

## Trump voters – Democratic mistakes

## Document 1 - Here's Why We Shouldn't Demean Trump Voters

*The New York Times*, Aug. 31, 2024

By Nicholas Kristof, Opinion Columnist

Some of the best advice Democrats have received recently came from Bill Clinton in his speech at the Democratic National Convention.

First, he warned against hubris: “We’ve seen more than one election slip away from us when we thought it couldn’t happen, when people got distracted by phony issues or overconfident.” That’s something that any Clinton understands in his — or her — gut.

Second, related and even more important, he cautioned against demeaning voters who don’t share liberal values.

“I urge you to meet people where they are,” said Clinton, who knows something about winning votes outside of solid blue states. “I urge you not to demean them, but not to pretend you don’t disagree with them if you do. Treat them with respect — just the way you’d like them to treat you.”

That’s critical counsel because too often since 2016, the liberal impulse has been to demonize anyone at all sympathetic to Donald Trump as a racist and bigot. This has been politically foolish, for it’s difficult to win votes from people you’re disparaging.

It has also seemed to me morally offensive, particularly when well-educated and successful elites are scorning disadvantaged, working-class Americans who have been left behind economically and socially and in many cases are dying young. They deserve empathy, not insults.

By all means denounce Trump, but don’t stereotype and belittle the nearly half of Americans who have sided with him.

Since I live in a rural area, many of my old friends are Trump supporters. One, a good and generous woman, backs Trump because she feels betrayed by the Democratic and Republican political establishments, and she has a point. When factories closed and good union jobs left the area, she ended up homeless and addicted; four members of her extended family killed themselves and she once put a gun to her own head. So when a demagogue like Trump speaks to her pain and promises to bring factories back, of course her heart leaps.

Then her resolve strengthens when she hears liberals mock her faith — it was an evangelical church that helped her overcome homelessness — or deride her as “deplorable.”

Then there’s the woman who cut my hair: She had a daughter who was overcome with addiction, so she quit the shop to care for a grandson. Her successor cutting my hair lost her husband to an overdose and is struggling to help a son who is addicted. She isn’t much interested in politics and didn’t watch any of the Democratic convention; she said she

distrusts Trump and sees him as a bully, but she is mad at Democrats because food prices are too high.

“I’m not sure how I’ll vote,” she told me, “or if I’ll vote.”

She’s a good, hardworking person who would benefit from a Democratic victory, and Democrats should fight for her — not savage her for political thought crimes.

Working-class Americans have a right to feel betrayed. After almost 3,000 people died in the Sept. 11 attacks, we started two wars and allocated trillions of dollars to the response. But every three or four days we lose as many Americans to drugs, alcohol and suicide as died in the Sept. 11 attacks, yet the national response has been pathetically weak. The social fabric in many blue-collar communities has unraveled, and people are angry and frustrated.

Since the Obama presidency, Democrats have increasingly become the party of the educated, and the upshot has often been a whiff of condescension toward working-class voters, especially toward voters of faith. And in a country where 65 percent of Americans report a belief in God, according to Gallup, and only 38 percent over the age of 25 have a four-year college degree, condescension is a losing strategy. (...)

I worry about Democrats neglecting their proud heritage since at least the time of Franklin Roosevelt of standing up for working-class Americans. Maybe it’s time for more educated liberals to reread F.D.R.’s famous “Forgotten Man” speech of 1932, hailing “the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid.”

We liberals today are attuned to identity and thus to racial and gender disadvantages, while often seemingly oblivious to class disadvantage — even though recent research by the Harvard economist Raj Chetty underscores that race is playing a smaller role in opportunity gaps while class gaps are yawning wider.

You can’t have a serious conversation about inequality today without discussing race. But you also can’t have a serious conversation about poverty or opportunity without considering class (and for many people of color, race and class disadvantages overlap).

Kamala Harris seems to get this. She chose as her running mate a man who can reach working-class voters with his words as well as his policies. And she can present herself as the candidate who worked at McDonald’s while her opponent was exploiting his inheritance — and renters.

I wasn’t planning to write this column, but then I approvingly tweeted Clinton’s comment about not

demeaning those we disagree with. Plenty of readers replied hotly: *But they deserve to be demeaned!*

95 Whatever our politics, Trump brings out the worst in all of us. He nurtures hate on his side that we mirror.

So let's take a deep breath, summon F.D.R.'s empathy for the forgotten man, follow Clinton's advice — and, for the sake of winning elections as well as of civility, remember that  
100 the best way to get others to listen to us is to first listen to them

## Document 2 - "What Democrats need to do now",

David Brooks, *The New York Times*, July 18, 2024.

Across the Western world, right-wing parties have ceased to be parties of the business elites and have become working-class parties. MAGA is the worldview that accords with this shifting reality. It has its roots in Andrew Jackson-style populism, but it is updated and more comprehensive.

5 J. D. Vance is the embodiment and one of the developers of this worldview — with his suspicion of corporate power, foreign entanglements, free trade, cultural elites and high rates of immigration. With Vance as Trump's pick for vice president, it became clear how thoroughly MAGA has replaced Reaganism as the chief operating system of the Republican Party.

If Democrats hope to win in the near future they have to take the MAGA worldview seriously, and respectfully make the case, especially to working-class voters, for something better.

10 At its best, what is MAGA, anyway? Well, in any society, there is a legitimate tension between security and dynamism. In a volatile world, MAGA offers people security. It promises secure borders and secure neighborhoods. It offers protection from globalization, from the creative destruction of modern capitalism. It offers protection from an educated class that looks down on you and indoctrinates your children in school. It offers you protection from corporate predators. To those who rightly feel buffeted by vast and destabilizing forces, Trump offers security so  
15 people can get on with their lives.

Now, the problem with MAGA — and here is where the Democratic opportunity lies — is that it emerges from a mode of consciousness that is very different from the traditional American consciousness.

20 The American consciousness has traditionally been an abundance consciousness. Successive waves of immigrants found a vast continent of fertile fields and bustling cities. Many foreign observers saw us, and we saw ourselves, as the dynamic nation par excellence. We didn't have a common past, but we dreamed of a common future. Our sense of home was not rooted in blood-and-soil nationalism; our home was something we were building together. Through most of our history, we were not known for our profundity or culture but for living at full throttle.

MAGA, on the other hand, emerges from a scarcity consciousness, a zero-sum mentality: If we let in tons of immigrants they will take all of *our* jobs; if America gets browner, "they" will replace "us." MAGA is based on a series of victim stories: The elites are out to screw us. Our allies are freeloading off us. Secular America is oppressing  
25 Christian America.

Viewed from the traditional American abundance mind-set, MAGA looks like a kind of right-wing Marxism, which assumes that class struggle is the permanent defining feature of politics. MAGA is a fortress mentality, but America has traditionally been defined by a pioneering mentality.

30 If Democrats are to thrive, they need to tap into America's dynamic cultural roots and show how they can be applied to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Here's where they have a potentially good story to tell. Americans can't be secure if the world is in flames. That's why America has to be active abroad in places like Ukraine, keeping wolves like Vladimir Putin at bay. Americans can't be secure if the border is in chaos. Popular support for continued immigration depends on a sense that the government has things under control. Americans can't be secure if a single setback will send  
35 people to the depths of crushing poverty. That's why the social insurance programs that Democrats largely built are so important.

40 But what Democrats really need to do, in my view, is to offer people a vision of the daring explorations that await them. That's where the pessimistic post-Reagan Republicans can't compete. American dynamism was turbocharged by the construction of the transcontinental railway, the creation of the land grant colleges, the G.I. Bill and President Biden's successful efforts to revive our industrial base in the American Midwest.

45 Democrats need to take on their teachers' unions and commit to dynamism in the field of education. They need to stand up to protectionism, not join the stampede. Raising tariffs, as Trump wants to do, would not only raise costs on American consumers; it would also breed laziness and mediocrity within those sectors cosseted from competition. Democrats need to throttle back the regulators who have been given such free rein that they've stifled innovation.

If Republicans are going to double down on class war rhetoric — elites versus masses — Democrats need to get out of that business. They need to tap back into the more traditional American aspiration: We are not sentenced to a permanent class-riven future but can create a fluid, mobile society.

50 In Milwaukee, I have heard a lot of patriotism, but it was the patriotism of nostalgia, not the patriotism of hope. That leaves an opening for the folks who gather in Chicago next month.

## Document 3 - The Political Values of Harris and Trump Supporters

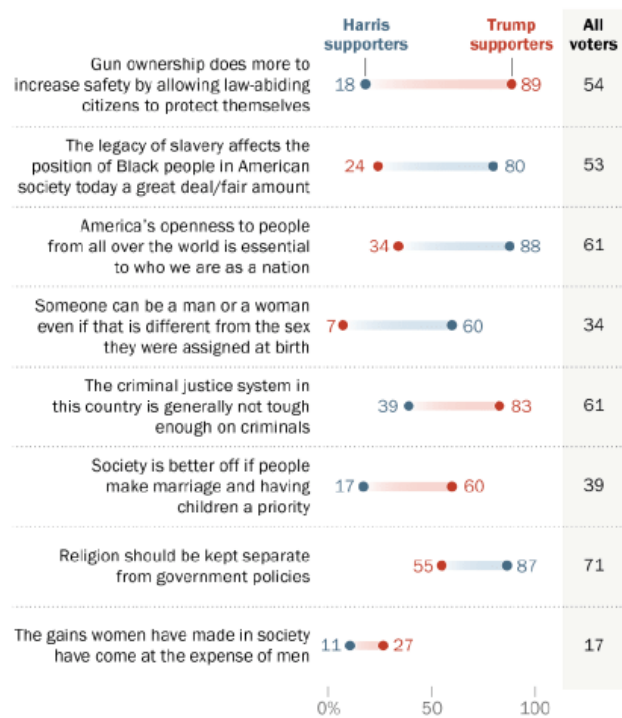
Pew Research Center, Report, August 26, 2024

### Wide differences over cultural issues, role of government and foreign policy

The 2024 presidential campaign has [changed dramatically](#) since Kamala Harris replaced Joe Biden as the Democratic Party's nominee.

#### How Harris, Trump supporters view key cultural issues

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

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What has not changed is the vast differences in political values between voters who support Harris and those who back Republican nominee Donald Trump.

Following Harris's extraordinary ascension to the top of the Democratic ticket, this publication and the accompanying detailed tables serve to update Pew Research Center data on political values that we released earlier this year, when Biden was still in the race.

#### Cultural values and the 2024 election

Some of the widest gaps between Harris and Trump supporters are on issues that have divided Americans for decades, such as the role of guns in society, race and the legacy of slavery.

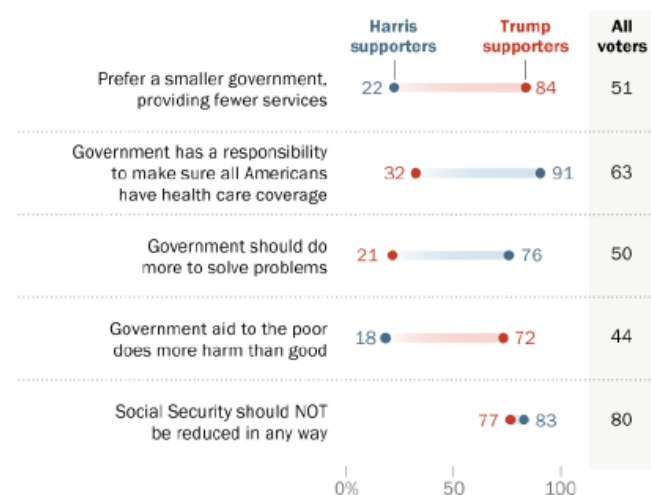
In addition, voters who back Harris and Trump have sharply different views on immigration, gender identity, and whether society should prioritize marriage and having children.

#### Views of government and the 2024 election

For decades, Republicans have mostly expressed a preference for smaller government, while most Democrats favor a larger government that provides more services.

#### Harris and Trump supporters have sharp differences over preferred size and scope of government

% of registered voters who say (they) ...



Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

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This remains the case today, with Trump supporters over three times more likely than Harris supporters to favor smaller government.

Other attitudes about government – including its role in providing health care coverage – show similar patterns.

However, large majorities of both candidates' supporters oppose any reductions in Social Security benefits.

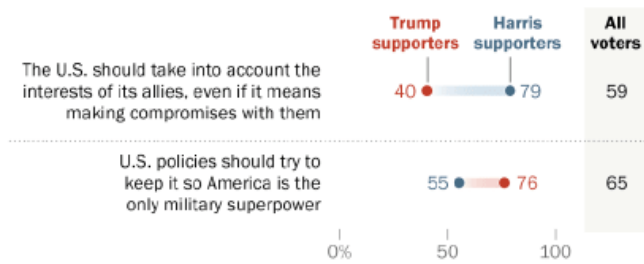
### Foreign policy values and the 2024 election

Supporters of Harris and Trump also have fundamental differences on America's place in the world.

Harris supporters are more likely than Trump supporters to say the United States should take into account the interests of its allies, and that is at least very important for the U.S. to have an active role in world affairs.

### Harris and Trump supporters on the importance of working with U.S. allies, America's superpower role

% of registered voters who say ...



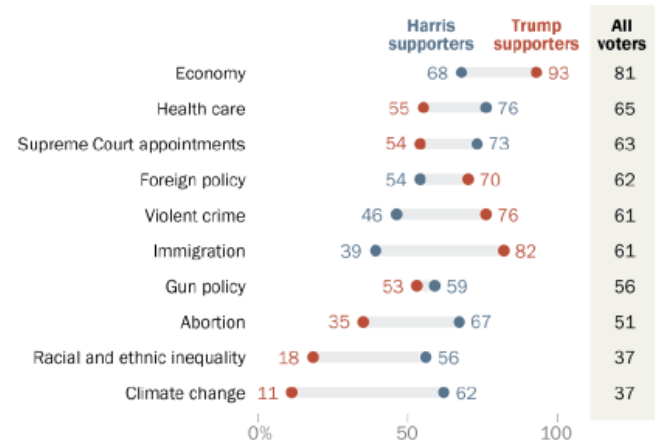
Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

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Trump supporters are more likely to support policies aimed at maintaining America's role as the world's lone military superpower.

### The economy is the top issue for voters in the 2024 election

% of registered voters who say each is **very important** to their vote in the 2024 presidential election

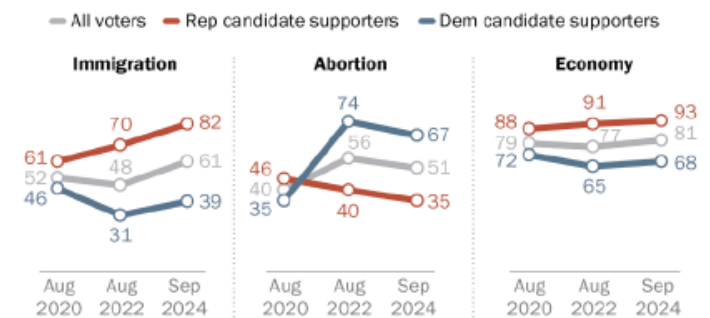


Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

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### Immigration has increased in importance among Republican voters; abortion surged in importance for Democrats in 2022, remains high today

% of registered voters who say each issue is **very important** to their vote in that year's election



Note: Based on registered voters. In 2020 and 2024, candidate supporters are for the presidential election. In 2022, candidate supporters are for the congressional election. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

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## Document 4 - A New Insight into Donald Trump's Rise

We examine data on economic mobility.

By German Lopez, *The New York Times*, July 25, 2024

A common theory about Donald Trump's appeal is that working-class white people feel they fell behind as other groups pulled ahead. He recognized the sentiment and spoke to those voters' concerns.

It turns out that those concerns are grounded in real economic changes, a new study from Harvard researchers shows. The researchers analyzed census and tax records covering 57 million children to look at people's ability to rise to the middle and upper classes — their mobility — over two recent generations. They found that it had improved among Black people and deteriorated among poor white people, as this chart by my colleague Ashley Wu shows:

## Change in expected income between generations

Income at age 27 of children who were born poor



Source: Opportunity Insights • By The New York Times

10 The study's full findings are nuanced, as Ashley and I explain in a story that The Times published today. Black people still, on average, make less money than white people, and the overall income gap remains large. But Black Americans who were born poor have gained ground while their white counterparts have lost some, narrowing the longstanding gap. That shift can help explain why some voters' attitudes have changed over the past couple of decades.

### Cutting in line

15 After Trump won in 2016, many journalists — myself included — turned to the sociologist Arlie Hochschild's book on the American right, "Strangers in Their Own Land," to try to understand what had happened. Hochschild provided a helpful analogy, one that resonates with the Harvard study's findings.

20 It goes something like this: White working-class people in red states saw the American dream as a queue moving people to prosperity. Over the past several decades, thanks to globalization and other changes, the queue stopped moving. And other groups have moved to the front of the queue. As a result, working-class white Americans often believe that their shrinking mobility is the result not just of outside forces like globalization but also of other groups that supposedly cut ahead.

25 The Harvard study suggests that white working-class conservatives were right when they felt their own mobility had slowed, or even reversed, compared with that of Black Americans. (The researchers did not find significant changes for other racial groups.) The study also found that white people born into high-income families have seen their mobility improve — meaning the drop in mobility is restricted to the white working class.

30 Trump has benefited from that reality. He has tapped into the resentment many white voters feel toward people of other races with his inflammatory and at times racist rhetoric, such as when he suggested Barack Obama was not born in the U.S. He has also criticized rich elites — which includes people who gained mobility as the working class lost out. As a result, some working-class white voters flipped from the Democratic Party to Trump between 2012 and 2016. Trump continues to have strong support from those voters, polls show.

35 Of course, the evidence does not justify racial resentment. Economists say the queue analogy doesn't reflect how the economy actually works. A growing, healthy economy creates more queues to prosperity; it's not zero-sum, as the analogy suggests. In fact, the Harvard study found that white mobility had diminished least in the places where Black mobility had improved most.

And while Black mobility has improved, it has not improved anywhere near enough to eliminate wide racial gaps between Black and white people. Gaps have narrowed, not closed.

40 Still, Trump has tapped into many white voters' fears that they have been left behind while other lawmakers, particularly Democrats, have focused on policies that help minority groups. The Harvard study helps show why Trump has been able to do that.

## Document 5 - Many Gen Z Men Feel Left Behind. Some See Trump as an Answer.

Men under 30 are much more likely to support Donald Trump than women their age. It's a far bigger gender gap than in older generations.



Supporters waiting to see Donald J. Trump in Grand Rapids, Mich., last month. Credit...Allison Dinner/EPA, via Shutterstock

By Claire Cain Miller, *The New York Times*, Aug. 24, 2024

*Claire Cain Miller called back eight young men who had told Times/Siena pollsters that they were planning to vote for Donald Trump.*

In some ways, this presidential election has become a referendum on gender roles — and the generation with the biggest difference in opinion between male and female voters is Generation Z.

On one side are young women, who as a group are very liberal, and who have been politically galvanized by gender bombshells like #MeToo, the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, and the candidacy of Vice President Kamala Harris.

On the other are young men, some of whom feel that rapidly changing gender roles have left them behind socially and economically, and see former President Donald J. Trump as a champion of traditional manhood.

### **Gen Z's Gender Gap**

When President Biden was still in the race, men ages 18 to 29 favored Mr. Trump by an average of 11 percentage points, while young women favored Mr. Biden by 28 points, according to four national New York Times/Siena College polls conducted from last December to June. That was a 39-point gender gap — far exceeding that of any older generation.

And in Times/Siena polls of six swing states this month — taken after Ms. Harris became the presumptive Democratic nominee — young men favored Mr. Trump by 13 points, while young women favored Ms. Harris by 38 points, a 51-point gap. (Our companion article on the shift among young women is [here](#).)

Mr. Trump's message has been particularly resonant for young men without college degrees and young men of color. Among men under 30 who voted for Mr. Biden in 2020, those who were sticking with him in swing-state

polls in May were more likely to be white and have college degrees than those shifting to Mr. Trump.

“Economically they're getting shafted, politically they're getting shafted, culturally no one's looking out for them,” said Daniel A. Cox, director of the Survey Center on American Life at the American Enterprise Institute, a right-leaning think tank, who has written about the youth gender gap. “They're drawn to his message, his persona, the unapologetic machismo he tries to exude.”

Gen Z men are not making a rightward shift en masse, and they are still somewhat more likely to identify as Democratic than Republican, 30 percent to 24 percent, according to data from P.R.R.I., a public opinion research firm (the rest are independents). Majorities of them support abortion rights and same-sex marriage, and even young men voting Republican are not necessarily socially conservative.

In interviews with young men planning to vote for Mr. Trump, they described feeling undervalued. They said it had become harder to be a man. They valued strength in a president. Yet they didn't express bitter misogyny or praise the exaggerated displays of brawn embraced by the Trump campaign. Their concerns were mostly economic, like whether they could fulfill the traditionally masculine role of supporting a family.

In recent years, the two parties have been seen as offering men different visions of their place in American society, researchers said. While the right has embraced conventional masculinity, the left has seemed to shun it, leaving many young men looking for an alternative.

“I'm going to talk as a feminist: *We* do it, when we try to suggest women are brilliant and men are the problem,” said Niobe Way, a professor of developmental psychology at N.Y.U. who has studied boys and men for four decades and in

July published “Rebels With a Cause: Reimagining Boys, Ourselves and Our Culture.”

Conversely, she said, “Trump is definitely saying, ‘I see you, I value you, I see your masculinity.’”

Ranger Irwin, a 20-year-old Trump voter who works at a Discount Tire in North Las Vegas, Nev., said American society no longer “lets boys be boys.”

“Men my age, from a very young age we were told, ‘You’re not supposed to do this, you’re not supposed to do that, you’re just supposed to sit here and be quiet,’” he said. It’s made being a man “a little bit harder than it used to be.”

### **Feeling unmoored**

Since women began entering the work force and higher education in large numbers in the 1970s, each generation has made strides toward economic equality with men. Today’s young women are the most educated ever — earning more college degrees than men, increasingly serving as their families’ breadwinners, and reaching pinnacles of power in American society.

For men, the last few decades have been more complicated. The share of men working has gone down. Many of the jobs that mostly men did, especially manual labor not requiring a college degree, have disappeared. The share of men without partners is growing.

As the old script for men changed, some felt as if they were left without a new one to follow.

Alec Torres, 21, a high school graduate who works in retail in Canton, Ga., and who planned to vote for Mr. Trump based on concerns about prices, said that what he wants is simple: to be able to support a family.

“We can’t afford to have children, we can barely afford three meals a day,” he said. “I want to be able to go to the doctor and afford it, I want to be able to own a home, I want to be able to have a car, I want to have a job I enjoy. I want to live, not just survive.”

He supports abortion rights, and leans progressive on other social issues: “You want to be gay or trans? Cool,” he said. But he said that boys are no longer raised to be good fathers or to provide for their families.

Democrats have been losing support among young nonwhite people (though still retaining their backing overall). Mr. Torres, who is Hispanic, Native American and Black, is planning to vote for Mr. Trump, and also liked Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

In recent years, as social progress has helped women chip away at centuries of sexism, parts of the movement have seemed to dismiss or even demonize men, with phrases like “the future is female” and “toxic masculinity” and books with titles like “The End of Men: And the Rise of Women.” As Mr. Cox noted, a page titled “Who We Serve” on the Democratic Party’s website lists 16 demographic groups, including “women” — but not men.

The ideas show up in broader society, too. American parents, who have long preferred sons, may no longer favor boys, data shows, perhaps because of a sense that boys cause more trouble. The jobs that have been increasing, like those involving caregiving, have traditionally been considered women’s work.

The shifts have left some young men feeling attacked. Almost half of men 18 to 29 say there is some or a lot of discrimination against men in American society — more than older age groups, and up from a third in 2019, Mr. Cox’s group found.

When Pew Research Center asked people whether women’s gains have come at the expense of men, less than one-fifth of respondents said yes. But among young, Trump-supporting men, 40 percent did.

“We tend to be just in general looked down upon,” said Daniel Romstad, 28, a Trump voter and a high school graduate in Lapeer, Mich., who works in auto body repair. It starts early, he said: “The school system in general is more geared toward girls just because they’re easier.”

### **The ‘testosterone ticket’**

Mr. Trump, with his cage-fighting, shirt-ripping, insult-hurling campaign, has offered an alternative, aggressive version of masculinity. His running mate, JD Vance, offers another, in his emphasis on the importance of patriarchal families and women raising children.

Together, said Christine Matthews, a pollster, they’ve created “the testosterone ticket.”

“Vance himself has said that the Democratic Party is run by childless cat ladies, and that is his projection of a sort of feminine, intolerant, not all-American party,” she said. “And then their party is exalting this sort of male, muscular, working-class, drive-a-pickup-truck, made-in-the-USA version of the party.”

In interviews, many of the young men supporting Mr. Trump said they admired his strength and macho demeanor.

Yet they did not necessarily buy into the caricature of traditional masculinity on display at the Republican convention, or the deeply misogynistic version in the “manosphere” online.

Mr. Romstad said a president should be macho: “When you’re talking about a candidate, especially as the president of the United States, you don’t want somebody who’s a pushover.”

He identifies with that type of masculinity, he said: “Oh, for sure. I do man stuff, I fix cars, I build stuff.”

But he also wishes that being a man left more room for vulnerability, “especially when it comes to mental health issues, expressing yourself type stuff,” he said. “Just overall, if you’re a dude with a problem, it’s like, ‘Just get over it.’”

Malachi Bohlmann, 23, a veteran, student and real estate entrepreneur in Phoenix, said Mr. Trump’s

strength was beneficial for border control and foreign policy.

“What I do like about Trump is his overall aura when it comes to geopolitics, and just his ability to just show the U.S. as a strong superpower,” he said. “You’re not going to mess with us.”

But while he didn’t want to vote for Mr. Biden, he’s now unsure if he’ll vote for Mr. Trump or Ms. Harris. He wants to research her plans for addressing affordable housing and border control before he decides.

Nicholas Wickizer, 22, a high school graduate in Ionia, Mich., who works on a bumper assembly line, said his vote for Mr. Trump was “set in stone” by the toughness Mr. Trump showed when he raised his fist after being shot.

But he doesn’t believe that men have lost status in modern-day society. “All the industries are dominated by men, bosses are men, there hasn’t been a woman president,” he said. “I think women deserve a little bit more.”

Though gender issues like reproductive rights are a centerpiece of Ms. Harris’s presidential campaign, she has not made her own gender a focus. Instead, it’s her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz, who has done so, by offering a different version of masculinity.

He’s a veteran, a Second Amendment supporter and a former high school football coach. Yet he worked in a female-dominated profession, teaching, and he’s comfortable talking about fatherhood and championing the rights of women and gay and transgender people.

“He represents an entirely new way of being a man, hard and soft, valuing equally both sides of his humanity,” Professor Way said.

To be successful, politicians need to see both sides of voters too, she said.

“My message to Democrats is we have to be including the needs of the people who are voting for Trump, and addressing them smack on,” she said. “Not trying to convince them they should care about immigrants or Black people or women. But what are your concerns, and what can we do to help your family thrive?”

#### Document 6

**« La misogynie triomphante de Trump n’a guère d’effet repoussoir sur les Américaines blanches peu diplômées votant pour lui »**

[Chronique](#), [Marie Charrel](#) ; *Le Monde*, 3 octobre 2024

Une majorité d’Américaines blanches peu diplômées ont donné leur voix au milliardaire républicain en 2020, sur fond d’angoisse face à l’inflation, rappelle Marie Charrel, journaliste au « Monde », dans sa chronique. Or ces angoisses économiques n’ont pas disparu.

5 Depuis quelques semaines, les exégètes de la vie politique américaine rivalisent de sagacité dans leurs analyses sur les catégories d’électeurs qui feront basculer la présidentielle du 5 novembre aux Etats-Unis. Certains rappellent le rôle primordial des *swing states*, ces Etats indécis susceptibles de pencher pour les démocrates ou les républicains au gré des scrutins. D’autres soulignent le vote déterminant des Latinos, sur le point de devenir la communauté ethnique la plus importante du pays, et jusque-là acquise à aucun camp. D’autres, encore, glosent sur le poids décisif des femmes, 10 soulignant la finesse de la candidate démocrate, Kamala Harris, lors de son débat avec Donald Trump et le soutien qu’elle a reçu de la pop star Taylor Swift, très populaire auprès des jeunes.

Il est vrai que les femmes ont un peu plus tendance que les hommes à voter démocrate – 55 % ont choisi Joe Biden en 2020. Néanmoins, parler d’elles comme d’une catégorie d’électeurs homogène n’a guère de sens, leur comportement dans les urnes variant grandement selon l’âge, le niveau d’éducation, l’origine. Ainsi, « *une grande majorité d’Afro-15 Américaines, de Latinos ou d’Asiatiques ont soutenu le candidat démocrate depuis que les données ventilées par sexe et par communauté ethnique sont disponibles* », soit depuis le début des années 1990, relève le Centre pour les femmes américaines et la politique, un institut de recherche de l’université d’Etat du New Jersey. Quatre-vingt-dix pour cent des Afro-Américaines ont ainsi voté démocrate en 2020, 94 % en 2016, 96 % en 2012 et 2008...

Si, en revanche, les femmes blanches avaient voté à peu près à parts égales pour Al Gore et Bush en 2000, leurs voix 20 se portent nettement plus vers le camp républicain depuis. La part de celles qui ont glissé un bulletin en faveur de Trump dans l’urne a même légèrement augmenté entre 2016 (52 %) et 2020 (53 % à 55 %, selon les instituts de recherche). Cette proportion est plus élevée encore chez les Blanches peu diplômées vivant à la périphérie des grandes villes, qui ont largement voté pour le milliardaire. Tout se passe comme si la misogynie triomphante de Trump, sa conception régressive de la place des femmes et son soutien aux mesures anti-avortement avaient peu d’effet repoussoir sur elles.

25 **Masculinité outrancière rassurante**



Cela pourrait sembler ahurissant si l'on oubliait qu'une majorité de femmes blanches ont voté pour le candidat républicain à toutes les présidentielles depuis 1952, à l'exception de celles de 1964 et de 1996. Que toutes les femmes n'ont pas une conception progressiste de leurs droits. Que certaines, dans le camp ultraconservateur, estiment que le droit à la vie l'emporte sur tout autre, en particulier sur celui à l'avortement – d'autant que dans son narratif, Trump a 30 efficacement lié l'opposition à l'IVG à la défense de la maternité, de la famille traditionnelle et de la nation.

Un récent article du *Financial Times* rappelle en outre que la masculinité outrancière du républicain a quelque chose de rassurant aux yeux de nombre de ses électrices blanches. Parce qu'elles côtoient des hommes du même acabit au quotidien, chez elle ou dans leur vie professionnelle. Parce qu'elles sont convaincues qu'un macho bombant le torse est plus qualifié pour mener une lutte musclée en faveur de l'emploi et contre la flambée des prix érodant le pouvoir d'achat. 35 Le héraut du « *Make America great again* » martèle ainsi que l'inflation cumulée a atteint 20 % depuis l'élection de Joe Biden, et c'est sans doute sur ce point que les démocrates pourraient perdre le scrutin.

A ces angoisses économiques s'ajoute une série d'autres raisons plus ou moins rationnelles, tels le rejet teinté de conspirationnisme des élites et la xénophobie. Dans tous les cas, il n'est pas certain que les femmes soutenant Trump se laissent émouvoir par les mots de Taylor Swift en faveur de la candidate démocrate. Elles resteront de marbre devant la 40 bataille en faveur de l'IVG que Kamala Harris, lors de son intervention au nord d'Atlanta (Géorgie) vendredi 20 septembre, a mise au cœur de sa campagne.

### Document 7 - Why Is Trump Gaining With Black and Hispanic Voters?

Five possible explanations for the increases in support, particularly among young men.

By [Nate Cohn](#), *The New York Times*, Oct. 13, 2024

[Leer en español](https://www.nytimes.com/es/2024/10/14/espanol/estados-unidos/por-que-a-trump-le-va-tan-bien-con-los-votantes-negros-e-hispanos.html?smid=url-share) <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2024/10/14/espanol/estados-unidos/por-que-a-trump-le-va-tan-bien-con-los-votantes-negros-e-hispanos.html?smid=url-share>



A Trump event in the Bronx in May rallied Black and Latino support. Credit...Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times

In 2016, Donald J. Trump became the Republican nominee and ultimately won the presidency after calling many Mexican immigrants rapists and falsely claiming that Barack Obama was not born in the United States.

5 Eight years later, the polls suggest that he might well return to the White House by faring better among Black and Hispanic voters combined than any Republican presidential nominee since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. How is this possible? It's a question I get often, and the latest 10 New York Times/Siena College polls of Black and Hispanic voters nationwide represent our best effort at answering it. Like our other surveys this cycle, the polls find Mr. Trump faring unusually well for a Republican among Black and Hispanic voters. Overall, Kamala Harris is ahead, 78 percent

15 to 15 percent, among Black voters, and she's leading, 56-37, among Hispanic voters.

Almost any way we can measure it, Mr. Trump is running as well or better among Black and Hispanic voters as any Republican in recent memory. In 2020, Joe Biden's Black 20 support was 92 percent among major-party voters; his Hispanic support was 63 percent, according to Times estimates.

The poll offers plenty of insight into Mr. Trump's strengths and Ms. Harris's weaknesses, but it does not offer a simple, 25 definitive answer. This may be unsatisfying, but it should not be surprising. After all, analysts are still debating whether Mr. Trump's strength among white working-class voters is attributable to the economy, racism, ideology, sexism, Hillary

Clinton's liabilities or one of countless other theories. There still isn't a definitive answer, even with the benefit of the final results and almost a decade of research.

The truth is there are many explanations and they're hard to untangle. Here, I'll offer five explanations offered by the survey. This list is not comprehensive — not even close. But each one plays a role in the story.

Before going on, an important thing to keep in mind: While Mr. Trump is doing far better than prior Republicans, he is still far from winning a majority of the Black or Hispanic vote. As a consequence, many of the factors helping Mr. Trump apply only to a minority of Black and Hispanic voters. Even so, Democrats have typically won these groups by such wide margins that even modest support by Black or Hispanic voters can lay the groundwork for politically significant gains.

### 1. They don't mind the dog whistles

To liberals, Mr. Trump's views on race, crime and immigration are little more than racist dog whistles. Many Black and Hispanic voters feel similarly, but a surprising number hear those dog whistles and like what they're hearing.

- Around 40 percent of Black voters and 43 percent of Hispanic voters say they support building a wall along the Southern border. Similarly, 45 percent of Hispanic voters and 41 percent of Black voters say they support deporting undocumented immigrants.
- Half of Hispanic voters and nearly half — 47 percent — of Black voters say that crime in big cities is a major problem that's gotten out of control. That's essentially the same as the share of white voters (50 percent) who say the same.

The support for Mr. Trump's views extends beyond issues related to race and immigration. A majority of Black and Hispanic voters seem to sympathize with his "America First" foreign policy, saying that America ought to pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems at home. Previous Times/Siena surveys have found that a substantial share of Black and Hispanic voters agree with Mr. Trump on trade as well.

Or put differently: There's a lot about Mr. Trump's core populist, conservative message that resonates with a sizable chunk of Black and Hispanic voters.

### 2. They're not offended; they might even be entertained

Of course, Mr. Trump hasn't just used dog whistles in his campaigns. Sometimes, he's used a bullhorn.

During his time in national politics, he has offended millions of Black and Hispanic voters, including by recently saying that Haitian refugees eat cats and dogs and that undocumented immigrants are "poisoning the blood of our country."

But a sizable minority of Black and Hispanic voters aren't necessarily so offended.

Overall, 20 percent of Black voters say that those offended by Mr. Trump take him too seriously, while 78 percent agree people have good reason to be offended.

Similarly, 40 percent of Hispanic voters say people offended by Mr. Trump take his words too seriously, while 55 percent say there's good reason to be offended. And importantly, only about one-third of Hispanic voters say Mr. Trump is talking about *them* when he's talking about problems with immigration.

Why aren't more Black and Hispanic voters offended by Mr. Trump? One possible factor: He hasn't necessarily offended them so much recently.

While most voters have been offended by Mr. Trump at some point, a substantial 53 percent of Hispanics and 95 percent of Black voters said they hadn't found anything he has said recently to be offensive. Those tallies are down a bit from earlier in the year — perhaps the remarks about Haitian refugees are a factor — but I'd guess more voters would have said they had been offended recently if we had asked the same question in the heart of the 2016 campaign.

Another factor: A sizable number of Black and Hispanic voters appear to be entertained by Mr. Trump.

In this survey, we asked voters whether they thought Ms. Harris or Mr. Trump was more "fun" — a question that could potentially capture everything from Ms. Harris's claim to "joy" to Mr. Trump's "locker-room talk."

Overall, voters said Ms. Harris was more "fun" than Mr. Trump — she even led on "fun" among white voters, even though Mr. Trump led among white voters in the poll.

But among Black and Hispanic voters, the story was a bit more complicated. They do rate Ms. Harris as more "fun," but by a much narrower margin than her lead over Mr. Trump in the presidential race. Mr. Trump's relative strength on "fun" comes almost entirely from men; he led on the measure among Hispanic men. Age is a factor, too: Younger voters are far likelier to find Mr. Trump "fun" with respect to Ms. Harris than voters over 65.

Put all of this together, and Mr. Trump isn't quite as unpopular as you might guess among Black and Hispanic voters. Overall, 17 percent of Black voters and 41 percent of Hispanic voters say they have a favorable view of him.

### 3. It's the economy, stupid

It's obvious, and yet it still doesn't get enough attention.

Many people assume that Democrats win Black and Hispanic voters simply because of the party's commitment to advancing racial equality, but the role of economic self-interest should not be underestimated. Democrats started winning Black and Hispanic voters in the 1930s, not in the 1960s, because Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal helped redefine the Democrats as the party of the working class, not just the party of the former Confederacy.

Just 20 percent of Hispanic voters and 26 percent of Black voters say the current economic conditions are good or excellent. More than half of both groups say they have

135 “often” cut back on groceries over the last year because of the cost.

This is important for economically vulnerable voters — especially those who have previously voted for Democrats on the assumption that they represented their economic  
140 interests. Overall, the economy was the most-cited issue among Black and Hispanic voters when asked what would most decide their vote this November.

As a celebrity billionaire businessman, Mr. Trump has always had an advantage on this issue, whether against Mrs.  
145 Clinton or Mr. Biden. Now, Mr. Trump is running again at a time when voters are more dissatisfied with the economy than before, and when many look back on Mr. Trump’s presidency as a prosperous and peaceful time. Ms. Harris has a mere 69-25 lead among Black voters who rate the economy  
150 as the most important factor for their vote; Mr. Trump leads, 61-35, among Hispanic voters who say the economy matters most.

When combined with the rest of Mr. Trump’s populist pitch, the poll finds that the Democratic core brand  
155 advantage as the party of the working class has eroded. Black and Hispanic voters still see Democrats as the party of the working class, but only by a 76-18 margin in the case of Black voters and a 56-35 advantage among Hispanics. It’s a notable shift from September 2022, when Democrats had a 58-27  
160 lead among Hispanic voters by this measure.

#### 4. The end of hope and change

Even beyond the poor state of the economy, there’s something deeper holding Democrats back: a sense that voting for them just won’t make much of a difference.  
165 Of all the questions in the survey, perhaps the single worst one for Democrats was on the question of which party best “keeps its promises.” Just 63 percent of Black voters and 46 percent of Hispanic voters said “keeps its promises” describes the Democratic Party better than the Republicans.  
170 Black and Hispanic voters don’t necessarily doubt Democratic intentions, but they are disappointed in the results. Democrats fared poorly on questions like whether the party can “fix the problems facing people like me,” even as they excelled on “understand the problems facing people  
175 like me.”

In the presidential race, few seem to be convinced that Ms. Harris will make a difference in their lives. Just 50 percent of Hispanic voters said Ms. Harris would do more to help them personally, while 37 percent said the same for Mr. Trump.  
180 Among Black voters, 73 percent said Ms. Harris would do more to help them personally, compared with 14 percent who said the same for Mr. Trump.

Why are Democrats doing so poorly on these measures? Much of it, of course, is about the state of the economy  
185 today. But for a decade this problem could be heard between the lines — in focus groups and interviews and polls of Black and Hispanic voters — stemming from a perceived failure of

Mr. Obama’s presidency to bring the kind of change that many hoped it might.

190 In a way, Democrats are suffering the cost of having held the presidency for 12 of the last 16 difficult years. The period began with high hopes, most of all for Black voters. Today, voters remain deeply dissatisfied with the state of the country and the economy. Great expectations weren’t met.

#### 195 5. For a new generation, Trump is ‘normal’

The Times/Siena polls suggest Mr. Trump has made his largest gains among young Black and Hispanic voters — especially young Black and Hispanic men.

Overall, he has a 55-38 lead among Hispanic men 45 or  
200 younger. Ms. Harris leads among Black men under 45, but only by 69-27. The results among 18-to-29-year-old Hispanic and Black men are even more striking, though the samples are small.

In contrast, Ms. Harris holds far more typical leads for a  
205 Democrat among younger women, with a 68-30 edge among Hispanic women under 45 and 87-6 among young Black women.

These young men came of age long after the civil rights movement that cemented nearly unanimous Democratic  
210 support among Black voters 60 years ago. The youngest were toddlers during the Obama ’08 campaign. They may not have a vivid memory of Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign. To them, Mr. Trump may be “normal” — a fixture of their lives to this point, naturally making it harder to depict him as a norm-  
215 defying “threat to democracy.”

While these events forged and cemented Democratic loyalties among their elders, today’s young Black and Hispanic voters have come of age in a different era. There was the political, economic and cultural upheaval of the  
220 Trump era and the pandemic, including lockdowns and vaccine mandates; the Black Lives Matter movement; and the backlash against “woke” that followed. They experienced rising cost of goods and housing just as they entered their first years of independent living.

The poll offers relatively little evidence about how these events shaped the political views of young Black and Hispanic men. Prior Times/Siena polling has found a sliver of young Black and Hispanic men who appear relatively moderate on traditional economic and cultural issues, but also seem  
230 to resent the prevailing “politically correct” or “woke” cultural norms of their generation. It may also be worth noting that young voters were especially likely to say Mr. Trump was “fun.”

What’s perhaps most important, however, is that Mr. Trump  
235 has made his largest gains among voters who were political blank slates. If Mr. Trump was going to surge among groups with traditional loyalties to Democrats, it makes sense that it manifested among the younger, less engaged voters who had weak or no previous attachment to the Democratic Party.

240 This same phenomenon, however, leaves lingering doubts about whether all of Mr. Trump’s gains will materialize on

Election Day. Young Black and Hispanic men are not the most reliable, high-turnout voters. Indeed, a disproportionate share of Mr. Trump’s Black and Hispanic supporters say they will “probably” support Mr. Trump, but not “definitely.”

But whatever happens this November, today’s young Black and Hispanic voters will be the regular Black and Hispanic voters of the future. Even if Mr. Trump’s support is not fully

realized in the final results this November, it may only be a matter of time before Republicans break through.

Nate Cohn is The Times’s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling. [More about Nate Cohn](#)

## Document 8 - In this election, there’s a better choice for Black and Latino voters

The two groups always fare better economically under a Democratic president.

By [Perry Bacon Jr.](#), *The Washington Post*, October 15, 2024

Unusually high numbers of Black and Latino voters are considering voting Republican this fall. They are making a mistake — Democratic presidents are better for both groups.

Zoltan Hajnal, a political scientist at the University of California, San Diego, [recently released a paper](#) in which he examined economic outcomes for Black and Latino Americans from the 1970s through 2022. Using data from the Census Bureau, he found that median family incomes grew much more for Black and Latino Americans under Democratic presidents than Republicans. Black family income increased by about \$1,000 each year a Democrat was president, compared with \$335 during Republican administrations. For Latinos, it was \$800 each year under Democratic leadership and \$100 during Republican administrations.

The percentages of Black and Latino children living above the poverty line grew much more during Democratic administrations, as did the percentages of Black and Latino adults who were employed. Income, child poverty and unemployment gaps between Black and Latino Americans and Whites showed steeper declines when a Democrat was president. This pattern has held true in recent years, Hajnal says, with Black and Latino Americans making greater economic gains during Joe Biden’s presidency than Donald Trump’s.

And this was not a zero-sum finding. White incomes went up about the same rate under Democratic administrations (\$967 per year) as under Republicans (\$879). “If Democrats had been in power over the entire period examined in this report, much of America’s racial gaps in income and poverty may well have been erased,” Hajnal concludes.

I don’t want to pin too much on one study. Perhaps other scholars have less partisan and less stark findings. And Hajnal is not exactly sure *why* Black and Latino Americans have done better economically under Democratic presidents. He noted that research has shown [greater overall economic growth when Democrats are in charge](#). So, although this is a conservative mantra, perhaps a rising tide lifted all boats.

Another potential explanation, as Hajnal nods at, is that Democrats have created policies specifically designed to reduce economic and racial inequality — and those have most likely succeeded in some ways. President Barack Obama’s signature initiative was an attempt to expand health insurance and therefore reduce out-of-pocket health-care costs, a policy that disproportionately benefited low-income Americans. Blacks and Latinos, on average, [have lower incomes than Whites](#). The Biden administration made [reducing the Black unemployment rate](#) a major goal, and this has happened.

In contrast, the administrations of George W. Bush and Trump both pushed through tax cuts that disproportionately benefited the wealthy, [a group that is heavily White](#).

So although I hadn’t previously seen a study showing better economic outcomes for Black and Latino Americans under Democratic presidents, the results are not surprising.

Why are Black and Latino voters shifting right, then? I don’t want to overstate this. It’s likely that close to [85 percent of Black voters](#) and nearly [60 percent of Latinos](#) will back Vice President [Kamala Harris](#), much more than her expected level of White support ([about 40 percent](#)). But that’s down from about 90 percent (Black) and 65 percent (Latino) support for the Democrat in [2012 and 2016](#).

First, some noneconomic issues are at play. A sizable bloc of Latinos [are evangelical Christians](#), connecting them more with the Republican Party. Many Black and Latino voters backing Trump describe themselves as [conservative ideologically](#). They are skeptical of [increased immigration, the Black Lives Matter movement and greater transgender rights](#). For these culturally conservative voters, backing Republicans makes sense.

40 Second, Black and Latino Americans probably don't think they are making enough gains under Democratic administrations. The median figures for Black and Latino family wealth — about \$27,000 and \$49,000, respectively — remain significantly below that of White families (\$250,000). When I talk to Black voters, I hear a lot of fatigue about the Democratic Party; essentially, “We keep voting for them and nothing really changes.” I assume many Latinos feel the same way.

45 Voting Republican doesn't make sense empirically, but the U.S. political system offers only two real choices, so it's not surprising that groups who feel left behind want to try something different.

Third, it's not as if Democrats are overtly bragging about being the party that helps Black and Latino voters get ahead. I suspect Democrats know they are better for these groups because the party is more supportive of redistributing wealth and targeting programs to help minorities than Republicans. But stating that openly is politically  
50 fraught and might annoy White voters, who are about 70 percent of the electorate.

All that said, Democrats are going to win the clear majority of Black and Latino votes. And they should. Trump's plans to limit federal scrutiny of local police departments and further empower Immigration and Customs Enforcement would almost certainly result in more Black and Latino Americans being abused by police and deported. Harris's economic policies would put more money into the hands of parents, first-time home buyers and other groups  
55 that include lots of Blacks and Latinos.

It's good that Black and Latino Americans are considering their choices and not just backing Democrats because they always have. But looking at both past and current policies, they should stick with the Democrats for now.

### Opinion, Guest Essay

#### Document 9 - Why Do People Like Elon Musk Love Donald Trump? It's Not Just About Money.

*The New York Times*, Sept. 25, 2024

By Chris Hughes

*Chris Hughes is the chair of the Economic Security Project and the author of the forthcoming book “Marketcrafters: The 100-Year Struggle to Shape the American Economy.” He is a co-founder of Facebook.*

5 On a Friday morning in May, a day after Donald Trump was convicted on 34 felony counts in a scheme to influence the 2016 election by falsifying business records, I met a tech leader for breakfast in the Flatiron district of  
10 Manhattan. A lifelong Democrat, he had recently reinvented himself as an ardent Trump supporter. Unmoved by the conviction, he was on his way to a fundraiser for the former president about a week later (starting ticket price: \$50,000).

15 I co-founded Facebook in college 20 years ago, but I left California and start-up culture behind long ago for public policy and economics. As we sat over scrambled eggs, chicken sausage and whole-wheat toast, I was struck by how many of the wealthiest and most powerful figures in  
20 Silicon Valley — including some I knew — were now loudly backing Mr. Trump.

The event my companion jetted off to raised \$12 million in a single evening. Among the former president's highest-profile backers in the Valley are the venture capitalists  
25 Marc Andreessen and Ben Horowitz, who endorsed Mr. Trump on their podcast, and Elon Musk, who founded one of the most well-funded super PACs supporting his campaign. Mr. Trump claims that Mark Zuckerberg called him to say that he wouldn't support a Democrat in

30 November, although Mr. Zuckerberg's spokesperson denied the claim.

It would be easy to write off tech's rightward drift as nothing more than the rich acting in their economic self-interest, but Silicon Valley has always been driven by  
35 profit, and it hasn't tilted Republican since the 1980s. Even now, it remains largely Democratic, though even some of Kamala Harris's strongest Valley supporters worry about how she might approach tech policy.

Mr. Trump appeals to some Silicon Valley elites because  
40 they identify with the man. To them, he is a fellow victim of the state, unjustly persecuted for his bold ideas. Practically, he is also the shield they need to escape accountability. Mr. Trump may threaten democratic norms and spread disinformation; he could even set off a  
45 recession, but he won't challenge their ability to build the technology they like, no matter the social cost.

These leaders are betting they can sway Mr. Trump to their ideas through public support and financial backing, and they might be right. Once a critic of cryptocurrency,  
50 he has shifted to opposing regulation after crypto executives donated to his campaign, and this month he and his sons unveiled a crypto business. Mr. Trump recently proposed a “government efficiency commission” — an idea Mr. Musk floated to him only weeks earlier. While  
55 Mr. Trump's allies in Silicon Valley may be few, their support could grant them influence over how his potential second administration — and by extension, the Republican Party — shapes tech policy for years to come.

As much as they want to influence Mr. Trump’s policies, 60 they also want to strike back at the Biden-Harris administration, which they believe has unfairly targeted their industry.

More than any other administration in the internet era, President Biden and Ms. Harris have pushed tech 65 companies toward serving the public interest. Key to their approach is the support of start-ups to counterbalance the dominance of tech giants, whose combined market value eclipses the G.D.P. of many countries. Brian Deese, the former director of Mr. Biden’s National Economic 70 Council, has made clear that “big” companies are not inherently bad. But when they wield their market power, they can unfairly increase prices, narrow consumer choice, lower wages and impede the innovation that comes from fruitful competition.

Over the past three years, the Federal Trade 75 Commission and Department of Justice have taken on some of the largest tech companies — Facebook, Google, Amazon and Apple — arguing that they’ve stifled competition and harmed consumers. They’ve already 80 made progress, including a major antitrust ruling against Google that could create momentum for other cases.

It’s not just antitrust. Mr. Biden’s Securities and Exchange Commission, led by Gary Gensler, another target of the tech elite backlash, has aggressively reined in 85 cryptocurrencies, the mistakenly named category of products that offers little practical value to most Americans. The Biden-Harris administration also issued a landmark executive order last year that created a framework to ensure that artificial intelligence 90 technologies are safe and fair.

Most Americans see these actions as overdue. They blame tech companies for contributing to the mental health crisis among teenagers, political polarization, rampant misinformation and privacy violations. Many of us, 95 reading the evidence about social media’s negative effects on our children, do not want to make the same mistake of failing to create guardrails for new technologies, however promising they may be.

Mr. Trump’s tech supporters see it differently. Echoing 100 monopolists of the past, they say they are the victims of zealous progressives who want to overregulate the industry. Constraints on their market power threaten the growth of their businesses — and challenge their foundational belief that technological advancement is 105 good in and of itself.

Last year, Mr. Andreessen, whose venture capital firm is heavily invested in crypto, wrote a widely discussed “manifesto” claiming that enemy voices of “bureaucracy, 110 vetocracy, gerontocracy” are opposed to the “pursuit of technology, abundance and life.” In a barely concealed critique of the Biden-Harris administration, he argued that those who believe in carefully assessing the impact of new technologies before adopting them are “*deeply* immoral.”

It’s not surprising then that tech titans feel some 115 camaraderie with Mr. Trump, who portrays himself as a savior and a martyr. Like them, he doesn’t want to have to play by the rules or entertain challenges to his vision for a “better” America. “Nobody knows the system better than me,” he said in his first presidential run, “which is why I 120 alone can fix it.” He launched his 2024 campaign by saying, “I am a victim,” and continues to claim that the justice system is rigged, as are elections. He will fight for self-perceived victims of all sorts, even (or especially) the ones who live in gilded mansions.

Arguments like Mr. Andreessen’s offer a false choice 125 between economic and technological advancement — made possible by boundary-breaking business leaders — and ineffective, bureaucratic regulation. I, too, am a techno-optimist, and I believe that the world is largely 130 better off because of the avalanche of technologies that have emerged over the past two decades. But just as we needed rules of the road for cars and safety regulations for planes, we need to manage these new technologies through public policy to ensure we like what they are doing to us, 135 not resign ourselves to letting them run wild.

Some Republicans have appeared to realize this, which can make the budding alliance between tech and Mr. Trump seem strange at first glance. A group of economic nationalists, which includes JD Vance, claims to want 140 more oversight of tech companies. Teaming up with Democrats, Senator Lindsey Graham has proposed a digital regulatory agency and Senator Josh Hawley has proposed a particularly aggressive framework to manage A.I. companies. Mr. Vance himself has said that Mr. 145 Biden’s F.T.C. chair, Lina Khan, is “doing a pretty good job.”

In the presidential race, however, stray remarks about antitrust from Mr. Trump’s running mate hold little weight with the candidate himself. Mr. Trump controls his party, 150 and tech leaders know the only voice that truly matters is the last one he heard whispering in his ear.