



# The case for Kamala Harris: A record that moves voters

Key findings from a survey of 1,204 target voters\* in Battleground states (AZ, GA, MI, MN, NV, NC PA, WI)

Conducted May 25-29, 2023



\* Excludes Republicans and Independents who consistently vote for Republicans.



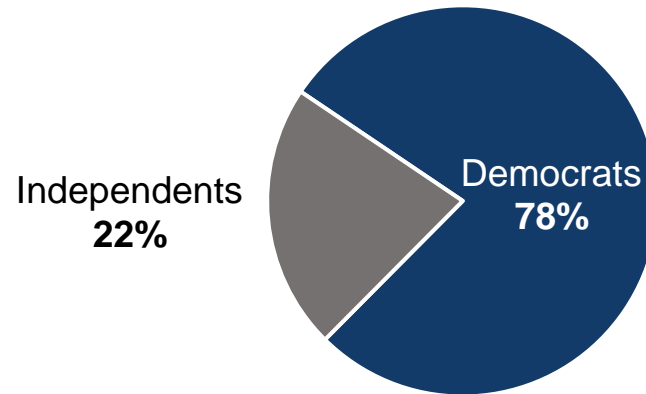
# Survey Overview & Target Universe Profile

The sample includes 1,204 voters in 8 Battleground states: AZ, GA, MI, MN, NV, NC, PA, WI

*This is a sample of voters in our communications universe: we systematically excluded Republicans and Independents who usually vote Republican.*

We oversampled Black and Hispanic voters and weighted those results to their appropriate proportions.

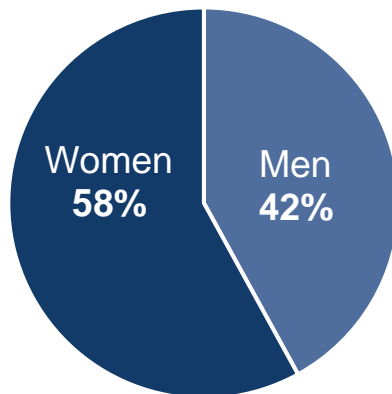
Party ID



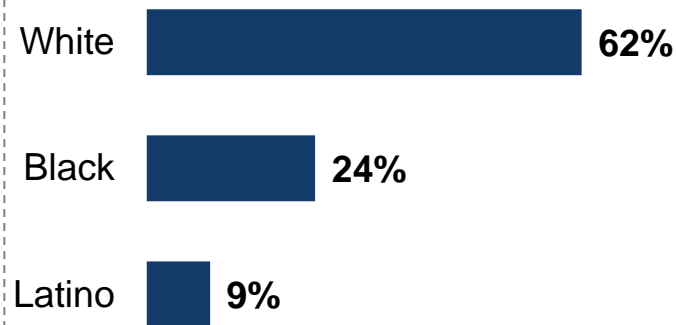
**95% who voted in 2020  
voted for Biden.**



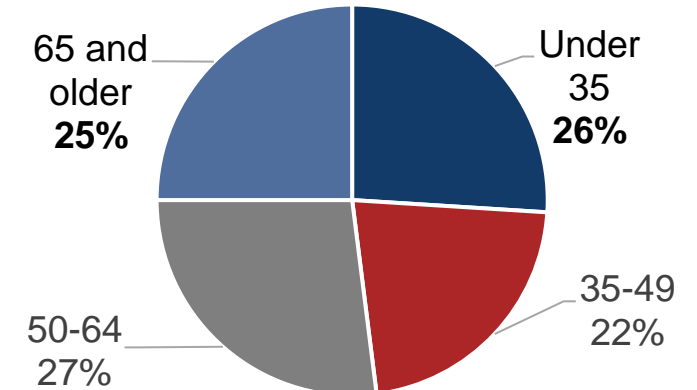
Gender



Race



Age



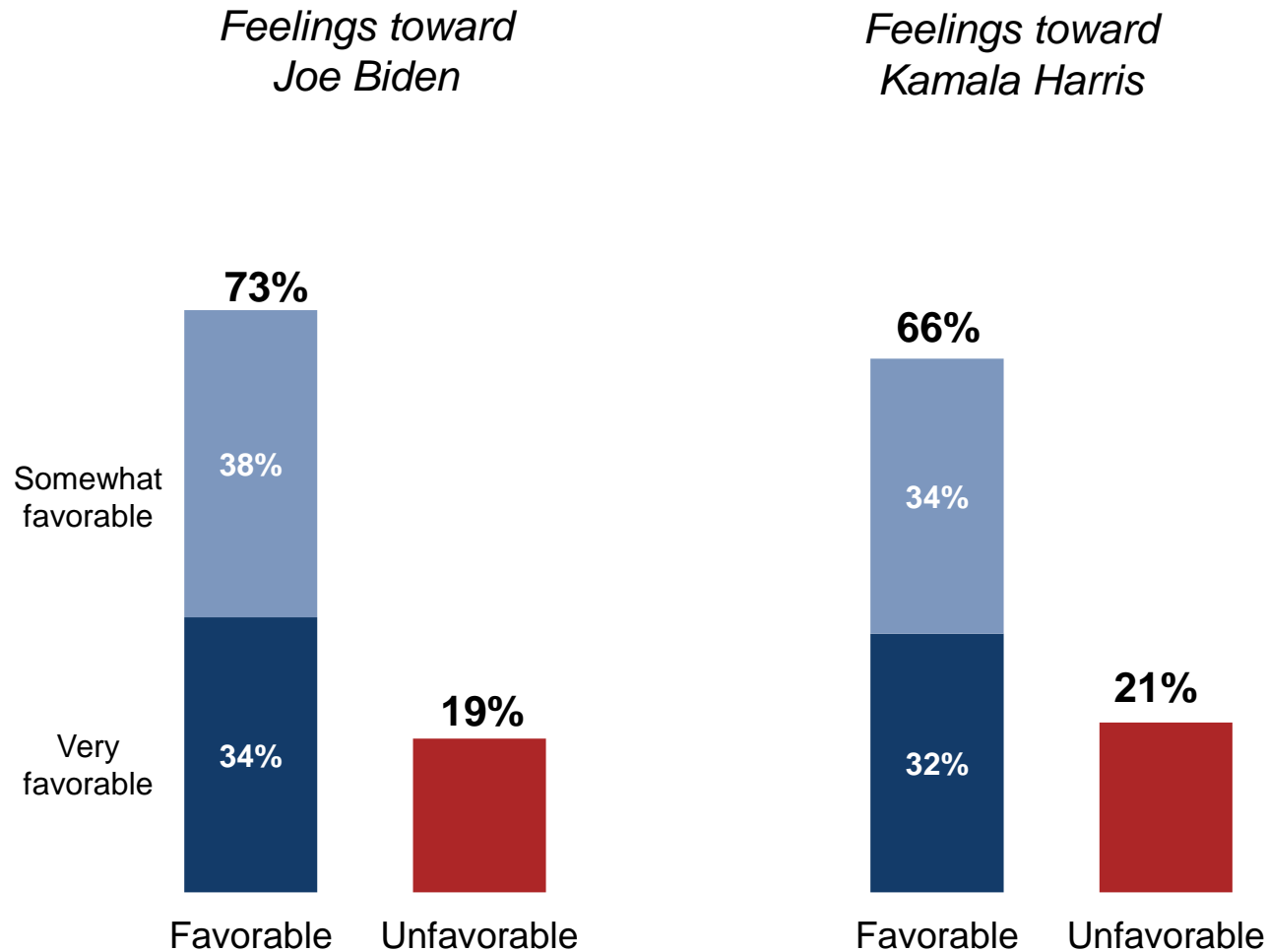
# Key Takeaways

- ✓ Pundits and politicians should stop stressing about whether Vice President Harris is a drag on President Biden's reelection. The results from this poll clearly show she is not.
- ✓ While target voters are familiar with Vice President Harris and are generally favorable to her, many voters do not know much about her work as vice president or her previous record.
- ✓ After hearing more about Vice President Harris' record of standing up on key issues, 33% of voters move in her favor. Her overall favorability rises from 66% to 81%, and the share of voters rating her as very favorable rises from 32% to 53%.
- ✓ Specifically, Vice President Harris' fight to reduce gun violence and her leadership in fighting for women's reproductive rights are especially persuasive to voters who move toward her. Black voters put a high priority on her work to promote racial justice.



# The Baseline

# A large majority of voters rate President Biden and Vice President Harris in similar terms.



## ***Breaking it down:***

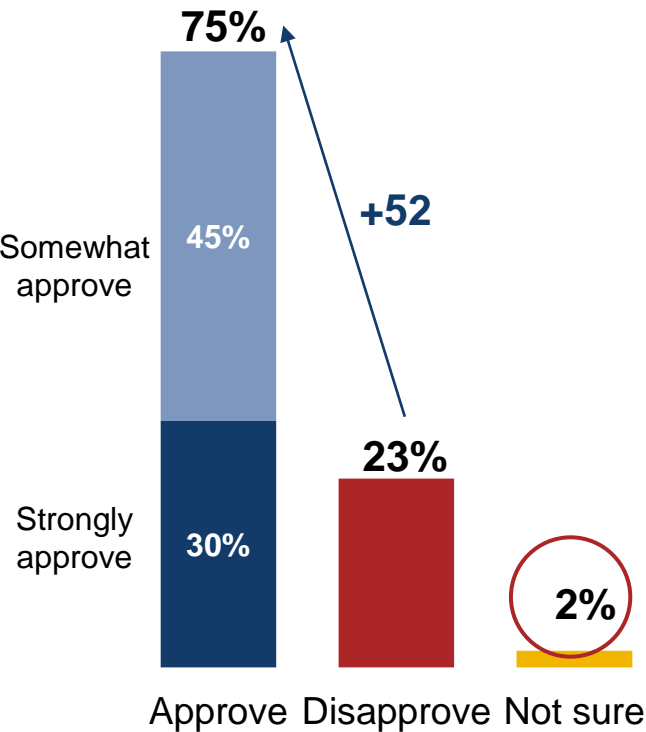
- ✓ **77%** of voters give the similar ratings to Harris as they do to Biden (60% are favorable to both, 3% are neutral to both, 14% are unfavorable to both).
- ✓ Among the remaining (23%) voters, 15% are more favorable to Biden, while 8% are more favorable to Harris.

# Feelings Results by Subgroups

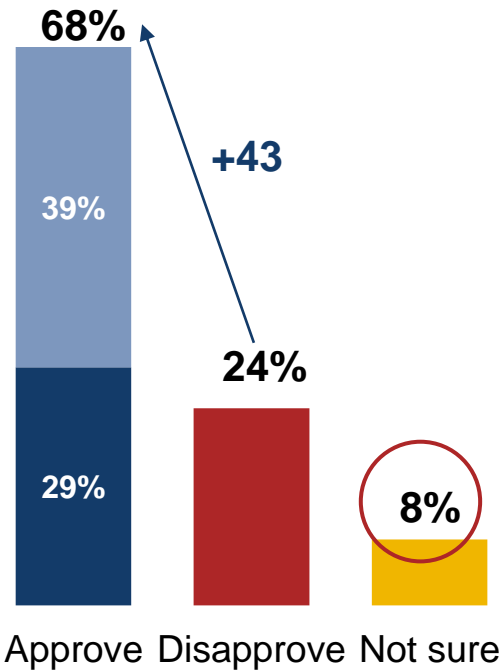
	KAMALA HARRIS			JOE BIDEN		
	Favorable %	Unfavorable%	NET ±	Favorable %	Unfavorable%	NET ±
ALL TARGET VOTERS	66	21	+45	73	19	+53
Women	68	20	➔ +48	73	20	+53
Men	63	24	+39	73	19	+54
Age 18 to 34	54	27	+27	56	31	+24
Age 35 to 49	70	20	+49	71	19	+52
Age 50 to 64	67	21	+46	78	15	+62
Age 65/older	74	16	➔ +57	86	11	+75
Strong Democrats	84	8	+76	88	8	+80
Leaning Democrats	64	22	+42	71	17	+54
Independents	32	46	-14	45	45	0
White voters	66	22	+43	74	19	+54
Black voters	69	19	➔ +50	72	19	+53
Latino voters	64	21	+43	66	19	+47
White women non-college grads	65	21	+43	71	22	+49
White women college grads	73	18	➔ +55	80	14	+66

# Job approval scores for Biden and Harris also are similar.

Joe Biden’s Job Rating

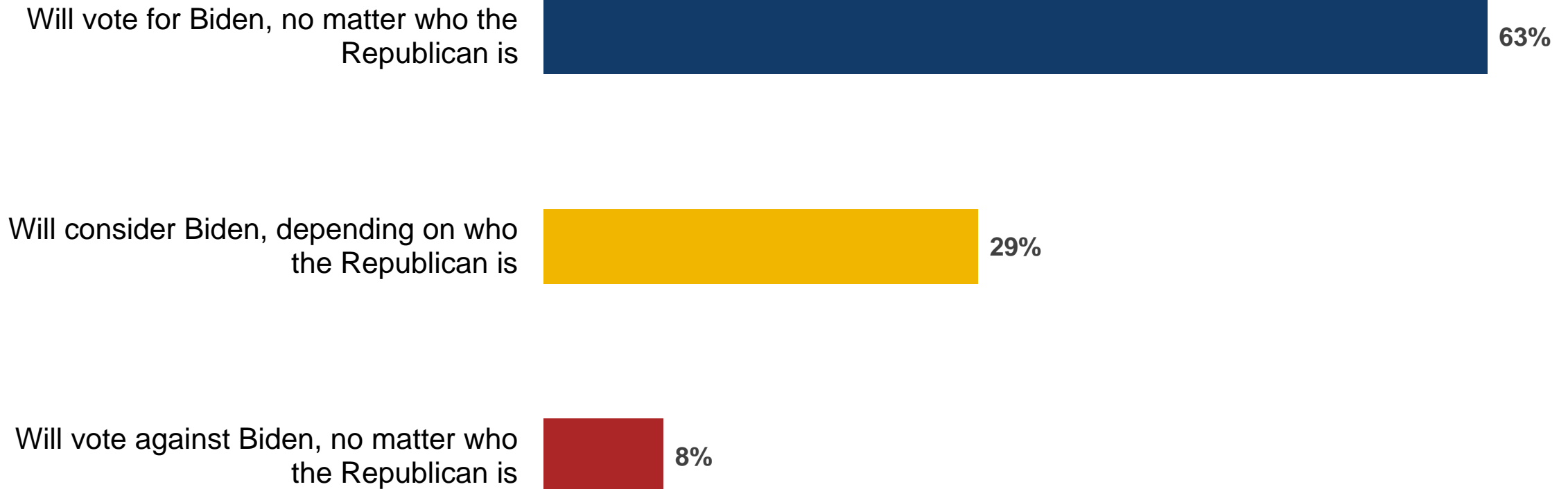


Kamala Harris’ Job Rating



	Net Approve	
	Joe Biden	Kamala Harris
Women	+51	+45
Men	+53	+41
White voters	+54	+43
Black voters	+49	+48
Latino voters	+42	+34

# Nearly two-thirds of this universe say they will vote for Biden regardless of the GOP candidate, but 3-in-10 are more up in the air.

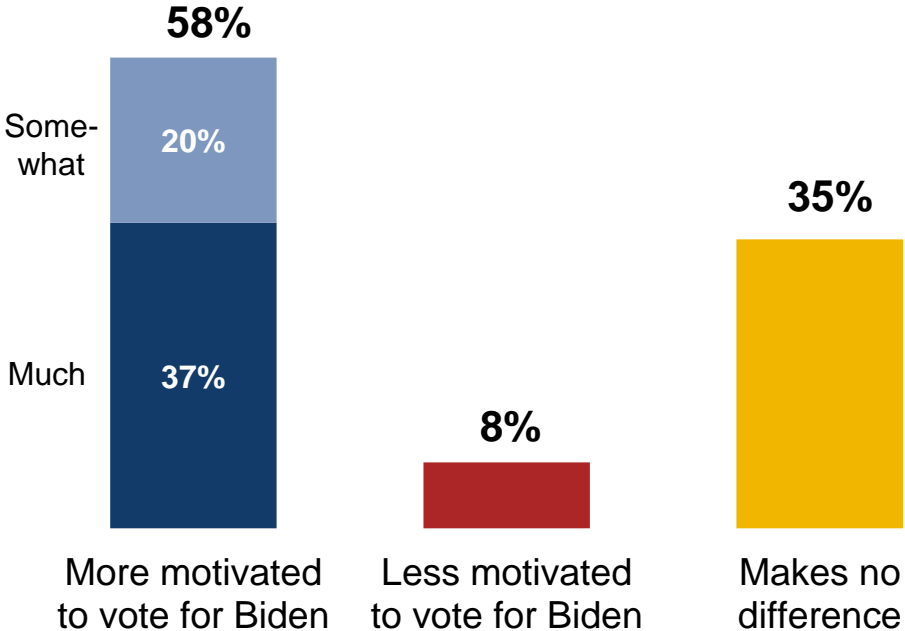




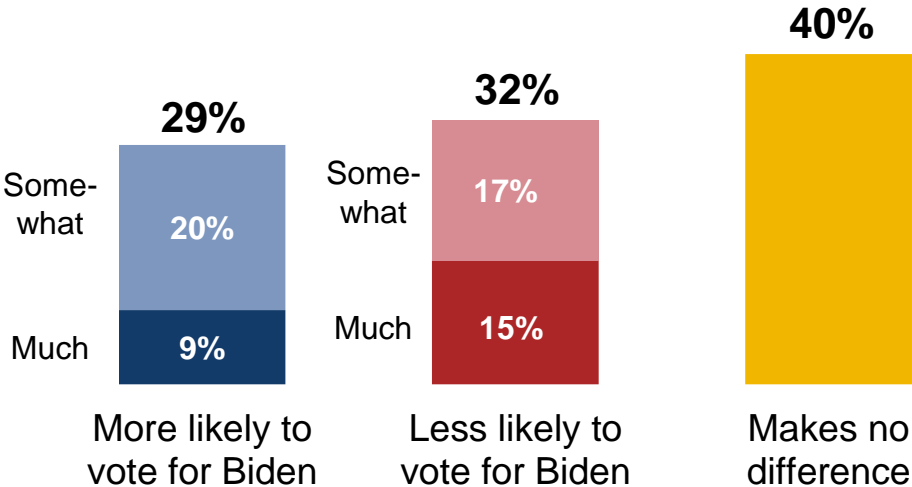
# Focusing specifically on the 2024 matchup, there is no evidence that Harris is a drag on the ticket today.

## Impact of Kamala Harris as Joe Biden's 2024 Running Mate

*Among those who will vote for Biden, Harris is a motivating force:*



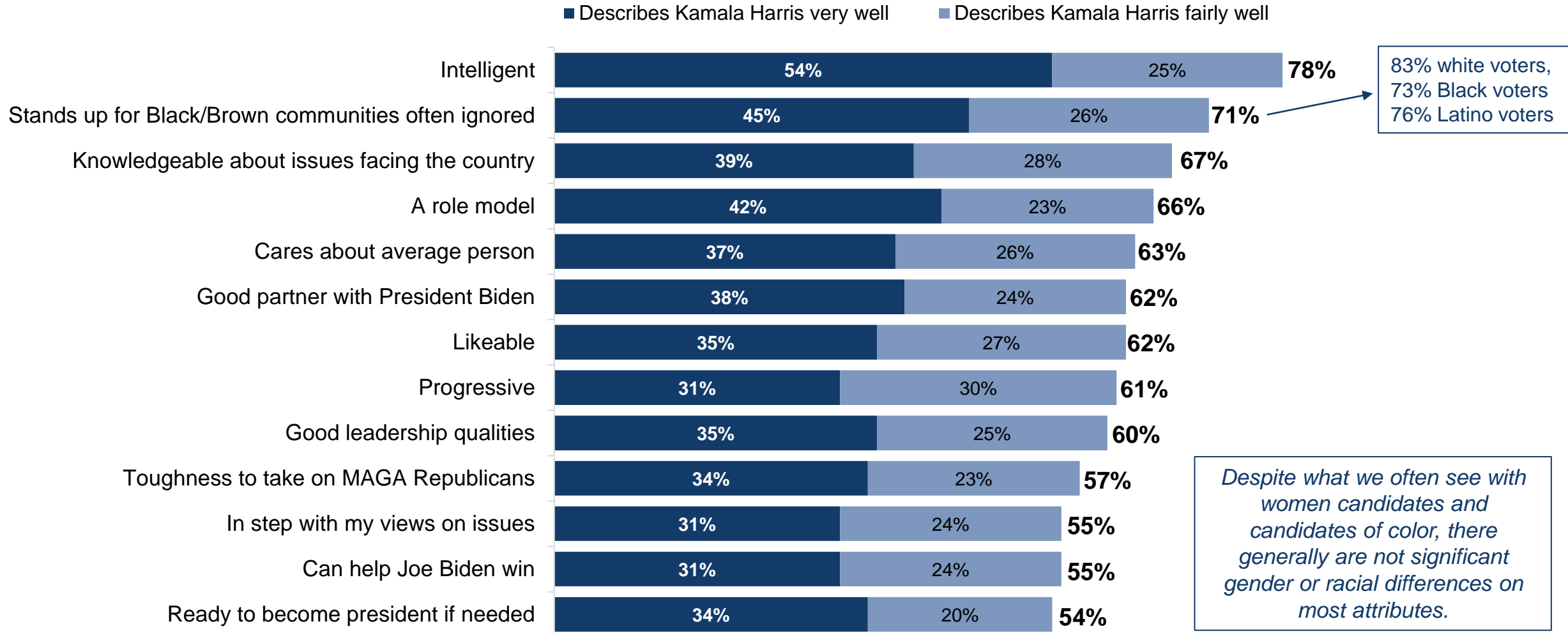
*Among other voters, Harris' impact is more of a wash*



# Impact of Kamala Harris as Joe Biden's 2024 Running Mate, by Key Subgroups

	AMONG 2024 BIDEN VOTERS			AMONG OTHER VOTERS		
	More motivated to vote for Biden %	Less motivated to vote for Biden %	Makes no difference %	More likely to vote for Biden %	Less likely to vote for Biden %	Makes no difference %
All target voters	58	8	35	29	32	40
Strong Democrats	62	5	33	53	21	26
Leaning Democrats	52	10	38	31	27	42
Independents	46	14	40	19	40	42
White voters	51	8	41	22	31	47
Black voters	70	7	23	40	30	30
Latino voters	73	6	20	35	35	30
Age 18 to 34	63	10	27	38	31	31
Age 35 to 49	59	6	34	35	28	37
Age 50 to 64	56	7	37	21	32	47
Age 65/older	55	7	38	12	37	51

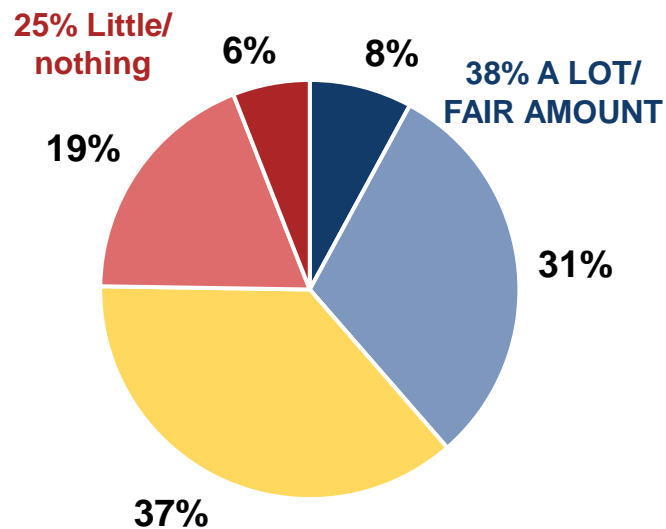
# Voters ascribe a variety of positive attributes to Vice President Harris.



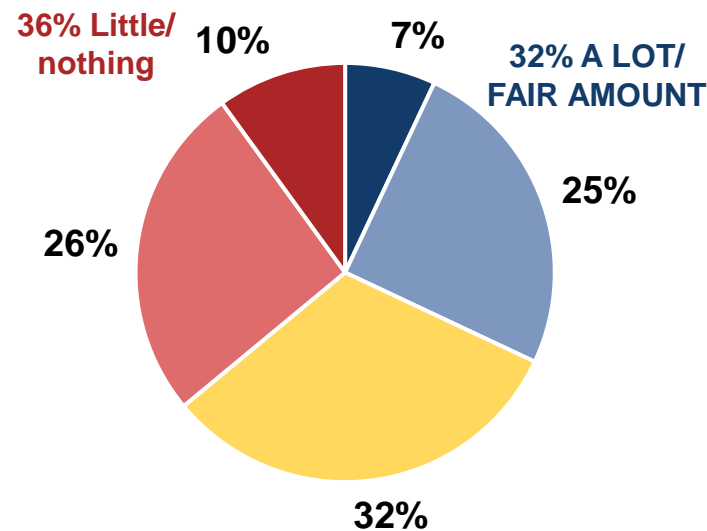
# Many voters do not know that much about Kamala Harris, which presents a huge opportunity to fill the vacuum.

*How much do you know about this aspect of Kamala Harris?*

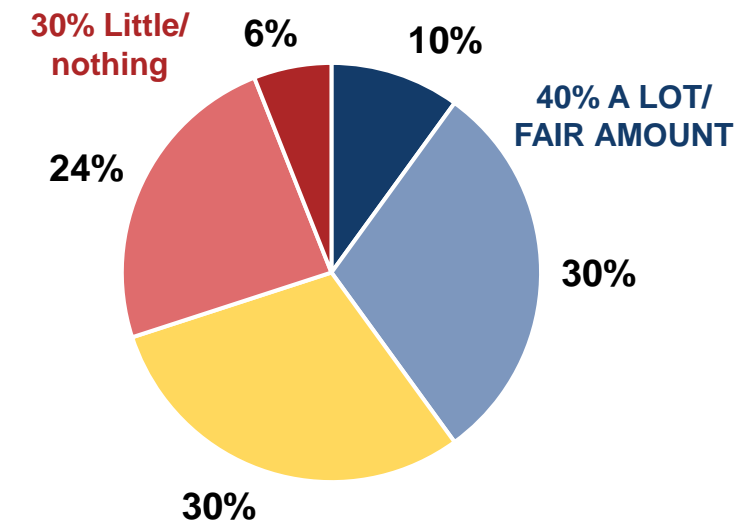
*Personal Background*



*Record before Vice President*



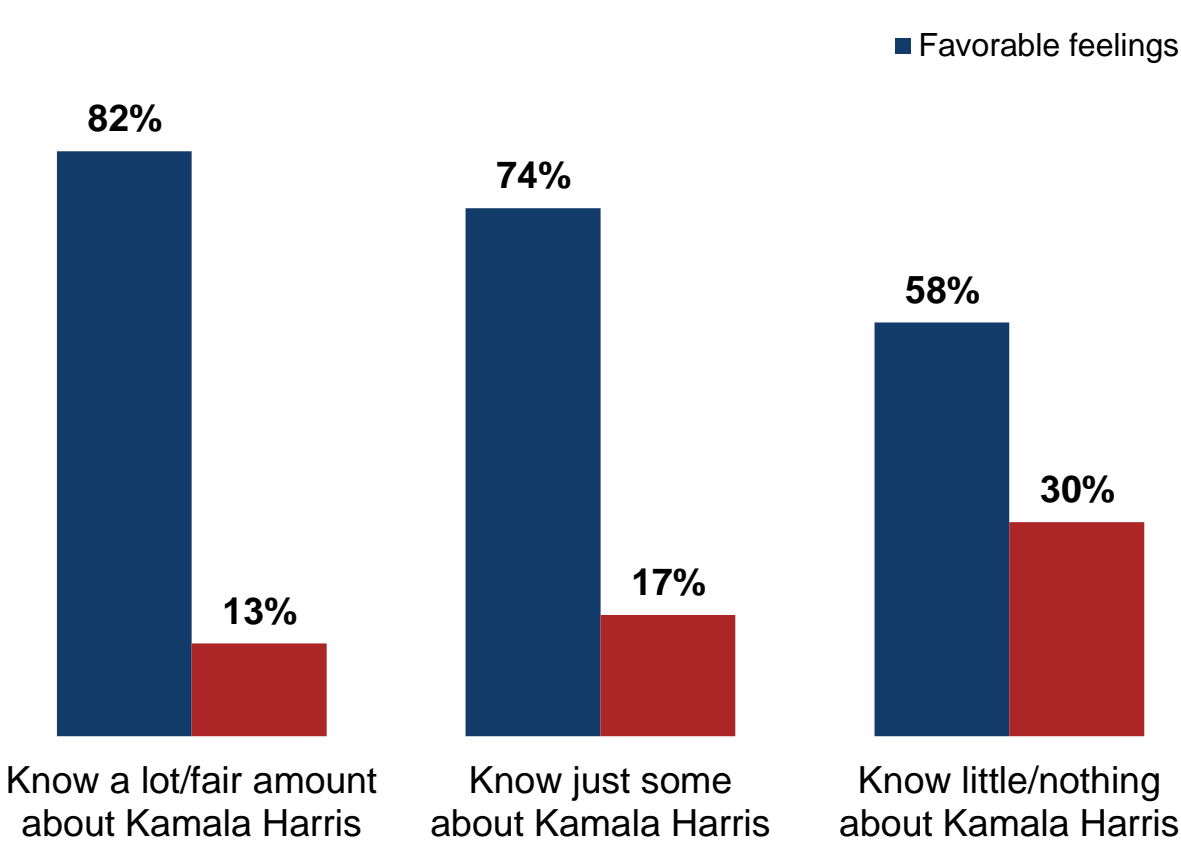
*Record/Issues as Vice President*



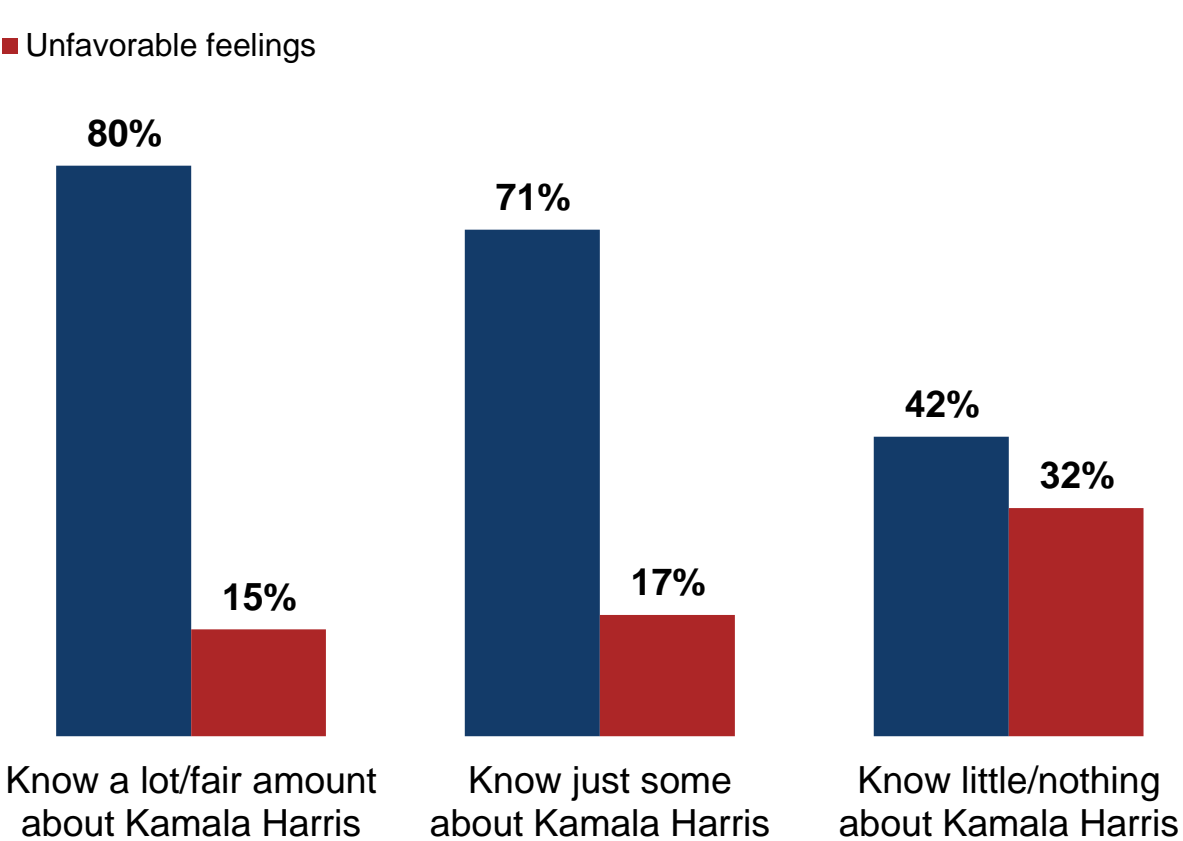
■ A lot   ■ A fair amount   ■ Just some   ■ Very little   ■ Nothing at all

# Biden and Harris are rated similarly by voters who are familiar with Harris – the difference is all among voters who know less.

Feelings toward Joe Biden



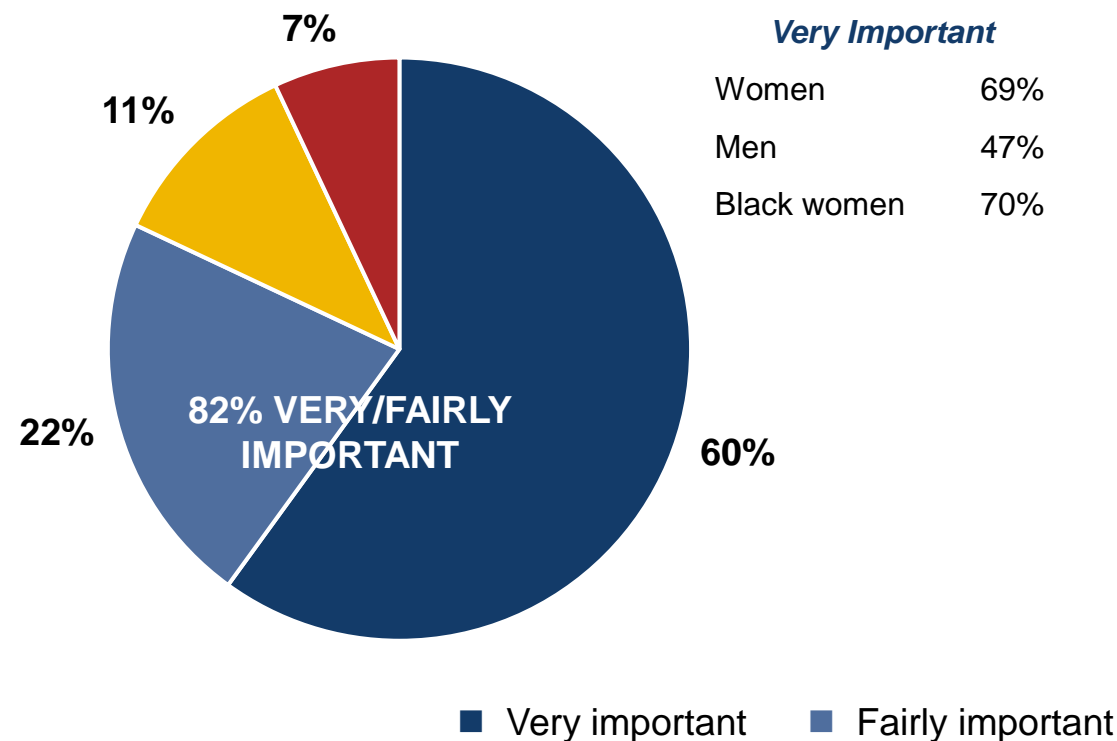
Feelings toward Kamala Harris



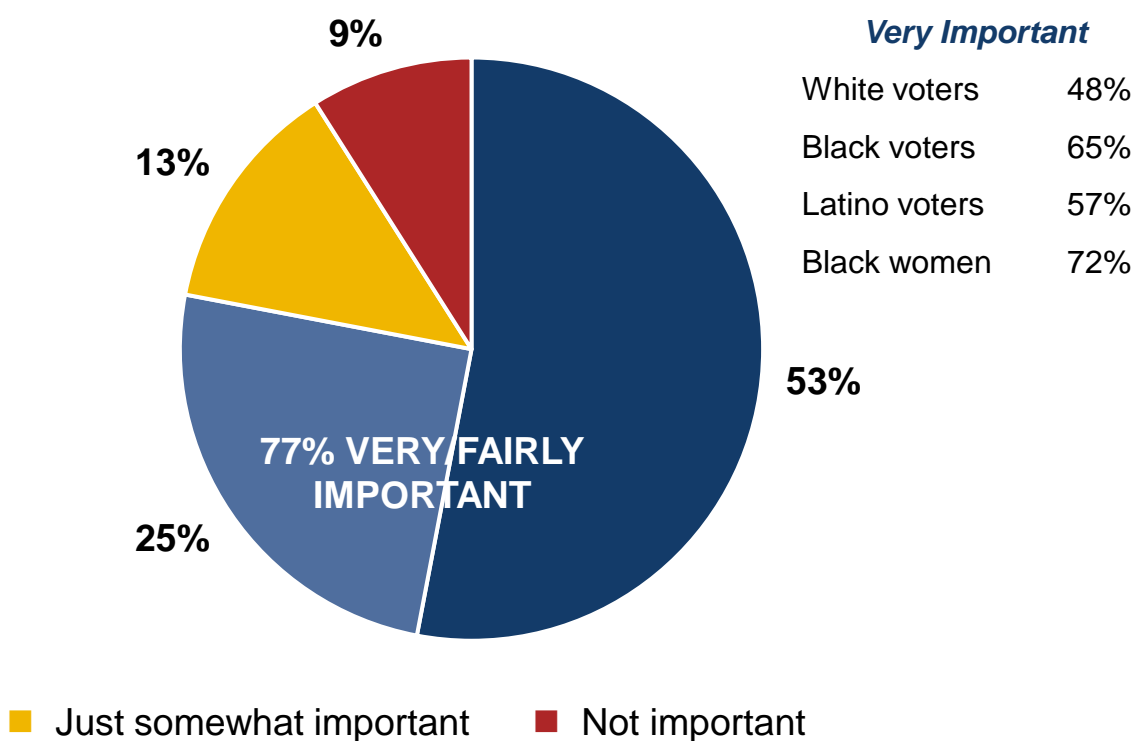
# Overwhelmingly, target voters place a premium on having a woman and a person of color in national office.

*As you may know, Kamala Harris is the first [woman/person of color} to hold national office as president or vice president:*

Importance of a **WOMAN** as one of the people holding high national office

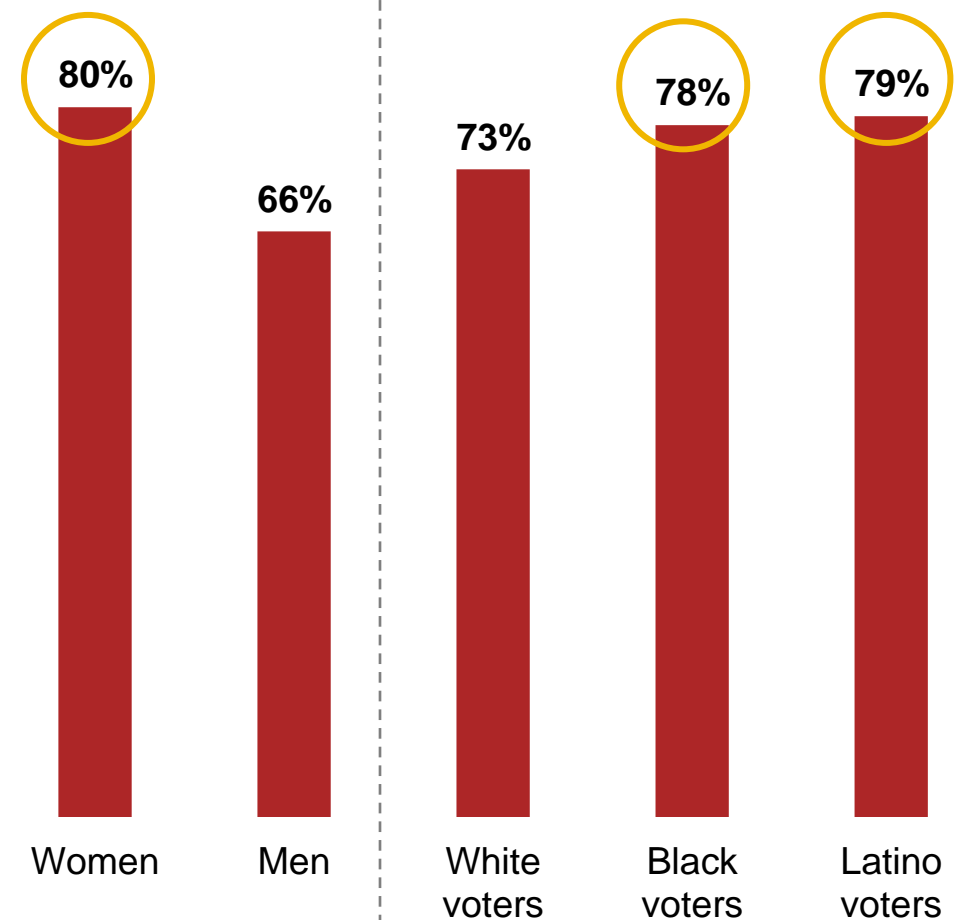
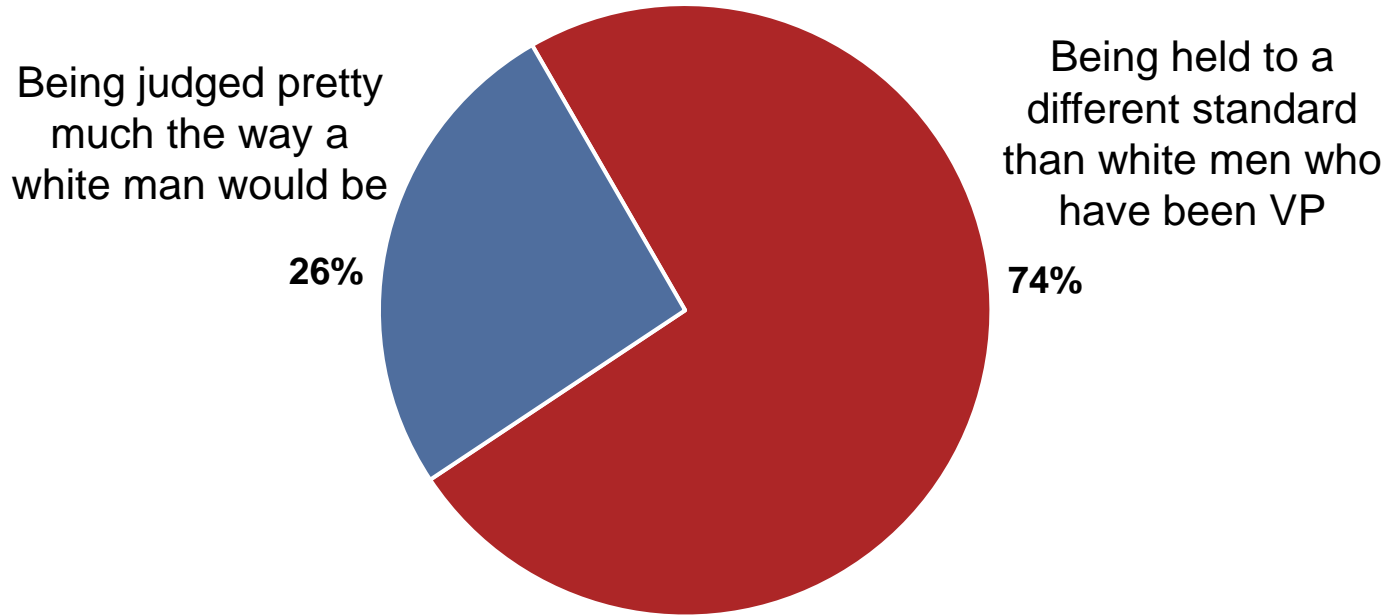


Importance of a **PERSON OF COLOR** as one of the people holding high national office



# Voters overwhelmingly say that Harris is judged by a different standard than a white man would be as vice president.

*As a woman of color, Kamala Harris is:*





# Making the Case



# Overview of Message Testing

- ➔ In a central focus of the survey, we gauged voters' reactions to 10 different narrative statements (organized thematically), then repeated key Harris benchmarks to measure the statements' impact.
- ➔ All 10 statements are effective (favorable reactions range from 84% to 77% among all target voters), but isolating voters who “move” to become more favorable to and enthusiastic about Harris provides clear guidance about messages that break through with the most strategic targets.

# We tested 10 messages.

## Life-long champion for women

Kamala Harris is a life-long champion for women, including ensuring strong enforcement of equal pay laws. As the first woman to hold national office, she helps make sure issues that are important to women are high on the nation's agenda. Harris has spoken out about the maternal health crisis in the United States; she has worked to develop policies to improve maternal health outcomes and has been an outspoken advocate to protect women's access to reproductive healthcare. She is leading efforts to combat gender-based violence at home and overseas.

## Advocate for reproductive rights

Throughout her career, Kamala Harris has been a powerful advocate for the rights of women to make their own reproductive healthcare decisions. As vice president, she has been the leading voice in the Biden administration speaking out against the Supreme Court's decision to ignore 50 years of precedent by overturning Roe v. Wade. She has called on Congress to pass a national law to protect abortion access and has worked within the administration to protect access to medication abortions.

## Woman of color in national office fighting for racial justice

As the first woman of color to hold high national offices, Kamala Harris puts high priority on working to promote racial justice in our country. She has led administration efforts to address systemic racism in the criminal justice system and to oppose discriminatory voter suppression laws. She has shined a spotlight on racial disparities and worked to improve healthcare access for Black Americans. She has taken on environmental racism and helped secure the funding to replace the lead pipes delivering toxic water to nearly 10 million homes, ensuring low-income communities have access to clean drinking water.

## Led efforts to reduce gun violence as AG and in Congress

Kamala Harris has been working to keep communities safe from gun violence since beginning her career as a prosecutor in the early 1990s. As the attorney general of California, she fought to stop illegal guns and went to court to uphold the state's gun safety laws. As vice president, Harris responded to the plague of mass shootings by speaking out for stronger background checks, red flag laws, and restrictions on assault rifles. She worked with President Biden and Congress to pass the first real gun safety legislation in decades. When Tennessee legislators were undemocratically ousted for calling for tougher gun laws, she was there to support them.

## AG who won major cases to protect students and working families

As California's attorney general, Kamala Harris won major cases to protect working families from unfair foreclosures and student loan rip offs. She continues her fight to promote economic justice by advocating for policies that help low-income Americans access affordable healthcare through the Affordable Care Act, open educational opportunities through debt-free college, and expand access to affordable housing.

# We tested 10 messages.

## Led the fight as VP to protect voting rights

As vice president, Kamala Harris has helped lead the Biden administration's fight to protect the freedom to vote. She has traveled to over 15 states to speak out against voter suppression laws. Though Republicans in Congress have blocked passage of voting rights legislation, she continues to push for passage of the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act and the Freedom to Vote Act.

## AG who successfully pushed for reforms to criminal justice system

As California's attorney general, Kamala Harris instituted groundbreaking reforms to ensure greater transparency and accountability in the criminal justice system. As vice president, she continues to be a strong advocate for real criminal justice reform. She has shown up in our communities to bear witness to the consequences of police misconduct. She supports strong policies to address systemic inequalities in the justice system, including reducing mass incarceration, promoting alternatives to incarceration, and reforming policing practices.

## Has the breadth & depth of experience to be VP

With 20 years of proven leadership in elected office, Kamala Harris has the breadth of experience and knowledge we need in a vice president. She has served as district attorney, attorney general, and U.S. senator. Now as our vice president, she plays a major role on the most important issues facing our country at home and around the world. She is prepared for any challenge and ready to help Joe Biden lead America forward in the next four years.

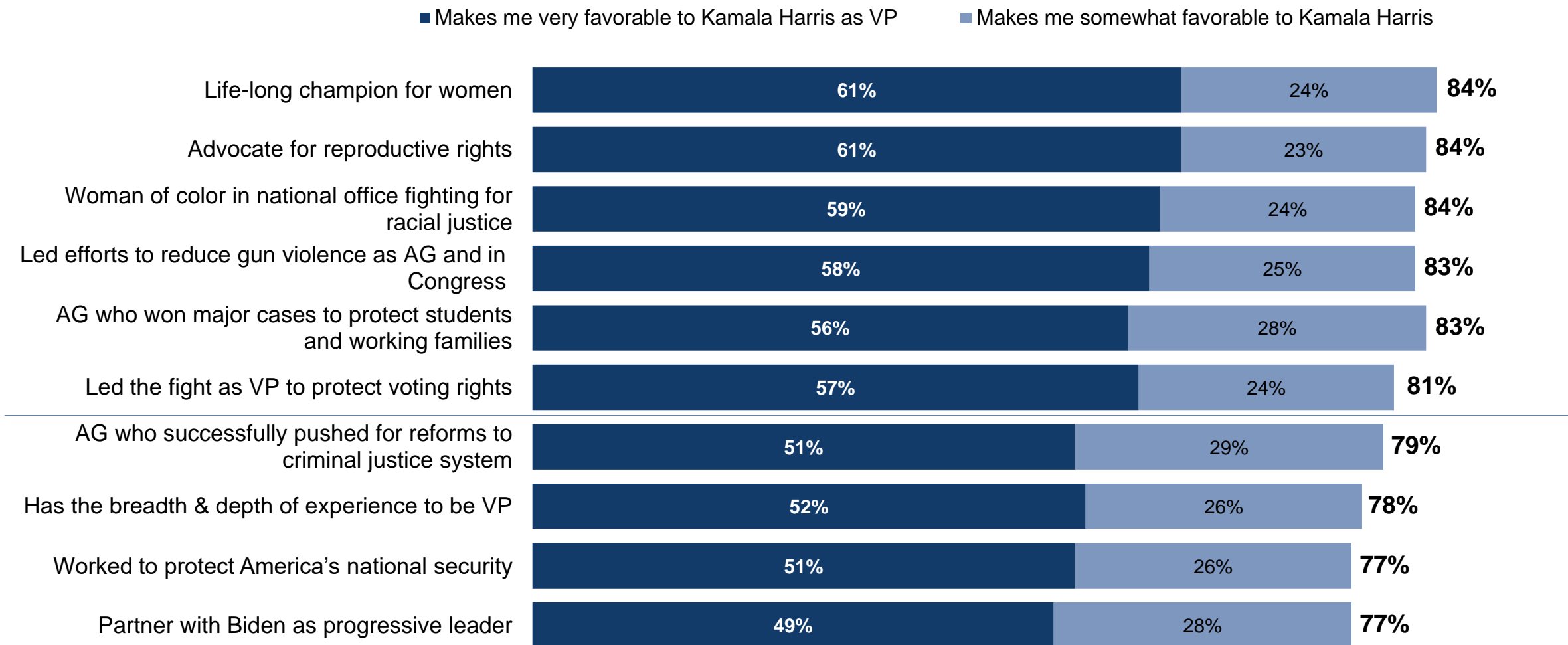
## Worked to protect America's national security

As senator, Kamala Harris worked to protect America's national security as a member of the Intelligence and Homeland Security Committees. As vice president, Harris has made official trips to more than 20 countries to meet with world leaders and to strengthen the United States' relationships with its allies. She has worked to build new partnerships with countries in Africa and the Pacific. She met with Europe leaders to shore up our alliances in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Her national security and foreign policy experience are important for our country.

## Partner with Biden as progressive leader

Kamala Harris has been a valuable partner with Joe Biden in working for progressive change to improve the lives of all Americans. President Biden describes Vice President Harris as "a fighter for justice, a fighter for equality, and a fighter for the people." Biden says that Harris is a great vice president" because she is working hard every day to make the lives of Americans better.

# All the narratives evoke a favorable reaction.



# When voters rank order the importance of messages, gun violence and reproductive rights stand at the top.

## THREE/FOUR Most Appealing Aspects of Kamala Harris' Record/Role as VP

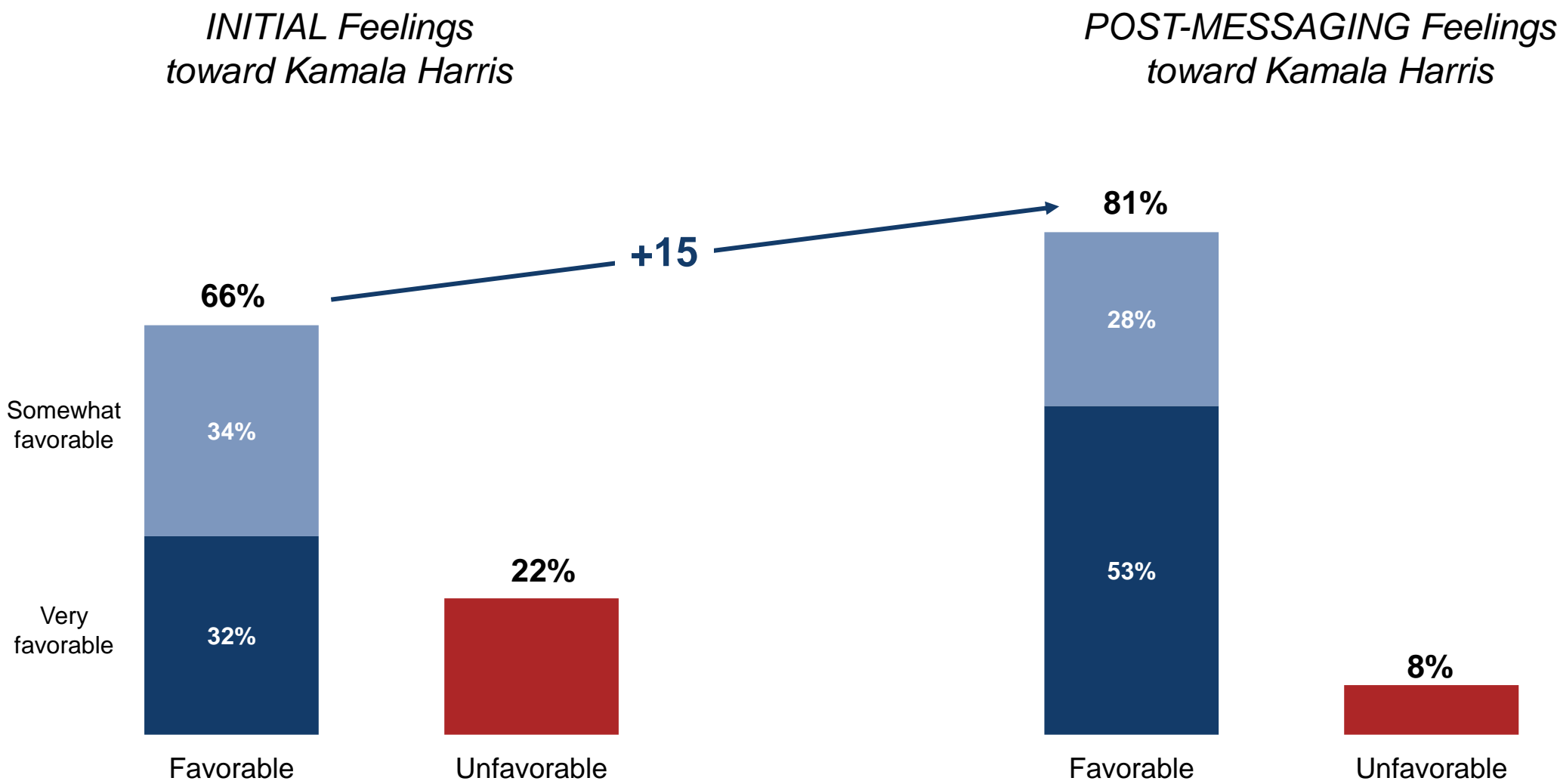
		Movers
Fight to keep communities safe from gun violence, efforts to pass stronger gun safety laws	53%	56%
Leadership role in fighting for the rights of women to make their own reproductive healthcare decisions	51%	53%
Record as a life-long champion for women, efforts to make sure women's concerns are high on nation's agenda	41%	44%
Leadership in working to protect the freedom to vote	40%	40%
Work to promote racial justice in our country	38%	37%
Record of working to protect working families from rip offs and promote economic justice for all Americans	33%	36%
20 year record of leadership at many levels and breadth of knowledge and experience she has as president	32%	29%
Leadership in working for criminal justice reform to combat systemic discrimination in the criminal justice system	31%	31%
Background and knowledge on national security issues, experience in working with foreign leaders	30%	31%
Close partnership with President Biden in working for progressive change to make the lives of Americans better	30%	28%

# When voters rank order the importance of messages, gun violence and reproductive rights stand at the top.

## % three/four most appealing aspects of Kamala Harris' record/role as VP

	All target voters	Women	Men	Strong Democrats	Leaning Democrats	Independents	Black voters
Fight to keep communities safe from gun violence, efforts to pass stronger gun safety laws	53	56	49	53	55	49	49
Leadership role in fighting for the rights of women to make their own reproductive healthcare decisions	51	57	42	51	49	55	43
Record as a life-long champion for women, efforts to make sure women's concerns are high on nation's agenda	41	47	34	44	39	41	35
Leadership in working to protect the freedom to vote	40	37	43	41	38	41	37
Work to promote racial justice in our country	38	37	38	38	36	39	54
Record of working to protect working families from rip offs and promote economic justice for all Americans	33	30	37	30	33	39	32
20-year record of leadership at many levels and breadth of knowledge and experience she has as president	32	32	32	33	36	23	31
Leadership in working for criminal justice reform to combat systemic discrimination in the criminal justice system	31	27	36	29	32	34	39
Background and knowledge on national security issues, experience in working with foreign leaders	30	27	36	30	29	33	29
Close partnership with President Biden in working for progressive change to make the lives of Americans better	30	29	31	34	31	20	33

# Message statements produce real movement in Harris' favorability.



**This growth is across the board, but especially evident with Latino and Independent voters.**

FAVORABLE FEELINGS TOWARD KAMALA HARRIS			
	Initial %	Post-Messaging %	Increase
All target voters	66	81	+15
White voters	66	80	+14
Black voters	69	82	+13
Latino voters	64	82	+18
Women	68	84	+14
Men	63	77	+14
Strong Democrats	84	93	+9
Leaning Democrats	64	80	+16
Independents	32	59	+27



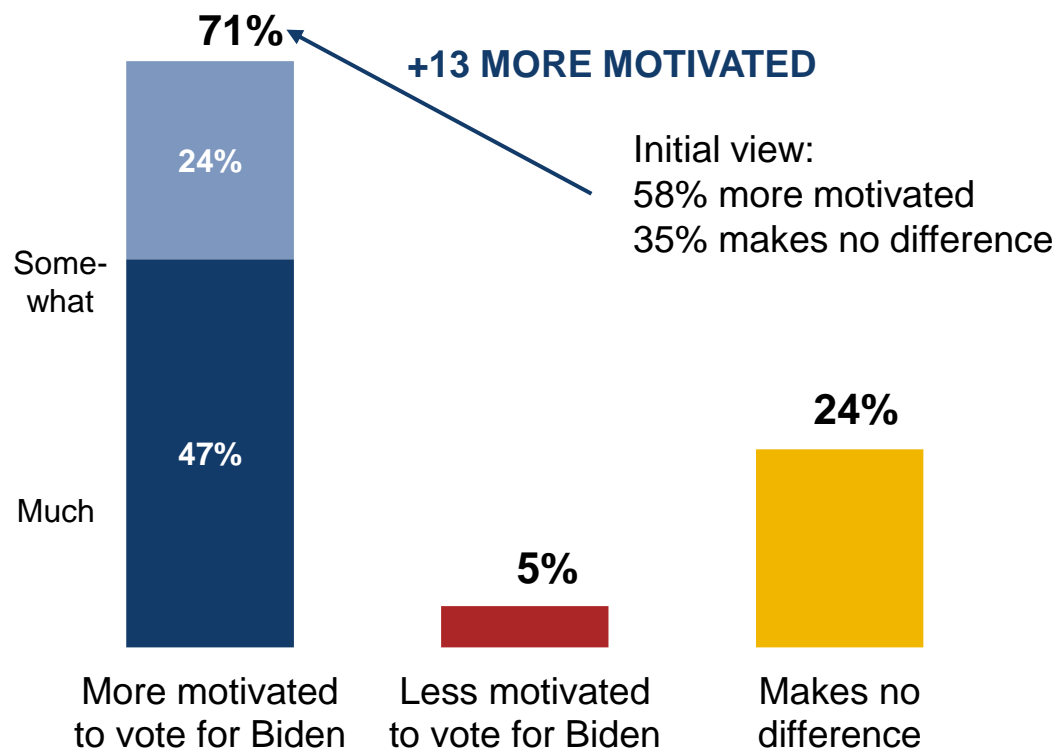
# There is a dramatic momentum in voters' sense of Harris' positive attributes, especially on those that were less strong initially.

<i>Describes Kamala Harris very/fairly well</i>	ALL TARGET VOTERS			MOVERS		
	Initial view %	Post-messaging %	Increase	Initial view %	Post-messaging %	Increase
Stands up for Black and Brown communities	71	83	+12	67	89	<b>+22</b>
Knowledgeable about issues facing the country	67	81	+14	68	91	<b>+23</b>
A role model	66	81	+15	62	89	+17
Cares about the average person	63	79	+16	58	87	<b>+29</b>
Good partner w/ president Biden	62	76	+14	55	83	<b>+28</b>
Progressive	61	79	+18	57	84	<b>+27</b>
Has the toughness to take on MAGA Republicans	57	68	+11	54	74	<b>+20</b>
In step with your views	55	75	+20	49	85	<b>+36</b>
Can help Biden win	55	70	+15	49	74	<b>+25</b>
Ready to become president if needed	54	70	+16	47	77	<b>+30</b>

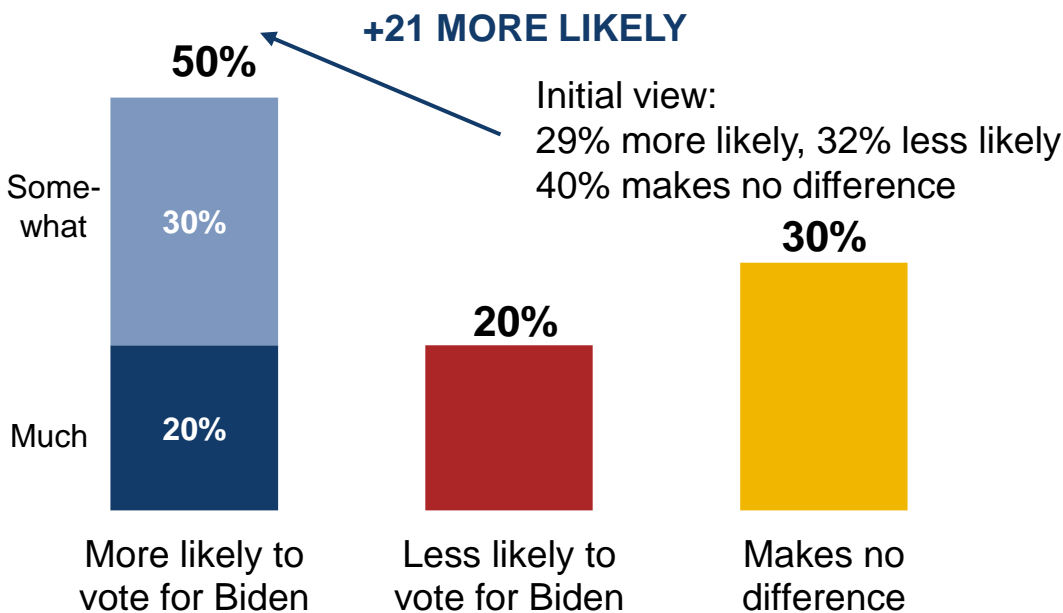
# This information translates to measurable impact in how target voters approach the 2024 election.

## POST-MESSAGING Impact of Kamala Harris as Joe Biden’s 2024 Running Mate

Among Biden supporters



Among undecided and lean Republican voters



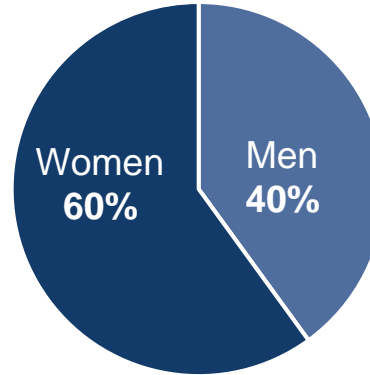


# Appendix

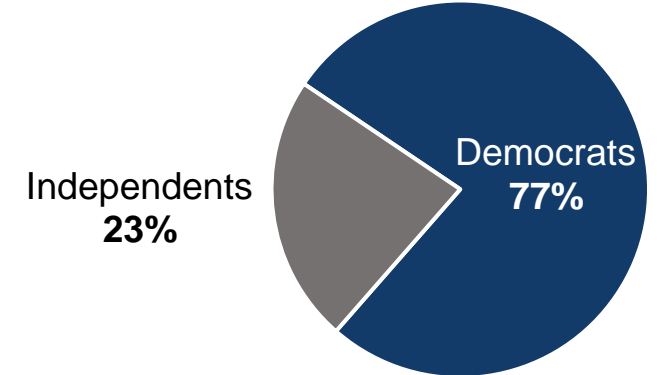
# Profile of MOVERS

- 33% of all target voters
- Movers are target voters who increase their favorability ratings of Kamala Harris post-messaging.

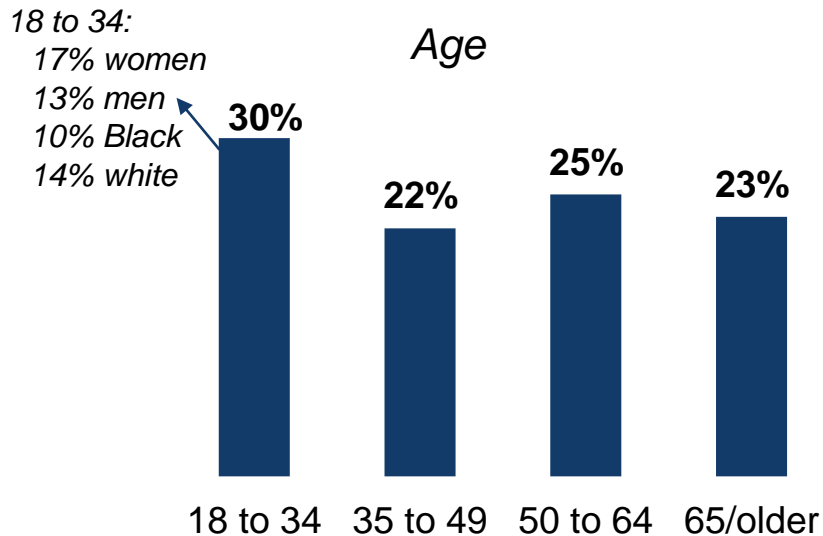
Gender



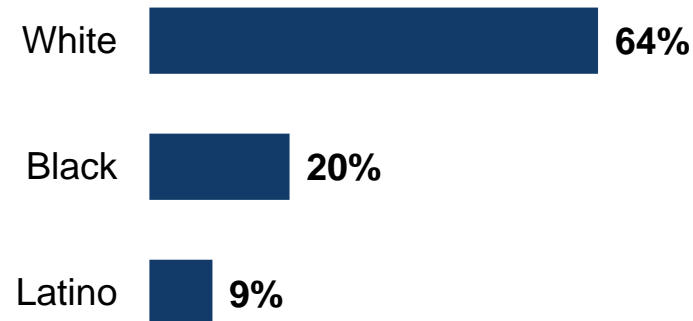
Party ID



Age



Race



34% white non-college grads  
30% white college grads

# Profile of VOTERS WHO KNOW THE LEAST ABOUT HARRIS

- 17% of all target voters
- Target voters who know the least about Kamala Harris

