The Second Great Populist Wave

in the turbulent 2016 presidential nominations

Wayne Steger

DePaul University wsteger@depaul.edu

The resurgence of populism has been disrupting the established political coalitions of the Republican and Democratic parties. Resurgent populism helped Donald Trump get over the top and contributed to the strength of Bernie Sanders' challenge to Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential nomination races. Cohen, Karol, Noel and Zaller's The Party Decides argued that party insiders, groups, and activists that form the stakeholders of the party coalition greatly influence the selection of presidential nominees by coordinating their support early in the nomination process. Steger (2013, 2015) challenged that thesis, showing that party insider influence is conditional on the unity of the party coalition and the availability of a candidate who draws majority support in national opinion polls three and four years before the caucuses and primaries begin. Divisions in the political parties contributed to more competitive nominations than we have seen since the 1970s and the lack of an early front-runner made the Republican race wide-open (Steger 2016). Populism further challenges The Party Decides thesis. While populism has different meanings, anti-establishment sentiment distinguishes populist movements and candidates. Anger at the party establishments limits the efficacy of elite-level messaging which may even adversely affect the establishment candidate's support among populist voters. Populist sentiment in both political parties has reduced the influence of party insiders and new, emergent activists are challenging the policy orthodoxy of the party coalitions. Thus populist candidates can potentially redefine the coalitions and policies of the two political parties.

Paper to be presented at the State of the Parties Conference, Bliss Center, University of Akron,

Akron, OH, October 2017

"We are moving rapidly away from our democratic heritage into an oligarchic form of society where today we are experiencing a government of the billionaires, by the billionaires, and for the billionaires." – Bernie Sanders¹

"At the core of my contract is my plan to bring back your jobs that have been stolen. Stolen by either very stupid politicians or corrupt politicians, meaning special interests get them to do whatever they want to do." – Donald Trump²

Senator Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump ran populist campaigns in the 2016 presidential election. Sanders railed against billionaires, Corporate CEOs, Wall Street, and the political party establishments that he accused of serving their interests at the expense of the ninety-nine percent. Donald Trump engaged in even more vitriolic, anti-establishment rhetoric, saying, "we are led by very, very, stupid people," calling government officials "corrupt" and "beholden to special interests," and promising to "drain the swamp."³ Both candidates appealed to discontented Americans by blaming government and special interests for their ills, though the focus of their attacks differed. Sanders directed his attacks mainly at billionaires, corporate CEOs, and Wall Street, and secondarily to party politicians. Trump directed his attacks mainly at government, which he portrayed as hurting the middle class by catering to both special interests and immigrants, Muslims, and people in "inner cities."⁴

¹ Fred Drews, "Sen. Bernie Sanders: We have a government of, by, and for billionaires," <u>https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brookings-now/2015/02/09/sen-bernie-sanders-we-have-a-government-of-by-and-for-billionaires/</u> February 9, 2015.

² Kathryn Blackhurst, "Trump: 'Stupid' and 'Corrupt' Politicians Have Failed Inner Cities" <u>https://www.lifezette.com/polizette/trump-stupid-corrupt-politicians-failed-inner-cities/</u> Nov. 5, 2016.

³ <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-UvgCwOmD80</u> Sept. 9, 2015

⁴ The term "inner cities" has been shown to activate racial bias in public opinion among white Americans (Valentino, Hutchings, and White, 2002; Hurwitz and Peffley, 2005). Judis (2016) observed Sander's frame of middle versus the top of Sander's populism, and Trump's frame of the middle versus the top and the bottom.

Both candidates sought to mobilize discontented peoples to upend the politics-as-usual of the power establishments in Washington. Sanders sought change by building a movement, calling for "a political revolution of millions of people in this country who are prepared to stand up and say, 'enough is enough' ... I want to help lead that effort."⁵ Trump asserted in one of his social media posts, "Come November, the American people will have the chance to re-declare their independence. Americans will have a chance to vote for trade, immigration and foreign policies that put our citizens first. They will have the chance to reject today's rule by the global elite, and to embrace real change that delivers a government of, by and for the people."⁶ Trump portrayed himself as *the* agent of change, who alone could bring change that professional politicians could not. Trump's credibility as an agent of change was reinforced by his distinctive, disruptive behavior--he said whatever was on his mind, often without regard for facts or civility.⁷

Both candidates challenged the policy positions and priorities of their political parties. Sanders sought to move the Democratic Party away from the Clinton "third way" approach that blended progressive social welfare policies and neoliberal policies. Trump's myriad policy ideas departed from Republican Party orthodoxy on trade, social welfare, foreign policy, and more. Numerous Republican Party insiders opposed his nomination and some observers framed his nomination campaign as a hostile take-over of the Republican Party.⁸ Despite the threat to the

⁵ Quoted in Mark Hensch, "We Need a Political Revolution," *The Hill*, May 3, 2015. <u>http://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/presidential-races/240889-sanders-we-need-a-political-revolution</u>, accessed on 7/15/2017.

⁶ Donald Trump, Facebook post, June 24, 2016. <u>https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10157213077740725</u>, accessed 7/15/2017.

⁷ *Politifact*, a Pulitzer Prize Winning fact checking organization, rated the majority of Trump's statements, that were checked, as mostly or fully false. <u>http://www.politifact.com/personalities/donald-trump/</u> Accessed, November 15, 2016.

⁸ Ryan Lizza, "Donald Trump's Hostile Takeover of the GOP," *New Yorker*, January 28, 2016, http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/donald-trumps-hostile-takeover-of-the-g-o-p; Joe

policy orthodoxy of the Republican Party, party elites had few means to stop Trump in a nomination process in which caucus and primary voters decide who will be the nominee.

This paper looks at populism and party elite activity in the 2016 presidential nominations, with attention to differences between the left-wing populism of Bernie Sanders and the rightwing populism of Donald Trump. The first part of the paper defines left- and right-wing populism and a brief argument for why populism is resurgent. The next section establishes the conditional quality of party arbitration of nominations, following Steger (2013, 2015, 2016). The third section uses survey data from Exit Polls and the ANES Pilot Study to show that anit-establishment attitudes were the core of Trump's support in the caucuses and primaries.

Understanding populism is important because it reflects a widespread rejection of politics-as-usual among political elites in the party coalitions and governing institutions. There are implications for the political party coalitions, representation and the state of democracy. Trump's nomination, election, and tenure in office make his brand of populism particularly important because he has greater potential to redefine the coalition and policies of his political party.⁹ While most congressional Republicans do not share Trump's populist orientation, they are hard pressed to stand against him given his support among party identifiers and his demonstrably effective counter-punches. Trump's potential for changing the Republican Party, however, is contingent on retaining the support of Republican voters.

Scarborough, "Donald Trump's hostile takeover of the Republican Party," *Washington Post*, March. 1, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2016/03/01/donald-trumps-hostile-takeover-of-the-republican-party/?utm_term=.ea3e4b2290ef.

⁹ See Riker (1986), Skowronek (1993), Herrera (1995), and Karol (2009) on the president's role in defining party policy positions.

Two Veins of Populism and an Argument for Populism Now

Populism has a lot of different meanings and uses, but the common threads are anti-elite or anti-establishment sentiment, appeals to mobilize the "common people" against those elites, and a desire for change from status quo politics-as-usual.¹⁰ Beyond these common threads, the left wing populism exhibited in Bernie Sanders' campaign is distinct from the right wing populism of Donald Trump.¹¹ The following discussion focuses more on Trump's right wing populism attention because his nomination and election make his brand of populism more consequential. Trump's right wing populism diverges from Republican policy orthodoxy and thus is potentially more disruptive to the Republican coalition and policy agenda.

While populism is foremost an anti-elite orientation, left- and right wing populists oppose different elites or at least differently prioritize various elites in their attacks. Bernie Sanders' left wing populism is *primarily* anti-elite with respect to Wall Street, corporate managers, and the very rich (i.e., the one-percenters) who gained an outsized share of the economic growth that has occurred since the 1970s. Economic inequality and oligarchy are common themes in left wing populist discourse and virtually nonexistent in right wing populist discourse. Left wing populists also oppose, on a *secondary level*, the political "establishment" that serves the interests and priorities of these economic elites. Sanders, and the digital media outlets that supported his brand of politics, often portrayed Hillary and other "establishment" Democrats as enablers of Wall Street and Corporate America.

¹⁰ There have been numerous definitions of populism e.g., Kazin (1995), Canovan (1999), Mudde (2004, 2007), Girdron and Bonikowski (2013) Brewer (2016), and Inglehart and Norris (2016). Most definitions differ in nuanced ways, often adding additional elements. These three items are the common denominator across definitions.

¹¹ Formisano (2016) and Lichtenstein (2016) discuss Sanders' populism. Inglehart and Norris (2016) and Hajnal and Abrajano (2016) analyze right wing populism in the the United States.

Right wing populists are polychotomous in their anti-elitism.¹² Trump's supporters are *primarily* anti-elite or anti-establishment with respect to government officials. They also oppose, on a *secondary level*, "special interests" including Wall Street and corporate managers. Right wing populists also oppose government policies for the poor, ethnic or racial minorities, and immigrants. Right wing populists like Sarah Palin and Donald Trump blame government for "rigging the system" in ways that disadvantage working class Americans in favor of "special interests" *and* in favor of the "undeserving" poor, minorities, and immigrants at their expense. On a separate, cultural dimension, right wing populists exhibit antipathy toward urban and intellectual elites whose cultural values and promotion of diversity conflict with their own. These complex relations require some explanation.

First, right wing populists see government as "rigging the system" for the benefit of those at the top *and* the bottom at the expense of the "forgotten middle." Trump's supporters tend to come from people in the middle-income brackets, often being self-employed individuals who are better off than others in their communities.¹³ Trump's promise to "drain the swamp" was a reference to perceived corrupt relations between government officials and special interests. A common framing of the problem is "crony-capitalism," a concept found in both left- and rightwing populist discourse. Right wing populists differ from the left in that they also oppose redistributive policies that would raise their taxes or reduce their benefits to provide for programs benefitting immigrants and people on welfare. Right wing populists are less concerned about economic inequality and they are not against wealthy people who are seen as having a right to make money. Rhetorically, however, there is opposition to big business and Wall Street getting

¹² Judis (2016) characterizes left wing populism as dichotomous (poor vs the rich) and right wing populism as trichotomous (middle against both the top and bottom).

¹³ See Rothwell and Diego-Rosell (2016); Manza and Crowley (2016); and Griffin and Teixeira (2017).

big breaks. Trump, for example, railed against hedge fund managers getting away with carried interest. In general, however, the issue of inequality is relatively minor for right wing populists. A PEW survey during the general election, for example, found that "the gap between the rich and the poor" was a perceived as a very big problem for 72% of Hillary Clinton supporters but only 33% of Trump supporters.¹⁴

Left- and right- wing populism also differ on economic and cultural dimensions (Table 1 summarizes these differences). Bernie Sanders' left wing populism fused progressive economic policy ideas, cultural inclusivity, and anti-establishment sentiment. Although Sanders' economic ideas are anchored in a socialistic worldview, leftwing populism is not exactly a class-based alignment pitting the poor against the rich. CNN Exit polls from the caucuses and primaries indicate that Sander's supporters were largely young, white, middle-class, and college educated/ing, and more voters who self-identified as Independents. The Democratic establishment candidate, Hillary Clinton, drew more support from women, non-whites, older people, self-identified Democrats, and notably, both lower and higher education and income groups.¹⁵ Left wing populists are economically, socially and culturally liberal, frequently urbanites who aspire for economic and social justice for historically disadvantaged groups including people of color, immigrants, women and LGBTQ populations. The embrace of

¹⁴ Inglehart and Norris (2016) may not have found a strong relationship between economic discontent and populism in part because they have focused on economic inequality. See PEW Research Center. http://www.people-press.org/2016/11/10/a-divided-and-pessimistic-electorate/

¹⁵ http://www.cnn.com/election/primaries/polls

cosmopolitan values and modernity stands in opposition to the traditionalist cultural orientation of right wing populism.¹⁶ Anti-establishment sentiment mainly distinguishes left wing populists from progressives of the party.

Trump fused some traditional conservative policy positions with right wing populist appeals of economic nationalism and cultural exclusivity. Trump adopted the lower taxes and anti-regulatory positions of conservatives, but his economic nationalism is distinct from the free market and free trade principles that have been the bedrock of the Republican Party agenda for almost a century.¹⁷ The "Make America Great Again" (MAGA) slogan was an "America First" theme with interrelated economic and socio-cultural dimensions. The economic dimension of MAGA is economic nationalism, which fuses an economic strategy of protectionism with the emotional effect of patriotism and an implicit Euro-heritage dimension. Trump attacked free trade agreements and promised to bring mining and manufacturing jobs back to America. He promised to end the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement, renegotiate free trade agreements (i.e., NAFTA), and penalize American manufacturers that move jobs out of the country. He attacked China for unfair monetary and trade policies that gave China access to American markets without sufficient reciprocity. Domestically, Trump deviated from traditional Republican positions by promising to protect Social Security and Medicare and offering a massive infrastructure reconstruction program to create jobs. Trump's promises are geared toward the working, middle class of white Americans. He promised to protect social welfare

¹⁶ Inglehart and Norris (2016) refer to this as anti-cosmopolitan sentiment.

¹⁷ Prior to the 1930s, Republicans promoted protectionism on trade policy as a means to build American industry.

programs for "deserving" people, defined as those who have paid Social Security and Medicare taxes and which may not include immigrants and welfare recipients.¹⁸

On a socio-cultural dimension, Trump's MAGA populist appeals reflected nativism and cultural exclusivity. Trump campaigned more as an identity conservative than a philosophical conservative.¹⁹ Trump often referred to "inner cities" and immigrants when talking about crime, welfare.²⁰ Trump began his campaign with a speech in which he characterized (many but not all) Mexican illegal immigrants as being drug dealers, criminals and rapists.²¹ Trump proposed building a wall along the Mexican border, deporting illegal immigrants, and banning Muslim immigrants. The wall and deportation promises were the same populist appeals that Patrick Buchanan used in his 1996 Republican presidential nomination campaign.²² Trump's calls for stronger law and order also exhibited cultural exclusivity. Trump called for tougher law enforcement to deal with what he claimed were increasing crime rates, which he characterized as problems caused by immigrants and people in inner-cities (references that cue people to think about Latinos and African-Americans). During an interview during the Republican nominating

¹⁸ For example, Trump said, "I'm going to save Social Security. ... There's tremendous waste, fraud and abuse, and we're going to get it. But we're not going to hurt the people who have been paying into Social Security their whole life and then all of a sudden they're supposed to get less. ..." 2016 CBS Republican primary debate in South Carolina , Feb 13, 2016

¹⁹ Hans Noel, "Maybe faux conservatives are still conservatives," *Vox*, January 25, 2016. <u>http://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/1/25/10828656/faux-conservatives-trump-national-review</u>.

²⁰ Molly Ball, "The Resentment Powering Trump," *The Atlantic*, March 15, 2016. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/the-resentment-powering-trump/473775/

²¹ https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/07/08/donald-trumps-false-comments-connecting-mexican-immigrants-and-crime/?utm_term=.69ea858f5291

²² A leading American white supremacist, David Duke, along with other leaders endorsed Patrick Buchanan in 1996 and Donald Trump in 2016. Trump was seen as minimally repudiating Duke's endorsement only after repeated questions by reporters. See,

 $https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/02/17/a-brief-history-of-donald-trump-addressing-questions-about-racism-and-anti-semitism/?utm_term=.9eee87c12542$

convention, Trump criticized the Black Lives Matter movement for instigating violence against police, and called the group a threat that must be watched carefully.²³ During the presidential debate at Hofstra University, Trump responded to a question about how to improve race relations in America, with an answer calling for tougher law and order policies like stop and frisk, a racially charged policy that has been shown to result in racial and ethnic profiling.²⁴ Trump responded to criticisms of his rhetoric by attacking "political correctness" and claiming double standards inherent in norms of politically correct speech.²⁵ Political correctness, with its emphasis on acceptance of racial, ethnic, religious, gender, and sexual orientation differences, has long been an anathema to some Republicans, going back to George H. W. Bush in the 1988 presidential campaign.²⁶ Trump's targets in his attacks on political correctness targeted feminists and universities, groups that Trump supporters viewed more negatively than did the supporters of other Republican candidates (see below). Trump's attacks on political correctness resonated with white working/middle class voters with traditional values and demonstrated his willingness to challenge elites.²⁷

²³ Jeremy Diamond, "Trump: Black Lives Matter has helped instigate police killings," CNN Politics, July 19, 2016. http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/18/politics/donald-trump-black-lives-matter/

²⁴ http://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2016/09/27/clinton-trump-debate-hofstra-stop-and-frisk-sot-five.cnn/video/playlists/2016-presidential-debate-donald-trump-hillary-clinton/

²⁵ Political correctness emerged in the late 1980s as a movement that promoted avoidance of expression or actions perceived to exclude, marginalize, or insult groups of people who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against. It promotes cultural inclusivity and diversity. From the right wing perspective, political correctness is an effort to censor freedom and suppress traditional social values and social relationships, which includes implicit social hierarchies along gender and racial lines.

²⁶ See, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/inspired-life/wp/2015/12/09/donald-trump-says-were-all-too-politically-correct-but-is-that-also-a-way-to-limit-speech/?utm_term=.fab6571a7882

²⁷ Rod Dreher, "Trump: Tribune of Poor White People," The American Conservative, July 22, 2016. http://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/trump-us-politics-poor-whites/

| | Anti-establishment | Economic | Cultural | Victims |
|------------|---|---|---|---|
| | Orientation | Orientation | Orientation | |
| Left-wing | "oligarchs" (billionaires, CEOs, Wall Street) & secondarily, their "enablers" in government | Progressive & Protectionist | Inclusive: supportive of diversity & difference; accepts modernity & cosmopolitan | The "99 percent" Black lives matter; LBGTQ populations |
| Right-wing | Incompetent & corrupt government officials, and special interests above and the underserving below | Conservative & economic nationalism; exclusions for "undeserving" people | Exclusive: opposed to diversity & difference; traditionalist & nativist | Whites, Christians, gun owners |

Table 1: Topology of left- and right- wing populism in the United States

Finally, to this set of characteristics found in the literature on populism, I add that American populist movements and discourse include reaction to oppression and injustice. American populists view the prevailing socio-economic, political, and cultural order as oppressive and limiting their ability to live their lives the way they want to live (or expected to live). This is implicit in the juxtaposition of the black and white, moral us vs. them framing of political conflict. Populists see themselves as subject to an injustice. There is a desire to break free from the social, cultural, and economic order and value system being institutionalized by political, economic and cultural elites. Thus "freedom" is an important part of the populist appeals—freedom from the economic distribution and/or the cultural value system being imposed on them by elites. Populists use the politics of injustice and victimization as a mechanism of identity formation, legitimization, and mobilization. Populism-as discourse, worldview, or movement-implies resistance to oppression, something that makes it qualitatively different and distinct from normal political opposition to the ruling party. Populists portray the people as being oppressed, as victims of the ruling elite and power structure. Populists use perceived injustices to legitimize their cause and mobilize their ingroup, "the

people" against the establishment. Victimization is a powerful motivational mechanism in social movements.²⁸

A Theory for the Occurrence of Populism and a Really Brief History of Populism

My theoretical argument is that the populism is one possible political response to societal stresses that result from diffuse, interrelated, and systemic economic, social and cultural transformations of American society, coupled with frustration with the major political parties for failing to offer relief. The potential for large numbers of people to be open to and supportive of populism rests on three inter-related sets of conditions. The first is the transformation of the economy from an industrial-base to a post-industrial base, in which the economic premium lies with technology, finance, and knowledge applications. This transformation is multifaceted and includes the decline of manufacturing and agriculture as sources of jobs through globalization, technological advances, changes in corporate governance and compensation that effect employment and wages, and a loosening of the regulatory framework governing finance and Wall Street.²⁹ Combined, these changes have moved the American economy from a distributive to an extractive model along the lines of Acemoglu and Robinson.³⁰ These economic transformations have contributed to rising economic inequality, declining economic opportunity, and have disrupted lives, social relations, and communities. These changes also have benefitted many, so the transformations have created new winners and losers with social, educational, and geographic dimensions, which in turn help us understand which segments of society are attracted to left- or right- wing populism. This transition has multiple roots and multiple, interactive implications for the distribution of wealth and well-being in society. That there are economic

²⁸ Benford and Snow 2000; Polletta and Jasper 2001

²⁹ See, Stiglitz 2013, 2015; Hacker and Pierson 2017

³⁰ Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012.

winners and losers, by itself, does not explain the resurgence of populism on both ends of the political spectrum. Economic transformation has powerful disruptive impacts on social relations, order, and cultural values and the force of the disruptive impact relates to the pace of change in society.³¹ These combined transformations give rise to a lot of political and social discontent, providing fertile ground for populist campaigns.

Second, the American economy, society, and polity have transformed in ways that divide the nation. Some of this transformation owed to the disruptive impacts on communities and social relations by changing patterns of economic production, employment, and the distribution of wealth. Other drivers of social and cultural change include patterns of immigration, intra-state migration, and interstate migration that have destabilized local communities, undermining civil society and civic capital at the local level. Changing levels of educational attainment and exposure to changing pop culture across generations have produced differing value systems about how people live their lives. These kinds of changes can be subsumed under the heading of modernity, which is resisted by people yearning for a more traditional social structure and cultural value system. The transition from traditional society with roots in family and community to a more modern society involves the rise of values emphasizing diversity, tolerance of the other, and other cosmopolitan values associated with liberal arts education. These changes also have demographic, educational, and geographic dimensions that have deepened sociopolitical cleavages. The United States, I argue, is developing two cultural groupingstraditionalists and cosmopolitans that differ along demographic, educational, geographic, and increasingly political lines. These distinctions are reflected in the embrace of left-wing populism

³¹ Polanyi, 1944. The Great Transformation.

by younger, educated, and urban populations and the cultural backlash among older, lesseducated and rural/small town Americans who are drawn to right-wing populist messages.

Third, the resurgence of populism exists as a frustrated response to, and a probably a contributing factor in, the polarization of the political parties. Specifically, the United States has been experiencing growing political polarization and intensifying partisan affect (an emotion-laden attitudinal effect) since the 1970s.³² Polarized political parties, operating in a system of separate institutions sharing powers, have not enacted and probably cannot enact policies that would relieve pressures on groups experiencing economic, social, and cultural dislocation. Increasingly, politics are a zero-sum, winner-try-to-take-all game in which losing is highly threatening to the interests and values of party constituencies, which results in greater intensity of political conflict and diminish prospects for reason and compromise. At the same time, the political system is failing to provide relief, there has been a proliferation of idealistic ideological commentary on cable, digital, and social media, encouraged and abetted by politicians seeking short-term advantage, that have stoked passions and set unrealistic expectations that the political system could not meet. Populism feeds on the emotionally charged rhetoric and negative partisan affect that political polarization has engendered.

Beyond such systemic, contextual forces, populism would not emerge apart from political entrepreneurs who use themes, symbols and discourse that resonates deeply with segments of society that are latently sympathetic to left- and right-wing populist movements. Sanders and Trump benefitted from recent communications and fundraising innovations. Both used social media to communicate directly to voters and their views were endorsed and supported on digital

³² The coincidence of the latest resurgence of populism in the U.S. with increasingly ideological political parties runs contra Cas Mudde's (2004, 555) observation that populism thrives on "depoliticized politics" with less ideological political parties.

media outlets. Both took advantage of the fertile ground provided by shifting news media norms that have shifted from fact to opinion-framed commentary and the sensationalized news. Sensationalist media are drawn to characters who challenge the establishment. Some of these media spewed sensationalist, contrived, and even conspiratorial content that further inflamed passions. These followers and audiences in turn shared stories on social media, expanding the reach of these insurgent campaigns. Trump in particular used social media to get traditional media coverage, without subjecting himself to the traditional scrutiny of the national media. Finally, both were able to finance their campaigns with money raised from millions of small donors contributing on line rather than the more traditional fundraising through established networks of party donors. Both candidates used digital and social media platforms to campaign outside party networks and outside news media-party networks, which enabled them to reach far greater audiences than prior populist campaigns.

Thus in 2016, two outsider candidates were able to run for the major political party nominations for the presidency and disrupt party coalitional politics more profoundly than perhaps at any time in American political history. Sanders' campaign has brought tremendous energy and resolve to the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, threatening to upend the uneasy compromise between progressives and neo-liberals that was forged during the Clinton years. Trump's campaigns brought into the mainstream a passionate bloc of right-wing populist activists who are impervious to persuasion by establishment figures in the media or even in the Republican Party. These disruptive forces were emergent before Sanders and Trump and the conditions that created the fertile ground for their campaigns will not fade soon.

The resurgence of populism in the past decade must be viewed in historical context. Populism has a long history in American politics, indeed, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, reads in part, like an early populist manifesto. While populist sentiments and candidates flare up from time to time, the United States is experiencing a second great wave of populism. The last great wave of populism occurred in the 1880s and 1890s, when populists last attracted enough support to nominate a presidential candidate to head the presidential ticket of a major political party. The two eras with populist waves powerful enough to carry a candidate to a major party presidential nomination share a number of important similarities. If the parallels continue, the next decade should witness the emergence in both political parties the emergence of new ideas that fundamentally reorient American politics.

Briefly, the populist wave of the 1890s occurred in the middle to later stages of the last major socio-economic transformation of America from a predominantly rural, agrarian society to an urban, manufacturing based society and economy. This era also featured closely contested presidential elections, political polarization in Congress, and mass dissatisfaction with the conservative leadership of both political parties. Viewed in this light, populism signals a last hurrah of resistance, but which can be strong enough to compel changes in the policy agendas of the major political parties. The populist movement of the 1890s was a precursor to the rise of the progressive political order in 1910 with the deposition of House Speaker Joseph Cannon and ushered in the progressive era. The progressive era fundamentally transformed the nation's government and reoriented political ideologies and conflict for the ensuing century. Whether history repeats is an open question at this point, but what is becoming clearer is that the polarized political party coalitions are tearing themselves apart internally.

I argue that we are in the midst of another great transformation. The great transformation of the American economy and society during the late 1800s involved the economic transformation of the country from an agrarian to an industrial economy, waves of immigration that made the country less Protestant and Anglo-Saxon, large scale urbanization, and polarized political parties operating under rules that advantaged the majority party in the House of Representatives. The current transformation also involves economic and socio-cultural transformation combined with polarized political parties that limits the flexibility of the political system to adjust and respond to problems. These transformations are well known. The economy has moved from an industrial-based generated of employment to a post-industrial, "new economy" in which employment and wages are in information/technology, finance, information applications, international trade, and health care. These jobs differ in that most require advanced education and are disproportionately located in metropolitan areas, an important factor that means economic opportunities are interrelated with differences in educational lines, cultural values (cosmopolitan outlook). Further, these patterns substantially align along geographic lines with rural areas and smaller industrial towns and cities losing opportunities and population to metropolitan areas with tech, finance, trade, and information service sectors.

Populism is a recurring theme in American politics because the economy and society continuously evolve and change. What is distinctive of the 1880s to the early 1900s and from the 1970s to the present is the pace of change. The pace economic and cultural evolution was slower before the industrial revolution and slower between that time and the rise of the new economy. A slower pace of change gives society more opportunities to adjust and adapt.

The incredible pace of change in American society from the 1880s to World War I and from the 1970s to the present is substantially greater, giving people less opportunity to adjust and adapt. For example, the transformation to the new economy typically requires education for higher paying jobs. The standard policy to help people adjust are job retraining and educational opportunities. However, these are tough sells to people, particularly older people, who are substantially removed from the skill sets of blue-collar, manual labor. Further, providing an unemployed person from Akron or Canton with education and tech skills is not going to be particularly helpful because these companies with these jobs are not locating in Canton or Akron, but in other cities so gaining re-employment in the new economy requires both education/retraining and relocating to a new community, with populations that hold different values and social norms. For middle-aged and older people whose jobs have been disappearing, the prospects for adjustment, adaptation and integration into the new economy are negligible.

If this argument is right, the appeal of populist leaders would not reach a critical threshold in the course of normal economic and socio-cultural change. Populist leaders outside these massive transformations did not reach the levels that were needed to nominate William Jennings Bryan in 1896 or Donald Trump in 2016. Populists like Huey Long, George Wallace, Pat Buchanan or Dennis Kucinich failed to generate similar levels of support because the social and economic conditions, to which they were responding, did not attain the kind of systemic transformations that impacted the United States since the 1970s.

Political party nominations are the mechanism by which populist candidates and voters sympathetic to populist appeals influence politics and policy. To what extent did populism play a role in the 2016 presidential nominations?

Political Party Nominations: Conditional Arbiters and the Difficulty of Stopping Populists

The ability to put candidates on the ballot makes political parties the arbiters of representative democracy.³³ As arbiters, the parties have the capacity to choose candidates that

³³ Schattschneider (1960).

serve partisan interests, potentially at the expense of the broader public.³⁴ From the 1830s to the 1960s, party insiders and group leaders could nominate a candidate of their choosing at the national nominating conventions. Reforms of the presidential nomination process during the early 1970s democratized the selection of presidential nominees, with both political parties empowering rank-and-file party voters to express their preferences for candidates in binding caucuses and primaries.³⁵ This process opened the door for outsider candidates to compete for the nomination. While outsider candidates can compete for a presidential nomination, they rarely succeed. A major reason is that political party insiders have the capacity to rally behind a candidate that serves party coalition partners' interests.

As Cohen, Karol, Noel and Zaller argue in *The Party Decides*, party insiders can advance such a candidate by coordinating their support behind that candidate during the invisible primary—the phase of the campaign occurring before the beginning of the caucuses and primaries.³⁶ Party insider support helps a candidate financially and organizationally and helps shape media narratives by talking up their preferred candidate. But party insiders are conditional arbiters of presidential nominations.³⁷ Their ability to influence the outcome is conditional on the extent of their participation in trying to influence the race, the timing of their involvement, and their degree of convergence on a candidate. The well-known *The Party Decides (TPD)* focused on the timing and convergence of endorsements, but did not consider participation rates. Accounting for participation changes the picture.³⁸ Party insider convergence on a frontrunner is

 ³⁴ Cohen, Karol, Noel, and Zaller (2008), and Bawn, Cohen, Karol, Masket, Noel, and Zaller (2012)
 35 See Ceaser (1979) and Polsby (1983) for classic discussions of the effects of the reforms.

³⁶ Cohen, Karol, Noel and Zaller (2008) argue that party insiders usually are able to coordinate their support to the strong advantage of their preferred candidate. See also, Bawn, Cohen, Karol, Masket, Noel, and Zaller (2012).

³⁷ This section uses material from and builds on Steger (2016).

³⁸ Steger (2016).

often less extensive than suggested by looking only at the concentration and timing of endorsements. There are systematic patterns of engagement and convergence and failure to engage and converge behind a front-runner. Party insiders unify sooner and extensively when: 1) the party coalition is stable, *and* 2) there is a candidate in the race with demonstrable national support in polls three and four years before the election.

While there is a lot of ideological agreement among party elites, there are deviations from party positions.³⁹ Hans Noel finds that divisions among Republican Party elites are greater than among Democratic Party elites. Several recent PEW studies of policy preferences of party identifiers and leaners also show divisions within both parties at the mass identifier level.⁴⁰ Divisions among politically engaged Democratic identifiers have grown substantial since 2014, suggesting that internal party divisions will be more problematic for Democrats in 2020 than in 2016. At the time of the 2016 presidential nominations, divisions among Republicans at the elite and mass level were greater than in the Democratic Party. Using Exit Polls, Olsen and Scala also show that there have been growing divisions among Republican caucus and primary voters.⁴¹ Recent Republican presidential nominations have featured four factions with differing preferences for candidates and policy—a declining faction of moderates, a large faction of somewhat conservatives, and very conservatives who divide into religious and secular

³⁹ Hans Noel, 2016, "Ideological Factions in the Democratic and Republican Parties." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 667: 166-188.

 ⁴⁰ Pew Research Center, October, 2017, "Political Typology Reveals Deep Fissures on the Right and Left," <u>http://www.people-press.org/2017/10/24/political-typology-reveals-deep-fissures-on-the-right-and-left/</u>. See also, Pew Research Center, November, 2015, "Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government," March, 2016, "Campaign Exposes Fissures Over Issues, Values and How Life Has Changed in the U.S.," and July, 2016, "2016 Campaign: Strong Interest, Widespread Dissatisfaction."
 ⁴¹ Henry Olsen and Dante Scala, 2016, *The Four Faces of the Republican Party and the Fight for the* 2016 Presidential Nomination, NY: Palgrave. branches.⁴² Carmines, Ensley and Wagner argue that ideological heterogeneity among Republican identifiers and leaners was a factor in Trump's ability to gain the nomination.⁴³

The division between the Tea Party and Establishment Republicans, however, is probably more consequential than the ideological divisions in the Republican Party.⁴⁴ Tea Party Republicans organized to challenge "establishment" Republicans who held moderate positions or who compromised with Barack Obama. The Tea Party movement faded as an organized political force by 2016, but the underlying sentiments remained in the form of strong anti-establishment attitudes. A PEW Research Center survey found that 42% of politically engaged Republicans were "angry with government."⁴⁵ In the same survey, 89% of Republican identifiers and leaners responded that they "can seldom, if ever, trust the federal government," and 75% agreed that government needs "major reform." Exit polls in 28 states in 2016 showed that almost 54% of Republican voters preferred a candidate who was "outside the establishment."⁴⁶ Widespread anti-establishment sentiment among Republican voters severely disadvantaged experienced politicians like former Florida Governor Jeb Bush. As the candidate most associated with the establishment wing of the party, Bush lost badly despite outspending his opponents in the primaries that he contested. Recognizing the power of the anti-establishment wing of the party, several candidates, including Ben Carson, Carly Fiorina, Governor Chris Christy, and Senator

⁴² Olsen and Scala, *The Four Faces of the Republican Party*.

⁴³ Carmines, Ensley, and Wagner, (2016)

⁴⁴ The Tea Party movement began after the 2008 bailout of large banks and the election of Barack Obama. Skocpol and Williams (2012) identify three distinct components of the Tea Party movement thousands of local organizations; supportive commentators providing cheerleading and direction through digital and broadcast media; and large donors. The grassroots and media components are most aligned with Trump's populism.

⁴⁵ See studies by Pew Research Center, "Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government," November, 2015, p. 9; "Campaign Exposes Fissures Over Issues, Values and How Life Has Changed in the U.S.," March, 2016; and "2016 Campaign: Strong Interest, Widespread Dissatisfaction," July, 2016.

⁴⁶ Steger (2017), p. 33.

Ted Cruz, sought to become the "outsider" candidate who would take on the establishment. No candidate, however, was more effective than Trump in attracting support from anti-establishment Republicans (see below). Thus, multiple measures suggest that Republican Party elites and mass identifiers were going to have a more challenging process of unifying behind a presidential nomination candidate in 2016. The prediction I made in 2014 (when I submitted my manuscript) was that Democratic elites would unify behind Hillary Clinton but that Republican elites would not – a prediction made 10 months before Trump entered the race.⁴⁷

The second major condition in which party elites fail to engage in the process and converge behind a front-runner occurs when there is uncertainty about the popular appeal of candidates.⁴⁸ Analyses of individual endorsement decisions by superdelegates and/or members of Congress, using narrower temporal aggregations, find, contra *The Party Decides*, that the national popularity of candidates and candidate popularity among constituents influences the decision of whether or not to endorse as well as which candidate to endorse. Analyzing aggregate patterns, Steger finds that elites engaged in the process and converge behind a frontrunner during the invisible when there is a candidate—in the race, that has majority support in national Gallup polls conducted in the third and fourth year prior to the election year.⁴⁹ In most years in which large numbers of party elites failed to make a pre-caucus/primary endorsement, the early poll leader decided not to run—a situation that occurred for Democrats in 1972 with Ted Kennedy, 1976 again with Kennedy, and in 1992 with Mario Cuomo. In 1988,

⁴⁷ Note that an updated forecasting model, using my measure of elite endorsements that takes into account participation as well as convergence, correctly forecast that Trump and Clinton would be the nominees (see, Dowdle, Adkins, Sebold, and Cuellar, 2016).

⁴⁸ Anderson 2013; Ryan 2011; Steger 2015; Whitby 2014

⁴⁹ Steger (2015, ch. 7, 8) and Steger (2016). Cohen et al, (2008) did not look at polls prior to the year before the election—the time frame they used to define the invisible primary. Extending the analysis back in time changes the picture.

the early polling leader, Gary Hart, dropped out of the race early in 1987 only to reenter too late to impact the race. The Republican Party lacked a clear front-runner in 2013-14. None of the Republican candidates polled above 20% during these years and nine different candidates led in national polls leading up to the caucuses and primaries. With no clear leader at the onset of the race, a large number of ambitious Republican office holders and former office holders entered the race, making it harder for party insiders to discern which candidate would resonate with party activists and identifiers.⁵⁰ The lack of a clear front-runner in early national polls and intra-party factions made it difficult for party elites to figure out which of the candidates would resonate with Republican voters and thus which candidate they should support. Under these conditions, the expectation is fewer party elites willing to make an endorsement during the invisible primary. Non-participation in the endorsement game signals uncertainty or trepidation about the appeal of candidates in the race.⁵¹

The 2016 Republican nomination is not a one-off that is unlikely to recur. There have been two patterns of presidential nomination campaign since 1980.⁵² One is the *TPD* partycentric pattern in which party insiders and groups coordinate and signal their support to the media, donors, activists, groups and rank-and-file party identifiers which candidate is viable, electable and preferable on political and policy grounds. The 2016 Democratic presidential nomination fits this pattern. Hillary Clinton had the endorsements of the vast majority of elite party officials by the end of the invisible primary. She gained a substantial advantage in early fundraising, built a massive campaign organization, and she received most of the news coverage

⁵⁰ Adkins, et al (2015) analyze the effects of candidate support and entry decisions on the competitiveness of presidential nomination races.

⁵¹ Ryan 2011; Whitby 2014

⁵² Steger, 2013

of the Democratic campaign. Hillary Clinton consistently received the support of a majority of respondents in national polls between 2013 and 2015, despite withering attacks from Republicans on the right and from Bernie Sanders and progressive digital media on the left.⁵³ Prominent Democratic politicians like Vice President Joe Biden and Senator Elizabeth Warren, decided not to run in part because Hillary Clinton looked unbeatable. Democratic Party insiders almost unanimously backed Hillary Clinton, which helped her gain a level of support that was difficult if not impossible for Sanders to overcome. Even though Sanders raised more money and gained more support than he was expected to, he could not beat Hillary Clinton in enough states to win the Democratic nomination. While Senator Sanders mounted a credible campaign and attracted substantial support in the caucuses and primaries, he came up short. Party insiders may have been helped Clinton weather the storm by coalescing behind her, talking up her campaign in the media, and sending helpful signals to attentive publics.⁵⁴

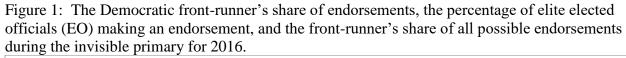
The 2016 Republican nomination follows the other, candidate- and campaign-centric pattern that occurs when party insiders fail to engage and unify behind a candidate. Only a third of Republican governors, senators, and representatives endorsed any candidate, and no candidate received more than 27% of the endorsements made before the Iowa Caucus.⁵⁵ When insiders

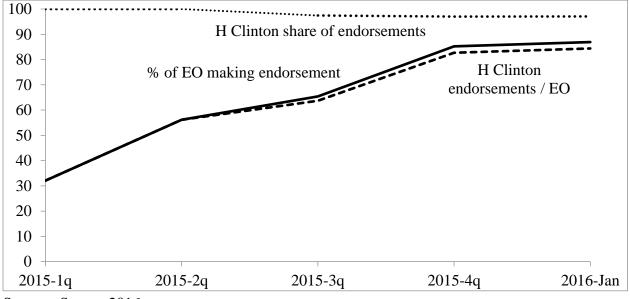
⁵³ Endorsements were tracked on <u>http://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-endorsement-primary/</u>. Polls are tracked on <u>http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-national-democratic-primary</u>. Accessed on 2/2/2016.

⁵⁴ Media commentary on the race with and without superdelegates usually fail to recalibrate the number of delegates needed to win the Democratic nomination without superdelegates. Superdelegates constituted 714 of the 4765 delegates to the Democratic convention, so only 2026 delegates would have been needed for the nomination without superdelegates as opposed to 2383 with superdelegates. Clinton won enough delegates even without superdelegates.

⁵⁵ Endorsements are calculated as a percentage of partisans in office, subtracting out those office-holders who are candidates such as Marco Rubio, Rand Paul or John Kasich. Participate rates are adjusted as candidates drop out of the race.

divide or remain uncommitted, caucus and primary voters gain influence over the nomination because they have a larger number of viable candidates to select among and they exercise a more independent voice. Candidate and campaign-centric factors like candidate appeal, campaign spending, media coverage, and campaign momentum become relatively more important for determining the nominee.⁵⁶





Source: Steger, 2016

Figure 1 shows three endorsement measures for Clinton, the Democratic Party frontrunner for the 2016 presidential nomination. Clinton ended the invisible primary with 97% of all the endorsements received by a candidate (the dotted line). This measure, used in *The Party Decides*, shows that Clinton was the consensus choice of Democratic elites. Further, 86.92% of elite elected Democratic officials made an endorsement during the invisible primary—indicating very widespread participation (the solid line). Clinton thus received the endorsements of 84.4%

⁵⁶ e.g., Aldrich 1980; Bartels 1988; Haynes et al. 2004; Norrander 1993, 2006

of all of the elite elected Democratic officials who could have made an endorsement during the invisible primary (the dashed line). This epitomizes the *TPD* argument. When there is widespread participation by party insiders *and* they converge on a nominee, there is no substantial difference in the picture portrayed by the different measures of endorsements. Clinton's nomination is consistent with the argument that party insiders influence a race by coordinating their support for a candidate, talking up the candidate in the media, and discouraging partisans and donors from supporting rivals for the nomination.

Invisible primary endorsements by elite Republican elected officials do not fit this pattern (see Figure 2). The candidate shares of endorsements indicate that no candidate was the "clear" establishment choice, as elite Republican officials divided their support among the candidates. Of the endorsements made during the invisible primary, Jeb Bush received 26.95%, Marco Rubio had 23.48%, Ted Cruz had 15.65%, and John Kasich and Chris Christie each received fewer than 7% of the endorsements that were made. The remaining endorsements were spread among the other candidates. Trump received no such endorsements before the Iowa caucus.

Importantly, only 34.2% of elite Republican elected officials made an endorsement during the invisible primary (the solid line in figure 2). This is expected when party elites are uncertain about which candidate will resonate with constituents or when party elites find the candidates unacceptable on policy grounds.⁵⁷ Accounting for participation, Jeb Bush had the support of only 9.25% of the elite elected officials who could have made an endorsement. This is thin evidence for calling Bush the establishment candidate. As Bush faded in the polls during the fall of 2015, Rubio emerged as the "establishment" candidate but he had the support of only 8.06% of these potential endorsements. Cruz, who emerged during the primaries as the main

⁵⁷ Anderson 2013; Ryan 2011; Whitby 2014

alternative to Trump, had only 5.37% of possible endorsements at the end of the invisible primary. In short, Republican insiders largely stayed on the sidelines and those that did participate divided their support among the candidates. Republican insiders could not even coordinate opposition to Trump.⁵⁸

major candidates' shares of possible endorsements during the invisible primary for 2016. 100 80 60 % of EO Making 40 an Endorsement 20 0 Kasich 2015-2q 2015-3q 2015-1q 2015-4q 2016-J

Figure 2: The percentage of elite elected Republican officials making an endorsement, and the

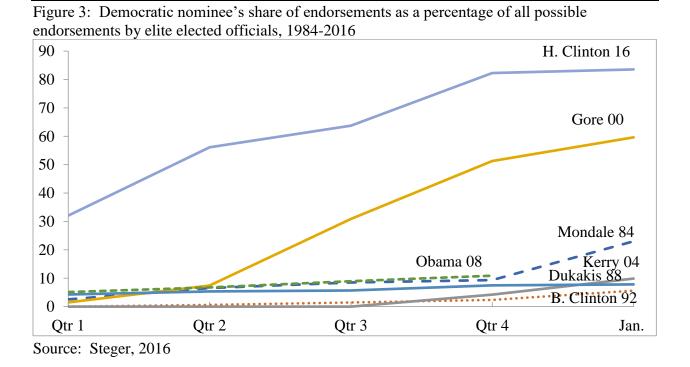
The 2016 Republican race is not unique. A majority of elite elected officials refrained from making an endorsement in half of the open presidential nominations since 1984.⁵⁹ There have been only two open Democratic presidential nominations between 1984 and 2016 in which a majority of elite elected officials endorsed the candidate who became the party's nominee (see Figure 3). In the other races, only a minority of elite elected officials endorsed a candidate during the invisible primary—including the 1984 race featuring former Vice President Walter Mondale. While Mondale received other endorsements not included in this analysis, elite elected officials were less likely to endorse Mondale. Only Gore in 1999 and Clinton in 2015 had

Source: Steger, 2016

⁵⁸ Azaria (2016), Noel, (2016a)

⁵⁹ I do not include data from earlier nominations in 1976 and 1980 because news reporting on endorsements was so thin that we cannot have much confidence that low numbers result from thin reporting or from non-endorsements. Excluding these races is a cautious approach.

majority support in national opinion polls and in both cases, a majority of elite elected officials endorsed them during the invisible primary in what looks like the TPD scenario. In both cases, the Democrats had a clear front-runner in the race several years before the election year.



There have been more open Republican nominations in which elite elected officials endorsed a candidate—but only one case in which a majority of officials made an endorsement during the invisible primary (the 2000 nomination). In two cases—G. H. W. Bush and Bob Dole—a large minority of elected officials endorsed a candidate during the invisible primary (see Figure 4). In both of these cases, the endorsed candidates averaged between 35 and 45% in national polls during the invisible primary year and prior years leading up to the election. In the remaining cases, fewer than 20% of elected officials endorsed a candidate during the invisible primary. Trump's case is represented by the X axis.

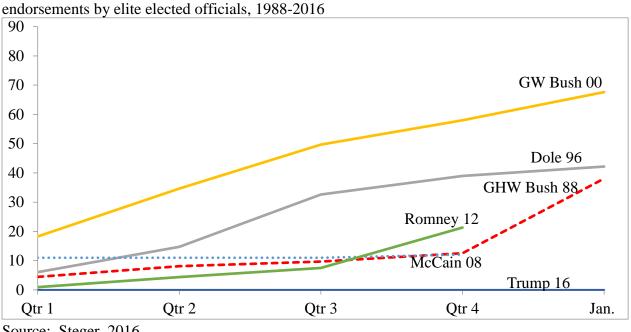


Figure 4: Republican nominee's share of endorsements as a percentage of possible endorsements by elite elected officials, 1988-2016

Steger uses these measures to conclude that party insiders are conditional arbiters of presidential nominations. They can help their preferred candidate get nominated—but to the extent that they engage in the campaign and unite in support of that candidate. Whether and the extent to which party insiders coalesce during the invisible primary depends on the unity of the party coalition and whether a candidate enters the race with a substantial lead in early national polls of party identifiers and leaners. Candidates would seem to matter a lot, as does the state of the party coalition in a given election year.

Importantly, endorsements by elite elected officials is not the same measure as used in The Party Decides, which includes endorsements by state and local elected officials, party officials, party activists, advocacy groups, and even celebrities. Unfortunately, we cannot measure endorsements by these groups and activists relative to all possible endorsements since the pool of potential endorsers is unknown. The two measures correlate moderately well, so it may be reasonable to conclude that participation in the endorsement game matters as well as

Source: Steger, 2016

convergence. It is possible, however, that party activists, groups, and new players in the nomination game play a bigger role than they did in the Reagan to Bush 43 eras. The measures in this section do not speak to the role of party activists and groups, particularly newer groups that organize and participate in ways that alter the status quo coalition building dynamics and signaling game among continuing coalition partners. The alt-right and broader populists are relatively new participants, as organized forces in the Republican nominations. The resurgence of left-wing populists during and after the Occupy Wall Street protests also upsets the balance of power among Democratic Party coalition partners.

Rather than dismissing the parties, the 2016 nomination campaigns suggest that political scientists need to look at the interaction of candidates and party coalition merchants more broadly defined. First, candidates matter—perhaps more so for populist movements than for long-standing organized groups that form party coalitions. While populism is typically thought of as a grassroots phenomenon, leadership matters. Without leadership providing form and direction, populism would exist as chaotic noise as the sum of angry individuals.⁶⁰ The "Occupy Wall Street" movement, for example, arose as a protest against the 1% of wealthiest people, but it never managed to articulate a set of demands and failed to do more than raise the visibility of economic inequality as an issue for the political class to address. While populism connotes a grassroots, bottom-up perspective, candidates, group leaders, journalists, commentators, and digital media purveyors provide ideas and arguments that give direction to mass numbers of sympathetic grass-roots activists. David Karol refers to these members of the political class as coalition merchants who assemble individuals and groups into a viable coalition to given them

⁶⁰ Lichtenstein (2016).

direction and purpose.⁶¹ Coalition merchants communicate with each other and to large numbers of individuals who are followers or at least sympathetic toward their ideas and arguments. Populism thus spreads through an interactive process in which political elites—seeking to advance their own position—are sensitive to mass opinion, anticipate it, and then try to shape it in ways that are beneficial to themselves.⁶²

Trump and Sanders used a similar formula to promote themselves and their ideas, though Trump was more successful in this regard. Both used a strategy of speaking directly to voters through social media, with their views endorsed and supported in right wing digital and cable/radio media, and then covered in the traditional national media. Trump used Twitter effectively, steadily growing his number of followers to over 12 million by Election Day.⁶³ Trump's themes and candidacy were promoted on right wing, anti-establishment digital media which have grown considerably in the last decade (e.g., Breitbart.com, The Blaze, The Daily Caller, Chicks on the Right, RedState, and Infowars). Sanders' campaign was similarly supported on left wing digital media (e.g., Adictinginfo, Bipartisan Report, Crooks and Liars, Daily Kos, Forward Progressives, MoveOn, and Talking Points Memo). The candidates' followers and the audiences of digital media outlets in turn shared stories on social media, expanding the reach of these insurgent campaigns. Trump had a greater advantage from the more extensive communications infrastructure on the political right, where leading conservative political commentators like Sean Hannity, Mark Levin, Laura Ingraham, Ben Shapiro, and Ann Coulter promoted Donald Trump and his populist messages. In doing so, they helped shape and

⁶¹ See Karol (2009) and Bawn et al. (2013).

⁶² Skocpol and Williams (2012) argue that political elites and big Republican donors coopted the Tea Party movement in the Republican Party in a similar fashion.

⁶³ https://www.socialbakers.com/statistics/twitter/profiles/detail/25073877-realdonaldtrump

reinforce Trump's populist messaging aimed at millions of angry Republicans and Republicanleaners. Previous populist candidates like George Wallace and Pat Buchanan failed *in part* because they lacked the information and communications structure that supported and expanded the appeal of Sanders and Trump.

What made Trump's approach more potent was his ability to use social media to get traditional media coverage, without subjecting himself to the tougher questions often asked by journalists at national media outlets. Trump's used his celebrity and multi-media exposure to campaign without spending much money on advertising during the caucuses and primaries. Trump received 34% of all news coverage devoted to the top six candidates on eight national news outlets, compared to Bush (18%), Rubio (14%), Carson (14%), Cruz (13%), Kasich (7%).⁶⁴ Trump's coverage in these traditional media also was more positive in tone and remained more positive than negative until he locked up the nomination in May.

All of this suggests that candidates, party groups, and the digital and cable media together form the actors that theories of political parties take into account. A theory of party coalitions needs to take into account the emergence of new groups that seek to influence party nominations and effect the policy portfolio of a party. The UCLA school certainly is ahead of most in this regard, focusing relatively more on the groups and activists in the parties. But, this school has not yet focused enough on how emergent groups gain access and influence party nominations. The school also has not given sufficient attention to candidates who seek change who participates in the nomination process in an effort to advance their own candidacies and policy priorities. Finally, digital and cable media and the amplifying effects of the social media echo

⁶⁴ See Thomas Patterson's (2016) analysis of news coverage of the candidates at http://scholar.harvard.edu/thomaspatterson/home.

chamber is something that we all need to address as a factor. Nomination process matters. Caucuses and primaries enable newly emergent groups to participate. Candidates matter because they can expand the scope of conflict within the party coalitions, draw in new participants, and potentially change the nominating coalitions within the party. The new media environment, if anything, facilitates the efforts of candidates and emergent activists and groups that previously would have had difficulty communicating and coordinating.

Populist candidates and especially partisan voters sympathetic to populist appeals form another potential limit on party stakeholders' ability to coordinate support to advance a candidate who will protect party orthodoxy. Populism represents something different as a challenge to an existing constellation of elites, activists and groups that form a party coalition. Populism, as we will see, rejects the role and guidance of elites that seeks to protect the status quo.

Populist Momentum in the Caucuses and Primaries

The foregoing discussion produces several hypotheses for the two races. First, the basic prediction is that party insider convergence and support would enable Hillary Clinton to prevail in the caucuses and primaries. Bernie Sanders could gain support from left-wing populists in the caucuses and primaries, but he would not be able to overcome the establishment-backed front-runner. Further, if party establishment engagement and convergence on a candidate matter for the nomination, then voting in the caucuses and primaries should not evidence the kind of campaign momentum identified by Aldrich and Larry Bartels.⁶⁵ Instead, Clinton would be expected to maintain her lead even if Sanders won an upset victory or a few such wins in the early caucuses and primaries. Second, the greater divisions among Republican elites and

⁶⁵ John Aldrich (1980) Before the Conventions; Larry Bartels (1988) Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice.

identifiers—along policy preference groupings and the populist v. establishment division, along with the absence of an early front-runner meant that the race was wide open, and that there was a path to the for an outsider candidate in the Republican Party. Given greater party disunity and the absence of a clear, early front-runner, voting outcomes in Republican caucuses should evidence the kind of campaign momentum identified by Aldrich and Bartels.

Figure 5 presents a fourth degree polynomial smoothing of the average of the candidates' vote shares across caucuses and primaries. The figure indicates that the Democratic nomination involved an up-and down dynamic with Sanders and Clinton both winning caucuses and primaries throughout the sequential process. Note that if the lines in Figure 5 are presented as strictly linear, then both Sanders and Clinton would have flat lines with Clinton just above Sanders. What the figure does not show are the relative weights of the states. Clinton won more of the big, populous states that send large numbers of delegates to the convention. Across the caucuses and primaries, Clinton won the nomination with a majority of the overall national vote, with almost a 12% margin over Sanders. Sanders would win a caucus or primary, but could not sustain momentum particularly in convention delegates. But Clinton also could not stop Sanders from winning caucuses or primaries until the very end of the race. What is clear is that the Democratic Party voters did not strongly coalesce around the party establishment choice, Hillary Clinton, and that Sanders continued to draw substantial support throughout the caucuses and primaries. The result suggests a party with voters divided between two candidates. This I argue, is a harbinger of a divided Democratic Party for 2020, in which party insiders will have much greater difficulty unifying behind a front-runner prior to the caucuses and primaries.

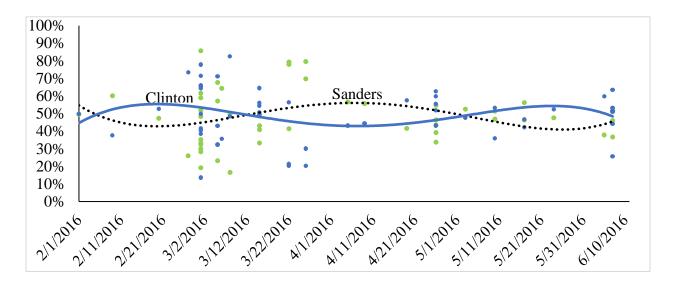
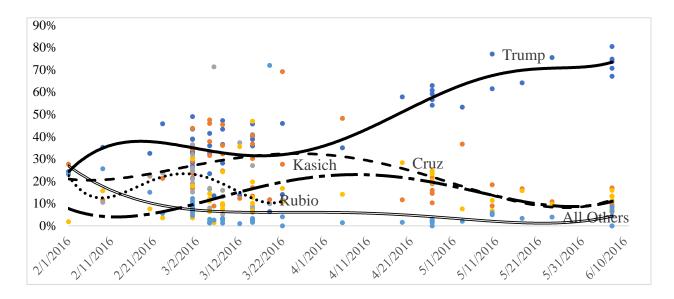
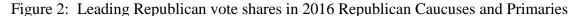


Figure 5: Leading Democratic vote shares in 2016 Republican Caucuses and Primaries

Figure 2 presents the same, fourth degree polynominal smoothing of the candidate vote shares across the Republican caucuses and primaries. The pattern is consistent with a campaign momentum model. None of the candidates began the race close to winning a majority of votes in caucuses and primaries. Rather, numerous candidates divided the caucus and primary vote, with Donald Trump most frequently winning pluralities of the vote. Across the primaries, trailing candidates dropped out of the race and Trump's share of the caucus and primary vote grew until he locked up enough delegates to win the nomination. Across the caucuses and primaries, Trump won the nomination with a 45% plurality of the overall national vote with the margin padded by despite winning relatively large majorities in later states as Republican caucus and primary voters coalesced around Trump and other candidates withdrew from the race.





Divisions in the Republican Party helped Trump by enabling Trump to gain momentum by winning pluralities of the vote in the early states. Recent Republican presidential nominations have had four factions with differing preferences for candidate characteristics and policy—a declining faction of "moderates," a large faction of "somewhat conservatives," and a sizeable faction of "very conservatives" who further divide into religious and secular branches.⁶⁶ Most of the candidates sought, to varying degrees to establish themselves as the preferred candidate of one of these preferential groups. John Kasich was viewed favorably by moderates, but there are too few of them to win a Republican Party nomination. Chris Christie and Rand Paul sought the support of secular conservatives. Carly Fiorina, Ben Carson, and Ted Cruz sought support from religious conservatives, with all three trying to appeal to populist, anti-establishment voters. Rubio offered himself as a candidate with cross-over appeal to these policy preference groups and as the candidate who could appeal to both establishment and anti-establishment Republicans. Alone among Republican candidates, Trump was able to be the first or second choice of

⁶⁶ Olsen and Scala (2016).

Republicans across all four policy preference groups and was the leading choice of antiestablishment Republicans (see below).

Time constraints have limited my ability to analyze Sanders' caucus and primary support so the following section is limited to Trump.

The Sources of Trump Support in the Caucuses and Primaries

The news media often focused on Trump's support from less educated and lower income Republican caucus and primary voters. These factors, however, cannot explain his victory. According to CNN Exit Polls conducted in 28 states, low education voters constituted only 16.8% of the Republican electorate in these states. Trump won 52% of these votes, so these voters made up only less than one-fifth of Trump's overall caucus and primary vote. Trump's The one educational group that did not support Trump as strongly were Republican voters with some kind of post graduate education. Only 30% of these voters supported Trump, which is notable because these voters are least likely to agree with Trump's populist, cultural appeals. Lower income Republicans (household incomes of less than \$50,000) were 29% of voters and they gave Trump 47% of their vote. Republican voters with household incomes between 50,000 and 100,000 gave Trump 42% of their vote, while Republicans with higher incomes gave 41% of their vote to Trump. Overall, Trump drew support of a plurality of all income and education groups, with relatively more of his support coming from lower income and lower education Republicans. Importantly, the differences between income and education categories were not as great as the differences among Republican voters with respect to voter preferences on ideology, issues, candidate characteristics, and most importantly, voter preferences for an antiestablishment candidate versus an experienced candidate.

First, different candidate preferences among the ideological factions identified by Olsen and Scala tell us a lot about why Trump won (see Table 2). Trump was the only candidate to draw the plurality of support across three groups. His nomination rivals generally drew more support from one group while not appealing to voters in other groups. Trump narrowly beat Cruz among very conservative voters, but had more than twice as much support as Cruz among somewhat conservative voters and 3.5 times more support than Cruz among moderate voters. Kasich finished second among moderate voters behind Trump, but Kasich had almost no support from more conservative voters. Rubio won some support from all three groups but was not the preferred or even second-most preferred candidate among any group while he remained in the race. Trump benefitted from a large field of candidates in which his opponents sought to distinguish themselves and become the preferred candidate of a niche of voters. Trump prevailed by attracting enough support from all groups to win. This is the typical pattern in a presidential nomination—the candidate who can draw support across all of the major ideological wings of a party becomes the nominee.

| | Very Conservative | Somewhat Conservative | Moderate |
|--------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Trump | 39% | 46% | 42% |
| Cruz | 38% | 20% | 12% |
| Rubio | 14% | 20% | 20% |
| Kasich | 7% | 13% | 23% |
| Total | 33.6% | 42.6% | 21.4% |

Table 2: Candidate preferences by ideological preference group in 2016 Republican Caucus and Primary Exit Polls

Source: CNN Exit Polls. Note that respondents were constrained to select from four options, and exit polls are from 28 states.

This still leaves the question of why pluralities of Republican voters across the ideological spectrum preferred Trump to the other candidates. According to the ANES Pilot study survey, Republicans viewed Trump as less conservative than themselves. Republican respondents in that survey were basically as conservative as Republicans who supported a candidate other than Trump, but Trump supporters rated Trump substantially more conservative than did Republicans who supported another candidate and closer to the average ideological selfplacement of Republicans. So, one possibility is that all but very conservative Republicans were relatively open to Trump and perceived him as ideologically close to themselves. However, there is little in the Pilot study that suggests that policy ideas—aside from anti-immigration sentiment in thermometer ratings, differentiated Trump from supporters of other candidates. That survey data does show that Trump supporters were somewhat more pessimistic about the economy now compared to the economy a year ago (retrospective evaluations) and somewhat more pessimistic than the average respondent about the economy 12 months from now (prospective evaluations). The differences, however, are not especially noteworthy distinguishing Trump from supporters of other Republican candidates.

The critical factor, it seems, was widespread dissatisfaction with the establishment among Republican caucus and primary voters. In the 28 states in which Exit Polls were conducted, almost 54% of Republican voters preferred a candidate who was "outside the establishment" (See Table 3)." Trump won over 65% of the votes from these anti-establishment Republicans constituting 80% of his support in the caucuses and primaries. None of the other candidates aspiring to be the "outsider" candidate came close to matching Trump's support among these voters. Trump won the support of only 8.3% of the votes from the 40% of Republicans who preferred a candidate with experience in government. Republicans who preferred a candidate with experience divided their support among the other candidates—mainly Kasich, Rubio, and Cruz, but none of these three were able to capture a large enough of a plurality of this bloc of voters to offset Trump's advantage among Republicans preferring an outsider.

Trump won pluralities of support from Republican voters who were dissatisfied or angry with government (Table 3). Most Republican voters in the Exit Polls expressed dissatisfaction or anger with the federal government, so together these categories represented almost 90% of Republican respondents. Trump won a plurality of Republican respondents who were dissatisfied with the federal government, and a majority of those who were angry with government. Trump drew almost no support from the sliver of Republicans who were satisfied with government, the plurality of whom supported John Kasich.

| | Average percent of Respondents Identifying | Average percent of issue respondents voting for Trump |
|--|--|---|
| The next Republican candidate should have experience in government | 40.0% | 8.3% |
| The next Republican candidate should be outside the establishment | 53.6% | 65.1% |
| Feeling about federal government: dissatisfied | 49.3% | 45.6% |
| Feelings about the federal government: angry | 40.3% | 52.9% |

Table 3: Trump drew most of his support from Republicans who preferred a candidate outside the establishment and who were angry with federal government.

Source: CNN Exit Polls. Note that respondents were constrained to select from four options, and exit polls are from 28 states.

Republican voter preferences for candidate characteristics also distinguished Trump from

other candidates in ways that reflect the populist v. establishment divide among Republicans

(See Table 4). Trump's willingness to "telling it like it is" was a substantial advantage for Trump among a segment of Republican voters. Among the 20% of Republican voters who identified this candidate characteristic as most important, 77% voted for Trump. Trump received over 51% of the vote from the 31% of Republican voters who said they wanted someone who could bring change as their most important candidate characteristic. Trump drew much less support from "values voters" who tend to be religious conservatives who prioritize family values and social conservatism. This candidate characteristic identified was identified as the most important by over 34% of Republican caucus and primary voters, and Trump received only 15% of their votes. This was the one category of Republican voters for which Ted Cruz beat Donald Trump. Voters who preferred a candidate "who can win" tended to divide their support among Rubio, Kasich, and Donald Trump in the early nominating elections, but Trump's support grew among these voters as the primary season progressed and Trump's momentum grew.

| | Average percent of Republican Respondents Identifying | Average percent of issue respondents voting for Trump |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Candidate can win | 13.0% | 35.0% |
| Candidate shares my values | 34.5% | 15.2% |
| Candidate tells it like it is | 20.0% | 77.2% |
| Candidate can bring change | 31.2% | 51.6% |

Table 4: Most important candidate characteristic Identified by Respondents in 2016 RepublicanCaucus and Primary Exit Polls

Source: CNN Exit Polls. Note that respondents were constrained to select from four options, and exit polls are from 28 states.

Trump's relative weakness among "values voters" creates a puzzle. Several scholars have found strong evidence that cultural attitudes divide Democrats and Republicans, with most Republicans now having "authoritarian" values and attitudes.⁶⁷ Voters who have authoritarian attitudes or dispositions value uniformity and social order and are deferential to authority. They tend to see the world in black and white terms, good guys against bad guys, and us vs. them distinctions. According to Hetherington and Suhay, authoritarian attitudes are activated by perceptions of threat.⁶⁸ Matthew MacWilliams argued that authoritarian voters fueled Trump's nomination, largely basing his argument Trump's support among voters who identified terrorism as a salient issue.⁶⁹

While authoritarian disposition is a clear differentiator between Democratic and Republican Party identifiers, it may be less potent in shaping the candidate preferences of voters who must select among Republican candidates. When faced with the choice between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, it is very likely that these voters supported Trump far more than Clinton. It is less clear that these voters favored Trump over other Republicans like Ted Cruz who did better among these voters than did Trump.

The exit polls offer additional evidence on this distinction. Terrorism was an important concern to a large number of Republican caucus and primary voters, but not as much as other issues (see Table 4). Across the 28 states with exit polls, 24.2% of respondents in Republican exit polls identified terrorism as the most important problem facing the country (when offered a constrained choice of four issues). More Republican caucus and primary voters identified the economy/jobs (35.2%) and government spending (27.64%) as the most important problem facing the country. Despite the attention given to immigration during the primaries, immigration was

⁶⁷ See Hetherington and Weiler (2009).

⁶⁸ See Hetherington and Suhay (2011).

⁶⁹ MacWilliams (2016) bases his argument on the saliency of terrorist threat.

lower priority to Republican caucus and primary voters, of whom only 10.6% identified immigration as the most important issue.⁷⁰ However, while most Republicans were concerned with issues other issues, Trump supporters were much more concerned with immigration. Trump received an average of 60.7% of the votes of people identifying immigration as the most important issue; 42.5% of those identifying the economy/jobs, 40.4% of those identifying terrorism; and 37.5% of those identifying government spending. Trump's support among Republicans concerned with terrorism was similar to his support from Republicans concerned with the smallest group of voters. Based on voter preferences for candidate characteristics or their issue concerns, it seems more tenuous to argue that authoritarian attitudes were a major source of support for Trump. Authoritarian attitudes may divide Democrats and Republicans but it is less clearly a differentiator between Trump and other Republican candidates.

Trump's main issue appeal was immigration and the ban on Muslim immigration. Across the 28 states with exit polls, Trump had an average of a 37.1% vote advantage over the next closest candidate on immigration. Aside from immigration, voters' issue concerns did not particularly distinguish Trump from the other candidates. Among voters identifying the economy or jobs, Trump had an advantage of only 12.5% of the vote compared to the next highest candidate. Among voters identifying terrorism, Trump had an advantage of over 11.4% over the next candidate. Voters who were most concerned with government spending did not particularly favor Trump over other candidates. Trump had an average advantage of only 4.5% of voters over the next candidate. Trump's support and his advantage over his rivals were greatest on those

⁷⁰ The low percentage of respondents identifying immigration is notable because the news media frequently attributed Trump's strength among Republicans to this issue.

issues most aligned with his populist appeals and lowest on those issues associated with the party establishment.

The one exception to this was Trump's proposal to ban Muslim immigration. Trump's pledge was particularly popular among Republican caucus and primary voters. In the 18 states with exit surveys asking voters if they supported or opposed the ban on Muslim immigration. More than 69% of respondents supported the ban. Over 49% of these Republicans voted for Trump. Concerns about terrorism and threat may be embedded in attitudes toward Muslim immigration. Unfortunately, we cannot say how salient this issue was to Republican voters given the available data. Issue saliency is important because voters who think an issue is important are relatively more influenced by that issue or problem when they evaluate candidates. What we can say is that Trump did better than his rivals on every major issue, and that immigration and the ban on Muslim immigration were probably more important than others for distinguishing Trump from his rivals.

The ANES Pilot study does suggest that identity politics also played a role in preferences for Trump, but the attitudinal differences between Trump supporters and supporters of other Republicans is generally fairly small. A lot has been made of observations that Trump supporters were strongly opposed to Hispanics and Muslims in particular. But Trump supporters rated Blacks, Hispanics, and Muslims only slightly more coolly than did Republicans generally. However, these differences are somewhat more pronounced when comparing Trump supporters to the ratings of Republicans who supported other leading Republican candidates (see Table 4). Trump supporters rated whites more favorably than did supporters of other candidates, while being less favorable to Hispanics and Muslims. While the differences are not substantial, they do suggest that Trump's supporters were somewhat more aligned with what could be called "white identity politics." It might be worth noting, however, that Chris Christie's and Carly Fiorina's supporters rated Blacks lower than Trump and Christie's supporters rated Hispanics lower than Trump. Trump's supporters were the most cool toward Muslims of any of the Republican candidates. Overall, Trump's supporters were consistently the least favorable or among the least favorable across racial, ethnic, and muslim groups. It is worth noting that Cruz, the candidate most preferred by values voters, were cooler toward transgender and feminists than were Trump supporters, so **a** distinguishing feature of Trump's supporters seems to be race and ethnicity along with Muslims. Trump supporters were also more likely to respond that being American and their race were important to their identity (see Table 6). The importance of racial identity was among the most distinguishing characteristics between Republican identifiers and leaders supporting Trump and those supporting another Republican candidate.

| | All Republicans | Trump supporters | Cruz supporters | Rubio supporters | Kasich supporters |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Blacks | 61.3 | 60.2 | 61.6 | 65.1 | 61.8 |
| Whites | 73.7 | 77.1 | 73.1 | 71.4 | 68.9 |
| Hispanics | 61.3 | 56.2 | 64.7 | 68.9 | 69.8 |
| Muslims | 32.0 | 26.3 | 34.7 | 40.8 | 53.0 |
| Gays & Lesbians | 45.4 | 42.7 | 44.7 | 48.9 | 63.7 |
| Transgender | 36.2 | 34.3 | 32.2 | 38.1 | 50.8 |
| Feminists | 34.8 | 35.4 | 31.5 | 34.5 | 36.6 |

Table 5: Mean thermometer ratings of Republicans generally and supporters of Trump, Cruz, Rubio and Kasich

Source: ANES Pilot Study

| | Average response of other Republican supporters | Average response of Trump Supporters |
|--|--|---|
| Being American is important to your identity (1 = extremely important, 5 = not important at all) | 1.76 n=126 | 1.42 n=93 |
| Your race is important to your identity (1 = extremely important, 5 = not important at all) | 3.36 n=126 | 2.35 n = 93 |

Table 6: Comparing responses of Trump supporters and Republicans on questions of identity

Source: ANES Pilot

Given these pieces of evidence consistent with an identity politics appeal, the question is whether such sentiments also involved a sense of oppression and victimization. Fortunately, the ANES Pilot survey for the primaries include a couple questions on race and identity, though none dealing with Christianity or guns (see Table 7). On the question, "Compared to other groups, white people generally have an advantage (1) to disadvantage (7), Republican identifiers and leaners offered an average response of 3.71 indicating recognition of a slight advantage. The average response of Trump supporters, in contrast, was 4.07 or a sliver toward the disadvantage side of the scale. On the question, whether Federal government treats whites or blacks better, the average Republican response of 4.67 indicates that Republicans leaned toward viewing blacks as being treated better. The average response of Trump supporters was 4.77 on a 7.0 scale, indicating slightly more agreement that blacks are treated better. The question asking the likelihood that, "Many whites are unable to find a job because employers are hiring minorities," generated an average response of 3.12 for Republicans indicating a moderately likely and 2.78 for Trump supporters indicating somewhere between moderately likely (3.0) and very likely (2.0). Though the differences are not large, Trump supporters consistently viewed blacks and minorities as slightly more advantaged and whites disadvantaged compared to other Republicans

(who generally saw neutrality to slight advantage for blacks and minorities). These particular questions are useful as well because they indicate that white identity concerns are linked to some extent with economic concerns.

| | Average response of Republicans | Average response of Trump Supporters |
|--|------------------------------------|---|
| Compared to other groups, white people generally have an advantage/disadvantage (1=large adv., 7 = large disadv.) | 3.4 n=65 | 4.07 n=50 |
| Federal government treats white/black better (1=whites better, 4 = same, 7 = blacks better) | 4.59 n=126 | 4.77 n=93 |
| Likelihood – Many whites are unable to find a job because employers are hiring minorities (1 = extremely likely 5 = not likely) | 3.41 / 5.0 n=105 | 2.78 / 5.0 n= 88 |

Table 7: Comparing responses of Trump supporters and Republicans on questions of racial discrimination/victimization.

Source: CNN Exit Polls. Note that respondents were constrained to select from four options, and exit polls are from 28 states.

In terms of economics, there is more work to be done. The evidence from the ANES Pilot study indicates that there was not a great deal of difference between Trump supporters and the supporters of other Republican candidates with a couple of exceptions. First, both Trump supporters and those supporting other candidates were somewhat pessimistic about the economy in their retrospective and prospective evaluations (see Table 8). Trump supporters were slightly more pessimistic, but not that much so to explain differences in support. Both Trump supporters of other Republican candidates were neutral to slightly negative about the ability to improve their financial well-being or move up the income ladder. Trump supporters were somewhat more negative about opportunity in America for the "average person" to get ahead, than were supporters of other candidates. Trump supporters were also slightly more opposed to free trade agreements than were supporters of other Republican candidates, though they were essentially neutral on free trade agreements. So, this set of survey data does not suggest that economic perceptions and perceptions about economic mobility play a big role differentiating Republican support for Trump versus other candidates.

| | Average response of supporters of other Republican | Average response of Trump Supporters |
|---|--|---|
| Economy now compared to one year | 3.61 | 3.69 |
| ago $(1 = $ much better, $5 = $ much worse $)$ | n=126 | n=93 |
| Economy 12 months from now | 3.33 | 3.41 |
| compared to now (1 = much better, 5 = much worse) | n=126 | n = 93 |
| People's ability to improve their | 4.46 | 4.46 |
| financial well-being is now $(1 = \text{great} \text{deal easier}, 7 = \text{great deal harder})$ | n=126 | n=93 |
| Move up the income ladder $(1 = \text{great})$ | 4.28 | 4.31 |
| deal easier, $7 =$ great deal harder | n=126 | n=93 |
| Opportunity in American today for the | 3.07 | 2.80 |
| average person to get ahead $(1 = none, 5 = great deal)$ | n=126 | n=93 |
| Favor/Oppose the US making free | 3.75 | 4.00 |
| trade agreements with other countries $(1 = \text{favor a great deal}, 7 = \text{oppose a great deal})$ | n=126 | n=93 |

 Table 8: Comparing responses of Trump supporters and Republicans on questions of economic conditions and economic mobility

Source: ANES Pilot

Overall, the evidence from the exit polls indicate that Trump's support came mainly from voters who expressed a preference for a candidate from "outside the establishment," who

preferred a candidate who would bring change, who "tells it like it is," and who were concerned with jobs and the economy or unauthorized/illegal immigration. Trump ran the weakest among voters who preferred a candidate with experience, "values voters," and voters concerned most with government spending—voters most often associated with the Republican establishment and Republican Party policy orthodoxy. All of these bits of evidence lend support to the hypothesis that Trump's nomination victory was one of populism over traditional Republican orthodoxy.

Concluding Thoughts

Trump won the Republican Party nomination by running as a populist candidate who challenged the party establishment and offering change. He ran an unorthodox campaign, communicating with voters directly through social media offering messages that were reinforced by right wing, conservative media, and covered with minimal scrutiny by mainstream media. Far more than any other Republican candidate, Trump capitalized on anti-establishment sentiment among Republican Party identifiers and leaners with his rhetoric, style, and policy positions that deviating substantially from Republican Party policy orthodoxy—though noting his policy positions seem to have the least relation to his support outside of immigration and the ban on Muslim immigration.

Republican Party elites were unable to stop Trump. They were generally disengaged from the process and failed to converge on a candidate. Republican elites have a divided party and they lacked a traditional candidate that had popular support heading into the invisible primary. They faced an angry party electorate and they could not agree on an alternative to Trump. Trump was able to draw support from across the ideological factions of the Republican Party groups to gain a plurality of support in the caucuses and primaries. He gained momentum during the caucuses and primaries while his opponents divided the votes of party identifiers who preferred a more experienced candidate and traditional Republican Party policies.

We do not yet know if the 2016 elections signal a deviation from the normal party politics in the United States or something more enduring. The temptation is to say that Donald Trump was an aberration and that the Republican Party will return to normalcy after the election. Donald Trump is an opportunistic political entrepreneur. He recognized and took advantage of a deeply discontented, but substantial, segment of the Republican Party electorate. Trump consistently outperformed skeptics who did not think he would win the election.

Trump's ability to deliver on his populist agenda will be constrained by constitutional limits to presidential power, but that argument largely rests on James Madison's dictum that ambition checks ambition. Trump has majorities in the House and Senate, but the Republican congressional delegation consists mainly of legislators whose philosophical ideologies conflict with Trump's populist appeals. Few share Trump's economic nationalist views. It is Trump's more traditional Republican policy goals—cutting taxes and reducing regulations, that have the most support among Republicans in Congress. Other policies like rebuilding the nation's infrastructure, and renegotiating trade agreements like NAFTA are going to run into considerable opposition from Republicans. Republican leaders in Congress are eager to "reform" Social Security and devolve authority for Medicare and Medicaid to the states, which Trump pledged to protect, at least for "deserving" people. Much will depend on who prevails in these disagreements. How well (or poorly) the resulting policies are received by the millions of disaffected partisans will have a lot to do with how enduring Trump's populist redefinition of the Republican Party will be.

References

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. Why Nations Fail? New York: Crown Business.

- Adkins, Randall E., Andrew J. Dowdle, Greg Petrow, and Wayne Steger. "Progressive Ambition, Opportunism, and the Presidency, 1972—2012," paper for the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 2015.
- Aldrich, John. 1980. Before the Convention: Strategies and Choices in Presidential Nominations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, Christopher L. 2013. Which Party Elites Choose to Lead the Nomination Process, *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (1): 61-76.
- Azaria, Julie. 2016. "A for Effort: Republican Elites Tried to Coordinate but Never Quite Got There." May 19. <u>http://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-</u>

faction/2016/5/19/11712612/republican-elites-coordination.

- Bartels, Larry. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bawn, Kathleen, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. "A Theory of Parties: Groups, Policy Demanders and Nominations in American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*. 2012. 10 (3): 571–597.
- Bolsen, Toby, James N. Druckman, and Fay Lomax Cook. "The Influence of Partisan Motivated Reasoning on Public Opinion." *Political Behavior*, 2014. 36 (2): 236–262.
- Butler, Richard. L. 2004. *Claiming the Mantle: How Presidential Nominations are Won and Lost Before the Votes are Cast.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Canovan, Margaret. 1999. "Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy," *Political Studies*, 47: 2-16.

- Carmines, Edward G., Michael J. Ensley, and Michael W. Wagner, 2016. "Ideological Heterogeneity and the Rise of Donald Trump." *The Forum*, 14 (4): 385-397.
- Ceaser, James W. Presidential Selection: Theory and Development. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. "Party Versus Faction in the Reformed Presidential Nominating System," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 2016. 49 (4): 701– 8.
- Dowdle, Andrew J., Randall E Adkins, Karen Sebold, Jarred Cuellar, 2016, "Forecasting Presidential nominations in 2016: #WePredictedClintonANDTrump," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 2016. 49 (4): 691-695.
- Gastil, John, Don Braham, Dan Kahan, and Paul Slovic. "The Cultural Orientation of Mass Political Opinion," *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 2011. 44 (3): 711–14.
- Gidron, Noam and Bart Bonikowski. "Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, 2013. Working Paper, No. 13– 0004.
- Hacker, Jacob S., and Paul Pierson. 2017. *American Amnesia: How the War on Government led us to Forget What Made America Prosperous*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Herrera, Richard. "The Crosswinds of Change: Sources of Change in the Democratic and Republican Parties," *Political Research Quarterly*, 1995. 48 (2): 291–312,
- Hetherington, Marc J., and Jonathan D. Weiler. *Authoritarianism and Political Polarization in America*. Cambridge University Press. 2009.

- Hetherington, Marc J., and Elizabeth Suhay. "Authoritarianism, Threat, and Americans' Support for the War on Terror." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2011. 55 (3): 546–560.
- Inglehart, Ronald F., and Pippa Norris. "Trump, Brexit, and the rise of Populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the APSA, Philadelphia, September, 2016.
- Karol, David. *Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- MacWilliams, Matthew C. Who Decides When the Party Doesn't? Authoritarian Voters and the Rise of Donald Trump," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 2016. 49 (4): 716–21.
- Manza, Jeffrey, and Ned Crowley. 2017. "Working Class Hero? Interrogating the Social Bases of the Rise of Donald Trump," *The Forum*. 15 (1): 3-28.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. The Populist Zeitgeist," Government & Opposition, 39: 541-63.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, Cas, and Cristobal R. Kaltwasser. 2012. Populism and (Liberal) Democracy: a Framework for Analysis," in *Populism in Europe and the Americas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-26.
- Noel, Hans. 2016a. "Why Can't the GOP Stop Trump." New York Times, March 1.
- Noel, Hans. 2016b. "Ideological Factions in the Democratic and Republican Parties." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 667: 166-188.
- Norrander, Barbara. 2006. The Attrition Game: Initial Resources, Initial Contests and the Exit of Candidates During the US Presidential Primary Season. *British Journal of Political Science* 36: 487-507.

- Norris, Pippa. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Olsen, Henry, and Dante J. Scala. *The Four Faces of the Republican Party and the Fight for the* 2016 Presidential Nomination. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Polanyi, Karl. 1944 (2001). *The Great Transformation: the Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Polsby, Nelson W. Consequences of Party Reform, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Riker, William H. The Art of Political Manipulation, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

- Rothwell, Jonathan T., and Pablo Diego-Rosell. "Explaining nationalist political views: The case of Donald Trump," working paper. <u>http://pelg.ucsd.edu/2.rothwell_2016.pdf</u>, 2016.
- Ryan, Josh M. "Is the Democratic Party's Superdelegate System Unfair to Voters?" *Electoral Studies*, 2011. 30: 756–70.
- Sharot, Tali, Christoph Korn, and Raymond J. Dolan. "How Unrealistic Optimism is Maintained in the Face of Reality," *Nature Neuroscience*, 2011. 14 (11): 1475–81.
- Sheffield, Matthew. 2016. "The Party Can No Longer Decide." March 10. http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/the-party-can-no-longer-decide/
- Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Skowronek, Stephen. The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1993.
- Steger, Wayne P. "A Quarter Century of Network News Coverage of Candidates in Presidential Nomination Campaigns," *Journal of Political Marketing*, 2002. 1 (1): 91–116.

- Steger, Wayne P. "Two Paradigms of Presidential Nominations." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2013. 43 (2): 377–87.
- Steger, Wayne P. 2015. A Citizen's Guide to Presidential Nominations: the Competition for Leadership. New York: Routledge Press.
- Steger, Wayne P. 2016. "Conditional Arbiters: The Limits of Political Party Influence in Presidential Nominations," PS: Political Science & Politics, 49 (4): 709–15.
- Steger, Wayne P. 2017. "Populist challenges in the 2016 presidential nominations," in *The 2016 Presidential Elections: The Causes and Consequences of a Political Earthquake*, Amnon Cavari, Richard Powell, and Kenneth R. Mayer, (eds.), Lexington, 2017, pp. 23-42.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2012. The Price of Inequality. New York: W.W. Norton.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2015. Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy. New York: W.W. Norton.

Whitby, Kenny J. Strategic Decision Making in Presidential Nominations: When and Why Party Elites Decide to Support a Candidate. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.