

Partisan Linked Fate in the American Mass Public

Steven W. Webster*

Betsy Sinclair†

October 17, 2022

Abstract

Is your fate linked to that of your co-partisans? We argue that Americans express *partisan linked fate*—the notion that the life outcomes of a respondent’s co-partisans throughout the country will have implications for a respondent’s own life. Using four distinct, nationally-representative surveys of approximately 6,000 people, we find that over 75% of Americans express this sentiment. We then benchmark the expression of partisan linked fate with racial, gender, and age-based forms of linked fate. Next, we show that “strong partisans” are most likely to express partisan linked fate. We then document how partisan linked fate is related to a greater belief in conspiracy theories that are endorsed by co-partisans. Collectively, our study introduces, validates, and documents the importance of a new measure of American partisanship.

*Assistant Professor of Political Science, Indiana University. swebste@iu.edu.

†Professor of Political Science, Washington University in St. Louis. bsinclair@wustl.edu.

Partisanship is fundamental to American political behavior. While historically true (Campbell et al. 1960), recent analyses—both scholarly and journalistic—suggest that partisanship in the contemporary era is a particularly salient component of American identity. Partisanship is often described as a “mega-identity” that is a bundle of racial, cultural, and ideological identities (Mason 2018). This identity, in turn, fosters antipathy (Orr and Huber 2020; Dias and Lelkes 2021) that leads to changes in voting patterns (Abramowitz and Webster 2016) and introduces a series of behavioral biases (Iyengar and Westwood 2015; Webster, Connors and Sinclair 2022). The manifold presence of this “hyper-partisan politics” has led commentators to highlight that American partisanship is now defined almost entirely by a strong sense of “loathing [the] opposing party” (Drutman 2020). Negativity and antipathy are both on the rise and play an important role in shaping contemporary political behavior.

Driven by the rise of discriminatory behavior rooted in partisan negativity and antipathy, in this paper we argue that Americans today express *partisan linked fate*—the notion that what happens to one’s co-partisans throughout the country will have something to do with what happens in their own lives—by presenting data from four distinct surveys. Drawing on data from the 2021 Cooperative Election Study (CES), we establish the existence of partisan linked fate as a construct among the mass public. Specifically, we find that just over 76% of Americans express this sentiment. We then draw upon two additional samples—one from NORC AmeriSpeak and the other a sample from Lucid of over 2,700 self-identifying partisans—in order to both replicate our findings from the CES and benchmark the expression of partisan linked fate to more commonly studied expressions of linked fate (such as race, gender, and age). We make use of a fourth source of data that contains an oversample of African Americans—also from NORC AmeriSpeak—in order to replicate our results for a third time, and to benchmark the expression of partisan linked fate with that of racial linked fate among this politically important subgroup of the American population.

After establishing its existence among the mass public and comparing it to other forms of linked fate, we then examine the correlates of partisan linked fate. We find that the expression of

partisan linked fate is most common among those who identify as a “strong partisan.” Importantly, we find this patterns of results across four different sources of data. We also find evidence that one’s strength of partisanship predicts the magnitude with which partisan linked fate is expressed.

Finally, we point to a specific attitudinal consequence of expressing partisan linked fate. Here, we document how partisan linked fate is related to a greater belief in conspiracy theories that are endorsed by co-partisans. This is true whether the conspiracy theories are health-related (e.g. COVID-19 being created in a military research facility), explicitly political in nature (e.g. ballots are sometimes counted inaccurately, or the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks were a false flag operation), or entirely fictitious and devoid of any clear *ex ante* partisan prime (e.g. birds are really spy drones, or government-mandated fluorescent light bulbs make it easier to control citizens).

Collectively, our results speak to important developments pertaining to contemporary American partisanship. In the wake of decades’ worth of social sorting (Levendusky 2009), Americans’ partisan identities have begun to operate in a manner similar to racial and ethnic identities. Thus, rather than being just an expression of one’s political views at the ballot box, modern American partisanship has evolved into an expression both of whom one likes and whom one loathes. While previous scholarship has examined the dynamics of in-group favoritism and out-group animosity, our work both introduces and provides evidence of the empirical value of a new concept measuring the depth and importance of partisanship in modern American politics.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, we outline prior work on linked fate in American politics. Drawing on this literature, we then develop a theory as to why we expect Americans to express linked fate along an explicitly partisan dimension. Next, we outline four different sources of data that we use to test our arguments. We then present a series of results that document the existence of partisan linked fate among the mass public and benchmark its expression to other forms of linked fate. We then highlight the correlates of expressing partisan linked fate before outlining its attitudinal consequences.

Partisan Linked Fate in the American Public

The term “linked fate” originates from Dawson’s (1994) survey analyses of the 1984 National Black Election Study. These analyses showed a striking similarity in survey responses across class lines which, according to Dawson (1994), was driven by Black voters’ sense of shared fate—a fate rooted in “the historical legacy of racial and economic oppression that forged [the] racial identity of African Americans” (pg. 4). Thus, membership in a group (here, a racial group) can cause individuals to prioritize group interests above individual interests. In fact, group interests often become intertwined with individual interests to the point where individuals perceive that “what happens to the group will also affect the individual member” (Simien 2005).

Though it has been primarily studied among Black Americans (see, e.g., Bunyasi and Smith 2019; Tate 1993), linked fate can—and does—exist for other racial groups. Sanchez and Medeiros (2016), for instance, find that linked fate among Latinos predicts support for expanding health care in the United States (see also, Sanchez and Masuoka 2010). Such a finding comports with other work indicating that linked fate among Latinos predicts a desire for descriptive representation (Schildkraut 2013) and that Latinos’ sense of linked fate is shaped by (among other things) the stringency of immigration laws (Vargas, Sanchez and Valdez Jr. 2017).

So, too, has linked fate been studied among Asian Americans. Masuoka (2006) finds evidence of a “growing Asian-American . . . group consciousness” (pg. 1009) and that Asian American linked fate increases when racial discrimination is present. Related work adds nuance to this finding, claiming that Asian Americans are also more likely to express a sense of linked fate when perceptions of racial discrimination are high (Lu and Bradford 2019). In addition to real and perceived discrimination, prior work argues that both education and social exclusion are positively correlated with Asian Americans’ expression of linked fate (Kiang, Wilkinson and Juang 2021).

The expression of linked fate is not limited to racial minorities. On the contrary, recent work on Whiteness as an identity in American politics suggests that even members of a racial majority

can exhibit racial consciousness to an extent that changes both their behavior and their political attitudes (Berry, Ebner and Cornelius 2019). Jardina (2019), for example, shows that the centrality of Whiteness to one's identity predicts attitudes and support for policies that defend and maintain the racial status quo. Relatedly, Schildkraut (2015) argues that Whites who feel a sense of linked fate with their racial group are among the most likely to believe that their political representative should also be White.

Accordingly, linked fate exists to a considerable degree among members of various racial groups. And, in many cases, “[l]inked fate best captures the critical cognitive components of racial group consciousness” (McClain et al. 2009). As a result, understanding whether expressions of linked fate are present—and the degree to which those expressions exist—within a group is important for understanding how members of that group engage within the political sphere.

Linked fate, then, is primarily concerned with capturing the extent to which one expresses a sense of solidarity with his or her group on a given (usually, race-based) dimension. Yet, linked fate need not be applied only to the study of racial politics. As Dawson's (1994) pioneering work notes, notions of linked fate draw largely from social-psychological theories of social identity theory (Turner et al. 1987). As a result, scholars have increasingly applied the concept of linked fate to groups other than race (Stout, Kretschmer and Ruppanner 2017; Goode et al. 2021; Ruppanner et al. 2019).

Increasingly, scholars have argued that partisanship operates as an identity in a manner similar to race, gender, or ethnicity (West and Iyengar 2020). This conceptualization of partisanship has considerable implications: Americans are biased and angry (Mason 2018), prone to exhibiting partisan-based forms of discrimination (Iyengar and Westwood 2015), likely to participate in political campaigns as a way of re-affirming their partisan identities (Huddy, Mason and Aarøe 2015), and apt to engage in myriad forms of partisan motivated reasoning (Lodge and Taber 2013; Miller, Saunders and Farhart 2016). Such group-based forms of political expression are likely to be more pronounced when elements of social pressure are present (Sinclair 2012; Connors 2020).

To the extent partisanship does operate as a social identity, as previous scholars have argued, this identity should also entail a sense of camaraderie or solidarity that is present in other group dynamics. Specifically, the nature of contemporary American partisanship and its standard conceptualization as an identity implies that linked fate should exist along purely partisan lines. Thus, the importance of partisanship as an identity in contemporary American politics leads us to our first expectation: partisans will express a belief that what happens to their co-partisans will have something to do with what happens in their own life.

Partisanship, of course, has long been conceptualized as an identity (see, e.g., Campbell et al. 1960). Accordingly, it is possible that partisan linked fate has been attitudinally present among the mass public for some time. However, the current era of American politics is one in which we most expect to observe partisan linked fate among Democrats and Republicans. In the wake of decades' worth of partisan sorting along racial, ideological, cultural, and regional grounds (Levendusky 2009; Tam Cho, Gimpel and Hui 2013; Mason 2018; Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes 2012), the two parties' bases of support are distinct. This degree of partisan sorting, combined with partisanship's tendency to operate as an identity, has clarified the dividing lines between the Democratic and Republican parties. These divisions, in turn, have produced a bias-filled, zero-sum style of political competition.

Because they can lead to both subtle and overt forms of discrimination, the presence of partisan bias and a zero-sum style of political competition are important for the expression of partisan linked fate. Indeed, prior work suggests that linked fate is thought to occur when members of a group have a shared experience of facing discrimination (Dawson 1994). Though these arguments focus on racial groups, the nature of contemporary American partisanship is replete with examples of partisan based discrimination. Iyengar and Westwood (2015), for instance, show that individuals discriminate along a partisan dimension when deciding between two potential scholarship recipients. Despite the applicants being similarly qualified in terms of academics and extracurricular activities, individuals express a notable preference for awarding the scholarship to the student

who shares their own political affiliation. Notably, the nature of this discrimination is so great that “the level of partisan animus in the American public [now] exceeds racial hostility” (Iyengar and Westwood 2015).

Subsequent studies have confirmed the presence of partisan bias and discrimination in the United States. Recent work has shown that Americans are prone to allowing their political-based anger to “spill over” into apolitical social settings (Webster, Connors and Sinclair 2022), furthering social polarization and facilitating opportunities for partisan stereotyping (Homola et al. 2022). These dynamics are likely behind any number of discriminatory partisan behaviors, whether they are found in the realm of dating (Easton and Holbein 2021), employment (Roth et al. 2022; Lyons and Utych 2022), commerce (Engelhardt and Utych 2020), or some other domain all together. We argue that it is the presence of this partisan discrimination, which manifests in a multitude of areas, that will cause Democrats and Republicans alike to express partisan linked fate—that is, they will agree with the notion that what happens to their co-partisans throughout the country will have something to do with what happens in their own life.

While partisan linked fate is likely to occur in today’s climate of heightened partisan polarization and antipathy (Bafumi and Shapiro 2009; Abramowitz 2010), what it means to express partisan linked fate is different from other patterns of partisan behavior. Unlike partisan motivated reasoning (Kunda 1990; Miller, Saunders and Farhart 2016), for instance, the expression of partisan linked fate does not entail the use of a cognitive process that aids in one’s attempts to reduce cognitive dissonance or some other form of mental anguish. Similarly, expressing partisan linked fate is not simply an outgrowth of social pressure (Sinclair 2012) or an attempt to fit in with one’s partisan peers (Klar 2014). On the contrary, partisan linked fate is a sincerely expressed belief that one’s own future and life outcomes are tied up with those of his or her co-partisans. Its expression is an outgrowth and extension of partisan identity in highly polarized times.

In addition to expecting that linked fate will exist along a partisan dimension among the mass public, there is reason to believe that both *whether* one expresses this sentiment and the *degree*

to which they do so will be dependent upon personal characteristics. Indeed, we expect one's expression of partisan linked fate to be a function of the strength of their own partisan identity. More specifically, we expect that, relative to weak identifiers and "regular" identifiers, those who identify as a "strong partisan" will be more likely to express partisan linked fate. In a similar manner, we expect those who identify as a "strong partisan" to express the greatest degree of partisan linked fate.

Data & Measures

To examine the degree to which Americans express partisan linked fate, we draw upon four sources of data: the Indiana University module of the 2021 Cooperative Election Study (CES), two samples from NORC AmeriSpeak (Study 1 fielded in Spring 2022; Study 2, containing an oversample of African Americans, fielded in Fall 2022), and a sample of over 2,700 self-identifying partisans obtained via the Lucid Theorem platform (also fielded in Spring 2022). All four datasets contain standard political and sociodemographic information—such as race, gender, income, and educational attainment—for each respondent. In addition to these questions, our sources of data include a series of questions designed to measure respondents' expression of partisan linked fate. Because these questions require respondents to hold a partisan identity of their own, they were only presented to those who identified as a Democrat, a Republican, or an independent who leans towards either the Democratic or Republican Party.

The first question used to measure partisan linked fate captures a dichotomous presence or absence of partisan linked fate. Specifically, the question asks respondents whether they believe that "what happens to other [Democrats/Republicans] in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life." Thus, the question was presented in a way that self-identifying Democrats were asked about Democrats and self-identifying Republicans were asked about Republicans. Response options are "yes" and "no." The text of this question is drawn directly from

the literature on racial linked fate and, aside from asking about partisanship instead of racial identity, is a verbatim copy of the traditionally used measure of linked fate.

The second question used to measure partisan linked fate is designed to capture the intensity with which one expresses such a sentiment. This question asks individuals to state whether what happens to other Democrats or Republicans (depending on one's own self-identified partisanship) will affect them "a lot," "some," or "not very much." Because this question measures the intensity of one's expression of partisan linked fate, it is only shown to those respondents who answered "yes" to the initial partisan linked fate question. For the purposes of analysis, responses to this question are coded to range from 0-2. Higher values indicate a greater degree of partisan linked fate.

To directly compare the degree to which Americans express partisan linked fate relative to linked fate along other identity-based dimensions, in our NORC and Lucid samples we also measure respondents' attachment to their own racial group, gender, and age cohort. For each of these three group-based identities, we use an identical measurement strategy to the one described above. Thus, for each group identity, respondents are asked the dichotomous linked fate question and, if the respondent indicates that they do hold a sense of linked fate for that group, they are presented with the follow-up question measuring the intensity of that sentiment.

Additionally, in order to assess the relationship between partisan linked fate and various political attitudes, in our Lucid sample we asked a series of questions pertaining to belief in conspiracy theories. Specifically, we asked questions about whether the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks were a false flag operation; whether ballots were not counted as intended in the most recent presidential election; whether COVID-19 was created in a military research facility; and, additionally, whether vaccines contain microchips that allow the government to track a person's movements. We also asked attitudes about two conspiracy theories that are fictitious and, accordingly, have no *ex ante* partisan prime: whether the U.S. government has mandated the switch to fluorescent light bulbs because such lights make people more obedient and easier to control (Oliver and Wood

2018); and whether birds are really drone replicas installed by the U.S. government to spy on Americans.

In each case, the conspiracy theory was prefaced by the claim that “[Democrats/Republicans] like you sometimes believe that.” Thus, for example, when asking about the belief that vaccines contain tracking microchips, respondents were presented with a prompt that said “[Democrats/Republicans] like you sometimes believe that vaccines contain microchips that allow the government to track a person’s movements.” The partisan prime was obtained from each respondent’s own self-identified partisan affiliation. After each prompt, agreement with the conspiracy theories was measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.”

Results

The Existence of Partisan Linked Fate

To begin, we first present a series of summary statistics documenting the existence of partisan linked fate in the mass public. Starting with our CES data, we find that 75.8% of respondents expressed partisan linked fate ($\sigma_{PLF} = 2.12$). Of those who expressed partisan linked fate, the average score on the follow-up question measuring intensity of the sentiment was 1.3 ($\sigma_{Intensity} = .03$).¹ These figures are noteworthy, as they track closely with those measuring linked fate across racial and ethnic dimensions (see, e.g., Gay, Hochschild and White 2016). Moreover, the expression of partisan linked fate is substantively similar across partisan affiliation. Tables of partisan linked fate by partisan identification are available in the Appendix.

To examine the robustness of this finding, we now present results from our Lucid sample ($n = 2,850$) and our two NORC samples ($n = 1,005$ & $n = 1,502$). Once again, we find that a remarkably high proportion of respondents expressed a sense of partisan linked fate. In the Lucid data, 76% of respondents answered “yes” when asked whether what happens to their co-partisans in this country

¹All numbers are calculated using the appropriate survey weights.

will have something to do with what happens in their life. Additionally, we found that the average score on the follow-up measure of intensity was 1.28. In the NORC samples, 77% and 76% of respondents expressed a sense of partisan linked fate. The average level of intensity (i.e., the score on the follow-up measure) was 1.12 and 1.22. The figures in the Lucid and NORC samples are nearly identical to the CES benchmarks of 75% and 1.3, respectively. Thus, across four datasets we are able to verify the existence of partisan linked fate and provide consistent estimates as to the percentage of Americans who express these views and the degree to which they hold them.

Though we have been able to document the existence of partisan linked fate—as well as highlight the degree to which it is expressed—across four different sources of data, how this form of partisan togetherness compares to other forms of linked fate remains an open question. To address this, we asked respondents from our Lucid sample and two NORC samples to answer questions about their racial identification, their gender, and their birth year. Then, using this information, we generated a series of linked fate questions pertaining to each respondent’s self-declared race, gender, and age cohort.² The breakdown of each of these linked fate measures, including partisan linked fate, is shown in Table 1.

As shown in Table 1, responses to the initial linked fate question were remarkably similar across each of the four dimensions and across our three samples. In our Lucid sample, the percentage of respondents who expressed a sense of partisan linked fate was identical to the percentage of those who expressed a sense of racial linked fate (both 76%). We find nearly identical figures in our NORC samples: 77% and 76% of respondents expressed partisan linked fate, while 75% and 76% of respondents expressed racial linked fate. The expression of linked fate for gender was slightly higher than these previous two metrics across the three samples (78% in the Lucid sample; 79% and 78% in the NORC samples), while age-based linked fate showed more variation across

²With two exceptions (18-20 years old and 75+ years old), age cohorts are broken down into 5-year increments. This breakdown mirrors that used by standard survey batteries such as the American National Election Studies (ANES).

	% Linked Fate			Mean Degree		
	Lucid	NORC #1	NORC #2	Lucid	NORC #1	NORC #2
Partisan	76	77	76	1.28	1.12	1.22
Racial	76	75	76	1.26	1.12	1.15
Gender	78	79	78	1.37	1.24	1.25
Age Cohort	75	80	79	1.38	1.22	1.31

Table 1: Linked Fate Across Groups. This table shows the percentage of respondents who expressed a sense of linked fate across partisan, racial, gender, and age cohort dimensions; it also shows the intensity with which respondents reported feeling each sense of linked fate. Data come from our Lucid and NORC samples.

samples (75% in the Lucid sample; 80% and 79% in the NORC samples). Similarly, the magnitude with which respondents exhibited linked fate across these dimensions was nearly identical. In our Lucid sample, the mean response on the follow-up question (ranging from 0-2) to partisan linked fate was 1.28; this same measure was a slightly lower 1.26 for racial linked fate. The follow-up question measuring intensity was higher for both gender and age-based linked fate—1.37 and 1.38, respectively. Among our NORC samples, the mean response on our follow-up question was 1.12 for both partisan and racial linked fate in Study 1; in Study 2, these figures were 1.22 and 1.15, respectively. The degree of gender linked fate was similar across the two NORC samples (1.24 and 1.25), while age-based linked fate was 1.22 in Study 1 and 1.31 in Study 2. Collectively, these statistics suggest that partisan linked fate exists among the American mass public and does so to a degree that is on par with more traditionally studied forms of linked fate, such as race or gender.³

The consistency with which we find evidence of partisan linked fate across our samples provides robust evidence that Democrats and Republicans in the mass public do feel a strong sense of connection with their fellow co-partisans. However, left unanswered are questions pertaining to

³Additionally, we can present evidence that these results are robust to repeated within-survey measurement. See Table B.5 in the Appendix for more details.

the distribution of this sentiment across demographic subgroups of the mass public. Given prior work on linked fate, it is possible—if not likely—that White and non-White Americans express differing amounts of partisan linked fate. To better understand whether there are racial differences in terms of expressing partisan linked fate, Figure 1 plots histograms of White and non-White respondents' scores on our measure of partisan linked fate for each of three sources of data we draw upon. Following the typical practice in the extant literature, here we have combined our two-item measure of linked fate into a single item. Thus, those who answer “no” to the initial question probing partisan linked fate are coded as a zero; those who answer “yes” to the initial question and then answer the follow-up question with a response of “not very much,” “some,” or “a lot” are coded as a one, two, or three, respectively. A dashed vertical line, plotted for both White and non-White respondents, denotes the mean score on partisan linked fate.

As can be seen in Figure 1, White and non-White respondents express partisan linked fate at remarkably similar rates. In our NORC samples (shown in rows two and three), the mean score on partisan linked fate for non-White respondents is 1.56 (Study 1) and 1.6 (Study 2); for White respondents, the mean score is 1.65 (Study 1) and 1.74 (Study 2). In our Lucid sample (shown in row four), the mean score on partisan linked fate for non-White respondents is 1.73; for White respondents, the mean score is 1.74. In each of these three instances, the mean values across racial groupings are not statistically distinguishable from each other. It is only in our CES sample (shown in row one) that we find any statistically significant differences in terms of expressing partisan linked fate across racial groupings. Here, the mean score on partisan linked fate is 1.52 for non-White respondents; this score is slightly higher—1.84—for White respondents. Thus, at best, there is only a limited amount of evidence to suggest that White and non-White respondents express different amounts of partisan linked fate. On the contrary, the preponderance of evidence here suggests that there are very few—if any—racial differences in terms of expressing partisan linked fate. Both White and non-White Americans express partisan linked fate, and they do so at a

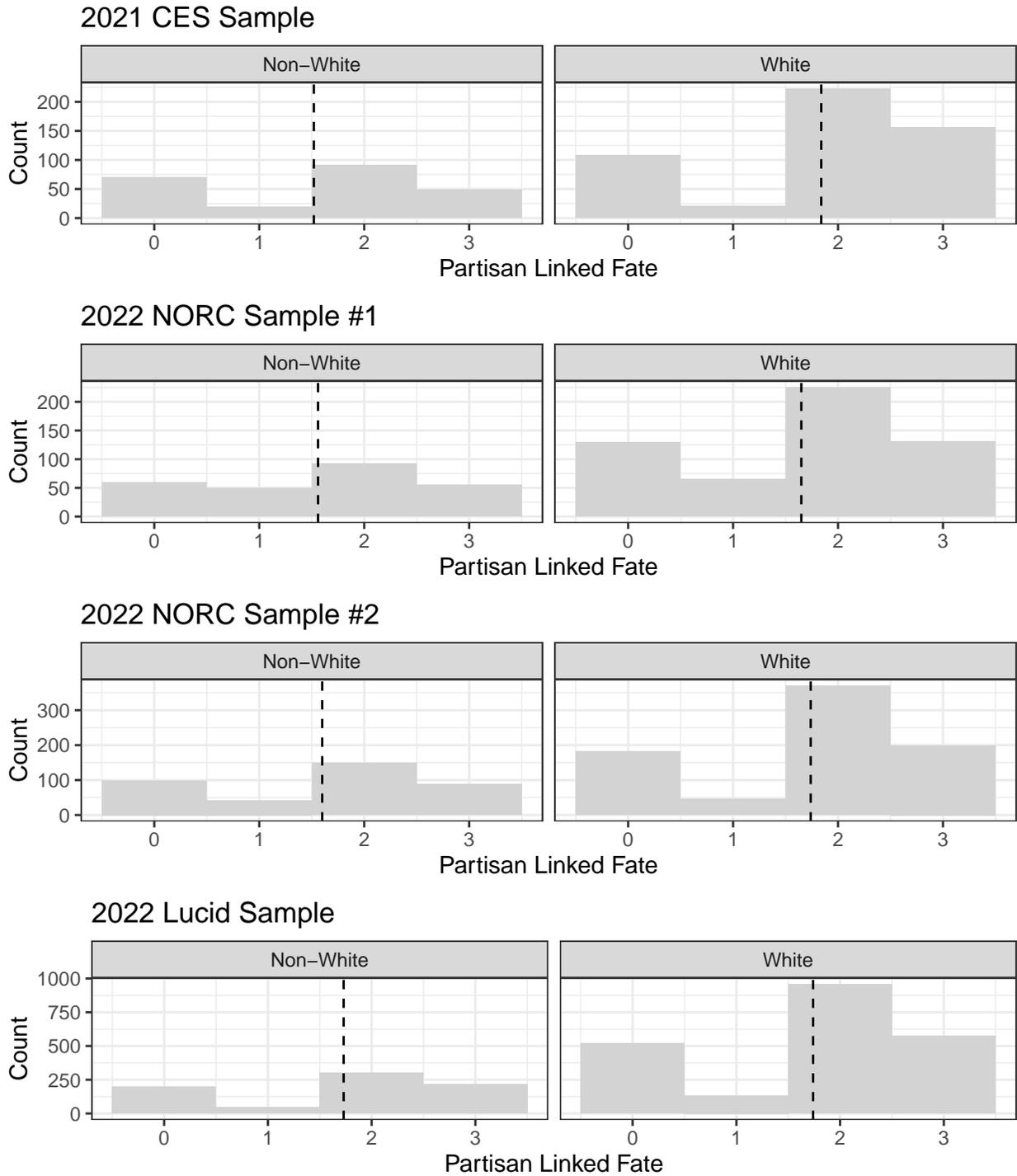


Figure 1: Partisan Linked Fate by Race. This figure shows the histogram of scores on our measure of partisan linked fate for White and non-White respondents. A dashed vertical line denotes the mean score on partisan linked fate.

remarkably similar level.

To further illustrate both the importance and breadth of partisan linked fate, we can present evidence that partisan linked fate is expressed on a similar order of magnitude as racial linked fate among African Americans. We do so by drawing on our second NORC study, which contains an oversample of African Americans ($n = 613$). Here, we find that the mean score on our measure of partisan linked fate (again, scaled to range 0-3) for African Americans is 1.72. The mean score on our measure of racial linked fate for African Americans is 2.03. Though this latter number is slightly higher than the former, the two are not statistically distinguishable from each other. Thus, we find that African Americans express partisan linked fate just as strongly as they do racial linked fate. Given that it was among African Americans that racial linked fate was first studied (Dawson 1994), this finding is particularly noteworthy. Histograms of these scores among African Americans are shown in Figure 2.

Correlates of Partisan Linked Fate

The preceding analyses have documented three things: first, that partisan linked fate exists as a construct among the American mass public; second, that the public expresses a sense of partisan linked fate at rates that are remarkably similar to linked fate along other dimensions (e.g. race, gender, and age); and, third, that there are little-to-no differences in terms of expressing partisan linked fate across racial lines. Left unanswered is a question pertaining to the nature of partisan linked fate in the mass public. Specifically, who is it that is most likely to express this sentiment? It is to this task that we now turn.

To address this question, we rely on data from our CES, Lucid, and NORC samples. Across each of these four samples, we run ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models predicting the degree to which each individual expresses partisan linked fate. In this specification, the partisan

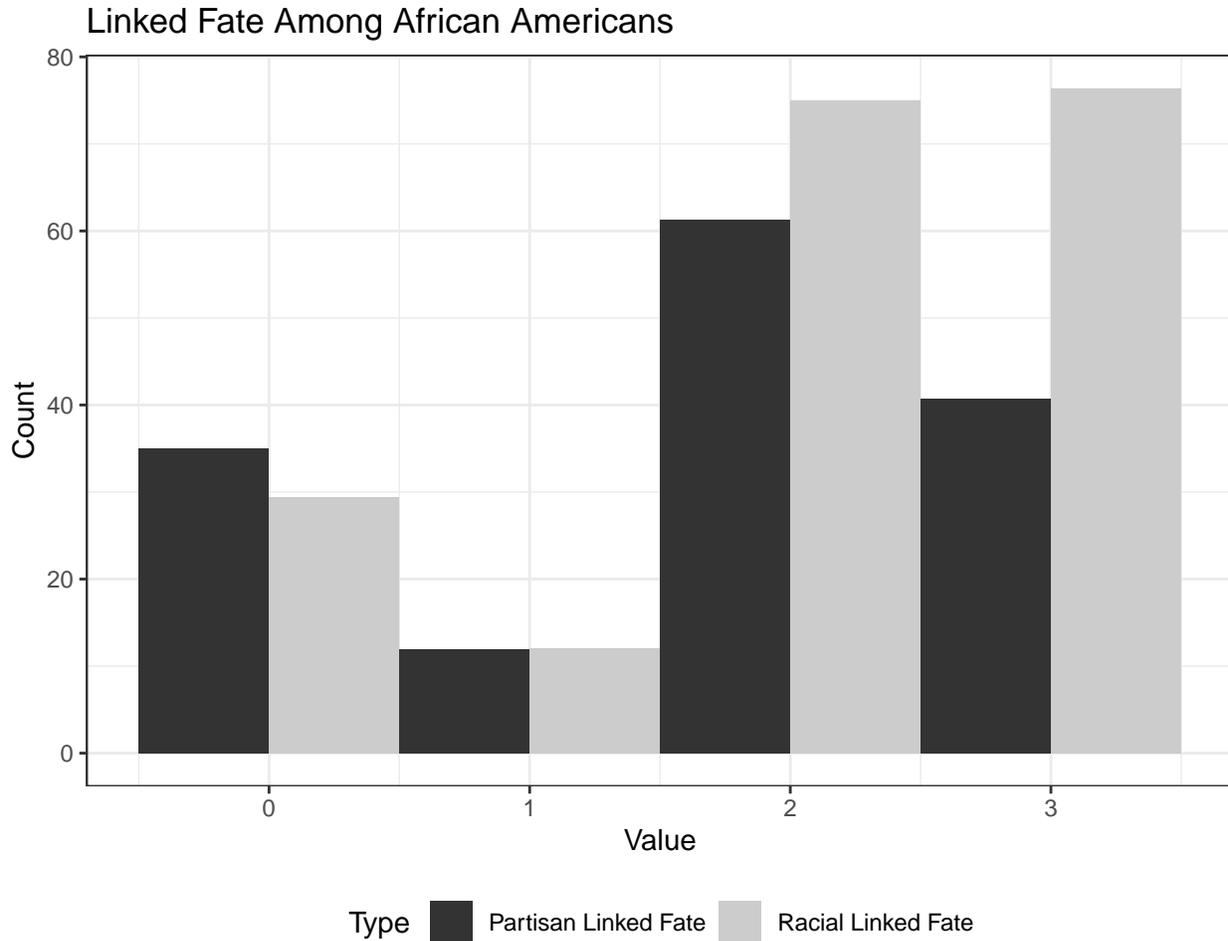


Figure 2: Types of Linked Fate, African American Oversample. This figure show the histogram of scores on the partisan and racial linked fate scales among African Americans in our NORC (Study 2) oversample.

linked fate dependent variable takes on one of four possible values. Those who do not report any sense of partisan linked fate are coded as a 0 on this measure; those who express partisan linked fate but say that it will affect them “not very much” are coded as a 1; those who express partisan linked fate and say that it will affect them “some” are coded as a 2; and, finally, those who express partisan linked fate and say that it will affect them “a lot” are coded as a 3.

To begin, we include a dummy variable for those who identify as a “strong partisan.” De-

rived from our 7-point measure of partisan identification, this variable takes on a values of one if a respondent indicates that they are a “strong Democrat” or a “strong Republican” and a zero otherwise. We include a variable for racial identity, dichotomized as non-White or White. We also include a measure of each respondent’s household income and educational attainment (dichotomized as having at least a Bachelor’s degree or not), as well as a dummy variable for the respondent’s gender. Finally, we include a variable capturing each respondent’s age in years. The results of these models are shown in Table 2.

	Partisan Linked Fate			
	Lucid	CES	NORC #1	NORC #2
Strong Partisan	0.411*** (0.040)	0.448*** (0.106)	0.342*** (0.099)	0.443*** (0.101)
Non-White	-0.033 (0.049)	-0.234* (0.122)	-0.083 (0.109)	-0.090 (0.100)
Income	0.010*** (0.003)	0.0002 (0.017)	0.003 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.012)
Bachelor’s Degree+	0.142*** (0.046)	0.253** (0.104)	0.104 (0.106)	0.152 (0.100)
Female	0.059 (0.041)	-0.034 (0.109)	-0.069 (0.098)	0.150 (0.095)
Age	-0.002* (0.001)	0.006* (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	0.006** (0.003)
Constant	1.448*** (0.078)	1.194*** (0.250)	1.210*** (0.220)	1.138*** (0.218)

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 2: Partisan Linked Fate in the Mass Public. This table shows the correlates of expressing partisan linked fate in the American mass public. Across three sources of data, identifying as a strong partisan predicts the expression of partisan linked fate.

One primary pattern emerges from the models displayed in Table 2: even while controlling for sociodemographic factors, identifying as a strong partisan predicts the expression of partisan linked fate. This is true in our Lucid sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.411; p < .01$), our CES sample

($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.448; p < .01$), our first NORC sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.342; p < .01$), and our second NORC sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.443; p < .01$). This finding comports with our theoretical expectations. Indeed, because those individuals who identify strongly with their political party are the most committed of partisans, their expression of partisan linked fate is to be expected. That this relationship is found in four different national samples provides robust evidence that strong partisans are the most likely to express partisan linked fate.

To more deeply understand the correlates of expressing partisan linked fate, we can break our measure of partisan linked fate into two sub-components: a dichotomous indicator for whether an individual expresses partisan linked fate, and a measure of how intensely one expresses partisan linked fate. After doing this, we run logistic regression models predicting whether or not each individual i expresses partisan linked fate. We also run a series of models predicting the magnitude of each respondent's partisan linked fate, estimated via ordinary least squares. For both the logistic regression and OLS models, our set of predictor variables are the same as in Table 2.

The results of the models with alternative specifications of the dependent variable, shown in Table 3, yield a remarkably similar pattern of results to those in Table 2. Indeed, identifying as a strong partisan predicts the dichotomous expression of partisan linked fate in our Lucid sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.461; p < .01$) and in our CES sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.869; p < .01$). This relationship is not statistically significant in our first NORC sample; however, this relationship is statistically significant in our second NORC sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.593; p < .05$). The fact that we do find this relationship across multiple sources of data—even when using an alternative measure of our partisan linked fate dependent variable—provides a considerable amount of support for our claim that identifying as a strong partisan predicts the expression of partisan linked fate.

We find similar evidence when examining the correlates of predicting greater degrees of partisan linked fate. In our Lucid sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.293; p < .01$), our CES sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.128; p < .05$), our first NORC sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.272; p < .01$), and our second NORC sample ($\beta_{\text{Strong Partisan}} = 0.287; p < .01$), we find that being a strong partisan predicts expressing a

greater amount of partisan linked fate. More concretely, then, this implies that those who are strong partisans are most ardently committed to the idea that what happens to their co-partisans elsewhere in the country will have something to do with what happens in their life. Thus, strong partisanship predicts both whether an individual expresses partisan linked fate and, conditional upon believing that what happens to your co-partisans throughout the country will have something to do with what happens in your life, the degree to which one holds this belief.

Consequences of Partisan Linked Fate

Thus far, we have presented evidence that the American mass public expresses partisan linked fate; that this expression is found to an extent that matches more commonly studied forms of linked fate; that partisan linked fate does not appear to vary according to one's racial identity; and, finally, that those who strongly identify with their party are most likely to express partisan linked fate. We now address the consequences of partisan linked fate for attitudes germane to contemporary American politics. Specifically, we examine how the expression of partisan linked fate predicts attitudes about various conspiracy theories.

Examining this relationship is useful because endorsing a conspiratorial belief entails an individual aligning themselves with an extreme opinion or attitude that is outside of mainstream political thought. In this sense, admitting that one believes a politically-oriented and partisan-endorsed conspiracy theory is costly. Endorsing such a belief, then, will only be undertaken when one is disproportionately concerned with maintaining their identification with their partisan group. For those who express partisan linked fate, the well-being of the group—and their own identification with said group—is of paramount importance. Thus, it is precisely those individuals who exhibit partisan linked fate that we should expect to be most willing to send these costly signals of endorsing partisan-aligned conspiracy theories.

To examine the relationship between partisan linked fate and conspiratorial belief, we once again draw upon our Lucid sample. Here, we asked levels of agreement with six conspiracy theo-

	Lucid		CES		NORC #1		NORC #2	
	PLF	PLF Degree	PLF	PLF Degree	PLF	PLF Degree	PLF	PLF Degree
Strong Partisan	0.461*** (0.088)	0.293*** (0.025)	0.869*** (0.244)	0.128** (0.060)	0.362 (0.225)	0.272*** (0.074)	0.593** (0.254)	0.287*** (0.057)
Non-White	-0.114 (0.105)	0.015 (0.030)	-0.407 (0.262)	-0.087 (0.076)	0.049 (0.250)	-0.154* (0.089)	-0.088 (0.232)	-0.071 (0.064)
Income	0.020*** (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	0.005 (0.040)	-0.002 (0.009)	0.040 (0.027)	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.0002 (0.028)	-0.010 (0.008)
Bachelor's Degree+	0.299*** (0.104)	0.033 (0.028)	0.365 (0.239)	0.137** (0.063)	-0.006 (0.235)	0.134 (0.082)	0.356 (0.245)	0.034 (0.061)
Female	0.132 (0.089)	0.007 (0.025)	-0.070 (0.256)	-0.002 (0.061)	-0.015 (0.217)	-0.084 (0.075)	0.272 (0.224)	0.063 (0.056)
Age	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002** (0.001)	0.010 (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	0.006 (0.006)	0.004 (0.002)	0.008 (0.006)	0.004** (0.001)
Constant	0.697*** (0.166)	1.157*** (0.048)	0.214 (0.556)	1.093*** (0.133)	0.336 (0.466)	1.023*** (0.162)	0.328 (0.486)	0.972*** (0.124)

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 3: Partisan Linked Fate in the Mass Public, Alternative Specification. This table shows the correlates of expressing partisan linked fate (Columns 1, 3, 5, & 7; logistic regression) and the degree to which one expresses partisan linked fate (Columns 2, 4, 6, & 8; OLS). Data come from our Lucid (Columns 1 & 2), CES (Columns 3 & 4), and NORC (Columns 5 - 8) samples.

ries: whether fluorescent light bulbs are a way for the government to control its citizens; whether birds are really spy drones; whether the September 11, 2011, terrorist attacks were really a false flag operation; whether ballots are sometimes counted inaccurately; whether COVID-19 was invented in a military research facility; and, finally, whether vaccines contain tracking microchips. The first two conspiracies are fictitious and, accordingly, lack any known partisan prime. The latter four conspiracies are all ideas that have been, or currently are, relevant to American politics. In each case, agreement is measured on a 7-point scale where higher numerical values indicate a greater amount of agreement.

To demonstrate the relationship between partisan linked fate and public attitudes, we run a series of linear models where our measure of conspiratorial belief serves as our dependent variable. Conspiratorial belief is measured as a function of partisan linked fate. Here, our operationalization of partisan linked fate is the standard 4-item measure that draws upon both of the questions in our two-item battery. Those who answered “no” to our initial partisan linked fate question are coded as a 0 on this measure. Those who answered “yes” to this question and “not very much” to the follow-up question are coded as a 1. Those who answered “yes” to the initial question and “some” to the follow-up question are coded as a 2. Finally, those who answered “yes” to our initial question and “a lot” to the follow-up question are coded as a 3. To reduce bias in our estimates, we include controls for strong partisans, race, gender, household income, educational attainment, and age. The results of these models are shown in Table 4.

As shown in Table 4, our measure of partisan linked fate predicts a greater belief in five of the six conspiracy theories that we measured. In Columns 3-5, we see evidence that partisan linked fate predicts the endorsement of conspiracy theories that are—or were—relevant to American politics. Thus, when respondents are told that their co-partisans sometimes believe that the 9/11 attacks were a false flag operation (Column 3), that ballots are sometimes counted inaccurately (Column 4), or that COVID-19 was created in a military research facility (Column 5), they, too, are likely to endorse these beliefs when they exhibit greater levels of partisan linked fate. Only when ex-

aming the relationship between partisan linked fate and the belief that vaccines contain tracking microchips (Column 6) do we fail to find a relationship that is statistically significant at any conventional level. Partisan linked fate, then, is a strong and reliable predictor of believing conspiracy theories that are endorsed by co-partisans.

One potential concern with these findings is that they might be driven by some unmeasured factor that is correlated with both the endorsement of the particular conspiracy theory and the expression of partisan linked fate. If this is the case, then our estimates as to the relationship between partisan linked fate and conspiratorial belief may be biased. However, this possibility is unlikely. Indeed, we find the exact same pattern of results when we examine the relationship between two entirely fictitious conspiracy theories—the Oliver and Wood (2018) conspiracy about fluorescent light bulbs allowing the government to control citizens (Column 1), and a measure of whether birds are actually spy drones (Column 2)—and partisan linked fate. For both of these conspiracy theories, we find that endorsement is increasing in partisan linked fate. Thus, even when the conspiracy theory under consideration contains no *ex ante* partisan prime, those individuals with greater amounts of partisan linked fate are still likely to register a belief in the conspiracy theory when they are told that their co-partisans also endorse the belief.

Conclusion & Discussion

The results presented in this paper suggest that partisanship’s ability to operate as a key identity in American politics extends further than previously thought. Rather than operating exclusively as a heuristic or a form of self-identification, one’s partisan identity speaks to how he or she views like-minded others throughout the country. As we have shown, Democrats and Republicans overwhelmingly agree with the notion that what happens to their co-partisans throughout the country will have something to do with what happens in their own life. Moreover, both Democrats and Republicans appear to hold these attitudes to a considerable degree. Thus, the contemporary

	Light bulbs	Birds	9/11	Ballots	COVID-19	Vaccines
Partisan Linked Fate	0.111*** (0.030)	0.094*** (0.030)	0.108*** (0.032)	0.115*** (0.037)	0.086** (0.034)	0.045 (0.033)
Strong Partisan	0.455*** (0.064)	0.520*** (0.064)	0.422*** (0.067)	0.835*** (0.079)	0.321*** (0.074)	0.525*** (0.069)
Non-White	0.349*** (0.080)	0.450*** (0.084)	0.427*** (0.083)	0.020 (0.091)	0.226** (0.089)	0.334*** (0.086)
Female	-0.290*** (0.065)	-0.242*** (0.065)	-0.203*** (0.068)	-0.147* (0.079)	-0.464*** (0.075)	-0.291*** (0.069)
Income	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.012** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.018*** (0.006)
Bachelor's Degree+	-0.057 (0.074)	-0.039 (0.073)	-0.148* (0.077)	-0.443*** (0.090)	-0.209** (0.085)	-0.126 (0.078)
Age	-0.031*** (0.002)	-0.031*** (0.002)	-0.035*** (0.002)	-0.015*** (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.002)	-0.029*** (0.002)
Constant	2.774*** (0.127)	2.460*** (0.130)	3.264*** (0.133)	2.918*** (0.151)	3.383*** (0.142)	2.878*** (0.135)

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 4: Partisan Linked Fate and Conspiratorial Belief. The table shows the relationship between partisan linked fate and the endorsement of various conspiracy theories. Data come from our Lucid sample.

American mass public is characterized as holding attitudes that we have characterized as a form of “partisan linked fate.”

Additionally, our study has provided a benchmark for how widespread partisan linked fate is among the mass public. In a Lucid sample of over 2,700 Americans, we found that the rate at which Americans express partisan linked fate closely mirrors the expression of linked fate along racial, gender, and age-based dimensions. In this sample, we found that 76% of respondents expressed some degree of partisan linked fate; this is an identical number to those who expressed racial linked fate (76%) and slightly larger than the percentage who expressed age-based linked fate (75%). Only gender-based linked fate (78%) was slightly more prevalent than partisan linked fate. A similar pattern emerges when examining the degree to which Americans hold these beliefs: the strength with which Americans express partisan linked fate was on par with linked racial, gender, and age-based linked fate.

Importantly, we lend credibility to these results by replicating them in our two NORC samples. In this data, we found that 77% (Study 1) and 76% (Study 2) of respondents expressed partisan linked fate. And, as with the pattern of results found in our Lucid data, this metric is on par with the expression of linked fate along racial (75%; 76%), gender (79%; 78%), and age-based (80%; 79%) dimensions. Additionally, our NORC samples suggest that the magnitude with which Americans express linked fate is nearly identical to their expression of other forms of linked fate. Collectively, then, our NORC samples corroborate the findings from our Lucid data.

Moreover, our results have shown that partisan linked fate does not appear to vary according to one’s racial identity. Indeed, the distribution of scores on our measure of partisan linked fate looks similar across four different sources of data for both White and non-White respondents. In our two NORC samples, as well as our Lucid sample, we found no statistically significant difference in terms of the mean level of partisan linked fate across White and non-White respondents. It is only in the CES that we find such a difference; here, however, the substantive difference in terms of partisan linked fate between White and non-White respondents is rather small. Thus, partisan

linked fate does not appear to be a sentiment that is disproportionately prevalent among a specific racial subset of the mass public.

Despite the widespread presence of these attitudes, we found that those who identify as “strong partisans” are the most likely to express partisan linked fate. In a similar manner, those who strongly identify as a Democrat or a Republican express the greatest degree of partisan linked fate. This finding persists across four different datasets: our CES sample, our Lucid sample, and our two NORC samples.

Importantly, we have shown that the presence of partisan linked fate among the American mass public is not without consequence. On the contrary, expressing partisan linked fate—and expressing higher degrees of partisan linked fate—has attitudinal consequences for American politics. Indeed, the results we have presented here suggest that, when Americans express partisan linked fate and they are told that their co-partisans believe various conspiracy theories, they are more likely to endorse the same set of conspiratorial beliefs. Our results suggest that expressing partisan linked fate predicts believing in conspiracy theories across areas as diverse as foreign policy, election integrity, and the origins of COVID-19. Additionally, our results suggest that Americans who express partisan linked fate are more likely to endorse conspiratorial beliefs even when the conspiracies under question have no *ex ante* partisan prime (e.g. the question about light bulbs allowing for government control of citizens, drawn from Oliver and Wood (2018), and the question about the “birds aren’t real” movement). That these findings are obtained even when accounting for an individual’s strength of partisanship suggests that partisan linked fate offers a degree of explanatory purchase above and beyond what is obtained from traditional model specifications of mass-level attitudes.

Despite our documenting the presence of partisan linked fate, the correlates of expressing this sentiment, and its attitudinal consequences for contemporary American politics, plenty of work remains. To begin, future work should examine additional outcomes of expressing partisan linked fate. Does expressing partisan linked fate predict an individual’s attitudes on economic policy or

social policy? If so, what is the nature of this relationship? Must policies be explicitly tied to partisan groups, as the conspiracy theories in this study were, or does partisan linked fate predict diffuse support for (or opposition to) policy ideas?

Similarly, future work should explore the nature of partisan linked fate and support for specific political figures. Must a politician make explicit appeals to help the in-party in order for partisan linked fate to predict higher levels of support for the candidate, or is simply sharing a partisan identification sufficient for partisan linked fate to shape one's views of a politician? If it is the former, then the high levels of partisan linked fate among the mass public that we have documented here might give politicians an incentive to make targeted campaign promises to his or her supporters that he or she may not feel compelled to make in the absence of mass-level expressions of partisan linked fate.

Future work should also examine the causal nature of partisan linked fate. Our results suggest that identifying as a strong partisan predicts the expression of partisan linked fate; while we suspect that this is the causal ordering driving this relationship, our empirical approach does not allow us to definitively speak to the question of whether one's strength of partisanship causes the adoption of partisan linked fate. More thoroughly interrogating this question, as well as exploring the other potential causes of partisan linked fate, appears to be a fruitful line of inquiry.

Finally, future work should examine how partisan linked fate interacts with other factors driving contemporary mass-level political behavior. For instance, prior studies have found that the incumbency advantage has declined as citizens increasingly care more about the party that represents them in Congress than the specific member (Jacobson 2015). Is this preference for party-over-incumbency magnified for those who exhibit partisan linked fate? In a related manner, examining how partisan linked fate acts as an effect moderator is likely to open a number of important questions: does partisan linked fate moderate the causal link between anxiety and news consumption, or that between ideological extremity and affective polarization? As American politics continues to become more acrimonious and divided along partisan lines, better understanding the nature of

these dynamics will become paramount. After documenting its existence—and benchmarking it with other forms of linked fate—across four different sources of data in this study, it is our hope that incorporating partisan linked fate into future studies will help scholars better understand the nature of American partisanship and political behavior.

References

- Abramowitz, Alan I. 2010. *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy*. Yale University Press.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Steven W. Webster. 2016. “The Rise of Negative Partisanship and the Nationalization of U.S. Elections in the 21st Century.” *Electoral Studies* 41:12–22.
- Bafumi, Joseph and Robert Y Shapiro. 2009. “A New Partisan Voter.” *Journal of Politics* 71(1):1–24.
- Berry, Justin A., David Ebner and Michelle Cornelius. 2019. “White Identity Politics: Linked Fate and Political Participation.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 9(3).
- Bunyasi, Tehama Lopez and Candis Watts Smith. 2019. “Do All Black Lives Matter Equally to Black People?: Respectability Politics and the Limitations of Linked Fate.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 4(1):180–215.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. Wiley.
- Connors, Elizabeth C. 2020. “The Social Dimension of Political Values.” *Political Behavior* 42(3):961–982.
- Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Dias, Nicholas and Yphtach Lelkes. 2021. “The Nature of Affective Polarization: Disentangling Policy Disagreement From Partisan Identity.” *American Journal of Political Science* .

- Drutman, Lee. 2020. "How Hatred Came To Dominate American Politics." <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-hatred-negative-partisanship-came-to-dominate-american-politics/>.
- Easton, Matthew J. and John B. Holbein. 2021. "The Democracy of Dating: How Political Affiliations Shape Relationship Formation." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 8(3):260–272.
- Engelhardt, Andrew M. and Stephen M. Utych. 2020. "Grand Old (Tailgate) Party? Partisan Discrimination in Apolitical Settings." *Political Behavior* 42(3):769–789.
- Gay, Claudine, Jennifer Hochschild and Ariel White. 2016. "Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept?" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1(1):117–144.
- Goode, Jayne R., Kendra Knight, Katherine J. Denker and Valerie Cronin-Fisher. 2021. "Political Difference in Marriage: Wife's Gender Linked Fate and Relational Conflict." *Communication Studies* 72(3):384–401.
- Homola, Jonathan, Jon C. Rogowski, Betsy Sinclair, Michelle Torres, Patrick D. Tucker and Steven W. Webster. 2022. "Through the Ideology of the Beholder: How Ideology Shapes Perceptions of Partisan Groups." *Political Science Research & Methods* . doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2022.4>.
- Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason and Lene Aarøe. 2015. "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *American Political Science Review* 109(1):1–17.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(3):405–431.
- Iyengar, Shanto and Sean J. Westwood. 2015. "Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):690–707.

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2015. "It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 77(3):861–873.
- Jardina, Ashley. 2019. *White Identity Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kiang, Lisa, Betina Cutaia Wilkinson and Linda P. Juang. 2021. "The Markings of Linked Fate Among Asian Americans and Latinxs." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* . doi: <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000482>.
- Klar, Samara. 2014. "Partisanship in a Social Setting." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3):687–704.
- Kunda, Ziva. 1990. "The Case for Motivated Reasoning." *Psychological Bulletin* 108(3):480–498.
- Levendusky, Matthew S. 2009. *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lodge, Milton and Charles S. Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lu, Fan and Jones Bradford. 2019. "Effects of Belief Versus Experiential Discrimination on Race-Based Linked Fate." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7(3):615–624.
- Lyons, Jeffrey and Stephen M Utych. 2022. "Partisan Discrimination Without Explicit Partisan Cues." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 10(1):288–305.
- Mason, Lilliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. University of Chicago Press.
- Masuoka, Natalie. 2006. "Together They Become One: Examining the Predictors of Panethnic Group Consciousness Among Asian Americans and Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(5):993–1011.

- McClain, Paul D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton Jr. and Candis S. Watts. 2009. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:471–485.
- Miller, Joanne M, Kyle L. Saunders and Christina E. Farhart. 2016. "Conspiracy Endorsement as Motivated Reasoning: The Moderating Roles of Political Knowledge and Trust." *American Journal of Political Science* 60:824–844.
- Oliver, J. Eric and Thomas J. Wood. 2018. *Enchanted America: How Intuition & Reason Divide Our Politics*. University of Chicago Press.
- Orr, Lilla V. and Gregory A. Huber. 2020. "The Policy Basis of Measured Partisan Animosity in the United States." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3):569–586.
- Roth, Philip L., John D. Arnold, H. Jack Walker, Liwen Zhang and Chad H. Van Iddekinge. 2022. "Organizational Political Affiliation and Job Seekers: If I Don't Identify With Your Party, Am I Still Attracted?" *Journal of Applied Psychology* 107(5):724.
- Ruppanner, Leah, Gosia Mikołajczak, Kelsy Kretschmer and Christopher T. Stout. 2019. "Gender Linked Fate Explains Lower Legal Abortion Support Among White Married Women." *PLoS ONE* 14(10):e0223271.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. and Jillian Medeiros. 2016. "Linked Fate and Latino Attitudes Regarding Health-Care Reform Policy." *Social Science Quarterly* 97.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. and Natalie Masuoka. 2010. "Brown-Utility Heuristic? The Presence and Contributing Factors of Latino Linked Fate." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32(4):519–531.
- Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2013. "Which Birds of a Feather Flock Together? Assessing Attitudes

- About Descriptive Representation Among Latinos and Asian Americans.” *American Politics Research* 41(4):699–729.
- Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2015. “White Attitudes About Descriptive Representation in the US: The Roles of Identity, Discrimination, and Linked Fate.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5(1):84–106.
- Simien, Evelyn M. 2005. “Race, Gender, and Linked Fate.” *Journal of Black Studies* 35(5):529–550.
- Sinclair, Betsy. 2012. *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*. University of Chicago Press.
- Stout, Christopher T., Kelsy Kretschmer and Leah Ruppanner. 2017. “Gender Linked Fate, Race/Ethnicity, and the Marriage Gap in American Politics.” *American Politics Research* 70(3):509–522.
- Tam Cho, Wendy K., James G. Gimpel and Iris S. Hui. 2013. “Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103(4):856–870.
- Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Turner, John C., Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D. Reicher and Margaret S. Wetherell. 1987. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- Vargas, Edward D., Gabriel R. Sanchez and Juan A. Valdez Jr. 2017. “Immigration Policies and Group Identity: How Immigrant Laws Affect Linked Fate among U.S. Latino Populations.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 2:35–62.

Webster, Steven W., Elizabeth C. Connors and Betsy Sinclair. 2022. "The Social Consequences of Political Anger." *The Journal of Politics* .

West, Emily A. and Shanto Iyengar. 2020. "Partisanship as a Social Identity: Implications for Polarization." *Political Behavior* pp. 1–32.

A Appendix

Each of our four datasets were collected after receiving approval from our institutions' IRB. In all cases, our IRB proposals were deemed exempt from review. Participants in our surveys were informed that they were being asked to answer a series of questions for an academic study. For online respondents, consent to participate in the study was obtained by clicking "proceed" after reading information about the study. For a portion of respondents in the NORC data who answered questions via telephone, consent was given verbally. Respondents were compensated for their participation. In the CES data, compensation was given via YouGov; in the Lucid data, respondents were awarded points for completing the survey that could later be converted into financial rewards; similarly, respondents to the NORC AmeriSpeak sample were given points that could be later redeemed for a reward of the participant's choosing. In no case was deception used, nor did we intervene in the political process.

B Tables

Party ID	Prop. PLF	Mean PLF Degree
Strong, weak, or leaning Democrat	0.75	1.30
Strong, weak, or leaning Republican	0.76	1.30

Table B.1: Partisan Linked Fate by Partisan Affiliation (CES). This table shows the proportion of Democrats and Republicans who expressed partisan linked fate in our CES data, as well as the average degree of linked fate expressed across partisan groups.

Party ID	Prop. PLF	Mean PLF Degree
Strong, weak, or leaning Democrat	0.79	1.30
Strong, weak, or leaning Republican	0.72	1.24

Table B.2: Partisan Linked Fate by Partisan Affiliation (Lucid). This table shows the proportion of Democrats and Republicans who expressed partisan linked fate in our Lucid data, as well as the average degree of linked fate expressed across partisan groups.

Party ID	Prop. PLF	Mean PLF Degree
Strong, weak, or leaning Democrat	0.82	1.10
Strong, weak, or leaning Republican	0.70	1.14

Table B.3: Partisan Linked Fate by Partisan Affiliation (NORC Study 1). This table shows the proportion of Democrats and Republicans who expressed partisan linked fate in our NORC Study 1 data, as well as the average degree of linked fate expressed across partisan groups.

Party ID	Prop. PLF	Mean PLF Degree
Strong, weak, or leaning Democrat	0.81	1.20
Strong, weak, or leaning Republican	0.71	1.25

Table B.4: Partisan Linked Fate by Partisan Affiliation (NORC Study 2). This table shows the proportion of Democrats and Republicans who expressed partisan linked fate in our NORC Study 2 data, as well as the average degree of linked fate expressed across partisan groups.

	PLF _{t=2}	
	(1)	(2)
PLF _{t=1}	0.472*** (0.021)	
PLF Intensity _{t=1}		0.526*** (0.022)
Strong Partisan	0.086*** (0.015)	0.071*** (0.024)
Non-White	-0.035* (0.018)	0.037 (0.028)
Household Income	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)
Bachelor's Degree+	0.035** (0.016)	-0.037 (0.025)
Female	-0.004 (0.015)	-0.018 (0.023)
Constant	0.317*** (0.025)	0.525*** (0.040)

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table B.5: Partisan Linked Fate Over Time (Lucid data). This table shows the relationship between expressing partisan linked fate at the beginning and end of our survey (Column 1), as well as the relationship between the degree of partisan linked fate expressed at the beginning and end of our survey (Column 2). Both models are estimated via OLS.