

# Party Ethnicization, Partisan Affect, and Political Trust

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## Research Questions:

Does ethnic voting influence the winner-loser gap in political trust?

# ELF and Democracy

- ▶ Previous work tends to use Ethno-Linguistic Fractionalization (ELF) to understand the effects of politicized ethnicity on democracy and development (Weber et al. 2016).
- ▶ Findings on the relationship between ELF and democracy are mixed (See Gerring et al. 2016).
- ▶ Ethnicization of party support as a better measure of politicized ethnicity (Huber 2012).

## Ethnic Voting and Democracy:

- ▶ Reduces the quality of democracy by increasing the winner-take-all character of elections (Houle 2018).
  - Argument focuses on elite behavior.
- ▶ Dowd and Michael (2007) find consistent effects on alternative quality of democracy measure.
  - Findings also show that ethnic voting lowers trust in government.

# Political Trust

- ▶ Trust is the likelihood that institutions or their agents will produce preferred outcomes (Gamson 1958).
- ▶ Considered a diffuse form of support (Easton 1975; Van der Meer and Zmerli 2017).
- ▶ Winner-loser status determines levels of support and this shows both cognitive and affective dimensions in trust judgments (Anderson and Guillory 1997).
  - Undermines democratic accountability.
  - Threatens democratic stability.

# Ethnic Voting Increases Winner-Loser Gap in Political Trust

- ▶ Undermines the importance of cross-cutting cleavages (Lipset and Rokkan 1967).
- ▶ Similar to winner-loser gap in trust, ethnic voting undermines democratic accountability (Carlson 2015).
- ▶ Preferred outcomes (crucial for trust judgements) can be influenced by patronage distribution. Extending the winner-take-all character to individuals.

# Hypothesis 1

- ▶ As party ethnicization increases, losers are less likely to trust political institutions compared to winners.

# Cognitive Appraisal and Emotions

- ▶ Lazarus and Folkman (1984).
- ▶ Adopted to explain the role of emotions in literature on American partisanship (Mason 2016).
- ▶ Allows for understanding the affective dimension of trust judgments.
- ▶ Losing increases stress appraisal and, if stress causing object is identified, theory expects the production of anger as an emotional response.
  - Emphasis on losing (Anderson et al. 2005).
  - What determines the direction of emotional responses?



## Hypothesis 2

- ▶ As party ethnicization increases, individuals are expected to exhibit higher levels of affective polarization.

## Data and Methods:

- ▶ Individual level:
  - H1: Afrobarometer (Round 2 & 3).
  - H2: CSES (Two Waves)
- ▶ Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) model with random effects. Individuals nested in country-waves.

## Dependent Variables:

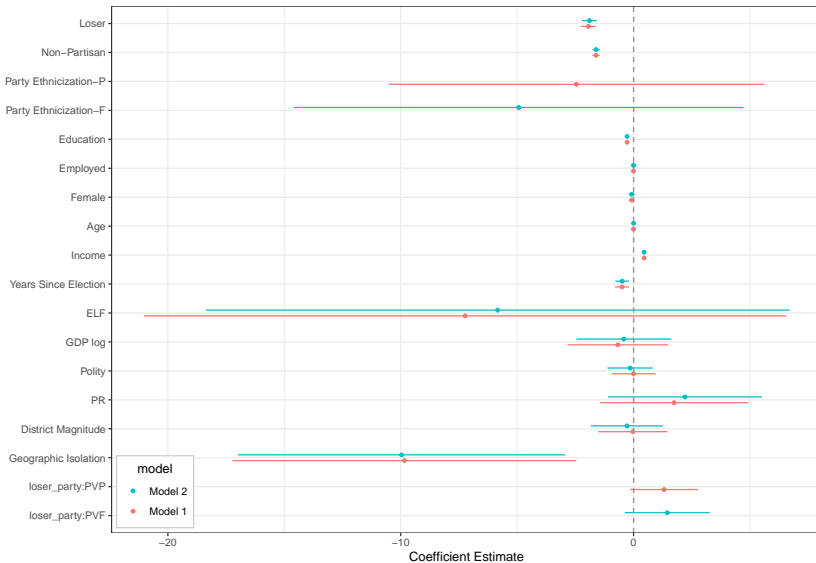
- ▶ H1 Political trust: Index of trust in particular institutions.
  - President, Parliament, Courts, Electoral Institutions, and Police.
- ▶ H2 Affective polarization: Wagner (2020)'s Weighted Affective Polarization (WAP).
  - Spread of party like-dislike scores using CSES items.

## Independent Variable:

- ▶ Huber (2012) measure of ethnicization.
  - Uses surveys to determine cohesion of ethnic group voting behavior.
  - Fearon (2003)'s list ethnic groups.
  - Can be party-based or ethnic group based.
  - Fractionalization or Polarization.
- ▶ Loser Status:
  - Determined by party affiliation in Afrobarometer.
  - Use voting decision for CSES data.

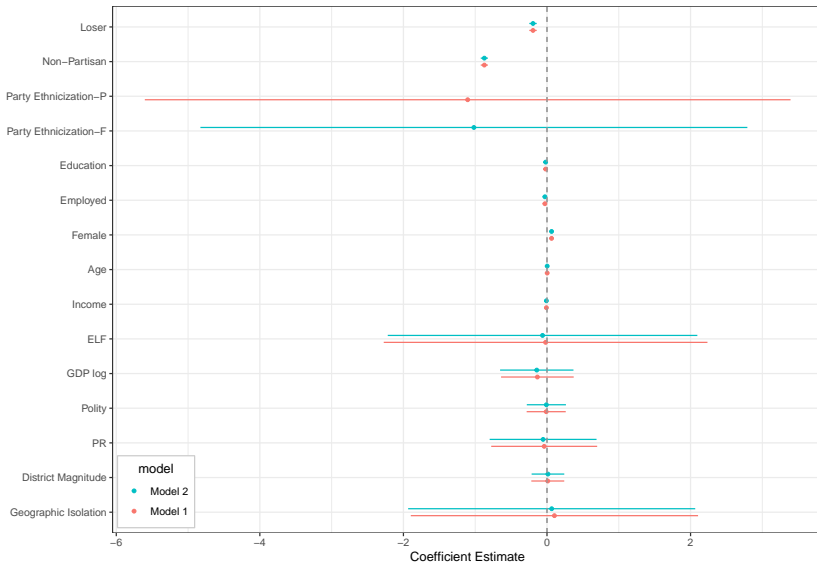
# Results H1:

**Figure 1: Predicting Political Trust**



# Results H2:

**Figure 2: Predicting Affective Polarization**



## Future Direction for Project:

- ▶ Examining the role of ethnic salience and sorting as conditioning factors.
  - Requires expanding coverage of ethnicization measures.
- ▶ Creating an ethnic sorting measure that incorporates (Individual-level ethnic salience, party dependence on ethnic groups as supporters (V-Party), and cohesion of the ethnic group).

# Thank you

- ▶ Looking forward to any questions or suggestions