11	11	10	11	19	13	8

Thinking about the next election, which candidate message would you support:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate who will protect every American's freedom to live safely by requiring training, purchasing insurance, and undergoing a waiting period before being able to buy and use a weapon that can rapidly fire high caliber bullets, such as an AR-15.	56	93	50	20	49	66	44
A candidate who will protect the Second Amendment rights of Americans and rejects unconstitutional restrictions like waiting periods and background checks for gun purchases.	34	4	33	68	22	22	48
Not sure	10	3	17	12	29	12	8

Thinking about the next election, which candidate message would you support:

	Total	Dem	Ind	GOP	Und Ind	Women	Men
A candidate who will ban AR-15s to protect children from weapons of war in schools, movie theaters, places of worship, and other public places and gatherings, and who supports placing restrictions like waiting periods and background checks on gun purchases.	51	95	47	9	44	63	37
A candidate who will protect the Second Amendment rights of Americans and rejects unconstitutional restrictions like waiting periods and background checks for gun purchases.	38	2	35	77	21	25	52
Not sure	11	3	18	13	35	12	11