



ARIZONA VOTERS:  
2020 ELECTION, POLICY AND  
IMMIGRATION MESSAGING SURVEY

# Methodology

- Representative sample of registered voters in Arizona
- N= 701 registered voters (+/- 3.7 percentage points)
  - White N = 300 (+/- 5.7)
  - Latino N = 301 (+/- 5.7)
  - Black N = 100 (+/- 9.8)
- Field dates: July 16 – July 28, 2020, online
- English or Spanish according to respondent preference

# Arizona and Immigration

- Immigration is always an issue in statewide politics.
  - Of course it is not the *only* issue, but it is not going away...
  - As long as Mexico is south of Arizona, border and immigration policies, rhetoric, and positioning will be part of Arizona politics (see also: Texas).
- Democrats need responses, but so do Republicans
  - Both parties have to address the manner in which immigrants are treated, the plan to move forward, and (yes) security.
  - Dems should consider where they can play offense on immigration.
- Arizona has rejected Arpaio (twice), his legacy mixes anti-immigration fervor, discriminatory law enforcement, mismanaged funds, and forever-linked to Trump. That toxic mix could be a go-to pivot on immigration, defunding police attacks.

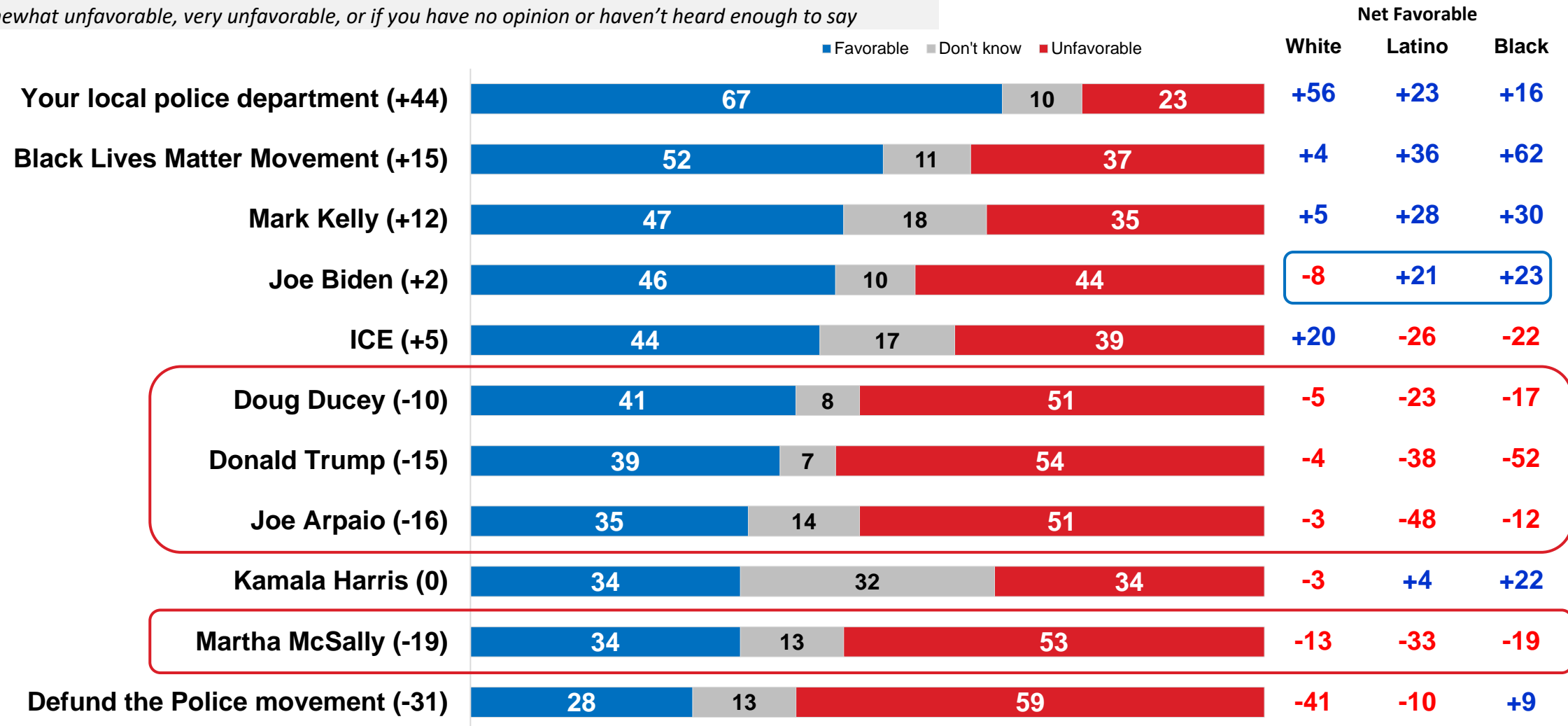
# POLITICAL LANDSCAPE: ISSUES, CANDIDATES, AND VOTING



# All GOP Candidates in Negative Territory; Kelly less known, but more popular than McSally

## Both local PD and BLM fare well, Biden Favorables Driven by Latino and Black Voters

For each of the following, please indicate whether your overall opinion of them is very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, or if you have no opinion or haven't heard enough to say



# Presidential Vote

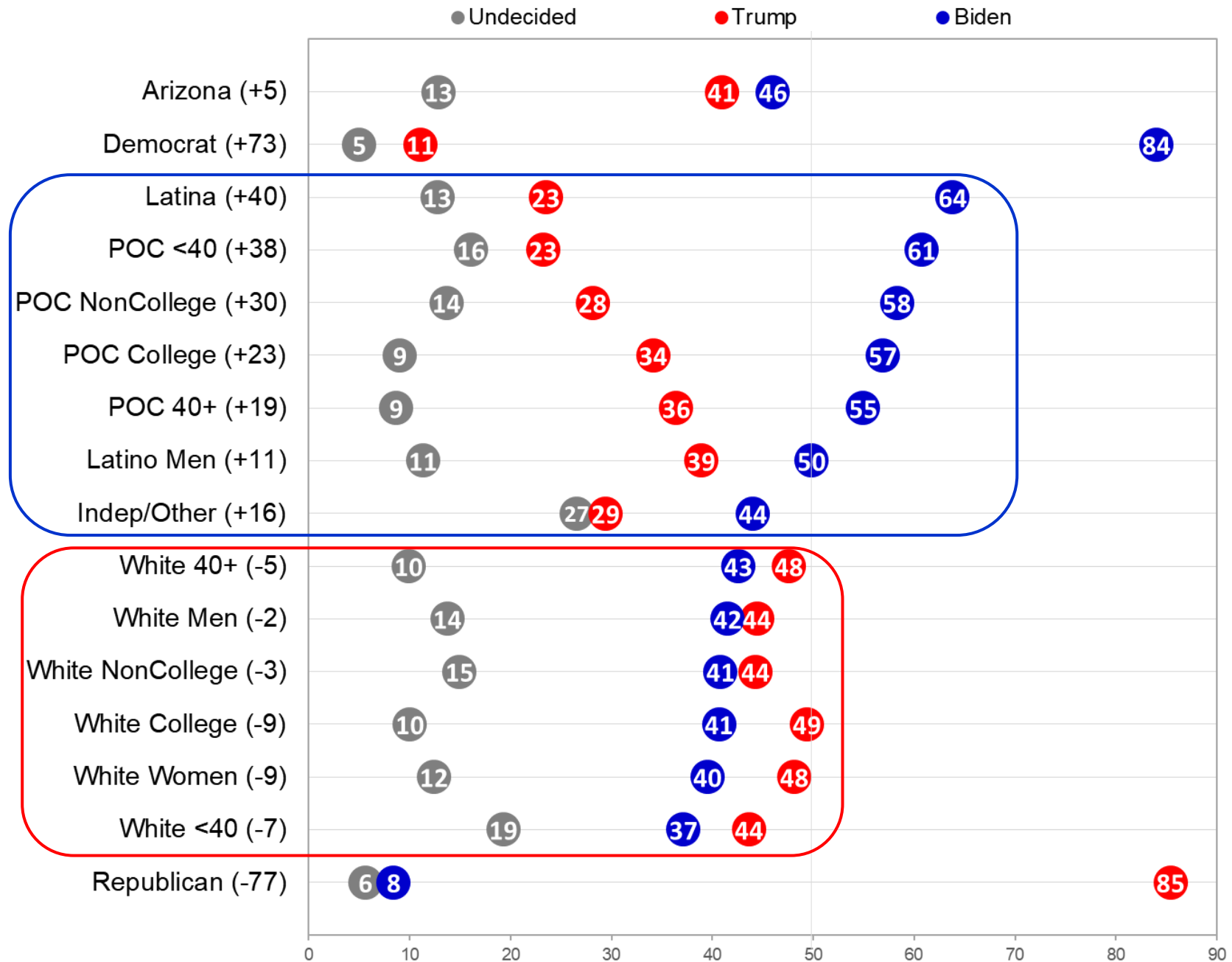
(Sorted by net Trump support)

Biden leads the presidential race, driven largely by strong support among Black and Latino voters, which holds across age, education, and gender.

Independents breaking heavily in Biden's favor so far.

Trump less than 50% with all groups, but ahead with White voters regardless of age, education, or gender.

Nearly 20% of Whites under 40 are undecided.



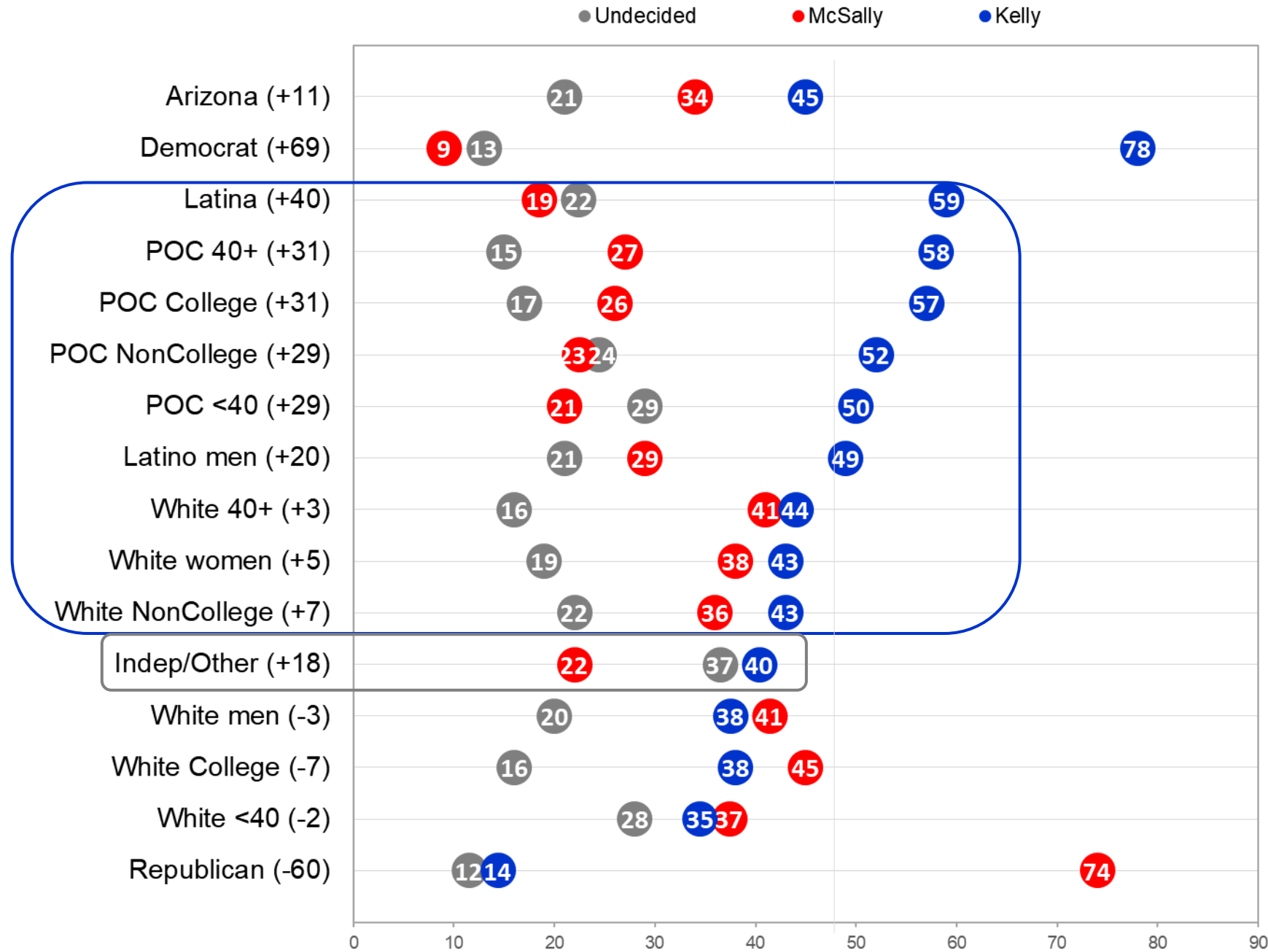
# Senate Vote

(Sorted by net Kelly support)

Kelly holds a solid 11-point lead. But, 21% are undecided. Among independents, 37% are undecided.

Among White voters, Kelly leads with women, voters age 40+, and non-college segments.

Kelly's lead is 20 points or more with all segments of Black and Latino voters.

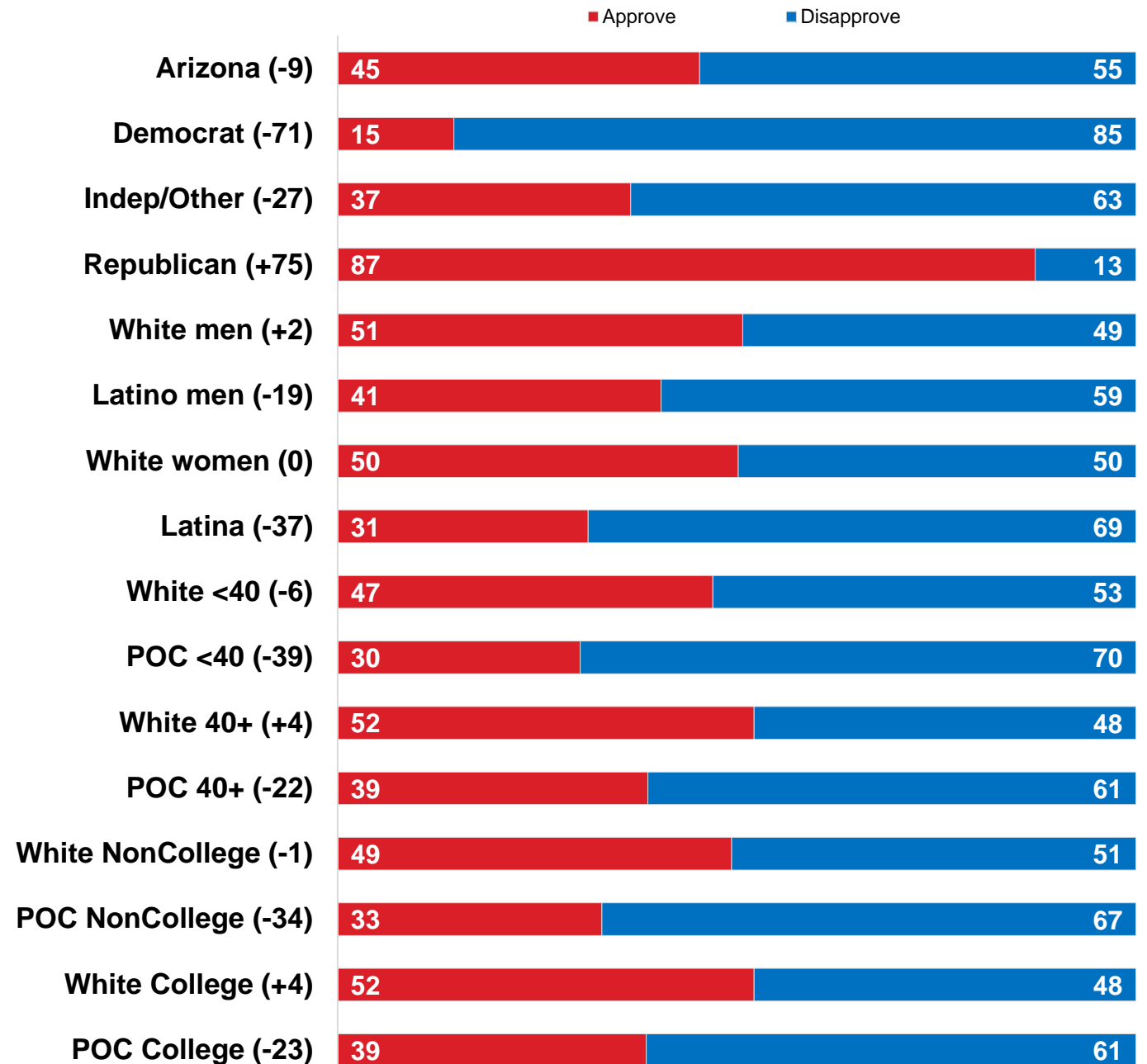


# Trump Approval

Less than half of Arizona voters approve (45%) of the way Trump is handling his job as president; pretty close to the share that plan to vote for him in November (41%).

Overall, 55% disapprove, including 63% of independents. But “disapprove” does not directly translate to Biden votes, only 46% of Arizona voters said they plan to vote Biden.

Again, it is racial/ethnic group (not gender, age, or education) driving opinion differences.





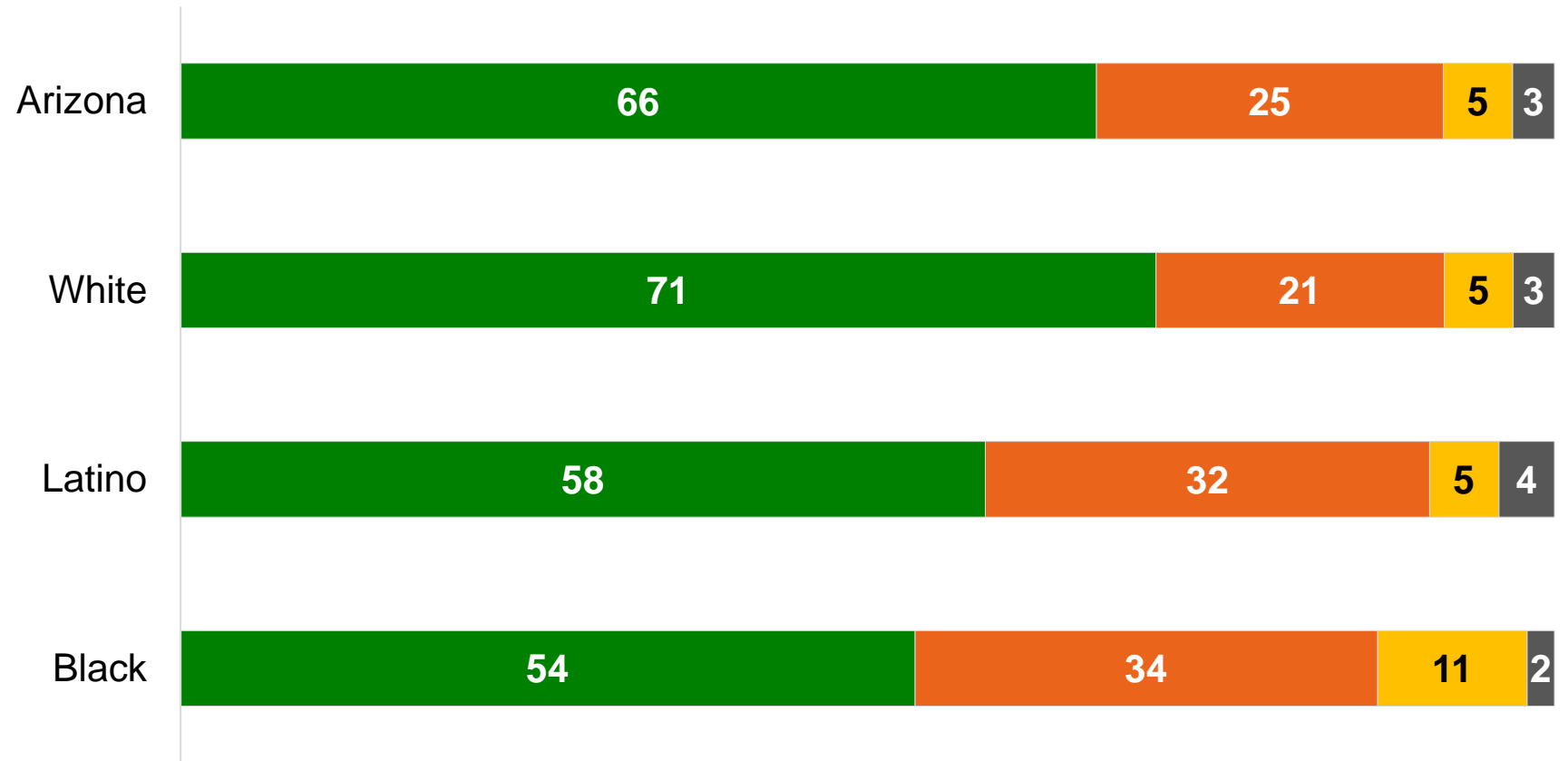
# Most Arizona Voters Plan to Vote by Mail

(How do you plan to vote this year?)

■ Mail    ■ In person Election day    ■ In person early    ■ Don't plan to vote

White voters most likely to vote by mail (and for Trump).

More than 1/3 of Black and Latino voters plan to vote in-person, but also expressed more concern about exposure to COVID at the voting booth.



Top 5 Priority Issues	Arizona	White
<b>Responding to COVID19</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33</b>
Protect Medicare/Social Security	23	27
Lower health care costs	22	22
Border security to control immigration	16	20
Stop Pelosi and Dem agenda	16	19
Stop Trump and GOP agenda	16	

Responding to COVID-19 is the sole issue that ranks in the top five for White, Latino, and Black voters.

The top issue priorities at the statewide level includes a three-way tie for 4<sup>th</sup> place.

Top 5 Priority Issues	Latino	Top 5 Priority Issues	Black
<b>Responding to COVID19</b>	<b>31</b>	Stop police brutality	32
Lower health care costs	23	<b>Responding to COVID19</b>	<b>31</b>
Improve wages/incomes	21	Stop Trump and GOP agenda	24
Stop discrimination against immigrants/Latinos	16	Criminal justice/police reform	19
Improve K-12 education	16	Protect Medicare/Social Security	16

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Responding to COVID19	32	33
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* Border security to control immigration	16	<b>20</b>
* Stop Pelosi and Dem agenda	16	<b>19</b>
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Responding to COVID-19 is the sole issue that ranks in the top 5 for White, Latino, and Black voters.

(\* Issues ranked top 5 only for one group)

<b>Top 5 Priority Issues</b>	<b>Latino</b>	<b>Top 5 Priority Issues</b>	<b>Black</b>
Responding to COVID19	31	* Stop police brutality	<b>32</b>
Lower health care costs	23	Responding to COVID19	31
* Improve wages/incomes	<b>21</b>	* Stop Trump and GOP agenda	<b>24</b>
* Stop discrimination against immigrants/Latinos	<b>16</b>	* Criminal justice/police reform	<b>19</b>
* Improve K-12 education	<b>16</b>	Protect Medicare/Social Security	16

# IMMIGRATION: EVALUATING CANDIDATES AND POLICY MESSAGES



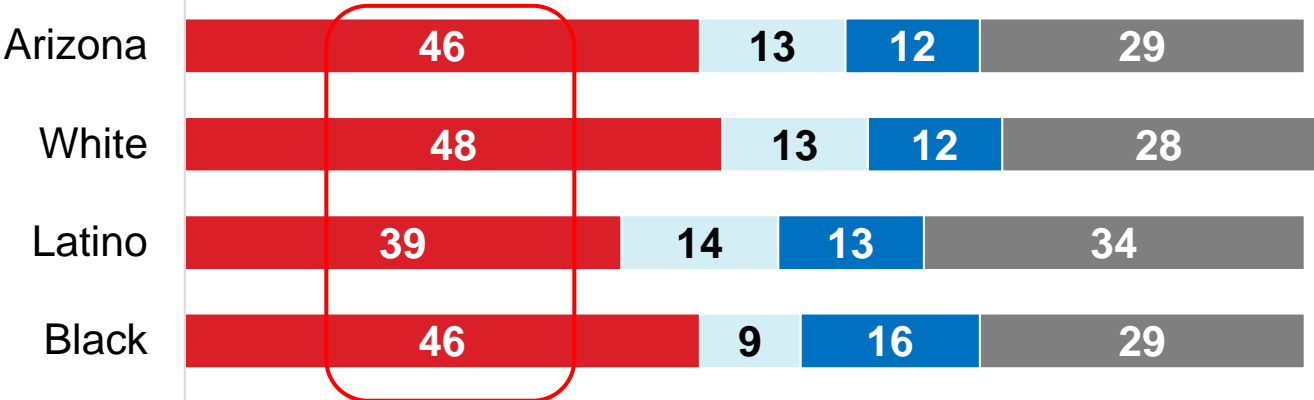
# Senate Candidate Immigration Positions

When it comes to immigration policy, based on what you have heard or read, do you think the [Republican Senator Martha McSally] [Democratic U.S. Senate Candidate Mark Kelly]:

- Wants to crackdown on immigration, build a border wall, increase enforcement
- Supports creating bipartisan solution to immigration
- Wants to work with immigration advocates to pass welcoming and humane immigration policy that establishes a path to earned citizenship
- Don't know immigration position

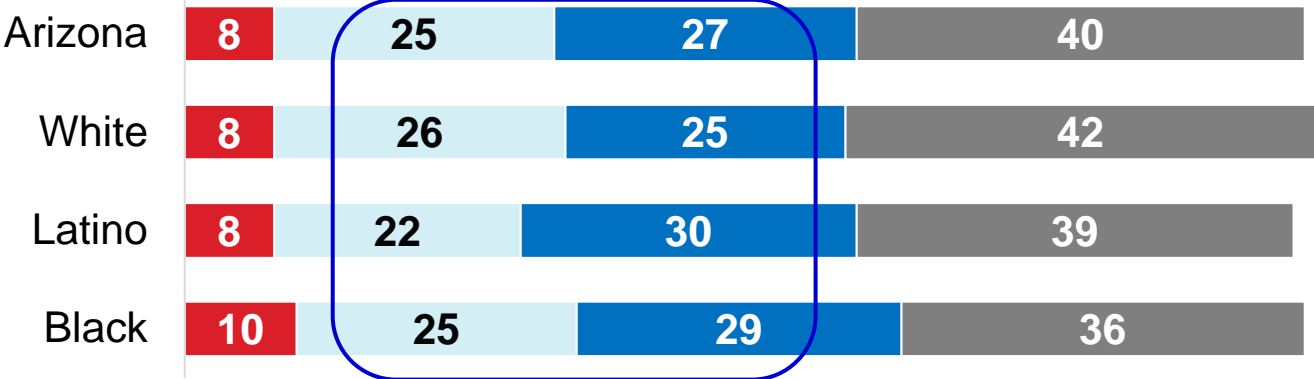
## McSally

**McSally mostly viewed as an immigration hardliner.**



## Kelly

**Kelly views largely unknown, but majority believe he supports solutions that are NOT enforcement-first-focused.**



# Senate Candidate Positions Motivating Vote Choices

Do you see [Candidate's] position on immigration as more of a reason to vote for them, against them, or does it not really matter to you?

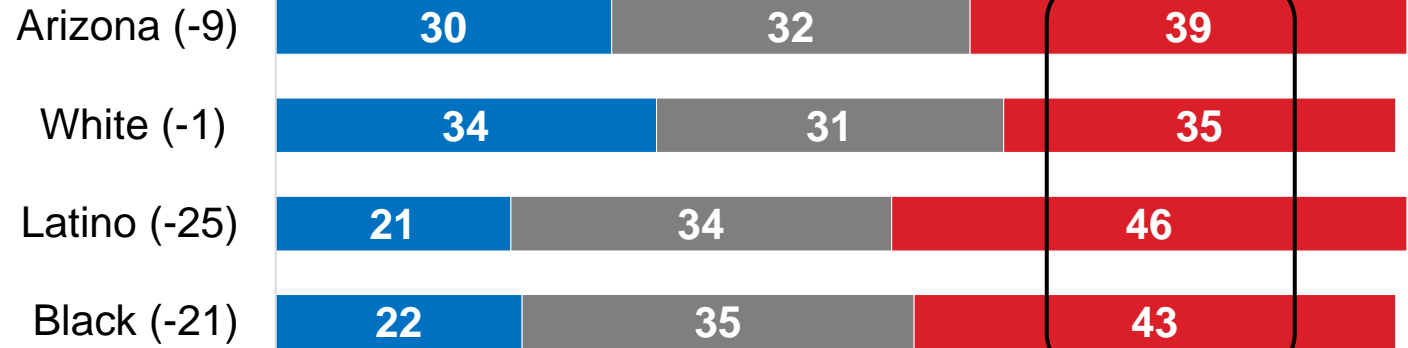
With all groups McSally on immigration is net negative, and Kelly is net positive.

Among those who think Kelly supports bipartisan reform, 63% say it is more of a reason to vote for him.

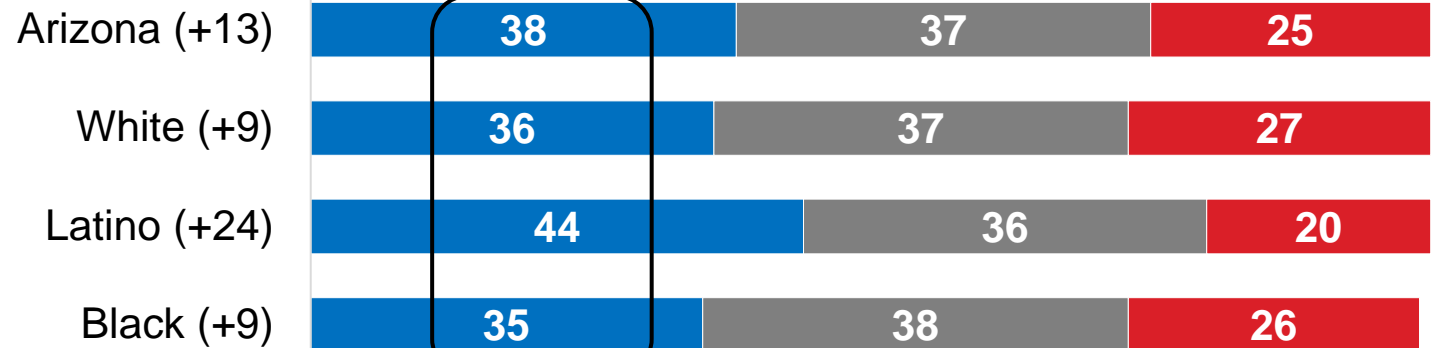
Among those who think Kelly wants to work with advocates towards a path to citizenship, 56% say it is more of a reason to vote for him.

## McSally

Reason to vote FOR    Doesn't matter    Reason to vote AGAINST



## Kelly



# Message Test Comparison Groups

- GOP Base = Certain to vote for Trump (35%)
- Dem Base = Certain to vote for Biden (37%)
- Retention Group (16%)
  - Undecided or Lean Biden or Trump, **Weak Biden favorability AND more concerned about inhumane immigration policies**
- Persuasion Group (12%)
  - Undecided or Lean Biden or Trump, **Weak Trump favorability AND more concerned about open borders / border security**

# Composition of Message Test Groups: Bases, Retention, Persuasion

Slightly more voters fall into the in retention group: low Biden support but more concerned about Trump admin's inhuman immigration policies, most are younger, white voters. Weak Trump support among those more concerned about "open borders" suggests immigration is not the ideal persuasion issue for this relatively small segment in the Arizona electorate.

	Humanitarian policy bigger priority	Border control bigger priority	
<b>Biden Base 37%</b>	<b>Retention 16%</b>	<b>Persuasion 12%</b>	<b>Trump Base 35%</b>
Will vote Biden	Undecided and Weak Biden support	Undecided and Weak Trump support	Will vote Trump
<b><i>Among Biden Base (N=271)</i></b>	<b><i>Among retention (N=146):</i></b>	<b><i>Among persuasion (N=83):</i></b>	<b><i>Among Trump Base (N=201)</i></b>
Democrat 86%	Dem 43%	Indep 41%	Republican 82%
Indep 9%	Indep 39%	GOP 38%	Indep 9%
Women 54%	GOP 18%	Dem 21%	Women 53%
40+ years 65%	Women 56%	Men 53%	40+ years 71%
White 61%	Under age 40 67%	40+ years 54%	White 78%
Latino 31%	White 57%	White 72%	Latino 18%
Black 6%	Latino 32%	Latino 22%	Black 3%
College 32%	Black 10%	Black 4%	College 39%
	College 23%	College 44%	

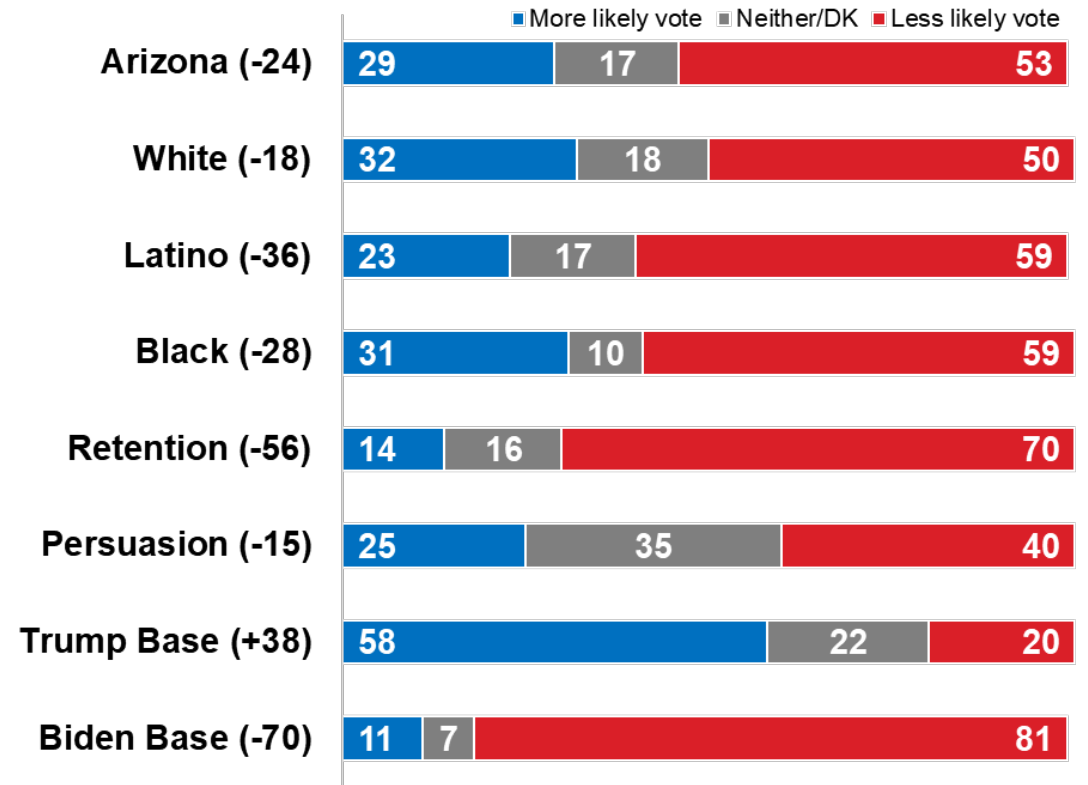
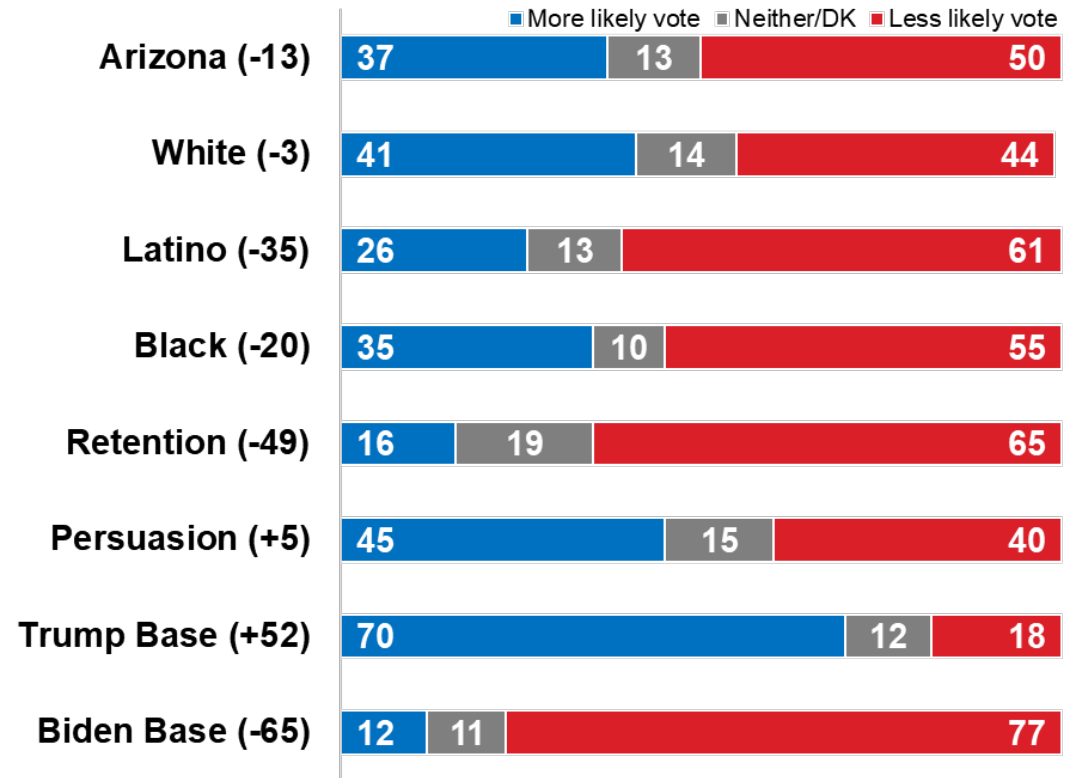


# Negative McSally Immigration Frames: Following Trump vs. Detention Centers

*([Followed Trump on Immigration /Detention Centers].Having read this, does this make you more/less likely to support Martha McSally?)*

McSally switched her position on support for DREAMers. She used to support protecting them when Obama was President, but backed off in 2018, supported the Trump agenda on immigration and focused on building a border wall, and stopping illegal immigration. **[FOLLOWED TRUMP ON IMMIGRATION]**

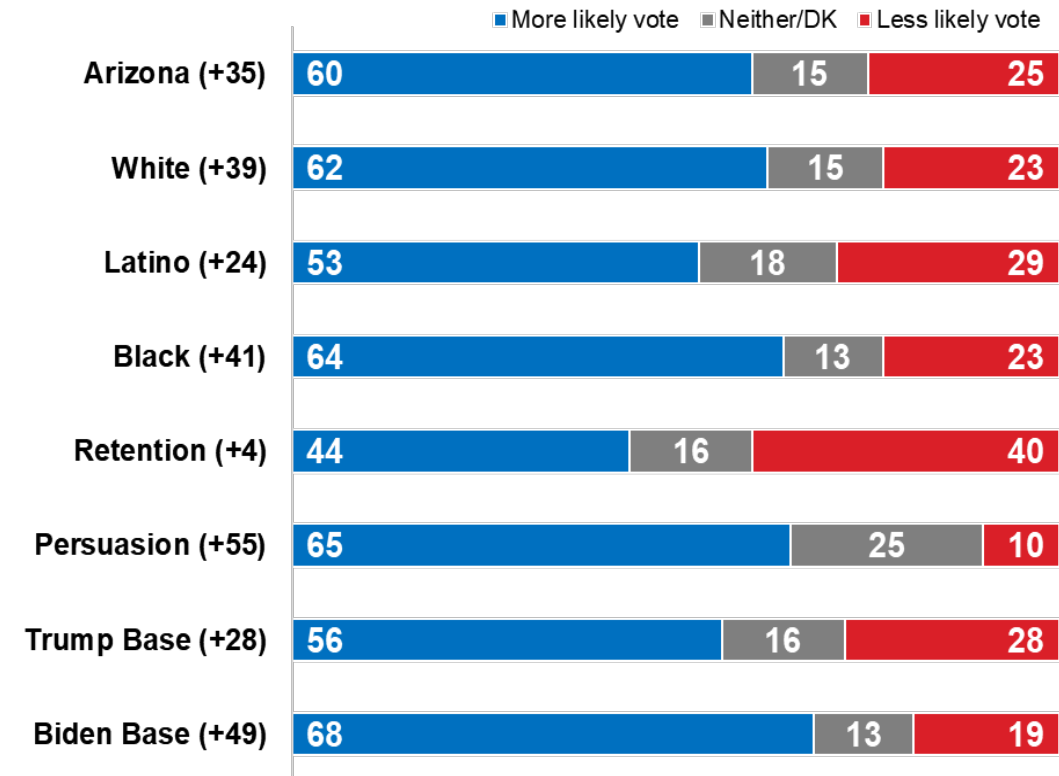
McSally has a history of supporting anti-immigrant policies that harm Arizona communities. In 2018, her campaign was funded by private prison companies that run immigrant detention centers. When visiting a temporary migrant facility in Yuma, she said “kids were watching cartoons and playing” and “people were sitting comfortably with food and water in comfortable temperatures.” The reality is these kids were held in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions for days on end. **[DETENTION CENTERS]**



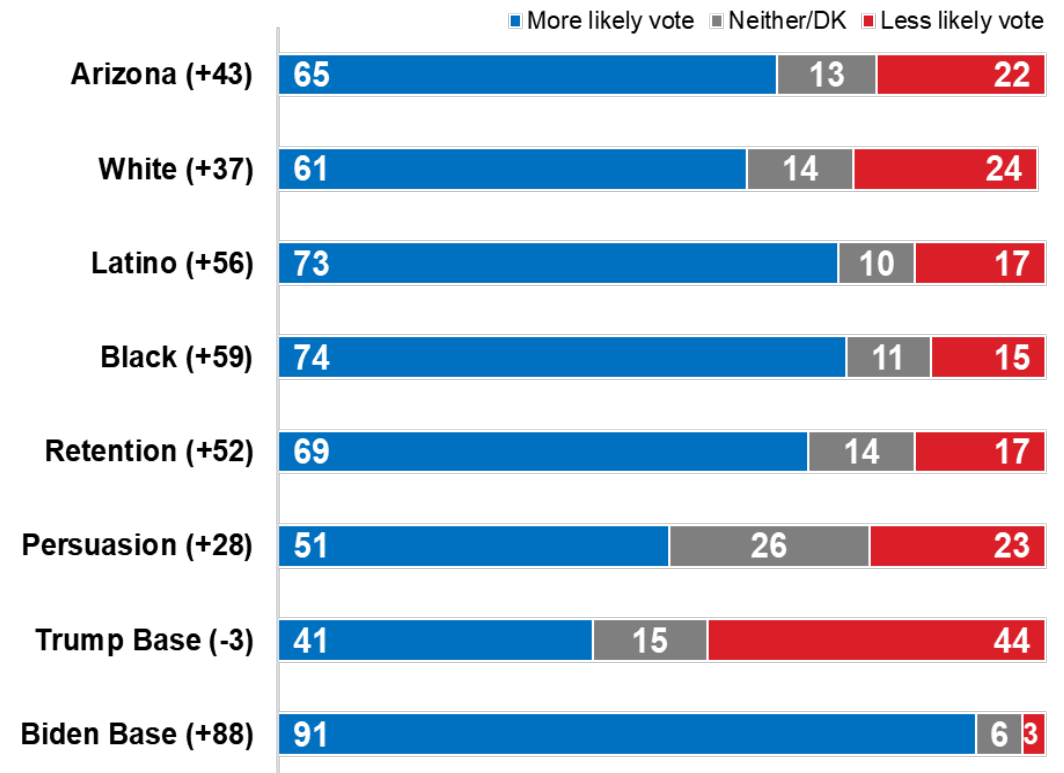
# Pro-Kelly Immigration Frames: Enforcement vs. Values

([Enforcement/Reform Message]. Having read this, does this make you more likely, or less likely to support Mark Kelly?)

Mark Kelly believes we need a strong, secure border to fix our broken immigration system. That includes more investments in technology, well-staffed ports of entry, border patrol agents, and where effective, physical barriers and fencing. **[ENFORCEMENT]**



Mark Kelly knows we can fix our broken immigration system in a way that is true to our values, provides for the workforce we need, and doesn't separate children from their parents. He supports protecting DREAMers, including more than 25,500 who call Arizona home, who were brought here as children, have been educated here, and played by the rules. **[VALUES]**

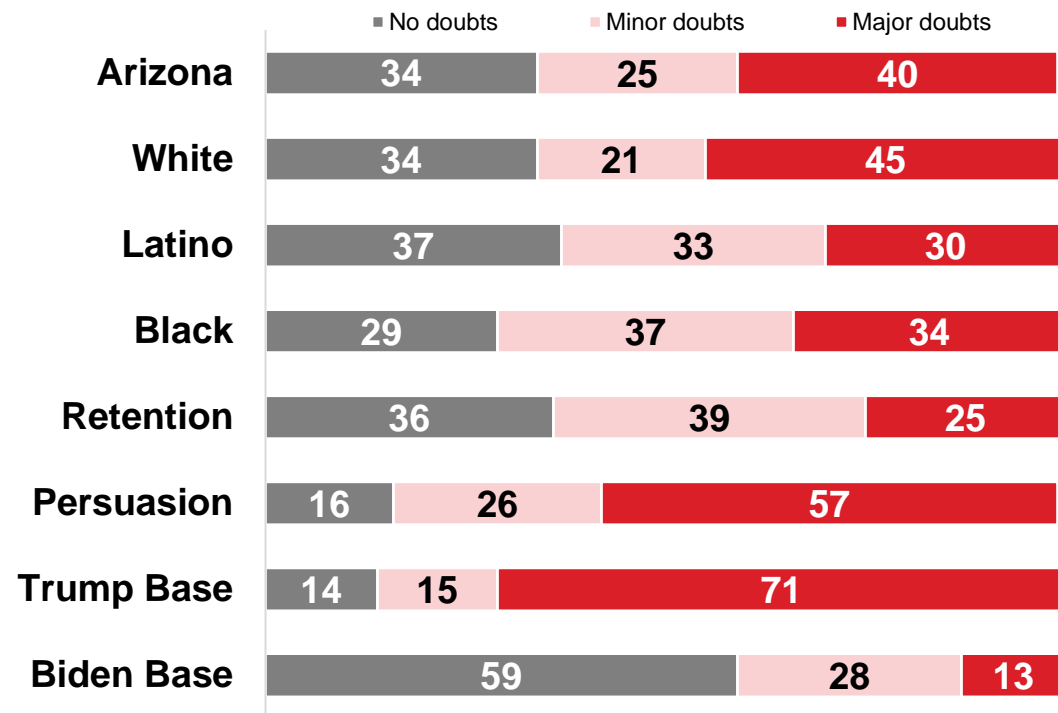


# Negative Kelly Immigration Frames Raise Some Doubts

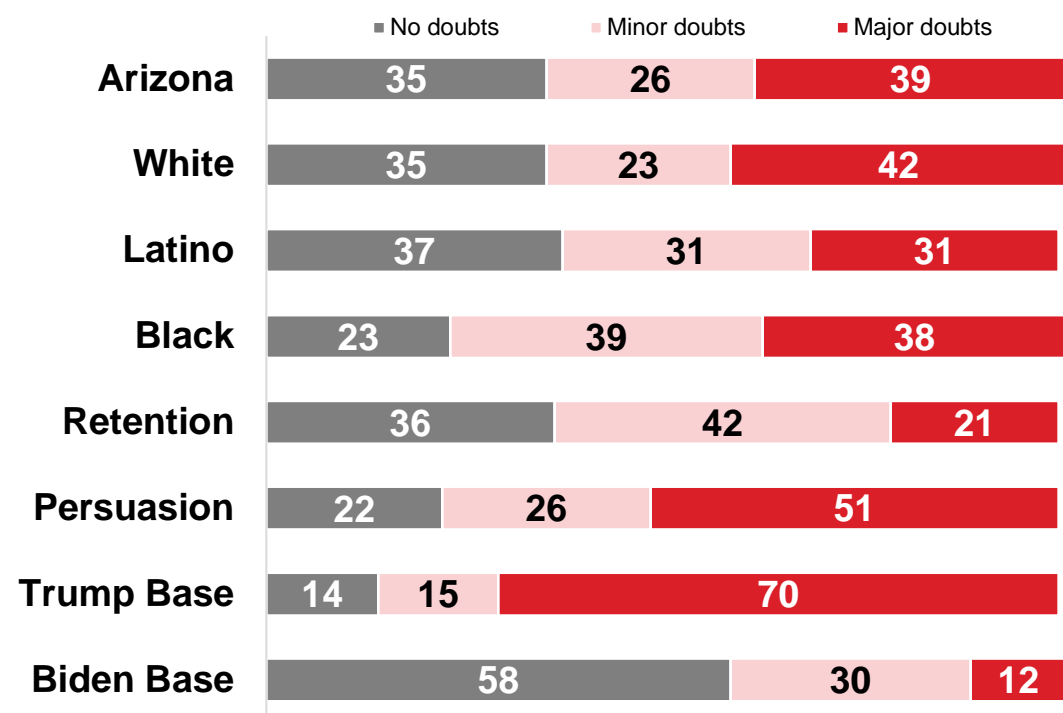
*([Liberal agenda/Pro-illegal immigration]. Having read this, do you have doubts about Mark Kelly's positions on the police or immigration?)*

Kelly supports dangerous far left policies that put our safety, families and communities at risk. He is supported by extreme liberal groups that want to abolish law enforcement agencies, like ICE, defund the police, take away our guns, and open our borders. Our communities will slip into lawlessness and chaos. Kelly will be another vote for the Democrat socialist agenda, he is simply too liberal for Arizona.

## [LIBERAL AGENDA]



Kelly says he has plans to fix our immigration system but openly supports taxpayer-funded healthcare for illegal immigrants and wants to establish citizenship for illegal immigrants instead of helping US citizens. His plans will cost law-abiding Arizonans millions in taxes and will harm the safety of our communities. He is putting illegal immigrants ahead of hard-working Arizona citizens. **[PRO-ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION]**



# Response to Kelly Attacks (Percent “more likely to support” reported)

([Message]. Having read this, does this make you more likely, or less likely to support Mark Kelly?)

	Arizona	White	Latino	Black	Retention	Persuasion	Trump Base	Biden Base
<b>[POLICE REFORM]</b> As the son of two police officers and a veteran of the U.S. Navy, Mark Kelly understands the role of law enforcement in a community. He believes we need reform not defunding entire departments. He understands there are inequalities in our justice system and supports independent oversight to address misconduct and discrimination.	62	60	67	65	60	52	42	85
<b>[GUN POLICY]</b> Attacks against Kelly are getting out of hand. The idea that he wants to come after 2nd amend rights is false. As a Navy vet and husband of former Arizona Congresswoman Gabby Giffords, who is a survivor of a shooting attack, Mark takes our safety seriously. He is an advocate for responsible gun ownership and common-sense gun legislation.	62	59	69	70	66	45	42	83
<b>[PANDEMIC]</b> Kelly understands the devastating impact COVID19 has had on our communities. He supports ensuring everyone has access to testing, including immigrants no matter their status. He said government needs to "have the community's back, which means direct aid and support, and a plan based on science, data, and facts to stop the spread of this virus."	60	55	72	76	65	39	38	87
<b>[BIO]</b> Mark Kelly has shown he is the best candidate to represent us in the Senate. As a NASA astronaut, engineer, and U.S. Navy captain, Mark has the leadership and experience needed to represent Arizona and address issues that matter most to us. He brings a lifetime of experience and a strong work ethic dedicated to public service.	60	57	66	71	63	41	37	87
<b>[IMMIGRATION]</b> The attacks against Mark Kelly are simply false. He supports welcoming immigrants through a fair process and enforcing immigration laws in a humane manner. The idea that Kelly supports open borders and abolishing ICE is just a lie. We are facing so many problems in this country, and these attacks do nothing to fix them. Instead, they just mislead and scare people.	57	55	58	66	53	42	39	81

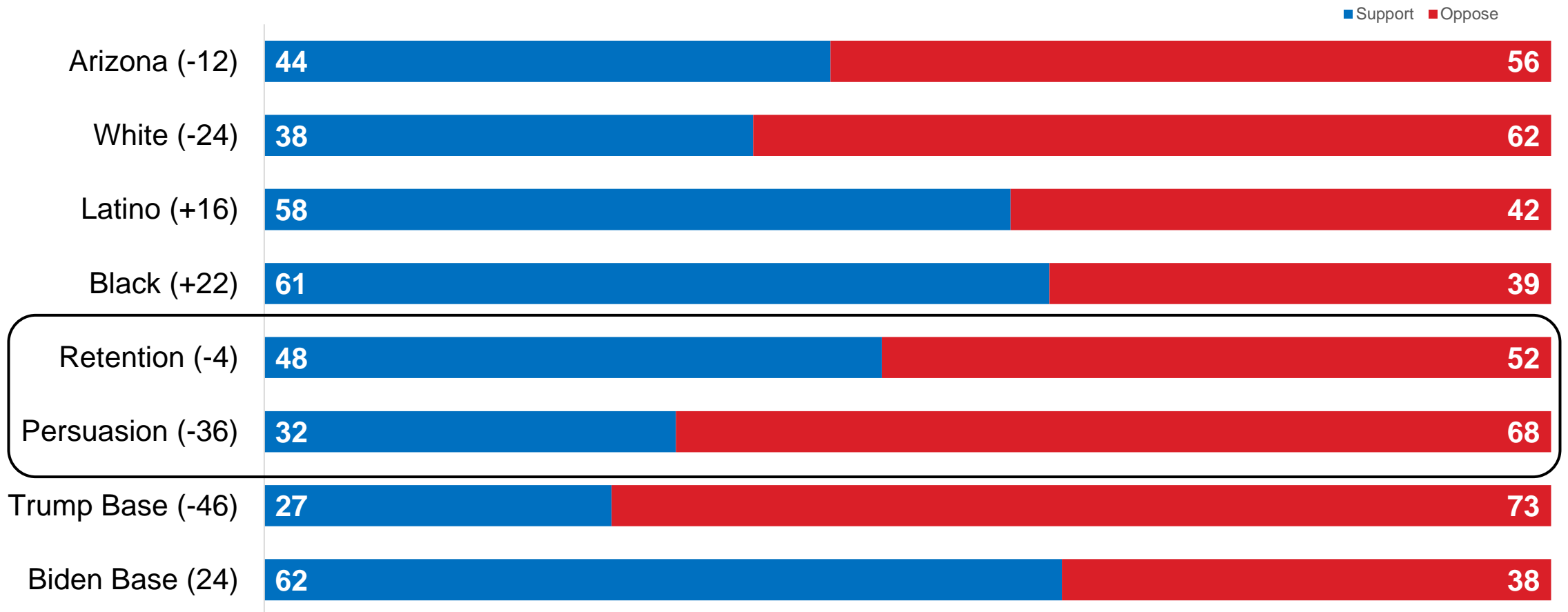
# Agreement that law enforcement targets immigrants, Latinos, and others for stops/searches. *(But that does not equate with defunding police support)*

<i>Percent agree with each statement</i>	<b>Arizona</b>	<b>White</b>	<b>Latino</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Retention</b>	<b>Persuasion</b>	<b>Trump Base</b>	<b>Biden Base</b>
<b>Immigration officials often stop and search people solely because of their race, ethnicity, language or accent.</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>83</b>
Law enforcement officials often stop immigrants in their cars or public places without good reason.	59	53	74	<b>73</b>	<b>70</b>	39	37	81
Local police and immigration enforcement in Arizona have gone too far in detaining, arresting, and harassing Latinos	58	51	72	70	70	33	35	81

# Defunding police unpopular with several important segments

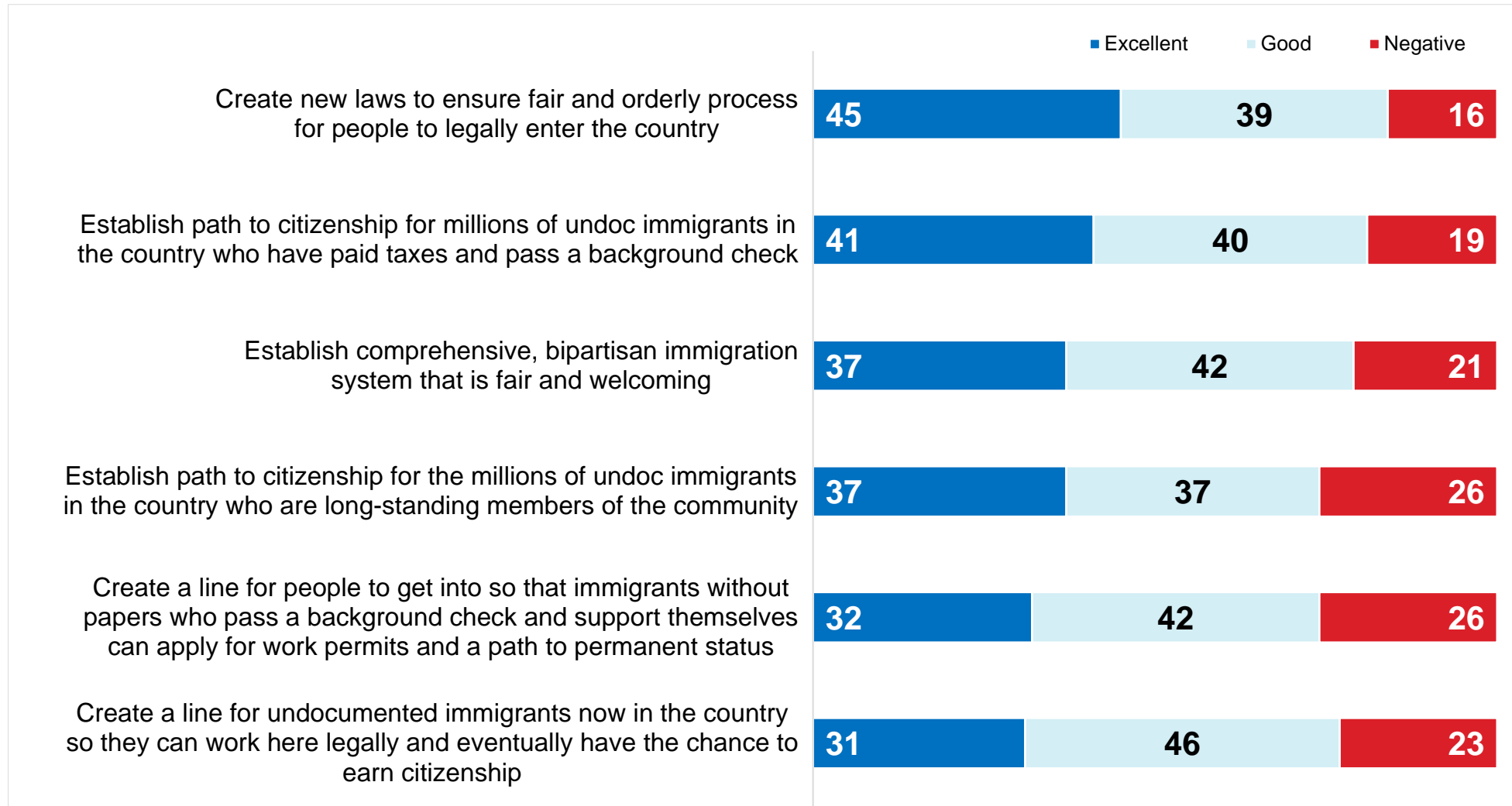
Even when framed as resource reallocation, response is mixed at best

Some community leaders have called for their city government to "defund police," or to reduce funding for the police department and redirect those funds to other community and education programs. Thinking about recent events, do you support or oppose the idea of redirect funding from police to other city resources?



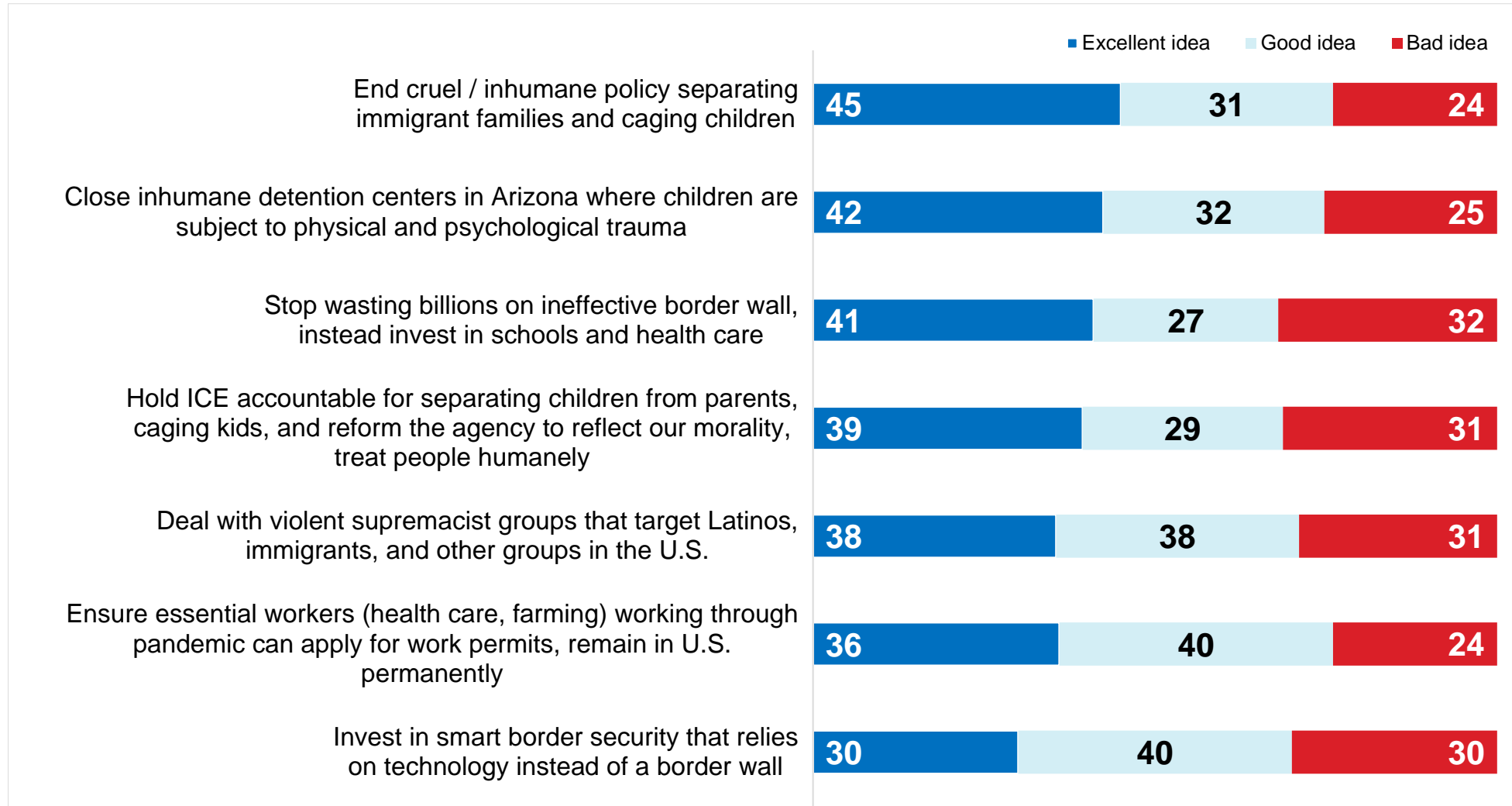
# Messaging on Immigration Reform

(Groups consistently preferred policies in the same rank-order, with better process and path to citizenship faring best.)



# Messaging on Values and Humane Treatment

(Groups consistently preferred policies in the same rank-order, with better process and path to citizenship faring best.)





# Key Findings

1. Democrats lead largely due to Black and Latino voters – make sure they know how to vote by mail.
2. Health care and coronavirus are top-of-mind for voters at this time, but among Latino and Black voters, discrimination and inequality issues that have a direct, adverse impact on them/communities are also top priorities.
3. Immigration is not a losing issue: with rare exception, nearly all segments in the Arizona electorate consistently support moderate to progressive policy options.
  - Framing matters: Humane treatment of children/families is especially potent
  - There are ways to frame security without abuse appeal to wide swaths of the Arizona electorate
  - Linking issues to Trump, McSally, (and we strongly suspect Arpaio) gives voters strong cues.
4. Sharpen Kelly's immigration positions: he's perceived as moderate to pro-immigration and those are viewed as reasons to support him among base, retention, and persuasion voters.
5. Defunding police is not a popular slogan or actual policy. People acknowledge problems with law enforcement, but local police remain quite popular. Having a response is important here.



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