Comments on Cook, Aldrich, Stoker, Atkeson, and Pham: "MAGA: The Tea Party Meets Donald Trump" &

Meade:

"'Hate the Corrupt Ruling Class': The Alternative Populist Influence Network and Polarization"

Jonathan Homola

Department of Political Science UCLA homola@ucla.edu

September 8, 2024

- ► Are MAGA supporters today's/former Tea Party Supporters?
- ► Cross-sectional: do they look the same? (YES)
- Panel based: are they literally the same people? (YES, but they needed some convincing)

- ► Are MAGA supporters today's/former Tea Party Supporters?
- ► Cross-sectional: do they look the same? (YES)
- Panel based: are they literally the same people? (YES, but they needed some convincing)
- ▶ If this does not exist yet, we *definitely* need it
 - ► MAGA itself still seems fairly understudied
- ▶ 2011, 2016, 2020 panel data is AMAZING for this!
- Interesting initial descriptive results

Exploit the panel data even more!

- Tea Party supporters did not initially support Trump in the 2016 primary, but align in the general and in 2020 – what happened?
- "the Tea-Party-now-MAGA segment of the Republican electorate" do we really think these are the same people or could it be a lack of alternatives?
- Who supported Trump in the 2016 primary (before Tea Party supporters did)? How do they differ from Tea Party supporters? Who looks more like the 2022 ANES MAGA crowd?
- Were some Tea Party supporters more likely to align with Trump than others? (analyze heterogeneity within TP supporters)

Miscellaneous comments and notes

- "Do you think of yourself as part of the Tea Party movement?" "Generally speaking, do you support the goals of the Tea Party movement?"
 - "Would you describe yourself as more of a supporter of the MAGA movement or more of a supporter of the Republican Party generally?" → These are very different in nature, only MAGA mutually exclusive.
- ► ANES data only has N=190 for MAGA Republicans any chance of finding a bigger sample? CES?
- ► Table 2, Figs 2-10 show a lot of comparisons, consider adjusting p-values for multiple comparisons?
- ► Fn. 13: "Overall, the 2016 wave included all respondents (n=8,637) from the initial 2011 wave." That seems impossible. Even almost 60% retention for 2016-2020 seems absolutely amazing!

- Can non-elites be populist actors?
- Can populism decrease polarization?
- What makes individuals with populist attitudes distrust traditional media and how do they source their information instead?

- ► Can non-elites be populist actors?
- Can populism decrease polarization?
- What makes individuals with populist attitudes distrust traditional media and how do they source their information instead?
- ► Lots of interesting, novel, and creative questions/arguments
- Fascinating combination of methods and data:
 - ► (Semi-structured) interviews with "fringe" populists
 - Media ethnographies
 - ▶ Podcast analysis (content, online, and in-person)!
- Covering a lot of ground on all dimensions

Theory (recently expanded) – empirics link

- Actually worked well for me
- ► Theory section poses 3 main research questions
 - 1. How do those with populist identities judge the media?
 - 2. How do they distinguish trustworthy sources of information?
 - 3. How do they understand the problem of polarization and its solutions?
- Both empirical parts (interviews and podcast) speak clearly, directly, and well to these
- BUT:

Theory (recently expanded) – empirics link

- Actually worked well for me
- ► Theory section poses 3 main research questions
 - 1. How do those with populist identities judge the media?
 - 2. How do they distinguish trustworthy sources of information?
 - 3. How do they understand the problem of polarization and its solutions?
- Both empirical parts (interviews and podcast) speak clearly, directly, and well to these
- ▶ **BUT:** front end of the paper created very different expectations
 - ► Is populism good or bad? (APSR 1950)
 - Can populism decrease polarization?
 - What's the role of non-elites as drivers of populism?
 - ► How to classify left-wing authoritarians?
 - ► Check Dassonneville, Fournier, and Somer-Topcu + general CP literature
 - But perhaps part of bigger book project?

Question of depolarization

- What do these people think is the solution to "they are trying to divide us", will Joe Rogan bring us together?
- ► What does one side of this (Bernie) think about the other (Tea party)? Do they see them as "the people"? Might be different for the interviews vs Breaking Points?
- ▶ p. 40: "What steps, as a country, can we take to force our political leaders to focus on implementing policies aimed at fixing the myriad problems we face; instead of them continuing down the path of culture wars and dehumanizing one another?" Are there steps they all like? What was the answer on the show?
- ➤ Is depolarization really realistic here? Not just in terms of sharing some interests (e.g., a podcast), but also in terms of policy?
- ▶ Bernie vs Tea party news consumption probably *fuels* polarization?
 → through the polarization lens, feels like a very different case than BP

Miscellaneous comments and notes

- Podcast live audience: could Taylor Swift or the NFL have a similar effect?
- Sense of size would be interesting: how many people listen/subscribe, vote accordingly?
- Reactions to live show different in Boston than elsewhere? (could be expanded)
- Curious: these people spend A LOT of time consuming and "checking" news but complain about 24/7 news cycles
- p. 37-38: a bit of critical engagement (who do they have empathy for vs not), this is otherwise mostly missing