

Blue is Black and Red is White?

Affective Polarization and the Racialized Schemas of U.S. Party Coalitions

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## **Abstract**

Growing antipathy between supporters of the two major U.S. parties, a phenomenon labeled affective polarization, has been well documented. One of the most compelling explanations for this trend concerns partisan sorting on the basis of a host of salient group identities in the electorate, including religion, class, ideology, race and perhaps others. We propose a narrower catalyst is at work: affective polarization is driven mostly by the increasing overlap between racial and partisan schemas in the mind of the average citizen. We test the implications of this claim using three studies. First, time series evidence from the American National Election Studies reveals the influence of racial attitudes on partisan affect has grown more rapidly than that of non-racial attitudes. Second, an original implicit-association test demonstrates respondents with racialized party schemas display much more affective polarization. Third, matches between a respondent's race and their perception of party produce more affective polarization, unlike perceived matches between parties and religious or class identity.

In April of the year 1800, Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter to William Hamilton, an associate whom had felt slighted when Jefferson did not visit him during his Vice-Presidential inauguration of 1797. Jefferson's reaction to the perceived slight is now often invoked with nostalgia for that bygone era when our politics were, presumably, so much more genteel. After apologizing, Jefferson reassured his friend that his failure to visit had nothing to do with political disagreement, writing: "I never considered a difference of opinion in politics, in religion, in philosophy, as cause for withdrawing from a friend" (Boyd et al. 1950, 233--234).

It is hard to believe that such friendship, respect, and kindness among and between partisan foes was commonplace even at America's founding, but few would use these terms to describe the current moment. A growing animosity between partisans at both the mass and elite levels over the last few decades is now too obvious to ignore. And these hard feelings, it seems, may have real dangerous consequences for a democracy. Without personal affection for your colleagues across the aisle, it is hard to imagine compromising on controversial issues like health care, immigration, and tax reform. Many fear this precipitous decline in civility, friendship, and basic trust will lead to gridlock, legislative recrimination, and worse. So how did this happen?

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, elite partisan polarization had already altered the political landscape in the United States, and had begun to attract the attention of political scientists (Hetherington 2009; Layman, Carsey, and Horowitz 2006). Partisan platforms had begun to diverge sharply, and moderates on both sides had become scarce (Fiorina and Abrams 2008). While there is clear evidence the parties polarized in Congress, there was less agreement about what was happening in the mass electorate. Some evidence suggested that mass polarization on issue positions was on the rise (Bishop 2008; Abramowitz and Saunders 2008), but other studies found that, at least on average, issue-based disagreements between regular partisans remained

quite modest and therefore could not have driven the polarization in Congress (Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope 2006; Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Snyder 2006).

Given these conflicting findings with regard to issue polarization, the level of antipathy between opposing partisans is even more alarming. Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes (2012) found that dislike for Democrats among Republicans, and vice versa, had grown since 1970s to the largest level since public opinion has been measured. Furthermore, evidence presented by Iyengar and colleagues suggested that the affective division between members of the two parties significantly exceeded differences based on issue preferences. They argued that partisanship itself has become such a powerful identity that, in terms of affective consequences, it is now even more important than race and/or religion. Identifying with a party has become crucial for many citizens' sense of self-worth and positive esteem. Subsequently, as a result of persistent exposure to highly conflictual and negative political campaigns, out-party members are seen in an increasingly negative light. Social distance with regard to party may now be even larger than that of race: people are more likely to be upset by a relative marrying someone from a different party than from a different racial or ethnic background (Iyengar and Westwood 2015). The causes of all this negative affect, however, are still poorly understood.

### **Existing Accounts of Affective Polarization**

Scholars have only begun to offer potential explanations for this affective polarization in American politics. Iyengar and his coauthors speculated that increases in campaign negativity had led to a more hostile political climate over time (Iyengar, Sood, and Lelkes 2012), but they did not text this mechanism explicitly. More recent work suggests that the fragmentation of the information environment, particularly for those with access to broadband Internet, has

accelerated polarization compared to previous eras of media technology (Lelkes, Sood & Iyengar 2017).<sup>1</sup>

Another explanation emphasizes top-down mobilization processes whereby polarized elites pull the publics away from the ideological center using the channels of political communication. A polarized political environment alters citizens' decision-making by emphasizing partisan loyalties rather than substantive arguments (Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus 2013). Moreover, ideological polarization between elites leads to extreme personal evaluations in the mass public---although this effect is most pronounced among politically involved respondents (Rogowski and Sutherland 2016). Other work, however, finds little or no relationship between real elite issue polarization and feelings about the opposition party. For instance, polarization in popular evaluations of personality and policies of George W. Bush was much stronger than the real divergence in preferences would have predicted (Jacobson 2007; Klinkner 2006). Therefore, the causal direction of the relationship between issue based disagreement and affective polarization among partisans remains unclear, especially since ideological arguments are often rationalizations of pre-existing attitudes (Lodge and Taber 2013).

Another potential explanation of political polarization concerns the impact of higher-order values on political attitudes and behavior. This theory suggests individuals have a set of superordinate principles that structure their views on a host of specific policies, government performance, and political figures (Feldman 1988). Democrats and Republicans indeed seem to be guided by different sets of social and political values that are often in conflict with each other

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<sup>1</sup> We think this explanation is intriguing and the results so far are encouraging, but we do not have additional data to test it in this paper and our explanation is not mutually exclusive to this one.

(Jacoby 2014). Here, again, there is a debate about the growing value polarization within the American public and its causal primacy with respect to affective polarization. Results from the World Values Survey suggest the values gap in American society is lower than often assumed and that the direct effect of values on political attitudes and behavior has been overestimated (Baker 2005). Furthermore, ongoing research in the field of political communication suggests that values are not intrinsic characteristics of citizens but may be learned from elites, which simply begs the question about where the elite polarization came from (Clifford et al. 2015).

In our view, the most convincing theory about the root causes of partisan affective polarization in American politics is proposed by Mason and her coauthors (2015, 2016; Davis and Mason 2016). Her core argument involves identity alignment: when many social and political identities push in the same direction, and there are few citizens with cross-cutting attachments to groups and parties, affect polarizes. In several studies, Mason demonstrates that alignment of party identities with specific class, ideology, race, and religious groups dramatically boosts affective polarization. For example, as working class, liberal, non-white secular citizens have become sorted into the Democratic Party, their dislike for members of the Republican Party has increased because they are distinct on so many dimensions. Affective polarization then increases identification with parties, boosts activism and party-line voting, and heightens emotional reactions to political events. So according to Mason, the mere strength of partisan identity is not enough---instead, the sorting of several social and ideological identities into parties boosts affective polarization. Importantly, then, Mason's theory builds on a recent line of reasoning that treats partisanship as a social identity in its own right, rather than a collection of social group affiliations or issue bundles (Huddy, Mason, and Aaroe 2015).

Our own view is that it is too soon to disregard the older theory about the etiology of partisanship as a social group phenomenon. Our approach sits comfortably in the long line of research beginning with the Columbia school's understanding of partisanship as an aggregator of social identities that are translated into the realm of politics. American political parties have always been diverse political coalitions that attracted supporters on the basis of multiple social identities, such as geographic region, urban vs. rural residence, religion, race/ethnicity, social class, and many more. This situation created multiple social divisions that were largely independent from each other. These divisions, famously labelled by Lipset (1960) as "cross-cutting cleavages," became an important source of political stability in the U.S. after the Civil War. These "cross-pressured" voters maintain social loyalties that pull them simultaneously towards different political camps (Lazarsfeld, Gaudet, and Berelson 1948). When individuals' group memberships come into alignment with partisan coalitions, however, voting behavior is much more predictable in any election and over time (Zuckerman, Valentino, and Zuckerman 1994). This social logic of voting behavior, with its special attention to overlapping versus crosscutting nature of social group memberships, nicely undergirds the contemporary discussion about partisan affective polarization.

Other classic accounts of partisanship in the U.S. (Campbell et al. 1960) are consistent with this story. The authors of *The American Voter* have found that whenever partisanship changes, it happens as a response to shifts in respondents' social group memberships. The stability of partisanship, repeatedly noted by scholars of American politics, is rooted in social stratification and invariant psychological attachments to groups. Even the most contemporary definitions of partisanship consider it an aggregator of "primary" social group memberships, such as social class, religion, race/ethnicity, and so on (Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2002).

According to Green and colleagues, the development of partisanship effectively follows a two-step process whereby an individual is first a member of several primary social groups and then comes to identify with the party that appeals to the most and most important of those identities.

### **Social Identities, Group Schemas, and Partisanship**

In this paper, we build on Mason's general theory of affective polarization undergirded by social identity dynamics. As specified, her theory is general because it should apply in any political system where social identities drive affective reactions to parties. Therefore, we believe hers to be a very important foundational theoretical step that will help scholars think about the rise of affective polarization not only in the U.S. but around the world.

We see our largest contributions as twofold. First, as we mention above, we will attempt to explore the specific psychological mechanism potentially underlying polarization: the social group schemas individuals hold about the parties (Conover 1988; Conover and Feldman 1984). In order to produce partisan affective polarization, objective processes of social sorting are not enough. The powerful emotional reactions we are now seeing between partisans require clear mental images of the social dimensions of each political party. We think partisan dislike springs from a mental image of the opposition that is composed of disliked social groups.

But if party schemas are driving this process, they must be treated as a variable. Mason's identity alignment measure specifies groups as either in or out of each party's coalition. For example, Evangelical Christians as a stable constituency of the Republican Party. However, this alignment is a product of recent partisan sorting: Southern Evangelicals were far more Democratic in their partisanship several decades ago. If the provenance of a given group within a party's coalition is dynamic over time, then some of the effect of variation in identification with groups in a given party's coalition may actually be due to changing perceptions of the partisan

coalitions. For example, the perception of Democrats as “secular” and the Republicans as “Evangelical Christian” should vary across the population according to the unique experiences and information people hold. Therefore, we develop an original measure that capture variation in the cognitive linkage individuals hold between a party and specific groups.

Our second major contribution is applied and system specific. Mason’s additive index assumes that different group-party alignments (religion--party, race--party, and so on) have equivalent effects on partisan affective polarization. This general approach may be theoretically valid across systems, but we suspect that in any given country, some group dimensions will be much more powerful than others. Some social groups are more important than others in terms of their salience in a party’s coalition and in the intense attitudes people hold about them. In the U.S., we predict the *racialized* schemas of each party carry the largest weight in polarizing affect. Other group dimensions such as class and religion should have smaller effects on affective evaluations of the out-party.

### **The Role of Race**

The contemporary phase of partisan sorting in the U.S. that started during the Civil Rights movement---and continues into the 21<sup>st</sup> century---made both partisan coalitions more racially homogenous (Valentino and Sears 2005), and we think this may be one of the most important drivers of the phenomenon of affective polarization. As fewer American voters are cross-pressured with regard to racial attitudes, political preferences become clearer and attitudes towards in-group and out-group become extreme. This logic also explains why partisanship outperforms simple group membership as a predictor of attitudes: since partisanship is an “umbrella identity,” it combines the strength of identity with and affect toward groups in the party’s coalition. The result is a powerful transfer of affect from the groups to the party.

It is of course possible that partisan identity develops independently from key social group identities. However, we suspect this may be the case for only a relatively narrow group of well-informed, highly interested voters. A well-established tradition in Converse (1964), Zaller (1992), and Achen and Bartels (2016) finds quite low political sophistication and interest among the mass publics. Without following political campaigns and developing an intrinsic attachment to political parties, people should not be expected to develop self-esteem based on partisanship alone, separate from the social groups they believe make up the coalition. As a result, we suspect most American voters derive their partisan attachments from their social group memberships and the images they have about who is represented by the other party as well.

Among the social group schemas that would be expected to drive partisan affective polarization most strongly in the U.S., race would be our prime suspect. Racial conflict is one of the cornerstones of American politics since the founding, influencing political attitudes, behavior, and institutions of citizens from every racial background (Hutchings and Valentino 2004). Racial attitudes play a particularly important role in shaping popular attitudes towards redistributive policies (Gilens 1999). In the wake of Barack Obama's victory in 2008, the debate about the centrality of race and racial conflict in American politics has intensified. Some authors interpret Obama's election as confirmation of the claim that "race has recently come to play a less central role in electoral politics as Americans have become more accepting of African-Americans" (Hetherington 2009, 439). Others, however, find that the country's first African American president polarized the electorate and increased opposition to left-wing policies among racially conservative whites (Tesler 2016), may have increased racial resentment (Valentino and Brader 2011), and even boosted the acceptability of explicitly hostile racial rhetoric in the most recent campaigns (Valentino, Neuner, and Vandebroek 2016).

We therefore suspect partisan and racial schemas have become strongly linked in the minds of most Americans during the last three decades, as depicted in Figure 1. The modal mental images of both parties have changed over time, such that Democrats are not simply viewed as liberal, but are quite automatically viewed as non-white. Republicans, on the other hand, are viewed primarily as a party of whites.

< Figure 1 about here >

Since stereotypes like these often develop at an early age, we suspect the racialization of party schemas probably occurs early in life as party identity itself is forming (Sears and Valentino 1997). In other words, we suspect that partisan and racial identities are not separately formed only to be linked in adulthood. The link is formed during the process of partisan socialization, so that group schemas are automatically called up whenever party is salient. As generations socialized before 1960s and 70s pass away, images of the Democratic Party as non-white and the Republican Party as white are becoming more common (Osborne, Sears, and Valentino 2011). This mechanism predicts a smooth secular shift over time in affective polarization despite the fact that the party platforms on race shifted abruptly several decades ago.

Figure 2 highlights the key differences between the models. First, as we have said, we do not conceive of race and partisanship as independent identities as both Iyengar and co-authors and Mason do. Instead, we assume variation in their perceived overlap, which we will call the “race--party schema,” undergirds partisan affective polarization. Second, we suspect that particular link will be the most important determinant, compared to other party-group links, among Americans.

< Figure 2 about here >

Why do not we treat ideology as a social group? We have several reasons for doing so. First, there is an ongoing debate about the nature of ideology itself. According to Converse (1964), it is not a social identity but a way of organizing policy opinions along a single dimension. When conceived of this way, and measured as the degree of “constraint” among issue positions, very few members of the public could be characterized as ideological at Converse’s writing. Contemporary evidence suggests that conclusion still holds: most Americans are bereft of any ideological rule dictating which positions they should take on specific issues, and most do not even think of themselves as holding a strong group identity with an ideological label (Kinder and Kalmoe 2017). In any case, the degree of empirical overlap between self-reported ideological labels (when they are offered at all) and partisanship suggests the former may now be derivative of the later than the other way around. Further, conceptually speaking, we guess party and ideology are much closer to each other than to primary social group identities such as race, religion, and social class. We therefore focus on the relative influence of these later demographic identities on affective polarization in this paper. Our results suggest that race remains the most powerful foundation for this phenomenon even after controlling for the impact of ideology.

### **Hypotheses**

Several unique and testable empirical expectations spring from our model. First, if our theory is correct, the gap between whites and blacks on affective polarization should be larger and growing more strongly than differences between religious or class groups. Second, opinions about racialized issues should be more powerful than those about non-racial issues on affective polarization over time. Third, race--party schemas should be a powerful driver of partisan affective polarization, especially among those with strong racial attitudes. Finally, the strength of

race--party schemas should be stronger than those associated with other pairings---specifically class and religion. We find support for each of these predictions across three studies.

### **Study 1: Evidence from the American National Election Studies Time Series**

To test our first two hypotheses, we employed time-series data from the American National Election Studies (ANES) to trace importance of explicitly racial questions in partisan affective polarization among the American electorate. To measure partisan affect, we relied on differences in feeling scores towards the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.<sup>2</sup> In these questions, respondents are asked to report their feelings to various groups, organizations, and/or individuals using 100-point thermometer ratings. Party affect thermometer questions were included in each ANES survey starting from 1978. In our analysis, we subtracted the Democratic from the Republican thermometer ratings for all respondents in each year. Unlike absolute affective distance, this measure captures the direction of affect, taking positive values if the respondent expressed greater warmth for the Republican Party than for the Democratic Party. This measure, referred to throughout the paper as “partisan affective polarization,” is our dependent variable.

To tap social group identities, we compared three group pairings corresponding to race, religion, and class.<sup>3</sup> The categories were: white vs. black, Evangelical vs. secular, and middle class vs. working class.<sup>4</sup> To measure respondents’ explicit views on racial relations, we used the

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A for the list of ANES items included in the analysis, question wordings, and answer codes.

<sup>3</sup> Class loyalties have traditionally been weak in U.S. politics (Schlozman and Verba 1981). However, after the New Deal, working-class interests became linked to the Democratic Party. In the 2016 election, Trump successfully appealed to working-class voters, perhaps shifting the previous class--party alignment. Unfortunately, we do not yet have any way to test whether the election had this effect.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B for the full list of Christian denominations considered Evangelical.

racial resentment battery (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Since 1986, ANES included the original racial resentment inventory consisting of four items. The reliability of the resulting multi-item index, as measured by the Cronbach's alpha, was between 0.70 and 0.78 in different years. To calculate the total racial resentment score for each respondent, we took the average of the four items and normalized it to the range from zero (the minimal level of racial resentment) to one (the maximum level of racial resentment). Among the non-racial factors that could have contributed to the increased affective polarization among the American public are growing value gap and divergence in terms of issue positions. To measure values, we used the question about respondent's stance on abortion that represented the cornerstone question of moral politics in the U.S. We recoded responses to run from zero (most liberal) to one (most conservative). Defense spending was chosen as another non-racial issue that, nevertheless, is well known to be associated with partisan division in U.S. politics. We kept the original order of responses (higher scores meant greater support for military spending) but rescaled them into a range from zero to one.

Since the racial resentment items were first added to the ANES in 1986, this served as the natural starting point for our analysis. Also, to ensure comparability across years, we used only the face-to-face samples from the 2012 and 2016 ANES. For issue positions, the analyzed dataset consisted of 10 election surveys from 1986 to 2016. For identity variables, we had to limit our analysis to elections from 1990 to 2012 in which religious denominations were coded uniformly.

## **Results**

The growth of affective polarization among the American electorate during the last decade has been convincingly demonstrated. Our goal here, therefore, was to understand whether this polarization corresponded to racial versus some other group based sorting. In Study 1, we traced

the effects of racial and non-racial group memberships and issue positions on partisan affective polarization from 1986 to 2016. We used a linear regression approach with interactions for each dimension with time. The dependent variable, partisan affective polarization, was adjusted for election-specific means and the time trend was normalized to a scale from zero (year 1986) to one (year 2016).<sup>5</sup> All models employed year-specific survey weights and clustered individual observations by election year.

Table 1 presents the results for the three identity pairs.<sup>6</sup> Even by 1990, the partisan affective distance between whites and blacks was greater than for both religion ( $F_{1,6} = 81.5, p < .001$ ) and class ( $F_{1,6} = 308.1, p < .001$ ) groupings. Moreover, partisan affective polarization across racial lines grew significantly from 1990 to 2012 while the gaps for religious and social class groupings held steady.<sup>7</sup> We also present the interaction effects in Figure 3, following standard guidelines for understanding the influence of a moderating variable (Brambor, Clark, and Golder 2006). The picture is relatively clear. Race substantially outpaces religious or class identities as a correlate of partisan affective polarization over time.

< Table 1 about here >

< Figure 3 about here >

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<sup>5</sup> Given the nature of our data and the number of campaign years, we were not able to fit a proper multilevel model (Steenbergen and Jones 2002), and could not include any second-level predictors other than the overall time trend. Therefore, we applied group-mean centering of the partisan feeling thermometers in order to account for election-specific “public moods” with regard to the two major parties.

<sup>6</sup> All data manipulations and estimations presented in the paper were performed in Stata. Tables and figures were produced using add-on commands written by Jann (2007, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> We tried a different coding procedure by treating respondents who self-identified as “Christian without denomination” as Evangelical and these results persisted (see Appendix C).

Next, we estimated the effects of racial versus non-racial attitudes on partisan affective polarization over time using the same model. Results are presented in Table 2. In 1986, opinions on defense spending were the strongest predictor of partisan affective polarization in terms of magnitude. However, this association did not change over time (the corresponding interaction with the time trend variable was not significant). Racial resentment, in turn, significantly predicted partisan affective polarization in the late 1980s and its effect grew steadily over the last three decades. The effect of morality politics---pro-life vs. pro-choice---increased as well but its interaction with time was significantly smaller compared to that of racial resentment ( $F_{1,9} = 11.2$ ,  $p = .009$ ).<sup>8</sup> Figure 4 presents the same results in graphical format. The partisan affective gap based on racial attitudes grew much stronger compared to non-racial ones. The effect seems quite symmetrical here: racial conservatives felt increasingly warmer about Republicans and colder about Democrats whereas racial liberals moved in the opposite direction.

< Table 2 about here >

< Figure 4 about here >

These results corroborated our first two hypotheses quite handsomely: race and racial attitudes were strongly and increasingly associated with the growing affective polarization identified by others. Further, changes in this association clearly outpaced that of social identities based on religion or class. However, this evidence supported our theory only indirectly as it did not include measures of racialized party schemas. We address this limitation in Study 2.

## **Study 2: Implicit-Association Test**

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<sup>8</sup> We replicated this analysis controlling for symbolic ideology (liberal vs. conservative self-placement) and these results persisted (see Appendix D).

To measure the cognitive linkage between race and the two major U.S. parties, we developed an original implicit-association test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998). Our design built on the use of IAT's to tap implicit stereotypes rather than affective valence (Nosek et al. 2007). As with earlier efforts to examine the cognitive association between attitude objects (such as gender and vocation; see Nosek, Banaji, and Greenwald 2002), we measured the automatic association between party symbols and racial images, which was our variable of interest: the race--party schema. To signify race in our measure, we used black and white faces from the standard "race attitude" IAT available at the Project Implicit website.<sup>9</sup> For the symbols of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, we used a collection of publicly available images representing official as well as unofficial party symbols such as elephants, donkeys, campaign buttons, and posters.<sup>10</sup>

To validate the race--party schema measure, we collected a sample of respondents using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). In May--June 2015, we carried out a web-based survey designed and implemented on the Qualtrics platform. The time-response component was administered using Inquisit software. The analyzed sample included only respondents who answered the survey from the United States, had unique IP addresses, and showed acceptable error rates in the IAT component (less than 30%). This left us with 377 valid cases out of 523 submitted questionnaires. In the analyzed sample, 84.6% respondents were white, 6.4% were black, and 9.0% belonged to some other racial category (including multiple ones).<sup>11</sup> The sample was balanced in terms of gender (48.3% female), but overrepresented the highly educated, with

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<sup>9</sup> Can be accessed at: <https://www.projectimplicit.net/stimuli.html>

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix E for the images used.

<sup>11</sup> Hispanic/Latino respondents were categorized as either white, black, or other---depending on self-designated racial group.

nearly half having Bachelor's degrees or higher (45.9%). The modal age was 37.5 years. Ideologically, the sample was skewed to the left, with 47.0% of respondents identifying as Democrats, 18.6% as Republicans, and 34.5% as Independents.

The survey consisted of three parts. First, respondents rated the Democratic Party and Republican Party using the standard ANES 100-point feeling thermometer scale. Following, we asked a series of demographic questions: gender, age, education, and race/ethnicity. After completing this block of questions, respondents were redirected to the IAT page. There, they were asked to download a browser plugin to their desktop that carried the time-response task. As a result, the IAT latency scores were not affected by the speed of the respondent's Internet connection. After completing the IAT, respondents were automatically returned to Qualtrics to answer questions about racial resentment and party identification.<sup>12</sup>

## **Results**

We first explored differences in race--party schemas across Democrats and Republicans.<sup>13</sup> To construct the normalized schema measure, we divided the IAT D-scores by the maximum observed value. A resulting schema score of -1 meant the maximum association between the Democratic Party with whites and the Republican Party with blacks. A score of 1, respectively, indicated the maximum association of the Democratic Party with blacks and the Republican Party with whites. As a result, a score of 0 represented a perfectly balanced partisan schema by race: a respondent with that score would be no faster, on average, correctly identifying stereotype consistent pairs (blacks with Dems, whites with Reps) than they were with the stereotype

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix F for the list of survey items included in the analysis, question wordings, and answer codes.

<sup>13</sup> This descriptive analysis included leaners as partisans and excluded true independents.

inconsistent pairs (whites with Dems, blacks with Reps). The total observed range was from -0.83 to 1. We also corrected the scores for test order (whether pro- or anti-stereotype pairings were sorted first).

On average, both Democrats and Republicans considered the respective in-party to be white and the out-party to be black, although the magnitude of the difference was higher among Republicans ( $m = 0.10, p < .001$ ) than among Democrats ( $m = -0.04, p = .011$ ).<sup>14</sup> The mean difference between partisan groups was statistically significant ( $b = 0.14, p < .001$ ). Comparing the distribution density plots in Figure 4, it is possible to see that there were effectively no partisans who perceived the in-party as black and out-party as white (the right tail for Democrats and left tail for Republicans). This is particularly important with regard to Democratic supporters. One might expect to find racial liberals---i.e., ones who perceive the Democratic Party as black and support it in hope to advance the position of racial minorities in the U.S.---among self-identified Democrats. It can be argued that this is especially likely to happen with MTurk studies due to its overrepresentation of liberals/Democrats. However, we did not find any such respondents.

< Figure 5 about here >

The most notable difference concerned the out-party schemas. A substantial proportion of Republicans very strongly associated the Republican Party with whites and the Democratic Party with blacks (those on the right tail of the distribution in Figure 5). Since MTurk samples tend to underrepresent conservative Republicans, we probably underestimated the number of those with

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<sup>14</sup> It is not entirely clear whether this gap was driven by white partisans who associated the in-party with their racial in-group. Unfortunately, the number of African Americans in our sample ( $N = 24$ ) did not allow testing for a difference in race--party schemas between whites and blacks.

the strongest race--party schemas. Among Democrats, on the contrary, very few strongly associated the Republican Party with African Americans.<sup>15</sup> Difference between Democrats' and Republicans' racialized party schemas was also strongly supported by the Kolmogorov--Smirnov test for distribution equality ( $D = 0.23, p = .001$ ).

Then, we used this measure of race--party schema strength to predict affective distance between the two parties. If our theory were correct, strong race-party schema would be associated with greater affective polarization. And this should be especially true among those with strongly negative attitudes about blacks. In order to ensure comparability with Study 1 and account for a potential liberal bias in the sample, we centered the partisan affective polarization measure around the mean and regressed it on a simple interactive model. To ease interpretation of the interaction effect, the racial resentment score was normalized to a scale from 0 to 1. Results are presented in Table 3. We found that, controlling for the standard demographic variables, the race--party schema strongly predicted affective polarization. Specifically, the estimated difference between respondents with opposing schemas was equal to nearly half of the possible range (approximately 80 out of 200; see Model 1 in Table 3). To see if this effect was largest for those with strong racial attitudes, we interacted schema strength with racial resentment (see Model 2 in Table 3). The interaction was highly significant and in the expected direction. To interpret the finding substantively, we plotted the marginal effects comparing individuals with high and low resentment scores (see Figure 5). The graph reveals that the effect

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<sup>15</sup> There were only three respondents in the sample with schema scores less than -0.53 (i.e., those who strongly associated the Democratic Party with whites and the Republican Party with blacks) and all of them identified as Democrats. Exclusion of these respondents from the analysis did not change the results.

of the race--party schema on affective distance was close to zero for respondents with low levels of racial resentment but grew dramatically in size and significance at higher resentment scores.

< Table 3 about here >

< Figure 6 about here >

In summary, the main contribution in Study 2 was the direct measurement of the party--race schema representing the cognitive linkage between each party and white vs. black racial categories. Several important findings emerged. First, we found significant differences in race--party schemas between Democrats and Republicans. Republicans were more likely to view the parties in a stereotypically racialized way. Second, the race--party schema was a significant predictor of affective polarization between the two parties. Third, as expected, the effect of the race--party schema on affective polarization was moderated by racial resentment: those higher in resentment weighed racial schemas far more heavily in their evaluations of parties.

In interpreting these results, some limitations should be considered. First, the IAT procedure is known to produce relatively large measurement errors (Arkes and Tetlock 2004). We used the IAT scores as the main explanatory variable in our model and this was potentially problematic since measurement error in predictors, even when non-systematic, would suppress effect sizes (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994, 164--167). Second, while MTurk samples do contain more variation on important population parameters than most convenience samples, they are also more liberal and probably more politically interested (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012). Since conservative Republicans were underrepresented, the sample might have exhibited less variance on some variables of interest: race--party schema, racial resentment, and partisan affect. These features of the sample were not ideal, but they made our tests more conservative.

Nevertheless, despite these sampling biases, we found a strong and statistically significant relationship between schema strength and affective polarization.

Finally, the IAT method in Study 2 allowed us to measure only one schema for each individual: in this case, their racial stereotypes about the parties. Given time, attention, and cognitive effort required for completing a full IAT task, inclusion of several tests in one survey was not feasible. Ideally, we would be able to compare the importance of the race--party schema with other group-party associations, such as those involving religion, gender and/or social class. We address this limitation in Study 3.

### **Study 3: Comparing the Impact of Different Group--Party Schemas**

To compare the impact of race-party schemas with those of other group dimensions, we collected a second sample using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk).<sup>16</sup> In February 2016, 520 respondents answered a web-based survey once again built on the Qualtrics platform. After removing duplicated IP addresses and those who completed the survey from outside of the U.S., the final sample contained of 466 observations.<sup>17</sup> Demographics again deviated from national parameters in expected ways. Specifically, our respondents were predominantly males (56.9%) with college degrees (53.0%). The sample was also relatively young, with a mean age of 36.4 years. In terms of partisanship, 48.1% of respondents were Democrats, 18.5% were Republicans, and 30.5% were independents. Finally, 76.2% of the sample self-identified as non-Hispanic white.

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix G for the list of survey items included in the analysis, question wordings, and answer codes

<sup>17</sup> The number of cases available for regression analysis was smaller due to missing values on some of the core variables.

Our goal in Study 3 was to measure the degree to which a respondent's identification with a variety of groups---religion, race, and social class---matched their beliefs about the majority coalition in each party. The measurement approach was explicit, not implicit as in Study 2. This choice was mostly pragmatic. We could have attempted to replicate the IAT for other group dimensions but finding simple pictures that isolate secular vs. fundamentalist or wealthy vs. poor individuals, without cueing other group dimensions, posed a great challenge. It is difficult to guess which of the two approaches, implicit or explicit, is most appropriate for the core hypothesis of the paper. Similar and consistent results across the two approaches, however, would allow us to conclude whether the effect was substantial and robust.

In the survey, each respondent was asked about his or her own identification with regard to religion, race/ethnicity, and social class. Respondents were then asked to identify the "the typical supporter" of both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party on the same identity dimensions. Table 4 presents how often our respondents chose the most prominent identity categories as "typical" of Democrats and Republicans (some low-frequency responses were collapsed into the "Other" category). Scanning the results one can immediately see that there was much more diversity projected on the Democratic Party compared to the Republican Party. About half our sample guessed that the typical Democrat was either secular or Catholic, but many also believed mainline Protestants and Christians without denomination to be the dominant religious category in the party. On the other hand, the vast majority of our sample viewed the Republican Party as either mainline Protestant or evangelical Christian, with only about 1% of respondents positing "secular" as the typical religious category for party members on the right. On race, we got a similar picture: substantially more racial diversity was seen among Democrats compared to Republicans. With regard to social class, Democrats were seen as somewhat more

working class (although proportions were relatively close), while Republicans were seen as predominantly middle class or affluent.<sup>18</sup> In summary, explicit partisan schemas reflected widespread consensus that, at least relatively speaking, the Democratic Party was racially diverse and represented the working class, while the Republican Party was seen as mostly white, Evangelical, and middle class or wealthy.

< Table 4 about here >

The results in Table 4 generally conform to the assumptions in previous work about which groups comprise the plurality of each party's coalition (Mason 2016). In most cases, the stereotypically aligned group was the one that a plurality of respondents associated with a party. For example, typical Republicans were seen as white by slightly more than 96% of our sample. The only exception was the association between the Democratic Party and African Americans. As demonstrated in Table 4, most respondents saw the typical Democratic partisan as white--- which was in fact true. In other words, what we captured was the degree to which Democrats were perceived as relatively less white than Republicans (rather than non-white in absolute terms).

We then constructed a measure of the perceived match between parties and groups for each individual. To do so, we combined responses to the questions about typical partisans with a measure of the respondent's own group identity. We created matching variables related to each of the three group identities: religion, race, and social class. Each perceived match variable had three distinct values: -1 (Democratic), 0 (None), and 1 (Republican). In choosing social groups

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<sup>18</sup> Many respondents, when asked about the class status of the typical Republican, chose the "Other" option and answered "rich" or "wealthy." In the analysis, we collapsed them with our pre-defined categories so that "working class" effectively meant "working or lower" whereas "middle class" stood for "middle or upper."

that were aligned with parties, we followed Mason (2016) as well as our own results from Study 1. Table 6 presents our coding procedure using the measure of perceived religious group match as an example. If an Evangelical respondent perceived Republicans as Evangelical and Democrats as members of any other religious category, the perceived match score for this person was 1 (a “Republican matched” respondent). On the other hand, if that same Evangelical thought the typical Republican was Secular or some religious group other than Evangelical, while typical Democrats were also secular or some other non-Evangelical group, we would code them 0 (a “non-matched” respondent). Additionally, respondents were considered non-matched if they saw typical partisans as exactly the same (i.e., both Evangelical or both secular). Finally, if that same Evangelical posited the typical Democrat to be Evangelical but the typical Republican to be secular or some other religious group, they would be scored a -1 (a “Democratically matched” respondent). The same procedure for calculating matches were used for race and class.<sup>19</sup> The resulting measures effectively captured whether a person’s schema for a given party matches his or her own group identity.

< Table 5 about here >

## **Results**

Using the identity match measures described above, we aimed to understand which group--party schema dimension drove affective polarization most powerfully. In Table 6 we present results of regression analysis. The dependent variable in the reported model was similar to the previous studies: partisan affective polarization (Republican feeling thermometer minus Democratic feeling thermometer---again, centered, as in Studies 1 and 2). Of the three group--party measures

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<sup>19</sup> See Appendix H.

we examined, only race had a significant effect on affective polarization.<sup>20</sup> The difference between people who believed their own race coincided with the typical Republican and those who believed their race to be more typical of the Democratic Party was almost 20 degrees on the affective polarization scale. Note that the model controlled for basic demographic variables as well as for issue positions.

< Table 6 about here >

Figure 7 presents the results graphically. Here, it is possible to directly contrast the potential match categories---Democratic, Republican, and none---across the three group identities. It can be seen that only racial match had an impact on partisan affective polarization whereas matching with a party in terms of religion and social class did not. The differences between groups on the racial matching dimension were substantively and statistically significant.

< Figure 7 about here >

These results support our fourth hypothesis quite strongly: the perceived match between one's race and that of the presumed typical party member had a significant effect on affective polarization, even after controlling for issue positions. This association was not significant for perceived matched on religion and social class. Of course, there were some limitations in Study 3, mostly surrounding our measure of self-reported schemas. While we would have liked to measure non-racial group identities like religion and class with a separate IAT, it would have been impossible to find distinct group images comparable in validity and strength to the test for race. Nevertheless, results reported here show strong support for the central claim of our theory: individuals do think of the two major U.S. parties in racial terms and those beliefs impact their

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<sup>20</sup> We tried interacting the match measures with subjective identity strength but it did not improve the results. Estimates are available upon request.

feelings about partisans on either side of the aisle. Explicit racial schemas also appear to be more powerful predictors of affective polarization than ones based on religion or class.

## **Conclusion**

The rise of affective polarization has been well documented, and is of significant concern. At the most superficial level, it is worrisome to witness so much partisan antipathy in the population. More pragmatically, many suspect that personal dislike for one's partisan adversaries could substantially undermine the possibility of compromise and legislative productivity. Even when both sides would be better off by moving toward each other, strong personal animosities might lead one or both sides from worrying that their constituents will punish them for giving up any ground to those terrible people from the other party.

The root causes of affective polarization worthy of continued research. Speculations about its antecedents include campaign negativity (Iyengar and Westwood 2015), and an increase in "socio-ideological sorting" (Mason 2015) in which a variety of social group identities have come into alignment with partisanship. Our theory brings partisanship back to its sociological roots by marrying Columbia school's ideas about social ties, which come to bind citizens politically into partisan teams (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1948), with the social identity theory's insights about the subsequent impact, and therefore self-reinforcing nature, of group belonging on an individual's general emotional life and self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner 1979). These intuitions all seem on the right track to us, but we think that in the American context at least, the sociological cleavage that is likely to matter most, and may be primary, is race. Our own view is that in order to imbue partisan disagreement with the kind of antipathy we are now witnessing, one should look first to social group cleavages with a history of hostility and hard feelings. Over the course of U.S. history, that cleavage is not class, religion, or even

ideology. It is race. Racial animosity, perhaps more than any other identity cleavage, has defined and structured American politics.

In the present paper, we built upon both classic works in political psychology and recent contributions on affective polarization to formulate a theoretical model of growing cognitive overlap between race and party (which we called the race--party schema) within the American public. Then, we looked at several sources of empirical data and found strong support for the assumption that the racial compositions of the major parties were the most potent driver of partisan affective polarization. In Study 1, we demonstrated that the impact of racial identity and racial conservatism on partisan affect grew over the last 30 years and was more pronounced compared to rivaling social categories and political issues. An original modification of the IAT employed in Study 2 confirmed that individuals who held racialized partisan schemas scored higher on affective polarization---especially if they also had racially resentful attitudes. Finally, comparison across identity categories made in Study 3 suggested that explicit racial schemas, compared to ones based on religion or social class, were more important in predicting partisan affective polarization.

Does all this mean that group dimensions other than race are unimportant drivers of affective polarization now, in other countries, or at another moment in time? We would not make that claim. We have only examined a limited number of group--party schemas that might have something to do with this increase in hard feelings others have documented. Furthermore, the nature of racial divide itself is changing, as the level of diversity within American society increases. For instance, there is a good amount of evidence that shift to the political right among white voters is produced, among other things, by the perceived threat related to Hispanic/Latino immigration (Hajnal and Rivera 2014). As a result, future studies might want to explore whether

the image of the Democratic Party as generally non-white rather than associated with a specific ethnic or racial group is politically consequential.

In the end, we cannot say yet whether norms of civility spring from or cause the kind of compromise and mutual respect so essential to good governance in any democratic regime.

Identifying the chicken and the egg in that relationship may ultimately be a fool's errand, but we think it is still worth pursuing further than is possible in this paper.

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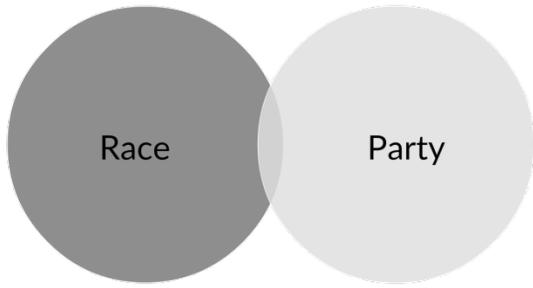
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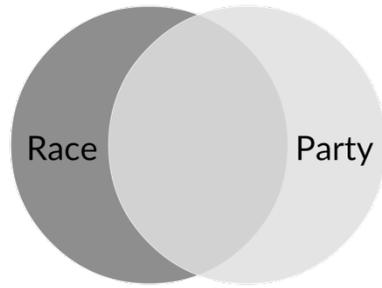
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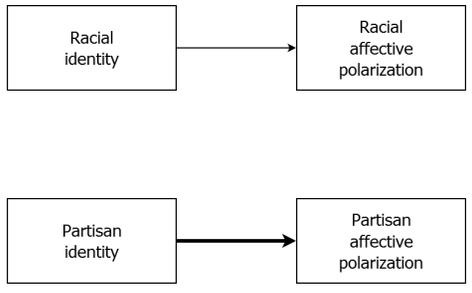


(a) Race--party schema in 1980s: small overlap

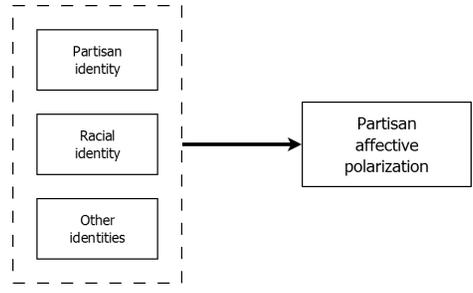


(b) Race--party schema in 2010s: large overlap

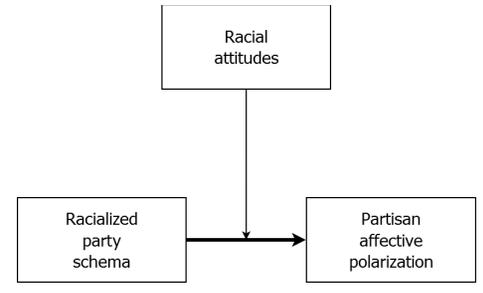
**Figure 1.** Increase in race--party schematic overlap from 1980s to 2010s



(a) Iyengar and Westwood



(b) Mason



(c) Our model

**Figure 2.** Comparison of the three explanations for affective polarization

**Table 1.** Group identities and partisan affective polarization over time: regression results, 1990--2012

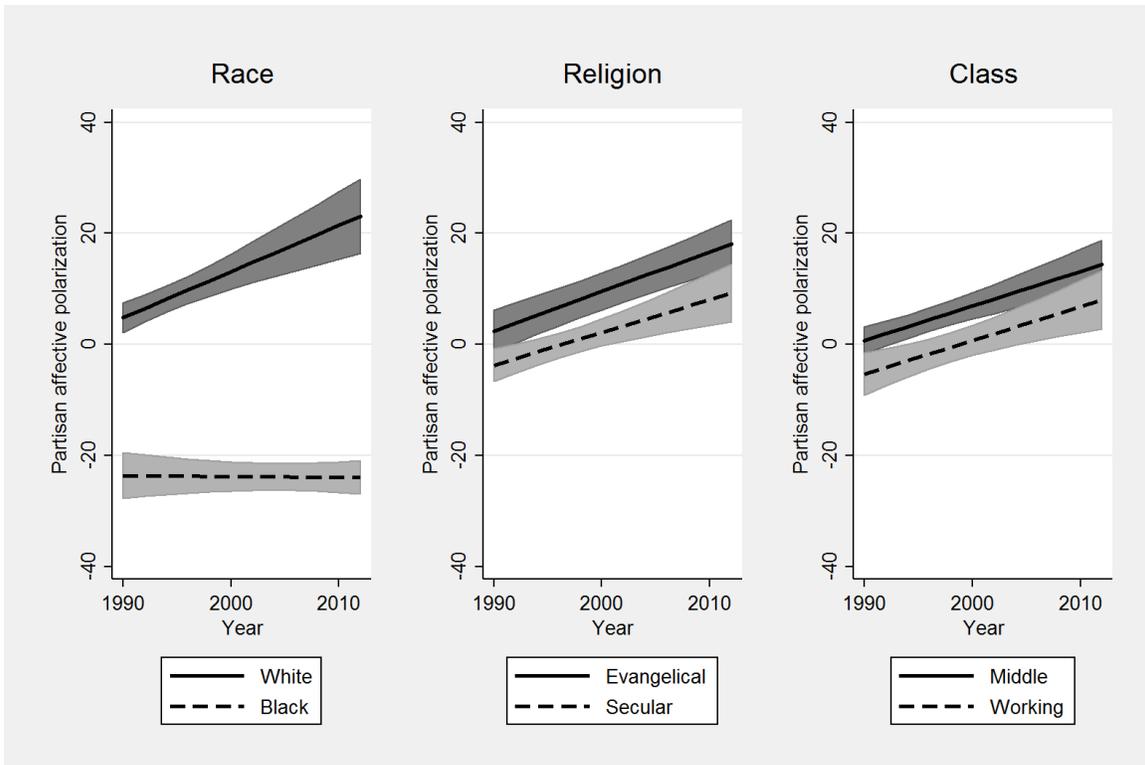
	Estimate
White	25.06 <sup>***</sup> (1.08)
Evangelical Christian	5.65 <sup>**</sup> (1.35)
Middle or upper class	5.99 <sup>**</sup> (1.24)
Time trend	-1.44 (3.53)
White * Time	25.37 <sup>**</sup> (4.73)
Evangelical * Time	3.75 (2.98)
Middle class * Time	0.47 (2.46)
Age	-0.10 (0.05)
Female	-5.61 <sup>***</sup> (0.64)
College	0.58 (1.04)
South	5.63 <sup>*</sup> (2.05)
Hispanic	25.00 <sup>***</sup> (2.34)
Non-Evangelical Christian	3.10 <sup>*</sup> (1.15)

Standard errors in parentheses

$N = 12,730$

Reference categories are black, secular, and working or lower class

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**Figure 3.** Group identities and partisan affective polarization over time: interaction plots, 1990—2012. Plots are based on estimation results presented in Table 1

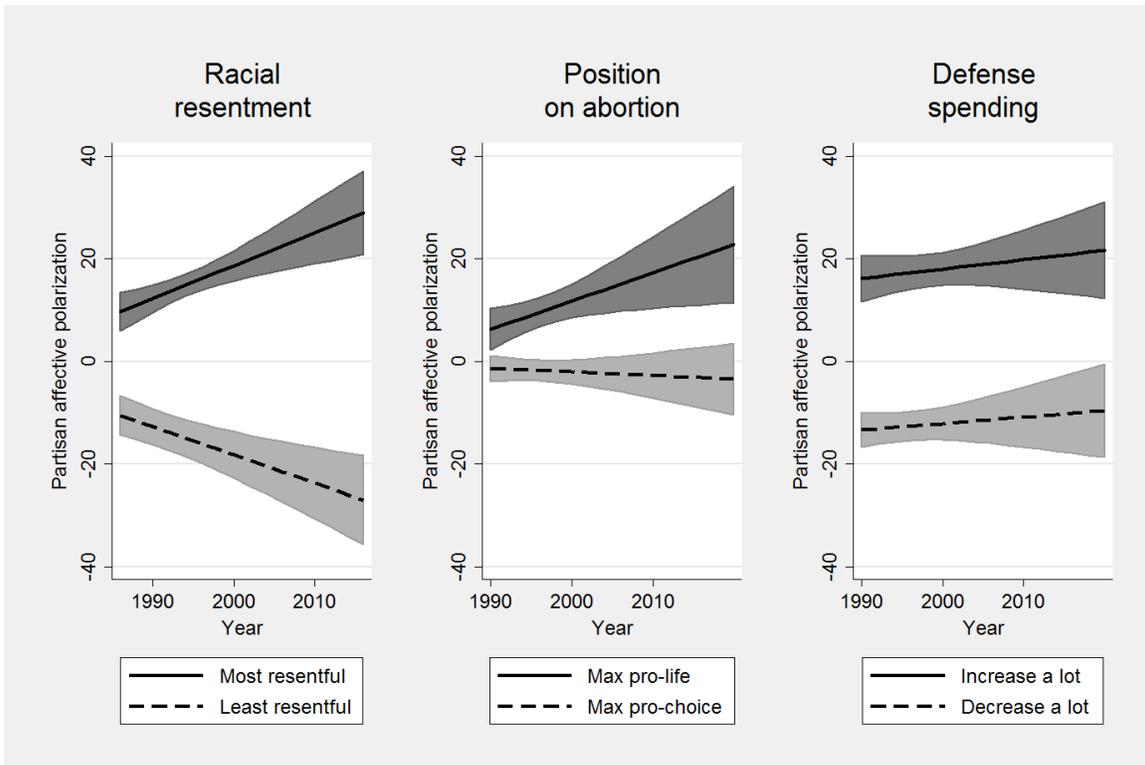
**Table 2.** Issue positions and partisan affective polarization over time: regression results, 1986--2016

	Estimate
Racial resentment	20.17 <sup>***</sup> (2.69)
Position on abortion	7.61 <sup>**</sup> (2.00)
Defense spending	29.55 <sup>***</sup> (2.89)
Time trend	-24.06 <sup>***</sup> (4.53)
Resentment * Time	35.78 <sup>***</sup> (3.36)
Abortion * Time	18.62 <sup>***</sup> (3.86)
Defense * Time	1.71 (5.25)
Age	-0.13 <sup>*</sup> (0.05)
Female	-3.12 <sup>***</sup> (0.23)
Black	-21.74 <sup>***</sup> (2.54)
College	6.23 <sup>***</sup> (0.91)
South	-0.57 (0.94)
Income	18.32 <sup>***</sup> (2.25)
Union	-11.05 <sup>***</sup> (0.91)
Church attendance	4.99 <sup>**</sup> (0.94)

Standard errors in parentheses

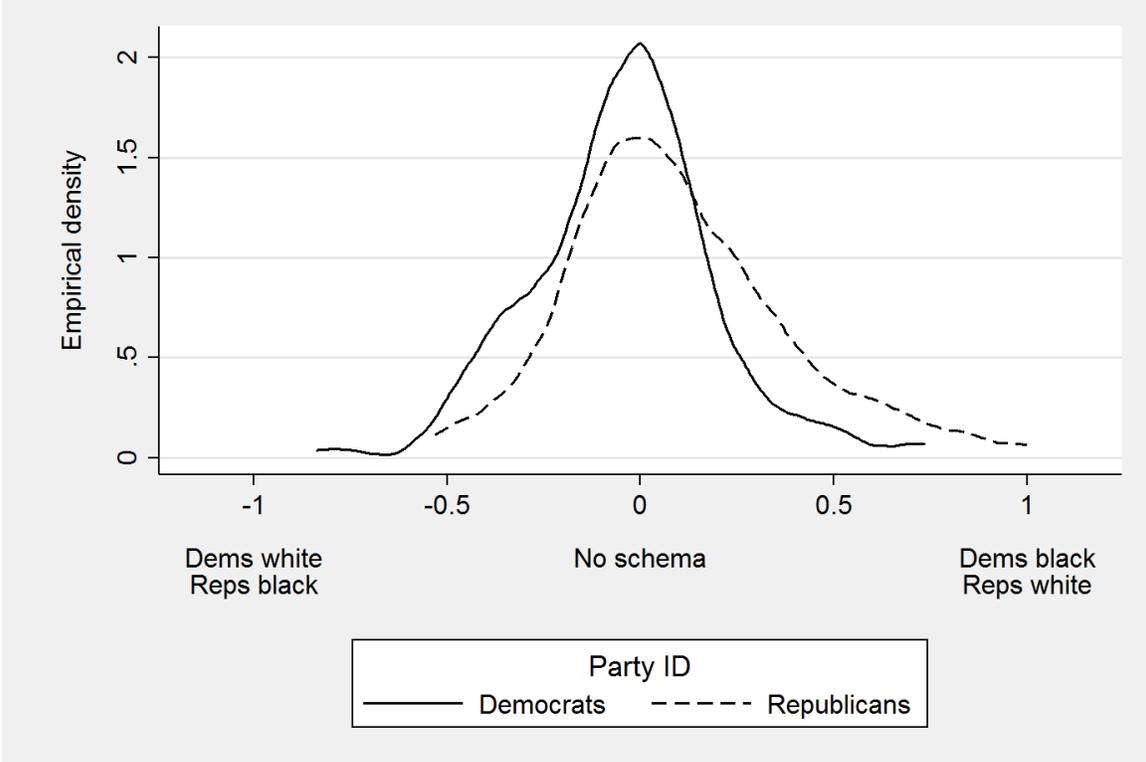
$N = 10,241$

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**Figure 4.** Issue positions and partisan affective polarization over time: interaction plots, 1986--2016

Plots are based on estimation results presented in Table 2



**Figure 5.** Empirical distributions of race--party schemas among Democrats and Republicans  
233 Democrats and 87 Republicans (leaners included as partisans)

**Table 3.** Race--party schema, racial resentment, and partisan affective polarization: regression results

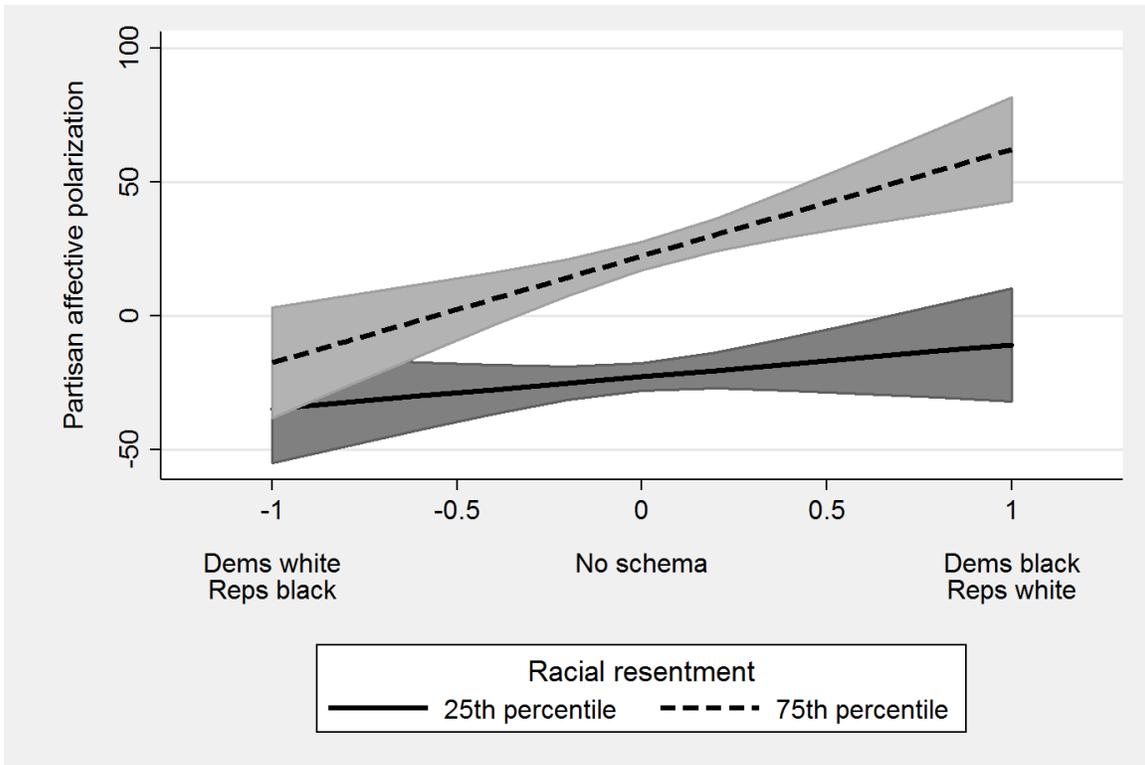
	Model 1	Model 2
Race--party schema	41.59 <sup>***</sup> (9.41)	2.50 (13.58)
Racial resentment		80.55 <sup>***</sup> (6.28)
Schema * Resentment		49.84 <sup>*</sup> (23.41)
Female	-14.01 <sup>**</sup> (4.82)	-9.50 <sup>*</sup> (4.03)
Age	0.68 <sup>***</sup> (0.20)	0.51 <sup>**</sup> (0.17)
Education	-0.00 (1.83)	1.94 (1.53)
African American	-11.18 (9.60)	-4.65 (8.02)

Standard errors in parentheses

$N = 377$

In Model 1, schema direction for African Americans is reversed

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**Figure 5.** Marginal effects of the racialized party schema on affective distance for respondents with low and high levels of racial resentment

Plot is based on estimation results presented in Table 3

**Table 4.** Frequencies of identity categories associated with “typical” partisans

	Democratic	Republican
Race		
White	62.2	96.4
Black	28.1	0.2
Other	9.7	3.4
Religion		
Mainline Protestant	17.2	19.7
Catholic	13.1	15.2
Evangelical Christian	5.8	51.5
Christian without denomination	18.2	10.1
Secular	37.8	1.3
Other	7.9	2.1
Social class		
Working or lower	56.2	20.8
Middle or upper	41.0	78.8
Other	2.8	0.4

All entries are percentages

*N* = 466

**Table 5.** Construction of the match measures: example

		Respondent is Evangelical		
		Evangelical	Republican stereotype "Neutral"	Secular
Democratic stereotype	Evangelical	0	-1	-1
	"Neutral"	1	0	0
	Secular	1	0	0
		Respondent is secular		
		Evangelical	Republican stereotype "Neutral"	Secular
Democratic stereotype	Evangelical	0	0	1
	"Neutral"	0	0	1
	Secular	-1	-1	0

The "Neutral" category includes all religious affiliations other than Evangelical Christian and secular

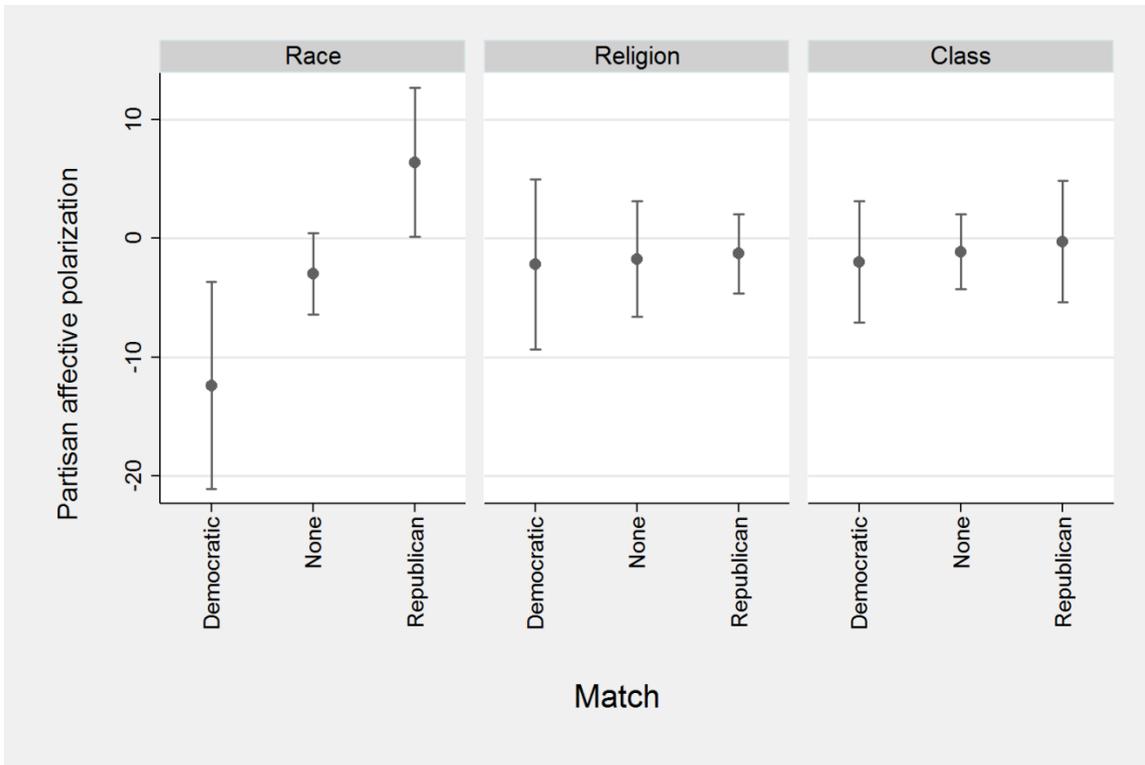
**Table 6.** Self--party identity match and affective polarization: regression results

	Estimate
Racial match	9.40** (3.45)
Religious match	0.45 (1.37)
Social class match	0.86 (2.06)
Big government	12.85*** (1.25)
Defense spending	3.82*** (1.04)
Environmental regulation	4.45*** (1.16)
Position on abortion	4.33*** (0.94)
Female	-0.05 (3.40)
Age	-0.03 (0.16)
Education	0.16 (1.26)

Standard errors in parentheses

$N = 388$

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



**Figure 7.** Marginal effects of the self-party identity match on partisan affective polarization across identity and match categories

Plot is based on estimation results presented in Table 6

## Appendices

### Appendix A. Survey Items from Study 1 (ANES)

*Feeling thermometers:* “We would like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. We will show the name of a person and we'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.”

- We used items about the Democratic Party and the Republican Party
- Numeric answers ranged from 0 to 97 (with 97 meaning “from 97 to 100”)<sup>21</sup>

*Race:* coded by interviewers.

- We used three categories: white, black, and Hispanic/Latino of any race

*Religion:* “Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular church or denomination?”

- We used three categories: Evangelical Christian, secular, and non-Evangelical Christian
- The “Evangelical” category included all Baptist, Pentecostal, and Independent-Fundamentalist denominations except those considered mainline by the Pew Research Center<sup>22</sup>
- The “secular” category included agnostics, atheists, and non-religious respondents.

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<sup>21</sup> This is the original ANES coding.

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix B for the full list of churches coded as Evangelical.

- The “non-Evangelical” category included all Christian denominations that were not categorized as Evangelical

*Social class*: “There's been some talk these days about different social classes. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging in one of these classes?”

- Original answers included eight categories from 0 = *Lower class* to 7 = *Upper class*
- We recoded them in two categories: working or lower vs. middle or upper

*Racial resentment*: four-item battery.

1. “Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.” (reversed)
2. “Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should to the same without any special favors.”
3. “It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.”
4. “Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” (reversed)

- Original answers coded from 1 = *Agree strongly* to 5 = *Disagree strongly*

*Position on abortion*: “There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years.

Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view?”

- Original answers coded from 1 = *By law, abortion should never be permitted* to 4 = *By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice*

*Defense spending*: “Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense.

Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Where would you place yourself

on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?"

- Original answers coded from 1 = *Greatly decrease defense spending* to 7 = *Greatly increase defense spending*

*Age*: calculated using question about birth date.

*Gender*: coded by interviewers.

*Education*: "What is the highest degree that you have earned?"

- We used two categories: no college vs. college or higher

*Region*: based on U.S. Census classification

- We used two categories: South vs. non-South

*Income*: self-reported household income by percentile.

- We normalized it to 0--1 range

*Union membership*: "Do you or anyone else in this household belong to a labor union?"

- We used two categories: yes vs. no

*Church attendance*: "Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals? Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?"

- We used two categories: less than once a week vs. once a week or more often

## Appendix B. Christian Denominations Coded as Evangelical

1. *Baptist*: American Baptist Association, Baptist Bible Fellowship, Baptist General Conference, Baptist Missionary Association of America, Conservative Baptist Association of America, General Association of Regular Baptist Churches (G.A.R.B.), National Association of Free Will Baptists (United Free Will Baptist Church), Primitive Baptists, National Baptist Convention in the U.S.A., National Baptist Convention of America, National Primitive Baptist Convention of the U.S.A, United Free-Will Baptist Church, Reformed Baptist (Calvinist), Southern Baptist Convention, Fundamental Baptist, Local (independent) Baptist churches with no denominational ties or links to a national fellowship, Baptist (not further specified).<sup>23</sup>
2. *Independent-Fundamentalist*: Plymouth Brethren, Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America, Independent-Fundamentalist (not further specified).
3. *Pentecostal*: Assemblies of God, Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Church of God (Huntsville, AL), International Church of the Four Square Gospel, Pentecostal Church of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church, United Pentecostal Church International, Church of God in Christ, Church of God of the Apostolic Faith, Church of God in Prophecy, Vineyard Fellowship, Open Bible Standard Churches, Full Gospel, Apostolic Pentecostal, Spanish Pentecostal, Pentecostal (not further specified).

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<sup>23</sup> Excluded mainline/liberal Baptist churches: American Baptist Churches U.S.A. and Progressive National Baptist Convention.

### Appendix C. Alternative Coding of Evangelical Christianity (cf. Table 1)

	Estimate
White	25.70 <sup>***</sup> (1.14)
Evangelical Christian	10.65 <sup>***</sup> (0.97)
Middle class	5.81 <sup>**</sup> (1.21)
Time trend	-3.49 (3.44)
White * Time	26.21 <sup>**</sup> (4.67)
Evangelical * Time	7.25 <sup>**</sup> (1.24)
Middle class * Time	0.34 (2.18)
Age	-0.11 <sup>*</sup> (0.04)
Female	-6.01 <sup>***</sup> (0.65)
College	0.72 (0.94)
South	5.25 <sup>*</sup> (1.90)
Hispanic	25.76 <sup>***</sup> (2.60)
Non-evangelical Christian	8.61 <sup>***</sup> (1.26)

Standard errors in parentheses

$N = 12,730$

Reference categories are black, secular, and working class

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

### Appendix D. Issue Effects Controlling for Symbolic Ideology (cf. Table 2)

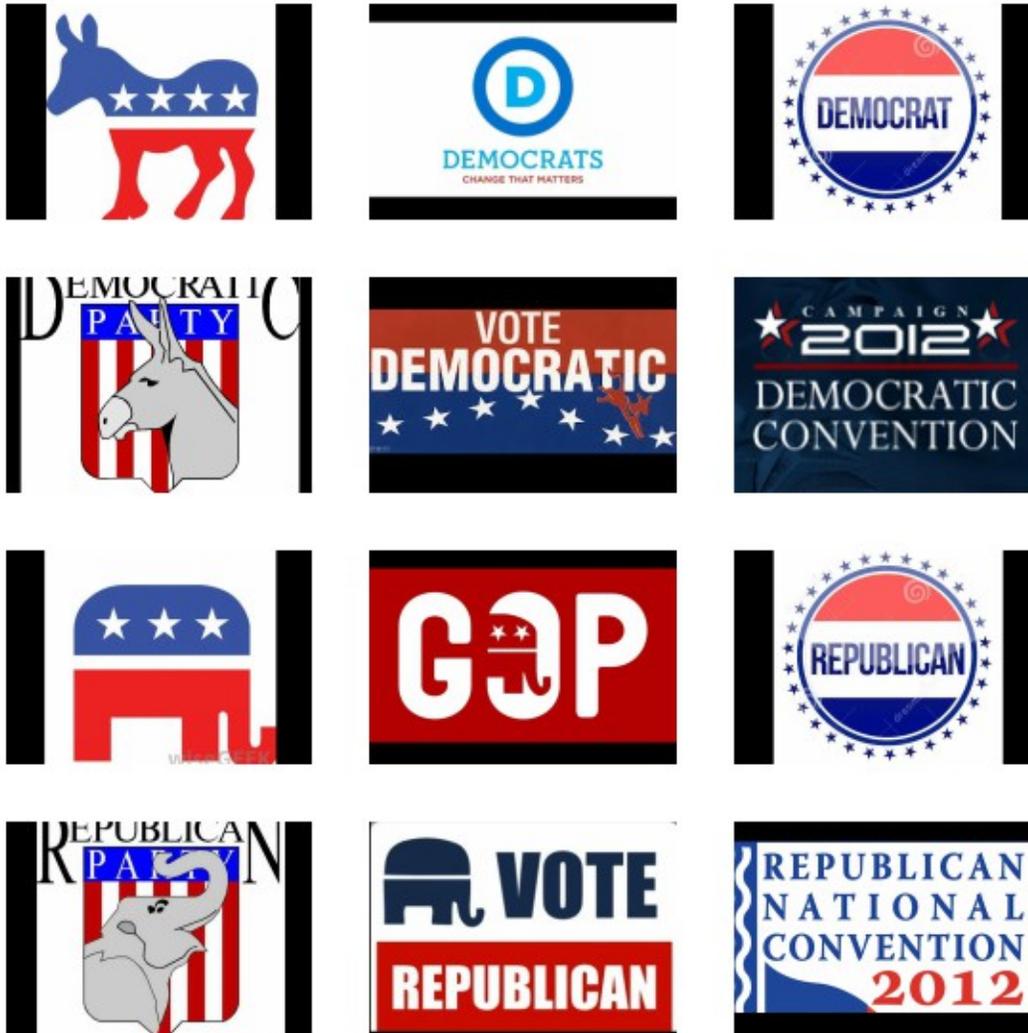
	Estimate
Racial resentment	13.33 <sup>***</sup> (2.79)
Position on abortion	5.31 <sup>**</sup> (1.43)
Defense spending	25.01 <sup>***</sup> (1.98)
Symbolic ideology	55.62 <sup>***</sup> (3.95)
Time trend	-21.39 <sup>***</sup> (4.14)
Resentment * Time	20.83 <sup>**</sup> (5.37)
Abortion * Time	5.14 (3.92)
Defense * Time	-4.69 (5.54)
Ideology * Time	31.66 (15.82)
Age	-0.16 <sup>**</sup> (0.04)
Female	-0.84 <sup>*</sup> (0.34)
Black	-20.92 <sup>***</sup> (2.05)
College	5.20 <sup>***</sup> (0.76)
South	-0.88 (0.71)
Income	11.66 <sup>***</sup> (2.43)
Union	-8.12 <sup>***</sup> (1.22)
Church attendance	1.54 (1.03)

Standard errors in parentheses

$N = 7,964$

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Appendix E. Party Stimuli for the IAT (Study 2)



## Appendix F. Survey Items from Study 2

*Partisanship*: the standard series of questions from the ANES

1. “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?”
2. (If Democrat) “Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?”
3. (If Republican) “Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?”
4. (if independent) “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?”

*Feeling thermometers*: see Appendix A.

*Racial resentment*: see Appendix A.

*Gender*: “Are you male or female?”

*Age*: “Please enter your age in full years.”

*Education*: “What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?”

- Answers ranged from 1 = *Incomplete high school* to 7 = *Doctorate or professional degree*

*Race*: “Here is a list of race categories. Please choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be.”

- Possible answers: white, black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

## **Appendix G. Survey Items from Study 3**

*Feeling thermometers:* see Appendix A.

*Group membership:* “In terms of [race/religion/social class], which of the following comes closest to describing you?”

- Answer categories for race/ethnicity: white/Caucasian American, black/African American, Asian American, Native American, Hispanic/Latino American
- Answer categories for religion: mainline Protestant, Catholic, Evangelical Christian, other Christian, follower of a non-Christian religion, secular person
- Answer categories for social class: middle class, working class

*Typical partisan:* “In terms of [race/religion/social class], which of the following comes closest to describing the typical supporter of the [Democratic Party/Republican Party]?”

- Categories were exactly the same as for own group membership questions

*Big government:* “Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale?”

*Defense spending:* “Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale?”

*Environmental regulation:* “Some people think the federal government needs to regulate business to protect the environment. They think that efforts to protect the environment will also create jobs. Let us say this is point 1 on a 1-7 scale. Others think that the federal government should not regulate business to protect the environment. They think this regulation will not do much to help the environment and will cost us jobs. Let us say this is point 7 on a 1-7 scale. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale?”

*Position on abortion:* “Some people think abortion should never be permitted. Let us say this is point 1 on a 1-7 scale. Others think that a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion. Let us say this is point 7 on a 1-7 scale. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale?”

*Gender:* see Appendix E.

*Age:* see Appendix E.

*Education:* see Appendix E.

**Appendix H. Coding of Race and Social Class Match Variables (Study 3)**

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		Respondent is white			
		White	Republican stereotype "Neutral"	Black	
Democratic stereotype	White	0	-1		-1
	"Neutral"	1	0		0
	Black	1	0		0

---

		Respondent is black			
		White	Republican stereotype "Neutral"	Black	
Democratic stereotype	White	0	0		1
	"Neutral"	0	0		1
	Black	-1	-1		0

---

The "Neutral" category includes all racial/ethnic categories other than white and black

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		Respondent is middle class			
		Republican stereotype			
		Middle class	Working class		
Democratic stereotype	Middle class	0			-1
	Working class	1			0

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		Respondent is secular			
		Republican stereotype			
		Middle class	Working class		
Democratic stereotype	Middle class	0			1
	Working class	-1			0

---

No "Neutral" category for the social class variable