# Sorting in the Mass Electorate

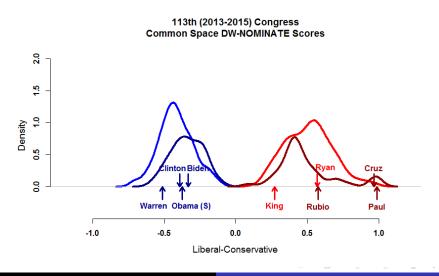
### POLS 4790: Political Polarization

Weeks 7-8, Fall 2013

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

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 Makes it clear that Democrats are liberals and Republicans are conservative.

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- Makes it clear the Democratic/liberal and Republican/conservative positions on policy debates.

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  - ► Taxes, the minimum wage, gay marriage, immigration, etc.
  - Exceptions?
- Makes it clear that there are major ideological differences between the parties.

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## Levendusky's The Partisan Sort: The Theory

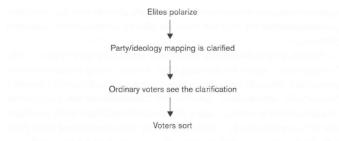


FIGURE 2.1. A graphical depiction of the theory connecting elite polarization to mass sorting

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| Ideology                      | Time 1  | Time 2  |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Example of Sorting:           |   |   |
| Democrats                     | 50 liberals, 50 conservatives                     | 80 liberals, 20 conservatives                     |
| Independents                  | 100 moderates                                     | 100 moderates                                     |
| Republicans                   | 50 liberals, 50 conservatives                     | 20 liberals, 80 conservatives                     |
| Overall electorate            | 100 liberals, 100 moderates,<br>100 conservatives | 100 liberals, 100 moderates,<br>100 conservatives |
| Example of Mass Polarization: |   |   |
| Democrats                     | 50 liberals, 50 conservatives                     | 100 liberals                                      |
| Independents                  | 100 moderates                                     | 50 liberals, 50 conservatives                     |
| Republicans                   | 50 liberals, 50 conservatives                     | 100 conservatives                                 |
| Overall electorate            | 100 liberals, 100 moderates,<br>100 conservatives | 150 liberals, 150 conservative                    |
|                               | 100 conservatives                                 |   |

#### TABLE 1.1 The difference between sorting and polarization

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Problem: sorting inevitably means (some) polarization.

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- Problem: sorting inevitably means (some) polarization.
- The party means/medians will move away from the center if there are less liberal Democrats/conservative Democrats.

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## Some Questions

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?

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- Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?
  - Which side is liberal? Conservative?

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- Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?
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  - Issue positions.

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  - Issue positions.
- Who has sorted?

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- Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?
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  - Issue positions.
- Who has sorted?
- Greater sorting on some issues than others?

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- Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?
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- How does sorting occur?

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- Who has sorted?
- Greater sorting on some issues than others?
- How does sorting occur?
  - Party —> Ideology?

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- Do voters have a greater recognition of differences between the parties?
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- Who has sorted?
- Greater sorting on some issues than others?
- How does sorting occur?
  - Party —> Ideology?
  - Ideology Party?

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### An Elite-Driven Model

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 Elites drive the process: they act (polarize) and voters respond.

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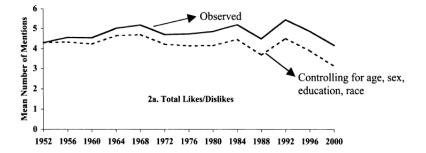
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- Elites drive the process: they act (polarize) and voters respond.
- This is consistent with past work on attitude change (e.g., Carmines and Stimson's work on race) as well as with the data.

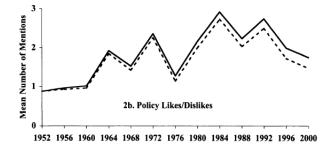
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- Elites drive the process: they act (polarize) and voters respond.
- This is consistent with past work on attitude change (e.g., Carmines and Stimson's work on race) as well as with the data.
- A notable exception: social movements/dramatic events (e.g., September 11) can influence elites and mass attitudes essentially simultaneously.

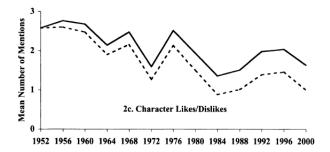
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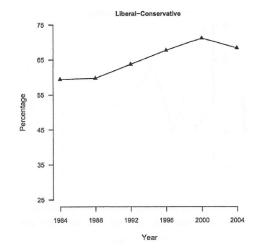
Source: Gilens, Vavreck and Cohen, "The Mass Media and the Public's Assessments of Presidential Candidates, 1952-2000"



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Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

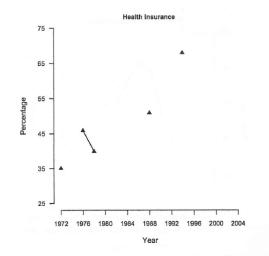
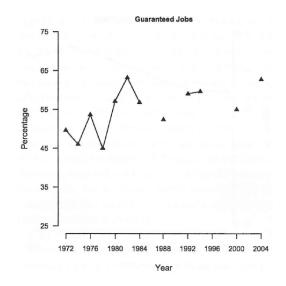


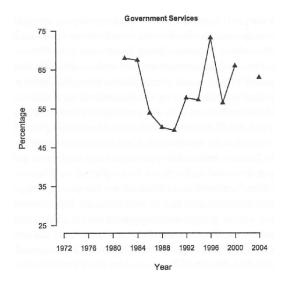
FIGURE 3.1. The percentage of respondents who can correctly place the Democratic Party to the left of the Republican Party on six issue position scales over time.

### Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort



### Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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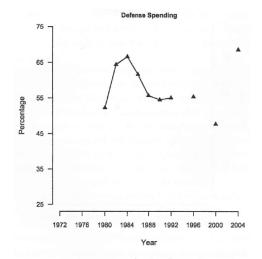


FIGURE 3.1. (continued)

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

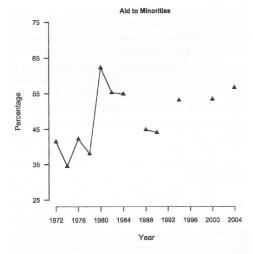


FIGURE 3.1. (continued)

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### Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

# Voter Sorting

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Does this have any effects? What do voters do with information about the policy differences between the parties?

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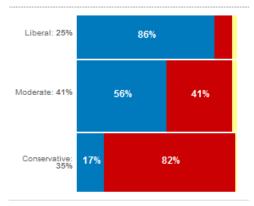
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# 2012 CNN Exit Poll

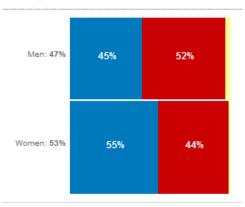
#### Vote by Ideology



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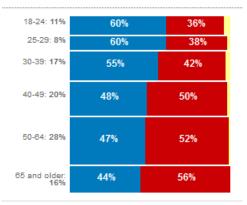
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#### Vote by Gender



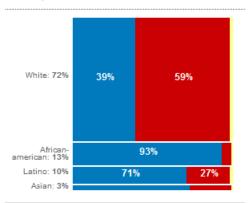
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# 2012 CNN Exit Poll



#### Vote by Age

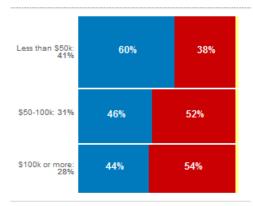
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#### Vote by Race

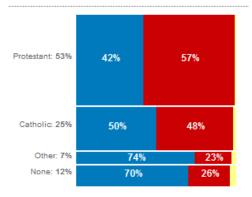
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#### Vote by Income



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#### Vote by Religion



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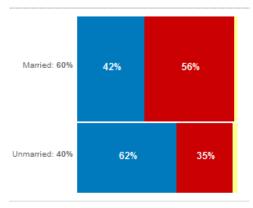
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# 2012 CNN Exit Poll

#### Vote by Religion and Church Attendance

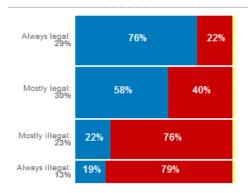
| Protestant/attend<br>weekly: 15% | 29% | 70% |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Protestant/not<br>weekly : 14%   | 44% | 55% |
| Catholic/attend<br>weekly: 11%   | 42% | 57% |
| Catholic/not<br>weekly: 13%      | 56% | 42% |
| All others: 46%                  | 58% | 39% |

#### Vote by Marital Status



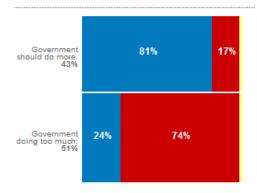
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#### Abortion Should Be...

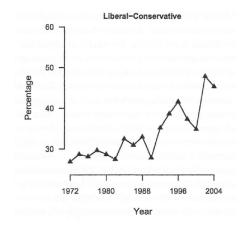


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#### **Opinion of Government**



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Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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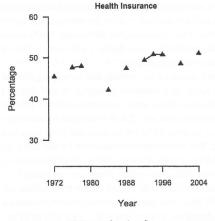
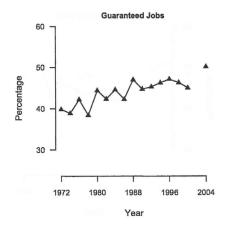


FIGURE 3.2. (continued)

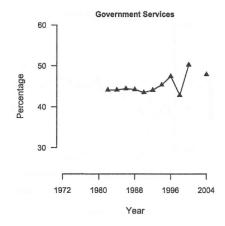
Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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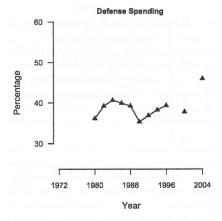


FIGURE 3.2. (continued)

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

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FIGURE 3.2. (continued)

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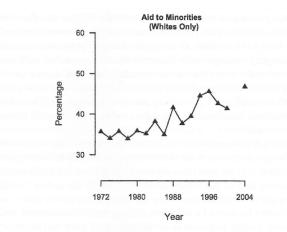


FIGURE 3.2. The percentage of the electorate that is sorted over time, broken down by issue.

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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A.2. Experimental Stimulus on DREAM Act Issue. [All:] Since 2001, lawmakers have debated a new immigration law called the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act (also called the DREAM Act). The law would allow undocumented immigrants to gain citizenship if they:

- o entered the United States before the age of 16,
- maintained good moral character (e.g., no criminal record),
- earned a High School Diploma, and
- completed two years of college OR two years of military service.

Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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[Strong-Pro Frame:] The main argument for those in favor of the DREAM Act is that it would provide young people with opportunities. They could go on to contribute as doctors, nurses, teachers, soldiers, and police officers.

[Weak-Pro Frame:] The main argument for those in favor of the DREAM Act is that it has been a topic in several public opinion polls. These polls suggest support from many segments of the American population.

[Strong-Con Frame:] The main argument for those opposed to the DREAM Act is that it encourages illegal immigration due to the expectation of benefits for children of immigrants. This could over-burden the system, leaving many vulnerable individuals.

[Weak-Con Frame:] The main argument for those opposed to the DREAM Act is that it is not well-designed—it could be better. It was driven too much by political concerns in an effort to bring up a controversial issue.

Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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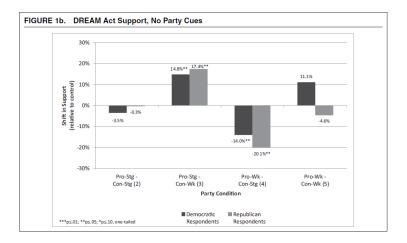
[Non-Polarized Party Cues:] Democrats in Congress tend to favor the DREAM Act and Republicans in Congress tend to oppose the DREAM Act. However, the partisan divide is not stark as the parties are not too far apart. Also, while Democrats tend to be in favor and Republicans opposed, members of each party can be found on both sides of the issue.

[Polarized Party Cues:] Democrats in Congress tend to favor the DREAM Act and Republicans in Congress tend to oppose the DREAM Act. Moreover, the partisan divide is stark as the parties are far apart. Also, not only do Democrats tend to be in favor and Republicans opposed, but most members of each party are on the same side as the rest of their party.

Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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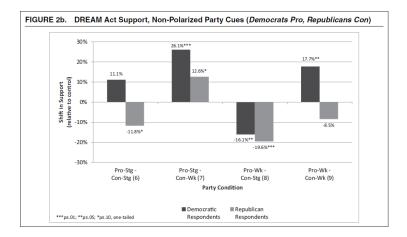
### Partisan Sorting: Polarized Cues



Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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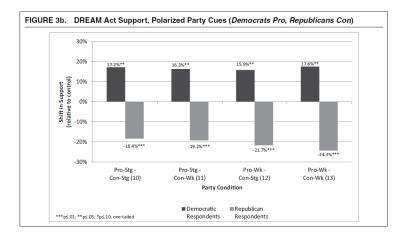
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Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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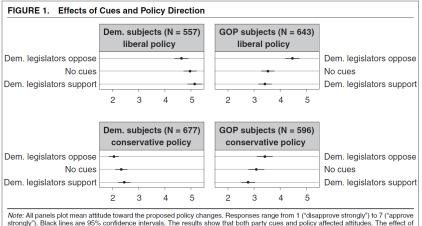
### Partisan Sorting: Polarized Cues



Source: Druckman, Peterson, and Slothuus (2013)

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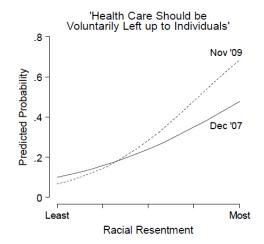


policy was greater on average and greater for Democratic than for Republican subjects.

Source: John Bullock

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### Other Types of Cues and Sorting

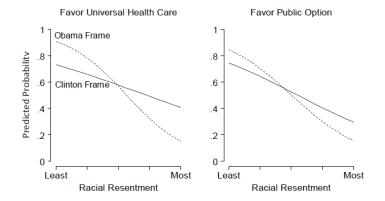


Source: Michael Tesler

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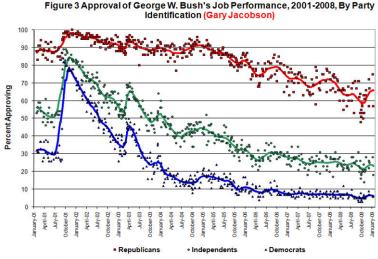
# Other Types of Cues and Sorting



Source: Michael Tesler

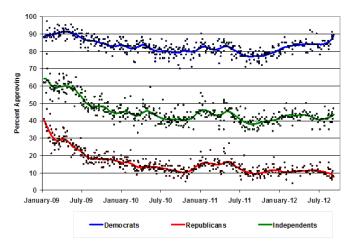
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### Presidential Approval by Party



Sources: 401 CBS News/ New YorkTimes and Gallup polls.

### Presidential Approval by Party



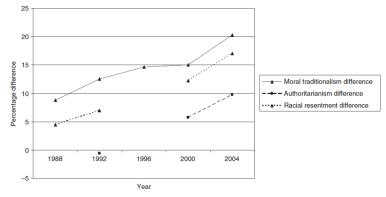
Approval of Obama's Job Performance, by Party

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## Other Types of Sorting: Values



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Fig. 4. Changes in difference between mass partisans on values' batteries, 1988-2004

#### Source: Marc J. Hetherington

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### Sorting and Polarization

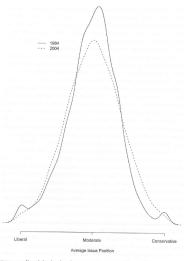


FIGURE 3.7. Kernel density plot of respondents' average position across six policy items common to both the 1984 and 2004 NES.

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

POLS 4790: Political Polarization

Sorting in the Mass Electorate

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### Who Sorts?

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

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#### Rates of sorting vary little between electoral subgroups:

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### Rates of sorting vary little between electoral subgroups:

Region (North/South)

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### Rates of sorting vary little between electoral subgroups:

- Region (North/South)
- Birth cohort (slightly more here: a "replacement effect.")

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### Rates of sorting vary little between electoral subgroups:

- Region (North/South)
- Birth cohort (slightly more here: a "replacement effect.")
- Religious fundamentalism

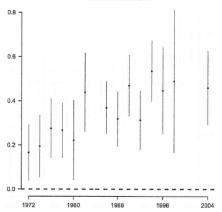
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### Rates of sorting vary little between electoral subgroups:

- Region (North/South)
- Birth cohort (slightly more here: a "replacement effect.")
- Religious fundamentalism
- However, those with higher levels of political information and those who recognize ideological differences between the parties *are* more likely to sort.

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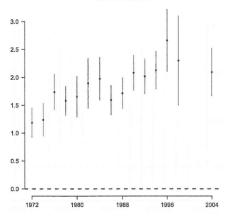


Poitical Information

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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Elite Polarization

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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### Sorting: Stem Cell Data

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

Stem cell research: new issue that emerged on national stage in 2001. Become more partisan over time.

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- Stem cell research: new issue that emerged on national stage in 2001. Become more partisan over time.
- If the sorting hypothesis (as elites polarize, voters sort) holds, then partisanship should have a weak relationship with stem cell attitudes in 2001, but grow stronger over time (especially after the 2004 election).

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- Stem cell research: new issue that emerged on national stage in 2001. Become more partisan over time.
- If the sorting hypothesis (as elites polarize, voters sort) holds, then partisanship should have a weak relationship with stem cell attitudes in 2001, but grow stronger over time (especially after the 2004 election).
- This is precisely what the data show: in 2001, party identification is not a significant predictor of stem cell attitudes. In 2005, party identification is a strong predictor of stem cell attitudes (Levendusky 2009, p. 101).

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## Sorting: Experimental Data

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

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Experimental participants were asked for their opinion on a series of issues and were given either no treatment condition, a low polarization condition (the parties in Congress are not far apart), or a high polarization condition (the parties in Congress are far apart).

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- Experimental participants were asked for their opinion on a series of issues and were given either no treatment condition, a low polarization condition (the parties in Congress are not far apart), or a high polarization condition (the parties in Congress are far apart).
- Issues:

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- Experimental participants were asked for their opinion on a series of issues and were given either no treatment condition, a low polarization condition (the parties in Congress are not far apart), or a high polarization condition (the parties in Congress are far apart).
- Issues:
  - More environmental impact studies for construction permits.

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- Privatize air traffic controllers.
- Deregulation of the electricity market.
- Ban on coastal oil drilling.
- Federal/state control of job-training programs.

# Sorting: Experimental Data

| Variable  | Estimate                               |
|---|--|
| Intercept   | 0.15                                   |
|   | (10.0)                                 |
| Control condition   | 0.007                                  |
|   | (10.0)                                 |
| High polarization condition                                     | 0.05                                   |
|   | (0.01)                                 |
| Includes Issue Fixed Effects<br>Includes Subject Random Effects | potton tititt and to testite maintaire |
| N   | 8815                                   |

#### TABLE 5.2 Experimental evidence for sorting

Note: Logistic regression predicting sorting as a function of treatment assignment, issue-specific fixed effects, and subject-specific random effects. Coefficients that are statistically distinguishable from zero are given in **bold**.

Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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## How Do Voters Sort?

| Issue                                      | Change Issue<br>Position (%) | Change Party<br>(%) | Change Both<br>(%) |
|--|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Liberal-conservative self-identification   | 53                           | 28                  | 19                 |
| Guaranteed jobs                            | 61                           | 29                  | II                 |
| Abortion                                   | 44                           | 49                  | 6                  |
| Government services and<br>spending        | 71                           | 16                  | 13                 |
| Defense spending                           | 71                           | 15                  | 14                 |
| Aid to minorities                          | 65                           | 26                  | 9                  |
| Government vs. private<br>health insurance | 63                           | 26                  | 12                 |

#### TABLE 6.1 Party-driven versus ideology-driven sorting

Note: Respondents sort by changing their position on the issue, their partisanship, or both factors. The data come from the 1992-1994 waves of the 1992-1994-1996 panel data.

### Source: Levendusky, The Partisan Sort

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## The Effects of Sorting

POLS 4790: Political Polarization Sorting in the Mass Electorate

More loyal partisans.

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- More loyal partisans.
- More polarized feelings about the parties.

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- More loyal partisans.
- More polarized feelings about the parties.
- Ideological consistency: voters adopt consistently liberal/conservative issue attitudes.

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