



GREENBERG RESEARCH

The Meaning of Trump's Victory

Post-election Survey, November 2024

YouGov Blue



Sample methodology

- Democracy Corps conducted a web survey with 2,357 voters from November 14 to November 22, in the presidential, House seats and US Senate battlegrounds for the 2024 general election. The data include a **base sample** of 1,296 registered voters representative of the battleground states and Congressional districts overall, with oversamples of 528 Black voters, 503 Hispanic voters, and 314 Asian American or Pacific Islander voters. The oversample data are statistically weighted to ensure the sample's regional, age, and gender composition reflects that of projected 2024 general election voters in the collective battleground.

<u>Presidential</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Congressional</u>					
Arizona	Arizona	AZ-01	CA-45	FL-27	NC-13	OR-05	WI-01
Georgia	Michigan	AZ-06	CA-47	IA-01	NM-02	OH-13	WI-03
Maine	Montana	CA-03	CA-49	IA-03	NJ-07	PA-01	
Michigan	Nevada	CA-09	CO-03	IL-17	NY-01	PA-10	
New Hampshire	Ohio	CA-13	CO-08	MI-10	NY-03	PA-07	
Nevada	Pennsylvania	CA-22	CT-05	MI-07	NY-04	PA-08	
North Carolina	Wisconsin	CA-27	FL-05	MT-01	NY-17	TX-15	
Pennsylvania		CA-40	FL-09	NE-02	NY-19	VA-07	
Wisconsin		CA-41	FL-13	NC-06	NY-22	VA-02	



Key Findings - 1

- This was a change election that was made amazingly close by voters wanting the middle class to govern, not the richest and for women to have equal rights. Harris ran an effective campaign that ran well with white unmarried women, women college graduates, Asians, and Cheney conservatives.
- Trump won above all because of the border out of control and wanting him to deport the undocumented. Also, because of the economy and his economy “being good for me,” and calling out “woke,” liberal policies, including promoting transgender “operations” and “participation in sports.” He dominated which candidate was better on the border and immigration, every policy issue issue, including China, and who was a “strong leader.” President Biden’s high disapproval created strong headwinds with white working class voters, Hispanics, and millennials.
- Trump and House Republicans gained and tipped the election at the end by shifting key parts of the Democratic base – white Gen Z voters, Hispanics and Blacks, particularly, the men and those under 45 years. One in ten voters decided in the last week, and a majority of those under 45 voted on Election Day.



Key Findings - 2

- The Democrats' priorities in government and the last three elections with Trump made it key to champion the middle class and its priorities at this key juncture. They wanted safe communities with less violent crime, not open borders with competition for public services. They wanted the richest to not have so much power. They wanted help with the cost of living and opportunity for their kids. Look at the intense support taxing billionaires, the expanded monthly Child Tax Credit, and getting monopolies making super profits to help with high prices.
- This election was lost by Democrats because of their weak support with Hispanics, white Gen Z voters, and younger and Black men.
- The elite, activists, and leadership of the key groups are just not able to see what these voters really care about. It is most marked for Hispanics. They are the group most angered by current immigration policies and most in support of deporting the undocumented. They want education to provide opportunity for their kids, and they see Democrats prioritizing non-gender bathrooms and transgender participating in public school sports.



Key Findings - 3

- White Gen Z and voters under 30 flagged as a reason to vote for Harris “her help with the cost of living, like the monthly Child Tax Credit, the cost of housing and small business.” But they were intensely opposed to transgender participation in sports and were clearly impacted by Trump's closing campaign.
- Blacks, especially the men and under 45 years, were the voters most concerned with violent crime and not police excess and angry at the flood of undocumented immigrants. They were also uncomfortable with transgender policies. But they were most upset about the excess power held by the big corporations and the voters who gave the highest priority to the Child Tax Credit. They did not hear those priorities from Democrats.
- The result: the Democratic Party gets its most “Fs” on “citizens having priority over non-citizens,” “listening to you, not the elites,” and “sharing your values.”
- This poll showed 4 percent of Trump voters switched their vote to Harris if they heard messages that I tested during the election and shared publicly. She would have won comfortably. One said Hispanics are a priority to me, one addressed crime and the other, the border. The overall message spoke of empowering the middle class, with reassurances on crime and the border.



Key Findings - 4

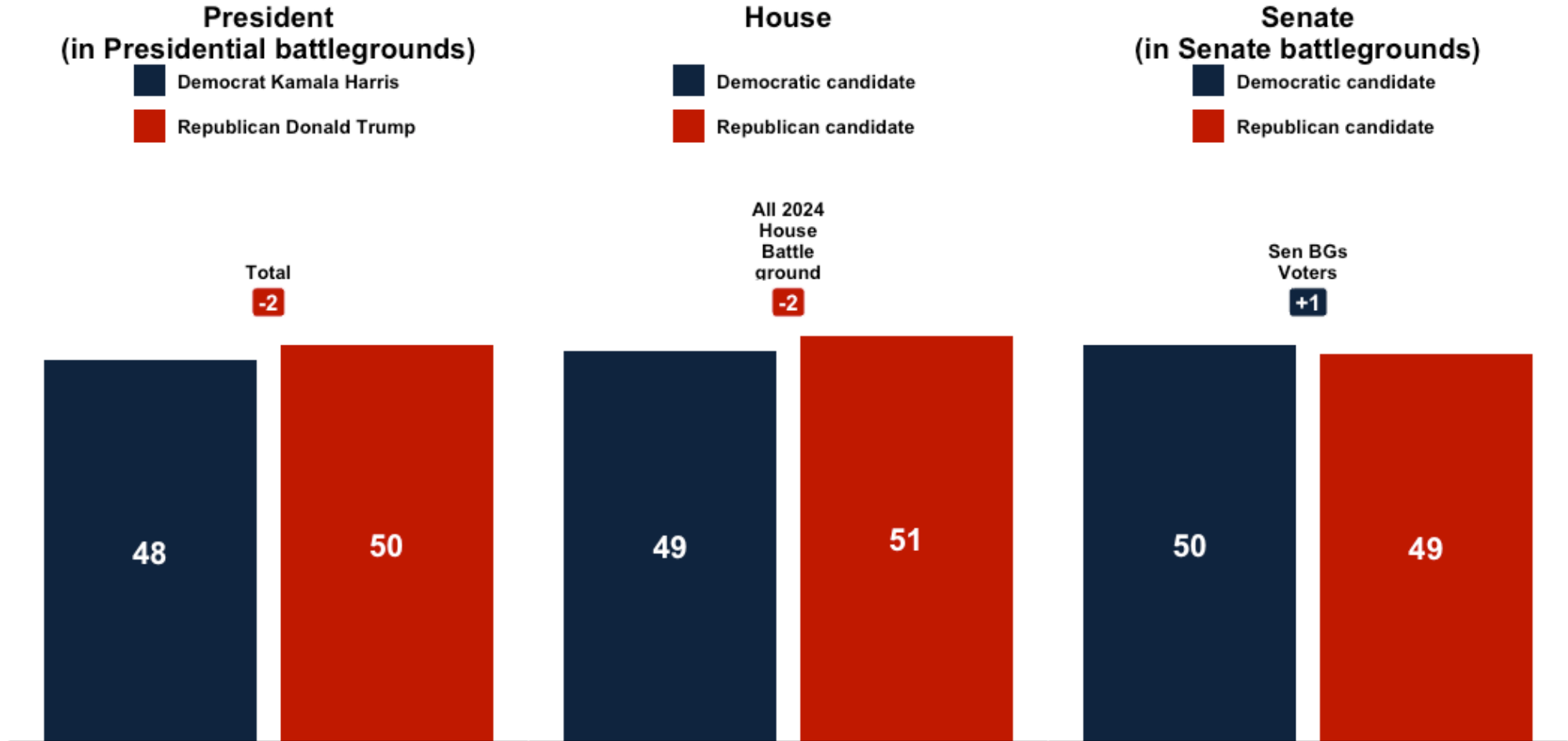
- There are many structural reasons why Democrats have their current issue priorities, and it won't be easy to change them. A Democratic presidential primary might have done that.
- But there is no reason to think that Trump's current winning coalition is at all stable. Much of it depended on running against Joe Biden in a period of accumulating anger over inflation, the loss of control at the border, and Biden prioritizing America's legacy of slavery.
- Trump has strong support for getting the border under control and deporting undocumented immigrants. Raiding hospitals and schools will get pushback but don't assume he will lose support with Hispanics on the policy direction.
- Voters are unforgiving if you don't get prices down, and they are not looking for the oligarchs to shepherd huge tax cuts for big corporations, cuts in federal health care programs, and public support for working people the middle class.
- Harris performed even more poorly than Biden with white working class women and men, indeed, worse with all working class voters. Addressing their discontent represents the biggest challenge facing Democrats.

The 2024 Vote



2024 produced an incredibly close race for President, House, and Senate

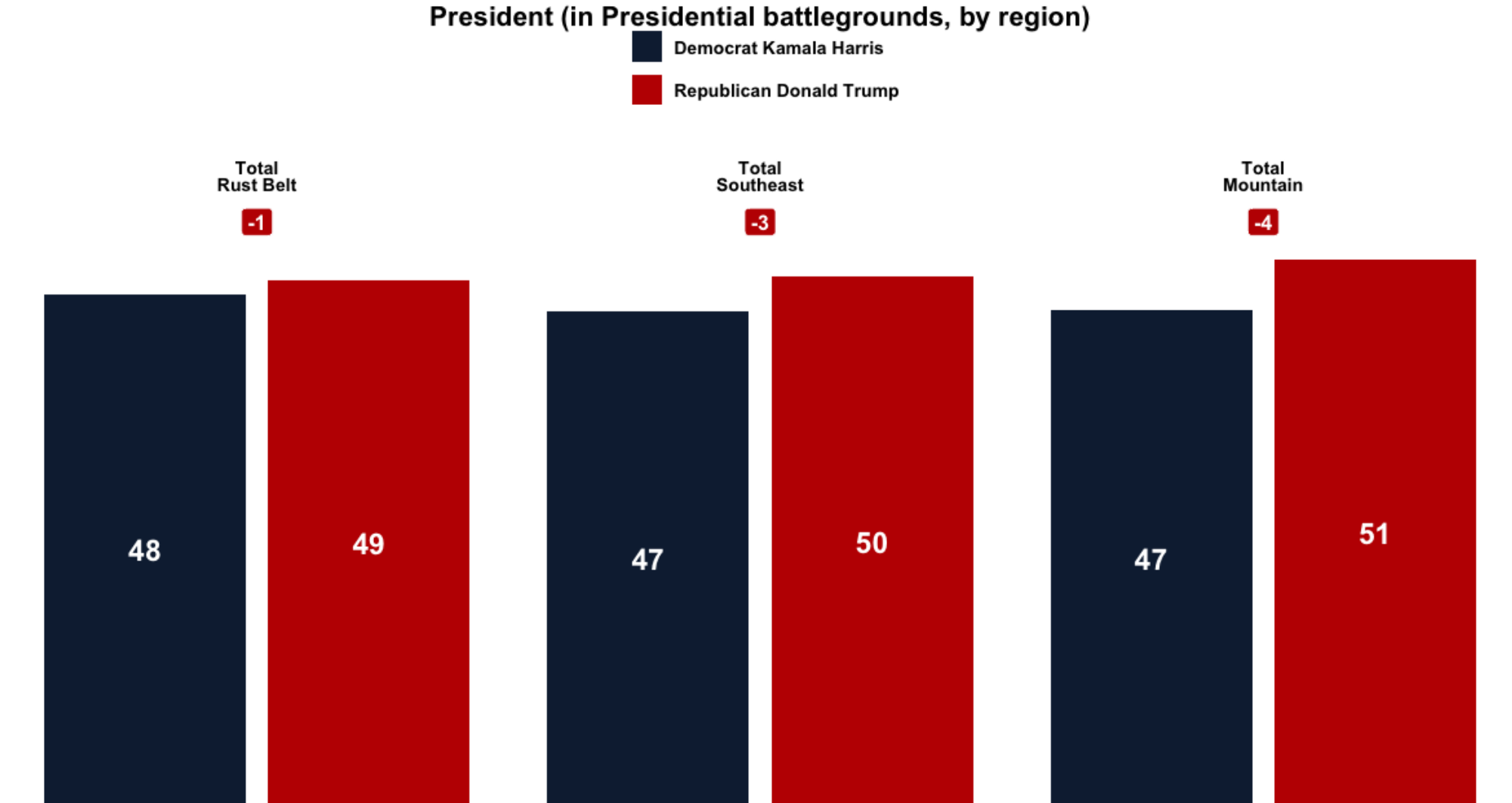
- This post-election poll mirrors the exit polls, which were more accurate this year





Harris nearly tied in Rust Belt; made North Carolina & Georgia close, while weakest in Arizona & Nevada

- Arizona and Nevada impacted by border issue and Hispanic vote



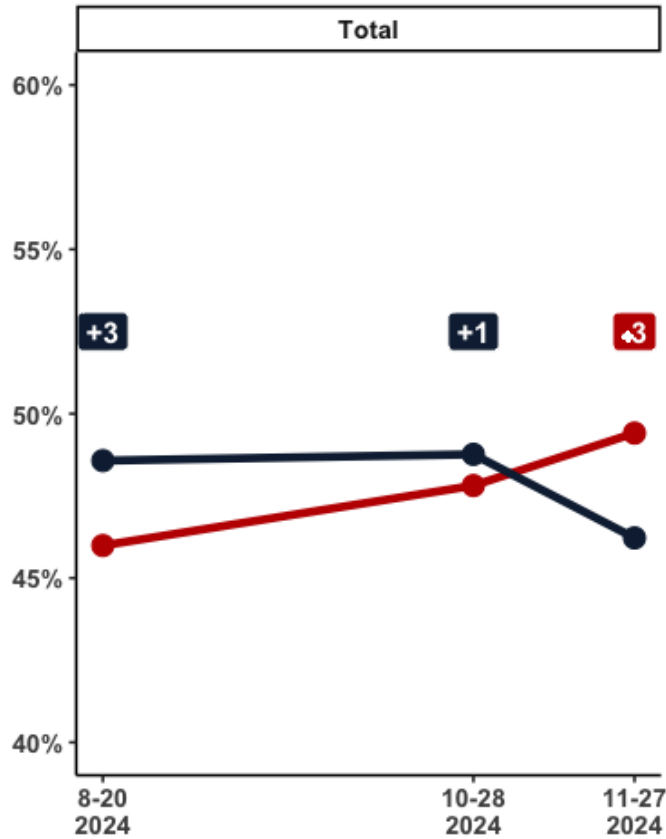


Trump and House Republicans gained at the campaign close

- Democratic Senate vote more stable

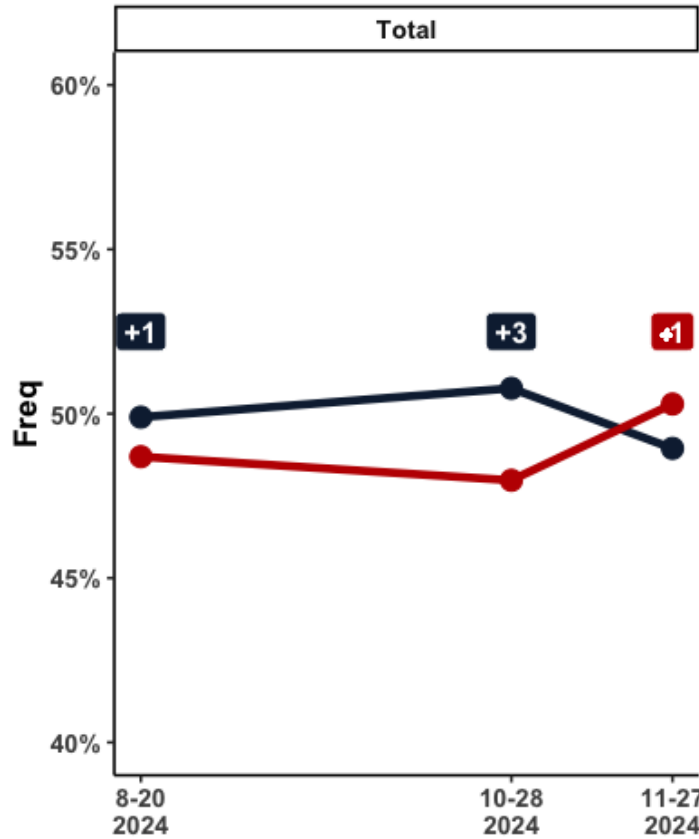
President (in Pres battlegrounds)

● Republican Donald Trump
● Democrat Kamala Harris



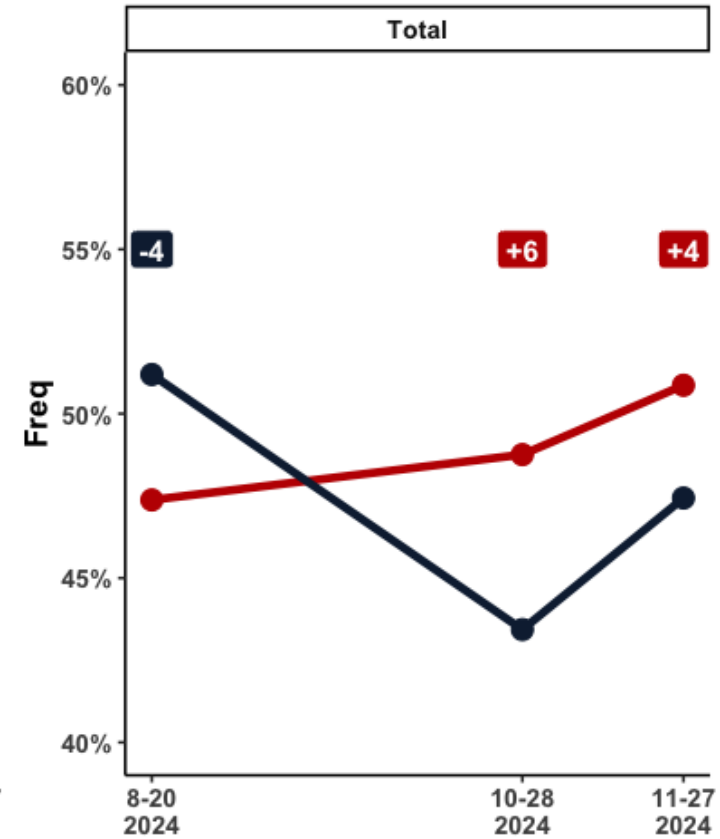
House (in House battlegrounds)

● Democratic candidate
● Republican candidate



Senate (in Senate battlegrounds)

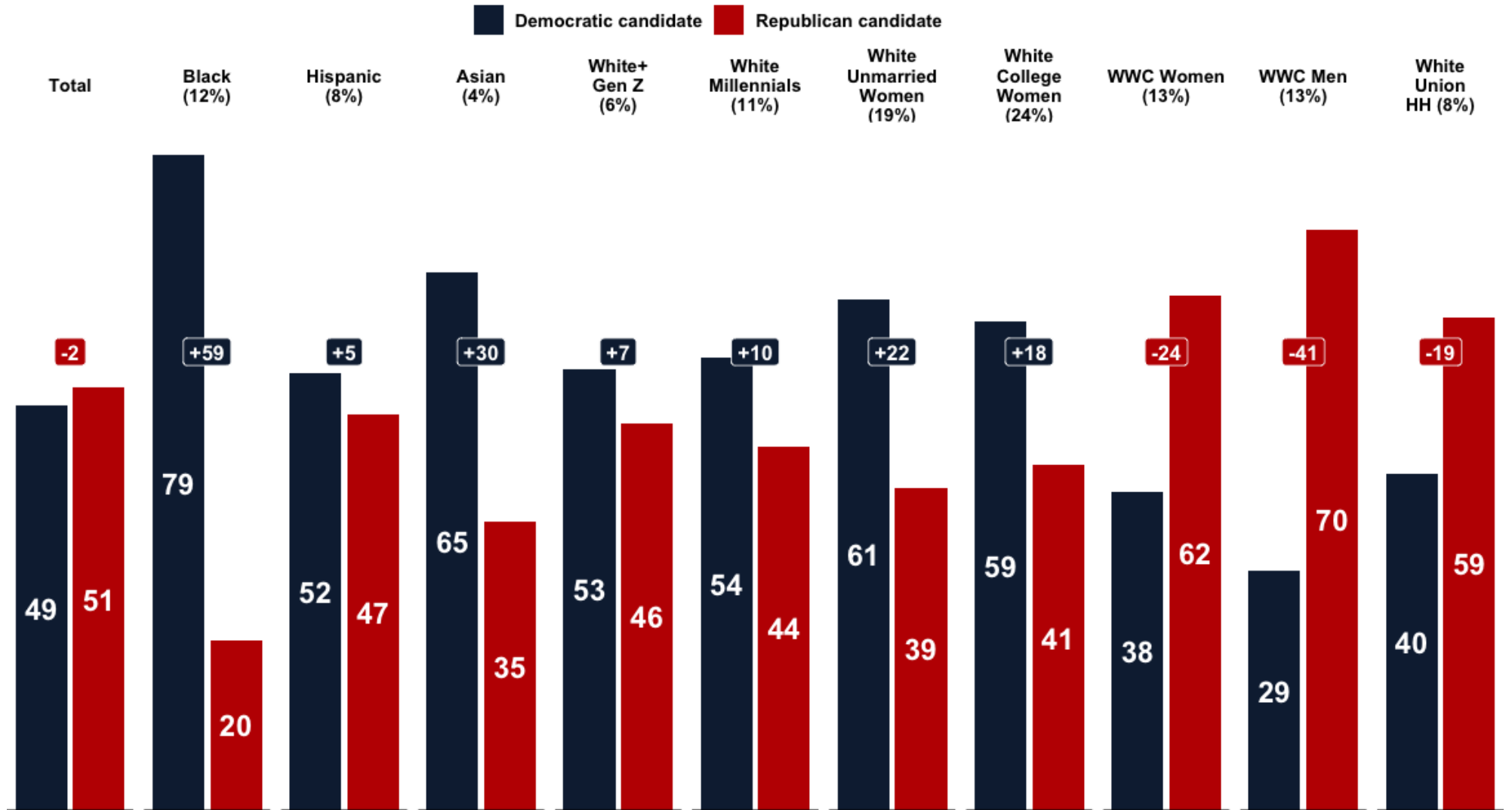
● Republican candidate
● Democratic candidate





Harris ran strong with Asians, white unmarried women, and college women; underwhelming with Blacks, Hispanics, & white Gen Z/millennials. White working class below 2020

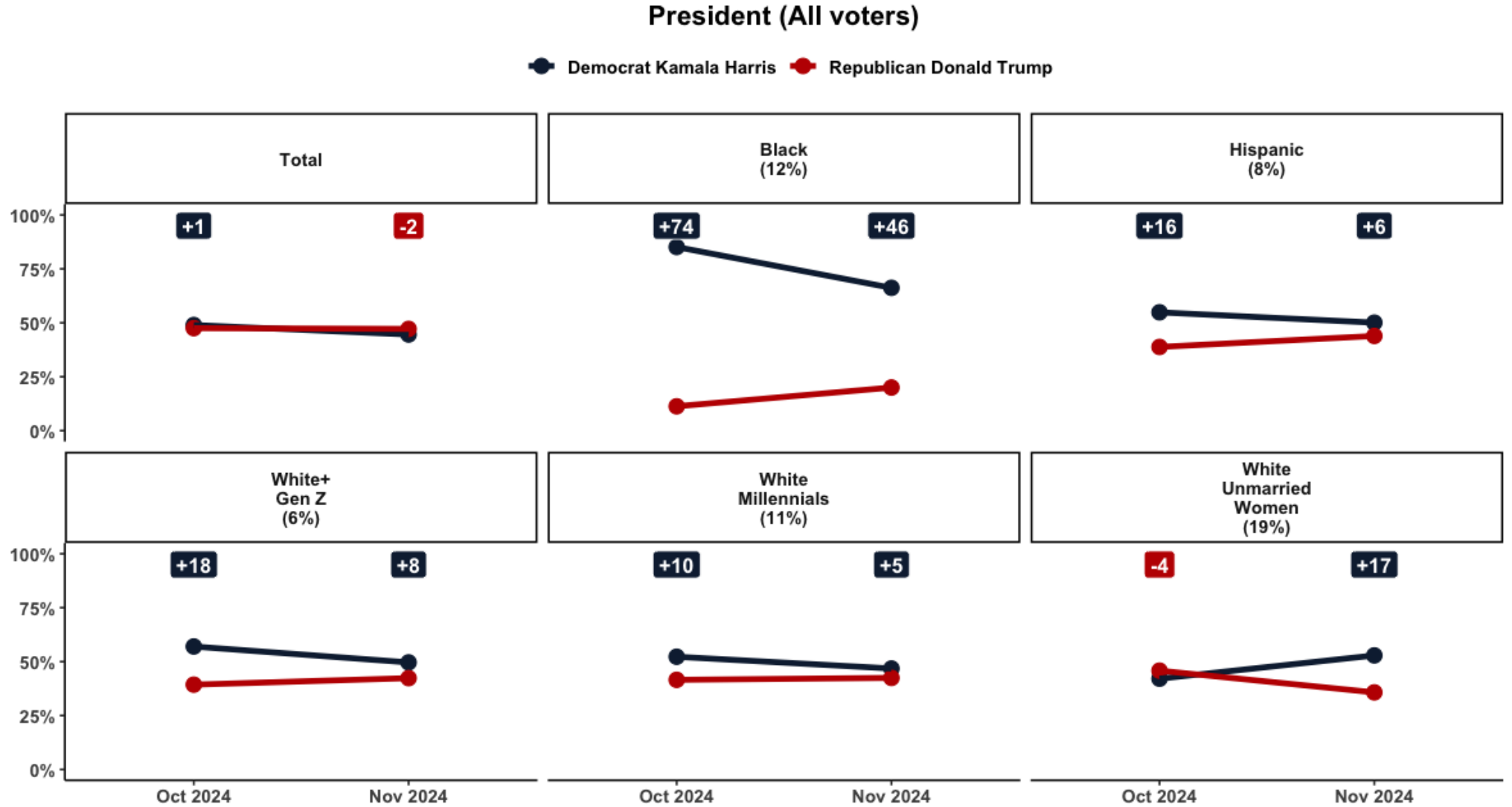
The weak Black vote was very real. Fell to 78 percent.





Trump made big gains with Blacks, Hispanics, and white Gen Z

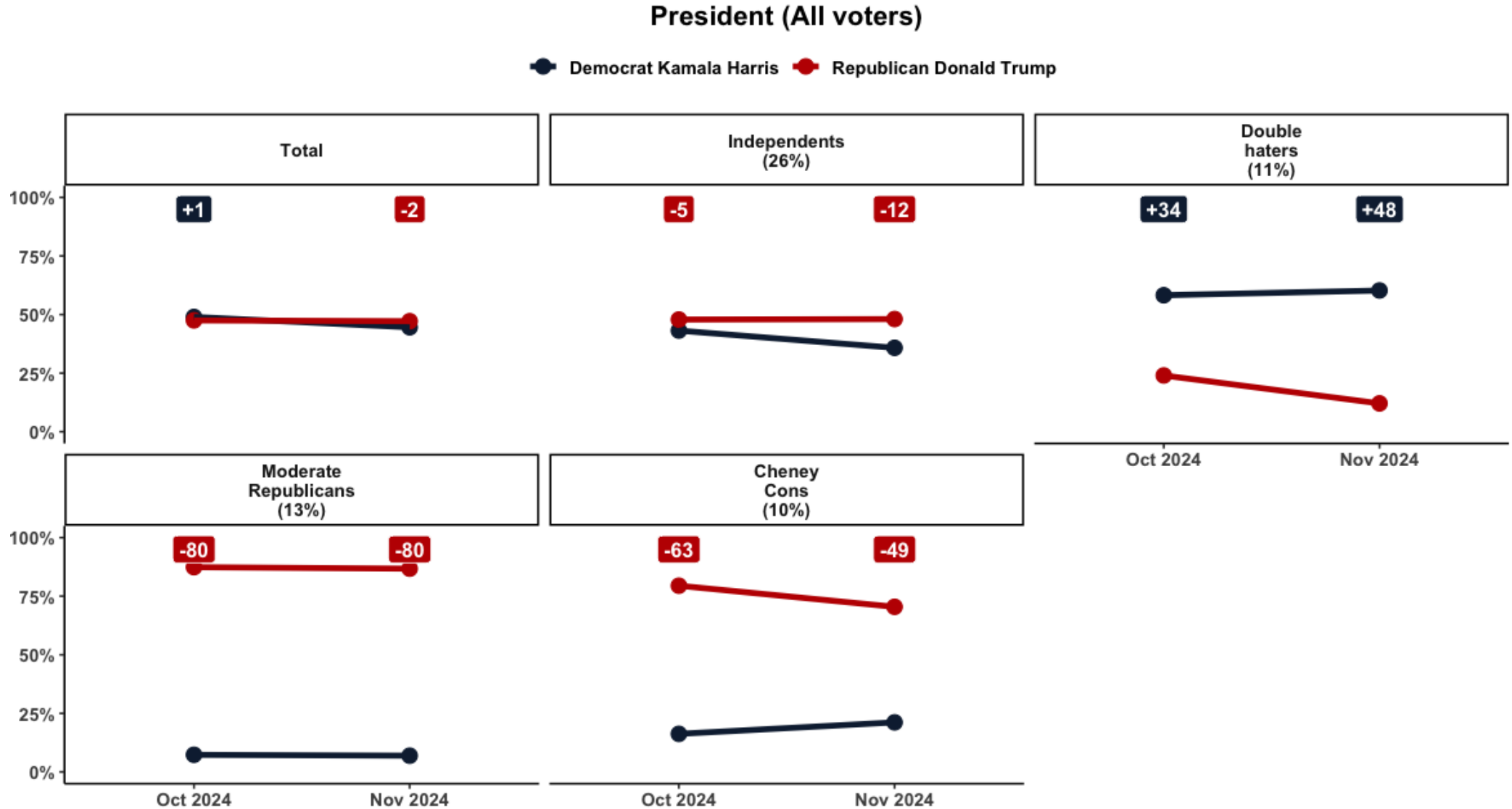
In the base, only white unmarried women gave Harris big gains.





Trump made significant gains with independents, while Harris gained with Cheney conservatives

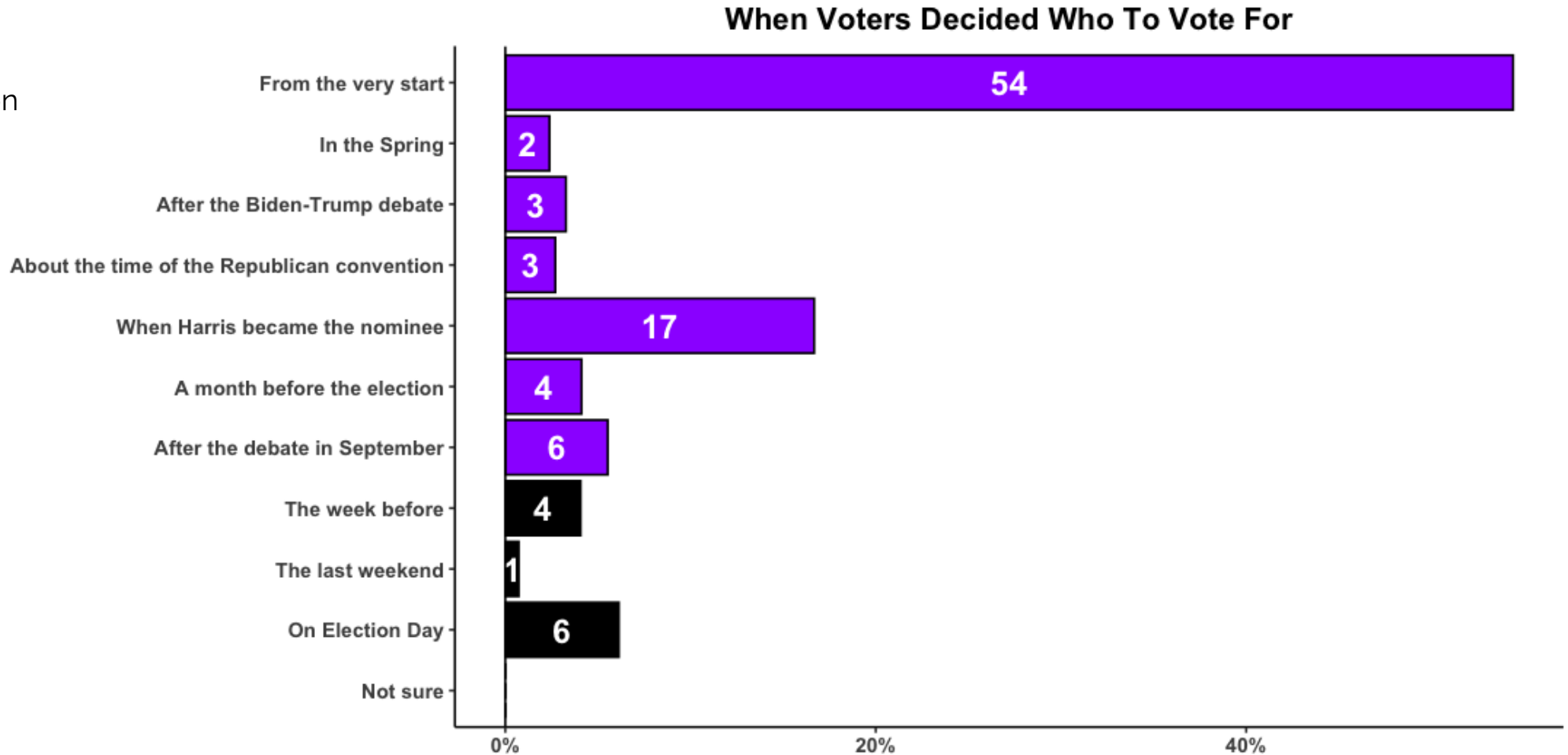
Double haters broke for Harris.





About 10 percent of voters decided who to vote for in the last week — and they broke for Trump by 7 points (44 to 51 percent)

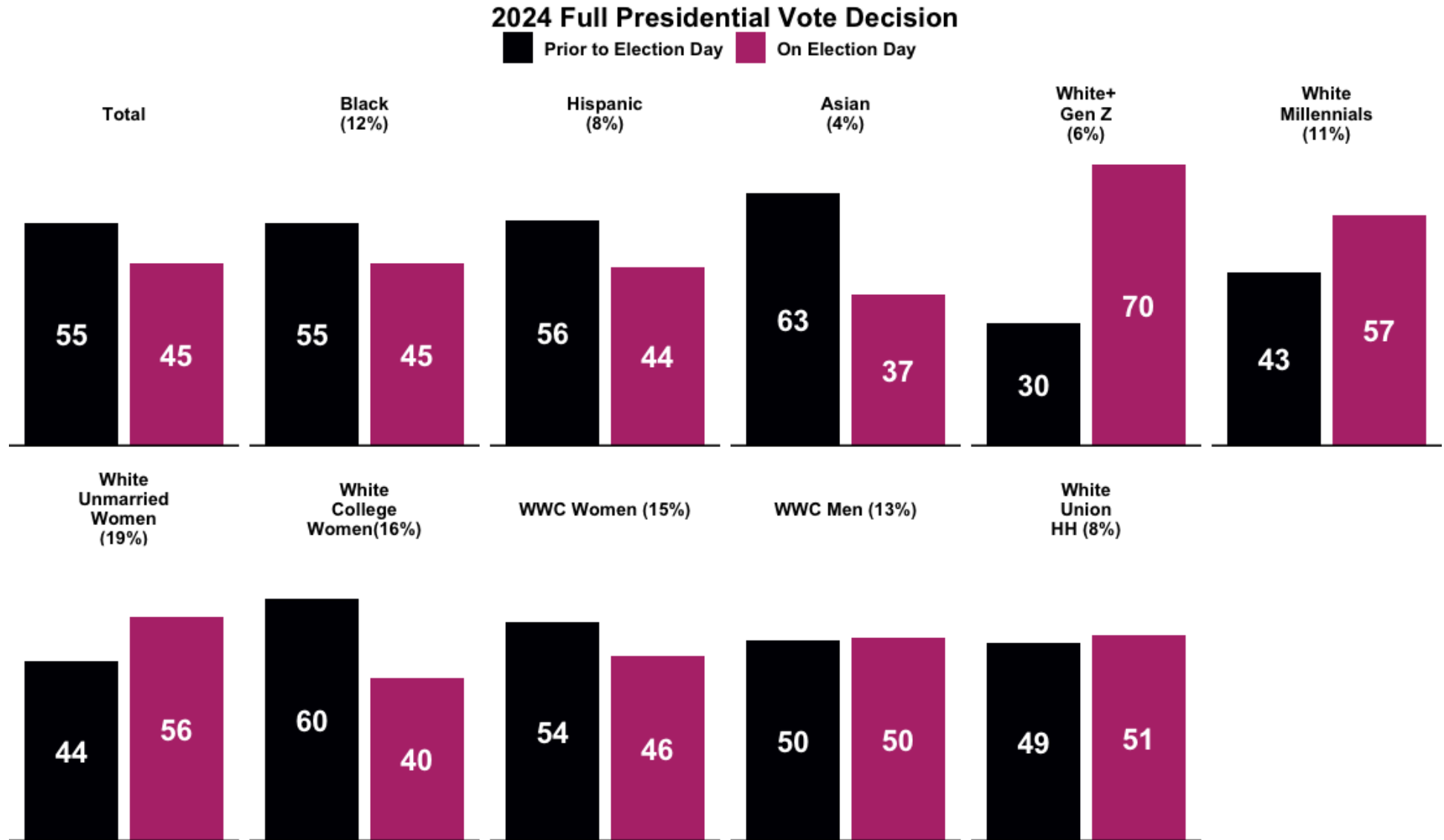
- And all voters under 45 were more likely to vote on Election Day.





55 percent voted before Election Day, but not white Gen Z and millennials.

That may have contributed to Trump's late gains.





Reasons to Support Donald Trump Statements

- Choose 4 reasons to support.

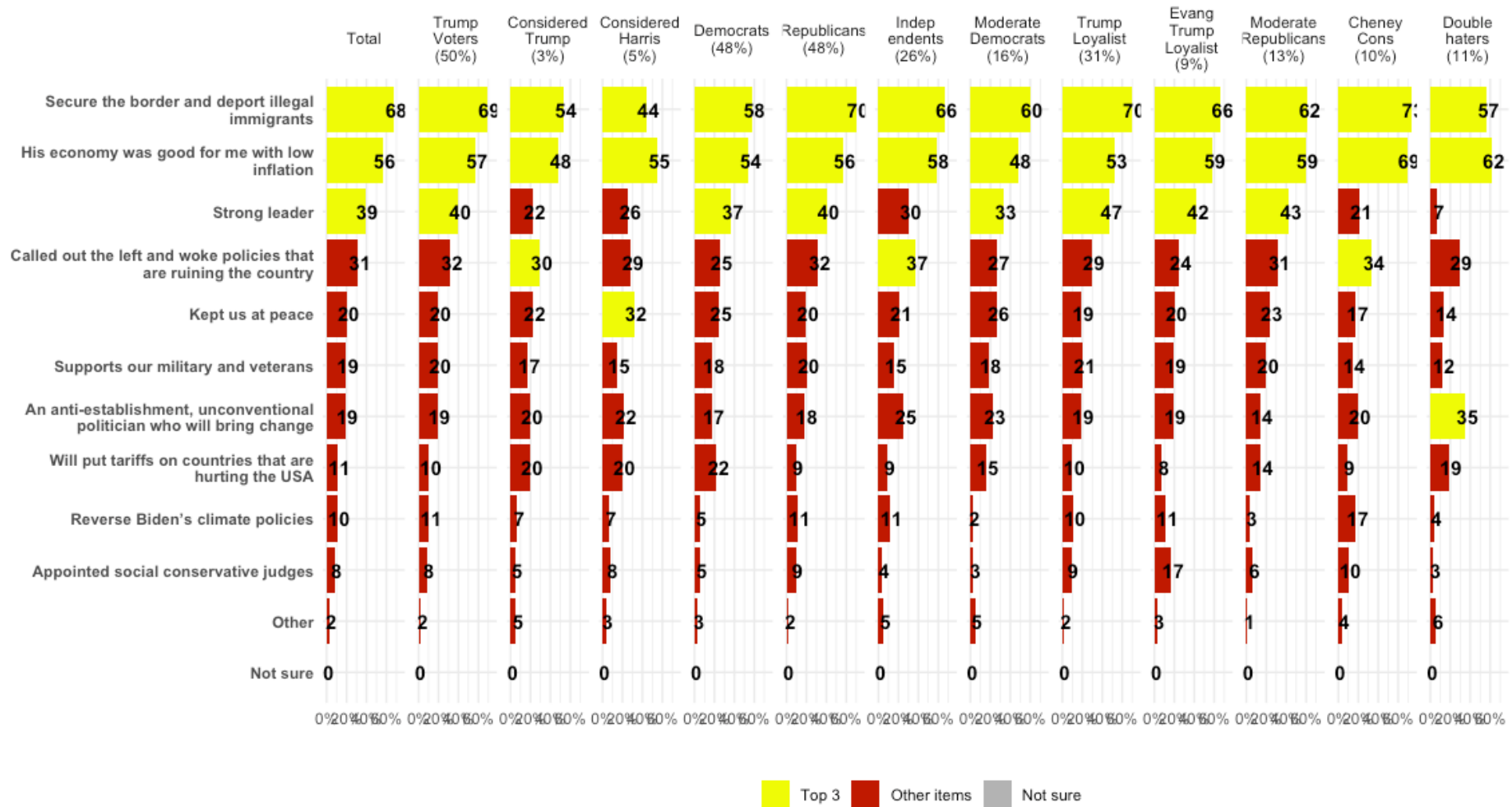
Now let me read you a list of reasons to support Trump for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for President Trump?

- Secure the border and deport illegal immigrants
- His economy was good for me with low inflation
- Strong leader
- Called out the left and woke policies that are ruining the country.
- Kept us at peace
- Supports our military and veterans
- An anti-establishment, unconventional politician who will bring change
- Will put tariffs on countries that are hurting the USA
- Will exploit all our energy, stop shift to EVs, and reverse Biden's climate policies
- Appointed social conservatives to the Supreme Court



Top reason for Trump is the border and deporting undocumented, with cost of living much lower & then woke liberals

Trump voters who considered Harris put cost of living ahead of deporting, but both high. Also, because kept us at peace.

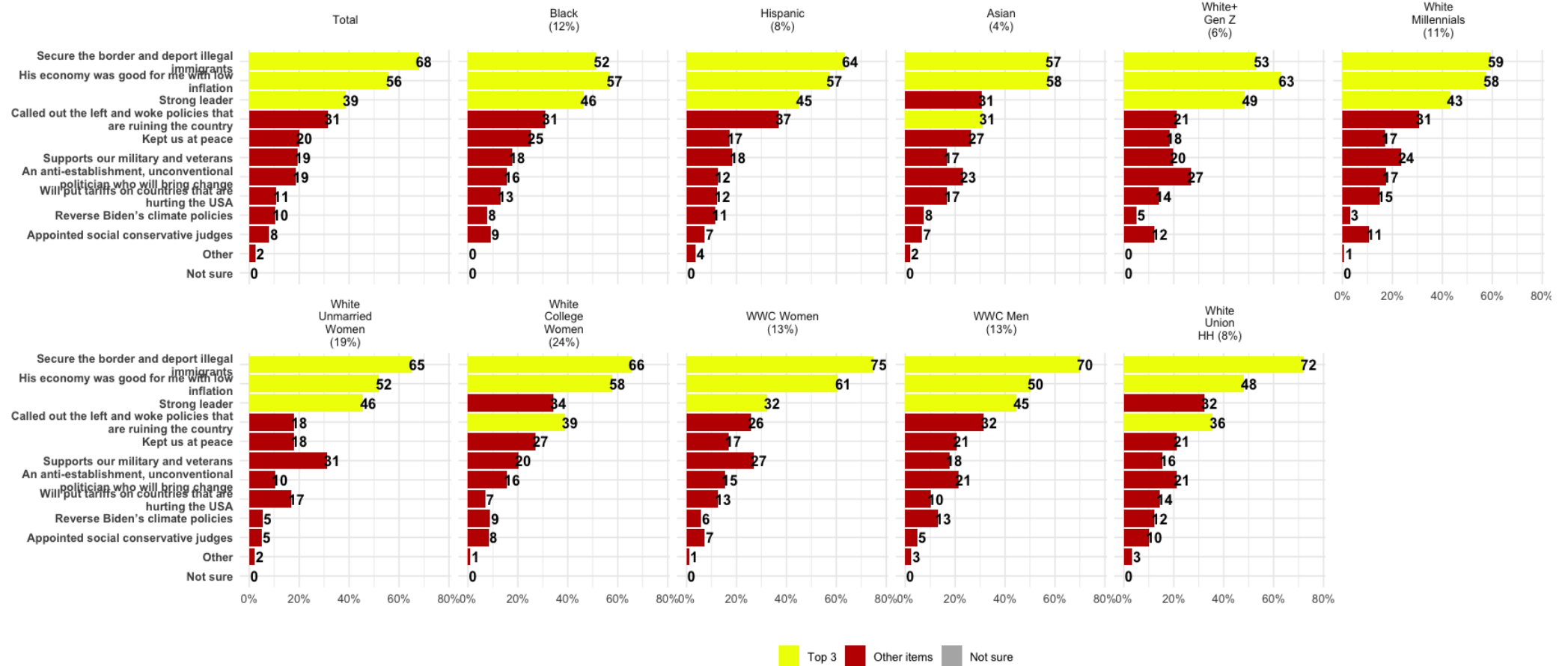


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for supporting Trump for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [voted for President Trump/considered voting for Donald Trump for President]?



The border and deporting the top reason for nearly all groups, from the base to the white working class

Hispanics put secure border & deporting as the top reason.



Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for supporting Trump for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [voted for President Trump/considered voting for Donald Trump for President]?



Reasons to Oppose Kamala Harris Statements

- Choose four reasons

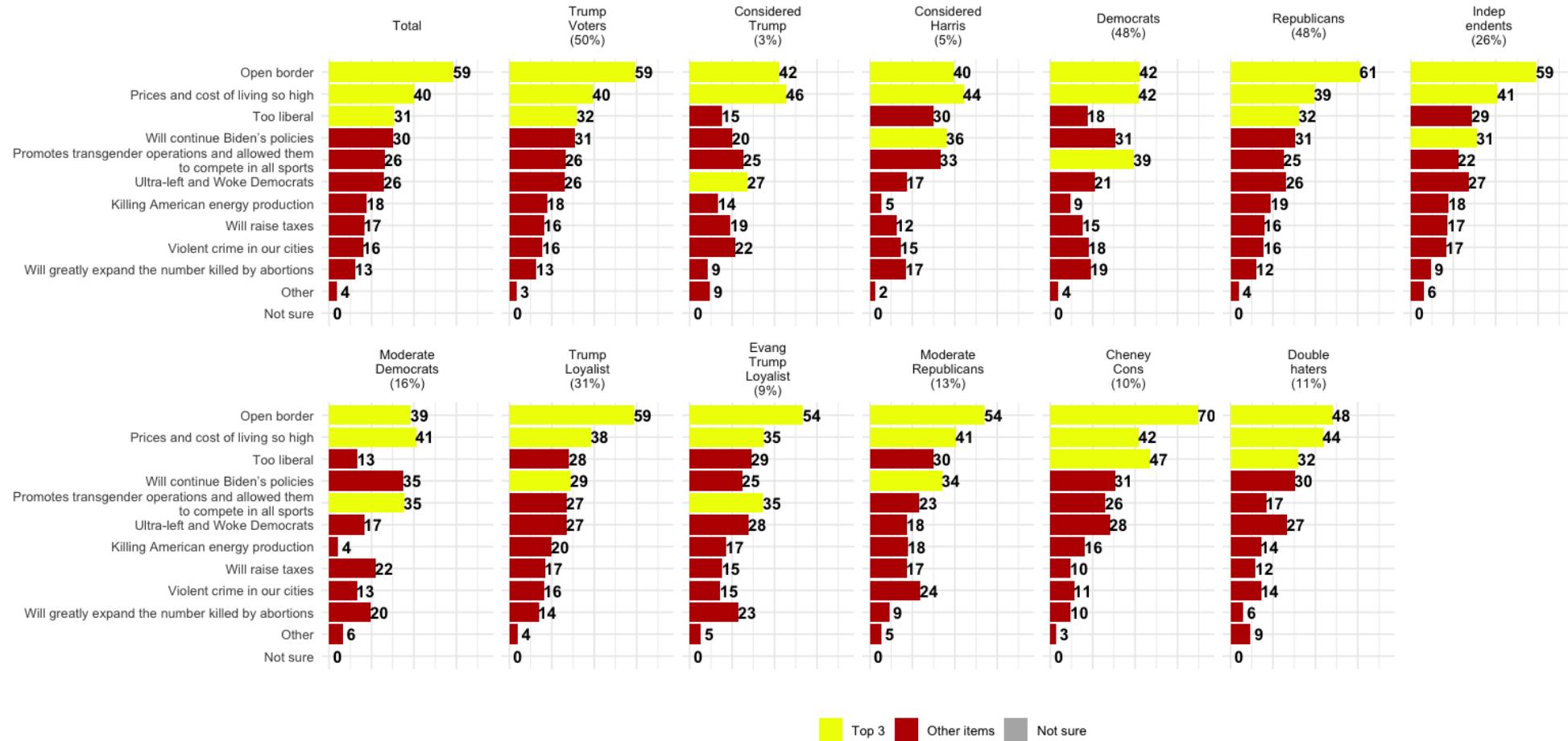
Now let me read you a list of reasons to oppose Kamala Harris. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed Kamala Harris?

- Open border and illegal immigrants in all our cities
- Prices and cost of living so high
- Too liberal
- Will continue Biden's policies
- Will bring in ultra-left Democrats to power
- Promotes transgender operations and compete in all sports
- Killing American energy production and energy independence
- Will raise taxes
- Violent crime in our cities
- Will greatly expand the number killed by abortions



Top reason against Harris is the open border. Then, prices but liberal/woke and transgender at a quarter

Moderate Democrats put the transgender policies in third rank.

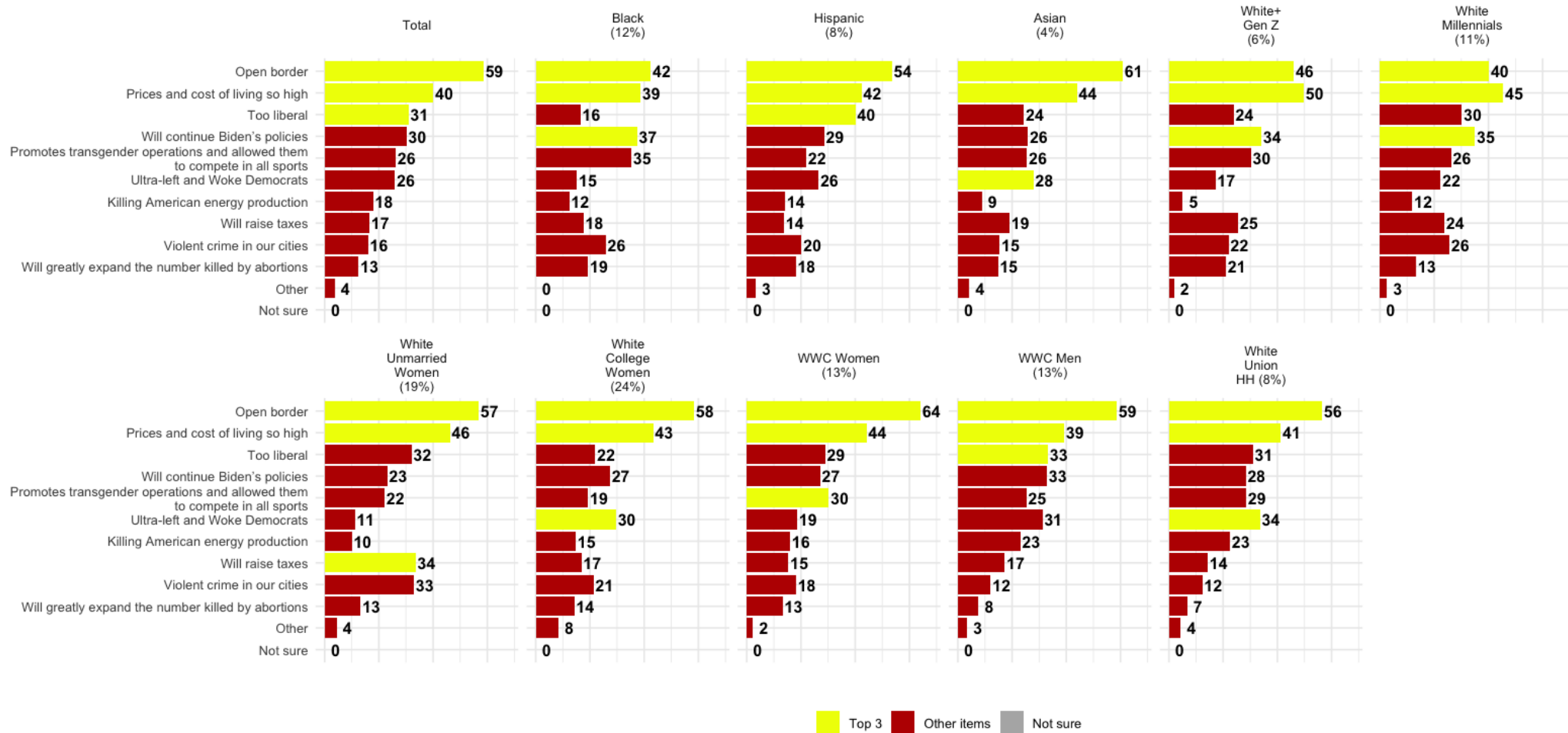


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for opposing Kamala Harris. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [opposed Kamala Harris/considered opposing Kamala Harris]?



Top reason to oppose Harris is open border, pushed up by all white working class and white college and unmarried women

Hispanics put the open border as top reason to oppose.

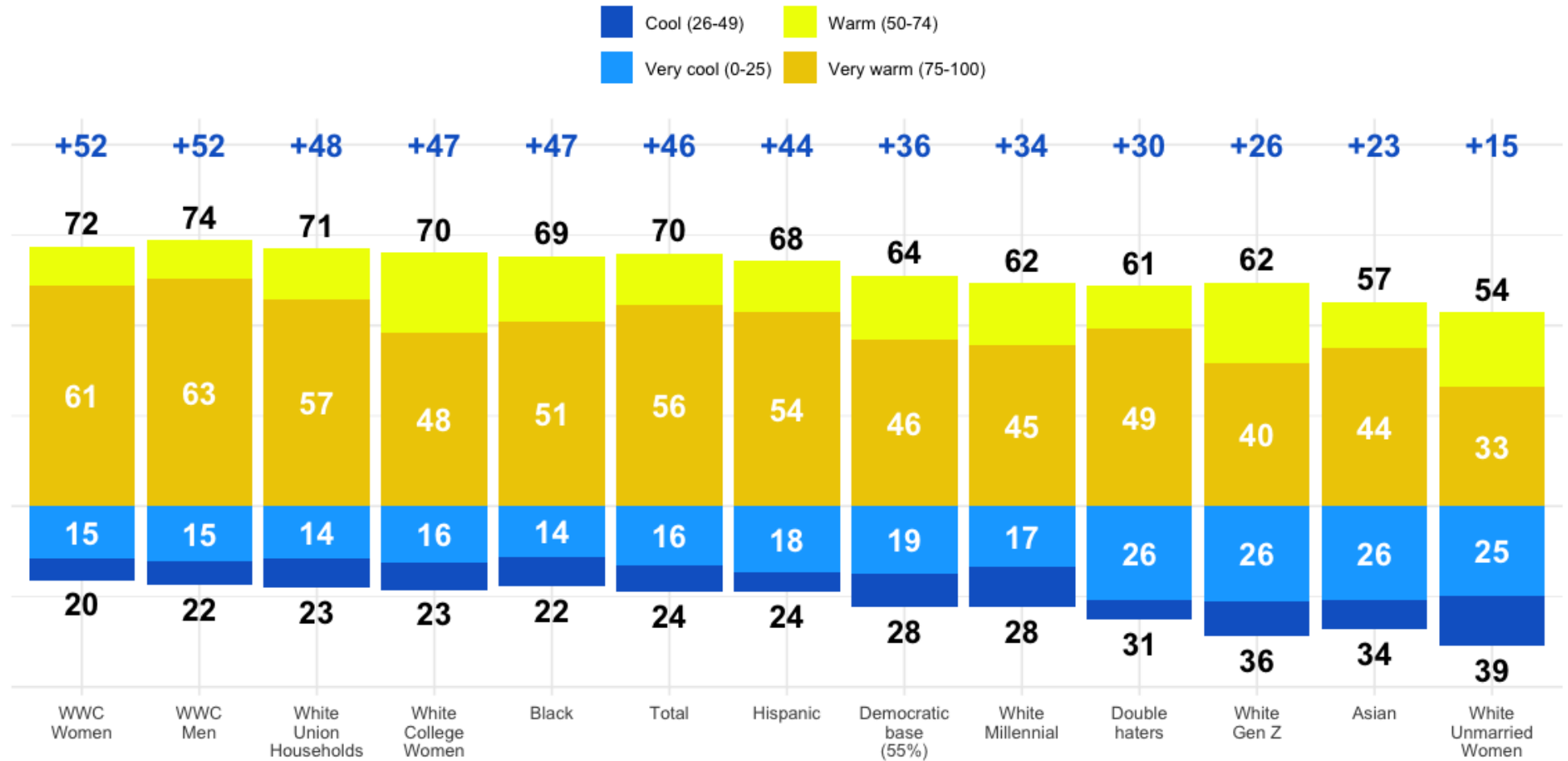


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for opposing Kamala Harris. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [opposed Kamala Harris/considered opposing Kamala Harris]?



Banning transgender participation in women's sports strongly supported by all, including with Democratic base groups

Banning supported nearly as strongly with Blacks, Hispanics, and white college women.



Please rate your feelings toward banning transgender male athletes from participating in women's sports, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Reasons to Support Kamala Harris Statements

- Choose 4 reasons

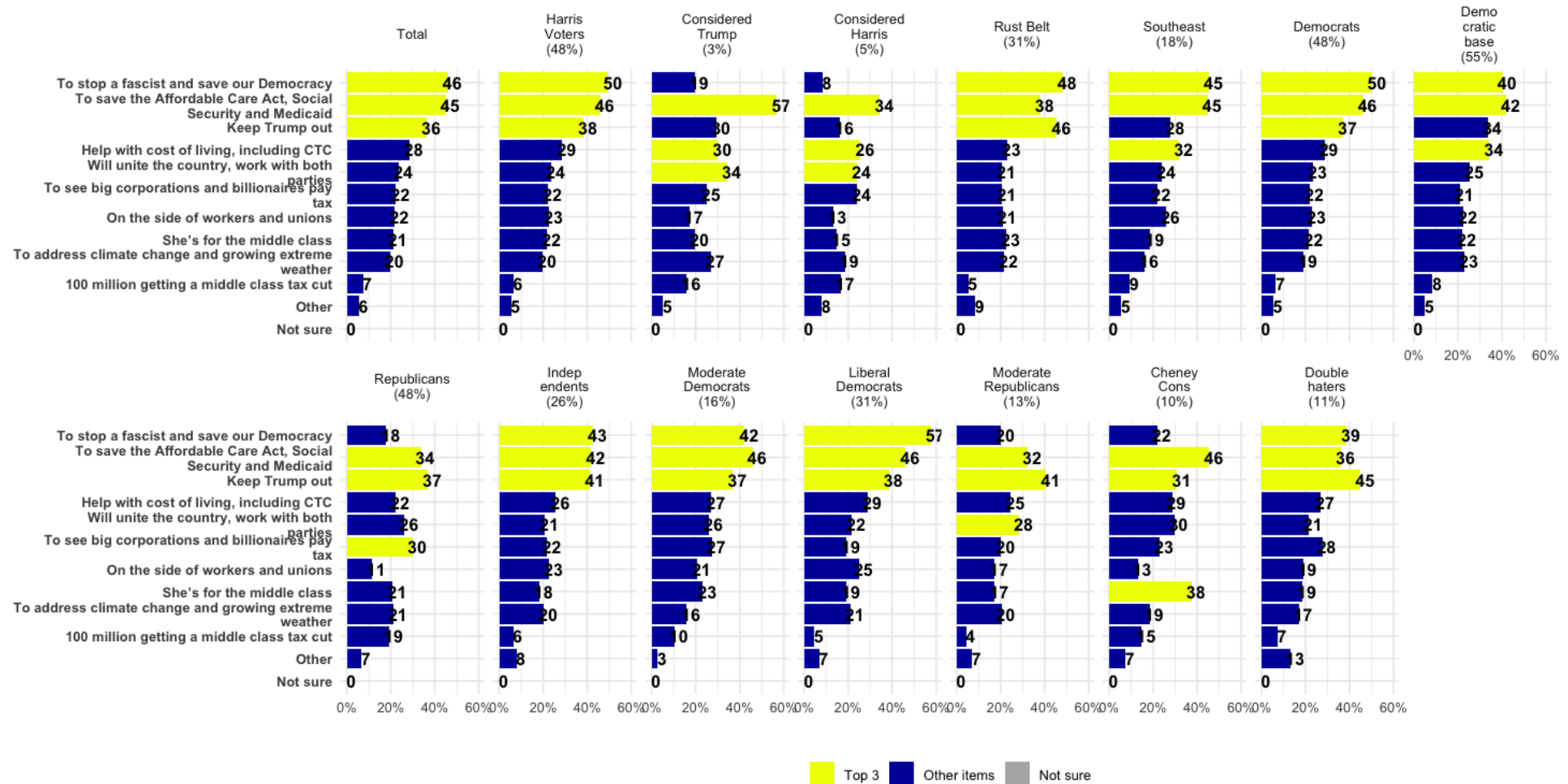
Now let me read you a list of reasons to support Kamala Harris for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Kamala Harris?

- To stop fascist and save our Democracy
- To save the Affordable Care Act, Social Security and Medicaid
- To keep Trump from getting back
- Her help with the cost of living, like the monthly Child Tax Credit, the cost of housing, and small business
- Will unite the country, work with both parties
- To see big corporations and billionaires pay tax
- On the side of workers and unions, opposes price gouging and checking the big monopolies
- She's for the middle class
- To address climate change and growing extreme weather
- 100 million getting a middle class tax cut



Top reasons for Harris are to stop a fascist, save ACA, & keep Trump out. Then cost of living & Child Tax Credit

The Trump considered Harris voters make no mention of fascism but do mention the ACA and help with the cost of living.

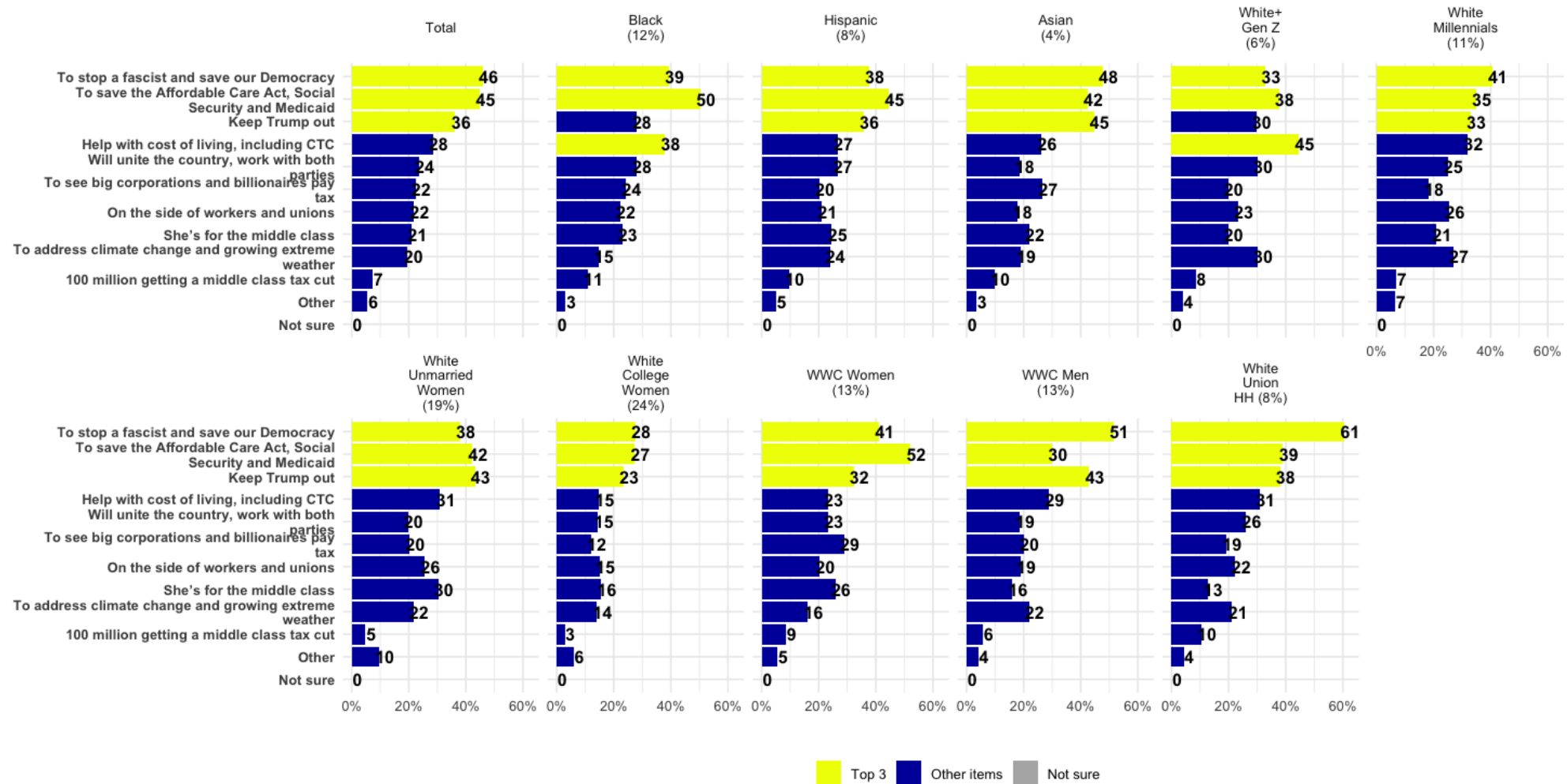


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for supporting Kamala Harris for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [voted for Kamala Harris/considered voting for Kamala Harris for President]?



Voters who supported Kamala Harris wanted to protect democracy, healthcare, and social safety net

Black voters put help with the cost of living in close 3rd place, with help with help with Child Tax Credit and housing.

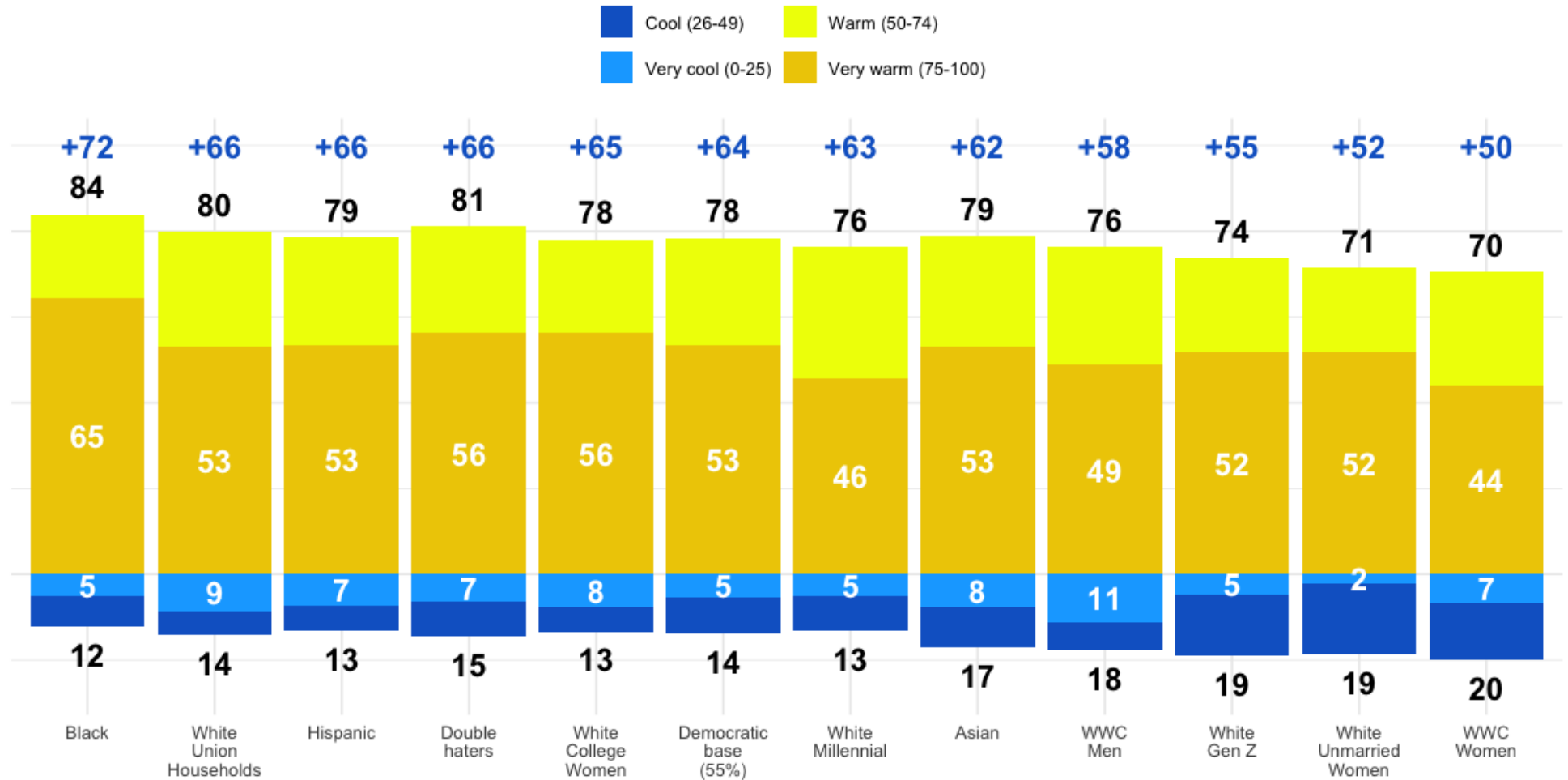


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for supporting Kamala Harris for President. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [voted for Kamala Harris/considered voting for Kamala Harris for President]?



The child tax credit remains overwhelmingly popular

Key to motivating Blacks and Democratic base and reaching white working class.



Please rate your feelings toward some people, organisations and activities, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Reasons to Oppose Donald Trump Statements

- Choose 4 reasons.

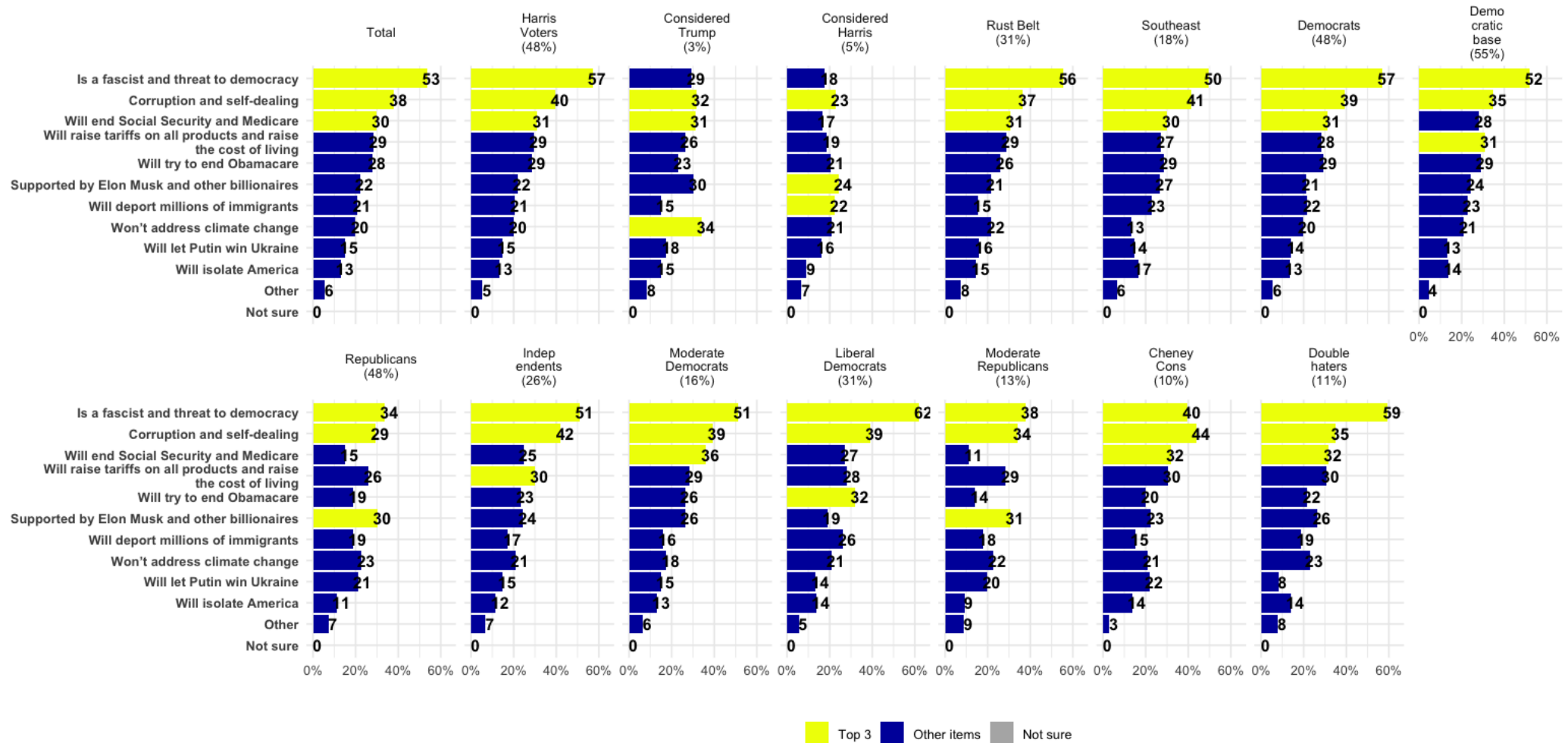
Now let me read you a list of reasons to oppose Donald Trump. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you opposed or will oppose Donald Trump?

- Is a fascist and threat to democracy
- Corruption and self-dealing for his family
- Will end Social Security and Medicare as we know it
- Will raise tariffs on all products and raise the cost of living
- Will try to end Obamacare and return the pre-existing conditions
- Supported by Elon Musk and other billionaires will do big trickle-down tax cuts
- Will deport millions of immigrants
- Won't address climate change and extreme weather
- Will let Putin win Ukraine
- Will isolate America



Top reason for opposing Trump is his threat to democracy, followed far back by corruption and self-dealing

Trump voters who considered Harris put corrupt self-dealing, Elon Musk, and deporting immigrants, but none stand out

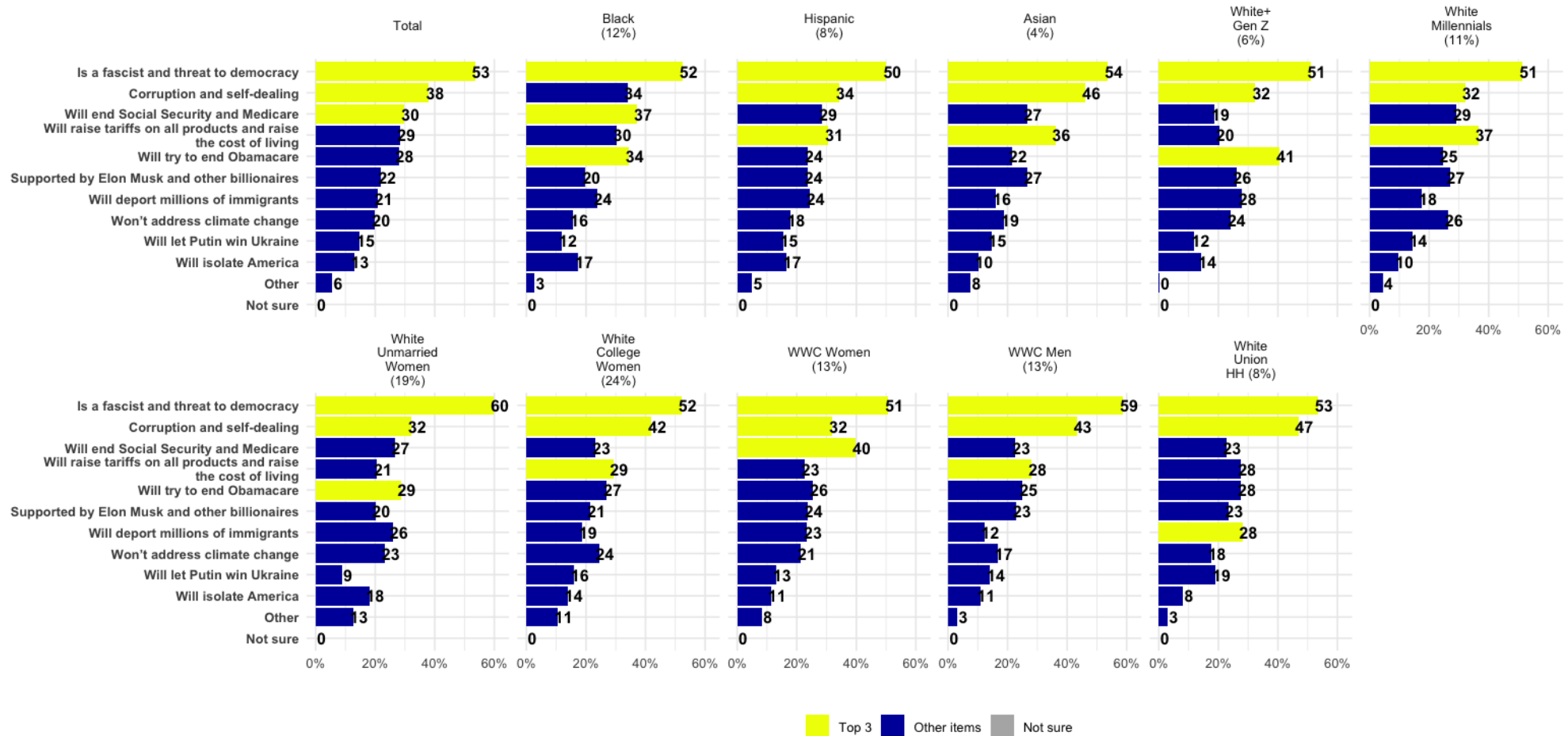


Now let me read you a list of reasons some have given for opposing Donald Trump. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you [opposed Donald Trump/considered opposing Donald Trump]?



Top reason to oppose Trump follow what campaign stressed — threat to democracy, corruption, and threats to ACA and health programs

None mention any economic issues.



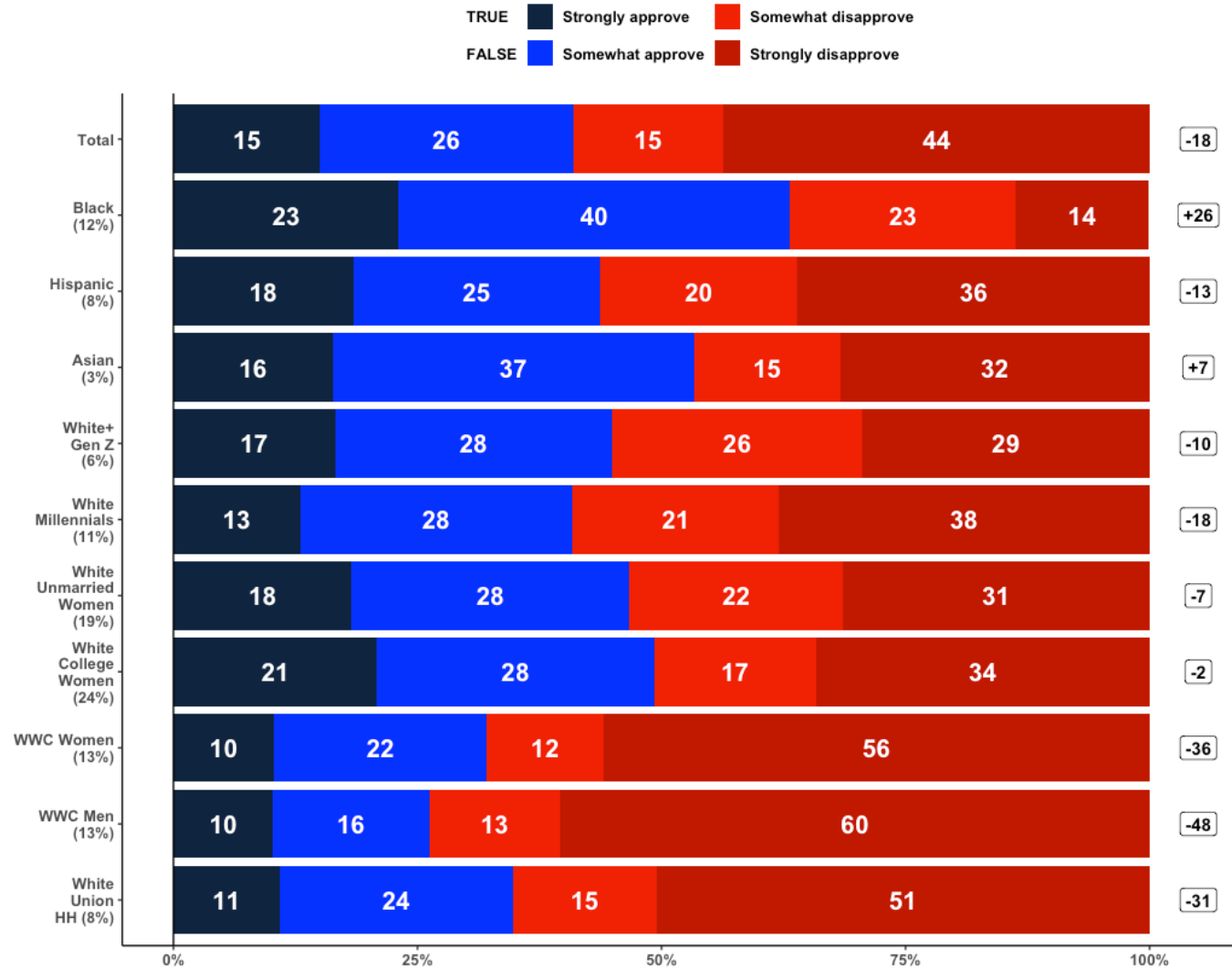
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President Biden's disapproval with Hispanics, white millennials, and union households created headwinds for Harris

Approval below vote for white working class.

Joe Biden job approval (key populations)



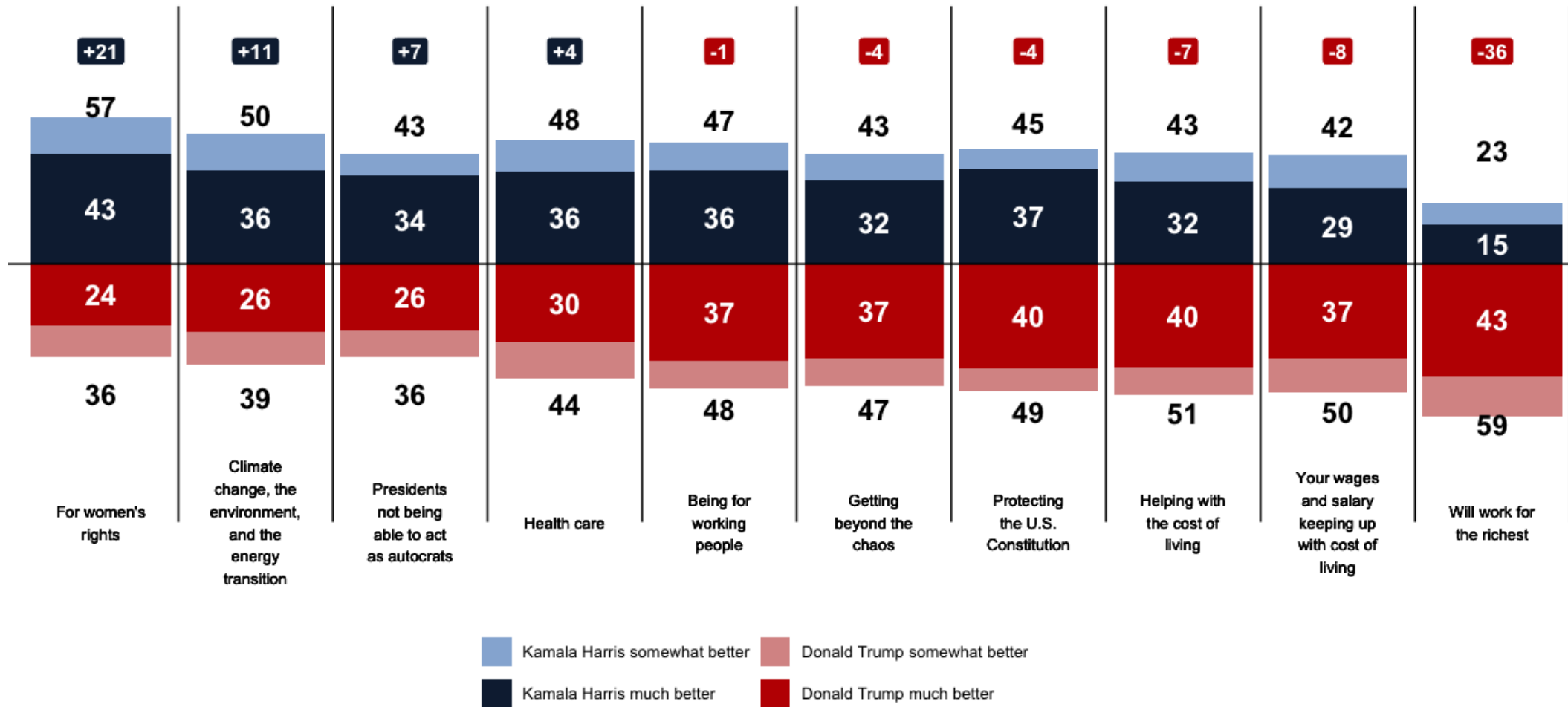
Trump and Harris Advantages



Harris led with intensity on issues that put the race very close — women’s rights, addressing climate, and will not work for the richest

Women's rights and working for the rich has intensity close to Trump best issues.

Initial read: Harris leads on climate and healthcare

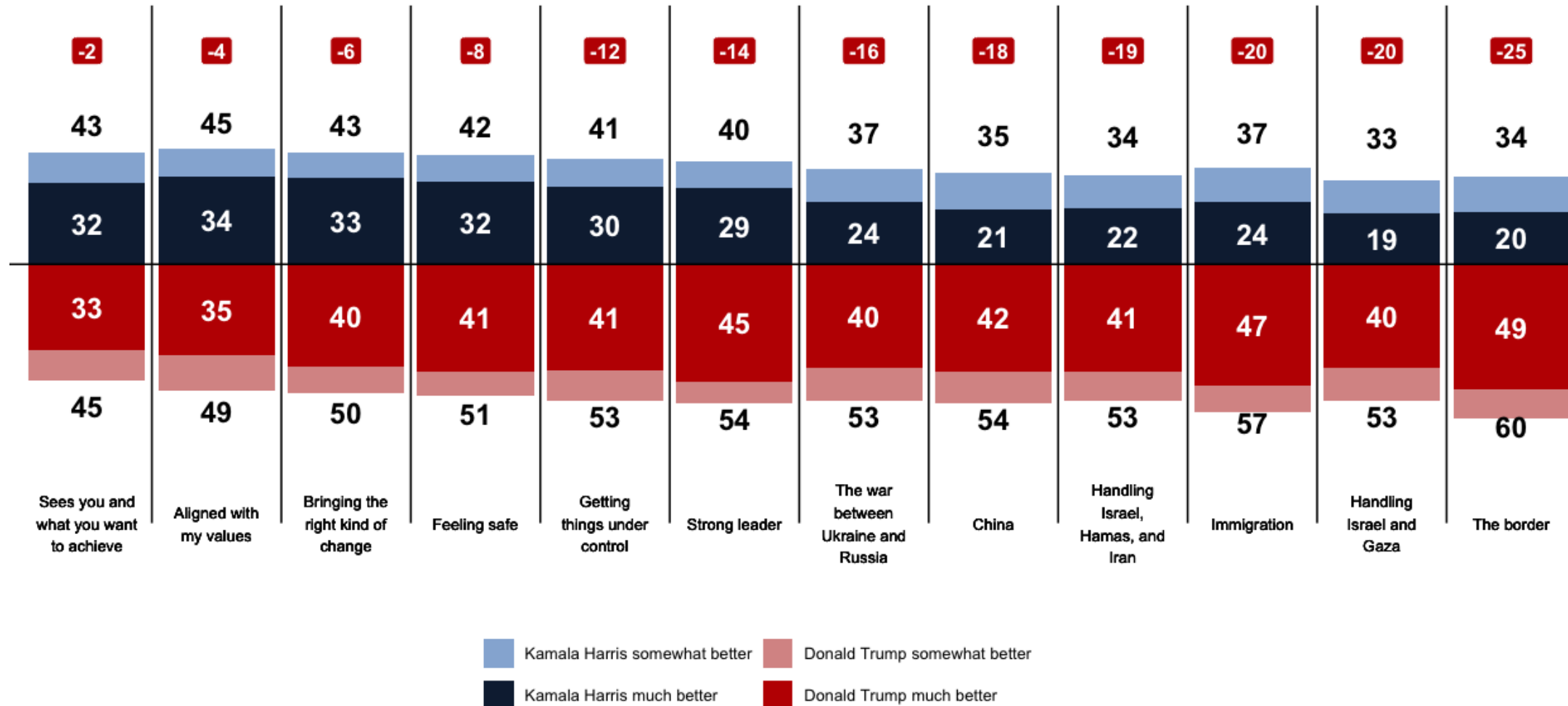




Trump led intensely on the border, immigration, and strong leader, but also on foreign policy issues

On the border, nearly half say Trump is much better.

Trump narrowly wins on seeing voters, aligned with them, bringing right kind of change

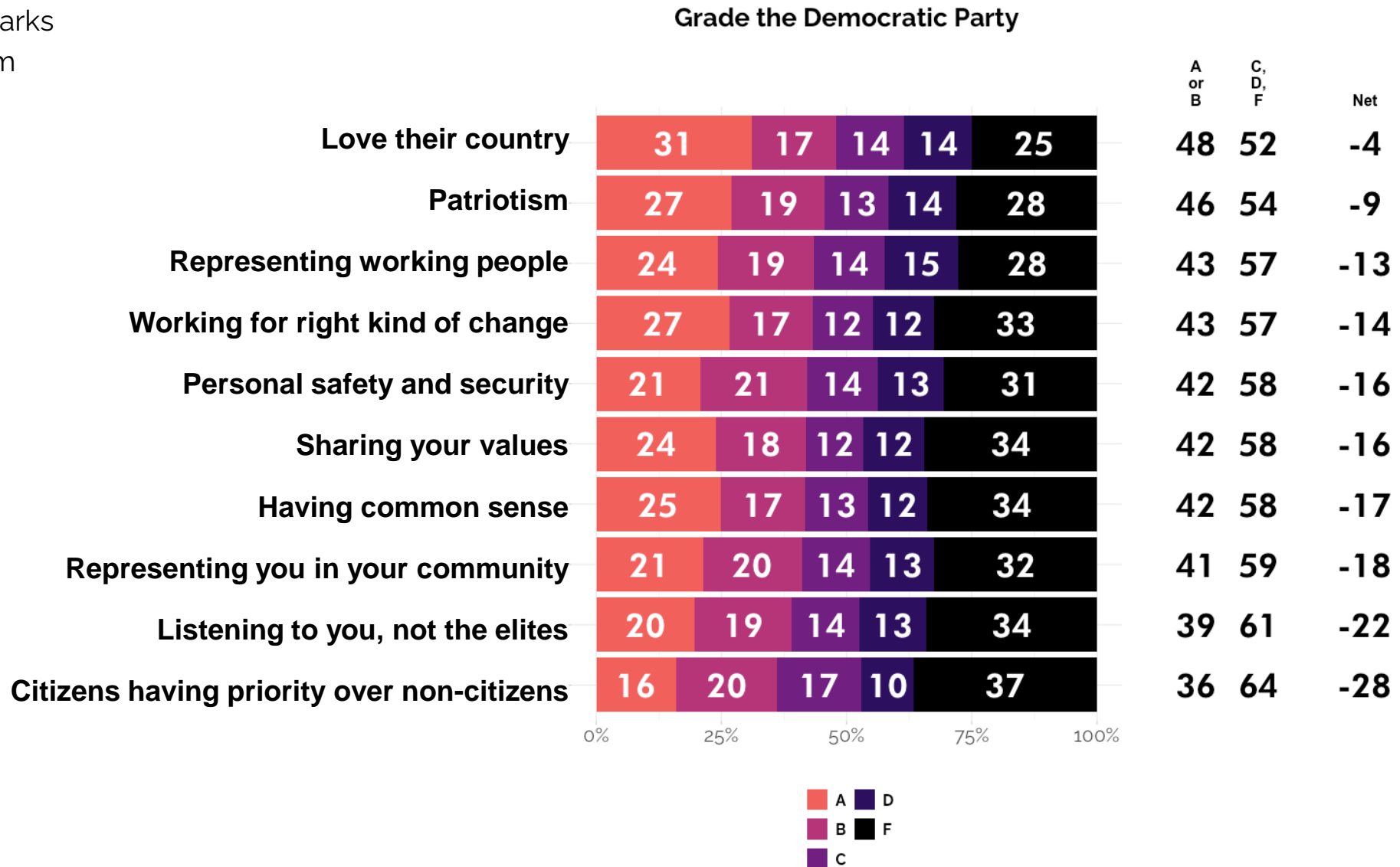


The Democratic Party Damage



Democratic Party gets heavy failing marks on citizens having priority over non-citizens and listening to you, not the elites, and sharing your values

- Only split marks on patriotism and love of country.

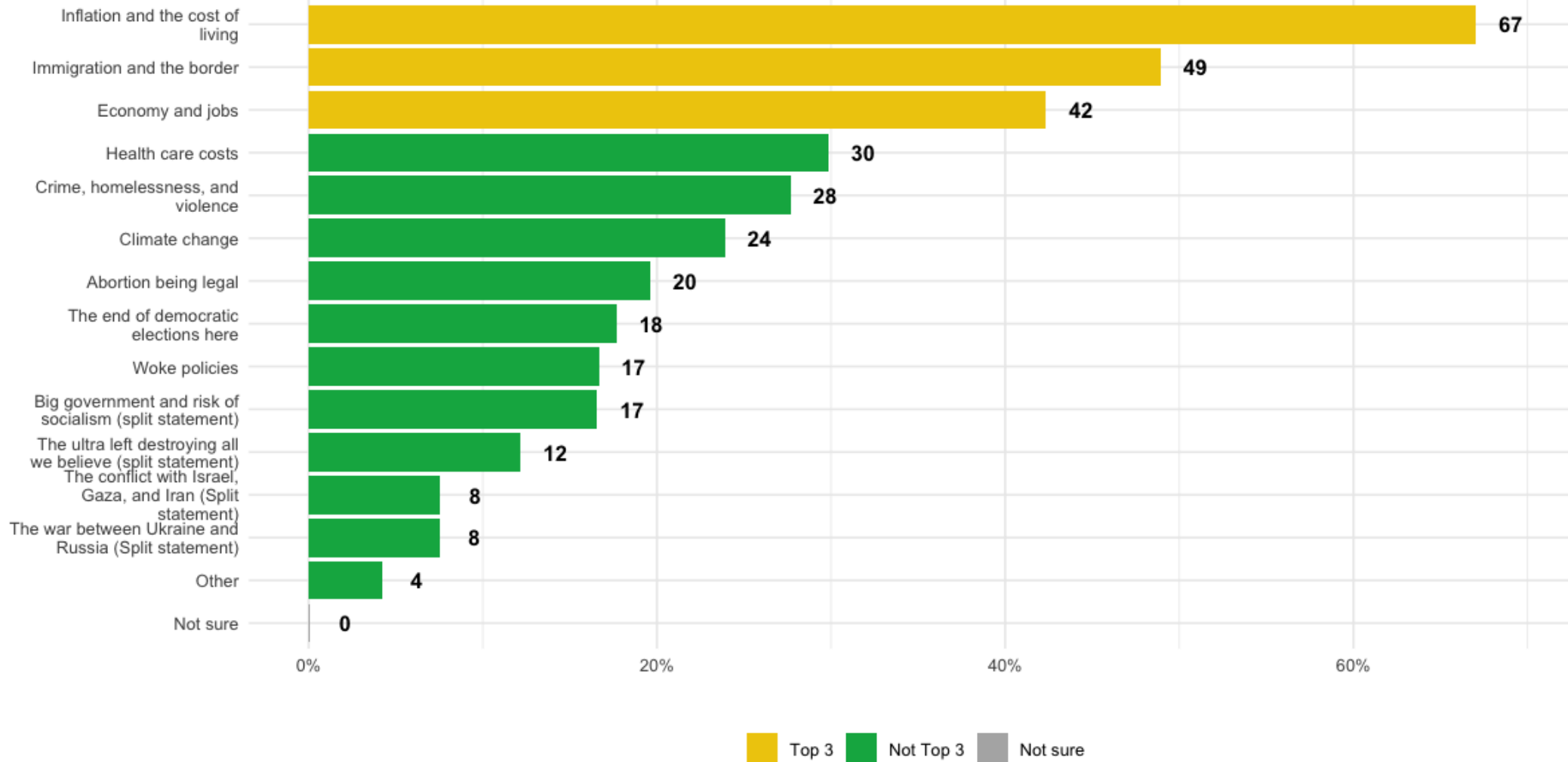


Issue Climate



2024 voters consumed with inflation and cost of living, but they voted the border and immigration

Going forward, voters are just as consumed with cost of living and still want to hear.

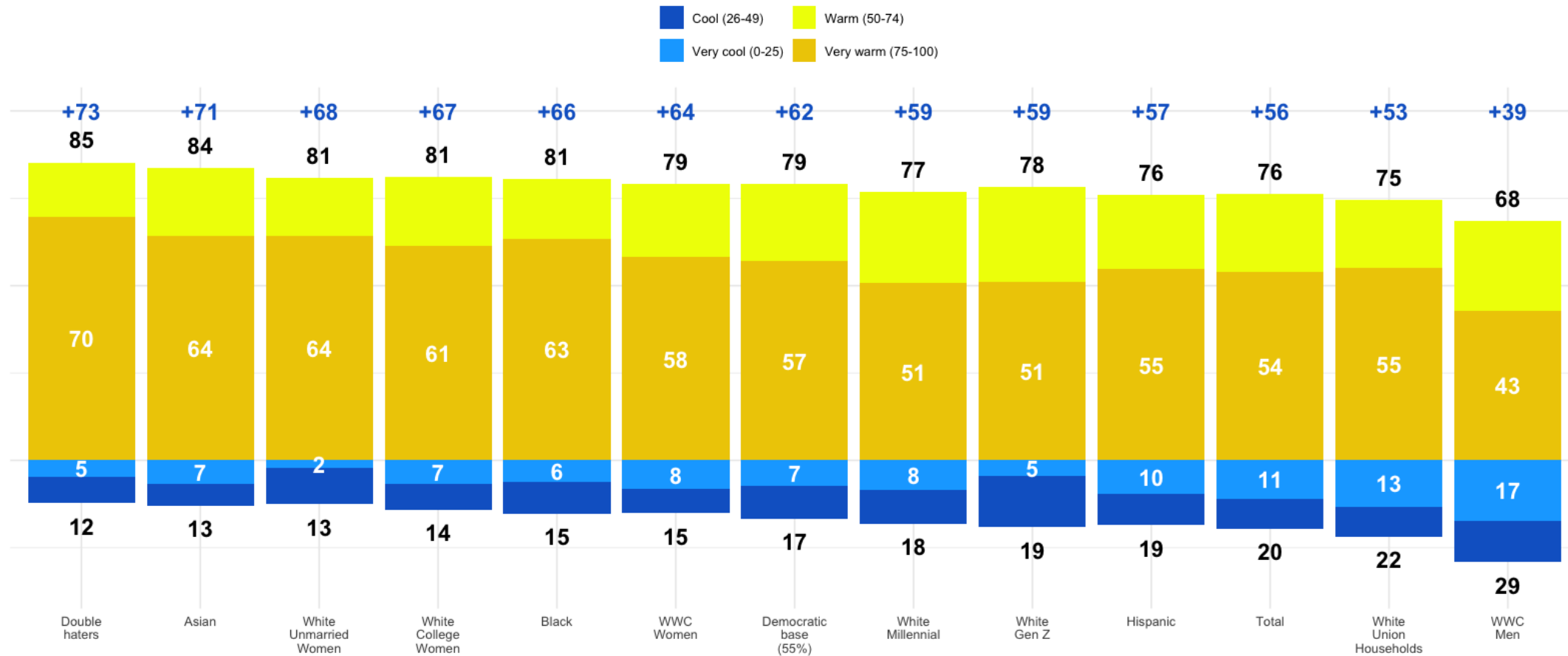


Please select the THREE issues you think are most pressing for the United States.



Across the board, voters also overwhelmingly support raising taxes on billionaires

White women of all classes & Blacks offer intense support for taxing billionaires.

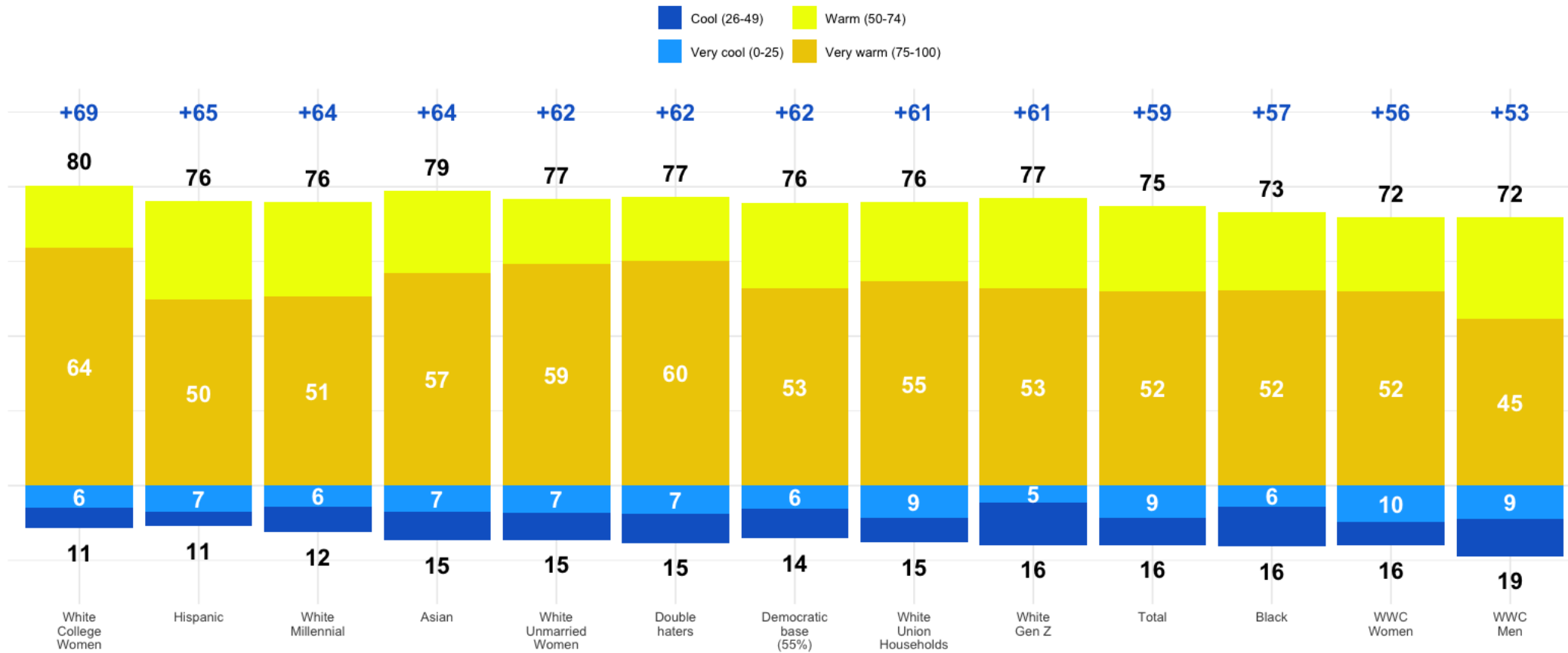


Please rate your feelings toward some people, organisations and activities, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Across the board, voters also overwhelmingly support limiting big monopolies with super profits to reduce costs

Over half of white union households and working class are very warm about attacking the monopolies' super profits to lower costs.

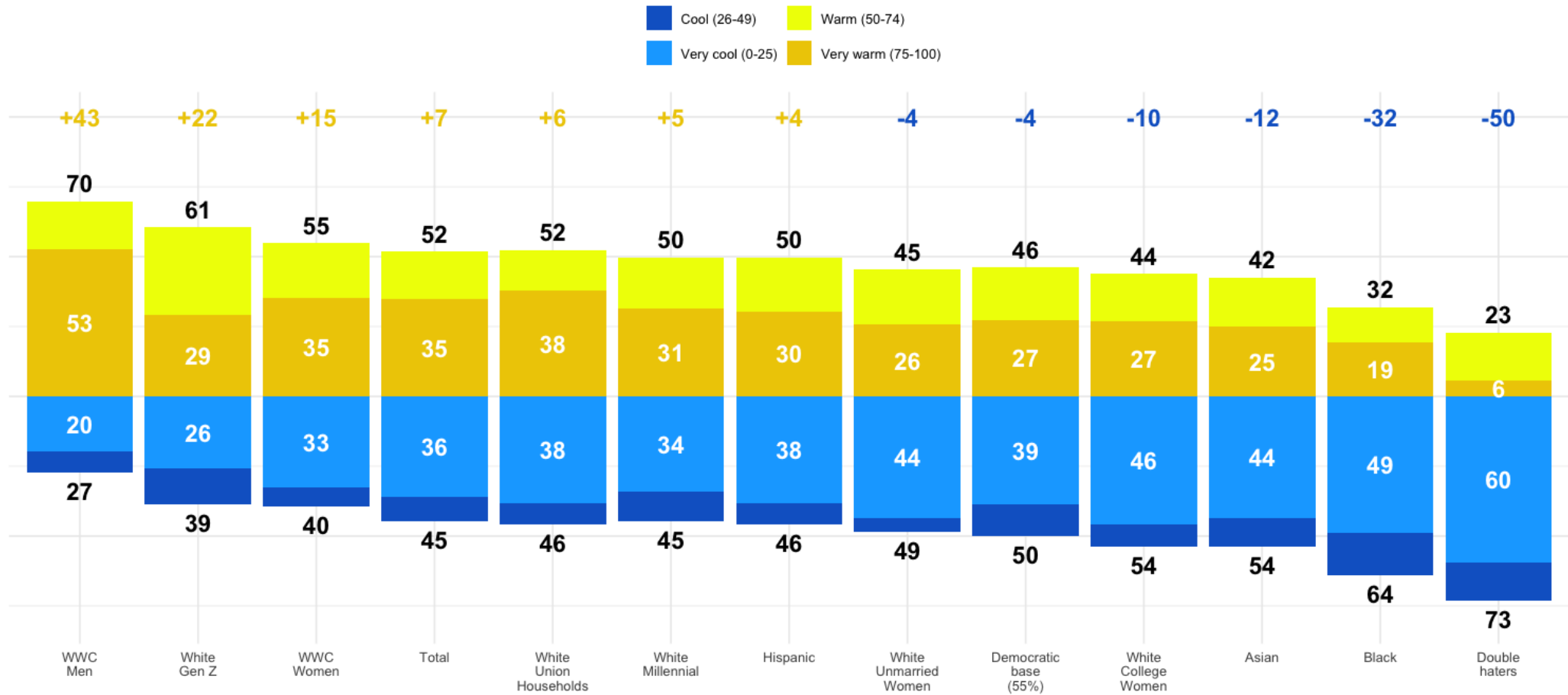


Please rate your feelings toward limiting big monopolies making super profits to reduce costs for consumers, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Elon Musk's base is white working class men and white Gen Z

A majority of Hispanics and 1/3rd of Blacks have favorable view of Musk.

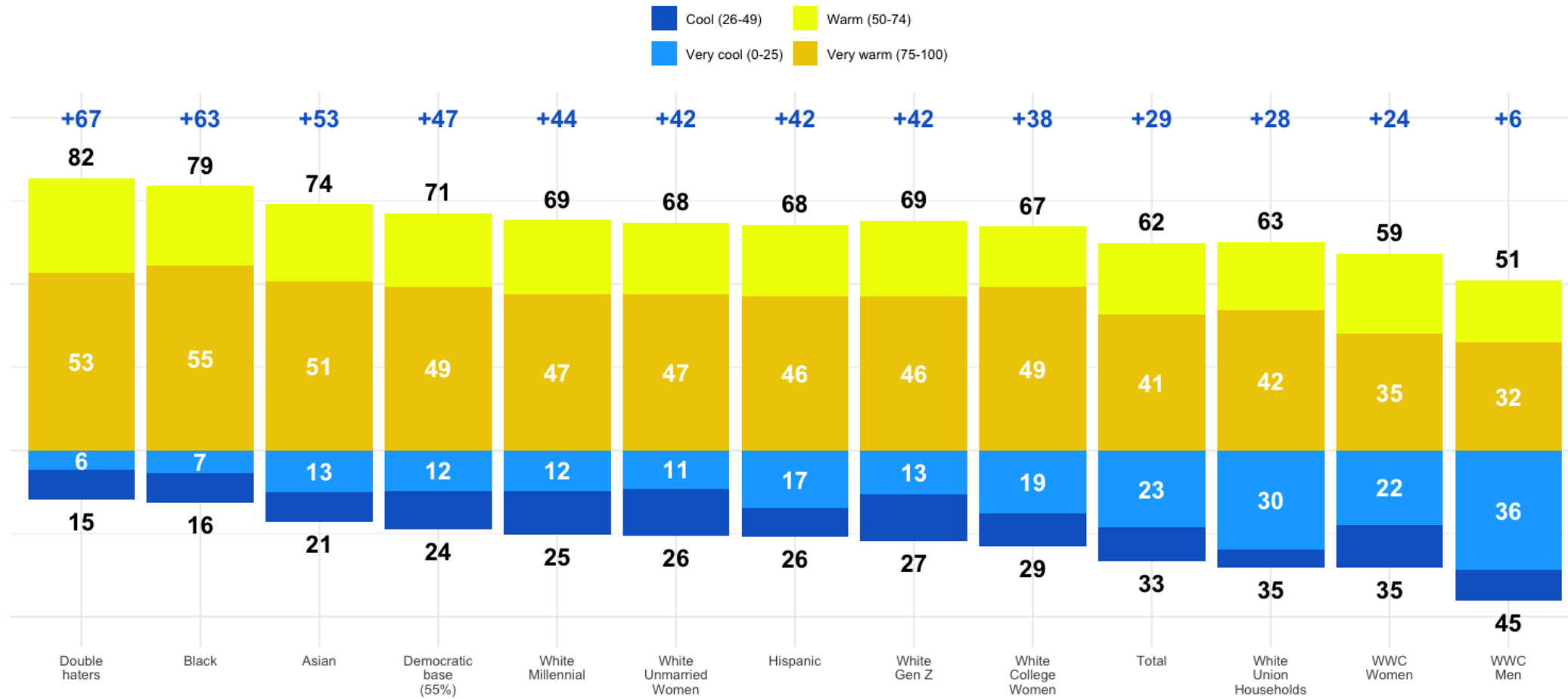


Please rate your feelings toward Elon Musk, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



Overwhelming support for efforts to fight climate change, but especially among Blacks, white Gen Z, millennials, & Hispanics; but also white union households & WWCW

Even a majority of white working class men want to do more to prevent climate change.



Please rate your feelings toward Elon Musk, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

What if campaign ran with different focus



Harris Test Statements

Hispanic respondents were shown a statement from Harris on the importance of the Hispanic community to America

- **(Hispanic priority message)** Hispanics hard work and personal responsibility played such a big role in building our nation. Your hard work built our industries that made America great. Too many leaders have taken your support for granted. Not me. Your support was so important to me in California and your issues were number one. My top priority is the expanded monthly Child Tax Credit, with \$6,000 for newborns. I want you to know that I will work hard to win your votes and need your votes to win.
- **(Combating Crime)** Rising crime is unacceptable and people need to live in safe communities. That starts with having more police who are respected. It is a tough job, and we should fund, not defund the police. We need 100,000 more police. At the same time, our plan includes urgent reforms, including better training and accountability to prevent excessive use of force and racial profiling that singles out Blacks or Latinos. Those very communities want us to get behind law enforcement and fighting violent crime as a top priority with all the resources at our disposal.



Full text of Harris's test statements 1/2

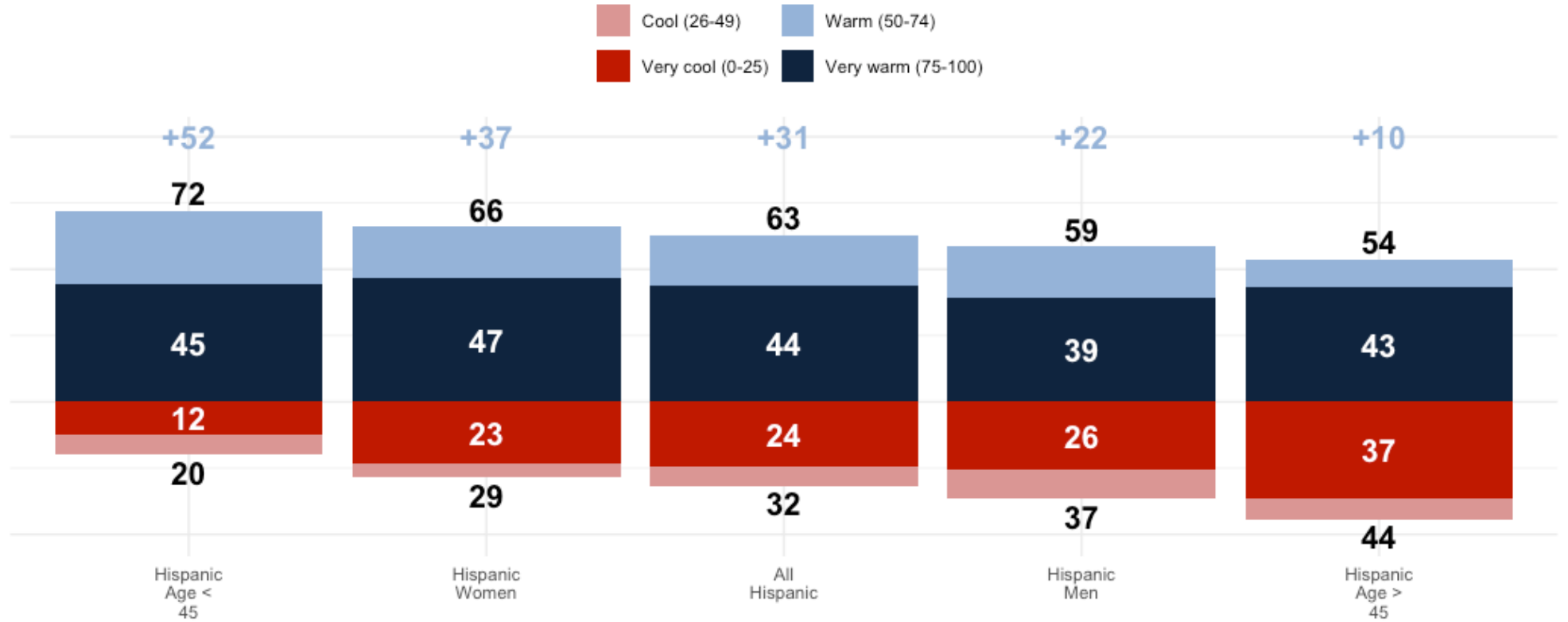
Statements included Tougher Border Enforcement and Empowering the Middle Class

- **(Border Enforcement)** I know the border is out of control and supported the toughest ever bipartisan security bill. It created an additional 1,500 border patrol agents, inspection machines for fentanyl, 4,300 asylum officers, and 100 new immigration judges. It gave the power to close the border, and it was endorsed by the Border Patrol Union. After Trump blocked it, we barred migrants who crossed illegally from receiving asylum and that reduced encounters by a third. I want the power to close the border and work with our neighbors to address the causes. Dreamers also need to stay with a path to citizenship. Trump and the Republicans just say no.
- **(Empowering Middle Class)** I know high prices are killing people. The hard working middle class has faced so many struggles. I helped with lowering drug costs and expanded the monthly Child Tax Credit. But the greedy big monopolies and big corporations are making super profits by raising prices. They have all the power. Trump told the big oil companies, donate a billion dollars to my campaign and I will repeal environmental regulations. He'll give even bigger corporate tax cuts. They plan to cut Social Security and ban legal abortions. I will tax billionaires to pay for expanded childcare and Child Tax Credit. We need 100,000 more police and support closing the



Hispanic priority scores dramatically above Harris vote, especially for younger Hispanics and women

The Hispanic priority message was the strongest we tested.

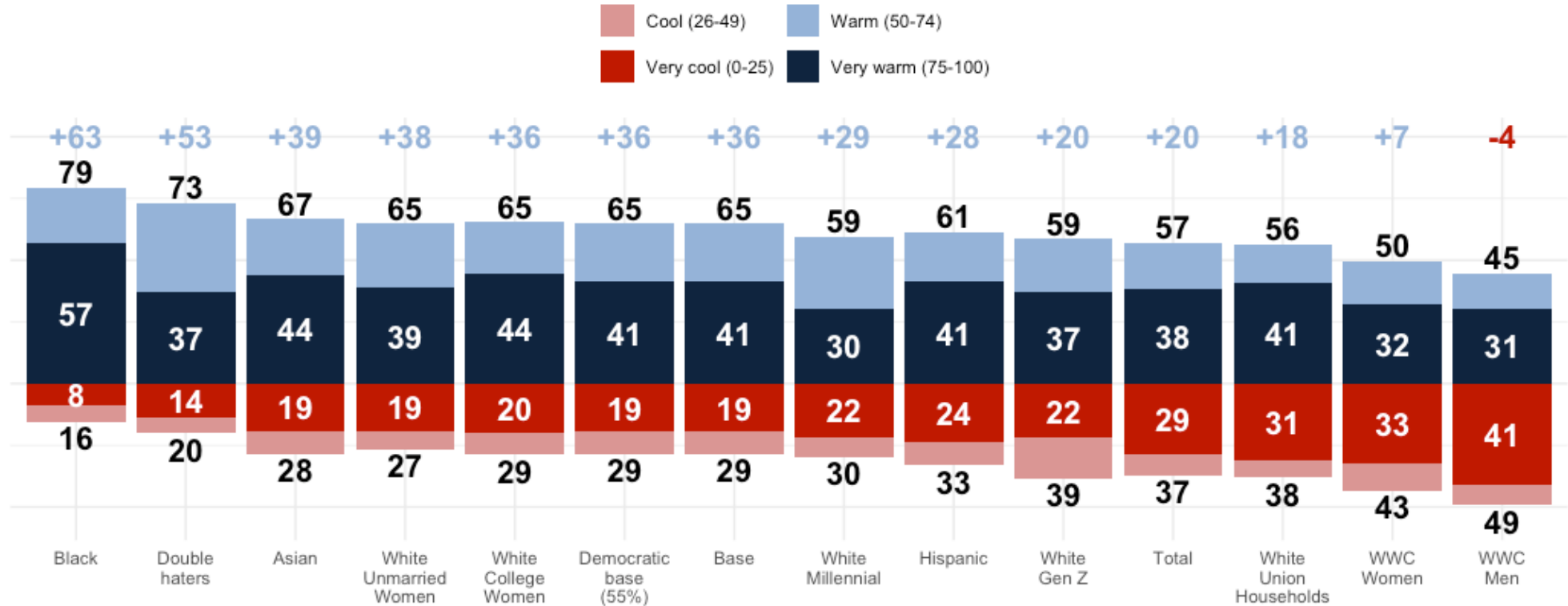


Hispanics hard work and personal responsibility played such a big role in building our nation. Your hard work built our industries that made America great. Too many leaders have taken your support for granted. Not me. Your support was so important to me in California and your issues were number one. My top priority is the expanded monthly Child Tax Credit, with \$6,000 for newborns. I want you to know that I will work hard to win your votes and need your votes to win.



The crime reassurance message is particularly strong, and most of all for Blacks and Democratic base

An intense majority of white union households respond warmly to crime message.

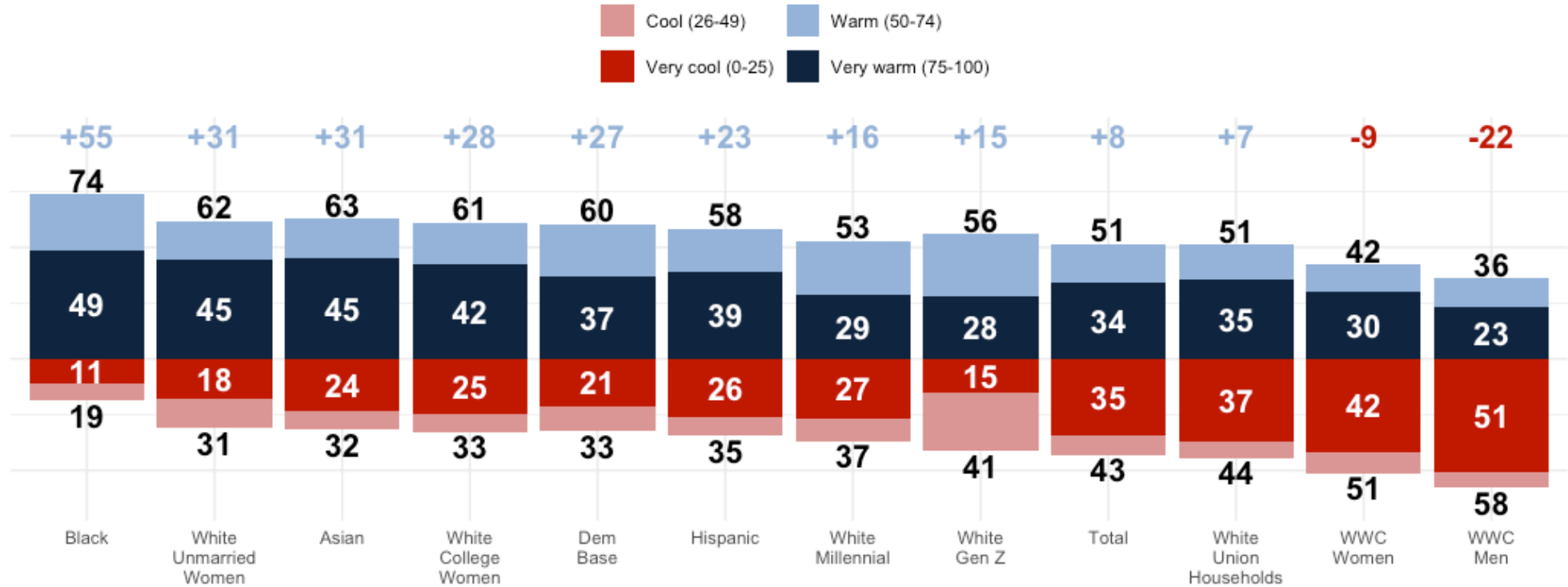


Rising crime is unacceptable and people need to live in safe communities. That starts with having more police who are respected. It is a tough job, and we should fund, not defund the police. We need 100,000 more police. At the same time, our plan includes urgent reforms, including better training and accountability to prevent excessive use of force and racial profiling that singles out Blacks or Latinos. Those very communities want us to get behind law enforcement and fighting violent crime as a top priority with all the resources at our disposal.



The border message also strong, but especially for Blacks and Democratic base.

Almost three in five Hispanics respond warmly to out of control border message.

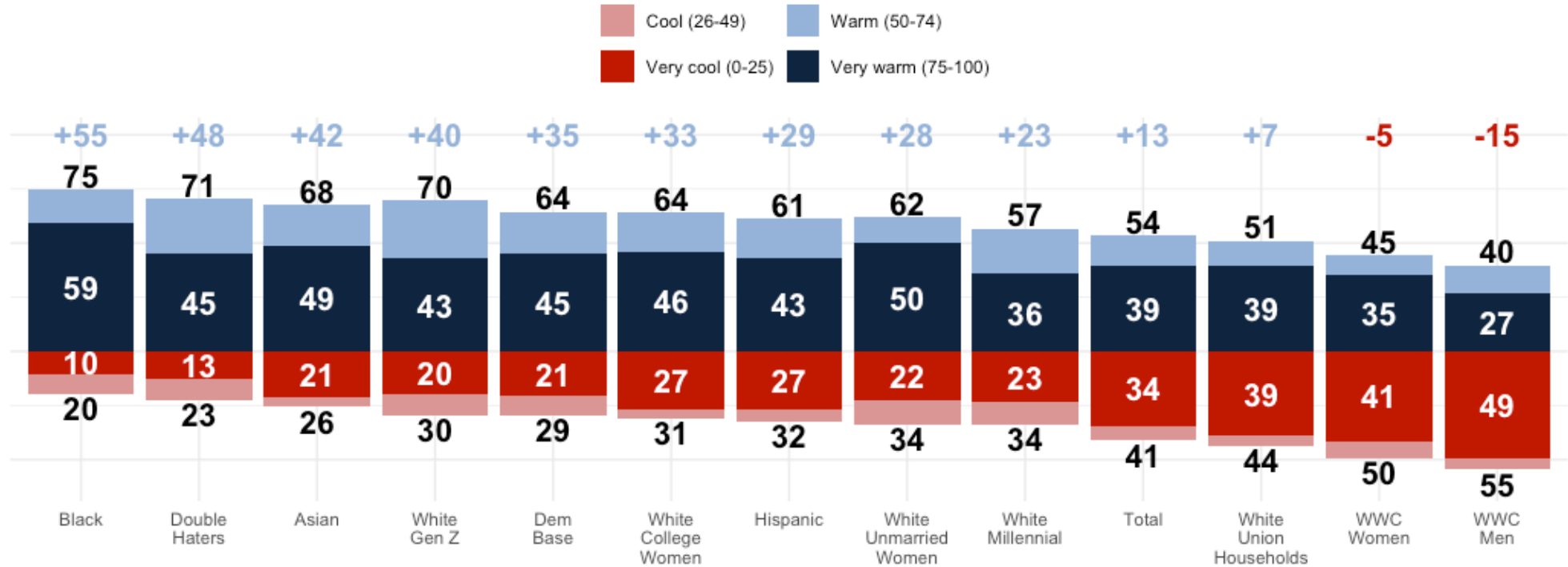


I know the border is out of control and supported the toughest ever bipartisan security bill. It created an additional 1,500 border patrol agents, inspection machines for fentanyl, 4,300 asylum officers, and 100 new immigration judges. It gave the power to close the border, and it was endorsed by the Border Patrol Union. After Trump blocked it, we barred migrants who crossed illegally from receiving asylum and that reduced encounters by a third. I want the power to close the border and work with our neighbors to address the causes. Dreamers also need to stay with a path to citizenship. Trump and the Republicans just say no.



A campaign message empowering the middle class wins by 12 points — well above the tied election. Almost 2/3rd of base give warm response and a majority of white union households

Over 40 percent of white working class women and men respond warmly to this message

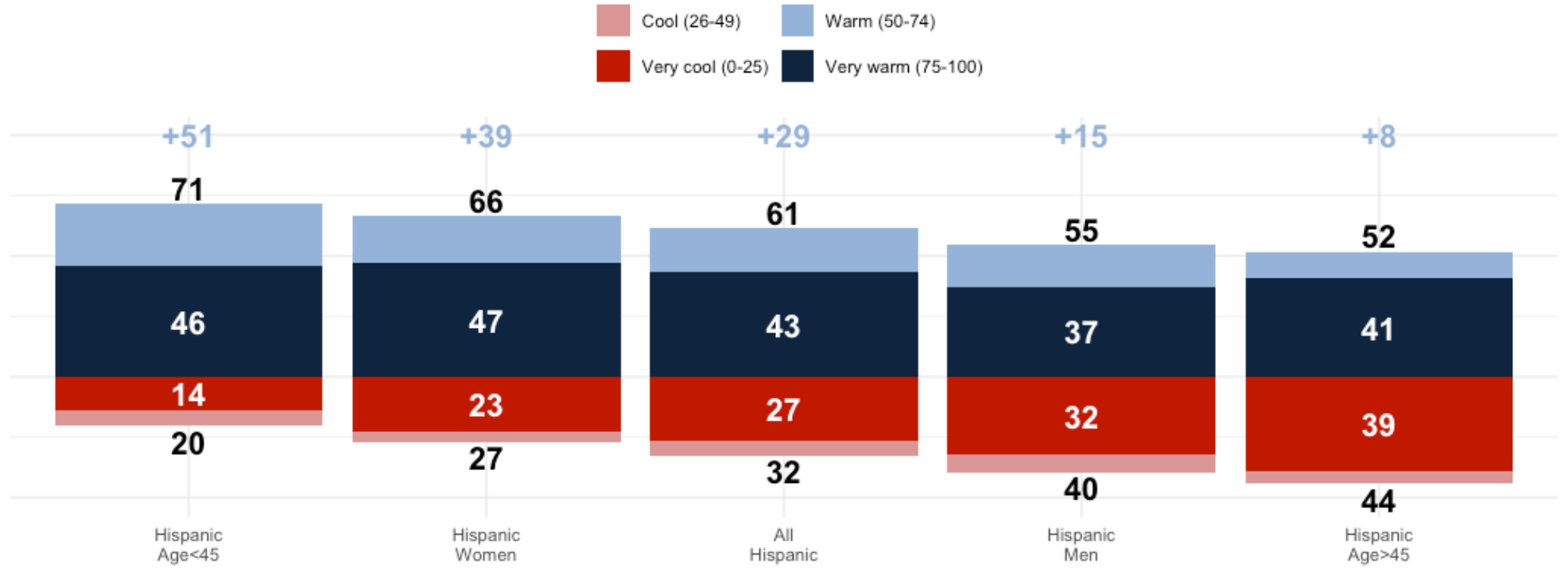


I know high prices are killing people. The hard working middle class has faced so many struggles. I helped with lowering drug costs and expanded the monthly Child Tax Credit. But the greedy big monopolies and big corporations are making super profits by raising prices. They have all the power. Trump told the big oil companies, donate a billion dollars to my campaign and I will repeal environmental regulations. He'll give even bigger corporate tax cuts. They plan to cut Social Security and ban legal abortions. I will tax billionaires to pay for expanded childcare and Child Tax Credit. We need 100,000 more police and support closing the border to get control. The middle class needs to call the shots again.



Among Hispanics, intense support with younger Hispanics and women

Over 60 percent of Hispanics respond warmly.

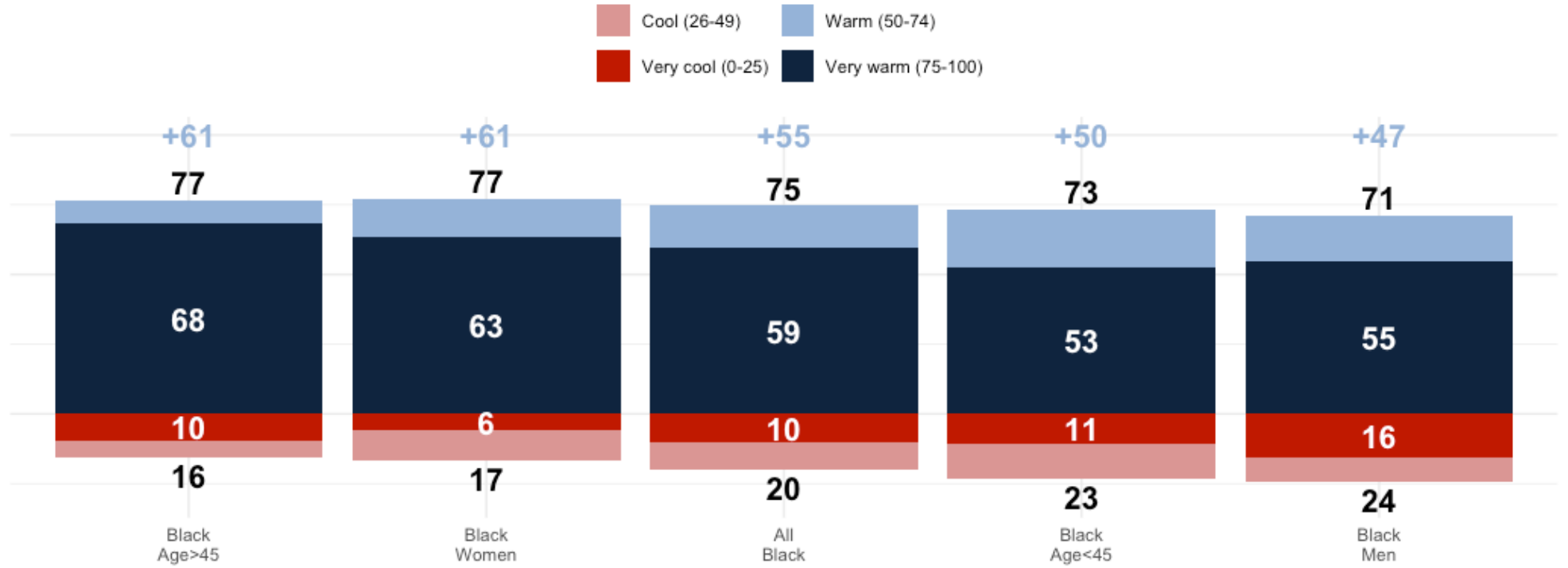


I know high prices are killing people. The hard working middle class has faced so many struggles. I helped with lowering drug costs and expanded the monthly Child Tax Credit. But the greedy big monopolies and big corporations are making super profits by raising prices. They have all the power. Trump told the big oil companies, donate a billion dollars to my campaign and I will repeal environmental regulations. He'll give even bigger corporate tax cuts. They plan to cut Social Security and ban legal abortions. I will tax billionaires to pay for expanded childcare and Child Tax Credit. We need 100,000 more police and support closing the border to get control. The middle class needs to call the shots again.



Similarly, under 45 and younger Blacks give an intense warm response

Empower the middle class is the strongest message for Blacks.



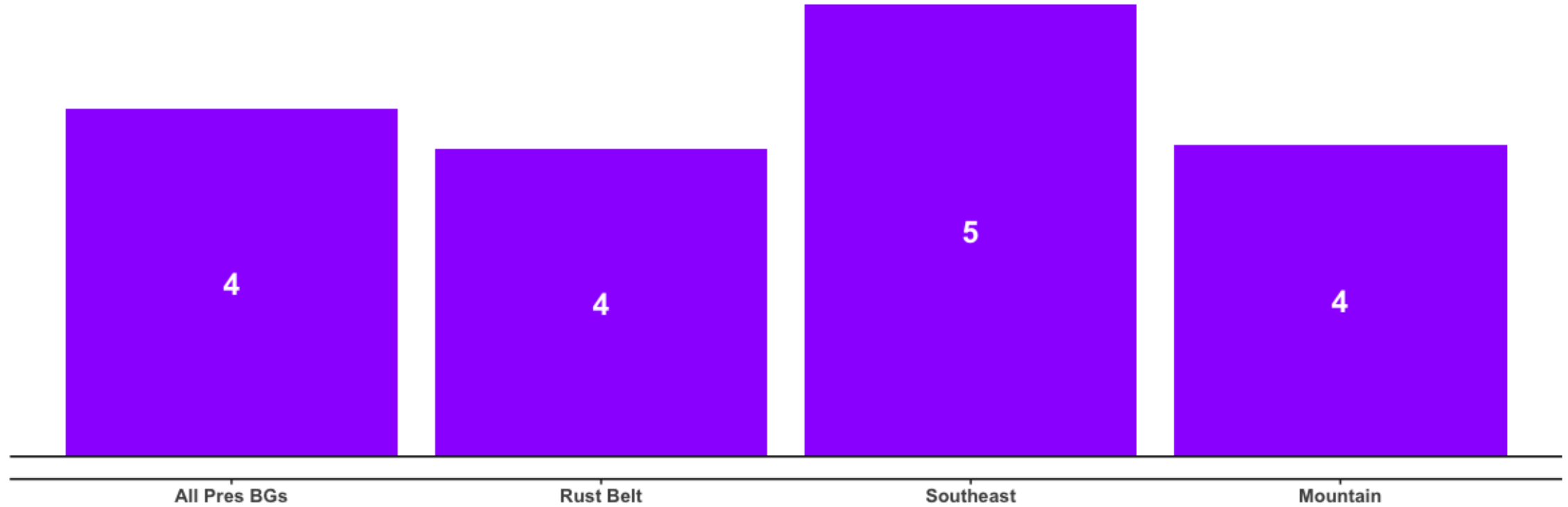
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4 percent of Trump voters switch to Harris — evenly across the different battleground states

Presidential vote switching (in Presidential battlegrounds, by region)

■ Trump-Harris vote switcher





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