

Of Love and Hate: A Theory of Negative Party Identification

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"All I know is we're not Republicans. My father isn't."

—Judith, age 10 (Greenstein, 1969, p. 23)

Positive Theories of Party ID

- Party ID as attachment (Campbell et al 1960; Green, Palmquist, & Schickler 2002)
- Party ID as running tally (Downs 1957; Fiorina 1981)
- Both imply **attachment or identification** to a favored party

Psychological Foundations of Negative Party ID

- Non-polarity of attitudes (De Liver, van der Pligt, and Wigboldus 2006)
 - Attitudes are best represented in a bivariate space than a bipolar continuum
 - Negative and positive attitudes are not necessarily in a zero-sum game
- Approach and avoidance motives (Elliot and Thrash 2002)
 - Approach motives relate to positive party ID
 - Avoidance motives relate to negative party ID
- Negational social identity (Zhong et al. 2008)
 - "Who I am not", instead of "Who I am"

Political Foundations of Negative Party ID

Both reference group theory and small-group studies of influence have converged upon the **attracting** or **repelling** quality of the group ... [The] political party serves as the group toward which the individual may develop an identification, **positive** or **negative**, of some degree of intensity

(Campbell et al. 1960, pp.121-122)

- Hostility hypothesis
- Protest voting

Definition

Psychological refusal to be identified to a political party ("I am not") or a self-understanding that one is **not** a follower or identifier of a party

Hypotheses

- Party feeling hypothesis
 - Negative feelings toward the outparty should predict positive PID
- Group feeling hypothesis (not presented, see full article)
 - Negative feelings toward groups associated with the outparty should predict positive PID

Analysis: ANES 1992-94-96 Panel

Table 1. OLS Regressions Testing the Party Feeling Hypothesis

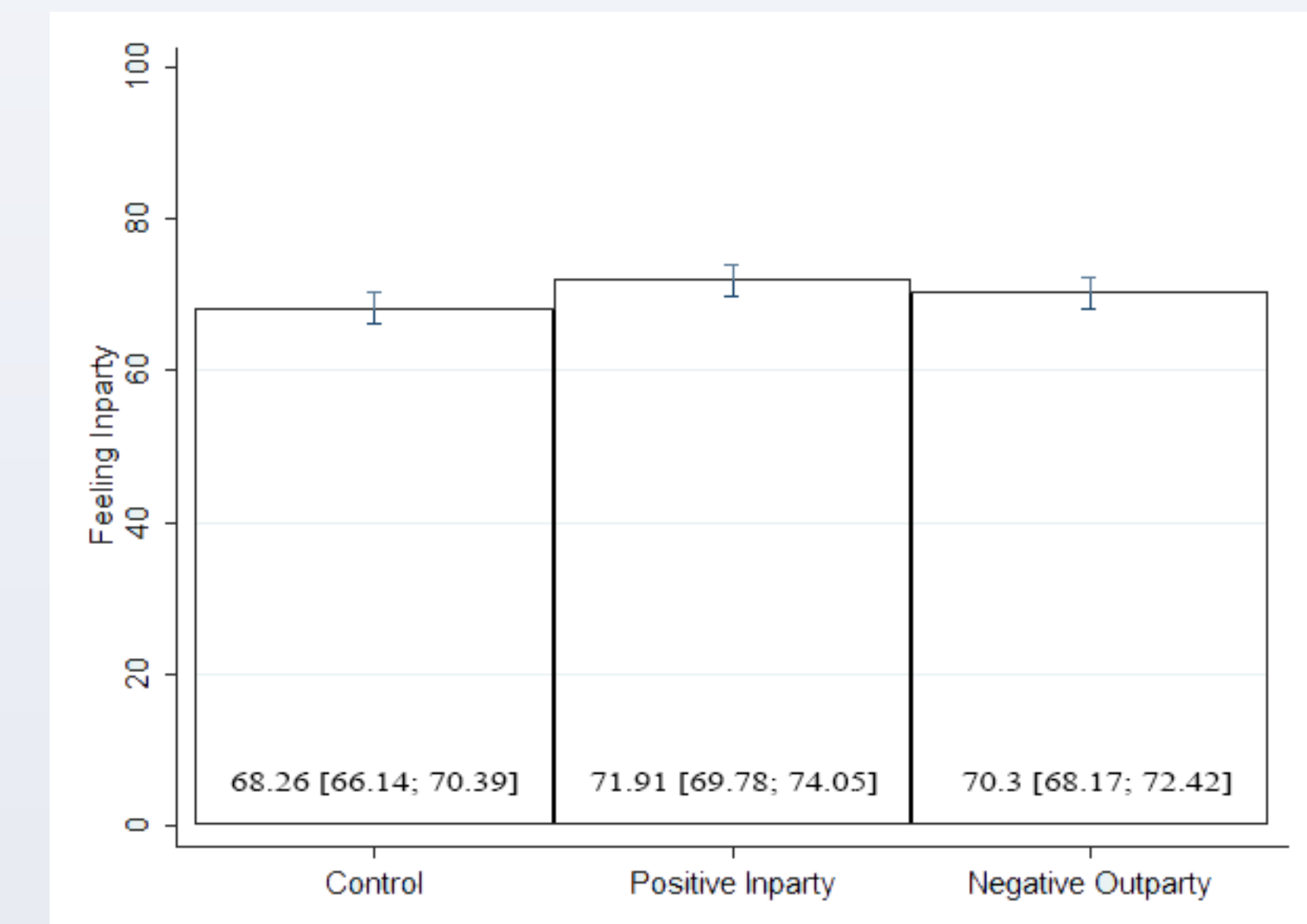
	PID Movement	7-point PID _t (among Democrats)	7-point PID _t (among Republicans)
Dummy (year=96)	-0.07 (0.063)	-0.28*** (0.081)	-0.51*** (0.093)
Female	-0.07 (0.061)	-0.06 (0.078)	-0.23** (0.088)
Age	0.01*** (0.002)	-0.01*** (0.002)	0.00 (0.003)
Race: Blacks	-0.03 (0.101)	-0.03 (0.104)	-1.13*** (0.279)
Race: Others	0.12 (0.188)	-0.30 (0.259)	0.01 (0.259)
Education	0.03* (0.020)	-0.02 (0.026)	0.05 (0.031)
Income	0.01 (0.006)	-0.00 (0.007)	0.02** (0.009)
Dummy PID Strength == 2 (Time T-1)	-0.32*** (0.074)		
Dummy PID Strength == 3 (Time T-1)	-0.72*** (0.082)		
PID (Time T-1)		0.63*** (0.054)	0.61*** (0.059)
Liking Inparty (Time T-1)	1.12*** (0.191)	-0.68*** (0.254)	1.44*** (0.265)
Disliking Outparty (Time T-1)	0.82*** (0.157)	-0.69*** (0.191)	1.30*** (0.242)
Constant	-1.62*** (0.217)	2.41*** (0.351)	-0.15 (0.385)
Observations	1,629	843	786
R-squared	0.07	0.25	0.33

***p<.01 **p<.05 *p<.10

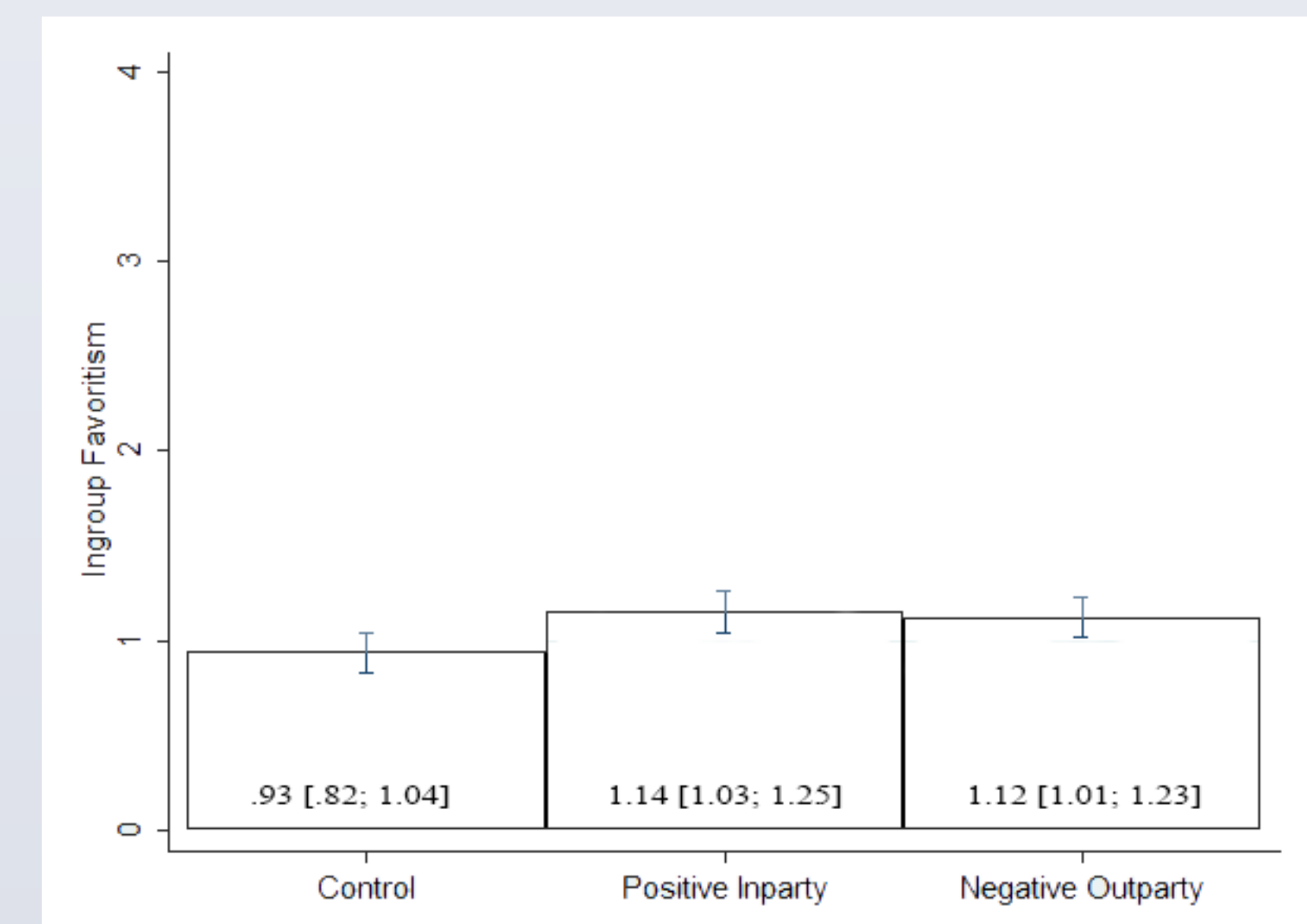
Analysis: Original Survey Experiment

Treatments for Democratic Party Identifiers	Treatments for Republican Party Identifiers
<p>Positive Inparty Treatment</p> <p>We are interested in understanding the different reasons people may have for identifying or refusing to identify with a political group. In an earlier question, you have indicated that you feel closer to the Democratic Party than the Republican Party.</p> <p>Please list four things that you like or consider appealing about the Democratic Party that make you choose to identify yourself as a Democrat. In other words, please tell us why you are a Democrat.</p>	<p>Positive Inparty Treatment</p> <p>We are interested in understanding the different reasons people may have for identifying or refusing to identify with a political group. In an earlier question, you have indicated that you feel closer to the Republican Party than the Democratic Party.</p> <p>Please list four things that you like or consider appealing about the Republican Party that make you choose to identify yourself as a Republican. In other words, please tell us why you are a Republican.</p>
<p>Negative Outparty Treatment</p> <p>We are interested in understanding the different reasons people may have for identifying or refusing to identify with a political group. In an earlier question, you have indicated that you feel closer to the Democratic Party than the Republican Party.</p> <p>Please list four things that you dislike or consider repulsive about the Republican Party that make you choose not to identify yourself as a Republican. In other words, please tell us why you are not a Republican.</p>	<p>Negative Outparty Treatment</p> <p>We are interested in understanding the different reasons people may have for identifying or refusing to identify with a political group. In an earlier question, you have indicated that you feel closer to the Republican Party than the Democratic Party.</p> <p>Please list four things that you dislike or consider repulsive about the Democratic Party that make you choose not to identify yourself as a Democrat. In other words, please tell us why you are not a Democrat.</p>
<p>Control Group</p> <p>No Prompt</p>	<p>Control Group</p> <p>No Prompt</p>

Thermometer feeling (0-100)

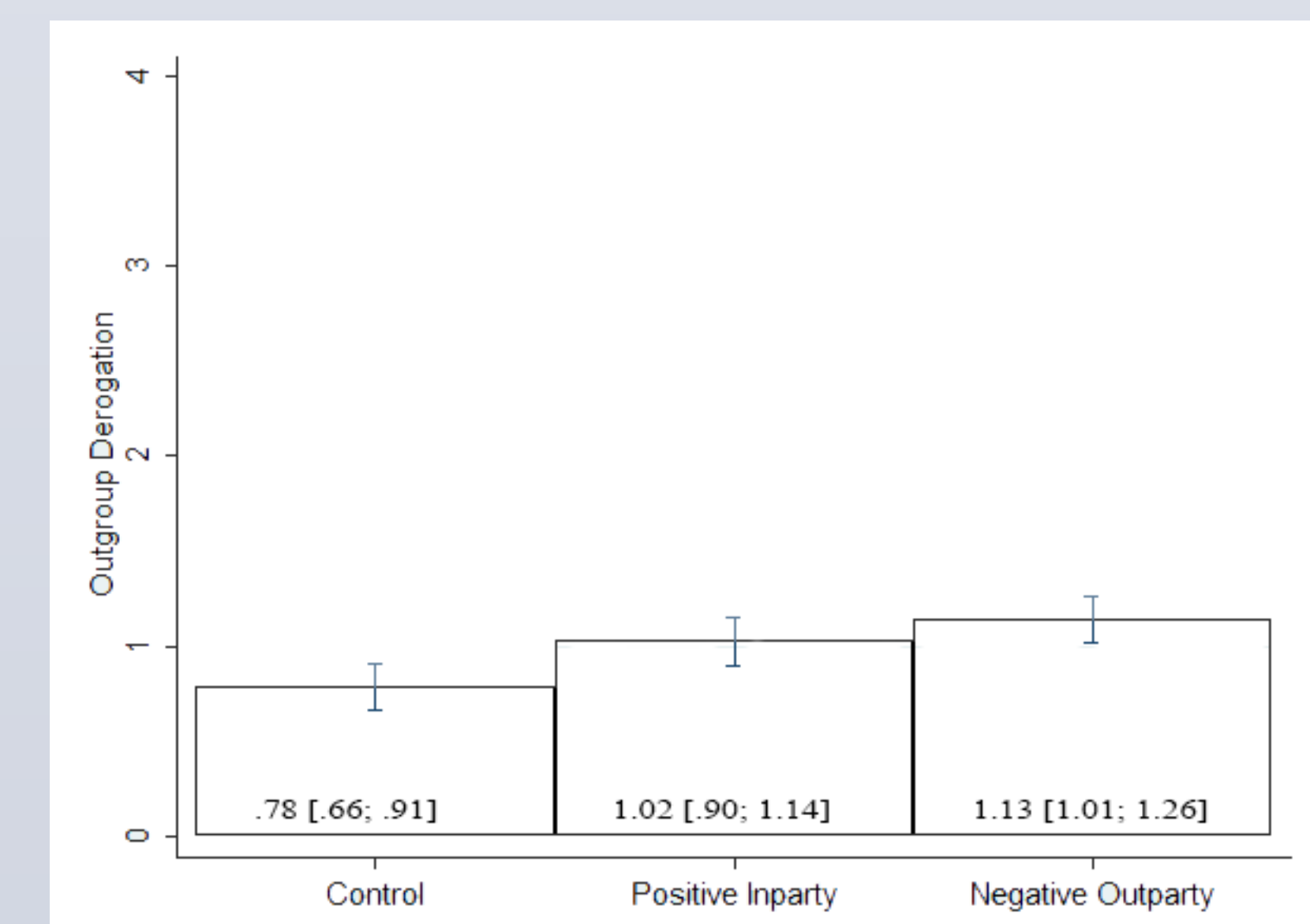


$$\text{Ingroup favoritism} = (\text{Positive Traits})_{\text{Inparty}} - (\text{Positive Traits})_{\text{Outparty}}$$



*positive traits = honest, cooperative

$$\text{Outgroup derogation} = (\text{Negative Traits})_{\text{Outparty}} - (\text{Negative Traits})_{\text{Inparty}}$$



*negative traits = greedy, conceited



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