

# CROSS STATE MEDIA STUDY #2

***ON THE ROAD TO THE MIDTERMS***





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# SUMMARY POINTS

1. **Our voters are very aware of the misdeeds of Republicans and are angry and frustrated with what they've done.** Prominent Democrats have rightly called out Republicans as extremists, and this aligns with gettable voters' views of Republicans.
2. That said, **Democrats, need to give the newly activated Democrat base and gettable voters something to vote for,** not just against. Democrats must make a case for why voters should vote for them. Voters have little to no idea of what Democrats have done and how it has positively impacted them. **The message from the White House has been that Democrats have delivered. To win, Democrats must increase the awareness and saliency of these accomplishments.**
3. **Finally, many things the White House has done in recent weeks have addressed voter concerns. Still, there is more to be done.** Voters want to see Democrats deliver on protecting women's rights to reproductive care, expanding gun safety (in particular, to ban assault rifles or at least expand background checks for everyone), on reducing the cost of living (addressed through the Inflation Reduction Act), and on getting things done, generally, while establishing a working government for the people.

With key races unfolding in 2022, Way to Win and Future Majority have joined forces to uncover a deeper understanding of the electorate. With deep dive studies in Texas, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Virginia, and across key senate states, we've leveraged a combination of research methodologies to uncover a rich understanding of what Americans are thinking, why they think and feel as they do, and how the Democratic Party can better connect with them.

In this second Cross State Voter study, we explored how a diverse group of American voters see the world, how they are looking into the future, what matters to them, how they think about issues and what makes them tick. What follows is a revealing look into what voters are thinking and what the Democratic Party needs to know before the midterm elections of November 2022.

Our work seeks to uncover the why behind the what and provide clear guidance to the governing parties of today to better meet the needs of the American people and deliver results that will change their lives for the better.





# THE RESEARCH APPROACH

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We used an online ethnographic approach in this research, prompting participants over a series of days to answer questions online through open text responses and metaphorical image gathering, with songs, creative exercises, and more in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how people truly think and feel.

This approach, using metaphor as well as a variety of sensory exercises, was designed around the way that people think and the way thought is structured, leveraging best practices from the world of psychology and neuroscience in order to give participants the time and the space to share what matters most to them in an unfiltered manner.

# COMING BACK TOGETHER

## THOUGHTS & FEELINGS

When asked to find an image that represented what America coming back together would look like to them, our voters selected images that fell into **three key themes**:

Interlocked or linked hands, a physical representation of coming back together. **This represented the largest share of images.**



Diverse groups of people and messages of belonging and acceptance – putting race aside & seeing others as humans like us.



And unity after tragedy – images taken in the wake of tragedy, showing not only resilience, but reliance upon one another



# ABORTION POST-DOBBS

*INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD*

# AWARENESS OF ROE V. WADE BEING OVERTURNED BY SCOTUS

How much have you seen, heard, or read about the U.S. Supreme Court overturning the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision that legalized abortion nationwide?

		Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
When asked, a significant majority of voters indicated that they were very aware of SCOTUS' decision to overturn Roe v. Wade.	A Lot	97	88	91	90
	Some	2	9	7	8
	Only a Little	0	2	1	1
	Nothing at All	1	2	1	1

*n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22*

**98%** of participants answered “a lot” or “some”

**02%** of participants answered “nothing at all” or “only a little”

# SENTIMENT AROUND ROE V. WADE BEING OVERTURNED BY SCOTUS

**Which of the following best describes how you feel about the country after the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade?**

Emotional reactions to Roe were split along party lines, with Democrats reporting feeling angry, demoralized and frustrated and Republicans reporting feeling hopeful and proud. Independents were split on both positive and negative sentiment, yet undecided Independents skewed negative in their sentiment.

	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Angry	55	4	26	29
Demoralized	17	2	11	16
Frustrated	12	5	11	14
Sad	7	3	6	8
Depressed	6	0	3	3
Confused	1	3	4	5
Not Interested	0	7	6	9
Hopeful	1	39	20	12
Proud	0	20	8	3
Inspired	0	8	3	1
Excited	0	7	2	0

*n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22*



“The vast majority of abortions performed in the US are done for medical reasons, and far more than growing babies lives will now be in jeopardy if dangerous pregnancies are forced to be carried to term...being the party of pro-life should mean you care about the mother's lives too. We are going backwards as a country into an increasingly conservative partisan country towards the beginnings of a Christian theocracy with no separation between church and state.”

“it impedes fundamental rights we supposedly have of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. People w/ female reproductive systems (including CHILDREN) will literally die or experience physical illness and/or trauma that may never be rectified. The old men/people who make/decide laws don't even know basic science, yet they decide over our bodies. It's ridiculous & empowers abusive men including literal rapists.”

“to me it seems as though the government or hierarchy is trying to tell a woman a female on earth what to do with her body that negative to me - I thought my body was mine.”

“I feel like this a major setback for women, women's rights, and just America as a whole. This is a decision that should be dictated a woman and their own body. It should not be dictated by politicians, religious people, or typical males. We are only endangering women by doing this and the potential children that may arise from. The statement that children can be safe and live a long life is so sad when we have mass shootings at schools several times a year. Quite ironic and sad...”

“I have negative feelings about the fact the old men can determine what a woman can or cannot do to their body. I have mixed feelings about abortion as I understand the necessity in some scenarios but I also don't agree with those that choose as a default method of birth control. I feel it is a precursor to other laws being overturned.”

“I feel the only reason Roe vs Wade was overturned because the white population is decreasing. In America, racism will always be alive. America want to make sure they keep the right people in powder.”

“I feel negatively about this ruling because I don't believe it was done out of concern for the death of innocent babies. It's more about politics and “winning”.

“As a woman, I feel attacked. I feel as if I've had the wind knocked out of me, and I have a deep sense of fear for my daughter and my niece who will have to grow up without autonomy over their own bodily decisions. I'm also angry for having rights stripped away from me.”

“I hate it. It's a sign of things to come, overreaching, unsafe”

“I resent the fact that other people are trying to tell women what to do and how to take care of their bodies. I do not like abortion, however in most cases it is used prudently as no one really likes abortion. Women need to have the option to terminate a pregnancy if their health is at risk, their babies health is at risk. And there are other extenuating circumstances as to why they cannot see this pregnancy to term. We are going backwards as a nation.”

“I feel scared honestly. I feel scared for this country and how the nation is supposedly “changing”, some say it's for the better but honestly I think we are heading into a destination of chaos. As a woman, I feel betrayed that my rights have been taken away. I feel betrayed that the government, the ruler of this nation, thinks it has a decision on my reproductive rights and my body specifically. There are so many cases in which abortion is needed in order for the mother to live due to health problems but the government overlooked that scenario. The government overlooked the problematic case of foster care in this nation, the unemployment rates of mothers/ or those who can perceive, the mental and physical state of those who can perceive, and the numerous voices of women sexually violated and have been impregnated with their rapist's child. That is the government we follow today, the supreme court justices do not care, at least for those who voted to overturn Roe vs. Wade.”

“I feel that Congress has been lazy about codifying abortion rights into law and instead relied on the courts ruling to create the de facto rule of law.”

“I am pro-life, but I can understand how women feel about this due to the fact that they are still fighting the battles that there mothers and grandmothers fought. Also, women who have difficult pregnancies and miscarriages can now be prosecuted.”

**“As a Christian, I am happy to see this happen. I hate that unborn babies are casually murdered as easily as removing a skin tag. A woman had consensual, unprotected sex, she's pregnant, and it's not a good time for a baby so she'll get rid of it and go on with her life as normal. For these discarded babies, I weep. However, I do not agree that medical interventions should be withheld from women experiencing an ectopic pregnancy because the physician might lose his/her license. Even Catholic hospitals will perform a procedure when the baby isn't viable and the mother's life is at risk. There has to be an agreement in here somewhere. As much as I hate abortion, I don't want to see any woman be at risk of losing her life. In a perfect world, men and women would work together to obtain birth control before having sex. Rape and incest, however, are another story. I do know of women who were raped and kept the baby or gave it up for adoption to a couple whose empty arms ached for a baby to love. I admit to being a fence sitter on the matter of pregnancy due to rape or incest.”**

“Because congress is more concerned about gun laws, than they are a women's rights. It's a shame that weapons mean more to them than the right of choice!”

“I completely understand and to some degree agree that the state's should be considered for whether they determine laws relating to morality vs being instituted by the national government. This Federal vs State laws debate is a legitimate argument. What I hate about this decision is: 1) The Supreme Court Justices that voted to overturn it specifically went on record before they were confirmed stating that they would NOT overturn Roe v Wade. This by definition means that they deceived the entire country to get their job. One guy on the court raped a woman and fortunately didn't get her pregnant. But if he had in today's world, that woman would've had to carry the baby to term. 10 months of her life directly changed, a lifetime of pain/regret if she has to give up the baby for adoption. Even with this likely scenario playing out all over, they still overturned 50 years of precedence. 2) The complete lack of rational concern for what this decision will mean for the 63% of people in the country that believe women should have the right to decide whether they are pregnant or not. Many states do not even make a distinction between a man forcing his penis on a woman illegally (rape) and a lovingly married couple that decide that after 5 kids they really can't have another. 3) The other issue that I cannot stand is the pride with which people that feel strongly about one side of the conversation are gitty about forcing their beliefs on others. The irony here is that the Republicans claim to be all about the government staying out of people's lives but for some unknown reason think that doesn't apply to women's bodies.”

# OVERTURNING OF ROE V. WADE

## *What does the overturning of Roe v. Wade say about the United States as a nation?*

An overwhelming majority of our gettable voters expressed deep grief around the overturning of Roe v. Wade, concluding that the judicial action had both deep implications for Americans who would be impacted directly but also for Americans' broader perception of where the country was going, what the United States actually is, who is cared for in this country and where the priorities for the nation actually lie.

### IT'S ALL ABOUT POWER

"That there is NO interest in discussing the other side of a conflict. **Whoever has the power at that moment in time will FORCE THEIR WILL on others.** The pendulum swing every political cycle could destroy our country. I'm getting a panic attack just writing this down."

### OUR LEADERS ARE COWARDS

**"I think it says that our leaders are cowards** and the people of our nation are fed a media diet that lacks substance and nuance. President Barack Obama, former Senate Major Leader Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi had the ability to codify abortion rights into law when the Senate had a super majority ~2009. They failed to do so despite using it as a wedge campaign issue/boogey man for so long."

### WE DON'T CARE ABOUT (ALL) OUR PEOPLE

"I think ending the right to abortion shows **we only care about half of our population** (males) and don't care about a woman's right to choose what happens to her own body."

"Says that a **few people in power have a lot more say than the collectiveness** of all the women of childbearing age."

### U.S. IS PROCHILD (MINORITY OPINION)

**"I feel that the United States as a nation believes in pro life.** I felt that it would one day overturn but never in my lifetime. I feel that the United States as a nation believes we shouldn't be killing innocent babies all over the country. We need to encourage couples to marry and to have a family. We need more resources for women who want other options like adoptions and immediate access to birth control."



# OVERTURNING OF ROE V. WADE

## *What does the overturning of Roe v. Wade say about the United States as a nation?*

### IT'S HYPOCRITICAL

**"I think that the overturning of Roe v. Wade just shows how contradictory and divided the United States as a nation is.** From what I can see, it's mostly Republicans who are Pro-Life, but those same republicans aren't tough on gun control. Those same republicans are the ones who wants to cut programs that benefit people who live in poverty. So, what will they do when even more babies are born in poverty, complain about where their tax dollars are going, or help take care of those children generously?"

**"It makes the United States look hypocritical.** We claim to be progressive; however, this decision sets us back. When it comes to wearing masks or getting vaccinated, the same group of people pushing back and saying government shouldn't tell us what to with our bodies, are some of the same individuals who support the the overturning of Roe v. Wade."

### WE ARE FOCUSING ON THE WRONG THINGS

**"We are focusing on issues that should not even be discussed.** We have more important issues to fix and we are putting our energy into the wrong areas."

### WE ARE NOT A DEMOCRACY - WE ARE A THEOCRACY

"This **nation is ruled by the antiquated religious ideals of a fanatical few.**"

"It says **we are not a democracy. We are controlled by white men.**"

"We **don't believe anymore in the justice system** ( supreme courts) it should not be a political branch!!! Are politics more important than the rights of the people and our well being? It's a shame where we are headed as a country. What's next?"

**"It proves again that what the majority of people want means nothing.** It says that nothing is sacred -nothing is guaranteed especially if you are not a white, older Christian man or woman that identifies as a republican. The majority of us are not in that demographic, but our wants dont matter. They are afraid of becoming the minority and losing their privilege (or so they believe)."

### WE ARE ALL ABOUT CONTROL, NOT FREEDOM

"It says that **United States will be in control of a lot more** than we know."

"That **we do not allow freedom of choice.**"

"I think it is **people who are in control thinking about themselves from a political perspective and no one else.**"

# OVERTURNING OF ROE V. WADE

## *What does the overturning of Roe v. Wade say about the United States as a nation?*

### WE ARE GOING BACKWARDS

**"We are going backwards instead of moving forward - we need NEW, FRESH blood in the White House."**

**"We are going backwards in terms of protecting rights.** It is interesting that Mexico, which is a majority Catholic nation, legalized abortion recently. The United States went the other way."

**"We are going backwards as a country into an increasingly conservative partisan country towards the beginnings of a Christian theocracy** with no separation between church and state."

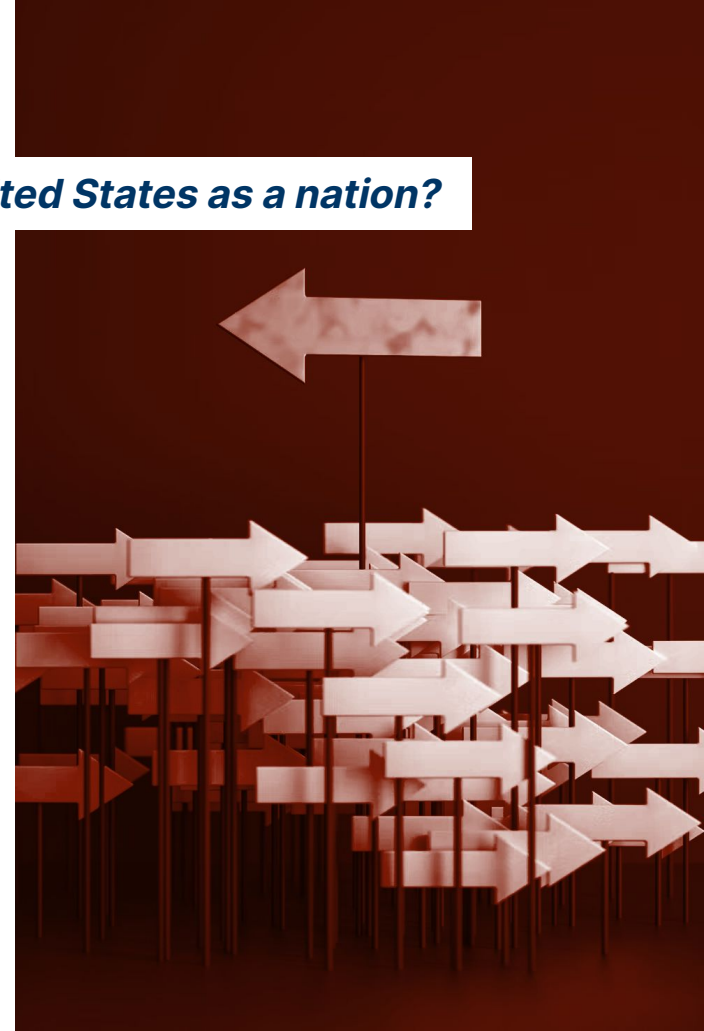
"It says that **we are regressing as a nation** - overturning over 50 years of precedent is horrific and shows how the Supreme Court's power needs better checks and balances."

**"We are turning back time and not progressing.** We are governed by people who don't represent us. It doesn't matter what the majority want, it just matters what the Republicans/Religious/Minority of People want... This won't be the first thing they overturn - it is only the beginning of the end."

"The overturning of Roe v. Wade is just **the latest example of the slow, methodical dismantling of the American Government** and democratic system started by "conservatives" around the turn of this century. America is broken, but the system is working exactly as it was designed (and modified) to operate."

**"It says that we are going back in time,** all the progress women have made so far has been in vain. America is not progressing, instead we are getting worse by the day. It is such a shame."

**"It means we are going backwards.** It appears the US is becoming more conservative and less open-minded to different types of people. It makes me feel unsure about the future of the US - I didn't trust the politicians in office before this, and now I feel even worse about them. I think almost everyone in positions of power has had a role in this - there could have been more preventative measures taken from all parties."



# IMPACT OF ROE V. WADE ON POLITICAL PARTY PERCEPTIONS

Please indicate how you feel about the Democratic and Republican parties after the overturning of Roe v. Wade.

## RE: THE PARTIES

“Even though the Dems are in control of the House and Senate they can't pass legislation to stop filibusters and codify gun safety laws, abortion, etc. They are not ruthless like the republicans are-**Mitch McConnell lied in regards to appointing Supreme Court judges during Obama's term and they took advantage.** We need to elect hard line, true Dems, replace Sinema and Manchin and get things done.”

The Democratic Party	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
More Positively	32	3	9	4
More Negatively	28	76	58	51
No Difference	41	21	34	45
The Republican Party	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
More Positively	1	63	21	4
More Negatively	93	7	51	56
No Difference	6	30	29	41

“**Neither Republicans nor Democrats are capable of crossing the aisle.** They both have been using politics for gain and not listening to the will of the people. A majority of US citizens did not want this decision, yet there was nothing we could do to change it and now have to deal with the repercussions.”

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22



# IMPACT OF ROE V. WADE ON POLITICAL PARTY PERCEPTIONS

Please indicate how you feel about the United States and the Supreme Court after the overturning of Roe v. Wade

## RE: THE COUNTRY AND COURT

**“The United States is a joke right now.** I cannot believe that we are going back into the stone times where there is was so much racism, inequality and no women rights. Our economy is getting worse by the day as well. The president needs to step it up and stop blaming others for his bad work. The democratic party is blaming everyone else right now instead of taking action and making changes. The republicans are just talking shit everywhere they go, and are getting their way..like they are the richest people so because of them being rich, they are privileged, choosing whatever they want. **The Supreme Court is a joke, taking away women’s rights with this decision, they need more women in charge** instead.”

**“I am disappointed that the supreme court went against the prior judgment to allow rights for people to decide what to do with their bodies.”**

The U.S.	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
More Positively	3	65	28	16
More Negatively	87	11	50	56
No Difference	10	24	22	28
The U.S. Supreme Court	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
More Positively	1	74	35	18
More Negatively	97	10	55	63
No Difference	2	16	10	19

“It’s an overreach. We are moving backwards, back to the dark ages. **People, especially the Supreme Court, are hypocrites and filled with old men who have no idea** what being a woman is like.”

“Not one person should be dictated. **This is not a dictatorship here. This is women's rights. Who is going to feed and clothe all of these babies?** Now we need welfare reform.”

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22



# FINALLY, MY RIGHTS MATTER.

IMPACT OF ROE V. WADE OVERTURN - MINORITY CONSERVATIVE OPINION

*This overturn was difficult to attain. As a conservative, I felt my rights to free speech had been suppressed. Now I can finally breathe. The Republican party has been shown outward, visible support. There could be other closet Democratic supports. This will lead to a path of change in a positive, innovative direction. It could have a profound impact on relationships. My confidence in the Supreme Court to decide issues objectively has increased.*

# WHO ARE VOTERS HOLDING RESPONSIBLE FOR ROE V. WADE'S OVERTURN?

## Which of these groups (other than the justices themselves) do you believe are most responsible for the court handing down this decision?

Aside from the justices, voters assigned blame across the board for the overturning of Roe v. Wade, however, the majority assigned blame to Republicans, including Republican elected officials who held up judicial appointments under Obama and Right wing activists who have pushed for conservative judges for decades.

**50%** Republican elected officials, including Mitch McConnell, who held up appointments under Obama and pushed Amy Coney Barrett's confirmation through eight days before the election

**21%** Right wing activists that have pushed for conservative judges for decades

**14%** Democrats, who could have fought harder, including codifying abortion protections into law

**11%** Don't know/not sure

**01%** Progressive activists that weren't focused enough

**01%** None of these people/someone else

*n=100, Cross-State Study #2 Future Majority/Worthy Strategy Group Qual Study*

# IMPACT FROM THE OVERTURNING OF ROE V. WADE

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## How do you envision the overturning of Roe v. Wade will impact your life and the lives of others in your life? Do you think it will impact things like access to birth control or IVF, as some have speculated?

**For many, the overturning of Roe doesn't have a direct impact on their lives** – they're past their childbearing years, are done having children, or are a man – **but they have concerns about the women in their lives:** “I am thankful this will not affect me personally. For my children, grandchildren, and many more to come after, I feel sorry that they already are having their rights revoked.”

**A small number of voters indicated that they hoped access to contraception would increase to mitigate the need for abortions** post-Roe, like “offer[ing] free or better programs [for] control.” Others in the small majority who felt more positively about the overturning of Roe “hope that it will make people more aware that they need to be more responsible about the choices they make” or that it will lead to “greater responsibilities for dads [and] easier pathways to adoption.”

**Others worried about the strain on already overburdened systems** with “the Republican party and the religious right[’s]... belief in birthing a child at all cost[s].” One pointed out the already “overburdened adoption system” while another said, “my biggest concern is right now it doesn't seem as if we have the proper plans in place to give people in need and children what they require.”

**Overwhelmingly, there was a sense that overturning Roe was only the beginning** – “if they can get away with overturning this landmark case, who knows how far they will go to limit our freedom.” Various fears were expressed as they expect “Republicans will take it to the extreme,” among them:

- “It will impact everything. Next is limited access to birth control, essentially controlling our sex lives and forcing us to bear children. They are coming for everything.”
- “I think it can impact woman's right to privacy. People will want access to our private health information to ensure we are on our periods or not currently pregnant. I think it's a slippery and scary slope.”
- “It appears that it is going to affect women who need medication after having a miscarriage. It will have far reaching implications.”
- “I think birth control and IVF will be targeted next by the Supreme Court and Republicans as they have hinted/sort of mention doing so.”

**“It may not impact me but it will impact my children, grandchildren, and others I love and like. It will impact access to birth control, IVF, and medical care that is female-focused. It will spillover into marriage rights, what happens in our private homes, and equality/justice for all.”**



# OVERTURNING OF ROE V. WADE

## *What does the overturning of Roe v. Wade make you want to do, if anything?*

### GET IT BACK AND GO BACK IN TIME

“**Get it reinstated back** but honestly I don't know how we as a Nation could do that.”

“It makes me **want to go back in time** and change this issue”

### I DON'T KNOW, WILL ANYTHING WORK?

“Scream, rant, rave, cry, worry,...**none of it will do any good though.**”

“I don't believe protests will work. I'm not sure funding appropriate organizations like Planned Parenthood will work. **I think, as a whole, I am powerless.** My voting rights and those rights of others are being limited, so even voting is impacted. So all I can do is help those who are impacted with a route to an abortion either by helping with accommodation or travel. I have made it clear to my children that I will support them in their decisions emotionally and financially. And I will consider moving out of this country because I know what history says about countries like ours.”

### ALTER MY BODY

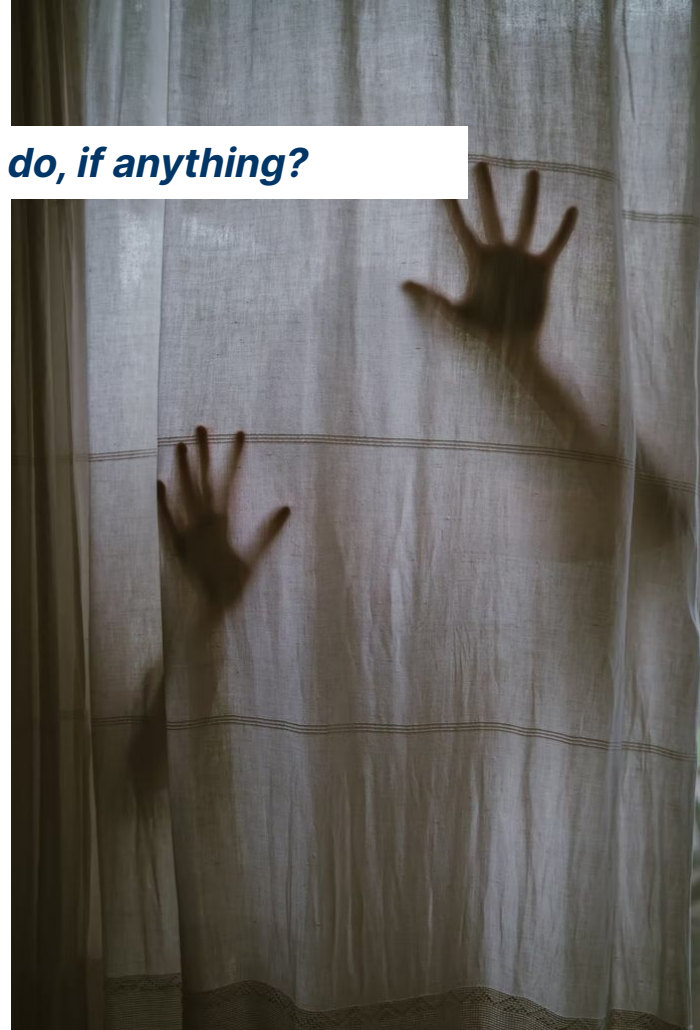
“I want to **get my tubes tied just in case** I ever get raped and forced to carry to term.”

### LEAVE THE COUNTRY

“It makes me want to **leave the country with my children.** It makes me want to scream and mourn the life I envisioned for my daughters and son.”

### PRAY

“**I want to pray more - for healing, for peace, for lives to be saved.** I will not write to my elected officials as we don't see eye-to-eye on many topics. I will not participate in pro-choice marches or rallies.





## *What does the overturning of Roe v. Wade make you want to do, if anything?*

### BURN IT ALL DOWN

- "Flee the country. Punch a Republican. Throttle Mitch McConnell. Smack Joe Biden. Vote for a progressive Democrat."
- "Impeach everyone on the Supreme Court!"
- "Where are checks and balances when SCOTUS blows it? I want to dissolve the entire political structure and establish a rule of Philosopher Kings."
- "It makes me want to yell at the government for taking my rights and the rights of others. It makes me angry for being born in this country we call the "land of the free". It makes me angry that I am a citizen of this country. Most importantly it makes me want to leave this country if this is how our government going to act. I don't wish to raise my future children here if their rights are going to be taken away."
- "Burn It all to the ground. It should've been done long ago. The status quo needs to be interrupted and there is no such thing as a bloodless coup."
- "Kinda makes me want to go out and burn shit down, kinda makes me want to learn to perform safe abortions and act outside the system to help people out, kinda makes me want to take my kids and leave the US, kinda makes me want to just detach and take my kids to build a cabin in the woods somewhere and live outside modern society."
- "It makes me want to leave this country to somewhere women are better appreciated and progressed forward not backwards."
- "I want to vote everyone out of office right now. Start over with new people across the board."

# ON LEGALITY OF ABORTION

## Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases or illegal in all cases?

When asked, Democrats indicated support for abortion to be legal in most or all cases (98%), whereas Republicans indicated opposition to abortion in most or all cases (75%). Both Undecided Independent voters and Independent voters indicated majority support for abortion to be legal in all or most cases (76% of Undecided Independents; 65% Independent voters).

	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Legal in All Cases	66	6	31	36
Legal in Most All Cases	32	18	34	40
Illegal in Most Cases	2	61	28	21
Illegal in All Cases	0	14	7	4

**61%** of participants answered “legal in all cases” or “legal in most cases”

**39%** of participants answered “illegal in all cases” or “illegal in most cases”

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22

# ABORTION EXCEPTIONS: IF ILLEGAL, WHEN STILL OKAY TO ABORT?

## When should abortion still be legal?

As might be expected, a majority of Americans support the right to an abortion in case of rape (82%), incest (83%), when pregnancy poses a risk to the life of the mother (88%), when the pregnancy is not viable (80%) and for minors who are rape/incest victims (85%). Democrats, Independents, and undecided Independents overwhelmingly favor the right to an abortion, up through the second trimester, though support from Independents and Undecided Independents diminishes in the second trimester onwards. This is in strong contrast to Republicans, of whom a minority support abortion rights, even in the first six weeks (39%), with diminishing support onwards.

Do you think abortion should be legal?	Democrat			GOP			Independent			Undecided/Independent		
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	No	Not Sure
In cases of rape	99	0	1	66	21	13	83	9	8	86	8	5
In cases of incest	99	0	1	68	20	12	84	9	7	86	8	6
When pregnancy poses a risk to the life of the mother	99	0	0	77	12	12	89	4	7	92	2	6
When the pregnancy is not viable	97	1	2	62	21	17	83	8	9	85	5	10
For minors who are the victims of rape or incest	99	0	1	70	17	12	86	7	6	88	6	6
In the first 6 weeks	96	2	3	39	47	14	70	20	9	71	17	12
In the first trimester (12-14 weeks)	92	3	5	27	60	12	62	28	10	66	22	12
In the second trimester (14-26 weeks)	70	11	19	6	85	8	37	46	18	37	42	21
After the second trimester	50	21	29	4	90	6	22	55	23	24	49	28

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22

# BANNING ABORTION: TIMELINE OF SUPPORT

## If abortion is banned, when should abortion be banned?

As pregnancies progress, support for abortion access diminishes over time, though there is a significant disparity in Democratic support for abortion access and Republican support, who, when they support abortion access, tend to only support it on occasion of rape, incest, and if the life of the mother is at risk (72% Republicans somewhat or strong support).

### I believe that abortion should be banned...

After 6 weeks	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Strongly Agree	2	56	24	16
Somewhat Agree	3	16	9	9
Somewhat Disagree	7	10	11	12
Strongly Disagree	85	11	50	52
Not Sure	3	6	6	11

After midway through the 2nd Trimester (21 weeks)	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Strongly Agree	7	72	36	30
Somewhat Agree	13	12	15	13
Somewhat Disagree	15	4	11	12
Strongly Disagree	55	7	28	28
Not Sure	10	4	10	18

After the 1st Trimester (12-14 weeks)	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Strongly Agree	5	68	31	27
Somewhat Agree	8	15	13	10
Somewhat Disagree	12	5	10	12
Strongly Disagree	69	8	38	39
Not Sure	6	4	7	12

With exceptions for rape, incest, and protecting the life of the mother	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Strongly Agree	7	48	24	15
Somewhat Agree	4	24	14	12
Somewhat Disagree	5	9	9	12
Strongly Disagree	83	14	49	52
Not Sure	1	4	4	8

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22

# LATE TERM ABORTIONS

## ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS

Two main lines of thought emerged for **those who believe that even later in pregnancy, the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman and her doctor.**

01. **The decision is highly personal and ultimately the woman's, not anyone else's or the governments, nor is any of their business.** One stated, *"Personally I think late term abortion is wrong but I'm a MAN and it's not my decision and I fully support women who make those decisions,"* while another claimed, *"I feel like it's wrong to kill a baby after a certain period of time but again that is my opinion that I do not have the right to force upon anyone."* For many, it was seen as a medical decision, and *"medical decisions should be made by medical people, not some self-absorbed politico."*
02. **Late-term abortions are rare, and done out of medical necessity in "dangerous, life-or-death circumstances."** Participants feel that late-term abortions are *"distractions used by conservatives"* and pro-life supporters *"to make it seem like it's normal, [when] in fact it's very rare."*

*"[Late-term abortion] is a medical determination that can save a life, not unlike an emergency appendectomy or heart surgery, and you don't see those being brought into question."*

For those who indicated they would be open to supporting bans on later-term abortions (i.e., after 15 weeks), a majority of **their support stems from their understanding of viability.** Some believe that *"once a fetus is viable outside the womb, it has rights"* and *"deserves to live."*

The idea of viability was **innately linked with the heartbeat of the fetus and the notion of personhood** for these participants. *"Life starts at the heartbeat"* and *"as soon as the fetus's heart starts to beat, it is a human and should be treated as one"* were common sentiments, although very few expressed support for abortion bans earlier than 15 weeks, such as the Texas Heartbeat Act (SB 8).

While some participants in this cohort did acknowledge exceptions to abortion in the case of rape or incest, they felt that they should be limited to as early as possible in the first trimester. However, there was **explicit support for late-term abortions if the health of the mother is at risk** – *"I think abortion should always be allowed if the mother's life is truly endangered."*

*"After 16 weeks, you have a fully formed child, and anything after that is murder."*



# INCREASED MOTIVATION TO VOTE BECAUSE OF ROE V. WADE OVERTURN

## As a result of the overturning of Roe v. Wade, are you more likely to vote in this November's midterm election?

For Democrats and Independents, the overturning of Roe v. Wade has created a big increase in motivation to turnout for the midterm elections (89% Democrats somewhat or much more motivated to vote; Independents 56% somewhat or much more motivated to vote). This is in contrast to Republicans, who had a 45% increase in intent to vote.

	Democrat	GOP	Independent	Undecided/Independent
Much More Motivated	81	39	46	39
Somewhat More Motivated	7	6	10	11
Makes No Difference	11	54	42	43
Somewhat Less Motivated	1	1	1	1
Much Less Motivated	1	1	2	6

**62%** of participants answered “much more” or “somewhat more” motivated

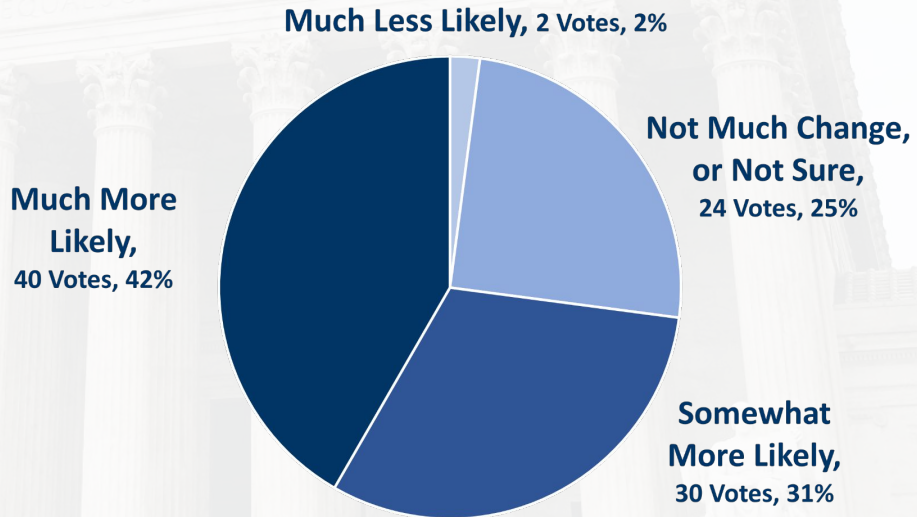
**02%** of participants answered “much less” or “somewhat less” motivated

n=3238, Future Majority Choice 9-state poll, July '22

## GETTING INVOLVED: ROE V. WADE AS A CATALYST TO ENGAGE

**As a result of the overturning of Roe v. Wade, are you more likely to get involved in some other way, including donating, volunteering, or talking to friends or family?**

For gettable Democratic voters, a significant majority (70%) indicated that they would be somewhat or much more likely to engage in donating, volunteering, or talking to friends or family as a result of the overturning of Roe v. Wade.



*n=100, Cross-State Study #2 Future Majority/Worthy Strategy Group Qual Study*

# GETTING INVOLVED: ROE V. WADE AS A CATALYST

**If this applies to you, what would you like others to do, if anything? And what are the best ways for people to get involved, or ways you wish you or others could get involved?**

Channeling frustration into action, our gettable voters expressed their belief in strength in numbers – that mobilization and collective action were the path forward. Contacting representatives on every level, voting en masse, and offering financial support to abortion funds and organizations were just some of the ways they want themselves and others to get involved.

## MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD

“VOTE, **write letters to your Congressman/Congresswoman, Senator, Representative and local politicians expressing how you feel** and to urge them to do what they can in their power to help get this decision overturned.

“**Reach out to their local representatives**, and try to get change - that is why we elect these people into office to be our voice.”

## OFFER FINANCIAL SUPPORT

“I would like others to **donate to the abortion fund**, support their local planned parenthood locations, [and] help independent clinics.”

“I think **donating to other centers besides Planned Parenthood** is a good idea. Not that PP is bad, but **because other smaller locations may be able to help more of the neighboring communities.**”

## VOTE (FOR PROGRESSIVES, AGAINST REPUBLICANS)

“Get out and **vote for progressive candidates**. And support those candidates that uphold personal freedoms.”

“I want people to **vote these Republicans out** of office **before they destroy this entire country.**”

## MOBILIZE & TAKE ACTION

“Don’t just vote. **Actually get involved. Protest. Run for local office. Donate to abortion funds.**”

“I would like people to not be afraid to talk about it, **respectfully protest, attend city town halls, sign petitions, educate their families/friends, support groups, donate to organizations that are helping others, write to your elected politicians, and vote** no matter if you think your vote doesn't count. I think **people do better in numbers.** Learn from this.”

# GUN LEGISLATION

*INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD*





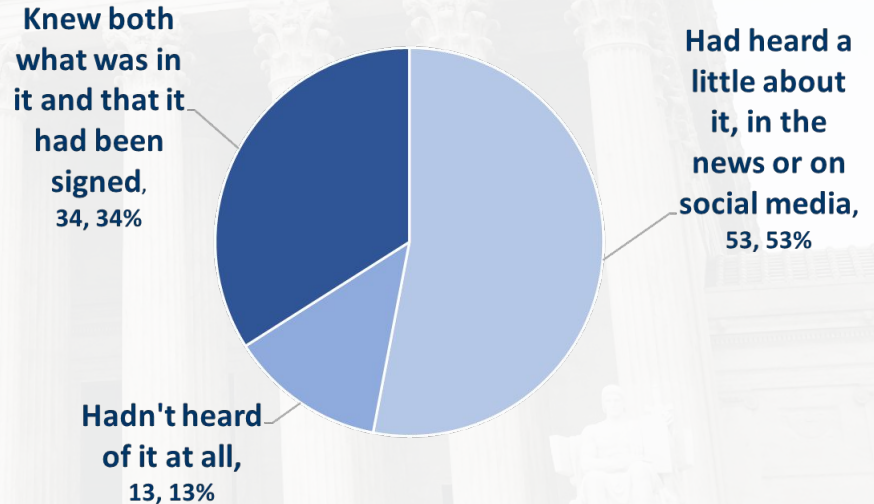
# CURRENT EVENTS

## GUN LEGISLATION: AWARENESS

Almost 90% of participants were aware of the recent gun safety bill in some form, i.e., either seeing it on social media, the news, or knowing the ins and outs of the bill.

### WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

**Were you previously aware of the gun safety bill?**



# CURRENT EVENTS

## GUN LEGISLATION: SUPPORT

An overwhelming majority – 84% of our voters – support the recent gun safety bill, but wish it were stronger, with one stating,

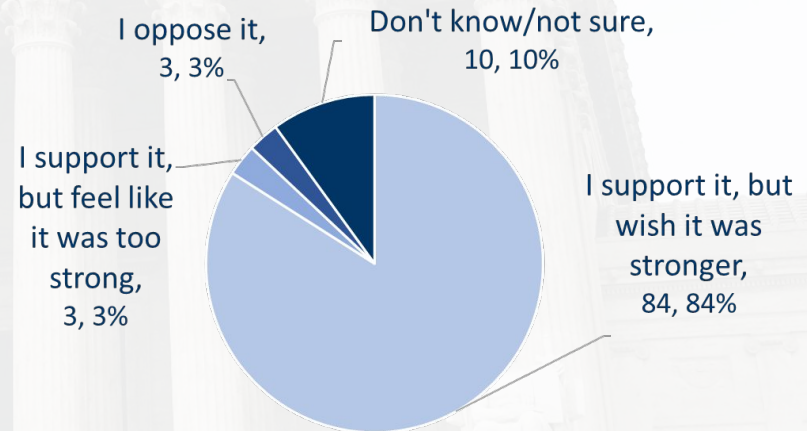
**“It’s a good start, but more can be done.”**

They felt that the pressure to pass legislation relating to gun safety had reached its zenith, forcing Congress to act in good faith, but see the bill as a simply a formality, wishing it were **“made more concrete in substance.”**

Additionally, they wished the bill would have banned assault rifles, with one voter noting, **“I’m from Broward County, where the MSD shooting happened. We NEED to straight up ban private ownership of assault rifles. There is absolutely no reason they should be sold in this country.”** And, they wished that expanded background checks were the norm, not solely for 18-21 year olds – **“I think that the gun laws need to be more strict with people of all ages.”**

## WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

**How strongly do you support the gun safety law?**



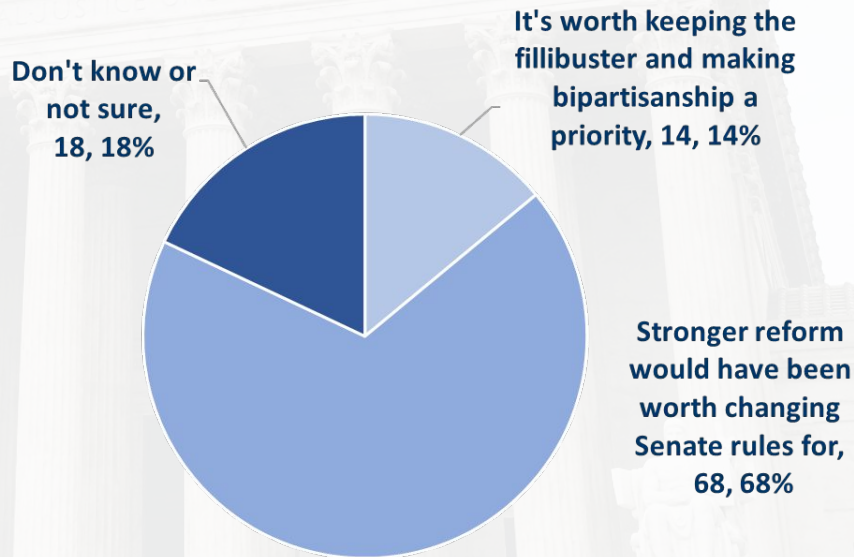
# CURRENT EVENTS

## GUN LEGISLATION & THE FILIBUSTER

Close to 70% of participants feel that stronger gun reform would have been worth changing senate rules for.

### WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

Is it better to keep the filibuster or have a stronger gun law?



# EXTREMISM

A stylized illustration featuring a blue donkey on the left and a red elephant on the right, both facing each other. The background consists of several radiating lines in shades of blue and white, creating a sunburst effect behind the animals. The overall style is graphic and modern.

*INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD*



# PERCEPTIONS OF EXTREMISM

## DEMOCRAT VS. REPUBLICAN

When asked about which party they consider to be extreme, there was the smallest of increases from the first Cross State Study in regards to Republicans being seen as more extreme. By comparison, there was a slight decrease in both parties being seen as extreme and Democrats being seen as extreme compared to the first Cross State Study. **These differences are not statistically significant.**

### WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

**If you had to label a political party as extreme,  
which would come closest to your view?**

	Democrats	Republicans	Both Parties
1st Cross State Study	4.1%	58.2%	25.5%
2nd (Present) Cross State Study	1.0%	59.0%	22.0%

# PERCEPTIONS OF EXTREMISM

## DEMOCRAT VS. REPUBLICAN

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When asked which party they felt was extreme, **over half of our voters indicated that the Republican party is extreme**, while a little less than one-fourth of voters feel that both parties are extreme.

When Democrats were labeled as extreme, it was within the context of voters feeling that both parties are extreme – **“there seems to be no middle ground anymore”** and their choices seem to be **“right-wing extremist republicans that believe in white supremacy, racism, overregulation, and more”** or **“extreme democrats that believe in socialism and communism.”**

Our voters sensed that the current Republican party is the product of a years-long shift to the right, culminating in Trump’s presidency – **“Today's Republican party was yesterday's extremists and outliers. Trump is the main driver of extremism in the Republican party.”** Their reasoning for labeling the Republican party as extreme was due to three factors:

1. They feel that the Republican party is being overtaken by Christianity, which is enabling politicians to infuse religion into policy and legislation
2. Republicans espouse and believe in conspiracy theories, such as Q-Anon and believing that Trump is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election
3. For these voters, the Republican party is virtually synonymous with racism and white nationalism, and to a lesser degree, enabling or turning a blind eye to it

# PERCEPTIONS OF EXTREMISM

## REPUBLICANS

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### Legislating on Religious Beliefs

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“The Republican party is now almost entirely filled with Christian extremists who have been dismantling the wall of separation between [their] church and the state.” - *Glen*

“Extreme Christian groups have infiltrated the republican party and have started to make changes that compromise our freedoms.” - *Annette*

### Conspiracy Theorists

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“Because the base has bought into Donald Trump's lies, and they appear to have lost touch with reality and continue to deny the truth, even when presented with factual data and information.” - *Jamie*

“The have become the Q-anon party full of crazy conspiracy theorists.” - *Brian*

“The Republican Party seems to have many conspiracy theorists including Q-anon believers.” - *Jennifer*

### White Nationalists & Racists

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“They have been enabled by Donald Trump to be more vocal and active in endorsing and supporting measures that promote White Supremacy.” - *Cassandra*

“Those that are on the far right... and there are some Republicans that I feel are more dangerous as many of those people consider themselves white nationalist and have far right ideologies similar to how the Nazis operated back in the 1930s and 40s.” - *Debra*

# PERCEPTIONS OF RECKLESSNESS

## DEMOCRAT VS. REPUBLICAN

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When asked which party was reckless, **over half of voters indicated that Republicans were reckless**, while **a little over one-fourth of voters believed that both parties were reckless**. A smaller number felt that neither party was reckless because “reckless... means acting without a plan or direction. Neither party moves in this way.”

While fewer of our voters felt that Democrats were reckless, and it was most often in the context of both parties being reckless, they aren't without fault – it's their inaction that's leading these voters to perceive the party as reckless.

One voter explained, **“Democrats are reckless in a way that is more subtle, and more nuanced, but not taking any action at all is practically as detrimental as the insurrection.”** Another stated that with Biden as president, a Democratic majority in the House, and with Democrats in control of the Senate, **“they're being willy-nilly”** by not taking action.

Voters called out Republicans repeated efforts to undermine democracy and how they readily believe in conspiracy theories – January 6 sits at this intersection – as the main reason they consider the party to be reckless, with one voter expressing annoyance at election deniers who **“know it isn't true and yet they still preach it”** and another expressing **“frustration at all the different areas of attacks on democracy by Republicans.”**

They also see the Republican party as one with **“no moral compass, dignity, decorum, empathy, [or] compassion. Their decisions are all based on their personal career or money,”** resulting in selfishness and action taken not in the best interest of the people, but rather themselves, which they view as reckless.



# PERCEPTIONS OF RECKLESSNESS

## REPUBLICANS, BUT DEMOCRATS AREN'T BLAMELESS

### Undermining Democracy & Conspiracy Theories

"They have no true consistent values besides they want what they want and will get what they want. They throw insurrections if they don't get their way and resort to conspiracies and extremes." - Jason

"They believe anything. Reckless behavior can cause a lot of issues. The Republicans are reckless when they band together for things that are not true or undocumented. They will change a report or comment to make it fit their benefit. The truth is not always a factor when it comes to the Republicans and that is what makes them reckless." - Lenora

### Selfish & Not Acting in the Best Interest of the People

"Their only goal is power, and by any means, without prior ethics, compassion, or intelligence as to what is best for everyone." - Carl

"They have implemented laws and policies that hurt the middle class, in turn destroying what made the US so great." - Annette

"The republicans will not get serious on gun law restrictions and they did not provide enough Covid-19 aid [for] unemployment and poor people." - Jon

### It's Both Parties! Inaction Makes Democrats Reckless

"Democrats are reckless with their power and opportunities. They neglect to use either one to make real changes – codifying abortion laws, getting rid of the Filibuster, packing the Supreme Court, using Executive Orders to forgive student loans, etc." - Dawn

"Republicans are reckless because they pursue and pass legislation that negatively affects specific groups of people: women, racial minorities, immigrants, etc. Democrats are reckless because they pretend to care about these groups of people while doing little to actually protect them." - Jorge

# FEELINGS AROUND VOTING

***INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD***



# WHY DO YOU VOTE?

## FEELINGS AROUND VOTING

Generally, our participants are established voters who vote regularly in both presidential and midterm elections and have done so for a while. They feel proud to vote, although sometimes anxious (for example, not knowing enough about candidates or hoping their candidate will win), and feel that voting is an important way to make their voices heard and affect the changes they want to see. **Overall, most participants feel that their vote matters and for non-white voters, there was a deep-rooted sentiment that voting was a hard-won right that they don't take lightly.**

“Everytime I vote, I vote for change that will make our country a better and safer country to live in. One that I can say I am proud to be a citizen of. During the whole process of voting I felt like no matter what happened I could say that I done my part. When I vote I feel good about myself. I feel like voting is a privilege and something that shouldn't be taken for granted. I think that for those that chose not to vote, that they shouldn't complain about what's going on since they didn't take the time to go out and vote for change. I will be voting in the midterms because I think that it could bring positive change if they right ones are voted in.” - Penny

# WHY DO YOU VOTE?

## FEELINGS AROUND VOTING

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I  
Voted

“If I don't vote something won't change. It's important. **Voting makes people lives change.**” - *Shawna*

“I have always voted. **I feel like my vote makes a difference, even if in a small way.** It's a way to get my voice heard and counted. I felt like I was making a difference throughout the voting process, even if my candidate lost. I will definitely be voting in the midterms this year for the reasons I said about.” - *Aaron*

“I choose to vote because my right to vote and voice my opinion was fought for by so many that came before me. And while I'm not always pleased with the outcome of the elections, **I will continue to vote because it's one of the best ways for my voice to be heard.** I truly still believe that my vote matters and so I will continue to vote to try and see some of the change that I want to happen in this country actually happen.” - *Monique*



# WHY DO YOU VOTE?

## ISSUE-SPECIFIC MIDTERM DRIVERS

Most participants indicated that they plan to vote in the midterm elections for various reasons, including keeping Democrats in power and Republicans in check, for stronger gun laws, and because they “want to see this stagnation end and start to see our nation moving forward.” However, the strongest driver, particularly for women, was the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*.



“My biggest reason for voting is to **not lose anymore rights for women, minorities, gays/lesbian people, [and] people who care about the environment.** I want stronger gun laws in this country.” – Meka

“My main reason for voting in the midterms is because **I want the Democrats to continue to control the House and the Senate. The overturning of *Roe v. Wade* is also a huge reason** for me voting in the mid-terms.” – Darryl

“My reasoning [for] voting this midterm would be for **stronger gun control laws and hopefully women's rights to choose.**” – Nanci

“I’m going to vote in the midterms because I want to **vote for the candidate who is pro-choice.** That is the biggest issue for me and I want my vote to reflect that.” – Jennifer

# AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS

***INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD***



# AMERICA AS A CHARACTER

## WHAT WOULD IT BE?

When asked to personify America, our voters brought in pictures indicative of the darker side of the country, painting a picture of **America as a country that desperately needs help, one that's a joke, and one that's starting to look like a villain.**

### THE DAMSEL IN DISTRESS

"It would be that lady in those ads for the emergency transmitter that seniors wear around their necks, who has fallen, and needs help to get back on her feet again." - Ben

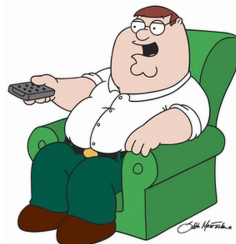
I would see America as a person in a body of water, calling out for help because they are about to drown, flailing for help while gasping for air and reaching for a life saver ring. I say this because we are failing as a democracy to help and protect everyone. If we continue to fail, America will be no more." - Julie



### THE CLOWN

"It would be a Clown. Everything they are doing right now is a CIRCUS."  
- Tanya

"I think of Peter Griffin. A character that has its many, underlying issues and flaws that are lowkey harmful."  
- K. Joy



### THE VILLAIN

"Homelander from The Boys. He's actually the villain, but so wrapped up in his own sense of self-superiority in a way that's convinced lots of other people he's in the right." - Gary

"America would be a bully; picking on all the other countries and making them feel inferior, when in reality our own lives, and our country, are falling apart." - Glen



# AMERICA AS A CHARACTER

## WHAT WOULD IT BE?

But, there were others who saw the lighter side of America, choosing **images of Americana that highlight values such as freedom and liberty, and of superheroes fighting the good fight.**

### AMERICAN ICONOGRAPHY

“I think America would be like Rosie the Riveter because she was the symbol of our patriotic duty to work hard to make our country better.” - Jennifer

“The Statue of Liberty because it represents Freedom and Liberty.” - Estelle



### THE SUPERHERO

“My first thought goes to Captain America, someone who fights for liberty and freedom. I feel like that embodies the "idea" really well – a country that helps people and fight injustice.” - Alexander

“Lady Liberty the literal Marvel character, embodying America’s physical spirit, prowess, strength, power ... She is tough, strong, very direct, quite intelligent, [has the] ability to see when people are lying, she can cause so much change in the wrongness of what’s happening.” - Robert





# AMERICA IS CALLING

## A PLAYLIST

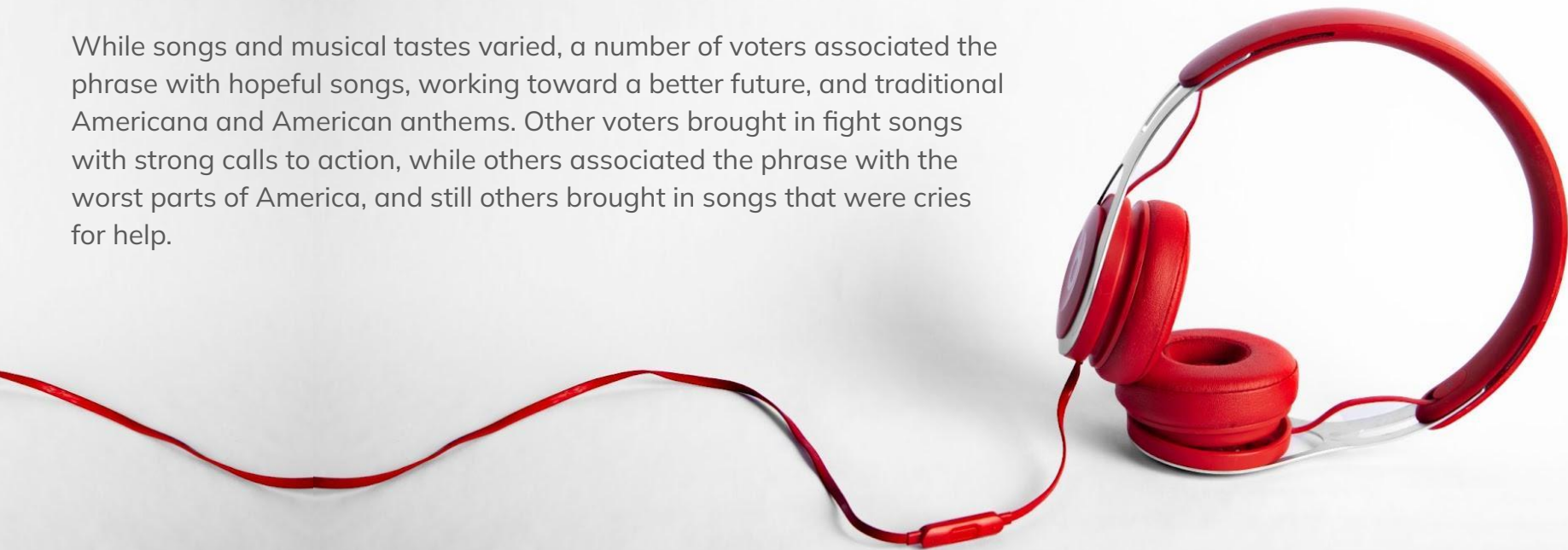
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We asked voters share a song or two that deeply resonated with the phrase, “America is Calling.”

While songs and musical tastes varied, a number of voters associated the phrase with hopeful songs, working toward a better future, and traditional Americana and American anthems. Other voters brought in fight songs with strong calls to action, while others associated the phrase with the worst parts of America, and still others brought in songs that were cries for help.

▶ [LISTEN TO THE PLAYLIST](#)

[READ THE LINER NOTES](#)



# WHAT DO VOTERS ASSOCIATE WITH **DEMOCRACY**?

When we asked what voters associated with Democracy, Freedom was by far the strongest association followed by the United States. The notion of choices, voting, and the people were the third most-cited associations.

## **FREEDOM**

“Freedom = a free country because we are very lucky ...for the moment.” - **ANNETTE**

“Freedom is more likely in a democracy than any other form of government.” - **KEVIN**

## **THE UNITED STATES**

“America because We are at the forefront of democracy... Or we're supposed to be.” - **DARRYL**

“America because we are the best in the world.” - **JOE**

## **PEOPLE, CHOICE, & VOTING**

“Representation - people should be represented fairly in Democracy.” - **ALLISON**

“In Democracy everyone gets their voice heard.” - **SAM**

## **NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS**

“We are not living up to expectations. We are failing our legacy and are losing Democracy.” - **HELENA**

“Democracy = Garbage. It has no meaning whatsoever.” - **JORGE**

# WHAT DO VOTERS ASSOCIATE WITH **FREEDOM**?

When we asked voters what they associated with Freedom, our voters shared that **Freedom is the ability to live how you want (within reason)**. Other ideas included...

## AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

“America has more freedoms than many countries.” - **SOFIA**

## ABILITY TO EXPRESS YOURSELF

“The right to say, think, and do as I please when and where I please, so long as it harms no one else because it's a fundamental right in a democracy.” - **BEN**

## FREEDOM OF CHOICE

“Choice because freedom, to me, is the ability to make non-harmful choices without intervention.” - **ALEXANDER**

## RIGHTS TO PROTECT FREEDOMS

“I have rights because only the USA have that kind of freedom for its citizens.” - **VILAYVANH**

## NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

“Our freedom - its lost because we do not have anymore freedom being a women in America.” - **ANAHI**

“I associate it with sadness because our freedoms have been stolen this week.” - **DAWN**

“It is a joke because the poor are not free.” - **HAFAEEZAH**

# WHAT DO VOTERS ASSOCIATE WITH **OPPORTUNITY**?

When we asked voters about opportunity, voters associated it with...

## CHANCE & RISK

“Chance because we are given plenty of chances to make America great.” - **PENNY**

## JOBS & MONEY

“United States because with just a dollar someone can become a millionaire.” - **LESLEY**

“I associate it with Jobs because having opportunity means having the ability to get to a place in life based off of your own abilities and opportunities arisen.” - **EMMA**

## AMERICA/THE AMERICAN DREAM

You can be who and what you want to be and have the chance to better yourself and your circumstances.

“America because we have more freedoms than other countries.” - **ANTHONY**

“Opportunity is advancement and a better life because people from other countries often come here because of the endless opportunities.” - **JULIE**

## NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

There were plenty of negative connotations, namely that opportunities are not inherent nor are they equal, relying heavily on race and socioeconomic status.

“Opportunity is limited because opportunity is generational, inherited, and unequal.” - **RENE**

“I associate opportunity with America but in a negative way because the American dream is that false carrot being dangled.” - **HELENA**



# WHAT DO VOTERS ASSOCIATE WITH **VOTING**?

When we asked voters about voting, by and large, this concept had the strongest positive association with voters reporting that it's their duty - their responsibility to be involved and to try to change what they don't like. They also associated it with change, with voting being a way to hopefully change the things they didn't like, and as a necessary, important and even mandatory thing to do. A handful associated it with calls to action - to just vote. And lastly, voters associated it with the people's right -because their ancestors didn't have the opportunity and because it's the only way for their voice to be heard.

## CIVIC DUTY

"Civic duty because it is essential for us to make our voices heard and allow for ALL of our voices to be represented." - **JASON**

"Freedom is more likely in a democracy than any other form of government." - **KEVIN**

## A CALL TO ACTION

"DO IT because your voice does count." - **NANCY**

## CHANGE

"It's critical because maybe if enough of us do it, politicians will get the point." **RENE**

"IT'S A MUST because one vote can change our future." - **CHANELL**

## PEOPLE'S RIGHT

"The people's right because this is a right we are given to choose what and who's best to serve our country." - **PENNY**

"Voting = Rights because Some of my ancestors didn't have that opportunity." **DARRYL**

# IF YOU COULD HEAR ONE THING

When asked if they woke up tomorrow and one thing in America was to have changed, our voters overwhelmingly wanted to see our **government and social systems reformed**, allowing for things to get done and progress to be made, and where more equal opportunities exist for everyone.

## GOVERNMENT (& COURT) OVERHAUL

“Congress was actually working together to make this a better place for all... Legislation that makes sense, like gun control, revoking the revocation of Roe v Wade.” - **WILLIAM**

“I'd like for the filibuster to be reformed. I feel like so many things, including voting rights, gun control, reproductive rights, and health care can't be improved because of this 60 vote block in the rules.” - **ALEXANDER**

“They have created term limits for the Supreme Court instead of giving them lifetime appointments.” - **JULIE**

## A MORE LEVEL PLAYING FIELD

“Equality for all. Everyone should be given an opportunity for a pay raise, promotion, new car, new house and new loans... [I'd know] when people of color are at the same level as the majority population.” - **SARALYN**

“I would love to hear that we all are eligible for universal health care. Nobody should go bankrupt to get healthier or worry to get the care they need.” - **QUOC**

“A universal basic income system has been implemented for all American citizens to eliminate homelessness and poverty.” - **DARRYL**

# IF YOU COULD HEAR ONE THING

Additionally, on the heels of the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, our voters wanted to see the decision restored and women's right to choose protected, while others yet longed for racial equality, less discrimination, and even reparations for Black and Indigenous peoples.

## ROE WASN'T OVERTURNED

"*Roe v. Wade* back to where it was before it's overruling... [I'd need to see] women having rights over their bodies again." - **ANTHONY**

"I would wish for women's right to choose be given back. It's our body, we should have the right to choose what and what not to do with it... [I'd need to see] that *Roe v. Wade* has been restored." - **NANCI**

"It would have to be women given back their rights to their own bodies! It's common sense – it's their bodies and they should be free to do as they please with it. Women should be able to govern their own bodies. How dare SCOTUS take those rights away!" - **ESTELLE**

## RACIAL EQUALITY

"Racial equality especially with police Everyone deserves to be treated fairly and equally." - **ERIN**

"Black Americans would have reparations, i.e.: Protected class status, stolen land returned, CASH. And for everyone to stop mining our group for IP and stripping our story and history from us." - **JAMIN**

"For there to be less discrimination and racism in this country. I want a world where my parents can walk freely without the opinions of others judging them because of the color of their skin, their physical facial features, their accent, etc... I would need [to see] fewer race-targeted violent attacks." - **LISA**





# JAN 6TH HEARINGS

***INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD***



# JANUARY 6 HEARINGS

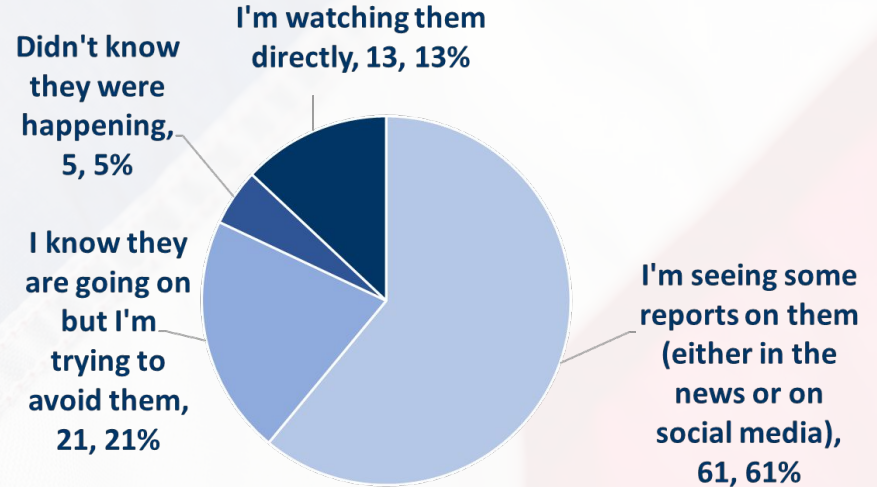
## ARE YOU PAYING ATTENTION?

About 75% of participants are paying attention to the January 6 hearings to some degree, however, a majority are seeing summaries and reports via news or social media instead of watching them directly.



## WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

**Are you paying any attention to the January 6th hearings?**



# JANUARY 6 HEARINGS

## WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR VIEW

In regards to the January 6th hearings, we asked participants to select the statement that comes closest to their view:

14%

The Jan 6th hearings are a complete waste of time, Democrats should be focused on inflation and gas prices

20%

The Jan 6th hearings are important, but won't help

66%

The Jan 6th hearings are a crucial process for protecting democracy. People who break the law should be held accountable, and we need it to never happen again.





# JANUARY 6 HEARINGS

## WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR VIEW

# 14%

The Jan 6th hearings are a complete waste of time, Democrats should be focused on inflation and gas prices

Of the voters who selected this response, only a handful truly tied it back to inflation and gas prices. Others saw the hearings as “theater” – a distraction from larger problems our country is facing, and an example of how leadership is failing to address them and focus their attention elsewhere. Others yet feel that it should be left in the past because nothing will ultimately happen as a result of the hearings.

“The everyday livelihood of the average American is on the brink of being forced into a recession and I feel like that’s more important.” - *Anthony*

“I think that there will be nothing done because this always happens when it comes down to anything dealing with Donald Trump. I think that things are going to be brushed under the rug. I think that the Democrats need to focus on what is important at this moment in time and that's inflation and gas prices.” - *Tafarrah*

“I feel like this issue has been talked about long enough. Put a special team on it. Make a law, prosecute, and move on. They need to focus on other issues that are out of control.” - *Erica*

### NOT REALLY ABOUT INFLATION OR GAS PRICES

“They aren't a complete waste of time but they are a great distraction for Democrats to make themselves [look like] the good guy while bending us over.” - *Curon*

“It is in the past. it is over. let move on.” - *Wralph*

# JANUARY 6 HEARINGS

## WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR VIEW

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**20%** The Jan 6th hearings are important, but won't help

Our voters who identified with this sentiment feel that those who were involved with January 6th, especially Trump, won't be prosecuted and therefore won't suffer the consequences of their actions.

“Because Trump will somehow not be held accountable, maybe one or two people will be prosecuted. A lot of smoke, minimal action.” - *William*

“Although I believe the hearings are crucial and that people involved should be prosecuted, I have no confidence this will happen. I don't see that Trump or any of his minions have paid any price at all for the crimes they've committed to date. I fully expect that they'll avoid responsibility again.” - *Dawn*

“People like that never get what they deserve or redeem themselves, generally speaking. They get weaker punishments than people who have done far less but didn't have the money/connections to get away with it.” - *Zatima*

“They are important for the public record, and to tarnish the image of the GOP in the minds of persuadable voters, but I see no criminal charges being filed as a result and no accountability.” - *Gary*



# JANUARY 6 HEARINGS

## WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR VIEW

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# 66%

The Jan 6th hearings are a crucial process for protecting democracy. People who break the law should be held accountable, and we need it to never happen again.

When asked to elaborate on this feeling, our voters echoed a similar sentiment, but others wanted to see politicians and those in power held accountable as normal civilians would be – there should be equal justice, and they shouldn't get away with things because they're powerful, white, and rich.

“The people who tried to overturn our government and steal the election from the legitimate winner must be held accountable and punished.” - Ben

“Because everyone else gets prosecuted for the little[st] of things, why not the famous and powerful too? They also need accountability for their actions.” - Anahi

“I feel like if those people looked like me, we would still be cleaning blood off the steps of the Capitol building... All of these people need to be held accountable and the ring leader should go down as well. Not a slap on the wrist. This was terrorism against our democracy.” - Bobby

“If we don't make people who commit these crimes accountable, then it can happen again and again. Then it will become the norm. People will think it's ok to break the law and get away with it just because they are powerful or have money.” - Vilayvanh



# FEELINGS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

***INSIGHTS FROM THE FIELD***

# FEELINGS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

## WE ASKED PARTICIPANTS:

When you think about government, which emotions most strongly align with your feelings towards it? Please select all that apply.



72% of voters said **disappointed**

51% of voters said **disgusted**

49% of voters said **angry**

44% of voters said **confusion**

44% of voters said **sadness**



# FEELINGS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

DISAPPOINTED, DISGUSTED, ANGRY, CONFUSION, SADNESS

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## Not Serving the People

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“I have a healthy respect for government because without it we wouldn't survive as a country. However, I am also disappointed in how our government chooses to govern our country. The best interest of the people is often overlooked for the best interest of whoever can pay the most. The elected officials are typically more concerned with themselves and their families and it often feels like they only care about their constituents when they're getting close to a new election term.” - *Monique*

“Full of corruption and selfish actors who don't serve the people.” - *Helena*

## Can't Stop Fighting & Won't Work Together to Deliver

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“Our current system has resulted in a useless quagmire of stagnation and inactivity where politicians spend more time trying to score points with their base by insulting and attacking the other party than trying to find an actual compromise to address critical issues facing America.” - *Jamie*

“[Our] current government which accomplishes little except infighting is disgusting. Nostalgia is for the old days when both parties, though rarely agreeing on anything, would still work together to work out compromises for the benefit of the people, instead of only answering to their parties.” - *Ben*

## I Respect the Institution, but...

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“I want to respect our government and believe in it. However, each new day brings jaw-dropping events that make me lose my faith in its ability to administer appropriately and fairly. It is horrific to see how low our democracy has sunk.” - *Emily*

“I respect the government yet I get upset about the way it is run and lots of important things don't get done. Issues get discussed forever and never seem to get resolved.” - *Marc*



# CONCEPT TESTING

## **CREATIVE TRACKING**

We asked participants to read and watch a number of political concepts and indicate, in real-time, their emotional response to the concept, and share their thoughts about how they felt about the concept, if they connected with it, and if they'd share it. What follows are the results of those tests.

# WE CAN'T WAIT



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

**YES**

**68%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**32%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

**YES**

**38%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**48%** of participants  
answered NO.

**NOT SURE**

**14%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.

## WE CAN'T WAIT

With a call to action to vote, the We Can't Wait concept asked Americans to build a future for all and pledge to vote.

Reactions to the concept were largely positive, with many indicating that the concept captured the struggle of young people working hard, but not necessarily seeing a return on their labor. The concept inspired significant intentionality to vote and the tone resonated with voters who indicated that while it established a strong contrast against Republicans, it did not “bash them” or “come off negative” like other ads did.

Many of our voters shared that the concept spoke to their concerns highlighting that living wages, education, and healthcare were key issues for them in the upcoming election.

“

*This ad describes the millennial struggle. We have been told so much of our lives that we don't deserve any better, even if we have worked for it. Capitalism has gaslit my generation into chasing unattainable goals and blaming ourselves when things don't go the way we planned.*

*Loved how they introduced everything - it resonated perfectly with me and I'm sure the rest of my generation would feel the same. Using the platform to lay out all of the types of things people connect with without nailing a political party can be inspiring to all types of people.*

*If you don't like the way something is run, be the change to make it better.*

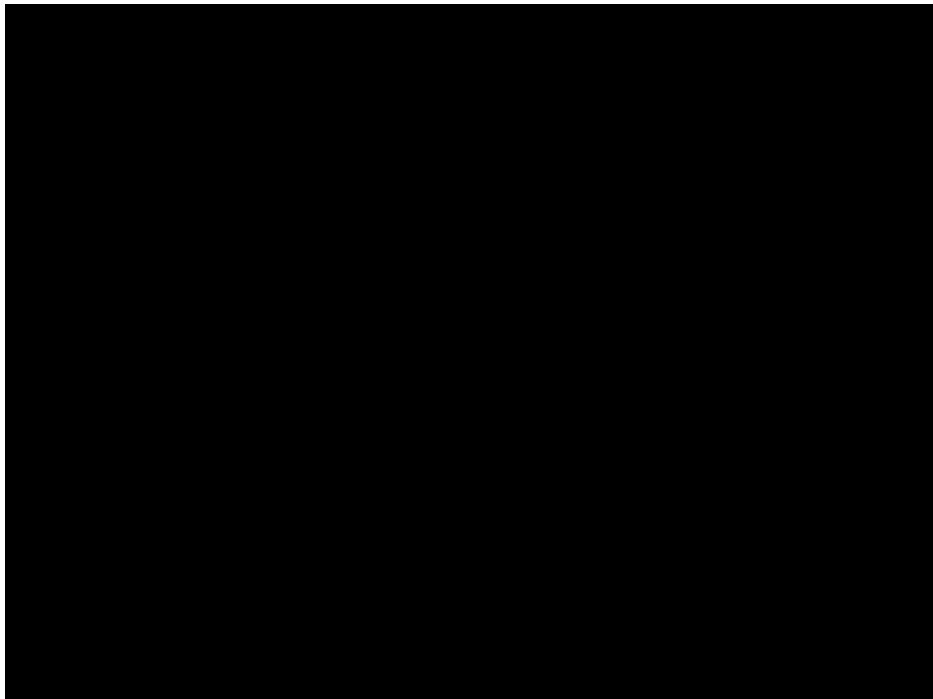
*The ideas and concepts mentioned in this ad should be available to all Americans. Living wages, education, and Healthcare*

*I connect with the idea of building a future for all.*

*I like the concept because it's not being hateful like the others I've seen. I feel like we don't have to give into the hateful ideas of the other political parties and their followers.*

”

# UNITE



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

**YES**

**85%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**15%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

**YES**

**64%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**25%** of participants  
answered NO.

**NOT SURE**

**11%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.



# UNITE

The Unite concept emphasized the need to come together, via choosing to vote, in order to tackle the current issues facing our country.

Widely enjoyed by voters, many saw this ad as a powerful, honest message that inspired hope and motivation to vote. The concept of unity was especially refreshing, given the amount of focus that is usually put on the divisive nature of our country.

In general, the music and the visuals were well received; however, a few noted that the images/videos of Trump and the Confederate flags took away from the positive vibe of the video.

*“This was the best ad so far that I viewed. It was very honest without being depressing. Showing the importance of us to unite and not become apathetic and allow our frustration to lose faith.”*

*“This is everything I would want to see in a campaign. People coming together to “transform what is going on and it takes everyone to participate.”*

*“This is the best commercial so far... tells people WHAT to do, and how to do it and has GREAT photographs of inclusion, and shows the possible devastation if we do NOT get to the polls.”*

*“This was really good except that section from 0:10 to 0:16 with the negative and violent images. They should not be there. It destroys the positive message of this ad. I love the Unite theme. I love the idea of Uniting together to move this nation forward.”*

*“Holy crap, this is the first video that made me truly inspired. I saw myself in it and so many things that matter to and inspire me.”*

## HEROES (FREEDOM TO CHOOSE)



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

**YES**

**72%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**28%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

**YES**

**54%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**35%** of participants  
answered NO.

**NOT SURE**

**11%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.

## HEROES (FREEDOM TO CHOOSE)

The Heroes concept highlighted the work of young people and Ruth Bader Ginsburg in fighting for reproductive freedom and their rights while challenging young people to vote to build their future.

In light of Roe's fall, reactions to the concept were affirming, with voters indicating that they were feeling the sting of Roe and that the concept reminded them of the importance to vote in light of losing their rights.

Many young people in particular indicated how much the concept spoke to their fight, saying that it made them want to fight back, march, speak out, and vote, as stated in the video.

*Having rights taken away for the first time in our history, I am more than motivated to vote and to get people out of office who don't represent us.*

*I would share this with others and be sure to vote. It definitely energized me.*

*As a woman who just lost 50 years' worth of rights, it definitely resonates with me. The imagery of RBG is bittersweet because she is so greatly missed and she was replaced in a most undignified and unethical fashion.*

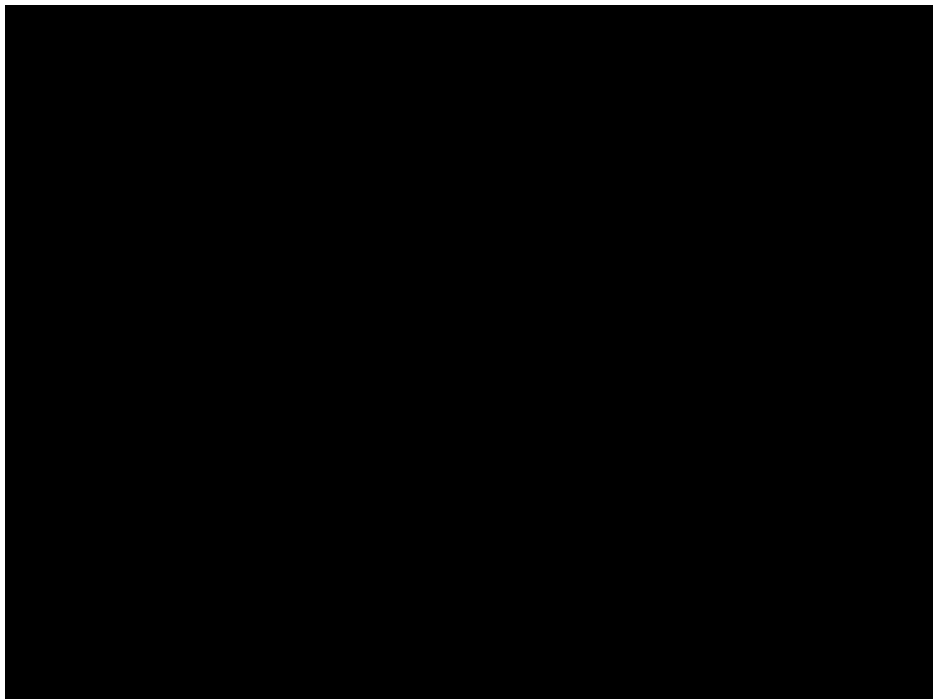
*I like how it's design to capture the younger voter through short clips using almost cartoon like characters.*

*RBG was definitely a HERO who did not need a CAPE!!!!*

*Important message. Along with our heroes in leadership we have to fight back and vote.*

*I feel our rights and decisions as females are being taken away. We need to remind people how much females have help progress this country and how much we need to keep our rights from reverting back or going away.*

## TUNED IN (FREEDOM TO CHOOSE)



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

**YES**

**71%**

of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**29%**

of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

**YES**

**46%**

of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**42%**

of participants  
answered NO.

**NOT SURE**

**12%**

of participants answered  
NOT SURE.



## TUNED IN (FREEDOM TO CHOOSE)

With a focus on women's bodily rights, the Tuned In concept suggests that in order to not let the GOP take control, we need to continue letting our voices be heard by joining together and voting.

The majority of voters connected with this video; however, it elicited a mixed response. Some felt discouraged and apathetic, while others felt hopeful and motivated. It resonated mostly with women who don't want the government to take control of their bodies. To many voters, the serious tone emphasized the importance of this issue and the need to vote.

While most voters support the message of this ad, some felt it was not particularly engaging and that the "negative" start to the video wasn't ideal.

*"This resonate with me because I feel like the government shouldn't be able to control women's bodies and that we have to vote to make a change."*

*"I did connect with it, but i lost interest"*

*"Yes, I connect with the concept because I abhor politicians who abuse their power and take away rights that were meant for the people, especially Roe vs. Wade. As a fellow woman, I need to vote in order to save my abortion rights within my very own state. "*

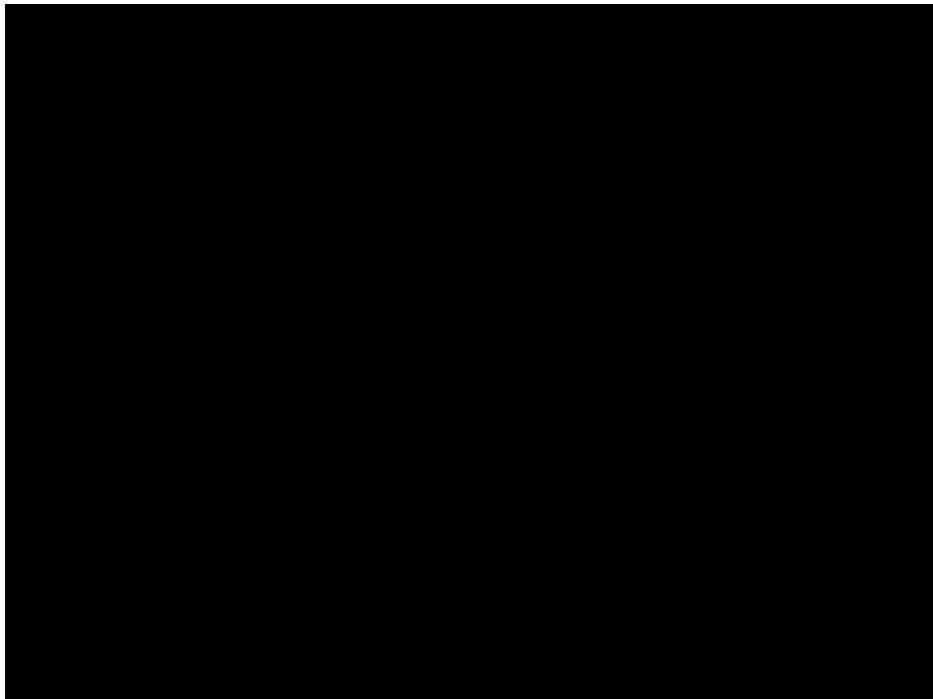
*"This ad has a more serious and somber tone than the others. Imparts the seriousness of what is going on."*

*"The message about going out to vote and how we can change things resonates with me. The first part was really dark, though, so I would have tuned out at that point."*

*"I am a woman, hear me roar. It shows that even though we may be counted out we are not we can make a stand and help make this country better for the future"*

*"I like it encourages people to vote I didn't really like how it started but it rounded out at the end."*

# HOW IT STARTS



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

**YES**

**67%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**33%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

**YES**

**45%** of participants  
answered YES.

**NO**

**43%** of participants  
answered NO.

**NOT SURE**

**12%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.

# HOW IT STARTS

The How It Starts concept showcases that through voting, we can build our future--from adding thousands of clean energy jobs to getting debt-free college and expanded affordable housing.

Most voters viewed this video as optimistic and upbeat. It was unclear to some whether or not the messages being flashed across the screen are goals for the future or are current accomplishments (for the later, voters wanted the statistics to back it up).

The concept of voting to build our future resonated with almost all of the voters. Young voters in particular felt inspired and hopeful after watching this video because they connected with the possibility of free college, affordable housing, and expanded healthcare.

*“I connect with the concept because the message is current, uncomplicated and transparent and directly affects my life.”*

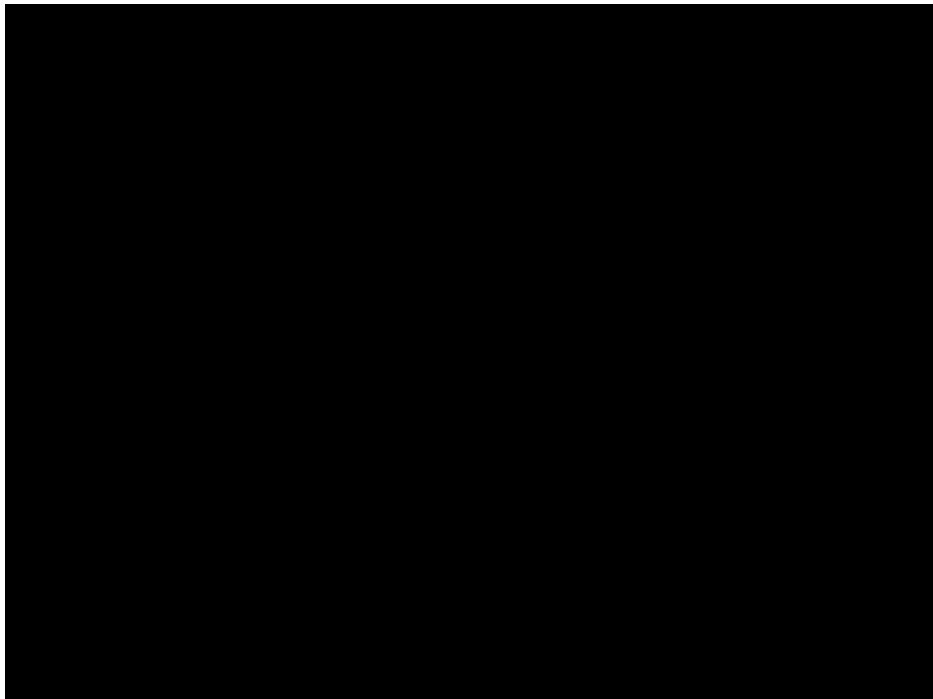
*“It was upbeat and made me want to get up and go vote today.”*

*“I thought it was super energizing and appealing visually. I also loved the words flashing on the screen (I can't remember the order), but everything mentioned were things I found valuable and things that people would likely want to vote for.”*

*“This was beyond excellent. It was basically the perfect ad. It was absolutely brilliant. The images and music were vibrant, upbeat, energetic. The words were hopeful, inspiring. It was pure positivity. This is what every political ad should strive to be.”*

*“I do think it starts with voting. I also think it takes a lot of education. Statistics would have been nice instead of just general statements.”*

# INFRASTRUCTURE



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

YES

**60%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**40%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

YES

**30%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**48%** of participants  
answered NO.

NOT SURE

**22%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.



# INFRASTRUCTURE

In the infrastructure concept, a little girl narrates how Democrats have helped support better access to the internet and the fixing of roads while expressing confusion at Republican opposition to Democrats.

The concept resonated with just over half of our participants who indicated that they found inspiration in the young girl narrating the ad, that they appreciated the infrastructure bill and that it was nice to have a reminder of what the government had and was doing.

Pushback to the ad was largely around execution, with saying they were confused about the message, some saying it only served to highlight that Democrats haven't accomplished enough, and others saying that they didn't feel young people really could speak to these issues accurately or meaningfully.

*“ I love to see the progress and advancement that America continues to make when it comes to the Internet and Infrastructure. “*

*“This makes me want to keep reminding people of all the good policies that Joe Biden and Democrats have accomplished while the opposing party has spent 2 years obsessing over the Big Lie.”*

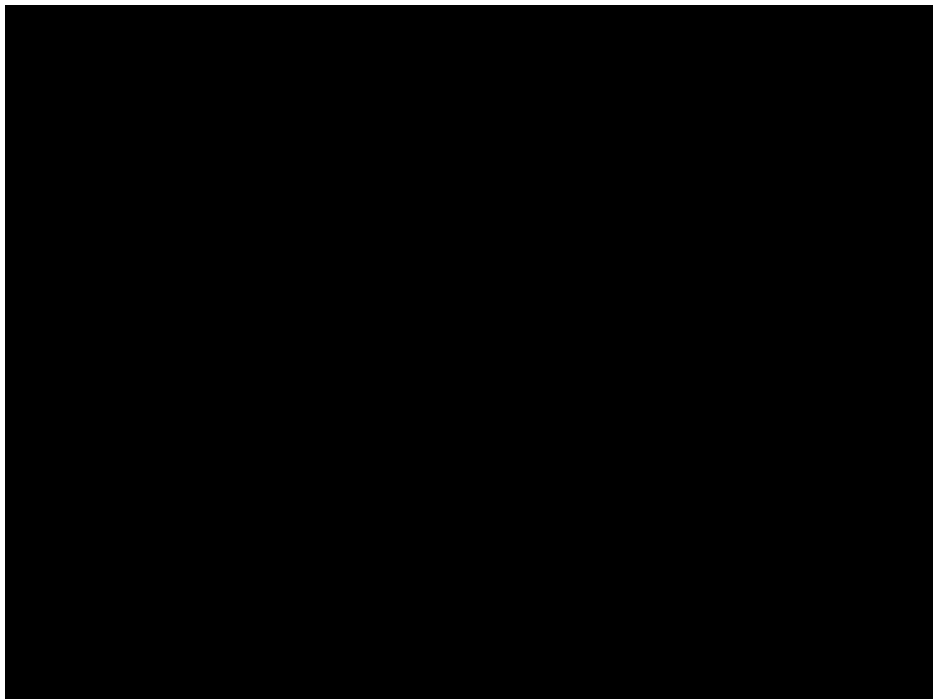
*“It again highlights how crazy the political discourse is at the moment--even kids can see how crazy the adults in office are now.”*

*“It is important to see examples of actual action being taken in campaign videos - infrastructure is the type of change we can count on Democratic leaders to fight for. “*

*“I resonate with it - I love that there is a little girl in the car curious about why Democrats are considered "bad" in the eyes of someone else when they are just doing good for the world and the people.“*

## CONCEPT 2

# WHEN PEOPLE GET FREEDOM



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

YES

**71%**

of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**29%**

of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

YES

**43%**

of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**38%**

of participants  
answered NO.

NOT SURE

**19%**

of participants answered  
NOT SURE.

# WHEN PEOPLE GET FREEDOM

The concept, “When People Get Freedom,” featured Ukrainian fighters, protestors, Jan 6ers and Charlottesville rioters in contrast to each other to illustrate that Democrats are on the side of the fight for freedom.

The concept brought up a surge of feelings, from voters sharing that Jan 6ers should be punished for what they did to a sense of pride and increased desire to vote. The concept seemed to clarify for many what was at stake this fall.

For those who didn’t like the ad, they perceived that the ad only focused on the negative aspects of freedom and felt too negative overall. They wanted to see other expressions of freedom and highlighted concerns that many of the protests featuring Democrats were violent or could be perceived as such.

“The video is impactful. I connect with it because I agree that when your freedom is threatened, you will do whatever it takes to keep it.”

“It is imperative these individuals pay for what they did--always remember:they're proud of this, they aren't sorry, they won't stop and they'll do it again if they aren't stopped by others.”

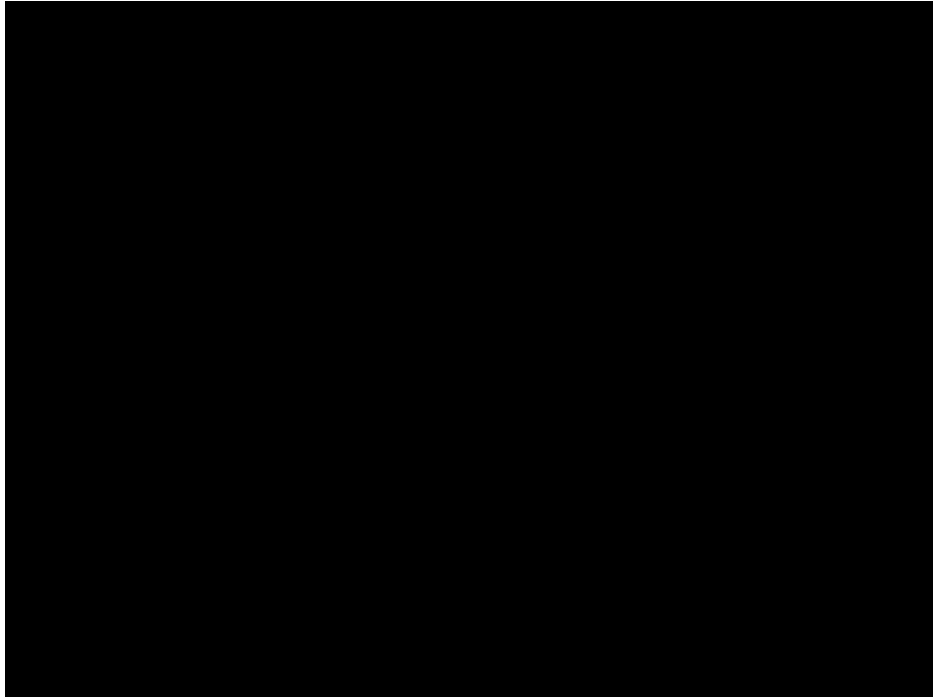
“We've been fighting for freedoms since this country was established. None of which should have ever been stripped to begin with.”

“It is correct. Democracy is on the line this fall.”

“All of the cutscenes gave way to things that I really value - the Ukraine war, BLM, women's rights, etc. The diversity given in both the people and the topics I thought were perfect. I also loved how the words popped in at the perfect times and catered to how each scene went. I found it super inspiring and made me want to volunteer and get into protests again.”

“I like the idea of voting being a fight for freedom, rather than an inconvenience. Voting for my representatives feels like I'm a part of a “fight”.”

# ASO FREEDOM



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

YES

**80%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**20%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

YES

**48%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**32%** of participants  
answered NO.

NOT SURE

**20%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.



# ASO FREEDOM

In the ASO Freedom concept, based off of the Race Class Gender Narrative, viewers were told a story about how people from all backgrounds can align on freedom, but an authoritarian faction is getting in the way of that.

Reactions to the concept were largely positive, with many appreciating the positive future vision, the targeted focus on families, not politicians, and the laser focus on freedom.

That said, to some voters, the middle section appeared disconnected from the positive beginning and ending, some felt concerned about the partisanship raised in the video, while others just wanted more specifics about what the Democrats were actually going to do.

*“It contrasts fascism with freedom. I choose freedom every time, all the time.”*

*“I resonate with this because in order to create change in the world we have to vote for the right people.”*

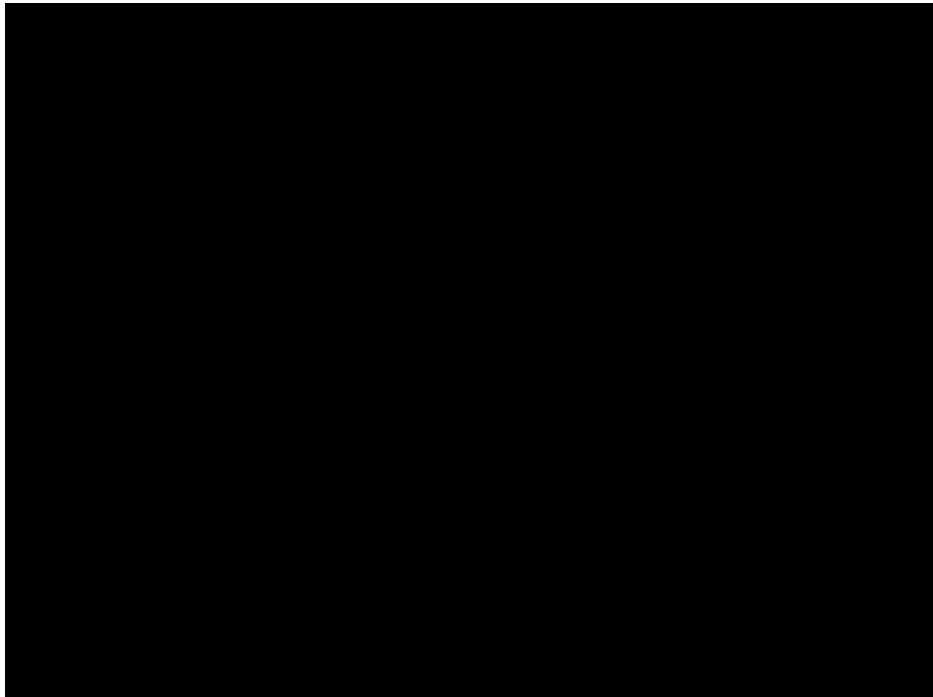
*“I connect with the concept because the ad is more focused on families than the actual candidates. I think all political parties want what's best for their families.”*

*“It makes me feel hopeful that if we are able to win the vote, the future will be different and much better in prospect.”*

*“I thought it was inspiring in that it connected with many of the topics that should be addressed - people's voting rights, reproductive rights, LGBT+ concerns, environmental impact... all of these things are super important and it was nice to see everything represented together.”*

*“I'd rather have something about Americans trying to help each other and as much as I support Ukraine they are not our issue I hope they win but at the same time we need to focus on AMERICA “*

# FF DIFFERENT QUESTIONS



Do you connect with this concept?  
Does it resonate with you?

YES

**65%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**35%** of participants  
answered NO.

Would you share this or repeat this – with friends  
or family, or even on social media channels?

YES

**41%** of participants  
answered YES.

NO

**46%** of participants  
answered NO.

NOT SURE

**13%** of participants answered  
NOT SURE.

# FF DIFFERENT

The FF Different concept acknowledged that while Americans are different, they all share the same identity as Americans. It also talked about how Democrats are working to help everyday Americans by addressing corporate greed and reducing gas prices.

This ad received a majority positive response, with some pushback. A number of voters appreciated the “real and honest” ad, describing that it felt truthful, had “powerful imagery, and reminded them that “Joe Biden cares about the working person.”

At the same time, voters wanted more specifics and shared concerns that Dems really can’t “claim victory on rising prices” as they have been rising, nor can they claim they’ve “protected women’s rights” due to Roe. Furthermore, there were concerns that “bad mouthing Republicans doesn’t bring us closer” to where we want to be.

*“I have mixed emotions. Hope because of Democrats and concerned over Republicans trying to take away what we need.”*

*“I enjoy socializing and working with all different types of people. The more differences, the better. It is important in life.”*

*“I like the softer side of this ad. It's more direct and what President Biden is doing to get us out of the rising gas prices. I can just relate to his ads. It makes me want to go out there and vote to make a change.”*

*“The same old tired tropes that Democrats use to flirt with voters. Again, positioning themselves as not as bad Republicans, but do not actually provide any concrete details about their agenda.”*

*“I LIKE IT BECAUSE THE MESSAGE WAS REAL AND HONEST. WE, AS A PEOPLE NEED THE TRUTH AND NOTHING ELSE.”*

*“I connect with this - I aspire to be wealthy, but I am not anywhere near that yet. I need someone who recognizes the needs of the average working person and works hard to make sure those needs are met.”*

*“I think it is tired and played out to talk about evil corporations. Get specific or don't go there at all. Suggesting that somehow corporations that work hard to build themselves up are the enemy is a path that doesn't fly. NOW, if you want to go after the greed tied to the oil industry, you are going to grab people from both parties in that argument.”*

# THE RESEARCH LEAD



**GRETCHEN BARTON** is the Research Director for Future Majority and Principal at Worthy Strategy Group, LLC. With a special interest in the psychology underpinning behavior change, Gretchen has designed and delivered a number of initiatives in the policy space, including hazing behavior and how to stop it, and most recently, poverty in America for the Gates Foundation.

She has led research and served as a behavioral science strategist for major organizations and campaigns (e.g. the NFL, NextGen, New Moral Majority, Ideas 42, Way to Win and others), uncovering key messaging insights to turn out the youth vote, revealing voters' deepest hopes and dreams for presidential campaigns, and unearthing deep insights for key organizers in the build up to the 2020 election. She recently researched and released "Winning the Future: A Deep Dive into the Unconscious Minds of Voters" in partnership with Wide Angle Research to help understand this strategic moment in American history for the Democratic Party.

Gretchen holds a Bachelor of Science degree in Communications and Planning Campaigns with distinction in research from Cornell University. She has written for the Journal of College Student Development and the American Journal of Health Behavior, and co-authored, "Prevalence and Profiling: Hazing Among College Students and Points of Intervention." She recently co-authored "The Science of Winning with Stories: Using Agency, Urgency, and Community," a reflection on the most effective messaging to engage and move a populace.

For more information and/or to get involved in future work, please email:

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