WHAT ARE THE EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES IN DEFUSING CONTEMPT FELT

ABOUT POLITICAL FIGURES?

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

What are Effective Strategies in Defusing Contempt felt about Political Figures?

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This study examined the relative effectiveness of three different strategies in defusing contempt felt about political figures: rebut the attack which brought on the contempt (serving as the control), rebut the attack and counterattack, and rebut the attack and convey a message of hope. Contempt felt about the political figure was measured on a 20-item self-report contempt scale. In addition, a number of other dependent, mediating, and moderating variables were included in the survey to assess their relationship to the strategies to defuse contempt. Participants were instructed to read a (fictional) news story, which first raised feelings of contempt about a fictional political figure, Congressman Blankenship, and then discussed Blankenship's response to the issue that raised contempt, which contained one of the strategies to reduce contempt depending on condition. Participants then completed the contempt scale, which asked about their feelings and emotions towards Blankenship. Overall, the "rebut and counterattack" condition was found to be the only strategy that was significantly more effective in defusing contempt than the control condition. In addition, the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt fully mediated the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and amount of contempt felt about the target. Finally, neuroticism was a significant moderating variable in the study. These results begin to

shed light on ways to diminish the impact of negative campaigning used against political

figures.

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What are Effective Strategies in Defusing Contempt felt about Political Figures?

In today's environment, with American politics becoming increasingly hyperpartisan and vitriolic, negative emotions felt about political figures are commonplace (Sood, Iyengar, & Dropp, 2012). With the approval rating of the 2013 Congress being the lowest ever recorded, there is clearly no love lost between Americans and their elected officials (Newport, 2013). Therefore, conjuring up the thought of different political figures can elicit a number of different negative emotions, as measured by fear and anger items in The American National Election Studies (2012).

The Importance of Contempt

Contempt felt about political figures is a particularly important subject, as it has been found to predict feeling thermometer ratings of political figures and is also correlated with voting intention (Roseman, Katz, Redlawsk, & Mattes, 2015). In addition, contempt has been shown to be quite destructive. Research from Fischer and Roseman (2007) has shown that, unlike relationships involving anger, contempt in relationships decreases reconciliation and can lead to termination of relationships. Since contempt involves viewing the transgressor as having bad character (and therefore difficult or impossible to change), then the most feasible option for those who feel contempt may be to exclude the person they feel contempt for from all aspects of their life. Therefore, research is needed to understand ways of countering or lessening feelings of contempt when it is not warranted.

An understudied emotion. Despite these findings, contempt felt towards political figures remains an understudied topic (Roseman, Katz, Redlawsk, & Mattes, 2015). Though there has been a significant amount of research done on the facial

expressions related to contempt, there have only been a small number of studies done on the characteristics of contempt and the reasons why contempt is felt. In addition, though there has been much research done on possible ways to diminish stigma, there have been no studies that have examined strategies to diminish feelings of contempt. Thus, there is a gap in our general understanding of contempt that our study is designed to address. Additionally, while there have been studies that have examined the evaluation of a political figure after an attack on their policy (e.g., Lau & Redlawsk, 2014), few have been performed that have looked at the evaluation of political figures who were attacked on their character. Our study will involve one political figure negatively appraising another political figure's character in order to prompt feelings of contempt. Considering that Fischer and Roseman (2007) determined that judging a person as being dispositionally poor in character is a determinant of contempt, our study examines a gap in the current literature and is important to the further understanding of contempt.

How Might Contempt be Defused?

Understanding the causes and characteristics of contempt may suggest possible ways to defuse it.

Causes of contempt. There have been a number of studies exploring the causes of contempt. Proposed by Rozin, Lowery, Imada, and Haidt (1999), the CAD triad hypothesis argues that contempt, anger, and disgust function as the emotional foundation for morality. They argue that contempt, anger, and disgust all involve a negative appraisal of other people, but differ by the way the person violates different moral codes. Contempt is felt in response to violations related to community, including hierarchy. Rozin et al. (1999) described to their research participants the violations of community

and hierarchy as related to "…duty, role-obligation, respect for authority, loyalty, group honor, interdependence, and the preservation of the community" (p. 576). An example given in the study of an event that would elicit contempt according to the CAD triad hypothesis is hearing about a person who didn't attend the funeral of their mother. To test the CAD triad hypothesis, undergraduate students from universities in the United States and Japan were shown a list of 46 situations that involved an infraction of one of the moral codes involved in the CAD triad hypothesis. Some of the participants were given photographs of six faces corresponding to the three moral emotions and asked to assign the facial expression they believed would be the most appropriate for an onlooker to make in the situation. The remaining participants were asked to assign the most appropriate emotion word (contempt, anger, or disgust) that they believed would be most appropriately felt by the person in the situation. An additional study was conducted by reading the situations to participants and requesting that they produce a facial expression appropriate to the situation. Each of these studies generally supported the CAD triad hypothesis and found that contempt was commonly elicited in response to violations of the ethics of community.

Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) proposed and tested an alternate hypothesis to the CAD triad hypothesis, related to stereotyping and that may explain the evocation of contempt. The Stereotype Content Model posits that there are two dimensions, competence and warmth, at play in the stereotyping of groups. The theory proposes that there are four possible combinations of high or low competence and high or low warmth. Whether a group is judged as being high or low in warmth is related to the group's intentions, while the judgment of competence is related to their ability to pursue their

intentions. Therefore, those who aren't in competition with the in-group are generally considered warm, while those high in status are considered competent. Groups that are both high in warmth and high in competence are admired. Those that are high in warmth but low in competence are pitied while those low in warmth and high in competence are envied. Out-group members who are considered low in warmth and low in competence evoke feelings of contempt among people within the in-group. Individuals in low-low groups are seen as depleting political and monetary resources from society, and are therefore in competition with the in-group. These groups (such as the poor or those on welfare) are viewed as unfriendly and their intentions are viewed as exploitative. Because these groups are not competent or warm, they can also evoke other negative emotions, such as resentment.

Characteristics of contempt. There have also been a handful of studies examining the common characteristics of contempt. Fischer and Roseman (2007) developed our understanding of contempt by reporting on three studies examining the differences in the characteristics and social functions of anger and contempt. The authors found anger to involve short-term attacks that are designed to coerce the other person into changing their behavior, but once the behavior is changed, the relationship can improve and reconciliation can be achieved. The authors find that there is also a general pattern to contempt, involving short-term disparagement and long-term social exclusion. They found that contempt differs from anger in that there is no reconciliation or improved relationship in contempt. Additional characteristics of contempt include blaming the transgressor more often than when angry, viewing the transgressor as having inherently (rather than situationally) bad character, and feeling little control in the situation. The

development of anger and contempt was discussed, positing that issues may often begin with angry reactions, but move to contempt if there have been previous anger incidents with the same person and no behavioral changes have been made. Contempt was more likely to arise in non-intimate relationships and it was proposed that the move from anger to contempt may be hindered by closeness to the transgressor. Overall, contempt is a long-lasting emotion that often develops when a person feels that another's behavior cannot be changed because of the other's inherently poor character. Because of these judgments, the best way to minimize the negative impact of the transgressor is to exclude him or her from all aspects of one's life, which generally includes corrosion of the relationship.

Fischer and Roseman (2007) explained the progression and social functions of contempt, but it is also important to understand how individuals differentiate themselves from those about whom they feel contempt. Fischer and Roseman also suggest that contempt is likely more readily felt about members of an outgroup. Research by Leyens, Rodriguez-Perez, Rodriguez-Torres, Gaunt, Paladino, Vaes, and Demoulin (2001) aimed to explain how those in an ingroup differentiate themselves from those in an out-group. Leyens et al. write that there are two different types of emotions. Primary emotions, such as surprise, are emotions that are genetically based and found in other animals besides humans. Secondary emotions, by contrast, are uniquely human emotions, such as disillusionment and admiration. In a series of studies, the authors found that individuals assigned secondary emotions to ingroup members more often than those in the outgroup. Therefore, those in the ingroup see people in the outgroup as less human, a phenomenon known as infrahumanization. Fischer and Roseman (2007) suggest that contempt, like

infrahumanization, is more likely to be a response to a member of the outgroup than the ingroup.

Hutcherson and Gross (2011) studied the characteristics of anger, contempt, and disgust from a social-functionalist perspective and theorized that the emotions would be distinguishable in past events and in consequent events. One of their aims was to identify differences between contempt and disgust, which are often used interchangeably by laypeople. Their study, which involved a survey-based methodology, found that for antecedent appraisals, contempt was directly related to judging a person as incompetent while moral disgust was elicited in response to community-related violations. This finding is in direct opposition to the findings of Rozin et al. (1999) and the CAD triad hypothesis, which related contempt to community and hierarchy violations. In addition, Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that contempt was not involved in judgments related to immorality, which contradicts Rozin et al. (1999), who argued that contempt, anger, and disgust all function as the emotional foundation for morality.

In addition to studying antecedent appraisals of anger, contempt, and disgust, the authors also looked into the consequences of eliciting these emotions. Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that judgments in both competence and status are consequences of evoking contempt, which were also part of the findings of Fiske et al. (2002) and the Stereotype Content Model. Overall, Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that contempt is uniquely involved in the judgment of a person as incompetent and unintelligent as well as having poor intentions and character. They do note that incompetence alone may not be enough to elicit contempt, but may additionally need to involve perceiving the transgressor as unsympathetic or having questionable morals (Fiske et al., 2002, as cited

in Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).

Agneta Fischer (2011) explored the characteristics and causes of contempt in addition to offering suggestions on how to defuse contempt. Fischer characterizes contempt as an emotion that involves a person comparing another to themselves and judging the other as inferior. Contempt is also characterized by a detached emotional state and is expressed by socially excluding the person being judged. She writes that contempt is typically brought on by a specific event in which a person views another's behavior as a transgression, usually concerning the judge's self-worth or moral values. The supposed transgressions are considered too terrible to simply be criticized, so the person who feels contempt needs to exclude the transgressor so as not to deal with their unacceptable actions. It is noted that the difference between contempt and merely having a negative attitude is that those who feel contempt often feel the need to show the supposed transgressor that they loathe them by taking action, such as excluding the transgressor.

It is mentioned that groups can be the subject of contempt, especially groups that are already thought of as inferior in some circles (Izard, 1971, as cited in Fischer, 2011). The causes of group contempt involve the judging of the group as immoral, inept, or inferior. Fischer argues that in judging groups, hatred and contempt frequently go together. She also notes that hatred has been found to be a key aspect involved in political intolerance (Halperin, Cannetti Nisim, & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2009, as cited in Fischer, 2011). Though the author writes "once contempt evolves, it is probably too late to change one's relationship with the other person" (Fischer, 2011, p. 82), she also offers possible ways of lowering contempt, including feeling empathy for the transgressor and

becoming conscious of one's feelings of contempt.

Research Question and Hypotheses

The research question of our study was "What are effective strategies in defusing contempt felt about a political figure?" In order to investigate this question, our independent variable was strategies to defuse contempt. The theoretical range of variation of our independent variable was categorical. We had three conditions to our independent variable. The theoretical definition of the first condition of our independent variable was to rebut the attack, which would undermine the appraisal determinants of contempt. The rebuttal would attempt to refute that the target of the contempt committed a violation, is immoral, and is inherently poor in character. This "rebut the attack only" condition served as the control condition in our study. Our second condition of the independent variable, known as the "rebut and counterattack" condition, was a two-sided message that would both rebut the attack and counterattack. And the third condition of the independent variable, the "rebut and convey hope" condition, was a two-sided message that would rebut the attack and convey a message of hope. The justification behind the theoretical definitions of the three conditions of the independent variable was that all three are common rhetorical devices used in arguments. Rebutting an attack is a heavily relied upon strategy in political communication (Pfau & Burgoon, 1989) that has been found to be effective in persuasion during a dispute (Allen, 1991). In addition, counterattacking has been referred to as a "cardinal rule of attack politics" (Damore, 2005). And hope is a particularly powerful political emotion, which has been found to predict favorability to candidates (Roseman et al., 2012).

The purpose of our study was to investigate which device or which combinations

of devices are most effective in defusing contempt felt about political figure. The dependent variable in our study was the amount of contempt felt about a political figure. The theoretical range of variation for the dependent variable was continuous, as we measured level of contempt using a modified and expanded version of Stephen Reysen's Collective Contempt Scale (Reysen, Puryear, Katzarska-Miller, Kamble, & Vithoji, 2014). The theoretical definition of the dependent variable was feelings of contempt ranging in intensity anywhere from low to high.

To guide us in making a plausible hypothesis, it was important to understand the general persuasiveness of two-sided and one-sided messages. A meta-analysis conducted by Allen (1991) studied the persuasiveness of one-sided compared to two-sided messages. In his analysis, Allen found that there were two kinds of two-sided messages. To bring up a counterargument to your argument and then rebut that counterargument is referred to as a refutational two-sided message. A nonrefutational two-sided message involves merely stating the counterargument to your argument, but does not rebut it. The results of the meta-analysis found that one-sided messages were more persuasive than nonrefutational two-sided messages, while refutational two-sided messages were more persuasive than one-sided messages. Though the findings of this meta-analysis are important to our study, there have been no studies analyzing the persuasiveness of one-sided and two-sided messages in defusing contempt.

Considering the meta-analysis performed by Allen (1991), we hypothesized that the average scores on the contempt scale of those who are in both the refutational two-sided message that counterattacks condition and the refutational two-sided message that conveys hope condition would be lower than the score of those in the refutational two-

sided message conditions that only rebutted the attack. None of the studies Allen reviewed dealt with defusing feelings of contempt, but only persuasiveness of the messages.

Two additional dependent variables that were tested were evaluations of the target and attacker. We were interested in seeing whether any of the strategies to defuse contempt could cause a more favorable evaluation of the target of contempt or of the attacker who brought on contempt. Though no hypothesis was proposed, we believed it may have been possible that one of the strategies to defuse contempt, perhaps the "rebut and convey hope" condition would in turn cause a more favorable evaluation of the target and a less favorable evaluation of the attacker.

A final dependent variable that was tested via exploratory analysis was intention to vote for the target of contempt. We were interested in finding out whether the strategies to defuse contempt could affect intention to vote for the target of contempt. Given our hypothesis that the "rebut and counterattack" and the "rebut and convey hope" conditions would be the most effective in defusing contempt, we also believed that participants in both of those conditions would intend to vote for the target more than those in the "rebut the attack only" condition.

A possible mediating variable in our study was the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt. Our hypothesis concerning this mediating variable was that conveying a message of hope (one of the conditions of the independent variable) would lower the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt and, in turn, lower the contempt felt about the target. Our justification behind this hypothesis was that considering that feelings of hope have predicted favorability of a candidate (Roseman et

al., 2012) and was found to be a stronger predictor in voting preference than fear, a negative emotion (Finn and Glaser, 2010), the rebuttal and hope condition may also lower the target of contempt's perceived undesirable qualities. Our reasoning continued that since it has been found that the judgment of someone as being poor in character is a characteristic of contempt (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), lowering the perceived undesirable qualities of the target may lower feelings of contempt.

We also decided to perform exploratory analyses on another possible mediating variable: participants' willingness to overlook the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt. In addition to lowering the perceived undesirable qualities of the target, we believed that conveying a message of hope could also increase people's willingness to overlook the perceived undesirable qualities of the target. Our rationale for this belief was that considering that feelings of hope have predicted favorability (Roseman et al., 2012) and voting preference (Finn and Glaser, 2010) in the 2008 presidential election, the rebuttal and hope condition could also increase one's willingness to overlook a candidate's perceived undesirable qualities.

We also conducted exploratory analyses on a number of possible moderating variables. One possible moderating variable in our study was social dominance orientation. We expected to find that those high in social dominance orientation would feel more contempt towards the target of contempt and be less affected by the strategies to defuse contempt. Our reasoning for this expectation was that those who were high in social dominance orientation would not respond to any of the strategies to defuse contempt because they have been characterized as unfeeling and cynical by Duckitt (2001). We felt these individuals would be cynical towards the target's rebuttal and

counterattack and would be unfeeling towards the target's hopeful message. Therefore, they would feel more contempt towards the target than those who are low in social dominance orientation.

Another possible moderating variable we analyzed was political ideology. We believed it was possible that those who are ideologically liberal would respond more to the rebut and convey hope condition, which would lower feelings of contempt felt about him. Our rationale for this possibility was that in recent history, hope has been used often by relatively liberal Democratic presidential candidates, such as John Kerry and Barack Obama (Martin, 2013). Liberals may be more responsive to hope in a political figure due to their belief that government can solve problems and cause positive change. Conservatives generally believe in limited government, which may cause them to be cynical about appeals for hope and change.

Similarly, another possible moderating variable we analyzed was political party identification. As opposed to political ideology, which ranged from very liberal to very conservative, we were interested in seeing whether identification as a member of one of the major American political parties was a moderating variable in our study. We believed it was possible that those who identified as Democrats, which is the more liberal political party of the United States, would respond more to the rebut and convey hope condition, which would lower feelings of contempt felt about the political figure. Again, our rationale for this possibility was that hope has been used often by relatively recent Democratic presidential candidates John Kerry and Barack Obama (Martin, 2013).

The final potential moderating variable in our study was agreeableness. We were also interested to see whether agreeableness, perhaps in relation to willingness to

overlook a person's flaws, would be a moderating variable in our study. We expected that those high in agreeableness would be more likely to be affected by all of the strategies to defuse contempt, which would in turn cause them to feel less contempt toward the target of contempt. Though those high in agreeableness would be more likely to be affected by all of the strategies, we believed that they would be most affected by the rebut and convey hope condition. Our justification behind this belief was that, considering that agreeableness has been defined as being "good-natured, cooperative, and trustful" (John & Srivastava, 1999, p.105), perhaps a hopeful or positive message would resonate more with those who are good-natured.

Possible Benefits of Further Exploration

Understanding possible ways of defusing contempt felt about political figures is an important topic that could have wide-reaching practical implications. In findings ways to defuse feelings of contempt felt about political figures, it is possible that political figures could use our strategies in order to lessen unwarranted feelings of contempt felt by voters, such as those that are brought on by smear campaigns. In addition, our strategies in defusing contempt could possibly lower the toxic levels of partisanship, which has been found to increase gridlock in Washington (Edwards, Barnett, & Peake, 1997). In lowering their contempt felt about a political figure, citizens could possibly begin to see the target of contempt as more human and work to forge understanding with him or her.

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Method

</div>

The design of the study is summarized in Figure 1, in which different strategies to defuse contempt (moderated by participants' individual difference variables) affect

perceptions of the political figure, which in turn influence emotions toward and evaluations of the political figure. The following paragraphs discuss in turn, the way in which the independent, mediator, moderator, and dependent variables were manipulated and measured. The complete texts of the manipulations and measures is located in the Appendix.

Design

Our study was a true experiment that implemented a between-subjects design. A between-subjects design was the most appropriate design for our study in a number of ways. First, our study had multiple conditions to our independent variable. Therefore, it was important to have a number of separate groups that were only exposed to a single condition of the independent variable. If we were to have used a within-subjects design, every participant would have been exposed to every condition of the independent variable and we would have had difficulty seeing the true effect of the specific condition of the independent variable due to carryover effects. Also, using a within-subjects design would have likely involved sensitization effects, in which awareness of the varying conditions in the experiment can lead to hypothesis guessing and artificial responses (Whitley & Kite, 2013).

Participants

We initially planned to recruit 160 participants, a number derived from a power calculator, for our study (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Since there were no previous studies using our manipulation and measure, and therefore no average means and standard deviations of the scale (statistics used to find sample size), we planned to obtain such data during our pilot testing.

Figure 1 - Flowchart of the Design of the Study

DV

Contempt Felt about the Political
Figure: low…high
Expanded Contempt Scale
1. Collective Contempt Scale (adopted & modified from Reysen, Puryear, Katzarska-Miller, Kamble, & Vithoji, 2014).
2. Items created using characteristics of contempt (Reysen & Branscombe, 2007; Fischer, 2011; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).
3. Single-Item Contempt Measurement (Redlawsk, Roseman, Mattes, & Katz, 2015)

Candidate Evaluations:
Evaluation of Attacker and Target
very cold or unfavorable feeling….very warm or favorable feeling
Feeling thermometer ratings (ANES, 2012)
e.g. How would you rate Congressman Nolan Knox? (from 0% - 100%)
Intention to Vote for the Target
I would vote for Blankenship / I would not vote for Blankenship / I wouldn't vote
"If you were eligible to vote in this election, do you think you would vote for Congressman Blankenship, against Congressman Blankenship, or would you not vote?"

Mediating Variables

Perceived Undesirable Qualities of the Candidate: low…high
e.g. "How would you rate the personal qualities of Congressman Blankenship?"
Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities:
low…high
e.g. "How important are Congressman Blankenship's personal qualities in deciding whether or not to vote for or against him?"

Moderating Variables

Ideology: liberal…conservative
e.g. "…Here is a scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?"
Political Party Identification: Democrat / Republican / Independent / Other
"Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or what?"
Social Dominance Orientation: low…high
Short SDO Scale (Pratto et al, 2013) – 4 items
e.g. "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups."
Agreeableness: low…high
BFI-10 (Rammstedt and John, 2007) – 2 items measuring agreeableness
e.g. "I see myself as someone who is generally trusting."

IV

Strategies to Reduce Contempt: Rebut the Attack / Rebut and Counterattack / Rebut and Convey Hope
1. Rebut the attack: Transgressor's rebuttal to the accuser's assertions.
2. Rebut and Counterattack: Rebut the accuser's assertions and accuse them of intentionally misinforming the public.
3. Rebut and Convey Hope: Rebut the accuser's assertions, encourage people not to become cynical, and discuss desire to work with all members of Congress to get things done.

In the meantime, we inputted a medium effect size (0.25) into the power

calculator to get a rough estimate of sample size (160 participants). After pilot testing,

which involved 48 participants, we were able to calculate an effect size based on data

(0.297). This effect size allowed us to calculate a more accurate power analysis to find

that the number of participants we needed to recruit was 114. Overall, we ended up

recruiting a total of 118 participants.

We recruited our participants by two different means. Undergraduate students

from a small, urban, public university were recruited to compose 50% of our participants

(n = 59). These undergraduate participants we recruited either through college course, as

a way of learning about research methods or through an undergraduate psychology

subject pool. Gender was considered as a possible moderating variable that we were

interested in testing in our study and we anticipated that the undergraduate participants

sample would contain more women than men, as research has shown that women make

up a significant majority of undergraduates majoring in psychology (Pion et al., 1996).

Despite women being a significant majority of undergraduate psychology majors, the use

of Amazon Mechanical Turk was utilized to bring in a sufficient number of both genders

in the sample (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). There are a few other variables that

could have potentially caused challenge to our study's ecological validity. One concern

was that the majority students at a University would be politically liberal. Considering

that political ideology was a possible moderating variable in our study, we needed to

include a sufficient number of participants distributed across the political spectrum. In

addition, the majority of undergraduates would likely be approximately 18 to 22 years

old. It was important that our participants have a wider distribution of age and political

affiliation to increase generalizability.

Due to these concerns, the remaining 50% of our participants were recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk (n = 59), an online marketplace that brings a workforce to those who need work done, including data collection (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). It has been found that participants from Mechanical Turk are more diverse than the college student population and have been found to be at least as reliable (Buhrmester et al., 2011). Participants from Mechanical Turk have been found to bring a better distribution of age, gender, and political affiliation than we have in our undergraduate sample (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). In addition, we only accepted participants using Mechanical Turk who have a very high reputation, a 99% or greater approval rating (Peer, Vosgerau, & Acquisti, 2014). In other words, we only recruited Mechanical Turk participants whose past work was approved by researchers 99% percent of the time or higher (Peer et al., 2014). Mechanical Turk participants who have a high reputation have been found to provide a higher quality data than regular Mechanical Turk workers (Peer et al., 2014). Despite these advantages, Mechanical Turk users only comprised 50% of our participants. We did not use a greater percentage of Mechanical Turk participants due to cost considerations. In addition, running some participants face-to-face gave us more control over the data collection environment. All subjects of the study participated between November 2015 - March 2016. It is important to note that all participation began after the 2015 elections.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three strategies to defuse contempt: the "rebut the attack only" condition (n = 42), "rebut and counterattack" condition (n = 38), or the "rebut and convey hope" condition (n = 38). Participants were

excluded from our analyses if the time spent on the webpage of the newspaper article

containing the strategy to defuse contempt was below 71 seconds (n = 4). All timing data

were collected via Qualtrics. The 71 second length of time was determined by a study by

Rayner, Schotter, Masson, Potter, and Treiman (2016), which noted that college-aged

adults usually read an average of 200 to 400 words per minute. Considering each of the

newspaper articles is 473 words long, we determined that reading the article in less than

71 seconds would hinder comprehension and accuracy.

Table 1

Number of Participants by Demographics

Gender						
Male				Female		
59				59		

Race						
American Indian or Alaska Native	Asian	Black or African American	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	White	Other	Chose Not to Answer
1	13	20	1	79	2	2

Political Party Identification				
Strong Democrat	Weak Democrat	Unaffiliated	Weak Republican	Strong Republican
24	40	40	4	10

Political Ideology			
Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Don't Know
60	36	18	4

Notes: The Political Ideology and Political Party Identification variables are condensed above for presentation purposes. Both variables were neither collected nor analyzed as condensed variables.
All demographics questions were single-choice items on the questionnaire except for the Race item, in which participants could choose more than one answer choice to best describe themselves.

Table 1 above displays the demographic characteristics of the participants of our

study. Generally speaking, the majority of participants of the study were liberal and

relatively young (Mean age = 29.1, Age range = 18.29 - 61.21).

Independent Variable

The independent variable of this study was strategy to defuse contempt felt about

political figures. In order to test the effectiveness of the strategies to defuse contempt, we

needed for the participants to have a level of contempt to lower. A well-known political figure, such as Barack Obama, would likely have evoked some degree of contempt in many participants. However, we were concerned that participants' biases to a well-known political figure would be an extraneous variable in truly testing the strategies to reduce contempt. We thought that the opinions of well-known political figures might be too established to change, especially when there were ongoing efforts by political opponents to increase contempt for them. The fact that the contempt we were assessing was being felt about an unknown political figure, who wasn't having his character attacked by numerous television ads, does limit the generalizability of our findings. However, it was important to understand if it was *possible* to lower contempt felt about a political figure. Therefore, we consider this a first study and used fictitious political figures to reduce an extraneous variable and minimize threats to validity. In order to assure that our strategies defuse contempt felt about political figures, it was important that our participants believed that the political figures we presented were real. Therefore, we used a low level of deception by presenting the fictional article and let participants assume it was legitimate.

This political exchange was presented to the participants as a newspaper story, because an online newspaper article is a believable and common source to read about politics. This further created the appearance of an exchange between two actual congressmen. We used the position of congressman because, unlike the position of president, we believe many Americans are uninformed concerning the members of Congress from states in which they do not live. In fact, 65% of Americans can't even name their own representative in the House of Representatives (Mendes, 2013). In

addition, the political exchange was between two congressmen from the same state (Ohio) to ensure that both individuals are seen as equals, in order to further reduce confounds. In addition, Ohio is generally known as a "purple state", meaning neither Democrats nor Republicans dominate the political landscape. The lack of specificity regarding the political affiliation of both congressmen in the newspaper article further reduced extraneous variables.

Inducing contempt. The independent variable consisted of two components. The first component, or the "attack", was designed to induce feelings of contempt toward the transgressor. Both Fischer and Roseman (2007) and Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that the judgment of someone as being poor in character is a characteristic of contempt. Therefore, we initially raised the participants' contempt by having one of the congressmen attack the other's character. The issue on which we chose to attack one of the congressmen on was improper use of taxpayer money for personal gain. We believe this issue is nonpartisan and a reflection on a political figure's character. It was important that we chose an issue that is nonpartisan, as using a partisan issue to attack the transgressor would have been ineffective at assessing the true effectiveness of the strategies to defuse contempt. Though attacking the transgressor using a partisan issue would have induced feelings of contempt in some participants, it would have likely induced less or no contempt in those who agreed with the transgressors' stance on the partisan issue. In addition, those who would disagree with the transgressor's stance on the partisan issue likely wouldn't have been very affected by the strategies to defuse contempt. As a model for the "attack", we used a controversy involving former

Louisiana Senator Mary Landrieu, who was accused of using more than $3,000 of government money to fly to a fundraising event (Frates, 2014).

The first component of the independent variable, which was the same in all three of the conditions, began in the style of a newspaper article. The article noted that Congressman Jeff Blankenship and former Congressman Nolan Knox traded barbs after Knox made disparaging comments about Blankenship at a rally. Thus, we made Nolan Knox the attacker who created feelings of contempt about Jeff Blankenship, the target, by attacking his character. The attack continued by Knox mentioning that Blankenship spent more than $3,200 of taxpayer money to fly round trip to attend a fundraising lunch with his wealthiest donors. He notes that this activity is illegal and Blankenship only addressed the issue when it was about to go public. Knox accuses Blankenship of being arrogant, selfish, and out of touch with his constituents.

Defusing contempt. The second component of the independent variable was the strategy to defuse contempt. All three strategies to defuse contempt began by rebutting the attack. This component began as a continuation of the newspaper article and involved Jeff Blankenship's rebuttal to Knox's assertions. Blankenship contends that the charter company admitted they were the ones who billed Blankenship's Washington office instead of billing his campaign and that they asked the company to refund the office and bill the campaign as soon as Blankenship saw the error. Blankenship notes that these corrective actions are the opposite of arrogant. In addition, Blankenship will contend it is standard procedure to pay for campaign expenses well after the event occurs. With this section of the independent variable manipulation, which is in all conditions of the independent variable, all attacks on the character of Blankenship made by Knox are

rebutted. However, in order to keep each of the strategies to defuse contempt at an equal length, it was important to continue rebutting the attack for the "rebut the attack only" condition. Therefore, the "rebut the attack only" condition continues with Blankenship providing examples of political figures from both parties paying for expenses after events occur. In addition, Blankenship rebuts the criticism that he's unconcerned about the opinions of his constituents by noting how he has set up offices and had town halls to connect with the voters. Finally, he emphatically notes that he has never used taxpayer money on himself as an elected official. We believe that these additional refutations that are only in the "rebut the attack only" condition further rebutted the attacks Knox made about the character of Blankenship.

For the "rebut the attack and counterattack" condition, the initial lines of rebuttal described in the previous paragraph were followed by an additional counterattack. The counterattack involved Blankenship accusing Knox of intentionally misinforming the voters. It accuses Knox of knowing that it was the charter company that made an error, but intentionally deceiving people to create a false impression about Blankenship. He further accuses Knox of playing politics, which he says is emblematic of Washington and the reason Congress' approval rating is so low. Finally, he notes that Americans are tired of this type of behavior. This is a counterattack because it attacks the character of Knox by accusing him of being calculating and manipulative.

The final condition of the independent variable is the "rebut the attack and convey hope" condition. In addition to the initial rebuttal of the attack previously described, in this condition instead of counterattacking, the article notes that the economy is strengthening and job creation is increasing. Blankenship notes the need to stay positive

and build on the recent achievements. Blankenship provides examples of his record of working on bipartisan legislation to show that he believes in a stronger America we can build together. He says that he will continue to work with anyone who has America's best interest at heart. Finally, he states that we shouldn't lose faith that the future will be better if we all work together. Much of our hope manipulation was modeled after a speech given by President Obama in Estonia on September 3rd, 2014 (the entirety of the President's speech is located at https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/03/remarks-president-obama-people-estonia). We believe this effectively conveys a message of hope, as Blankenship speaks positively about the country's bright future and notes his past work with those on both sides of the aisle for the betterment of the country.

We tested these manipulations with manipulation check items described below. The lengths of both the articles and the strategies are exactly the same. Each of the "attack" components of the articles are 203 words and each of the strategies to defuse contempt are 256 words. Therefore, the entire word count of each of the articles are 473 words long. By keeping the lengths of the articles and the strategies to defuse contempt equal to one another, we avoided a potential confound. In addition, an unrelated sentence about how polling shows the upcoming race being separated by 5 points was added at the end of each of the articles in order to further make the article sound like an actual newspaper story. Our independent variable's theoretical range of variation is categorical and includes rebutting the attack only, rebutting the attack and counterattacking, and rebutting the attack and conveying hope. Each strategy to defuse contempt written in the

newspaper article format placed the participants in one of the categories on the theoretical range of variation.

It was desirable to test the efficacy of the manipulations in order to see if they created the intended value of the independent variable. To see if the "rebut the attack and convey hope" condition of the independent variable was truly making participants hopeful, we had a hope item in our scale to act as a manipulation check. We used a recommendation from Marcus, MacKuen, Wolak, and Keele (2006) which notes that researchers can ask participants either about the frequency or the intensity of another's emotion. The first manipulation check we used was from the American National Election Studies (2012). Roseman, Katz, Redlawsk, and Mattes (2015) have done pilot work using this type of questioning, which asked participants about the intensity of their feelings of hope. In addition, Johnston, Roseman, and Katz (2014) also did pilot work using similar questioning, which asked participants about the frequency of their feelings of hope. Both of these prior studies were successful, in that hope felt by participants was found to be related to their feeling thermometer ratings of the candidates. The item in our study asked,

44a. How hopeful would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ❍ Not at all hopeful
- ❍ Not very hopeful
- ❍ Somewhat hopeful
- ❍ Very hopeful
- ❍ Extremely hopeful

Results from the study showed that those in the "rebut and convey hope" condition had the highest mean of this item($M = 2.68$), followed by those in the "rebut and

counterattack" condition ($M = 2.59$), and finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 2.31$). In addition, an ANOVA was performed and found that there was not a significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 1.82$, $p = .17$.

Even though the "rebut and convey hope" condition was making participants feel the most hopeful about the target of the attack, it was necessary to further probe the "rebut and convey hope" manipulation. In addition to asking about the intensity of the participant's feelings of hope, we inquired about the hopefulness of the message, by asking,

43a. How hopeful was Congressman Blankenship's message?

- Not at all hopeful
- Not very hopeful
- Somewhat hopeful
- Very hopeful
- Extremely hopeful

For this item, analysis found that those in the "rebut and convey hope" condition had the highest mean ($M = 3.22$), followed by the "rebut and counterattack" condition ($M = 2.73$), and finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 2.60$). An ANOVA found that there was a significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 5.28$, $p = .01$.

In addition to these two items, we included an item measuring momentary feelings of hope in order to get participants to give their true feelings on hopefulness toward the target of contempt. We feel that participants may have been more likely to report accurately and honestly when asked for their momentary feelings. Therefore, we added the following item:

45a. How hopeful are you feeling about Congressman Blankenship right now at this moment?

       O   Not at all hopeful
       O   Not very hopeful
       O   Somewhat hopeful
       O   Very hopeful
       O   Extremely hopeful

For this item, analysis again found that those in the "rebut and convey hope" condition had the highest mean ($M = 2.76$), followed by the "rebut and counterattack" condition ($M = 2.68$), and finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 2.29$). In addition, an ANOVA found that there was a marginally significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 2.63$, $p = .08$.

It was also important to test the "counterattack" component of the "rebut the attack and counterattack" condition of the independent variable. In order to test how plausible the counterattack was to the participant, the pilot study included the item,

41a. How believable is it that Congressman Knox was purposely misinforming the public about Congressman Blankenship?

       O   Not at all believable
       O   Not very believable
       O   Somewhat believable
       O   Very believable
       O   Extremely believable

For this item, analysis found that those in the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the highest mean ($M = 3.71$), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($M = 3.62$), and finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 3.36$). In addition, an ANOVA found that

there was not a significant difference between the group means among the three

conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 116) = 1.21$, $p = .30$.

In addition, it was important that the participants feel that the counterattack was

effective in attacking Congressman Knox. Therefore, we also asked,

42a. How powerful was Congressman Blankenship's criticism of Congressman Knox in response to Knox's accusations?

- ❍ Not at all powerful
- ❍ Not very powerful
- ❍ Somewhat powerful
- ❍ Very powerful
- ❍ Extremely powerful

For this item, analysis found that those in the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the

highest mean ($M = 3.32$), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($M = 2.84$),

and finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 2.81$). An ANOVA found that there was a

significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the

independent variable, $F(2, 116) = 3.19$, $p = .05$.

Thus, it seems that both "rebut and counterattack" and the "rebut and convey

hope" manipulations were effective in counterattacking the attacker and conveying hope,

respectively.

Dependent Variable

Contempt felt about the Political Figure. The main dependent variable of our

study was the amount of contempt felt about the political figure who had been the target

of the attack. We measured the amount of contempt felt about the political figure using a

revised and expanded version of Stephen Reysen's Collective Contempt scale (Reysen,

Puryear, Katzarska-Miller, Kamble, & Vithoji, 2014). The operational definition of the

dependent variable was the average score the participant received on the contempt scale. The dependent variable's theoretical range of variation was continuous from low to high in feelings of contempt. Each multiple choice answer on the scale placed the participant on the theoretical range of variation, from having a low amount of contempt to a high amount of contempt. We used a multi-item scale because it is the optimal way to quantifiably measure the multiple aspects of contempt and to increase validity and reliability (Whitley & Kite, 2013). In addition, considering that we are interested in understanding the cause and effect relationship between the strategies to defuse contempt and the amount of contempt felt, the use of a quantitative measure was appropriate (Whitley & Kite, 2013).

We began creating our contempt scale by converting the Collective Contempt Scale used in a study by Reysen, Puryear, Katzarska-Miller, Kamble, and Vithoji (2014) from a scale assessing contempt felt about a group to a scale assessing contempt felt about an individual. We did this by converting the original questions, which were about comparing a person's *group* to another group, into questions about comparing an *individual* (the target congressman) to individuals in the participant's group. For example, we converted the original item "I feel my group is superior to some other groups" to:

1. I feel most people in my group are superior to Congressman Blankenship.

   - ❍ Agree Strongly
   - ❍ Agree Somewhat
   - ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ❍ Disagree Somewhat
   - ❍ Disagree Strongly

We included all five of the modified questions from the original Collective Contempt Scale. Along with a number of Reysen's other collective emotion scales, the collective contempt scale has shown convergent validity by correlating positively with individual level, rather than collective level emotion scales (Reysen & Branscombe, 2007). In addition, the authors found the collective contempt scale to be internally consistent, with a Cronbach's alpha of .82 (Reysen et al., 2014).

We then created additional scale items to measure contempt using characteristics and feelings that have been determined to be components of contempt. We used a multitude of studies and publications on contempt to create the items for our scale in order to increase its convergent validity. We used Stephen Reysen's definition of contempt ("Contempt is an emotion defined as feelings of dislike, disrespect, or superiority.") from his Collective Contempt Scale (2007). An item from our scale that was created using Reysen's definition of contempt presents the statement,

10. I despise Congressman Blankenship.

◯   Agree Strongly
◯   Agree Somewhat
◯   Neither Agree nor Disagree
◯   Disagree Somewhat
◯   Disagree Strongly

An example of a reversed item from our scale that was created using Reysen's definition of contempt states,

19. I respect Congressman Blankenship.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

Fischer and Roseman (2007) noted that contempt involved rejection, exclusion, and

derogation. We used these characteristics to create items such as,

17. I look down on Congressman Blankenship.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

An example of a reversed item created using the derogation response of contempt found

by Fischer and Roseman (2007) states,

15. Congressman Blankenship has desirable qualities.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

Fischer (2011) wrote that having contempt invokes feeling that the transgressor is

unworthy of attention and amoral. An example of an item that was created using this

description of contempt is the statement,

11. Congressman Blankenship is an immoral person.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

An example of a reversed item created using characteristics of contempt reported by

Fischer (2011) states,

8. Jeff Blankenship is worthy of my attention.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that contempt involves feeling that the transgressor is

inept or incompetent. We used this information to create multiple items, including the

following reversed item,

20. Congressman Blankenship is a competent legislator.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

All of these characteristics were used to create items for our scale. Some observed

characteristics of contempt, such as a lack of intimacy with the transgressor, were

excluded due to being unlikely felt about a public figure.

The directions for the scale first defined contempt, as participants needed to know

the definition of contempt for a number of items. This part of the directions notes,

"Contempt" refers to feelings of disrespect or superiority that people may have toward
someone when they have a very low opinion of that person.

This definition of contempt was created using Reysen and Branscombe's (2007) definition of contempt and the characteristic of contempt reported by Fischer and Roseman (2007) that one may have a very low opinion of the person for whom they feel contempt. The directions then noted that some questions on the scale would ask the participant to compare Congressman Blankenship to members of the participant's "group". These items were all from the Reysen et al. (2014) Collective Contempt Scale and were kept intact to maximize comparability with the original scale. In the directions, we noted that the phrase "my group" refers to a group with which you identify, such as a political, religious, ethnic, or social group. The directions concluded by asking the participants to answer the following questions concerning their feelings about Congressman Jeff Blankenship, who according to his opponent, used taxpayer money to pay for a charter fight.

  Response options for contempt measure. An itemized rating scale was used for items on our contempt scale. The itemized rating scale was presented in a multiple choice format. There was only one type of multiple choice question on the scale. All items came in the form of a statement and ask the participant if they agreed or disagreed with the statement and the intensity of their agreement or disagreement. Below the statement were five options for them to choose from. An example of this type of item began with the statement, "Congressman Blankenship is an immoral person." Below this statement was the following choices: "Agree strongly", "Agree somewhat", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Disagree somewhat", and "Disagree strongly". These multiple choice responses are standard survey wording and are used in The American National Election Studies (2012). Of the 20 items measuring a characteristic of contempt on our

scale, 10 items contained antonyms of the characteristics of contempt we were interested

in measuring, or contrait items. For instance, an item on the scale was "How capable is

Congressman Blankenship?" The word "capable" is an antonym of the word "inept",

which is often felt about a person when feeling contempt. The reason we used contrait

items is to avoid acquiescence response bias.

  Single-item contempt measurement. An additional item to measure contempt

felt about the target was also included in the survey. We were interested in using another

measure of contempt in order to see whether the two different measures were highly

correlated and whether they come to similar findings as to the effectiveness of the

strategies to defuse contempt. Therefore, this single item contempt measurement was

analyzed separately from the contempt scale. The single item contempt measure was

adopted from previous research conducted by Redlawsk, Roseman, Mattes, and Katz

(2015) and begins,

25. How contemptuous would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ◯   Not at all contemptuous
- ◯   Not very contemptuous
- ◯   Somewhat contemptuous
- ◯   Very contemptuous
- ◯   Extremely contemptuous

These items assessed the participant's feeling on contempt toward Blankenship on a scale

from *Not at all contemptuous* (1) to *Extremely contemptuous* (5).

Additional Dependent Variables

  Evaluations of the target and attacker. Two additional dependent variables that

we tested were evaluations of the target and attacker. We were interested in seeing

whether any of the strategies to defuse contempt caused a more favorable evaluation of

the target Blankenship. In order to evaluate the target and attacker, traditional feeling

thermometer questions adopted from the American National Election Studies (2012) were

used. An example of such an item began with directions taken from instructions used by

the American National Election Studies (2012),

In the following questions, we would like to get your current feelings toward some
people who are in the news these days. We would like you to rate each one using
something called a feeling thermometer.

For each question, you can choose any whole number between 0 and 100. If we ask about
a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Instead, just
enter "999"

100° Very warm or favorable feeling

85° Quite warm or favorable feeling

70° Fairly warm or favorable feeling

60° A bit more warm or favorable than cold feeling

50° No feeling at all

40° A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling

30° Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling

15° Quite cold or unfavorable feeling

0° Very cold or unfavorable feeling

  30. How would you rate Congressman Jeff Blankenship? (from 0 - 100)

These items assessed the participant's evaluations of the target and attacker on a scale

from *very cold or unfavorable feeling* (0) to *very warm or favorable feeling* (100).

     Intention to vote for the target. The final dependent variable we examined was

intention to vote for the target. We were interested in seeing whether any of the

strategies to defuse contempt could influence participants to intend to vote for or against

Blankenship. In order to evaluate intention to vote for the target, a single item was

created. The question began,

29. If you were eligible to vote in this election, do you think you would vote for Congressman Blankenship, against Congressman Blankenship, or would you not vote?

   ❍   I would vote for Congressman Blankenship
   ❍   I would vote against Congressman Blankenship
   ❍   I would not vote

Possible Mediating Variables

   Perceived undesirable qualities of the target. As shown in the flowchart on

page 13, the first possible mediating variable in our study was the perceived undesirable

qualities of the target. We measured the mediating variable with the following item,

21a. How would you rate the personal qualities of Congressman Blankenship?

   ❍   Very desirable
   ❍   Somewhat desirable
   ❍   Neither desirable nor undesirable
   ❍   Somewhat undesirable
   ❍   Very undesirable

This item assessed the participant's opinion of the qualities of Congressman Blankenship

on a scale from *Very undesirable* (1) to *Very desirable* (5).

   Willingness to overlook undesirable qualities. The second possible mediating

variable in our study was willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities of the target.

We asked the question,

21b. People vote for or against a candidate based on many different factors (a candidate's record, positions on the issues, personal qualities, etc.). How important are Congressman Blankenship's personal qualities in deciding whether to vote for or against him?

- ❍   Not at all important
- ❍   Slightly important
- ❍   Moderately important
- ❍   Very important
- ❍   Extremely important

Thus, we assessed the participant's opinion of how important the Congressman's undesirable qualities were, from *Not at all important* (1) to *Extremely important* (5). We presented this item to the participants in order to assess the participants' willingness to overlook the perceived undesirable qualities of the target.

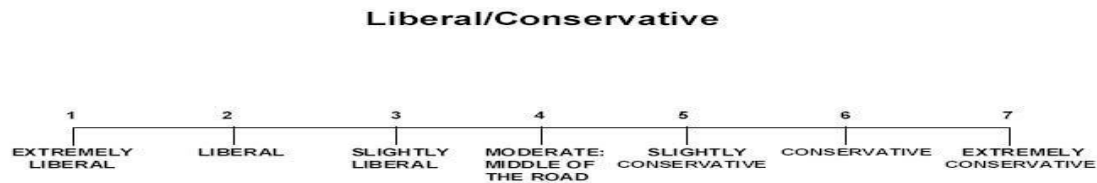**Possible Moderating Variables**

     Social dominance orientation. As noted in the introduction and on the flowchart on page 13, there were also four possible moderating variables in our study. The first moderating variable was social dominance orientation. We measured social dominance orientation with the Short SDO scale created by Pratto et al. (2013). The short SDO scale is a four item scale that has been shown to have predictive validity, as it was found to predict previously confirmed criterion variables of social dominance orientation, such as opposition to protecting minorities (Pratto et al., 2013). In addition, the authors found the Short SDO to be internally consistent, with a Cronbach's alpha of .80 (Pratto et al., 2013). As specified by Pratto et al. (2013, p. 593), The Short SDO began with directions that ask, "There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the following ideas about groups in general? Below each statement, choose a number from 1 (extremely oppose) to 10 (extremely favor) to show your opinion." An example of an item from the scale was the statement,

   37. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

❍	1	Extremely Oppose
❍	2	
❍	3	
❍	4	
❍	5	
❍	6	
❍	7	
❍	8	
❍	9	
❍	10	Extremely Favor

Thus, with the SSDO, we assessed the extent to which people reject or endorse unequal group based social hierarchies (Pratto et al., 2013, p. 588) on a scale from low in social dominance orientation (1) to high in social dominance orientation (10).

Political ideology. Another possible moderating variable in our study was liberal vs. conservative political ideology. To measure political ideology, we adopted a very widely-used item from the American National Election Studies (2012). The item began,

33. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Liberal/Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE: MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

❍	Extremely liberal
❍	Liberal
❍	Slightly liberal
❍	Moderate; middle of the road
❍	Slightly conservative
❍	Conservative
❍	Extremely conservative
❍	Don't know

Thus scores on this variable ranged from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7).

      Agreeableness. An additional possible moderating variable in our study was agreeableness. We were interested to see whether tolerance for a person's flaws, which may be a manifestation of the personality dimension of agreeableness, was a moderating variable in our study (C. Nave, personal communication, April 13, 2015). We measured agreeableness using the BFI-10, an abbreviated version of the Big Five Inventory created by Rammstedt and John (2007). The BFI-10 was found by Rammstedt and John to show convergent validity with a longer and more widely used personality scale, the NEO-PI-R. In addition, Rammstedt and John found the BFI-10 to be internally consistent, with a mean Cronbach's alpha of .75. The BFI-10 assesses agreeableness, extraversion, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness. Along with agreeableness, we analyzed the data of the other Big Five personality traits as moderating variables. The BFI-10 begins with the directions that ask, "How well do the following statements describe your personality?" The BFI-10 assesses agreeableness with two items. The protrait item measuring agreeableness from the scale states,

32. I see myself as someone who...	Disagree Strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly
... is generally trusting	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

An example of a reversed (contrait) item measuring agreeableness from the BFI-10 begins,

32. I see myself as someone who...	Disagree Strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly
… tends to find fault with others	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Therefore, on the BFI-10, we assessed agreeableness on a scale from low in agreeableness (1) to high in agreeableness (5). We averaged the scores of the two items to find the participant's overall agreeableness

Political party identification. The final possible moderating variable in our study was political party identification. We measured political party identification using standard items from The American National Election Studies (2012). The item we included to measure political party identification began by asking,

33. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or what?

   ❍   Democrat
   ❍   Republican
   ❍   Independent
   ❍   Other party (PLEASE SPECIFY)_____

General Demographic Information

General demographic questions make up the final section of questionnaire. An item from The American National Election Studies (2012) was used to ask about which race or races the participants considers themselves to be, with the following five races listed below:

- ❑   White
- ❑   Black or African American
- ❑   American Indian or Alaska Native
- ❑   Asian
- ❑   Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

An item inquiring about the sex of participants asked them to choose whether they were male or female. To assess the age of participants, we asked questions inquiring about the month and the year in which they were born. To inquire about which political party the participant was registered with (if any), we first asked if the participant was registered to vote.   If the participant indicated that they were registered to vote, we then asked which political party they were registered with and included the following answer choices: Democratic party, Republican party, Independent, Other (PLEASE SPECIFIY), or Don't Know. For income, participants were asked what their total family income was for the year of 2015, and were given the following answer choices: Less than $25,000, $25,000 - $49,999, $50,000 - $74,999, $75,000 - $99,999, $100,000 - $149,000, or $150,000 or more.

Procedures

      Participants from a small, urban, public university recruited through an undergraduate college course met in a large college classroom in a single session. In contrast, participants recruited through the undergraduate psychology subject pool were greeted in a basement lab in which there were eight computer terminals. Once arriving, each undergraduate participant was presented with a copy of the informed consent form and was asked to sit in front of a computer and read over the form, which was also on the computer screens. The college course participants took a seat in the classroom and were given an informed consent forms to read over. For both groups, once all participants

arrived, the researcher introduced himself and read aloud sections of the informed consent. The researcher made sure to highlight that all participation in this study was voluntary and that there would be no penalty for opting out of participating. After reading the informed consent form, the participants from the college course were asked to sign the informed consent form if they were willing to participate and were given an additional copy to keep at the conclusion of the study. The psychology subject pool participants were told to keep the informed consent form they received and to electronically sign the form on the computer if they agreed to participate. The Mechanical Turk participants received informed consent information on their computers and were also asked to type their name to electronically sign the form if they agreed to participate.

Once they had signed the informed consent form, both the Mechanical Turk participants and the psychology subject pool participants were taken to the study webpage where they read the instructions on the computer screen. In contrast, once the college course participants signed the informed consent form, the researcher passed out paper copies of the entire experiment. All participants were presented with the instructions that stated they would be asked to read a story concerning a political exchange between two congressmen. It also noted that they would be asked to complete a questionnaire concerning their thoughts and feelings about the congressmen.

After reading these instructions, the participants were prompted to read the (fictional) newspaper story. Those in all three conditions were given the "attack" section and one of the three sections containing the strategies to defuse contempt. After reading the newspaper article, the participants were asked to fill out the contempt scale, which assessed their feelings towards Congressman Blankenship. It is important to note that all

data from the participants completing the questionnaire were collected and stored using data software. Once a face-to-face participant completed the questionnaire, he or she was asked to sit quietly and wait for the other participants to complete the study. Throughout the study, the researcher spoke to any participant who had a question and tried his best to assist them.

Once the face-to-face participants completed the study, the researcher debriefed the participants. Because we used (minimal) deception in our study, all participants went through the processes of dehoaxing and desensitization, a process we explain later on (Whitley & Kite, 2013). It was important that we were sensitive to our participants' feelings and assure them that it was their right to withdraw their data if they wished (Whitley & Kite, 2013). Before asking if participants wanted to withdraw their data, we also explained the possible benefits, both practical and educational, we hope to derive from the research in which they participated. Finally, questions that any participant had were answered. Because the Mechanical Turk participants weren't in the lab, their debriefing was conducted online. After they completed the study, they went through the same process of debriefing described for the psychology subject pool above, only they read it from their computer screen. The Mechanical Turk participants were given the contact information of the researchers in case they had any questions or concerns regarding the study.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Data Transformations

It was first necessary to recode some variables of the questionnaire. To recode the " Intention to Vote for the Target" variable, we coded "I would vote for Congressman

Blankenship" as a 3, "I would not vote" as a 2, and "I would vote against Congressman

Blankenship" as a 1. This recoding allowed us to assess the participant's intention to

vote for the target on a continuous scale from *I would vote against Congressman*

Blankenship (1) to *I would vote for Congressman Blankenship* (3). There were also a

number of composite variables that were constructed from more than one questionnaire

item. The primary dependent variable, "Contempt Felt about the Political Figure", was a

composite variable created by calculating the mean of twenty items from the contempt

scale. Ten of these questionnaire items were contrait items, which were reverse-coded

before finding the contempt score by calculating the mean of the contempt scale.

Similarly, one of the possible moderating variables of the study, "Agreeableness", was a

composite variable created by calculating the mean of two items (one of which was a

contrait item that was reverse-coded) from the BFI-10. The final composite variable is

the "Social Dominance Orientation" moderating variable, which was created by finding

the mean of the four items from the Short SDO scale. Before finding the mean, it was

necessary to reverse-code the two contrait items in the Short SDO scale.

Finally, it is important to note that some answer choices were omitted during

analysis. Those who answered "Other" to the item assessing Political Party Identification

in addition to those who answered "Don't know" to the item measuring Political Ideology

were omitted from analysis.

Overview of Statistical Analyses

Once the data were prepared and the composite variables were calculated,

descriptive statistics for each variable were calculated. In order to test our main

hypothesis, we first found the mean contempt score, the range of scores, and the standard

deviations for each condition of the independent variable. We then performed a one-way ANOVA, to obtain an omnibus test of whether there was some significant difference between the conditions of the independent variable. After the ANOVA showed that there was a difference among the conditions of the independent variable, a series of t-tests (corrected for multiple comparisons) was performed to compare the lowest condition to each of the other conditions to test for significant differences between the conditions.

   We then analyzed our second hypothesis concerning the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt and performed exploratory analysis on our other possible mediating variables by performing a regression with bootstrapping, specifically a multiple mediation model, in order to see if our possible mediating variables are in fact mediating the relationship between the strategies to defuse contempt and contempt felt about the target (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Running a regression with bootstrapping involved repeatedly sampling random subsets of our data to provide an estimate of the sampling distribution (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). This estimated the effect of the mediators (known as the indirect effect) in each randomly sampled subset of the data (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Finally, we tested our possible moderating variables by running multiple hierarchical linear regression models (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006). To see if our moderating variables were moderating the relationship between the strategies to defuse contempt and contempt felt about the target, it was necessary to test whether the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable changes as the moderating variable changes. Thus, we included interaction terms in each linear regression model in order to see if the interaction is significant (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006).

SPSS 20 and Andrew Hayes' PROCESS macro were both used for statistical analysis in this study. The PROCESS macro was used for the multiple mediator analysis (Hayes, 2012). SPSS 20 was used to compute all other analyses, including ANOVAs, t-tests, and multiple regression analyses.

Dependent Variable Reliability

It is important to discuss the decision about which measure of contempt to use in the analyses of the study. To assess the reliability and validity of each of the measures of contempt (the 5-item modified Collective Contempt scale, the 15 items created from characteristics of contempt, and the single-item contempt measure), their correlations to each other were calculated. These analyses found that the correlation between the modified collective contempt scale and the 15-item contempt index measure ($r = .81$) was more significant than both the correlation between the single-item contempt measure and the collective contempt scale ($r = .54$) and the correlation between the single-item contempt measure and the 15-item contempt index measure ($r = .56$). Considering the modified collective contempt scale and the 15-item index measure were so highly correlated with one another, it was decided that they would be combined to form the 20-item contempt scale. Additional justification for our preference of the 20 items of this contempt scale was that it was found to be highly reliable, with a Cronbach's alpha of .96.

Next, we calculated additional correlations between the 20-item contempt index, the single-item contempt scale, the perceived undesirable qualities of the political figure item, and two other negative emotions felt about the target, angry and anxious. We found that the contempt index was more highly correlated with the single item measuring anger ($r = .66$) than it was with the single-item contempt measure ($r = .56$). The fact that the

contempt index was more highly correlated with the anger item than it was with the single-item contempt measure clearly shows that there is some disparity between the two contempt measures. However the analysis also found that the contempt index was more highly correlated with the perceived undesirable qualities item ($r = .82$) than both the anger item ($r = .62$) and the single-item contempt measure ($r = .45$). Hutcherson and Gross (2011) wrote that contempt is uniquely involved in the judgment of a person as incompetent and unintelligent as well as having poor intentions and character. Therefore, the fact that both the 20-item contempt index and the anger item (an entirely different emotion) were more highly correlated with perceived undesirable qualities than the single-item suggests that the single-item contempt measure may not be accurately measuring feelings of contempt. Matsumoto and Ekman (2004) have posited that people may be unfamiliar with the term contempt or contemptuous, which would significantly hinder the single-item contempt measure's ability to gauge feelings of contempt felt about the target.

Preliminary Analyses on Participant Demographic and Sample Variables

A MANOVA was performed to test whether the predictor variable of sex (M/F) was associated with any differences in the dependent variables contempt score, intention to vote for the target of contempt, evaluation of target, and evaluation of attacker, moderating variables political ideology, agreeableness, social dominance orientation, age, neuroticism, and extraversion, and mediating variables perceived undesirable qualities of the target and willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities. The multivariate test found that there was a significant difference between the sexes across the variables of the study, Wilks' Lambda = .824, $F(11,102) = 1.99$, $p = .04$. Therefore, the univariate

differences were then assessed to see which particular variables were affected by sex. In reviewing the univariate differences, only extraversion, an additional moderating variable in the study, was found to be significantly related to sex. Table 2 contains the mean differences for each of the variables and the significance of the difference.

An additional MANOVA was performed to test whether the variable of sample (undergraduates students/MTurk participants) was associated with any differences in the same variables in the study. The multivariate test found that there was a significant difference among the samples, Wilks' Lambda = .497, $F(11,102) = 9.38$, $p < .001$. Therefore, the univariate differences were then assessed to see which particular variables were affected by sample. It was found that there were a number of variables in the study that were significantly affected by sample, including dependent variables intention to vote for the target and evaluation of the attacker, mediator willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities of the target, and possible moderators age, neuroticism, and extraversion. Table 2 shows the mean differences for each of the variables and the significance of the difference.

As shown in Table 2, there was a large difference in mean age between undergraduate and MTurk participants. Past findings have shown how age can greatly affect political attitudes and behavior (DeSilver, 2014). Therefore, a MANCOVA analysis was performed to see if the sample effects would remain after partialling out the influence of age (the covariate in the MANCOVA). The Wilks' Lambda multivariate test found that there were still significant differences among the samples, even with age as a covariate, across the key variables of the study, .92, $F(10,102) = .89$, $p = .01$. Table 3 contains the mean differences (adjusted for age as a covariate) for each of the mediating,

moderating, and dependent variables and the significance of the differences.

Table 2

Mean Differences in Sex, Sample Among Study Variables

Variable	Sex		Sample	
	Male	Female	Undergraduate Student Participants	MTurk Participants
Neuroticism	2.72	3.12	3.26**	2.58**
Age	30.24	27.87	23.12***	34.68***
Agreeableness	3.35	3.71	3.65	3.40
SDO	2.51	2.18	2.22	2.47
Pol Ideology	3.54	3.38	3.73	3.22
Eval of Target	51.68	58.53	54.82	55.14
Eval of Attacker	38.25	38.75	42.89*	34.39*
Und Qual Target	2.76	2.65	2.80	2.63
Will to Overlook	3.02	3.44	3.62***	2.85***
Contempt Index	2.59	2.55	2.72	2.43
Vote for Target	2.19	2.20	2.04*	2.34*
Extraversion	2.47**	3.07**	3.19	3.38

Notes*: Neuroticism: low in neuroticism (1) to high in neuroticism (5).
Agreeableness: low in agreeableness (1) to high in agreeableness (5).
Social Dominance Orientation: low in social dominance orientation (1) to high in social dominance orientation (10).
Political Ideology: extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7).
Evaluation of the Target: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).
Evaluation of the Attacker: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).
Perceived Undesirable Qualities of the Target: Very undesirable (1) to Very desirable (5).
Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities: Not at all important (1) to Extremely important (5).
Contempt Index: low in feelings of contempt (1) to high in feelings of contempt (5).
Intention to vote for the target: I would vote against the target (1) to I would vote for the target (3).
Extraversion: low in extraversion (1) to high in extraversion (5).

$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

As shown in Table 3, the only two variables that had significant sample effects

after partialling out the influence of age were neuroticism and willingness to overlook

undesirable qualities. It is clear from these means that the undergraduate students were

higher in neuroticism and more willing to overlook the undesirable qualities of the target

compared to the MTturk participants.

     In order to see whether the basic relationships of the study (independent variable to dependent variable, IV to Mediator to DV, IV x Moderator to DV) would be affected by these nuisance variables, additional analysis was needed. First, an ANCOVA was performed in which condition (IV) and sample (Moderator) were the independent variables, neuroticism was a covariate, and the contempt index was the dependent variable. This analysis found that the condition x sample interaction was not significant ($F(2,109) = .736$, $p = .481$). Therefore, the main relationship of interest (the effect of condition on contempt score) has not been significantly altered by this nuisance variable.

     A two-way ANOVA was then performed in which condition (IV) and sample (Moderator) were the independent variables, willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target of contempt was a covariate, and the contempt index was the dependent variable. This analysis found that the condition x sample interaction was not significant, $F(2,111) = 1.11$, $p = .33$. Therefore, the main relationship of interest (the effect of condition on contempt score) has not been significantly altered by this nuisance variable.

     A final ANCOVA was performed in which condition (IV) and sex (Moderator) were the independent variables, extraversion was a covariate, and the contempt index was the dependent variable. This analysis found that the condition x group session interaction was not significant ($F(2,109) = .03$, $p = .98$). Therefore, the main relationship of interest (the effect of condition on contempt score) has not been significantly altered by these nuisance variables.

Table 3

Adjusted Mean Differences in Sample Controlling for Age

| | Sample | |
	Undergraduate Student Participants	MTurk Participants
Neuroticism	3.22*	2.63*
Agreeableness	3.70	3.36
SDO	2.29	2.41
Pol Ideology	3.78	3.17
Eval of Target	58.46	51.74
Eval of Attacker	39.72	37.35
Und Qual Target	2.66	2.76
Will to Overlook	3.55*	2.91*
Contempt Index	2.59	2.55
Vote for Target	2.15	2.23
Extraversion	3.24	3.33

Note: Neuroticism: low in neuroticism (1) to high in neuroticism (5).
 Agreeableness: low in agreeableness (1) to high in agreeableness (5).
Social Dominance Orientation: low in social dominance orientation (1) to high in social dominance orientation (10).
Political Ideology: extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7).
Evaluation of the Target: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).
Evaluation of the Attacker: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).
Perceived Undesirable Qualities of the Target: Very undesirable (1) to Very desirable (5).
Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities: Not at all important (1) to Extremely important (5).
Contempt Index: low in feelings of contempt (1) to high in feelings of contempt (5).
Intention to vote for the target: I would vote against the target (1) to I would vote for the target (3).
Extraversion: low in extraversion (1) to high in extraversion (5).
$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Results of Hypotheses Testing

H_1: The average scores on the contempt scale of those in both the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition will be lower than the score of those in the "rebut only" condition.

In order to test our main hypothesis, we first calculated the descriptive statistics for contempt score by each of the strategies to defuse contempt. These descriptive

statistics are shown in Table 4 below. It is clear from these statistics that the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the lowest contempt score in the study ($M = 2.40$), followed by "rebut and convey hope" condition ($M = 2.52$), and finally the "rebut only" condition (the control), ($M = 2.84$).

Next, it was important to determine if the differences in mean contempt scores between the strategies to defuse contempt were significant. Therefore, a one-way ANOVA was performed. Results of the ANOVA calculated that there was a significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 3.36$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Because the ANOVA calculated a significant difference among the conditions, post hoc Tukey tests were then performed in order to determine whether the differences between each of the conditions were significant. The first t-test (adjusted for multiple comparisons) performed, between the "rebut the attack only" and the "rebut and counterattack" conditions, calculated a significant difference between the two conditions ($p = .04$, Cohen's $d = .56$). The next t-test performed was between the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition, which calculated the difference between the conditions to be non-significant ($p = .17$, Cohen's $d = .39$). The final t-test performed was between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope condition", which also calculated a non-significant difference between the conditions ($p = .80$, Cohen's $d = .16$). Therefore, the only significant difference among the conditions was between the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut the counterattack" condition.

Table 4

Means (and Standard Deviations) of Mediating and Dependent Variables, by Strategy to Defuse Contempt

Strategy to Defuse Contempt	"Rebut the Attack Only"	"Rebut and Convey Hope"	"Rebut and Counterattack"
n	42	38	38
Und Qual Target	3.02 (1.02)$_a$	2.63 (.94)$_{ab}$	2.50 (.92)$_b$
Will to Overlook	3.55 (1.13)$_a$	3.42 (1.18)$_{ab}$	2.71 (.96)$_b$
Sing Contempt Item	2.33 (.90)	1.97 (.87)	1.89 (.86)
Contempt Index	2.84 (.85)$_a$	2.52 (.79)$_{ab}$	2.40 (.72)$_b$
Vote For Target	1.90 (.82)$_a$	2.16 (.89)$_{ab}$	2.42 (.64)$_b$
Eval of Target	48.43 (21.88)$_a$	55.29 (19.98)$_{ab}$	59.95 (19.48)$_b$
Eval of Attacker	42.67 (19.56)	39.00 (20.70)	35.89 (21.03)

Note: Means in a row with different subscripts are significantly different from each other at $p < .05$.
Perceived Undesirable Qualities of the Target: Very undesirable (1) to Very desirable (5).
Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities: Not at all important (1) to Extremely important (5).
Single-Item Contempt Measure: Not at all contemptuous (1) to Extremely contemptuous (5).
Contempt Index: low in feelings of contempt (1) to high in feelings of contempt (5).
Intention to vote for the target: I would vote against the target (1) to I would vote for the target (3).
Evaluation of the Target: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).
Evaluation of the Attacker: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).

H$_2$: Conveying a message of hope (the "rebut and convey hope" condition) would lower the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt and, in turn, lower the contempt felt about the target.

In order to analyze our second hypothesis, a multiple mediation analysis with bootstrapping was performed. Running a regression with bootstrapping involved repeatedly sampling random subsets of our data (5,000 times) to provide an estimate of the sampling distribution (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). As our independent variable was multicategorical, it was necessary that the analysis be performed with two dummy variables, which the PROCESS macro performed automatically. The two dummy variables created, D1 and D2, represented the "rebut and counterattack" and "rebut and convey hope" conditions respectively. Results of this analysis are diagrammed in Figure

2.

Figure 2

Path Diagram for Multiple Mediation Model, "Rebut and Convey Hope" Condition
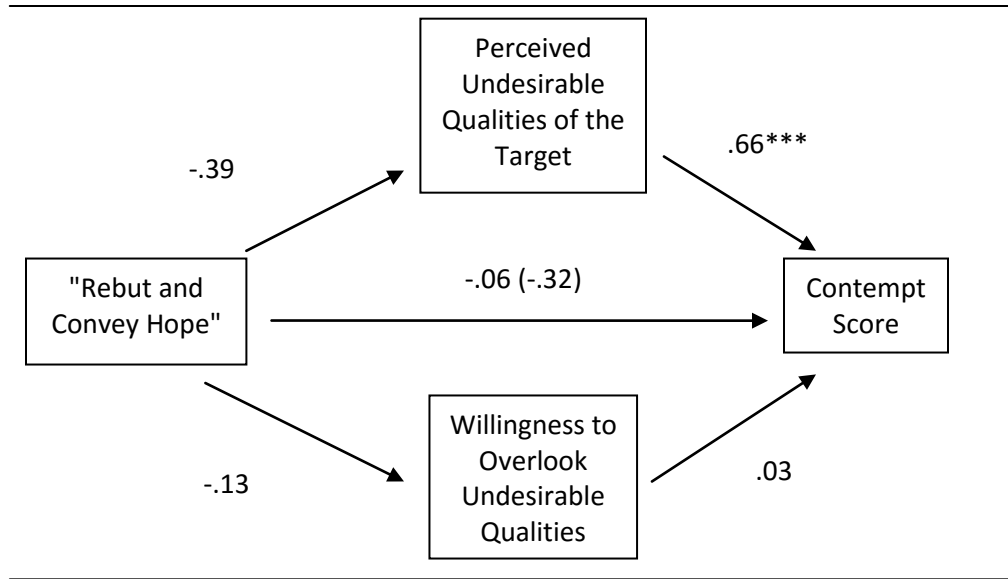
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

As shown in Figure 2, the regression of the "rebut and convey hope" condition on the contempt score, disregarding the mediators, was only marginally significant, $b = -.32$, $t(115) = -1.82$, $p = .07$. Next, the regression of the "rebut and convey hope" condition on the perceived undesirable qualities of the target was calculated to be marginally significant, $b = -.39$, $t(115) = -1.81$, $p = .07$. It was then calculated that, when controlling for strategy to defuse contempt, the perceived undesirable qualities variable was significant, $b = .66$, $t(113) = 14.61$, $p < .0001$. However, when controlling for the perceived undesirable qualities of the target mediator, the "rebut and convey hope" condition was calculated to be not significant, $b = -.06$, $t(113) = -.57$, $p = .57$. Then, it was calculated that the lower and upper level confidence intervals for the indirect effect of the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt score through the perceived

undesirable qualities mediator were -.530 and .023. Overall, the coefficient of the indirect effect was calculated, with b = -.26. A Sobel test was also calculated and found a marginally significant mediation effect, z = -1.80, p = .07. Finally, an additional Sobel test was calculated without the second mediator, willingness to overlook undesirable qualities, and found identical results to the Sobel test with both mediators included, , z = -1.80, p = .07.

Because zero is in between the lower and upper level confidence interval and the Sobel test was marginally significant (but not significant at a 0.05 level), we cannot conclude that the indirect effect is significantly different from zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). It's important to note that this regression was run with the "rebut and convey hope" dummy against the two conditions. An additional analysis was run with the "rebut and convey hope" dummy against just the "rebut only" condition, with the results finding no significant differences, just as when the comparison was between the other conditions.

Results of Exploratory Analyses

Additional dependent variables. *Single-item contempt measurement.* First, in assessing the correlation between the contempt index and the single-item contempt measurement (located in Table 5 above), it was calculated that the two variables have a significant positive correlation, r = .56, p < .001. Descriptive statistics for the means of the single item contempt measurement by each of the strategies to defuse contempt were then calculated. These descriptive statistics are located in Table 4. The sample means show that the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the lowest single-item contempt mean (M = 1.89), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition (M = 1.97), and the finally the "rebut only" condition (M = 2.33).

Table 5

Correlations of Contempt Mean Index and Study Variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
(1) Neuroticism	1														
(2) Age	-.22**	1													
(3) Agreeableness	-.24***	-.04^c	1												
(4) Social Dominance Orientation	-.07^c	.08^c	-.00^c	1											
(5) Political Ideology	.03^c	-.07^c	.22^c	.34***	1										
(6) Evaluation of Target	-.11^c	.16^c	-.06^c	-.00	-.17	1									
(7) Evaluation of Attacker	.03^c	-.28***	.21**	.14	.14	-.44***	1								
(8) Perceived Undesirable Qualities of Political Figure	.24^c	-.19^c	.07^c	.09	.20*	-.69***	.45***	1							
(9) Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities	.05^c	-.26***	.20^c	-.18	.13	-.16	.09	.16	1						
(10) Contempt Scale Index	.22^c	-.26***	.08^c	.07	.24**	-.78***	.56***	.82***	.18	1					
(11) Intention to Vote for the Target	-.17^c	.25***	-.05^c	-.06	-.13	.71***	-.55***	-.64***	-.25**	-.80***	1				
(12) Family Income	-.08^d	-.11^c	.16^a	.04^b	.07	.08	.08^b	-.07^b	-.12^b	-.05^b	.11^b	1			
(13) Single Item Contempt Measure	.05^c	-.28***	.17^d	.12^b	.17^b	-.49***	.49***	.45***	.07^b	.56***	-.53***	.08^c	1		
(14) Single Item Anger Item	.20**	-.22^c	.07^c	-.07	.03	-.48***	.47***	.62***	.12	.66***	-.57***	.05^b	.51***	1	
(15) Single Item Anxious Item	.18^c	-.22^c	-.02^c	-.14	.04	-.41***	.37***	.37***	.12	.46***	-.49***	.14^b	.37***	.53***	1

Note: n = 118 unless otherwise indicated in superscript: a = n = 117; b = n = 116; c = n = 116; d = n = 115; e = n = 114.

Neuroticism: low in neuroticism (1) to high in neuroticism (5).

Agreeableness: low in agreeableness (1) to high in agreeableness (5).

Social Dominance Orientation: low in social dominance orientation (1) to high in social dominance orientation (10).

Political Ideology: extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7).

Evaluation of the Target: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).

Evaluation of the Attacker: very cold or unfavorable feeling (0) to very warm or favorable feeling (100).

Perceived Undesirable Qualities of the Target: Very undesirable (1) to Very desirable (5).

Willingness to Overlook Undesirable Qualities: Not at all important (1) to Extremely important (5).

Contempt Index: low in feelings of contempt (1) to high in feelings of contempt (5).

Intention to vote for the target: I would vote against the target (1) to I would vote for the target (3).

Family Income :Less than $25,000 (1) to $150,000 or more (6).

Single-Item Contempt Measure: Not at all contemptuous (1) to Extremely contemptuous (5).

Single-Item Angry Measure: Not at all angry (1) to Extremely angry (5).

Single-Item Anxious Measure: Not at all anxious (1) to Extremely anxious (5).

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

A one-way ANOVA was then calculated to test for significant differences between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable. However, only a marginal significant difference was found, $F(2, 114) = 2.87$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Despite the ANOVA calculating a non-significant (at a 0.05 level) difference among the conditions, post hoc Tukey tests were performed in order to determine the significance among the differences between each of the conditions. The t-tests (adjusted for multiple comparisons) calculated that the differences between the "rebut the attack only" and the "rebut and counterattack" conditions ($p = .07$, Cohen's $d = .50$), the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($p = .17$, Cohen's $d = .41$), and the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope condition" ($p = .92$, Cohen's $d = .09$) were all non-significant.

***Intention to vote for the target*.** First, it was calculated that the correlation between the contempt index and intention to vote for the target of contempt have a significant negative correlation, $r = -.80$, $p < .001$. Next, descriptive statistics for intention to vote for the target by each of the strategies to defuse contempt were then calculated. These descriptive statistics are located in Table 4. The sample means show that the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the highest intention to vote for the target score ($M = 2.42$), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($M = 2.16$), and the finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 1.91$).

Therefore, a one-way ANOVA was then performed, which found that there was a significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 4.25$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The t-tests (adjusted for

multiple comparisons) found that the difference between the "rebut the attack only" and the "rebut and counterattack" conditions was significant ($p = .01$, Cohen's $d = .71$). However, t-tests found that the differences between the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($p = .33$, Cohen's $d = .30$) as well as the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope condition" ($p = .32$, Cohen's $d = .34$) were non-significant. Therefore, the only significant difference among the conditions was between the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and counterattack" condition.

Above we treated the intention to vote for the target variable as continuous, from "I would vote against Congressman Blankenship" to "I would vote for Congressman Blankenship". However, it is possible that this variable is not a continuous variable, but rather a nominal one. Therefore, in order to be certain about the relationship between the strategies to defuse contempt and the intention to vote for the target, a Chi-square test was calculated in which both variables were considered nominal. Distribution of the number of participants who intended to vote for, against, and not vote for each of the strategies is located Table 6. A Chi-square test of independence was calculated, comparing the frequency of the intention to vote for the target by strategy to defuse contempt, which found a significant interaction was found, $\chi^2 (4, 118) = 12.84$, $p = .01$. Therefore, both as a nominal and as a continuous variable, the dependent variable intention to vote for the target has a significant relationship with the strategies to defuse contempt

Evaluation of the target. The correlation between evaluation of the target and contempt index was first calculated, which found a significant negative correlation, $r = -$

.78, $p < .001$.

Table 6

Crosstabulation, Intention to Vote for the Target by Strategy to Defuse Contempt

	Intention to Vote for the Target		
Strategy to Defuse Contempt	Vote Against the Target	Would Not Vote	Vote For the Target
"Rebut the Attack Only"	16	14	12
"Rebut and Counterattack"	3	16	19
"Rebut and Convey Hope"	12	8	18

Next, the relationship between the independent variable and evaluation of the target (Congressman Blankenship) was assessed. Descriptive statistics for evaluation of the target by each of the strategies to defuse contempt were then calculated (located in Table 4). It's clear the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the highest mean evaluation of the target ($M = 59.95$), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($M = 55.29$), and the finally the "rebut only" condition ($M = 48.43$).

A one-way ANOVA was then performed, which found that there was a significant difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 115) = 3.20$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. The first t-test performed calculated a significant difference between the "rebut the attack only" and the "rebut and counterattack" conditions ($p = .04$, Cohen's $d = .56$). However, t-tests also calculated that the differences the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($p = .30$, Cohen's $d = .33$) as well as the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope condition" ($p = .59$, Cohen's $d = .24$) were non-significant. Therefore, the only significant difference among the conditions was between the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut the counterattack" condition.

Evaluation of the attacker. The final dependent variable analyzed was the

relationship between the independent variable and the evaluation of the attacker

(Congressman Knox). First, correlational analysis between evaluation of the attacker and

contempt index showed a significant positive correlation, $r = .56$, $p < .001$. Descriptive

statistics for evaluation of the attacker by each of the strategies to defuse contempt are

located in Table 4. These statistics show that the "rebut only" condition had the highest

mean evaluation of the attacker ($M = 42.67$), followed by the "rebut and convey hope"

condition ($M = 39.00$), and the finally the "rebut and counterattack" condition ($M =$

35.89).

An additional one-way ANOVA was then calculated to test for a significant

difference between the group means among the three conditions of the independent

variable. However, no significant difference was found, $F(2, 115) = 1.11$, p $= .34$, $\eta_p^2 =$

.02. Despite the ANOVA finding a non-significant) difference among the conditions,

post hoc Tukey tests were performed in order to determine the significance among the

differences between each of the conditions. T-tests (adjusted for multiple comparisons)

calculated that the differences between the "rebut the attack only" and the "rebut and

counterattack" conditions ($p = .30$, Cohen's $d = .33$), the "rebut the attack only" condition

and the "rebut and convey hope" condition ($p = .70$, Cohen's $d = .18$), and the "rebut and

counterattack" condition and the "rebut and convey hope condition", ($p = .79$, Cohen's d

$= .15$) were all non-significant.

Mediating variables. *Perceived undesirable qualities of the target.* Along with

the results from the second hypothesis described above, we also needed to test whether

the perceived undesirable qualities mediator actually mediated the relationship between

the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the contempt score. First, we examined the

perceived undesirable qualities of the target mediator. The results showed that the

regression of the "rebut and counterattack" condition on the contempt score,

disregarding the mediators, was significant, $b = -.44$, $t(115) = -2.49$, $p = .01$. Next, the

regression of the "rebut and counterattack" condition on perceived undesirable qualities

of the target was calculated to be significant, $b = -.52$, $t(115) = -2.42$, $p = .02$.

The effect of the perceived undesirable qualities on contempt was also significant,

$b = .66$, $t(113) = 14.61$, $p < .001$. When controlling for the perceived undesirable

qualities of the target mediator, the "rebut and counterattack" condition was found to be

not significant, $b = -.07$, $t(113) = -.65$, $p = .52$. Then the lower and upper level

confidence intervals were calculated for the indirect effect of the "rebut and

counterattack" condition and the contempt score through the perceived undesirable

qualities of the target mediator and were -.626 and -.062. Overall, the coefficient of the

indirect effect was $b = -.35$. Finally, a Sobel test found full mediation, $z = -2.39$, $p = .02$.

Because zero is not in between the lower and upper level confidence interval and the

Sobel test was significant, we can conclude that the indirect effect is significantly

different from zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). Figure 2 shows a path diagram of both

possible mediators of the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition

and the contempt felt about the political figure.   It's important to note that this regression

was run with the counterattack dummy against the two conditions. An additional analysis

was run with the counterattack dummy against just the "rebut only" condition. An

additional Sobel test was performed for this separate analysis, and found identical results

to the Sobel test with both mediators included, $z = -2.39$, $p = .02$. Finally, a correlation

between contempt index and perceived undesirable qualities of the target was calculated,

finding a significant positive correlation, $r = .82$, $p < .001$.

Willingness to overlook undesirable qualities. Next, we needed to examine whether willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities of the target was a mediating variable in relationship between either the "rebut and counterattack" condition or the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the amount of contempt felt about the target. In further examination of the multiple mediation analysis performed, results first showed that the regression of the "rebut and convey hope" condition on the contempt score, disregarding the mediators, willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target, was marginally significant, $b = -.32$, $t(115) = -1.82$, $p = .07$. Next, the regression of the "rebut and convey hope" condition on willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities was found to be not significant, $b = -.13$, $t(115) = -.52$, $p = .61$.

It was then found that the regression of the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities on contempt score was not significant, $b = .03$, $t(113) = .67$, $p = .51$. When controlling for the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target mediator, the "rebut and convey hope" condition was calculated to be not significant, $b = -.06$, $t(113) = -.57$, $p = .57$. It was then calculated that the lower and upper level confidence intervals for the indirect effect of the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt score through the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities mediator were -.049 and .012. Overall, the coefficient of the indirect effect was calculated, with $b = -.003$. Finally, a Sobel test did not find a significant mediation effect, $z = -.41$, $p = .68$. See Figure 1 for a path diagram of both possible mediators of the relationship between the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt felt about the target.

Finally, we examined the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the

target mediator on the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the contempt score. The results first showed that the regression of the "rebut and counterattack" condition on the contempt score, disregarding the mediators, perceived undesirable qualities of the target, was significant, $b = -.44$, $t(115) = -2.49$, $p = .01$. Next, the regression of the "rebut and counterattack" condition on the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target was found to be significant, $b = -.84$, $t(115) = -3.42$, $p = .001$.

The regression of the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities on contempt score, however, was not significant, $b = .03$, $t(113) = .67$, $p = .51$. When controlling for the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target mediator, the "rebut and counterattack" condition was found to be not significant, $b = -.07$, $t(113) = -.65$, $p = .52$. Then, it was calculated that the lower and upper level confidence intervals for the indirect effect of the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the contempt score through the perceived undesirable qualities of the target mediator were -.109 and .043. Overall, the coefficient of the indirect effect was calculated, with $b = -.02$. Finally, a Sobel test then found that the mediation effect was non-significant, $z = -.66$, $p = .51$. See Figure 2 for a path diagram of both possible mediators of the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the contempt felt about the target. The final analysis performed on the willingness to overlook undesirable qualities of the target variable was its correlation with the contempt index, finding a non-significant, positive correlation $r = .18$, $p = .05$.

Figure 3

Path Diagram for Multiple Mediation Model, "Rebut and Counterattack" Condition
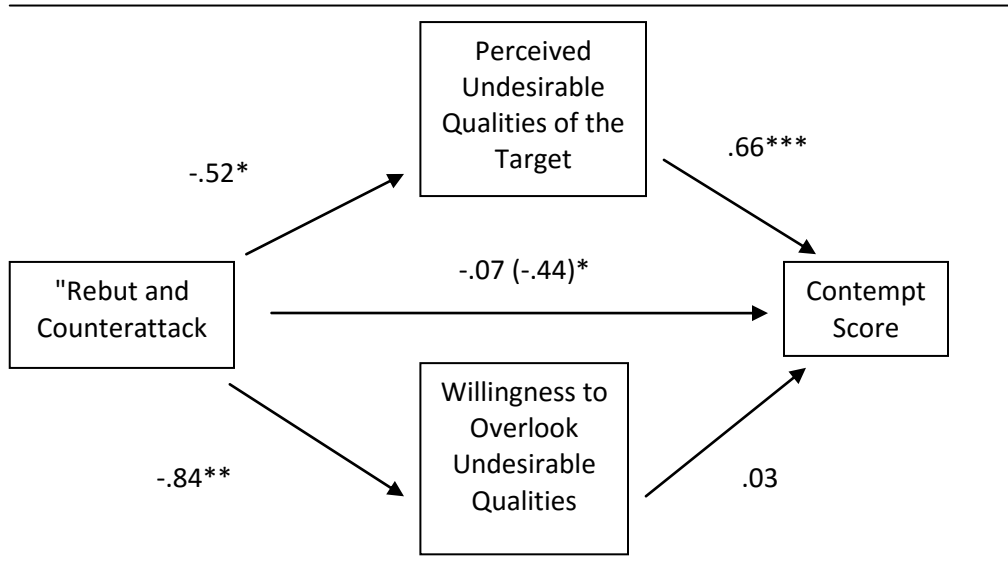
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Moderating variables. Next, we analyzed the possible moderating variables of

the study using multiple linear regression models. Because the independent variable of

the study was categorical, two dummy variables were created in order to properly analyze

the moderation. In addition, each of the possibly moderating variables was centered in

order to avoid issues with multicollinearity (Whitley & Kite, 2013).

Political ideology. To test the possibility that political ideology moderated the

relationship between strategy to defuse contempt and mean contempt score, a hierarchical

multiple regression analysis was performed. First, a regression was run in which the only

variables included were the two strategies to defuse contempt dummy variables and

political ideology score, which found a non-significant amount of variance in contempt

score, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3,110) = 2.27$, $p = .09$.

Table 7

Multiple Regression Models Results - Interaction Terms of Moderating Variables

Moderating Variables	b	β	t
Political Ideology Model			
"Rebut and Counterattack" x Political Ideology	.03	.07	.22
"Rebut and Convey Hope" x Political Ideology	.11	.25	.91
Agreeableness Model			
"Rebut and Counterattack" x Agreeableness	.17	.38	.89
"Rebut and Convey Hope" x Agreeableness	.14	.28	.71
Social Dominance Orientation Model			
"Rebut and Counterattack" x SDO	-.07	-.10	-.53
"Rebut and Convey Hope" x SDO	-.01	-.02	-.09
Neuroticism Model			
"Rebut and Counterattack" x Neuroticism	-.38	-.71	-2.59*
"Rebut and Convey Hope" x Neuroticism	-.14	-.27	-.96
Age Model			
"Rebut and Counterattack" x Age	.03	.49	1.44
"Rebut and Convey Hope" x Age	.03	.48	1.46

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Then, two interaction terms between each of the dummy variables and political ideology score were added to the regression, which also found a non-significant amount of variance in contempt score, with change in $R^2 = .01$, $F(2,108) = .45$, $p = .64$, $b = 2.77$. Neither interaction term in the regression was significant:. For the "Rebut and Counterattack" x Political Ideology interaction, $t(108) = .20$, $p = .84$; for the "Rebut and Convey Hope" x Political Ideology interaction, $t(108) = .88$, $p = .38$. Finally, the correlation between political ideology and contempt index was calculated, which was a significant, positive correlation, $r = .24$, $p = .01$. Therefore, as relative political conservatism increased, so did contempt felt about the target.

Agreeableness. An additional hierarchical multiple regression analysis was run to test the possibility that agreeableness moderated the relationship between strategy to

defuse contempt and contempt score. First, a regression was run in which the only

variables included were the two strategies to defuse contempt dummy variables and

agreeableness score, which found a non-significant amount of variance in contempt

score, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3,112) = 2.34$, $p = .08$. Then, two interaction terms between each of the

dummy variables and agreeableness score were added to the regression, which also found

a non-significant amount of variance in the contempt score, with change in $R^2 = .01$,

$F(2,110) = .43$, $p = .65$, $b = 3.07$. Neither interaction term in the regression was

significant: For the "Rebut and Counterattack" x Agreeableness interaction, $t(110) = .82$,

$p = .41$; for the "Rebut and Convey Hope" x Agreeableness interaction, $t(110) = .61$, $p =$

.54. Finally, the correlation between agreeableness and contempt index was calculated,

which was a non-significant, positive correlation, $r = .08$, $p = .42$.

   Social dominance orientation. To test if social dominance orientation moderated

the relationship between strategy to defuse contempt and contempt score, an additional

hierarchical multiple regression was run. First, a regression was run in which the only

variables included were the two strategies to defuse contempt dummy variables and

social dominance orientation score, which found a non-significant amount of variance in

contempt score, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3,114) = 2.25$, $p = .09$. Then, two interaction terms between

each of the dummy variables and social dominance orientation score were added to the

regression, which also found a non-significant amount of variance in contempt score,

with change in $R^2 = .002$, $F(2,112) = .14$, $p = .87$, $b = 2.47$. Neither interaction term in

the regression was significant: For the "Rebut and Counterattack" x SDO interaction,

$t(112) = -.61$, $p = .54$; for the "Rebut and Convey Hope" x SDO interaction, $= t(112) = -$

.11, $p = .91$. Finally, the correlation between social dominance orientation and contempt

index was calculated, which was a non-significant, positive correlation, $r = .07$, $p = .44$.

   Political party identification. The next moderating variable analyzed was political

party identification. Considering that political party identification was a categorical

variable, a 2-way ANOVA was needed to examine whether political party identification

moderated the relationship between strategy to defuse contempt and contempt score.

Therefore, a 2-way ANOVA was run, in which both condition and political party

identification were considered independent variables and contempt score was considered

the dependent variable. The analysis found a significant difference between the group

contempt means among the three conditions of the independent variable, $F(2, 104) =$

3.68, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. It was then found that the difference in group contempt means

among the political party identifications (Contempt mean score among political parties:

Democrats = 2.49, Republicans = 2.68, Independents = 2.75) was non-significant $F(2,$

$104) = 1.11$, $p = .37$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Finally, the interaction between condition and political

party identification was calculated, in which no significant effect was found $F(4, 104) =$

1.20, $p = .31$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. So political party identification was not a significant moderator

in this study.

   Neuroticism. In addition to the possible moderators previously discussed, a

number of additional possible moderators were analyzed. To test the possibility that

neuroticism moderated the relationship between strategy to defuse contempt and

contempt score, an additional hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed. A

regression was first run in which only the two dummy variables and the neuroticism score

were included, which found a significant amount of variance in contempt score, $R^2 = .10$,

$F(3,112) = 4.30$, $p = .01$. Then, two interaction terms between each of the dummy

variables and the neuroticism score were added to the regression, which also found a significant amount of variance in contempt score, with change in $R^2 = .05$, $F(2,110) = 3.39$, $p = .04$, $b = 1.93$. The "Rebut and Counterattack" x Neuroticism interaction was significant, $t(110) = -2.59$, $p = .01$, but the "Rebut and Convey Hope" x Neuroticism interaction was not, $t(110) = -.96$, $p = .34$. These data show that the interaction term between one of the strategies to defuse contempt ("Rebut and Counterattack") and neuroticism yielded significant results.

Figure 4

Interaction Plot for Neuroticism Moderating Variable
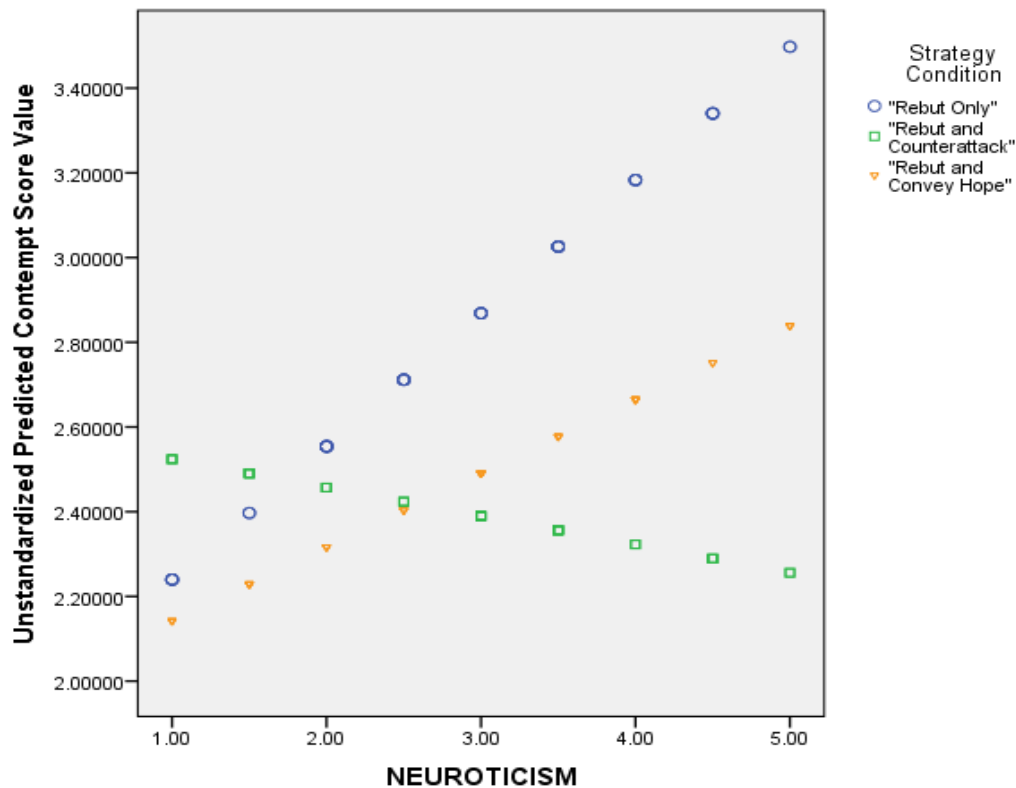
In order to further examine the neuroticism moderation, an interaction plot was created, which is shown in Figure 4 below. On the x-axis are neuroticism scores, based

on the continuous 1 to 5 scale of the BFI-10 (Rammstedt & John, 2007) and on the y-axis

are the predicted values of contempt scores, based on the regression equation.

Examination of the graph shows that for both the "rebut the attack only" and "rebut and

convey hope" conditions, as neuroticism increases, so does contempt felt about the target.

However, for the "rebut and counterattack" condition, as neuroticism increases, contempt

felt about the target decreases. Finally, the correlation between neuroticism and contempt

index was calculated, which was a significant, positive correlation, $r = .22$, $p = .02$.

  Age. Finally, hierarchical multiple regression was done to test the possibility that

age moderated the relationship between strategy to defuse contempt and contempt score.

First, a regression was run in which the only variables included were the two strategies to

defuse contempt dummy variables and age, which found a significant amount of variance

in contempt score, $R^2 = .12$, $F(3,112) = 5.18$, $p = .002$. Then, two interaction terms

between each of the dummy variables and age were added to the regression, which found

a non-significant amount of variance in contempt score, with change in $R^2 = .03$, $F(2,110)$

$= 1.61$, $p = .20$, $b = 2.84$. Neither interaction term in the regression was significant: For

the "Rebut and Counterattack" x Age interaction, $t(110) = 1.45$, $p = .15$; for the "Rebut

and Convey Hope" x SDO interaction, $= t(110) = 1.18$, $p = .24$. Finally, the correlation

between age and contempt index was calculated, which was a significant, negative

correlation, $r = -.26$, $p = .01$.

  Considering half of the participants of the study were obtained through an

undergraduate University requirement and half were not, an age disparity was likely to

have occurred across the samples. The mean age from the undergraduate participant

sample was 23.37 ($s = 5.10$), while the mean age of the Mechanical Turk participants was

34.68 (s = 9.15). Therefore, is important to further examine the differences in the effect of age on contempt score by group samples. Correlations were calculated between the age and the contempt index among both the undergraduate participants and the Mechanical Turk participants. Results showed that the correlation for the Mechanical Turk sample was a significant, negative correlation (r = -.28) and the correlation for the undergraduate sample was a non-significant, negative correlation (r = -.05). Therefore, the sample with the higher age mean and higher variance of age had the more significant negative correlation between age and contempt index.

In order to further understand the differences between the samples on the correlation between age and contempt index, scatter plots for each sample were created. For both samples, plots showed that older participants (30 years old or over) show a decline in contempt as age increased. For the undergraduate sample participants, the scatter plot showed that not all participants were high in contempt. The plot showed that there were nearly as many participants low in feelings of contempt as there were with those high in contempt. In addition, this scatter plot showed a very slight decline in feelings of contempt as age increased Therefore, the significant overall correlation between age and contempt index does not seem to be due to differences in sample, but a legitimate relationship between age and contempt.

Discussion

Overview and Interpretation of Results

It is first necessary to summarize the results of the study, before delving into the details and interpretations of the findings. Rebutting and counterattacking the attacker who brought on contempt was found to be the most effective strategy in defusing

contempt felt about a target. In effectiveness, the "rebut and counterattack" condition was followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition. However, the difference in mean score between the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the "rebut the attack only" condition (which was considered a control) was not significant. In addition to its effectiveness in defusing contempt, the "rebut and counterattack" condition was also the most effective strategy in raising the evaluation of the target of contempt as well as increasing the likelihood of intending to vote for the target of contempt. And again, the means for both the "rebut and convey hope" and the "rebut the attack only" condition did not significantly differ for each of these variables.

In addition, it was found that the mediator perceived undesirable qualities of the target fully mediated the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the amount of contempt felt about the target. In other words, results showed that the "rebut and counterattack" condition lowered participants' perceived undesirable qualities of the target, which in turn lowered the amount of contempt felt about the target. The perceived undesirable qualities of the target mediator was marginally significant in the relationship between the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt index. In addition, neuroticism was found to moderate the relationship between the defusing strategies and the contempt index. As displayed in Figure 4, for both the "rebut the attack only" and "rebut and convey hope" conditions, as neuroticism increased, so did contempt felt about the target. However, for the "rebut and counterattack" condition, as neuroticism increased, contempt felt about the target decreased.

Finally, a number of interesting significant correlations were found between the contempt index and a number of variables in the study. Age, intention to vote for the

target, and evaluation of the target had significant negative correlations with the contempt index mean. Therefore, as age increased, contempt score decreased. Also, as contempt score decreased, evaluation of the target and intention to vote for the target increased. In addition, it was found that perceived undesirable qualities of the target and evaluation of the attacker all had significant positive correlations with the contempt score index. In other words, as the evaluation of the attacker and the perceived undesirable qualities of the target increased, so did the amount of contempt felt about the target of contempt.

H$_1$. The results for H$_1$ were mixed. Overall, half of hypothesis 1 was supported: the "rebut and counterattack" condition was found to be more effective in defusing contempt about the target of contempt than the "rebut only" condition. The "rebut and convey hope" condition appeared to be intermediate in effectiveness, but was not found to be significantly more statistically effective in defusing contempt than the "rebut only" condition.

So why wasn't there a significant difference between the effectiveness of the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the "rebut only" control condition? As we previously discussed in the manipulation check section, the "rebut and convey hope" condition was perceived by participants to have the most hopeful message by a wide margin. However, when asked how hopeful participants felt about the target of contempt and their hopefulness about the target in that moment, the mean of the "rebut and convey hope" condition was much closer to the "rebut and counterattack" mean (statistics found in the Method section). Therefore, it appears as though the actual feelings of hope had some other determinants.   In addition, correlations between each of the three hope manipulation check items and contempt index were calculated. These correlations show

actual feelings of hope (r = -.71) and feelings of hope for the target in the moment (r = -.69) predicted feelings of contempt better than the hopefulness of the message (r = -.54). Finally, the Sobel test from the mediation analysis of the perceived undesirable qualities on the relationship between the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt score (discussed further below) found marginal significance of the mediation effect (p = .07). Overall, this suggests that the "rebut and convey hope" strategy was the second best strategy tested in this study. Although, perceived undesirable qualities did not significantly mediate the relationship between the "rebut and convey hope" condition and contempt score, it was close.

Theoretically speaking, these findings provide mixed support for The Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002). As previously described, the Stereotype Content Model proposes that groups that are considered low in warmth and low in competence evoke feelings of contempt among people within the in-group. The authors later posit that those in the out-group are perceived as low in competence due to a lack of power. The "rebut and counterattack" was the most powerful strategy to defuse contempt, as a manipulation check item asking about the powerfulness of Blankenship's criticism of Knox found that those in the those in the "rebut and counterattack" condition had the highest mean for the item (M = 3.32), followed by the "rebut and convey hope" condition (M = 2.84), and finally the "rebut only" condition (M = 2.81). Therefore, this study does support the theory that contempt is felt about those who are perceived as relatively powerless.

However, the Stereotype Content Model also proposes that those who are considered low in warmth evoke feelings of contempt. Of the three strategies tested, it

would seem that the "rebut and convey hope" provided the most warmth, with its message of unity and hope. However, the main findings of the study showed that the "rebut and convey hope" condition was not significantly more effective in defusing contempt than the control "rebut only" condition. However, manipulation check items found that although the "rebut and convey hope" condition was perceived by participants to have the most hopeful message, when asked how hopeful participants felt about the target of contempt and their hopefulness about the target in that moment, the mean of the "rebut and convey hope" condition was much closer to the "rebut and counterattack" mean (statistics found in the Method section). Therefore, it is possible that the "rebut and convey hope" condition didn't elicit enough feelings of hope to increase the warmth of the target of contempt.

H_2. The results of the study only marginally supported H_2. The bootstrap mediation analysis indicated that the indirect effect of the rebut and convey hope through perceived undesirable qualities was not significant, but the Sobel test found marginal significance. These conflicting results cause the true mediation effect of the perceived undesirable qualities mediator on the "rebut and convey hope" condition and the contempt score to be unclear. Reviewing the coefficients in the relationship suggests that perceived undesirable qualities causes feelings of contempt to increase at a significant level, but the relationship between, the "rebut and convey hope" condition and perceived undesirable qualities is only marginal. This suggests that the "rebut and convey hope" strategy was the second best strategy tested in this study.

Perceived undesirable qualities of the target. However, exploratory analysis of the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt mediator on the relationship

between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and mean contempt score was significant. Since zero is not in between the lower and upper level confidence interval and the Sobel test found significant results, we can conclude that mediation occurred in this relationship. The coefficients calculated in the mediation analysis suggest that the "rebut and counterattack" condition lowered perceived undesirable qualities of the target candidate, which in turn lowered feelings of contempt about him

It is important to interpret the disparity between the full mediation of the perceived undesirable qualities of the target on the relationship between the "rebut and counterattack" condition and the mean contempt score, and the lack of mediation for the same mediating variable for the relationship between "rebut and convey hope" and mean contempt score. It's clear from these results that some component of the "rebut and counterattack" condition—but not the "rebut and convey hope" condition—was powerful enough to decrease perceived undesirable qualities of the target. Perhaps it was the blunt attacks in the strategy, or describing the attacker as a hypocritical political insider. Nevertheless, it's clear from the results that lowering the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt in turn lowered contempt felt about the target. In addition, it is important to note that the most effective strategy in defusing contempt was also the only strategy to have full mediation with the perceived undesirable qualities of the political figure, which adds further support for the theory of Hutcherson and Gross (2011), who wrote that contempt involves the judgment of a person as incompetent and unintelligent as well as having poor intentions and character.

Willingness to overlook undesirable qualities. Also during exploratory analysis, results found that willingness to overlook the undesirable qualities of the target of

contempt was not a mediator for any of the strategies to defuse contempt.

Since zero is in between the lower and upper level confidence interval and the Sobel test

calculated non-significant results, we can conclude that willingness to overlook

undesirable qualities was not a mediating variable.

A possible reason for these non-significant findings may relate to the single item

used to assess willingness to overlook undesirable qualities, as it was a new item created

for this study. The overall correlation for the willingness to overlook undesirable

qualities and the contempt index was positive ($r = .18$). As willingness to overlook the

undesirable qualities of the target increased, so did contempt for the target, which isn't

logical. In reviewing the correlations between the willingness to overlook undesirable

qualities and the dependent variables of the study in Table 5, the only significant

correlation is with the intention to vote for the target ($r = -.25$). Again, the findings of the

calculations don't make sense, as the negative correlation means that as willingness to

overlook undesirable qualities increase, intention to vote for the target decreases.

In addition, in reviewing the descriptive statistics for the mediating and dependent

variables in Table 4, it is clear that the condition with the highest willingness to overlook

undesirable qualities was the "rebut the attack only" condition, with the lowest being the

"rebut and counterattack" condition. This is also a discrepancy in the results, as the

condition that was most effective in defusing contempt was found to be the least willing

to overlook undesirable qualities and the least effective strategy was found to be the most

willing to overlook undesirable qualities. Finally, standard deviations of the willingness

to overlook undesirable qualities variable are the largest among all variables measured on

a 5 point scale, which indicates that there were differences among participants in their

understanding of what they were being asked. Overall, all of these counterintuitive

results seem to indicate that participants misunderstood what they were being asked.

Therefore, it is possible that willingness to overlook undesirable qualities was a

mediating variable, but the item was insufficient in assessing the variable, resulting in a

Type II error.

Singe item contempt measurement. Analysis of the second measure of

contempt, the single-item contempt measurement, showed a similar distribution of means

among strategy to defuse contempt as the 20-item contempt scale. However unlike the

20-item contempt scale, the differences in means between the conditions were only found

to be marginally significant. A correlation also calculated between the contempt index

from the 20-item contempt scale and the single-item contempt measurement found a

highly significant positive correlation, $r = .56$, $p < .001$. This correlation shows that the

contempt scale and the single-item contempt measure found very similar results. It is

also important to interpret the disparity between the significant difference between the

means of the 20-item contempt scale by strategy and the insignificant mean differences

between the means of the single-item contempt measurement by strategy. Our

interpretation of this disparity is that the multi-item scale was able to quantifiably

measure the multiple aspects of contempt (Whitley & Kite, 2013). However, the single-

item contempt score only measured one aspect of contempt and was dependent on the

participant's understanding of the term contempt

Intention to vote for the target. The analysis of the additional dependent

variable intention to vote for the target showed that the "rebut and counterattack" strategy

was more effective in increasing intention to vote for the target toward the target of

contempt than the "rebut the attack only" condition. However, it is informative to also examine the number of participants in each condition who intended to vote for and against the target candidate, or not vote, as shown in Table 6.

One of the most striking aspects of this cross tabulation is the number of participants who indicated they would vote against the target, by strategy. Only 3 (of 38) participants in the "rebut and counterattack" condition indicated they would vote against the target, while 12 (of 38) participants in the "rebut and convey hope" and 16 (of 42) in the "rebut the attack only" condition did the same. Our interpretation of these results is that it seems as though the "rebut and counterattack" condition lowered the perceived undesirable qualities of the target of contempt, which in turn lowered the number of people voting against the target.

In addition, only eight participants in the "rebut and convey hope" condition indicated they would not vote, compared to fourteen participants in the "rebut the attack only" condition and sixteen in the "rebut and counterattack" condition.   Therefore we posit that the "rebut and convey hope" condition caused a strong reaction, either for or against the target, leaving relatively few participants indicating that they would not vote.

Finally, the correlation between intention to vote for the target and the contempt score index was found to be a strong negative correlation, $r = -.80$, $p < .001$. Therefore, as the contempt score increased, one's intention to vote for the target decreased. The results are consistent with past research that found that feelings of contempt about a political figure can affect voting intention (Roseman, Katz, Redlawsk, & Mattes, 2015).

Evaluation of the target. Analyses on Evaluation of the Target yielded similar results as with the amount of contempt felt about the target and on intention to vote for

the target. The "rebut and counterattack" condition was most effective in defusing contempt felt about the target, in increasing intention to vote for the target, and in this analysis, in increasing the evaluation of the target of contempt. All three analyses also found that the "rebut and convey hope" condition was the second most effective strategy, though in all three analyses, was not significantly different from the "rebut the attack only" condition.

Evaluation of the attacker. Analysis of the final dependent variable found that there were no significant differences between the strategies to defuse contempt on the evaluation of the attacker. Therefore, none of the strategies to defuse contempt caused the evaluation of the attacker to differ significantly compared to that of the other strategies. This is an interesting finding, as we have previously seen that the "rebut and counterattack" condition caused evaluation of the target to increase significantly compared to that of the "rebut the attack only" condition. So it seems as though the "rebut and counterattack" strategy was more effective in increasing the evaluation of the target (compared to the two other strategies) than in decreasing the evaluation of the attacker (compared to the two other strategies). However, additional analysis found that even though none of the strategies differed in their effect on the evaluation of the attacker, as evaluation of the attacker increased, so did contempt felt toward the target.

Political ideology. Analyses found that Political Ideology did not significantly moderate the effects of defusing strategy on felt contempt. However, there was a significant positive correlation between political ideology and contempt. The more politically conservative participants were, the more contempt they felt about the target of contempt. Inbar, Pizarro, and Bloom (2009) have found that conservatives are more

likely to feel more disgust than liberals. Therefore, if contempt is similar to disgust felt toward a person, it is not surprising that we have found that conservatives are more likely to feel contempt toward the target.

Agreeableness. Additional analyses found that agreeableness was neither a moderating variable in this study, nor did it correlate with the contempt score index. In studying agreeableness, we were interested in seeing whether tolerance for a person's flaws, which we believed may have been a manifestation of the personality dimension of agreeableness, was a moderating variable in our study (C. Nave, personal communication, April 13, 2015). Perhaps those who have an agreeable personality don't feel less contempt because they're everyday agreeableness is not related to political agreeableness, as politically agreeable may be distinctive.

Social dominance orientation. Analyses also found that social dominance orientation was neither a moderating variable in the study, nor did it correlate with the contempt index. In further analysis of the social dominance orientation variable, the mean index of the variable is $M = 2.34$. Considering the American mean on the Short SDO scale reported from Pratto et al. (2013) was 3.44, an index mean of 2.34 is low. Therefore, it is possible that the sample of participants in the study were very low in social dominance orientation, which caused a restriction of range on the variable, resulting in a Type II error.

Political party identification. Political party identification was also not found to be a significant moderator in this study. Considering political ideology and political party identification are interrelated to one another, it is logical that both political party identification and political ideology are not significant moderating variables in this study.

Neuroticism. Analyses found that neuroticism was a significant moderating variable in this study. Figure 4 showed that for both the "rebut the attack only" and "rebut and convey hope" conditions, as neuroticism increases, so does contempt felt about the target. However, for the "rebut and counterattack" condition, as neuroticism increases, contempt felt about the target decreases. Previous research has found that those who are high is neuroticism are negative individuals, who often feel tense and anxious (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, & Ha, 2010). Our interpretation of these results is that the blunt and argumentative nature of the counterattack strategy resonates with those high in neuroticism, which in turn lowers feelings of contempt towards the target. However, the other two conditions of the study don't contain blunt counterattacks and therefore do not resonate with those high in neuroticism. Therefore, these participants felt higher amounts of contempt toward the target of contempt.

Age. Analyses found that while age was not a significant moderating variable in this study, age was significantly correlated with the contempt index: as age increased, amount of contempt felt about the target of contempt decreased. It is important to interpret the significant negative correlation between age and the contempt index. It has been found that emotions become more positive with age (Carstensen et al., 2011). So our interpretation of the correlation found in this study is that as age increased, the emotions felt about the target become more positive, and in turn, less contempt about the target was felt.

Limitations

Despite our best efforts, there were a number of limitations to our study. One limitation to our study is that we have no way of knowing how long our strategies to

defuse contempt will last, even if they were found to be effective. The effects of the strategies to defuse contempt could have worn off fairly quickly, but we had no way of knowing if they did because we only assessed feelings of contempt about the target once (though we do know the effects lasted through the end of the dependent variable measure, approximately 20 minutes). In addition, because we used fictitious political figures, we don't know if these strategies to defuse contempt would be effective with well-known political figures. In designing the study, it was feared that feelings of contempt for well-known political figures would be intransigent to any strategy to defuse contempt. Considering this was the first study that we know of that attempted to defuse feelings of contempt, we felt it was best to use fictitious political figures in order to assess effectiveness of the strategies to defuse contempt. Similarly, we both raised and reduced levels of contempt in rapid succession in using the newspaper article manipulation. So we aren't able to determine if our strategies would defuse contempt that has been held for an elongated period of time.

Another limitation of our study is that there is little way of knowing if differences in the participants' feelings towards Blankenship were caused by the strategies to defuse contempt, or another aspect of the "strategy to defuse contempt" sections of the fictional newspaper articles. We were extremely careful to write these sections of the articles as similarly as possible. Each of these sections contained exactly the same number of words. However, we have no way of knowing whether another feature of one of the strategies (e.g., the intensity or vigor of the target's speech, a perceived lack of authenticity of target's hopeful message) caused the differences between the strategies to defuse contempt.

One other limitation to the study could be a threat to external validity due to cultural factors. Perhaps instead of identifying the "rebut and counterattack" condition to be more effective in defusing contempt than "rebut and convey hope" condition, we identified a cultural shift in politically resonant speech, away from hope and towards blunt attacks. As previously stated, hope has been used as a common rhetorical device in political speech by popular political candidates in the past, such as John Kerry and Barack Obama (Martin, 2013). However, in this 2016 presidential primary season, two of the most popular candidates with some of the most energized followers, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders, have been noted for their use of anger and attacks in their political speech (Leland, 2016). It is possible that that the current political climate, in which a political figure often gains popularity when attacking one's political opponents, was so prevalent that it caused the "rebut and counterattack" condition to be the most effective strategy to defuse contempt, regardless of whether such a strategy would have been most effective beyond this attack trend.

Directions for Future Research

In light of both the findings and limitations of this study, there are a number of directions for future research. First, the study should be replicated to ensure the findings we encountered are reliable. The participants of this study tended to be younger and liberal. Therefore, if the study is replicated, future researchers should strive for a better representation of race, age, and political ideology among participants in order to improve generalizability. In addition, future research should look into strategies to defuse other negative emotions that many feel towards political figures, such as anger, fear, and disgust. Would rebutting and counterattacking the attacker also be the most effective

strategy towards defusing those emotions? Or would another strategy be more useful?

Additional studies are vital to answer these questions.

As discussed in the limitations section, it is possible that the current popularity of

anger and attack in politics could have affected the results of the study. regardless of

whether the "rebut and counterattack" condition was the most effective strategy in

defusing contempt. In order to see whether the results of our study were affected by such

a cultural threat to external validity, future research could replicate the study in a country

or region which isn't experiencing such popularity of anger-based politics. Not only

would replicating the study in a more temperate political climate negate possible cultural

threats, but it could also increase generalizability of the findings to other cultures.

An additional direction for future research is to study strategies to defuse

contempt felt about non political figures in everyday life. No known research has been

performed on strategies to defuse everyday contempt, though Fischer (2011) wrote of

possible ways of lowering contempt, including feeling empathy for the transgressor and

becoming conscious of one's feelings of contempt. These and other strategies for such

contempt should be investigated.

The main findings of this study concerning the strategies to defuse contempt

should also be further probed.   Only three strategies to defuse contempt were

investigated in this study (two strategies not including the "rebut only" control condition).

These strategies each involved common rhetorical concepts in political speech (rebuttal,

counterattack, conveying hope). Additional strategies not investigated in this study may

be even more effective in defusing contempt felt about a political figure. It's possible that

a combination of all three strategies investigated in this study would be even more

effective than the three strategies. Additional research is needed to understand how effective a strategy to defuse contempt could truly be.

Finally, an interesting path future research could take is to delve into the relationship between counterattacking and the neuroticism personality trait. As this study has shown, contempt increased as neuroticism increased in both the "rebut the attack only" condition and the "rebut and convey hope" condition, but contempt decreased as neuroticism increased for the "rebut and counterattack" condition. Additional research should be performed on what exactly makes those high in neuroticism so receptive to counterattacking in political discourse. In addition, further research could be performed to see what other strategies to defuse contempt resonate with those high in other personality traits, such as extraversion and agreeableness. Strategies to defuse contempt felt by those high in extraversion and agreeableness could be used to defuse contempt felt by different groups and audiences that are high in those personality traits.

Appendix

"Rebut the Attack" Condition: 473 words

DATELINE HARRISON: Congressman Jeff Blankenship and his opponent, former Congressman Nolan Knox, have traded barbs this week after Knox made scornful comments about Blankenship while speaking at a campaign event.

At a rally on Wednesday, Knox scoffed at Blankenship for using taxpayer funds to pay for charter flights to campaign events.

Knox said sarcastically: "Congressman Jeff Blankenship is the kind of person who spent more than $3,200 of your tax dollars to fly round trip to a fundraising lunch with his wealthiest donors. Blankenship selfishly believes that the best place to spend taxpayer money is on himself. This is just one example that shows how unconcerned Congressman Blankenship is about the opinions of the people who he is supposed to represent."

"Didn't Blankenship know that using taxpayer money for campaign purposes is illegal?" Knox asked, ridiculing his opponent. "Conveniently, Blankenship's office caught this disgraceful misconduct just before it was about to be made public. That is, a week after it occurred."

"It's become clear to me that Congressman Blankenship is a perfect example of the extraordinary lack of integrity we now have in this country," Knox added. "He [Blankenship] is simply too arrogant and self-centered to lead our country in the right direction."

Speaking with reporters on Thursday, Blankenship directly countered Knox's claims.

"What Congressman Knox didn't mention was that the charter flight company has admitted to mistakenly billing my Washington office instead of my re-election campaign," Blankenship retorted. "As soon as we saw the error, we *immediately* asked the company to refund my office and instead bill the campaign. Correcting the mistake was the opposite of arrogant."

Blankenship continued, "As for paying for the charter a week after the event, Congressman Knox knows this is standard procedure in the political arena. Almost all candidates pay for their expenses long after their campaign events occur. For example, in last year's Senate race, the candidates from both parties had expenses until early in November. The expenses included the cost of flights to meet with their supporters and donors in different cities around the state. Both candidates only paid for these expenses in late December, more than a month after the campaign events took place."

Blankenship went on to say, "As for the charge that I am unconcerned about the opinions of the people that I represent, again my actions show exactly the opposite. I have opened

local offices to meet with constituents in every part of my district. I have held numerous town hall meetings to listen to voter concerns. I have also sent out surveys asking people for their opinions about the most important problems that we face today. And my 20 year record as an elected official is clear: I have *never* spent any taxpayer money on myself."

Current polling shows the candidates are separated by five percentage points among likely voters.

"Rebut the Attack and Counterattack" Condition: 473 words

DATELINE HARRISON: Congressman Jeff Blankenship and his opponent, former Congressman Nolan Knox, have traded barbs this week after Knox made scornful comments about Blankenship while speaking at a campaign event.

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Blankenship continued, "As for paying for the charter a week after the event, Congressman Knox knows this is standard procedure in the political arena. Almost all candidates pay for their expenses long after their campaign events occur."

Blankenship's counterattack directly challenged the sincerity of the comments Knox had made. "By attacking me in this way, Congressman Knox is intentionally misinforming voters. There's no doubt Knox was aware of the charter company's press release saying that they were to blame for the error -- it was very widely reported in the media. There's no doubt Knox knew we had asked the company to bill our campaign.   "

"But Congressman Knox isn't interested in telling the whole truth," Blankenship told reporters. "Instead, he's deliberately using information out of context to create a false impression. The way Knox is playing politics is one of the main reasons Congress gets nothing done. These false attacks are typical of Knox's Washington-style behavior, which is why the approval rating of Congress is so low. Average Americans are sick and tired of it! Knox has no regard for the facts—and we've had enough of politicians like that."

Current polling shows the candidates are separated by five percentage points among likely voters.

"Refute the Attack and Run on Hope" Condition: 473 words

DATELINE HARRISON: Congressman Jeff Blankenship and his opponent, former Congressman Nolan Knox, have traded barbs this week after Knox made scornful comments about Blankenship while speaking at a campaign event.

At a rally on Wednesday, Knox scoffed at Blankenship for using taxpayer funds to pay for charter flights to campaign events.

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"It's become clear to me that Congressman Blankenship is a perfect example of the extraordinary lack of integrity we now have in this country," Knox added. "He [Blankenship] is simply too arrogant and self-centered to lead our country in the right direction."

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campaign," Blankenship retorted. "As soon as we saw the error, we *immediately* asked the company to refund my office and instead bill the campaign. Correcting the mistake was the opposite of arrogant."

Blankenship continued, "As for paying for the charter a week after the event, Congressman Knox knows this is standard procedure in the political arena. Almost all candidates pay for their expenses long after their campaign events occur."

Blankenship went on to discuss the hope he feels about the prospects for change this year, citing his contributions to an already strengthening economy and rapid increases in job creation.

"It's so important that we stay focused and positive to build on what we have recently achieved" Blankenship said. "My record shows I've worked successfully with members of both parties to pass bipartisan legislation on education, transportation, and the budget. As my actions have repeatedly demonstrated, I sincerely believe in a stronger, more prosperous America that we can create together. In the coming year, I will continue to work with others who have America's best interests at heart, to get more things done and keep our country moving forward — I am hopeful and excited to do this," Blankenship told reporters**.** "We shouldn't lose the faith that says if we want it, if we work for it, if we stand together — tomorrow will be better.**"**

Current polling shows the candidates are separated by five percentage points among likely voters.

Questionnaire

Instructions

- "Contempt" refers to feelings of disrespect or superiority that people may have toward someone when they have a very low opinion of that person.
- Some questions in this survey will ask about your group. In this survey, the phrase "my group" refers to a group with which you identify, such as a political, religious, ethnic, or social group.

Please answer the following questions concerning your feelings about Congressman Jeff Blankenship, who according to his opponent, used taxpayer money to pay for a charter fight.

1. I feel most people in my group are superior to Congressman Blankenship.

   ○ Agree Strongly
   ○ Agree Somewhat
   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   ○ Disagree Somewhat
   ○ Disagree Strongly

2. I feel contempt because Congressman Blankenship has inferior morals compared to my group.

   ○ Agree Strongly
   ○ Agree Somewhat
   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   ○ Disagree Somewhat
   ○ Disagree Strongly

3. Congressman Blankenship is fake and hypocritical, while most people in my group are genuine.

   ○ Agree Strongly
   ○ Agree Somewhat
   ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   ○ Disagree Somewhat
   ○ Disagree Strongly

4. I feel contempt for Congressman Blankenship because he has poor ethics.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

5. People like Congressman Blankenship are not worth my group's attention.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

6. Congressman Blankenship is a praiseworthy person.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

7. I have a high opinion of Congressman Blankenship.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

8. Jeff Blankenship is worthy of my attention.

- ❍ Agree Strongly
- ❍ Agree Somewhat
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ❍ Disagree Somewhat
- ❍ Disagree Strongly

9. Congressman Blankenship is an ethical person.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

10. I despise Congressman Blankenship.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

11. Congressman Blankenship is an immoral person.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

12. Blankenship lacks the character to be a good Congressman.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

13. Congressman Blankenship is a capable person.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

14. As a Congressman, Blankenship is unacceptable.
   - ○ Agree Strongly
   - ○ Agree Somewhat
   - ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
   - ○ Disagree Somewhat
   - ○ Disagree Strongly

15. Congressman Blankenship has desirable qualities.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

16. I admire Congressman Blankenship.
- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

17. I look down on Congressman Blankenship.
- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

18. Congressman Blankenship is a moral person.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

19. I respect Congressman Blankenship.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

20. Congressman Blankenship is a competent legislator.

- ○ Agree Strongly
- ○ Agree Somewhat
- ○ Neither Agree nor Disagree
- ○ Disagree Somewhat
- ○ Disagree Strongly

21a. How would you rate the personal qualities of Congressman Blankenship?

- ○ Very desirable
- ○ Somewhat desirable
- ○ Neither desirable nor undesirable
- ○ Somewhat undesirable
- ○ Very undesirable

21b. People vote for or against a candidate based on many different factors (a candidate's record, positions on the issues, personal qualities, etc.). How important are Congressman Blankenship's personal qualities in deciding whether to vote for or against him?

- ○ Not at all important
- ○ Slightly important
- ○ Moderately important
- ○ Very important
- ○ Extremely important

22. Please do not click on any of the choices below. Click on the arrow below the scale in order to move to the next question. This is just to screen out random clicking.

- ○　　1
- ○　　2
- ○　　3
- ○　　4
- ○　　5
- ○　　6
- ○　　7

If no multiple choice answer is selected, then the following message appears, "Congratulations, you have successfully passed the random clicking test. Please click on the arrow below to continue"

23. How admiring would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○　　Not at all admiring
- ○　　Not very admiring
- ○　　Somewhat admiring
- ○　　Very admiring
- ○　　Extremely admiring

24. How hopeful would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○　　Not at all hopeful
- ○　　Not very hopeful
- ○　　Somewhat hopeful
- ○　　Very hopeful
- ○　　Extremely hopeful

25. How contemptuous would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○　　Not at all contemptuous
- ○　　Not very contemptuous
- ○　　Somewhat contemptuous
- ○　　Very contemptuous
- ○　　Extremely contemptuous

26. How anxious would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○ Not at all anxious
- ○ Not very anxious
- ○ Somewhat anxious
- ○ Very anxious
- ○ Extremely anxious

27. How angry would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○ Not at all angry
- ○ Not very angry
- ○ Somewhat angry
- ○ Very angry
- ○ Extremely angry

28. How enthusiastic would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

- ○ Not at all enthusiastic
- ○ Not very enthusiastic
- ○ Somewhat enthusiastic
- ○ Very enthusiastic
- ○ Extremely enthusiastic

29. If you were eligible to vote in this election, do you think you would vote for Congressman Blankenship, against Congressman Blankenship, or would you not vote?

- ○ I would vote for Congressman Blankenship
- ○ I would vote against Congressman Blankenship
- ○ I would not vote

In the following questions, we would like to get your current feelings toward each of the congressmen you have read about. We would like you to rate each one using something called a feeling thermometer.

For each question, you can choose any whole number between 0 and 100. If we ask about a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Instead, just enter "999"

Temperature	Description
100°	Very warm or favorable feeling
85°	Quite warm or favorable feeling
70°	Fairly warm or favorable feeling
60°	A bit more warm or favorable than cold feeling
50°	No feeling at all
40°	A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling
30°	Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling
15°	Quite cold or unfavorable feeling
0°	Very cold or unfavorable feeling

30. How would you rate Congressman Jeff Blankenship? (from 0 - 100)

100°	Very warm or favorable feeling
85°	Quite warm or favorable feeling
70°	Fairly warm or favorable feeling
60°	A bit more warm or favorable than cold feeling
50°	No feeling at all
40°	A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling
30°	Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling
15°	Quite cold or unfavorable feeling
0°	Very cold or unfavorable feeling

31. How would you rate Congressman Nolan Knox? (from 0 - 100)

Part II: Background Information

Instruction: How well do the following statements describe your personality?

32. I see myself as someone who...	Disagree Strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly
... is reserved	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... is generally trusting	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... tends to be lazy	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... is relaxed, handles stress well	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... has few artistic interests	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... is outgoing, sociable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... tends to find fault with others	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... does a thorough job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... gets nervous easily	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
... has an active imagination	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

33. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or what?

◯   Democrat
◯   Republican
◯   Independent
◯   Other party (PLEASE SPECIFY)_____

IF R CONSIDERS SELF A DEMOCRAT:
33a.Would you call yourself a STRONG Democrat, or a NOT VERY STRONG Democrat?

◯   Strong (1)
◯   Not very strong (2)

IF R CONSIDERS SELF A REPUBLICAN:
33b.Would you call yourself a STRONG Republican, or a NOT VERY STRONG Republican?

○   Strong (1)
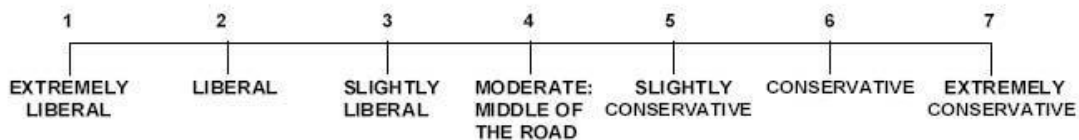○   Not very strong   (2)

IF R'S PARTY IDENTIFICATION IS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OTHER, or DON'T KNOW
33c. Do you think of yourself as CLOSER to the Democratic Party or to the Republican Party?

○   Closer to Democratic (1)
○   Closer to Republican   (2)

34. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Liberal/Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
EXTREMELY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	MODERATE: MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	CONSERVATIVE	EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

○   Extremely liberal
○   Liberal
○   Slightly liberal
○   Moderate; middle of the road
○   Slightly conservative
○   Conservative
○   Extremely conservative
○   Don't know

There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the following ideas about groups in general? Below each statement, choose a number from 1 (extremely oppose) to 10 (extremely favor) to show your opinion.

35. In setting priorities, we must consider all groups.

  ○   1 Extremely Oppose
  ○   2
  ○   3
  ○   4
  ○   5
  ○   6
  ○   7
  ○   8
  ○   9
  ○   10 Extremely Favor

36. We should not push for group equality.

  ○   1 Extremely Oppose
  ○   2
  ○   3
  ○   4
  ○   5
  ○   6
  ○   7
  ○   8
  ○   9
  ○   10 Extremely Favor

37. Group equality should be our ideal.

- ○   1   Extremely Oppose
- ○   2
- ○   3
- ○   4
- ○   5
- ○   6
- ○   7
- ○   8
- ○   9
- ○   10   Extremely Favor

38. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

- ○   1   Extremely Oppose
- ○   2
- ○   3
- ○   4
- ○   5
- ○   6
- ○   7
- ○   8
- ○   9
- ○   10   Extremely Favor

Pilot Study Items

39. How believable was Congressman Blankenship's defense of his own actions?

- ○   Not at all believable
- ○   Not very believable
- ○   Somewhat believable
- ○   Very believable
- ○   Extremely believable

40. How convincing was Congressman Blankenship's explanation of the payment for his charter flight?

- ○ Not at all convincing
- ○ Not very convincing
- ○ Somewhat convincing
- ○ Very convincing
- ○ Extremely convincing

41a. How believable is it that Congressman Knox was purposely misinforming the public about Congressman Blankenship?

- ○ Not at all believable
- ○ Not very believable
- ○ Somewhat believable
- ○ Very believable
- ○ Extremely believable

41b. Please explain your answer.

42a. How powerful was Congressman Blankenship's criticism of Congressman Knox in response to Knox's accusations?

- ○ Not at all powerful
- ○ Not very powerful
- ○ Somewhat powerful
- ○ Very powerful
- ○ Extremely powerful

42b. Please explain your answer.

43a. How hopeful was Congressman Blankenship's message?

- ○ Not at all hopeful
- ○ Not very hopeful
- ○ Somewhat hopeful
- ○ Very hopeful
- ○ Extremely hopeful

43b. Please explain your answer.

44a. How hopeful would you say Congressman Blankenship makes you feel?

     ○   Not at all hopeful
     ○   Not very hopeful
     ○   Somewhat hopeful
     ○   Very hopeful
     ○   Extremely hopeful

44b. Please explain your answer.

45a. How hopeful are you feeling about Congressman Blankenship right now at this moment?

     ○   Not at all hopeful
     ○   Not very hopeful
     ○   Somewhat hopeful
     ○   Very hopeful
     ○   Extremely hopeful

45b. Please explain your answer.

46. In this survey, you answered some questions about "my group". An example of such a question is, "I feel most people in my group are superior to Congressman Blankenship." For these questions, which group did you have in mind?

47. Are you registered to vote, or not currently registered?

     ○   Registered to vote
     ○   Not currently registered

If Not currently registered Is Selected, Then Skip To Question 48

48. What political party are you registered with, if any?

- ○   Democratic party
- ○   Republican party
- ○   Independent
- ○   None
- ○   Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)_____

49. What is your sex?

    ○   Male
    ○   Female

50. Below are five race categories. Please choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:

    ❑   White
    ❑   Black or African American
    ❑   American Indian or Alaska Native
    ❑   Asian
    ❑   Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

51. In what month were you born?
    ○   January
    ○   February
    ○   March
    ○   April
    ○   May
    ○   June
    ○   July
    ○   August
    ○   September
    ○   October
    ○   November
    ○   December

52. In what year were you born?

53. Last year, that is in 2015, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes?

    ○   Less than $25,000
    ○ $25,000 to $49,999
    ○ $50,000 to $74,999
    ○ $75,000 to $99,999
    ○ $100,000 to $149,000
    ○ $150,000 or more

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