



Let's Build: Freedom. Fair Shot. Future.

TO: Interested Parties  
FR: Mark Riddle, Future Majority President  
DT: August 21, 2024  
RE: Governing Landscape and Messaging

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Future Majority and our polling partner, Change Research, conducted a survey of tossup congressional districts: CA-22, NE-02, NY-17, PA-07, PA-17. The survey of 2,429 voters was fielded August 10-17, 2024. This memo reports on the landscape, policies and messages, and the Freedom Frame.

### Topline Findings:

- **Democrats maintain a narrow advantage.** Vice President Kamala Harris leads in the overall sample by two points. The Democrat leads in three of the five surveyed congressional districts, with the Democrat trailing in CA-22 and NY-17.
- **The Democrats' message outperforms the MAGA message.** Message frames used by Democrats are better received than those by MAGA Republicans, especially among **movable voters in the presidential race\***. The Democrats have driven a successful campaign against Project 2025, to which 57% of voters (including 51% of Independents) respond having an unfavorable view, far higher than the Trump-approved "Agenda 47." Voters continue to agree with messages crafted through the Freedom Frame.
- **Vulnerabilities exist on the cost of living, crime, and immigration.** The cost of goods like groceries and gas persists as the top issue for Congress. 54% of all voters and 57% of movable voters identify it as their most important. The cost of healthcare and housing are 44% and 43% respectively identified as most important by movable voters. Independents rate the amount of taxes you pay (44%) and illegal immigration (43%) as the next most important issues. We will expand more on this data in a separate memo.

### Landscape:

Since President Biden's withdrawal from the race, the Democrats motivation gap has vanished, and they have rallied around Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Democrats are as motivated as Republicans to vote (84% extremely motivated vs. 86% extremely motivated respectively). 91% of voters who have made up their mind to support Harris and 89% who are committed to Trump are extremely motivated.**

Democrats lead in voter preference for U.S. House of Representatives in three of the five survey districts (NE-02, PA-07, PA-17), while Republicans lead in CA-22 and NY-17. Among all voters, Vice President Kamala Harris & Governor Tim Walz have a narrow lead over Republicans Trump & JD Vance and Independents Robert Kennedy Jr. & Nicole Shanahan.

*\*Movable voters are determined if they meet one of the following categories: Somewhat disapprove of the job Kamala Harris is doing as Vice-President or are not sure; Undecided or Third Party in the presidential race; Support Trump or Harris, but say there is a chance they could change their minds*

*If the presidential election were held today, who would you vote for?*

	Total	Movable
<b>Kamala Harris &amp; Tim Walz, the Democrats</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>31</b>
Donald Trump & JD Vance, the Republicans	43	13
Robert Kennedy Jr & Nicole Shanahan, the Independents	5	25
Not sure	4	23

In congressional matchups, we asked voters in each district about their named candidate. The following chart consolidates those individual districts. **Note: in NY-17, Anthony Frascone of Working Families Party receives 6% support, which is not reflected in the chart below.**

*If the election for the U.S. House of Representatives were held today, who would you vote for?*

	CA-22	NE-02	NY-17	PA-07	PA-17
The Democrat (CA-22: Rudy Salas, NE-02: Tony Vargas; NY-17: Mondaire Jones; PA-07: Susan Wild; PA-17: Chris Deluzio)	38	<b>48</b>	38	<b>47</b>	<b>48</b>
The Republican (CA-22: David Valadao, NE-02: Don Bacon; NY-17: Mike Lawler; PA-07: Ryan McKensie; PA-17: Rob Mercuri)	<b>44</b>	43	<b>43</b>	43	40
Not sure	18	9	13	9	12

**Policy Messaging:**

The Democrats have driven an effective branding campaign against the MAGA-backed Project 2025. Just 20% have not heard of Project 2025, while 57% have never heard of the official platform “Agenda 47.”

*How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public figures and groups? If you haven't heard of them, please indicate it:*

**Project 2025**

	Total	Movable
<b>Total Unfavorable</b>	<b>57 (52% very)</b>	<b>55 (48% very)</b>
Total Favorable	8	3
Never heard of them	20	30

**Agenda 47**

	Total	Movable
Total Favorable	10	3
Total Unfavorable	24	17
<b>Never heard of them</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>70</b>

A majority of voters reject the policy framework outlined in Project 2025. In short, voters want the government to stay out of their personal decisions. This statement is summarized from Governor Tim Walz opposition to the extreme MAGA policies in Project 2025.

***Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Republicans used to claim to be for freedom, but Donald Trump and the Republicans’ extreme Project 2025 manifesto would destroy your American freedoms. Government would be free to invade your doctor’s office. I respect our neighbors and the personal choices that they make, even if I wouldn’t make the same choice for myself. I follow a golden rule: ‘mind your own damn business.’”***

	Total	Movable
<b>Total Agree</b>	<b>54 (44% strongly)</b>	<b>67 (45% strongly)</b>
Total Disagree	38	20
Not sure	9	13

The following tests voter opinions toward message themes used by Democrat and Republican leaders to advocate for their issues agenda. In all tests, the messages most used by Democrats are preferred by all voters and movable voters. With the overall electorate, top-performing messages are pro-freedom, anti-corruption.

**The pro-freedom, anti-corruption message is effective with both the overall electorate and movable voters. Movable voters choose this message by a 36-point-margin.**

***Which message are you most likely to support?***

	Total	Movable
<i>“I will fight for freedom and against corruption. We are not truly free if we live in a corrupt society. I will hold those who take advantage of the system accountable. I will pass tough new ethics laws for those who serve in government and break up massive corporations that act like monopolies to control the market and limit competition. If we do this, we will lower costs for every American and give them the freedom of opportunity to build their future.”</i>	<b>51</b>	<b>58</b>
<i>“I will get inflation under control by cutting out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, banning DEI and transgender ideologies, and closing the southern border with Mexico. We will rebuild the greatest economy in the history of the world and finally put America first. We have to stop letting the radical left destroy our great nation.”</i>	<b>42</b>	<b>22</b>
Not sure	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>

Voters do not support a conservative social agenda that MAGA extremists use, including elements of Project 2025. The People Over Politics message featuring corruption and freedom outperforms the MAGA message with overall voters and movable voters. **Movable voters prefer this message frame by a 38-point-margin.**

**Which message are you most likely to support?**

	Total	Movable
<i>"I am People Over Politics and will fight for a better America by the government investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of jobs and supporting small businesses, making things more affordable by cracking down on corruption and monopolies, and defending democracy and freedom. Extreme MAGA Republicans are lining up to destroy our bedrock freedoms with a national abortion ban, cutting Social Security and Medicare, and repealing the Affordable Care Act, kicking millions off of their health insurance and removing protections for pre-existing conditions."</i>	50	57
<i>"I will work to restore American family values in Congress by working to ban abortion, keeping gender ideology and LGBT indoctrination out of schools, privatize Social Security and Medicare, finally repeal Obamacare and replace it with something better, and get the government off of businesses' backs. Radical Democrats want the government to control every aspect of Americans' lives."</i>	39	19
Not sure	11	24

Vice President Harris' use of the Freedom Frame outperforms a counter message of general MAGA policy points. **Movable voters prefer the freedom message by a 29-point-margin.**

**Which message are you most likely to support?**

	Total	Movable
<i>"Ours is a fight for the future and a fight for freedom - a future where everyone has the opportunity to not just to get by, but to get ahead. A future where every child is free from gun violence, no child has to grow up in poverty, where every worker has the freedom to join a union, and every person has affordable healthcare, childcare, and paid family leave. A future where we invest in our working people. But we are not going to make working families foot the bill while cutting taxes for the wealthy and big corporations. When our middle class is strong, America is strong, and we are not going back."</i>	50	56
<i>"I will get inflation under control by cutting out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, banning DEI and transgender ideologies, and closing the southern border with Mexico. We will rebuild the greatest economy in the history of the world and finally put America first. We will rebuild our cities and make them safe again. We have to stop letting the radical left destroy our great nation."</i>	44	27
Not sure	7	17

The For the People message similarly outperforms the MAGA message. **Movable voters favor the message countering extremism by 27 points.**

**Which message are you most likely to support?**

	Total	Movable
<p><i>"I am For the People and will fight for a better America by the government investing in infrastructure and families, creating millions of jobs and supporting small businesses, making things more affordable by cracking down on corruption and monopolies, and protecting freedom. Extreme MAGA Republicans are lining up to destroy our bedrock freedoms with a national abortion ban, cutting Social Security and Medicare, and repealing the Affordable Care Act, kicking millions off of their health insurance and removing protections for pre-existing conditions."</i></p>	49	54
<p><i>"I will get inflation under control by cutting out-of-control government spending, getting people back to work, cracking down on violent crime, banning DEI and transgender ideologies, and closing the southern border with Mexico. We will rebuild the greatest economy in the history of the world and finally put America first. We will rebuild our cities and make them safe again. We have to stop letting the radical left destroy our great nation."</i></p>	44	27
Not sure	7	20

Movable voters widely prefer Vice President Harris' message to address crime compared to the MAGA policy agenda message, but the broader electorate is more closely divided. These messages on crime is summarized from the official platform, which public [reports](#) say is directly instructed by former president Trump.

**Which message are you most likely to support?**

	Total	Movable
<p><i>"I will make America safe. In roles as attorney general and a prosecutor, I took on criminals of all kinds: predators who abused women, fraudsters who ripped off consumers, and cheaters who broke the rules for their own game. I took on for-profit colleges that scammed students. I prosecuted criminals guilty of sexual abuse. I took on the big Wall Street banks and held them accountable for fraud. I will always fight For the People and protect those who need it and hold accountable those who deserve it."</i></p>	48	54
<p><i>"I will crack down on violent crime and locking up violent criminals. I will never defund the police and end the weaponization of the government against the American people. We will crush the cartels and gangs destroying America. I will stop the migrant crime epidemic. We have to stop letting the radical left destroy our great nation."</i></p>	45	29
Not sure	7	18

**Voter Attitudes on the Freedom Frame:**

Voters broadly agree with messages using the Freedom Frame. Our [previous research](#) shows voters can be moved by efforts to protect and expand their individual freedom.

**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

	<b>Total Agree</b>	<b>Movable Agree</b>
<i>"Building a resilient Made in America economy is crucial to our financial freedom. American consumers should be empowered to make financial decisions that don't break the bank and aren't determined by global supply chains."</i>	<b>90 (61 strongly)</b>	<b>84 (50 strongly)</b>
<i>"Americans should have the financial freedom to live their lives in retirement without the fear of high costs. That's why we must protect and expand Social Security and Medicare, a sacred promise that millions of Americans have invested in their retirement."</i>	89 (72 strongly)	85 (66 strongly)
<i>"American children should have the freedom to be safe from gun violence and should not have to live in fear from being shot in daily mass shootings."</i>	<b>87 (74 strongly)</b>	<b>89 (74 strongly)</b>
<i>"Elections are about the future we want, not about the past. We need to move on from the divisive politics of revenge and come together on bipartisan solutions to protect freedom."</i>	84 (60 strongly)	85 (59 strongly)
<i>"Ensuring financial freedom means supporting small businesses so it's easier for Americans to build the future they want through lowering credit card interest rates, improving childcare and expanding the childcare tax credit, guaranteeing access to broadband internet, worker retraining, and infrastructure investments to revitalize the American Dream."</i>	<b>82 (54 strongly)</b>	<b>86 (53 strongly)</b>
<i>"Every American should have the freedom to join a union, collectively bargain, and organize to secure opportunities for their own future."</i>	80 (55 strongly)	78 (53 strongly)
<i>"We need to look to the future and solve the underlying issues and lower the cost of higher education to make sure every American can afford to prepare themselves for a career without a lifetime of debt to give them the opportunity to achieve financial freedom."</i>	<b>79 (55 strongly)</b>	<b>83 (59 strongly)</b>
<i>"Investments in improving access to affordable broadband internet expand financial freedom and unlock a world of opportunities to start a business or pursue a career, no matter your ZIP code."</i>	76 (47 strongly)	80 (47 strongly)
<i>"We believe in Reproductive Freedom because we trust women to make decisions about their own body and not have their government tell them what to do."</i>	68 (56 strongly)	78 (61 strongly)
<i>"Republicans used to be the party of 'leave us alone.' Now, they want to ban books, ban abortion, and dictate every part of our life. It's all big government all the time. Enough with the extremism. Leave us alone to live in peace and freedom."</i>	54 (45 strongly)	66 (45 strongly)

Freedom remains a potent driving factor for the overall electorate, but movable voters are more divided, underscoring the necessity to accompany protecting individual freedoms with positive economic messages to expand financial freedom.

While the overall electorate says they are most concerned about protecting rights and freedoms by an 18-point-margin, it narrows significantly to just a 4-point-margin with movables who are more are split between prioritizing lowering costs.

***If it comes down to just one thing, which candidate are you more likely to vote for this year?***

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Movable</b>
A candidate who talks most about protecting your rights and freedoms	<b>51</b>	<b>39</b>
A candidate who talks most about jobs and lowering the cost of living	33	35
Not sure	16	26

**Methodology:**

*The survey of 2,429 voters was conducted by Change Research between August 10-17, 2024. Respondents were recruited via dynamic online sampling to obtain a sample reflective of the population. Post-stratification performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, region, and 2020 presidential vote. Weighting parameters were based on voter file data. The survey has a modeled margin of error of 2.2%.*