



PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

turning questions into answers



Ten Consequential Slides of 2024

By: Bill McInturff



We first shared on X in May the most significant — and underappreciated — survey finding this year: Republicans gaining an edge over Democrats on party identification.

Republicans had been tied on the media Exit Poll on party identification in a presidential year in 2004 (37% Republican/37% Democrat), but this November was the first time ever Republicans had an Exit Poll advantage (35% Republican/31% Democrat).

In July on X we also first shared the significant movement on party identification among Latino voters.

Party Identification of Registered Voters – Trend

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

Latino Voters	Republican	Democrat	Net Difference
2024 Telemundo Survey (N=1,000)	37%	49%	+12%
2016 NBC Merge Data (N=1,280)	20%	59%	+39%





The September NBC/CNBC/Telemundo poll of N=1000 Latino voters, led by Dr. Aileen Cordona-Arroyo of Hart Research Associates and my business partner, Micah Roberts, was startling at the time. It showed Vice President Harris with only a 14-point lead, with Latino men split evenly.

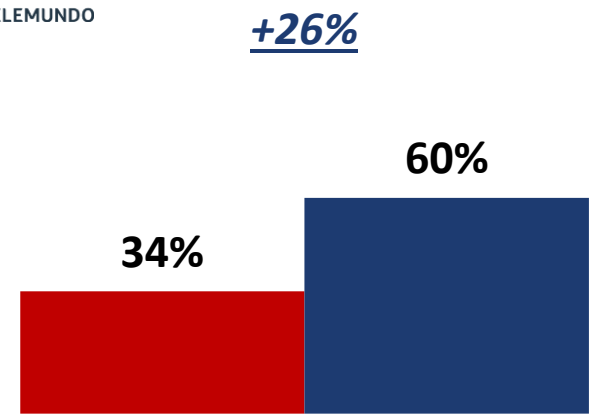
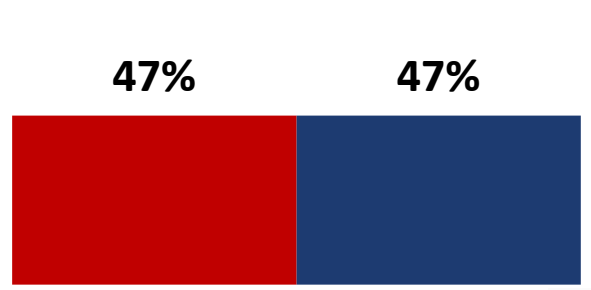
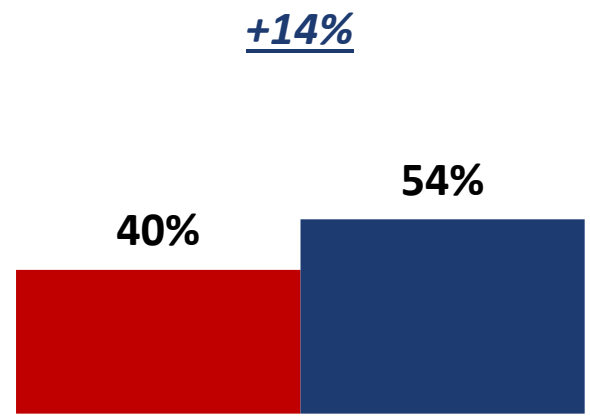
The AP VoteCast results in 2024 reflected these results from September.

It is a stunning change from the results as recently as in 2020 among Latino voters (35% Trump/65% Biden per AP VoteCast).

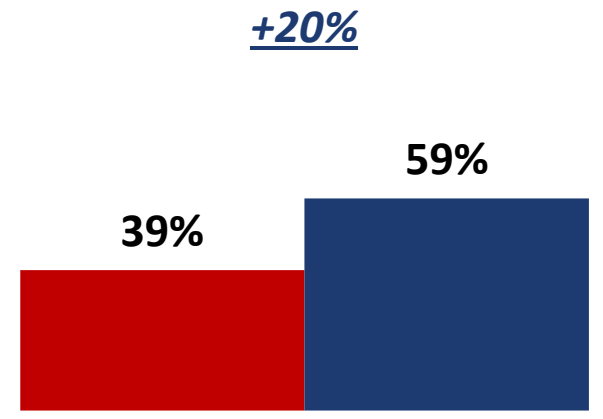
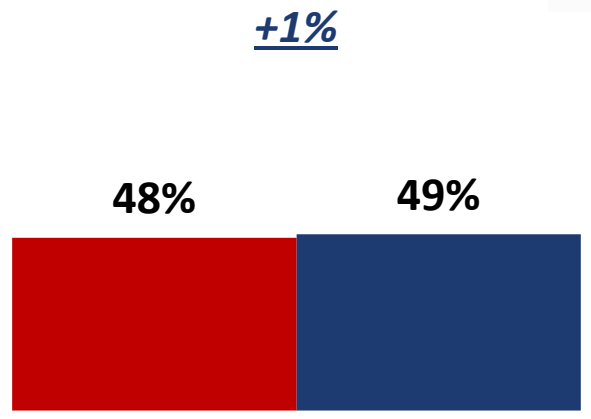
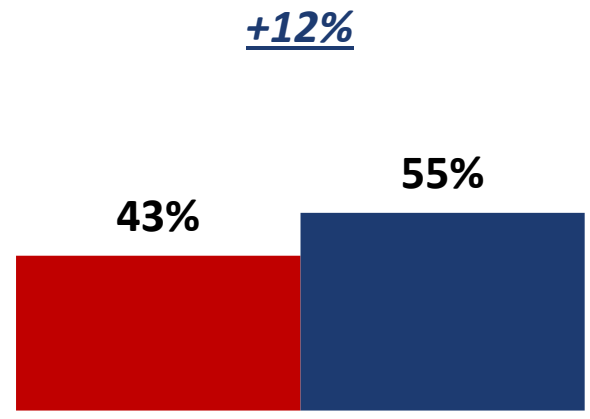
September Survey Results and Exit Poll Data Among Latino Voters



NBC/CNBC/Telemundo Survey   



2024 AP VoteCast Exit Poll 



All Latino Voters

Latino Men

Latina Women

■ Trump ■ Harris



Inflation is the incumbent killer, in this country and around the world.

In April, Gallup reported that open-end mentions of inflation as the most important financial problem hit a high in their years of tracking this question.

Inflation and negative views of the economy drove the unfavorable opinion of the Biden administration that Vice President Harris could not escape.

My business partner, Nicole McCleskey, once again was immersed doing focus groups with swing women voters. Nicole reported as concerned as swing women voters were with the issue of abortion, they said their primary concern was not being able to afford the day-to-day cost of living.

A special data run of the CNN Exit Poll data by Ron Brownstein identified 36% of voters who supported legal abortion, but rated the economy as not so good or poor. Nicole's qualitative findings are supported by this data. Trump carried over 60% of the vote among the white non-college women in this cohort.

Impact of Inflation on Voters and the 2024 Election

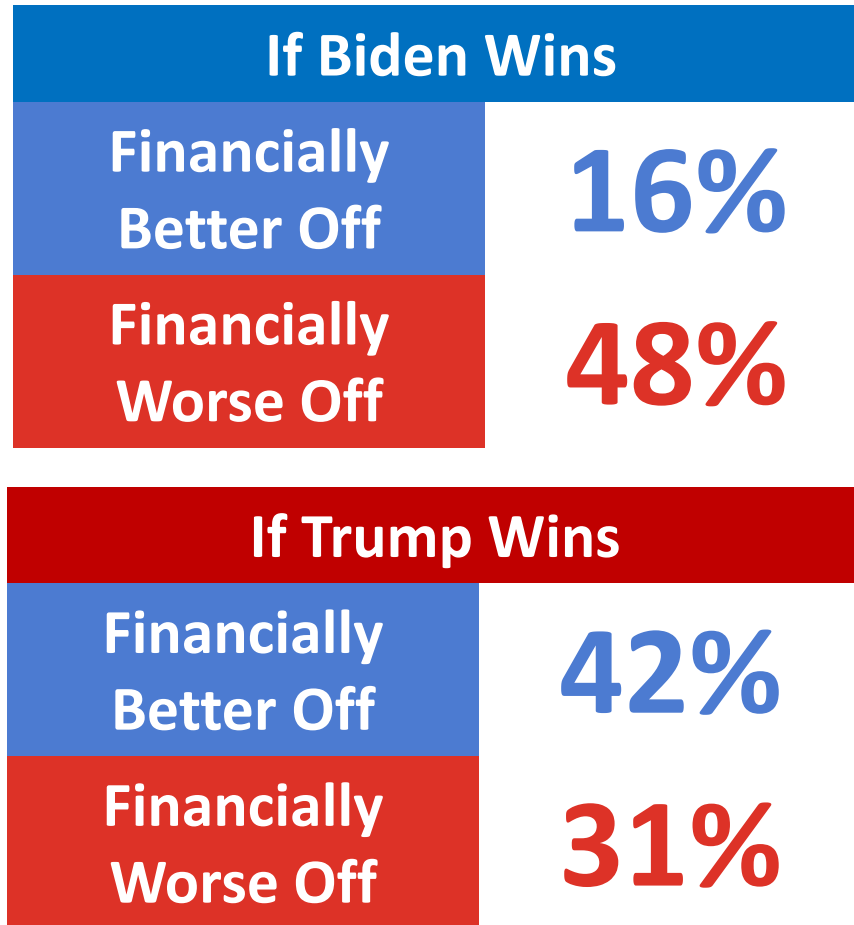
GALLUP

What is the most important financial problem facing your family today? [OPEN-ENDED]

	% High Cost of Living/Inflation
January 2005 (First Asked)	8%
July 2008 (Previous High Before Biden Administration)	18%

April 2021	8%
April 2022	32%
April 2023	35%
April 2024	41%

Their policies would make you...* **CBS**
YouGov



62%

Trump vote among white non-college women who support legal abortion but rated the economy negatively.

*Survey dates June 5-7, 2024



An NBC News proprietary scale rates voters' feelings towards presidential candidates from “optimistic and confident” to “pessimistic and worried.”

President-elect Trump's core political base has always been underestimated. Since 1996, the highest rating ever on “optimistic and confident” has been the 32% who provided that rating to Trump in the last few days before the 2024 election.

While a majority of voters were uncertain and worried about both candidates, Trump's negatives were the lowest they have been in his three elections. Importantly, Trump's net rating was slightly better than Harris' rating on this scale.

Vice President Harris now joins John Kerry and Hillary Clinton as the three Democrats with a net negative rating on this scale, all of whom lost the election.

Trump received the highest “optimistic and confident” score ever. Harris is one of three Democrats with a net negative rating on this scale to lose.



Outlook on Voters’ Feelings on Presidential Candidates Since 1996

	Republican Candidate	Optimistic & Confident, Satisfied & Hopeful	Uncertain & Wondering, Pessimistic & Worried	Net Difference	Democratic Candidate	Optimistic & Confident, Satisfied & Hopeful	Uncertain & Wondering, Pessimistic & Worried	Net Difference
1996	Bob Dole	45%	52%	-7%	Bill Clinton	59%	40%	+19%
2000	George W. Bush	56%	43%	+13%	Al Gore	52%	47%	+5%
2004	George W. Bush	51%	49%	+2%	John Kerry	48%	51%	-3%
2008	John McCain	44%	55%	-11%	Barack Obama	56%	43%	+13%
2012	Mitt Romney	47%	52%	-5%	Barack Obama	50%	50%	-0-
2016	Donald Trump	34%	65%	-31%	Hillary Clinton	43%	56%	-13%
2020	Donald Trump	44%	55%	-11%	Joe Biden	51%	47%	+4%
2024	Donald Trump	47%	52%	-5%	Kamala Harris	44%	56%	-12%

	Year	Optimistic & Confident
George W. Bush (Previous High)	2000	31%
Donald Trump (All Time High)	2024	32%
Kamala Harris	2024	26%



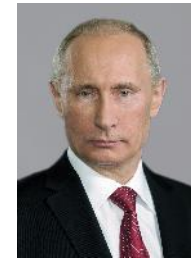
We have been telling the story about the extreme polarization and partisanship in multiple ways in our two previous “10 Consequential Slides” reports.

One sees it again this election as only 9% report voting for a congressional candidate of a different party than their presidential preference, the lowest in our firm’s Election Night surveys. This is down from 36% in 2000 and down again from 11% in 2020.

The Economist/YouGov told this polarization story in a memorable way: Republicans’ unfavorable rating of Harris and Democrats’ unfavorable rating of Trump are *higher* than they are for Putin!

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?



Each presidential election cycle carries forward a small number of ads that go on to be part of history.

This cycle, what will be remembered is the Trump ad showing Harris on camera supporting taxpayer-paid gender transition surgery for prisoners.

There is another axiom of campaigns: If something works, you are going to see more of it in future campaigns.

A well designed and interesting sequence by the Harvard Harris Poll shows something unexpected: even a plurality of Democrats oppose “men who have transitioned competing in women’s sports.”

The data also show a majority of voters believed this was Harris’ position, while three-quarters believed Trump would oppose that position.

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%



Prediction: We can count the days until there is an article about the “Joe Rogan primary” for the 2028 election.

This election cycle was the year of the podcast. We will be hearing a lot more about the impact of podcasts on political behavior in the years ahead.

NBC News tracking helps illustrate a few key points:

- The increase in the use of podcasts since the first benchmark in 2019.
- The confirmation that podcasts are hitting younger voters, especially men.
- The very sharp difference by gender of political attitudes among podcast listeners.

Podcasts played a pivotal role, including reaching MAGA voters and younger men. It is a targeted medium, with very different ballot data among women than their male counterparts who listen to podcasts.



% Listen to Podcasts

March 2019

33%

November 2024

42%

Top Subgroups Listen to Podcasts to Get News and Information (42%)

Men Ages 18-49	57%
GOP Type: MAGA	54%
Ages 18-34	53%
Ages 35-49	53%
Postgraduates	50%
Region: Northeast	50%
TikTok User: Yes	49%
Republicans	49%
Women Ages 18-49	48%
Men Less Than College	48%
2020 Vote: Trump	48%
Women College+	47%
2020 States: Biden	46%
Urban Ring Counties	46%
Conservatives	46%
White Men	46%

2024 Ballot Data Shown Among Podcast Listeners

	Trump	Harris	Net Diff.
Total	57%	42%	+15%
Men	67%	31%	+36%
Women	46%	54%	+8%



We keep watching all the important ways COVID has impacted our country.

Here is another one: The precipitous drop in support for the government requiring children be vaccinated against contagious diseases from 80% a generation ago in 1991, to 62% in 2019, and down to a bare majority today (51% support).

And, yes, the change is coming from Republicans whose support has slipped from a majority (53% support) as recently as 2019 to 36% today.

In a post-COVID United States, only a slim majority of Americans favor government requirements for children to have vaccinations against contagious diseases.

GALLUP

Do you think the government should require all parents to have their children vaccinated against contagious diseases such as measles, or do you think that's something the government should stay out of?

<i>Data Shown Among All Americans</i>	Yes, Require	No, Stay Out	Net Difference
1991	81%	14%	+67%
2019	62%	35%	+27%
2024	51%	45%	+6%

1991 results from survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates for Troika Productions and Lifetime Television

<i>%Yes, Require</i>	2019	2024	Net Difference
GOP	53%	36%	-17%
Dem	72%	69%	-3%



Let's say something kind about Gen Z (as we are about to say something very unkind about them next): They have a point about their economic situation compared to their parents and grandparents.

Gen Z does face hugely different (and more expensive) challenges regarding the cost of college and housing.

Each Generation at Age 25*



	Average Pre-Tax Income	Annual Cost of Public College as a % of Income	House Price to Income
Grandparents	\$74,000	13%	3 X
Parents	\$70,000	17%	4 X
Gen Z	\$56,000	43%	7 X

Source: Scott Galloway "Prof G" Analysis

*Adjusted for Inflation



Our previous “10 Consequential Slides” highlighted our work about the profoundly different attitudes of Gen Z compared to other generations.

We have detailed the sharp differences in what has been a presumption about living in this country (the importance of patriotism, religious attendance, the belief America is the best country in the world) and many other differences among Zers.

But as much work as we have done in this area, new data continues to shock.

A plurality of 18 to 29 year old respondents (41%) said “the actions of the killer of the United Healthcare CEO are acceptable.”

Okay, I can say the best I have felt about slipping over the age of 70 is to be among the 81% in my age cohort to call this action “unacceptable.”


This finding is so disturbing in what it implies about Generation Z it rightly warranted inclusion as the final Consequential Slide of 2024.

Younger voters are split on whether the actions of the killer of the United Healthcare CEO are acceptable or unacceptable.

*Do you think the actions of the killer of the United Healthcare CEO are acceptable or unacceptable?**

	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Net Difference
Total	17%	68%	+51%
Ages 18-29	41%	40%	+1%
Ages 70+	10%	81%	+71%

**The response choices included Acceptable, Neutral, and Unacceptable.*



Bonus Slide

Here is a bonus slide to end on a less harsh note than finding number 10.

2024 was the year of Taylor Swift and the Eras Tour.

This slide though reminds us not even as powerful a force as 2024 Taylor Swift could withstand our country's polarization.

After Taylor's endorsement of Vice President Harris, among Republicans, she went from a small net positive rating to almost a majority of Republicans giving her a negative rating.

Feelings Toward Taylor Swift Pre vs. Post Harris Endorsement



November 2023 (Pre-Harris Endorsement)

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

September 2024 (Post-Harris Endorsement)

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



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