

The Playbook For the People

About Us

Since the 2020 election, Future Majority has surveyed 97,604 voters across the nation. And since our founding, Future Majority has surveyed 172,489 voters. We have also conducted dozens of metaphor elicitation studies to uncover the why behind what motivates voters' perceptions of government, political groups, and more.

Unless otherwise specified, the data is from a November 16-21, 2022 survey of 1,923 voters in 34 competitive congressional districts (decided by +/- 5% in 2022). The survey has a margin of error of 2.6%. The states where congressional districts in the survey were located included Arizona, Colorado, Michigan, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Future Majority would like to thank all the patriots who work tirelessly to keep America moving forward. Together, we will build a governing majority for the people.

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Three Early Takeaways from 2022

Future Majority offers three early key takeaways from the 2022 Midterms - just follow the money...

- 1) **The Democrats effectively contrasted with Republicans' agenda:** According to the *Washington Post*, Democrats spent \$174M on abortion, \$114M on Social Security/Medicare, \$56M on character from Sept. 5 to Nov. 5 on ads in Congressional Races
 - **On Abortion:** The Dobbs decision was a political earthquake - 57% disapprove of the SCOTUS decision, including 65% of suburban women and 69% of voters 18-34 years old. Kansas was an early indicator of issue motivation
 - **On Social Security/Medicare:** The Rick Scott/GOP plan was the best attack we have tested. 70% of voters rejected the proposal, including 56% who strongly oppose it (March 2022 survey)
 - **On Extremism:** By a 48%-42% margin, voters think there are more political extremists in the GOP than in the Democrats. Independents believe the sentiment 44% to 41%. Note: This was a 6-point increase in voters identifying more extremists among the Republicans since a similar poll in May. See pages 84-86 for more data on this point.

Three Early Takeaways from 2022

2) Republicans misread the electorate. According to the *Washington Post*, Republicans spent \$148M on taxation, \$104M on inflation, \$98M on Biden, and \$81M on crime from Sept. 5 to Nov. 5 on ads in Congressional Races. However:

On Taxes: It is a mixed bag. Currently, voters prefer the Democrats' position on taxes 47% to 45%, Independents split at 43%. There seems to be some lasting residue from the Trump Tax Cuts where they favored ultra wealthy

On Inflation: Voters blame corporate gouging or market forces – not the Democrats. Just 34% blame President Biden, while 39% blame big corporations gouging customers and 16% blame increased supply and demand

On Biden: Voters prefer President Biden over Donald Trump 47% to 43%

On Crime: While 72% of voters feel safe in their community, it is important to study the effects of local and national media coverage regarding crime on the vote, particularly in places like New York and California

Note: Republicans tried to connect the dots, sometimes successfully, on the larger cost of living issue. However, they failed to put forth any substantive policy alternative – and Republicans had a record of voting against most popular measures that would have lowered costs.

Three Early Takeaways from 2022

3) Democrats' candidates (and resources) matter.

Democrats were strong. Early investments into key states worked. Democrats have gotten much better at defining themselves and their own stories.

The campaign around the freedom to choose was particularly persuasive in defining the Republicans as extremists. And, yes, Republicans continue to have a serious Donald Trump/MAGA problem.



Sahil Kapur ✓
@sahilkapur

McConnell on 2022: “We under-performed among independents and moderates because their impression of many of the people in our party, in leadership roles, is that they’re causing chaos, negativity, excessive attacks.

And it frightened independent and moderate Republican voters.”



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

MIDTERM ELECTION 2022

Why Independent Voters Broke for Democrats in the Midterms

GOP candidates closely aligned with Trump turned off some centrists and in-play Republicans

“Undercutting the GOP advantage was that independents favored Democrats by 4 points nationally, the survey found, and by a far more substantial 18 points in Pennsylvania, 28 points in Georgia and more than 30 points in Arizona.”



Spend big, win big: 96% of U.S. House races won by the biggest spender

Critical to Midterm: Democrats Taking Back the Freedom Frame

We are very proud of Future Majority's 5-year effort on this front



House Democrats took action to codify Roe and protect Americans' right to travel across America from Republicans bent on taking it away.

We also won't let Republicans take away your freedom to use contraception or to marry the person you love.

Democrats FIGHT FOR your freedom!

OUR ECONOMY: OPINION

Ro Khanna: 'Freedom' has been hijacked by the Right. Let's take it back



NARAL @NARAL · 29m
It's going to take all of us to #FightBackForFreedom against these anti-choice lawmakers and their extremist MAGA political allies. Help power our movement to create a world where reproductive freedom is for every* body:

Donate to NARAL
Contributions to NARAL help us fight to protect and expand reproductive freedom.



Our campaign built a historic coalition of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents to defeat extremism and defend real freedom in Pennsylvania.

Now, the work begins.



I invite all people to stand together for freedom, self-determination, and for the right to privacy.



We will not let the radical right take away the freedom to choose.

We must pass the Women's Health Protection Act.



Let's start Monday with a quick recap. Last week, the @gop voted against:

- 1) Keeping communities safe with an Active Shooter Alert system
- 2) Allowing everyone to cross state lines for health care — aka, taking away a basic right

They voted against your safety & your freedom.



Choice is on the ballot, freedom is on the ballot, and our special election on August 23rd is the first test, after Kansas, to beat back Republican extremism. I'm Pat Ryan, the pro-choice candidate.

1:37 PM · Aug 15, 2022 · Twitter Web App



Seven years ago today, Obergefell v. Hodges made marriage equality a reality.

But today, that victory is in jeopardy. We must recommit ourselves to the fight for freedom and equality for all Americans — no matter who you are or who you love.

Case Study: Shapiro Defends Freedom in PA

Pennsylvania Governor-elect Josh Shapiro on defending freedom – successfully contrasting with his opponent on reproductive freedom and other individual freedoms.

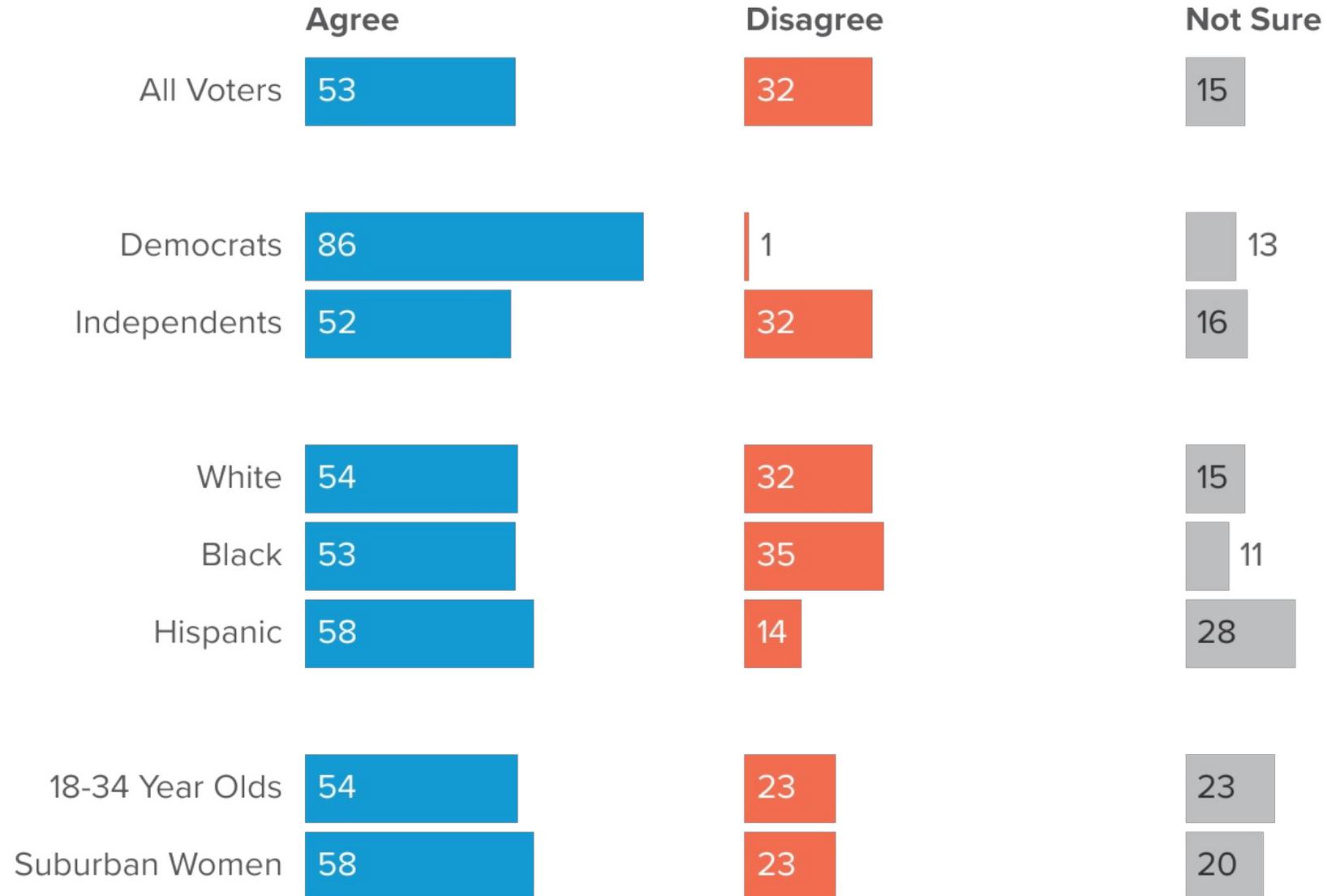
The data shows that this is an effective and credible message for Democrats to use while advocating for their policy agenda. (A short video clip was played for the survey)



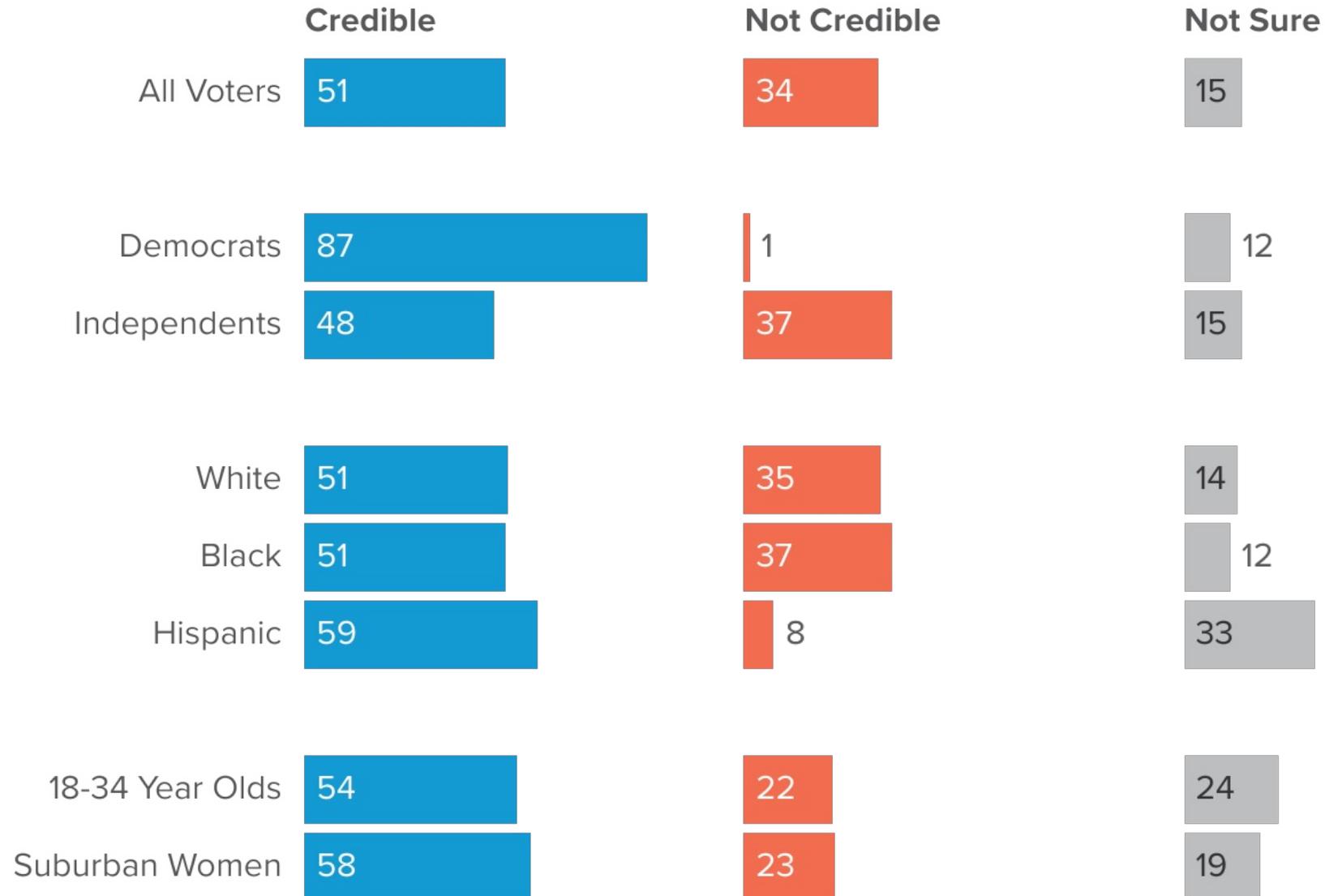
Shapiro rallies with Biden, Obama; tours Philly with Wolf in final weekend of governor's race

“He loves to talk a big game about freedom,” Shapiro said. “But it’s not freedom to tell a woman what she can and can’t do with her body. It’s not freedom to tell our kids what books they can and can’t read ... It sure as hell isn’t freedom to say that you can vote, but he gets to pick the winner.”

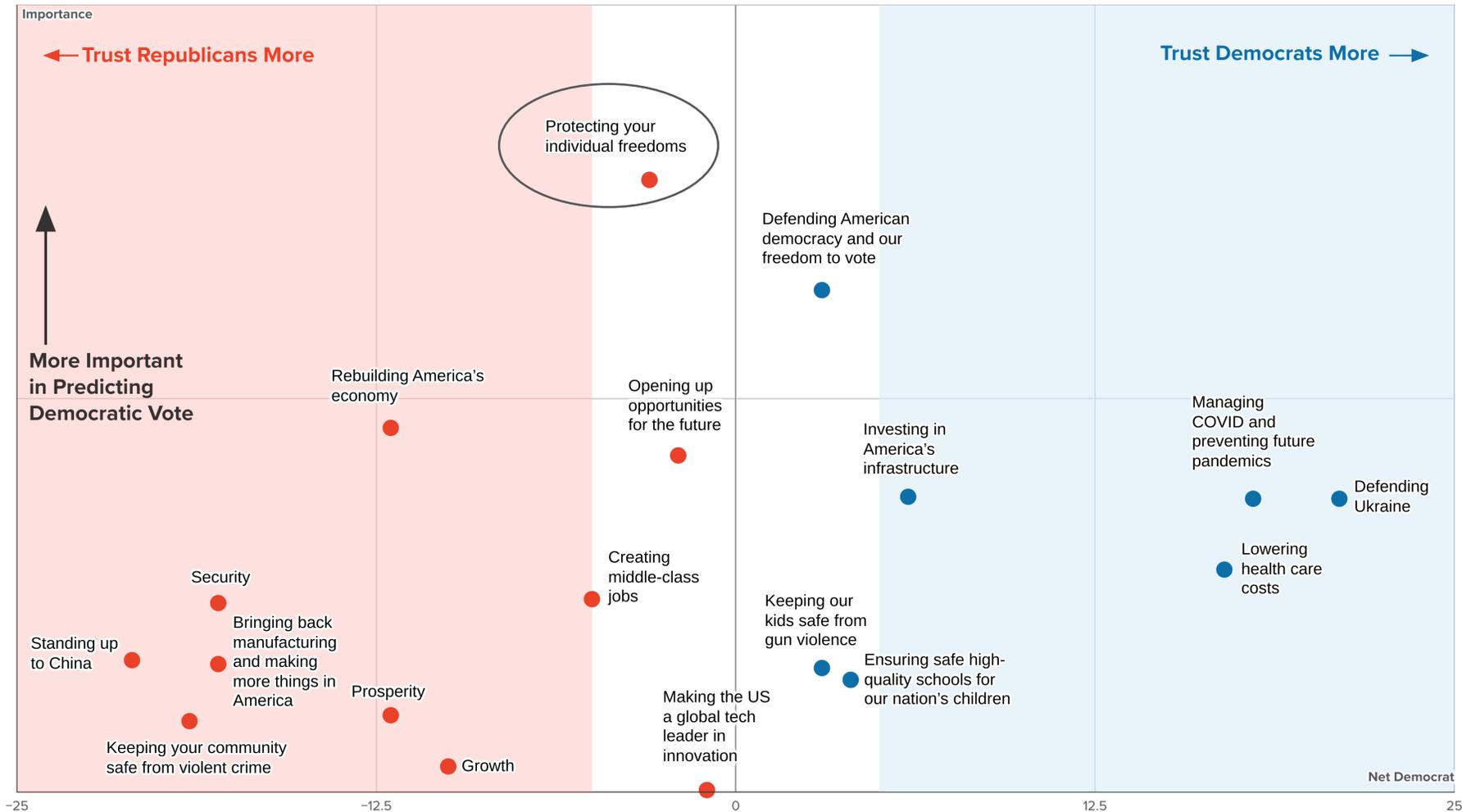
Agreement with Shapiro's Message



Credibility of Shapiro's Message



Democrats Need to Continue to Focus on the Freedom Frame



This chart looks at the impact of trust of the political groups on a variety of issues and the likelihood of supporting a Democrat for U.S. House.

To do this, we did a marginal effects regression. The process tries to isolate the impact of each variable on the likelihood of supporting a Democrat. If someone moves from trusting Republicans to trusting Democrats, the coefficient tells us how much that increases the likelihood of supporting Democrats. The y-axis that goes up and down is the coefficient of each variable in this regression. The items at the top of the chart strongly impact the vote. The items at the bottom of the chart have little to no impact on the vote. If someone goes from trusting Republicans to Democrats on “protecting individual freedoms,” that will have a substantially larger impact on the vote than if someone moves from trusting Republicans to Democrats on “making the US a global tech leader in innovation.” The items to the right are issues voters trust Democrats more. The items to the left are issues voters trust Republicans more.

The main points are that a) Democrats are not more trusted than Republicans on protecting individual freedoms, and b) if Democrats are able to move voters’ trust on this measure, it will move voters to support Democrats more than any other issue.

Agreement with Freedom Statements (% Strongly Agree)

All	Dem	Ind	
92	96	91	"Citizens of legal age should have the basic American Constitutional freedom to express their voice at the ballot box"
90	86	88	"Americans should have the freedom to choose their elected representatives, without the threat of fraudulent votes and rigged intervention swaying the results"
80	86	79	"Every American deserves a fair shot so they can build the financial freedom to take the jobs they want or to start a business"
79	96	80	"It's not freedom to have a politician tell you who you can marry"
78	97	71	"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"
77	95	75	"Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without the fear of crippling healthcare costs"
76	94	72	"All students, regardless of financial status, race, or zip code have the right to a quality education and equal educational opportunities"
76	90	71	"Americans should have the freedom to live in safe communities, free of gun violence and where they are treated fairly by law enforcement and where police provide a sense of security"
68	54	64	"Americans should have the freedom to live in communities where law and order is maintained, and the police protect them from the threat of violence"
64	89	60	"The freedom that comes from investing in children in poor neighborhoods so they have quality schools and are safe so they can see their 18th birthday"
64	94	59	"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"
62	37	61	"Americans should have the freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children"
61	96	62	"Women should have the freedom to make decisions about their reproductive healthcare without being told by politicians what they can do with their bodies"
52	19	49	"Americans should have the freedom to live in a country where their job and physical security are not threatened by illegal immigration into the United States"
49	20	46	"The United States should be tough, suspicious of foreign promises, and willing to use force to defend our basic freedoms"
47	78	44	"It's not freedom to work a 40 hour work week only to be told you can't join a union"
47	16	47	"Americans should be free to work hard for their prosperity, without intervention from unions or the government"
47	7	49	"The second amendment gives American patriots the right to own guns, and to do so without laws restricting their freedoms"

Looking to the Future | For the People

Future Majority Recommends Democrats Focus on Three Areas:

Note: All issues areas can be messaged through the Freedom Frame

- **Economic Opportunity - Make the American Worker the Hero of our Story**
 - Currently, Democrats trail Republicans by 11% on providing economic freedom, 11% on rebuilding America's economy, and 5% on creating middle-class jobs. The prior page shows that in addition to individual freedom, focusing on rebuilding America's economy, opening opportunities for the future, and investing in America's infrastructure moves votes. The good news:
 - **The Biden-Democrat record on the economy is extraordinary in giving Americans a fair shot, but unknown**
 - 10M+ jobs created – 5x as many jobs created under the last three Republican Presidents combined
 - **Made in America: 88% want the US government to focus on making as many things as as possible in the United States to create and maintain jobs**
 - CHIPS: 48% of voters have heard of the CHIPS and Science Act (Oct 2022 Survey), but 78% support its provisions (August 2022 survey). CHIPS is about competitiveness, especially standing up to China, where Democrats trail Republicans by 22-points
 - Infrastructure: Voters trust Democrats over Republicans by 9-points on improving the nation's infrastructure
 - Democrats should continue to focus on **putting more money in people's pockets** – but not government money - on issues like student debt, childcare, lowering health care costs, and preventing price gouging. The Biden Administration cracking down on junk fees and airline accountability are great examples

Looking to the Future | For the People

Future Majority Recommends Democrats Focus on Three Areas:

- **Defending Freedom and Democracy**

- Currently, Democrats lead Republicans on who voters trust to defend American democracy and the freedom to vote by five points, and by four points among Independent voters
- 97% of voters agree that “Americans should have the freedom to choose their elected representatives, without the threat of fraudulent votes and rigged intervention to sway the results.”
- Wide majorities support efforts to keep voting free and fair while cleaning up corruption. 82% of voters say they believe political corruption impacts their daily life, 95% support ending partisan gerrymandering, and 53% support the provisions of the Electoral Count Reform Act
 - **Recommendation:** Democrats should revisit H.R. 1 – the For the People Act, the most sweeping anti-corruption bill since Watergate, and make it one of the first discharge petitions in the House. Play offense on ethics

Looking to the Future | For the People

Future Majority Recommends Democrats Focus on Three Areas:

- **Stronger, Safer Communities**

- Currently, Democrats trail Republicans by 17-points on who voters trust to keep their community safe from violent crime (but note that 72% of voters feel safe in their community). Democrats lead Republicans by 9-points on who voters trust to keep kids safe from gun violence
- SAFE Act: 92% support the provisions of the proposal to provide local police with officer safety, de-escalation, and domestic violence response training, as well as body cameras and expanded mental health resources
 - 93% agree that "Americans should have the freedom to live in safe communities, free of gun violence and where they are treated fairly by law enforcement and where police provide a sense of security"

Note: Future Majority believes that the infrastructure bill, clean air and water, and fighting to put more money in people's pockets fosters stronger, safer communities. Needs to be an All-In approach.

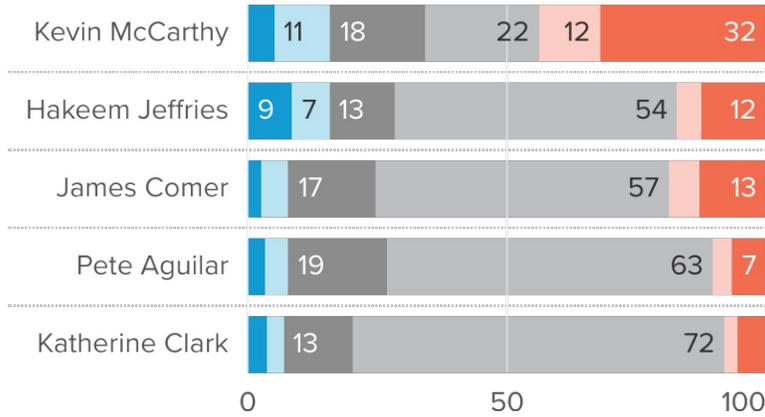
Future Majority Recommends Democrats Always be Pivoting:

- **Voters want government to focus on things that matter, not political revenge.** 64% of voters (95% of Democrats, 67% of Independents) say they think the Republican-controlled Congress will focus more on attacking Joe Biden and Democrats rather than passing legislation to deal with the nation's issues. Voters are much less interested in Congress investigating conspiracies than they are issues that affect their daily lives. (see page 36)
- **Members, Candidates, and Talkers can say, “While the Republicans are focused on political revenge and chasing right-wing conspiracy theories, Democrats are putting people over politics by focusing on...”:**
 - Improving Economic Opportunity
 - Defending Freedom and Democracy
 - Building Stronger, Safer Communities

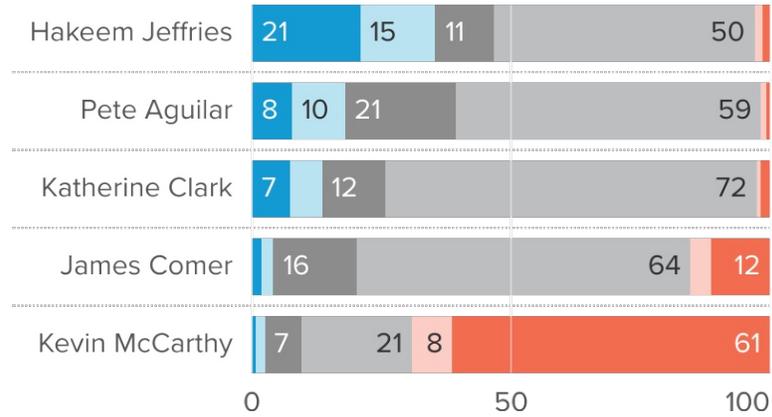
A Window to Define the Next Leaders

● Very favorable
 ● Somewhat favorable
 ● Neutral
 ● Never heard of them
 ● Somewhat unfavorable
 ● Very unfavorable

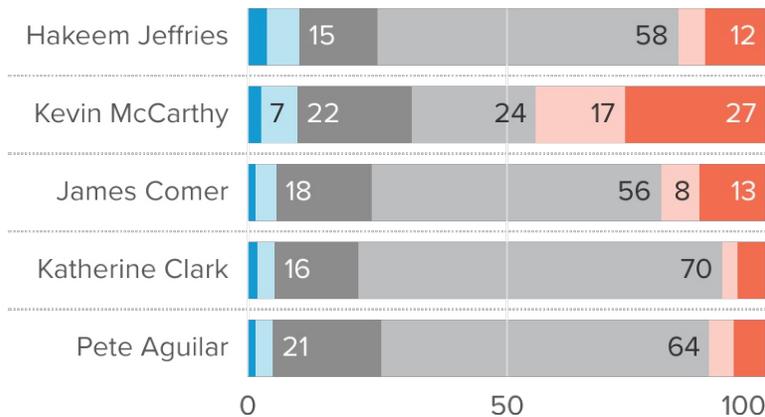
All Voters



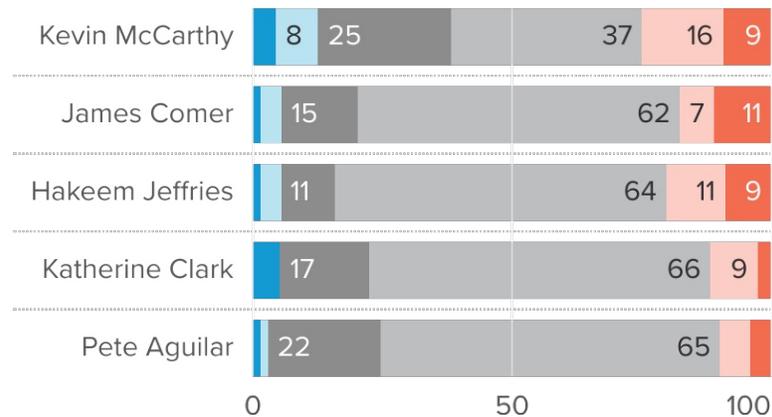
Democrats



Independents



2022 GOP House / Not 2020 Trump



Reminder: House Democrats' Policy Agenda Is Popular

Future Majority voter research shows the For the People policy agenda is popular with voters. The effective contrast between the For the People agenda and extremists helped Democrats defy historical trends, resulting in the best midterm performance for an incumbent party in decades.

Future Majority Recommendations:

Path, Perception, Purpose **June 2022 Recommendations**

Unity: The brewing concept among some DC Democrats that 2022 candidate numbers will ultimately disconnect from the President's numbers is dangerous. Democrats – even in lean D seats – are not in the mid-fifties. If Democrats go into the election under 48%, they lose. The Biden/Harris numbers must improve, and to do so Biden/Harris must show strength and become more visible. All Democrats must unify and have President Biden and Vice President Harris' backs.

Message: The 'For the People' agenda moves numbers into the Democrat column. However, our data shows that just saying "MAGA" or "ultra-MAGA" will not get the job done in close districts. Trump is still toxic with the Democrat's winning 2018 and 2020 coalition. Weaving together MAGA and sticking the Republicans with the Rick Scott plan is an effective 1-2 punch.

Brand: Our research shows that Democrats are more united on issues than what is commonly perceived among the chattering class. As Democrats head into the next presidential election, the data shows building a narrative around freedom, capitalism, and patriotism is a winning formula. Future Majority is going to take a lead on this effort.

Recommendations **July 2022 Recommendations**

The Path in 2022: Strong Contrast

- Raise the Stakes of Election:** Freedom/SCOTUS, Guns/Safety, January 6/Voting. Since May, Democrat enthusiasm has jumped + eight points.
- Go Local:** Infrastructure, Public Safety, Jobs (Independents). However, a recent survey shows just 24% of voters know Democrats passed significant infrastructure investments. Specify what will be brought where, every day. Avoid talking about the size and costs of bills (same with ARA, Chips Act, etc.) It is important to remind voters that most Republicans voted against these investments.
- Costs:** 75% in close districts think big corporations are taking advantage of rising inflation and driving up costs on goods and services. Get Republicans on the record as much as possible on bills addressing costs to drive the contrast on who is fighting for who. Coordinate with the White House on price gouging message.
- The Bottom Line:** Democrats must have message discipline to hammer home the strong contrasts considering the hyper-focused Republican attacks: Inflation, Crime, Covid Mandates + Biden Old and Weak. Immigration – code for race – and examples of Democrats' misspending are the hooks into their arguments.

House Policy & Comms Platform - July 27, 2022

PEOPLE OVER POLITICS

DEMOCRATS | FOR THE PEOPLE

The American people need a government that protects hardworking families, not billionaires and special interests. That's why Democrats are working **For The People**, focused on **Lower Costs**, **Better Paying Jobs**, and **Safer Communities**.

Lower Costs
Big corporations are jacking up prices and those higher costs are squeezing working people. Democrats are working to bring down costs at the pharmacy counter, the grocery checkout, and the gas pump and put more money in the pockets of working families. Democrats are cracking down on Big Oil companies that are fleecing families and taking action to negotiate lower drug prices. And Democrats are fighting to cut health insurance premiums and deliver a higher tax credit that gives relief to working families with children.

Better Paying Jobs
From the depths of the pandemic, Democrats' American Rescue Plan reopened our economy and unleashed unprecedented job creation – more than 9.4 million jobs since January 2021. Because of our Infrastructure Law, Americans are finding work rebuilding our roads, bridges, and transit systems, bringing broadband and clean drinking water to more communities, and tackling the climate crisis. And Democrats are continuing to fix supply chains and make more in America, creating better paying jobs that cannot be outsourced.

Safer Communities
Every American deserves to live in a safe community where they and their family can thrive. Democrats are funding our police, giving them the tools they need to prevent crime while making reforms for better law enforcement training and accountability. And Democrats have passed gun violence prevention legislation to expand background checks, close loopholes that let dangerous people get guns, and keep our children safe.

EXTREME MAGA REPUBLICANS | FOR THEIR POWER

Extreme MAGA Republicans care about only one thing: their own power.

- They are criminalizing women's health care, including birth control, and working to roll back other rights like marriage equality
- They plan to end Social Security and Medicare in five years, ripping hard-earned money away from tens of millions of Americans
- They continue to attack our democracy, undermine free elections, and make it harder for Americans to vote

House Democratic Policy & Communications Committee

A Key Part of 2024: Made in America

In addition to defining Democrat-efforts to protect individual freedom, Democrats should highlight President Biden's incredibly popular Made in America and competitiveness policy agenda. Americans see themselves as the hero of the story - and they are the hero of President Biden's Made in America policies.

A resounding majority want the US to focus more of its economic policy toward Made in America.

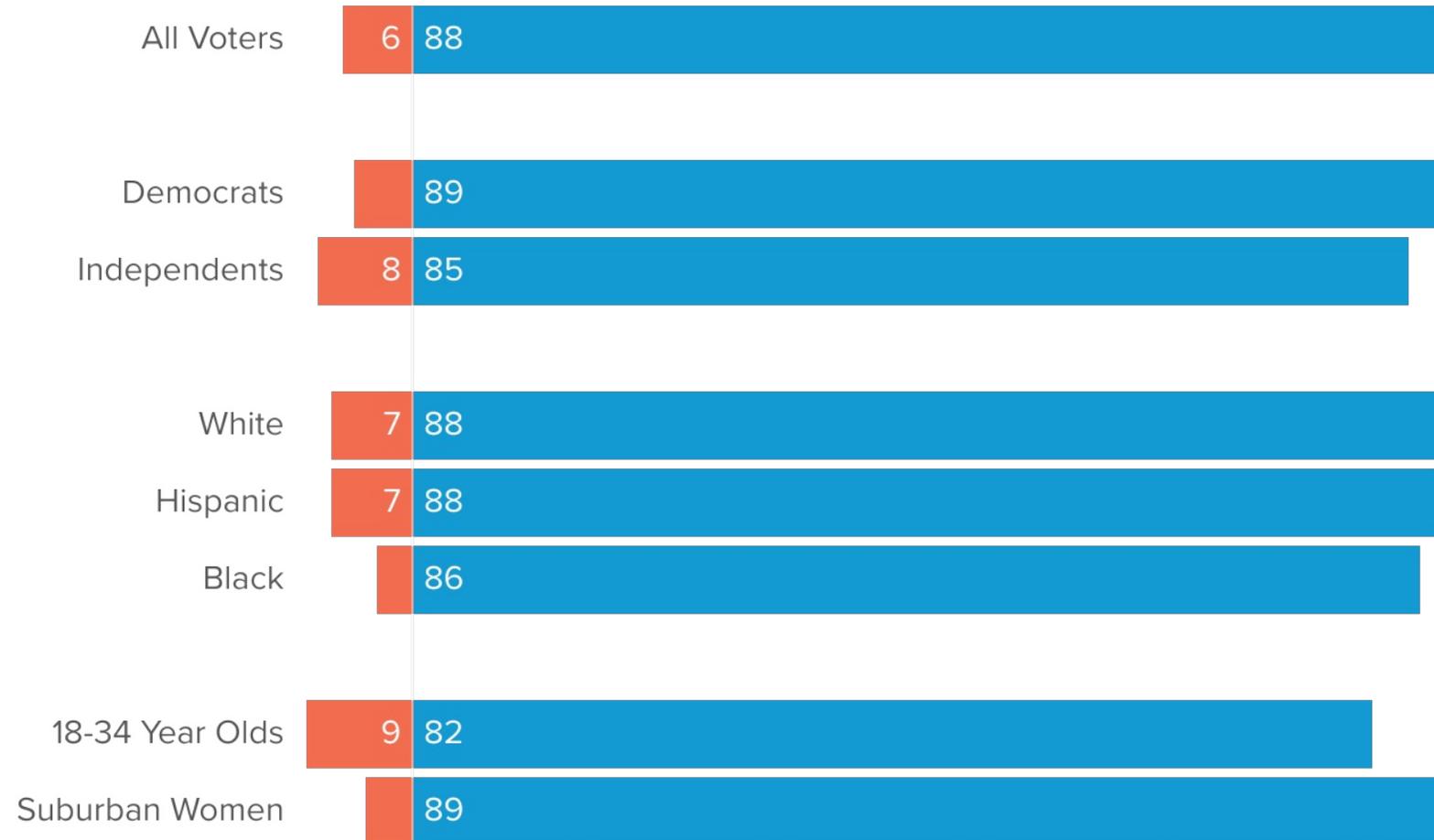
- 1) **Made in America is about jobs and putting more money in people's pockets**
- 2) **Made in America curbs our dependence on foreign entities, particularly on supply chain issues and energy**
- 3) **Made in America is all local, local, local – increasing opportunities in communities across America**



Agreement with Statement

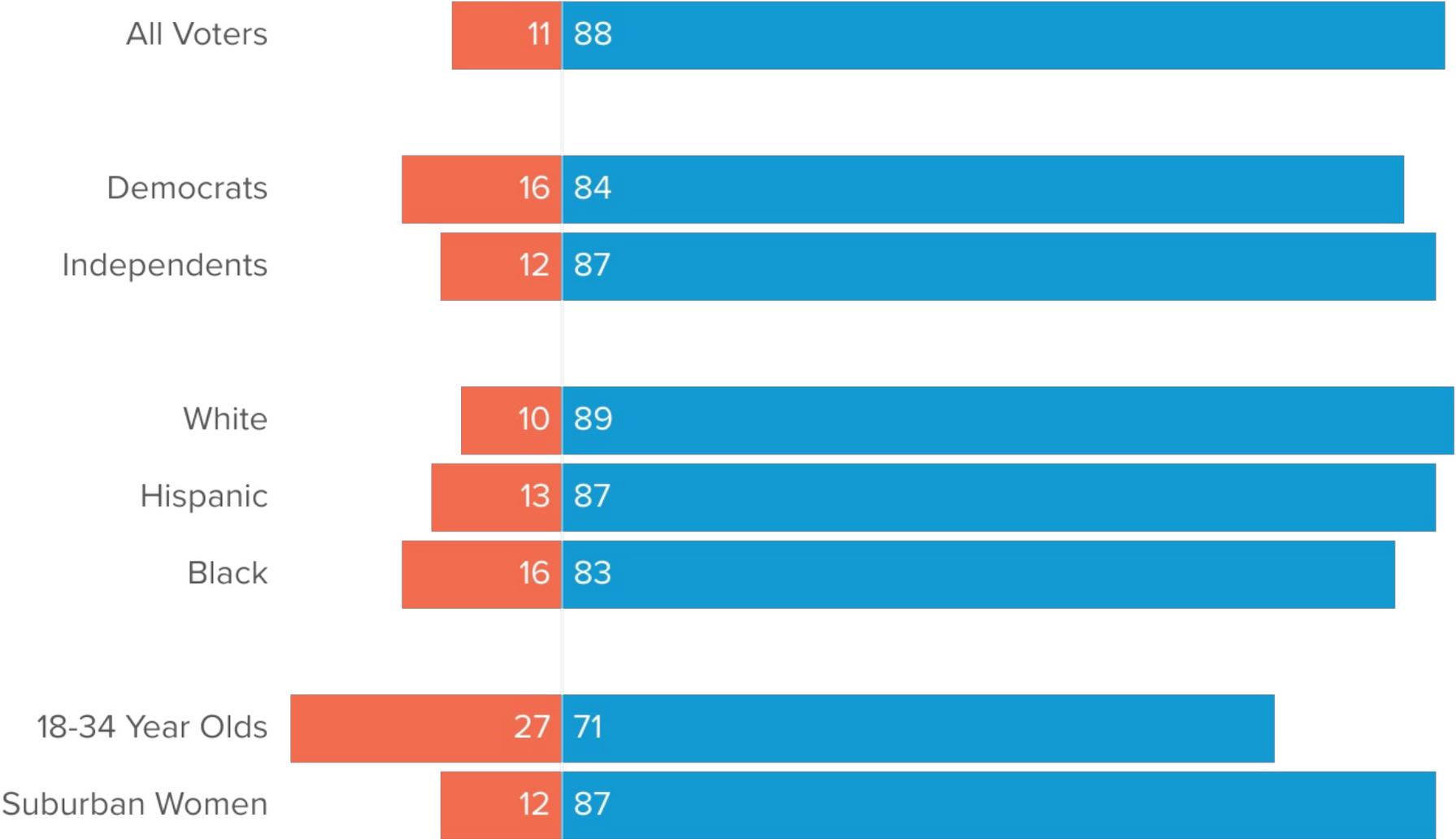
“What might have worked in the past no longer does. Unless the American government adopts an industrial policy that brings back manufacturing and prevents companies from leaving to take advantage of cheap foreign labor, we will fall further behind China and be more vulnerable to shocks in global supply chains.”

● Agree ● Disagree



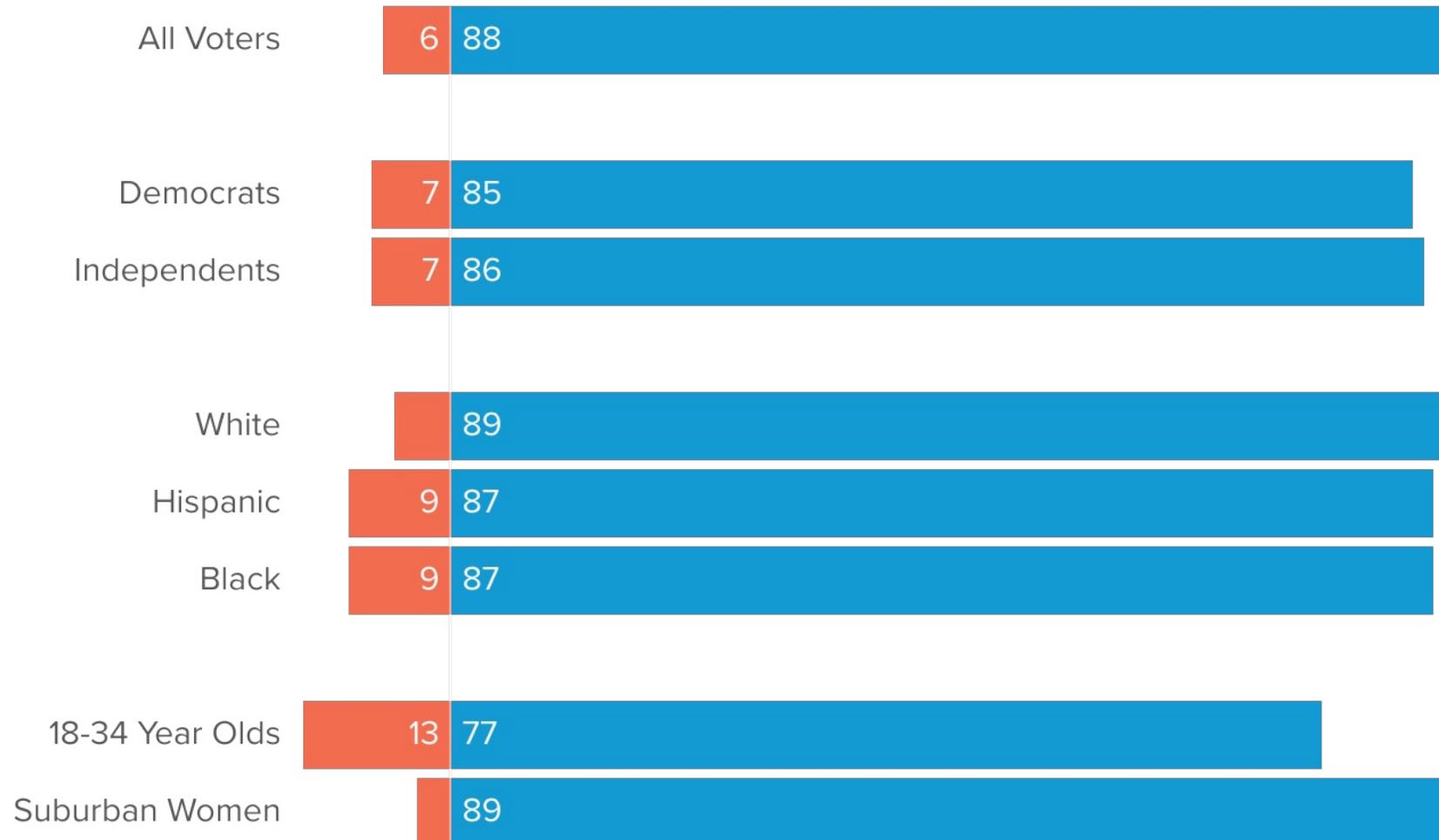
Concern about How Many Essential Products Are Made Outside the US

● Concerned ● Not Concerned



Greater Priority for US Economic Policy

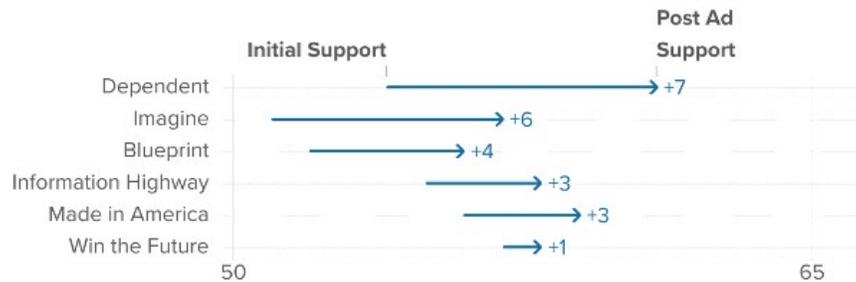
- Making as many things as possible in the United States to create and maintain jobs and make us less vulnerable to global supply shocks
- Making the costs of the things we buy as cheap as possible



Effective Messaging to Promote Made in America

We tested six versions of ads promoting Made in America policies and noted a measurable increase in support for the Democrats' agenda in swing areas

Pennsylvania



Made in America



Dependent



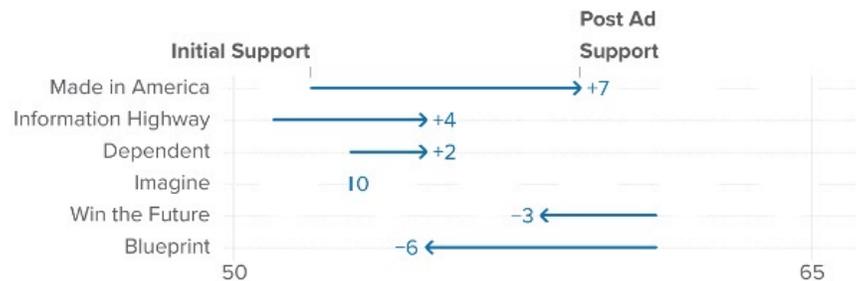
Information Highway



Imagine



Swing CDs



Blueprint



Win the Future



Watch: "Made in America," the best-performing creative that moves voters +7-points in our testing, [here](#).



Watch: "Information Highway," a top-performing creative that moves voters +4-points in our testing, [here](#).

Recap: Key Recommendations

Future Majority Recommends Democrats Focus on Three Areas:

- 1. Improve Economic Freedom and Opportunity:** Expand the Freedom Frame arguments into Economic Freedom and Justice, while focusing on Made in America policies. Echo the Made in America theme wherever the opportunity presents. Fight back against the conservative media machine's efforts to set the narrative about the economy
- 2. Defending Freedom and Democracy:** Stay the course on individual freedom and draw sharp contrasts with Republican-efforts to limit Americans' rights
- 3. Building Stronger, Safer Communities:** Support for key investments is popular with voters. Democrats should be loud and proud about delivering historic investments in clean air and water, renewable energy, expanding broadband internet access, and rebuilding America's crumbling roads and bridges. Democrats have a tremendous record of accomplishments and a talented bench of leaders to sell them

These tactics will prepare Democrats for the likely upcoming battle over freedom in 2024.

Lay of the Land:

BIG RED FLAGS Moving Forward

Voters Feel Exceedingly Negative about the Government and Direction of the Country

Direction of America

Right Direction



Wrong Track



2,015 voters nationally, November 4-7, 2022

How much do you feel like you matter in America?

A Lot/Some



Not to Much/Not at All



How would you rate the job the government is doing in preparing America for the future?

Positive



Negative



3,386 voters nationally, October 4-8, 2022

Impact of political corruption on your daily life

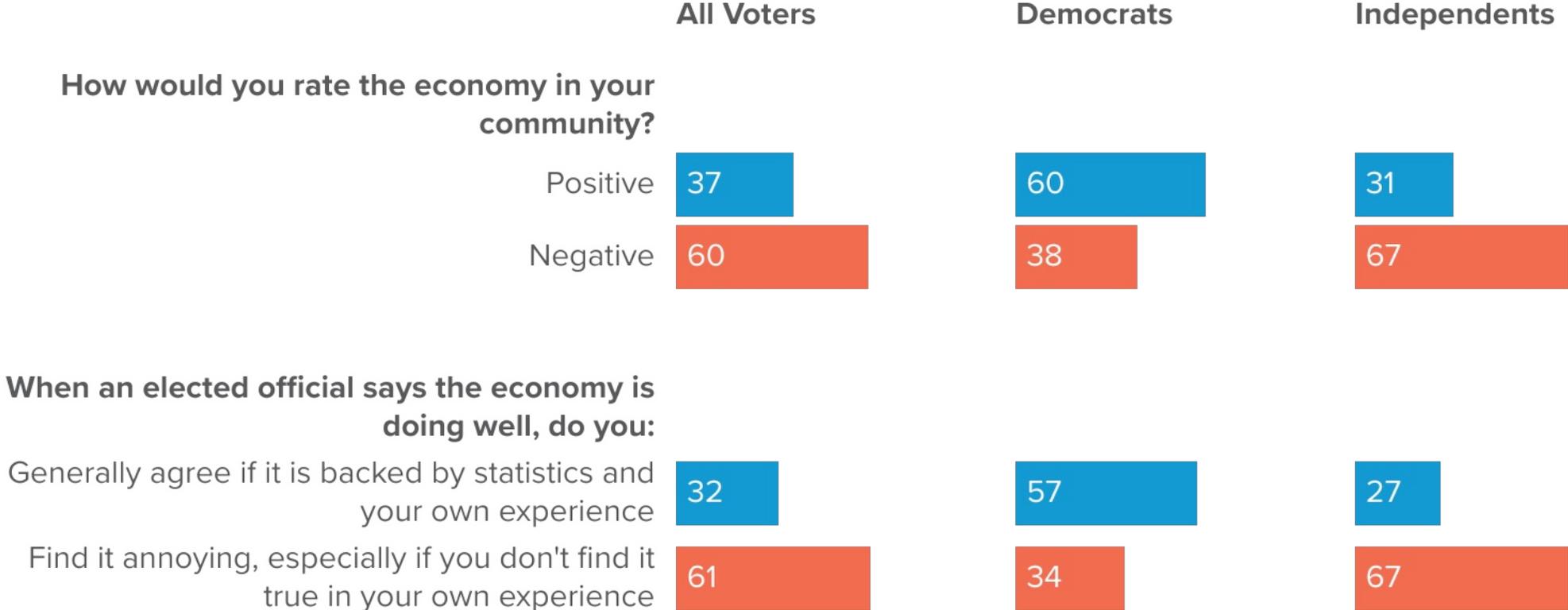
A Lot/Some



Not to Much/Not at All

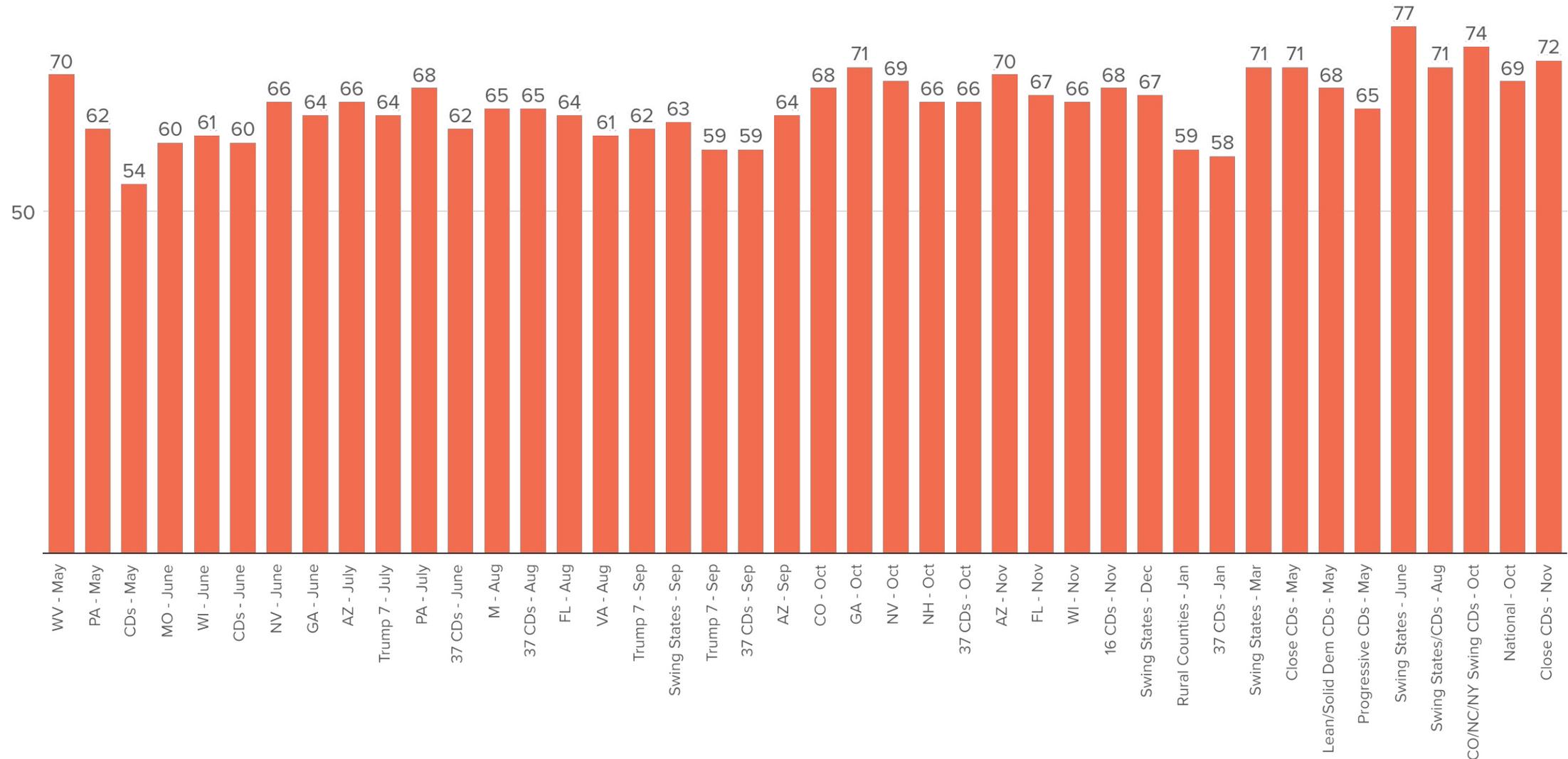


Voters Are Negative Toward Elected Officials Touting the Economy



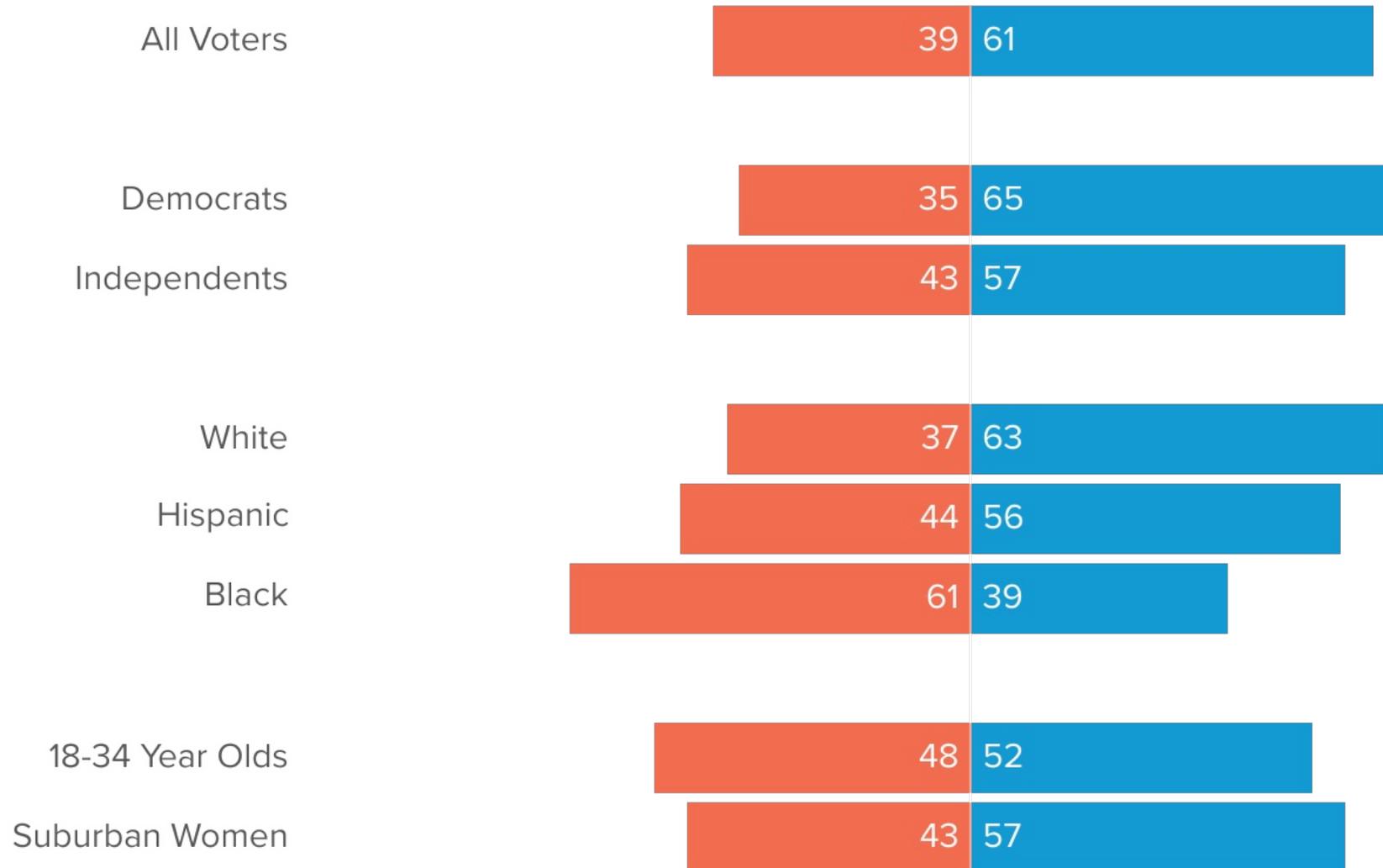
Compared to the Cost of Living, Is Your Income...?

% Falling Behind the Cost of Living



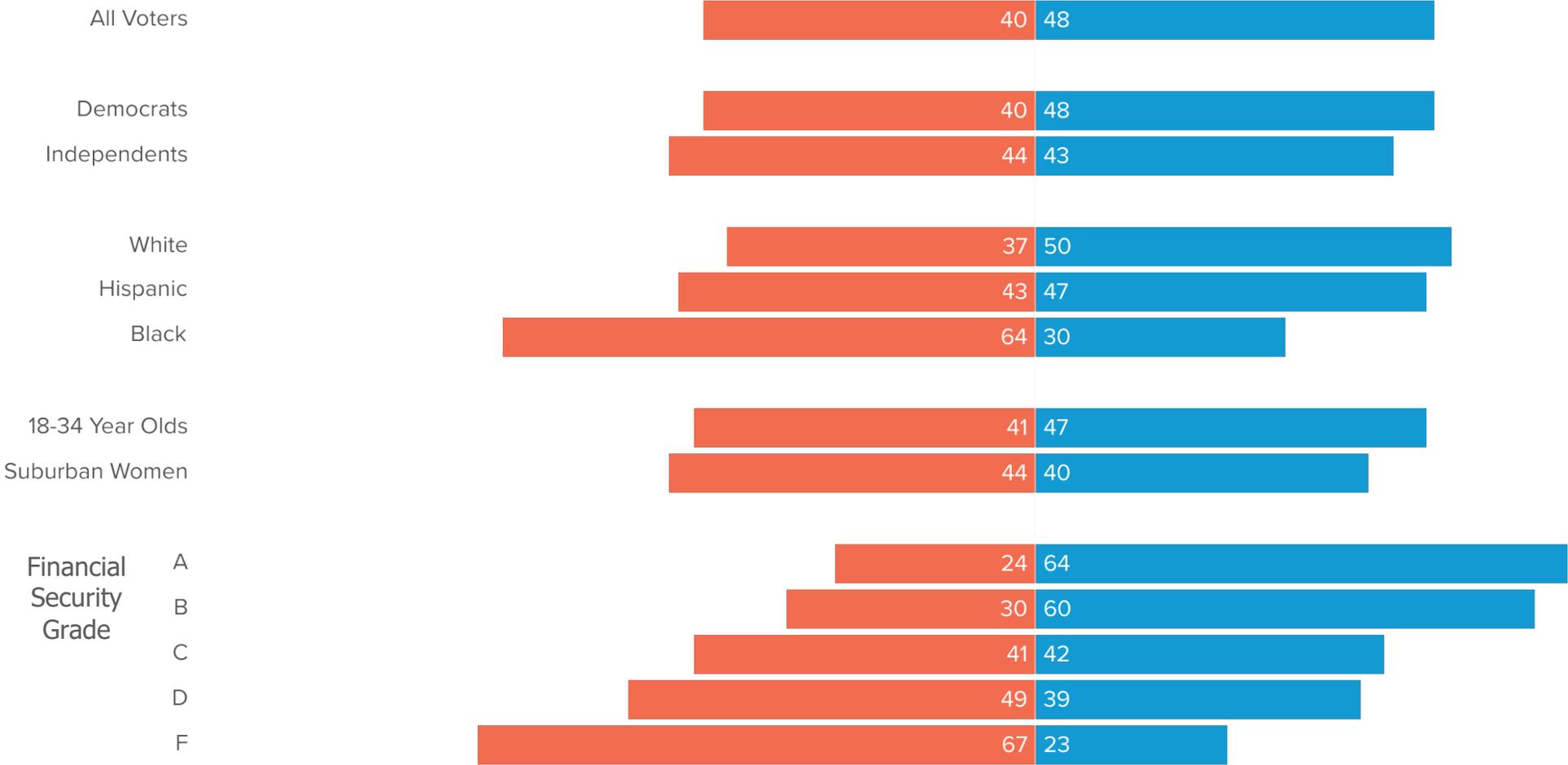
Do You Have an Emergency Fund to Cover a \$1,000 Expense?

● Yes ● No



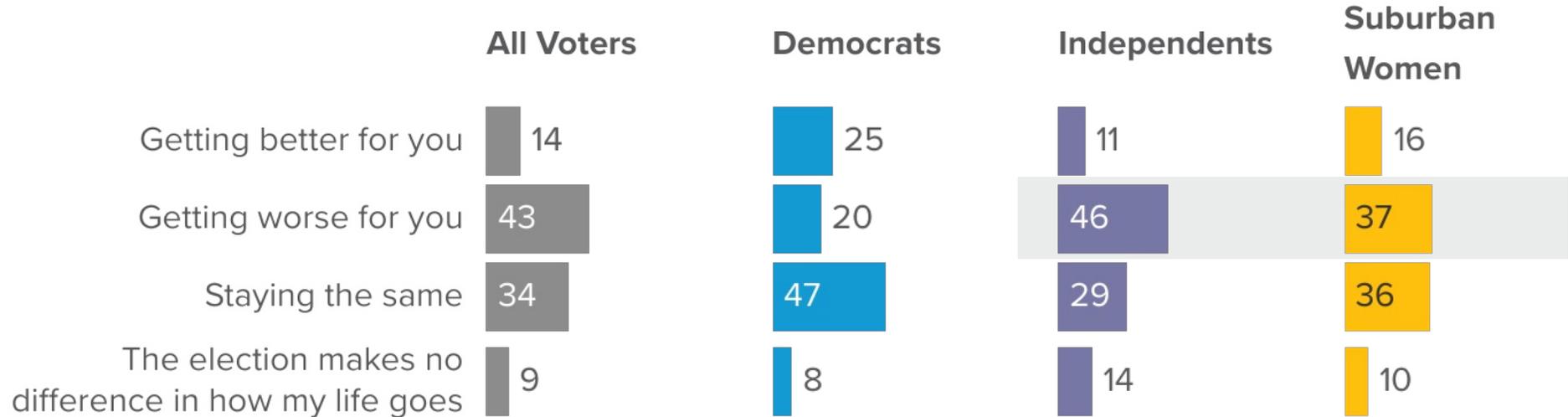
Do you feel like people like you have a fair shot to succeed in America?

● Yes, they do ● No, they do not

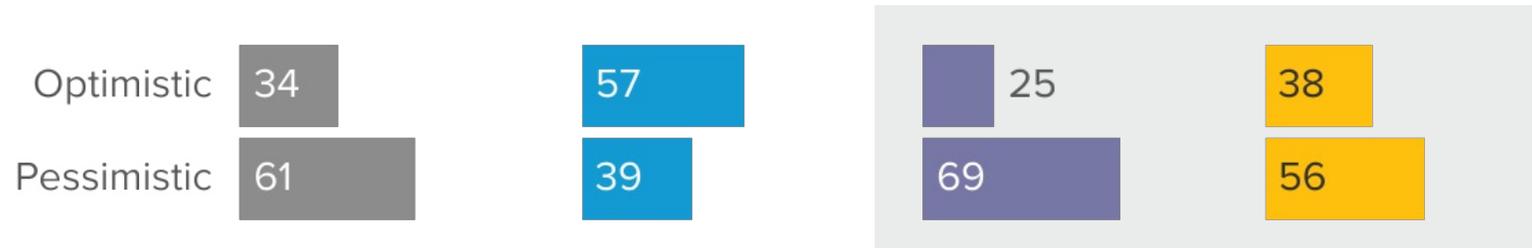


View of the Future in Light of the Election

Given the results of the recent election, thinking about your own life, do you see things...



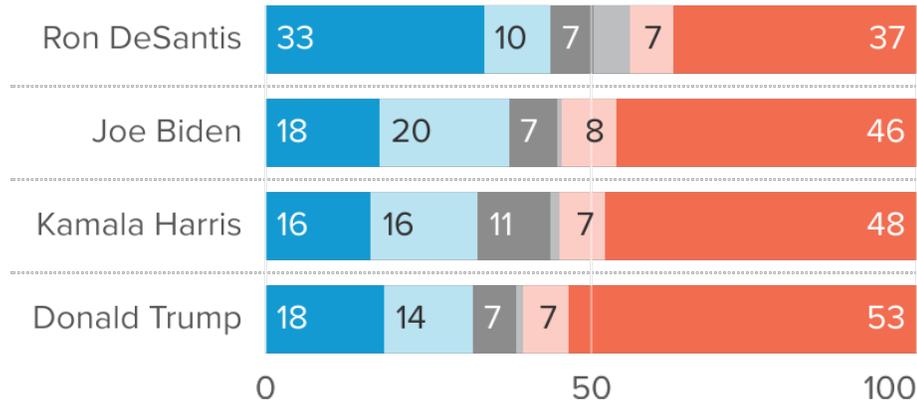
How do you feel about America's future?



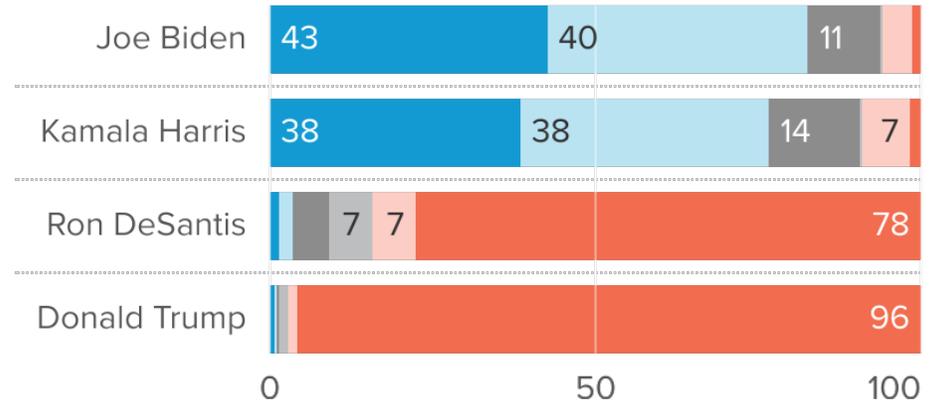
Favorability of Leading Political Figures

● Very favorable
 ● Somewhat favorable
 ● Neutral
 ● Never heard of them
 ● Somewhat unfavorable
 ● Very unfavorable

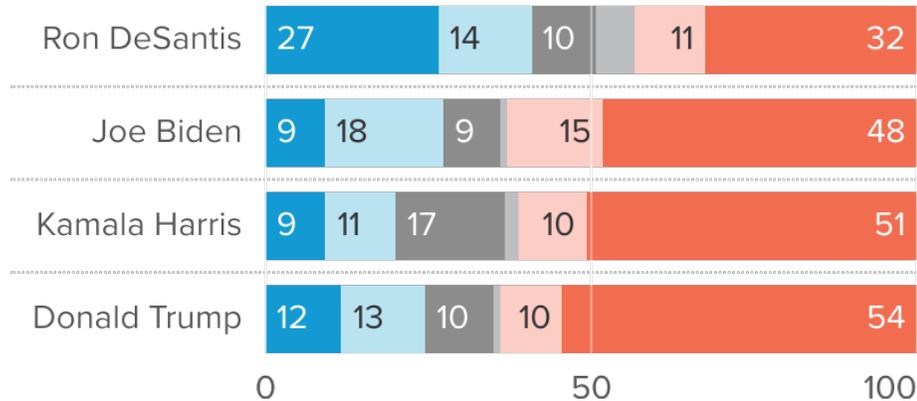
All Voters



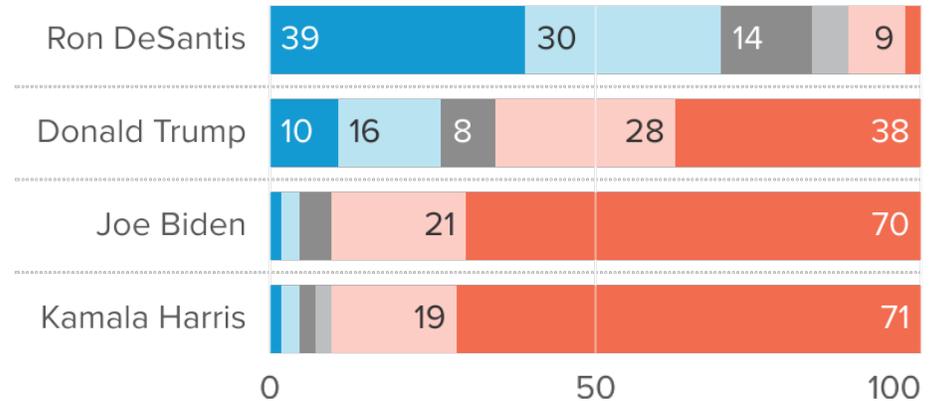
Democrats



Independents

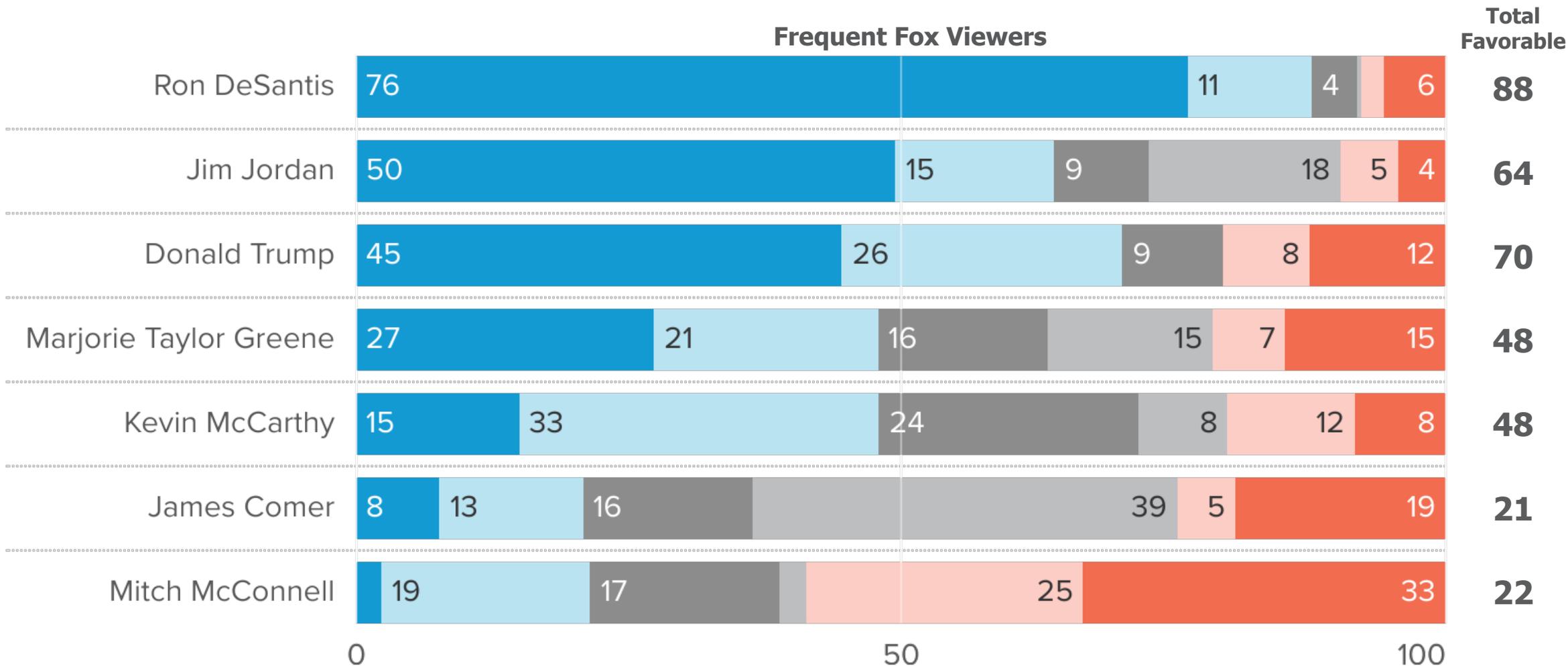


2022 GOP House / Not 2020 Trump



DeSantis Is The Strongest Republican with Fox News Viewers

● Very favorable ● Somewhat favorable ● Neutral ● Never heard of them ● Somewhat unfavorable ● Very unfavorable



DeSantis and Freedom: Florida Governor Ron DeSantis must be taken seriously and will be a Republican standard bearer, even if he is not their nominee in 2024. His approval is high (88%) among Republicans in our data. And DeSantis wraps himself in the flag of freedom (as he has done in his gubernatorial campaigns).

- 56% of voters agree that “The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but they only value freedom when it comes to their supports and not anyone who disagrees with them.”
- **Democrats have an opportunity to define Republicans as anti-business if DeSantis takes center stage.** DeSantis’ crusade against so-called “woke” businesses presents an opportunity for Democrats to drive a wedge. In a May 2022 survey, 57% of voters in the competitive congressional districts surveyed said that Disney had the freedom to speak out against DeSantis’ “Don’t Say Gay” bill.
- DeSantis talks about freedom of speech but is banning books in Florida. 72% of voters in competitive congressional districts say they would consider or definitely vote for a candidate who uses the slogan “Stop Book Banning” (May 2022 survey)

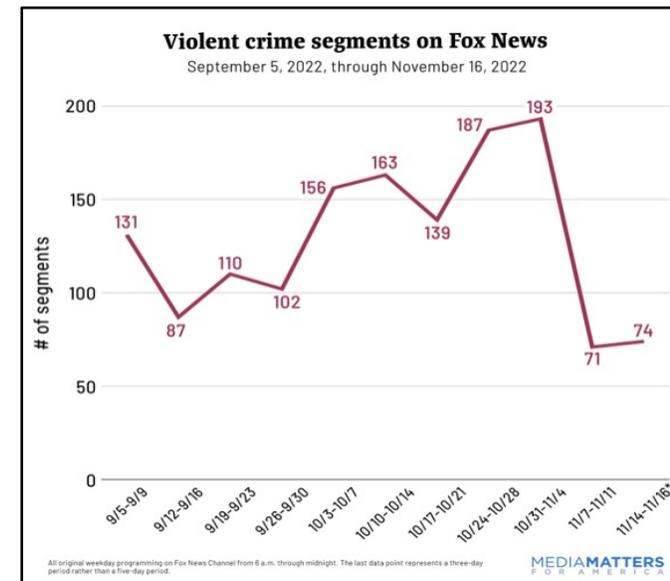
Too many pundits are using if’s, and’s, & but’s about DeSantis. It is clear from 2022 that he used overwhelming force to redefine the Florida political landscape and should not be underestimated.

Thoughts on Upcoming Investigations...

Positive Sentiment: The conservative media empire, foreign actors, and MAGA work around the clock to drive negative sentiment. This will ramp up even more around the inevitable House Republican investigations. It is imperative that Democrats drive a positive, hopeful message and **invest in boosting good news** - especially at the local level.

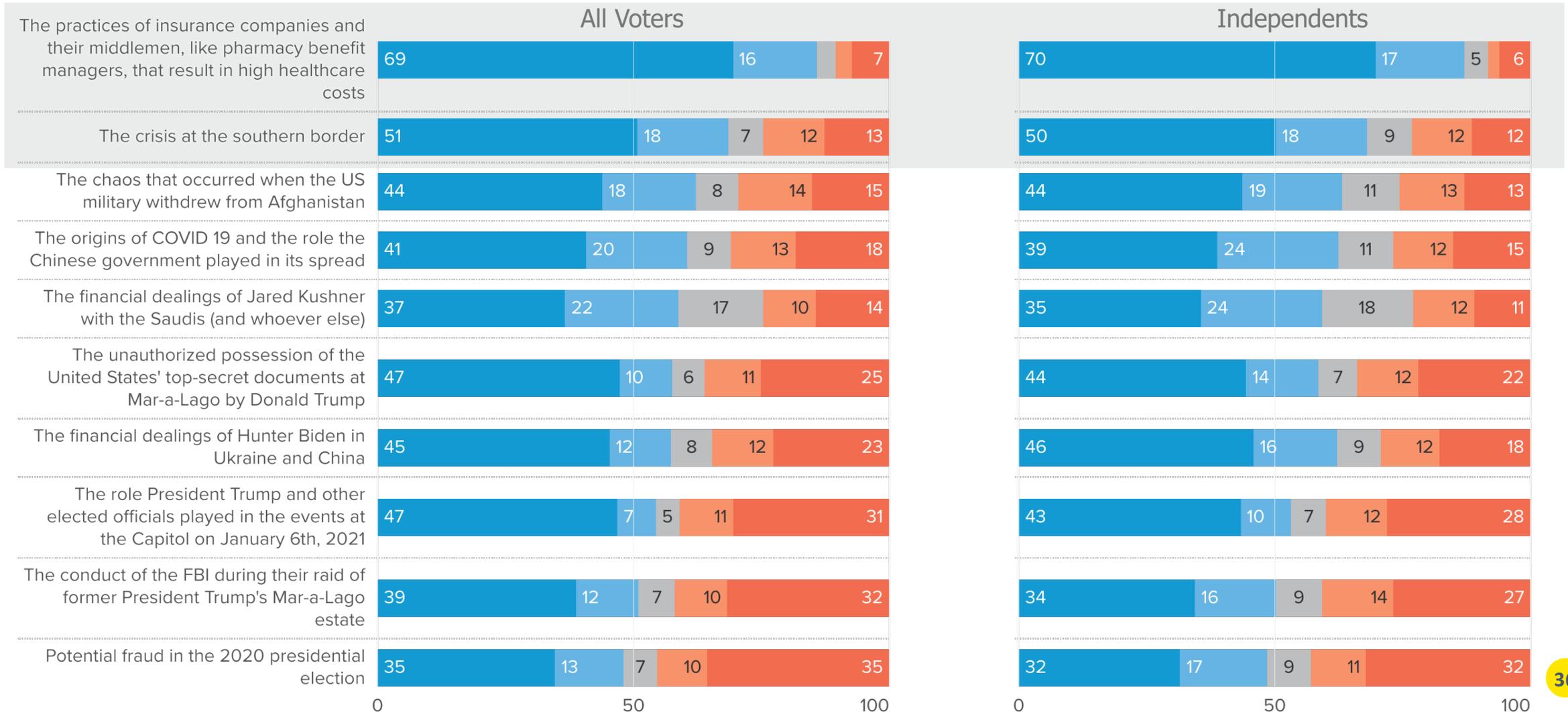
Future Majority recommends pivoting to the positive work being done and not getting into the mud of right-wing conspiracy investigations that voters are much less interested in.

Example: Conservative Media Machine and Crime: FOX News and their allies beat the drum on crime and then magically disappeared after the election. Even FOX News will adjust to the marketplace if their misinformation does not work.



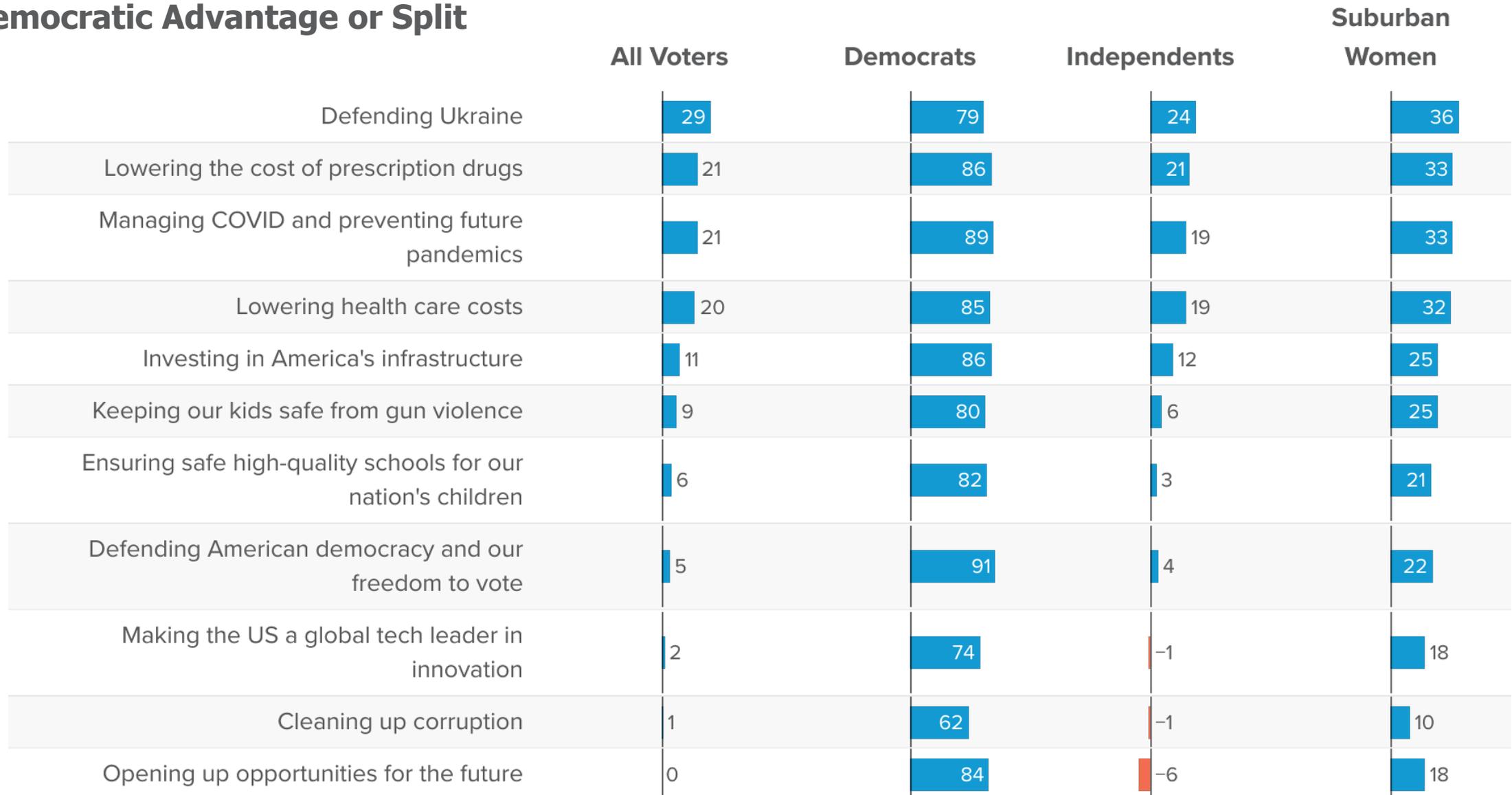
Support/Opposition to Proposed Investigations

● Strongly support ● Somewhat support ● Not sure ● Somewhat oppose ● Strongly oppose



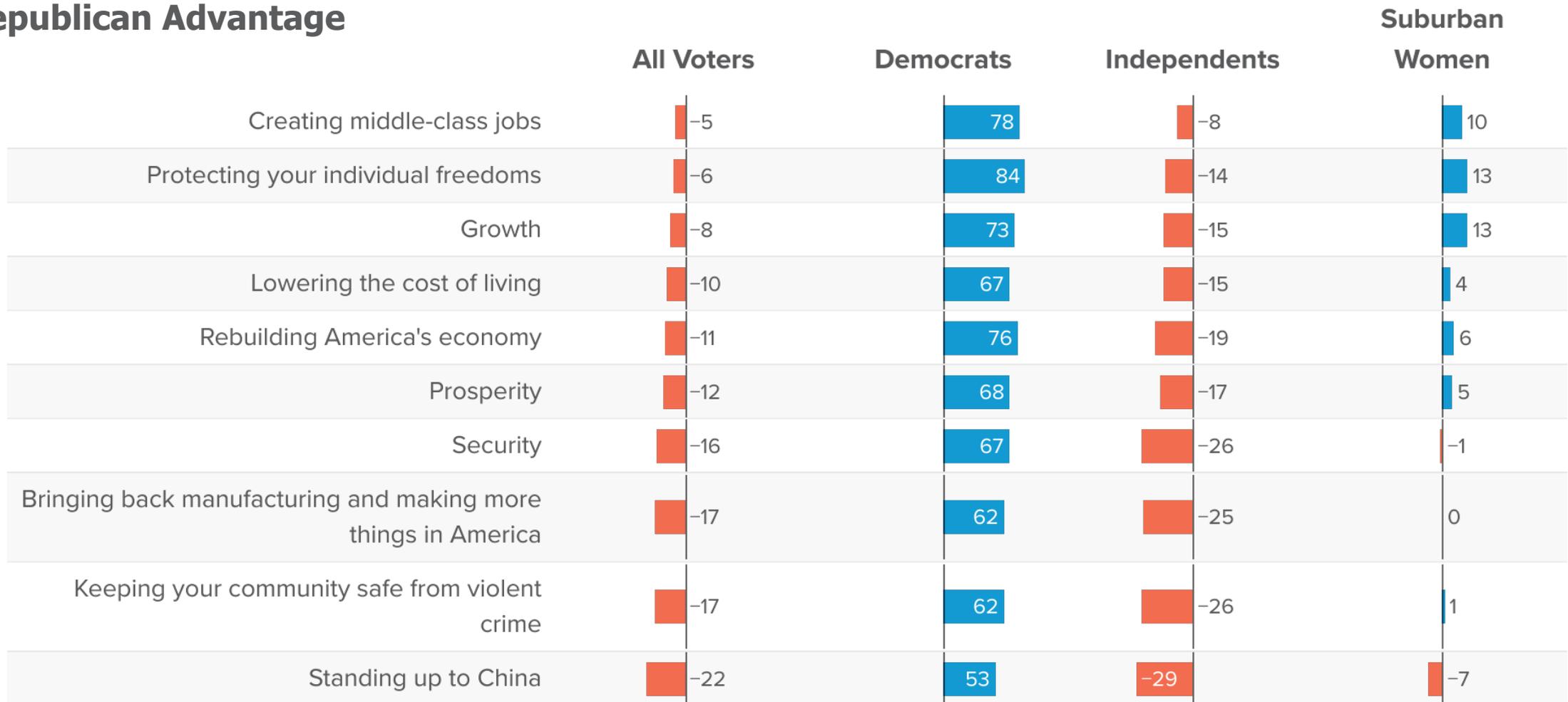
Which Party Do You Trust on the Following?

Democratic Advantage or Split

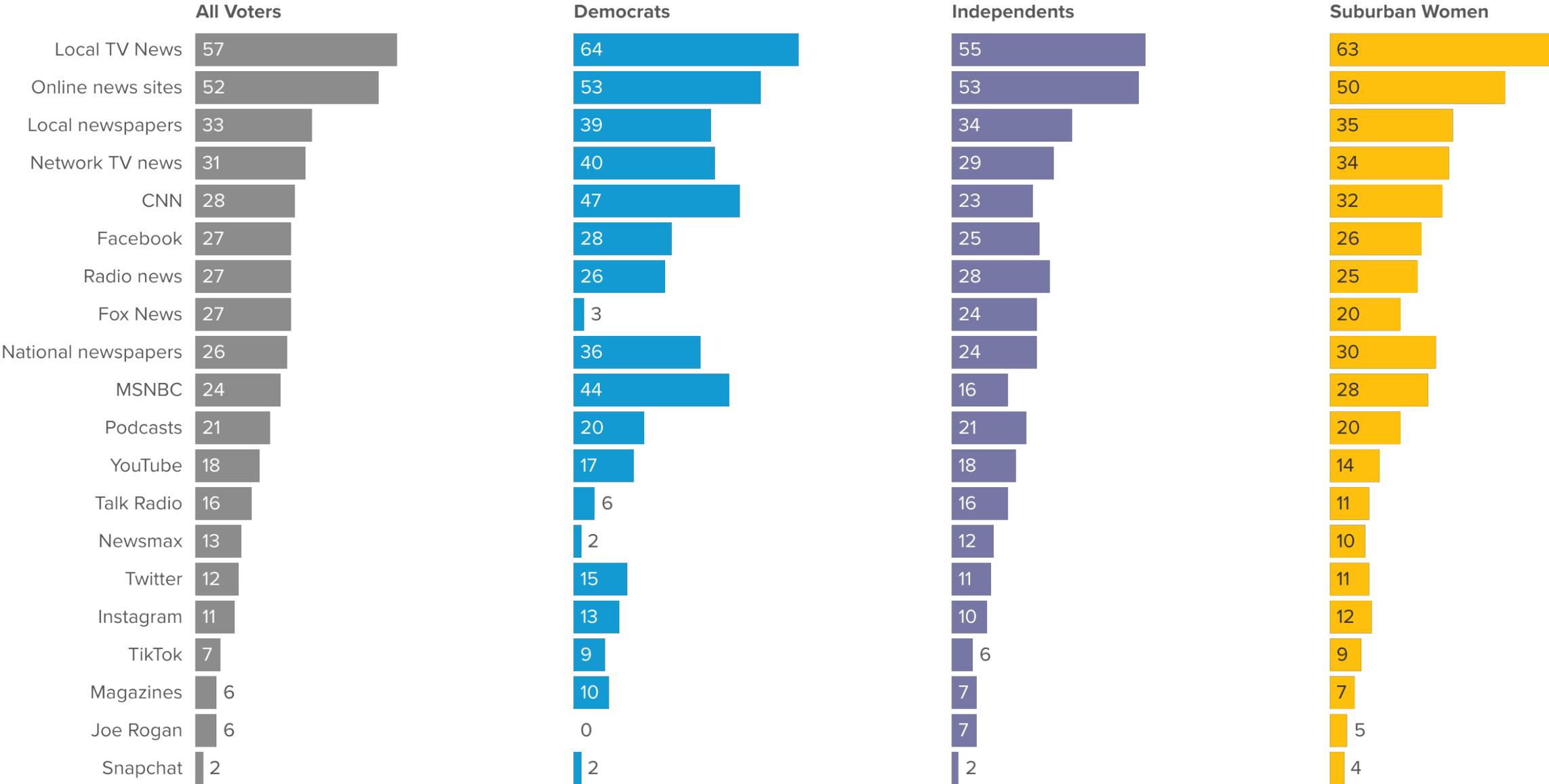


Which Party Do You Trust on the Following?

Republican Advantage



Where People Get Their News



How Often People Watch...



Message Recommendation:

The Freedom Frame

Future Majority has advocated for the Freedom Frame since our founding in 2017. This message frame has proven to be effective both in voter research and in practice by Democrats on the ballot in 2022.

Early Research Recommended Framing “Freedom”

Then:

Future Majority Jan. 2018 recommendations for the Democrats’ brand: Let’s Build Freedom...

Now:

AP

Abortion is a matter of ‘freedom’ for Biden and Democrats

By SEUNG MIN KIM September 24, 2022



Rebuilding ‘Democrat’

FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

January, 2018

In June 2018, “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.”

RECOMMENDATION

The core of **Who We Are** and **What We Stand For**:



Let’s Build Freedom, Fairness, Future.

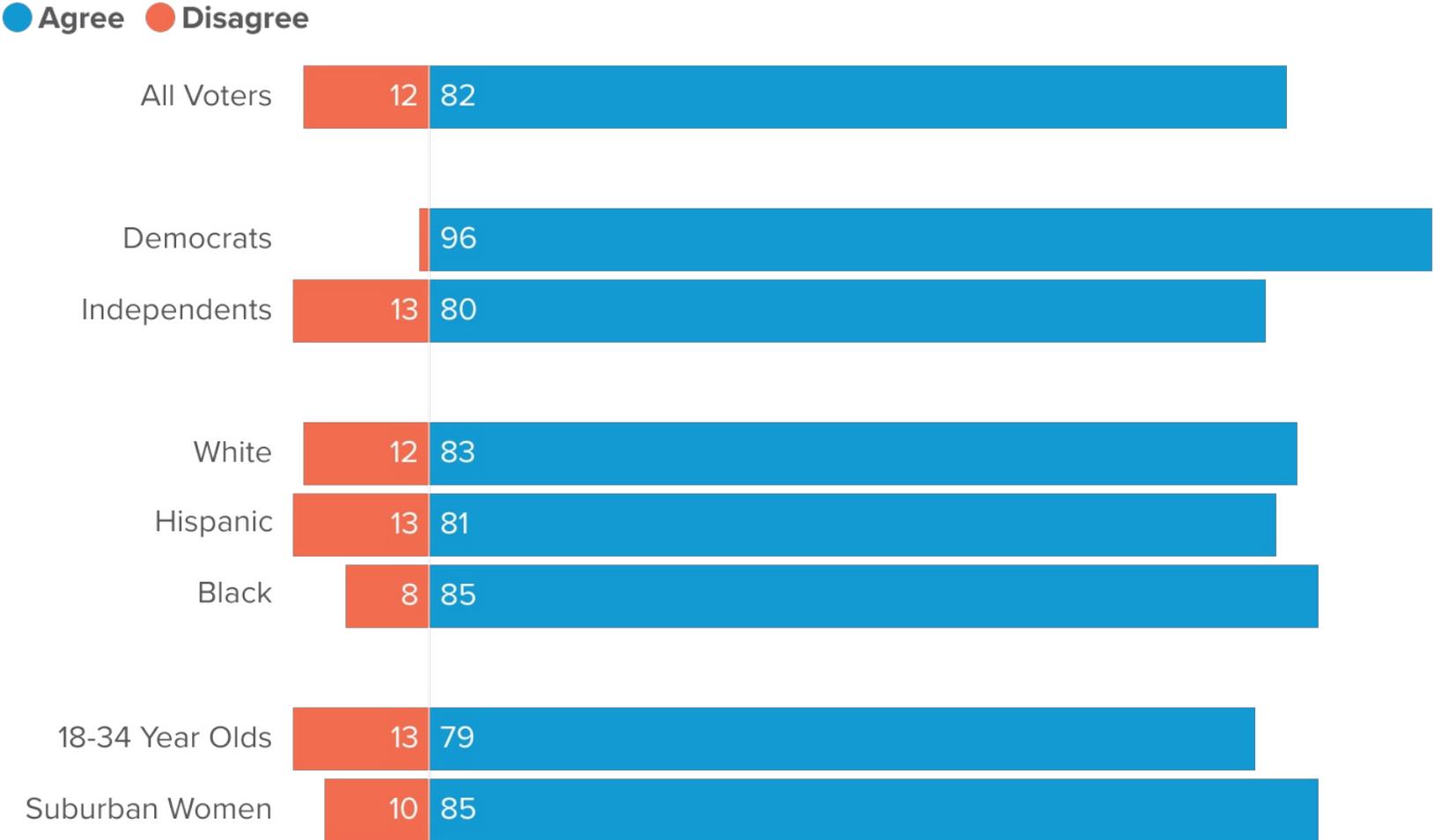
Democrats tend to go backward and not forward on the back of a loss. **We need to brave the future.**

Agreement with Freedom Statements (% Strongly Agree)

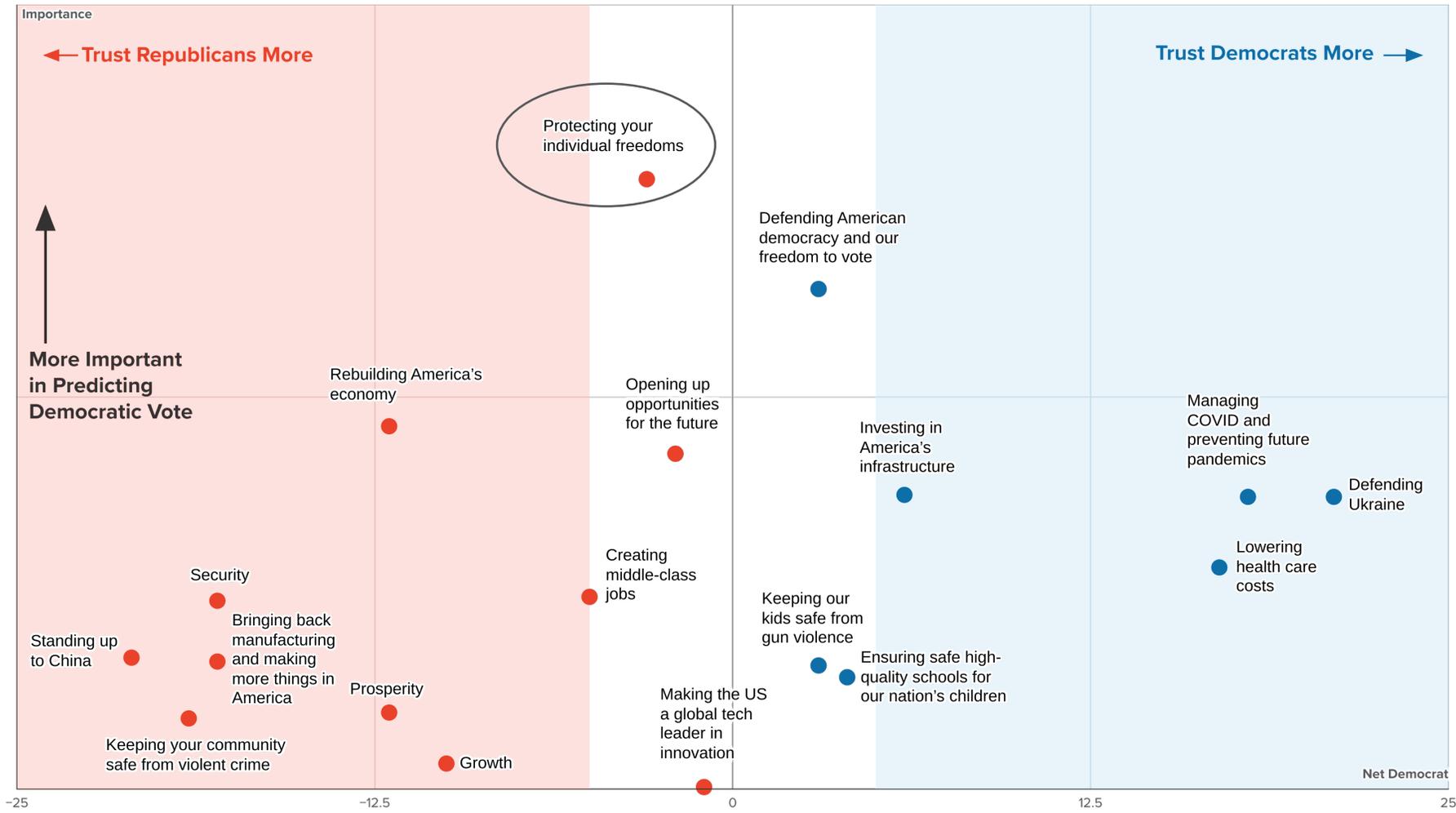
All	Dem	Ind	
92	96	91	"Citizens of legal age should have the basic American Constitutional freedom to express their voice at the ballot box"
90	86	88	"Americans should have the freedom to choose their elected representatives, without the threat of fraudulent votes and rigged intervention swaying the results"
80	86	79	"Every American deserves a fair shot so they can build the financial freedom to take the jobs they want or to start a business"
79	96	80	"It's not freedom to have a politician tell you who you can marry"
78	97	71	"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"
77	95	75	"Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without the fear of crippling healthcare costs"
76	94	72	"All students, regardless of financial status, race, or zip code have the right to a quality education and equal educational opportunities"
76	90	71	"Americans should have the freedom to live in safe communities, free of gun violence and where they are treated fairly by law enforcement and where police provide a sense of security"
68	54	64	"Americans should have the freedom to live in communities where law and order is maintained, and the police protect them from the threat of violence"
64	89	60	"The freedom that comes from investing in children in poor neighborhoods so they have quality schools and are safe so they can see their 18th birthday"
64	94	59	"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"
62	37	61	"Americans should have the freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children"
61	96	62	"Women should have the freedom to make decisions about their reproductive healthcare without being told by politicians what they can do with their bodies"
52	19	49	"Americans should have the freedom to live in a country where their job and physical security are not threatened by illegal immigration into the United States"
49	20	46	"The United States should be tough, suspicious of foreign promises, and willing to use force to defend our basic freedoms"
47	78	44	"It's not freedom to work a 40 hour work week only to be told you can't join a union"
47	16	47	"Americans should be free to work hard for their prosperity, without intervention from unions or the government"
47	7	49	"The second amendment gives American patriots the right to own guns, and to do so without laws restricting their freedoms"

Agreement with Statement about Freedom Agenda

“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 [global/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 Need to Continue to Focus on the Freedom Frame



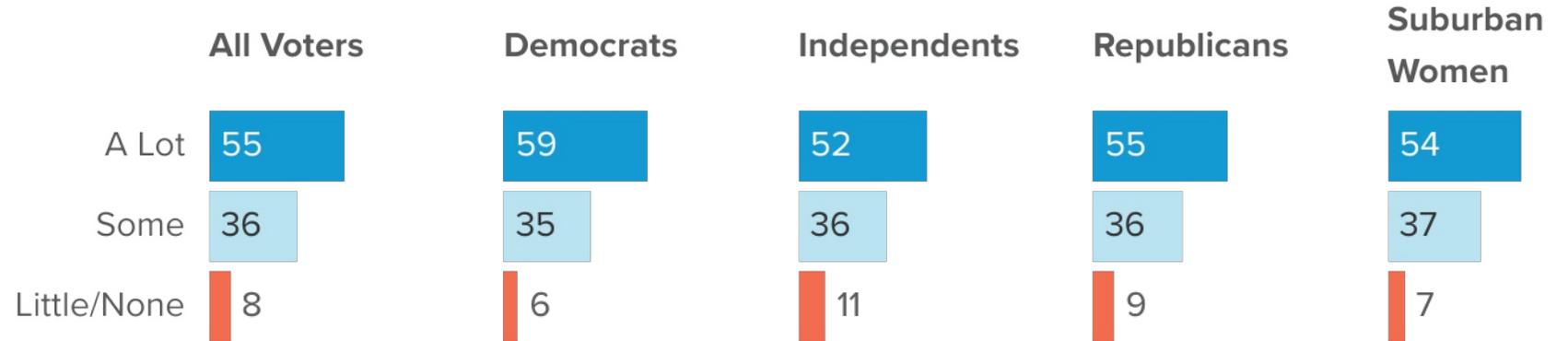
This chart looks at the impact of trust of the political groups on a variety of issues and the likelihood of supporting a Democrat for U.S. House.

To do this, we did a marginal effects regression. The process tries to isolate the impact of each variable on the likelihood of supporting a Democrat. If someone moves from trusting Republicans to trusting Democrats, the coefficient tells us how much that increases the likelihood of supporting Democrats. The y-axis that goes up and down is the coefficient of each variable in this regression. The items at the top of the chart strongly impact the vote. The items at the bottom of the chart have little to no impact on the vote. If someone goes from trusting Republicans to Democrats on "protecting individual freedoms," that will have a substantially larger impact on the vote than if someone moves from trusting Republicans to Democrats on "making the US a global tech leader in innovation." The items to the right are issues voters trust Democrats more. The items to the left are issues voters trust Republicans more.

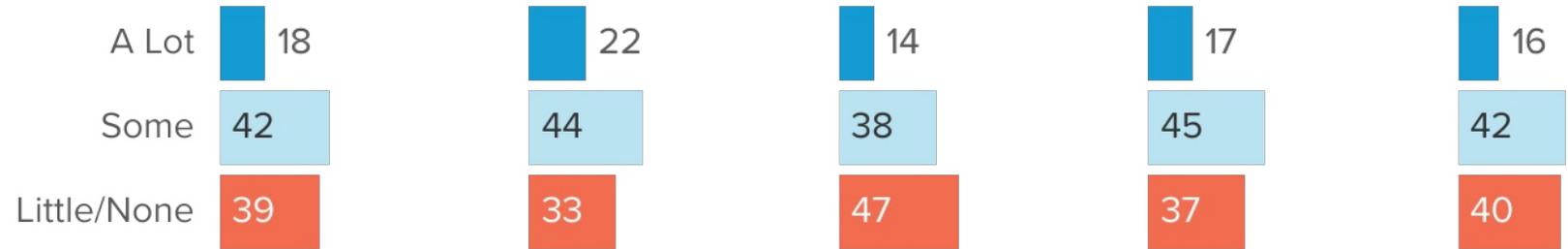
The main points are that a) Democrats are not more trusted than Republicans on protecting individual freedoms, and b) if Democrats are able to move voters' trust on this measure, it will move voters to support Democrats more than any other issue.

Amount of Freedom People Feel

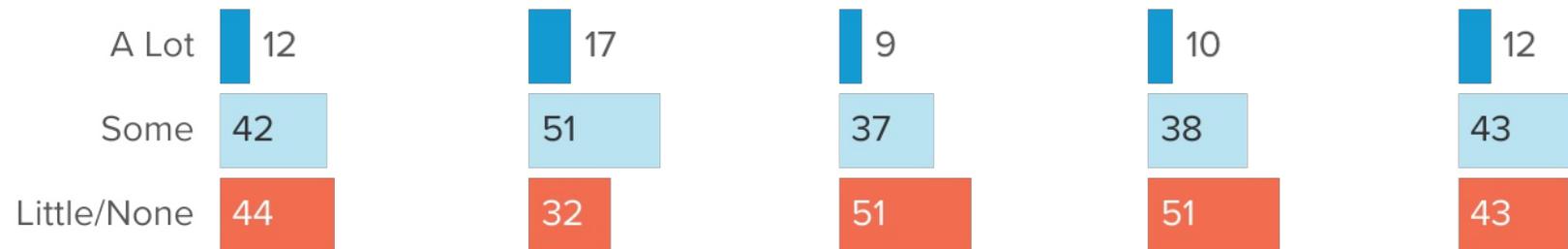
Individual freedom - the ability to make important personal decisions such as who to marry, when to start a family, what faith to worship, what books you can read, and the ability to do what is best for your life, not what society demands of you.



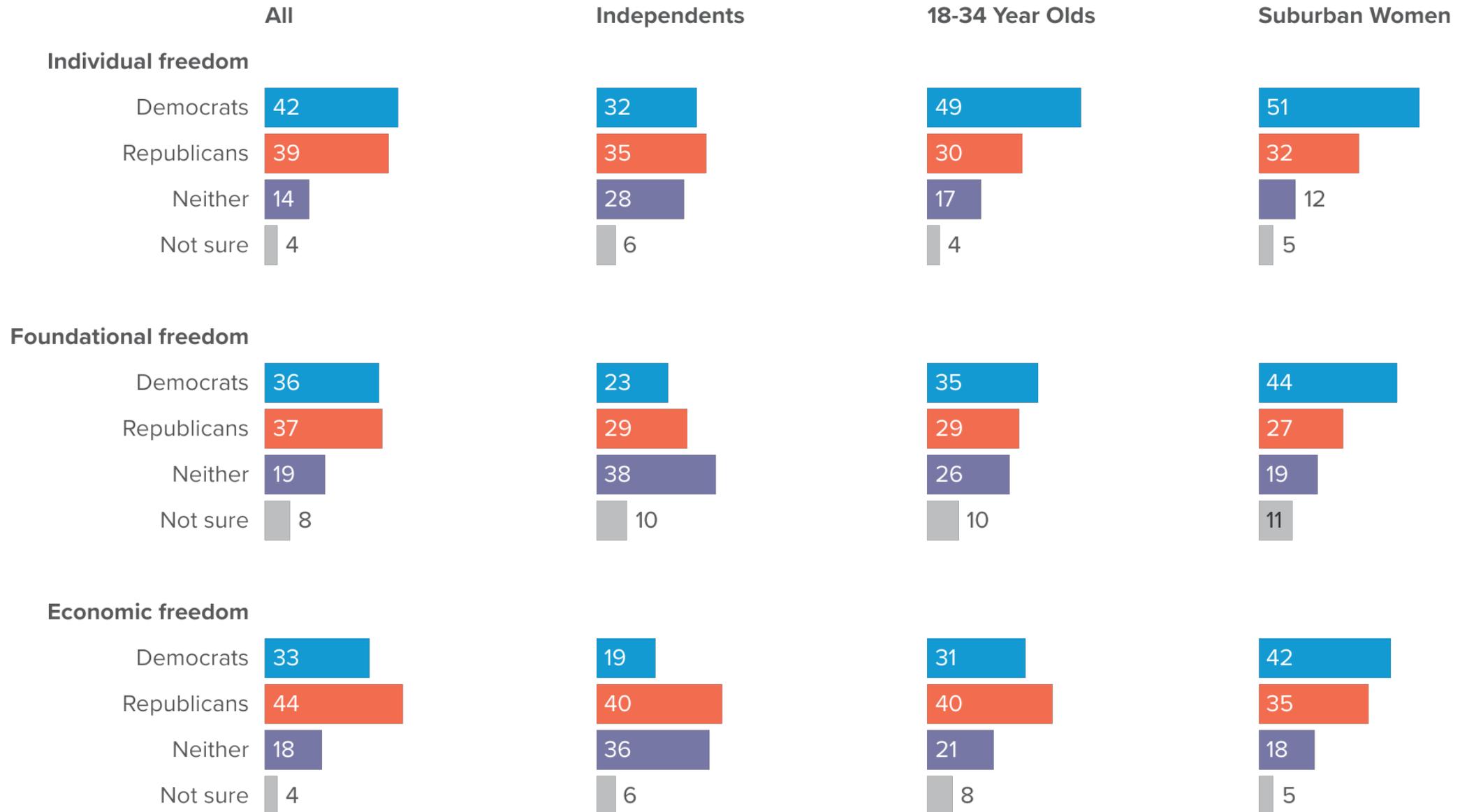
Economic freedom - the opportunity to build a prosperous life and retire with dignity, and you have low risk of losing your home or savings during hard times.



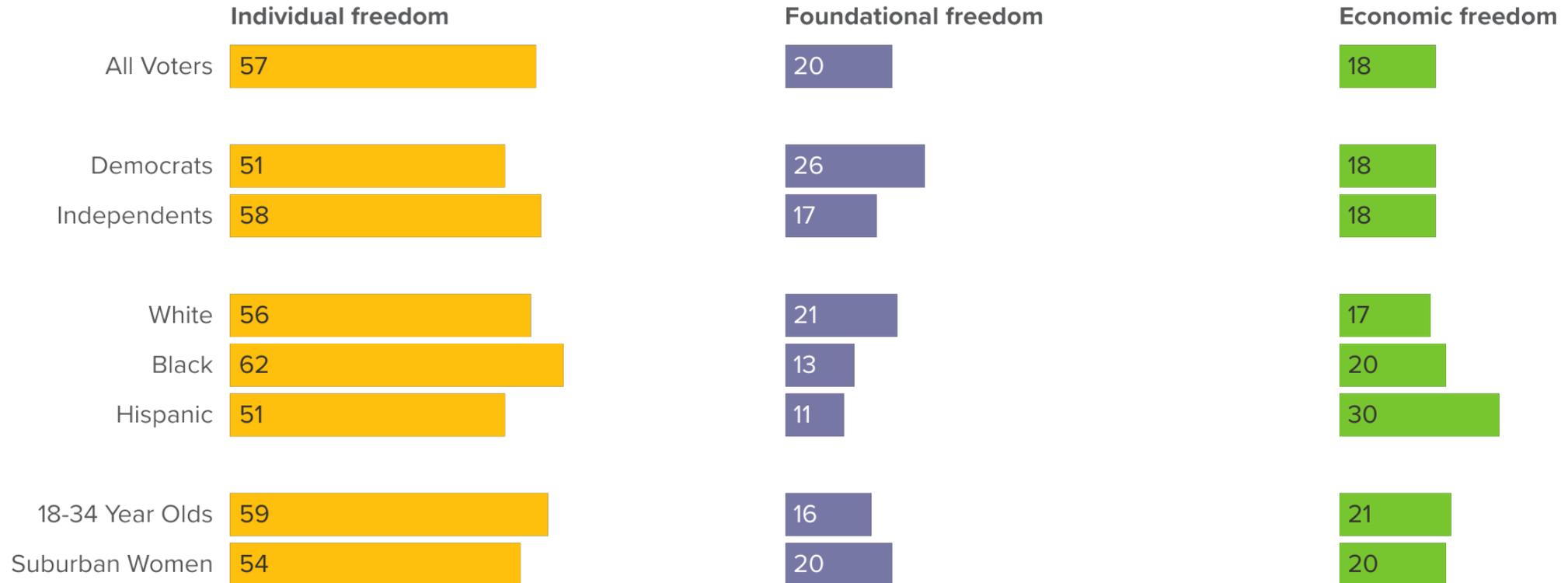
Foundational freedom - that you can breathe clean air and clean water, your vote is counted and respected, that you can buy the things you need because it is made in America and not subject to global supply chain issues, and that you live in a community without fear of crime.



Which Group Is Better at Providing Freedom?



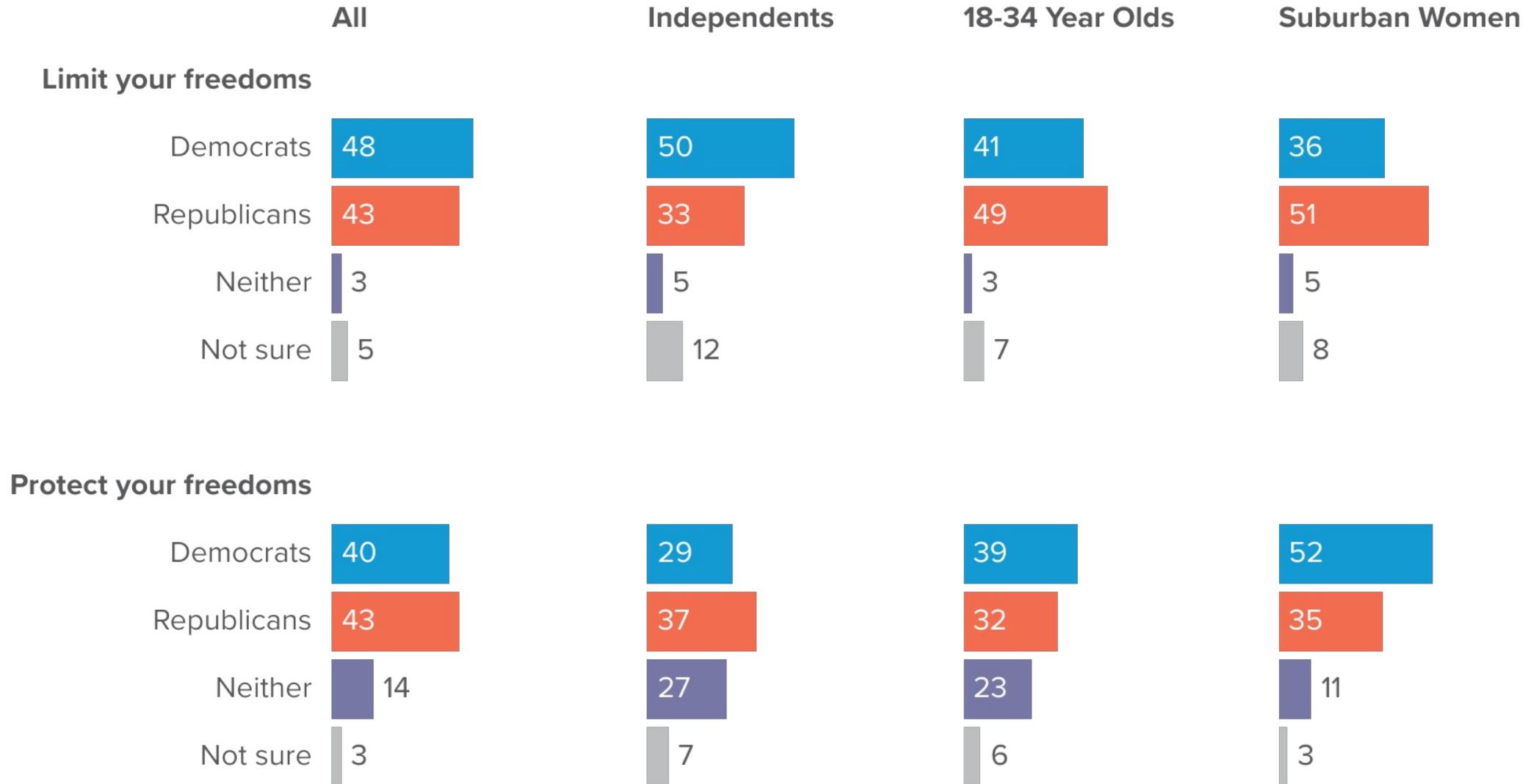
Most Important Type of Freedom



Most Important for You to Feel Free

All	Dem	Ind	
55	33	61	Freedom to live your life as you see fit without government telling you what you can and cannot do
48	55	45	Freedom to vote and have it count
39	26	44	Freedom that comes from eliminating corruption in government so others don't secure advantages not available to you
37	54	38	Freedom from healthcare costs bankrupting your family
36	4	40	Freedom to defend my home as I see fit
35	27	35	Freedom to walk down the street or be in your home without worrying about crime
33	53	33	Freedom to breathe clean air and drink clean water
21	38	20	Freedom to decide when, or if, to start a family
21	39	18	Freedom to marry the person you love
8	4	8	Freedom to buy products made in America

Which Group Do You Think Is More Likely to ... ?



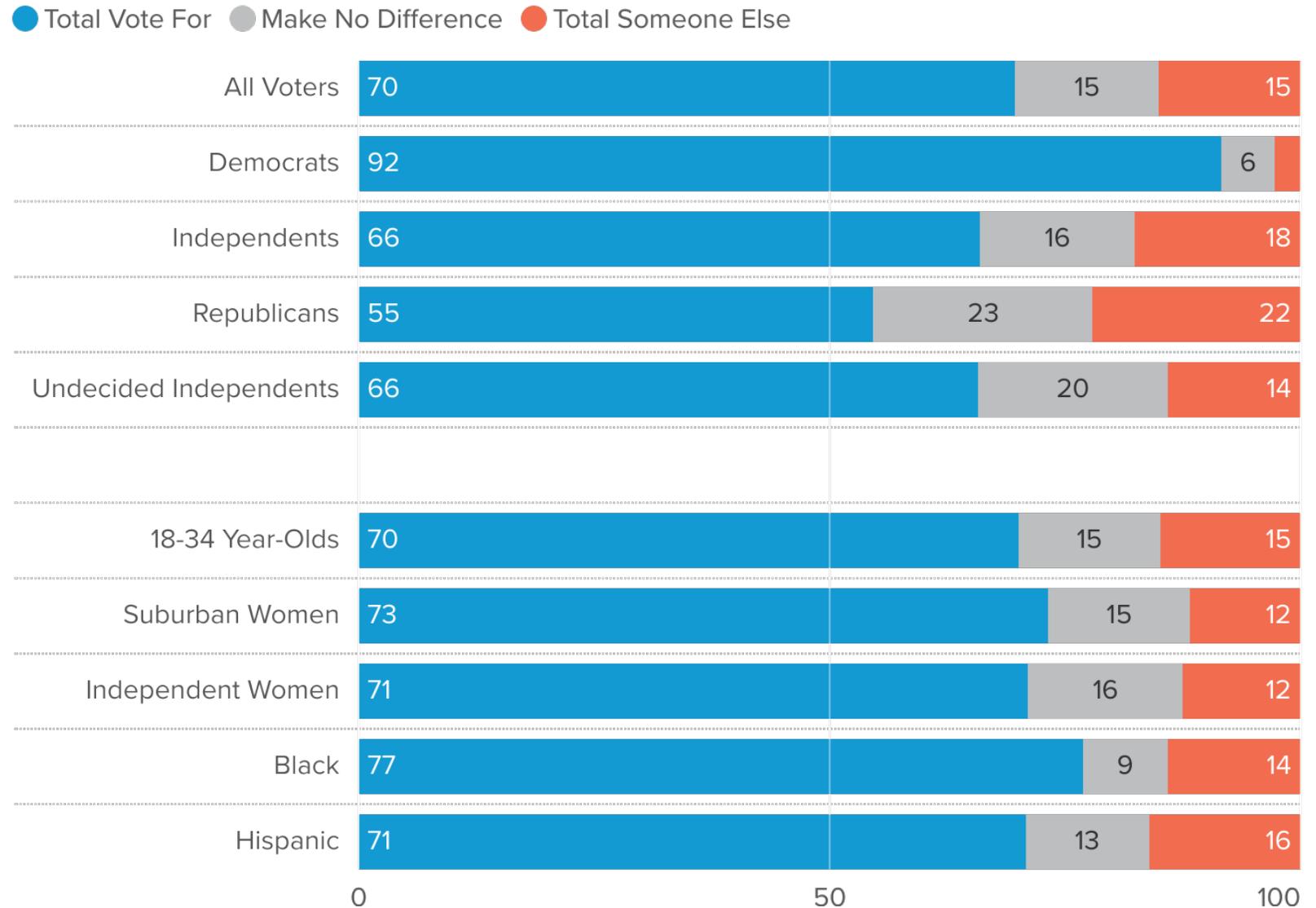
Agreement with Freedom Statements (% Strongly Agree)

All	Dem	Ind	
92	96	91	“Citizens of legal age should have the basic American Constitutional freedom to express their voice at the ballot box”
90	86	88	“Americans should have the freedom to choose their elected representatives, without the threat of fraudulent votes and rigged intervention swaying the results”
80	86	79	“Every American deserves a fair shot so they can build the financial freedom to take the jobs they want or to start a business”
79	96	80	“It’s not freedom to have a politician tell you who you can marry”
78	97	71	“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”
77	95	75	“Americans should have the freedom to live their lives without the fear of crippling healthcare costs”
76	94	72	“All students, regardless of financial status, race, or zip code have the right to a quality education and equal educational opportunities”
76	90	71	“Americans should have the freedom to live in safe communities, free of gun violence and where they are treated fairly by law enforcement and where police provide a sense of security”
68	54	64	“Americans should have the freedom to live in communities where law and order is maintained, and the police protect them from the threat of violence”
64	89	60	“The freedom that comes from investing in children in poor neighborhoods so they have quality schools and are safe so they can see their 18th birthday”
64	94	59	“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”
62	37	61	“Americans should have the freedom to choose the kind of education they want for their children”
61	96	62	“Women should have the freedom to make decisions about their reproductive healthcare without being told by politicians what they can do with their bodies”
52	19	49	“Americans should have the freedom to live in a country where their job and physical security are not threatened by illegal immigration into the United States”
49	20	46	“The United States should be tough, suspicious of foreign promises, and willing to use force to defend our basic freedoms”
47	78	44	“It’s not freedom to work a 40 hour work week only to be told you can’t join a union”
47	16	47	“Americans should be free to work hard for their prosperity, without intervention from unions or the government”
47	7	49	“The second amendment gives American patriots the right to own guns, and to do so without laws restricting their freedoms”

Likelihood to Vote for a Candidate Saying...

“I am running on guaranteeing five freedoms to address the needs of every child in America:

- **Freedom to be healthy**
- **Freedom to be economically secure**
- **Freedom to learn**
- **Freedom from hunger**
- **Freedom to be safe from harm”**

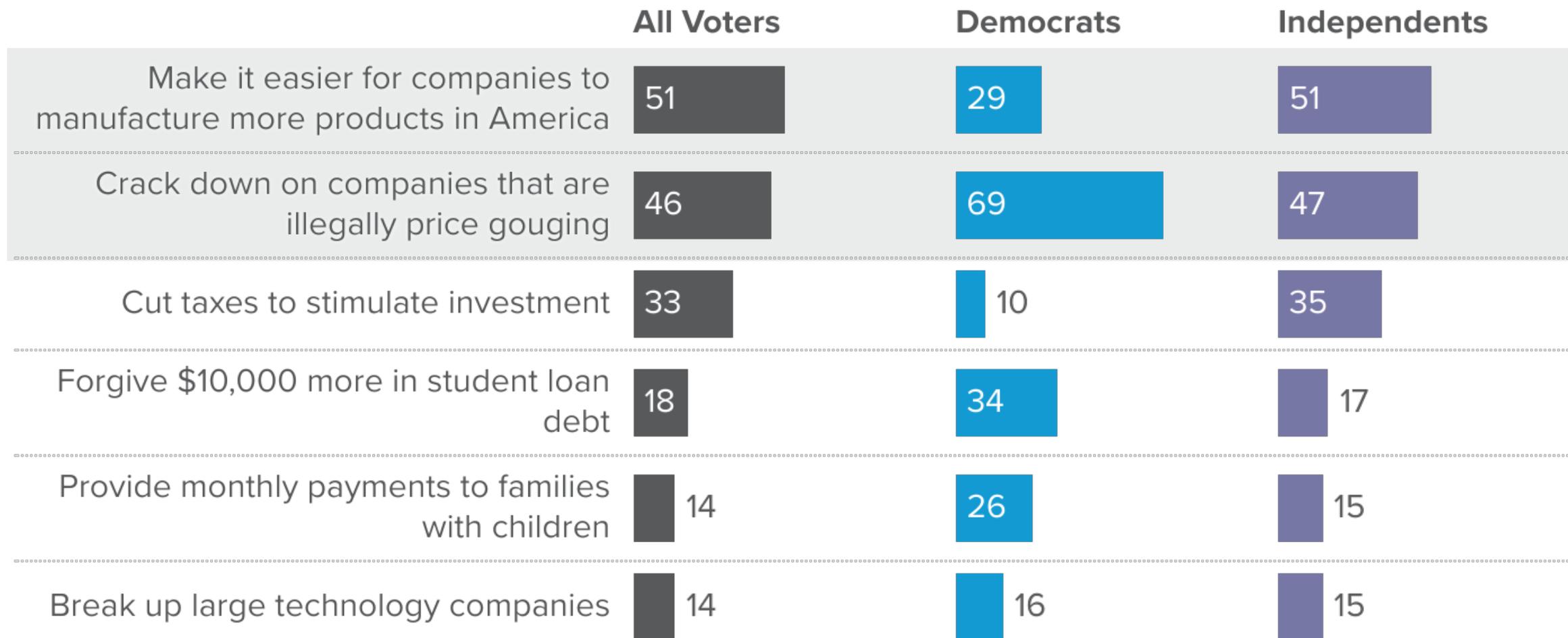


Legislative Recommendation:

The For the People Agenda

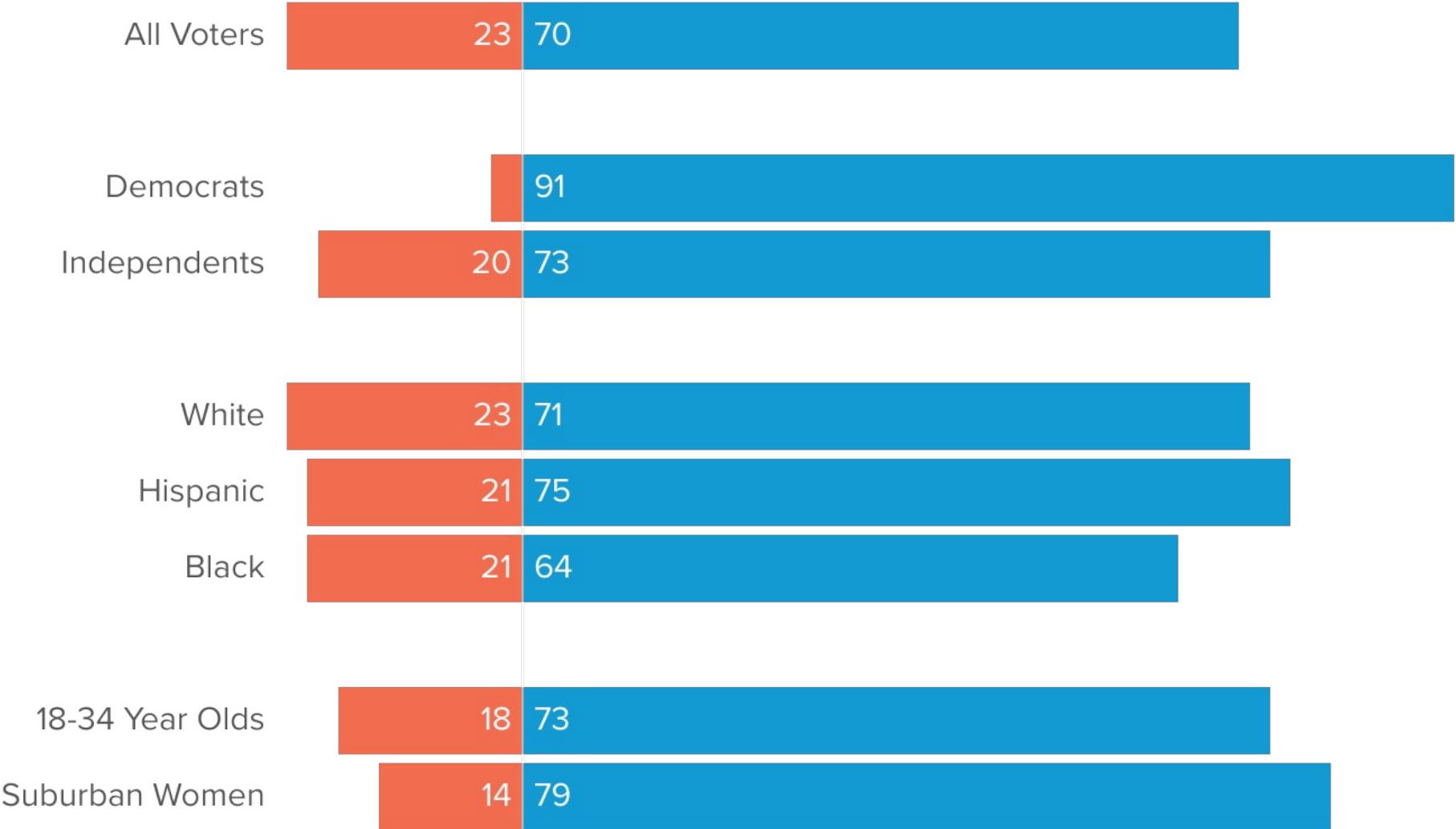
The elements of the For the People agenda are popular with voters and work within the Freedom Frame narrative

Economic Priorities for the Future



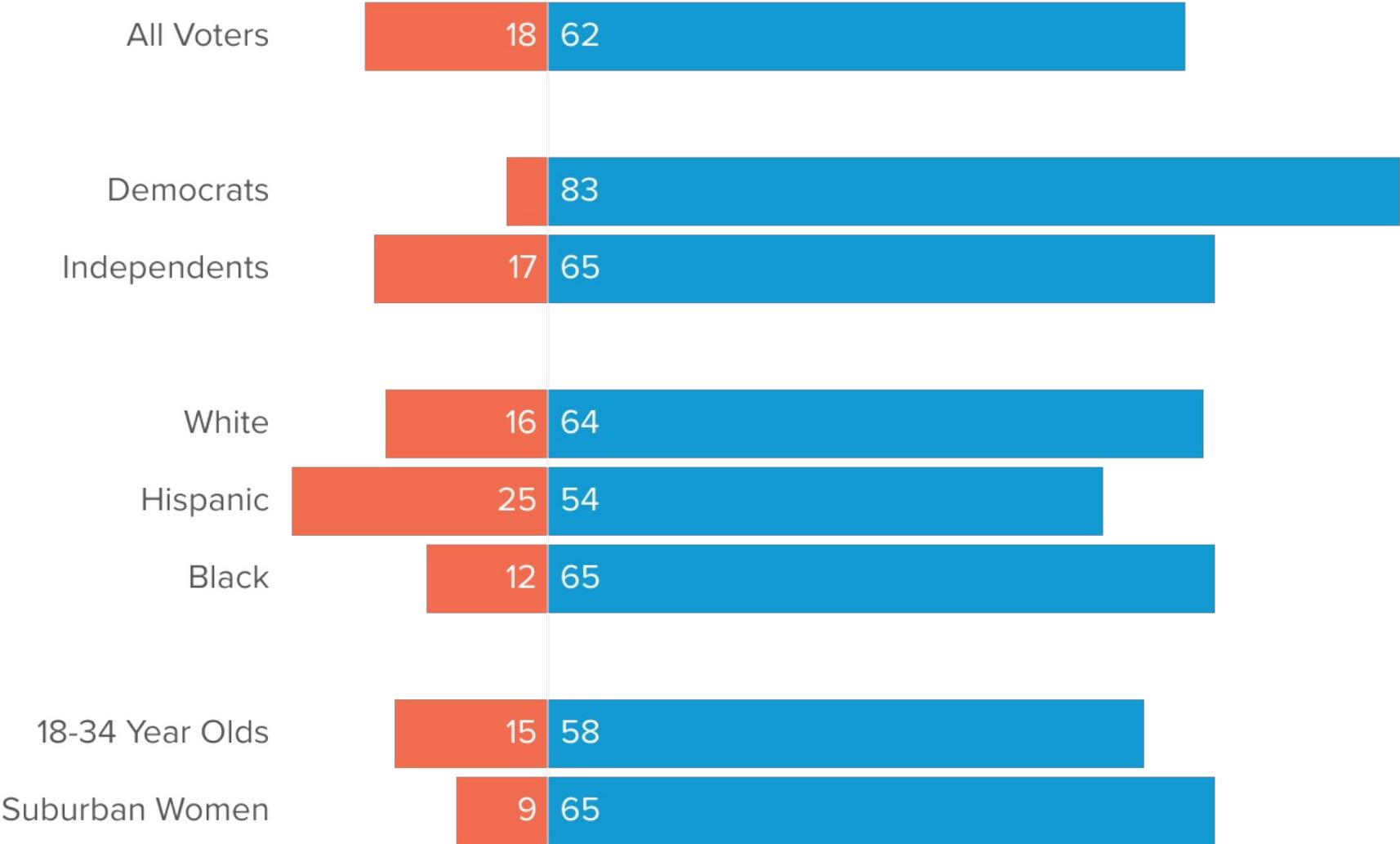
Support for Cutting Student Loan Interest Rates

● Support ● Oppose



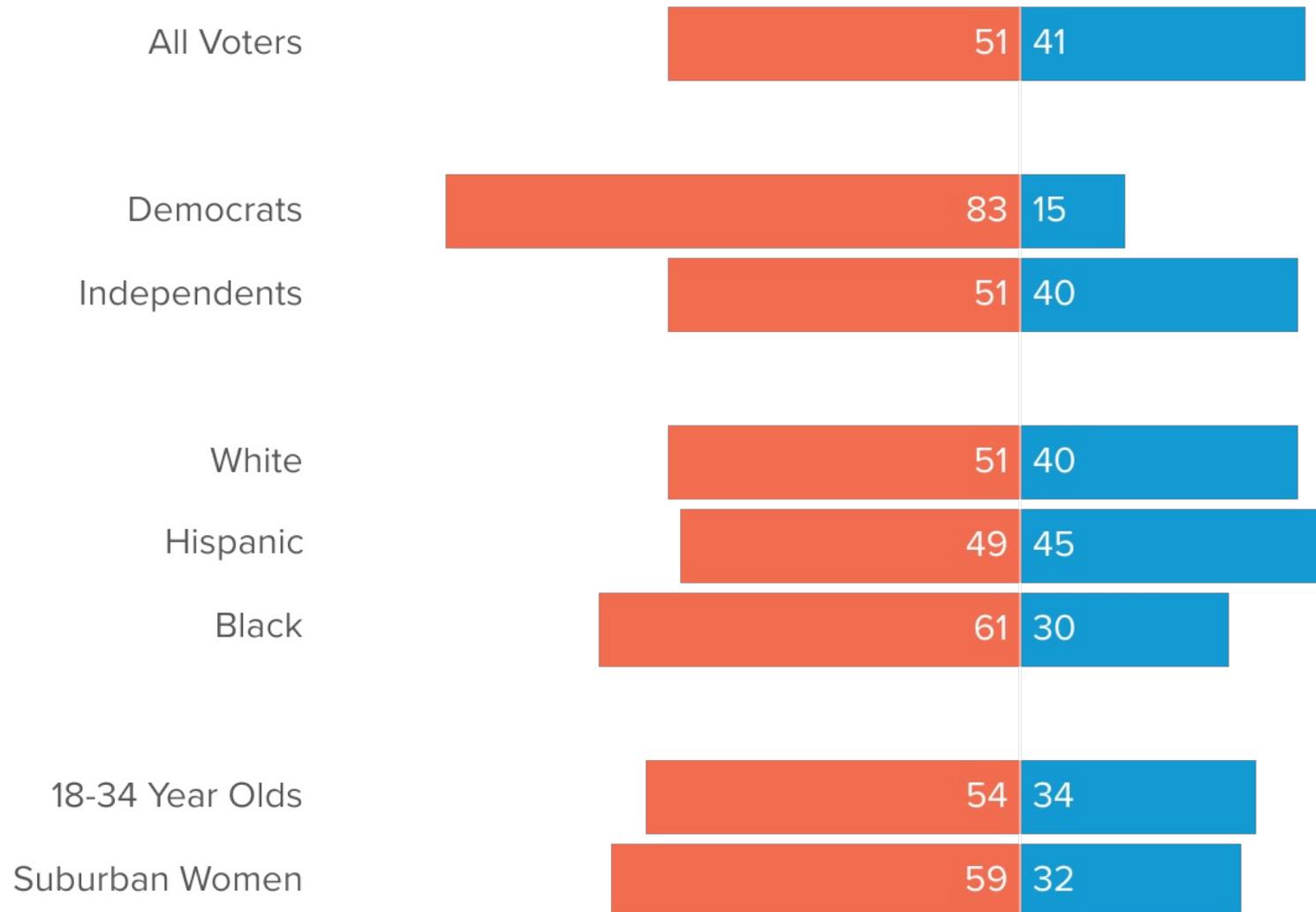
Support for the Consumer Fuel Price Gouging Prevention Act

● Support ● Oppose



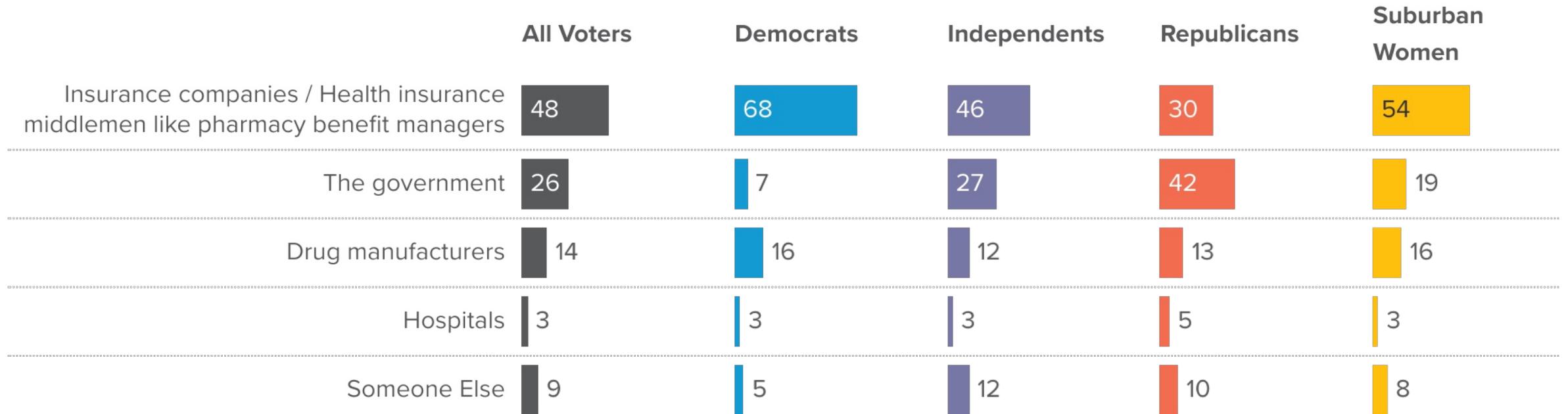
Do You Support or Oppose Repealing the ACA?

● Support ● Oppose



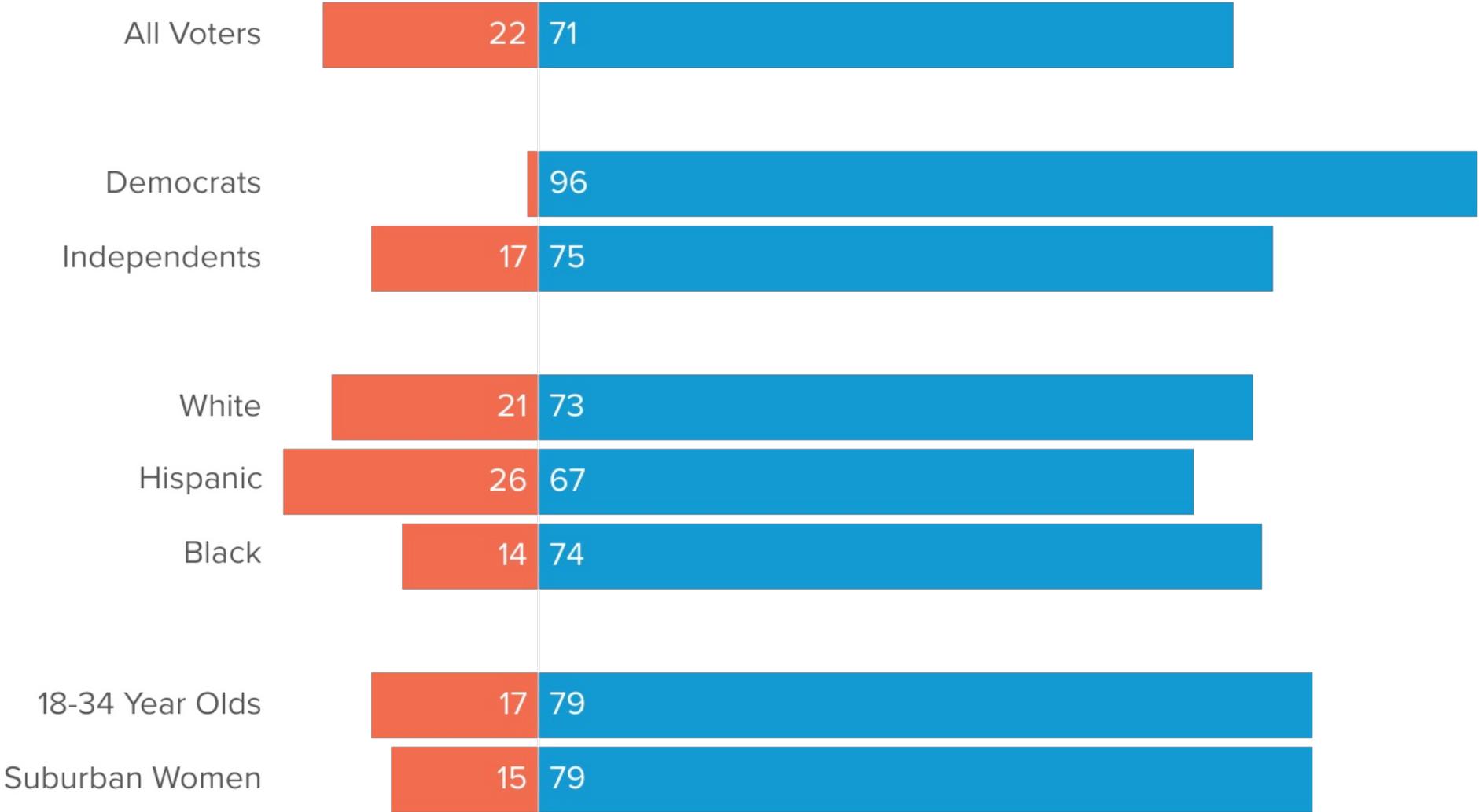
More Work to be Done Lowering Health Care Costs

“Who do you think are most to blame for the high cost of healthcare?”



Support for Marriage Equality

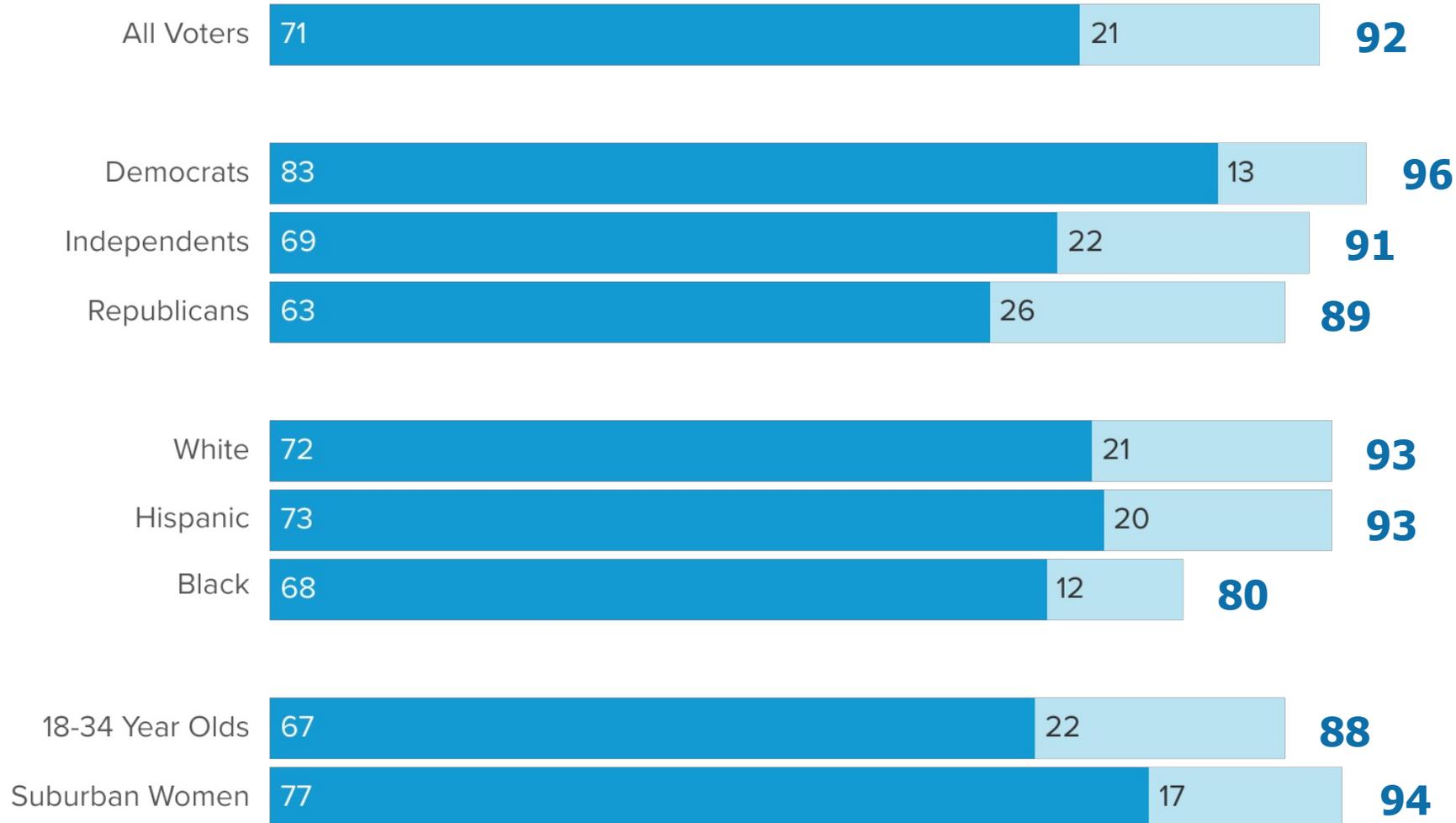
● Support ● Oppose



“Do you support or oppose a federal law that would guarantee same-sex couples the right to get married in every state in the country and have the same legal protections that marriages between one man and one woman do?”

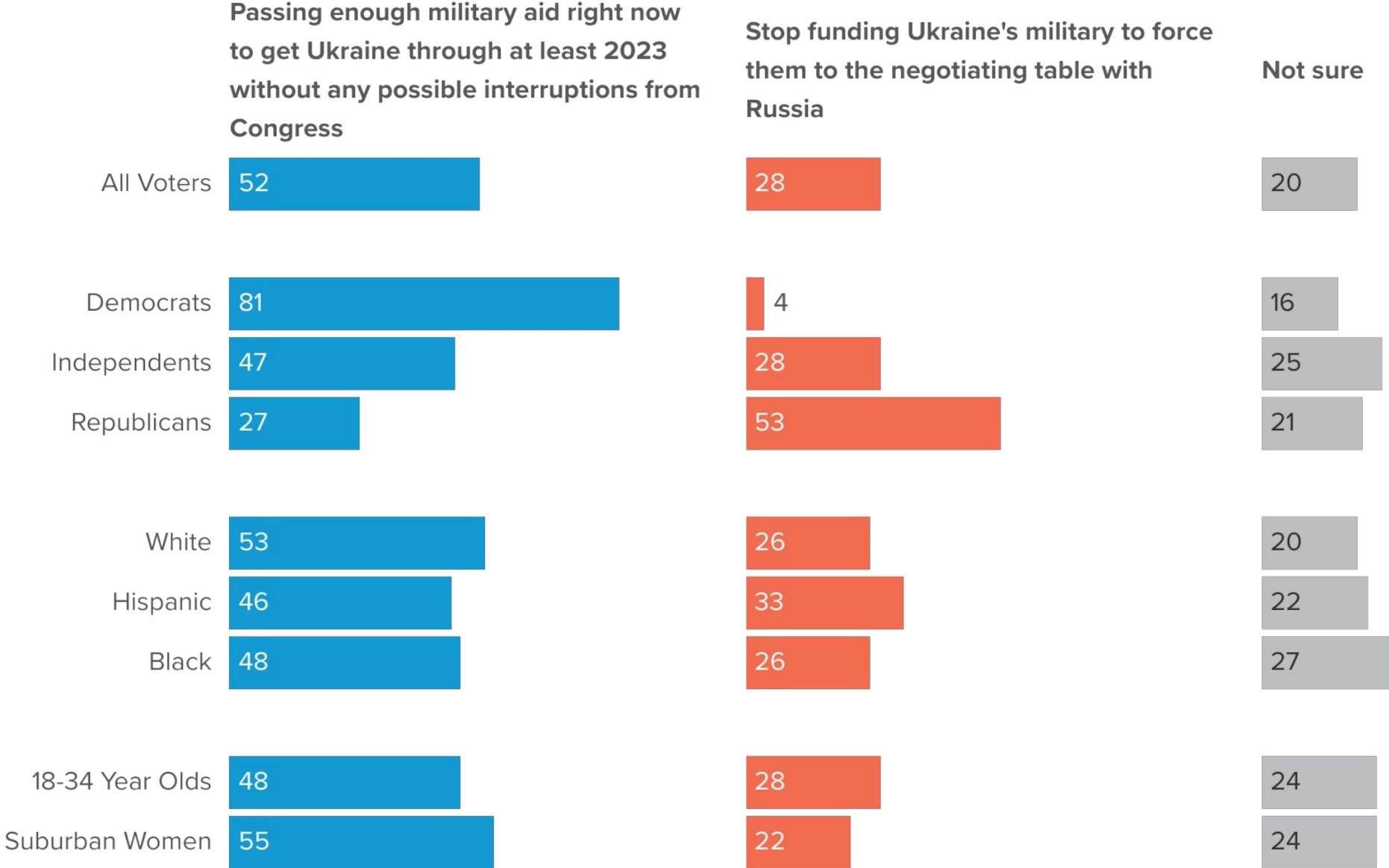
Support for Police Funding Bill

● Strongly Support ● Somewhat Support



“Do you support or oppose a proposal to provide local police departments with officer safety, de-escalation, and domestic violence response training, body cameras, expanded mental health resources for officers, and funding to recruit new police officers?”

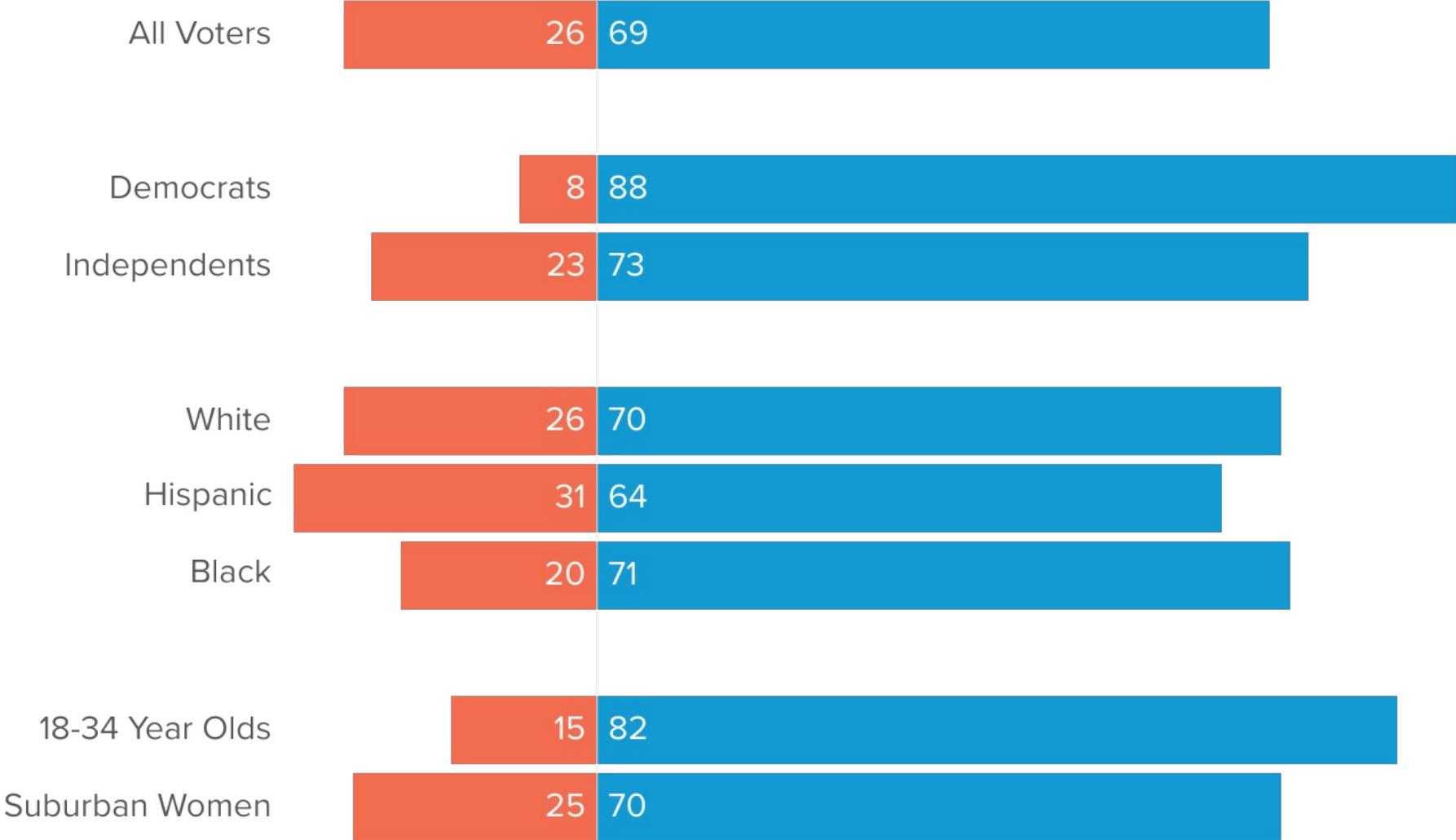
Support for Ukraine



Support for Cannabis Legalization

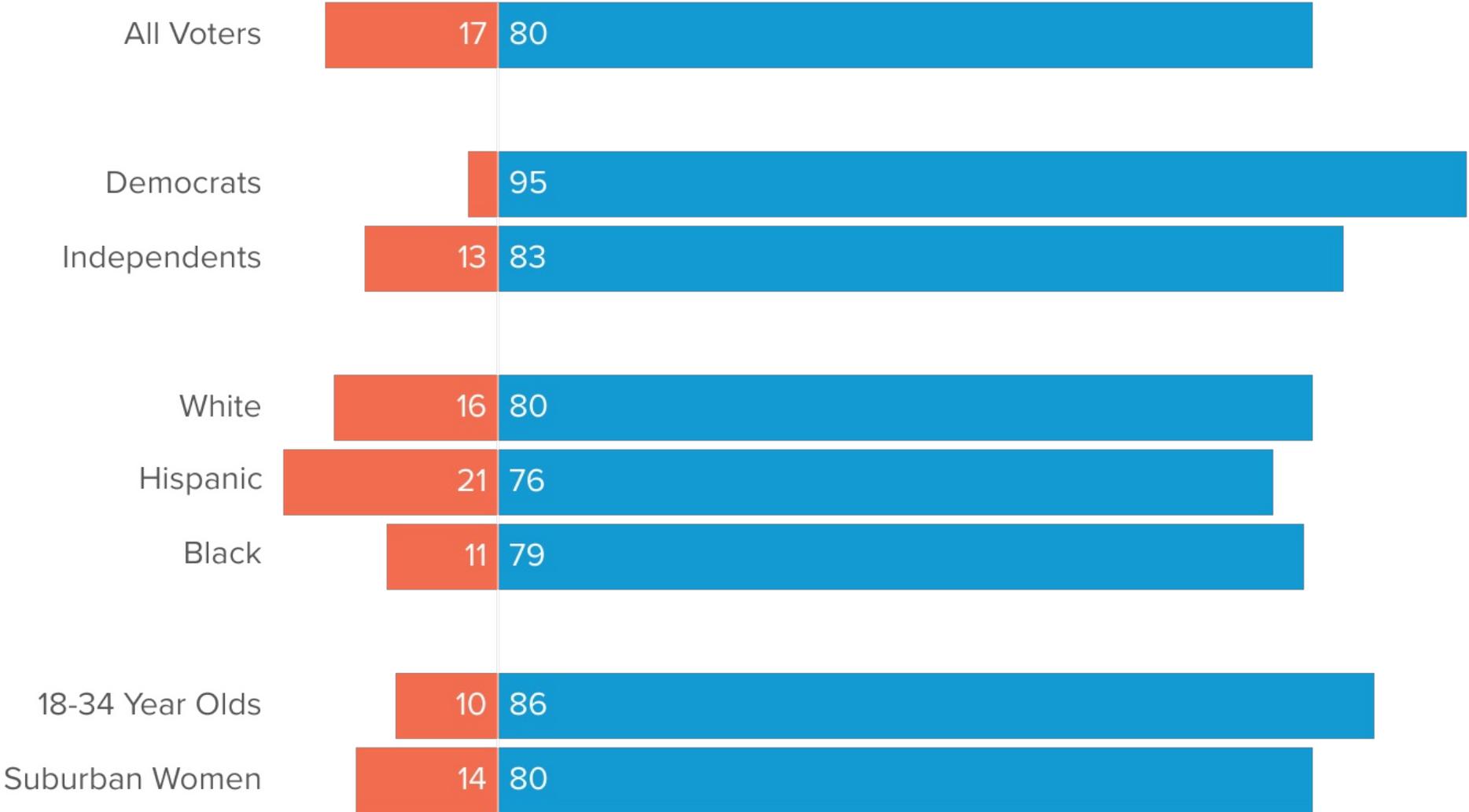
● Support ● Oppose

“Do you support or oppose legalizing marijuana for personal recreational use?”



Support for Cannabis Decriminalization

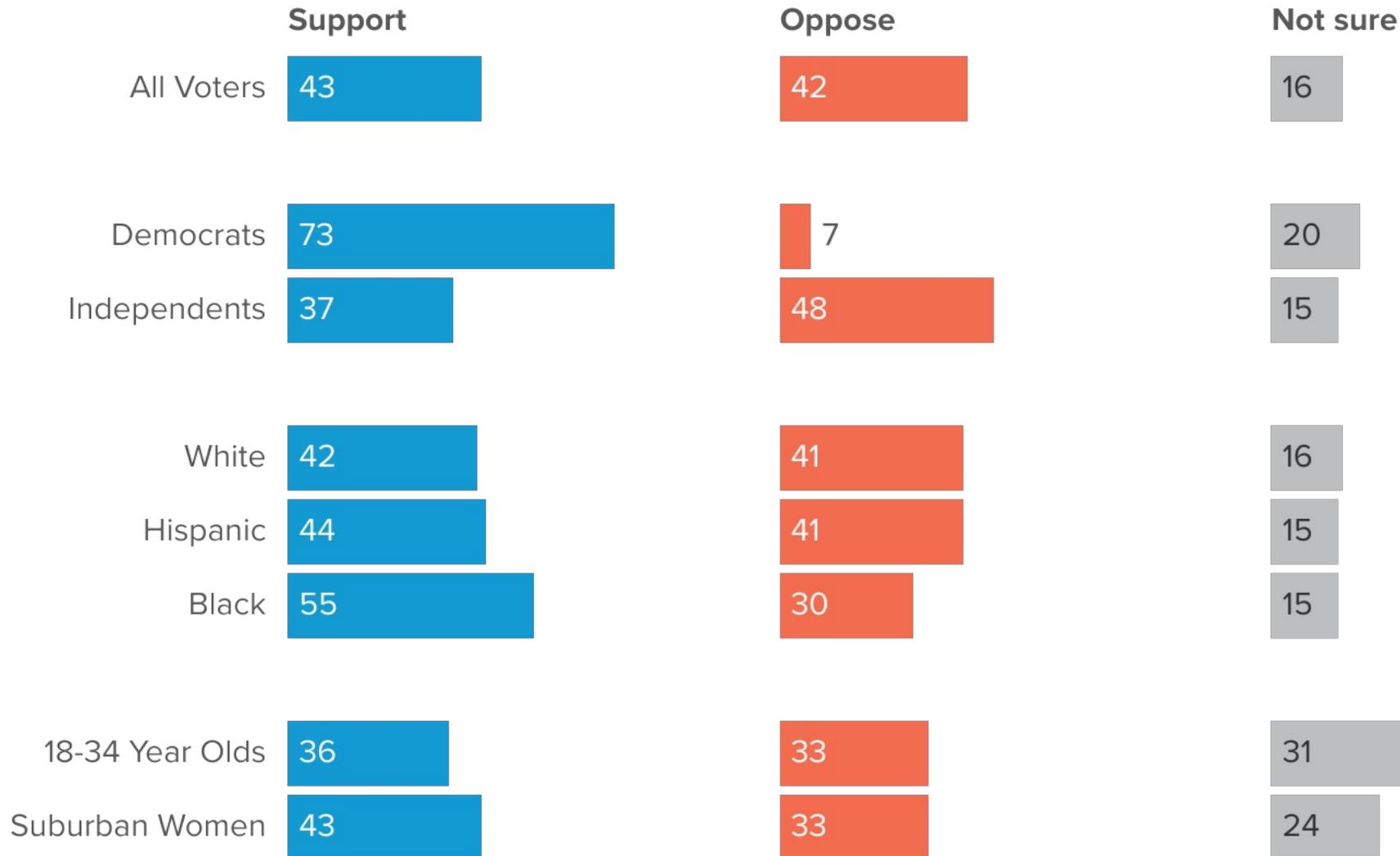
● Support ● Oppose



“Do you support or oppose decriminalizing marijuana use, meaning that no arrest, prison time, or criminal record for the first-time possession of a small amount of marijuana for personal consumption?”

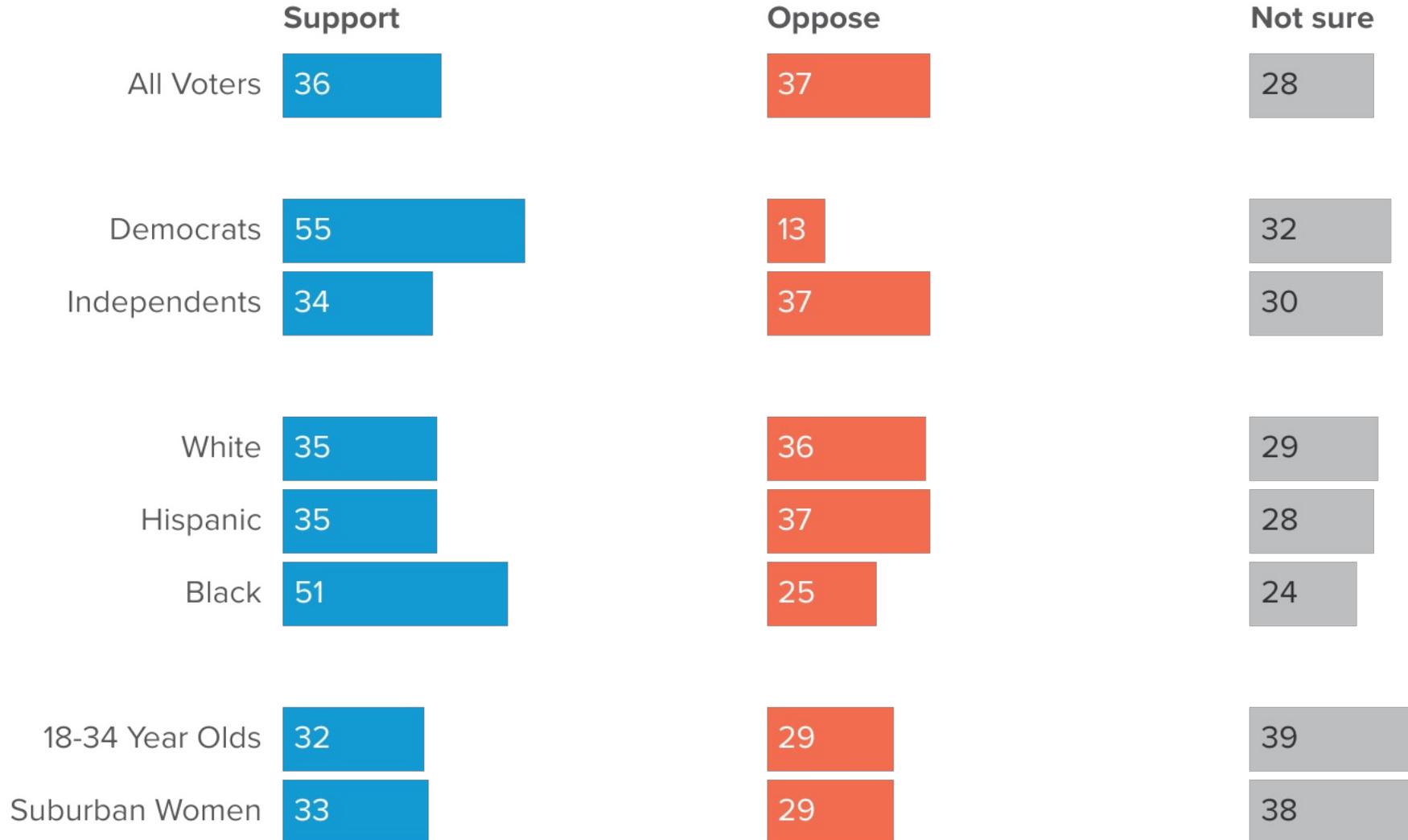
Support for Raising the Debt Ceiling

“Do you support or oppose raising the debt ceiling, a device Congress has to authorize to pay for past spending, through 2025 so that the United States doesn't face a debt default next year?”



Support for Eliminating the Debt Ceiling

“Some have argued that the debt ceiling is an unnecessary political obstacle that unnecessarily risks the full faith and credit of the United States and our economy since politicians can use it as leverage to force through their agenda. Do you support or oppose remove the debt ceiling?”



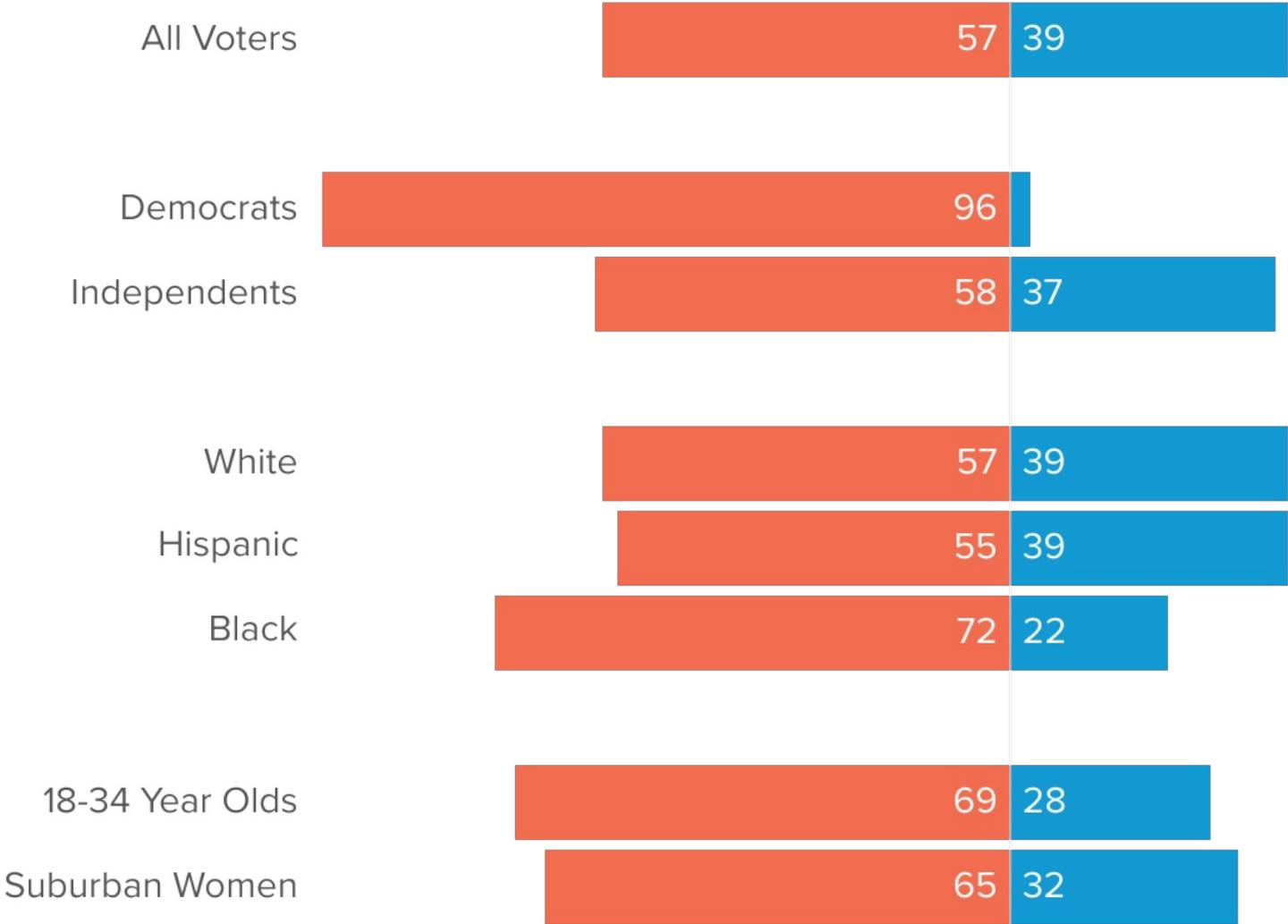
FM Issue Advocacy:

Reproductive Freedom

Future Majority's early work on freedom helped identify the "reproductive freedom" message frame. Now, we are launching an issue advocacy campaign to restore *Roe* and pass the Reproductive Freedom for All Act.

Approval of the Dobbs Decision

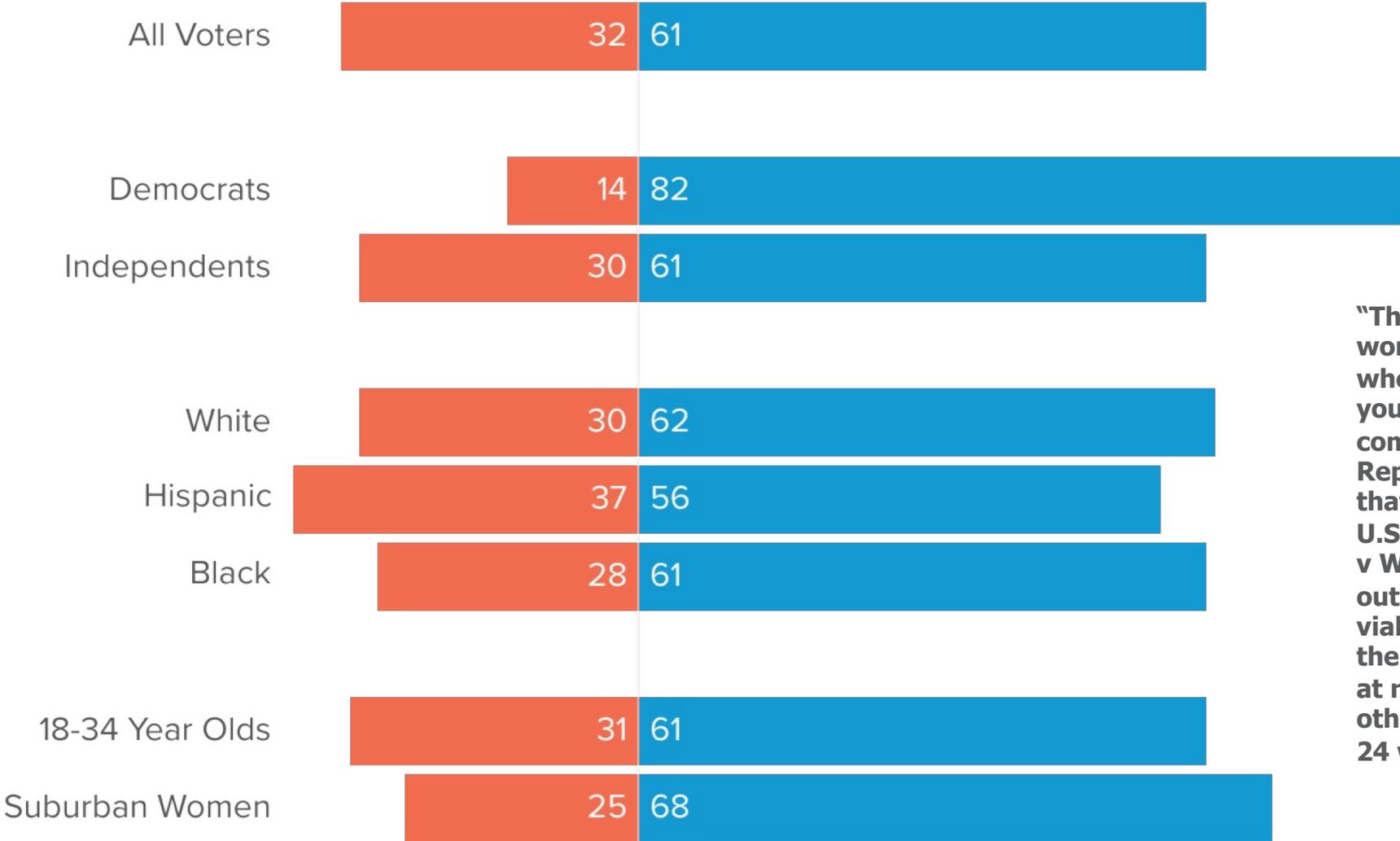
● Approve ● Disapprove



“Do you approve or disapprove of the recent decision by the majority in the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn Roe v. Wade and rule there is no Constitutional right to an abortion?”

Support for the Reproductive Freedom for All Act

● Support ● Oppose



“There are nearly 22 million women and children in states where abortion is prohibited. Do you support a bipartisan compromise bill – the Reproductive Freedom for All Act – that has been introduced in the U.S. Senate that would codify Roe v Wade by prohibiting states from outlawing abortion prior to fetal viability and in instances where the health or life of the mother is at risk, but would allow states to otherwise restrict abortions after 24 weeks?”

FM Launching Reproductive Freedom Advocacy

Future Majority recommends Congress take action to restore the provisions of *Roe* by passing legislation that will establish baseline federal abortion rights

This legislation will restore the freedoms guaranteed by *Roe* and protect access to contraception as the fight for full reproductive freedom continues.



Dems Must Continue to Oppose Republican Policies

The Freedom Frame is an effective argument on abortion and other individual healthcare rights

Do you believe every woman has the **freedom** to choose for herself if, when and with whom to start or grow a family?

Yes, believe 81
No, do not believe 12
Not sure 7

Do agree or disagree that a woman should have the **freedom** to choose whether to carry a pregnancy to term?

Total Agree 60
Total Disagree 34
Not sure 6

Do you think women should have the **freedom** to choose to have safe and legal abortions in all 50 states?

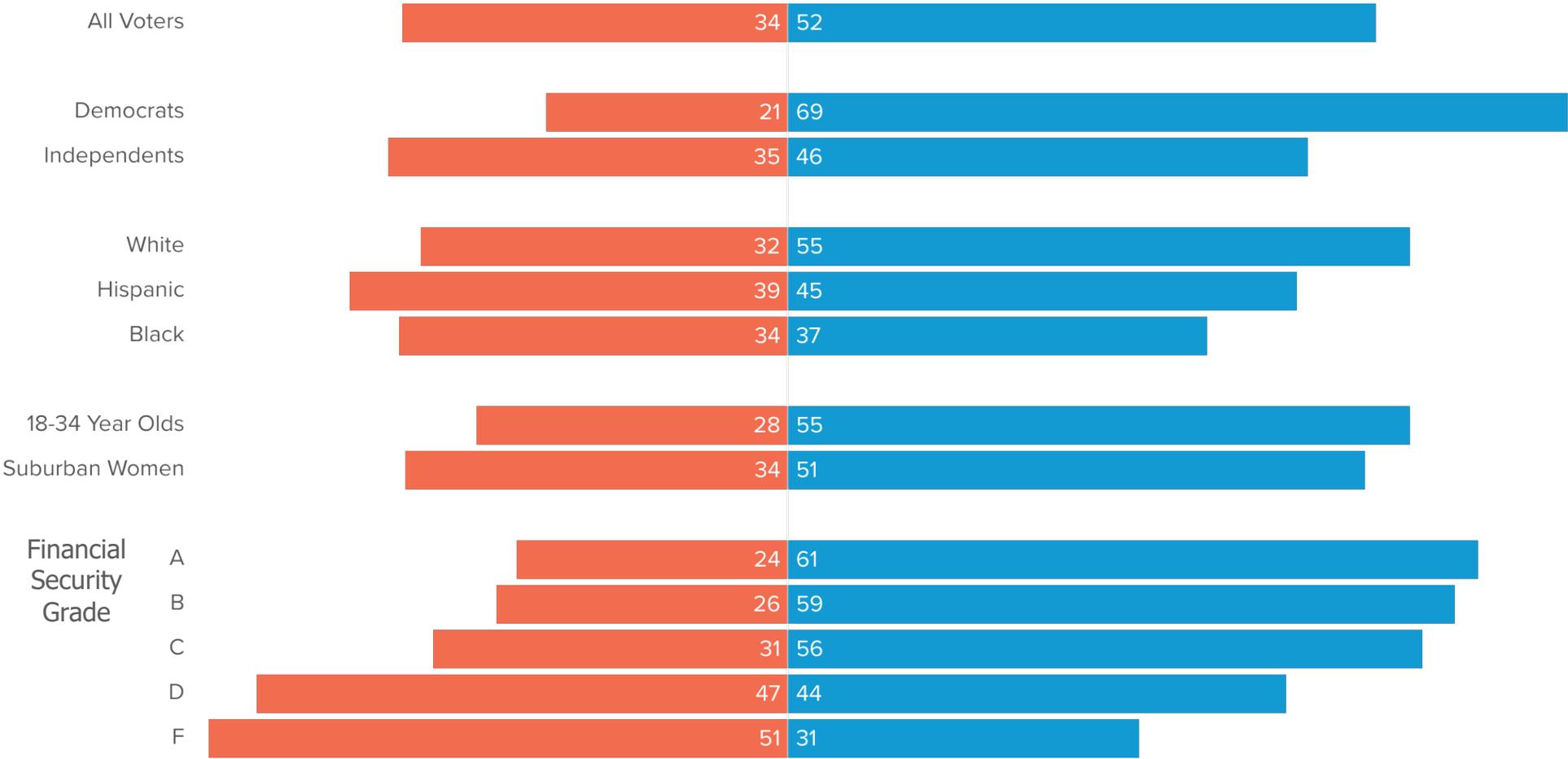
Yes, they should 59
No, they should not 30
Not sure 11

Security

Americans want to be secure in every aspect of their lives. Most voters feel safe in the community, but fewer feel safe in America broadly and want solutions

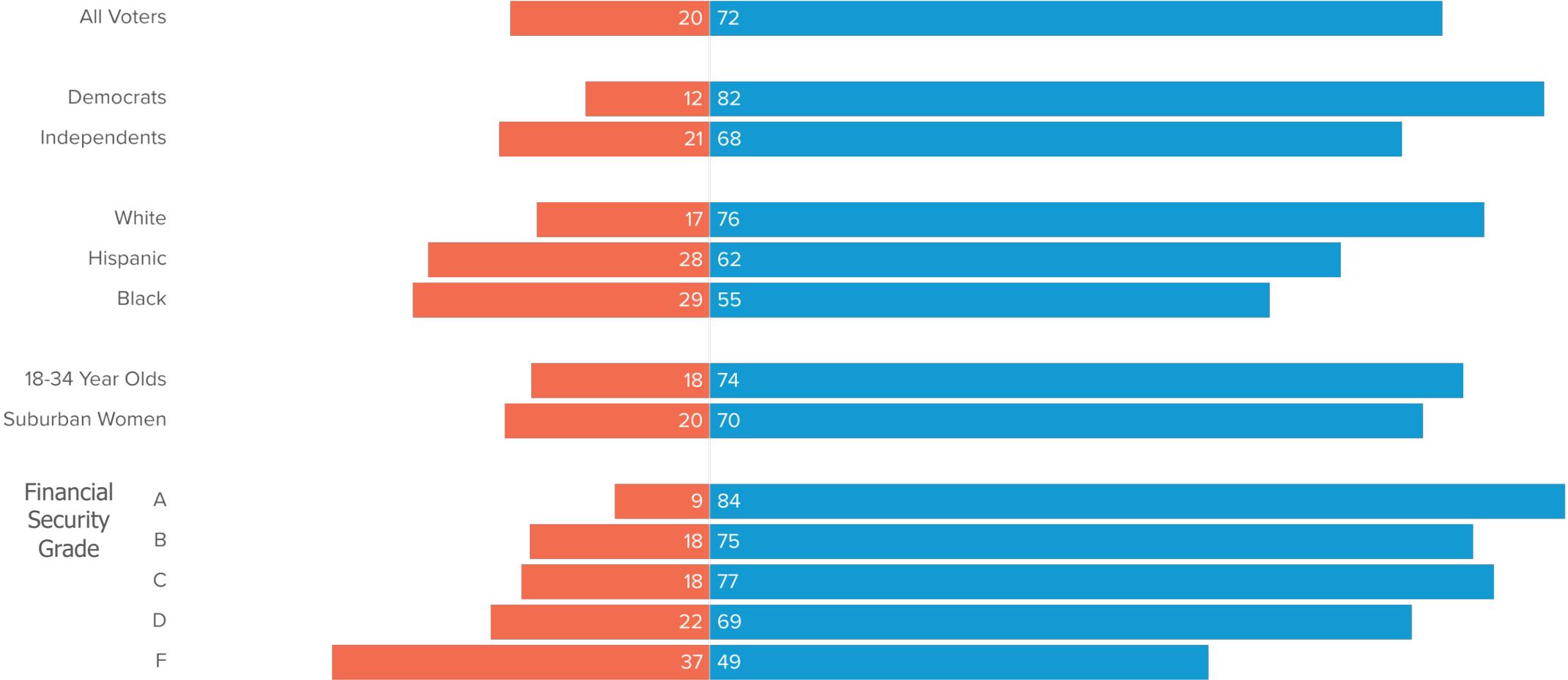
Do You and Your Family Feel Safe in America?

● Yes ● No



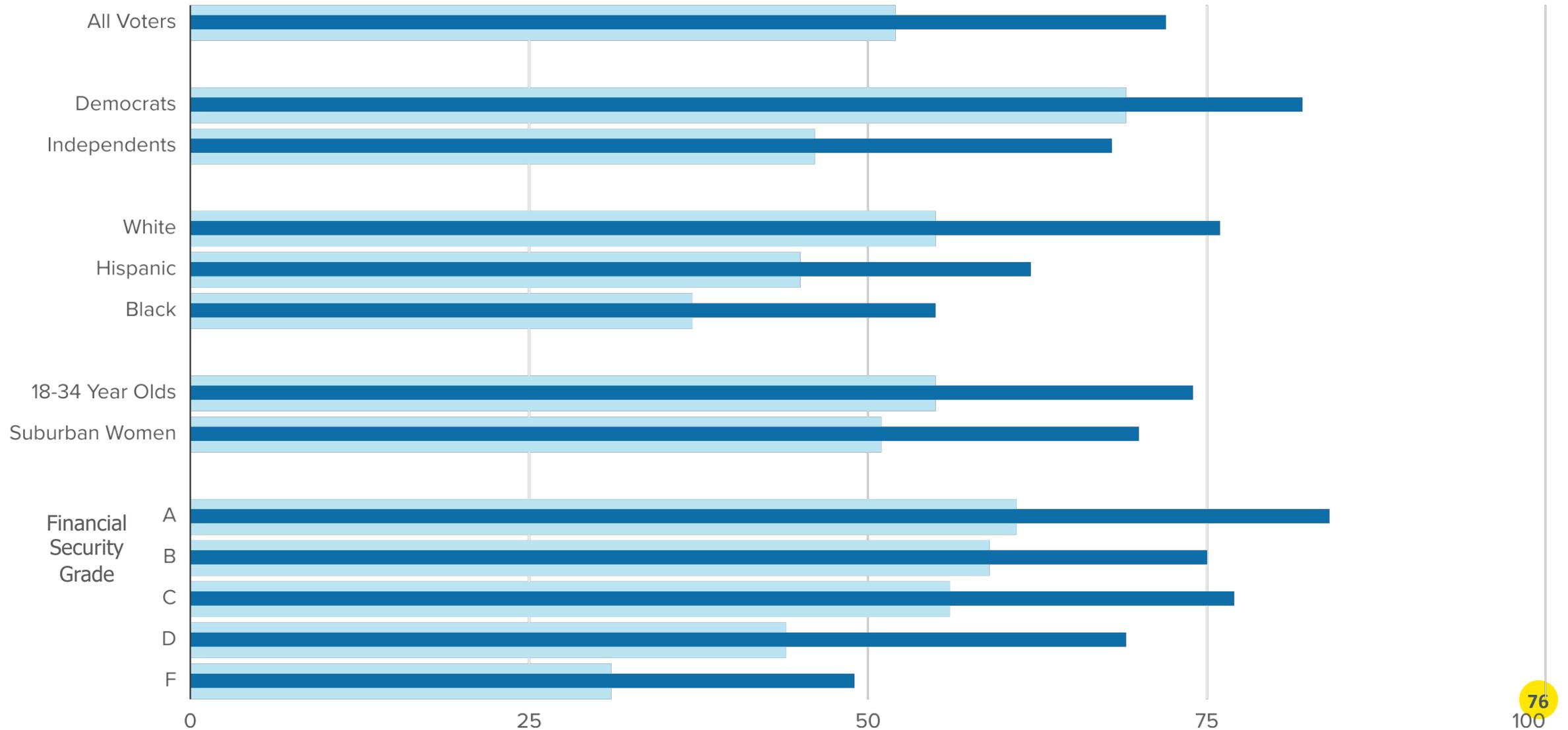
Do You and Your Family Feel Safe in Your Community?

● Yes ● No

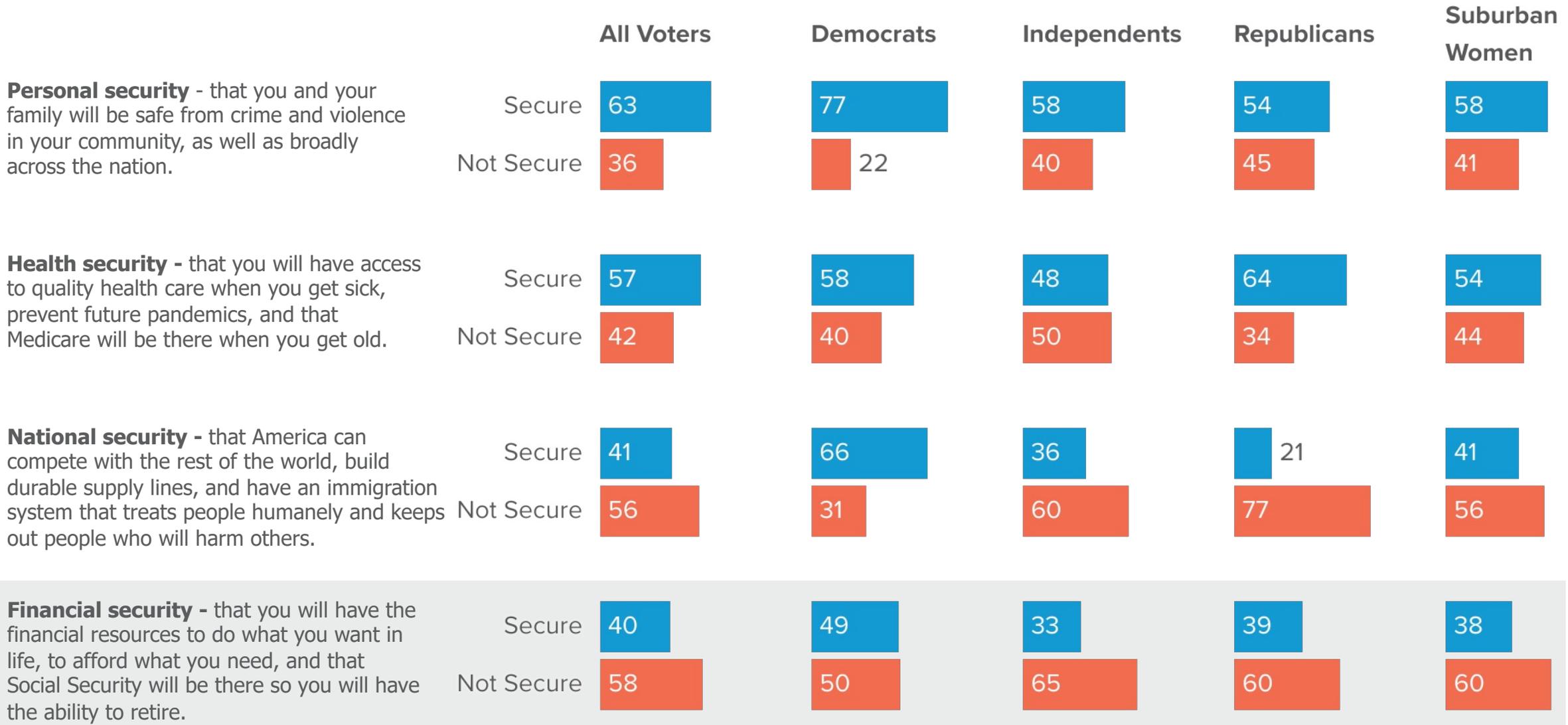


People Feel Safer in Their Communities

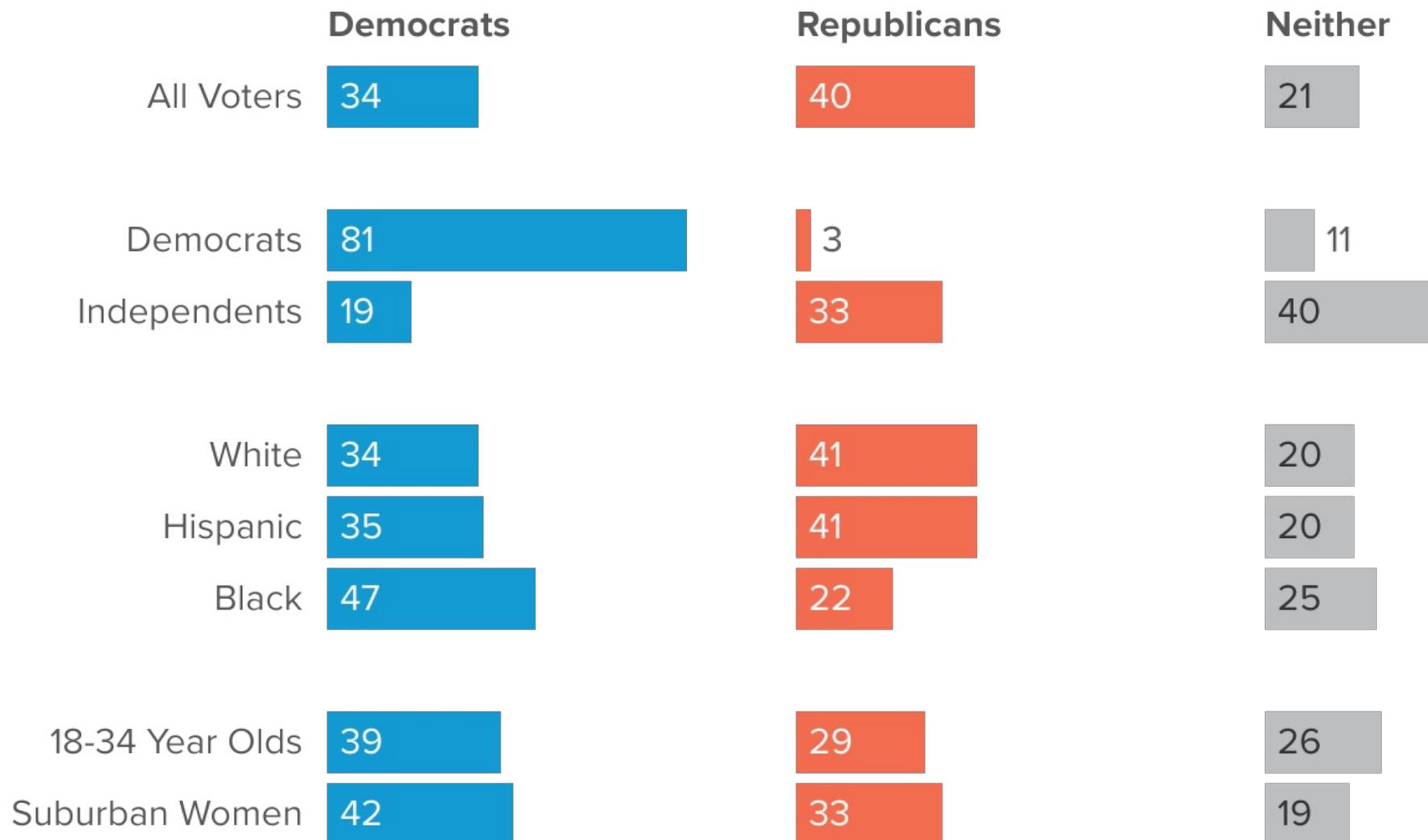
America Community



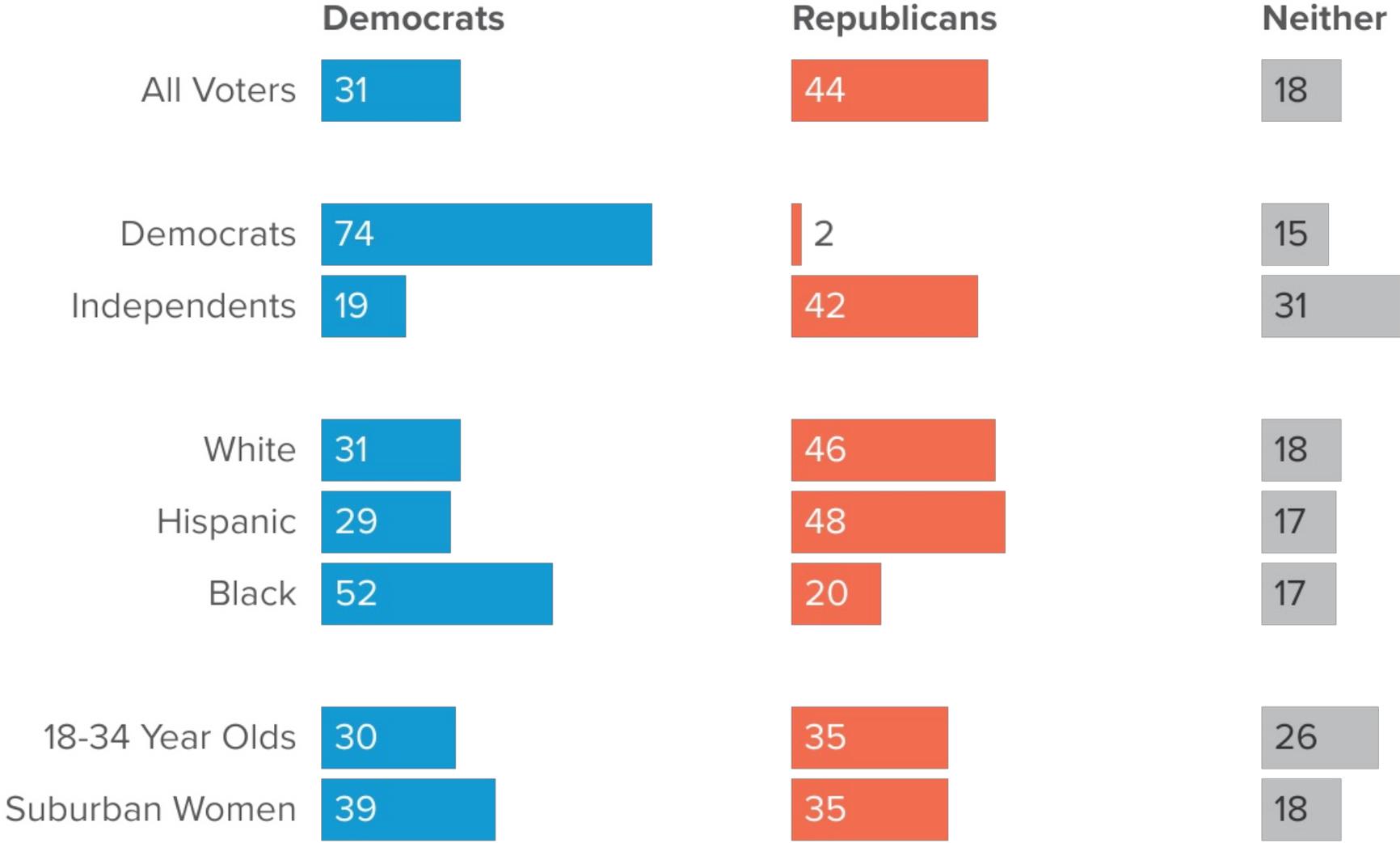
How Secure People Feel on Various Measures



Which Group is More Likely to Make You More Secure?



Which Group is More Likely to Make The Country More Secure?

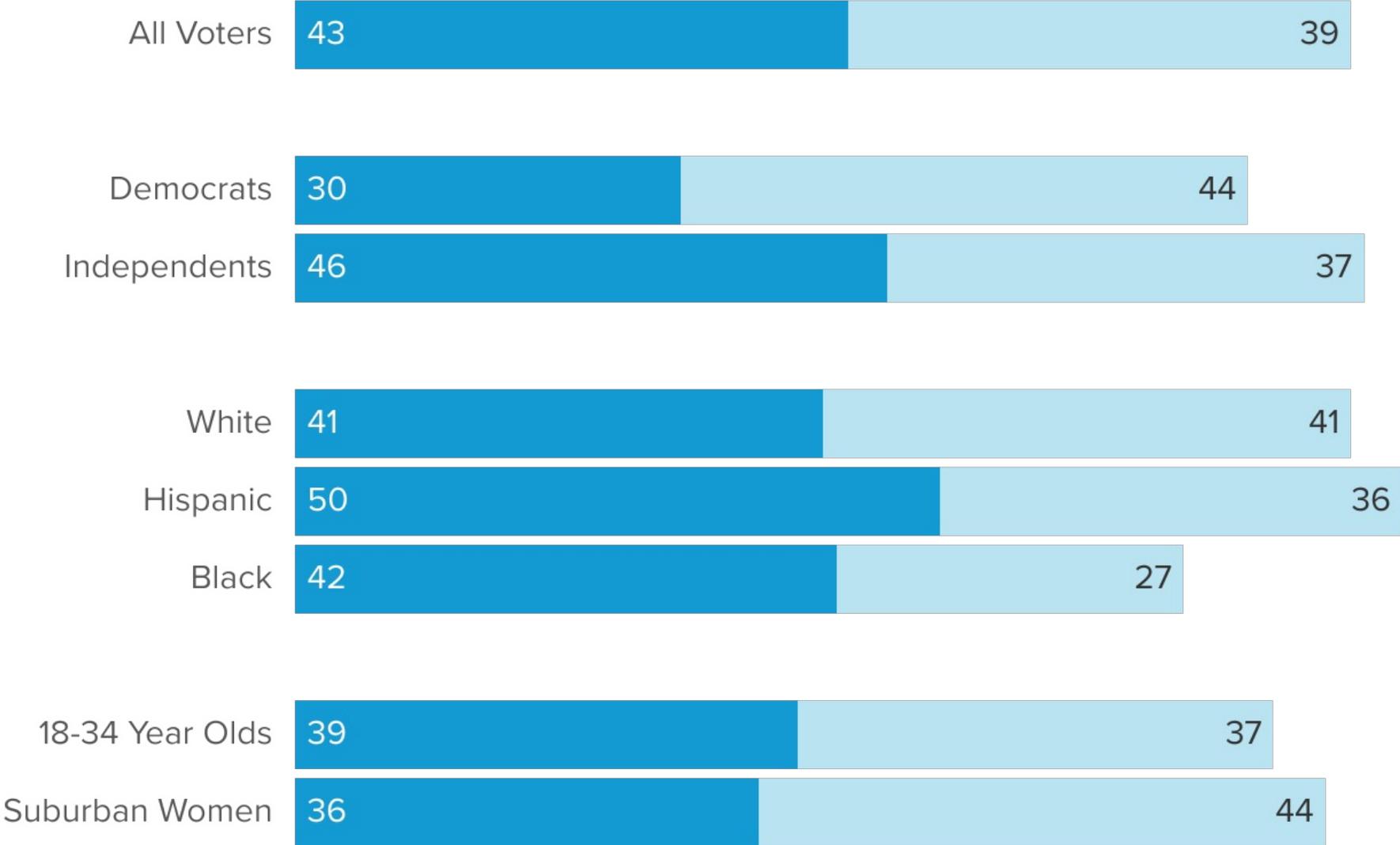


Anti-Corruption

When more than 80% of voters think political corruption impacts their life, Democrats should not miss opportunities to define today's Republicans as corrupt obstructionists. Since our founding, Future Majority has advocated for Democrats to embrace a stronger position on anti-corruption and ethics measures

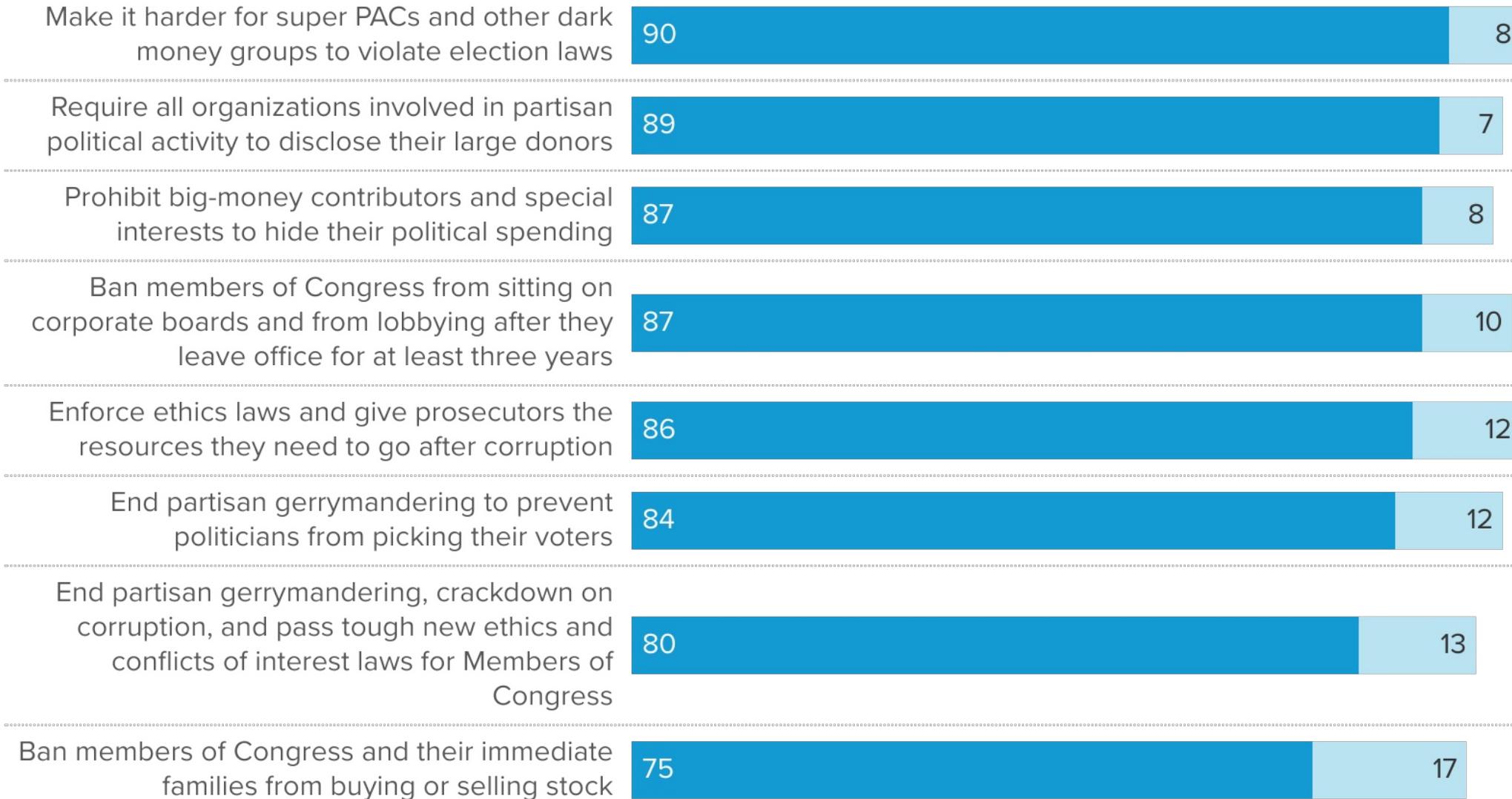
How Much Do You Believe Political Corruption Impacts Your Daily Life?

● A lot ● Some



Support for Anti-Corruption Proposals

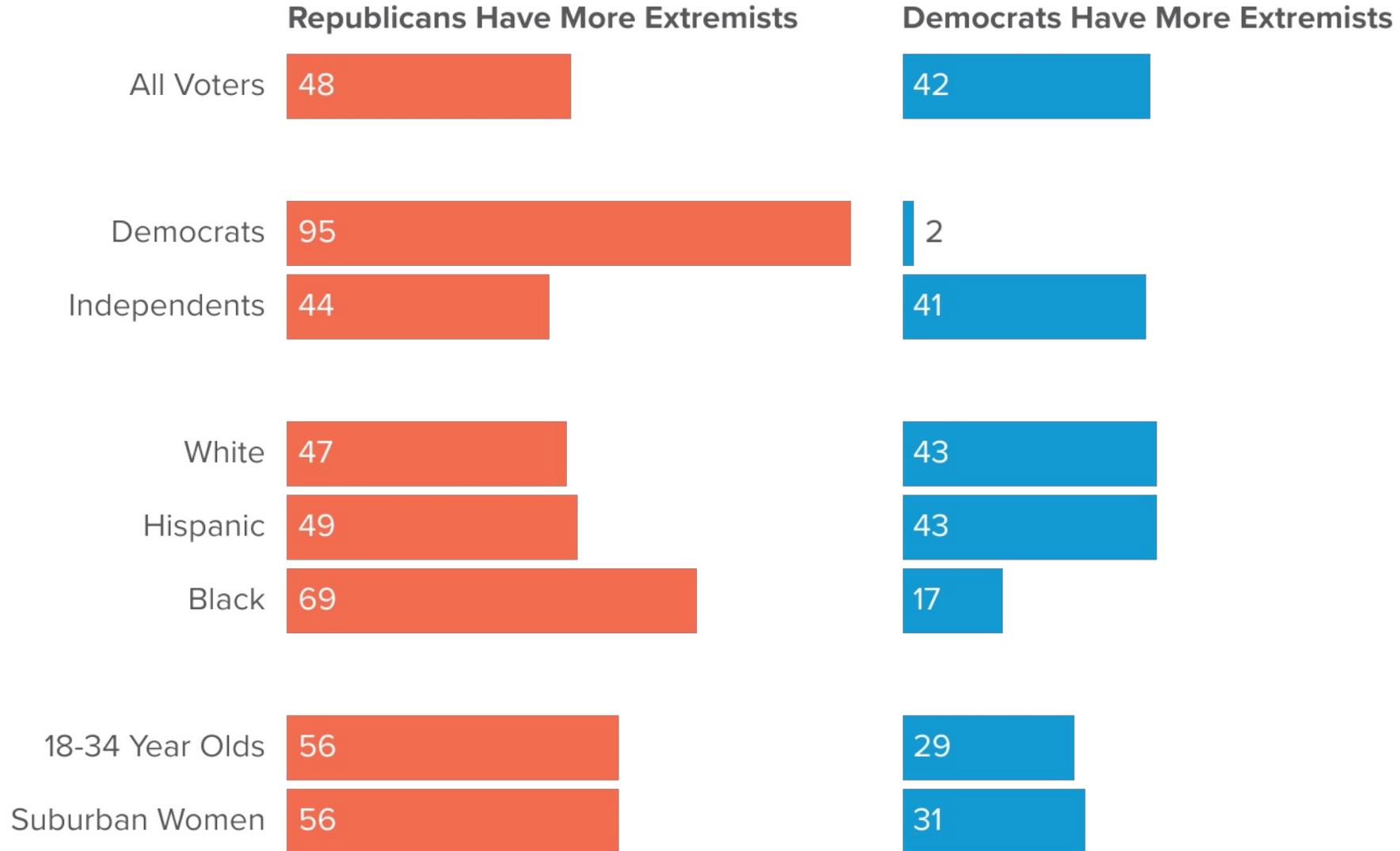
● Strongly Support ● Somewhat Support



Contrast Opportunities

Democrats cannot count on Republicans to remain too extreme and must show how they will fight for American's individual and economic freedoms. But while the Republican Congress focuses on right wing fringe conspiracy theories, Democrats can challenge the Republicans as too extreme, too corrupt, and too power hungry to govern

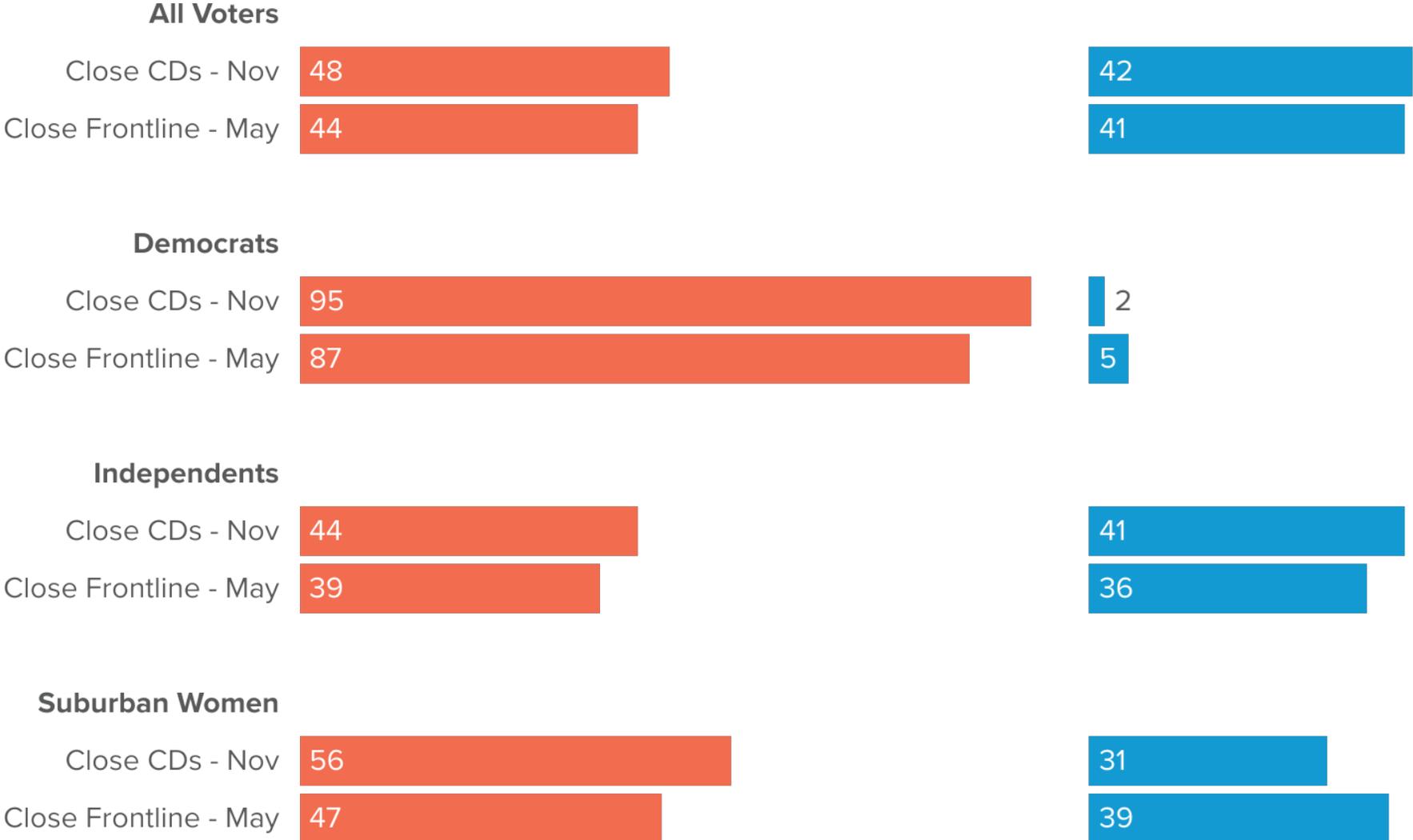
Which Group Has More Extremists?



Which Group Has More Extremists?

Republicans Have More Extremists

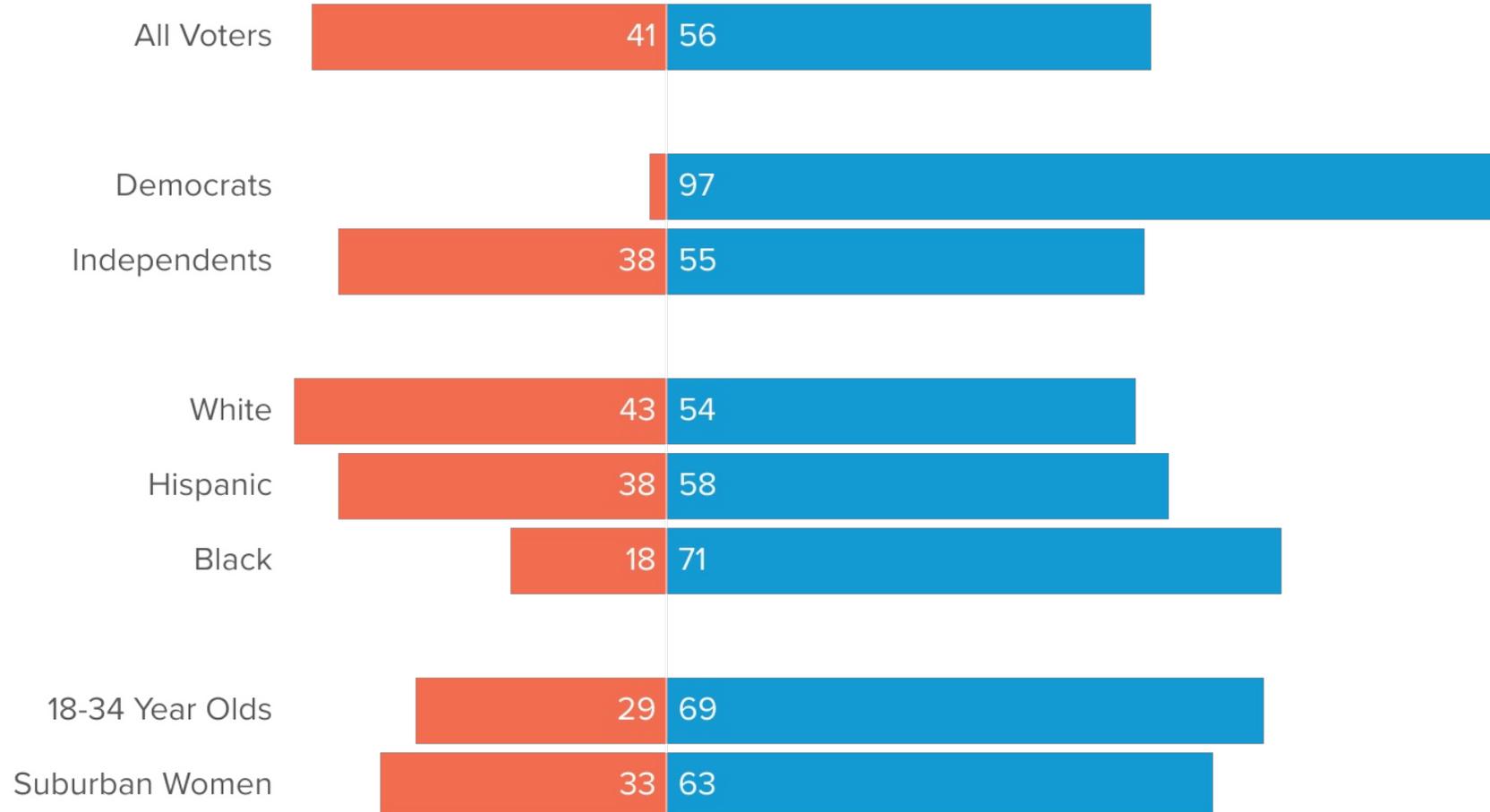
Democrats Have More Extremists



Agreement with Statement

"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."

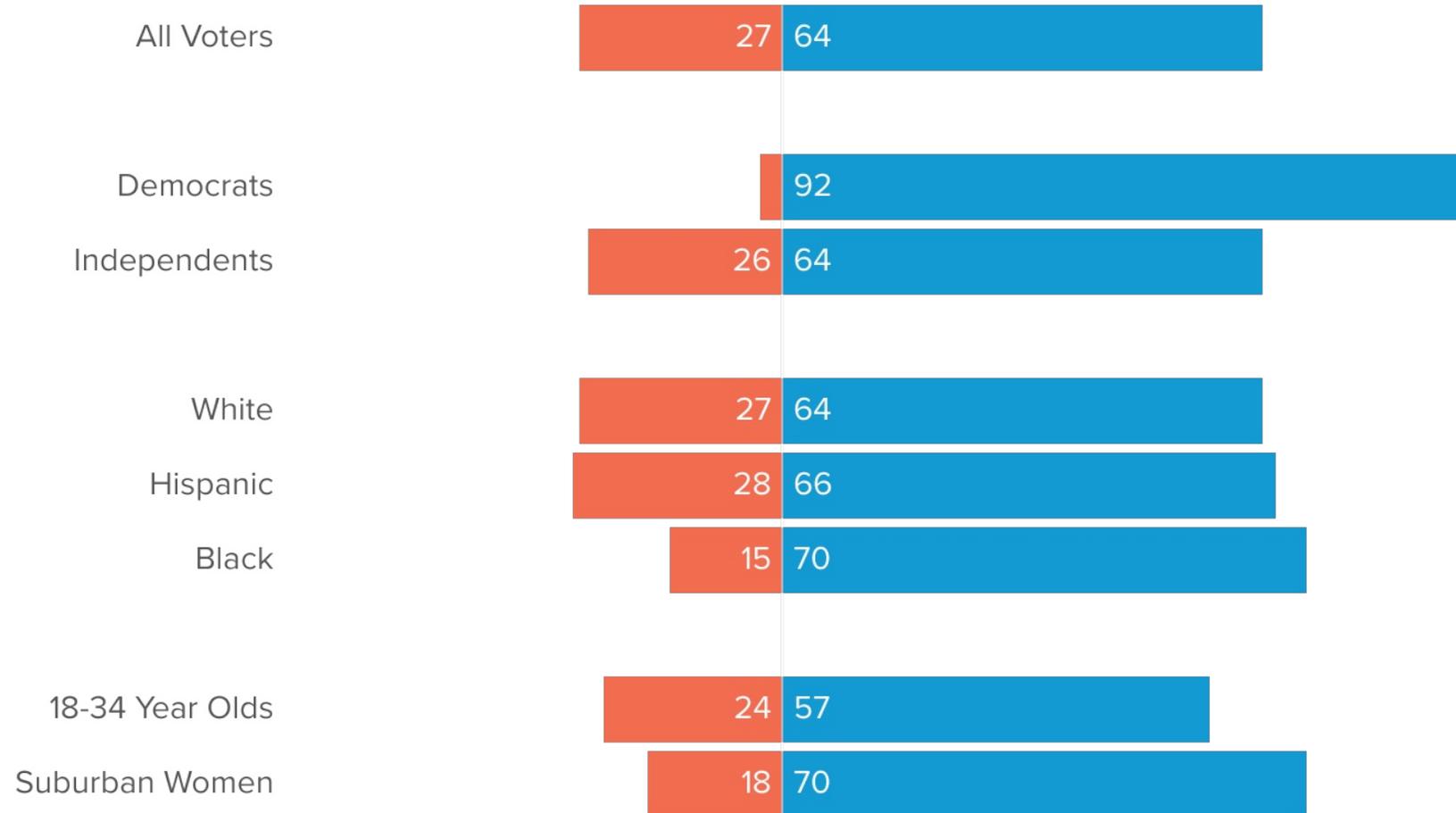
● Agree ● Disagree



Concern about Republicans and the Debt Ceiling

“How concerned are you that Republicans in Congress could force a default on the federal debt in order to pass cuts to Social Security and Medicare?”

● Concerned ● Not Concerned



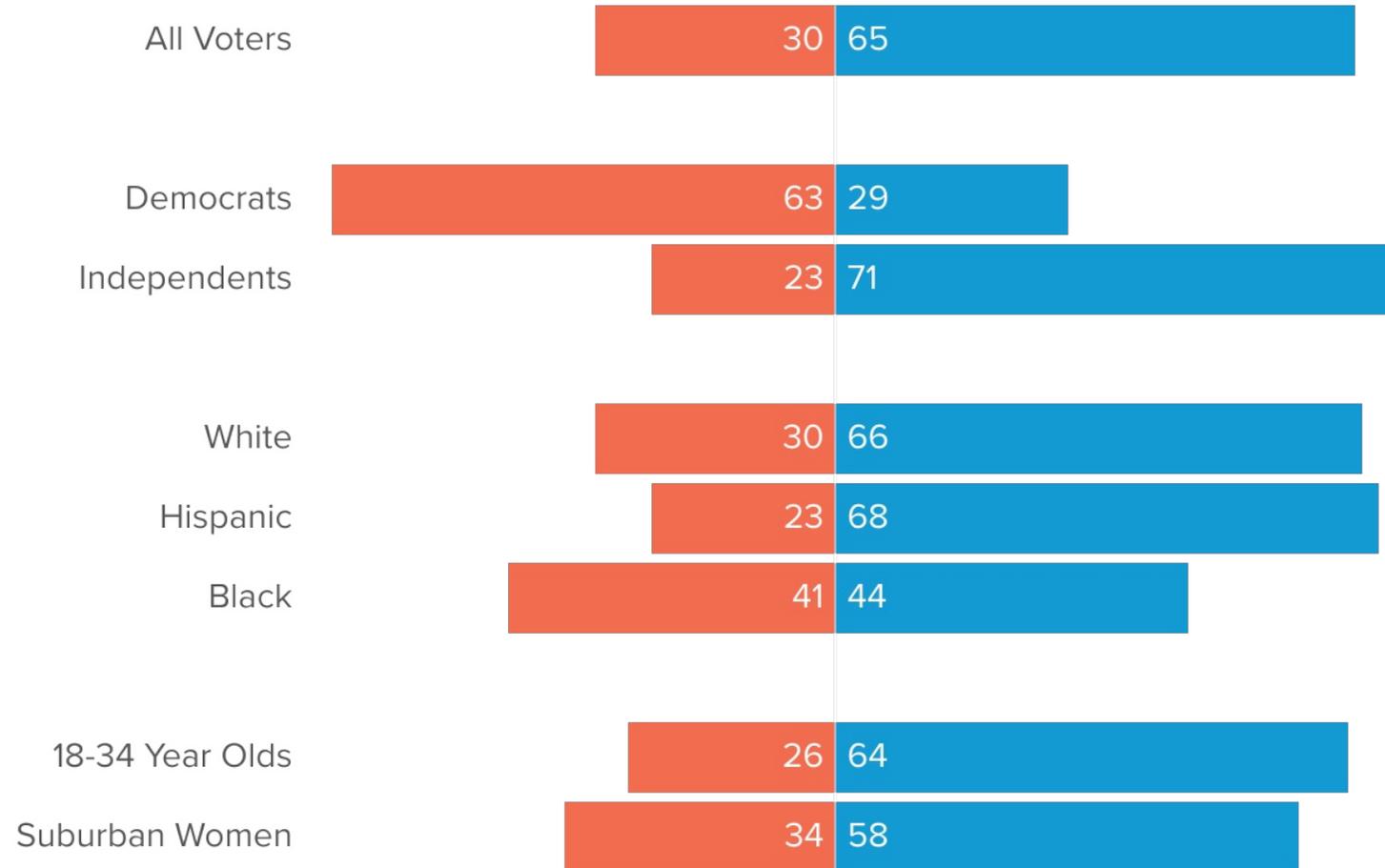
Democrats' Vulnerabilities

Voters are concerned that Democrats don't have the right answers on some of the top issues influencing their vote

Concern about Democrats and the Debt Ceiling

“How concerned are you that Democrats in Congress have no plan to reduce the federal debt and will continue spending until the economy collapses?”

● Concerned ● Not Concerned



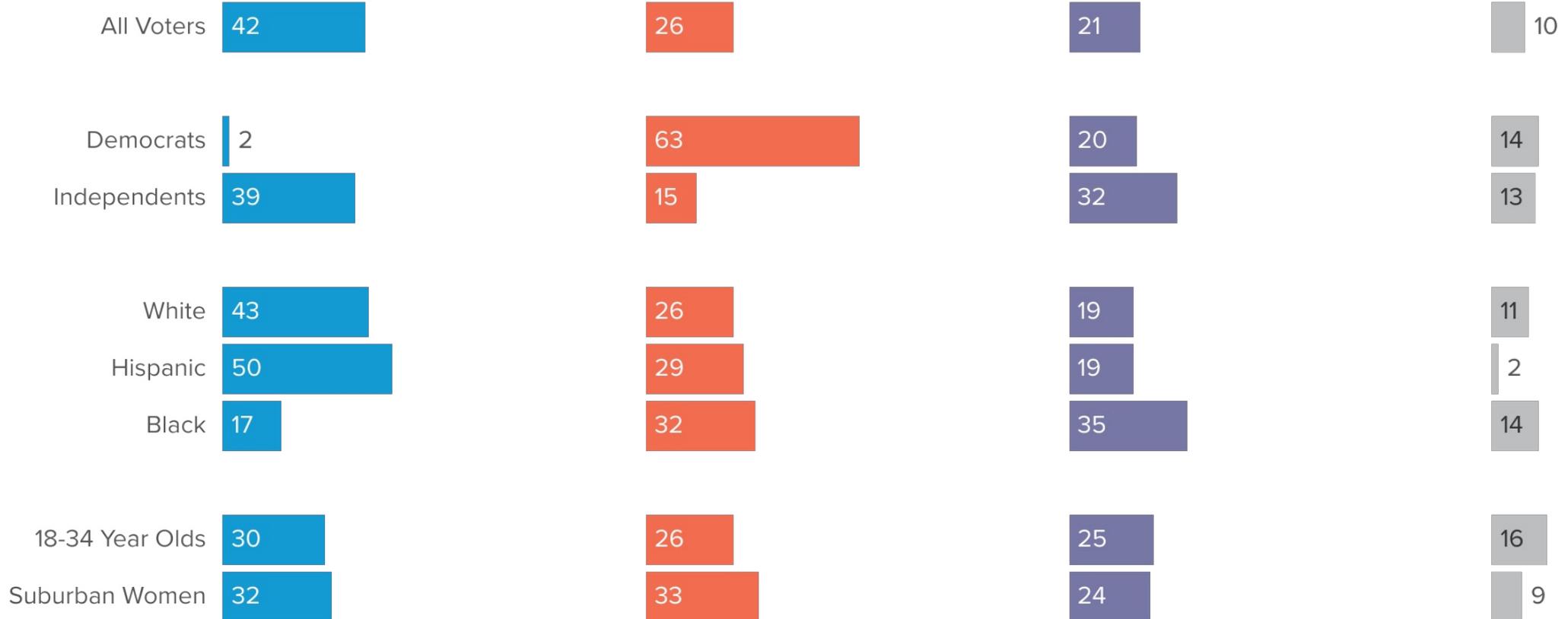
Who Do You Blame for Rising Crime Rates?

Democrats in Washington and in large cities who are soft on crime, want to defund the police, and who do nothing to stop the flood of illegal immigrants, drugs, and weapons crossing the border.

Republicans in Washington and in state legislatures who block gun reforms to keep criminals from getting guns and who voted against critical funding of local police departments

Both are equally responsible

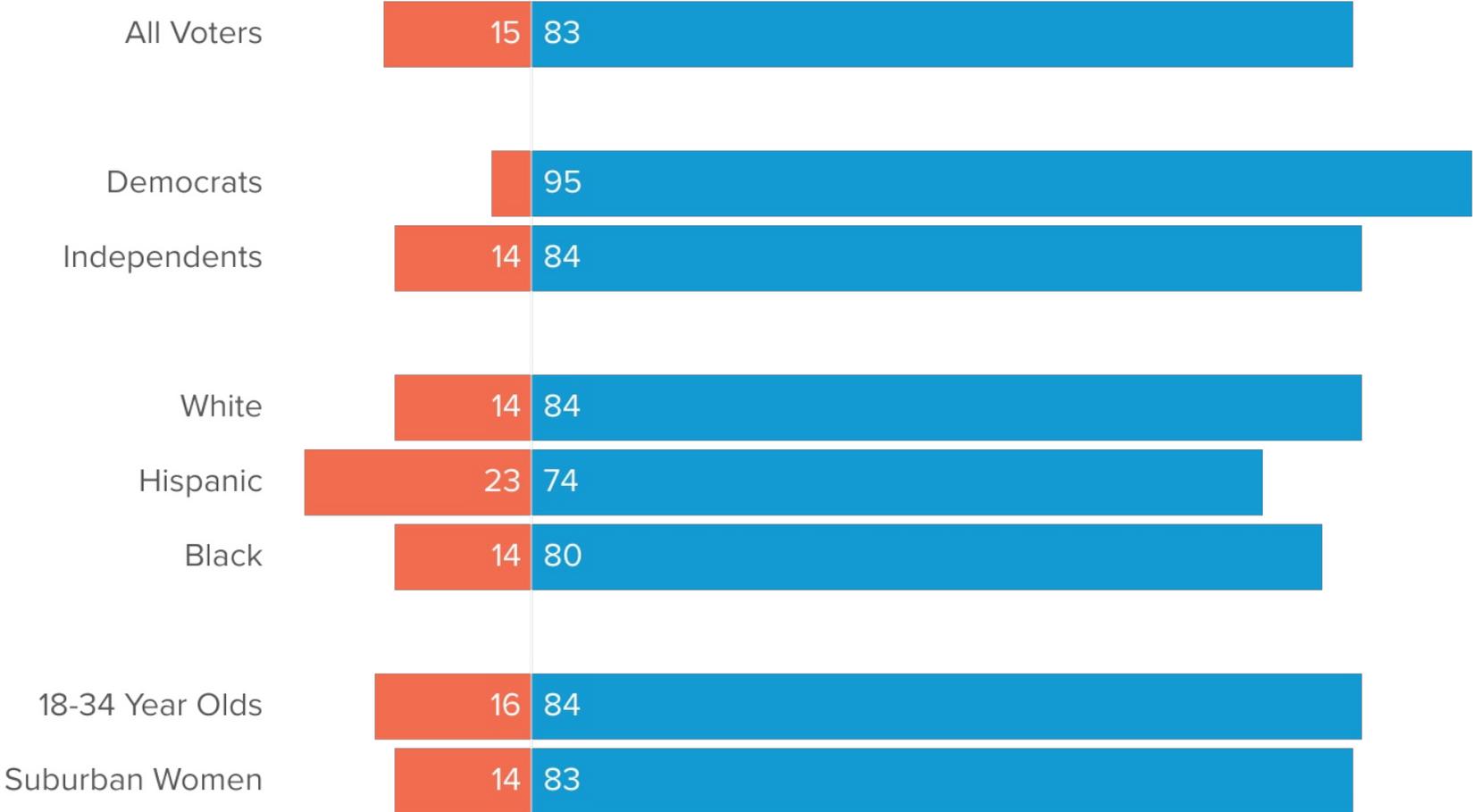
Neither of these



Agreement with Statement about Immigration

“America has an obligation to the people trying to come to this country to treat them with respect and decency, process their application quickly if they are legally eligible to immigrate to America, and to deny access to those who would harm Americans.”

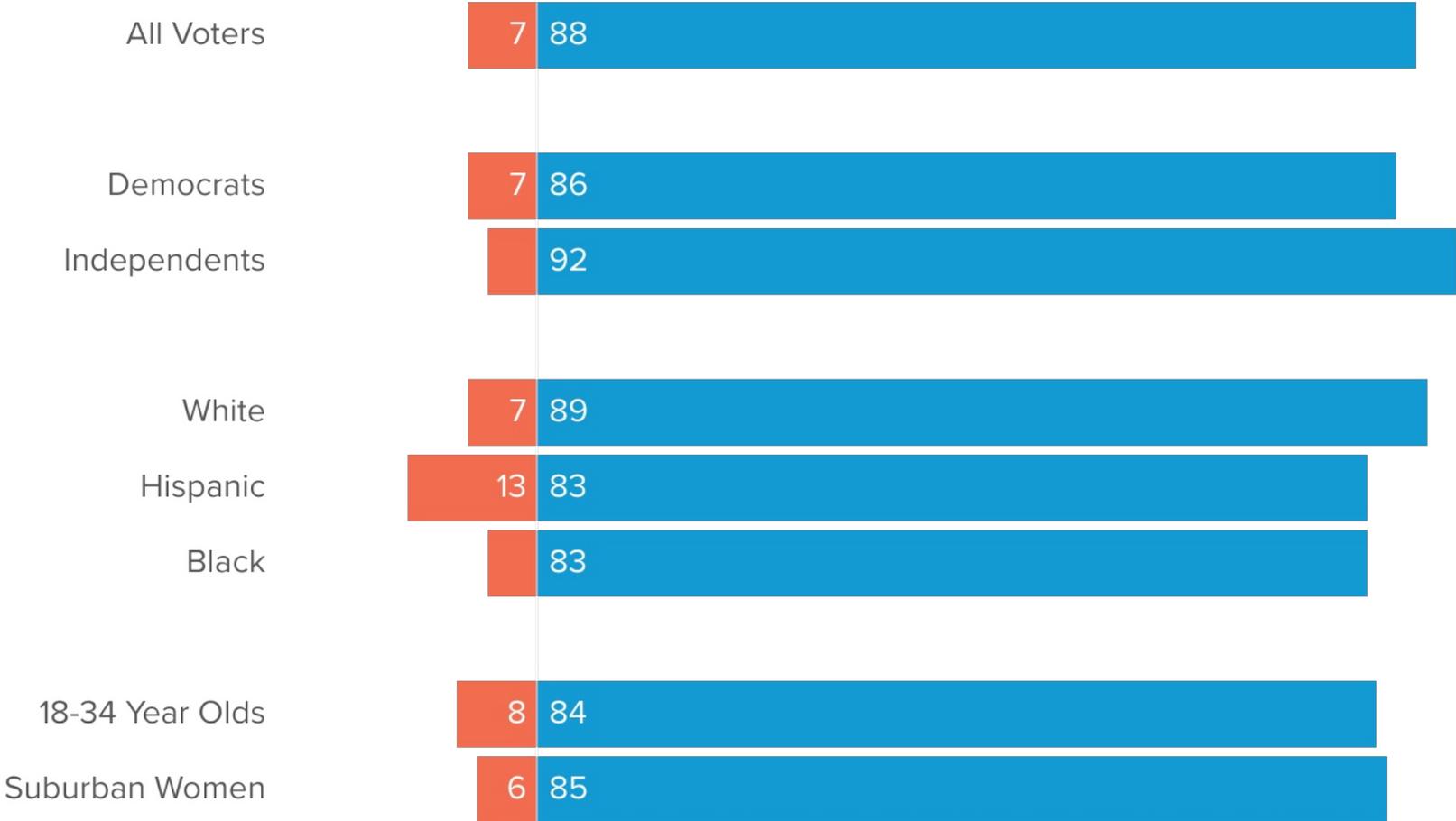
● Agree ● Disagree



Agreement with Statement about Immigration

“People in Washington DC only really care about having issues they can campaign on and attack the other side with. Take immigration. Instead of reforming the system so people are treated humanely, have applications of those here legally processed quickly, and doing proper vetting to keep dangerous people out of the country, the politicians do nothing while things keep getting worse. This has to stop.”

● Agree ● Disagree



Previous Future Majority Reports

For reference and background, the following reports provide additional context and data on other areas of voter opinion we have studied since the 2020 Election:

- 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](#))
- The Playbook: The Next 100 Days of Governing ([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](#))
- Winning the Future Study ([July 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](#))
- 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](#))
- Pursuing Pennsylvania: A Look Into What Gives in the Keystone State ([October 2021](#))
- Investment and Growth Memo ([November 22, 2021](#))
- Investment and Growth vs. Chaos and Corruption ([November 2021](#))
- North Carolina: A Look into What Gives in the Tar Heel State ([September 2021](#))
- The Truth Study ([November 2021](#))
- Swing State Voter Survey ([January 16, 2022](#))
- Message and Strategy Recommendations ([January 23, 2022](#))
- Critical Takeaways from Deep Research into Americans for the Midterms and 2024 ([January 2022](#))
- The Tipping Point Study: A Deep Look Into the Minds of Christians who Flipped From Trump to Biden ([March 2022](#))
- The Heartland Study: A Look Into What Gives in Rural America ([March 2022](#))
- Voters Reject Republican Plans ([March 2022](#))
- Swing State Voter Survey ([March 26, 2022](#))
- Tell the Story Recommendations Memo ([April 7, 2022](#))
- Congressional Democrats Playbook ([May 26, 2022](#))
- Memo: Survey of Latino Voters in Arizona, Nevada, and Pennsylvania ([May 26, 2022](#))
- Survey of Latino Voters in Arizona ([May 2022](#))
- Survey of Latino Voters in Nevada ([May 2022](#))
- Survey of Latino Voters in Pennsylvania ([May 2022](#))
- The Path for Democrats in 2022 ([June 2022](#))
- Memo: Swing States Poll ([July 5, 2022](#))
- Memo: Reproductive Freedom and Abortion Rights ([July 7, 2022](#))
- Memo: Five Ways to Lower Costs ([July 18, 2022](#))
- The Playbook for Democrats ([July 2022](#))
- Memo: Evangelical Voters ([July 2022](#))
- Cross State Media Study ([August 2022](#))
- Memo: Voter Attitudes on Abortion and Freedom ([August 2022](#))
- Memo: Voter Attitudes on CHIPS, Made in America, & Competitiveness ([August 17, 2022](#))
- Memo: Voter Attitudes Toward Freedom & Freedom Frame Messaging ([August 18, 2022](#))
- January 6th Insights from the Field ([September 2022](#))
- Cross State Media Study 2 ([September 2022](#))
- Animatics Report ([September 2022](#))
- Memo: Freedom Frame ([October 7, 2022](#))
- Reproductive Freedom for All Act & Protecting Abortion Rights ([October 2022](#))



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