

The Playbook

How Democrats win by making American Workers
the hero of our story and reclaiming the word Freedom

About Future Majority

Future Majority was founded in 2017 to fill the critical need for an outside, non-biased, data-driven strategy center focused on brand, storytelling, and policy to advise leaders as they think about issues, campaigning, and governing.

Future Majority's team of top-level political leaders, policy professionals, investors, cutting edge researchers, and social media and creative experts are focused on fulfilling that mission. We are especially grateful to our investors who make our work possible.

To date, Future Majority, and our affiliated super PAC America's Future Majority Fund, have surveyed 74,911 voters in battleground states and competitive districts, and conducted focus groups in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

We are honored to be part of the national research table, learning from a variety of terrific inquiry. Our leadership team helped found Unite the Country super PAC (the only pro-Joe Biden super PAC in the primary), which did extensive electoral research.

In short, we have reviewed a lot of data.

**To discuss more, contact
Mark Riddle at Mark.Riddle@FutureMajority.org**

Five Recommendations

- 1. Governing is the Message.** Democrats are in charge of the federal government and it is time to deliver for working people – defeating coronavirus and saving the economy would go a long way toward Biden’s unity message. Voters do not tolerate excuses and they currently do not think government is working for them. They think the government is corrupt, bought off, and that they don’t have a voice in it.
- 2. Define the Hero of the Story.** Democrats win when the hero of the story is the American worker. President Joe Biden understands this to his core. We should follow his lead. Our video that was crafted by the top writers in the world called [“Built Not Bought”](#) captures this ethos.
- 3. Don’t Cede the word “Freedom.”** From day one Future Majority has advocated that Democrats not give the basic American word “freedom” to the Republican Party. It’s like giving apple pie to the Russians. Democrats continually lead with the word “justice,” however, it simply does not cut through to a majority of voters.
- 4. Understand “D” brand weakness.** The travails of the Democrats over the last 40 years have taught us that if you don’t brand yourself, you will be branded. Democrats have been victimized by the same tactics over and over again with no proper response, which is message discipline. **Branding is not, and can never be, a casual exercise, based on hunches and gut feelings.** When we tested some of the best-known ones in tough swing districts across the country, there were highly negative results, predictably from Republicans, but Independents and even large portions of Democrats were allergic.
- 5. Focus on Winning.** The only goal over the next four years should be to win elections and build a long-term governing majority. If Democrats overreach, misstep, and don’t properly communicate their successes to voters, then we are likely to be back to where we were on January 6, 2021.

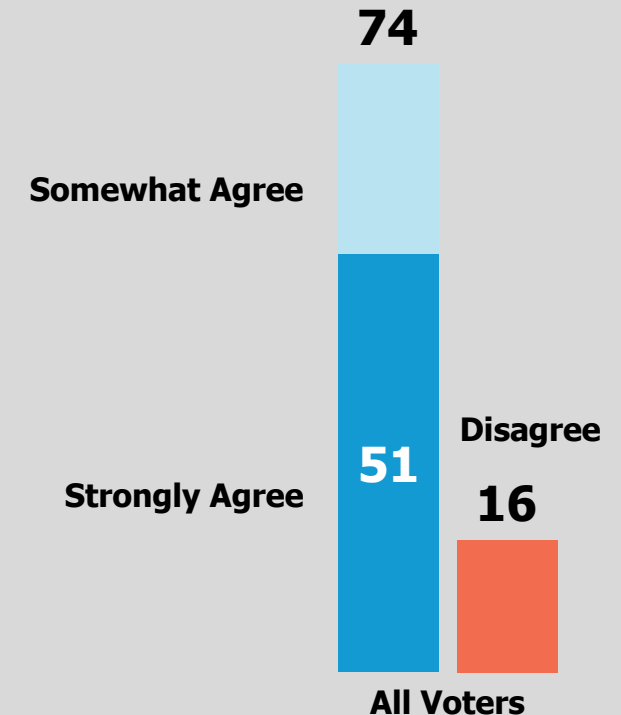
1. Governing is the Message

- A. **Beating COVID-19 is job #1.** Democrats control the federal government. The success or failure of beating back Covid-19 will be how President Biden and Democrats at all levels will be judged by voters.
- B. **The “For the People” message that the House successfully used in 2018 is still very strong across the board** – especially with Independent voters. “I am running on a ‘For the People’ agenda to clean up corruption, lower health care costs, create jobs with higher wages for workers, and rebuild our nation’s infrastructure.” In this survey, 85% of voters in the 37 congressional decided either way by 5 points would vote for or consider voting for such a candidate versus only 6% who would consider voting for someone else.
 - i. **Warning:** Time and time again Democrats fail to communicate outside the beltway to actual voters on their agenda and legislation – especially with voters in small towns and rural communities. This must be done if we are to retain the House, Senate and chip away in state races.
- C. **Progressives are right that voters are hungry for reform.** 67% say that the U.S. government and economy are “fundamentally broken and need large structural reforms.” Only 11% say that they are “basically running fine and need no significant adjustments.” 63% of voters say that the government is working not too well or not well at all in their own lives (only 6% very well). Anti-corruption reform is the most important to voters with 90% support. If we get the words correct, the voters are ready.

2. The Hero: American Worker

- A. Using phrases like "**Working for Working People**" performs well with Democrats. 73% agree with this slogan vs. 3% who are against it. 56% of voters would vote for or consider a candidate that speaks to the "**dignity of work**" versus only 9% against.
- B. Democrats should also continue to use words that give agency to working families like "**Build.**" President Biden's campaign used this messaging in ads titled "Let's Build the Future" and "Build Back Better."

"Our government should be implementing more policies to value the dignity of work – the idea that hard work should pay off for every American, no matter who you are or what kind of work you do. But wages have been flat and the cost of everything, from rent to an education to health care is going up. When our work has dignity, Americans have the economic security they need to start a family, pay for childcare and college, take time off when they are sick, and save for retirement."



Competitive US House Districts – October 2020

2. The Hero: American Worker

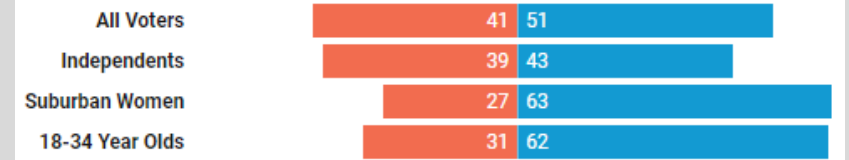
C. Democrats Should Emphasize Investing in Working People.

The data shows voters are eager for investment in working people.

Future Majority recommends emphasizing policies that create well-paying, often unionized, jobs that will give hardworking Americans a fair shot at building their American Dream. Our short film [Built Not Bought](#) and Smart Capitalism policy proposal conveys two narratives that voters responded to positively.

"I will work with Joe Biden to Build Back Better. Build a modern infrastructure of roads and bridges, energy grids and schools, and universal broadband. Build a clean energy future to meet the climate crisis. Build on American manufacturing and innovation to create more high paying jobs."

Vote for Someone Else Vote for That Candidate



Competitive US House Districts – Dec. 2020 / Jan 2021



Future Majority's ["Built Not Bought"](#) captures the ethos of making the worker the hero of the story



["Smart Capitalism"](#) outlines policies Democrats should support to invest in working families

3. Don't Cede the word "Freedom"

- A. **57% of voters cite "freedom" as the more important value to them versus 35% who cite "justice."** We are not saying to dismiss the importance of words like justice and equality; which are so critical to Democrats; however, we must define core issues around economic and personal freedom in order to expand the electorate.
- B. **Personal freedom is ranked as more important to voters than economic freedom** (66% to 23%, 12% not sure). This cuts across age, race, party, community type and gender. Personal freedom is also a major driver of the vote for Independent voters.
- C. **However, Democrats can win on an economic freedom message that unites all groups.** 77% agree that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence." In addition, "Freedom" is far and away more important to voters than "capitalism" (79% vs. 11%).
- D. **Democrats also can win by framing health care around freedom.** 80%+ of voters in Battleground States Minnesota, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire agree with the statement "Having health care gives me the freedom to build a better future."
- E. **60% of Independents say freedom is most important for a candidate to value.** Independents are crucial to winning.

4. Understand the “D” Brand Weakness

- A. **Let’s start with how we talk about ourselves. “Justice Democrat” and “Progressive Democrat” receive strong backlash with all voters.** (25% for/45% against and 35% for/50% against, respectively). Just 50% of Democrats themselves in these tough swing districts would consider or vote for a candidate that led with “Justice Democrat.” 75% of Democrats support “Progressive Democrat” but there is intense backlash among Independents (56% would vote for someone else). The idea that young people are drawn by these ideas is just that a myth. Only 25% of young voters would vote for a “Justice Democrat” versus 39% who wouldn’t.
- i. **Latest example:** “Defund the Police” is overwhelmingly negative. Only 20% of voters would vote for or consider voting for a candidate with the slogan, including only 41% of Democrats. The phrase backlashes with voters of color and white voters alike, including a sharp rebuke among people of color 65 years and older (13% for/75% against). Once again, despite Twitter wisdom, just 34% of all voters under 34 years old support the phrase.
- B. **It is also important to look at how Independent voters view the “Democratic Party.”** Pure Independents, a small (7-10%) share of the electorate, tend to determine the margins and outcomes in competitive states give the “Democratic Party” a minus 42 rating. (16% positive, 58% negative). While the “Republican Party” is also viewed negatively, it is viewed 13 points more favorably. The “Party” suffers when defined by terms written above.

Continued...

4. Understand the “D” Brand Weakness

- C. In addition, many hot-button progressive policy snapshots produce a negative backlash with Independent voters, even while some are popular with Democrats. **We have to do a better job on language.**
- i. “Open Borders” (19% for/64% against); only 40% of Democrats and 17% of Independents support
 - ii. “Socialism” (24% for/59% against); 51% of Democrats and only 11% of Independents support.
 - iii. Abolishing ICE (29% support/59% against); 61% of Democrats support, 19% of Independents support
 - iv. “\$15/hour minimum wage” (44% for/43% against), extremely popular among Democrats but 53% of Independents oppose. **Focus on better jobs, better wages.**
 - v. “Building a green energy economy” (Democrats - 89% for/2% against; Independents – 37% for/44% against). **The climate agenda needs to be about the jobs of the future.**
 - vi. “Tax the rich” (51% for/34% against); 91% of Democrats support but only 38% of Independents support. Democrats should be specific on their tax plans as President-elect Biden did in the general election.

5. Focus on Winning

The only goal over the next four years should be to win elections and build a long-term governing majority. If Democrats overreach, misstep, and don't properly communicate their successes to voters, then we are likely to be back to where we were on January 6, 2021 – another day that will live in infamy.

The following slides recommend the messaging Democrats should implement to continue winning. The slides include the topline data from our governing agenda survey, brands and policy positions survey, and our deep dive into why polling has been wrong.

Joe Biden



306

270 to win

Donald Trump

232

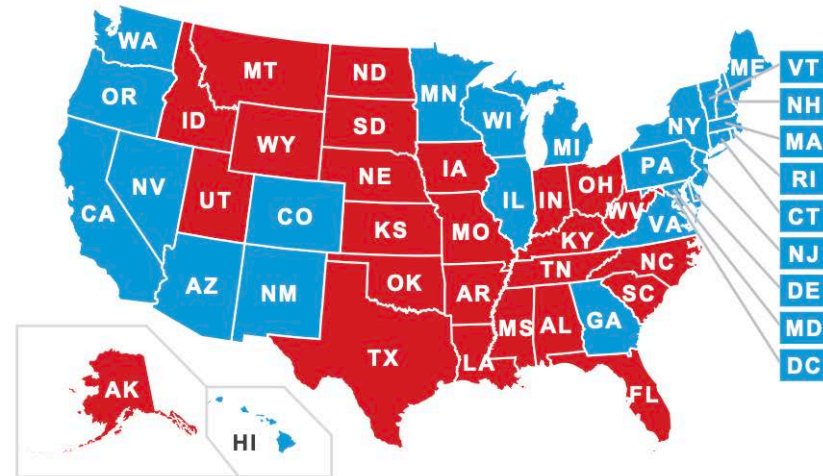


Image: Google

Key Data

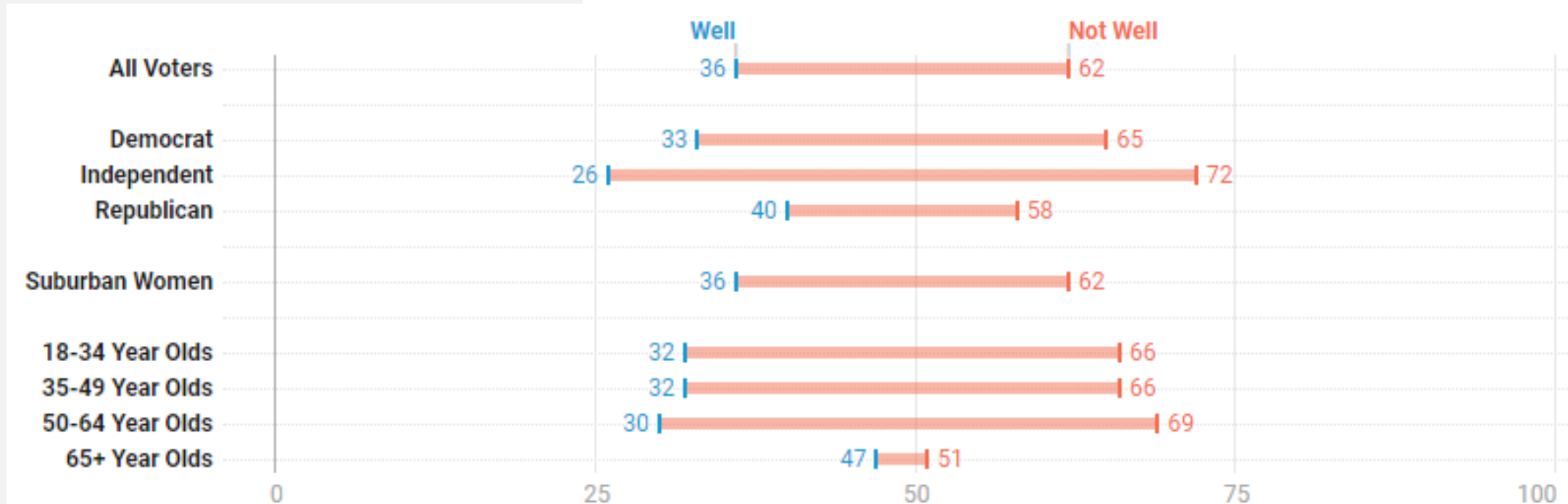
The following slides show the topline of the data we analyzed to support our recommendations for Democrats

Voters Are Negative About Government

1. Governing is the Message

Democrats are viewed as the Party of Government. Tough to win if voters have such a sour taste.

“Thinking about the US government and its role in your life, how well do you think it is working for you?”

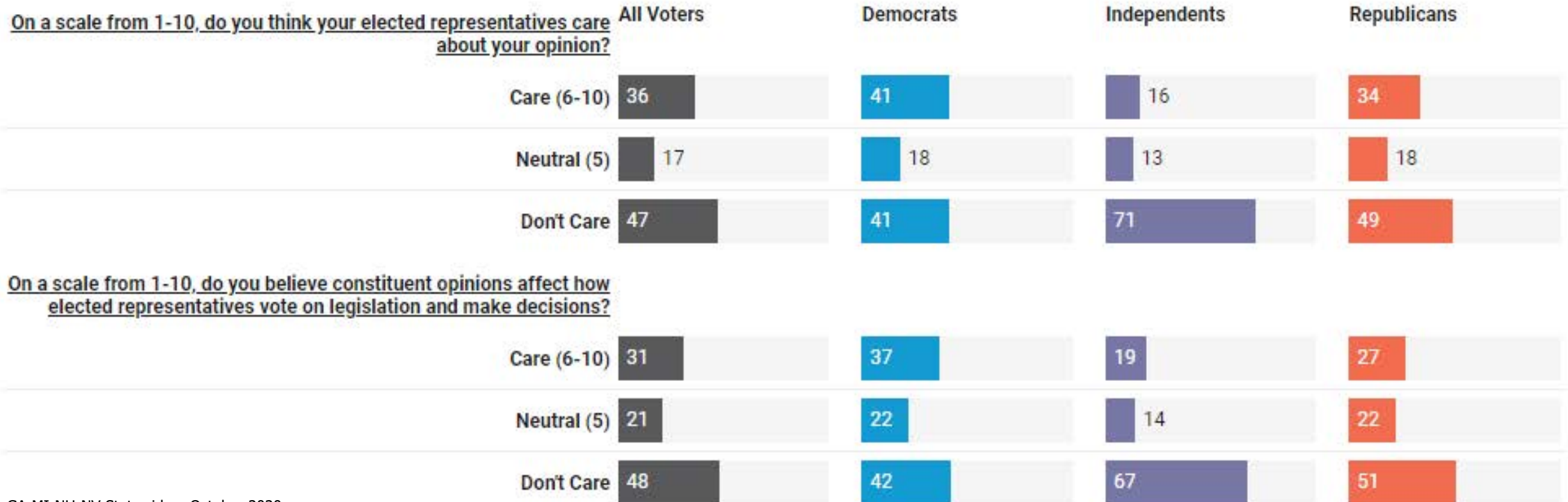


Competitive US House Districts – Dec. 2020 / Jan 2021

D's Must Make Government Work

1. Governing is the Message

Voters – particularly Independents – don't believe elected officials care about their opinion



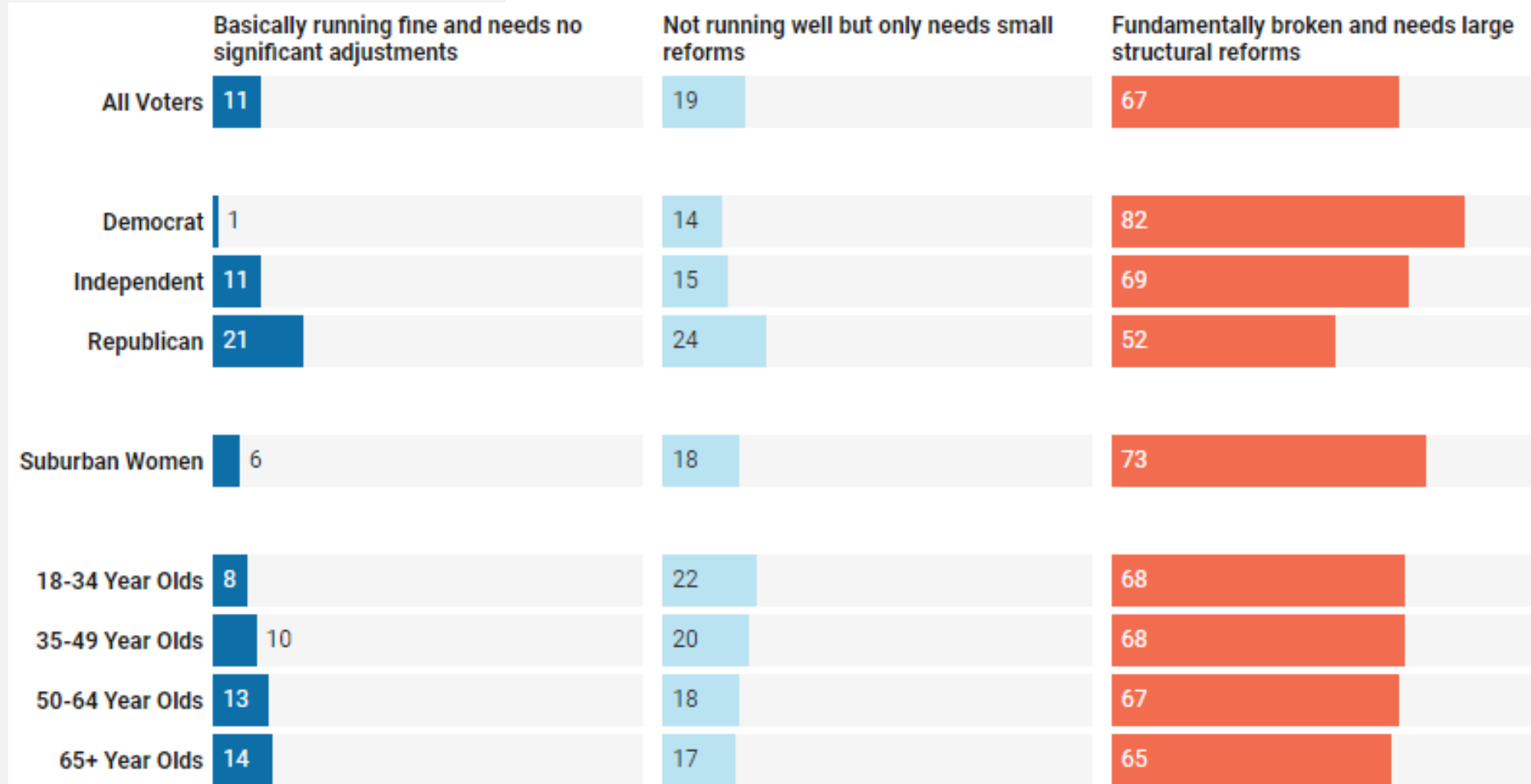
GA-MI-NH-NV Statewide – October 2020

Voters Want Structural Reform

1. Governing is the Message

Two thirds of all voters say we need large, structural reforms like HR 1 and SB 1.

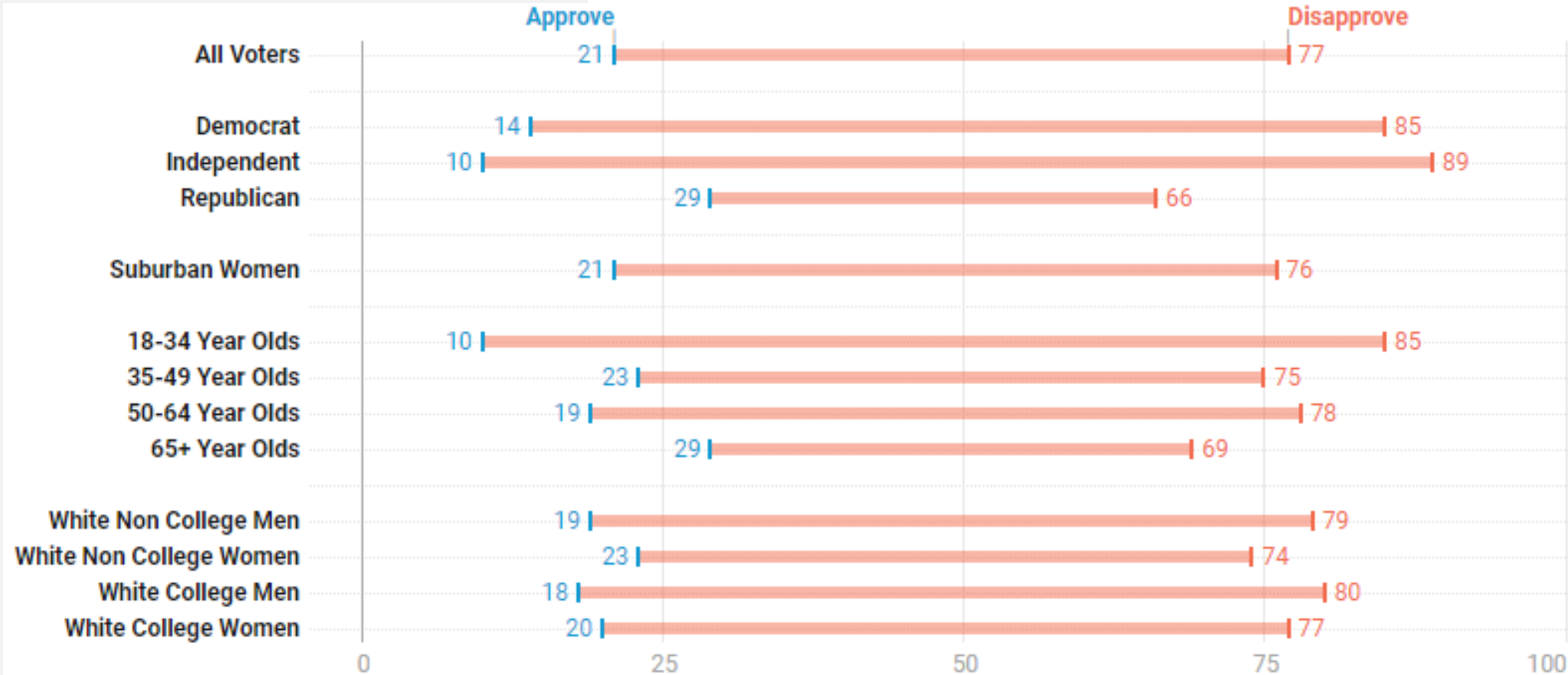
“When it comes to the United States Government and Economy, Do You Think It Is:”



Voters Disapprove of COVID Response

1. Governing is the Message

Voters Overwhelmingly Disapprove of the Way the U.S. Congress has Responded to COVID-19



What Voters Want in a COVID Package

1. Governing is the Message

Choices Among All Voters - % Choosing from a List

Protections for essential workers, including hazard pay, personal protective equipment, and paid family and sick leave

37

Cash payments to taxpayers up to \$1,200 per individual earning under \$75,000 or couples earning under \$150,000

34

Financial aid for individuals, families and small businesses

30

Additional funding for testing to make it free for every American

24

Extending the ban on evictions for nonpayment during the pandemic

21

Providing federal funding to state and local governments to help maintain essential services like health care and public safety

21

Extending \$600 enhanced unemployment benefits for laid-off workers through January 2021

17

Providing federal funding for public education so teachers and schools can safely meet students' needs during the pandemic

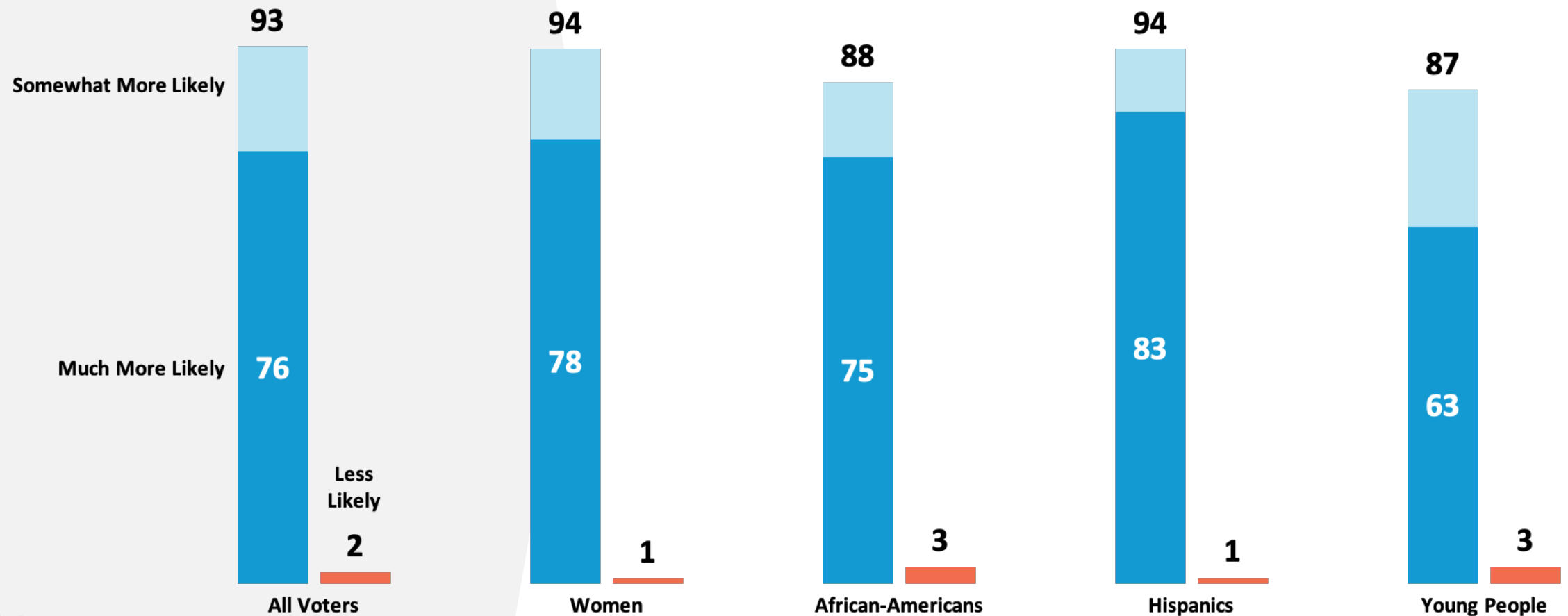
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For the People Works for Voters

1. Governing is the Message

There is deep and strong support for a “For the People Agenda”

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on 1) cleaning up corruption in Washington, 2) lowering health care costs, 3) raising wages, and 4) rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”

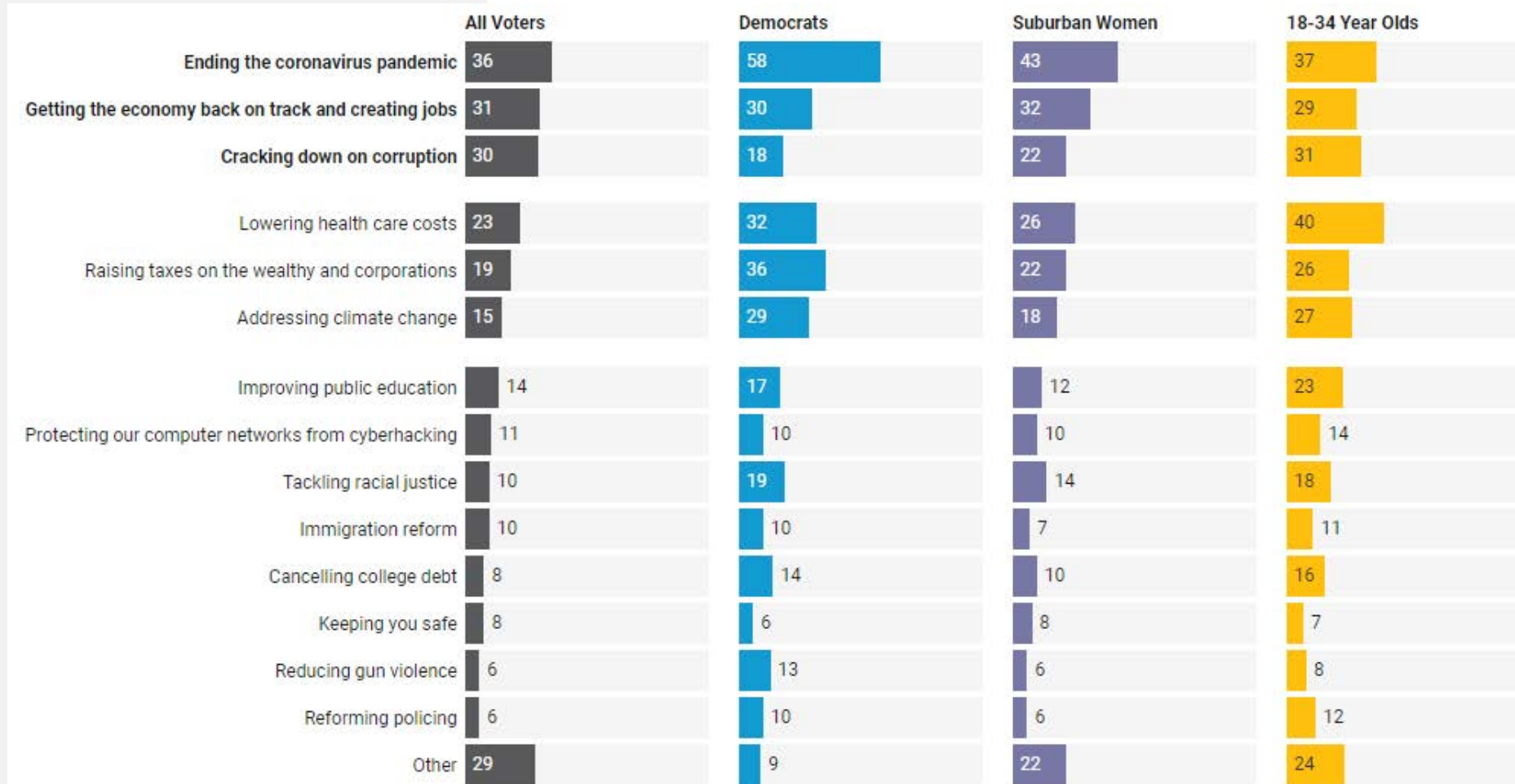


Competitive US House Districts – October 2020

Most Important Issues for Congress to Address

1. Governing is the Message

Congress should pass simple, easy to understand legislation instead of large packages that get picked apart

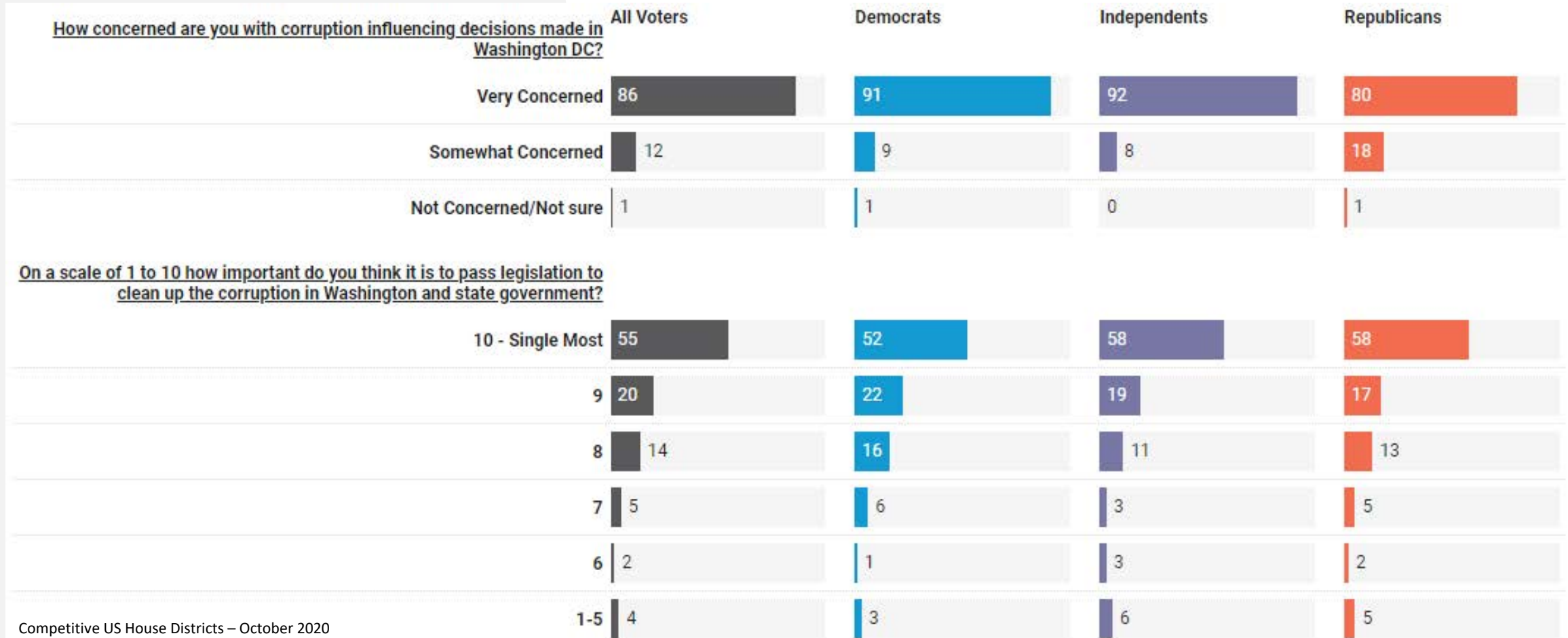


Competitive US House Districts – Dec. 2020 / Jan 2021

Cleaning Up Corruption is Key

1. Governing is the Message

Voters are deeply concerned about corruption and want legislation to address it



Big Winners

1. Governing is the Message

Democrats must connect the issues they fight for to the voters

There are several policy priorities that are exceedingly popular among voters in swing Congressional districts (See appendix for district details). These are policies that Democrats have been fighting for – but Americans simply do not connect the issues themselves to Democrats and spread blame for why solutions have not been met fairly evenly among Democrats, Republicans and Trump. **The key is connecting these issues to the underlying economic drivers and commonly held values that impact how voters see the world, and driving home Democratic ownership of those values. Notice these have supermajority support in the toughest areas of the country Democrats can win, and which are Presidential bellwethers.**

- **96%** say the idea of economic freedom is important to them
- **89%** say it is 8 out of 10 or higher level of importance to pass legislation to clean up the corruption in Washington and state governments (55% 10 out of 10 importance)
- **93%** would be more likely (76% much more likely) to support a candidate who advocates for a “for the people” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, lowering health care and prescription drug costs, raising wages, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure
- **72%** support a federal program to help pay for retraining for jobs in advanced technology
- **79%** support a federal program to help pay for retraining in hands-on jobs like plumbing or carpentry
- **86%** support spending more federal money to improve physical infrastructure, including roads, bridges, buildings and waterways
- **80%** support allowing states and localities to raise funds together for new infrastructure projects through regional planning councils

Continued...

Big Winners

1. Governing is the Message

Democrats can secure big wins on progressive voters' concerns without causing the backlash we saw in 2010

- **82%** support increasing access to high-speed broadband internet by making investments and increasing competition
- **88%** support reducing America's reliance on foreign energy and growing jobs by producing more American-made clean energy
- **84%** support requiring a true minimum tax on all foreign earnings of United States companies located overseas to end rewarding global tax havens
- **91%** support establishing a consumer data bill of rights to protect Americans from fraud, misuse and abuse of their private online data
- **86%** support allowing Americans to buy into the same health insurance plan that government employees receive
- **74%** support allowing people who don't get health insurance at work to buy health insurance through their state Medicaid program
- **74%** agree that "our government should be implementing more policies to value the dignity of work – the idea that hard work should pay off for every American, no matter who you are or what kind of work you do. But wages have been flat and the cost of everything, from rent to an education to health care is going up. When our work has dignity, Americans have the economic security they need to start a family, pay for childcare and college, take time off when they are sick, and save for retirement."

There is a great deal of economic insecurity within the progressive coalition, and that these voters' concerns must be addressed. On the positive side, there is low hanging fruit – mostly centering around higher wages, lower health care costs, more rewarding work, cleaning up corruption, better energy policy and freedom – for a majority to implement, which will not cause the sort of backlash Democrats experienced in 2010, and which will further solidify the ability to do good for the American people.

Unpopular Policy Proposals

1. Governing is the Message

Some big ideas Democrats have proposed are problematic in competitive Congressional Districts

Despite good news for the overall progressive agenda, there are several issues supported by some Democrats, or by almost no federal Democrats, but that Republicans have successfully pinned on Democrats, that are less popular among these swing district voters – and stand in stark contrast to the multitude of issues, more issues that could ever be legislated in a single session, that gain 65% or 70%+ support. The issues without majority support in these admittedly tough—but crucial to holding the House and Presidency—districts are as follows:

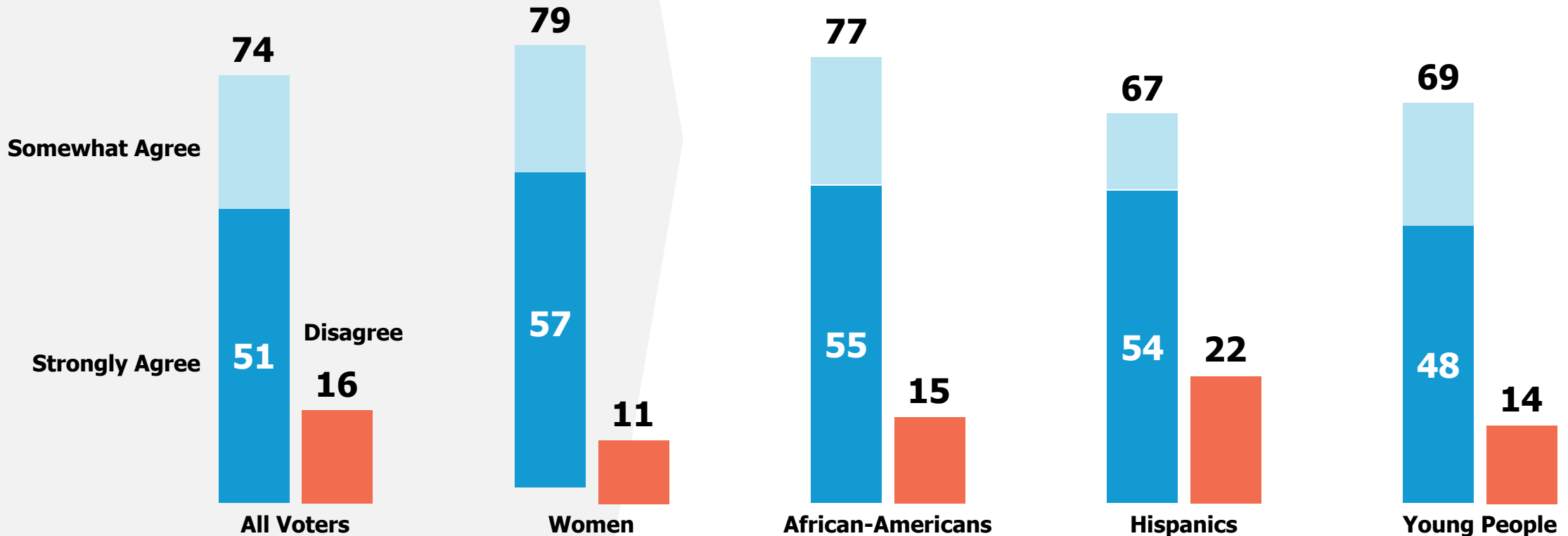
- **39%** support public financing for candidates through taxpayer dollars on a matching system
- **42%** support making Washington, D.C. a state
- **46%** support establishing a national health plan in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan/Medicare for All
- **25%** support allowing Medicare to put more restrictions on the use of certain drugs
- **35%** support adding more justices to the Supreme Court to restore its balance

The Hero: American Worker

2. Define the Hero of the Story

Democrats must champion the dignity of work and fight for working people

“Our government should be implementing more policies to value the dignity of work – the idea that hard work should pay off for every American, no matter who you are or what kind of work you do. But wages have been flat and the cost of everything, from rent to an education to health care is going up. When our work has dignity, Americans have the economic security they need to start a family, pay for childcare and college, take time off when they are sick, and save for retirement.”

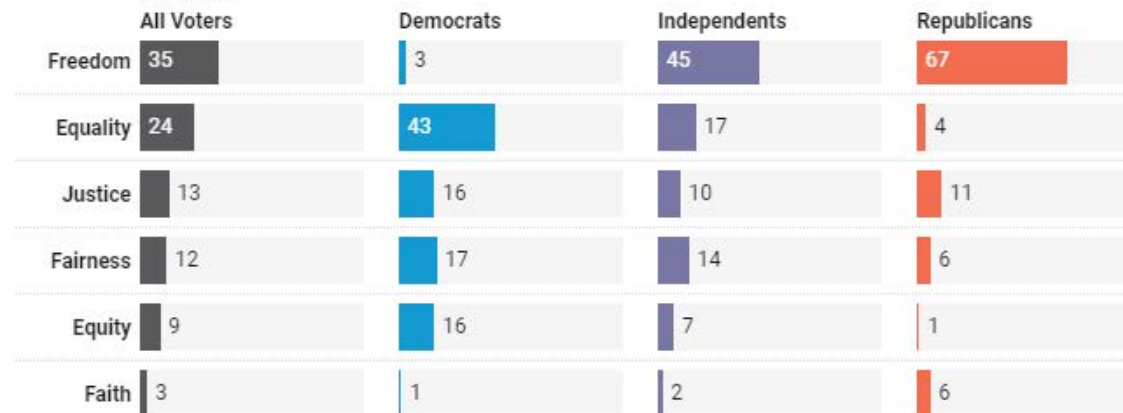


Freedom is the Key Value

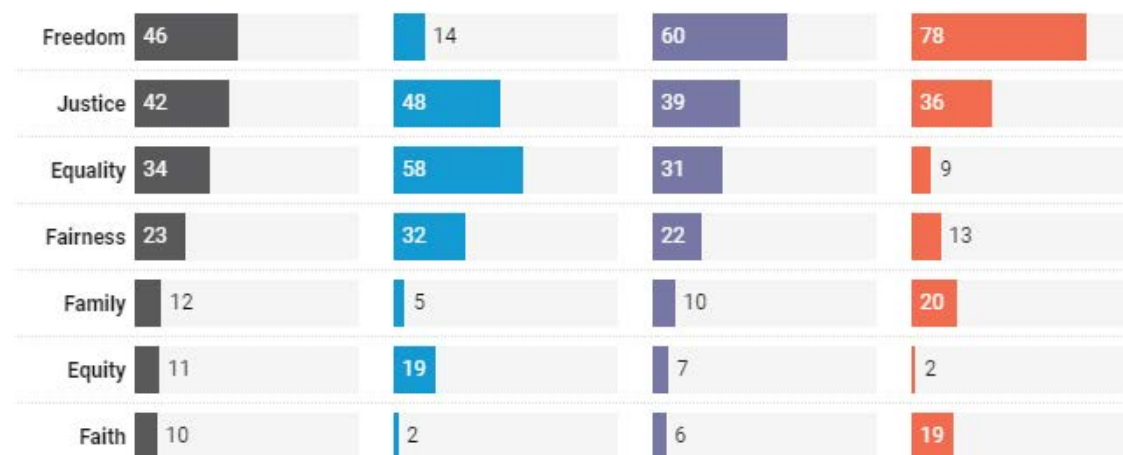
3. Don't Cede the Word "Freedom"

Independents also want political parties and candidates to focus most on freedom

If a political party could choose one and only one value to place highest in their governing and in their message, what would that value be?



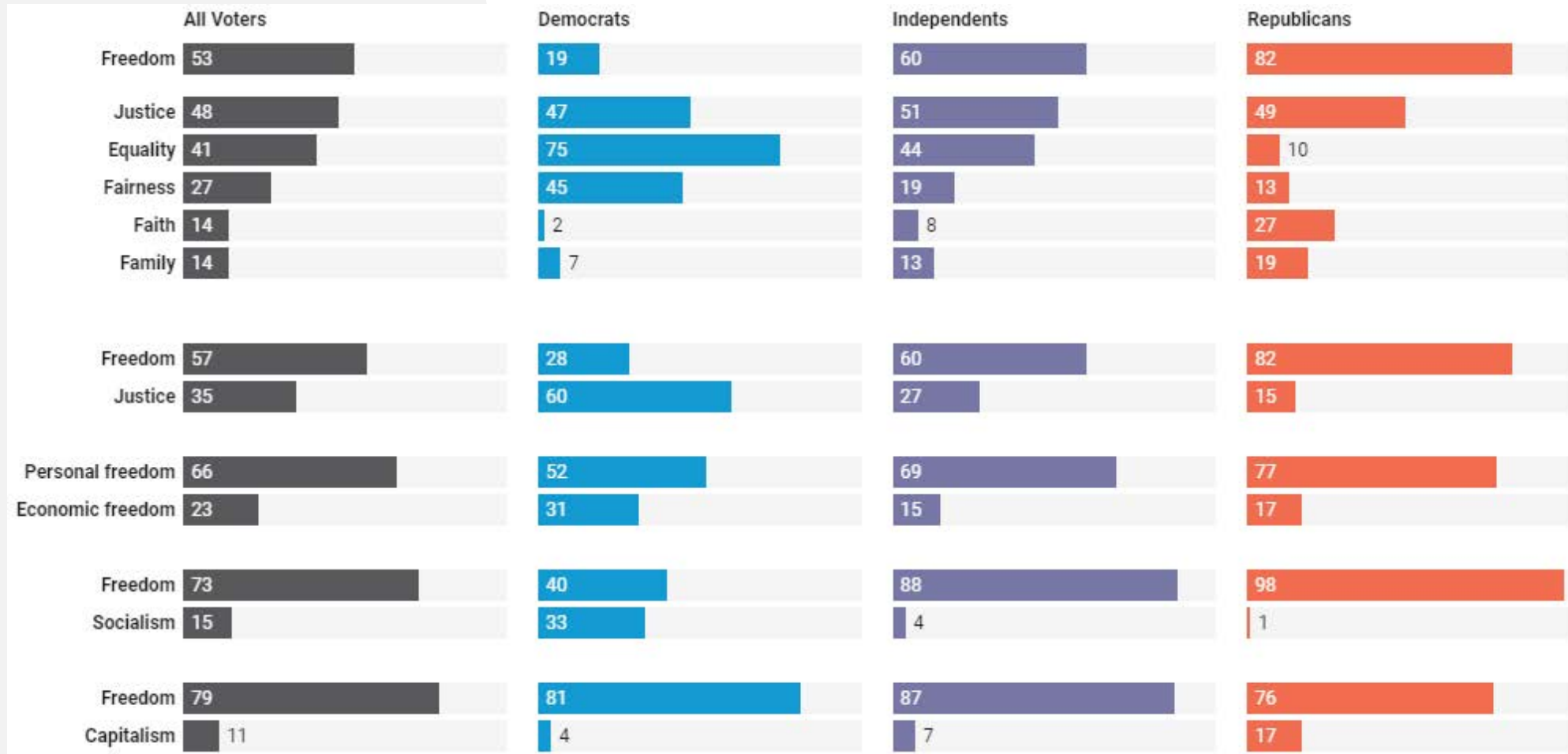
Which is the most important for a candidate to value?



Freedom is Critical to Independents

3. Don't Cede the Word "Freedom"

When asked, what is the more important value to you?

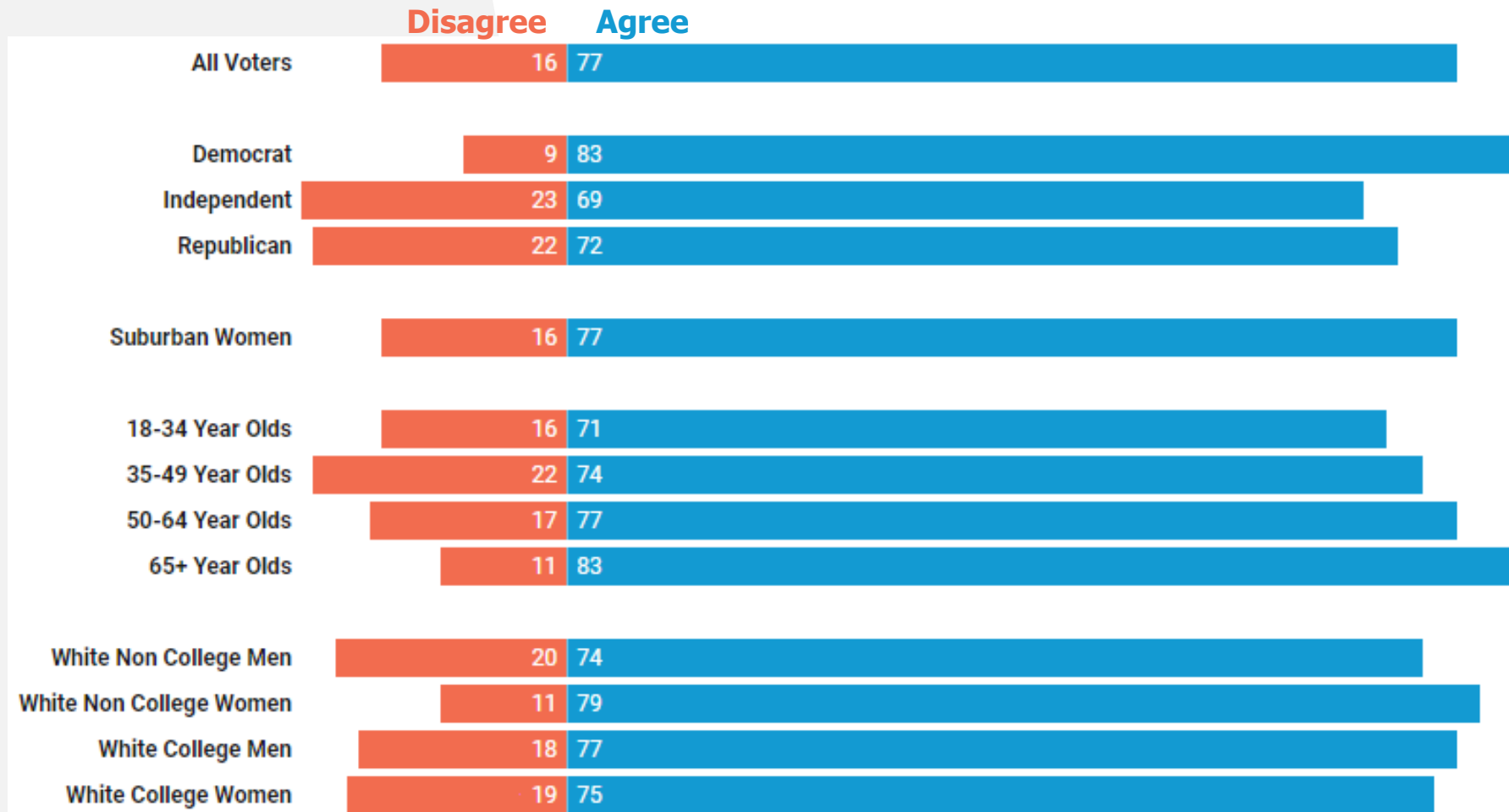


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Democrats Can Win on Economic Freedom

3. Don't Cede the Word "Freedom"

"True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence."



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Democrats Should Frame Around Freedom

3. Don't Cede the Word "Freedom"

Voters Want Agency and the Freedom to Pursue Opportunity in America

Voters want agency and freedom. They want the government to help them become doers, achieving their own freedom.

Democrats are seen as believing the government should solve problems for people, despite talk of opportunity. This allows Republicans to say, that with all the rules and interventions, the Democrats are taking away freedom.

Democrats must alter their brand away from intervention and addressing problems from above. Rather, Democrats should be addressing the paralysis that the American worker (across all political parties) feels.

Democrats try to do this with "opportunity", a five syllable Latinate word. "Freedom" is sharper, stronger, and goes to the heart of Republican strength, which will prevent it being thrown back at Democrats. The polling bears this out.

Democrats' Identity: Voters Want Agency

3. Don't Cede the Word Freedom

Make the Core of Who We Are & What We Stand For Clear:

Let's Build: Freedom, Fair Shot, Future

Voter sentiment and desire for the brand of "Democrat" is an extension of personal journeys – and falls into 4 primary values:

Poll Question:

- + Would you prefer a candidate that fights for more individual freedom to build a better life.
- + Would you prefer a candidate that fights for building a better, stronger future:

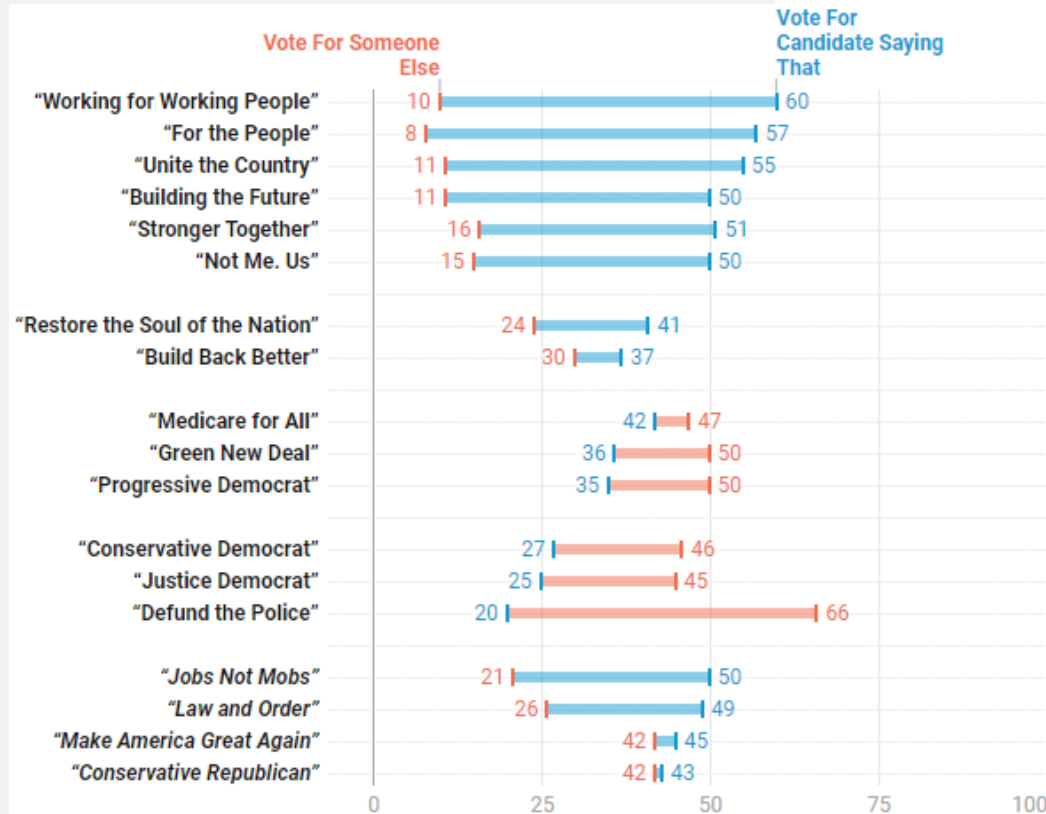
Yes. 80%



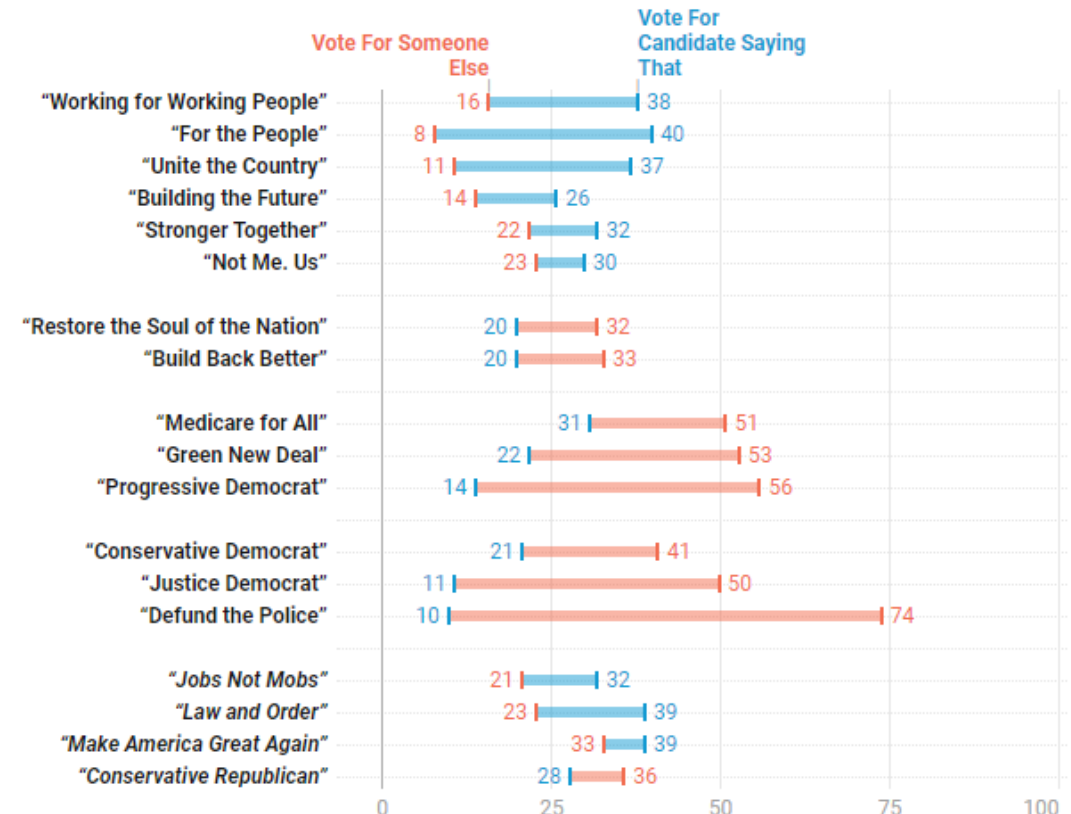
Likely Vote for Candidates Based on Slogans

4. Understand "D" Brand Weakness

Among All Voters



Among Independents

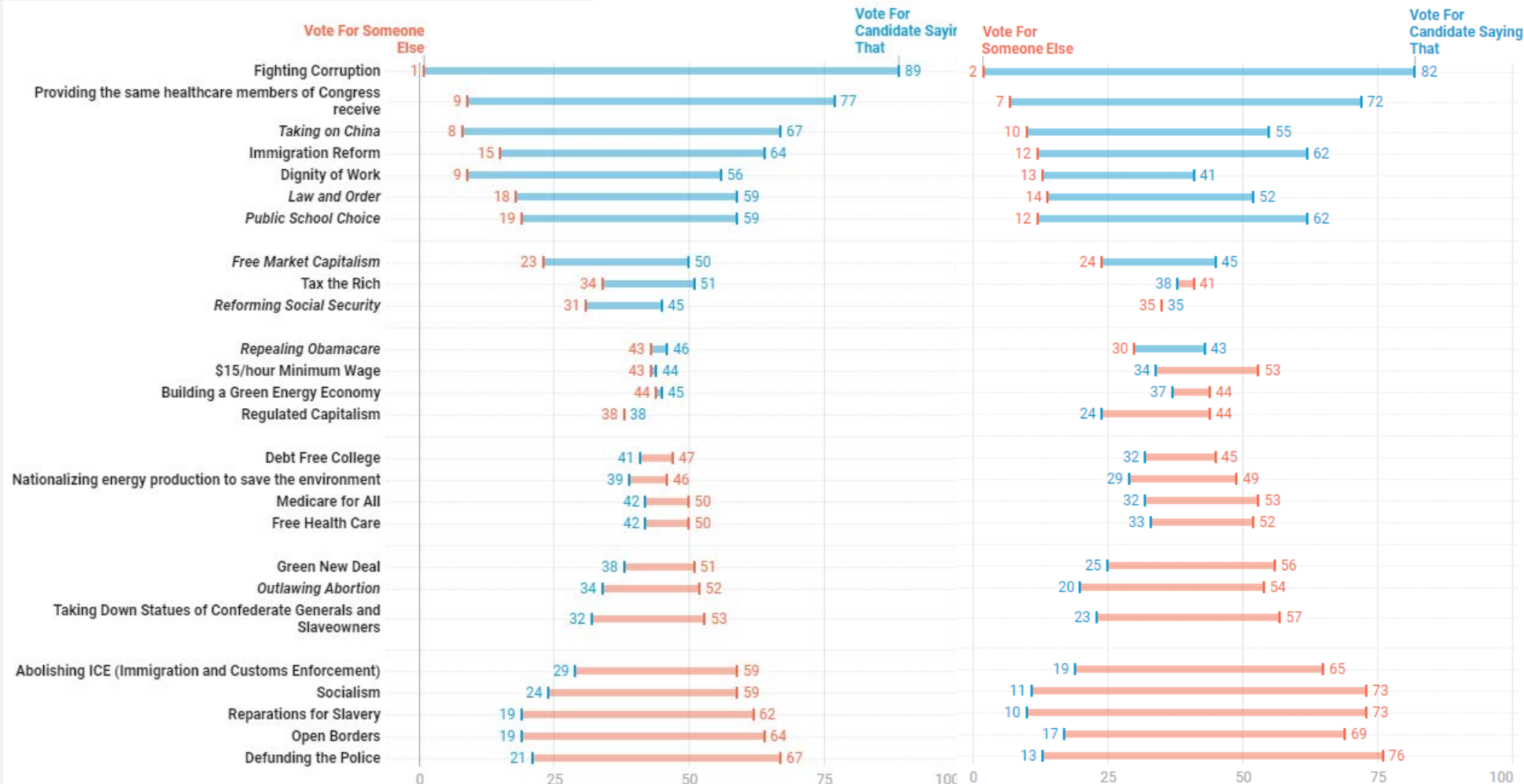


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Likelihood to Vote Based on Policy Snapshot

4. Understand "D" Brand Weakness

There Are Warning Signs in Tough Congressional Districts for Democrats



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Some “D” Brand Issues Unpopular

4. Understand “D” Brand Weakness

Issues that produce a negative backlash with Independent Voters

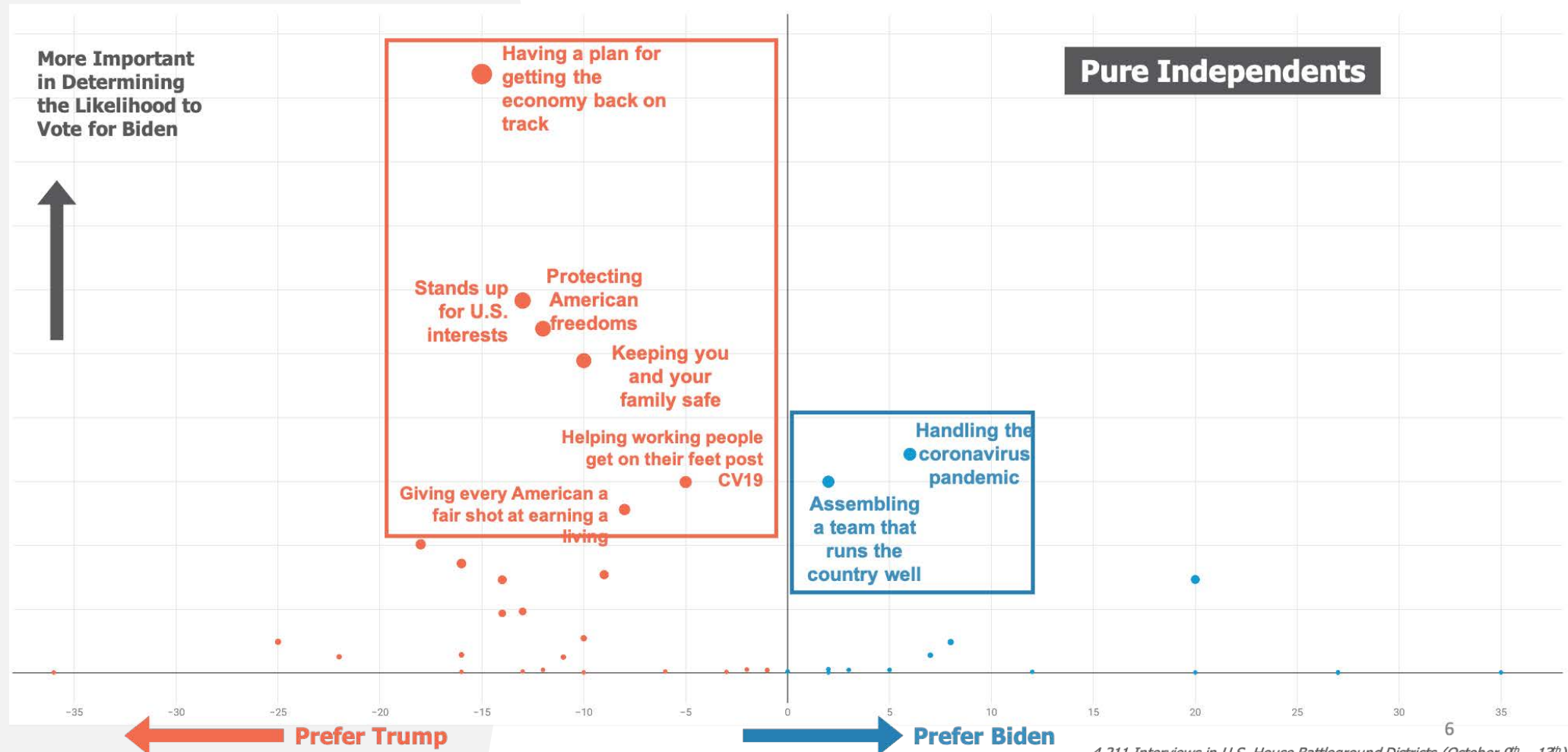
Many hot-button progressive policy snapshots produce a negative backlash with Independent voters, even while some are popular with Democrats. Democrats must do a better job on language.

- “Open Borders” (19% for/64% against); only 40% of Democrats and 17% of Independents support
- “Socialism” (24% for/59% against); 51% of Democrats and only 11% of Independents support.
- Abolishing ICE (29% support/59% against); 61% of Democrats support, 19% of Independents support.
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- “Building a green energy economy” (Democrats - 89% for/2% against; Independents – 37% for/44% against). **Democrats’ climate agenda needs to be about the jobs of the future.**
- “Tax the rich” (51% for/34% against); 91% of Democrats support but only 38% of Independents support. **Democrats should be specific on their tax plans as President-elect Biden did in the general election.**

Critical: The Independent Voter

4. Understand "D" Brand Weakness

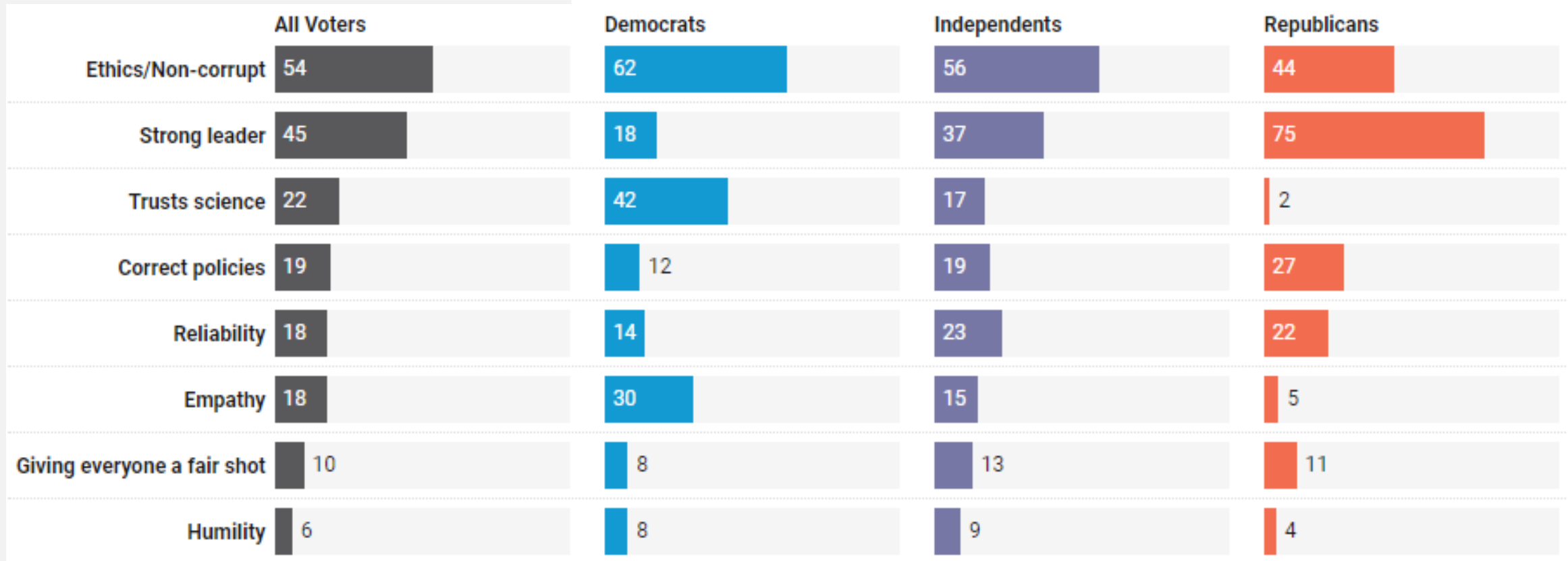
While only 7-10% of the vote, Pure Independents often determine outcomes. This shows what drives their vote.



Important Qualities in a Candidate

5. Focus on Winning

As Democrats build a bench of candidates and share their stories, some qualities to consider, especially strength:



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Appendix: Three Key Decks

Lots to study, but Americans are complex voters, and we must listen to and understand them to protect the future of our democracy.

Slogan Poll

January 2021



Methodology

- 1,474 Interviews in 37 U.S. House districts decided by 5 points or less in 2020
- Interviews conducted from December 30th through January 2nd
- Interviews conducted online, recruited through social media advertising
- Post-stratification weights were made on age, gender, ethnicity, education, region, and 2020 presidential vote to reflect the distribution of voters

Districts Surveyed

- Averaged across these districts, Biden won 49.5% to 48.8%

Democratic Seats		Republican Seats	
AZ-01	Tom O'Halleran	AZ-06	David Schweikert
GA-07	Carolyn Bourdeaux	CA-21	David Valadao
IL-14	Lauren Underwood	CA-25	Mike Garcia
IL-17	Cheri Bustos	CA-39	Young Kim
IA-03	Cindy Axne	CA-48	Michelle Steel
MI-08	Elissa Slotkin	FL-26	Carlos Giménez
MI-11	Haley Stevens	FL-27	Maria Elvira Salazar
MN-02	Angie Craig	IN-05	Victoria Spartz
NV-03	Susie Lee	IA-01	Ashley Hinson
NV-04	Steven Horsford	IA-02	Mariannette Miller-Meeks
NJ-07	Tom Malinowski	MN-01	Jim Hagedorn
PA-07	Susan Wild	NE-02	Don Bacon
PA-08	Matt Cartwright	OK-05	Stephanie Bice
PA-17	Conor Lamb	SC-01	Nancy Mace
TX-07	Lizzie Fletcher	TX-23	Tony Gonzales
TX-15	Vicente Gonzalez	TX-24	Beth Van Duyne
VA-07	Abigail Spanberger	UT-04	Burgess Owens
WA-08	Kim Schrier		
WI-03	Ron Kind		
NY-22	????		

Summary

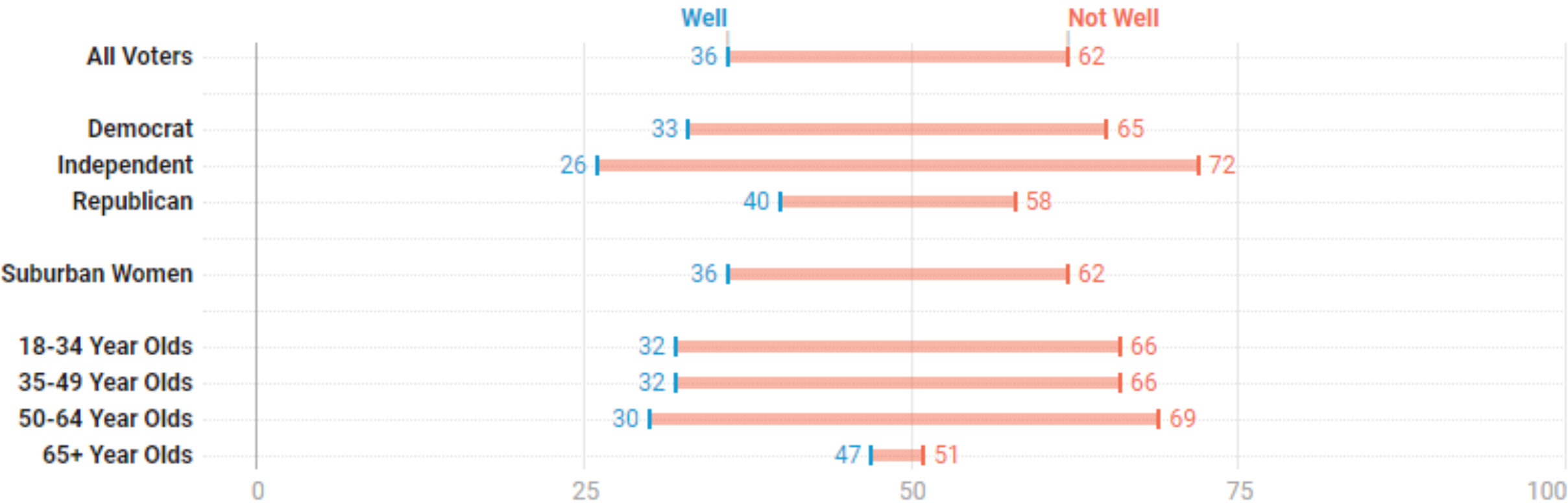
- “For the People” is a broadly popular slogan, across every subsection of voters
- In addition, there are slogans (or key phrases) that should be a part of Democrats’ everyday vocabulary including: “working for working people,” “dignity of work,” and “personal freedom.”
- “Justice Democrat” and “Progressive Democrat” receive strong negative backlash
- “Defund the Police” does even worse.
- Two top progressive policy slogans, “Green New Deal” and “Medicare for All” really hurt our candidates with all voters in swing districts, even Democrats.
- Voters would be more likely to vote for a candidate if all they knew was that they supported fighting corruption, providing the same healthcare members of Congress receive, taking on China, and immigration reform
- Many hot-button issues have a negative backlash with Independent voters, even while some are popular with Democrats: socialism, abolishing ICE, \$15/hour minimum wage, and building a green energy economy
- Freedom is the quintessential American value

Summary

- An agenda matters more than a three word slogan. But Democrats have to stop thinking we can force people who don't want them to eat their vegetables. It is killing us in elections.
- When it comes to message: Discipline. Discipline. Discipline. Democrats are getting crushed by being negatively branded by right wing media as a result of sloppy language and misguided Twitter fever, as well as lack of unity and, especially, repetition on message. (Again, R's are great at this.) Joe Biden won the Presidency with more votes and money than anyone in history without using dumb language that conventional political wisdom thinks works on Twitter or fundraising emails.
- Democrats must make the American worker the hero of their story. Democrats must make up ground on economic issues, which is consistently the top issue on the mind of voters. President-elect Biden struck this balance and is a case study in ways Democrats can reclaim the mantle of leadership on economic issues while recognizing the shifting cultural landscape in America.

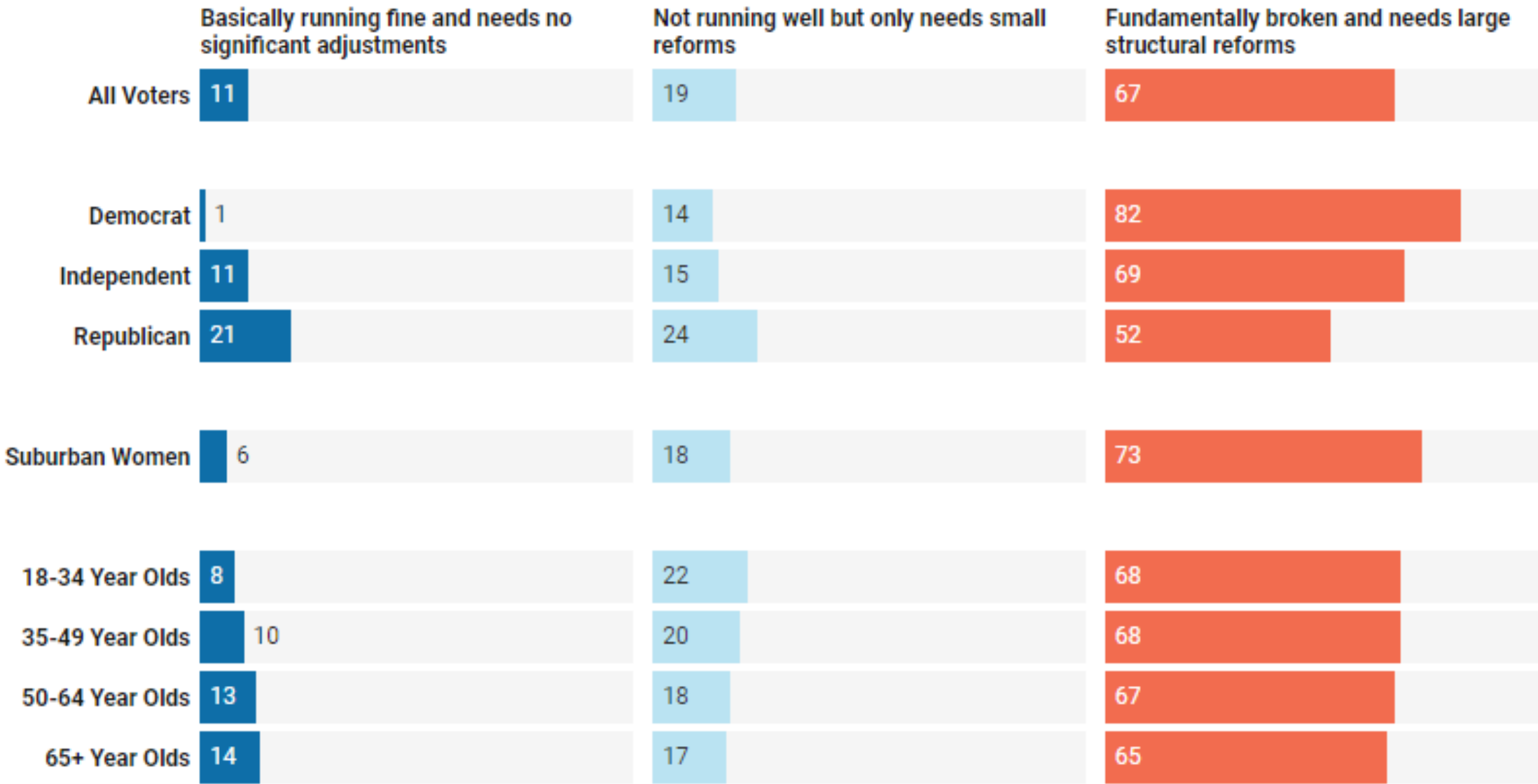
Voters Are Exceeding Negative about the Role of Government in Their Life ...

Thinking about the US government and its role in your life, how well do you think it is working for you?



... And Want Deep and Structural Reform

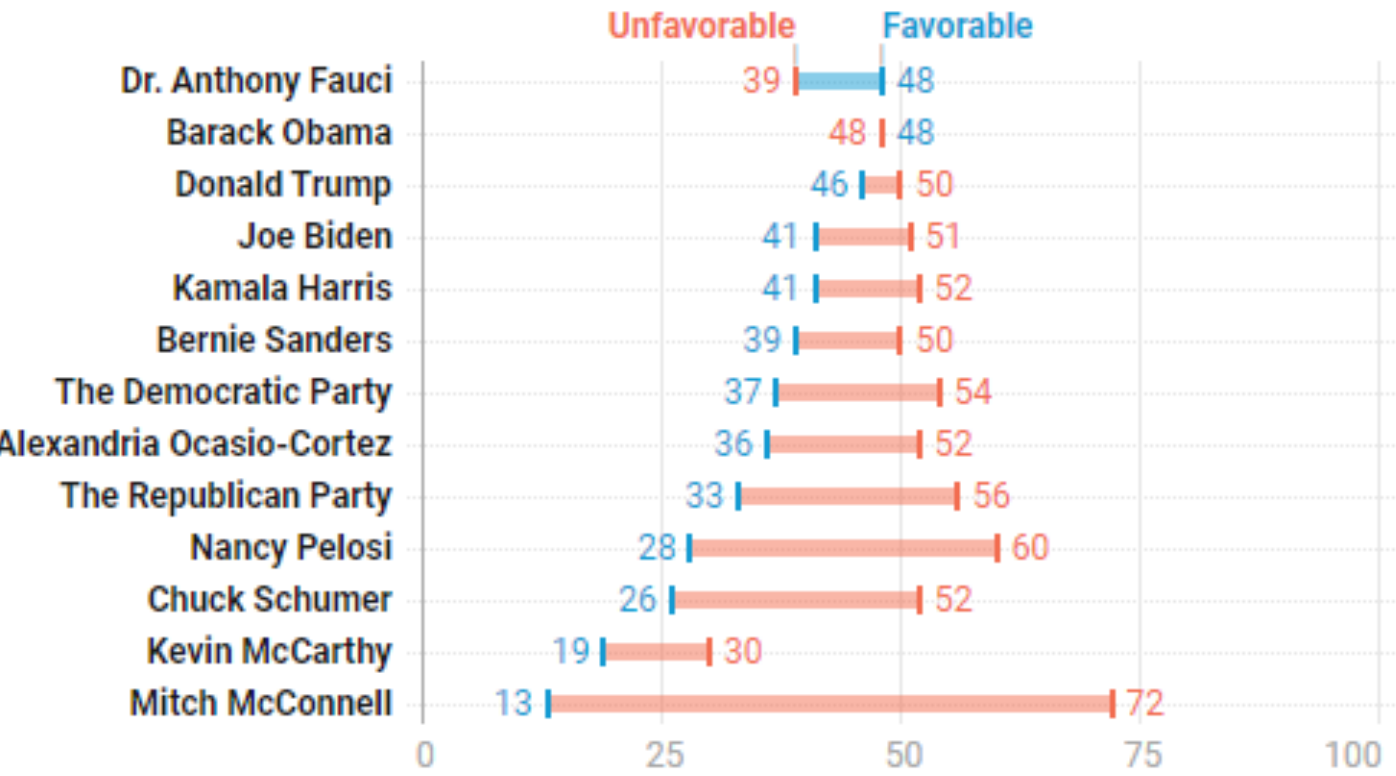
When It Comes to the United States Government and Economy, Do You Think It Is:



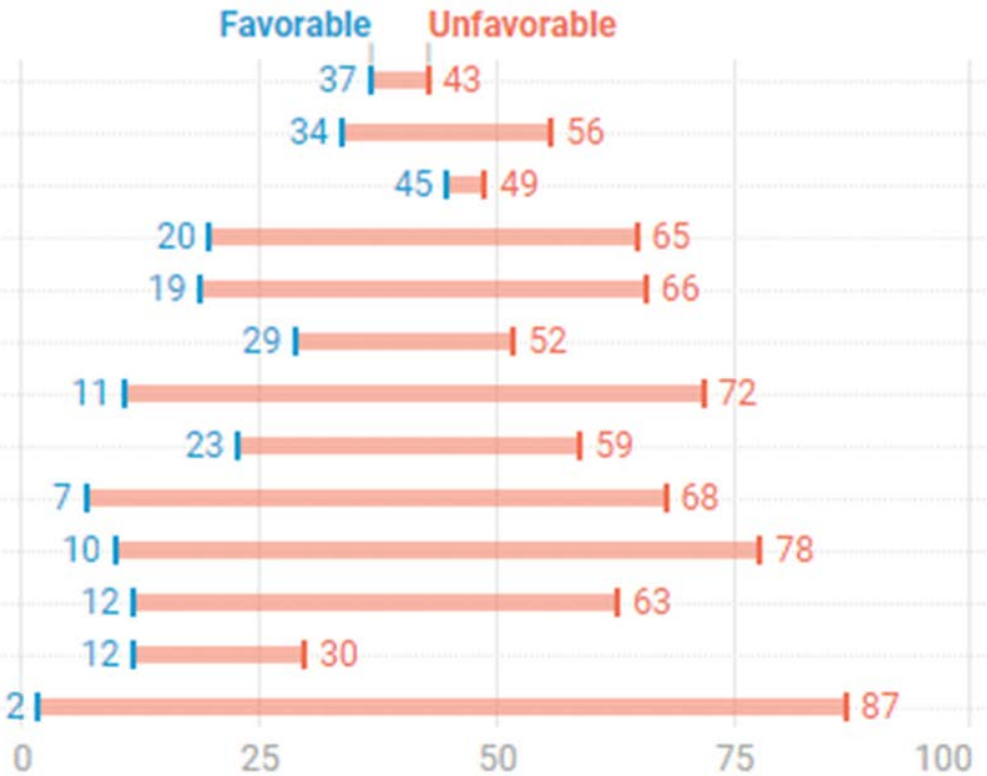
Voters are Divided or Dislike Most Key Figures in Public Life

Opinion of Various Public Figures and the Parties

Among All Voters

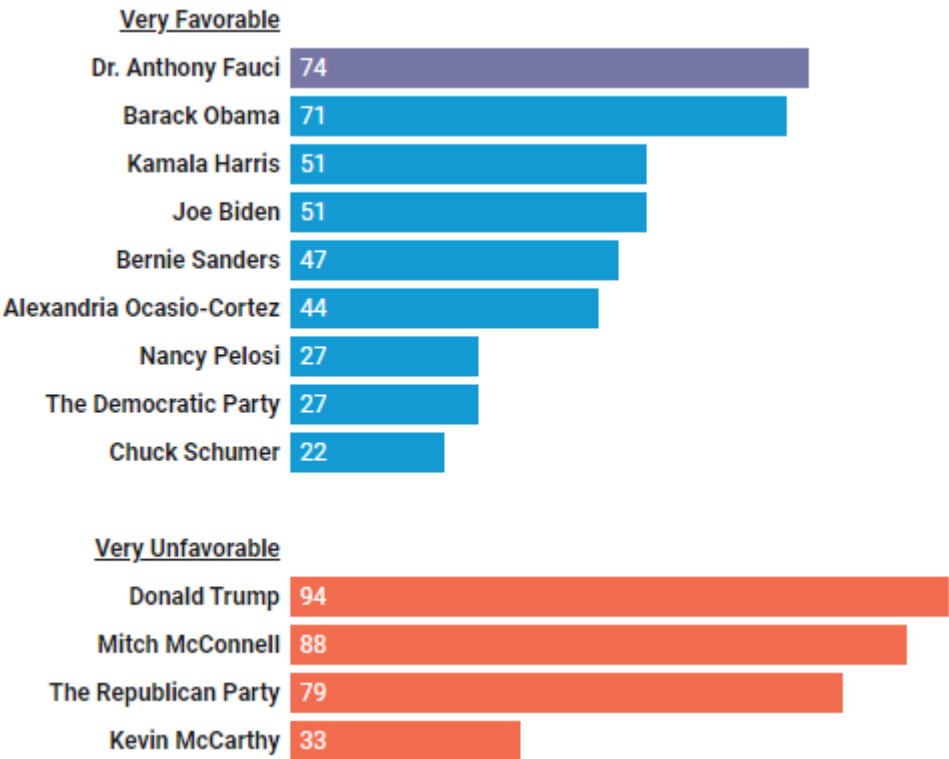


Among Independents

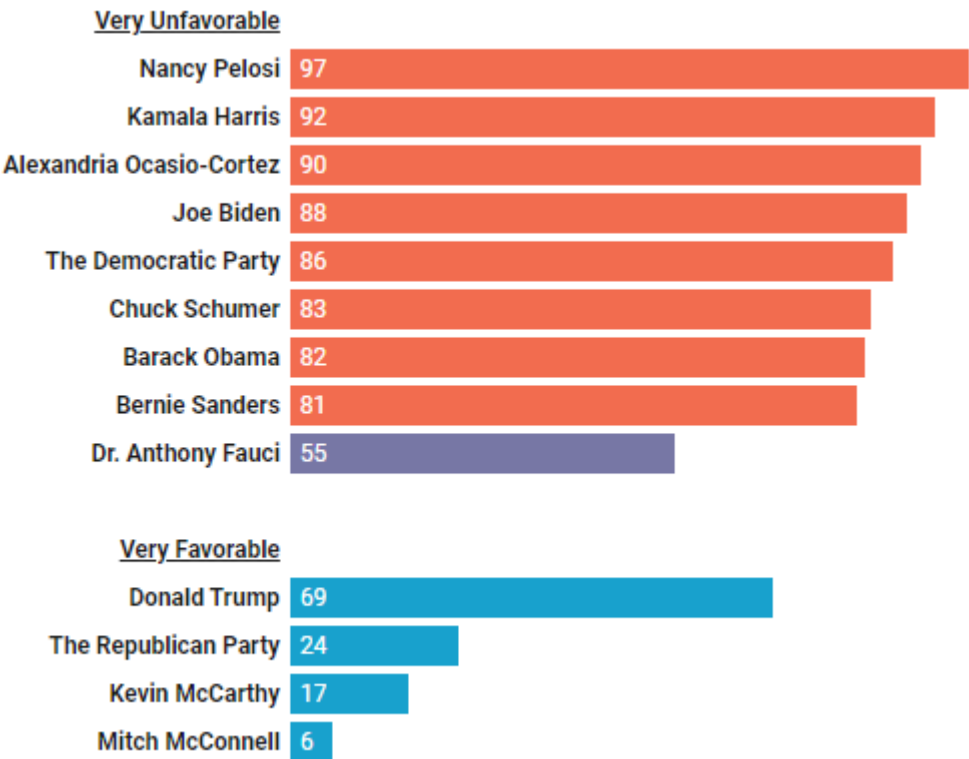


Intense Opinion of Various Public Figures and the Parties

Among 2020 Democratic U.S. House Voters



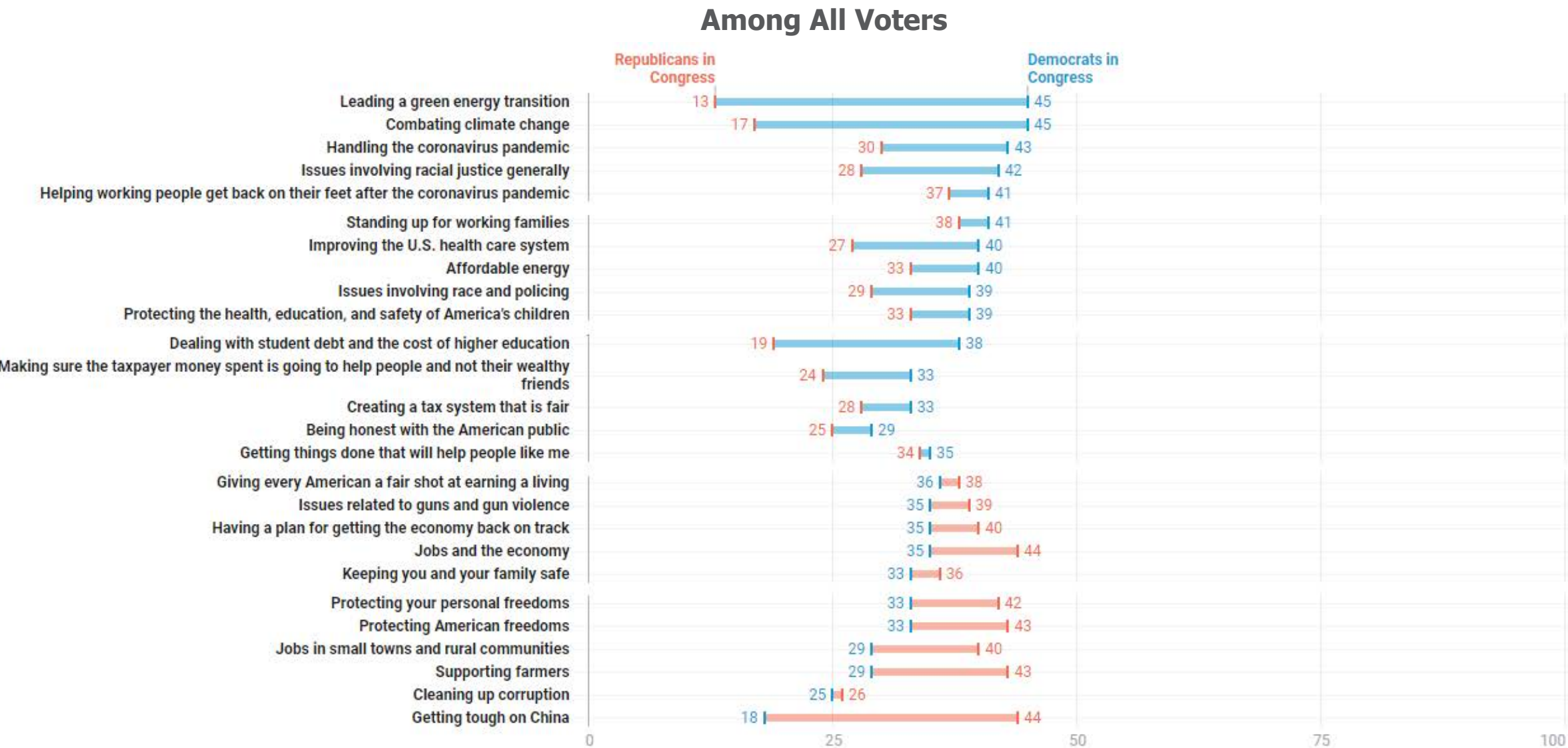
Among 2020 Republican U.S. House Voters



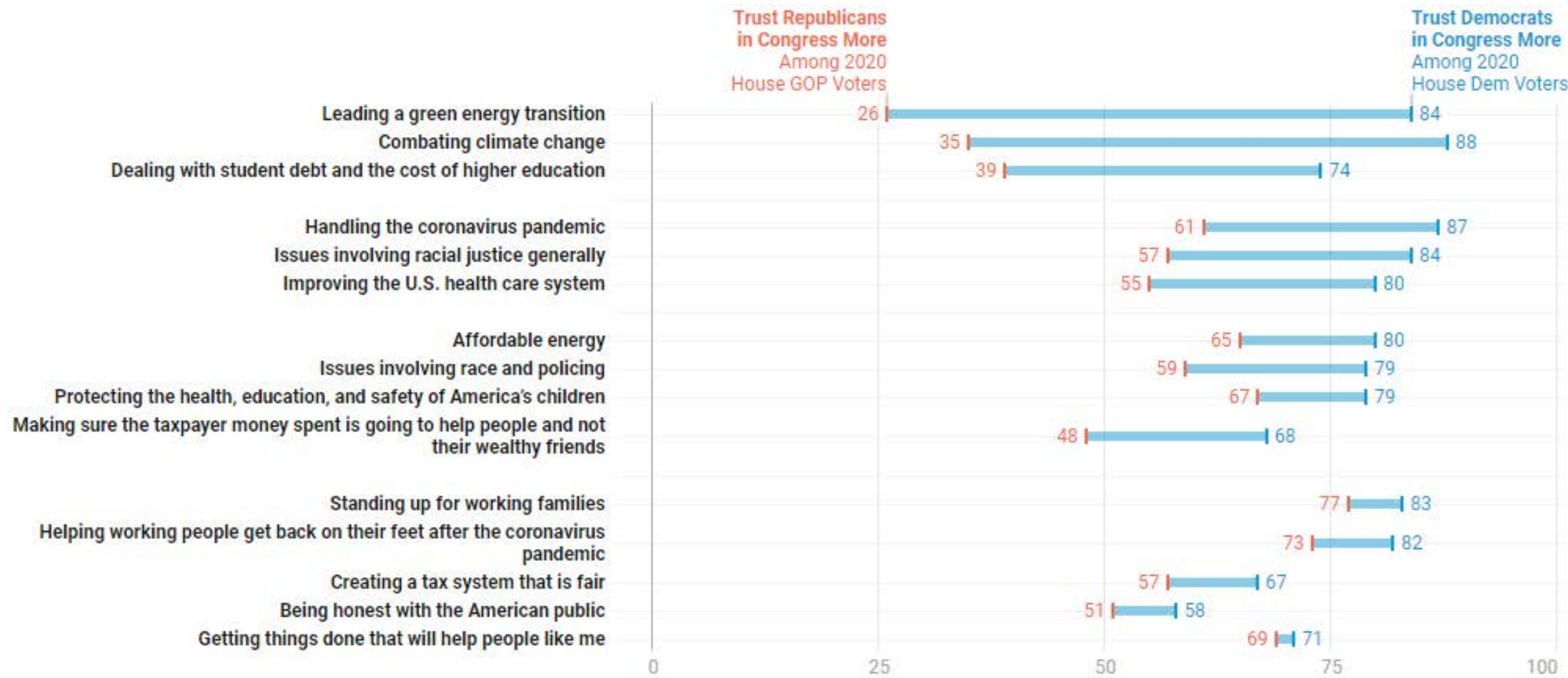
Evaluation of the Parties in Congress on Issues and Their Effectiveness Standing up to Different Groups

A Majority Doesn't Trust Democrats over Republicans on Any Issue

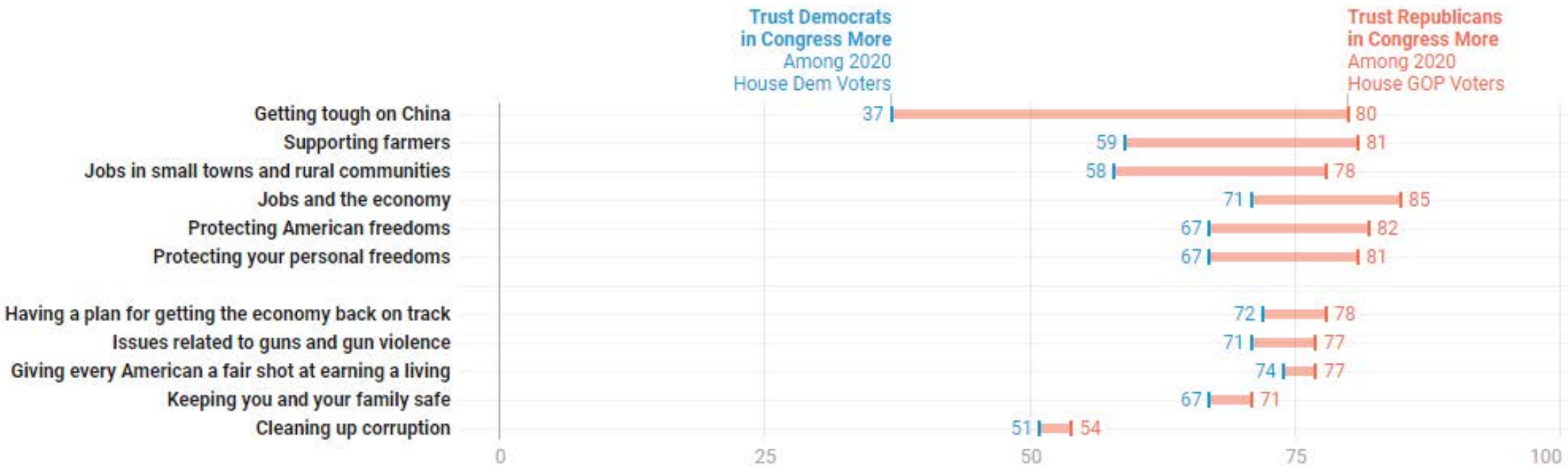
Who Do You Trust More on Issues?



Issues with a Clear Underlying Democratic Advantage

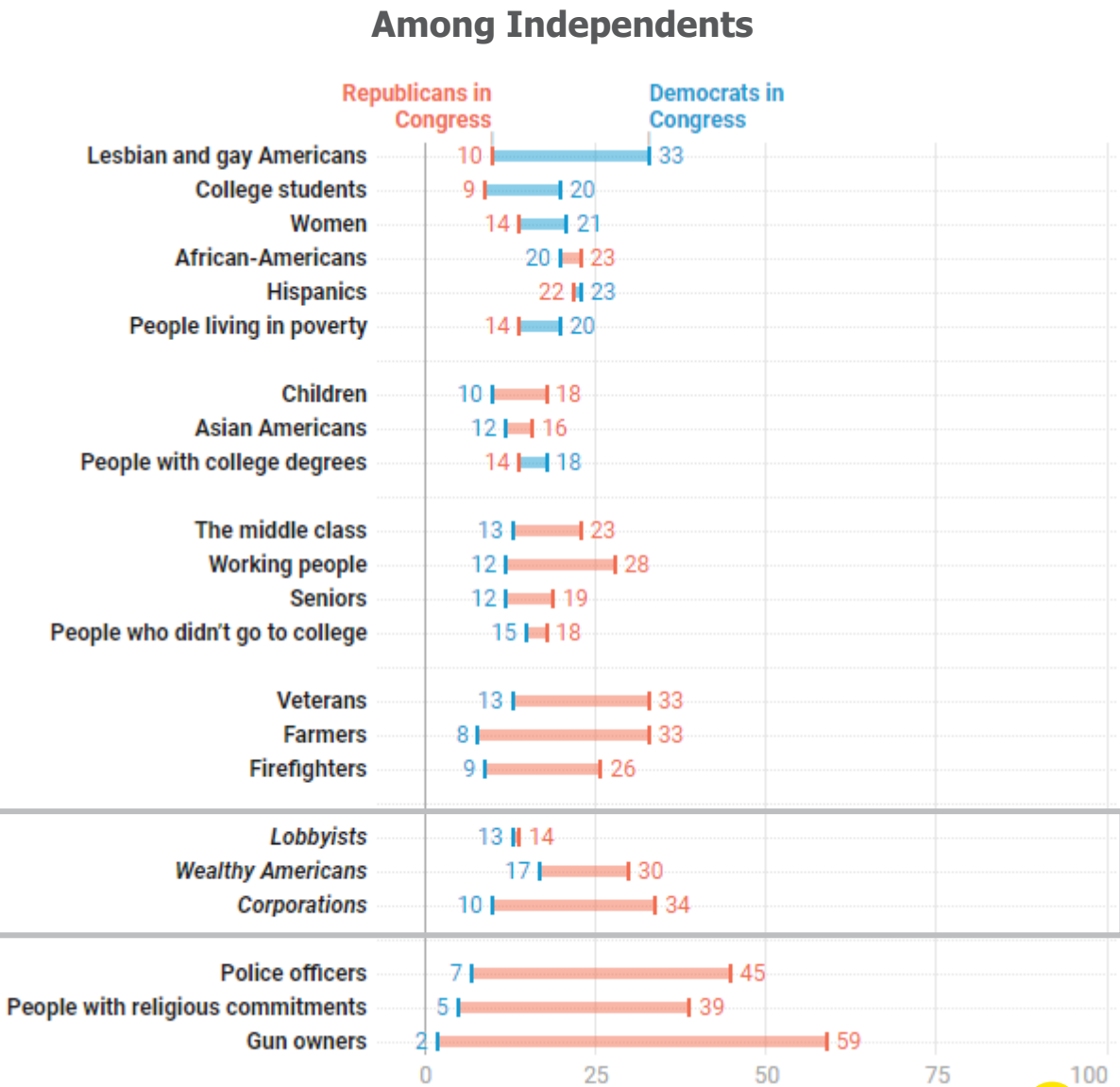
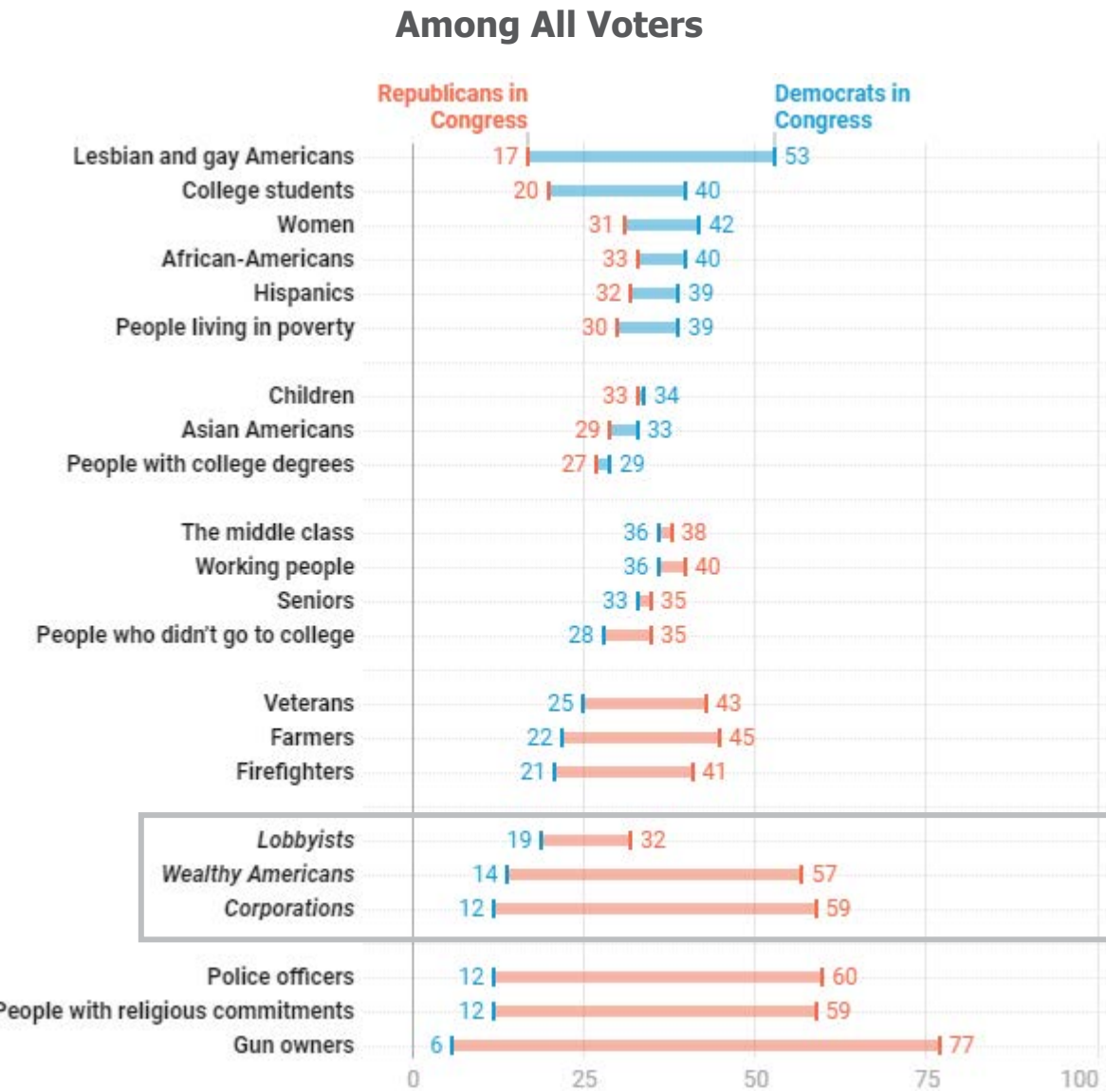


Issues with a Clear Underlying **Republican** Advantage

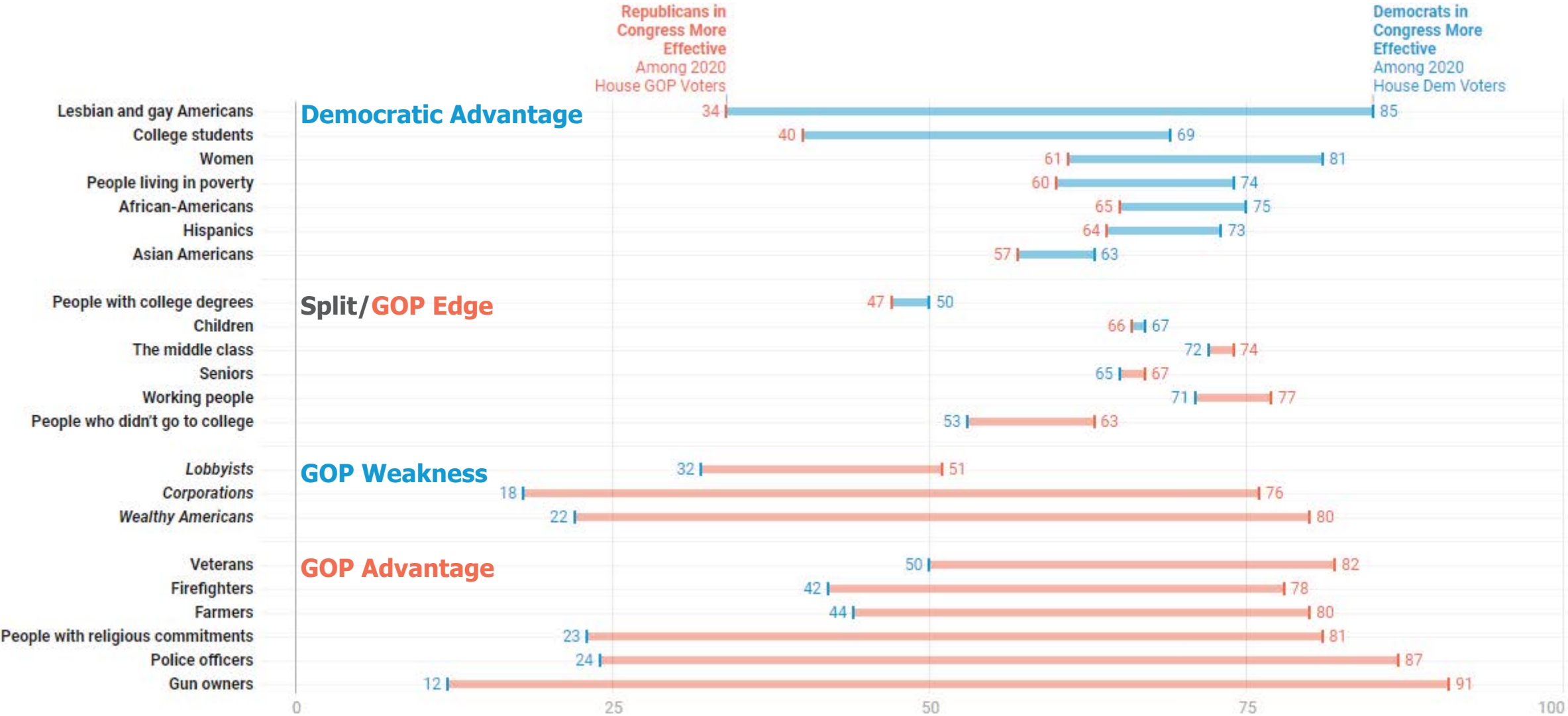


Independents Rate Both Parties Negative on Standing up for Different People

Which Party More Effectively Stands Up for the Interests of the Following Groups?

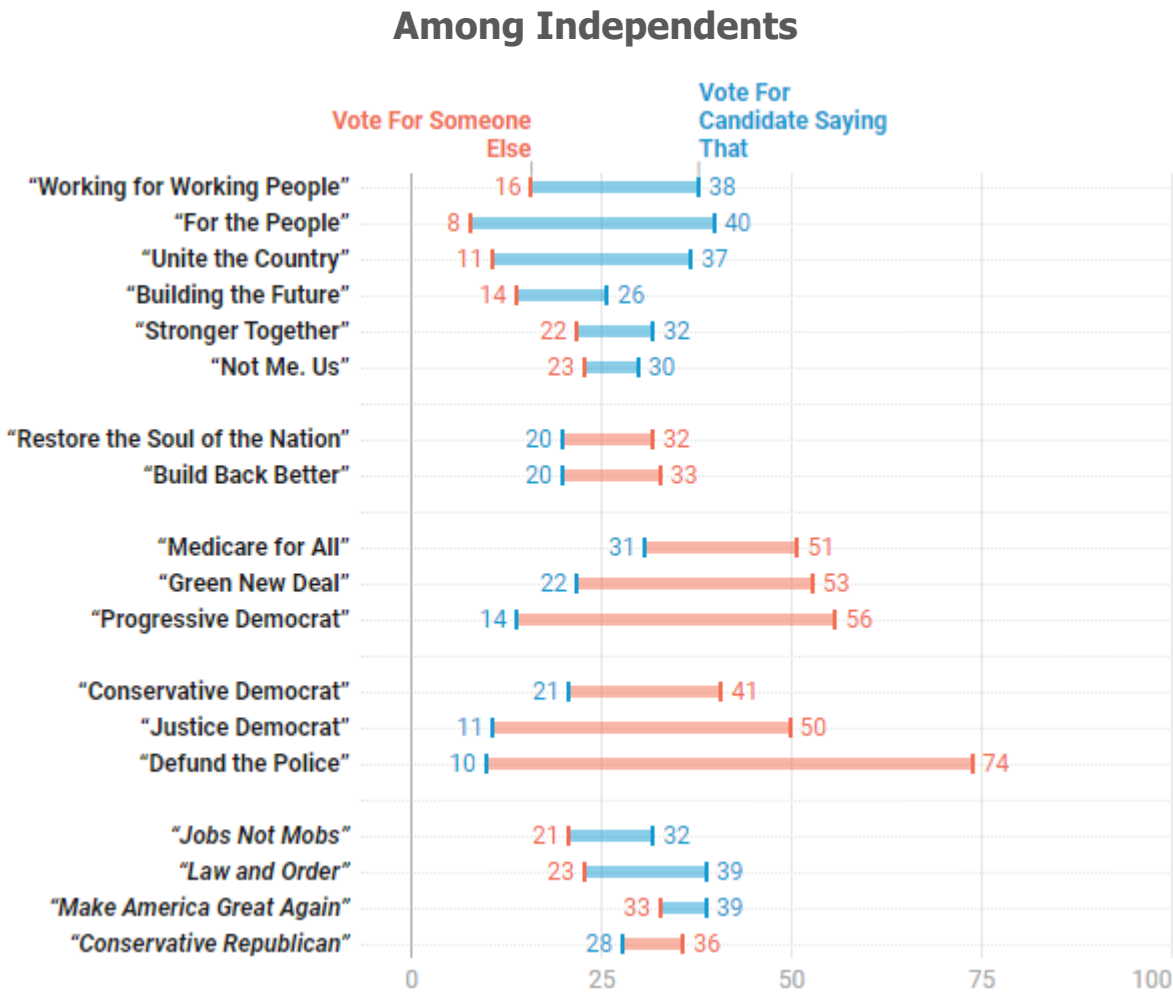
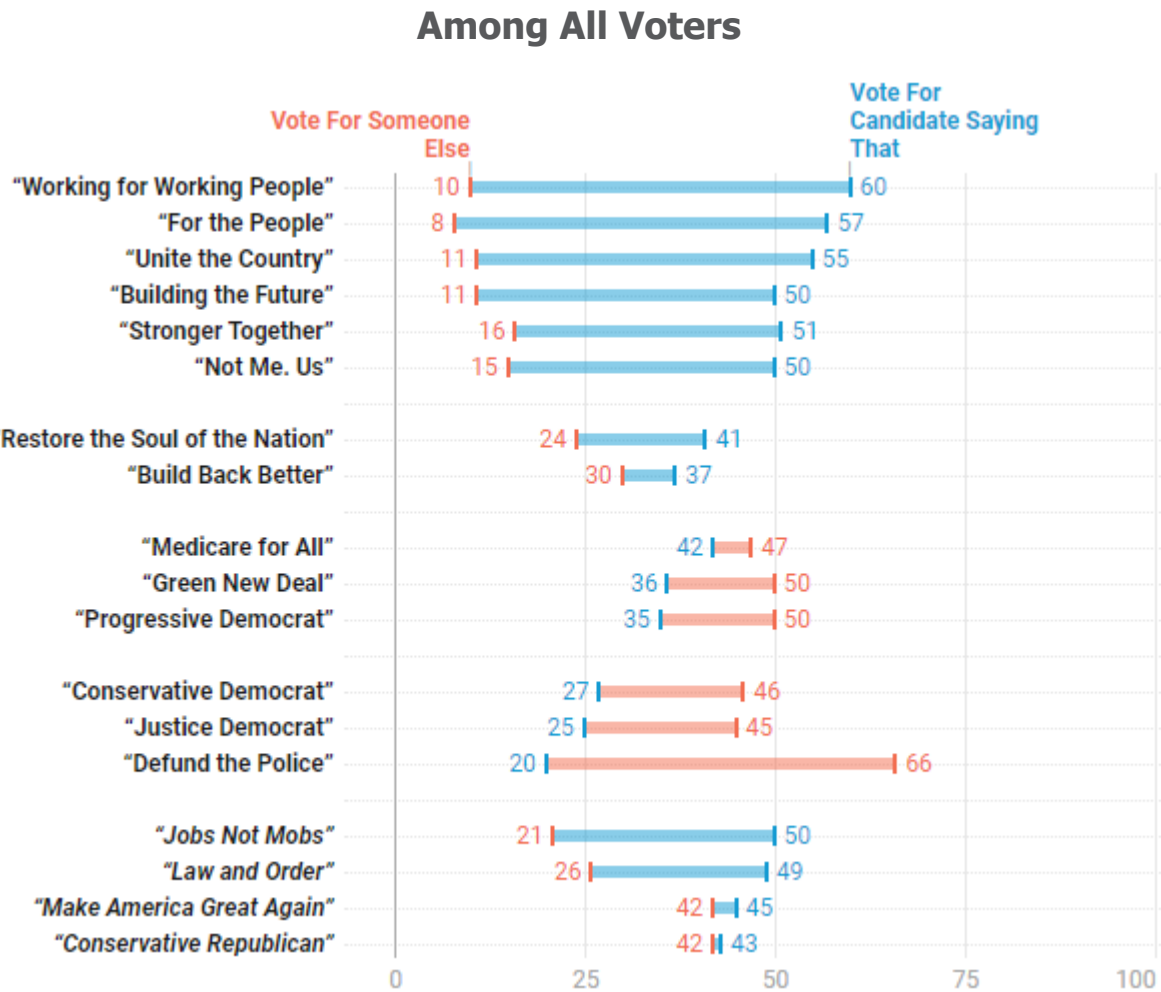


Which Party More Effectively Stands Up for the Interests of the Following Groups?



Evaluation of Slogans and Policy Snapshots

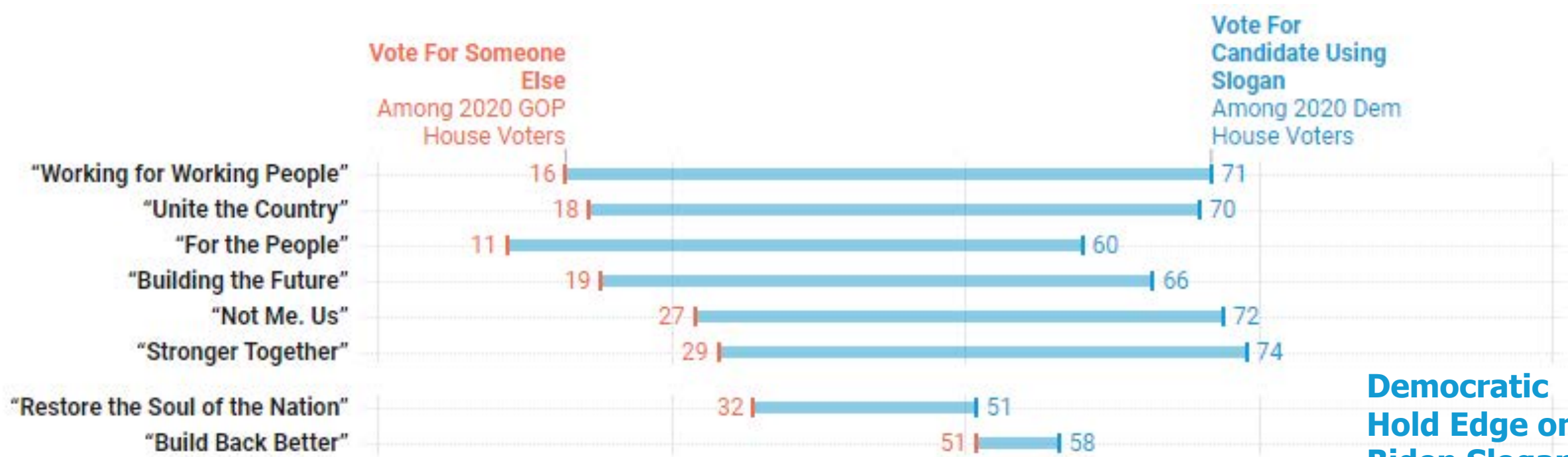
Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Slogans



Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Potential Democratic Slogans

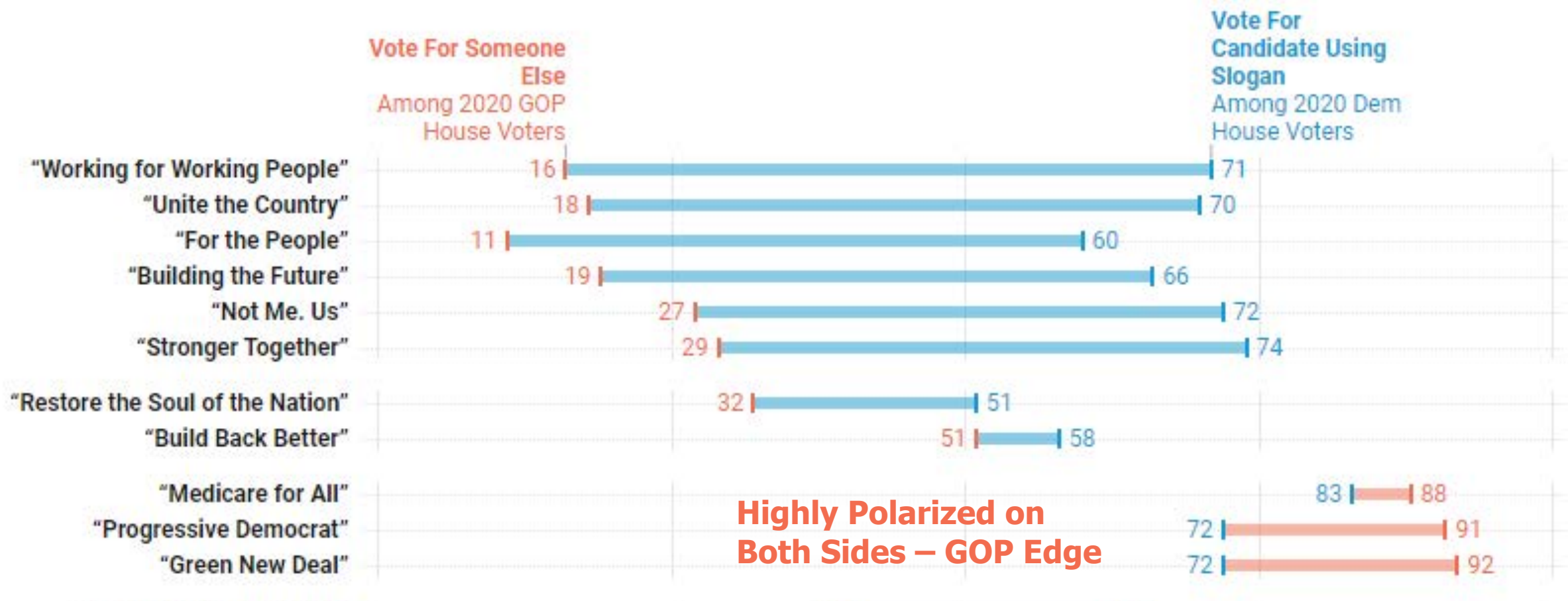


Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Potential Democratic Slogans

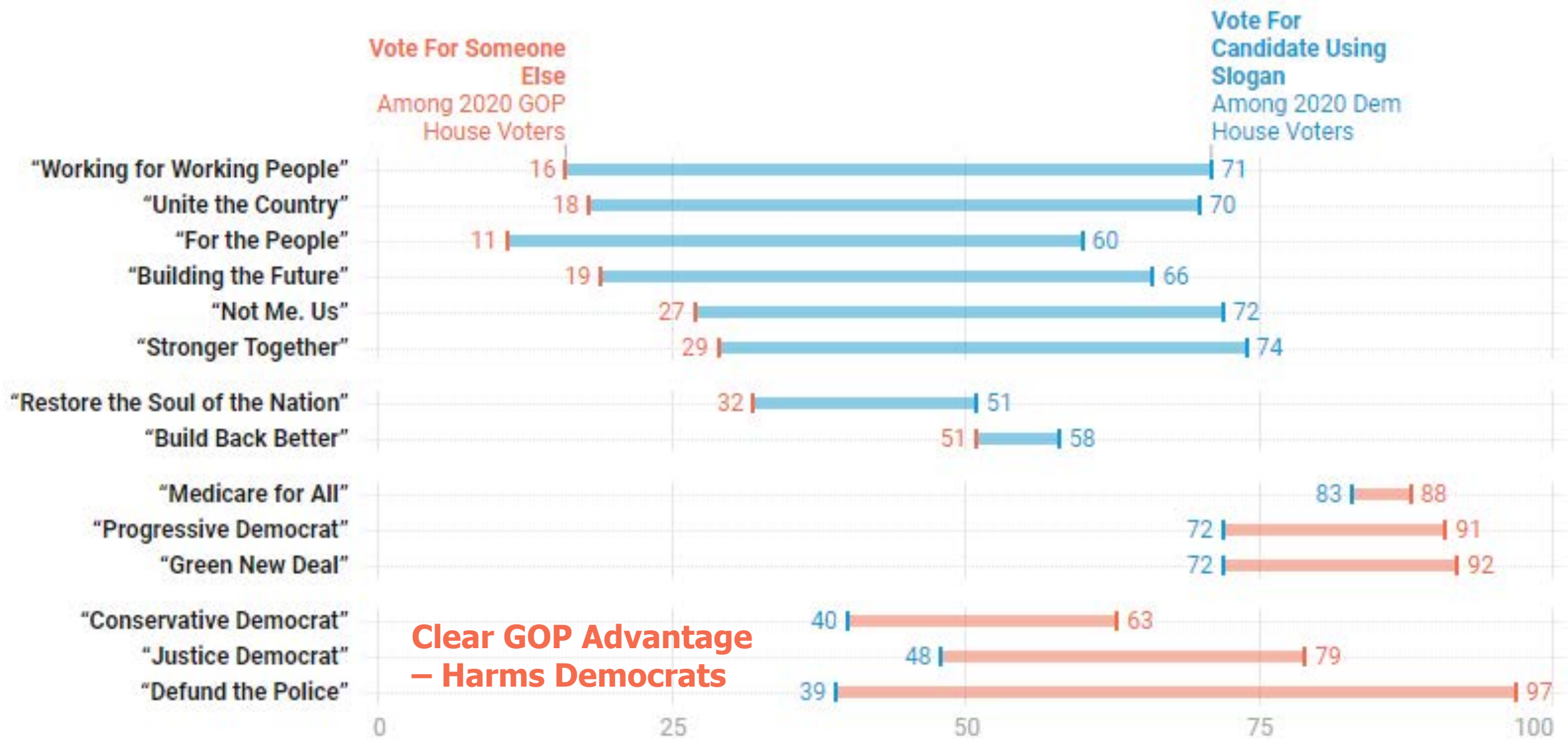


Democratic
Hold Edge on
Biden Slogans

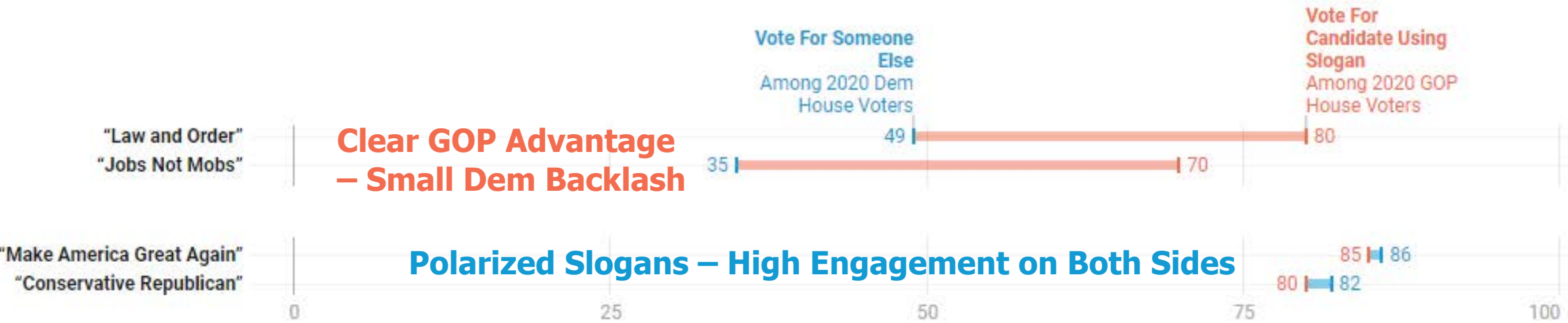
Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Potential Democratic Slogans



Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Potential Democratic Slogans



Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Potential Republican Slogans



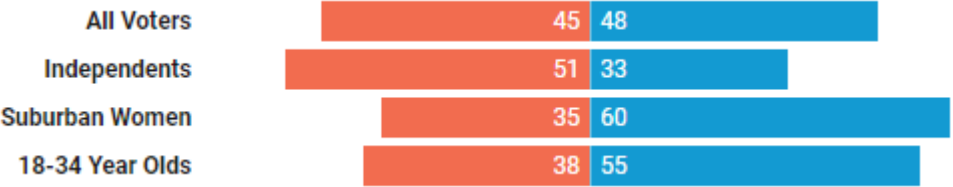
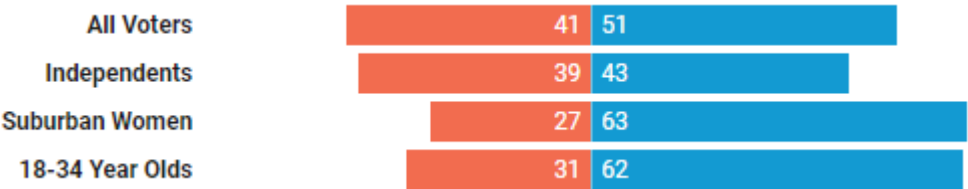
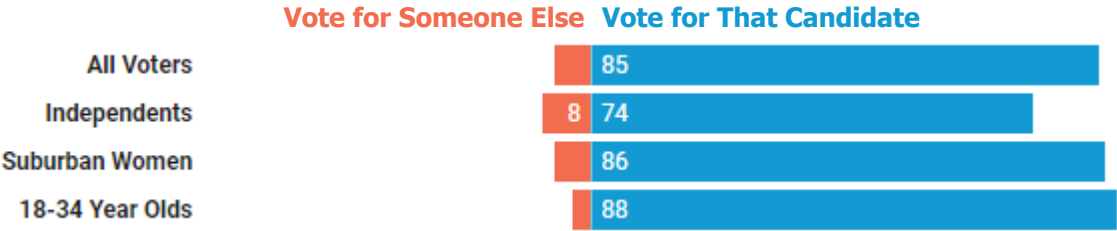
Voters React Most Positively to “For the People” Overall and with Key Groups. “Justice Democrat” Is the Most Divisive.

“I am running on a “**For the People**” agenda with an aggressive clean up of corruption in Washington, including disclosure of all money in politics, lowering health care and prescription drug costs, higher wages, creating jobs, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”

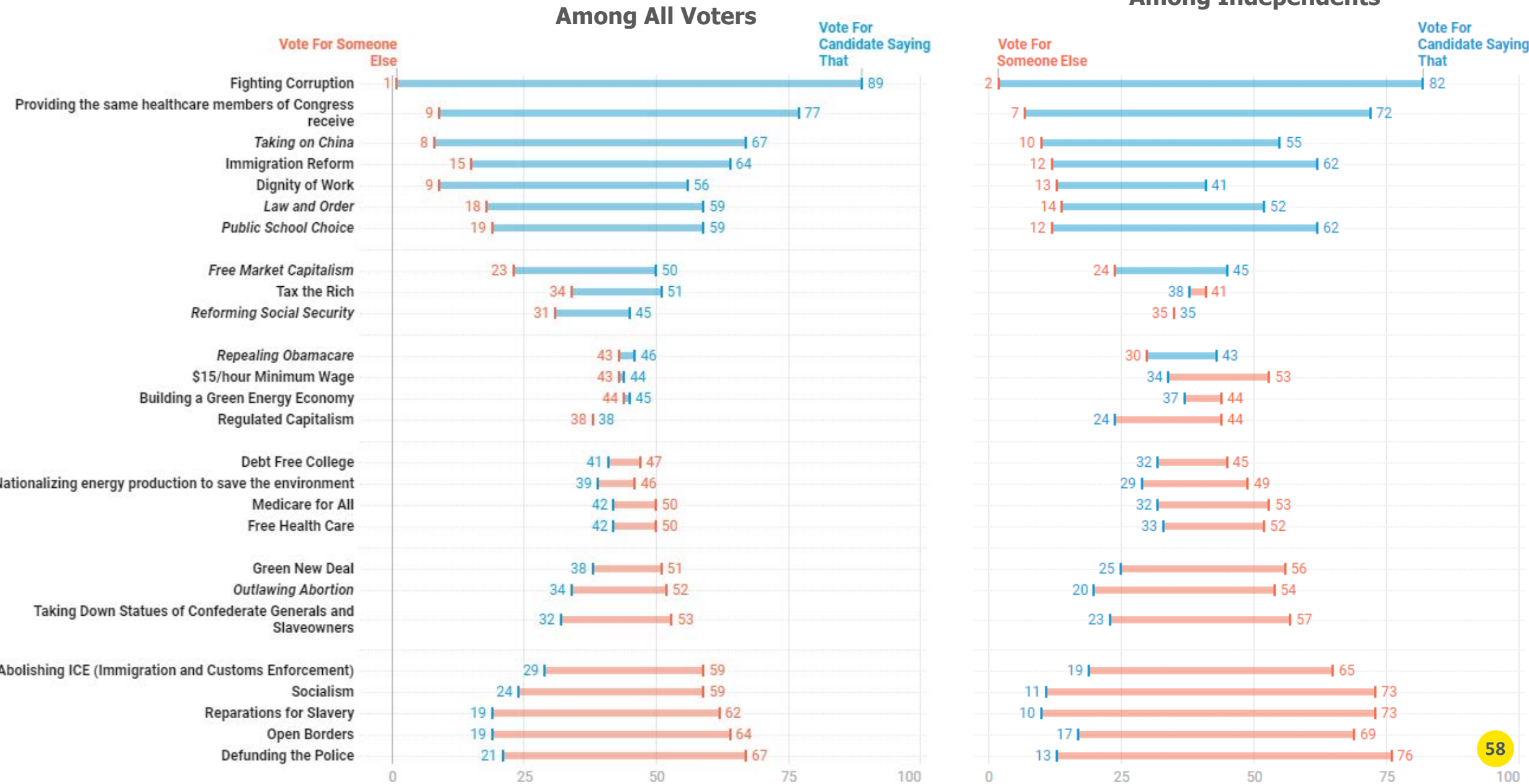
“I will work with Joe Biden to **Build Back Better**. Build a modern infrastructure of roads and bridges, energy grids and schools, and universal broadband. Build a clean energy future to meet the climate crisis. Build on American manufacturing and innovation to create more high paying jobs.”

“I am running to **make our government work for working people** - raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, addressing climate change through creating millions of new jobs building a renewable energy infrastructure, and making the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share so we can invest in the health, education, and safety of America’s children and families.”

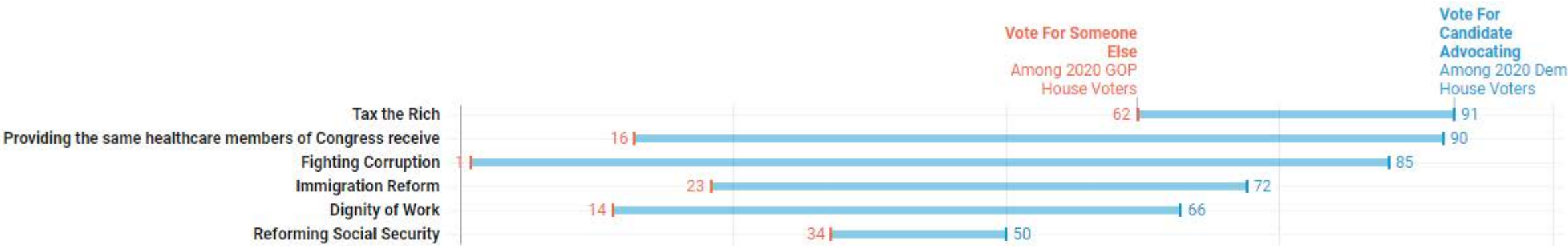
“I am running as a **Justice Democrat** to fix America’s income inequality, reform the criminal justice system, pass the Green New Deal for climate justice, Medicare for All, and debt-free college.”



Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots

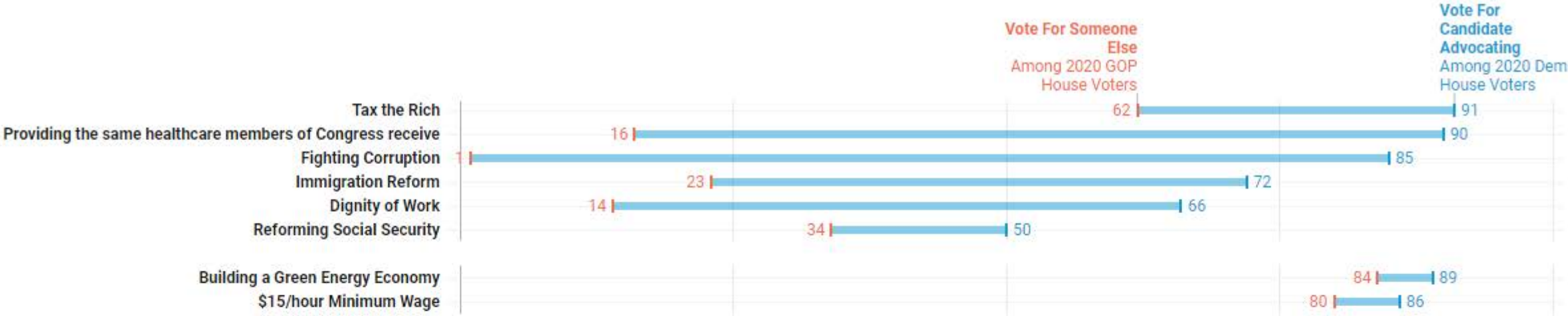


Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



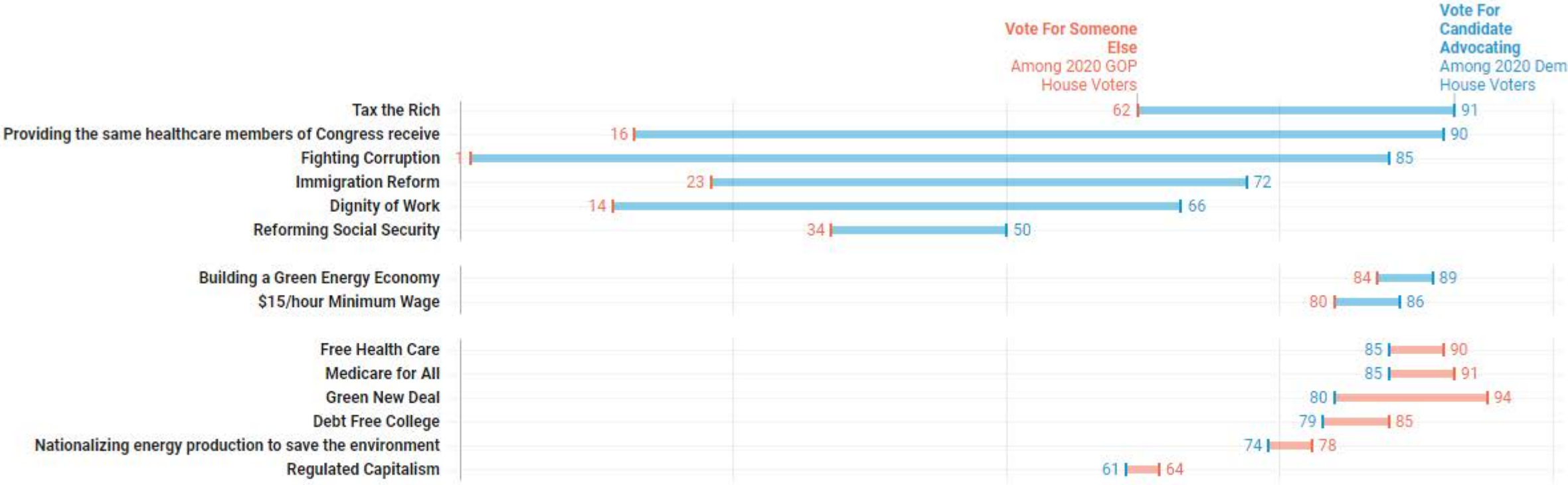
Strong with Democrats – Minimal GOP Backlash

Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



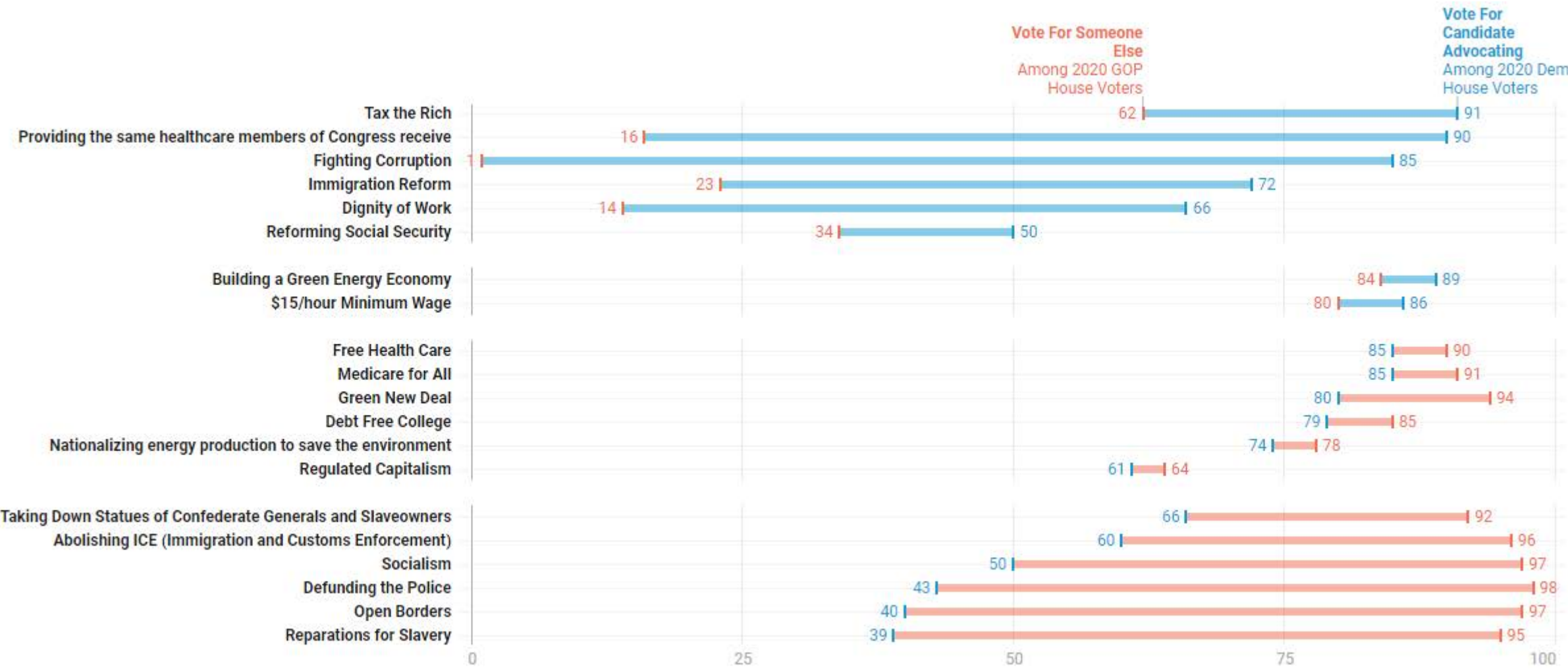
Strong with Democrats – High GOP Backlash

Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



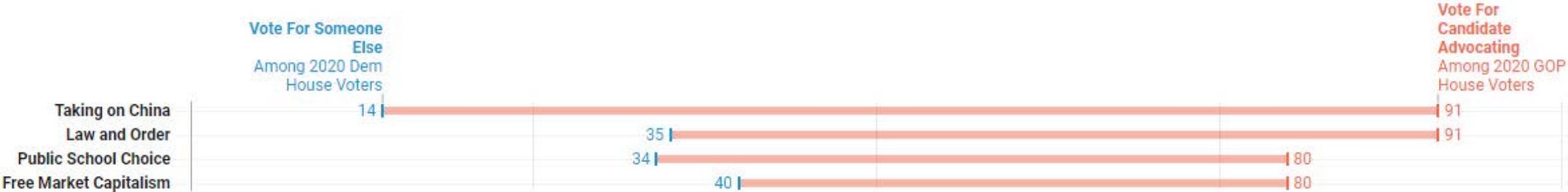
Strong with Democrats – Even Higher GOP Backlash

Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



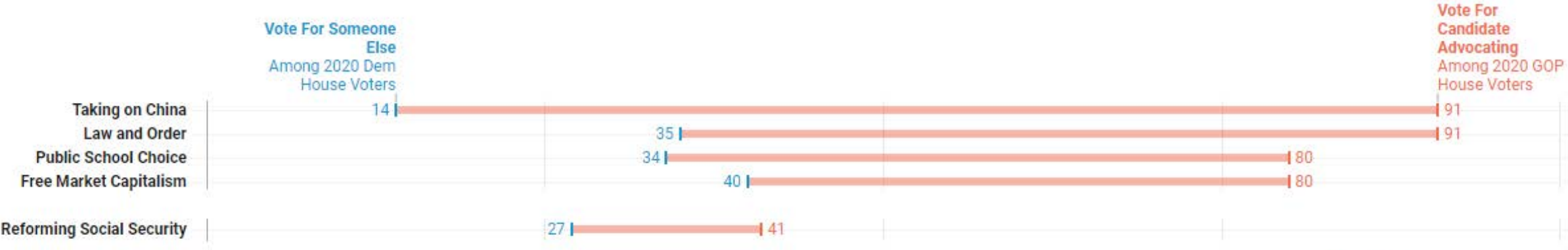
Weak with Democrats – High GOP Backlash

Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



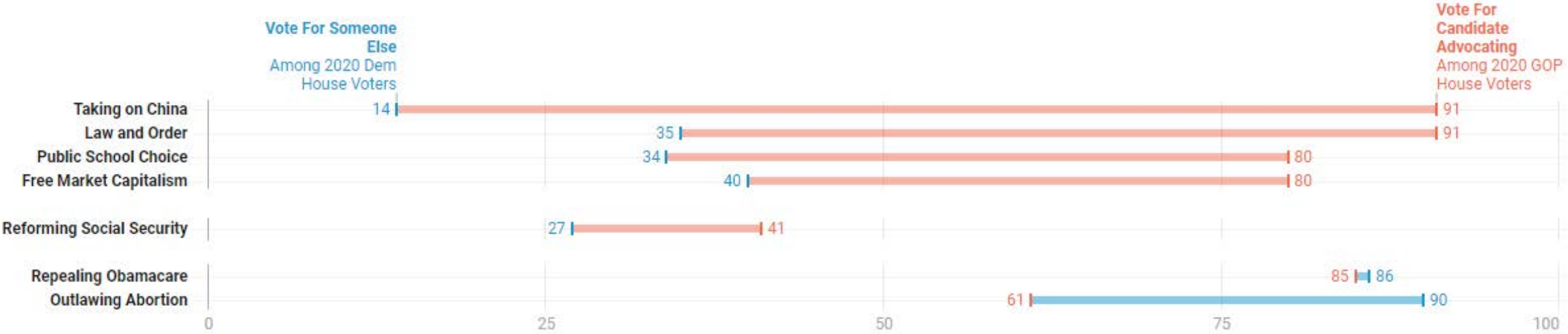
Strong with Republicans – Low Democratic Backlash

Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



Meh with Republicans – Low Democratic Backlash

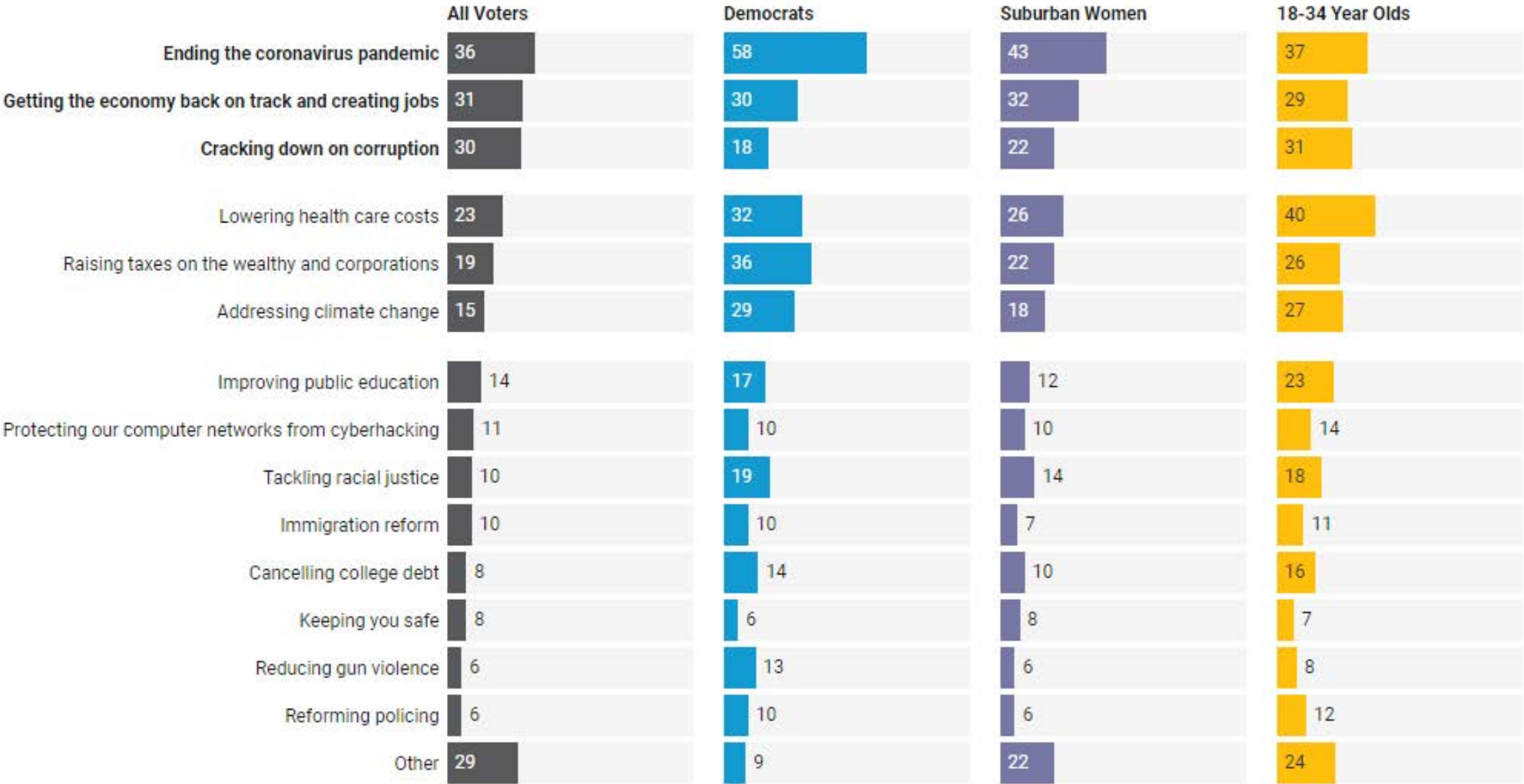
Likelihood to Vote for Candidates Base on Policy Snapshots



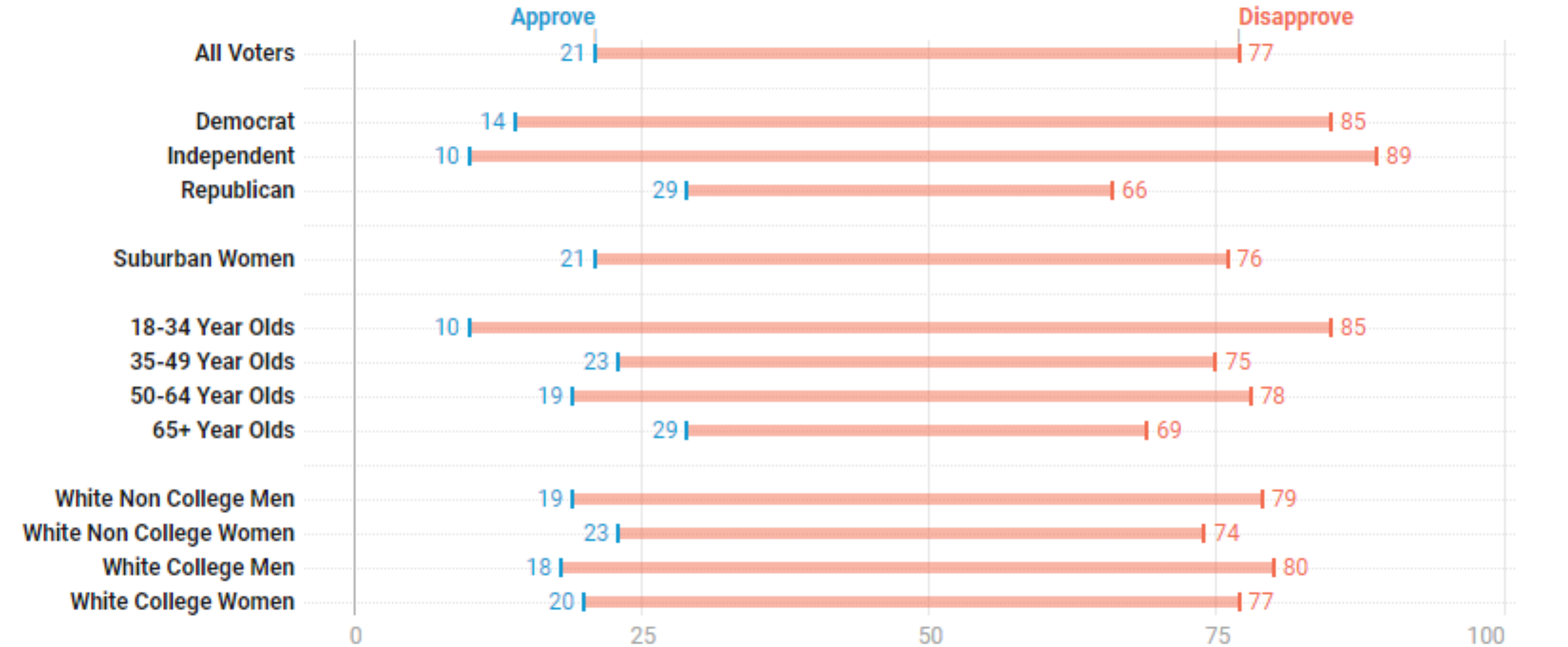
Repealing Obamacare highly polarized –
Outlawing abortion provokes strongest Democratic backlash

Issue Questions

Most Important Issues for Congress to Address



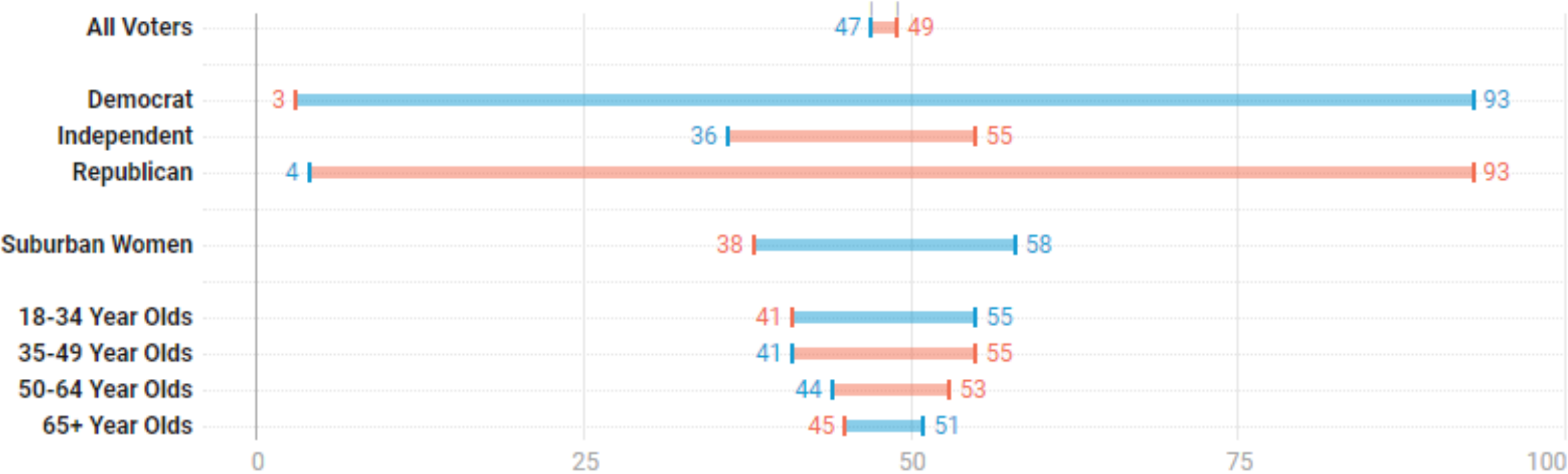
Trump is Not the Only Target of Anger. Voters Overwhelmingly Disapprove of the Way the U.S. Congress Has Responded to the Coronavirus Pandemic



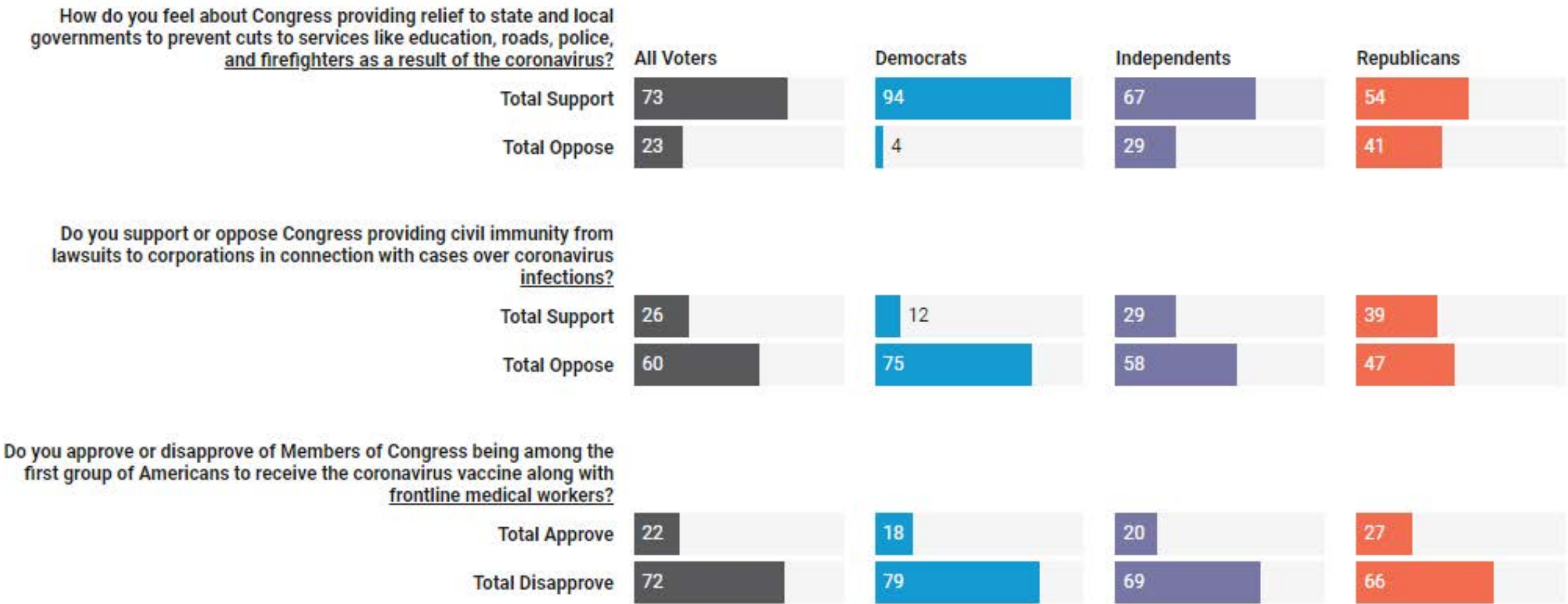
Which Concerns You More?

President Trump and the Republicans not taking the coronavirus seriously enough and allowing it to spread faster and wider than it should have

Joe Biden and the Democrats being too aggressive in closing down small businesses and schools, putting the economy and children's futures at risk

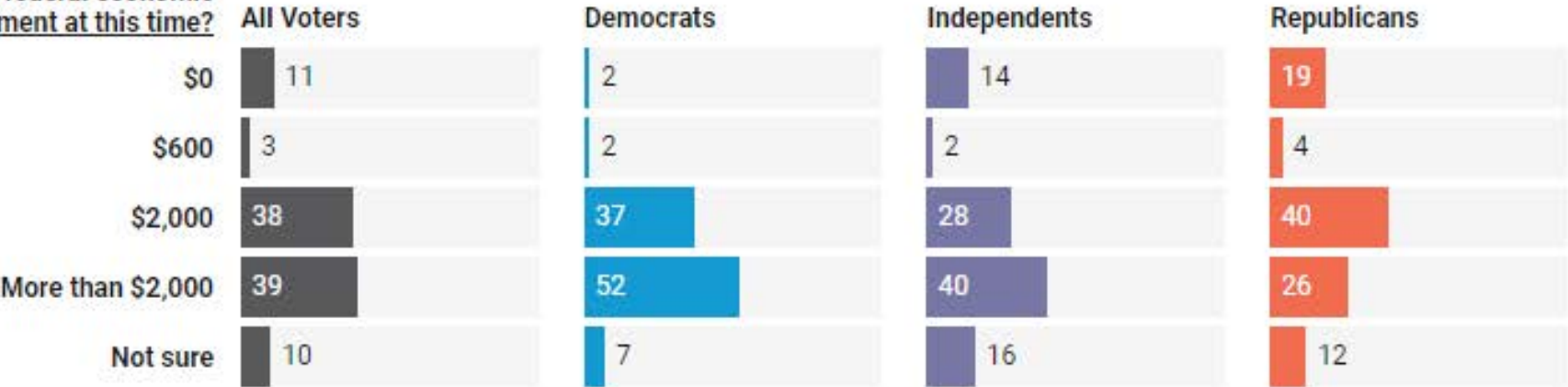


Voters Come Together to Support State & Local Relief, Opposing Liability Shields, and Disapprove of Members of Congress Getting the Vaccine Ahead of Frontline Workers



Voters Overwhelmingly Support Large Direct Checks to Voters and Nearly a Majority Want These Checks to Be Monthly

For households making less than \$100,000, what do you think is the right amount of money per person would be for a one-time federal economic stimulus payment at this time?

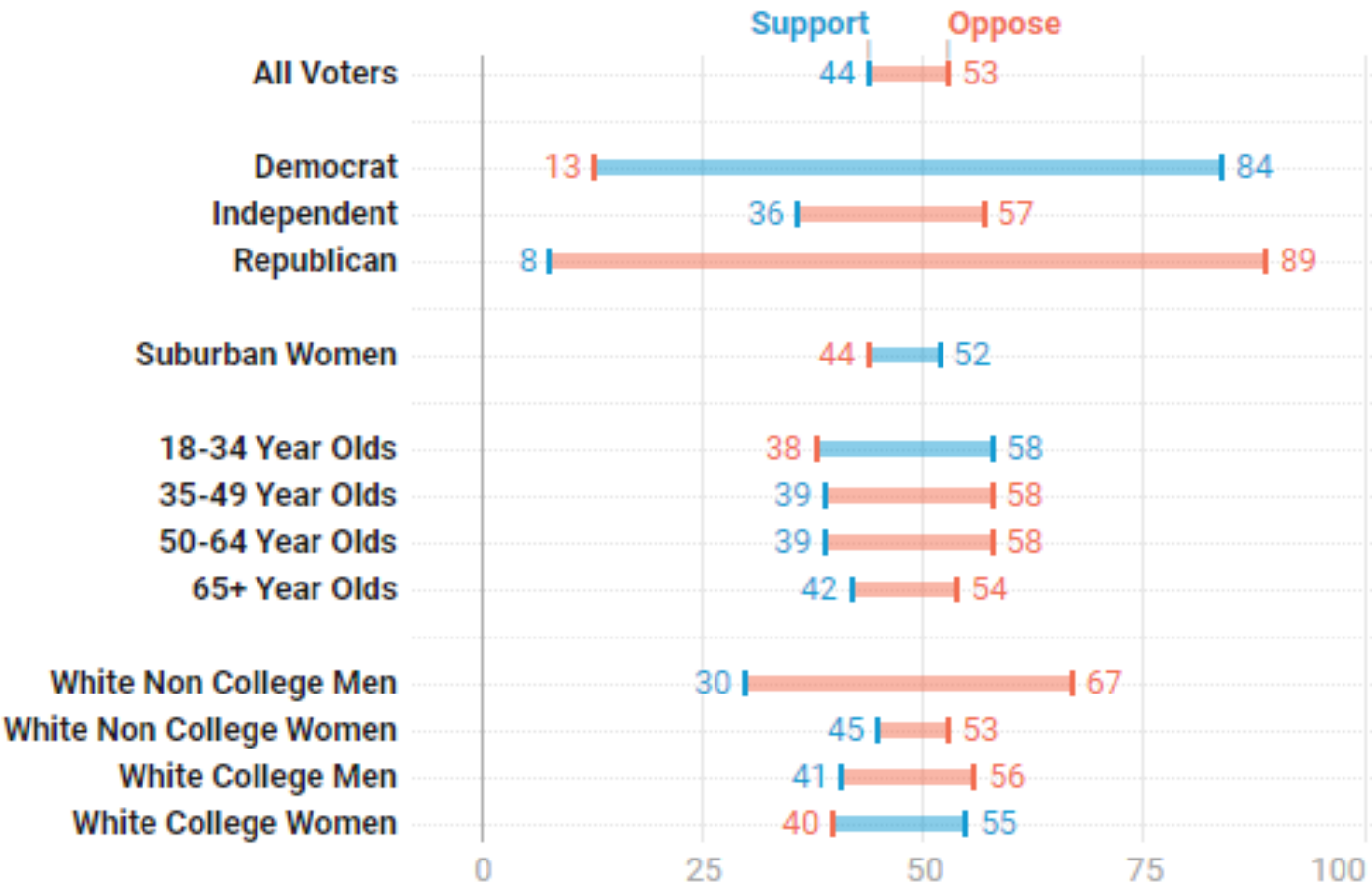


Do you think direct payments from the federal government should be:

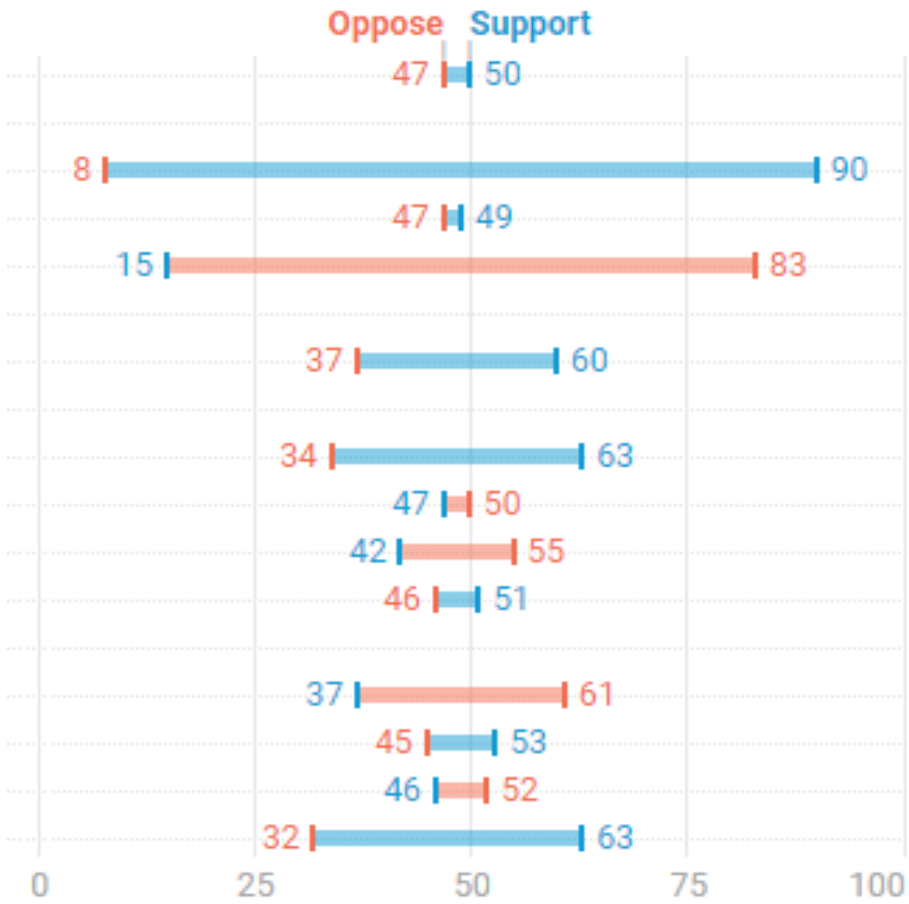


Cancelling Student Debt Divides Voters When They Know the Cost. Emphasizing Broader Investments Helps Reduce Opposition. Stark Age/Education Divides Exist.

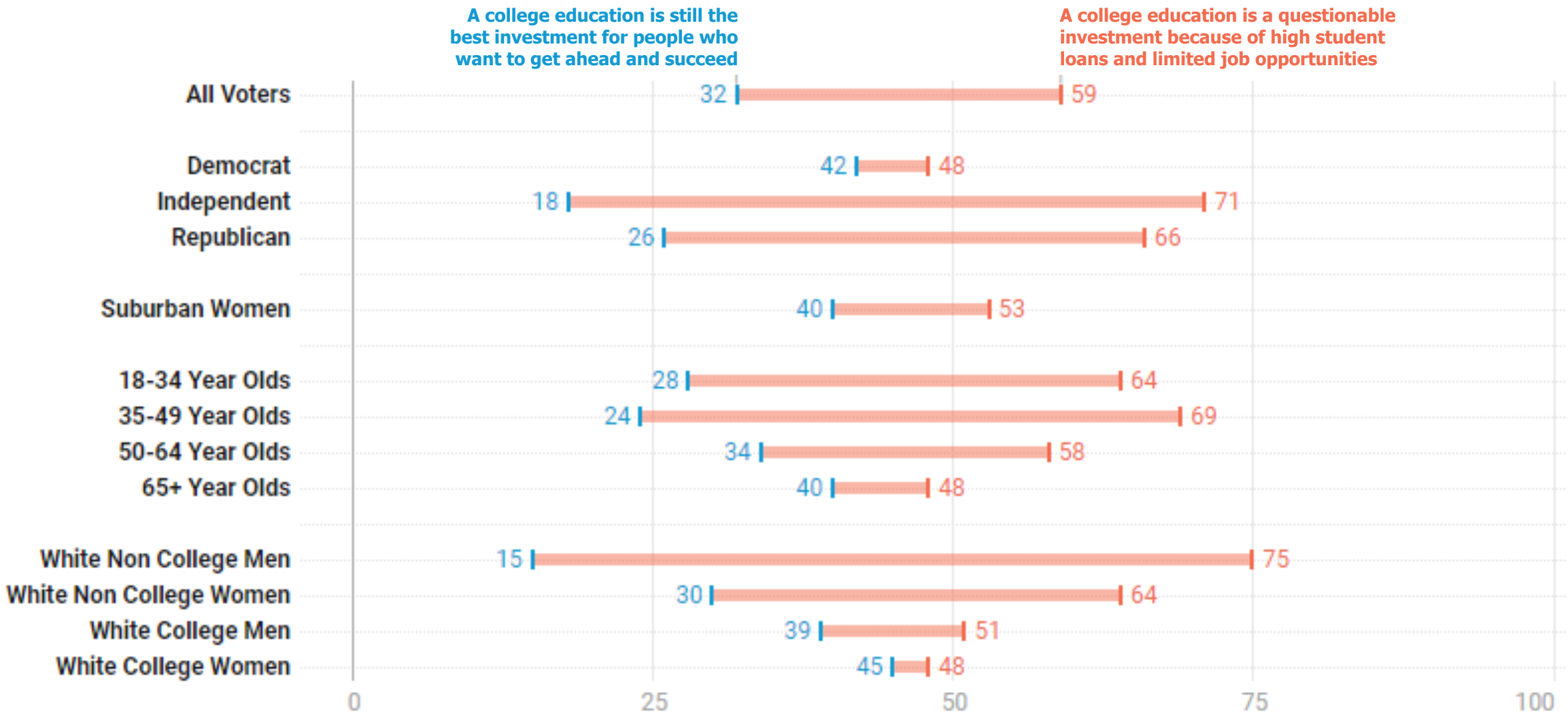
Do you support or oppose a proposal that would cancel up to \$50,000 of college loan debt at a cost of one trillion dollars?



Do you support or oppose a proposal that would cancel up to \$50,000 of college loan debt and provide greater funding for vocational education, apprenticeships, and job training?



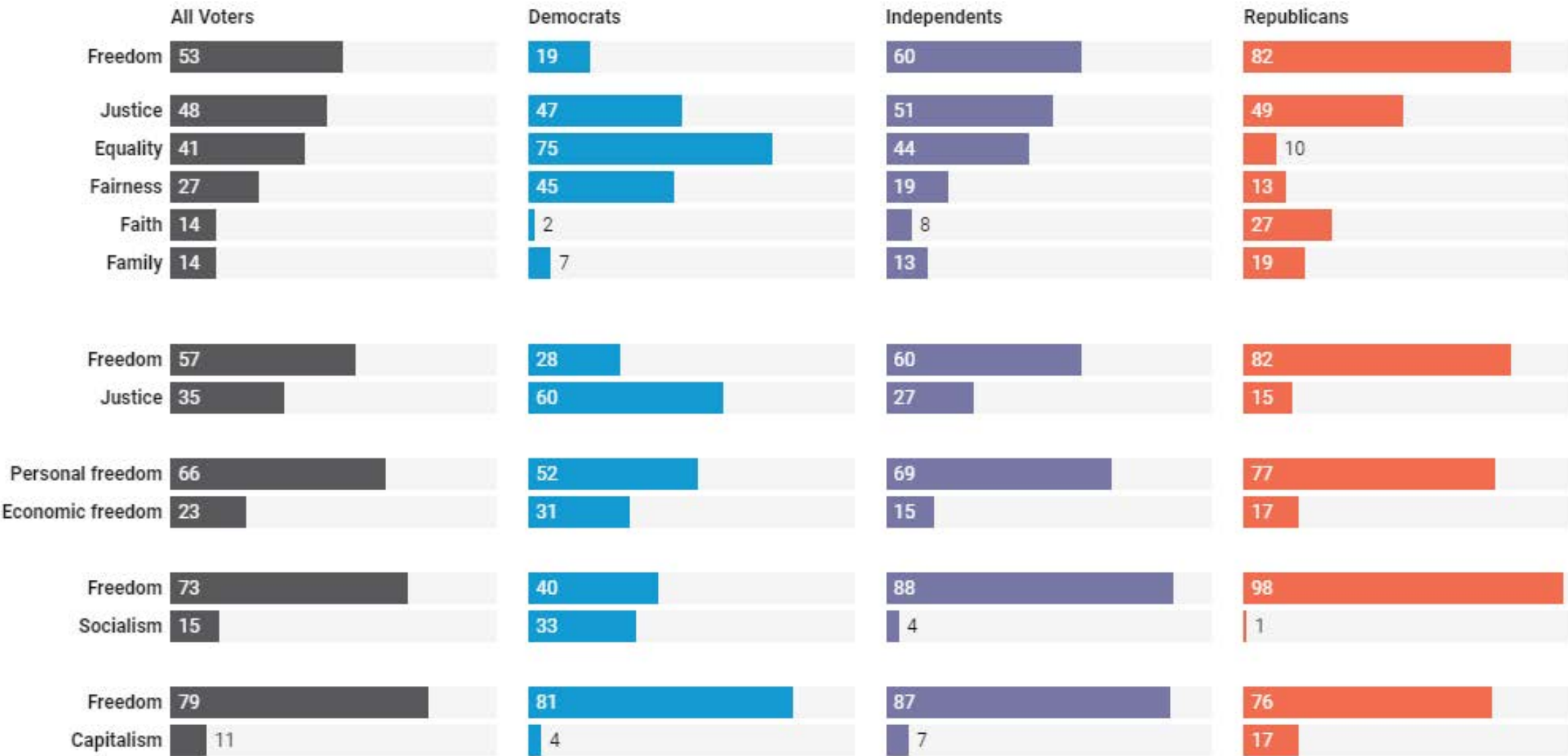
Voters Overwhelmingly Question the Value of a College Degree



Values

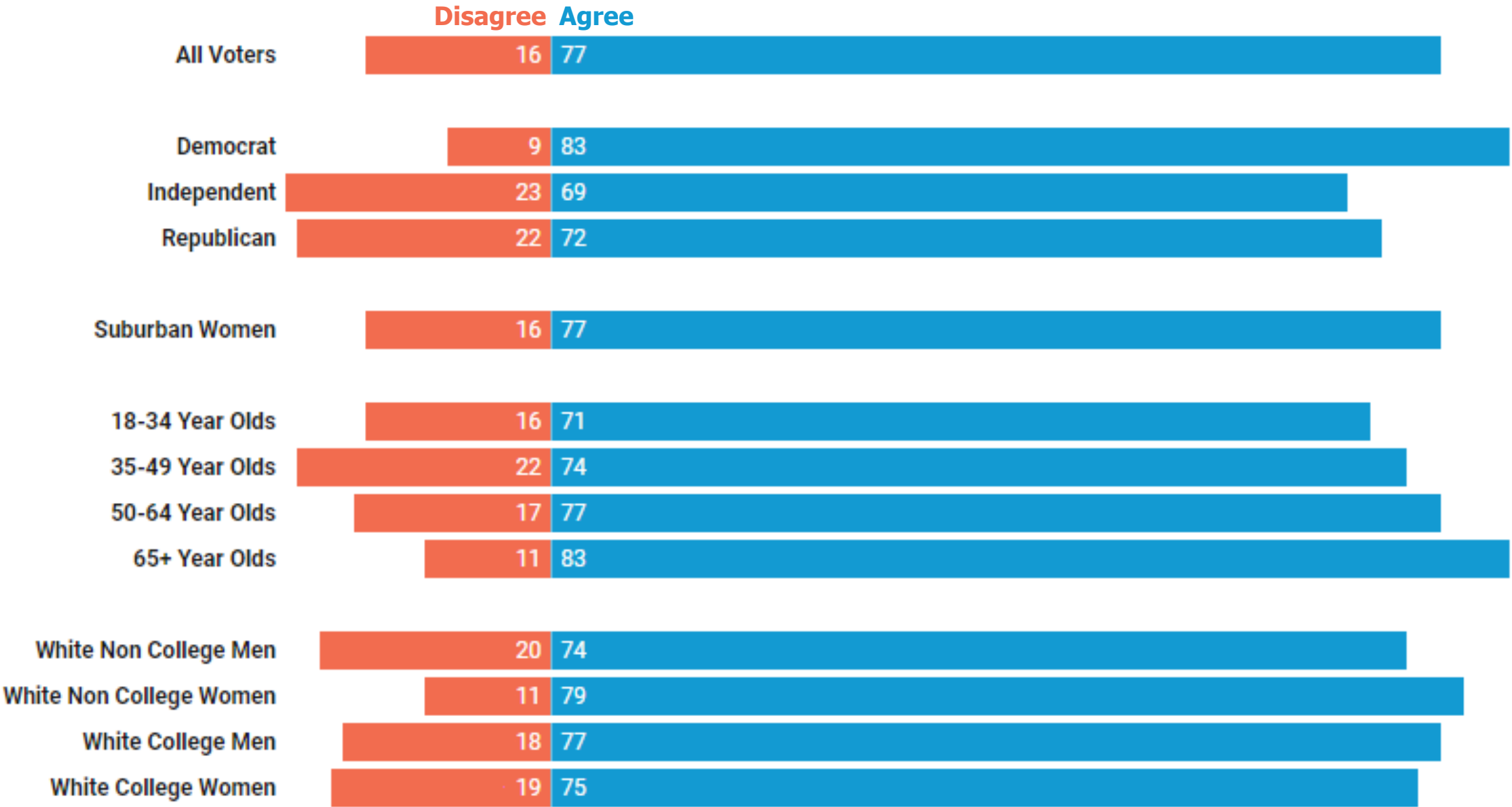
Freedom – Especially Personal Freedom – Animates Independents and Republicans

What is the more important value to you?



Democrats Can Win on an Economic Freedom Message that Unites All Groups

“True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence.”



What Polls Are Trying to Tell Us



January 2021

This deck presented by Future Majority and our partner Change Research is a starting point to answer one of the serious questions coming out of the 2020 election: “why were the polls wrong?”

The data analyzed looks at:

- **Trends over the past 6 years;**
- **What is driving the vote;**
- **A deeper look at the DNA of voters;**
- **Recommendations**

The data reveals several key points to keep in mind as you read through this deck:

- **Contrary to popular wisdom, polling (Democratic, Republican, and Independent) gets the Democratic vote share essentially right. However, polling continues to underestimate the Republican vote share by a great deal. Data also shows that if a Democrat is not near or above 50 percent, the Republican/Independent wave topples them at the end. This also happens in non-Trump elections.**
- **Pure Independent voters, who are key to winning general elections in tough states dislike everyone by nature; however, they really dislike Democratic leaders and the Party. In other words, they lean right. They need convincing. New branding!**
- **The three main drivers of the vote play to the Republican strength by perception: economy, putting U.S. interests first, and personal freedoms.**
- **Putting justice above freedom is not a winner for Democrats as the Independent voter sides with Republicans on these key values and the words aligned with them.**
- **Note: Taking the congressional district tracking poll closest to election day in 49 districts, the average missed the Democratic vote share by 1.9% and the Republican vote share by 6.2% (Source: HMPAC)**

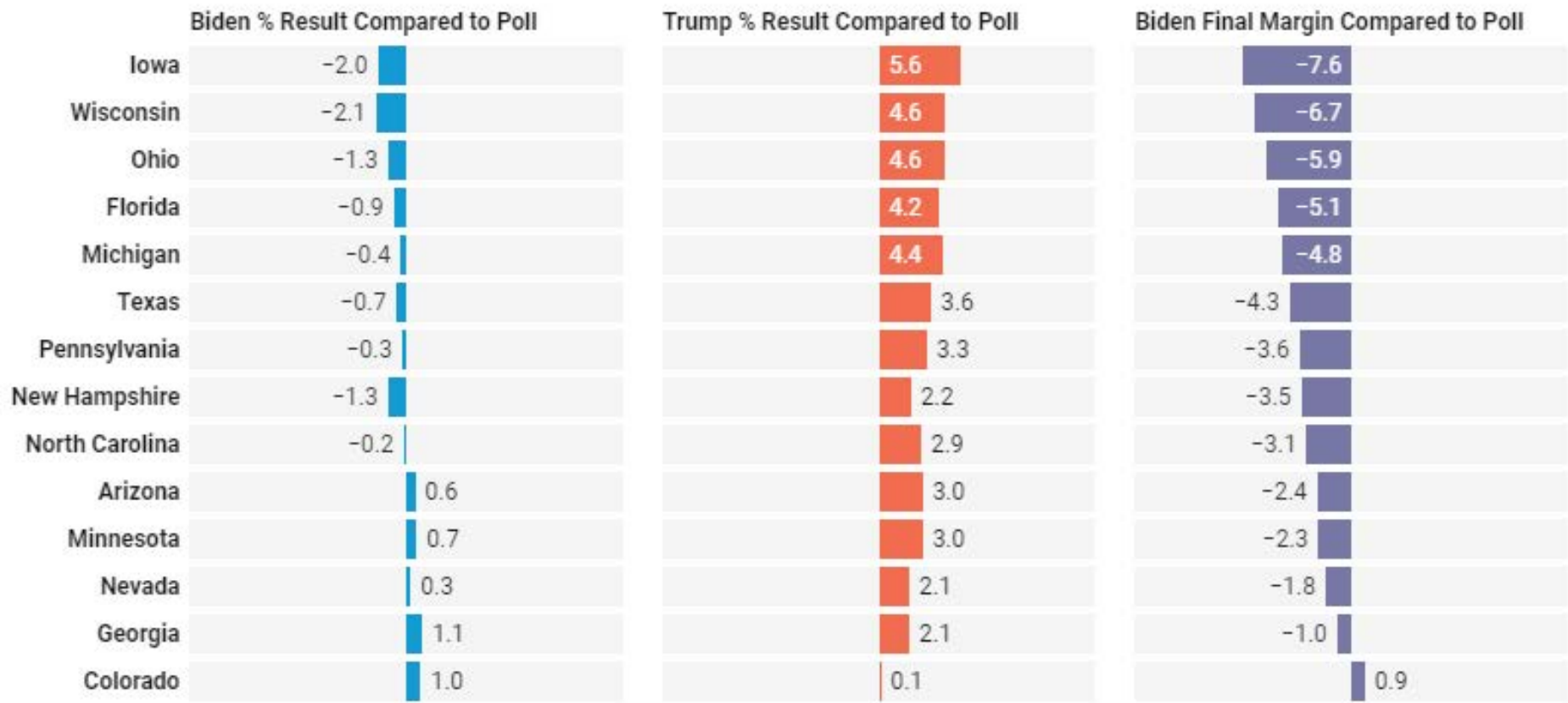
Recommendations:

- **Adjust polling budgets away from messaging to base voters and do many more interviews with people – mostly independent voters - who dislike both parties to drive the strongest contrasts with the GOP. Trust independent groups to turn out voters.**
- **Focus on economic issues that voters care about and their values that drive their choice. Focus on the working class (Biden's personal story allowed independents to identify with him.)**
- **Frame the Democratic in terms of a vision of “freedom” (such as “more access to health care gives you the freedom to start a business.”) We know that freedom dominates the Republican mind, however, it is also a major driver of the Independent vote.**

In 2020, publicly released polls properly estimated Biden’s vote share. However, they once again underestimated Trump’s vote share.

2020 President Poll Comparison

Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three+ Weeks (10/14 to 11/3)

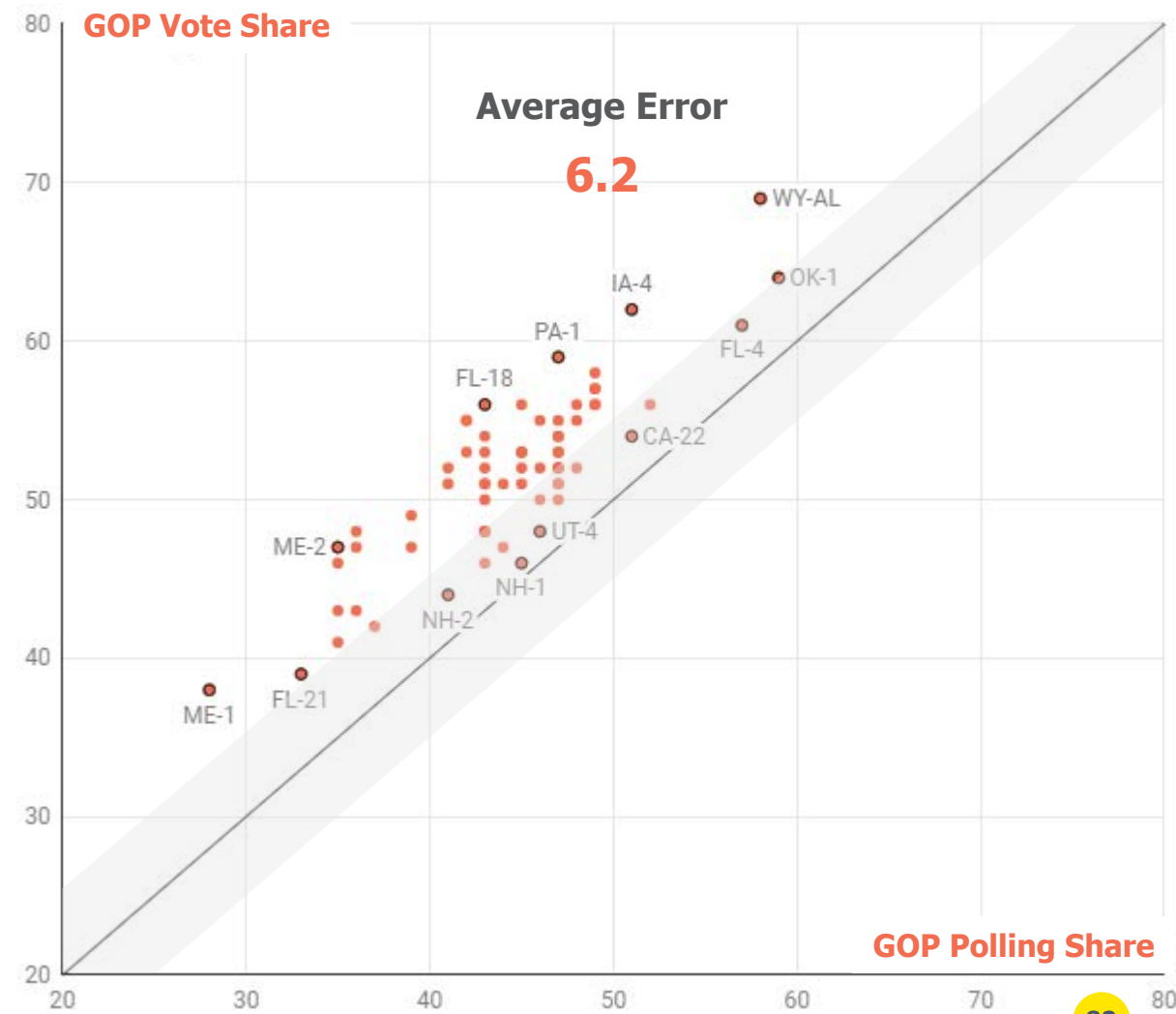
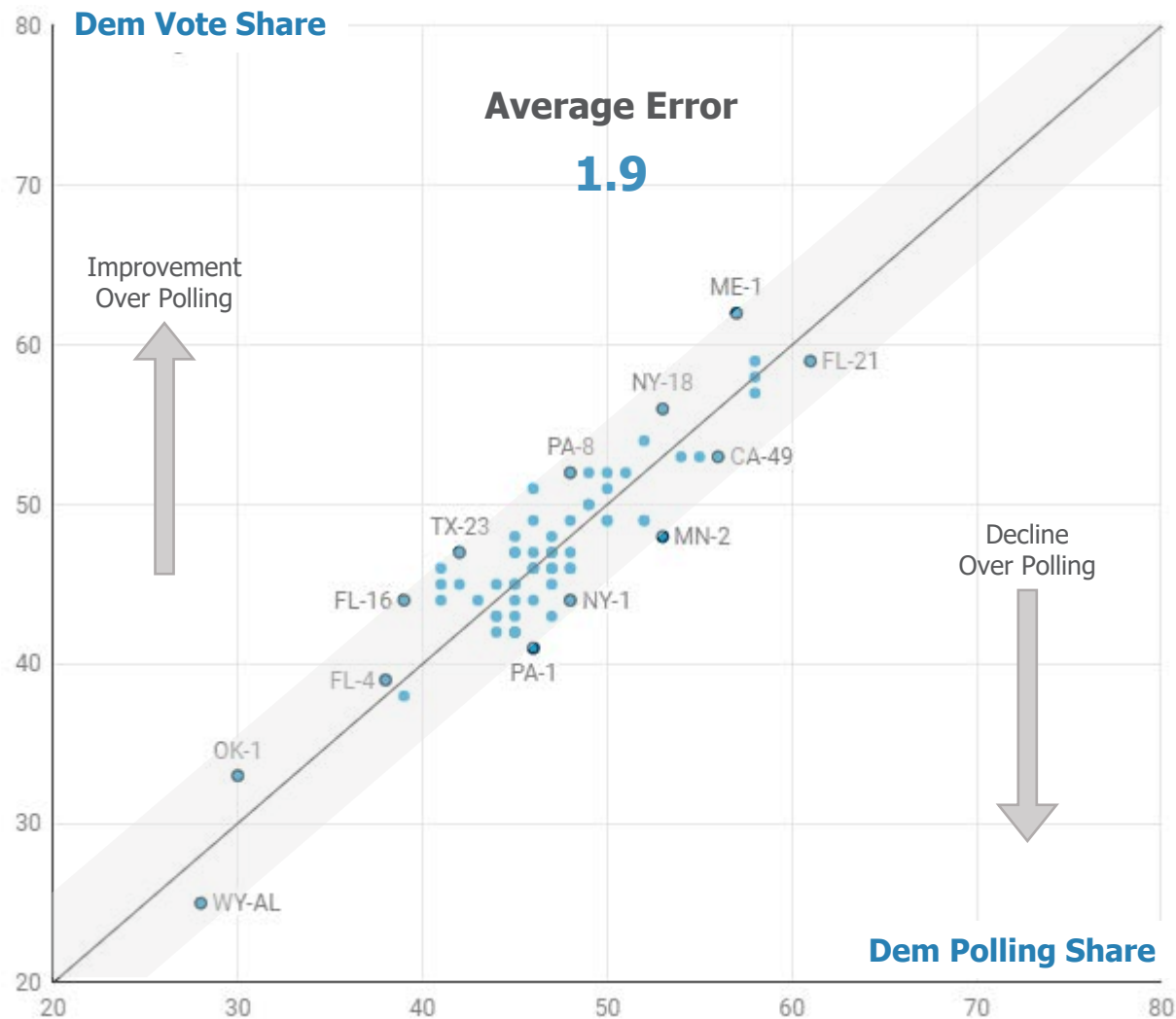


Average Error **-0.4**

3.3 (8x Dem polling error)

House public polling showed the same pattern (D correct, R not) in 2020...

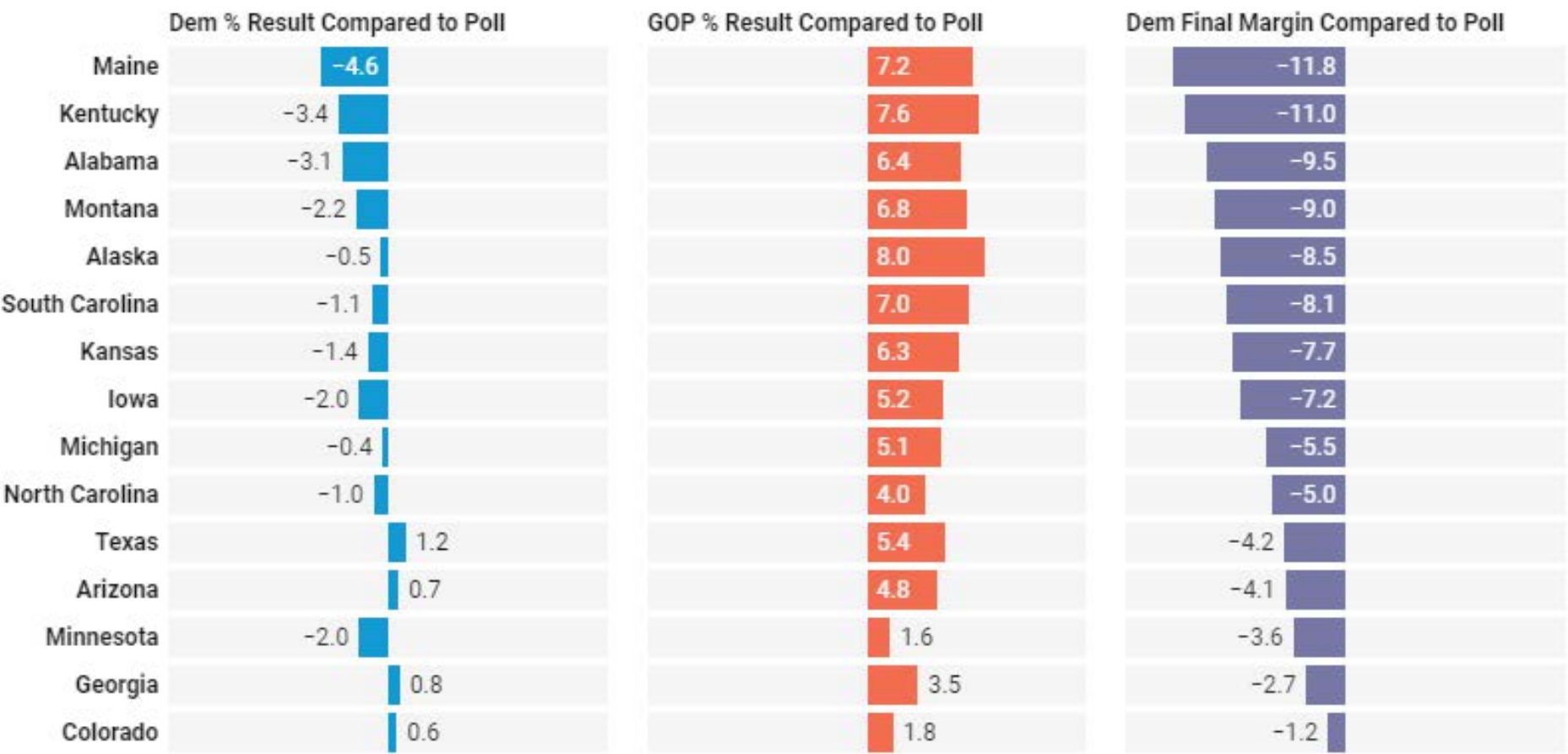
2020 U.S. House Comparison of top 49 Districts



2020 Senate Polling: Same problem

2020 U.S. Senate Poll Comparison

Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three Weeks (10/14 to 11/3)



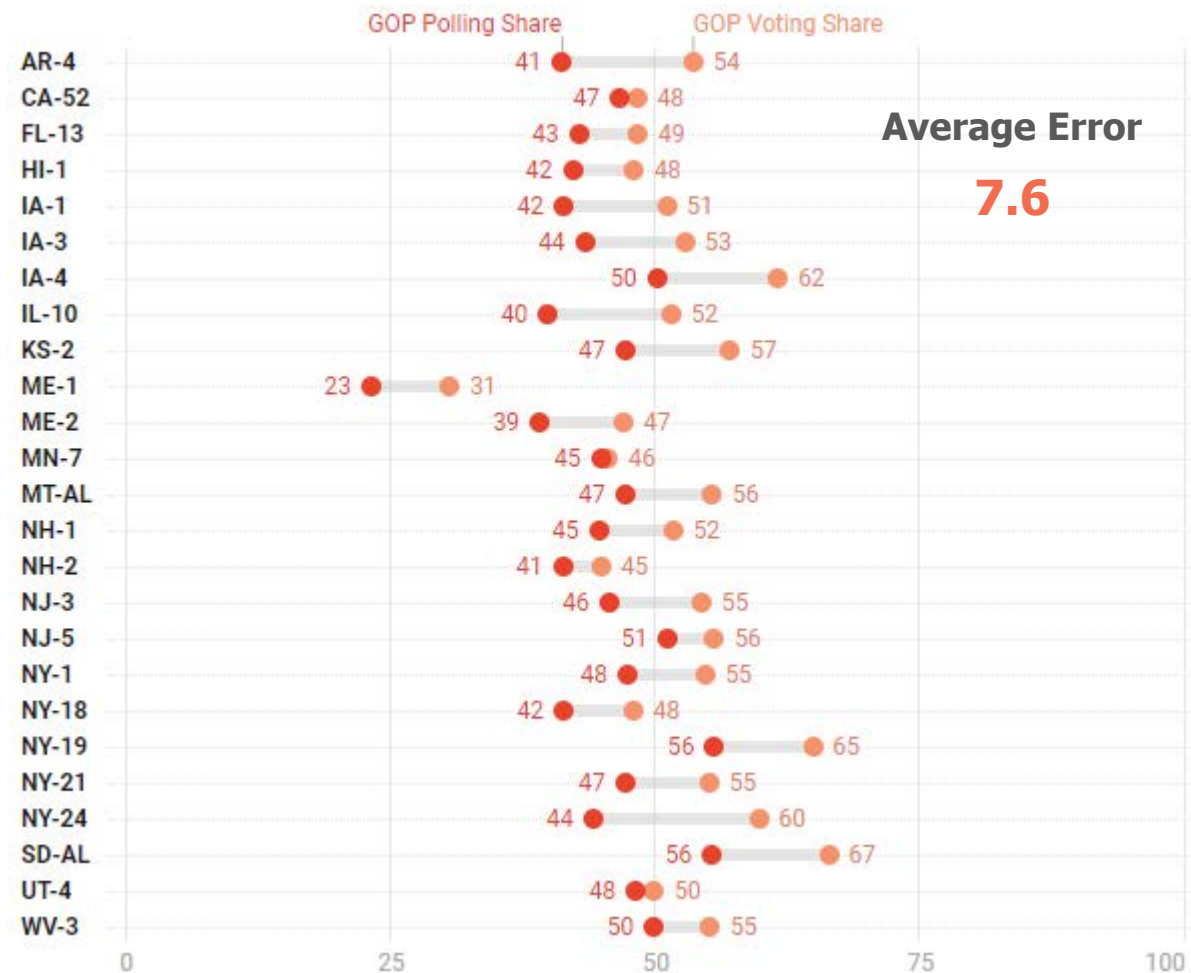
Average Error

-1.2

5.4

Despite false generalizations about timelines, public polling has underestimated GOP support going back all the way to the 2014 House races—in other words for four cycles, not three.

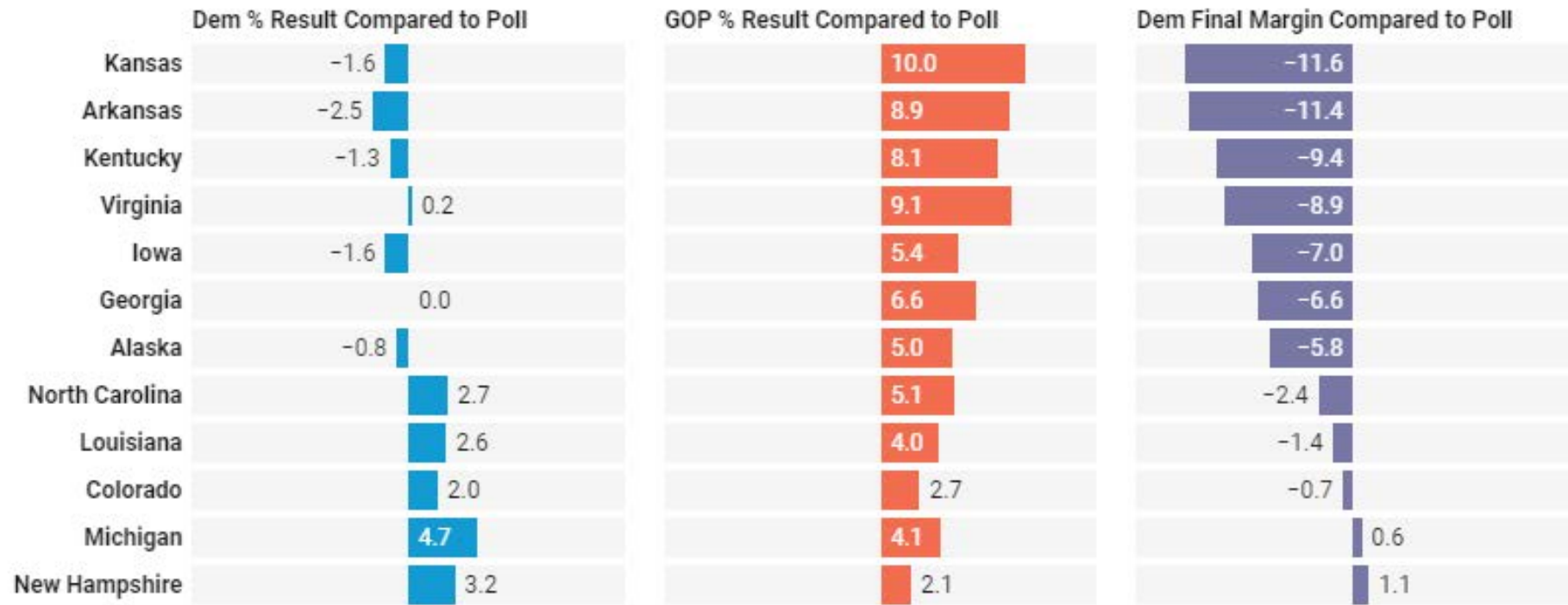
2014 U.S. House Comparison



Data for the 2014 Senate races

2014 U.S. Senate Poll Comparison

Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three Weeks (10/14 to 11/4)



Average Error

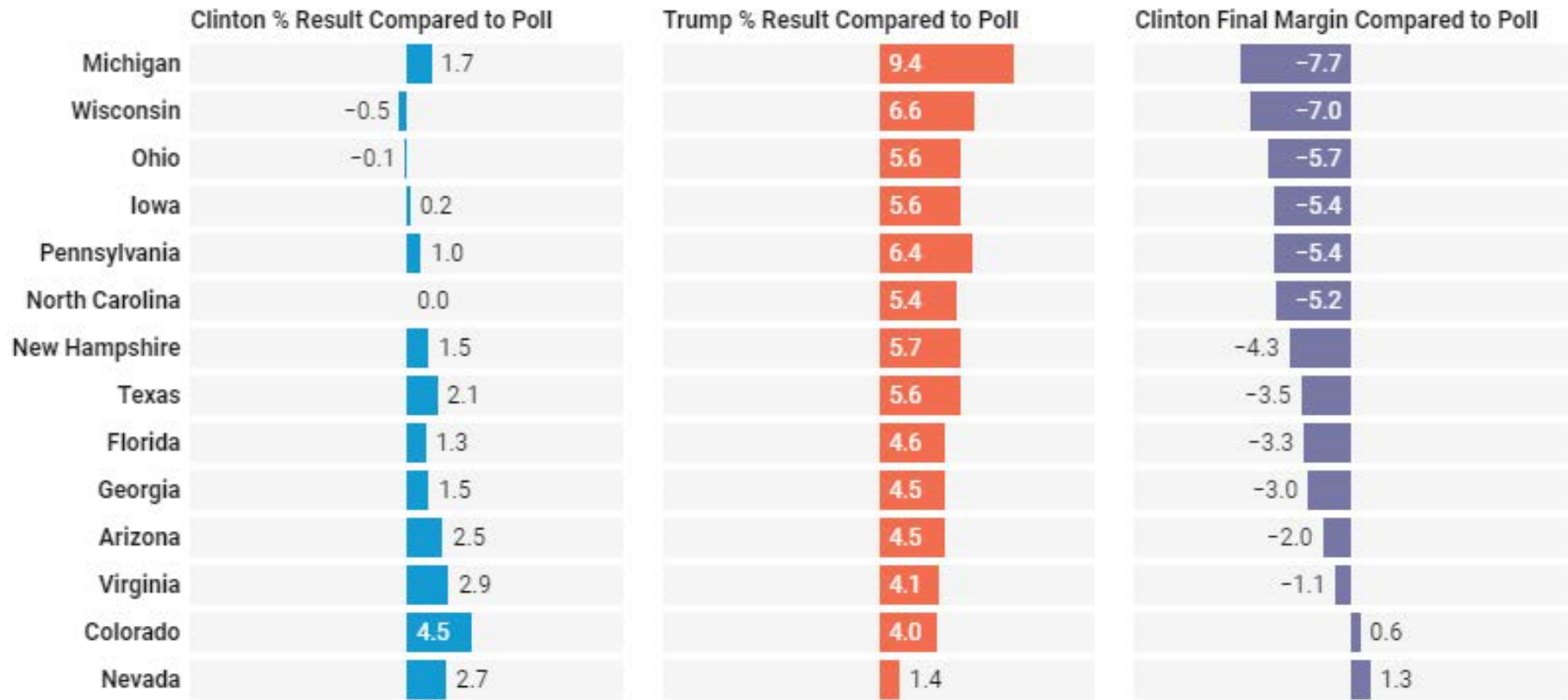
0.6

5.9

In 2016, public polling estimated Hillary's share closely but again very much underestimated Trump. Though 2016 was *not* the start.

2016 President Poll Comparison

Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three+ Weeks (10/15 to 11/8)

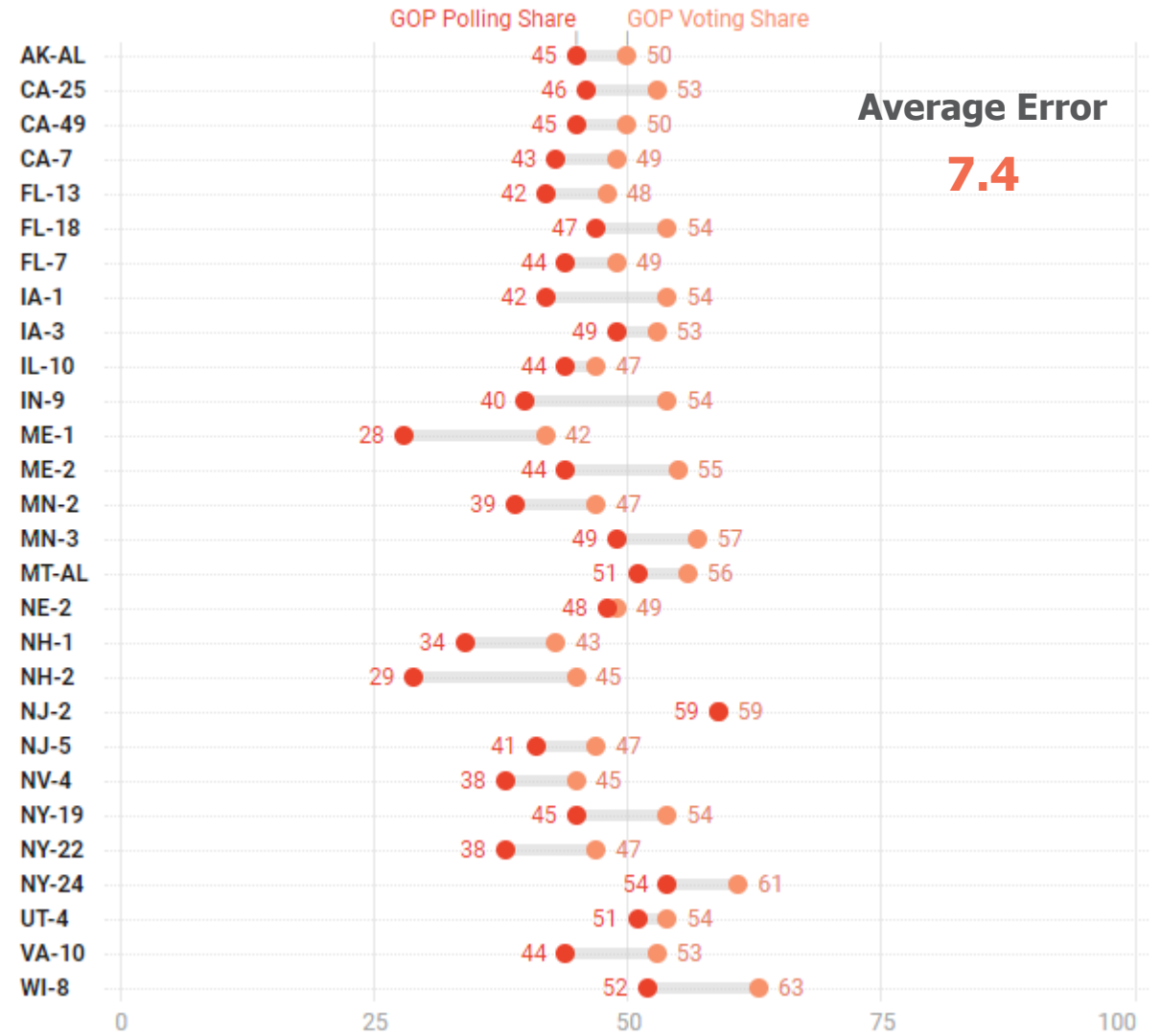
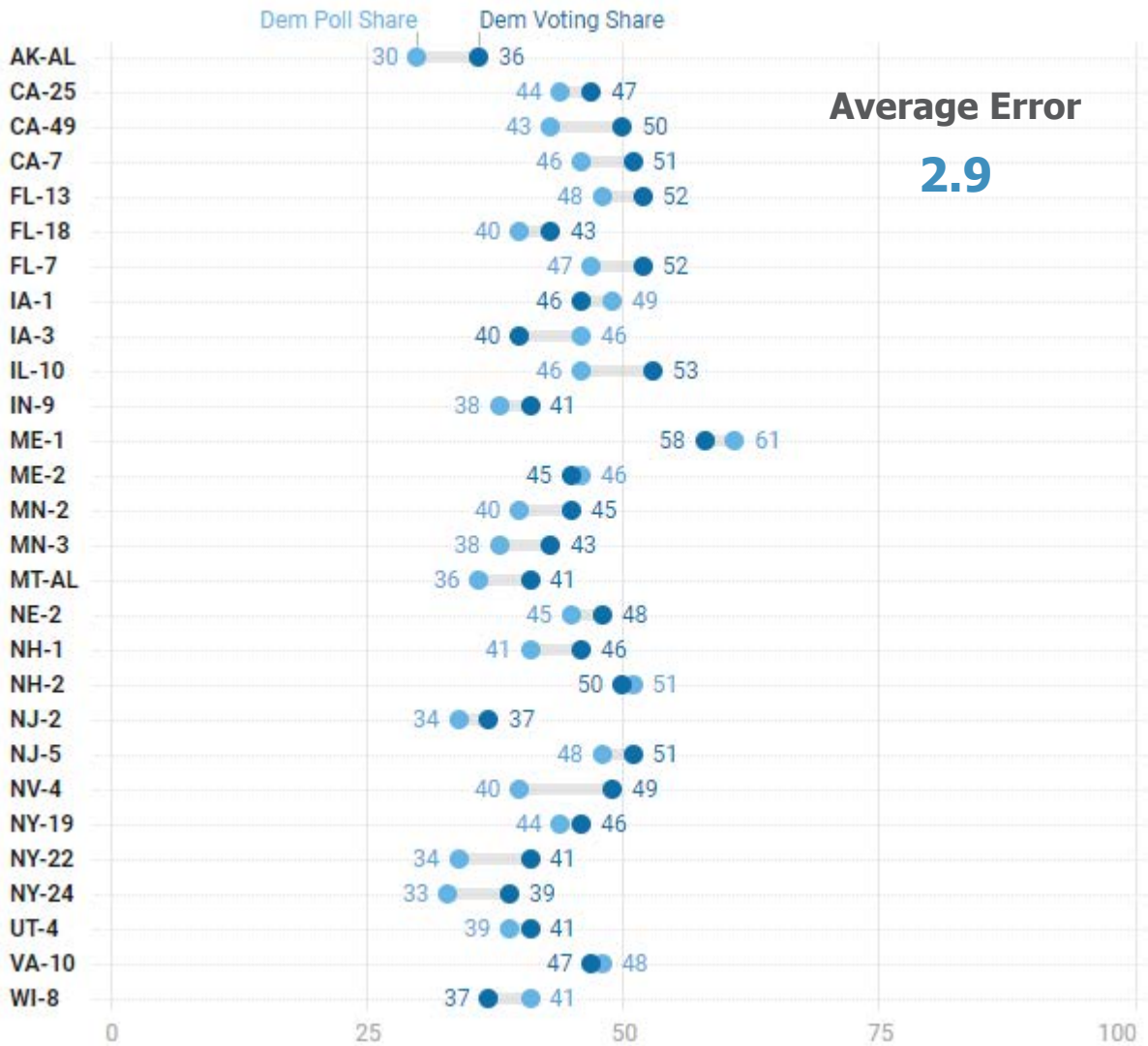


Average Error 1.5

5.2

The same pattern held in the 2016 House races, reflected by lack of gains

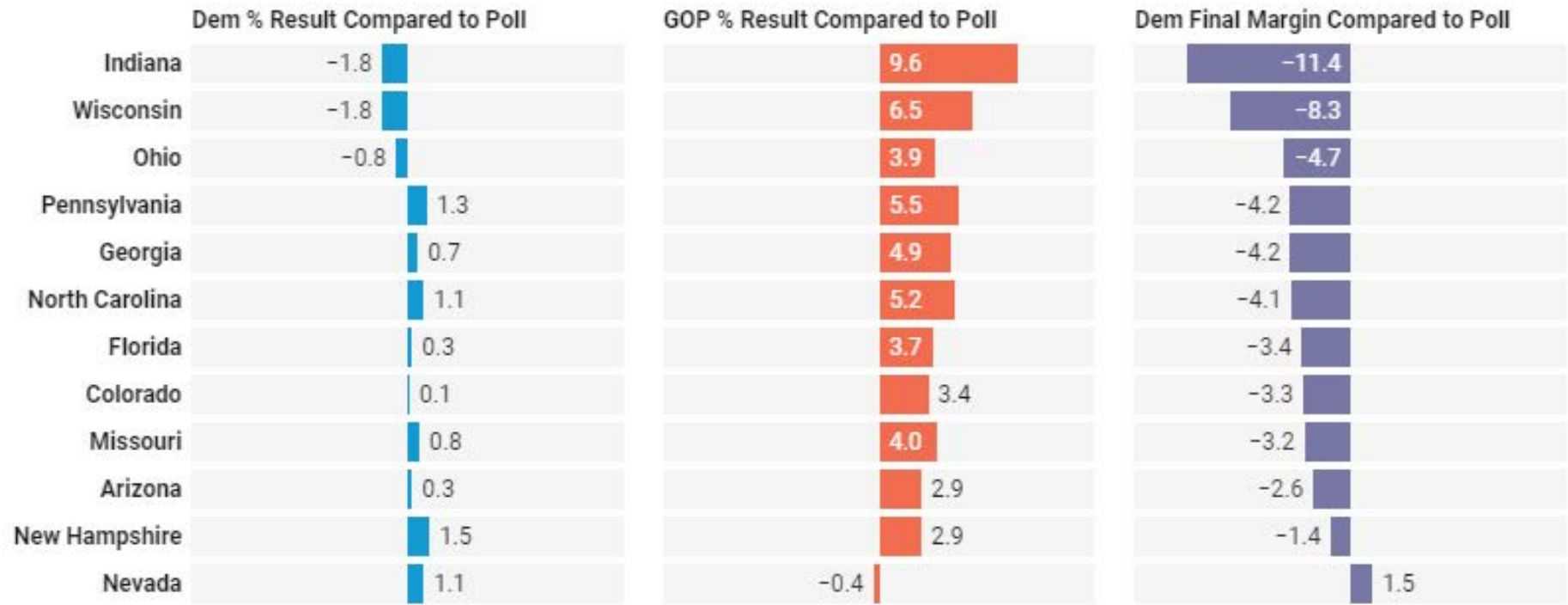
2016 U.S. House Comparison



Groundhog day: the 2016 Senate races

2016 U.S. Senate Poll Comparison

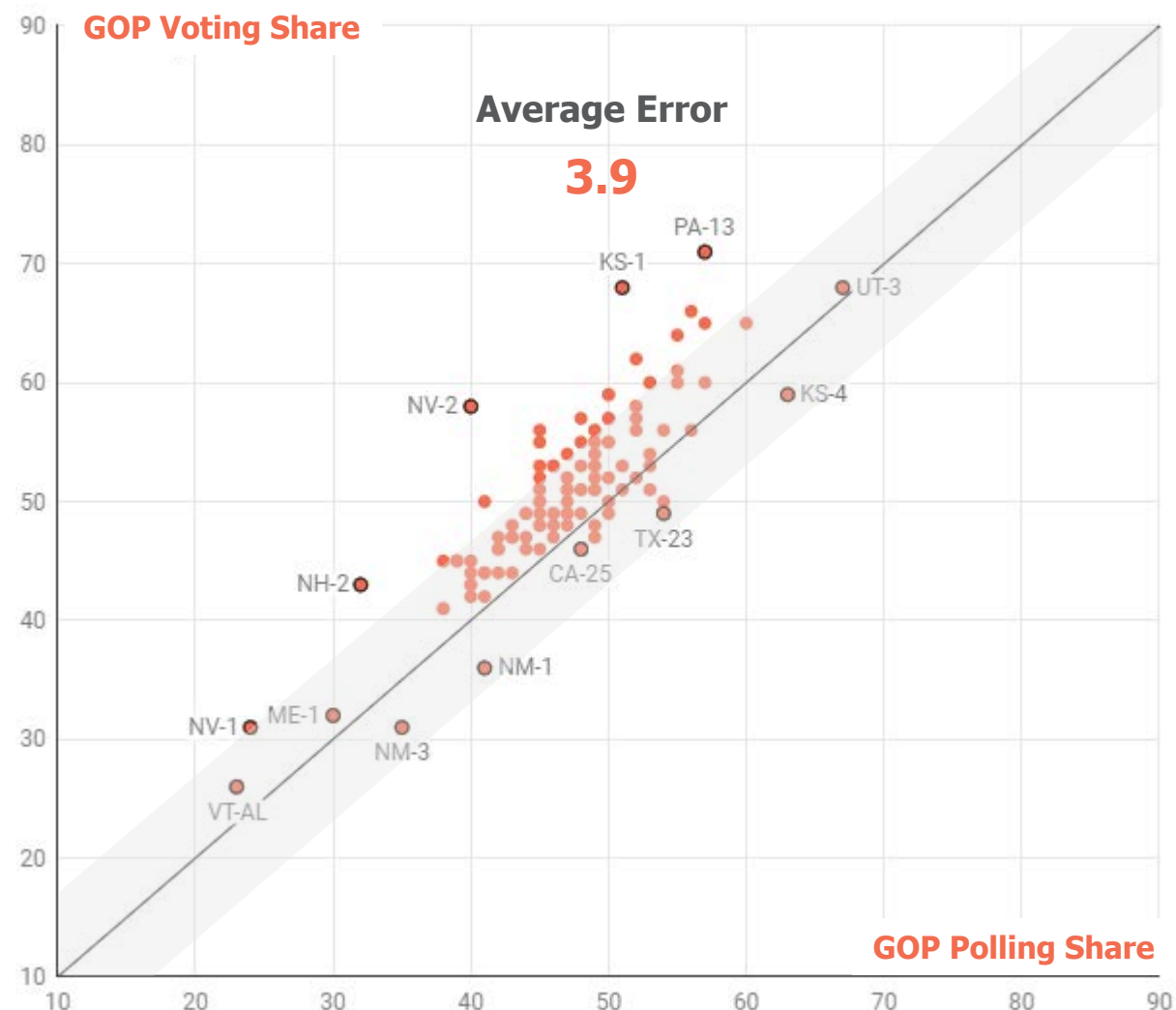
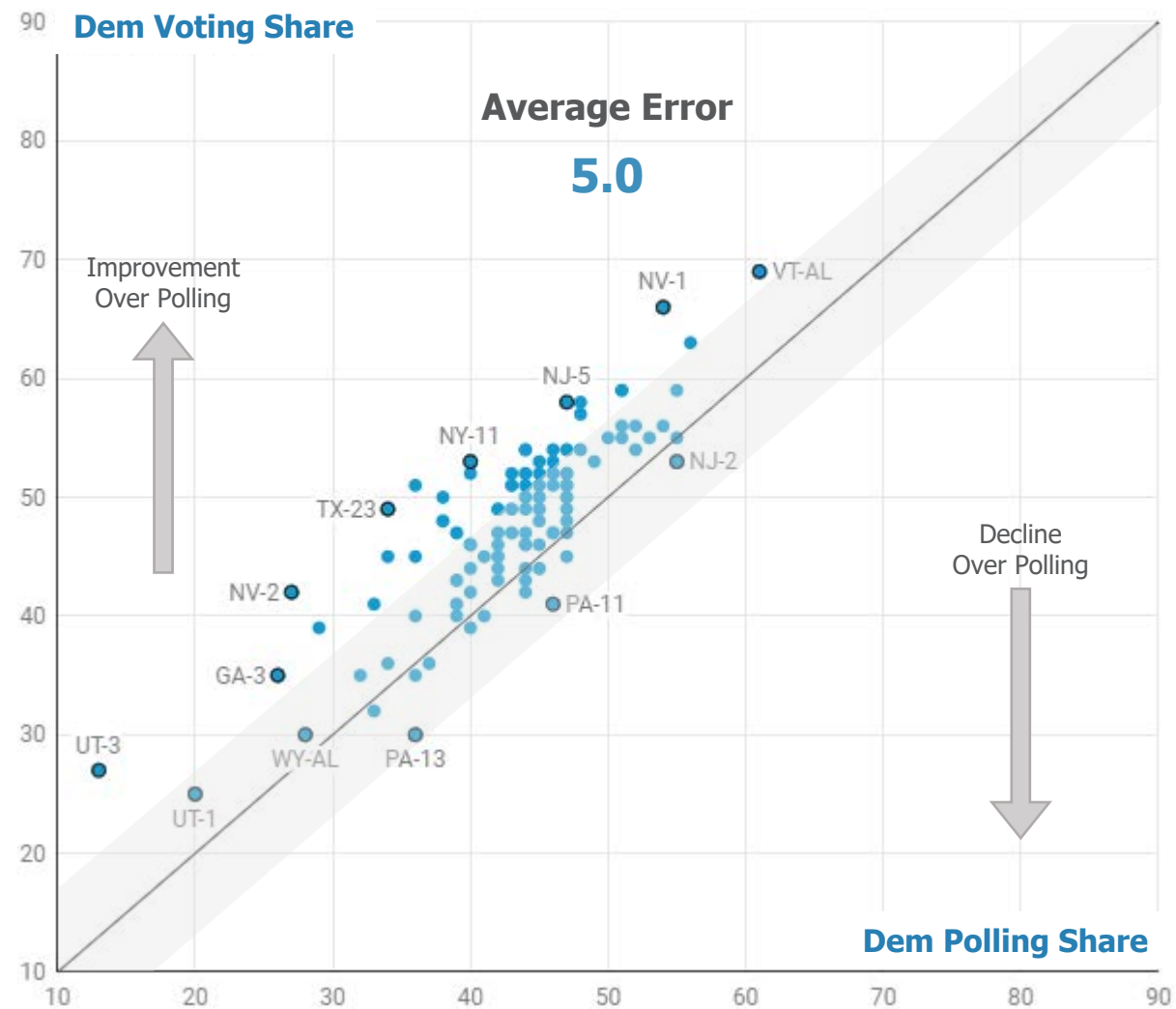
Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three+ Weeks (10/15 to 11/8)



Average Error **0.2**

4.3

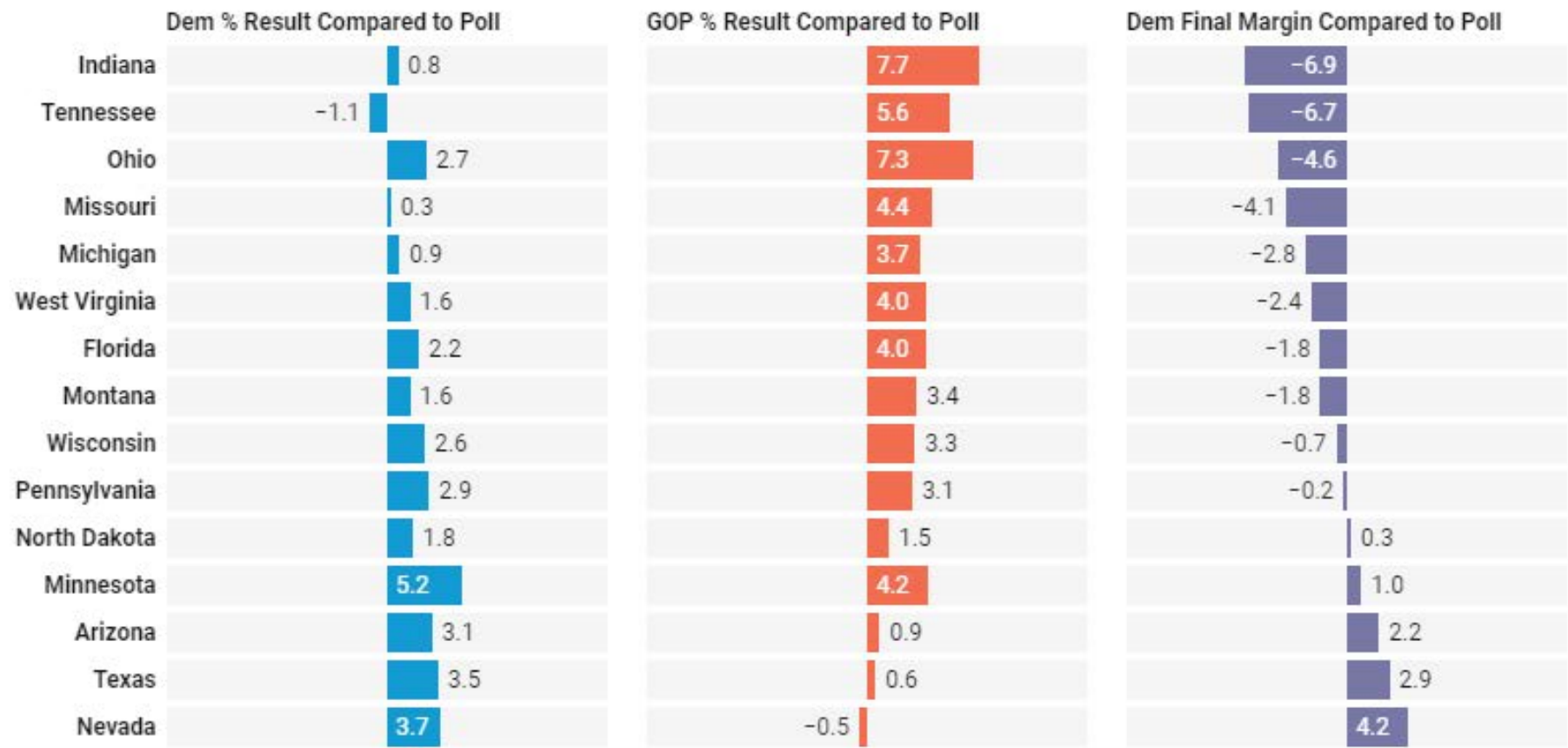
In 2018, polling about D and R broke the pattern by under-estimating vote share about equally in the House races.



2018 Senate races show the same pattern as 2018 House races. Error on D vs R vote share was about equal.

2018 U.S. Senate Poll Comparison

Final Results Compared to Public Polling Average in the Last Three+ Weeks (10/13 to 11/6)



Average Error 2.1

3.5

Now that a fact pattern about the polling has been established, there is another important strategic point:

- **In the big races the Democrat candidate must be at 49 or above to win. Meaning if the Democrat candidate is winning (for example) 46 to 40 then the Democrat candidate loses the race and gets around 46 on election day.**
- **Key exceptions:**
 - **A strong 3rd Party candidate can affect the math, but Hillary was not close to 50% in the swing states, and so should have never been seen as the clear favorite.**
 - **In lower profile CD races or down ticket races usually there is a higher percentage of undecided voters – however – this is where the dislike of the Democratic brand plays a larger role and a key driver in underperforming local races.**

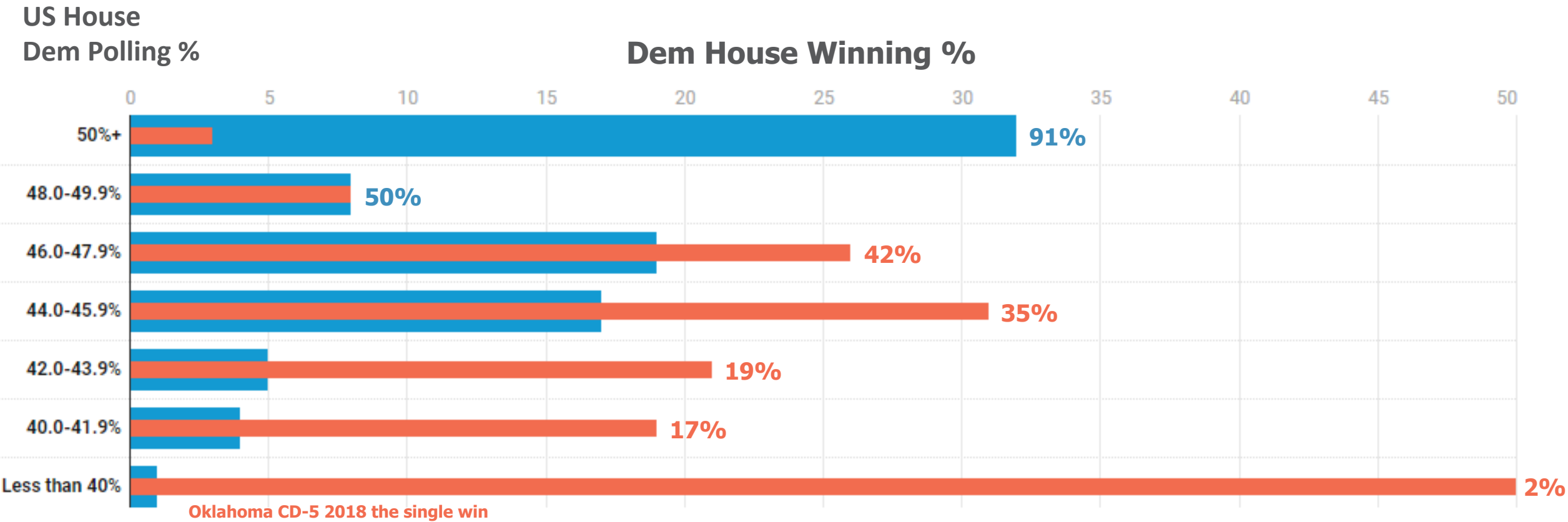
The 50% Rule: Biden won all states where he publicly polled at 50%+. He split the states where he was between 48-49% and lost where he polled below that.

State	Polling Average			Election Results		
	Biden	Trump	Net	Biden	Trump	Net
Colorado	54.4	41.1	13.3	55.4	41.2	14.2
New Hampshire	54.2	43.3	10.9	52.9	45.5	7.4
Minnesota	51.9	42.4	9.5	52.6	45.4	7.2
Wisconsin	51.7	44.4	7.3	49.6	49.0	0.6
Michigan	51.1	43.5	7.6	50.7	47.9	2.8
Pennsylvania	50.3	45.5	4.8	50.0	48.8	1.2
Nevada	49.7	45.6	4.1	50.0	47.7	2.3
North Carolina	48.9	47.2	1.7	48.7	50.1	-1.4
Florida	48.8	47.0	1.8	47.9	51.2	-3.3
Arizona	48.8	46.1	2.7	49.4	49.1	0.3
Georgia	48.4	47.2	1.2	49.5	49.3	0.2
Texas	47.2	48.5	-1.3	46.5	52.1	-5.6
Iowa	47.0	47.6	-0.6	45.0	53.2	-8.2
Ohio	46.6	48.7	-2.1	45.3	53.3	-8.0

Hillary did not poll above 50% in swing states. Yes, there was a third party candidate but she was never close to 50%. Undecideds and Independents again held the cards and broke hard against her.

State	Poll Average			Election Results		
	Dem	GOP	Net	Dem	GOP	Net
Wisconsin	46.9	40.6	6.3	46.5	47.2	-0.7
Pennsylvania	46.9	42.2	4.7	47.9	48.6	-0.7
Virginia	46.8	40.3	6.5	49.8	44.4	5.4
Florida	46.5	44.4	2.1	47.8	49.0	-1.2
North Carolina	46.1	44.5	1.6	46.2	49.8	-3.6
Michigan	45.6	38.1	7.5	47.3	47.5	-0.2
New Hampshire	45.3	40.7	4.6	46.8	46.5	0.3
Nevada	45.2	44.1	1.1	47.9	45.5	2.4
Georgia	44.4	46.5	-2.1	45.9	51.0	-5.1
Colorado	44.1	39.7	4.4	48.7	43.7	5.0
Ohio	43.7	46.1	-2.4	43.6	51.7	-8.1
Arizona	42.6	44.2	-1.6	45.1	48.7	-3.6
Iowa	41.5	45.5	-4.0	41.7	51.1	-9.4
Texas	41.1	46.6	-5.5	43.2	52.2	-9.0

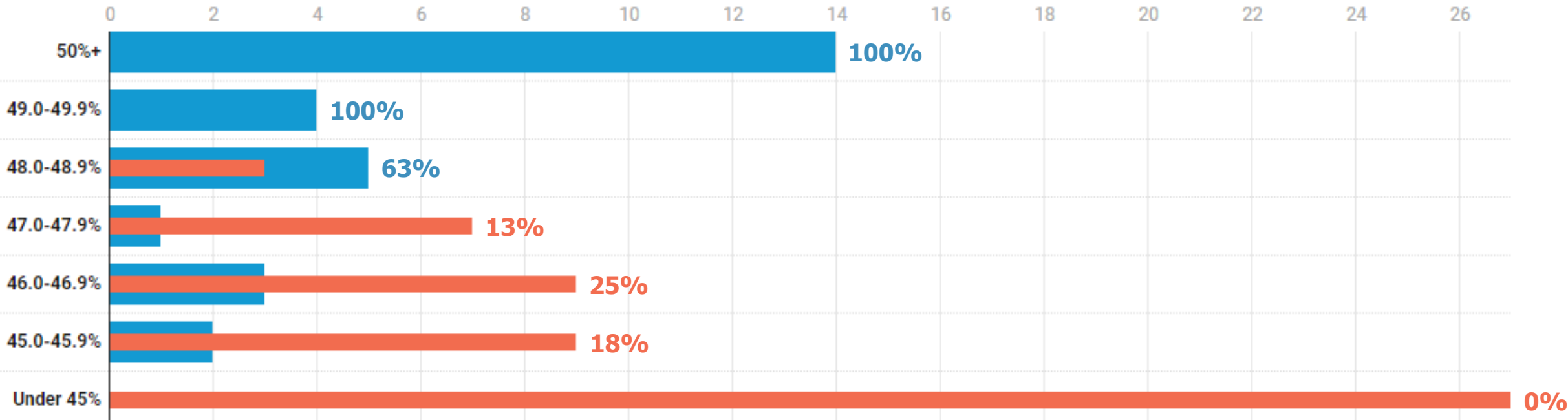
The 50% public polling rule holds true in House races as well.



Senate races follow the 50% rule even more than House races

US Senate
Dem Polling %

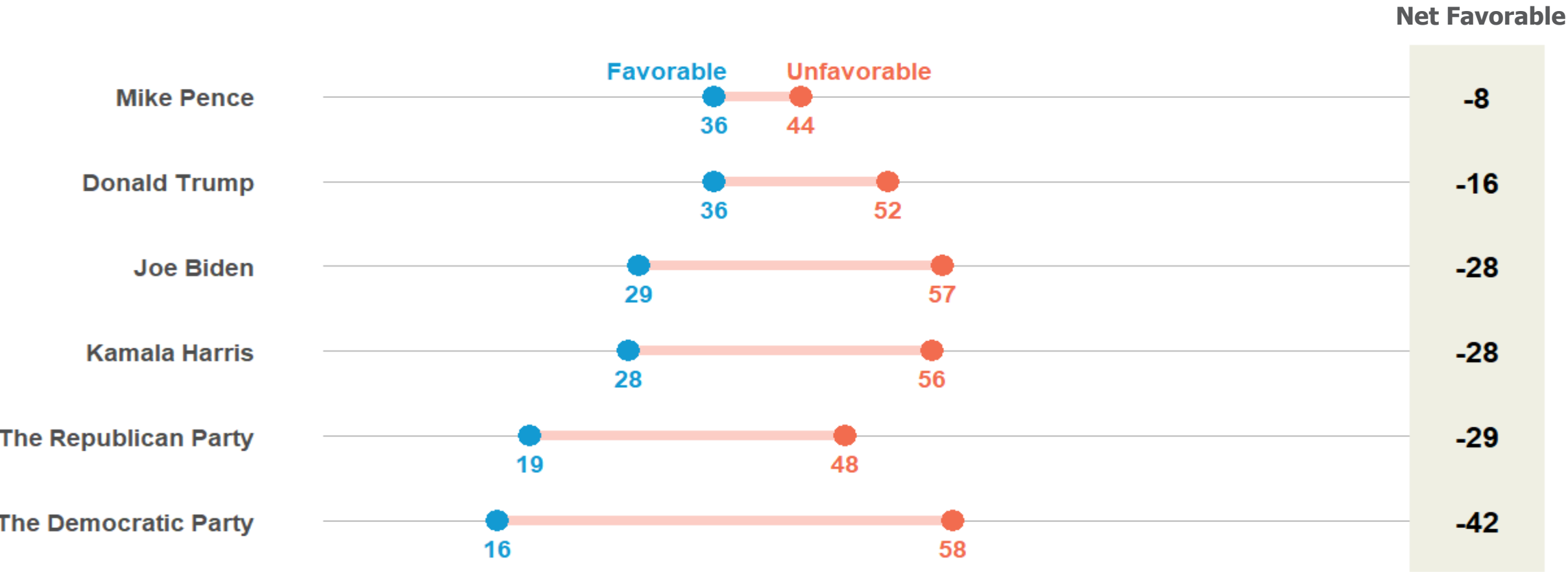
Dem Senate Winning %



To build a durable and national Democratic majority, we must answer these four questions:

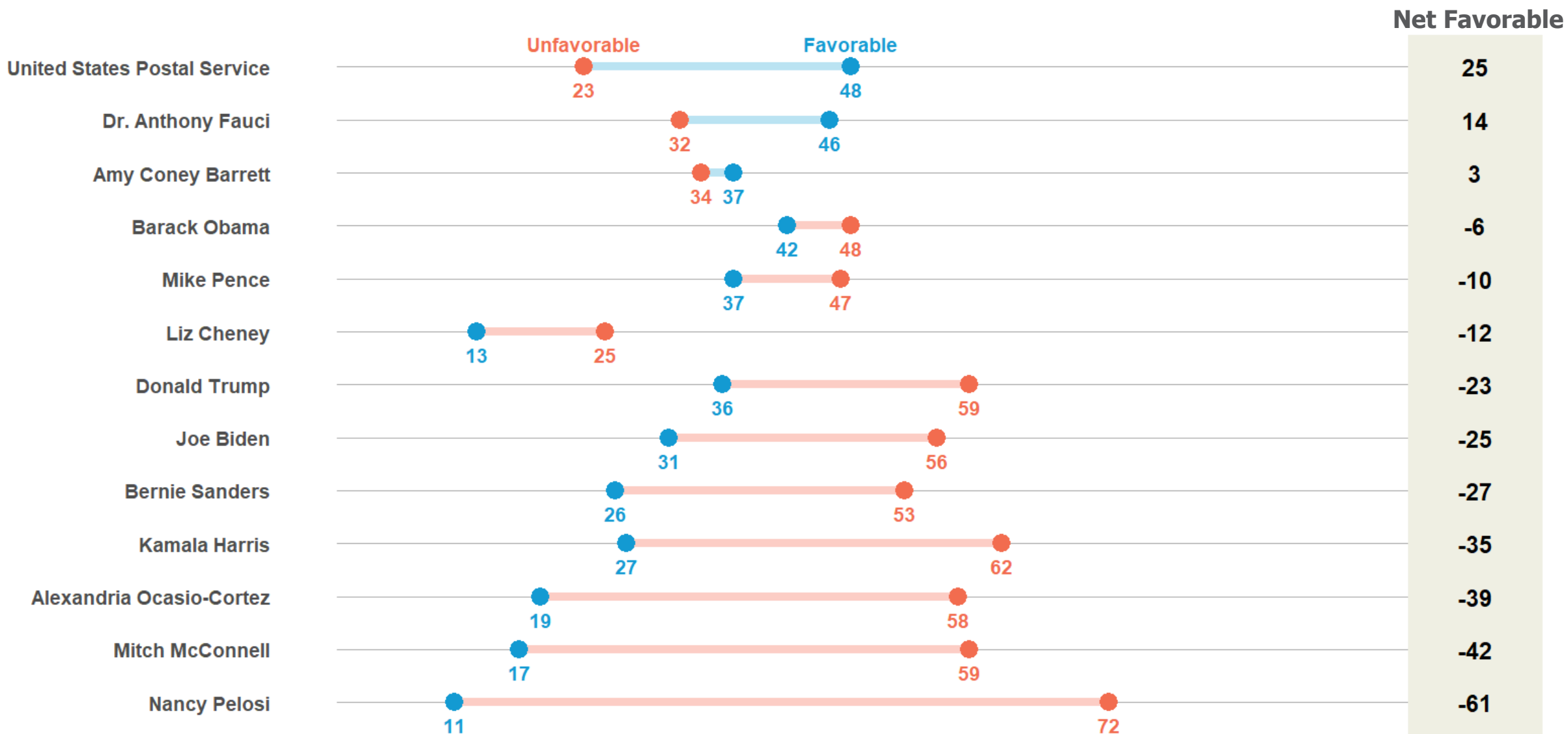
- **With the data being consistent over several cycles that Democrats get what they get in polls, why are the undecided/third party voters more comfortable voting Republican than Democratic?**
- **What is wrong with the Democratic brand? How have Democrats failed to define the Party, and how have they allowed the Republicans to brand the Party?**
- **Why did Biden do so much better than down ticket Democrats? A close study of his messaging vs. other candidates is a must.**
- **What do we need to do to persuade people who do not have Democratic voting in their DNA to vote for us?**

Pure Independents, a small (7-10%) share of the electorate, tend to determine margins and outcomes. While they dislike everyone, the polling shows they dislike Democrats more.



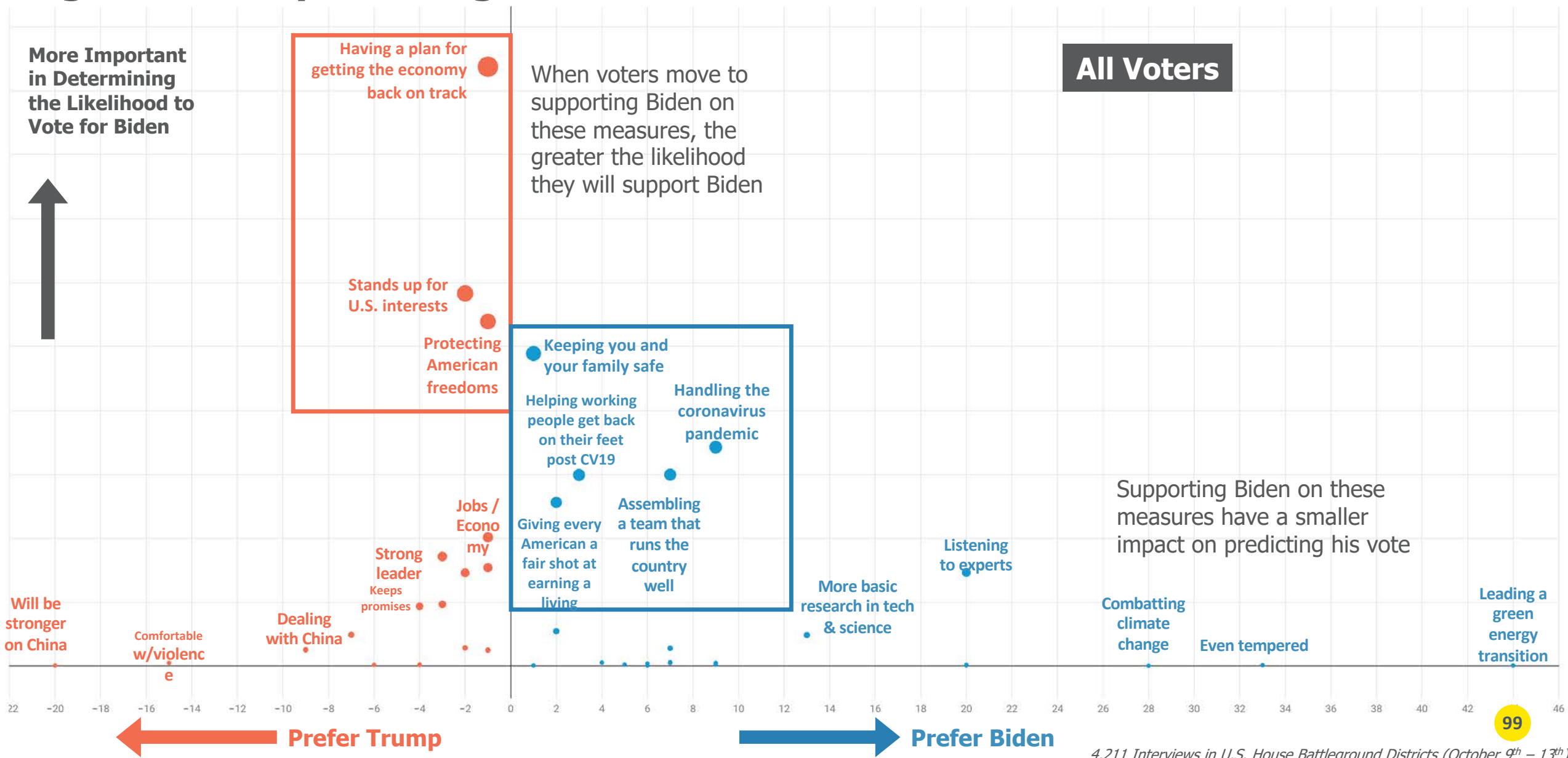
6,487 Interviews in Maine/Michigan/North Carolina/Pennsylvania/Virginia/Wisconsin (November 1st – 3rd)

More data points: Independents on public figures and institutions



4,211 Interviews in U.S. House Battleground Districts (October 9th – 13th)

Donald Trump had an advantage on three issues/traits most significant in predicting vote choice

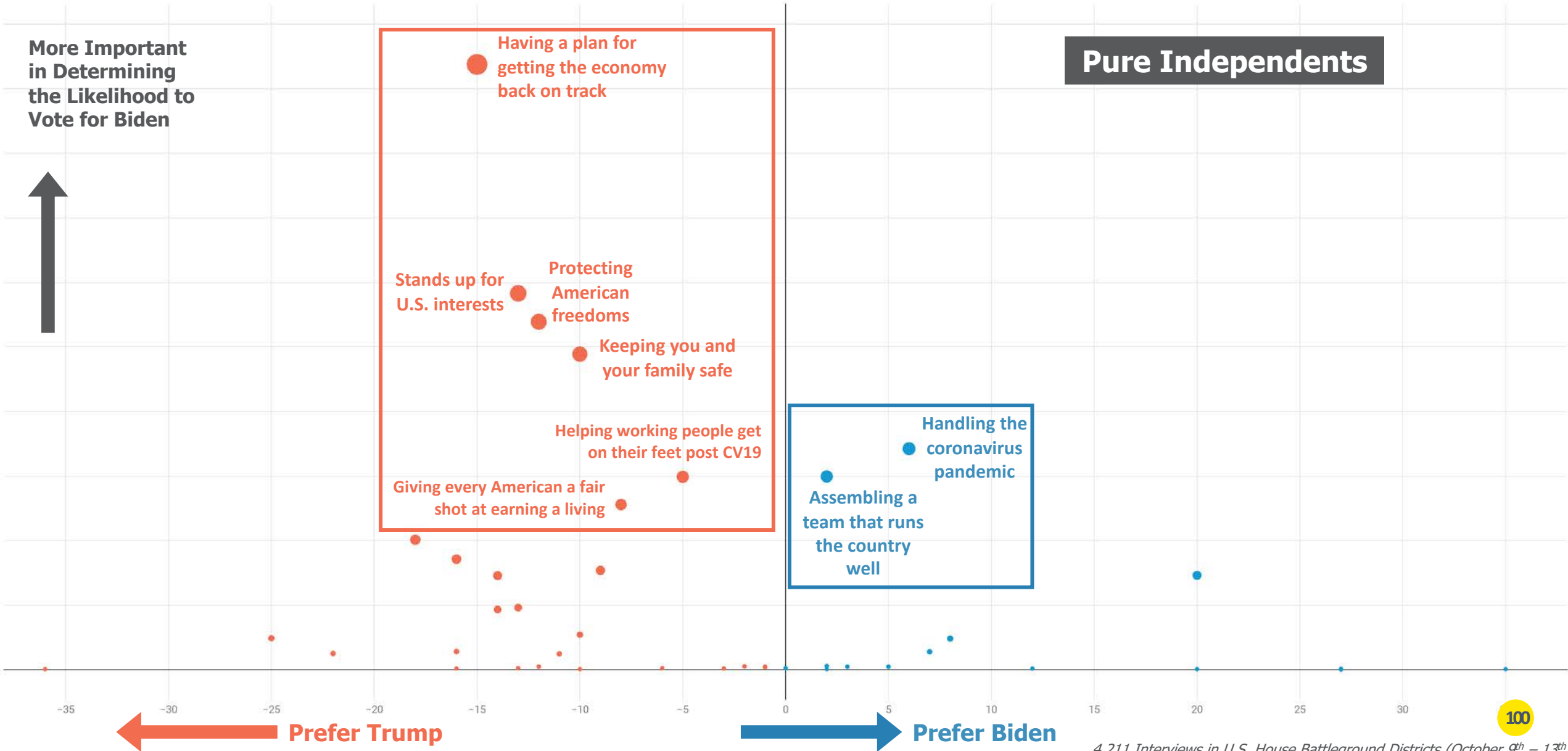


Trump does better on these than he does overall with pure Independents.

More Important in Determining the Likelihood to Vote for Biden



Pure Independents



← Prefer Trump

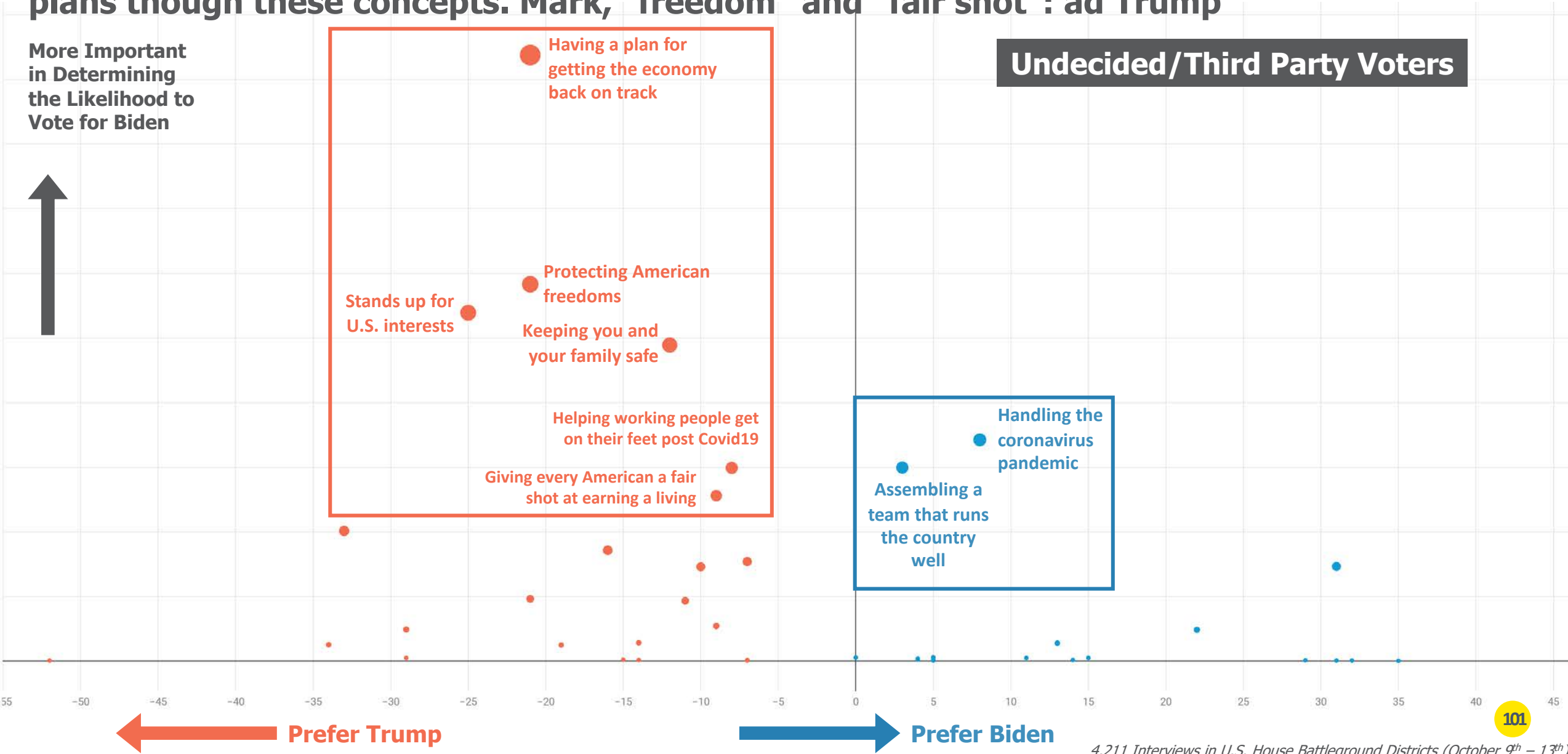
→ Prefer Biden

To do better with the uncommitted voters. Biden and those supporting him must center our story on these attributes and filter all accomplishments and plans through these concepts. Mark, "freedom" and "fair shot": ad Trump

More Important
in Determining
the Likelihood to
Vote for Biden



Undecided/Third Party Voters



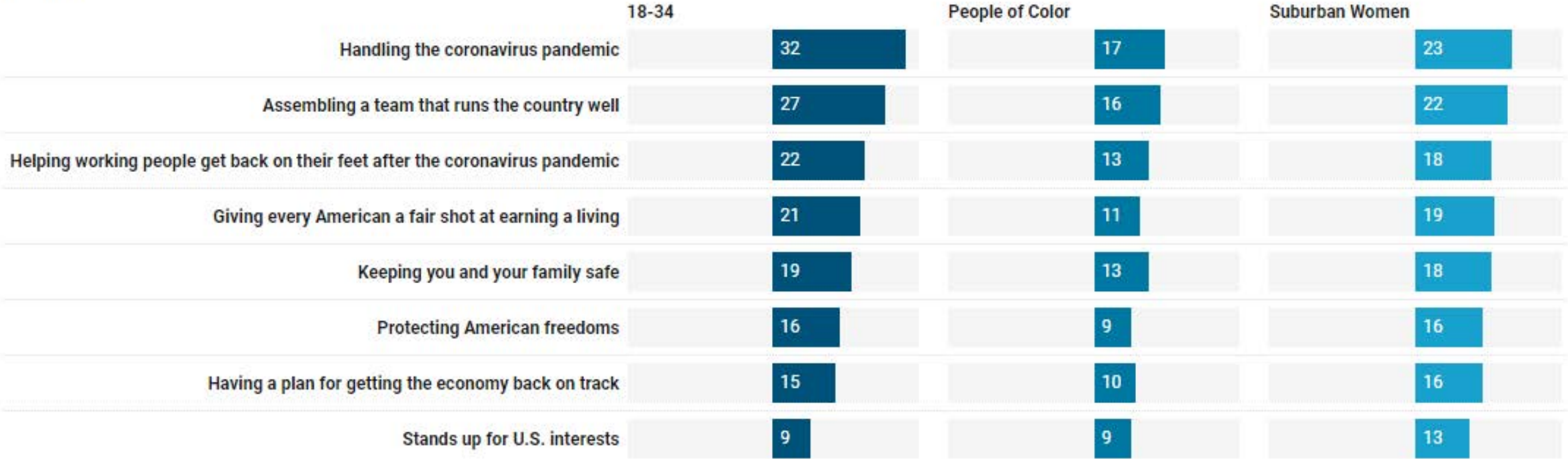
Prefer Trump

Prefer Biden

Biden and the Democrats Have Unique Advantages on These Key Issues / Traits over Trump and the Republicans with Young Voters, People of Color, and Suburban Women. These Advantages Must be Held/Grown.

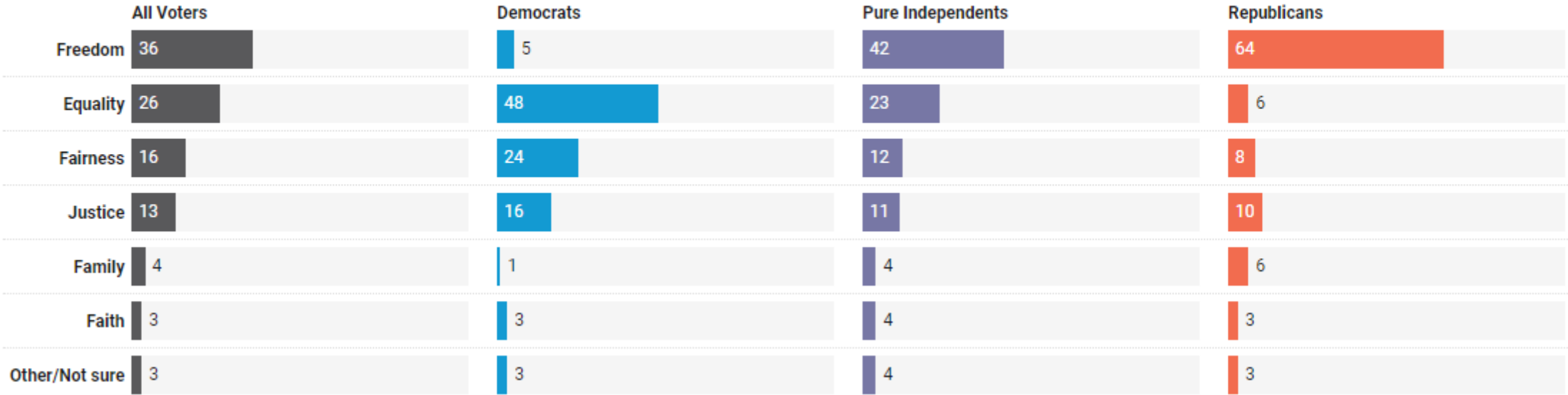
Who Would Do Better on Issues/Traits

Net Biden

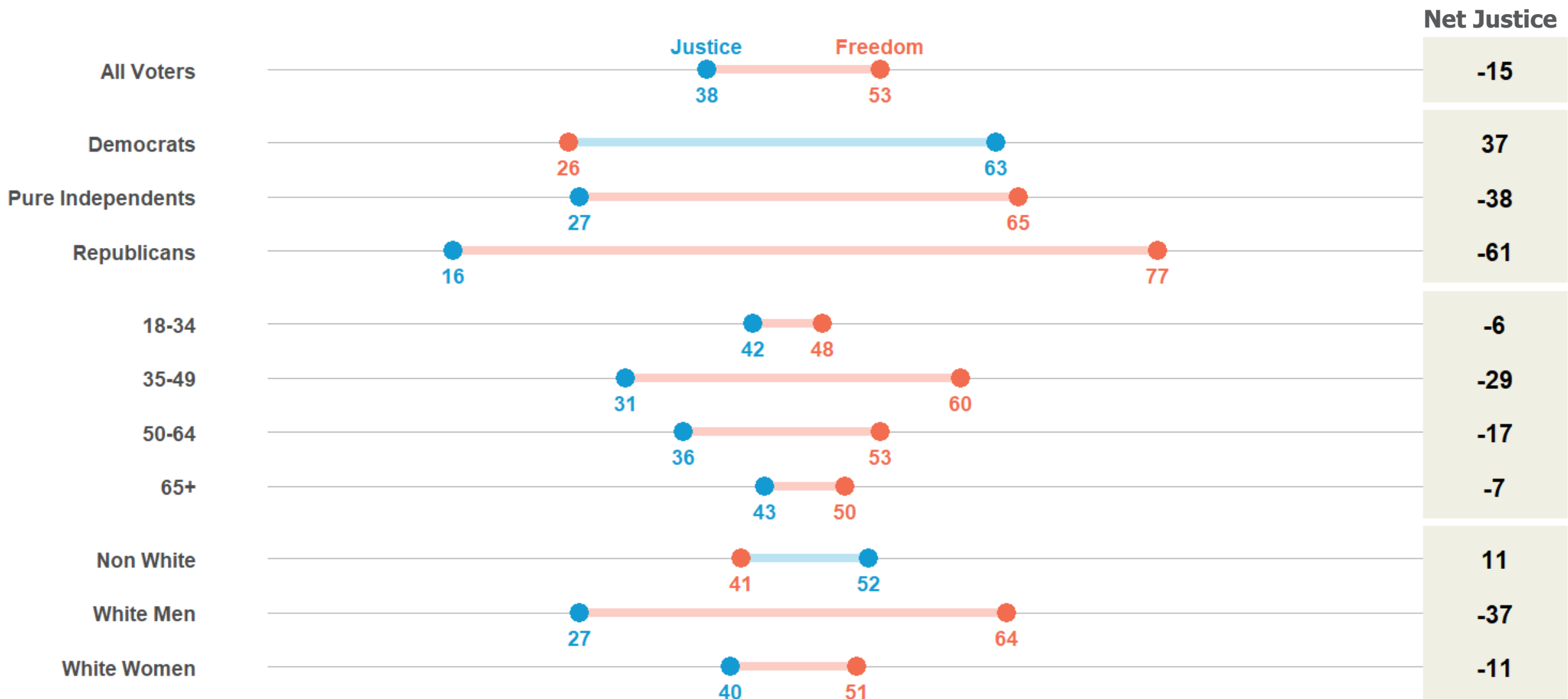


Independent voters, who tend to decide most elections, value most the word 'freedom'; which aligns with the Republican value words. While Democrats are split on their value words. And won't embrace freedom, even economic freedom.

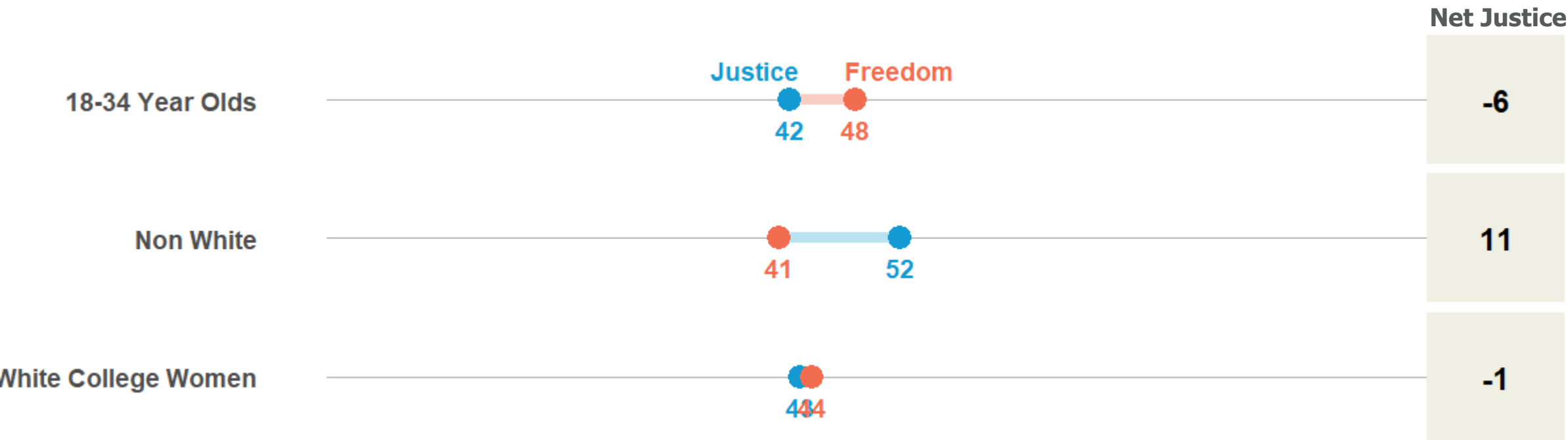
If a political party could choose one and only one value to place highest in their governing and in their message, what would that value be?



Many vocal Democrats have defined themselves as “Justice Democrats” and the GOP communication machine was all too happy to stick that label to all Democrats. This chart might explain the down ticket issues. Justice just isn’t the most important American value.



Our core constituencies are closely divided on this and we must develop a message and program that speaks to both of these values.

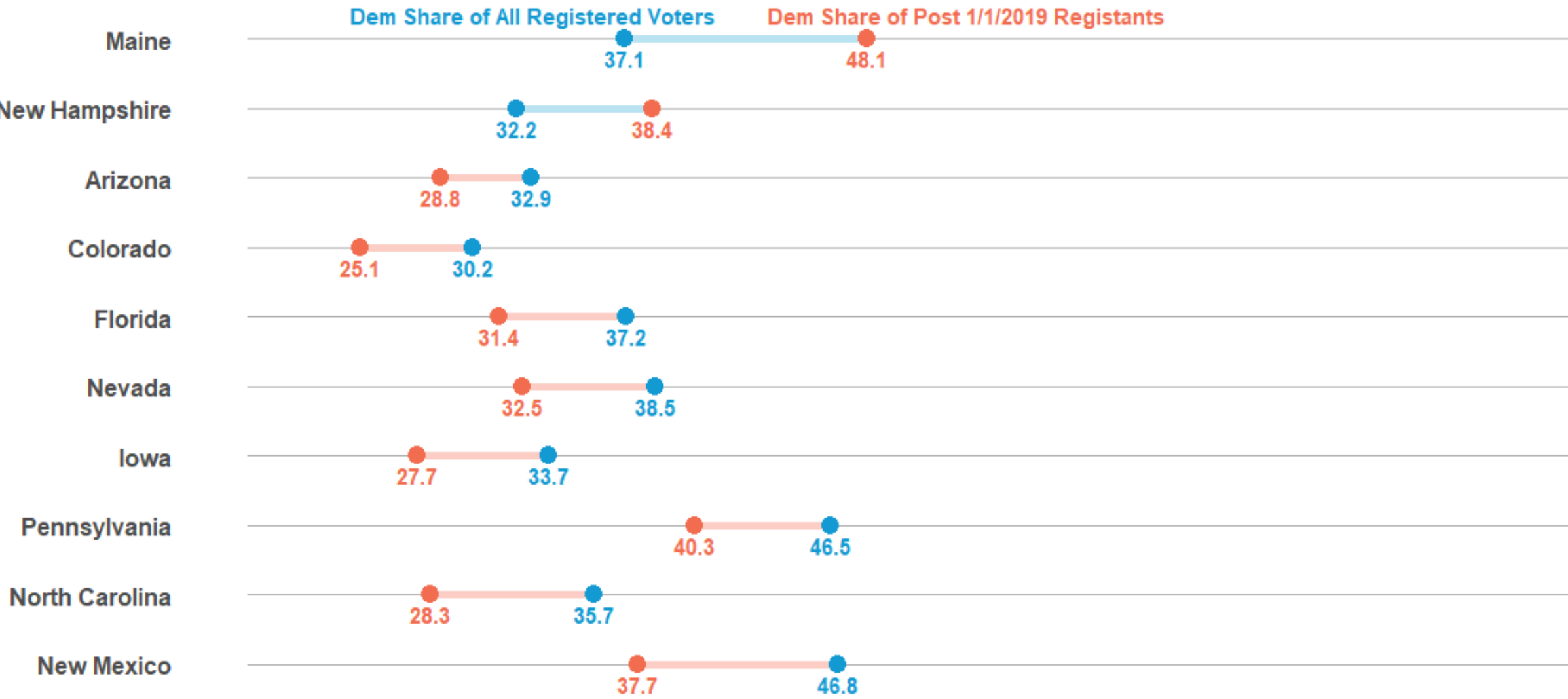


Recommendations:

- **Adjust polling budgets away from messaging to base voters and do many more interviews with people – mostly independent voters - who dislike both parties to drive the strongest contrasts with the GOP. Trust independent groups to turn out voters.**
- **Focus on economic issues that voters care about and their values that drive their choice. Focus on the working class (Biden's personal story, allowed independents to identify with him.)**
- **Frame the Democratic in terms of a vision of “freedom” (such as “more access to health care gives you the freedom to start a business.”) We know that freedom dominates the Republican mind, however, it is also a major driver of the Independent vote.**

One more recommendation:

- Register more voters. Democrats are losing ground in swing states. Some entity should certify and resource best in class organizations early each cycle.



Governing Survey



For the People...

November 2020

Methodology

- Future Majority and our partners Change Research conducted 4,211 Interviews in U.S. House Battleground Districts (October 9th – 13th) and 4,308 Interviews in Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, New Hampshire Statewide (October 21st – 25th)
- Interviews were conducted online, with participants recruited through social media advertising
- Post-stratification weights were made on age, gender, ethnicity, education, region, and 2016 presidential vote to reflect the distribution of voters
- Data is supplemented by historical data from Future Majority and Change Research

Districts Surveyed

In addition to statewide polls conducted in Georgia, Michigan, Nevada and New Hampshire, the following districts were surveyed:

Competitive 2018 Flips		Competitive Open Seats		GOP Endangered Incumbents	
CA-21	Harder	CO-3	GOP held	AK-AL	Young
FL-26	Mucarsel-Powell	FL-15	GOP held	AR-2	Hill
GA-6	McBath	GA-7	GOP held	AZ-6	Schweikert
IA-1	Finkenauer	IA-2	Dem held	CA-25	Garcia
IA-3	Axne	IN-5	GOP held	IL-13	Davis
ME-2	Golden	MI-3	GOP held	MI-6	Upton
MI-11	Stevens	MT-AL	GOP held	MN-1	Hagedorn
MI-8	Slokin	NY-2	GOP held	MO-2	Wagner
MN-2	Craig	TX-22	GOP held	NC-8	Hudson
NJ-2	Kennedy (Van Drew)	TX-23	GOP held	NE-2	Bacon
NJ-3	Kim	TX-24	GOP held	NY-1	Zeldin
NJ-7	Malinowski	VA-5	GOP held	NY-24	Katko
NM-2	Torres-Small			OH-1	Chabot
NY-11	Rose			PA-1	Fitzgerald
NY-22	Brindisi			TX-10	McCaul
OK-5	Horn			TX-21	Roy
PA-17	Lamb			TX-3	Taylor
PA-7	Wild				
SC-1	Cunningham				
UT-4	McAdams				
VA-2	Luria				
VA-7	Spanberger				

Strategic Recommendations

- 1) “For the People” works - both overall, and its individual components. It worked in 2018 and still works today.
- 2) Economic concerns predominate, especially with Democrats. Come out of the gate with the Heroes Act and then full attention on Jobs. Jobs. Jobs. Skills. Infrastructure and climate policies do best when paired with jobs. For Democrats to be successful, it is crucial they make the American worker the hero of the story.
- 3) On health care - specifically the public option - Future Majority commissioned a [study by Dr. Rob Shapiro](#) about opting into the same health insurance as federal employees. 85% support.
- 4) Legislate in smaller pieces. Build brand campaigns around each, using modern branding techniques and digital. It is clear in the research that voters had no idea what the House did in 2019-2020. Only 12% of voters knew about HR 1 during the 2020 cycle. Large packages are easy to demonize and difficult to communicate to voters.
- 5) Don’t fall into a false choice between “freedom” and “justice.” The general electorate prefers “freedom” to “justice” as a core value, but voters want both. Democrats should use this opportunity to incorporate “freedom” in their narratives to persuade a broader coalition of voters to support their agenda.
- 6) We need to do a better job of building trust in governing. Covid19 hurt Trump, but has also exposed failure of {the idea of} government. Again. If we’re in charge and we don’t deliver, 2022 and 2024 will be failed cycles.
- 7) Corruption is the greatest concern (90%+) of all voters. It is imperative that Democrats clean up corruption, because voters do not believe government action will work without anti-corruption first.

Big Winners

There are several policy priorities that are exceedingly popular among voters in swing Congressional districts. These are policies that Democrats have been fighting for – but Americans simply do not connect the issues themselves to Democrats and spread blame for why solutions have not been met fairly evenly among Democrats, Republicans and Trump. The key is connecting these issues to the underlying economic drivers and commonly held values that impact how voters see the world, and driving home Democratic ownership of those values:

- **96%** say the idea of economic freedom is important to them
- **89%** say it is 8 out of 10 or higher level of importance to pass legislation to clean up the corruption in Washington and state governments (55% 10 out of 10 importance)
- **93%** would be more likely (76% much more likely) to support a candidate who advocates for a “for the people” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, lowering health care and prescription drug costs, raising wages, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure
- **72%** support a federal program to help pay for retraining for jobs in advanced technology
- **79%** support a federal program to help pay for retraining in hands-on jobs like plumbing or carpentry
- **86%** support spending more federal money to improve physical infrastructure, including roads, bridges, buildings and waterways
- **80%** support allowing states and localities to raise funds together for new infrastructure projects through regional planning councils

Continued...

Big Winners - Continued

- **82%** support increasing access to high-speed broadband internet by making investments and increasing competition
- **88%** support reducing America's reliance on foreign energy and growing jobs by producing more American-made clean energy
- **84%** support requiring a true minimum tax on all foreign earnings of United States companies located overseas to end rewarding global tax havens
- **91%** support establishing a consumer data bill of rights to protect Americans from fraud, misuse and abuse of their private online data
- **86%** support allowing Americans to buy into the same health insurance plan that government employees receive
- **74%** support allowing people who don't get health insurance at work to buy health insurance through their state Medicaid program
- **74%** agree that "our government should be implementing more policies to value the dignity of work – the idea that hard work should pay off for every American, no matter who you are or what kind of work you do. But wages have been flat and the cost of everything, from rent to an education to health care is going up. When our work has dignity, Americans have the economic security they need to start a family, pay for childcare and college, take time off when they are sick, and save for retirement."

It is clear that there is a great deal of economic insecurity within the progressive coalition, and that these voters' concerns must be addressed. On the positive side, there is low hanging fruit — mostly centering around higher wages, lower health care costs, more rewarding work, cleaning up corruption, better energy policy and freedom — for a majority to implement, which will not cause the sort of backlash Democrats experienced in 2010, and which will further solidify the ability to do good for the American people.

Unpopular Issues

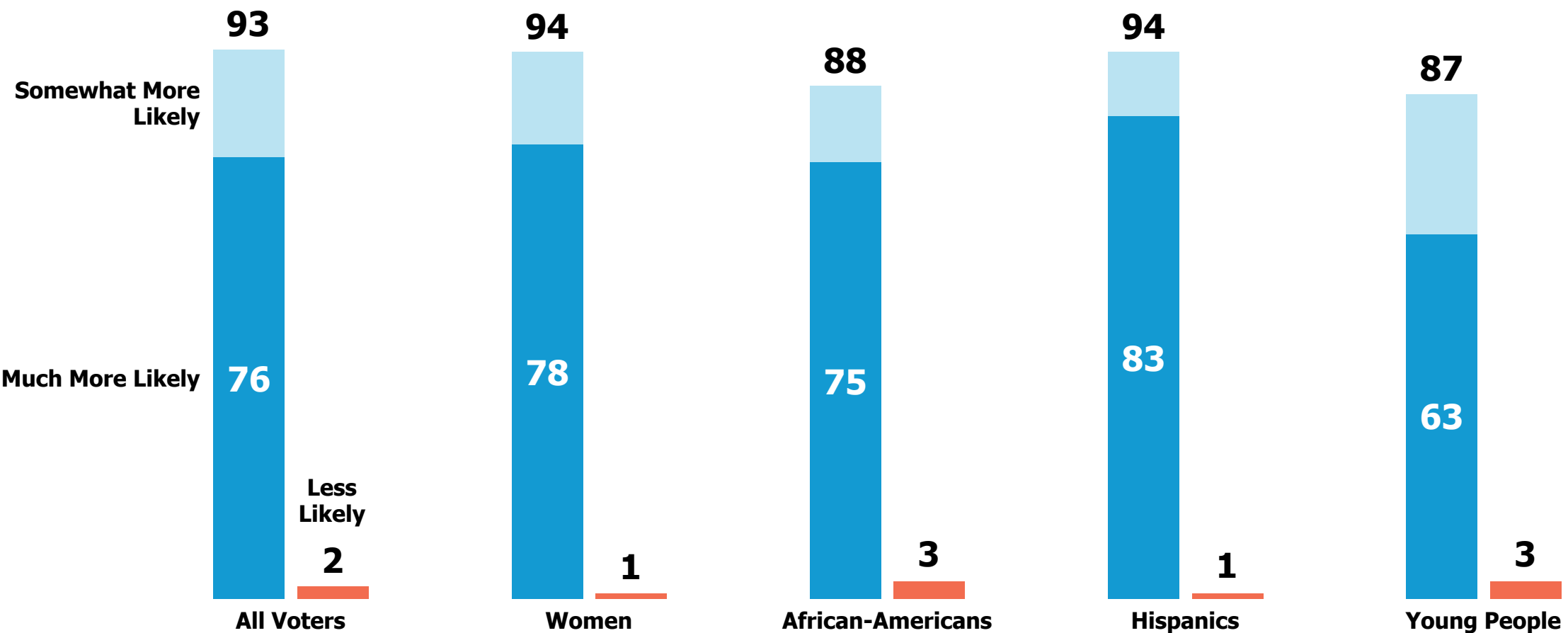
Unpopular Issues

Despite good news for the overall progressive agenda, there are several issues supported by some Democrats, or by no Democrats, but that Republicans have tried to pin on Democrats, that are less popular among these voters – and stand in stark contrast to the multitude of issues, more issues that could ever be legislated in a single session, that gain 65% or 70%+ support. The issues without majority support in these admittedly tough districts are as follows:

- **39%** oppose public financing for candidates through taxpayer dollars on a matching system (39% support)
- **47%** oppose making Washington, D.C. a state (42% support)
- **49%** oppose establishing a national health plan in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan/Medicare for All (46% support, net -3% support)
- **53%** oppose allowing Medicare to put more restrictions on the use of certain drugs (25% support)
- **47%** oppose repealing the Hyde Amendment (45% support)
- **53%** oppose adding more justices to the Supreme Court to restore its balance (35% support)

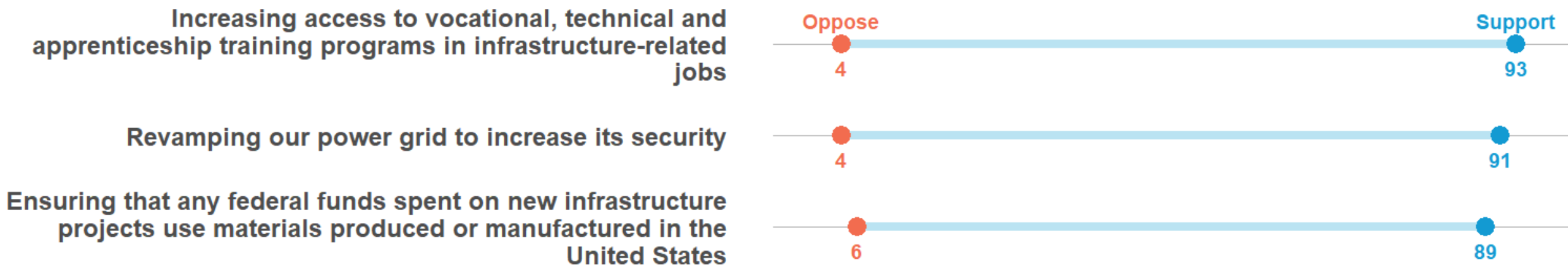
There is Deep and Strong Support for the “For the People Agenda”

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, lowering health care costs, raising wages, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”



There is Deep and Strong Support for the “For the People Agenda”

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, lowering health care costs, raising wages, and **rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.**” Including a fifth item of job training.



There is Deep and Strong Support for the “For the People Agenda”

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, lowering health care costs, **raising wages**, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”

Impose a tax penalty on corporations that ship jobs overseas to sell products back to America



Offer tax credits that help working families pay for the cost of caring for an aging loved one

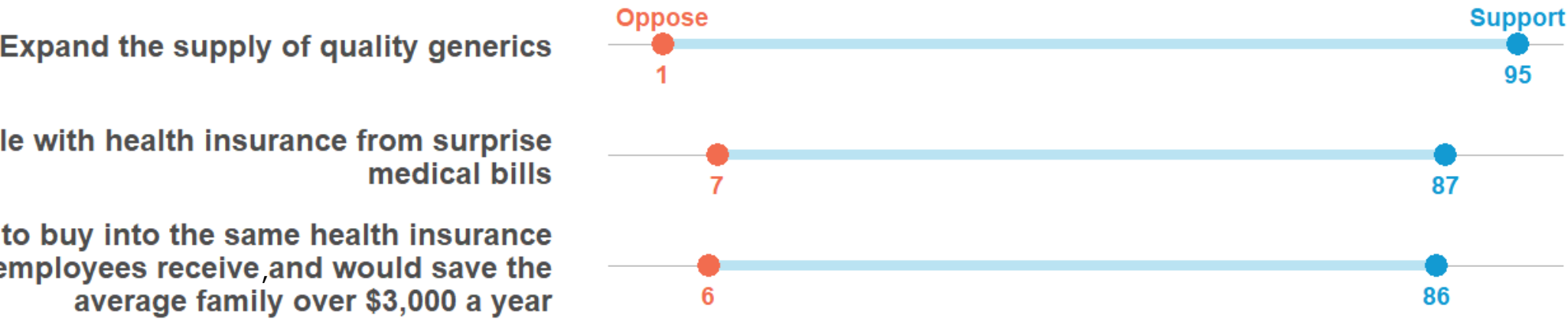


Create tax credits to help working families buy their first homes and build wealth



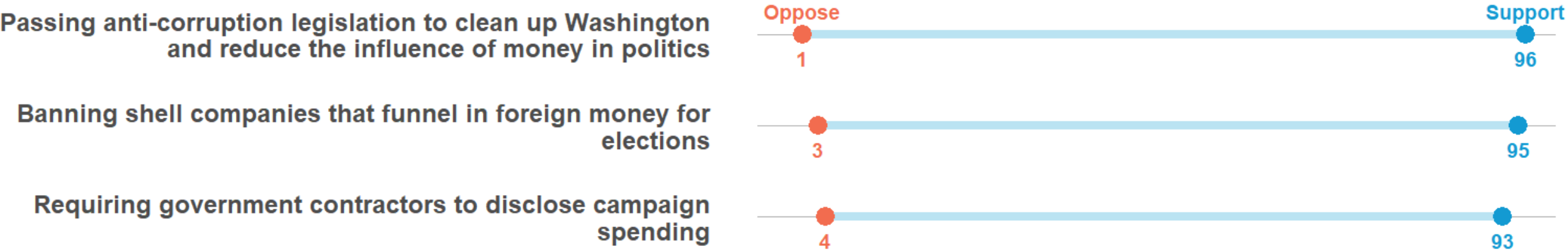
There is Deep and Strong Support for the “For the People Agenda”

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on cleaning up corruption in Washington, **lowering health care costs**, raising wages, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”



Most Popular in “For the People Agenda”: Money to Campaigns Reform

“Would you be more or less likely to support a candidate who advocates for a “For the People” agenda focused on **cleaning up corruption in Washington**, lowering health care costs, raising wages, and rebuilding our nation’s infrastructure.”

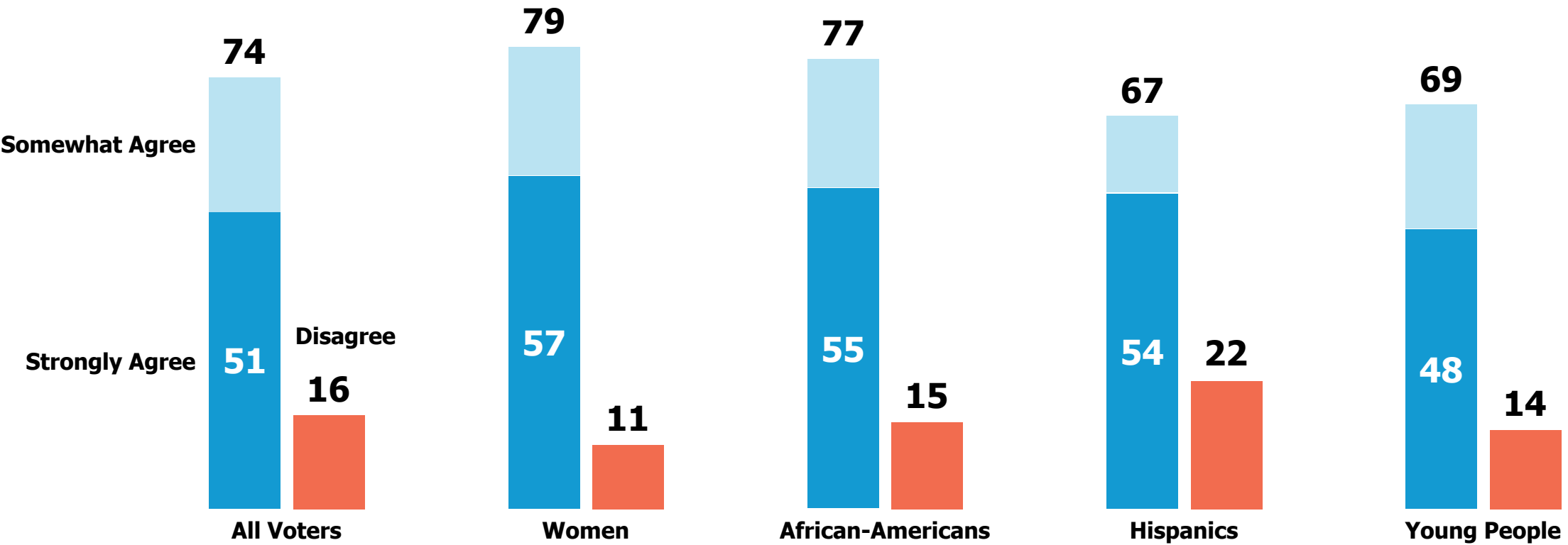


Democratic Voters Face Unique Economic Stress

Democrats must articulate our economic visions in and around the “dignity of work” and drive a better narrative around income inequality and capitalism. We’ve tested numerous times the notion of investing in people through “smart capitalism” (check out our [video on this concept here](#)) and it continues to perform well in our most recent surveys.

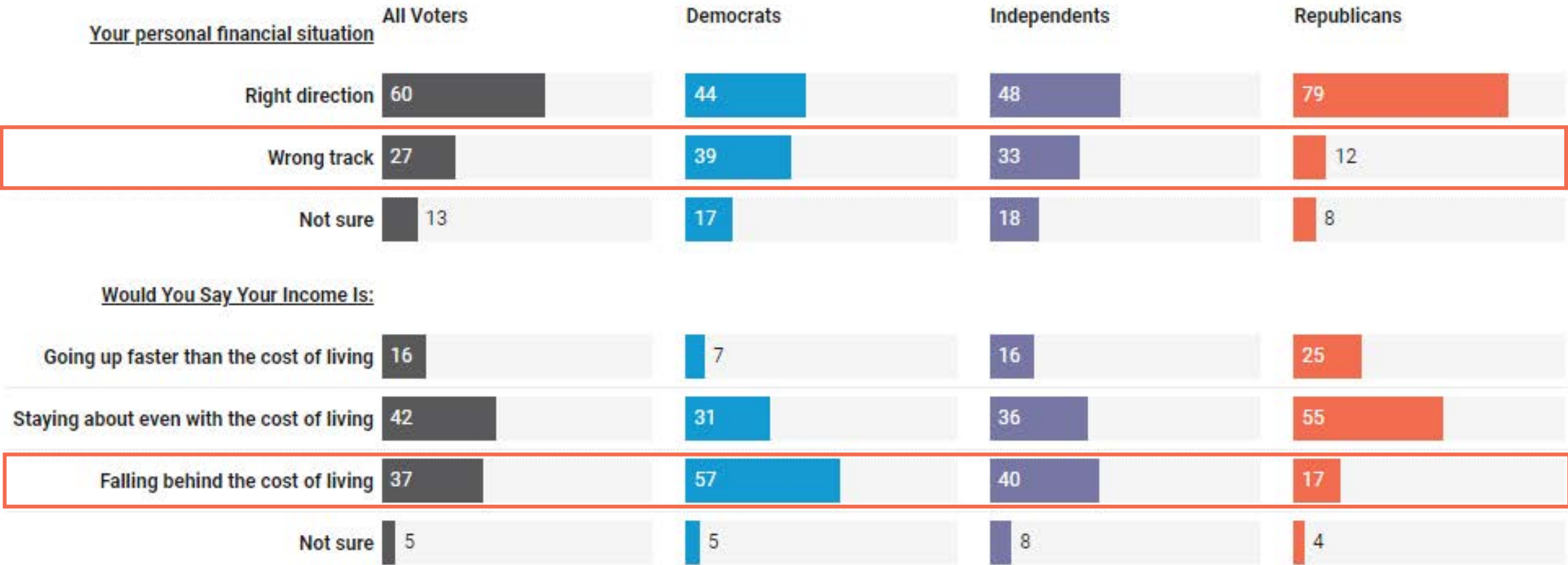
The Dignity of Work Is A Core Voter Belief

“Our government should be implementing more policies to value the dignity of work – the idea that hard work should pay off for every American, no matter who you are or what kind of work you do. But wages have been flat and the cost of everything, from rent to an education to health care is going up. When our work has dignity, Americans have the economic security they need to start a family, pay for childcare and college, take time off when they are sick, and save for retirement.”



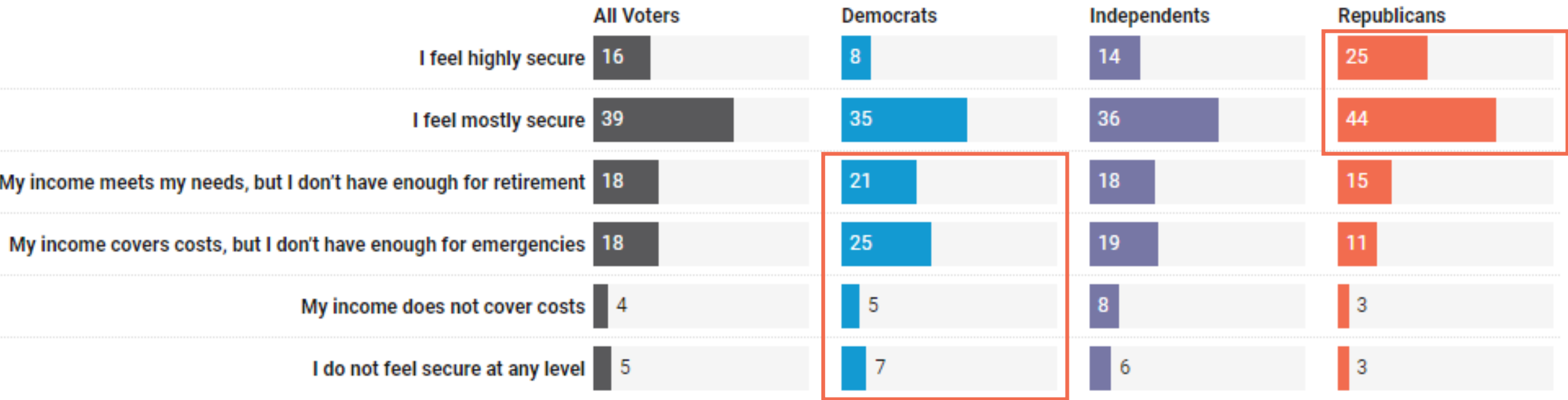
Economic Indicators

Democrats Feel They Are Falling Behind Financially and Are Much Less Secure than Republicans



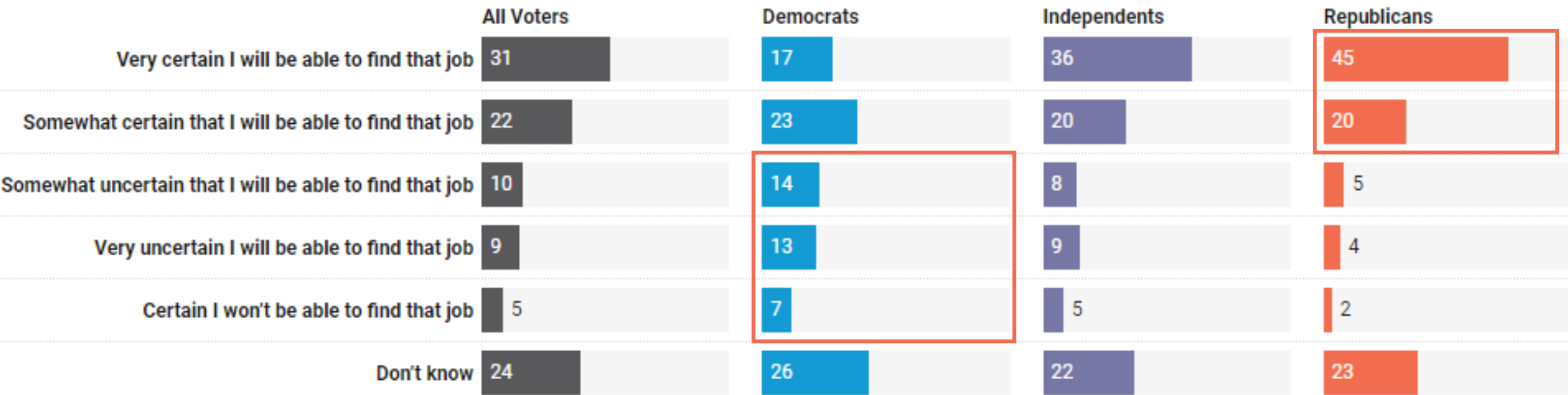
Economic Indicators

58% of Democrats Do Not Feel Economically Secure / 69% of Republicans Do, However, Feel Secure



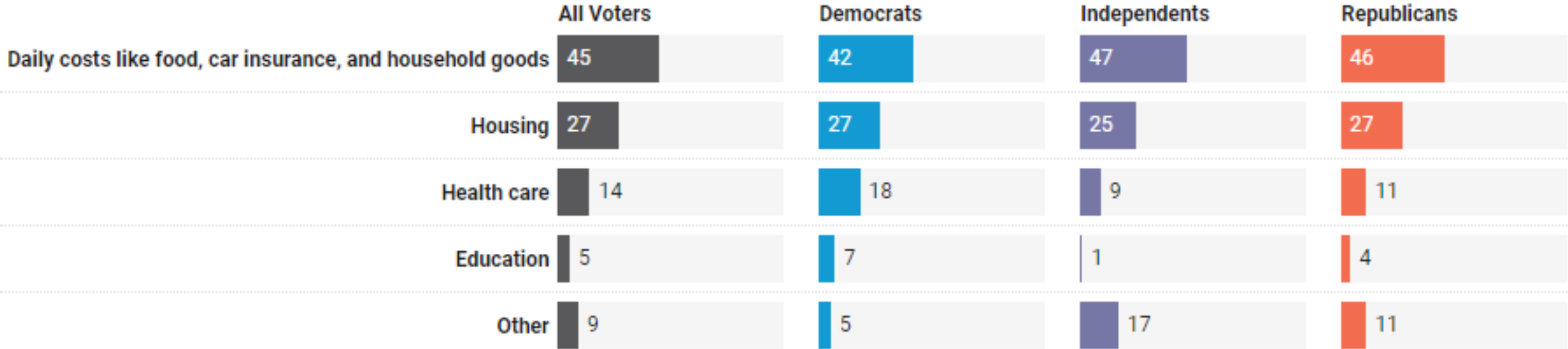
Economic Indicators

35% of Democrats are uncertain they will find a good replacement job if they lose theirs



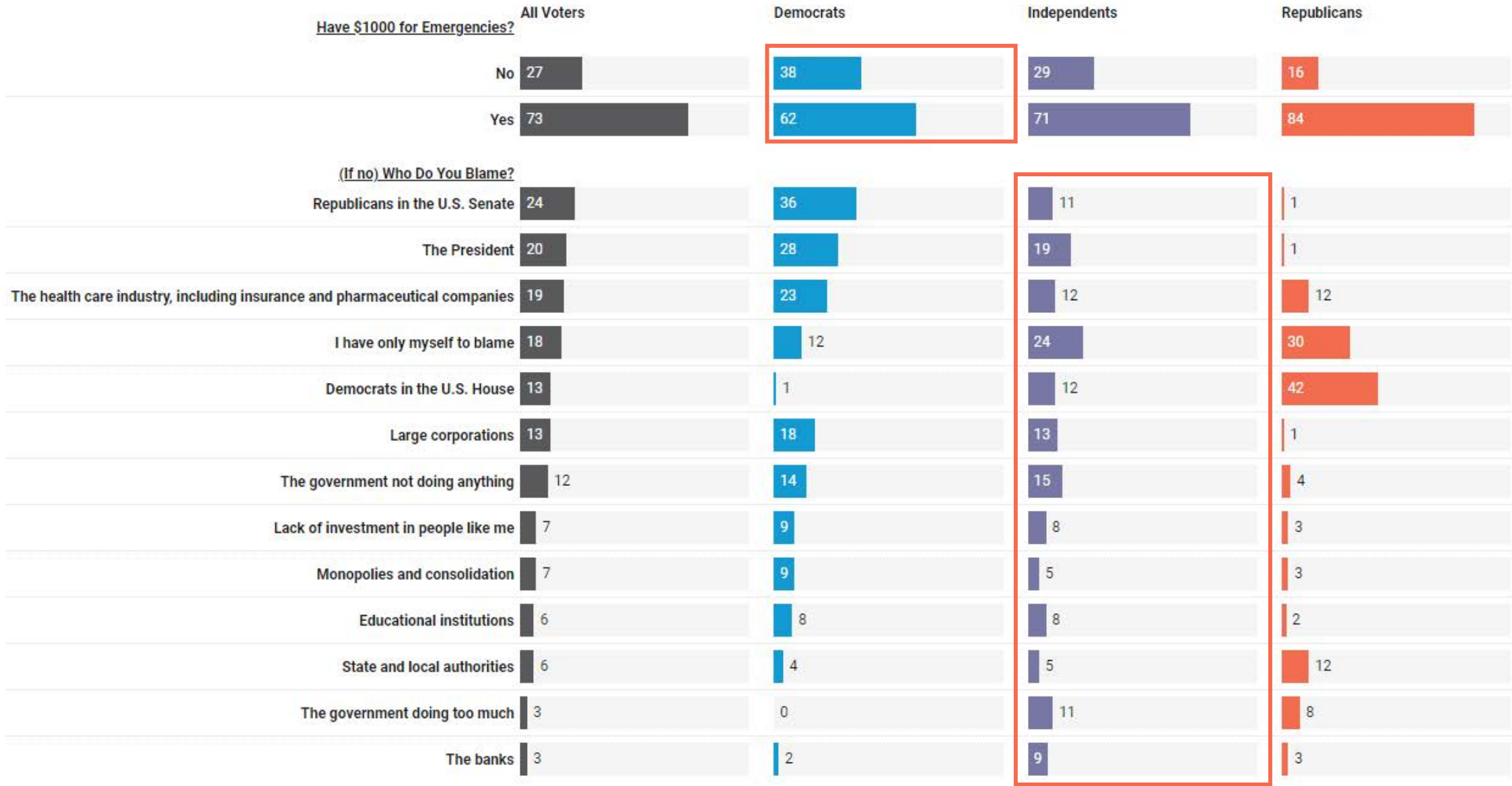
Economic Indicators

Daily Costs Top the List of Income Burdens



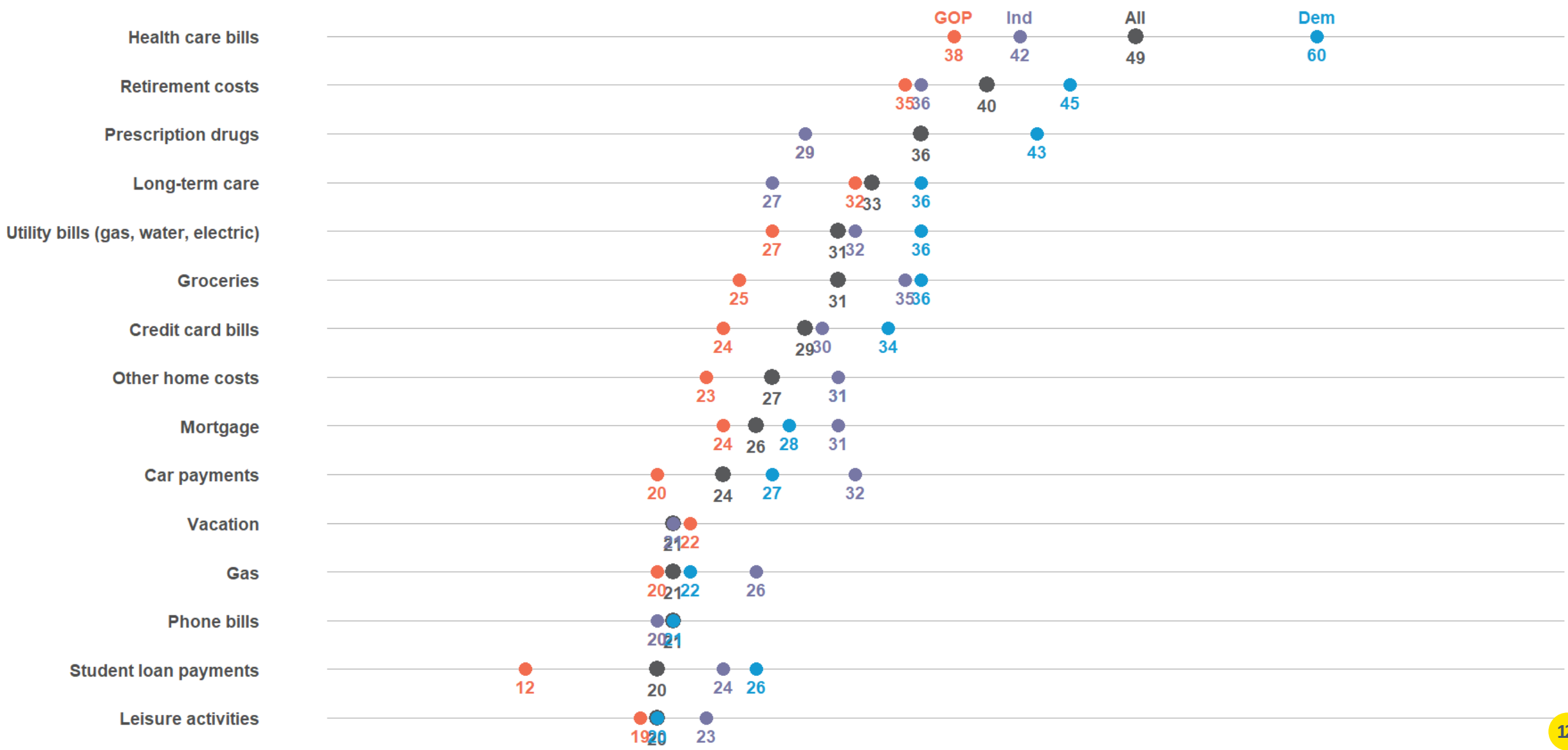
Economic Indicators

38% of Democrats Can't Afford a \$1,000 Emergency. Independents Have No Clear Enemy for This



Economic Indicators

Health Care Bills Dominate the List of Concerns People Have in Their Daily Life, Especially Among Democrats

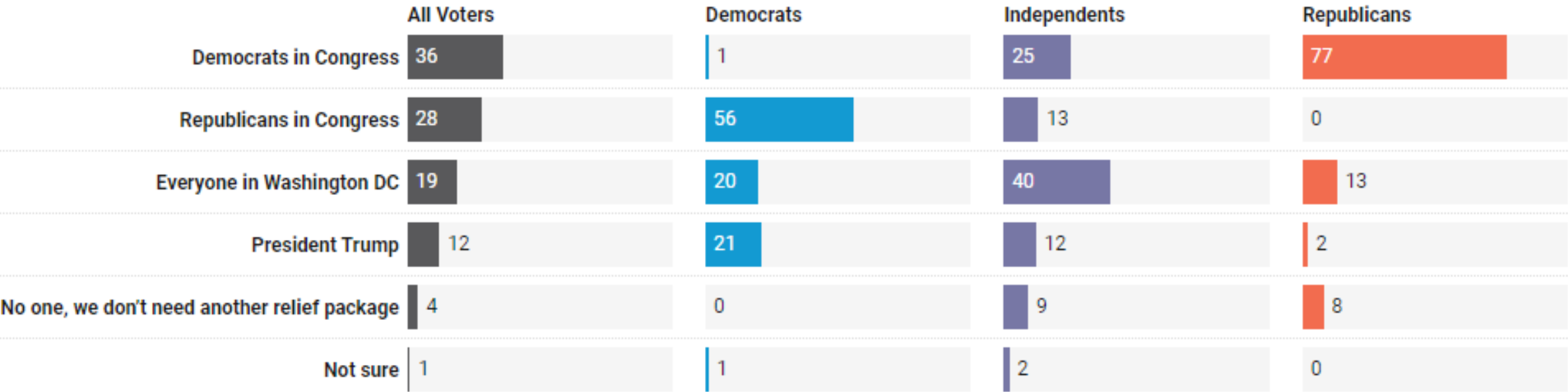


Job #1: COVID-19 Relief

COVID relief is about investing to fight the pandemic and about helping people and saving jobs – especially small businesses.

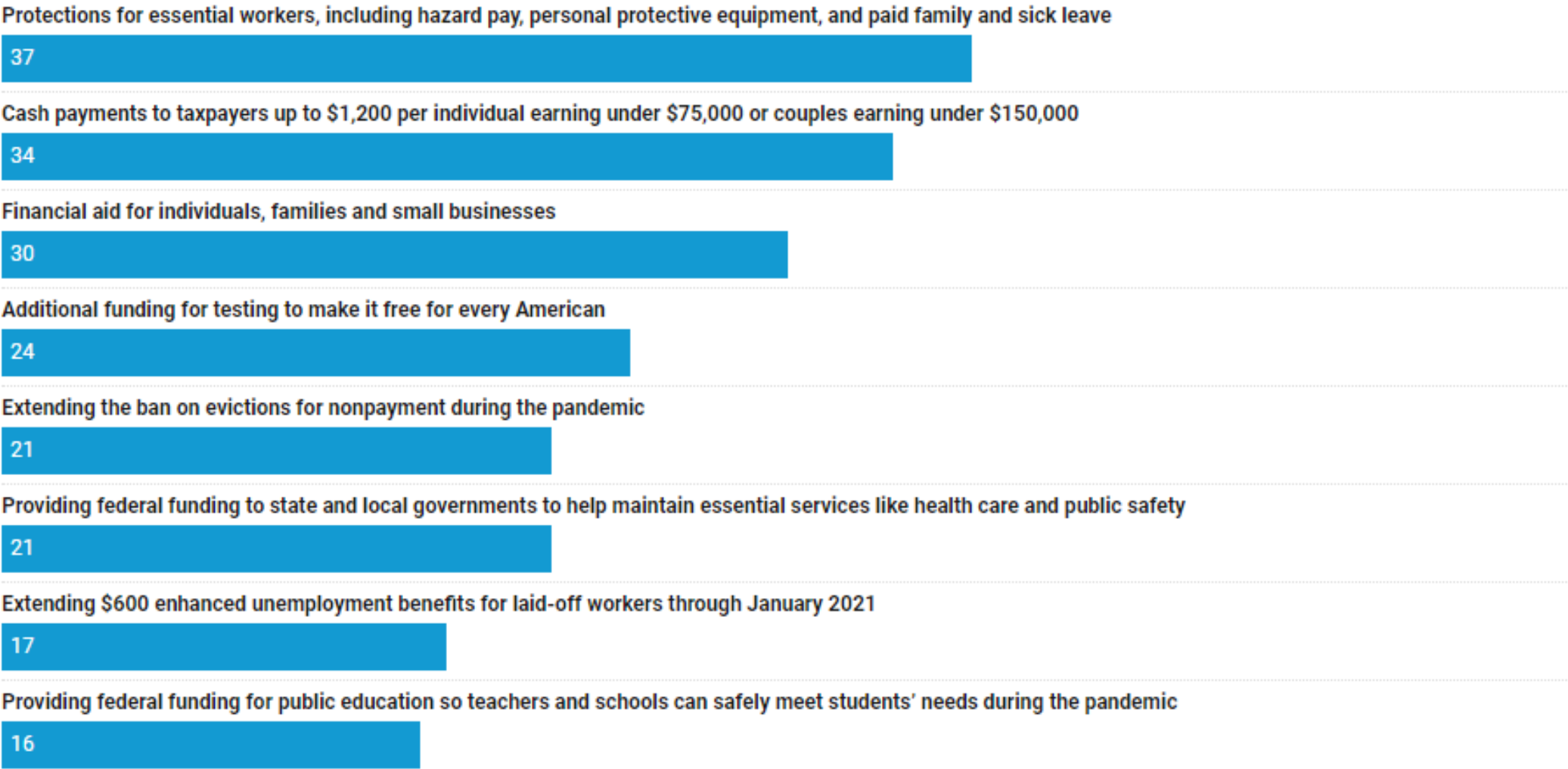
Who Do You Blame for the Lack of Progress Passing Additional COVID Relief?

Independents Do Not Blame the Republicans. Or Even Trump. They blame Congressional Democrats.



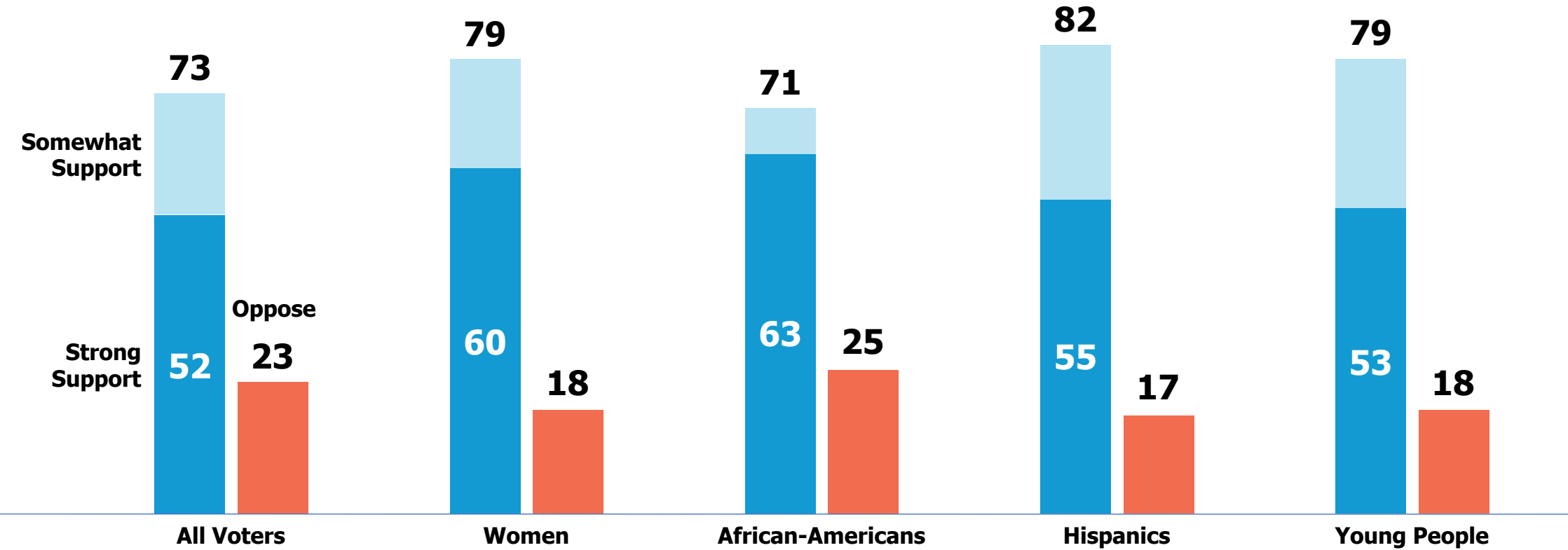
What Voters Want in a Relief Package

All Voters - % Choosing from a list

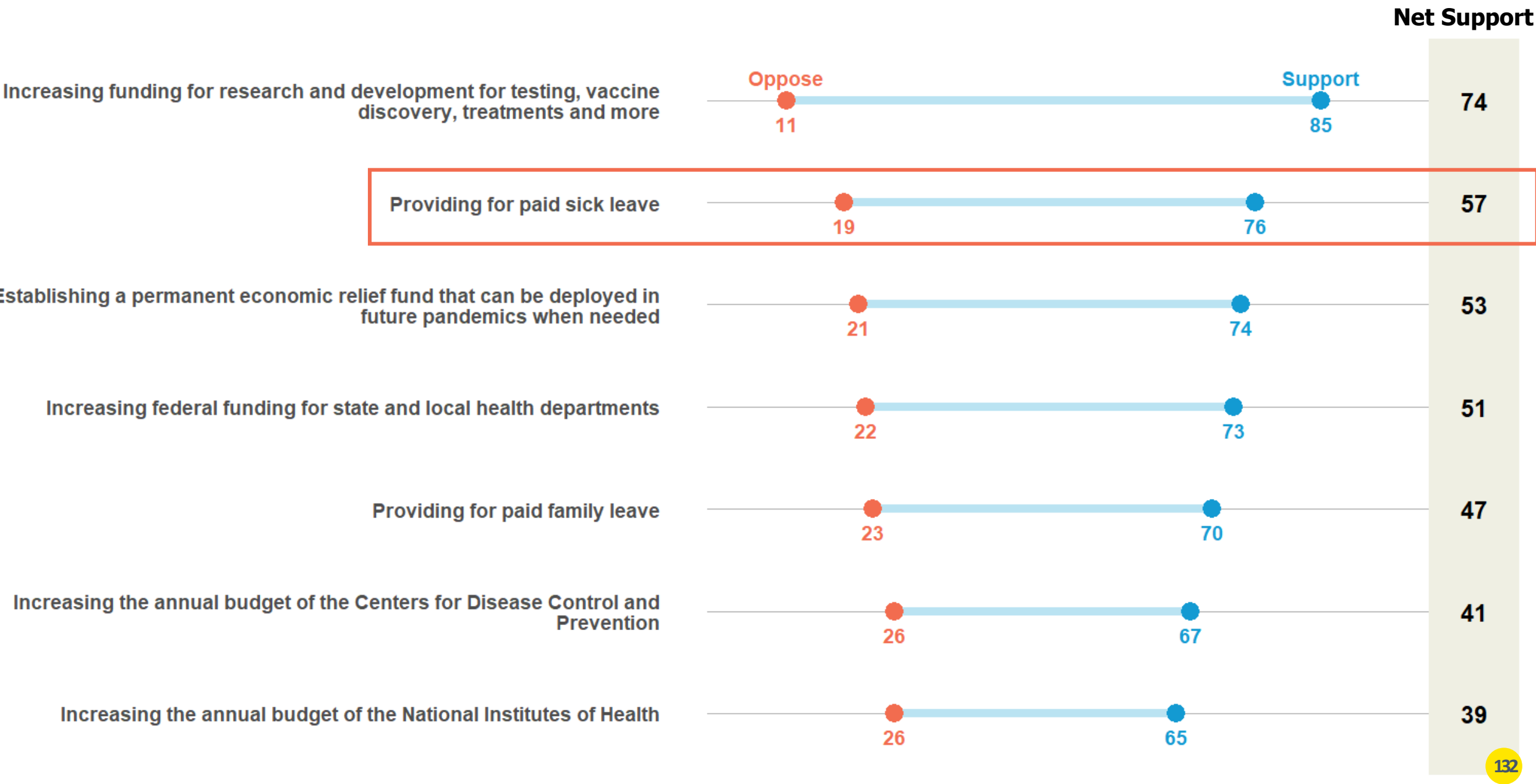


There is Deep and Strong Support for the “Heroes Act”

“In May, House Democrats passed the HEROES Act, a \$3 trillion coronavirus relief package. It provides for state and local aid, support for essential workers, unemployment insurance, one-time cash payments for taxpayers, and other measures. Do you support or oppose the HEROES Act?”



Support for COVID Relief Policies



Job #2:

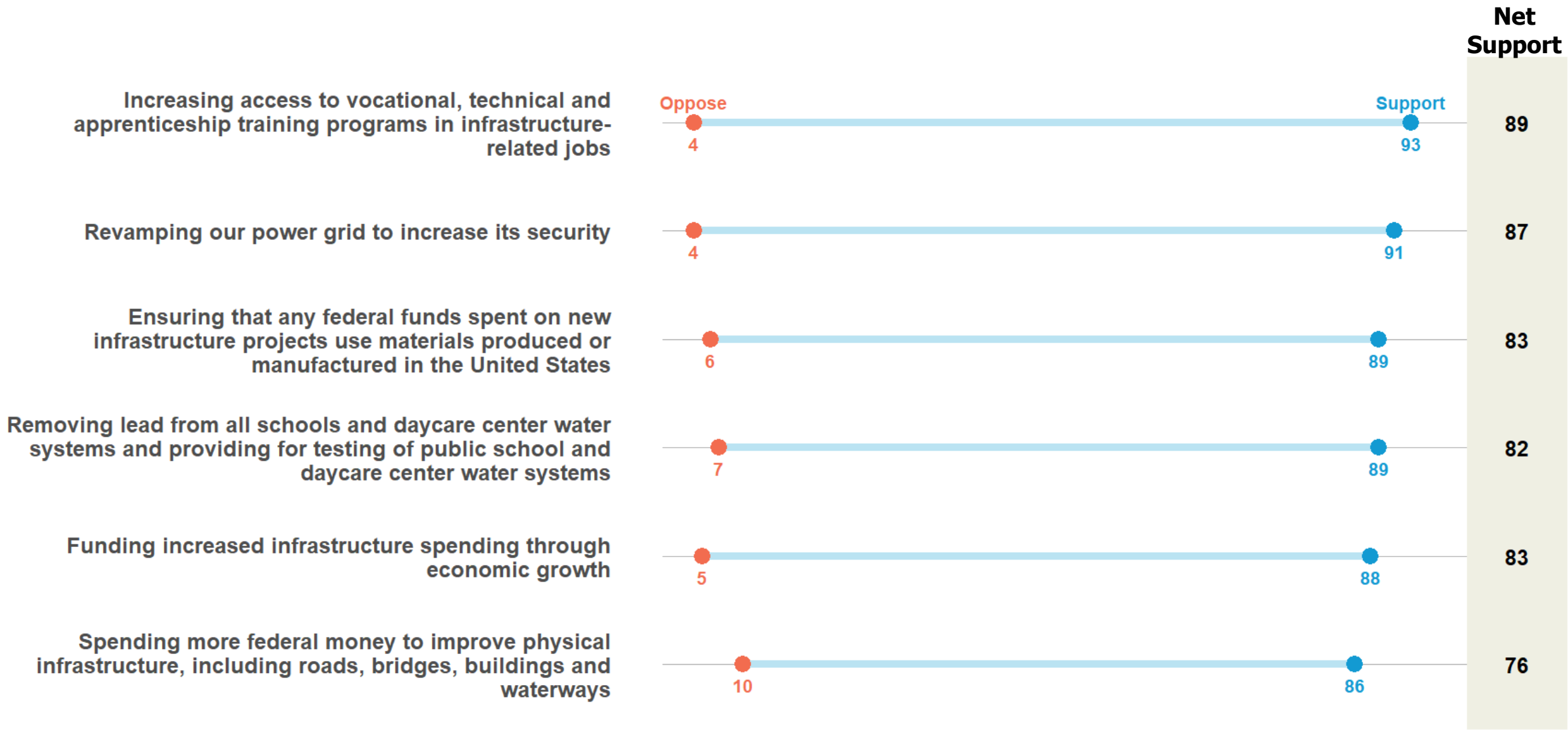
Jobs. Jobs. Jobs.

+

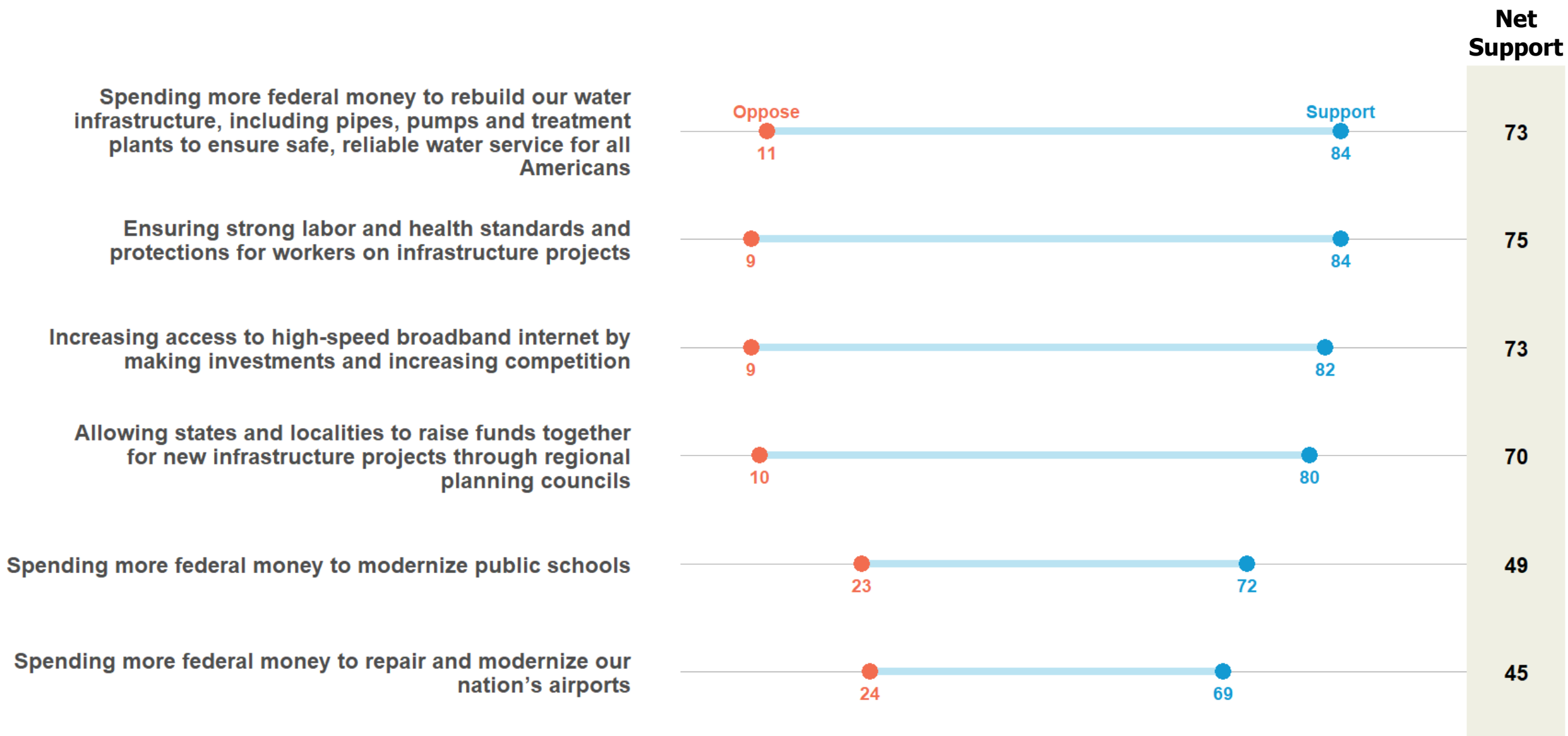
Family Policies

The electorate is clear: Focus on the economy and jobs. In addition, Democrats should focus on specific policies to help families. Doing so would go a long way in keeping and building upon our inroads in the suburbs (e.g. childcare, family and sick leave, etc.). Our polling has also shown that Republicans have given up on the word “family” and there is an opportunity to take it back. Democrats’ *raison d’être* must be passing clear economic policies to produce jobs and improve wages and economic wellbeing every chance they get (including family-centric policies, infrastructure, climate, COVID) and use those wins as direct contrast to Republicans so there is a clear economic difference.

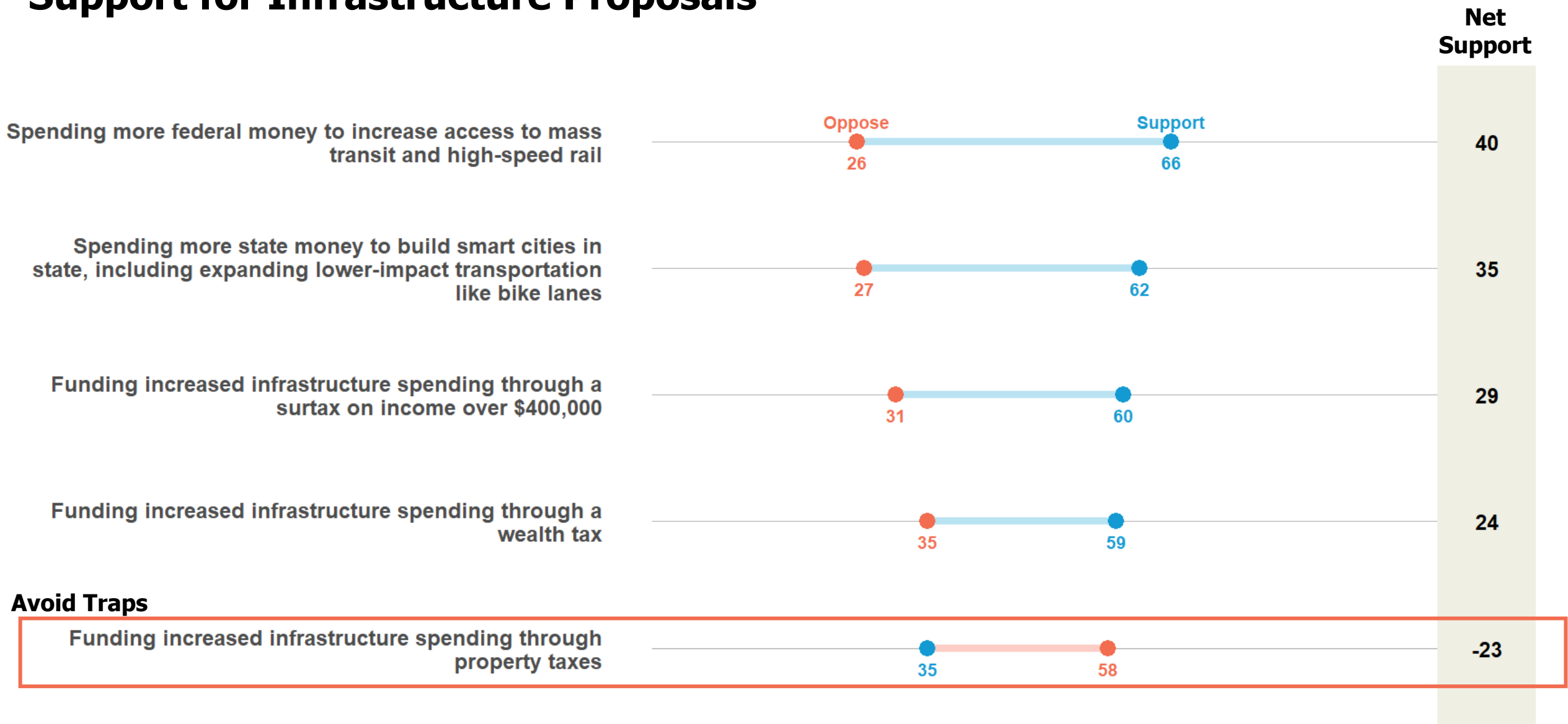
Support for Infrastructure Proposals



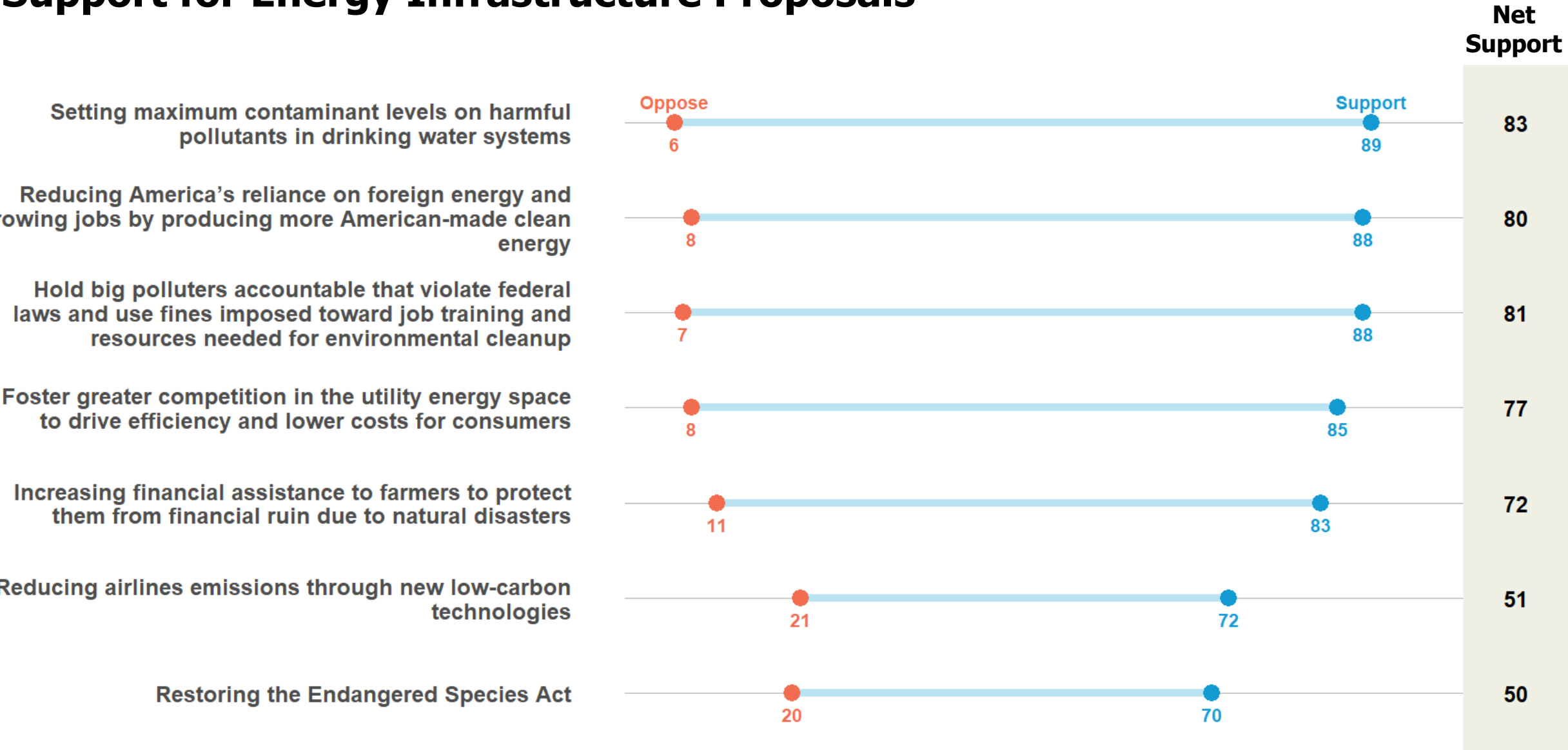
Support for Infrastructure Proposals



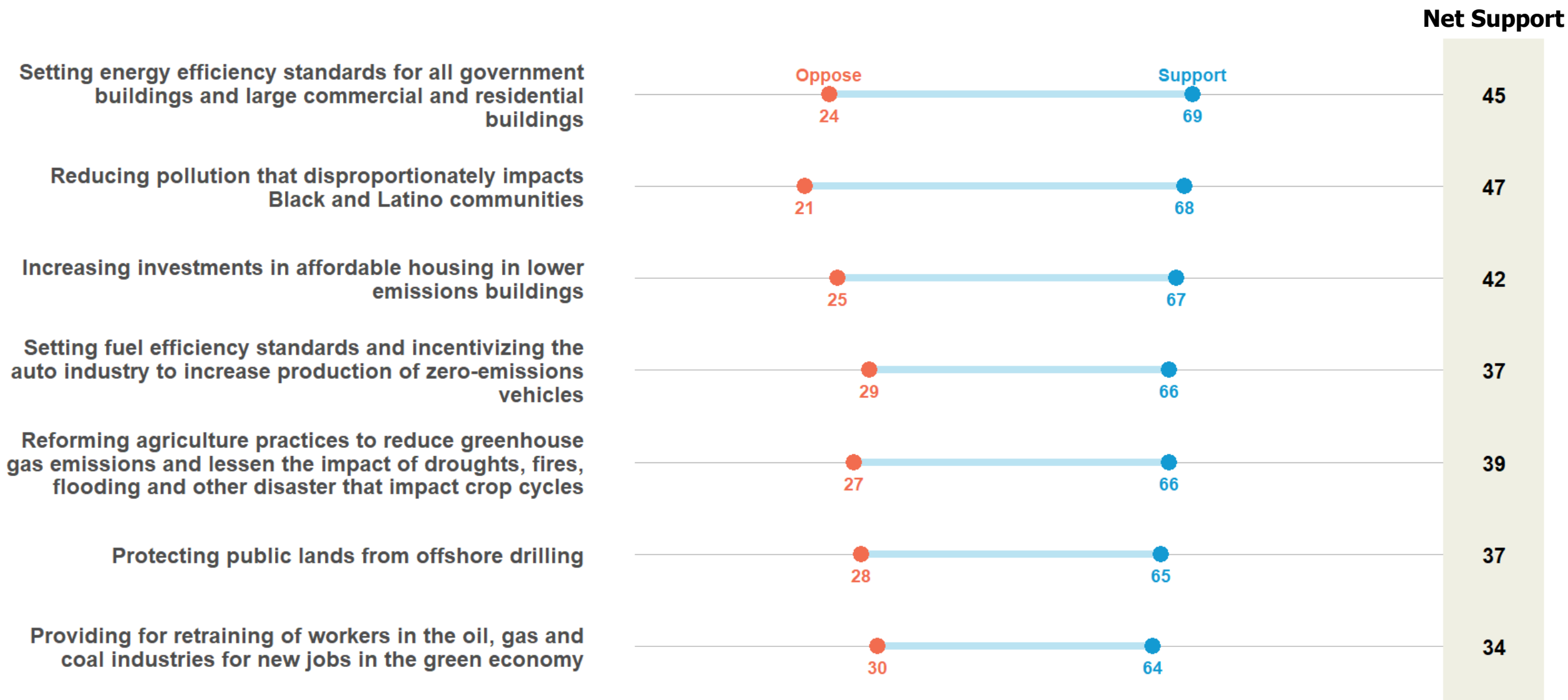
Support for Infrastructure Proposals



Support for Energy Infrastructure Proposals



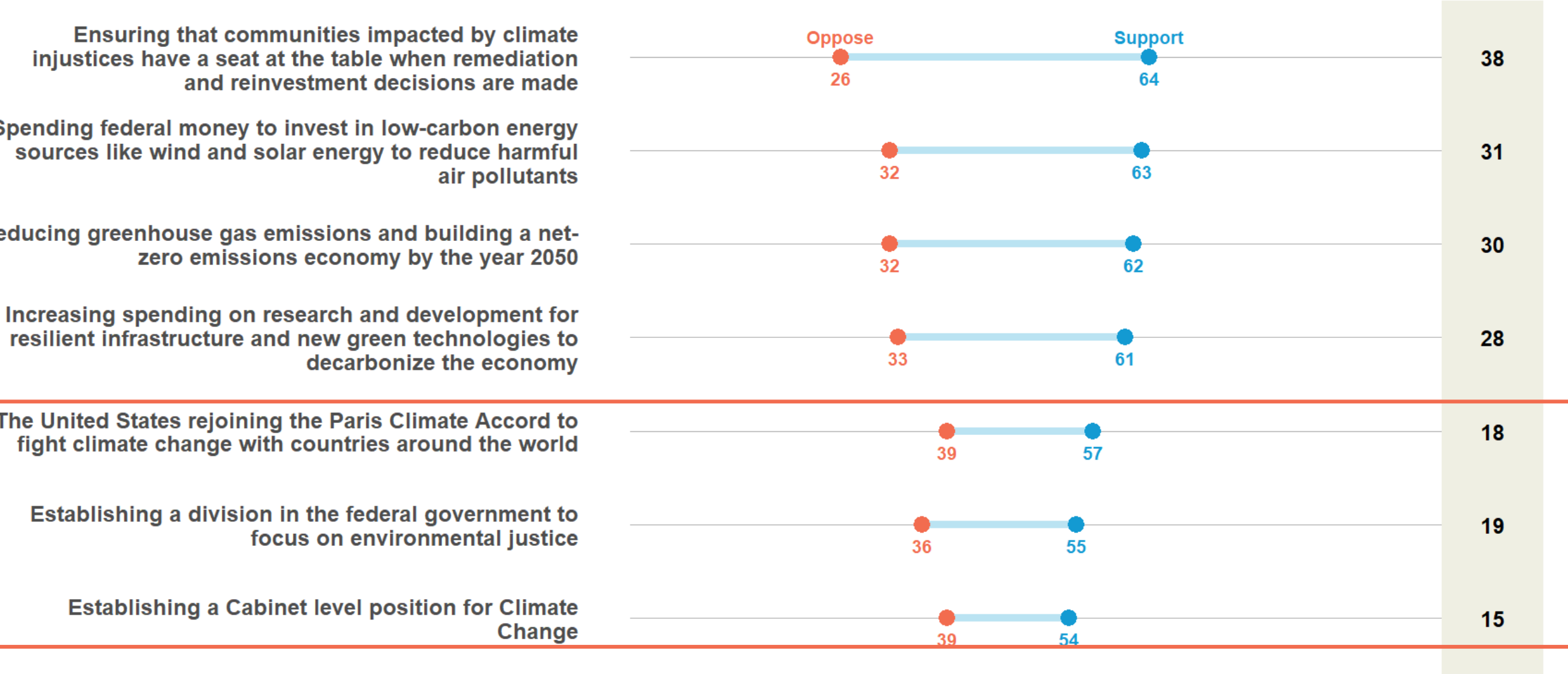
Support for Energy Infrastructure Proposals



Support for Energy Infrastructure Proposals

Government Process Isn't Sufficient on its Own. Needs to be Paired with Tangible Jobs Proposals

Net Support



Support for Child Care Tax Policy: Direct Helps to Families

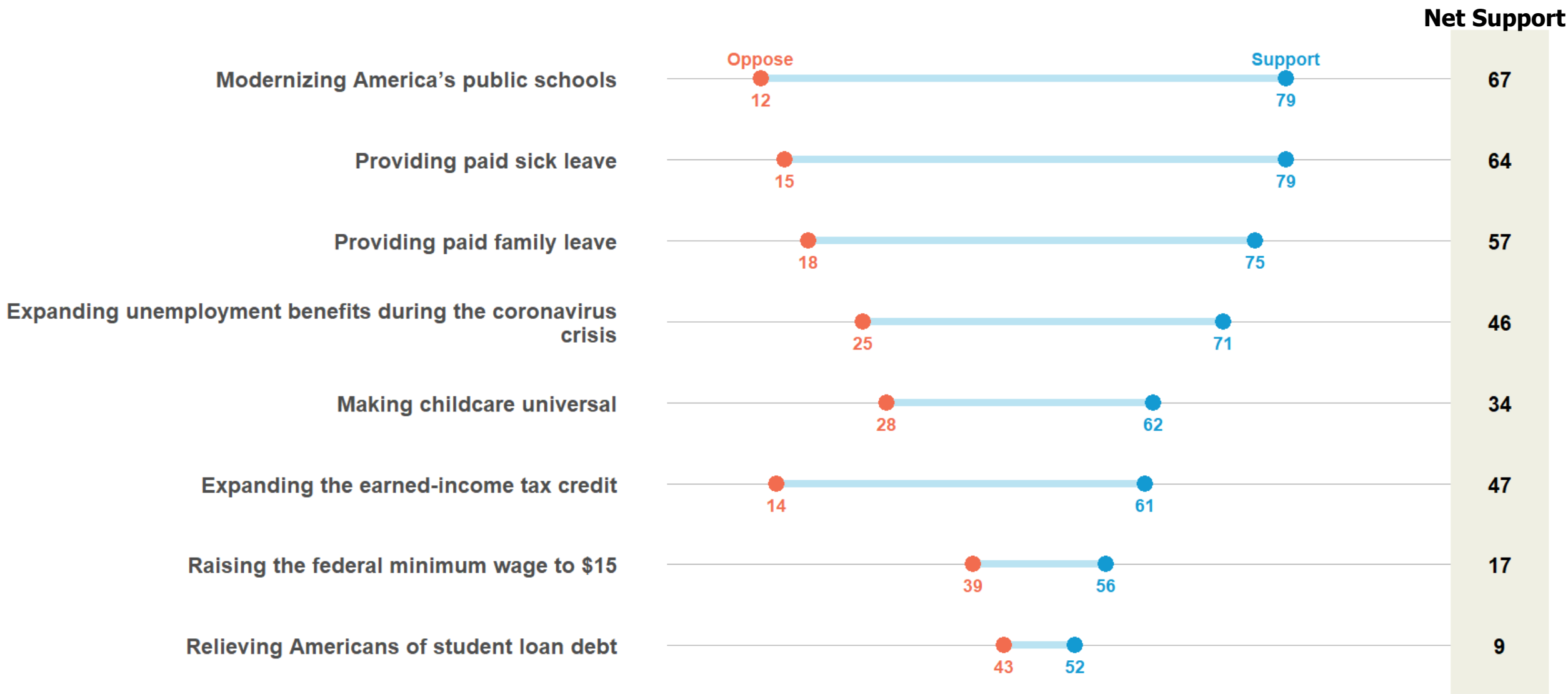
Currently, corporations can deduct the costs associated with private jets from their federal taxes. Do you support or oppose allowing people to fully deduct child care costs from their federal income taxes as well?



Do you support or oppose allowing people to fully deduct childcare costs from their federal income taxes?



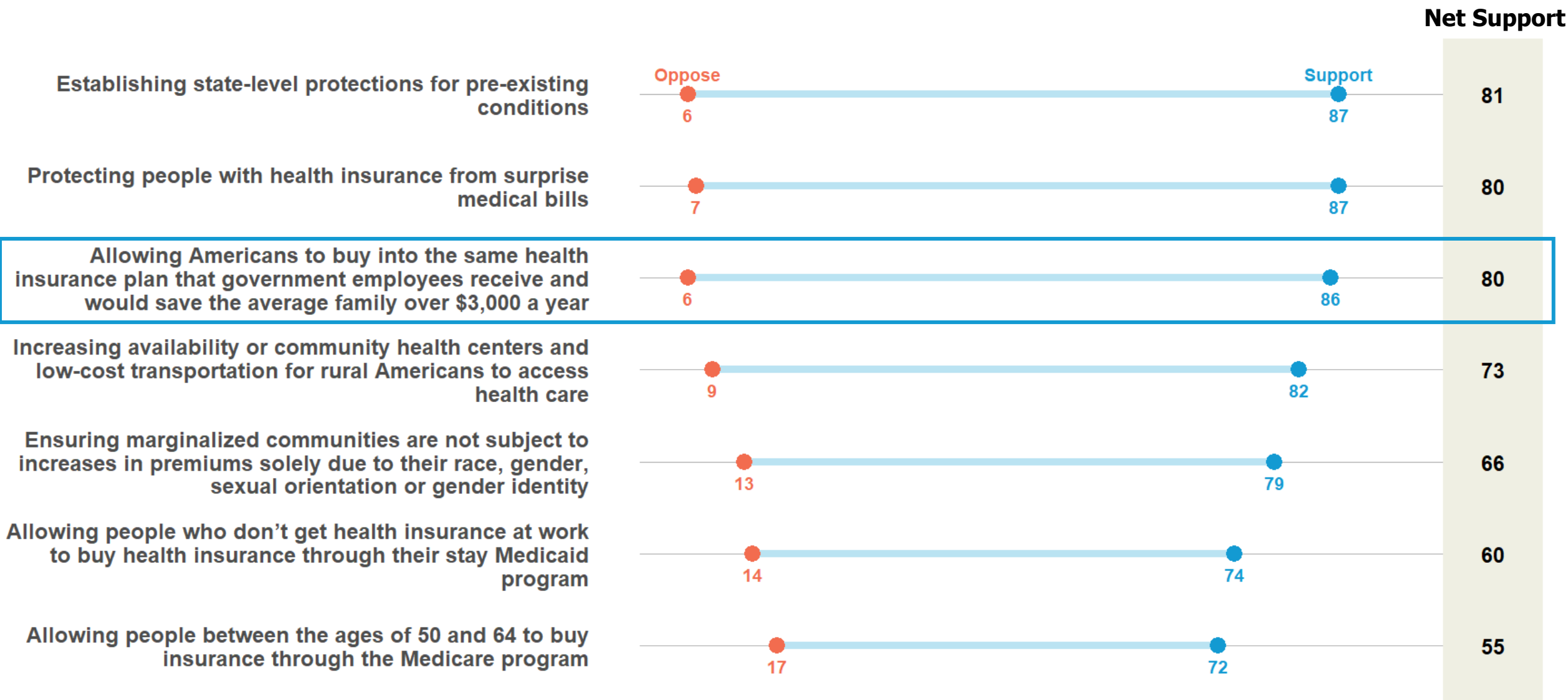
Support for Family/Child Policies



Health Care

On the question of, "who do you blame for rising cost of health care" the result was shocking: 44% blame insurance companies, 31% blame the government, 14% blame the drug companies, 3% blame the hospitals.

Support for Health Care Proposals



Support for Health Care Proposals

Avoid GOP Traps – Start with What Works

Net Support

Establishing a public option that would compete with private health insurance plans and be available to all Americans



43

Increasing the value of tax credits to lower insurance premiums in the individual marketplace



54

Expanding Medicaid to the 14 states that haven't



40

Guaranteeing health care coverage as a right for all Americans



26

Establishing a national health plan in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan, sometimes called Medicare for All



-3

Repealing the Hyde Amendment that bans federal funds from paying for abortions



-2

Corruption

It is baffling why HR1 was not front and center of the 2020 campaign. This strong anti-corruption message should have dominated in every district. Voters want their candidates and elected leaders to root out corruption. The video Future Majority made in 2018 tests great and should be the foundation of this argument: "[Built Not Bought](#)."

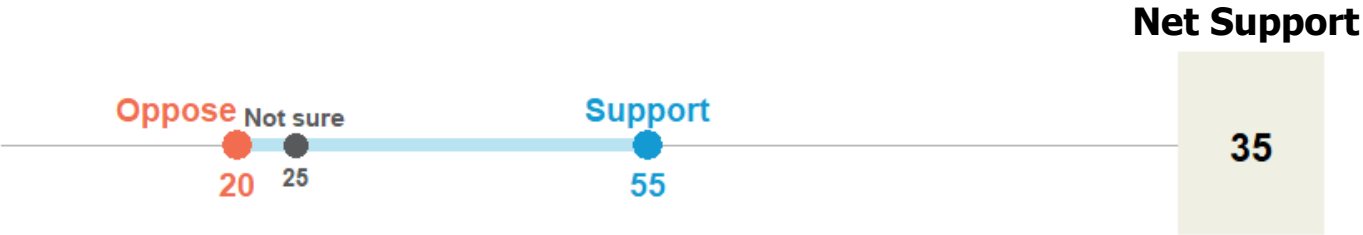
Voters Did Not Know Anything about HR1 Months after Passage and They Support It Now

As far as you know, has the House of Representatives voted on and passed the For the People Act (HR 1), a 400-page anti corruption measure called the “strongest reform since Watergate”?

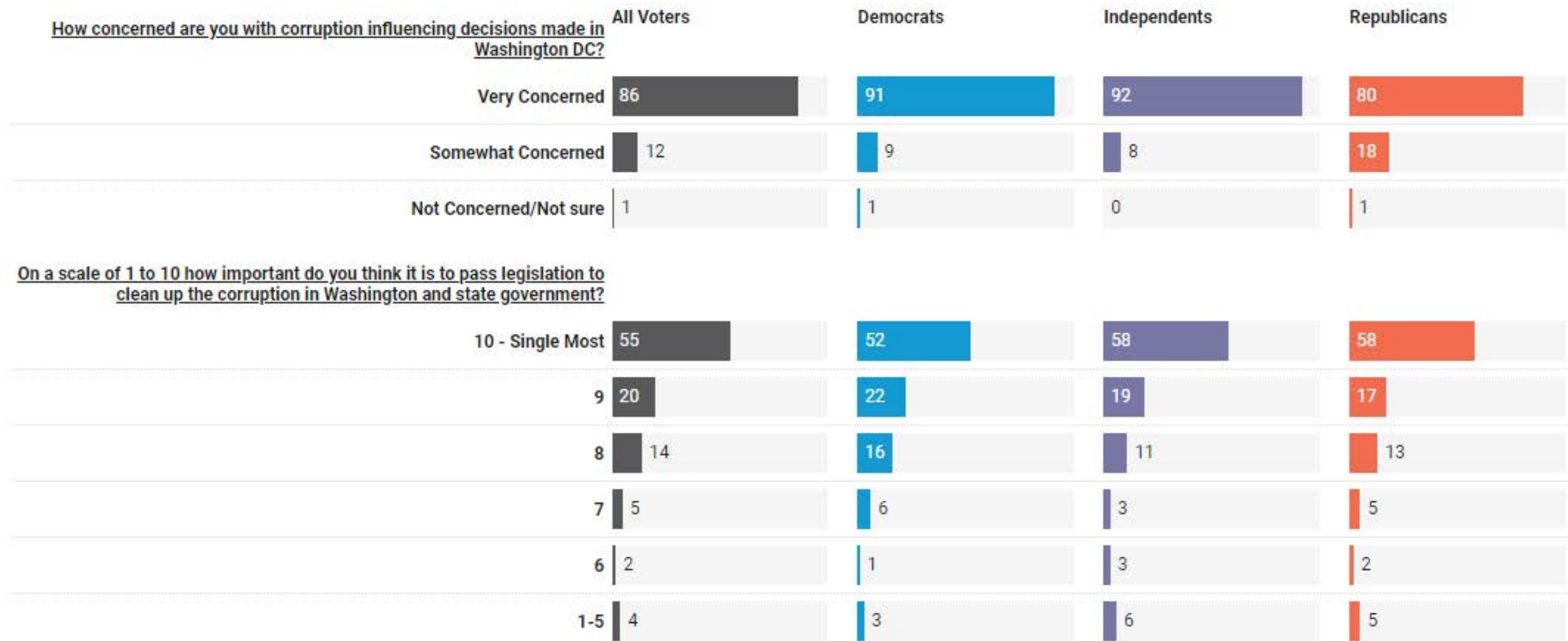


Michigan Poll – October 2019

Last year, Democrats in the U.S. House passed what they say is the most extensive anti-corruption act since Watergate, with full transparency of all dark money, and public disclosure of all meetings of Members of Congress with any paid advocates, including domestic lobbyists, bundlers, and foreign agents, and giving up of PAC money, among other provisions. The legislation is currently blocked in the Senate from a vote. Do you support or oppose this?

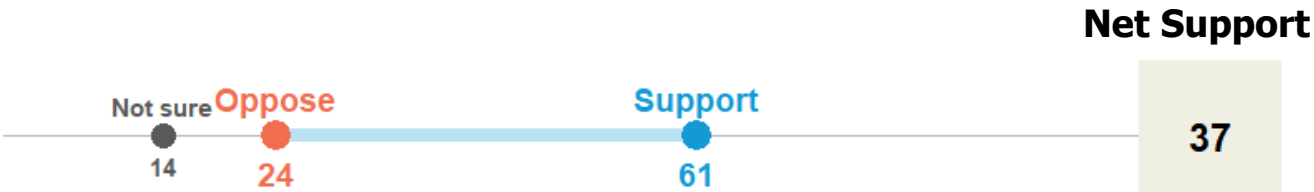


Voters are Deeply Concerned about Corruption and Want Legislation to Address It. But Public Financing Is Underwater.



Anti-Corruption Proposals with Clear Specifics about Who It Impacts Get Strong Support

Last month, House Democrats released a new anti-corruption package to protect democracy by preventing abuses of presidential power, restoring checks and balances among the branches of government, increasing accountability and transparency in government, and defending American elections against foreign interference. Do you support or oppose this proposal broadly?



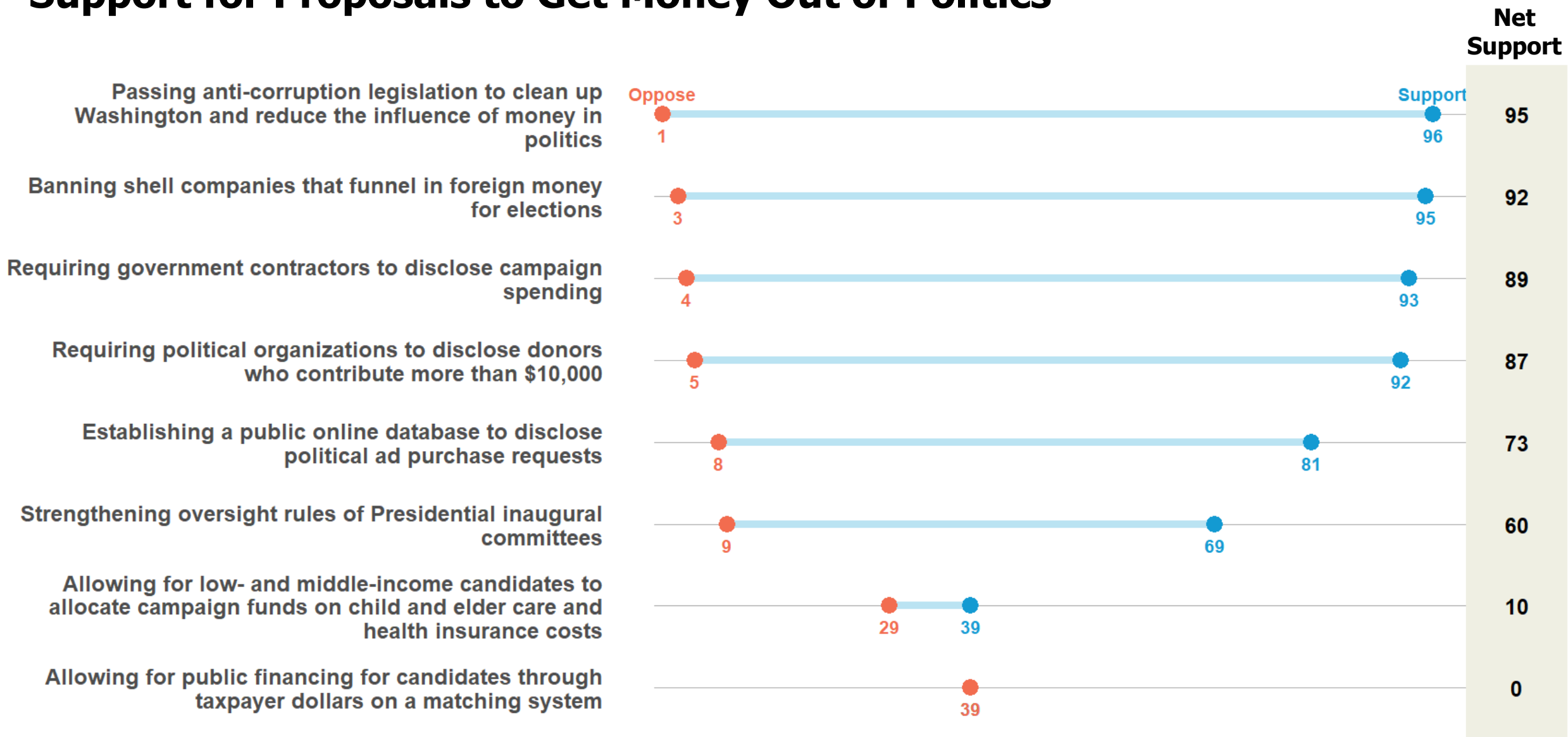
The new anti-corruption package released by House Democrats includes specific proposals, like increasing fines for violations of the Hatch Act so federal employees do not engage in partisan politics while being paid by taxpayer dollars; preventing the president from removing any federal watchdog without good cause; and increasing protections for whistleblowers who come to Congress to report wrongdoing in the federal government, and requiring disclosure of all Congressional meetings with lobbyists and foreign agents. Knowing more about the specifics of this new anti-corruption package, do you support or oppose it?



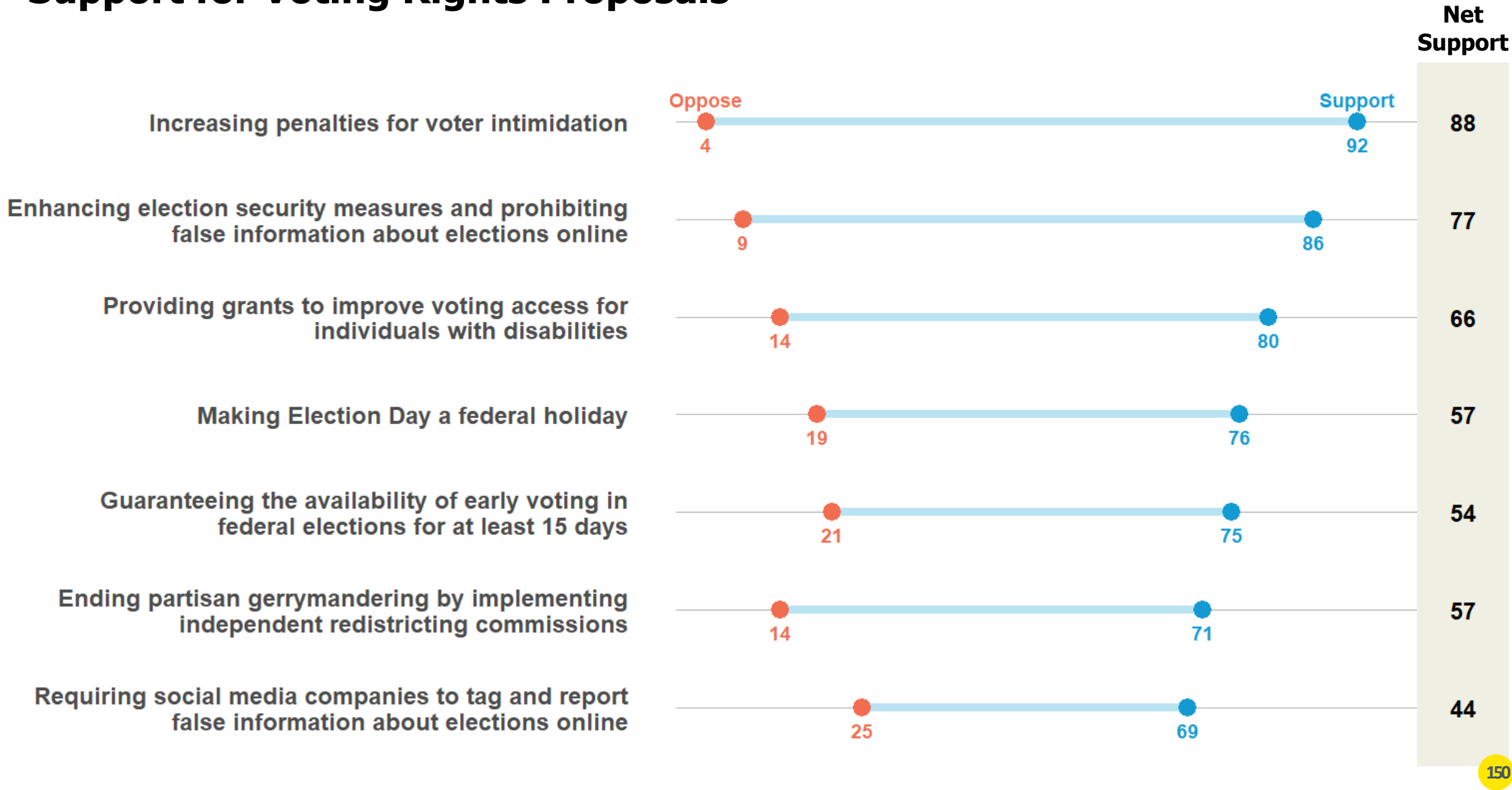
Do you support or oppose a campaign finance reform amendment to the United States Constitution to authorize greater restrictions on spending related to political speech and overturn the Supreme Court rulings which have narrowed such laws under the First Amendment?



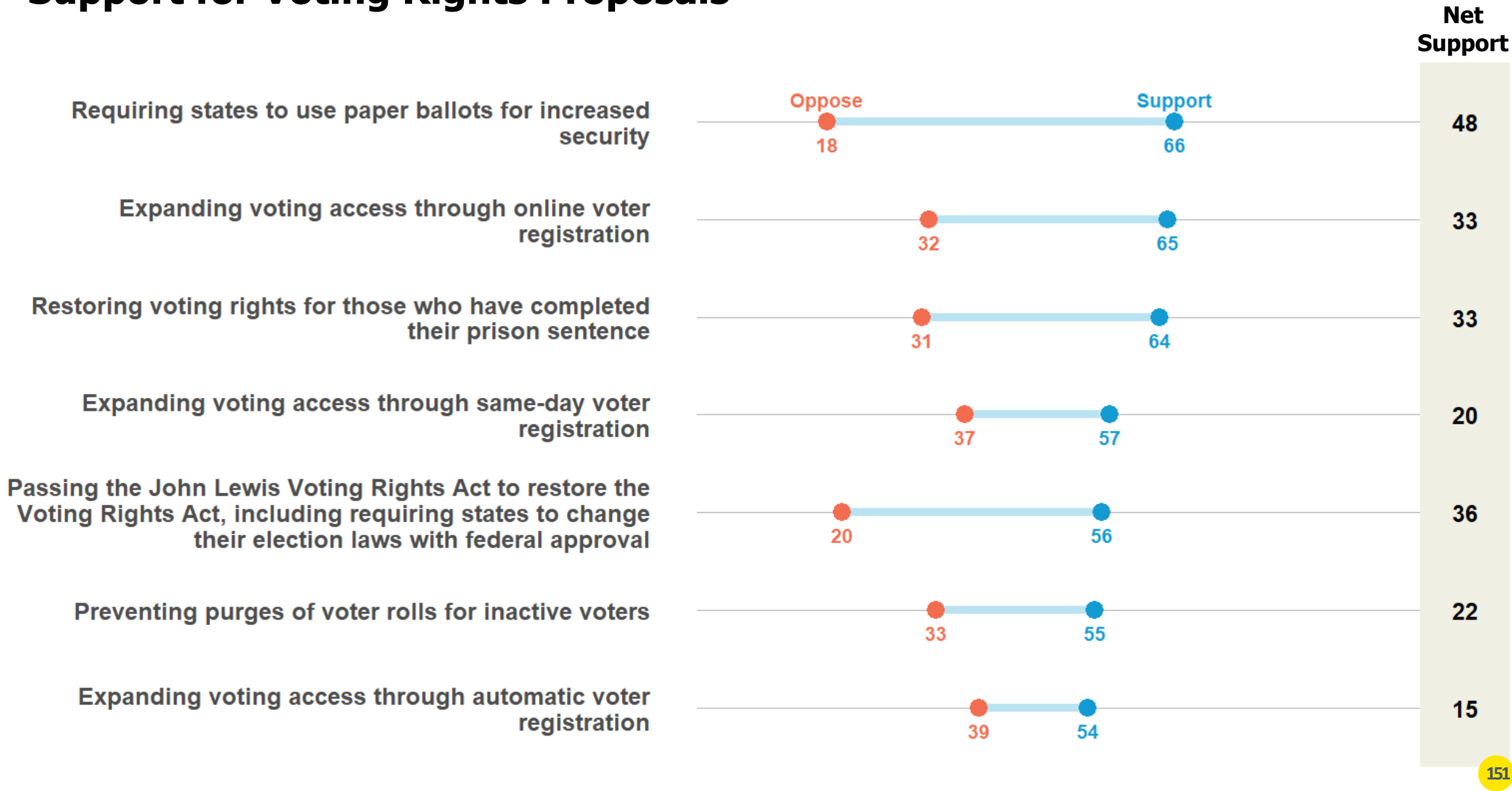
Support for Proposals to Get Money Out of Politics



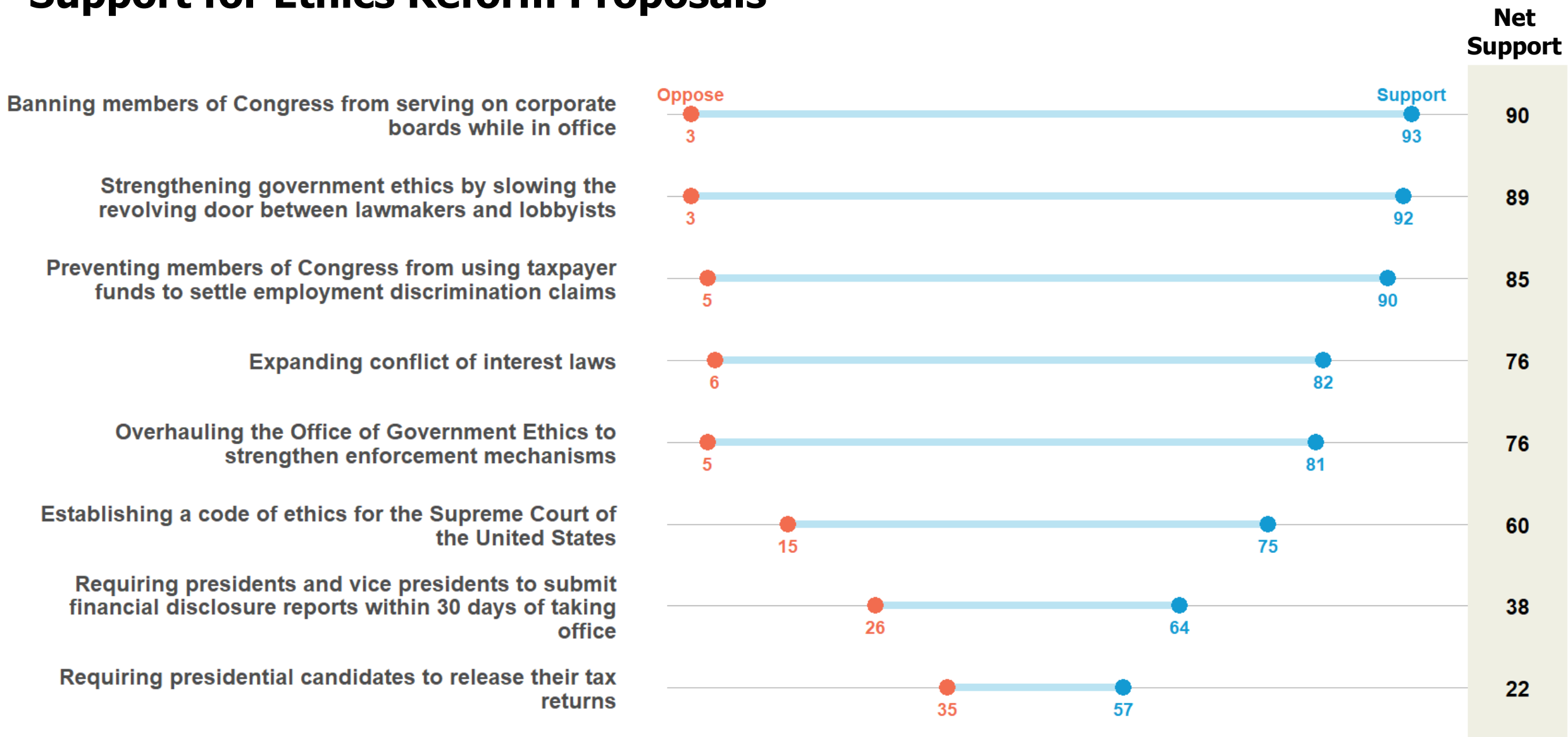
Support for Voting Rights Proposals



Support for Voting Rights Proposals



Support for Ethics Reform Proposals



Opportunity: Veterans Bill of Rights

On the heels of Trump's "suckers and losers" comments and Biden's support from wide array of military and national security leaders, Democrats should step up and support American veterans. Not only does the Veterans Bill of Rights poll off the charts, but it is the right thing to do.

Voters Overwhelmingly Support a Veterans Bill of Rights

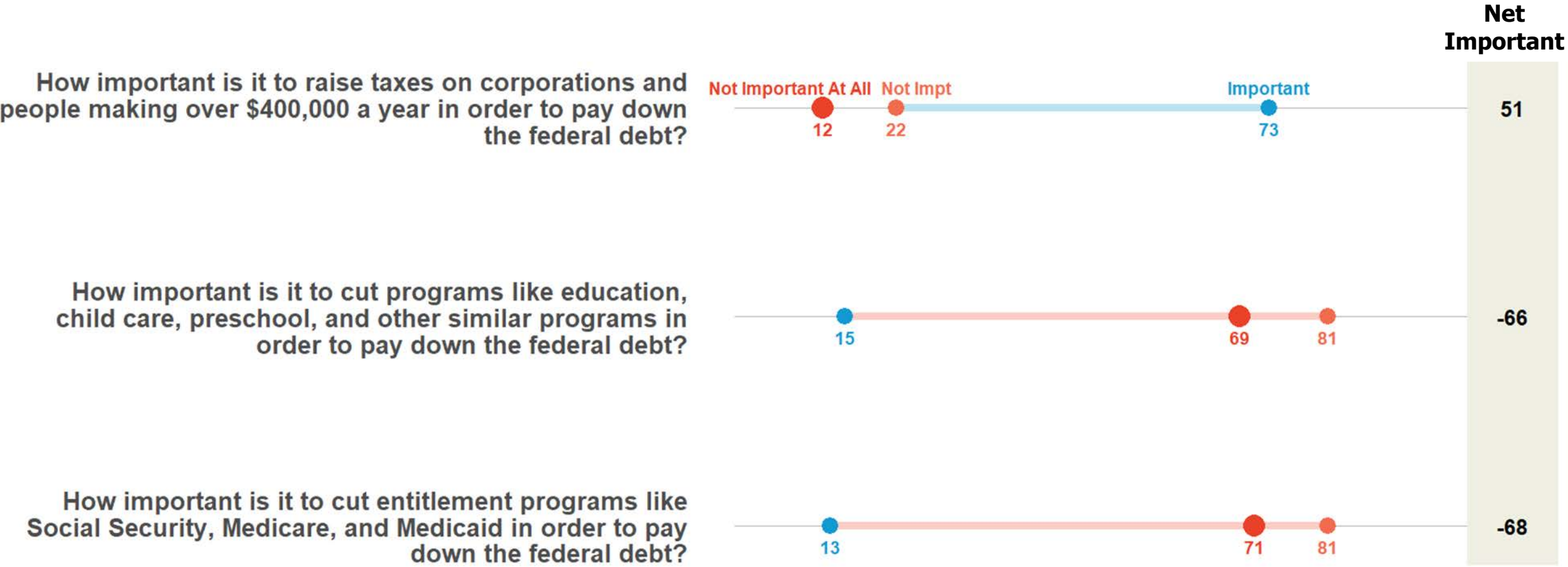
Do you support or oppose a national Veterans Bill of Rights that protects veterans' healthcare, increases veterans' job opportunities, makes higher education more affordable, and helps prevent veteran suicide and mental health issues?



Challenges:

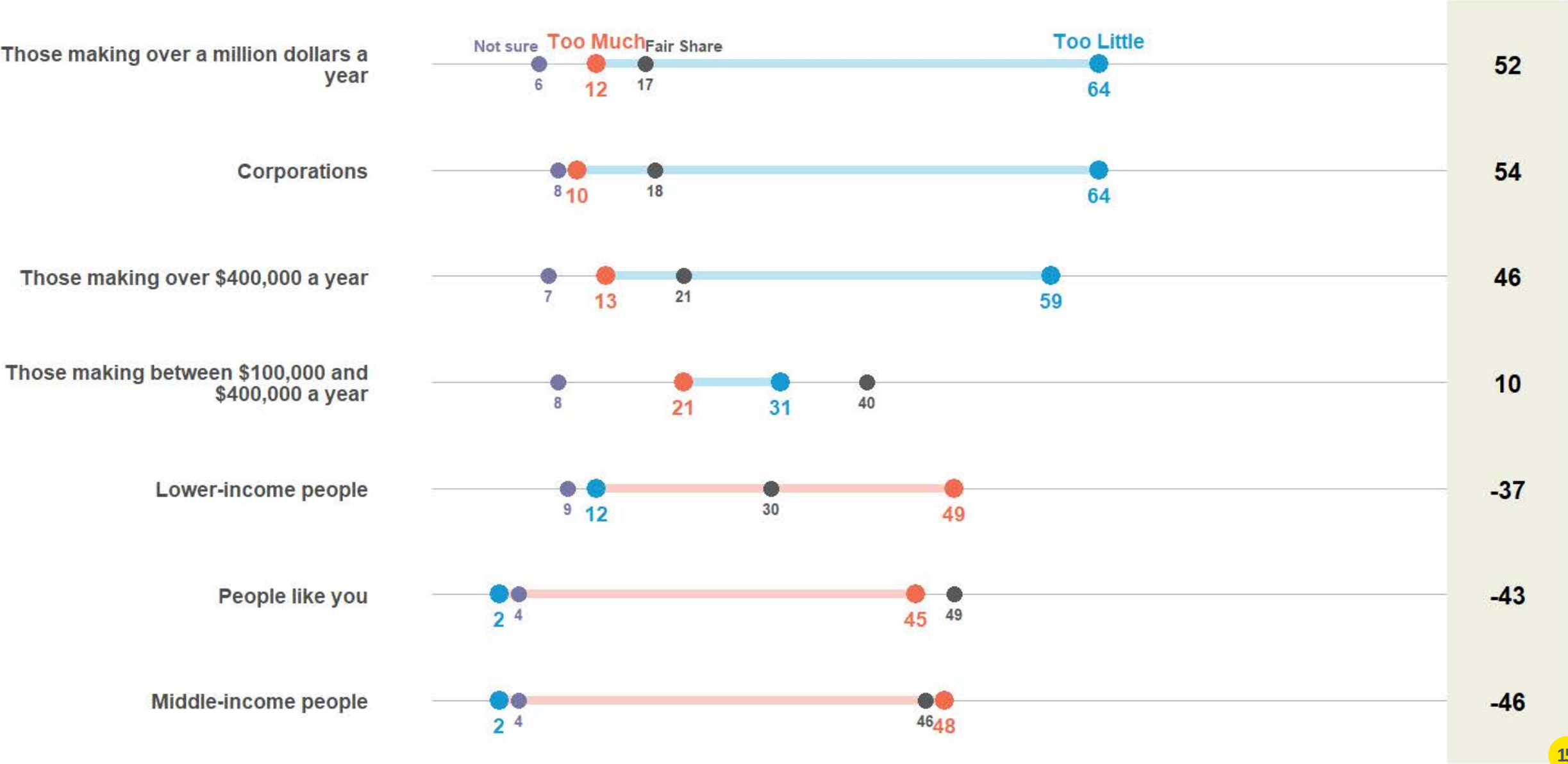
**Avoiding Austerity &
Getting Tax Policy Right**

Voters Want the Wealthy to Pay Their Fair Share – Not Austerity

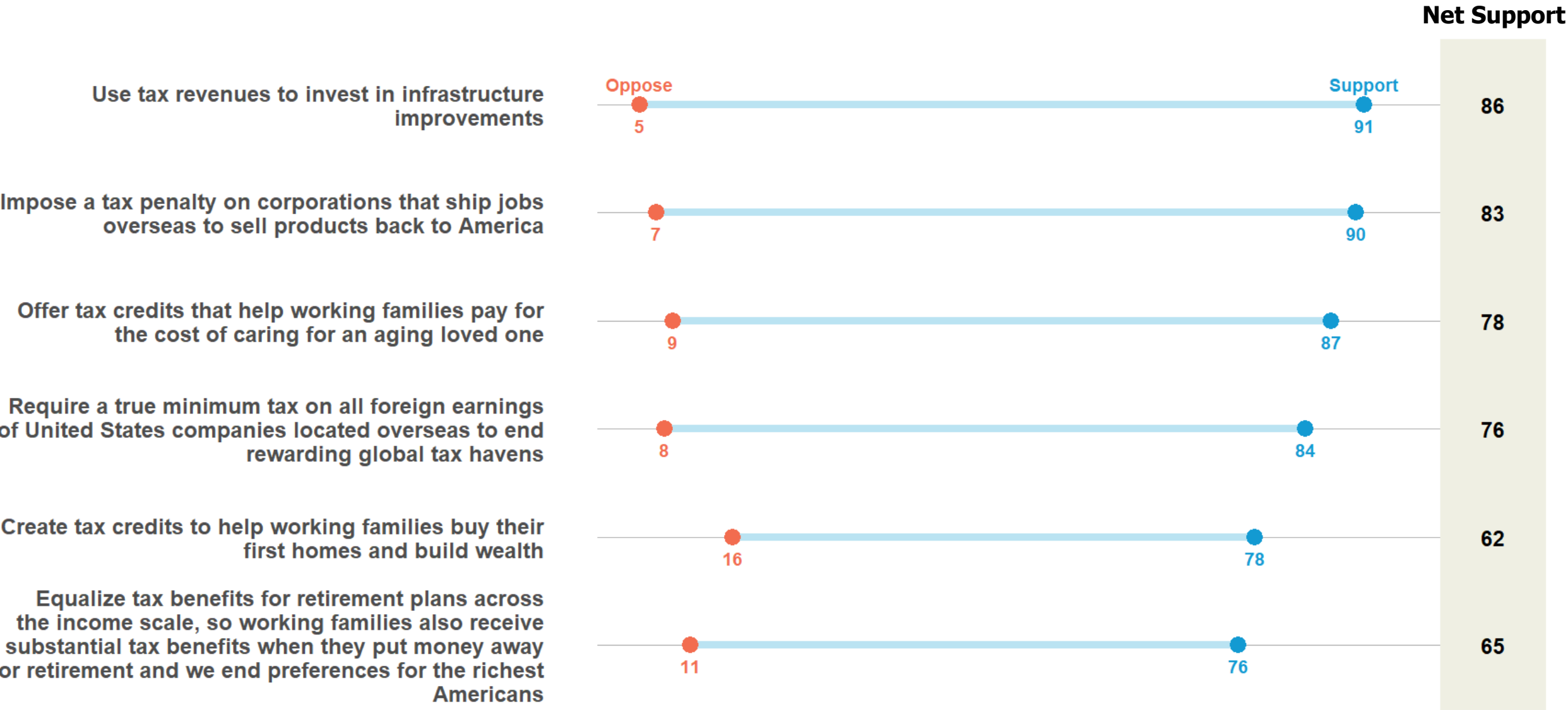


Voters Think The Wealthy (\$400K+) & Corporations Pay Too Little in Taxes

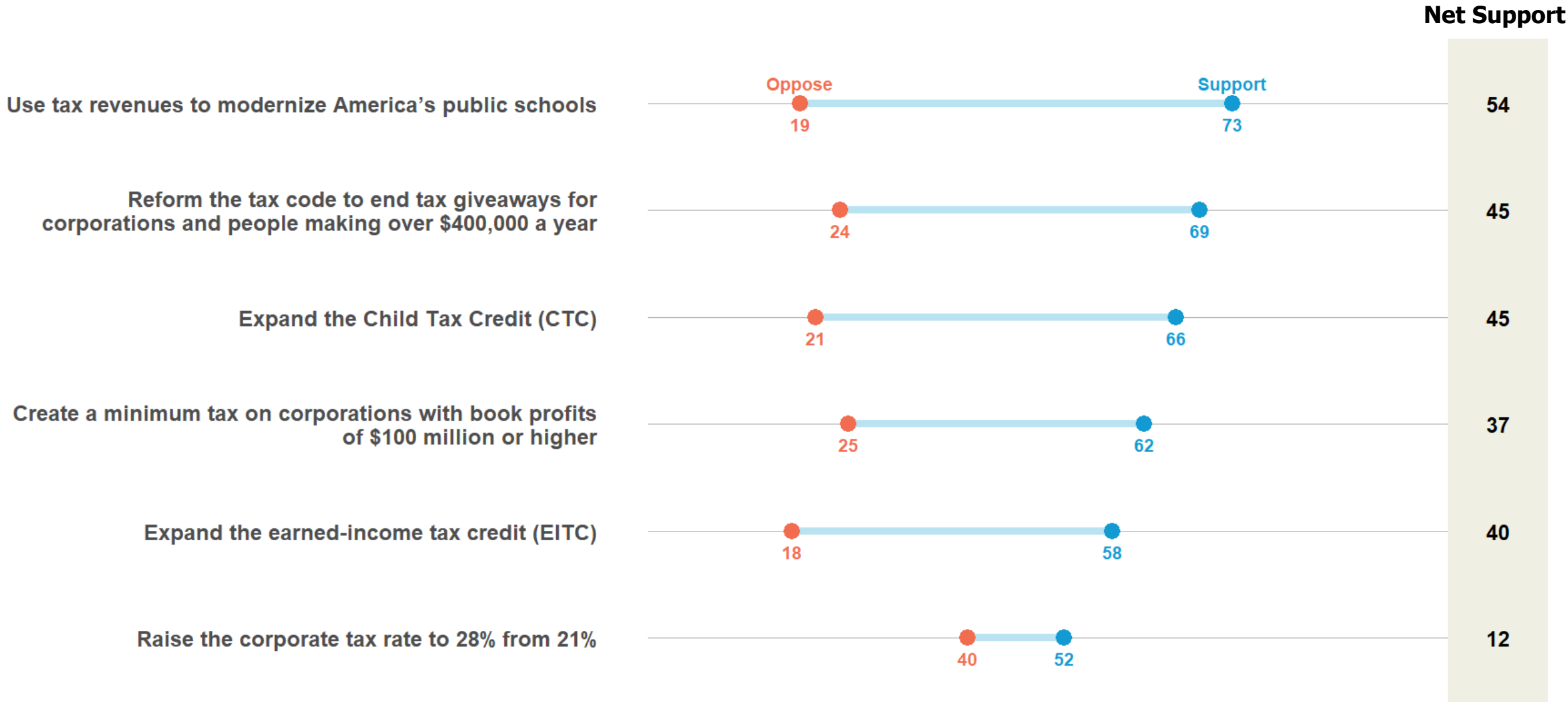
Net Too Little



Support for Tax Policy



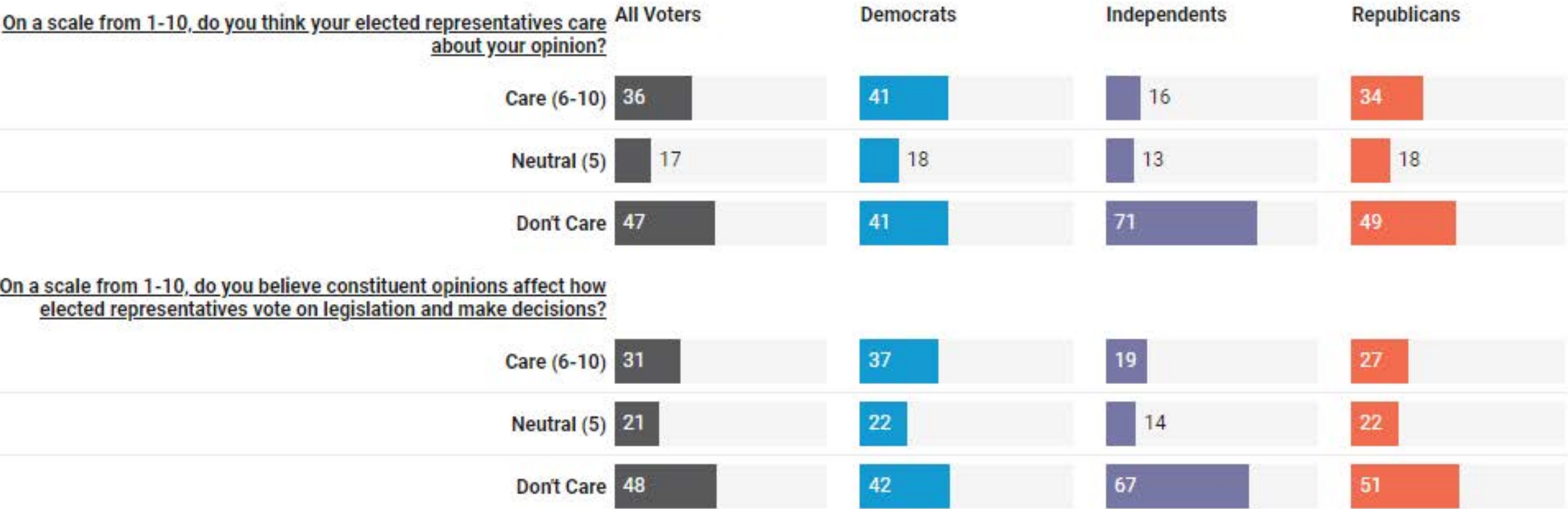
Support for Tax Policy



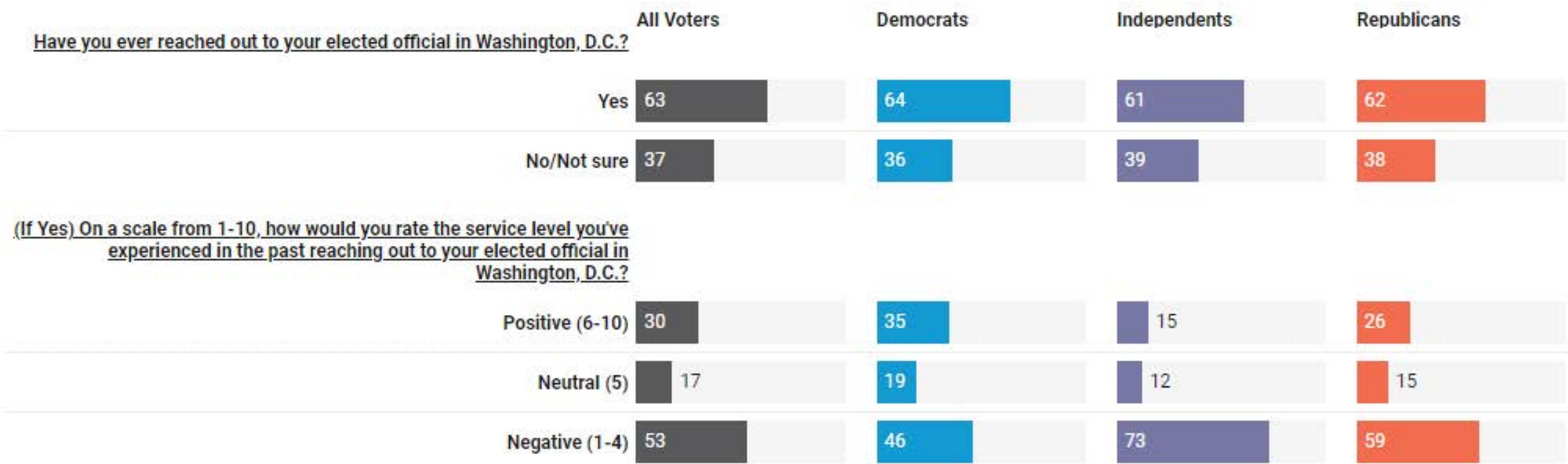
Wake-up Call: Improving Government Customer Service

Democrats are viewed as party of government, and it is not working for voters. Improving the Democratic brand also means improving government service so there is a positive association between how government functions and the party identity.

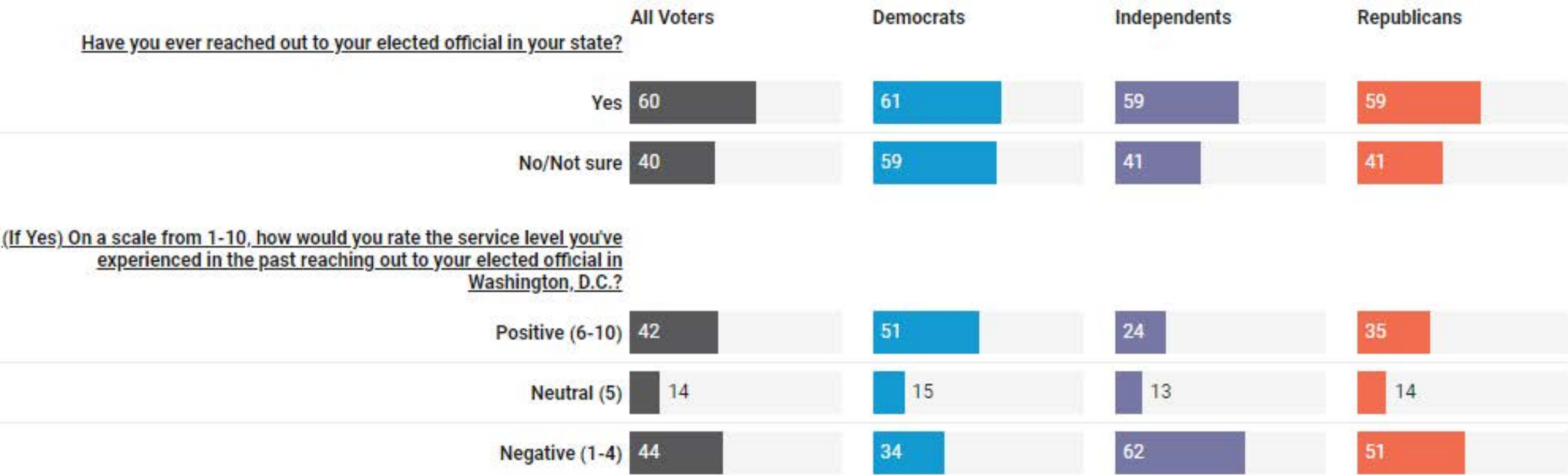
Voters – Particularly Independents – Don’t Believe Elected Officials Care about Their Opinion



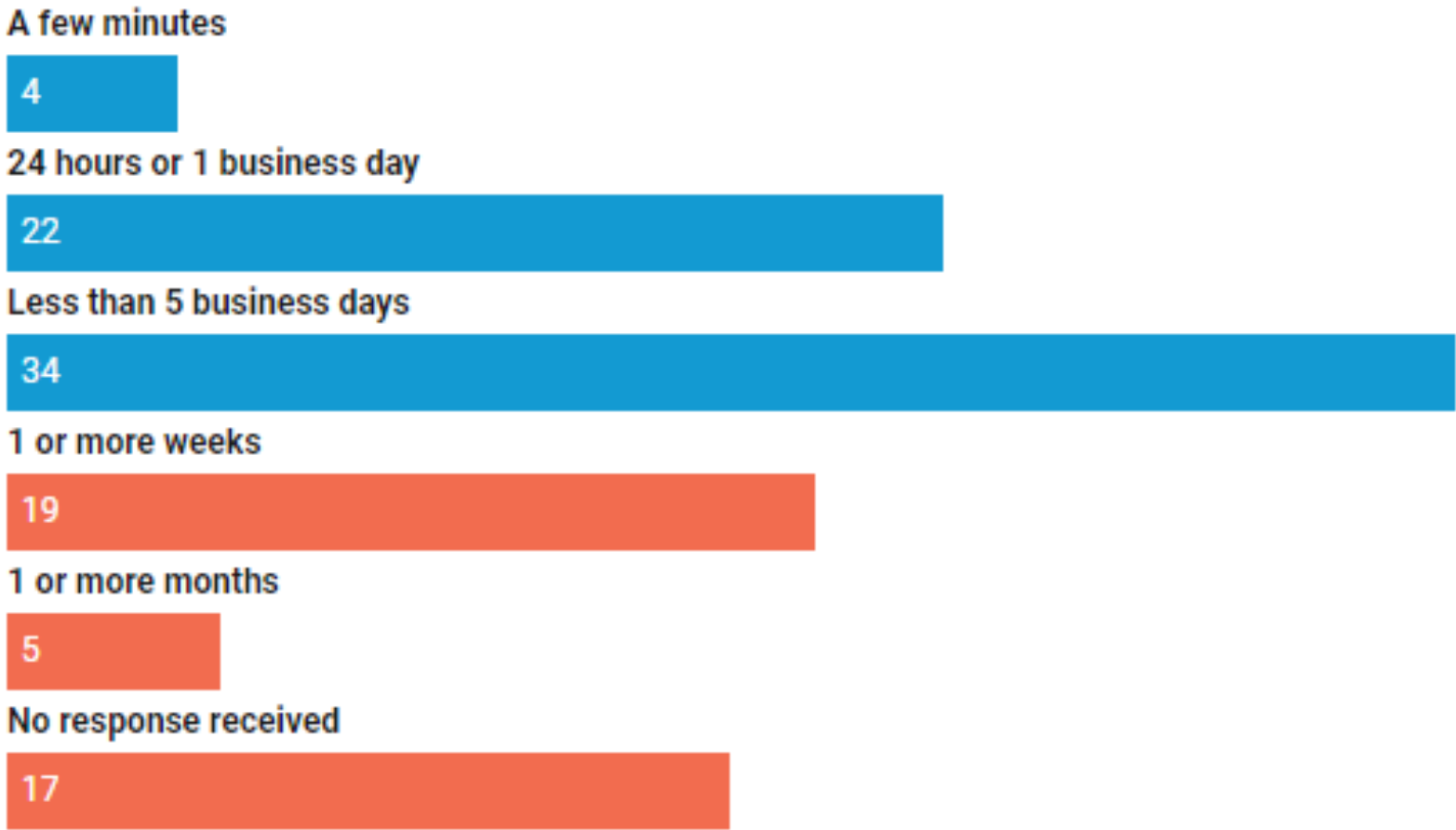
And Voters Don't Rate Their Experience Contacting Officials in DC Positively



They Are Mixed on State Interactions with Democrats More Positive



A Majority Received a Response in Less Than a Week. 41% Did Not.

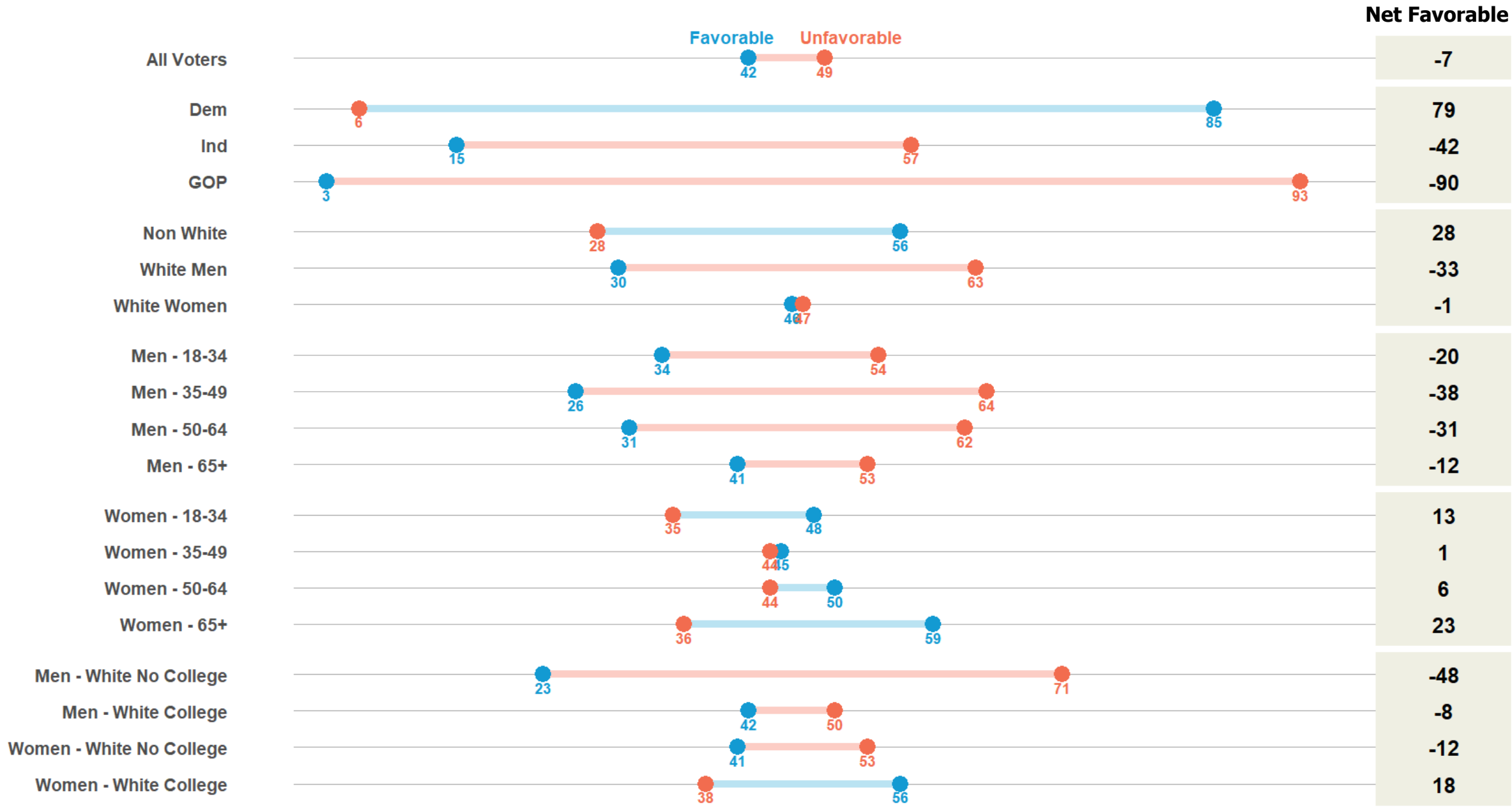


The Word “Democrat” is a Bad Brand. We Have an Opportunity with the 2020 White House win to rebuild the brand and use words that work.

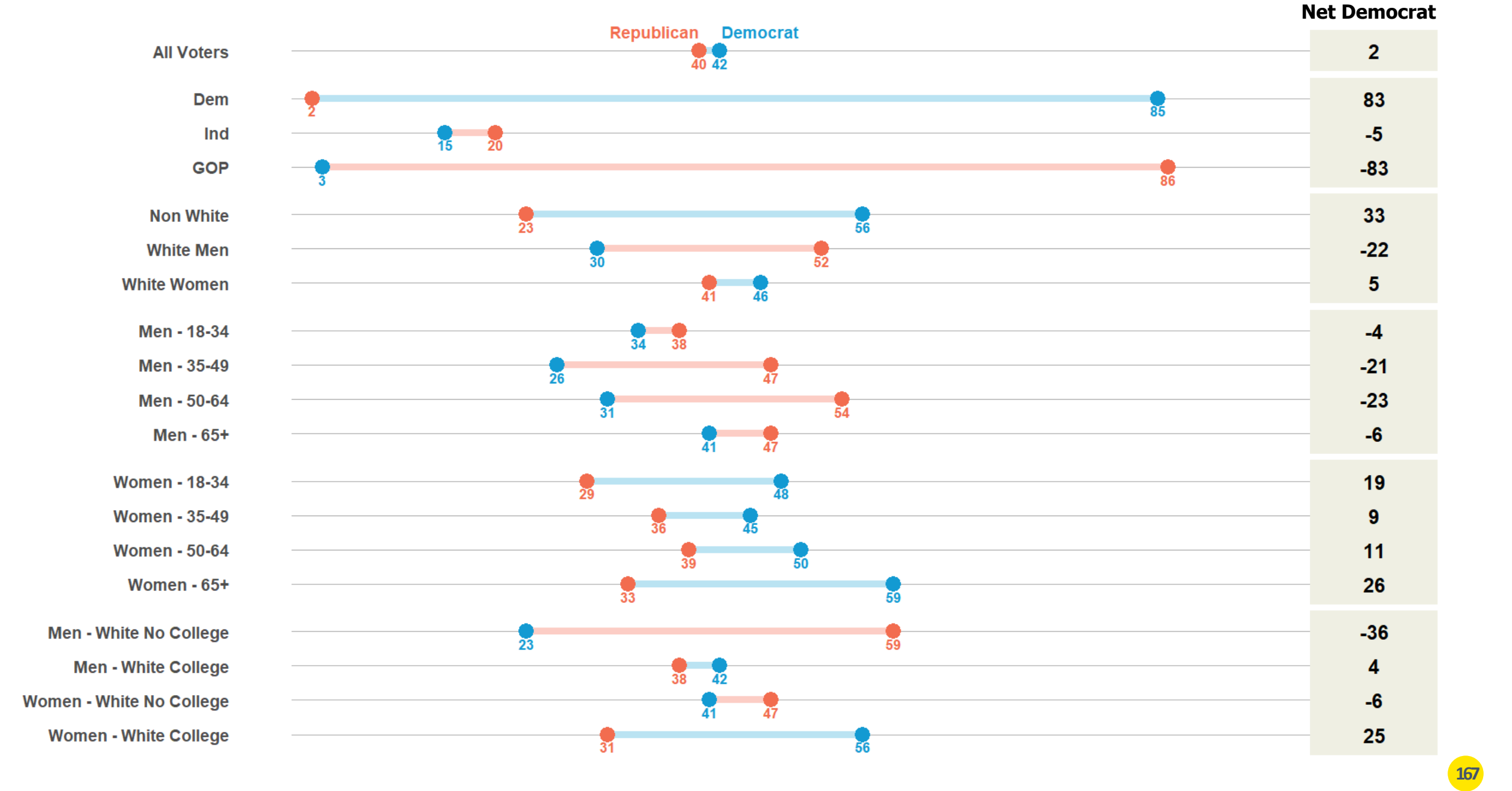
Our recommendation since 2017 has been that the Democratic Party cannot afford to cede the basic American word of “freedom.” Both Republican and Independent voters rank “freedom” as their most important value – it is thus difficult to expand the map if we’re talking two different languages with half of the country. Democrats must seize this overarching American concept instead of fighting headwinds with large blocs of voters (kudos to the choice movement for understanding this and leaning into reproductive freedom).

And further, we have an opportunity to reclaim the word “family” from the Republicans who have totally relinquished this key word. With everything we do, we should always be talking about “future.” And considering there is an incredible amount of economic stress underlying Democratic voters, we must talk more as a party about “a fair shot.” Strong words like “build” work. Finally, we need to give voters agency to participate. Our simple recommendation is the word, “let’s.”

Opinion of the Democratic Party

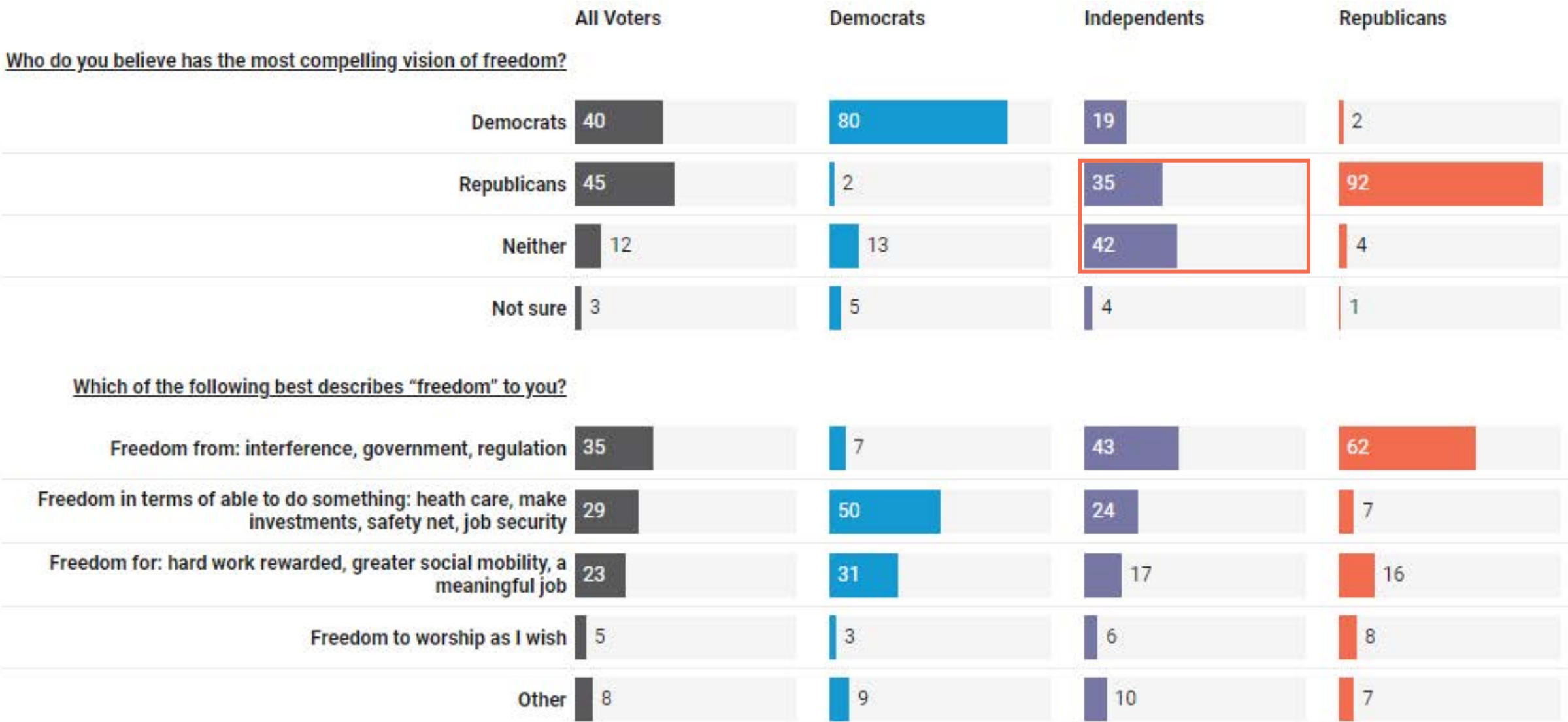


Democratic – Republican Party Favorable Rating



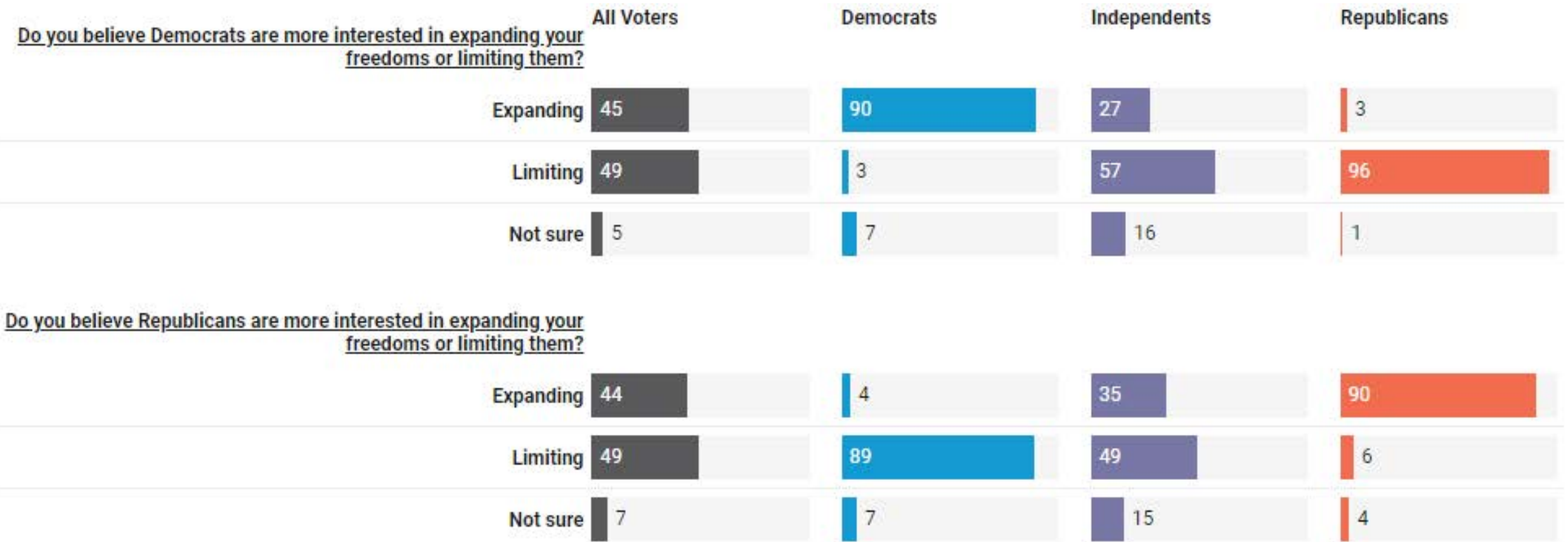
Views of Freedom

Independents Don't See Democrats Having the Most Compelling Vision of Freedom



Views of Freedom

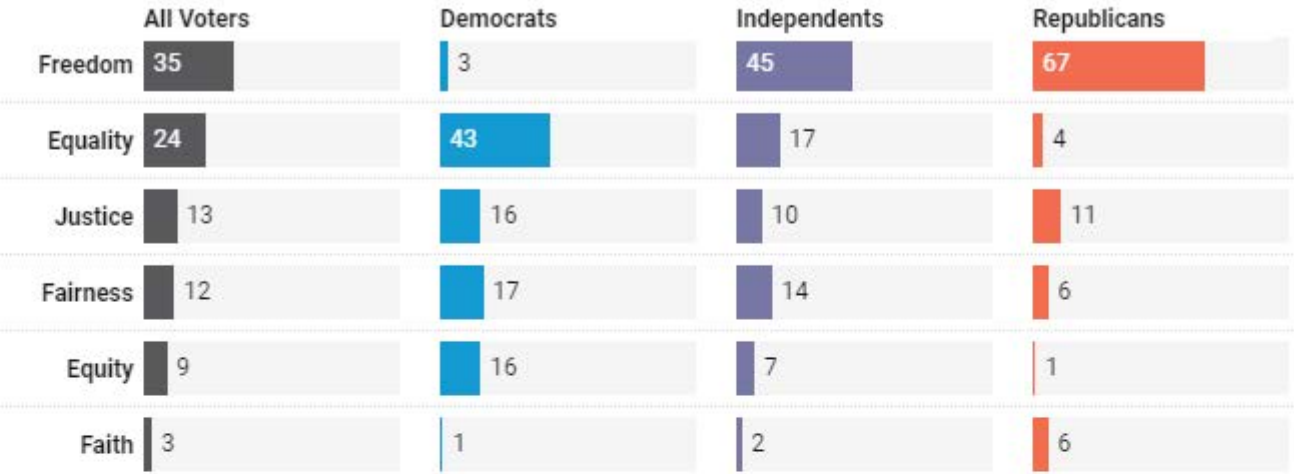
Independents Are More Likely to See Republicans Expanding Freedom



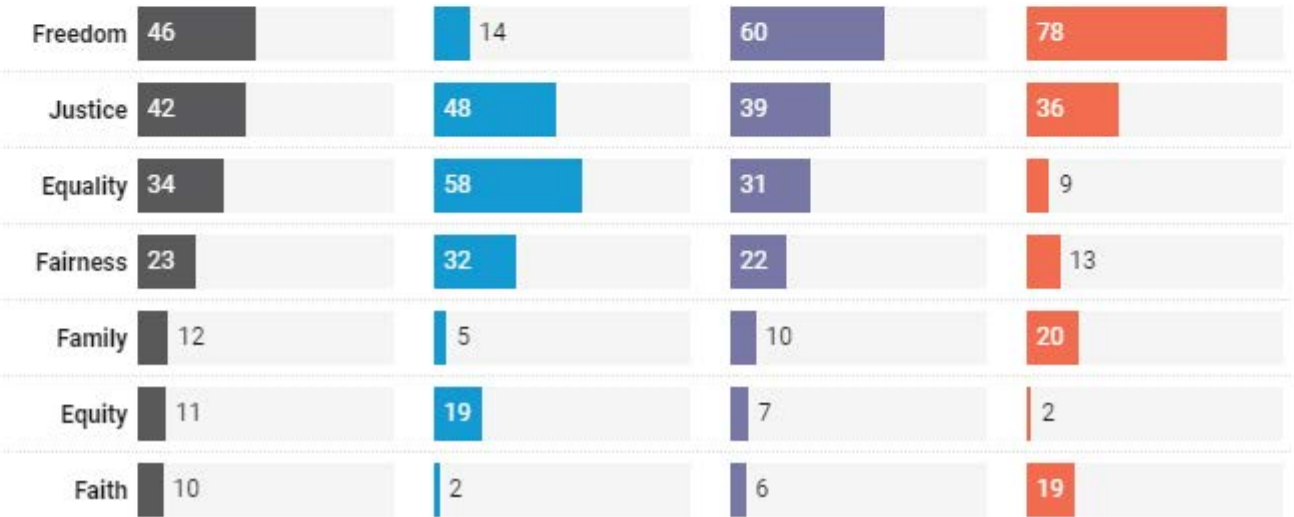
Most Important for a Candidate to Value

Independents/Republicans Prioritize Freedom – Democrats split on Justice/Equality/Fairness

If a political party could choose one and only one value to place highest in their governing and in their message, what would that value be?

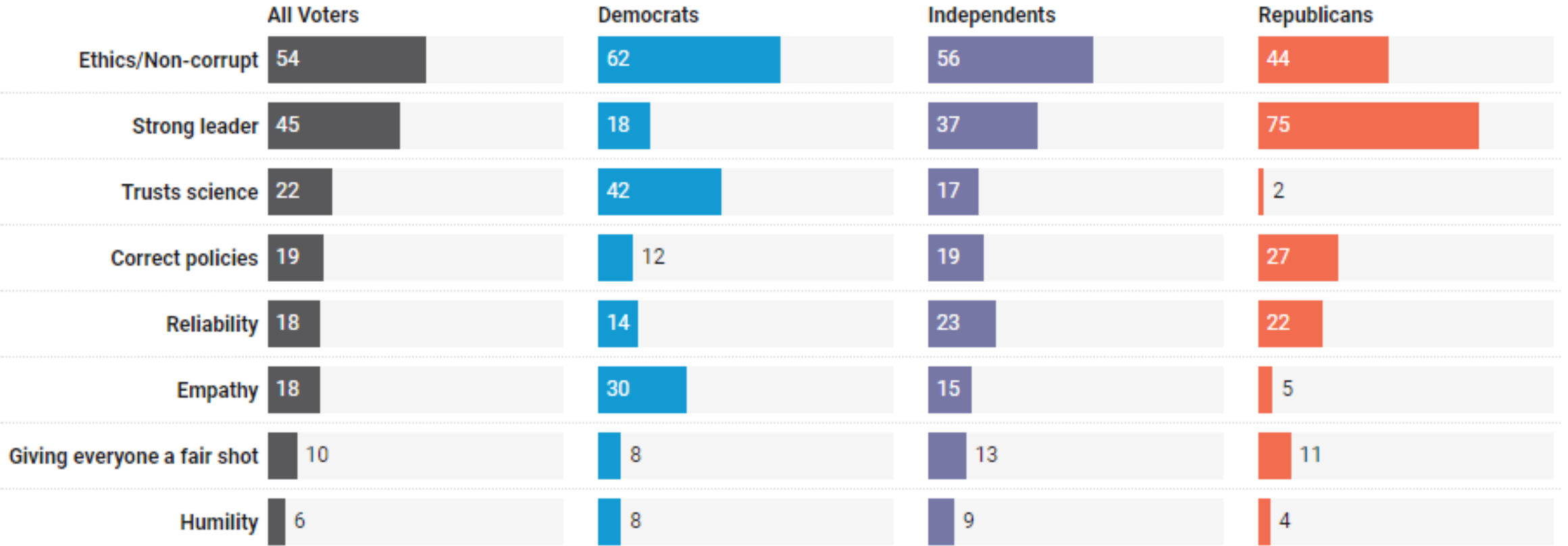


Which is the most important for a candidate to value?



Most Important Quality in a Candidate

Republicans Prioritize Leadership – Democrats and Independents Choose Ethics and Anti-Corruption



Conclusion

- 1) Democrats need to focus on the meat and potatoes issue of the economy. That means going big on jobs and family polices, while avoiding the austerity trap and speaking to voters' economic anxieties to ultimately improve their economic wellbeing.
- 2) The For the People Agenda works – stick with it. Recapture “freedom” and deliver [policies](#) that make good on the promise to build the American future in which every person – no matter their race, gender or place – has a fair shot. The For the People Agenda must be understood as the agenda for multiethnic, multiracial, working-class voters – because it is.
- 3) We need voters broadly to feel better about what Democrats do – and to ease the reflexive mistrust among a large swath of the electorate. For the next two years, we are in charge, and we need to accomplish things that are important to voters and articulate those wins. Doing so will build trust in the word Democrat for future elections. The best way to build trust is to focus on personal agency.
- 4) Democrats must stop tearing each other apart and avoid self-defeatist language and arguments. Joe Biden and Kamala Harris won a historic election, Democrats retained the House after big wins in 2018, and we are coming close in the Senate with a tough map. Biden's favorability for an incoming president is very high. We need to project confidence, act like we won (we did!) and govern. The Biden-Harris ticket showed us path to not only winning, but also expanding the map to places like Arizona and Georgia. There are lessons to take into 2022 and 2024, but for gosh sake everyone needs to act like we actually won.



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