

In-party love, out-party hate, and affective polarization in twelve established democracies

Diego Garzia & Frederico Ferreira da Silva – University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Accepted for publication at *Public Opinion Quarterly* (25-09-2024)

Abstract

Recent research has mapped levels of affective polarization worldwide. However, our current knowledge of the longitudinal patterns of in- and out-party affect, the two constitutive terms of affective polarization, remains limited. This manuscript expands the comparative and longitudinal scope of existing studies using national election study data from 143 elections across 12 Western democracies collected since the 1960s. The analysis expands previous descriptive accounts of levels of in- and out-party affect, reports levels of in-party love and out-party hate, and inspects longitudinal changes in the polarity of affect with a composite measure tapping the relative weight of in- and out-party feelings. The findings show a generalized decline of out-party evaluations and a growing prevalence of out-party hate vs. in-party love over time. While citizens may not be more polarized than before in most Western democracies, contemporary affective polarization is more heavily characterized by a disproportionate weight of out-group dislike.

Recent studies have taken important steps into mapping and longitudinally describing levels of affective polarization in Western democracies (Gidron et al., 2020; Boxell et al., 2024; Garzia et al., 2023). Overall, the findings from these studies point to a substantial increase over time in levels of affective polarization in the US, unparalleled in other democracies.

As a common denominator, existing comparative research tends to measure affective polarization as the absolute distance between in-party affect and out-party (or parties) disdain. However, our current knowledge of the respective longitudinal patterns of these two components is limited. Gidron et al. (2020) report levels of in- and out-party affect in twenty Western democracies, across the period 1996-2017. Their analysis shows a “gradual trend of declining in-party liking” (p. 34) as well as “an overall trend of intensifying out-party dislike over the past several years” (p. 31). According to a longitudinal analysis of twelve OECD democracies by Boxell et al. (2024), affect towards other parties decreased more strongly in the US than in any of the other countries under study.

Exploring patterns of in- and out-party affect – as well as their reciprocal relationship – is relevant insofar as it can shed light on the relative importance of the two components in driving affective polarization over time. To address this issue, the authors of a seminal study on political sectarianism in America developed measures of “in-party love” and “out-party hate”, by recoding in-party and out-party thermometer scores relative to the middle-point of the scale (Finkel et al., 2020). By taking the difference between these two scores, the authors captured the changing relative importance of in-party affect and out-party disdain as drivers of affective polarization. Tracking these measures over four decades of American Presidential elections, the authors show that out-party hate has emerged as a stronger force than in-party love for affective polarization in the US.

Our analysis is aimed at expanding the comparative and longitudinal scope of existing studies. Our pooled national election study dataset includes thermometer evaluations for political parties (and leaders) in 143 elections across 12 Western democracies collected over

the last six decades (1961-2022). Our contribution is twofold. First, we expand previous descriptive accounts of levels of in- and out-party affect, as well as in-party love and out-party hate, in comparative and longitudinal perspective. Second, taking advantage of the differential measure developed by Finkel and colleagues, we report the extent to which affective polarization has become increasingly driven by out-party hate in the majority of countries under analysis.

Data and measurement

Our analysis is based on a novel collection of national election study datasets from Western democracies featuring extended time-series of post-electoral survey data worth (at least) five decades. The final sample includes a total of 143 elections from 12 democracies (full details in Supplementary Material Table S1).^{1 2}

As per standard practice in comparative (and longitudinal) research on affective polarization, we rely on party feeling thermometers as instrument to capture survey respondents' feelings towards the parties (Gidron et al., 2020; Reiljan 2020; Wagner, 2021; Garzia et al., 2023; Boxell et al., 2024).³ To ensure comparability of estimates across countries and elections, all thermometer scores have been rescaled into a 0-10 scale. The original question wording and answer scales are available in Supplementary Material Table S2.

¹ Data for the twelve European democracies come from the “West European Voter” harmonization project (Garzia et al. 2023). Information about survey response rates can be consulted in the original surveys' documentation, compiled by the “West European Voter” project at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/75520/Data%20sources.xlsx?sequence=8&isAllowed=y>.

² No weights have been used in the analyses and item-missing data has been listwise deleted.

³ Due to the unsystematic presence of party feeling thermometers for the Italian and Spanish election studies, we have calculated the respective scores using leader feeling thermometers instead. Existent comparative research confirms a strong correlation between party- and leader-based measures of affective polarization, particularly in the cases of Italy and Spain (Reiljan et al., 2024). For Spain, the Pearson's correlation between aggregate scores of party (PAP) and leader (LAP) affective polarization is .95. For Italy, we are unable to calculate such correlation because only the 2022 Italian Election Study features both party and leader thermometer batteries. However, the individual-level correlation of these two measures is .85 with virtually identical mean sample values (PAP=5.12; LAP=5.09).

Our measures for in- and out-party affect largely draw on pre-existent measures of affective polarization for multi-party systems that capture the difference in affect between an in-party and all remaining parties competing in a given election (Wagner, 2021; Boxell et al., 2024; Garzia et al., 2023). Thus, we follow these studies and define the in-party as the party receiving the highest score among all parties rated by the respondent on the party feeling thermometers.⁴ The out-party measure is drawn from the average of all other parties' feeling thermometer scores, weighted by their respective vote shares. Importantly, this procedure replicates the ones used in previous comparative accounts of in-party and out-party affect (Gidron et al., 2020; Boxell et al., 2024).

In a second step, following the strategy advanced by Finkel and colleagues (2020), we present measures of “in-party love” and “out-party hate”, by computing the previous measures of in- and out-party affect relative to the neutral point on the feeling thermometer⁵, so that:

- *in-party love* = [*In-party score* – 5];
- *out-party hate* = [5 – *Mean weighted out-party score*].

Finally, we took the difference between those two scores [in-party love – out-party hate] to inspect changes in the polarity of affect in a given country/election, i.e., whether affective

⁴ To remain agnostic about *which* party should be considered the in-party, we adopted the following procedure whenever a respondent gave the highest score to more than one party. First, we summed up the party vote shares of all most liked parties and divided by the total number of most liked parties. Second, in the out-party calculations, the remaining parties receiving the same score as the most liked party would be weighted by this adjusted party vote share. Hence, for example, if voter X scored Party A with 7 (30% party vote share), Party B with 7 (10%), Party C with 5 (40%) and Party D with 3 (20%), their in-party value would be 7, and their out-party would correspond to: $7 \times ((.30+.10)/2) + 5 \times .40 + 3 \times .20 = 4$. Following Reiljan's (2020) conceptualization, we have replicated the analysis defining the in-party based on self-reported partisanship, and maintaining the out-party affect as the average score given to all other parties, weighted by their respective party vote shares. This analysis excludes respondents who have not declared to identify with any political party and excludes election studies without questions on partisanship. Our results are largely robust to this alternative measurement specification and sample selection (see Supplementary Material Figures S1, S2, and S3).

⁵ This transformation is based on the notion that the mid-point of the thermometer scale taps neutral feelings towards the attitude object of interest. This is supported by Iyengar and Krupenkin's (2018) analysis of ANES data and by the observation that numerous election studies (including ANES) explicitly instruct respondents to pick the mid-point of the scale whenever they feel indifferent toward a given party (see Supplementary Material, Table S2).

polarization is predominantly characterized by positive or negative affect. As both the constituent terms of this measure can range between -5 and 5, the difference between them yields a variable ranging from -10 to +10, where above-zero values on this variable reflect greater in-group love than out-group hate, and below-zero values reflect greater out-group hate than in-group love.

Trends

The trends reported from our data generally support *Gidron et al.*'s (2020) conclusion of a gradual trend in the decline of in-party liking (see Figure 1). Indeed, the slope of the regression line is negative in 11 out of 12 countries and this relationship reaches conventional levels of statistical significance in Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, and the UK (see Supplementary Material Table S3). When it comes to voters' feelings towards out-parties, the picture is once again of a generalized decline. The regression slope is negative in 9 out of 12 countries, and reaches conventional levels of statistical significance in Canada, Denmark, Germany, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States (see Supplementary Material Table S3).

Figure 1 about here

To our purposes, it is worth noting that the linear decline of out-party feelings is stronger than the decline of in-party feelings in almost half of the countries under analysis: Canada, Denmark, Italy, Sweden, and the United States (see Supplementary Material Table S3).

This unbalance is better captured through a longitudinal assessment of the measures of in-party love and out-party hate (see Figure 2). As explained, these are but a mere transformation of the previous measures, allowing us to better compare the relative strength of the two components over time. The emerging pattern confirms an overtime change towards a stronger relative importance of out-party hate vis-à-vis in-party love in a large majority of the

countries of the sample. In recent years, values of out-party hate tend to approach values of in-party love – this is particularly evident in Canada, Denmark, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Moreover, in countries like Greece, Italy, Spain, and the United States, out-party hate has actually become a stronger force than in-party love.

Figure 2 about here

In a final step, we report the algebraic difference between in-party love and out-party hate, a measure developed by Finkel et al. (2020) to reflect the overall polarity of affect in a political system. Figure 3 shows a pattern towards increasing negativity of affective polarization across 10 of the 12 countries. The regression slope reaches conventional levels of statistical significance in Denmark, Germany, Greece, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States (see Supplementary Material Table S3).

Importantly, we can observe that recent elections across countries such as Canada, Greece, Italy, Spain, the UK, and the US have gone beyond the tipping point in which the weight of out-party hate trumps in-party love, registering negative values. Even in a country like Sweden, that report relatively high and stable patterns on this measure, the latest election clearly ranks among the lowest value of the time-series.

Figure 3 about here

Conclusions

With a few exceptions, our findings show a generalized decline of out-party evaluations on the thermometer score and a growing prevalence of out-party hate over in-party love over time. While citizens may not be more polarized than before in most Western democracies (Garzia et

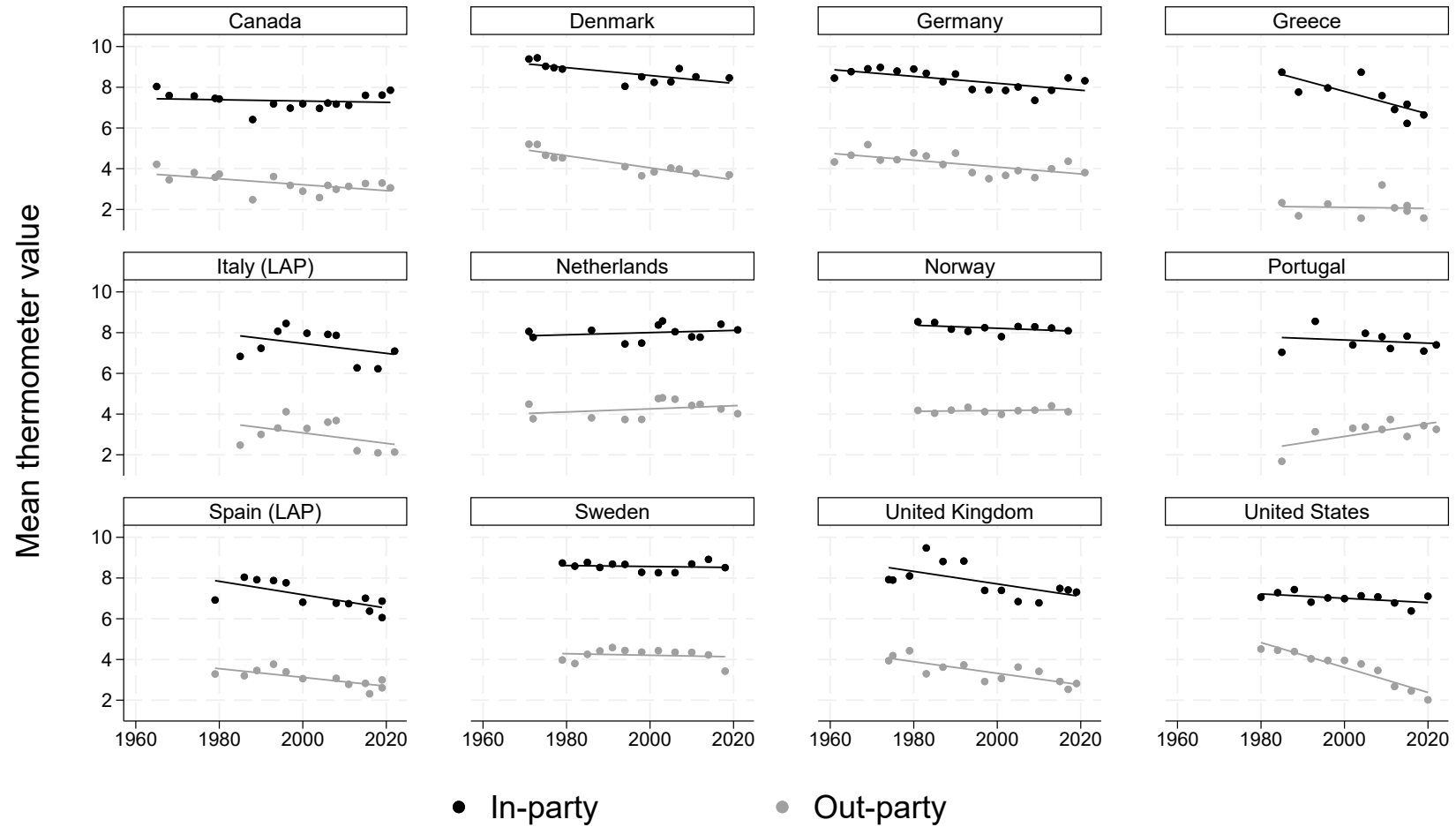
al., 2023; Boxell et al., 2024), we observe that contemporary affective polarization tends to be more heavily characterized by a disproportionate weight of out-group dislike. Moreover, in recent elections across several countries, citizens now express, on average, stronger negative attitudes towards the out-party than positive attitudes towards the in-party.

By exclusively capturing the length of affective distances between in- and out-parties, previous works have remained oblivious to nature of the affect underlying such distance. While polarization levels may be high/low, the extent to which such polarization is characterized by a disproportionate degree of affect/disaffect may entail distinct socio-political implications. Our findings suggest the complementarity of considering the relative weight of in- and out-party affect in interpreting affective polarization in multi-party systems, and put in perspective previous normative interpretations of the longitudinal dynamics of affective polarization in Western democracies.

References

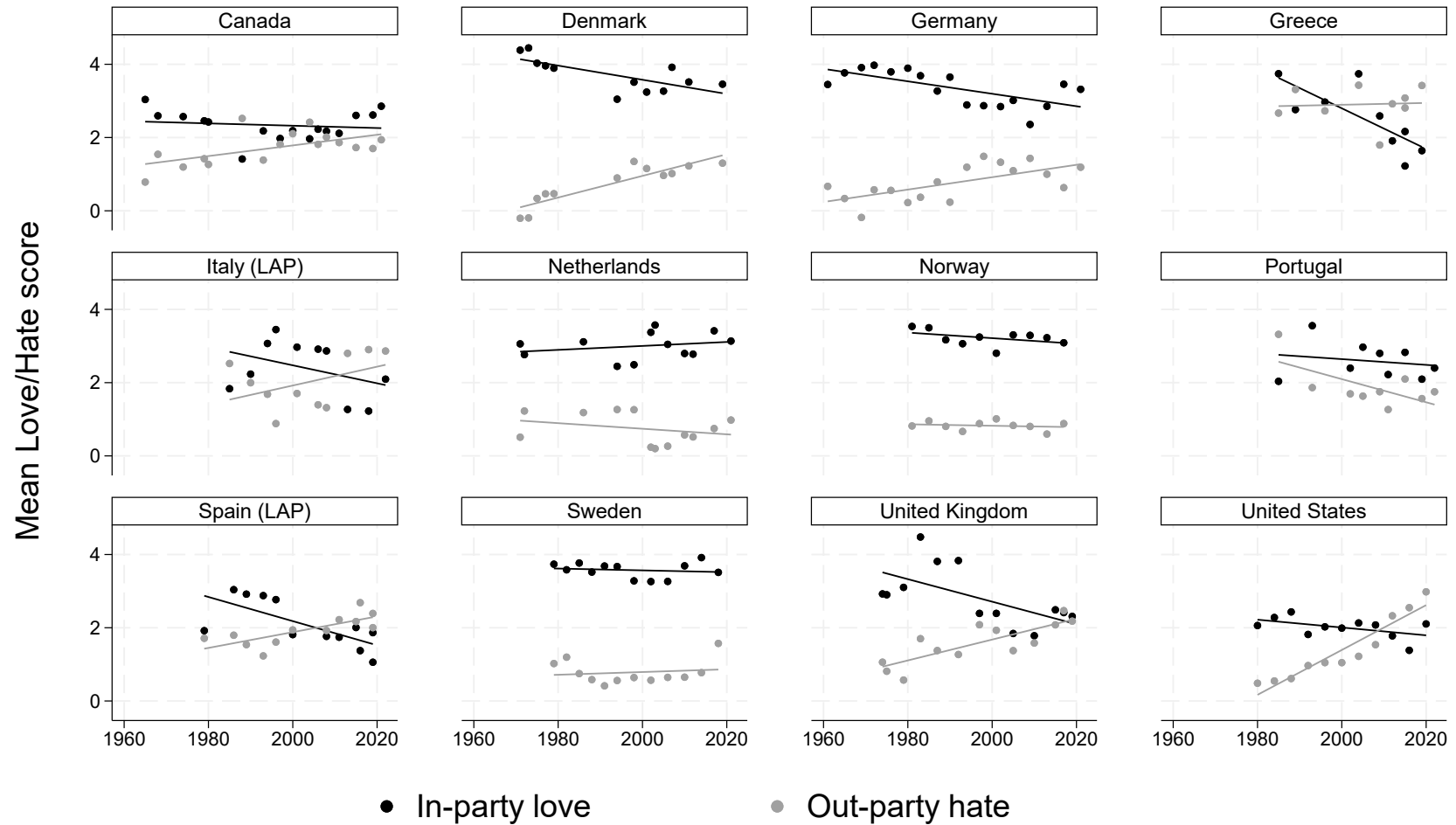
- Boxell, Levi, Matthew Gentzkow, and Jesse M. Shapiro. 2024. "Cross-country trends in affective polarization". *Review of Economics and Statistics* 106 (2): 557-565.
- Finkel Eli J., et al. 2020. "Political Sectarianism in America". *Science* 370: 533–36.
- Garzia, Diego, Ferreira da Silva, Frederico, and Simon Maye. 2023. "Affective Polarization in Comparative and Longitudinal Perspective". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 87:219-231.
- Gidron Noam, Adams James, and Will Horne. 2020. *American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Iyengar, S., & Krupenkin, M. (2018). "The strengthening of partisan affect". *Political Psychology*, 39, 201-218.
- Reiljan, Andres. 2020. "'Fear and loathing across party lines'(also) in Europe: Affective polarisation in European party systems". *European Journal of Political Research*, 59: 376-396.
- Reiljan, Andres, Garzia, Diego, Ferreira da Silva, F., and Alexander H. Trechsel. 2024. "Patterns of affective polarization toward parties and leaders across the democratic world". *American Political Science Review* 118 (2): 1-17.
- Wagner, Markus. 2021. "Affective polarization in multiparty systems". *Electoral Studies*, 69: 102199.

Figure 1. Mean thermometer values for in-party and out-parties



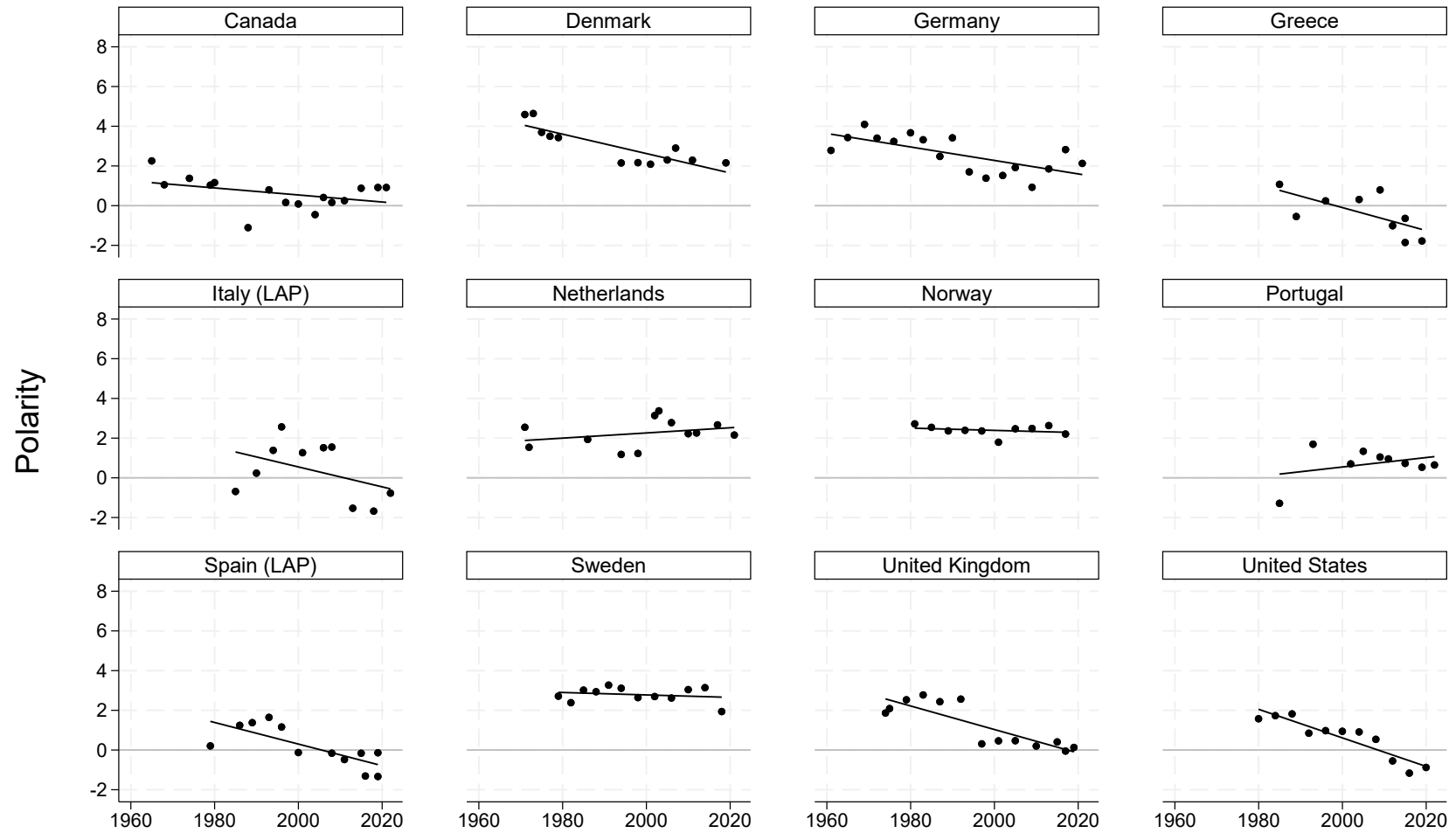
Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Figure 2. In-party love and out-party hate in twelve Western democracies



Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Figure 3. The changing polarity of affect in twelve Western democracies



Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Supplementary Materials

Table S1. List of countries and elections included in the analysis

Country	Election year
Canada	1965, 1968, 1974, 1979, 1980, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2019, 2021
Denmark	1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011, 2019
Germany	1961, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017, 2021
Greece	1985, 1989, 1996, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2019
Italy	1985, 1990, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2018, 2022
Netherlands	1971, 1972, 1986, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012, 2017, 2021
Norway	1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2017
Portugal	1985, 1993, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011, 2015, 2019, 2022
Spain	1979, 1986, 1989, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2019a, 2019b
Sweden	1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2018
United Kingdom	1974a, 1974b, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019
United States	1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020

Table S2. Original question wording and answer scales for party/leader thermometers

Country	Year	Question wording	Scale
Canada	1965	Now I have a different kind of question for you. I'm going to show you some word pairs. Each pair is separated by seven boxes like this. If you think that the particular political party is bad, you would put a check mark in the box on the left end of the scale. If you feel it is good, you would check the box on the right end of the scale. Or you might rate it somewhere between these two extremes.	1-7
Canada	1968 1974 1979	You'll see here a drawing of a thermometer. It's been called a feeling thermometer because it helps measure one's feelings towards various things. Here's how it works. If you don't particularly like or dislike the person, group or activity we are asking about, place them at the 50 degree mark. If your feelings are very warm then you would give a score between 50 and 100, the warmer your feelings, the higher the score. On the other hand, if you do not like the person, group or activity very much, you would place them somewhere between 0 and 50. The cooler your feelings, the closer the number will be to 0. If you don't know too much about one of the items mentioned, just say so, and we'll go on to the next one ... How would you rate the party, taken as a whole?	0-100
Canada	1980	Now we would like you to think about the feeling thermometer which we used in our 1979 study and which we sent to you in the mail. The thermometer is graded from 00 to 100. If you don't have any particular feeling about the things we are asking about, place them at the 50 degree mark. If you feelings are very warm toward a particular thing, you would give a score between 50 and 100, the warmer your feelings, the higher the score. On the other hand, if your feelings are relatively cool toward something, you would place them between 0 and 50. The cooler your feelings, the closer the score will be to zero. If you don't know too much about any of the items mentioned, just say so and we will go on to the next one. There are many aspects of political parties which strike Canadians in different ways. We would like to get your feelings toward some of these aspects of our parties. We are interested to see how you liked the leaders, the party's candidate in your riding in the last election, and the party as a whole. We will use the feeling thermometer again for these questions.	0-100
Canada	1988 1993	Now let's talk about your feelings towards the political parties, their leaders and their candidates. I'll read a name and ask you to rate a person or a party on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favourable toward that person. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you feel unfavourable toward that person. You may use any number from 0 to 100 to tell me how you feel. How would you rate [PARTY]?	0-100
Canada	1997	[Now we're going to ask you how you feel about the party leaders using a scale from 0 to 100. 0 means you really DISLIKE the leader and 100 means you really LIKE the leader. You can use any number from 0 to 100.] Now we're going to ask you how you feel about each political party	0-100

on the same scale. The scale runs from 0 to 100, where 0 means an extremely bad rating and 100 means an extremely good rating.

Canada	2000	And now, how do you feel about the political parties. Use a scale from ZERO to ONE HUNDRED. Zero means you REALLY DISLIKE the party and one hundred means you REALLY LIKE the party.	0-100
Canada	2004	Using the scale below, please rate each party:	0-100
Canada	2006	And now, how do you feel about the political parties. Use a scale from ZERO to ONE HUNDRED. Zero means you REALLY DISLIKE the party and one hundred means you REALLY LIKE the party.	0-100
Canada	2008	Using the scale below, please rate each party:	0-100
Canada	2011 2015	And now, how do you feel about the political parties. Use a scale from ZERO to ONE HUNDRED. Zero means you REALLY DISLIKE the party and one hundred means you REALLY LIKE the party.	0-100
Canada	2019	I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.	0-10
Canada	2021	How do you feel about the federal political parties below? Set the slider to a number from 0 to 100, where 0 means you really dislike the party and 100 means you really like the party.	0-100
Denmark	1971 1973 1975 1977 1979	I have a card with a kind of thermometer called a 'sympathy thermometer', and we will ask you to give the parties' temperatures according to how much you like them. Give plus temperatures to all of the parties you like – the more you like a party, the higher the temperature. The parties you don't like get minus temperatures. If you neither like nor dislike a party, give it a 0.	0-10
	1994	Here are some questions about how much you like the parties, party leaders, and the policy which the parties have pursued. Even though you may view a party, its leader and policy as a whole, we ask you to try and answer each question. Beginning with the leaders, here is a card with a scale running from 0 to 10. The more you like the person, the higher mark you give. If you neither like nor dislike a person, you should give 5.	0-10
Denmark	1998 2001 2005 2007 2011	Now I would like to hear what you think of the political parties. After I have mentioned the party, I want you to place it on this scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you that dislike the party were much and 10 means that you like it were much. If I mention a party that you don't know or don't feel you know enough about, just say so.	0-10

2019

Germany	1961 1965 1969 1972 1976 1980 1983 1987 1990 1994 1998	DATA RETRIEVED FROM THE "EUROPEAN VOTER" DATASET: Please provide a measure of the respondent's overall sympathy/likeing for each party. We would anticipate that this would normally be the product of a thermometer' score, but in the absence of such a score please supply the most similar alternative (Thomassen, 2005)	1-11
Germany	2002 2005 2009 2013 2017 2021	What do you think, in general, about the political parties? Please tell me by using this scale. +5 means that you think a great deal of the party, -5 means that you don't think much of it at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.	-5 +5
Greece	1985 1989	Feelings about (PARTY)	1-10
Greece	1996 2004	Feelings towards some persons and social organization on a scale from 0-10. If your feel very favorable towards this person, you can give him the highest score of 10; if you feel hostile towards the person you can give him a 0. If you feel absolutely neutral towards this person, you can give him a 5.	0-10
Greece	2009 2012	I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.	0-10
Greece	2015a 2015b 2019	I would like you to tell me what you think of each of the political parties in our country. To tell me what you think, use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "you don't like this particular party at all". party" and 10 means that you "like it very much".	0-10
Italy	1985	I would like to know what do you think about certain groups, institutions, or countries. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please say how much sympathy	1-10

		you have for each for them, taking into account that 1 means no sympathy at all and 10 much sympathy	
Italy	1990 1994 1996 2001 2006	I shall now read you a list of national politicians. For each of them, tell me whether you have ever heard of them and, if so, give them a score from 1 to 10 according to your opinion on them: 1 means a totally negative judgement and 10 means a totally positive judgement	1-10
Italy	2008 2013 2018 2022	I shall now read you a list of national politicians. For each of them, tell me whether you have ever heard of them and, if so, give them a score from 0 to 10 according to your opinion on them: 0 means a totally negative judgement and 10 means a totally positive judgement	0-10
Netherlands	1971 1972 1986 1994 1998	DATA RETRIEVED FROM THE "EUROPEAN VOTER" DATASET: Please provide a measure of the respondent's overall sympathy/liking for each party. We would anticipate that this would normally be the product of a thermometer' score, but in the absence of such a score please supply the most similar alternative. (Thomassen 2005)	0-100
Netherlands	2002 2003	There are many political parties in our country. I would like to know from you again how sympathetic you find these parties. You can give each party a score between 0 and 100. The more sympathetic you find a party, the higher the score you give. A score of 50 means that you find a party neither sympathetic nor unsympathetic. If you don't know a party, please feel free to say so.	0-100
Netherlands	2006 2010 2012 2017 2021	How sympathetic do you find the following political parties? You can give each party a score between 0 and 10. 0 means that you find this party not sympathetic and 10 means that you find this party very sympathetic. If you don't know a political party, please feel free to say so. What number would you assign the following parties?	0-10
Norway	1981 1985 1989 1993	We want to know how much or little you like the different parties. On this card is a scale that we call "sympathy thermometer." At 50-degrees-line position the parties that you neither like or dislike. A party that you like to have a location from 50 to 100 degrees. The better you like the party, the higher position. However, if it is a party you do not like, it should be placed between 0 and 50 degrees, with 0 as the expression of at least sympathy.	0-100
Norway	1997 2001		0-10

2005 After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0
 2009 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that
 you strongly like that party.
 2013
 2017

Portugal	1985	I would like to know your opinion about certain groups, institutions and countries. Using a scale from 0 to 10, in which 0 means no sympathy and 10 means much sympathy, please tell me how you feel towards the following groups, institutions and countries, indicating the scale value corresponding to the degree of sympathy you feel for each of them.	0-10
Portugal	1993	I would like you to tell me about your sympathy for each political party. I have here numbers from 1 to 10 in which 10 means you feel much sympathy and 1 means you feel no sympathy at all. Which value would you use to describe the sympathy you have for:	1-10
Portugal	2002 2005 2009 2011 2015 2019 2022	I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party, 10 means that you strongly like that party and 5 that you feel indifferent toward the party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.	0-10
Spain	1979	n/a	0-10
Spain	1986 1989 1993 1996 2000 2008 2011 2015 2016 2019a 2019b	I'm going to read out a series of political leaders' names. Please tell me, for each one, whether you know of them and how you value their political performance. Grade them from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you value them "very bad" and 10 means that you value them "very good"	0-10
Sweden	1979 1982 1985	On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to use it in order to state how much you like or dislike the parties. If you like a party, use the "plus" figures. The better you like a party the higher the "plus" figure. For parties you dislike, use the "minus" figures. The more you dislike a	-5 +5

1988 party, the higher the “minus” figure. The zero point on the scale indicates
 1991 that you neither like nor dislike a party. Where would you like to place
 the...?
 1994
 1998
 2002
 2006
 2010
 2014
 2018

UK		DATA RETRIEVED FROM THE "EUROPEAN VOTER" DATASET: Please provide a measure of the respondent’s overall sympathy/likeing for each party. We would anticipate that this would normally be the product of a thermometer’ score, but in the absence of such a score please supply the most similar alternative. (Thomassen 2005)	0-10
	1974a		
	1974b		
UK	1979	Let’s say that you gave each of the parties a mark out of ten points—a mark according to how much or how little you like it. You can give each party any mark from 0 out of 10 for the least like, to 10 out of 10 for the most liked. What mark out of 10 would you give the [Insert Party Name]?	0-10
UK	1983	Please choose a phrase from this card to say how you feel about the Party?	1-4
	1987		1-5
	1992		1-5
UK	1997	I’m now going to ask a few questions about political parties. On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about the Party?	0-10
	2001		
	2005		
	2010		
	2015		
	2017		
	2019		
United States	1980	We’d also like to get your feelings about some groups in American society. When I read the name of a group, we’d like you to rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees-100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the group; ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don’t feel favorably towards the group and that you don’t care too much for that group. If you don’t feel particularly warm or cold toward a group you would rate them at 50	0-100
	1984		
	1988		
	1992		
	1996		

2000 degrees. If we come to a group you don't know much about, just tell me
and we'll move on to the next one.

2004

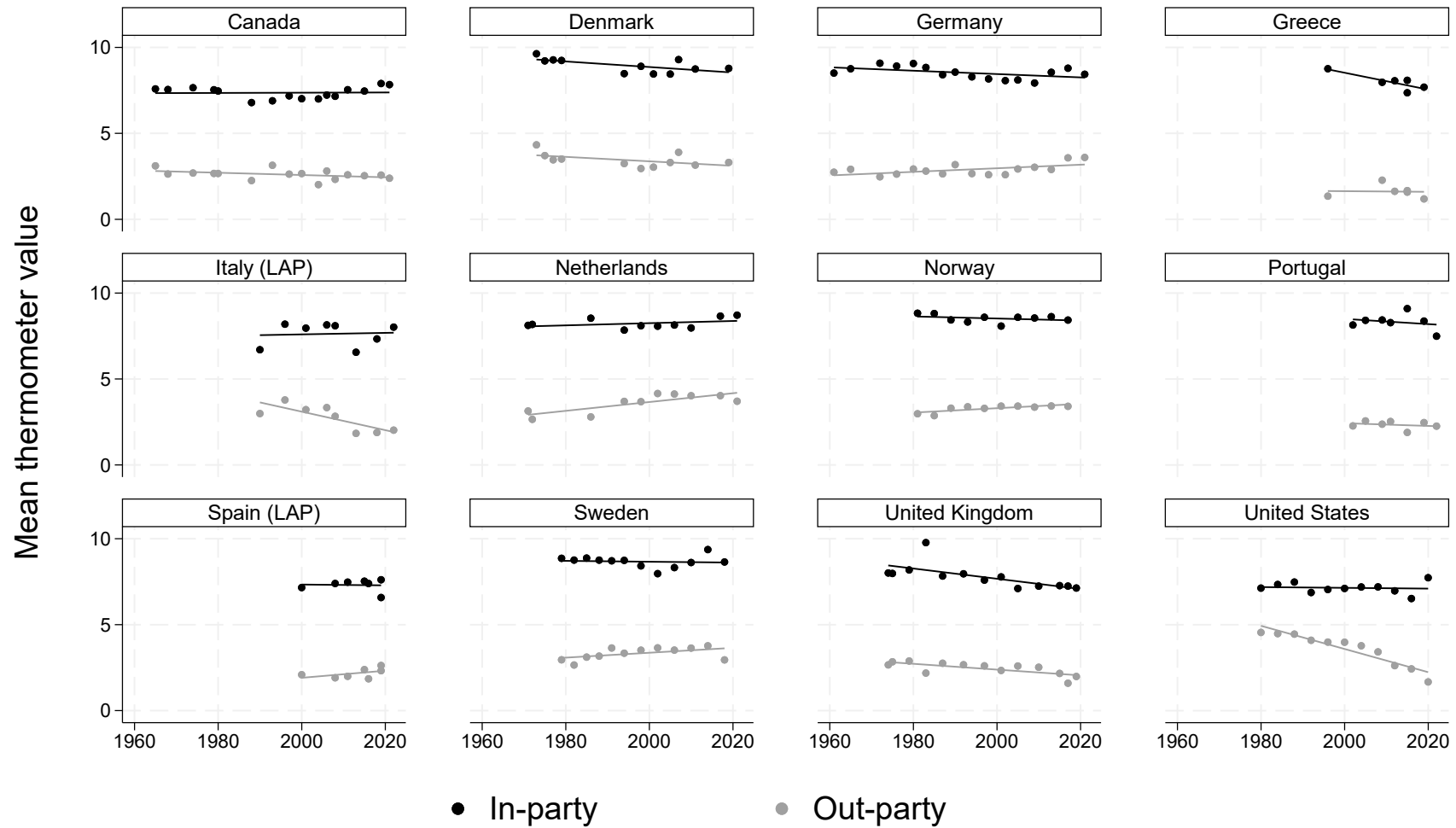
2008

2012

2016

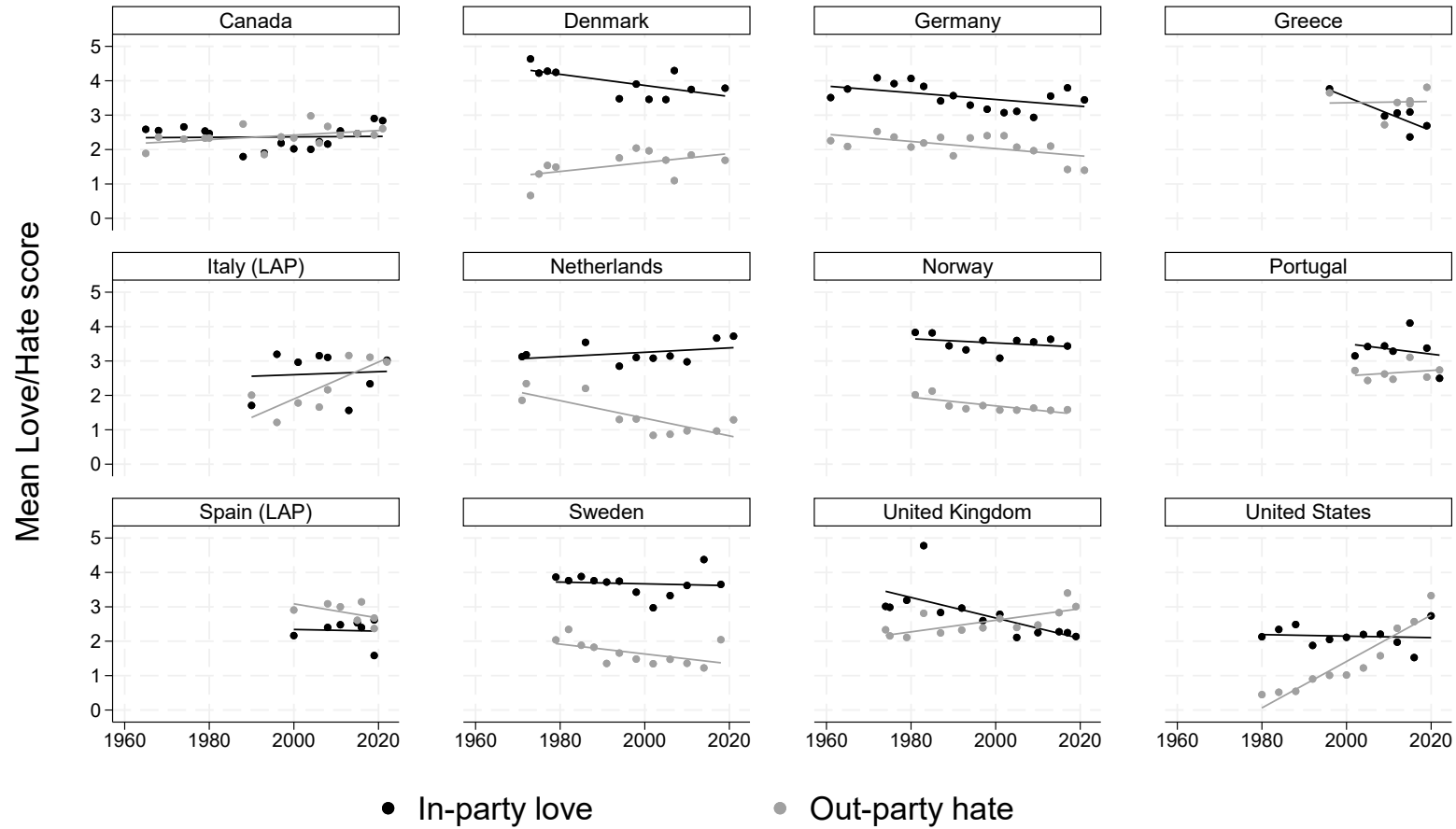
2020

Figure S1. Mean thermometer values for in-party and out-parties (in-party=PID)



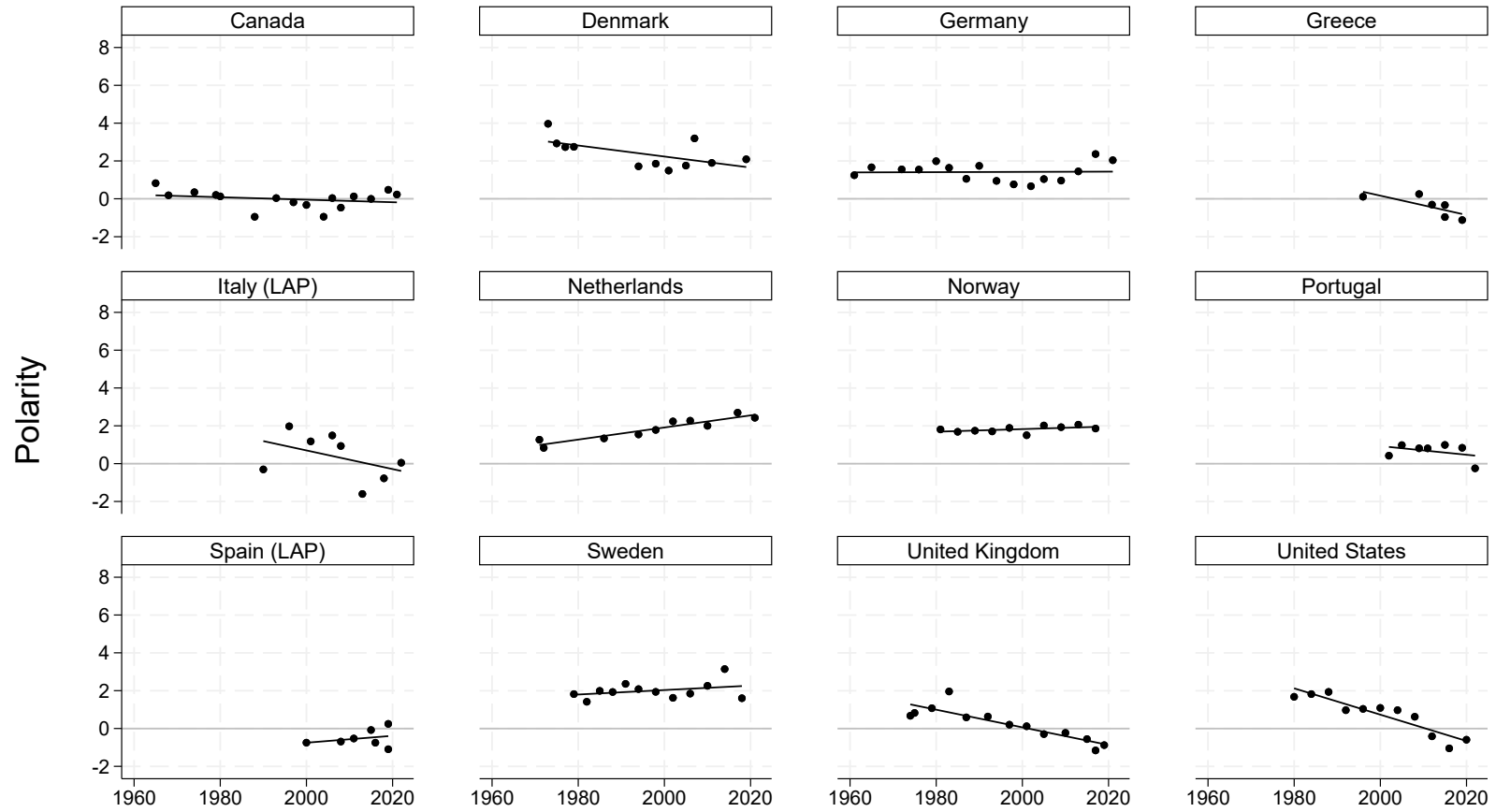
Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Figure S2. In-party love and out-party hate in twelve Western democracies (in-party=PID)



Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Figure S3. The changing polarity of affect in twelve Western democracies (in-party=PID)



Note: In Italy and Spain, scores are calculated based on leader (LAP) rather than party (PAP) thermometer evaluations.

Table S3. Detailed estimates for country trends of in-party affect, out-party affect, in-party love, out-party hate, and AP polarity

	In-party			Out-parties			Polarity		
	b	SE	p-value	b	SE	p-value	b	SE	p-value
Canada	-.003	.006	.589	-.015	.005	.017	-.017	.011	.115
Denmark	-.019	.006	.008	-.030	.004	.000	-.049	.009	.000
Germany	-.017	.005	.003	-.017	.005	.004	-.034	.009	.003
Greece	-.055	.017	.015	-.002	.016	.878	-.058	.024	.049
Italy	-.025	.021	.272	-.026	.019	.212	-.050	.039	.232
Netherlands	.005	.007	.442	.008	.008	.353	.013	.013	.342
Norway	-.008	.006	.210	.002	.004	.587	-.006	.007	.459
Portugal	-.008	.015	.621	.032	.014	.057	.024	.025	.364
Spain	-.033	.010	.010	-.021	.006	.005	-.054	.015	.004
Sweden	-.002	.005	.648	-.004	.008	.649	-.006	.009	.508
United Kingdom	-.031	.012	.025	-.028	.006	.001	-.059	.011	.000
United States	-.011	.006	.107	-.061	.007	.000	-.072	.010	.000