

The Future of American Democracy in a Diverse & Conflict-Ridden Society



DEMOCRACY?

Michael Reisch, PhD
Edenforum
Towson, MD
June 29, 2016

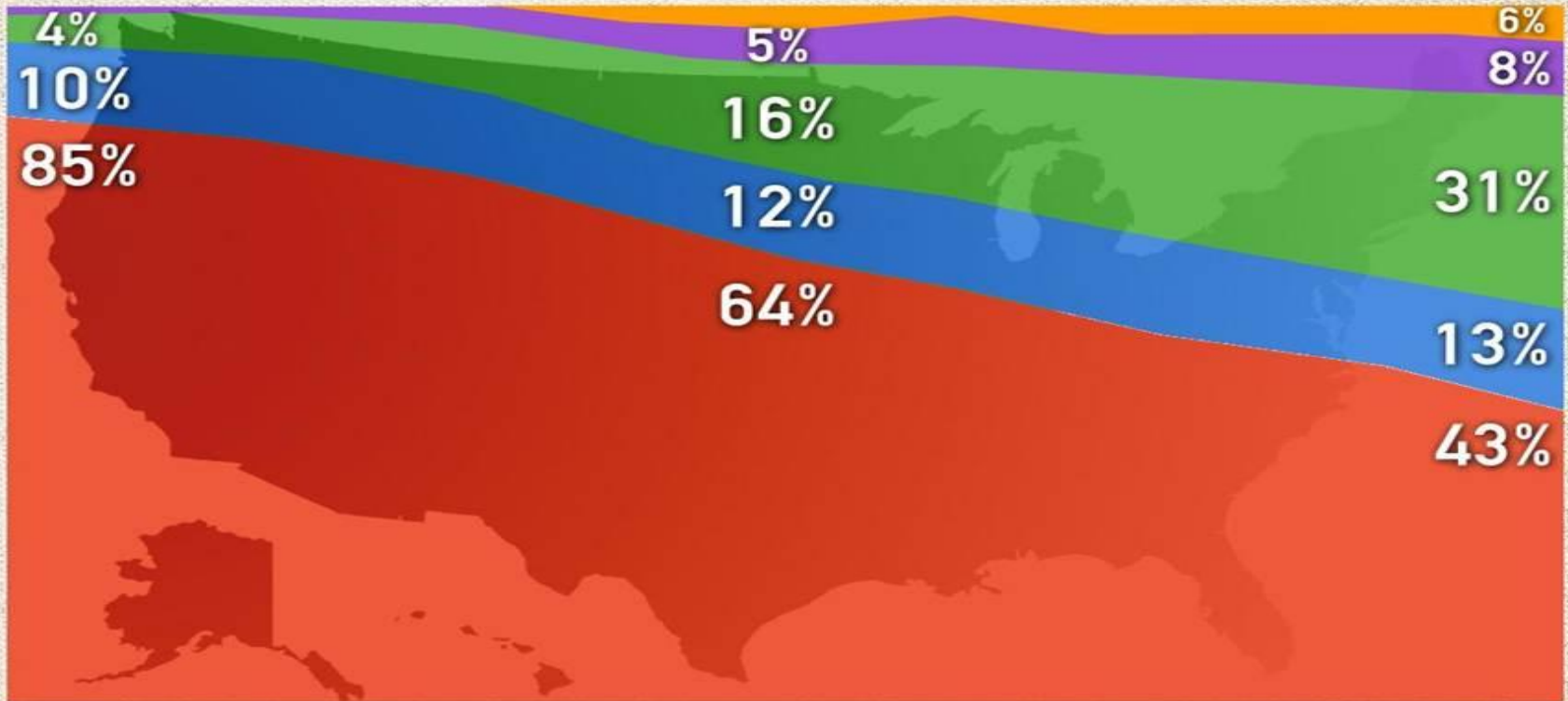
CHANGING FACE OF AMERICA

Percent of total U.S. population by race and ethnicity, 1960-2060

1960

2010

2060



OTHER

ASIAN

HISPANIC

BLACK

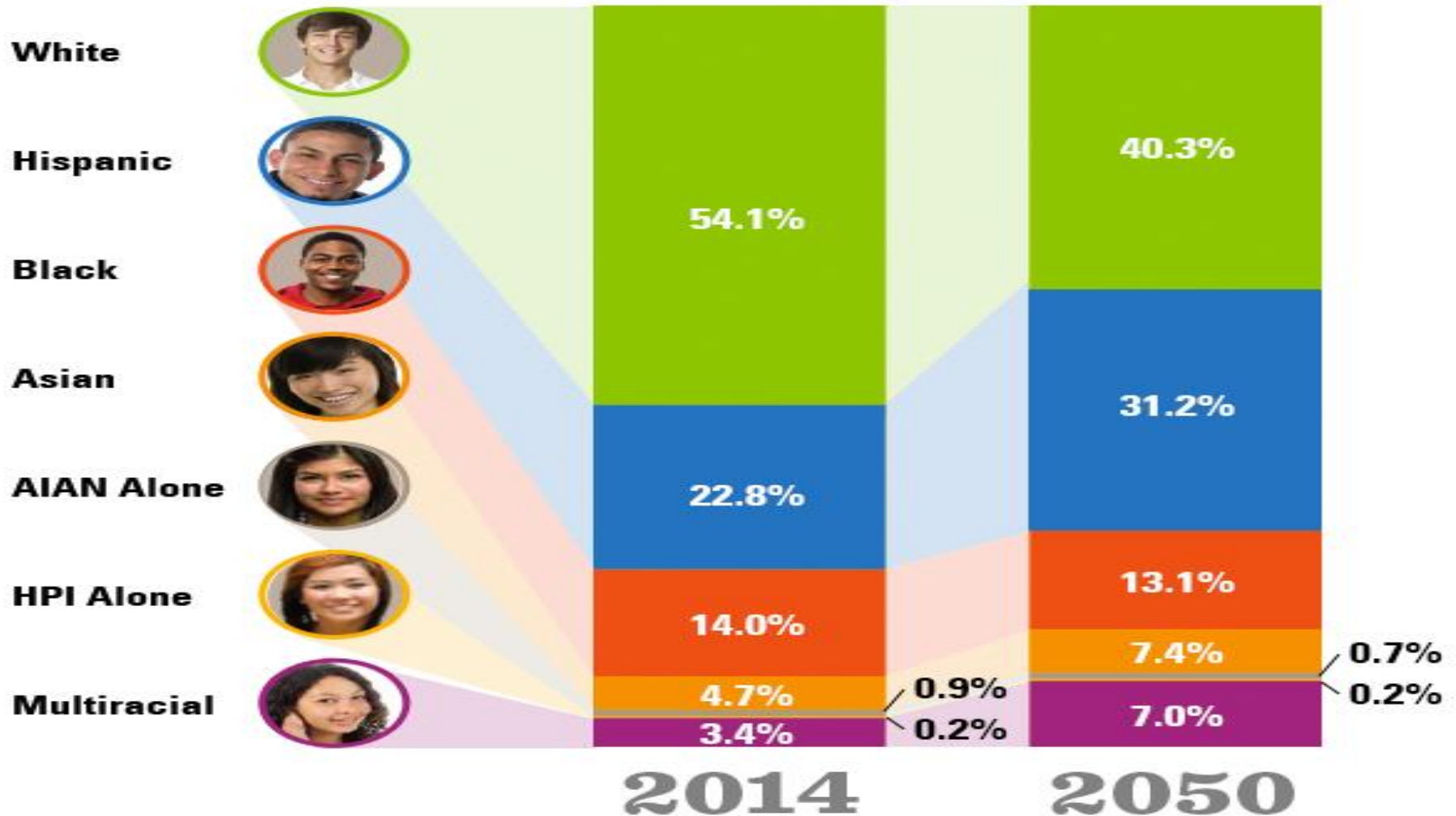
WHITE

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

 **NIGHTLY NEWS**
with BRIAN WILLIAMS

Particularly Among the Nation's Youth

Changing race/ethnicity of America's adolescents



A Nation With No Racial “Majority”

TABLE A.1

Majority-minority tipping years

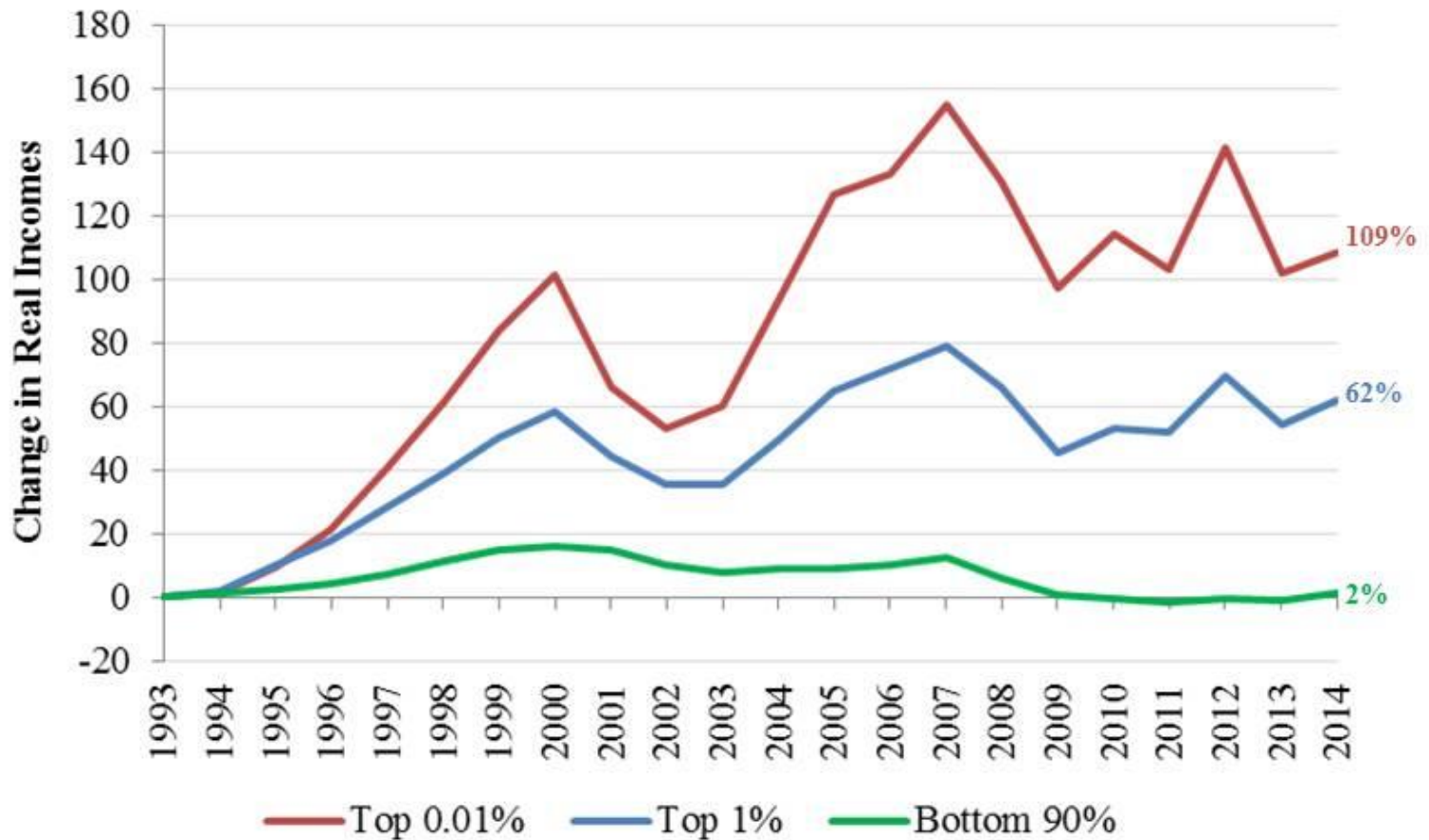
Year in which states' whole and eligible populations become majority-minority

| Whole Population | | Eligible Population | |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| State | Year | State | Year |
| New Mexico | 1994 | New Mexico | 2006 |
| California | 2000 | California | 2016 |
| Texas | 2004 | Texas | 2019 |
| Nevada | 2019 | Nevada | 2030 |
| Maryland | 2020 | Maryland | 2031 |
| Arizona | 2023 | Georgia | 2036 |
| Georgia | 2025 | Alaska | 2037 |
| Florida | 2028 | Arizona | 2038 |
| New Jersey | 2028 | New Jersey | 2040 |
| Alaska | 2030 | Florida | 2043 |
| New York | 2031 | New York | 2045 |
| Louisiana | 2039 | Louisiana | 2048 |
| Illinois | 2043 | United States | 2052 |
| Mississippi | 2043 | Illinois | 2053 |
| United States | 2044 | Mississippi | 2054 |
| Delaware | 2044 | Oklahoma | 2057 |
| Oklahoma | 2046 | Virginia | 2057 |
| Virginia | 2046 | Connecticut | 2058 |
| Connecticut | 2047 | Delaware | 2058 |
| Colorado | 2050 | North Carolina | 2058 |
| North Carolina | 2050 | Colorado | 2060 |
| Washington | 2056 | | |

Impact of Economic Inequality



Exploding Income Inequality



Note: Adjusted for inflation. Excludes capital gains.

Source: Piketty and Saez

If U.S. Land Was Divided Like U.S. Wealth

The Top 1%
Would Occupy 43%

The Next 9%
Would Occupy 40%

The Bottom 90%
Would Occupy 17%



Design and Illustration
by Randy Coffey
RCoffey.com

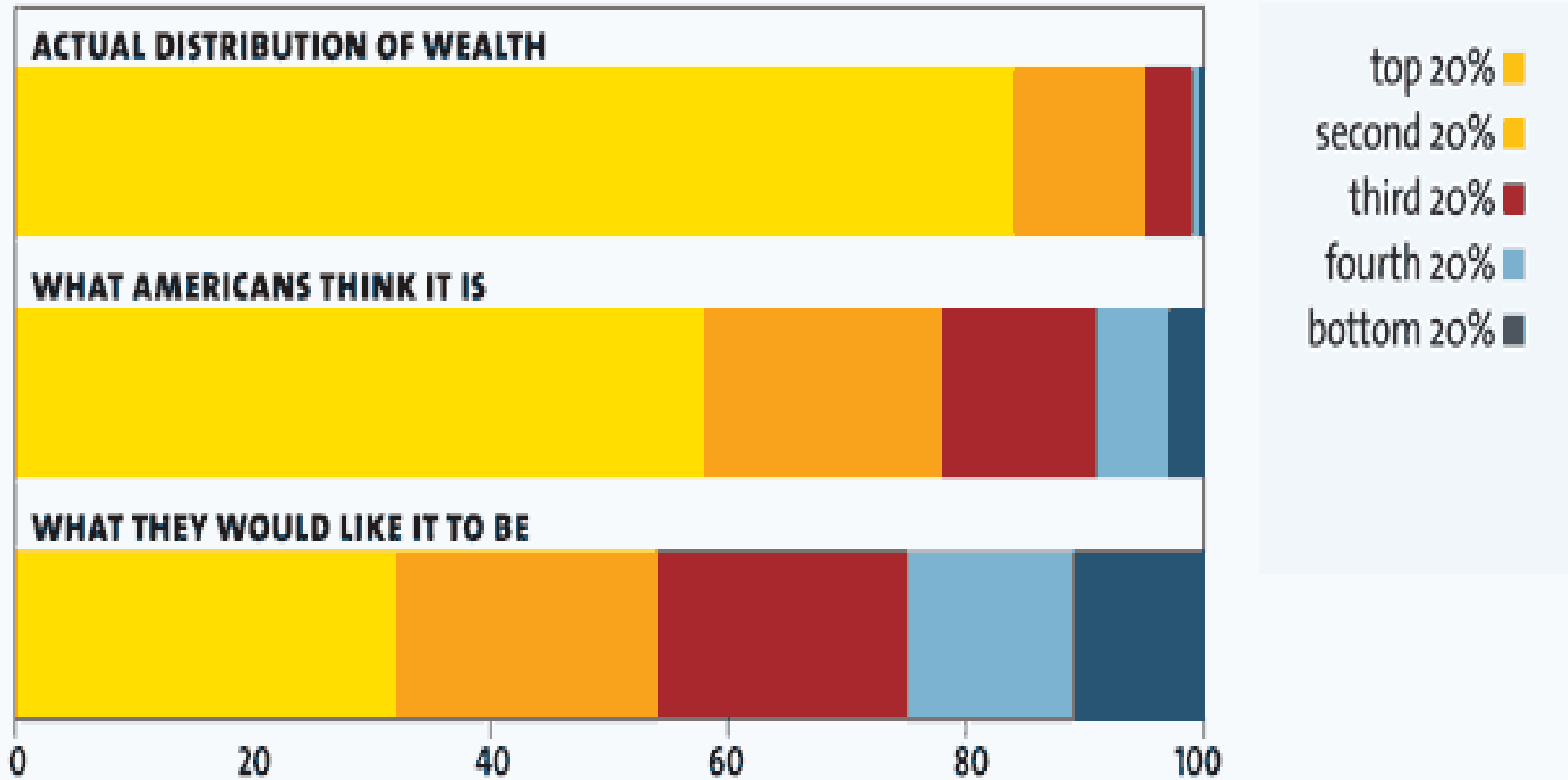
Statistics for the year 2010
Source: The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College

©2012 Randy Coffey

Denying How Unequal We Are



Wealth Inequality: Perception v. Reality



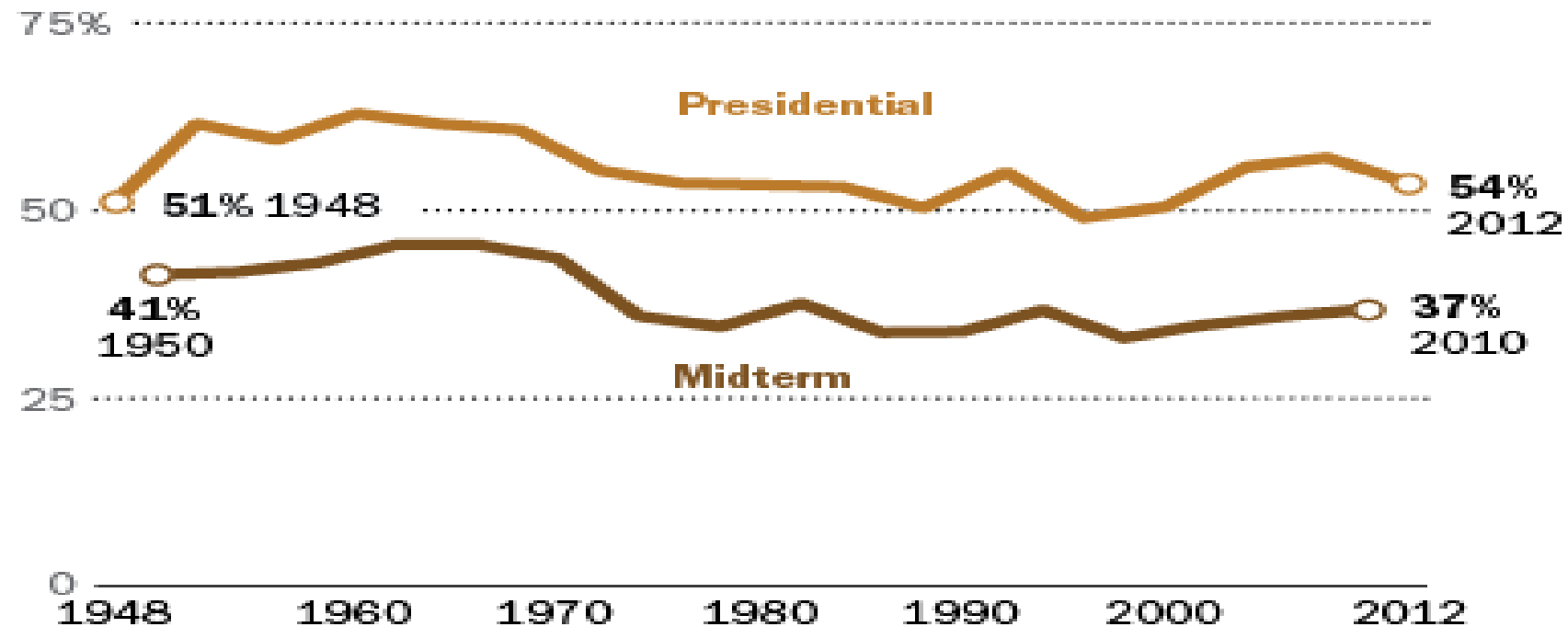
Source: Michael I. Norton, Harvard Business School; Dan Ariely, Duke University

So - Who Votes in the U.S.?



When the Presidency's Not at Stake, Fewer Voters Turn Out

Turnout rate during ... election years



Note: Turnout rates calculated as total votes cast for president (in presidential election years) or House of Representatives (in midterm election years) divided by voting-age population.

Source: Census Bureau (voting-age population), Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives (vote totals)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Social Class & Political Participation

Voter Turnout by Income 1998-2010

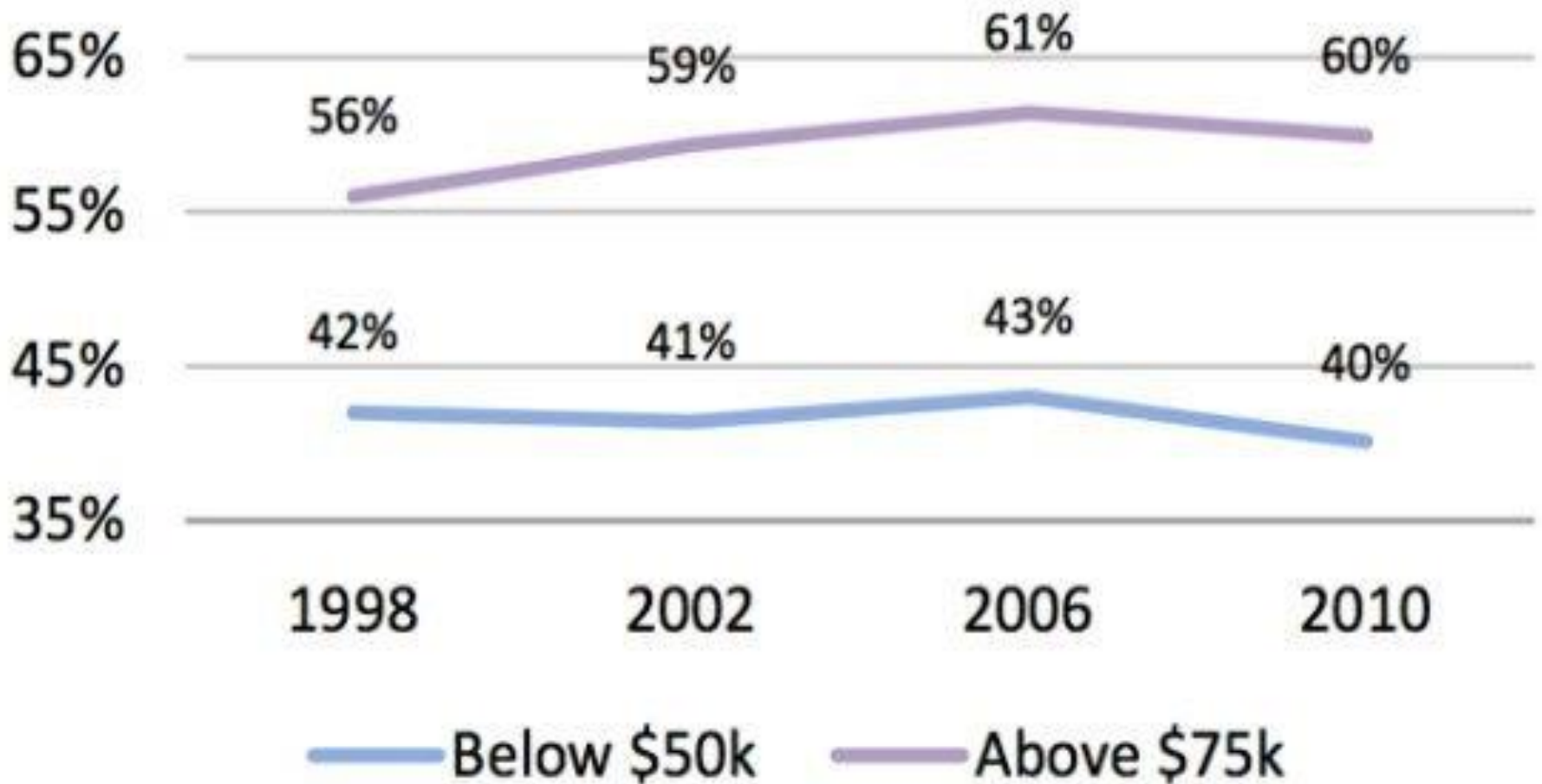
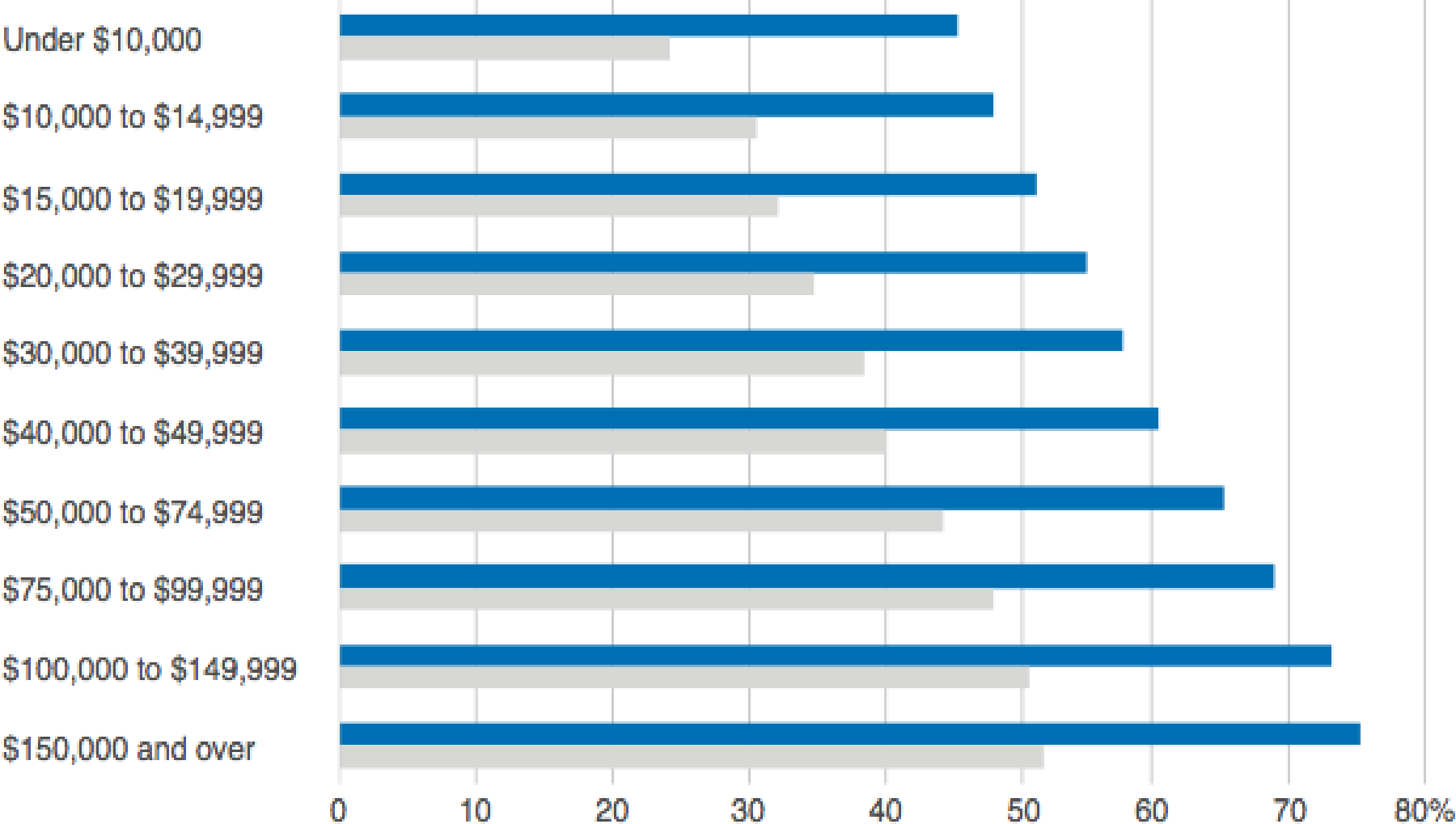


Figure 2. Percent Voting, By Family Income Bracket, 2012 and 2014

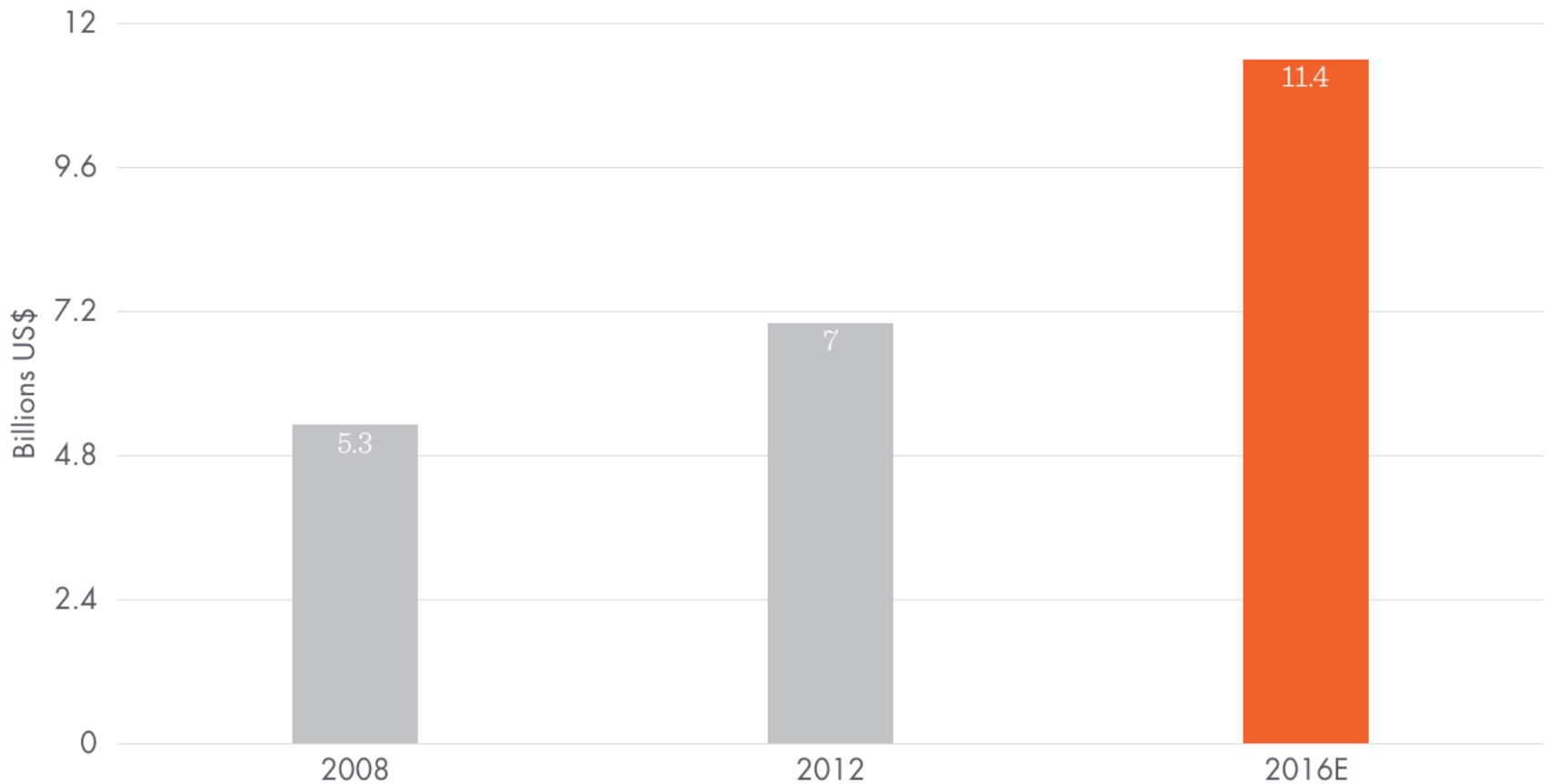
2012 2014



Source: Census Bureau, 2013 and 2015 Demos Calculations

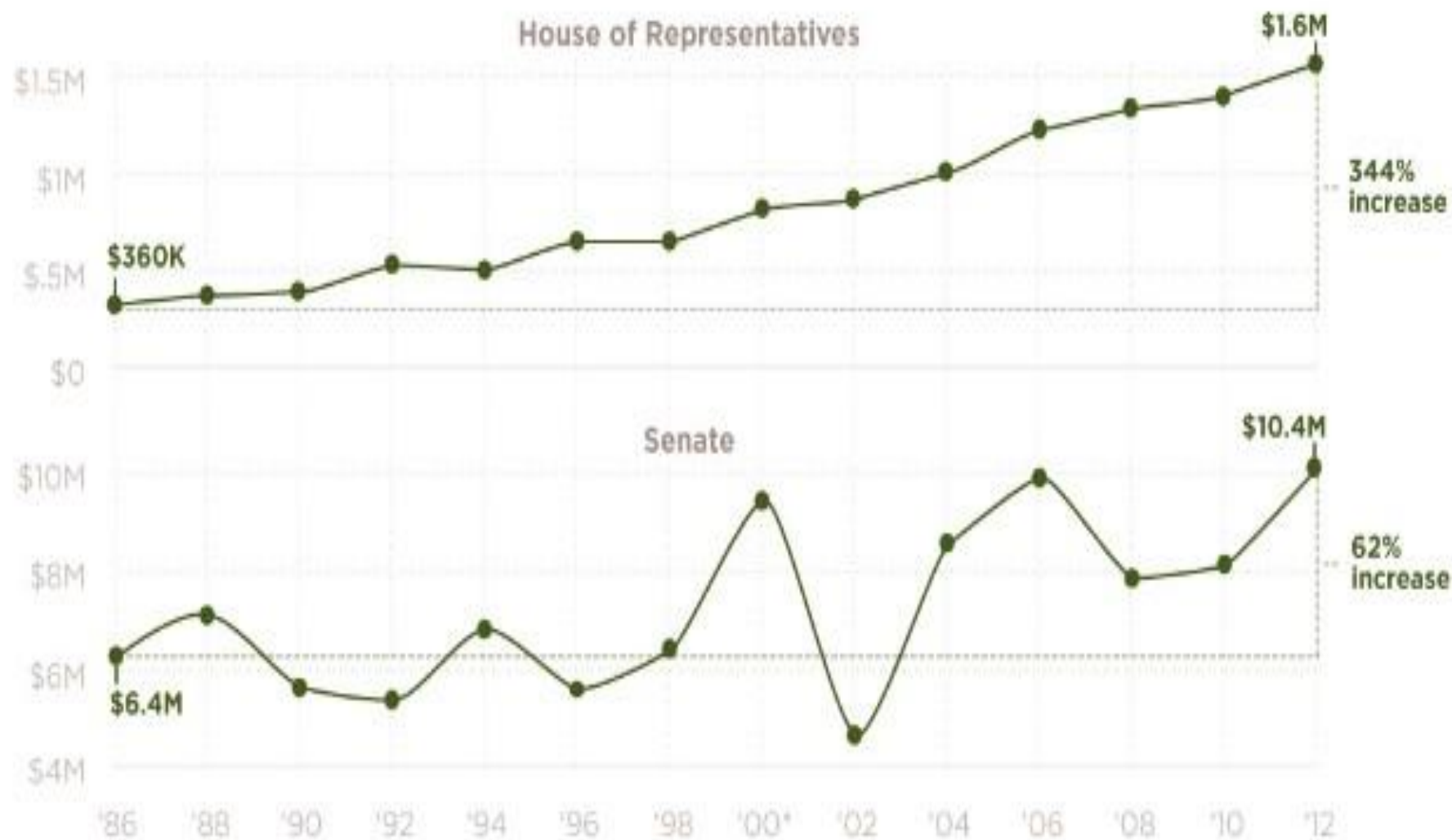
Campaign Spending Hits Record Levels in 2016

Campaign spending has doubled since the Citizens United vs FEC SCOTUS Ruling



The cost of winning congressional elections

Here is the average cost of winning elections in the House and Senate since 1986 in 2012 dollars.



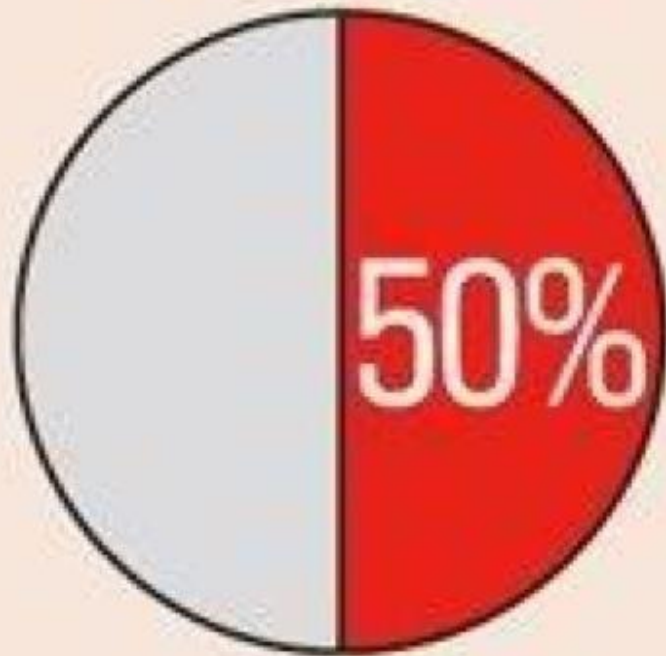
* Jon Corzine spent \$63,209,506 to win the U.S. Senate seat in New Jersey; Hillary Clinton spent \$29,941,194 on her Senate win in New York. The remaining Senate winners spent an average of \$4,737,365. • Inflation adjustment based on average 2012 Consumer Price Index.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute

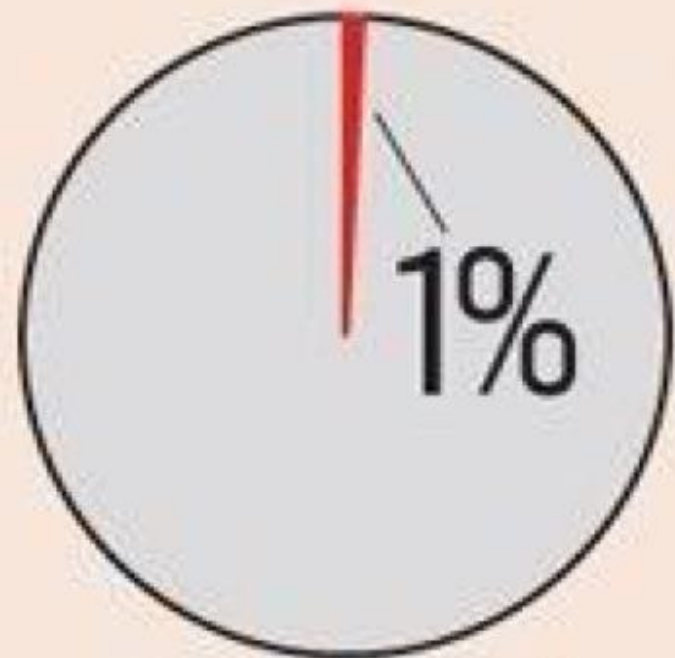
The Result: Who Holds Office?



Percentage of Millionaires



Congress

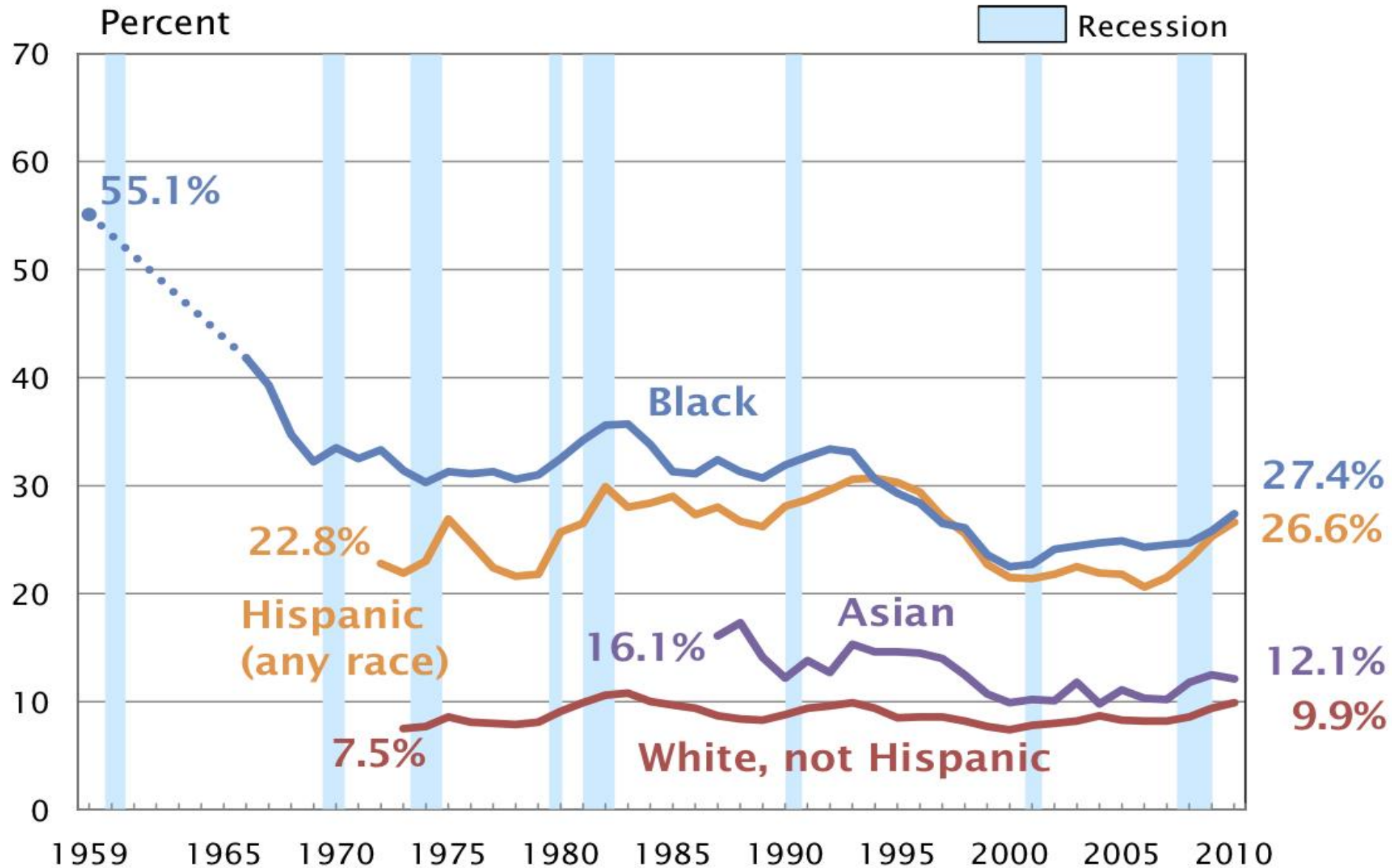


United States

Racial Inequality & Democracy



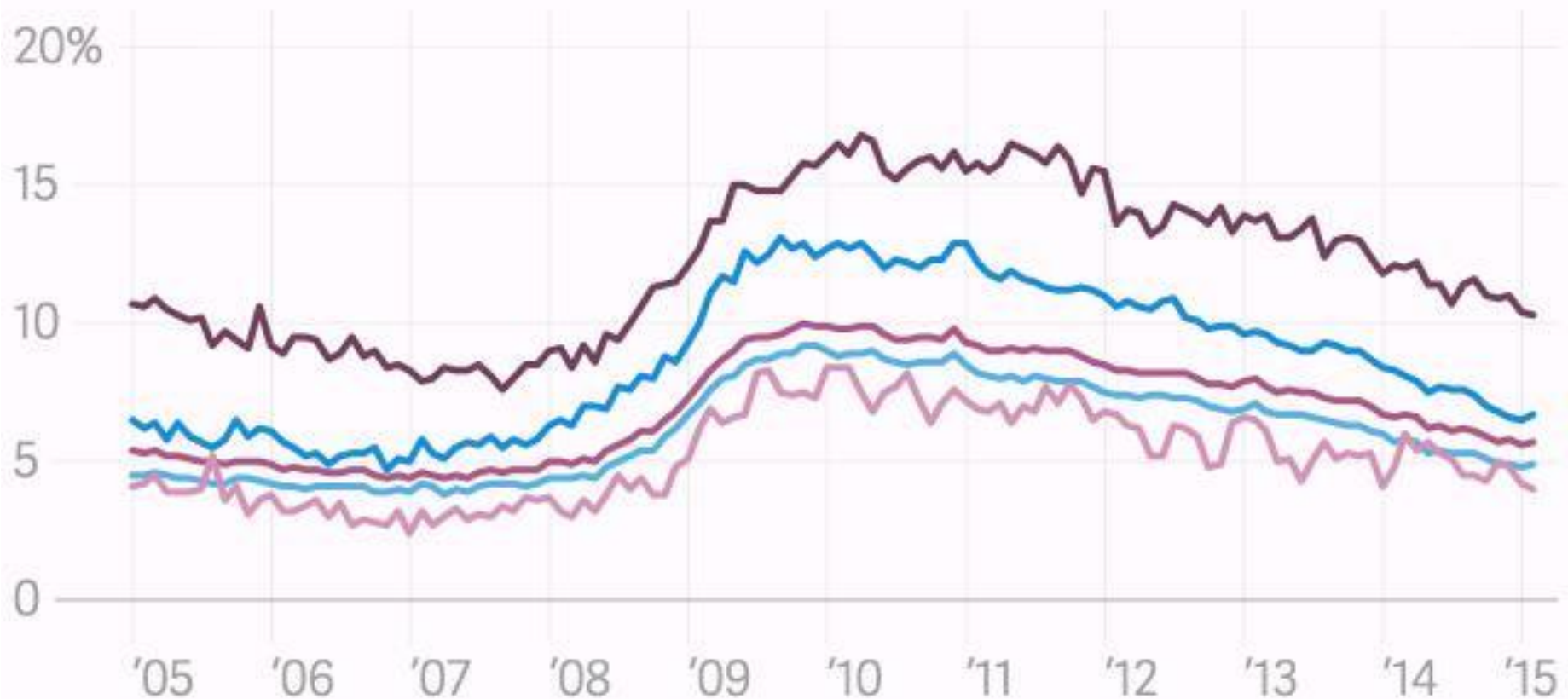
Poverty Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1959 to 2010



Race & Employment

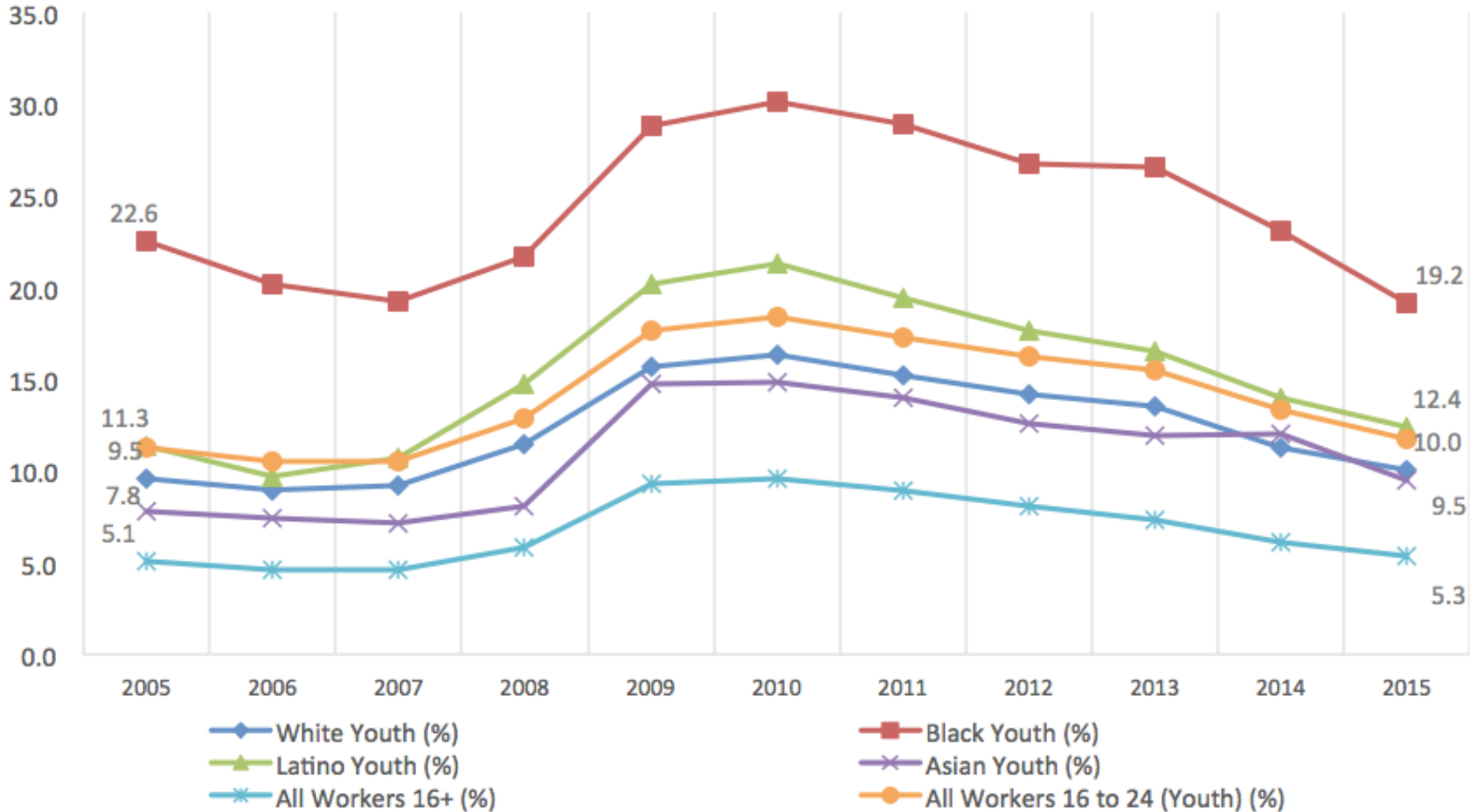
US unemployment rate by race

■ Overall ■ White ■ Black ■ Hispanic ■ Asian



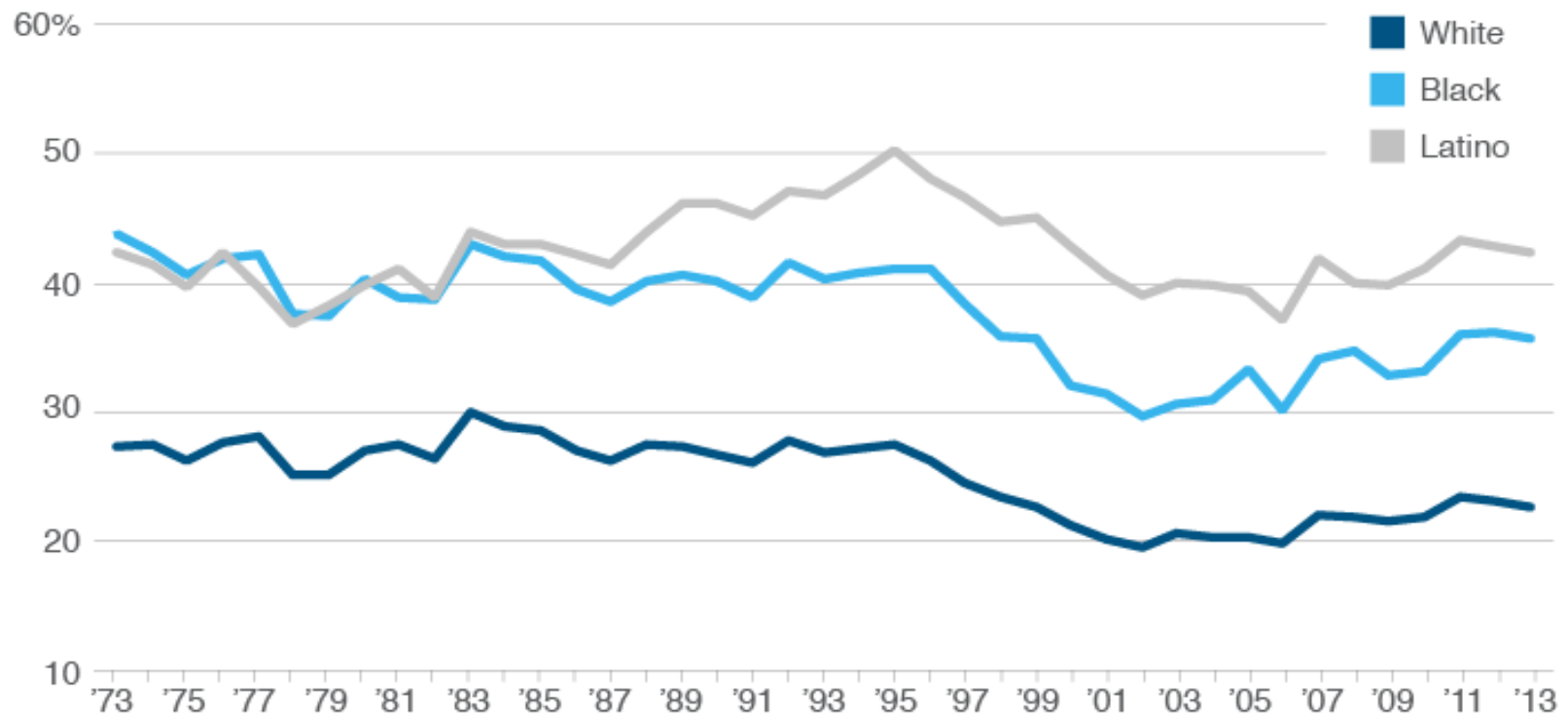
Youth Unemployment by Race

AVERAGE ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY



Race & Wage Inequality

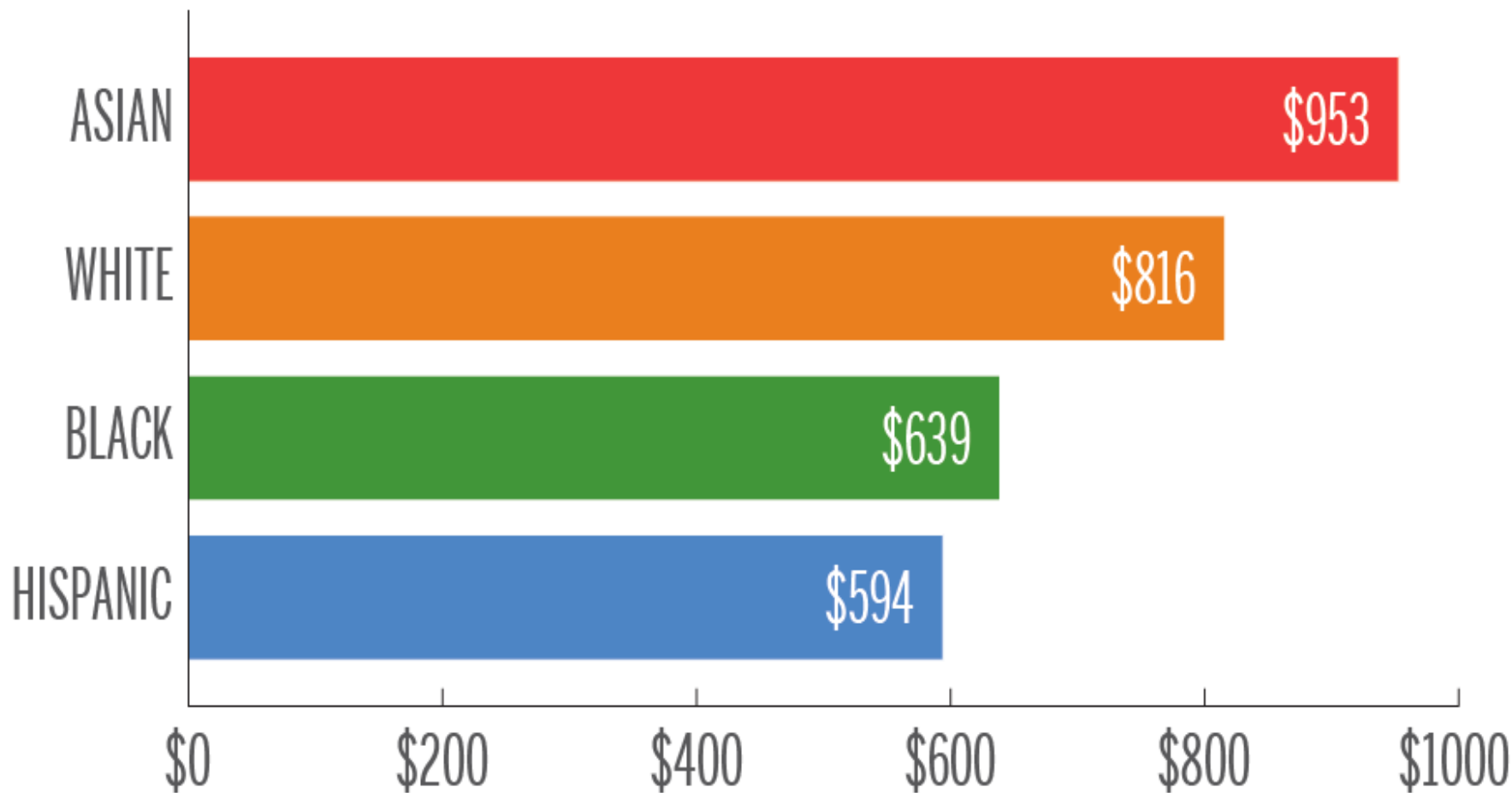
Figure 19. Share of workers earning poverty-level wages, by race and ethnicity (1973-2013)



Source: EPI analysis of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS BY RACE

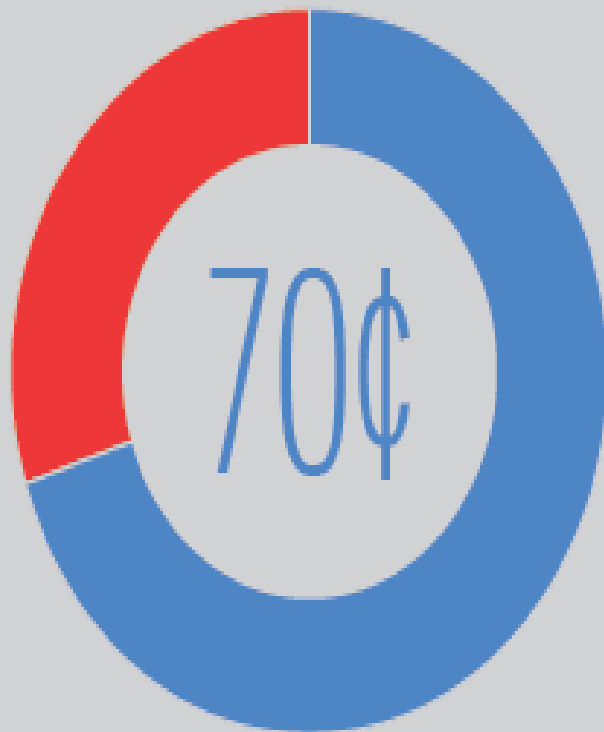
—
annual average, 2014



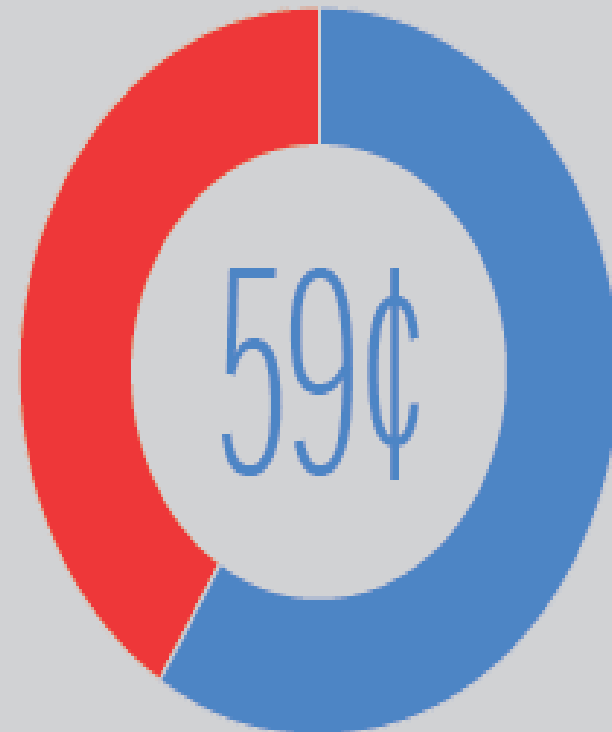
Graphic data from Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey

FOR EVERY DOLLAR EARNED BY WHITES

Hispanics earn:



Blacks earn:

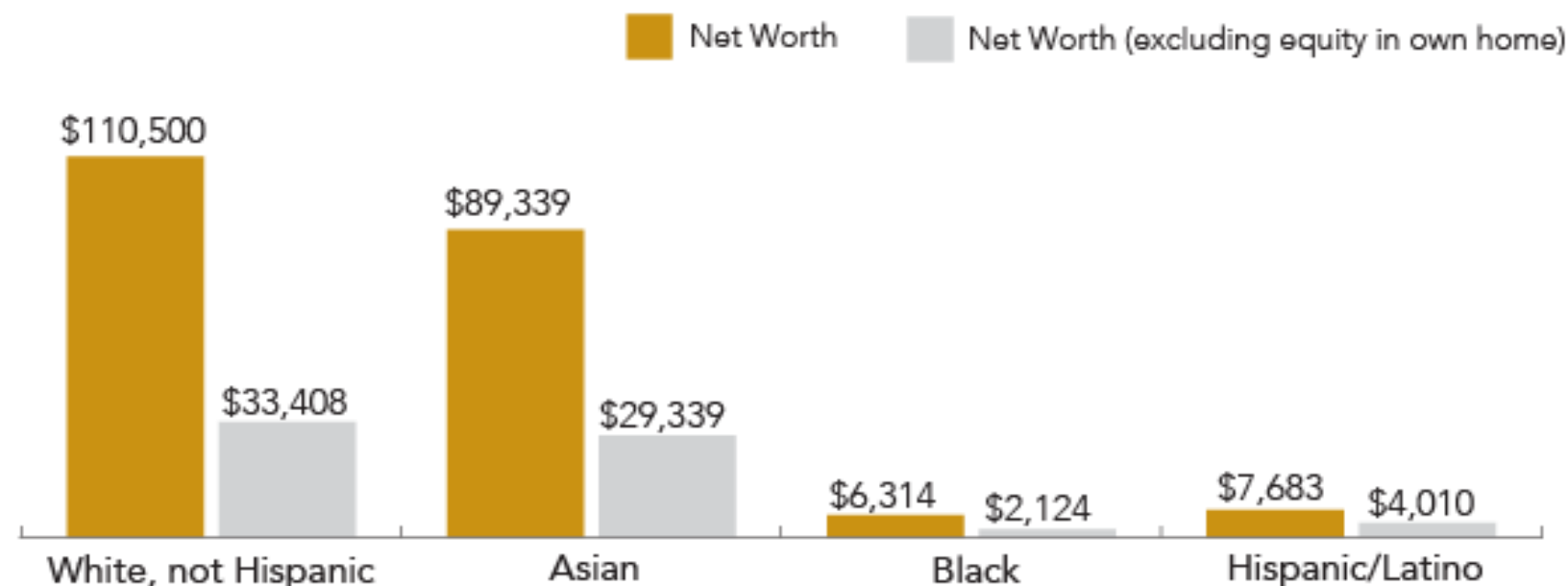


Racial Inequalities in Wealth

FIGURE 7

Wealth Is Nearly 18 Times Higher Among White Households Compared With Black Households.

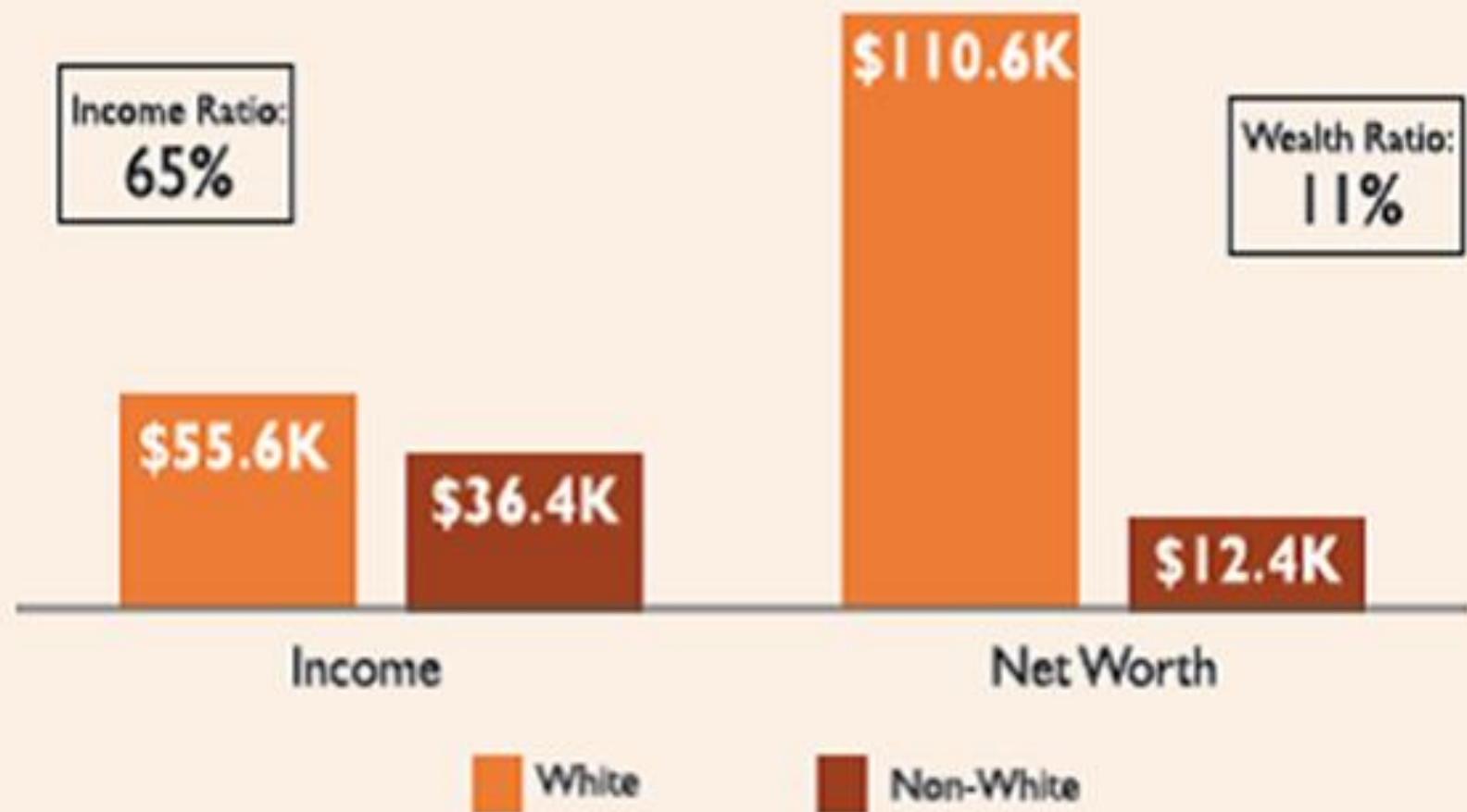
Median Net Worth, by Race/Ethnicity, 2011



Note: Households headed by Other Races had a net worth of \$19,023 (or \$7,113 excluding home equity).

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation, 2008 Panel, Wave 10.

RACIAL WEALTH GAP FAR EXCEEDS RACIAL INCOME GAP



Source: CFED's "Treading Water in the Deep End," (2014).

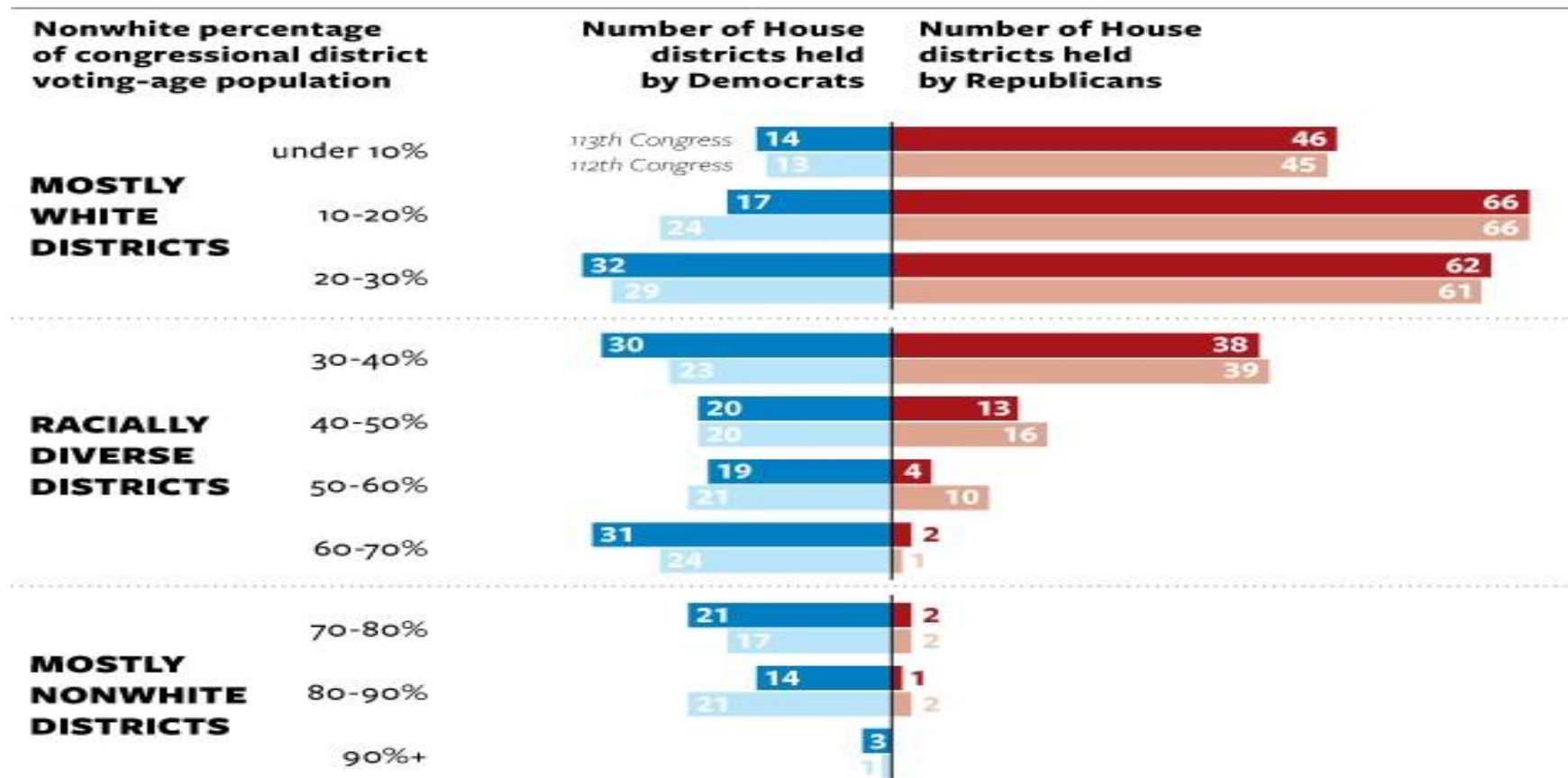
The Result: Who Holds Office?



Equal Racial Representation?

A House Divided and Diverging

The already large gap in the racial makeup of the House districts represented by each party has grown even wider in the 113th Congress. House Republicans now represent an even larger majority of districts where nonwhites account for less than 30 percent of the voting-age population. The opposite is true for House Democrats, who largely represent racially diverse and mostly nonwhite districts.



The Real Diversity In The 114th Congress Comes From Dems

 Minority Women

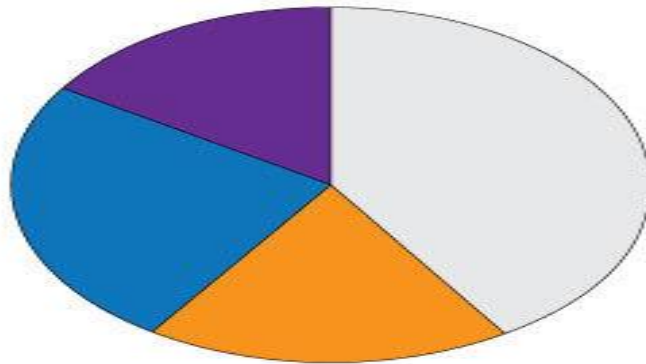
 Minority Men

 White Women

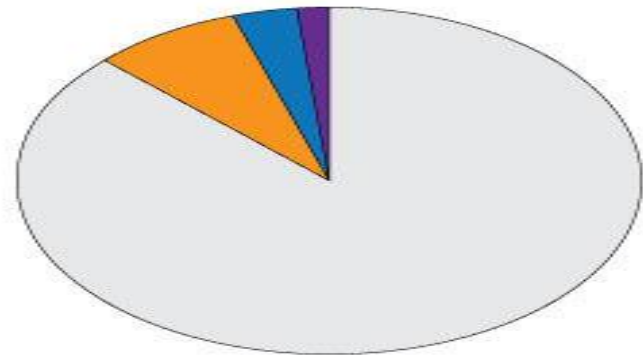
 White Men

House

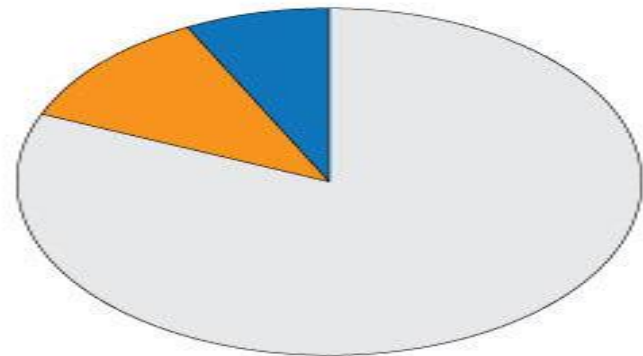
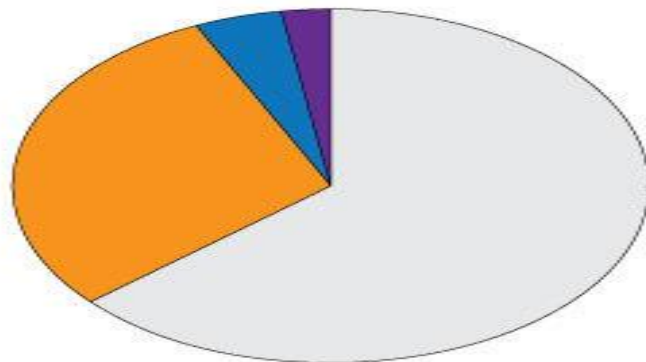
Democrats



Republicans



Senate



The political pipeline for minorities is slim

Percent of population that is a minority in:

United States



114th Congress



State Legislatures



Source: Pew Research Center, Congress.gov and New American Leadership Project

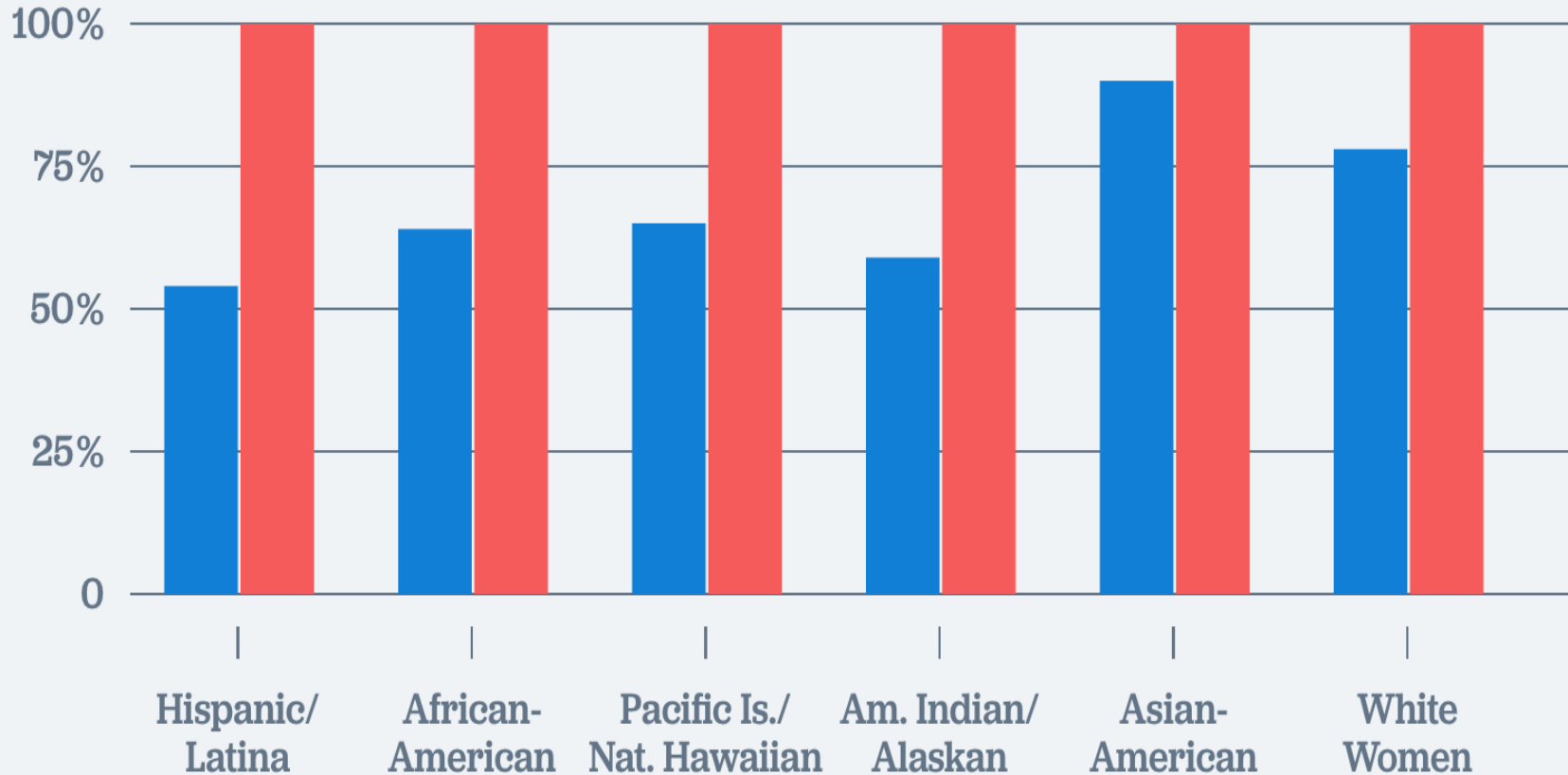
THE WASHINGTON POST

Gender Inequality & Democracy



The Gender Pay Gap

■ WOMAN'S EARNINGS ■ WHITE MEN'S EARNINGS



DATA: [HTTP://WWW.AAUW.ORG/FILES/2015/02/THE-SIMPLE-TRUTH_SPRING-2015.PDF](http://www.aauw.org/files/2015/02/the-simple-truth_spring-2015.pdf)

Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers by sex, race, and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity, 2012 annual averages



Note: Persons whose ethnicity is identified as Hispanic or Latino may be of any race.

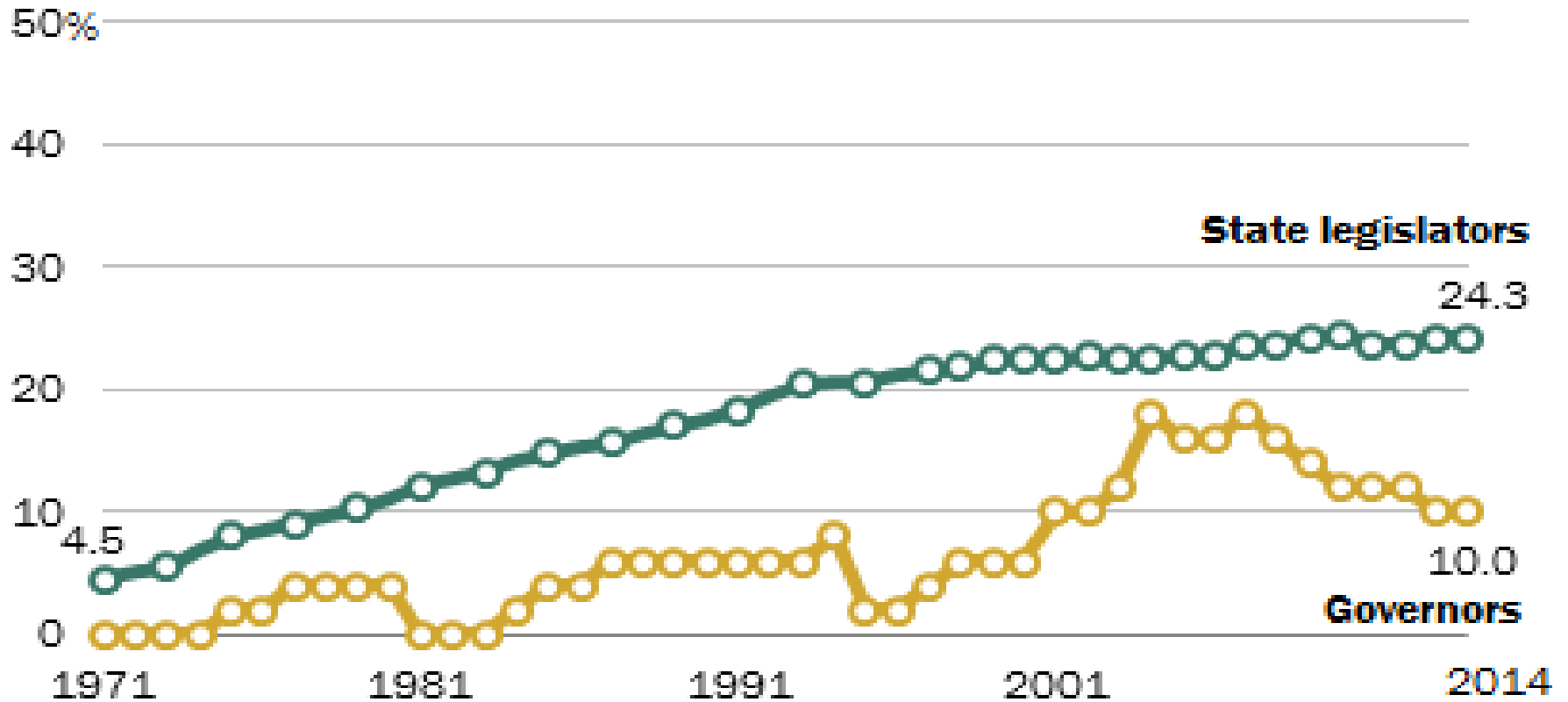
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics..

The Result: Who Holds Office?



Female Governors and State Legislators, 1971-2014

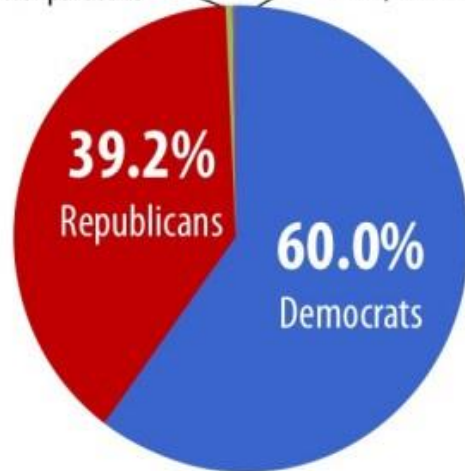
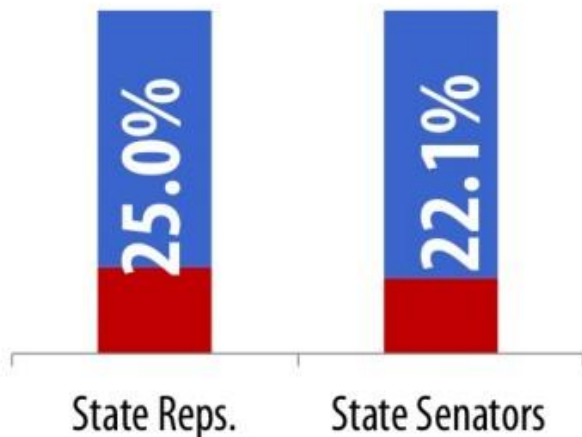
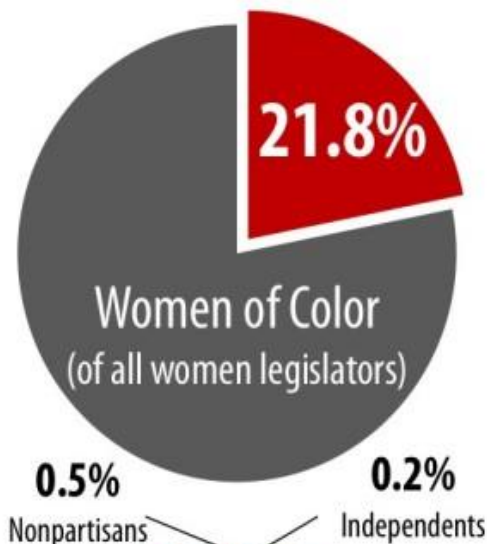
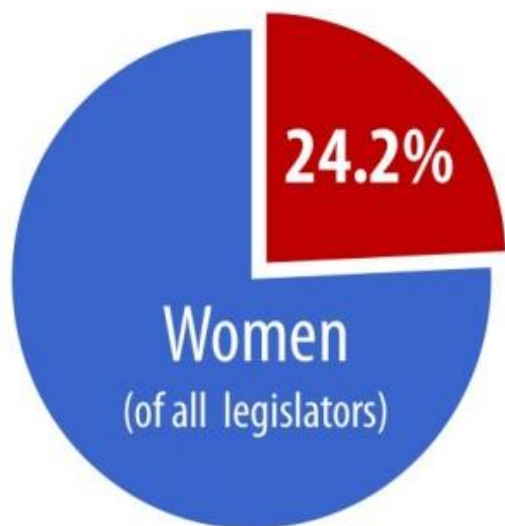
% of ... nationwide who are women



Source: Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University
(http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php)

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

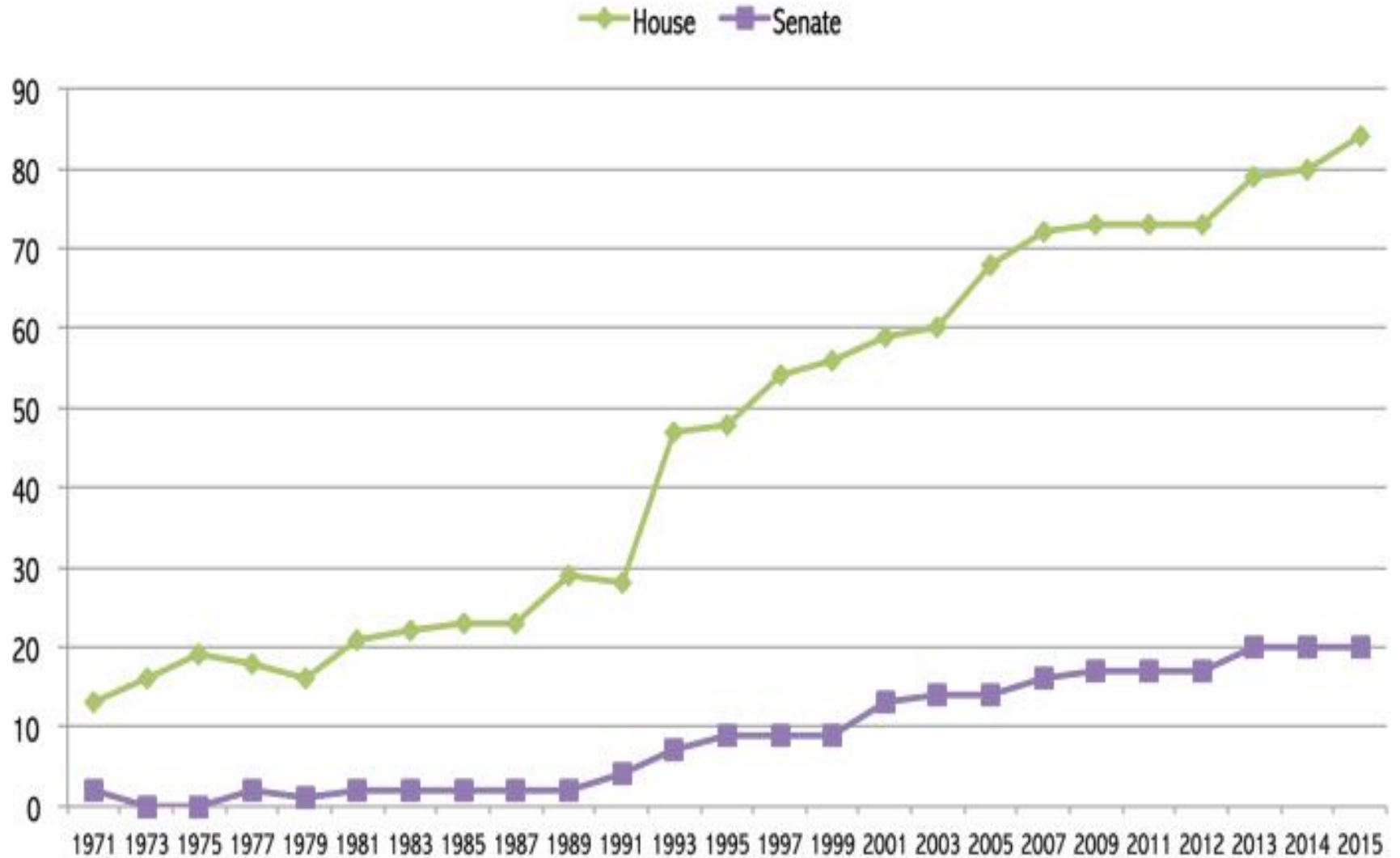
Women in State Legislatures 2015



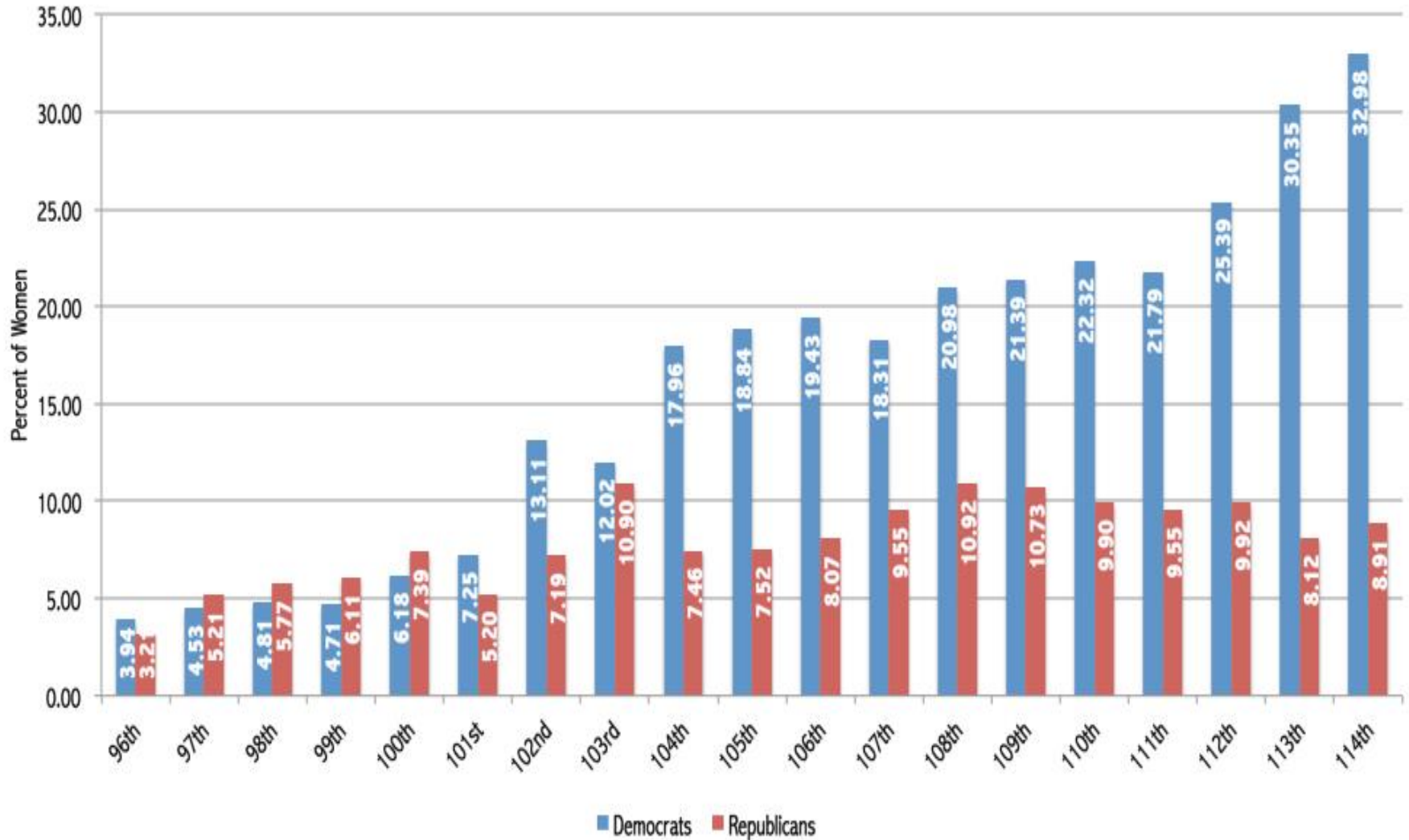
State Rankings

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Colorado | 25. Missouri |
| 2. Vermont | 27. Delaware |
| 3. Arizona | 28. New York |
| 4. Minnesota | 29. Georgia |
| 5. Washington | 29. North Carolina |
| 6. Nevada | 31. Iowa |
| 7. Maryland | 32. Michigan |
| 8. Montana | 33. South Dakota |
| 9. Illinois | 34. Arkansas |
| 9. Oregon | 34. Indiana |
| 11. New Jersey | 34. Texas |
| 12. Maine | 37. North Dakota |
| 13. Connecticut | 38. Nebraska |
| 13. Hawaii | 39. Pennsylvania |
| 15. New Hampshire | 40. Tennessee |
| 16. Alaska | 41. Mississippi |
| 17. Idaho | 42. Virginia |
| 18. Rhode Island | 43. Kentucky |
| 19. New Mexico | 44. Utah |
| 20. California | 45. West Virginia |
| 21. Massachusetts | 46. Alabama |
| 21. Ohio | 47. South Carolina |
| 21. Wisconsin | 48. Wyoming |
| 24. Kansas | 49. Oklahoma |
| 25. Florida | 50. Louisiana |

Women in Congress, 1971-2016

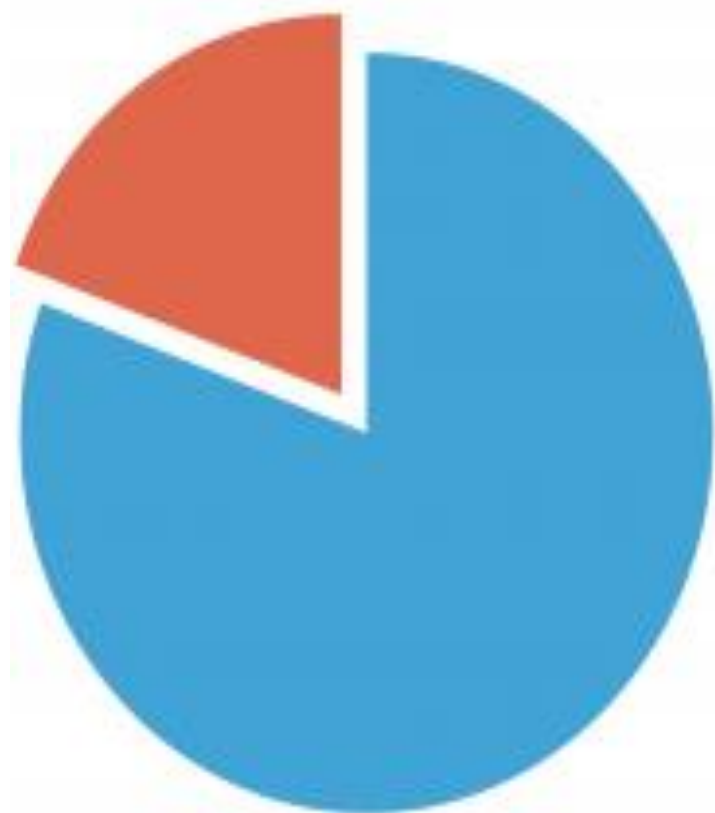


Women in Congress, 1979-2016



Gender composition of the 114th Congress

Male Female



House

Male: 80.6 percent
Female: 19.4



Senate

Male: 80 percent
Female: 20

Money, Politics, & Democracy

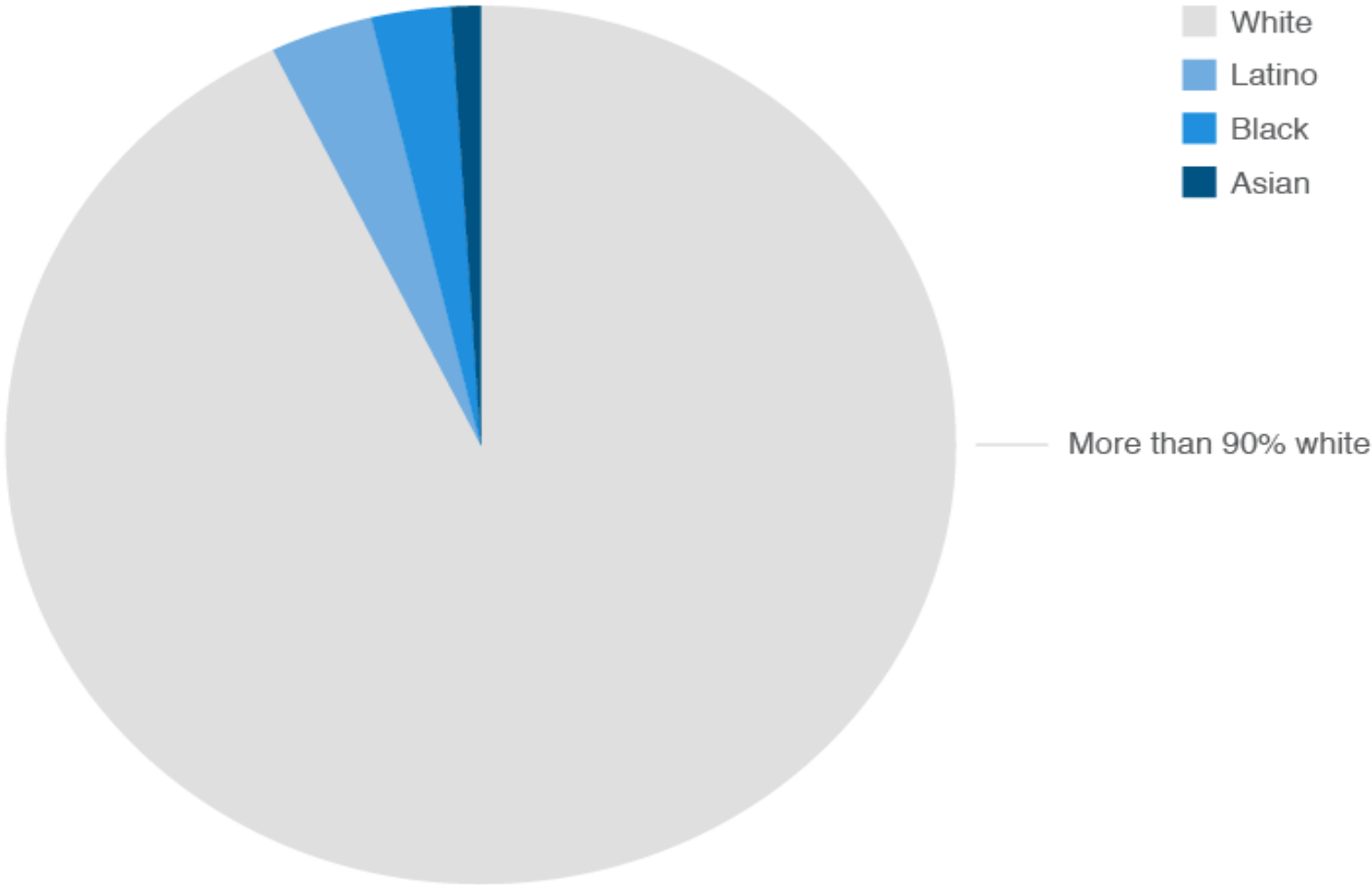


Why Political Inequality Matters

“Government policy appears to be fairly responsive to the well-off and virtually unrelated to the desires of low and middle income citizens.” – Martin Gilens, 2014

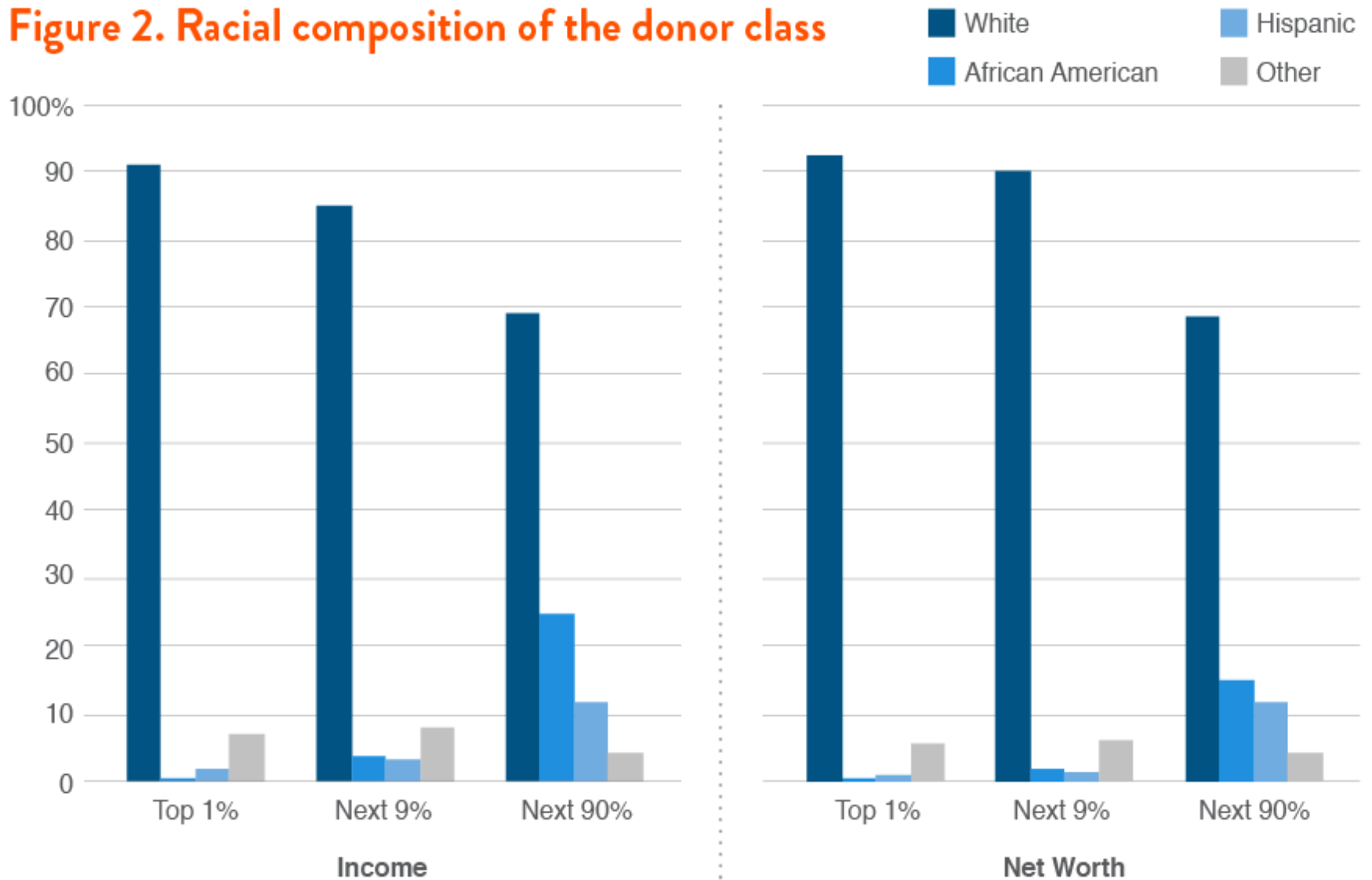
Figure 8. Contributions to 2012 presidential campaigns by race

Contributions of at least \$200 by neighborhood



Source: Associated Press (analysis included candidate's official campaigns, their political parties, and Super PACs that support them)

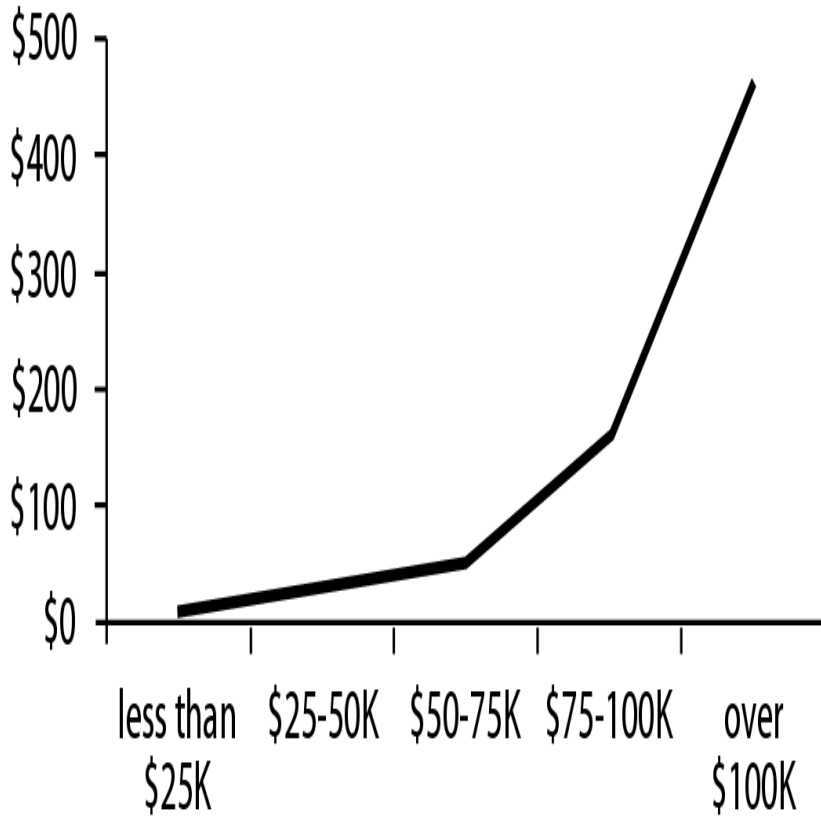
Figure 2. Racial composition of the donor class



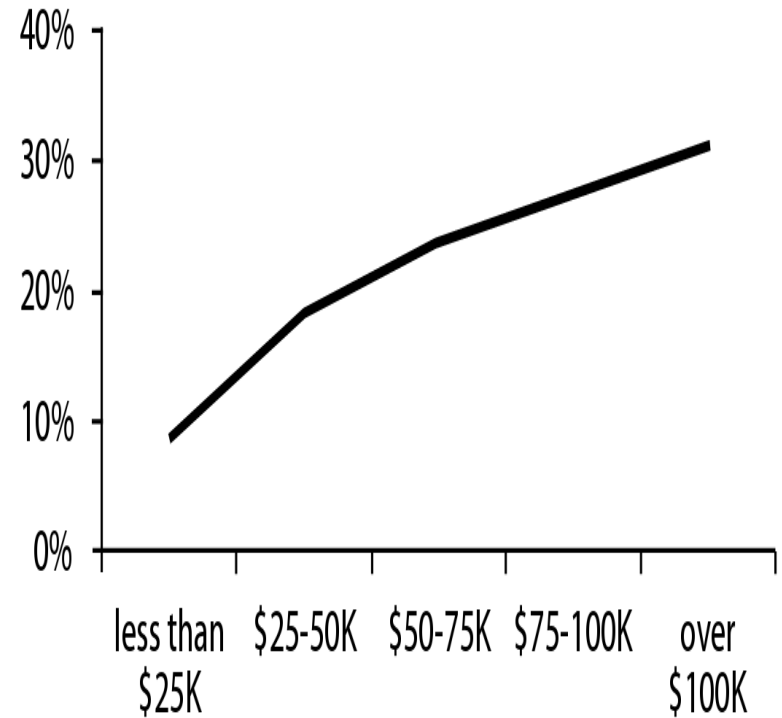
Source: Lisa Keister, The One Percent, 40 Ann. R. of Sociology 347 (2014)

Wealth = Greater Voice

Average political donation

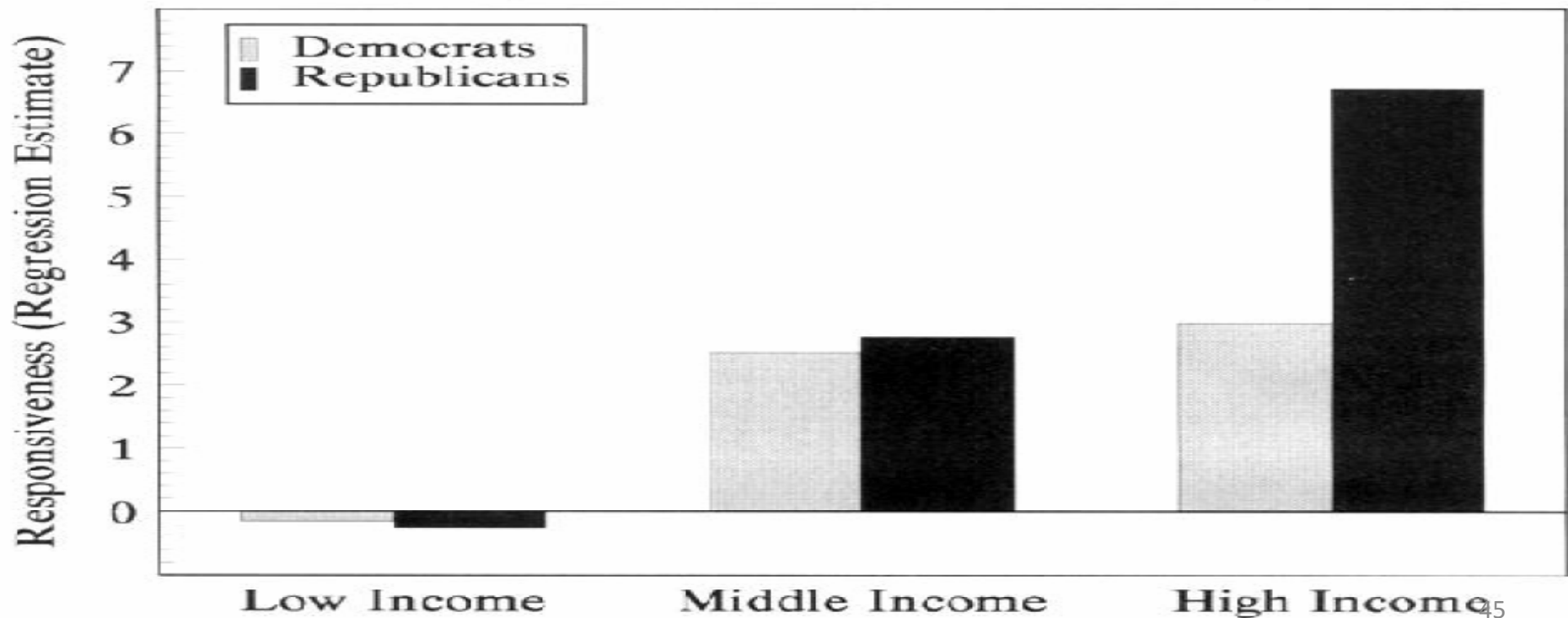


Percent working in a political campaign



- **Bartels (2005):** Senators appear to be considerably more responsive to the opinions of affluent constituents than to the opinions of middle-class constituents, while the opinions of constituents in the bottom third of the income distribution have no apparent statistical effect on their senators' roll call votes.

Figure 3: Democratic and Republican Senators' Responsiveness to Income Groups



Other Causes of Political Inequality



Denial of Voting Rights



**NO VOTE
NO FUTURE**

Violations of 1965 Voting Rights Act

Between 2000 and June 2013, there were 148 Section 5 objections or other Voting Rights Act violations recorded across 29 states. Texas had the most with 30.



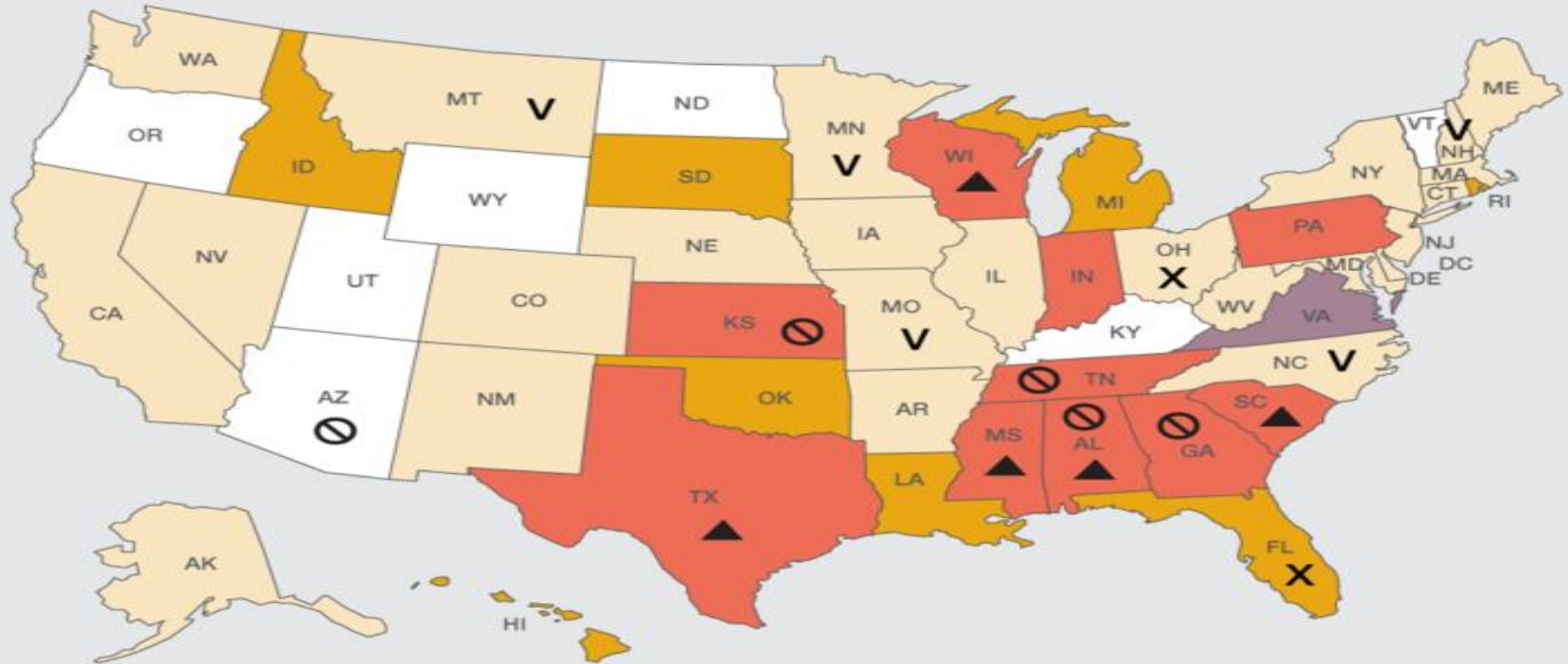
- States with 1 - 5 violations
- States with 6 - 10 violations
- States with 11 - 15 violations
- States with 16+ violations

Outright Voter Suppression



Suppression of Voting Rights

MAP OF SHAME: VOTE SUPPRESSION LEGISLATION BY STATE




- Require Photo Voter ID Only
- Photo Voter ID Requested
- Voter ID Laws Changed; Both Photo and Non-Photo ID Allowed
- Photo Voter ID Proposed
- No Existing Photo Voter ID Law, No Current Legislation
- States with Proof of Citizenship Laws
- States with Repressive Election Legislation
- Governor Vetoes Photo Voter ID Law
- Not Implemented; In Litigation or Pending Department of Justice/Federal Court Approval

States with voter ID laws

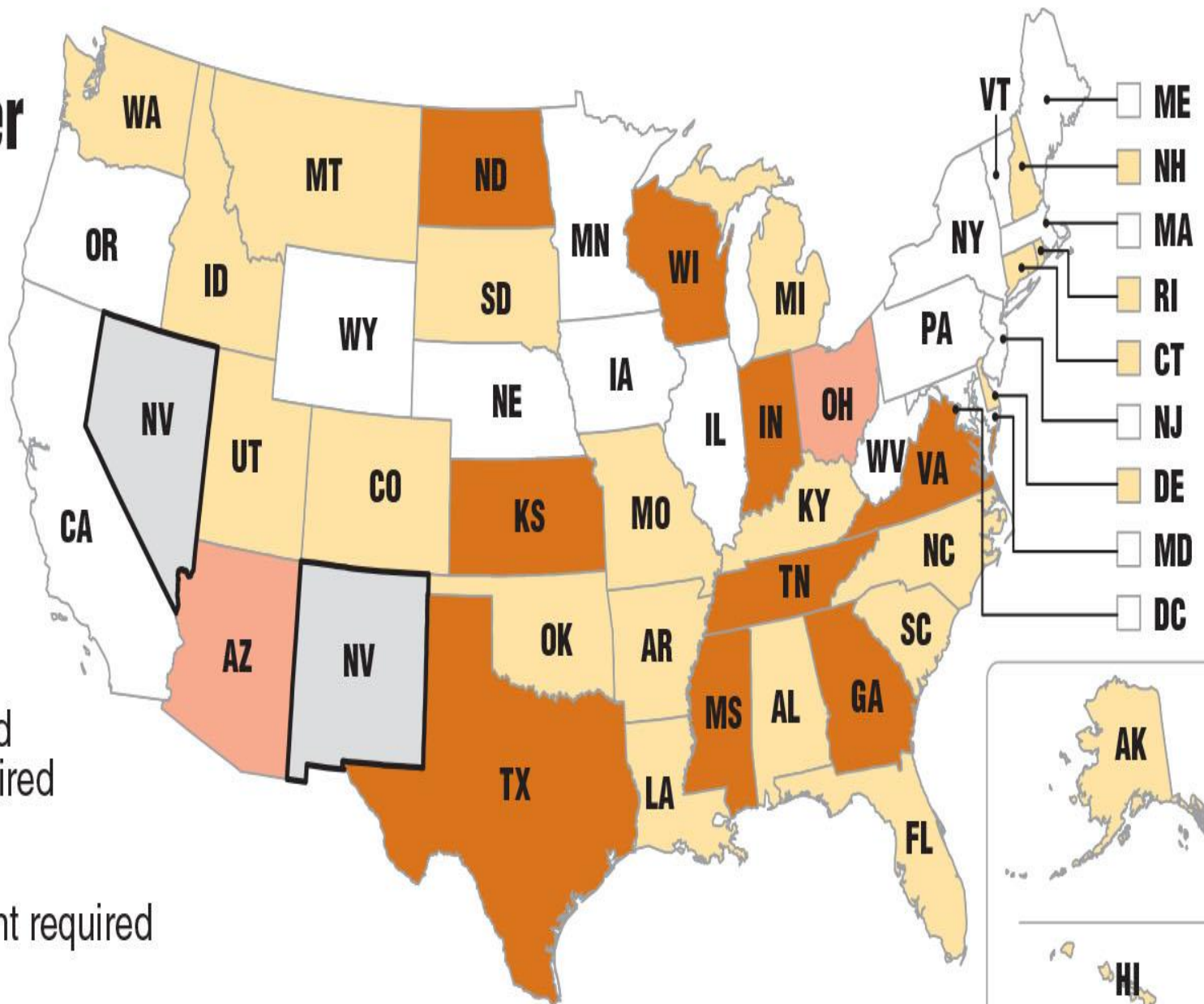
 Photo ID required

 ID required, non-photo accepted

 ID requested but not required

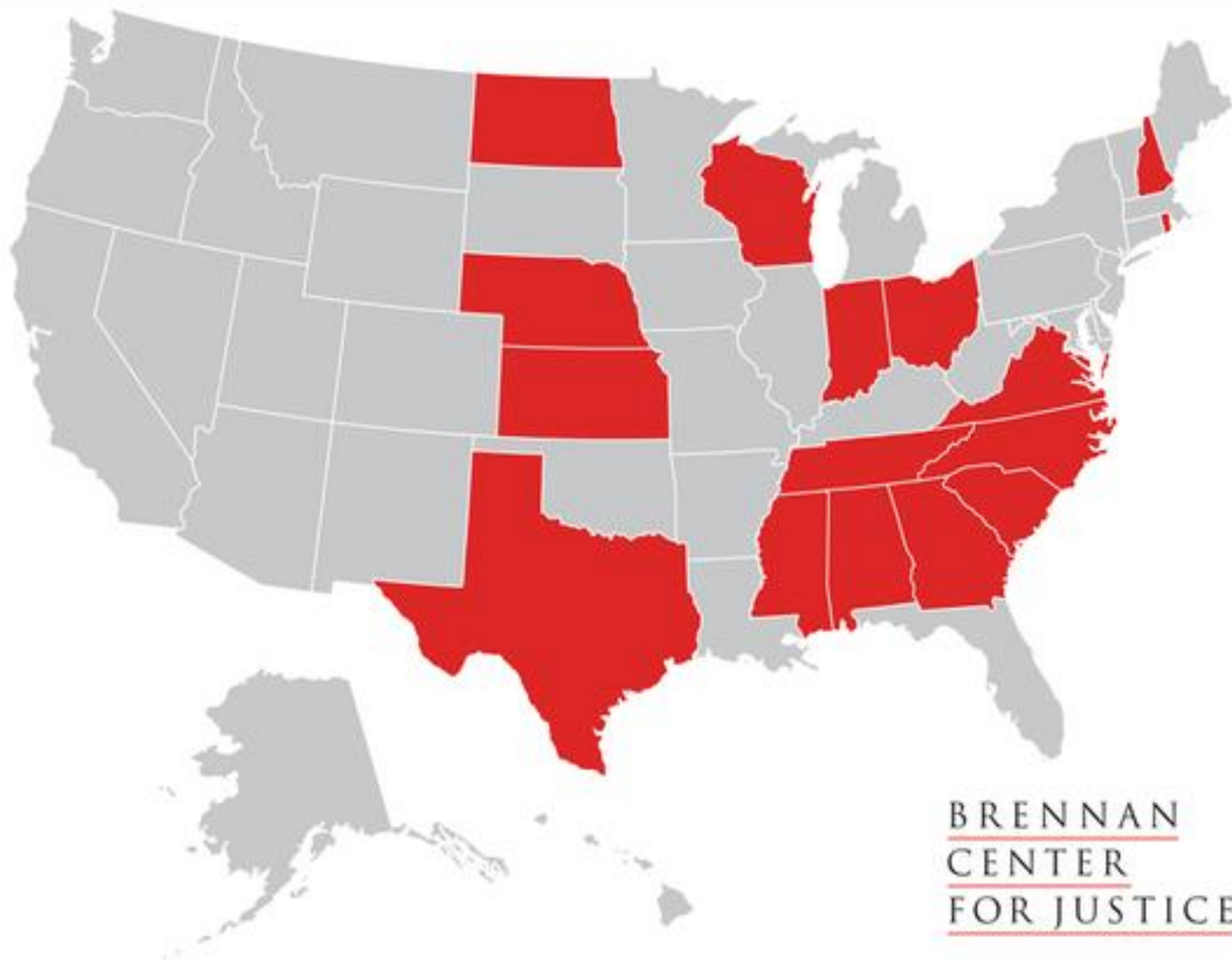
 No document required

 Considering adopting voter ID law



Graphic: San Diego Union Tribune/TNS
Source: National Conference of State Legislatures

Voting Restrictions in Place for First Time in Presidential Election in 2016



Who is asked for ID even in states without voter ID laws?



African Americans
66%



Latinos
55%



Whites
43%

Who doesn't have a driver's license?



African Americans
28%



Latinos
33%

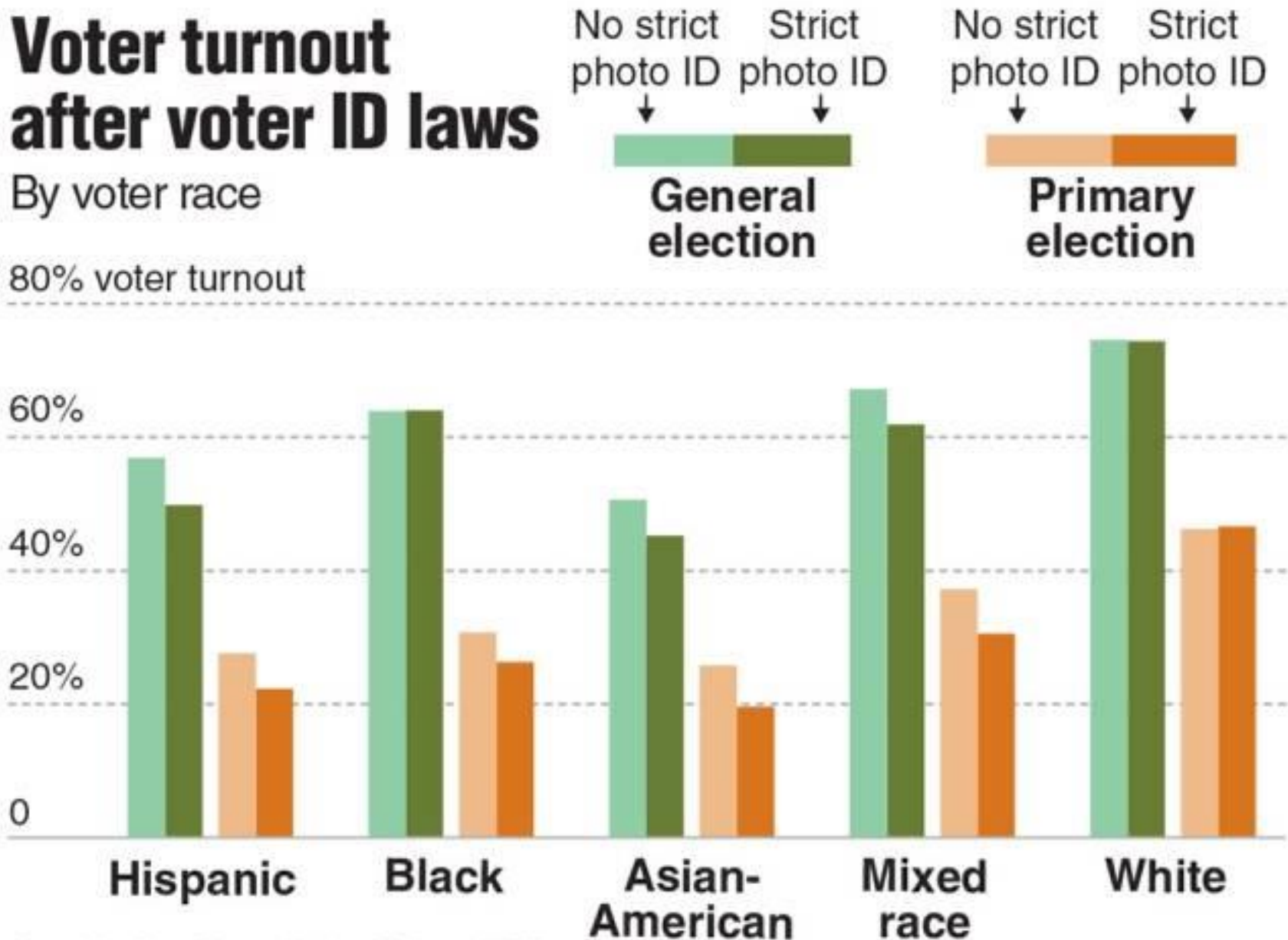


Whites
15%

Voter turnout after voter ID laws

By voter race

80% voter turnout



Graphic: San Diego Union Tribune/TNS

Source: Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes, UC San Diego

Felon Disenfranchisement



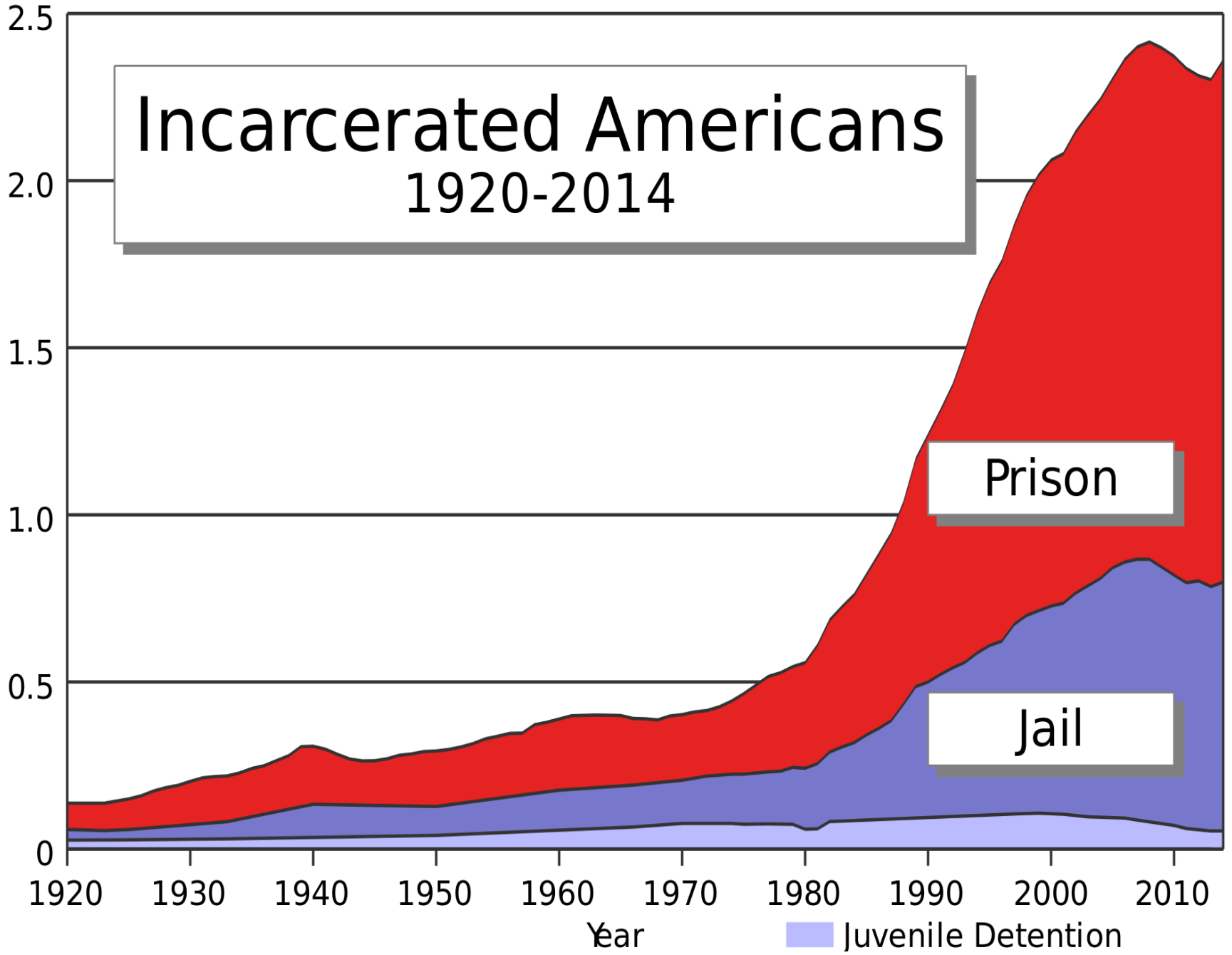
Incarcerated Americans 1920-2014

Millions

Prison

Jail

Juvenile Detention

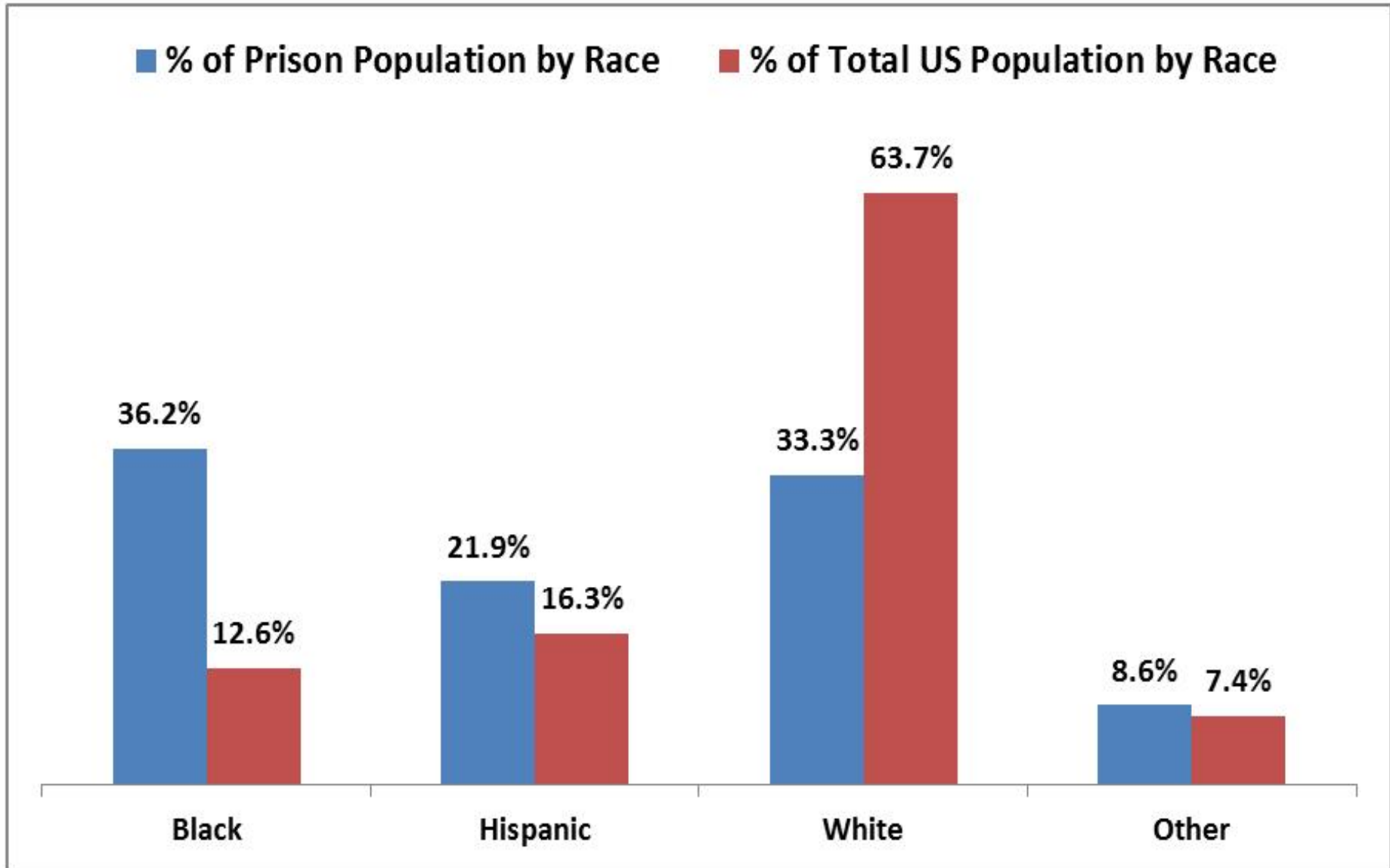




RACIAL

PROFILING

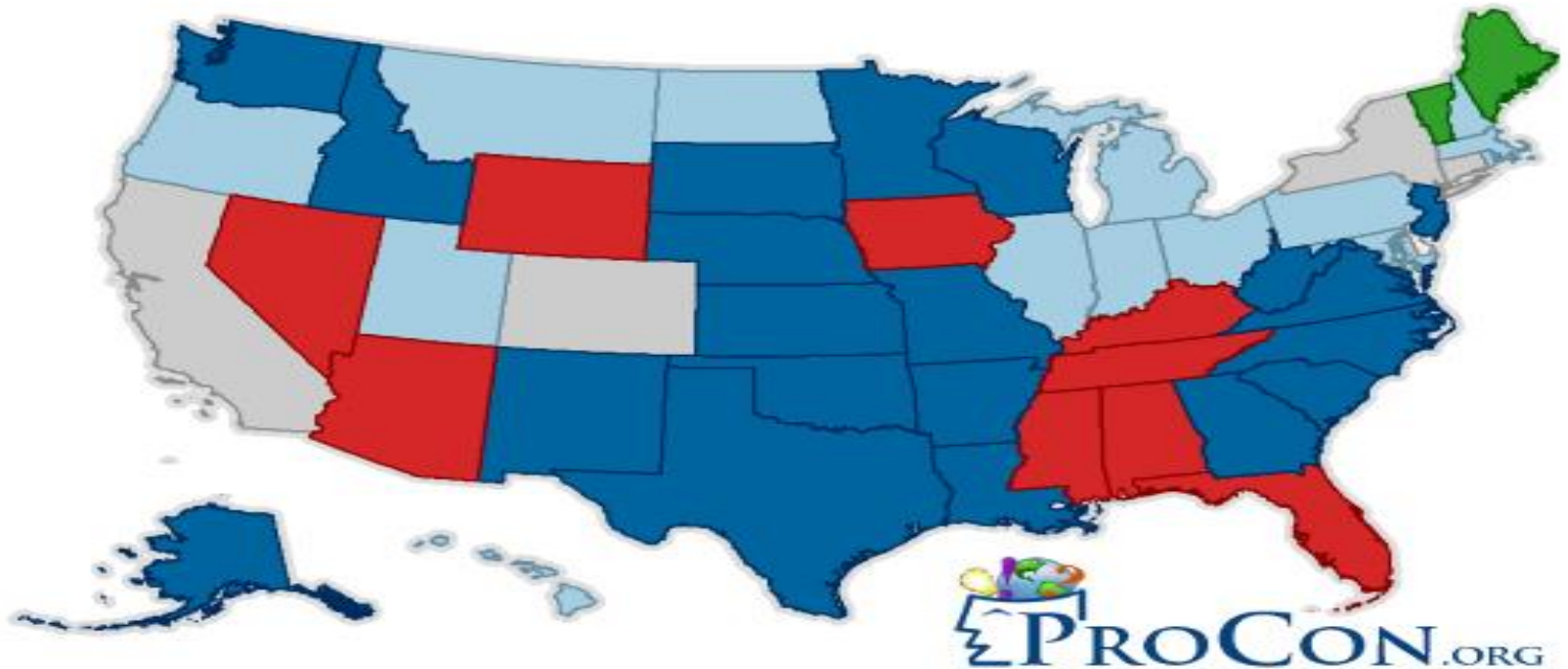
Race & Incarceration



Felon Disenfranchisement, 2016

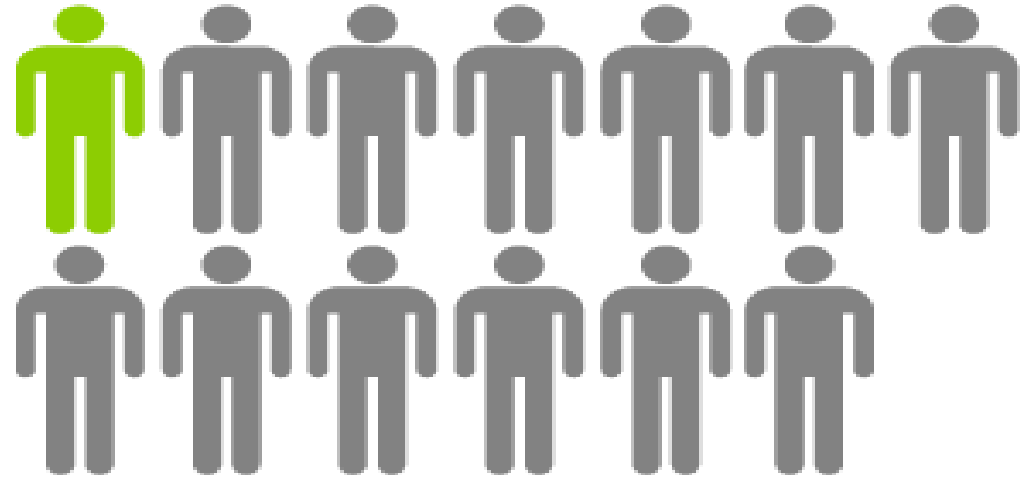
All state laws are current as of Apr. 22, 2016

- May lose vote permanently (10 states)
- Vote restored after term of incarceration, parole, and probation (20 states)
- Vote restored after term of incarceration and parole (4 states)
- Vote restored after term of incarceration (14 states & DC)
- Unrestricted; Can vote in prison (2 states)

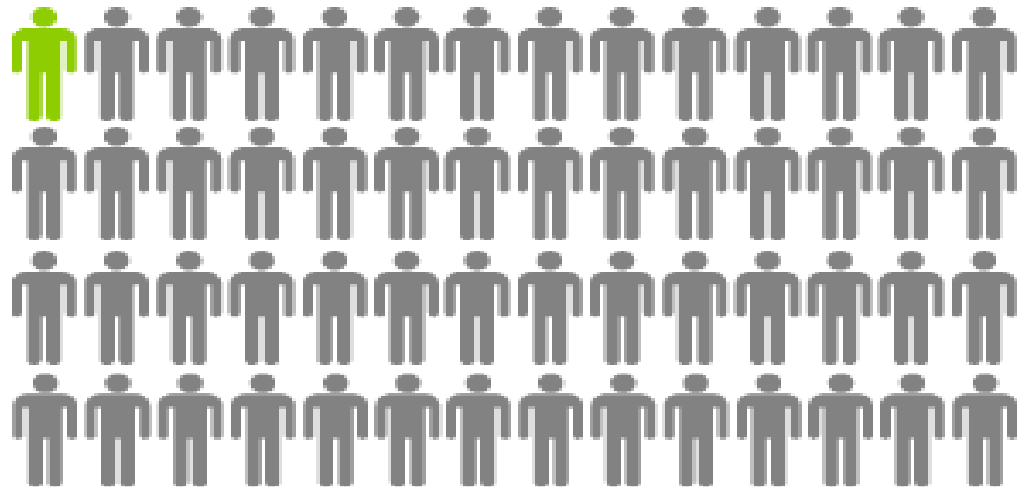


Racial Impact of Disenfranchisement

Black Voters
1 in 13

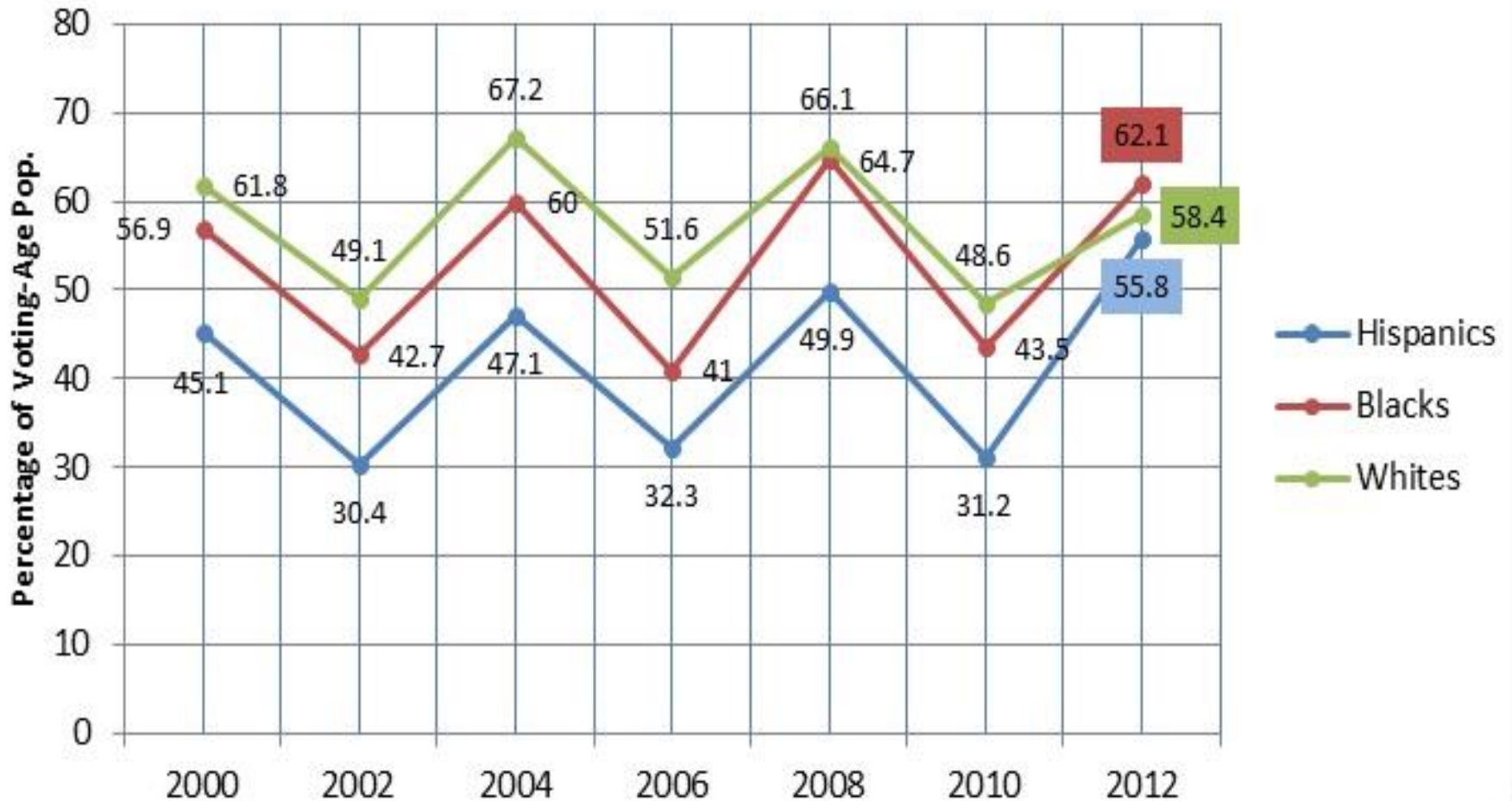


Non-Black Voters
1 in 56



Participation by Race, 2000-2012

Biennial Participation of Citizen Voting-Age Pop. by Race in National Elections



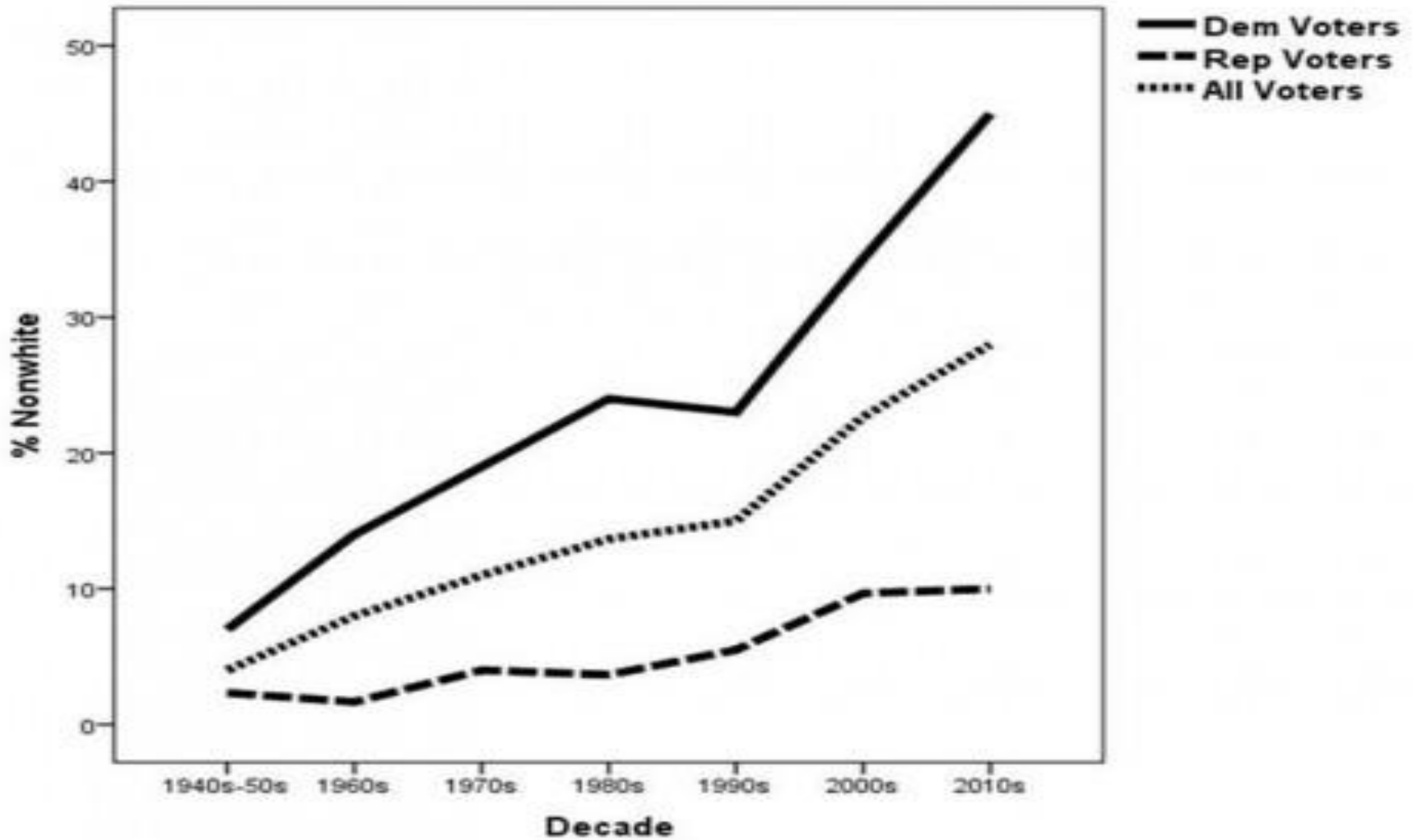
Why This Matters: The Changing U.S. Electorate

TABLE 1
2012 and 2016 state electorates
Racial and ethnic composition of eligible voting population

| | Non-Hispanic white | Hispanic | Black | Asian |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------|-------|-------|
| Arizona | | | | |
| 2012 | 67.6% | 20.4% | 4.3% | 2.3% |
| 2016 | 64.4% | 22.7% | 5.2% | 3.0% |
| Colorado | | | | |
| 2012 | 77.5% | 14.3% | 3.9% | 2.2% |
| 2016 | 75.4% | 16.0% | 4.2% | 2.6% |
| Florida | | | | |
| 2012 | 65.3% | 17.1% | 14.6% | 1.9% |
| 2016 | 61.7% | 20.2% | 15.5% | 2.2% |
| Georgia | | | | |
| 2012 | 61.7% | 3.9% | 31.1% | 2.2% |
| 2016 | 59.3% | 5.6% | 32.0% | 3.0% |
| Nevada | | | | |
| 2012 | 64.7% | 15.9% | 8.9% | 6.6% |
| 2016 | 60.2% | 18.8% | 10.1% | 8.1% |
| North Carolina | | | | |
| 2012 | 71.3% | 3.1% | 22.0% | 1.4% |
| 2016 | 69.2% | 4.5% | 22.7% | 1.8% |
| Ohio | | | | |
| 2012 | 84.0% | 2.1% | 11.5% | 1.1% |
| 2016 | 82.6% | 2.7% | 12.1% | 1.3% |
| Virginia | | | | |
| 2012 | 70.1% | 4.5% | 19.4% | 4.1% |
| 2016 | 67.8% | 6.4% | 19.4% | 4.9% |

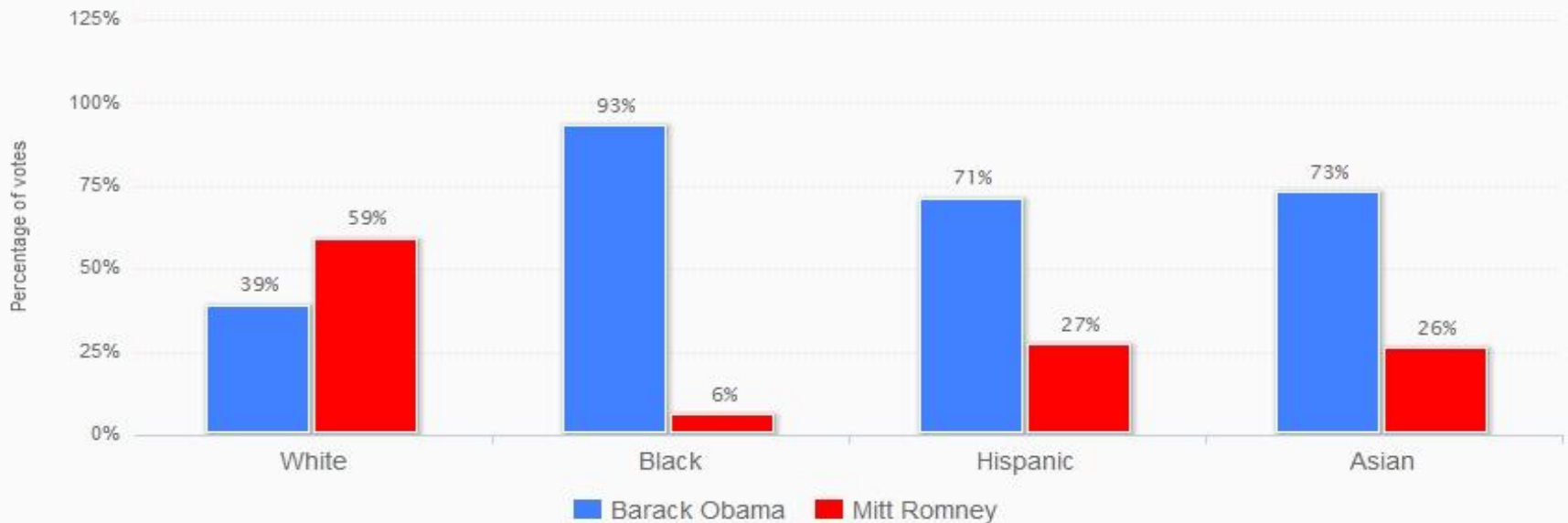
Source: Author's calculations are based on the Bureau of the Census' 2008 and 2012 American Community Survey. See Methodology.

Why This Matters: Race & American Politics



Votes by Race & Ethnicity, 2012

Exit polls of the 2012 presidential elections in the United States on November 6, 2012, voter turnout by race and ethnicity



i United States; Edison Research; November 6, 2012

Situation in Maryland

- **~100,000 former prisoners are disengaged or disenfranchised from the electorate.**
- **African Americans are ~30% of MD's population, but are ~75% of MD's prison population & 65% of those disenfranchised due to a felony conviction**

(Source: Job Opportunities Task Force)

- **Since 2007, MD allows persons convicted of felonies to vote after completion of probation & parole. The law affected 52,000 ex-prisoners.**

Gerrymandering & Democracy

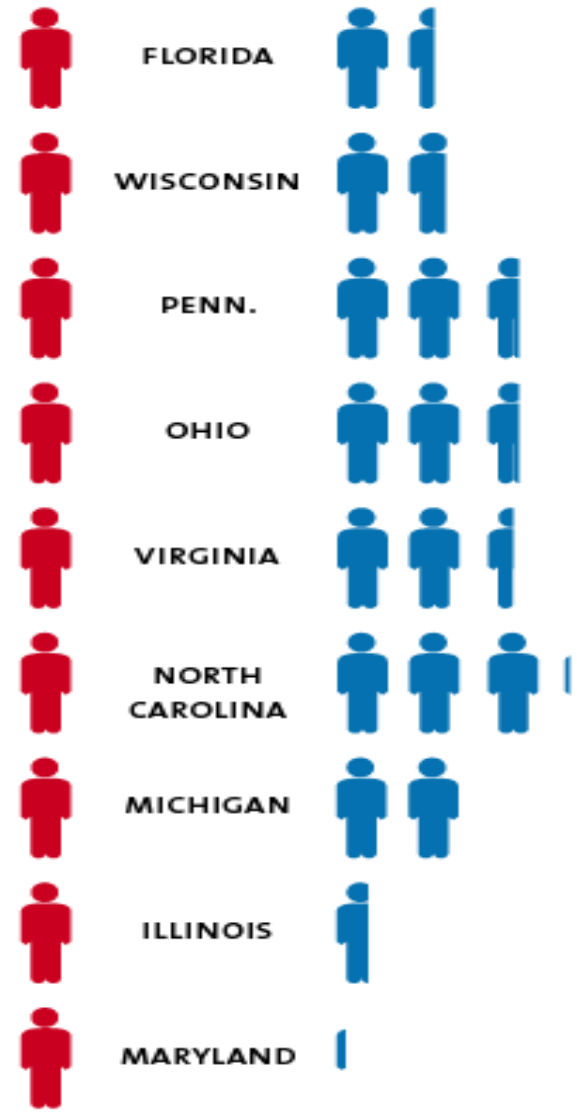


Impact on Election Campaigns



Does 1 Person = 1 Vote?

For every vote it took to elect a Republican House member in these states...



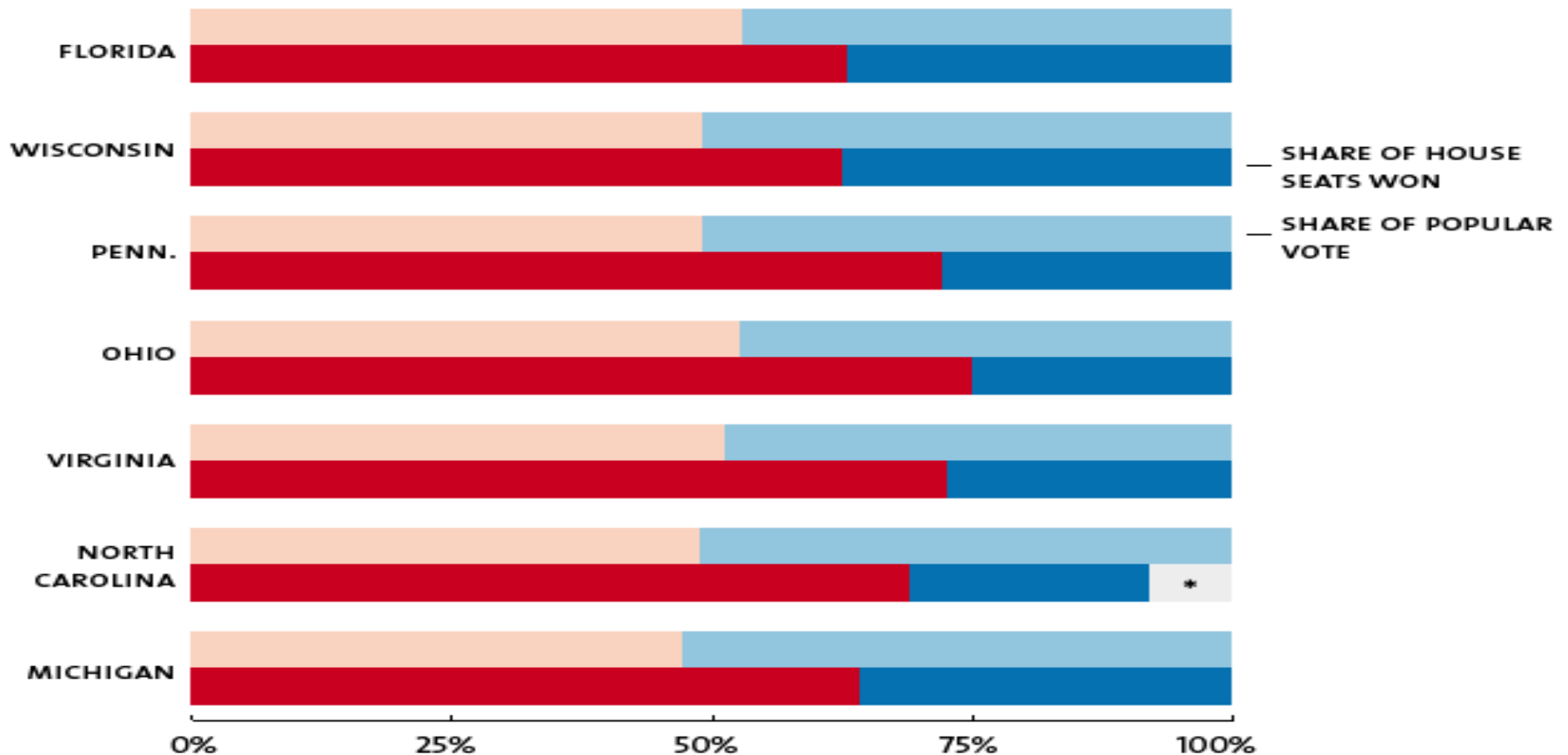
...it took this many votes to elect a Democratic House member.

Impact on Political Representation

GOP Gerrymandering at its Best

Republicans led redistricting in these key states in 2010.

Compare the share of House seats won by each party in 2012 to the popular vote.



*One House race in North Carolina remains undecided. Third-party votes not included.

Source: Politico

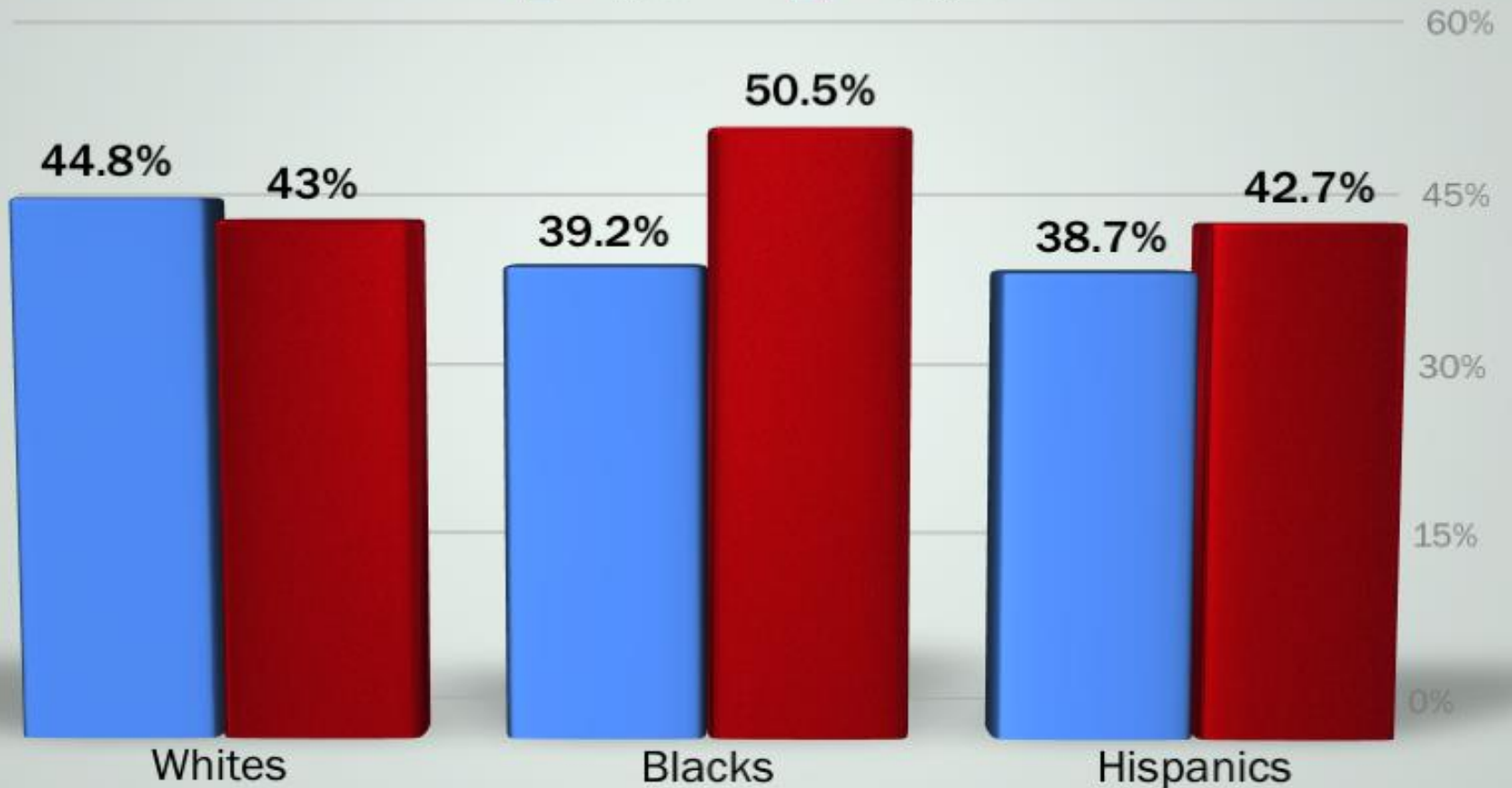
So - Who Represents Whom?



Declining Trust in Congress

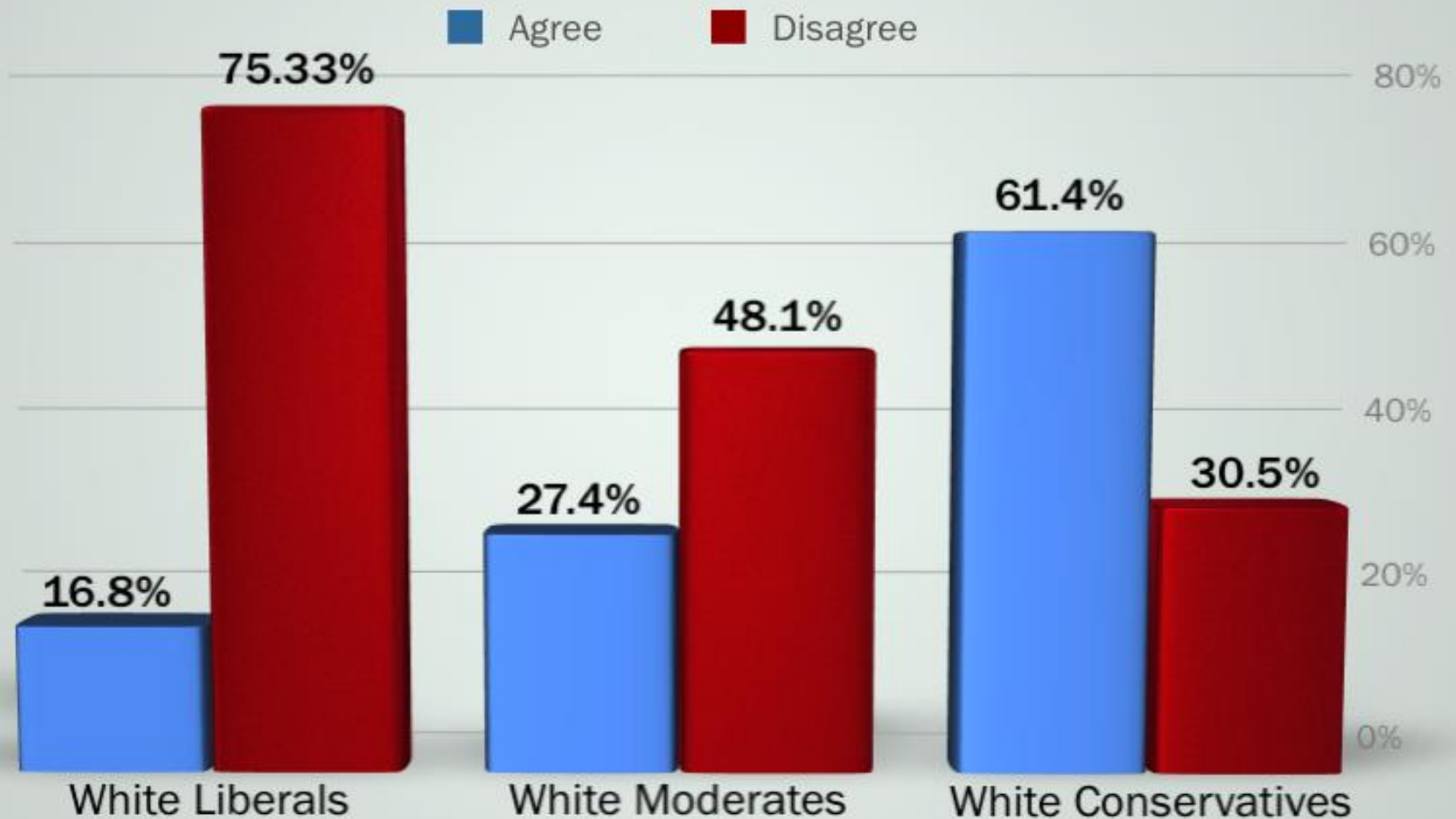
AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT:
"MY MEMBER OF CONGRESS REPRESENTS PEOPLE LIKE ME."

■ Agree ■ Disagree

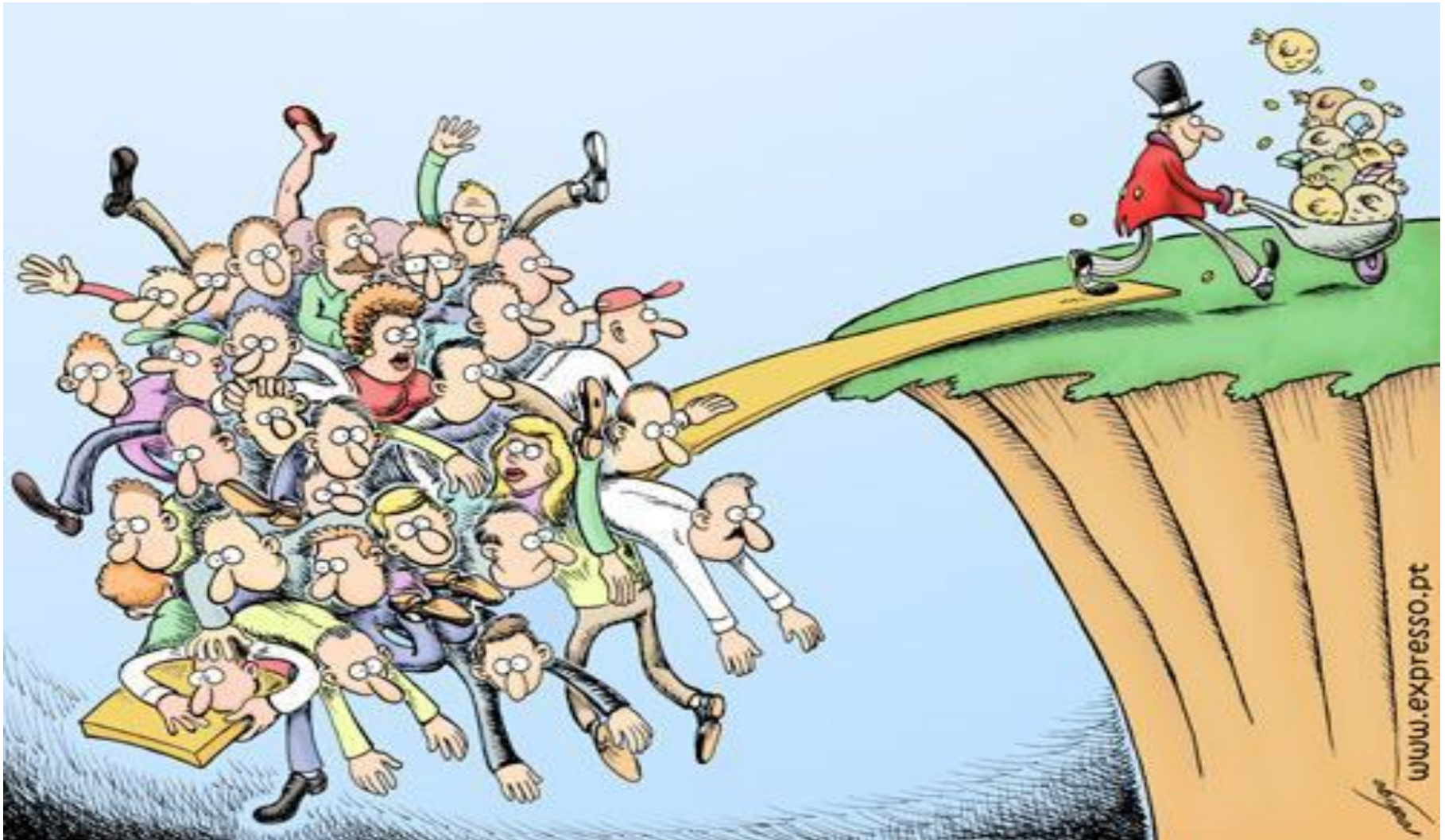


Unequal Ideological Compatibility

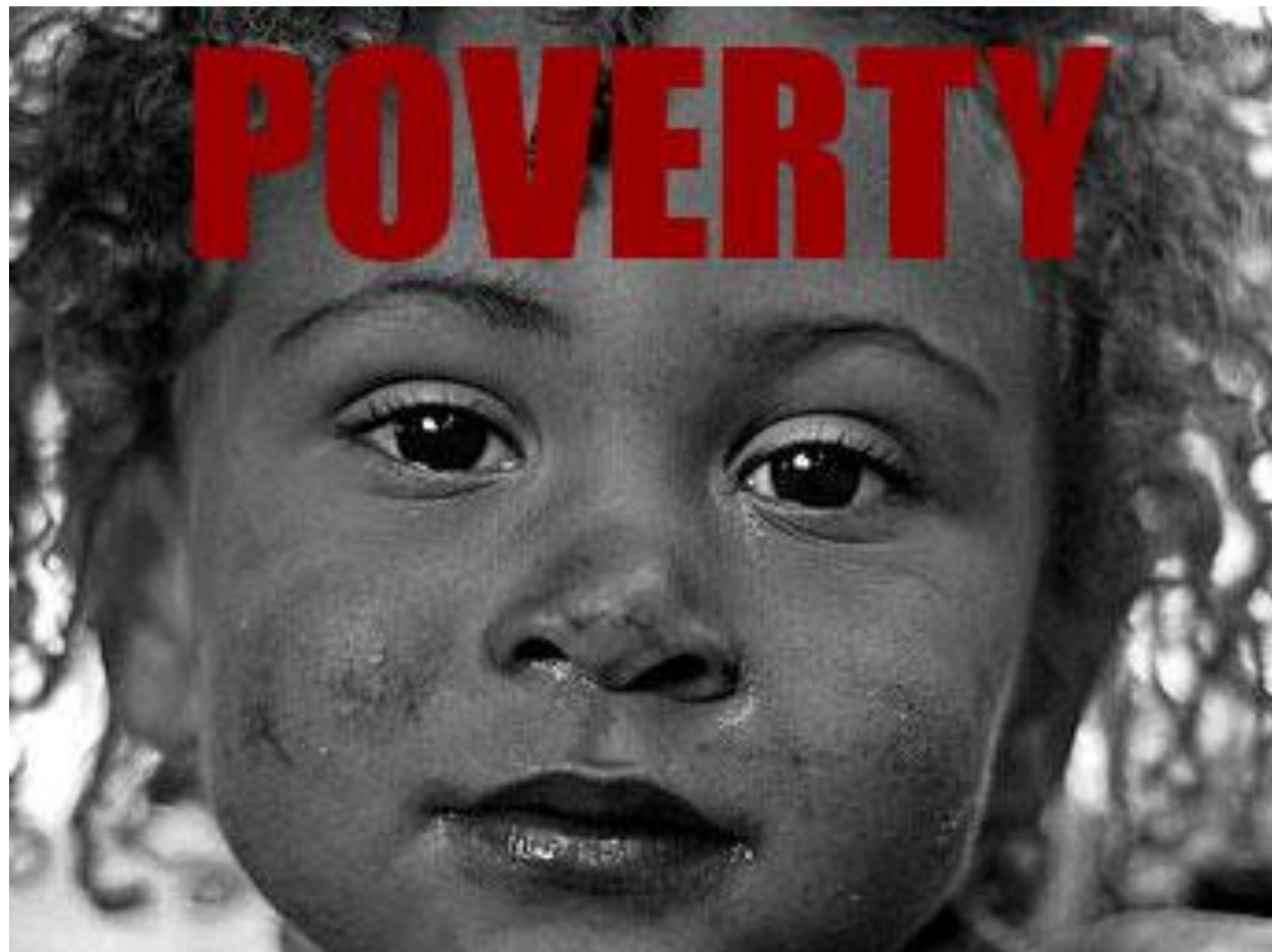
AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT:
"MY MEMBER OF CONGRESS REPRESENTS PEOPLE LIKE ME."



Why Inequality Matters for American Society



POVERTY



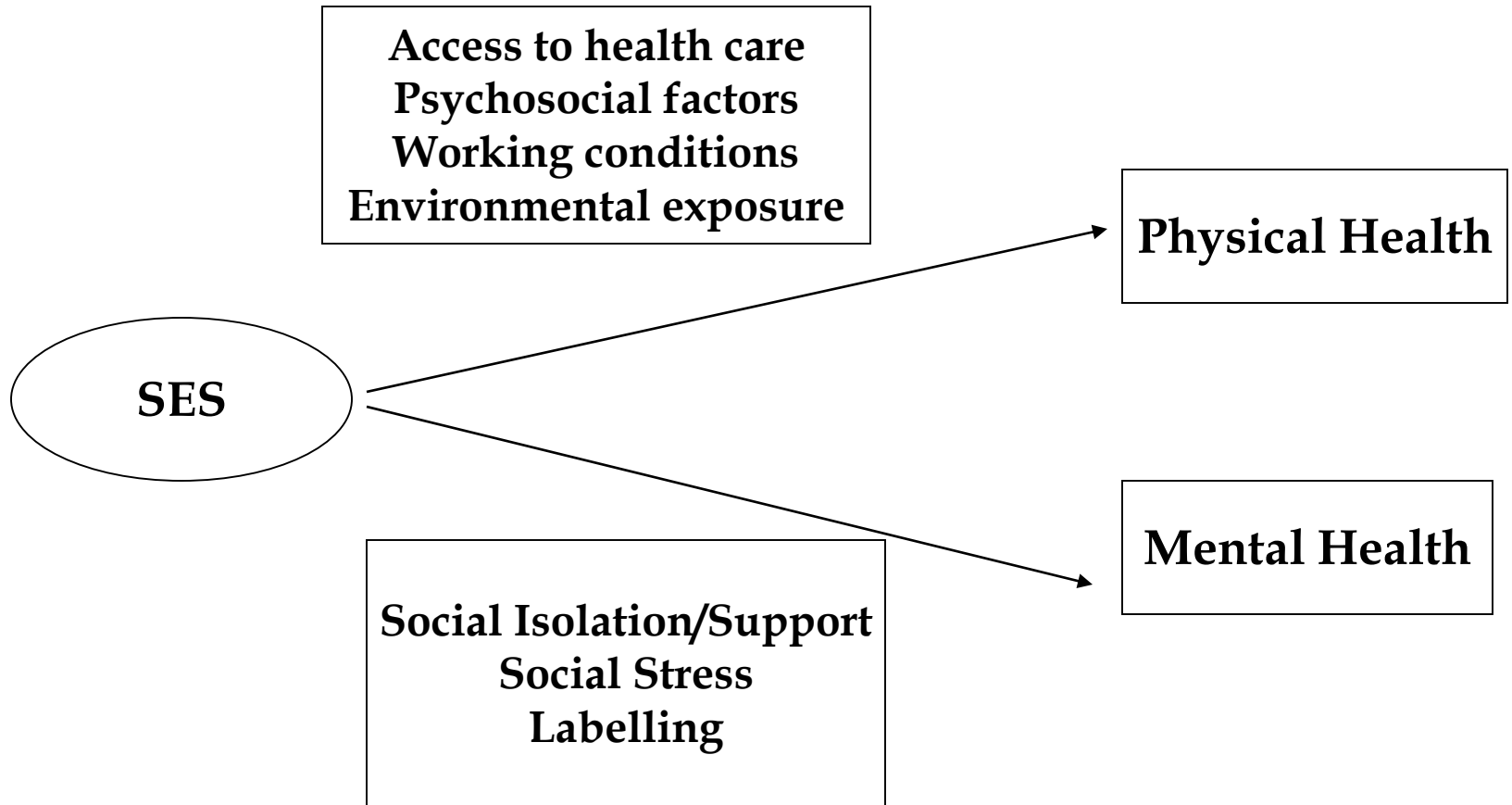
Widespread Hunger: 1/7



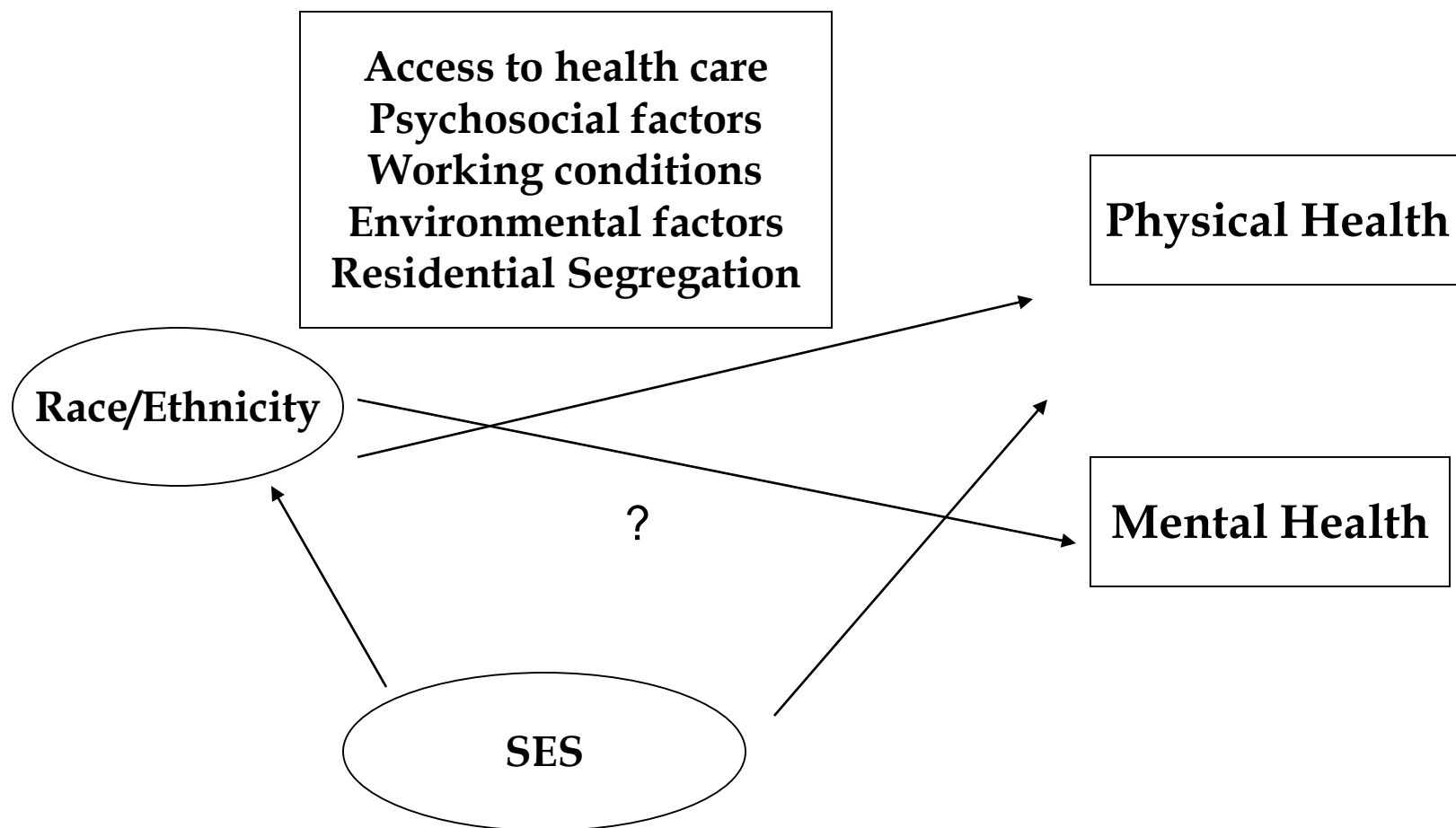
Chronic Homelessness



Health & Mental Health Inequities



Health & Mental Health Inequities



Is America Still a Democracy?

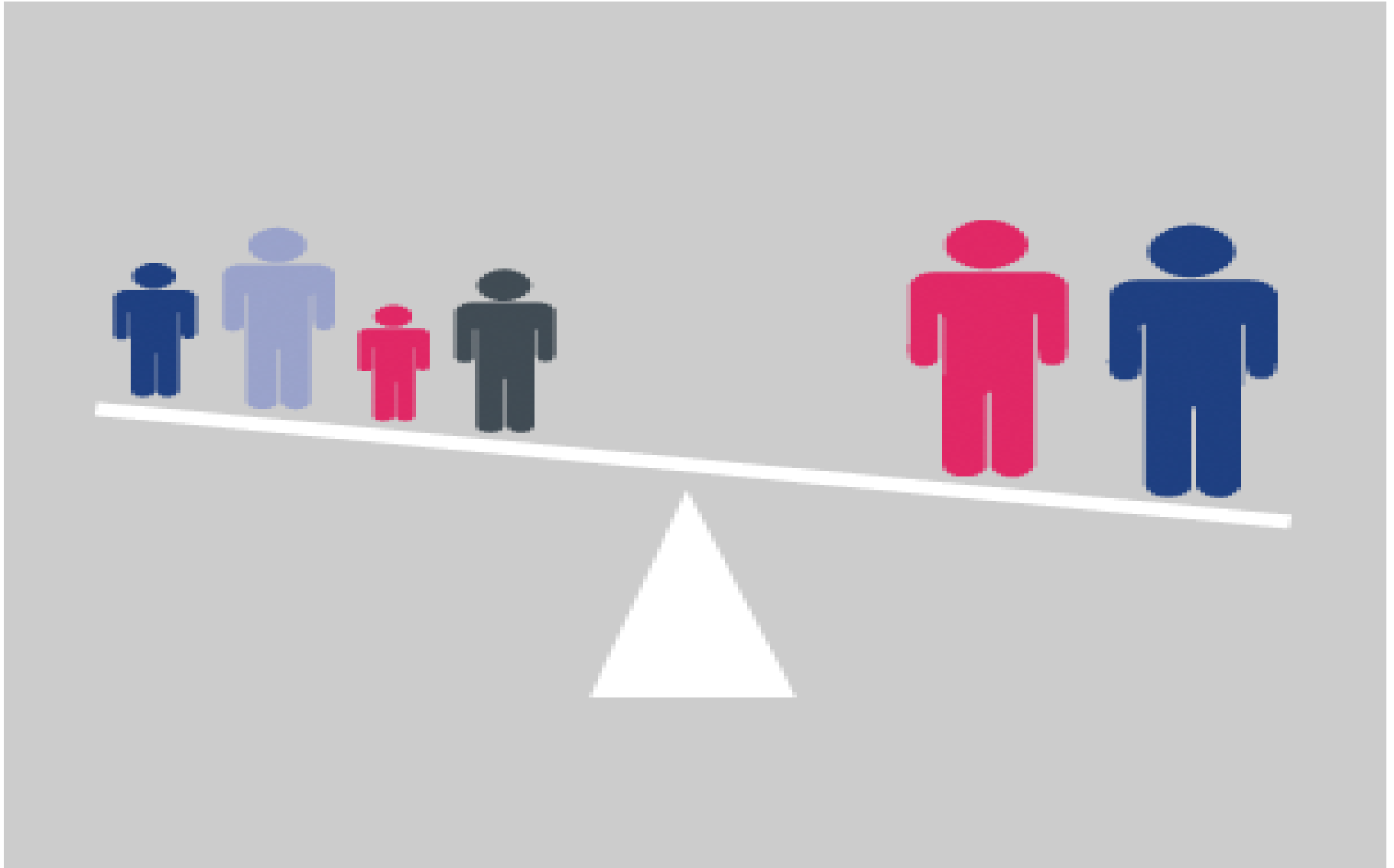
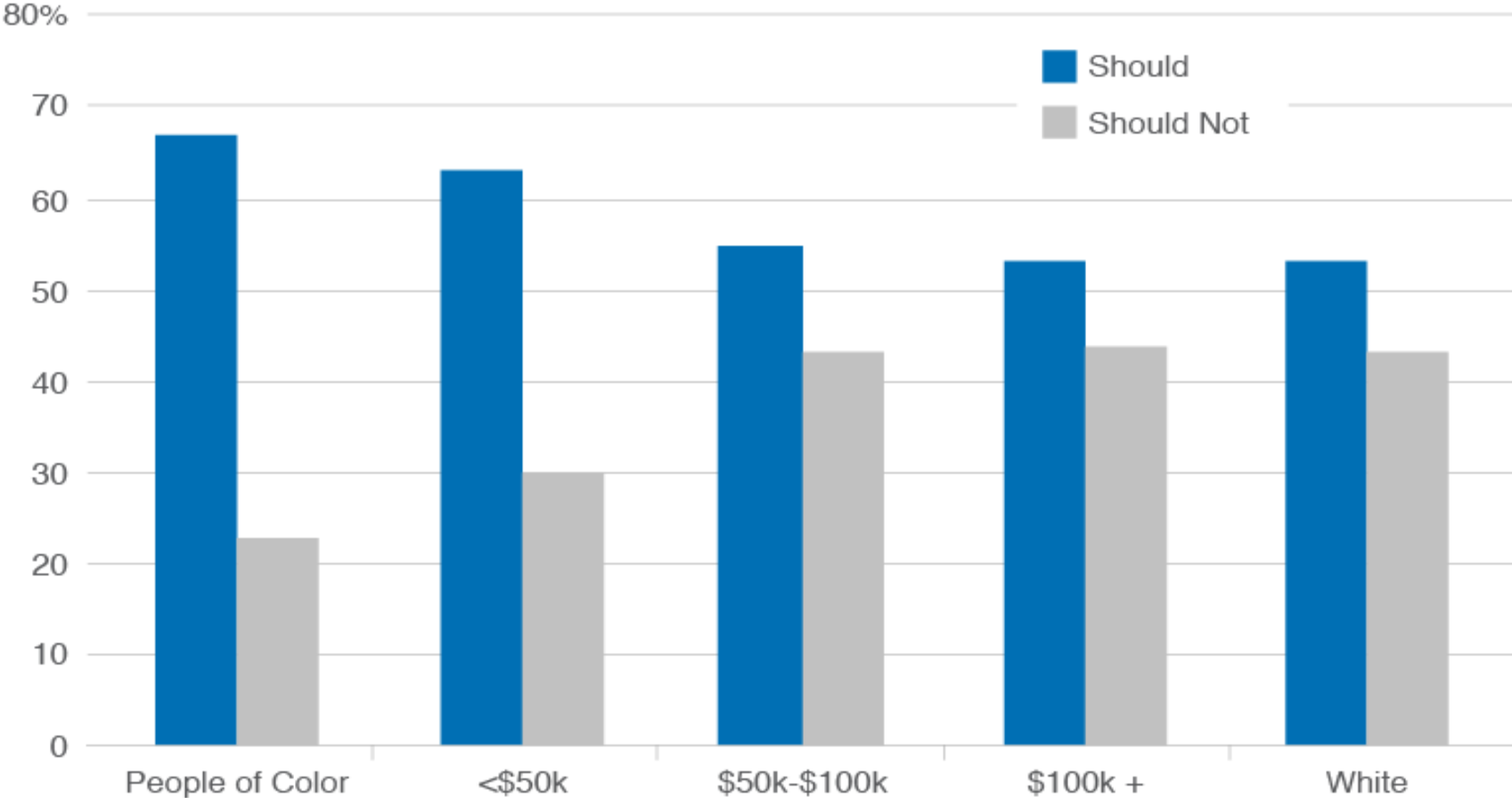
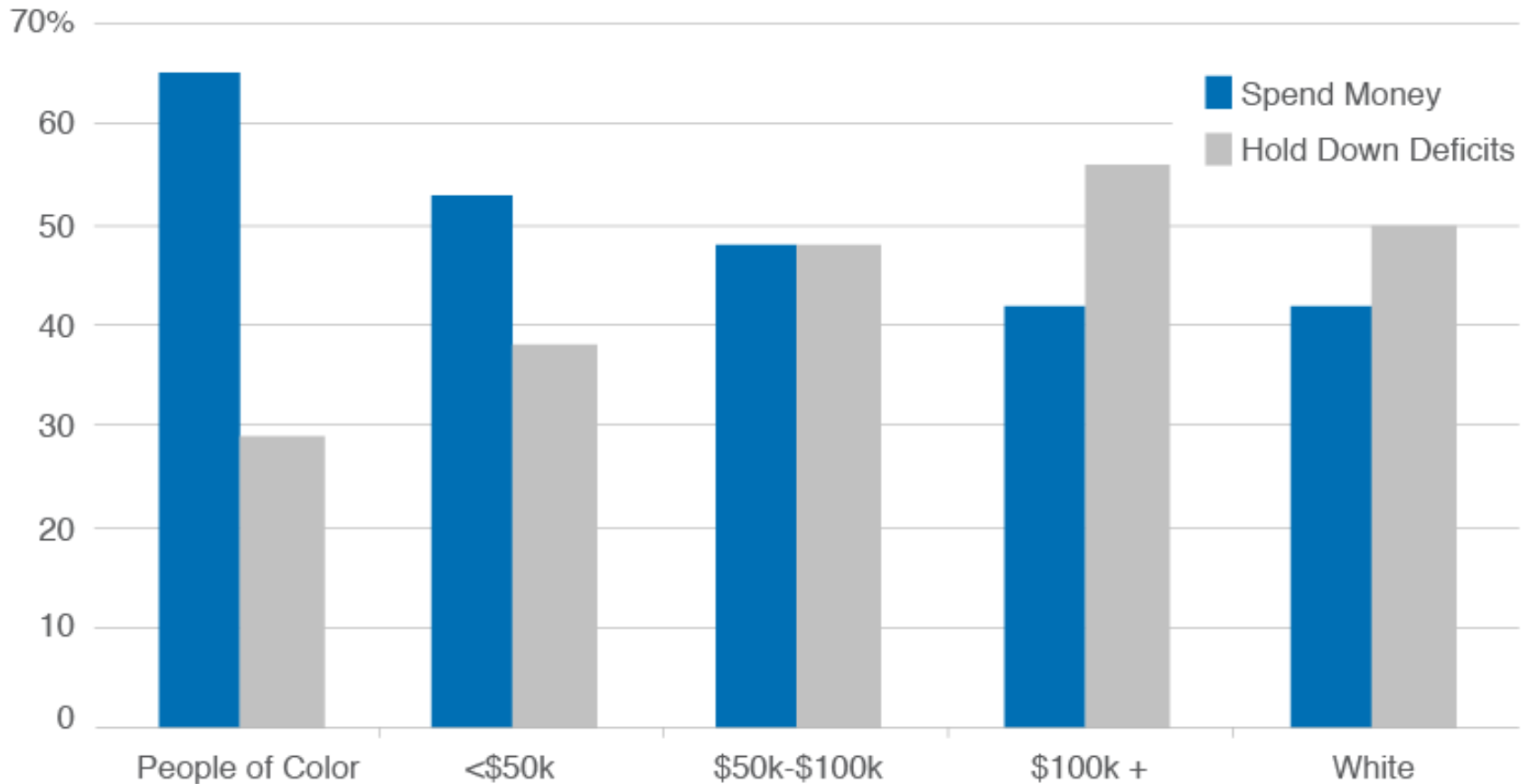


Figure 3. Views on government policy to reduce the wealth gap by race and income *Do you think the federal government should or should not pursue policies that try to reduce the gap between wealthy and less well-off Americans?*



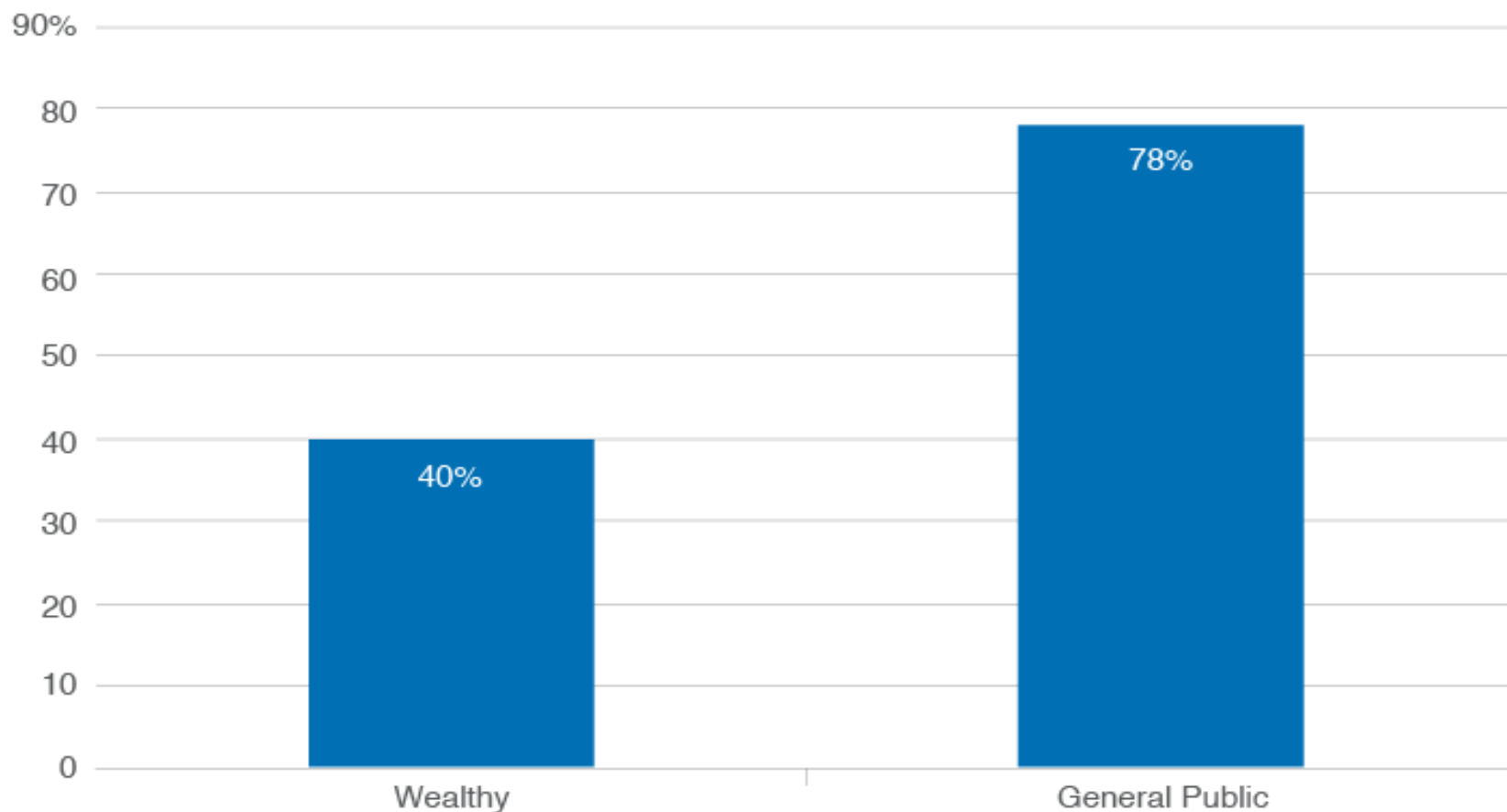
Source: Post-ABC Poll: December Monthly (2013)

Figure 4. Views on creating jobs versus holding down deficit by race and income Which is more important, spending money to create jobs or holding down the federal budget deficit?



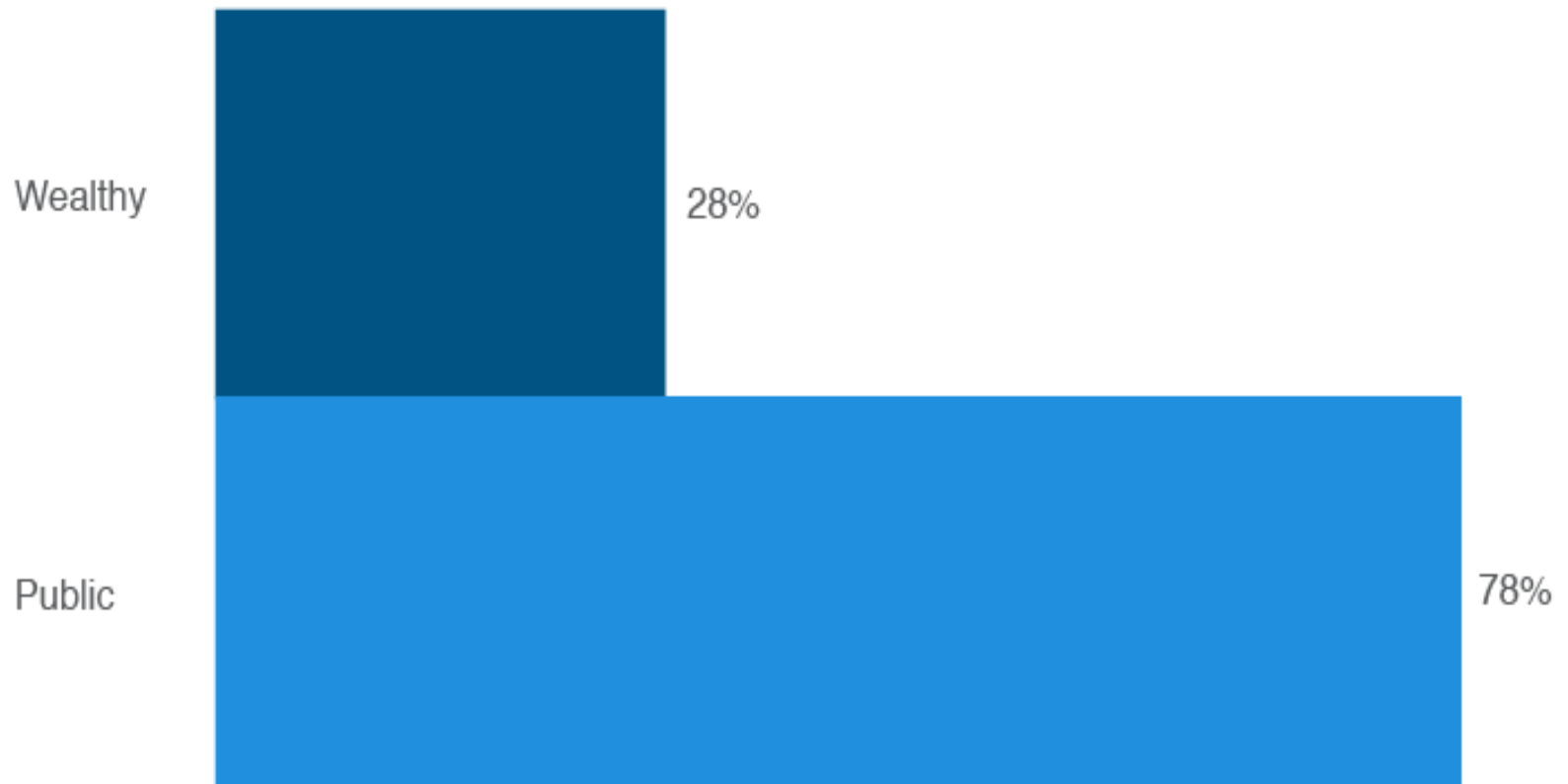
Source: Post-ABC Poll: December Monthly (2013)

Figure 21. Support for minimum wage high enough to keep family with full time worker out of poverty



Source: Page, Bartels, and Seawright (2013)

Figure 6. Should the federal government make sure that everyone who wants to go to college can do so?

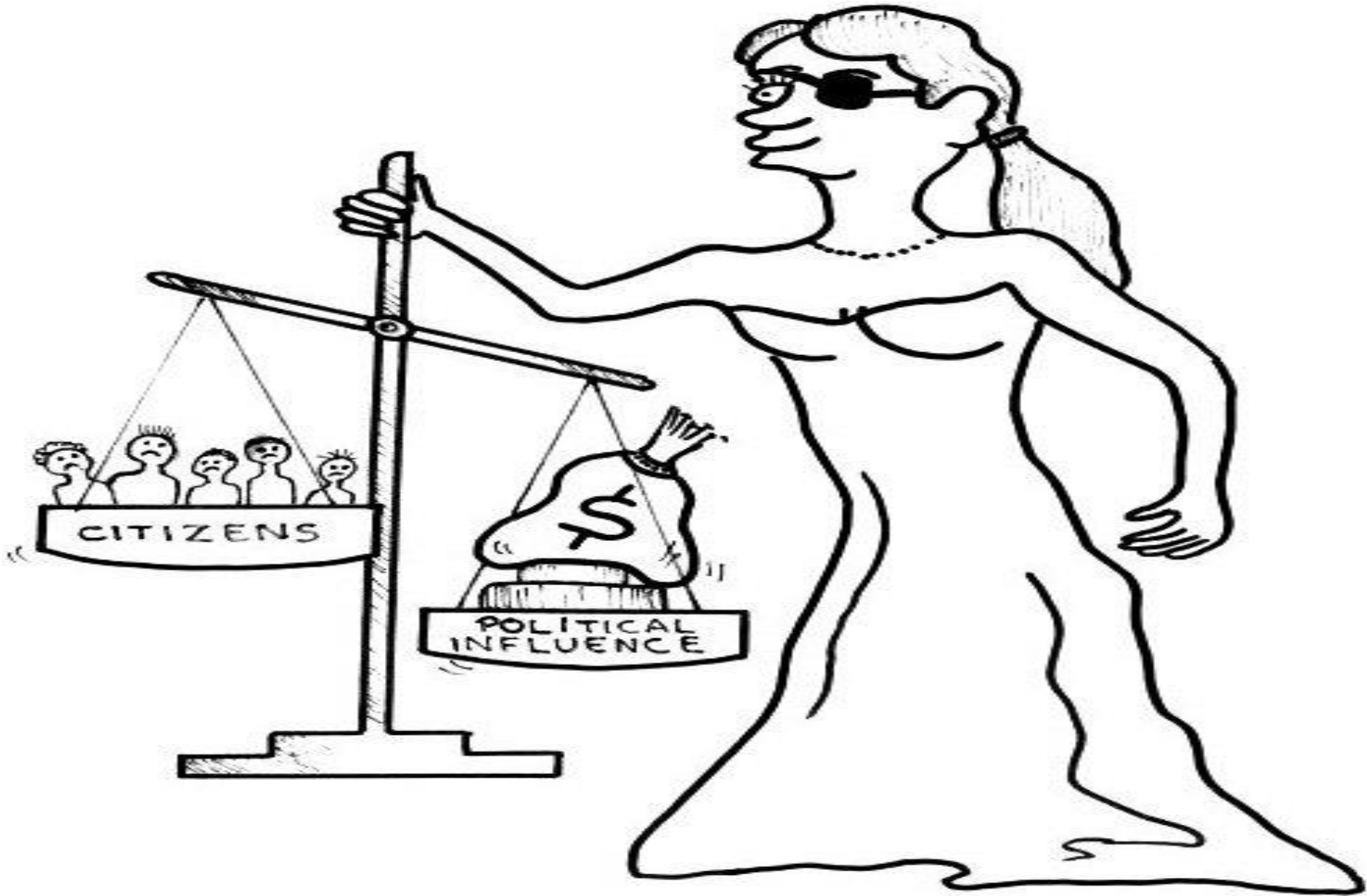


Source: Page, Bartels, and Seawright (2013)

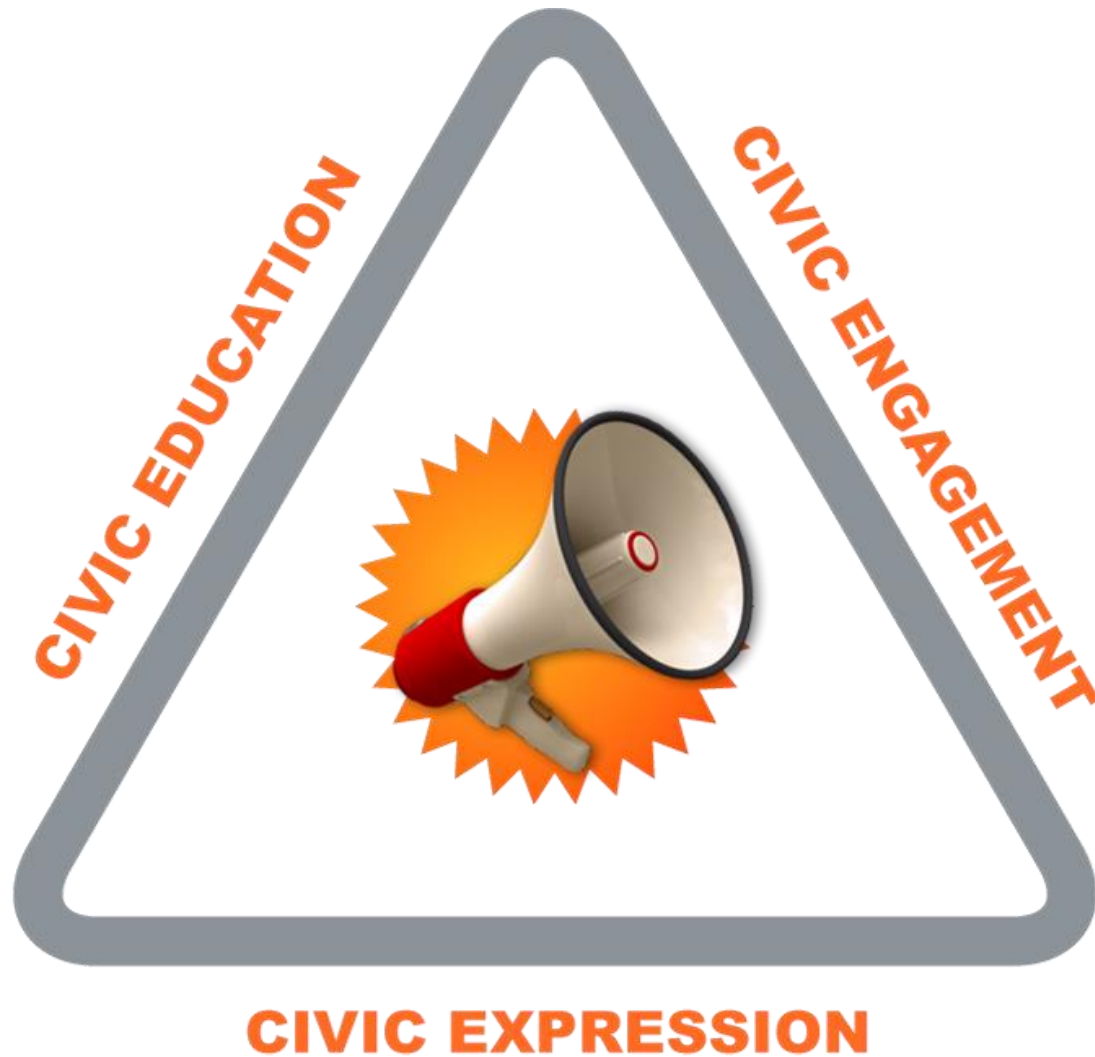
So - What is to Done?



Take Money Out of Politics



Promote Popular Education, Civic Literacy & Civic Engagement



Fund Voter Education



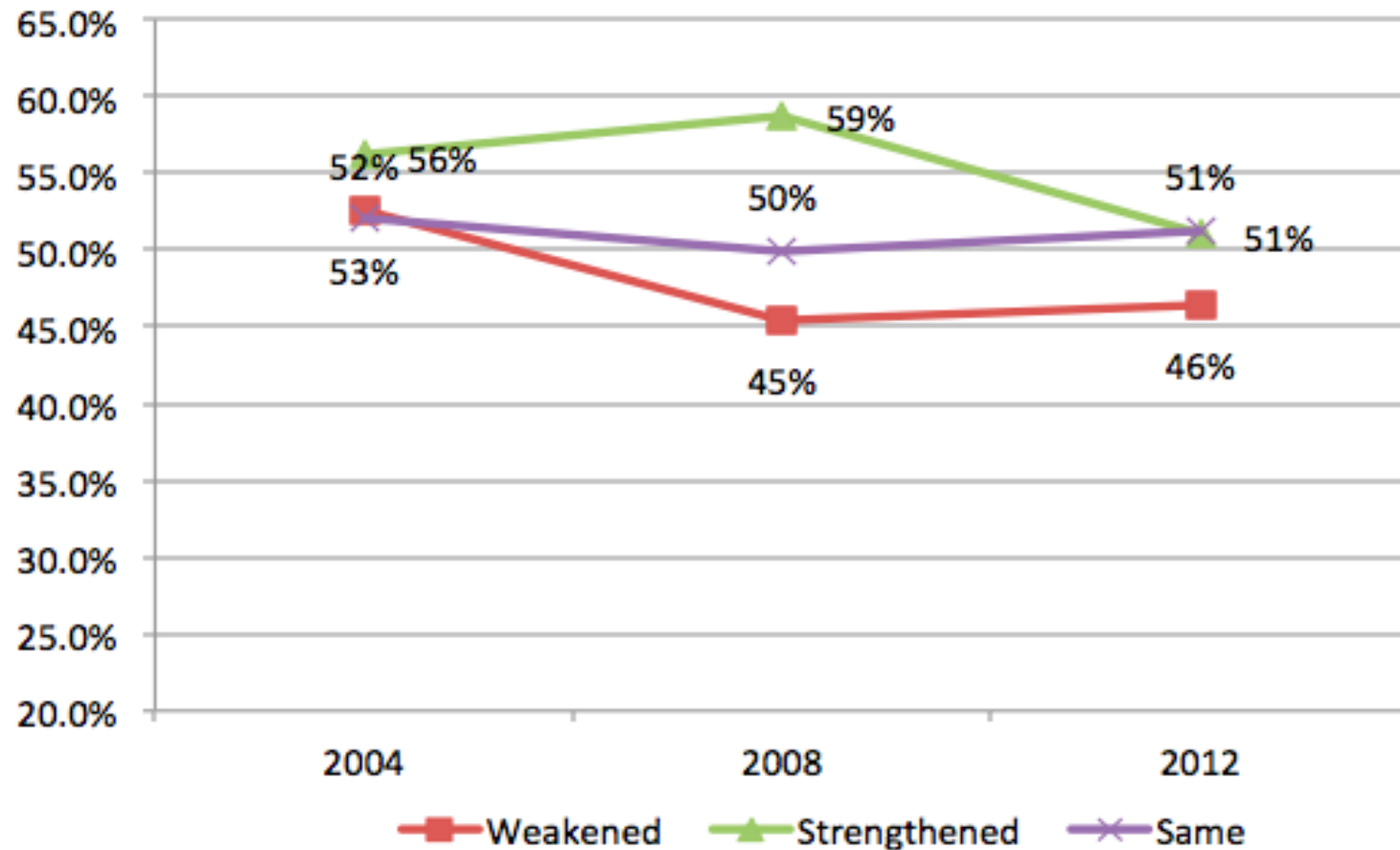
CALIFORNIA

Participation
Project

A Project of Community Partners

But Does Civic Education Work?

Aggregated 18-29 Turnout by Changes in Civic Education Policy 2004-2012

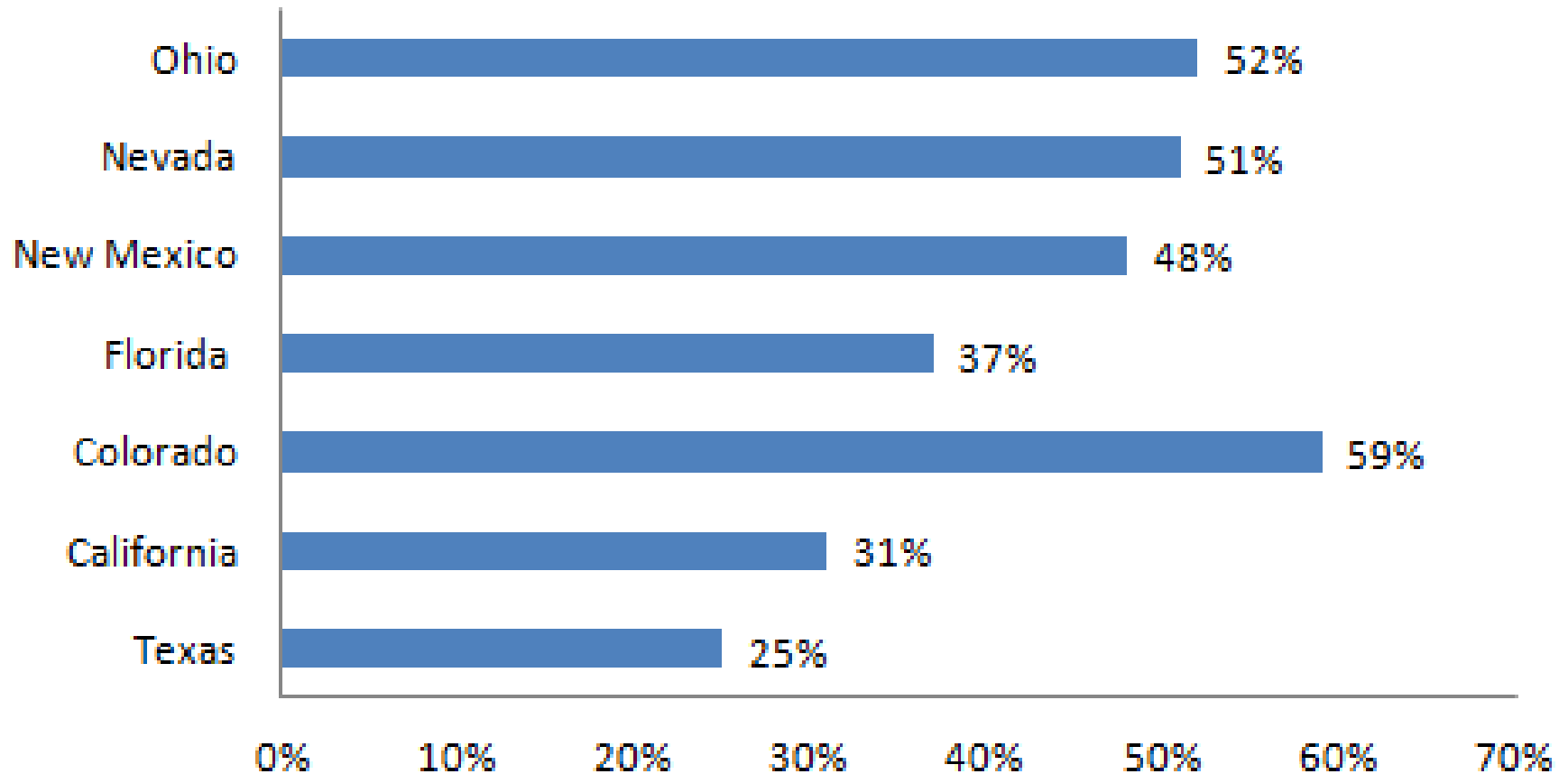


CIRCLE analysis of the National Exit Poll data 2004-2012

Key: Mobilize Voters

(Latino Voter Mobilization, 2012)

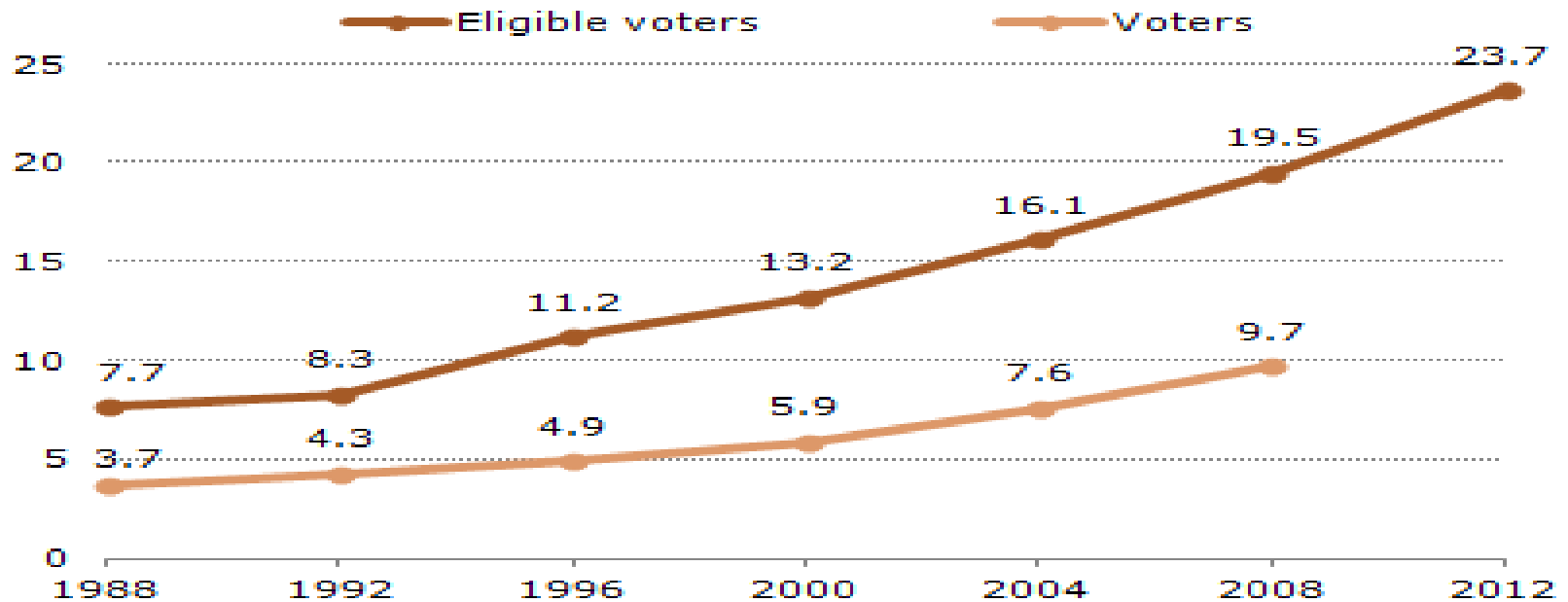
Reported Contact by State



Latino/a Voter Participation

Figure 1

Latino Participation in Presidential Elections, 1988-2012
(in millions)



Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older.

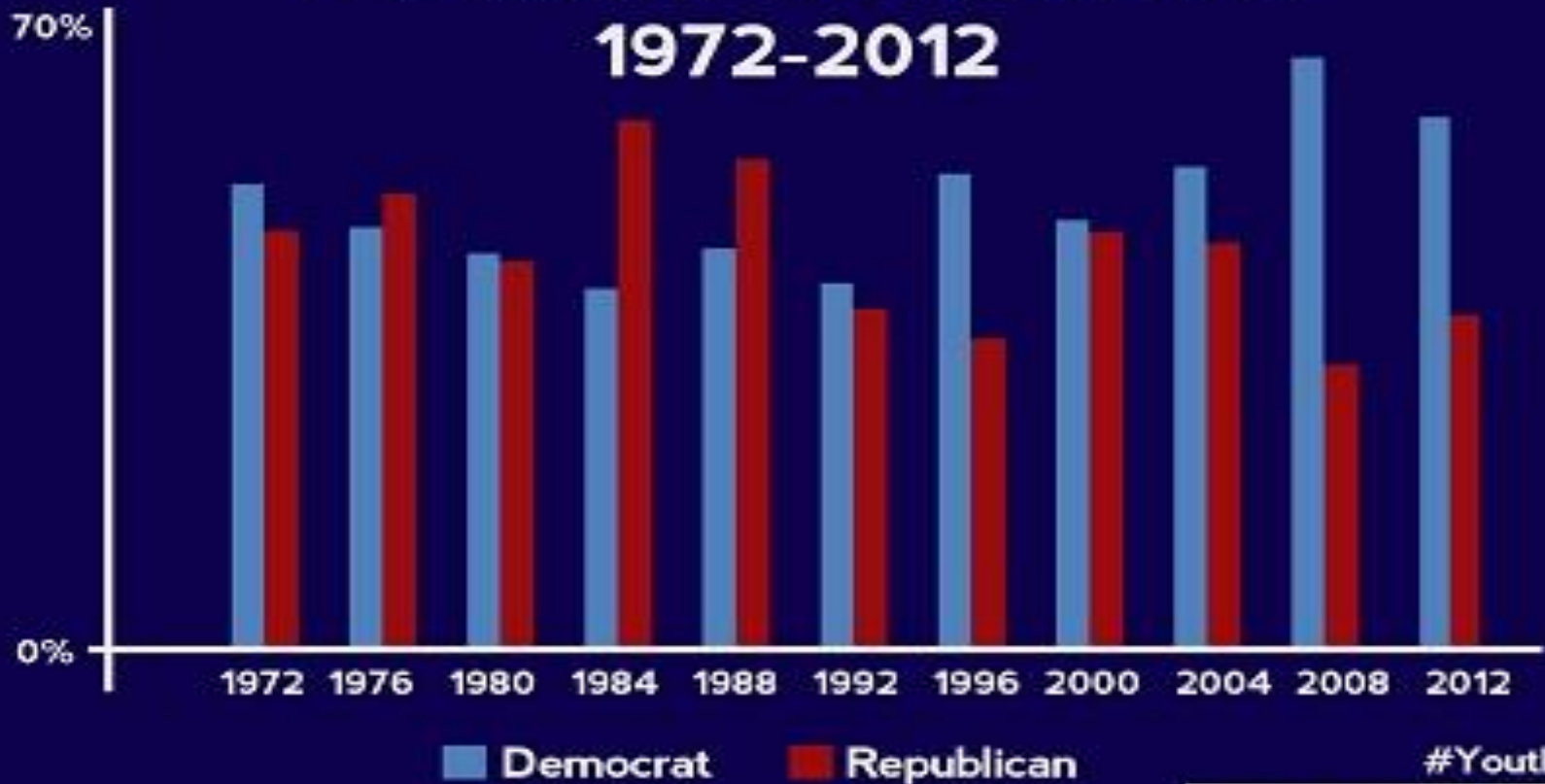
Source: For 1988 through 2008, Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey November Supplements; for 2012, Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of the August Current Population Survey

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Increase in Youth Vote

Who Did Young People Vote for in Presidential Elections?

1972-2012

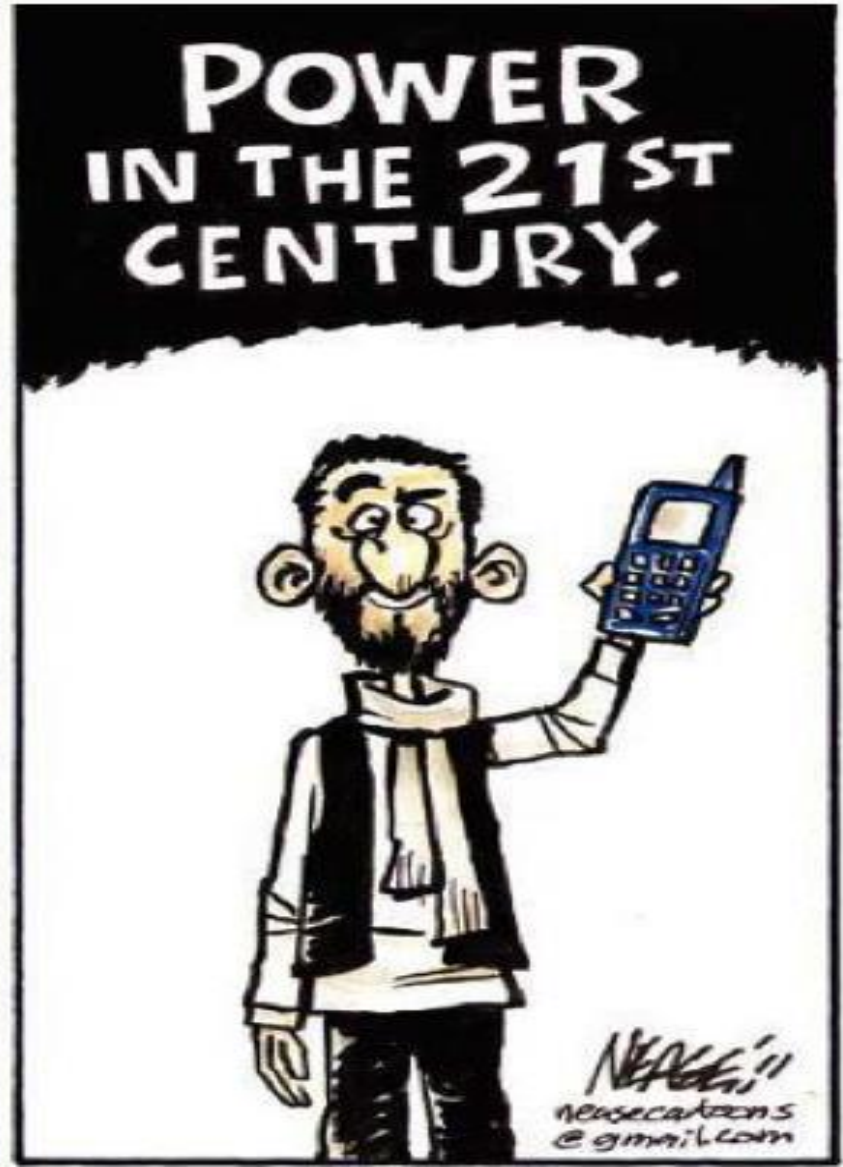


#YouthTruth

Source: CIRCLE Analysis of National Exit Polls 1972 - 2012

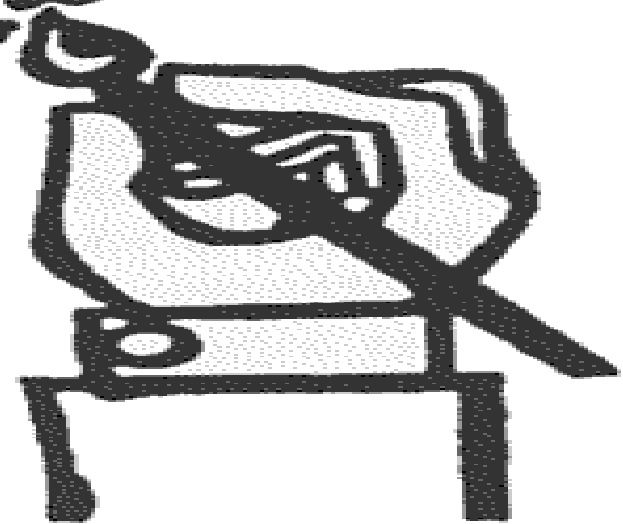


Use Social Media Effectively



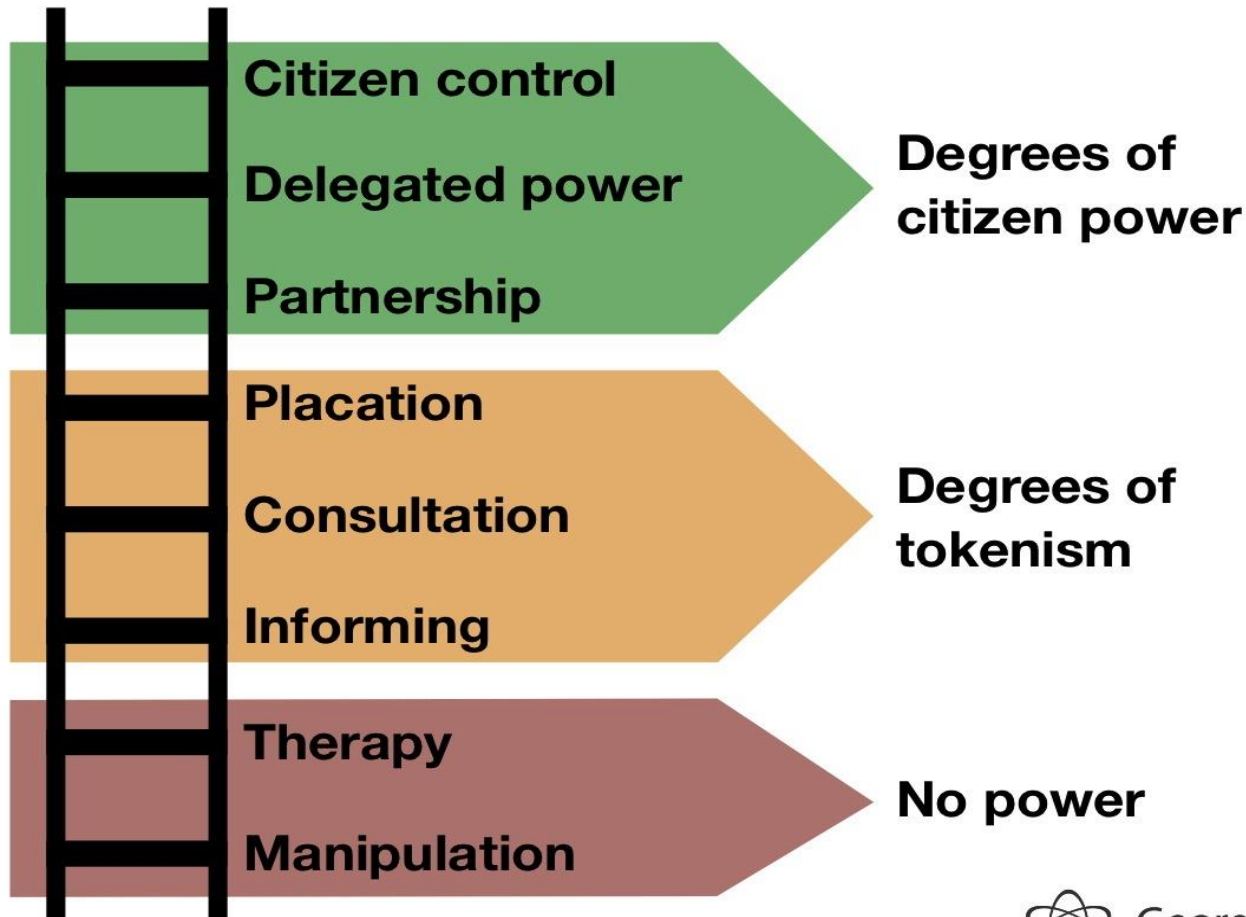
But - Does Participation Matter?

je participe
tu participes
il participe
nous participons
vous participez
ils profitent



Yes - If It is Genuine Participation

Arnstein (1969) Ladder of citizen participation





Final

Thoughts

Democracy & Diversity Are Compatible



But Only in a More Equal Society



Thank
You

MREISCH@SSW.UMARYLAND.EDU

410-706-5088