



# The Buckeye Squeeze

The GOP Presidential Candidates'  
Policy Ideas and Ohio's Middle Class

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By Ryan Erickson    August 2015

Center for American Progress Action Fund



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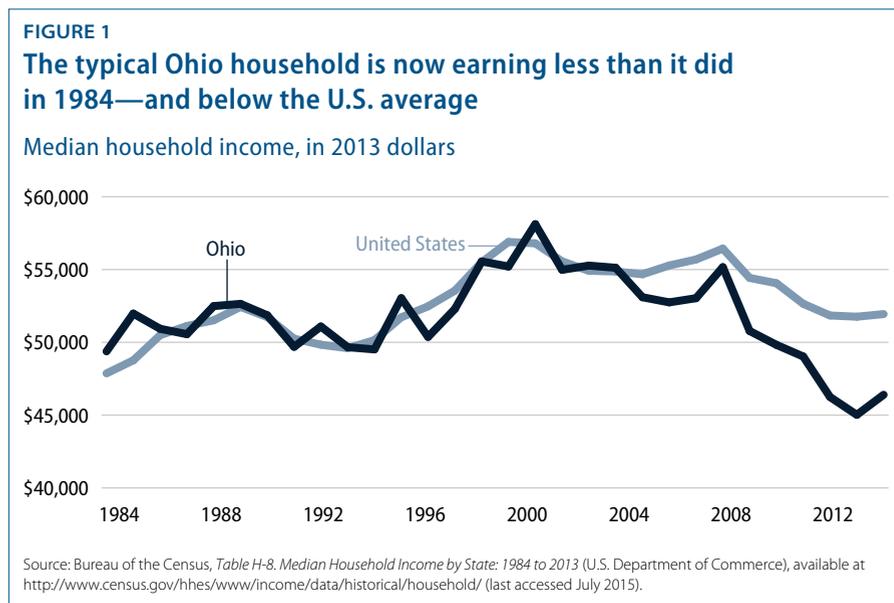
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# Introduction and summary

In the wake of a crippling economic recession and a recovery that has left too many working and middle-class Americans behind, Ohioans are struggling to gain back lost ground. The median household income in Ohio is lower than it was before the recession.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, although the Ohio economy has grown in the past 30 years, those gains have disproportionately benefited the state's wealthiest: Between 1984 and 2013, the share of earnings going to the middle 60 percent of households in Ohio dropped 5.4 percent, while the share of the earnings by the top 20 percent rose 5.3 percent.<sup>2</sup>

It should come as no surprise that as Republican presidential candidates—including former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, former Texas Gov. Rick Perry, and Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, as well as Sens. Ted Cruz (TX), Lindsey Graham (SC), Rand Paul (KY), and Marco Rubio (FL)—court Ohio voters, they have tried to reframe their rhetoric to make the policies they support sound more appealing to working families.<sup>3</sup>



But while these candidates are hoping to position themselves as supporters of Ohio's middle class, their records tell a different story. The GOP presidential candidates detailed in this report have consistently supported tax policies that benefit the wealthy at the expense of low- and middle-income Americans, prevent low- and middle-income people from getting good-paying jobs, make it harder for families to juggle responsibilities at work and at home, and increase the burden for students and families looking to climb the economic ladder.

These candidates' policies would have a real impact on Ohio's working families, including:

- **Redistributing tax benefits to the wealthy.** The records of the GOP candidates detailed in this report show broad support for tax plans that would overwhelmingly benefit the wealthy. For example, some candidates support eliminating the federal capital gains tax—a move that would benefit 92 percent of the 9,280 Ohio taxpayers who made \$1 million or more in 2012 but that would have almost no impact on Ohio's middle class.<sup>4</sup>
- **Making it harder to preserve and to create good-paying jobs.** Several Republican candidates back policies that would make it harder for workers to get good-paying jobs, including right-to-work laws. Many Republican candidates also opposed the federal rescue of the automotive industry, even though the number of auto industry jobs in Ohio increased at more than three times the state's overall job growth rate and accounted for 12.4 percent of all jobs created in Ohio between 2010 and 2014.<sup>5</sup>
- **Blocking policies that help families balance work with child care.** Gov. Walker and Gov. Jindal have blocked efforts to guarantee paid sick leave—a policy that would help working families in Ohio; both also have signed laws that stop cities from instituting policies that guarantee workers paid sick leave. The current senators running for president voted against paid sick leave at the federal level.<sup>6</sup>
- **Ignoring runaway college tuition costs.** Gov. Jindal and Gov. Perry presided over skyrocketing tuition and fees for college education at public universities in their states. Tuition and fees climbed 61.4 percent in Louisiana under Jindal, compared with 17.4 percent in Ohio over the same time period. They climbed 168.4 percent in Texas under Perry, compared with 99.1 percent in Ohio over the same period.<sup>7</sup>

As these candidates vie for the support of Ohio's working families, it will be important to square their recent rhetoric, increasingly filled with promises to be champions of the middle class, with the reality of their records. These candidates' records clearly show support for policies that would set Ohio working families back rather than help them get ahead.

# Redistributing tax benefits to the wealthy

Ohio has a regressive tax system in which lower- and middle-income families pay a larger share of their incomes in taxes overall than the wealthy do.<sup>8</sup> According to data from the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, the bottom 20 percent of earners in Ohio—or those earning less than \$18,000 per year—pay 11.7 percent of their income in state and local taxes, while the top 1 percent of earners, or those earning more than \$356,000, pay just 5.5 percent.<sup>9</sup>

Ohio's tax code has some important features that help compensate for the fact that the poor pay a higher share of their income in taxes than the rich. Ohio has a graduated, or progressive, income tax structure, meaning that high-income earners pay a bigger share of state income taxes than low- and middle-income taxpayers, even though other types of taxation, such as sales taxes, heavily favor the rich because low- and middle-class people pay larger shares of their incomes overall, while wealthy families pay less.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, Ohio taxes capital gains income, which is much more likely to be a source of income for wealthy taxpayers than for low- and middle-income taxpayers.<sup>11</sup>

But several Republican presidential candidates support a range of policy ideas—eliminating taxes on capital gains, flat income taxes, national sales taxes, and other policies—that threaten to tilt taxes even more in favor of the wealthy few, while hurting Ohio's working- and middle-class families.

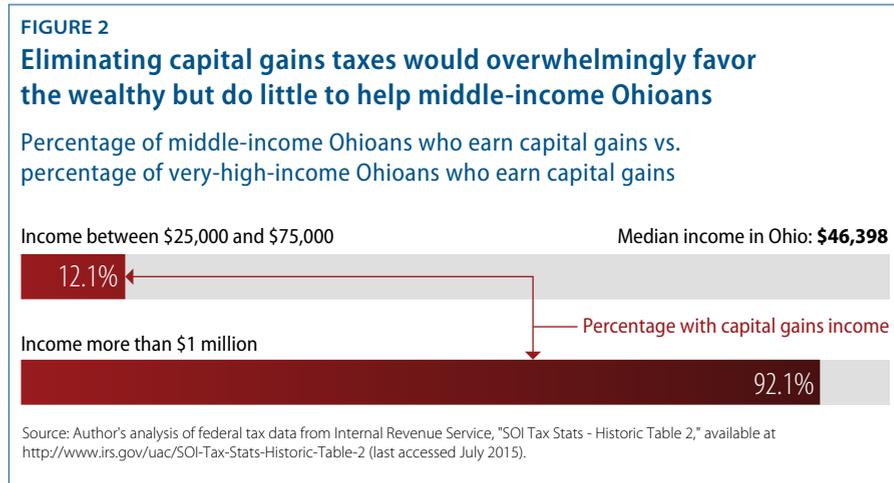
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## Eliminating taxes on capital gains income

Repealing the capital gains tax would provide a huge giveaway to Ohio millionaires but do little to help Ohio's middle class. This is because the highest earners get more of their income from capital gains, while working- and middle-class families often do not receive any—or only receive very little—income from

this source. In 2012, for example, only 12 percent of Ohioans earning between \$25,000 and \$75,000 in adjusted gross income received any form of income from capital gains.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, 92 percent of Ohio taxpayers earning \$1 million or more in adjusted gross income that year had income from capital gains, earning an average of \$788,003 in capital gains income apiece.<sup>13</sup>

The bottom 20 percent of Ohio taxpayers pay 11.7 percent of their income in state and local taxes, while the top 1 percent of earners pay just 5.5 percent.



Despite the fact that eliminating the capital gains tax would disproportionately benefit the richest Ohioans, several 2016 presidential candidates support the policy. Jeb Bush called for eliminating or dramatically lowering the capital gains tax rate,<sup>14</sup> and as governor of Florida, he eliminated a small tax on intangible assets, including stock and bonds.<sup>15</sup> Even though the tax only affected individuals with more than \$250,000 and couples with more than \$500,000 in applicable assets, Gov. Bush called the tax “insidious.”<sup>16</sup>

He is not the only candidate to promote eliminating capital gains taxes: Gov. Perry’s 2012 tax plan called for eliminating taxes on long-term capital gains, and the legislation that Sen. Cruz co-sponsored for the creation of a national sales tax would also eliminate capital gains taxes.<sup>17</sup> Earlier this year, Sen. Rubio released a tax plan that eliminates these taxes as well.<sup>18</sup>

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## Flat income taxes

Economists agree that instituting a flat income tax would be a boon to the wealthy but require low- and middle-income families to pay more. A flat income tax would replace the current federal income tax system—in which people generally pay a bigger share of their income if they earn more—with one that would cut the top tax rates paid by the wealthy and raise taxes paid by low- and middle-income people.<sup>19</sup>

Instituting a flat income tax that maintains current government revenues would require raising tax rates on low- and middle-class incomes: According to the Tax Policy Center, a flat tax rate would need to be set at or near 25 percent to maintain current revenues, meaning that tax rates would rise for all incomes less than \$37,450 for single filers and less than \$74,900 for joint filers.<sup>20</sup> Instituting a flat tax that does not raise taxes on low- and middle-income families would require either a massive increase in deficit spending or savage cuts to government programs, and even then, the benefits of a flat tax would overwhelmingly go to the top, providing minimal tax benefits to working families and exacerbating income inequality.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, Gov. Perry proposed a 20 percent flat tax on income during his 2012 presidential run that would eventually replace the current federal income tax system.<sup>22</sup> Analysis of Perry's tax plan showed that it would have dramatically favored the very wealthiest taxpayers while doing next to nothing for people at the bottom of the economic ladder: The top 1 percent nationally would see a 19.1 percent drop in their tax rates, while the bottom 20 percent would only see a 0.6 percent decrease.<sup>23</sup> Perry's plan would mean that the top 0.17 percent of Ohioans—or the 9,270 Ohioans with more than \$1 million in taxable income who earned an average of \$2,451,300 in 2012—would see an average tax break of \$646,752.<sup>24</sup> The Tax Policy Center also concluded that Perry's tax plan would “dramatically” reduce federal government revenues.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Sen. Paul has proposed a flat tax plan with a tax rate of 14.5 percent.<sup>26</sup> Even the conservative-leaning Tax Foundation has estimated that Paul's plan would benefit the wealthiest taxpayers most.<sup>27</sup> In fact, the Tax Foundation's analysis showed that the 9,280 Ohio taxpayers earning \$1 million or more would see a 13 percent boost in their after-tax income, but people earning at or around Ohio's median household income of \$46,398 would see only an estimated 3 percent boost.<sup>28</sup> Paul is vague about how he would pay for his tax plan, even though estimates on its 10-year cost range from \$1 trillion to \$15 trillion.<sup>29</sup> Not to be left behind, Sen. Graham has supported a flat tax in “the high teens or low 20s.”<sup>30</sup>

Under Paul's tax plan, Ohioans earning more than \$1 million would see a 13 percent boost in their after-tax income.

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## National sales tax

Instituting a national sales tax in lieu of income, estate, and all other taxes would give huge tax breaks to the wealthy while requiring everyone else to pay a bigger share of their income in taxes.<sup>31</sup> Because working families spend a greater share of their incomes on goods and services than the wealthy do, a national sales tax would take up a greater share of those families' earnings; the current income tax structure means that people pay a greater share of their income as they earn more. There is currently no national sales tax, but sales taxes are very common among state tax systems, effectively making state tax systems more regressive: According to the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, poor families pay almost eight times more of their incomes in state sales taxes than the most affluent families.<sup>32</sup>

Sen. Cruz co-sponsored legislation in both 2013 and 2015 proposing a version of a national sales tax that would replace income and other taxes.<sup>33</sup> A Tax Policy Center analysis showed that implementing a national sales tax could be especially punitive to Ohio's working- and middle-class families while giving Ohio's wealthiest "stunningly large" tax cuts: Under a national sales tax, households in the top 1 percent would receive tax breaks financed by tax increases on the bottom 92 percent of households.<sup>34</sup>

Ohio Gov. Kasich is pushing similar tax changes at the state level: Since taking office in 2011, Kasich has made it a goal to eliminate Ohio's state income tax.<sup>35</sup> To make up for the lost revenue, he has proposed increasing consumption taxes such as the sales tax—a move that would clearly benefit well-off families at the expense of low- and middle-income families.<sup>36</sup>

Govs. Bush, Kasich, and Perry and Sens. Cruz, Graham, Paul, and Rubio may have different ideas about how to do it, but their records and policy proposals show the same thing—tax cuts for the wealthy, regardless of whether their proposals would substantially increase the deficit, raise taxes on working families, or both. The push to give Ohio's wealthiest a tax break is misguided: Ohio's wealthiest are hardly the ones who need a boost from the government.

# Making it harder to preserve and to create good-paying jobs

Strong wages and good jobs are critical to Ohio families' economic security. Policies that strengthen collective bargaining can help ensure that Ohio workers earn what they need to reach—and stay in—the middle class. The health of the auto industry, which supports nearly 850,000 Ohio jobs, is also important to workers in Ohio.<sup>37</sup>

But time and again, many Republican candidates for president have shown a callous opposition to the policies that clearly support good-paying jobs in Ohio. Several support so-called right-to-work laws, which hinder employees' ability to bargain collectively with their employers for better pay. And though the federal government's auto rescue supported the auto industry, which accounts for a substantial share of Ohio's jobs, many GOP candidates opposed the move—and continued to do so even as mounting evidence demonstrated its success.

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## Collective bargaining and right-to-work laws

Most Republican candidates profiled in this report have shown enthusiastic support for so-called right-to-work laws and other measures that restrict the ability of middle-class workers in Ohio and elsewhere to collectively bargain for better wages. Right-to-work laws undermine unions and drag down their membership, causing as much as a 9.6 percent decline in unionization rates in areas where such laws are enacted.<sup>38</sup>

Declining union membership rates are strongly associated with the declining share of income earned by the middle class.<sup>39</sup> According to the Economic Policy Institute, even when controlling for demographic and socioeconomic factors, wages are 3.1 percent lower in right-to-work states than in non-right-to-work states, translating into \$1,558 lower annual wages for both full-time union and nonunion workers alike.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, defenders of Indiana's right-to-work law claim that it already has been a success in the short time that the law has been in effect, saying that it has been a factor in prompting companies to relocate to or expand in Indiana.<sup>41</sup>

However, look no further than Ohio and its neighboring states for evidence of why claims about the impact of right-to-work laws are inflated. Unlike its neighboring states of Indiana and Michigan, Ohio does not have a right-to-work law.<sup>42</sup> The unemployment rate has fallen slightly faster in Ohio than it has in either Indiana or Michigan since right-to-work laws took effect in those two states. Between April 2012—the first full month that a right-to-work law was in effect in Indiana—and December 2014, the unemployment rate in Indiana fell at a rate of 28 percent; during that same time period, unemployment fell at a rate of 31 percent in Ohio.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the unemployment rate fell at a rate of 26 percent in Michigan between April 2013—the first month that a right-to-work law took effect there—and December 2014, but fell at a rate of 31 percent in Ohio over the same period.<sup>44</sup> Although correlation does not prove causation, these statistics certainly show that right-to-work laws are not necessary for staying competitive in the Midwest.

Despite this, the GOP presidential hopefuls detailed in this report have championed right-to-work laws or otherwise opposed unions. Gov. Walker's Act 10, a 2011 law that severely curtailed the rights of public-sector employees to bargain collectively, has ensconced him as one of the country's most visible union opponents.<sup>45</sup> He bolstered this reputation even further when he signed Wisconsin's right-to-work law this year.<sup>46</sup> Sen. Paul introduced a national right-to-work law in 2013<sup>47</sup> and again in 2015;<sup>48</sup> other candidates—including Gov. Bush and Sens. Cruz, Rubio, and Graham—have supported right-to-work laws.<sup>49</sup> And in Ohio, Gov. Kasich signed a bill in 2011 that would have severely restricted collective bargaining for public employees—similar to the law in Wisconsin—but Ohioans rejected it by a large margin when it was put up for a referendum that same year.<sup>50</sup>

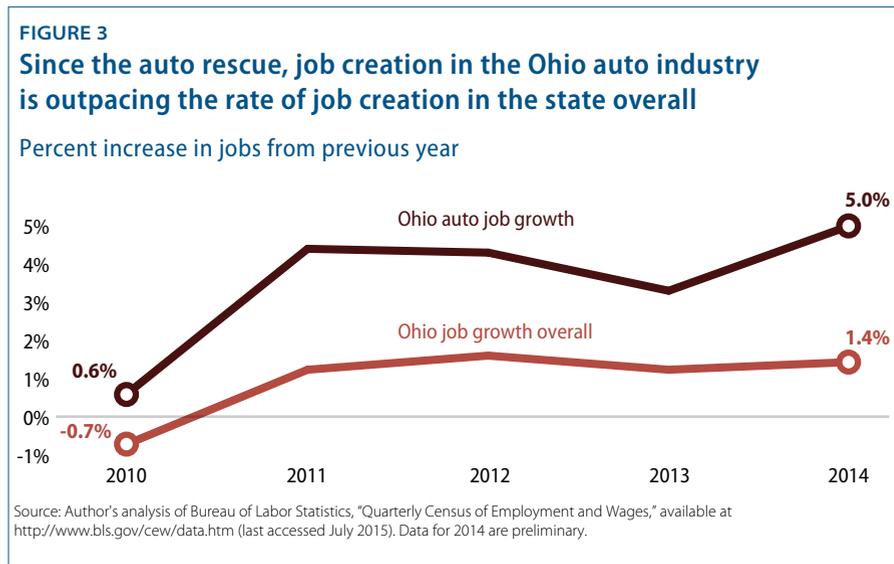
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## Restructuring the automotive industry

According to a 2010 report by the Center for Automotive Research, 848,000 jobs are connected to the auto industry in Ohio.<sup>51</sup> When the American automotive industry was on the brink of collapse in the late 2000s, the U.S. government took extraordinary measures to rescue American automotive manufacturers and saved an estimated 1.5 million jobs.<sup>52</sup> Today, the auto industry is thriving and creating jobs in Ohio, and both research and the media have hailed the federal rescue as a success.<sup>53</sup> Between 2010 and 2014, the number of auto jobs increased at more than three times the rate of overall job growth in Ohio—18.2 percent in the auto industry, compared with 5.6 percent total.<sup>54</sup> Core auto industry jobs account for 12.4 percent of all jobs created in Ohio between 2010—

the first full year after the auto rescue—and 2014.<sup>55</sup> And these numbers only account for jobs in the auto industry, not for the large number of service jobs that have been created as Ohio autoworkers buy groceries, go to the doctor, and spend money in their communities.



These gains could have been lost if the GOP presidential candidates had their way. Many of the candidates opposed the auto rescue, claiming that the automakers could have gotten all the resources they needed from the private sector—a claim that has been dismissed widely by auto industry experts, who say that there was no capital available to the auto industry at the time of the rescue.<sup>56</sup> Gov. Bush has spoken out in opposition to the assistance to General Motors and Chrysler that President Barack Obama undertook in 2009.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, Sen. Cruz claimed that the auto rescue was the wrong move and that the auto industry would have “[survived] and would have thrived.”<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, Sen. Rubio said that the rescue was not the “right way” to handle it but offered no concrete policy alternatives except for the GOP policy cure-alls of lowering taxes and gutting regulatory protections.<sup>59</sup> Gov. Perry struck a more ominous tone, signing on to an op-ed in 2008 with former South Carolina Gov. Mark Sanford (R) in which he said that the auto rescue took the country in a “dangerous” direction.<sup>60</sup>

The auto rescue and policies that strengthen collective bargaining are just two examples of policies that enable Ohio's working families both to find jobs and to grow their wages in the jobs that they already have. These Republican candidates' support for right-to-work laws and other anti-union measures, coupled with their opposition to saving one of Ohio's core industries and sources of job growth, show that they are not on the side of Ohio's working families.

# Blocking policies that help families balance work with child care

The way that parents balance work and family responsibilities is changing in Ohio and across the United States. Mothers are now primary, sole, or co-breadwinners in 68 percent of Ohio families, and 69 percent of Ohio children have all available parents in the workforce.<sup>61</sup> As more and more families need both parents to work in order to make ends meet, policies that help people balance work and family are more important than ever before.

Of these policies, paid sick leave is one step that states or the federal government could take to help parents take time off to care for their children or themselves without risking their jobs or losing pay. Seventy percent of Americans, including 51 percent of Republicans, think that companies should be required to offer paid sick leave to employees.<sup>62</sup> However, only 46 percent of private-sector workers in Ohio have access to paid sick days.<sup>63</sup>

But many of the GOP candidates are opposed to paid sick leave policies and other policies that would help Ohio families get ahead. Notably, Govs. Walker and Jindal signed pre-emption laws—or laws that prohibit cities from enacting policies that go beyond state law—that have stopped cities in their states from requiring employers to offer paid sick leave. In 2011, Walker signed a pre-emption bill into law, negating a paid sick day measure that previously passed in Milwaukee with 69 percent of the vote.<sup>64</sup> Jindal signed a similar pre-emption bill into law in Louisiana the following year.<sup>65</sup>

Unlike Wisconsin and Louisiana, Ohio does not have a pre-emption law on the books: Localities can take action to help guarantee that working families have a right to paid sick time from their employers.<sup>66</sup> But under Walker and Jindal's policies, Ohio cities would not be able to take action to help working families. And opposition to paid sick leave is not true of just these governors: The GOP candidates now serving in the U.S. Senate—Cruz, Graham, Rubio, and Paul—all opposed a March 2015 budget resolution that called for paid sick days.<sup>67</sup> Paid sick leave is a clear—and popular—win for working families, but according to these candidates, the 46 percent of Ohio workers without paid sick leave are simply out of luck.

Only 46 percent of private-sector workers in Ohio have access to paid sick days.

# Ignoring runaway college tuition costs

Higher education is key to reaching and staying in the middle class, and policies that make college education accessible to students from working- and middle-class families are critical to helping them achieve economic security. Especially as the costs of higher education reach new highs—in 2012, tuition, fees, room, and board expenses added up to one-third of an average American family’s annual median income—policies that keep college costs under control are more important than ever.<sup>68</sup> But today, too many Ohio students are overburdened with student loan debt: 68 percent of Ohio graduates have student loan debt, carrying an average of \$29,090 each.<sup>69</sup>

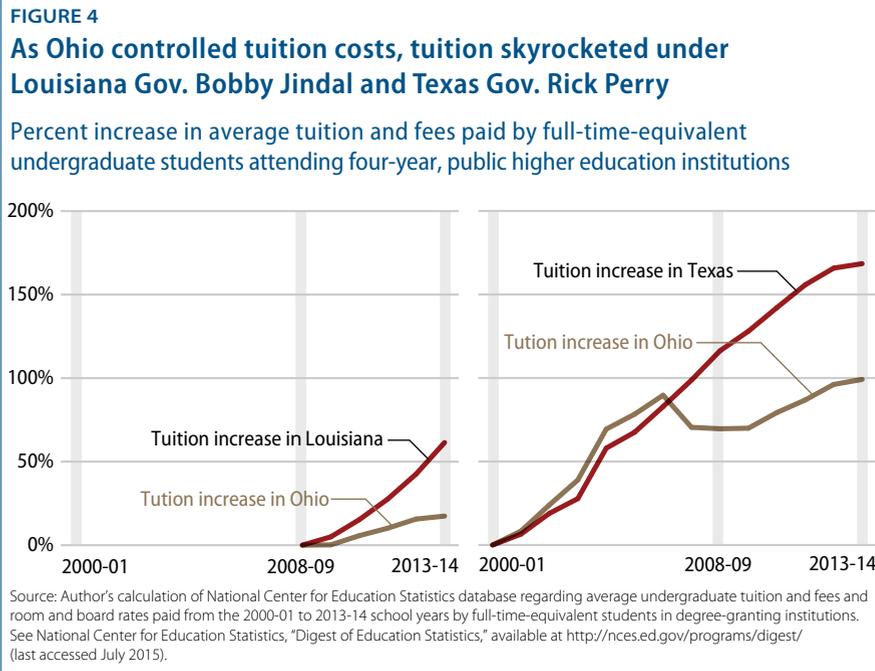
Unlike many other states, Ohio has taken action to rein in college costs. Until 2007, the growth in tuition and fees at public, four-year colleges in Ohio significantly outpaced the national average.<sup>70</sup> But in 2007, then-Gov. Ted Strickland (D) and the state legislature pushed to cap tuition increases. College costs in Ohio slowed for the next few years.<sup>71</sup> Tuition growth in Ohio in the years since the tuition cap has been significantly more modest than in previous years: Between 2000 and 2006, tuition at public, four-year universities grew 89.7 percent in Ohio; between 2007 and 2013, tuition increased only 16.8 percent.<sup>72</sup> Nationally, tuition at public, four-year colleges grew 61.8 percent between 2000 and 2006 and has risen 39.9 percent since 2007.<sup>73</sup>

Despite the rising costs of college, many of the GOP presidential candidates who were or are governors failed to control the rising cost of college in their states. Instead, they proposed slashing the budgets of their states’ university systems, further stressing the higher education system.

GOP candidates Rick Perry and Bobby Jindal both failed to control costs: In both of their states, yearly in-state tuition and fees at public four-year colleges significantly outpaced the rate of tuition and fee growth in Ohio. During Perry’s tenure as governor of Texas, tuition rose 168.4 percent in Texas but only 99.1 percent over the same period in Ohio.<sup>74</sup> If tuition and fees rose at the same rate in Ohio as they did in Texas, college would be \$3,286 more expensive per year in Ohio today.

In Louisiana, the rate of tuition and fee increases during Jindal's tenure is more than three times that in Ohio: Since the 2008-09 academic year, tuition and fees have increased 61.4 percent in Louisiana, compared with just 17.4 percent Ohio.<sup>75</sup> College would cost \$3,541 more in Ohio if tuition and fees rose at the same rate there as they did in Louisiana.

College would cost \$3,541 more in Ohio if tuition and fees rose at the same rate there as they did in Louisiana under Jindal and \$3,286 more if tuition and fees rose at the same rate as in Texas under Perry.



This year, Gov. Jindal is pushing for very large cuts to the Louisiana public higher education system to cover state budget shortfalls caused by misguided tax policies. The cuts total between \$200 million and \$300 million, or one-fifth to one-third of the Louisiana State University System budget.<sup>76</sup> At the higher end, Jindal's proposed cuts are equivalent to more than double what the entire system of The Ohio State University spends on financial aid in one year.<sup>77</sup>

Today, a college degree is more important than ever to economic security in America. And while getting a college degree is an onerous expense for many Ohio students and families, higher education costs could have grown even more under these GOP candidates' watch.

# Conclusion

As Republican 2016 presidential candidates come through Ohio, wooing voters with promises to put the middle class first, Ohioans should see through their rhetoric to the reality of their records:

Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, Lindsey Graham, John Kasich, Marco Rubio, Rand Paul, and Rick Perry would push tax breaks—including eliminating capital gains taxes—that benefit Ohio's wealthiest but offer little to no relief for the state's working families.

With middle-class incomes that have been slow to rebound since the recession, Ohio would be worse off with restrictions on collective bargaining—as Scott Walker and Sen. Paul have championed—or if the auto rescue had not saved one of the biggest engines of job growth in Ohio—even though Gov. Bush, Sen. Cruz, and others opposed the measure.

As president, the candidates would obstruct crucial workplace protections that help parents juggle work and family life, such as paid sick leave. Gov. Walker and Gov. Jindal have already done so in Wisconsin and Louisiana, respectively.

Republican candidates would make it more difficult for Ohio families to put their children through college. As Gov. Perry's and Gov. Jindal's failures to control costs illustrate, tuition bills in Ohio could be more than \$3,000 higher if the state's tuition increases had grown at the same rate as Texas' or Louisiana's.

Good policies can help support the growth and protection of the middle class, but the Republican candidates for president detailed here are only promising more of the same misguided policies that put the interests of the wealthy few before the well-being of Ohio's working families. Altering their rhetoric will not change the fact that their policies would set Ohioans back.

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## About the author

**Ryan Erickson** is the Associate Director of Economic Campaigns for the Center for American Progress Action Fund. Before joining CAP Action, Erickson developed strategy and conducted research for Everytown for Gun Safety's electoral campaigns. Prior to that, he was the special assistant to the chief advisor for policy and strategic planning to New York City Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg (I), where he focused on the mayor's national policy initiatives. He also managed policy advocacy for Center on Halsted, the Midwest's largest lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer, or LGBTQ, community center.

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## Endnotes

- 1 In noninflation-adjusted terms, median income in Ohio declined from \$49,099 in 2007 to \$46,398 in 2013, the most recent year for which data are available. See Bureau of the Census, "Median Household Income in Ohio," Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, available at <https://research.stlouisfed.org/fred2/series/ME-HOINUSOHA646N/> (last accessed July 2015).
- 2 David Madland and Danielle Corley, "In Ohio, a Struggling Middle Class" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2015).
- 3 Earlier this year, for example, Gov. Bush posted to Facebook, saying, "We need to create economic opportunity for every American, especially middle class families and those trying to rise out of poverty." See Jeb Bush Official Facebook Page, January 20, 2015, available at <https://www.facebook.com/jebbush/posts/640180486110998>. When unveiling a tax plan authored jointly with Sen. Mike Lee, Sen. Rubio wrote in an op-ed, "Too many Americans believe the American dream is slipping away for them and their children . . . They see the ladder of economic opportunity being pulled farther up and out of their reach." See Mike Lee and Marco Rubio, "A Pro-Family, Pro-Growth Tax Reform," *The Wall Street Journal*, September 22, 2014, available at <http://www.wsj.com/articles/mike-lee-and-marco-rubio-a-pro-family-pro-growth-tax-reform-1411426189>. Sen. Paul launched his campaign sounding like former Sen. John Edwards (D-NC): "Martin Luther King spoke of two Americas. He described them as two starkly different American experiences that exist side-by-side. In one America, people experience the opportunity of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In the other America, people experience a daily ugliness that dashes hope and leaves only the fatigue of despair." See Ryan Teague Beckwith, "Transcript: Read Full Text of Sen. Rand Paul's Campaign Launch," *Time*, April 7, 2015, available at <http://time.com/3773964/rand-paul-presidential-campaign-launch-speech-transcript/>.
- 4 Based on author's analysis of Internal Revenue Service Statistics of Income data on federal tax returns from Ohio in 2012, the most recent year for which data are available. See Internal Revenue Service, "SOI Tax Stats - Historic Table 2," available at <http://www.irs.gov/uac/SOI-Tax-Stats-Historic-Table-2> (last accessed July 2015).
- 5 Author's analysis of employment in the auto industry in the years following the auto rescue—between 2010 and 2014—using the Bureau of Labor Statistics definition of core auto industry jobs. See Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Automotive Industry: Employment, Earnings, and Hours," available at <http://www.bls.gov/iag/tgs/iagauto.htm> (last accessed July 2015). Data for Ohio auto industry job growth were obtained through the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages. See Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages," available at <http://www.bls.gov/cew/data.htm> (last accessed July 2015). Growth in automotive jobs in Ohio is compared with job growth in Ohio overall from 2010 to 2014, also using the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages. Data for 2014 are preliminary.
- 6 Patrick Marley, "Bill Voiding Sick Leave Sent to Walker," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 12, 2011, available at <http://www.jsonline.com/news/state-politics/119701054.html>; Louisiana State Legislature, Louisiana Act 667 (2012), <http://www.legis.la.gov/legis/BillInfo.aspx?s=12RS&b=SB521&sb=y>; David Weigel, "Every Republican Running for President Votes Against Paid Sick Leave; It Passes Anyway," *Bloomberg*, March 26, 2015, available at <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2015-03-26/every-republican-running-for-president-votes-against-paid-family-leave>.
- 7 Author's calculation of National Center for Education Statistics database regarding average undergraduate tuition and required fees between the 2000-01 and 2013-14 school years by full-time-equivalent students in degree-granting institutions. See National Center for Education Statistics, "Digest of Education Statistics," available at <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/> (last accessed July 2015).
- 8 See Daniel H. Cooper, Byron F. Lutz, and Michael G. Palumbo, "The Role of Taxes in Mitigating Income Inequality Across the U.S. States," Working Paper (2015), available at [http://byron.marginalq.com/cooper\\_lutz\\_palumbo\\_2015.pdf](http://byron.marginalq.com/cooper_lutz_palumbo_2015.pdf); David Wessel, "Which States' Tax Laws Widen Inequality," *Real Time Economics*, May 20, 2015, available at <http://blogs.wsj.com/economics/2015/05/20/which-states-tax-laws-widen-inequality/>.
- 9 Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, "Ohio: State & Local Taxes in 2015," available at <http://www.itep.org/whopays/states/ohio.php> (last accessed July 2015).
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