



REUTERS

SPECIAL ELECTION ISSUE

THE AMERICAN VOTER



THERE GOES THE PARTY

What next for
the Dems
and the GOP?

HOW WOMEN, RELIGION AND IMMIGRATION

Are Driving the Race

TRUMP V. HILLARY

A Tale of the Tape

DISILLUSIONMENT, U.S.A.

Presidential politics in
one small town

THE RISE OF DUMB MONEY

THOMSON REUTERS

A photograph of a clothing store interior. In the foreground, several garments are hanging on a metal rack. The items include a light-colored, textured jacket, a dark brown coat, a white top, and a pair of dark trousers. The background shows more clothing hanging on the rack, creating a sense of depth. The lighting is bright and even, highlighting the textures of the fabrics.

**WANT TO
READ YOUR
CUSTOMER'S
MIND?**

**TOO LATE.
SHE JUST
CHANGED IT.**

ENGAGEMENT IS LIVE.

Understand and act on customer needs – live and in the moment. With a consistent, omnichannel experience. End to end. And customer-driven. Run live and run simple with SAP® Hybris® solutions.

sap.com/livebusiness



SAP

Run Simple



EDITOR'S LETTER

Follow the Voter



PORTRAIT ILLUSTRATION
BY DENISE NESTOR

WE SHOULD HAVE listened to the voter all along.

Political analysts were certain this election would be like every other: Well-connected, lavishly funded elites would pre-select the general-election contenders. Ignore the heat, they said, and follow the money—and the inside players and the big-time bundlers who dispense it. Outsiders might take the early lead but would find themselves a misstep away from becoming trivia questions. (Criticize a war hero, an entire religion, a nationality, a pope? You're gone!) Strong ground games would rapidly smother charismatic but poorly organized "movement" candidacies, especially ones that peddle socialism in a proudly capitalist country.

Yet here we are pre-convention, with a markedly different dynamic than nearly anyone imagined, and with a great deal of hand-wringing over the fact that neither the parties nor the candidates seem to be playing by the rules.

The key to understanding what's going on, we believe, lies not with personalities, campaign strategies or party rules—or even with who offended which interest group or who used which email server—but rather with the voter. The electorate's makeup, mood and outlook have been there to discover all season long and tell a powerful story. Data analysis is especially helpful in understanding and communicating this story. So are conversations with voters in cities, towns and villages. Reuters brings both approaches to bear in this special issue on the American voter.

For this enterprise, we've assembled a dynamic team of thinkers and writers, both from inside the Reuters newsroom and

outside it. We start, as we often do when we're trying to understand particularly important and complex issues, with the estimable Sir Harry Evans, our Editor at Large. In his opening essay, "The Presidency As Fantasy," Sir Harry notes how disconnected from reality, and from history, this election has become. And the cause, he concludes, is a deep distrust among voters of all things conventional, anything resembling the status quo. He writes: "In the normal course, Trump's first rancorous speech would have sent him back to opening golf courses, but we are in a new normal where the velocity of American politics is supercharged by deep anxieties across the West." As always, Sir Harry's voice is a welcome dose of humor, experience and perspective.

To more fully understand how voters are thinking this election year, we sent Reuters correspondent Jonathan Allen to rural Michigan, to a tiny town that voted for Bernie Sanders on the Democratic side and Donald Trump on the Republican. Our working title for his profile had been "The Angriest Town In America." What emerged instead was a much more subtle, and we think accurate, assessment. Yes, people in America are angry this election year, but it's an anger mixed with a tumble of other emotions, including fear and contempt, but also hope and promise. Allen's reporting from Algonac, Michigan, moves beyond the cartoonish characterizations of voters this cycle and helps us understand the electorate in a deep, nuanced and personal way.

If anger is one dominant theme this year, money is another, and we have two pieces that delve into how big money has both shaped, and been shaped, by the campaigns. Reuters' Michelle Conlin explores the notion of Dumb Money - how the usual deep-pocketed donors who tend to drive our politics have sustained mind-boggling losses this year. They've been replaced on the one hand by the Trump Method of harnessing the free-media gift-that-keeps-on-giving along with some of his own variously estimated fortune, and on the other by the Sanders Approach of proudly raking in millions of



Supporters for Bernie Sanders wait in line at a concession stand before a campaign rally in San Diego in March.

small checks from true believers whose very minimalism has become a powerful weapon of the campaign. The result has been a sort of crowd-funded, disintermediated funding cycle that has left the usual campaign donors on the outside looking in. Many of them have dropped millions, either on campaigns on the Republican side that died, or on a massive Hillary Clinton campaign machine that has had to explain away its traditionally lavish fund-raising methods as it struggled to topple Sanders and his people's army. Separately, Reuters correspondent James Olyphant tackles the money issue from the view of voters, who describe a desperation stemming from falling wages and rising costs. His piece, "The Big Squeeze," makes the case that so many of the themes that have come to dominate this election year—from immigration and trade to income inequality and even the going rate for a speech on Wall Street—are driven by voters' own money anxieties. His piece will give you an important frame for the election as we head into the fall.

To set the stage for the party conventions this summer, Ross Barkan looks at the crisis facing the two big political parties, as voters have rejected, ignored or at least profoundly doubted their preferred candidates. Barkan argues convincingly that the parties are facing their most severe test in more than a century, as voters have chosen to go their own way, and as many voters view the often-byzantine rules of the

primaries as outdated or even rigged. (It hasn't helped that the two parties have gridlocked government so disdainfully for so long.) It's an important story about yet another fallout from this amazing race. There's much else for you to explore in these pages, from a Jonathan Alter column on the role of religion this year to Alexis Gelber's disturbing piece on the campaign's frequently ugly gender war, to a deep-dive infographic on Hispanics' electoral power. We've even thrown in a lighthearted Tale of the Tape on the coming Donald versus Hillary smackdown. With our focus on the American voter, our goal with this magazine is ultimately to understand better who we are, and who we are becoming. For further insight, you'll find an iPad version on the web, with video interviews, interactive graphics and added features. I hope you'll agree that we've added some light to the heat of one of the strangest and most consequential presidential races ever.

All the best,

STEPHEN J. ADLER,
EDITOR IN CHIEF



CONTENTS

8 Where We've Been

Images from a riveting presidential race, from Reuters photographers on the campaign trail

16 The Presidency As Fantasy

A look back at a race in which fiction is fact, insults are compliments, and conventional wisdom is as wrong as it's ever been

BY HAROLD EVANS

20 By The Numbers

Our report card on the campaign, from Hillary Clinton's favorite song to Martin O'Malley's one-person rally

BY ROSS BARKAN

WHO WE ARE



Illustrations by Sr. Salmé

22 Disillusionment, U.S.A. (Population 4,000)

One Michigan river town voted overwhelmingly for both Trump and Sanders. We spend time in an American community desperate for change

BY JONATHAN ALLEN

28 Florida's New Hispanic Vote

No state is more crucial in November, or more in flux, thanks to a dramatic shift in demographics

BY MIMI DWYER AND CHRISTINE CHAN

30 The Latinos' Latino Problem

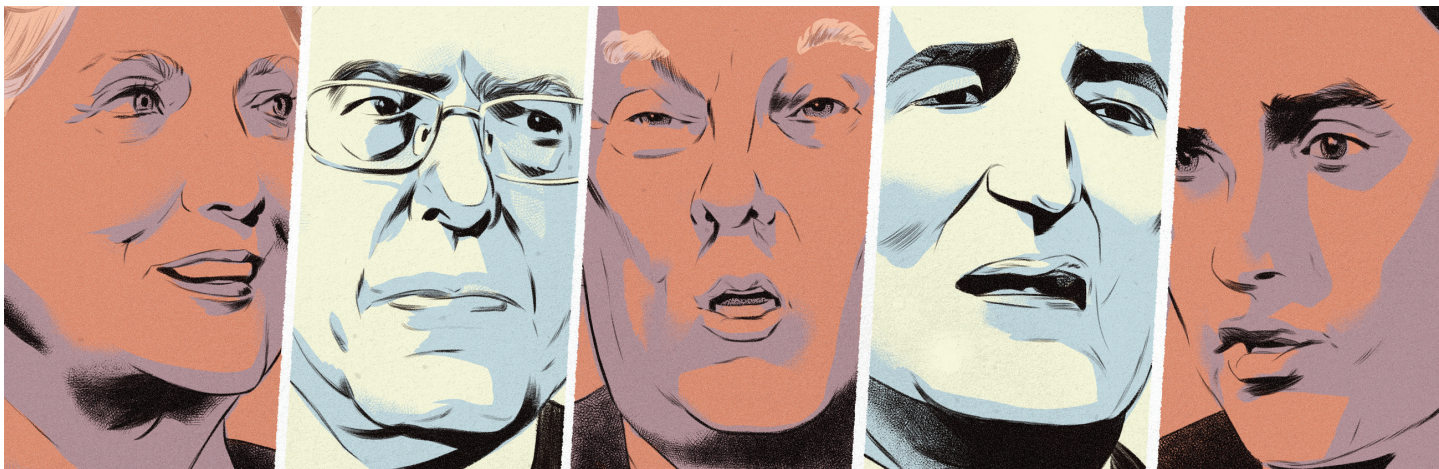
If there's ever been a year for Hispanics to exert their political muscle, this is it. Why it may not happen.

BY ANDRES MARTINEZ

The American Voter on the iPad, with videos, interactive graphics, and more



WHO WE VOTE FOR



40 **There Goes the Party**

Millions of Americans went to the polls this year and voted to defy the two main political parties. On the eve of the Republican and Democratic conventions, we survey the damage.

BY ROSS BARKAN

44 **Hillary v. Donald**

Sizing up the frontrunners, on everything from their net worth to their accents

46 **The Gender War Gets (Even) Uglier**

In a landmark race, women came under attack from both right and left

BY ALEXIS GELBER

44 **The End of Us Versus Them?**

This year's primaries attracted candidates from across the demographic spectrum. And voters could not have cared less.

BY CHRIS KAHN AND CHRISTINE CHAN

WHAT MATTERS



50 **The Big Squeeze**

Trade. Immigration. Lost jobs, Trump. This presidential election year, it's all about the money.

BY JAMES OLIPHANT

54 **Love Them, Love Them Not**

Americans still aren't sure what they want from the world. This campaign hasn't helped.

BY PETER APPS

56 **Dumb Money**

How the normal rules of campaign finance collapsed in 2016

BY MICHELLE CONLIN

64 **The Faith Factor**

Religion matters at the ballot box. Just not the way you'd think.

BY JONATHAN ALTER

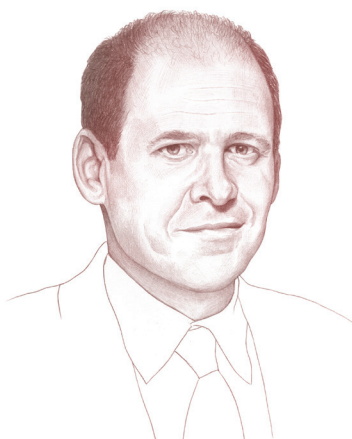


CONTRIBUTORS



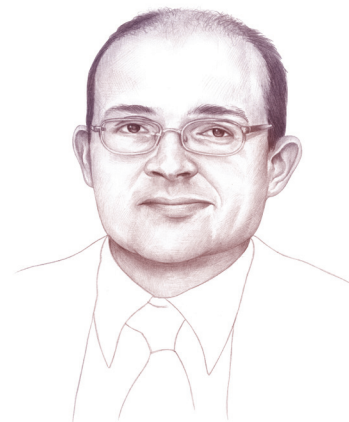
JONATHAN ALLEN

Jonathan Allen worked for Reuters in New Delhi and Mumbai before moving to the New York bureau in 2010. He was glad for the chance to better understand the dual appeal of Trump and Sanders among some voters



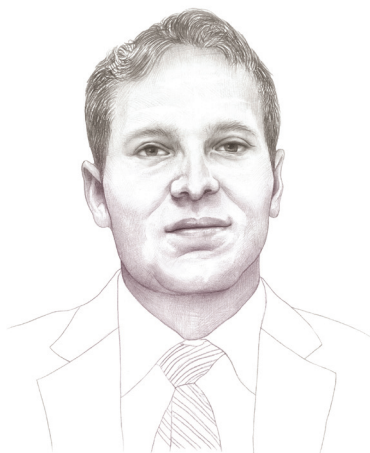
JONATHAN ALTER

Jonathan Alter is an analyst for NBC News and MSNBC and a columnist for the Daily Beast. He has covered every presidential campaign since 1976—mostly for Newsweek—and missed only two out of 20 political conventions in that period. He thinks that this, his 11th election, has stakes that dwarf any other he has covered.



PETER APPS

Peter Apps is Reuters' global affairs columnist. He was a newswire reporter for 11 years covering conflicts, politics, financial markets, culture and everything between. Paralyzed and wheelchair-bound after a warzone mishap, he still likes watching history happen.



ROSS BARKAN

Ross Barkan's work has appeared in the Village Voice, the Los Angeles Review of Books, and New York magazine, among others. For three years, he was a staff reporter at the New York Observer covering local and national politics. While covering the 2013 mayoral election in New York, he witnessed a screaming match in a kosher bakery, fell asleep in a van during a 24-hour campaign tour, and trekked the stairs of an apartment complex to watch candidates participate in an actual sleepover.



MICHELLE CONLIN

Prior to joining Reuters as a senior correspondent, Michelle Conlin spent a decade as a senior writer at BusinessWeek. She writes about money and politics in this issue; on the campaign trail, she witnessed both the lean and lavish lives of the candidates, from Ted Cruz carrying his own luggage to Jeb Bush flying on private planes.



HAROLD EVANS

Sir Harold Evans is Editor at Large of Thomson Reuters. He was editor of The Sunday Times of London from 1967 to 1981, and of The Times from 1981 to 1982. He is the author of two critically acclaimed histories of America, *The American Century* and *They Made America: From the Steam Engine to the Search Engine*. Evans was knighted in the 2004 Queen's New Year's Honors, and in 2012 he received Spain's Ortega y Gasset Prize for Outstanding Career in Journalism.



ALEXIS GELBER

Alexis Gelber, an adjunct professor at NYU's Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute, was a longtime top editor at Newsweek, where she supervised the 1992 election coverage, and the magazine's Special Presidential Election Project in 2004 and 2008—behind-the-scenes narratives published the day after the election and then as books. She thinks that those were all landmark elections, but nothing quite compares to this year's bruising and unpredictable contest.



ANDRÉS MARTINEZ

Andrés Martínez is the editorial director of Zócalo Public Square, a digital daily based in Los Angeles, a professor of practice at the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communications at Arizona State University and a fellow at New America, an independent Washington think tank. Martínez is a former editorial page editor of the Los Angeles Times, and editorial writer for the The New York Times and Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

CHRISTINE CHAN

Christine Chan, a graphics editor at Reuters, is coordinating the wire's U.S. election graphics coverage this year. With a great passion for crunching data and mapping, she is constantly looking for new ways to visualize different aspects of the electoral process.

JAMES OLIPHANT

James Oliphant, political correspondent at Reuters, is a former reporter and editor for National Journal, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, where he covered the White House, Congress, and the Supreme Court. A lawyer, he has also written extensively on legal affairs. He would always rather focus on voters rather than campaigns and politicians.

THE AMERICAN VOTER SPECIAL ISSUE

- EDITOR **KYLE POPE**
- MANAGING EDITOR **ARLENE GETZ**
- CREATIVE DIRECTOR **ERICK A. FLETES**
- POLLING EDITOR **CHRIS KAHN**
- DIGITAL EDITOR **JASON FIELDS**
- PICTURE EDITOR **RICKEY ROGERS**
- GRAPHICS **CHRISTINE CHAN**
- COPY EDITOR **LESLIE ADLER**

REUTERS

- EDITOR IN CHIEF **STEPHEN J. ADLER**
- EXECUTIVE EDITOR, OPERATIONS **REGINALD CHUA**
- EDITOR, ETHICS AND STANDARDS **ALIX FREEDMAN**
- EXECUTIVE EDITOR, DIGITAL **DAN COLARUSSO**
- GLOBAL ENTERPRISE EDITOR **MICHAEL WILLIAMS**
- GLOBAL NEWS EDITOR **ALESSANDRA GALLONI**
- EDITOR, AMERICAS **KEVIN KROLICKI**
- EDITOR, U.S. POLITICS **PAUL THOMASCH**



PORTFOLIO

WHERE WE'VE BEEN

Snapshots from an amazing race

NEW YORK JUNE 13, 2015

Democrat Hillary Clinton waves to the crowd after delivering her official launch speech at a campaign kick-off rally in Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park on Roosevelt Island in New York City.

PHOTOGRAPH BY LUCAS JACKSON/REUTERS







DUBUQUE, IOWA JANUARY 30

Donald Trump speaks to supporters at a campaign rally ahead of the Iowa caucuses, which he would lose to Republican Ted Cruz.

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICK WILKING/REUTERS



TRUMP

ROLLS
ROYCE



WASHINGTON, DC JUNE 9

Bernie Sanders walks with President Barack Obama to the Oval Office at the White House. Hours later, Obama would formally endorse Hillary Clinton for president.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GARY CAMERON/REUTERS





CONCORD, NORTH CAROLINA MARCH 7

A supporter talks to Donald Trump as he signs autographs following a campaign event. Crowds at Trump events would continue to grow throughout the spring.

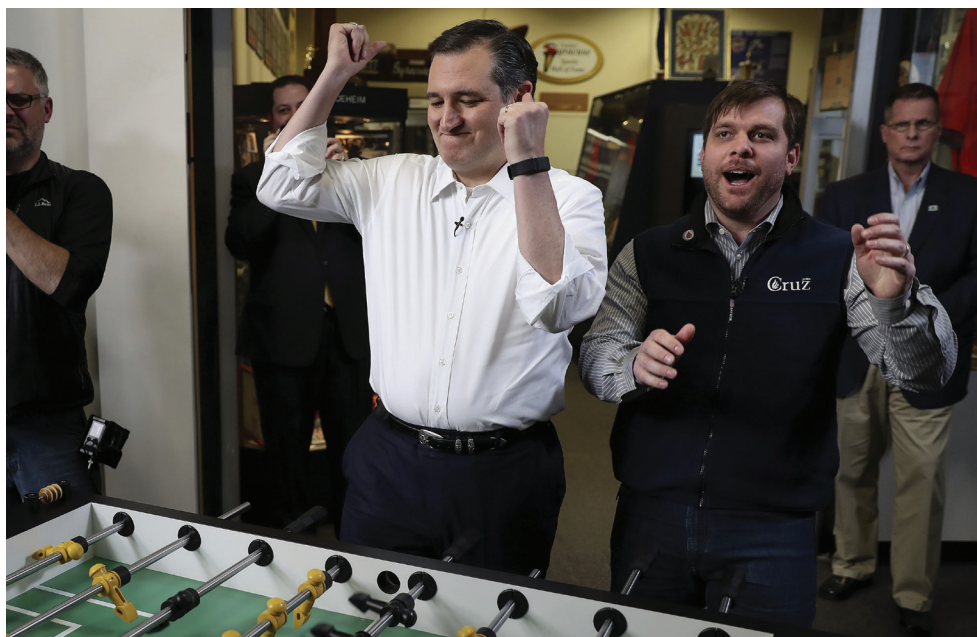
PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS KEANE/REUTERS



BROOKLYN, NEW YORK APRIL 12

Republican presidential candidate John Kasich speaks with children while attending a campaign event at a local school in advance of the New York primary. New York native Donald Trump would end up carrying the state.

PHOTOGRAPH BY EDUARDO MUNO/REUTERS



SYRACUSE, NEW YORK APRIL 15

Republican presidential candidate Ted Cruz and campaign aide Bruce Redden react to losing a game of foosball before a campaign event.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CARLO ALLEGRI/REUTERS



PERSPECTIVE

The Presidency As Fantasy

A look back at a race in which fiction is fact, insults are compliments, and conventional wisdom is as wrong as it's ever been

BY HAROLD EVANS

ILLUSTRATION BY DENISE NESTOR



DONALD TRUMP WAS A JOKE until he wasn't. The nominating contests brought forth innumerable champions to assail him as a demagogue, a fantasist, a misogynist, a racist, a narcissist, a fascist, an isolationist, a bully and a liar, and he surfed the tidal wave of contempt all the way to the Republican nomination.

Bernie Sanders was a throwback to the twenties until he wasn't. In May, he arrived at 1968 to replay the year in Chicago when young protesters from the Democratic Party's Far Left disrupted the convention and got clobbered in a police riot. Bernie's protesters at the Nevada convention in Las Vegas in May were more restrained—if you regard a thrown chair, screaming about the female anatomy, and inciting death threats as democratic discourse in support of democratic socialism.

Trump and Sanders, the scratch duo of Right-Left Populists, ganged up against Hillary Clinton. She was on her way to a coronation until she wasn't quite. She kept her cool, though the effect in the summer of 2016 was to siphon money she needed for the general election.

Clinton was sandwiched between two fantasists: Trump, who will make 11 million immigrants vanish, and Sanders, the angry one-note bore at the bar who kept interrupting with another round of fancy drinks he couldn't pay for: The non-partisan Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center calculated his \$15 trillion in new taxes fell short by \$18 trillion of paying for his \$33 trillion in student and universal

health care entitlements. Revolution doesn't come cheap. But who's counting? Not those Bernistas who so talked themselves into disbelieving Clinton's pledged delegate lead as to threaten ructions at the convention in Philadelphia in July.

Sanders' pied piper multitudes of millennials were spared critical scrutiny of their hero's promises. The heat has all been on Clinton. As the front-runner for so long, she had already been grilled, fried and fricasseed by a virulent far right-far left media even before Trump arrived with his laurels from the Pulitzer Prize-winning site Politifact. It named him for the 2015 Lie of the Year. In May 2016, after he had sworn fealty to the NRA's guns-for-all agenda, he burnished his Politifact medal by tweeting that Clinton wanted to abolish the Second Amendment. He knew it was false. She was on record many times saying what she said that April: "We can protect our Second Amendment rights AND take commonsense steps to prevent gun violence." Those included renewing the ban on assault weapons, a hot election issue that became even hotter after a lone attacker wielding a military-style rifle killed dozens at a gay nightclub in Orlando, the worst mass shooting in U.S. history. As for the Republican at the top of the ticket, Trump's obscene obsession with himself would not let him speak for country or community. His tweet: "Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism."

Clinton, assailed by billions of dollars in dark money ads, developed a stubborn defensiveness that did not serve her well during the primaries. Centrist Democrats were upset that under pressure from Sanders and the Left she abandoned her support for trade pacts. Her enemies flung into a simmering pot labeled "untrustworthy" any fault they could identify—flip-flops on policy and exaggerations of rejoinders in the heat of debate. They had more momentum on the long-running saga of her home server for emails, censured by the State Department's inspector general in May 2016 as a violation of the rules; she did not have the approval she had said she had. But whether the practice was illegal was remitted to the FBI, a cloud of uncertain potency.

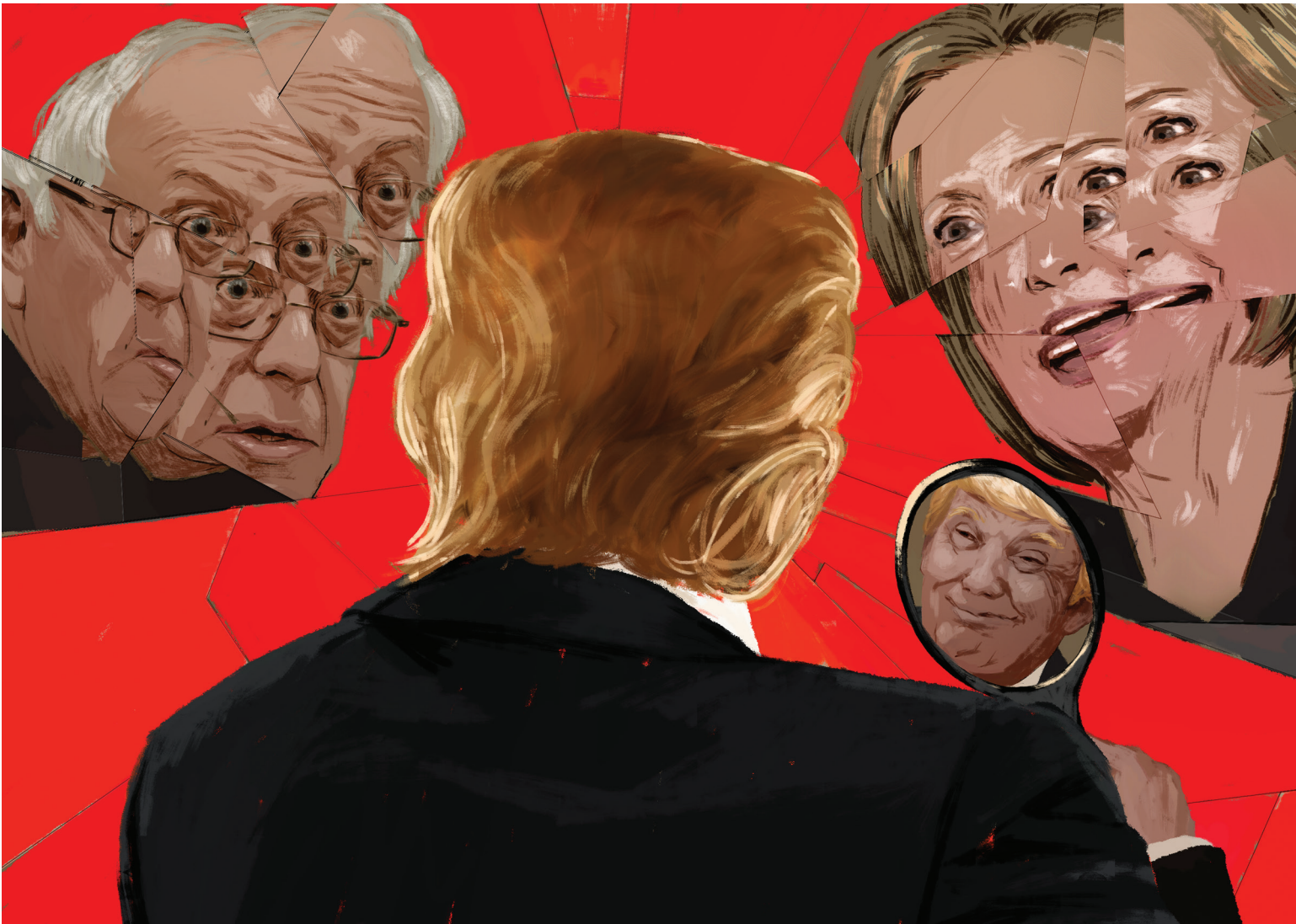


ILLUSTRATION BY CLAY RODERY

Sanders was generous in forswearing comment on the email mess, but unrelenting in painting Clinton as a creature of Wall Street. In one period the “Wall Street” that Sanders portrays as her friend launched 42 attack ads against her, only two against him. And the press, conforming to the stereotype they’d adopted, made nothing of her announcement to sack bankers from the Federal Reserve’s regional boards. Some anonymous hater obliged the Sanders theme by posting on YouTube a mash up of clips purportedly portraying Clinton’s attitude to the banks, headlined “Hillary Clinton lying for 13 minutes straight.” Viewers sucked it up. The story fit the stereotype of untrustworthiness so it got regurgitated on Facebook and Twitter by legions of the like-minded oblivious of the distortions produced by dishonest editing. Politifact said the video gave “a misleading impression.” Indeed, Politifact had noted several Clinton speeches dating back to

March 2007 calling for more oversight and transparency. “From then to 2008, she repeatedly suggested and introduced a bill to establish national standards and regulations for loan brokers and lenders.”

Seven million people viewed “lying for 13 minutes.” Trump, having caricatured Lying Ted, Little Marco and Low-Energy Jeb, dubbed her Crooked Hillary. No matter that in Politifact’s regular truth meter, ahead of the party conventions, she had a 77 percent truthful rating, Trump 24 percent. Politifact counted as false no less than 86 percent of his statements, (Sample, May 26: “Clinton is going to release all the violent criminals from jail”).

The split in the Democratic Party had been music to the Republican Party, which had not had many good tunes lately. Its shell-shocked leadership will do its best to distance itself from the obnoxious “ists” that Trump accumulates by a primordial instinct, but it had to abandon its dominant concern about whether Trump qualifies as

“a true conservative.” The trouble for the party is that he doesn’t really know, still less care, what “conservative” means to the different elements of the Republican party, from the high-minded constitutionalists respectful of rights, zealous of freedom and individual dignity, to the vulgarian money-bags and far-right talkers and screamers on social media who have so redefined Republicanism as to make the very idea of government a heresy.

In the normal course, Trump’s first rancorous speech would have sent him back to opening golf courses, but we are in a new normal where the velocity of American politics is supercharged by deep anxieties across the West: Wherever you look, establishment leaders are on the defensive to fact-free populism and xenophobia; “experience” is the new dirty word, and jihadist groups provide the fuel for politics of hate and fear as Communist subversion did in the fifties. Then America was shaken by the kaleidoscopic lies of Joe



McCarthy who used his Senate subcommittee as an instrument of personal and political terror. Eisenhower would not take him on. Three forces roused America's better self: A 74-year-old Republican senator, Ralph Flanders, curiously enough from Vermont.; Ed Murrow of CBS who coolly let the swarthy McCarthy hang himself by his own words; and a courtly 63-year-old Boston lawyer, Joseph Welch, who skewered McCarthy's defamations: "You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency sir. At long last, have you no sense of decency?" Eighty million saw the encounter. The fever of fear was ended.

Trump set out from the start to divide and conquer. He blew up the leadership's tactical hope of compromise on the wedge issue of immigration by banging on about his beautiful wall, his notional Mexican crime wave, and, while he was at it, barring Muslims from the United States. The Bushes and the Romneys have had the self-respect to say they will skip the circus coronation in Cleveland on July 18-21 while the "Never Trump" pack scampers for cover. Bravery in this context has been a readiness to take shelter in weasel words: you won't endorse the fellow but you will support him. To Governor Bobby Jindal, Trump was a madman who had to be stopped, to Marco Rubio he was a "con artist," to Speaker Paul Ryan he was "un-American." But all that was the day before yesterday, when Governor Chris Christie had a free will.

The pleading in defense of Trump-Sanders populism is empathy for the cultural shock of millions of Americans embittered by globalization, infuriated by the canyon between the very rich and the masses, humiliated by finding their skills unwanted. In March 2016 the median household income was still stuck where it was 16 years ago at \$57,263, and actually \$79 short of that. Some 6 million have dropped below the poverty line - that's 47 million poor Americans. The steady erosion of the middle class across America is marked by 65 percent thinking the country is on the wrong track.

Trump has advanced no substantive economic agenda. His is the Party of Me. His millions think they see it in T-R-U-M-P in huge white letters on his very own Boeing 757 jet; in his ebullient self confidence and the glamour of his entourage; and in the notion that somehow together they will "take their country back," at one sweep removing all the changes affecting life and an individual's

sense of belonging and worth. It is an emotion shared by many in cultural turbulence, but it invites the cruelest denouement implicit in his self-analysis in *The Art of the Deal*: "I play to people's fantasies. People may not always think big themselves, but they can still get very excited by those who do. That's why a little hyperbole never hurts. People want to believe that something is the biggest and the greatest and the most spectacular. I call it truthful hyperbole."

great social-political reform movement of the American century: Medicare and Medicaid; civil rights laws to empower black Americans; for the working poor a hike in the minimum wage and food stamps. No good deed goes unpunished. As he piloted the Great Society through Congress, riots traumatized the cities (Watts), the Vietnam War ran the country into the red, and the politics of resentment were reinvented by an impresario of demagoguery, Alabama's racist governor

Wherever you look, establishment leaders are on the defensive to fact-free populism and xenophobia; "experience" is the new dirty word.

TRUMP'S ROUT OF THE REPUBLICAN

establishment has to be seen as an inflexion point in America's political history, the second great humiliation of the party half a century after the disaster of 1964, and perhaps the harbinger of a third if Trump's luck runs out as quickly as it did for the clients and suppliers of his bankrupt casinos. In 1964 Senator Barry Goldwater, the apocalyptic prophet from Arizona, set his heart on defeating Lyndon Johnson and the "morally decadent liberalism" of the Democratic Party. Hillary Clinton was then a "Goldwater Girl" in a cowgirl outfit, enamored of the rugged individualism spelled out in his book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Goldwater was a more appealing figure than the ideologues who nominated him, the man with the epigram: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." But he was a thoroughgoing reactionary, a scary nuclear hawk and one of only six Republicans in the Senate to vote against Johnson's landmark Civil Rights Act. His nomination left the Republican Party divided and dead for 1964; Goldwater won only five Deep South states and (barely) his own state of Arizona.

Johnson went on to carry out the last

George Wallace. Wallace showed how the white working and middle classes could be turned into what would later be called Reagan Democrats through appeals to anti-black sentiments. Wallace's coded assaults on Johnson's bills and the "pointy-headed intellectuals" in Washington created and exploited a coalition of frustration among white- and blue-collar workers, the core of the prevailing liberal coalition. Two years after Johnson's win with the largest popular vote in U.S. history, the GOP gained 47 seats in the House, four in the Senate and eight governors' mansions. George Will summed up the brilliant recovery: "Barry Goldwater lost 44 states but won the future."

The Goldwater debacle proved a fortuitous launching pad for Ronald Reagan who'd once defined himself as the "near hopeless hemophiliac liberal" who bled for causes. His electrifying speech for Goldwater on Oct. 27, 1964, attracted record contributions for the party. He became the new hero of the right as the governor of California, and 16 years later, just short of his 70th birthday, he won the first of two presidential landslides. They marked the coming of age of a new coalition, a fragile reconciliation between

the fading old-style traditional “establishment” Republicans, evangelicals and social conservatives.

Reagan’s sunny optimism transformed the country’s mood. In biographer Jacob Weisberg’s phrase, he did with a grin what Goldwater tried to do with a grimace. The top tax rate of 70 percent Reagan inherited was 28 percent when he left office; at one stroke in 1986 he removed 6 million poor from the tax rolls. But it’s a myth that he ended the era of big government. He added 200,000 employees to the federal payroll, increased the national debt from \$908.5 billion to nearly \$2.7 trillion, and saw the trade deficit rise four fold, the issue that so obsesses Trump.

And Reagan was no Trumpkin nativist. He gave legal status to 3 million undocumented immigrants. In the judgment of Michael Steele, former chairman of the party, this moderate Reagan could not get through today’s primaries. The far-right anti-government talkers, supported by anti-establishment groups, have pushed the party to a nihilism reflected in the interviews of demoralized Republican leaders by Jackie Calmes in *They Don’t Give a Damn about Governing*. With the Tea Party, and the wretched gerrymandering, they can win in the states, but have had a poor run in national voting for the presidency.

The authoritarian Trump promises action instead of the reflexive paralysis of the party he has hijacked. He boasts he will be “the greatest job producer God ever created.” Given his appetite for a trade war, he may need divine intervention to beat Bill Clinton, whose average monthly job gains were an unequalled 241,000. Hillary Clinton has said she’d put the First Husband in charge of revitalizing the sluggish economy. The only problem with that, retorted *The Wall Street Journal*, is that the Obama-era Democratic Party has repudiated the Bill Clinton-era centrist agenda. It is true Sanders has made it harder for Hillary to thread the needle between progressive ideas and the surety of competence she represents. But Democratic presidencies can altogether claim a better record on growth and jobs, according to a 2015 study reported, with qualifications, in *US News*.

Can the mercurial Trump deliver? The self-promoted billionaire who would be in charge of USA Inc. has presided over four companies he led to bankruptcy. No problem. He’s proud of dodging personal responsibility.



Theresa “Omarosa” Manigault, of TV’s “The Apprentice,” poses with other Trump supporters as they awaited his arrival at a campaign event in Briarcliff Manor, New York, on the day that several states, including California, held primary elections on June 7.

He tweeted *Vanity Fair*: “Stop saying I went bankrupt. I never went bankrupt but like many great business people have used the laws to corporate advantage.”

Trump has made an art form of resilience. He’s “Don the Con” to the thousands of students at Trump University, who between 2005 and 2011 paid for real estate classes they claim didn’t deliver on his hard sell. No problem. In his lexicon they’re all losers. As for when he will disclose his tax filings, it’s been Groundhog Day all over again. “What’s he got to hide?” asked Hillary Clinton.

The best guesses are that the notorious loopholes in real estate law mean he pays little and that he is worth much less than he suggests. But Trump finally found a deceptive excuse that would resonate as candor with his supporters: “I fight like hell to pay as little as possible for two reasons. Number one, I’m a businessman. ... The other reason is that I hate the way our government spends our taxes. I hate the way they waste our money. Trillions and trillions of dollars of waste and abuse. And I hate it.”

Every prediction of Trump’s imminent demise, pace Mark Twain, has proved an exaggeration. Now who dares say that on Jan. 20 we won’t see Trump plastered in his favorite red over the north portico of the White House?

What would follow is anyone’s guess. He alarms fiscal hawks with a hands-off pledge on entitlements, scares the wise men of foreign policy with loose talk about nukes for all, and insults every woman as “a piece of ass.” All that can be glimpsed of his

policy dossier is a series of bafflements, one germ of an idea colliding with another contradictory idea. If he aspires to sound presidential, he should call his program “The Audacity of Hype”. His talent for marketing is as current as his Twitter feed five minutes ago. He filched from candidate Reagan’s 1980 slogan (Let’s) Make America Great Again and trademarked it as his own by deleting the redundant imperative so the 27 characters would work nicely on a baseball cap. And the workaday baseball cap—in vigorous red—suggests empathy with the white working stiff whose predicaments are at the heart of the election. Make America Great Again is up there with Reagan’s “It’s Morning in America Again”; “A Chicken In every Pot, A Car in every Garage” (Hoover 1928); “I Like Ike,” (Eisenhower 1952); “You Know in Your Heart He’s Right” (Goldwater 1964). Clinton-Obama would be advised to have a snappy answer when Trump borrows Reagan’s deflator “Are You Better Off Now Than You Were Four Years Ago?”

In 1956, the button favored by my class group at the University of Chicago was “All the way with Adlai.” We thought it a hoot when he replied to a woman reassuring him he had the “the vote of every thinking person” with, “Madam, I’m afraid that’s not enough, we need a majority.” The laugh was on us—and Eisenhower turned out to be a great president.

Understand, I draw no parallels. Trump was a joke until he wasn’t.

Sir Harold Evans. Editor at Large, is the author of *The American Century*



The Best and Worst, So far

Our report card on the campaign, from Hillary Clinton's favorite song to Martin O'Malley's one-person rally

BY ROSS BARKAN

6

Number of bands or members of bands approved by the on-line music magazine Pitchfork who are supporting Bernie Sanders:

At least six. Vampire Weekend, Grizzly Bear, TV on the Radio, Frankie Cosmos, Cass McCombs, Okervil River

Strangest expression used by a candidate:

“Fruit salad of their life” by Ben Carson

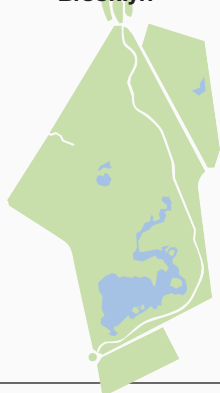
While explaining his pick to replace the late Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia during a debate in February, the retired neurosurgeon said he would ask “What have they done in the past? What kind of judgments have they made? What kind of associations do they have? That will tell you a lot more than an interview will tell you. The fruit salad of their life is what I will look at.”



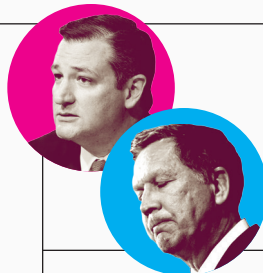
Number of professional athletes and coaches who endorsed Donald Trump:

At least 12. Mike Tyson, Rex Ryan, Bobby Knight, Paul O’Neil, Johnny Damon, Latrell Sprewell, Herschel Walker, Mike Ditka, Terrell Owens, Dennis Rodman, Tom Brady, Clay Buchholz.

Largest Bernie Sanders rally:
28,300
for an April 17 event in Prospect Park, Brooklyn



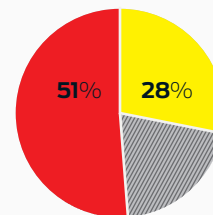
Most overused campaign theme song: “Fight Song” by Rachel Platten, played at nearly every Hillary Clinton event.



The most unprecedented and short-lived campaign tactic:

The Ted Cruz-John Kasich alliance, which lasted approximately one day.

Worst hometown loss: Trump over Kasich in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where the Ohio governor grew up. Trump captured the county 51-28 percent.



Closest primary/caucus: Missouri primary, on both the Democratic and Republican sides. Clinton won Missouri on March 15

49.6-49.4 %

That same day Trump won over Cruz

40.9-40.7 %

1

Worst attendance for a campaign event:

One person showed up at an Iowa meet-and-greet Martin O’Malley held in December. Blame the snowstorm.

Most shared linguistic quirk between Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump:



2

Number of Ivy Leaguers left in the presidential race.

Clinton attended Yale Law School, Trump attended the University of Pennsylvania.

Biggest margin of victory during the heat of the campaign:

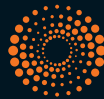
Clinton over Sanders in Mississippi on March 8, 82.6-16.5 percent.

Number of states not in the “Deep South” Hillary Clinton had won when Bernie Sanders declared in April that he was giving up on the Deep South:

Iowa, Nevada, Massachusetts, Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Arizona, New York, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania.

14

Illustrations by PILGRYM, John Kasich: REUTERS/Aaron Josefczyk, Ted Cruz: REUTERS/Gary Cameron, Donald Trump: REUTERS/Jonathan Drake, Tom Brady: Jim Dedmon-USA TODAY Sports, Bernie Sanders: REUTERS/Kevin Lamarque



WHO WE ARE



A PORTRAIT OF OUR ANGER, VOICES FROM THE VOTERS, AND LATINOS' PERENNIAL PROBLEM

ILLUSTRATION BY SR. SALME

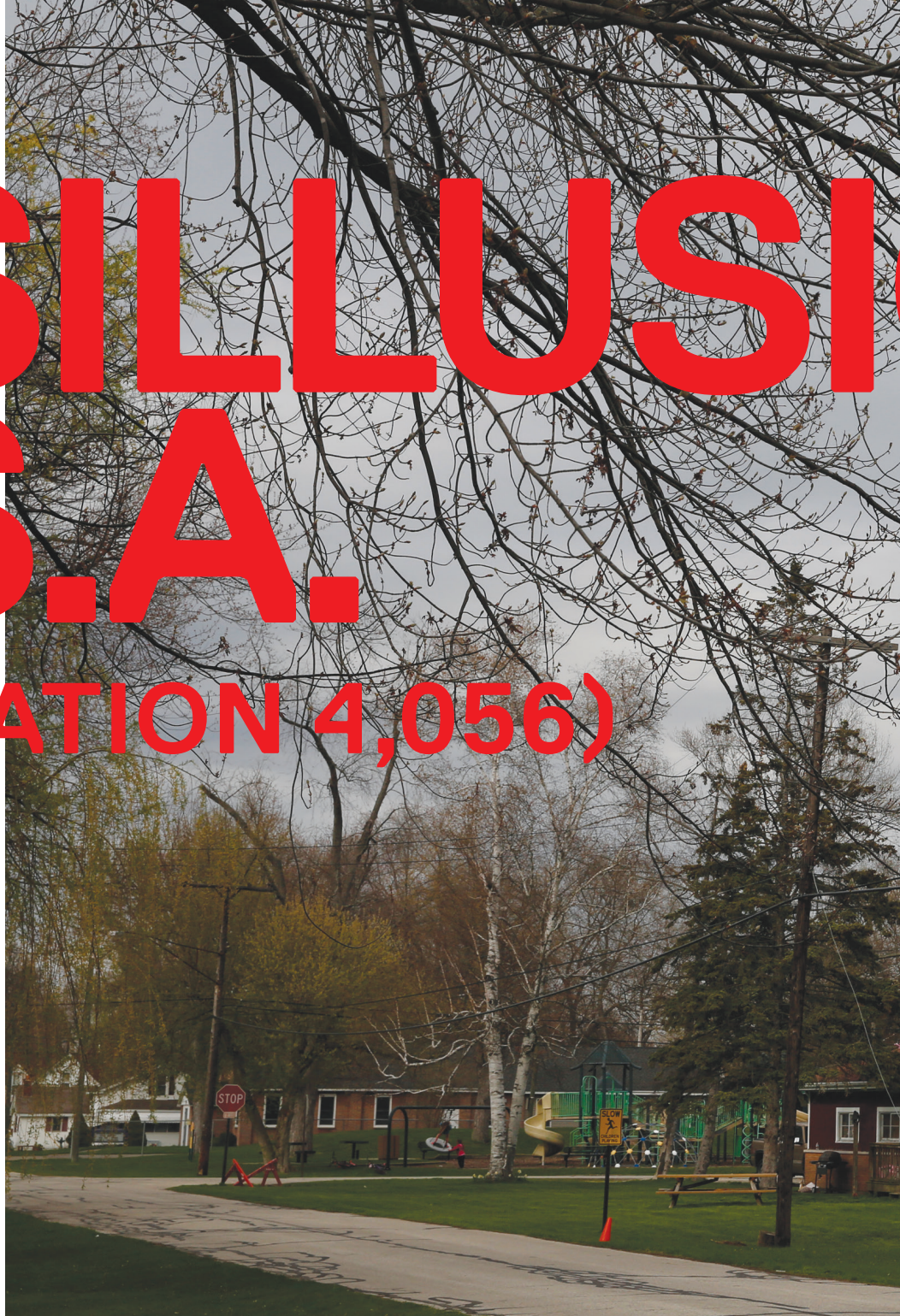




DISILLUSION U.S.A. (POPULATION 4,056)

JONATHAN ALLEN visits a Michigan river town that went overwhelmingly for both Trump and Sanders, which should make it one of the angriest places in America. Instead, voters are just hoping for change.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF KOWALSKY



ALGONAC, MICH. Parker Fox drifted out of the Donald Trump rally in a sort of euphoric daze, along with the thousands emptying into the parking lot alongside him. “After leaving a Trump rally, you’re very pro-Trump,” he recalled a few weeks later, describing a noisy communion with people who understood that politics mattered, unlike some people he could name at his high school. “It was so enthusiastic and so energetic you could feel it in your body. It gave you chills.”

He’d barely had time to calm down when he learned through Facebook that his other

favorite presidential candidate would also be passing through his quiet corner of eastern Michigan—Bernie Sanders. In fact, the U.S. senator from Vermont would be at the same community college the very next day. This thrilled Fox: his first presidential election as a voter—he was 18—and the two most crowd-whipping, pundit-defying, establishment-bucking candidates in the entire race were practically paying him personal visits.

As it turned out, the residents of this part of Michigan were especially fond of the two men who had done the most to upend the 2016 presidential race. Both Sanders and

CONTEMPT,



Trump won the state, with Sanders' narrow win in the Democratic contest stupefying pollsters who had predicted a comfortable lead for Hillary Clinton. Both did especially well in St. Clair County, with double-digit victories over their rivals. And, down at the precinct level, they barnstormed Algonac, a town of about 4,056 people about an hour's drive from Detroit on a curve of the St. Clair River in the county's southern end corner, and neighboring Clay, home to another 9,066 or so, including Fox and his family. In some Algonac and Clay precincts, Sanders and Trump won more than two thirds of the

votes. Residents have a needlessly unflattering nickname for Algonac: The Swamp, derived, apparently, from the reed marshes that engulf the town's edges and which are prettily dive-bombed by feeding birds and buzz with hidden insects.

If Sanders and Trump were the two insurgents of 2016, then the Algonac Swamp must be a sort of encampment of their guerrilla foot soldiers. What might such a place be like, down in the trenches?

An editor's working hypothesis was that a town full of Trump and Sanders fans might turn out to be the Angriest Town in America,

Algonac, on a curve in the St. Clair River, has faded as manufacturers have left and the downturn has lost its charm.

and so that became our shorthand before my visit in April, only to be laughed at when I finally got the chance to broach the label with residents.

Of course, no one can persist in a permanent state of anger, especially an entire town. Contempt, on the other hand, can smolder indefinitely, and Algonac reeked of contempt: It would take longer than a



week's visit to find someone here who does not think Washington is, on the whole, a besmirched place of selfish politicians in thrall to the powerful moneyed interests who keep them in office. Clinton, fairly or otherwise, is generally seen here as the very embodiment of this; Sanders and Trump the only possible saviors, Trump because he's never held elected office, and Sanders, despite his decades in Congress, because he is still viewed as a cranky outsider. Nonetheless, for a small minority, the idea of a President Trump sends them into a panic.

Fox is young enough to have never had his heart broken by a politician, but he's heard his father, Jerry, go off at the dinner table enough times to pick up some of his parents' wariness.

"He might get a lot of this because I work for the auto industry," said Jerry, who has a job at a nearby Chrysler truck factory and is a competitive walleye fisherman on the side. Father and son were sitting on couches in the family's comfy living room, with large windows looking out onto surrounding woods where deer and turkeys roam. Jerry had also been struggling over whether he preferred Trump or Sanders, and so had decided to let his politics-inhaling son make the call for him.

"I've always heard dad saying, you know, 'There goes another plant to Mexico,'" Fox said, doing an angry-dad voice, as Jerry gave a smiling "it's true" nod of recognition. And so Fox marveled to hear Trump lambast companies for moving production abroad, or Sanders' refrain that 60,000 factories have closed down in America since 2001. The rallies were like a Fox family dinner blown up to stadium size.

SHOULD EITHER CANDIDATE want to make a movie adaptation of their campaign speeches, they could do worse than to set it in Algonac and Clay: A few strip-mall businesses and a scattering of mostly two-story, middle-class homes, none too far from the teal waters of the St. Clair River, along which massive freighters creep carrying goods to and from Canada. To wander around Algonac, a predominantly Republican place, is to encounter familiar stump-speech lines made manifest.

There's the town's old Chris-Craft powerboat factory that made Algonac a proud little manufacturing hub until it closed in 1960, a hole that's never quite been filled or forgotten. Algonac falls within the gravitational pull of Detroit's Big Three automobile companies; the factories of General Motors, Ford and Fiat Chrysler are major employers, and

families' fortunes are tied to international trade deals that both Trump and Sanders deride. Ford, in particular, has come under attack from Trump for expanding its manufacturing in Mexico. The only other language besides English on the signs at the nearest major airport, Detroit Metropolitan, is Japanese, viewed by some residents as an unnecessary concession to visiting Japanese automobile executives.

When talk turns to immigration—Sanders in terms of compassion, Trump in terms of wall-building—people here are reminded of the U.S. Border Patrol officers they see boating up and down the Canadian border, which floats somewhere halfway across the St. Clair River. Both candidates decry what they say is the undue influence of American billionaires on politics. In Algonac, they tend to picture Manuel Moroun, a Detroit businessman, in the local version of this role. He proposed building a bridge that was widely opposed here, connecting the mainland to Harsens Island, a peaceful outpost of Clay Township, home to about 1,200 people and a couple of bald eagles and currently accessible only by a small, 12-car ferry. Regulators denied the \$45 million plan in June.

In some ways, voters have changed little since the 1980s, when pollster Stan Greenberg first visited neighboring Macomb County and announced that he had discovered the Reagan Democrat. The belief persists that the system is so rigged that politicians' largesse only flows to those much richer than you, or much poorer, leaving you to struggle unaided. The difference this time—and everyone agrees it's different this time—is that there were two viable-seeming chances to send a man to Washington who would be the very personification of your contempt. Some were voting for Trump only in his capacity as a stink bomb.

"YOU GUYS KNOW the story, I'm sure, of Jesus Christ in the temple, when he goes into the temple and he turns everything upside down," said Jay DeBoyer, the only person dressed in a suit on a weekday afternoon in Johnnie Lega's, a popular riverside Algonac dive bar filled with nautical-themed clutter. He worked behind the bar years ago when he was a student before becoming a salesman for a company that made trusses and other lumber products for the home-building industry. Now DeBoyer is the county clerk, whose job includes running elections here. He has a close-shaved head and silver goatee, his suit fits well, and he speaks in neat paragraphs of political analysis. He was evoking a rare moment in

the Gospels, in which the normally sanguine Christ appears to get angry at the corrupting quality of money, as he explained why the county's primary results were more or less as he anticipated.

"Now, we can argue from a Christian perspective, was that Christ-like? We can have that debate, that discussion. But for every circumstance there's a reaction and there's a resolution." In his analogy, Christ was Trump, but Sanders, too, and also, in a sense, the voters themselves, newly awakened at the possibility of disruption. "In these non-engaged individuals who are becoming engaged, they want him to go into the temple and turn the tables upside down," DeBoyer said. "That means we need to shake it up. We need to come back to the people in control."

In DeBoyer's view, this may be the first election in which the so-called culture wars will not prove decisive. DeBoyer is a Republican, though he declined to say for whom he voted. He's pro-gun and opposes abortion, but is unfazed, for example, by Trump's difficulty in stating what his policy on abortion access would be. Most Trump voters he knows don't care if they only agree with "two in 10 things" that Trump says, according to DeBoyer. They just want a change. He described his family's finances to explain why.

"I don't have a bunch of debt. I have a mortgage and a couple of car payments. I don't have a pension; I have to save in a 401k like everyone else. It's impossible for me to save enough money to pay for my kids to go to college." He has a 13-year-old son and a 17-year-old daughter, who is applying to Duke. "Mathematically impossible. I live in a \$125,000 house, I drive a Dodge pick-up truck and a Jeep, I don't have any credit card debt. None of that. And it's mathematically impossible for me to save enough for retirement and enough to send my kids to college. Household income of \$100,000, with no debt. Do you understand how a person in my exact financial category gets sucked into that world, between those two? If I tend to lean to the left, I'm all in with Bernie Sanders. If I tend to lean right, I'm all in with Donald Trump. Frankly, even if he's wrong, what he's saying are the only options I have, the only hope I got."

Leaving Johnnie Lega's to head into Algonac proper, you pass by the taxidermy store of Paul Burczyk—a Trump supporter with qualms. He is angry with the government not least because his insurance payments went up with the passage of the Affordable Care Act. "Trump's a tough guy to vote for,"



Paul Burczyk, owner of the St. Clair Flats Taxidermy shop, and a somewhat reluctant Trump supporter.

he said. "He's a loose cannon. Maybe that's all part of his master plan."

Further down the road, on the right, there's Peter Beauregard's Algonac Harbour Club on the right, a marina and restaurant on the spot of the old Chris-Craft factory. He's a Trump fan, too.

"I'm a lifetime Republican who has been disenchanted like, I guess, a lot of people in our town, so I'm definitely for the outsider," Beauregard said, "and I've upset several of my local colleagues who are Republicans. If you're a Republican you either love him or you hate him. There's nobody on the fence."

Life here revolves around the water. Almost as many driveways are graced by boats as cars. Garfield Wood, a pioneering boat builder and racer who once lived in Algonac, broke the water speed record in 1932, tearing along the St. Clair in a boat powered by airplane engines at 124.86 miles per hour. Chris-Craft made a landing craft used by the U.S. military in the D-Day invasion at Normandy, as well as mahogany-hulled powerboats that are still cherished by nostalgic collectors. The Michigan Senate is contemplating a bill that would

recognize Clay Township, Algonac's neighbor, as "the sturgeon angling capital" of the state, and some residents think it will sail through committee.

It's beautiful in the summer, residents say, with people boating in the sunshine and the restaurants busy with seasonal visitors. Nevertheless, multiple residents liked to efface the town using the same little shorthand list, as if they'd all memorized it from the same source: Algonac? It's three dollar stores, one grocery store, three pharmacies, and that's about it.

About 97 percent of the residents are white, according to the last census, compared to 74 percent for the United States as a whole. Both Trump and Sanders have found their most reliable support among those in this racial group.

It is only after several days in Algonac, at the annual American Indian Festival at the local high school, that I find someone willing to say she is a Clinton supporter, if in a limited sense. Ringed by chairs in the school gym, dancers moved to throbbing drums; fox furs, tribal jewelry and dreamcatchers were for sale at stalls around the gym's

edge, many run by members of tribes from Walpole Island, just across the Canadian border.

Susan Wrobel, the festival's organizer and a lifelong Algonac resident, runs a weekly community meeting where she teaches children Anishinaabemowin, the language of her Ojibwe tribe. She said elders there have been "shaking their heads" in wonder and fear that Trump could become president.

"I was very pleased whether it was Hillary or Bernie, I actually I like them both," she said. She had just bought some new earrings, which danced as she spoke. "So I chose the Republican ticket to vote for my favorite Republican, and that was Kasich. I love Kasich. He's the only one that talked about doing something about the national debt, and I loved that. So I thought, well, the Democratic ticket's taken care of for me." Michigan's primaries are open to all voters regardless of party affiliation, and strategic voting is common. A few days after this conversation, John Kasich, the Ohio governor, would drop out of the race.

ONCE AGAIN, it was time for the Algonac-Clay



Historical Society's monthly meeting. Some of the women at the society are particularly interested in the Victorian era and were making final arrangements for a forthcoming talk on Victorian hair fashions. "Hats and tea cups are encouraged," noted the flyer. Trump struck them as unnecessarily crude.

"I don't like the name calling," said Marilyn Genaw, who was in charge of ordering the strawberries they'd need for the tea. "It's good manners not to say something derogatory about an individual." She was still deciding on how to vote.

Joan Bulley, a former Algonac bank teller and the town's de facto historian-in-residence, could also do without Trump's brusqueness, but wonders if it points to an underlying virtue. "One thing about Donald Trump is he tells it as it is," she said. "I don't care for his rudeness, his insults, but he gets things done." Sanders, she said, is at least "a little bit more dignified" in his speeches. She dislikes Clinton. "She doesn't tell the truth. I don't like that."

Bulley's grievance with the federal government is that she has never quite forgiven it for transforming the city's waterfront under the "urban renewal" push of the 1960s and 1970s.

"Urban renewal demolished our town" she said. She pointed to an exhibit in the society's museum, a little hand-drawn map of the businesses that used to line a walkable, 19th-century main street on the riverfront: Koch's Jewelry Store, the Starlight Dance Pavilion, the Algonac Theatre. For the most part, those buildings were demolished and replaced with a pleasant, if quiet, boardwalk backed by tidy lawns, and, on the other side, the sort of boxy, parking-lot-fringed architecture that lures chain stores and franchise restaurants. She kept pointing at the exhibits. "This was Henry's on the



Marilynn Genaw at the Historical Society. She sees Trump as unnecessarily crude.

corner," she said, referring to one of her favorite restaurants. "It's now a parking lot, which is stupid. If they would have saved some of these stores we would at least have something to attract people."

As the historical society meeting breaks up for homemade snacks and cake, I meet Bud Zeigler, 85, who spent 12 years sanding down Chris-Craft powerboats on the assembly line until the factory moved to Florida, taking some of his colleagues with it. Soon after, he ended up as a carpenter making Pontiacs at General Motors down the road, working there for 30 years until retirement. His complaint about the government is that it's always the same old faces in charge, who never seem to get things done.

"I voted for Bernie Sanders," he said. "I just wanted to break it up a little bit.

Because everybody figures this one is favored, that one is favored, well, give the other guy a chance." He chuckles a bit at this.

"Somewhere along the line you've got to get somebody in there that maybe can change things a bit with a new thought in their head, without having the same ones always running for office, families running, you know?"

EVEN IN LATE April, there was little doubt that it'd be Clinton versus Trump come November. Trump thinks he can flip Michigan, a state that has reliably gone with the Democratic presidential candidate for years, to support him. At the Schoolhouse Grille, a buzzing restaurant on Harsens Island, two women stepped outside at the end of the Saturday night dinner rush. Sheltering from

Voters' Voices

Americans speak out on the race, the candidates—and their own uncertainties

"I pray for an independent to come in and rescue us all:" **Debbie Reichert, 60.** Sanders supporter from Terre Haute, Indiana. Works for a federal job training program.



"(Trump) throws his weight around with all that money he's supposed to have. Whatever he says, I think he says it before he thinks." **Gerald Poor, 77.** Retired factory worker from Muncie, Indiana. Clinton supporter. From Muncie, Indiana.



"Why do (candidates) have to yell and scream at each other? I don't think that we ever get anything accomplished that way." **Elaine Hale, 62.** Left-leaning independent from TK, Florida.

"I used to like (Trump) when I watched his show. But I just hate the way he talks now. I don't think he's a nice person deep down inside." **Jo-Anne Michaud, 69.** Independent from Abingdon, Maryland.

the drizzle in an outdoor bar area, the two friends discussed how they would approach the polling booths in November.

Kristin Bane, who owns the restaurant and was seeking to escape the kitchen's heat, is a Democrat who voted for Sanders. She likes Obama not least because she also spent part of her childhood in Hawaii, opposes fracking and thinks the government should spend more on education. Nancy Bryson, who came out for a smoke and whose family runs the island's ferry service to the mainland, most admires the two presidents Bush.

"I enjoy listening to Bernie," Bryson said. "I do. And I think that there are so many things that he's saying that I'm, 'You know what? I agree with you wholeheartedly. But I don't want the government to tell me that I have to do that. I don't want to be taxed to do that.'"

Bryson argued that Trump would help bring the country back to its founding principle. Bane was unconvinced.

"How can we vote for a man who's proposing to build a wall that we have spent so many years breaking down in other countries?" Bane said as Bryson lit a cigarette. "My grandfathers and my uncles have died because they were trying to break down walls in other countries so that we could live free—and we want to build one? That's the wrong message."

"OK, I disagree with you there but I love you," Bryson replied. Her mother was an immigrant, she explained, arriving at Ellis Island from Copenhagen as a 12-year-old girl. The barriers to immigration are higher than they were in the Ellis Island era, but Bryson said there was still no good reason to immigrate to the United States through anything but the legal channels.

"I've been wanting to have this conversation



Clair Country Clerk Jay DeBoyer, top, at Johnnie Legas's Restaurant & Tavern in Algonac. Below, Bud Zeigler, with a 1949 Chris Craft Sportsman at the Historical Society. He voted for Sanders.



for a long time," Bane said, without backing down on her point. "It's good that we can do this and not get angry and stomp our feet about it."

They found common ground in their dislike for Clinton.

"And Benghazi?" Bryson said. "I mean it's just unforgivable what happened there."

"I think she's a professional liar," Bane said. "I agree."

Still, for Bane, the idea of having to vote for someone other than Sanders in November left her anguished.

"I could say, 'Oh, you know, change, yes change, I want change, and so Trump is the quickest way to a change in government.' I could tell myself that hopefully it's going to work out for the best. But I can't get past some of these issues like the wall, and I can't get past some of these issues like abortion. 'A woman should go to jail.' What the fuck?"

It became apparent that Bryson was not aware that Trump has said he now opposes abortions. This new information was absorbed quickly.

Continued on page 61

"It feels like that's no solid candidate on either side. This election seems to me a lost election... The problem is (Trump's) too brash. It seems dangerous to me. I think it's dangerous for America." **Chris Hiltunen**, 41. A water department superintendent from Algonac, Michigan. Little League coach. Kasich supporter.



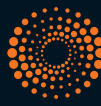
"We have to make a turn in this country—we need to put people back to work, then the other problems will go away, not entirely, but it addresses the main issues."

Judy Elton, Clinton supporter from **Muncie, Indiana**, 63. Executive director of Muncie Delaware Senior Center.

"The current political environment calls for someone who can really work to get things done... I think Hillary is that person. She knows how to make things happen." Clinton supporter **Jocelyn Alt**, 34. Doula (birthing assistant.) From Seattle.



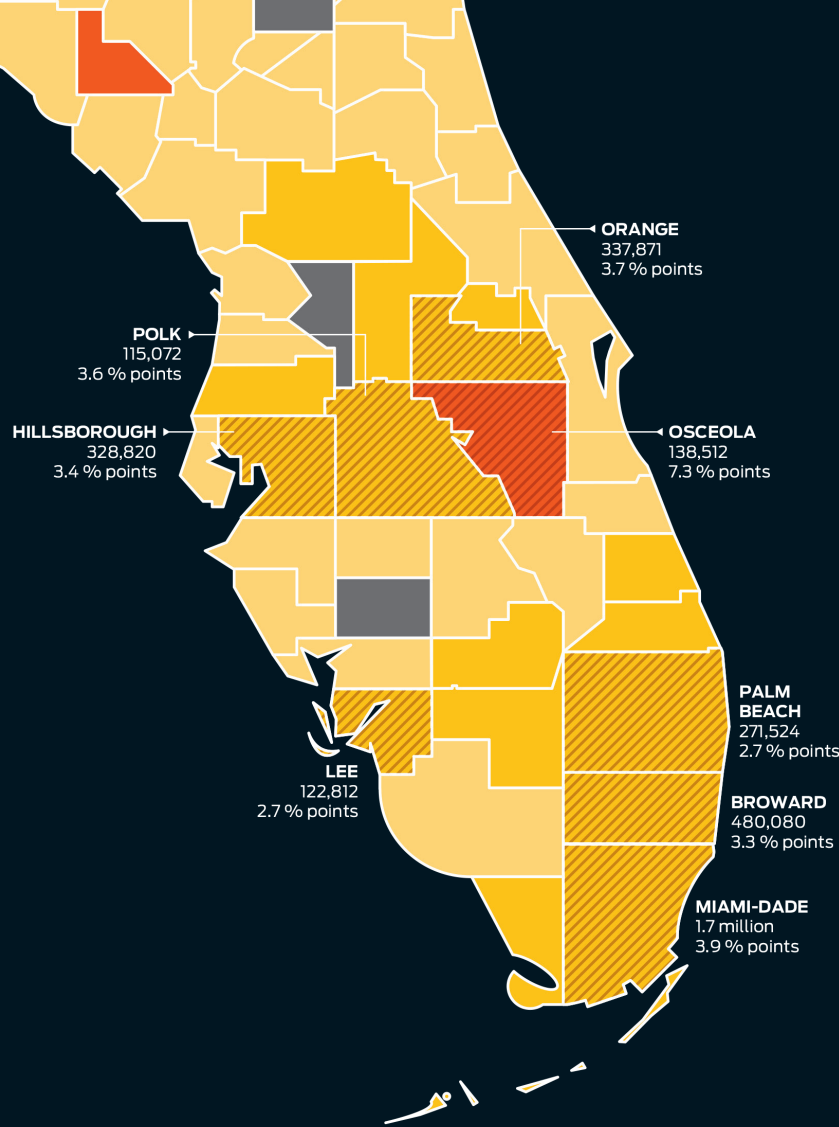
"I view [Trump] as a radical and a racist and I don't want to be affiliated with that." **Curtis Green**, 32, vice president of the local chapter of the United Steel Workers' union in Canton, Ohio. "But if you say what you mean, a lot of guys see that in Trump and they respect that."



BY THE NUMBERS FLORIDA'S NEW HISPANIC VOTE

TEXT BY MIMI DWYER

GRAPHIC BY CHRISTINE CHAN



HISPANICS HAVE LONG MADE UP a huge portion of Floridians – in 2016 they comprise 24 percent of the state’s population and 18 percent of its eligible voters, according to the Pew Research Center. But the makeup of this critical voting bloc is changing, promising seismic shifts in its political sway. The first generation of Miami Cuban-Americans, who built the Washington “Cuba lobby” and for years defined the Hispanic Florida vote, are dying out. Marco Rubio, the golden boy of old-guard Miami Cuba, garnered only 27 percent of the Republican primary vote in his home state – and edged out Donald Trump among Hispanics. Now, new flows of Spanish speakers are flooding into the state, from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Venezuela and elsewhere, with political attitudes and concerns that are anything but monolithic. As the numbers on this page show, shifts in Florida could dramatically remake the Latino vote, and the race for the presidency.

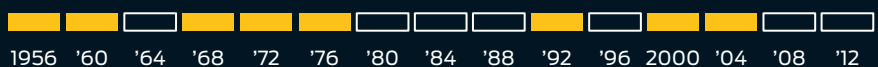
2014 vs. 2009

Change in percentage of Hispanic population by county, in percentage points

- Decreased
- Increased less than 2.5
- 2.5– 5.0
- 5.1 or more
- County with 2014 Hispanic population above 100,000

FLORIDA'S CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT

■ Republican □ Democrat



ELIGIBLE VOTERS BY AGE GROUP

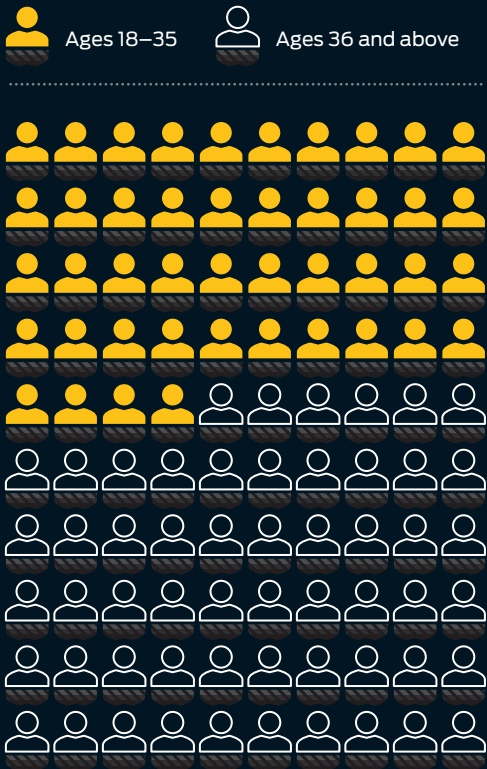
Florida's eligible Hispanic voters are remarkably young, with more than half under the age of 45, making them a particularly valuable voting bloc to both Republicans and Democrats.



Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

MILLENNIALS IN 2016

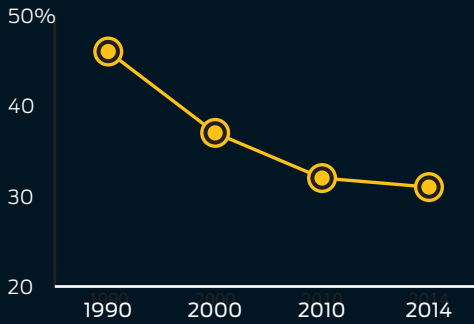
Hispanic voters skew young across the nation. Forty-four out of every 100 are between 18 and 35, according to the Pew Research Center.



Note: The Pew Research Center defines the Millennial Generation as those who are born in 1981 or later (age of adults in 2016 as between 18 to 35).

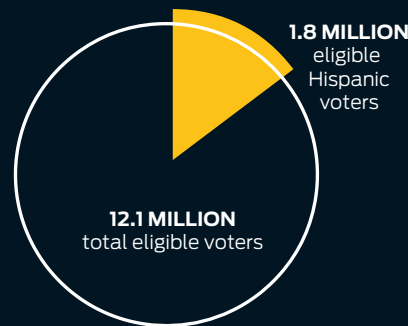
CUBAN VOTERS

The number of Cuban voters in Florida, long the state's most powerful Hispanic bloc, is waning, falling 15 percentage points from 1990 to 2014, according to Pew.



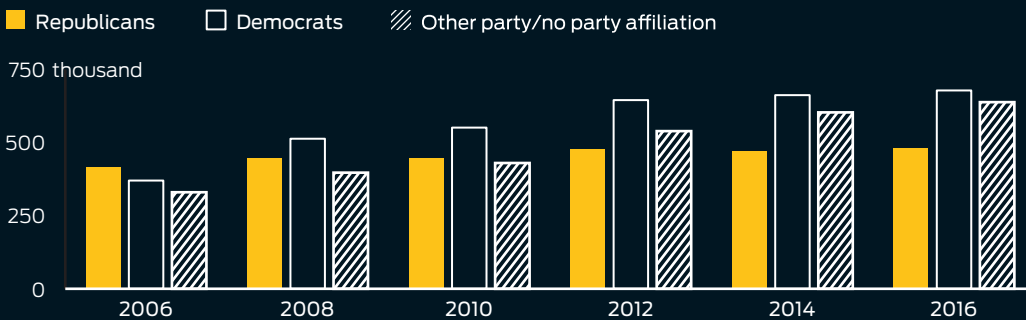
HISPANIC VOTERS IN FLORIDA

Approximately 1.8 million Latinos were registered to vote in Florida as of presidential preference primary book closing on Feb. 16.



PARTY AFFILIATION AMONG HISPANIC ACTIVE REGISTERED VOTERS

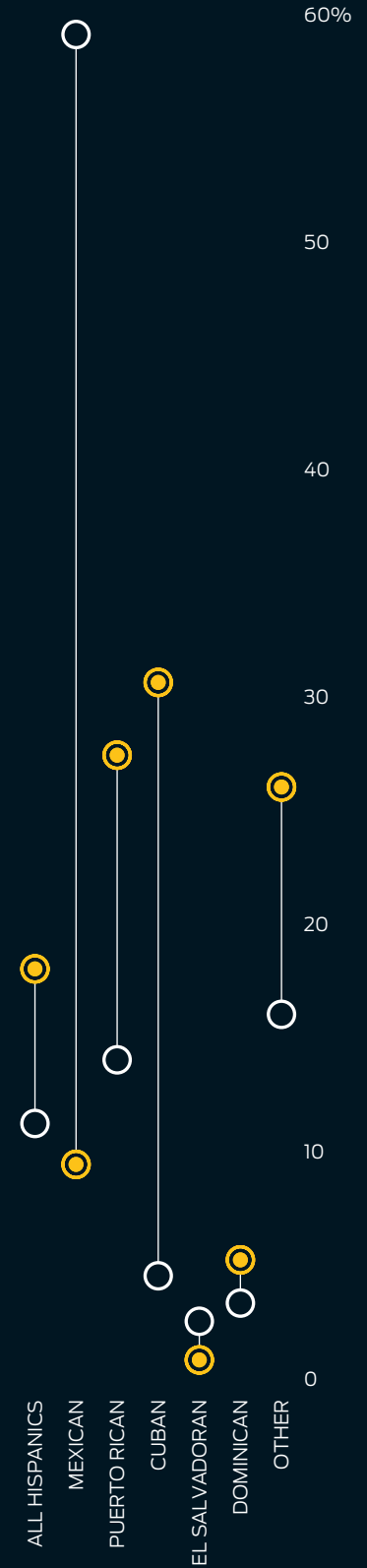
In 2006, Republican Hispanics outnumbered Democrats by 414,000 to 370,000, according to Pew. The reverse is true in 2016, with Democrats outnumbering Republicans by 678,000 to 479,000.



HISPANIC VOTERS

Approximately 1.8 million Latinos were registered to vote in Florida as of February 16

○ U.S. ● Florida





IMMIGRATION

The Latinos' Latino Problem

If there's ever been a year for Hispanics to exert their political muscle, this is it. Here's why it may not happen.

BY ANDRÉS MARTINEZ

ILLUSTRATION BY DENISE NESTOR



YOU COULD HAVE MADE a successful career in politics warning (or promising) that the Latino vote is about to become the deciding factor in U.S. presidential elections. For decades.

In the aftermath of the 2012 race it was the Republican Party establishment itself that highlighted the importance of Latino voters. Bemoaning the fact that Mitt Romney received only 27 percent of the Latino vote, an autopsy by the party of its own defeat noted that by 2050 nearly 30 percent of all Americans will be of Hispanic origin, which made the party's inability to connect with these voters all the more alarming: "If Hispanic Americans perceive that a GOP nominee or candidate does not want them in the United States (i.e. self-deportation), they will not pay attention to our next sentence." Republican Senator Lindsey Graham has been making the



ILLUSTRATION BY CLAY RODERY

same point this year, warning that voters aren't that eager to hear what a candidate has to say on taxes or the federal deficit, if "you wanna deport their grandma."

Instead of Romney's awkward talk of "self-deportations," Donald Trump is calling for mass deportations of the estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants in this country and for building that "beautiful wall" along the southern border. Trump launched his campaign by calling Mexican immigrants rapists, and it's fair to say that anti-immigrant resentment has been a powerful recruitment theme for his campaign.

The urgency of the immigration issue and Trump's acrimonious tone when he talks about Mexico are head-scratchers. Illegal immigration from Mexico has been declining for years; major U.S. cities on or near the border boast some of the lowest crime rates of any metropolitan areas; and Mexico, a middle-income country with an expanding middle class, is the second largest buyer of U.S. goods. What's more, Mexican migrants are mostly entrepreneurial Christians with strong family values who appreciate America's diversity and freedom. Once upon a time such people were considered strong prospects for the GOP.

So will Trump's strident rhetoric on immigration scuttle his prospects in the fall? The uncomfortable question for many of us is whether he won the nomination despite such talk, or because of it.

Meanwhile, Latinos have been slow to show up and make their political power felt. Latinos are projected to make up 12 percent of the electorate this year, having pulled roughly even with African-Americans. But the Latino slice of the electorate could be larger if more of the approximately 4 million legal residents opted to become citizens and registered to vote. Spanish-language media and community organizers have been working hard to

naturalize and register more Latinos, and they report spikes in registration numbers in response to Trump's campaign, but it isn't clear that the spike is any more significant than often occurs in election years.

Trump's narrative of an America besieged by foreigners—be they Mexican immigrants or Chinese factory workers—resonates with aging, white, middle-class and blue-collar voters struggling to make ends meet. And who knows, the depth of negative passions the immigration issue stirs within a segment of the Republican base may yet help mobilize more votes for Trump.

The states to keep an eye on for a potentially crippling backlash against Republicans are four familiar battlegrounds and a dark horse contender for an upset. The familiar battlegrounds are Colorado, New Mexico, Florida and Nevada, all states won by Barack Obama in 2012. The dark horse state is Arizona, whose GOP has suffered a wrenching civil war over a series of anti-immigration measures. The issue had quieted down, with establishment Republicans regaining the upper hand and changing the subject under new governor Doug Ducey. Now, Trump's campaign has come along to stir things up again. Romney carried the state by a comfortable 10 points in 2012, but recent head-to-head Clinton-Trump polls show a far tighter race, with Latino turnout the unknowable wild card.

It's possible that Trump could pull off a last hurrah for ethnic resentment and nativism and win the battle of 2016. But if he does, the Republican Party will have lost its chance to dominate an increasingly Latino, and diverse, nation.

Andrés Martínez is the editorial director of Zócalo Public Square and a professor of journalism at the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University

**IT'S THE BEST
TIME EVER
TO RUN A BUSINESS.**

**IT'S THE WORST
TIME EVER
TO RUN A BUSINESS.**

IT ALL DEPENDS ON HOW YOU RUN IT.

RUN

WELL, BUSINESS. HERE YOU ARE.

You have real-time servers, software, and cloud solutions.

SO WHY DOES EVERYTHING STILL TAKE WEEKS?

When every application uses its own copy of data that later has to be reconciled with the others. When every department has its own solution that's not in sync with anyone else's. When questions raised at a board meeting take a full quarter to answer.

THAT'S NOT REAL TIME. THAT'S WASTED TIME.

Meanwhile, your customers expect instant results. Constant control. Intuitive simplicity. And they want it all now.

Shouldn't your business make the same demand?
To get the facts as they are, not as they were?
To unite all your people and functions with one system that lets them work together in the moment?

**THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE.
IT'S TIME FOR YOUR BUSINESS TO RUN LIVE.**



LIVE.

LIVE BUSINESS POWERED BY SAP HANA®

Live facts. Live applications.
And a live suite of end-to-end solutions that stretches
from the boardroom all the way to the customer's door.

WITH NO DATA LAG. AND NO AGGREGATES.

Running live brings instant clarity. Unprecedented agility.
Continuous control. And above all, simplicity.

THE KIND OF SIMPLICITY THAT EMPOWERS PEOPLE AND SHAKES UP ENTIRE INDUSTRIES.

So you can operate on facts. Not guesswork.
Get customer insights in a heartbeat.
And keep employees and partners engaged every day.

It's happening right now. End to end. Across platforms,
applications, networks — and in the cloud.
It's happening in 25 different industries, and counting.

**BECAUSE WHEN YOU RUN LIVE, YOU RUN SIMPLE.
AND WHEN YOU RUN SIMPLE, YOU WIN.**



WHEN YOU RUN LIVE, YOU RUN SIMPLE.



Item	Value	Category
Item 1	1000.00 USD	Category A
Item 2	2000.00 USD	Category B
Item 3	3000.00 USD	Category C
Item 4	4000.00 USD	Category D
Item 5	5000.00 USD	Category E
Item 6	6000.00 USD	Category F
Item 7	7000.00 USD	Category G
Item 8	8000.00 USD	Category H
Item 9	9000.00 USD	Category I
Item 10	10000.00 USD	Category J

Activity of Activities by Region

Activity	Manager	Budget
Activity 1	J. Watson	1000000 USD
Activity 2	K. Wilson	2000000 USD
Activity 3	L. White	3000000 USD
Activity 4	M. Green	4000000 USD
Activity 5	N. Brown	5000000 USD
Activity 6	O. Black	6000000 USD
Activity 7	P. Gray	7000000 USD
Activity 8	Q. Gold	8000000 USD
Activity 9	R. Silver	9000000 USD
Activity 10	S. Bronze	10000000 USD

THE LIVE SYSTEM TO SIMPLIFY ALL YOUR WORK. AND CONNECT ALL YOUR PEOPLE.



It's not a boardroom. It's a control room.

**Digitize your business.
On premise and in the cloud.**

Live data facts allow you to run multiple simulations at once. Compare scenarios and predict results on the fly. Digital services from SAP give you end-to-end peace of mind.



Run your company end to end. With instant insight.

SAP® S/4HANA.

The digital core for business, powered by SAP HANA®. With a full suite of live solutions that paint a true picture of your entire organization. So you can harmonize processes across departments. And make better decisions. Right in the moment.



Take a second to get inside your customer's head. Actually, less than a second.

SAP® Hybris® Solutions.

Fulfill your customer's expectations — and your own. Predict their needs through live, dynamic profiling. Then respond instantly with a consistent, omnichannel experience. One that's integrated. End to end. And customer-driven. From first touch to final transaction.



Partnerships that build themselves.

**SAP® Ariba® and
Concur® Solutions.**

Manage workforce, travel, and procurement through live, dynamic, intelligent, and purpose-driven networks that span across industries and borders. With easy access. And simple execution.



Engage your most important resource — the human one.

**SAP® SuccessFactors® and
SAP Fieldglass® Solutions.**

Attract the right people. Then make sure they succeed. Whether it's an efficient network to staff the external workforce of the future, or inter-enterprise hiring solutions with truly global reach, SAP's live HR solutions help take constant care of the heartbeat of your business — your people.



Answers to questions you haven't even asked yet.

SAP HANA® Cloud Platform.

Harness Big Data and the Internet of Things to monitor and predict trends. Then develop and deploy consumer-grade applications to capitalize on those insights.

UNDER ARMOUR IS LIVE.

With live data from SAP HANA®, Under Armour can predict the needs and expectations of over 200 million connected athletes worldwide. While a live, enterprise-wide value chain allows them to immediately fulfill those needs with personalized products and information. **Under Armour runs live. Under Armour runs simple.**



PIAGGIO IS LIVE.

With SAP® Predictive Analytics and the Internet of Things, Piaggio uses live data to develop engaging omnichannel brand experiences and create added value from customer insights. **Piaggio runs live. Piaggio runs simple.**

THEY'RE LIVE.



ASCO IS LIVE.

The American Society of Clinical Oncology (ASCO®) and CancerLinQ™ use SAP HANA® to collect and process patient data, generating medical insights at an unprecedented scale. So doctors can provide patients with live, personalized care informed by the experiences of nearly every patient treated before them. **ASCO runs live. ASCO runs simple.**

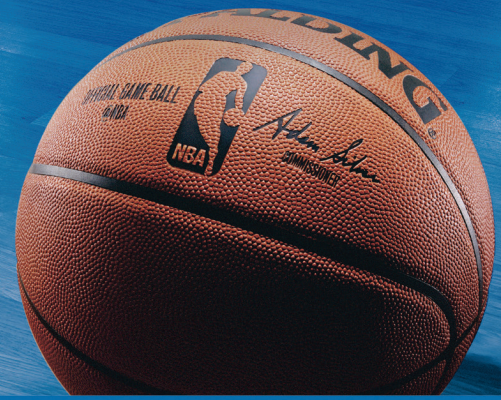
REUTERS IS LIVE.

With Polling Explorer, powered by SAP HANA®, Reuters can analyze over 100 million live data points and report on shifts in public opinion as they occur. SAP® technology helps Reuters remain the newsfeed of choice for thousands of news organizations across the world. **Reuters runs live. Reuters runs simple.**



NBA IS LIVE.

Powered by SAP HANA®, nba.com/stats gives fans immediate access to a live, up-to-the-instant statistical experience that spans from 1946 to the most recent play. While financial, travel, and HR solutions from SAP help the NBA run live — on or off the court. **NBA runs live. NBA runs simple.**



CIRQUE DU SOLEIL IS LIVE.

SAP® solutions help *Cirque du Soleil*® manage finance, HR, travel, and procurement live. And SAP HANA® helps *Cirque du Soleil* transform every audience member's mobile device into a live, interactive part of every performance of *TORUK - The First Flight*. ***Cirque du Soleil* runs live. *Cirque du Soleil* runs simple.**

ARE YOU?

THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES IS LIVE.

Using live data, SAP helps the City of Buenos Aires monitor and react to a complex network of city-wide sensors to fix everything from potholes to infrastructural abnormalities immediately — before they become disruptive. Then use that data to plan for a better future. **The City of Buenos Aires runs live. The City of Buenos Aires runs simple.**



ETIHAD AIRWAYS IS LIVE.

SAP® Ariba® solutions help Etihad Airways source everything from parts to passenger meals instantly and seamlessly. While SAP SuccessFactors® solutions allow them to engage talent right in the moment. So they can hire and train the best people to meet their needs — and those of their passengers. **Etihad Airways runs live. Etihad Airways runs simple.**



FROM THE BOARDROOM. TO THE BACK OFFICE. TO THE CUSTOMER'S DOOR. RUN LIVE, AND EVERYONE WINS.

Processes are live.

90%

faster validation
of forecast plans.
Make decisions in seconds.

Data is live.

94%

faster queries against
production data for
better decision making.

Efficiency is live.

33%

lower hardware costs for
faster return on investment.

Engagement is live.

24x

faster response to
customer loyalty data.

PEOPLE ARE LIVE.

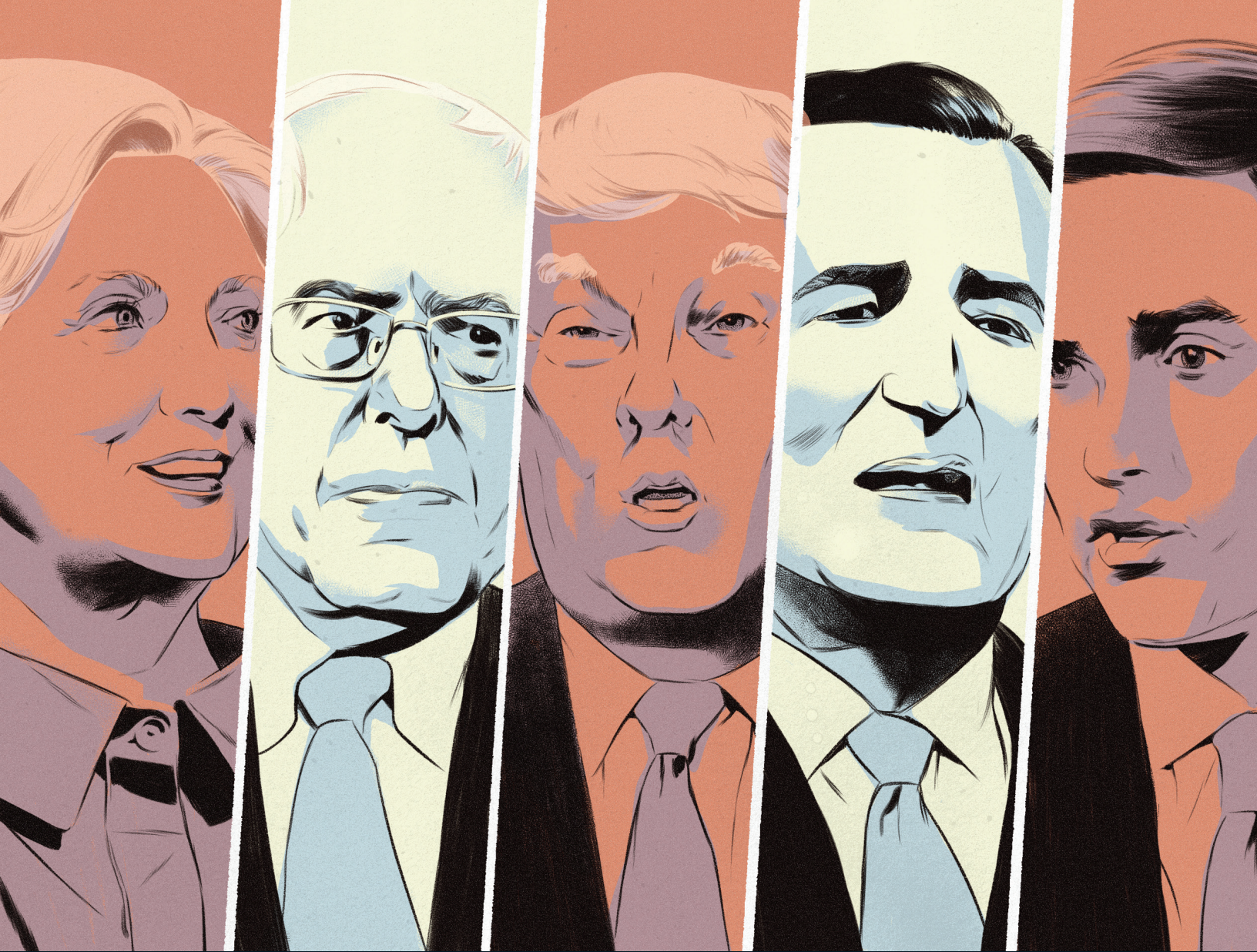
Empower all employees, across all functions,
at all times. So you can work together.
Grow together. And win together.

sap.com/live



Run Simple





WHO WE VOTE FOR



TWILIGHT OF THE PARTIES, THE FRONTRUNNER SMACKDOWN, POLITICS AND WOMEN

ILLUSTRATION BY SR. SALME





THERE GOES THE PARTY

Millions of Americans went to the polls this year and voted to defy the two main political parties. On the eve of the Republican and Democratic conventions, **ROSS BARKAN** surveys the damage.



ILLUSTRATIONS BY TYLER WINTERMUTE

BILL CLINTON WAS SUPPOSED to be at St. Gabriel's Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, New York, to talk about his wife. But in the fashion of a former president who remembers what it's like to be in a good dogfight, he couldn't resist taking on her nettlesome rival. The pews of the small wood-lined church, a pillar of central Brooklyn's black community, were not entirely full, and the reporters packed into the back weren't as plentiful as they had been in Clinton's heyday. And yet, despite sounding hoarse, his whirl of gray hair long gone snow-white, Clinton summoned a hint of his old vigor to try to take down Bernie Sanders.

"Sometimes in this primary I get the feeling that the gentleman who's running against Hillary is running harder against President Obama and me than he is against the legacy of the Bush administration," he said. "You know, after he's been a Democrat a little while longer he'll get used to it. He'll realize, you know, our party is the best hope we got."

Bill Clinton, once the boyish embodiment of Baby Boomer manifest destiny, was doing

what a lifetime of political programming had taught him to do that day: call attention to Sanders' status as a poseur Democrat in a party primary and ridicule his unwillingness to play ball with the two-party system. The jab came from a man who, at 69, is five years younger than Sanders. But Clinton might as well have been 100 as far as this simmering youth-driven political moment is concerned.

It's been a couple of decades since the heart of the Clinton era—a time when a self-described democratic socialist who never joined the Democratic Party could not have seriously run for president—certainly not when the economy was humming, memories of the Soviet Union were fresh, and party machinery, with few exceptions, successfully squelched outsider candidacies.

But the country has undergone an almost seismic shift from 1996 to 2016, and America's two major political parties could emerge as the biggest losers in what already has been an extraordinary electoral year. "The fact that you've had someone who is not a part of the Democratic Party run so far



and succeed so much is quite outrageous in terms of American history,” said Gil Troy, a presidential historian at McGill University, in Montreal.

And that’s before we even start to think about Donald Trump.

IN THIS FRACTURED social media age, with rampant distrust of all establishment institutions, global instability bleeding into the national consciousness, and the economic recovery little more than a myth for many Americans, the idea of two hierarchical political parties determining the course of an election seems as outdated as pay phones and smoking on airplanes. Voters don’t trust them anymore than they buy into the idea of a middle-aged man telling them how to see the world on the evening news.

“There’s a huge number of Americans who are deeply frustrated with our current system and are looking for some way to change it and are not quite sure if it should be Trump, who’s from a more unconventional background, or Bernie,” said Oregon Senator Jeff Merkley, the only U.S. senator

to endorse Sanders. “But they know the system is rigged.”

There seems to be no doubt that 2016 represents a radical change. Social media has created new ways for voters to organize themselves and donate cash without the guidance of parties. Millions in the Democratic primary season chose a lifelong independent to be their president, someone who once said the Democratic Party was “ideologically bankrupt.”

And, more importantly, Trump seized the lead Republican slot from the cadre of elected officials, donors and operatives who traditionally controlled who could run for president. Trump, a billionaire real estate developer and reality television star, had donated lavishly to Democratic candidates, invited Hillary Clinton to his wedding, and at various times endorsed single-payer healthcare, ready access to abortion and foreign policy prescriptions that have more in common with Noam Chomsky’s worldview than Dick Cheney’s.

We can’t exactly know what this presidential election will mean for the American po-

litical system beyond 2016. The pivot points of history aren’t always known to their actors; it may take several years, if not decades, of hindsight and revision to determine if this year represents a great rupture or an anomaly. The presidential system we’ve devised doesn’t nurture third parties, and all the upheaval in 2016 isn’t likely to produce a viable socialist party on the left or a separate National Front-style insurrection on the right. In name at least, the two major parties will almost certainly continue to exist as they have since the 1820s, field candidates and war with one another, like Orwellian superstates, in perpetuity.

Even though neither national convention looks likely to be contested, with virtually all bets that Trump triumphs as the GOP nominee and Clinton as the standard-bearer for the Democrats, they will almost certainly be fraught with plenty of intrigue and frustration for party leaders hoping to project a unified front. The Democrats will have an easier time because they were able to crown the candidate they wanted in the former secretary of state. In an ideal Clintonian world,



she would pivot to the center for the general election. Sanders and his supporters aren't likely to slink away quietly, though, setting up the possibility of a loud squabble over the party platform enshrined at the national convention.

The intra-party wars on the Republican side were historically bitter. Statesmen like the two Bush presidents said they wouldn't attend the national convention and Speaker Paul Ryan initially refused to endorse Trump. In turn, the TV mogul flirted with revoking Ryan's ceremonial privileges in July. Never before has a party nominee so struggled to secure the public backing of his leaders, and the spectacle was awkward, if not excruciating, for the rank-and-file Republicans who craved a traditional nominee.

"The party is not deciding. The authoritarians activated by Trump are deciding," said Matthew MacWilliams, a political consultant and doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where he is writing a dissertation on authoritarianism. "There will be an internal war within the party after the election. The question is, Will Trumpism replace Republicanism in the Republican Party?"

No one like Trump has ever won the nomination of a major party. Though candidates who hadn't held elected office before the White House like Dwight Eisenhower and Herbert Hoover have emerged, they were esteemed figures welcomed by party insiders. (Eisenhower was credited with nothing less than helping win World War Two. Trump, the ultimate showman, was known best for slapping his gold-plated name on as many casinos and golf courses as his money would allow and shouting "You're fired" to contestants on "The Apprentice," and is the kind of figure the Founding Fathers feared most when they devised the Electoral College to serve as a check on the unbridled will of the people.

FEW REPORTERS, donors or party officials took Trump seriously when he announced he was running for president in June 2015. Soon, he was rampaging through the primaries, dominating in almost every quadrant of the country, sweeping states in the Deep South, Northeast and Midwest. Mixing xenophobia with economic populism—Trump has won many fans by denouncing GOP-friendly free-trade agreements—has been a winning formula.

"There are a lot of people very desperate for change and very dissatisfied with Obama's policies and with the state of af-

fairs in Washington," said Katie Packer, a former aide to Mitt Romney during his 2012 presidential campaign who leads an anti-Trump super PAC. "They're willing to buy a lottery ticket. They're not sure he can do the job but no one else has done the job."

Trump's success has been so stunning in part because of how consistently he has violated GOP orthodoxies and the sacred cows of presidential campaigns. He largely shuns teleprompters, pollsters and consultants, preferring to trust his whims and a media spotlight that shines on him almost continuously. No front-runner has ever won with so few endorsements by party insiders: Most members of Congress, for example, refused to back him in the primary season, even as it was increasingly clear no one could overtake him. Trump's top rival, Ted Cruz, also failed to land the backing of his Senate

incendiary candidacy both represents a triumph of grassroots democracy—voters across America soundly rejected candidates (like Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio) preferred by party elders—and a chilling nod to something darker, with Trump's strongman tactics resonating most with people who prefer an unabashed top-down approach to governing.

While there's been much talk of Trump obliterating the Republican Party—he's reviled by some conservatives for either his insults toward minorities and women or his various liberal positions—it's not utter destruction that his candidacy portends. More so than ever, thanks to the polarization of the electorate, parties are ideologically uniform: Liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats are becoming extinct, and Trump's volatility won't rewrite decades of

In this fractured social media age, the idea of two hierarchical political parties determining the course of an election seems as outdated as pay phones and smoking on airplanes.

colleagues. Traditionally, endorsements from party insiders were a measure of strength. No longer.

At the same time, Trump has made a mockery of the one policy endeavor where party elites hoped to inch leftward to win over younger voters and minorities: immigration reform. Trump has railed against immigration, promising to erect a wall on the Mexican border and keep Muslims from coming into this country. His candidacy, in addition to exciting millions of rank-and-file Republican voters, has attracted and rejuvenated white nationalists on the fringes of the body politic, and his hesitation in disavowing the support of David Duke, a former Klansman, was seen by some as a wink and a nod to the most racist elements of Trump's remarkable coalition. Trump's

movement away from consensus, though pro-Trump and anti-Trump factions of the party may emerge to war with each other.

If Trump, with his toxic negative favorability ratings, costs Republicans many House and Senate seats, he will have helped cull the party's most moderate members in blue states and swing districts, and probably leave intact its strongest ideologues. Down the ballot, the party of Trump—if it's to become that—will still be overwhelmingly conservative and united in its hatred of Democrats. There's a chance Trump's candidacy unites Democrats and Republicans in their hatred of the GOP standard-bearer, but there's little incentive for the parties to get along. Hardliners like Cruz will be leaders in the Republican Party for years to come, while an emboldened left will push the

Democratic Party to enact as much liberal legislation as possible if the Democrats hold the White House and retake the Senate. There's not much hope of the polarization ending.

Fewer people today proudly self-identify as Democrats or Republicans. (Polls now put the number at only about a quarter of the electorate.) Rather, according to research by Emory University political scientists Alan Abramowitz and Steven Webster, Americans increasingly define themselves by their dislike of the opposite party, a phenomenon known as negative polarization. Voters may call themselves independents, but most have sorted themselves into one of two camps with little chance of being swayed. Political parties can draw strength from this reality, building out machines with like-minded foot soldiers and winning elections by appealing to the most passionate elements of their respective bases. It's the Sanderistas versus the Trumpians.

WHAT'S BEEN DISORIENTING for the Republican intelligentsia is how their desires have run into seemingly intractable conflict with what most of the party's voters want. For decades, elected officials and party leaders had crafted a particular vision for Republicanism in America: a smaller government paired with a muscular foreign policy and uncompromising conservatism on social issues. A Republican who supported gay marriage or disagreed with the Iraq War wasn't really a Republican at all; such was the power of a political party to enforce discipline. The future belonged to Paul Ryan and his clones, and the Tea Party revolution of 2010 only seemed to validate this idea. The actual insurrection went unforeseen.

"The Republican Party has in a way relied on the cultural populism of its base while sort of ignoring some of their tendencies toward nationalistic and protectionist economic and trade policies," said David Greenberg, a presidential historian at Rutgers University. The party, Greenberg added, will "have to accommodate those outside-the-Beltway voices."

Now the Republican establishment—or what's left of it—will have to come to terms with Trump as the face of the GOP. The Republican National Committee's so-called autopsy of Romney's 2012 loss to President Barack Obama concluded that Republicans needed to embrace immigration reform to win national elections in the future. Instead, thanks to Trump's efforts, Republican voters have demonstrated they detest this idea.

Even if Trump loses to Hillary Clinton, he will have wrenched the terms of the debate away from party elders like Reince Priebus, the RNC chairman, and Romney, who denounced Trump but couldn't stop him.

"The Republican voters, they're just for Trump now," said Carl Paladino, a former New York gubernatorial candidate and Trump supporter. Paladino maintained that if the GOP had managed to wrest the nomination from Trump "it would be the end of the Republican Party.

"It won't exist. People will not go out and vote," he said.

Paladino may exaggerate Trump's singularity to create or destroy a political party that has existed for 160 years, but he is right that presidential politics are far more personality driven than they once were. Troy, the presidential historian at McGill University, dates this phenomenon back to 1960, when the swashbuckling John F. Kennedy entered the White House. A hyperactive, internet-fueled news cycle, coupled with cable networks' desperate need for new fodder to generate ratings, has only amplified this trend.

"IT'S A REFLECTION that we are in the age of celebrity politics," Troy said. "Parties on the presidential level function as empty shells and broad signifiers of left and right—it isn't the party discipline and party commitment of the old days."

Democratic and Republican voters have united in their shared distaste for party power structures that have been a feature of American democracy for going on 200 years, and it's important to remember the Constitution says nothing about establishing political parties. The modern primary system, with state-by-state primaries and caucuses determining nominees, was only introduced in the 1970s, and since then there have been cries to make the process more democratic. The cries are now bloody howls; for Democrats, it's the fact that superdelegates—elected officials and other elites—can support any candidate they want, even if the popular vote in their states favors a different candidate. For Republicans, it's an arcane delegate apportionment process that varies by state and once seemed to favor those, like Ted Cruz, who knew every wrinkle. Though political parties have always set the rules for their primaries and conventions, the once obscure scramble for delegates angered Republican and Democratic voters alike, since the byzantine allocation rules don't always reflect the popular vote.

Activists are still convinced the fix is in, even if parties no longer have the power to fix an election. Superdelegates were created to scuttle candidacies like Sanders' but Clinton amassed enough pledged delegates to stop him anyway, and it's likely that a popular revolt would spook the Democratic Party into handing Sanders the nomination were he actually the pledged delegate leader. And for all of Cruz's delegate scrambling, fetishized by the political cognoscenti, Trump still won.

THERE IS, of course, one important difference between how the Democratic and Republican parties are functioning right now: one successfully anointed a party-approved insider, and one didn't. Democratic elected officials and donors settled on Clinton years ago, as early as the dawn of Obama's second term, and effectively ended the possibility of a conventional candidate challenging the former secretary of state in the primaries. While few would doubt the sincerity of Vice President Joe Biden's words, it was not only his son Beau's death that deterred him from challenging Clinton. It was the Democratic Party's ability to close ranks around Clinton and ensure Biden would not have access to the pool of establishment donors and operatives he required.

But Sanders, operating outside the realm of conventional two-party presidential politics, wasn't deterred, raising \$40 million in some months through mostly small, online donations. Even if Sanders couldn't defeat Clinton, he's forced her to the left, and the millennials open to socialism are sure to impact the way future Democratic candidates interact with the electorate.

Either way, faith in how the two parties operates is at a nadir. The way Sanders backers have fulminated against the primary process, particularly the use of superdelegates, should force the Democratic establishment to rethink its approach, said R.T. Rybak, a vice chair of the Democratic National Committee.

"What I hope comes out of this election is a significant rethink of all things," Rybak, a former mayor of Minneapolis, said. "When the majority of people vote for someone in a state, people expect a majority of delegates to be for that person, and it is very strange to people when they're not.

"The fact is that the system is antiquated," he added. "Let's fix it."

A week after losing in New York, Sanders was in Springfield, Oregon, for a campaign

Continued on page 61



Hillary v



Tale of

Illustrations by

CLINTON

★ **HOMETOWN** ★

Park Ridge, Illinois

★ **OCCUPATION** ★

Former Secretary of State,
United States senator

★ **ALMA MATER** ★

Wellesley College,
Yale Law School

★ **NET WORTH** ★

\$45 million with husband Bill Clinton

★ **CHILDREN** ★

1

★ **SIGNATURE POLICY IDEAS** ★

Improving health care;
boosting middle class

★ **ACHILLES HEEL** ★

Questions about her private
email server

★ **CATCHPHRASE** ★

Love and Kindness

★ **ACCENT** ★

New York/Midwestern/Southern

★ **EMBRACED BY PARTY LEADERS?** ★

Yes

★ **BABY BOOMER** ★

Yes

Donald

the Tape



Oliver Barrett

TRUMP

★ **HOMETOWN** ★

Queens, New York

★ **OCCUPATION** ★

Real estate developer,
reality television star

★ **ALMA MATER** ★

Fordham University,
University of Pennsylvania

★ **NET WORTH** ★

\$4.5 billion (contested).

★ **CHILDREN** ★

5

★ **SIGNATURE POLICY IDEAS** ★

Building a border wall;
curbing immigration

★ **ACHILLES HEEL** ★

Numerous offensive and
inflammatory statements

★ **CATCHPHRASE** ★

Make America Great Again

★ **ACCENT** ★

Outerborough New York

★ **EMBRACED BY
PARTY LEADERS?** ★

Barely

★ **BABY BOOMER** ★

Yes





DEMOGRAPHICS

The Gender War Gets (Even) Uglier

In a landmark race, women came under attack from both right and left

BY ALEXIS GELBER

ILLUSTRATION BY DENISE NESTOR



LOOK AT THAT FACE! Bleeding from her wherever. She's shouting. There's a special place in hell. Where are the boys? The boys are with Bernie. We know where you live. More ugly women in America than attractive women. She's not doing the job. The woman's card.

When Hillary Clinton ran for president in 2008, journalists were blamed for being the purveyors of sexist comments. This year, you couldn't blame the media. Amped-up rhetoric and bristling anti-woman tweets have come directly from the candidates, their surrogates and their supporters—from across the political spectrum.

The 2016 election battle has turned into an epic gender war. The targets included two presidential candidates, Clinton and Carly Fiorina; a Republican candidate's wife, Heidi Cruz; a once-sacrosanct Fox News anchor, Megyn Kelly; and millennial women. (Clinton surrogates Madeleine Albright and Gloria Steinem rebuked young women voters supporting Bernie Sanders; Steinem later apologized.) As the race went on, Clinton supporters faced obscenity-filled attacks from fans of the U.S. senator from Vermont; as they left an event in East L.A. "Bernie bros" issued death threats to Nevada Democratic Chairwoman Roberta Lange over a delegate dispute.

For pure rage and ratings, Donald Trump has been the undisputed orchestrator of the soundtrack of Campaign 2016—the master of what Farai Chideya, an author and senior writer for FiveThirtyEight, calls "soundbites that are tweetable and repeatable."

The tone was set from the moment that Kelly asked Trump the opening question in the first GOP debate last August: "You've called women you don't like 'fat pigs,' 'dogs,' 'slobs,' and 'disgusting animals.' Does that sound to you like the temperament of a man we should elect as president?" Later in the primary season, Trump said women should be punished for having abortions, before conservative Republicans schooled him to modify his statement. His comment on Clinton playing "the woman's card" wound up raising \$2.4 million—for her campaign. Hillary's comeback line—"if fighting for women's healthcare and paid family leave and equal pay is playing the woman card, then deal me in"—became a staple of her events, with crowds shouting, "Deal me in!"

The stakes are high: Women vote and decide elections. A U.S. Census Bureau report shows that women are the demographic that candidates need on their side, given that they're more likely than men to show

up and vote. White women gave their votes to George W. Bush in 2004. Black women voters helped elect Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, and propelled Hillary to this year's primary victories in Southern states.

Both Clinton and Trump are disliked among large numbers of voters. In early June, a Reuters/Ipsos poll showed about 58 percent of likely voters had an unfavorable impression of Trump; nearly half had negative views of Clinton. Later, another Reuters/Ipsos poll found that about 22.4 percent of likely voters would not pick either candidate. Still, in the weeks ahead of the conventions, Clinton seemed to maintain a clear lead over her rival in national polls even after the June 12 shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando. The killing, carried out by a shooter claiming allegiance to Islamic State, was expected by many to boost support for the pro-gun, anti-immigrant Trump; polls conducted immediately after the shooting reflected little more than a marginal bump for the Republican.

For women voters across the spectrum, the rhetoric is both intriguing and insulting.

"This campaign just keeps on giving," says Susan J. Carroll, professor of political science at Rutgers University and senior scholar at the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). "Donald Trump is such a wild card. He makes sexist comments no one else would make, and then he doubles down on them. He doesn't apologize. It doesn't seem to hurt him."

Carroll says the Trump campaign is "more interested in maximizing attraction to white, working-class males. The gender gap is larger than it usually is."

That was evident as Trump collected victories during the primary season. "I think Trump is very scary," Mariah Dobias, a 25-year-old cook voting in the Ohio primary, told Reuters. "He says he is going to make America great, but he doesn't say how he is going to do it besides alienating whole groups of people."

"Trump embodies so many of the ways men undermine women every day: speaking over them, interrupting, telling them their 'periods' are going to get in the way of their work," says Jessica Bennett, cultural columnist and author of *Feminist Fight Club*, a forthcoming book about gender and work. Meantime, she says, Clinton has emerged as



ILLUSTRATION BY CLAY RODERY

“the poster child for unconscious bias toward powerful women. She’s unlikeable, untrustworthy, too shrill, too loud; no wait now, she’s speaking too softly and we can’t hear her—it’s like a parody, and there is an academic study to support the bias in nearly every point of attack. Every time Trump says something about her, you could rebut it with research.”

Bennett says that women who advocate for themselves are liked less—and yet “to run for president, you have to self-promote. All these subtle double standards—they’ve become very clear to me in this race.”

Of course, Trump has enthusiastic female supporters, and many women have already voted for him—one high point was 59 percent of Republican women in the New York primary. In a March 2016 NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, 47 percent of Republican women primary voters said they couldn’t see themselves supporting Trump. By late May, Reuters/Ipsos showed a 68 percent approval rating for Trump among Republican women. That supported a trend among Republican voters overall as Trump emerged as the party’s top candidate.

“The vast majority of Republican women are moving to Trump,” says Republican strategist

and pollster Kellyanne Conway. “Many of them are coming home [to the GOP.]”

THERE ARE FOUR groups of women voters that may be in play come November.

Uncertain Republicans and Independents

“If you’re a conservative woman and you look at Trump as someone with a penchant for derogatory comments, and a demagogue, what will you do?” asks Mindy Finn, a Republican strategist for George W. Bush, Mitt Romney and the Republican National Committee who now heads Empowered Women, an organization connecting center-right woman. “Will you vote for Hillary? Will you sit out the election? Or will you hold your nose and vote for Donald Trump?”

Finn says data indicates that women generally make voting decisions later in the process than men. “I think we’re going to see that trend exacerbated in this election, especially in a campaign that’s really dirty and negative. People will go into the voting booth and decide among two candidates they may not like.”

Finn, who is in the #NeverTrump camp, believes that “the fight for the Republican women’s vote is on. Hillary has an opportunity

to appeal to women upset by Trump. His machismo rhetoric, objectifying women. He doesn’t see women as equals.”

Carolyn Hostetler, a conservative voter from Tennessee who opposed Trump, told Reuters in March that she disliked “the way he has belittled women.”

Making a gender-based appeal to Republican women did work in one case. After Trump threatened to “spill the beans” on Heidi Cruz and his supporters posted an unflattering photo of her next to a glam shot of Melania Trump, which Trump retweeted, Ted Cruz “made courting female voters the heart of his campaign in Wisconsin,” says Katie Glueck, a Politico reporter who covered the Texas senator.

Both Heidi Cruz (“an impressive person and excellent surrogate,” says Glueck) and Carly Fiorina campaigned actively throughout the state. Cruz won Wisconsin, beating Trump by 48 percent to 35 percent among women Republican voters. (When Cruz later picked Fiorina as his running mate, a Slate article theorized that he made the choice as “Trump bait,” hoping the New Yorker would say something misogynistic and jeopardize his lead in the polls.) After

Continued on page 61



IDENTITY

The End of Us Versus Them?

This year's primaries attracted candidates from across the demographic spectrum. And voters could not have cared less.

BY CHRIS KAHN

GRAPHICS BY CHRISTINE CHAN

AT ONE POINT, the slate of Democratic and Republican presidential candidates included enough races and genders to be worthy of a Benetton commercial. They included two sons of Cuban immigrants, an Indian-American, two women, an African-American and a Jew among the traditional fraternity of white, Christian men.

Yet voters didn't seem to care about candidate demographics this year—at least not enough to make a difference in the primaries.

According to a Reuters/Ipsos poll, Latino voters were hardly enamored with U.S. Senators Ted Cruz of Texas or Marco Rubio of Florida, for example. From September to mid-March, Donald Trump received more support from Hispanic Republicans than Rubio and Cruz combined.

The Reuters/Ipsos poll also showed that Jewish Democrats were more likely to support former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton than Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who is Jewish. And despite the accusations from Trump that Clinton was playing the “woman’s card,” women voters didn’t exactly line up behind her campaign. During the primaries, women were about as likely to support Sanders as they were Clinton.

“I think that ethnic identification is gradually subsiding,” said Donald Green, a political scientist at Columbia University. “Voters are voting for party first.”

And when it comes to women, especially young women, voters don't see breaking the glass ceiling as a compelling reason to vote for just any female candidate, said Larry Sabato, director of the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia.

“They say it’s inevitable that we’ll have a woman president,” Sabato said. “So they can afford to wait” until a more exciting choice comes along. “And they’re right in a way. If you think of the next 20 to 30 years, we’re going to have a far more diverse set of choices” for president.

It’s also worth noting that none of the candidates ran on their race or religion. Sanders defined his campaign around income inequality and spent more time talking about the excesses of Wall Street and climate change than he did about growing up Jewish in Brooklyn. And when asked about Israel, Sanders made sure to express an interest in being more “even-handed” with Palestinians.

“Any national candidate now knows that you can’t win with the call for ‘it’s our turn,’” Green said. “You can win your group, but you’re not going to have the same cross-over appeal.”

More than three-quarters of Catholics supported Kennedy for president in 1960, according to the Gallup polling service. But, 44 years later, they didn’t turn out for John Kerry, who would have been America’s second Catholic president. George W. Bush won the Catholic vote in 2004.

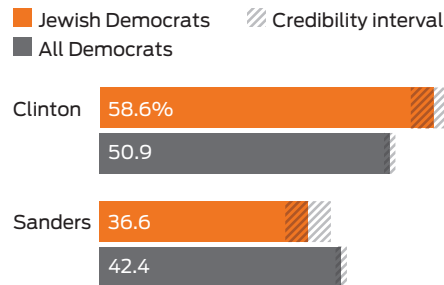
And while Mitt Romney won the majority of Mormon support in 2012, it should be noted that Mormons usually vote Republican. According to the Pew Research Center, George W. Bush won a bigger percentage of Mormons in 2004 than Romney did in 2012.

Chris Kahn is the U.S. polling editor for Reuters

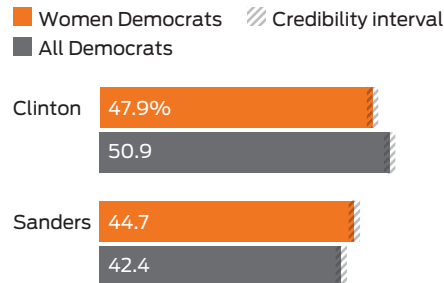
Who's Ahead

By gender, religion, and ethnicity

AMONG JEWISH DEMOCRATS...

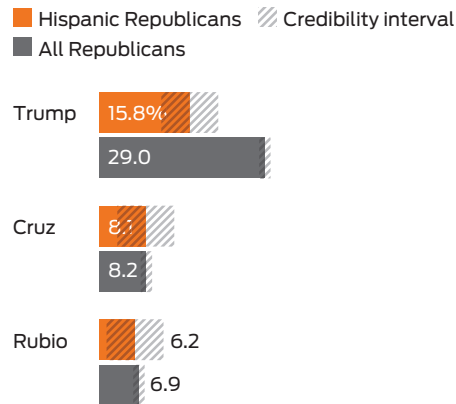


AMONG FEMALE DEMOCRATS...



The poll included 22,655 people from Jan. 1 to May 31. It included 15,068 women and 782 people who identified as Jewish. It has a credibility interval, a measure of the poll's accuracy, of 1 percentage point for the entire sample, 1 point for women and 4 points for the Jewish responses.

AMONG HISPANIC REPUBLICANS...



The poll included 41,800 people from Sept. 1, 2015 to March 15, 2016, including 607 Hispanics. It has a credibility interval, a measure of the poll's accuracy, of 1 percentage point for the entire sample and 5 percentage points for Hispanics.



WHAT MATTERS



THE STRESSED-OUT ELECTORATE, NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THE RISE OF DUMB MONEY

ILLUSTRATION BY SR. SALME





THE BIG SQUEEZE

Trade. Immigration. Lost jobs. Trump. This presidential election year, it's all about the money.

BY JAMES OLIPHANT

ILLUSTRATION BY CLAY RODERY

MIDDLETOWN, CONN. Two years ago, Judy Konopka and Craig Diangelo lost their jobs in the IT department of what was then known as Northeast Utilities, a regional electricity provider, when the company decided to replace about 220 employees with guest workers from India. In order to receive a more lucrative separation package, they had to train their foreign replacements both here and overseas.

Both had trouble finding new work. Konopka, 56, is still looking. Diangelo, 64, is working as a contractor for a company that provides no benefits, making substantially less than he did before. He views himself as a victim of globalization, a casualty of offshoring—and he credits Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee who has cast himself as the champion of

displaced and disaffected U.S. workers, for bringing the issue to light.

“I’ll vote for him,” says Diangelo, over dinner at a Thai restaurant on this town’s Main Street. Two others at the table murmur in assent.

He continues, his voice rising: “I wasn’t planning on retiring early. I wasn’t planning on making \$35,000 less. I’ve had to cut back a lot. I basically live paycheck to paycheck.”

“I could never vote for Hillary Clinton,” Diangelo says, citing Clinton’s support of the North American Free Trade Agreement, passed while her husband, Bill, was president, as well as her advocacy of the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade pact that’s still being negotiated by the Obama administration. (Challenged by Bernie Sanders, Clinton has since retracted her support of TPP.)



Even Konopka, who favors Clinton (she calls Trump “the biggest idiot”), has to admit Clinton’s support of trade deals such as NAFTA gives her pause. When Northeast Utilities fired her after 21 years, “I felt betrayed.” Konopka took advantage of a federal trade assistance program to improve her skills in web design, then discovered she couldn’t compete with designers outside the country who were willing to work for much less. Now, to get by, she sells vintage books on the web. “It’s starting to get really scary,” she says.

This presidential election is, purportedly, the Year of the Angry Voter, with images of scuffles at Trump rallies occupying cable-news screens. But as befitting someone who lives in a place called Middletown, Konopka is more typical of voters: consumed



by a stomach-churning uncertainty, a vague sense of something lost, and an inescapable belief that an array of powerful forces—corporations, politicians, government—aren't looking out for them.

Economists and pundits have been struggling to explain why, with unemployment below 5 percent and a bounty of positive economic indicators, voters seem so dismayed, so distrustful. It might be something as simple as bargaining power.

In his best-known book, *The Art of the Deal*, Trump advises every negotiator to “use your leverage.” But increasingly, U.S. workers, white-and blue-collar alike, feel they have none. They've seen their power erode as they are tossed into a global labor pool, as companies consolidate and shed jobs to please Wall Street, as unions wither, state

budgets tighten, technology advances and iconic brands such as Nabisco pack up and move to Mexico.

The squeeze is on.

“There's a feeling among workers that not only are they replaceable, but that they will be replaced,” says Gary Chaison, a professor of industrial relations at Clark University in nearby Worcester, Massachusetts. “That there is no security anymore, that someone is making a profit by letting them go.”

“Trump,” he adds, “has tapped into that very well.”

According to Reuters/Ipsos polling, 71 percent of Trump supporters either have had to take a lower-paying job in the last few years, have a family member who has had to do so, or have a family member whose home has been threatened by foreclosure. In a sign of

how widespread the phenomenon has become, 63 percent of Clinton supporters reported the same dismal tally.

“People feel more insecure about trade than terrorism,” Chaison tells me. “Everyone knows someone who has lost their job.”

What bothers Diangelo most is that he was let go by a company that still valued his skill—just not him. “The sad part is that my job is still there,” he says. “It didn't go away. I went away.”

NONE OF THIS should feel particularly new. The United States has been bleeding middle-class workers—especially in the industrial and manufacturing sectors—as long as Bruce Springsteen has been around to sing about it. Candidates adorned with hard hats vowing to bring back factory jobs have become a set-piece of modern politics.



The United States has lost more than 5 million manufacturing jobs in the past 15 years as the trade deficit has mushroomed, according to the Economic Policy Institute, a liberal think tank in Washington. Wage growth in almost all sectors has flatlined over that time, including for the bottom 70 percent of four-year college graduates—and growth overall has been anemic, at under 2 percent. And while the 9 million jobs vaporized in the flash of the Great Recession have been recovered, the majority of them are of lesser quality than the ones they replaced.

Perhaps most fundamentally, the relationship between employee and employer has shifted. Workers' share of the pie has decreased substantially since the 1970s, when the country's corporate and industrial base began to erode. Last year, workers' share dropped to 75.5 percent of corporate income, even as technology has made workforces more productive and efficient. U.S. corporate profits, meantime, returned to pre-recession levels in 2012. Workers "sense that the recovery is only partial. It helps employers more than it helps workers," Chaison says.

If workers' sense of slippage seems familiar, the way their discontent is rippling through our politics feels newly transformative. Voters threw out the Republicans running Congress in 2006, then two years later elected the first African-American president, an outsider who vowed reform. Souring on him, they replaced Democrats then controlling Congress with another set of Republicans in

2010 and 2014, making governance as unstable as the business sector. In a period of war, terrorism and economic chaos, all that churn might best be viewed as a deeply frustrated electorate trying to use what little leverage they have to change a system they consider to be otherwise unaccountable.

Trump has been the main beneficiary of that frustration. He makes those in the crowd feel like they matter, that they finally have a bully of their own who can push back at what they view as an alliance of unprincipled corporate culture and an enabling government. "You're looking at a situation where the jobs are being ripped out of our states, out of our country, like candy from a baby," Trump said at a rally this spring.

It has been Trump, along with Democrat Sanders, who has pushed the issue of job losses to countries such as China, Mexico and India to the forefront. Trump has threatened to slap a tax on imports and tear up trade deals. In Indiana earlier this year, he ripped air conditioner manufacturer Carrier for announcing it would lay off 2,100 workers and move its operations to Mexico. He gave Nabisco the same treatment, pledging he would no longer eat Oreos. He has slammed companies such as Apple and Boeing for their overseas operations, as well.

Few presidential candidates have such temerity to challenge well-known American brands, but clearly it is resonating. "They might not like everything he says, but they believe he says what he thinks," Lewis Gossett, president of the South Carolina Manu-

facturers Alliance, told me last summer. "I think we're repeating a time in history when the very rich are removed from the very poor."

MICHAEL SMITH IS one of the Americans Trump rallies for. Smith was among 600 Nabisco employees laid off at the bakery on Chicago's South Side earlier this year, after the company announced it was transferring some work to Mexico. He got the news at 3 a.m. "It was," Smith tells me, "a dark night when all your livelihood passes in front of you, and you feel like you've been given the royal shaft."

Smith operated the machines that wrapped Oreo cookies and Ritz crackers. With overtime, he could clear \$85,000 a year. He's 59 and wasn't thinking he would have to re-enter the job market.

The day before, Smith had shown up at a shareholders meeting in Chicago to confront Irene Rosenfeld, the chief executive of Mondelez International, the holding company that oversees the Nabisco brand, about the move to Mexico. While sympathetic, Rosenfeld said it was her duty to maximize the corporation's value to its shareholders worldwide by cutting costs.

"There are two types of CEO mindsets," Smith responded, "those who care about shareholders and those who care about the shareholders and the people."

In our conversation, Smith didn't begrudge the company's legal right to relocate the jobs, but he questions a CEO who earned more than \$40 million in compensation over the last two years exhorting the virtues of cost-cutting to a room full of laid-off blue-collar workers. "That's not good citizenship," he says. "Wealth comes from the workers. That profitability comes from us."

Clinton met with a small group of the Nabisco workers in March, the day before the Illinois primary. But the visit didn't leave Smith with much hope that as president she could do much either for the workers' situation or to reverse the demands of a globalized economy. In part, that's due to Clinton's support of NAFTA, which Smith terms an "infection," but also because of the lobbying might of Mondelez, a \$30 billion company, and other big corporations.

Smith is the unusual American voter who says he hasn't decided between Clinton and Trump. He'll focus on the election later. First, he has to keep his household afloat and his daughter in school at Columbia College in Chicago. He has six months' salary to cushion him.

He's trying to stay optimistic about finding work, saying his wife and daughter are



Hillary Clinton speaks to workers during a campaign event at Munster Steel in Hammond, Indiana, in April. Candidates have met frequently during the campaign with factory workers, in hopes of quieting fears about lost jobs.

counting on him. But, he concedes, “I think I have been a little bit in denial. Even people of faith have bouts of depression.”

ANGELA VALERO GIVES a one-word reply when I ask her about a potential Clinton-Trump matchup: “Ugh.” I might as well be asking about who’s going to win the next regatta on Mars, so far is the election from her daily concerns.

Valero’s dream job was to be a corrections officer. She was finally hired on by the state of Connecticut last fall. The single mother of an 8-year-old girl thought that, at last, she had a reliable, stable position with benefits.

But after completing an academy training course and being posted as a guard at the state maximum-security facility in nearby Uncasville, she found out this spring that she was being laid off, a consequence of a decision made by Connecticut’s Democratic governor, Dannel Malloy, and the state legislature to not raise taxes on the wealthy to cover a budget shortfall. Lawmakers worried that the state’s richest residents would relocate to Florida, which has no state income tax, or other states with lower taxes.

During the downturn, Connecticut lost a bevy of high-paying jobs in the financial services sector in the corporate hub of Stamford and elsewhere. The jobs created during the recovery were less lucrative, resulting in lower tax revenue. In addition, the state was spooked when General Electric, responding to an effort by the legislature to raise business taxes, announced it was relocating its headquarters from Fairfield to Boston. Aetna, the health insurer based in Hartford, also threatened to leave the state.

That shelved any notion of new taxes. The state looked to trim its public workforce instead. “Easy targets,” says Lori Pelletier, president of the state AFL-CIO.

Rape counselors, child-service workers, prison guards began receiving pink slips. Ultimately, 2,500 or more state workers could be let go. Pelletier contrasted that with the 200 jobs GE is moving to Boston—something that drew substantial media attention.

The state of Massachusetts and the city of Boston helped recruit GE with a generous benefit package, including \$25 million in property tax relief for a corporation that critics have long held pays little in U.S. taxes. “Angela last year paid more taxes than GE,” Pelletier says. “And she’s the one losing her job.”

Valero tells me she has little faith that anyone in Washington can help her. She doesn’t sleep more than four hours a night, kept up by worrying about paying the electric bill and keeping her house. She has no idea

whether she’ll ever be recalled to work.

Throughout the interview, she stays stoic, determined, like the corrections officer she was trained to be. Only at the end of our conversation does she slip a bit. “I held back the tears,” she says with relief.

RON OZER GREETES me at the door with the sheepishness of someone who isn’t used to being at home during the workday. Ozer, 53, was laid off from DuPont Co. in January after a 23-year career. A Ph.D in chemical engineering, he has more than 20 patents to his name. He worked on long-term projects at the DuPont Experimental Station in Wilmington, Delaware, one of the more storied research facilities in the country, where products such as nylon, Lycra and Kevlar were created.

“Some of the great developments in American industry came out of that site,” Ozer says. “It was a time when America was growing so dramatically.”

But a lack of growth and pressure from investors forced DuPont to announce a merger with another giant, Dow Chemical. In advance of the merger, it has begun to shed jobs. In Delaware alone, DuPont plans to dump 1,700 workers—many in the area of long-term research, which can be expensive without yielding immediate rewards to shareholders. Ozer’s group was eviscerated.

The \$130 billion merger of DuPont and Dow blends two U.S. companies that date back to the 19th century. Barry Lynn, an economist at the New America think tank, says that industry consolidation chills the labor market, sapping demand for skilled workers such as Ozer. Dominant companies can use their market power to charge customers more or make suppliers pay less—all without having to grow and create jobs to survive. Indeed, the push from Wall Street is to cull and cut, not grow. And when companies do expand today it’s largely through acquisition, not investment.

“That’s a huge amount of the energy that’s behind Trump,” Lynn says, “the sense of power being consolidated and being out of control and harming me and my family and my community.”

Ozer will try to take advantage of his contacts at DuPont to become a consultant, but admits that’s a gamble. Asked if he thinks he can replicate the six-figure salary he enjoyed at DuPont, he laughs. “I’m not confident of that.”

His chief concern is his two daughters, both of whom are out of college. In order to give his youngest a leg up in the market, he sent her to private Haverford College in

Pennsylvania (tuition: \$46,000)—going deep into debt to do so.

“I have a lot of possibilities, but I need things to start turning into dollars soon,” he says.

FOR SARA BLACKWELL, representing U.S. workers displaced by the federal H1-B visa program began as a gig. Now, it’s a full-blown cause.

The Tampa lawyer has been giving away clients who would distract her from her work. She jokes she’s stopped sleeping and exercising. Recently, she launched a website called ProtectUSworkers.com. “I speak to an average of 10 people a day who are victims of this,” she tells me. “The more I learn about this, the more I have to fight.”

She began by representing IT workers at Walt Disney World in Florida who were replaced by guest workers from India brought in on temporary visas by outsourcing firms that contracted with Disney. She has filed a long-shot conspiracy lawsuit in federal court.

Blackwell contends that the practice of outsourcing low-end, back-office IT jobs to cut costs has become endemic. Globalization, she says, is systematically lowering the standard of living of American workers. “It’s a race to the bottom,” she says.

The Disney case garnered the attention of some in the U.S. Senate, including Jeff Sessions, a Republican from Alabama who now is at the forefront of a fight against the American tech industry, which wants to expand the guest-worker program citing a lack of domestic qualified engineers and programmers.

But those tech companies are at the back of the line. According to Ron Hira, a professor at Howard University who tracks applications, outsourcing firms have been crowding out tech companies in the race to acquire the highly coveted H1-B visas, which are capped at 85,000 a year.

Sessions, who is also a fierce opponent of immigration reform, was one of the first U.S. politicians to embrace Trump—and Blackwell has spoken out against the program at several Trump rallies.

She also has consulted with the outsourced employees who worked at Northeast Utilities in Connecticut, including Craig Diangelo.

Part of Diangelo’s frustration—and part of what is driving him toward Trump—is that Washington has done so little to curb what he views as abuses of the H1-B program. There is a greater push now on Capitol Hill to broaden the program rather than rein it in. “There’s nobody to help us,” he tells me.

Continued on page 62



NATIONAL SECURITY

Love Them, Love Them Not

Americans still aren't sure what they want from the world. This campaign hasn't helped.

BY PETER APPS

ILLUSTRATION BY DENISE NESTOR



WHEN IT COMES to foreign policy, American voters have always been a mass of contradictions. The majority still believes their country is the most powerful in the world, but they see that position slipping. In many cases, they just seem to wish the rest of the planet would go away.

Clearly, that's not going to happen. While the 2016 presidential election looks set to offer American voters a choice of foreign-policy viewpoints on a scale unseen in recent political history, recent experience seems to have dashed any hope that current challenges might have easy answers.

That's hardly surprising. In the 15 years

since the 9/11 attacks, the United States has plowed colossal human, political and economic effort into trying to keep itself safe, particularly through the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Neither seems to have made things significantly better—indeed, quite the opposite. The wider geopolitical picture continues to look ever more complex, with the European Union deeper in crisis than ever after Britons voted to withdraw in July.

The attack on an Orlando nightclub in June inevitably fueled calls from both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump to step up military action against Islamic State in the Middle East—even though the attack itself appeared homegrown. At the same time, Washington faces direct challenges from major nation states—particularly Russia and China—on a scale not seen since the Cold War.

Inside the United States, many voters seem to have lost their belief that America's engagement in the world—military, economic and diplomatic—genuinely serves their interests. To them, globalization has simply meant exporting jobs overseas while importing security problems and competition, particularly through migration.

Republican standard bearer Trump's ability to tap into that xenophobia looks to have been a key factor of his astonishing success. Even if, as some polls suggest, Clinton, the ultimate foreign-policy insider, ends up winning this election, the isolationism his campaign has tried to tap is unlikely to go away.

At the same time, Trump was quick to demand more action against IS in the aftermath of Orlando. When it comes to dealing with such militants, some 60 percent of Americans—a majority of Republicans and Democrats—said they wanted the Obama administration to “do more.” But, as always, it was far from clear what that might actually mean.

Republicans, for sure, were notably more enthusiastic than Democrats on ramping up airstrikes against IS. The majority of voters

from both parties, however, were not keen on ramping up the use of special forces in Iraq or Syria and even less on deploying conventional ground troops. Neither did they like the idea of taking refugees from Syria; more than half said they believed to do so would affect the security of the United States.

Nor are there any simple responses to the rising challenges of Russia and China, both reasserting themselves in the neighborhood.

When it comes to an ascendant China, Americans clearly believe there is also a lot to worry about. Roughly half of all those surveyed by Pew said they were seriously concerned about Beijing's growing military power, environmental and human rights record, trade deficit with the United States and the potential for cyber attacks. An even greater number—more than 60 percent—was worried about the loss of jobs and the amount of money (\$1.2 trillion) Washington now owes the Chinese government.

Like many in the rest of the world, Americans have a largely negative view of Russian leader Vladimir Putin—albeit one that is tempered by a grudging respect verging on fear. Polling this year shows a majority of Americans—56 percent—say they believe the U.S. should back its NATO allies militarily in the event of an attack by Moscow.

As one might expect, Republicans are much more likely than Democrats to say Washington must back its regional partners by force if necessary—only a minority of Democrats believe in the use of force to protect NATO allies in Europe. This year's candidates, however, take exactly the opposite positions—Clinton has voiced strong support for NATO while the more isolationist Trump has gone on record saying a poor U.S. command can no longer afford to underwrite European security in the way it has for decades.

It's a reminder that these differences may increasingly cross party lines. In this election, Democrat Clinton is clearly the more internationalist—as befits a former secretary of state. In future campaigns, however, it's entirely possible to imagine a leftist, isolationist Democrat in the Bernie Sanders mode facing off against a more hawkish Republican.

Indeed, the situation is already pretty complex. Trump might want relatively indiscriminate military action, even torture, when it comes to fighting militants but he is



Troops from the U.S. Army's 173rd Infantry Brigade Combat Team parachute from a Boeing C-17 Globemaster III during a NATO-led exercise in south Poland.



U.S. M1 Abrams tanks open fire as part of a NATO military exercise in Adazi, Latvia.

opposed to large-scale, Iraq-style nation-building. Across the board, Republicans favor heightened military spending but simultaneously want to use it less.

Historically, these tensions have always been there. From the beginning, America's founding fathers such as George Washing-

ton and Thomas Jefferson were keen to avoid "foreign entanglements." The nation came late to both world wars. Only after 1945 did it show any enthusiasm for becoming the "global policeman"—and even then, it has often been a very reluctant role.

If this election so far has shown everything,

it is that domestic politics in the United States are as polarized as at any point in living memory. Somehow, America must manage them while dealing with what seems an equally complicated world. Given events so far, it's not quite clear how well that will work out.

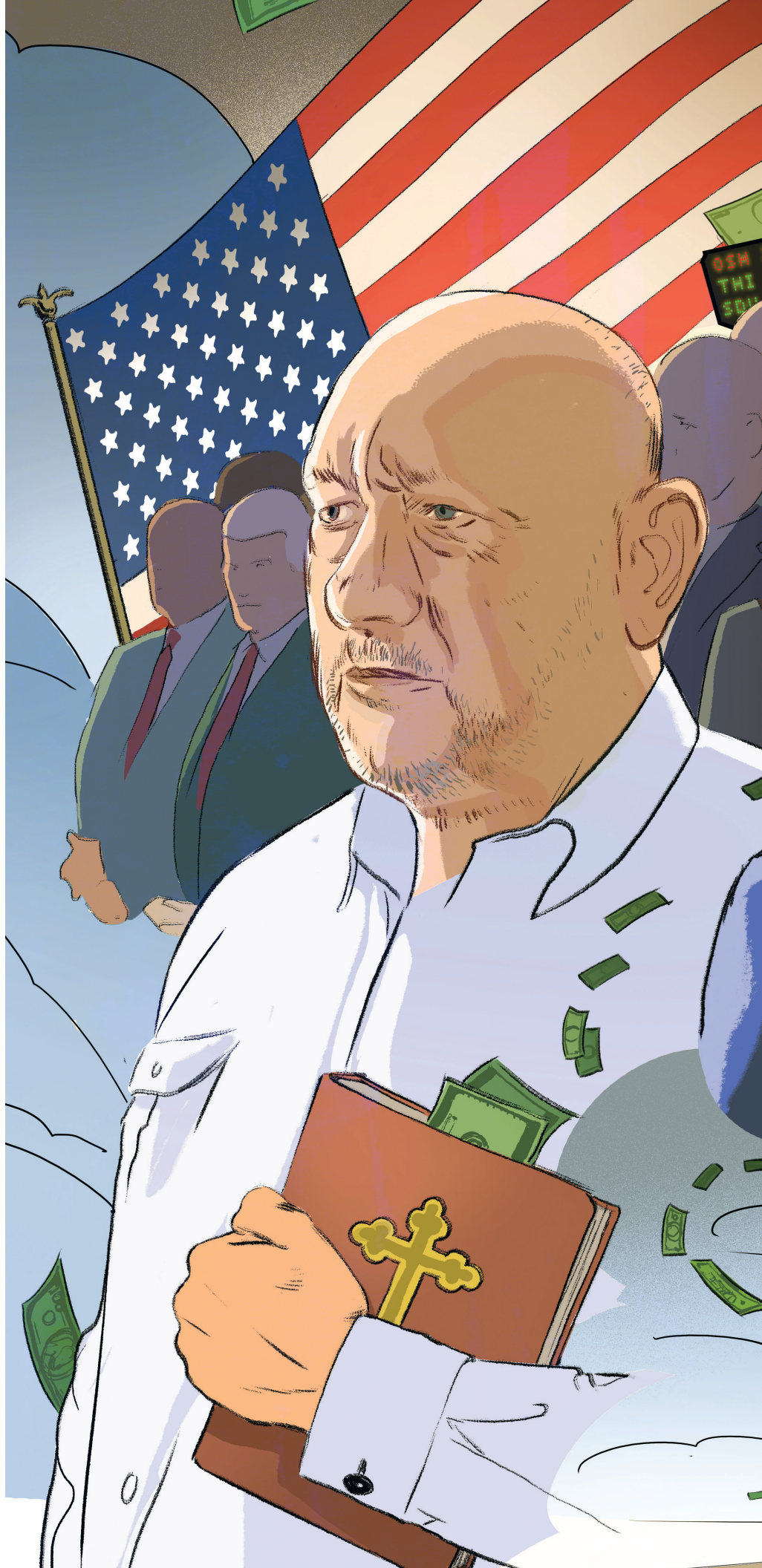


DUMB MONEY

Cash, it turns out, isn't enough to get a candidate into the White House. How—and where—the mega donors got it wrong.

By Michelle Conlin

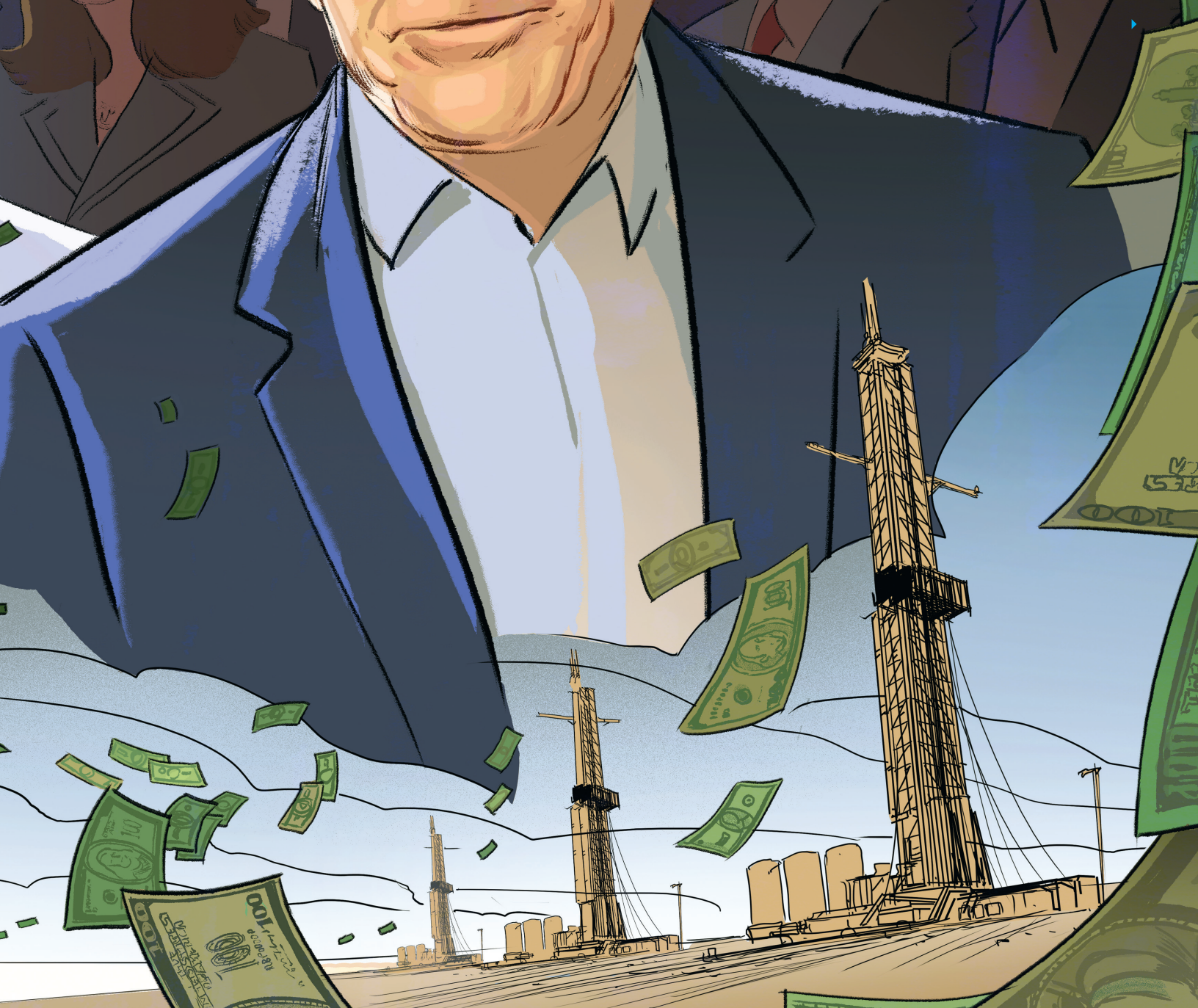
Illustration By
Cam Floyd





23.45 -0.23 CSF 20
54.23 0.23 SDO 23
24 5.6 THU 23.7

CTF 23.72 -0.57
BL 145.02
AMF 235.2 3.4 OSI
WE 102 -0.54 MIC
013 23 WE 0.2 DIA 57.23





It

WAS A HOT Saturday morning when brawny, bearded Farris Wilks strode up to the altar of the Assembly of Yahweh, Seventh Day, an Old Testament-based church that equates homosexuality with bestiality and believes husbands should approve their wives' clothing. On this particular day, Pastor Wilks was focusing on abortion, the "murder of our nation." A slick Power Point instructing parishioners how they could help defund Planned Parenthood flashed above the altar.

The 200 or so church members—men mostly in pressed Wranglers and women in long skirts and bonnets—listened intently. Outside, swarms of shrieking black crickets besieged the dinner plates and bed covers of local homes and businesses. But at the church, cleaners kept the Assembly so pristine churchgoers could have eaten off the floor—if they could find the time between the offerings of a Christian rock band, a gym and a lavishly stocked banquet hall and soda fountain.

Watching the service, it would be easy to dismiss Wilks, 64, and his younger brother, Dan, 60, as backwater clods with too much cash. Their church sits off a two-lane, 75 mile-per-hour highway outside of Cisco, a southern Texas town of empty storefronts, idled derricks and beat-up houses. Its potholed Main Street boasts a memorabilia shop that sells Confederate flags, two stoplights, 10 churches and a local newspaper with the motto "Fear God." Raffle winners at the local rec center are awarded rifles. The brothers, who grew up in a goat shed, now live in lavish gated compounds protected by a private security force. Farris' home boasts an oversized pool with a cross covering the bottom.

The Wilkses, though, are no naïfs. The former bricklayers turned fracking billionaires, who have 17 children between them, are

now part of a growing elite of wealthy backers trying to turn their capital political. Their goal: to build a powerbase that will reach all the way to the White House. For awhile, the Wilks brothers were leading this pack. In the summer of 2015, a little-noticed federal filing revealed that Farris and Dan, together with their wives Joann and Staci, had given \$15 million to a Super PAC supporting U.S. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas. The contributions vaulted them past the billionaire industrialist Koch brothers, long considered to be the GOP kingmakers, and made the Wilkses' largesse the most generous in the 2016 election's primary season.

The donation seemed like a smart strategy to help Cruz win the Republican nomination. After all, this was supposed to be the election of Big Money, the first one fully capitalizing on two 2010 Supreme Court decisions, known as "Citizens United," that effectively paved the way for wealthy donors, corporations and unions to spend unlimited sums in support of their pet candidates so long as they did so through the affiliated political spending groups known as Super PACs. Super PACs are not legally allowed to coordinate directly with campaigns. But they can, and do, run ground games of local voter outreach, mailings and attack ads—making them, in effect, shadow campaign operations.

Super PACs have been able to operate freely without having to anguish over penalties or punishment or regulatory scrutiny because the nation's campaign finance watchdog, the Federal Election Commission, is mired in partisan gridlock to the point that one of its own commissioners describes it as "beyond broken and beyond dysfunctional."

In the 2016 election, though, the "smart money" turned out to be dumb. Establishment-backed candidates (Jeb Bush) either sputtered out or had to spend more than expected (Hillary Clinton) to fend off rivals. Insurgents relying on their own pocketbooks (Donald Trump) and small-dollar donors (Bernie Sanders) prevailed beyond all expectations. And the cash dumps of people like the Wilkses wound up turning into cautionary tales in the campaign-finance industrial complex.

Critics who predicted that Citizens United would amount to a billionaires' pay-for-the-presidency melee turned out to be wrong, too. When former Florida Governor Bush announced in June 2015 that his Super PAC had raised more than \$100 mil-

lion in just six months, his fundraising juggernaut was expected to give him the edge that would lead to a GOP coronation. Instead, he performed so dismally in the nominating contests he dropped out after the third one.

Around the time that Bush World was bragging about its candidate's unprecedented haul, some of it raised at jacket-and-tie private clubs or dinners at expensive celebrity restaurants, Florida Senator Marco Rubio was crisscrossing the country in a private plane. Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker shelled out nearly \$133,000 to rent headquarters for a bid that lasted three months. He burned through another \$6.4 million before quitting the race.

Cruz, for his part, departed from the traditional candidate's spending pattern. He flew low-cost Southwest Airlines, ate fast food and hauled his own bags onto campaign buses. Cruz also partly did away with compensation for staffers by giving them a commission on ad buys, an incentive structure that led to top consultants making millions a year. Cruz didn't pay people for ads. He paid them for wins.

The Texas senator's spending differed in other ways, too. While most campaigns used traditional TV ads to lionize their candidates and attack their rivals, Cruz focused largely on a data and digital operation to outflank them. Thanks to the generosity of donors like the Wilkses, Cruz's campaign and Super PACs raised \$158 million before the primaries ended.

Neither spending nor frugality helped Trump's rivals. One by one, they fell by the wayside; all were gone by May 4.

TRUMP'S APPROACH was unlike anything in the modern campaign playbook. Pledging to self-fund his run, he adopted the persona of the outsider, blue-collar billionaire clad in custom suits and chowing down on McDonald's. During the primaries, he employed virtually no pollsters or strategists, flying around the country in his gold-embossed Boeing-turned-headquarters to attend rallies—then flying home each night to sleep in his own bed. Rather than lavishing pay and perks on high-priced consultants and policy wonks, he relied on the pointed politically incorrect statements that generated an estimated \$2 billion in free media coverage for him during the primary alone.

The result: Trump spent a fraction of his rivals, shelling out just \$5.62 per vote



through April to secure the nomination. Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton spent \$14.97 per vote to do the same.

Trump wasn't the only one giving big donors the finger. Just as the real estate tycoon startled his rivals with his unexpected wins, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders rattled Democratic front-runner Hillary Clinton with his come-from-the-basement success, fueled by small donors who sent in an average of \$27 each to his campaign.

The \$326 million raised by Clinton's campaign and her main Super PAC, Priorities USA Action, helped her win enough delegates to clinch the nomination, but her race against Sanders was longer and tougher than anticipated. Sanders' total fundraising number through May: \$229 million.

The Wilkses say their support for Cruz was motivated by politics, not religion. In an emailed statement, Farris told Reuters he was endorsing Cruz because he agreed with his policies and "because he has guts." "The truth is, Ted Cruz has never been to our church or endorsed any of our specific doctrines, nor have we asked him to," Farris said.

When it became clear in May that Trump had won enough delegates to secure the nomination, the Wilks brothers declined to send money his way. The Kochs also made known to Reuters over the winter that they would not support the man that their donor network of 700 of the country's richest, most conservative families refers to as "that reality TV star." That network, which had planned to deploy \$400 million on the presidential race before Trump's ascendance, decided to stay out of the campaign for the White House and focus on state and local contests instead.

Other major Republican donors also begged off from funding Trump after his primary wins. (One notable exception: billionaire casino owner Sheldon Adelson, who spent more than \$100 million in the 2012 presidential election and who indicated he may be willing to spend even more to help elect Trump—apparently because the candidate told Adelson over the winter that he shared Adelson's strong pro-Israel stance.)

Trump, meanwhile, changed his mind about financing his own campaign. Ahead of the conventions, he said he would aim to raise \$1 billion on behalf of both his own campaign and the Republican National

Continued on page 62



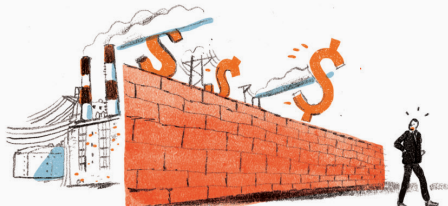
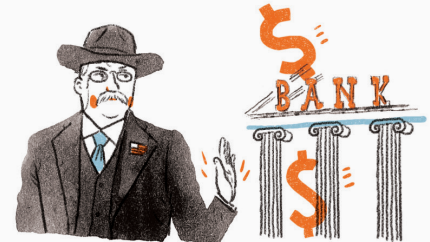
A HISTORY OF POLITICAL MONEY

(DUMB AND OTHERWISE)



RESEARCH BY MIMI DWYER
ILLUSTRATIONS BY PETER OUMANSKI

1907: Congress passes the Tillman Act, the first major piece of legislation regulating money in politics. It forbids companies and banks from contributing to federal election campaigns, but is prone to loopholes. The act is championed by Teddy Roosevelt, accused by critics of accepting tainted corporate cash for his 1904 campaign.



1940: An amendment to the Hatch Act caps individuals' and organizations' political contributions to a candidate or committee at \$5,000 annually.



1943: Congress bans labor unions from donating to federal campaigns.

1960: John F. Kennedy and his family spend \$150,000 on the primaries and buy a plane for \$385,000 and lease it to the campaign. The total amount is the equivalent of \$4.34 million in 2016.



1971: Congress passes the Federal Elections Campaign Act, which implements more stringent requirements on disclosures of campaign spending. A 1974 amendment leads to the creation of the Federal Election Commission.



2010: The Supreme Court's rulings on Citizens United allow corporations and unions to raise unlimited amounts for independent campaigns.

2012: The FEC estimates a total cost of \$7.1 billion for all federal races in the first major election year post-Citizens United.



2014: The Supreme Court knocks down as unconstitutional limits on the total amount individual donors can contribute to federal candidates, parties, and PACs.



WHAT WE DESIRE AND DESERVE

A NOTE FROM SAP CEO BILL MCDERMOTT



Dear Readers,

Each election is disruptive in its own way, and 2016 is no different.

As polls have revealed, many voters are simply exhausted trying to understand exactly how public policy will or will not improve their lives. While much attention has been given to their frustration, it is still widely misunderstood. Too many would have us believe that Americans want easy answers to complicated questions. I do not believe this is the case. Instead, I believe Americans want a more vivid connection between their own challenges and the priorities of their elected leaders. They want sobriety, candor and clarity restored to the political process.

The root cause of this boiling sentiment is, I believe, a prevailing lack of empathy.

Empathy is among every leader's greatest tools. As a CEO, I have always believed that business leaders must set a strategy for the future as well as listen to the marketplace and be willing to shift that strategy as necessary. Negative feedback from customers in particular cannot be ignored; it must be a defibrillator, an uncomfortable but needed jolt that reawakens a company's purpose and leads it to self-correct. When businesses fail to meet customers' unmet needs, those customers vote against us with their wallets.

This is a live society – always on, always engaged. So why, then, when it is easier to listen and learn than ever before, is empathy in such short supply?

For one, digital connectivity cannot replicate authentic human connections. Polls, presentations and online posts don't mimic the emotion we feel when we see others suffer with our own eyes, or hear their dreams with our own ears. When leaders lose these emotional ties with those we serve—customers or citizens—we lose the will to act on their behalf.

In business, meeting customers is critical to building empathy for what's necessary to improve their lives as quickly as possible. Often the most elegant solutions come when customers and providers work together, pooling know-how to create what no one thought possible. It's true that the best-served customers are not only those that speak up, but those that partner with their providers to bring about results.

Citizenship comes with similar responsibility. Registering our views and casting a ballot are only the beginning of the virtuous cycle this country relies on to achieve real progress. Yes, our leaders should endeavor to know more, care more and do more for us. But their efforts alone cannot give us a country of the people and by the people. We have to maintain our active citizenship, no matter the victor on Election Day. We have to remain invested in our vision for the future. We have to constantly forge the partnership between the governed and those who govern.

These are disruptive times. Let this uncertainty be a defibrillator to awaken the empathy we all desire, and that we all deserve.

With great respect,

BILL MCDERMOTT
Chief Executive Officer
SAP



Run Simple



DISILLUSIONMENT, U.S.A. CONTINUED FROM PAGE 27



“Oh, he’s going anti?” she said. “Well you know what, here’s the bottom line, he’s just trying to buy the Christian base.”

Neither was surprised at how well Sanders and Trump had done in Michigan.

“The common ground with them is change,” Bane said.

“Anti-establishment,” Bryson said.

“Here’s how I feel,” Bane said, in a sort of closing statement. “I would hope that Bernie would get in at least to in to run against Trump. I have no time for Hillary Clinton. And when it comes down to it I more than likely will not vote for her. And if it comes down to her and Trump, even though I cringe and I think what’s going to happen, I at least will have some hope of some kind of change. Something’s going to shift if he gets in there. Something’s got to give. And at least there would be that hope still attached to him. With her, I almost fear her. I think she’s a dangerous woman. I think she’s an extremely dangerous woman.” Again, she worried about Trump’s wall and his position on abortion. “A painful change is still change.”

The two women smiled at each other and hugged and then hurried through the drizzle back into the restaurant.

FOX AND HIS parents were approaching November with less trepidation. After attending the Trump and Sanders rallies in quick succession, he made up his mind and informed his parents, who were similarly torn between the two, of his decision. Fox thinks women should be allowed to have abortions and that same-sex couples should be able to marry, views he attributes to his age, and here he felt he parted company with Trump.

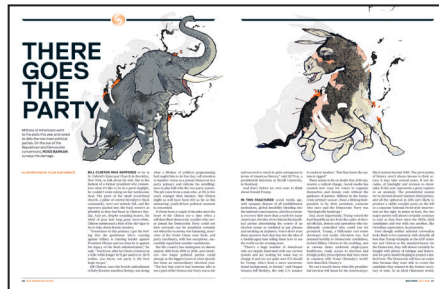
“I couldn’t find anything with Bernie I disagree about. At all. And that’s the reason. As simple as it gets.” Also, he said, “it seemed like Trump didn’t need my help,” he said, which was part of his father’s thinking, too. They would vote for Trump in November instead.

Fox’s mother, Tracy, came in from work and

sat down in an armchair opposite her sons; her husband moved to sit at the floor by her feet. The family talked politics for another hour as the room darkened, illuminated only by a muted CNN flashing on the television.

“Both of my guys won,” Fox said with satisfaction, “so that’s cool.”

THERE GOES THE PARTY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 43



rally, his message noticeably altered. If Sanders’ candidacy was never about simply ensuring the Democratic Party’s dominance over the GOP, it was becoming an explicit call for the party to embrace his vision, borne out of a lifetime of thriving outside the party.

“The Democratic Party has to reach a fundamental conclusion: Are we on the side of working people or big-money interests?” he asked the Oregon crowd, according to The New York Times. “Do we stand with the elderly, the children, the sick and the poor? Or do we stand with Wall Street speculators and the drug companies and the insurance companies? Now our job is not just to revitalize the Democratic Party, not only to open the doors to young people and working people—our job is to revitalize American democracy.”

THE GENDER WAR GETS (EVEN) UGLIER CONTINUED FROM PAGE 47



losing the next races, Cruz dropped out on May 3.

“Gender will be very interesting and complicated in this election,” says FiveThirtyEight’s Chideya. “I interviewed moderate Republican women who were supporting [John] Kasich and [Jeb] Bush. The question on the right is [whether] Republican women could have huge influence over turnout. ... We’ll see erosion among Republican moderates, especially among women who have questions about Trump. They won’t vote for Hillary but they could stay home.”

Millennial Women

Young women captivated by the message and energy of Bernie Sanders’ campaign recoiled at comments they regarded as insulting: from Democratic National Committee chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz (who said young women were complacent about abortion), former Secretary of State Albright (“there is a special place in hell for women who don’t help other women,”) and feminist Steinem (who said young women were joining the Sanders campaign to be “where the boys are”).

The numbers told the story: At one point, support for Sanders stood at 61 percent among 18-to-29-year-old women, to Clinton’s 28 percent, and those numbers remained fairly consistent throughout the primary campaign.

“Most of the college women I have spoken with support Bernie,” says Bennett, the author. “Those who don’t—and support Hillary—are almost bashful about it. Like it’s somehow embarrassing these days to say you support Hillary Clinton. And God forbid you say you’re supporting her because she’s a woman.”

It’s unlikely that Sanders’ millennial supporters will opt for Trump in November. Still, their reservations about Clinton could help her Republican rival if they choose to stay home instead.



Latina Power?

Trump's campaign has been a double whammy for Hispanic women voters—anti-immigrant rhetoric plus misogyny.

Demographically, a growing Latino population has fueled anxieties among pro-Trump supporters. But that change has yet to produce a significant impact in presidential campaigns. Will Trump's rhetoric turn out Latino voters?

"The average Latino voter is a 26-year-old millennial woman who cares about student debt, health care and the right to choose," says Maria Teresa Kumar, president and CEO of Voto Latino. "The average white voter is a 42-year-old woman. Women outvote male voters."

Team Hillary

Never mind the gender gap—what about the enthusiasm gap? Even as Clinton amassed delegates in the primaries, her approval numbers slipped, partly due to Sanders' continuing campaign and increasingly harsh attacks, as well as Trump's laser-like focus on her.

Even those sympathetic to Clinton acknowledge that she's not the best campaigner. "It doesn't help that she is not the most naturally charismatic person," says Bennett.

Beth Ann Day, a New York fundraiser for Clinton, says, "When you have access to her, you have a different impression of Hillary. She is so warm, personal, caring—it doesn't show on a big stage. She's a great leader."

For Clinton supporters, Bennett says many express an atmosphere of intimidation on social media. "Bernie Bros are more vocal," she says. "They tend to be younger, they tend to make better use of social media, and I think to some extent it drowns out the Hillary supporters. I know people who have stopped posting support for Hillary because of it. Not all of it is bad, but some of the rhetoric is indeed misogynistic. Some is simply mansplaining—more annoying than offensive."

Bennett says she's been invited to join secret Hillary support groups on Facebook. "The fact that Hillary supporters had to go underground was so strange. You almost have to be a bashful Hillary supporter."

Those who have participated in private Facebook groups say that they're not surprising, just a space to freely express support for Clinton without having to argue with critics in their feeds. During the primaries, such groups provided a haven for male as well as female Hillary supporters. After Clinton's June 7 wins gave her enough

delegates to clinch the nomination, some of these members went public; one Clinton worker told Bennett of "a bunch of women" walking into a California Democratic HQ asking if it was now "safe" to volunteer.

If anything, the rhetoric is likely to get nastier in the run-up to the general election.

Trump has revived the ghosts of yesterday with a focus on Bill Clinton's behavior—reframed to resonate with a generation too young to remember the scandal over his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. The Republican candidate suggested the former president was a rapist and even raised an old conspiracy theory that Hillary was involved in the 1993 death of Vince Foster, the deputy White House counsel who committed suicide.

"What Trump is trying to do is define Bill Clinton for younger voters," says Carroll. "The narrative is: Bill Clinton was an abuser and Hillary Clinton was an enabler. I don't think younger women will make their decisions based on Bill Clinton. It's noise and distraction."

What it does, says Carroll, is move the Clinton campaign off-message. "Bill Clinton could be a powerful plus. Trump is turning Bill Clinton into a potential grenade."

"There is a concern about a level of degrading discourse that no presidential candidate has ever faced," Clinton fundraiser Day says about the anti-Clinton assault. "For [Clinton] as a grandmother, a mother—it will be difficult."

Will women voters see another side to Trump? That may depend on how they regard the election. "I'm not sure that the election this fall will be a referendum on Donald Trump," Republican strategist Conway said on "Meet the Press" in May. "It could be a referendum on Hillary Clinton. It's going to be easy for him to say, 'Look, you've been in public life for 30 years, so if you want to improve the lot of women, where have you been?'"

Conway evokes the unorthodox and unpredictable nature of the 2016 campaign. "Who's the insider and who's the outsider?" she asks. This year, "that transcends gender and race."

CAWP's Carroll believes Trump will try to win women over. She says that his daughter Ivanka is "a great asset for him—a very poised, compelling businesswoman. [She] might help him with young independent voters."

Ultimately, Carroll says, the campaign will emerge as a battle between two narratives. Trump's is about the protective male leader. "He's going to protect us, make America great, no one will mess with us."

That sentiment seemed to be on the mind of one Trump supporter, Kathleen Douglas, a 65-year-old college professor from Winter Park, Florida. "He's a little unpredictable, as we've seen," she told Reuters. "He's going to put world leaders on edge."

Meantime, Clinton is "trying to win the narrative by saying he's reckless," says Carroll, "that he's scary on the international scene."

One question is whether Trump's rhetoric against Clinton will backfire. A cautionary reminder is Barack Obama's putdown of Clinton in the 2008 New Hampshire primary debate: "You're likable enough, Hillary." Women voters unhappy with the remark helped her win New Hampshire, where she took the female vote by 12 points over Obama.

"I've done a lot of focus groups with women, and they are feeling anxiety around the economy and national security," says Republican strategist Finn. "That's how they'll decide."

Finn believes the one-on-one Clinton/Trump debates could prove decisive. "Trump will be coached and told to rein himself in," says Finn. "[But] he will repeat things. In debates, when he feels threatened, he does whatever it takes to unbound himself. He's said that himself."

At the end of a campaign characterized by nasty, vitriolic rhetoric, that could mean women voters may just have the last word.

Alexis Gelber, a former editor at Newsweek, teaches in the graduate journalism program at NYU.

THE BIG SQUEEZE
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 53



“There’s nobody to say you can’t do this.”

Richard Blumenthal, a U.S. senator from Connecticut, has been part of efforts to expand the program, but also to reform it. “It’s a desperately serious problem,” he says.

He told me that even though there is some bipartisan consensus on reform, efforts still aren’t moving forward, consumed by the same paralysis that’s stalling everything else..

“There are powerful forces against us,” Blumenthal says, “including the companies that exploit these programs.”

To Diangelo, that’s the dilemma of the modern, middle-class voter. He worked hard for years, lost his job when his only transgression was being too old and making too much money, was humiliated when he had to train his replacement, and then watched how state and federal politicians have been able to do nothing to help him.

Why shouldn’t he support Donald Trump? What’s worth preserving? He’s a tech worker, sipping Pinot Grigio over pad thai. He’s no militant or conspiracist. Yet...

“There is going to be an uprising,” he says. “People are starting to say: ‘I’ve had enough of this. I’ve really had enough.’”

DUMB MONEY
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 59



Committee, which could then use the funds to assist down-ballot races. Trump soon backed off that \$1 billion figure, questioning whether he needed it, especially since it’s estimated he will receive \$5 billion in free media coverage by Election Day, according to analytics firm mediaQuant. That’s more than double the amount of unpaid air time Clinton is expected to garner.

Trump’s first general election fundraising report, released in mid June, showed just \$1.29 million in cash on hand, prompting a raft of media stories about the crippling disadvantage this would pose for him and Republican races as a whole. (Trump sent out his first personal fundraising email hours after reports of the shortfall.)

For the Wilkses, their reluctance to back Trump is unlikely to curtail their political spending. The brothers’ nonprofits—set up after they sold their stake in a fracking supply company to a Singapore consortium for \$3.2 billion in 2011—have \$270 million on hand to dole out among conservative groups and local politicians.

In 2014, they contributed \$800,000 to the campaigns of Texas state legislators opposing a fracking ban proposed by Denton residents for fear the oil and gas drilling technique could pollute their air and water. The Wilkses’ effort paid off in May 2015, when Texas Governor Greg Abbott signed a bill barring the state’s local authorities from stopping hydraulic fracturing—a move that became known as the “Fracking Ban Ban.” Coincidence or not, all 21 of the Texas legislators who received money from the Wilkses voted for the bill.

Farris’ recent donations include nearly a million to the American Family Association, which the Southern Poverty Law Center considers a hate group for its anti-LGBT views. He has also given \$1.5 million to Liberty Counsel, the far-right conservative legal nonprofit that came to the aid of Kim Davis, the Kentucky county clerk jailed last

fall for refusing to issue gay marriage licenses.

The Wilkses’ spending extends beyond the political arena. Since 2011, the brothers have purchased hundreds of thousands of acres of ranch land in Texas, Montana and Idaho. Local land records show they are now the largest private land owners in Montana.

Perhaps, as the race wore on, even the Wilkses got a sense of how the money game had changed. Their Super PAC spent 73 percent of its money on one firm for media and digital work supporting Cruz—about \$7.7 million. The remaining \$8.2 million? That money never got spent.

Additional reporting by Grant Smith



END NOTE

The Faith Factor

Religion matters at the ballot box. Just not the way you'd think.

BY JONATHAN ALTER

ILLUSTRATION BY DENISE NESTOR



IF THE 2016 ELECTION is close, and it's looking that way, the future of the country may rest on the Roman Catholic vote.

Of course, Catholics don't vote as a bloc. Yet it's precisely their political diversity that underscores the role of religion on Election Day. Americans typically want presidents of faith, but history shows they don't reflexively choose candidates from their own place of worship.

Why, then, is the Catholic vote predictive? It's because Catholics make up 22 percent of the electorate—a similar number to African-Americans and Latinos combined—and have been on the winning side of the popular vote in the last 10 presidential elections.

In 2012, President Obama beat Mitt Romney by 50 percent to 48 percent in the popular vote. Obama's margin with Catholics was—wait for it—50 percent to 48 percent. Still, Catholic voters turned out in large numbers for Romney, whose Mormon faith is viewed



ILLUSTRATION BY CLAY RODERLY

by their church as blasphemous, polytheistic and not genuinely Christian.

They were less enthusiastic in 2004, when having a Catholic atop the ticket—John Kerry—was no guarantee of carrying the Catholic vote, which President George W. Bush did by five points.

That's hardly a surprise. Some Catholics are conservative; others liberal. The swing voters are moderate, though they often opt for the more religious candidate of whatever faith. That would favor Hillary Clinton, a Methodist.

Of course, Catholic voters have been defying their church for 40 years by voting for Democrats who support abortion rights. This year the defiance of Rome is in the other party. In February, Pope Francis took the unusual step of commenting directly on a presidential candidate. "A person who thinks only about building walls, wherever they may be, and not building bridges, is not Christian," the pontiff said.

Trump promptly bit back: "For a religious leader to question a person's faith is disgraceful," he said.

The pope was attacking Trump's faith; not his politics. Trump's faith—he's a Presbyterian—was brought into question by none other than Trump himself, when he revealed his unfamiliarity with organized religion by saying "I drink my little wine and have my little cracker," instead of wafer, and referred to a book of the Bible as "two Corinthians" instead of the correct pronunciation: "Second Corinthians."

No matter. In the weeks after trading barbs with the pope, Trump's support from Catholic Republicans actually increased. The nostalgia of these Catholic Trump supporters for a bygone era when America was "great"—is a little selective. Many seem to have forgotten the "No Irish Need Apply" signs that greeted their great-grandparents when they got off the boat from Ireland, or the "dago" and "greaseball" epithets directed against so many Italian-Americans when the WASP majority feared "dangerous" and

"trigger-happy" immigrants the way Trump supporters fear Muslims today.

Trump's plan, since downgraded to a "suggestion," to bar Muslims from entering the country offends large numbers of both Muslims and non-Muslims. But that doesn't mean he will get none of the Muslim vote, estimated at near 7 percent of the electorate. Jews, a reliably Democratic group comprising about 2 percent of voters, will overwhelmingly vote Clinton.

To win, Trump must carry several recently-blue states like Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Florida—all with large Catholic populations. His best shot is to draw energized white working-class and middle-management Catholics to the polls.

The Democrats' best bet is to ramp up turnout among Hispanics, who went 70 percent for Obama in 2012—75 percent among Hispanics who are Catholic. While the number of Catholic Hispanics has been falling sharply in recent years, they still make up more than half of all Hispanics.

Will Trump's comments about Mexican immigrants as "rapists and criminals," his bigoted insults to a federal judge, and his insistence that he will build a wall and deport 11 million undocumented immigrants, drive up Clinton's Latino numbers? The rush toward naturalization in many Latino communities would argue yes, though turnout will still be decisive.

Demography is not destiny in American politics. Too many variables get in the way, from the cut-and-thrust of the campaign to the math of the Electoral College.

Forecasting how Catholics will break is the same. We're a long way away from the era when big city bosses like Richard J. Daley in Chicago or Carmen DeSapio in New York could deliver the Catholic vote on a whim. Now it's a Rubik's Cube of complex uncertainty.

Jonathan Alter is the author of, most recently, "The Center Holds: Obama And His Enemies".

GOOD HELP THESE DAYS IS HARD TO... OH WAIT... THERE IT IS.

HR IS LIVE.

With SAP® SuccessFactors® and SAP Fieldglass® solutions, you can attract the right people, at the right time, for the right role – across your entire workforce. And reward them instantly. So you can take constant care of the heartbeat of your business – your people.

sap.com/livebusiness

© 2016 SAP SE or an SAP affiliate company. All rights reserved.



Run Simple

REUTERS IS LIVE.

With Polling Explorer, powered by SAP HANA®, Reuters can analyze over 100 million live data points and report on shifts in public opinion as they occur. SAP® technology helps Reuters remain the newsfeed of choice for thousands of news organizations across the world.

sap.com/reuterslive

