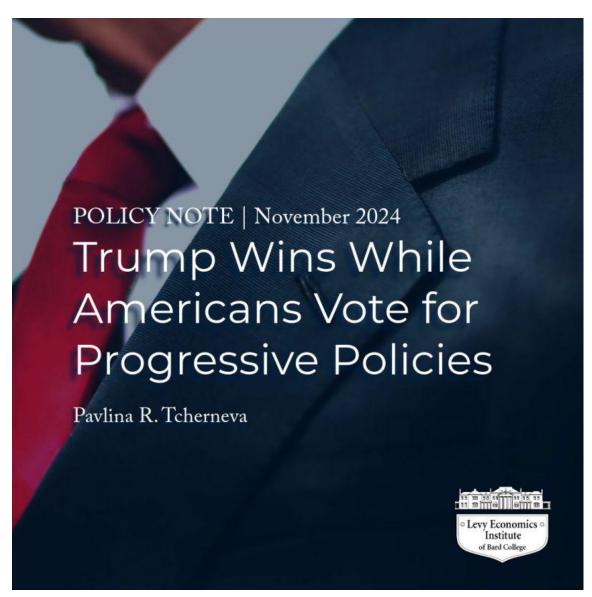
Pocketbook Economics and the American Voter

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32 Annual Levy Economics Institute Conference







Outline

Levy Economics Institute
of Bard College

- A Postmortem
 - Shift in party allegiances: a long-term trend
 - The swing voter: working class voter
 - The myth of the undecided voter
- What do voters want: pocketbook issues
 - Ballot initiatives
 - Polling
- "It's that Vision Thing": An Agenda for Economic Security
- Neoliberalism and the Wall-Street-Silicon Valley nexus



Shifting Allegiances: A Long-term Trend

Trump wins over the poor and unemployed



Republican Voting Share Increase Quintile	Average Poverty Rate	Average % of Prime Age Adults Not in Work
1	12.2%	21.8%
2	13.4%	22.7%
3	14.2%	24.1%
4	15.0%	25.2%
5	17.5%	27.7%

Sources: EIG, Census, Atlas data

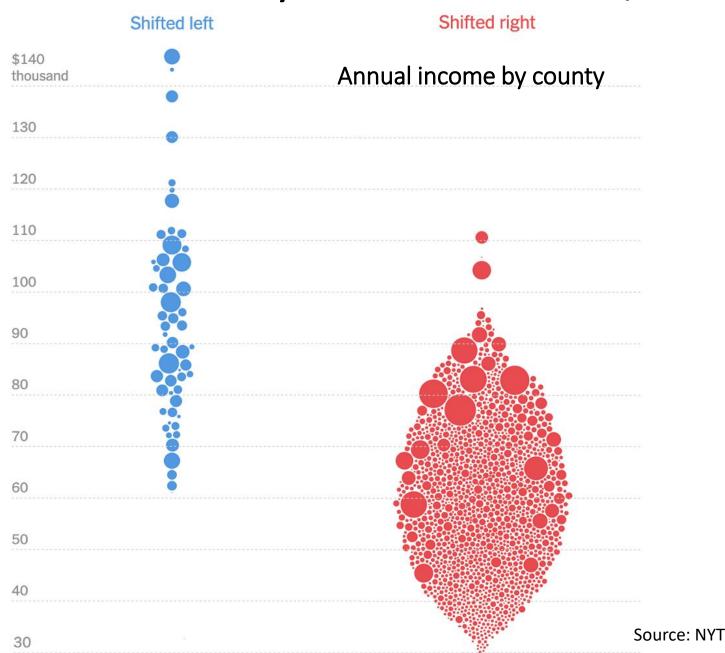
Quintile 1: Counties with the **lowest** increase in the share of the vote going to Trump between 2020-2024

Quintile 5: Counties with the **highest** increase in the share

Trump won in **economically distressed** counties, overwhelmingly among Americans who **depended heavily on government assistance**

Electoral Shifts by Economic Status, last 3 elections





Same shift observed by median income or level of education



This is Not a Trump Phenomenon

Long Term Demographic Trends



Long-term decline in the Latino vote

• Sweeping losses in rural communities

• 2024: first loss in suburban areas in 2 decades & a shrinking urban vote

 Since 2003, a steady decline in Democrats who self-identify as working/lower class and steady increase in Republicans who identify similarly

Steady Democratic Losses in Battleground States



R <50%

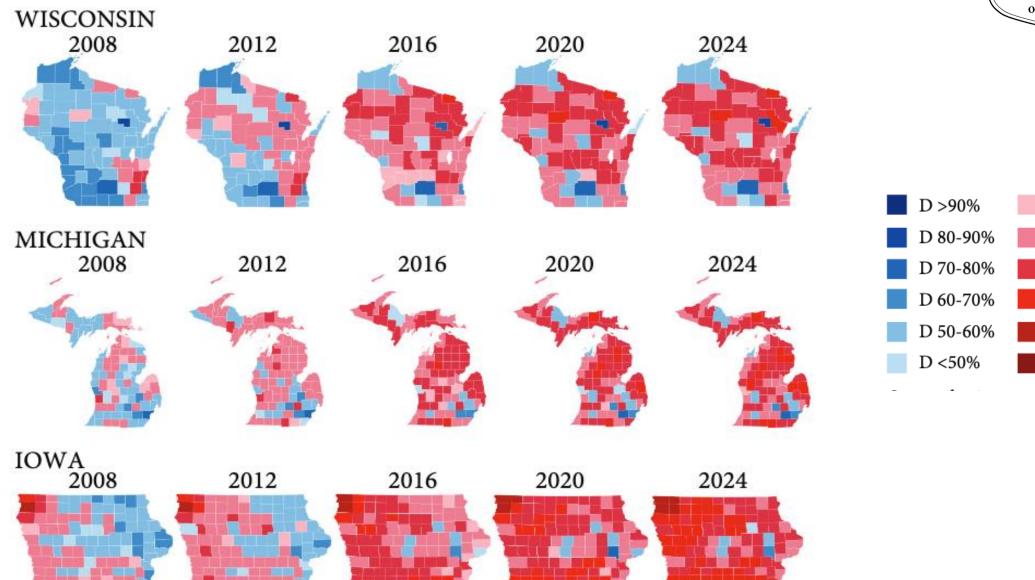
R 50-60%

R 60-70%

R 70-80%

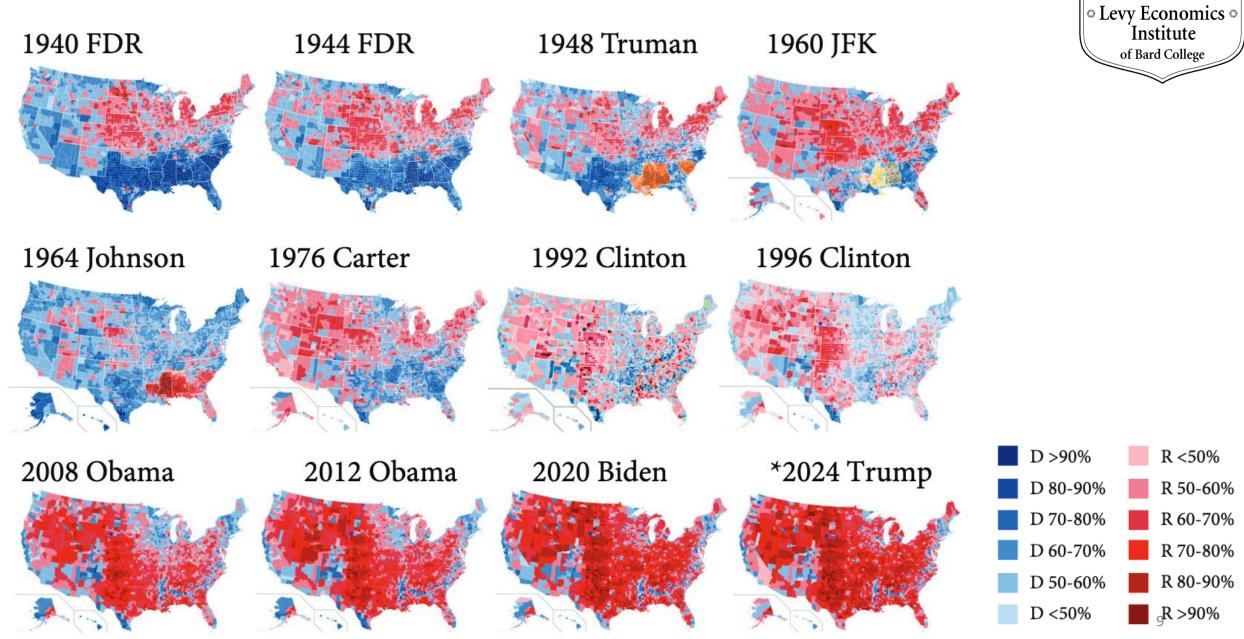
R 80-90%

R >90%



Democratic Presidential Wins Since 1940 (plus 2024 loss)





The Swing Voter: The Working Class



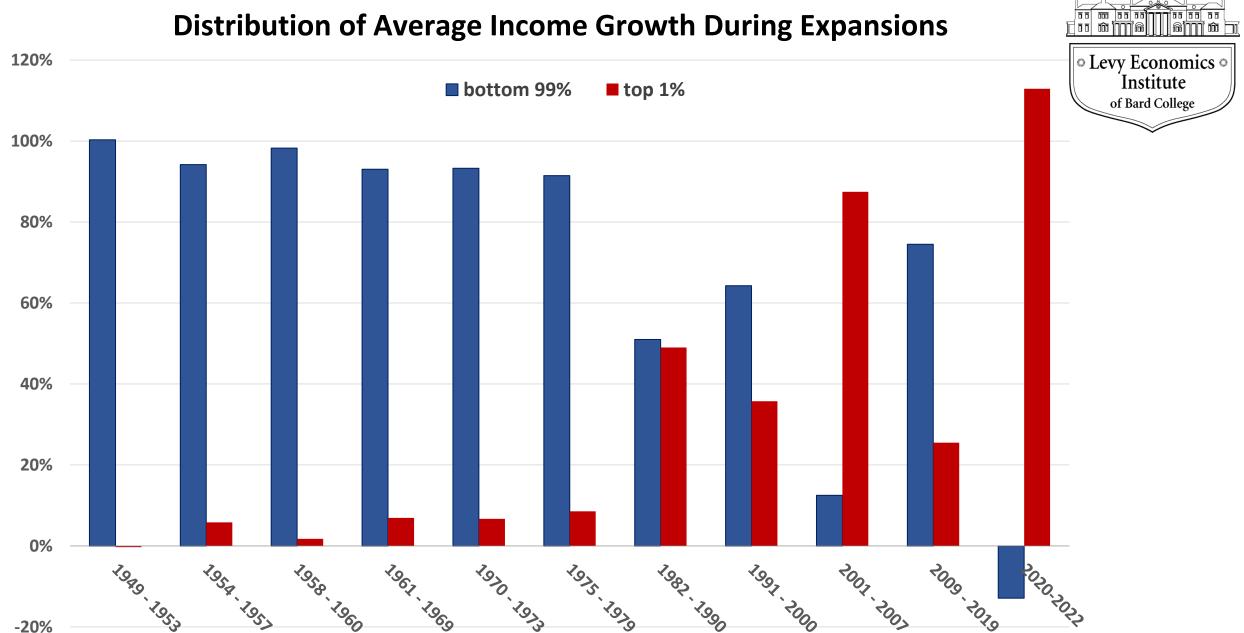
- The worker exodus from D to R: a long-term phenomenon
- Working class swings from voting to not voting

Non-voters: 31% consider themselves Democrats, 28% Independents, 26% Republicans

- 50% high school/some college, $60\% \le $75,000$, and $50\% \le 45$ yo
- 21%: Established Progressives (lean Democratic, civically engaged, strong views on issues)
- 20%: Modern Moderates (lean Democratic, strong views)
- 17%: Traditional Conservatives (lean Republican, strong views)
- 64%: "I want a say in major decisions in the US that impact my life"
- Primary reason for not voting: "No candidate who speaks to my issues"
- Non-voters are more progressive than voters



Democratic Party Has Become the Party of the Comfortable Classes



source: Pavlina R. Tcherneva analysis based on Piketty/Saez data and NBER Market income before transfers, excluding capital gains



What Do Voters Really Want

What Do Voters Want: Pocketbook Issues



Ballot Initiatives

- Raise minimum wages, paid leave, increase tipped worker pay, reject state money going to private schools, protect art and culture, caps on payday loans
- Direct Democracy? Since 2017, 100 bills to restrict even overturn ballot initiatives, (e.g., MO paid sick leave)

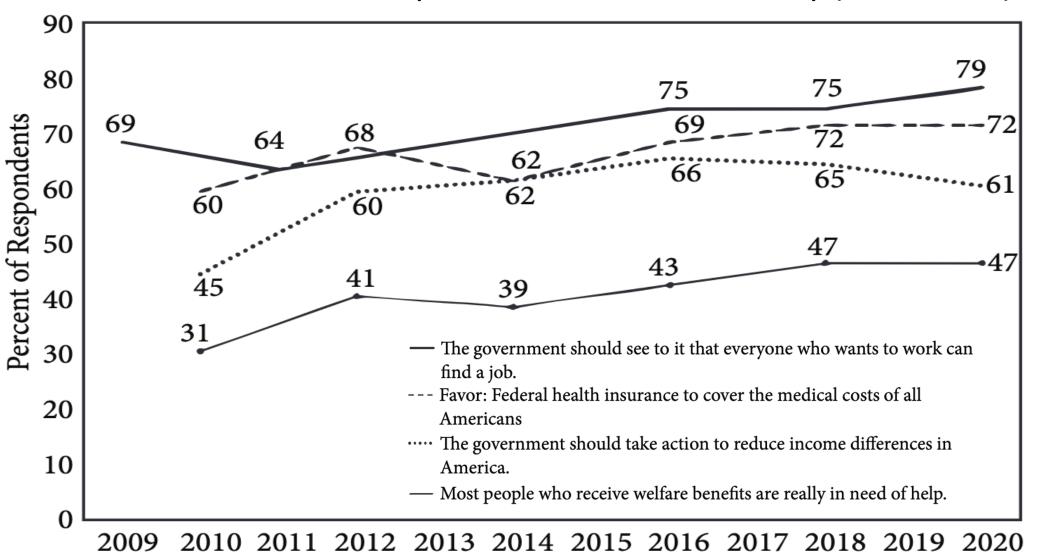
Polling

- 69% support \$15/hr Minimum Wage (Ipsos 2024)
- 73%: Ending taxes on tipped incomes (lpsos 2024)
- 85% support medical leave, 82% paid maternity leave, 69% are in favor of paid paternity leave (Pew 2017)
- 61% of Americans believe corporations and wealthy individuals do not pay their fair share in taxes and support tax increases on earnings of \$400,000+ (Pew 2023), 85% (D) and 62% (R) believe that corporations have too much market power (a significant shift in Republican attitudes over the last 5 years)
- A majority believe climate change causing harm to Americans, 63% expect things to get worse in their lifetime
- Only 22% of Americans think cost of education is worth it, only 33% of American's are satisfied with their pay

www.jobguarantee.org

Support for programs to reduce the inequalities in American society (2009-2020)





2021 Survey of Youths, 18-24-year-olds



- 81% wanted expanded opportunities through AmeriCorps
- 71% would consider serving in the program.
- 87% this was part of their civic duty
- 86% believed it would empower them to help address problems in their communities
- 86% wanted to address the threats of climate change
- 85% believed they would gain valuable experience before entering an uncertain job market

That Vision Thing in the Neoliberal Era

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- Carter: National Malaise
- Reagan: Morning In America; Get government off our backs
- Bush Sr: Senate bio: Bush suffered from his lack of what he called 'the vision thing'
- Bill Clinton: more empowerment, less entitlement, end welfare as we know it
- Bush Jr: Ownership Society, Social Security privatization, Compassionate conservatism
- Obama: Audacity of Hope: government should work for every American willing to work
- Hillary Clinton: It's Hillary's turn, America can't succeed unless you succeed
- Trump I: MAGA
- Biden: Build back better: Together, we can and will rebuild our economy
- Harris: An 'opportunity economy' where everyone has a chance to compete
- Trump II: We're a failing nation. Serious decline, They're destroying our country; We're treated unfairly!
- Post Trump Vision: Abundance?

A Progressive Policy Framework

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- True Full Employment and Community Revival through a Job Guarantee
- Guaranteed Post-High School Internships for all, National Climate Service Corps
- Raising the Minimum Wage, Paid Family Leave, Sick Leave, and Vacations
- Expanded Medicare and Medicaid, Establishing Network of Community Health Clinics
- Medical Debt Forgiveness
- Free Community College Education, Income-Based Student Loan Repayment Plan
- Free Universal Childcare
- Reduce the Power of PACs (short-term), Repealing Citizens United (longer-term)
- Housing Policy to Ensure Adequate Supply of Homes, Affordable Homes, Ending Homelessness
- Selective Tariffs
- Promoting Supply to Reduce Inflation

Not a portmanteau of policies, a renewed framework for the role of the state grounded on rights and guarantees

Thank you

