

The Invisible Primary



January 7, 2021

POL 106: The Presidency

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Winter Quarter, 2021



Outline

1. In the News
2. The Invisible Primary
3. The Party Decides?
4. The 2008 Democratic Primary
5. The 2016 Republican Primary

In the News

What Happened Yesterday?

- Trump supporters stormed Congress and several state capitols around the country
- Why? They believe that Biden stole the election
- Why yesterday? Congress was certifying the election results
- After Congress was cleared, Congress certified Joe Biden the winner of the election







How Should We Think About It?

- What occurred was a coordinated insurrection
- In political science we would not *technically* call it a coup, despite President Trump's role in inciting the uprising
- A coup implies the participation of the military in overthrowing the government
- Though the law enforcement response to the insurrection was lacking, the military did not support it

How Should We Think About It?

- There are a lot of unanswered questions
- Why wasn't law enforcement ready and able to stop them?
- Why were there so few arrests?
 - 52 arrested as well as two journalists
- By contrast, hundreds were arrested at the peaceful protests against the Kavanaugh confirmation

What's Next?

- President-elect Biden will be sworn in January 20th
- VP Pence could invoke the 25th Amendment to remove Trump from office
 - Would require a majority of the cabinet's support
- Congress could also impeach him
 - This is the only route that would prevent him from running in 2024
- The most likely outcome is Congress will do nothing

25th Amendment Seems Unlikely

Pence is said to oppose invoking 25th Amendment to strip Trump of his duties.




2 hours ago

By Maggie Haberman

Impeachment Was Proposed



Ilhan Omar  @IlhanMN · 7h

...

I am drawing up Articles of Impeachment.

Donald J. Trump should be impeached by the House of Representatives & removed from office by the United States Senate.

We can't allow him to remain in office, it's a matter of preserving our Republic and we need to fulfill our oath.



28.9K



165.6K



761.1K



Some Republicans Are Trying to Deflect



Matt Berman ✓

@Mr_Berman

...

Matt Gaetz is on the House floor now blaming antifa for the riots on the Capitol, to applause. Just in case there was question about today fundamentally changing things for House Republicans.

7:20 PM · Jan 6, 2021 · TweetDeck

6.2K Retweets **592** Quote Tweets **24K** Likes

But Even Some Democrats Are Hesitant



Sophia Schmidt
@tough_schmidt_

...

I just asked Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.) about this:

"The idea of taking the time to try to impeach him, the idea of trying to expel members of the House of Senate for their efforts to protect the President and continue this fiction ... I just think we need to turn the page."



NPR Politics ✓ @nprpolitics · 5h

Democratic Rep. Ilhan Omar says she is drafting new articles of impeachment against President Trump, and several Democratic lawmakers said they support impeaching Trump again after today's insurrection carried out by Trump supporters. trib.al/yEIXPAA

3:26 PM · Jan 6, 2021 · Twitter Web App

Today, House Dems Adjourned



Chad Pergram 
@ChadPergram



Hoyer announces no sessions of the House until after the inauguration.

5:18 AM · Jan 7, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone

137 Retweets **29** Quote Tweets **216** Likes

And So Did the Senate GOP

The Senate has adjourned until Tuesday, January 19, 2021 other than for pro forma sessions on the following dates during which no business shall be conducted:

- Friday, January 8 at 10:00am.
- Tuesday, January 12 at 12:30pm.
- Friday, January 15 at 10:00am.

Tuesday, January 19, 2020

- The Senate will convene at 12:00pm and be in a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

Some House Dems Pushed Back



Ilhan Omar ✓

@IlhanMN

...

Please call the House to order and let's get it done.
Today. Right now.

The world is watching and waiting for us to act.



Nancy Pelosi ✓ @TeamPelosi · 1h

Trump is deadly to our democracy and our people. He needs to go now.

And Dem Leaders Are Shifting

Pelosi to Pence: Remove Trump or Democrats will impeach him – again

'This is an emergency of the highest magnitude,' speaker says of Trump's final 13 days

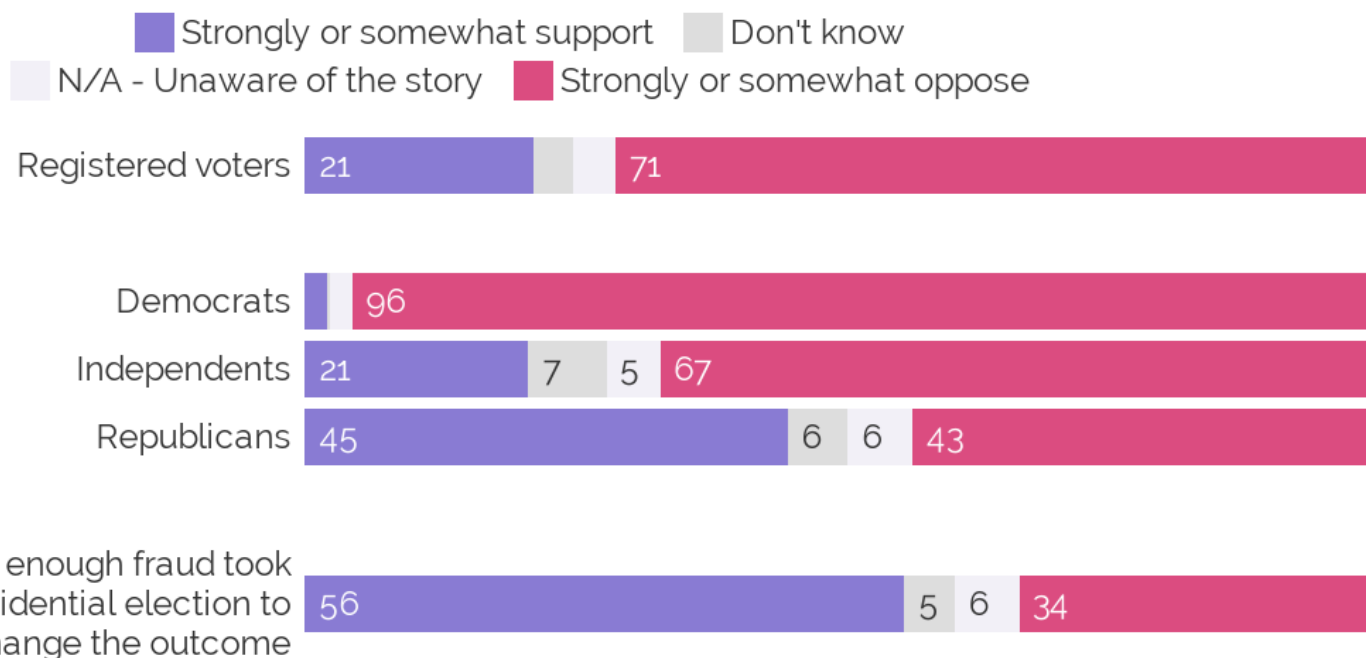
Griffin Connolly Washington | 6 minutes ago



Remember What I Said About Partisanship on Tuesday?

One in five voters - including 45% of Republicans - approve of the storming of the Capitol building

Supporters of President Trump have stormed the US Capitol to protest lawmakers certifying Joe Biden's election victory. Based on what you have read or heard about this, do you support or oppose these actions? (%)



The Invisible Primary

The Invisible Primary

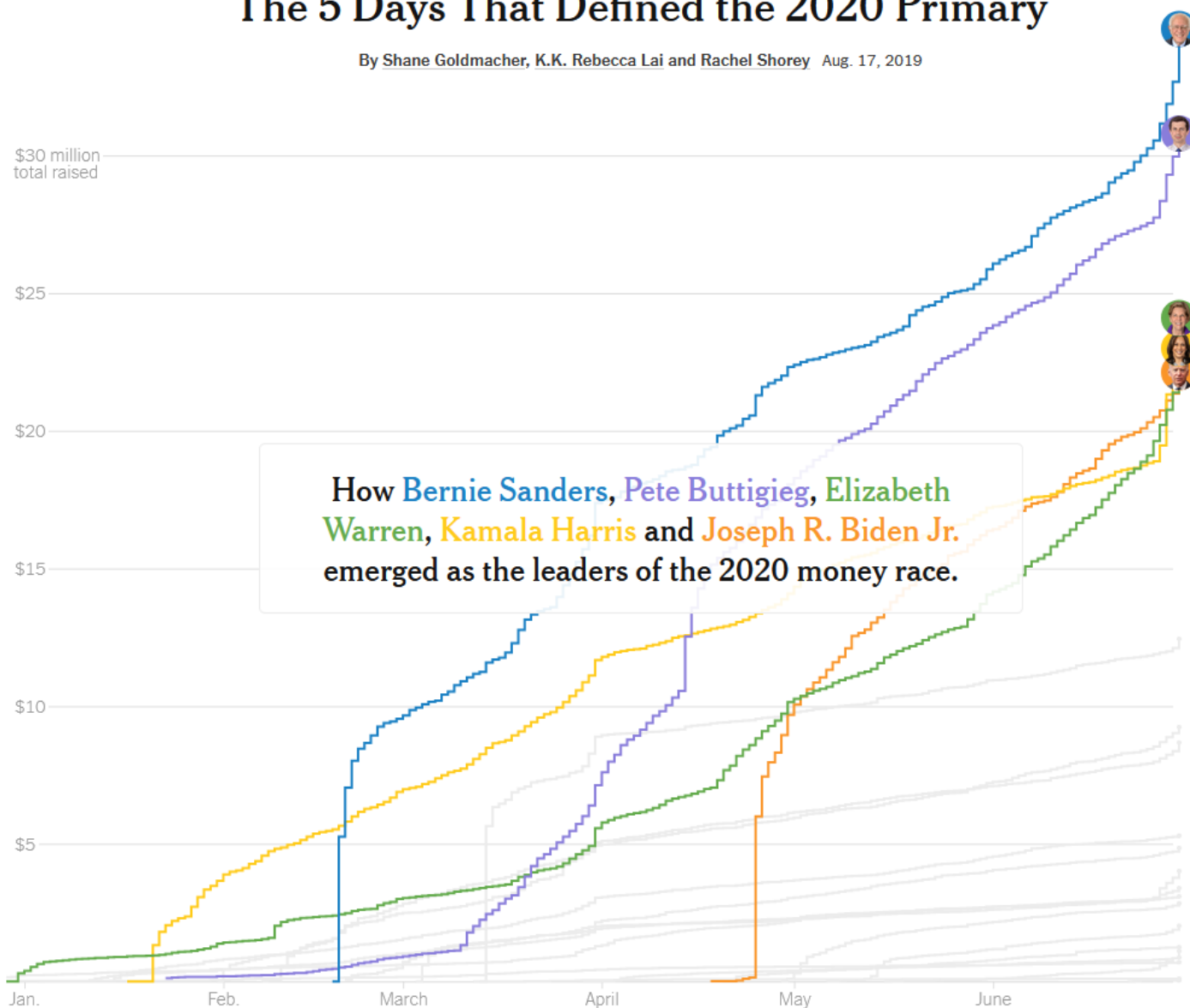
- This is an unofficial part of the presidential candidate nominating process that starts long *before* voting begins
- This process determines which candidates are “viable” and which will likely fizzle out
- In order to compete in the invisible primary, candidates must win over:
 - Members of Congress
 - Party activists
 - Donors
 - Party elites
 - Media figures

The Invisible Primary Is Increasingly Important

- Primary campaigns are *expensive*
- The primary calendar is *front-loaded*

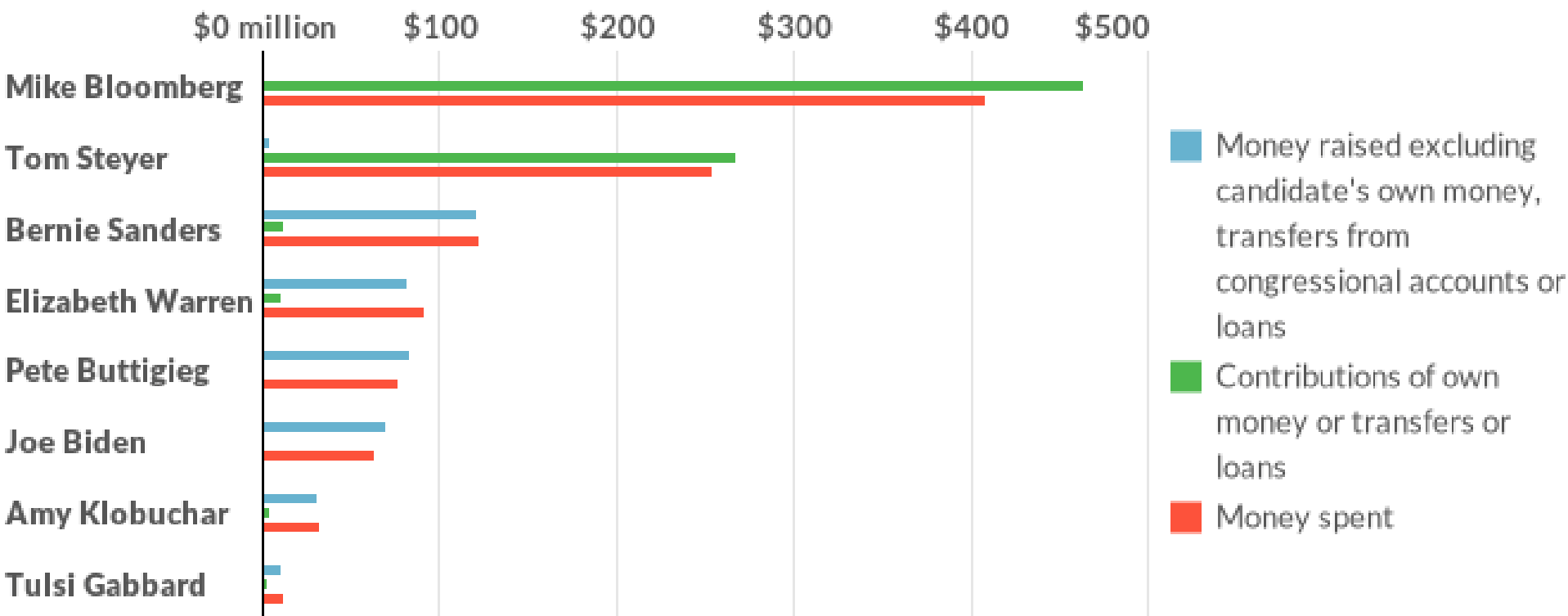
The 5 Days That Defined the 2020 Primary

By Shane Goldmacher, K.K. Rebecca Lai and Rachel Shorey Aug. 17, 2019



2020 Democrats' spending and fundraising

Among the eight contenders, self-funded billionaire Bloomberg has spent the most by far, while Sanders has raised the most money from supporters

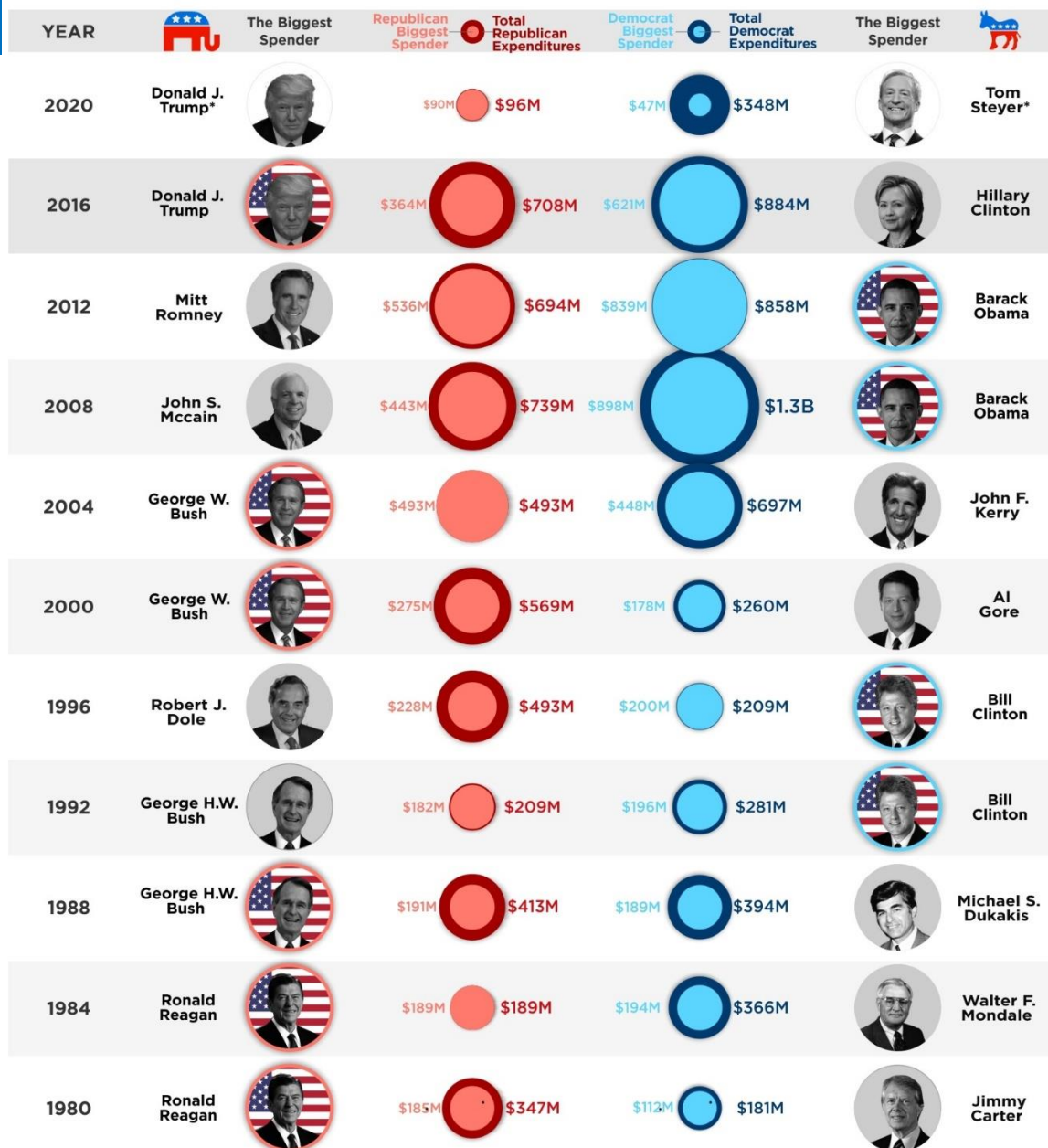


Source: Federal Election Commission filings for Jan. 1, 2017, to Jan. 31, 2020

This doesn't even include PAC spending!

How Much U.S. Presidents Spent on Campaign

Total Campaign Expenditure by Party & Biggest Spender (In 2019 \$)



* 2020 Data as of 11/21/2019

Article & Sources:

<https://howmuch.net/articles/how-much-us-presidents-spent-campaign>

Federal Election Commission - <https://fec.gov>

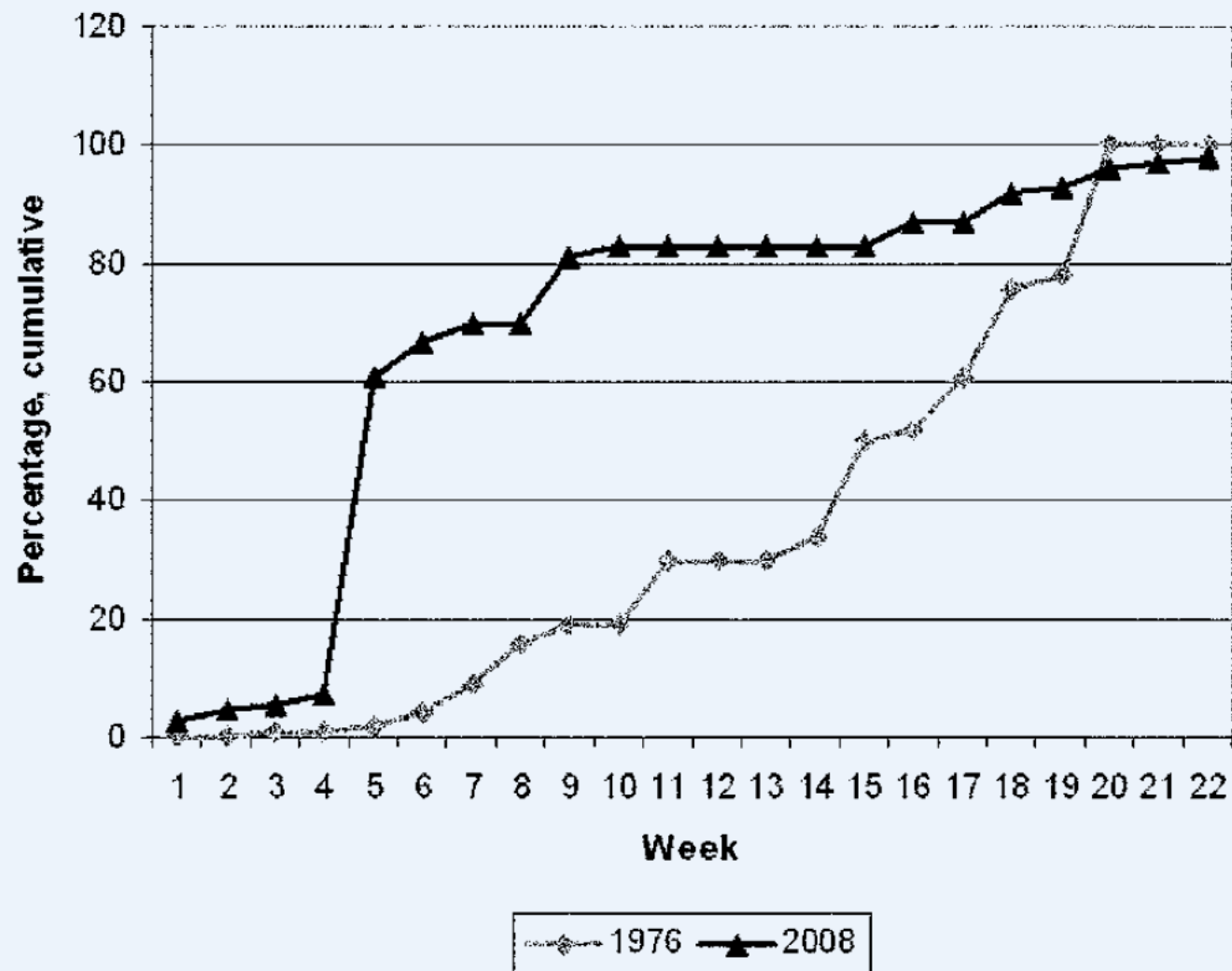
Bureau of Labor Statistics - <https://bls.gov>

The Consequences of an Expensive Primary

- Why is the campaign more expensive?
 - Candidates spend a lot of money on *paid media*
 - Primary candidates increasingly have professional campaign organizations
- Candidates must spend a LOT of time fundraising
 - Unless they are independently wealthy!
 - For most candidates, this means lots (and LOTS) of fundraisers and courting interest groups
- Time spent fundraising is time off the campaign trail!
 - This highly incentivizes big fundraising *before* the campaign starts
 - Helped Clinton (1992), Dole (1996), Gore (2000), Bush (2000), Kerry (2004), Clinton (2016)

Figure 1

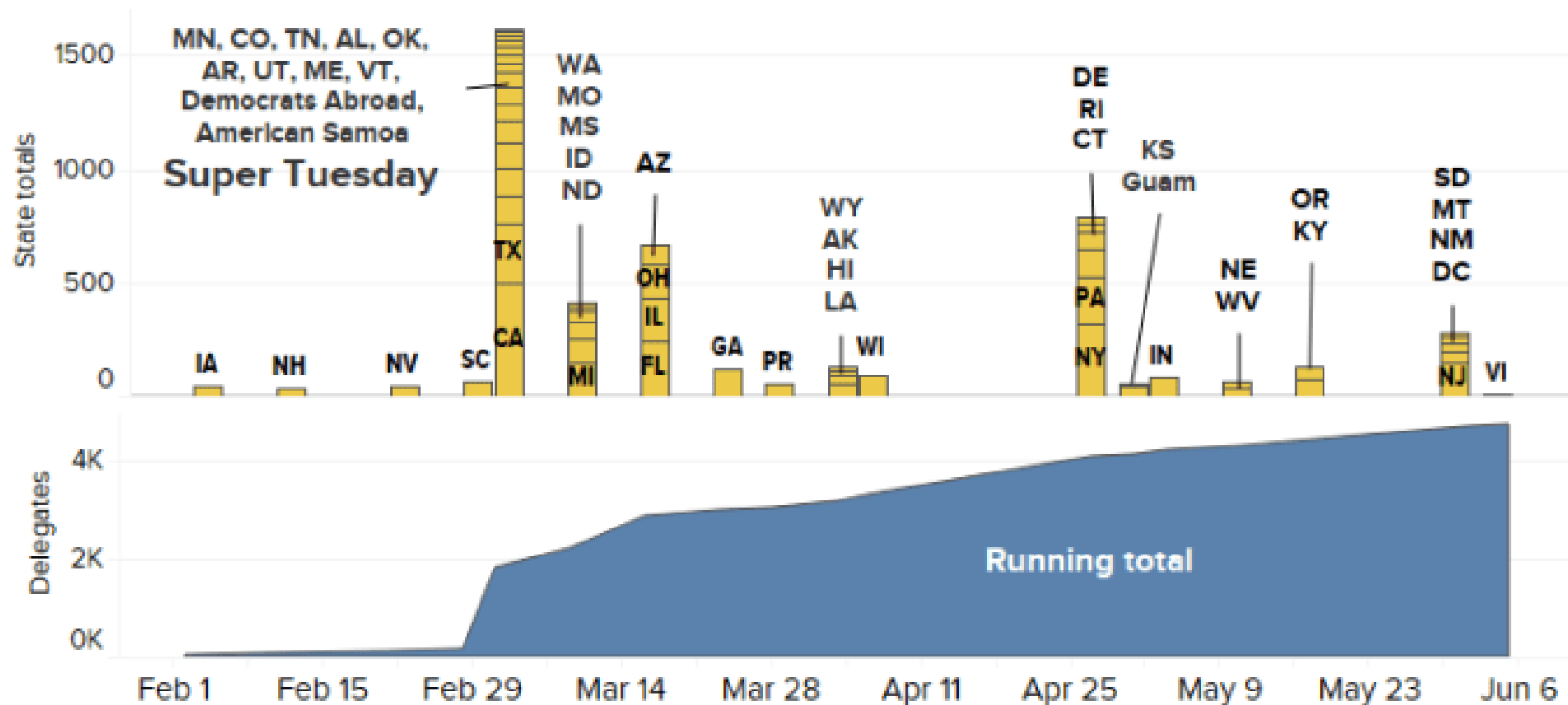
Delegates Awarded by Week, 1976, 2008



Source:
Aldrich, John (2009)

2020 Is Even More Frontloaded

Democratic primary calendar



The Consequences of a Frontloaded Primary

- Why is the campaign more frontloaded?
 - State parties want to influence the nomination
 - State parties want national attention from candidates
 - After Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina, 16 states/territories go on the earliest possible date: Super Tuesday
- Why does this matter?
 - The campaign matters *less*. Early wins often set a narrative
 - A candidate who sweeps Super Tuesday generally has a big lead and goes on to win the nomination.
 - True in: 2016 (D, R), 2012 (R), 2008 (R), 2004 (D)
 - *Not* true in: 2008 (D)

The Party Decides?

The Party Decides

- *The Party Decides* is a 2008 book by four political scientists
- The central argument is that American parties are *strong*, and thus able to ensure nominations in line with the interests of party actors
- Who composes a party, per *The Party Decides*?
 - Politicians
 - Activists
 - Interest groups
 - Donors
- NOT just “the establishment”

Parties Form a “Long Coalition”

Democratic Coalition:
Environmental Groups + Labor + Minorities



Republican Coalition:
Business + Christian Right + Defense Est.

- What kinds of issues might cause groups to defect from one coalition to another?
 - Can we think of historical examples?
- Why might it be worth it for a group to remain in a coalition despite tensions with other groups?

Party Actors

- Elected officials and party operatives are definitely “the party”...
- ... but so are interest groups, media organizations, organizers, etc.
- Party nominees for decades have *usually* been broadly acceptable to party actors
- What do parties care about?
 - Winning elections (“electability”)
 - Passing policy they prefer (“ideological fit”)

Party Goals in a Nominee

- What do parties look for in a nominee?
- Fundraising capacity
- Evidence of ability to campaign
- Existing relationships with party actors
 - Hence the general preference for “insiders” over “insurgents”
- Existing popularity with voters
- Ideological preferences in line with party actors

Electability Does Not Equal Moderation!

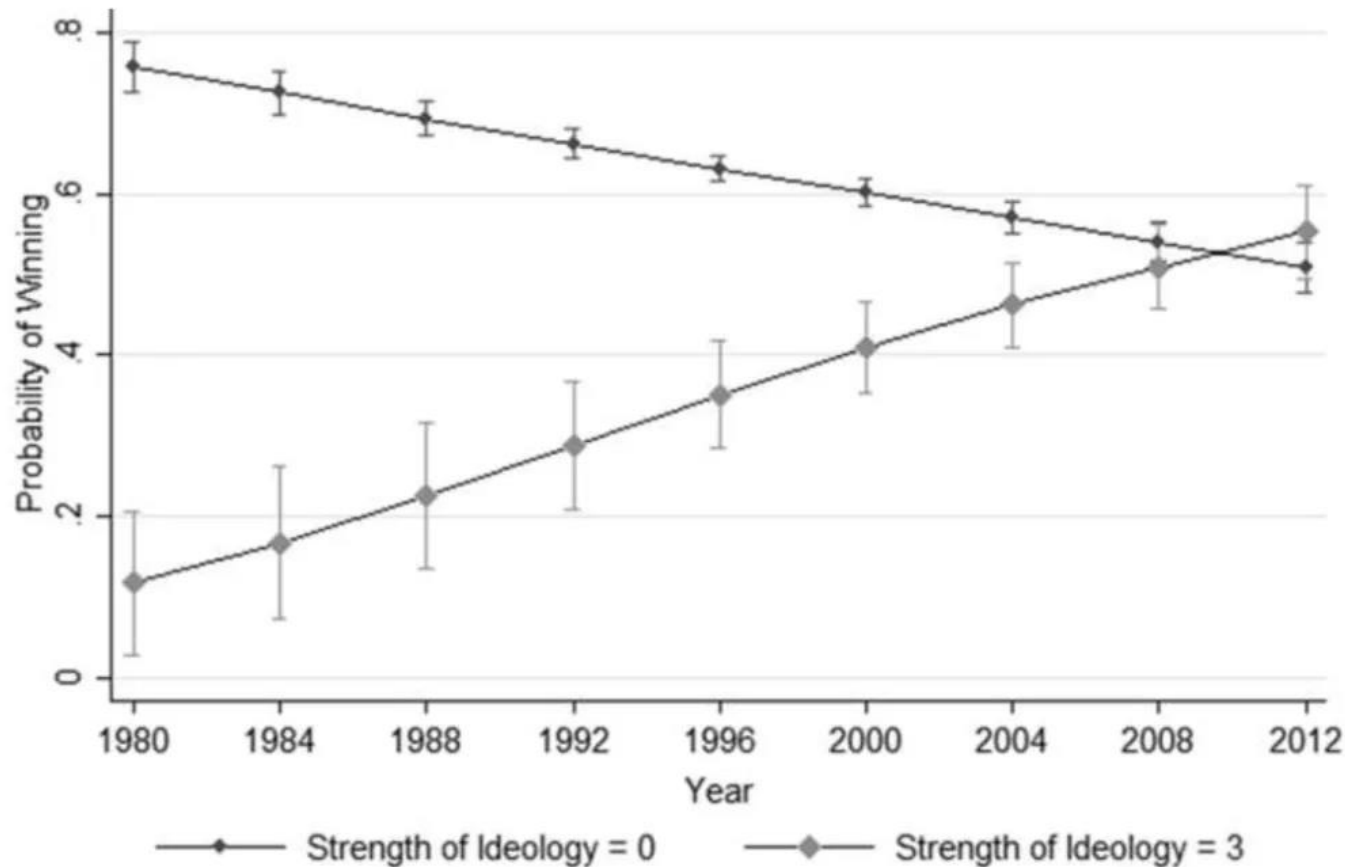











Figure 1. Ideology and electability, 1980–2012

The Evidence

- *Endorsements* are a good measure of party support for candidates
- If the authors are right, and American parties are strong, candidates with big endorsement leads should be more likely to win nominations
- EXPLORE: <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2016-endorsement-primary/>

Examples For:


- 2016 (D):

CANDIDATE	REPRESENTATIVES 1 POINT EACH	SENATORS 5 POINTS EACH	GOVERNORS 10 POINTS EACH	TOTAL POINTS
 Hillary Clinton				 523
 Bernie Sanders				 13

- 2012 (R):

Candidate	Endorsement by:			Total
	Governor	Senate	House	
Jon Huntsman Jr. (withdrawn)	0	0	1	1
Tim Pawlenty (withdrawn)	0	0	2	2
Ron Paul	0	0	3	3
Rick Santorum (withdrawn)	0	0	6	6
Rick Perry (withdrawn)	1	1	9	11
Newt Gingrich (withdrawn)	1	0	11	12
Mitt Romney	19	28	85	132

2016: An Example Against

CANDIDATE	REPRESENTATIVES 1 POINT EACH	SENATORS 5 POINTS EACH	GOVERNORS 10 POINTS EACH	TOTAL POINTS
 Donald Trump	•	...	● 46
Marco Rubio	● 139
Ted Cruz	● 114
John Kasich	● 48
Chris Christie	● 26
Jeb Bush		● 23

When the party got its way — and when it didn't

Nomination contest	Party favorite	Outcome
1972 Democrats	Muskie	L
1976 Democrats	No favorite	L
1976 Republicans	Ford	W
1980 Republicans	Reagan	W
1980 Democrats	Carter	W
1984 Democrats	Mondale	W
1988 Republicans	Bush	W
1988 Democrats	No clear favorite	L
1992 Democrats	Clinton	W
1996 Republicans	Dole	W
2000 Republicans	Bush	W
2000 Democrats	Gore	W
2004 Democrats	No clear favorite	L
2008 Democrats	No clear favorite	L
2008 Republicans	No clear favorite	L
2012 Republicans	Romney*	W

* The Party Decides' data wasn't updated for 2012, but Romney was the leader in other tallies of endorsements.

Source: Table 10.1 from The Party Decides, updated with newer cases

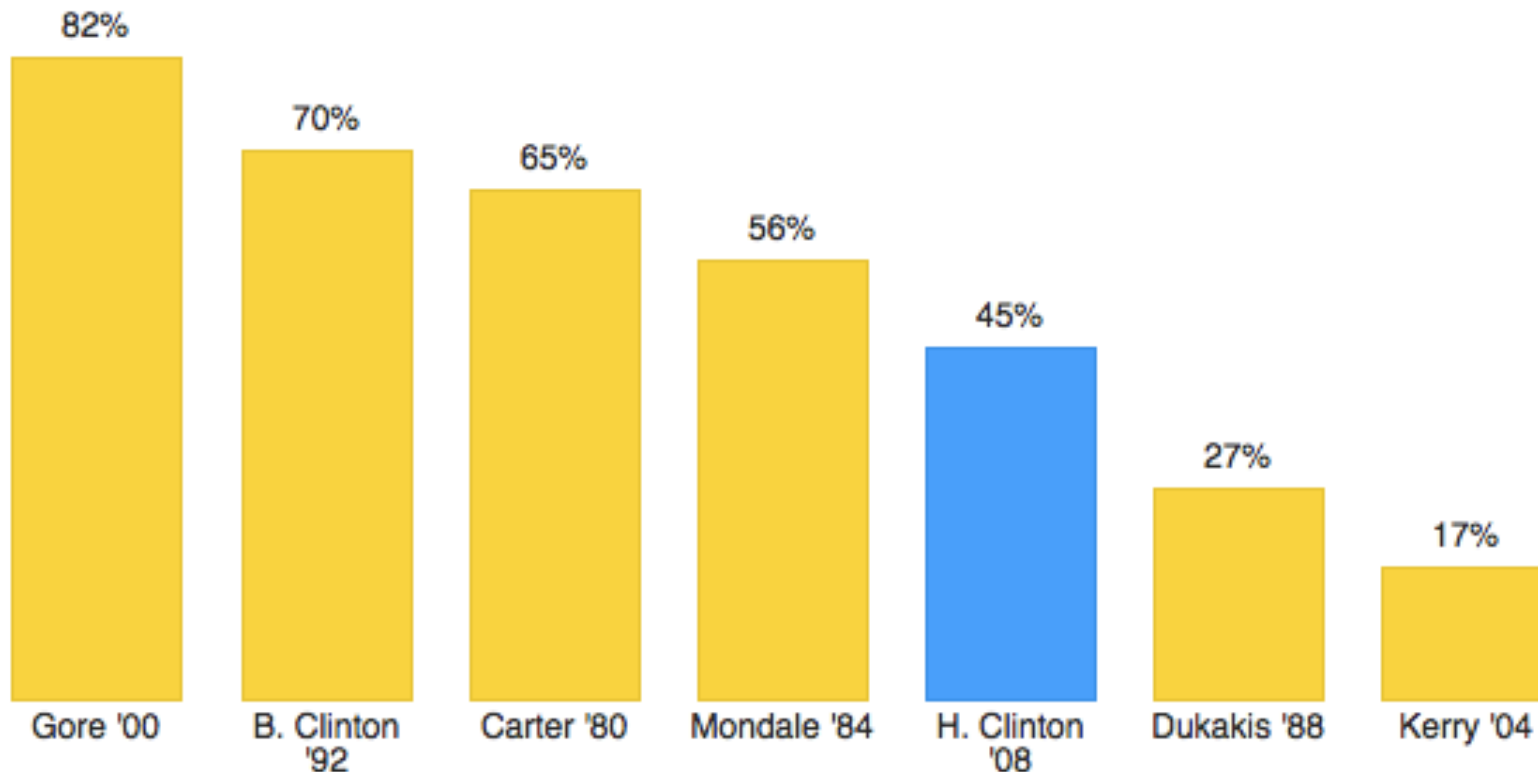
2008: What Happens When the Party *Doesn't* Decide?

What Happened in 2008?

- Sometimes the party does not clearly decide on a candidate in the invisible primary
- In 2008, Hillary Clinton was the clear endorsement leader... but she was nowhere near as dominant as previous nominees like Gore (2000) or Carter (1980)
- Obama ran a successful insurgent campaign, but did so while appealing to the party's goals of "ideological fit" and "electability"

Clinton's 2008 Endorsements in Context

Weighted endorsements won before Iowa caucuses



Source: "The Party Decides," Cohen / Karol / Noel / Zaller

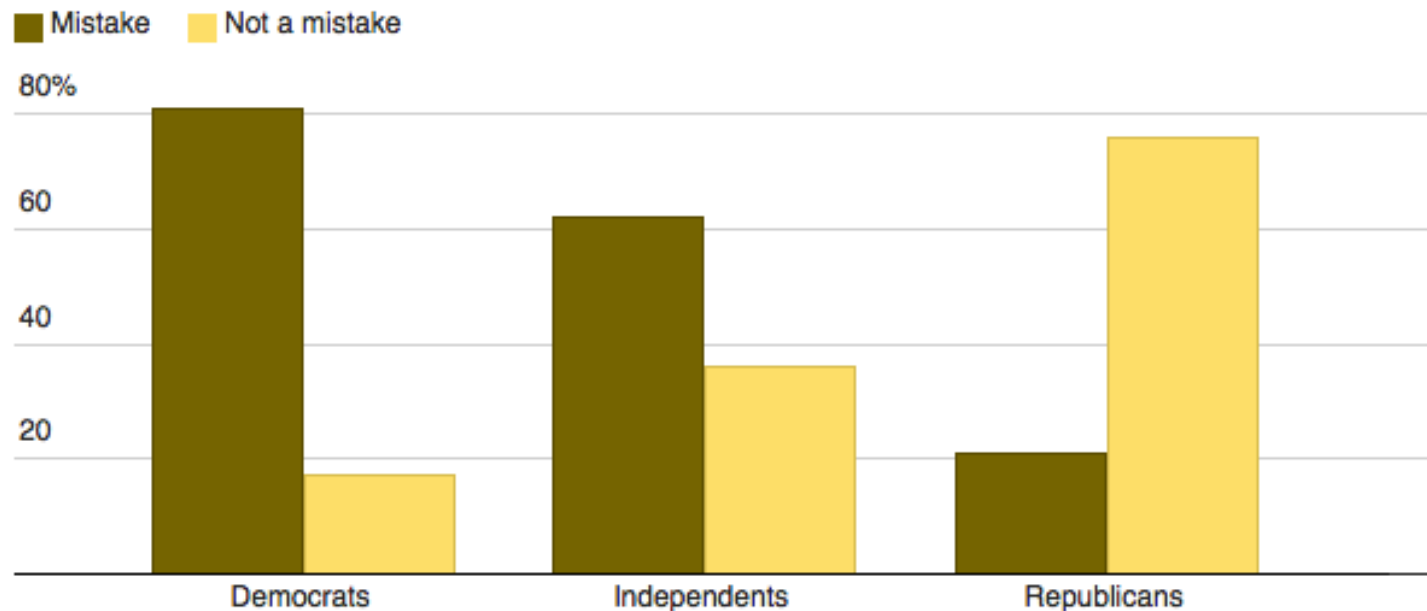
How Did Obama Do It?

- Early wins in Iowa and South Carolina
- Fundraising on par with Clinton
- Campaigned against the Iraq War (a popular position with the party base!)
- Successfully used the rules of the primaries and caucuses to his advantage
 - We will discuss this more in a later class!
- He had a strong electability case

“Ideological Fit”

- Clinton & Obama agreed on almost every issue... but he hammered her for supporting the Iraq War

Poll: Was it a mistake to send troops to Iraq?

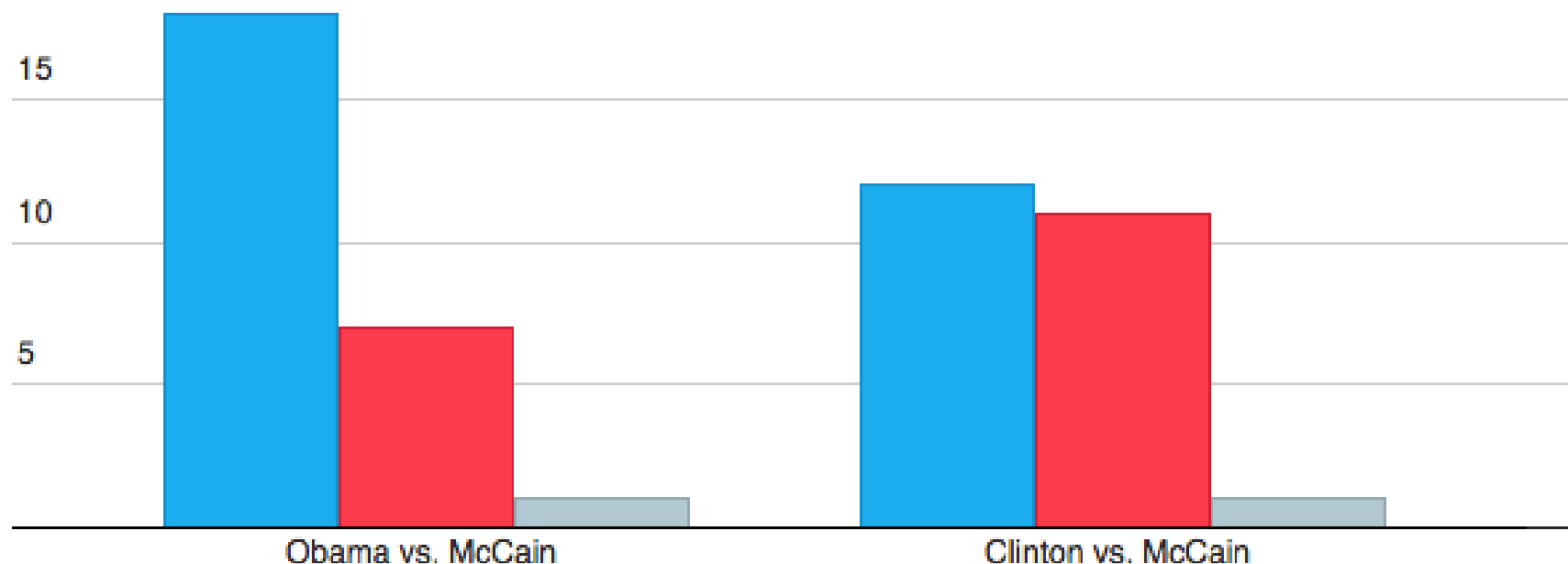


Source: Gallup, Aug. 3-5, 2007

“Electability”

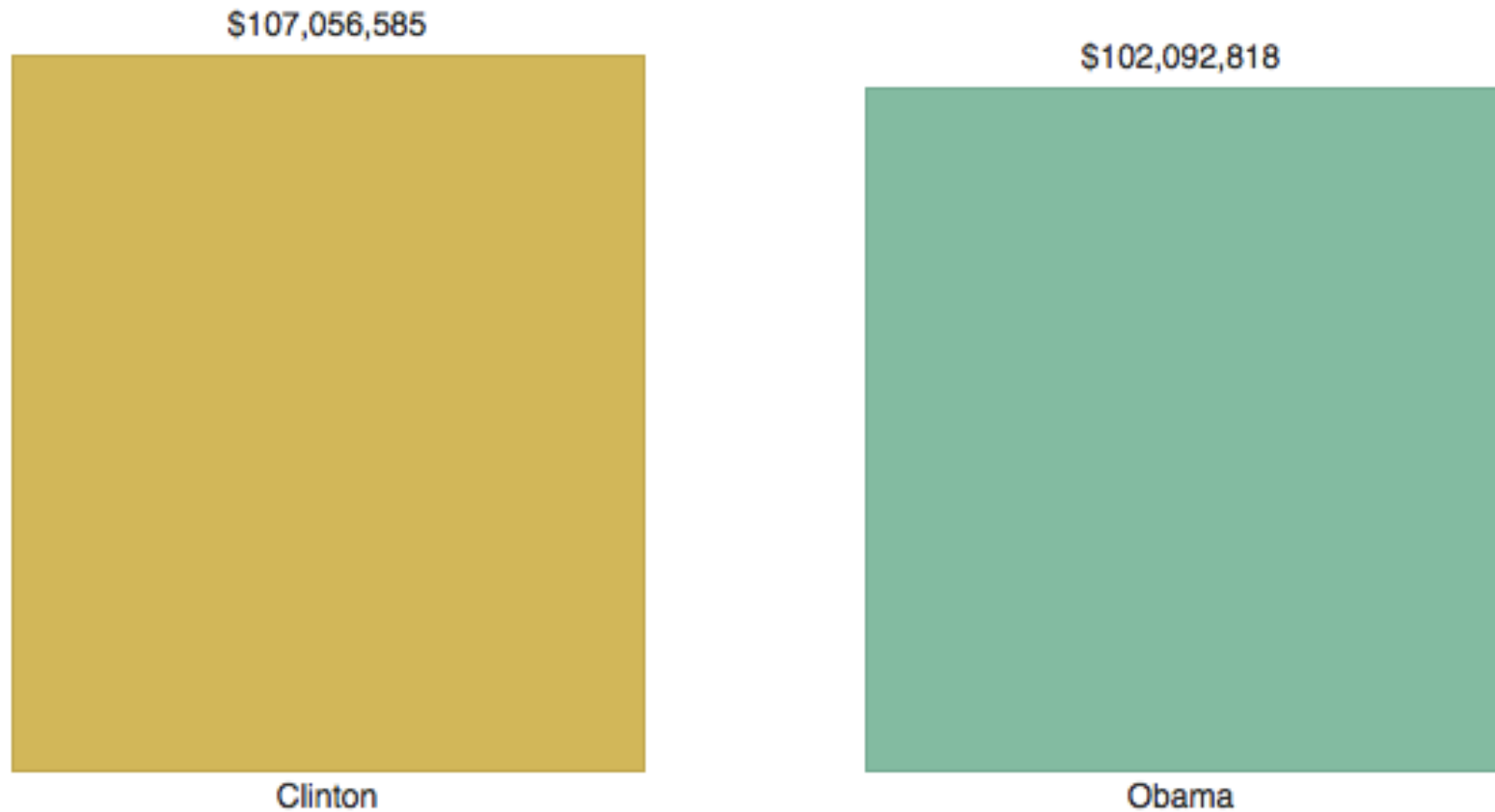
General election polling in the two months after Super Tuesday, 2008

■ Polls showing the Democrat ahead ■ Polls showing McCain ahead ■ Polls showing a tie



Invisible Primary Fundraising

Money raised in 2007



Source: FEC filings.

A Fiercely Fought Campaign

- With the party not deciding, and two evenly matched candidates, the campaign was long and drawn-out
- The similar platforms of the two candidates made the 2008 campaign largely a contrast of the candidates' style and personalities
- While 2016 often gets remembered as a uniquely bitter primary (on both sides!), the 2008 Democratic primary should not be forgotten on this count!

2008: Clinton on Obama

Hillary Clinton to USA Today, 5/7/08:

"There was just an AP article posted that found how Senator Obama's support among working, hard-working Americans, **white** Americans is weakening again and

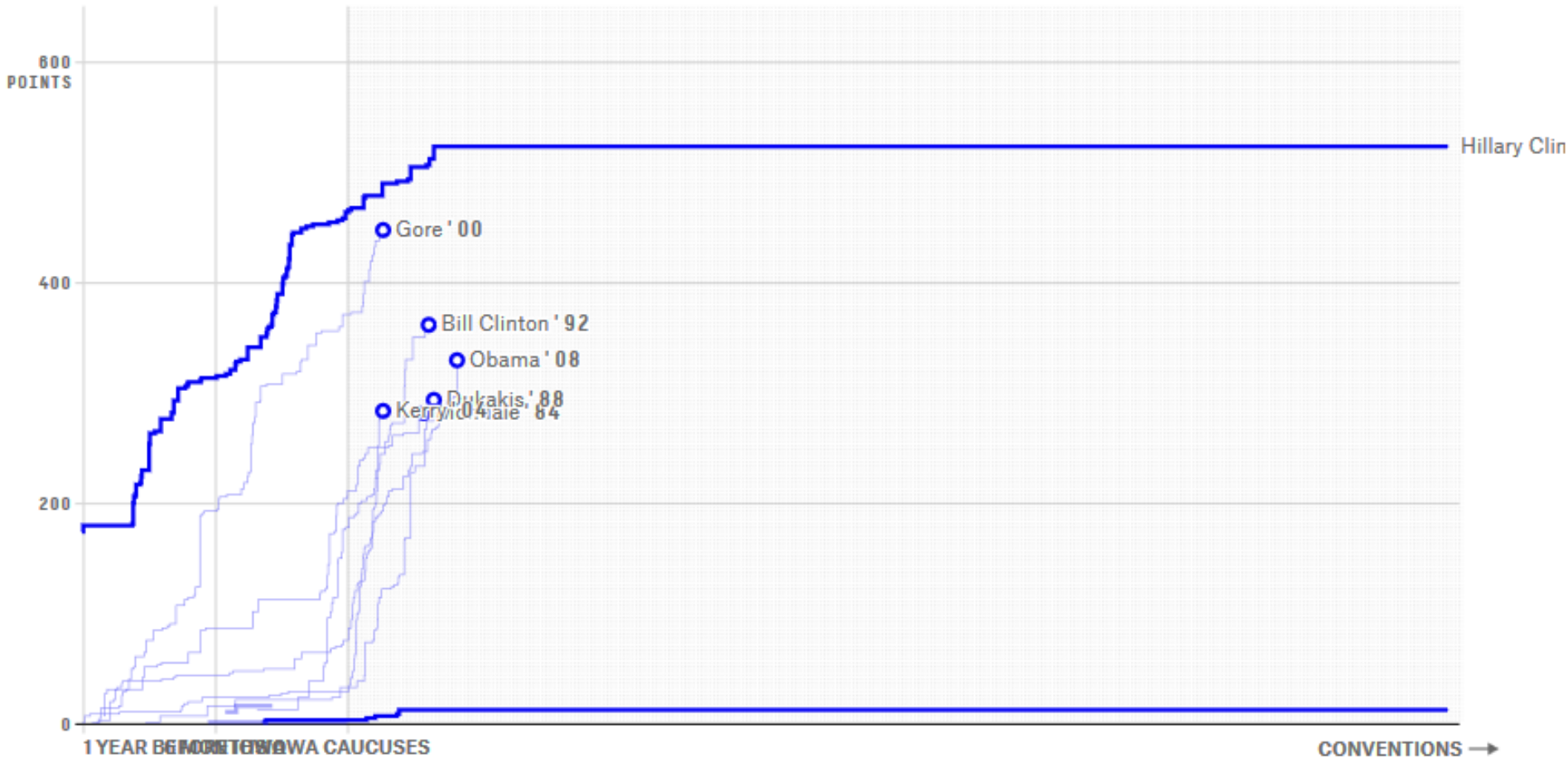


2008: Obama on Clinton

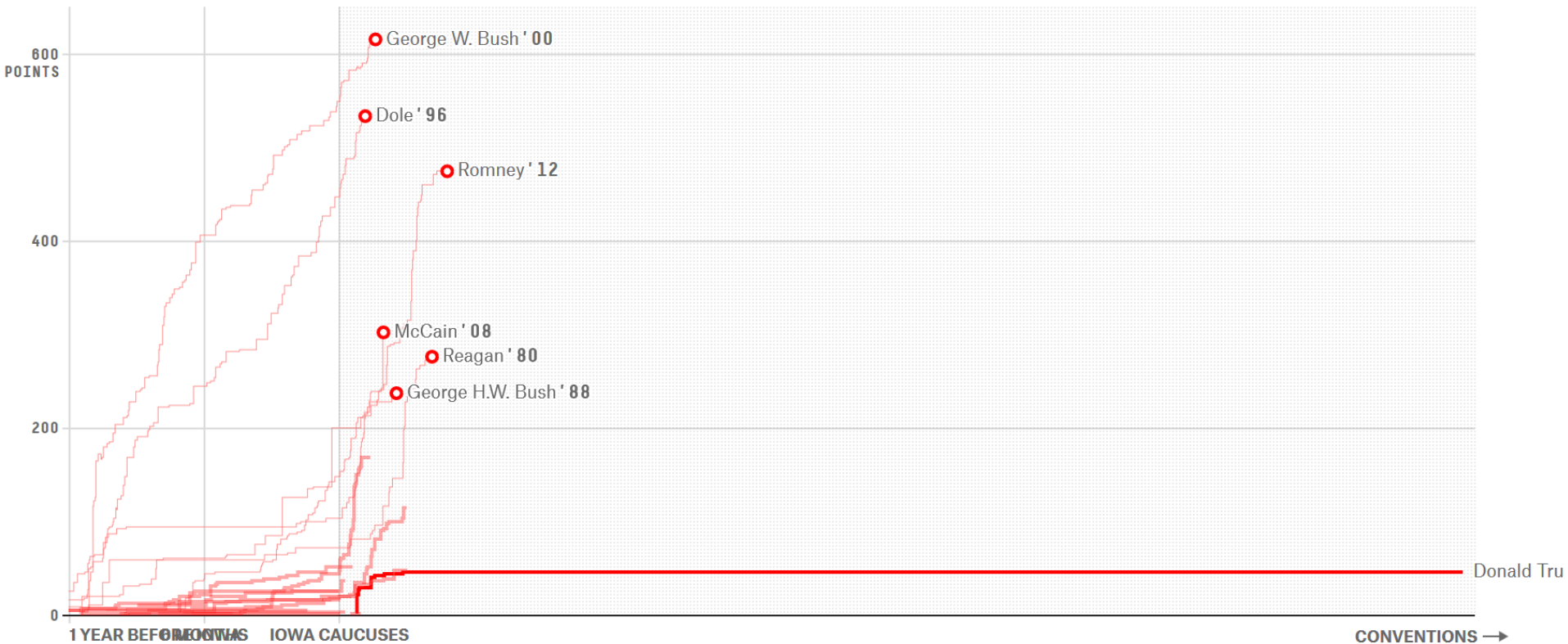


2016: What Happens When the Party *Doesn't* Decide?

In 2016, the Democratic Party “Decided”

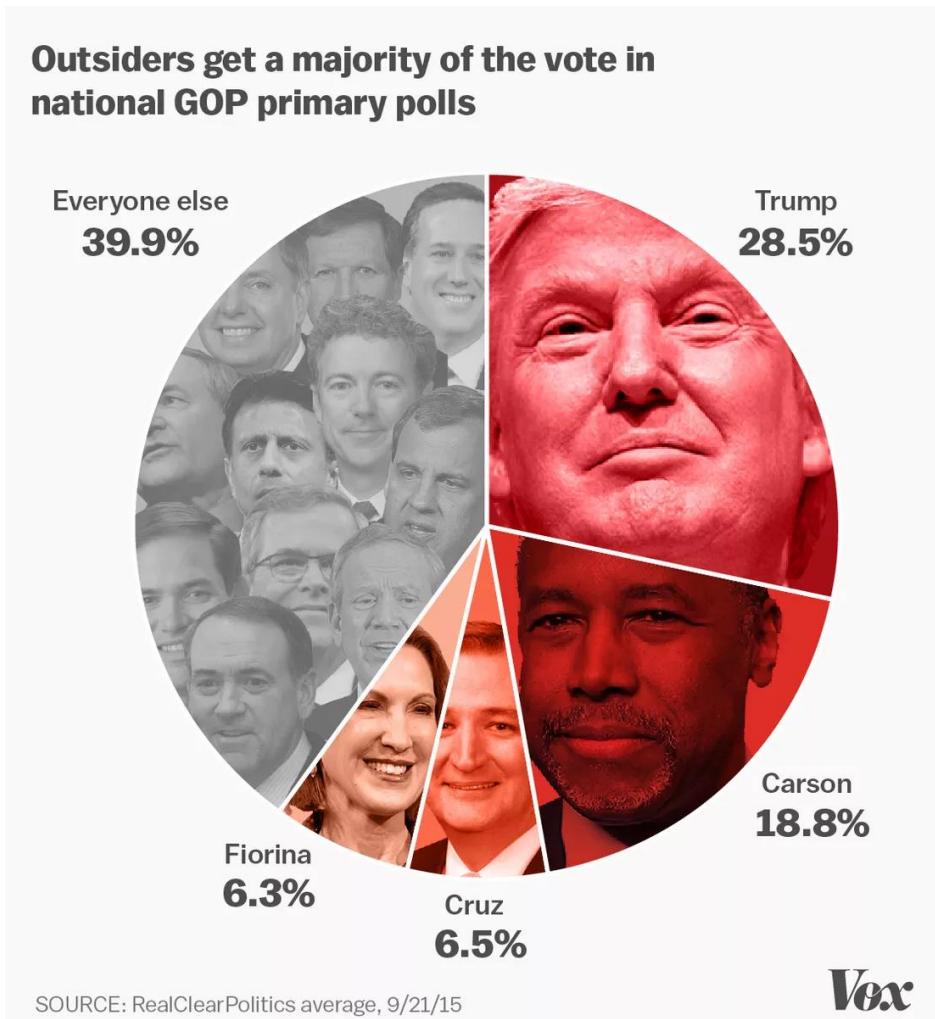


The GOP Did Not




Why Did the GOP Fail to Stop Trump?

- Outsiders were popular among GOP voters



Why Did the GOP Fail to Stop Trump?

- The party didn't coordinate around another candidate

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Why Did the GOP Fail to Stop Trump?

- Marco Rubio suffered in a key debate, did poorly in early states



Why Did the GOP Fail to Stop Trump?

- Ted Cruz was strongly disliked by many in the establishment



Why Did the GOP Fail to Stop Trump?

- Jeb Bush spent massively, but his campaign flopped



Tuesday: Caucuses & Primaries