The Playbook



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The Big Items

Democrats should use 2023 to define the terms of the debate. Get loud by amplifying positive stories and calling out the BS spewing out from the MAGA mess. Begin a drumbeat of paid communication talking to voters that are not tuned in day to day (page 71-73). Breaking through the negative sentiment machine is tough, but doable.

Focus on 3 Big Items:

- Made in America. Biden-Harris and Democrats have made historic investments in infrastructure, including CHIPS, Climate Change, and Made in America initiatives. All Democrats and allied groups need to hammer this home. The data shows it is popular, but Democrats are not breaking through with key voters. (page 18-26)
- **Cost of Living.** Communicating how Biden-Harris and Democrats are looking out for working families and fighting to lower costs is crucial. Cracking down on junk fees is great, but Democrats should also focus on corruption to build voter trust. Further, it is always important to pivot to how Republicans have voted against or blocked solutions to lower costs like \$35 dollar insulin and gas prices. (page 27-33)
- **Extremism.** Republicans are viewed as more extreme than Democrats by 5 points including 7 points with independent voters, 22 points with suburban women, and 27 points with voters 18-34. Democrats should continue to drive this wedge. (page 34-41)

All Democrats need to learn 5 words quickly, "Extreme MAGA Bully Ron DeSantis."



2024 Begins to Take Shape

- Yes, President Biden is old, and the voters are reluctant. But, as President Biden says, "Don't compare me to the alternative." Let's do that:
 - Trump: Hair dye cannot change that Trump is nearly the same age as Biden. Trump has done nothing to bring one new voter into his camp. Many of his circle have been indicted or turned on him, and that's without sweeping January 6th under the rug, the Trump/Kushner/Saudi deal, Clorox for Coronavirus, and the laundry list of controversies that Americans have already rejected after his only electoral college win. Plus, FOX News is desperate to move on from Trump. Advantage: Biden.
 - **DeSantis:** The data is clear that voters reject **Extreme MAGA Bully Ron DeSantis**'s record. The prince of Fox News, DeSantis practically launched the MAGA movement when he co-founded the extreme Freedom Caucus while in Congress a time in his life he seems to want to hide. Battleground voters reject his version of freedom. They oppose his six-week abortion ban, overwhelmingly reject banning books, oppose regulating political free speech and oppose permit-less carry of AR-15s. The number one issue is the skyrocketing cost of living, which is spiking in Florida.
 - Most voters do not know that DeSantis was a member of Congress and voted on the extreme agenda that
 resulted in Democrats gaining 41 seats in 2018. DeSantis voted for the Trump Tax Scam and tried to gut the Affordable
 Healthcare Act. DeSantis might wilt in the spotlight, and the best-kept secret is that Charlie Crist demolished DeSantis on the
 debate stage the only time Crist was allowed near him. Advantage: Democrats. (The data shows a difficult and narrow
 path for Biden in a Biden v. DeSantis matchup. It is not favorable, but with proper investment, a soft Republican
 underbelly exists on extremism)

If President Biden were to not seek re-election, Democrats can be thankful for a deep and talented bench. Democrats must focus on the current reality to ensure that Biden-Harris is re-elected so that Democrats continue to deliver for the people.

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The information presented is based on Future Majority's analysis of survey responses from more than 180,000 voters, primarily in battleground states and congressional districts. Most recently, Future Majority/Change Research surveyed 4,356 voters in Nevada, Ohio, and Pennsylvania (February 25 - March 1, 2023) and 3,683 voters in Pennsylvania and Competitive Congressional Districts (January 13-17, 2023) to dig deep into what battleground voters about the issues and leaders following the midterm elections. Future Majority also surveyed 1,923 voters in 34 competitive congressional districts on November 16-21, 2022. You can read our report following the midterms <u>here</u>.



Dismantling DeSantis

Again, Democrats Need to Learn the Words "Extreme MAGA Bully Ron DeSantis"

First, Unite the Dems Against DeSantis (% A Lot of Concern)



Being an extreme MAGA bully concerns Dems the most

	All Democrats	Strongly Approve Biden's Job	Don't Strongly Approve Biden's Job
"A Ron DeSantis administration will be too extreme for America - banning books, who you can marry, what you can talk about, who makes your healthcare decisions. You'll only be free in America if you agree with DeSantis. You won't be able to escape politics. They will be everywhere."	90	95	86
"Ron DeSantis is an MAGA Republican. He founded the extreme far-right Freedom Caucus whose members now are calling for secession. He hangs out on FOX News, promotes Q-Anon conspiracy theories, and refuses to condemn white supremacists in Florida. He will be just like Marjorie Taylor Greene and Matt Gaetz - too extreme to govern.	89	92	86
"Ron DeSantis is a bully who throws tantrums when he doesn't get his way. If Disney criticizes his laws, he changes the board overseeing their land. When the College Board criticizes him over his canceling an Advanced Placement class on Black history, he threatens to ban all Advanced Placement classes for Florida students."	88	93	84
"A Ron DeSantis administration will never leave you or your community alone. It will dictate what is taught in your schools and what your community does with its resources. Politics will infect every aspect of American life. You won't be able to escape it."	87	91	83
"Ron DeSantis is just another DC Republican swamp creature. When he was in the U.S. Congress he voted to repeal the Affordable Care Act, voted to shut down the federal government, and supported cuts to Social Security and Medicare. As Governor, he gives special favors to the people who give him money and punish those who criticize him."	85	90	82



The least appealing aspects of DeSantis' personality are becoming better known with these swing voters.

Negative Traits	Biden	DeSantis	Neither one	Both of them	Not sure	Net Biden
Loyal	15	14	34	11	27	1
Want to control everyone	13	31	11	19	27	-18
Only care about themselves	10	28	18	19	25	-18
Selfish	9	27	16	17	31	-18
Believe he is better than everyone else	10	31	19	14	26	-21
Full of themselves	8	29	14	23	26	-21
Energized by fear	13	34	13	14	27	-21
No empathy	9	33	18	13	27	-24
A Bully	5	35	23	9	29	-30

Disagreement with DeSantis Positions as Florida Governor



Voters disagree with him most on costs, book bans, choice, and excessive government

All Voters	Soft Biden Disapprove	% Disagree
76	83	Allowing homeowners insurance companies to dramatically increase rates.
75	81	Using the full force of the government to attack businesses that disagree with him.
74	87	Requiring schools and libraries to ban books that go against his personal beliefs.
72	80	Making solar energy more expensive for homeowners and businesses
63	74	Imposing a 15-week abortion ban, including for victims of rape, incest, and human trafficking.
63	78	Threatening to ban all Advanced Placement (AP) classes Florida students could take for college credit and a shot at America's top colleges because he disagrees with the College Board over one AP African American studies class.
62	66	Raised taxes on working families by implementing a new sales tax that requires out-of-state retailers to charge consumers for goods they purchase online.
59	68	Protecting people who run over protesters engaged in peaceful protest who are blocking roads.
58	74	Supporting a six-week abortion ban in the upcoming Florida legislative session.
51	65	Banning schools from discussing LGBTQ+ issues and allowing anyone to sue school districts that do.
49	49	Prohibiting local governments from imposing gun regulations
36	40	Established an 'Office of Election Crimes and Security' that investigates claims of election fraud.

Disagreement with DeSantis Positions as Florida Governor



Book bans and abortion generate the most intensity when voters choose with what they disagree

All Voters	Soft Biden Disapprove	% Choosing as the top concern
41	48	Imposing a 15-week abortion ban, including for victims of rape, incest, and human trafficking.
38	54	Requiring schools and libraries to ban books that go against his personal beliefs.
30	26	Using the full force of the government to attack businesses that disagree with him.
27	28	Banning schools from discussing LGBTQ+ issues and allowing anyone to sue school districts that do.
26	34	Supporting a six-week abortion ban in the upcoming Florida legislative session.
25	25	Allowing homeowners insurance companies to dramatically increase rates.
21	27	Threatening to ban all Advanced Placement (AP) classes Florida students could take for college credit and a shot at America's top colleges because he disagrees with the College Board over one AP African American studies class.
20	19	Protecting people who run over protesters engaged in peaceful protest who are blocking roads.
20	19	Raised taxes on working families by implementing a new sales tax that requires out-of-state retailers to charge consumers for goods they purchase online.
14	10	Prohibiting local governments from imposing gun regulations
12	14	Making solar energy more expensive for homeowners and businesses
4	5	Established an 'Office of Election Crimes and Security' that investigates claims of election fraud.

Disagreement with DeSantis Positions as Congressman



Health care rises to the top of the list of things that bothers voters about his record in Congress

All Voters	Soft Biden Disapprove	% Disagree
75	82	Voted in Congress to eliminate protections for people with pre-existing health conditions.
74	81	Voted to cut Medicare and raise the age of retirement to 70 years old.
72	81	Voted in Congress to let states eliminate maternity care, including care for survivors of sexual assault and domestic violence.
65	75	Voted in Congress to cut Medicaid by \$834 billion.
59	67	Voted for the Trump Tax Cut that bailed out the top 1% and ran up the federal budget deficit.
57	62	Supported privatizing Medicare and Social Security when he ran for Congress.
53	62	Voted in Congress to shut down the government for 16 days in a failed attempt to repeal the Affordable Care Act.
51	60	Voted in Congress to repeal the Affordable Care Act which increased health coverage for an estimated 20 million Americans.

Disagreement with DeSantis Positions as Congressman



Health care rises to the top of the list of things that bothers voters about his record in Congress

All Voters	Soft Biden Disapprove	% Choosing as the top concern
46	38	Voted to cut Medicare and raise the age of retirement to 70 years old.
44	44	Voted in Congress to eliminate protections for people with pre-existing health conditions.
38	56	Voted in Congress to let states eliminate maternity care, including care for survivors of sexual assault and domestic violence.
36	38	Voted for the Trump Tax Cut that bailed out the top 1% and ran up the federal budget deficit.
27	25	Supported privatizing Medicare and Social Security when he ran for Congress.
25	19	Voted in Congress to repeal the Affordable Care Act which increased health coverage for an estimated 20 million Americans.
21	18	Voted in Congress to cut Medicaid by \$834 billion.
11	8	Voted in Congress to shut down the government for 16 days in a failed attempt to repeal the Affordable Care Act.

Voters Move When They Hear about DeSantis



A 5-Point Shift Determines Who Wins Battleground States

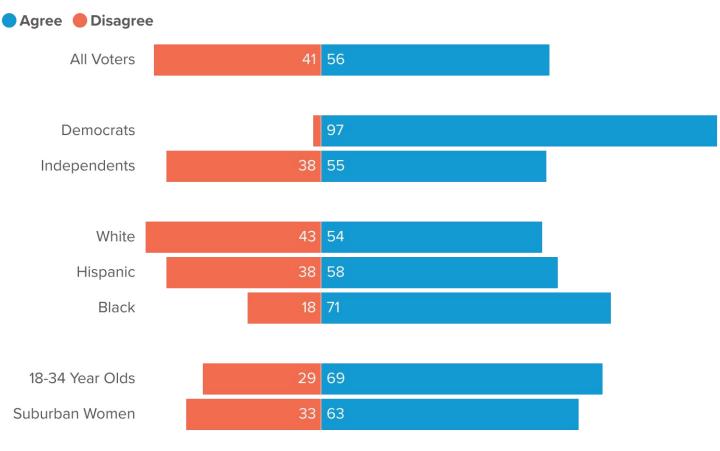


Democrats Must Counter DeSantis/GOP on Freedom



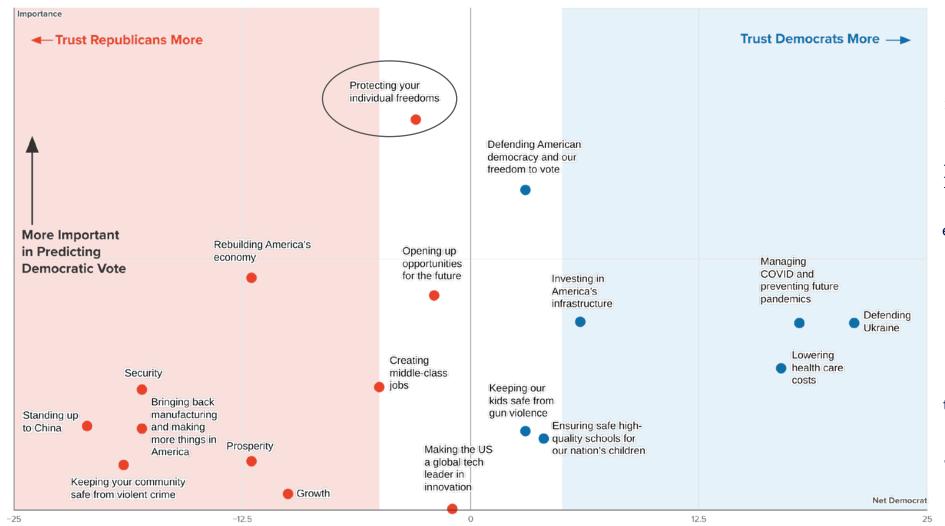
Previous Future Majority voter research shows that the key issue value that moves voters is Freedom. To ensure that Democrats move enough voters, they should fight tooth and nail with DeSantis over the meaning of freedom on the issues. Democrats must challenge the DeSantis vision of freedom. This will be the value that defines 2024.

70% of Democrats and Independents in a similar poll from August 2022 agreed with the statement: "The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but their idea of freedom is like the rest of their ideas – stuck in the 1700's." "The Republican Party talks a lot about freedom, but they only value freedom when it comes to their supporters and not anyone who disagrees with them."



Freedom Moves Voters



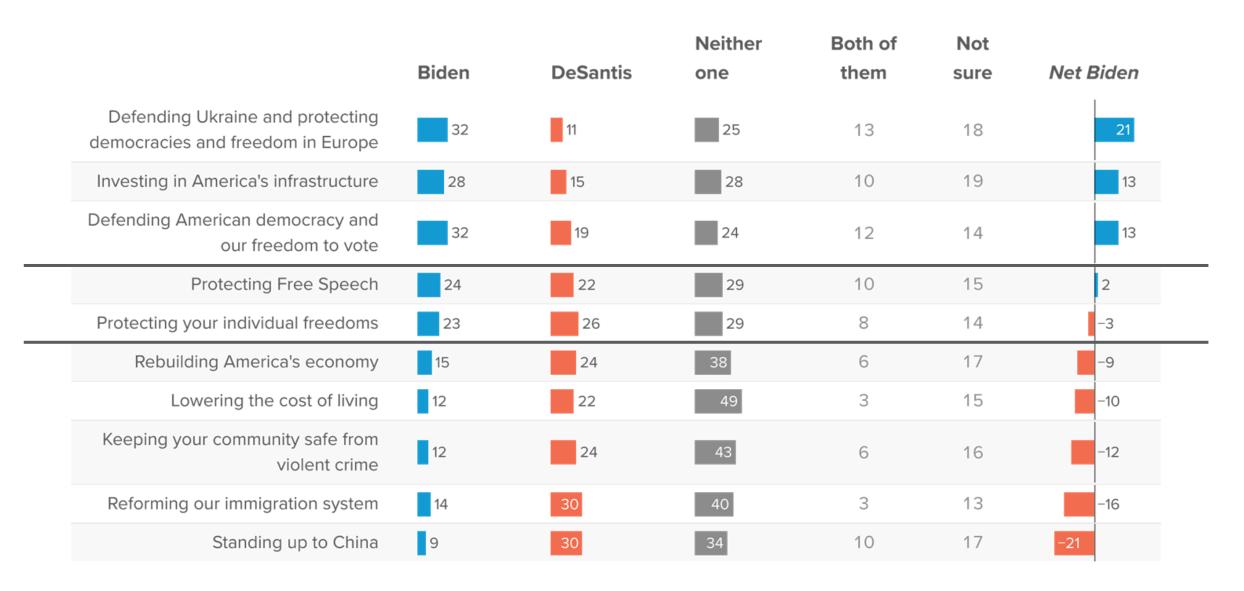


This chart looks at the impact of trust of the political groups on a variety of issues and the likelihood of supporting a Democrat for U.S. House.

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

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

Whom Do You Trust More? (Somewhat disapprove/Not sure - Biden's Job) MAJORITY



Agreement with Freedom Statements (% Strongly Agree)



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

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