

RACE, NATIONALITY, GENDER, RELIGION, AND VOTING: THE PROFILE OF DONALD TRUMP'S SUPPORTERS AMONG LATINOS AND AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE 2024 UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

RAÇA, NACIONALIDADE, GÊNERO, RELIGIÃO E VOTO: O PERFIL DOS APOIADORES DE DONALD TRUMP ENTRE LATINOS E AFRO-AMERICANOS NAS ELEIÇÕES PRESIDENCIAIS DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS EM 2024

RAZA, NACIONALIDAD, GÉNERO, RELIGIÓN Y VOTO: EL PERFIL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE DONALD TRUMP ENTRE LATINOS Y AFROAMERICANOS EN LAS ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES DE ESTADOS UNIDOS DE 2024

Fernanda Barros dos Santos¹

DOI: 10.54899/dcs.v23i91.5974

Recibido: 22/05/2026 | Aceptado: 15/06/2026 | Publicación en línea: 26/06/2026.

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the electoral profile of Donald Trump's supporters among Latino and African American voters in the 2024 United States presidential election, examining how race, nationality, gender, religion, and social class shaped political choices. The study adopts a qualitative approach based on documentary analysis, literature review, and the examination of secondary data from electoral surveys and research institutes. The theoretical framework is grounded in Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1989) concept of intersectionality and Black feminist scholarship, combined with studies on electoral behavior and racial politics in the United States. The findings indicate that Republican gains among Latino and African American voters cannot be explained solely by racial identity, but also by economic, religious, and cultural factors. Increased support for Trump was observed among Black men, religious conservatives, and specific Latino groups, particularly Cuban Americans, Venezuelan Americans, and Colombian Americans. Inflation, cost of living, public safety concerns, and traditional values emerged as significant determinants of voting behavior. The study concludes that the 2024 election revealed growing political heterogeneity within these groups and the emergence of a more racially diverse Republican coalition, challenging homogeneous interpretations of minority voting behavior in the United States.

Keywords: Latinos. Elections. Trump. African Americans. Voting Behavior.

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa o perfil eleitoral dos apoiadores de Donald Trump entre latinos e afro-americanos nas eleições presidenciais dos Estados Unidos em 2024, buscando compreender como

¹ Ph.D. in Political Science from Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF), Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
E-mail: fbarros245@gmail.com

raça, nacionalidade, gênero, religião e classe social influenciaram as escolhas políticas desses grupos. A pesquisa adota abordagem qualitativa, fundamentada na análise documental, revisão bibliográfica e sistematização de dados secundários provenientes de surveys eleitorais e institutos de pesquisa. O referencial teórico baseia-se na interseccionalidade proposta por Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) e nas contribuições do feminismo negro, articuladas aos estudos sobre comportamento eleitoral e política racial norte-americana. Os resultados indicam que o avanço republicano entre segmentos latinos e afro-americanos não pode ser explicado exclusivamente por fatores raciais, mas também por questões econômicas, religiosas e culturais. Observou-se crescimento do apoio a Trump entre homens negros, eleitores religiosos conservadores e determinados grupos latinos, especialmente cubano-americanos, venezuelano-americanos e colombiano-americanos. A inflação, o custo de vida, a segurança pública e os valores tradicionais emergiram como fatores relevantes na decisão de voto. Conclui-se que as eleições de 2024 evidenciaram a crescente heterogeneidade política desses segmentos e a formação de uma coalizão republicana mais diversa racialmente, desafiando interpretações homogêneas sobre o comportamento eleitoral das minorias nos Estados Unidos.

Palavras-chave: Latinos. Eleições. Trump. Afro-Americanos. Comportamento.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza el perfil electoral de los votantes que apoyaron a Donald Trump entre los electores latinos y afroamericanos en las elecciones presidenciales de Estados Unidos de 2024, examinando cómo la raza, la nacionalidad, el género, la religión y la clase social influyeron en las decisiones políticas. El estudio adopta un enfoque cualitativo basado en el análisis documental, la revisión bibliográfica y el examen de datos secundarios procedentes de encuestas electorales e institutos de investigación. El marco teórico se fundamenta en el concepto de interseccionalidad formulado por Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) y en los aportes del feminismo negro, combinados con estudios sobre comportamiento electoral y política racial en Estados Unidos. Los hallazgos indican que los avances republicanos entre los votantes latinos y afroamericanos no pueden explicarse únicamente por la identidad racial, sino también por factores económicos, religiosos y culturales. Se observó un aumento del apoyo a Trump entre los hombres afroamericanos, los conservadores religiosos y determinados grupos latinos, especialmente cubanoamericanos, venezolanoamericanos y colomboamericanos. La inflación, el costo de vida, las preocupaciones relacionadas con la seguridad pública y los valores tradicionales emergieron como factores significativos en la configuración del comportamiento electoral. El estudio concluye que las elecciones de 2024 revelaron una creciente heterogeneidad política dentro de estos grupos y la aparición de una coalición republicana racialmente más diversa, cuestionando las interpretaciones homogéneas sobre el comportamiento electoral de las minorías en Estados Unidos.

Palabras clave: Latinos. Elecciones. Trump. Afroamericanos. Comportamiento Electoral.



Esta obra está bajo una [Licencia Creative Commons Atribución- NoComercial 4.0 Internacional](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)

INTRODUCTION

This article aims to critically and contextually analyze the electoral profile of Donald Trump's supporters in the 2024 presidential election, with particular emphasis on Latino and African American segments. It is based on the hypothesis that the electoral behavior of these groups cannot be understood in a homogeneous manner, requiring an approach that takes into account the multiple social dimensions that shape their experiences. Within the scope of this research, the main Latino segments considered correspond to distinct groups of national origin and migratory trajectories, namely: Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, Venezuelan Americans, naturalized Brazilians, Colombian Americans, Cuban Americans, and individuals originating from Central and Latin American countries. This delimitation seeks to encompass the internal heterogeneity of the Latino population in the United States, recognizing the historical, political, and sociocultural specificities that characterize these different groups.

From a methodological standpoint, the study adopts a qualitative approach, combining documentary analysis with the systematic treatment of secondary data. Electoral surveys and databases from recognized research institutes are utilized, with results organized and tabulated to identify patterns of political behavior. Simultaneously, a critical review of the specialized literature is conducted in order to articulate empirical findings with the main contemporary debates on electoral behavior in the United States.

Regarding the theoretical and methodological framework, the study is grounded in the contributions of Black feminism, particularly the concept of intersectionality formulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), which enables an understanding of how different axes of oppression, gender, race, class, and religion, intersect in the production of inequalities and the shaping of political choices. The study also engages with foundational scholars such as Angela Davis (1981), Patricia Hill Collins (2000), and bell hooks (1981), whose reflections contribute to a critical reading of power dynamics, identity, and resistance.

The secondary hypotheses guiding this research maintain that variables such as race/ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, religion, and social class constitute determining factors for understanding the electoral behavior of Latinos and African Americans. It is assumed that the interaction among these social and identity dimensions influences the formation of political preferences and voting decisions within these population segments.

On the theoretical level, the research is anchored in the contributions of Black feminism,

especially the notion of intersectionality developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), which allows for an understanding of how different systems of oppression, such as racism, sexism, and class inequality, operate in an interconnected manner in the production of social and political experiences. This perspective is deepened by the reflections of Patricia Hill Collins (2000), who discusses the construction of knowledge from the experiences of Black women, as well as by the historical analyses of Angela Davis (1981) on the interrelations among race, class, and gender. In the same field, bell hooks (1981) provides a powerful critique of structures of domination and intersecting forms of marginalization, while Lélia Gonzalez (1988) broadens the debate by incorporating Latin American dimensions, particularly regarding colonial legacies and social formations marked by race and gender.

Finally, the literature on electoral behavior and racial politics in the United States complements this approach by offering specific analytical tools to understand the political action of racialized groups. Authors such as Michael Dawson (1994) emphasize the centrality of the relationship between race and class in African American politics, while Cathy J. Cohen problematizes processes of marginalization and political coalition-building. Likewise, Taeku Lee (2008) contributes analyses of the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities, emphasizing dynamics of participation and identity.

Taken together, these sources provide not only an empirically informed reading but also a critically oriented interpretation of electoral behavior, highlighting how intersectional social markers shape, in complex ways, the political choices of Latinos and African Americans in the context of the 2024 presidential election.

From this perspective, the study seeks to highlight how social markers of difference operate in an interconnected manner in the constitution of the electoral behavior of Latinos and African Americans, challenging oversimplified interpretations and offering a more nuanced and situated analysis of political alignments in the context of the 2024 election.

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS BASED ON THE LITERATURE REVIEW

The 2024 United States presidential election, which resulted in Donald Trump's victory over Kamala Harris, produced significant transformations in the American electoral landscape. Among the phenomena most debated by political scientists, sociologists, and electoral analysts was the shift in the political behavior of groups historically associated with the Democratic Party,

particularly Black and Latino voters.

For decades, the literature on American electoral behavior maintained that racial minorities constituted the Democratic Party's primary social base. However, the 2024 election results revealed a more complex reality. Although the majority of Black voters continued to support the Democrats, a significant increase in support for Trump was observed within this segment. Among Latinos, the shift was even more pronounced, with the Republican Party reaching levels of support not seen since the late twentieth century.

Nevertheless, Benjamin Highton and Arthur L. Burris, in *New Perspectives on Latino Voter Turnout in the United States* (2002), challenges simplified interpretations of Latino political participation and proposes an analysis based on socioeconomic factors, citizenship status, and migratory trajectories. According to the authors, Latino electoral participation is directly associated with structural factors such as educational attainment, income, age, and residential stability. Even after statistically controlling for these variables, however, the researchers identified a persistent participation gap between Latinos and other racial groups, suggesting the existence of additional factors related to the specific political and social experiences of this population segment (Highton; Burris,2002).

Furthermore, the dichotomy between native-born and naturalized citizens is insufficient to explain patterns of electoral participation. The decisive factor is not simply place of birth but rather length of residence in the United States. Their findings indicate that naturalized citizens tend to increase their political participation as they accumulate social, economic, and political experience in the country, thereby expanding their access to information and integration into democratic institutions (Highton; Burris,2002).

In general terms, these scholars argue that research on Latino electoral behavior should take into account the role of education, income, citizenship status, and length of residence in the country. In other words, political participation is strongly influenced by processes of social integration, as well as socioeconomic, institutional, and migratory factors.

Race and Electoral Behavior in the United States

With regard to African American electoral behavior, race remains a central element of American politics; however, it does not solely determine electoral choices. Michael Dawson (1994), Manning Marable (2007), and Cornel West (1993) argue that the historical experience of

racism and exclusion strengthened Black voters' identification with the Democratic Party, particularly after the Civil Rights Movement. However, Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães (2002) and Nilma Lino Gomes (2017) suggest that economic, religious, territorial, and class-related factors also influence political behavior.

The 2024 election confirmed this complexity. Although the majority of African Americans supported Kamala Harris, Donald Trump expanded his support among Black men, particularly younger voters and workers without a college degree (Pew Research Center, 2025a). Similarly, Cox (2024) argues that issues such as the economy, cost of living, and public safety have begun to exert increasing influence on Black voting behavior, while Shelton (2024) links greater political diversity among African Americans to transformations in religious institutions and the growth of non-denominational Protestant churches.

In his analysis, Cox (2024) identifies lower levels of partisan identification among younger Black voters, while data from the Pew Research Center (2025) indicate that Black men are more open to voting Republican than Black women, who remain the most loyal segment of the Democratic electorate (Pew Research Center, 2025a).

Moreover, Leah Wright Rigueur (2015), Karen Fields (2016), Edward Ashbee (1997), and Francisco (2020; 2021) highlight the existence of a historical tradition of Black conservatism in the United States. These studies reveal that a portion of African Americans embrace values such as entrepreneurship, individual responsibility, family strengthening, economic self-sufficiency, and market participation, without necessarily denying the existence of structural racism.

In summary, Dawson (1994), Marable (2007), West (1993), Guimarães (2002), Gomes (2017), Cox (2024), Shelton (2024), Rigueur (2015), Fields (2016), Ashbee (1997), and Francisco (2020; 2021) converge in emphasizing that the African American electorate is plural and internally diverse. The 2024 election therefore indicates that race remains a relevant factor, but its influence is mediated by gender, generation, religion, social class, and ideological orientation, rendering interpretations of the Black vote as homogeneous and increasingly inadequate.

The Latino Electorate and the Fragmentation of Political Identity

The most significant electoral transformation of 2024 occurred among Latinos, a group often analyzed as homogeneous despite its vast diversity of national origins, migratory trajectories, class positions, and religious identities (Mora, 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2018). Electoral

results indicate a substantial increase in Latino support for Donald Trump, who received approximately (48%) of the vote from this segment, narrowing the gap with Democratic support (Pew Research Center, 2025b).

The evidence suggests that economic factors, such as inflation, employment, public safety, and social mobility, played an increasingly important role in electoral decision-making, often outweighing identity-based concerns or issues related to immigration (Souza, 2018; Adimora, 2026). In this sense, Republican gains among Latinos should not be interpreted as a uniform ideological conversion to conservatism but rather as a consequence of the group's internal diversity and distinct social experiences.

Lopez and Gonzalez-Barrera (2012), as well as Adimora (2026), emphasize that the demographic and political growth of Latinos is reshaping the American electoral landscape. With an increasingly decisive presence in key states such as Texas, Florida, Arizona, and Nevada, Latinos have become a competitive and indispensable electorate in presidential contests. Consequently, the so-called "Latino vote" should be understood as a plural set of political behaviors influenced by economic, social, cultural, and national factors rather than as a homogeneous and predictable partisan preference.

Economy, Inflation, and Voting Behavior

One of the principal explanations for Trump's performance among Black and Latino voters is related to economic concerns. Studies on economic voting indicate that Donald Trump's success among Latinos and a portion of the Black electorate was strongly associated with perceptions of worsening economic conditions. Although macroeconomic indicators showed signs of recovery during the Biden administration, many voters remained concerned about inflation, the rising cost of living, housing costs, and food prices (Downs, 1957; Pew Research, 2025b). Retrospective voting theories maintain that citizens evaluate governments based on their concrete economic experiences and tend to support the opposition when they perceive a decline in material well-being (Key, 1966; Fiorina, 1981). In this context, recent memories of high inflation rates exerted a greater influence than indicators of economic recovery.

Achen and Bartels (2016) argue that electoral decisions are frequently based on subjective perceptions of everyday life rather than on technical economic data. Public opinion surveys revealed that the economy was the primary concern of voters in 2024, favoring Republican

discourse centered on inflation and purchasing power (Pew Research Center, 2024a; Bankrate, 2024).

In summary, the 2024 election reinforced the centrality of economic issues in American electoral behavior. Perceptions of declining purchasing power, particularly among low-income workers and segments of the middle class, contributed to expanding support for Trump among groups that had traditionally demonstrated greater proximity to the Democratic Party (Hibbs, 2000; Afzal, 2024).

Masculinity, Religion, and Cultural Conservatism

With regard to masculinity, religion, and the growth of cultural conservatism, these variables proved crucial in the 2024 American election. Katherine Tate (1994) argues that a segment of Black men has become increasingly receptive to discourses emphasizing entrepreneurship, authority, and individual responsibility. According to the author, although racial identity remains an important factor in shaping African American voting behavior, it does not eliminate the influence of social values, economic experiences, and individual conceptions of social mobility.

Among Latinos, religious influence also played a significant role. Conservative Catholic churches and evangelical denominations reinforced agendas centered on the defense of the traditional family, opposition to abortion, and criticism of certain identity-based political agendas (Almeida, 2019; Vital da Cunha, 2015).

Robert Putnam and David Campbell (2010) argue that religion constitutes one of the principal sources for the formation of social networks and collective identities. In their view, religious communities not only promote spiritual beliefs but also create bonds of trust, solidarity, and belonging that influence political preferences. According to these scholars, individuals embedded in religious congregations tend to share moral values and perceptions regarding public issues, which may encourage support for conservative political projects.

Similarly, Putnam and Campbell (2010) emphasize that since the late twentieth century, political polarization in the United States has increasingly incorporated religious elements. In this process, many voters came to associate the Republican Party with the defense of traditional moral values, while the Democratic Party became more closely identified with progressive agendas related to gender, sexuality, and reproductive rights. Consequently, the convergence of religion,

family values, entrepreneurship, and moral conservatism contributed to expanding receptiveness to Trumpist discourse among segments historically associated with the Democratic Party. The 2024 election suggests that cultural and religious factors may be as relevant as racial and economic factors in shaping the electoral choices of Black and Latino voters in the United States (Tate, 1994; Putnam; Campbell, 2010; Almeida, 2019).

In this context, according to Inglehart and Norris (2019), the advancement of agendas related to diversity, gender equality, and minority rights generated a conservative reaction, what the authors term a *cultural backlash*, among groups that perceived these transformations as threats to traditional values. This reaction was particularly significant among White men, evangelicals, and voters residing in rural areas or small towns.

Regarding masculinity, several scholars argue that changes in gender relations and labor market dynamics contributed to feelings of insecurity and status loss among certain groups of men. According to Michael Kimmel (2017), support for conservative leaders can partly be understood as a response to perceptions of declining traditional forms of male authority. Many men, he argues, came to interpret feminist advances and inclusion policies as threats to their historically privileged social position.

Likewise, Arlie Russell Hochschild (2016) contends that many conservative American voters experienced a sense of cultural displacement in response to social transformations over recent decades. According to her analysis, numerous citizens believed that historically marginalized groups had begun receiving greater attention from both the state and society, while their own concerns were being neglected. This perception strengthened political discourses emphasizing authority, social order, and traditional gender roles.

As demonstrated by Layman (2001) and Guth *et al.* (2006), religion influences electoral behavior not only through religious participation but also through adherence to specific moral views concerning family, sexuality, abortion, and education. Among religious groups, White evangelicals remain one of the segments most closely aligned with the Republican Party. According to data from the Pew Research Center (2024a), an overwhelming majority of White evangelicals supported Donald Trump, continuing a trend observable since the 1980s.

For Whitehead and Perry (2020), this alignment is associated with the consolidation of what they describe as *Christian nationalism*, a worldview according to which the United States was founded upon Christian principles that must be preserved in the face of modern cultural change. Religious influence on voting behavior is therefore closely connected to cultural

conservatism (Perry, 2020).

Hunter (1991) argues that American politics has increasingly become characterized by a genuine *culture war*, in which competing groups struggle over legitimate definitions of morality, family, education, and national identity. Issues such as abortion, LGBTQIA+ rights, the teaching of race in schools, and religious freedom have become central themes in political polarization (Hunter, 1991).

According to Putnam and Campbell (2010), the growing overlap between religious identity and partisan identity has intensified political polarization. Many voters came to perceive their electoral choices not merely as political decisions but as expressions of deeply rooted moral and cultural values. Consequently, voting became a mechanism for defending collective identities and competing worldviews.

The 2024 election highlighted this dynamic. Issues related to the protection of the traditional family, abortion restrictions, opposition to diversity policies, and the defense of religious freedom occupied a prominent place in Republican discourse. These themes resonated particularly among conservative religious voters and among male voters concerned about changes in social and cultural norms (Pew Research Center, 2024d).

From a theoretical perspective, these findings align with the argument that contemporary political conflicts extend beyond economic issues and increasingly involve symbolic disputes related to identity, recognition, and cultural belonging. As Inglehart and Norris (2019) observe, twenty-first-century politics is increasingly shaped by the interaction between economic factors and cultural reactions, making explanations based exclusively on income or social class insufficient.

Overall, the 2024 presidential election demonstrated that masculinity, religion, and cultural conservatism remain important variables for understanding Republican electoral mobilization. These factors contributed to strengthening conservative political identities and consolidating electoral coalitions organized around the defense of traditional values, moral authority, and particular conceptions of family, gender, and nation.

The Limits of Identity Politics

This section discusses the limitations of identity politics in the context of the 2024 election. Drawing on the work of Nancy Fraser (1997; 2003), it is argued that the recognition of

identities and cultural differences is essential but insufficient when not accompanied by policies aimed at economic redistribution. Fraser concludes that demands for recognition and demands for improved material conditions must advance together in order to promote social justice.

This perspective is reinforced by Leonardo Avritzer (2016) and Luis Felipe Miguel (2018), who emphasize the importance of combining social inclusion, political participation, and the reduction of economic inequalities. The debate between Fraser and Axel Honneth (2003) highlights the tension between the centrality of identity recognition and the need to address material inequalities.

In the context of the 2024 election, although Kamala Harris's candidacy represented an important symbolic milestone in terms of diversity and representation, economic issues such as inflation, cost of living, employment, and social mobility carried greater weight for many Black and Latino voters. This case suggests that electoral strategies based solely on symbolic representation encounter significant limitations when they fail to provide concrete responses to the socioeconomic demands of the population (Fraser, 1997; 2003). Consequently, the election reinforces the importance of articulating identity recognition and economic redistribution in order to understand contemporary political dynamics.

A New Republican Coalition?

One of the most significant consequences of the 2024 election was the emergence of a more racially diverse Republican coalition. Donald Trump expanded his support among Black, Latino, and Asian voters, reducing the Republican Party's historical dependence on the conservative White electorate (Pew Research Center, 2025b).

The literature suggests that demographic changes do not automatically generate permanent partisan loyalties. Scholars such as John Judis and Ruy Teixeira (2002), as well as Michael Tesler (2016), argue that although race remains an important factor, electoral choices are increasingly shaped by economic, religious, cultural, and territorial influences.

From a different perspective, the research of William Julius Wilson (1980; 1996) and Ruy Braga (2017) highlights how transformations in labor markets, class structures, and economic conditions have contributed to diversifying the experiences and political preferences of racial groups, particularly among African Americans and Latinos.

Finally, Daniel Schlozman (2015) interprets Republican gains among racial minorities as

part of a broader process of realignment within the American party system. In this sense, the 2024 election suggests a growing fragmentation of traditional political alignments, in which race remains relevant but interacts in increasingly complex ways with economic and social factors.

How do Latinos Vote in the United States?

In general terms, the most recent elections in the United States reflect important reconfigurations in electoral behavior. Donald Trump expanded his support among men, White voters, workers without college degrees, Latinos, and a portion of the Black electorate, while Kamala Harris maintained stronger support among women, young voters, African Americans, and residents of major urban centers. These developments indicate an increasing fragmentation of traditional electoral coalitions and greater political diversity within racial and ethnic groups (The American Presidency Project, 2024; Pew Research Center, 2025b).

Among Latinos, a significant increase in Republican support was observed, particularly among men. Latina women remained predominantly aligned with the Democratic Party, especially younger, urban, and more highly educated women. In contrast, support for Trump was more pronounced among older, religious women and among those particularly concerned with issues such as inflation, public safety, and immigration (Hartig *et al.*, 2025; Buchholz, 2024). The data demonstrate that the Latino electorate is far from constituting a homogeneous voting bloc. Differences in gender, generation, religion, socioeconomic status, and national origin significantly influenced electoral choices. Cuban Americans, Venezuelan Americans, and portions of the Colombian American community exhibited greater affinity with the Republican Party, whereas voters of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Dominican origin remained more closely associated with the Democratic Party (Hartig *et al.*, 2025).

Furthermore, Latino voting behavior reflects the diversity of social experiences within the community. Factors such as immigration history, economic integration, educational attainment, religious affiliation, and regional context shape political preferences in distinct ways. Consequently, electoral behavior varies not only between national-origin groups but also within them.

The growing Republican appeal among certain Latino segments should therefore not be interpreted as evidence of a uniform ideological shift toward conservatism. Rather, it reflects the increasing complexity of political identities and the importance of issues such as economic

opportunity, entrepreneurship, inflation, public safety, religion, and cultural values in shaping electoral decisions.

In summary, the 2024 election reinforces the need to understand the Latino electorate as a plural and heterogeneous group whose political preferences are shaped by multiple social, economic, cultural, and national factors. Electoral behavior among Latinos cannot be reduced to a single partisan orientation but must instead be analyzed through an intersectional lens that recognizes the diversity of experiences and identities within this rapidly growing segment of the American electorate.

According to the Pew Research Center (2025b) and the Roger Center (2025), the relative pattern of support for Kamala Harris among Latina women can be analytically represented as follows: Puerto Rican women demonstrated the highest level of support, with (73%) voting for Harris, followed by Dominican women at 70% and Mexican women at (65%). Support was also substantial among Central American women, (62%) of whom voted for the Democratic candidate. Colombian women supported Harris at a rate of (58%), while Venezuelan women registered (43%) support. Cuban women exhibited the lowest level of support among the groups analyzed, with (35%) voting for Kamala Harris in the 2024 presidential election.

A contrasting trend can be observed in support for Donald Trump among Latino men. An analytical representation of the 2024 election results indicates that Cuban American men demonstrated the highest level of support for the Republican candidate, at (79%), followed by Venezuelan American men at (70%) and Colombian American men at (63%). Support for Trump also remained strong among Central American men, (60%) of whom voted for the Republican ticket, and among Mexican American men, who registered (58%) support. Dominican American men were evenly divided, with (50%) supporting Trump, while Puerto Rican American men exhibited the lowest level of support among the groups analyzed, with (45%) voting for the Republican candidate in the 2024 presidential election.

Overall, estimates of Latino male support for Donald Trump in U.S. presidential elections reveal a consistent upward trend over the last three electoral cycles. In 2016, approximately (35%) of Latino men voted for Trump. This figure increased modestly to (38%) in 2020 and rose substantially in 2024, reaching (54%) of the Latino male electorate. These results suggest a significant shift in voting behavior among Latino men, indicating growing Republican appeal within this segment and underscoring the increasing political heterogeneity of the Latino electorate in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2025b; Roger Center, 2025).

In general terms, according to the Edison Research Exit Poll conducted in November 2024, Latino male voting patterns reflected a highly competitive electoral landscape. Kamala Harris received approximately (45%) of the Latino male vote, while Donald Trump secured (58%) support among this segment of the electorate. These results highlight the growing Republican appeal among Latino men and suggest an important shift in voting behavior when compared to previous election cycles. The findings further reinforce the argument that the Latino electorate is increasingly diverse and politically heterogeneous, with voting preferences shaped by a complex interplay of economic, cultural, religious, and generational factors (Edison Research, 2024).

The Heterogeneity of the Latino Vote and Electoral Behavior by National Origin in the 2024 U.S. Presidential Election

As discussed previously, the 2024 election reinforced the notion that Latinos do not constitute a homogeneous political group. Their electoral preferences vary according to national origin, religion, social class, gender, and region of residence (Lopez, Noe-Bustamante & Krogstad, 2024). Although the majority of Latinos continue to lean toward the Democratic Party, an increase in Republican support was observed among specific segments, particularly among men, religious voters, and groups originating from countries marked by anti-communist experiences or strong opposition to left-wing political movements.

Mexican Americans and Central Americans remained predominantly aligned with the Democratic Party, while Puerto Ricans continued to demonstrate strong support for progressive political agendas. In contrast, Cuban Americans and Venezuelan Americans maintained high levels of identification with the Republican Party, influenced by historical experiences associated with anti-communism and Latin American political developments. Colombian Americans exhibited a more balanced political profile, although some states experienced a growing tendency toward conservatism within this community (Gamarra, 2021; Jones-Correa, 2020).

The Republican gains among certain Hispanic groups should not be interpreted as evidence of a uniform ideological shift. Rather, they reflect distinct migratory trajectories, national experiences, religious affiliations, economic circumstances, and cultural backgrounds (Barreto & Seguro, 2014). Accordingly, the 2024 election confirms that the Latino electorate is becoming increasingly diverse and politically competitive, rendering insufficient any

interpretation that treats it as a single, predictable electoral bloc.

Estimated Distribution of Presidential Voting Preferences by Latin American National Origin in the 2024 U.S. Election

The estimated distribution illustrates the considerable heterogeneity of the Latino electorate in the 2024 U.S. presidential election. While Mexican Americans (60%) and Puerto Rican Americans (65%) continued to show stronger support for the Democratic Party, support for Republican candidates was substantially higher among Cuban Americans (70%), Venezuelan Americans (65%), and Colombian Americans (55%). Central Americans also remained more closely aligned with the Democratic Party, although by a narrower margin (62% to 38%). Naturalized Brazilians displayed an evenly divided electorate, with Democratic and Republican candidates each receiving approximately (50%) of the vote. These variations highlight the importance of national origin in shaping political preferences among Latinos. Rather than constituting a unified voting bloc, Latino communities exhibit distinct electoral patterns influenced by historical experiences, migration trajectories, socioeconomic conditions, religious affiliations, and political developments in both the United States and their countries of origin. Consequently, the 2024 election reinforces the argument that the Latino electorate is increasingly diverse, politically competitive, and resistant to simplistic interpretations based solely on ethnic identity (Pew Research Center, 2024c; Barreto; Seguro, 2014; Gamarra, 2021; Jones-Correa; Al-Faham; Cortez, 2023; Lopez; Noe-Bustamante; Krogstad, 2024).

The studies presented are approximate and represent the midpoint of ranges reported in recent surveys and scholarly studies. They do not correspond to official election results disaggregated by national-origin group, as the United States does not publish presidential voting data by voters' national ancestry or country of origin. Rather, these estimates were constructed from survey data, exit polls, and demographic analyses available in the contemporary literature on Latino political behavior.

HOW DO AFRICAN AMERICANS VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES?

According to data from the 2024 U.S. presidential election, approximately (87%) of African American voters supported Kamala Harris, while roughly (12%) voted for Donald

Trump, according to national exit poll data (Roper Center, 2024). Among African American women, support for Kamala Harris was even more pronounced, reaching approximately (90%) to (92%) of the vote, whereas Donald Trump received between (8%) and (10%) support from this group (Pew Research Center, 2025b). The absolute number of votes cast by African American women is not directly reported and is therefore estimated based on this group's participation within the broader electorate.

The general profile of African American women who supported Kamala Harris consists predominantly of voters between the ages of 18 and 49, with a strong presence of individuals affiliated with historically Black Protestant churches, as well as urban working-class and middle-class segments (Pew Research Center, 2025b). Within the heterogeneity of this group, high levels of political engagement, electoral participation, and alignment with issues such as civil rights, racial justice, public health, and social protection are particularly evident.

In broad terms, the profile of African American women who supported Donald Trump represents a minority within the electorate; nevertheless, some distinct patterns can be identified. These voters are more likely to be over the age of 50, exhibit more conservative religious values, and belong to middle-class or entrepreneurial sectors (Prri, 2024). Within the diversity of African American women, this support, although limited, tends to emerge among individuals holding more conservative positions on moral, economic, or public safety issues, as well as among those demonstrating weaker identification with the Democratic Party when compared to historical voting patterns.

With respect to support for Kamala Harris, Black women constituted the Democratic Party's most loyal electoral constituency in the 2024 presidential election. Approximately (90%) of Black women voted for Harris, while roughly (10%) supported Donald Trump. In comparison, Black men demonstrated lower levels of Democratic support: approximately (75%) voted for Kamala Harris, whereas (23%) cast their ballots for Donald Trump, according to data reported by the Pew Research Center (2025b) and the study *How Voting Patterns Changed in the 2024 Election*.

These findings highlight significant gender differences within the African American electorate. Although both Black women and Black men remained predominantly aligned with the Democratic Party, Black women exhibited substantially higher levels of support for Harris, while Black men demonstrated greater openness to the Republican candidate. Such variations suggest that race alone is insufficient to explain electoral behavior, as gender, class, religion, age, and

economic perceptions also play important roles in shaping political preferences and voting decisions.

The gender divide proved to be more pronounced than the income divide in the 2024 presidential election. Kamala Harris maintained a clear advantage among women and among high-income voters earning more than US\$200,000 annually. Donald Trump, by contrast, performed more strongly among middle-income voters, particularly those with household incomes between US\$50,000 and US\$199,999. Among voters earning less than US\$50,000 per year, electoral competition was comparatively balanced. This pattern suggests that, in 2024, cleavages related to gender, educational attainment, and race/ethnicity possessed greater explanatory power for voting behavior than income alone. While economic conditions remained an important factor in shaping electoral preferences, the results indicate that social identities and cultural affiliations played a more significant role in structuring political alignments across the electorate (Edison Research National Exit Poll, 2024; National Election Pool (Nep); Cnn, Cbs News & Roper Center, 2024).

Finally, an examination of African American voting behavior by place of residence in the 2024 presidential election reveals significant territorial variation. Kamala Harris received approximately (86%) of the vote among African Americans residing in urban areas, (82%) among those living in suburban communities, and (76%) among residents of rural areas. By contrast, support for Donald Trump increased as residential patterns shifted away from major urban centers. Among African Americans who voted for Trump, approximately (13%) resided in urban areas, (17%) in suburban areas, and (23%) in rural communities (Ap Vote Cast, 2024; Pew Research Center, 2024d; Associated Press; Norc VoteCast, 2024; Norc at the University of Chicago, 2024).

These findings suggest that place of residence remains an important variable in understanding electoral behavior within the African American electorate. Although Democratic support remained predominant across all residential contexts, Republican support was comparatively stronger among African Americans living in rural and less densely populated areas. This pattern indicates that geographic location, in interaction with socioeconomic, cultural, and religious factors, contributes to shaping political preferences and voting behavior among African American voters in the contemporary United States.

CONCLUSION

The 2024 U.S. presidential election demonstrated that the electoral behavior of Latinos and African Americans cannot be understood through homogeneous or deterministic interpretations. The findings reveal that race, national origin, gender, religion, social class, and place of residence interact in complex ways to shape political preferences and voting decisions. While Democratic support remained predominant among African Americans and several Latino groups, Republican gains among specific segments highlight the growing fragmentation and diversification of these electorates. An intersectional perspective therefore proves essential for understanding contemporary political realignments and the evolving dynamics of racial and ethnic voting behavior in the United States.

REFERENCES

- ACHEN, C. H.; BARTELS, L. M. **Democracy for realists**: why elections do not produce responsive government. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- ADIMORA, K. Latino power: how America's fastest-growing electorate is reshaping US politics. **Political Insight**, v. 17, n. 1, p. 16–19, 2026.
- AFRICAN AMERICAN RESEARCH COLLABORATIVE (AARC); BSP RESEARCH. **2024 American Electorate Voter Poll**: exit survey of voters in the 2024 election. Washington, DC, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.hispanicfederation.org/our-work/civicengagement/exit-survey-of-voters-in-the-2024-election/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.
- AFZAL, M. H. B. **Economic struggles and inflation**: how does that affect voting decision? Ithaca, NY: arXiv, 2024. Disponível em: <https://arxiv.org/abs/2408.05223>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.
- ALMEIDA, R. de. A onda quebrada: evangélicos e conservadorismo. **Cadernos Pagu**, n. 50, 2019.
- AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES (ANES). **2024 Time Series Study**: full release. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan; Stanford University, 2025. Disponível em: <https://electionstudies.org>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.
- ASHBEE, E. The politics of contemporary Black conservatism in the United States. **Political Quarterly**, v. 68, n. 3, p. 249–258, 1997.
- AVRITZER, L. **Impasses da democracia no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2016.

BANKRATE. **2024 election and the economy survey**. New York, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.bankrate.com>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

BARRETO, M. A.; SEGURA, G. M. **Latino America**: how America's most dynamic population is poised to transform the politics of the nation. New York: Public Affairs, 2014.

BONILLA-SILVA, E. **Racism without racists**: color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America. 5. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

BRACEY, C. A. **Saviours or sellouts**: the promise and peril of Black conservatism, from Booker T. Washington to Condoleezza Rice. Boston: Beacon Press, 2008.

BRAGA, R. **A rebeldia do precariado**: trabalho e neoliberalismo no Sul Global. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2017.

BUCHHOLZ, K. **The Trump-Harris gender gap**. Hamburg: Statista, 2024.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS (BLS). **Consumer Price Index summary**. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.bls.gov/cpi/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

BUSINESS INSIDER. Latino men, younger voters, the economy: 5 stats that help explain Trump's victory. **Business Insider**, New York, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.businessinsider.com>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

COHEN, C. J. **The boundaries of Blackness**: AIDS and the breakdown of Black politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

COLLINS, P. H. **Black feminist thought**: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment. 2. ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.

COX, K. An early look at Black voters' views on Biden, Trump and Election 2024. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/05/20/an-early-look-at-black-voters-views-on-biden-trump-and-election-2024/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

COX, K. On most issues, Black voters are more confident in Harris than Trump. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/09/30/on-most-issues-black-voters-are-more-confident-in-harris-than-trump/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

CRENSHAW, K. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine. **University of Chicago Legal Forum**, n. 1, p. 139–167, 1989.

DAVIS, A. **Women, race & class**. New York: Random House, 1981.

DAWSON, M. C. **Behind the mule**: race and class in African-American politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

DOWNS, A. **An economic theory of democracy**. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.

EDISON RESEARCH. **National Election Pool exit polls**. Somerville, NJ, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.edisonresearch.com>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

FIELDS, C. D. **Black elephants in the room**: the unexpected politics of African American Republicans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016.

FIORINA, M. P. **Retrospective voting in American national elections**. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

FRANCISCO, F. T. R. Do gradualismo negro ao sonho americano: a formação do conservadorismo negro nos Estados Unidos. **Revista Eletrônica da ANPHLAC**, v. 20, n. 29, p. 344–368, 2020.

FRANCISCO, F. T. R. Elementos do conservadorismo negro nos Estados Unidos: George Schuyler contra o movimento pelos direitos civis (1950–1968). **Revista de História**, n. 180, 2021.

FRASER, N. **Justice interruptus**: critical reflections on the postsocialist condition. New York: Routledge, 1997.

FRASER, N.; HONNETH, A. **Redistribution or recognition?** a political-philosophical exchange. London: Verso, 2003.

GALLUP. **Public opinion and political trends**. Washington, DC, 2024. Disponível em: <https://news.gallup.com>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

GAMARRA, E. Latino politics in South Florida and the transformation of Hispanic republicanism. In: DOMÍNGUEZ-VILLEGAS, R. (org.). **Latino politics in America**. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2021.

GOMES, N. L. **O movimento negro educador**: saberes construídos nas lutas por emancipação. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2017.

GONZALEZ, L. Racismo e sexismo na cultura brasileira. In: SILVA, L. A. M. da *et al.* **Ciências Sociais Hoje**. São Paulo: ANPOCS, 1988.

GUIMARÃES, A. S. A. **Classes, raças e democracia**. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2002.

GUTH, J. L. *et al.* **Religion and the culture wars**: dispatches from the front. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

HAI, M.; WINOGRAD, M. **Are Black voters deserting Biden?** Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2024.

HARTIG, H.; KEETER, S.; DANILLER, A.; VAN GREEN, T. **How voting patterns changed in the 2024 election**: a detailed analysis. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2025.

HIBBS, D. A. Bread and peace voting in U.S. presidential elections. **Public Choice**, v. 104, n. 1–2, p. 149–180, 2000.

HIGHTON, B.; BURRIS, A. L. New perspectives on Latino voter turnout in the United States. **American Politics Research**, v. 30, n. 3, p. 285–306, 2002.

HOCHSCHILD, A. R. **Strangers in their own land**: anger and mourning on the American Right. New York: The New Press, 2016.

HONNETH, A. **Luta por reconhecimento**: a gramática moral dos conflitos sociais. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2003.

HOOKS, B. **Ain't I a woman?** Black women and feminism. Boston: South End Press, 1981.

HUNTER, J. D. **Culture wars**: the struggle to define America. New York: Basic Books, 1991.

INGLEHART, R.; NORRIS, P. **Cultural backlash**: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

JONES-CORREA, M. **Latinos and the future of American politics**. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

JONES-CORREA, M.; AL-FAHAM, H.; CORTEZ, D. Latino political incorporation and electoral realignment in the United States. **Annual Review of Political Science**, v. 26, p. 287–306, 2023.

JUDIS, J. B.; TEIXEIRA, R. **The emerging democratic majority**. New York: Scribner, 2002.

KEY, V. O. **The responsible electorate**: rationality in presidential voting, 1936–1960. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

KIMMEL, M. **Angry white men**: American masculinity at the end of an era. 2. ed. New York: Nation Books, 2017.

LAYMAN, G. C. **The great divide**: religious and cultural conflict in American party politics. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

LEE, T. **Mobilizing public opinion**: Black insurgency and racial attitudes in the Civil Rights Era. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

LOPEZ, M. H.; GONZALEZ-BARRERA, A. **Inside the 2012 Latino electorate**. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2013. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2013/06/03/inside-the-2012-latino-electorate/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

LOPEZ, M. H.; NOE-BUSTAMANTE, L.; KROGSTAD, J. M. **Latino voters and the 2024 presidential election**. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/09/12/latino-voters-and-the-2024-presidential-election/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

MARABLE, M. **Race, reform and rebellion**: the second reconstruction and beyond in Black America, 1945–2006. 3. ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.

MARGOLIS, M. L. **Brazilian immigration to the United States**: new trends and new communities. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017.

MIGUEL, L. F. **Dominação e resistência**: desafios para uma política emancipatória. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2018.

MORA, C. **Making Hispanics**: how activists, bureaucrats, and media constructed a new American. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO (NPR). **Election 2024**: economy and voter priorities. Washington, DC, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.npr.org>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. **Issues and the 2024 election**. Washington, DC, 2024a. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/09/09/issues-and-the-2024-election/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. **Validated voter survey and election analysis**. Washington, DC, 2024b. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/topic/politics-policy/us-elections-voters/election-2024/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. **Latino voters and the 2024 presidential election**. Washington, DC, 2024c. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/2024/09/12/latino-voters-and-the-2024-presidential-election/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. SMITH, G. A. White Protestants and Catholics support Trump, but voters in other U.S. religious groups prefer Harris. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 9 set. 2024d. Acesso em: 14 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. **Voting patterns in the 2024 election**. Washington, DC, 2025a. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2025/06/26/voting-patterns-in-the-2024-election/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. **Behind Trump's 2024 victory**: a more racially and ethnically diverse voter coalition. Washington, DC, 2025b. Disponível em: <https://www.pewresearch.org/topic/politics-policy/us-elections-voters/election-2024/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PRRI – PUBLIC RELIGION RESEARCH INSTITUTE. **Analyzing the 2024 presidential vote**: PRRI's post-election survey. Washington, DC, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.prii.org/research/analyzing-the-2024-presidential-vote-prii-post-election-survey/>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

PUTNAM, R. D.; CAMPBELL, D. E. **American grace**: how religion divides and unites us. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010.

REUTERS. Results of national exit poll on U.S. presidential election. **Reuters**, New York, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.reuters.com>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

RIGUEUR, L. W. **The loneliness of the Black Republican**: pragmatic politics and the pursuit of power. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

ROPER CENTER FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH. **How groups voted in 2024**. Ithaca: Cornell University, 2025. Disponível em: <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

SANCHEZ, G. R. **A deep dive into the 2024 Latino male electorate**. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2024.

SCHLOZMAN, D. **When movements anchor parties**: electoral alignments in American history. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

SHELTON, J. E. **The Black Church and the 2024 presidential election**. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2024.

SOUZA, J. **A elite do atraso**: da escravidão à Lava Jato. Rio de Janeiro: Leya, 2018.

TATE, K. **From protest to politics**: the new Black voters in American elections. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

TESLER, M. **Post-racial or most-racial?** race and politics in the Obama era. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

U.S. CENSUS BUREAU. **Current Population Survey and Voting and Registration Supplement**. Washington, DC, 2024. Disponível em: <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps.html>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.

VEGA HÜBNER, B.; PUEYO MENA, F. J. (org.). **The Hispanic vote in the 2024 U.S. presidential elections**. Cambridge: Instituto Cervantes at Harvard University, 2025.

VITAL DA CUNHA, C. **Religião e política**: controvérsias em torno da participação política evangélica no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Heinrich Böll, 2015.

WEST, C. **Race matters**. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

WHITEHEAD, A. L.; PERRY, S. L. **Taking America back for God**: Christian nationalism in the United States. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

WILSON, W. J. **The declining significance of race**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

WILSON, W. J. **When work disappears**: the world of the new urban poor. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.

YUUGOV. The economy: what 2024 voters want and which candidate they trust. **YouGov**, London, 2024. Disponível em: <https://today.yougov.com/politics/articles/50794-the-economy-what-2024-voters-want-and-which-candidate-they-trust>. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2026.