

What have you read that helps you understand the 2024 Election?

Convened by Eli Pariser

This doc is now closed for additions because all the takes have been taken and the election is now completely understood (just kidding, but I can't curate it well any longer and it's a pretty good sampling.) Thanks to everyone who participated!

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Summary: All the Factors Mentioned In These Articles

EP note: Need to update this

Economic/Material Factors:

1. Post-pandemic economic anxiety and inflation, despite good overall economic numbers
2. Housing affordability crisis and high cost of living
3. Perception of economy being bad, even when metrics were positive
4. Lingering effects of deindustrialization and globalization hurting working class communities

Media/Information Environment:

5. Dominance of right-wing media ecosystem (Fox News, Sinclair, talk radio, etc.) in setting news agenda
6. Social media platforms controlled by right-wing figures (especially Elon Musk's X)
7. Collapse of local news and mainstream media
8. Mainstream media's "both sides" approach and failure to adequately cover Trump's threats
9. Rise of influencer culture and political content on platforms like TikTok favoring the right
10. Social media silos increasingly create blue/red echo chambers with mutual hatred
11. Role of Russia with misinformation campaigns and social media influencers

Cultural/Identity Issues:

10. Backlash against "woke" politics and DEI initiatives
11. Crisis of masculinity and male alienation, especially among young men
12. Racial and gender-based anxiety about social change
13. Cultural conservatism, especially among Hispanic voters

14. Anti-immigrant sentiment

Democratic Party/Campaign Issues:

- 15. Biden's late exit from the race hampering Harris's campaign
- 16. Harris's association with unpopular incumbent administration
- 17. Democrats' failure to effectively counter right-wing narratives / overreliance on traditional media (i.e. significant funding allocated to TV ads; median age of primetime viewers is now 65)
- 18. Party's perceived elitism and disconnect from working class voters
- 19. Over reliance on "defending democracy" messaging vs. offering positive vision
- 20. Focus on cultural issues over economic populism

Structural/Institutional:

- 21. Global anti-incumbent trend in post-pandemic era
- 22. "Thermostatic" voter reaction against Democratic governance
- 23. Collapse of post-WWII neoliberal consensus without clear alternative
- 24. Weakening of traditional democratic institutions
- 25. Growing distrust in government and expert authority
- 26. Inflation and bad economy

Campaign Dynamics:

- 26. Trump's ability to deflect scandals and legal troubles
- 27. Effective use of grievance politics and cultural warfare
- 28. Superior right-wing ground game and voter mobilization
- 29. Trump's appeal as an "outsider" fighting the system
- 30. His ability to channel voters' anger and alienation
- 31. Republican ads demonizing transgender people - moving working class male voters
- 32. Jill Stein's campaign
- 33. Elon Musk's role in Pennsylvania

Policy Issues:

- 34. Biden Administration posture on ceasefire and Gaza and impact especially on youth voters
- 35. Muslim voters in Michigan voted for Jill Stein and Trump - Gaza issue

Good articles:

Where Does This Leave Democrats?

By: Ezra Klein

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-election.html>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser (h/t Micah Sifry)

TL;DR (summary): Ezra argues that Democrats made a critical error in suppressing challenges to Biden and failing to address voters' real dissatisfaction with his administration, leading to Harris's defeat. He suggests that, like after Bush's 2004 win, this moment marks not necessarily a Republican realignment but possibly the end of the Obama coalition, requiring Democrats to build a new politics by engaging with new voices and places they've been avoiding, rather than retreating into contempt for Trump voters.

Democrats Had a Theory of the Election. They Were Wrong

By: Lydia Polgreen and Tressie McMillan Cottom

Link:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/presidential-election-2024-democrats.html>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR (summary): Tressie McMillan Cottom argues that Democrats misread the lessons of recent years, abandoning compelling storytelling about fundamental issues in favor of small tweaks, while also failing to effectively engage with both moral concerns of young voters and the economic realities of today's working class (largely women and people of color). She suggests that while the current moment is challenging, traditional demographic categories for understanding voters are crumbling, creating new opportunities for coalition-building, and reminds us that transformative change often seems impossible until it happens.

Why Are We Here

By: Sherrilyn Ifill

Link: <https://sherrilyn.substack.com/p/why-are-we-here>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser (h/t Micah Sifry)

TL;DR (summary): Sherrilyn Ifill argues that Trump's 2024 victory represents not a failure of electoral systems but rather America's continued compromise with white supremacy, which has been embedded in the nation's DNA since its founding. She suggests that we are entering another "nadir" period similar to post-Reconstruction, and while this will bring real dangers for marginalized people and democratic institutions, it must be met with institution-building and cross-racial coalition work, just as previous generations did during difficult periods.

Spanberger Criticizes Democrats' Strategy in Caucus Call

By: Washington Post Website. 2020 audio recording reposted November 8, 2024

Link:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/politics/spanberger-criticizes-democrats-strategy-in-caucus-call/2020/11/05/6ec2b368-258a-4061-9738-d83ee8971c3c_video.html

Contributed by: Talmage Cooley

TL;DR (summary): Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D-Va.) criticizes Democrat party messaging strategy during a 2020 Democratic caucus call, saying the 2020 election "was a failure" for

House Democrats due to preponderance of “woke” messaging that turned off middle-of-the-road voters. Democratic policies are not the problem as they poll well, Spanberger says, but she warns the judgmental tone of “woke” messaging turns off older and more traditional voters. The Washington Post reposted this audio November 8, 2024 as part of 2024 election analysis.

The Real Reason Harris and the Democrats Were Always Doomed

By: David Wallace-Wells

Link:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/democrats-election-trump.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&referringSource=articleShare>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR (summary): David Wallace-Wells argues that beyond specific campaign issues, Democrats lost in 2024 because they had become the de facto establishment party over a generation of popular-vote dominance (winning 7 of 8 elections since 1992), making them vulnerable to anti-incumbent sentiment in a post-pandemic world where voters are increasingly rejecting those in power.

Silicon Valley, the New Lobbying Monster

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/10/14/silicon-valley-the-new-lobbying-monster>

TL;DR: This New Yorker article details how Silicon Valley, led by political operative Chris Lehane, has transformed into a formidable political force by using massive spending and sophisticated campaign tactics to intimidate politicians, exemplified by the crypto industry's \$170 million super PAC that helped defeat Katie Porter and influence other politicians' stances on crypto regulation. The article suggests this represents a broader shift in how tech approaches politics - moving from avoiding political engagement to actively wielding money and user bases as weapons to shape policy, raising questions about whether this represents healthy democratic participation or a concerning concentration of power among wealthy technologists.

Let's Talk About the White Woman Problem

By: Emily Amick, Emily in Your Phone

Link:

https://emilyinyourphone.substack.com/p/lets-talk-about-the-white-woman-problem?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=email-restack-comment&r=11094&triedRedirect=true

Contributed by: Alexandra Acker-Lyons

TL;DR (summary): “...we are actually living in a country of Karens all hiding in plain sight...We need to be better at talking to these women and the party needs to leave space

for them to be targeted in a way that actually persuades them. This is work to be done by us, the white women who voted for Harris.”

Sam Lessin Election Reflections

By: Sam Lessin

Link:

https://cdn.bsky.app/img/feed_fullsize/plain/did:plc:xsqszbyc7kfwe7ys3vim4uuh/bafkreihmb4qghrsyf2pjt5cylafuz42tfdhcgdc2mqwcdoid4dxidggi@jpeg

Contributed by: Sarah Drinkwater

TL;DR: In a world of communication abundance rather than scarcity, Trump's strategy of flooding the zone with content, building a devoted core following, and being willing to iterate messaging repeatedly proved more effective than Harris's traditional, defensive approach of careful messaging and reliance on mainstream proxies - representing a fundamental misunderstanding by Democrats of how modern digital communication and community-building works.

Richard Rorty's prescient warnings for the American left (2019)

By: Sean Illing

Link:

<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/2/9/14543938/donald-trump-richard-rorty-election-liberalism-conservatives>

Contributed by: John Neffinger

TL;DR: Revisiting renowned pragmatist philosopher Richard Rorty's 1998 warnings about how the American left lost its way and lost its connection with working people.

Why They Loved Him (2020)

By: Farah Stockman

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/opinion/trump-working-class-economy.html>

Contributed by: John Neffinger

TL;DR: Democrats lost the mantle of the party that looks out for the little guy by actually failing to defend working people against neoliberalism. Working people feel actively and legitimately betrayed.

Democrats Walked into a Trap that Republicans Set for Them (2024)

By: Ben Rhodes

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/opinion/republicans-democrats-trump.html>

Contributed by: Anna Galland

TL;DR: “Many voters have come to associate democracy with globalization, corruption, financial capitalism, migration, forever wars and elites (like me) who talk about it as an end in itself rather than a means to redressing inequality, reining in capitalist systems that are rigged, responding to global conflict and fostering a sense of shared national identity”

Forget “Why?” It’s time to get back to work (2016)

By: Anil Dash

Link: https://www.anildash.com/2016/11/09/forget_why_its_time_to_get_to_work/

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: “There are concrete steps we can take immediately, which can set up habits that we can sustain for the years of struggle to come” 1. Organizations fighting for civil rights and social justice already exist in your community. Start fundraising, now. 2. Make stopping Trump a regular habit. Fight normalization in the media. Pursue a strategy of containment. If you can’t lead, support those who do. Build time into your schedule for these actions 3. Take care of yourself and others.

Extra context: *I (Ben) recognize it’s a bit provocative to share a piece with this title in a “what helps you understand” bibliography. But I found it a helpful reminder to balance our search for meaning with a search for concrete, impactful action – and one doesn’t need to wait for a conclusion of the former to start the latter.*

A Practical Program for Resisting a Trump Second Term (2024)

By: Adam Gurri

Link:

<https://www.liberalcurrents.com/a-practical-program-for-resisting-a-trump-second-term/>

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: 1. Federal policy relies upon state and local administrative capacity; protestors and activists must pressure blue-state officials to engage in strategic acts of opposition. 2. Act on myriad opportunities to reshape the local political economy. (E.g.: They’ve destroyed unions; maybe we should go after car dealerships) 3. Develop an underground railroad for vulnerable communities

Trump Offered Men Something That Democrats Never Could

By: Elizabeth Spiers

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-white-young-men.html>

Contributed by: Sarah Mehalic

TL;DR: Opinion column explores the role of hegemonic masculinity in 2024, a concept which has been found previously by researchers to be “a better predictor of whether people saw Mr. Trump as a good leader in 2016 and 2020 than sexism or racism alone. It was a better predictor than trust in government or even party affiliation.”

Playing Hardball

By: Sarah Knight and Arkadi Gerney

Link: <https://prospect.org/politics/2024-10-18-playing-hardball/>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “In the face of red-state aggression, we think it’s time for blue states to embrace their governing majorities as affirmative sources of power—and begin to exercise those powers more fully, more effectively, and with greater coordination.”

Strategies include:

- “Leveraging economic, cultural, and people power” (i.e. creating policies that require business to comply with Blue State policies, given 47% of US GDP runs through these states),
- “Exploring policies that are better and more humane than migrant busing, but that create similar political opportunities and impose similar political costs within red states” (i.e. bulk purchasing insulin for low-cost then extending lower prices to Red State neighbors who realize their own policies are extracting rents),
- “Forging compacts and alliances that create efficiencies of scale and comparative purchasing advantages” (i.e. COVID PPE purchasing alliances), and
- “Engaging in a “race to the top” that raises standards in blue and red states alike” (i.e. watching carefully for competitive market dynamics to note where new standards for excellence in Blue states may force Red states’ hands to rehumanize program standards for things like college admissions).

Uniform Swing and Thermostatic Politics

By: Charlotte Swasey

Link:

<https://www.cauldron.llc/medium-data-blog/what-im-seeing-uniform-swing-and-thermostatic-politics>

Contributed by: Brandon Silverman

TL;DR: Analysis of the 2024 Harris-Trump presidential election shows a nationwide shift of about 7 points toward Republicans compared to 2020, with Trump winning 51% to Harris's 48%, and particularly strong Republican gains among Hispanic voters and in urban areas. The consistent nature of this shift across states (known as uniform swing) suggests this represents a national rejection of Democratic governance rather than campaign-specific issues, likely reflecting a “thermostatic” response where voters move right when they perceive government as having moved too far left. While the specific policy implications aren't clear since voter perceptions are based more on general “vibes” than specific issues, the author sees this as a serious rebuke that Democrats need to address.

You Did This to Yourselves, Democrats

By: Dan McLaughlin

Link: <https://www.nationalreview.com/2024/11/you-did-this-to-yourselves-democrats/>

Contributed by: Sarah Mehalic

TL;DR: Opinion column contends that Democrats' were elected with a mandate to restore normalcy and failed. Pointing to the Biden-Harris administration's policy choices on inflation and immigration, an embrace of further-left progressive stances, and the poor handling of the president's age and acuity, the author concludes that Democrats repeatedly and consistently eroded trust among moderate voters, enabling Donald Trump's return to office.

Time for Democrats to Abandon the Mainstream Media (2024)

By: Ryan Cooper

Link:

<https://prospect.org/politics/2024-11-07-time-for-democrats-abandon-mainstream-media/>

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: "The information environment—the combination of traditional journalism, social media, party propaganda, and so on—is preposterously biased and inadequate. Trump brushed aside any of about a thousand scandals that would have sunk any previous politician. Democrats need to take a long, hard look at what their information strategy should be, and more importantly, how their messaging can be reliably and consistently put in front of voters."

The Long Obama Era is Over (2024)

By: Osita Nwanevu

Link:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/nov/08/obama-era-democrat-party-future>

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: "Reliably tacking to the center might have worked as an electoral prescription in the Clinton era, it clearly offers diminishing returns now. The Democratic party is not being doomed by an unwillingness to run moderate presidential campaigns or because the party is putting forward aspiring Squad members as candidates in Kansas...The Democratic party has not demonstrated any capacity whatsoever to speak to voters who simply don't believe in the politics of old and aren't interested in returning to it."

I Blame the Media (2024)

By: Dan Froomkin

Link: <https://presswatchers.org/2024/11/i-blame-the-media/>

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: "The vast majority of voters still have some contact with the major traditional media outlets [e.g. broadcast networks, CNN, NPR, NYTimes, WashPost]...What voters heard and read...didn't dissuade them from swallowing the right-wing narrative that the country is in decline, with an economy in shambles, with crime up, and with undocumented immigrants terrorizing people everywhere – none of which are true."

Why Does No One Understand the Real Reason Trump Won? (2024)

By: Michael Tomasky

Link: <https://newrepublic.com/post/188197/trump-media-information-landscape-fox>

Contributed by: Linnea Cederberg

TL;DR: “Right-wing media is becoming the norm for 2/3rds of the country and normalizing right wing positions and narratives about Trump is the reason why people are voting for him. If we want Democrats and left-wing narratives to be popular, we need rich liberals to invest in building left-wing media narratives.”

It wasn't the economy. It wasn't inflation, or anything else. It was how people perceive those things, which points to one overpowering answer.

By: Michael Tomasky

Link:

<https://newsletter.tnr.com/index.php?action=social&chash=2715518c875999308842e3455eda2fe3.1073&s=676743f102a9ff4fffcec6aba947d48f>

Contributed by: Sherilyn Ifill

TL;DR: The article argues that Donald Trump's election victory was primarily due to the dominance of right-wing media (including Fox News, Newsmax, and others) which has grown larger than mainstream media and shapes the national news agenda by promoting narratives that favor Trump while portraying his opponents negatively.

Thoughts on the Day After (2024)

By: Josh Marshall

Link: <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/thoughts-on-the-day-after>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “Why did this happen? The most fundamental reason is that we're coming out of a vast, global, public crisis that began just short of five years ago. The economy was good through most of Donald Trump's first term. The pandemic was an epochal disaster, the full impact of which I believe most of us still haven't gotten our heads around. Then, during that and coming out of that, life become a lot harder for most people. There was a major inflation shock. Housing became much harder to afford and stepping up the housing ladder, from renting as a 20-something to owning a home as a 30-something, for example, became much harder. The pandemic crime spike was relatively short-lived, as were the worst parts of the inflation. But the reality of a destabilized society has persisted.”

The Exit Polls (2024)

By: Emily Guskin, Chris Alcantara and Janice Kai Chen

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/elections/interactive/2024/exit-polls-2024-election/>

Contributed by: Aliya Bhatia (the Vot-ER one)

TL;DR This is early data, but if these cross-tabs represent the actual 2024 electorate, then people of color were heavily underrepresented in this election relative to their actual proportion of the US population.

The Senator Warning Democrats of a Crisis Unfolding Beneath Their Noses (2024)

By: James Pogue

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/opinion/chris-murphy-democrats.html>

Contributed by: Aliya Bhatia (the Vot-ER one)

TL;DR Americans crave agency, and today's world of large corporations makes it hard to experience that agency. To fix this, we need to not just defend institutions in the abstract (because that suggests that the institutions are working) but create institutions that promote agency and belonging for everyday Americans.

Graph on global trend against incumbents (2024)

By: John Burn-Murdoc

Link: <https://x.com/jburnmurdoch/status/1854485866548195735>

Contributed by: Aliya Bhatia (the Vot-ER one)

TL;DR We're in an anti-incumbency year — EVERY sitting party up for re-election globally lost vote share, and actually, the US's sitting party did not lose as badly as others in other countries. Even with the best possible campaign, Biden or Harris at the top of the ticket may not have been able to outrun this trend. [\[Which segues quite well into Jennifer Pahlka's piece\]](#)

Our mistake was to think we live in a better country than we do (2024)

By: Rebecca Solnit

Link: [Our mistake was to think we lived in a better country than we do | Rebecca Solnit | The Guardian](#)

Contributed by: Deva Hirsch

TL; DR We made the mistake of underestimating the extent of misogyny and racism in our country. A perceived crisis of masculinity, the complicity of mainstream media, the growing influence of Silicon Valley, and the unchecked power of social media have all played roles in fueling misinformation, disinformation, and hatred. The mainstream media has failed in

its role as the fourth estate—failing both to hold our leaders accountable and to ensure the public remains well-informed.

The nation's wounds

By: Paul Wells

Link:

https://paulwells.substack.com/p/the-nations-wounds?utm_campaign=email-post&r=1xjv2g&utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email

Contributed by: Liz Manne

TL;DR: The article argues that Trump's re-election victory should be understood as a reaction to decades of failed governance policies that led to declining life expectancy, industrial collapse, and widespread despair in middle America, rather than simply being dismissed as irrational voter behavior - even though the author believes Trump will likely make these problems worse.

The Antidote to Authoritarianism: How an Organizing Revival Can Build a Multiracial Pluralistic Democracy and an Inclusive Economy (2023)

By: Beth Howard and James Mumm for People's Action Institute

Link:

<https://peoplesaction.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Antidote-to-Authoritarianism-EN-2024-1.pdf>

Contributed by: James Mumm

TL;DR (summary – it's fine to use AI if you want, but no more than 2 sentences): If we want to achieve a multiracial pluralistic democracy and move toward an inclusive economy, we must ground ourselves in the best and most effective practices of relational, power-based community organizing. The Organizing Revival is our call to renew these practices to defeat authoritarianism.

How Trump won – and what it means for the world

By: Ian Bremmer

Link: <https://mailchi.mp/gzeromedia.com/3j6xiex147?e=6920043c6f>

Contributed by: Jonathan Soros

TL;DR Distrust of elites and post-pandemic inflation created insurmountable anti-incumbency bias. Campaign efforts to tout economic progress and disqualify Trump were stymied by information bubbles. Rest is round-up of foreign policy consequences.

The story that is about to be pushed hard is that Kamala Harris lost because she was too far left.

By: Branko Marcetic

Link: <https://jacobin.com/2024/11/election-harris-trump-democrats-strategy/>

Contributed by: Gin

TL;DR The story that is about to be pushed hard is that Kamala Harris lost because she was too far left. It will be pushed because this is the Democratic establishment's go-to explanation for all its failures. Despite assurances from economists that the US economy is in great shape; average americans are struggling.

Curiosity and Conflict

By: Jennifer Pahlka

Link: <https://www.eatingpolicy.com/p/curiosity-and-conflict>

Contributed by: myself (and plus 1 from Aliya Bhatia)

TL;DR Dems need to look in the mirror at why we lost and demand change from the party. We need curiosity and conflict to change. This includes caring about outcomes, not just congratulating ourselves on well-intended policies.

Why Democrats Won't Build Their Own Joe Rogan (2024)

By: Taylor Lorenz

Link: <https://www.usermag.co/p/why-democrats-wont-build-their-own>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: (it's because liberal donors won't invest in an equivalent to the right wing media ecosystem - How's that for brevity? :)

Democrats Need to Fundamentally Rethink Everything (2024)

By: Waleed Shahid

Link: <https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/2024-election-lessons-analysis-democrats/>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Overview of the reasons we lost with a call for boldness to actually break through to hearts and minds and win transformational change in people's lives.

Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now? (2024)

By: David Brooks (I know, I know...)

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-working-class.html>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Insightful piece that the reason we're losing working class voters is not just about economics or perception or the media environment, it's about disrespect. He suggests, against type, that Democrats may need to be more like Bernie Sanders.

Five Thought Experiments Concerning the Underlying Disease

By: George Saunders

Link: <https://shorturl.at/rxL1f>

Contributed by: Lise Clavel

TL;DR: Parable style piece with the subheading "Our civic wells are poisoned. Why?" about how the media and unregulated capitalism are effectively the puppeteers of our constant discord, which they monetize to our great harm. Saunders is, as always, wise and funny and optimistic and truthful and very, very, insightful.

How Trump Won: Young Men's Red Wave, the Blue-City Flop, and the Incumbency Graveyard

By: Derek Thompson

Link: <https://www.theringer.com/2024/11/8/24290898/this-is-why-donald-trump-won>

Contributed by: David Dillon

TL;DR: Derek outlines how globally, we're seeing a trend of anti-incumbency — ruling parties across most developed countries have recently been voted out (or have seen dramatic losses in power).

How Alarmed Should We Be if Trump Wins Again

By: Adam Gopnik

Link: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/10/21/how-alarmed-should-we-be-if-trump-wins-again>

Contributed by: Marina Gorbis

TL;DR: Written right before the elections, Adam foresees what's to come and why we see ourselves with the results. Trump's ascendance (and ultimately win) is putting a mirror to what we have become as a society. "Trump's politics may be ugly, foolish, and vain, but ours is often an ugly, undereducated, and vain country. Democracy is meant to be a mirror, it shows what it shows."

Democrats Could Have Won. Our Excuses Mask a Devastating Reality.

By: John Della Volpe

Link: https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/opinion/kamala-harris-young-voters.html?unlock_ed_article_code=1.ZE4.I021.cNcdGXtxEUrJ&smid=url-share

Contributed by: Sarah Mehalic

TL;DR: Respected Harvard pollster Della Volpe contends insiders warned consistently about problems appearing in the polling. The headline and some focus on the youth vote obscure his most interesting point: we are replacing metrics for meaning. "...this near-blind faith in random control trials and modeling has created more than just an illusion of scientific precision — it has built an algorithmic fortress that isolates Democrats from the very voters they seek to represent. The irony is stark: a party full of voter data yet starved for true voter understanding and connection."

Bad News

By: Charlie Warzel

Link:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2024/11/you-are-the-media-now/680602/>

Contributed by: Zane Shelby

TL;DR: The rise of social media platforms and podcasts has fragmented the media environment, allowing individuals to curate their own information sources and narratives. This fragmentation has led to a lack of shared reality, as people increasingly consume information that aligns with their personal beliefs.

Exit Right

By: Gabriel Winant

Link: https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/exit-right/

Contributed by: Zoe Hudson

TL;DR: A wide-ranging article, centered on a critique of the left, and calling for a direct confrontation with Trump, what he represents, and the "remaking of America he envisions". Most interesting is the second half (after the takedown of the Democratic Party).

Why Democratic funders don't fund media

By: David Slifka

Link: <https://seeds.bluem.ventures/p/what-happened>

Contributed by: David Slifka :)

TL;DR: Some reasons why Democratic funders have had so much trouble building a media ecosystem.

Democratic Dealignment

By: Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor

Link: <https://thedigradio.com/podcast/democratic-dealignment-w-keeanga-yamahtta-taylor/>

TL;DR: How the Dem party misses class issues and refuses to expand the welfare state that they've traditionally stewarded.

What's Wrong With the Economy? It's You, Not the Data (April 2024)

By: Greg Ip, WSJ

Link: <https://archive.is/dqnIR> (orig: <https://www.wsj.com/economy/consumers/whats-wrong-with-the-economy-its-you-not-the-data-cfa911e6>)

Contributed by: Ben Rahn

TL;DR: Some very compelling evidence that perception of national economic conditions have become detached from perception of personal/local economic conditions

I Study Guys Like Trump. There's a Reason They Keep Winning.

By: Ben Rhodes

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/opinion/republicans-democrats-trump.html?searchResultPosition=3>

Contributed by: Jonathan Soros

TL;DR (summary): Trump has a clear authoritarian playbook of populist anti-elite message and attacks on "others" followed by power consolidation. This led Dems to defend the very institutions that people felt were failing them, and identitarian politics to defend those attacked by othering.

A New Era Dawns: America's Tech Bros Now Strut Their Stuff in the Corridors of Power

By: Carole Cadwalladr

Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/nov/11/a-new-era-dawns-americas-tech-bros-now-strut-their-stuff-in-the-corridors-of-power?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other&utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email

Contributed by: Nicholas Coccoma

TL;DR (summary): The period from 2016 to 2024 represents the first wave of information disruption. We're now entering a more dangerous phase where tech oligarchs are aligning with political power to create an information environment dominated by chaos. Traditional methods of combating this will no longer work, as information sharing has been fundamentally altered.

Where to find hope if Trump wins

By: Gideon Lichfield

Link: <https://futurepolis.substack.com/p/where-to-look-for-bright-spots-if>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “The main silver lining is that as the federal arena becomes more toxic, the local level will become more vibrant. States and cities are already where the most interesting policy and governance innovations are happening, and they will likely become more so.”

Places ravaged by opioids are giving Republicans the upper hand

By: The Economist

Link:

<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2024/01/04/places-ravaged-by-opioids-are-giving-republicans-the-upper-hand>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “Before 1996, when Purdue patented OxyContin, cancer mortality was not a very good predictor of Republican vote share. But a relationship started to emerge in the decades that followed (see chart). The economists found that a one-standard-deviation increase in the cancer-mortality rate in 1996 predicted a 13.8 percentage-point jump in votes for Republican candidates in the 2020 congressional elections. **In presidential elections, they found that it buoyed Republican nominees by an average of 12 percentage points between 1996 and 2020.**” *Eli note: No data yet on how this played out in 2024. But it’s extremely striking data.*

The Cost of Living Crisis Explains Everything

By: Annie Lowrey

Link:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/11/biden-harris-economy-election-loss/680592/>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “During the Biden-Harris years, more granular data pointed to considerable strain. Real median household income fell relative to its pre-COVID peak. The poverty rate ticked up, as did the jobless rate. The number of Americans spending more than 30 percent of their income on rent climbed. The delinquency rate on credit cards surged, as did the share of families struggling to afford enough nutritious food, as did the rate of homelessness.”

A tale of two jets: The old media grapples with its limits

By: Max Tani

Link:

<https://www.semafor.com/article/11/10/2024/a-tale-of-two-jets-the-old-media-grapples-with-its-new-limits>

Contributed by: Chloe

TL;DR: “Trump’s victory isn’t a result of a failure by news outlets to sufficiently hold him accountable. The real answer is one that is a lot more uncomfortable to grapple with: The national news media is more limited in its reach and influence than ever in the modern era.”

Breaking Our Shift Toward Autocracy: Hungary, Only One of Many Canaries in Democracy’s Coal Mine, and the Global Need for Investing in Soft Infrastructures

By: Györgyi Gálik

Link:

<https://provocations.darkmatterlabs.org/breaking-our-shift-toward-autocracy-hungary-only-one-of-many-canaries-in-democracys-coal-mine-0044af67c231>

Contributed by: Tom Glaisyer

TL;DR: Hungary is seen as a "canary in the coal mine" for the broader global decline in democratic governance, serving “as a cautionary tale of what happens when not only democratic institutions are undermined, but citizens’ very ability to make sense of the world is deliberately impaired.” The focus is on improving democratic practices by rebuilding the "soft infrastructures" necessary for effective governance—public dialogue, critical thinking, and democratic participation.

Poland Shows That Autocracy Is Not Inevitable

By: Anne Applebaum

Link:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/10/poland-parliamentary-election-autocracy-tusk/675656/>

Contributed by: Tom Glaisyer

TL;DR: “The victory of the Polish opposition proves that autocratic populism can be defeated, even after an unfair election. Nothing is inevitable about the rise of autocracy or the decline of democracy. Invest your time in political and civic organization if you want to create change, because sometimes it works.”

The Way Harris Lost Will Be Her Legacy

By: Tressie McMillan Cottom

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/why-kamala-harris-lost.html>

Contributed by: Tom Glaisyer

TL;DR: The writer critiques Harris's campaign for not fully embracing her race and gender as strengths, instead attempting to minimize these aspects in favor of appealing to a broader electorate. The author compares Harris's restrained campaign strategy to that of Stacey Abrams, who leaned into her identity more openly.

The Enshittification of Democracy

By: Dahlia Lithwick

Link:

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2024/10/donald-trump-election-2024-democracy-press-vote-law.html>

Contributed by: Jessica Clark

TL;DR: The term "enshittification" is used to describe the systematic degradation of valuable public services, particularly in the context of democracy. Trump and his supporters are intentionally undermining core democratic principles: public protest, voting, press freedom, and the rule of law. By attacking these pillars and framing them as failures, they erode trust in democratic institutions, leaving the public with little choice but to accept this decline.

Democratic Turnout Plummeted in 2024, but Only in Safe States

By: David Weigel

Link:

<https://www.semafor.com/article/11/15/2024/democratic-turnout-plummeted-in-2024-but-only-in-safe-states>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Really interesting comparison of 2020 to 2024 partisan turnout and performance with charts. Silver lining: We actually did pretty decently in the battlegrounds, and in 4 states (GA, NV, NC, WI) Dems actually *overperformed* their turnout in 2020. Bad news: The floor fell out in non-battlegrounds. I wish the piece did a deeper analysis - left me scratching my head! Why did dem turnout go up in NV but not AZ? Why did Dem turnout rise in WI, GA, NC, but fall in MI and PA? Clearly we're doing some things right, or doing better (or less badly) with some types of voters, but which variables made the difference? Looking forward to a deeper dive. Still, this was an intriguing tease!

Postmortem-Palooza: Ten Genres of Takes of Why We Lost to Trump

By: Waleed Shahid

Link: <https://waleedshahid.substack.com/p/postmortem-palooza>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Helpful overview of the postmortem landscape. Lots of good links to other pieces. The ten Genres are: 1). Dems didn't deliver tangible economic change. 2). Dems are "too woke." 3). Dems ignored the border. 4). Dems spent too much money. 5). Dems appear Elitist, not Populist. 6). Anti-incumbent sentiment post-COVID. 7). Entrenched Racism and Sexism. 8). Outplayed by Conservative media. 9) Harris failed to distance from unpopular status quo of Biden. 10). Harris seen as an empty suit.

Why We Got it So Wrong

By: David Brooks

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/opinion/identity-groups-politics.html>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Hey, that's why I'm here, posting David Brooks columns so you don't have to... why did we lose ground with young voters? Latino voters? Working class voters? Black voters? Are our conceptions of identity still accurate? Or are we married to political conceptions of racial, class, and gender identity that are becoming less true - and losing voters (essentially because we're elitist woke progressives who aren't listening to or respecting or connecting with many of the voters who we aspire and purport to represent).

None of the Conventional Explanations for Trump's Victory Stand up to Scrutiny

By: Ben Davis

Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/nov/09/trump-victory-explanation-scrutiny>

Contributed by: Carrie Cuthbert

TL; DR: Insightful critique of various explanations for Harris' loss, including: "I propose a different explanation than inflation qua inflation: the Covid welfare state and its collapse. The massive, almost overnight expansion of the social safety net and its rapid, almost overnight rollback are materially one of the biggest policy changes in American history... At the end of Trump's term, the American standard of living and the amount of economic security and freedom Americans had was higher than when it started, and, with the loss of this expanded welfare state, it was worse when Biden left office, despite his real policy wins

for workers and unions. This is why voters view Trump as a better shepherd of the economy.”

Decapitation Strike

By: Timothy Snyder

Link: <https://readwise.io/reader/shared/01jcrqtfjwef0ra26a8sh471ha>

Contributed by: Matt Abrams

TL; DR: The Cold War text books need to be re-written. Putin is winning. Putin, with useful tools of Musk and Trump, has been playing the long game for Russia and Kleptocracy writ large by dismantling the US from the inside. “Imagine that you are a foreign leader who wishes to destroy the United States. How could you do so? The easiest way would be to get Americans to do the work themselves, to somehow induce Americans to undo their own health, law, administration, defense, and intelligence. From this perspective, Trump's proposed appointments -- Kennedy, Jr.; Gaetz; Musk; Ramaswamy; Hegseth; Gabbard -- are perfect instruments. They combine narcissism, incompetence, corruption, sexual incontinence, personal vulnerability, dangerous convictions, and foreign influence as no group before them has done. These proposed appointments look like a decapitation strike: destroying the American government from the top, leaving the body politic to rot, and the rest of us to suffer...We are confronted instead with a group of people who, were they to hold the positions they have been assigned, could bring an end to the United States of America. It is a mistake to think of these people as flawed. It is not they will do a bad job in their assigned posts. It is that they will do a good job using those assigned posts to destroy our country.”

The Testosterone Election

By: Scott Galloway

Link: <https://www.profgalloway.com/the-testosterone-election/>

Contributed by: Matt Abrams

TL; DR: We need to lean in to testosterone that is chest beating for decency, kindness, empathy, and integrity (my words: stand up hard against bullies and assholes...). “how did Trump win? A: His campaign determined the best way to win over young men and their parents was to act like a young bro himself. Think about it: rockets, crypto, Rogan, coarse language, offensive jokes. This election was supposed to be a referendum on women's rights. It wasn't. It was a cold plunge into testosterone.” More broadly, the political landscape in America shows deep dissatisfaction, particularly among young men facing economic challenges and underemployment. This has led to a shift in voting patterns, with many young voters supporting “bro” candidates who promise change and economic opportunity and appear larger than life, “tough guys”. To address these issues, there is a call for initiatives like paid national service, affordable housing, and vocational training to help young people thrive.

When Will Democrats Learn to Say No?

By: Adam Jentleson

Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/16/opinion/democrats-interest-groups-majority.html>

Contributed by: David Slifka

TL; DR: “when Kamala Harris was running for the Democratic nomination in 2019, the A.C.L.U. pushed her to articulate a position on surgeries for transgender prisoners, needlessly elevating an obscure issue into the public debate as a purity test, despite the fact that current law already gave prisoners access to gender-affirming care. This became a major line of attack for Mr. Trump in the closing weeks of this year’s election.” ... “the question “is this tactic more likely to trigger backlash than to advance our goals?” is the single most important one, yet it seems to be rarely asked by many of the groups’ leaders or funders.”

The Authoritarian Playbook for 2025

By: Protect Democracy

Link:

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/659f18e58ecd8b48c167275a/t/65a845a81c397a74fc70942f/1705526706337/Authoritarian+Playbook+for+2025.pdf>

Contributed by: Jeremy Blanchard

TL;DR: More about what is to come than “what happened,” but I’m finding it bolstering to get a clear-eyed look at what we can expect from a Trump second term. Covers the 6 areas we can expect the executive to abuse powers in a fascist way: 1: Pardons to License Lawbreaking, 2: Directing Investigations Against Critics and Rivals, 3: Regulatory Retaliation, 4: Federal Law Enforcement Overreach, 5: Domestic Deployment of the Military, 6: The Autocrat Won’t Leave.

Ten Arguments for Deleting Your Social Media Accounts Right Now (2018)

By: Jaron Lanier

Link:

<https://www.amazon.com/Arguments-Deleting-Social-Media-Accounts/dp/125019668X>

Contributed by: Jeremy John

TL;DR: In this book, Lanier contends that social media’s design incentivizes division, spreading misinformation and fostering polarization. It undermines collective thinking by replacing thoughtful discourse with algorithm-driven conflict, eroding trust and shared understanding necessary for a healthy society. Deleting social media, Lanier argues, is a step toward reclaiming individual and collective agency. Because demographic data is so readily available to big data and therefore to algorithms, social media content algorithms with identitarian assumptions draw people to identity-driven conflictual content in order to compel engagement. These platforms increasingly control the ways that blue and red silos work on the internet, creating the thinkable and the unthinkable as well as the sayable and unsable.

Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right (2016)

By: Arlie Russell Hochschild

Link: <https://www.amazon.com/Strangers-Their-Own-Land-Mourning/dp/1620972255>

Contributed by: Jeremy John

TL;DR: In *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*, sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild explores the emotional and cultural foundations of political divisions in the U.S., focusing on Louisiana conservatives. Through immersive interviews, she uncovers a "deep story" that underpins their worldview: a sense of waiting in line for the American Dream, only to see others—particularly minorities, immigrants, and government beneficiaries—cutting ahead, often with liberal policies enabling them. This perception fuels feelings of betrayal, resentment, and alienation, which Hochschild links to the rise of right-wing populism. By empathetically delving into their lived experiences, Hochschild reveals the cultural and emotional roots of polarization, offering insights into the challenges of bridging ideological divides.

10 ways to be prepared and grounded now that Trump has won

By: Daniel Hunter

Link: <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2024/11/10-things-to-do-if-trump-wins/>

Contributed by: Laura Rigell

TL;DR: The key to taking effective action in a Trump world is to avoid perpetuating the autocrat's goals of fear, isolation, exhaustion and disorientation. Daniel advises readers to trust yourself and find people you trust, grieve, and release what you cannot change. Then, as a faithful proponent of the power of organizing and power-building, Daniel invites readers to "find your path," offering four crucial types of action to be taken: protect people, defend institutions, disrupt and disobey, and build alternatives. He warns against self-censoring out of fear. And (something the bridge-builders would appreciate) invites readers to reorient their political map, and be prepared to collaborate with unlikely bedfellows. He advises to be real about power and look to examples of successful nonviolent resistance campaign from across the globe which successfully ensured that political violence backfired for those enacting it.

A new wave of movements against Trumpism is coming

By: Mark Engler and Paul Engler

Link:

<https://wagingnonviolence.org/2024/11/a-new-wave-of-movements-against-trumpism-is-coming/>

Contributed by: Laura Rigell

TL;DR:

A Winning Strategy is Hidden in these 4 Theories of Harris' Loss

By: Perry Bacon Jr.

Link:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/11/15/economic-populism-bernie-sanders-democratic-party-trump/>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt (h/t Tory Gavito)

TL;DR: One of my faves: Bacon reviews 4 theories in order of what he finds most convincing (anti-incumbent & inflation, anti-Black woman and diversity, the Bernie argument, and Dems seen as too left on immigration and gender identity) and makes the case that essentially a Bernie plus race class narrative approach - explaining that the billionaires are using immigrants and trans people to divide us so they can take our money.

Inside the Republican False Flag Effort to Turn Off Kamala Harris Voters

By:

Link: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/11/15/republican-ads-false-flag/>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Musk via dark money ops spent \$45 million on misleading digital ads and mailers aimed at depressing Dem turnout. They sent pro-Israel fake Kamala ads and mailers to Arab Americans, pro-Palestine Kamala fake mailers to Jewish voters, and several other versions to specific communities. Unclear how big a difference this made, but wow \$45 million and it corresponded with depressed turnout in key base communities.

Democrats Need to Reclaim Reality from the Right Wing Disinformation Machine

By: Jennifer Rubin

Link:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/11/12/disinformation-threat-democracy/>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt (h/t Denis Bidwell)

TL;DR: The right wing media machine has brainwashed a large percent of the US population in an alternative media universe. We desperately need a counter version.

No, Ezra Klein, Non-profit leaders are not Responsible for the 2024 Election

By: Janos Marton

Link:

<https://janosmarton.substack.com/p/no-ezra-nonprofit-leaders-are-not>

Contributed by: Billy Wimsatt

TL;DR: Response to recent pieces by Ezra Klein, Adam Jentleson, the Pod Save bros, and others critiquing the non-profit left for pushing Dem electeds to the left. His argument: Non profit leaders are not that powerful; electeds are responsible for their own decisions; issue advocates need to press Democrats to make basic changes on issues like criminal justice reform, and Dems and pundits should focus on delivering for their constituents instead of blaming left-leaning non profits.

The Death of “Deliverism”

By: Deepak Bhargava, Shahrzad Shams, Harry Hanbury

Link: <https://democracyjournal.org/arguments/the-death-of-deliverism/>

Contributed by: Bluesky user @absolutereality.bsky.social

TL;DR: (This article was published in June 2023, but I believe it predicts the election outcome as a result of many voters not understanding what the Biden administration accomplished or did for the working class.) “Deliverism” is a political theory that if you deliver economic improvements in people’s lives through policy, then they will vote for your political party. However, although delivering economic improvements to people is a worthy goal in-and-of-itself, deliverism alone cannot win elections. The authors suggest several mechanisms to fight authoritarianism. **First**, lean into identity, emotion, and stories for messaging. **Second**, speak to and offer ideas on how to solve violence, addiction, mental health problems, social isolation, loneliness, and a sense of social disintegration. **Third**, articulate a vision of the good life about how we should live, who we should care about, and what makes for a meaningful life in contrast to the hustle culture of neoliberalism and the status dominance of authoritarianism. **Fourth**, reinvigorate organizing and recruitment of new people, especially working-class people, into worker and community organizations.

Country Over Party

By: The Drift editors

Link: <https://www.thedriftmag.com/editors-note-14/>

Contributed by: Bluesky user @absolutereality.bsky.social

TL;DR: Democrats talk “with an unearned assurance that voters would reward them for having the right opinions.” “The political theorist Benedict Anderson famously argued that nations are “imagined communities,” and it is hard to sustain an imagined community of America’s diversity and scale in the face of extreme economic inequality; the fracturing of the media monoculture into a bewildering patchwork of social media platforms, podcasts, streams, and cable news networks; and the decimation, exacerbated by the Covid

pandemic, of offline social relationships and community institutions. Under such conditions, it is easy to suspect that anyone who insists we're all in this together is just trying to rip you off — a suspicion that Trump is especially adept at vocalizing.”

Is This What Democracy Looks Like?

By: Mike Podhorzer

Link: <https://www.weekendreading.net/p/is-this-what-democracy-looks-like>

Contributed by: Eli Pariser

TL;DR: “The real headline of this election isn’t about Trump’s victory. It’s about how the Federalist Society coalition of plutocrats and theocrats has all but completed its mission to repeal and replace the 20th Century by judicial fiat.”

Why is it so much harder for us than it is for them?

By: Rich Snowdon

Link: <https://tribaltrouble.net/7-2-harder-for-us/>

Contributed by: Rich Snowdon

TL;DR: Seven hard truths that explain how the human operating system makes politics so much harder for progressives. A journey into deeper compassion for ourselves.

Decapitation Strike

By: Timothy Snyder

Link: <https://snyder.substack.com/p/decapitation-strike>

Contributed by: Betsy Taylor

TL;DR (summary): “We should be wary of shock, which excuses inaction.” “ We have to get through the surprise and the shock to see the design and the risk.” We have two months.

How Democrats won in districts Trump carried

By: Theodoric Meyer and Leigh Ann Caldwell

Link: <https://wapo.st/40TNtUZ>

Contributed by: Ian Magruder

TL;DR (summary – it’s fine to use AI if you want, but no more than 2 sentences):

WaPo article analyzing the messages of the Democrats who successfully won races (in some cases by significant margins) in districts that Trump also carried. The bottom line is that they leaned in to the electorate’s deep sense of frustration and distrust in government generally. A key example being Kristen McDonald Rivet, who won a working class district by 7 points that Trump also carried. She also spoke to people in very simple terms that were not academic and felt authentic.

McDonald Rivet's message was unusually blunt. "I root for the Lions, I hate Ohio and I think most politicians are full of [bleep]," she said in [one TV ad](#).

The last line was particularly important in winning over Trump voters, McDonald Rivet said.

- "In my district, people are incredibly cynical about all politicians," she said. "If you listen to the president-elect talk, he expresses that same level of cynicism, saying over and over and over again, 'This political system isn't working for you' — and he's right. His solution about how to make it better is very different from mine, but he's right."

Michigan Muslim Voters Voted for Jill Stein followed by Donald Trump

By: Steve Neavling

Link: <https://www.metrotimes.com/news/most-michigan-muslims-voted-for-jill-stein-followed-by-trump-exit-poll-suggests-37805422>

Contributed by: Betsy Taylor

TL;DR: Detroit Metro Times reports that many Arab Americans in Michigan followed through on their pledge to vote against Kamala Harris, with fewer than one in seven Muslims casting a ballot for the Democratic nominee. 59% of the state's Muslim residents voted for Green Party candidate Jill Stein.

New Exit Polls Confirm the Surprising Key Issue in the 2024 Election

By: Macy Petty

Link:

<https://concernedwomen.org/new-exit-polls-confirm-the-surprising-key-issue-in-the-2024-election/>

Contributed by: Betsy Taylor

TL;DR: 70% of voters indicated transgender issues were an important factor in deciding their vote. Hispanic men carried the largest demographic of voters who found the issue important in their voting choice (84%). In 10 key states, Hispanic men and women were Trump's largest voter gain

The Electoral Problem for Democrats: It's the Neoliberalism Stupid

By Anat Shenker-Osorio

Link: <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/political-commentary/trump-harris-democrats-electoral-problem-neoliberalism-1235176879/>

Contributed by: Betsy Taylor

TL;DR: The people screwing over the working class are billionaires and Democrats focused too little of their ire in that direction. Meanwhile it is worth noting that Harris has 48.5 percent and growing to Trump's 50 percent and falling, a 2.5 million vote difference in a pool of over 153 million votes.

An Empty Internet Gave Us Tradwives and Trump

By Tressie McMillan Cottom

Link:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/opinion/trump-trad-wives-podcasters-wellness.html>

Contributed by: Betsy Taylor

Old categories like Left and Right were supplanted by Trump's ability to tap into the information ecosystems - social media, memes and cultish groups where voting groups express their identities.

Traditional wives, Podcast bros, and Wellness influencers played a huge role. Now conservatives

have a cultural advantage and have done a better job of meeting people where they are at.