

navigator*

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.

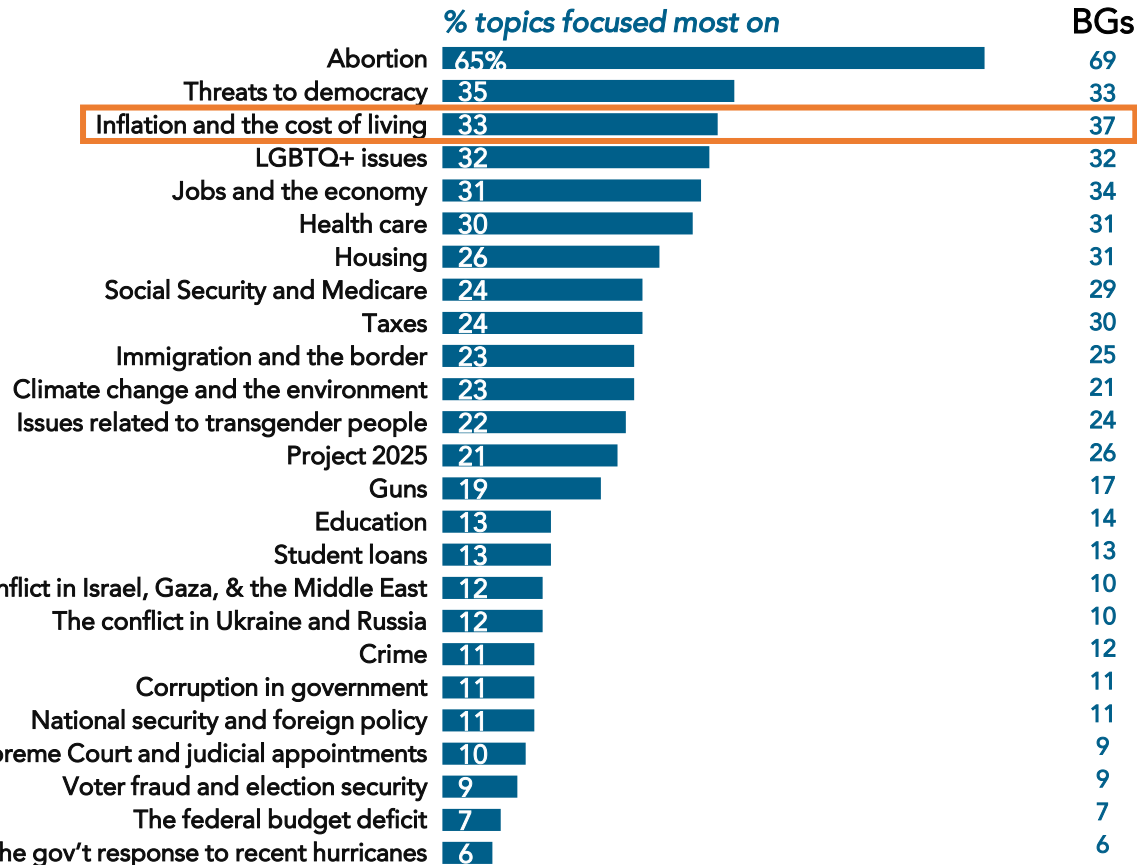
Support for Kamala Harris and Donald Trump in the presidential election, Democrats and Republicans in Senate elections, and Democrats and Republicans in House elections have been adjusted to reflect the actual expected votes as of November 9th. The analysis aims to provide a tool for Americans to understand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

Key Takeaways:

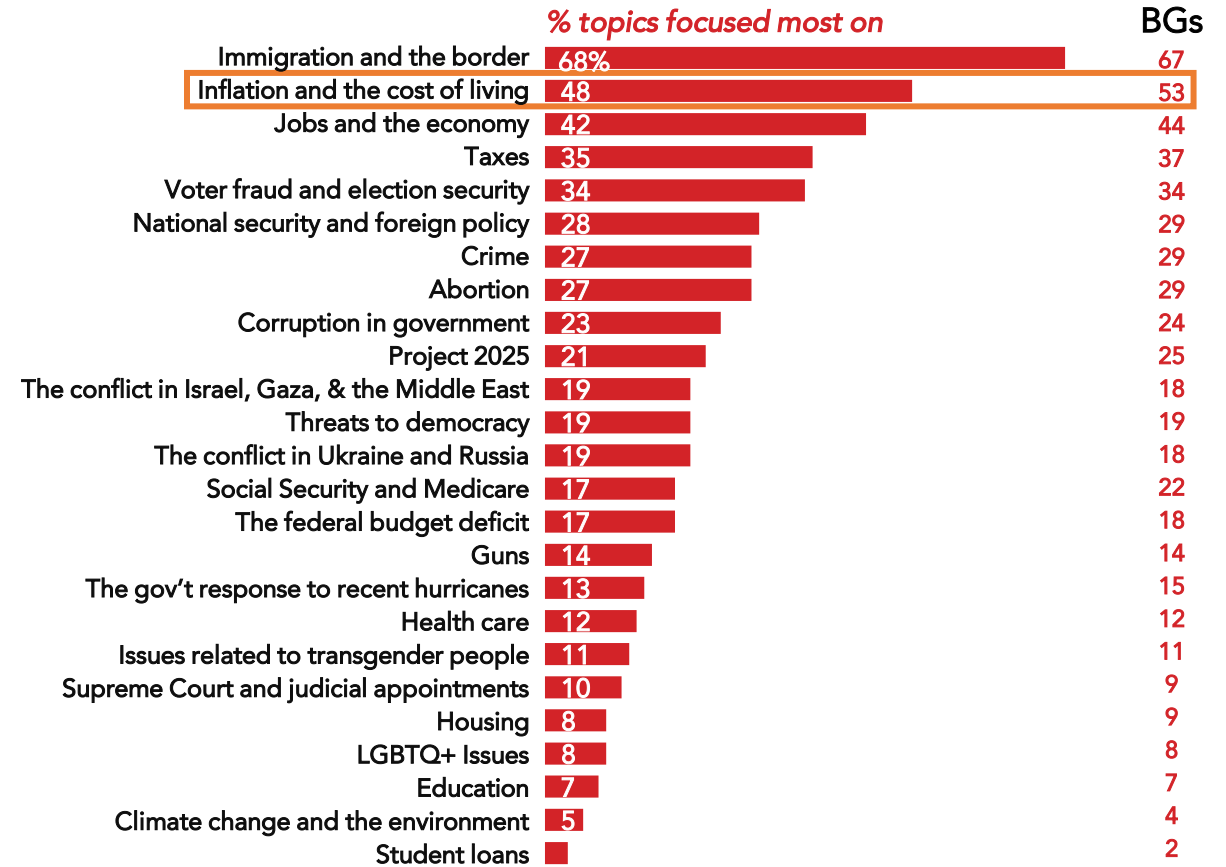
- The presidential traits most important to voters in 2024 were having a positive vision for the future, strength, and experience: Trump had the upper hand over Harris on each of these, while she led on less important values like honesty and morality.
- Trump had a major advantage, including among swing 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?

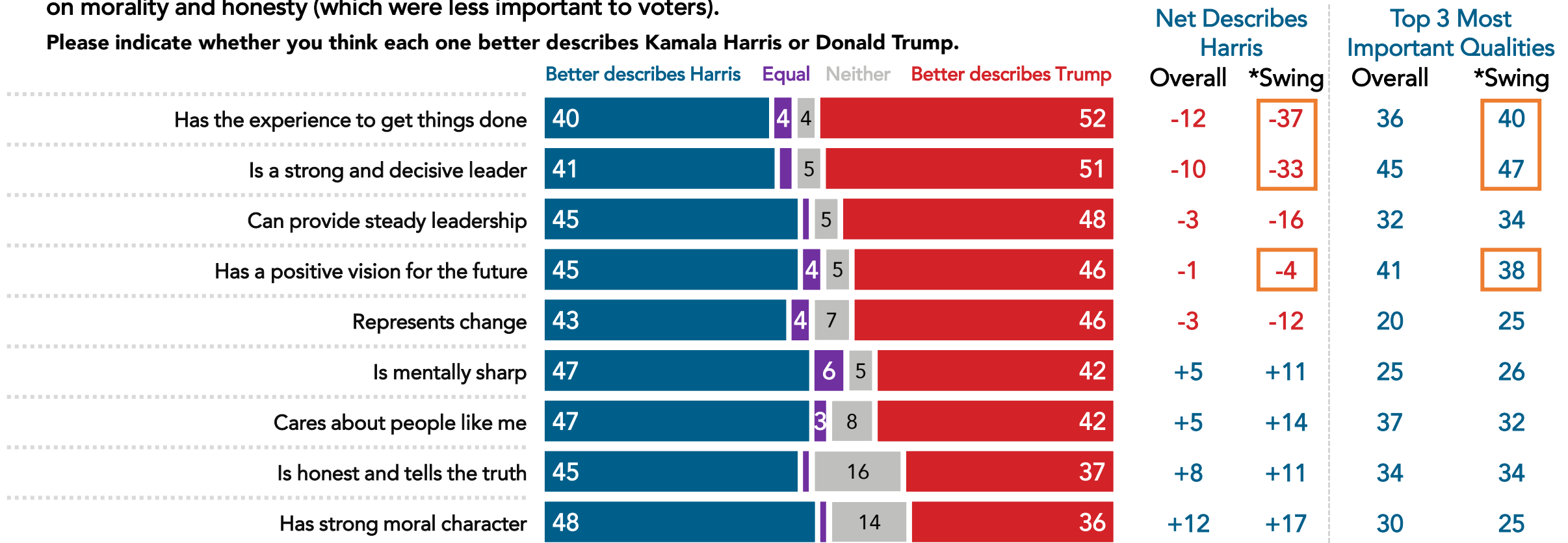


"Battleground states" or "BG" include AZ, GA, MI, NV, NC, PA, and WI.
 Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted October 31-November 9, 2024.
 For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org.

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).

Please indicate whether you think each one better describes Kamala Harris or Donald Trump.

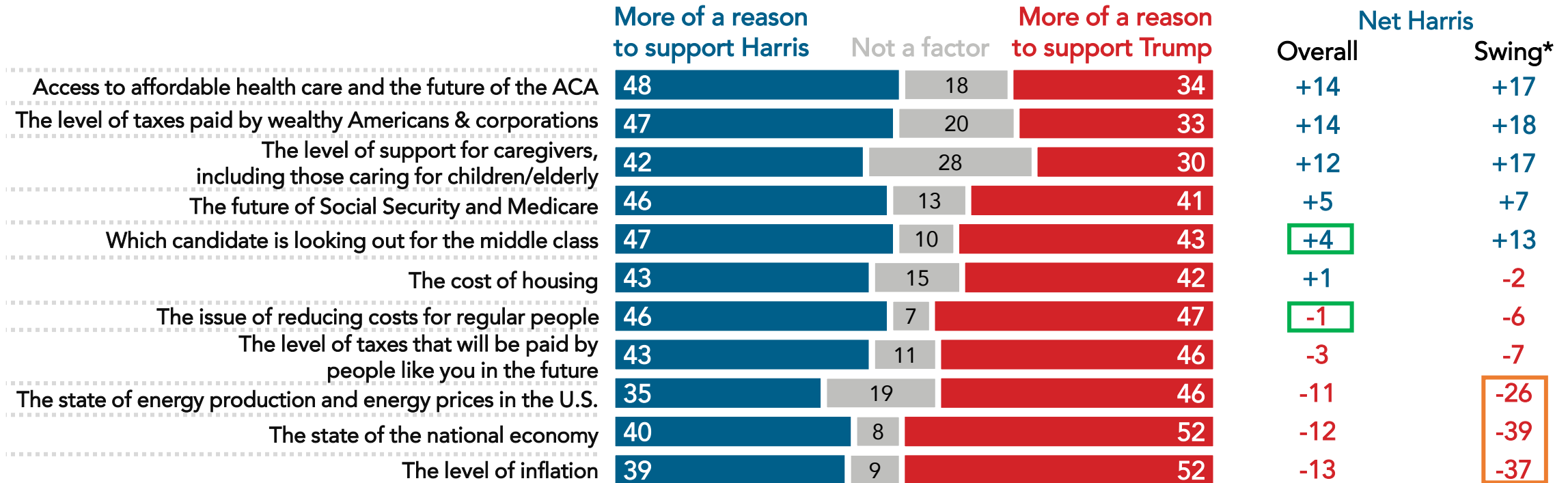


“Base Harris” report that they voted for Harris and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. “Base Trump” report that they voted for Trump and say they ruled out voting for Harris from the start. * “Swing” includes all other voters. Nationwide survey of 5,000 self-reported 2024 voters conducted 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).

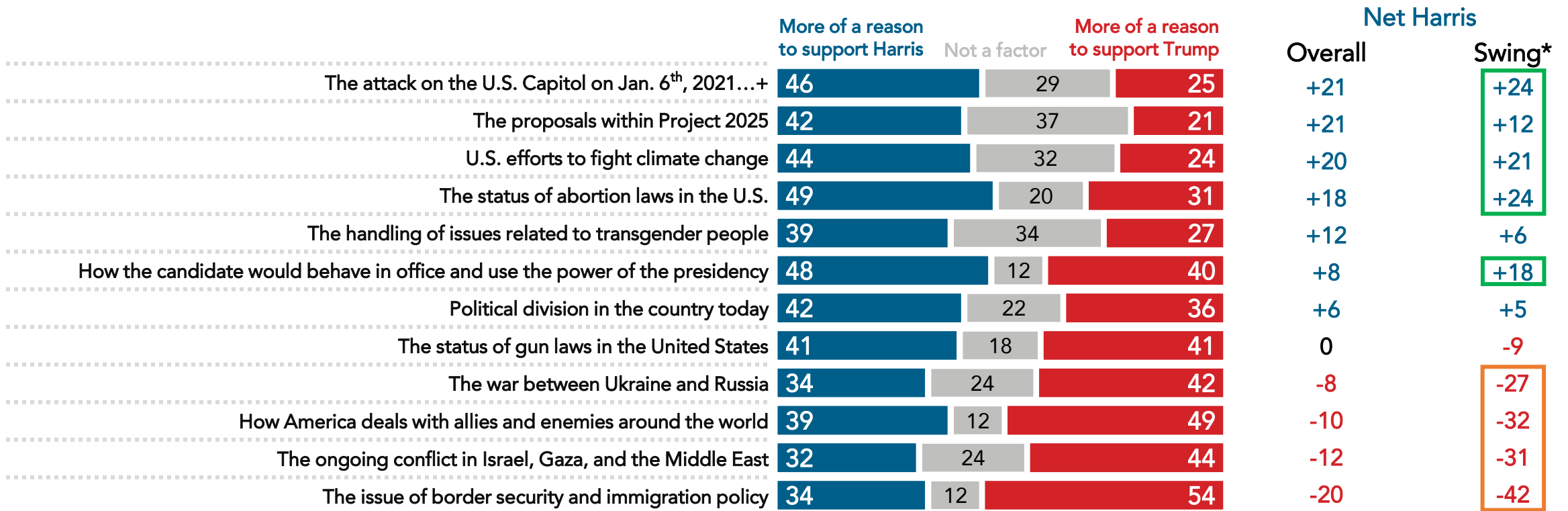
Regardless of how you voted or intend to vote, for each of the following, please indicate whether you personally consider it more of a reason for you to support **Kamala Harris**, more of a reason for you to support **Donald Trump**, or whether it is not a factor in your vote.



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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 6th (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). 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.



+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.

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

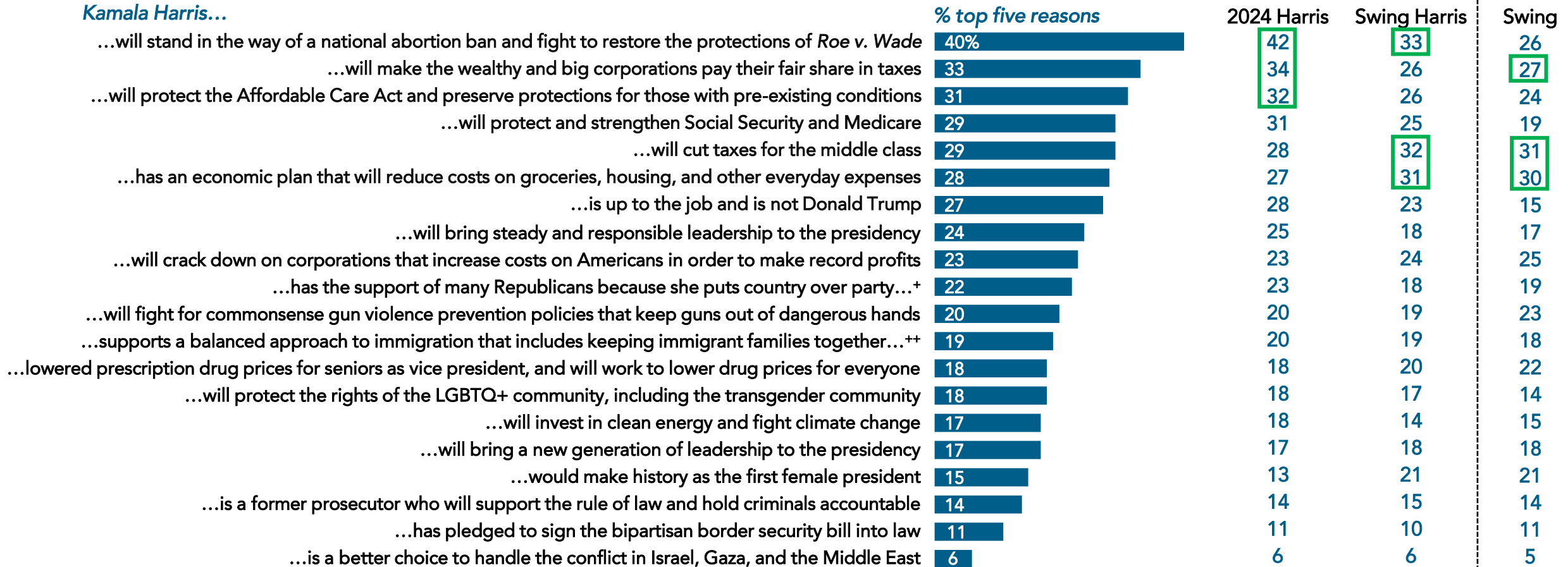
		*Base 2020 & 2024 Trump	**New & Swing Trump	Trump Swing
...will secure the border and fight illegal immigration	53%	54	48	48
...will fix our economy and get things back to the way they were when he was president last time	46	46	44	43
...is a fighter and the kind of strong leader we need as president	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	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
...returned 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

*"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: "...so the government can focus more on helping people here at home." ⁺⁺⁺⁺ 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...



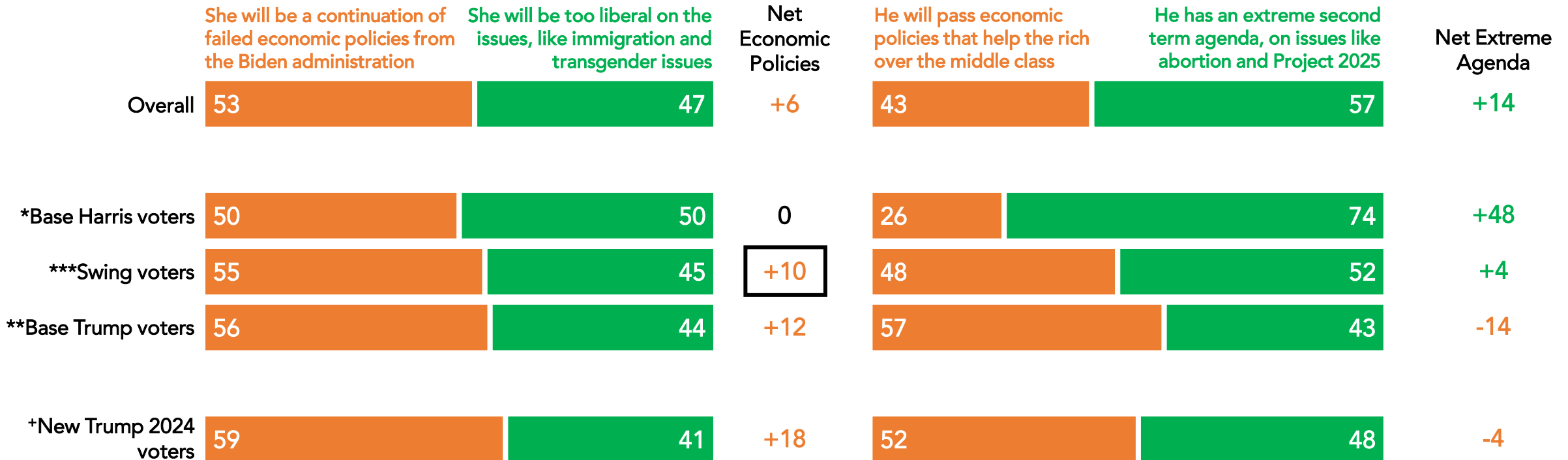
*"Base 2020 & 2024 Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 and Biden in 2020 and say they ruled out voting for Trump from the start. **"New & Swing Harris" report that they voted for Harris in 2024 but not Biden in 2020 or reported that they voted for Harris in 2024 but considered voting for 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%).

Regardless of who you support... On **Harris**, which is more concerning:

Regardless of who you support... On **Trump**, which is more concerning:

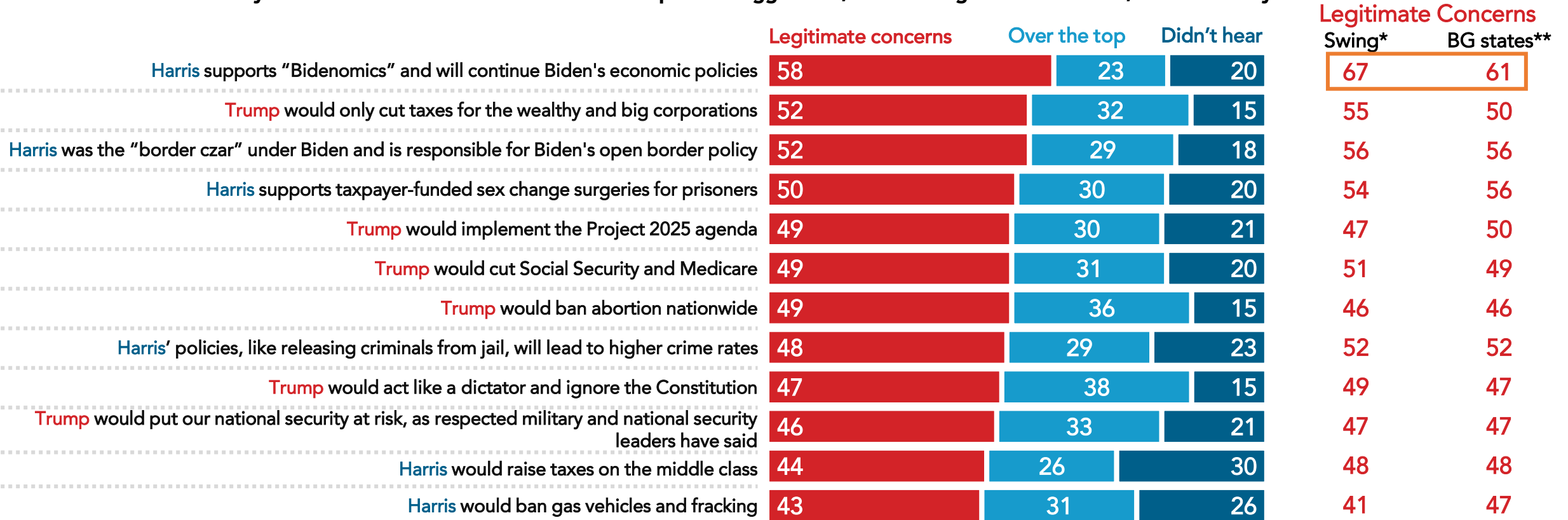


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Harris' Support of "Bidenomics" Raised the Most Legitimate Concerns With Swing Voters

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.



*"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.

[If did not vote for Harris] Which of the following are the biggest reasons for you, personally, to vote **against Harris?**

Kamala Harris...

	% top five reasons	*Base 2020 & 2024 Trump	**New & Swing Trump	Non-Harris 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	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

"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: "...instead of doing what was needed to address rising costs." + 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 vote against Trump?

Donald Trump...

	% top five reasons	*Base 2020 & 2024 Harris	**New & Swing Harris	Non-Trump Swing
...incited a violent attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6 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	24	22	22
Trump is a racist who has spread lies and hateful stereotypes about immigrants, even those who are here legally	24	26	21	14
...will give billionaires and big corporations tax breaks, just like he did before	23	22	24	26
...said he is proudly responsible for overturning <i>Roe v. Wade</i> , and he will sign a national abortion ban... ⁺⁺	23	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	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	22	19	18
The people who worked most closely with Trump...have said he is unfit to be president again ⁺⁺⁺	19	20	18	18
...makes the world less safe by cozying up to dictators like Putin and Kim Jong Un and damaging long-standing alliances	18	19	15	16
...poses a threat to the future of Social Security and Medicare	18	17	19	20
...believes climate change is a hoax and will make the crisis worse	14	13	16	17
...would once again try to repeal the ACA, ending protections for millions of people with pre-existing conditions	14	14	14	16
...was responsible for cruel and inhumane immigration policies, like family separation, and has promised mass deportations... ⁺⁺⁺⁺	12	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	11	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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To learn more about Navigator:

<http://navigatorresearch.org>

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