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HOW TRUMP HAS CHANGED THE REPUBLICANS TO THE PEOPLE'S PARTY?

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ЯК ТРАМП ПЕРЕТВОРИВ РЕСПУБЛІКАНСЬКУ ПАРТІЮ НА НАРОДНУ?

АНОТАЦІЇ (ABSTRACTS), КЛЮЧОВІ СЛОВА (KEY WORDS)

Problem statement. The accepted working assumption on the eve of the 2020 Presidential Election in the US was that his image, as well as the perception that he holds negative opinions regarding immigrants and immigration while supported by white supremacists, would result in voters casting their ballot based on racial or ethnic considerations to vote against him.

The purpose of the work was aimed at examining that linkage, to see if it took place in reality, or rather if voting needs to be looked at as a choice made based on class and stature, not racial background. To study this problem used **methods** - comparative law – model 2016 voting patterns were compared to 2020 exit polls based on racial background. The findings showed that support for President Trump rose across all races, sometimes more than doubling. Method of analysis – at the same time the votes were analyzed based on class distribution. Three batches were selected for the statistical study were chosen: the poor of America, the average of America, and the rich of America. One district was chosen from each state, and 147 districts from across the US were looked at. The research shows that as one climbs the social ladder, support for President Trump declines. Or, in the context of this paper: the lower one is on the social class ladder, especially among the 'forgotten' periphery, the higher the approval and support rate of President Trump is. **Conclusions.** Ethnicity: The results show an increase in support for Trump across all ethnicities in the US during the 2020 election compared to 2016: Muslims +337 %; Indian +75 %; Asian +66.7 %; African American +50 %; Latino/Hispanic +14.29 %; White +7.41 %. Social Class: The results show a different voting pattern based on social classes across the US: Rich America – 41 of the 49 richest counties saw Trump lose support. Average American – 15 counties saw a decline in support, one had no change, and Trump's support increased in 33 of the 49 counties. Poor America – 40 of the 49 poorest counties saw Trump gain support, while he lost support in six counties and two remained unchanged

Key words: *President Trump; Republican Party; New-Deal coalition*

Постановка проблеми. Прийнятим робочим припущенням напередодні президентських виборів 2020 року в США було те, що його імідж, а також уявлення про те, що він дотримується негативних думок щодо іммігрантів та імміграції, в той час як його підтримують білі супрематисти, призведуть до того, що виборці віддадуть свій голос на основі расових або етнічних міркування, щоб голосувати проти нього. **Метою роботи** є вивчити цей зв'язок, щоб з'ясувати, чи відбувся він насправді, точніше, чи потрібно розглядати голосування як вибір, який робиться на основі класу та статусу, а не расового походження. Для вивчення розглянутої проблеми застосовані **методи** – порівняльно-правовий – модель голосування 2016 року порівнювалась із виборчими дільницями 2020 року на основі расового походження. Результати показали, що підтримка президента Трампа зросла у всіх расах, іноді більш ніж удвічі. Метод аналізу – одночасно голоси аналізували на основі розподілу за класами. Для дослідження статистичним методом було обрано три партії районів: бідні Америки, середні Америки та багаті Америки. З кожного штату було обрано по одному округу, а загалом було розглянуто 147 районів з усього США. Дослідження показує, що коли хтось піднімається по соціальних сходах, підтримка президента Трампа зменшується. Або, в контексті цієї статті: чим нижчий є на сходах соціального класу, особливо серед "забутої" периферії, тим вищий рівень схвалення та підтримки президента Трампа. **Висновки.** Етнічна приналежність: результати показують збільшення підтримки Трампа серед усіх етнічних груп у США під час виборів 2020 року порівняно з 2016 роком: мусульмани +337 %; Індійці +75 %; Азіати +66,7 %; Афро-

американці +50 %, латиноамериканці / іспаномовні +14,29 %; Білі +7,41 %. Соціальний клас: Результати показують різну схему голосування на основі соціальних класів у США: багата Америка – 41 із 49 найбагатших країн бачив, що Трамп втратив підтримку; середній американці – у 15 округах спостерігалось зниження підтримки, в одному не відбулося змін, а підтримка Трампа зросла у 33 з 49 округів; бідна Америка – 40 з 49 найбідніших округів бачили, як Трамп отримав підтримку, тоді як він втратив підтримку в шести округах, а два залишились незмінними

Ключові слова: Президент Трамп; Республіканська партія; Коаліція Нового курсу

Problem statement

In the days ahead of the 2020 Presidential Election, commentators dealt intensely with the question of racial motivation, which was meant to determine the outcome. The assumption was that angry ethnic minorities would look to repay Trump and decide the fate of the 2020 campaigns. The rationale was as follows: in 2016, many of these minorities chose not to partake in the democratic process, and by sitting out, they allowed Trump to enter the White House. Op-ed headlines, including an AP one titled "Election emerges as referendum on race relations in America," [1] placed Trump's apparent promotion of racism in the spotlight. The University of Berkley's blog interviewed faculty members on this topic. The post headline read: "Election 2020: A referendum on racial justice in America." [2]

"In this election, Trump has decided to attack Black people directly. He has decided to deploy the military in response to a movement that is expressing grievances about historical and present anti-Black racism. He has tried to win over white voters by claiming that Black people are going to take over the suburbs," Professor of law Khiara M. Bridges said in the article. "He is doing the same thing that his attacks on Mexican people did in 2016, the same thing that his attacks on Muslim people did in 2016. He is attempting to exclude from the body politic –exclude from what is imagined as American – all things that are not white."

Professor Russell Robinson, also from Berkley's Law Department and the Faculty Director, Center on Race, Sexuality & Culture, described what the elections were about: "We're at a turning point, and the hope that I have and the people in my community have, which includes anti-racist White folks and anti-racists who are Latinx and Asian American, and of course, Black folks, is that the country will repudiate Trump and his white nationalist project."

Professor Patrick Naranjo, The American Indian Graduate Program (AIGP) Director, said the following: "It's going to be a difficult process, but I actually feel that we are at that moment where folks want to see change. A lot of people are tired of having to navigate or interpret that specific history that was created from some of these institutional, or colonial

– maybe just, say, old procedures and processes that have brought us to this moment of frustration... These are some of the common conversations that we're having with things like native identity, immigration, social justice, unrest from Black Lives Matter."

There are ranges of explanations to the fact that so many people believed the 2020 campaign would revolve around racial tensions in the US. The most central one might be the COVID-19 pandemic and ensuing crisis, and its effects on various populations. An October *New York Times* editorial titled "After a summer of racial reckoning, race is on the ballot" analyzed the factors which caused social unrest in America as a catalyst for the public's mobilization to vote on certain issues: "Hoping to harness the energy at demonstrations amid a national conversation about race, organizers pushed massive voter registration drives over the summer. The Movement for Black Lives, a coalition of activist groups, hosted a series of virtual town halls and conventions focused on election issues. And local chapters of Black Lives Matter hosted Instagram live chats with candidates to weigh their positions on issues of race and policing." [3]

Many of those leading the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement were quoted before the elections as intentionally steering the conversation to the point at which the elections would pose race, and systemic or institutionalized racism, as the key question voters need to answer.

For example, LaTosha Brown, co-founder for Black Voters Matter Fund was quoted by *ABC News* as saying: "The Black community is fed up with the state-sanctioned violence, the police brutality, and violence against the community. The folks that we're talking to, they are looking for a radical transformation of how policing takes place in this country, and they want to see changes in the criminal justice system, which has exploited and devastated our community." [4]

However, African Americans were not the only ones looking at race as the key element to mobilize voters. In addition, Muslim activists, including those who created the #MyMuslimVote hashtag, wanted to get people to vote against a president viewed as Islamophobic. This was captured in an article titled:

“Trump's travel ban and Islamophobia could drive a record turnout of Muslims in the US election.” [5]

The piece frames the racial issue as “prevailing concerns over Islamophobia and Mr. Trump’s so-called Muslim travel ban – an executive order banning foreign nationals from some predominantly Muslim countries from visiting the US – are understood to be significant factors motivating stronger engagement.” Mr. Ishraq Ali of the MPower Change organization said, “Islamophobia and anti-Muslim bias, white nationalism – many members in the community are observing and witnessing this.” Therefore, he added, they were registering and mobilizing people to vote. The understanding Trump was supposed to take a hit during the 2020 elections was also obvious in Mehmet Ozalp's piece, “Who will Muslim Americans vote for in the US elections?” Ozalp, the Director of The Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilization and Executive Member of Public and Contextual Theology at Charles Sturt University, wrote:

It is unclear if Trump’s poor handling of the pandemic has caused a decline in Muslim support for Trump. But two other actions of his still concern Muslim voters. The first is the 2017 Executive Order 13769 that banned Muslims from seven countries—Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Iran, Yemen, Libya and Somalia—from entering the United States on grounds that these states were supporting terrorism. The order also indefinitely suspended entry to the US for all Syrian refugees. The executive order came to be known as the “Muslim ban” and was criticized for targeting Muslims “because of their faith”. The ban had a huge impact on the freedom of travel for many Muslim Americans who were not citizens. The second was the 2018 move of the US embassy in Israel to Jerusalem, in effect recognizing Jerusalem as a Jewish capital. This infuriated Palestinians and Muslims around the world [6].

Race-based Voting Patterns in the US

At the time this article is being written, not all the data is available on individuals’ vote counting. Yet, the goals were to try to bring the information as close as possible to Election Day. Therefore, comparative attempts were done using existing data from various think tanks using the 2016 election data, compared to the networks’ 2020 exit polling data. It is important to stress that the significant increase in the use of mail-in ballots might create a larger deviation than normal in the exit polls.

The Muslim Voice in America

2016: According to PEW estimates, the 2016 elections saw 8 % of Muslims vote for Donald

Trump, while Hillary Clinton received the support of 78 % of Muslim voters. [7]

2020: Chicago University's NORC Institute bases Information on a survey for the Associated Press, featuring over 110,000 respondents from around the US. In this survey, 35 % of Muslim voters supported Trump, compared to 64 % voting for Joe Biden. [7] These numbers are especially surprising, when they are seen on the backdrop of a 2017 PEW survey which found that 2 of 3 Muslims identify as Democrats. [8]

According to this, there is a 337% increase in the support for Trump since 2016, and – when looking at the 2018 data—an increase of 169 % since 2018.

The Indian Vote in America

2016: Based on the AAPI DATA estimates, some four million Americans of Indian descent live in the US. Of them, some 16 % voted for Trump while 76 % supported Clinton. [9]

2020: In the 2020 Presidential Elections, Kamala Harris was the Democratic vice-presidential nominee. Her mother had immigrated to the US from India. Despite this fact, which should have helped preserve the Indian vote, AAPI DATA shows an increase of support in Trump, with 28 % voting for him, and the Biden-Harris ticket getting only 66 % of the vote. [10]

The Afro-American Vote

2016: Hillary Clinton won an impressive 88 % of votes, while only 8 % were given to Trump. [11]

2020: Based on NBC's exit poll, President Trump increased his support among Afro-Americans by 50 %, bringing it to 12 % of Afro-American voters supporting Trump. [12] Biden received the remaining 88 %.

The Hispanic/Latino Vote

2016: According to PEW, Hillary Clinton won 66 % of the Hispanic vote, while Trump received 28 % of the vote. [13]

2020: According to the NBC exit poll, President Trump gained 32 % of the Hispanic vote, an increase of over 14 % compared to the 2016 elections. Biden received 65 % of the vote.

Asian American Vote

2016: Based on data from the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), 18 % of the Asian American vote went to Trump in 2016, while Clinton won 79 % of it. [14]

2020: According to data from the same research institute, the AALDEF, exit polls showed trump winning 30 % of the Asian American vote in 2020, a 66.67 % increase. Biden received 67 % of the vote in this community. [15]

The 'White' Vote

Trends show that also among the so-called 'white voters,' Trump managed to increase his support. This was the key populace in his 2016 surprise presidential victory.

2016: According to PEW, Trump won an overall 54 % of the white vote in America. When broken down, it was apparent men supported him more than women did: 62 % of white American men, and 47 % of white American women. Clinton received over 34 % of the white vote, with 32 % support among white men and 46 % from white women. [16]

2020: NBC's exit poll marked Trump as winning 58 % of the white vote, with 61 % of white men voting for him alongside 55 % white women. Biden, on the other hand, won 41 % of the white vote, taking 38 % of white men's votes and 44 % of white women's.

The conclusion arising from all these parameters is that not only is Donald Trump not losing votes because of their racial identity, but is actually increasing his performance and support across all races in America. Messages about these communities becoming anti-Trump bastions, as detailed in countless published pieces in the academic papers and popular press simply did not materialize in the 2020 presidential election. Moreover, President Trump became the candidate to capture the largest portion of Republican non-white voters since 1960. [17]

As of today, the electorates have not yet finalized the vote; however, based on the counting, it appears Joe Biden will be the 46th President of the United States. However, if all the defined racial voting patterns (the indexing did not include terms like 'other' or 'multi-racial') demonstrated an increase in the support towards the incumbent president, and weren't the main voting issue, what can be the alternative explanation? What is the question dividing America, and what was the 2020 election actually about?

The 'Big Tent' Coalitions of Roosevelt and Trump

During the 1930s, the US was recuperating from the Great Depression. The 1932 Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR), introduced a new strategy of targeting voters. The idea was to introduce a long-term electoral shift, which would rely on a winning coalition of blue-collar workers, minorities, and residents of the southern states. This strategy not only won the 1932 election, it also altered traditional voting patterns in the Democratic Party up to that date. According to David Hopkins, Roosevelt created the

new reality. "The New-Deal coalition, constructed under the big tent of the Democratic Party in 1932, is what gave President Roosevelt four terms in office and created a long-term hold in Congress. The coalition is described as an alliance of 'the socially deprived'—the poor people in the cities, the working class, union members, Catholics and Jews, farmers, African-Americans from the North and White from the South—united under one objective and a demand for Federal action during a period of financial catastrophe." [18]

What is interesting and defining of this alliance, is that it is an alliance of people with a certain economic standing, and this is the glue-holding people from different backgrounds, upbringings, and races together, as described by Richard Viguerie:

"This 'big tent' approach is exactly what kept the Democrats in power for so long. FDR's coalition brought together people who felt very uncomfortable being in the same room as each other – white Dixiecrats, Jews and blacks, farmers and university intellectuals." [19] Overall, it was FDR who, in 1932, cast the foundation connecting everything. Alan Hickord defined it well: "Franklin D. Roosevelt put together the coalition of overlooked and forgotten minorities that is still an important part of the Democratic Party." [20]

At President Trump's Inauguration Ceremony, on November 9, 2016, he pledged the "forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer." [21] It was no accident the phrase "forgotten men" was used. In fact, Trump decided to use Roosevelt's wording, who coined the phrase as the reason for rebuilding the economy from the bottom up. The term forgotten man was first introduced in a 1932 speech by FDR, in a pledge Amity Shlaes described as follows: "If elected, Roosevelt promised, he would act in the name of 'the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid'." [22] To do so, Shlaes continues, Roosevelt found ways to provide them with federal budgets.

Another common line can be found in the way the party establishment looked at steering the ship towards the bottom of the economic pyramid. FDR, who coined this phrase in his famous 1932 radio address, caused an uproar among many in his party who thought such a pivot would lead to clashes between classes in America. He believed that the party's future should be redesigned so that it would rely upon "the forgotten, the unorganized but the indispensable units of economic power which exists in America's working class." [23]

According to Barry Eidlin, Roosevelt managed to use the Great Depression as a tool to mobilize

people from lower classes, through the term “forgotten men”. “FDR appealed to the working class and positioned the Democratic Party as the ‘natural’ home for those voters. In turn, the working class identified with the Democratic Party as their party, and they saw in Roosevelt a ‘friend and protector’ and voted accordingly.” [24]

Trump, who followed FDR in this context, tried to repeat what was successfully demonstrated in the 1930s of the 20th Century. Ben Bradlee outlined the similarities in the strategy chosen by Trump to captivate the votes of the lower echelons: “The loss of five million manual jobs since 2000, along with stagnation in wages, caused anger to boil. The power of talk shows on the radio, TV networks and the rising power of social networks, helped Trump’s ‘Make America Great Again’ campaign, alongside the nostalgia of ‘reuniting the base’ of [Republican] voters. As to Trump’s statement about the ‘forgotten men’ – it was an attempt to echo Roosevelt’s 1932 message about the forgotten men at the bottom of America’s economic and social pyramid.” [25]

The element of caring for the forgotten people took an important place also in Trump’s speech from January 2017. At the start of that address, he said: “January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before.” He then continued, and went on to end his speech by saying the following: “So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny [...] Together, We Will Make America Great Again.” [26]

On the Growing Gap between Classes in America

Recent years have seen the gaps between classes in America brought to a new resolution. The dividing line is no longer geographic, or “Red States” versus “Blue States,” but rather Rural America versus Urban and Suburban America. In addition, the stats still defined by their political colors, when one looks closely, can be broken down by this paradigm; usually, the Blue States feature large, influential urban and suburban centers, while Red States have more of a rural influence and impact.

It is not coincidence that Trump speaks of those

areas as “forgotten men and women,” the people society ignores, in a world changing the way it manufactures, shops, invents, and acts. A report by the US Chamber Technology Engagement Center from March 2019 found that “Rural America comprises over 18 million households and over 37 million adults. While accounting for nearly 15 % of the adult population and covering over 72% of the land, annual revenues of businesses located in rural areas make up less than 10% of the U.S. economy (approximately \$ 3.1 trillion). Due to lack of opportunities, a large portion of rural residents have been migrating to urban areas for new or better jobs. Currently, about 17.5 million rural adults (over 47 %) are either unemployed or are not actively looking for jobs.” [27]

Over the years and under the auspices of various international agreements and treaties, such as the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the US, Canada, and Mexico, a large part of the American industrial segment, those producing “made in the USA” products, found itself crossing the border and manufacturing at a cheaper cost. The automobile industry is a leading example of this. In 2017, the Department of Agriculture’s Economic Research Service published a report titled *Rural Manufacturing Survival and Its Role in the Rural Economy*. This paper analyzed the field between 2000 and 2015, finding a decrease of 30 % in the number of people employed in manufacturing. [28] The report notes that, “Manufacturing provides more jobs and higher earnings in rural areas than many other sectors, including agriculture and mining. Manufacturing is also relatively more important to the rural economy than to the urban economy. Between 2001 and 2015, a period that included the 2001 and 2007 – 09 recessions, manufacturing employment fell by close to 30 percent, however. Because of manufacturing’s prevalence in rural America, this decline hit rural areas disproportionately hard.”

Unfortunately, this issue is not relevant only to manufacturing and agriculture, but also to trade in those same areas. A report by the State of Minnesota found that “rural grocery store owners want to pass the baton to a new generation. In fact, 63 percent of storeowners said they do not intend to own their store 10 years from now. However, these intentions have not resulted in plans. In fact, a large percentage of respondents said they do not have a plan to transition their business.” Without a generation to continue the business, the report describes a situation in which, “over the past three years, 1,210 businesses responded to our survey

question about succession planning, and 38 percent reported having no succession plan in place." [29]

The problem is especially astute considering the engine driving the American economy, the high-tech industry, is absent in those rural areas of the US. One of the important reasons for this absence, and for the absence of better paying jobs, is the lack of proper cellular infrastructure. In 2016, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) reported that 39 % of rural Americans lacked access to high-speed internet, compared to 6 % of urban Americans.[30] One of the first tasks taken up by President Trump was the creation of a special task-force to deal with this issue.[31] In October 2017, the Presidential task force for agriculture and rural prosperity identified the electronic connectivity of rural areas as a foundation for further developing agriculture, economic growth, job options, infrastructure, technological innovations, security, energy, and quality of life for the peripheral part of the US. According to a report by the Deloitte consulting company, "This finding prompted the creation of the American Broadband Initiative, an effort by cabinet agencies to support private sector expansion of rural broadband and effectively steward federal tax dollars in that partnership. This is an important step, but it alone won't create smart rural communities." [32]

All of these explanations create demographic changes in which the younger generation leave the periphery and migrate to the cities, leaving behind them an older population. One of five elderly Americans lives in rural areas, many of which are in states where over half their elderly population is in the rural part of the state. A report by the US census sampling the elderly population in rural America between 2012 and 2016 found that 17.5 % of the rural population was 65 or older compared to only 13.8 % of the urban population. [33]

The troubling situation in which the periphery is forgotten and left behind takes its toll in the forms of addiction and suicide. Narcotic drugs, also known as opioids, are a serious problem among rural residents. According to the Center for Disease Control (CDC), opioids – including prescription painkillers, heroin, and others – killed over 42,000 people in 2016, more than any previous year in history, and a higher rate was found in rural areas. [34] A survey done for the AFBA and National Farmers Union (NFU) found that three of four farmers and agricultural workers (74 %) were directly affected by the use of opioids, by either using them themselves or knowing a family or relative who had. [35] Research published in 2019 by Dan-

iel Steelesmith on suicides in the US between 1999 and 2016 showed that "Suicide rates were higher and increased more rapidly in rural than in large metropolitan counties. The highest deprivation quartile was associated with higher suicide rates compared with the lowest deprivation quartile, especially in rural areas." [36]

It is important to stress that the term "periphery" must also be addressed as certain parts of the urban landscape. The term "inner city," used to describe failing neighborhoods (especially from weakened or immigrant communities, including Afro-Americans), has similar lines and parallels as the differences between the urban and rural we are focusing on.

Was the 2020 Presidential Election Around Class?

Research methodology

The first part of this paper described the pre-election predictions, with the understanding Trump's presidency – seen as racist – promoted white supremacy, the persecution of immigrants in general, and Mexicans in particular, hurt the entrance of Muslims to America, and singled out Asians, including the nicknaming of the COVID-19 pandemic the "Chinese Virus." This assumption was refuted at the balloting stations. While most minority members voted for Joe Biden, across the board the support for Trump grew among the various ethnic minorities in the US.

In the second part of this essay, I revisited the historical roots and the last time a significant electoral base was created regarding America's forgotten people (by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932), and looked at the similarities adopted by Trump during his term in office. The third part is dedicated to understanding the core issues of the class and geographical periphery in the US, as a step towards understanding how, in essence, the 2020 presidential election was split by class.

The way the statistics were gathered included data mining from 49 districts, representing one district in each state. Since the District of Columbia is composed of a single voting area, and there is not a proper correspondence between Alaska's voting districts and physical ones, these two were left out of the process. The information was gathered from a report by the *USA Today* newspaper, based on three categories: the 49 richest districts, [37] the 49 poorest ones, [38] and the 49 most average districts in the US. To create the average district list, an index was created based on average income and matching them with those with the income

closest to it, as reported by the Agriculture Department, as well as through the information available from the average income report of 2018. [39]

The Demographic data was compiled and completed based on the central census website. [40] Collecting data for each district sampled the total of votes given in 2016 and 2020 to Donald Trump, the percentage of the vote he received from all of society, and the difference in voting percentages. A rise in the percentage and the actual number of voters was painted green; a rise in voters, but decrease in the percentage was painted orange; and a decrease in both percentage and actual voters was marked in red. Districts without significant change were painted gray, and districts, which flipped from Republican to Democrat, were painted blue.

In each of the districts data was collected from dominate ethnic groups (Asians weren't sampled in the 'poor' areas and native Americans weren't sampled in the 'rich' ones because they are marginal). When there was lacking data or none at all, the field was left empty.

Before analyzing the districts themselves, it is important to remember that the 2020 election was marked as the largest in history, with 159.8 million voters. A total of 66.8 % of the eligible voters cast their ballots – the highest percentage since the 1900 presidential election. [41]

Analyzing the Richest Districts in America

An in-depth look at the 49 richest districts in the US shows that while Trump increased the absolute number of votes in all districts, he increased his share and percentage in only eight of them. This happened in four Democratic states: California (Santa Clara County), Hawaii (Honolulu County), Nevada (Elko County), and New Mexico (Alamos County) as well as four Republican ones: Idaho (Ada County), Montana (Richland County), North Dakota (Williams County), and Utah (Summit County). An interesting data point is found in California and Hawaii, where Trump's relative support grew in districts with a significant Asian-American population (39 % and 42.9 %, respectively).

In 40 other districts, Trump saw a decline in the percentage of voters supporting him in 2020 compared to 2016. In total, this is a drop in support in over 81 % of the sampled rich districts across the US.

Four of the rich districts saw their color change, as Biden won them in 2020 after Trump won them in 2016. In Arizona (Maricopa County), Trump received 1.1 % less of the vote than the previous election. This was part of a statewide trend, which saw the entire state – not only the county – vote for

Biden. In Illinois (Kendall County), he received 1.5% less of the vote; in Kansas (Johnson County), a Republican state both in 2016 and in 2020, he received 2.9 % less of the vote, and in New Hampshire (Rockingham County), and he received 1.5 % less than in the 2016 presidential election.

Overall, Trump saw an average decrease of 4.08 % in votes in the rich counties, compared to what he received in the same 49 counties in the 2016 elections.

Analyzing the Average Districts of America

In most of the average districts analyzed, Trump increased the total number of voters between the 2016 and 2020 elections. [In Hampshire County, Mass., the count was just short of his 2016 numbers, and could reach them when it becomes final.] Trump increased his support in 33 of the counties. In one county, it was a draw, and in 15 counties, there was a decrease in the percentage of the vote received by Trump compared to 2016.

Overall, Trump saw a decrease in the support for him in 30.61 % of the average districts across the US between 2016 and 2020; at the same time, he experienced an increase in the support for him in 67.34 % of the sampled average districts across America.

The interesting data point regarding the average districts in America is that in five of the top six districts (measured by earning ability), Trump saw a decrease in the percentage of votes he received, while only one showed an increase in support towards the incumbent president. This shows that as one approaches the \$70,000 annual income benchmark, the data resembles that of the rich counties more and more.

In four of the fifteen districts showing a decrease in overall support, there was also a flip from favoring the Republican Party's candidate to that of the Democratic Party. These were seen in Indiana (Tippecanoe County), where despite the state remaining Republican, Trump dropped 1.6 % of the vote; Maine, which remained blue also in 2020 but saw the President lose 0.1 % of the vote in Kennebec County – enough to flip the county itself from red to blue; Oregon (Marion County) saw Trump lose 1.0 % compared to 2016, and the district flipped from red to blue; and Rhode Island (Kent County) flipped after Trump received 1.8 % less of the vote.

Overall, President Trump saw an average increase of 2.09 % in the number of voters supporting him in the average districts during 2020 when compared to the results from 2016.

Analyzing the Poorest Districts in America

President Trump in the majority of the poor districts showed an increase in support for him in 40 of the 49 sample districts between 2016 and 2020. In two districts, there was a draw, and in six, he saw a decrease in support. The state of California had yet to count all the votes, and was omitted from this analysis.

Overall, in 12.5 % of America's poorest districts, Trump saw a decrease in support, compared to an increase in 83.33 % of the districts sampled. The single state without change equals 4.16 % of the data.

Interestingly, none of the poor districts saw a change of hands, and all went to Trump – without a single Biden victory.

In total, Trump had an average increase of 3.16 % in the number of voters supporting him in the 2020 elections across the poorest districts in the US compared to his results in 2016.

An important statistic to highlight is that in the poor districts, unlike the average and rich ones, there are districts with an overwhelming number of minority groups (non-white ethnicities and backgrounds). A closer look at those districts with more than one third (35 %) of a minority, shows us the following:

The Hispanic/Latino Vote

Data about the Hispanic/Latino vote might be the most interesting story regarding the elections being decided by race or ethnicity. In the four districts where the Latinos make up over 40% (and up to 96.4 %) of the population, Trump's popularity increased. Starr County, in Texas, borders Mexico and is comprised of over 96.4 % of residents identifying as Latino-Americans. There, Trump's support grew by 19 points from 2016 to 2020, when he received 47 % of the vote.

In addition, in the Bronx District of New York, where nearly half the residents identify as Latinos, there was a steady increase in Trump's support, which grew by 7.4 % compared to 2016.

The African-American Vote

In the ten poorest districts across the US, between 35.4 % and 83.1 % of the population identifies as African-American. In all ten districts, Trump saw an increase in the support towards him compared to 2016. Of these districts, seven are in red states, which voted Trump, while two are in blue states that helped elect Biden. In Bronx County, NY, which we already discussed, is where the steepest increase took place: 84.02 % of the district are either Hispanic or Africa-American.

The Native American Vote

Unlike the previous minorities discussed, the

Native American vote saw Trump lose support in districts with over 33 % of the population identifying as members of this group: Three saw a decrease, one saw no change, and two saw an increase.

Discussing the Findings

Or Kulu wrote an interesting article titled "Why Trump Wasn't Weakened Between 2016 and 2020." In it, he brings a quote from a Brookings piece stating: "In 2016, of the more than 3,000 voting districts in the US, only 470 elected Hillary Clinton – yet they accounted for 64 % of the GDP. In 2020, Biden received almost the same number of districts (only seven more) but these accounted for 70 % of the GDP." [42]

Class Breakdown by Districts [43]

This image, after four years, which indicates at the macro level the growing gap between Trump voters in 2016 to Trump voters in 2020, is actually the starting point for a real discussion about the findings in this paper. The data provided in this research, like other information indicating the dichotomy between classes, demonstrates more than anything else does how Trump set his offensive strategy to unite various populations around his candidacy. This started in 2016 and continued during his four years in office, bringing with it an overall increase in the number of votes he received in 2020. The increase in his popularity in the lower classes of America appears to be a change in the political base of the Republican Party.

In his book, Kenneth Warren describes how Roosevelt led the revisiting and redefining of the Democratic Party's lines and electorate. "The rise of FDR and the New-Deal coalition in the 1932 elections could mark the most significant realignment in the history of American politics [...] The 1930s allowed the Democratic Party to create a wide base of interests, some with *"conflicting agendas, who managed to influence American politics until the late 1960s. The political realignment managed to unite a wide range of ethnic minorities such as the African-Americans, Jews and other ethnicities, alongside labor unions, southerners and progressive elements from the West."* [44]

Now, the task at the hands of Trump's successor (whoever it may be leading the 2024 campaign for the Republican Party) is to empower the coalition created during his tenure – a coalition in which the forgotten or transparent people continue to be part of the day-to-day attention of the Republican Party. As far as history can teach us, such a process – during which ethnic groups or social classes overwhelmingly flip their support from one party to

the other – is a process which takes tens of years and a number of election cycles.

Also, this might be an awakening for the heads of the Democratic Party, who have chosen to take part in the recent trend of 'Identity Politics,' which claim someone must vote for a certain side only because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds and upbringing.

Under the title *Identity Politics Fail Again*, Tomer Persico and Roie Peled bring an example for this failed approach: "On the eve of the US elections many Democrats were disappointed to see Florida painted Red, not least because of Americans with a Cuban origin voting for Donald Trump. Pulitzer winning journalist Nikole Hannah Jones had an explanation: the Hispanic vote, she tweeted, included 'Black Puerto-Ricans' alongside 'White Cubans.' Thus, in a swipe, the disappointing Cubans were colored as White – meaning bad." The two go on and write: "Tagging Cubans as White is nothing more than a clumsy attempt to preserve the identity-centered division through which Hannah-Jones sees the world: White = hegemony and negative at the core; brown/black = depressed and good by nature." [45]

Whoever thought the 2020 presidential election would center on the issue of race was wrong. This chart explains why one cannot refer to the recent elections as racially motivated.

In a world divided by racial or ethnic voting patterns, especially when the discourse was that those hurt by racial slurs and actions would seek revenge at the ballot, such an increase in support for Trump could not happen. True, also in 2016 and in 2020, Donald Trump only won the votes received from white America. However, other ethnic minorities lent support, with surprising increases across the board – most notably among the Muslim populations.

Conclusion

In this research, which included gathering and sorting data based on social classes in the US, it was possible to see the clear difference in support as one climbed the social ladder, including the changes between 2016 and 2020.

The differences regarding social voting patterns are seen clearly in the accompanying chart, as the rich and poor counties provide mirror images of each other, showing the real dividing line of the American public during the 2020 Presidential Election.

Conflict of interest

No.

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