Warren and the Threat to the Rich

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Introduction

Politics in the Western World has become more personalized. Caprara, Schwarz, Capanna Vecchione, Barbaranelli (2006) reason that this process occurs in part on both sides of the candidate/voter relationship. The candidate is critically evaluated due to his or her personality and the individual personalities of voters in terms of traits and values has grown in importance as an influence on political choices made.

Elizabeth Warren was a democratic candidate in the 2020 presidential elections. She is a Harvard Law professor from Oklahoma and became a senator in Massachusetts from 2012 onwards. She has made a name for herself going after big banks and was elected as a senator demanding strict regulations on Wall Street. During the presidency of Barack Obama she set up a Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. In her campaign for President she concentrated on topics such as income inequality, taxing the wealthy and reigning in big tech companies (Kaplan, 2020). This has made her an ideal candidate for the use of appeals of threat towards the rich and she is able to gear her message towards a demographic that feels threatened by big business and the rich and powerful. The use of the appeal was of use to her to garner support for her campaign. On the other hand, her background story of fighting "the system" is an ideal mechanism to highlight her capabilities as an independent leader and inspire people to follow her campaign.

Today campaigns not only must convey a message but also attract attention. The use of emotions in campaigns is not uncommon. Several researchers such as Civettini and Redlawsk (2009), as described in the paper by Ridout and Searles (2009), showed that if conditions were right, fear was able to lead to a behavioural change. An example being, the likelihood of emotions used in campaign messages having an impact on recall of information when voting. Emotions can lead to relatively strong reactions, like providing conviction – in extreme cases – for who one would vote for, and thus also influencing the way we see political candidates, in particular. The way emotions are processed, though, can be quite individual as is explained later in the Extended Parallel Process Model.

For the purposes of this study, political campaign-clips for Elizabeth Warren's team were created (see Appendix B). In the one advert Elizabeth Warren is using a threat appeal. This appeal, according to Johnston, Warkentin and Siponen (2015), is a type of communication using fear that is intended to manipulate the individual's notion of threat and efficacy,

resulting in the individual feeling threatened and inciting correspondingly protective behaviour.

In this paper the theories of threat appeal, emotion in politics and the personality of the individual come together in the following research question:

> *How does Elizabeth Warren's use of threat appeal against big companies and the rich affect others' evaluations of her?*

As described in the research question, this paper aims at helping put emotion (particularly appeals of a positive or threatening nature, in the form of stimulus types) into the perspective of political campaigns. It is assumed in several theoretical models of emotion, that there are individual differences in processing. This contingency is taken into account when examining the role of predisposed personality factors such as – in the case of this paper – agreeableness. The aim of this paper is also to question the importance of the individual in the process of political campaigning and find the extent of the involvement of emotion.

Theoretical Framework

Threat appeals

Johnston, Warkentin and Siponen (2015) define fear appeals as a type of communication for manipulation of the intended recipient's intrinsic notions of threat and efficacy. The target then reacts in a protective manner. This paper cites threat and fear appeals synonymously due to the overwhelming amount of authors using the terms interchangeably. Marett, Vedadi and Durcikova (2019) add that the general theory assumes the likelihood of this behaviour occurring, to be higher when the perceived threat and the efficacy of the individual being able to handle the threat is high. Witte (1992) further describes in the Extended Parallel Process Model (EPPM) that threats can be defined either by their content or by the reaction elicited from the audience. When threat appeals are measured through reactions, then they should usually be accompanied by a manipulation check.

Johnston et al. (2015) recount the beginnings of threat appeal being in the area of health, where threats were related to the physical wellbeing, such as injury through not wearing a seat belt. They continue by mentioning that the effectiveness may depend upon how the individual perceives the threat to be personally relevant. This may lead to the threat being diminished in some people, as certain threats might not be viewed to be personally imminent.

Witte (1992) has acknowledged that the roles of threat and efficacy are not so clearly represented in fear appeals. She further recalls that fear appeals, with a simultaneously high level of threat and efficacy, produce an acceptance of the fear message. Fear appeals, conversely, evoke a high level of threat but with a low efficacy result in rejection of the message attempted to be conveyed. Threat is, according to Witte, (1992) an external stimulus variable that exists whether or not the person experiencing the threat appeal (for instance the voter) recognises it. If the opinion is held by the person that the threat exists, this is indicated by the level of perceived threat. In the EPPM the perceived level of threat determines the degree or intensity of reaction to the stimulus and the perceived efficacy. Perceived efficacy is comprised of two dimensions, namely perceived response efficacy and perceived self-efficacy. The former being an indicator of whether a response could effectively prevent the threat whilst perceived self-efficacy indicates how much the individual believes that the response recommended can be performed. Efficacy determines the type of reaction that follows: a danger control or the fear control or no response. Popova (2012) explains that the route followed depends on the overall score of the individual. The threat score is subtracted from the overall efficacy score. If the resulting integer is positive, the danger control was chosen, if the result is negative, then the fear control route was chosen.

In tight competitions, such as those occurring in political races, threat appeals are also believed to be favoured as a tactic by candidates (Ridout & Searles, 2009). Ridout and Searles (2009) mention in a more general statement that the use of emotional appeals depends on the electoral climate.

Ridout and Searles (2009) recount work examining the role of affect playing a part in political participation and ultimately decision-making. As part of cognitive appraisal theory they argue that various combinations of appraisals using social, psychological and physiological processes lead to distinct emotional reactions. Thus, they found that events that are perceived as unexpected and undesired by an individual, evoke appraisals of control. Fear appraisals lead to a risk-avoidance behaviour such as searching for information to reduce the perceived risk of candidate choice. Thus, different appeals made by a candidate may invoke various responses of individuals. Also taken into account in the Extended Parallel Process Model by Witte (1992) is that individual differences may play a role.

A different path to explaining the emotion elicited is used by the appraisal tendency framework of Lerner and Tiedens (2006). This theory's hypothesis is that emotion is the result of the evaluation of a stimulus and is based on the dimensions: control, responsibility and

certainty. Thus, if a negative situation is perceived by the individual as being of low control and low certainty then fear and anxiety is experienced, but if the situation is evaluated to be under the individual's control, then anger is the result. Lerner and Tiedens also mention a previous study involving Lerner where, relative to fearful people, those that are angry are more likely to make risk-seeking choices. They thus conclude that fear and anger result in opposite evaluations of appraisal tendencies. While anger increases the perceived control and certainty, fear decreases the perceptions of control and certainty.

Agreeableness and the Big Five Model

The Big Five Factor Model has been widely utilised as one of the major measures of personality. It was (amongst others) pioneered by Goldberg (1980) and encompasses the traits Openness Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism according to which, every person is on a sliding scale. Personality traits are, in contrast to attitudes, for instance, enduring dispositions. The Big Five Model has acknowledged this to an extent.

In HEXACO (Honesty–Humility, Emotionality Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Openness) – another model of personality – Agreeableness is also included in its measurement. According to the study by Chriumbolo and Leone (2010), Agreeableness, as opposed to Honesty-Humility reflects complementary altruistic concern. Both parts of the measurement reflect altruism, but Agreeableness is "embodying the trait level manifestation of tolerance and forgiveness, in the sense of cooperating with others even when one may be suffering exploitation by them" (Chriumbolo and Leone, 2010). This pre-existing condition of a person that is more agreeable, i.e. more forgiving than another individual, may then be affected differently when confronted with a perceived threatening message.

Caprara et al (2006) highlight the importance of the voters' personality, as a match between the personality of the voter and that attributed to the candidate, which may lead to either a creation or a strengthening of the bond between them. Thus, the perceptions of the political candidate are affected, depending on whether the voter considers the candidate's personality to be similar to their own.

Koppensteiner and Stephan (2014) found that politicians that were found to be agreeable were also assigned a higher voting probability. They reasoned that this should not be surprising as politicians should also be likeable in order to get votes, thus enhancing the voter's evaluation of the candidate's image.

Based on the research question and the theoretical explanation, two hypotheses are formulated as follows (a visual representation is in Appendix A):

H1: Compared to the positive and neutral appeals, the negative stimulus will lead to a more favourable image of Elizabeth Warren.

H2: A higher (pre-existing) Agreeableness will lead to an overall more favourable perception of the image of Elizabeth Warren.

Data and Methods

For the purpose of this study, artificial clips were created of Elizabeth Warren. One uses a threat appeal whilst the other – promoting positivity – depicts Warren talking about her life. The message of both was to encourage potential voters to support her in her bid to become the 2020 democratic candidate for the presidency in the US. The third clip used was the control stimulus. The data was collected through the means of a survey. In the first part of the survey, participants were asked general demographic questions, their party preference, political knowledge, media consumption etc. Among other specific batteries their personality was assessed after which they were exposed to a campaign clip. Subsequently, they were asked about the video, the emotions they felt and their perception of several political candidates.

Measurements

The survey data was collected though MTurk, with each participant receiving an incentive of US $ 0.70. In the survey a video was embedded, the video the participant saw was randomized either as a control, policy attack, character attack, populism, threat appeal or a positive video of Elizabeth Warren. Participants were debriefed after the experiment, clarifying that the clip they viewed was not a TV advert created by an advertising agency for voters outside of the US, but rather that the clips were created by students of the University of Amsterdam as part of the Political Marketing class.

Personality. The personality factor Agreeableness was included as the reverse coded item: “I see myself as critical, quarrelsome” as part of the block of questions asking about the personality of the individual on the seven-point Likert scale ranging from disagree strongly to agree strongly and “I see myself as sympathetic, warm”. The negative side of personality was also assessed using the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, Narcissism and Psychopathy). In the research model as depicted in Figure 1 the personality aspect of Agreeableness was included in a moderating relationship of H2.

Stimulus. The threat stimulus material was a 45-second-long video of Elizabeth Warren speaking about wanting to tax the rich, the tech giants and their founders as they would otherwise blow up the economy for everyone and leave the rest struggling. The positive stimulus material was a 49-second long video of Elizabeth Warren narrating the story of her childhood with her mother inspiring her to fight and asking the potential voter to join her in the fight as well. The choice of stimulus is the independent variable as depicted in Figure 1 in Appendix A for both the first and second hypotheses. The neutral stimulus was that of a field with some cows grazing. The video was chosen amongst a selection of others to be the most neutral, the aim being for the participant to be in no way emotionally stimulated.

Image of Elizabeth Warren. In the questionnaire the assessment of the image of Elizabeth Warren comprised seven items. The participant was asked to think of Elizabeth Warren when answering and decide to what extent the phrase describes her on a five-point scale of "not well at all" to "extremely well". The items the participant was asked to evaluate were (1) She is competent (2) She provides strong leadership (3) She is trustworthy (4) She is likeable (5) She cares about people like me (6) She is part of the establishment and (7) She represents the interests of people. A composite was taken as the dependent variable for both the first and second hypotheses.

Attention Check. An attention check was included in the analysis excluding the people that failed to answer the question of which activities the participant had participated in so far, while they were asked to only check the option 'other' and write in the additional provided textbox "delegate". Misspellings of "delegate" were also included in the analysis, as people that have read the question attentively compared to those who did not, checked the correct box and wrote nothing.

Analysis

A Regression in SPSS was used to test for an interaction effect in the second hypothesis. For the first hypothesis a simple regression analysis was employed. The stimulus material was recoded as two dummy variables, the first containing the threat 1 and control 0 with the second dummy recoded as the positive stimulus 1 and control 0. The dummies were used as independent variables. The dependent variable was a composite of seven items asking about the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren and was used both in the first and second hypotheses. In both the first and the second hypothesis the covariate variables, education, participant's year

of birth and gender were used as controls. The first hypothesis tested the direct effect of the stimulus on the evaluation and the second hypothesis included the moderator Agreeableness.

Results

Firstly, as the study is part of a larger one, the participants were selected who should receive the stimulus material of either control, positive or threat. Overall n = 111 were sorted randomly and received the positive stimulus, n = 115 were exposed to the threat stimulus and n = 113 were exposed to the control stimulus. Of these participants (over the three conditions 339) 25 participants did not pass the manipulation check and thus were not considered in the further analysis, leaving 314 participants in the sample. The analysis of the manipulation check can be found in Appendix C. The sample was relatively evenly distributed in terms of gender with 58.6% males and 41.1% females. Since only one person did not choose to indicate their gender they remained in the sample, as not enough people chose this option to further investigate as an additional group. Since the study was conducted in the US, 99% indicated their US citizenship, with only three participants indicating otherwise. 99.7% indicated that their first language was English, thus no participants were excluded on this basis. A majority of the sample specified having completed a Bachelor's degree (48.7%) or a Master's degree (19.1%) nearly another fifth (16.9%) confirmed that they had pursued some college without achieving a degree. The sample was again quite evenly distributed concerning political leaning with a slight majority leaning towards being Democrat (44.9%) as opposed to Republican (32.2%) or independent (20.4%). The mean age of the participants was 28.55 (SD = 11.169). Regarding income, almost 30% indicated annual earnings between $40'000 and $60'000.

In the personality questionnaire, Agreeableness was included in two items: the (reverse coded) item "I see myself as critical, quarrelsome" (in the total personality battery the second item) and "I see myself as sympathetic, warm" (in the personality battery it is the seventh item). These items were taken together as a mean to test the second hypothesis in the form of a moderator. Both items were asked on a scale from 1 disagree strongly to 7 agree strongly. For the first reverse coded item the overall mean of participants was 4.45 (SD = 2.03) and the second resulted in the slightly higher mean of 5.57 (SD = 1.35), leading to an overall mean of 5.01 (SD = 1.27).

In a subsequent step, before the testing of the hypothesis, the personality batteries including all items were tested for straight-liners i.e. with a small standard deviation in the entire battery

as people would not see items that are negatively phrased. The mean of the battery was 4.65 (SD = .65) while all personality items were again tested on the seven-point scale as described above. A standard deviation above zero is present, though it is very low (SD = .65).

Reliability of the Scales Used. As Agreeableness is part of the larger construct of a personality battery, the scale, along with the battery of the evaluation of Warren, is tested for internal reliability. For the personality battery the Cronbach alpha is very low with $\alpha = .301$. The correlation matrix for the item does indicate that there is a negative correlation for the second personality item (the only reverse coded item in the battery and one of the two Agreeableness items) in the corrected item-total correlation, which would indicate that the item has not been reverse coded, although this *is* the case here. Several other items show an item-total correlation that is close to zero indicating a badly fitting scale and that some items should be excluded. It was then decided – though a reliability test should be conducted with reverse coded items and not the original – to test the reliability anyway with the original second personality item. This then resulted in a high Cronbach alpha of $\alpha = .617$, leading to an acceptable reliability score. This indicates that the participants taking the test did not notice the negatively framed item to be particularly out of place since internal consistency is higher with the negatively framed item included.

Since the personality battery that was taken from the Big Five is based on previous literature and the battery in the past has been tested as sufficiently reliable, the analysis will continue with the items. When evaluating this paper researchers should interpret the validity of the personality scale here with caution, especially since the battery with the original, negatively framed item, amongst other positively framed items showed a higher internal consistency than expected.

In a next step a reliability test of Cronbach's alpha for the battery evaluation of Elizabeth Warren was conducted. The reliability test indicated a high score with $\alpha = .897$ indicating good reliability. Within the seven items there were no negative item-total correlations, though the item "She is part of the establishment" showed a lower, but not negative correlation than the other six, which had correlations all around .7 and .8. The Cronbach alphas if the items were deleted were all very high (also for "She is part of the establishment") indicating that none of the items should be omitted to potentially improve the reliability score. The measure of the evaluations of Elizabeth Warren is therefore reliable and the scale can be used in further analysis. In Appendix E a further analysis was conducted testing for distinct factors.

Analysis of First Hypothesis. In order to test the first hypothesis that the negative stimulus, compared to the control or positive stimulus, will lead to a more favourable image of Elizabeth Warren, a regression analysis was run. The regression model was run with the image of Warren as dependent variable. Independent variables were the threat dummy (threat 1 and control stimulus 0) and the positive dummy (positive stimulus 1 and control 0). The year born, gender and education were included as control variables. The model turned out to be not significant, $F (5, 308) = 2.984$, $p > .005$. The regression model as described in Table 2 in Appendix D, therefore, cannot predict the image of Elizabeth Warren. Only 5% of the variation in the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren can be predicted on the basis of the chosen stimulus material, year born, gender and education ($R2 = .046$).

Analysis of Second Hypothesis. To test the second hypothesis (that a higher score of Agreeableness leads to an overall higher evaluation of Elizabeth Warren) a regression analysis was run. The regression model was run with the image of Elizabeth Warren as the dependent variable. Independent variables are: the first dummy variable (threat 1 and control stimulus 0), the second dummy variable (positive 1 and control stimulus 0), the interaction between the first dummy variable and Agreeableness (mean). Further independent variables are, the interaction between the second dummy variable and Agreeableness and the mean Agreeableness (of the second and the seventh item in the personality battery). The year born, gender and education were included as control variables. The entire model turned out not to be significant, $F (8, 305) = 2.117$, $p > .005$. The regression model with the moderator Agreeableness is therefore not able to predict the image of Elizabeth Warren as analysed in Table 3 in Appendix D. Only 5% of the variation in the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren can be predicted on the basis of the chosen stimulus material, the both interaction dummies, Agreeableness, the year born, gender and education ($R2 = .053$).

Discussion and Conclusion

Summary of Main Results. Both hypotheses were tested with a regression analysis and were insignificant. Overall participants exposed to a threat stimulus did not evaluate the democratic candidate for presidency (Warren) higher than those receiving a positive or control stimulus. A higher level in Agreeableness also did not lead to a more positive evaluation of Warren. The intended manipulation check was successful for the different items tested (i.e. the video was positive / negative). Participants were in relatively equal groups in terms of gender and participants tended to be highly educated with a significant proportion being holders of a Bachelor's or Master's degree. There were somewhat more Democrats in the sample than

Republicans, with a substantial proportion (one fifth) identifying themselves as independent. There is the chance for straight-liners present in the personality battery as the standard deviation was low but not quite zero. The reliability of the personality scale could lead to issues since the Cronbach's alpha was very low when the negatively framed item was implemented correctly (needing to be reverse coded) though was quite high when included with the original scale orientation. The battery of the evaluation of Warren, however, was found to have a high reliability. A factor analysis, testing for distinct constructs (in Appendix E), exposed incongruities with the personality items but did identify the evaluation of Warren as one congruent factor.

Limitations of Research Conducted and Further Research. It has been questioned whether personality, though a relatively stable concept, can be represented accurately by the Big Five Model. This is limited by the fact that the main research of this paper did not focus on the narrow Big Five Model but has been even more selective in considering only one aspect, namely Agreeableness. As such, the analyses have to be interpreted with caution, since there is the possibility of multicollinearity (not being able to distinguish the effects of a single personality variable) with personality as a whole having an effect on political evaluations of Warren in this case and those of political candidates in general. It also has to be taken into account that the reliability of the scale was very low although – correctly – the negatively framed Agreeableness item was included in a reverse coded manner. The personality battery as a whole was also found in the factor analysis to be made up of several different factors rather than only the one being tested.

Another limitation is the sample, although N = 314 can be considered an adequate sample size. People that failed the attention check and straight-liners were excluded from the subsequent analysis. Participants did not have a particular incentive in taking their time to answer questions thoroughly. The sample was collected through MTurk and the reach of the participants may be questioned since people with a higher socio-economic income would not be as interested in taking part in such a study. Although there were people indicating earnings of more than 150'000 USD a year, the trustworthiness of this answer has to be taken into account when interpreting the results.

The stimulus material for both the threat appeal and the positive stimuli that were used was cut together out of various different speeches and videos of not only the activities of big tech companies, but also of Elizabeth Warren talking about certain topics. It goes to show that material can very quickly be framed one way or another for targeted purposes. Campaigns are

very aware of this and, depending on which appeal is the most effective for the candidate with certain groups, messages are framed accordingly. The tone of voice or a style of talking is used in order to elicit different emotions from the potential voter, leading to potentially different outcomes.

Other research (Ridout and Searles, 2011; Redlawsk, Civettini and Lau, 2007) found that anxiety promotes the search for information and increases attention paid to campaigns and the interest in the outcome of a political race. Anger, on the other hand, leads to an elevated sense of commitment in voters, leading them to volunteer for their preferred candidate (Ridout and Searles, 2011). It would be a suggestion for further research to additionally include the behavioural adaptations incited through emotion in the model and to further inspect whether personality does play a role in the (types of) reactions of individuals.

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Appendix A: Visual Depiction of Research Model

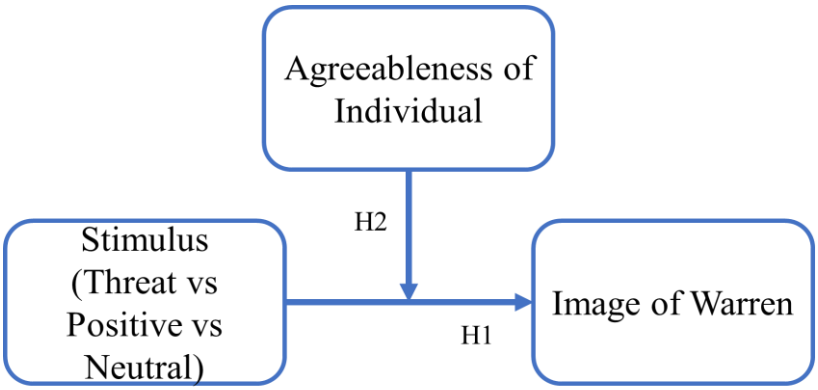

Figure 1 Visual Depiction of Research Model

Appendix B: Videos

Video links

The video of the threat stimulus can be found under this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N-ULU5bSqfQ.

The video containing the positive stimulus can be found here: https://youtu.be/e8tyCMiynaU.

Appendix C: Manipulation Check

Testing Manipulation Check on Aggregate Level. In order to check whether the manipulation check worked the way it was supposed to, a One-way ANOVA was conducted and the descriptive results can be viewed in Table 1 below.

Table 1 One-Way ANOVA of Manipulation Check

	n	M	SD
The video was negative			
Control	106	2.92	2.07
Threat	103	4.05	1.97
Positive	105	2.79	2.16
The video was positive			
Control	106	4.79	1.71
Threat	103	4.62	1.80
Positive	105	5.66	1.45

The Homogeneity of Variance tests the null hypothesis of equal variance in the population. Ideally, this test should not be significant and the null hypothesis should be rejected. For the first statement "The video was negative" it is insignificant, with Levene's $F(2, 311) = 1.10$, $p = .335$. For the second statement "The video was positive" the assumption of equal variance has been violated, with Levene's $F(2, 311) = 6.34$, $p = .002$. For both items the One-way analysis of variance null hypothesis can be rejected as indicated by the F-test, namely that the groups have equal means in the population, thus within group differences are smaller than between the groups. The video was negative, $F(2, 311) = 11.57$, $p < .001$ and the video was positive $F(2, 311) = 11.72$, $p < .001$ were both significant. The Bonferroni post hoc test indicates that for the item "The video was negative" there is a significant difference between the control and the threat ($M_{difference} = -1.12$, $p < .001$), there is also a significant difference between people that received a threat stimulus and those that received a positive stimulus ($M_{difference} = -1.26$, $p < .001$). There was however no significant difference between control and the positive stimulus. For the second items of "The video was positive", there was a significant difference between the control and the positive stimulus ($M_{difference} = -.87$, $p < .001$) and between the threat and the positive stimulus ($M_{difference} = -1.04$, $p < .001$). However, no significant difference could be found between the control and the threat stimulus.

Appendix D: Regression Models

Table 2 Regression Model of the First Hypothesis Predicting the Evaluation of Warren

Regression Model First Hypothesis					
				95% Confidence Interval for B*	
	B*	t	Sig.	Lower	Upper
Constant		13.49	.00	3.27	4.29
Threat Dummy	-.07	-1.10	.27	-.44	.12
Positive Dummy	.11	1.68	.10	-.04	.51
Gender	-.09	1.70	.10	-.42	.03
Year Born	-.11	-1.94	.05	-.02	.00
Education	.00	.01	1.0	-.03	.03

For each point higher on the education scale, with education measured on the 16-point scale from less than first grade to a doctorate degree the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren remains unaltered on the five-point scale. Per year of age the predicted, evaluation of Elizabeth Warren decreases by .01. Males evaluate on average Elizabeth Warren .20 points higher than females. People exposed to a positive stimulus evaluated Elizabeth Warren .24 points higher than participants that received a control stimulus and people receiving a threat stimulus evaluated Warren .16 points lower than those exposed to the control stimulus. For all these effects, other independent variables are assumed to be held constant.

Table 3 Regression Model for the Second Hypothesis Predicting the Evaluation of Warren

Regression Model Second Hypothesis					
				95% Confidence Interval for B*	
	B*	t	Sig.	Lower	Upper
Constant		8.40	.00	2.86	4.61
Threat Dummy	.19	.77	.44	-.66	1.51
Positive Dummy	.16	.60	.55	-.81	1.51
1st Interaction Dummy and Agreeableness	-.28	-1.1	.27	-.34	.10
2nd Interaction Dummy and Agreeableness	-.06	-.20	.84	-.24	.20
Mean of Agreeableness	.002	.02	.98	-.14	.15
Gender	-.09	-1.50	.14	-.41	.06
Year Born	-.10	-1.65	.10	-.02	.00
Education	.01	.12	.91	-.02	.03

For each point higher on the education scale, with education measured on the 16-point scale from less than first grade to a doctorate degree the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren increases by .002 on the five-point scale to evaluate Warren. Per year of age the predicted evaluation of Elizabeth Warren decreases by .009. Males evaluate on average Elizabeth Warren .18 points higher than females. People with a positive stimulus evaluate Elizabeth Warren .02 points lower than participants that received a control stimulus. Participants with a threat stimulus evaluated Warren .12 points lower than those receiving a control stimulus. For each point higher on the mean of the Agreeableness seven-point scale the evaluation of Warren drops by .002 points. The interaction between Agreeableness and people receiving a threat stimulus led to the evaluation of Warren on average to be .075 points lower than those participants receiving a control stimulus. The interaction between Agreeableness and people receiving a positive stimulus led to a.029 points lower evaluation than people in the control stimulus group. Again, for all these effects, other independent variables are assumed to be held constant.

Appendix E: Validity Check of Batteries

In order to test whether the items for personality and the items for the evaluation of the political candidate Elizabeth Warren measure two distinct latent constructs, a factor analysis was run. The method used in SPSS was "principal axis factoring" and the rotation method used was an oblique method using direct Oblimin as it is assumed that there is some relationship between the two factors. Small coefficients below a value of .30 were suppressed. What can be noted here again in the correlation matrix, is that the item "She is part of the establishment", as viewed in the reliability analysis of the battery evaluation of Elizabeth Warren, has again a lower correlation in the rest of the cluster of the evaluation factor. The same is the case for the reverse coded item of Agreeableness in the personality battery. Otherwise the items about the evaluation of Elizabeth Warren do correlate moderately. The same evaluation items correlate weakly with the personality items, thus leading to the interpretation that they do measure the same construct. The Kaiser - Meyer - Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy should be higher than .5 to indicate an adequate sample size. In the case of this analysis it is .835 indicating that an adequate sample size for factor analysis is present. The Bartlett's test of Sphericity should be significant as is the case in the analysis conducted. Bartlett's test, checks for the null hypothesis that the correlation matrix discussed above is similar to an Identity Matrix (with a diagonal correlation of one and the rest being zero) and there are thus no correlations between items. In the analysis there were correlations present as indicated also in the Bartlett test, so the factor analysis can be continued. In the total Variance Explained box, four factors were able to be extracted with an Eigenvalue above one. Together they explain 66.3% of the variance. Though the first factor explains 30% of the total variance and the second, third and fourth factors explain 16.7%, 11.2% and 7.9% respectively. The factor correlation matrix does indicate that there is a weak correlation between the four factors extracted. The pattern matrix indicates that there are four factors that can be extracted. The first factor correctly identifies the one construct of all the items measuring the evaluation of Warren (except for the item "She is part of the establishment", which was suppressed due to a low coefficient). The construct that is supposed to measure the personality battery on the other hand has been split into several factors. This indicates that personality as a construct can be split into multiple factors measuring the different items rather than one factor measuring all.