



AMERICANS EVALUATE IMMIGRATION REFORM PROPOSALS



A Survey of Voters Nationally, and in
California, Texas and Florida

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INTRODUCTION

As Congress debates possible reforms to US immigration policy, the American people have largely been on the sidelines. US immigration programs are complex so that few Americans are able to give an informed response.

To address this gap Voice of the People has initiated an in-depth survey on immigration reform using the method of public consultation. With this method the respondent goes through a process, called a ‘policymaking simulation,’ in which they are given a briefing on policy options being considered and evaluate pro and con arguments before making their final recommendation. This provides a more reliable measure of the respondent’s values and priorities and also greatly expands the range of topics than can be explored.

Development of the Survey

The policymaking simulation on immigration reform was developed by the Program for Public Consultation of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland.

Both House and Senate bills were examined to identify the key proposals under consideration, as well as published proposals from the Executive Branch. Congressional testimony, Executive Branch statements and other sources were used to help formulate the background and rationale for the policy options, and the key arguments for and against each option.

The draft text was reviewed by experts on immigration, including ones who favor and who oppose proposed reforms to ensure that the briefings were accurate and balanced and that the arguments presented were indeed the strongest ones being made. Changes were made in response to feedback.

Design of the Survey

The survey began by providing a briefing on the current debate on immigration reform as follows:

Currently there is much debate about the US legal immigration system. Today we are going to evaluate a number of options for changing the US system for legal immigration.

The US system for legal immigration provides selected foreigners with the right to reside in the United States on a permanent basis by providing them with what is commonly known as a “green card.” This also gives them the right to work and the obligation to pay taxes.

As you will see, some people argue that the number of legal immigrants to the US should be reduced, others say the number should be increased. There are also proposals for changing the way that immigrants are selected. In each case, you will be presented information about the proposal, offered arguments in favor of and against the proposal, which you will evaluate how convincing or unconvincing you find them, and then you will be asked to evaluate the proposal. Here is some background:

Currently, there are debates about whether two of the programs for legal immigration should be reduced or eliminated. These are:

1. *A program that:*
 - *accepts applications from US citizens to provide green cards to their parents, siblings and adults children: about 290,000 of these are granted each year.*
 - *accepts applications from permanent residents (green card holders) to provide green cards for their unmarried adult children: about 27,000 of these are granted each year.*
2. *A program that accepts applications from people in countries that are not widely represented in the US population. About 50,000 people (includes applicants plus their immediate family) receive green cards through this program.*

There is also a debate about a proposal to increase the number of people getting green cards in a certain program. This program selects people who have skills employers seek or are investors who plan to start a business. About 140,000 (includes applicants plus their immediate family) receive green cards through this program.

In addition to these programs, approximately, 490,000 green cards are also given to the spouses and minor children of US citizens and permanent residents. However, right now, there are no proposals for changing this program.

Respondents were then presented a series of pairs of arguments on the question of whether the total number of green cards issued each year should be reduced. In each case there was an argument in favor of reductions, followed by a counter argument. Each argument was evaluated separately in terms of how convincing or unconvincing it was.

Respondents then evaluated proposals to reduce or eliminate the ‘family-sponsored’ program that lets US citizens request green cards for their parents, siblings and adult children (about 290,000 are granted each year) and allows permanent residents to request green cards for their adult children (about 27,000 are granted each year). For each of these programs the respondent received a briefing and evaluated arguments for and against eliminating or reducing the program. In the end they made recommendations as to whether to eliminate the program, reduce the number of green cards, maintain the program as is, or to increase the number. Those who favored reductions were asked to specify their preferred number. The same procedure was followed for the divert lottery program.

They then evaluated the employment-based program and the proposal for increasing the number of green cards issued, with a briefing, pro and con arguments, and final recommendation. Those who favored an increase in the number were asked to specify the number. They also evaluated factors that could be considered in who to select for this program.

Turning to the subject of illegal immigration respondents were given a briefing on the DACA program, the current controversy over extending it, and the proposal for providing legal status to 1.8 million young immigrants and providing them a path to citizenship under specified conditions. They evaluated pro and con arguments and provided their recommendations.



They then were presented a briefing on the proposal to spend \$25 billion to create a stronger barrier on the southern border, primarily by building a wall. They evaluated pro and con arguments and provided their recommendations. Those that favored spending an increased amount, but less than \$25 billion were asked to specify their preferred amount.

Fielding of Survey

The survey was fielded by Nielsen-Scarborough with a probability-based representative sample of registered voters. The sample was provided by Nielsen-Scarborough from its larger sample, which is recruited by telephone and mail from a random sample of households. The survey itself was conducted online.

Responses were subsequently weighted by age, income, gender, education, race and geographic region. Benchmarks for weights were obtained from the US Census' Current Populations Survey of Registered Voters. The sample was also weighted by partisan affiliation.

National Sample: 2,228 registered voters, plus an oversample of 688 in California, Florida and Texas, for a total of 2,916 registered voters

National Margin of Error: +/- 2.1%

State Samples:

CA	400	Margin of Error: +/- 4.9%
FL	418	Margin of Error: +/- 4.8%
TX	383	Margin of Error: +/- 5%

Field Dates: February 21- March 12, 2018



KEY FINDINGS

Evaluation of Arguments For and Against Reducing Legal Immigration

Respondents evaluated five arguments in favor of reducing the total number of people who receive green cards and five counter arguments as well. In two cases the argument in favor of reducing immigration was found more convincing than the counter argument, while in three of the five cases the counter argument was found more convincing. Responses were highly partisan. Among Democrats, majorities found all of the arguments in favor of reducing immigration unconvincing and all of the counterarguments convincing. Majorities of Republicans found all of the arguments in favor of reducing immigration convincing and four of the five counter arguments unconvincing.

Family-Based Immigration Programs

Eight in 10 opposed eliminating the program that provides about 290,000 green cards for the parents, siblings and adult children of US citizens. However, six in ten favored cutting back the program by either reducing it or eliminating it. A majority of 55% favored cutting back the number of green cards by at least 90,000. For the program that provides about 27,000 green cards to the adult children of permanent residents seven in 10 opposed eliminating it. A slight majority favored cutting it back, but there was no majority support for a specified amount. Just under half favored a cut of 1,000.

Diversity Lottery

Two thirds opposed eliminating the program that issues about 50,000 green cards per year through a lottery system to individuals from countries under-represented in the US population. However, six in ten favored cutting it back by reducing or eliminating it. A majority of 52% favored cutting it by at least 20,000 green cards each year.

Employment-Based Immigration

Overall, a slight majority opposed increasing the number of green cards over and above the current 140,000 granted each year to immigrants who have skills that are needed in the US labor market or who are investors who could start a business. Approximately two in three Democrat favored the idea, while the same number of Republicans were opposed, as were six in ten independents.

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival Program (DACA)

A very large bipartisan majority of more than eight in ten approved of creating a legal status for 1.8 million people who were eligible under the DACA program and making them eligible to apply for citizenship in 10-12 years provided that they meet certain requirements. Support was overwhelming in very red and very blue districts, as well as Texas, Florida, and California.

Southern Border

Six in ten opposed spending \$25 billion on building a barrier along the southern border, primarily through building a wall. An overwhelming majority of Republicans favored the proposal while an overwhelming majority of Democrats were opposed. Majorities in California, Florida and Texas also opposed the proposal. A very slight majority favored spending some new money on strengthening the southern border, but combined with those who favored the full \$25 billion, less than half proposed an amount of \$1 billion or more.



AMERICANS EVALUATE IMMIGRATION REFORM PROPOSALS

EVALUATION OF ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST REDUCING LEGAL IMMIGRATION

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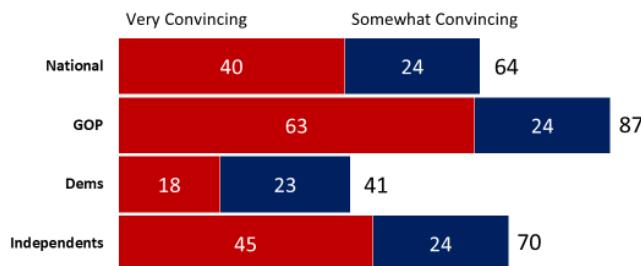
Whether Immigrants Are a Burden

The argument for reducing immigration found convincing by the highest percentage (64%), was that immigrants impose a burden on government budgets because they are likely to need social services. The counter argument was found convincing by a smaller majority (56%), which said that immigrants ultimately make a net contribution to the economy.

WHETHER IMMIGRANTS ARE A BURDEN

Argument in Favor of Reduction

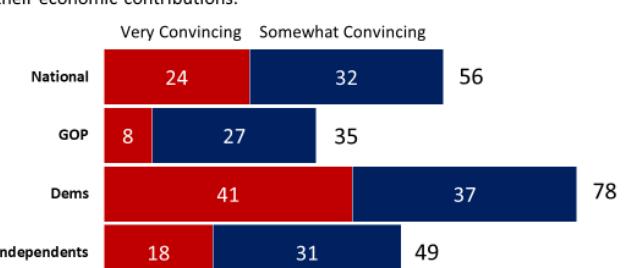
Immigrants are a major burden on our government budgets. When they come here, they often need a lot of social services. Because some do not speak English, schools and social programs need to provide them special help which is costly. They send their children to public schools, they can go on Medicaid, and they can get food stamps. Studies show households headed by legal immigrants are more likely to use at least one welfare program than households headed by citizens. It is unfair to citizens, who have been paying taxes their entire life, to support waves of new families dependent on public welfare.



WHETHER IMMIGRANTS ARE A BURDEN

Argument Against Reduction

Welfare for new immigrants is severely restricted. Studies show that, while first-generation legal immigrants sometimes need more than average social services while getting established, eventually they need fewer services and pay as much in taxes as citizens. Immigrants are energetic, motivated people. Leaving your home and coming to a whole new country is not the kind of thing that passive, dependent people do. Contrary to stereotypes, legal immigrants are also better educated than average Americans and better-educated immigrants pay more in taxes, in addition to their economic contributions.



Whether Immigrants Drive Down Wages

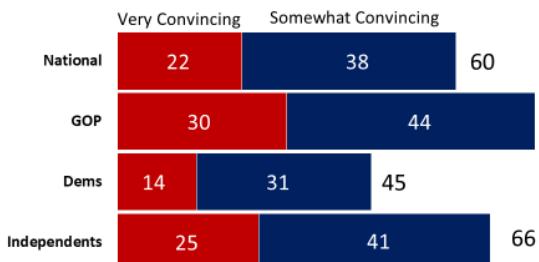
A majority of 60% found convincing the argument that legal immigration drives down wages because a greater supply of labor puts companies in a stronger position, which they can use to weaken the influence of labor unions. The counter argument was found convincing by a minority (43%), which said that slowing the rate of immigration will slow the growth of the economy, which will diminish wages for all workers.



EFFECT ON WAGES

Argument in Favor of Reduction

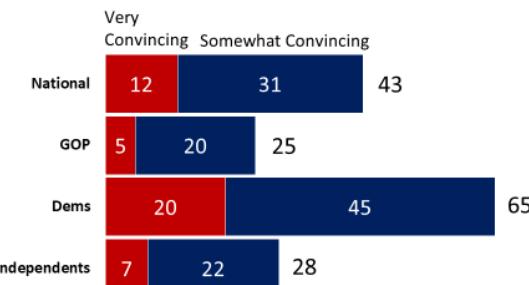
Because immigrants increase the supply of labor, companies are put in a stronger position that allows them to keep wages lower than they would otherwise be. Over the years, as immigration has increased, workers have lost leverage and worker protections have gotten weaker. Since the 1970s American workers have seen their wages stagnate even as the economy has grown, and workers productivity has increased; while more money has gone to the shareholders. Slowing the rate of immigration will help American workers get better pay so that they can earn a decent living, especially for the poorest workers at the bottom of the labor market.



EFFECT ON WAGES

Argument Against Reduction

Slowing the rate of immigration will slow the economy. This will diminish wages for all American workers, not help them. In many ways, immigrants do not compete with citizen workers, but rather complement them, for example by providing low-cost childcare and house care, they allow citizens to pursue better economic opportunities. Immigration also drives up wages for native-born citizens by increasing the demand for their native skills such as full command of the English language, making it more likely they will be in managerial or higher paid positions.



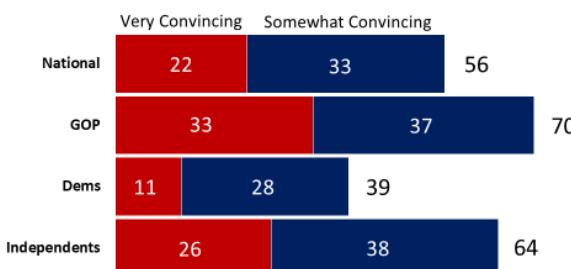
Whether Immigrants Hurt Demand for American Workers

A modest majority of 56% found convincing the argument that legal immigration creates a greater supply of labor, which helps corporations that want an abundant supply of cheap labor, but hurts American workers by creating more competition. But 60% found convincing the counter argument that there is a real need in the labor market for these immigrant workers and that cutting them back would harm the economy.

COMPETITION FOR JOBS

Argument in Favor of Reduction

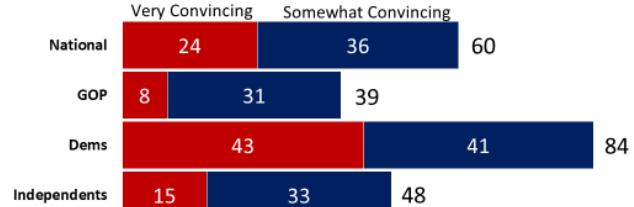
Letting in so many foreigners creates a larger supply of workers, which creates more competition for Americans who are already here. Immigrants have been coming in at a pace that is faster than the growth of the population. Many Americans have even given up trying to get a job. While unemployment may be lower now, when unemployment was high, the government kept letting in new people. Government policymakers are doing what is good for corporations who want an overabundant supply of cheap labor, but they are not doing what is good for American workers.



COMPETITION FOR JOBS

Argument Against Reduction

A large bipartisan group of economists recently issued a statement saying that cutting immigration would slow the economy, which would lower the demand for all workers. The size of the workforce has been declining lately, with many baby boomers retiring and the declining birth rate, and immigrants can help fill the gap. Many immigrants are entrepreneurs and investors who create jobs by starting their own businesses. A remarkable 43 percent of the Fortune 500 companies were founded or co-founded by an immigrant or the child of an immigrant, including Apple, eBay, Intel, Yahoo and Google. Immigrants also do jobs American do not want to do, complementing rather than directly competing with American workers. Clearly we should not reduce the vital flow of immigrants into our economy.



Whether Immigrants Pose a Threat of Terrorism

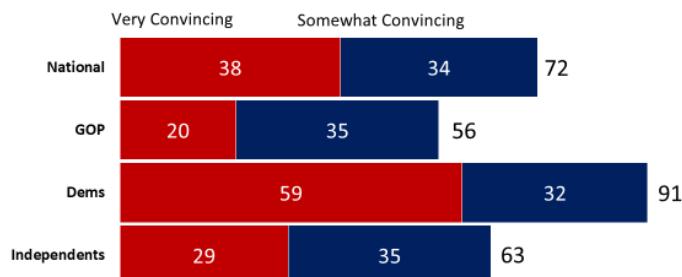
Only 49% found convincing the argument that immigrants increase the risk of terrorism against Americans, based on the 54 cases of green card holders being convicted of terrorist attacks. But 72%—the highest percentage of any of the arguments—found convincing the counter argument that this number is exceedingly small relative to the 35 million immigrants entering the country in the same period, and that vetting processes are thorough. This was the one case in which a majority of Republicans found the counter-argument convincing.



IMMIGRANTS AND TERRORISM

Argument Against Reduction

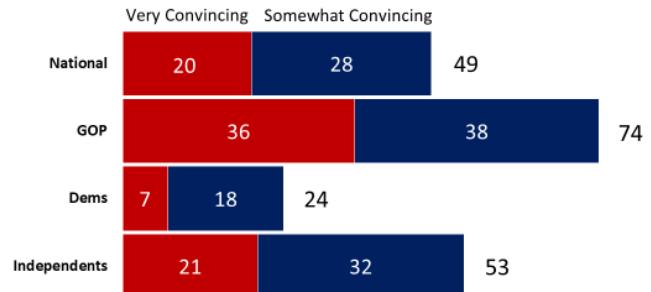
Between 1975 and 2015, 35 million people were granted green cards and 54 of them were convicted of terrorist attacks--that's 0.00016%. We cannot let a small number of terrorists scare the US into closing its doors to the world. We can, however, have thorough vetting to ensure that all the people we let in pose no security threat. Currently, such vetting includes multiple background checks, a process so thorough that it can take up to two years.



IMMIGRANTS AND TERRORISM

Argument in Favor of Reduction

Allowing in immigrants increases the risk of terrorism against Americans. Between 1975 and 2015, 54 green card holders were convicted of terrorist attacks and eight people died from those attacks. Even more have been charged with terrorist-related activities. Large immigrant populations make it easier for terrorists to operate in the US and go unnoticed. This risk is unacceptable. If we reduce the number of foreigners moving into the country, we will lower the risk of terrorist attacks.



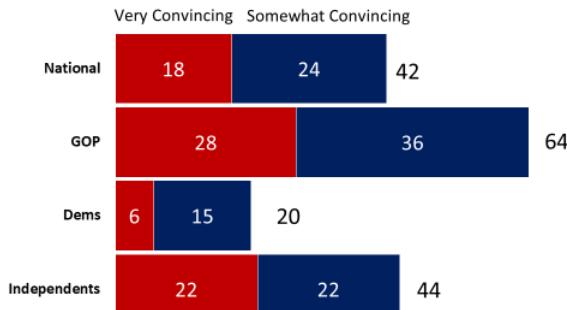
Whether Immigrants Pose a Threat of Crime

The argument that proved to be the weakest was that immigrants pose a threat of crime which was found convincing by just 42%. The counter argument that studies show that immigrants do not commit more crimes than native-born citizens and that they are subject to background checks was found convincing by a robust 65%.

IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME

Argument in Favor of Reduction

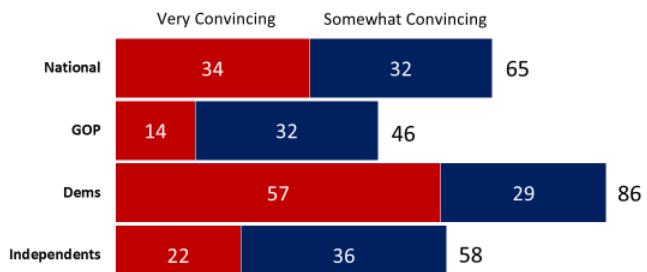
Immigrants, even legal ones, pose a danger to our communities. They are more likely to be young and male – a group that has historically been more prone to criminal activity. Many are new arrivals and checking criminal records from foreign countries is not reliable. We should not be taking the risk of potentially letting more crime into our communities.



IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME

Argument Against Reduction

Applicants undergo four separate background checks with the FBI and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to screen against terrorism, sex offenses, active arrest warrants and gang affiliations. More significant, according to an in-depth study by the National Academy of Sciences, legal immigrants do not commit crimes at a higher rate than native-born citizens. It is a myth that legal immigrants pose a unique danger.





FAMILY-BASED IMMIGRATION PROGRAMS

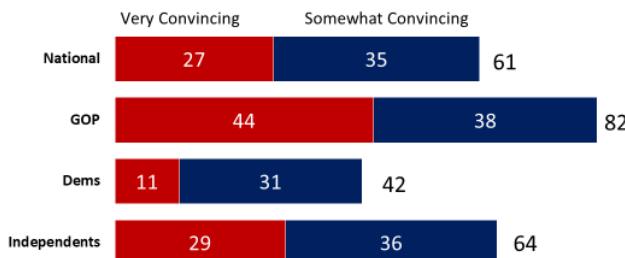
Eight in 10 opposed eliminating the program that provides about 290,000 green cards for the parents, siblings and adult children of US citizens. However, six in ten favored cutting back the program by either reducing it or eliminating it. A majority of 55% favored cutting back the number of green cards by at least 90,000. For the program that provides about 27,000 green cards to the adult children of permanent residents seven in 10 opposed eliminating it. A slight majority favored cutting it back, but there was no majority support for a specified amount. Just under half favored a cut of 1,000.

Respondents were told that there is a program for granting green cards to the spouses and minor children of US citizens, but that there is no proposal for modifying this program. However, they were told that there were proposals to reduce or eliminate ‘family-sponsored’ programs that let US citizens request green cards for their parents, siblings and adult children (about 290,000 are granted each year) and allows permanent residents to request green cards for their adult children (about 27,000 are granted each year). They then evaluated arguments for and against such reductions. Arguments for and against such reductions were found convincing by similar numbers. However, responses were highly partisan, with large majorities of Republicans finding the arguments in favor convincing and large majorities of Democrats finding the arguments against convincing. Independents were more persuaded by the arguments in favor of reductions.

FAMILY-BASED IMMIGRATION: ECONOMIC FACTORS

Argument in Favor of Reduction

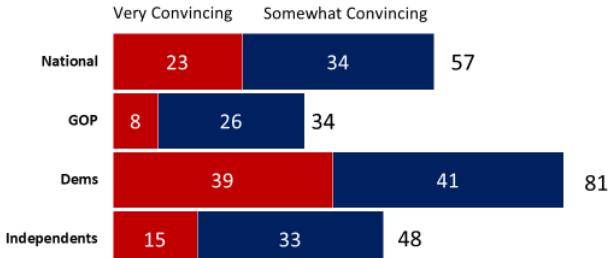
Immigrants who are granted green cards because they have family members here do not necessarily have any qualifications that are needed in our economy. This has led to an increase in immigrants competing with citizens, which can drive down wages. About a third of these immigrants are parents of citizens who are older and closer to retirement—they contribute less to our economy and are a burden on our healthcare system. Immigrants’ children have to be educated in our schools at taxpayers’ expense.



FAMILY-BASED IMMIGRATION: ECONOMIC FACTORS

Argument Against Reduction

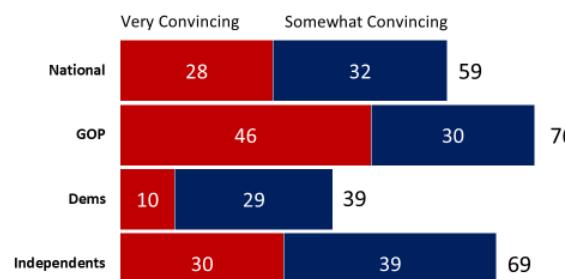
When immigrants come to America, it is useful for them to have extended families and a larger community of people from their home countries. This network helps new immigrants navigate in their new country and can provide employment or the resources to start a small business. Having grandparents, and other extended family members, is positive for children’s development and by providing childcare and other assistance, they can enable the parents to work full-time. These workers then pay taxes and contribute to the economy.



FAMILY-BASED IMMIGRATION: SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Argument in Favor of Reduction

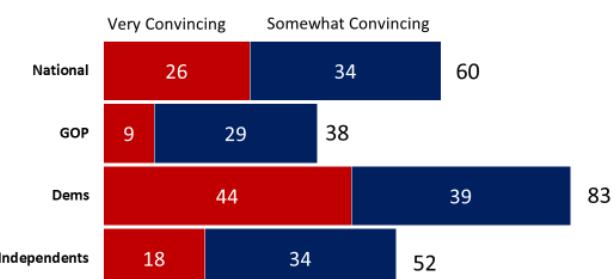
This program favors the nationalities of the people who are already here, which is unfair, and leads to the creation of large ethnic communities that do not always integrate culturally. Often times, people in these communities do not have to learn English and isolate themselves. The whole idea of America as a melting pot is lost and the cohesion of society is diminished.



FAMILY-BASED IMMIGRATION: SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Argument Against Reduction

First, with time immigrants do assimilate more, especially as their children learn English. Second, the idea of America is not to make everybody the same. People from other cultures provide a fresh perspective that is part of the vitality of American culture. It makes life here more interesting and has contributed to the innovations that have been key to the success of our country.





Asked for their final recommendation for the program that provides about 290,000 green cards for the parents, siblings and adult children of US citizens, only 20% favored ending the program. Thus 79% opposed the proposal. Even among Republicans 63% oppose elimination.

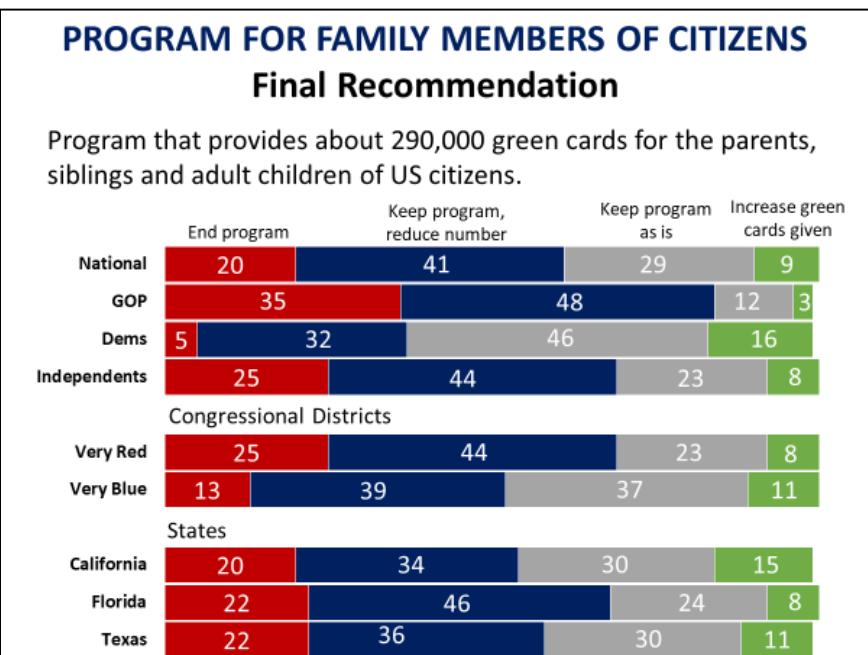
However, only 38% favored keeping the program as it is (29%) or increasing the numbers of green cards (9%). The most popular response was to reduce the program—favored by 41%. Thus, 61% favored cutting back the program either by reducing it (41%) or eliminating it entirely (20%). Less than half of Democrats (37%) favored reduction or elimination, but a slight majority of 52% did so in very blue districts and 54% in California, as well as 68% in Florida and 58% in Texas.

The 41% who favored reducing it were asked what the number of green cards issued should be. Including those who supported eliminating the program as favoring zero green cards, a majority of 55% of the whole sample cut back the number of green cards for this program issued each year by 90,000 or more. An additional two percent proposed a smaller cut and four percent declined to answer or changed their mind about reducing it.

The 20% who said the program should be ended were also asked what should be done with the several million existing applications that have been accepted but are in a waiting line to get their green card. Half (10%) said the government should immediately stop issuing green cards, eight percent said to process existing application scheduled to get green cards in the next year and 3% said that all existing applications should be processed.

Asked for their final recommendation for the program that provides about 27,000 green cards for the adult children of permanent residents only 27% favored the proposal to eliminate it, including 45% of Republicans. Thus, 72% opposed the proposal, including 54% of Republicans as well as 91% of Democrats. Majorities were opposed in very red districts (68%), very blue districts (83%) and in the three states.

However, a slight majority of 53% favored cutting it back by either eliminating the program (27%) or reducing it (25%). Those who favored reducing were asked to specify what level it should be, but 4% either changed their mind about reducing or did not answer. Thus, there was no majority for a specified reduction. Forty-nine percent favored a reduction of at least 1,000.

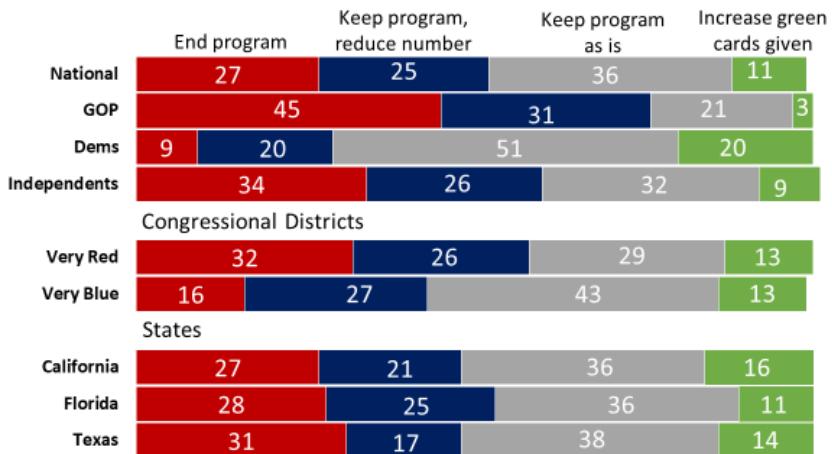


The 27% who said the program should be ended were also asked what should be done with the existing applications that have been accepted but are in a waiting line to get their green card.

Ten percent said the government should immediately stop issuing green cards, another ten percent said to process existing application scheduled to get green cards in the next year and seven percent said that all existing applications should be processed.

PROGRAM FOR FAMILY MEMBERS OF PERMANENT RESIDENTS Final Recommendation

Program that provides about 27,000 green cards for the adult children of permanent residents:



DIVERSITY LOTTERY

Two thirds opposed eliminating the program that issues about 50,000 green cards per year through a lottery system to individuals from countries under-represented in the US population. However, six in ten favored cutting it back by reducing or eliminating it. A majority of 52% favored cutting it by at least 20,000 green cards each year.

Respondents were introduced to the diversity lottery as follows:

This program is one that anyone from countries with low rates of immigration to the U.S. can apply for, though only a small number are selected. Last year 20 million people applied, while approximately 50,000 were granted green cards to applicants and their spouses and minor children. One of the aims of the program is to allow in some people from countries that are not well represented in the current US population.

Here is how it works. All applicants enter an online lottery. Those that are selected are then vetted as follows:

- Applicants must have at least a high school education or two years of work experience in an occupation that requires at least two years of training or experience.
- Applicants undergo medical examinations to ensure that they do not have serious health problems.
- Applicants undergo criminal background checks

They then evaluated arguments for and against the program. Six in ten found both arguments convincing, but

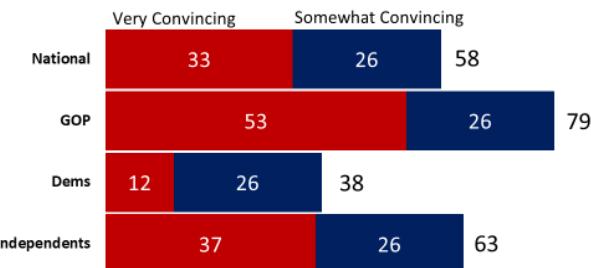


responses were highly partisan with eight in ten Republicans finding the argument in favor convincing and eight in ten Democrats the argument against. Independents were more persuaded by the argument in favor.

DIVERSITY VISA LOTTERY

Argument in Favor of Reduction/Elimination

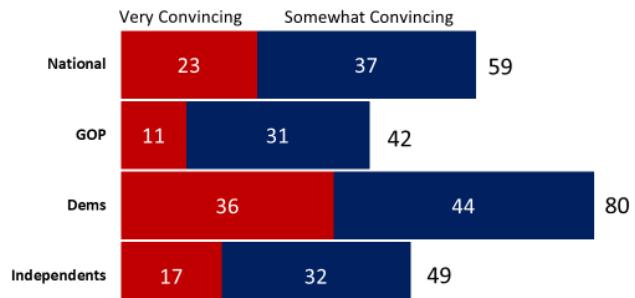
The idea of randomly picking people from all over the world to come into the US makes no sense. These people have no connections here. They create competition for US workers and expose Americans to the risk of terrorism and crime. It is also not certain that they will be needed in the labor market--a high school education, especially from abroad, means little in today's economy. We should not be creating competition for American workers and risking our safety, just so we can have more diversity in our country.



DIVERSITY VISA LOTTERY

Argument Against Reduction/Elimination

This program is a fair way to bring in new immigrants. It ensures that no one area of the world gets more access to the American Dream than others. Applicants are required to meet education and work experience requirements--nearly four in ten are professionals or experienced managers-- and are vetted to ensure they pose no security risk. Our immigration system should not be based only on whether someone has family or employment connections.



Asked for their final recommendation only 33% favored eliminating the program, while 66% were opposed. Among Republicans a bare majority of 52% favored eliminating the program.

However, overall, only 41% favored keeping the program as it is. One quarter (25%) favored keeping the program but reducing the number of green cards issued. Combined with the 33% who wanted to eliminate the program, 58% favored cutting it back.

Those who favored reducing it were asked what the number of green cards issued should be. Including those who supported eliminating the program as favoring zero green cards, a majority of 52% of the whole sample cut back the number of green cards for this program issued each year by 20,000 or more. An additional 9% made lower reductions or declined to give a number, while 4% changed their minds about making a reduction.

EMPLOYMENT-BASED IMMIGRATION

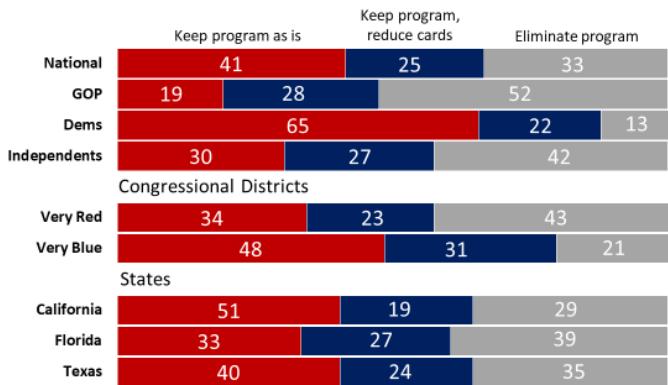
Overall, a slight majority opposed increasing the number of green cards over and above the current 140,000 granted each year to immigrants who have skills that are needed in the US labor market or who are investors who could start a business. Approximately two in three Democrat favored the idea, while the same number of Republicans were opposed, as were six in ten independents.

Respondents were introduced to the proposal for increasing the number of green cards issued under the employment-based program as follows:

DIVERSITY VISA LOTTERY

Final Recommendation

Now, having considered these arguments, we would like to know what you would recommend for this program.





This proposal calls for increasing the number of people that are provided green cards as part of a program that requires that applicants have skills which employers in the US labor market seek. This includes immigrants who are skilled workers, professionals, executives, and people with exceptional abilities in various fields. In most cases, applicants already have job offers in the US and the employers act as the sponsors.

The Department of Labor must then certify that:

- There are not available, qualified, and willing U.S. workers to fill the kind of position the immigrant would fill.
- Hiring a foreign worker will not have a negative effect on the wages and working conditions of similarly employed U.S. workers.

Currently, about 140,000 green cards are issued each year under this program. This number includes immediate family members as well as the applicant.

About 10,000 of these green cards go to people who have the means to invest at least \$500,000 in a new business that will create at least 10 jobs.

They then evaluated arguments for and against such an increase. Both arguments were found convincing by two thirds of respondents. Responses were less partisan than usual with clear majorities of both Democrats and Republicans finding both arguments convincing.

EMPLOYMENT-BASED PROGRAM: DEMAND FOR SKILLED WORKERS

Argument in Favor of Increase

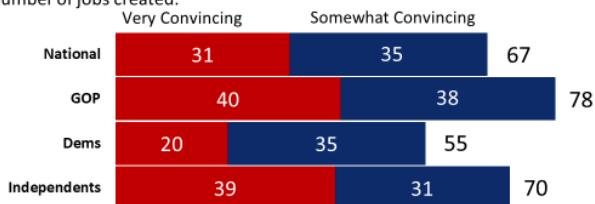
Companies are asking for more skilled workers in the fields of finance and computer technology so the United States can remain a leader in innovation and global competition. We have a shortage of nurses and other care workers such as those who provide assistance to the elderly, and it is anticipated that these shortages will increase as the baby boom generation retires. It is simply irrational and bad for our economy not to fill those jobs with qualified immigrants. Also, immigrants who come in under this program do not lower wages as employers legally have to pay them the same amount they pay citizens. This program also brings in investors who create jobs.



EMPLOYMENT-BASED PROGRAM: DEMAND FOR SKILLED WORKERS

Argument in Favor of Increase

Even if there are some temporarily open positions in the US economy, we should not give more immigrants green cards that allow them to stay in the US permanently. Rather, we should put more emphasis on educating Americans and do a better job of placing them. Many of our college graduates are underemployed and are in jobs that don't even require a degree. Furthermore, it is not clear that there really is such a shortage of workers in these highly-skilled jobs—there has been little wage growth, even in STEM jobs. In some cases, the companies just want an oversupply of workers so they do not have to pay them higher wages. As for investors, there have been a significant number of cases in which so-called investors made fraudulent claims about the amount of money invested or the number of jobs created.



Asked for the final recommendation on increasing the number of immigrants under this program, a bare majority opposed the program (51%), while 48% favored the idea. Partisan differences were strong: while 63% of Democrats favored the idea, 65% of Republicans and 59% of independents were opposed. In very blue districts views were divided, while in very red districts 57% were opposed.

Of the states, Texas was the only one that favored increasing the number of such employment visas (54%) while California and Florida had slight majorities opposed (52% and 51%, respectively).



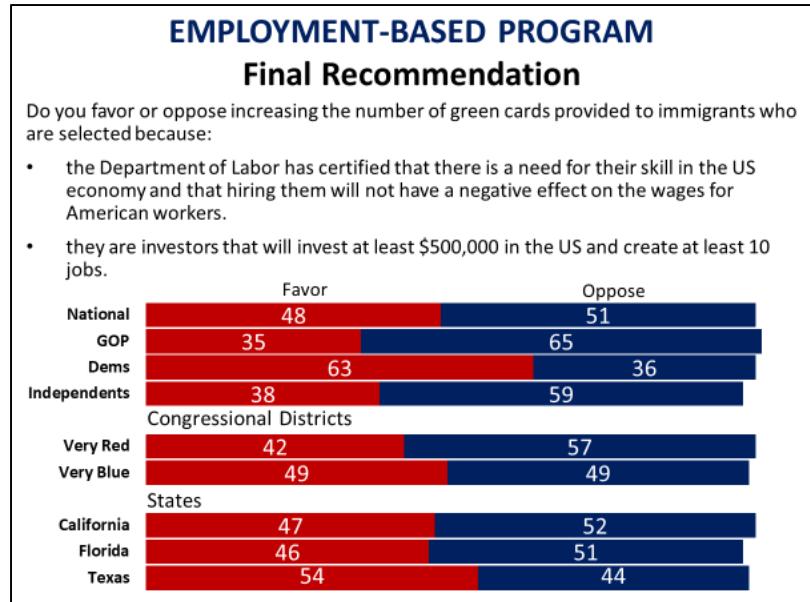
Those who favored the idea were told that currently there is a fixed maximum number of green cards granted under this program of 140,000. They were then asked whether the number should be raised to a higher fixed number or if the number should vary each year according to the demands of the labor market. The latter was chosen overwhelming—41% to 6%.

Those who opposed the increase were asked essentially the same question, but whether the 140,000 should stay fixed or change with the demands of the labor market. Again, the latter position prevailed—39% to 11%.

Thus, combining these groups, 8 in 10 overall favored having the size of this program adjust each year according to the demands of the labor market. Eight in 10 respondents in California, Florida and Texas also favored this option.

Point-Based System

In deciding who should be granted a green card as part of the employment-based program, respondents were asked to consider a point-based system that has been proposed for the US and has been tried in other countries. Respondents were presented a list of factors and asked how many points should be given for each one on a scale of 0 to 10. The mean responses are shown in the graph to the right.



PRIORITY FOR FACTORS IN POINT-BASED SYSTEM				
CATEGORIES	Nat'l	Dems	GOP	Indep.
English proficiency	7.5	7.1	7.9	7.7
MA or PhD degree	7.2	7.3	7.2	7.1
Job offer in US company	7.2	7.4	7.1	6.8
STEM degree	7.1	7.2	7.2	7
MBA or MD degree	7.1	7.1	7.1	6.8
Family in the US	5.2	5.8	4.6	5.3
26-30 age range	4.9	5.1	4.6	4.8
Extraordinary ability in art / entertainment	4.1	4.9	3.4	3.9
Underrepresented country of origin	3.8	4.6	3.0	3.5
Extraordinary ability in sports	3.3	3.8	2.9	3.2

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival Program (DACA)

A very large bipartisan majority of more than eight in ten approved of creating a legal status for 1.8 million people who were eligible under the DACA program and making them eligible to apply for citizenship in 10-12 years provided that they meet certain requirements. Support was overwhelming in very red and very blue districts, as well as Texas, Florida, and California.

At this point in the survey the focus of attention shifted from legal to illegal immigration. Respondents were introduced to the DACA program as follows:

As you may know there is a major discussion these days about what should happen to people who were brought into the US as minors and never got legal status but have lived here many years. In



2012, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, popularly known as DACA, was established to allow these people (commonly referred to as 'Dreamers') to apply for a special status so that they:

- receive temporary protection from being deported
- can get a work permit

provided that they:

- were under age 31 when the program started in 2012
- entered the US before age sixteen
- have continuously resided in the US
- have not been convicted of a serious crime
- are in school, have graduated from high school, are in the military, or have been honorably discharged from the military.

This status expires after two years and can be renewed provided that the person has not committed a significant crime.

Approximately 887,000 young people applied for this status, though it was estimated that about 900,000 more were eligible but did not apply (presumably because they were afraid that revealing their illegal presence to the government might someday become a problem for them).

In 2017, this DACA program was ended so that no new applications would be accepted. Those currently having this protected status will begin to lose it as their two-year term runs out. They would then become subject to being deported as an illegal alien--for some as soon as this March.

They were told that:

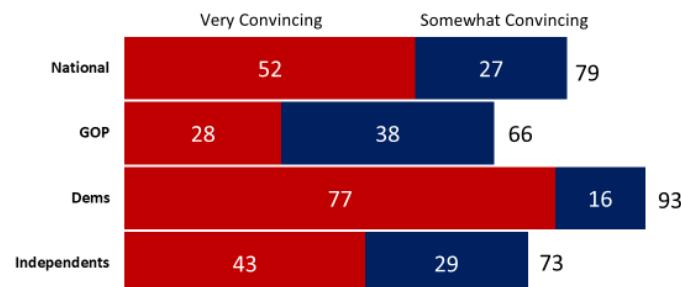
Currently, there is a proposal for creating a legal status for 1.8 million people who were eligible under the DACA program. They would also be eligible to apply for citizenship in 10-12 years provided that they:

- graduate from high school
- pass criminal background checks and do not commit any crime
- maintain full-time employment, serve in the military or pursue a higher education or professional

LEGAL STATUS FOR DACA

Argument in Favor

Most 'Dreamers' were brought to this country as children by their families. And while the families did break the law, the children had no say in the matter and did not actively make that decision to illegally enter the country. It would be unjust to punish people for crimes they did not choose to commit. And considering many have been here their entire lives, it would be cruel to send them to a foreign land to start their lives over. This is not to mention that about 200,000 of them have US-born children who would have to either uproot their lives as well or be left living with relatives.

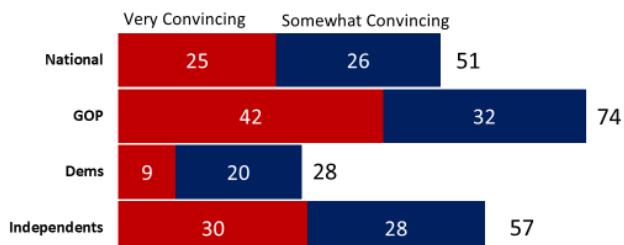


against this proposal. Unlike any of the other proposals, these arguments in favor of the proposal were found convincing by very large bipartisan majorities. In fact, even though still large majorities of Republicans found them

LEGAL STATUS FOR DACA

Argument Against

It may not be these young people's fault that their parents brought them here, but the law was still broken and in the end, this proposal would give these law-breaking parents' children citizenship. This rewards illegal behavior and encourages more illegal immigration. We always talk about punishing lawbreakers, but in the end we keep letting them get away with it which encourages others. This is just more amnesty. In the 1980s we gave amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants. We were told that this would be followed with a real crackdown on new illegal immigrants, but it only encouraged more to come in. This proposed program is more of the same.

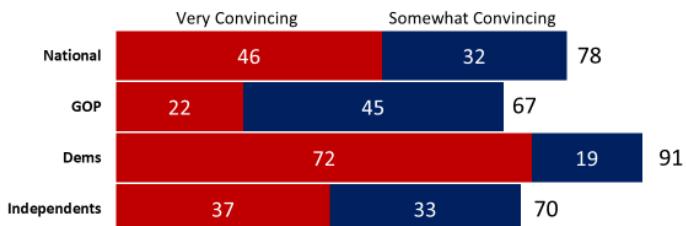




DACA PROGRAM

Argument in Favor

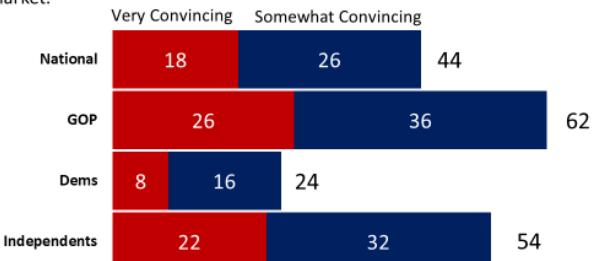
The idea of deporting nearly two million young people who are integrated into US society makes no sense from an economic perspective. They have been educated here, at some cost to taxpayers and have a lot to offer the US economy. "Dreamers" are already estimated to pay as much as \$2 billion annually in taxes, and this will only increase as they age -- getting higher-paying jobs and spending more. Deporting them will hurt businesses that rely on them for employment and consumption. Just the logistics of deporting nearly two million young people cost up to \$10 billion, twice the current budget of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency. It would be a waste of resources and a major lost opportunity if we deport the Dreamers.



DACA PROGRAM

Argument Against

This plan will make it easier for immigrants who came here illegally as children to compete with young American citizens. This might be good for corporations who want to have an oversupply of workers so they can pay them less and offer little to no benefits, but it is bad for young Americans who are already having a hard time. Just recently, the unemployment rate for 18-29 year olds reached a whopping 11% and many more are underemployed. A recent study found that on average they earn 20% less than their baby boomer parents did at the same age and have more student debt. This is no time to introduce a new surge of young people into the legal job market.



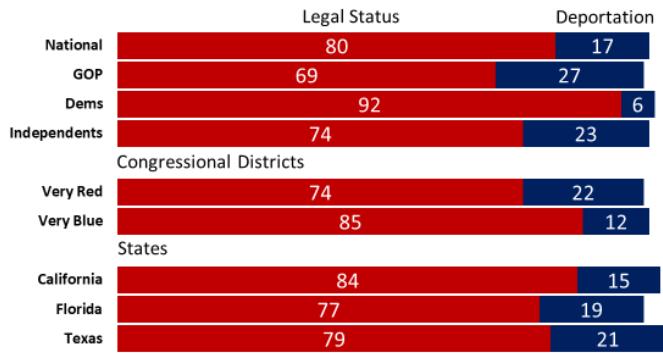
Final Recommendation

Asked for their final recommendation, an overwhelming 80%, including 69% of Republicans as well as 92% of Democrats, approved of the plan to give the 1.8 million 'Dreamers' legal status and a path to citizenship. Support was overwhelming in very red and very blue districts as well as Texas, Florida, and California.

DACA PROGRAM

Final Recommendation

Provide legal status for 1.8 million who came to the US illegally as children and make them eligible for citizenship in 10 -12 years, or make them subject to deportation.



SOUTHERN BORDER

Six in ten opposed spending \$25 billion on building a barrier along the southern border, primarily through building a wall. An overwhelming majority of Republicans favored the proposal while an overwhelming majority of Democrats were opposed. Majorities in California, Florida and Texas also opposed the proposal. A very slight majority favored spending some new money on strengthening the southern border, but combined with those who favored the full \$25 billion, less than half proposed an amount of \$1 billion or more.

Respondents were introduced to the proposal for building a barrier along the southern border as follows:

Another issue related to illegal immigration is a proposal for the US to spend \$25 billion to build a barrier along the US southern border with Mexico, primarily by building a wall. This border is 1,195 miles long.

The US government currently spends about \$3.8 billion per year policing the southern border. In 2016, 409,000 people were caught and prevented from crossing the border. However, the Department of Homeland



Security estimates that 170,000 succeeded in entering illegally. Not all of these are people who are seeking to cross the border are seeking to immigrate into the US. Some are smugglers.

There are different ideas about how this \$25 billion should be spent. Some say that there should be a solid wall along the full length of 1,195 miles. Others say that this poses many engineering challenges, particularly in mountainous areas and that in some areas it is better to have fences, or just more intensive surveillance.

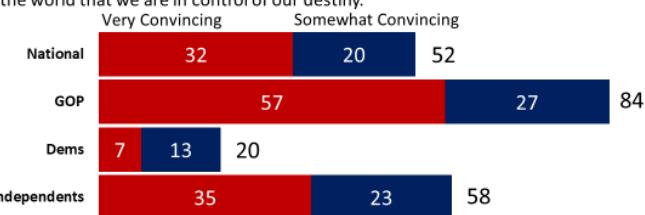
The question we would like you to evaluate is whether the US should invest \$25 billion, over and above current spending on border security, to create a stronger barrier on the southern border, primarily by building a wall.

They were then presented arguments for and against the proposal. They argument in favor got a bare majority finding it convincing with an overwhelming majority of Republicans positive and only one in five Democrats. The argument against had nearly two in three finding it convincing, with nine in ten Democrats convinced and four in then Republicans.

STRONGER BARRIER ON SOUTHERN BORDER

Argument in Favor

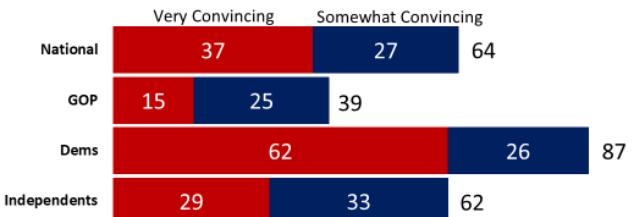
Spending \$25 billion on securing our southern border is a good investment. Every day hundreds of immigrant succeed in entering the US illegally through the southern border. Many are immigrants who come here and use government social services, in addition to taking jobs that should be going to American citizens. Many are criminals, bringing in drugs and undermining the fabric of our society. Some are members of terrorist groups. New research suggests that the large build-up in border security and enforcement in the last decade contributed to the decline in illegal crossings. By preventing large numbers of economic migrants from crossing, our border patrol agents can focus more of their resources on the most serious traffickers causing the most harm. Ultimately we need to recognize that a nation is only as strong as its borders. A country that can so easily be entered is a weak country. We need to make a statement to the world that we are in control of our destiny.



STRONGER BARRIER ON SOUTHERN BORDER

Argument Against

Building a wall sounds bold and dramatic, but, realistically, it will not significantly reduce the number of people crossing the border. Walls can be scaled with ladders. If one route is blocked, people will use others already in use. Hundreds of tunnels have been dug under the border. People can be smuggled by boat. People can be hidden in trucks and vans crossing the border, as there is no way that the border guards can check all of the millions of vehicles that cross over every day. Surely, there are a lot of big companies out there eager for the opportunity to get lucrative contracts building such a wall, but in the end we will see it was all just a boondoggle. We all want to have a secure border, but if we want to get serious about reducing the number of people coming here illegally, there are more effective means than building a wall. For example, by making sure that employers do not hire them once they get here.



Asked for their final recommendation, a clear majority of 58% opposed the proposal including an overwhelming 93% of Democrats and 55% of independents. Forty-one percent were in favor, including an overwhelming 78% of Republicans.

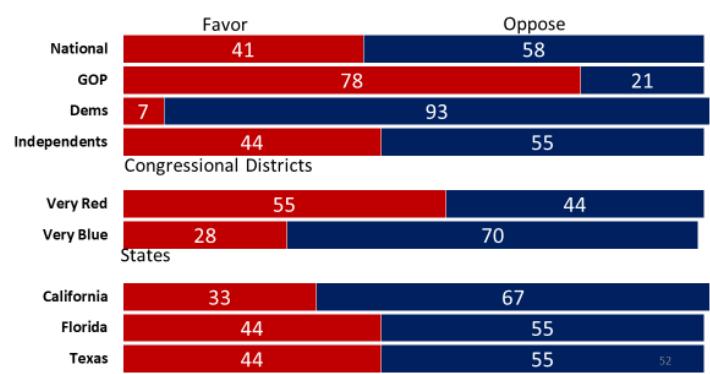
The districts were unusually polarized with 55% in very red districts in favor and 70% of very blue districts opposed.

Interestingly, clear majorities were opposed in all three states, including two that abut the southern border—Texas (55%) and California (67%)—as well as Florida (55%).

STRONGER BARRIER ON SOUTHERN BORDER

Final Recommendation

In conclusion, do you favor or oppose the government spending \$25 billion to build a stronger barrier along the US southern border with Mexico, primarily by building a wall?





Those who opposed were asked a follow-on question about whether they would favor spending some amount to build a stronger barrier or just the current amount of \$3.8 billion a year. Only 10 percent favored an increase.

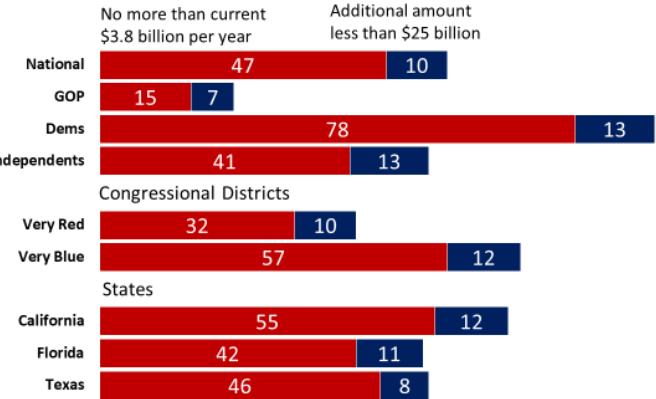
Combined with the 41% who favored spending \$25 billion this creates a very slight majority of 51% who favor some increase. This includes an overwhelming 85% of Republicans, and 59% on independents, but only 20% of Democrats.

Among the states majorities favored some increase in Texas (52%) and Florida (55%), but only 45% in California.

STRONGER BARRIER ON SOUTHERN BORDER

Final Recommendation

(Asked to those who oppose \$25 billion in spending)
Would you favor spending on the southern border:



The 10% who favored an increase, though short of \$25 billion, were asked how much they would want to spend. Combined with those who favored the \$25 billion less than half of the full sample favored spending an amount of \$1 billion or more.



Voice Of the People is a non-partisan organization that seeks to re-anchor our democracy in its founding principles by giving ‘We the People’ a greater role in government. VOP furthers the use of innovative methods and technology to give the American people a more effective voice in the policymaking process.

VOP is working to urge Congress to take these new methods to scale so that Members of Congress have a large, scientifically-selected, representative sample of their constituents—called a Citizen Cabinet—to be consulted on current issues and providing a voice that accurately reflects the values and priorities of their district or state.



PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

The **Program for Public Consultation** seeks to improve democratic governance by consulting the citizenry on key public policy issues governments face. It has developed innovative survey methods that simulate the process that policymakers go through—getting a briefing, hearing arguments, dealing with tradeoffs—before coming to their conclusion. It also uses surveys to help find common ground between conflicting parties. The Program for Public Consultation is part of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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