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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



Xenophobia is Trump's original sin. He deployed it as a central pillar of his 2016 campaign, it's the source of his political identity, and immigration became his signature policy issue. Trump and advisors such as Steve Bannon and Stephen Miller relied on xenophobia because they believed it to be a winner with voters. Along with trade, in 2016 Trump's radical stances on immigration were credited with helping to pull off his improbable upset victory. In 2018, Trump

nationalized the midterm races by stoking hysteria about migrant caravans and immigrant criminality, but it failed as Democrats recorded the largest midterm win in American history.

What about the 2020 race? Did immigration work to sway swing and moderate voters as it seemed to in 2016, or did it backfire as it seemed to in 2018?

This report highlights the work of three pro-immigrant organizations in response to Trump's unprecedented war on immigrants and refugees in the context of the 2020 campaign. The Immigration Hub, NILC Immigrant Justice Fund, and America's Voice worked to understand how immigration moves swing and moderate voters and how best to influence those voters. Through our collective public opinion research, ad and race tracking, message development and voter outreach, below are our key findings:

- Trump's cruel policies and divisive rhetoric, which helped him get elected in 2016, created a backlash effect that increased support for pro-immigrant and pro-immigration solutions among the American public, including and notably among swing voters in battleground states. Within this critical voting bloc, support for a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, protections for Dreamers and humane immigration policies increased as disapproval deepened against Trump's family separation policy, termination of DACA, and wasteful investment in the southern border wall.
- Anti-immigrant attacks lost their political edge. In 2018, President Trump made the "caravan" the focal point of the midterms and many GOP candidates paid the price. Ignoring the lessons of 2018, Trump and Republicans this year realized far too late that immigration alone could not be used as a wedge issue in swing states and key congressional districts. Their new approach sought to combine attacks painting Biden and Democrats as the "radical left" with anti-immigrant and other fear-based narratives.
- Immigration can be a winning issue. Voter contact programs and testing conducted by the groups demonstrated that by contrasting Trump's position and rhetoric on immigration with values-based pro-immigrant messaging and solutions already supported by the majority of voters critical blocs of voters in battleground states could be persuaded to support Democratic candidates and inoculated against Trump's continued anti-immigrant attacks.

Driving Values-Based, Pro-Immigrant Messaging in Nine Battleground States to Shift the Public Narrative on Immigration and Persuade Voters

This report details the various strategies employed, and the lessons learned from the organizations' multifaceted, multimillion-dollar campaigns to shift the public narrative on immigration and target swing voters with pro-immigrant messages:

## IMMIGRATION HUB

Building on their 2018 voter research and outreach, the Hub launched a multi-pronged program consisting of polling, innovative research, and digital outreach, to identify and reach over 2 million swing voters across Pennsylvania, Michigan and Colorado. By establishing a voter model, in collaboration with Civis Analytics, the Hub was able to identify nearly 6 million swing voters in the aforementioned three states and Wisconsin who moved away from President Trump and toward Democrats on vote choice when targeted with values-based immigration messaging. Three major battleground state polls, one Michigan poll on the presidential and senate races, two post-election surveys of Michigan and Pennsylvania voters, and ad testing further demonstrated growing support for pro-immigration policies and candidates, including President-Elect Joe Biden. A randomized controlled test of voters in Michigan and Pennsylvania before and after being exposed to the Hub's pro-immigrant content found an increase in swing voters reporting immigration reform as a top priority or an important issue for the next president to address, among other findings.

## NILC IMMIGRANT JUSTICE FUND

Recognizing the need to build political power for immigrant families, the NILC Immigrant Justice Fund set out to make clear to candidates that they could win persuadable voters in battleground states by articulating an inclusive, pro-immigrant vision for America. NILC IJF used public opinion research to identify messages that could move persuadable voters to support candidates, including Joe Biden. Over 11.3 million video impressions were delivered to 130,000 persuadable voters as part of the organization's digital ad campaign in **Arizona**, **Wisconsin** and **North Carolina**. In addition, volunteers used peer-to-peer texting to contact 99,811 persuadable voters in the same states.

# AMERICA'S VOICE

As the long-time media outreach, media tracking and messaging arm of the immigrants' rights movement, America's Voice focused its polling strategies, digital advertising and media outreach on Arizona, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and Texas. AV also developed a website that comprehensively tracked advertising of federal and state candidate campaigns, party committees and SuperPACs that invoked immigration, xenophobia, racism in dog-whistle attack ads across the country. The work continues in Georgia, where both of the state's U.S. Senate seats will be decided on Jan. 5, 2021, in two special election run-offs.

# BACKGROUND

The Republicans' use of immigration as an electoral weapon against Democrats had succeeded for years with the support of militant xenophobes on social media who fed the grassroots a steady diet of misinformation and conspiracy theories about immigrants that tapped into general anxieties about personal and public safety, financial insecurity and a loss of the American identity.

In 2016, President Trump and his campaign exploited these anxieties - intent on convincing the American public that immigrants were to blame for their job losses and that open borders would lead to crime in their cities and towns. In fact, the campaign's former digital director, Brad Parscale, admittedly doubled down according to <a href="The Atlantic">The Atlantic</a>: "The race-baiting, the immigrant-bashing, the truth-bending—none of it seemed to bother Parscale. While some Republicans wrung their hands over Trump's inflammatory messages, Parscale came up with ideas to more effectively disseminate them."

Trump won the White House in 2016 after launching his campaign by characterizing Mexican immigrants as "drug dealers, criminals, rapists." Two years later, during the 2018 midterm congressional elections, the president repeatedly warned of an "invasion" of immigrant caravans headed towards the Texas border. But the 2018 election results proved that Trump's messaging backfired and those who endorsed it paid the price, as Democrats picked up 40 seats to regain control of the House.

Wesleyan Media Project found that on <u>Facebook</u>, between August 1 and September 30, 2018, 23.3 percent of the Republican ads on the digital platform discussed immigration. This focus mirrored the <u>80 percent of Republican TV ads</u> on immigration in the same cycle, the bulk of which portrayed immigrants as criminals or threats to public safety and national security. Republican in Senate, House and gubernatorial races spent <u>over \$124 million on more than 280,000</u> immigration-related TV spots.

Candidates, such as Pennsylvania's Lou Barletta, Colorado's Scott Wagner, and Virginia's Dave Brat, who ran on Trump's strategy, echoing his divisive and xenophobic dog whistles, lost to Democrats in a cycle where the president and Stephen Miller had <u>made clear</u> that the election would be about the caravan.

The results of the 2018 election cycle made it abundantly clear that the majority of American voters roundly rejected Trump's anti-immigrant messaging and political stunt. Polls and research, from the Immigration Hub, America's Voice and NILC Immigrant Justice Fund, in battleground states consistently showed that voters found that Republican candidate alignment with Trump on immigration was more of a reason to vote against those candidates than to vote for them.

# Ignoring 2018 Lessons, Trump's Reelection Strategy Revs Up Division, Fear and Immigration

Early in 2020, the Trump campaign sought to "rev up their campaign machine in the coming days with an aggressive focus on voters' perceived fears about crime, China and immigration — invoking parts of their successful 2016 strategy," as reported by <u>POLITICO</u>.

The first half of the year saw the Trump campaign spending millions on Facebook, Youtube and Google where immigration was a leading message.

But, the strategy wasn't working. Battleground polls, conducted by Global Strategy Group and commissioned by America's Voice, Immigration Hub and FWD.us, consistently pointed to growing backlash to Trump's divisive rhetoric and disapproval of his family separation policy, termination of DACA, and border wall. Even attacks on sanctuary weren't landing with the public, including swing voters.

Against a backdrop of <u>dwindling support</u> among female suburban voters, soon the Trump campaign was recalibrating their strategy - capitalizing on a perceived opportunity with "defund the police" calls. Reminiscent of Richard Nixon's 1968 suburban <u>campaign play</u>, the president and campaign began fusing anti-immigrant narratives with the "radical left" -- doubling down on the latter as he portrayed Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden and Democrats as a puppet of the "radical left" whose alleged lawlessness was endangering communities.

Immigration, however, never disappeared from the fray of his rhetoric and ad strategy. Every stump speech in every campaign stop included Trump's signature anti-immigrant dog whistles. In the fourteen stops he made in Pennsylvania, the most of any state, Trump peppered his speeches with slanders on immigrants, refugees, "amnesty", and a number of other wild claims against Joe Biden. "Biden is pleading to give federal healthcare to illegal aliens, which is decimating Medicare," Trump rallied to a crowd in Harrisburg in September.

As far back as April 2020, the campaign had spent over \$7 million on anti-immigrant Facebook ads alone, according to the marketing and communications organization Bully Pulpit Interactive. During the DNC convention, the Trump campaign spent \$10 million-plus on YouTube ad takeover featuring Trump's "Radical, Extreme, Left" ad that connected tax increases with undocumented immigrants. The campaign had also reserved more than \$95 million in TV time in the fall, targeting battleground states like Pennsylvania with ads saturated in fear-driven narratives around the left's "radical" approach to immigration and refugees from "terrorist" countries. A New York Times report revealed that immigration was Trump's second biggest TV ad buy from Sept. 1 to Oct. 15, only behind the topic of "China."

#### The 2020 Backlash to Trump's Divided America

Trump's strategy made its way to a number of key down-ballot races. In the nine battleground states where America's Voice, the Immigration Hub and NILC Immigrant Justice Fund concentrated their efforts, many Democratic candidates were attacked on their position on "sanctuary cities", the Dream and Promise Act and citizenship for undocumented immigrants, among other racially-charged claims accusing them of "defunding" the police and aligning with the "radical left".

The majority of the public did not buy into Trump's "law and order" arguments. In early October, the Immigration Hub and Civiqs released the results of a more than 7,000 sample poll across seven key battleground states which revealed that swing-state voters not only overwhelmingly support immigrants and pro-immigration policy reforms, but also strongly agree that our immigration system under President Trump has become too cruel and extreme, and they remain dissatisfied with the president's job performance. The results came amid revelations that over 500 children separated from their families at the border

have still yet to be reunited. With more than 57% of voters opposing the practice of detention and family separation, Vice President Biden announced soon after that a federal task force to reunite these children on his first day as president.

News of the 545 separated children would have a poignant impact in the last weeks leading up to Election Day. The ugly portrayal of "Trump's America" underscored voters' dissatisfaction with the president's harsh, inhumane immigration policies. The sentiments of swing state voters had gradually shifted during the election season, but perhaps not as visibly as the stances assumed two days after the NBC report when Trump and Biden met for their second and final debate.

The debate exchange was turned into a Biden campaign ad, and the former vice president pledged to create a task force to reunite the families, if elected. Seeing Trump pushed against the ropes on the issue that had boldly defined his political campaigns and presidency, and Biden's aggressive response on immigration in the form of an English language ad -- the first of its kind for a modern day presidential candidate -- signaled "a remarkable shift in the immigration debate," America's Voice noted.

Additional polling commissioned by America's Voice in Georgia, North Carolina, Florida, Arizona, and Texas and polling commissioned by the NILC Immigrant Justice Fund in the battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin showed similar trends of an electorate opposed to Trump's cruel immigration policies and divisive rhetoric, and ready to embrace a new vision for America's immigration system.

Ultimately, the collective research, testing and digital outreach of the three organizations found three primary common themes: (1) Trump and Republican anti-immigrant attacks had increasingly become political liabilities, (2) the American electorate's support, especially that of swing voters, for pro-immigrant policies and opposition to Trump's immigration approach continued to swell, and (3) an opportunity existed to go on offense on immigration, create a net negative for anti-immigrant candidates and move voters in favor of pro-immigrant candidates.

# THE BATTLE FOR VOTERS

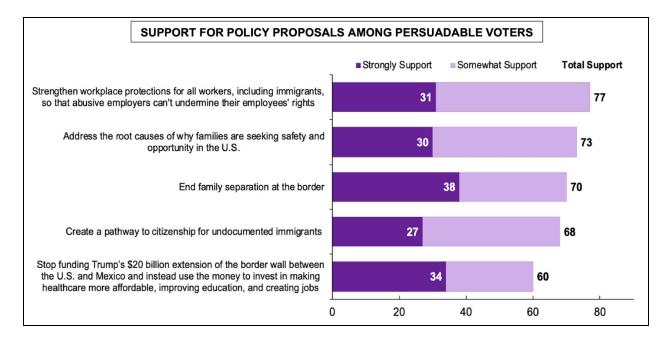
The campaign to de-weaponize immigration as an issue was launched in nine states: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin.



President	Biden - 49.4%	Trump - 49.06%
U.S. Senate	Mark Kelly (D) - 51.2%	Incumbent Martha McSally (R) - 48.8%

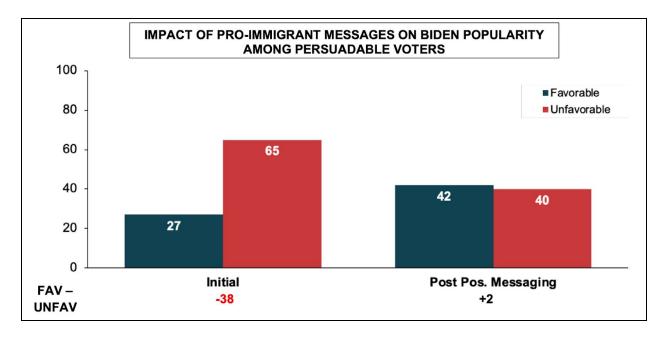
#### **Messaging Strategies**

NILC Immigrant Justice Fund released a <u>poll</u> in July that made two points clear: 1) pro-immigrant policies enjoyed wide support among persuadable voters in battleground states and; 2) messaging that emphasized the need for a leadership that united the country as opposed to the division Trump was continuing to lean into, was especially effective with persuadable voters. Pro-immigrant messages about building an economy that gives everyone a fair shot and giving everyone the opportunity to thrive were also very effective. A third major recommendation highlighted immigrant doctors and nurses as the most effective messengers tested on the immigration issue, followed by immigrants who are teachers, Dreamers and immigrant small business owners.



The <u>poll</u>, conducted by ALG research in the battleground states of Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, also showed that the pro-immigrant policies boosted Biden's favorability with persuadable voters, while Trump

was hurt when messaging highlighted his economic policies that help the wealthy, his divisive rhetoric, and on wasting \$20 billion on his border wall.



The polling recommendations guided the messaging tone in different sets of digital ads, running on Facebook, Instagram and programatically across the web, that targeted more than 43,000 persuadable Independent women and Latinx men and women in Arizona:

Independent Women	Latinx Men and Women
Pandemic Resolutions Food Starting To Lose It? We All Are We The People The Next Generation Red Wine Rain Bills	Healthcare 1 In 6 Nurses Are Immigrants Immigrants Are Essential Brings Us Together We The People Food

Similarly, America's Voice developed messaging that was based off of a state <u>poll</u> prepared by GSG with its Arizona <u>toplines</u> and <u>benchmark</u>. The research suggested that immigration is not a losing issue. With rare exception, nearly all segments in the Arizona electorate consistently support moderate policies such as humane treatment of immigrants, and security without abuse. Attacks on GOP Sen. Martha McSally also were most effective when her policies were linked to Trump.

Not lost on Arizona voters are the anti-immigrant legislative and legal battles of the last decade that resulted in the defeat of xenophobic former sheriff of Maricopa County Joe Arpaio and the expulsion from office of state Sen. Russell Pearce. Battle-weary Arizonans, like many others across the nation, were in favor of solutions, not the division promoted by Trump and McSally.

The four <u>ads</u> were placed on Facebook over a two-week period, September 14-24.

AD	Strategy	Message
What's On the Ballot?	The purpose of this ad was to create a predominantly negative feeling towards the incumbent and specifically mention DACA and family separation, the immigration-related issues that poll most positively.	"Senator McSally has done nothing to stop Trump's cruel and inhumane immigration policies like family separation or the termination of DACA. It's time to vote out senators who support policies rooted in xenophobia and racism. Vote Senator McSally out this November."
Magic Ad	The purpose of this ad was to create a predominantly negative narrative around how Senator McSally has handled the pandemic and to associate her policies with Donald Trump.	"America is strongest when we work together. It's time to stop the racist and xenophobic rhetoric from politicians like Senator McSally. Vote together this November and vote Senator McSally out."
All of Us	The purpose of this ad was to create a predominantly positive feeling of unity around the pandemic, and to call on voters to reject the racist scapegoating many GOP candidates have employed.	"America is strongest when we work together. It's time to stop the racist and xenophobic rhetoric from politicians like Senator McSally. Vote together this November and vote Senator McSally out."
Attacking Immigrants - (Lowest scoring ad, perhaps because it did not focus solely on immigration.)	The purpose of this ad was to merge these narratives to show that Senator McSally has attacked immigrants during the pandemic when many immigrant workers are essential to keeping us afloat during the crisis.	"Immigrant workers are working hard to fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. But Trump and Senator McSally are trying to deport immigrants and keep them out of the country. They want us to think immigrants are bad for America, so we won't think about how bad Republicans are at their jobs. Don't be fooled."

By mid-October, polling by Civiqs for the Immigration Hub showed the messaging had moved moderate and swing voters to the Democratic side.

# Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

Trump job and policy approval	52% disapproved of Trump's job as president while 52% also rejected Trump's approach to immigration.	
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	ocumented undocumented immigrants who are long-standing	
Immigration reform	60% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.	
DACA	62% supported the DACA program.	
On Family Separation	60% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.	

<sup>\*</sup>AZ polling sample size was 1,026 registered voters.



President	Biden -55%	Trump - 41.9%
U.S. Senate	John Hickenlooper (D) - 53.5%	Incumbent Cory Gardner (R) - 44.18%

For four years, Colorado Republican Sen. Cory Gardner repeatedly enabled Trump's actions and failed to hold the administration accountable for some of its most insidious anti-immigrant attacks including separating families at the border, gross negligence and abuses in detention centers, and diverting funds from Colorado to the border wall.

Sentiment on the issue of immigration among the state's swing voters has been shifting away from anti-immigrant messages and influencing vote choice. Biden won the state by a 439,719 vote margin as compared to 2016 when Clinton won Colorado by 136,386 votes. In 2018 the Colorado electorate <u>dismissed</u> Walker Stapleton, Mike Coffman and their alignment with Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric (i.e. migrant caravan "invasion") and policies.

Across the board, Colorado's election results represented a full-throated rejection of Donald Trump and his hateful agenda. In Colorado's 6th Congressional District, Congressman Jason Crow was reelected despite a wave of attacks from his opponent, Steve House, for Crow's support and votes in favor of pro-immigrant policies.

The Hub launched a digital campaign in Colorado, reaching over 400,000 registered voters - identified in the predictive voter model developed with Civis Analytics - generating over 15 million impressions on more than 600 ads.

#### **Research and Testing**

- The Immigration Hub, along with Civis Analytics, developed an <u>immigration voter</u> model of swing voters in battleground states including Colorado to determine whether there exists a group of voters in these states that can be moved against Republicans and towards Democrats when exposed to the right immigration messaging. The model identified nearly 1.2 million Colorado voters.
- A survey conducted by market research group AYTM and the Hub found that 11% of voters who intended to vote for Gardner said they were less likely to vote for him after watching the Hub's ad on Gardner's alignment to Trump on immigration.
- In an <u>ad test</u>, commissioned by the Immigration Hub, the research and analytics group BlueLabs surveyed Colorado, Michigan and Pennsylvania swing voters and found that Trump's attack ad against Joe Biden failed to persuade voters. Three ads were tested a "Pro-Trump" campaign ad that combined attacks against the "Radical Left" with immigration and two Immigration Hub ads, a "Pro-Biden" ad on his vision for immigration reform and a "Anti-Trump" ad on the president's record on family separation, DACA and the border wall.
  - Head-to-head, Joe Biden gains votes on his vision for immigration against
     Trump's ad: Majority of swing voters choose to vote against President Trump,
     even after watching Trump's ad. When this group of voters is shown just the

"Pro-Trump" ad, Biden leads this universe by only four points (50% to 46%). When this group of voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Anti-Trump" ad on immigration, Biden's gain increases to 17, 57%-40%. Similarly, when this bloc of swing voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Pro-Biden" ad, Biden's lead increases to 10 points: 52%-42%.

#### **Polling of Colorado Voters**

- An Immigration Hub <u>poll of 1,164 registered voters</u> in Colorado echoed past research: 60% of voters agree that an economic recovery bill should include a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrant workers who have been essential to the pandemic response. Nearly two-thirds of voters (66%) prefer citizenship over deportation (27%).
- Colorado's Latino voters played a significant role in the Biden and Hickenlooper victories. Biden beat Trump among Latino voters by a 50-point margin, 73% to 23%, and Hickenlooper scored 67% to 23% against the incumbent GOP senator, according to the American Election Eve <u>poll.</u>

#### Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

Trump job and policy approval	56% disapproved of Trump's job as president while 55% also rejected Trump's approach to immigration.	
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	66% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.	
Immigration reform	63% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.	
DACA	63% supported the DACA program.	
Family Separation	64% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.	

<sup>\*</sup>CO polling sample size was 1,164 registered voters.



President Trump - 51.2% Biden - 47.8%
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Florida's status as a battleground state is made more complex by the richness of its diverse population, not just among the general population, but also within Latino communities. Here, where previous generations of Cuban-Americans arrived on U.S. soil under a unique set of immigration laws, the immigration debate may skew differently than in other parts of the country with large Latinx/Hispanic populations. Indeed, Cuban-American voters in Florida generally are more conservative than other Hispanic groups.

Still, pre-election polling showed Florida voters agreeing with voters in other battleground states on the issue of immigration. They oppose Trump's immigration policies, like separating and detaining immigrant families and children, and support pro-immigration proposals like the DACA program, and a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of their communities. (See below)

#### Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

Trump job and policy approval	53% disapproved of Trump's job as president while 52% also rejected Trump's approach to immigration.	
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	63% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.	
Immigration reform	57% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.	
DACA	65% supported the DACA program.	
On Family Separation	58% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.	

<sup>\*</sup>FL polling sample size was 1,011 registered voters.

The most effective digital pro-immigration ad advanced by America's Voice was "Attacking Immigrants," which contained the message: "Immigrant workers are working hard to fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. But President Trump is trying to deport immigrants and keep them out of the country. He wants us to think immigrants are bad for America, so we won't think about how bad Republicans are at their jobs. Don't be fooled."

Florida voters, however, chose Trump over Biden, who won the votes of Latinos, Blacks, moderates and Independents, according to <u>exit polling</u> by the national news media. But one group trending nationally towards pro-immigration candidates, suburban voters, chose Biden over Trump in Florida, according to the media polling.



President	Biden - 49.52%	Trump - 49.23	
U.S. Senate (Jan. 5, 2021 runoff election)	Incumbent David Perdue (R) - 49.7%	Jon Ossoff (D) - 48%	
U.S. Senate Special Election (Jan. 5, 2021 runoff election between Warnock and Loeffler)	Raphael Warnock (D) - 32.9%	Incumbent Kelly Loeffler (R) - 25.9%	Doug Collins (R) - 19.9%

#### State of Play

Joe Biden was declared the winner of the presidential race and after a statewide hand recount in Georgia by the state's Republican Secretary of State, Biden has been certified the winner. Meanwhile, Democratic candidates for both Senate seats scored enough votes to move on to runoff elections, keeping alive national Democrats' hopes of winning control of the Senate. The runoff also will test voters' electoral stamina to return to the polls in January.

#### **Messaging Strategies**

In Georgia, the pandemic was the primary issue and immigration concerns were less prominent in a general state poll in late July/early August. However, as America's Voice monitored campaign ads this year to track racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant ads, many of those found were from the state's Republican senators.

Perdue's campaign, aided by the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) and The Senate Leadership Fund (SLF), the GOP Senate superPAC, used various anti-immigrant, xenophobic, and anti-semitic ads to attack Ossoff. Among the most shameful was a Facebook ad in which Perdue's campaign <u>lengthened Ossoff's nose</u>, an anti-semitic trope. That ad also featured Chuck Schumer and <u>garnered international</u> attention.

Ossoff returned fire five days before Election Day, at a debate with Perdue. "First, you were lengthening my nose in attack ads to remind everybody that I'm Jewish. Then when that didn't work, you started calling me some kind of an Islamic terrorist. And then, when that didn't work you started calling me a Chinese communist. Instead of leading and inspiring, he stoops to mocking the heritage of his political opponents," Ossoff said.

Loeffler, meanwhile, was in a three-way Special Election contest to fill an unexpired term that included fellow Republican Rep. Doug Collins and Democrat Raphael Warnock. "Her campaign <u>ran three different</u> deeply weird and racist ads with a theme comparing her to the East Asian warlord Attila the Hun. Among the issues mentioned were an attack on

unauthorized border crossings and 'amnesty' along with thinly veiled calls for political violence on the coded racism," America's Voice observed.

America's Voice polled voters to develop the best messages for digital ads. The key themes that emerged were:

- Messages calling for changes to the immigration system that reflect American values, highlighting ending family separations and other cruel and inhumane policies, test predominantly well among backlash swing voters.
- A public health message centered on ensuring "everyone is able to get tested and treated" regardless of status. This message tested strongly among all key demographics in the state.
- A unity and race relations message combined with the coronavirus and the death of George Floyd did particularly well among African Americans in the state.

The most effective digital ad, "Attacking Immigrants," stated, "Immigrant workers are working hard to fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. But Trump and Senator Perdue are trying to deport immigrants and keep them out of the country. They want us to think immigrants are bad for America, so we won't think about how bad Republicans are at their jobs. Don't be fooled."

The 2020 American Election Eve <u>poll</u>, in which America's Voice participated, provided a rich portrait of the Georgia electorate. There is a multi-racial majority for pro-immigrant policies, including strong black voter support.

WHICH STATEMENT DO YOU AGREE WITH:	Our immigration policy should focus on enforcement and border security first, including deporting those here illegally, cracking down on abuse of our asylum laws, and finishing the border wall.	Our immigration policy should focus on creating a humane system that is fair to all, including stopping the separation of children from their parents, establishing a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who work and live here, and creating new laws to ensure there is a fair process for people to legally enter the country.	Over the past four years, do you think racism and discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities has increased, stayed about the same, or decreased?
Latinos	18%	76%	Increased – 62%;
Black	16%	83%	Increased – 78%
White	53%	46%	Increased – 46%

Black and Latino voters overwhelmingly supported Biden and Ossoff and provided strong backing for Warnock, while majorities of white voters sided with Trump and Perdue and provided solid support for Loeffler, according to the poll.

Heading into the run-off election, the candidates should remember the state's voters support immigration and have grave concerns about the increase in racism over the past four years.



President	Biden - 50.5%	Trump - 47.9%
U.S. Senate	Incumbent Sen. Gary Peters (D) - 49.8%	John James (R) - 48.3%

Throughout the 2020 election cycle, the Immigration Hub tracked all Trump campaign stops in Michigan — where the president continuously made sanctuary cities and "terrorist" refugees a hallmark of his speeches — and deployed an ad strategy combining his signature anti-immigrant attacks with claims about the "radical left". Bolstered by support from pro-Trump PACs, Michigan voters were inundated with anti-immigrant rhetoric, including 36 anti-immigrant ads deployed against Biden, Senator Gary Peters, and Elissa Slotkin (MI-08).

But Trump overplayed his hand in the 2020 election cycle. Biden won the state by 146,000 vote margin, 2.7 percentage points. In 2016, Trump won Michigan by 10,704 votes. Sen. Peters and Rep. Slotkin also won their reelection bids. As polling released days before the election showed, almost two-thirds of Michigan voters support a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of their communities.

The Hub launched a digital campaign in MIchigan, reaching over 500,000 registered voters - identified in the predictive voter model developed with Civis Analytics - generating over 24 million impressions on more than 600 ads.

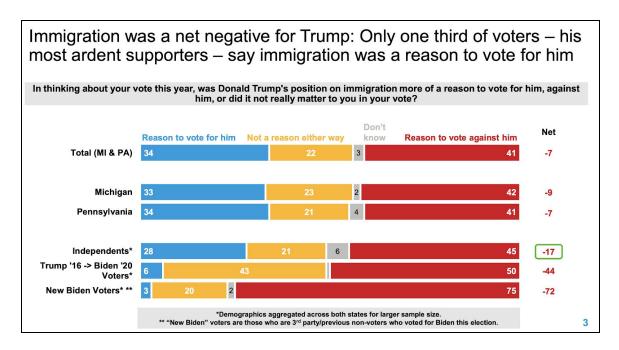
#### Research and Testing

- The Immigration Hub, along with Civis Analytics, developed an <u>immigration voter</u> model of swing voters in battleground states including Michigan to determine whether there exists a group of voters in these states that can be moved against Republicans and towards Democrats when exposed to the right immigration messaging. The model identified nearly 2.2 million Michigan voters.
- A randomized control test of Michigan and Pennsylvania voters who were exposed to the Hub's digital ads, were surveyed pre and post election by BlueLabs, finding that these swing voters changed their minds and moved towards Biden by 6 points and shifted more positively on immigration.
  - By the end of the cycle, swing voters in Michigan and Pennsylvania were more likely to report immigration reform as a top priority or important issue for the next president to address compared to the beginning of October (from 77% pre to 82% post).
  - Likewise, swing voters in Michigan and Pennsylvania were more likely to agree that immigrants are important for their community by the end of the program (from 69% pre to 75% post); however, their opinion on path to citizenship didn't change much over the month of October (from 72% pre to 74% post).
- In an <u>ad test</u>, commissioned by the Immigration Hub, the research and analytics group BlueLabs surveyed Michigan, Pennsylvania and Colorado swing voters and found that Trump's attack ad against Joe Biden failed to persuade voters. Three ads

were tested — a "Pro-Trump" campaign ad that combined attacks against the "Radical Left" with immigration and two Immigration Hub ads, a "Pro-Biden" ad on his vision for immigration reform and a "Anti-Trump" ad on the president's record on family separation, DACA and the border wall.

Head-to-head, Joe Biden gains votes on his vision for immigration against Trump's ad: Majority of swing voters choose to vote against President Trump, even after watching Trump's ad. When this group of voters is shown just the "Pro-Trump" ad, Biden leads this universe by only four points (50% to 46%). When this group of voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Anti-Trump" ad on immigration, Biden's gain increases to 17, 57%-40%. Similarly, when this bloc of swing voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Pro-Biden" ad, Biden's lead increases to 10 points: 52%-42%.

#### **Polling of Michigan Voters**



- The Hub's <u>post-election poll</u> of Michigan voters, conducted by Global Strategy Group, found that Trump's hardline immigration approach was a net negative to him, as 42% said it was a reason to vote against him.
  - 49% of Michigan voters including 50% Independents and 79% of new Biden voters - found family separation as reason to vote against him.
  - Among the findings, notably immigration attacks against Biden did not deter voters against him. Additionally, attempts to attack Sen. Peters on immigration were also ineffective, with only 1 in 5 voters - and fewer than half of Republicans - found it to be a reason to vote against him.
  - o 60% of voters also support creating a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants in the country.
- A poll of 623 registered Michigan voters, conducted by Change Research, in the last week before Election Day found anti-immigrant attacks against Sen. Peters failed to convince voters while large majorities of voters support a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants and Dreamers.

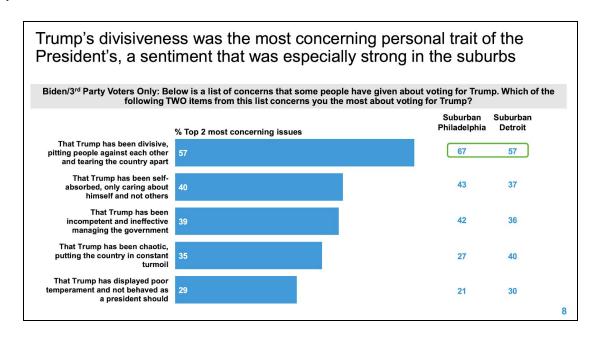
- Sen. Peters had been depicted by his opponents as dangerous for Michigan because of his support for sanctuary cities. The survey found this line of attack unconvincing. Respondents were shown one such video ad and asked how convincing they found it on a scale of 0 to 10. 53% rated it a 0, 1, or 2, while only 30% rated it 8, 9, or 10. And those who did find it very convincing were overwhelmingly already planning to vote for Republican John James.
- Overall, Peters supporters gave the video an average rating of 0.7 out of 10. James voters, on the other hand, rated it 7.4 on average. That is, Peters voters were repelled by the video more than James voters were lured by it. And while only 1% of Peters voters rated the video 10 out of 10, 11% of James voters rated it 0 out of 10. In other words, the video is not only preaching to the converted, but it alienates more voters than it wins over.

#### Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

I I I GITTO TOD GITG DOTICY	56% disapproved of Trump's job as president and 55% also objected to Trump's approach to immigration.	
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	63% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.	
Immigration reform	58% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.	
DACA	61% supported the DACA program.	
On Family Separation	61% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.	

<sup>\*</sup>MI polling sample size was 1,022 registered voters.

#### **Trump's Performance**



- <u>Dwindling support</u> for Trump among suburban voters, particularly women, started
  early despite his attempts to scare the suburban electorate with attacks on refugees
  and immigrants. The trend continued, increasing Joe Biden's margin of victory. Key
  suburbs in Michigan, especially surrounding Detroit, came in strong for the vice
  president and Senator Gary Peters both of whom were consistently attacked on
  "amnesty" and "sanctuary cities".
- According to the Hub's <u>post-election survey</u> of Michigan voters, Trump's divisive approach to the presidency was a key reason why he lost the election and his approach to immigration contributed to perceptions of Trump as "divider-in-chief".
   57% of Michigan voters in the Detroit suburbs found Trump's divisiveness was the most concerning personal trait of the president while 42% of all voters in Michigan surveyed said Trump's position on immigration was more of a reason to vote against him.
- Biden won 68% of urban voters to 31% for Trump and 54% of suburban voters to 44% for Trump. For white female college graduates, the Democratic advantage grew from 6% in 2016 to 20% in 2020
- Notably, Biden won Kalamazoo County, the home of Republican Rep. Fred Upton, with 58.4% of the vote, while Trump received only 39.6%. Upton supports some pro-immigrant proposals like relief for "Dreamers," and voted in 2019 to condemn Trump's tweets that urged four Democratic congresswomen of color to return to their countries, including Detroit-born Rep. Rashida Tlaib.
- Overall, Trump saw diminished margins even in Republican suburbs such as Milford and Commerce townships. Other reliably Republican counties where Trump's vote margin diminished from 2016 were the counties of Ottawa, Livingston County, Midland, and Emmet.



President	Trump - 50%	Biden - 48.6%
U.S. Senate	Incumbent Sen. Thom Tillis (R) - 48.7%	Cal Cunningham (D) - 47%
Governor	Incumbent Gov. Roy Cooper (D) - 51.5%	Dan Forest - (R) - 47%

The swing to pro-immigrant policies by moderate voters did not show up prominently in the North Carolina presidential and Senate contests, perhaps due to unrelated issues. A late-breaking scandal involving the Democratic candidate for Senate led to a precipitous drop in his popularity just before the election and may have impacted Biden. Also, a seasoned Republican ground game outperformed Democrats' voter mobilization efforts in the Tarheel State.

However, the third statewide Democratic candidate, Gov. Roy Cooper, who was seeking re-election, scored a solid win even though ads by the <u>Republican Governors</u> Assn. claimed Cooper was allowing "violent criminals, domestic abusers, and rapists," back on the streets by supporting so-called sanctuary cities.

Polling received just days before the election showed a majority of voters favoring pro-immigrant policies like a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of the community and relief for the DACA permit holders.

#### **Messaging Strategy**

The groups engaged in this project focused on digital ads in North Carolina. As with other targeted states, polling was used by America's Voice to develop ads that were then tested for their effectiveness. In North Carolina, the "Magic Ad," proved most successful with the message, "Americans need healthcare, a strong economy, and real safety measures during the pandemic. Instead of finding solutions, Senator Tillis has used xenophobic and racist messaging to divide our state. Vote Senator Tillis out this November."

NILC Immigrant Justice Fund again split their ads into two groups, one targeting 12,000 Independent women, and the other set aimed at reaching more than 33,000 persuadable Latinx men and women.

Independent Women	Latinx Men and Women
Pandemic Resolutions	<u>Healthcare</u>
<u>Food</u>	<u>1 In 6 Nurses Are Immigrants</u>
Starting To Lose It? We All Are	<u>Immigrants Are Essential</u>
We The People	Brings Us Together
The Next Generation	We The People
Red Wine	<u>Food</u>
Rain	
Bills	

One factor in this year's election turnout that has been largely overlooked is the participation of the Latinx voters who came out in record numbers in support of progressive solutions to various issues including respectful treatment of immigrants. In 2004, the number of Latino voters in the state was approximately 10,000. This November, more than 200,000 Latinos voted.

# Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

Trump job and policy approval	54% disapproved of Trump's job as president while 53% also rejected Trump's approach to immigration.
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	64% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.
Immigration reform	54% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.
DACA	62% supported the DACA program.
On Family Separation	60% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.

NC polling sample size was 1,000 registered voters.



President	Biden - 50%	Trump - 48.8%
PA-07	Rep. Susan Wild - 51.8%	Lisa Scheller - 48.2%
PA-08	Rep. Matt Cartwright - 51.8%	Jim Bognet - 48.2%
PA-17	Rep. Conor Lamb - 51%	Sean Parnell - 49%

The blue wave in Pennsylvania began building in 2018, when Trump's fiery rhetoric about an alleged "invasion" of caravans from south of the Texas border backfired for Republicans who echoed it. That year, former Congressman Lou Barletta, a long-time anti-immigrant xenophobe going back to his days as mayor of Hazleton, PA, lost his Senate bid against Senator Bob Casey after doubling down on the "caravan" rhetoric. GOP gubernatorial candidate Scott Wagner also failed in his bid against Democratic incumbent Tom Wolf after closing his campaign with a caravan ad.

Ignoring the warning signs, the 2020 Trump campaign targeted Biden's home state with ICE billboards, threats of raids, and an <u>ad strategy</u> that also included attacks against the "radical left." The Immigration Hub <u>tracked</u> millions of dollars in anti-immigrant ads deployed across the state by the Trump campaign and GOP operatives.

Notably, Joe Biden flipped two of the three Pennsylvania counties that voted for President Obama in 2012 and Trump in 2016: Erie and Northampton, and ran 4 points better than Hillary Clinton in the third, Luzerne. He also outperformed Clinton in traditionally red central Pennsylvania, with particularly strong gains in Lancaster and Cumberland Counties, which have long been safely Republican, showing that Trump's collapse in the suburbs was not limited to the collar counties of Philadelphia. Even in more sparsely populated counties like Butler, Lycoming, Northumberland and Schuylkill, Trump ran 3-4.5 points behind where he was in 2016. Overall, Trump's vote margin shrunk in 19 Pa. counties from 2016 to 2020.

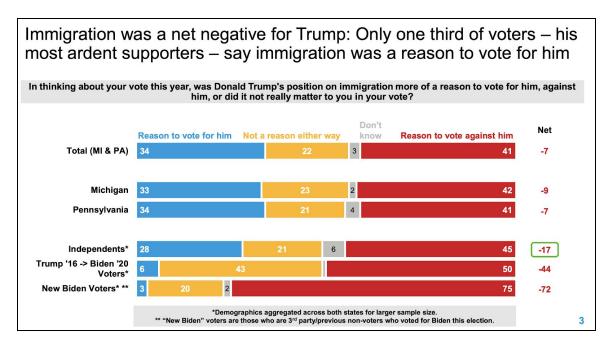
The Hub launched a digital campaign in Pennsylvania, reaching over 400,000 registered voters - identified in the predictive voter model developed with Civis Analytics - generating over 30 million impressions on more than 751 ads.

#### Research and Testing

- The Immigration Hub, along with Civis Analytics, developed an <u>immigration voter</u> model of swing voters in battleground states including Pennsylvania to determine whether there exists a group of voters in these states that can be moved against Republicans and towards Democrats when exposed to the right immigration messaging. The model identified nearly 1 million Pennsylvania voters.
- A randomized control test of Pennsylvania and Michigan voters who were exposed to the Hub's digital ads, were surveyed pre and post election by BlueLabs, finding that these swing voters changed their minds and moved towards Biden by 6 points and shifted more positively on immigration.

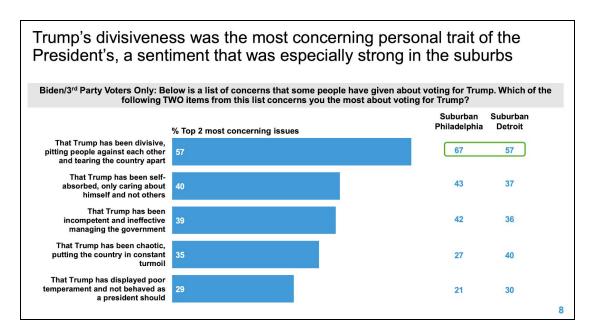
- By the end of the cycle, swing voters in Pennsylvania and Michigan were more likely to report immigration reform as a top priority or important issue for the next president to address compared to the beginning of October (from 77% pre to 82% post).
- Likewise, swing voters in Michigan and Pennsylvania were more likely to agree that immigrants are important for their community by the end of the program (from 69% pre to 75% post); however, their opinion on path to citizenship didn't change much over the month of October (from 72% pre to 74% post).
- In an <u>ad test</u>, commissioned by the Immigration Hub, BlueLabs surveyed Michigan, Pennsylvania and Colorado swing voters and found that Trump's attack ad against Joe Biden failed to persuade voters. Three ads were tested a "Pro-Trump" campaign ad that combined attacks against the "Radical Left" with immigration and two Immigration Hub ads, a "Pro-Biden" ad on his vision for immigration reform and a "Anti-Trump" ad on the president's record on family separation, DACA and the border wall.
  - Head-to-head, Joe Biden gains votes on his vision for immigration against Trump's ad: Majority of swing voters choose to vote against President Trump, even after watching Trump's ad. When this group of voters is shown just the "Pro-Trump" ad, Biden leads this universe by only four points (50% to 46%). When this group of voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Anti-Trump" ad on immigration, Biden's gain increases to 17, 57%-40%. Similarly, when this bloc of swing voters is shown the "Pro-Trump" ad and the "Pro-Biden" ad, Biden's lead increases to 10 points: 52%-42%.

# Polling of Pennsylvania Voters



- The Hub's <u>post-election poll</u> of Pennsylvania voters, conducted by Global Strategy Group, found that Trump's hardline immigration approach was a net negative to him, as 41% said it was a reason to vote against him.
  - 49% of Pennsylvania voters including 50% Independents and 79% of new Biden voters - found family separation as reason to vote against him.
  - Among the findings, notably immigration attacks against Biden did not deter voters against him.
  - o 60% of voters also support creating a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants in the country.

#### **Trump's Performance**



- According to the Hub's post-election survey of Pennsylvania voters, Trump's divisive approach to the presidency was a key reason why he lost the election and his approach to immigration contributed to perceptions of Trump as "divider-in-chief".
   67% of Pennsylvania voters in the Philadelphia suburbs found Trump's divisiveness was the most concerning personal trait of the president while 41% of all voters in Pennsylvania surveyed said Trump's position on immigration was more of a reason to vote against him.
- Pennsylvania's swing back to blue this year was completed with Biden's wins in two of the three counties that voted for President Obama in 2012 and Trump in 2016: Erie and Northampton, and ran 5.3 points better than Hillary Clinton in the third, Luzerne, according to the Immigration Hub's analysis.
- Gains in the Philadelphia collar counties helped drive Biden's statewide lead, but he
  also improved on Hilary Clinton's performance in 19 counties around the state, and
  cut Trump's margins even in counties he lost.
- Biden improved on Hilary Clinton's performance among voters in urban, rural and suburban areas. He was +6 over Clinton in cities, +5 in the suburbs, and +12 in rural

areas. Biden also improved over Clinton by 5 points with college educated white women and by 15 points with college educated white men.

#### Immigration in PA Down-Ballot Races

#### PA 07 - Incumbent Rep. Susan Wild (D) v. Lisa Scheller (R):

• Wild, who rose to fame through her <u>representation of a Syrian family</u> facing separation under Trump's Muslim ban, and favors citizenship for "Dreamers" and other immigration reforms, was attacked by Schiller for being pro "amnesty." Wild won re-election.

#### PA 08 - Incumbent Rep. Matt Cartwright (D) v. Jim Bognet (R):

- This district, in what is known as "Trump Country," and home to former Rep. Barletta, stands as one of the most notable examples of voters' backlash against Trump's immigration stance.
- The president <u>lost ground</u> in 2020, carrying the district by 5%, compared to 2016 when he carried this district by 10 points.
- However, the anti-immigration messaging fell flat again in 2020. Cartwright was subjected this year to hyperbolic attacks regarding immigration by Bognet, whose <u>first ad</u> accused Cartwright of supporting "illegal" immigrants taking American jobs. Later ads attacked Cartwright for voting in favor of the <u>Dream and Promise Act</u>. Cartwright scored a solid victory against Bognet for a 5th term in the House.

#### PA 17 - Incumbent Rep. Conor Lamb (D) v. Sean Parnell (R):

 Rep. Lamb is no stranger to Republican attacks that echo Trump's dog whistles on race and immigration, as he experienced similar <u>anti-sanctuary city ads</u> attacks in his 2018 campaign. Congressman Lamb, a supporter of Dreamers and immigration reform (who was <u>attacked</u> for his votes supporting immigrants), once again swung voters in a district Trump won in 2016.

#### Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

Trump job and policy approval	54% disapproved of Trump's job as president and 52% also objected to Trump's approach to immigration.
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	63% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.
Immigration reform	58% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.
DACA	61% supported the DACA program.
On Family Separation	58% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.

<sup>\*</sup> PA polling sampling size was 1,018 registered voters.



President	Trump - 52.1%	Biden - 46.4%
U.S. Senate	Incumbent Sen. John Cornyn (R) - 53.6%	MJ Hegar (D) - 43.8%

In the days before the Nov. 3 election, speculation swirled that Texas would turn "blue" in the presidential race, as several polls showed Biden and Trump almost even, within the margin of error. In 2018, Democrat Beto O'Rourke almost beat incumbent Sen. Ted Cruz, and a potential turn in history in one of the reddest states in the nation drew national media excitement. Not since 1976 had a Democrat, Jimmy Carter, won the presidential contest in Texas.

As election results came in, questions ensued about the potency of the expanding Latino vote and increasing popularity of the progressive stances on critical issues such as immigration and the pandemic. On both issues, Texas and its Latino population have been in the international spotlight for suffering the most under Trump's policies: the separation of babies from the arms of their immigrant parents at the Texas border with Mexico; the massacre of 23 people in a Wal-Mart El Paso, in which Latinos were targeted; and the pandemic that has cost mostly Latinos their lives and livelihoods are examples of this disparate impact on the Latino community in Texas.

But the Texas vote totals in favor of Trump and the re-election of Republican Sen. John Cornyn belie key factors that will continue influencing the evolution of voters' sentiments regarding immigration and discrimination.

- 1. Latino voters make up 30.4% of eligible voters in the state, 13% of all eligible voters nationwide, surpassing eligible Black voters, and the Latino voter numbers are expected to grow exponentially in years to come. Latino Decisions, which conducted the American Election Eve poll, in which America's Voice participated, recorded Biden as receiving 67% of the Texas Latino vote, to 29% for Trump. Whether or how they vote on issues in future elections will depend on future outreach by candidates and campaigns, as Latinos in Texas can no longer be taken for granted by either party.
- 2. On the issue of immigration, 79% of Latinos and Blacks favor a humane immigration system that includes ending family separations at the border and creating a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who live and work here, according to the poll. (See below) Texas' white voters are evenly split between that solution versus deportations and construction of the border wall.

The 2020 American Election Eve <u>poll</u>, in which America's Voice participated, provided a rich portrait of the Texas electorate.

WHICH STATEMENT DO YOU AGREE WITH:	Our immigration policy should focus on enforcement and border security first, including deporting those here illegally, cracking down on abuse of our asylum laws, and finishing the border wall.	Our immigration policy should focus on creating a humane system that is fair to all, including stopping the separation of children from their parents, establishing a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who work and live here, and creating new laws to ensure there is a fair process for people to legally enter the country.	Over the past four years, do you think racism and discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities has increased, stayed about the same, or decreased?	
Latinos	20%	79%	Increased – 59%;	
Black	20%	79%	Increased – 78%	
White	50%	50%	Increased – 39% Stayed about the same - 43%	

3. The state's changing demographics and the unpopularity of Trump's nativist immigration policies have not been lost on candidates, as demonstrated by Republican Sen. John Cornyn, who survived his re-election campaign by trying to sweep his pro-Trump immigration voting record under the rug. This was a leap beyond his usual practice of saying one thing during Senate recess visits to Texas and then marching in lockstep with Trump and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) back in Washington, D.C.

America's Voice tracked Cornyn's desperate zig-zagging on his record and issued press statements outlining Cornyn's "weakness, cowardice, or hypocrisy" on immigration issues. For example:

• "The Internet's Best Responses to John Cornyn's Latest Display of Cowardice," which stated Cornyn "broke with Trump on the border wall, but kept opposition private. Of course, Cornyn's voting record and public statements show the exact opposite, and this willful misrepresentation of his own actual immigration record is classic Cornyn cowardice in his inability to stand up to Trump. It echoes his recent effort to pretend he supports Dreamers when he issued a Spanish language ad that he "strongly supports legalization for Dreamers," despite voting against bipartisan proposals to secure legal status for Dreamers in 2006, 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2018."

• <u>"John Cornyn's Latest Whopper on Immigration,"</u> which relayed Cornyn's statement to a Texas newspaper that he opposed Trump's "raid of billions of dollars appropriated by Congress for the military that Trump seized and put toward the border wall using the pretext of a national emergency declaration. Cornyn's voting record and public statements show the exact opposite."

America's Voice also ran digital ads, finding that the ad, "What's on the Ballot?" contained the most effective message. The ad attacked Cornyn's inaction on immigration, an important issue in Texas: "Senator Cornyn has done nothing to stop Trump's cruel and inhumane immigration policies like family separation or the termination of DACA. It's time to vote out senators who support policies rooted in xenophobia and racism. Vote Senator Cornyn out this November."

Texas may not have turned blue in 2020, but the times are changing. "Starting in 2024 and for the foreseeable future, the Lone Star State will become the biggest battleground prize in presidential politics," said Latino Decisions co-founder Gary Segura.



President	Biden - 49.46%	Trump - 48.83%
		•

Hispanics make up about 6 percent of the Wisconsin state population and immigration is a relatively new factor in the presidential contest in the state.

However, the views of moderates are similar to those in other states, in that they increasingly seek humanitarian, pragmatic solutions to the broken immigration system that Trump has weaponized for political gain.

NILC Immigration Justice Center saw Wisconsin as a prime testing ground for testing an inclusive, pro-immigrant vision for the nation. In this state, the group targeted digital messaging ads to more than 53,000 Independent women. The ads were:

Independent Women
Pandemic Resolutions Food Starting To Lose It? We All Are We The People The Next Generation Red Wine Rain Bills

As in Arizona, the number of persuadable voters targeted in Wisconsin by the NILC Immigrant Justice Fund proved larger than the Biden campaign's margin of victory in the state. The research findings in Wisconsin echoed those in other states that were tested: Voters will support leaders who include immigrants in building a better future for all of us, no matter where we were born.

# Pre-election polling results on immigration\*

	53% disapproved of Trump's job as president and 51% also objected to Trump's approach to immigration.
Citizenship for undocumented immigrants	64% favored a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who are long-standing members of our communities.
Immigration reform	58% agreed we should make it easier for people to immigrate to the U.S. legally so that they will not try to come to this country without documentation.
DACA	62% supported the DACA program.
On Family Separation	57% opposed detaining and separating parents and children.

<sup>\*</sup>WI polling sample size was 1,046 registered voters.