




Perceptions of Crime and Crime Policy in New York




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Methodology



• Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey, which reached 1000 likely general election voters in New York using voter file sample. Seventy percent of respondents were called via live phone calls to cells and landlines and 30 percent via text-to-online methodology. The survey was conducted from August 15th to August 20th. The margin of error is +/- 3.0% at the 95% confidence interval.



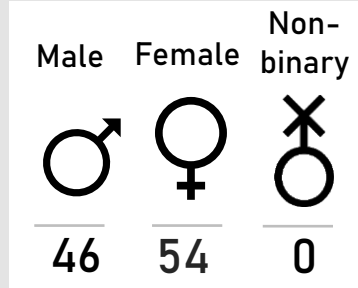
• Telephone numbers for the sample were generated from a file of registered, likely 2024 general election voters in New York. The data were weighted slightly by gender, age, race, region, education level, partisanship, and voter turnout history.



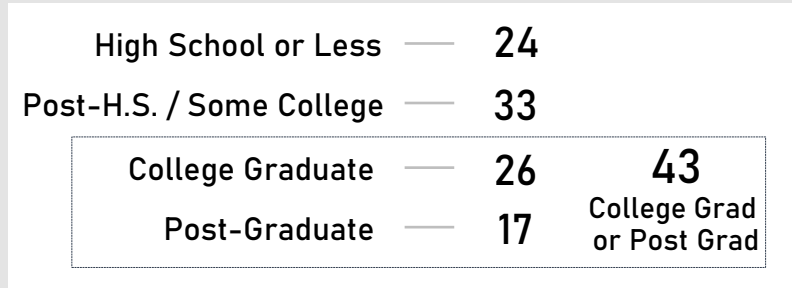
• In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error—that is, the results of a survey may differ from those that would be obtained if the entire population of likely voters were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a question. For example, if a response to a given question which all base respondents answered was 50%, we could be sure that in 95% of all samples of 1000 drawn from the same universe of likely general election voters, the results would fall within plus or minus 3% of this percentage, or between 47% and 53%.

Demographics of General Election Voters

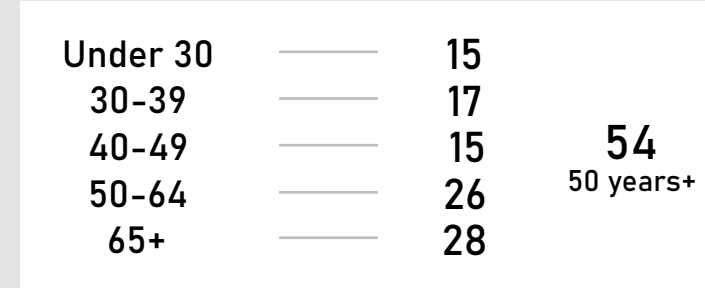
GENDER



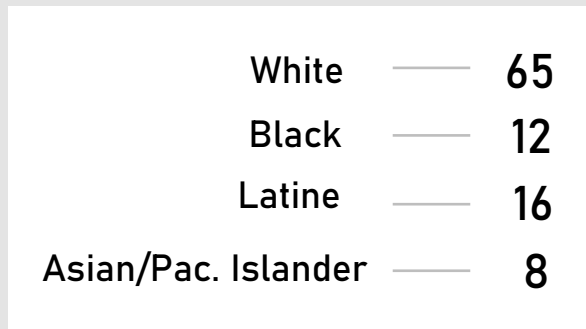
EDUCATION



AGE



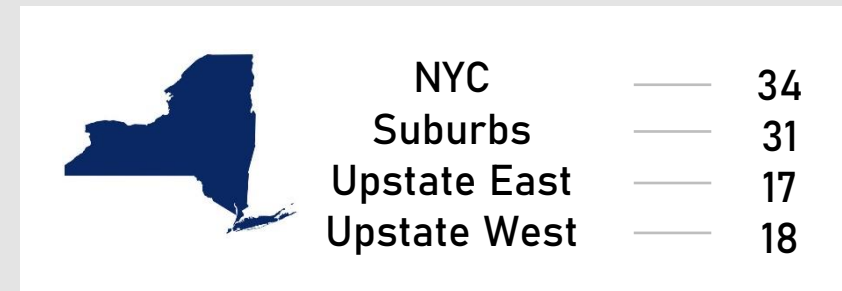
RACE



IDEOLOGY



REGION



PARTY ID



Overview of Findings

1. Our survey finds mixed results for those supporting a progressive agenda on crime and public safety, aided in part by profound concerns over deteriorating public safety in the state as well as by dismal job performance ratings of the Governor and other Democratic leaders when it comes to handling crime.
2. Democrats are not trusted on issues of crime and public safety compared to their Republican counterparts (and voters certainly do not trust Governor Hochul on the issues.)
 - ✓ This is partly because Democrats are in charge and because voters in New York are hearing far more from Republicans than from Democrats on the issue (by 35 points), including among our base. Silence is a huge problem for us and even more pronounced here.
3. Bail reform, having been attacked relentlessly by the GOP and without much in the way of defense—or, critically, alternate framing of the issue—is unpopular with voters. Even when receiving more information about the impact of the new reforms and reassurance on detention, voters overall are firmly opposed.
 - ✓ Voters give the greatest advantage to Democrats on “investing in crime and violence prevention measures like good schools, housing, living wage jobs, drug and mental health treatment, and more programs for young people”. This is followed by prevention first instead of just reacting after, and investing in communities to make them safer. There is room for a strong dialogue here.

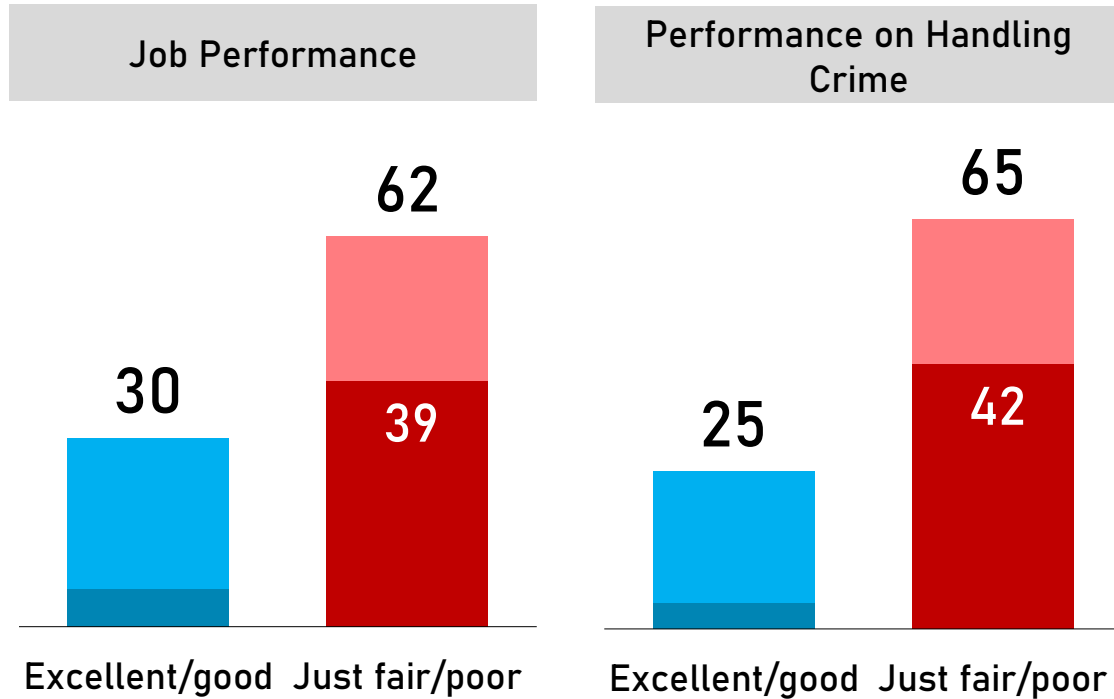
Overview of Findings

4. In many cases, engaging the debate over crime and public safety yields positive results – with the progressive message on “Stopping the Cycle of Crime” giving Democrats a +11 advantage with a partisan ballot, and the progressive message on “Evidence-based Solutions” giving the progressive candidate a +23 advantage when the candidates do not receive partisan labels.
 - ✓ Because of the Republican dominance of the narrative, people focus on problems, and respond to messaging around solutions and prevention. People want to get ahead of the problem
 - ✓ This does not, however, extend to every facet of the debate. Indeed, even with both sides of the argument, voters still side firmly with the Republican talking points on public transportation safety, where New Yorkers strongly desire more police (including our base constituents and voters), but they are more split on the repeat offenders language and the language on judicial discretion. There is still room for a lot of work here to get voters on our side, and to improve our messaging.
5. Top approaches/labels for voters when it comes to public safety include “accountability”, “serious about safety”, and “preventing crime, not just reacting after”.
6. The “tough on crime” and “law and order” framing approaches are tied or beaten by the “solutions,” “safety,” “prevention.” and “accountability” frames.



**Context,
Mood, and
Perceptions
of Political
Actors**

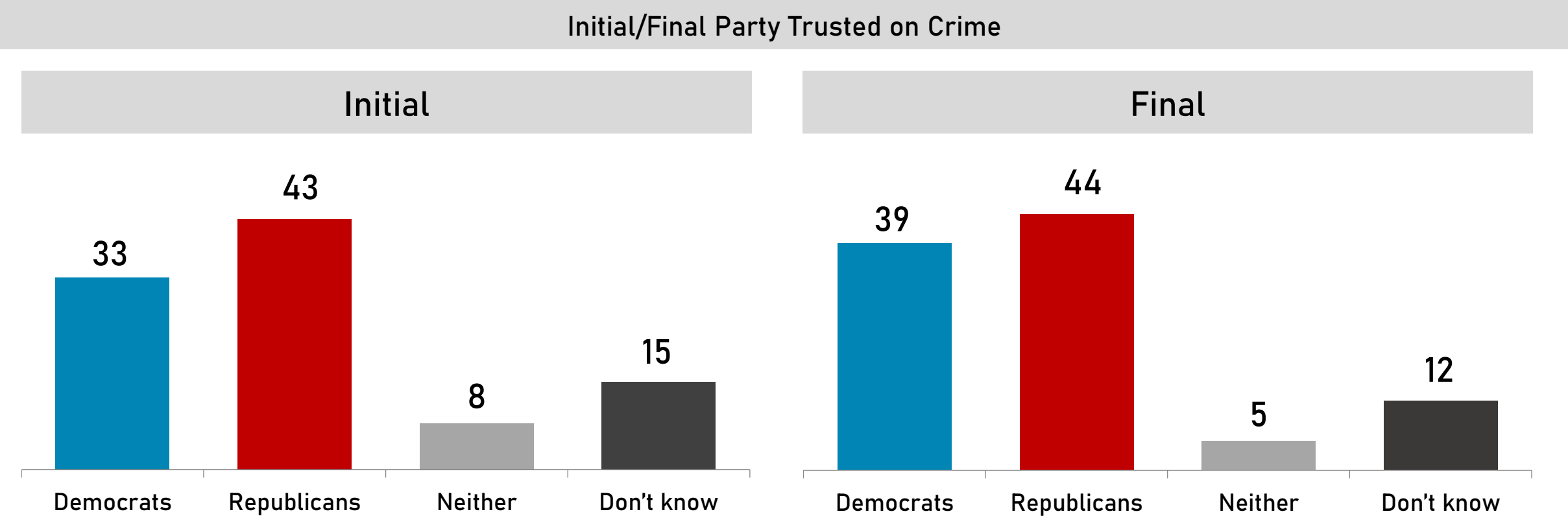
Though the state is Democratic by 12 points and Democrats have double digits on the congressional ballot, Kathy Hochul is not highly regarded by voters – and her numbers are hardly better when just looking at Democrats. Even among those who voted for her in 2022, she is statistically even on how well voters believe she is performing on handling crime, and Democrats are barely positive.



Q4. Do you think Kathy Hochul is doing an excellent, good, just fair, or poor job as Governor?
 Q5. Do you think Kathy Hochul is doing an excellent, good, just fair, or poor job at handling crime?

	Job Performance		Performance handling crime	
	Excellent/good	Just fair/poor	Excellent/good	Just fair/poor
Men	27%	65%	23%	69%
Women	32%	60%	27%	60%
Under 50	25%	65%	22%	69%
50 & over	34%	61%	28%	61%
White alone	28%	67%	23%	69%
Black	34%	56%	38%	50%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	32%	52%	20%	62%
Democrat	50%	44%	43%	43%
Indep/DK	31%	52%	14%	79%
Republican	4%	90%	6%	88%
New York	32%	56%	29%	55%
Suburbs	25%	70%	23%	73%
Upstate West	38%	60%	22%	69%
Upstate East	27%	65%	26%	65%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	54%	41%	46%	44%
Republican Lee Zeldin	2%	95%	4%	92%

As a whole, Democrats are struggling with their image on crime. Only a third of voters say that they trust Democrats more on crime at the start of the survey, and only 64% of Democratic voters agree. Forty-three percent of New Yorkers say they trust Republicans more on crime. There is some shift after extensive messaging but this will take a lot of repetition, focus, and volume.



Q6/Q30. Which party do you trust more on reducing crime: [ROTATE] _the Democrats or _the Republicans?

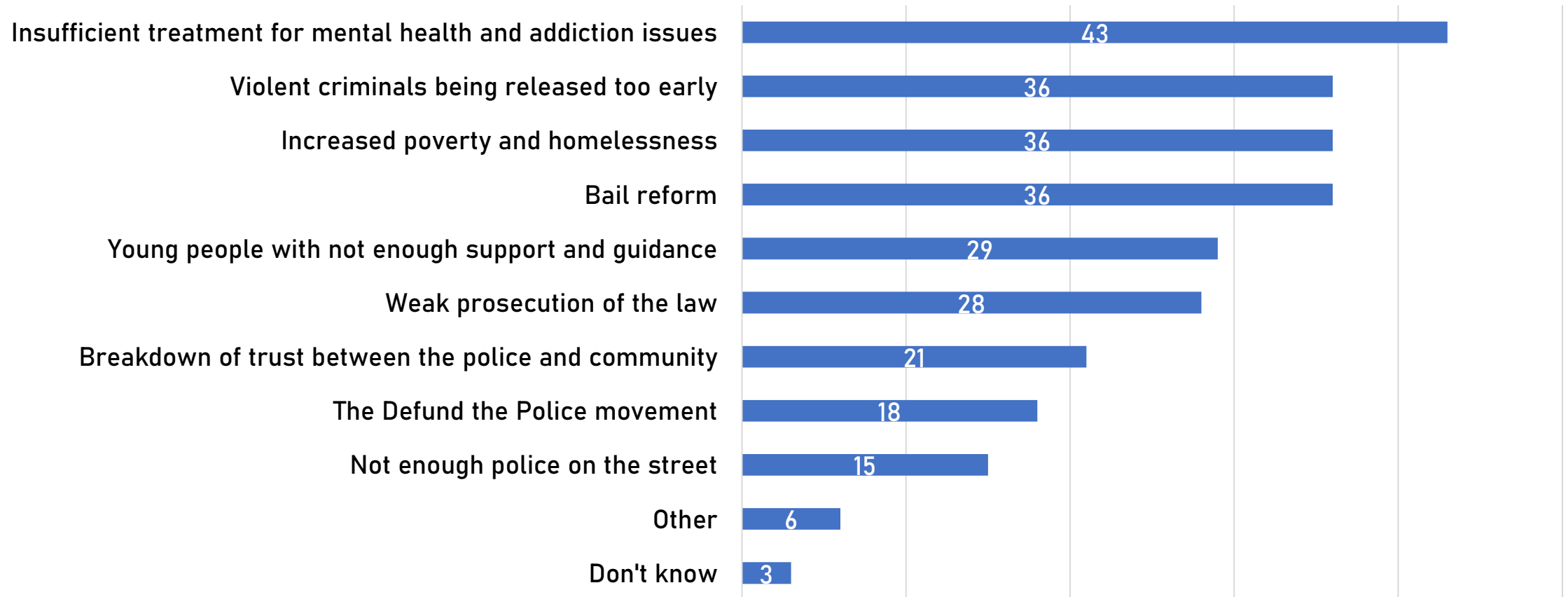
On the issue of reducing crime, Democrats are lagging especially with (surprisingly) younger voters, Latinx voters, and voters in all regions of the country outside of New York City.

		Initial ask					Final ask				
	Dem-Rep	Democrats	Republicans	Neither	Don't know	Dem-Rep	Democrats	Republicans	Undecided	Don't know	
Men	-21	28%	49%	7%	13%	-17	34%	50%	5%	11%	
Women	=	38%	38%	8%	16%	+6	44%	38%	4%	13%	
Under 50	-13	34%	47%	2%	18%	-9	39%	47%	1%	13%	
50 & over	-7	33%	40%	13%	12%	=	40%	40%	8%	11%	
White alone	-16	32%	47%	9%	11%	-12	36%	48%	5%	10%	
Black	+22	43%	21%	8%	27%	+33	55%	22%	6%	17%	
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	-12	33%	44%	3%	20%	-4	40%	43%	-	17%	
Democrat	+50	64%	15%	5%	15%	+63	76%	13%	2%	9%	
Indep/DK	-24	12%	37%	18%	32%	-20	14%	34%	16%	35%	
Republican	-91	2%	92%	4%	2%	-94	2%	95%	1%	2%	
New York	+5	39%	34%	6%	21%	+13	47%	34%	3%	17%	
Suburbs	-17	31%	48%	8%	12%	-15	34%	49%	5%	11%	
Upstate West	-24	25%	49%	13%	11%	-16	35%	51%	7%	7%	
Upstate East	-12	35%	47%	6%	11%	-6	39%	45%	5%	10%	
Democrat Kathy Hochul	+48	60%	12%	9%	17%	+58	70%	12%	5%	12%	
Republican Lee Zeldin	-91	1%	92%	5%	2%	-93	1%	95%	2%	2%	

Q6/Q30. Which party do you trust more on reducing crime: [ROTATE] _the Democrats or _the Republicans?

Voters are willing to ascribe the increase in crime to a variety of factors, with the top reason being “insufficient treatment for mental health and addiction issues”. Increased poverty and homelessness are also seen as a top factor, but so are bail reform and “violent criminals being released too quickly”. Despite the barrage of communication, they are primed for a prevention/intervention messaging frame.

Factors Responsible for Crime in New York



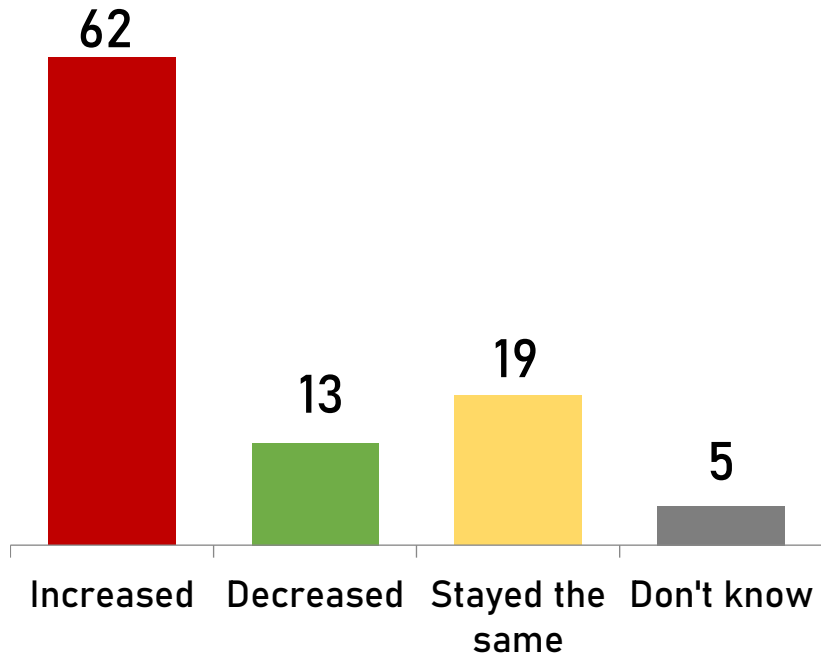
Black and Latinx voters are more concerned about increased poverty and homelessness, and young people without enough support and guidance. Black voters are also particularly concerned about a breakdown of trust between police and community, and Latinx voters are more concerned about violent criminals being released too quickly. As we have seen elsewhere the narrative impacts Black and Latinx residents differently.

	Men	Women	Under 50	50 & over	White alone	Black	Latinx or Hispanic	Dem	Ind	Rep	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate West	Upstate East	Hochul Voter	Zeldin Voter
Insufficient treatment for mental health and addiction issues	38%	48%	47%	40%	42%	41%	48%	57%	41%	22%	49%	45%	35%	38%	57%	20%
Bail reform	34%	38%	40%	34%	43%	19%	28%	19%	41%	61%	28%	37%	46%	42%	22%	65%
Violent criminals being released too quickly	38%	34%	39%	34%	37%	31%	42%	26%	33%	54%	29%	41%	39%	37%	24%	54%
Increased poverty and homelessness	32%	38%	38%	34%	32%	41%	39%	49%	37%	14%	47%	32%	24%	32%	48%	11%
Young people with not enough support and guidance	25%	32%	27%	31%	26%	44%	39%	40%	35%	11%	34%	27%	25%	27%	41%	11%
Weak prosecution of the law	31%	25%	33%	23%	29%	21%	29%	16%	22%	49%	26%	29%	29%	27%	13%	47%
Breakdown of trust between police and community	20%	23%	25%	18%	19%	35%	23%	29%	21%	8%	25%	19%	19%	19%	28%	10%
The Defund the Police movement	23%	15%	18%	19%	21%	11%	17%	8%	18%	37%	14%	20%	23%	19%	7%	37%
Not enough police on the streets	15%	14%	9%	19%	15%	15%	12%	14%	11%	18%	14%	18%	17%	9%	12%	17%
Something else	9%	4%	5%	7%	7%	5%	4%	5%	5%	7%	5%	4%	5%	12%	7%	7%

Q8. Which THREE factors are most responsible for crime in New York?

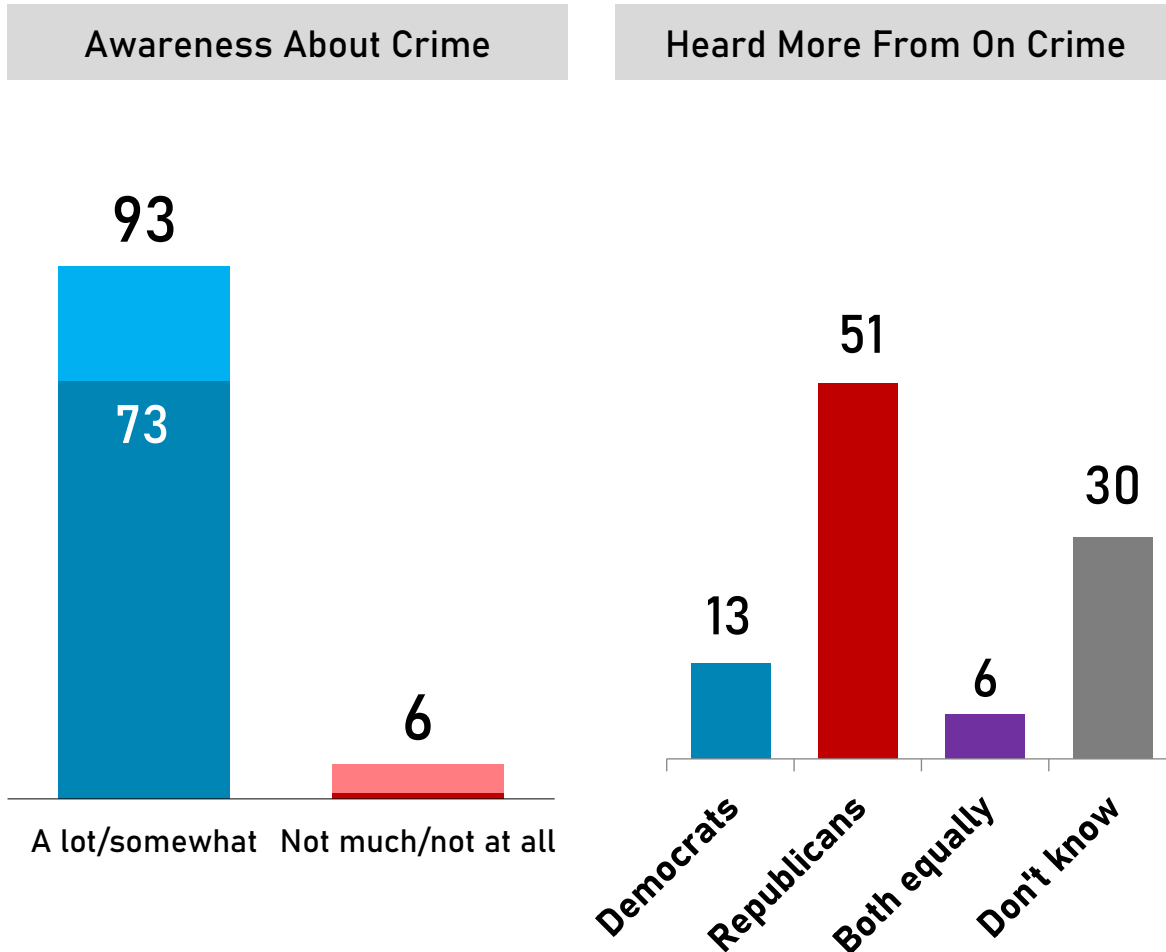
There is a major perception everywhere that crime has increased over the past few years. Zeldin voters and voters living in the West upstate region of the state are most likely to report an increase in crime.

Awareness About Crime



	Increased	Decreased	Stayed the Same	Don't Know
Men	62%	14%	19%	5%
Women	63%	12%	19%	6%
Under 50	62%	14%	17%	7%
50 & over	63%	12%	21%	4%
White alone	66%	11%	18%	4%
Black	49%	19%	27%	5%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	61%	13%	16%	10%
Democrat	41%	23%	28%	8%
Indep/DK	68%	7%	19%	6%
Republican	92%	1%	5%	2%
New York	57%	15%	21%	7%
Suburbs	64%	15%	15%	6%
Upstate West	71%	7%	17%	5%
Upstate East	62%	11%	25%	2%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	41%	22%	31%	6%
Republican Lee Zeldin	92%	1%	6%	1%
Heard a lot abt crime	74%	10%	14%	2%
Heard some abt crime	35%	24%	33%	8%
Heard not much abt crime	19%	19%	41%	21%

Part of the reason Democrats are losing on crime is because over half of voters say they have heard more from the Republicans on the issue, compared to only 13% who say they have heard more from the Democrats on the issue. This is a problem that occurs with every major demographic, including our base.

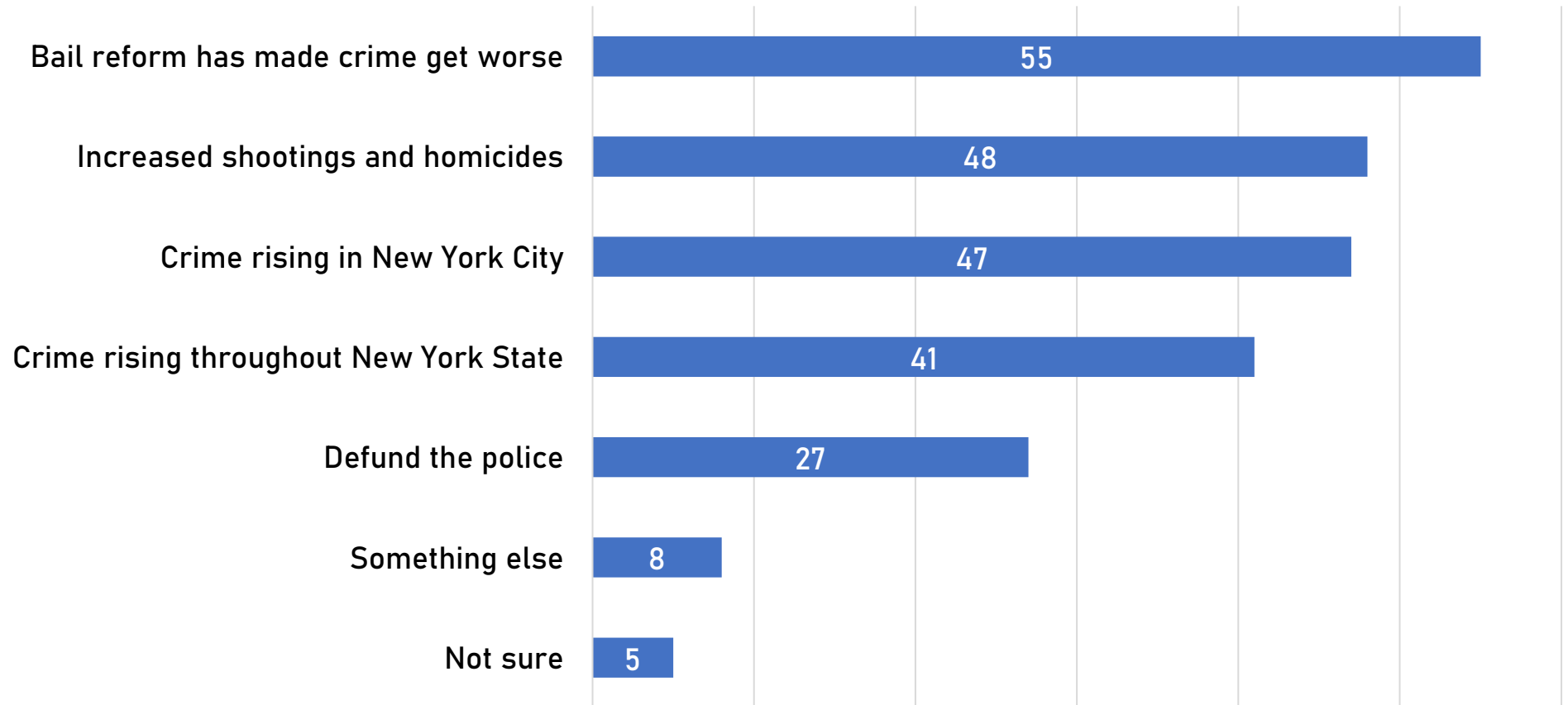


Q9. How much have you heard about crime in the past two years?
 Q10. Who have you heard from more on the issue of crime, Democrats or Republicans?

	Awareness about Crime		Party Emphasis			
	A lot/some	Not much/at all	Dem	Rep	Both	DK
Men	94%	4%	10%	59%	6%	26%
Women	91%	7%	16%	45%	5%	34%
Under 50	93%	5%	11%	54%	2%	34%
50 & over	92%	6%	14%	49%	9%	27%
White alone	94%	6%	9%	58%	6%	27%
Black	94%	4%	24%	32%	6%	37%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	88%	6%	16%	46%	3%	35%
Democrat	91%	7%	19%	45%	6%	30%
Indep/DK	89%	8%	7%	37%	9%	46%
Republican	97%	2%	8%	68%	4%	21%
New York	91%	6%	17%	46%	4%	34%
Suburbs	96%	3%	12%	56%	6%	27%
Upstate West	90%	9%	10%	52%	8%	31%
Upstate East	92%	7%	10%	53%	6%	31%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	89%	9%	17%	46%	7%	29%
Republican Lee Zeldin	97%	3%	6%	70%	5%	18%

Over half of voters say they have heard that bail reform has made crime worse. They also report hearing about an increase in shootings and homicides, and crime rising in New York City.

Perceptions About Crime



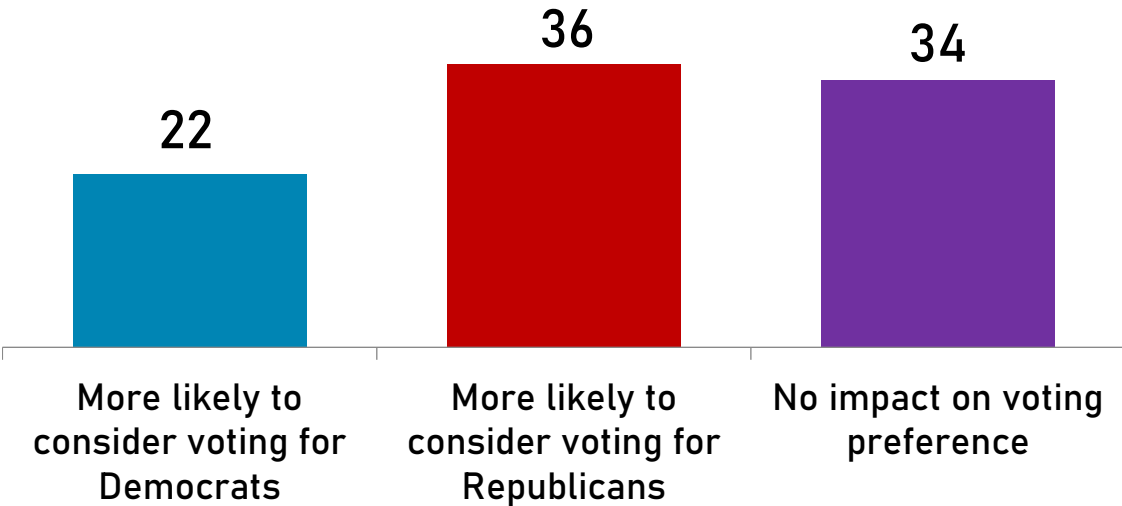
In general, younger voters report hearing far more about crime in general compared to their elder counterparts. Latinx voters are hearing a disproportionate amount about crime rising in New York City. This helps explain how both constituencies are a problem.

	Men	Women	Under 50	50 & over	White alone	Black	Latinx or Hispanic	Dem	Ind	Rep	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate West	Upstate East	Hochul Voter	Zeldin Voter
Bail reform has made crime get worse	58%	52%	60%	50%	60%	37%	53%	48%	43%	73%	47%	57%	61%	58%	50%	72%
Increased shootings and homicide	47%	50%	54%	43%	48%	47%	51%	48%	44%	53%	50%	48%	52%	42%	46%	49%
Crime rising in New York City	47%	47%	59%	37%	44%	40%	61%	44%	42%	56%	56%	54%	35%	31%	42%	56%
Crime rising throughout New York State	40%	41%	53%	30%	40%	30%	49%	35%	38%	52%	38%	45%	42%	38%	32%	50%
Defund the police	29%	26%	34%	21%	27%	22%	37%	22%	26%	37%	26%	31%	20%	31%	21%	38%
Something else	11%	6%	9%	8%	8%	12%	7%	8%	11%	6%	9%	7%	7%	10%	10%	8%
Not sure	5%	5%	6%	4%	4%	7%	4%	7%	6%	1%	5%	5%	6%	4%	8%	1%

Q11. What have you heard about crime?

Republicans are reaching Democrats and independents more on the issue, and 36% of voters say what they have heard on crime and public safety had made them more likely to vote for Republicans (including 11% of Democrats and 30% of independents who agree.) This is compared to only 22% of voters who say what they have heard recently has made them more likely to vote for Democrats (only 9% of independents agree).

Crime Impact on Voting



	Dem	Rep	No Impact	DK
Men	20%	41%	32%	3%
Women	23%	32%	36%	5%
Under 50	20%	39%	32%	4%
50 & over	23%	33%	36%	4%
White alone	20%	41%	31%	4%
Black	35%	17%	37%	5%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	16%	29%	43%	4%
Democrat	41%	11%	43%	4%
Indep/DK	9%	30%	42%	9%
Republican	2%	79%	15%	2%
New York	25%	29%	36%	5%
Suburbs	21%	40%	34%	3%
Upstate West	14%	42%	33%	6%
Upstate East	25%	36%	33%	2%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	38%	9%	48%	2%
Republican Lee Zeldin	1%	80%	15%	2%

Q12. Has what you've heard about crime and public safety recently made you more likely to consider voting for Democrats or Republicans, or hasn't it had any impact?

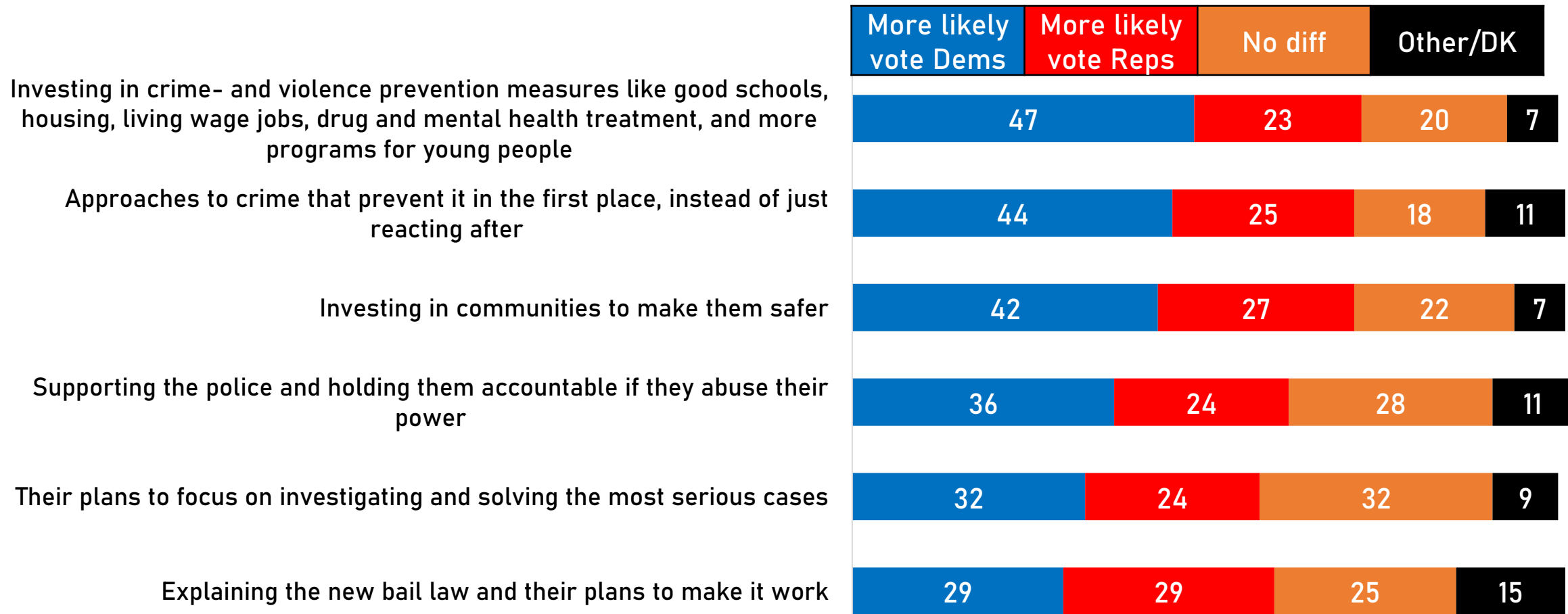


Response to Issues



Voters give the greatest advantage to Democrats on “investing in crime and violence prevention measures like good schools, housing, living wage jobs, drug and mental health treatment, and more programs for young people”. This is followed by prevention first instead of just reacting after, and investing in communities to make them safer. There is room for a strong dialogue here.

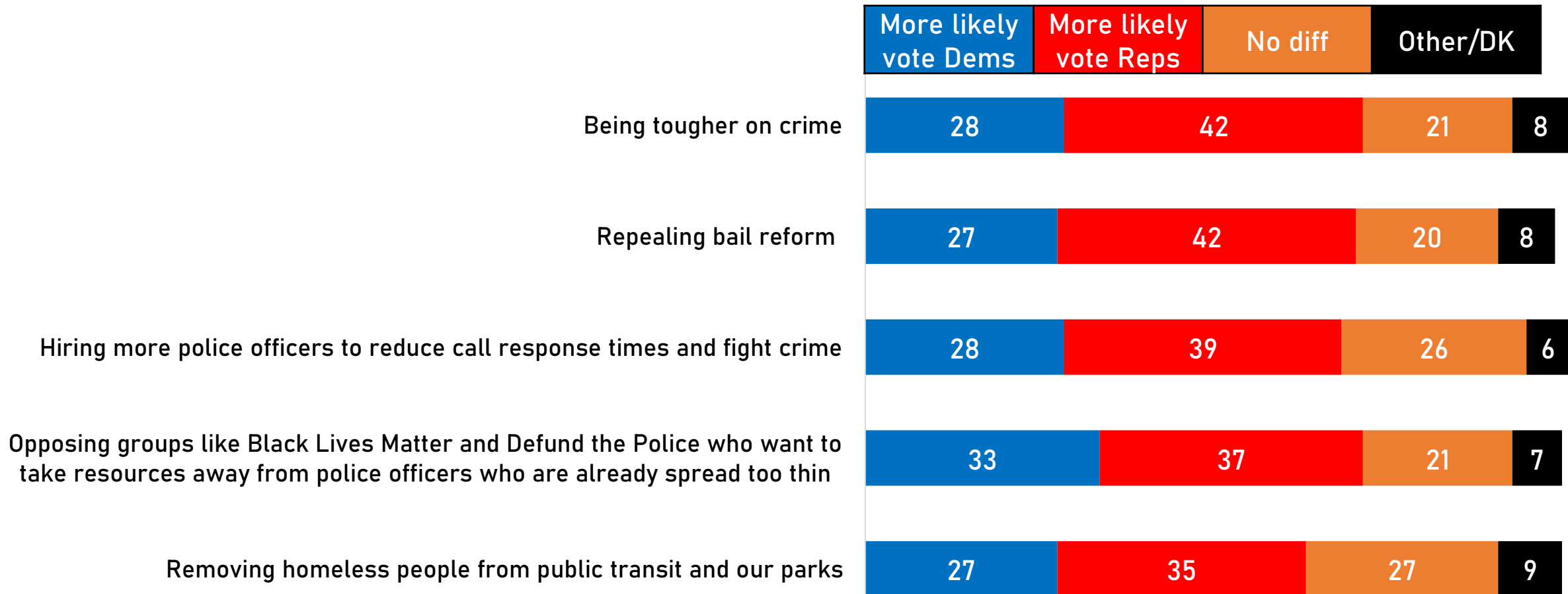
Democratic Issues



Q13. How would it impact your vote if you heard more from Democrats on the following issues about crime? Would it make you more likely to consider voting for Democrats or Republicans, or hasn't it had any impact?

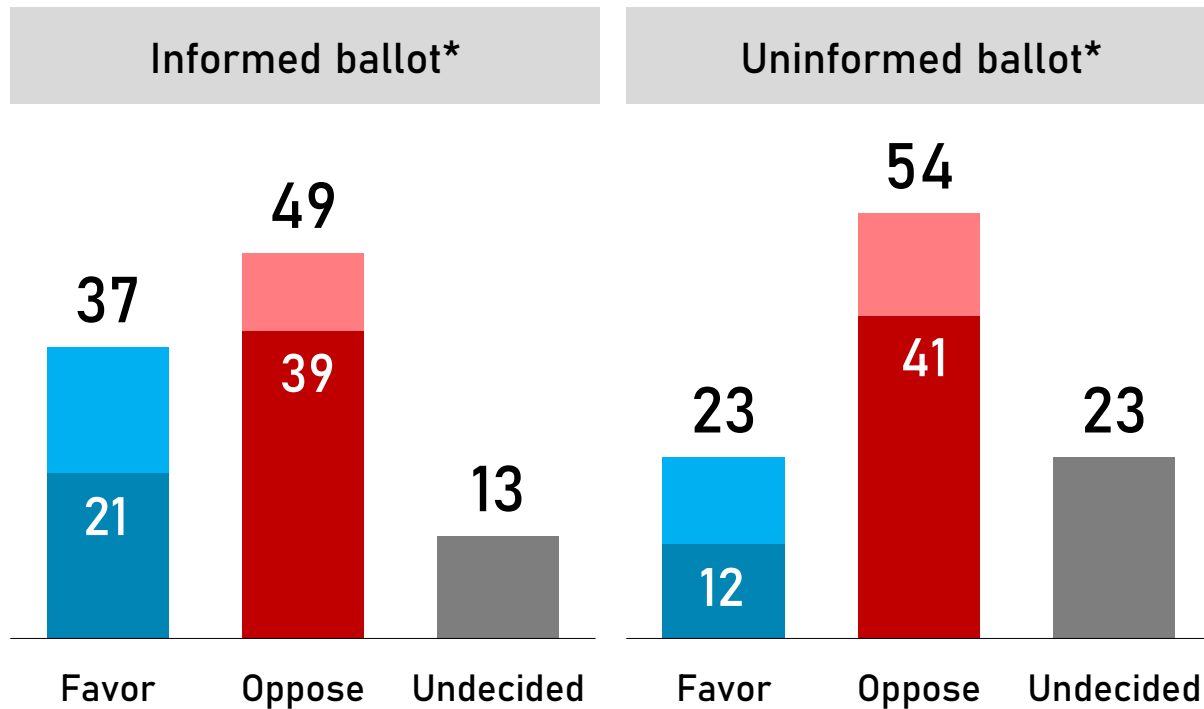
Unfortunately, Republicans also have some strong issues with voters, including “repealing bail reform”, which 42% of voters say would make them more likely to consider voting for Republicans, compared to 27% who say it would make them more likely to vote for Democrats and 20% who say no difference. Being tougher on crime is also popular with voters, with 42% saying they would be more likely to consider voting for Republicans, 28% who say that would make them more likely to consider voting for Democrats, and 21% who say no difference.

Republican Issues



Q14. How would it impact your vote if you heard more from Republicans on the following issues about crime? Would it make you more likely to consider voting for Democrats or Republicans, or hasn't it had any impact?

The findings on bail reform, perhaps as anticipated, are the low point of the survey. A plurality of New York voters are opposed to bail reform. Educating voters on the impacts and reassurance on detention helps close the gap some, but still, voters remain against the new bail reform laws by 12 points. The numbers are slightly better with Democrats. Latinx voters and voters in the West upstate region of New York respond especially poorly to the uninformed ballot.



Q15. Since the bail reform laws took effect in 2020, thousands of New Yorkers charged with low-level misdemeanors and low level felonies have avoided waiting in jail simply because they are unable to afford their bail. Bail reform allows judges to still set bail and detain people facing serious and violent charges. Having heard this, do you favor or oppose these bail reform laws or are you not sure?

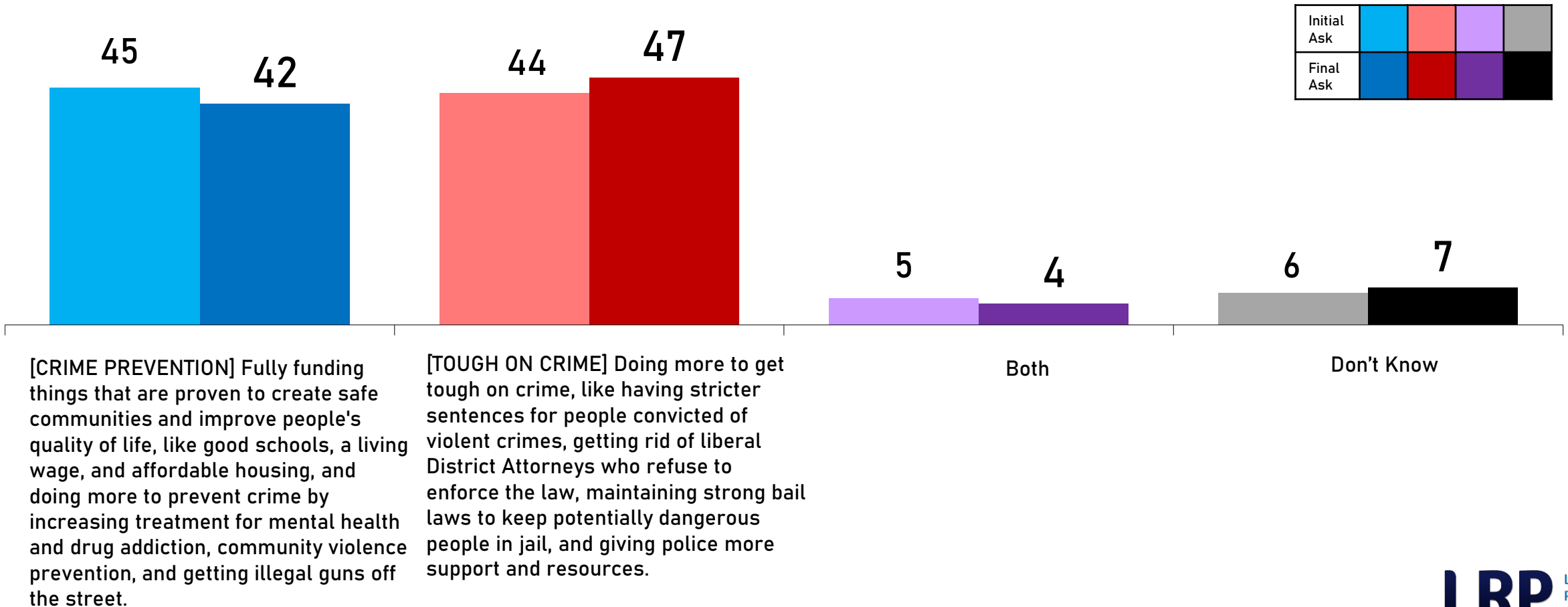
Q16. Do you favor or oppose the bail reform laws that took effect in 2020 or are you not sure?

* indicates split sampled item

	Informed			Uninformed		
	Favor	Oppose	Favor-Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor-Oppose
Men	32%	55%	-23	23%	57%	-34
Women	41%	45%	-4	22%	51%	-29
Under 50	39%	51%	-12	26%	54%	-28
50 & over	36%	48%	-12	20%	53%	-33
White alone	38%	52%	-14	20%	62%	-42
Black	34%	37%	-3	34%	32%	+2
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	31%	54%	-23	17%	50%	-33
Democrat	57%	28%	+29	40%	30%	+10
Indep/DK	28%	50%	-22	13%	56%	-43
Republican	11%	80%	-69	2%	89%	-87
New York	40%	44%	-4	29%	40%	-11
Suburbs	37%	49%	-12	22%	59%	-37
Upstate West	32%	56%	-24	12%	72%	-60
Upstate East	35%	55%	-20	23%	54%	-31
Democrat Kathy Hochul	55%	30%	+25	40%	33%	+7
Republican Lee Zeldin	13%	82%	-69	3%	90%	-87

Voters are almost evenly split on what approach to crime and public safety they would prefer to see their leaders take. Independents are especially split- 40% say they would like to see the progressive crime prevention approach, and 40% say they would prefer a tough on crime approach.

Preferred Approach to Addressing Crime and Public Safety in New York



Q17. Which of the following two statements do you think is a better approach to addressing crime and public safety?

Crime prevention is especially strong with women, younger voters, and Black voters. Suburban voters and older voters are especially likely to side with a tough on crime approach over a crime prevention approach.

	Initial ask				Final ask			
	Crime Prevention	Tough on Crime	Both	Crime prevention-Tough on crime	Crime Prevention	Tough on Crime	Both	Crime prevention-Tough on crime
Men	42%	48%	4%	-6	37%	52%	4%	-15
Women	47%	41%	6%	+6	46%	43%	4%	+3
Under 50	47%	43%	2%	+4	44%	47%	1%	-3
50 & over	43%	46%	7%	-3	40%	47%	6%	-7
White alone	40%	49%	6%	-9	37%	52%	5%	-15
Black	59%	29%	2%	+30	57%	29%	3%	+28
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	49%	39%	3%	+10	46%	45%	1%	+1
Democrat	69%	22%	4%	+47	67%	24%	3%	+43
Indep/DK	40%	40%	10%	=	33%	45%	8%	-12
Republican	10%	82%	3%	-72	7%	84%	3%	-77
New York	53%	36%	3%	+17	50%	39%	3%	+11
Suburbs	40%	45%	7%	-5	36%	49%	6%	-13
Upstate West	35%	58%	5%	-23	32%	58%	3%	-26
Upstate East	46%	48%	3%	-2	45%	47%	4%	-2
Democrat Kathy Hochul	69%	21%	4%	+48	68%	23%	2%	+45
Republican Lee Zeldin	8%	82%	4%	-74	5%	85%	5%	-80

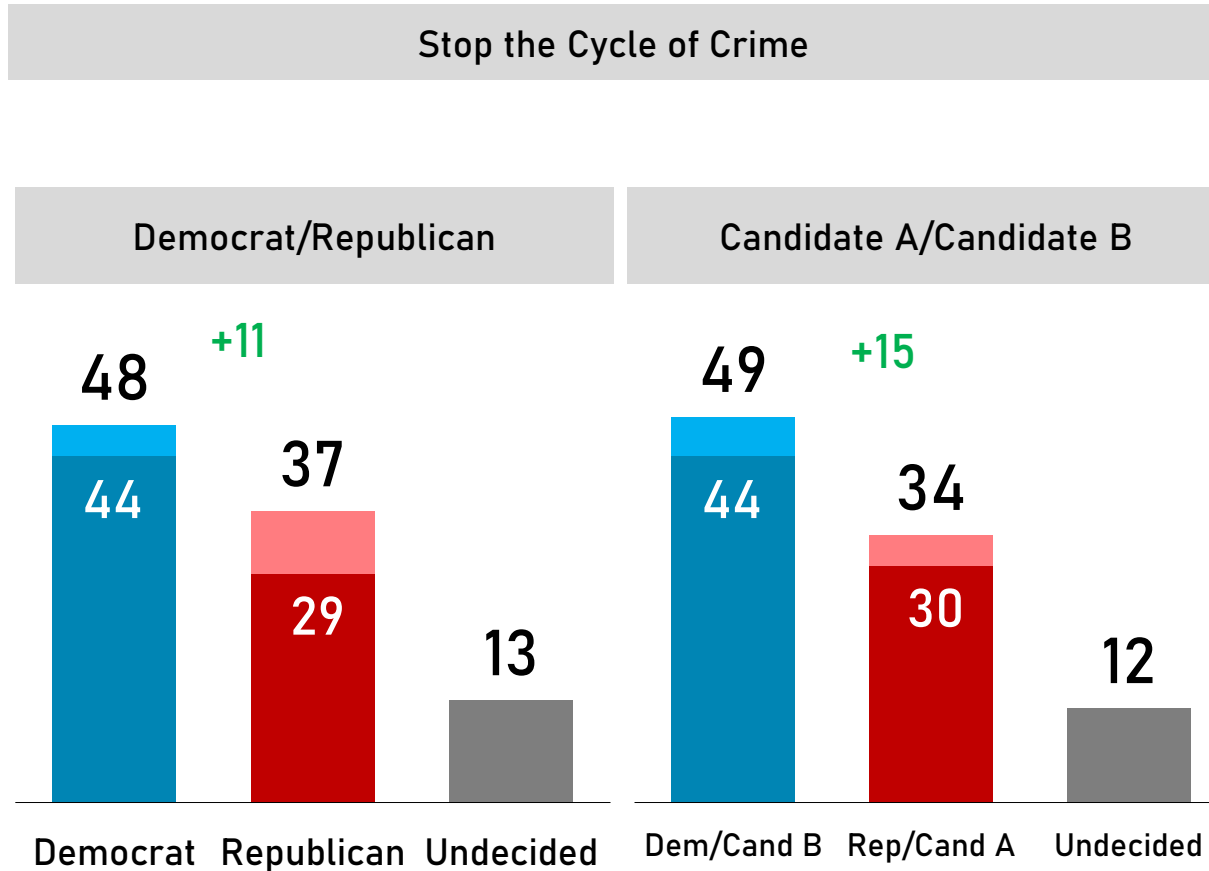
Q17. Which of the following two statements do you think is a better approach to addressing crime and public safety?

Profiles of the Candidates – Stop the Cycle of Crime

[REP/CAND A] The Republican candidate/candidate A says that the Democratic candidate supports the radical left and defunding the police. Crime is at an all-time high, but the Democratic candidate/candidate B constantly criticizes the police, voices support for policies that stop the police from doing their jobs, and wants to allow repeat criminals out of jail through so-called “bail reform.” The Democratic candidate/candidate B is opposed by police unions because they want to take away resources from our brave officers and leave them defenseless in the line of duty. Our cities, like New York, are under siege by criminals because of anti-police Democrats/candidates like my opponent.

[DEM/CAND B] The Democratic candidate/candidate B says that everyone deserves to be safe, regardless of the color of their skin, where they live, or the amount of money in their pockets. We need to have an honest conversation, not slogans or scare tactics, about crime. The “tough on crime” approach hasn’t worked to make neighborhoods safer because more arrests and stricter punishment only perpetuates the cycle of crime—it doesn’t stop it. Instead, we must prevent crime before it happens with more stable jobs and housing, mental health care and addiction treatment, and respond to crime by focusing police resources on the most serious cases.

The ballots show mixed results, but most of these results are encouraging. When running as a Democrat, the strongest progressive message is the “Stop the Cycle of Crime” frame, which gives the Democrats a +11 lead-- almost identical to the +12 lead Democrats have at the beginning of the survey with the generic ballot. Removing party labels from the cycle of crime message gives the Democratic candidate a +15 lead.



	With Party Labels			Candidate A/B		
	Dem	Rep	Dem-Rep	Dem/B	Rep/A	Dem-Rep
Men	49%	42%	+7	45%	39%	+6
Women	48%	33%	+15	52%	29%	+23
Under 50	49%	37%	+12	46%	36%	+10
50 & over	48%	37%	+11	52%	32%	+20
White alone	48%	37%	+11	49%	38%	+11
Black	60%	33%	+27	51%	24%	+27
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	53%	33%	+20	46%	25%	+21
Democrat	86%	7%	+79	71%	22%	+49
Indep/DK	27%	28%	-1	39%	18%	+21
Republican	8%	91%	-83	26%	59%	-33
New York	55%	28%	+27	50%	29%	+21
Suburbs	43%	44%	-1	51%	31%	+20
Upstate West	42%	43%	-1	64%	26%	+38
Upstate East	53%	36%	+17	30%	59%	-29
Democrat Kathy Hochul	77%	8%	+69	70%	18%	+52
Republican Lee Zeldin	7%	93%	-86	19%	64%	-45

Q18/19. Having heard these two statements, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

* indicates split sampled item

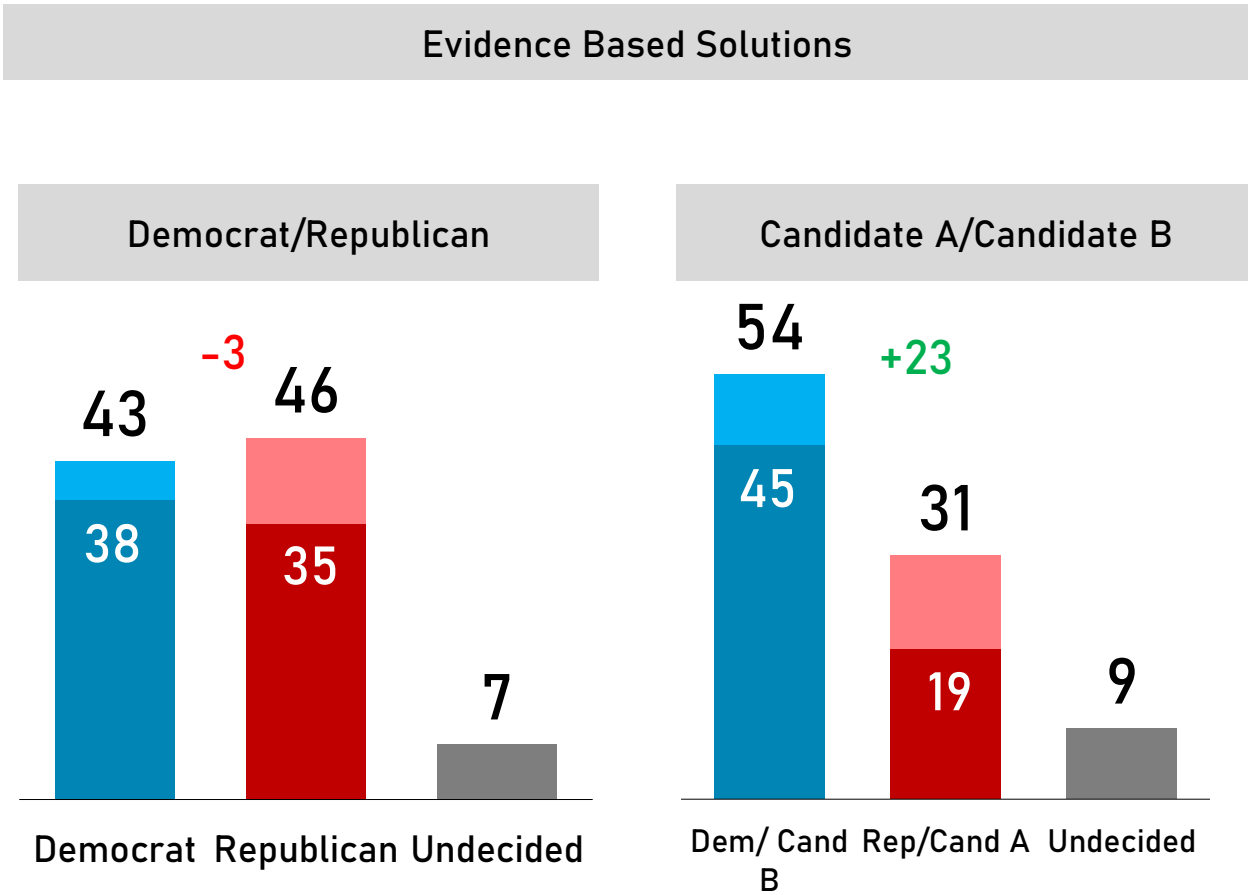
Profiles of the Candidates – Evidence Based Solutions

[REP/CAND A] The Republican candidate/candidate A says that the Democratic candidate/candidate B supports the radical left and defunding the police. Crime is at an all-time high, but the Democratic candidate/candidate B constantly criticizes the police, voices support for policies that stop the police from doing their jobs, and wants to allow repeat criminals out of jail through so-called “bail reform.” The Democratic candidate/candidate B is opposed by police unions because they want to take away resources from our brave officers and leave them defenseless in the line of duty. Our cities, like New York, are under siege by criminals because of anti-police Democrats/candidates like my opponent.

[DEM/CAND B] The Democratic candidate/candidate B says that solutions, not scare tactics, are key to public safety. We have evidence about what works, and what doesn't, to make our neighborhoods safer—and the “tough on crime” status quo doesn't work. It's time to focus on solutions that prevent crime in the first place, and not just react after. Programs that have trained specialists respond to certain types of crisis calls have proven to reduce shootings and gun fatalities, break the cycle of repeat arrests, and address underlying mental health and addiction issues that often drive crime. Evidence-based solutions are the best investment in a safer New York for everyone.



However, out of all four ballots we tested, the overall best testing is the non-party labeled “Evidence Based Solutions” frame, which leaves the unlabeled Democratic candidate with 54% of the vote, and the unlabeled Republican candidate with 31%. Unfortunately, when party is added into the debate, the ballot becomes the only one that Democrats lose- 43% of voters vote Democratic, and 46% vote Republican. This is the most Democratic shift among men, white voters, Latinx voters, and voters in Upstate West.



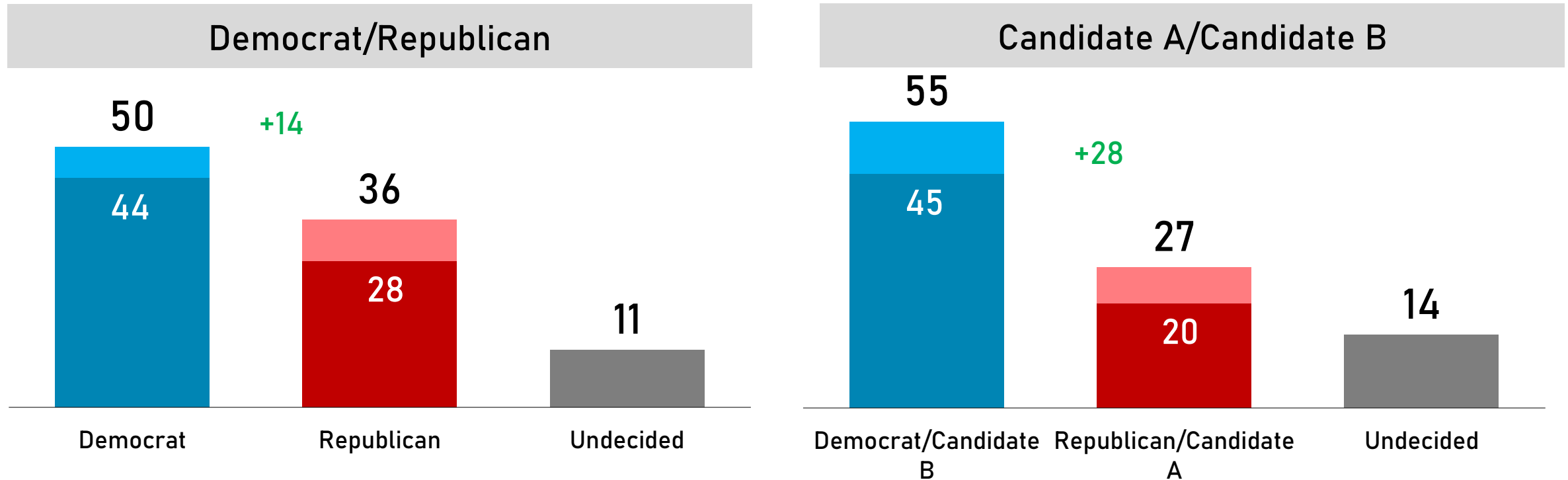
	With Party Labels			Candidate A/B		
	Dem	Rep	Dem-Rep	Dem/B	Rep/A	Dem-Rep
Men	36%	51%	-15	54%	33%	+21
Women	50%	41%	+9	55%	30%	+25
Under 50	44%	48%	-4	53%	34%	+19
50 & over	42%	44%	-2	56%	29%	+27
White alone	40%	52%	-12	54%	33%	+21
Black	59%	30%	+29	55%	29%	+26
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	37%	48%	-11	55%	27%	+28
Democrat	82%	14%	+68	67%	19%	+48
Indep/DK	24%	34%	-10	42%	40%	+2
Republican	-	93%	-93	40%	48%	-8
New York	50%	37%	+13	48%	31%	+17
Suburbs	38%	50%	-12	60%	35%	+25
Upstate West	37%	63%	-26	51%	31%	+20
Upstate East	44%	39%	+5	61%	27%	+34
Democrat Kathy Hochul	81%	17%	+64	64%	19%	+45
Republican Lee Zeldin	1%	88%	-87	38%	50%	-12

Q20/21. Having heard these two statements, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

* indicates split sampled item

The frame on “Exploring New Solutions” is the most successful of the two frames, with or without party labels, but it is stronger when party labels are left out.

[EXPLORING NEW SOLUTIONS] The Republican candidate/candidate A is only interested in pushing scare tactics instead of real solutions. The current public safety approach isn't working- and we can't afford to pour millions more into programs that don't make us safer. We must explore new solutions that have worked in pilot programs across the country, like creating crisis response teams that are better equipped to handle emergencies, investing more in housing and job opportunities, and focusing police resources on the most serious cases.



Q23/23b. Again, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

* indicates split sampled item

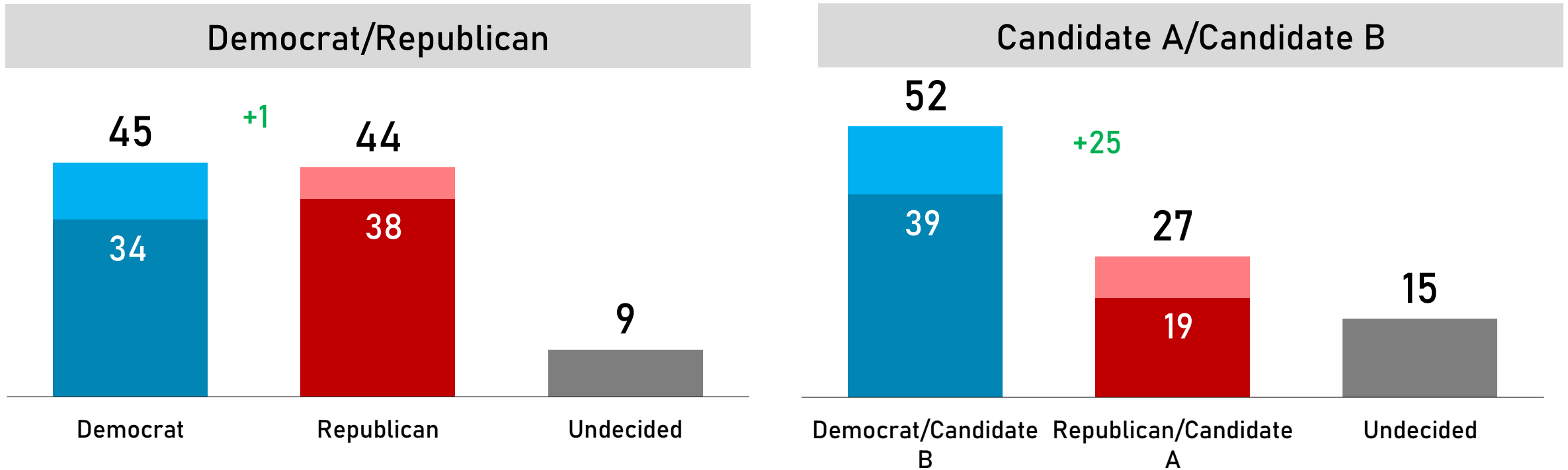
For the “exploring new solutions” frame, there are especially big jumps of support from men, older voters, and voters in the suburbs and the west part of upstate New York.

	Partisan Label Ballot			Candidate A/Candidate B labels		
	Democrat	Republican	Dem-Rep	Democrat/Cand B	Republican/Cand A	Dem-Rep
Men	44%	42%	+2	55%	29%	+26
Women	56%	29%	+27	54%	26%	+28
Under 50	56%	34%	+22	50%	34%	+16
50 & over	45%	37%	+8	59%	22%	+37
White alone	45%	42%	+3	53%	31%	+22
Black	82%	5%	+77	47%	34%	+13
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	61%	27%	+34	63%	17%	+46
Democrat	91%	3%	+88	70%	20%	+50
Indep/DK	27%	33%	-6	37%	21%	+16
Republican	6%	89%	-83	38%	46%	-8
New York	61%	19%	+42	53%	27%	+26
Suburbs	45%	41%	+4	58%	26%	+32
Upstate West	35%	59%	-24	59%	22%	+37
Upstate East	53%	35%	+18	48%	37%	+11
Democrat Kathy Hochul	81%	9%	+72	71%	12%	+59
Republican Lee Zeldin	4%	87%	-83	34%	49%	-15

Q23/23b. Again, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

Testing responses to Republican attacks also has mixed results from voters. The frame on an “Accountable System that Works” tests well when party is left out, but results in a tie when candidates are given partisan labels. Democrats have a responsibility/accountability deficit as well as a crime deficit.

[ACCOUNTABLE SYSTEMS THAT WORK] The Republican candidate/candidate A is only interested in scare tactics, but we deserve real solutions to keep our communities safe. We are pouring billions of dollars into a public safety system that isn't working. We need to get serious about safety with a new approach. We can support the police to do the difficult jobs we ask them to do, and also hold them accountable when they break the law. We can reduce crime by investing in community violence prevention, youth employment, mental health and drug treatment, and affordable housing, and focus police resources on the most serious cases.



Q22/22b. Again, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

* indicates split sampled item

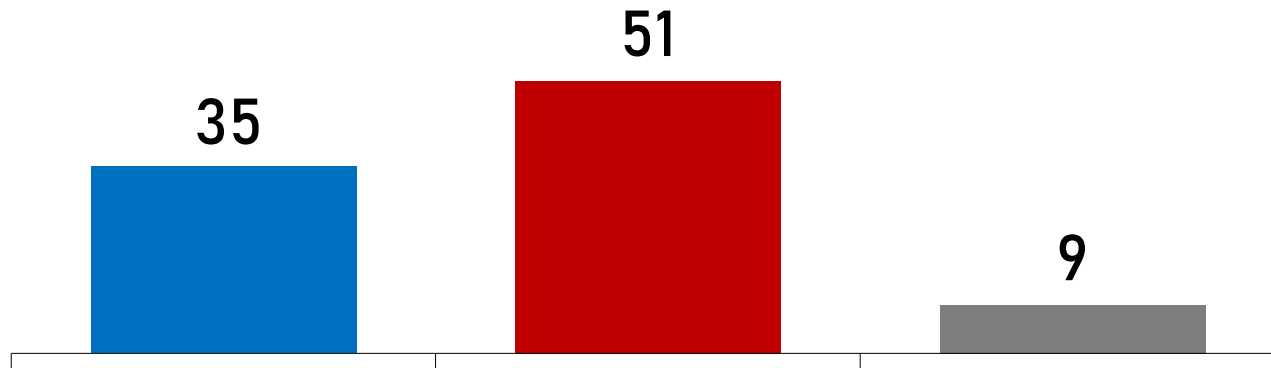
When not using partisan labels, Latinx voters, younger voters and independent voters are more likely to respond positively to the attack.

	Partisan Label Ballot			Candidate A/Candidate B labels		
	Democrat	Republican	Dem-Rep	Democrat/Cand B	Republican/Cand A	Dem-Rep
Men	42%	49%	-7	47%	33%	+14
Women	46%	43%	+3	56%	22%	+34
Under 50	37%	50%	-13	55%	32%	+23
50 & over	50%	41%	+9	49%	23%	+26
White alone	41%	47%	-6	49%	29%	+20
Black	59%	38%	+21	62%	27%	+35
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	36%	52%	-16	50%	24%	+26
Democrat	82%	13%	+69	64%	20%	+44
Indep/DK	27%	30%	-3	47%	21%	+26
Republican	0%	96%	-96	36%	44%	-8
New York	50%	38%	+12	56%	23%	+33
Suburbs	40%	49%	-9	42%	35%	+7
Upstate West	39%	54%	-15	57%	16%	+41
Upstate East	46%	45%	+1	54%	32%	+22
Democrat Kathy Hochul	84%	8%	+76	69%	14%	+55
Republican Lee Zeldin	4%	95%	-91	24%	51%	-27

Q22/22b. Again, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate/candidate B in your district, the Republican candidate/candidate A in your district, or are you undecided?*

Public transit is one of the two most difficult topics in the survey. On our dangerous public transit test, 51% of voters side with wanting an approach that includes more police on the transit system to address concerns about dangers, while only 35% side with our message on matching the trained specialist to the problem and addressing the underlying problems that drive crime. Fifty-four percent Democrats support the right first responder approach over the additional police approach but we lose 34% to more police, and 50% of Black voters say they want more police.

Public Transit Safety



Every New Yorker deserves a safe commute, and hearing about random attacks on the subway is scary. But we cannot just police our way out of this problem. Instead, we need to send the right first responder, like a trained specialist who can defuse a situation and connect people in crisis to housing and treatment. Rather than kicking the can down the road, we need to address the underlying problems that drives crime.

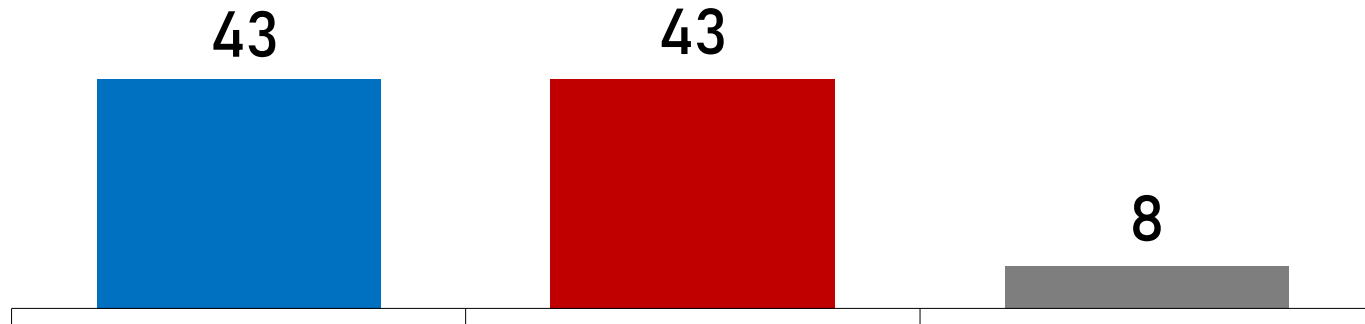
We've all seen the clips of innocent New Yorkers and tourists getting violently attacked unprovoked on the subway. People just want to get to work on time, or get around the city, without fearing for their lives. We need more police to patrol the transit system and harsher punishment for those who do break the law so that our subways are safe and available for all.

Don't know

	Alternative Responder	More Police	DK
Men	31%	55%	10%
Women	40%	48%	8%
Under 50	37%	50%	11%
50 & over	34%	52%	7%
White alone	34%	53%	8%
Black	39%	50%	9%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	38%	49%	10%
Democrat	54%	34%	7%
Indep/DK	26%	52%	15%
Republican	10%	80%	6%
New York	39%	48%	10%
Suburbs	35%	55%	8%
Upstate West	27%	56%	12%
Upstate East	37%	48%	6%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	55%	32%	9%
Republican Lee Zeldin	7%	81%	7%

Bail reform is the other tough topic. Our repeat offenders/bail reform test splits results- 43% of voters side with the approach to end bail reform and ensure repeat offenders face accountability, and 43% of voters side with having more accountability without punishing the poor.

Repeat Offenders



	Personal Accountability	End Bail Reform	DK
Men	40%	44%	12%
Women	47%	42%	5%
Under 50	45%	46%	9%
50 & over	42%	41%	7%
White alone	40%	47%	7%
Black	54%	35%	7%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	40%	43%	14%
Democrat	63%	24%	7%
Indep/DK	43%	30%	17%
Republican	14%	77%	7%
New York	54%	32%	8%
Suburbs	35%	48%	11%
Upstate West	39%	51%	5%
Upstate East	43%	46%	7%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	65%	22%	6%
Republican Lee Zeldin	14%	77%	3%

We need both personal accountability and accountability in the criminal justice system. Before bail reform, New York had a two-tiered system: the rich evaded accountability by buying their freedom, while the poor languished in jail. Bail reform means people aren't punished for poverty and, in serious cases, judges can and do still set bail and hold people in jail. With bail reform, people still face consequences that require making amends and changing their behavior. That is the kind of accountability we need—not rolling back bail reform.

Because of bail reform in New York, criminals are no longer being held accountable for their actions. Even if they do get arrested, repeat offenders often wind up right back on the street within the same day, and face little to no consequences for their actions, because judges aren't allowed to keep them in jail. We need to end bail reform and go back to the way things were – when our communities were safer, and criminals faced consequences for their actions.

Don't Know

Q25. Now you will read two statements. After you have read both, please indicate which comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

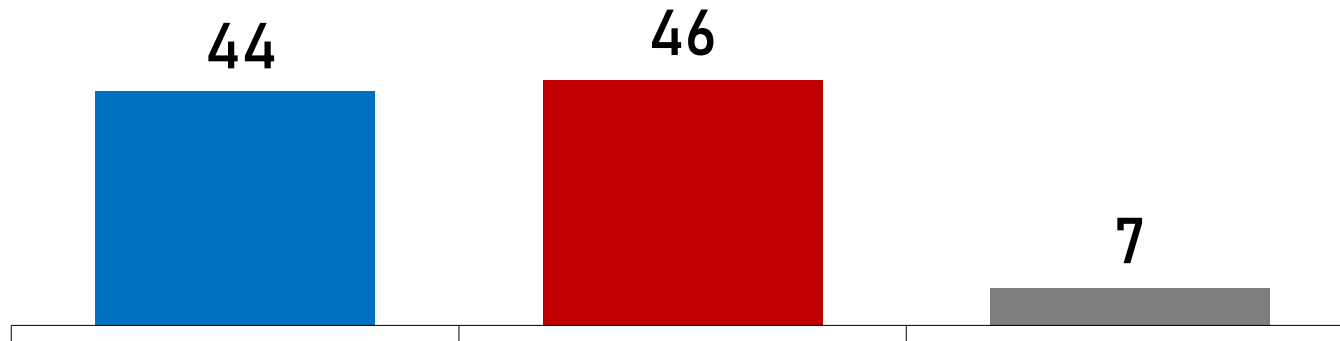
Compared to our initial uninformed ballot on bail reform, the progressive response for the “Repeat Offenders” ballot performs quite strongly with voters in all key demographics to bring voters to our side on the issue. The progressive argument for the “Judicial Response” ballot is weaker with most voters, but performs slightly stronger than the “Repeat Offenders” message with Black voters, Latinx voters, Democrats overall, and voters in Upstate East.

Repeat Offenders

	Uninformed Bail Reform Favor-Oppose	Repeat Offenders Personal Accountability-End Bail Reform	Judicial Response Provide More Options-End Bail Reform
Men	-34	-4	-14
Women	-29	+5	+8
Under 50	-28	-1	+2
50 & over	-33	+1	-5
White alone	-42	-7	-12
Black	+2	+19	+30
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	-33	-3	+11
Democrat	+10	+39	+49
Indep/DK	-43	+13	-30
Republican	-87	-63	-63
New York	-11	+22	+15
Suburbs	-37	-13	-16
Upstate West	-60	-12	-26
Upstate East	-31	-3	+12
Democrat Kathy Hochul	+7	+43	+45
Republican Lee Zeldin	-87	-63	-70

The judicial response/bail reform test also shows split results, with more Democratic support and less independent support than the repeat offenders test has. Forty-six percent of voters side with the approach to end bail reform and allow judges to incarcerate more people, while 44% of voters side with the approach that judges have the discretion they need and instead should have more options to address wrongdoing.

Judicial Response



	Provide More Options	End Bail Reform	DK
Men	39%	53%	6%
Women	49%	41%	8%
Under 50	47%	45%	7%
50 & over	42%	47%	7%
White alone	40%	52%	5%
Black	55%	25%	18%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	53%	42%	6%
Democrat	70%	21%	8%
Indep/DK	26%	56%	12%
Republican	16%	79%	2%
New York	52%	37%	11%
Suburbs	39%	55%	3%
Upstate West	32%	58%	10%
Upstate East	51%	39%	3%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	68%	23%	7%
Republican Lee Zeldin	12%	82%	2%

Bail reform does not tie judges' hands on cases that affect New Yorkers' safety. Even after bail reform, judges still can, and do, set bail in serious or violent cases, like gun charges, domestic violence, robberies, and repeat offenses. Instead of scare tactics and calls to repeal bail reform, we can make bail reform work better by providing judges with more options to address the reasons someone may be arrested in the first place- with mental health and drug treatment, jobs, and housing.

Because of bail reform in New York, judges can no longer hold people in jail and criminals are back on the streets to commit more crime. New York's bail law is the only one in the country that tells judges they can't consider whether a person is a danger to public safety when setting bail. We need to end bail reform and go back to the way things were - when judges had discretion to set bail and keep our communities safe by putting violent criminals behind bars.

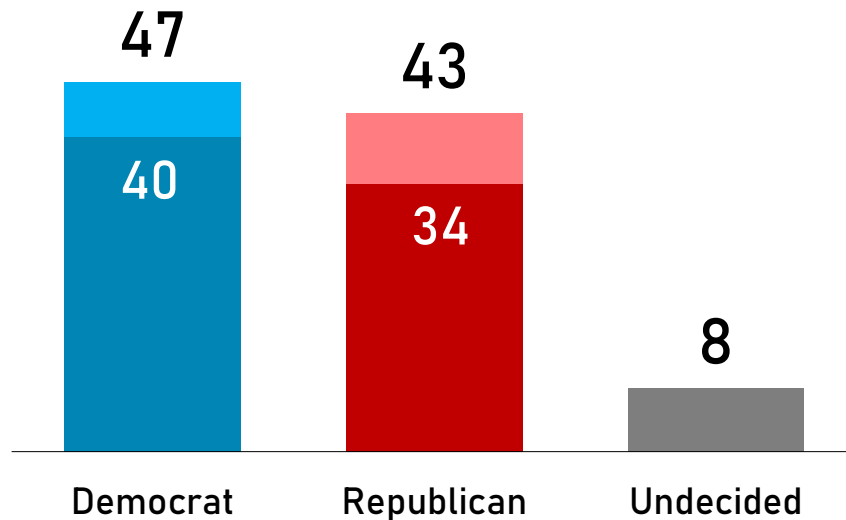
Q26. Now you will read two statements. After you have read both, please indicate which comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

The engaged debate on accountability shows close results, but with the Democratic candidate slightly ahead. Older voters, Black and Latinx voters, and voters in New York City are most likely to vote Democratic. Independent voters are still solid with Republicans. We would like to see a stronger margin with independents and the suburbs.

Accountability Ballot

[DEMOCRAT] The Democratic candidate says that for too long, our criminal justice system has mistaken punishment for accountability. Accountability is when someone understands the harm they've done, learns from their mistakes, accepts the consequences, and changes their behavior. Instead, our singular focus on jail just continues the cycle of crime. We need to invest in what is proven to make our communities safer: violence prevention programs, drug and mental health treatment--and real accountability.

[REPUBLICAN] The Republican candidate says that Democrats' policies on crime are far too lenient and fail to prioritize the safety of law-abiding citizens. The Democrat focuses on social issues instead of accountability, and the lack of consequences means that criminals feel like they can get away with anything. When offenders escape just punishment, public safety is put at risk and communities are less safe.

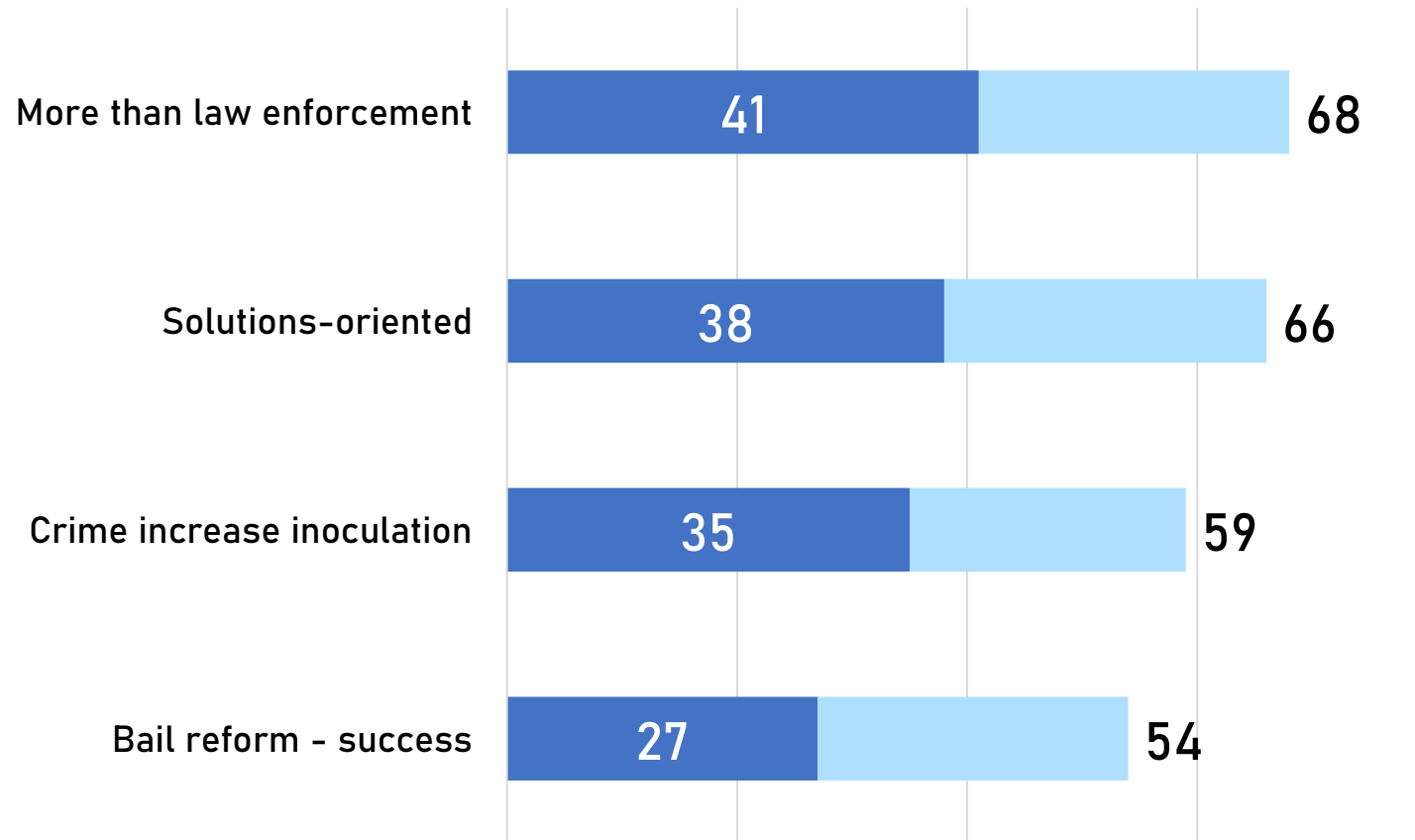


	Democrat	Republican	DK
Men	42%	49%	6%
Women	51%	38%	9%
Under 50	45%	47%	6%
50 & over	49%	40%	9%
White alone	43%	48%	7%
Black	68%	21%	8%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	49%	43%	7%
Democrat	86%	10%	3%
Indep/DK	27%	40%	27%
Republican	3%	95%	2%
New York	56%	33%	8%
Suburbs	44%	48%	6%
Upstate West	41%	51%	6%
Upstate East	43%	46%	9%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	82%	12%	5%
Republican Lee Zeldin	4%	93%	3%

Q28. Having heard these two statements, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate in your district, the Republican candidate in your district, or are you undecided?

The top message for voters is “More than Law Enforcement”, which focuses on the fact that police shouldn’t be expected to handle and respond to every 911 call. Forty-one percent of voters say they find the message very convincing, and 68% of voters say they find the message convincing. The solutions-oriented message also resonates with voters. The message focuses on stopping the cycle of crime by investing in communities and preventing crime before it happens. Sixty-six percent of voters find this message to be convincing, and 38% say very convincing.

Messaging



Somewhat Convincing

Very Convincing

Q27.I am now going to read you some statements people have made about crime. Please tell me whether each statement, assuming it is true, is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing. If you don't know how you feel about an item, just say so.

Messaging Language

[MORE THAN LAW ENFORCEMENT] Law enforcement shouldn't be the only tool in our public safety toolkit, and we can't expect the police alone to handle all 911 calls. Right now, they are the first response to everything from mental health crises, and noise complaints, to robberies and homicides. When there's a crisis, we need to send the right response. By expanding the public safety toolkit with other approaches, like crisis response teams, and mental health and drug treatment, the police can focus on investigating and solving the most serious cases.

[SOLUTIONS-ORIENTED] We all deserve to feel safe—and that means preventing crime before it happens, not just reacting after. But too often the debate about crime revolves around slogans and scare tactics, not solutions. We know our communities are safer when New Yorkers have good jobs, education, stable housing, and access to mental health and drug treatment. In most cases, the best kind of accountability is to stop the cycle of crime by addressing the reasons someone broke the law in the first place.

[CRIME INCREASE INOCULATION] The old bail laws didn't reflect our values. Before the reforms, the wealthy walked free while poor people were stuck behind bars. Bail reform helps to end this two-tiered system of justice. But there's more we can do to ensure public safety. Instead of scare tactics and calls to repeal bail reform, we need to focus on the crime-fighting solutions that are proven to work, including community violence prevention, drug and mental health treatment, affordable housing, and jobs.

[BAIL REFORM – SUCCESS] New York set out to reform its bail laws in 2019 because our old laws let the wealthy walk free while locking others up simply because they were too poor to buy their freedom. The reforms are working. Thousands of New Yorkers charged with low-level misdemeanors and low-level felonies benefited by staying in their jobs, with their families, and at home instead of in jail. And, in serious and violent cases, judges still can, and do, set bail.

Q27. I am now going to read you some statements people have made about crime. Please tell me whether each statement, assuming it is true, is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing. If you don't know how you feel about an item, just say so.

The “More Than Law Enforcement” message tests best with all key demographics other than Black and Latinx voters, and voters in the Eastern part of upstate New York. For those voters, the “Solutions-oriented message” tests better. Our messages have good reach but we would like to move intensity.

% very convincing (% total convincing)	Men	Women	Under 50	50 & over	White alone	Black	Latinx or Hispanic	Dem	Ind	Rep	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate West	Upstate East	Hochul Voter	Zeldin Voter
More Than Law Enforcement	36% (65%)	46% (71%)	38% (64%)	44% (71%)	40% (67%)	43% (72%)	40% (66%)	61% (85%)	35% (61%)	18% (50%)	46% (72%)	38% (63%)	41% (70%)	39% (67%)	62% (85%)	14% (44%)
Solution-oriented	34% (61%)	42% (71%)	37% (63%)	39% (69%)	34% (64%)	50% (76%)	41% (66%)	56% (83%)	33% (60%)	15% (45%)	44% (73%)	34% (58%)	29% (69%)	44% (66%)	58% (85%)	13% (41%)
Crime Increase Inoculation	29% (53%)	40% (64%)	31% (56%)	38% (62%)	34% (56%)	38% (74%)	25% (60%)	55% (81%)	24% (53%)	11% (30%)	36% (66%)	33% (55%)	31% (55%)	37% (57%)	53% (82%)	8% (26%)
Bail Reform - Success	23% (49%)	30% (58%)	26% (52%)	28% (56%)	26% (52%)	31% (64%)	23% (50%)	40% (74%)	21% (47%)	10% (28%)	30% (61%)	25% (49%)	26% (51%)	25% (53%)	41% (77%)	9% (25%)

Q27.I am now going to read you some statements people have made about crime. Please tell me whether each statement, assuming it is true, is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing. If you don't know how you feel about an item, just say so.

Driving home one of the key takeaways from both the survey and focus groups, the top approach label for voters is simply “accountability”. Sixty-eight percent of voters say they are very favorable to that approach. Other top approaches include “serious about safety” (66% very favorable), “preventing crime, not just reacting after” (61% very favorable), and “proactive crime prevention” (58% very favorable.) “Law and order” comes right after with 57% very favorable, and “tough on crime” is a bit lower, but still high, with 55% very favorable.

Favorability of Approaches to Crime



■ Somewhat favorable
■ Very Favorable
■ Somewhat Unfavorable
■ Very Unfavorable

Q31. Now, I will read a list of different approaches that your community could take to public safety. For each, please indicate whether you would be VERY favorable, SOMEWHAT favorable, SOMEWHAT unfavorable, or VERY unfavorable to taking that approach.

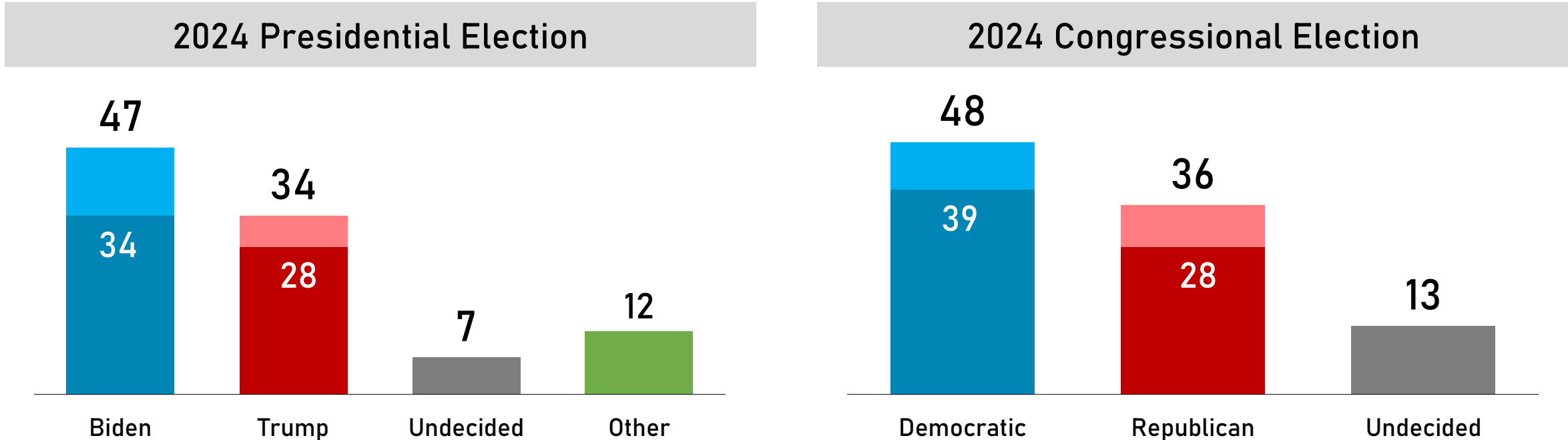
** indicates split sampled item*

“Accountability” is the highest performing label for almost all key demographics. Democrats prefer “preventing crime, not just reacting after” and “solutions, not scare tactics”, and Republicans prefer “law and order” and “tough on crime”.

% Very favorable	Men	Women	Under 50	50 & over	White alone	Black	Latinx or Hispanic	Dem	Ind	Rep	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate West	Upstate East	Hochul Voter	Zeldin Voter
Accountability	64%	71%	64%	71%	65%	78%	78%	62%	71%	76%	67%	69%	65%	68%	64%	79%
Serious about safety	64%	67%	63%	68%	62%	72%	75%	60%	66%	76%	66%	66%	70%	60%	62%	73%
Preventing crime, not just reacting after	59%	62%	61%	60%	58%	71%	69%	72%	52%	50%	61%	59%	61%	62%	71%	47%
Proactive crime prevention	55%	61%	57%	59%	55%	68%	64%	68%	54%	48%	60%	61%	56%	52%	70%	46%
Law and Order	57%	57%	56%	59%	59%	49%	59%	40%	56%	85%	52%	58%	63%	60%	40%	84%
Accountability, not just punishment	54%	60%	56%	58%	55%	64%	56%	67%	53%	44%	60%	57%	58%	49%	69%	45%
Solutions, not scare tactics	50%	62%	54%	58%	53%	62%	62%	73%	52%	34%	58%	55%	51%	59%	75%	30%
Community-centered safety	50%	60%	52%	58%	52%	61%	60%	69%	48%	40%	60%	53%	57%	49%	70%	35%
Tough on crime	57%	53%	50%	60%	57%	49%	56%	35%	56%	86%	51%	55%	65%	54%	35%	85%
Root cause solutions	50%	53%	54%	49%	48%	63%	61%	68%	40%	35%	57%	48%	52%	48%	67%	30%
Smart on crime	51%	50%	48%	53%	49%	52%	59%	52%	48%	53%	50%	51%	53%	50%	54%	50%

Q31. Now, I will read a list of different approaches that your community could take to public safety. For each, please indicate whether you would be VERY favorable, SOMEWHAT favorable, SOMEWHAT unfavorable, or VERY unfavorable to taking that approach.

Looking ahead to 2024, New York voters give Biden a +13 victory in a Biden/Trump rematch, with over one-in-ten voters indicating they may look outside the main parties for their candidate. Dems are also up +12 in the generic Congressional ballot.



Q2. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Donald Trump, for whom would you vote or are you undecided?

Q3. If the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate in your district, the Republican candidate in your district, or are you undecided?

Unsurprisingly, Biden and Democrats have similar strongholds of support, including Black voters, voters in New York City, and female voters.

	2024 Presidential Election				2024 Congressional Election		
	Biden	Trump	Undecided	Other	Democrat	Republican	Undecided
Men	42%	42%	7%	9%	41%	44%	11%
Women	52%	28%	7%	14%	54%	29%	14%
Under 50	46%	35%	5%	13%	50%	40%	7%
50 & over	48%	33%	8%	10%	46%	33%	18%
White alone	45%	39%	6%	10%	45%	40%	12%
Black	60%	15%	8%	17%	69%	17%	9%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	47%	30%	7%	16%	44%	36%	14%
Democrat	84%	4%	3%	9%	88%	5%	5%
Indep/DK	32%	28%	16%	24%	25%	29%	38%
Republican	3%	82%	6%	8%	3%	88%	7%
New York	54%	24%	8%	14%	58%	25%	12%
Suburbs	45%	40%	6%	10%	44%	42%	11%
Upstate West	40%	41%	6%	13%	36%	43%	18%
Upstate East	45%	38%	7%	10%	47%	39%	10%
Democrat Kathy Hochul	86%	3%	4%	7%	82%	5%	11%
Republican Lee Zeldin	3%	82%	7%	9%	3%	86%	9%

Q2. If the election for President were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Donald Trump, for whom would you vote or are you undecided?
 Q3. If the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate in your district, the Republican candidate in your district, or are you undecided?




Perceptions of Crime and Crime Policy in New York




Celinda Lake
Daniel Gotoff
McCauley Pugh
Sandra Markowitz
Ronan Ferrentino


Methodology



- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey, which reached 800 likely general election voters in New York using voter file sample. All respondents were reached via text-to-online methodology. The survey was conducted from November 11th to November 16th. The margin of error is +/- 3.0% at the 95% confidence interval.



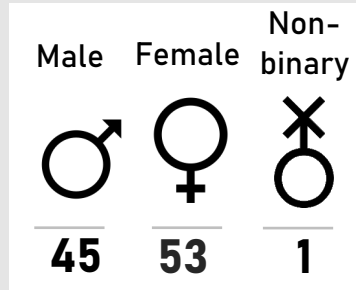
- Telephone numbers for the sample were generated from a file of registered, likely 2024 general election voters in New York. The data were weighted slightly by gender, age, race, region, education level, partisanship, and voter turnout history.



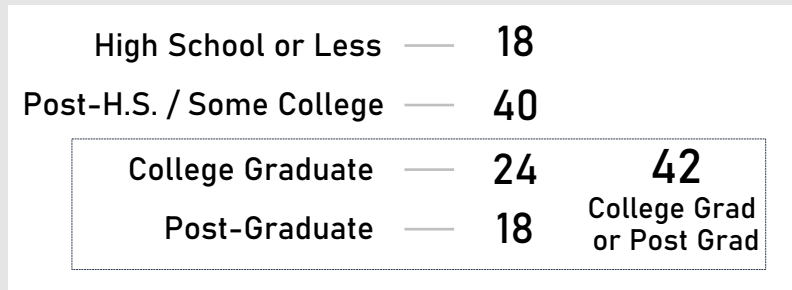
- In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error—that is, the results of a survey may differ from those that would be obtained if the entire population of likely voters were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a question. For example, if a response to a given question which all base respondents answered was 50%, we could be sure that in 95% of all samples of 1000 drawn from the same universe of likely general election voters, the results would fall within plus or minus 3% of this percentage, or between 47% and 53%.

Demographics of General Election Voters

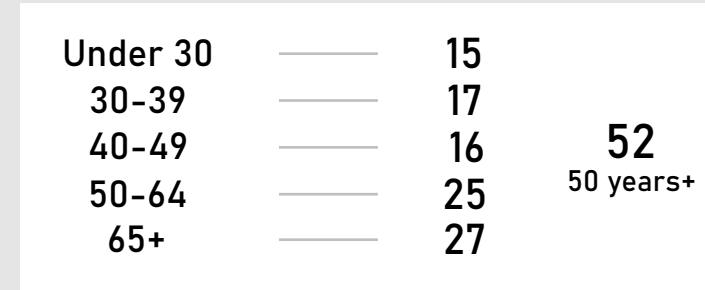
GENDER



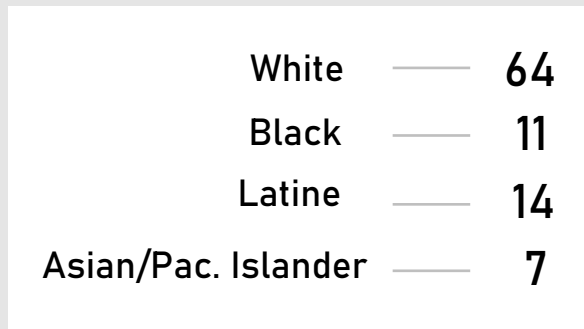
EDUCATION



AGE



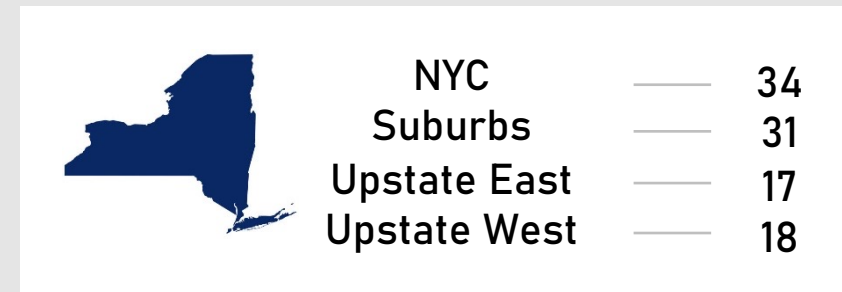
RACE



IDEOLOGY



REGION



PARTY ID



Overview of Findings

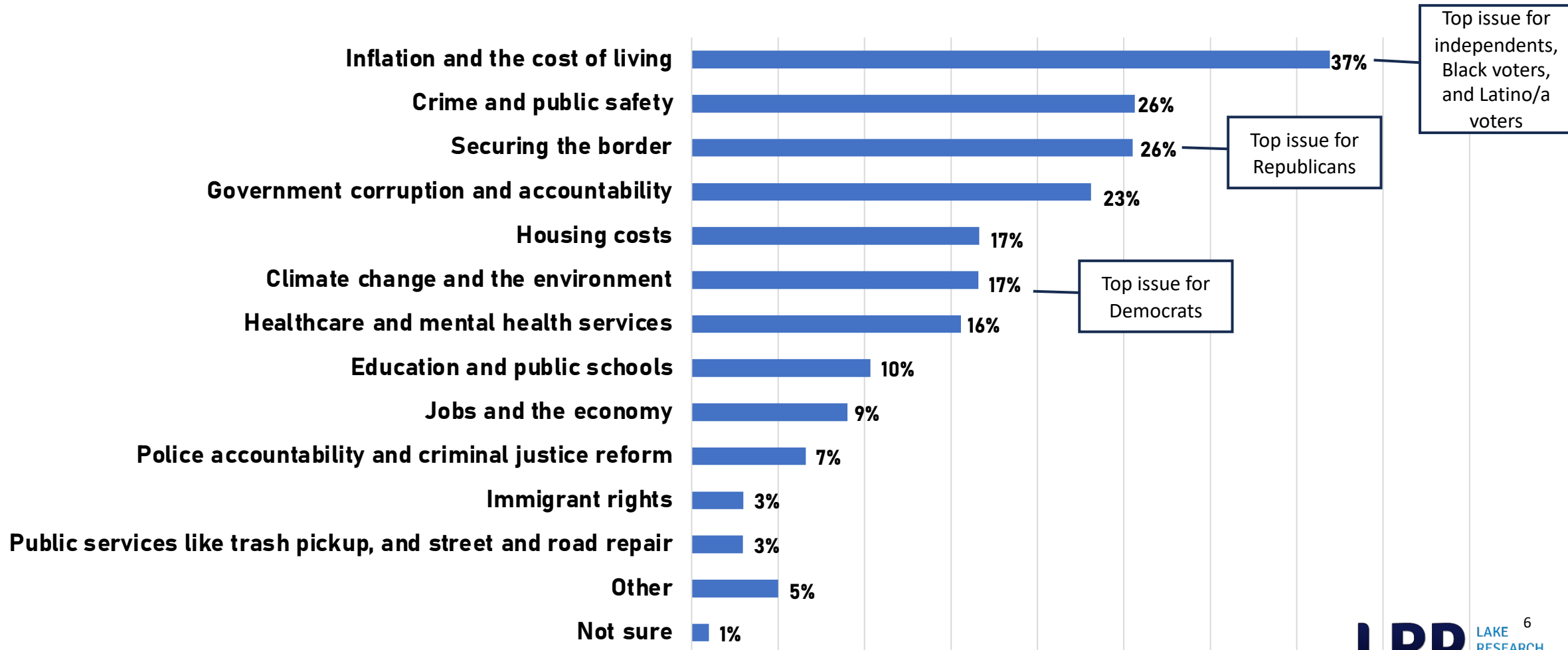
1. Voters are highly concerned about crime and immigration. While this trend is largely driven by Republicans, on many of the issues in the survey, independents align far more closely with Republicans than with Democrats.
2. Democrats are not trusted on issues of crime and public safety and on immigration, compared to their Republican counterparts .
3. This is partly because Democrats are in charge and because voters in New York are hearing far more from Republicans than from Democrats on the issue. Silence is a huge problem for us and even more pronounced in New York.
4. Bail reform, having been attacked relentlessly by the GOP and without much in the way of defense—or, critically, alternate framing of the issue—is unpopular with voters. Importantly, when voters receive even a basic amount of information about the impact of the laws, we draw even, winning Black and Latinx voters.
5. On our approach to public safety ballot testing, a comprehensive message from a Democratic candidate performs just as strongly as a “tough on crime” message from a Democrat. Importantly, the comprehensive message resonates far more strongly with key Democratic base voters, including Black voters and younger voters
 - ✓ We find similar trends when testing our immigration messaging- an asset focus tests just as well as a deficit focus, but we lose important base voters with the deficit message.
6. We have the most success in this survey when we combine messages with messengers- referencing police in combination with mental health specialists or violence interruption specialists proves convincing to voters when pushing for crime prevention strategies.
 1. Social workers and judges are also effective messengers with voters.



**Context,
Mood, and
Perceptions
of Political
Actors**

Crime is not the number one issue on people's minds- inflation and the cost of living are the main drivers for voters. Although crime/public safety and the border are among top issues for many voters, Democrats are focused elsewhere. Economic issues (30% say top issue), climate change (32%), and health care (27%) are top concerns for Democrats. Republicans (and to a certain extent, some independents) are the ones driving concerns around crime and immigration.

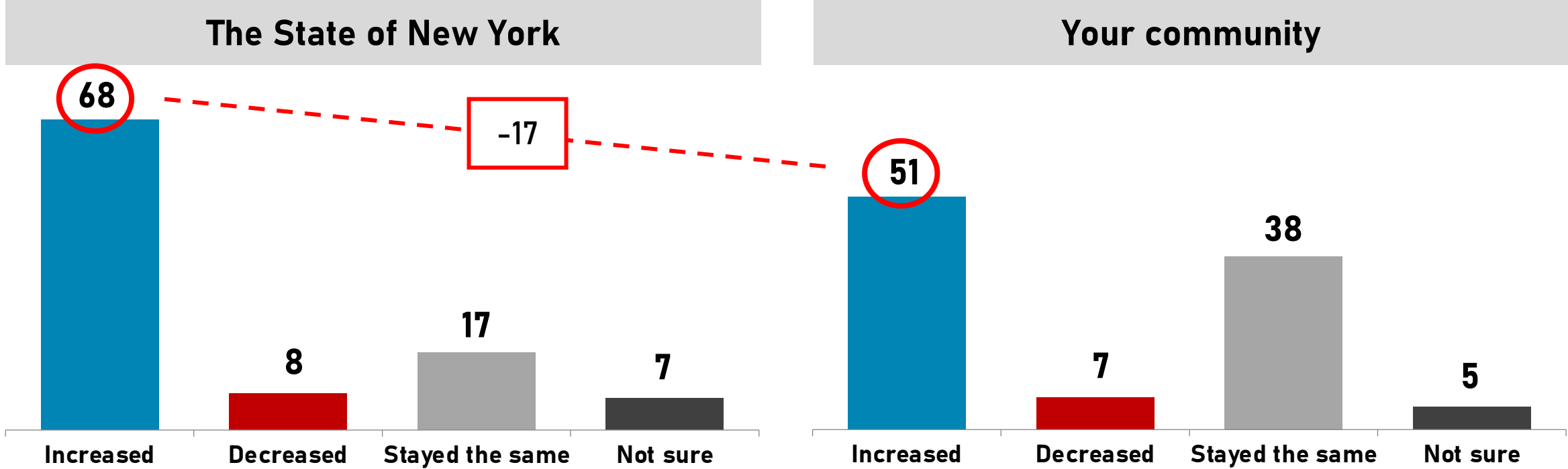
Perceptions About Crime



Q1. Here is a list of issues that some New Yorkers find important. After going through the full list, please indicate which two are, for you personally, the most important issues to be addressed?

Voters think crime is on the rise within the state (68% say has increased in the past year), and within their community (51% say has increased). This is true across race and the political aisle. This gap is likely fueled by the recent trend of the focus on crime in the news.

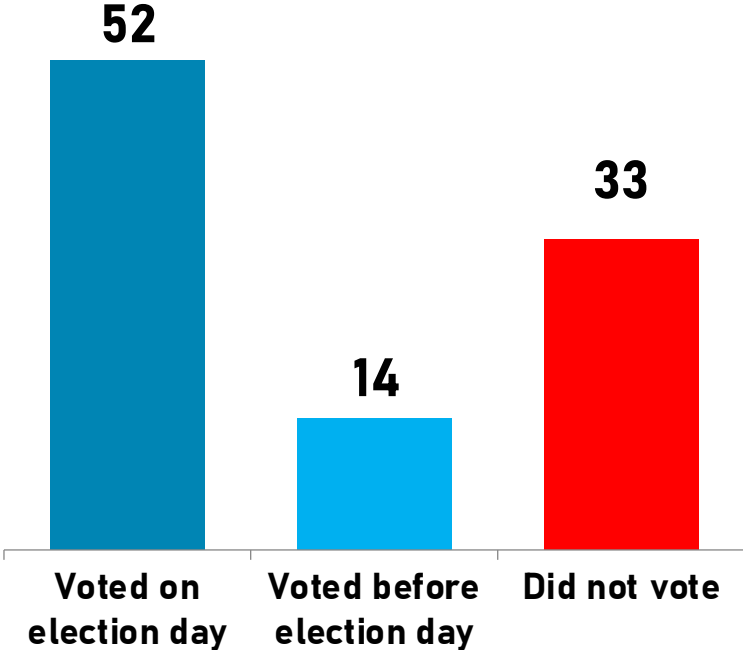
Over the past few years, do you think crime in ____ has increased, decreased, or stayed the same?



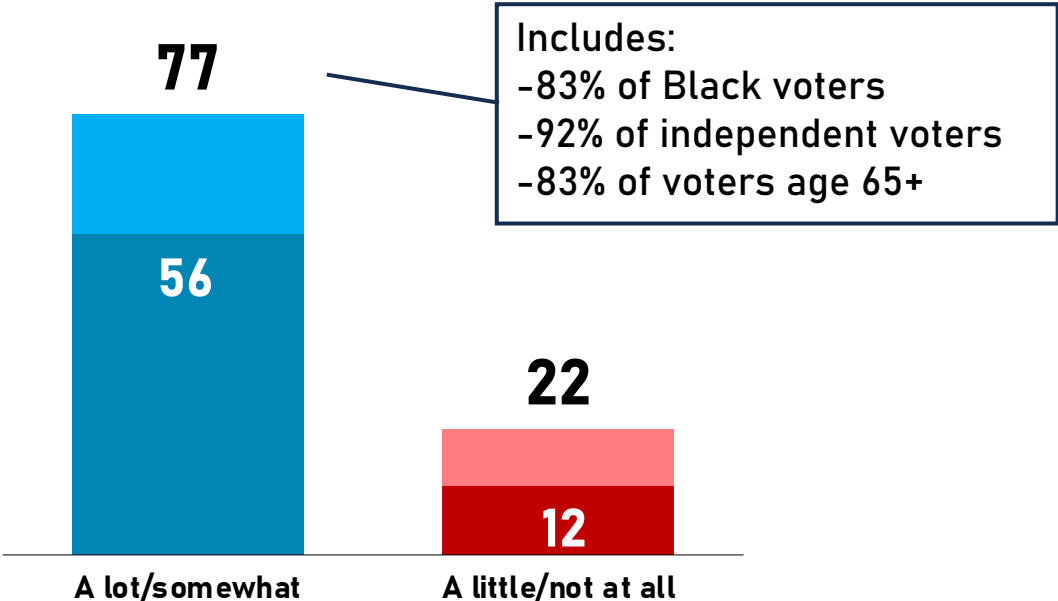
Q11. SSA: Over the past few years, do you think crime in the State of New York has increased, decreased, or stayed the same?
Q12. SSB: And over the past few years, do you think crime in your own community has increased, decreased or stayed the same?

In the recent November election, fully three-quarters of voters report that crime was an important factor in their vote. This number is even higher among Black voters, independent voters, and seniors.

Voted in recent election



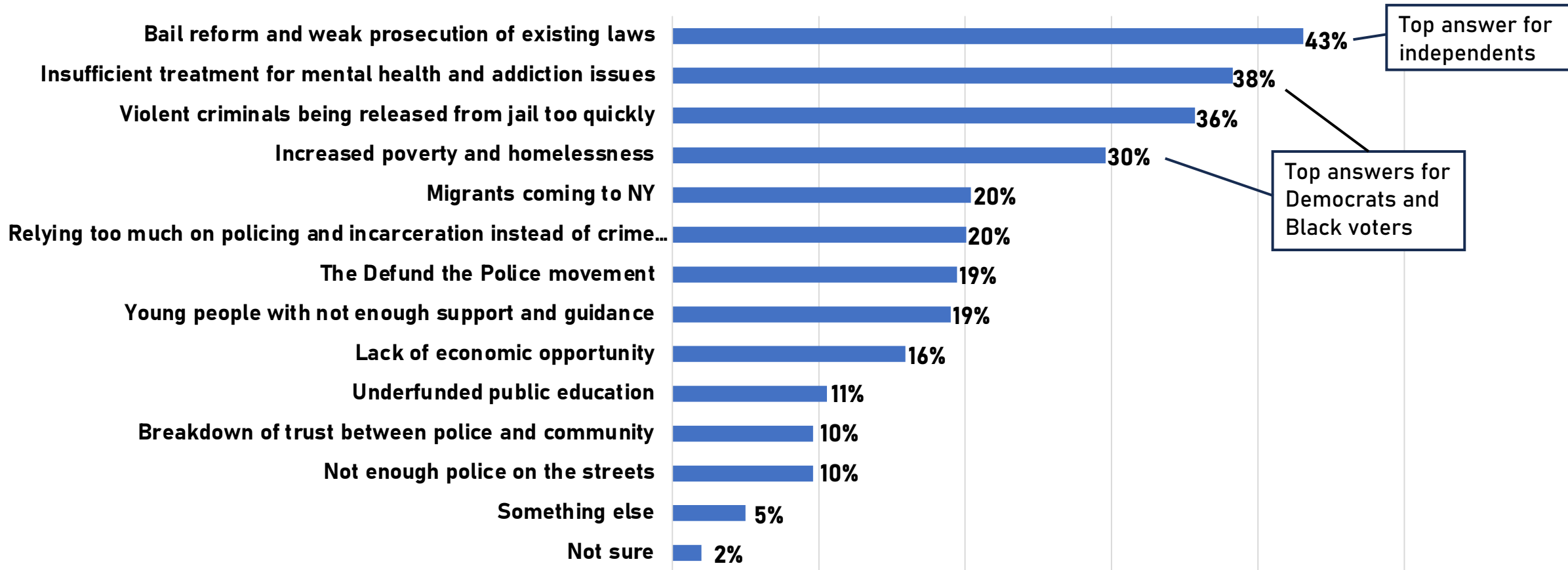
Issue of crime importance in vote



Q8. Did you vote in this past Tuesday's election on election day, or did you vote earlier before election day, or like many people, did you not get a chance to vote?
Q9. [IF VOTED, ASK:] And how important was the issue of crime to your vote?

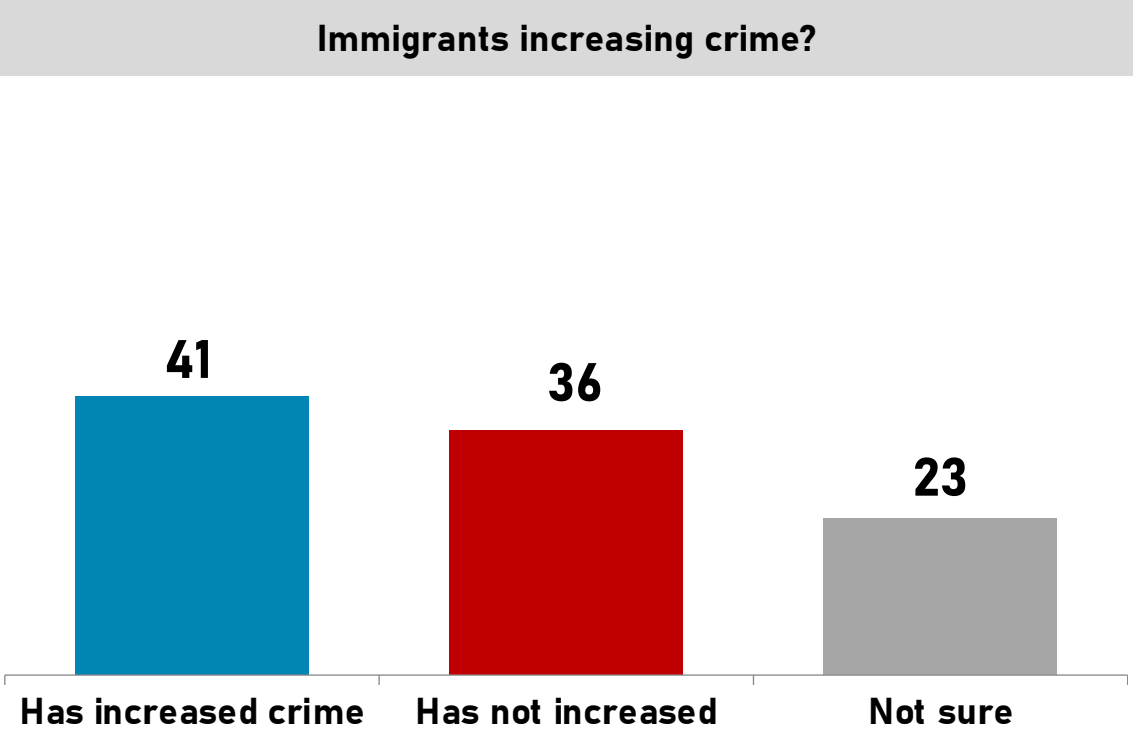
Voters focus on a broad range of factors leading to crime, which is an opening for us. Voters blame high crime rates on bail reform, insufficient treatment for mental health and addiction issues, and violent criminals being released from jail too quickly. For Democrats, however, top concerns factors causing crime are insufficient treatment for mental health and addiction (57%), and increased poverty and homelessness (43%), as well as relying too much on policing and incarceration instead of crime prevention and rehabilitation (36%). Republicans are the main drivers of concern around bail reform, violent criminals being released, and the increased number of migrants coming to New York.

Factors Responsible for Crime in New York



Q13. Which THREE factors are most responsible for crime in New York?

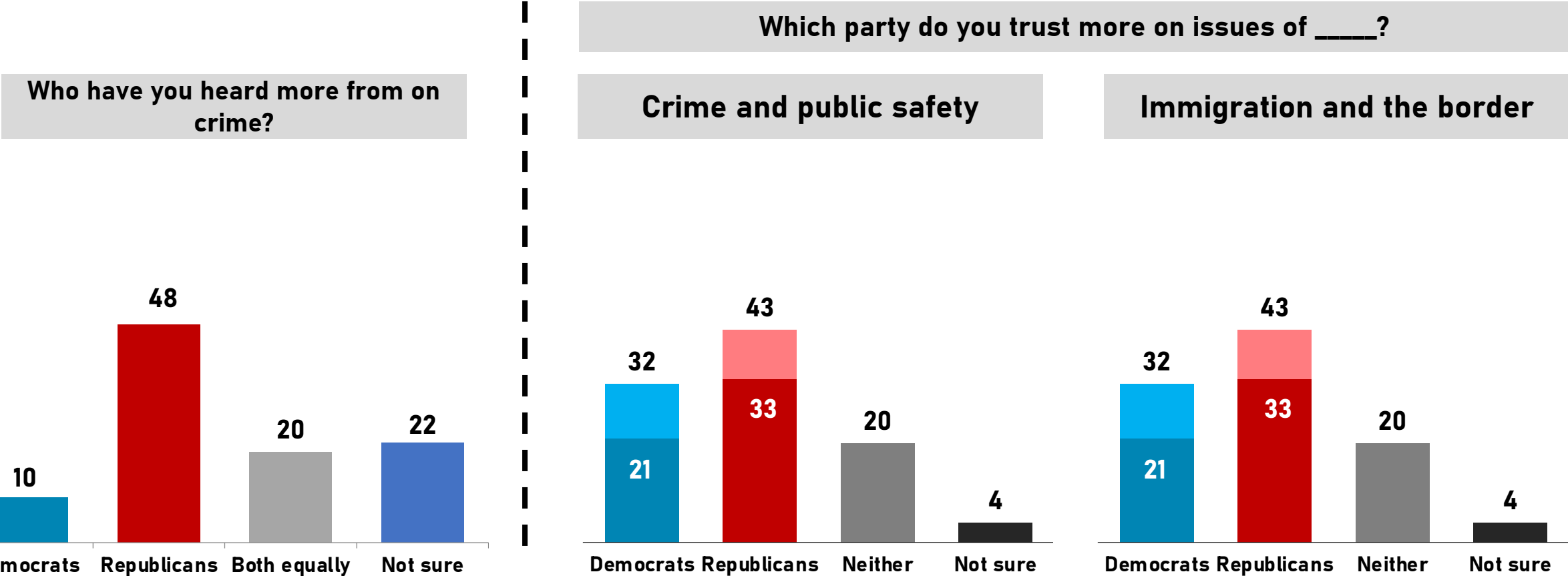
Voters are split on whether immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers being bussed to New York has increased crime, which is polarized along party lines.



	Has increased	Has not increased	Not sure
White alone	42%	35%	23%
Black	33%	32%	35%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	40%	39%	21%
Democrat	15%	61%	25%
Indep/DK	52%	14%	34%
Republican	74%	7%	19%
New York	32%	42%	26%
Suburbs	49%	30%	20%
Upstate West	44%	37%	19%
Upstate East	42%	34%	24%
Under 30	42%	41%	17%
30-39	32%	37%	31%
40-49	38%	41%	20%
50-64	42%	30%	28%
65+	47%	34%	19%

Q14. Do you think immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers being bussed to New York has increased crime?

Voters are hearing more from the Republicans on crime than from Democrats, although the number of voters who say they are hearing from both Democrats and Republicans has risen by 14 points since our last survey in August (up from 6% in August to 20% in November). However, this communication gap is only half the reason we are struggling with voters – the other piece of the puzzle is the news, which continues to feed the Republican narrative.



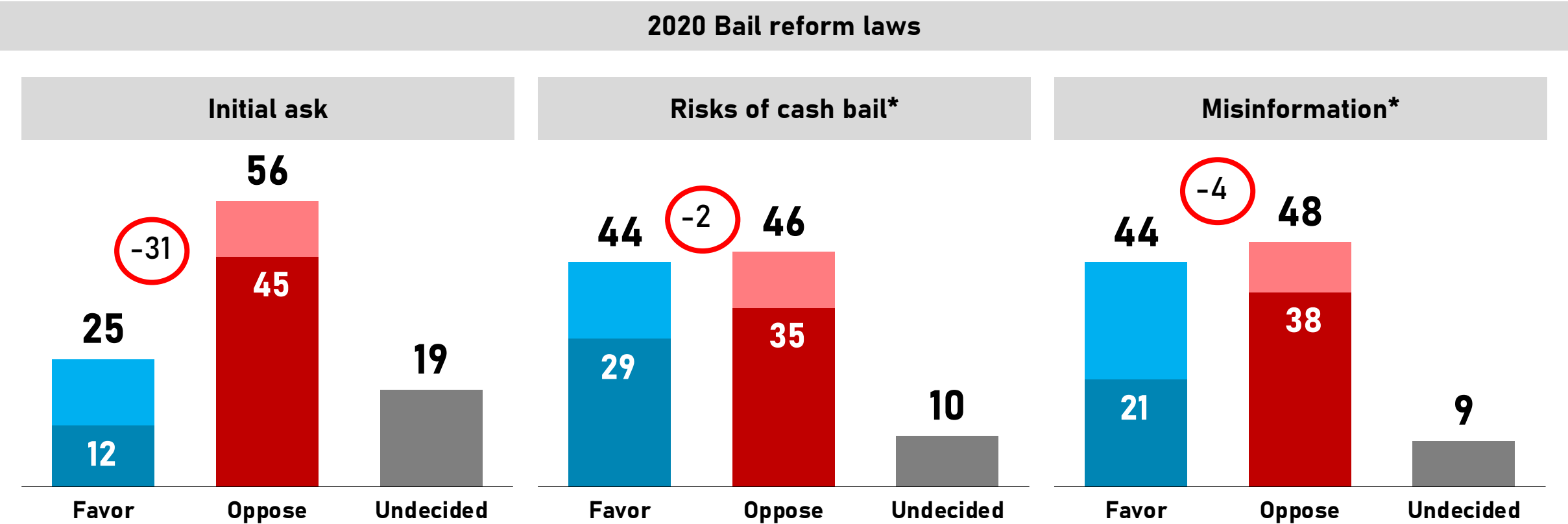
Q15. Who have you heard from more on the issue of crime in New York State [ROTATE] _Democrats or _Republicans?
 Q16. SSA: Which party do you trust more on issues of crime and public safety [RANDOMIZE] _Democrats or _Republicans?
 Q17. SSB: Which party do you trust more on issues of immigration and the border [RANDOMIZE] _Democrats or _Republicans?



Response to Issues



With no information about bail reform, we are losing by 2-to-1. Twenty-five percent of voters say they support the bail reform laws that took effect in 2020, and 56% of voters say they oppose the laws. However, as soon as voters are provided with more information about what bail reform means, we draw even. The frame we tested around the impact of cash bail is more effective with Democrats and Black voters, but we do better with Latinx voters and independents using the frame about misinformation



Q18. Do you favor or oppose the bail reform laws that took effect in 2020 or are you not sure?
 Q19. [IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE] Would you say you strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose] the bail reform laws?
 Q20. [IF UNSURE/ DON'T KNOW] Would you say you lean more toward [favor or opposing] the bail reform laws?

Text for "Risks of cash bail" and "Misinformation" are on next slide

* indicates split sampled item

Informed messages – Bail reform

[RISKS OF CASH BAIL] Bail reform in New York ended cash bail for low-level misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies. Before bail reform, our court system criminalized poverty, creating a system where the wealthy were free to go, because they could afford to pay bail and gain release but if you were poor you would go to jail, where people can lose vital income, miss rent, cannot care for their children, or lose a job, often creating a cycle of poverty and crime. Many judges, police officers, prosecutors, and public defenders support the bail reform laws, because they know that cash bail didn't make us safer

Tests better for:
 -Black voters
 -Democrats

[MISINFORMATION] Bail reform in New York ended cash bail for low-level misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies. Before bail reform, our court system criminalized poverty, creating a system where the wealthy were free to go because they could afford to pay bail and gain release, but if you were poor you would go to jail. There is a lot of misinformation about how bail reform works in New York. Many judges, police officers, prosecutors, and public defenders continue to support the bail reform laws because they know that judges can and do still set bail and detain people facing serious and violent charges, and those who commit crimes are still held accountable.

Tests better for:
 -Latino/a voters
 -Independents

Q21/24. Having heard this, do you favor or oppose these bail reform laws or are you not sure?

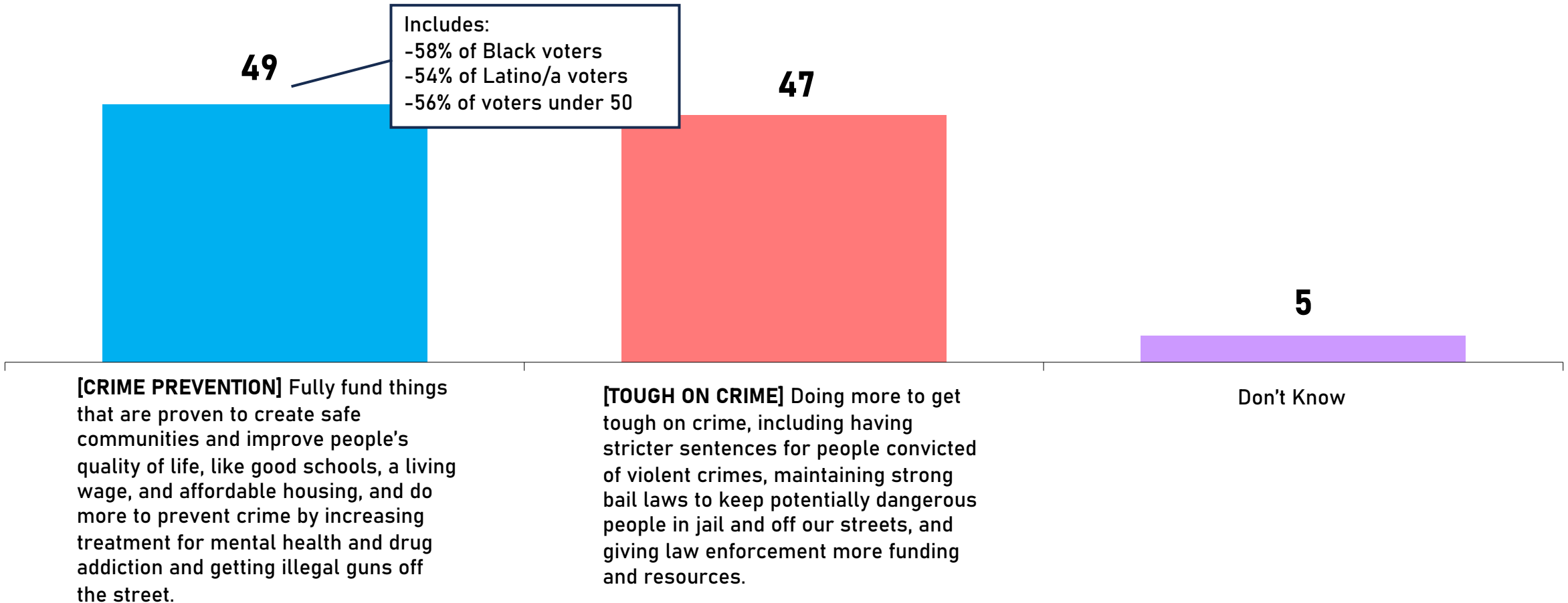
Q22/25. [IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE] Would you say you strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose] the bail reform laws?

Q23/26. [IF UNSURE/ DON'T KNOW] Would you say you lean more toward [favor or opposing] the bail reform laws?

* indicates split sampled item

Voters are evenly split between a tough on crime approach and crime prevention approach to handling public safety. Throughout the survey, including in this match up, using language about providing treatment for mental health resonates strongly with voters.

Preferred Approach to Addressing Crime and Public Safety in New York



Q17. Which of the following two statements do you think is a better approach to addressing crime and public safety?

Profiles of the Candidates – Public Safety

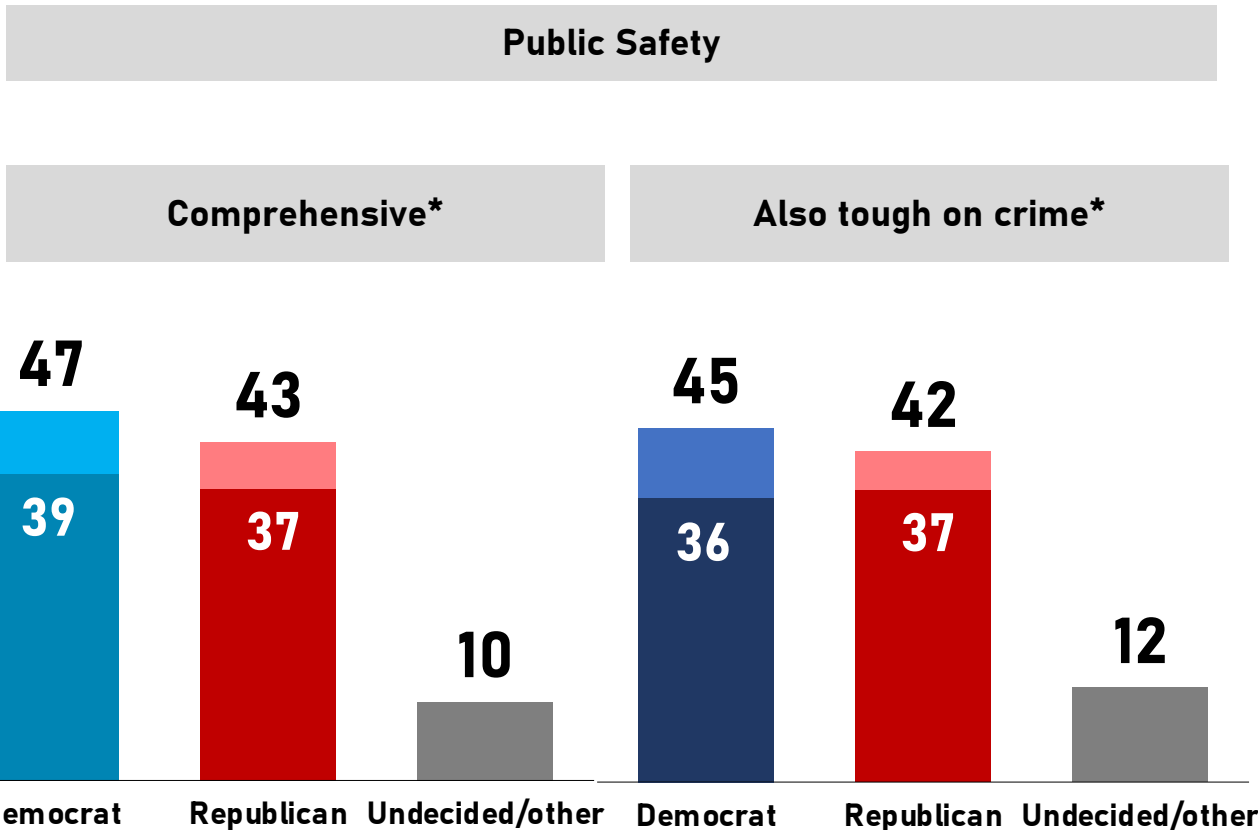
The Republican candidate says: “I will make hard-working, law-abiding citizens the priority, and end the revolving door that releases violent criminals right back onto the very streets they committed their crimes on. I will make prosecutors do their jobs and enforce all the laws. I will fund the police and provide resources to rebuild the ranks of departments who have lost officers due to a lack of support and low morale. I will stand up to Democrats who have allowed repeat criminals out of jail through “bail reform” and want to defund the police, and I will restore law and order in New York.”

[COMPREHENSIVE] The Democratic candidate says: “I stand for safety, accountability, and justice. I will make communities safer with real solutions that prevent crime before it happens by investing in good schools, affordable housing, treatment for mental health and drug addiction, and well-paying jobs. I will break the cycle of crime by holding people accountable when they violate the law and build a just system that treats everyone fairly. I will support police who put their lives on the line everyday, while also holding them accountable if they abuse their power or break the law. I will get illegal guns off the street and focus police resources on solving the most serious cases.”

[ALSO TOUGH ON CRIME] The Democratic candidate says: “I am committed to keeping communities safe and reducing crime. I support giving police more funding so there are more police on the ground and in communities. I want to give police and prosecutors the tools to solve and prosecute homicides and other violent crimes. I support speedy processing of rape kits to help solve rape cases, and enforcing laws to protect women from domestic abusers. I will make sure repeat violent offenders and people committing crimes with guns do not get early release from prison. I will support strict penalties for convicted drug dealers to stop the flow of drugs into our communities.”



When ballot testing a comprehensive on crime candidate or a tough on crime Democratic candidate against a traditional Republican, we get almost identical results for each narrative. However, our comprehensive approach resonates strongly with Democratic base voters, including voters under the age of 50 and Black and Latinx voters. The tough on crime narrative deters many voters in these vital blocs from voting Democrat.



	Comprehensive		Also tough on crime	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
White alone	44%	49%	43%	46%
Black	72%	9%	49%	22%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	62%	17%	50%	39%
Democrat	82%	6%	83%	10%
Indep/DK	24%	53%	10%	65%
Republican	5%	89%	4%	94%
New York	54%	32%	53%	28%
Suburbs	41%	52%	42%	49%
Upstate West	42%	47%	53%	45%
Upstate East	50%	41%	30%	55%
Under 30	62%	30%	43%	40%
30-39	61%	24%	34%	41%
40-49	50%	34%	44%	45%
50-64	40%	50%	45%	47%
65+	36%	60%	54%	37%

* indicates split sampled item

Q31/34. Having heard these two statements, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for [ROTATE] _the Republican candidate, _ the Democratic candidate, or are you undecided?

Q32/35. [IF CANDIDATE:] Would you say you support that candidate strongly or not so strongly?

Q33/36. [IF UNDECIDED:] Well, if you had to decide today, toward which candidate would you lean?

Other
Debates:
Immigration
and
Raise the Age



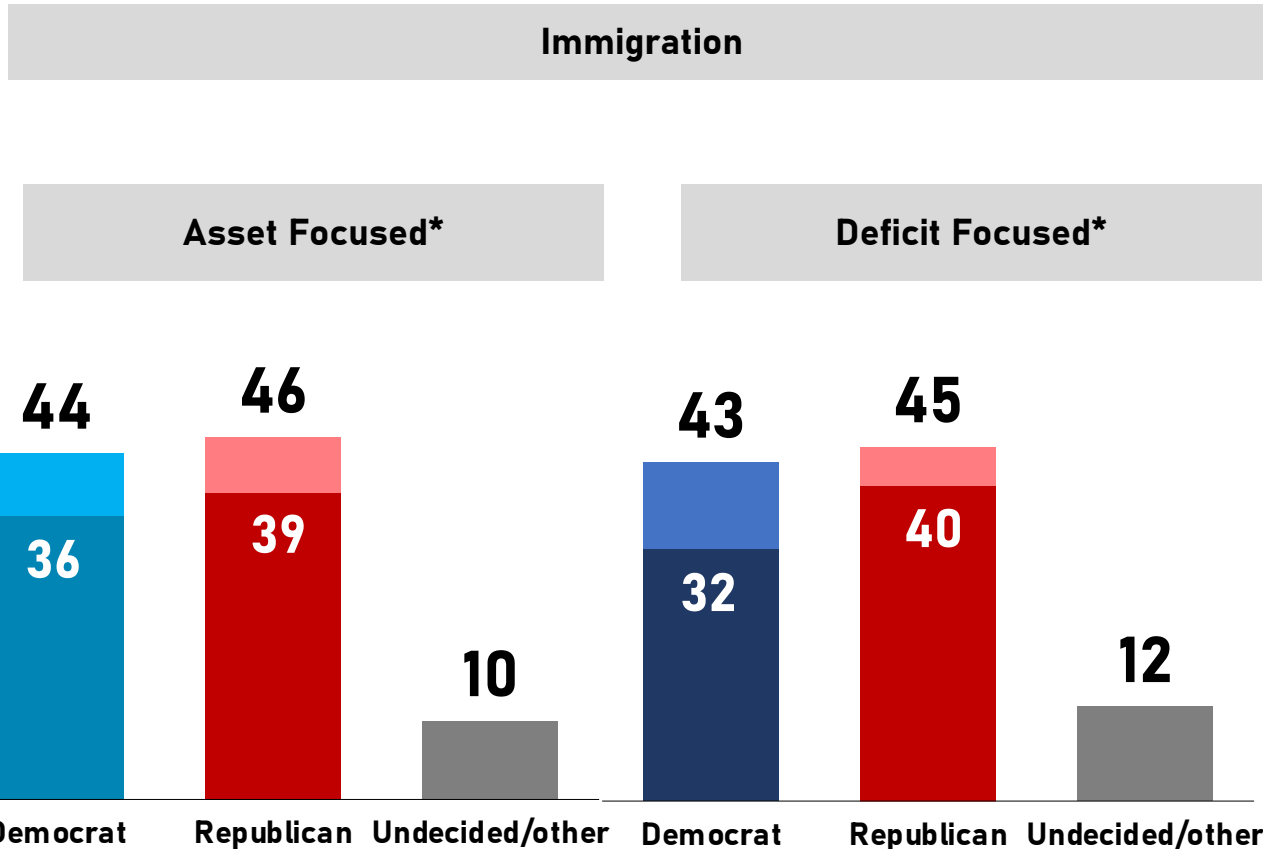
Profiles of the Candidates – Immigration

The Republican candidate says: “The “sanctuary city” of New York, which invites immigrants to come regardless of their status, has hit a breaking point with new migrants. They are spilling onto the sidewalks, and even into public schools and the suburbs. Democrats have slashed paychecks for cops and firefighters to pay for their stay. We can’t handle this influx of arrivals who bring dangerous drugs and crime. It’s time to end sanctuary status and send out the message – we don’t have room for a flood of illegal immigrants and we aren’t an unlimited haven with unlimited benefits paid for by taxpayers.”

[ASSET FOCUSED] The Democratic candidate says: Immigration has always been essential to our economy, our culture and our community. We can address the influx of immigrant newcomers, but we must be unified. We need the federal government, state and local partners to come together to help immigrant newcomers gain work authorization, stable housing, and be able to contribute to our society. There are currently more job openings in New York State than there are workers to fill them - these new arrivals can help fill those jobs. Investing in safety and stability for all New Yorkers, including new immigrants, results in stronger families, lower crime, more tax revenue, and a better economy for everyone.

[DEFICIT FOCUSED] The Democratic candidate says: Although our compassion is limitless, our resources are not. New York values the contributions of immigrants, but the sudden influx of 110,000 asylum seekers poses an overwhelming challenge. A clear resolution remains elusive, and every community in the state will feel the effects before we manage to devise a solution. The arrival of these migrants has imposed a significant financial burden that the state cannot bear, and New Yorkers deserve better. It is time for the federal government to take action by temporarily closing the southern border and providing financial aid and resources to New York until the situation is under control.

Our ballot testing on immigration also gets us near identical results, whether using a Democratic candidate using a deficit narrative or an asset focus against a traditional Republican candidate. The asset focus performs better with voters under 40 and Latinx voters, but pushes more independents toward the Republican candidate.



	Asset Focused		Deficit Focused	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep
White alone	43%	51%	42%	48%
Black	50%	24%	56%	25%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	54%	27%	42%	38%
Democrat	83%	10%	82%	6%
Indep/DK	10%	65%	24%	53%
Republican	4%	94%	5%	89%
New York	52%	35%	51%	33%
Suburbs	43%	48%	39%	57%
Upstate West	45%	50%	36%	50%
Upstate East	31%	59%	39%	44%
Under 30	50%	41%	34%	46%
30-39	51%	35%	47%	34%
40-49	44%	43%	46%	42%
50-64	40%	50%	40%	54%
65+	41%	53%	46%	46%

* indicates split sampled item

Q37/40. Having heard these two statements, if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for [ROTATE] _the Republican candidate, _ the Democratic candidate, or are you undecided?

Q38/41. [IF CANDIDATE:] Would you say you support that candidate strongly or not so strongly?

Q39/42. [IF UNDECIDED:] Well, if you had to decide today, toward which candidate would you lean?

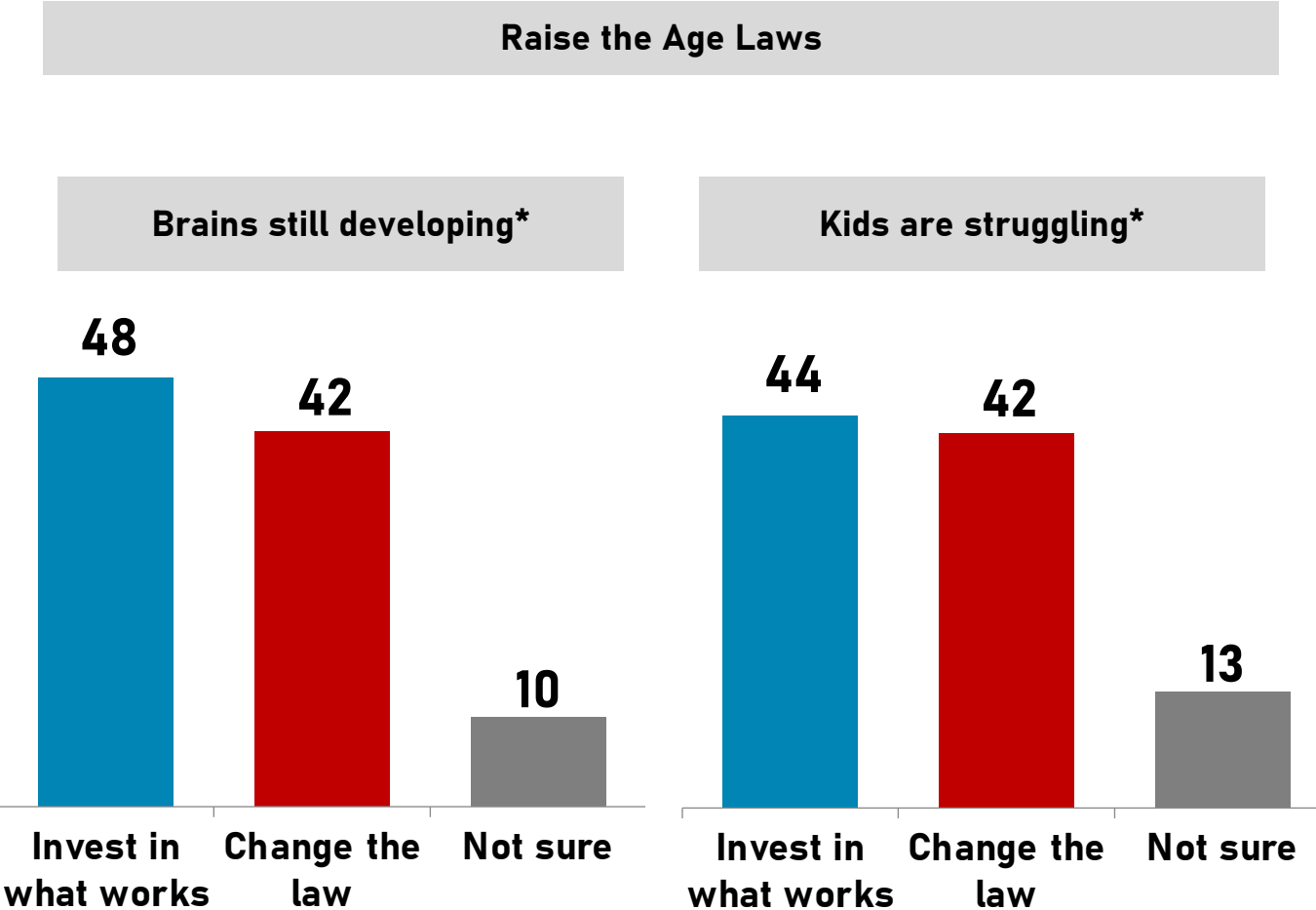
Engaged Debate– Raise the Age Laws

[ROLL BACK THE LAW] It is time to change the flawed "Raise the Age" laws that allow 16 and 17 year olds to commit violent crimes and walk free, often leading them to commit even more violent crimes. Law enforcement experts have repeatedly explained that these laws have directly led to an increase in youth violent crime and made it more difficult for the police to protect the public because they can't hold violent youth offenders accountable. While we can all agree that young people who make mistakes should be given second chances, teenagers who commit violent crimes or carry guns must face adult consequences.

[BRAINS STILL DEVELOPING] The "Raise the Age" law lets the courts treat kids like kids when they make a mistake or break the law – because we understand that kids are still growing and their brains don't weigh risks the way adults do. Gun violence among teenagers is a problem in our community, but blaming the wrong cause means we miss the right solutions. Instead of rolling back a commonsense law, we need more gun violence prevention, programs that strengthen school support, jobs, and mental health and drug treatment services. We need to invest in solutions that are proven to work instead of locking up our kids and throwing away the key.

[KIDS ARE STRUGGLING] Kids across New York are struggling. COVID has had lasting effects on educational achievement and mental health for young people. The "Raise the Age" law means kids are finally being treated as kids in the criminal justice system. We know how to prevent crime by addressing young people's needs – providers around New York are already starting to do this effectively with services that include education, employment training and internships, mentoring, gun violence interruption, mental health services, housing, and peer support. We have the funds set aside for this, and it's time we fully invest in these programs to help our kids.

On the “raise the age” message tests, the narrative that focuses on how teenagers’ brains are still developing tests better with most voters, especially Black voters and younger voters. However, the message that acknowledges how kids are struggling right now does better with Latinx voters.



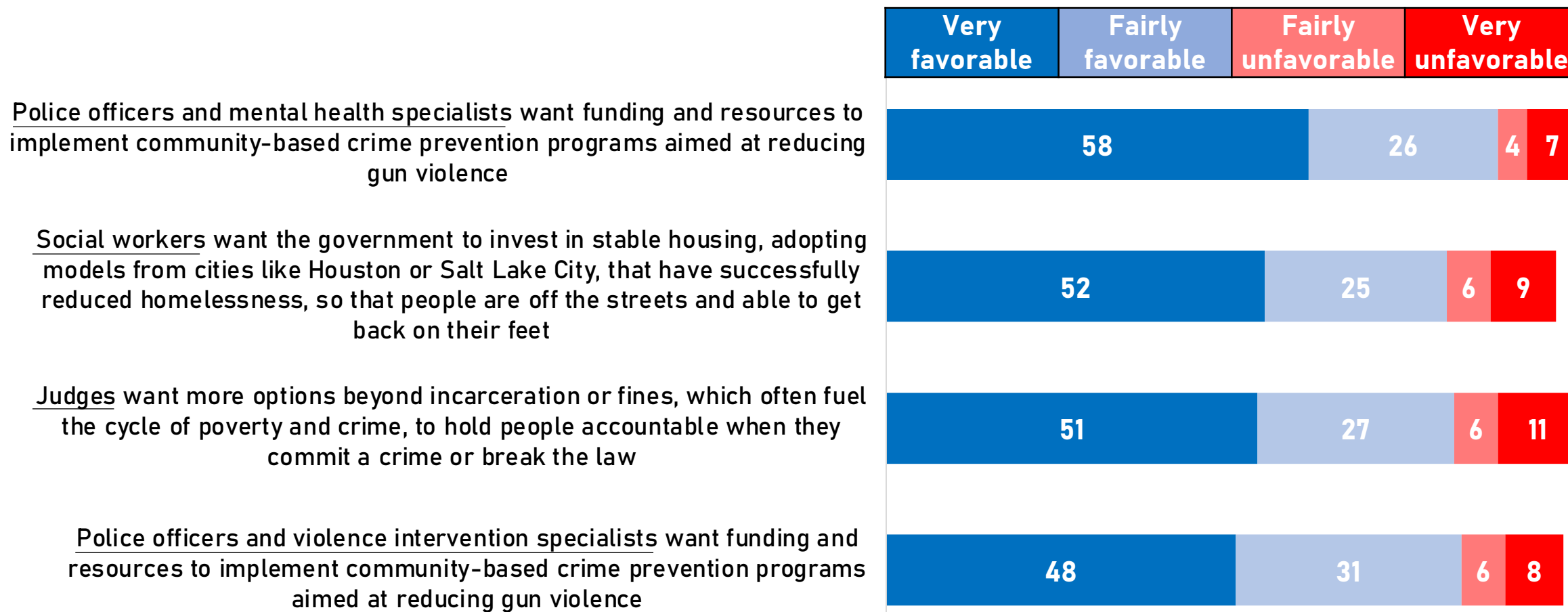
	Brains still developing		Kids are struggling	
	Invest in what works	Change the law	Invest in what works	Change the law
White alone	47%	45%	43%	45%
Black	65%	19%	40%	40%
Latino/Latina or Hispanic	44%	40%	53%	39%
Democrat	74%	17%	60%	30%
Indep/DK	31%	46%	24%	45%
Republican	22%	71%	28%	59%
New York	53%	36%	55%	32%
Suburbs	45%	46%	38%	48%
Upstate West	44%	51%	44%	46%
Upstate East	46%	40%	35%	48%
Under 30	54%	39%	46%	39%
30-39	54%	36%	51%	26%
40-49	46%	37%	43%	48%
50-64	36%	56%	38%	53%
65+	52%	39%	46%	41%

* indicates split sampled item

Now you will read two statements. After you have read both, please indicate which comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Combining police and mental health specialists in a push for community-based crime prevention programs does the best among our message testing. Social workers pushing for investments in housing and judges pushing for more options beyond incarceration or fines also perform at a top tier with voters. Violence intervention specialists test less well, partly because voters, especially Black voters, have less of an awareness of who these specialists are and what they do. Voters have an easier time understanding what mental health specialists or social workers can bring to the public safety toolbox.

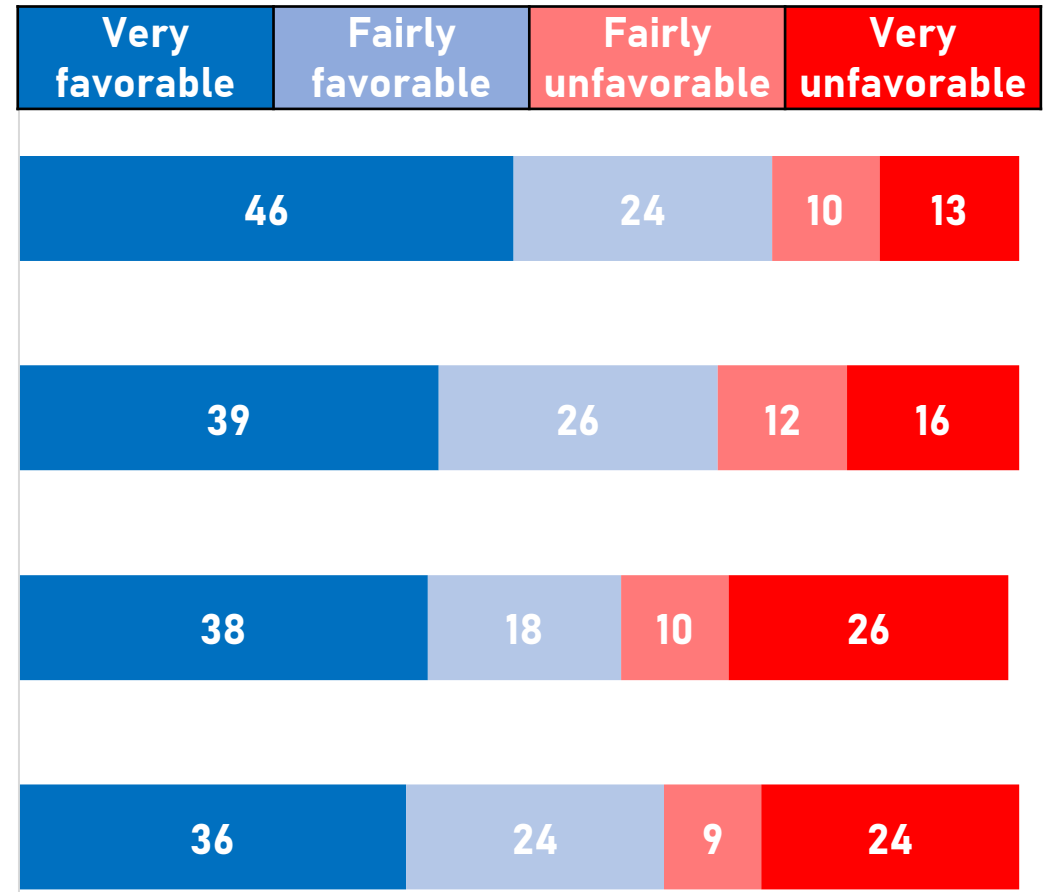
Messages and Messengers- Top Tier



Q43. Here is a list of different policy ideas that are supported by different people as being good for communities, the economy, and public safety. For each policy idea, please indicate if you would be very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable towards that policy.

Using “Democrats” instead of “social workers” when discussing solutions to homelessness performs more poorly, partly because we lose Republicans completely on the message. We also have a harder time on immigration messaging overall.

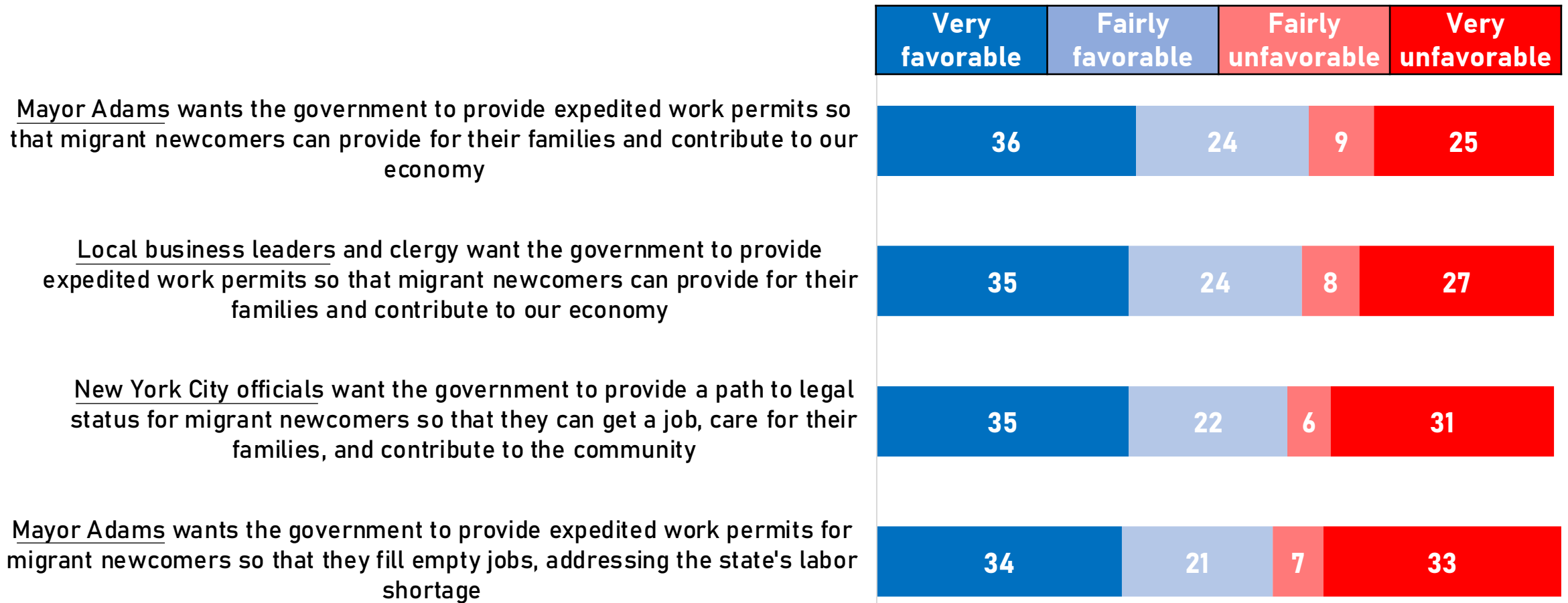
Messages and Messengers- Middle Tier



Q43. Here is a list of different policy ideas that are supported by different people as being good for communities, the economy, and public safety. For each policy idea, please indicate if you would be very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable towards that policy.

Employers offer more credibility than Mayor Adams on the issue, but Republicans and independents are harder to get on immigration than on public safety. Democrats and Latinx voters are more on board.

Messages and Messengers- Bottom Tier



Q43. Here is a list of different policy ideas that are supported by different people as being good for communities, the economy, and public safety. For each policy idea, please indicate if you would be very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable towards that policy.

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