

How to explain Trump's victory?

Document 1

Why Is Trump Gaining With Black and Hispanic Voters?

The New York Times, by Nate Cohn, October 13, 2024

In 2016, Donald J. Trump became the Republican nominee and ultimately won the presidency after calling many Mexican immigrants rapists and falsely claiming that Barack Obama was not born in the United States.

Eight years later, the polls suggest that he might well return to the White House by faring better among Black and Hispanic voters combined than any Republican presidential nominee since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

How is this possible? [...]

To liberals, Mr. Trump's views on race, crime and immigration are little more than racist dog whistles.

Many Black and Hispanic voters feel similarly, but a surprising number hear those dog whistles and like what they're hearing.

Around 40 percent of Black voters and 43 percent of Hispanic voters say they support building a wall along the Southern border. Similarly, 45 percent of Hispanic voters and 41 percent of Black voters say they support deporting undocumented immigrants.

Half of Hispanic voters and nearly half — 47 percent — of Black voters say that crime in big cities is a major problem that's gotten out of control. That's essentially the same as the share of white voters (50 percent) who say the same.

The support for Mr. Trump's views extends beyond issues related to race and immigration. A majority of Black and Hispanic voters seem to sympathize with his "America First" foreign policy, saying that America ought to pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems at home. [...]

Or put differently: There's a lot about Mr. Trump's core populist, conservative message that resonates with a sizable chunk of Black and Hispanic voters. [...]

During his time in national politics, he has offended millions of Black and Hispanic voters, including by recently saying that Haitian refugees eat cats and dogs and that undocumented immigrants are "poisoning the blood of our country."

But a sizable minority of Black and Hispanic voters aren't necessarily so offended.

Overall, 20 percent of Black voters say that those offended by Mr. Trump take him too seriously, while 78 percent agree people have good reason to be offended.

Similarly, 40 percent of Hispanic voters say people offended by Mr. Trump take his words too seriously, while 55 percent say there's good reason to be offended. [...]

Why aren't more Black and Hispanic voters offended by Mr. Trump? One possible factor: He hasn't necessarily offended them so much recently. [...]

Many people assume that Democrats win Black and Hispanic voters simply because of the party's commitment to advancing racial equality, but the role of economic self-interest should not be underestimated. [...]

Just 20 percent of Hispanic voters and 26 percent of Black voters say the current economic conditions are good or excellent. More than half of both groups say they have "often" cut back on groceries over the last year because of the cost.

This is important for economically vulnerable voters — especially those who have previously voted for Democrats on the assumption that they represented their economic interests. Overall, the economy was the most-cited issue among Black and Hispanic voters when asked what would most decide their vote this November.

As a celebrity billionaire businessman, Mr. Trump has always had an advantage on this issue, whether against Mrs. Clinton or Mr. Biden. Now, Mr. Trump is running again at a time when voters are more dissatisfied with the economy than before, and when many look back on Mr. Trump's presidency as a prosperous and peaceful time. [...]

When combined with the rest of Mr. Trump's populist pitch, the poll finds that the Democratic core brand advantage as the party of the working class has eroded. Black and Hispanic voters still see Democrats as the party of the working class, but only by a 76-18 margin in the case of Black voters and a 56-35 advantage among Hispanics. [...]

Even beyond the poor state of the economy, there's something deeper holding Democrats back: a sense that voting for them just won't make much of a difference.

Of all the questions in the survey, perhaps the single worst one for Democrats was on the question of which party best "keeps its promises." Just 63 percent of Black voters and 46 percent of Hispanic voters said "keeps its promises" describes the Democratic Party better than the Republicans. [...]

Document 2

How Trump won — and how Harris lost — the 2024 election

NBC News, November 8, 2024

Democrats were counting on fed-up women to elect America's first female president. Instead, dissatisfied men helped return Donald Trump to power.

The president-elect's two eldest sons helped him pick a running mate who once decried "childless cat ladies," while his youngest son, Barron, encouraged his father's pivot to podcasts in an effort to reach other young men, a typically reliable Democratic voting bloc that split evenly this year. [...]

The entire country shifted right, like other Western democracies in the inflationary post-Covid era. And with the electorate in a foul mood, Vice President Kamala Harris struggled to separate herself from a deeply unpopular incumbent who waited too long to step aside and whose aides had undermined her for years.

Trump, meanwhile, made strides in his promise to assemble a multiracial working-class coalition, winning 45% of Latinos and 55% of Latino men — records for a Republican presidential candidate — while making gains in blue states and pushing his margins among non-college-educated and middle-income voters to new heights, according to NBC News exit polls.

"The demographic shifts for us were just so brutal," a Harris aide said. "Our people rejected us."

Democrats' recriminations started before the clock ran out on Election Day — Harris was too cautious, many said, or she should have broken cleanly from President Joe Biden and replaced the leaders he installed in the campaign — but Trump's victory was conclusive enough across the board that there may have been little she could do.

"The electorate has moved decisively to the right on a number of key issues, which happen to be the key issues that defined this election, especially immigration and inflation," said Evan Roth Smith, the lead pollster for the Democratic group Blueprint. [...]

With young male voters in mind, 18-year-old Barron Trump, who voted for the first time Tuesday, worked with campaign adviser Alex Bruesewitz to prioritize influential male podcasters with large followings, two sources familiar with the strategy said. [...]

Their big coup was Joe Rogan, who reaches more than 17 million YouTube subscribers. In the final weeks of the campaign, Trump kept supporters at a Michigan rally waiting for hours after he detoured to Texas to record Rogan's show. [...]

In the immediate weeks after Harris replaced Biden atop the ticket, a precious moment when Americans were still formulating their opinions of her, she did no interviews or media appearances, which many felt was a mistake because data showed voters responded well to her and moved more and more in her direction the more they saw of her. [...]

“At the start of her campaign, people knew of her, but they didn’t know her. They knew the name, but they didn’t know the person,” said Jesse Ferguson, a Democratic strategist who was a consultant for Future Forward. [...]

Others criticized the campaign’s decision to go all in on courting anti-Trump Republicans and elevate billionaire Mark Cuban, even as her TV ads criticized billionaires like Trump.

Multiple Harris aides believed that Biden allies had undermined Harris in private from the beginning of the administration, afraid she would outshine him. They told Biden to stay in the race even as his support collapsed. And then many of them suddenly found themselves running Harris’ campaign.

“The very people who ensured that she had low approval ratings were then the same people who had to try, in these last three months, to increase her approval ratings and to get people to like her,” a Harris ally said. [...]

She inherited a relatively sleepy campaign, with limited infrastructure in the battleground states and difficulty attracting top talent to what to many feared was a doomed ship. [...]

What is widely viewed as Harris’ biggest gaffe in otherwise nearly flawless presentation came on “The View” when she struggled to say what she would do differently from Biden. [...]

Document 3

CNN 2024 Exit polls

Age
22,914 total respondents

	18-29 14%	30-44 23%	45-64 35%	65 or older 28%
● Harris	54%	49%	44%	49%
● Trump	43%	48%	54%	49%

Most undocumented immigrants in the U.S. should be:

22,914 total respondents

	Offered chance at legal status 56%	Deported 40%
● Harris	75%	11%
● Trump	22%	87%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Who do you trust more to handle the economy?

22,914 total respondents

	Harris 46%	Trump 52%
● Harris	98%	5%
● Trump	1%	93%

Feeling about the way things are going in U.S.

22,914 total respondents

	Enthusiastic 6%	Satisfied 19%	Dissatisfied 43%	Angry 30%
● Harris	89%	81%	42%	27%
● Trump	11%	18%	56%	72%

U.S. support for Israel is:

22,914 total respondents

	Too strong 31%	Not strong enough 30%	About right 31%
● Harris	67%	17%	59%
● Trump	30%	82%	39%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender?

22,914 total respondents

	Yes 8%	No 92%
● Harris	86%	45%
● Trump	13%	53%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Education

22,914 total respondents

	College graduate 43%	No college degree 57%
● Harris	55%	42%
● Trump	42%	56%

Area type

22,914 total respondents

	Urban 29%	Suburban 51%	Rural 19%
● Harris	59%	47%	34%
● Trump	38%	51%	64%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Ideology

22,914 total respondents

	Liberal 23%	Moderate 42%	Conservative 34%
● Harris	91%	57%	9%
● Trump	7%	40%	90%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Race

22,914 total respondents

	White 71%	Black 11%	Latino 12%	Asian 3%	Other racial/ethnic groups 3%
● Harris	41%	85%	52%	54%	42%
● Trump	57%	13%	46%	39%	54%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Family's financial situation today

22,914 total respondents

	Better than 4 years ago 24%	Worse than 4 years ago 46%	About the same 30%
● Harris	82%	17%	69%
● Trump	14%	81%	28%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Abortion should be:

22,914 total respondents

	Legal in all cases 32%	Legal in most cases 33%	Illegal in most cases 26%	Illegal in all cases 6%
● Harris	87%	49%	7%	11%
● Trump	10%	49%	92%	88%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Document 4

Voter anxiety over the economy and a desire for change return Trump to the White House,

AP News, by Josh Boak & Linley Sanders, November 1, 2024

A disaffected electorate wanted former President Donald Trump to return to the White House, a blatant rejection of Vice President Kamala Harris and her nearly four years with President Joe Biden.

The Republican's victory came from a public so put off by America's trajectory that they welcomed his brash and disruptive approach. About 3 in 10 voters said they wanted total upheaval in how the country is run, according to AP VoteCast, a sweeping survey of more than 120,000 voters nationwide. Even if they weren't looking for something that dramatic, more than half of voters overall said they wanted to see substantial change.

Both nationwide and in key battleground states, the Republican won over voters who were alarmed about the economy and prioritized more aggressive enforcement of immigration laws. Those issues largely overshadowed many voters' focus on the future of democracy and abortion protections — key priorities for Harris' voters, but not enough to turn the election in her favor.

Trump's victory, however, wasn't a total mandate. Even as Trump prevailed in the electoral college, there were concerns about how he could wield his power. Most voters said they were very or somewhat concerned that electing Trump would bring the U.S. closer to being an authoritarian country, where a single leader has unchecked power. Still, more than 1 in 10 of those voters backed him. [...]

Anxiety about inflation was high nationally, and voters broadly believed that Trump would be better equipped than Harris to handle the economy and jobs. The key swing states of Pennsylvania and Wisconsin largely mirrored the mood of the nation. [...]

Trump picked up a small but significant share of younger voters, Black voters and Hispanic voters, many of whom were feeling down about the economy. Majorities of younger Black voters and Latino voters said the economy is not working well.

The economy carried more prominence than in the 2020 election, including for these groups. Four years ago, COVID-19 and racism were important issues for Black and Latino voters. But this time, they were more focused on the economy, and Trump managed to make inroads with both groups even as the majority stayed with Harris. [...]

Voters were more likely to embrace hardline immigration policies than they were four years ago, which aligned with Trump's tough approach. [...]

Trump has seized on an increase in illegal crossings at the U.S. border with Mexico as a driver of crime and falsely accused Haitian immigrants in Ohio of eating dogs and cats. That position may have echoed in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin – three states far from the southern border where at least three-quarters of Trump voters said they supported deportation over a chance to apply for legal status. [...]

Trump's return to the White House will likely challenge the established global order, as he has questioned the commitment to defend fellow NATO countries and called for large tariff hikes on allies as well as competitors. Voters were more likely than in 2020 to adopt many of Trump's isolationist stances. About 4 in 10 voters wanted the U.S. to take a "less active role" in solving the world's problems, up from about 3 in 10 in 2020.

Most of Trump's supporters opposed continuing aid to Ukraine in the war against Russia, undoing a Biden administration policy that had strengthened and expanded NATO. But there were limits to their isolationist stance: A majority of Trump voters separately favored continuing aiding Israel in its war against Hamas and Hezbollah. [...]

Some of Trump's voters acknowledged his flaws even as they chose to send him back to Washington.

Nearly half of voters said they were "very concerned" that another Trump presidency would bring the U.S. closer to authoritarianism. Roughly 1 in 10 in this group voted for him anyway. About 6 in 10 voters said he is not honest and trustworthy, but about 2 in 10 in this group backed him. A majority of voters said he does not have the moral character to be president, and about 1 in 10 of those voters supported him.

For all his promises, Trump will likely find it challenging to endow the nation as a whole with a new sense of unity and optimism. Asked if he would bring positive change, voters were about evenly split.

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