



# PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

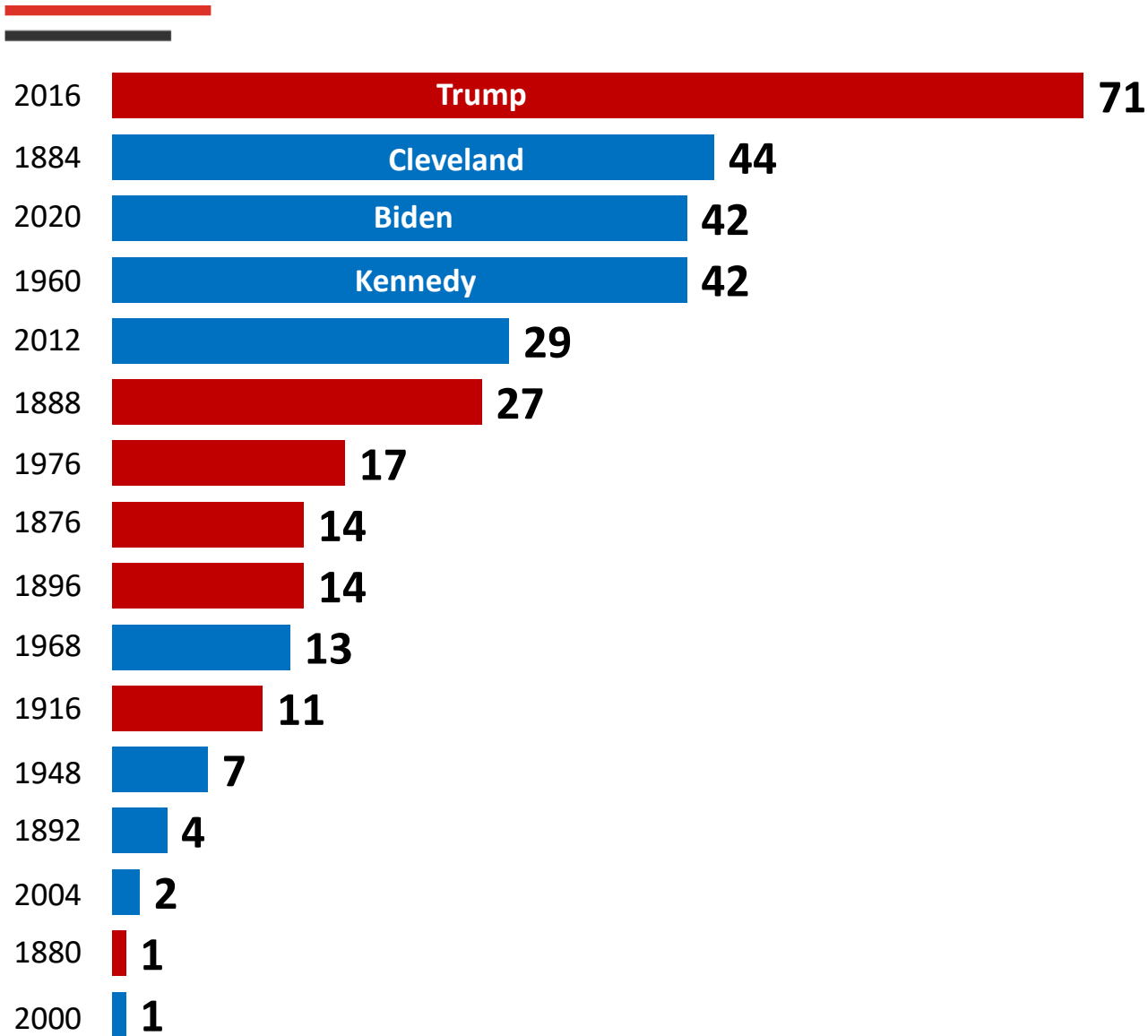
turning questions into answers



Bill McInturff, Partner

October 28, 2024

# Electoral Vote Margin in States Decided by 1.5 Points or Less



## 2016: Trump +71

Mr. Trump won the closest states by an electoral margin of 71 in 2016 – the largest margin in competitive American elections

## 2020: Biden +42

Mr. Biden won the closest states by an electoral margin of 42 in 2020 – he is tied for the third largest margin in competitive American elections



The most important – and underreported – storyline of 2024 is the shift to parity in party identification.

# Party Identification of Registered Voters – Trend



	Republican	Democrat	Net Difference
2024 (N=4,800)	42%	41%	+1%
2023 (N=6,640)	39%	41%	+2%
2022 (N=6,441)	39%	41%	+2%
2020 (N=10,300)	37%	43%	+6%
2016 (N=12,803)	37%	44%	+7%
2012 (N=11,547)	37%	46%	+9%

Republicans have chipped away at the Democratic advantage on voter registration in key battleground states.

	End of 2016	End of 2020	End of 2022	September 2024
	Net Party Advantage	Net Party Advantage	Net Party Advantage	Net Party Advantage
North Carolina	+9.3%	+5.3%	+3.7%	+1.7%
Arizona	+4.1%	+3.0%	+4.0%	+6.3%
Pennsylvania	+10.3%	+7.4%	+5.8%	+4.0%
Nevada	+6.5%	+4.8%	+3.2%	+2.2%



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Vice President Harris is facing significant national political environment headwinds:

- High wrong track
- Weak perceptions of the Biden Administration
- Limited ability to be the candidate of change

# Wrong Track – When the Incumbent Party Lost the Presidential Election

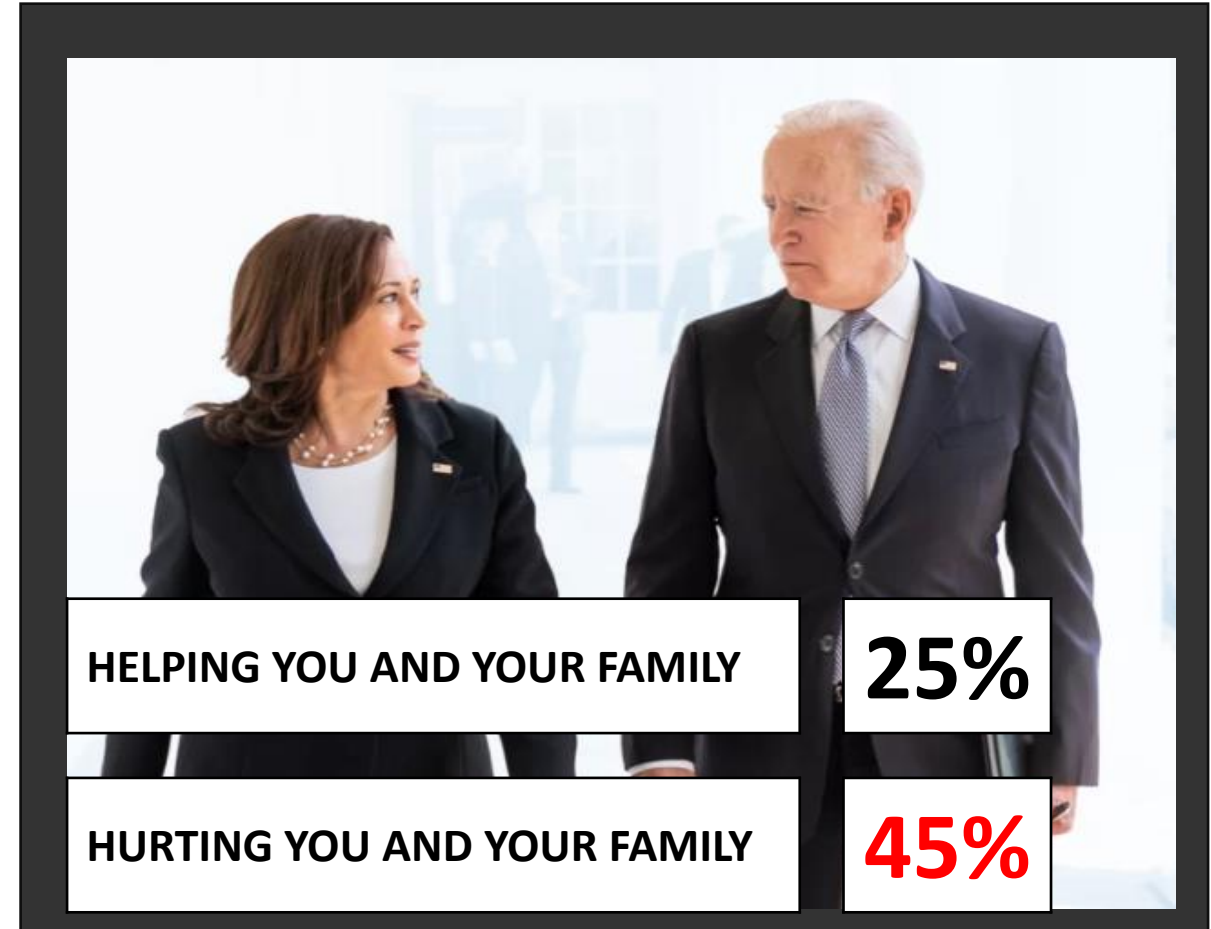
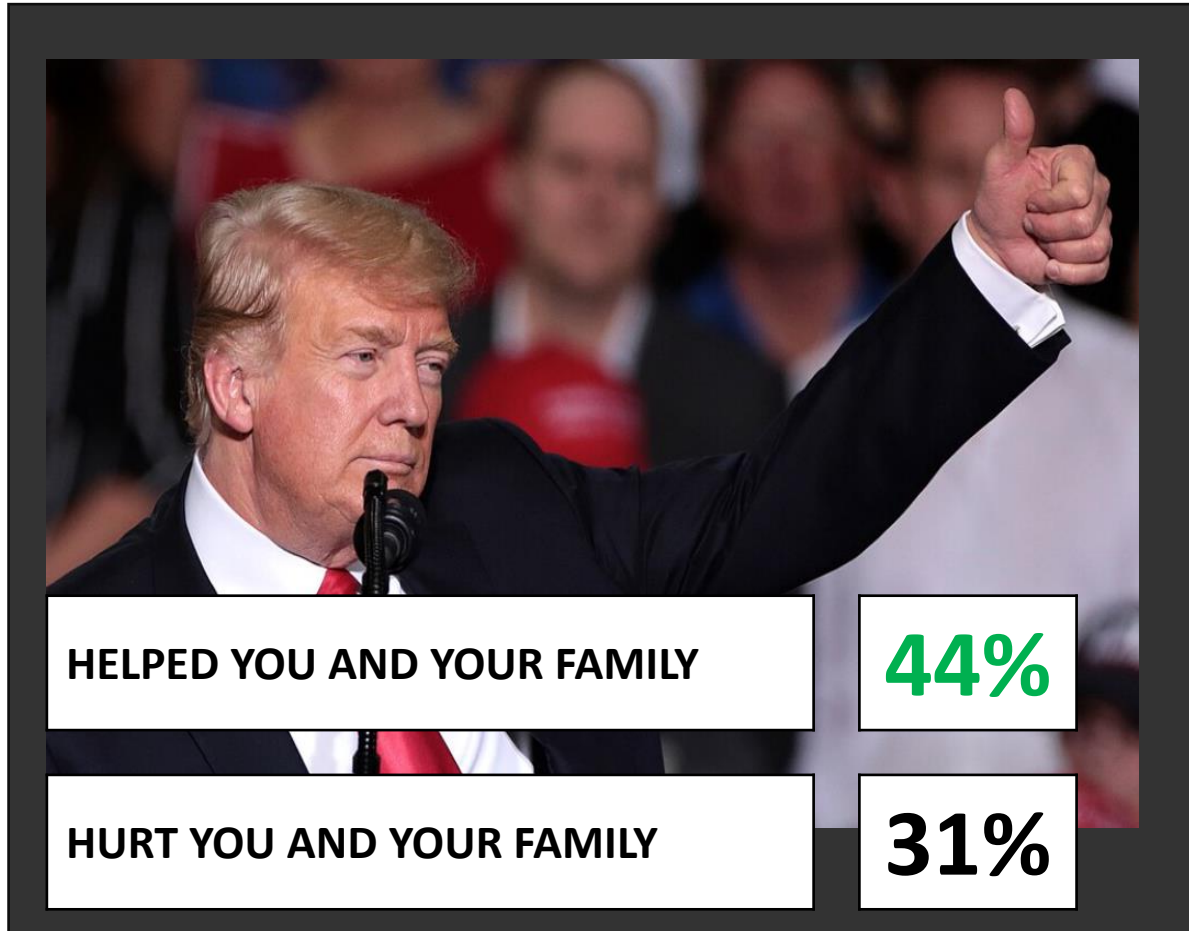


October/Election Year	Wrong Track	Incumbent Party Wins
1992	69%	47% Wrong Track*
2008	78%	
2016	65%	
2020	60%	
2024	64%	

\*Average wrong track from 1996, 2004, and 2012



Voters, including swing voters, are more likely to believe that Trump policies helped them. They take the opposite view of Biden Administration policies.



Swing Voters

**37%** – **25%**

**17%** – **41%**

When Donald Trump was president, did his Administration's policies help you and your family, hurt you and your family, or did they not make much of a difference either way?

Do you think Biden Administration policies are helping you and your family, hurting you and your family, or are they not making much of a difference either way?



Harris is a bit stuck and it is difficult for her to be the candidate of change.



*Which ONE of the following statements is of most concern to you?*

October 2024

	Total	White	Black	Latino
Kamala Harris is not the change we need as she will continue the same approach as Joe Biden.	43%	48%	16%	41%
Donald Trump is not the change we need as he will continue the same approach as his first term as president.	41%	39%	62%	36%



One more reason the election is close is each candidate has a net negative rating.




- Intense negatives for each candidate by the partisans of the other party.

# Image Ratings of Presidential Candidates in October

	Republican Candidate		
	Positive	Negative	Net Difference
1992	34%	52%	-18%
1996	40%	38%	+2%
2000	53%	30%	+23%
2004	50%	44%	+6%
2008	43%	39%	+4%
2012	43%	44%	-1%
2016	29%	62%	-33%
2020	42%	53%	-11%

Democratic Candidate		
Positive	Negative	Net Difference
51%	34%	+17%
54%	33%	+21%
49%	37%	+12%
44%	43%	+1%
52%	35%	+17%
49%	43%	+6%
40%	50%	-10%
43%	42%	+1%

Highest Net Positive
Clinton
Clinton
Bush
Bush
Obama
Obama
Clinton
Biden

 September 2024	40%	53%	-13%
 Early October 2024	43%	51%	-8%
 Late October 2024	41%	48%	-7%

48%	45%	+3%
43%	49%	-6%
40%	49%	-9%

Harris
Margin of Error Difference
Margin of Error Difference

# Measuring Intensity: Republicans' unfavorable rating of Harris and Democrats' unfavorable rating of Trump are *higher* than they are for Putin!

Favorability of Harris, Trump, and Putin by Party



	Harris		Trump		Putin	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Republicans	11%	89%	89%	11%	11%	77%
Democrats	89%	9%	8%	89%	5%	87%

*Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable opinion of the following people?*



In an unpredictable year, two candidates with net negative ratings puts a damper on self-described interest in the election.

- Core Democratic groups are going to need heavier persuasion to turn out to vote.

# Interest in the Election: A Look at Mid-October



October	% 9/10 Interest in the Election
<b>2024</b>	<b>74%</b>
<b>2020</b>	<b>80%</b>
<b>2016</b>	<b>72%</b>
<b>2012</b>	<b>77%</b>
<b>2008</b>	<b>87%</b>
<b>2004</b>	<b>82%</b>

Groups that Are Tied or at the Lowest Level of Interest in a Track in Mid-October	
<b>Ages 18-34</b>	<b>49%</b>
<b>Independents</b>	<b>51%</b>
<b>Men Ages 18-49</b>	<b>57%</b>
<b>Black Voters</b>	<b>64%</b>
<b>Women Ages 18-49</b>	<b>64%</b>
<b>Ages 35-49</b>	<b>72%</b>



The race is tied.

There are incredibly interesting dynamics  
below the tied ballot number.



# Presidential Election – Ballot Margin

	Day Before Biden Withdrawal (July 20, 2024)	Day before DNC Convention (August 18, 2024)	Eight Days After Presidential Debate (September 18, 2024)	Today (October 29, 2024)
<b>National</b>	<b>+3%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+2%</b>	<b>+0.1%</b>
<b>Arizona</b>	<b>+6%</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+1.5%</b>
<b>Georgia</b>	<b>+4%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+2.3%</b>
<b>Michigan</b>	<b>+2%</b>	<b>+2%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+0.2%</b>
<b>Nevada</b>	<b>+5%</b>	<b>+1%*</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>+0.7%</b>
<b>North Carolina</b>	<b>+4%*</b>	<b>-0-*</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>+0.8%</b>
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	<b>+5%</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>+0.4%</b>
<b>Wisconsin</b>	<b>+4%</b>	<b>+2%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+0.3%</b>

# NBC News 2016 & 2020 Exit Polls Compared to the July-September-October 2024 Merge



NBC News 2016 Exit Polls

	Trump	Clinton	Net Diff
Men	52%	41%	+11%
Women	41%	54%	+13%
White Voters	57%	37%	+20%
Black Voters	8%	89%	+81%
Hispanic/Latino Voters	28%	66%	+38%
Ages 18-29	36%	55%	+19%
Ages 30-44	41%	51%	+10%
Ages 45-64	52%	44%	+8%
Ages 65+	52%	45%	+7%
White Men <Coll	71%	23%	+48%
White Men Coll+	53%	39%	+14%
White Women <Coll	61%	34%	+27%
White Women Coll+	44%	51%	+7%
Democrats*	8%	89%	+81%
Independents*	46%	42%	+4%
Republicans*	88%	8%	+80%

NBC News 2020 Exit Polls

	Trump	Biden	Net Diff
	53%	45%	+8%
	42%	57%	+15%
	58%	41%	+17%
	12%	87%	+75%
	32%	65%	+33%
	36%	60%	+24%
	46%	52%	+6%
	50%	49%	+1%
	52%	47%	+5%
	70%	28%	+42%
	51%	48%	+3%
	63%	36%	+27%
	45%	54%	+9%
	5%	94%	+89%
	41%	54%	+13%
	94%	6%	+88%

July-September-October 2024 Merge

	Trump	Harris	Net Diff
	54%	39%	+15%
	40%	55%	+15%
	54%	41%	+13%
	11%	82%	+71%
	40%	53%	+13%
	39%	54%	+15%
	42%	50%	+8%
	52%	43%	+9%
	50%	46%	+4%
	68%	26%	+42%
	47%	46%	+1%
	59%	37%	+22%
	34%	63%	+29%
	5%	94%	+89%
	43%	47%	+4%
	94%	3%	+91%



All time high for Trump

All time high for Democratic candidate

\*Party is shown off Party ID II where Leaners are merged with Independents

# NBC News 2016 & 2020 Exit Polls Compared to the July-September-October 2024 Merge



NBC News 2016 Exit Polls

	Trump	Clinton	Net Diff
White Men	62%	31%	+31%
White Women	52%	43%	+9%
Less Than College	51%	44%	+7%
College Graduate	42%	52%	+10%
White <College	66%	29%	+37%
White College+	48%	45%	+3%
Voters of Color <College	20%	76%	+56%
Voters of Color College+	22%	72%	+50%
Conservatives	81%	16%	+65%
Moderates	40%	52%	+12%
Liberals	10%	84%	+74%

NBC News 2020 Exit Polls

	Trump	Biden	Net Diff
	61%	38%	+23%
	55%	44%	+11%
	50%	48%	+2%
	43%	55%	+12%
	67%	32%	+35%
	48%	51%	+3%
	26%	72%	+46%
	27%	70%	+43%
	85%	14%	+71%
	34%	64%	+30%
	10%	89%	+79%

July-September-October 2024 Merge

	Trump	Harris	Net Diff
	61%	33%	+28%
	48%	48%	-0-
	55%	39%	+16%
	34%	61%	+27%
	63%	32%	+31%
	40%	56%	+16%
	32%	59%	+27%
	19%	75%	+56%
	87%	9%	+78%
	35%	57%	+22%
	6%	91%	+85%

# Actual Ballot Margins in the States Compared to the July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot Margin

<i>Ballot Margins</i>	<b>Core Trump States (32%)</b>	<b>Competitive States* (29%)</b>	<b>Core Clinton/Biden States (39%)</b>
<b>July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot**</b>	<b>+17%</b>	<b>-0-</b>	<b>+16%</b>
<b>2020 Actual Ballot Margin</b>	<b>+16%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+24%</b>
<b>2016 Actual Ballot Margin</b>	<b>+18%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+22%</b>

\*Competitive States: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin

\*\*The merged July data were when Harris was a hypothetical candidate

# Actual Ballot Margins in the Different County Types Compared to the July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot Margin

<i>Ballot Margins</i>	Urban Core (25%)	Urban Ring (21%)	Outer Burbs (41%)	Rural (13%)
July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot*	+31%	+22%	+18%	+36%
2020 Actual Ballot Margin	+35%	+22%	+9%	+37%
2016 Actual Ballot Margin	+37%	+19%	+12%	+36%

\*The merged July data were when Harris was a hypothetical candidate



**Outer Suburbs Counties** (~41% of Adult Pop) –  
 This category includes 1,105 geographic areas spread throughout the country. These areas include a mix of “middle America” communities that are not as close to the Urban Core areas. They are, as a result, older and less ethnically diverse than those urban areas. But, they are not as old and White as rural areas. The Outer Suburb areas include larger counties like Yuma, AZ, Macomb, MI, Bucks, PA, and Kenosha, WI. Within this category about 120 of the 1,105 geographic areas account for 40% of these Outer Burbs.



More on the role of gender and  
gender/education.

## Democratic pollster Celinda Lake on the impact of gender in this election...



*“We’ve got to win women by more than we lose men but, it’s real Whac-A-Mole. You’ve got to keep men sullen but not mutinous, and you’ve got to win women enthusiastically.”*



Women have voted for the Democratic candidate over the Republican candidate for president in every election since 1980.



	Men	Women	Net Margin Difference
July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot	<b>+15</b>	<b>+15</b>	<b>30</b>
2020 NBC News Exit Poll	<b>+8</b>	<b>+15</b>	<b>23</b>
2016 NBC News Exit Poll	<b>+13</b>	<b>+12</b>	<b>25</b>
2012 NBC News Exit Poll	<b>+7</b>	<b>+11</b>	<b>18</b>
2008 NBC News Exit Poll	<b>+1</b>	<b>+13</b>	<b>12</b>

Republican Advantage

Democratic Advantage

# Think the gender gap is wide? Look at the gender/education gap!

<i>July-September-October 2024 Merge Ballot</i>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Harris</b>	<b>Net Difference</b>
Total	<b>47%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>-0-</b>
Men	<b>54%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>+15%</b>
Women	<b>40%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>+15%</b>
Men <College	<b>61%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>+29%</b>
Men College+	<b>41%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>+11%</b>
Women <College	<b>48%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Women College+	<b>28%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>+40%</b>
<b>Gender Gap</b>	<b>Net 30 Points</b>		
<b>Men Education Gap</b>	<b>Net 40 Points</b>		
<b>Women Education Gap</b>	<b>Net 41 Points</b>		



Swing voters are roughly 20% of the electorate. They are younger, Independents, moderates, and voters of color.

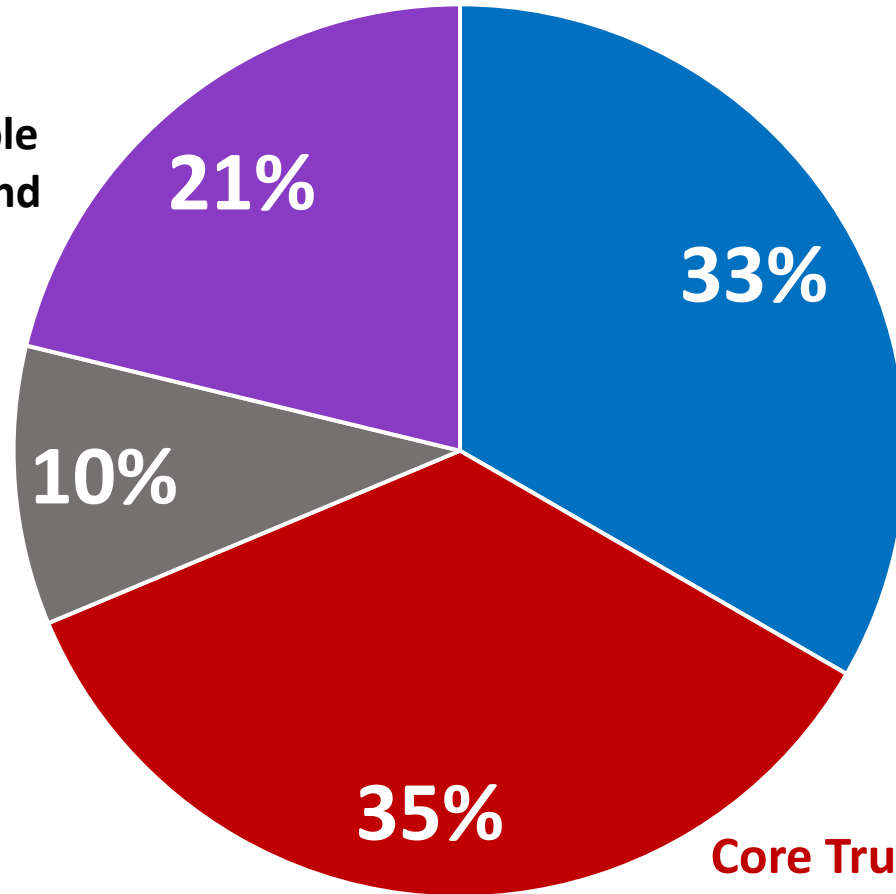
- On our last track, they moved from saying they supported Biden in 2020 to now supporting Trump in 2024.

# Trump Era Voter Segmentation

We segmented voters into four groups based on their response to how they voted for president in 2016, 2020, and the ballot test for 2024.

## Swing Voters (21%):

Balance of 2016/2020/2024 eligible voters (including those who did and did not vote in these elections)



## Core Democratic Voters (33%):

Those who voted for Clinton in 2016, Biden in 2020, and plan to vote for Harris in 2024.

## Too Young to Vote (10%):

Those who were too young to vote for either Trump or Clinton in 2016 or 2020.

## Core Trump Voters (35%):

Those who voted for Trump in 2016, 2020, and plan to vote for him in 2024.

# 2020 Recalled Ballot and October 2024 Ballot Among Swing Voters

Demographic Profile: Swing Voters (21%)	
Independents	51%
Persuadables	46%
Biden: Somewhat Disapprove	44%
Men Ages 18-49	32%
Moderates	32%
Ages 35-49	30%
Voters of Color Middle Class	30%
Non-MAGA GOP	29%
Voters of Color	29%
Soft Republicans	28%
Ages 18-34	28%
Soft Democrats	26%
Poor/Working Class	25%
Women Ages 18-49	25%
Urban Core Counties	25%
Men College+	25%



2020  
Recalled Vote

2024  
Planned Vote

45%

38%

26%

45%

+19%

+7%

2024 Ballot – 10% Too Young to Vote		
Trump	Harris	Net Difference
36%	53%	+17%



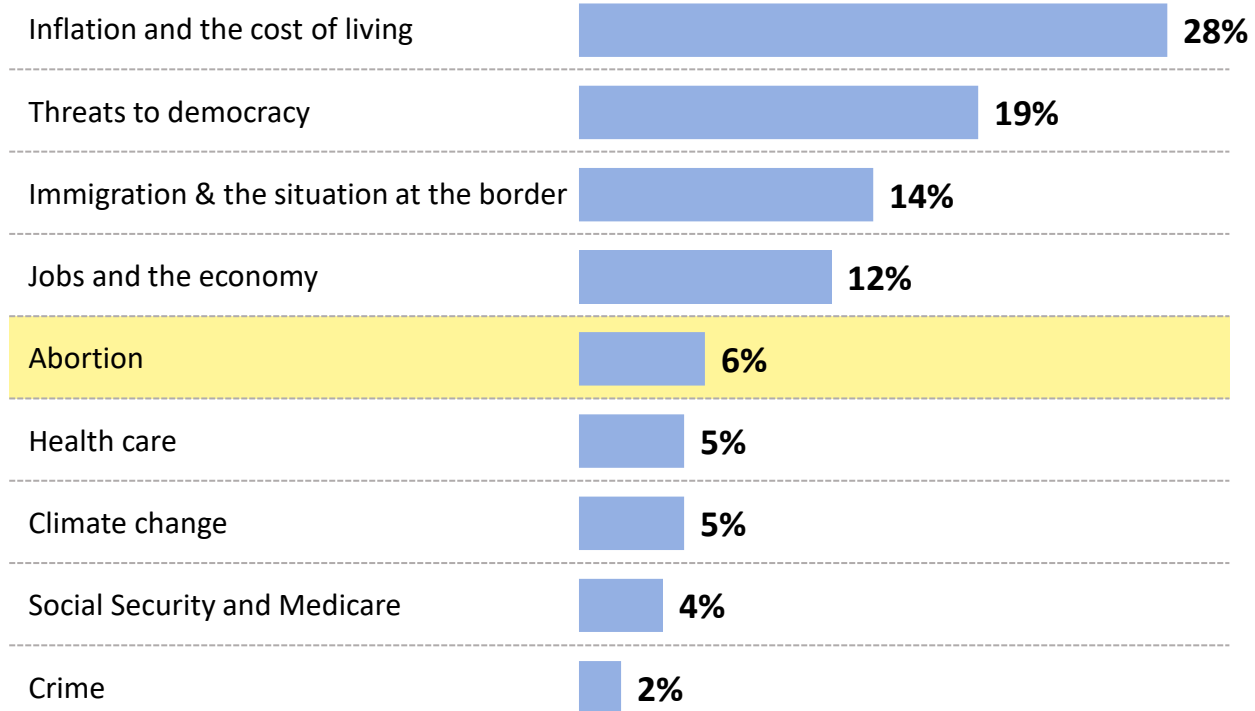
The importance of abortion is underrepresented when asked as part of a list of most important issues facing the country. More voters choose abortion as the single issue to decide their vote if they agree or disagree with the candidate's position.

# Issue Importance by How the Questions Were Asked



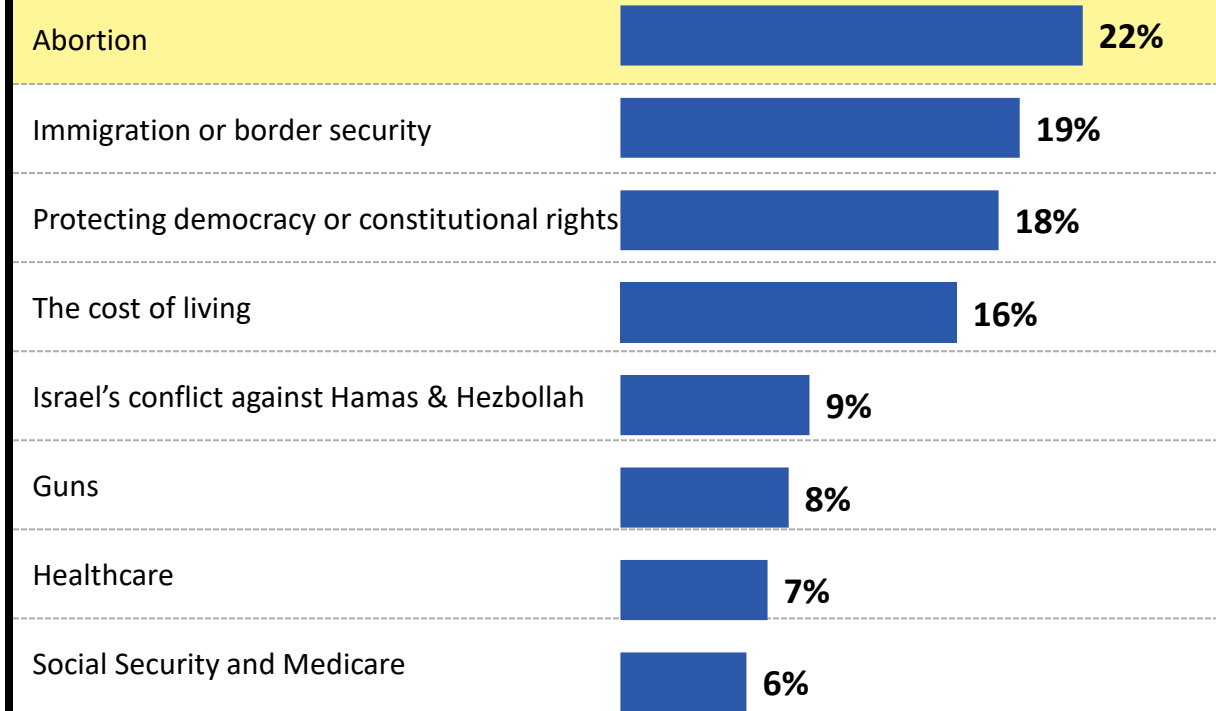
*When asked the most important issue facing the country*

## September 2024



*When asked what is the single issue that will decide your vote for or against a candidate*

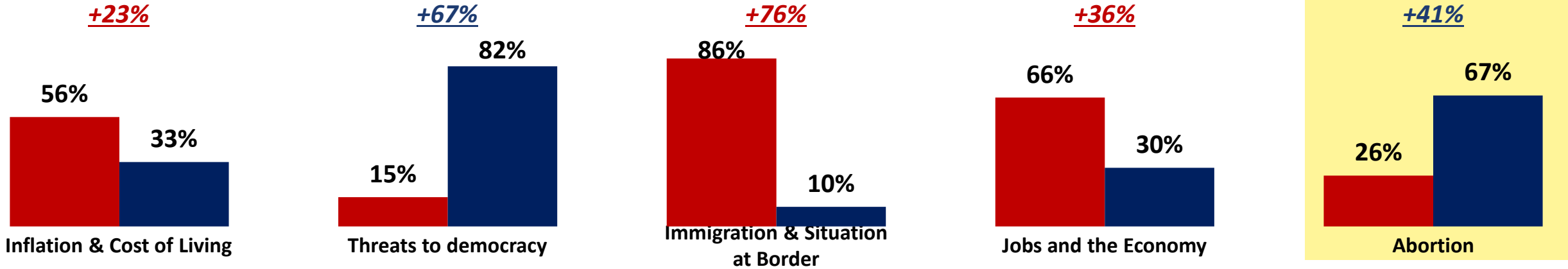
## October 2024



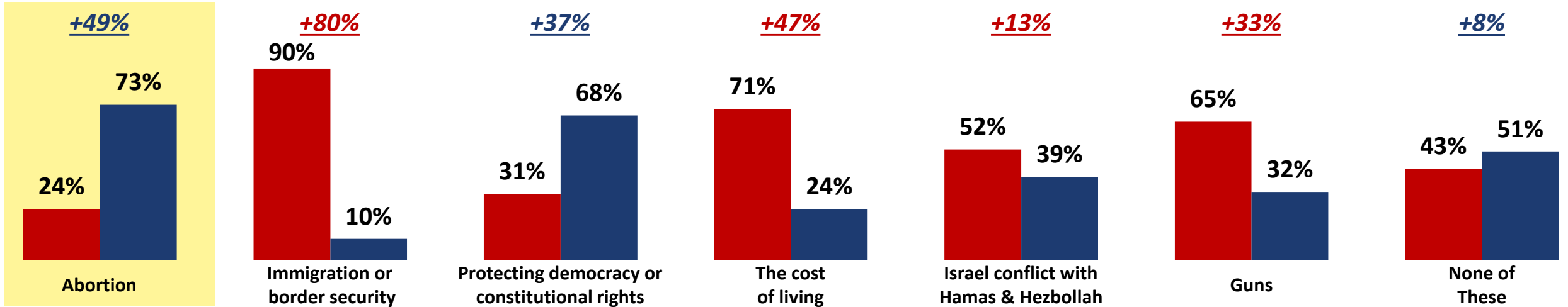


# Ballots by Different Issue Questions

## When asked the most important issue facing the country (September)



## When asked what is the single issue that will decide your vote for or against a candidate (October)



■ Total Trump ■ Total Harris



Where the playing field is *not* even... there is a massive Democratic edge in resources.

# 2024 Presidential Ad Spending (Candidate and Allies Combined)

<i>Dollars in Millions</i>	Trump and Allies	Biden/Harris and Allies	Net Difference
Trump vs. Biden (1/1 – 7/20)	\$76	\$262	- \$186
Trump vs. Harris (7/21 – 10/21)	\$641	\$1,050	- \$409
Final 2 Weeks (10/22 – 11/5)	\$133	\$182	- \$49
<b>Total Spending</b>	<b>\$850</b>	<b>\$1,494</b>	<b>- \$644</b>



The final Republican margin in the U.S. Senate is heavily dependent on if Trump wins the election. If Trump wins, the number of Republican senators could be higher than has been assumed by the political community.

Ticket-splitting has disappeared. If Trump wins, he could certainly carry a number of new Republican senators with him.



Percentage of Split Ticket Voters

	President/ U.S. Senate	President/ U.S. House
2008 Exit Poll	N/A	9%
2012 Exit Poll	5%	6%
2016 Exit Poll	7%	6%
2020 AP VoteCast	2%	4%

# Key Senate Races – Ballot Margin

	Overall Margins (October 29, 2024)	Democratic Ballot Percentage (October 29, 2024)
Arizona	+6%	51%
Michigan	+3%	48%
Montana	+6%	45%
Nevada	+4%	48%
Ohio	+1%	47%
Pennsylvania	+1%	47%
Wisconsin	+1%	48%
West Virginia*	+34%	28%



\*Data are from 538

Republican Ballot Advantage	Democrat Ballot Advantage
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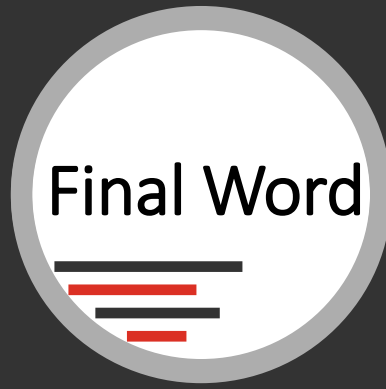
## Looking Ahead to Election Day...



*Our “crystal ball” seems a bit more fuzzy than usual. “Unpredictable” does not quite capture what’s happened over the past few months!*







# 2024 and the Taylor Swift Impact

# Feelings Toward Taylor Swift Pre vs. Post Harris Endorsement



## November 2023 (Pre-Harris Endorsement)

	Positive	Negative	Net Difference
<b>All Voters</b>	40%	16%	+24%
<b>Democrats</b>	53%	5%	+48%
<b>Independents</b>	34%	13%	+21%
<b>Republicans</b>	28%	26%	+2%

## September 2024 (Post-Harris Endorsement)

	Positive	Negative	Net Difference
<b>All Voters</b>	33%	27%	+6%
<b>Democrats</b>	58%	8%	+50%
<b>Independents</b>	26%	22%	+5%
<b>Republicans</b>	12%	47%	<b>-35%</b>

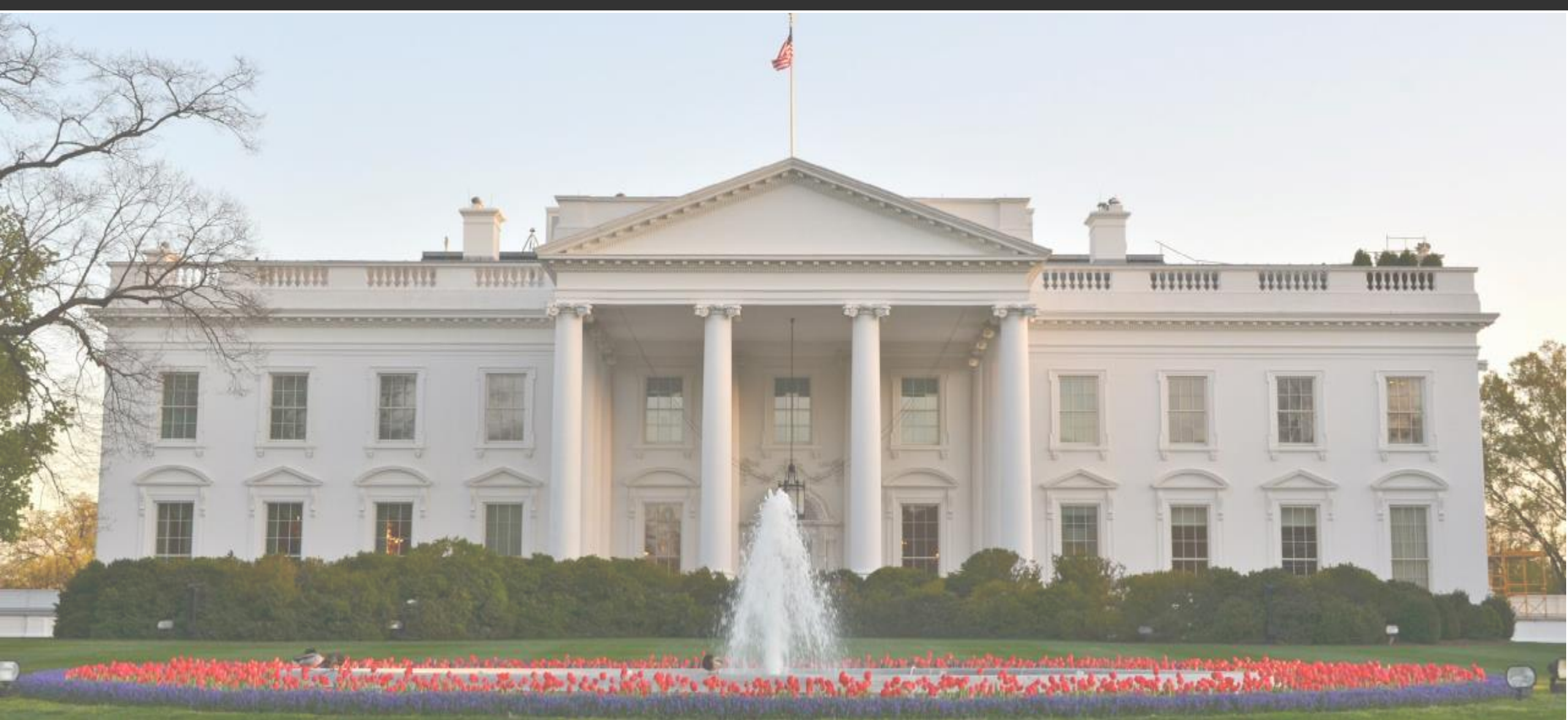


# PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

turning questions into answers

Bill McInturff

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*Appendix*

Over half of Americans hope to see a woman elected President of the United States in their lifetime.

*Do you personally hope that the United States elects a woman President of the United States in your lifetime?*

	Total	GOP	IND	Dem
%Yes	56%	25%	49%	89%

# Abortion & Reproductive Rights on the 2024 Ballot



Abortion Already on Ballot
Arizona
Colorado
Florida
Maryland
Missouri
Montana
Nebraska
Nevada
New York
South Dakota

**39%** Support Federal Abortion Ban\*

**58%** Oppose Federal Abortion Ban\*

 = swing state or a congressional district with an electoral vote

\*Ban at 15 weeks

Over six-in-ten voters are opposed to men who have transitioned competing in women's sports. And 75% of voters say Trump shares this view.

Do you support or oppose men who have transitioned to women competing in women's sports?

Do you think Kamala Harris/Donald Trump supports or opposes men who have transitioned to women competing in women's sports?

	Total	GOP	IND	Dem
Support	19%	10%	13%	32%
Oppose	64%	82%	67%	44%
Difference	-45%	-72%	-54%	-12%

	Harris	Trump
Supports	58%	9%
Opposes	13%	75%
Difference	+45%	-66%