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Thursday, November 21st

2024 Voters Survey: The Reasons Why Voters Voted The Way They Did



Credit: Andrea Izzotti/Shutterstock





What We Did

The slides in this presentation are based on interviews with 5,000 registered voters who had already voted or planned to vote in the November election, with interviews conducted October 31st to November 9th, 2024.

Support for Kamala Harris and Donald Trump in the presidential election, Democrats and Republicans in Senate elections, and Democrats and Republicans in House elections have been adjusted to reflect the actual expected votes as of November 9th. The analysis aims to provide a tool for Americans to understand what happened in the 2024 election, why it happened, and what's next.



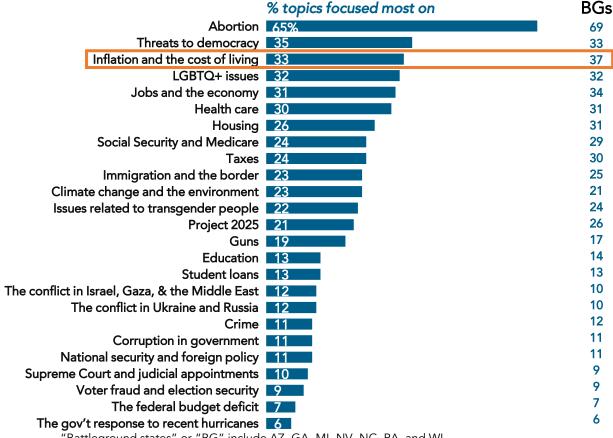
Key Takeaways:

- The presidential traits most important to voters in 2024 were having a positive vision for the future, strength, and experience: Trump had the upper hand over Harris on each of these, while she led on less important values like honesty and morality.
- Trump had a major advantage, including among swing voters, on the economy and inflation, though Harris had strong standing on personal financial issues like health care affordability, looking out for the middle class, and Social Security and Medicare.
- Harris won voters over on abortion, taxing the rich, and health care, but she lost them on immigration, flip-flopping on issues, extremism, weakness, and broad economic issues.
- Trump won voters over on immigration and the economy, but he lost them on January 6th, Project 2025, and divisiveness.

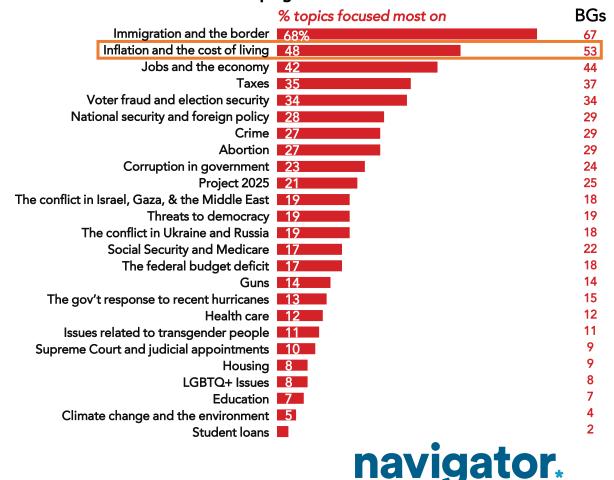


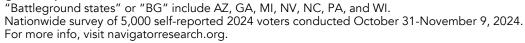
Battleground Voters Thought Trump Was More Focused on Inflation Than Harris

What topics and issues do you think that **Kamala Harris** and her campaign were focused on in this campaign?



What topics and issues do you think that **Donald Trump** and his campaign were focused on in this campaign?





On the Traits That Were Most Important to Voters, Trump Won on Leadership and Experience, While Tying on Future Vision

For swing voters, the most important traits were having "a positive vision for the future," being a "strong and decisive leader," and having "the experience to get things done": Trump led Harris on all three of those traits overall and among swing voters, while trailing her the most on morality and honesty (which were less important to voters).

Net Describes

Top 3 Most

Please indicate whether you think each one bette	r describes Kamala Ha	rris or Donald Trump.		Har	ris	Important	Qualities
	Better describes Harris	Equal Neither Better describes Tr	rump	Overall	*Swing	Overall	*Swing
Has the experience to get things done	40	4 4	52	-12	-37	36	40
Is a strong and decisive leader	41	5	51	-10	-33	45	47
Can provide steady leadership	45	5	48	-3	-16	32	34
Has a positive vision for the future	45	4 5	46	-1	-4	41	38
Represents change	43	4 7	46	-3	-12	20	25
Is mentally sharp	47	6 5	42	+5	+11	25	26
Cares about people like me	47	3 8	42	+5	+14	37	32
Is honest and tells the truth	45	16	37	+8	+11	34	34
Has strong moral character	48	14	36	+12	+17	30	25

[&]quot;Base Harris" report that they voted for Harris and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. "Base Trump" report that they voted for Trump and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. *"Swing" includes all other voters.

Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Trump Won on Macroeconomics, While Harris Tied on "Reducing Costs" and Won on "Looking Out for the Middle Class"

Among swing voters, Harris led on "the level of taxes paid by wealthy Americans and corporations" (net +18 Harris) and "access to affordable health care" (net +17) but trailed on "the state of the national economy" (net +39 Trump) and "the level of inflation" (net +37).

Regardless of how you voted or intend to vote, for each of the following, please indicate whether you personally consider it more of a reason for you to support Kamala Harris, more of a reason for you to support Donald Trump, or whether it is not a factor in your vote.

	More of a reason		More of a reason	Net I	larris	
	to support Harris	Not a factor	to support Trump	Overall	Swing*	
Access to affordable health care and the future of the ACA	48	18	34	+14	+17	
The level of taxes paid by wealthy Americans & corporations	47	20	33	+14	+18	
The level of support for caregivers, including those caring for children/elderly	42	28	30	+12	+17	
The future of Social Security and Medicare	46	13	41	+5	+7	
Which candidate is looking out for the middle class	47	10	43	+4	+13	
The cost of housing	43	15	42	+1	-2	
The issue of reducing costs for regular people		7	47	-1	-6	
The level of taxes that will be paid by people like you in the future	4 7	11	46	-3	-7	
The state of energy production and energy prices in the U.S.	35	19	46	-11	-26	
The state of the national economy	40	8	52	-12	-39	
The level of inflation	39	9	52	-13	-37	

[&]quot;Base Harris" report that they voted for Harris and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. "Base Trump" report that they voted for Trump and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. ***"Swing" includes all other voters. Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Harris Won On Abortion, Democracy, Climate; Trump Won on Immigration and Foreign Affairs, in Addition to Economy

Among swing voters, Harris led on abortion (net +24 Harris), the response to January 6^{th} (net +24), and climate (net +21) but trailed on border security/immigration (net +42 Trump), "how America deals with allies and enemies" (net +32), and the Middle East conflict (net +31).

More of a reason

Regardless of how you voted or intend to vote, for each of the following, please indicate whether you personally consider it more of a reason for you to support Kamala Harris, more of a reason for you to support Donald Trump, or whether it is not a factor in your vote.

	More of a reason		More of a reason	1100	iaiiio
	to support Harris	Not a factor	to support Trump	Overall	Swing*
The attack on the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6 th , 2021+	46	29	25	+21	+24
The proposals within Project 2025	42	37	21	+21	+12
U.S. efforts to fight climate change	44	32	24	+20	+21
The status of abortion laws in the U.S.	49	20	31	+18	+24
The handling of issues related to transgender people	39	34	27	+12	+6
How the candidate would behave in office and use the power of the presidency	48	12	40	+8	+18
Political division in the country today	42	22	36	+6	+5
The status of gun laws in the United States	41	18	41	0	9
The war between Ukraine and Russia	34	24	42	-8	-27
How America deals with allies and enemies around the world	39	12	49	-10	-32
The ongoing conflict in Israel, Gaza, and the Middle East	32	24	44	-12	-31
The issue of border security and immigration policy	34	12	54	-20	-42

⁺Full question text included: "...and how the people responsible have been treated." "Base Harris" report that they voted for Harris and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. "Base Trump" report that they voted for Trump and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. *"Swing" includes all other voters. Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Net Harris

More of a reason

Immigration and the Economy Were Decisively the Top Two Reasons to Vote for Trump

[If voted for Trump] Which of the following are the biggest reasons you, personally, support Trump in the election? Donald Trump % top five reasons	*Base 2020 & 2024 Trump	**New & Swing Trump	Trump Swing
will secure the border and fight illegal immigration 53%	54	48	48
will fix our economy and get things back to the way they were when he was president last time 46	46	44	43
is a fighter and the kind of strong leader we need as president 28	29	27	30
will cut taxes, including eliminating federal taxes on tips, Social Security, and overtime pay 26	26	26	25
will support the police, protect law and order, and crack down on criminals 26	28	19	18
will increase domestic energy production, including fracking, to bring down our energy costs+ 24	26	19	19
is respected and feared by our enemies and would restore peace and stability to the world 23	23	22	19
won't let our children be endangered or confused by transgender ideology** 22	22	22	24
is a businessman, not a politician, and brings a different perspective to the presidency 22	22	20	22
is up to the job and is not Kamala Harris 18	18	19	16
is a refreshing leader who speaks his mind and tells it like it is, unlike most politicians 18	17	20	18
will protect the Second Amendment and the ability of law-abiding citizens to own a gun 18	18	17	17
would bring an end to the conflicts in the Middle East and Ukraine*** 18	16	22	25
will enact tariffs to stand up to countries with unfair trade practices, especially China++++	17	17	16
understands and listens to working-class Americans instead of out-of-touch elites 16	17	15	16
stands up for Christians and Christian values in America when they are under attack 16	17	13	10
will fight for and protect Medicare and Social Security, with no cuts 15	16	14	13
will protect our freedom of speech and stand up to Big Tech censorship 14	13	15	16
abortion policy to the states and supports reasonable exceptions for rape, incest, and the life of the mother 11	11	12	11
got <i>Roe v. Wade</i> overturned and will support pro-life policies as president 10	10	10	8

^{*&}quot;Base 2020 & 2024 Trump" report that they voted for Trump in 2020 and 2024 and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. **"New & Swing Harris" report that they voted for Trump in 2024 but not in 2020 or reported that they voted for Trump in 2024 but considered voting for Harris. † Full question text included: "...and reduce America's dependence on other countries." ** Full question text included: "...and will keep biological men out of women's sports." *** Full question text included: "...and punish companies that try to send jobs overseas." Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Top Reasons to Vote For Harris Were Abortion, Making the Rich Pay Their Fair Share in Taxes, and Health Care Affordability

[If voted for Harris] Which of the following are the biggest reasons you, personally, support Harris in the election?

Kamala Harris	% top five reasons
will stand in the way of a national abortion ban and fight to restore the protections of Roe v. Wade	•
will make the wealthy and big corporations pay their fair share in taxes	33
will protect the Affordable Care Act and preserve protections for those with pre-existing conditions	31
will protect and strengthen Social Security and Medicare	29
will cut taxes for the middle class	29
has an economic plan that will reduce costs on groceries, housing, and other everyday expenses	28
is up to the job and is not Donald Trump	27
will bring steady and responsible leadership to the presidency	24
will crack down on corporations that increase costs on Americans in order to make record profits	23
has the support of many Republicans because she puts country over party+	22
will fight for commonsense gun violence prevention policies that keep guns out of dangerous hands	20
supports a balanced approach to immigration that includes keeping immigrant families together++	19
lowered prescription drug prices for seniors as vice president, and will work to lower drug prices for everyone	18
will protect the rights of the LGBTQ+ community, including the transgender community	18
will invest in clean energy and fight climate change	17
will bring a new generation of leadership to the presidency	17
would make history as the first female president	15
is a former prosecutor who will support the rule of law and hold criminals accountable	14
has pledged to sign the bipartisan border security bill into law	11
is a better choice to handle the conflict in Israel, Gaza, and the Middle East	
*"Base 2020 & 2024 Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 and Biden in 2020 and say they ruled out voting for Trump Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 but consider the same of the same	

**New &

Swing Harris

Harris

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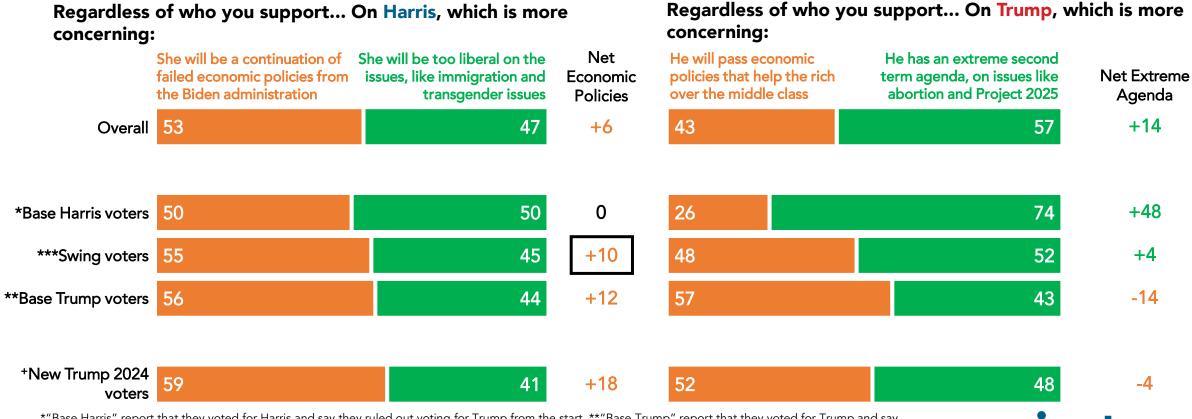
*Base 2020 &

2024 Harris

^{*&}quot;Base 2020 & 2024 Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 and Biden in 2020 and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. **"New & Swing Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 but not Biden in 2020 or reported that they voted for Harris in 2024 but considered voting for Trump. † Full question text included: "...and promises to be a president for all Americans." † Full question text included: "...and a pathway to citizenship for those who meet certain criteria, including Dreamers." Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

Swing Voters Were More Concerned Harris Would Be a Continuation of the Biden-Era Economy Than Be Too Liberal

Most voters were more concerned that Harris "will be a continuation of failed economic policies" (53%) than that she "will be too liberal on the issues" (47%), while nearly three in five voters were more concerned that Trump "has an extreme second term agenda" (57%) than that "he will pass economic policies that help the rich over the middle class" (43%).



^{*&}quot;Base Harris" report that they voted for Harris and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. **"Base Trump" report that they voted for Trump and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. ***"Swing" includes all other voters. +"New Trump 2024 voters" report that they voted for Trump in 2024 but did not vote for him in 2020. Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Harris' Support of "Bidenomics" Raised the Most Legitimate Concerns With Swing Voters

Among swing voters and voters in battleground states, the most legitimate concern was that Harris "will continue Biden's economic policies" (67% raised legitimate concerns among swing, 61% in the battleground states).

Please indicate if you felt these criticisms were "over the top and exaggerated," "raised legitimate concerns," or whether you didn't hear these criticisms.

Legitimate Concerns

	Legitimate concerns	Over the top	Didn't hear	Swing*	BG states**
Harris supports "Bidenomics" and will continue Biden's economic policies	58	23	20	67	61
Trump would only cut taxes for the wealthy and big corporations	52	32	15	55	50
Harris was the "border czar" under Biden and is responsible for Biden's open border policy	52	29	18	56	56
Harris supports taxpayer-funded sex change surgeries for prisoners	50	30	20	54	56
Trump would implement the Project 2025 agenda	49	30	21	47	50
Trump would cut Social Security and Medicare	49	31	20	51	49
Trump would ban abortion nationwide	49	36	15	46	46
Harris' policies, like releasing criminals from jail, will lead to higher crime rates	48	29	23	52	52
Trump would act like a dictator and ignore the Constitution		38	15	49	47
Trump would put our national security at risk, as respected military and national security leaders have said	46	33	21	47	47
Harris would raise taxes on the middle class	44	26	30	48	48
Harris would ban gas vehicles and fracking	43	31	26	41	47

^{*&}quot;Swing" say they "seriously considered" or "briefly considered" voting for the opposing candidate. ** "Battleground states" include AZ, GA, MI, NV, NC, PA, and WI. Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



When Shown Specifics, Harris on Immigration, Refusal to Answer Questions, and Extreme Policies Led the List of Concerns

Nine in ten (90%) of those who opposed her chose at least one economic reason in their top five reasons to vote against Harris.

Table in ten (7070) of those who opposed her chose at least one decinemic reason in their te	•	*D 2020 8		Ī
[If did not vote for Harris] Which of the following are the biggest reasons for you, personally, to vo		*Base 2020 & 2024	**New &	Non-Harris
Kamala Harris	% top five reasons	Trump	Swing Trump	Swing
As Biden's "border czar," Harris supported the administration's failed open border policies+	39%	42	33	26
refuses to answer questions and be straight with people about her positions, [and] has changed her positions on major issues	36	37	32	32
supports crazy and extreme policies like providing taxpayer-funded sex-change surgeries to transgender prisoners	34	36	33 <mark></mark>	30
is weak and would never be taken seriously on the world stage, putting the U.S. and global stability more at risk	34	36	31	28
is just too extreme and far to the left	32	35	25	23
is not competent enough and has not accomplished enough to be president	31	31	30	27
would continue to give taxpayer-funded handouts to people who don't deserve it++	31	32	29	26
was not honest about Biden's ability to serve as president	25	24	29	27
was the deciding vote for policies that caused inflation and praised "Bidenomics"+++	23	25	18	19
supports extreme pro-abortion policies like late-term abortions	21	21	19	18
will ban fracking and gas vehicles and force the U.S. to be energy dependent on other countries++++	20	22	15	15
will raise taxes on everyone, including working people and the middle class	20	20	22	21
was a soft-on-crime prosecutor who let dangerous criminals go free+++++	19	19	19	19
supports taking away law-abiding Americans' guns and would chip away at the Second Amendment as president	18	18	16	15
has supported the censorship of everyday Americans by Big Tech companies and would lead a crackdown on free speech	11	11	12	13
is too pro-Palestine and would turn her back on Israel	11	12	8	11
is not progressive enough	10	8	13	14
is too pro-Israel and would continue Biden's policy of funding Israel's disastrous war in Gaza	8	5	11	15
was a tough-on-crime prosecutor who contributed to mass incarceration	5	4	7	10
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^{*&}quot;Base 2020 & 2024 Trump" report that they voted for Trump in 2020 and 2024 and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. **"New & Swing Harris" report that they voted for Trump in 2024 but not in 2020, or reported that they voted for Trump in 2024 but considered voting for Harris † Full question text included: "...and she would let millions more illegal immigrants into the country." ** Full question text included: "...including illegal immigrants and people who refuse to work." *** Full question text included: "...driving our energy and utility bills even higher." **** Full question text included: "...and the country would fall into violence and disorder if she became president." Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.



Main Reasons to Vote Against Trump Were January 6th, Project 2025, Personal Foibles Like Divisiveness, Being Unhinged, Lying

[If did not vote for Trump] Which of the following are the biggest reasons for you, personally, to vo	te <u>against Trump</u> ?	*Base 2020 & 2024	**New &	Non-Trump
Donald Trump	% top five reasons	Harris	Swing Harris	Swing
incited a violent attack on the U.S. Capitol on January $6^{ ext{th}}$, 2021 and has said he would pardon the convicted rioters	31%	33	24	23
will pursue the Project 2025 agenda, which would give the president unchecked legal power+ $$	30	32	28	21
encourages hate, division, and even political violence instead of bringing people together	30	31	27	23
is increasingly unstable and unhinged and would be even more dangerous in his second term	27	28	23	24
is a liar who spreads harmful conspiracy theories and misinformation for political gain	26	28	21	21
was convicted of 34 felony counts and is awaiting sentencing for his criminal offenses	25	25	28	23
said he would be a "dictator on day one" and called for terminating the Constitution so he could be reinstated as president	25	27	20	18
is self-centered and would put his own interests ahead of doing what is right for the country		24	22	22
Trump is a racist who has spread lies and hateful stereotypes about immigrants, even those who are here legally		26	21	14
will give billionaires and big corporations tax breaks, just like he did before		22	24	26
said he is proudly responsible for overturning <i>Roe v. Wade</i> , and he will sign a national abortion ban++	-	23	24	18
is awaiting trial for 50 felony counts, and if he wins he will never face justice for Jan. 6 th or mishandling classified documents		22	20	21
is a misogynist who has been found liable for sexual assault and has been accused of sexual misconduct by dozens of women		22	19	18
The people who worked most closely with Trump…have said he is unfit to be president again+++		20	18	18
makes the world less safe by cozying up to dictators like Putin and Kim Jong Un and damaging long-standing alliances		19	15	16
poses a threat to the future of Social Security and Medicare		17	19	20
believes climate change is a hoax and will make the crisis worse		13	16	17
would once again try to repeal the ACA, ending protections for millions of people with pre-existing conditions		14	14	16
was responsible for cruel and inhumane immigration policies, like family separation, and has promised mass deportations++++		11	13	12
supports a national sales tax in the form of import taxes that would raise costs for a typical U.S. family by nearly \$4,000 a year		10	14	15
is simply too old to be president again	11	10	13	15

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About Navigator

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Andrea Purse, progressive strategist; Arkadi Gerney, The Hub Project; Joel Payne, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Delvone Michael, Working Families; Felicia Wong, Roosevelt Institute; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

About the Study

Global Strategy Group conducted an online survey of 5,000 registered voters from October 31st through November 9th, 2024, with respondents recruited from opt-in online panel vendors. Of that 5,000, 4,784 respondents were verified against a voter file (and the other 216 were voters who said they were registering before voting if interviewed before Election Day) and special care was taken to ensure the demographic composition of the sample reflected that of the expected 2024 electorate. The vote shares for Kamala Harris, Donald Trump, House and Senate Democrats, and House and Senate Republicans were also adjusted to reflect a preliminary estimate of the vote in the 2024 election. The margin of error for the full sample at the 95 percent level of confidence is +/- 1.4 percentage points. The margin of error for subgroups varies and is higher.

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