THIRD WAY

Bipartisan Immigration Deal

Findings from a Survey of Likely Voters in Battleground Congressional Districts

March 2024

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Purpose of Research

- Learn how voters are making decisions on immigration and the border

- Discover strengths and vulnerabilities for candidates supporting the Bipartisan Deal

- Research contrasts that allow Democrats to exploit these advantages and minimize the vulnerabilities

- Find pushbacks to GOP attacks on the plan

- Use Max-Diff analysis to determine stronger and weaker planks and to create classes to segment voters, finding additional ways to view targets and ways to reach them

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Methodology

- LRP designed and administered this survey. It was conducted using text-to-online from February 15 – 22, 2024. The survey reached 1,000 likely general election voters in battleground Congressional districts. It also reached an oversample of 150 Latino/a voters.

- Telephone numbers for the sample were generated from a list of registered voters in battleground Congressional districts based on past turnout history and turnout score. The data were weighted slightly by gender, region, age, race on file, party identification, self-reported 2020 presidential vote, education, support score, turnout score, and vote select.

- Sampling error is +/- 3.1, with a greater sampling error for sub-groups.

Battleground Districts (From Left to Right)				
AK-AL	AZ-01	AZ-02	AZ-06	CA-03
CA-06	CA-09	CA-13	CA-22	CA-27
CA-40	CA-41	CA-45	CA-47	CA-49
CO-03	CO-08	CT-05	FL-09	FL-13
FL-15	FL-27	IA-01	IA-03	IL-17
IN-01	KS-03	MD-06	ME-02	MI-03
MI-07	MI-08	MI-10	MN-02	MT-01
NC-01	NC-06	NC-13	NC-14	NE-02
NH-01	NH-02	NJ-07	NM-02	NV-01
NV-03	NV-04	NY-01	NY-02	NY-03
NY-04	NY-17	NY-18	NY-19	NY-22
OH-01	OH-09	OH-13	OR-04	OR-05
OR-06	PA-01	PA-07	PA-08	PA-10
PA-17	SC-01	TX-15	TX-34	VA-02
VA-07	WA-03	WA-08	WI-03	

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Demographics

Demographics of Likely Voters in Battleground Districts

	Gender File	Gender Ask
Women	— 53%	— 52%
Men	— 47%	— 46%
Nonbinary	— 0%	— 2%

Region

Northeast	24%
Midwest	— 21%
South	20%
West	35%

Race on File

White/Caucasian	— 76%
Hispanic/Latino	— 12%
Black/AA	— 7%
Asian/PI	— 4%
Native American	— 1%

Age

Under 30	— 14%
30-39	— 16%
40-49	— 16%
50-64	— 25%
65+	— 29%

Race Ask

White/Caucasian	— 73%
Hispanic/Latino	— 11%
Black/AA	— 6%
Asian/PI	— 3%
Native American	3%
Middle Eastern/ North African	— 1%
Other/DK	— 6%

Party ID

Democrat	— 41%
Republican	— 39%
Independent/DK	— 11%

2020 Presidential Vote*

Joe Biden	— 49%
Donald Trump	— 47%
Other candidate	— 4%

*Vote among those who chose a candidate

Education

High School or Less	— 12%	55% Non-College Grad
Post-H.S./Some College	— 43%	
Four-Year College Graduate	— 23%	
Post-Graduate	— 21%	

General Election Vote History (2020, 2022)

Voted both	— 60%
Voted '22 only	— 4%
Voted '20 only	— 24%

Key Findings Summary

Summary of Key Findings

1. Democratic Congressional candidates face a well-known and obvious deficit on immigration and the border.

2. Democrats are badly defined, and voters give Republicans the advantage on who brings the greater focus to the problem and who has the better approach.

3. After many years of failed progress (putting aside who is to blame), voter views have hardened, but there is still room for improvement this year.

4. There is good news. Embracing the bipartisan immigration proposal can:
   - Help Democrats close the gap on who has the better approach
   - Hold the base and not antagonize or cross-pressure good Democratic voters
   - Appeal to voters who are open to persuasion
   - Give inroads for holding Republicans accountable for killing the bill and playing politics with such an important issue.

5. This new bipartisan plan that runs counter to how voters tend to see Democrats helps erase deficits on the better approach. The ballot remains close, with familiar appeals still strong. But persuasion voters like the new approach.

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Summary of Key Findings

6. Most of the deal's components receive majority support across partisanship, but the strongest planks deal with security, such as improved border security investments and interrupting the drug supply chain, as well as migrant protections like ensuring migrant children have legal counsel and providing some migrants with work permits.

7. That Democrats are willing to compromise to get something done on border security is also strong, especially as it relates to Republicans killing supported legislation. This is especially true for Latino/a voters, who face some cross-pressure on this issue, and independents, who are looking for solutions.

8. Meanwhile, Democratic base voters are especially focused on good immigration reform, protecting migrants, and taking historic action to pass reforms.

9. Target voters for persuasion, information, and holding Republicans accountable include weaker Democrats, independents, BIPOC voters, younger voters, and voters in the South.

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Voters to Watch

SHIFT TOWARD DEMOCRATS (on ballot or approach):

- Independents (especially women), voters who identify less strongly as Democrats, Latina women, younger voters of color overall, and voters in the South.

DEMOCRATIC LEANERS BUT NOT ON IMMIGRATION (prefer Democrats on the ballot but not approach):

- College graduates, women of color, younger voters of color, independent men, and Democrats by ID and score.

SEARCHERS (undecided on the ballot/no party preference on approach):

- Voters under age 30, Black voters, non-college voters of color, and independents.

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Messaging Recommendations for Base and Swing Targets

Top Components of the Bipartisan Deal

Gives new powers to federal enforcement agencies to **disrupt the opioid and fentanyl supply chains**

Invests **$20 billion in new security and personnel** at the border

Provides guaranteed **legal counsel for all unaccompanied children**

Makes it possible for some migrants to get temporary **work permits so they can support themselves and their families** while waiting for their cases to be heard

Top Messages Supporting the Bipartisan Deal

We need to **fix our broken border**. Nearly every Democrat and Republican agrees we have a problem. The Democrat is **willing to compromise** on some things to **restore order** at the border and help local communities.

This deal is **tough and fair**. If you cross the border unlawfully, there are **consequences**. If you can make your case to stay under U.S. law, you can do so through a system that is **fast, fair, and final**.

This is an important step to **protect migrants and asylum seekers**. This deal will provide humanitarian aid to asylum seekers, ensure cases are processed more quickly, and create **legal pathways so migrants can work and support their families**.

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Recommendations for Framing the Bipartisan Deal

The best way to talk about this bipartisan deal is:

- *Not* saying this is a new path for Democrats. Democratic voters generally don't believe their path has been wrong.

- *Not* saying Democrats put partisanship aside. Voters do not believe that in this highly partisan environment.

- *Instead*, talk about compromising to get things done.

- *Then* go after the Republicans for not taking yes for an answer.

Key Conclusions

- **We know there is a problem. Voters want solutions and compromise.**

- **Own the plan, hold Republicans accountable, and you can close the gap on who has the best approach to immigration and the border.**

- **Security components are most important, followed by caring for migrants, especially children.**

- ***Compromise. Consequences. Care.***

Key Findings in Detail

Democratic Congressional candidates face a well-known and obvious deficit on immigration and the border. Voters give Republicans the advantage on who brings the greater focus to the problem and who has the better approach.

- Currently, 47% of voters believe that Republicans are more focused on immigration reform and border security than Democrats are (net-14 points Republican).

- Similarly, 47% believe that Republicans have a better approach on these issues than Democrats do (net-15 points Republican). Republicans have the advantage here among both Latino/a voters and independents.

- Even Democratic voters tend to give the party less credit for its approach to immigration and the border, with about one in ten voters (12%) choosing the Democratic Congressional candidate but not the Democratic position on immigration.

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Voters' views on the parties and immigration have hardened, but there is still room for improvement this year.

- After voters hear more about Democratic and Republican positions on the border, elements of the bipartisan deal, and Democratic messages in support of the deal, the generic Congressional ballot shifts slightly from net-one point Republican to net-one point Democrat.

- Voters move more when it comes to approaches to the border: the Democratic position on immigration builds 11% in support, reducing the Republican advantage to a near tie.

- This growth comes especially from softer Democrats and independents, as well as key portions of the Latino/a electorate like women and younger Latinos.

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This new bipartisan plan that runs counter to how voters tend to see Democrats helps erase deficits on the better approach. The ballot remains close, with familiar appeals still strong, but persuasion voters like the new approach.

- While the ballot starts and ends in a tie, the gap between the parties shrinks as voters move toward preferring the Democratic approach.

- Both approaches yield similar results on the ballot and in preferred approach overall. The bipartisan counter appeal is strong among base voters and helps bring in more independents and swing voters who are initially less supportive of the Democratic approach to immigration.

- The familiar appeal is somewhat better at consolidating base Democrats, but the bipartisan new approach is needed to bring in independent voters.

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Most of the bipartisan deal's components receive majority support across partisanship, but the strongest planks deal with security and migrant protections.

- The strongest component of the border proposal focuses on disrupting the supply chains of drugs like opioids and fentanyl, which is strongly supported by 67% of Democrats, 56% of independents, and 70% of Republicans.

- Closing the border during emergencies and increasing fundings for border security also have strong bipartisan appeal.

- Other components focused on supporting migrants – providing counsel to unaccompanied children and increasing work permits – are some of the strongest messages among base Democrats, and also appealing to independents and other persuasion voters.

- Tougher border security components like detaining and removing migrants without visas are especially strong with Republicans but are weaker with other voters.

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Voters are most supportive of messaging around Democrats being willing to compromise to get something done on border security. This is especially true for Latino/a voters, who face some cross-pressure on this issue, and independents, who are looking for solutions.

- Seventy-five percent of voters (including 70% of independents, 78% of Latino/a voters, and 76% of Democratic-leaning swing voters who don't initially prefer the Democratic approach on immigration) prioritize compromising across party lines to restore order at the border.

- Independents and Latino/a voters also prioritize taking a tough but fair approach at the border and enforcing consequences (72% and 74% ever choose it as the top statement, respectively).

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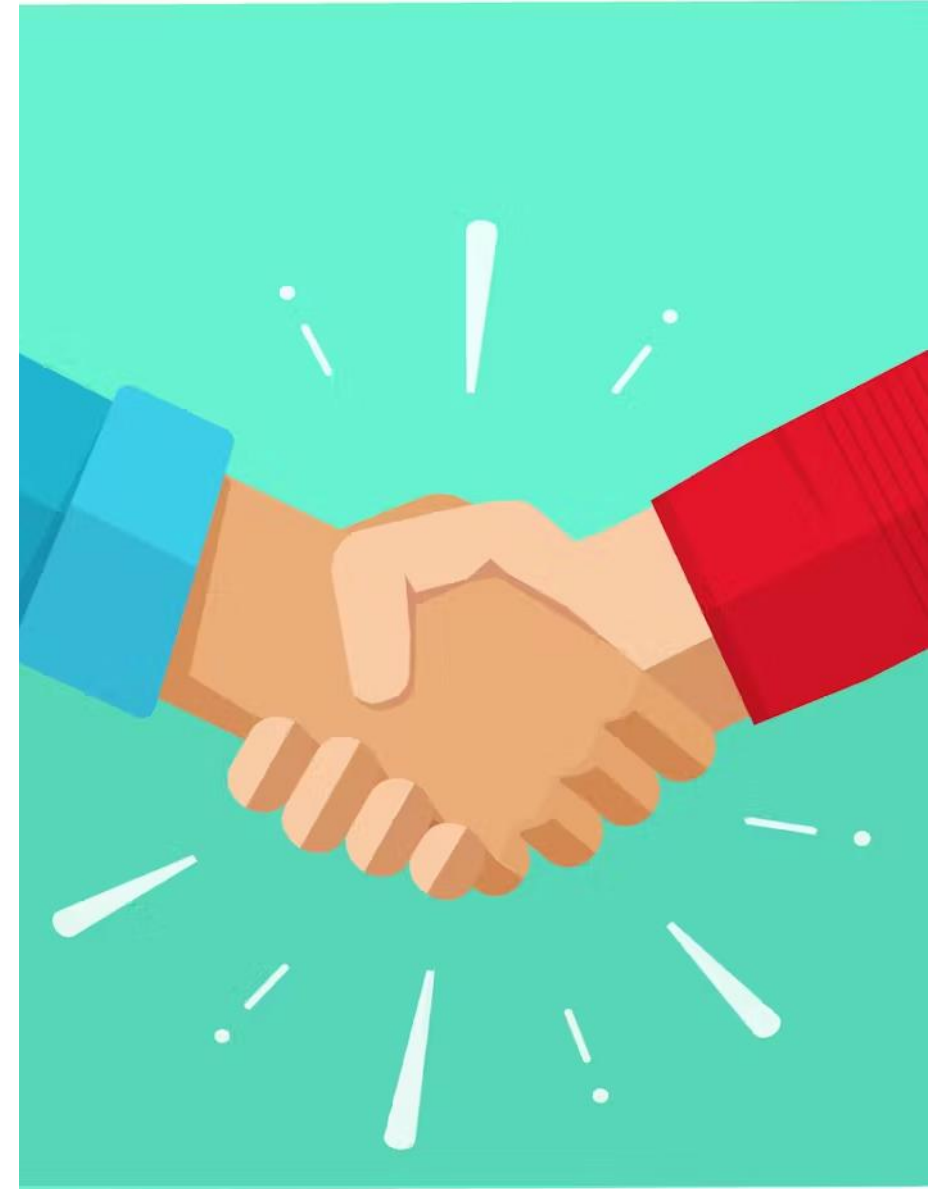
Additionally, Democratic base voters and some swing voters are especially focused on protecting migrants and taking historic action to pass reforms.

- Passing good immigration reform and protecting migrants are the top Democratic messages in support of the proposal among Democrats (80% and 81% ever choose it as the top statement, respectively).

- Similarly, voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after hearing messages and those who vote for the Democrat but do not initially prefer Democratic approaches to immigration are also focused on protecting migrants (85% and 79%, respectively), as well as taking the historic opportunity to get something done (77% and 80%, respectively).

- Protecting migrants is also a top priority for independents (72%).

Embracing the bipartisan immigration proposal can give inroads for holding Republicans accountable for killing the bill and playing politics with such an important issue.

- Fifty-seven percent of voters have strong doubts about Republicans when they hear Republicans are playing politics and refusing to address the problem, while 60% of voters feel the same about Republicans kowtowing to Trump instead of getting anything done.

- Base Democrats respond most strongly against Trump's role in Republican opposition (90% doubts), while independents are more concerned about Republicans playing politics and refusing to address the problem (69% doubts) and may be turned off by messaging focused on Trump (57% doubts).

- And, about a third of Republicans have doubts after hearing either message.
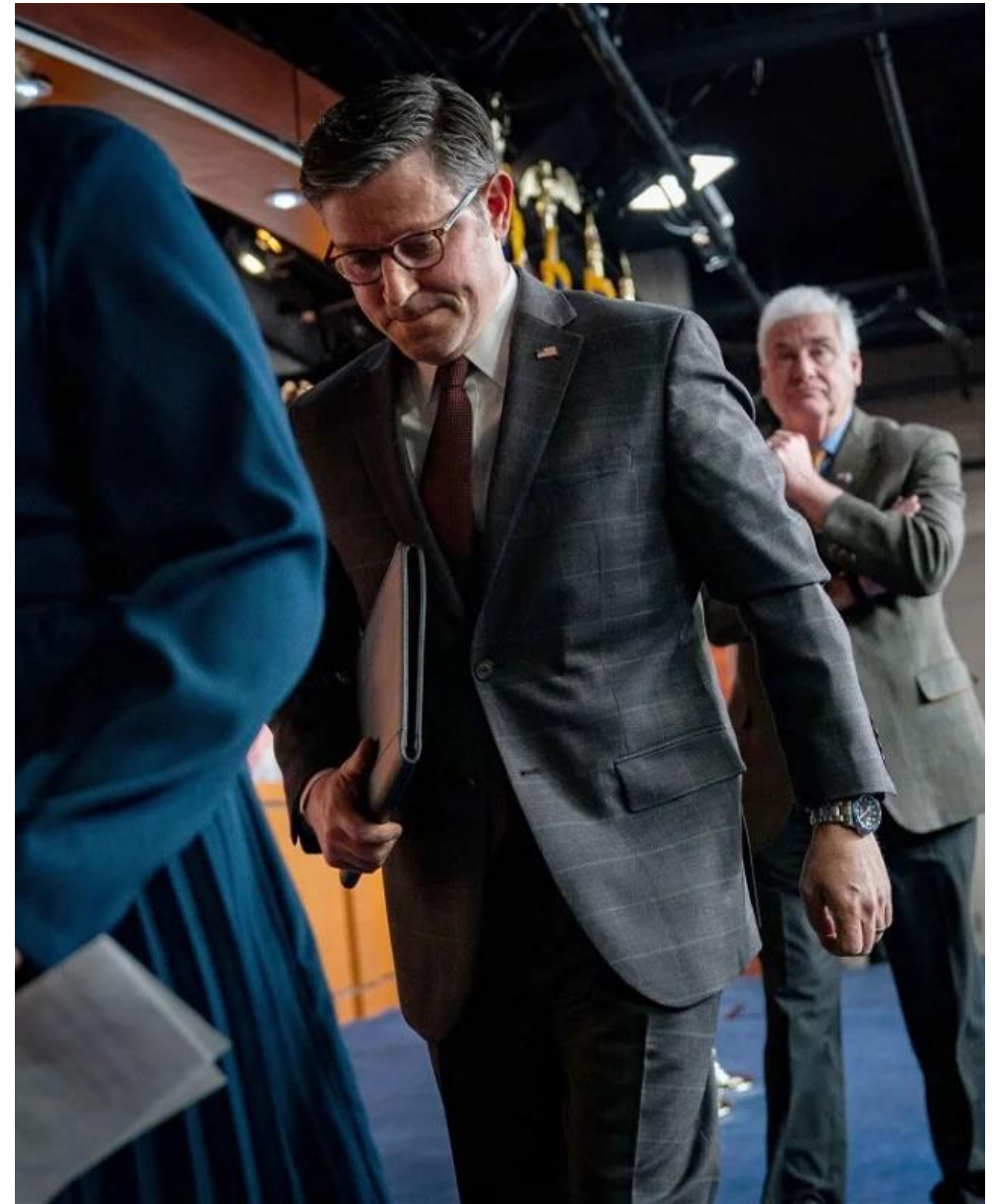
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Target voters for persuasion, information, and holding Republicans accountable include weaker Democrats, independents, BIPOC voters, younger voters, and voters in the South.

- These groups disproportionately make up key target groups, such as voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after messaging, voters who prefer Democratic candidates but not initially the Democratic approach to immigration, and voters who prefer neither party on both the ballot and in approach.

- While some of these voters may be drawn to the Republican approach and others are unhappy with (or unfamiliar with) both parties' approaches, these voters share the priorities of compromising to get things done on border security and enforcing immigration laws fairly.

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The Congressional Ballot

The initial ballot starts off tied, with just six percent of voters saying they are undecided. Republicans do have an advantage in intense support, but this is a split electorate.

Q6/7/8. Q6. If the November 2024 general election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you vote for: _The Democrat _The Republican

Darker colors indicate intensity.

(-1)

	Democrat	Republican	Undecided	Other	Prefer not to answer
Total	42	43	6	4	5
Intense	29	33			

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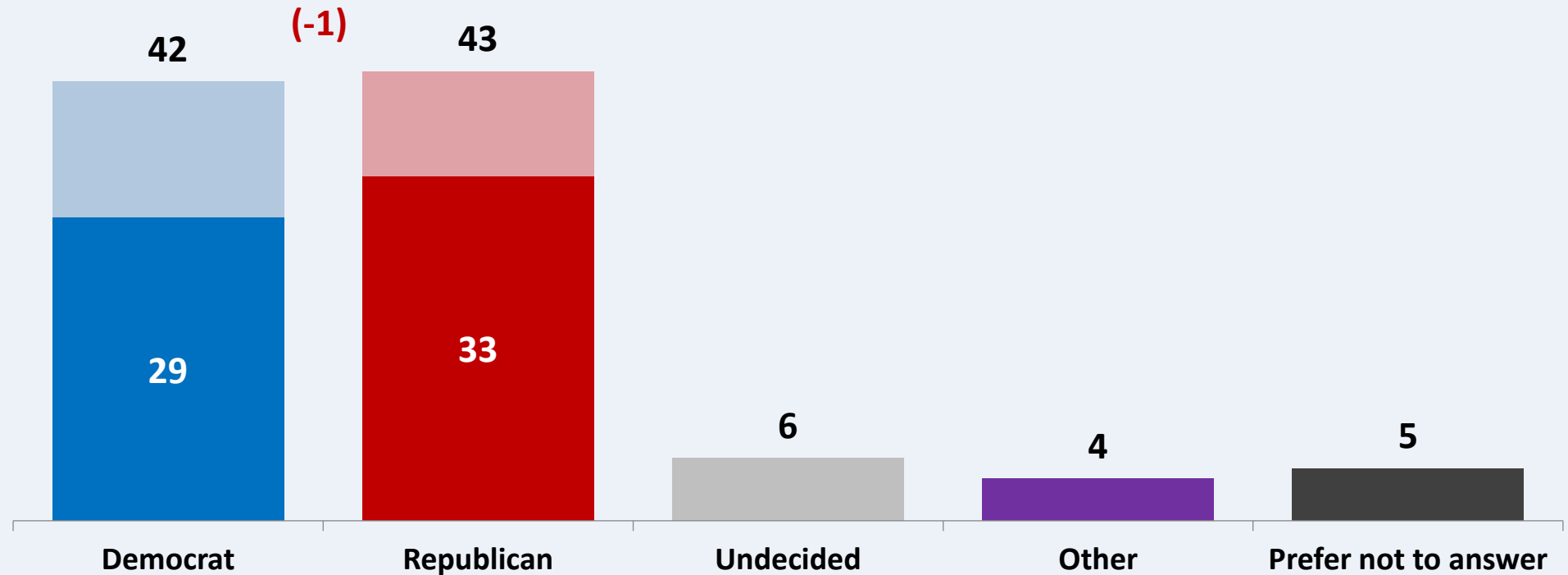
Initial Ballot by Demographics

The Democratic advantage is due almost entirely to women, specifically college graduate women and women under age 50.

	Republican		Democrat		Net	Undec.
Total	43	33	29	42	-1	6
Men <50 (22%)	45	33	23	37	-7	7
Women <50 (23%)	38	27	30	50	+12	6
Men 50+ (24%)	50	40	25	34	-16	6
Women 50+ (29%)	41	33	36	45	+4	6
Non-college men (26%)	53	42	19	28	-24	6
Non-college women (28%)	51	40	25	35	-17	6
College men (20%)	40	28	31	45	+5	6
College women (23%)	26	19	45	64	+38	6
Northeast (24%)	35	27	36	51	+16	7
Midwest (21%)	41	30	29	45	+4	6
South (20%)	47	35	25	37	-10	4
West (35%)	47	39	27	37	-10	8

Darker colors indicate intensity

Initial Ballot by Demographics

	Republican	Democrat	Net	Undec.
Total	43 — 33	29 — 42	-1	6
Democrat (41%)	3	65 — 92	+88	2
Independent/DK (11%)	20 — 11	11 — 17	-3	**40**
Republican (39%)	93 — 74	3	-90	2
White non-GOP (41%)	10 — 5	51 — 72	+63	8
Dem men (16%)	5	61 — 87	+83	4
Dem women (24%)	2	69 — 95	+93	1
Indep/DK men (5%)	20 — 14	14 — 20	-/-	**27**
Indep/DK women (5%)	22 — 8	9 — 15	-7	**50**
Republican men (20%)	93 — 74	2	-92	2
Republican women (18%)	93 — 74	3	-89	1
Support score 70+ (44%)	21 — 14	45 — 65	+44	6
Support score 30-69 (17%)	40 — 28	25 — 38	-3	10
Support score <30 (39%)	69 — 57	13 — 19	-50	6

The partisans are locked in, and Republicans are much more intense.

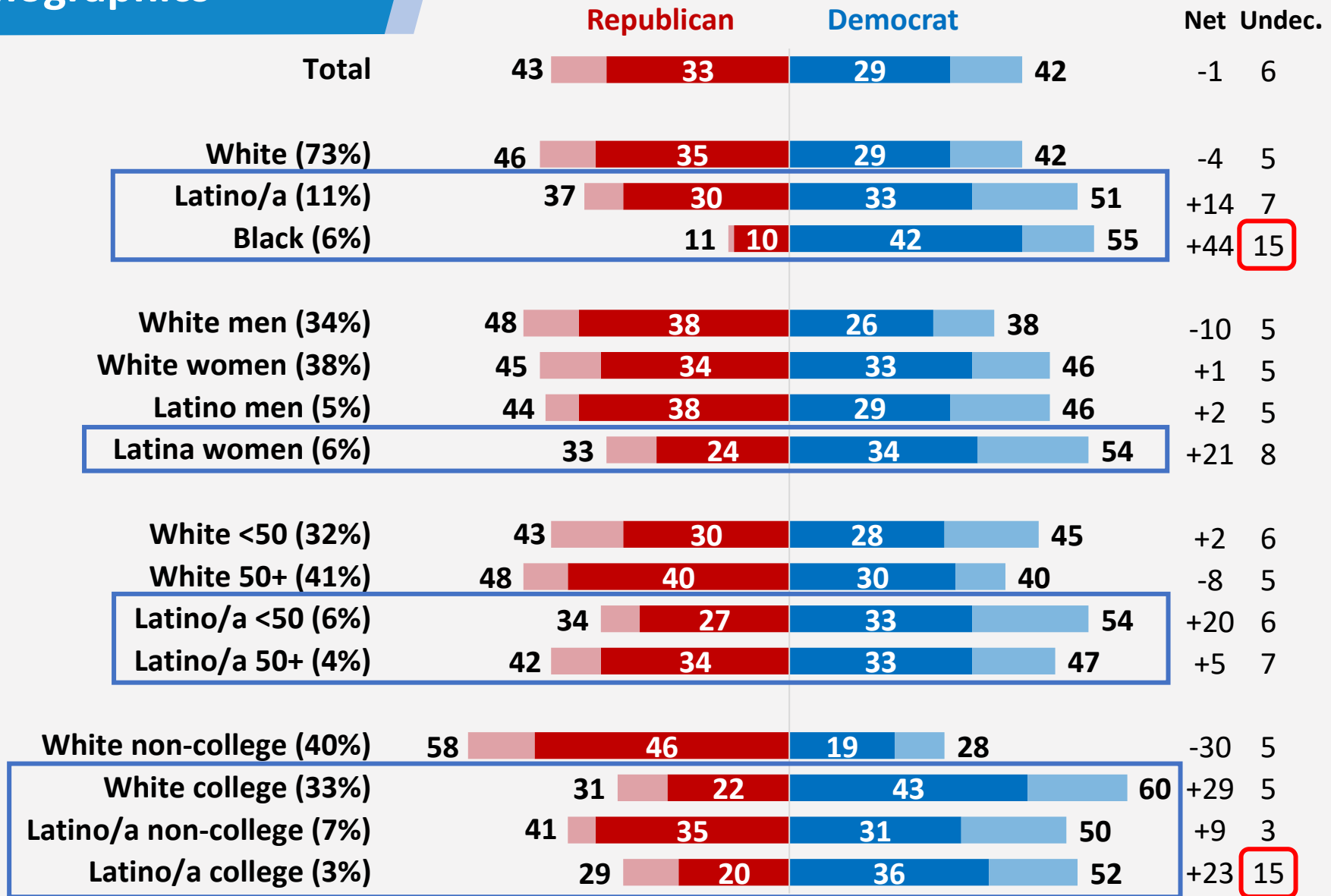**Scored independents are split on the ballot.**
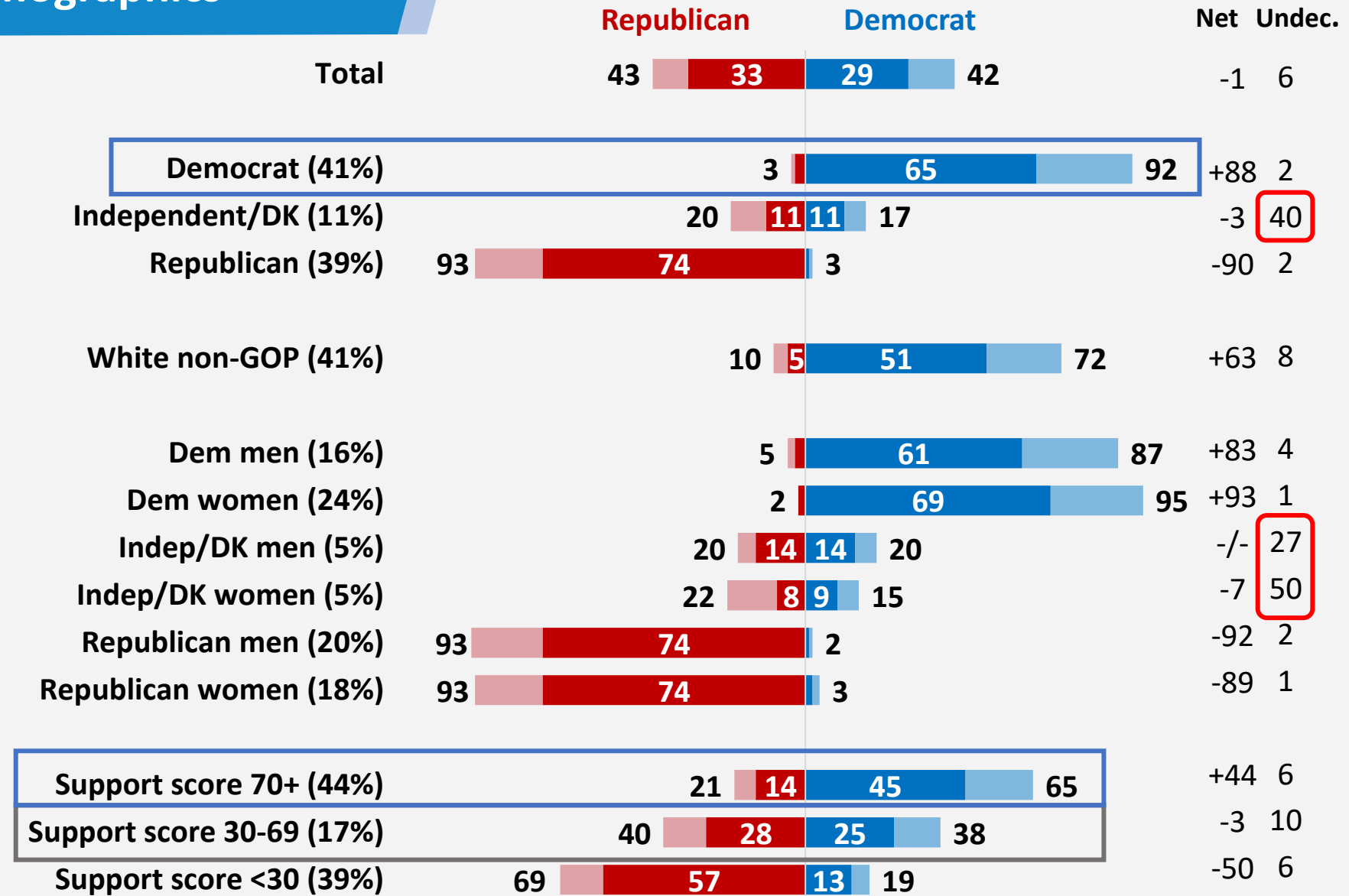
Darker colors indicate intensity

Initial Ballot by Demographics

Black voters are much more undecided than voters overall.

Latino/a voters lean toward the Democrat.

White non-college voters are solidly Republican.

	Republican	Democrat	Net	Undec.
Total	43 / 33	29 / 42	-1	6
White (73%)	46 / 35	29 / 42	-4	5
Latino/a (11%)	37 / 30	33 / 51	+14	7
Black (6%)	11 / 10	42 / 55	+44	15
White men (34%)	48 / 38	26 / 38	-10	5
White women (38%)	45 / 34	33 / 46	+1	5
Latino men (5%)	44 / 38	29 / 46	+2	5
Latina women (6%)	33 / 24	34 / 54	+21	8
White <50 (32%)	43 / 30	28 / 45	+2	6
White 50+ (41%)	48 / 40	30 / 40	-8	5
Latino/a <50 (6%)	34 / 27	33 / 54	+20	6
Latino/a 50+ (4%)	42 / 34	33 / 47	+5	7
White non-college (40%)	58 / 46	19 / 28	-30	5
White college (33%)	31 / 22	43 / 60	+29	5
Latino/a non-college (7%)	41 / 35	31 / 50	+9	3
Latino/a college (3%)	29 / 20	36 / 52	+23	15

Darker colors indicate intensity

Initial Congressional Ballot Bases

Base Democratic voters include younger women, college educated women, Black voters, Latino/a voters, white college graduates, voters in the Northeast, and more frequent voters.

Base Republican voters include older men, non-college voters (especially white non-college voters), men in the South and West, and 2020-only voters.

Undecided voters disproportionately include independents, voters under age 30, Black voters, and Latino/a college graduates.

Democrat (42%)			
Women	47	People of color college	50
Age 40-49	56	White college	60
Women <50	50	Democrat ID	92
College grad	55	Northeast	51
College women	64	Northeast women	58
Black voters	55	Midwest women	48
Latino/a voters	51	Midwest <50	47
Women of color	54	Voted both '20 and '22	48
White women	46	Support score 70+	65
People of color <50	47	Turnout score 70+	46

Republican (43%)			
Men	47	West	47
Under age 30	47	South men	51
Men 50+	50	West men	51
Non-college	52	South 50+	48
White men	48	West under age 50	49
White age 50+	48	Voted '20 only	49
White non-college	58	Support score <30	69
Republican ID	93	Turnout score 30-69	48
South	47		

Undecided (6%)	
Under age 30	10
Black voters	15
Men of color	10
People of color age 50+	12
People of color non-college	10
Latino/a college	15
Independent/DK ID	40
Support score 30-69	10

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What We Learned About the Congressional Ballot
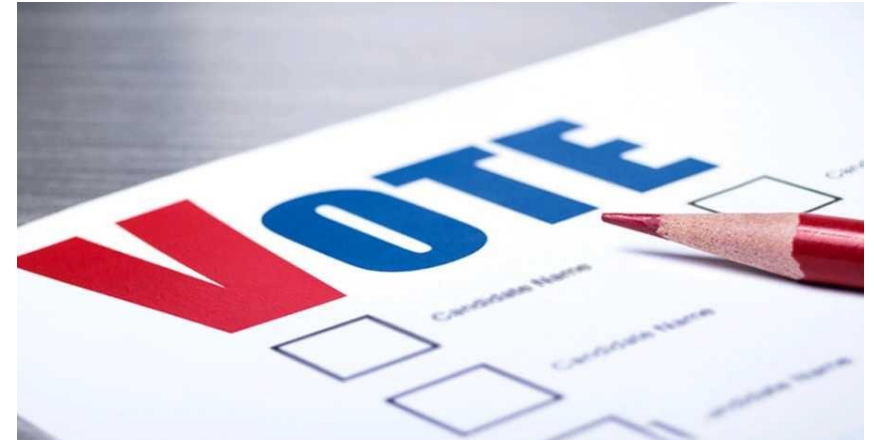
1. The generic ballot starts in a statistical tie, with Republicans leading in intensity.

2. Younger women, college educated women, and voters of color bolster the Democratic base of support.

3. Independents, Black voters, college educated Latino/a voters, and voters under age 30 are disproportionately undecided.

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Voter Attitudes Toward Party Approaches on the Border and Immigration

Voters tend to believe that Republicans are more focused than Democrats are on immigration and the border. This holds true for independents and Latinos/as, though over a third of independents believe that neither party is more focused on these issues.

	Dem	GOP	Neither
Democrat	_69_	12	14
Independent/DK	22	32	_34_
Republican	2	_87_	9
Support score 70+	_51_	28	15
Support score 30-69	27	42	_23_
Support score <30	15	_69_	12
White voters	34	49	13
Latino/a voters	36	42	15

Q10. And which party do you think is more focused on passing laws to reform immigration and secure the border?

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Democrat	Republican	Neither	Both equally	Can't answer
33 (23) (-14)	47 (38)	15	2	3

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Republicans clearly have an advantage when it comes to immigration and border issues, though a sizeable portion of the electorate believe that neither party has a good approach.

Q9. Regardless of which party you usually support, which political party has the better approach to immigration and the border?
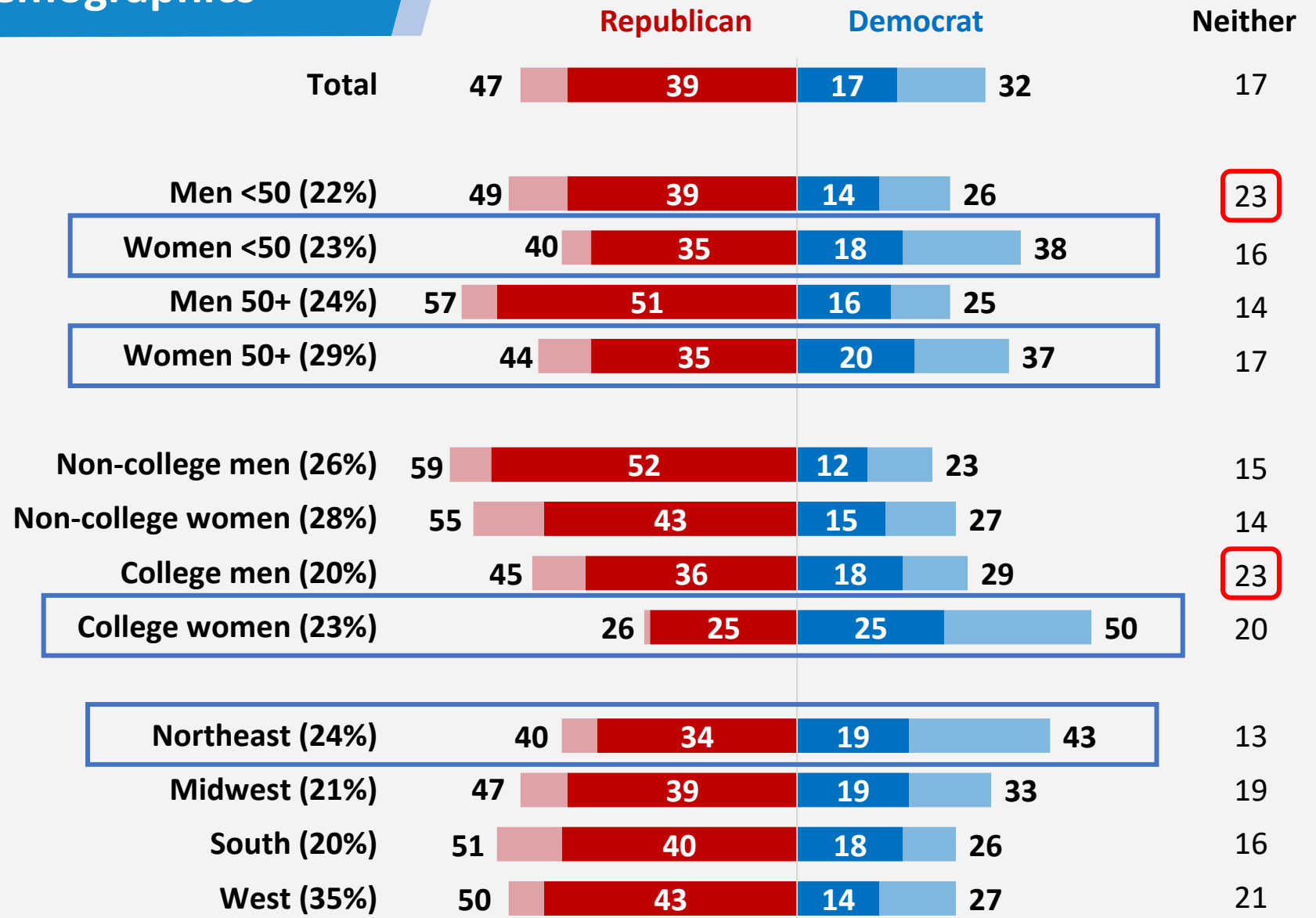
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(-15)

Democratic Party	Republican Party	Neither	Can't answer
32	47	17	4
17	39		

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Better Approach by Demographics

Republican   **Democrat**   **Neither**
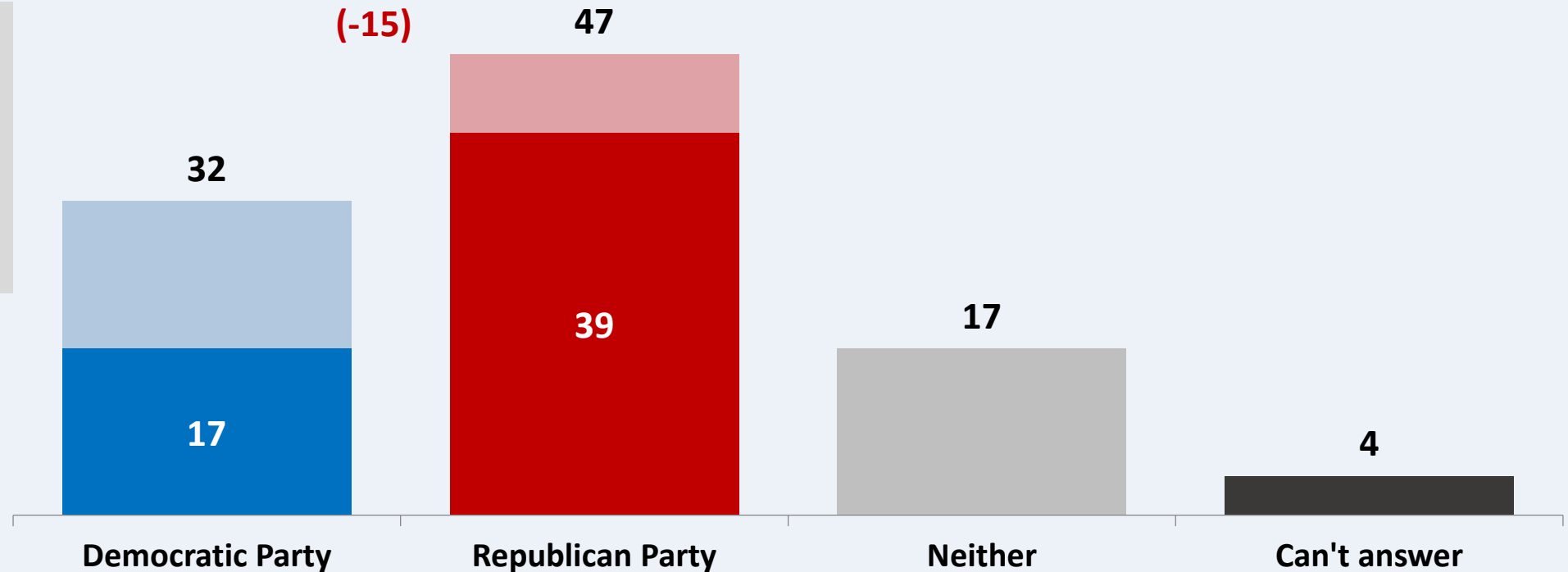
Similarly to the Congressional ballot, women (especially college educated women) and voters in the Northeast are part of the Democratic base. However, even many base supporters of the Democratic approach are split or lean towards Republicans on this issue.

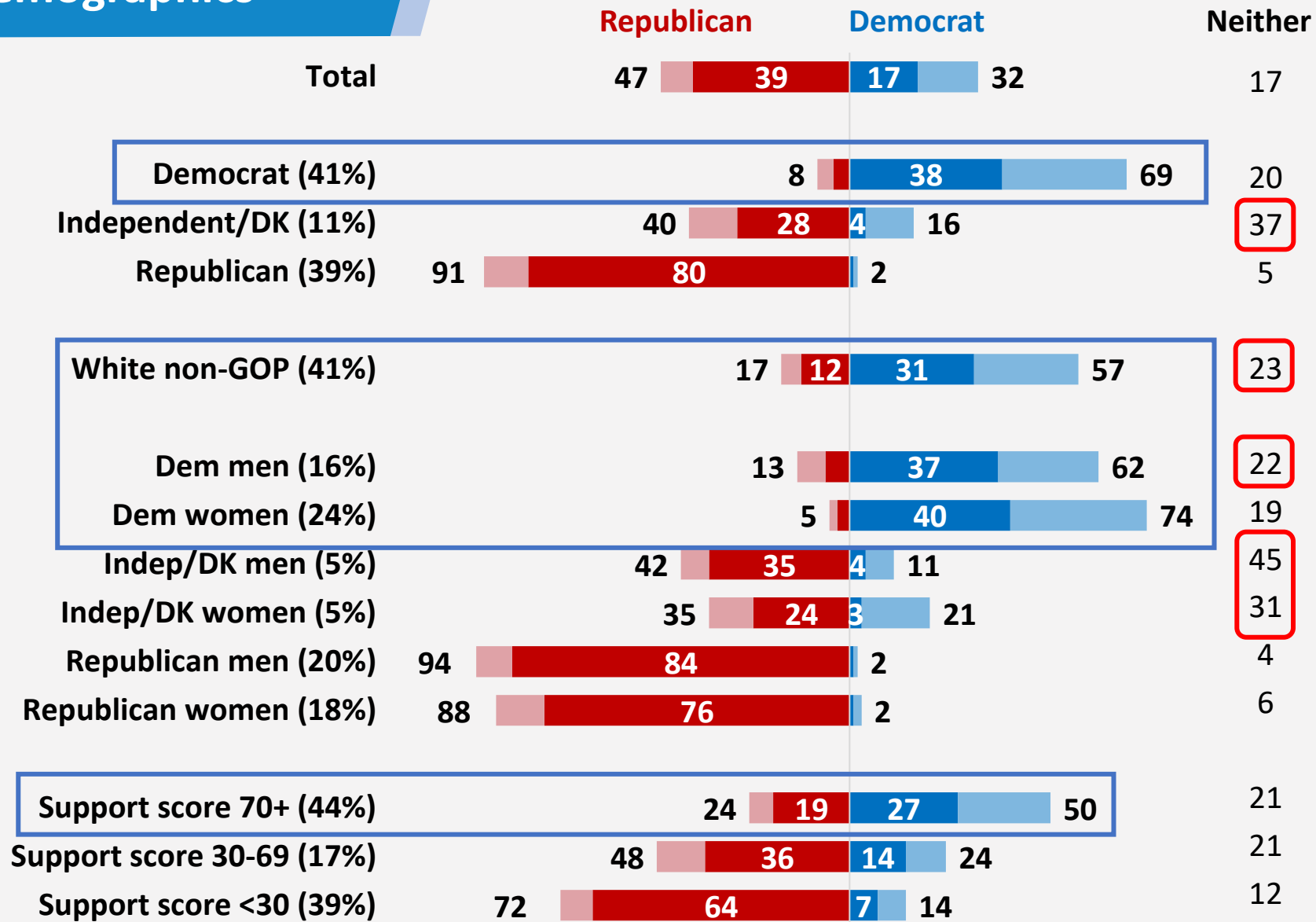Younger men and college educated men are more likely to say that neither party has a good approach.

	Republican	Democrat	Neither
Total	47 — 39	17 — 32	17
Men <50 (22%)	49 — 39	14 — 26	23
Women <50 (23%)	40 — 35	18 — 38	16
Men 50+ (24%)	57 — 51	16 — 25	14
Women 50+ (29%)	44 — 35	20 — 37	17
Non-college men (26%)	59 — 52	12 — 23	15
Non-college women (28%)	55 — 43	15 — 27	14
College men (20%)	45 — 36	18 — 29	23
College women (23%)	26 — 25	25 — 50	20
Northeast (24%)	40 — 34	19 — 43	13
Midwest (21%)	47 — 39	19 — 33	19
South (20%)	51 — 40	18 — 26	16
West (35%)	50 — 43	14 — 27	21

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Better Approach by Demographics

Democrats are not nearly as consolidated in support of the Democratic approach to immigration and the border as they are around supporting the Democrat for Congress – nor do they match the levels of Republican consolidation on this issue.

Democratic men and independents disproportionately believe that neither party has a good approach.
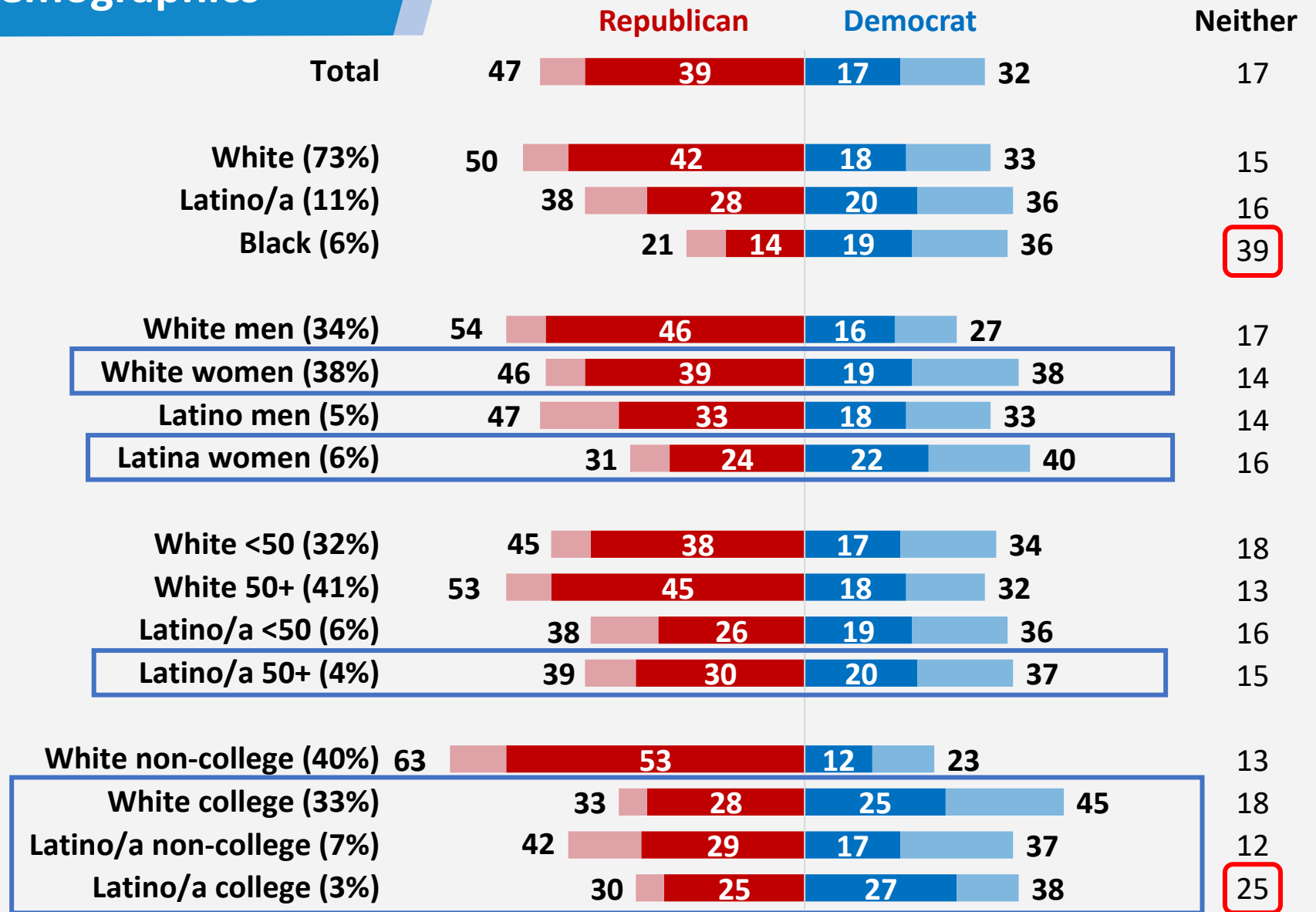
	Republican	Democrat	Neither
Total	47 / 39	17 / 32	17
Democrat (41%)	8	38 / 69	20
Independent/DK (11%)	40 / 28	4 / 16	37
Republican (39%)	91 / 80	2	5
White non-GOP (41%)	17 / 12	31 / 57	23
Dem men (16%)	13	37 / 62	22
Dem women (24%)	5	40 / 74	19
Indep/DK men (5%)	42 / 35	4 / 11	45
Indep/DK women (5%)	35 / 24	3 / 21	31
Republican men (20%)	94 / 84	2	4
Republican women (18%)	88 / 76	2	6
Support score 70+ (44%)	24 / 19	27 / 50	21
Support score 30-69 (17%)	48 / 36	14 / 24	21
Support score <30 (39%)	72 / 64	7 / 14	12

Darker colors indicate intensity

Better Approach Bases

Women, college graduates, voters of color, and Democrats by ID and score make up the base of support for the Democratic approach.

Older men, non-college voters, and Republicans by ID and score make up the base of support for the Republican approach.

Younger men, college graduates (especially Latinos/as), independents, and some Democrats disproportionately say that neither party has a better approach to immigration and the border.

Democratic Party (32%)

Women	37	Latina women	40
Age 40-49	41	White college	45
College grad	40	Democrat ID	69
College women	50	Northeast	43
Black voters	36	Northeast women	51
Latino/a voters	36	Midwest women	38
Women of color	37	Voted both '20 and '22	37
White women	38	Support score 70+	50

Republican Party (47%)

Men	53	South	51
Age 30-39	51	South men	63
Age 65+	51	West men	55
Men 50+	57	Midwest 50+	51
Non-college	57	South 50+	52
White men	54	DNV '22	54
White 50+	53	Support score <30	72
White non-college	63	Turnout score 30-69	52
Republican ID	91		

Neither (17%)

Age 40-49	24	Democratic men	22
Men <50	23	Democrat <50	21
College grad	21	West	21
College men	23	Midwest men	23
Black voters	39	Midwest <50	23
Women of color	24	Voted '20 only	21
Latino/a college	25	Support score 70+	21
Independent/DK ID	37	Support score 30-69	21
Weak Democrat ID	30		

- **Looking at Congressional vote and better approach on the border together, Democrats' base voters – who vote for Democrats and believe Democrats have the better approach on the border without yet hearing any messaging in the survey – include college educated women, Black voters, Latino/a voters, more regular voters, and Democrats by ID and score.**

Vote Dem, Dem Better Approach (30%)			
Women	37	White college	44
Age 40-49	38	Democrat ID	68
College grad	39	Northeast	42
College women	49	Northeast women	49
Black voters	34	Midwest women	38
Latino/a voters	35	Voted both '20 and '22	36
Women of color	37	Support score 70+	48
White women	37	Turnout score 70+	34
Latina women	39		

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Comparing the Congressional Ballot and Approach

Net-Democrat	Congressional Ballot	Approach to Imm. and the Border
Total	-1	-15
Men <50	-7	-23
Women <50	+12	-1
Men 50+	-16	-31
Women 50+	+4	-7
Democrat	+88	+61
Independent/DK	-3	-24
Republican	-90	-89
Support score 70+	+44	+26
Support score 30-69	-3	-24
Support score <30	-50	-58
White voters	-4	-17
Latino/a voters	+14	-2

- **That said, there is a 14-point gap between the generic ballot and the approach on immigration.**

- **About one in ten voters (12%) vote Democratic but do not prefer Democrats' position on immigration.**

- **Younger voters and Latinos vote for the Democrat but show a deficit on which party has the best approach.**

- **White voters and independents divide on the ballot but clearly prefer the Republican approach on immigration.**

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- **In total, about a fifth of voters either vote Democrat but do not prefer Democrats' approach or have no party preference in the ballot or on this issue.**

- **The Democratic leaners are disproportionately younger people of color with college degrees, as well as white voters with college degrees.**

- **The double-undecideds are very young, also people of color, and independents.**

Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach (12%)			
Age 40-49	18	People of color college	21
College grad	16	White college	16
College men	18	Democrat ID	24
Black voters	21	Independent/DK men	16
Latino/a voters	16	Midwest men	18
Women of color	17	South <50	16
People of color <50	16	Support score 70+	17
Latino/a <50	18		

No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better (9%)			
Under age 30	13	People of color non-college	16
People of color	14	Independent/DK ID	35
Black voters	22	Support score 30-69	15
Women of color	15		

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What We Learned About Voter Attitudes Toward Party Approaches on the Border and Immigration
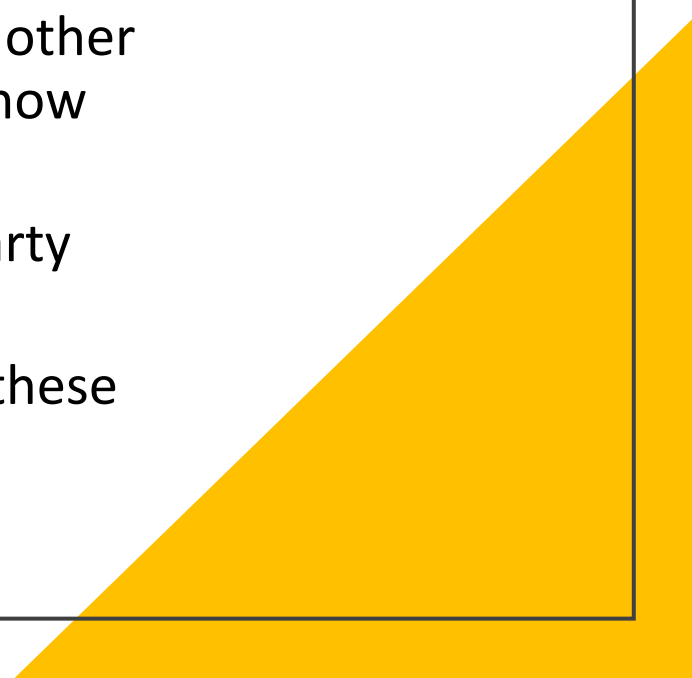
1. Republicans have an advantage in both focus and approach when it comes to border security and immigration.

2. Voters who believe that Democrats have a better approach disproportionately include women, college graduates, voters of color, and Democrats by ID and score. Younger men, college graduates (especially Latinos/as), independents, and weaker Democrats disproportionately believe that neither party has a better approach – even as some of these groups tend to vote for Democrats on the ballot.

3. There is a gap between the generic ballot and the approach on immigration, with even Democratic voters giving their party less credit for their approach to immigration.

4. A portion of voters either vote Democrat but do not prefer Democrats' approach to immigration (primarily younger voters of color and college graduates) or have no party preference in the ballot or on this issue (namely independents, voters under age 30, and voters of color). These voters should be targets for communications.

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Movement After Introducing and Defining the Bipartisan Deal

The Experiment: Partisan Appeals

- In this survey, every voter heard a Republican appeal on immigration. Respondents were split and half heard a more familiar and typical Democratic appeal on immigration. The other half heard a counter plan describing the bipartisan bill and how Democrats embraced it.

- Voters were re-asked the Congressional ballot and which party they preferred on immigration and the border approaches.

- Then two message batteries followed with a final re-ask of these two questions.

Q11. SSC [COUNTER PLAN APPEAL]: The Democrat says our immigration system is broken, and we need to restore order at the border now. They support the tough and fair bipartisan border deal that would give the President emergency powers to shut down the border when it is overwhelmed, surge $20 billion for border security personnel and impacted communities, and make asylum decisions fast, fair, and final. Those who meet the new higher threshold are admitted with permission to work; those who don't are removed. It is time to put politics aside and address the chaos at the border now.

Q12. SSD [FAMILIAR APPEAL]: The Democrat says our immigration system is broken, and we need to do more to fix it. Immigrants contribute to our economy, our communities, and our country. Dreamers who have only ever known America as home deserve to stay, and those migrants with legitimate asylum cases who fear being harmed at home deserve to have their cases heard. We can fix the broken immigration system, protect Dreamers, give migrant workers a legal path to staying in the U.S., and help our local communities without harmful changes that scapegoat immigrants and violate international law.

Q13. [REPUBLICAN APPEAL]: The Republican says we need to stop the flow of dangerous illegal immigrants once and for all. The constant flow of immigrants brings more drugs and violent crime into our communities. The surge of migrants puts too much pressure on our local communities, from law enforcement to support systems like hospitals, food banks, and shelters, and it keeps us from investing in priorities like schools and roads. Any real reform starts with closing the border – even one illegal crossing is too many, and we need to stop incentivizing illegal immigration by letting everyone in.
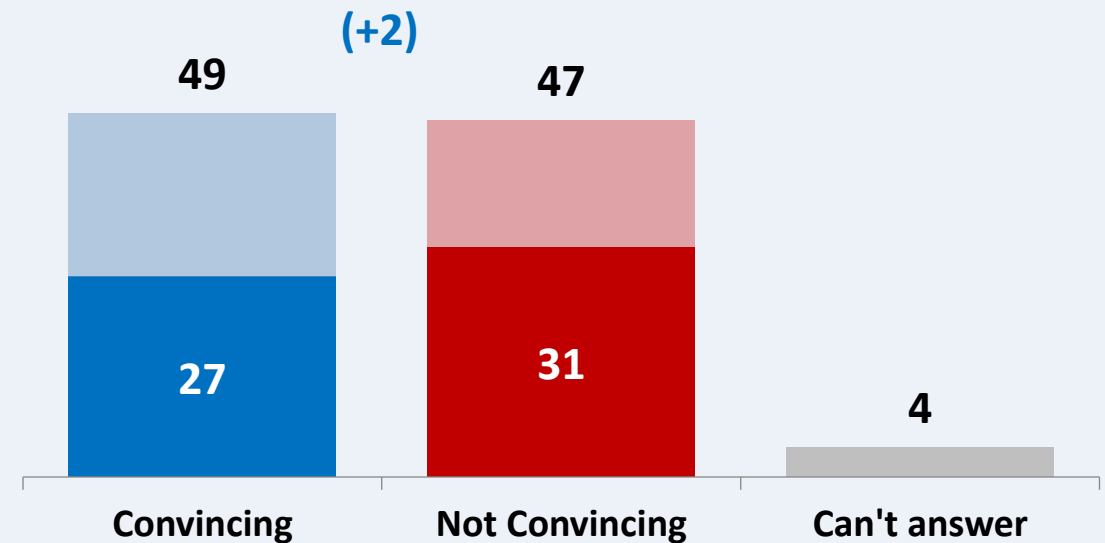
Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not too convincing, or not at all convincing reason to support the Democratic/Republican candidate?

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Both Democratic messages perform similarly, though the more familiar appeal better consolidates some base voters. However, it does not directly convince swing independents any more than the counter plan does.


SSC: Bipartisan Counter Plan Appeal
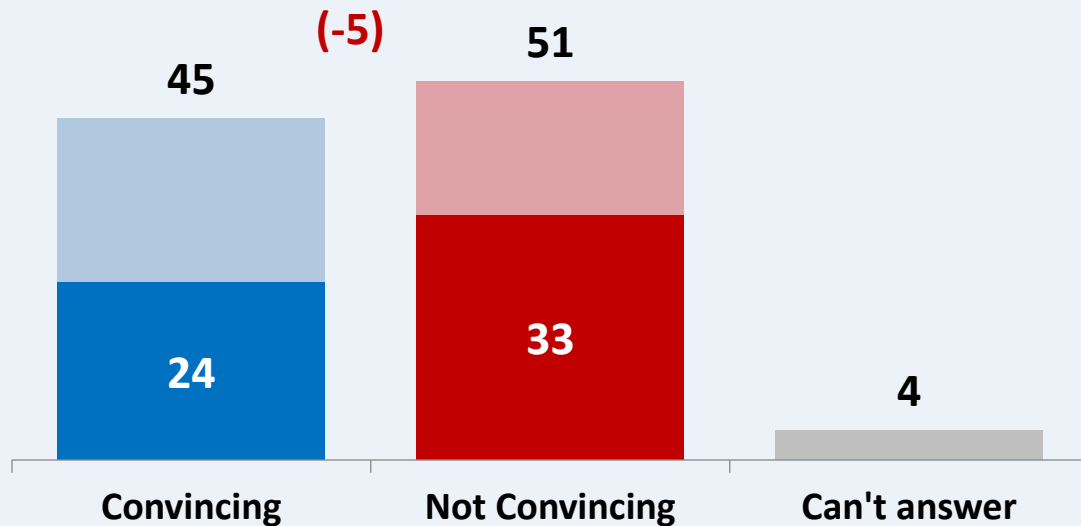
Convincing	Not Convincing	Can't answer
45 **(-5)**	51	4
24	33	

SSD: Familiar Democratic Appeal

Convincing	Not Convincing	Can't answer
49 **(+2)**	47	4
27	31	

Darker colors indicate intensity

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Democratic Appeals

- **The bipartisan appeal and the familiar Democratic appeal are equally convincing to independents, though the more familiar appeal better consolidates base voters like younger voters, Latino/a voters, and Democrats.**

% Convincing	Bipartisan Counter	Familiar Democratic
Men <50	40	_53_
Women <50	44	_52_
Men 50+	_46_	39
Women 50+	49	51
Democrat	80	_88_
Independent/DK	53	54
Republican	12	11
Support score 70+	62	_69_
Support score 30-69	47	45
Support score <30	26	28
White voters	48	49
Latino/a voters	50	_57_
Shift toward Dem. Approach	51	_63_
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	75	_85_
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	40	_45_

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The Republican message about immigration and the border is convincing to over half of voters, including 43% of Latinos/as and 59% of independents.

Q13. Republican Appeal
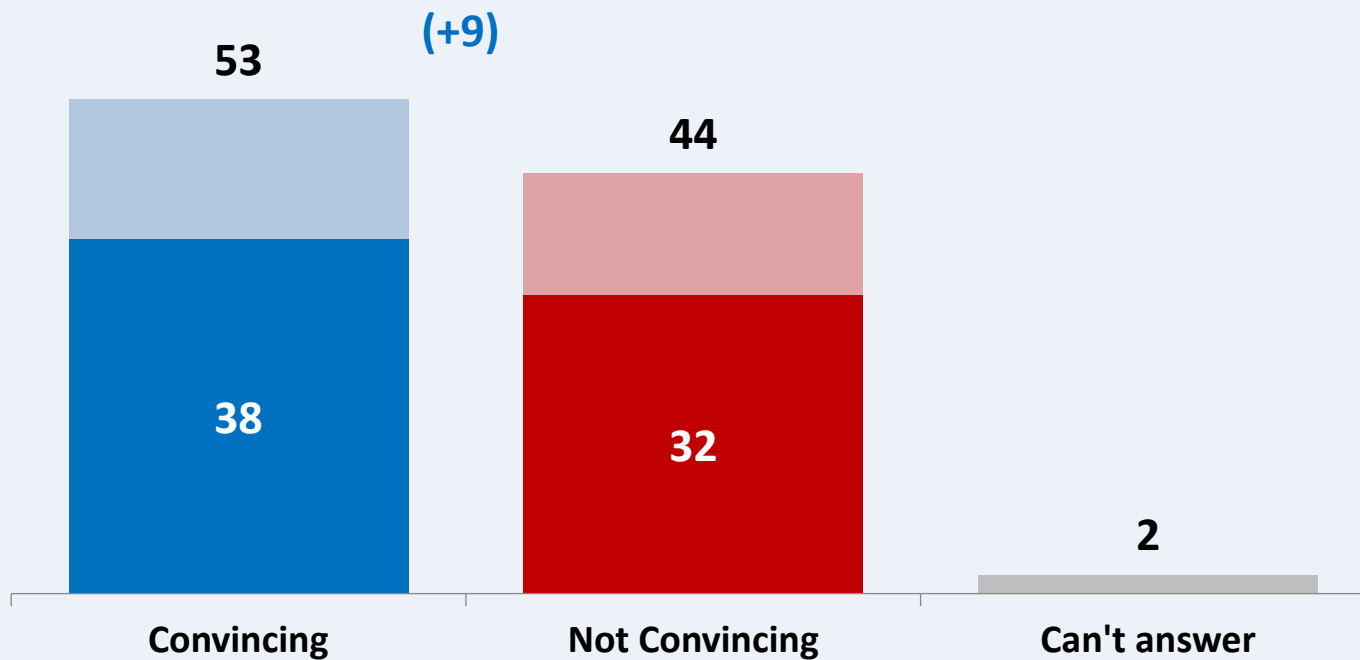
% Convincing	GOP Appeal
Democrat	15
Independent/DK	_59_
Republican	_94_
Support score 70+	34
Support score 30-69	53
Support score <30	_75_
White voters	56
Latino/a voters	43
Shift toward Dem. Approach	45
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	31
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	25

Darker colors indicate intensity

53 (+9)

38

Convincing

44

32

Not Convincing

2

Can't answer

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Democrats Convinced by Republican Appeals

- **Voters who identify as a Democrat and are convinced by the Republican message disproportionately include women of color, older Latinos/as, and college educated Latinos/as.**

- **These groups may be more amenable to "tough on the border" policies.**

Dem ID/GOP Appeal Convincing (6% of all voters; 15% of all Democrats)	
Women of color	10
People of color age 50+	13
Latino/a age 50+	12
Latino/a college	10

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Post-Experiment Congressional Ballot

Initial Ballot

Among all voters, the ballot remains tied after hearing more from Democrats and Republicans on immigration. In some ways this shows voters have hardened views about both parties on immigration and immediate movement on the ballot may be limited.
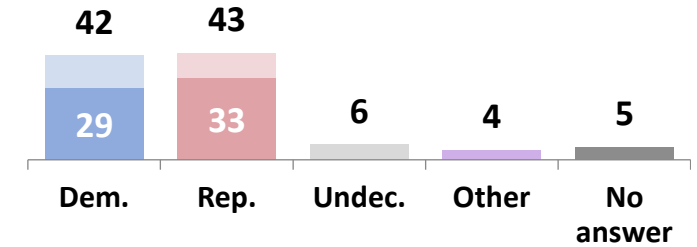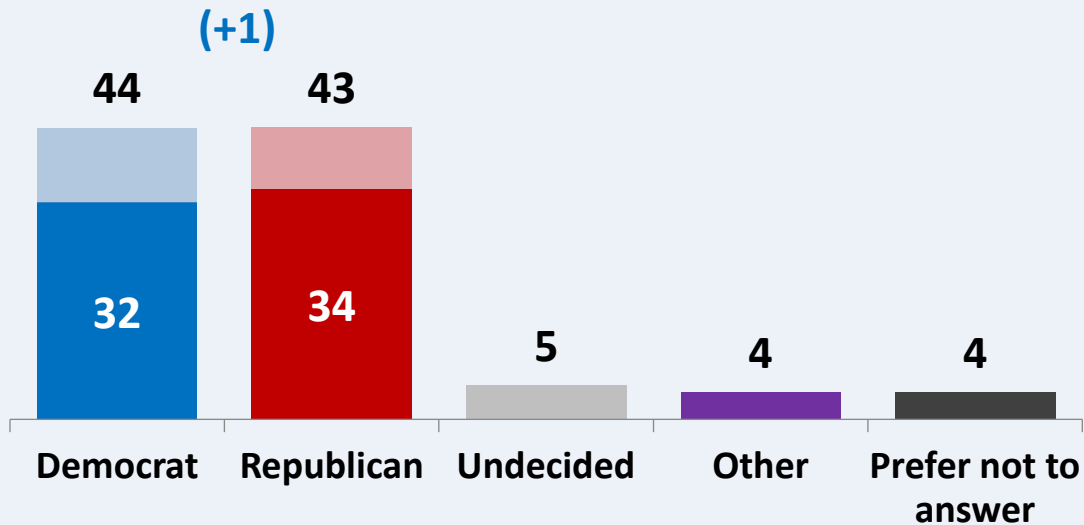
Q14/15/16. Sometimes in a survey like this people change their minds, so let us ask you again: if the November 2024 general election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you vote for: _The Democrat _The Republican

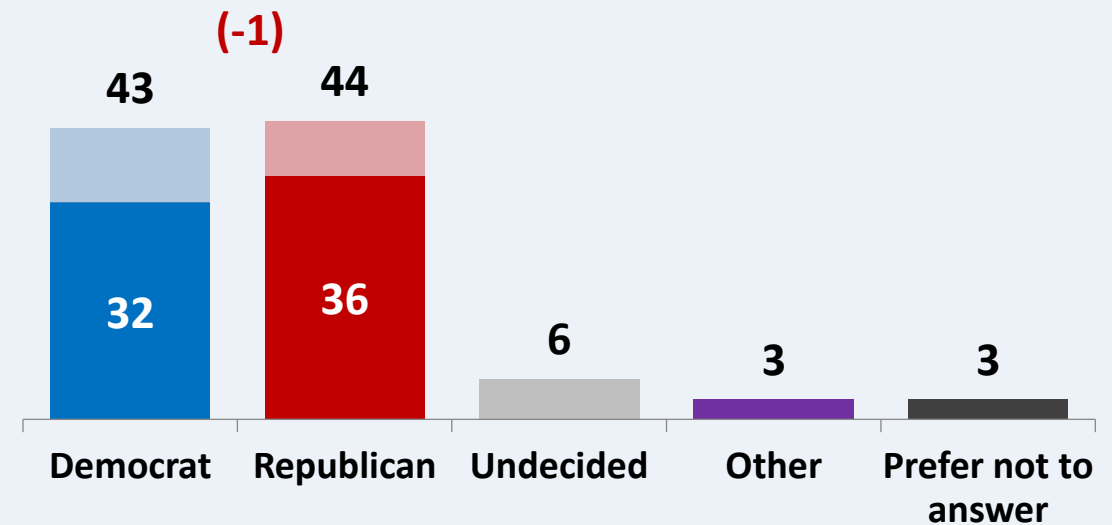*Darker colors indicate intensity.*
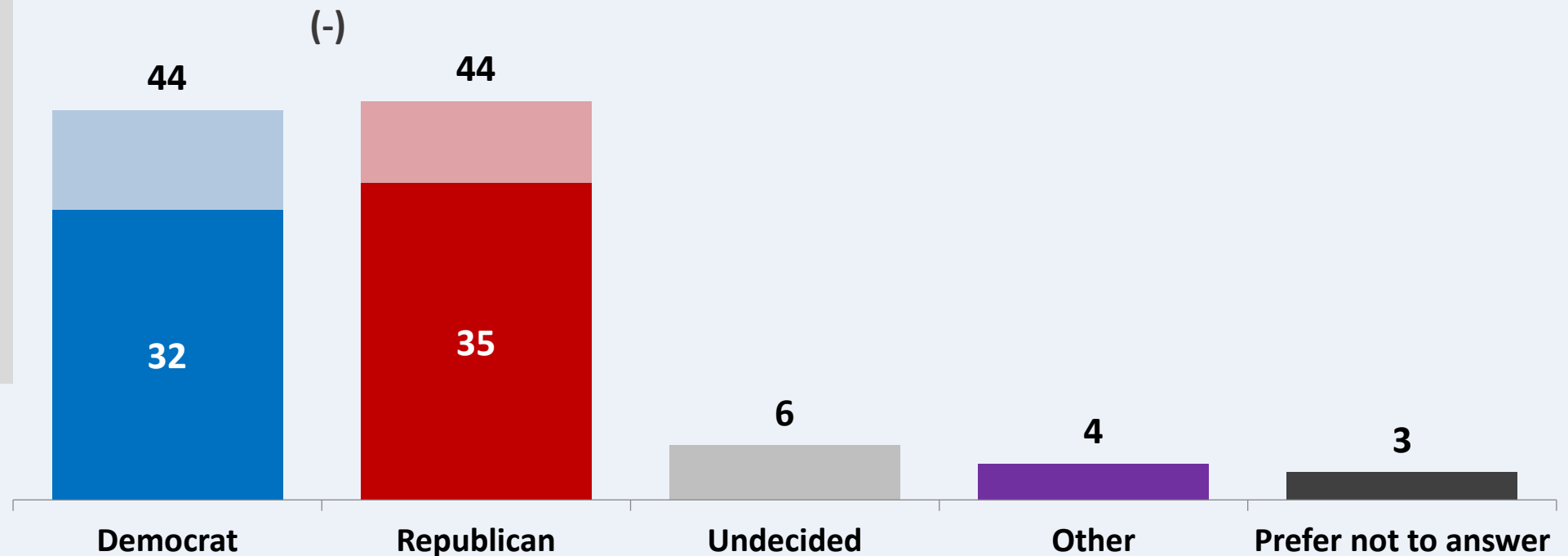
The bipartisan appeal manages to keep the Republican vote share down a point overall and down two points in intense support, though both lead to a tie.

SSC: Heard Bipartisan Counter Plan Appeal

(+1)

44   43

32   34

5   4   4

Democrat   Republican   Undecided   Other   Prefer not to answer

SSD: Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

(-1)

43   44

32   36

6   3   3

Democrat   Republican   Undecided   Other   Prefer not to answer

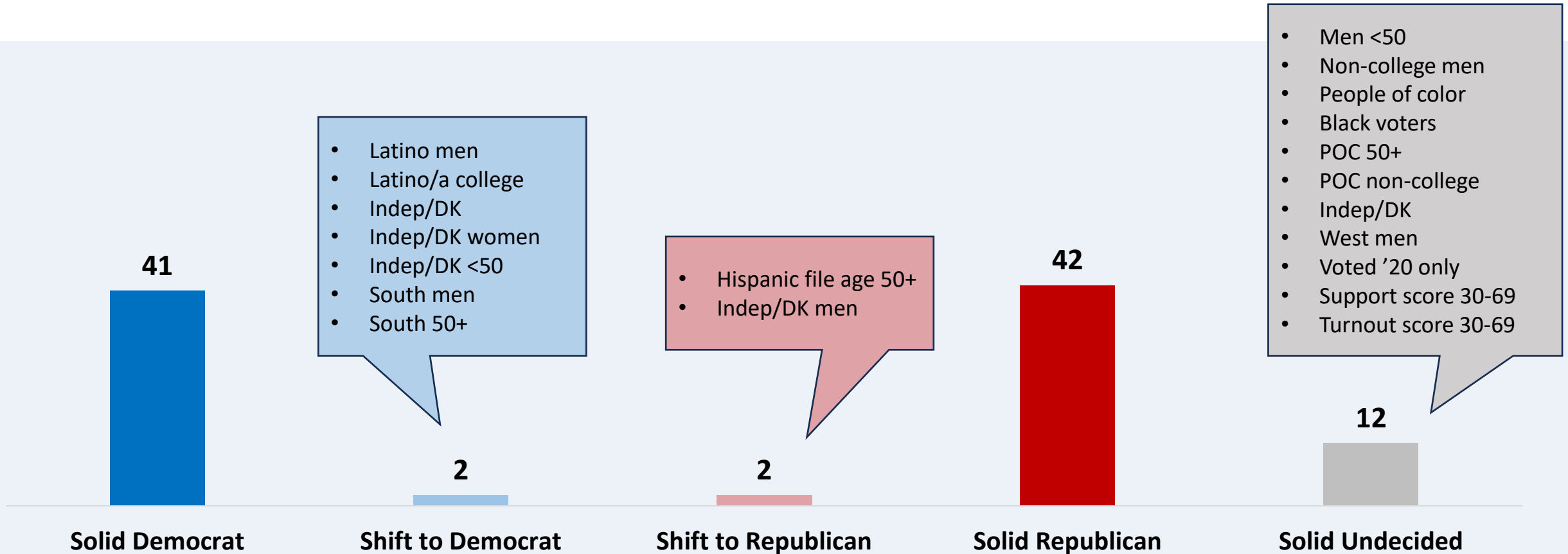*Darker colors indicate intensity*

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49

The bipartisan appeal leads to a stronger Democratic vote from independents by score and ID without turning off base voters.

% Vote Democrat	Initial Ballot	Bipartisan Counter	Familiar Democratic
Democrat	92	92	93
Independent/DK	17	*28*	23
Republican	3	4	3
Support score 70+	65	63	_67_
Support score 30-69	38	_43_	36
Support score <30	19	22	20
White voters	42	43	43
Latino/a voters	51	52	51
Shift toward Dem. Approach	57	60	61
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	0	10	16

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There is very little movement on the ballot based on these partisan appeals on immigration alone, but what movement that does occur is primarily among independents and Latinos/as – independent women, younger independents, college educated Latinos/as, and Latino men shift in favor of the Democrat, while independent men and older voters flagged as Hispanic on the file shift toward the Republican.
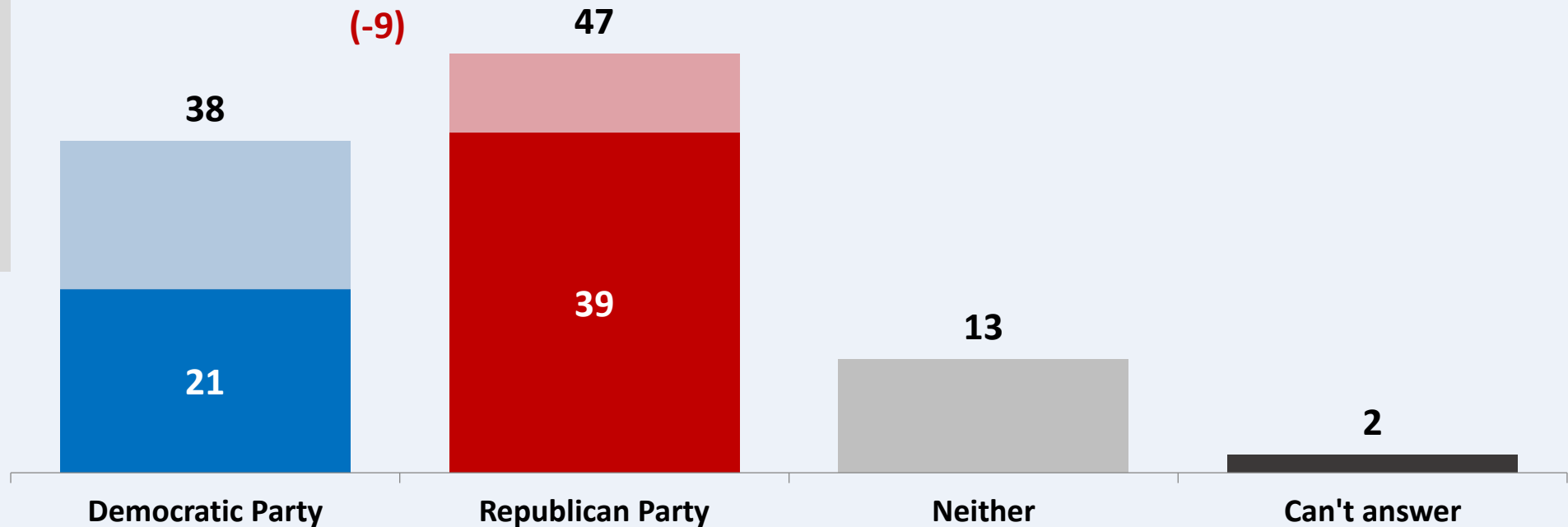

- Men <50
- Non-college men
- People of color
- Black voters
- POC 50+
- POC non-college
- Indep/DK
- West men
- Voted '20 only
- Support score 30-69
- Turnout score 30-69

- Latino men
- Latino/a college
- Indep/DK
- Indep/DK women
- Indep/DK <50
- South men
- South 50+

- Hispanic file age 50+
- Indep/DK men

Solid Democrat	Shift to Democrat	Shift to Republican	Solid Republican	Solid Undecided
41	2	2	42	12

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Democrats close the gap on the border and immigration after voters hear more about the issue from both sides due to greater support for Democrats and stagnant support for Republicans – this is more partisan consolidation than either appeal convincing the other side to move their way.
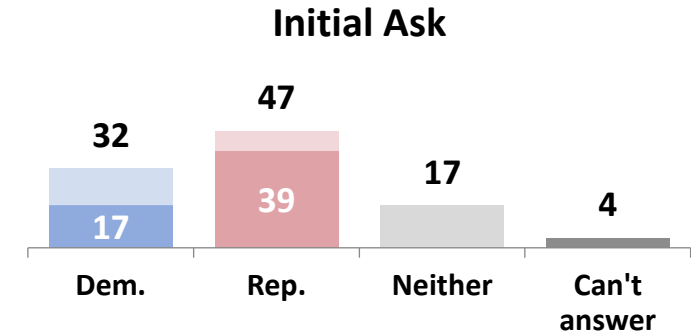
Initial Ask

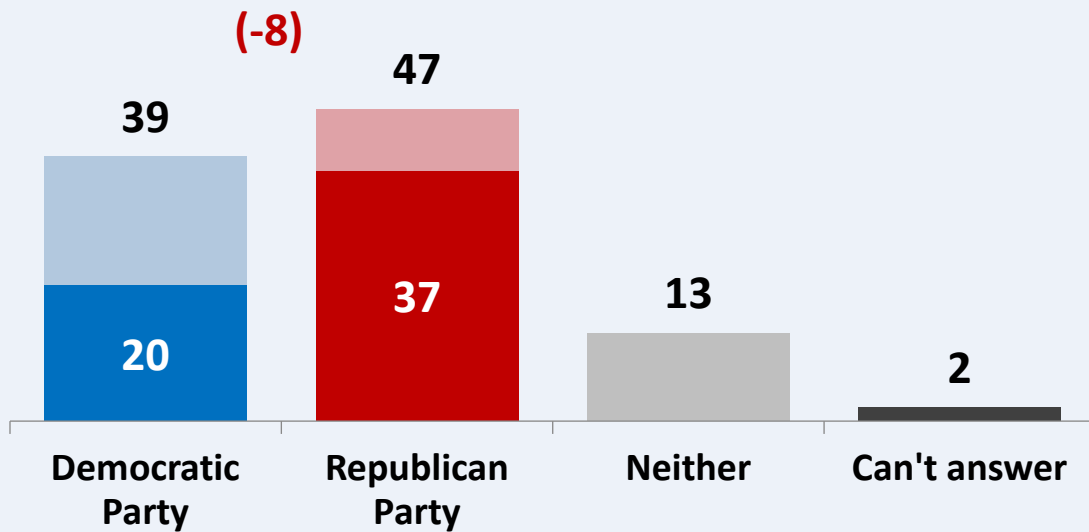|			
32	47	17	4
17	39		
Dem.	Rep.	Neither	Can't answer

Q17. And let us ask you again: regardless of which party you usually support, which political party has the better approach to immigration and the border?

Darker colors indicate intensity.

(-9)

Democratic Party	Republican Party	Neither	Can't answer
38	47	13	2
21	39		

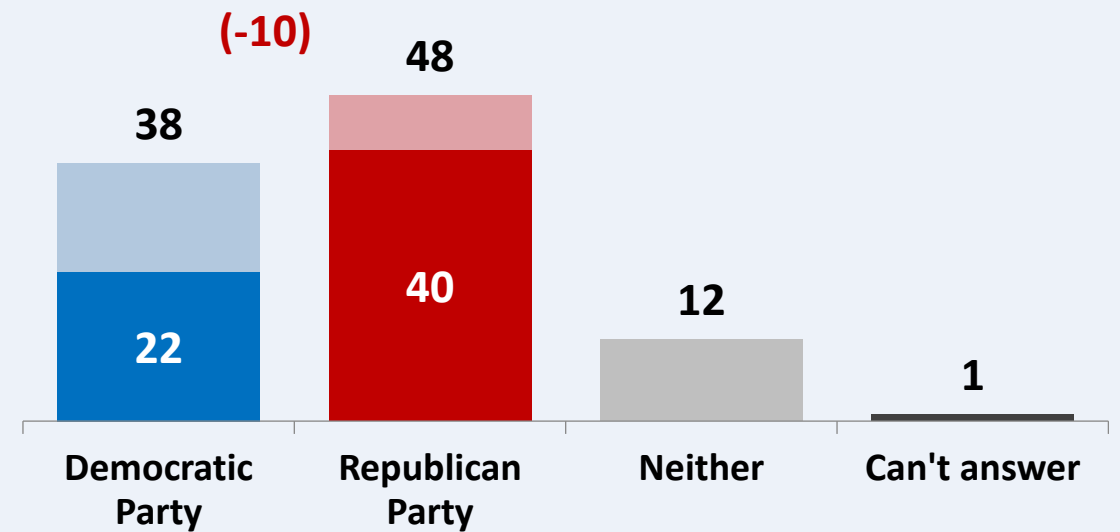LRP LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS
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Though even within the margin of error, the bipartisan Democratic appeal builds slightly more support for the Democratic approach than does the familiar Democratic appeal.

SSC: Heard Bipartisan Counter Plan Appeal

(-8)

39
47

20
37
13
2

Democratic Party | Republican Party | Neither | Can't answer

SSD: Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

(-10)

38
48

22
40
12
1

Democratic Party | Republican Party | Neither | Can't answer

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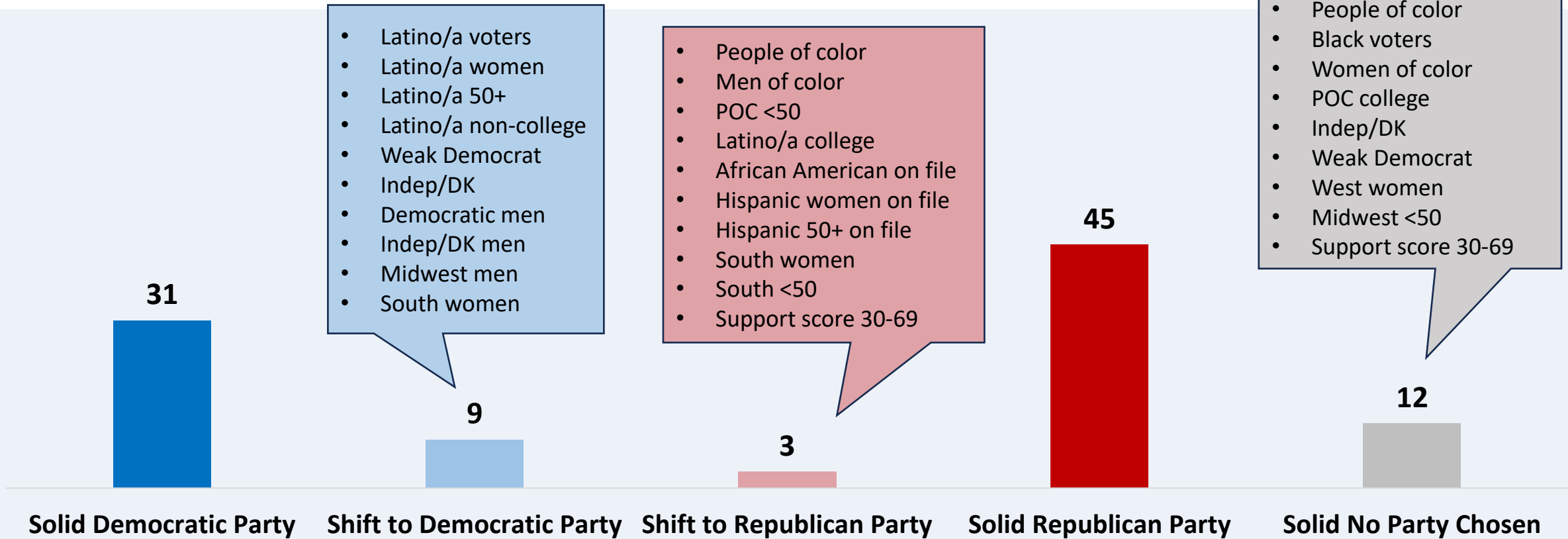# Post-Experiment Better Approach

- **The bipartisan Democratic appeal builds support among scored independents where the familiar appeal does not.**

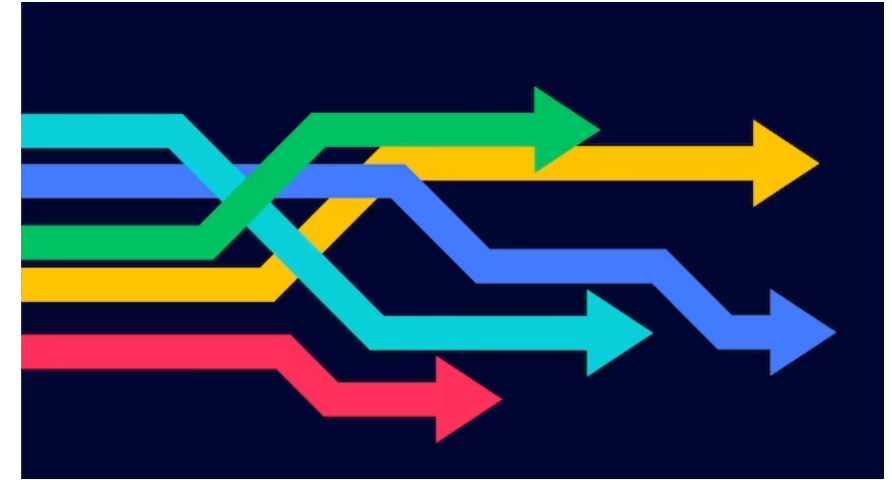- **And, this appeal is as strong as the familiar appeal among base Democrats and swing targets.**

% Prefer Democratic Party	Initial Ask	Bipartisan Counter	Familiar Democratic
Democrat	69	80	78
Independent/DK	16	29	27
Republican	2	2	3
Support score 70+	50	58	58
Support score 30-69	24	*36*	25
Support score <30	14	19	20
White voters	33	41	39
Latino/a voters	36	46	47
Shift toward Dem. Approach	0	39	42
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	0	47	47
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	0	16	18

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Better Approach: Initial to Post-Experiment Shift

Latino/a voters, weak Democrats, and independents shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after hearing either appeal, while scored independents and some younger voters of color shift toward Republicans.

Shift to Democratic Party:
- Latino/a voters
- Latino/a women
- Latino/a 50+
- Latino/a non-college
- Weak Democrat
- Indep/DK
- Democratic men
- Indep/DK men
- Midwest men
- South women

Shift to Republican Party:
- People of color
- Men of color
- POC <50
- Latino/a college
- African American on file
- Hispanic women on file
- Hispanic 50+ on file
- South women
- South <50
- Support score 30-69

Solid No Party Chosen:
- Age 40-49
- Men <50
- 4-year college grad
- College men
- People of color
- Black voters
- Women of color
- POC college
- Indep/DK
- Weak Democrat
- West women
- Midwest <50
- Support score 30-69

Solid Democratic Party	Shift to Democratic Party	Shift to Republican Party	Solid Republican Party	Solid No Party Chosen
31	9	3	45	12

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What We Learned About Movement After Introducing and Defining the Bipartisan Deal

1. Voters appear to have hardened views about both parties on immigration and immediate movement on the ballot based on immigration appeals alone is limited. Neither Democratic appeal on immigration gives the Democrat an immediate advantage overall, but explaining the parties' approaches does build intensity for the Democrat by a few points and reduces the gap in preferred approach.

2. The most growth for Democrats comes from softer Democrats, independents, Latino/a voters, and voters in the South.

3. The bipartisan appeal helps move independents toward the Democratic side on the ballot and in approach, while base Democrats stay with Democrats after hearing either appeal.

4. Democratic-leaning women of color, older Latinos/as, and some college educated Latinos/as may be susceptible to Republican messaging on the border.

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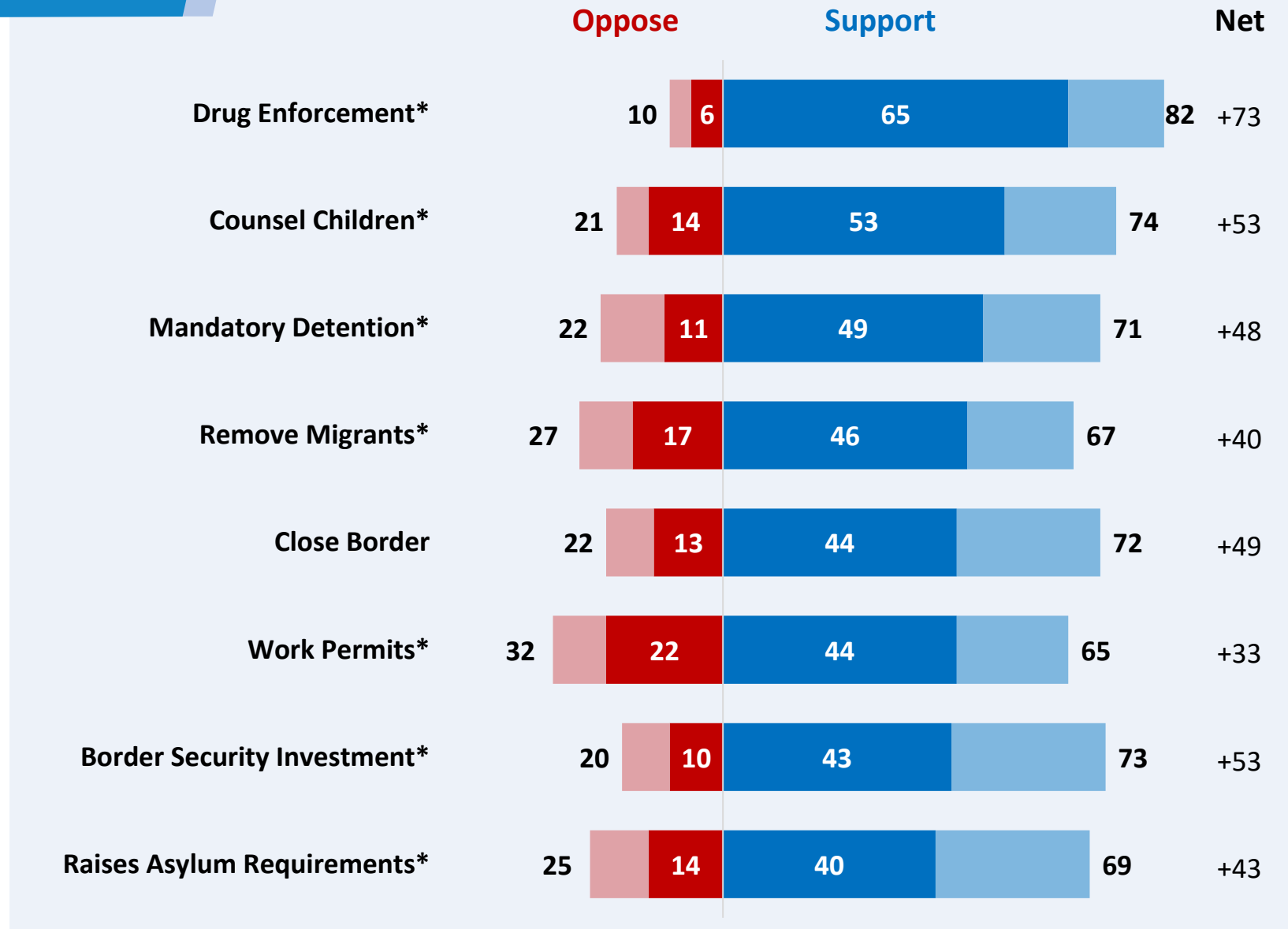Strategy · Precision · Impact

What Moves Voters

Proposal Components

Gives new powers to federal enforcement agencies to disrupt the opioid and fentanyl supply chains **[DRUG ENFORCEMENT]**

Provides guaranteed legal counsel for all unaccompanied children **[COUNSEL CHILDREN]**

Requires mandatory detention of all single adult migrants arriving at the border without a visa **[MANDATORY DETENTION]**

Gives the President new authority to immediately remove all migrants who do not have valid asylum cases **[REMOVE MIGRANTS]**

Gives the President emergency powers to temporarily close the border and stop processing asylum cases if the border is overwhelmed **[CLOSE BORDER]**

Makes it possible for some migrants to get temporary work permits so they can support themselves and their families while waiting for their cases to be heard **[WORK PERMITS]**

Invests $20 billion in new security and personnel at the border **[BORDER SECURITY INVESTMENT]**

Raises the requirements and burden of proof for those seeking asylum, allowing only those who meet these requirements to stay in the country while their case is fully heard and quickly removing everyone else **[RAISES ASYLUM REQUIREMENTS]**

Creates 250,000 new family and work visas over the next five years for people to enter and stay legally **[NEW VISAS]**

Has bipartisan support, with Democrat, Republican, and independent United States Senators supporting the agreement **[BIPARTISAN]**

Allows the President to keep the border closed up to 270 consecutive days **[CLOSED 270 DAYS]**

Has bipartisan support, with Democrat, Republican, and independent United States Senators plus President Biden supporting the agreement **[BIPARTISAN/BIDEN]**

Allows some migrant families to stay in the country, but ensures they are monitored and make their required court appearances to have their cases heard **[FAMILY ENTRY]**

Provides over a billion dollars in emergency funding to help cities and states provide shelter and services to asylum seekers **[FUNDING SERVICES]**

Sunsets the Presidential emergency power to close the border after three years, so that Congress is required to change or renew this aspect of the law **[SUNSET]**

Builds more migrant detention centers so fewer migrants need to be released **[MORE DETENTION CENTERS]**

Sorted by % Strongly Support   *All items in this battery were split sampled except for "Close Border" and "Closed 270 Days."*
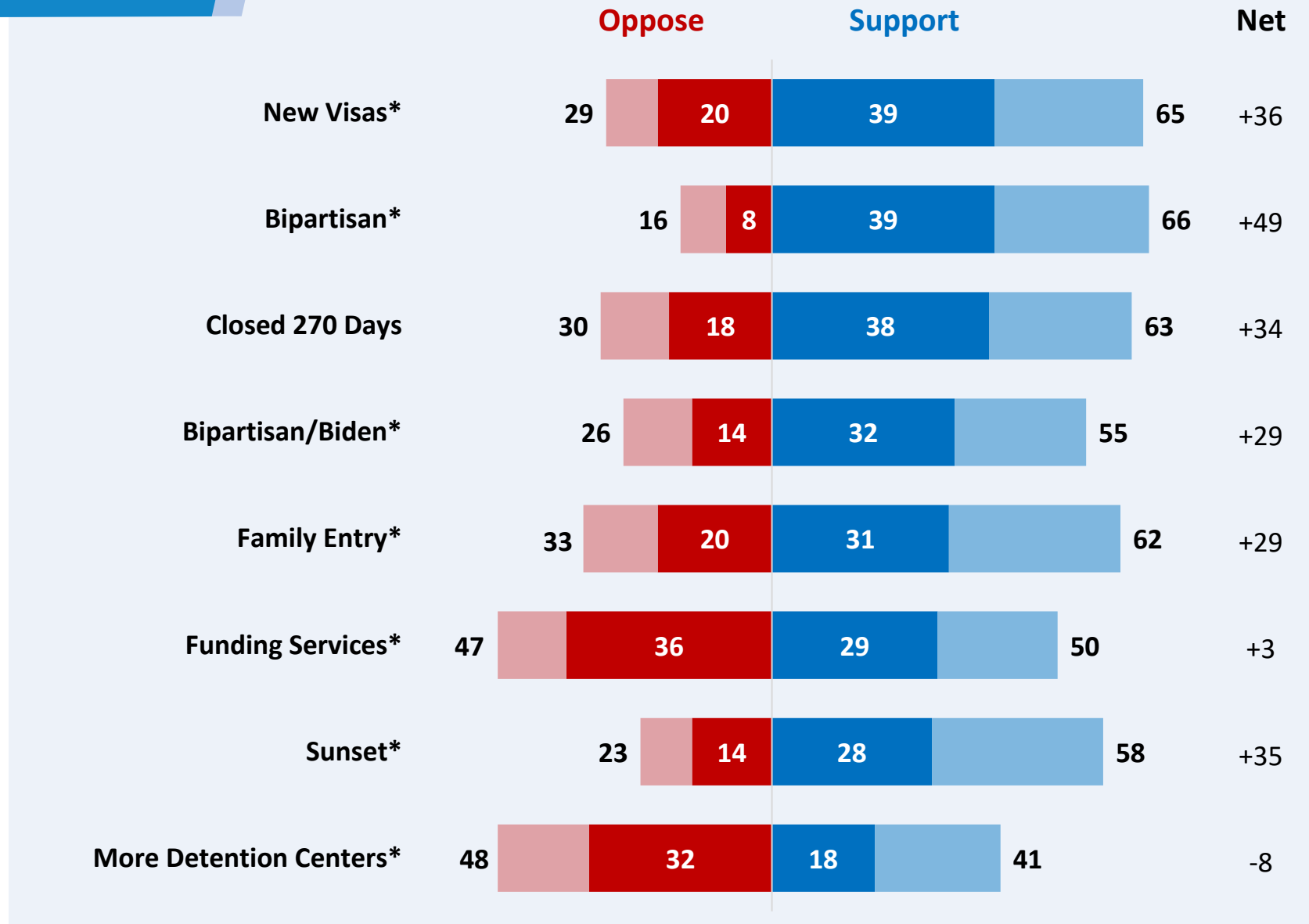
Top Proposal Components

Security components test best.

They are followed by ensuring children have access to legal counsel and then providing work permits to migrants.

|	Oppose	Support	Net
Drug Enforcement*	10 / 6	65 / 82	+73
Counsel Children*	21 / 14	53 / 74	+53
Mandatory Detention*	22 / 11	49 / 71	+48
Remove Migrants*	27 / 17	46 / 67	+40
Close Border	22 / 13	44 / 72	+49
Work Permits*	32 / 22	44 / 65	+33
Border Security Investment*	20 / 10	43 / 73	+53
Raises Asylum Requirements*	25 / 14	40 / 69	+43

Q18. As you may know, a group of Democratic, Republican, and independent United States Senators reached a bipartisan agreement for a proposal on border security. Here are some components of that potential proposal. Please indicate whether you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose each of the following components. *Sorted by % Strongly Support*   *Darker colors indicate intensity*   **These items were split sampled*

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Proposal Components, Cont.

Voters also like that this is a bipartisan deal (but by weaker margins when President Biden is mentioned).

	Oppose		Support		Net
New Visas*	29	20	39	65	+36
Bipartisan*	16	8	39	66	+49
Closed 270 Days	30	18	38	63	+34
Bipartisan/Biden*	26	14	32	55	+29
Family Entry*	33	20	31	62	+29
Funding Services*	47	36	29	50	+3
Sunset*	23	14	28	58	+35
More Detention Centers*	48	32	18	41	-8

Q18. As you may know, a group of Democratic, Republican, and independent United States Senators reached a bipartisan agreement for a proposal on border security. Here are some components of that potential proposal. Please indicate whether you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose each of the following components. *Sorted by % Strongly Support*   *Darker colors indicate intensity*   **These items were split sampled*

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A Closer Look at President Biden

The audiences that see the biggest drop-off when Biden is added to the bipartisan message include independents, Republicans, Latino/a voters, and some swing voters.

On the other hand, Democratic voters who don't initially prefer the Democratic approach are somewhat more supportive of this component when Biden is mentioned.
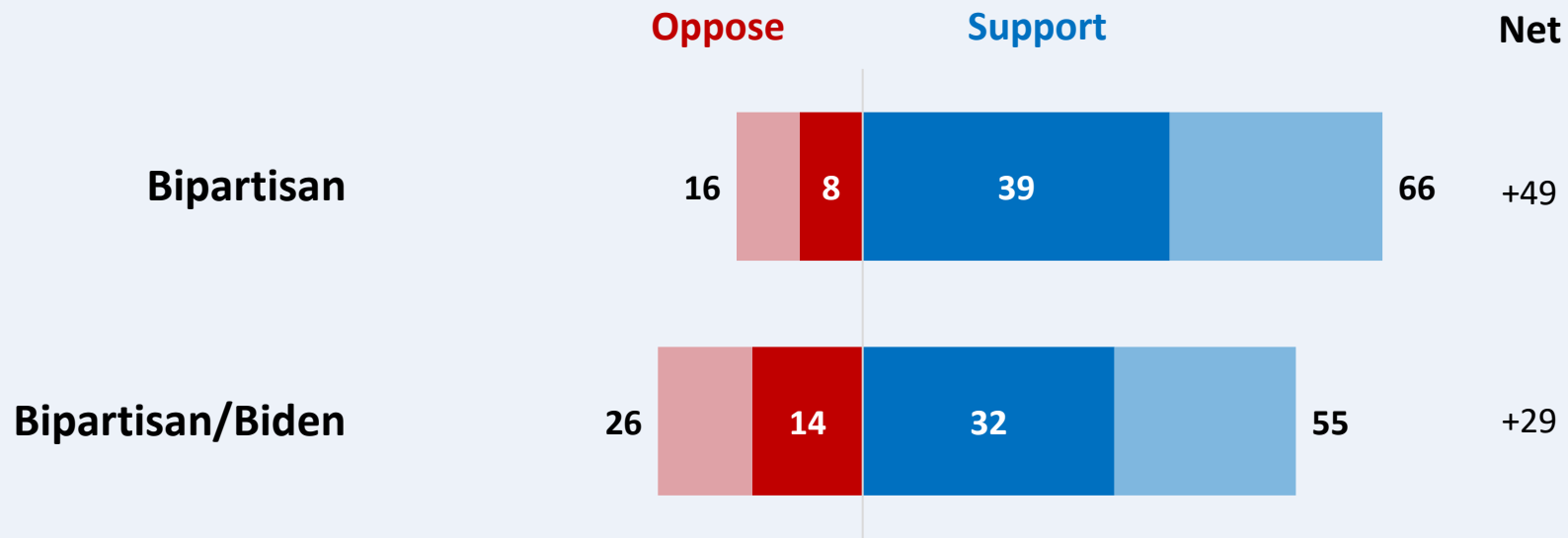
% Strongly Support	Bipartisan	Bipart./ Biden
Democrat	58	60
Independent/DK	_44_	11
Republican	_24_	13
Support score 70+	45	42
Support score 30-69	48	29
Support score <30	29	21
White voters	40	33
Latino/a voters	_44_	31
Shift toward Dem. Approach	_47_	36
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	51	60
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	_25_	13

	Oppose		Support		Net
Bipartisan	16	8	39	66	+49
Bipartisan/Biden	26	14	32	55	+29

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Top Proposal Components by Demographics

Drug Enforcement and Counsel Children are among the top proposal components for most demographic groups, with the latter's popularity more concentrated among younger voters, women, and college graduates.

Men <50
- Drug Enforcement (59%)
- Counsel Children (52%)
- Mandatory Detention (51%)

Non-college men
- Drug Enforcement (68%)
- Mandatory Detention (59%)
- Remove Migrants (56%)

Northeast
- Drug Enforcement (68%)
- Counsel Children (55%)
- Border Security Investments (50%)

Women <50
- Counsel Children (62%)
- Drug Enforcement (59%)
- Work Permits (53%)

Non-college women
- Drug Enforcement (67%)
- Remove Migrants (53%)
- Counsel Children (50%)

Midwest
- Counsel Children (60%)
- Drug Enforcement (56%)
- Mandatory Detention (50%)

Men 50+
- Drug Enforcement (66%)
- Mandatory Detention (58%)
- Remove Migrants (56%)

College men
- Counsel Children (59%)
- Drug Enforcement (56%)
- Work Permits (50%)

South
- Drug Enforcement (68%)
- Mandatory Detention (50%)
- Close Border/Work Permits (43%)

Women 50+
- Drug Enforcement (71%)
- Border Security Investments (55%)
- Counsel Children (54%)

College women
- Counsel Children (67%)
- Drug Enforcement (65%)
- Work Permits (62%)

West
- Drug Enforcement (66%)
- Counsel Children (53%)
- Mandatory Detention/ Remove Migrants (49%)

By % Strongly Support

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Top Proposal Components by Demographics

Base Democrats, Latino/a voters, and Black voters tend to bolster the support for Work Permits, while self-identified independents strongly support Border Security Investments. Republicans, scored independents, and white voters tend to uplift Mandatory Detention. Voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic approach to the border uniquely prioritize the proposal being bipartisan.

White voters
- Drug Enforcement (66%)
- Counsel Children (55%)
- Mandatory Detention (49%)

Latino/a voters
- Drug Enforcement (62%)
- Counsel Children (56%)
- Work Permits (51%)

Black voters
- Drug Enforcement (73%)
- Counsel Children (51%)
- Work Permits (48%)

Support score 70+
- Counsel Children (68%)
- Drug Enforcement (63%)
- Work Permits (61%)

Support score 30-69
- Drug Enforcement (68%)
- Mandatory Detention (53%)
- Counsel Children (51%)

Support score <30
- Mandatory Detention (66%)
- Drug Enforcement (64%)
- Remove Migrants (62%)

Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach
- Work Permits (76%)
- Drug Enforcement (72%)
- Counsel Children (65%)

Dem ID
- Work Permits (79%)
- Counsel Children (78%)
- Drug Enforcement/New Visas (67%)

Indep/DK
- Drug Enforcement (56%)
- Border Security Investments (51%)
- Counsel Children (50%)

GOP ID
- Mandatory Detention (72%)
- Drug Enforcement (70%)
- Remove Migrants (68%)

Toward Dem. Approach
- Drug Enforcement (64%)
- Counsel Children (55%)
- Work Permits/Bipartisan (47%)

By % Strongly Support

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Proposal Components by Partisanship

% Strongly Support	Total	Dem ID	Indep/DK ID	GOP ID	Support score 70+	Support score 30-69	Support score <30
Drug Enforcement	65	67	56	70	63	68	64
Counsel Children	53	78	50	29	68	51	36
Mandatory Detention	49	28	41	72	33	53	66
Remove Migrants	46	31	35	68	33	45	62
Close Border	44	44	45	49	41	49	46
Work Permits	44	79	32	14	61	37	28
Border Security Investments	43	48	51	45	44	39	45
Raises Asylum Requirements	40	33	30	50	33	47	44
New Visas	39	67	44	14	53	40	23
Bipartisan	39	58	44	24	45	48	29
Closed 270 Days	38	28	34	53	30	41	46
Bipartisan/Biden	32	60	11	13	42	29	21
Family Entry	31	46	25	24	34	47	22
Funding Services	29	58	19	5	43	25	16
Sunset	28	36	21	25	29	23	29
More Detention Centers	18	23	7	20	16	19	20

- **Democrats and Republicans by ID and score for the most part have opposing priorities, with independents typically lying somewhere between them.**

- **However, scored independents are more strongly supportive of increased enforcement of drug laws, closing the border when it gets overwhelmed, raising asylum requirements, general bipartisanship, and family entry than either scored Republicans or Democrats are.**

Voters saw each Democratic statement about the bipartisan proposal more than once and in different combinations. They saw each statement the same number of times, and each statement paired with each other statement the same number of times, to uncover the statements' relative importance.

The Democrat says we need to fix our broken border. Nearly every Democrat and Republican agrees we have a problem. The Democrat is willing to compromise on some things to restore order at the border and help local communities. **[AGREE ON THE PROBLEM]**

The Democrat says this deal is tough and fair. If you cross the border unlawfully, there are consequences. If you can make your case to stay under U.S. law, you can do so through a system that is fast, fair, and final. **[TOUGH AND FAIR]**

The Democrat says this is an important step to protect migrants and asylum seekers. This deal will provide humanitarian aid to asylum seekers, ensure cases are processed more quickly, and create legal pathways so migrants can work and support their families. **[PROTECT MIGRANTS]**

The Democrat says for decades politicians have talked about the problems with our immigration system. Now, we have the first agreement in generations to secure our border, enforce the law, and treat people fairly. This is a historic opportunity to get something done. **[HISTORIC]**

The Democrat says this is not just about securing our border. It also makes legal immigration and legitimate asylum cases easier to process by hiring more asylum officers, allowing quicker judgments, and providing new family and work visas. **[GOOD IMMIGRATION REFORM]**

The Democrat says our immigration system is broken. Current laws leave the border in chaos. This package invests billions in more security. It pays for thousands more asylum officers to hear cases and clear the backlog. It will restore order at the border and make us safer. **[BRINGS ORDER]**

The Democrat says to secure our border, protect legal immigration, and preserve legitimate asylum claims, we must set aside partisanship and get something done. Both sides need to give up something to get real bipartisan reforms. **[BIPARTISAN]**

The Democrat says we need to stay focused on making our communities safer. That means passing reforms like this that dedicate millions of dollars to stopping cartels and disrupting the opioid and fentanyl supply chains. **[FIGHTS CARTELS/DRUGS]**

The Democrat says this is a reasonable plan. It has limits on how many days any President can use emergency orders to shut down the border. It has a three-year lifespan, so the next President will need Congressional approval to keep it going if circumstances require it. **[PRESIDENTIAL LIMITS]**

The Democrat says they are not afraid to chart a new path for their party and pass meaningful immigration reform. There is nothing wrong with securing our border, especially when we are preserving legal immigration pathways consistent with our Democratic values. **[COUNTER CLAIM]**

Sorted by Ever Chosen Most Likely

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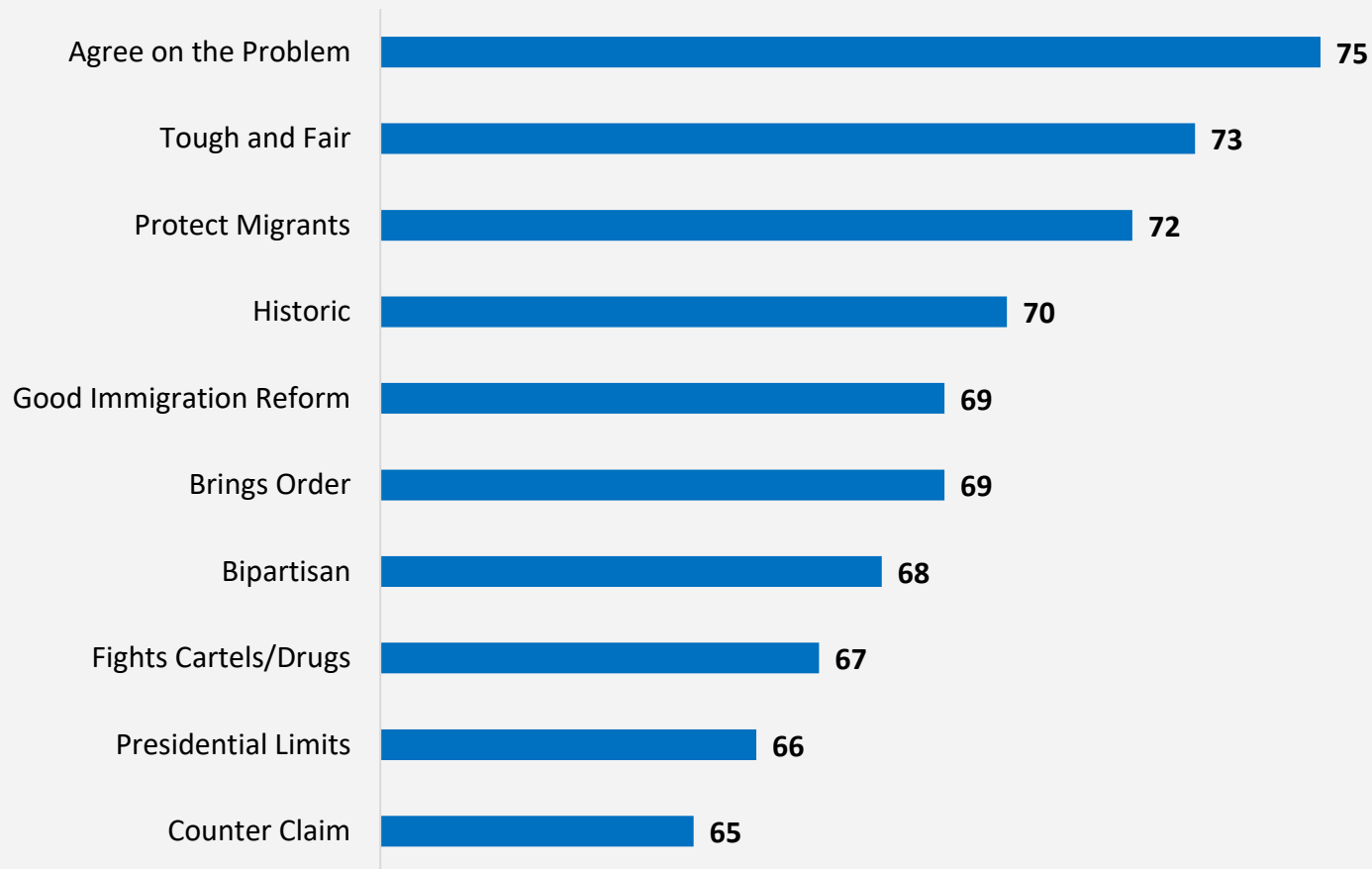
Stronger message planks include:

- **Compromise**: Acknowledging the problem and compromising to restore order
- **Consequences**: Emphasizing the need to enforce consequences quickly and fairly
- **Care**: Fixing the system while protecting migrants

The compromise language is best with independents and Latino/a voters.

Tough and fair consequences works best with independents and appeals less to Democrats.

Protecting migrants is strong with Democrats, independents, and Latino/a voters.

Ever Chosen Most Likely Reason to Support the Democrat

Reason	Value
Agree on the Problem	75
Tough and Fair	73
Protect Migrants	72
Historic	70
Good Immigration Reform	69
Brings Order	69
Bipartisan	68
Fights Cartels/Drugs	67
Presidential Limits	66
Counter Claim	65

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Looking at the data another way, the statement focused on protecting migrants is the top message by score for both Democrats and independents, while the tough and fair statement is the second strongest among independents (and the top message among Republicans).

The messages concerning presidential limits and restoring order with billions of dollars of investments at the border are weaker, perhaps because of the former's focus on process rather than values or impacts, and the latter's inclusion of that high dollar amount that could be a concern as voters are still feeling the effects of inflation.

Most Likely

Least Likely
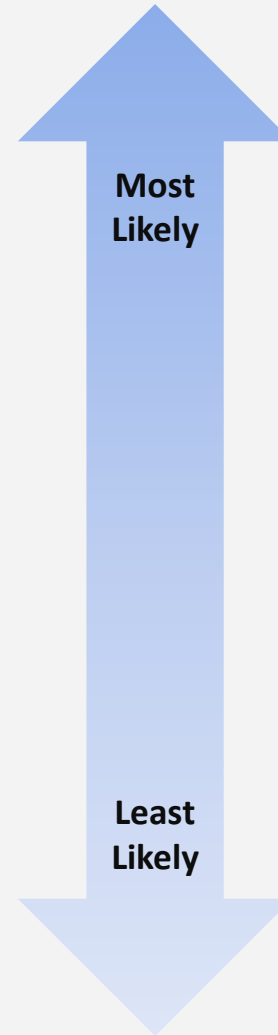
Statement	Score
PROTECT MIGRANTS	16
TOUGH AND FAIR	12
GOOD IMMIGRATION REFORM	11
FIGHTS CARTELS/DRUGS	10
AGREE ON THE PROBLEM	9
COUNTER CLAIM	9
BIPARTISAN	9
HISTORIC	9
BRINGS ORDER	8
PRESIDENTAL LIMITS	8

67

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Top Statements by Demographics

Voters across age, gender, and education want Democratic candidates to compromise to get things done on the border and immigration, while Democratic base voters like college educated women and younger women are especially focused on good immigration reform and protecting migrants.

Men <50
- Agree on Problem (74%)
- Historic (73%)
- Presidential Limits (70%)

Non-college men
- Agree on Problem (77%)
- Tough and Fair (74%)
- Bipartisan/Fights Cartels (71%)

Northeast
- Agree on Problem (76%)
- Good Imm. Reform (71%)
- Brings Order (71%)

Women <50
- Protect Migrants (81%)
- Good Imm. Reform (76%)
- Agree on the Problem (75%)

Non-college women
- Agree on Problem (77%)
- Protect Migrants (77%)
- Tough and Fair (75%)

Midwest
- Agree on Problem (76%)
- Good Imm. Reform (75%)
- Protect Migrants (74%)

Men 50+
- Tough and Fair (79%)
- Agree on Problem (78%)
- Brings Order (72%)

College men
- Agree on Problem (74%)
- Tough and Fair (74%)
- Historic (71%)

South
- Agree on Problem (76%)
- Protect Migrants (74%)
- Tough and Fair/Fights Cartels (73%)

Women 50+
- Agree on Problem (76%)
- Protect Migrants (75%)
- Tough and Fair/Historic (73%)

College women
- Protect Migrants (78%)
- Agree on Problem (74%)
- Good Imm. Reform (73%)

West
- Tough and Fair (76%)
- Agree on Problem (75%)
- Protect Migrants (72%)

By % Ever Chosen Most Likely

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Protecting migrants and good immigration reform are most important for Democrats, while compromise is important for independents, Republicans, and swing Democratic voters. Taking historic action on immigration reform also appeals to Democrats and swing voters. Voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic approach uniquely prioritize the counter claim message of Democrats charting a new path for their party, while Latinos/as uplift bipartisanship.

White voters
- Agree on Problem (75%)
- Protect Migrants (72%)
- Good Imm. Reform (71%)

Latino/a voters
- Agree on Problem (78%)
- Protect Migrants (76%)
- Tough and Fair/Bipartisan (74%)

Black voters
- Tough and Fair (88%)
- Protect Migrants (79%)
- Agree on Problem (76%)

Support score 70+
- Protect Migrants (78%)
- Good Imm. Reform (78%)
- Historic (72%)

Support score 30-69
- Tough and Fair (79%)
- Presidential Limits (76%)
- Agree on Problem/Good Imm. Reform/Fights Cartels (74%)

Support score <30
- Agree on Problem (81%)
- Tough and Fair (79%)
- Fights Cartels (77%)

Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach
- Historic (80%)
- Protect Migrants (79%)
- Agree on Problem (76%)

Dem ID
- Protect Migrants (81%)
- Good Imm. Reform (80%)
- Historic (76%)

Indep/DK
- Tough and Fair (72%)
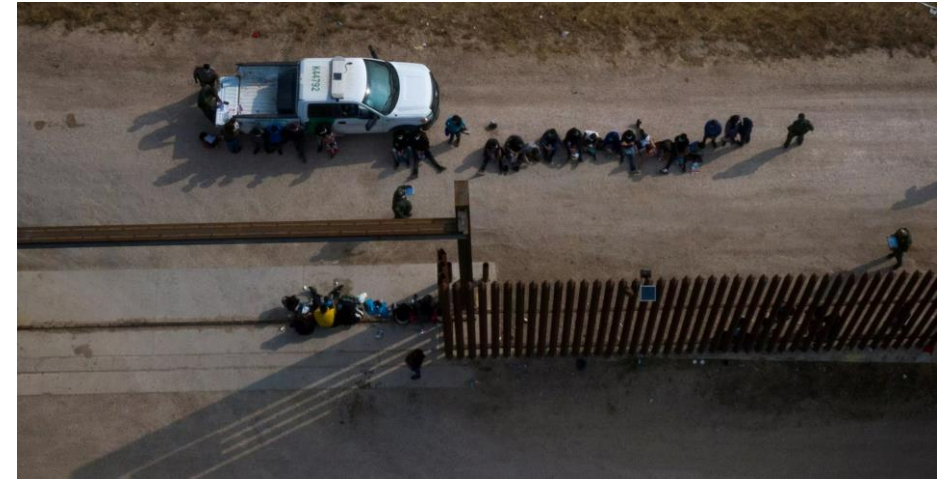- Protect Migrants (72%)
- Agree on Problem (70%)

GOP ID
- Agree on Problem (81%)
- Tough and Fair (81%)
- Fights Cartels (81%)

Toward Dem. Approach
- Protect Migrants (85%)
- Historic (77%)
- Counter Claim (76%)

By % Ever Chosen Most Likely

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What We Learned About What Moves Voters: The Deal Components

1. Most of the proposal components receive majority support across partisanship (especially those focused on security and migrant protections), with disrupting drug supply chains being the most broadly popular.

2. Base Democrats tend to bolster support for migrant protection measures, while independents strongly favor border security investments and supporting migrant children. Republicans uplift stricter security measures, though these also appeal to swingier targets like scored independents.

3. Bipartisanship is especially important to voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic approach to the border, though bringing Biden into the message tends to weaken it.

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What We Learned About What Moves Voters: Messaging
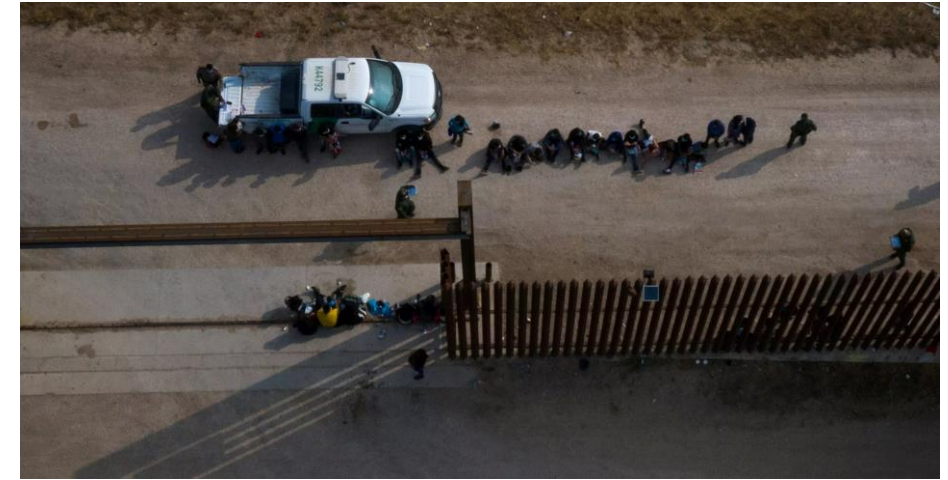
1. Stronger message planks include acknowledging the problem and **compromising** to restore order, emphasizing the need to enforce **consequences** quickly and fairly, and fixing the system while protecting and **caring** for migrants.

2. Compromising to get things done is important to voters across age, gender, and education, and is one of the top issues for Latino/a voters and independents – the latter of whom also prioritize taking a tougher stance and enforcing rules at the border.

3. Democratic base voters, as well as key swing voters, are especially focused on protecting migrants and taking historic action to get things done on reform.

4. Charting a new path for Democrats or putting partisanship aside are less effective or even believable frameworks at this moment.
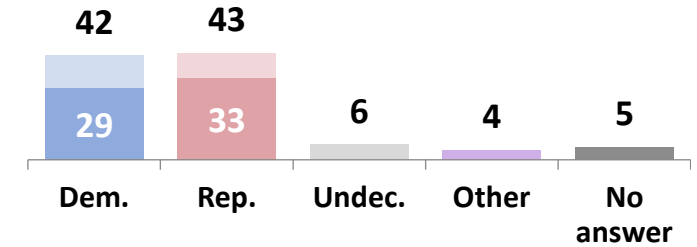
Final Ballots
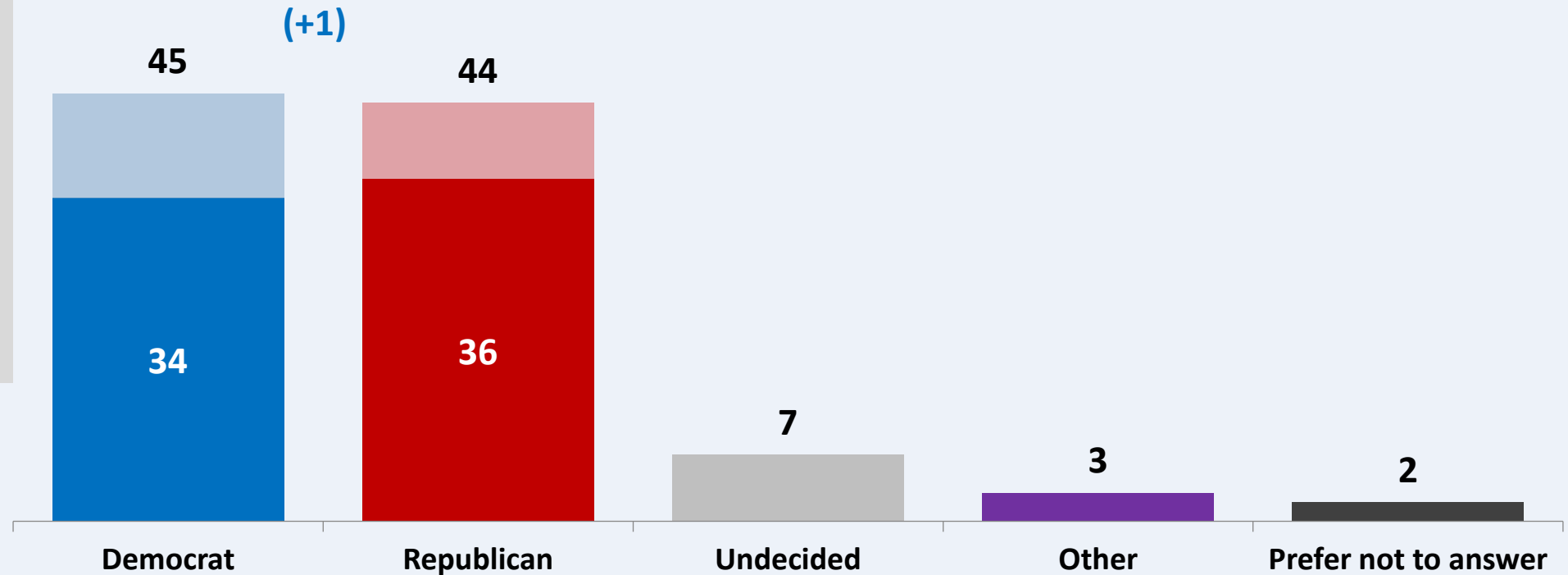
Final Congressional Ballot

After unbalanced messaging from Democrats supporting the bipartisan border deal, both sides gain support on the Congressional ballot, but the lead flips one point toward the Democrats.

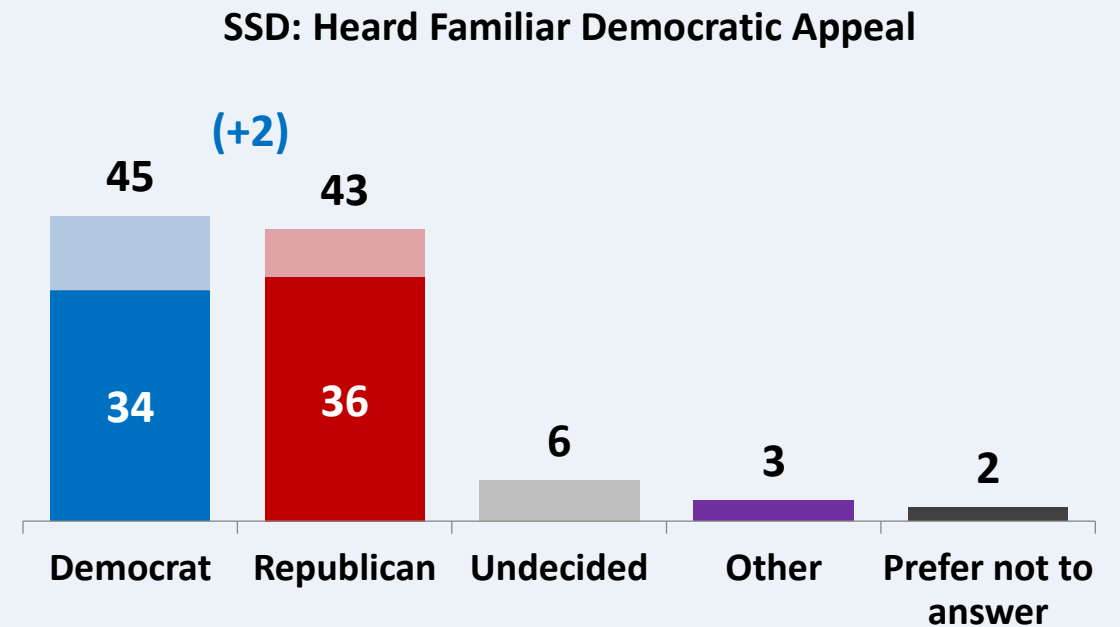|				
42	43	6	4	5
29	33			
Dem.	Rep.	Undec.	Other	No answer

Q22/23/24. Sometimes in a survey like this people change their minds, so let us ask you again: if the November 2024 general election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you vote for: _The Democrat _The Republican

Darker colors indicate intensity.

(+1)

Democrat	Republican	Undecided	Other	Prefer not to answer
45	44	7	3	2
34	36			

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Again, reflecting hardened views that will take time to soften, the needle does not move much for either party based solely on an immigration debate, and the ballot is tied regardless of which initial appeal voters heard. That said, by this time in the survey all voters have heard messaging supportive of the bipartisan plan.

SSC: Heard Bipartisan Counter Plan Appeal

(-)

	Democrat	Republican	Undecided	Other	Prefer not to answer
Total	44	44	7	3	2
Intensity	33	36			

SSD: Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

(+2)

	Democrat	Republican	Undecided	Other	Prefer not to answer
Total	45	43	6	3	2
Intensity	34	36			

Darker colors indicate intensity

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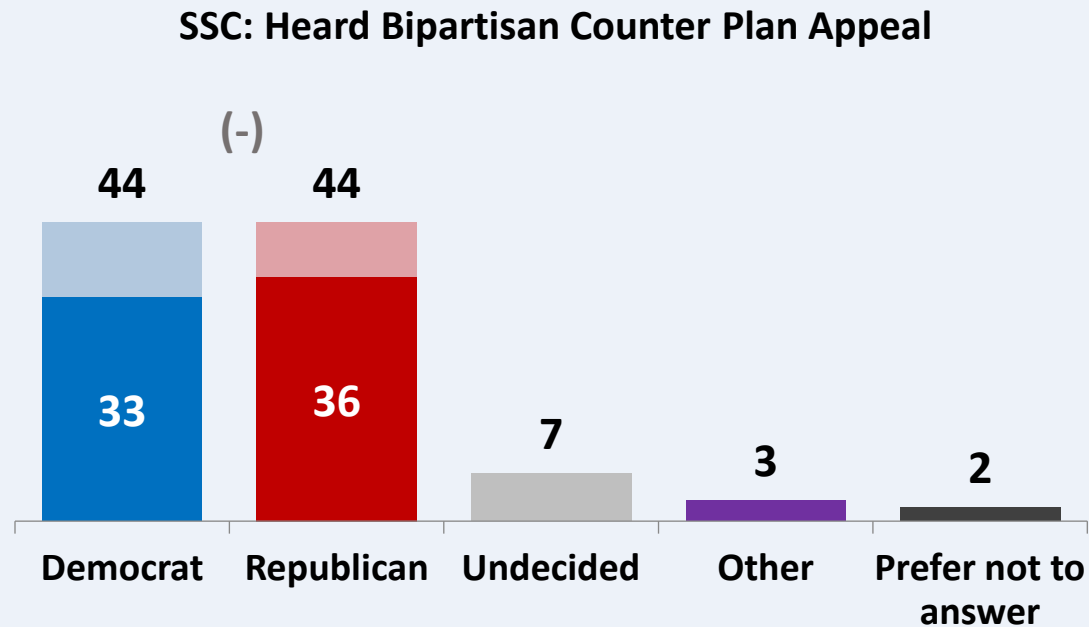
- **Scored independents who heard the bipartisan appeal are much better for Democrats on the final ballot than those who heard the familiar appeal.**

% Vote Democrat	Initial Ballot	Heard Bipartisan Counter	Heard Familiar Democratic
Men <50	37	36	_44_
Women <50	50	51	_57_
Men 50+	34	_42_	31
Women 50+	45	48	49
Democrat	92	94	97
Independent/DK	17	29	29
Republican	3	2	3
Support score 70+	65	63	_71_
Support score 30-69	38	_45_	35
Support score <30	19	22	21
White voters	42	43	45
Latino/a voters	51	53	_58_

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The 15-point Republican advantage on the border and immigration reduces to a tie after voters hear more about the bipartisan proposal and Democrats' reasons for supporting it, thanks to Democratic consolidation and independents moving off of Republicans.
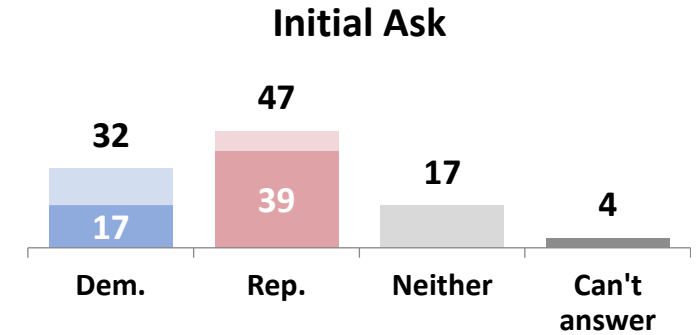
Initial Ask

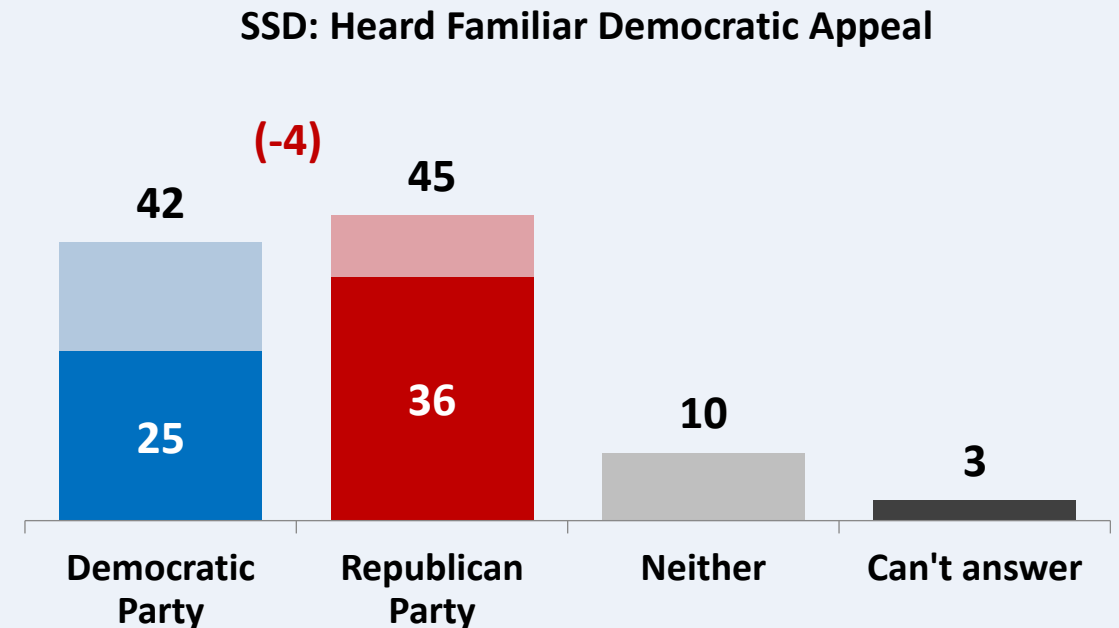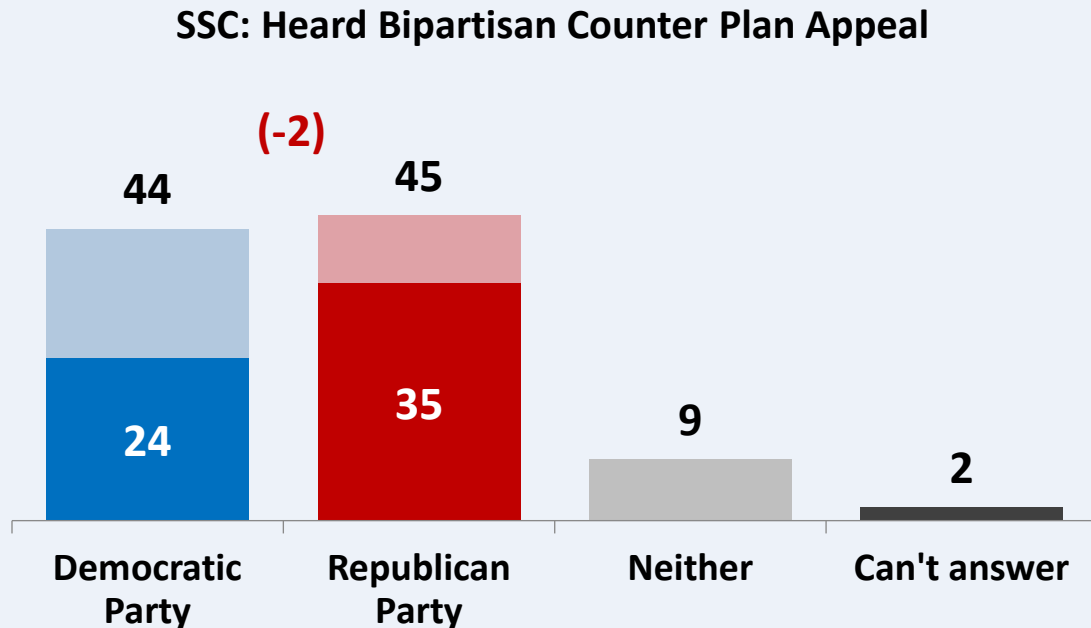|			
32	47	17	4
17	39		
Dem.	Rep.	Neither	Can't answer

Q25. And let us ask you again: regardless of which party you usually support, which political party has the better approach to immigration and the border?

Darker colors indicate intensity.

(-3)

Democratic Party	Republican Party	Neither	Can't answer
43	45	9	3
25	36		
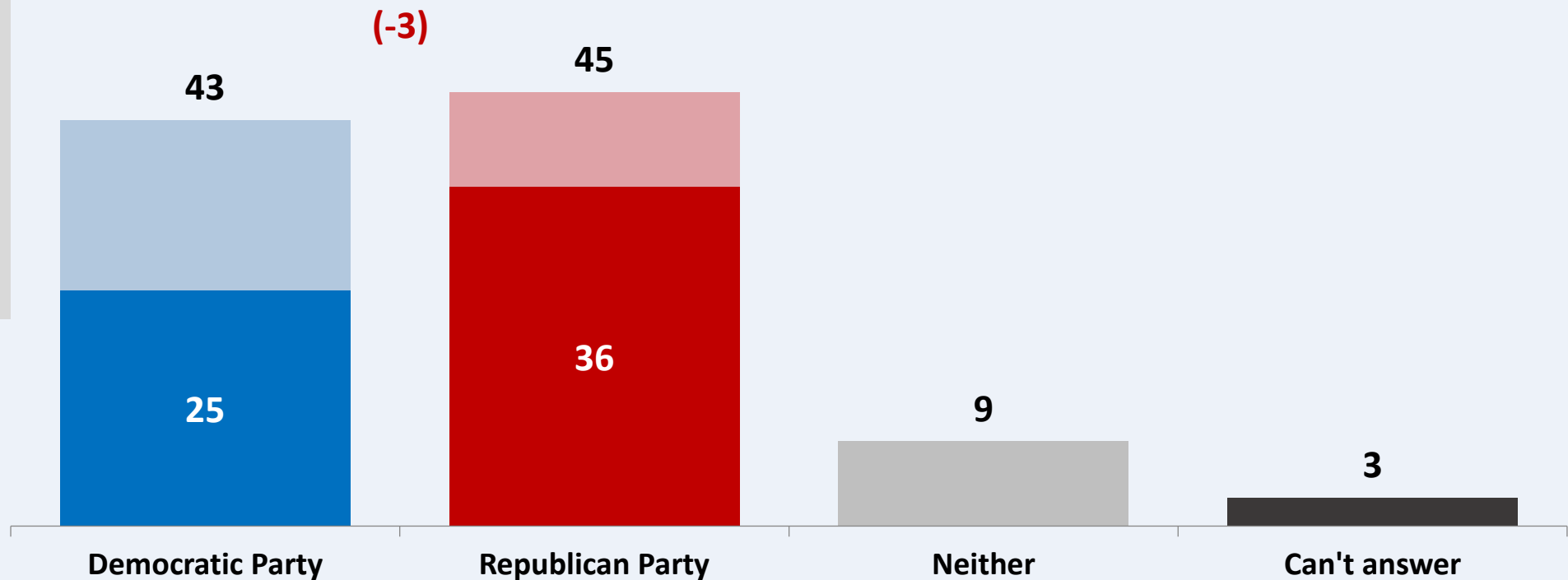
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The bipartisan counter appeal closes the gap to a statistical tie while the familiar appeal holds a visible gap between the two. The data is close, but in almost all attitudinal opportunities, the counter plan prevails.

SSC: Heard Bipartisan Counter Plan Appeal

(-2)

44	45
24	35
Democratic Party	Republican Party

9 — Neither
2 — Can't answer

SSD: Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

(-4)

42	45
25	36
Democratic Party	Republican Party

10 — Neither
3 — Can't answer

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Final Better Approach: The Experiment

- **The bipartisan appeal is especially strong among older voters, both scored and self-identified independents, and some swing voters by the end of the survey.**

% Prefer Democratic Party	Initial Ask	Heard Bipartisan Counter	Heard Familiar Democratic
Men <50	26	34	*41*
Women <50	38	49	51
Men 50+	25	*39*	28
Women 50+	37	*51*	46
Democrat	69	89	89
Independent/DK	16	*32*	28
Republican	2	3	2
Support score 70+	50	61	63
Support score 30-69	24	*46*	33
Support score <30	14	23	21
White voters	33	42	42
Latino/a voters	36	51	48
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	0	*75*	69

78

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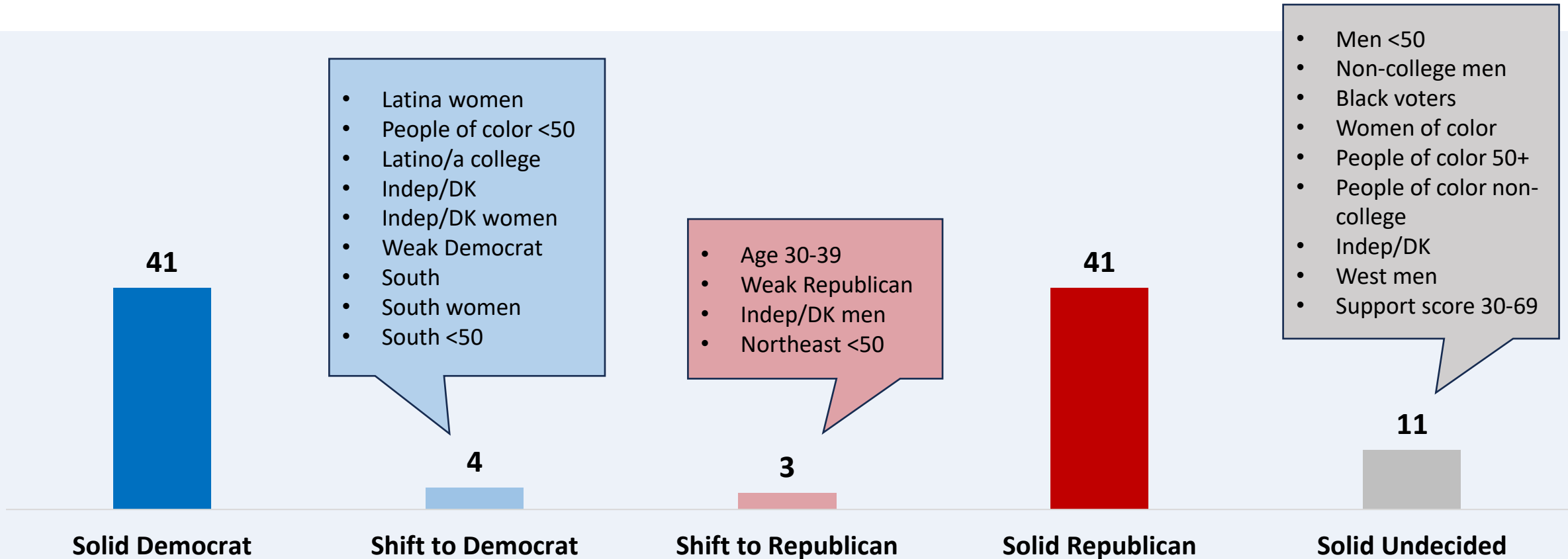Strategy · Precision · Impact

Final Better Approach: The Experiment

- **The bipartisan appeal is stronger among independents, who need that bipartisan statement to definitively move towards the Democratic approach.**

- **Democratic-leaning swing voters swing hard toward the Democratic approach, especially after hearing the bipartisan statement.**

- **Base Democrats and double undecided voters prefer the more familiar Democratic appeal, though both give Democrats the advantage by the end of the survey regardless.**

Net-Dem Better Approach	Initial Ask	Heard Bipartisan Counter	Heard Familiar Democratic
Total	**-15**	**-2**	**-4**
Democrat	+61	+82	+86
Independent/DK	-24	**_+10_**	+4
Republican	-89	-90	-94
Support score 70+	+26	+34	**_+40_**
Support score 30-69	-24	**_+8_**	-15
Support score <30	-58	-45	-48
White voters	-17	-6	-5
Latino/a voters	-2	+12	+14
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	-17	**_+67_**	+63
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	0	+10	**_+18_**

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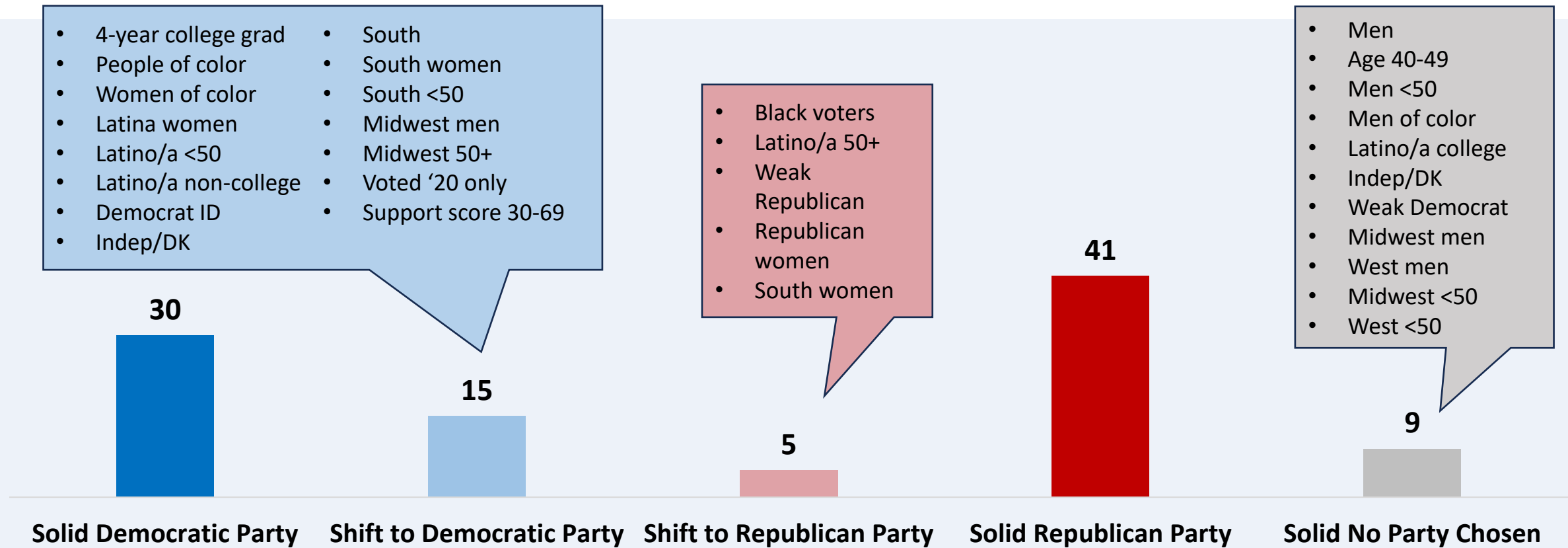
Growth for the Democratic candidate after messaging comes especially from Latina women, college-educated Latinos/as, younger voters of color, independent women, weak Democrats, and voters in the South. Independent men and weak Republicans get stronger for the Republican candidate, while independents overall, younger and non-college men, and some voters of color remain undecided.
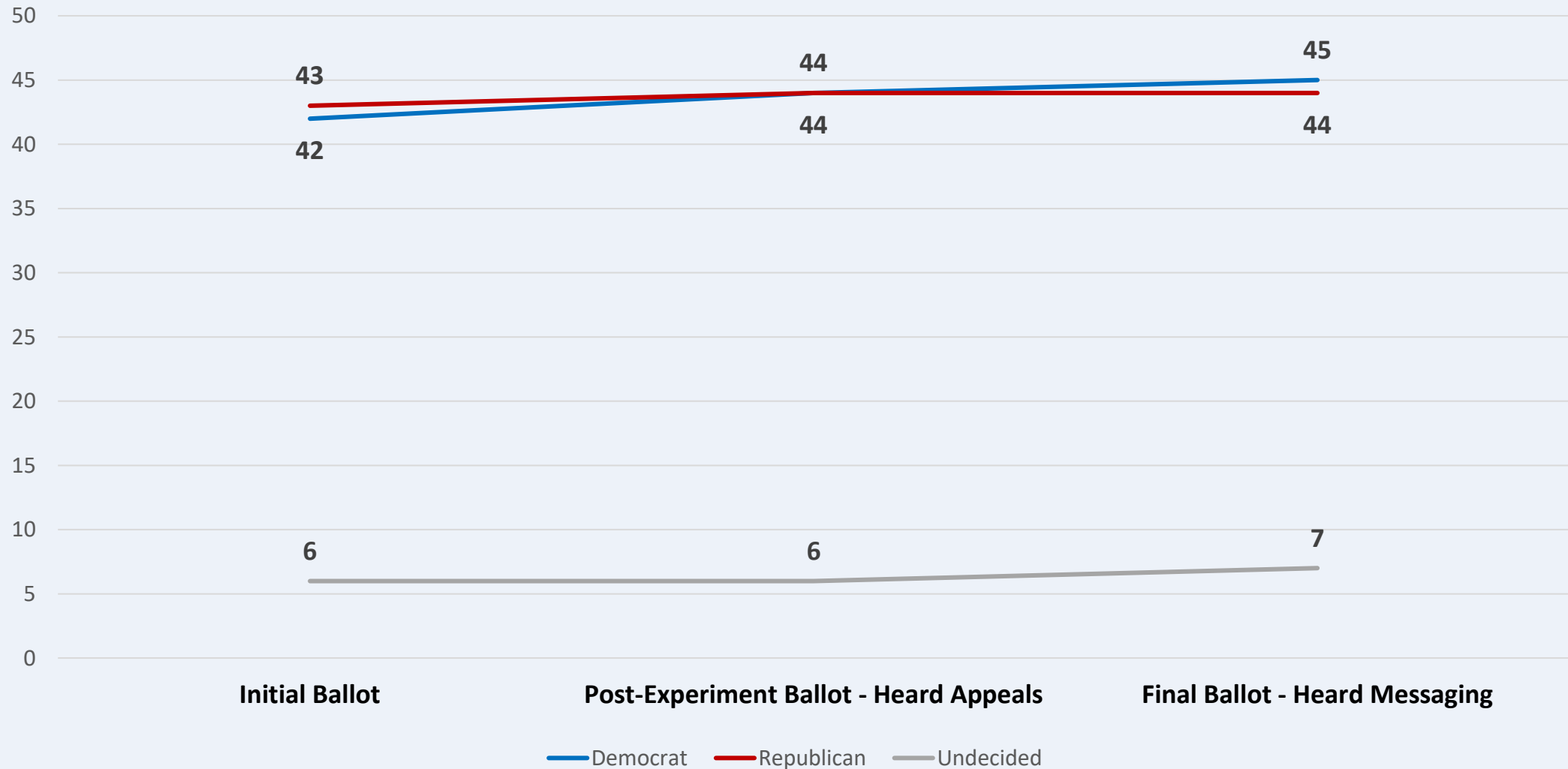

Solid Democrat: 41

Shift to Democrat: 4
- Latina women
- People of color <50
- Latino/a college
- Indep/DK
- Indep/DK women
- Weak Democrat
- South
- South women
- South <50

Shift to Republican: 3
- Age 30-39
- Weak Republican
- Indep/DK men
- Northeast <50

Solid Republican: 41

Solid Undecided: 11
- Men <50
- Non-college men
- Black voters
- Women of color
- People of color 50+
- People of color non-college
- Indep/DK
- West men
- Support score 30-69

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Better Approach: Initial to Final Shift

Voters who shift toward preferring the Democratic Party's approach include similar, though broader, groups compared to those who shifted on the Congressional ballot – primarily voters of color (driven by Latina women, younger Latinos/as, and non-college Latinos/as), self-identified Democrats, independents, voters in the South, and less frequent voters. There is little backlash, with mostly Republicans shifting further toward their own party.
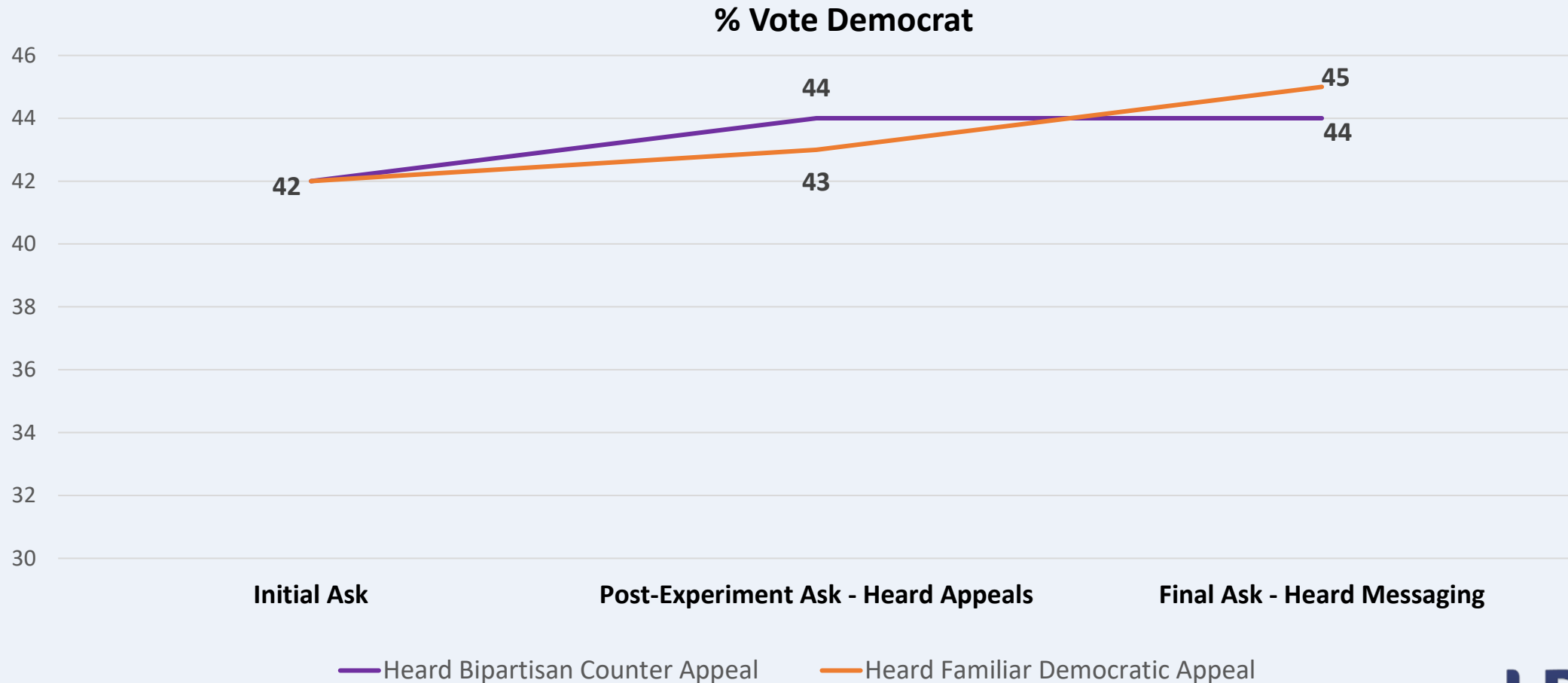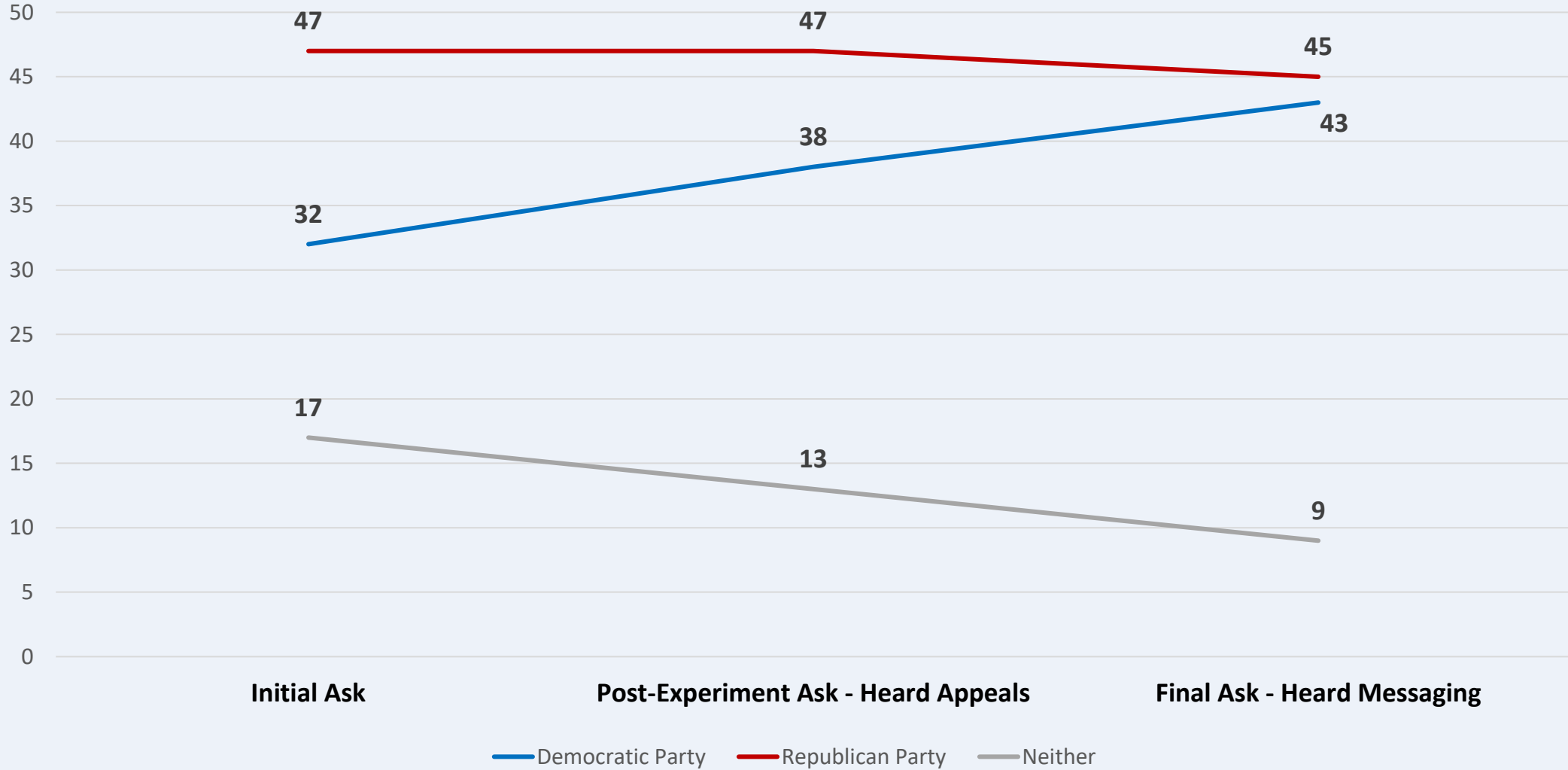
Solid Democratic Party — 30
- 4-year college grad
- People of color
- Women of color
- Latina women
- Latino/a <50
- Latino/a non-college
- Democrat ID
- Indep/DK
- South
- South women
- South <50
- Midwest men
- Midwest 50+
- Voted '20 only
- Support score 30-69

Shift to Democratic Party — 15

Shift to Republican Party — 5
- Black voters
- Latino/a 50+
- Weak Republican
- Republican women
- South women

Solid Republican Party — 41

Solid No Party Chosen — 9
- Men
- Age 40-49
- Men <50
- Men of color
- Latino/a college
- Indep/DK
- Weak Democrat
- Midwest men
- West men
- Midwest <50
- West <50

Congressional Ballot Progression

Initial Ballot | Post-Experiment Ballot - Heard Appeals | Final Ballot - Heard Messaging

Democrat: 42 → 44 → 45
Republican: 43 → 44 → 44
Undecided: 6 → 6 → 7

Democrat — Republican — Undecided

82

By the end of the survey, when voters have heard partisan appeals on the border and more details and positive messaging about the bipartisan plan, the ballot remains similar regardless of which Democratic position voters heard.
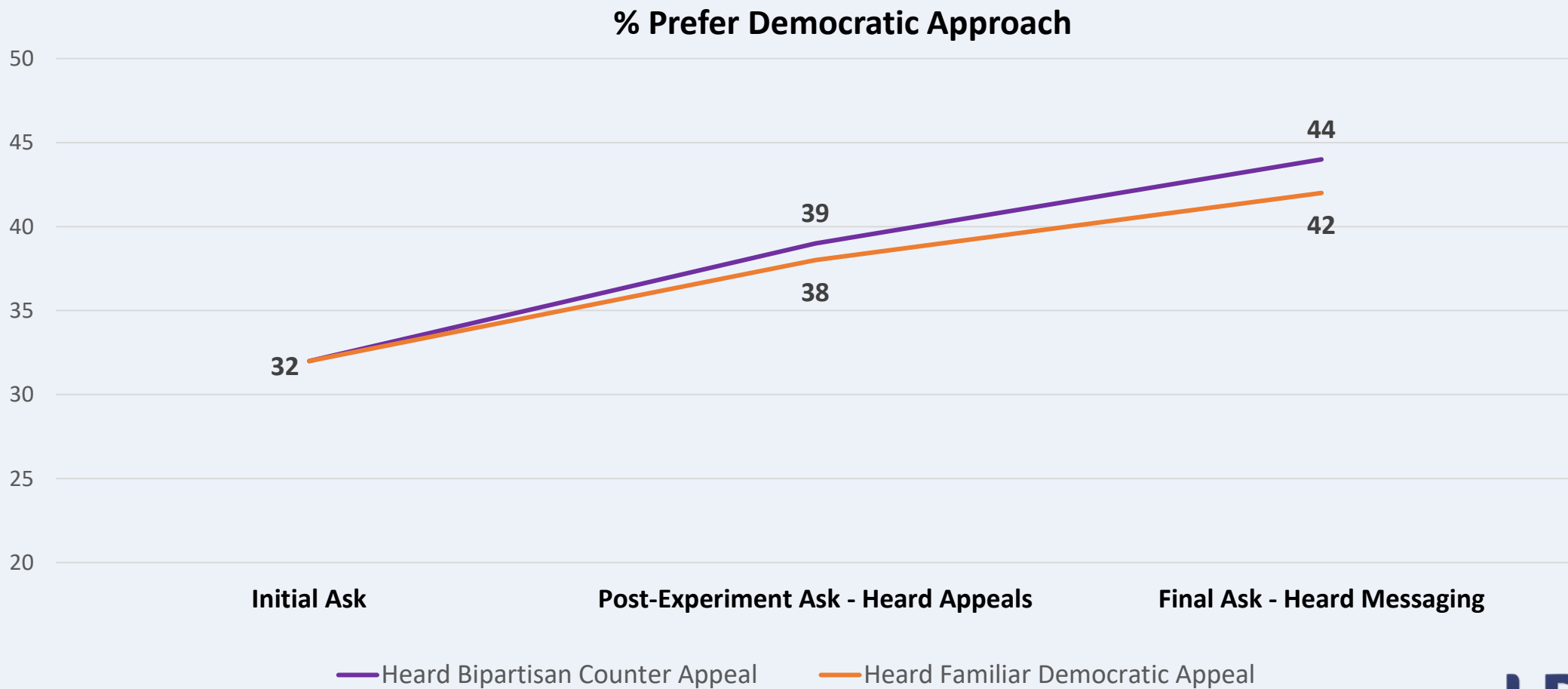
% Vote Democrat

	Initial Ask	Post-Experiment Ask - Heard Appeals	Final Ask - Heard Messaging
Heard Bipartisan Counter Appeal	42	44	44
Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal	42	43	45

— Heard Bipartisan Counter Appeal   — Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

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Better Approach Progression

Better Approach Progression: The Experiment

By the end of the survey, when voters have heard partisan appeals on the border and more details and positive messaging about the bipartisan plan, voters who initially heard the bipartisan counter appeal are a few points better for Democrats than those who heard the familiar appeal are.

% Prefer Democratic Approach

	Initial Ask	Post-Experiment Ask - Heard Appeals	Final Ask - Heard Messaging
Heard Bipartisan Counter Appeal	32	39	44
Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal	32	38	42

— Heard Bipartisan Counter Appeal   — Heard Familiar Democratic Appeal

What We Learned About the Final Ballots

1. While the Congressional ballot starts and ends in a statistical tie, Democrats can erase the Republican advantage on border security and immigration by owning the bipartisan deal.

2. The bipartisan appeal is strong among base voters and is needed to bring in independents, though the familiar Democratic appeal more strongly consolidates base Democrats.

3. Voters who get better for Democrats disproportionately include independents, weaker Democrats, Latino/a college graduates, younger voters of color, and voters in the South.

4. Independents, younger and non-college men, and some voters of color remain disproportionately undecided throughout the course of the survey.

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Holding Republicans Accountable for Stopping the Bipartisan Deal

Base Democrats, scored independents, and Latinos/as tend to support the border deal, while base Republicans disproportionately oppose it – though a plurality still support the proposal overall. Swing targets, and especially voters who initially choose a Democrat on the ballot but not the Democratic approach, also support the deal by wide margins.

Q19. And do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?

Darker colors indicate intensity

63 **(+38)**

Support: 63 (26 strong)

25

Oppose: 25 (16 strong)

13

Can't answer: 13
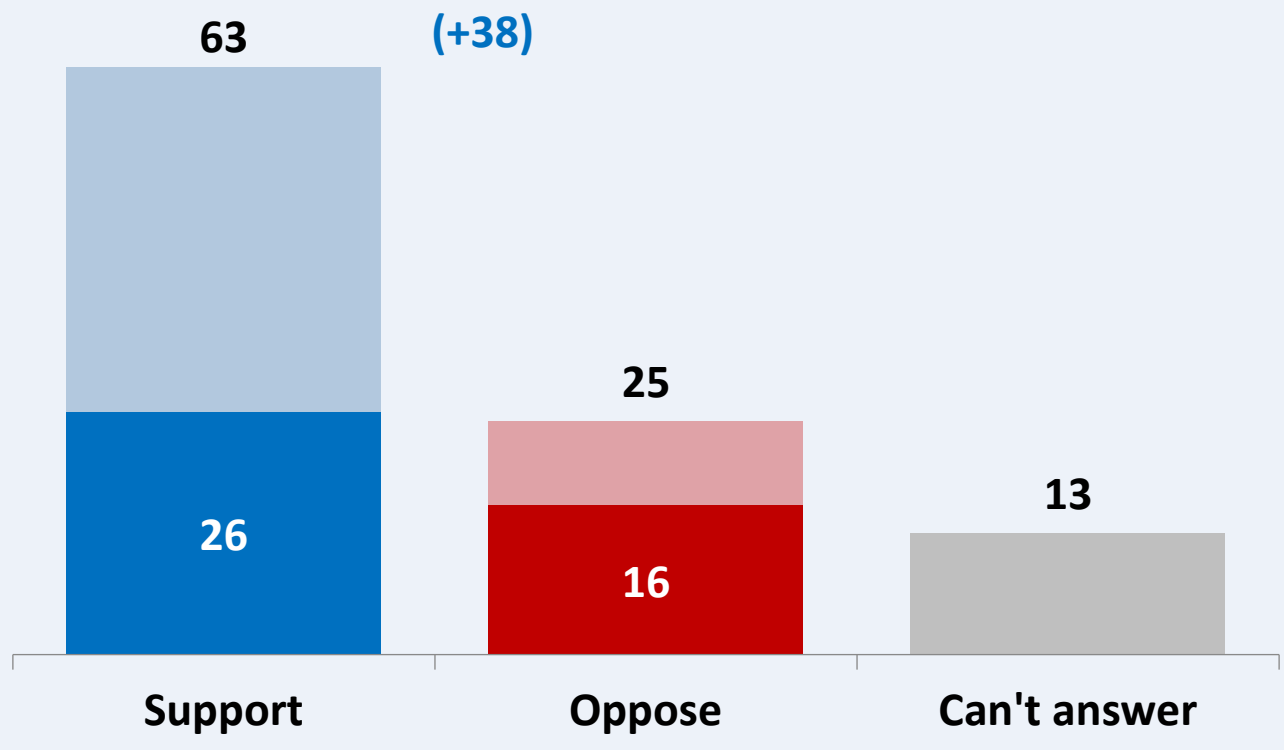
	Support	Oppose	Net Support
Democrat	*85*	8	+77
Independent/DK	55	25	+31
Republican	47	*40*	+7
Support score 70+	*71*	17	+55
Support score 30-69	*68*	16	+52
Support score <30	51	*37*	+13
White voters	62	25	+36
Latino/a voters	*75*	20	+55
Shift toward Dem. Approach	*75*	13	+62
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	*82*	8	+74
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	49	16	+33

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Proposal Support/Opposition Bases

Base supporters disproportionately include voters under age 30, younger women, college educated women, Black voters, Latino/a voters, Democrats, scored independents, and younger voters in Northeast and South.

Base opponents disproportionately include men (especially non-college men), Republicans, independent men, and voters in the West.

Voters who neither support nor oppose the deal include college educated women, independent women, and Black voters.

Support (63%)			
Under age 30	71	Democrat ID	85
Women <50	68	Northeast	67
Post-grads	67	South	70
College women	67	Northeast women	71
Black voters	70	Northeast <50	74
Latino/a voters	75	South <50	77
People of color non-college	75	Support score 70+	71
White college	69	Support score 30-69	68

Oppose (25%)			
Men	31	Independent/DK men	30
Age 30-39	30	West	31
H.S./Less	33	Midwest men	35
Non-college men	32	West men	40
White men	33	Midwest <50	31
White non-college	31	Support score <30	37
Republican ID	40		

Can't answer (13%)	
College women	17
Black voters	18
Independent/DK ID	20
Independent/DK women	30
Northeast women	17
Northeast <50	17
Voted '20 only	19

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- **Voters who do not identify as Democrats but support the proposal include voters under age 40, non-college voters (especially women), older Latinos/as and Latino men, both independents and Republicans, and voters in the South.**

- **This includes a good chunk of independents, non-college voters, and Latino/a voters who may not feel positively toward Democrats overall but appreciate bipartisan compromise.**

Not Dem/Support Proposal (28%)			
Under age 30	43	Independent/DK ID	55
Age 30-39	32	Republican ID	47
Non-college	33	South	40
Non-college women	36	Northeast <50	32
Men of color	35	Voted '20 only	34
Latino men	32	Support score 30-69	36
Latino/a 50+	32	Support score <30	34
People of color non-college	36	Turnout score 30-69	36
White non-college	33		

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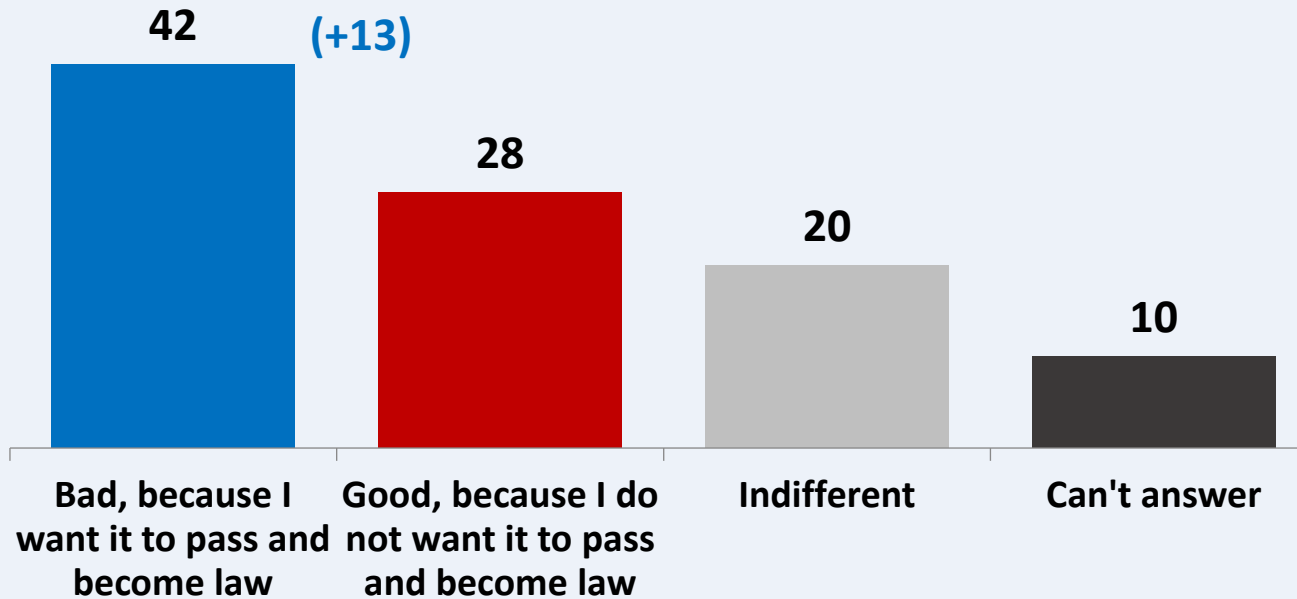| Dem ID/Not Support Proposal (6%)	
Age 40-49	10
Women <50	10
College women	10
People of color <50	11
Democrat ID	15
West <50	12
Support score 70+	10
Support score 80+	10

- **Voters who do identify as Democrats but do *not* support the proposal tend to be younger women, college educated women, and younger voters of color.**

- **These are stronger base Democratic voters who may be more hesitant to support this tougher approach at the border.**

While 63% of voters support the proposal, just 42% feel bad about it not having a path forward. A plurality of Republican voters say they want the deal to fail after hearing Trump opposed it, though Democrats, independents, and Latino/a voters still want it to pass.

Q20. As you may know, former President Donald Trump opposed this deal on border security, and now it has no path forward to pass in Congress and become law.

Which of the following best describes how you feel about the fact that it will not pass, even if none are perfect?

	Bad	Good	42 (+13)	28	20	10

Bar chart:
- Bad, because I want it to pass and become law: 42 (+13)
- Good, because I do not want it to pass and become law: 28
- Indifferent: 20
- Can't answer: 10

	Bad	Good	Net Bad
Democrat	_73_	8	+65
Independent/DK	36	31	+5
Republican	15	_49_	-34
Support score 70+	_54_	17	+37
Support score 30-69	38	26	+13
Support score <30	30	_42_	-13
White voters	43	29	+14
Latino/a voters	42	27	+16

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Half of voters heard the Democratic statement against Republican opposition to this deal focused on Republicans' playing politics, while half heard the statement focused on Republican weakness and deference to Trump.
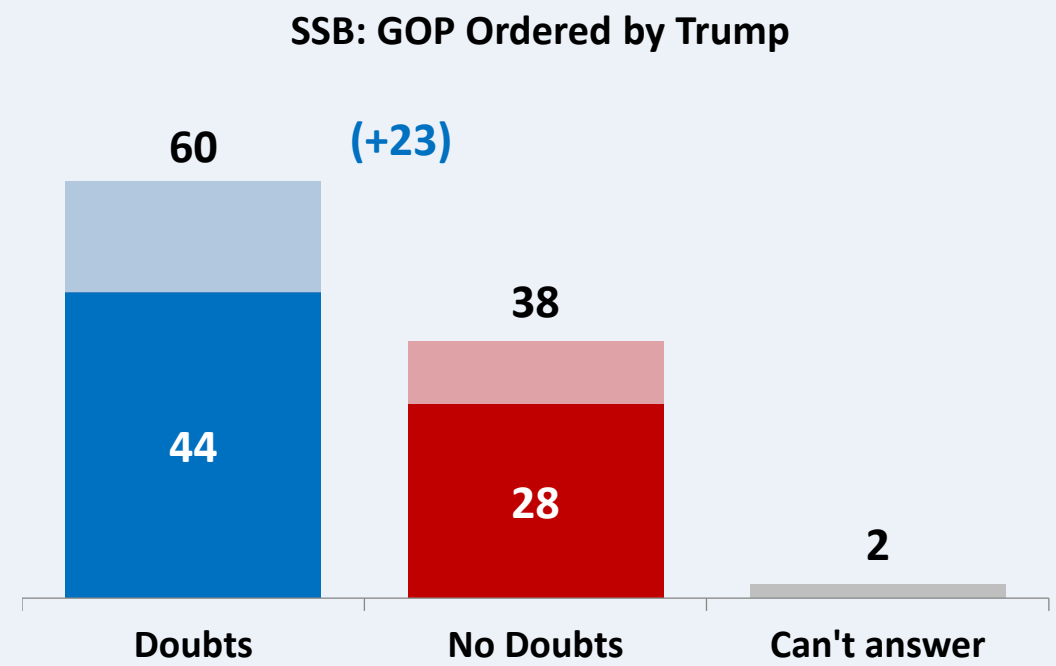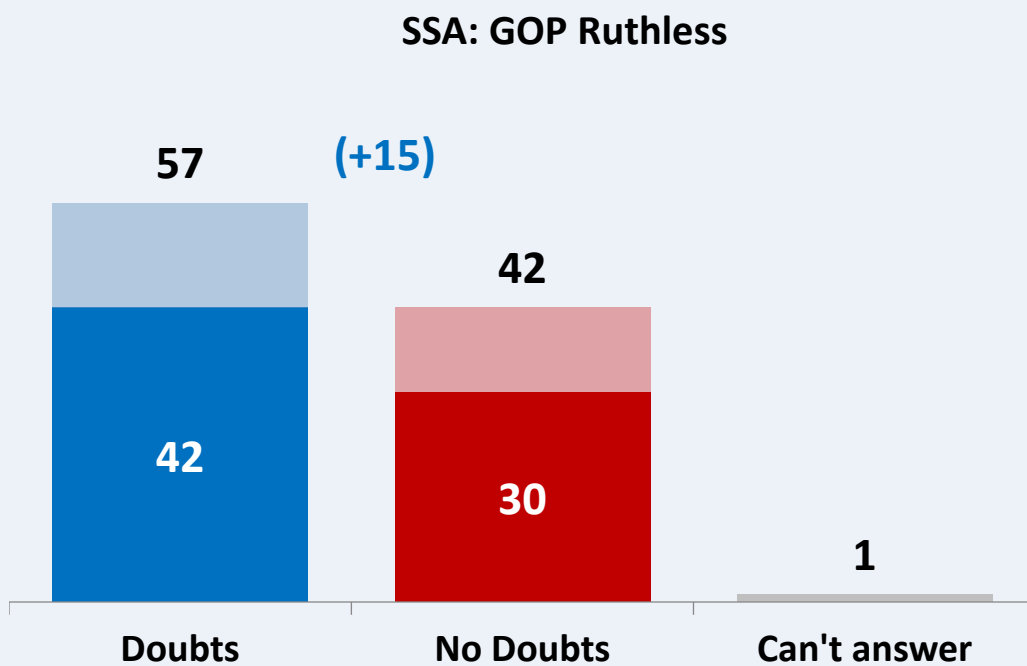
Q26. SSA [GOP RUTHLESS]: Here is a little more about what Democrats have to say about this proposal. The Democrat says Republicans are not serious about addressing problems at the border. Republicans are ruthless, and they demanded a deal. But now that we have one, they would rather vote no and play politics with our border security than take yes for an answer.

Q27. SSB [GOP ORDERED BY TRUMP]: Here is a little more about what Democrats have to say about this proposal. The Democrat says we need to address challenges at the border and work together to restore order. But MAGA Republicans are weak and have been ordered by President Trump to vote no. Instead of solving our border crisis, they would rather take orders from Trump and get nothing done.

Does that raise serious doubts, some doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about supporting Republicans in Congress?

Republican Doubts

A majority of voters have doubts about Republican candidates for playing politics and refusing to address this problem. Voters also have strong doubts about Republicans for kowtowing to Trump and getting nothing done, though this angle is somewhat less impactful among independents.
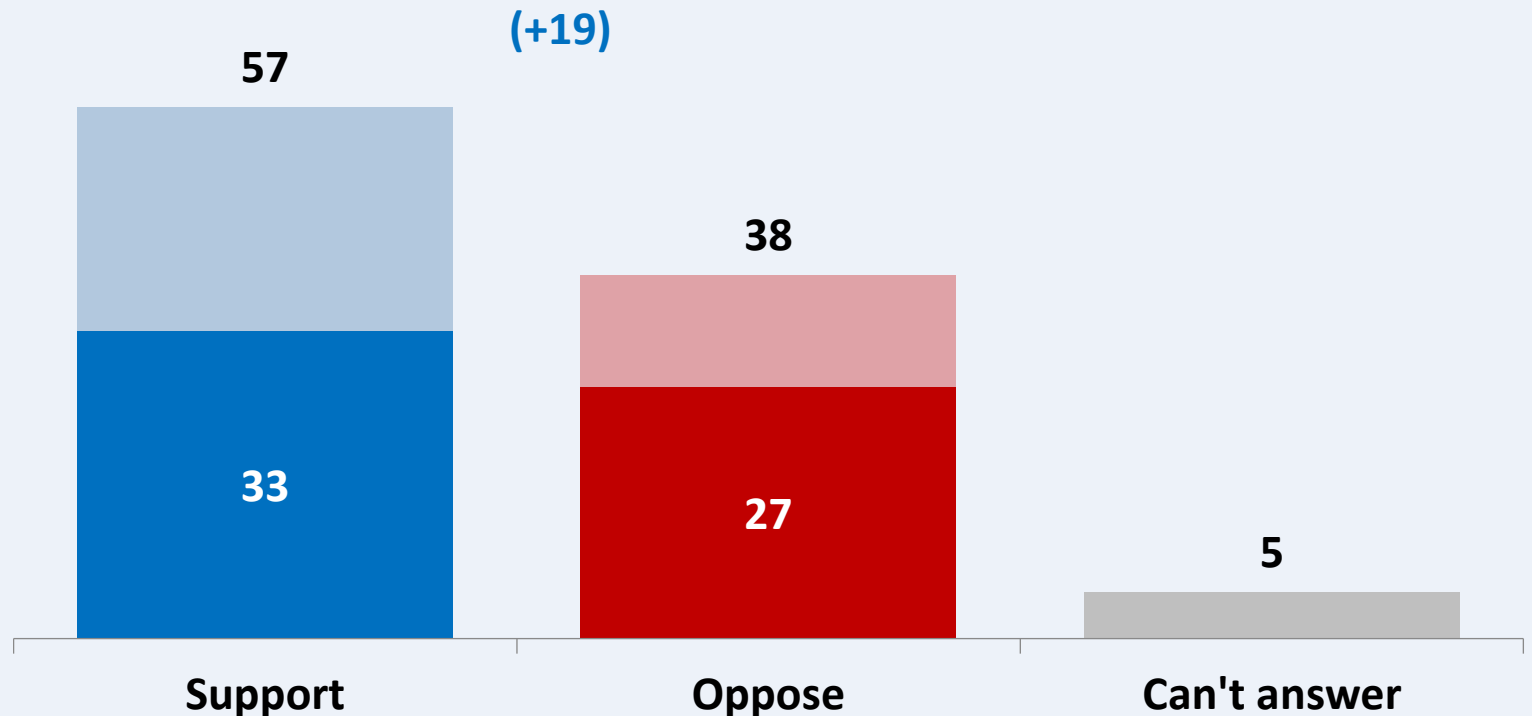
SSA: GOP Ruthless

57   **(+15)**
42

42
30

1

Doubts   No Doubts   Can't answer

SSB: GOP Ordered by Trump

60   **(+23)**
44

38
28

2

Doubts   No Doubts   Can't answer

Darker colors indicate intensity

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A majority of voters still support the proposal after hearing more from the Republican opposition, though the statement's greater popularity among Republicans may indicate this data could have been impacted by unclear question wording.

Q28. Here is what some Republicans in Congress say about this border security proposal. They say it allows up to 5,000 illegal immigrants into the country a day before the President can shut down the border. That is almost 2 million illegal crossings a year. Republicans say we must stop this deal and support one that fully closes the border once and for all.

Based on this information, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?
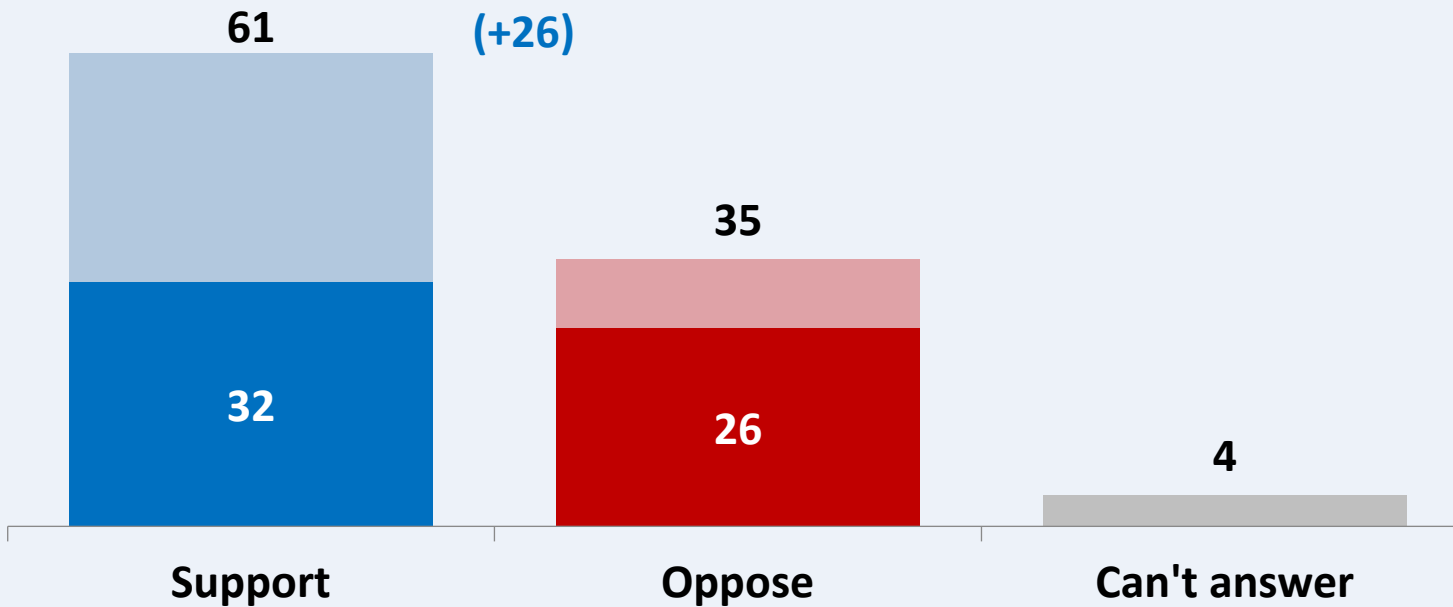
Darker colors indicate intensity

(+19)

	Support	Oppose	Can't answer
Total	57	38	5
Intensity	33	27	

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Following the Republican message about the border deal, voters heard a response from Democrats:

Q29. Here is what Democrats who support the potential deal have to say. They say this is wrong and simply an excuse to kill a tough and fair border deal. Nowhere does the bill allow 5,000 migrants into the country each day. Instead, it would require the President to shut down the border if the number of migrants who arrive reaches 5,000 a day. These migrants aren't released into the country. They are placed in a process that removes them quickly if they aren't eligible to stay under U.S. law. That's why the border patrol union supports this deal—it gives them the power to restore order when the system is overwhelmed.

Based on this information, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?

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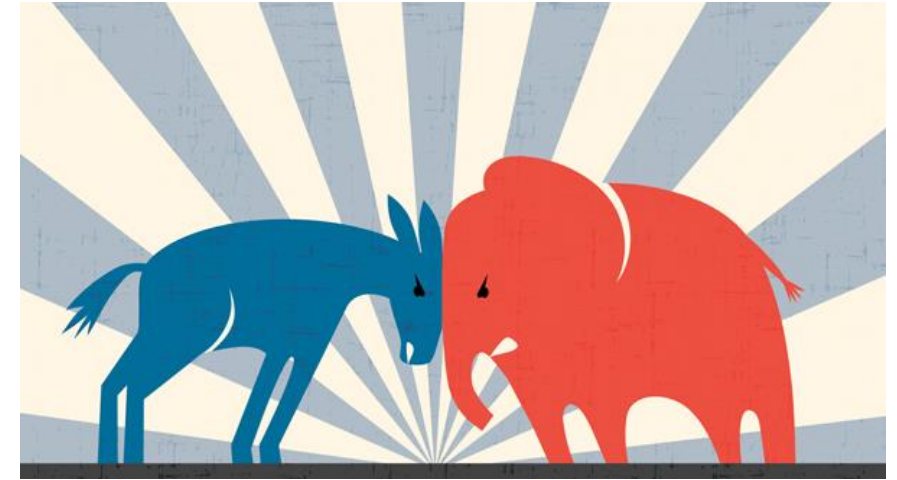LAKE
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Support grows among Democrats and independents, while dropping among Republicans. Swing Democratic voters' support is bolstered by the response, but non-Democrats who initially supported the proposal move away.

	Initial Support	Post-Dem Response Support
Democrat	85	93
Independent/DK	55	61
Republican	47	33
Support score 70+	71	73
Support score 30-69	68	62
Support score <30	51	48
White voters	62	62
Latino/a voters	75	64
Shift toward Dem. Approach	75	86
Vote Dem, Not Dem Better Approach	82	89
No Party Vote, Neither Approach Better	49	62
Not Dem, Support Proposal	100	51
Dem ID, Not Support Proposal	0	74

Support: 61 (+26) — 32
Oppose: 35 — 26
Can't answer: 4

Darker colors indicate intensity

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What We Learned About Holding Republicans Accountable for Stopping the Bipartisan Deal

1. Base Democrats, scored independents, and Latino/a voters tend to support the border deal, while base Republicans disproportionately oppose it – though a plurality still supports the proposal overall. Republican support diminishes when they hear that Trump opposes the deal, though other voters still maintain their support.

2. A majority of voters have doubts about Republican candidates for playing politics and refusing to support the deal and address this problem. This angle is especially strong among independents.

3. Voters also have strong doubts about Republicans for kowtowing to Trump and getting nothing done. This angle almost fully consolidates Democrats but is somewhat less impactful than the alternative angle among independents, who may be skeptical of the focus on Trump.

MaxDiff Classes

What is a MaxDiff Analysis?

- Best-Worst Analysis
- A relative preference test for survey takers; they are asked to choose their best and worst alternatives from between four choices.

When to use MaxDiff?

- When trade-offs or choices are required
- Better for shorter rather than longer questions
- As an example, policy proposals

What does MaxDiff tell Third Way?

- It tells the campaign which traits voters prefer when they are forced to choose between four, and which traits are weaker relative to other choices and options.

Explaining MaxDiff Classes

- In this survey, a MaxDiff analysis was conducted to help determine which statement about the immigration and border security proposal was most convincing to voters.

- Voters were asked to choose the statements that would make them most and least likely to support the Democratic candidate for Congress.

- Through this analysis, the polling team was able to create a set of "classes" of voters based on voters' preferences in the MaxDiff battery, as well as look at the types of voters that make up each class.

- In addition to the specific question designed for the MaxDiff analysis, the polling team was also able to use the different classes as another variable through which to analyze some of the key components of the survey.

- It is important to note that these classes are not permanent. They can and will change from survey to survey based on the questions asked and other environmental issues. That said, they are a good way to view what statement is strongest with voters and how these statements segment voters.

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MaxDiff Classes

What are MaxDiff Classes?

- A statistical technique that creates discrete attitudinal groups and uses new dimensions from MaxDiff analysis.

- The polling team uses a latent class analysis to create "classes" – or clusters – of respondents and score individual items.

- These are groups that respond similarly to similar questions. Voters are not grouped by demographics, but instead by how they feel about certain questions. Then further analysis uncovers what else they have in common with each other.

- In this research, four distinct classes emerge (with a fifth class excluded here because, at just four percent, it is too small of a group to provide meaningful conclusions):

Classes
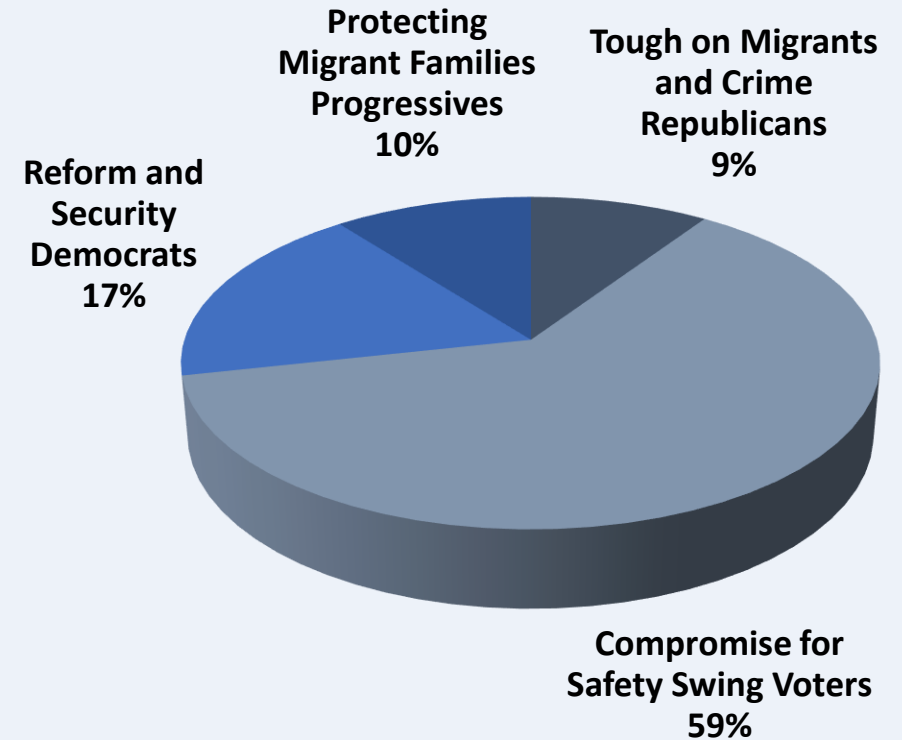
Protecting Migrant Families Progressives 10%

Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans 9%

Reform and Security Democrats 17%

Compromise for Safety Swing Voters 59%

Reform and Security Democrats (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

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MaxDiff Scores by Class

	Total	Reform and Security Democrats (Class 4) (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (Class 5) (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (Class 3) (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (Class 1) (9%)
PROTECT MIGRANTS	**16**	12	<u>67</u>	<u>12</u>	2
TOUGH AND FAIR	**12**	7	1	<u>11</u>	<u>27</u>
GOOD IMMIGRATION REFORM	**11**	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>	10	4
FIGHTS CARTELS/DRUGS	**10**	5	1	<u>11</u>	<u>24</u>
AGREE ON THE PROBLEM	**9**	8	1	<u>11</u>	8
COUNTER CLAIM	**9**	<u>13</u>	2	9	4
BIPARTISAN	**9**	<u>13</u>	2	9	7
HISTORIC	**9**	<u>14</u>	2	9	7
BRINGS ORDER	**8**	9	2	9	8
PRESIDENTAL LIMITS	**8**	5	2	10	9

Ever Chosen Most Likely by Class

	Total	Reform and Security Democrats (Class 4) (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (Class 5) (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (Class 3) (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (Class 1) (9%)
AGREE ON THE PROBLEM	**75**	62	52	<u>83</u>	74
TOUGH AND FAIR	**73**	66	28	78	<u>96</u>
PROTECT MIGRANTS	**72**	71	<u>100</u>	<u>81</u>	18
HISTORIC	**70**	<u>88</u>	54	69	59
GOOD IMMIGRATION REFORM	**69**	<u>80</u>	<u>100</u>	69	30
BRINGS ORDER	**69**	70	62	71	73
BIPARTISAN	**68**	<u>81</u>	50	70	58
FIGHTS CARTELS/DRUGS	**67**	37	21	<u>80</u>	<u>90</u>
PRESIDENTAL LIMITS	**66**	43	48	79	67
COUNTER CLAIM	**65**	<u>85</u>	41	66	40

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Reform and Security Democrats (17%)

- Seventeen percent of voters fall into the **Reform and Security Democrats** group.

- On the Congressional ballot, 65% vote Democrat, 21% vote Republican, and 15% are undecided or choose a different candidate.

- When it comes to immigration and the border, 46% prefer the Democratic approach (net-23 Democrat), though a sizable 27% say neither party is better. But these voters are moveable – 22% shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after messaging, growing to 62% choosing the Democratic approach.

- Three quarters of these voters support the bipartisan border proposal (net-66 support), making them the best group for this legislation.

- These voters tend to support both safety and progressive reform-focused components on the proposal, including Counsel Children (64% strongly support), Drug Enforcement (62%), and Work Permits (58%).

MaxDiff: These voters prioritize more traditional Democratic messages, like passing good immigration reform, as well as bipartisan compromise to finally get something done on immigration issues and charting a new path for Democrats. They are less likely to prioritize a drug or crime focused message.

Demographics:

- 58% Democrat, 22% Republican
- 51% women, 45% men
- 45% under age 50, 55% age 50+
- 75% white, 11% Black, 9% Latino/a
- 49% college graduate, 49% non-college
- 73% voted both 2020 and 2022

Reform and Security Democrats (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

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Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)

- Ten percent of voters fall into the **Protecting Migrant Families Progressives** group.

- On the Congressional ballot, 83% vote Democrat and 15% are undecided or would choose a different candidate.

- Nearly two thirds of these voters (72%) prefer the Democratic approach to immigration and the border (net-69 Democrat), while 20% say neither party is better on this issue. But, 12% of these voters do shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after messaging to reach net-78 Democrat.

- Sixty-two percent of these voters support the bipartisan border proposal (net-38 support).

- They tend to support the proposal components that protect and support migrants, including Counsel Children (97% strongly support), Work Permits (95%), and New Visas (86%).

MaxDiff: These voters highly prioritize the more progressive messages of protecting migrants and passing good immigration reform. They are less likely to prioritize messages focused on a tougher approach, crime and drugs, or bipartisan compromise.

Demographics:
- 77% Democrat
- 59% women, 40% men
- 56% under age 50, 44% age 50+
- 82% white, 9% Latino/a
- 69% college graduate
- 70% voted both 2020 and 2022

Reform and Security Democrats (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

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Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)

- Over half of voters (59%) fall within the **Compromise for Safety Voters** group.

- On the Congressional ballot, 49% vote Republican, 35% vote Democrat, and 16% are undecided or would choose another candidate.

- When it comes to immigration and the border, 54% prefer the Republican approach (net-27 Republican), while 16% say neither party is better. However, 15% of these voters shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after messaging.

- Sixty-one percent of these voters support the bipartisan border proposal (net-37 support).

- These voters are also more focused on crime and security, but with less intensity than the previous group: their top proposal components are Drug Enforcement (68% strongly support), Mandatory Detention (57%), and Remove Migrants (48%).

MaxDiff: These voters have diverse priorities, from protecting migrants, to taking a tougher approach at the border, to fighting cartels, to reaching a bipartisan compromise.

Demographics:
- 46% Republican, 36% Democrat
- 54% women, 45% men
- 43% under age 50, 57% age 50+
- 70% white, 13% Latino/a
- 60% non-college
- 53% voted both 2020 and 2022, 43% DNV 2022

Reform and Security Democrats (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

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Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

- Nine percent of voters fall within the **Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans** group.

- On the Congressional ballot, 76% of these voters vote Republican, 14% vote Democrat, and 10% are undecided or voting for someone else.

- When it comes to immigration and the border, 81% prefer the Republican approach (net-72 Republican), and these voters do not shift toward Democrats with messaging.

- Over half of these voters (55%) support the bipartisan border proposal after learning more about it, though 49% say they do NOT want it to pass after learning that Trump opposed the deal.

- These voters tend to support more crime- and security-focused components of the proposal, including Drug Enforcement (83% strongly support), Remove Migrants (82%), and Mandatory Detention (70%).

MaxDiff: These voters prioritize a tough approach on the border, fighting cartels and the drug trade, and restoring order at the border. They are less likely to prioritize migrant protections or positive immigration reform.

Demographics:

- 63% Republican

- 61% men, 38% women

- 53% under age 50, 47% age 50+

- 76% white, 10% Latino/a

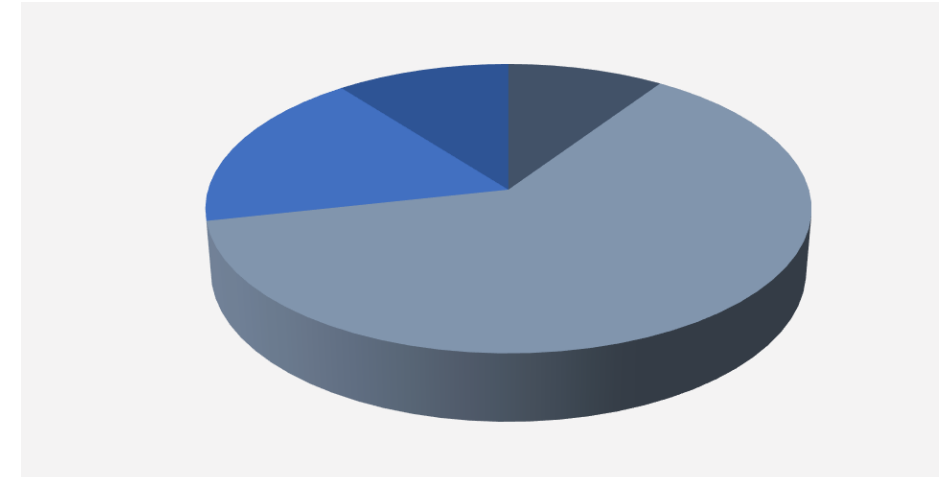- 60% non-college

- 59% voted both 2020 and 2022, 35% DNV 2022

Reform and Security Democrats (17%)	Protecting Migrant Families Progressives (10%)	Compromise for Safety Voters (59%)	Tough on Migrants and Crime Republicans (9%)

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Learnings From MaxDiff Classes

1. Of the four MaxDiff classes, Reform and Security Democrats most support the bipartisan proposal and are most likely to shift toward preferring the Democratic approach after messaging. These voters tend to be softer Democrats, and they prioritize both progressive immigration reform *and* bipartisan compromise to finally get things done on the border – as well as charting a new path for Democrats on this issue.

2. The Protecting Migrant Families Progressives are stronger base Democrats who support migrant protections and familiar Democratic appeals on immigration, but they are less supportive of the tougher aspects of this deal.

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