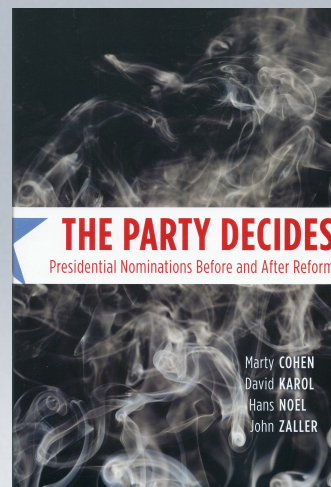



THE PARTY DECIDES: COORDINATION FAILURE AND SUCCESS IN THE 2016 NOMINATION



Hans Noel

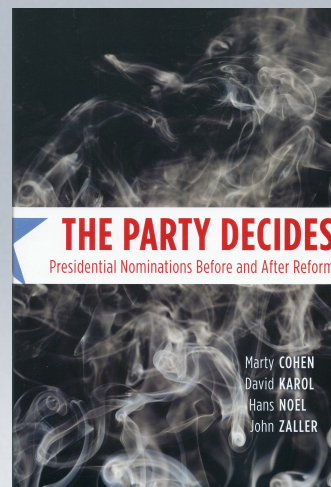
Georgetown University
hcn4@georgetown.edu

 @ProfHansNoel

<http://hansnoel.com>




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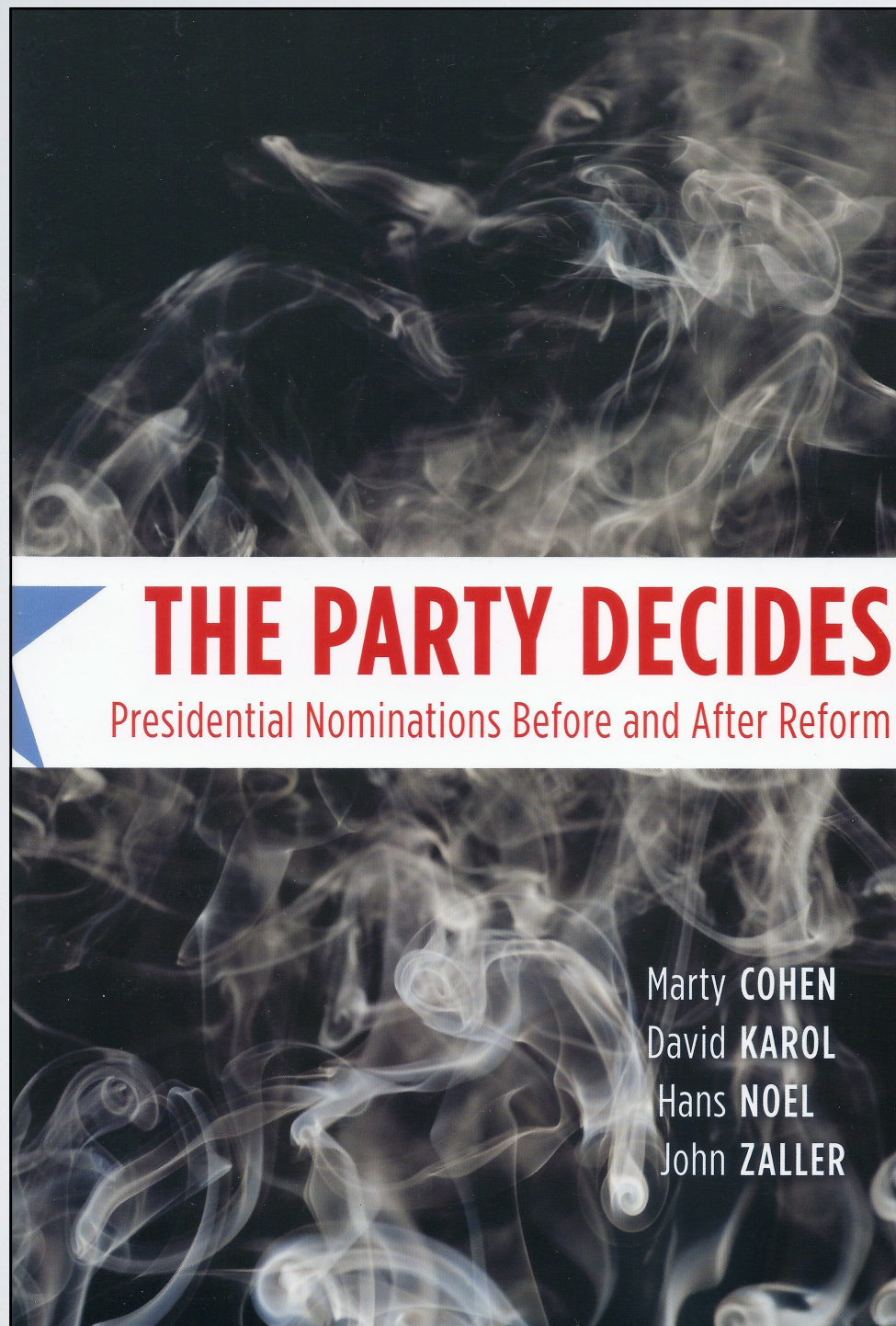
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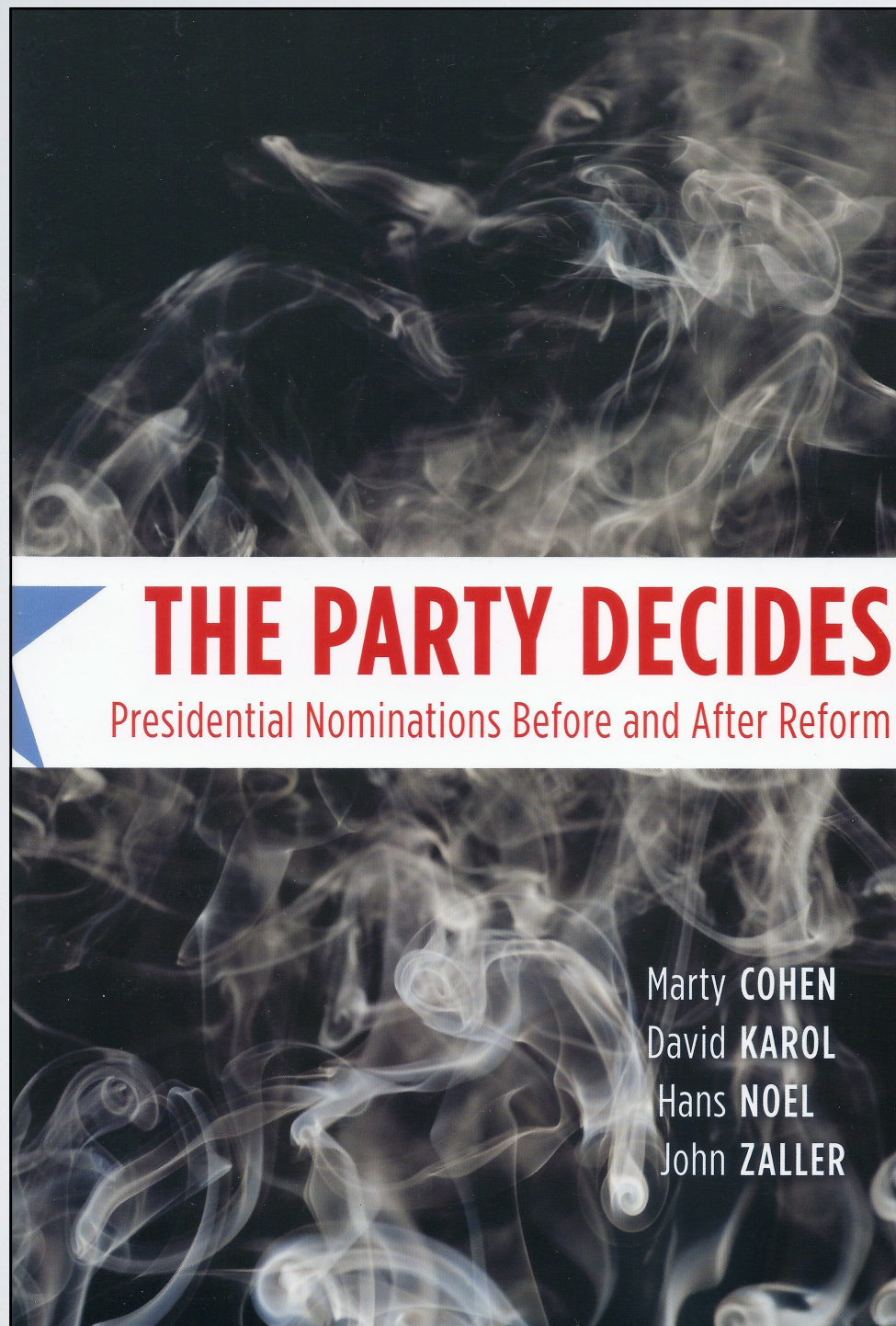
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THE PARTY DECIDES



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Sanders is not like Trump. Sanders is like Rand Paul.



Donald Trump: You shouldn't take him seriously, because no one else does.

By Hans Noel

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The differences are greater.

I don't just mean that Donald Trump is a standard deviation more loud-mouthed and delusional than most buffoons. When you think of it that way, it's unfair to compare anyone to Trump. The last time someone with no experience in government was nominated for president was 75 years ago, and even Wendell Willkie had been actually active in politics for much of his life. Trump is a reality show character, not a politician. Trump's closest analogy is [Bill + Opus 1984](#).



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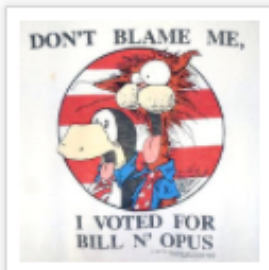
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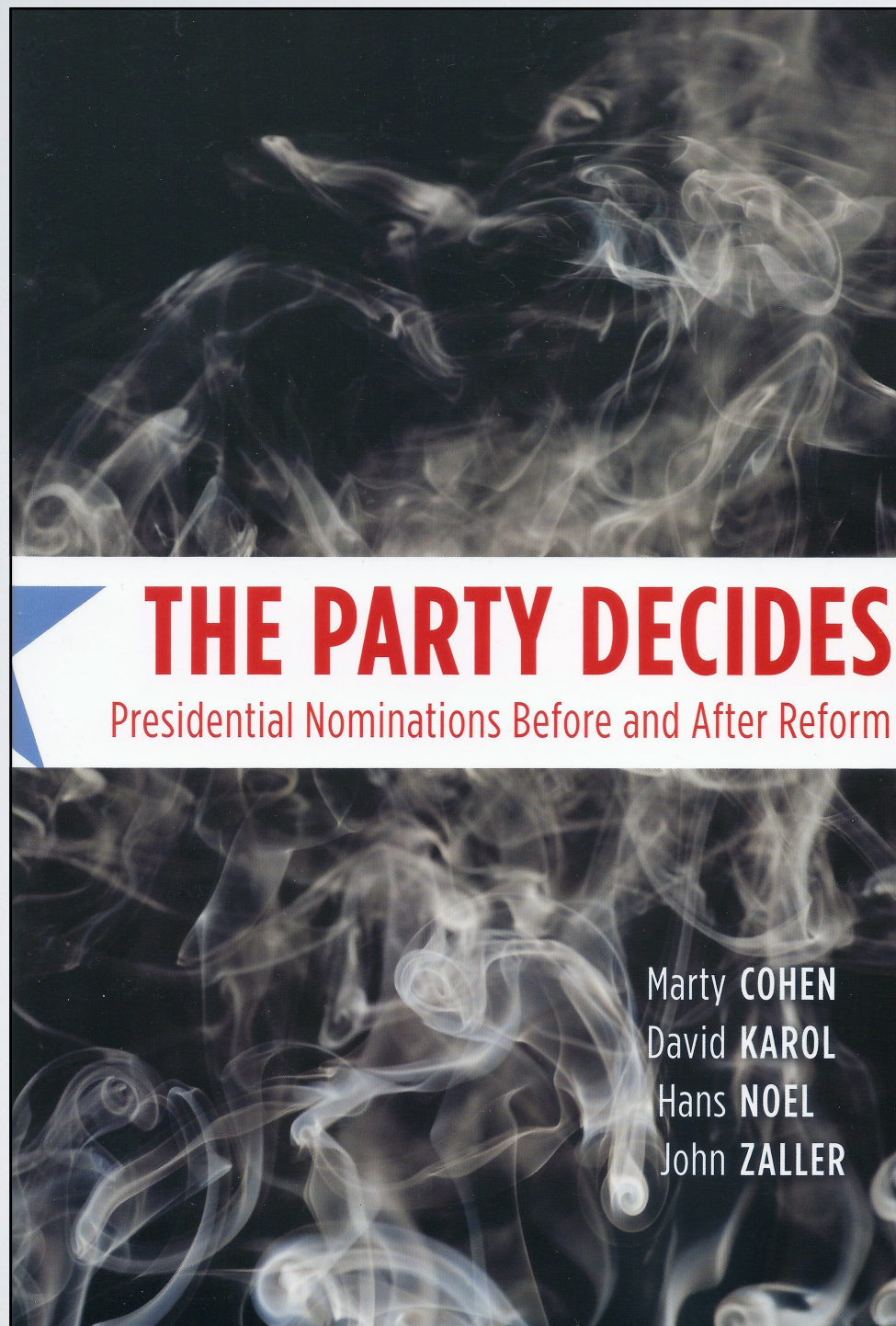


July 16, 2015
Hans Noel

**Trump has literally no chance of winning.
Sanders has very little chance.**

The Republican Party is not going to nominate Donald Trump. Right now, [the party](#) is scrambling to find a way to keep him from participating in the [debates](#). They are not undecided on his candidacy. He may be doing OK in some polls (20 percent may be first, but it's not winning), but he is also [hated within the party](#). In even the weakest reading of our book on [presidential nominations](#), party leaders have some agency, at least enough to stop a buffoon. Trump is about to prove that having a lot of money, and even leading in early polls, does not predict a victory. (In that way, he's a boon to political science.)

THE PARTY DECIDES



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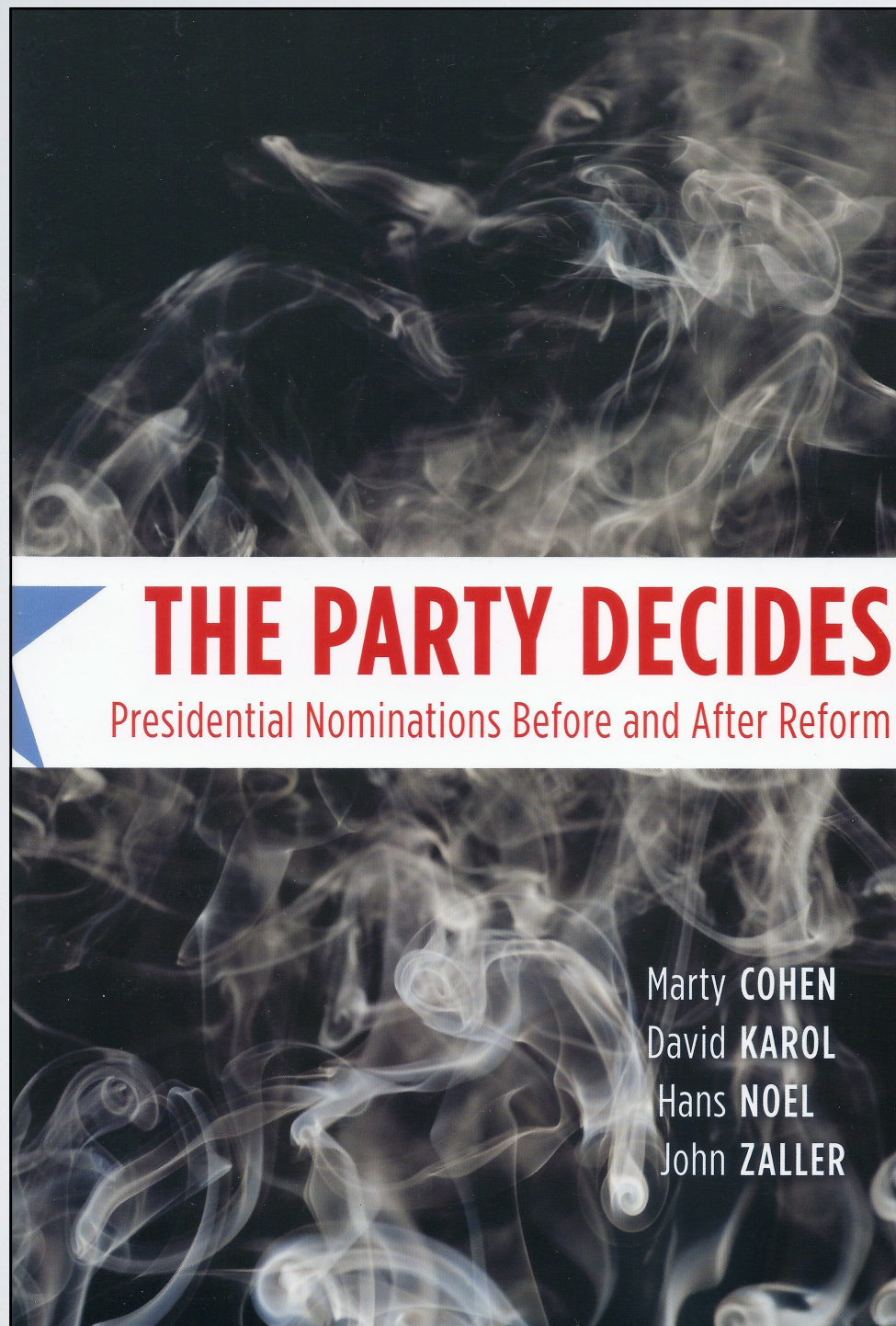
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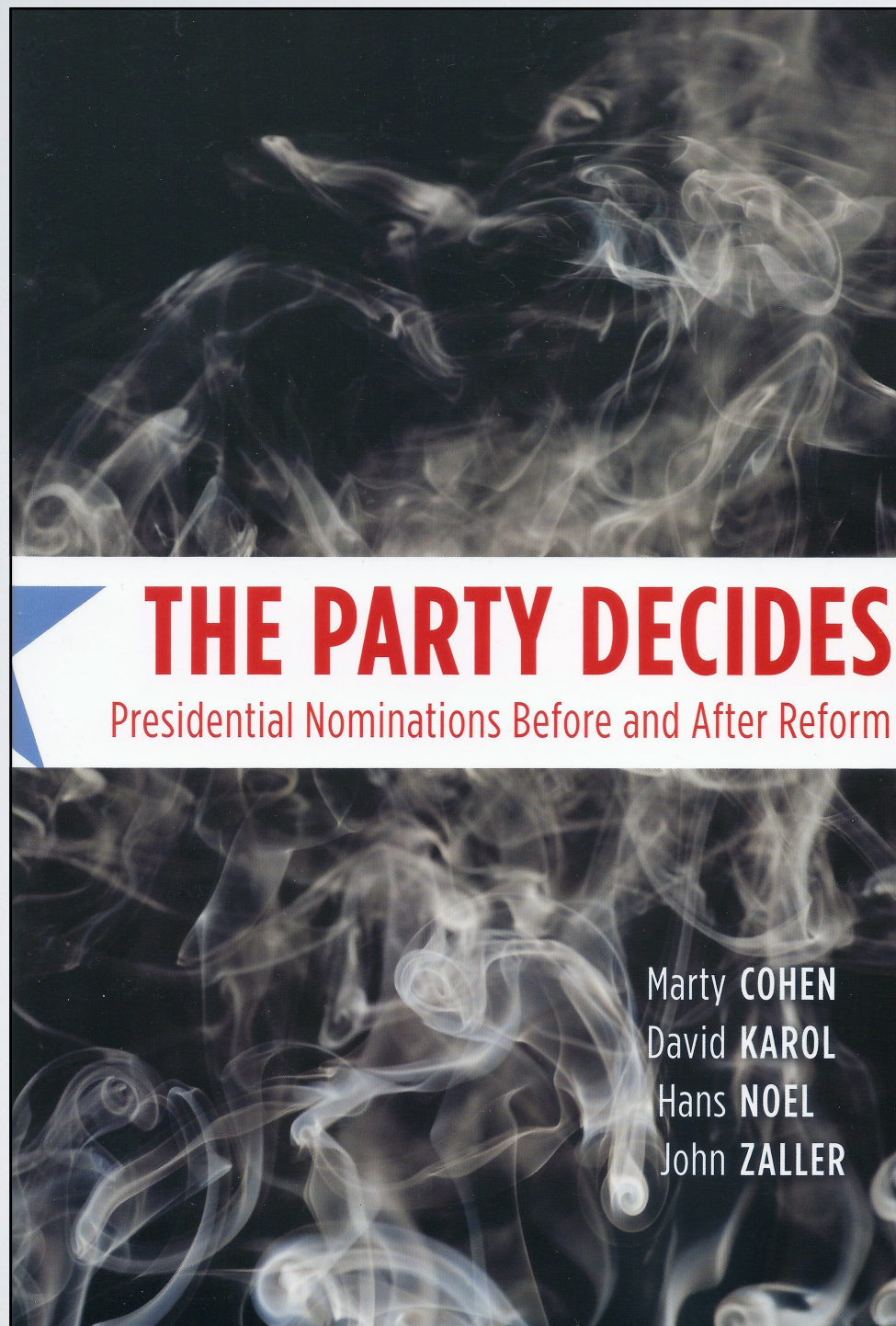


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... My hypothesis is that GOP decision-makers also read the same analyses and **concluded that they did not need to do anything** to stop Trump.”

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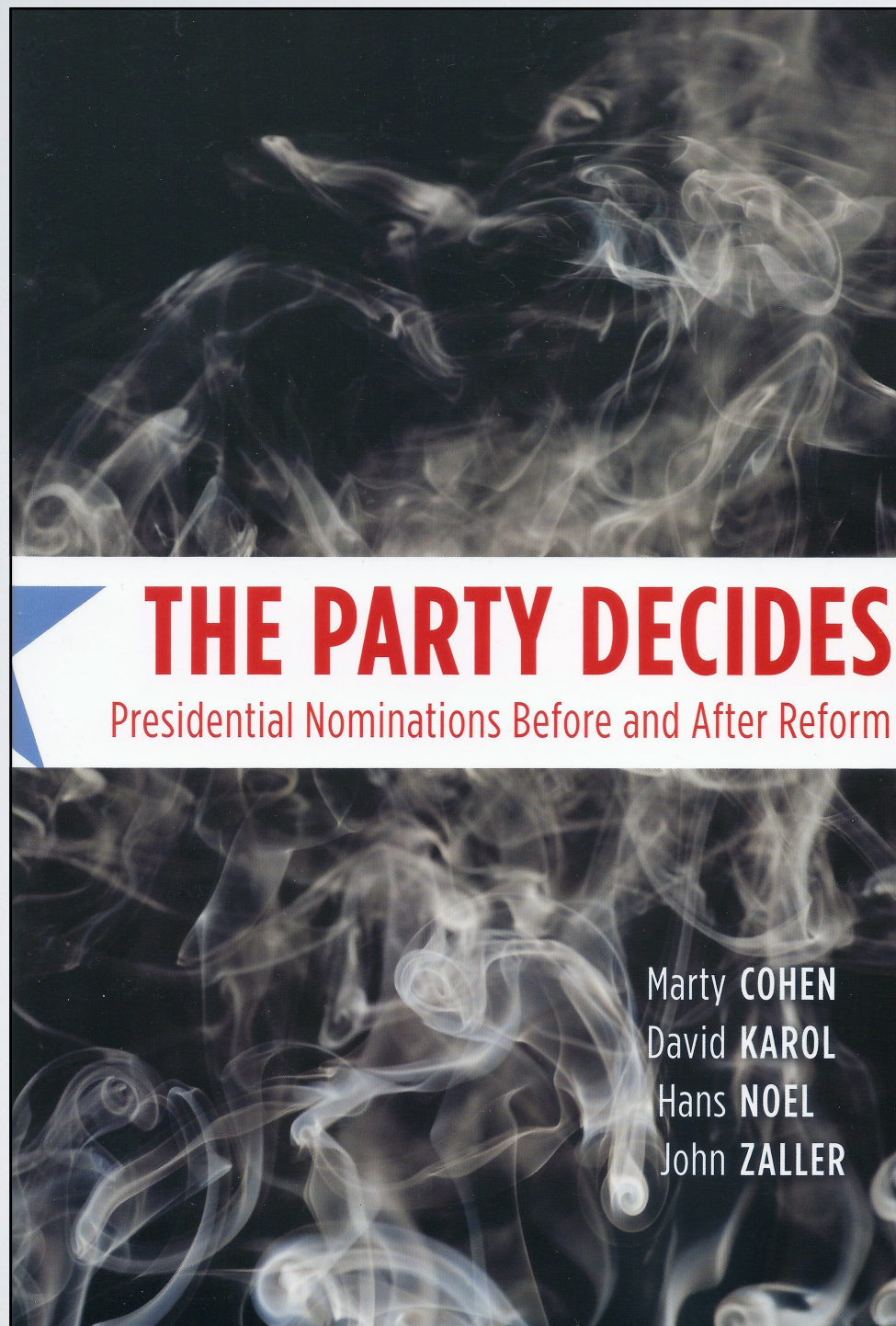
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“But widely discussed academic books are rarely actually read in detail. At a high level, it's clear that **the main impact of the party decides theory has been to prevent people from panicking about Trump**, when a little Trump panic is exactly what would have been needed to bring about the theory's predictions.”

– Matt Yglesias

THE PARTY DECIDES



- I. Presidential nomination process in the United States
- II. *The Party Decides*
- III. What the book tells us about 2016
- IV. What 2016 tells us about the book
- V. A look at the 2016 General Election

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Resources and information to win

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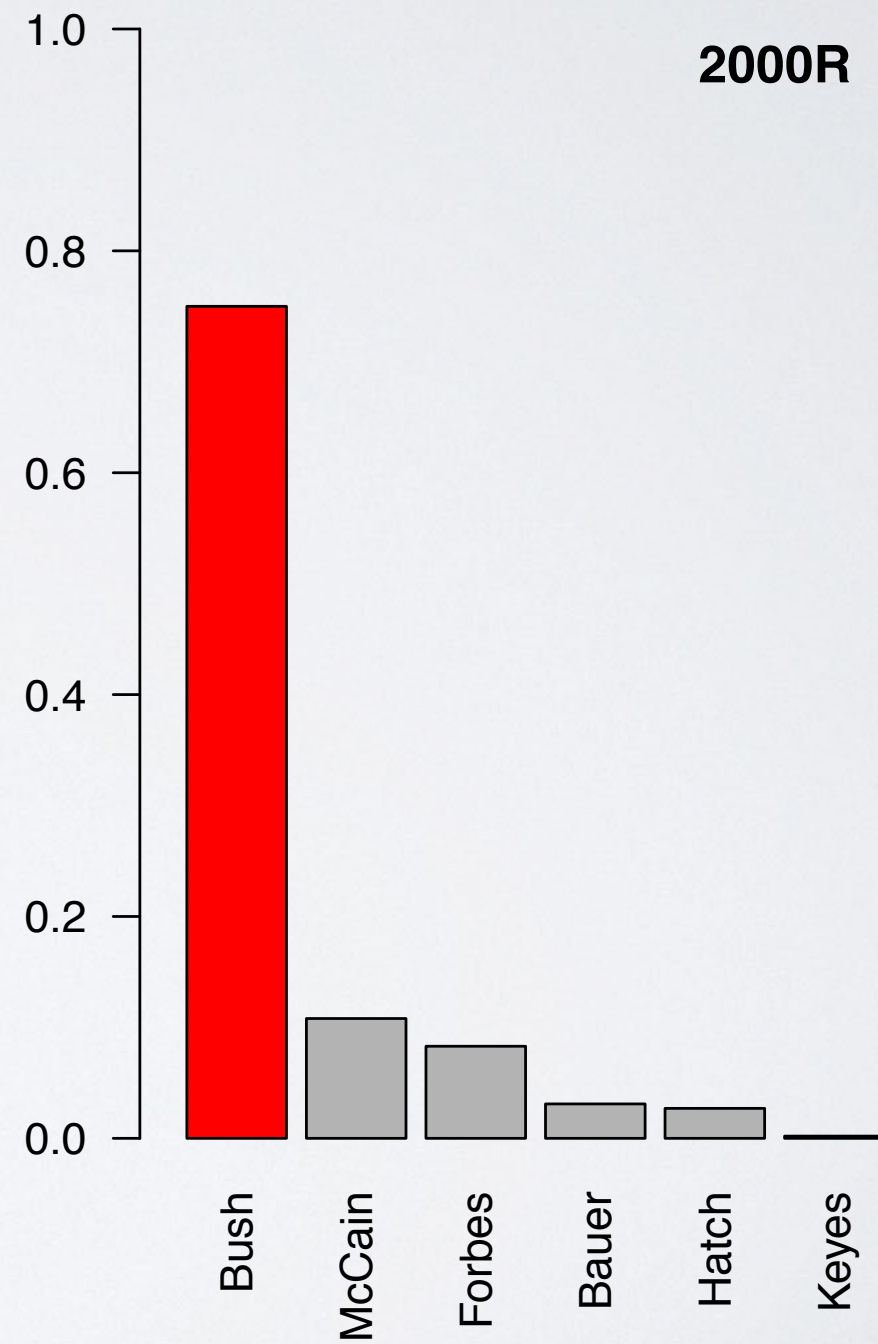
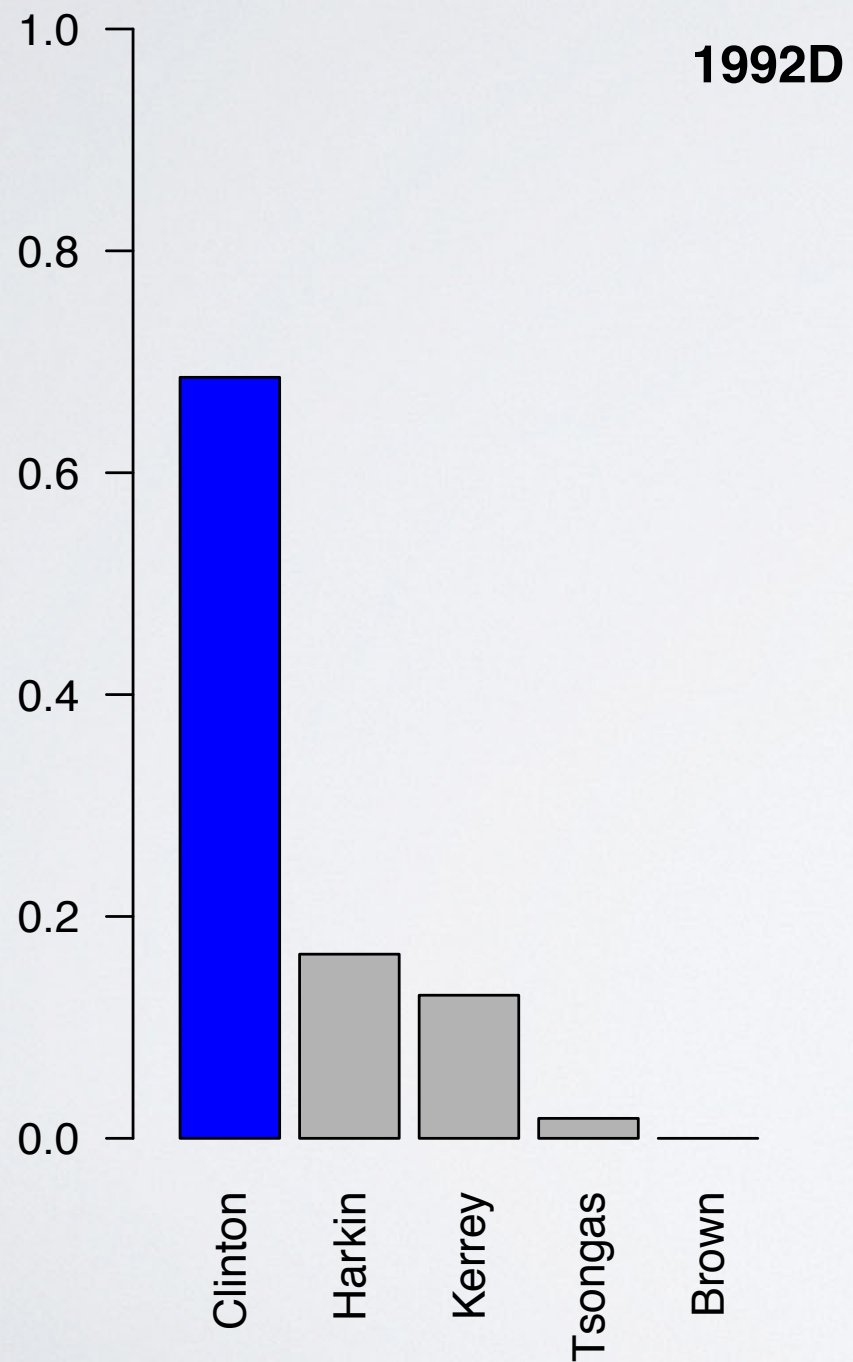
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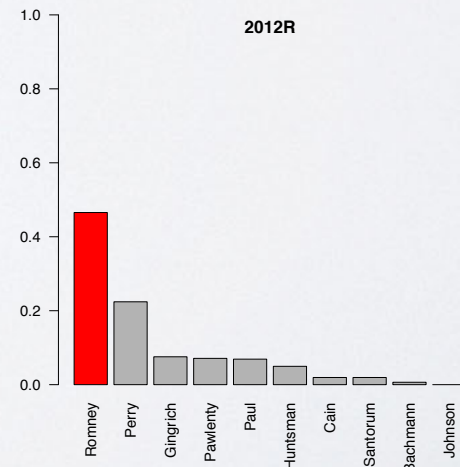
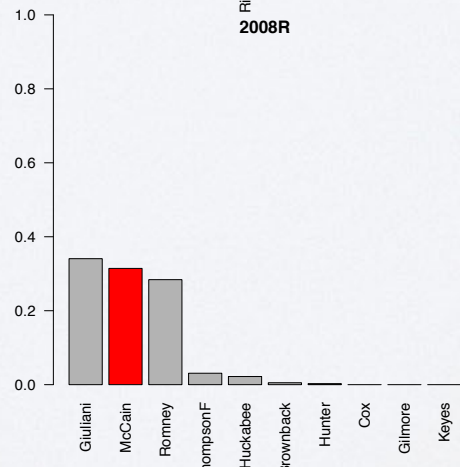
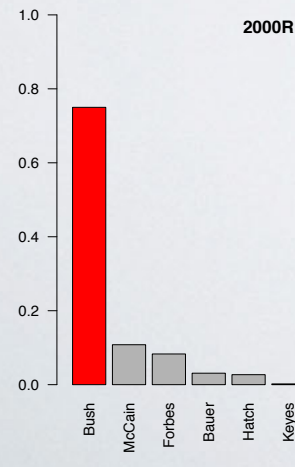
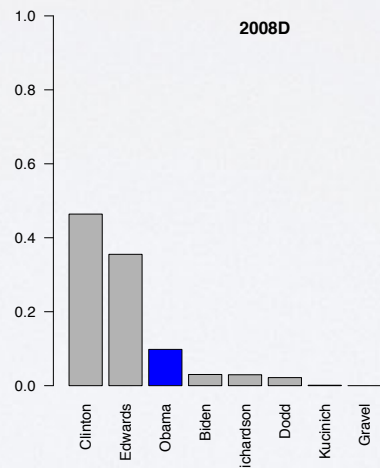
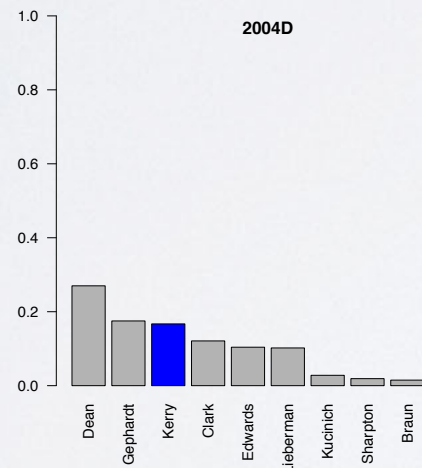
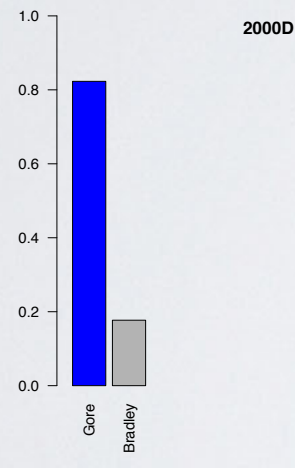
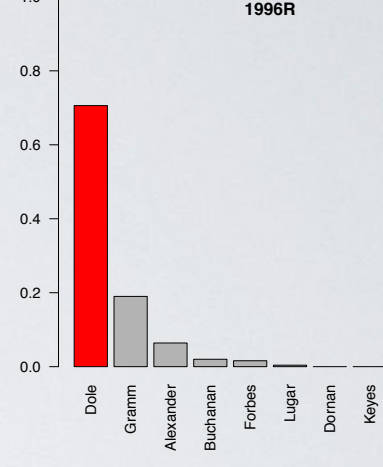
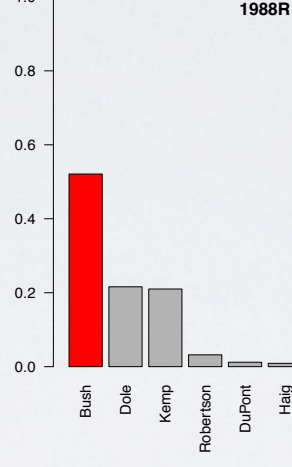
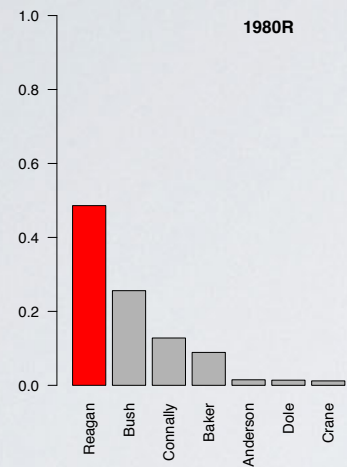
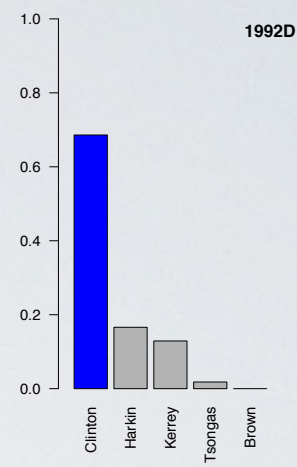
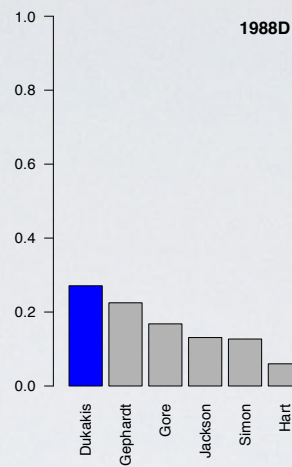
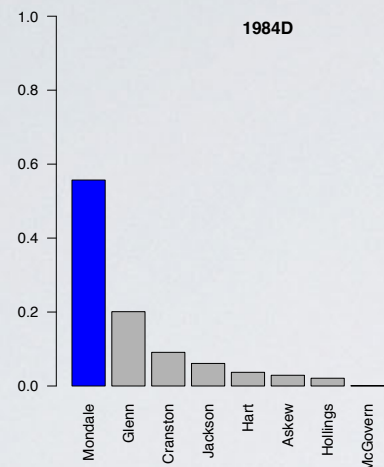
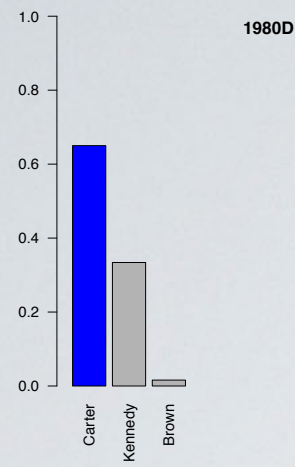
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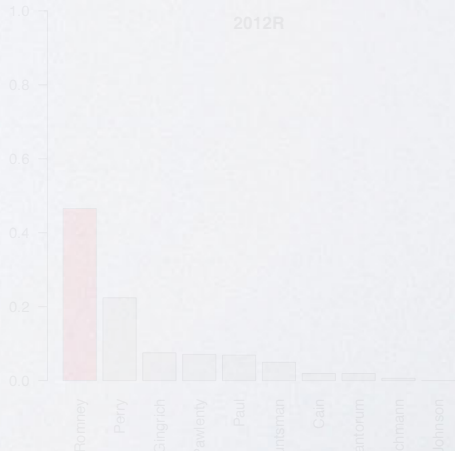
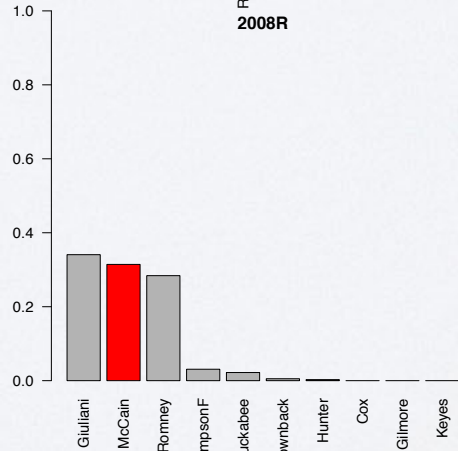
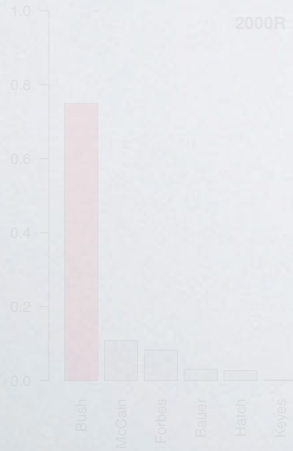
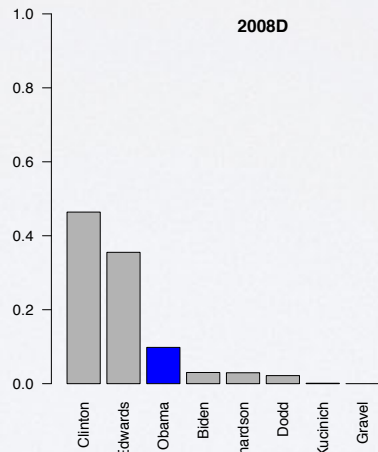
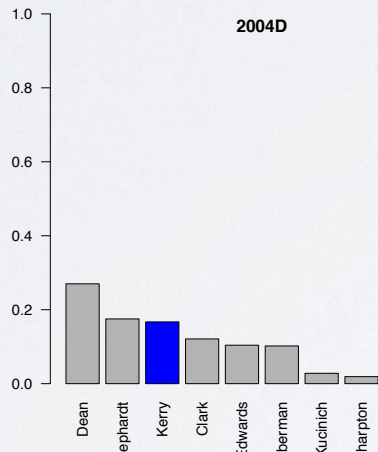
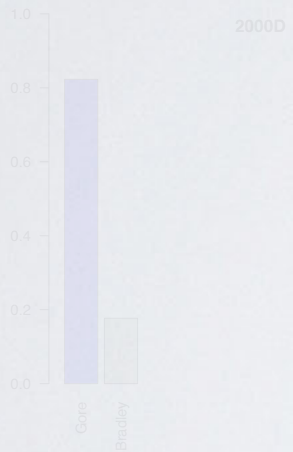
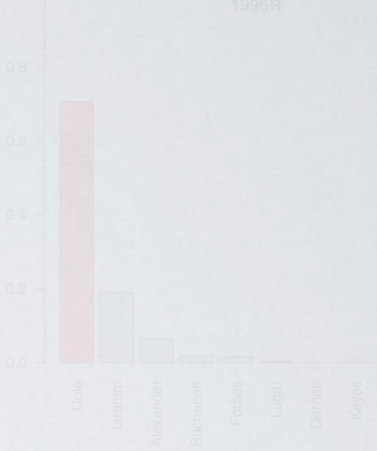
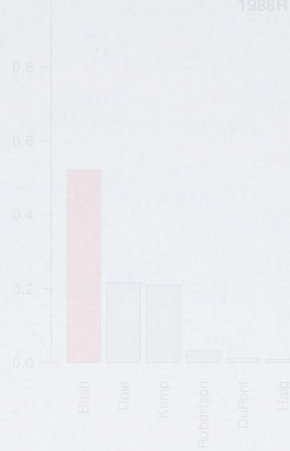
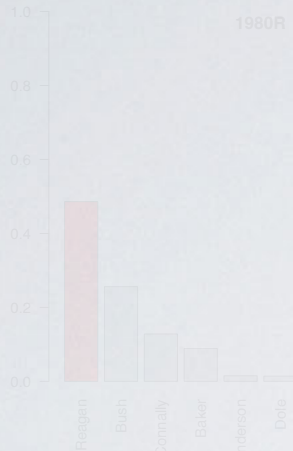
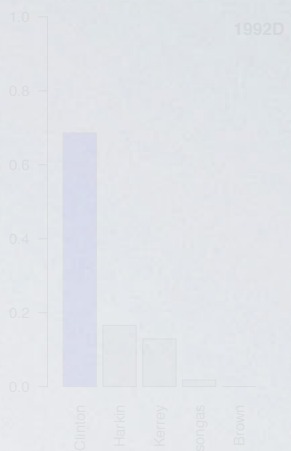
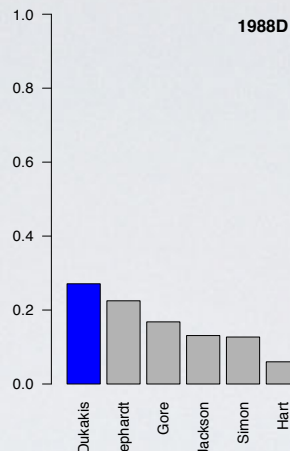
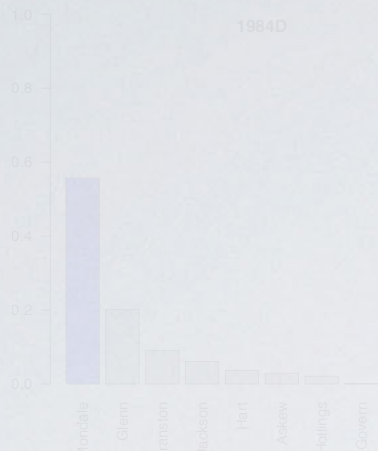
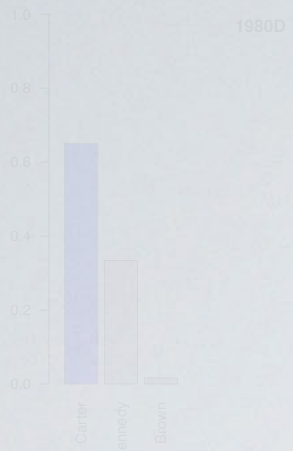
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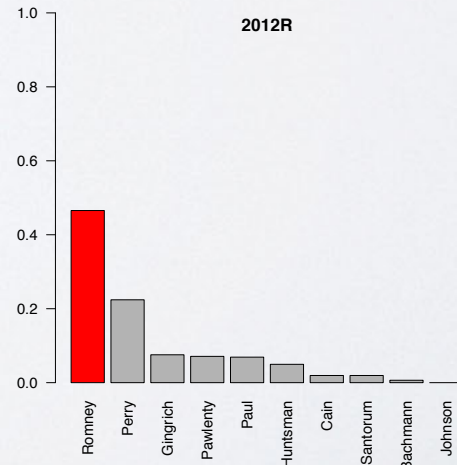
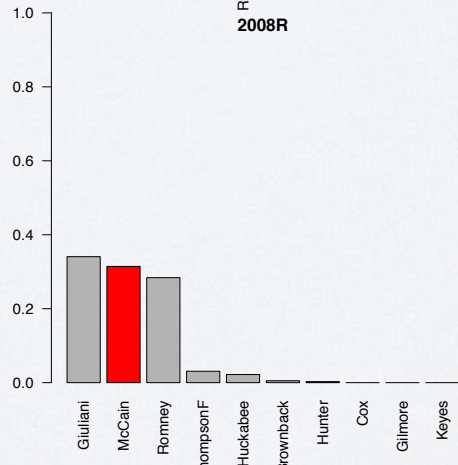
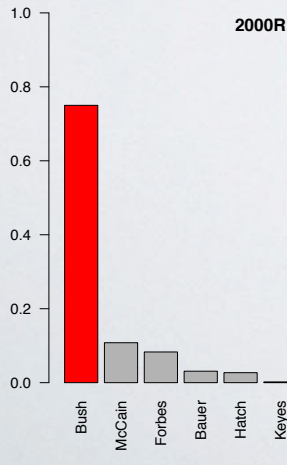
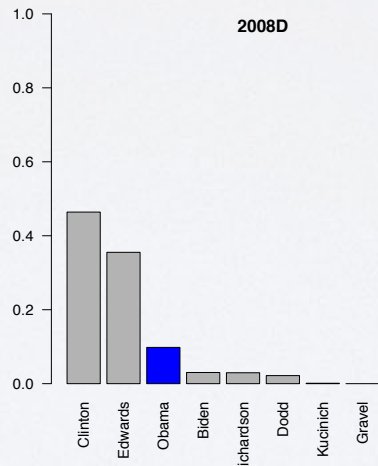
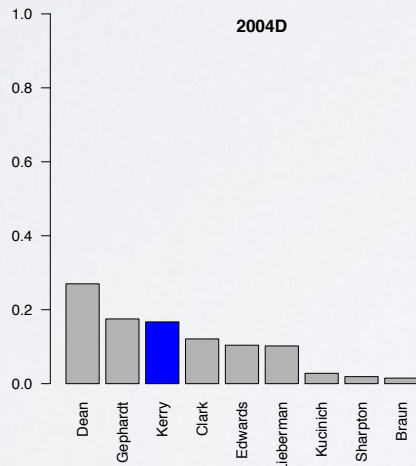
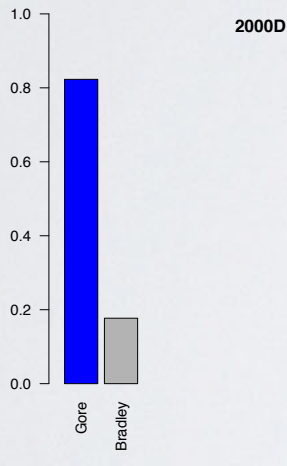
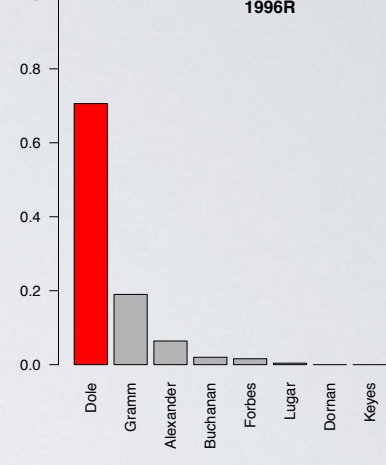
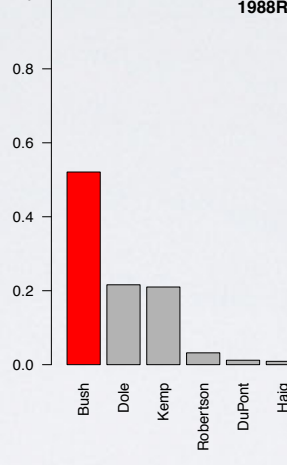
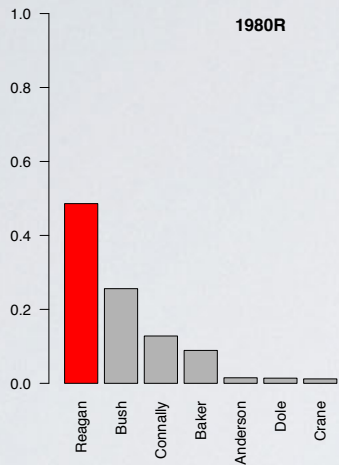
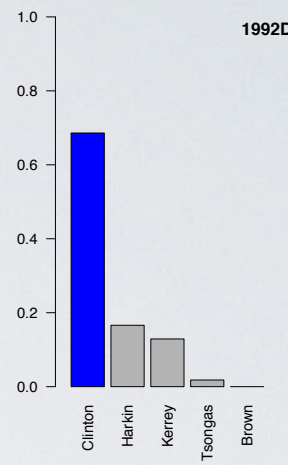
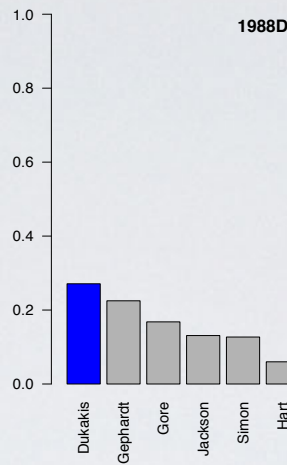
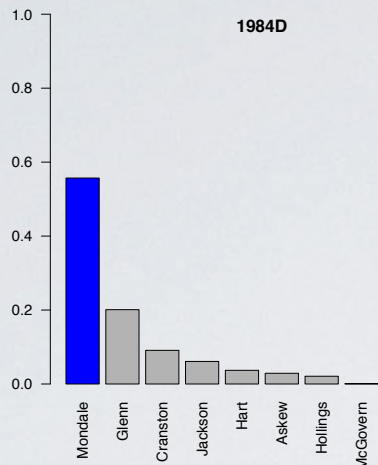
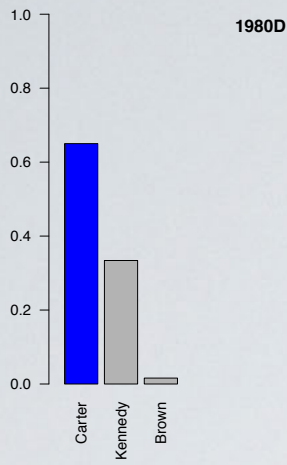
Why didn't Republicans coordinate in 2016?!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

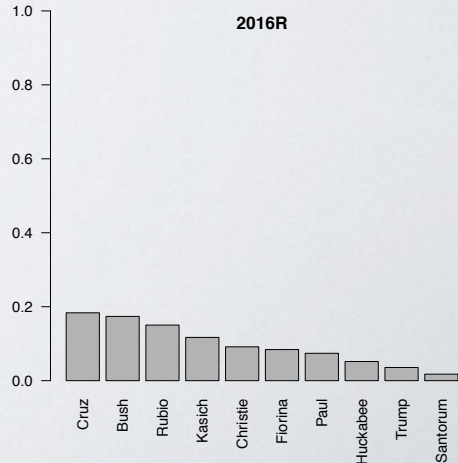
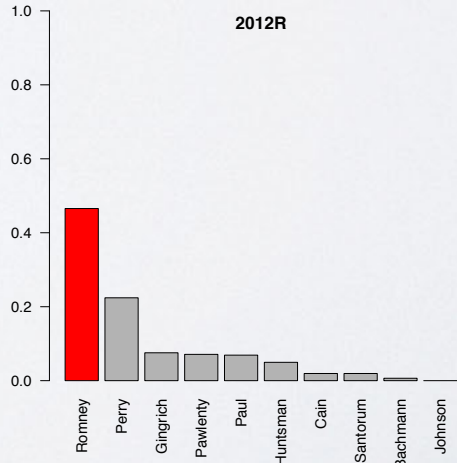
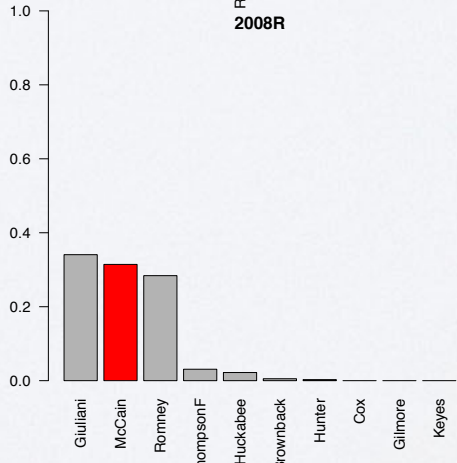
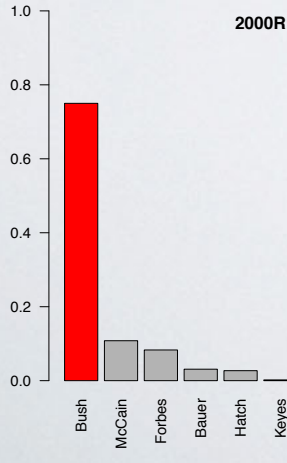
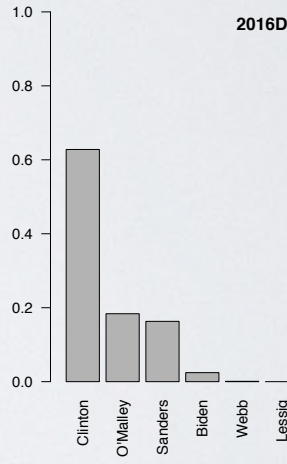
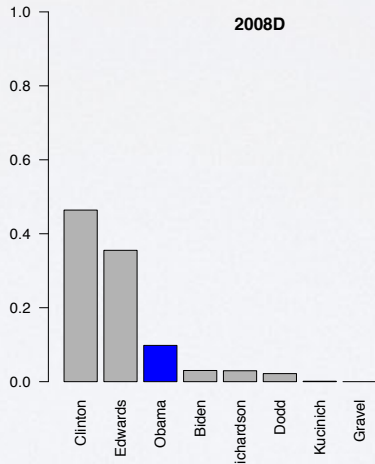
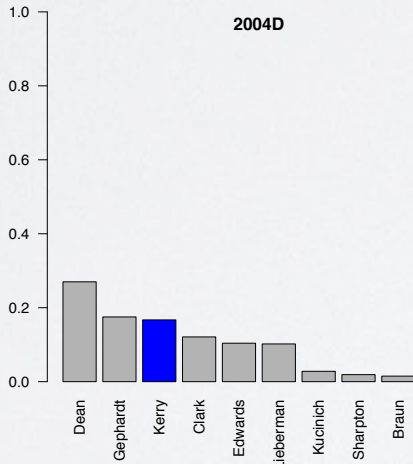
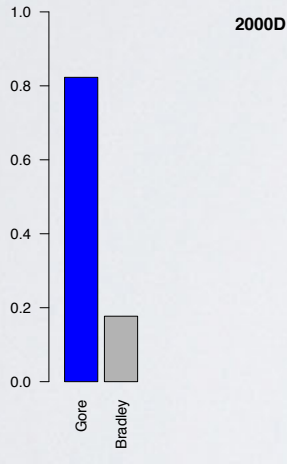
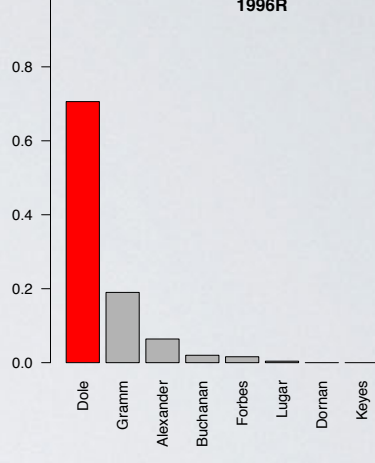
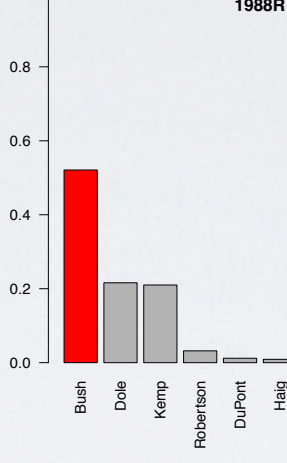
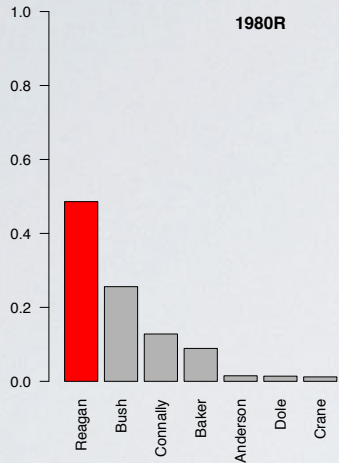
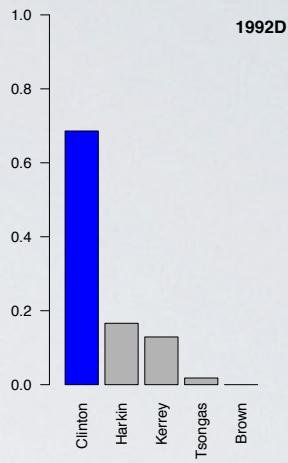
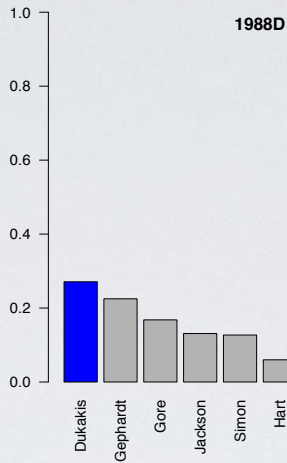
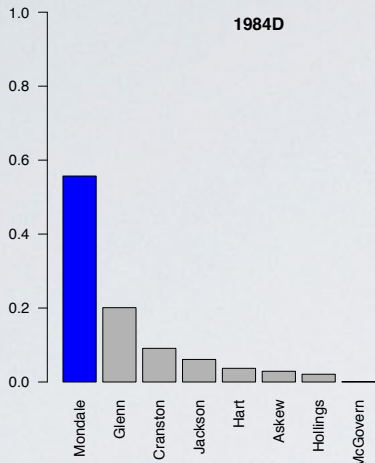
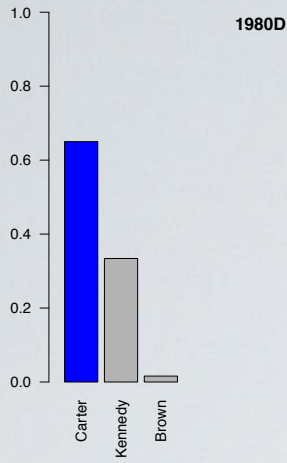
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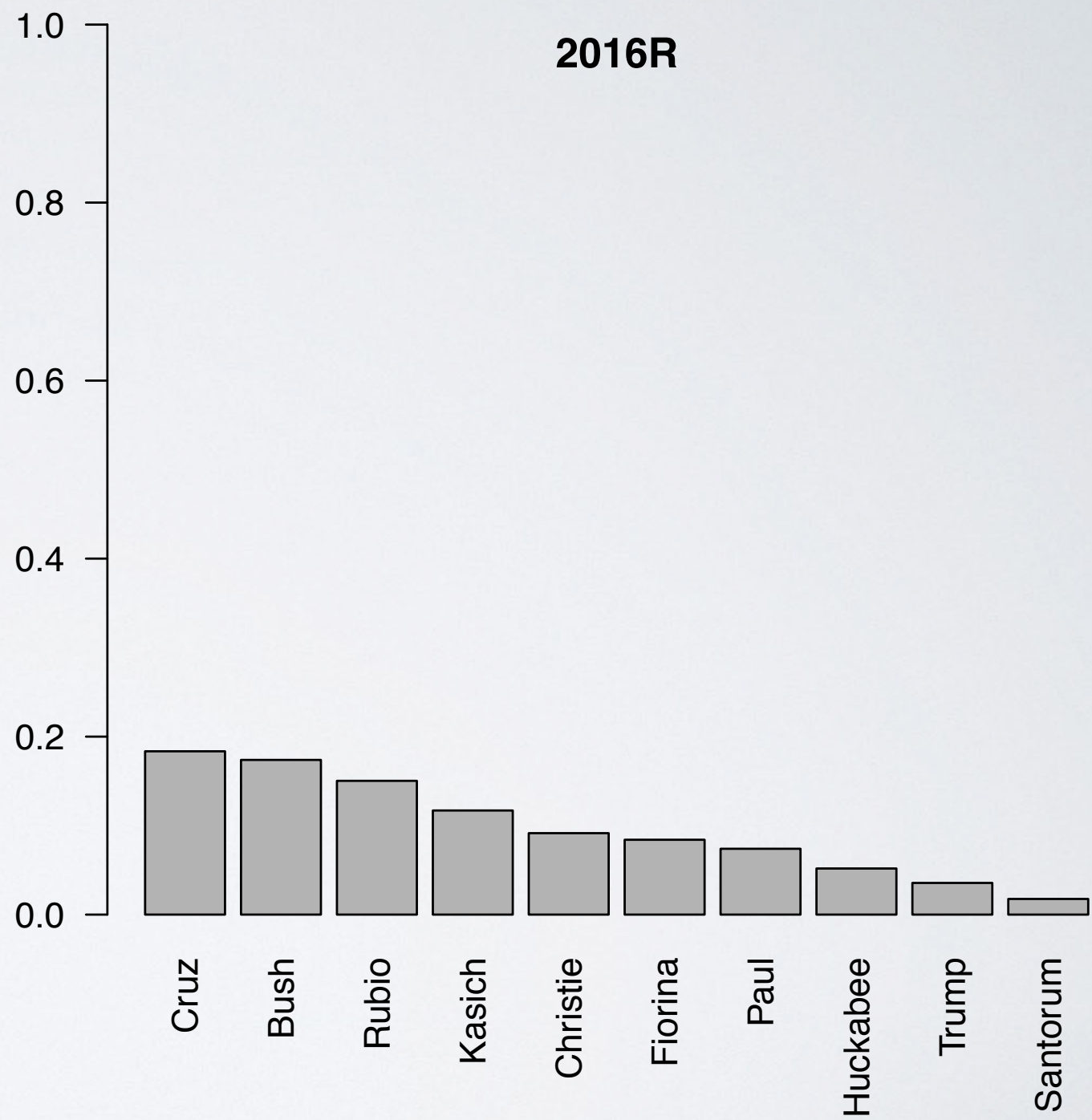
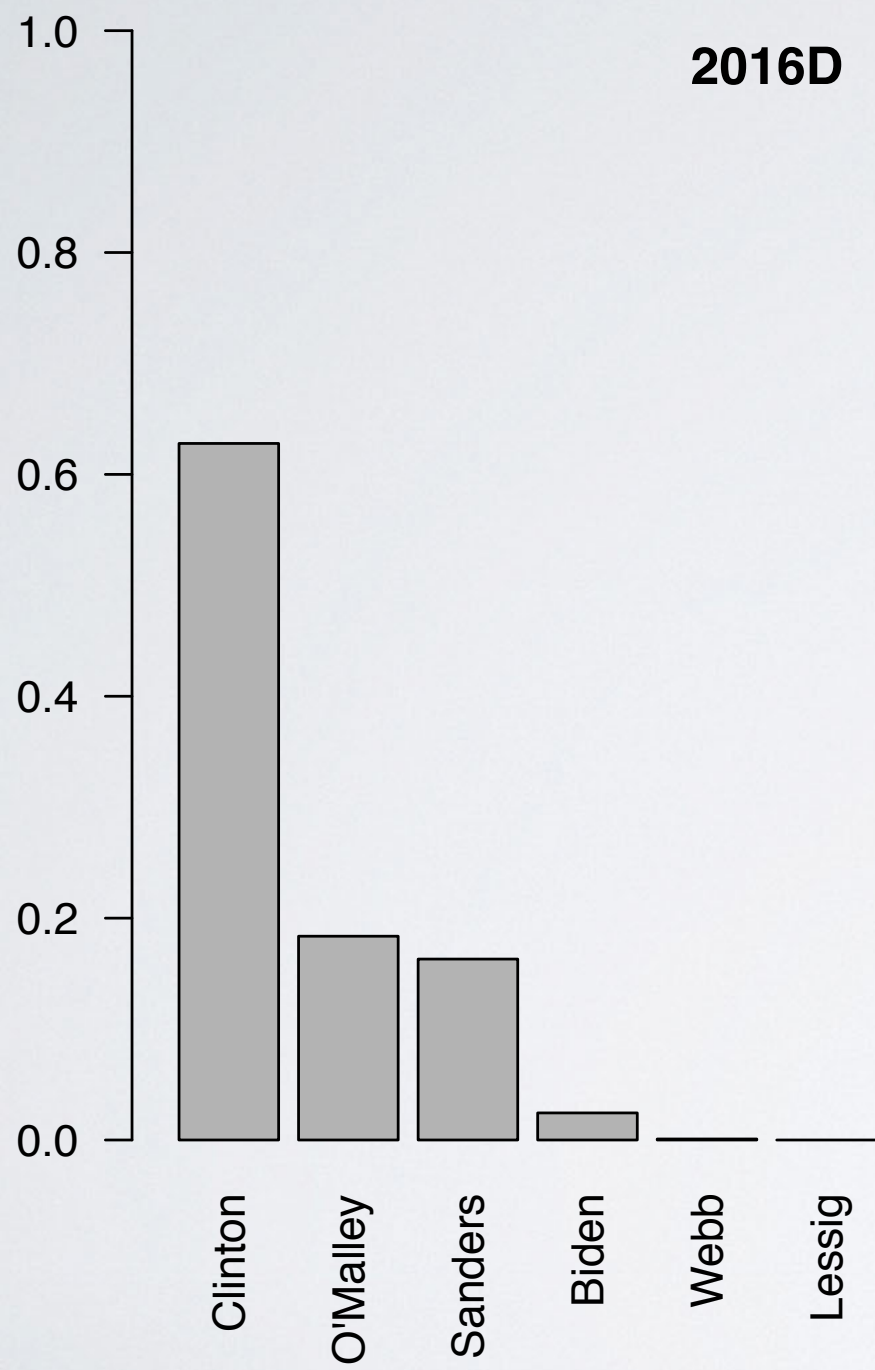


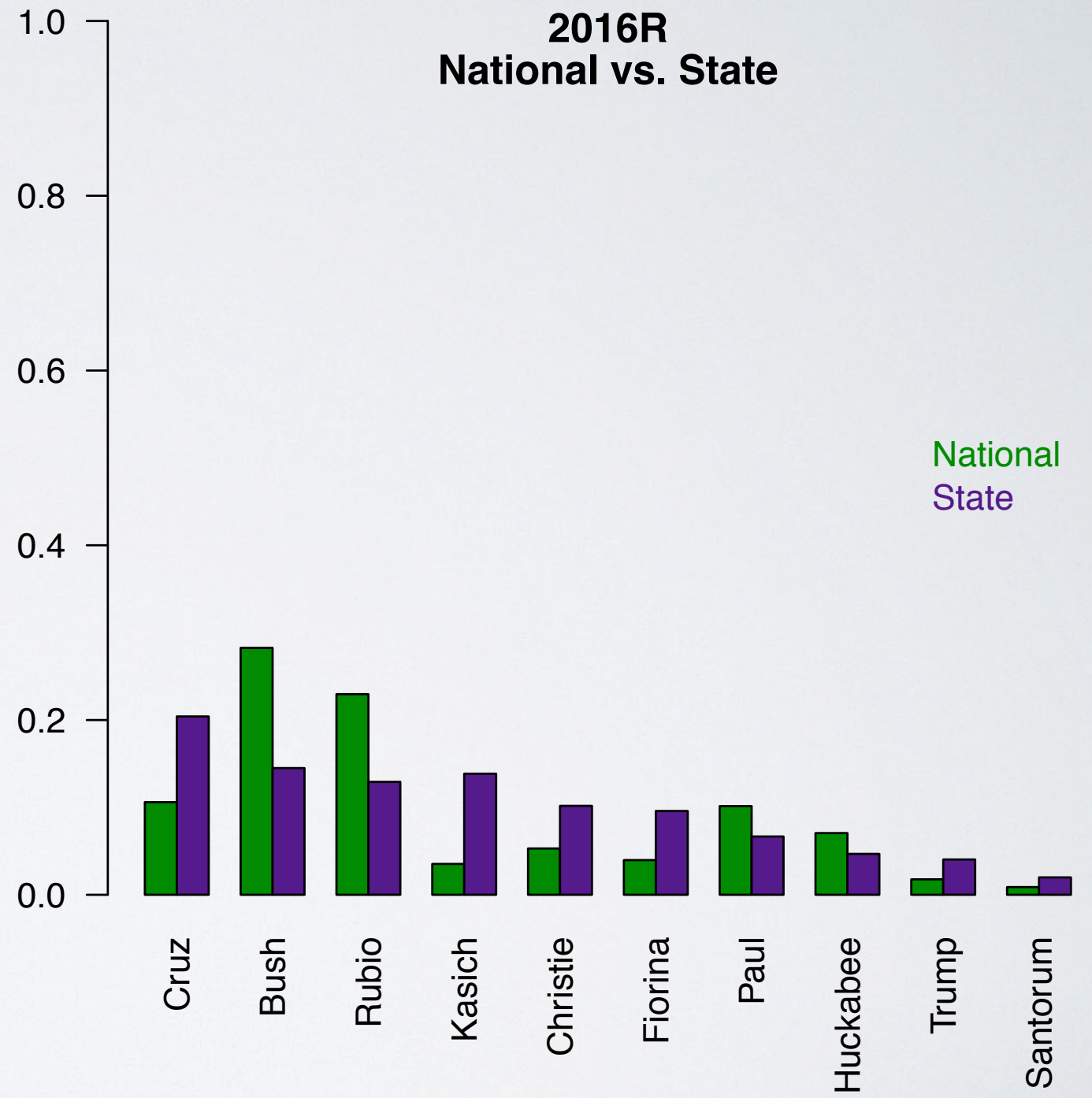
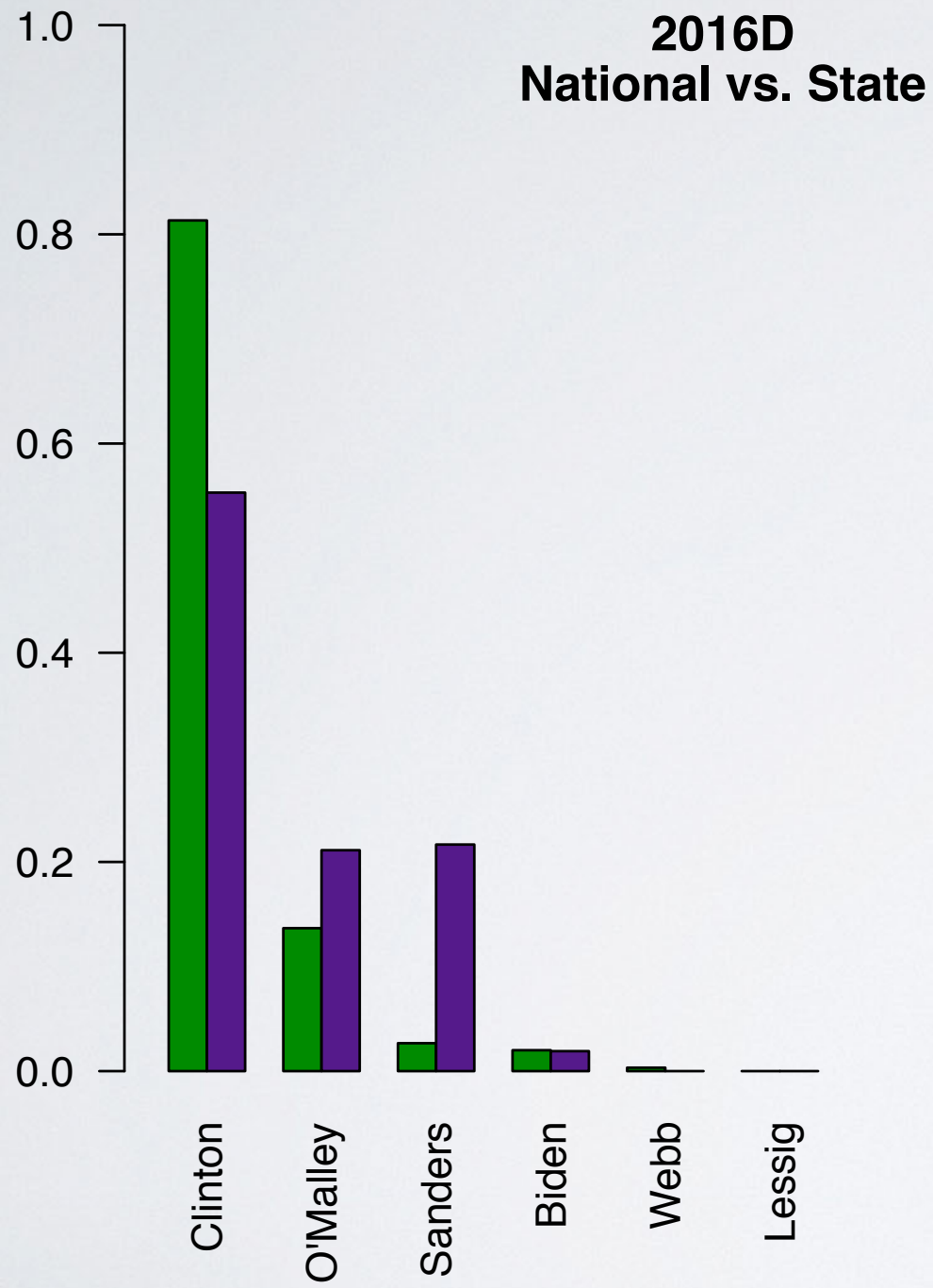






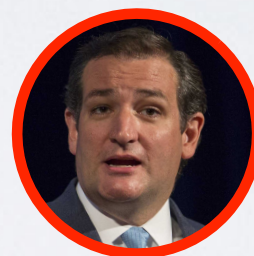






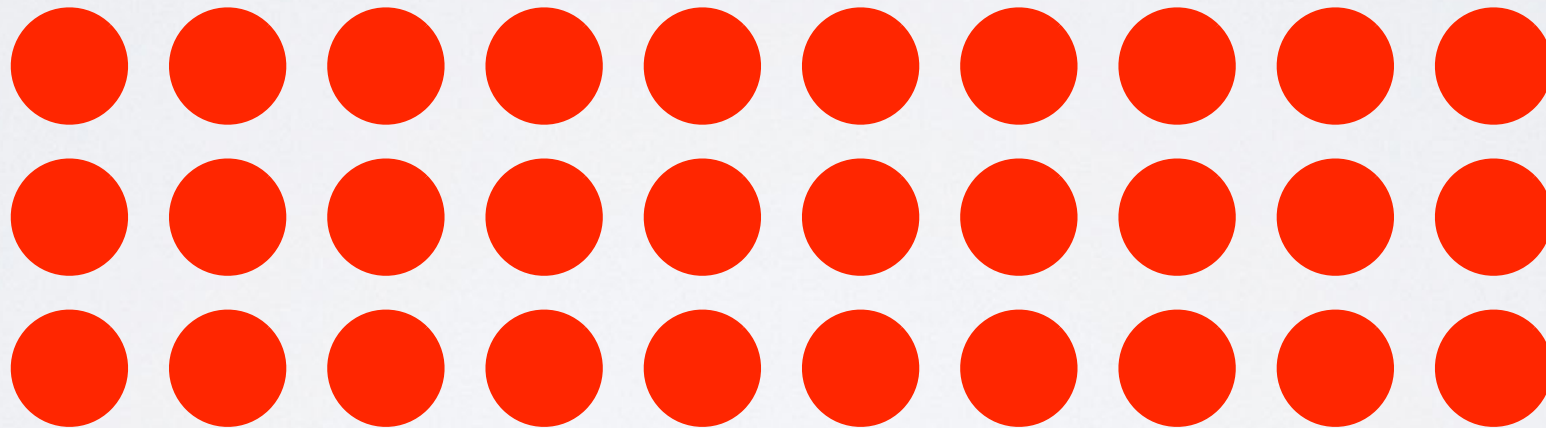
WHAT
THE PARTY DECIDES
TELLS US ABOUT 2016

2016 REPUBLICANS



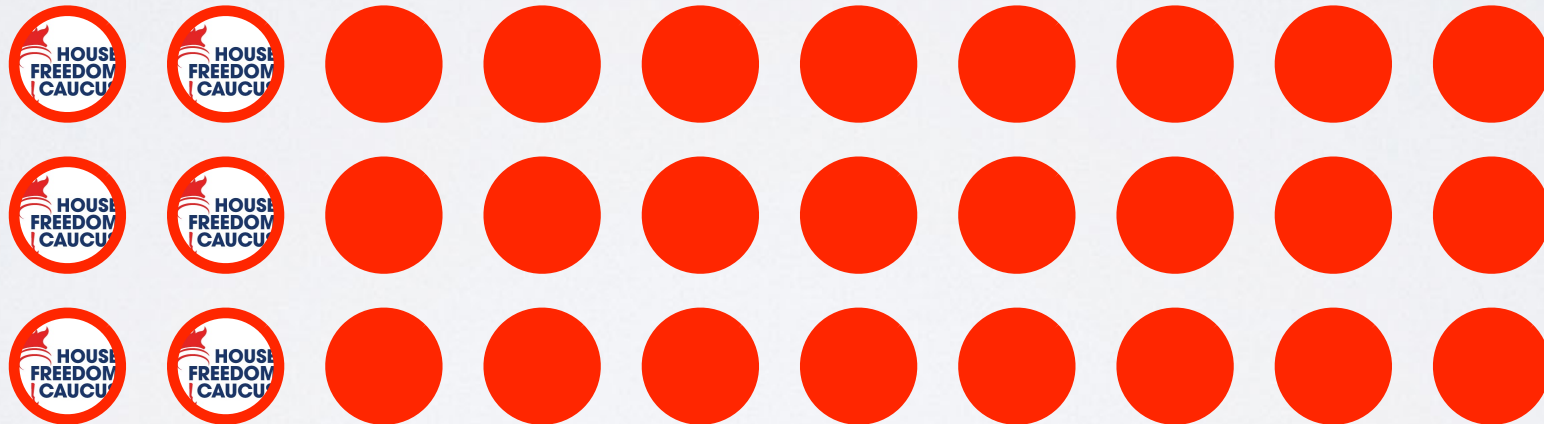
2016

REPUBLICANS



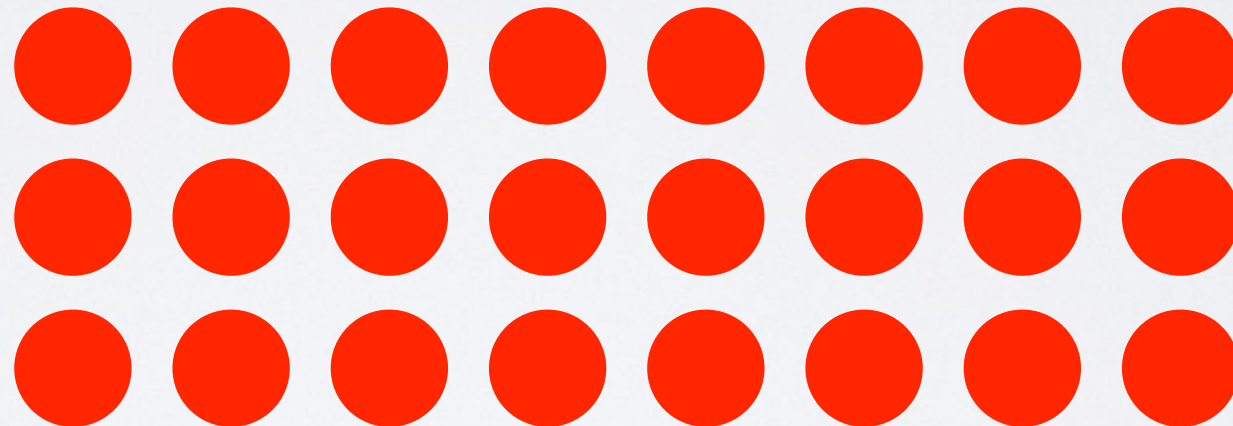
2016

REPUBLICANS



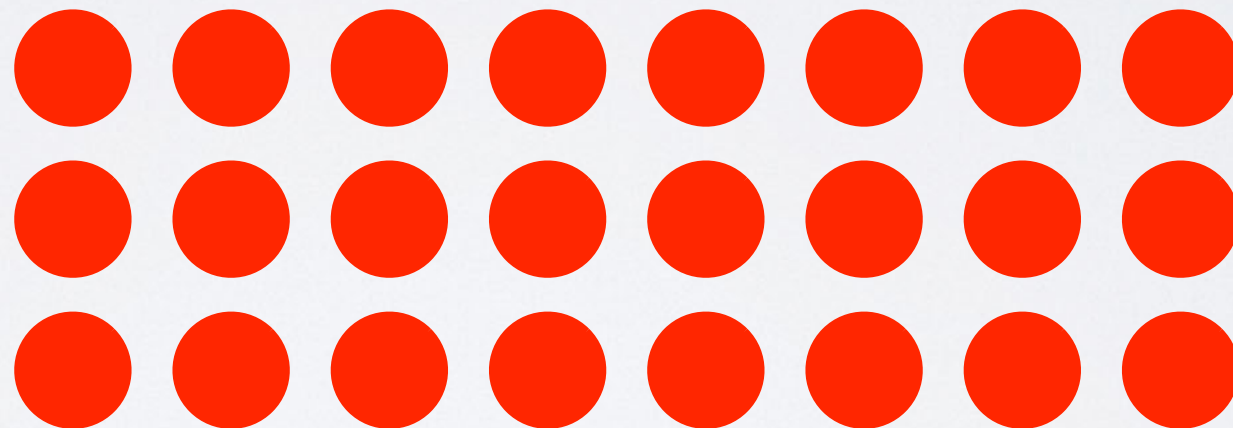
2016

REPUBLICANS



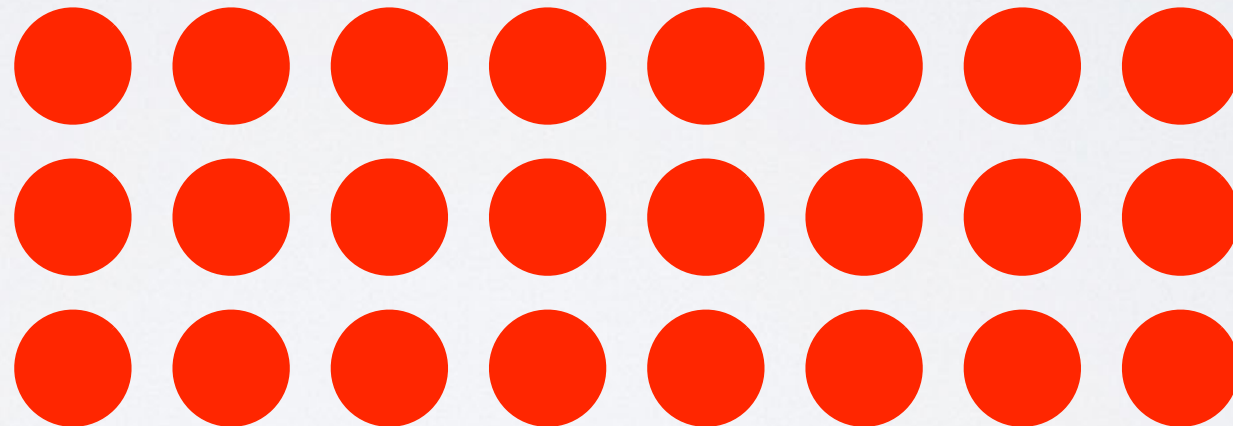
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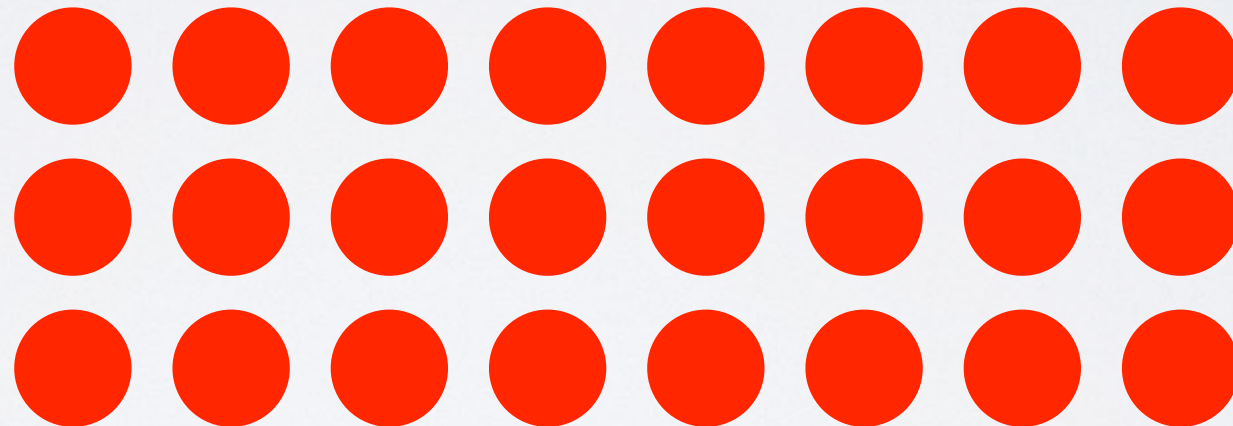
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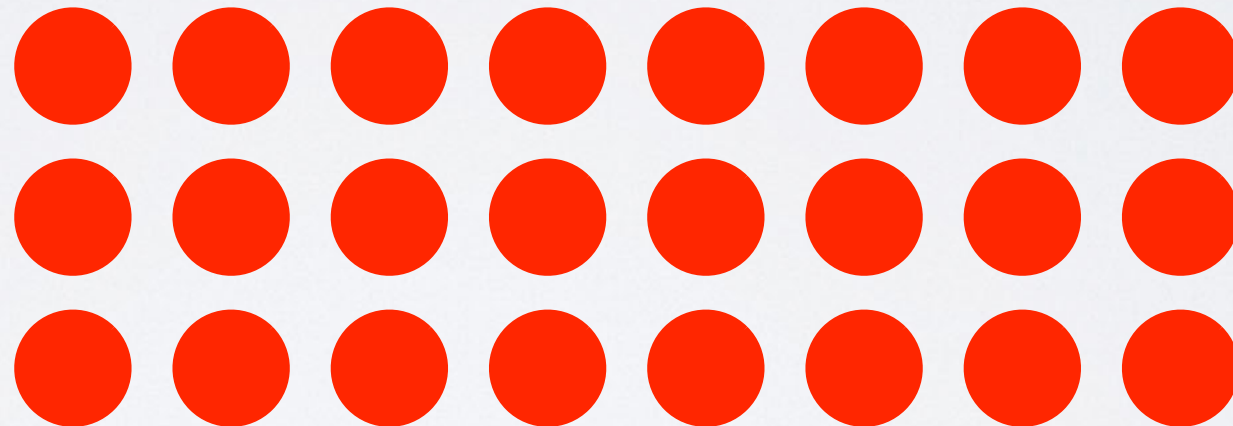
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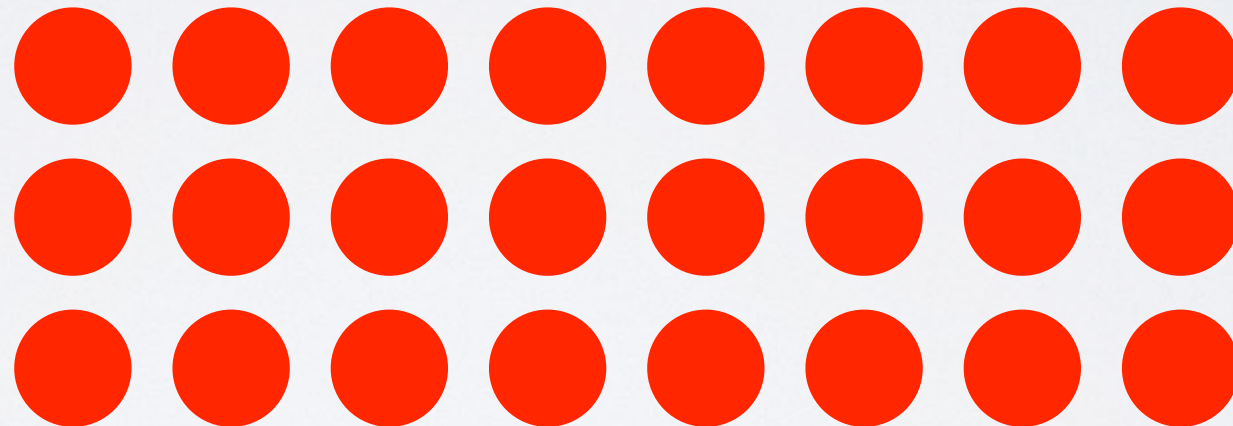
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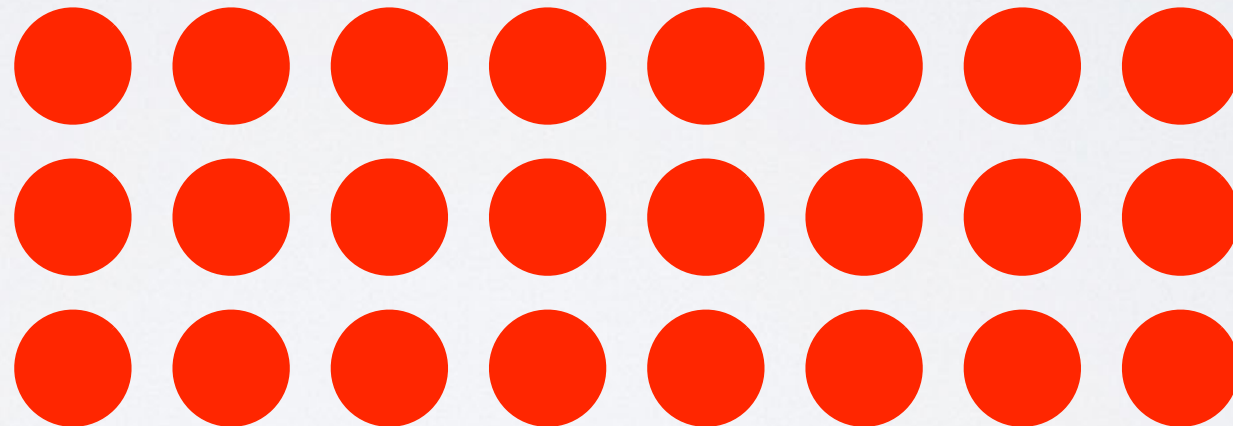
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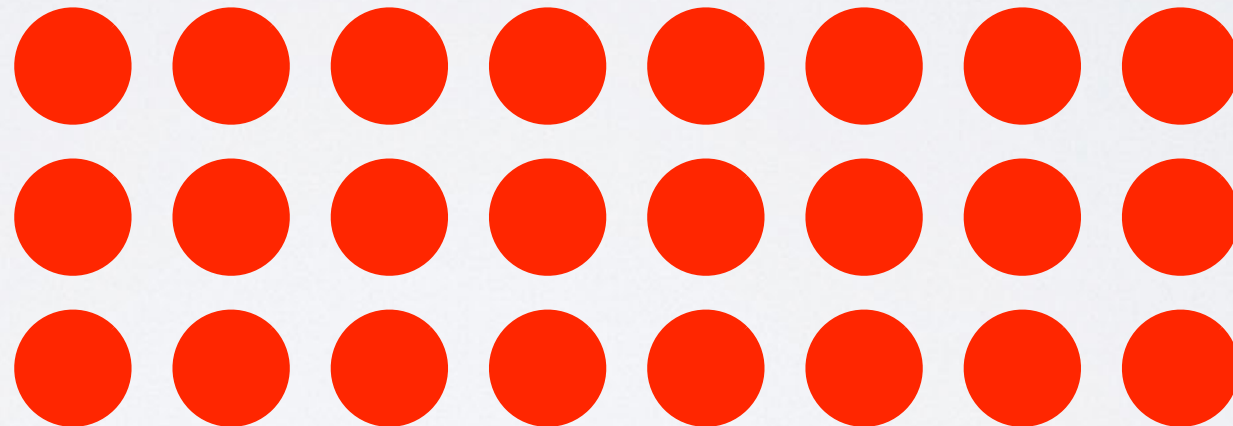
2016

REPUBLICANS

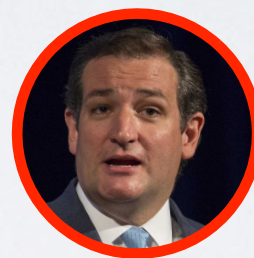


2016

REPUBLICANS



2016 REPUBLICANS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES



REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES



REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES



REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES



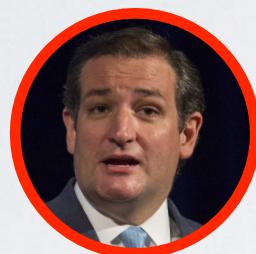
REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES

REGULARS

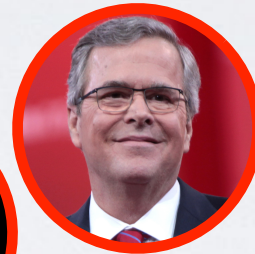
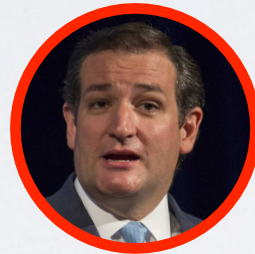


2016

REPUBLICANS

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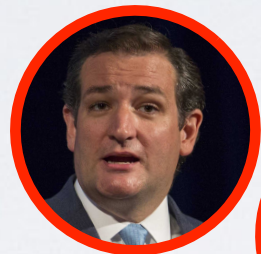


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REPUBLICANS

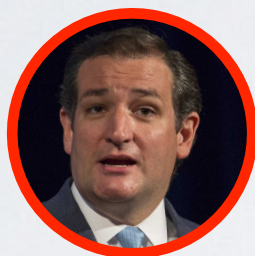
IDEOLOGUES

REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES

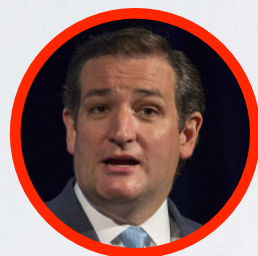


REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES

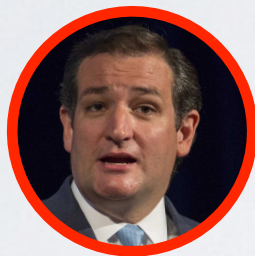


REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

IDEOLOGUES



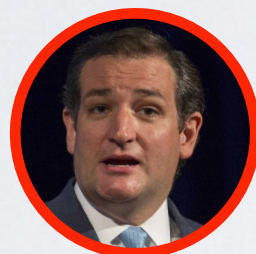
REGULARS



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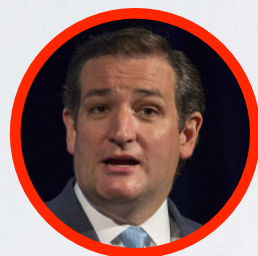
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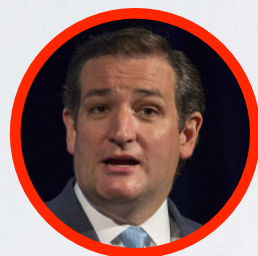


REGULARS



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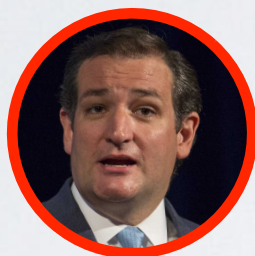
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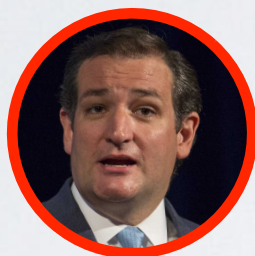
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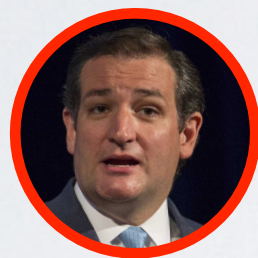
REGULARS



2016 REPUBLICANS

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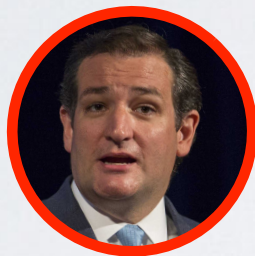


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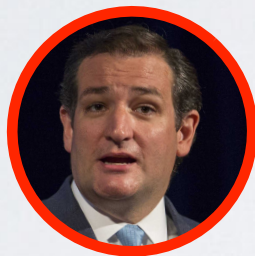


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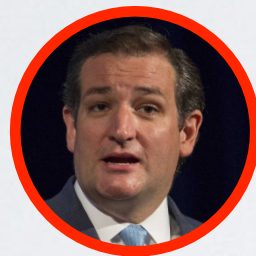
REGULARS



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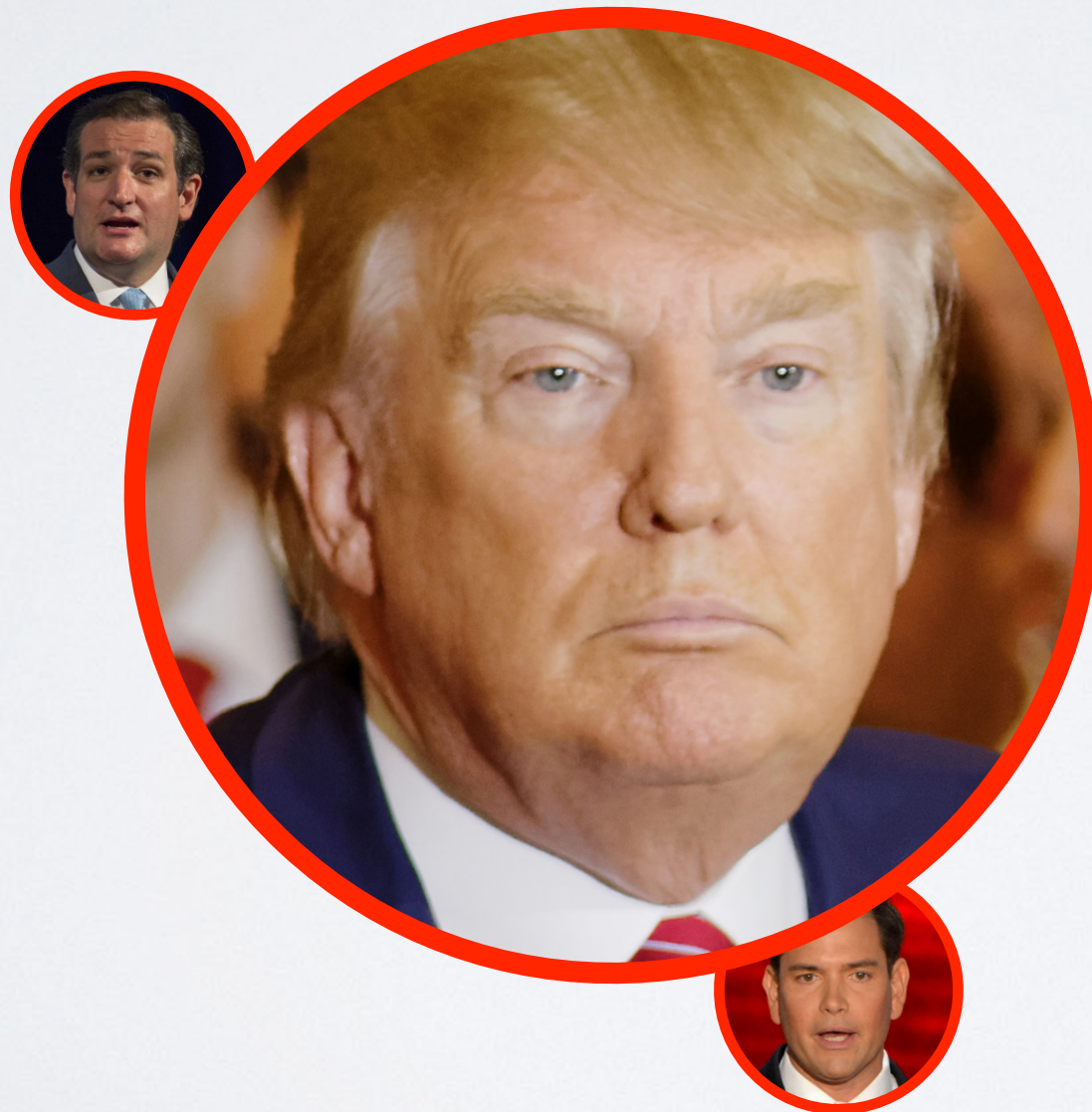


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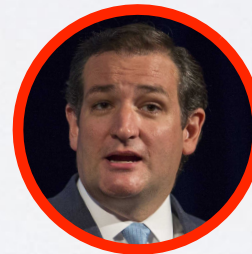


2016 REPUBLICANS

TRUMP



REGULARS
IDEOLOGUES



2016 REPUBLICANS

TRUMP



REPUBLICANS



2016 REPUBLICANS

TRUMP



REPUBLICANS



A **brokered convention.**

No candidate has an outright majority of delegates. The delegates make their choice.

2016 REPUBLICANS

TRUMP

REPUBLICANS



#NeverTrump

vs.

Party Loyalty

2016 REPUBLICANS

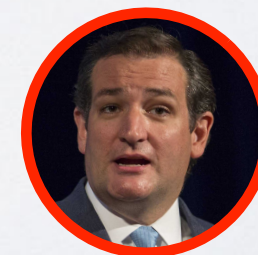
TRUMP



#NeverTrump



On The Fence



2016 REPUBLICANS

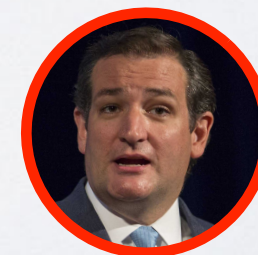
TRUMP



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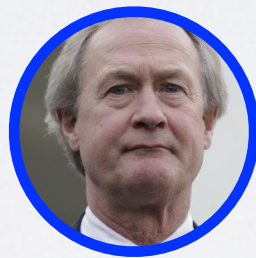
2016

DEMOCRATS



2016

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IDEOLOGUES

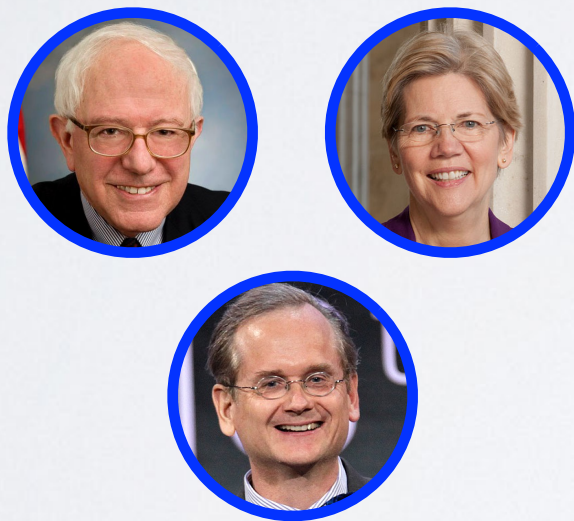


PRAGMATISTS



2016 DEMOCRATS

IDEOLOGUES



PRAGMATISTS



2016

DEMOCRATS

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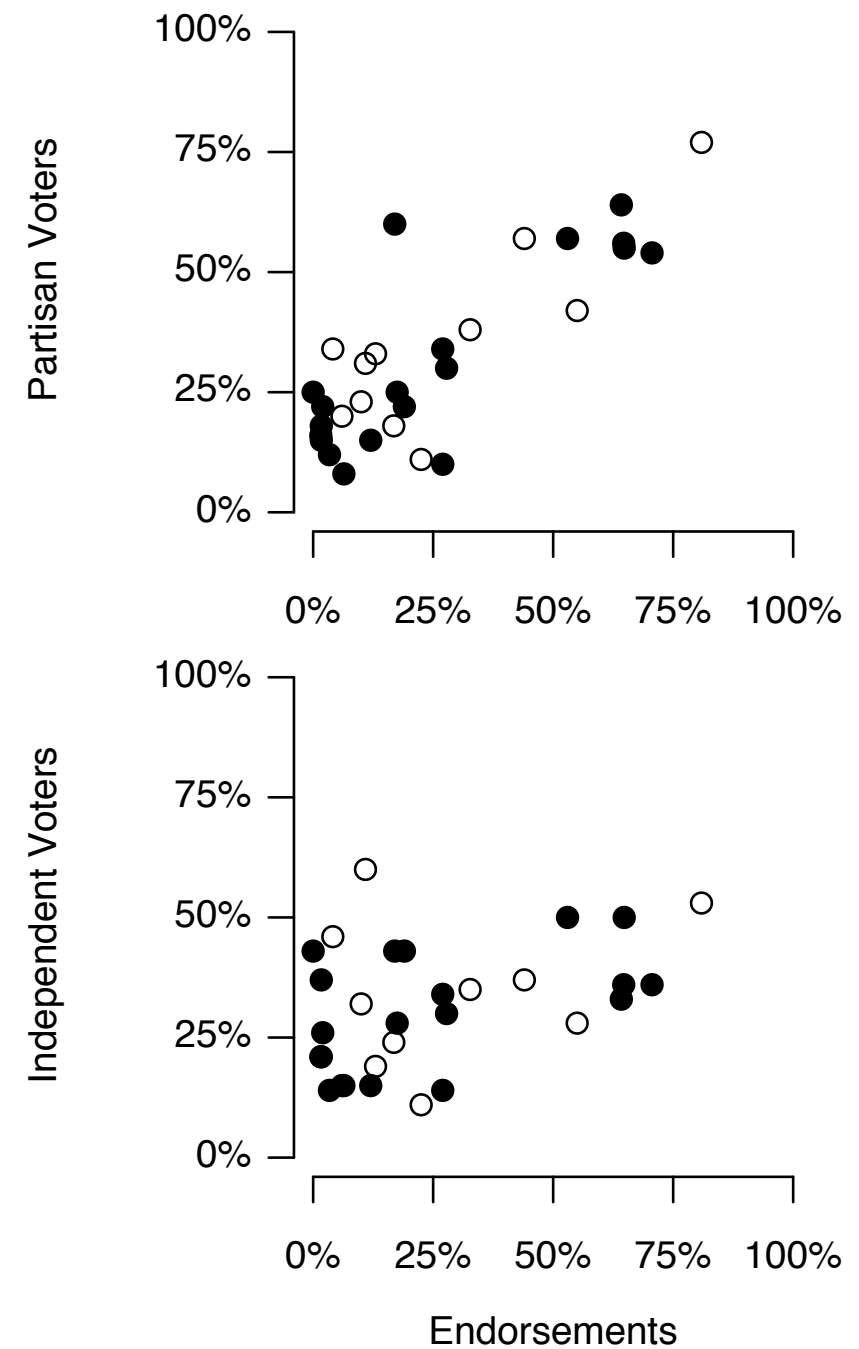
2016

DEMOCRATS





FIGURE 9-5: Vote shares vs. Endorsements



Endorsements is the percent of all politically weighted endorsements for each candidate in the year prior to the primaries, up to the day before the Iowa caucuses. Primary election vote shares are from Mayer 2007.

Solid circles are Democrats. Open circles are Republicans.

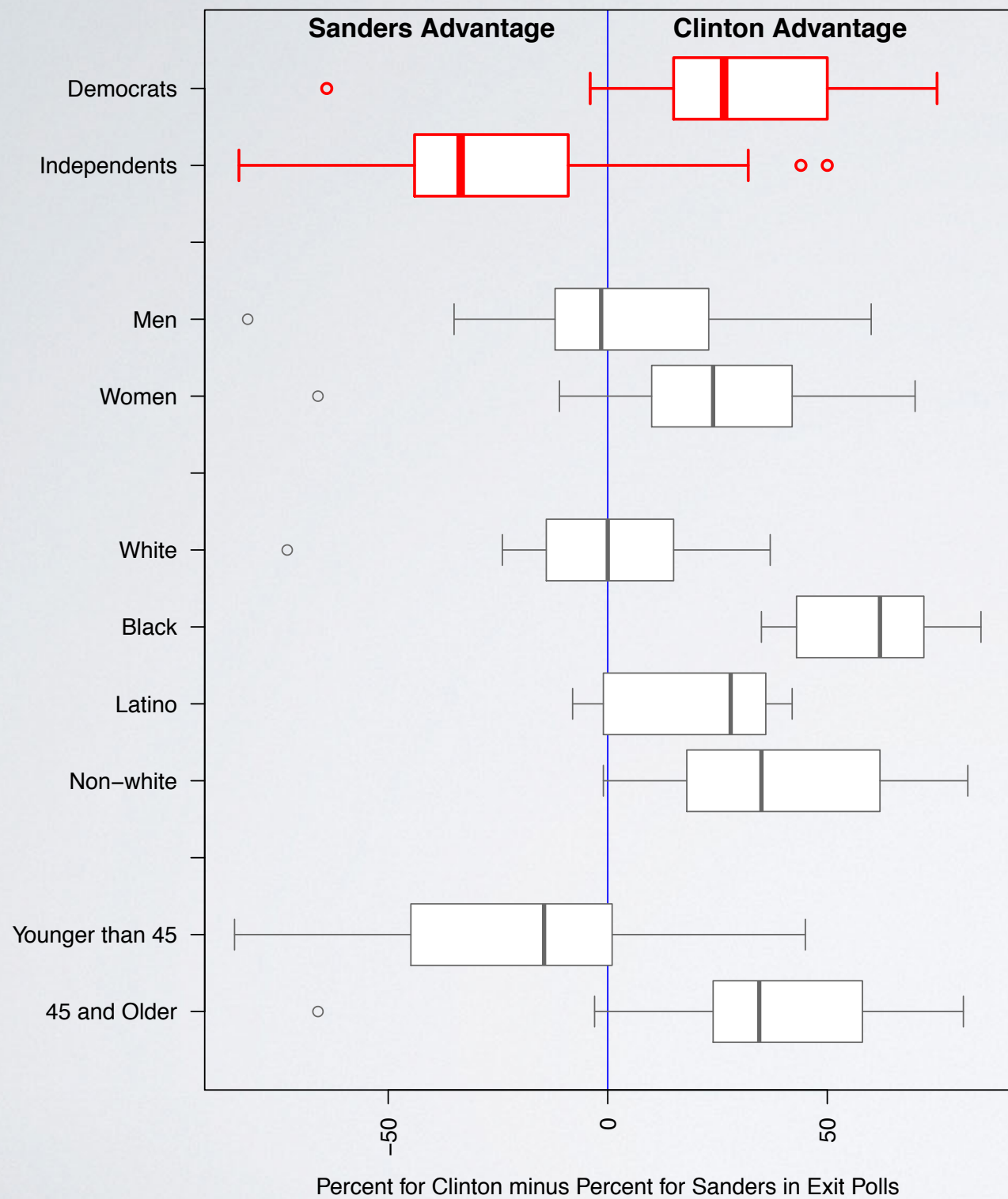
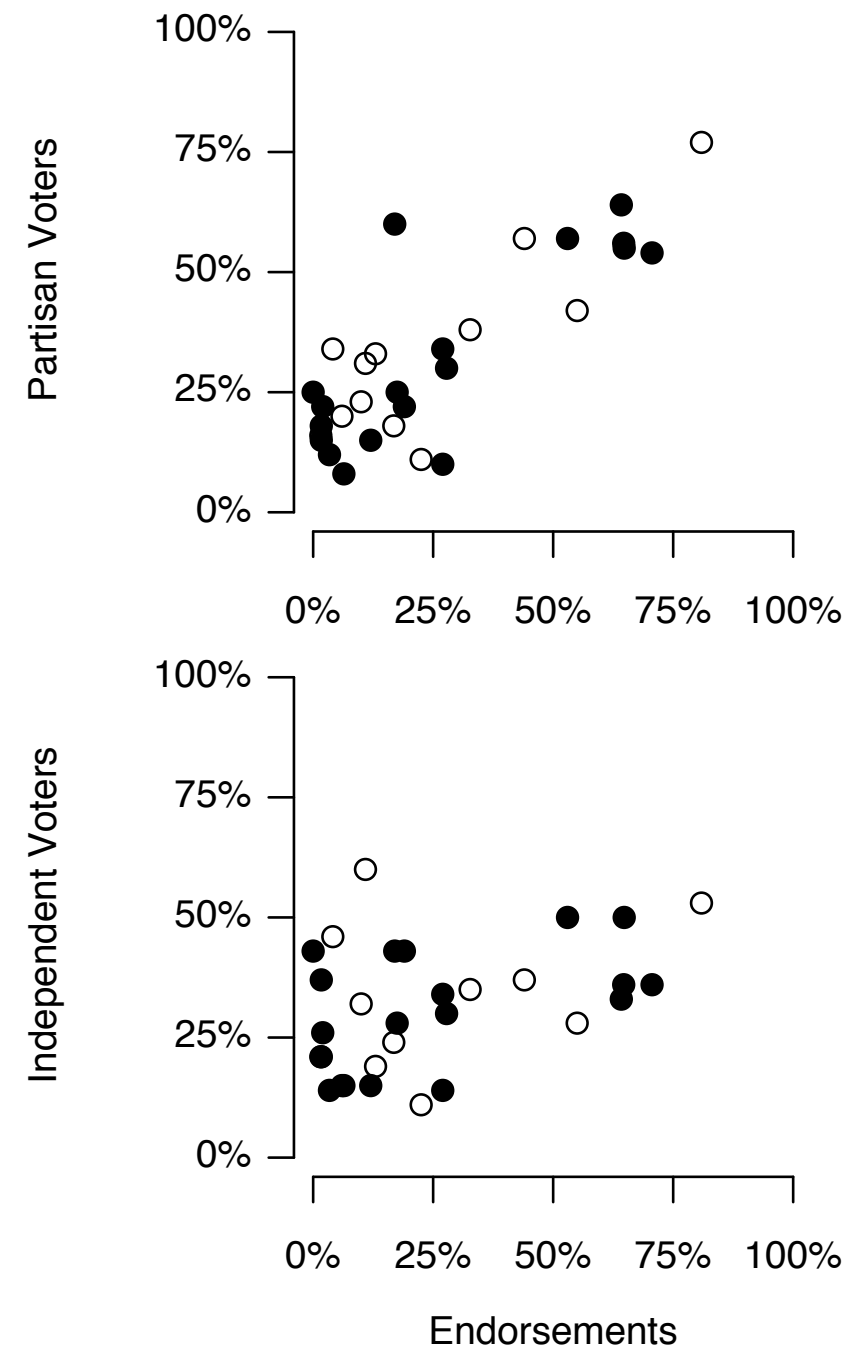


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WHAT
2016 TELLS US ABOUT
THE PARTY DECIDES

THE PARTY DECIDES

1. Focus on POV of the party

Candidates want to win the office.

Party wants to nominate the best candidate

2. Expand definition of the party

Party includes groups and activists

3. Parties struggle to control nominations

“Before and After Reform”

Co-evolution of challenges, party leaders

4. The party uses the invisible primary

Coordinate

Can think like a party

5. Party helps its choice win

Signals to voters

Resources and information to win

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Clinton still winning

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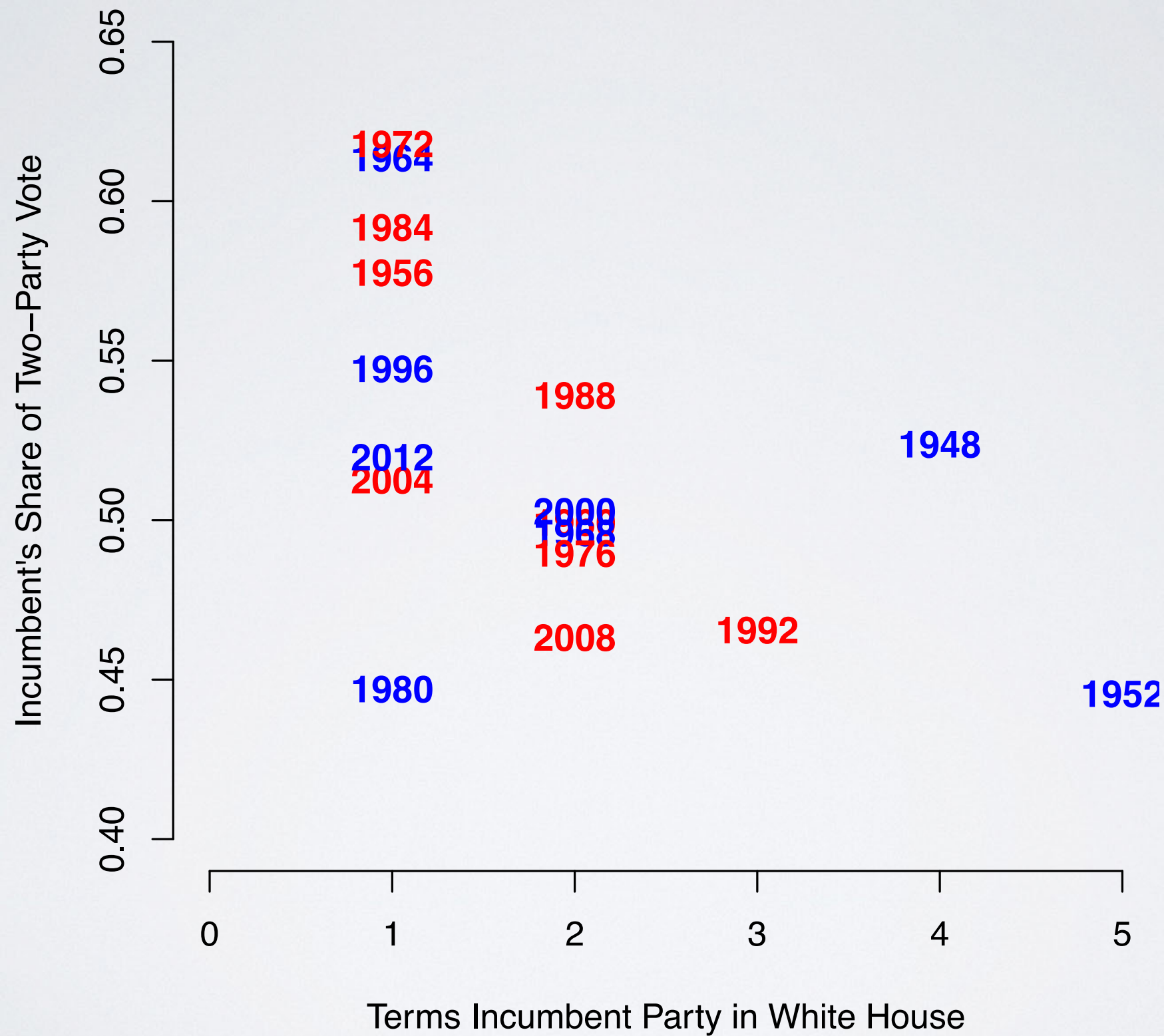
Resources and information to win

2016

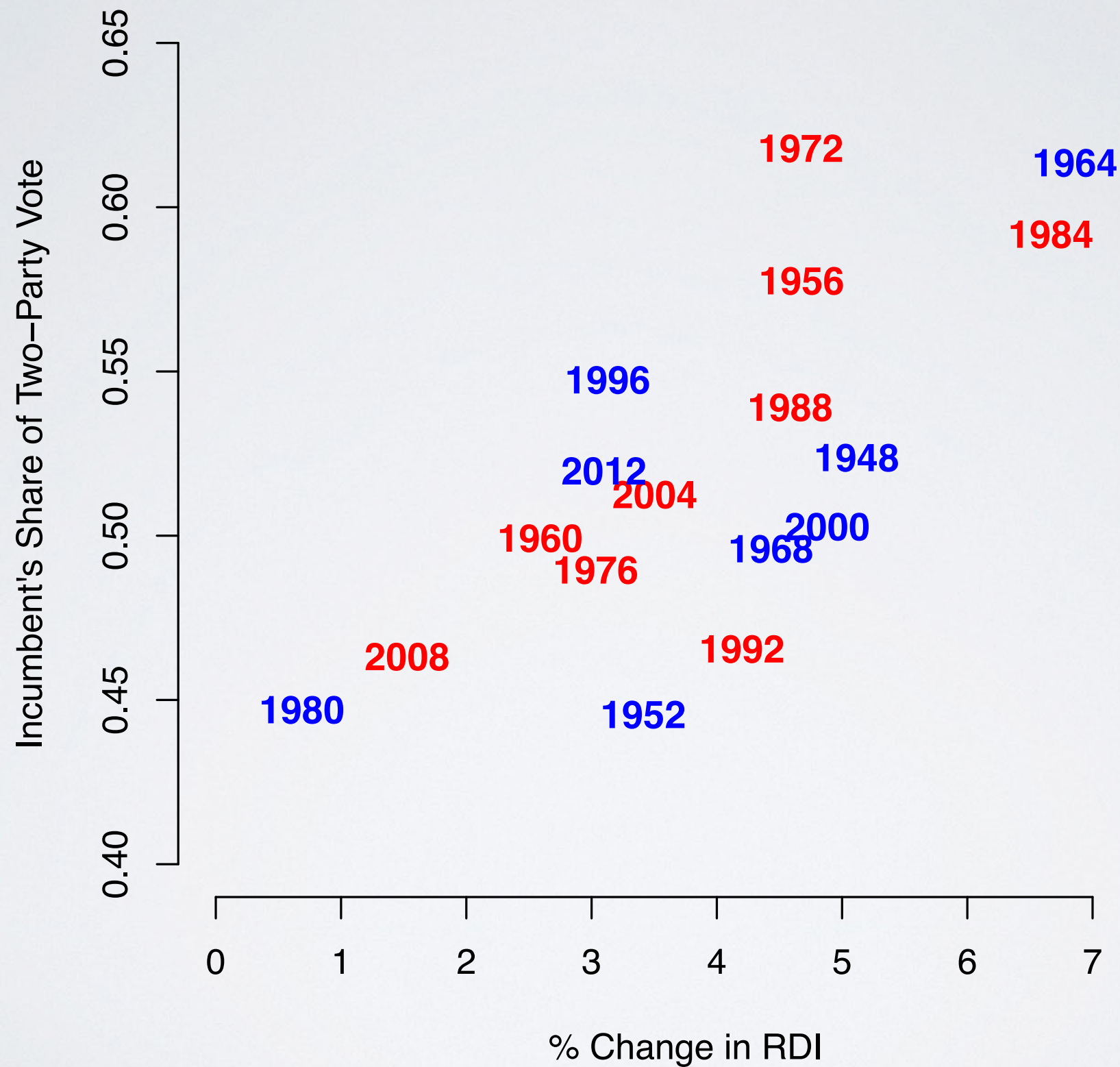
GENERAL ELECTION



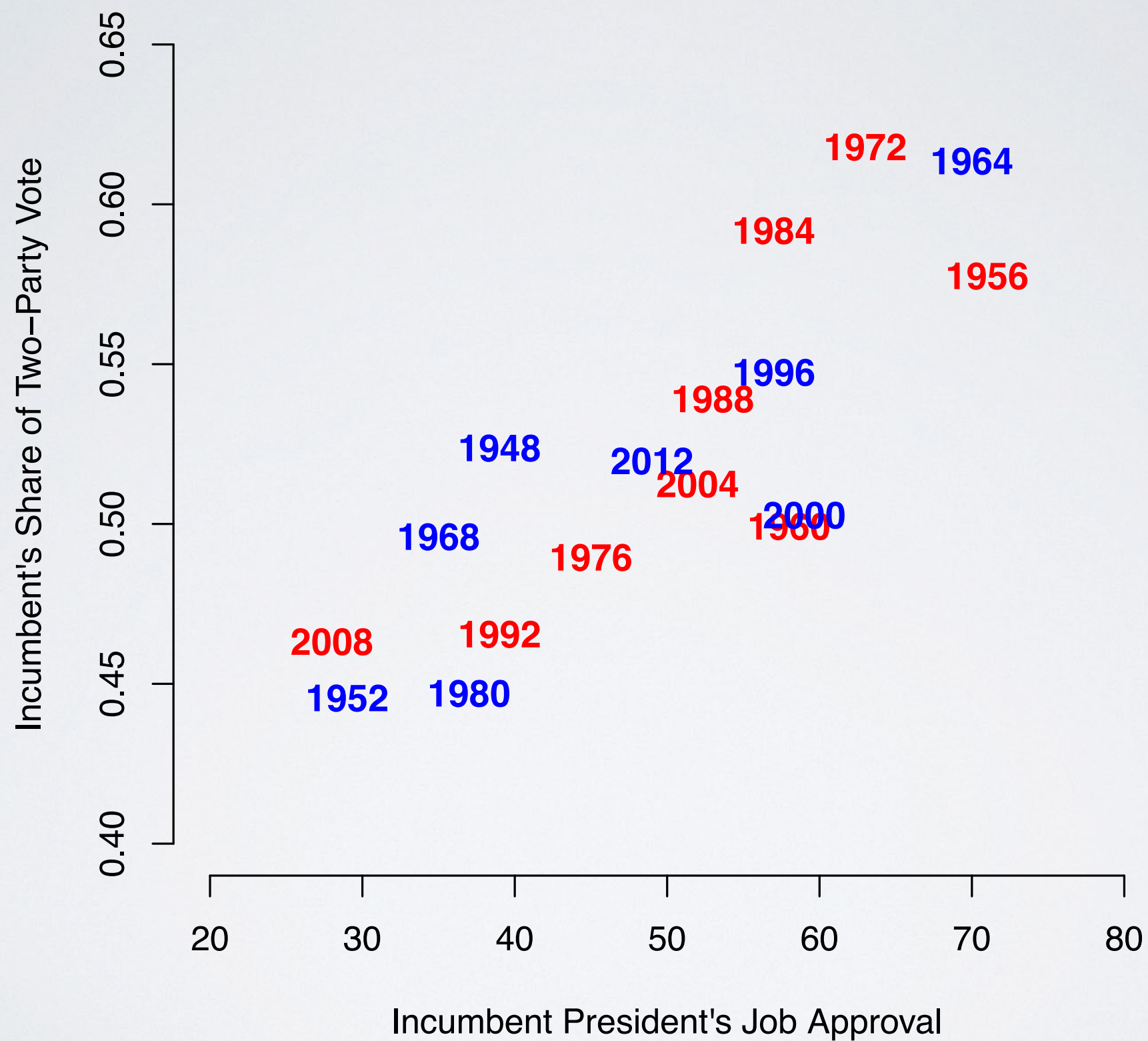
Presidential Vote vs. Time in Office, 1948–2012



Presidential Vote vs. Economy, 1948–2012



Presidential Vote vs. Job Approval, 1948–2012



A PREDICTION

Change in Quarterly RDI 1.75

(0.13)

0.00

Terms in office -1.34

(1.18)

0.10

President's Approval 0.15

(0.08)

0.07

Constant 40.13

(4.01)

Adjusted $R^2=79.6$; $N=17$

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45.6 to **56.6**

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Incumbent party
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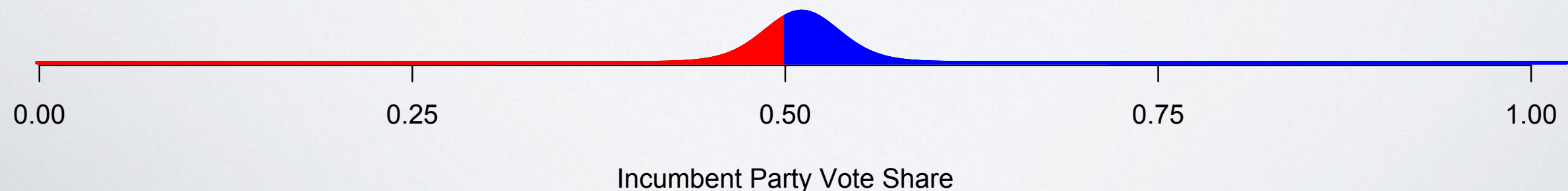
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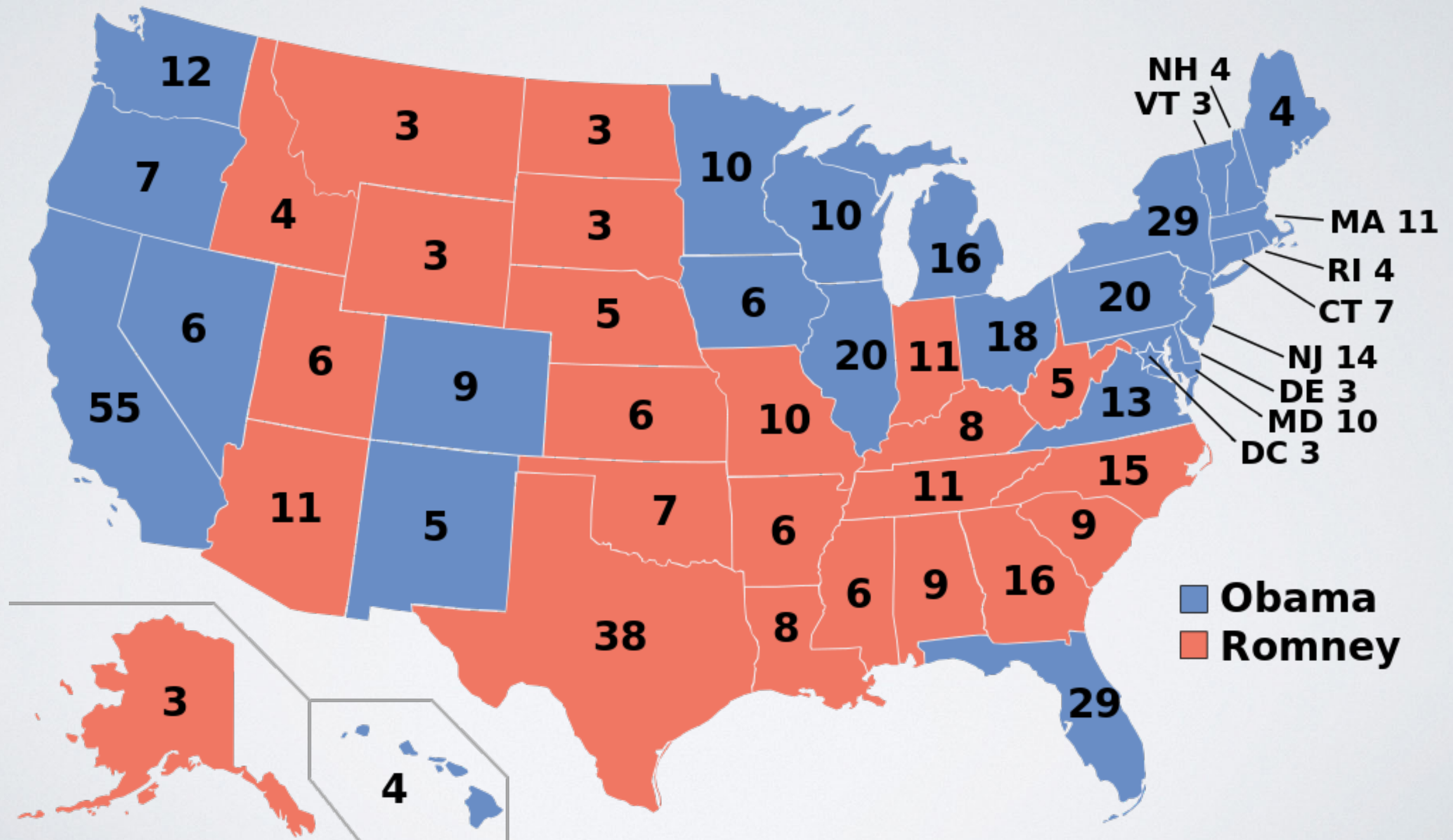


2016

GENERAL ELECTION

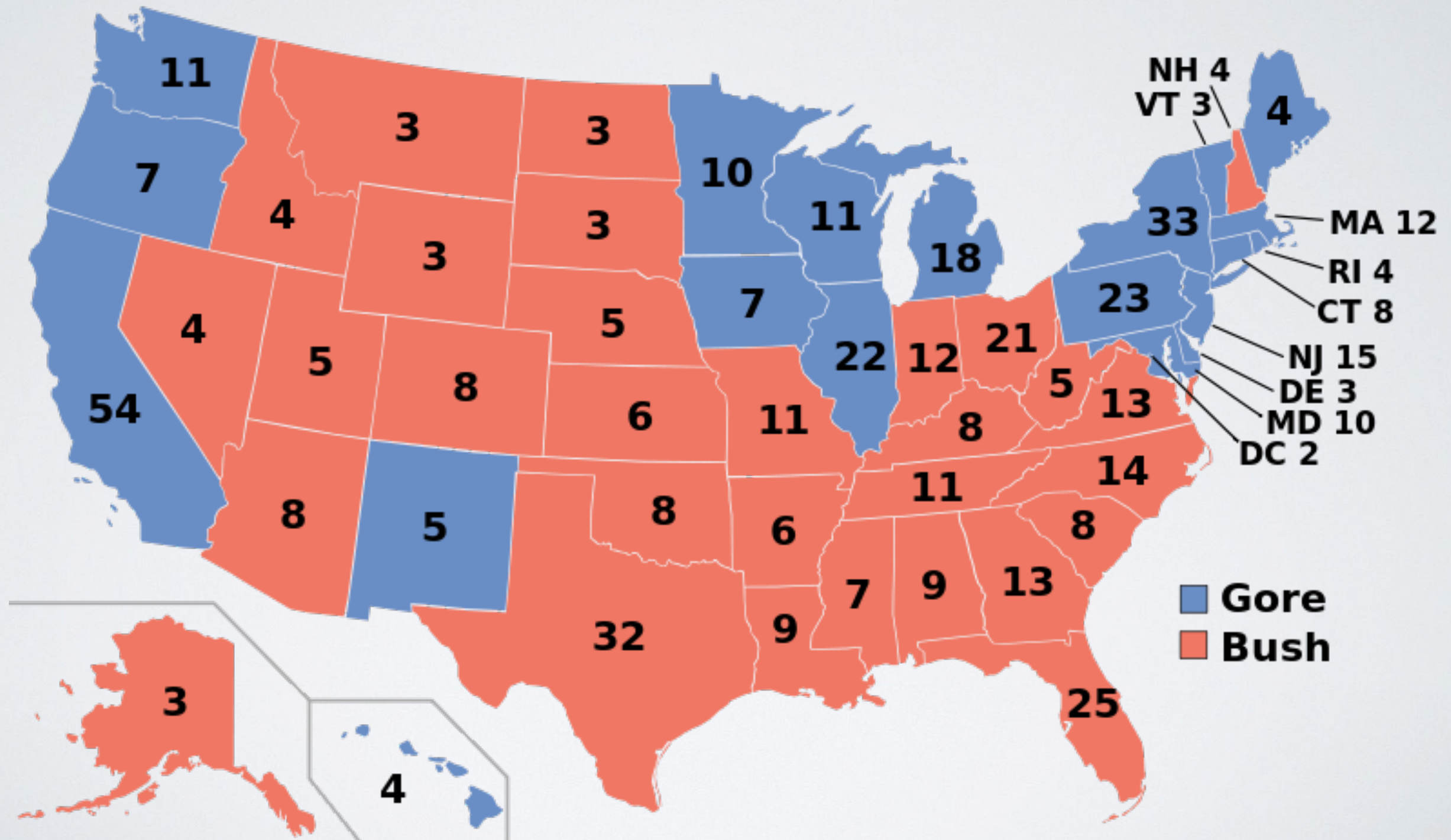


2012 ELECTORAL COLLEGE



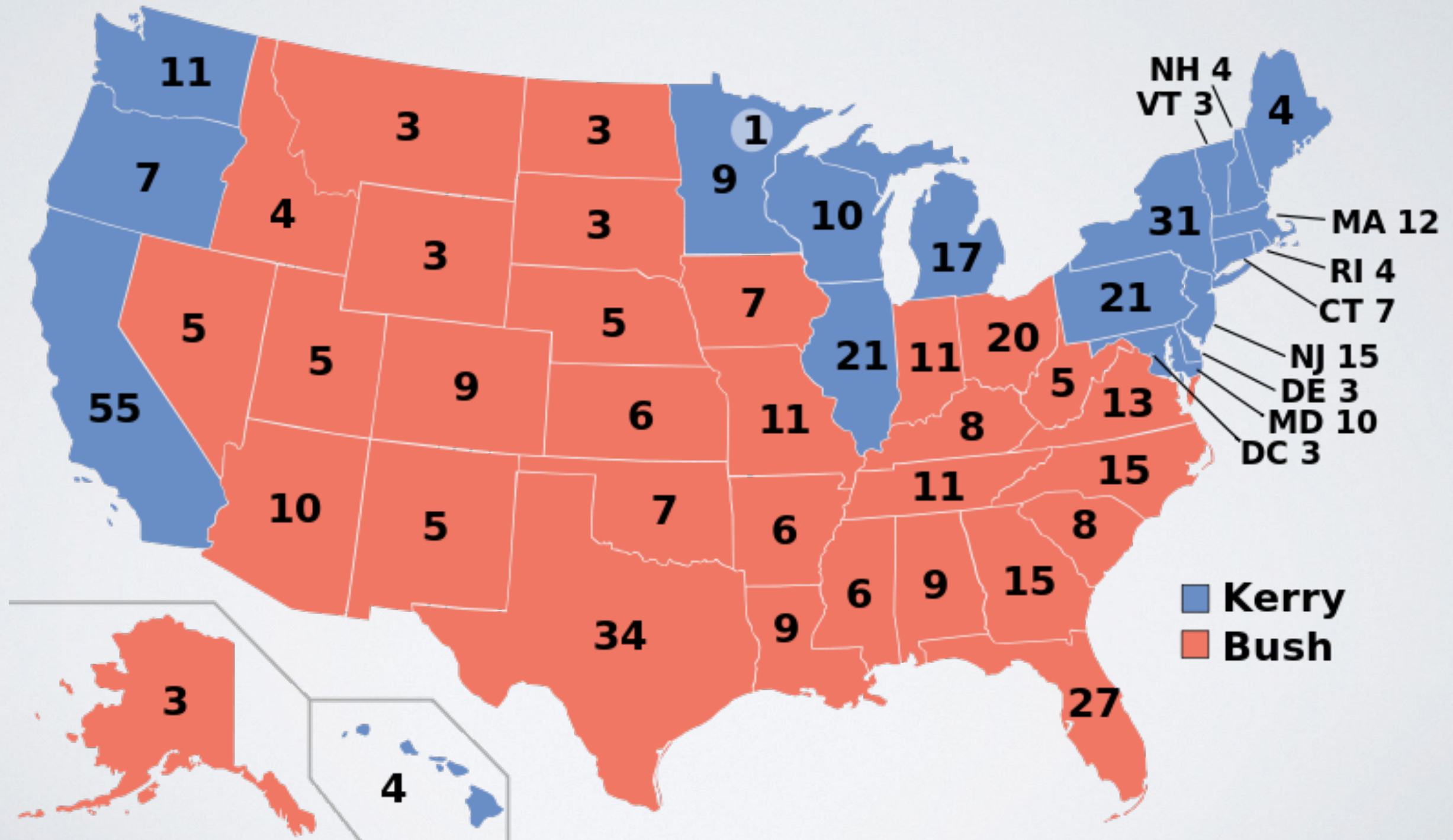
2000

RED AND BLUE MAP



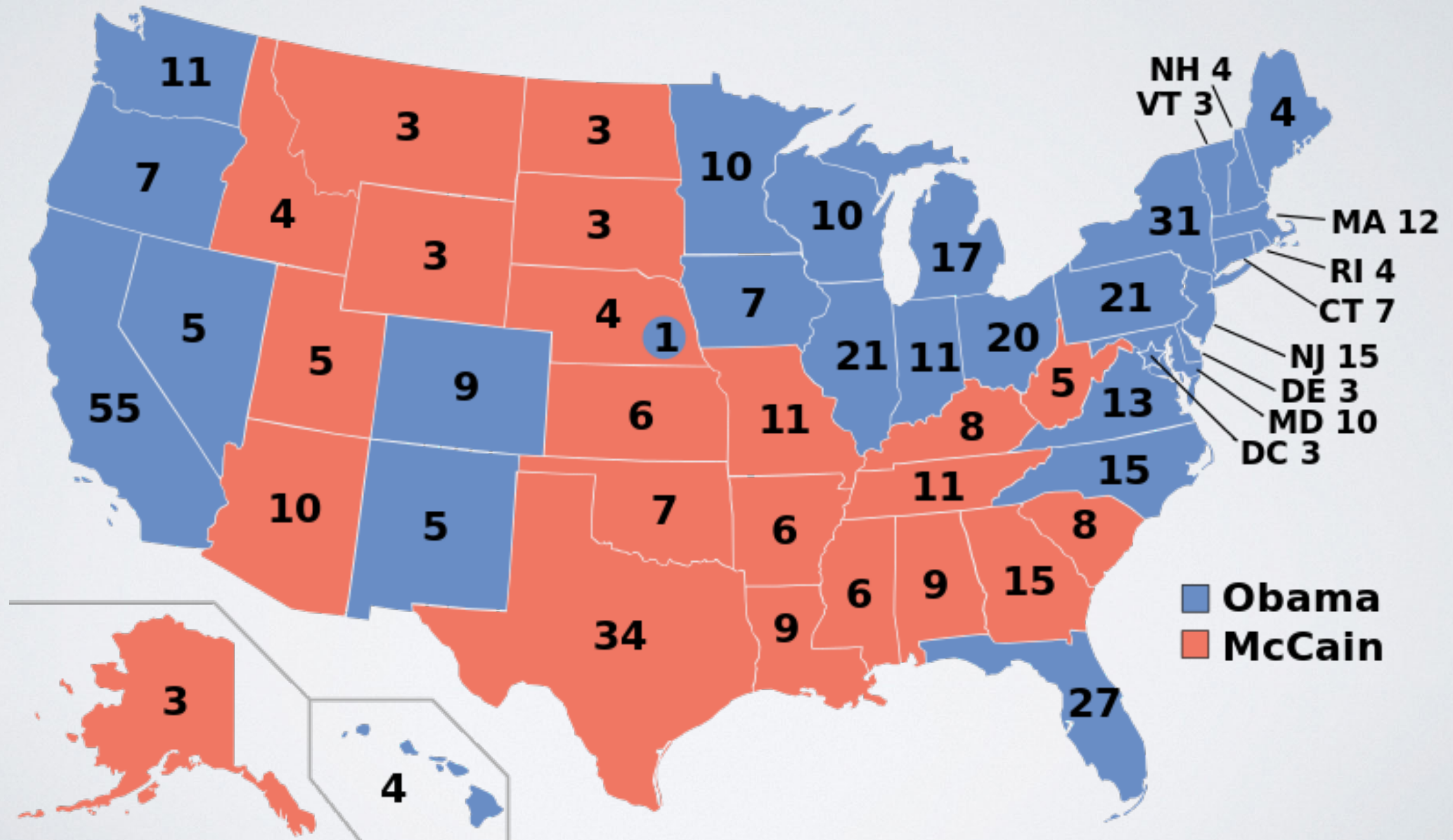
2004

RED AND BLUE MAP

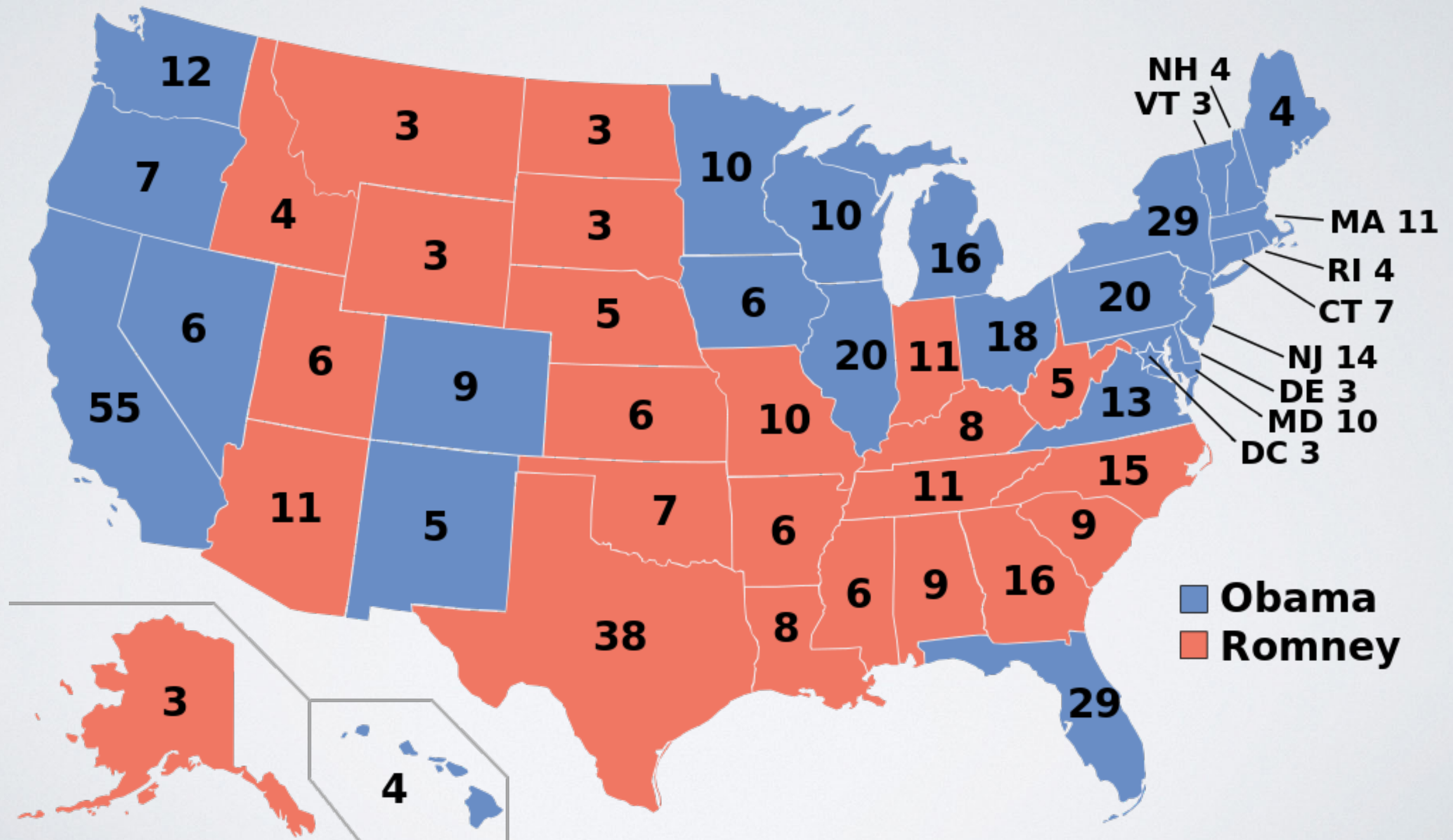


2008

RED AND BLUE MAP

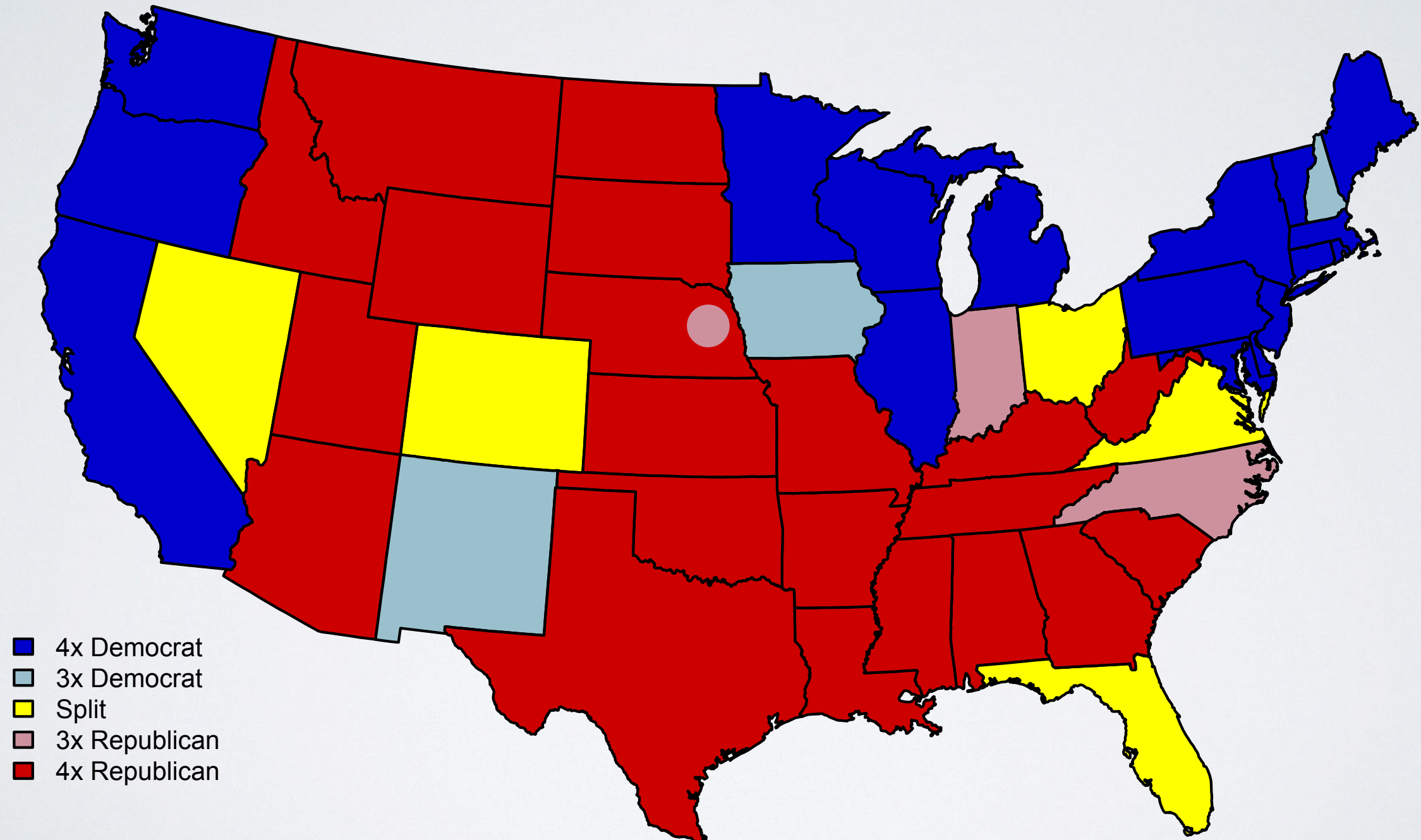


2012 RED AND BLUE MAP

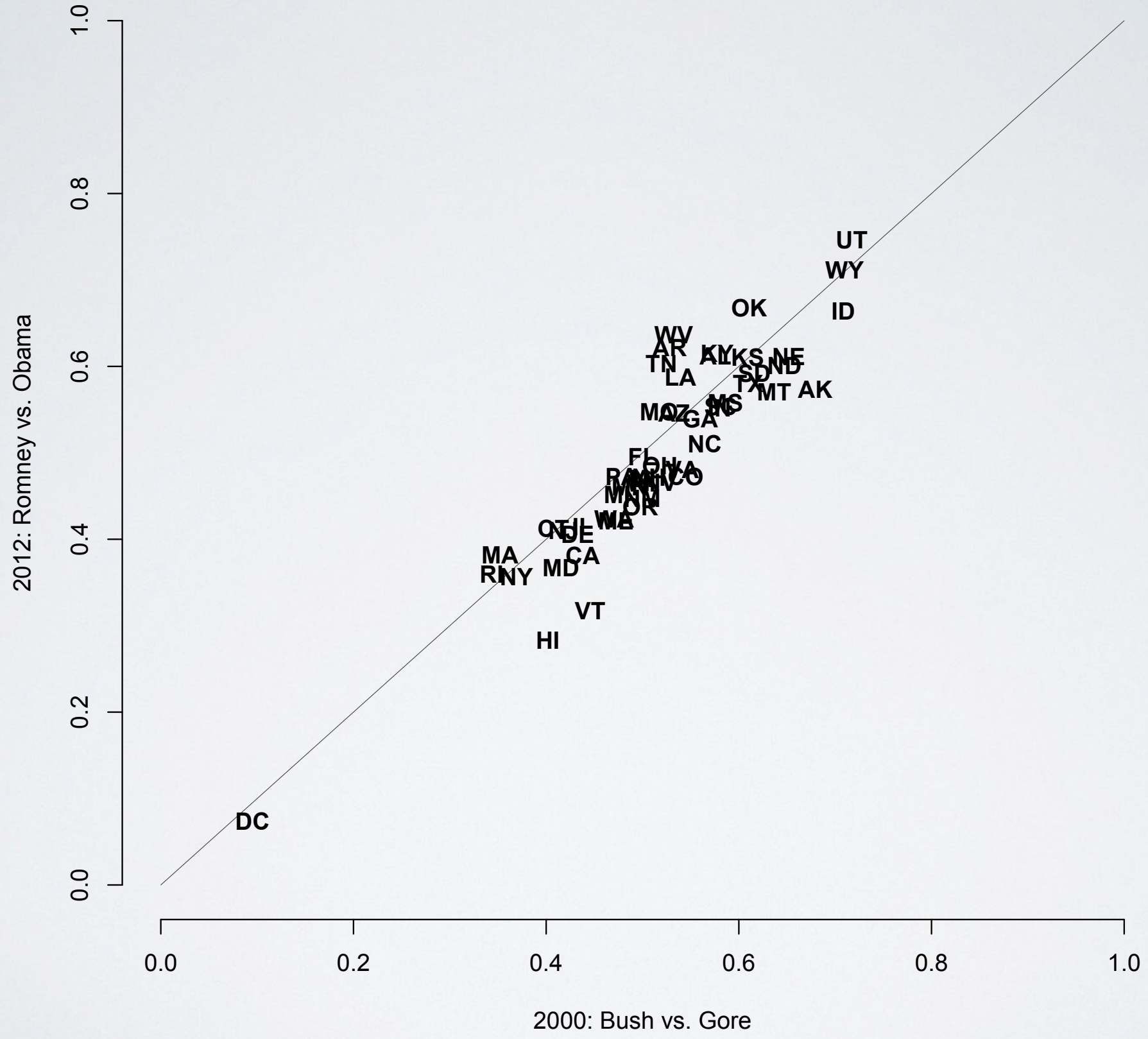


2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

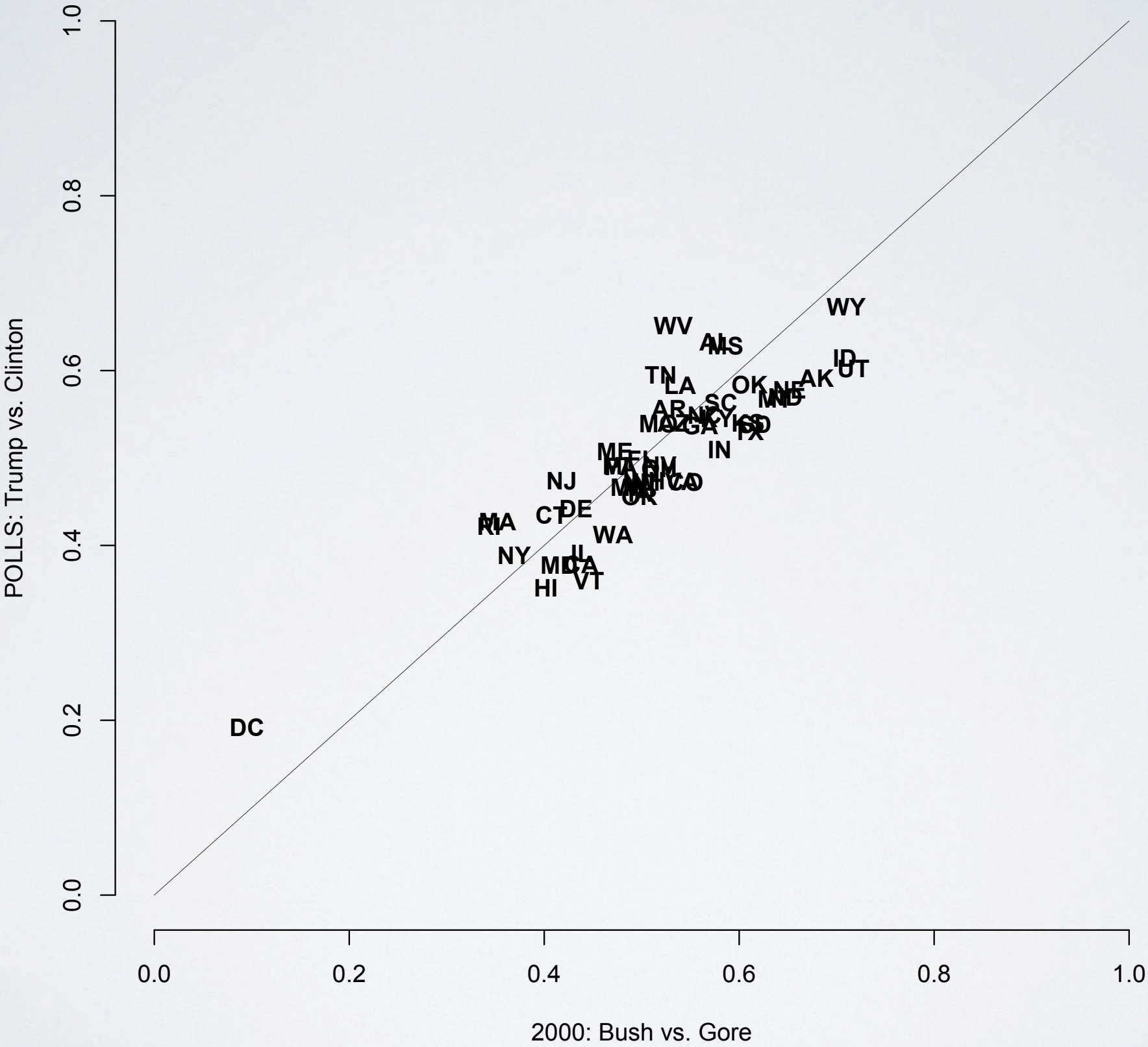
RED AND BLUE MAP



2000 Election predicts 2012 Election



2000 Election predicts 2016 Trial Heats



2016

GENERAL ELECTION




THANK YOU

Hans Noel

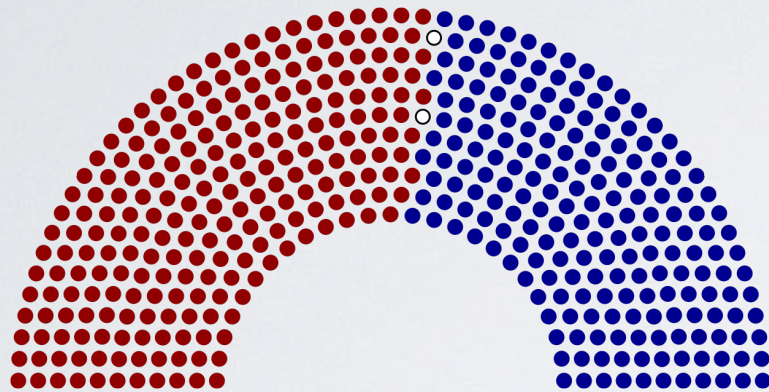
Georgetown University

hcn4@georgetown.edu

 @ProfHansNoel

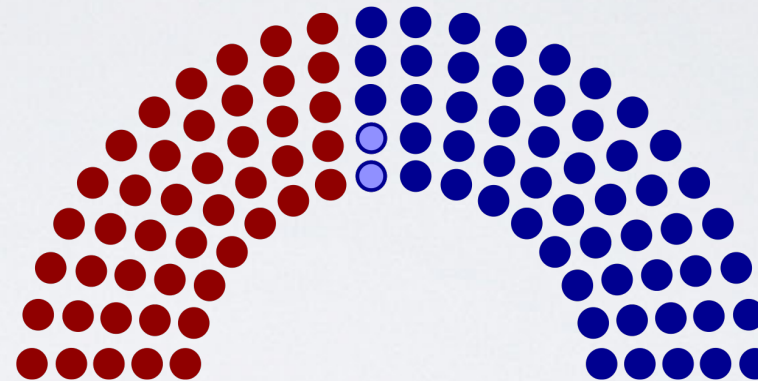
<http://hansnoel.com>

SENATE



House of Representatives

- 435 members
- Directly elected by FPTP in districts



Senate

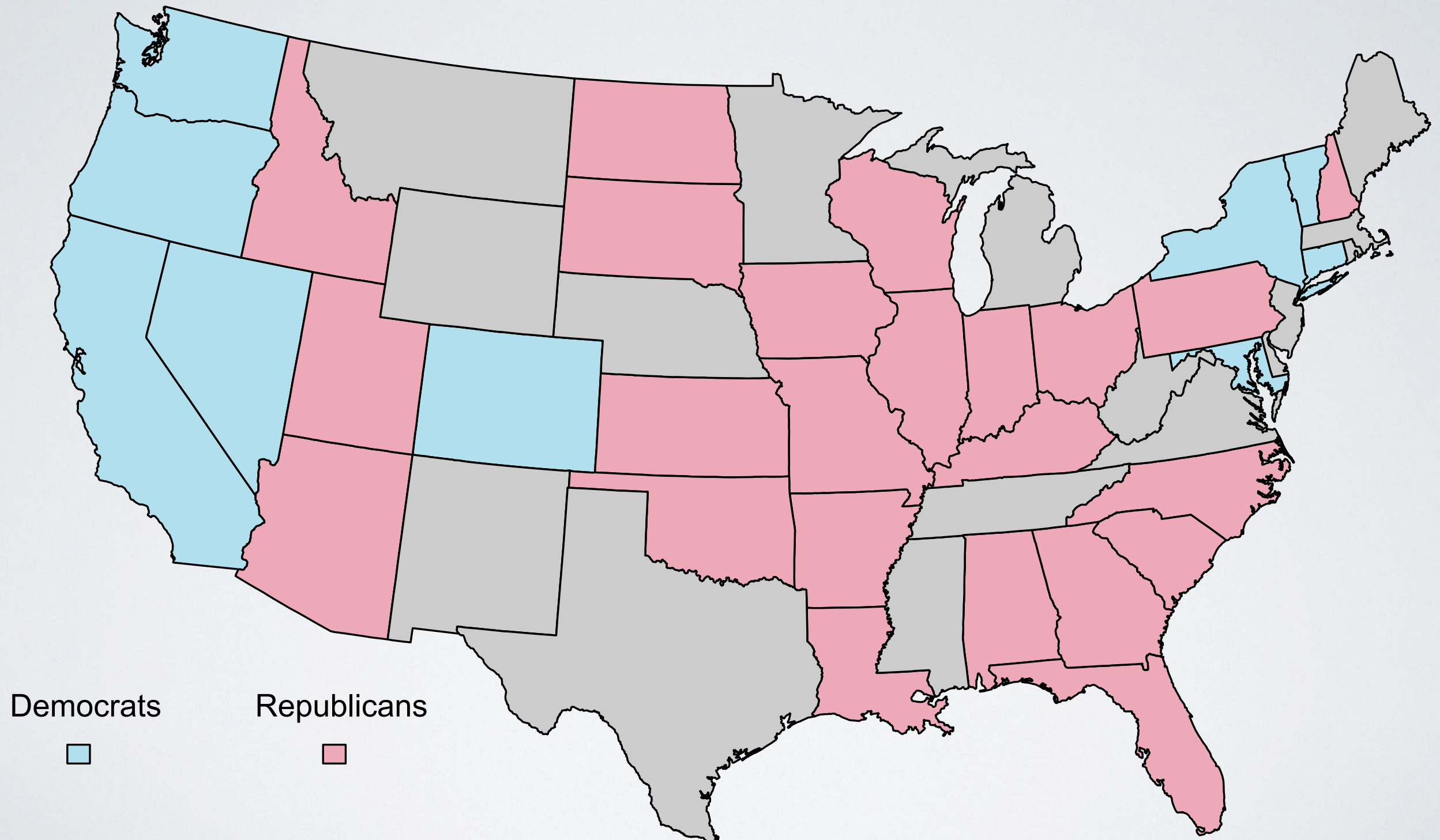
- 100 members
- Directly elected by FPTP in states (2 per)



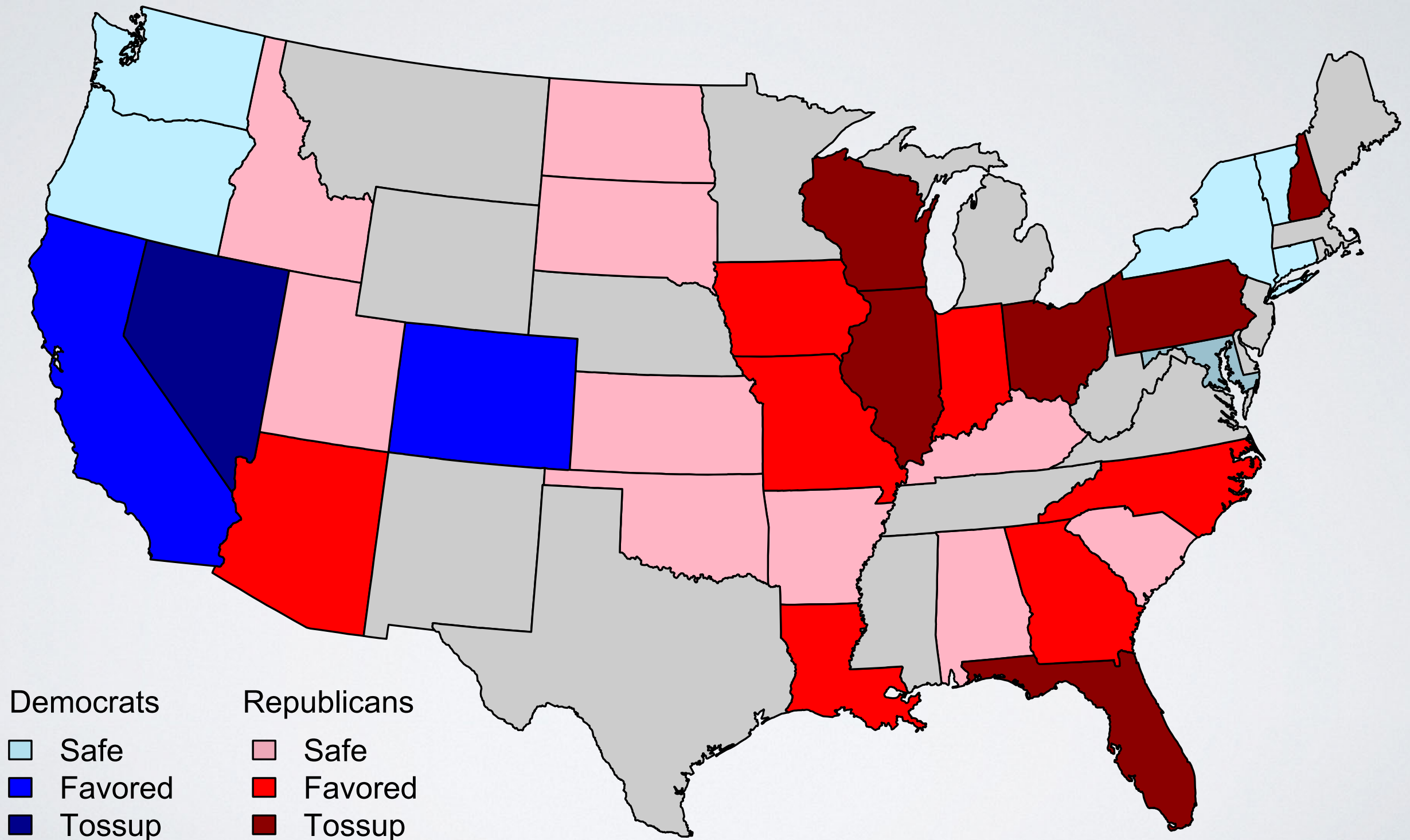
President

- Separate election
- “Indirect” Electoral College
- Head of Government + State

2016 SENATE RACES



2016 SENATE RACES



GOVERNANCE

Trump Wins

Clinton Wins

R House
R Senate

Trump vs.
“Regular Republicans”
Some policy is possible

Obama’s
Third Term
Obstruction

R House
D Senate

Trump vs.
“Regular Republicans”
vs. Democrats
Unlikely

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Third Term Lite
Obstruction, but
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Obstruction, but
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TWO PARTY SYSTEM

FIRST PAST THE POST

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

single-member districts

multi-member districts

plurality winner

allocated by proportion.

30% of vote \approx 30% of seats

direct representation
by district

indirect representation
by party

two-parties

multiple parties

DUVERGER'S LAW

“The simple-majority single-ballot system
favors the two-party system”

DUVERGER'S LAW

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Single-Member Districts
with Plurality Rule



Two-Party Systems

Proportional
Representation



Multiparty Systems

DUVERGER'S LAW

“The simple-majority single-ballot system favors the two-party system”

Single-Member Districts
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Two-Party Systems

Proportional
Representation



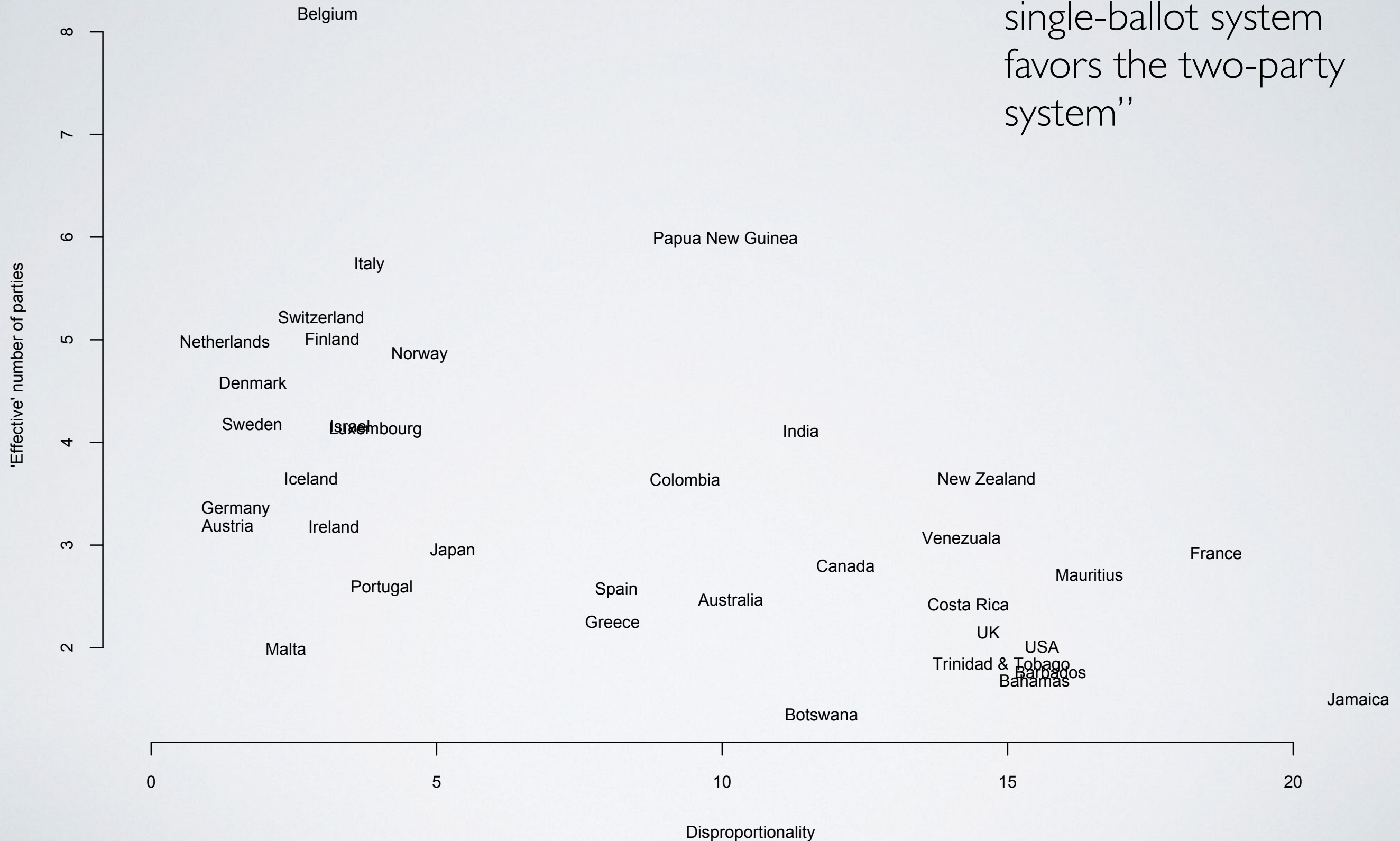
Multiparty Systems

More disproportional

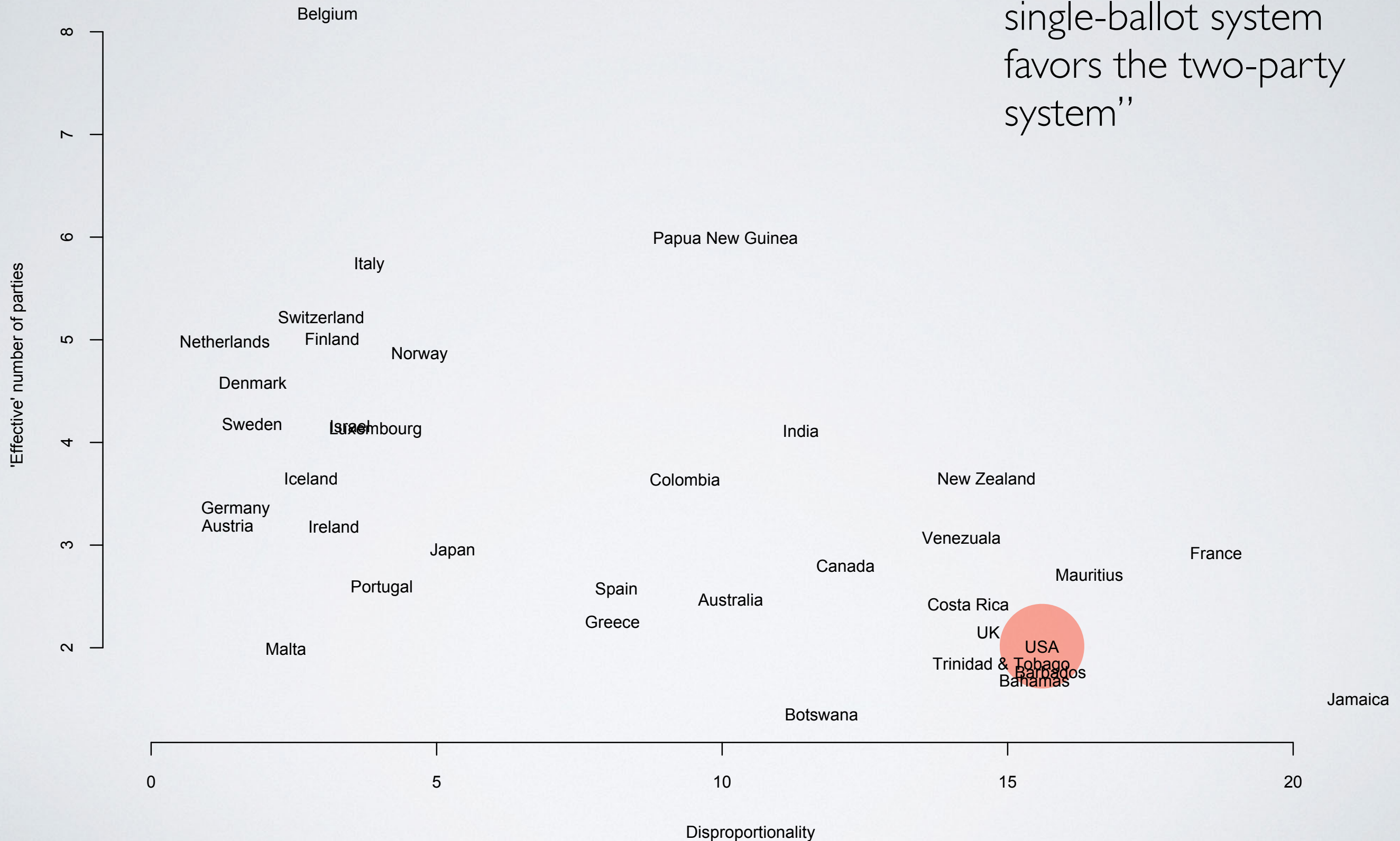


Fewer parties

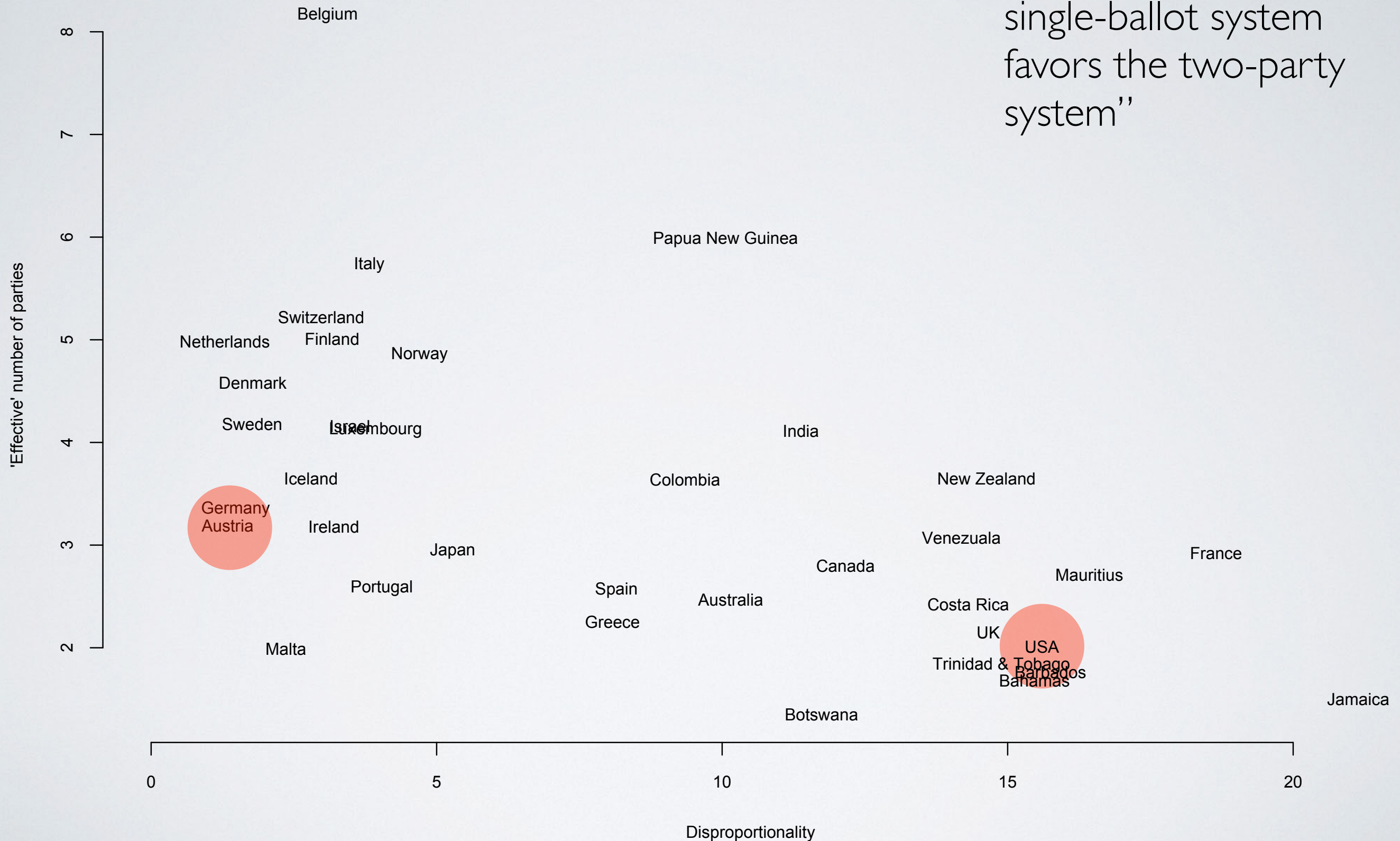
Duverger's Law:
“The simple-majority
single-ballot system
favors the two-party
system”



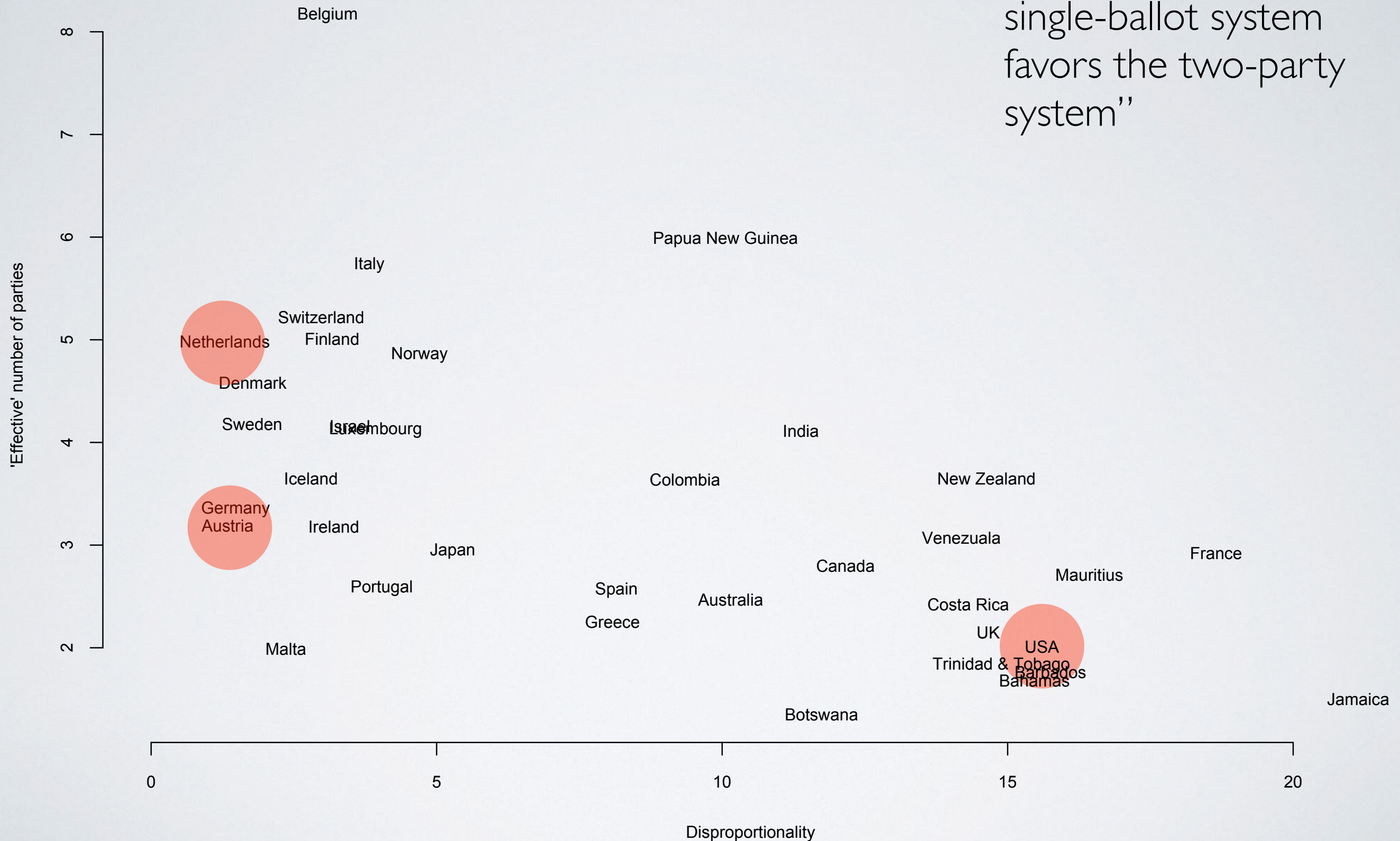
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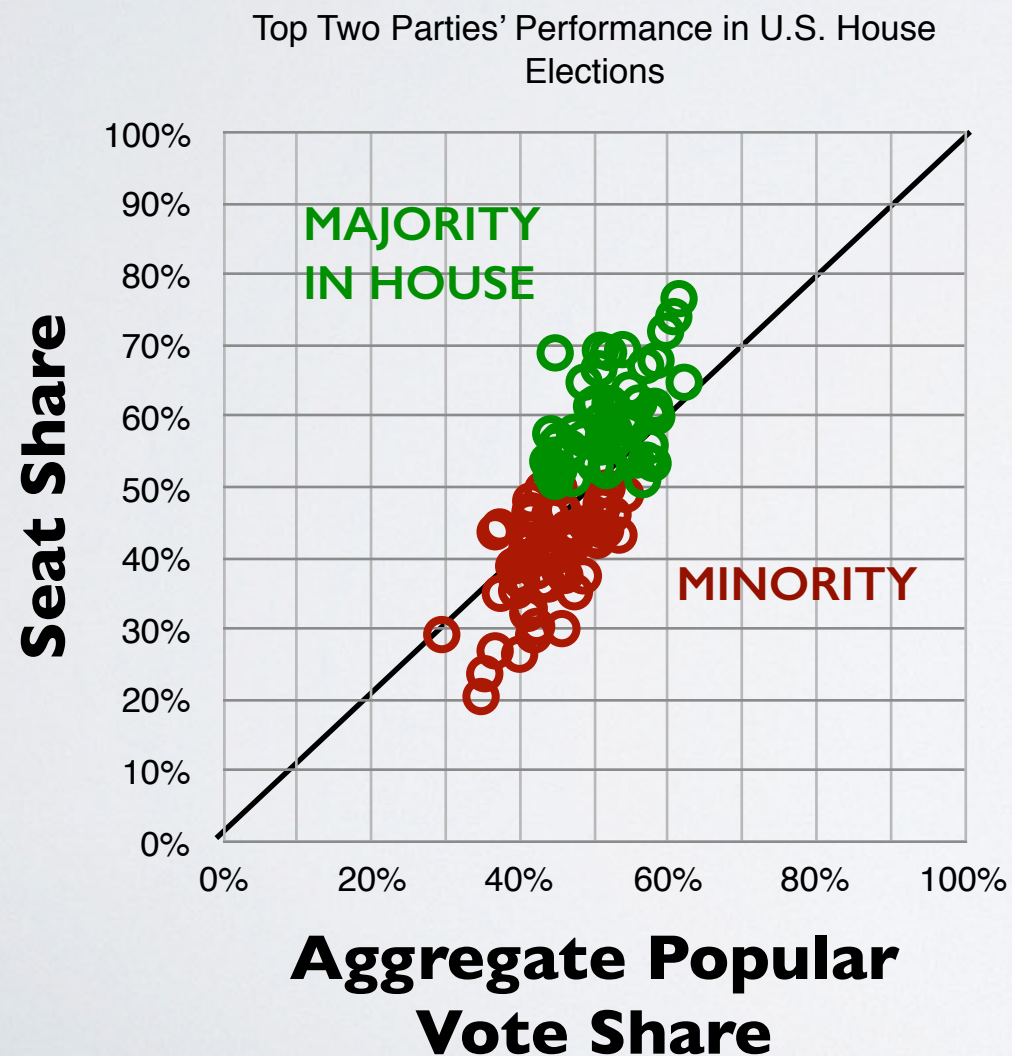
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system”



U.S. DISPROPORTIONALITY

First Past the Post

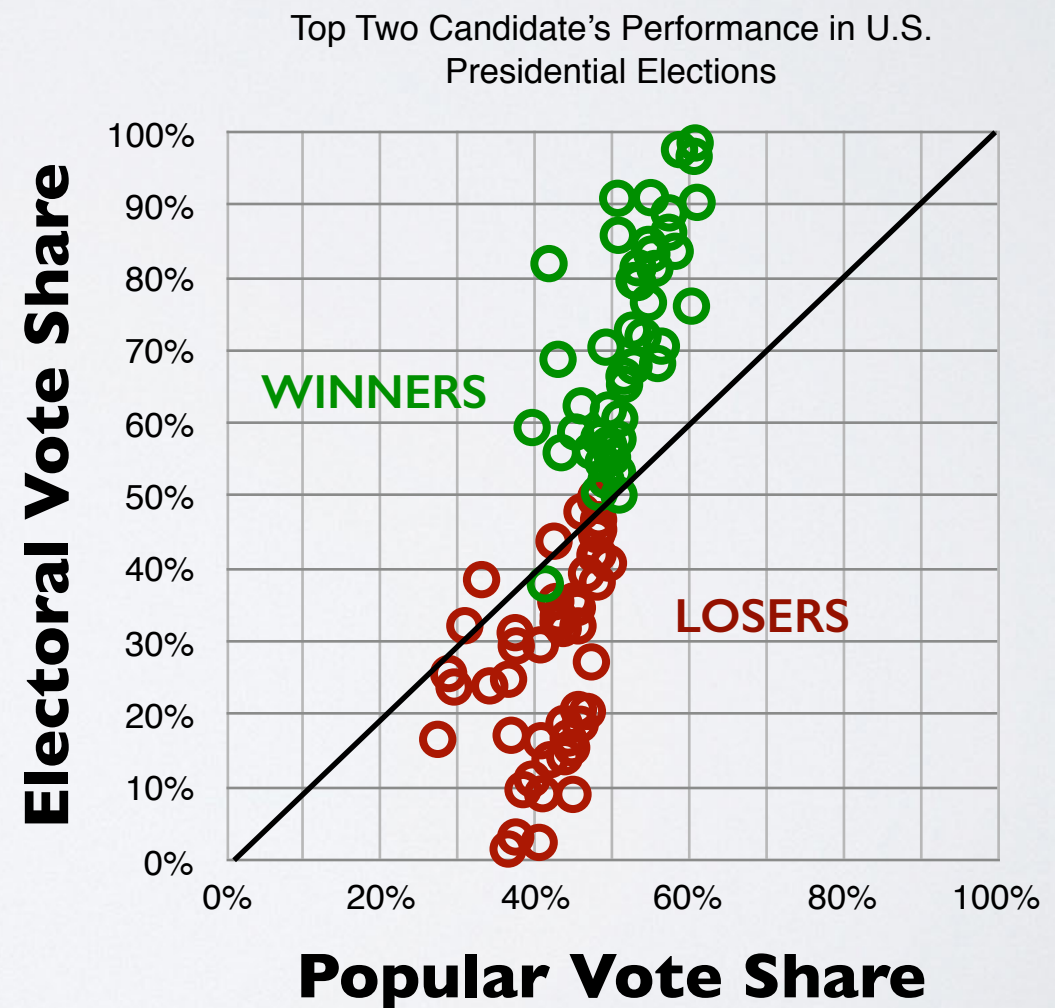
Disproportionality at the aggregate level



Electoral College

Exaggerates Disproportionality

- Single-member
- “district” (the presidency)
- Winner-take-all for each state



THE PARTY DECIDES

What if they don't coordinate?

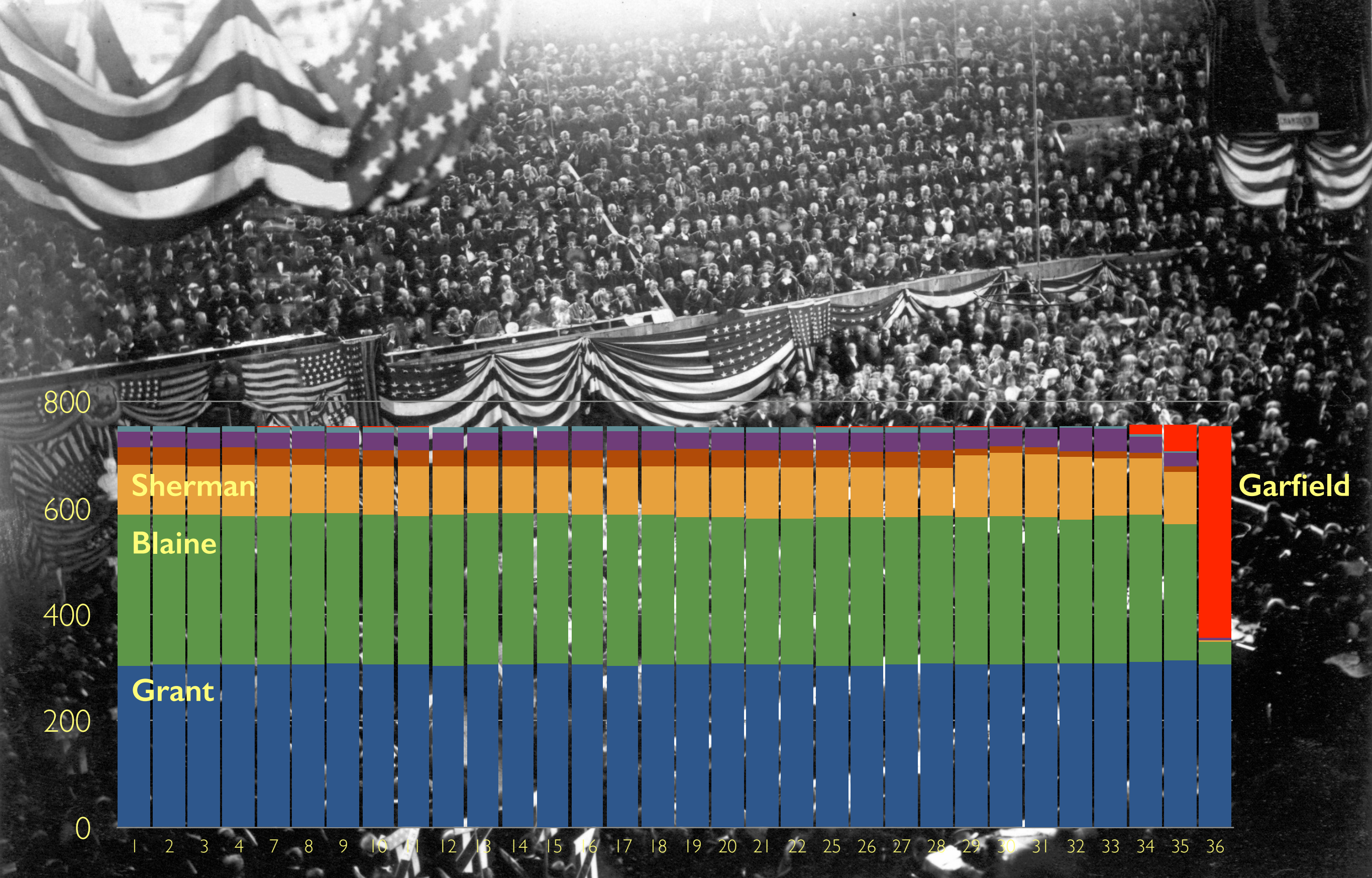
What challenges might prevent them?

Have they had it easy since 1976?

Why aren't Republicans coordinating in 2016?

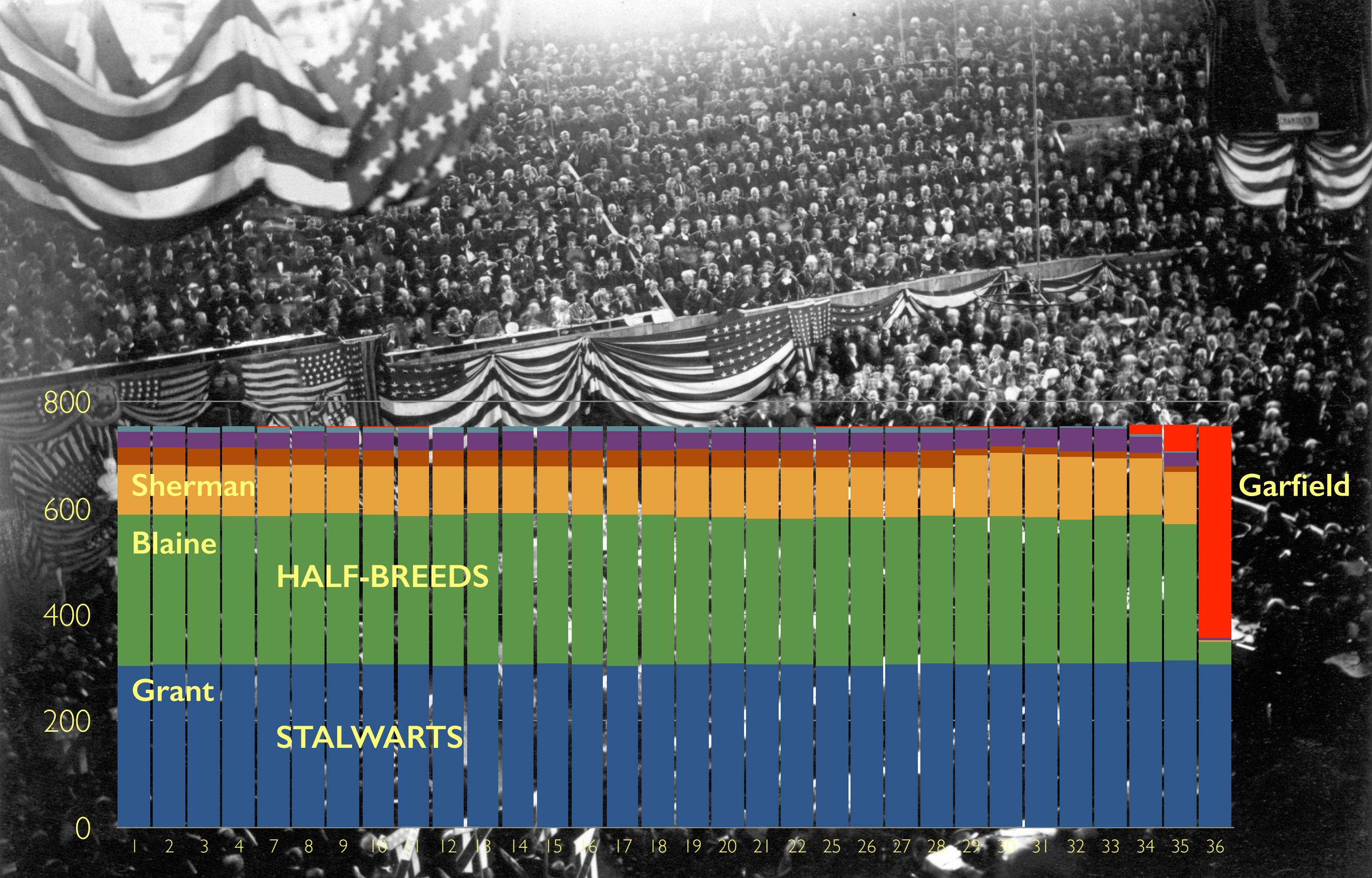


1880 Republican National Convention, Chicago, Ill.



1880 Republican National Convention, Chicago, Ill.

Garfield won on the 36th ballot, after **Grant** and **Blaine** dominated through the 35th.



1880 Republican National Convention, Chicago, Ill.

Garfield won on the 36th ballot, after **Grant** and **Blaine** dominated through the 35th.

EXPERTS

Republican party prays for Trump and Cruz to destroy each other

TOBY HARNDEN | THE TIMES | JANUARY 25, 2016 12:00AM



SAVE

ELECTION 2016 | PRIMARY CALENDAR | POLLING | WHO'S WINNING | FACT CHECKS | ISSUES | CAMPAIGN MONEY

As Donald Trump and Ted Cruz Soar, G.O.P. Leaders' Exasperation Grows

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS JAN. 26, 2016

1782 COMMENTS

The hate-Cruz, tolerate-Trump GOP

At least for now, the Republican party actors have collectively failed to choose any of the remaining mainstream conservatives in the field



By Jonathan Bernstein

Published: 17:17 January 26, 2016

GULF NEWS

ELECTION 2016 | PRIMARY CALENDAR | POLLING | WHO'S WINNING | FACT CHECKS | ISSUES | CAMPAIGN MONEY

Donald Trump or Ted Cruz? Republicans Argue Over Who Is Greater Threat

By JONATHAN MARTIN JAN. 21, 2016

307 COMMENTS

The Plum Line | Opinion

Republicans warm to the idea of President Trump

A



256

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By Greg Sargent January 20 Follow @theplumlinegs



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DASHBOARD

AGAINST THE GRAIN

Playing with Fire, Republican Bigwigs Want to Take Out Cruz

Party officials and strategists believe that if Trump wins Iowa, Rubio's path to the nomination is clearer.

THE PARTY DECIDES

4. The party uses the invisible primary

Coordinate

Can think like a party

THE PARTY DECIDES

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Can think like a party

How do we know they have coordinated?

Look at their preferences

Not primary votes or polls

Settled on “endorsements”

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What if they don’t coordinate?

What challenges might prevent them?

Have they had it easy since 1976?

Why didn't Republicans coordinate in 2016?!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

ACTIVIST SURVEY

YouGOV/Huffington Post
Activism Screen

Have done at least **two** of the following:

- **Contributed money** to a political candidate
- **Attended a political campaign event** such as a fundraiser or rally
- **Done volunteer work** for a political campaign
- **Made phone calls** to voters asking them to support a political candidate

OR at least **one** of the following

- Been a **paid staffer** for a political campaign or an elected public official
- **Run for or held elected public office**
- **Been an official in a political party** (such as a local party chair or a precinct representative)

} 38%

July 8-12, 2015

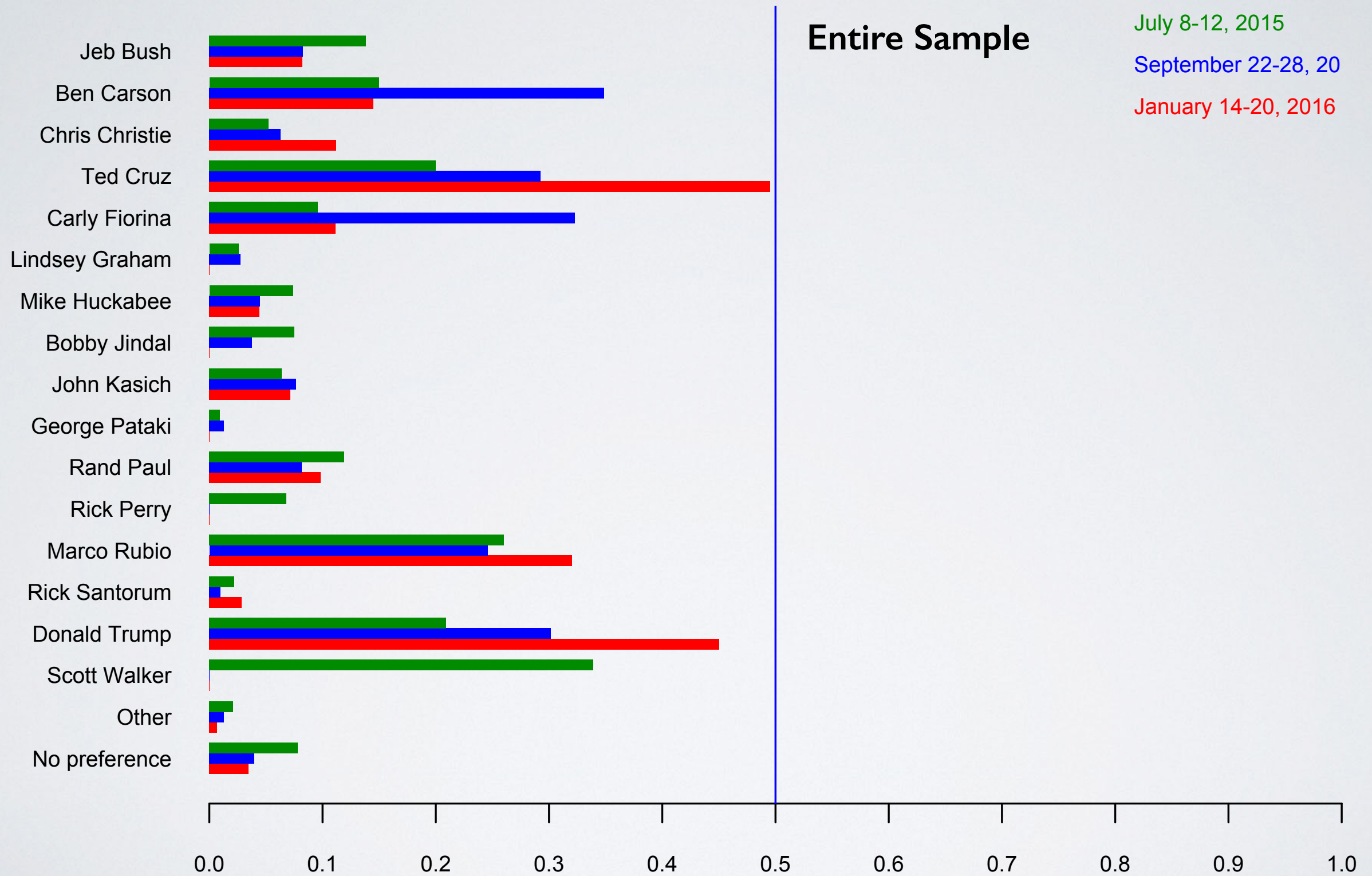
September 22-28, 2015

January 14-20, 2016

500 Democrats

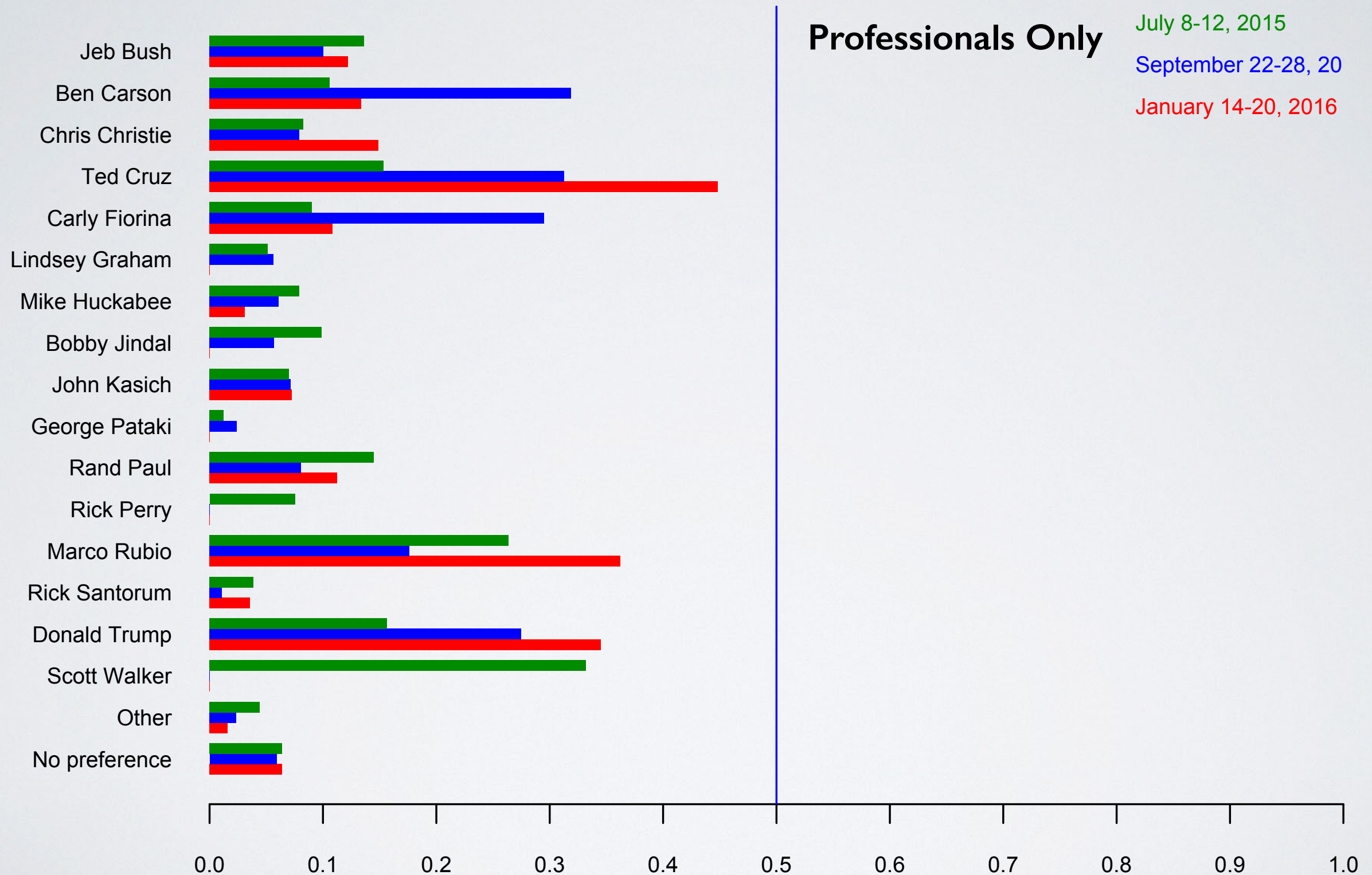
500 Republicans

ACTIVIST SURVEY



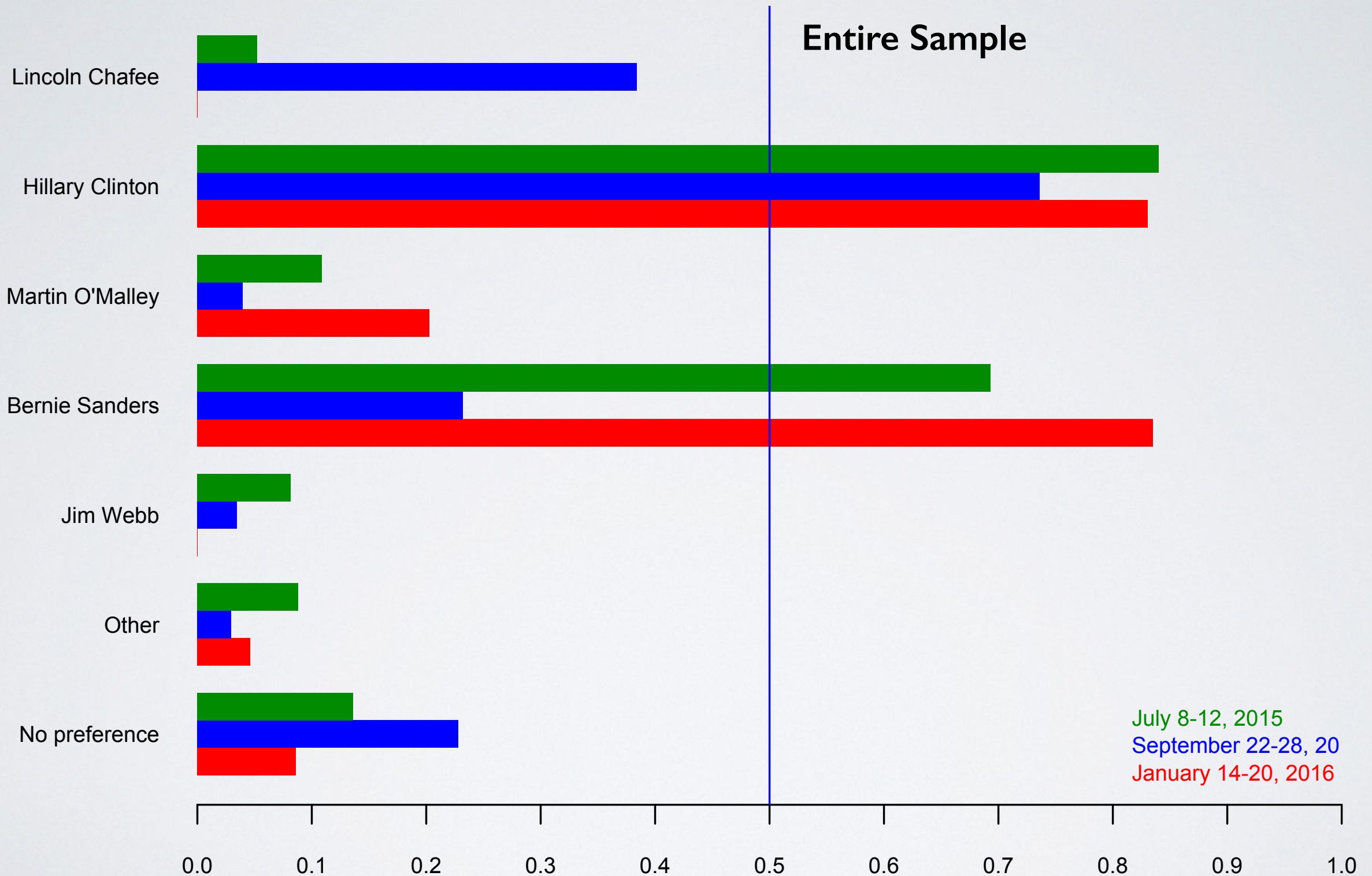
Percent **FIRST** and **SECOND** choice for each candidate

ACTIVIST SURVEY



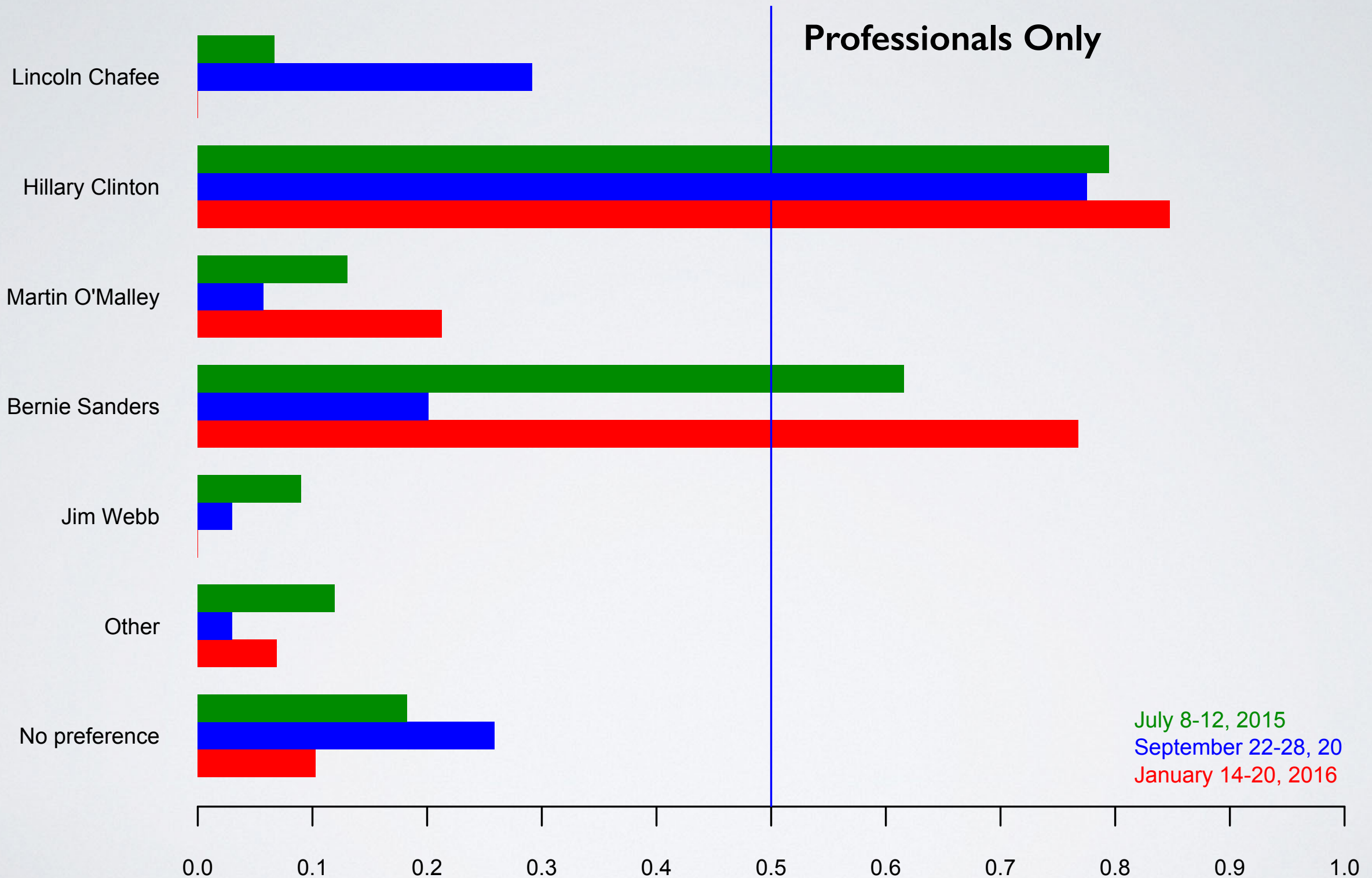
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ACTIVIST SURVEY



Percent **FIRST** and **SECOND** choice for each candidate

ACTIVIST SURVEY



Percent **FIRST** and **SECOND** choice for each candidate


July 8-12, 2015
September 22-28, 2015
January 14-20, 2016

THANK YOU

Hans Noel

Georgetown University

hcn4@georgetown.edu

 @ProfHansNoel

<http://hansnoel.com>