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Age, Political Affiliation, and Political Polarization in the United States

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Age, Political Affiliation, and Political Polarization in the United States

Honors Paper

Anton Glocar

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Abstract

This study analyzes the relationship between voter age and party affiliation with political polarization in the form of feelings towards both one's own party and the opposing party. Using data from the 2020 American National Election Survey, the favorability ratings of voters from both parties towards both their own party and the opposing party were analyzed and grouped based on voter age. The results of this analysis indicate that positive feelings towards one's own party and negative feelings towards the opposing party, and therefore polarization, tend to increase as age increases.

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Introduction

Political polarization, although it has always existed in the American political system, has been on the rise in recent years (McCarty, Poole, & Rosenthal 2006). The most visible aspect of this polarization is apparent in the inability for the political elites of both parties to agree on the largest issues facing the nation today. The COVID-19 pandemic is an excellent example of a botched federal response that sourced from a failure from the parties to agree on its severity (Jacobson 2020). This pattern is likely to continue should polarization continue unabated, as the current trends seem to indicate.

The effects of polarization however are not isolated to national politics. Even the daily lives of citizens can become tainted by this phenomenon. Political “affective polarization”, or the attributing of negative characteristics, such as laziness or hatefulness, to members of the opposing party can also occur (Iyengar et. al. 2018). This characterization can have tangible impacts on the lives of these individuals and their relationships. Social relationships with members of other political persuasions for example have become more uncomfortable to these partisans (Iyengar et. al. 2018). Moreover, research also indicates that even residential preferences have become more politicized as well, with one study arguing that residents tend to view locations with larger numbers of co-partisans more positively (Gimpel & Hui 2015). These self-selecting behaviors and unease towards members of opposing political views is not beneficial within a society that works based upon bipartisanship and compromise.

In the study of political polarization, the primary source of this growing polarization is still uncertain, as there is still a disagreement between research focusing on both a fundamental ideological divide (Graham, Nosek, & Haidt 2012) and a psychological partisan division (Mason 2015). Furthermore, there are still various aspects of this growing polarization that are still

unexplored. By focusing on one specific aspect of political polarization, that aspect being the potential for a difference in polarization along generational lines, one small part of the greater question can be answered. This will in addition allow for further direction regarding future research into both the primary question of polarization as well as adjacent questions related to the breadth and source of this polarization.

Literature Review

Political polarization, as the term suggests, is the increasing political segmentation of both people and ideas onto the extreme ends of the political spectrum. These people and ideas can include party platforms, political elites, as well as the mass public itself. As this polarization continues, it begins to manifest itself in ways that can affect both the political process itself as well as in daily lives. One such example is the adoption of negative perceptions of the character of members of different political groups (Iyengar et. al. 2018). Even the perceptions of the public that significant polarization between political parties is occurring can affect the political system by, for example, increasing political participation (Wang & Shen 2018). Thus, the effects of such polarization are real and can affect the political process in several ways.

Political Polarization – Current Trends

Overall, political polarization in America has been shown to have increased over the last several years (McCarty, Poole, & Rosenthal 2006). This political polarization of America is reflected in the polarization of the political parties themselves. While this polarization has not affected both parties to the same degree, both have still moved further to their respective ends of the political spectrum (Hertel-Fernandez, Hacker, & Pierson 2019). In addition to political parties, polarization among the American public and elites is also apparent. Abramowitz and Saunders note this increase in ideological polarization in both the public and elites, further mentioning that these divisions are widespread and not limited to only the most politically interested (2008). These descriptions demonstrate how pervasive political polarization is in American society at all levels and has implications as to the effects of such polarization, given its ubiquity.

One conventional way to think about this polarization in America is to view the Republican Party as moving towards the right, with the Democratic Party moving towards the left. When considering the individuals of each party, this definition makes sense, as the ideological makeup of the parties themselves have become more homogeneous over time (Ridout et. al. 2018). This phenomenon is called political sorting, or the “sorting” of individuals into parties that align more so with their own political preferences. Research from Ridout et. al. (2018) notes that those who label themselves liberal or conservative are more and more likely to join the political party that they believe to be “correct”. This has thus led to a basis of fact for the common assumption that if one is a “liberal”, they are a member of the Democratic party, with the same being said for conservatives and the Republican party.

The political sorting of the two primary American political parties has an extensive history. After the Civil War and the reunification of the North and the South, the Democratic Party became a coalition of northern liberals and southern conservatives (Heersink 2017). This coalition was tested over time due to the northern liberal’s pursuance of civil rights legislation, legislation which was in direct opposition to the interests of Dixiecrats, or southern Democratic conservatives (Heersink 2017). Despite these fundamental differences in party policy, political leaders within the Democratic party continued to work to keep this coalition of disparate groups together.

Just as the Democratic Party was attempting to keep their coalition together, the Republican Party was eyeing this new opportunity. In 1957, the Republican National Convention launched Operation Dixie to capture disillusioned southern conservative Democrats (Heersink 2017). This strategy was not an immediate success, but eventually paid off in the 1968 election of Richard Nixon, who was able to convince the south through a strategy of “law and order”

rather than one based upon segregation (Heersink 2017). Since this time, southern conservatives have generally voted in favor of the Republican Party. While the Democrats attempted to downplay civil rights between 1952 and 1958 to woo the Dixiecrats back to their party, they were ultimately unsuccessful. After this realization, the Democratic Party fully embraced Civil Rights, and pushed for the removal of the so-called Dixiecrats from the party, in favor of African American voters (Heersink 2017).

Nixon's "Southern Strategy", as it became to be known, was not isolated to this one victory. Other Republican presidents, from Reagan to both Bush's, have also employed this strategy (Brown 2004). School segregation is one example of this continued Southern Strategy that has manifested itself in differing forms in American politics over time. For example, while Nixon argued that he was not strictly against the school desegregation decision of *Brown v. Board*, he was not interested on insisting for *Brown's* rapid implementation (Heersink 2017). Ronald Reagan, in his continuance of these policies, decried the support Democrats showed towards the practice of busing, calling it a "social experiment that nobody wants" (Brown 2004). More recently, Republican politicians have argued for the allowance of school vouchers, which are usually argued to promote school choice, but generally tend to instead increase school segregation practices (Brown 2004). Overall, policies of school voucher programs and others work towards the goal of keeping conservative voters within the Republican Party, and thus work to keep the parties polarized.

Age and Political Polarization

Age and politics are two realms that are popularly connected, based upon the dichotomy of liberalism/conservatism in American politics. A common refrain regarding this connection states that young people who are not liberals have no heart, whereas those who are older and are

not conservative have no brain (Peterson, Smith, & Hibbing 2020). While this refrain is perhaps a bit more complicated than this simple statement, as Peterson, Smith, and Hibbing (2020) found a greater trend among those who kept consistent political views throughout their lives than changed them, those who did drift towards the left or right did tend to move more so conservative than liberal. Therefore, it would not be inaccurate to say that on average, people are more likely to become more conservative than liberal as they age. However, it is still important to note that overall, partisan stability does remain overwhelmingly stable when related to age (Green, Palmquist, & Schickler 2002).

Furthermore, research into why most people tend to stick with their own type of partisanship as they age has also been conducted. Hobbes (2019) found that one potential source for this consistent link between partisanship and age is social and personal environmental stability. This finding was contrasted with further results indicating that slight life instability increases could lead to party-switching (Hobbes 2019). Thus, partisan stability itself is strong throughout the US, as found by Peterson, Smith, and Hibbing (2020), and the source for this stability likely in part originates from enduring social and environmental connections.

Political Polarization – Research on Source

The research behind the source of political polarization contains a fundamental fracture in the reasons behind its manifestation. This division primarily can be viewed in the difference between ideological polarization and psychological polarization. These two areas of research then tend to focus on different phenomena to explain how this polarization occurs. Generally, ideological research will focus on divisions in the electorate that are issue driven. In contrast, psychological research into polarization will focus on group bias. Both areas of research need to be addressed when looking into any topic related to polarization.

Political Polarization: Ideological

The first primary area of political polarization research argues that the source of this division comes primarily through actual political disagreements that have simply enlarged over time. For example, research focusing on why both liberals and conservatives believe the other side to be immoral found that this belief stems from a fundamental difference in how members from each group view the world (Graham, Nosek, & Haidt 2012). As these divisions are based upon actual differences in policy opinions, the sources of these divisions are argued to come from metrics that include tangible differences, such as economic class (Evans 1993). These differences are thus included within the social system before politics is even considered, and thus reflect actual, real-world disagreements based upon these systems.

One such consideration is the link between class and political polarization. Research by Evans for example indicates that middle-class and lower-class individuals, when faced with feelings of “powerlessness”, correlates with political movement to the right and the left, respectively (1993). This research thus offers support to the assertion that, under specific circumstances, economic class can have an impact on the polarization of voting patterns of the electorate. This polarization seems to be limited only to these specific instances, however. Other research by Dettrey and Campbell for instance argues that overall, the growing ideological political polarization is not the result of economic class disparities, but instead due to a growing divide between political parties (2013).

Political Polarization: Psychological

The second primary area of political polarization research argues that these divisions are not primarily created by policy differences but are psychological, tribal differences that go

beyond rational disagreement over policy. These researchers argue that both sides overall agree, or do not significantly differ, on most political issues, and that the divisions in politics arise instead as a byproduct of the partisanship in the political process (Mason 2015). These divisions tend to come from sources that are more intangible and psychological, rather than actual social divisions. Party identification and identity politics are some examples of how this polarization occurs in ways that emphasize the psychological polarization that occurs more due to the group membership of the individual rather than the wants and needs of the party member (Mason & Wronski 2018). In this way, the divisions are psychologically perceived, rather than actual divisions based on policy.

Support for the argument that political polarization is sourced in psychological perceptions can be found in research on the relationship between political choices and psychological processes. Taber and Lodge (2016) studied how political decision making was related to three different psychological phenomena, these phenomena being hot cognition, or sudden judgements of political objects based upon quickly occurring feelings, affect transfer, or the transfer of these judgements to feelings of political candidates, and affect cognition, or the creation of biased thought processes resulting from the creation of these prior unconscious connections. Finding support for each of these three phenomena, Taber and Lodge argue that political support for candidates, parties, and policies is less the result of rational thought, but instead primarily the result of affect (2016). One's decisions about a politician or policy are thus both first and primarily conceptualized through these unconscious connections (Taber & Lodge 2016). This research thereby provides strong support for the argument that psychology is the prime motivator for political polarization.

The psychological bias resulting from these phenomena can manifest in several different ways. One such way regards the impact of identity politics on political polarization. Identity politics is political activity that is motivated primarily by the social groups one aligns themselves with rather than any ideological principals one holds (Mason & Wronski 2018). This focus on group membership can include any social or political group one believes themselves to be identified with, hence the term “identity”. Consequentially, those whose participation in politics is primarily motivated in this way may hold and act out for values and ideologies that seem to be contradictory. This type of political affiliation thus increases political polarization between parties, as the primary motivating goal becomes the furtherance of the party’s agenda, and compromise is seen as unacceptable.

Linked to identity politics, a more recent development of political polarization is the phenomena of affective polarization. This type of polarization is defined by the negative attributes’ members of one political party or orientation will attribute towards the other political group (Iyengar et. al. 2018). For example, one may be more likely to view members of the opposing political party as generally hateful or lacking intellect. This type of polarization has further reaching effects than simply the realm of politics, as this negative view of fellow citizens can color perceptions and relations in day-to-day life. Furthermore, these negative views can aggravate the negative effects of polarization on political discourse, as the public may be less willing to engage those on the other side of the political spectrum if they view them as unable or unwilling to compromise or think rationally. This type of polarization also discourages political parties themselves to bridge the gap between their respective bases, as their own base becomes apathetic towards the goals of the other party.

The strength of this affective polarization has been argued to be tied to one's own perceptions of partisan identity. One study on the topic of political dehumanization found support for this argument, indicating that individuals who displayed stronger partisan identities were more likely to dehumanize political opponents (Cassese 2021). In the study, Cassese found support for the hypothesis that individuals would rate their own party as more human than the opposing party (Cassese 2021). This finding indicates both positive and negative partisanship, as this disparity indicates both that one's own party is generally viewed positively as more human, whereas the opposing party is viewed negatively and inhuman. Furthermore, this dehumanization was shown to cross party lines. While the study did find that Republicans overall had a larger humanization disparity between the GOP and Democratic Party, the study still showed clear distinctions between in party and out party humanization ratings from members of both parties (Cassese 2021). Thus, hyper-partisans who are more likely to display additional severe traits of affective polarization are not limited to one side of the aisle.

One further similar concept to identity politics is negative partisanship. Like identity politics, negative partisanship concerns the alignment of oneself with political groups. However, while identity politics generally deals with alignment *with* a group, negative partisanship concerns party alignment *against* a group. This type of partisanship can be seen in the feelings of party members towards both their own party and own party candidates, feelings which have declined over the last several years (Abramowitz & Webster 2018). This growing movement that pushes against parties rather than for causes has led to some specific consequences, such as an increase in straight-ticket voting (Abramowitz & Webster 2018). Much like identity politics, negative partisanship thereby can also lead to activities that source more so from psychological

origins (in this case, as wish to oppose a particular party), rather than conscious effort to further particular policies.

Hypothesis & Model

The primary independent variable for this paper is the age of an individual. For the purposes of this paper, the four groupings to be used will include respondents under the age of 30, those aged 30 to 45, those aged 46 to 60, and respondents over 60. A further independent variable used is the party identification of the individual. These three variables will be coded as Republican, Independent, or Democrat, based upon this affiliation.

As the aim of this paper is to define the relationship between political polarization and generational differences, the dependent variable will need to reflect a distinction in political polarization. This reflection of political polarization will be sourced from two questions from the survey used, each of which asks respondents of their feelings towards the Republicans and Democrats. These responses are coded on a 0 to 10 scale, with responses of 0 indicating a strong dislike of the party, and responses of 10 indicating a strong like of the party.

The hypothesis used for this study must reflect a correlation between the age of a party member and their feelings towards both their own party and the opposing party. Thus, the two hypotheses for this project are as follows:

- **Older voters will be more likely to hold negative views of the opposing party than younger voters.**
- **Older voters will be more likely to hold positive views of their own party than younger voters.**

For both hypotheses, the use of political party is used as a reflection of political polarization. An increase of political polarization then is hypothesized to hold a positive relationship with

favorability of one's own party, and a negative relationship with favorability of the opposing political party.

Research Design

This project will utilize the American National Election Studies (ANES) 2020 Times Series Study. The study contains a collection of survey responses from the period surrounding the 2020 election, containing responses from two waves of surveys conducted both before and after the election. These responses were collected from a cross-section of U.S. eligible voters, who were reached by the web, video, and phone. These responses numbered at 5,441 pre-election interviews, and 4,783 post-election interviews. In addition, two waves of pre- and post-election surveys were carried out to 2016 ANES respondents by way of the internet. These responses were less numerous, numbering 2,839 and 2,670 pre- and post-election responses, respectively. The questions asked in the survey covered a range of topics related to current events, such as how the COVID-19 pandemic was handled and how urban unrest should be handled by the public, in addition to a host of demographics questions. These responses were responded to primarily in a multiple-choice fashion, with open-ended responses to these questions being redacted.

By taking a cross-section of U.S. voters, this survey ensures that its respondents include a reliably representative sample of the views of voters across the country. This methodology has better generalizability than a survey conducted only containing respondents clustered within a specific geographic location, as such as a survey would likely not reflect values held in different areas of the US. This survey is thus considered representative of the whole of active American voters, allowing the results of the survey to be used to generalize out to the overall U.S. active voting public.

There is one potential limitation with this methodology. This limitation concerns the use of video, phone, and internet interviews as the primary method of collecting survey responses.

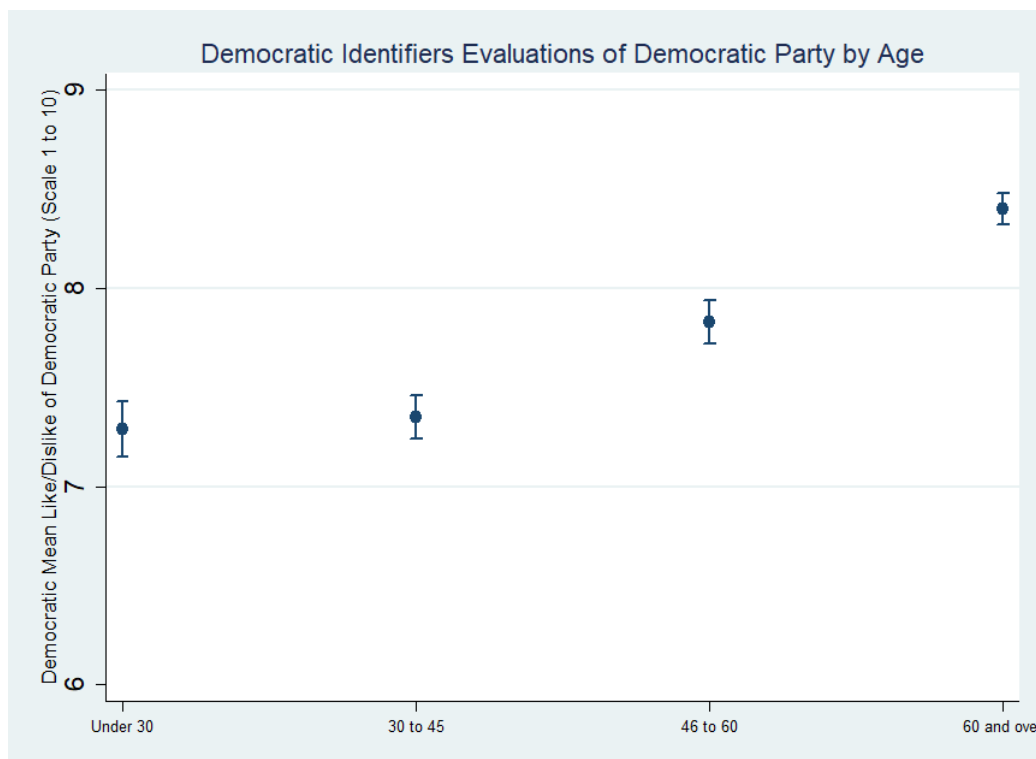
While these methods would reach an overwhelming majority of American voters, it would not be able to reach those without these methods of communication. This has the potential of missing active voters who are less likely to have access to these means of communication. Second, is the potential impact on responses when a survey is administered face-to-face. The survey notes that, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, no in-person interviews were conducted. As such, surveys were administered through three different randomly assigned modes: web only, web and phone, or web, video, and phone. These varying methods of survey distribution have the potential of also impacting survey responses.

Six tests will be taken to fully assess the hypothesis. The first three tests will concern the feelings of respondents towards the Democratic Party, separated by the respondent's own party affiliation, being coded as either Republican, Democrat, or Independent. The use of Republicans and Democrats in these tests working as test groups, and the Independent group working as a control group. Each test will have four categories, one for each age group variable. These responses will then be averaged based upon the 0 to 10 scale used in the survey and included with a 95% confidence interval. This same process will then be repeated for the next three tests using a second question concerning feelings of respondents towards the Republican Party, with the same categories and party affiliations being used as in the first three tests.

Analysis

Test 1: Democrat Feeling Towards Democratic Party

The first test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Democrats towards the Democratic Party. In the survey, 3,344 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 7.29 favorability for respondents under 30, a 7.35 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 7.83 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and an 8.39 favorability of respondents aged over 60. Overall, these results showed significantly favorable views of Democrats towards the Democratic Party. These results indicate a gradual increase in own-party favorability among Democrats as the age of the respondent increased. Data for Test 1 is listed under Appendix A.



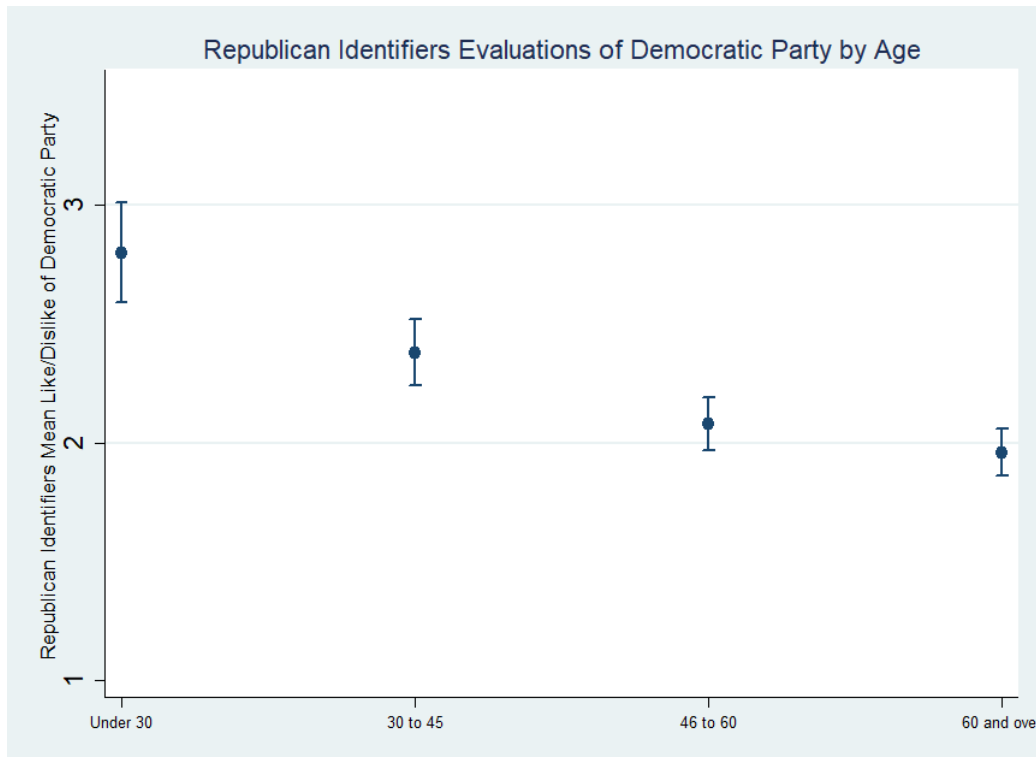
Test 2: Independent Feeling Towards Democratic Party

The second test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Independents towards the Democratic Party. In the survey, 784 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 4.33 favorability for respondents under 30, a 4.28 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 4.92 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and a 5.20 favorability of respondents aged over 60. These results indicate slightly unfavorable feelings of most Independents towards the Democratic Party, with the only crossover towards a slightly favorable view of the party occurring in those over the age of 60. While the favorability of Independents towards the Democratic Party generally increases as respondents increase in age, there is a slight dip in favorability between respondent groups under 30 to those from ages 30 and 45. Data for Test 2 is listed under Appendix A.

Test 3: Republicans Feeling Towards Democratic Party

The third test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Republicans towards the Democratic Party. In the survey, 2,911 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 2.76 favorability for respondents under 30, a 2.38 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 2.08 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and a 1.96 favorability of respondents aged over 60. Overall, these results showed significantly unfavorable views of Republicans towards the Democratic Party. These results indicate a gradual decrease in

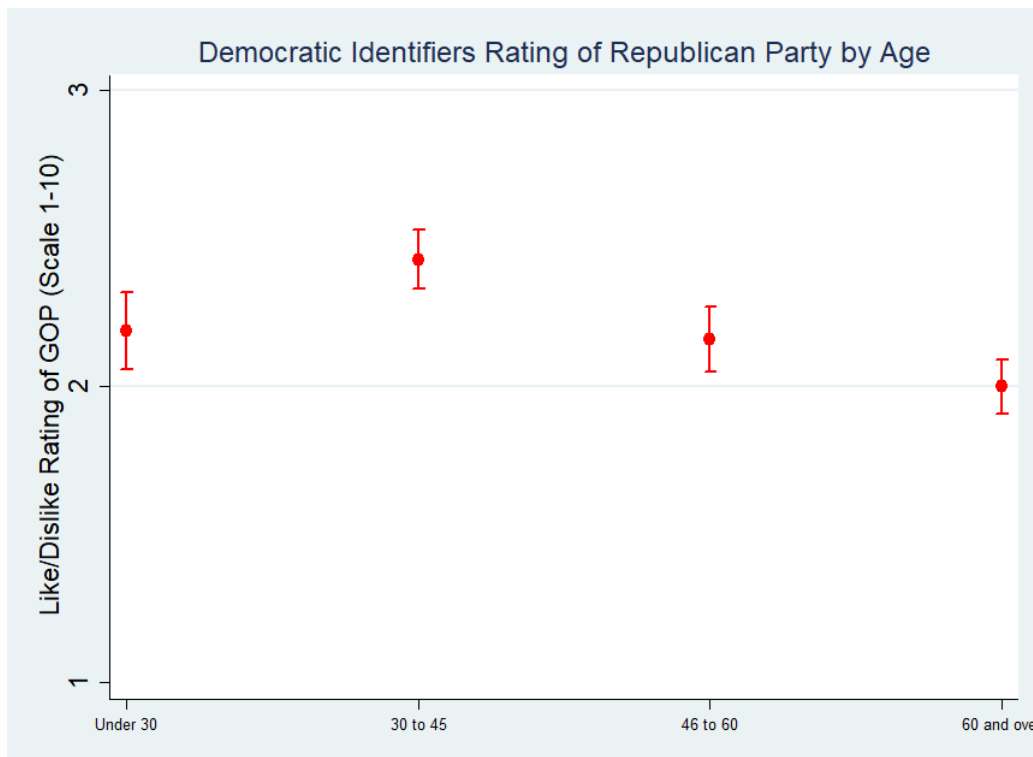
favorability among Republicans as the age of the respondent increased. Data for Test 3 is listed under Appendix A.



Test 4: Democrat Feeling Towards GOP

The fourth test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Democrats towards the GOP. In the survey, 3,346 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 2.19 favorability for respondents under 30, a 2.43 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 2.16 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and a 2.00 favorability of respondents aged over 60. Overall, these results showed significantly unfavorable views of Democrats towards the GOP. These results indicate a gradual decrease in favorability among Democrats as the age of the respondent increased, with an exception occurring between those

aged under 30 to those from ages 30 to 45, where favorability increased slightly. Data for Test 4 is listed under Appendix B.



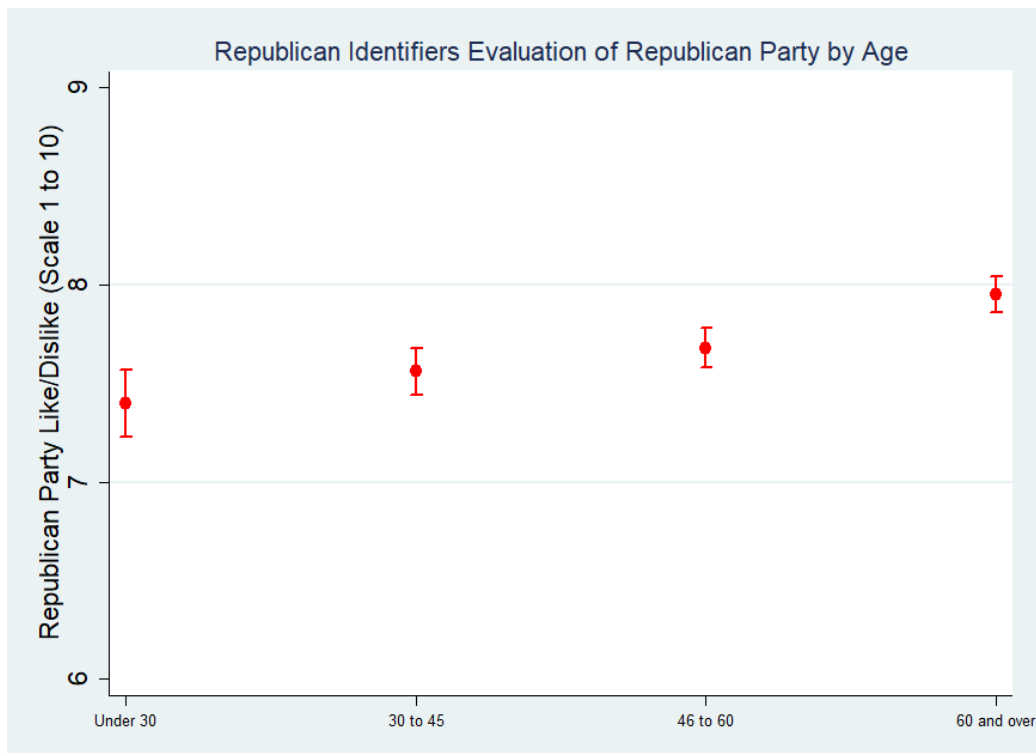
Test 5: Independent Feeling Towards GOP

The fifth test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Independents towards the GOP. In the survey, 786 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 4.19 favorability for respondents under 30, a 4.22 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 4.38 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and a 4.29 favorability of respondents aged over 60. Overall, these results showed slightly unfavorable views of Independents towards the GOP. These results indicate a very slight increase in favorability among Independents as the age of the respondent increased, with an exception occurring between

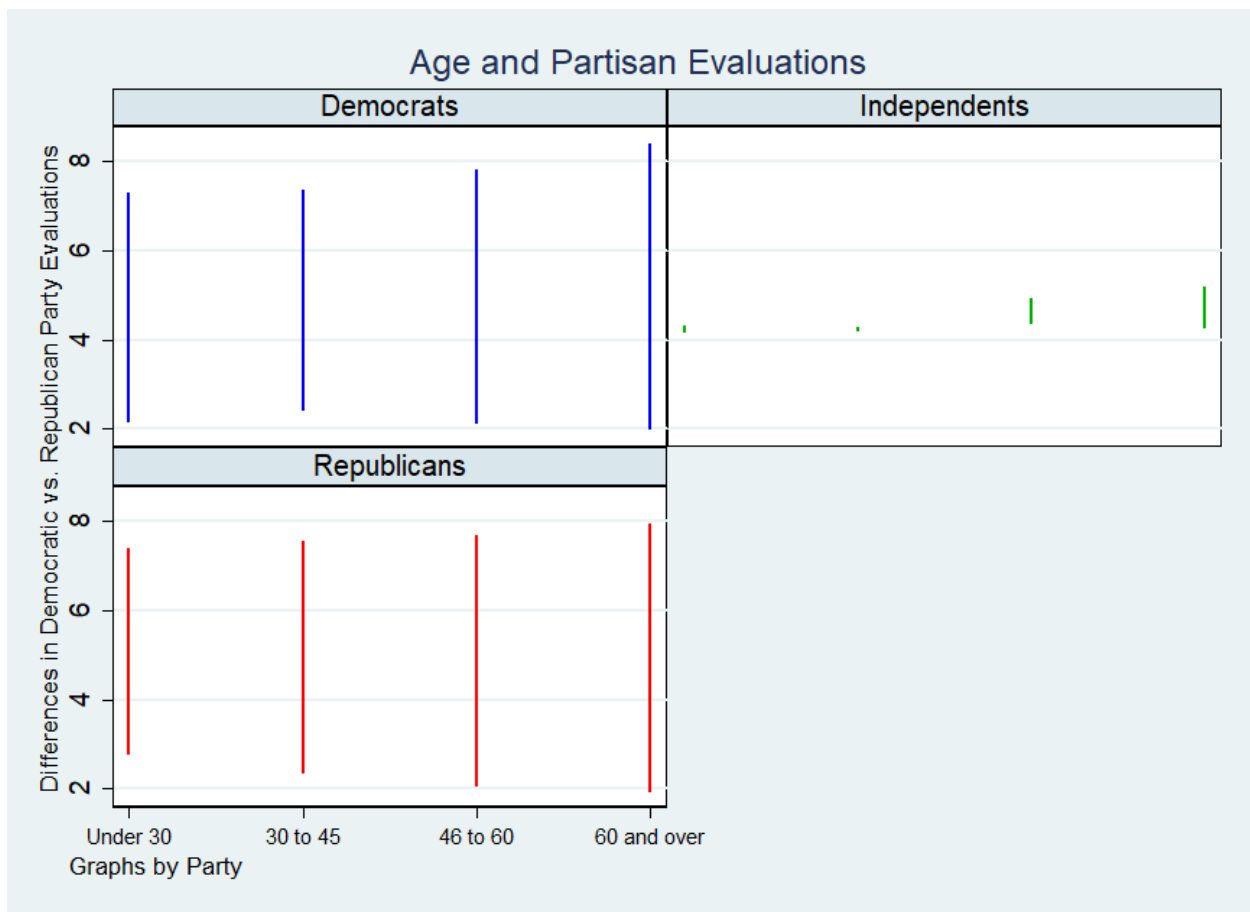
those aged from 46 to 60 to those older than 60, where favorability decreased slightly. Data for Test 5 is listed under Appendix B.

Test 6: Republican Feeling Towards GOP

The sixth test measured the feelings of respondents who self-identified as Republicans towards the GOP. In the survey, 2,913 responses were recorded within this criterion. These responses were then divided into four categories each dependent upon the age of the respondent, and a mean estimation with a 95% confidence interval was taken of this data set. The result of this data showed a mean of 7.41 favorability for respondents under 30, a 7.55 favorability for those aged 30 and 45, a 7.67 favorability for those aged 46 to 60, and a 7.95 favorability of respondents aged over 60. Overall, these results showed significantly favorable views of Republicans towards the GOP. These results indicate a slight increase in favorability among Republicans as the age of the respondent increased. Data for Test 6 is listed under Appendix B.



Overall, the differences between favorability ratings for both Republicans and Democrats towards their own party and the opposing party are very significant. Unlike Independent feelings towards each party, which tend to be very similar, ingroup and outgroup favorability ratings from Democrats and Republicans display a significant disparity. In addition, when considering the increase in age groupings, the disparity in favorability grows significantly more for partied individuals as opposed to those who are Independents. When visually represented, these distinctions are even more clear cut.



Conclusion

The six tests conducted tended to support both hypotheses. The first is supported by the general overall increase of support for one's own self-identified party as one's age increased. This was seen in both Democrats, who in Test 1 had a steady rate of increased favorability for the Democratic party as age increased, ranging from 7.29 to 8.39, and in Republicans, who in Test 6 also displayed an increase of 7.41 to 7.95 in own-party favorability as age increased. Furthermore, the second hypothesis is also generally supported, as both Democrats and Republicans increasingly viewed the opposing party unfavorably as their age increased. In Test 3, Republicans displayed a decreased favorability drop from 2.76 to 1.96 of the Democratic Party as age increased. This general decrease in adorability is also seen to a lesser extent in Test 4, where Democrats overall increasingly held unfavorable views of the GOP as age increased, ranging from 2.19 favorability for those under 30, to 2.00 favorability for those over 60.

As the hypotheses are generally supported, the overall conclusion from these tests is that as those from each party increase in age, they will tend to be more affable to their own party, and more hostile to the one across the aisle. The effect of party membership itself (the primary indicator of partisanship in these tests) does seem to be the driving force behind this increase in polarization. While there is a general increase in political favorability towards each party seen in Independents as they age, the negative relationship between opposing party favorability and one's age indicates that party membership does play a part.

One potential criticism that may arise from this study regards the first hypothesis coupled with the data regarding the change in favorability towards both parties by aging independents. Tests 2 and 5 both indicated a positive relationship between Independent age and party support, both between Independents and the Democratic Party, and between Independents and the GOP.

This relationship could be seen as weakening of the first hypothesis, as positive relationships between age and party favorability do not seem to be unique to those who are in a party. However, the differences between these two areas of party support differ in significance enough that party membership still does seem to play a role. The difference in Democratic Party favorability across the age spectrum between Independents and Democrats is 0.87 vs 1.1, respectively. The difference is even more drastic when comparing cross-age Independent and Republican overall support of the GOP, with the differences being 0.1 vs 0.54, respectively. Thus, it would seem as though party still plays a role in the rate of increase in own party support as age increases, despite an overall general increase in non-opposing party support.

There are many opportunities for further research into the subject of political polarization and age demographics. The primary avenue of research is that of causation. While this study does work to establish a link between political polarization and increases in age, it does not attempt to show the origin of such increases. While political party membership itself may explain some part of this link (as would be consistent with those who favor a psychological explanation for political polarization), this study does not conclusively argue that this is the primary cause. Further research would be needed to show the casual nature of this link.

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Appendix A

POST: CSES5-Q15A: LIKE-DISLIKE-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first party is: The Democratic Party

Values

0. Strongly dislike

10. Strongly like

Test 1: Democrat Feeling Towards the Democratic Party

Number of obs. = 3344

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	7.290841	.1392848	7.017749	7.563933
30-45	7.35934	.1116191	7.140491	7.578188
46-60	7.834329	.1093981	7.619835	8.048823
Over 60	8.397692	.0837067	8.233571	8.561814

Test 2: Independent Feeling Towards the Democratic Party

Number of obs. = 784

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	4.33992	.3095496	3.732275	4.947566
30-45	4.288705	.2233313	3.850306	4.727104
46-60	4.925777	.2705551	4.394678	5.456876
Over 60	5.200764	.2189513	4.770963	5.630565

Test 3: Republican Feeling Towards the Democratic Party

Number of obs. = 2911

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	2.769152	.208453	2.360422	3.177883
30-45	2.389018	.1424678	2.10967	2.668366
46-60	2.081287	.1127148	1.860278	2.302296
Over 60	1.962893	.0982779	1.770191	2.155594

Appendix B

POST: CSES5-Q15B: LIKE-DISLIKE-REPUBLICAN PARTY

Question Using the same scale, where would you place: The Republican Party

Values

0. Strongly dislike

10. Strongly like

Test 4: Democrat Feeling Thermometer Towards GOP

Mean estimation Number of obs. = 3346

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	2.196005	.1348473	1.931613	2.460396
30-45	2.432897	.1038967	2.229189	2.636604
46-60	2.16716	.1122521	1.947071	2.38725
Over 60	2.007143	.0947557	1.821358	2.192928

Test 5: Independent Feeling Thermometer Towards GOP

Mean estimation Number of obs. = 786

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	4.191093	.2805641	3.640348	4.741838
30-45	4.228339	.2554767	3.72684	4.729837
46-60	4.380555	.2475009	3.894713	4.866397
Over 60	4.295515	.2050408	3.893021	4.698008

Test 6: Republican Feeling Thermometer Towards GOP

Mean estimation Number of obs. = 2913

Age	Mean	Std. Err.	95% Conf. Int. Min	95% Conf. Int. Max
Under 30	7.417865	.1739675	7.076753	7.758976
30-45	7.556729	.1168424	7.327627	7.785831
46-60	7.678873	.1019777	7.478917	7.878828
Over 60	7.951337	.090299	7.774281	8.128393