



WHY DO **MILLIONAIRES** RUN OUR COUNTRY?

Dr. Nicholas Carnes

Sanford School of Public Policy

Duke University

**I didn't vote for anyone from
the working class.**


I didn't have any other choice.

S

A

M

BALLOT MARKING INSTRUCTIONS:

- a. With the marking device provided or a black ball point pen, completely fill in the oval to the left of each candidate's name to indicate your choice, like this: 
- b. Where authorized, indicate your choice by filling in the oval to the left of the candidate by filling in the name on the Write-in line.
- c. If you tear, deface or wrongly mark this ballot, return it to request a replacement.

PRESIDENT

The offices of President and Vice President of the United States are elected by the Electors in each State. Straight Party voters voted separately for President and Vice President.

President of the United States

(You may vote for ONE)

Barack Obama
Joe Biden
Democrat

Mitt Romney
Paul Ryan
Republican

Write-in

STRAIGHT PARTY

a. Unless otherwise indicated, the straight party ballot is for the Straight Party ticket.

PARTY OFFICES

US House

(You may vote for ONE)

Tony Fox
Democrat
House of Representatives

(You may vote for ONE)

Water H. Dalton
Democrat
Pat McCrory
Republican
Baldwin

NC Lt. Governor
(You may vote for ONE)

Lincoln
Democrat
Dan Claitor
Republican

NC Attorney General
(You may vote for ONE)

NC Secretary of State
(You may vote for ONE)

Elaine Marshall
Democrat
Ed Goodwin
Republican

NC Superintendent of Public Instruction
(You may vote for ONE)

June Atkinson
Democrat
John Tedesco
Republican

NC Treasurer
(You may vote for ONE)

Janet Cowell
Democrat
Steve Royal
Republican

NC State Senate District 22
(You may vote for ONE)

Mike Woodard
Democrat
Milton Holmes
Republican

House of Representatives District 30
(You may vote for ONE)

Paul Luebke
Democrat

Lawyer

Businessman

Teacher

Nonprofit Director

Business Consultant

CEO

University Administrator

Real Estate

Sociology Professor

CEO

Lawyer

Lawyer

CEO

Political Activist

Teacher

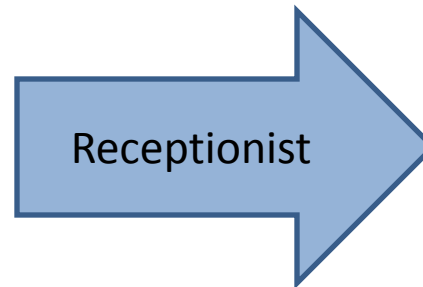
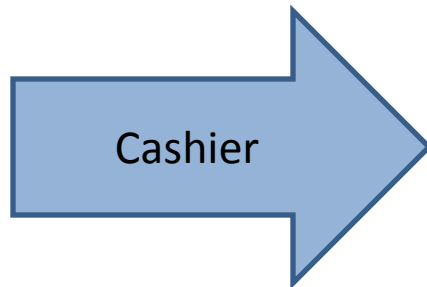
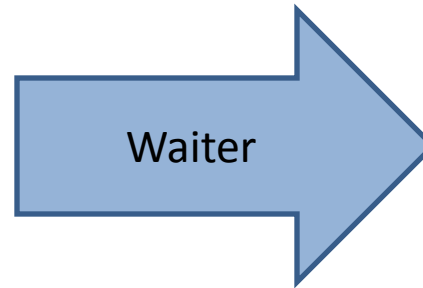
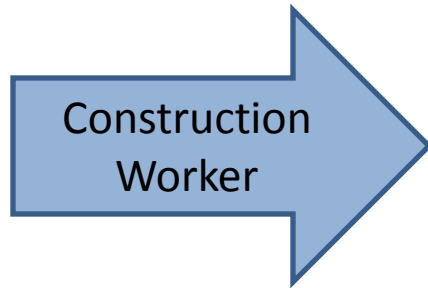
Businessman

Lawyer

Law Professor / Lawyer

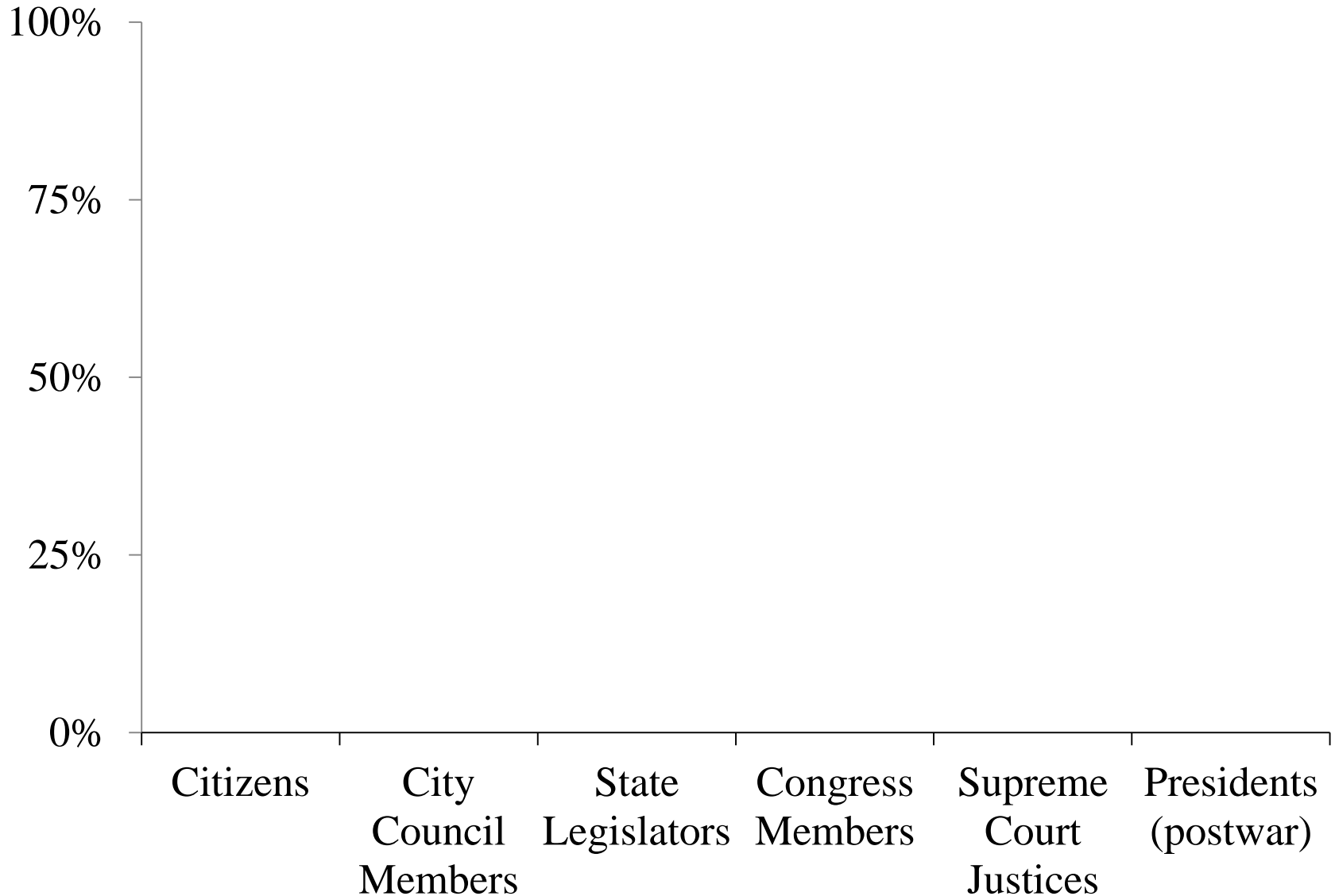
CEO / Career Politician

Bus. Owner / Lawyer

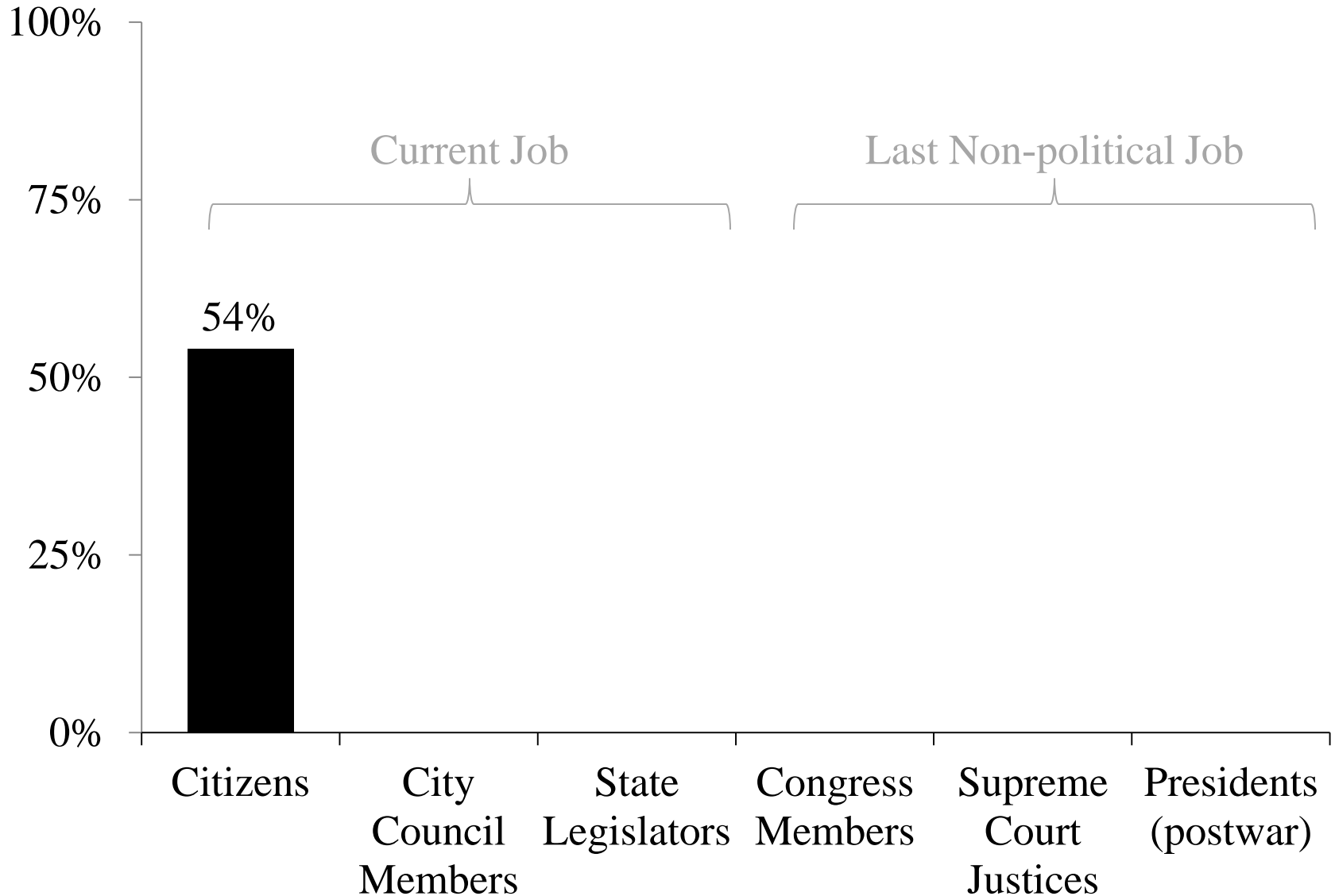


Why aren't these on the ballot?

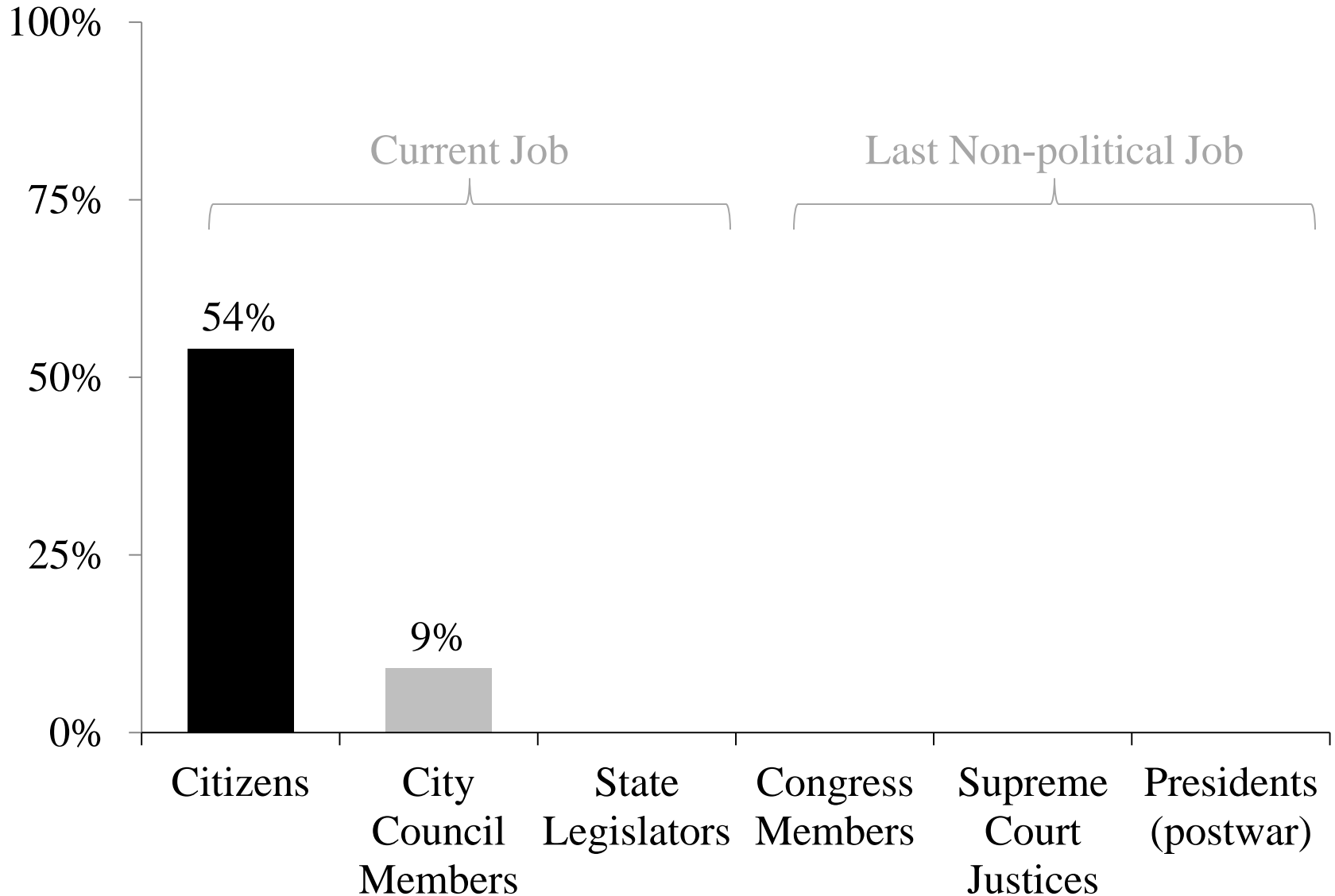
Percent from Working-class Jobs



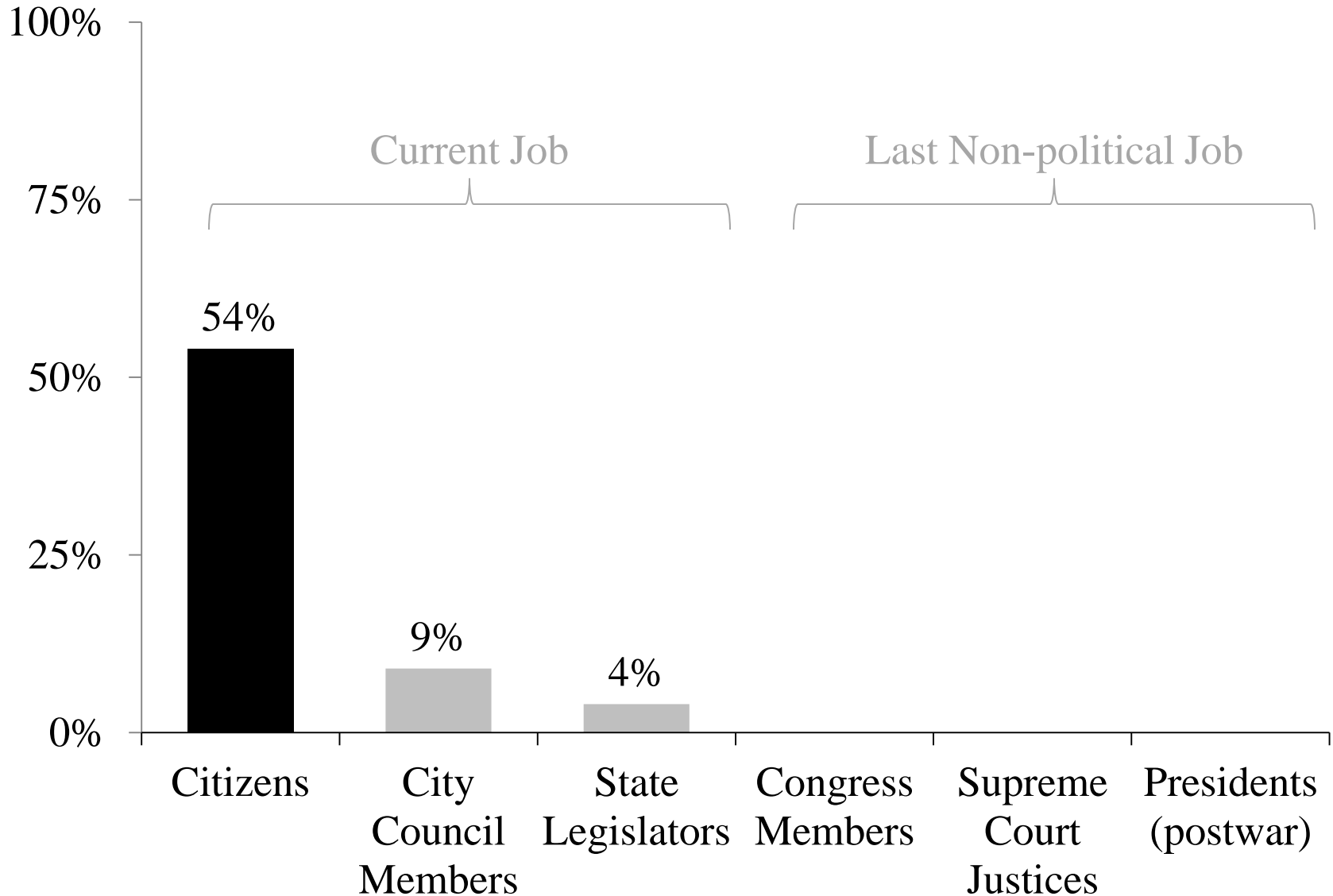
Percent from Working-class Jobs



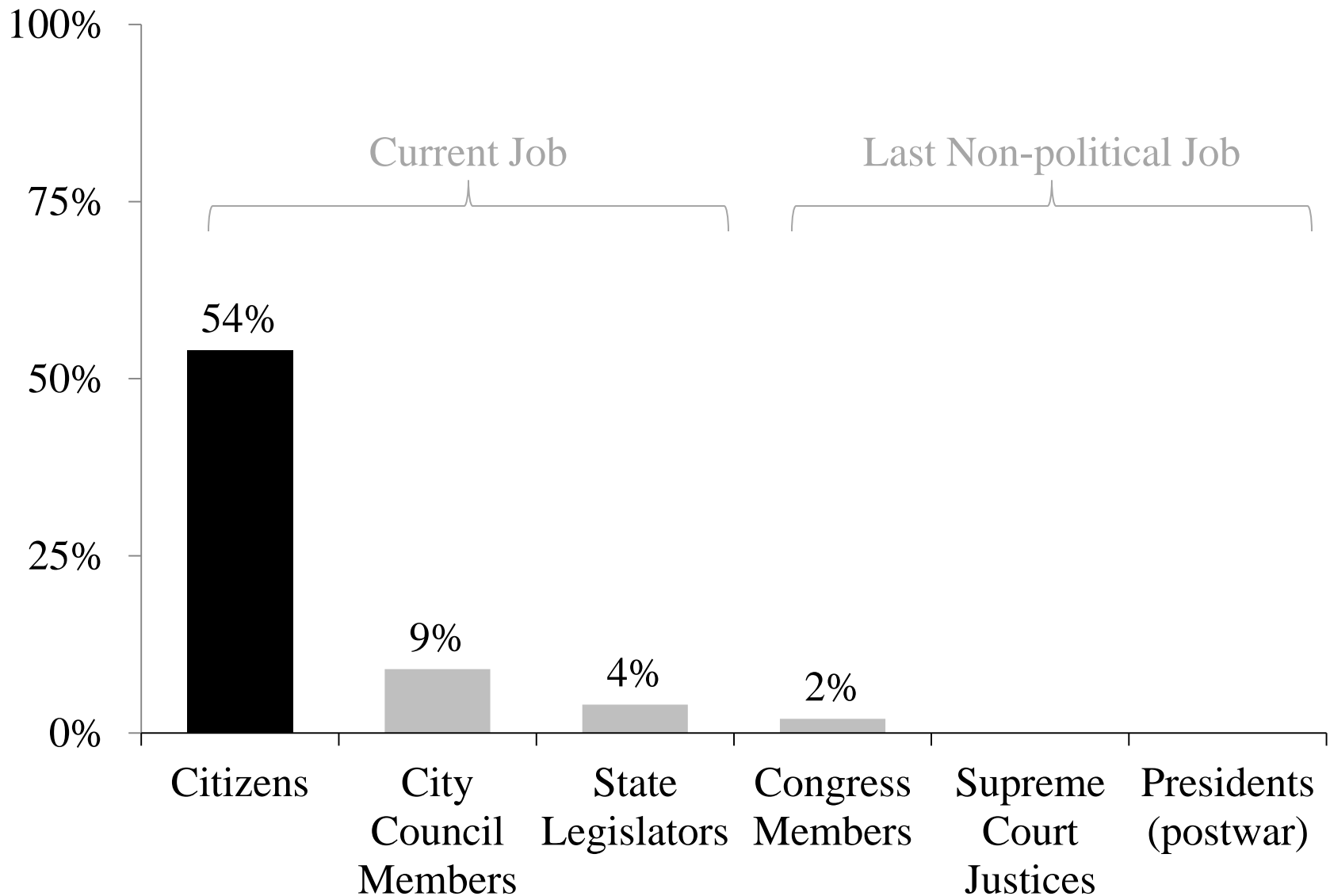
Percent from Working-class Jobs



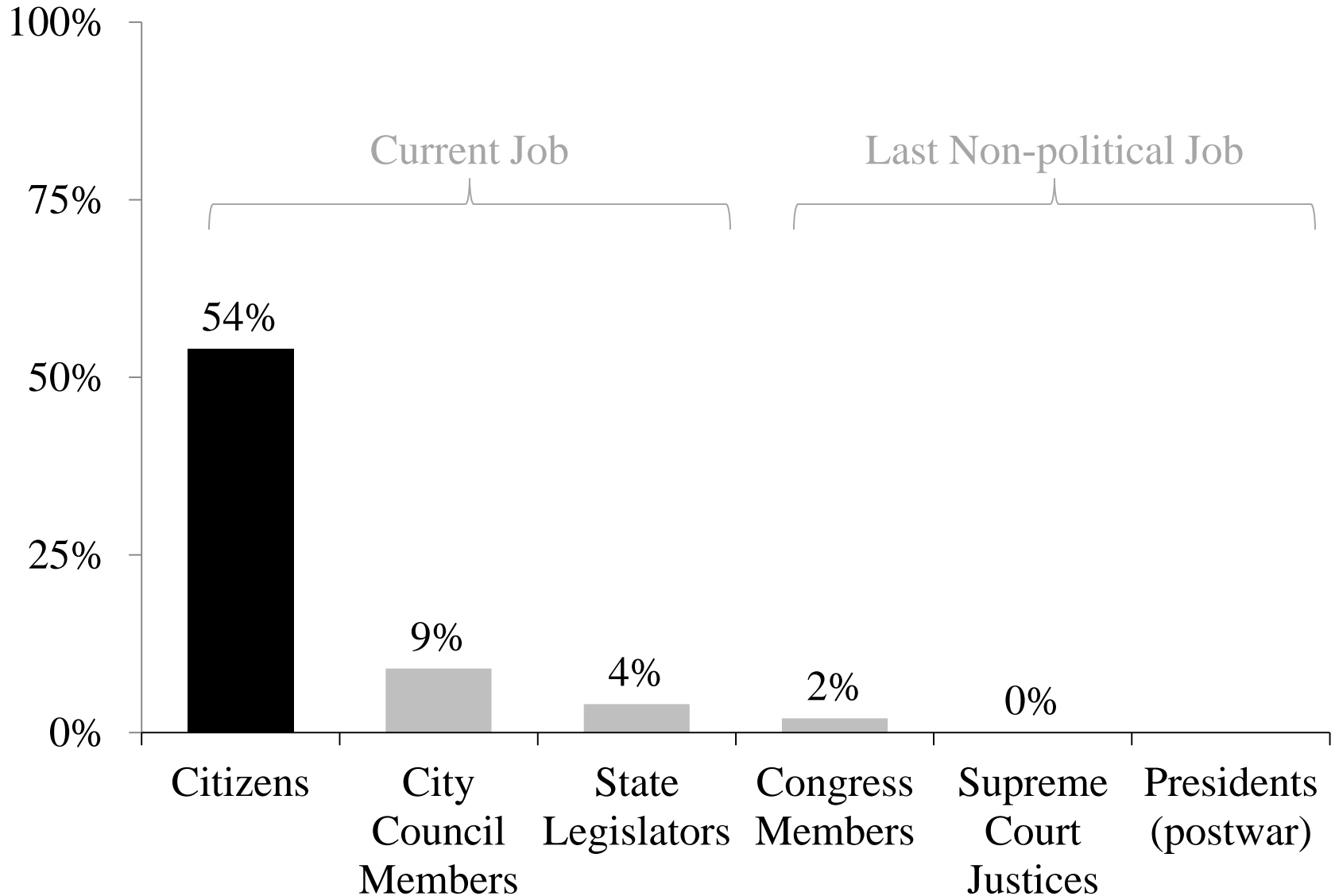
Percent from Working-class Jobs



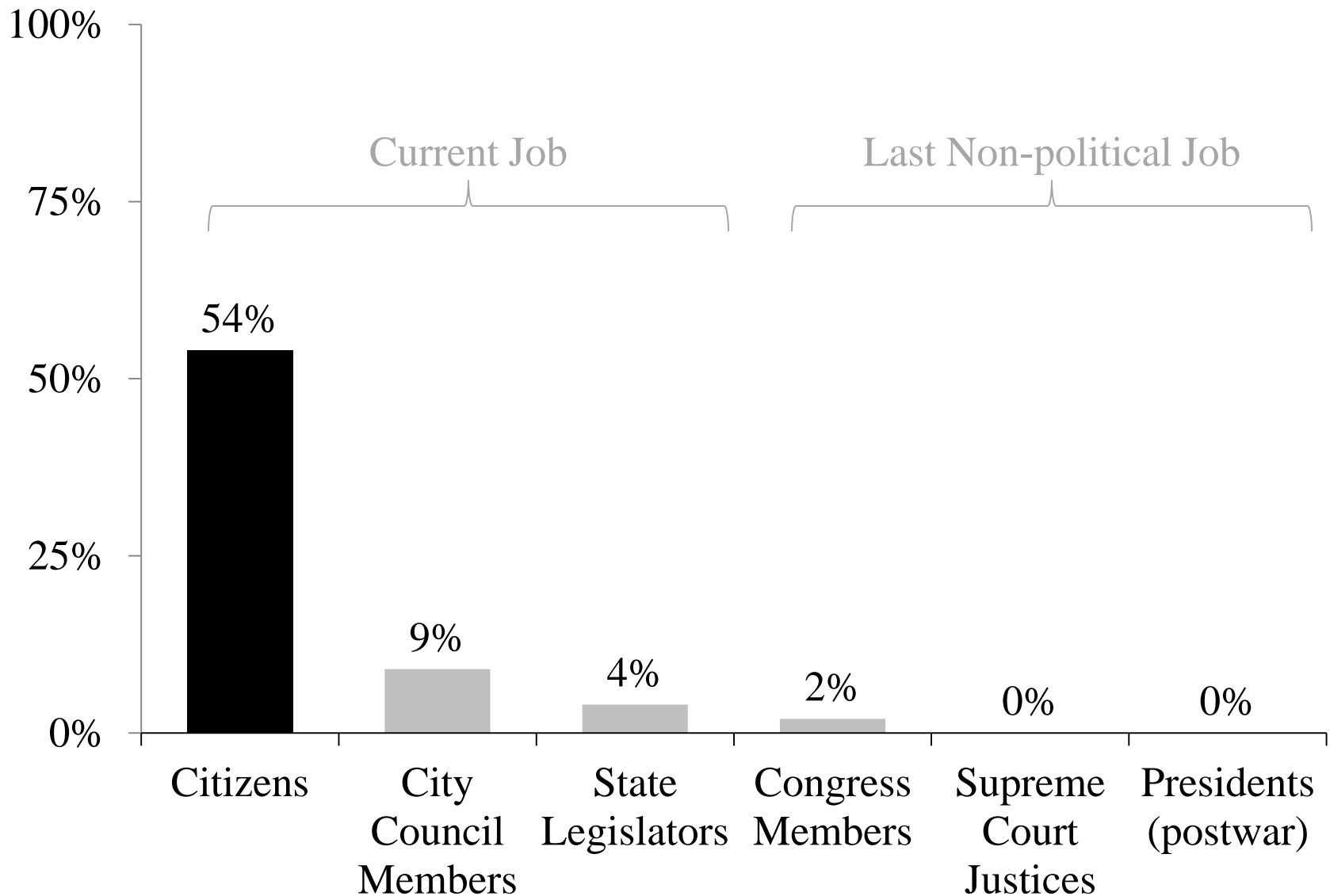
Percent from Working-class Jobs



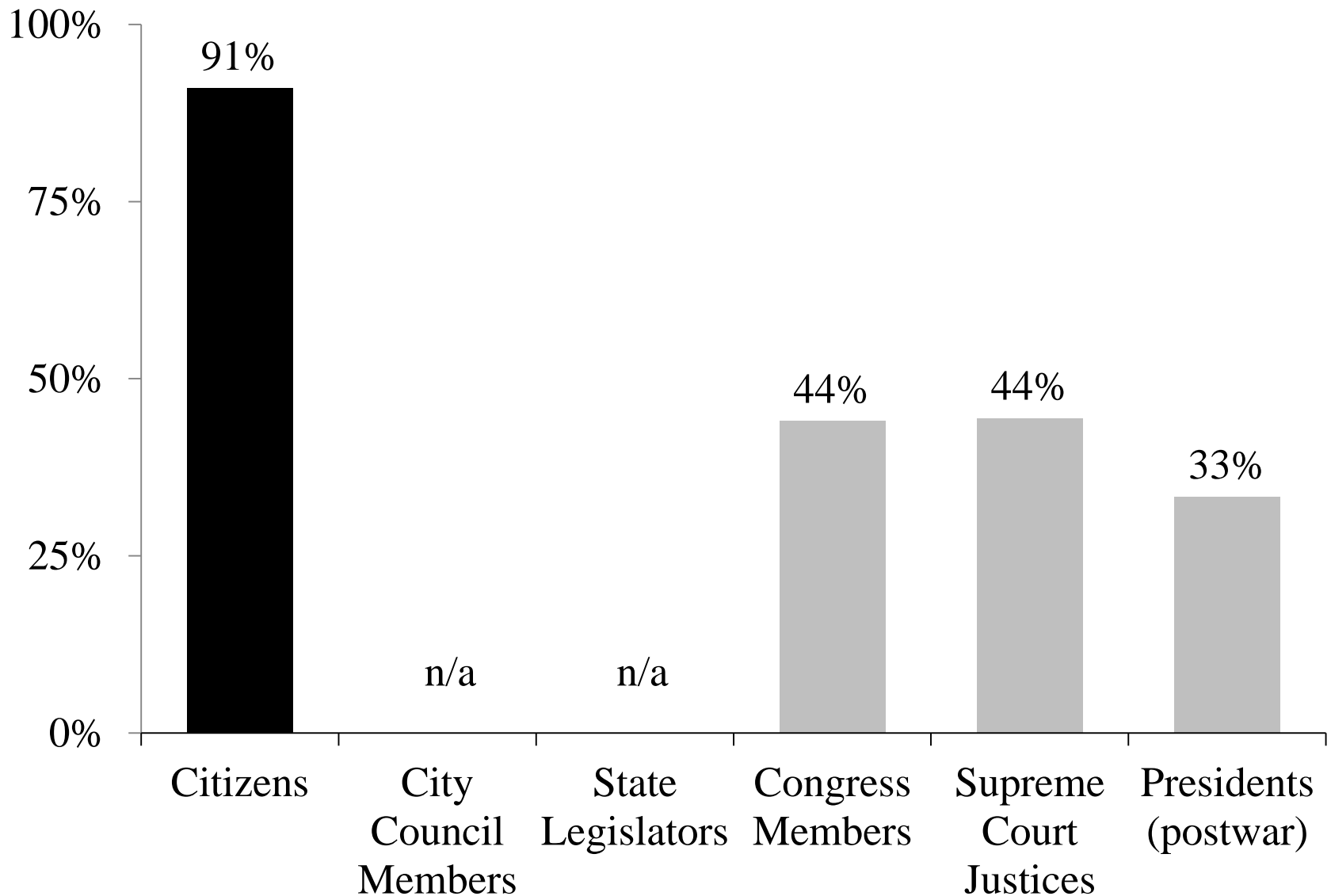
Percent from Working-class Jobs



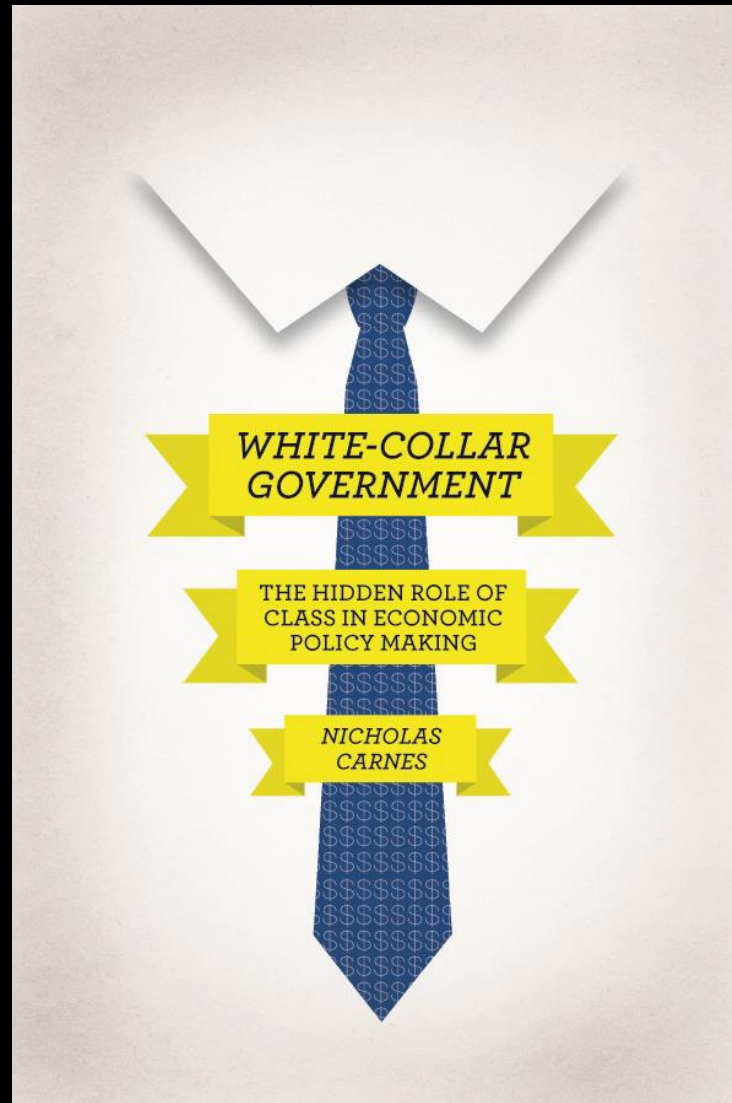
Percent from Working-class Jobs



Percent w/ Net Worths < \$1 Million



Does it really matter?



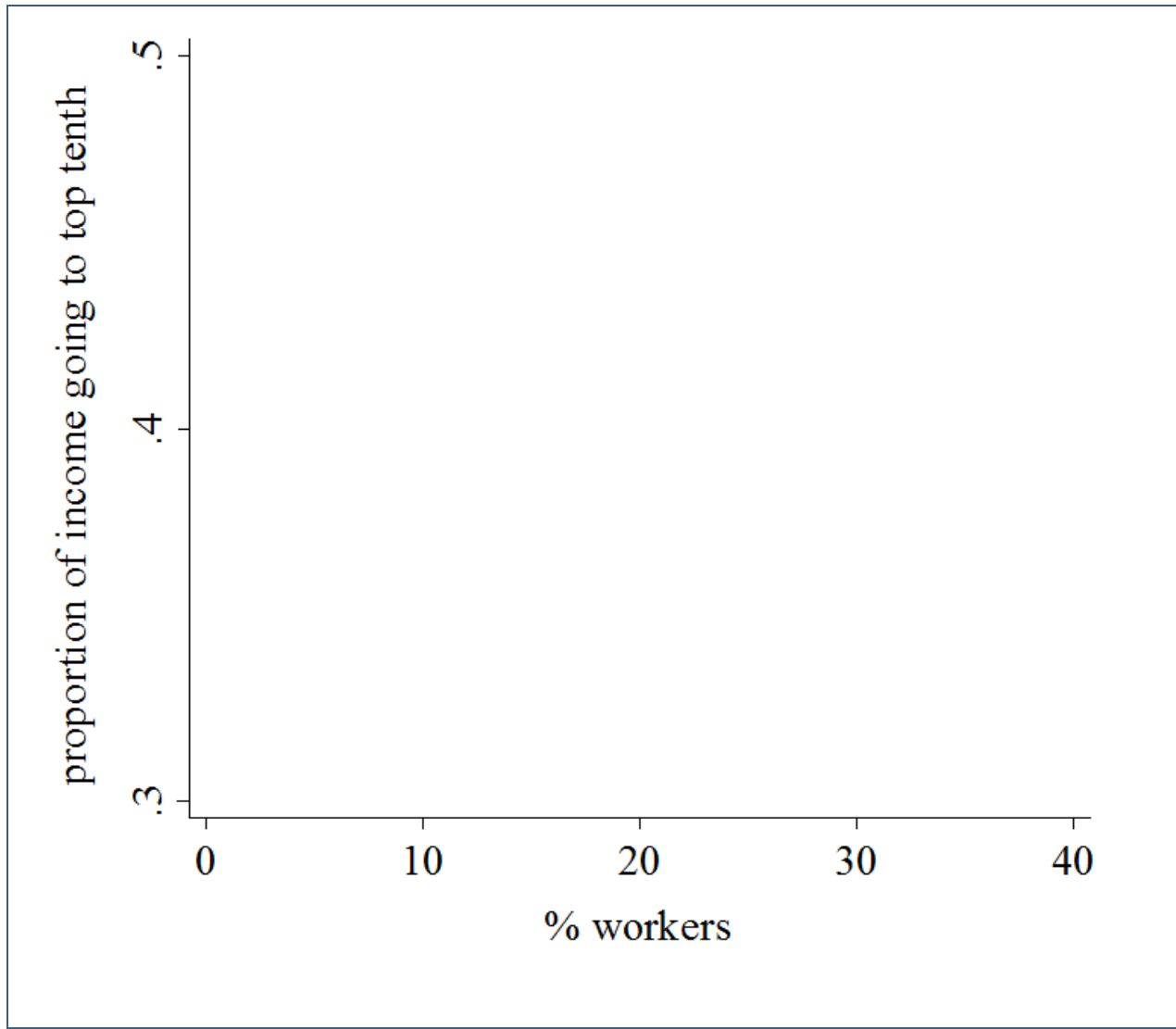
University of
Chicago Press

November 2013

Does it really matter?

- Legislators from white-collar backgrounds . . .
- . . . vote more conservatively on economic bills
- . . . devote less energy to economic problems
- . . . have more conservative economic values
- . . . create economic policy that favors the rich

Does it really matter?



**Why doesn't government do more
to combat rising inequality?**

**Because millionaires and white-collar
professionals are calling the shots.**





WHY DO **MILLIONAIRES** RUN OUR COUNTRY?

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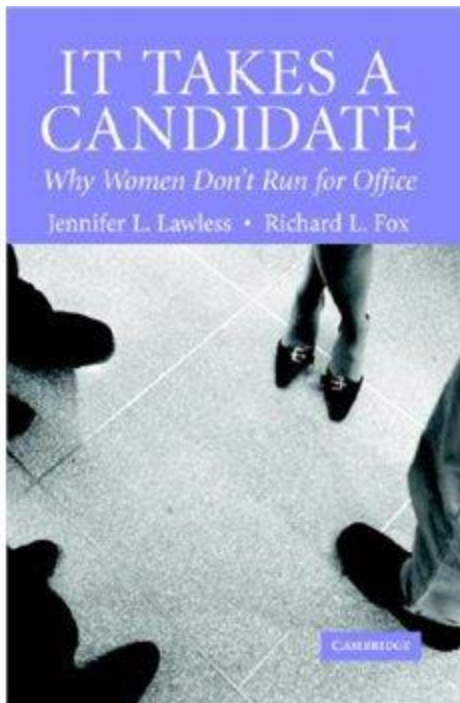
Sanford School of Public Policy

Duke University

Why are there so few ____ in office?

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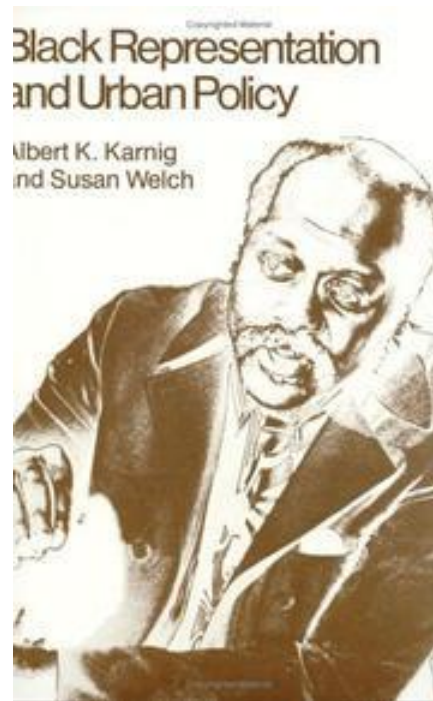
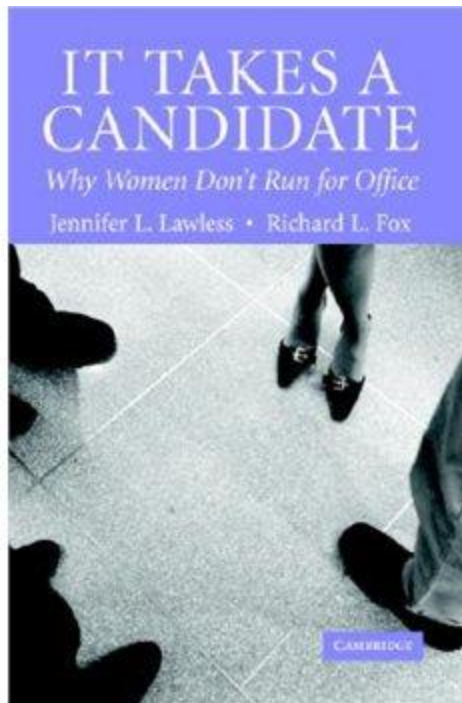
women



Why are there so few ____ in office?

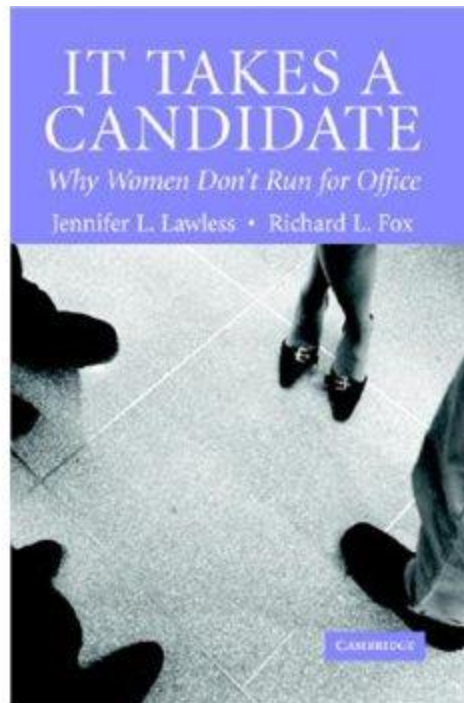
women

racial minorities

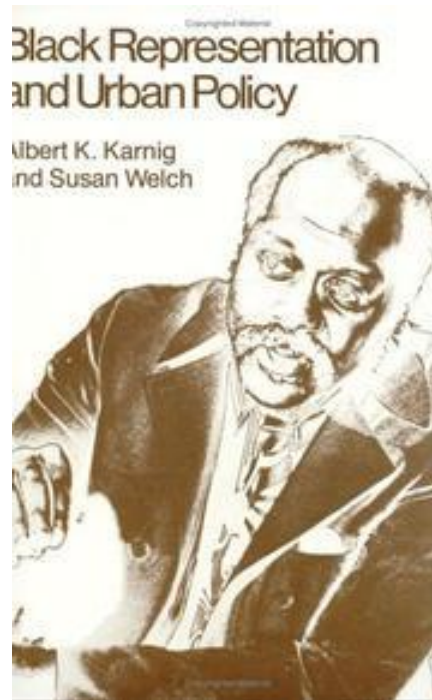


Why are there so few ____ in office?

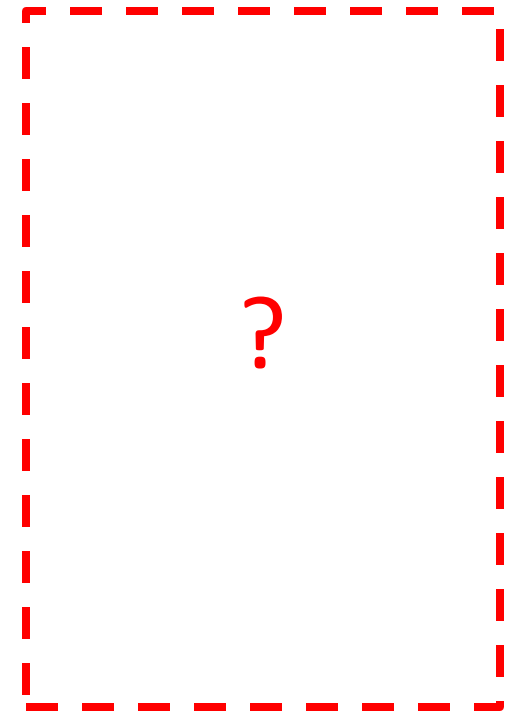
women



racial minorities



blue-collar workers



Some Possibilities

Theory 1:

Voters prefer wealthy, white-collar candidates.

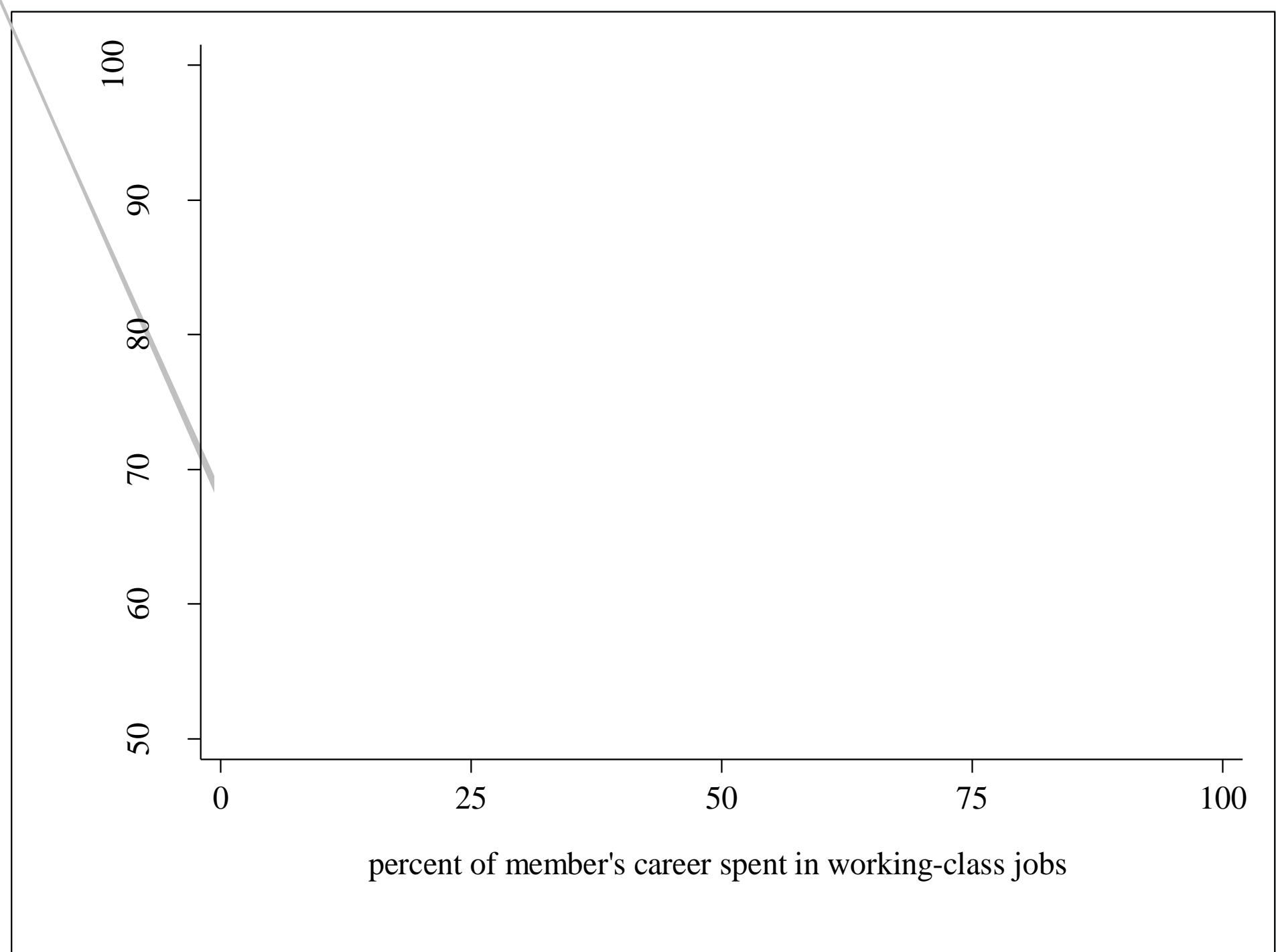
Some Possibilities

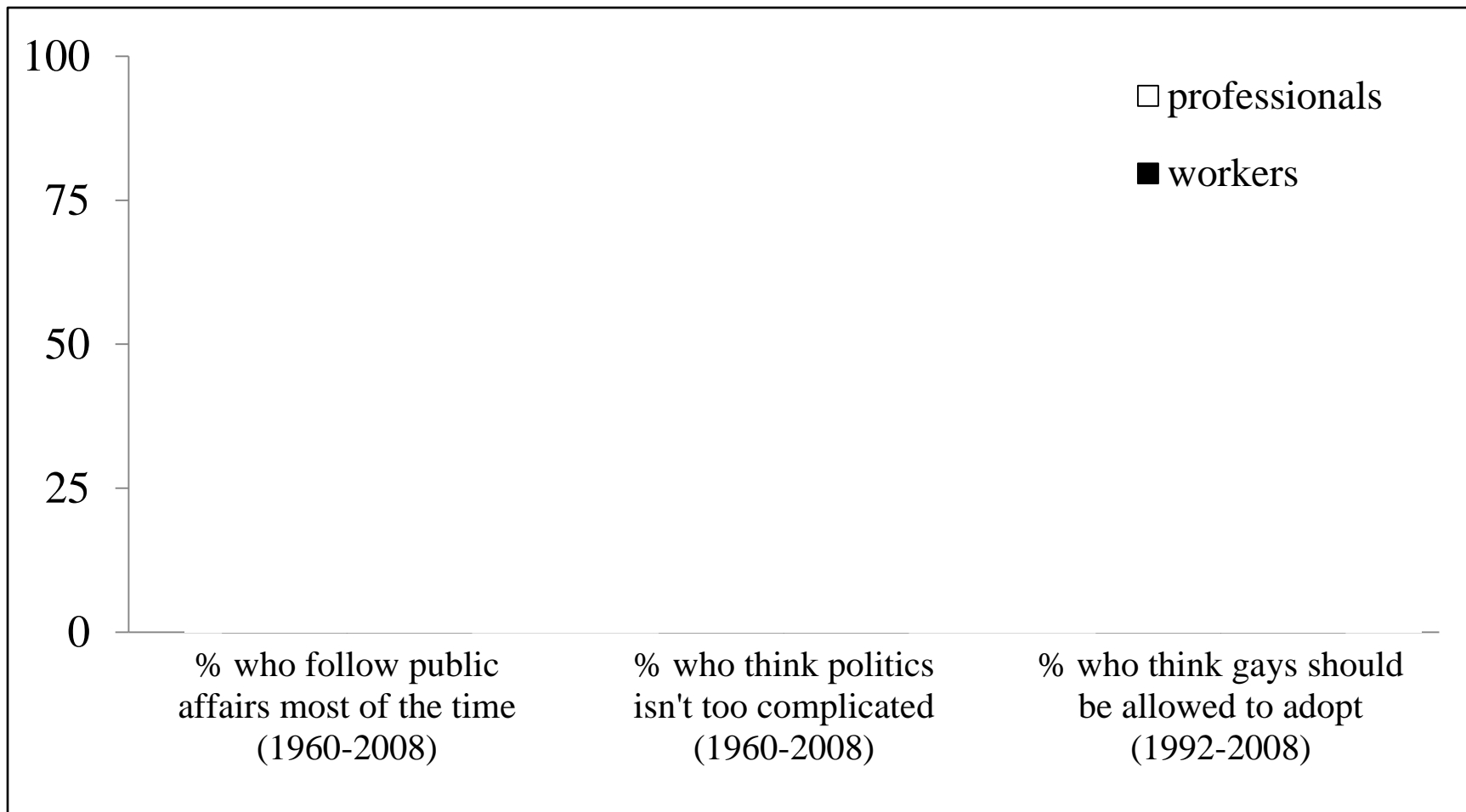
Theory 1:

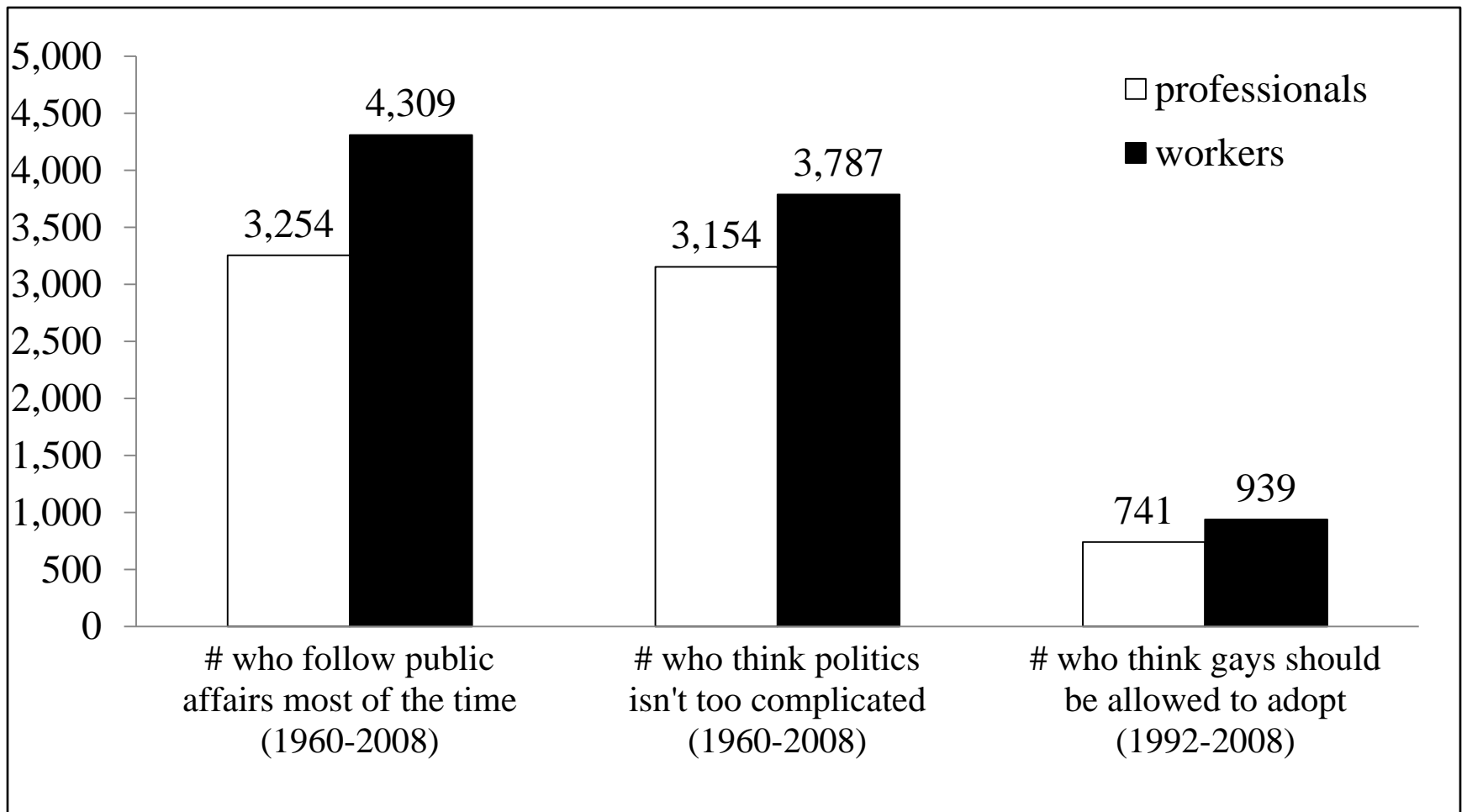
Voters prefer wealthy, white-collar candidates.

Theory 2:

Blue-collar workers aren't up to it.







Then what's keeping workers out?

Institutions

- **fundraising**
- personal and career disruptions

Interest groups

- strained labor movement
- well-funded, sophisticated pro-business groups

Parties

- gatekeeping and network effects

None of these are deal-breakers!

Institutions

- **fundraising**
- personal and career disruptions

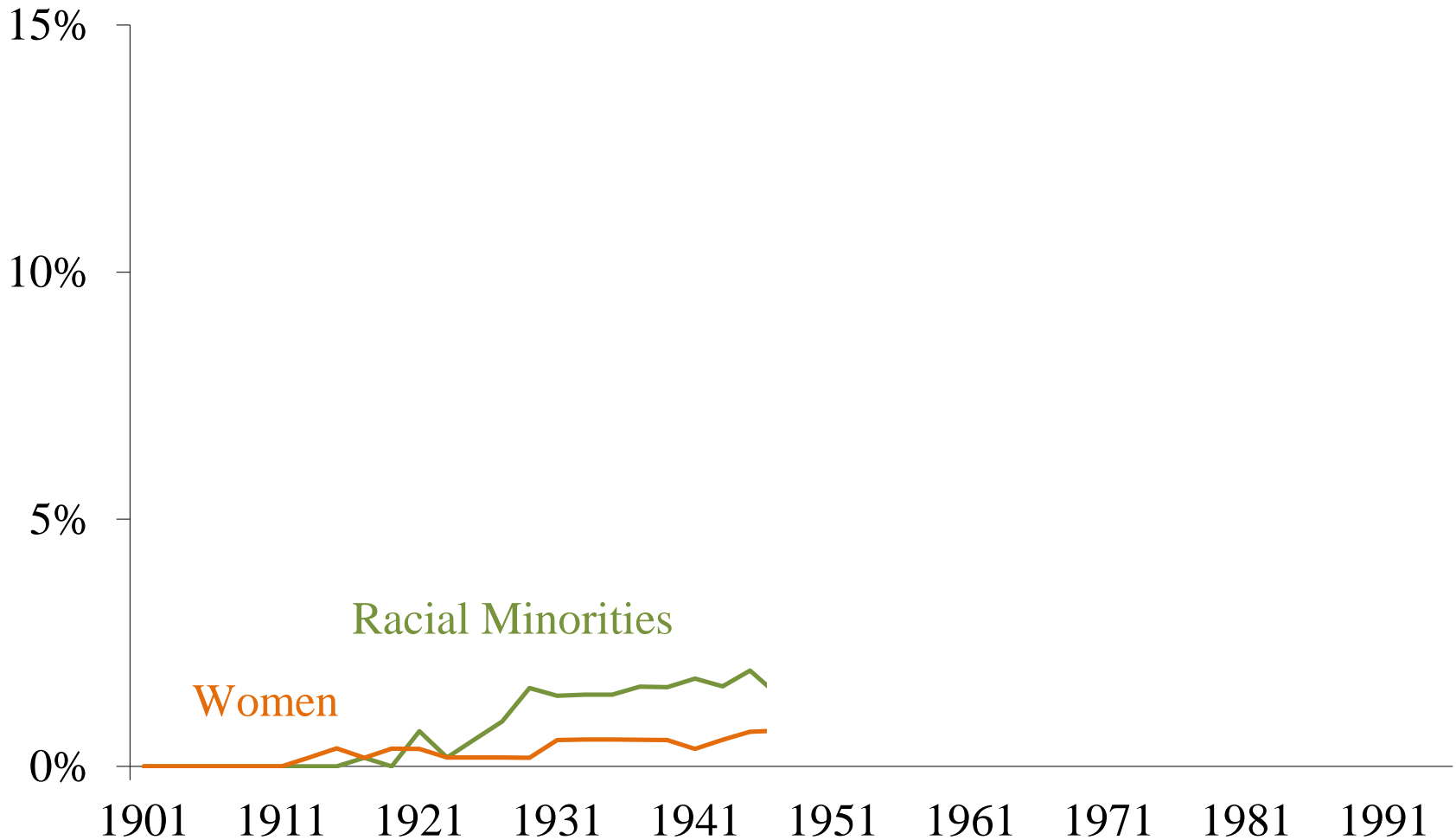
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- strained labor movement
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Parties

- gatekeeping and network effects

None of these are deal-breakers!



Those of us who care about political inequality need to pay as much attention to ***who governs*** as we do to ***who lobbies*** and ***who participates***.

The New York Times

The Opinion Pages

WORLD

U.S.

N.Y. / REGION

BUSINESS

TECHNOLOGY

SCIENCE

HEALTH

SPORTS

OPINION

AND THE CHOICES ARE NEVER EASY."

JOIN THE CONVERSATION   #MSNBC2012 LAWRENCE O'DONNELL

EDITORIAL

The Cacophony of Money

Published: October 7, 2012 |  65 Comments

Two-thirds of the \$50 million spent on Mitt Romney's behalf in Ohio has come from outside "super PACs" and other so-called independent groups, and yet Mr. Romney has lagged behind in all of the major Ohio polls. Hundreds of millions in third-party spending from unlimited checks, much of it from undisclosed donors, has also failed to give Mr. Romney a clear lead in any of the other swing states.

Related

If Mr. Romney loses the presidential race, which is far from a sure thing



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90% Of Life Is Just Showing Up, And The 99% Don't

By [Matthew Yglesias](#) | Posted Sunday, Dec. 18, 2011, at 12:35 PM ET



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COMMENT



It may seem obvious that the disproportionate political influence of the top one percent of the income distribution comes from their ability to bribe politicians with campaign contributions, but it's worth noting that [the economic elite are considerably more politically engaged](#) in a fairly comprehensive way:

For example, 41 percent of the very wealthy reported attending a political meeting. Only 9 percent of Americans [did so](#) in 2008. And 68 percent of the very wealthy reported giving money to a political candidate, party, or cause in the last four years. In 2008—a year in which “small donors” were numerous—only 13 percent of Americans [donated](#) to a political candidate or party. Again, there are small differences in the wording of the questions between the two surveys, but they are not likely responsible for the 55-point gap.

Those of us who care about political inequality need to pay as much attention to ***who governs*** as we do to ***who lobbies*** and ***who participates***.



New Jersey State AFL-CIO

The Voice of Working Families in the Garden State



[Political Education \(COPE\)](#)

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[Form a Union](#)

[Resources](#)

Political Education (COPE)

[Labor 2012 Toolkit](#)

[Voter Registration Toolkit](#)

[COPE News](#)

[Voter Resources](#)

[Labor Candidates Program](#)

[Labor Candidates Resolution](#)

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[Become an E-Activist](#)

[Customizable Flyer Form](#)

[Volunteer Opportunities](#)

[Important Election Dates](#)

When Union Members Run, Working Families Win!

The New Jersey State AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) ensures that the voice of New Jersey's working families is heard in the political arena. Our WORKER/VOTER program sponsors worksite voter registration for union members throughout the year. When elections approach we organize "LABOR WALKS" in which thousands of union member volunteers walk the state's election precincts and join with local union affiliates at their workplaces, informing our union sisters and brothers about candidates' positions on working family issues. And on Election Day we mobilize thousands of volunteers to Get-Out-The-Vote.

No one can represent working families and their unions better than working people themselves. That's why the New Jersey State AFL-CIO sponsors an ongoing program to recruit, train, mentor, and support union sisters and brothers running for elected office. Through the New Jersey State AFL-CIO Labor Candidates School, union members gain the skills they need to succeed in the political arena. New Jersey voters have elected union members to public office **692 times** since 1997! These working men and women have a proven track record of placing the interests of working families first.

Now, for the first time in New Jersey history, union members serve in powerful leadership positions of both houses of the New Jersey State Legislature. Senator Steve Sweeney (Ironworkers 399) is the Senate President, Assemblyman Joe Egan (IBEW 456) is a Deputy Majority Leader and the Chairman of the Labor Committee, Assemblyman Thomas Giblin (IUOE 68) is a Deputy Majority Leader and the Vice Chairman of the Regulated Professions Committee, Assemblyman Nelson Albano (UFCW 152) is the Vice Chairman of both the Agriculture and Natural Resources Committee and the Law and Public Safety Committee, Assemblyman Paul Moriarty (AFTRA) is the Vice Chairman of the Consumer Affairs Committee, Assemblyman Wayne DeAngelo (IBEW 269) is the Vice Chairman of the Telecommunications and Utilities Committee, and Assemblyman John Amodeo (IUOE 825) serves on the Agriculture and Natural Resources Committee and the Transportation, Public Works and Independent Authorities Committee. As a result of labor's successful program to recruit, train, mentor, and support union members' election campaign efforts, labor's success in the legislative arena has grown substantially and many statewide pro-worker policies and laws have been implemented including:

E-Activist

[Join the New Jersey State AFL-CIO E-Activist Network](#)

[Tell a Friend](#)



Upcoming Events

- [All Events](#)

Annual Events

Election Day
November 6, 2012



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Welcome!





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THE ED SHOW

How community organizing transformed New Haven

Ned Resnikoff, @resnikoff

5:00 PM on 01/14/2013



Twitter 113



Facebook 957

In 2009, twelve murders occurred in New Haven, Connecticut. By the next year, [that number had doubled](#). Then, in 2011, that number shot up again—this time to [34 homicides](#). In a city whose population barely scrapes 130,000, the continually rising murder rate had many community members deeply shaken.

erwhelming for



**I'll only be voting for
rich people and white-collar
professionals.**

And so will you.

Warning: Backup Slides!

Does it really matter?

“[Blue-collar workers] know that the merchant is their . . . natural patron and friend; and they are aware that however great the confidence they may justly feel in their own good sense, their interests can be more effectually promoted by the merchants than by themselves.”

--Alexander Hamilton

Does it really matter?

“[bourgeoisie] jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.”

--Adam Smith

Does it really matter?

“[bourgeoisie] jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.”

--Marx and Engels

Does it really matter?

“The proposal of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from [dealers in any particular branch of trade or manufacture] ought always to be listened to with great precaution It comes from an order of men, whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it.”

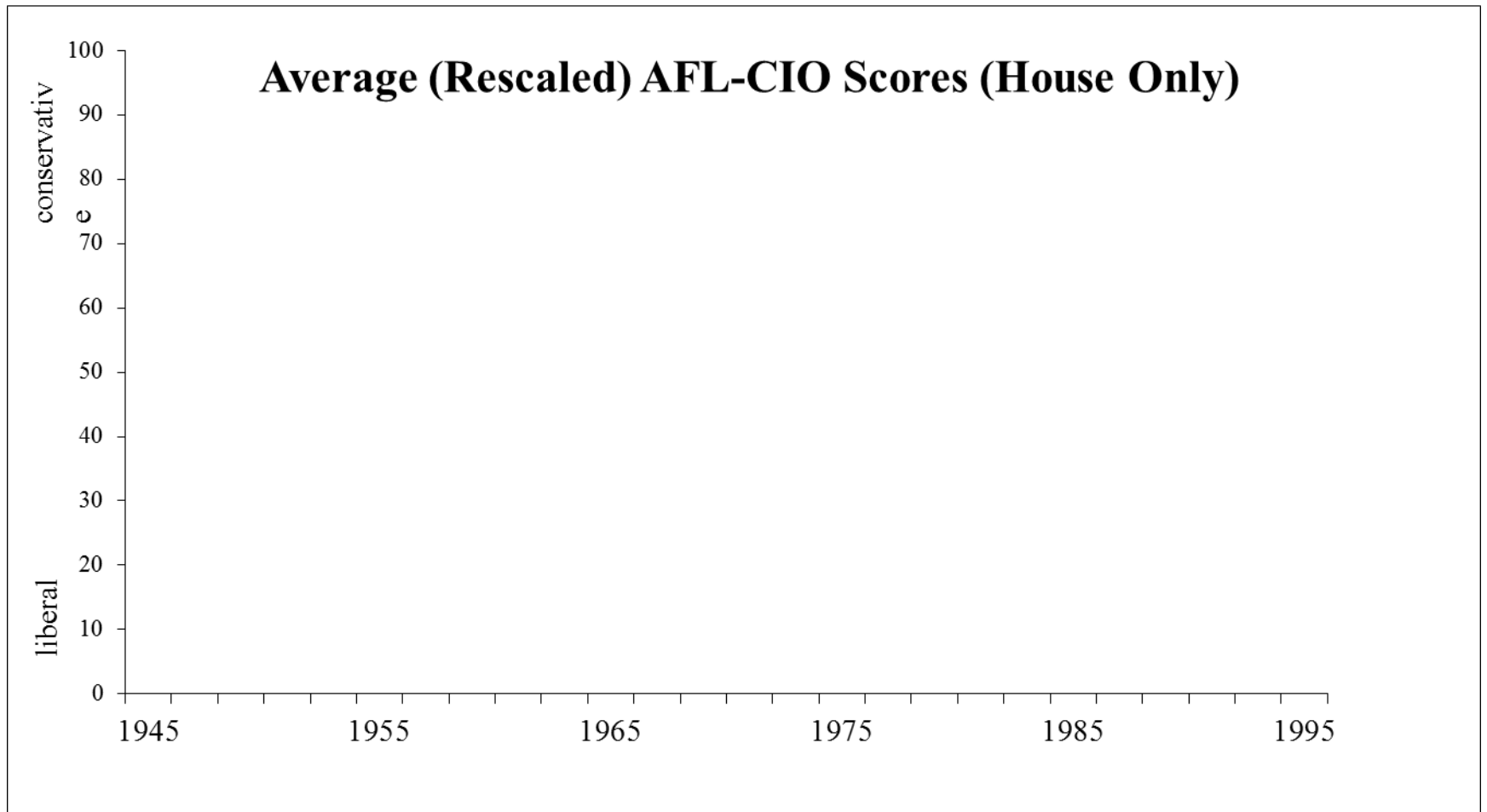
--Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*

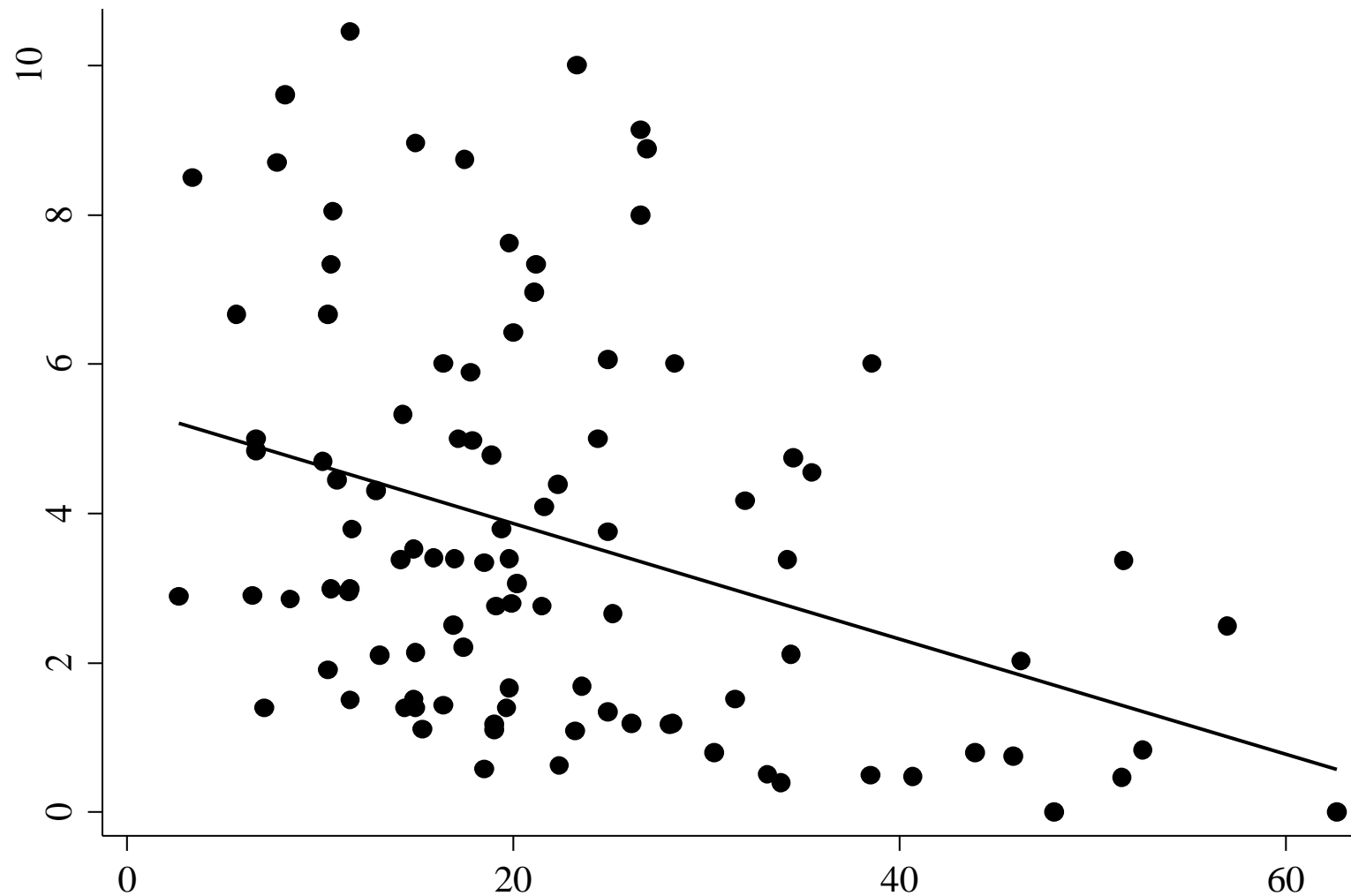
Does it really matter?

“I’m a small businessman at heart. Always will be. . . . Running a small business here in Butler County was one of the proudest times of my life. And it gave me a perspective on our country that I’ve carried with me throughout my time in public service.”

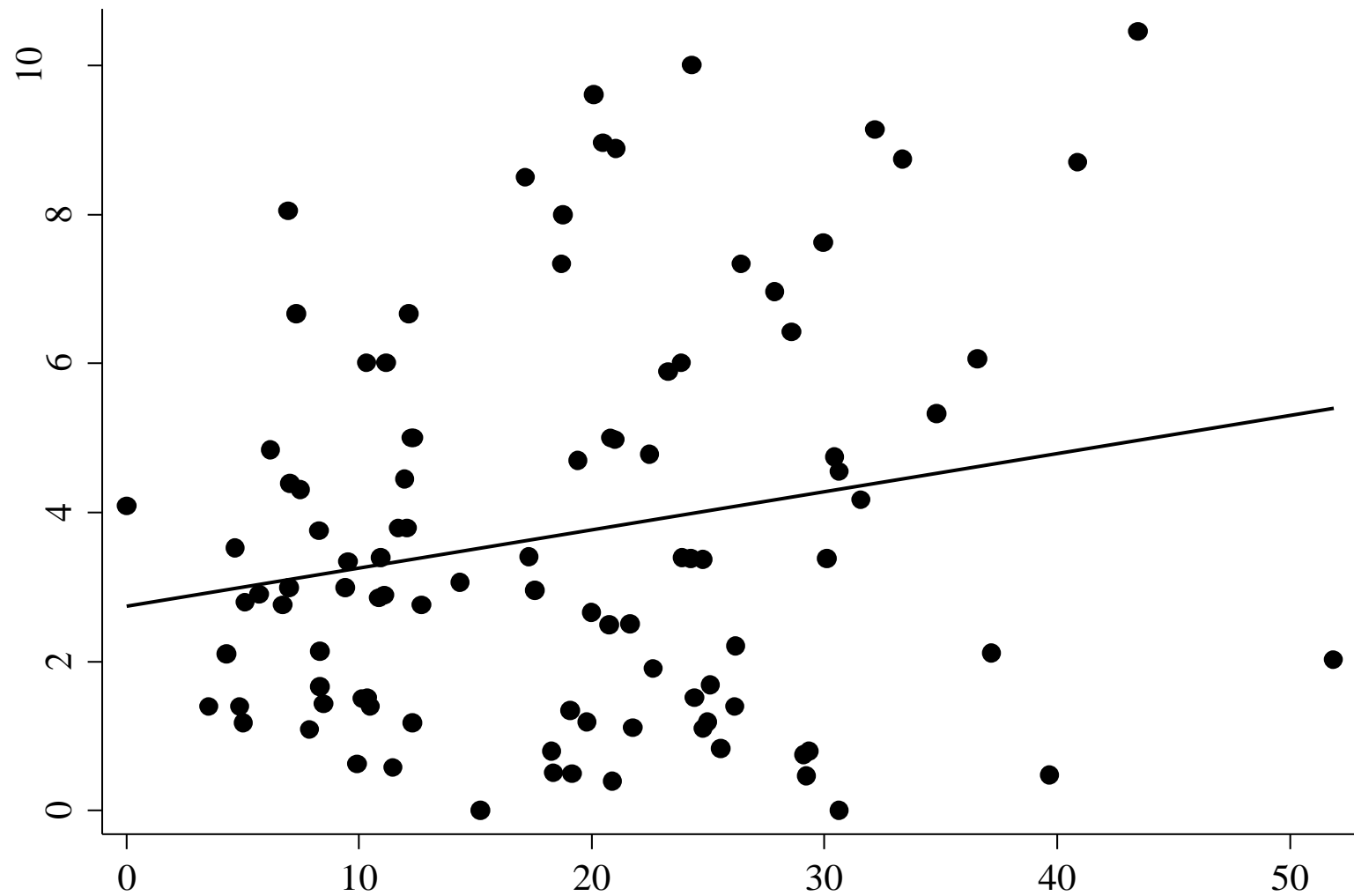
--John Boehner

Does it really matter?

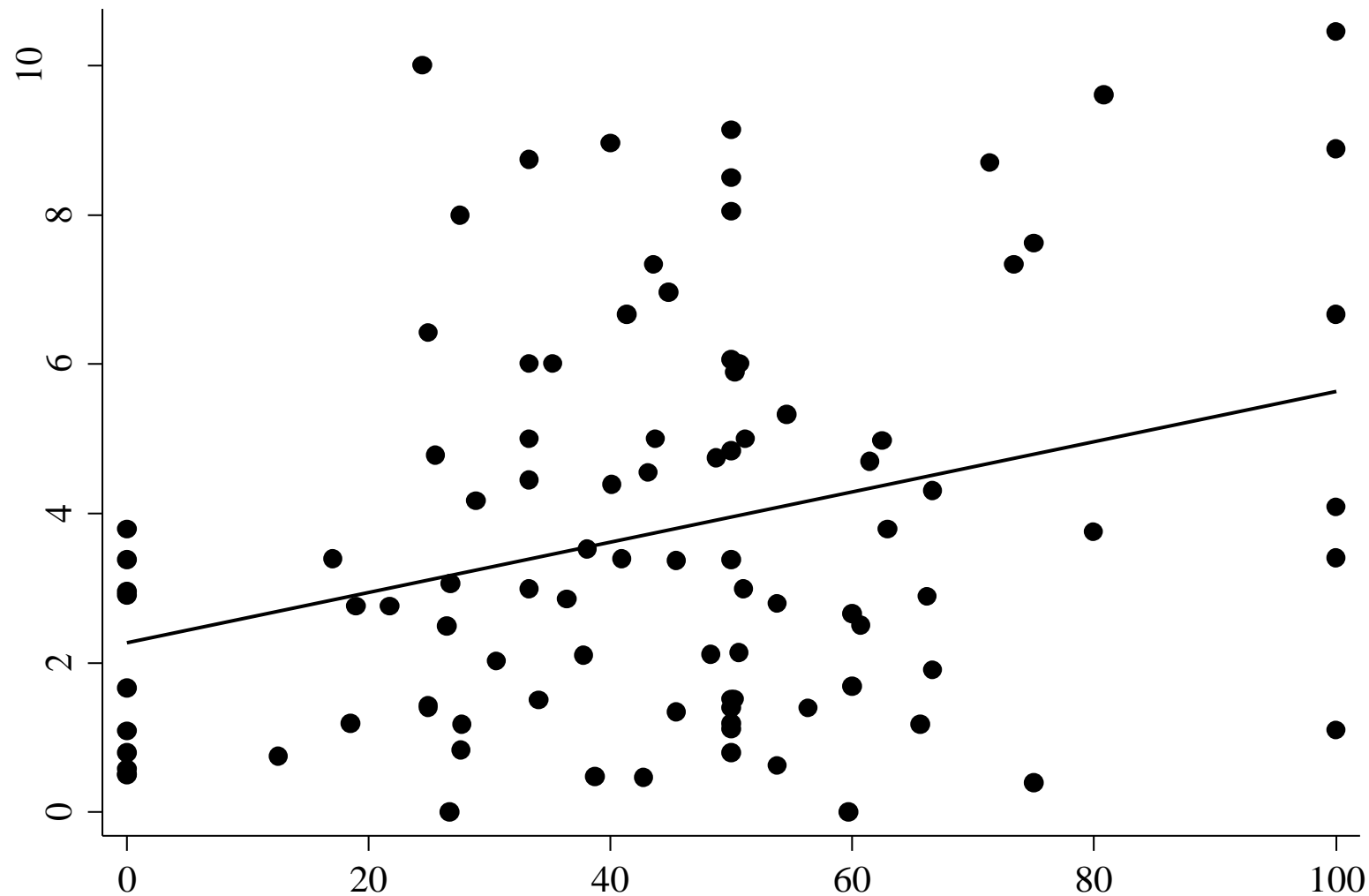




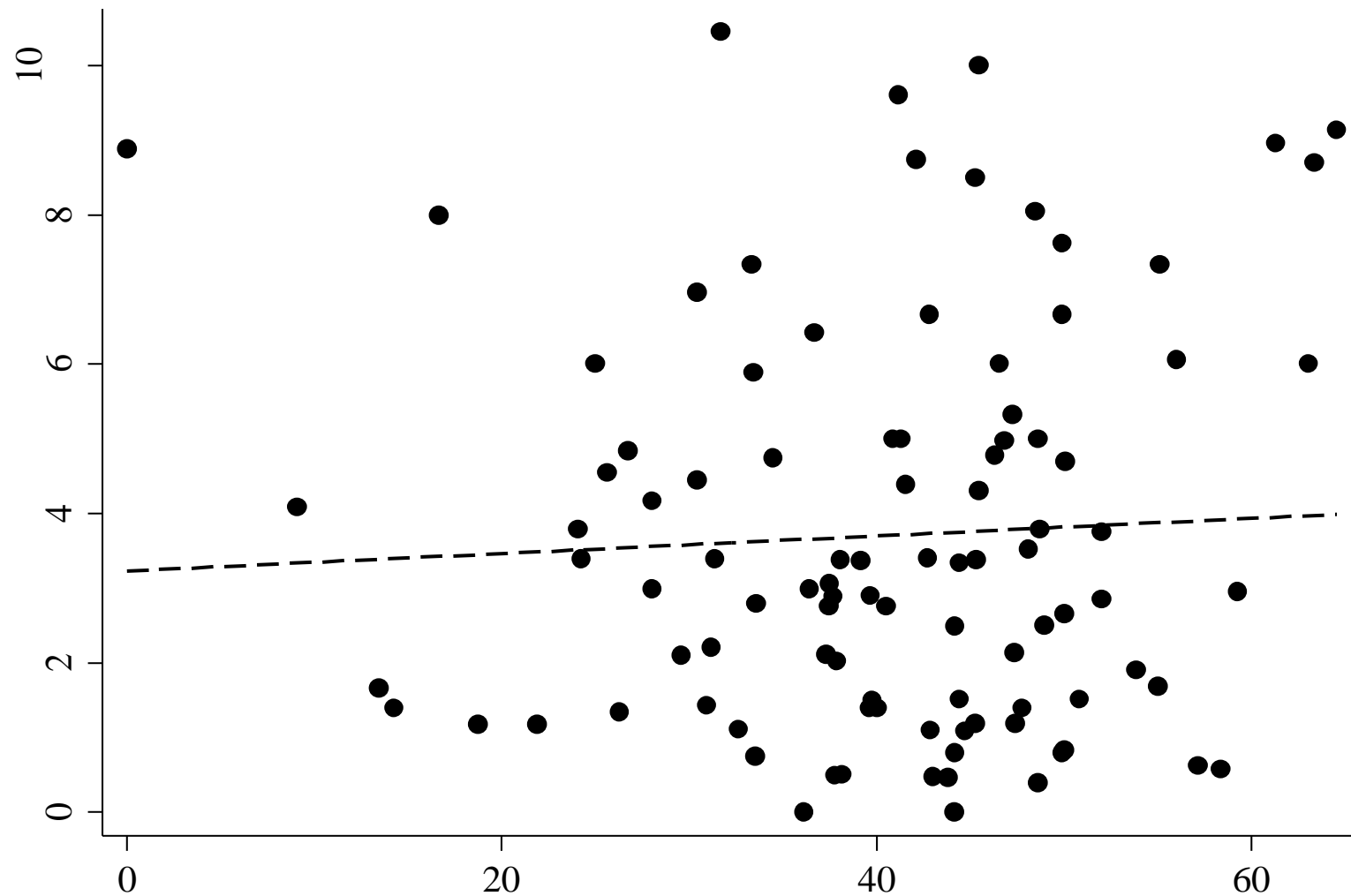
Legislative Professionalism



Union Density



% of Campaign / Party Staff from the Working Class

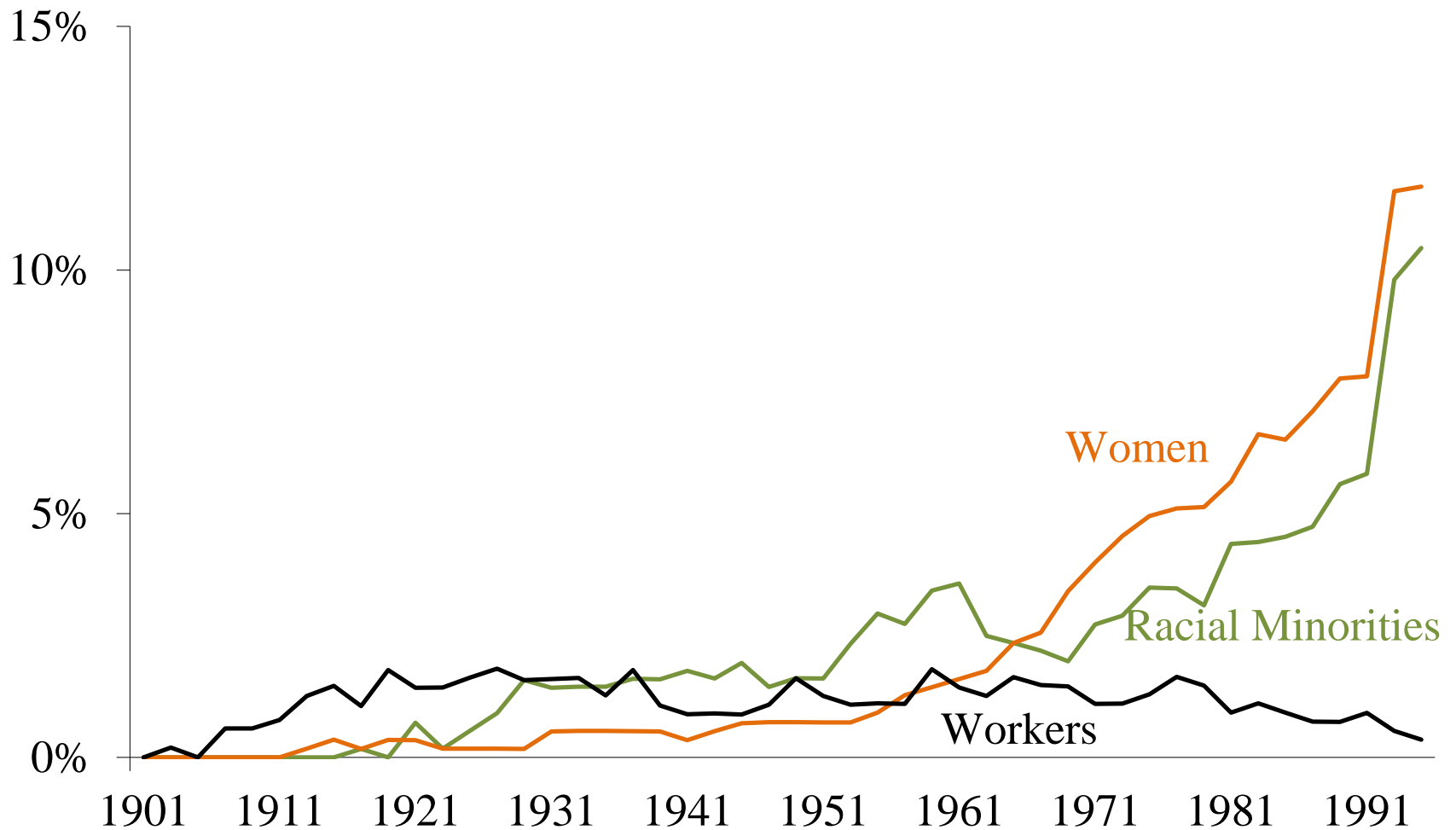


% of Highly Knowledgeable People from the Working Class

Actual	Reweighted	Regression
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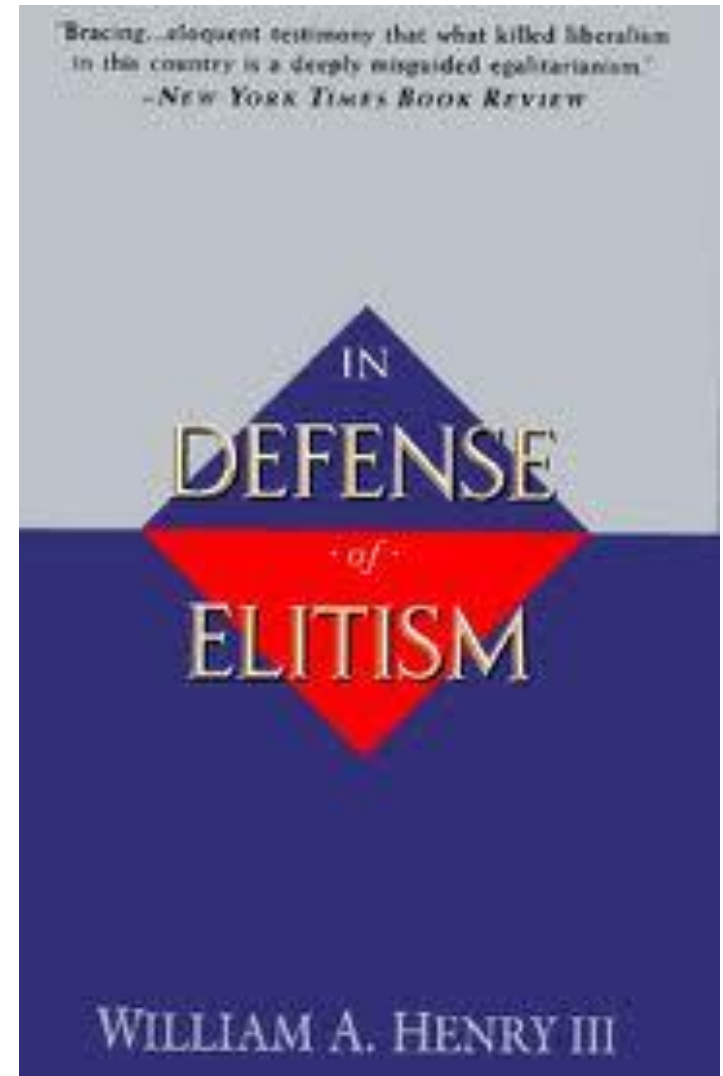
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The Makeup of Congress



The Conventional Wisdom

“Voters repeatedly reject insurrectionist candidates who parallel their own ordinariness . . . in favor of candidates of proven character and competence.”



Notes

Promoting political...



Today

May 5 6:19 PM

Promoting political equality

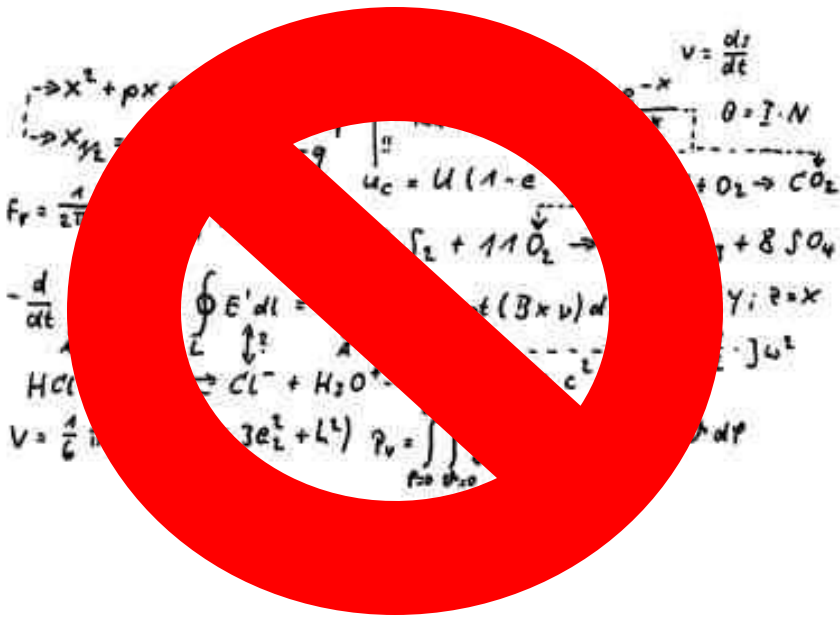
1. Get the money under control
2. Promote greater participation
3. Get the working class into office



What needs to happen?

Make it a priority.

Figure out how to do it right.



What needs to happen?

Make it a priority.

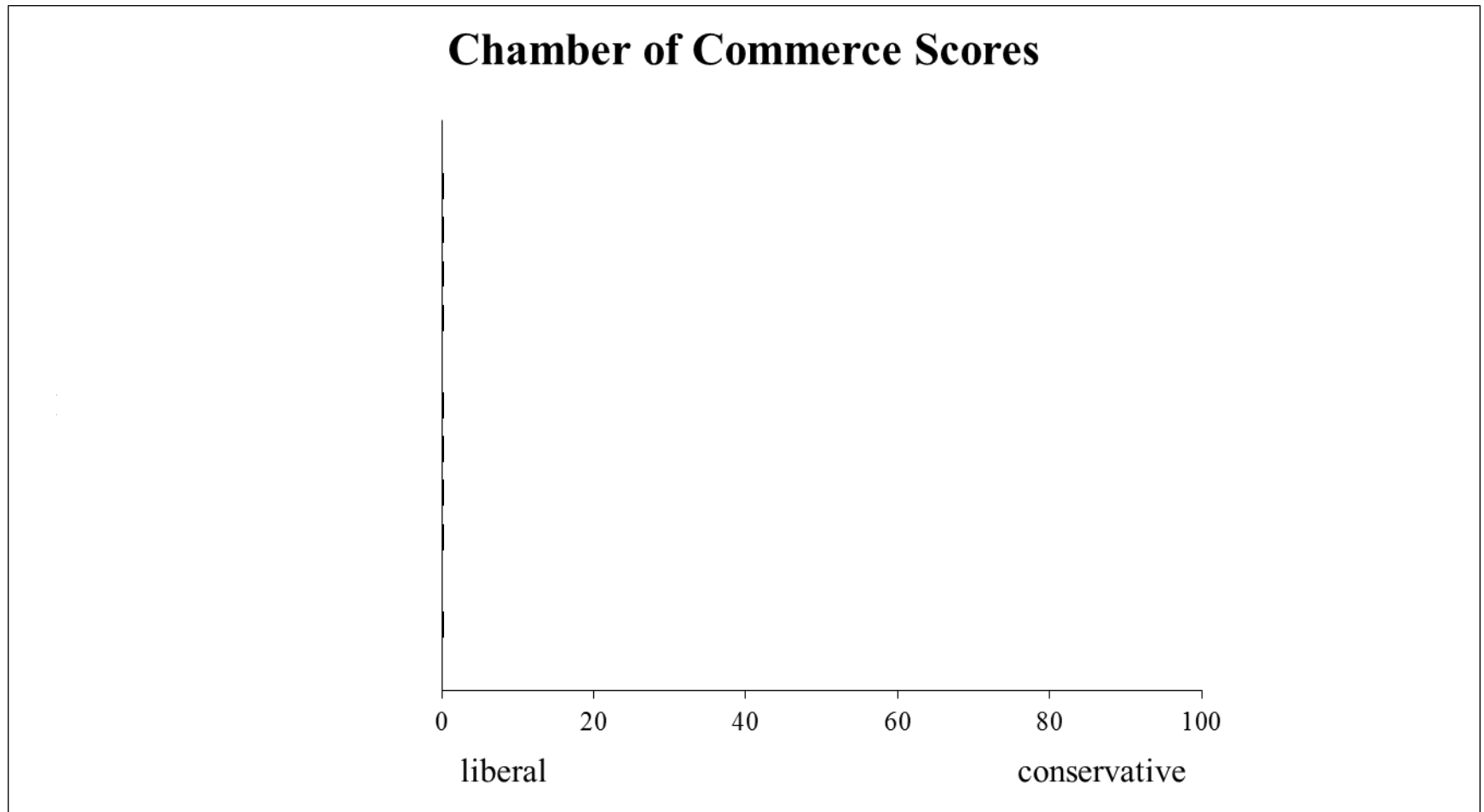
Figure out how to do it right.

Recruitment +
Seed money +
Training +
Grassroots support =

**High-quality lawmakers from
the working class**

**Requires more testing*

Does it really matter?



Does it really matter?

