



A Democracy Post-Mortem: What Exit Poll Data Reveals About Race in America Today

Professor Khalil Gibran Muhammad
& Professor Leah Wright Rigueur





OPINION

'Momala' Harris counts on Durham, NC, tech millennials who want to turn US into SF

Durham is a millennial playground for well-off tech pros and Kamala Harris's best chance to win North Carolina

KAMALA HARRIS

Trump says Harris would be 'like a play toy' to world leaders if elected

The former president has a long history of waging attacks against women who have publicly criticized him.

Tucker Carlson warms up crowd at Trump rally with bizarre spanking rant

Comments meant to portray ex-president as coming 'home' to White House to mete out discipline to Kamala Harris

If @KamalaHarris wins, the White House will smell like curry & White House speeches will be facilitated via a call center and the American people will only be able to convey their feedback through a customer satisfaction survey at the end of the call that nobody will understand.

POLITICS

Let Me Make Sure I Understand: Kamala Harris Is Too Hot and Childless to Be President?



Laura Loomer
@LauraLoomer · 1d

I have a copy of Kamala Harris's birth certificate.

Cc: @realDonaldTrump

Nowhere on her birth certificate does it say that she is BLACK OR AFRICAN.

@KamalaHQ is a liar.

Donald Trump is correct. Kamala Harris is NOT black and never has been.

She is also the descendent of slave owners.

Kamala Harris is the daughter of Donald J Harris, who was born in Jamaica, and Shvama Gopalan Harris from India.

Replying to @realDonaldTrump



A GOP congressman called Kamala Harris a 'DEI hire.' Some caution it's a sign of what's to come

By Chelsea Bailey, CNN
5



Indiana AG investigating 'coordinated effort' that flooded small town with thousands of Haitian migrants

By Jennie Taer November 4, 2024 | 5:43pm

"Illegal immigration caused by 'border czar' Kamala Harris' perversion and misapplication of federal law has made every state a border state and imposed unsustainable costs on Logansport and other cities across..."



Ryan Cohen

@ryancohen · [Follow](#)



It's cool to be a white guy again

1:53 PM · Nov 6, 2024



10K



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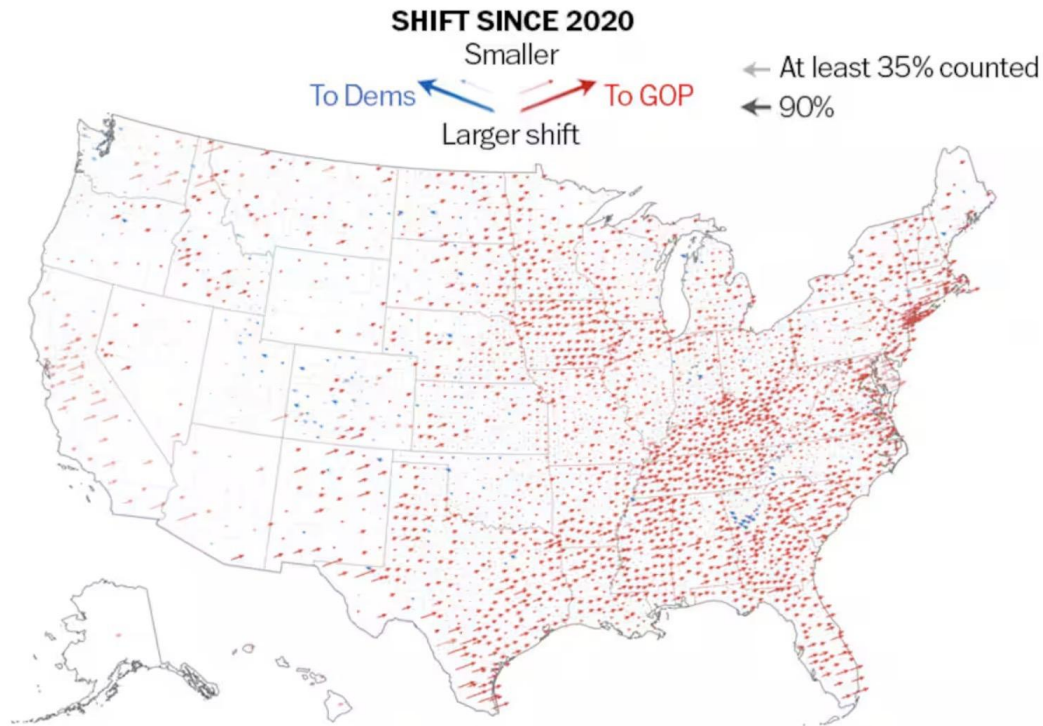


Ryan Cohen

'Entrepreneur, activist investor'

Founder & CEO of Chewy (2011-2018)

Executive Chairman of Gamestop (2021-present)

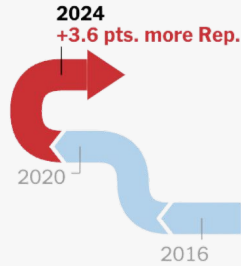


(The Post)

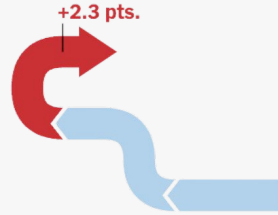
Most counties – urban, suburban and rural – swung to the right

Source: Washington Post, 'How counties are shifting in the 2024 presidential election', November 6, 2024, https://www.washingtonpost.com/elections/interactive/2024/11/05/compare-2020-2024-presidential-results/?itid=sf_elections_elections_2024_Analysis_p006_f002

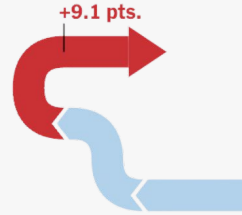
Cities & Suburbs that Swung Right



Philadelphia suburbs
4 counties



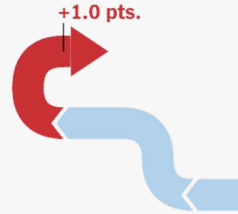
Mecklenburg Co., N.C. (Charlotte)
1 county



Wayne Co., Mich. (Detroit)
1 county

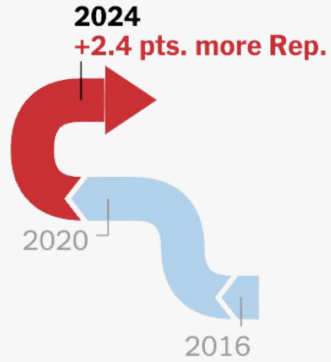


Detroit suburbs
5 counties

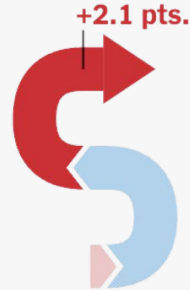


Atlanta and suburbs
16 counties

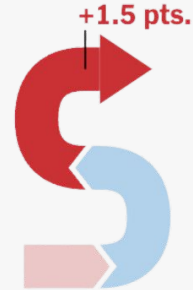
Swing States that Swung Right



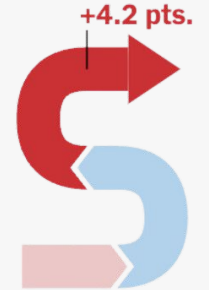
Georgia



North Carolina



Wisconsin

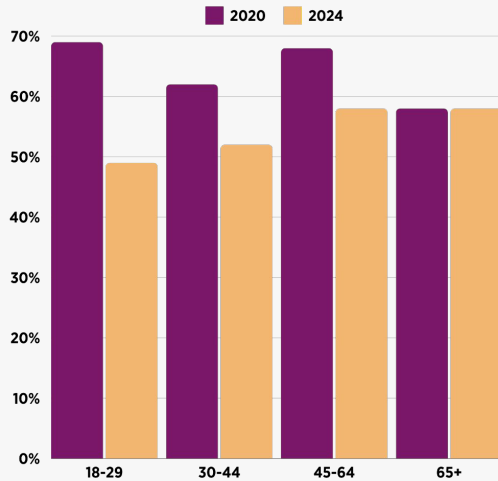


Michigan

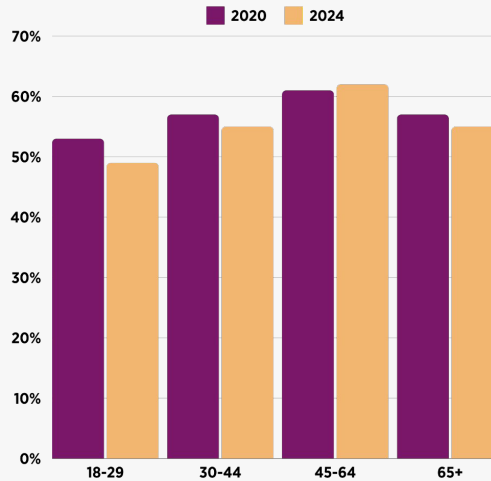
Voting Changes by Age

2020 versus 2024

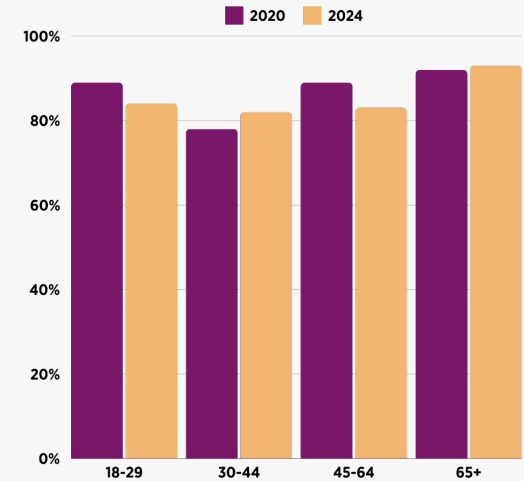
Latino Voters who Voted Democrat by Age



White Voters who Voted Republican by Age



Black Voters who Voted Democrat by Age



2024 Data source: NBC Exit Polls, November 6, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-elections/exit-polls>

*Age bracket for Latino voters in 2020 was 45-59

Percentage of Voters by Race

Red/Blue background color indicates majority

	2004	2008	2012	2016	2020	2024
White	58%	55%	59%	57%	58%	57%
Black	88%	95%	93%	89%	87%	85%
Hispanic	53%	67%	71%	66%	65%	52%
Asian	58%	62%	73%	65%	61%	54%
Other	n/d	n/d	n/d	56%	55%	53%

2024 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, November 6, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-elections/exit-polls>

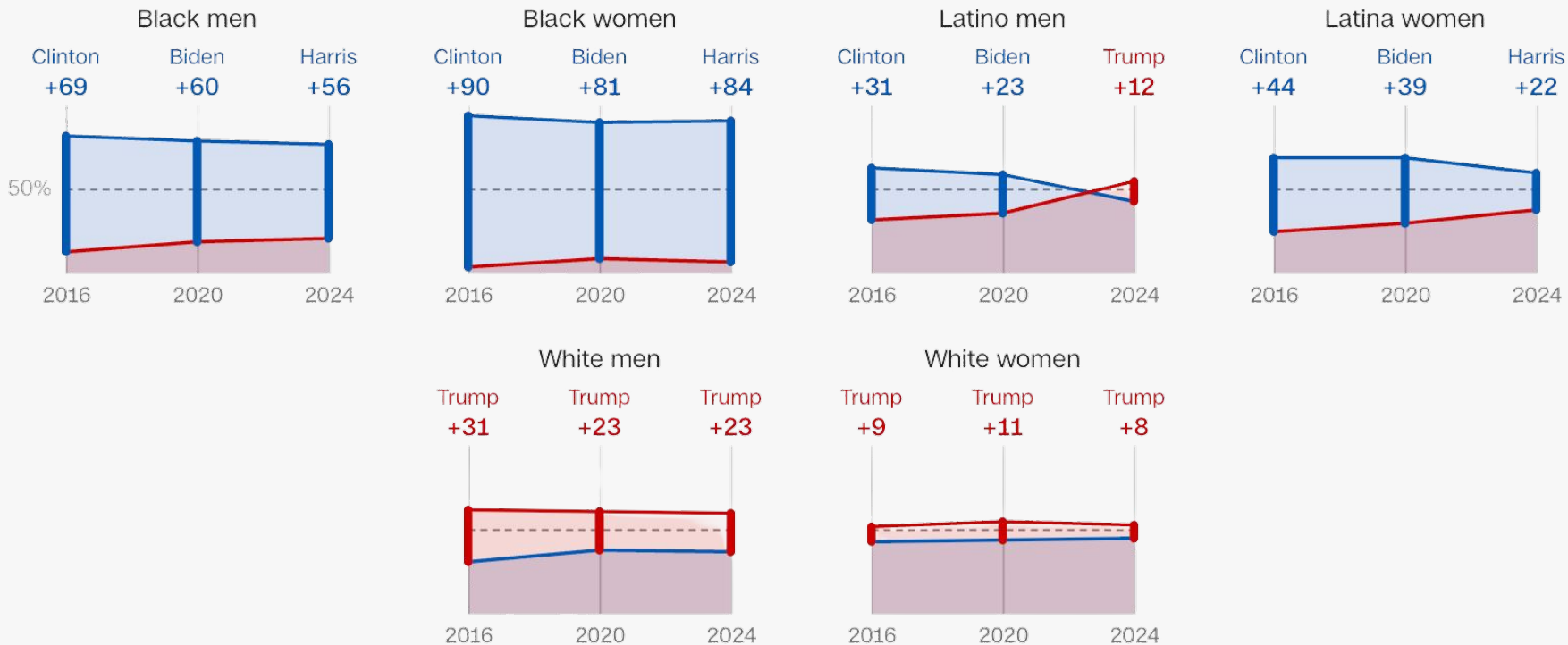
2020 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-elections/exit-polls/>

2016 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/president/>

2004–2012 Data source: New York Times Exit Polls, <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/results/president/exit-polls.html>

— Voted for the Democrat — Voted for Trump

Race/ethnicity and gender



Source: CNN Politics, 'Anatomy of three Trump elections: How Americans shifted in 2024 vs. 2020 and 2016', November 6, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2024/politics/2020-2016-exit-polls-2024-dg/>

ESSAY

How Will White Women Vote? It's a Question With a Fraught History.

White and Black women have joined together to power progressive causes — from abolition to civil rights — but it's a tenuous alliance.



By **Nikole Hannah-Jones**

Nikole Hannah-Jones is a domestic correspondent for The New York Times Magazine covering racial injustice and civil rights.

“In making the case for their own enfranchisement, **some white women argued that giving white women the vote would help maintain white hegemony in a country experiencing demographic and political change.** Instead of allying with Black women, who shared their oppression as women, **they leaned into anti-Black and anti-immigrant sentiment.**”

PERSPECTIVES
ON POLITICS

The Gender Gap Is a Race Gap: Women Voters in US Presidential Elections

Published online by Cambridge University Press: 30 December 2019

Jane Junn and Natalie Masuoka

Article

Figures

Supplementary materials

Correction

Metrics

Jane Junn and Natalie Masuoka, 'The Gender Gap Is a Race Gap: Women Voters in US Presidential Elections', Cambridge University Press: December 30, 2019

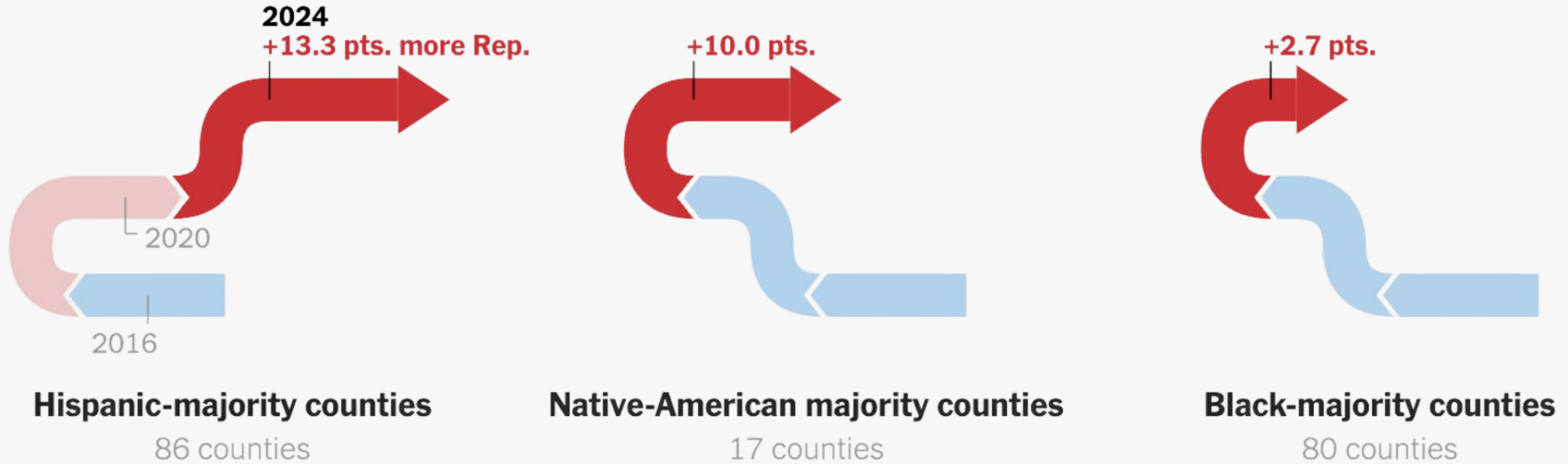
“The study found that white women’s race — more than their religious beliefs, income or education — predicted their support for Republican candidates. **Outside party affiliation, race, specifically, identifying as white, is the only variable “that is consistently significant across all three elections,” the study concluded.**”

Nikole Hannah Jones

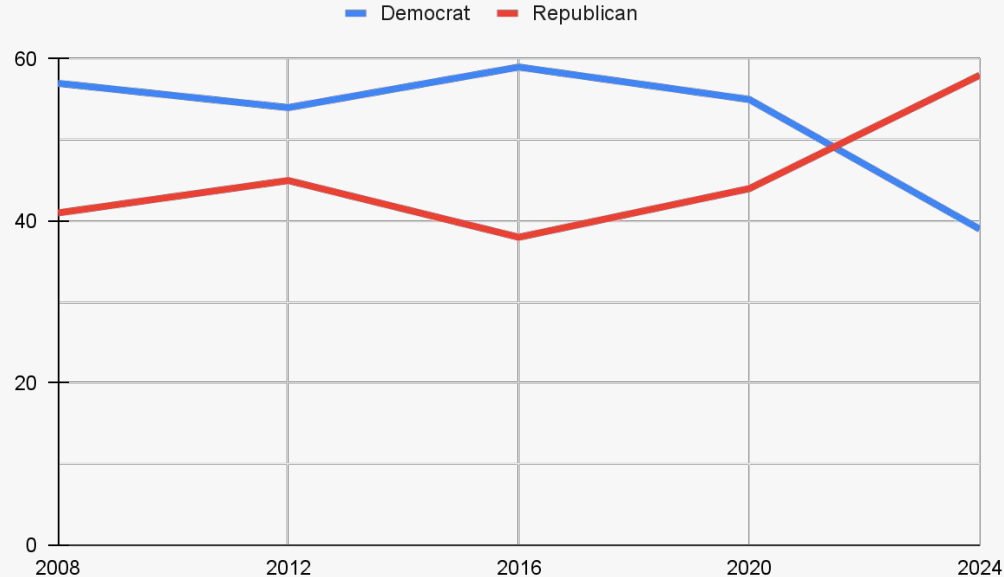
'How Will White Women Vote? It's a Question With a Fraught History.'

New York Times Magazine, November 2, 2024

Race & Ethnicity: Counties that Swung Right



Percentage of Hispanic/Latino Voters 2008–2024

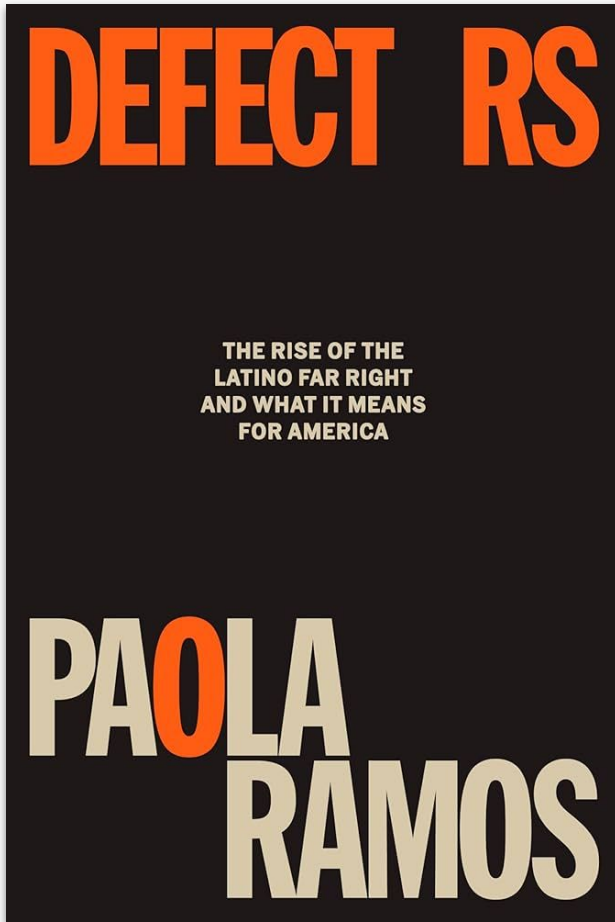


2024 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, November 6, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-elections/exit-polls>

2020 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-elections/exit-polls/>

2016 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/president/>

2004–2012 Data source: New York Times Exit Polls, <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/results/president/exit-polls.html>



“Latinos, too, can be white supremacists too. We can espouse and push principles, systems, and beliefs that uphold racial hierarchies and preserve structural racism. nearly 64 million Latinos in this country are driven by a desire for social justice and equality. As Latinos, our ancestors’ journeys to the U.S., although individually unique, were all sparked by the promise of greater freedoms. I believe those shared roots are what make us empathetic, open, and compassionate people. Yet, those roots are also what hold us hostage to our past—a past that’s marked by racial baggage, colonial traditions, and political traumas that can evoke a proclivity to white supremacy as we find our place in America.”

Paola Ramos

Defectors: The rise of the Latino far right and what it means for America (Penguin Random House, 2024).

Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?

Nov. 6, 2024



Damon Winter/The New York Times

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By David Brooks
Opinion Columnist

We have entered a new political era. For the past 40 years or so, we lived in the information age. Those of us in the educated class decided, with some justification, that the postindustrial economy would be built by people like ourselves, so we tailored social policies to meet our needs.

Our education policy pushed people toward the course we followed — four-year colleges so that they would be qualified for the “jobs of

“The Democratic Party has one job: to combat inequality. Here was a great chasm of inequality right before their noses and somehow many Democrats didn’t see it. Many on the left focused on racial inequality, gender inequality and L.G.B.T.Q. inequality. I guess it’s hard to focus on class inequality when you went to a college with a multibillion-dollar endowment and do environmental greenwashing and diversity seminars for a major corporation. Donald Trump is a monstrous narcissist, but there’s something off about an educated class that looks in the mirror of society and sees only itself.”

David Brooks

‘Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?’
New York Times, November 6, 2024

Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?

Nov. 6, 2024



Damon Winter/The New York Times

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“As the left veered toward **identitarian performance art**, Donald Trump jumped into the class war with both feet.”

“There will be some on **the left** who will say Trump won because of the inherent racism, sexism and authoritarianism of the American people. Apparently, those people love losing and want to do it again and again and again.”

David Brooks

‘Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?’
New York Times, November 6, 2024

Percentage of Voters by Education Level & Race/Ethnicity

Red/Blue background color indicates majority

	2016	2020	2024
White College	48%	51%	54%
White Non-college	66%	67%	65%
Non-white College	72%	70%	65%
Non-white Non-college	76%	72%	65%

2024 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, November 6, 2024, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-elections/exit-polls>

2020 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2020-elections/exit-polls/>

2016 Data source: NBC News Exit Polls, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/president/>

2004–2012 Data source: New York Times Exit Polls, <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/results/president/exit-polls.html>

Issues that mattered most to voters



Stanford University: 'The mythical tie between immigration and crime'

Stanford University

Stanford | Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR)

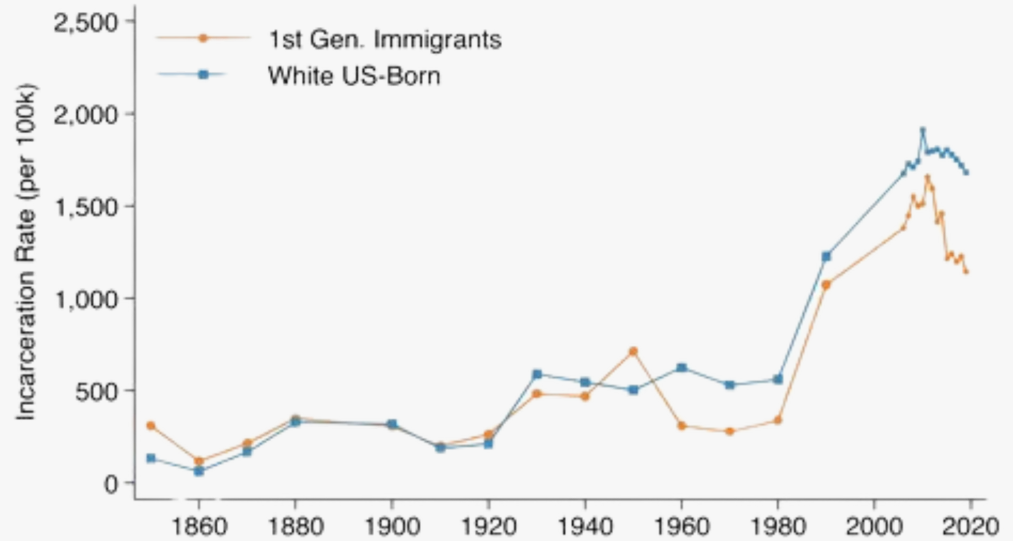
Menu

Inequality, Politics and Media, Research Highlight

The mythical tie between immigration and crime

Research by Stanford's Ran Abramitzky and co-authors uncovers the most extensive evidence to date that immigrants are less likely to be imprisoned than U.S.-born individuals.

July 21, 2023 | Krysten Crawford [f](#) [t](#) [in](#) [✉](#) [📄](#)



Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation:



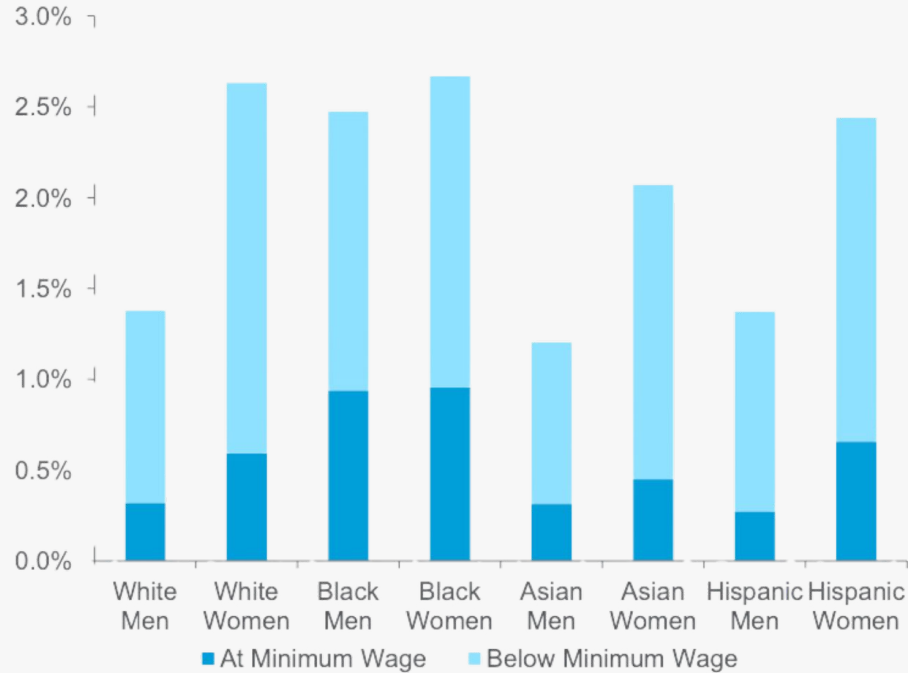
Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is:



Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is:



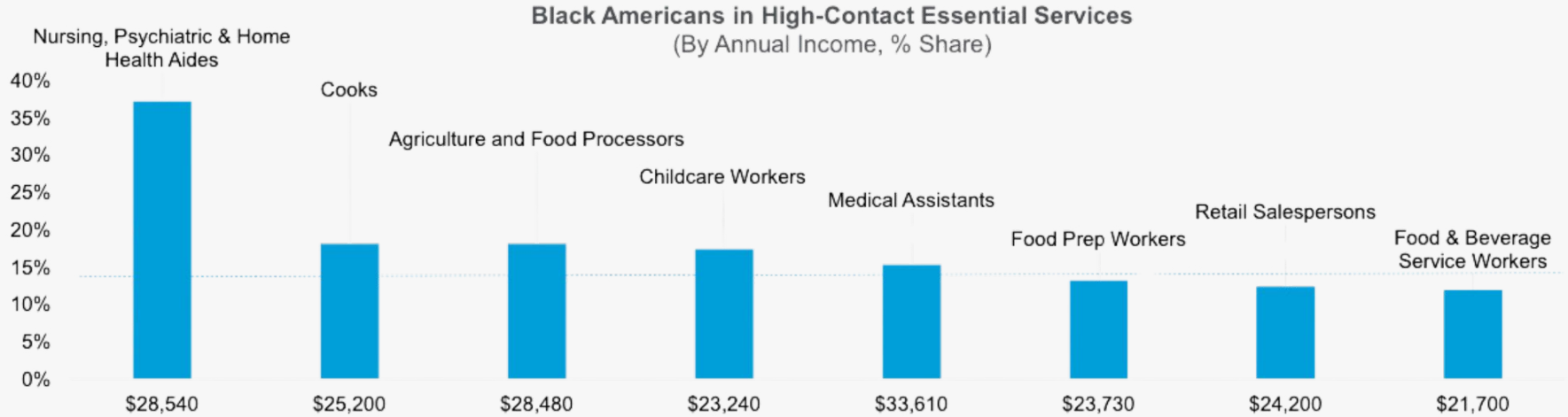
Percent of Workers Paid Hourly Rates At or Below Federal Minimum Wage



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Citi Research

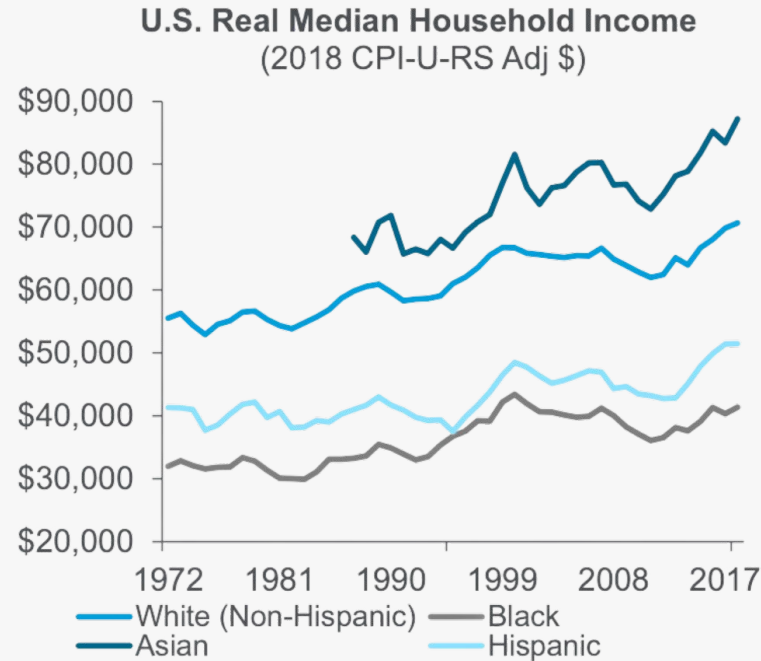
Source: 'Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps' (September 22, 2020),
<https://www.citigroup.com/global/insights/closing-the-racial-inequality-gaps-20200922>

Figure 19. Black Workers Are Overrepresented in Many of the Lowest Wage Jobs Considered High-Contact, Essential Services



Source: 'Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps' (September 22, 2020), <https://www.citigroup.com/global/insights/closing-the-racial-inequality-gaps-20200922>

Figure 8. Income Gaps for Black and Hispanic People Remain Wide



Source: Census Bureau, Citi Research

NATASHA
_LENNARD

The Answer to Trump's Victory Is Radical Action

As ever, don't expect the Democratic Party to save us. Now is the time for grassroots action.

Natasha Lennard

November 6, 2024, 5:57 a.m.

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Pro-Palestine demonstrators rally near the News Corp. building in NYC on Nov. 5, 2024. Photo: Jimin Kim/SOPA Images/Sipa via AP Images

I LEARNED THAT Donald Trump would be president of the United States of America in 2016 while attending a memorial service for my friend, [Clark Fitzgerald](#), who had died in a car accident on his way to protest the Dakota Access pipeline at [Standing Rock](#), North Dakota.

“Whatever wins were made by organized labor throughout Biden’s tenure — and these were notable — they were not a focus of the Democrats’ 2024 White House bid. Harris’s economic plan was Wall Street and Silicon Valley–friendly, wrapped in the language of “opportunity” for the mythic “middle class,” rather than a needed reckoning with the demands of a diverse working class living in this desperately unequal superpower.”

Natasha Lennard

‘The Answer to Trump’s Victory Is Radical Action’
The Intercept, November 6, 2024

NATASHA
_LENNARD

The Answer to Trump's Victory Is Radical Action

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“But we have also just witnessed, yet again, the resounding failure of an establishment **Democratic Party, seemingly more committed to rightward triangulation than providing a positive program for the country, its citizens and denizens.**”

“Democratic establishment has made clear that it is committed to **a failed policy of appealing to the right, only to lose to the right. The same pattern informs rightward, anti-immigrant political shifts in Germany, Britain, Italy, and beyond.**”

Natasha Lennard

‘The Answer to Trump’s Victory Is Radical Action’
The Intercept, November 6, 2024



Data Sources

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- 2016 Exit Polls** <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/president/>
- 2004–2012 Exit Polls** <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/results/president/exit-polls.html>
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