#### WHEN POLITICS BECOMES PERSONAL

Can we be good partisans without demonizing our political opponents? Using insights from political science and social psychology, this book argues for the distinction between positive and negative partisanship – with significant implications: Strong support for a political party does not have to be accompanied by the vilification of the opposing party and its members. Utilizing data from five different countries, Alexa Bankert demonstrates that positive and negative partisanship are independent concepts with distinct consequences for political behavior, including citizens' political participation and their commitment to democratic norms and values. The book concludes with the hopeful message that partisanship is an essential pillar of representative and liberal democracy.

Alexa Bankert is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Georgia. Her work has appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of Politics, Political Psychology*, and *Political Behavior*. She is the recipient of several awards, including the *Distinguished Junior Scholars Award*, given by the Political Psychology Section of the American Political Science Association.

### **Contemporary Social Issues**

General Editor: Brian D. Christens, Vanderbilt University

*Contemporary Social Issues* is the official book series of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI). Since its founding in 1936, SPSSI has addressed the social issues of the times. Central to these efforts has been the Lewinian tradition of action-oriented research, in which psychological theories and methods guide research and action addressed to important societal problems. Grounded in their authors' programmes of research, works in this series focus on social issues facing individuals, groups, communities, and/or society at large, with each volume written to speak to scholars, students, practitioners, and policymakers.

### Other Books in the Series

Developing Critical Consciousness in Youth: Contexts and Settings Luke Rapa and Erin Godfrey, editors Critical Consciousness: Expanding Theory and Measurement Erin Godfrey and Luke Rapa, editors

# When Politics Becomes Personal

# The Effect of Partisan Identity on Anti-Democratic Behavior

Alexa Bankert University of Georgia





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316511343

DOI: 10.1017/9781009052290

© Alexa Bankert 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: Bankert, Alexa, 1987– author. TITLE: When politics becomes personal : the effect of partisan identity on anti-democratic behavior / Alexa Bankert.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Series: Contemporary social issues series | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023013309 (print) | LCCN 2023013310 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316511343 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009055512 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009052290 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Party affiliation. | Political participation. | Political sociology. |

Democracy-Social aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JF2071 .B36 2023 (print) | LCC JF2071 (ebook) |

DDC 323/.042-dc23/eng/20230501

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023013309

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023013310

ISBN 978-1-316-51134-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-05551-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To Brandon, who reminds me every day that happiness is life's greatest accomplishment.

# CONTENTS

List of Figures		page ix	
Lis	List of Tables		
Acknowledgments			
1	Introduction to the Book	1	
2	From Rational Choice to Partisan Identity: A Paradigm Change	10	
3	Partisan Identity and Political Behavior: A Review of Prior Scholarship	21	
4	Negative Partisanship	34	
5	The Measurement of Positive Partisan Identity	46	
6	The Measurement of Negative Partisan Identity	61	
7	The Psychological Origins of Positive and Negative Partisan Identity	76	
8	The Impact of Partisan Identities on Democratic Behavior in the United States and Europe	96	
9	The Impact of Partisan Identities on Anti-Democratic Behavior in the United States and Europe	119	
10	Reconciling Partisanship and Democracy	134	
11	Future Outlook	156	
Appendix		167	
References		171	
Index		189	

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-316-51134-3 — When Politics Becomes Personal The Effect of Partisan Identity on Anti-Democratic Behavior Alexa Bankert Frontmatter More Information

# FIGURES

2.1	Party identification levels among White Southerners,	
	1974–2008	page 14
5.1-	-5.4 Distribution of PPID in Italy, the Netherlands, the	
	United Kingdom, Sweden	52
5.5	Distribution of PPID in the United States	54
5.6	Information functions for the PPID scale in the United States	56
5.7	Information functions for the PPID scale in Sweden	56
5.8	Information functions for the PPID scale in the United Kingdom	57
6.1-	-6.4 Distribution of NPID in Italy, the Netherlands, the	
	United Kingdom, and Sweden	66
6.5	Distribution of NPID in the United States	68
6.6	Information functions for the NPID scale in the United States	69
6.7	Information functions for the NPID scale in Sweden	69
6.8	Information functions for the NPID scale in Italy	70
6.9	Distribution of NPID among US independents	72
7.1	Typology of partisans	78
8.1	Distribution of PPID and NPID in the United States	99
8.2	Distribution of PPID and NPID in the Netherlands	100
8.3	Distribution of PPID and NPID in Sweden	101
8.4	Distribution of PPID and NPID in Italy	102
8.5	Distribution of PPID and NPID in the United Kingdom	104
10.1	Experimental treatment to correct partisan biases	138
10.2	Experimental treatment to prime American identity	144
10.3	Experimental treatment "warm relations"	150
10.4	Experimental treatment "cold relations"	150

# TABLES

5.1	Measures of expressive versus instrumental partisanship	page 49
6.1	Measure of negative partisan identity	64
7.1	Percentage shares of partisan types	84
7.2	Personality predictors of partisan types, US sample	86
7.3	Personality predictors of partisan types, Sweden sample	88
7.4	Personality predictors of PPID and NPID among Democrats	
	and Republicans, US sample	91
7.5	Personality predictors of PPID and NPID among partisans	
	on the Left and the Right, Sweden sample	92
8.1	PPID, NPID, and turnout	106
8.2	PPID, NPID, and in-party vote	109
8.3	PPID, NPID, and political participation	113
8.4	NPID and independents	117
9.1	Commitment to democratic norms	123
9.2	Banning political parties	125
9.3	Good-hearted opponents	128
9.4	Physical harm to opponent	130
9.5	Banning political parties, independents	133
10.1	Levels of PPID and NPID in partisan bias experiment	139
	Levels of PPID and NPID in partisan bias experiment, by party	140
10.3	PPID, NPID, and American identity	145
10.4	Manipulation check, party leaders experiment	151
10.5	PPID, NPID, and party leaders	152
Aı	Comparison of population and sample composition,	
	United States	167
A2	Comparison of population and sample composition,	
	United Kingdom	167
A3	Comparison of population and sample composition, Italy	167
A4	Comparison of population and sample composition, Sweden	168

xii	List of Tables	
A5	Comparison of population and sample composition, Netherlands	168
A6	Comparison of Independents in population and sample	
	composition, United States	168
A7	Distribution of NPID toward Democrats	169
A8	Distribution of NPID toward Republicans	169
A9	Pairwise correlations of personality traits, US sample	170
A10	Pairwise correlations of personality traits, Sweden sample	170



### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While I am listed as the sole author of this book, many people have contributed to it, in various ways – all of them incredibly meaningful. For that, I am truly grateful. First, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor, Leonie Huddy, whose thoughtful, creative, and meticulous work on social identities as well as her invaluable guidance throughout graduate school had a profound impact on my own work but also on my own identity as a scholar. Not surprisingly, Leonie's work is featured prominently in this book.

I owe a similarly significant debt to my colleagues at the University of Georgia, especially Stephen Nicholson who supported my research unconditionally and provided the necessary funds for collecting high-quality data samples in five different countries. Without his generous financial help, this book would have required many more sleepless nights and many more years for completion. For other vital forms of support – words of encouragement, professional advice, and candy – I would also like to thank Jamie Carson, Christy Boyd, Geoff Sheagley, David Cottrell, Michael Lynch, Tony Madonna, Wendi Finch, my former department chair Scott Ainsworth my current department chair Susan Haire, my college's associate dean John Maltese and my college's dean Matt Auer.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my editor at SPSSI, Brian D. Christens, who – to my delightful surprise – had been reading my work on group identities and partisanship. Brian also offered vital feedback on my initial proposal for the book which helped me see more clearly what I would like to accomplish with the book. His enthusiasm for my work kept me motivated throughout the pandemic and beyond. I am also utterly grateful for the wonderful people at Cambridge University Press, namely Janka Romero and Rowan Groat, who guided me throughout the publication process, continuously offered their help, and never got mad at any of my multiple requests to extend the submission deadline. I am grateful for their patience and kindness.

xiv

Acknowledgments

I would be remiss if I did not mention the crucial contributions from my research assistants, Andrew L. Stone and Tabitha Lamberth. Their detailoriented and prompt work made my life much easier.

For delicious culinary assistance, I express my deep gratitude to Café Racer who, in my humble and constantly hungry opinion, make the best burger in Athens, Georgia. I also need to mention The Lark and Normaltown Brewing Company for providing the most delectable distractions after a long day, or week.

Finally, I am indebted to my family and friends. I thank my family in Germany, Anke and Rolf Hoffmann, for allowing me to have two equally meaningful homes – one in Germany and one in the United States. It is thanks to my mother, Kati Bankert, that the idea of pursuing research as a profession never seemed like a lofty and outrageously outsized goal for a girl from a family that frequently struggled to pay the bills. Neither my transcontinental move to America nor my career in academia would have been possible without my family.

I would certainly not have survived graduate school, life on the tenure track, or just the process of writing this book without the unwavering support of my friends: David Stack, Joerg Mayer, Janet Martin, Molly Williams, Hanna Kleider, Eliza Banu, Jenni Mathis, Nick Maulding and Erin Towery, Kate Fortmueller, David Lerner, Annie Gilbert, David Cottrell, Chad and Rachel Clay, David Fung, Daniel Moody, Will Harvey (and his famous Mac 'n' Cheese!), Andy Flowers, Patrick Ayers, Angelina Mattus, and Erich Fietkau.

I owe the most to my favorite person, Brandon Pool, and his wonderful parents Melody and Eddie Pool with whom I built a home and a family in Georgia. Without Brandon's unfailing support and encouragement, I would never have learned to be kind to myself, especially when I fail to live up to my own expectations. I am a better and a happier person for having him in my life.

To all of you: Thank you so very much.